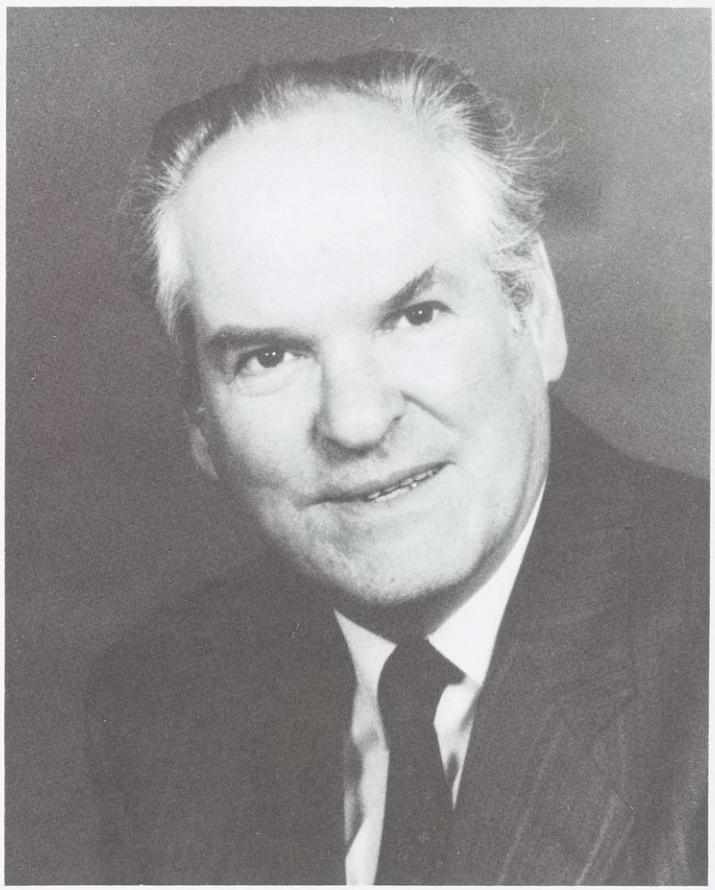
ESSAYS AND TEXTS IN HONOR OF J. DAVID THOMAS



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ESSAYS AND TEXTS IN HONOR OF J. DAVID THOMAS

Edited by
Traianos Gagos and Roger S. Bagnall

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THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS

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EDITORS' PREFACE

This volume is offered to David Thomas in celebration of his seventieth birthday and as a modest return for his many contributions to the domains of papyrology, the history of Roman and late Roman Egypt, and the documentation and history of the Roman empire more broadly. Even to write those few words is to encounter the difficulty of giving a concise description of the scope of David's work. The range of papers in this volume reflects some part of that scope, but certainly only a part. Administrative and military institutions might be considered the common element linking Egypt and Britain and the areas in which he has been very visibly one of the leading scholars of the last several decades. But equally we celebrate the palaeographer and philologist equally at home in Greek and Latin texts. Some of the contributions to this volume evoke in various ways this bilingual dimension. The bibliography we provide here will allow readers to remind themselves of these and other aspects of David's work.

Festschriften, however, do not come into being of their own accord simply because of a scholar's distinction. They are reflections of affection and friendship, of years of collegiality and teaching. The editors of the volume both owe a great deal to this latter part of David Thomas's activity, which extended beyond Durham in many ways, including the American Society of Papyrologists' Summer Seminar in Papyrology in 1968 at the University of Pennsylvania. Like all of the very best teachers, he has been able to move imperceptibly from the role of teacher to that of colleague, treating his students as partners in our common enterprise. All of the contributors to the volume, we know, would wish us to evoke their ties of collegial friendship with David, formed in various ways, and lasting in some cases for many decades.

Part of David's remarkable gift for friendship undoubtedly comes from his complete lack of that instinct for aggressive self-promotion that we all encounter elsewhere so frequently. His modesty would no doubt wince at any prolongation of this preface proclaiming his accomplishments and virtues. We can only close by thanking him for everything he has meant to our lives, professional and personal, and hope for many more years to enjoy these gifts. We present this volume with affection both to him and to Marion Thomas.

We must also thank those who have helped make this volume a reality: Arthur Verhoogt created meticulously all the word indices and helped in the preparation of the plates; Camilla MacKay read carefully the entire manuscript for consistency of citations; and Terry Wilfong provided invaluable help with the contributions in Coptic and Demotic. In practical matters, we wish to acknowledge the assistance of R. Caldwell, S. Tuttle, and S. Bennett. Thanks are due to the Department of Classical Studies for financial assistance and to the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library for the use of its facilities. Finally, we would like to thank Ann Ellis Hanson for publishing this volume in the ASP monograph series.

Traianos Gagos
Roger S. Bagnall

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I. ESSAYS

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 3-9

1. THE CAMP OF HIBIS

(Roger S. Bagnall)

In his work on the oases of Egypt, Guy Wagner mentions briefly the late antique remains of Deir Mustafa Kashef, located to the northwest of the ancient city of Hibis. "Pris longtemps pour un couvent fortifié, sa véritable nature de forteresse byzantine a été méconnue. Nous pensons qu'il s'agit du kastron de la ville d'Hibis dont parle Jean Moschus et que nous connaissions déjà, au IVe s., sous le nom de κάστρα Ἴβεως."[1] This view of Deir Mustafa Kashef goes back to a visit to the site in 1978 in the company of Jean Gascou and Béatrice Meyer, when Gascou and Wagner recorded their impression of its character: "...qui nous apparaît de plus en plus comme une forteresse et non comme un couvent."[2] No detailed argument is provided to support this impression, but Deir Mustafa Kashef is seen as part of a larger system of defenses: "[Tahunet el Hawa, a tower in the plain] constitue un relais entre le Deir Mustapha Kashef et le Borg el Hammam que nous allons voir et, par delà, vers le Nord, avec tous les points fortifiés dont le plus septentrional sera le fort d'El Gib."[3] The 1979 article was a report of site visits and contains no bibliographic documentation, but in his book Wagner specifies the scholar he views as having misunderstood the nature of Deir Mustafa Kashef, namely Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, in a fundamental article on "Christian monuments" near Hibis.[4]

In Wagner's view, then, the defensive system of Hibis consisted of its military camp, where the main body of the garrison was based, located at Deir Mustafa Kashef; of outlying forts; and of a series of signal relay towers connecting them. There is no doubt that the Kharga Oasis possessed, at least in late antiquity, a number of outlying forts located at various points on the road system connecting the oasis to the northeast (the Nile valley), the south (the Darb el-Arbain to the Sudan) and the west (the Dakhleh Oasis). But Michel Reddé has recently argued that Wagner's scheme imposes too much on a collection of remains that do not give the impression of being part of an overall defensive strategy; Reddé emphasizes, rightly in my view, the role of protecting the lines of communication.[5] The other elements of Wagner's view of the defenses of Hibis appear to me improbable and to need more detailed discussion. I shall deal in turn with (1) the nature of Deir Mustafa Kashef, (2) the nature of the towers, and (3) a more plausible candidate for the camp of Hibis. I shall then (4) turn to consider a side-issue which plays a role in Wagner's argument, the meaning of κάστρον in Greek of this period and a passage of John Moschus adduced by Wagner as evidence for the military camp of Hibis.

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[1] *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byantine d'après les documents grecs*. IFAO, Bibl. d'Étude 100 (Cairo 1987) 171. The 4th cent. data come from *O.Douch* III 218, 220 and the (then) unpublished *O.Douch* 397 (see commentary to *O.Douch* 218). For John Moschus, see below.

[2] J. Gascou, G. Wagner, and P.J. Grossmann, "Deux voyages archéologiques dans l'Oasis de Khargeh," *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 1-20 at 13. Only Gascou and Wagner were responsible for this part of the article.

[3] *Ibid.*, 14. The same point is urged in Wagner, *Les oasis* 170-1.

[4] "Christliche Monumente im Gebiet von Hibis (el-Kharga)," *MDAIK* 19 (1963) 121-40. It is also called a monastery by Ahmed Fakhry, *The Necropolis of El Bagawat in Kharga Oasis* (Cairo 1951) 1.

[5] "Sites militaires de l'oasis de Kharga," *BIFAO* 99 (1999) 377-96.

1. The Nature of Deir Mustafa Kashef

Deir Mustafa Kashef is described in detail in the article by Müller-Wiener referred to above.[6] As one leaves the ancient city of Hibis and its temple behind heading north, the Christian cemetery of Bagawat—but already a burial zone long before Christianity—lies ahead and somewhat to the west, at the south end of a low ridge which is the southernmost extremity of the Gebel Teir (see map). This ridge was, indeed, the one natural and permanent zone in the area of Hibis for burial, outside any possible cultivation. As one reaches the entrance to Bagawat, a track to the northwest skirts the foot of the ridge and in a little under two kilometers reaches the site of Deir Mustafa Kashef. The complex consists principally of two structures. On the brow of the ridge is a building of about 24 x 28 meters (measured at its widest point; it is not regular in plan), with high walls and five levels in its original state; adjacent to this are some minor outbuildings [image 1].[7] Below it on the plain is a roughly square complex (about 27 x 29 meters) built entirely of mud brick [image 2]. As Müller-Wiener points out (p. 124), the building on the hillside is built around a rock tomb located in the lower level of the building, cut into the sandstone hillside, which was provided with two antechambers axially arranged [image 3]. This he reasonably interprets as an old tomb reused as the dwelling-place of a hermit, probably the eponymous (but to us unknown) patron saint of the monastery. Such a rock-cut chamber constitutes probably the oldest part of the church at the Monastery of St. Antony, for example, and similarly was the nucleus of the Monastery of Epiphanius on the west bank at Thebes.[8] Although this chamber is perhaps not absolutely decisive for the character of the building, it would certainly require an explanation if the building were claimed to be a military installation. It is also to be noted (p. 135 n. 2) that in some rooms of the lower two floors (that with the rock tomb and that above it) were Coptic graffiti in red paint, including a cross at the east end of the tomb chamber which is still visible by a lamp niche [image 4]. It is also striking that the high wall around Deir Mustafa Kashef has no defensive towers or other signs of military use, and it bears no resemblance to other Roman or late Roman forts in the Kharga Oasis. Reddé, although without argument, concurs: "L'interprétation traditionnelle qui voit dans cet édifice un couvent nous paraît toutefois infiniment plus vraisemblable."[9]

Müller-Wiener had less to say about the mud-brick complex in the plain below the main building, in part because at the time of his visits too much lay buried under debris for the plan to be entirely clear. It has subsequently been cleared in large part by local antiquities officials, and the plan is considerably clearer. But Müller-Wiener already saw the critical point, that the long main room (oriented north-south) [image 5] was a kind of waiting room for the small chapel opening off its east side (with an apse toward the east) [image 6]. Another room opening from the east side, and with a further room opening off it, could also have been a chapel but shows no clear signs of such use. "In den handwerklichen Einzelheiten, Mauertechnik und Ziegelformen, unterscheiden sich die sichtbaren Reste dieser Ruine nicht von denen des Hauptbaues," he says (p. 138). The walls of the large room are thickly covered with Coptic graffiti, Christian in character [image 7], and the small apsidal chapel has a large cross on the wall. An example of these graffiti is given in this volume as Text **31**. There are benches all around the large room, and in the three smaller rooms leading from the entrance to the large room [image 8].

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[6] *Op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 123-38. My description here is based on this article and on visits to the site on 8 January 1999 and 15 January 2000, the latter time accompanied by Lynn Meskell.

[7] Color images of some buildings, landscapes, and objects mentioned in this paper are available at www.columbia.edu/cu/classics/personal/bagnall/hibis/index.html. These are indicated by references in brackets like the one given here.

[8] On the monastery of Epiphanius, see most recently the synthesis of L.S.B. MacCoull, "Prophethood, Texts, and Artifacts: The Monastery of Epiphanius," *GRBS* 39 (1998) 307-24.

[9] Reddé, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 383.

It seems to me beyond doubt that this valley building is religious in character, and the dispositions seem to suggest that it contained a small chapel with large waiting areas between the entrance and the chapel. Müller-Wiener, without the benefit of a clear view of the plan and fittings, was inclined to suggest a "Teilkloster (vielleicht für Frauen?)," but it may be as likely that this is a building for handling pilgrims to the shrine of the saint whose shrine lay in the lowest level of the building on the hill. At a much grander scale, the example of Saint Symeon in North Syria comes to mind, with its abundant facilities at the foot of the hill where the pillar and the four basilicas around it are situated.

North of the Deir Mustafa Kashef complex is a cluster of remains, partly funerary (on the lower reaches of the ridge), partly not (at the foot of the ridge). The funerary monuments were briefly described by Gascou and Wagner (14-5) under the name of Aïn Zaaf. Of the mud-brick construction in the plain they made no mention [image 9]. Müller-Wiener (139-40) mentions all of them and describes them briefly. Of the complex in the plain, he indicates that it was at the time of his inspection largely covered with sand. He speculates, however, that the entire group of remains at Aïn Zaaf was monastic in character and probably an offshoot of the monastery at Deir Mustafa Kashef. Since his time, the complex has been cleared but is now largely recovered by sand.[10] The plan, nonetheless, is still visible. It is larger than the valley complex at Deir Mustafa Kashef. Only a couple of rooms preserve now-visible plaster with graffiti, partly incised and partly painted. The exact nature of the complex is not evident to me, but the Coptic graffiti, which are manifestly Christian (ⲟⲩϧⲁⲓ ϩⲛ ⲡϧⲟⲉⲓⲥ, "health in the Lord!" occurs in one) do suggest a religious use.

Taken together, the constructions of the southwest quadrant of Gebel Teir are evidently all of late antique date and (unsurprisingly) all Christian. In part they are funerary, in part apparently monastic. There is no reason to see any part of them as military in character, and particularly no reason to think of Deir Mustafa Kashef, which is not even visible from Hibis, as that city's military camp.

2. The Nature of the Towers

The two towers are described briefly in the 1979 article on the basis of a short visit. Borg el Hammam is a square tower, 8 m on a side. It is located in the plain to the west of the ridge (Gebel Teir) on which is located Deir Mustafa Kashef, about one kilometer north of Tahunet el Hawa (see below) and about 2 kilometers to the west of Gebel Teir. The lowest level consisted of vaulted rooms, one of which (on the west side) Gascou and Wagner think provided the entrance in the original state of the building [image 10]. Above this level is one with "des niches carrées disposées en ordre régulier sur toute la surface des murs; ces niches semblent accréditer l'hypothèse selon laquelle il s'agirait d'un columbarium (cf. le nom arabe), un pigeonnier" [image 11]. They also note that in the immediate vicinity of this tower are the remains of six wells with a water-distribution network. What they do not remark is the extensive sherd cover of the surrounding fields.[11] Taken in conjunction with the water-distribution channels, the sherds suggest that the tower was the central building of a farm.[12] A similar building in the Dakhleh Oasis has

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[10] I have not been able to obtain any information about the excavations of this site, which were presumably the work of the local SCA office.

[11] Observed on a visit on 8 January 1999.

[12] Sherd cover can mean various things, depending on density. It is not likely that this tower is part of an otherwise disappeared village site, and the density of the sherds seems to me more consonant with the habit of carting garbage to the fields as fertilizer. There is extensive discussion of the subject; for recent comments with some bibliography, see B.A. Ault, *Hesperia* 68 (1999) 556-9. Colin Hope remarks (conversation of 10 January 1999) that villagers even in recent times have taken ancient sherds out to the fields to improve the tilth of the otherwise easily-compacted soil; this is not likely to be a modern development.

been published by A. J. Mills [image 12].[13] At the Dakhleh example, inside an enclosure wall stands a structure about 5 m square. At the lowest level are two vaulted rooms with separate entrances; above them is a columbarium. Mills sees this building as a combination of storage and pigeon-house, pigeons being valuable both for meat and for fertilizer. There are numerous additional such buildings in the Dakhleh Oasis, although none is as well-preserved as the one published by Mills.[14] It is most natural to see Borg el-Hammam, as Gascou and Wagner were also tempted to do, as such a farm tower.

If so, however, its role as a watchtower is dubious. The situation with Tahunet el Hawa ("the windmill" in Arabic) is somewhat less clear, because less of its inside structure and fittings has survived. It is about 5 x 7 m in dimensions and survives to a height of 11.5 m [image 13]. It is located about 1 kilometer south of Borg el Hammam (much closer than a relay station would require). The entry level, once again, consisted of vaulted rooms, of which only parts survive [image 14]. Above, one can see the emplacements for beams supporting four floors.[15] As with Borg el Hammam, this site offers a large amount of pottery [image 15]. To its south is a good-sized mound of sherds. To the east and immediately to the north are now sand dunes, but if one emerges to the north beyond the sand, in the direction of Borg el Hammam, the pottery cover resumes. It is hard to see why a watchtower (holding only a few men, as Gascou and Wagner note) would produce such an abundance of pottery. Moreover, all around in this plain are the remains of the checkerboard of ridges from abandoned cultivation; this feature is not limited to the area of Borg el Hammam. Before the coming of the sand dunes, the entire plain between the Gebel Teir and the escarpment bordering the oasis on the west was not barren, as it is today; much of it must have been under cultivation.[16] Given what we know of other towers, it seems far more plausible that Tahunet el Hawa was also a farm tower, perhaps the center of what is sometimes termed an *epoikion*, a large farmstead.[17]

3. Nadura: κάστρα Ἴβεως?

As noted above, Deir Mustafa Kashef is not visible from the town site of Hibis. When one stands in the remains of Hibis, in fact, there is one, and only one, high place with walls, the walled temple of Nadura, which is located just to the southeast of the Temple of Hibis. This temple is mentioned only in passing by Wagner (*Les oasis*, 157), but for the visitor to Hibis the perimeter wall is a dominant feature, towering over the site. The sandstone temple itself is not very large, about 12 x 21 m.[18] But, as Naumann says (p. 11), it "liegt in einer rechteckigen Lehmziegelumwallung auf einer die Landschaft weit überragenden

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[13] "The Dakhleh Oasis Columbarium Farmhouse," *Alexandrian Studies in Memoriam Daoud Abdu Daoud*. BSAlex 45 (Alexandria 1993) 193-8.

[14] I visited about a dozen of those in the western end of the Oasis on 9 January 2000 in the company of A.J. Mills and Lynn Meskell. All of those where the upper story is preserved are fitted for pigeons.

[15] Gascou and Wagner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 13-4.

[16] This point is noted by Müller-Wiener, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 138 with n. 3, stressing the virtually continuous spread of the signs of cultivation between the valley building of Deir Mustafa Kashef and the tower to the north (meaning Tahunet el Hawa rather than Borg el Hammam, I think).

[17] Reddé, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 381, for once abandoning skepticism, says "il s'agit naturellement d'un édifice militaire, servant au guet et à la signalisation, à la sortie nord de Kharga." This view is no doubt connected to his concept of Tahunet el Hawa as part of the chain of defenses along the road coming from Lykopolis, as he expresses it on p. 382. But that is incompatible with his depiction of the lines of communication in fig. 38 (p. 396), where he quite rightly shows the road from Hibis to Lykopolis running to the *east* of Gebel Teir. Tahunet el Hawa, to the contrary, would be part of a route leading to the *west* of Gebel Teir, to Um Dabadib and thence to Farafra.

[18] For a brief description see Rudolf Naumann, "Bauwerke der Oase Khargeh," *MDAIK* 8 (1939) 1-16 at 10-3 and Tafel 9.

Anhöhe." The major entrance was on the east side [image 16]; to the north of the gateway there are remains of a bastion; to the south of the gateway the wall is collapsed and the situation less obvious to the eye. This entrance does not quite align with the axis of the temple, which points toward the bastion. The wall is not especially impressive as such things go, and Naumann remarks that it "besteht aus verhältnismäßig schwachen Mauern, die fur militärische Zwecke sicher nicht geeignet waren." That does not mean, of course, that they were not eventually used for such purposes. Reddé notes that it is one of a number of temples with circuit walls, clearly not built as fortresses but which nonetheless "ont pu servir de points d'appui à un maillage défensif de l'Oasis, au Bas-Empire, mais sans constituer pour autant de véritables forteresses construites par et pour l'armée."[19] "Military purposes" are not all of one sort. Defense against assault or siege by a major army is not likely to have been the purpose of any military installation in the oases; protection against marauders is much more likely. However unimpressive these walls, those at Deir Mustafa Kashef are not (despite their height) much more substantial.

The site commands an unobstructed view of the entire eastern plain of the oasis, from the north to well south of Hibis [image 17]. The entire course of the north-south road can be seen as far as the eye can see. To the west, the view is again panoramic, with only the part of the plain to the northwest lying in the shadow of Gebel Teir not visible. It is difficult to imagine that the Roman military would fail to use this site for military purposes, given its proximity to the city and its commanding height. To say this is not to suppose that the entirety of the Ala I Abasgorum was stationed there; the dispersion of army units was normal.[20]

4. Κάστρον and Κάστρα

In *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 27 (1997) 43-54, Adam Łajtar discusses the meaning of the phrase τὸ κάστρον τῶν Μαύρων τὸ πλησίον Φιλῶν ("the *kastron* of the Mauroi near Philai") occurring in *P.Haun.* II 26. He seeks to show (44-5) that the singular κάστρον does not mean "army camp" as its plural κάστρα does, but rather refers to a settlement, albeit generally a fortified one: "eine Burg, Festung in oder neben einer Siedlung, in die sich die Einwohner bei fremdem Angriff flüchten konnten." It is this usage, he argues, that is the source of the Arabic *qasr*. κάστρον (*castrum*) "ist nicht mit dem Plural κάστρα (lat. *castra*) = 'Militärlager' zu verwechseln. In den griechischen Urkunden Ägyptens ist der Terminus κάστρα nur für das 3./5. Jh. belegt."

That κάστρον came to have this meaning, I do not doubt; indeed, I shall argue that this is the meaning in the passage of John Moschus mentioned earlier. But Łajtar's description of late antique Greek usage in Egypt is overly schematic. There is in fact clear evidence of the use of the singular to refer to a military installation. The following instances are known to me:

P.Oxy. XVI 1883.2, where a οὐικάριος κάστρου Ψώβθ(εως) is attested in 504. The same camp is mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2004, a fifth-century papyrus in which a *cornicularius* of the camp is mentioned (in this case κάστρ(ου) is abbreviated, but the other papyrus shows that this is the correct resolution). The Latin papyrus *CPR* V 13 mentions the *praef(ectus) k( ) Psoftis* in 395 and 396. The editor resolves *k(astri)* on the basis of the use of the singular elsewhere in the text. The appearance of the military titles shows that "camp" is the correct translation here.[21]

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[19] Reddé, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 382.

[20] Before making this point, Reddé, *ibid.*, 383 momentarily suggests that the the ala was at Ed Deir, to the northeast of Hibis. It seems most unlikely that the *Notitiae Dignitatum* would have referred to Ed Deir as Hibis.

[21] In G. Wagner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 197-8, we find an argument that this Psobthis is to be seen as the fortress of the metropolis of the Small Oasis. Wagner cites J. Gascou as proposing a date in the early fifth century for *P.Oxy.* 2004.

P.Cair.Masp. III 67296.3 (Antaiopolite), where a petitioner describes himself as ἀποπραιπο-c[(ίτου)] κάcτρου Π[--- τοῦ αὐτ]ο̣ῦ̣ νομοῦ in 535. The petitioner was certainly *praepositus* of a camp, not of a city or village.

P.Lond. IV 1433.18 and 276, where the κάcτρου Βαβυλ(ῶνοc) is mentioned. Although there was indeed a settlement at Babylon, it will not be disputed that this was a major military fortress and army camp.

Slightly more difficult is the attestation in *P.Laur.* I 33.2, a contract of 391 addressed to Νι]κήτῃ Cαρμάτου ἐπιμ[ε]λητῇ κάcτρου τῆc [. The lacuna at the start of line 3 deprives us of precise information about this κάcτρον. Nonetheless, the editor's view (note to line 3) that this must be a matter "delle forniture per l'esercito" must be correct. The parallel furnished by two ostraka from Douch is striking:

O.Douch III 218.6: ἐπιμελ(ητὴc) κάcτρ(ων) Ἴβεωc

O.Douch III 220.2-3: ἐπιμελιτὴc κάcτρων Ἴβεωc

Here the resolution is guaranteed by no. 220. The editors cite also no. 397 (then not yet published) as containing the phrase but do not give the precise form. This text has now appeared in *O.Douch* IV, and the text reads ἐπιμελιτ(ὴc) κάcτρων Ἴβεωc. The office is no doubt the same as that in the Laurenziana papyrus, but with a plural rather than singular (both readings can easily be checked on the plates provided). The exact date of the Douch ostraka is not known, but they will belong to the second half of the fourth century or the early fifth century.

In sum, it appears that in the period from the fourth to early eighth centuries the usage of these words was not yet fixed. Both singular and plural could refer to an army camp. The fact that such camps were routinely enclosed by walls, of varying degrees of strength, must have made the shift to using the term for a settlement surrounded by walls very easy. Just how early the singular became truly specialized with this meaning is difficult to say on present evidence, but it appears that the distinction was not firmly entrenched until at least the eighth century. The Copenhagen letter which forms the starting point for Łajtar 's inquiry is dated only palaeographically, to the 6th/7th century. At this period, the meanings may not have have diverged clearly, but even this remains to be shown.

In this light, a passage in John Moschus's *Pratum spirituale* cited by Guy Wagner as evidence for the military camp at Hibis is interesting. In this story (chapter 112, *PG* 87C, 2976-8; translation in *Sources Chrétiennes* 12, pp. 163-5), a number of monks in the Oasis are taken prisoner by the marauding Mazikes, not later than the time of the emperor Tiberius II (578-582). One of them is taken to the city, in order to try to get 24 solidi to ransom a group of elderly and ailing monks. But the bishop can find only 8 solidi, and the barbarian spokesman refuses this sum: ἢ δότε μοι κδ' νομίcματα ἢ μόναχον, he says: "either give me 24 solidi or a monk." The story proceeds, ἠναγκάcθηcαν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κάcτρου δοῦναι τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἰωάννην τῷ βαρβάρῳ, "so those from the *kastron* were obliged to give (back) Abba Ioannes to the barbarian." It is clear here that the *kastron* is the same as the *polis* already mentioned, and that it is the seat of the bishop.[22] It has nothing to do with an army camp. This passage is therefore not, despite Wagner, evidence for the camp at Hibis.[23] Rather, this is a clear instance of the use of the singular to refer to a town, the meaning posited by Łajtar.

To summarize: Hibis certainly had a military camp in the fourth century. How much earlier it existed, and how much later, is difficult to be certain. It was probably centered on, even if not limited to, the most visible strong point in the immediate vicinity of the city, namely the hill of Nadura with its

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[22] This passage is given a very approximate translation by William Dalrymple, *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey among the Christians of the Middle East* (New York 1998; first ed. London 1997) 451-2. Dalrymple suggests (451) that "the ruined temple [of Hibis] is almost certainly the site of the Lavra [the monastery] of the Great Oasis which Moschos mentions." He seems not to have known about Deir Mustafa Kashef and the other buildings in its area.

[23] Wagner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 171. On 397-8, by contrast, he recognizes that *polis* and *kastron* are the same.

mud-brick enclosure walls, probably sufficient for the purposes of the fort, which were local security and policing rather than defense against major military formations. The area to the west of the Gebel Teir, to the northwest of the city, included an extensive cultivated zone, with towers housing farm activities like pigeon-raising, and an area at the west edge of the Gebel Teir (and just north of the cemetery at Bagawat) full of monastic establishments. John Moschus uses the term *laura* to refer to one of these, but it is impossible to know if this was one of those the remains of which are visible today or not. Be that as it may, the desert terrain at this east side of the plain was typical monastic territory, in the desert but not very far from the cultivated land or the city. The walls of Deir Mustafa Kashef no doubt bear witness to exactly the insecurity depicted by John Moschus and the need to be secure against raids by small parties of marauders.

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 11-17

2. AURELIUS HORION AND THE CALPURNII: ELITE FAMILIES IN THIRD CENTURY OXYRHYNCHUS

(Alan K. Bowman)

There are few scholars who know and appreciate the wealth of information yielded by papyri from Oxyrhynchus for administrative and social history as well as the honorand of this volume and fewer still who have made a comparable contribution to understanding it. The present offering scratches the surface, in the form of a case-study, of the social history of the bouleutic class at Oxyrhynchus in the third century A.D.[1] It examines the evidence for the family or families of Aurelius Horion and the Calpurnii, some of which has been long available, more of which has appeared in later volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The identities and connections of members of these families have been discussed in dispersed commentaries and articles, but there has been no attempt to synthesise the information and to address various difficulties and uncertainties.[2] I hope that it will be useful to do that and to put this family group into the context of the bouleutic class at Oxyrhynchus in the third century, after the establishment of the metropolitan councils by Septimius Severus in 200/1.

I. Prosopography

As is so often the case with individuals and families, there is a good deal of information about people who are certainly or probably related, but the evidence often falls short of proof and many of the details are uncertain. In the following list I present the evidence for individuals whom I have identified as likely to belong to this family group, with comments which offer some hypotheses about their relationships and highlight the uncertainties. I have omitted a number of other people with the *nomen* Calpurnius, relatively unusual but not exceedingly rare, in second and third century texts from Oxyrhynchus. These are mainly either officials whom there is no reason to connect with this family, or names which occur in very fragmentary or vague contexts.[3]

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[1] For the administrative aspects, see A.K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*. ASP 11 (Toronto 1971) and cf. the comments of D.J. Crawford [Thompson] in *JRS* 64 (1974) 262. In what follows texts published in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* are cited by volume and publication number only. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated. I am very grateful to Dominic Rathbone who checked my data against his files and made many helpful comments.

[2] For some brief and provisional remarks, see A.K. Bowman, "Urbanization in Roman Egypt," in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformations and Failures*. JRA Suppl. 38 (2000) 186. Much of the detail is discussed by J.L. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996), see index s.v. Calpurnius, Calpurnia.

[3] E.g. Calpurnius Isidorus alias Harpokration, strategos of the Memphite (XXXVIII 2876 etc.), Calpurnius Concessus, epistrategos of the Heptanomia (J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. 2: *The Roman Epistrategos*. Pap. Col. 6 [Opladen 1982] 190 no. 58). Other Calpurnii: XIV 1640 (252), XLII 3083 (III), *PSI* IV 282 (183).

1. Calpurnius Aurelius Horion[4]

IV 705 = *WChr.* 153 = *CPJud.* II 450 (200-2). Formerly strategos and archidikastes of Alexandria. Copies of two petitions to the emperors from Aurelius Horion requesting permission to make benefactions.

XXXVIII 2848 (225). Extract from the records of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων referring to the endowment given to the city by Aurelius Horion and his sons (therefore at least two, see nos. 3 and 4) and Calpurnius Firmus (no. 2).

PSI XII 1255 (III). Notification of cessions of land to the bibliophylakes from Calpurnius Firmus (no. 2) and Calpurnius Aurelius Horion, formerly agoranomos and eutheniarch and strategos of Alexandria and presbeutes and archidikastes. Contains a retrospective reference to "year 8" of Septimius Severus (= 199/200).

XII 1560 (209). Formerly strategos of Alexandria and in charge of the euthenia, presbeutes and archidikastes. The *nomen* Calpurnius might, with some difficulty over the *nu*, be read in line 13 and restored in lines 10 and 15 (see L 3564.1n). Application for registration of a contract made by Horion through his oikonomos Philoromaios.

*P.Iand.*99 = *SB* XII 10918 (early III). A letter from the oikonomos Philoromaios addressed Καλπουρνίῳ τῷ ἀξιολογωτάτῳ.

2. Calpurnius Firmus[5]

PSI XII 1255 (III). Calpurnius Firmus, formerly kosmetes and antarchidikastes of Alexandria, linked with Calpurnius Aurelius Horion in a notification about cessions of land to the bibliophylakes from Calpurnius Firmus and Calpurnius Aurelius Horion, formerly agoranomos and eutheniarch and strategos of Alexandria and presbeutes and archidikastes. Contains a retrospective reference to "year 8" (= 199/200).

PSI XII 1252 (III). Aurelius Calpurnius Firmus. Formerly kosmetes and eutheniarch of Alexandria. Dated in "year 2," perhaps 217/8.

XXXVIII 2848 (225). Loan made by official in charge of administering the funds from the benefaction of Aurelius Horion and his sons and Calpurnius Firmus.

3. C. Calpurnius Aurelius Theon[6]

L 3564 (235). Member of the Museum. Father of Calpurnia Heraklia (no. 11).

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[4] The general consensus, which I follow here, is that the texts listed all refer to the same man, with variations in the nomenclature and titulature, in the earliest identifiable generation of this family group. *P.Gen.* II 116 (247) refers to land in the village of Pela belonging to the heirs of Aurelius Horion and another parcel formerly belonging to Calpurnius Petronianus (see no. 4). On *P.Iand.*99 = *SB* XII 10918, see H. Geremek, "P.Iandana 99: Italian Wines in Egypt," *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 159-71, D.W. Rathbone, "Italian Wines in Roman Egypt," *Opus* 2 (1983) 81-94, esp. 90-1, and on the epithet ἀξιολογώτατος, a non-specific term denoting high rank, Geremek, 162-4.

[5] The link with Aurelius Horion and his family is clear but its exact nature remains uncertain. It has been suggested that two families were linked by adoption (so L 3564.1n). It is perhaps not impossible that that they were brothers or half-brothers, although if this were the case one might expect it to be stated in XXXVIII 2848. *P.Iand.* 99 = *SB* XII 10918, addressed simply to "Calpurnius" (see under no. 1) has sometimes been thought to be to this man rather than to Calpurnius Aurelius Horion, which would imply a joint connection with the writer, Philoromaios the oikonomos.

[6] The museum: N. Lewis, "Literati in the Service of Roman Emperors: Politics before Culture," in L. Casson and M. Price (eds.), *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World* (Detroit 1981) 156, no. 26 = N. Lewis, *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt: Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis.* Am.Stud.Pap. 33 (Atlanta 1995) 257-74. The likelihood that he is the son of no. 1 is strengthened by the fact that L 3564 is a note addressed to an official of Senekeleu, one of the villages mentioned in IV 740 (see below, p. 15). *P.Strasb.* I 31 (assigned to II/III) has a reference to a building "formerly belonging to Calpurnius Theon, former ζυγοστάτης of the Letopolite," see R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 129.

4. Calpurnius Petronianus[7]

XXXIV 2705 (c. 225). Ἀξιολογώτατος ἔναρχος ἀρχιδικαστής.

XXXIV 2706 (III). Ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων.

PSI VII 733 (235). Tax account.

XIV 1764 (III). Ἀξιολογώτατος Καλπούρνιος. Incomplete letter referring to his impending arrival.

5. C. Calpurnius Lucius[8]

XLIV 3173 (222). Prytanis of the boule of Oxyrhynchus in 221/2. The reading of the *cognomen* is uncertain but it is not Firmus. Request for payment addressed to him.

6. Calpurnius Gaius

LI 3606 (228). Prytanis of the boule of Oxyrhynchus in 228/9. An official municipal record, which makes the identification with no. 7 likely.

7. L. Calpurnius Gaius

XXXIV 2723 (III). Ex-eutheniarch, ex-kosmetes, bouleutes of Alexandria, gymnasiarch and prytanis-in-office of the boule of Oxyrhynchus. Father of Calpurnius Firmus (no. 9). Sale of a vineyard.

8. C. Calpurnius Firmus[9]

SB XVI 12494 (222-235), prytanis of the boule at Oxyrhynchus. Declaration about property addressed to him.

9. L. Calpurnius Firmus

XXIV 2723 (III). Lucius Calpurnius Firmus, a minor, son of L. Calpurnius Gaius. Sale of a vineyard.

PSI XII 1256 (III). Lucius Calpurnius Firmus, perhaps the father of a discharged legionary (no. 10). Context fragmentary.

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[7] No connection can be conclusively proved but the date and the post of archidikastes at Alexandria, held by other members of this family group, is suggestive (cf. XXXIV 2705.3n). The probability that he was one of the sons of Aurelius Horion is enhanced by the fact that he is known to have owned land in the villages of Pela and Paomis (*P.Gen.* II 116), both of which appear in IV 740 (recto of IV 705), and are surely therefore villages in which Horion and his sons had land (see below, p. 15).

[8] Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 are evidently linked but the variation in the elements and order of the names is confused and confusing, compounded by the fact that the Roman *praenomina* can also be used as *cognomina* (see LI 3606.4n) The hypothesis which uses the evidence most economically is that these four references all concern one person whose name might therefore be C. Calpurnius Lucius Firmus or C. Calpurnius Firmus alias Lucius. Another possibility, which I have adopted in presenting the stemmata below, is that we have two persons, Lucius Calpurnius Gaius or Gaius Calpurnius Lucius, twice prytanis (nos. 5, 6, and 7) and C. Calpurnius Firmus, once prytanis (no. 8). In either case, it seems likely that we are dealing with one or two sons of Calpurnius Firmus (no. 2). The date of the presidency of the boule in XXXIV 2723 is not stated; thought likely to be 221/2 in Bowman, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 61-5, 131, but the subsequent publication of LI 3606 makes 228/9 equally possible if nos. 5, 6 and 7 are one and the same man (cf. *P.Oxy.* LI, pp. 12-3).

[9] See R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 130.

10. Anonymous

PSI XII 1256 (III) Perhaps a discharged legionary, son of no. 9.

11. Calpurnia Heraklia

XLII 3047-8 (245/6). Wealthy landowner, daughter of no. 3. Declarations of uninundated land (3047) and stocks of corn (3048).

*P.Erl.*101 (269). Reference to a plot of land formerly belonging to Calpurnia.

12. Calpurnius Horion[10]

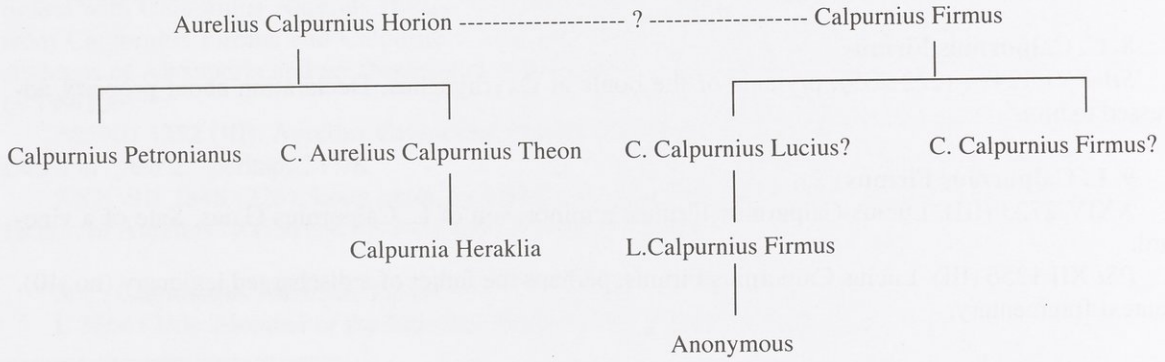
XXXI 2568 (264). Ἀξιολογώτατος εἰρηνάρχης. Acknowledgment of the return of a boat addressed to him.

P.Harr. II 201 (c. 267). Calpurnius Hor[ion]. A sworn declaration addressed to him.

XL 2898 etc. Ex-exegetes (XL 2938), hypomnematographos, bouleutes of Alexandria, neokoros of Sarapis, ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων. Documents connected with the administration of the corn-dole.

LXI 4119 (c. 270). Hypomnematographos. Order from him to komarchs of various villages.

These conjectural identifications and relationships would yield the following linked family stemmata:



II. Wealth and status

It hardly needs emphasising that we are here dealing with a family, or two linked families, of great wealth in the economic spectrum represented at Oxyrhynchus in the third century. The starting point is the text containing copies of two petitions of Aurelius Horion to the emperors (IV 705, 200-2), in which he requests permission to make one benefaction of 10,000 Attic drachmas (= 10,000 denarii or 40,000 drachmas/HS) to establish ephebic games in memory of the victory over the Jews and another to relieve the burden of liturgies on the inhabitants of villages in the nome in which he and his sons owned es-

[10] It seems very probable that he is related to Calpurnia Heraklia (no. 11) and, if my reconstruction of the family connections is close to the mark, the reappearance of the Horion element in the nomenclature will also be significant. The precise relationship is impossible to prove. He could be her son if either (a) the normal rules of Roman nomenclature did not apply or (b) Calpurnia Heraklia's husband was also a Calpurnius, perhaps from the other family group (nos. 5-10). Alternatively, he might be her (much younger?) brother, or her nephew or cousin (so perhaps the son of Calpurnius Petronianus [no. 4]). In view of the uncertainty, I have not included him in the stemma.

tates.[11] IV 740 (which is the recto of IV 705 and refers to "year 9," presumably 200/1 and predating the text on the verso) contains an account of corn from various villages and they must surely be those in which Aurelius Horion says, in his petition, that he and his sons own land.[12] The impression of wealth is reinforced by the prominence of vineyards and wine-production in the documents which suggests very wealthy agriculturalists who, as Rathbone puts it in relation to the Fayum estate of Appianus, may be in the same league as magnates of equestrian or even senatorial status in other provinces.[13] The original benefactions which Horion made were quite considerable but they must subsequently have grown very significantly since the officials in charge of the investment were able to make a loan from capital of 12 talents and 1700 drachmas (= 89,000 drachmas/HS) in A.D. 225 (XXXVIII 2848); by this time Calpurnius Firmus was associated in the endowment and it may be his contribution which accounts for the increase in value.

The evidence for the landholdings of Calpurnia Heraklia, conjectured to be the granddaughter of Aurelius Calpurnius Horion, shows that her family wealth had been accumulated over a considerable time: some parts of her very extensive holdings of uninundated land had been in the family's possession since the reign of Tiberius, others were "(registered) to those of the house of the deified Vespasian and Titus," suggesting acquisition of parcels of former patrimonial land (XLII 3047).[14] The piecemeal acquisition of parcels of public or imperially owned land by private families is an interesting phenomenon which may be one key to understanding the development of large, privately owned estates like that of Appianus in the Fayum.[15] In the case here under discussion, there may be some further evidence of this trend in a text which concerns the cession of relatively small parcels of land to Aurelius Horion and Calpurnius Firmus.[16] Clearly we possess evidence for only part of Calpurnia Heraklia's property in the 240's. The uninundated land totalled over 1700 arourae, situated in five villages of the Eastern and Lower toparchies; her declaration of stocks of corn (XLII 3048) reveals a total of 5045 artabas uncommitted, in five villages, only one of which also occurs in her land declaration. The total of her holdings in all categories will have been a more than adequate basis for the equestrian property qualification which the status of her putative relative, Calpurnius Horion, required.[17]

The social and administrative status of the family group is also of considerable interest, even if important questions remained unanswered. The prominence of important local magistracies and offices at Alexandria is clear, some of which, particularly those of strategos and archidikastes (nos. 1, 2, 4), required active participation and could not have been merely symbolic.[18] It is striking that Aurelius Horion

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[11] K.J. Rigsby, "Sacred Ephebic Games at Oxyrhynchus," *Cd'É* 52 (1977) 147-55.

[12] The list includes villages in all three toparchies: Mermertha, Seryphis, Pela, Paomis, Senekeleu, Tholthis, Kesmouchis, cf. the map in Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) xiv.

[13] The imported Italian wines mentioned in *P.Iand.* 99 were very expensive; see Geremek, Rathbone, *op.cit* (above, n. 4). Purchase of 102 keramia of wine by Calpurnius Firmus in *PSI* XII 1252; purchase of a relatively large vineyard by the minor L. Calpurnius Firmus (no. 9) through his father (no. 7), cf. Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 196. D.W. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third Century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge 1991) 388-9. Note also the unpublished evidence for lease of vineyards, XLII 3047.2n.

[14] Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 50, 133, whose interpretation I here follow.

[15] See Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) ch. 3.

[16] *PSI* XII 1255. There may be a reference to imperial estates in line 4, but the text is unfortunately too lacunose to be certain. The acquisition of imperial land by members of the family would be particularly interesting in view of Horion's reference to the abandonment of imperial land by the cultivators (IV 705.iii.74).

[17] *P.Gen.* II 116 (247), almost exactly contemporary with the declaration of Heraklia, refers to land of the heirs of Aurelius Horion (l. 26) and land formerly belonging to Calpurnius Petronianus (l. 30). Cf. Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 196-7.

[18] A.K. Bowman and D.W. Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt," *JRS* 82 (1992) 116-7.

and Calpurnius Firmus, active in the earliest generation, c. 200 and after, with Roman citizenship acquired before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, show only Alexandrian offices in their titulature.[19] Before 200, when metropolitan councils did not exist, they will not have had the opportunity of the status and prestige attached to high local office. The close chronological match can hardly be coincidental and it is therefore difficult to avoid connecting Horion's petition with the spirit which gave rise to the foundation of the metropolitan boulai: he proposes the establishment of ephebic games, in which the Antinoites also participate,[20] in memory of the victory over the Jews, the alleviation of the burden of rural liturgies and refers to the εὔνοια, πίστις and φιλία of Oxyrhynchus to the Romans, a pro-Roman attitude, matching his citizen status, which is perhaps also reflected in the very rare name of his oikonomos, Philoromaios; this looks like a deliberate attempt on someone's part to make a statement about pro-Roman attitudes and loyalties.[21]

Among those of the next generation, active some twenty years after the foundation of the metropolitan boulai by Septimius Severus in 200, bouleutic offices at Oxyrhynchus, including the presidency of the council (nos. 6, 7, 8, 9), are prominent in addition to Alexandrian magistracies (no. 7) and these too clearly required personal participation. Calpurnius Horion (no. 12), in the last generation attested, is of equestrian status, holds Alexandrian offices and is also very active in local administration, first as irenarch and then as hypomnematographos dealing with problematic cases of registration for the corn-dole at Oxyrhynchus.[22] It is a fact worth emphasising that a person of high status with a very large local property interest remained very active in administration at Oxyrhynchus in the period 260-270.[23]

It hardly needs restating that the evidence for our family, or two linked families, shows wealth and status well above the normal run of the metropolitan elite in the towns of Egypt. That wealth was of material benefit to Oxyrhynchus, both in the form of euergetism, as exemplified by Horion's benefactions, and local public service performed by the members of the family or families. Despite our uncertainty about the exact relationship between Aurelius Horion and Calpurnius Firmus and their descendants, it is evident that they must illustrate the existence of a nexus of wealthy, interconnected families in the third-century metropoleis. One of Calpurnia Heraklia's epitropoi in her land declaration (XLII 3047) was Aurelius Pekyllos alias Theon, twice prytanis of the boule at Oxyrhynchus in the reign of Severus Alexander. It is striking that three texts (published as *PSI* XII 1252, 1255 and 1256) were found at Kom Ali Gamman in Oxyrhynchus with the literary papyri published in *PSI* XI, the "family library" of Sarapion alias Apollonianus, strategus of the Arsinoite in the first decade of the third century.[24] Such

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[19] We do not know when or how the Roman citizenship was acquired. It is worth noting that the list of archidikastai shows several who had been equestrian commanders of auxiliary units, see A. Calabi, "L'ἀρχιδικαστής nei primi tre secoli della dominazione romana," *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 411-24. The only military connection in the evidence for our family or families is the fragmentary reference in *PSI* XII 1256 (III) to a discharged legionary.

[20] See Rigsby, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11).

[21] It is perhaps worth wondering whether he was a freedman of Horion (cf. n. 23, below), in which case the deliberate intent could be ascribed to his former owner and *patronus*. There is no direct evidence for his status, though oikonomoi of large estates were often of high status, see Rathbone, *op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 14.

[22] The hypomnematographos is an Alexandrian official; see J. Whitehorne, "The Hypomnematographos in the Roman Period," *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 101-25, esp. 111-3, explaining the involvement of the Alexandrian civic magistrate in the Oxyrhynchite dole by the fact that he deals with problematical rather than routine registrations.

[23] The status and the involvement can be strikingly paralleled in Hermopolis at the same period in the person of Aurelius Corellius Alexander (*CPHerm.* 66 etc.), an ex-equestrian military officer (ἱππικὸς ἀπὸ στρατιῶν). Note also that XL 2938 has Calpurnius Eusebius, the agent of Calpurnius Horion, described as ἱππικὸς πραγματευτής; perhaps a freedman of the family wealthy enough to have the equestrian property qualification himself (see Rathbone, *op.cit.* [above, n. 13] 46, n. 4).

[24] For Pekyllos-Theon, see *P.Oxy.* LI, pp. 12-3. For Sarapion alias Apollonianus, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*. Pap. Flor. 15 (Florence 1987) 53 and cf. Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 111.

connections between elite families could doubtless be paralleled many times over in cities of the Roman east and the metropoleis of Egypt.

Members of this family group strikingly exhibit a high profile both at Alexandria and at Oxyrhynchus. Were they originally Alexandrians who acquired land at Oxyrhynchus or upwardly mobile Oxyrhynchites who obtained Alexandrian and then Roman citizenship, the former being, as is well-known, a prerequisite of the latter?[25] There are clearly examples of both phenomena in Roman Egypt, but in many cases it is difficult to tell to which category the particular individual or family belongs. On balance, the present family group seems likely to be an example of the upwardly mobile Oxyrhynchite elite, but the evidence falls short of absolute proof.[26]

The involvement in administration at Oxyrhynchus is however strongly suggestive of a local origin.[27] Whichever is the case, the family or families of Aurelius Horion and Calpurnius Firmus provide important evidence for the great wealth and status of locally based elite families, for the uses to which that wealth was put in the metropoleis and for one important aspect of the dynamics of the relationship between Alexandria and the nome-capitals in the third century.

Christ Church, Oxford

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[25] Bowman and Rathbone, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 116, D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship During the Roman Principate*. Am. Class. Stud. 23 (Atlanta 1991) 39-45.

[26] Bowman and Rathbone, *op.cit.* (above, n. 18) 127, n. 107; Oxyrhynchite ancestry shown in XXXIV 2723: Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 182.

[27] Whitehorne, *loc.cit.* (above, n. 22), emphasising the reflected prestige which the metropolis could claim from the upward mobility and success of one of its leading citizens.

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[2] E.A. Lo
Paläographie d
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[3] Courriel

[4] *P.Rain.*
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[5] D'autres
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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 19-23

3. SUR LA DATE DU *PATER NOSTER* DE VIENNE: *P.Rain. Unterricht* 184

(Jean Gascou)

Amulette ou exercice scolaire, le *Pater Noster* latin muni d'une translittération grecque interlinéaire *P.Vindob.* L 91, actuel *P.Rain. Unterricht* 184, témoigne d'une connaissance ou d'un effort d'apprentissage du latin en Égypte à une époque avancée. Vu sa formulation, il témoigne aussi de la circulation dans ce pays de la version dite *Vetus Latina* de la Bible latine, antérieure à la Vulgate.[1] Deux titres donc à une sorte de notoriété, titres qui seraient fortement rehaussés si nous connaissions la provenance du feuillet et si nous pouvions en préciser la date. Sur le premier point, les spécialistes ont varié. On a d'abord évoqué le Fayoum,[2] puis, dans l'édition *P.Rain. Unterricht* 184 (mais avec une marque d'interrogation), l'Hermopolite. Au vu de renseignements complémentaires aimablement communiqués par H. Harrauer, cette dernière provenance paraît en effet la plus probable: "Unser 'Pater noster' Papyrus (P.Unterricht 184) kam 1886 mit den Ankäufen aus dem Hermopolites nach Wien. Diese Information ist konkret folgende: Auf dem Papierumschlag, in den das Objekt von Karl Wessely gelegt wurde, ist notiert: 'ex 1886.' Der Ankauf im Jahre 1886 war der sogenannte 'Kauf Hermupolis.' Es gibt keinen Grund, diese Angabe a priori für unrichtig zu halten. Es gibt allerdings die Unsicherheit, dass die Herkunft fuer jedes dieser Objekte auch korrekt ist. Daher in unserer Publikation: 'Hermopolites ?' "[3]

Quant à la date de toute manière tardive, je vois proposés le Ve/VIe ou le VIe siècles (VIe en dernier lieu dans *P.Rain. Unterricht* 184), essentiellement d'après le critère de l'écriture, critère se combinant implicitement à certaines vues sur la diffusion du latin dans l'Orient byzantin. Sur cette question de la date, je crois qu'un élément externe négligé jusqu'à présent peut être ajouté avec profit au dossier.

Les derniers éditeurs du *Pater* digraphe de Vienne ont remarqué qu'il était consigné de l'autre côté d'un prôtokollon estampillé dont ils procurent opportunément la planche.[4] Il convient tout d'abord de saluer leur perspicacité car il n'y avait là rien qui tombât sous le sens. Ne relevant alors d'aucun modèle répertorié, très mutilée, l'estampille était particulièrement difficile à reconnaître comme telle.[5]

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[1] Pour la bibliographie du papyrus, voir B. Rochette, *Le latin dans le monde grec* (Bruxelles 1997) 152, n. 391. Ajouter P. Petitmengin, "Les plus anciens manuscrits de la Bible latine," dans J. Fontaine et Ch. Pietri (eds.), *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Paris 1985) 92. L'édition de base est celle d'A. Martin, "*P.Vindob.* L. 91, un fragment du *Pater* latin," *Latomus* 42 (1983) 412-8. Pour la liste des attestations isolées du *Pater* en Egypte, voir *P.Oxy.* LX 4010 et intr.

[2] E.A. Lowe, *Cod. Lat.Ant.* X, n° 1533, indique "discovered probably in the Fayûm," hypothèse reprise par R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* II.2 (Stuttgart 1981) n° 47, van Haelst, *Cat.*, n° 1206, R. Cavenaile, "Le latin dans les milieux chrétiens d'Egypte," *Miscel.lània Roca-Puig* (Barcelona 1987) 107.

[3] Courriel du 25 février 2000.

[4] *P.Rain. Unterricht*, pl. 82. Ils tirent argument de ce fait (entre autres raisons plus positives) pour lui refuser la qualité d'amulette. Ce cas se présente à vrai dire aussi pour la prière *P.Oxy.* XVI 1928 (van Haelst, *Cat*, n° 183) texte généralement considéré comme une amulette, mais cette question n'importe guère au présent propos. [On amuletic *Pater Noster* texts, see also *P.Col.* XI 293, intro. –RSB]. Pour un autre texte chrétien consigné au dos d'un prôtokollon, voir *PSI* I 65 (van Haelst, *Cat.*, n° 1174), avec les observations de R. Pintaudi, "Una nota a PSI I 65," *ZPE* 56 (1984) 137-8.

[5] D'autres ont en effet parlé d'un croquis (ainsi *Cod.Lat.Ant.* X, n° 1533: "part of a sketch is seen on the papyrological verso") ou d'un "dessin" (van Haelst, *Cat.*, n° 106) .

Fig. I: P.Unterricht 184 "recto"

Conscient des problèmes de datation qu'elle soulevait, je ne l'ai pas prise en considération dans la typologie que j'ai jointe à la mise au point que J. Diethart, D. Feissel et moi-même avons récemment produite sur les prôtokolla,[6] lui réservant une étude spéciale, la présente étude que j'offre avec plaisir à mon vieil ami David Thomas, en hommage admiratif à ses compétences particulières sur le christianisme antique et sur la paléographie latine.

Dans son état présent, le feuillet viennois ne conserve que la partie centrale de l'estampille originelle. Les bords gauche et droit sont largement mutilés. Le bord supérieur paraît intact. On ne peut se prononcer aisément sur l'état du bord inférieur, mais d'après la kollèsis observable au "recto" (c'est-à-dire du côté du *Pater*) et dûment signalée dans l'édition *P.Rain. Unterricht* 184, l'estampille semble avoir débordé quelque peu sur le feuillet qui, dans le rouleau d'où notre prôtokollon a été tiré, lui était immédiatement affixé. Ces petits empiètements ne sont pas rares. On peut en conclure que le champ de l'estampille s'arrêtait là ou en tout cas que nous n' avons pas perdu grand-chose en bas.

Quant à l'estampille elle-même, elle remplissait largement, d'un trait épais et dû peut-être à un pinceau, l'espace disponible sur le feuillet, selon la mise en page propre aux prôtokolla des époques justinienne et postérieures. On peut en décrire les éléments comme suit en partant du haut: (i) Une macule ou un point; (ii) Un trait horizontal, interrompu à gauche par la mutilation et se terminant à droite par une crosse s'incurvant vers le bas; (iii) Cinq lignes étroites de hachures très serrées, reliées par le sommet et inclinées vers la droite. Leurs larges interlignes sont remplis par quatre rangées de barres de même orientation mais beaucoup plus espacées, non reliées et pourvues à leur sommet et à droite d'une sorte de harpon; (iv) Une ligne de texte de la même main que les éléments précédents, mutilée comme les autres, mais où on reconnaît, en majuscules (mode lui-aussi caractéristique des prôtokolla justiniens et postjustiniens), la séquence]OYΛ̣[.

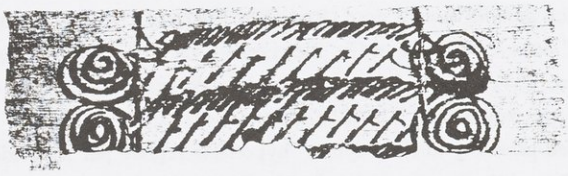

Fig. II: *Epiphanius* II 174

Si on réserve l'interprétation de la dernière ligne (j'y reviendrai néanmoins), on ne peut manquer d'être frappé par la similitude entre notre document et un prôtokollon du dossier du monastère de la rive gauche thébaine dit d'Epiphane.[7] L'estampille est incomplète en haut et en bas, mais intacte à gauche et à droite.On y note comme chez nous une succession de trois lignes de hachures serrées avec deux rangées intercalaires de barres à harpons inclinées. Ce dispositif est limité de part et d'autre par deux traits verticaux flanqués chacun, dans les marges, de deux volutes tangentes entre elles.

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[6] "Les *prôtokolla* des papyrus byzantins du Ve au VIIe siècle," *Tyche* 9 (1994) 9-40.

[7] *Epiphanius* II, n° 174, pl. 5. Faute de parallèles, l'éditeur, W.E. Crum, avait bien évoqué l'hypothèse d'un prôtokollon, mais en l'assortissant d'importantes réserves.

Fig. III: Prôtokollon de Khirbat al-Mird

Le deuxième parallèle vient de Khirbat al-Mird en Palestine et a été publié par A. Grohmann, célèbre papyrologue arabisant et spécialiste non moins éminent des prôtokolla, dans son édition des papyrus arabes trouvés sur le site de cette laure, encore que Grohmann l'ait rangé dans la catégorie des "byzantine protocols."[8] Très mutilée à gauche, en haut et en bas, la pièce forme un triangle rectangle découpé intentionnellement dont le petit côté coïncide avec le bord droit de l'estampille et dont l'hypoténuse tranche en diagonale le champ de l'estampille. C'est assez néanmoins pour identifier deux lignes de hachures serrées et peut-être, en bas, les vestiges d'une troisième, avec deux intercalations de barres à harpons, le tout étant limité à droite par un trait vertical flanqué de deux volutes tangentes. Ne connaissant pas le prôtokollon du monastère d'Epiphane, Grohmann estimait avoir affaire avec ce fragment à un type nouveau.

Tout en regrettant ne ne pas pouvoir en publier une photographie, je signale enfin dans le genre un fragment de prôtokollon conservé à la salle des papyrus de l'IFAO dans les tiroirs où sont déposées les trouvaillles textuelles de B. Bruyère pendant ses fouilles de Klysma (Suez). Les textes de Suez sont de dates diverses, mais le plus souvent très tardifs (VIe/VIIe s.). En particulier, un des rares papyrus publiés est de 591/602.[9]

De ce type, voici à présent quatre attestations, ce qui est fort peu en soi mais suffisant pour identifier une famille de prôtokolla qui n'avait pas encore été bien isolée.[10] En combinant les données partielles de nos timbres, on peut supposer que le prototype comportait cinq lignes de hachures, quatre rangs intercalaires de barres à harpons, avec à gauche et à droite deux traits verticaux flanqués chacun de deux volutes.[11] D'après le document de Vienne, pouvaient s'ajouter en haut d'autres éléments qu'on ne peut actuellement restituer. Quant à la ligne de grec de ce document, vu sa place, on serait tenté d'y voir une sorte de supplément et pas nécessairement un élément originel, constant ou obligatoire.

Type nouveau sans doute et sans illustration complète, mais il n'est pas difficile de reconnaître dans les cinq lignes de hachures une stylisation particulière des prôtokolla à cinq ou six lignes post justiniens, lignes qui ont fini en effet, à mesure que les estampilles tournaient à la pseudo-écriture, par se transformer en hachures indifférenciées, ou encore, pour employer la terminologie prisée des spécialistes, en Schraffenschrift. Les volutes latérales sont relativement aisées à expliquer: elles doivent descendre d'anciens signes initiaux ou finaux souvent très développés dans les prôtokolla post-justiniens et qui ont résisté tenacement à l'uniformisation de la Schraffenschrift, ainsi le phi initial, vestige du gentilice Φλαύιος du comte des largesses sacrées, agent au nom duquel étaient encore émis au début du règne de Justinien les derniers timbres véritablement écrits, ou encore le δ de la préposition abrégée διά, introduisant les subrogés du *CSL*. Les volutes de droite peuvent garder le souvenir de consonnes barrées (xi, tau)

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[8] A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet el-Mird* (Louvain-Leuven 1963) n° 1 et pl. 3. Dans les faits, le document qui nous occupe est l'unique représentant produit par Grohmann de sa catégorie collective des "Byzantine protocols."

[9] *SB* VI 9547 (voir *BL* VIII).

[10] Voir mes remarques de *Tyche* 9 (1994) 34, sur les pièces des monastères d'Epiphane et de Khirbat al-Mird. Ma description d'alors aurait gagné à intégrer les données de *P.Rain. Unterricht* 184.

[11] D'après les "blancs" d'*Epiphanius* II 174 et du document de Khirbat al-Mird, il ne semble pas qu'il ait pu y avoir plus de deux volutes à droite et à gauche.

abrégeant le prédicat ἐνδοξότατος habituel alors pour le *CSL* et pour le duc d'Egypte, autre haut personnage figurant dans les derniers modèles lisibles.[12]

Donc, un type dont la filiation se reconnaît avec un peu d'attention, mais néanmoins très évolué, très stylisé, très éloigné des timbres du début du règne de Justinien et de ce fait nécessairement très tardif, en plein accord avec la chronologie du monastère d'Epiphane et du site de Khirbat al-Mird.

Selon l'opinion courante, le monastère d'Epiphane a fleuri de la fin du VIe siècle au milieu du VIIe. Dans les faits, les indices chronologiques les plus positifs, comme les quelques dates absolues recueillies dans des inscriptions ou dans des papyrus ou encore les mentions de personnages connus par ailleurs (ainsi l'évêque Pesenthios de Coptos ou son homologue Abraham d'Hermonthis), nous renvoient aux règnes de Phocas et d'Héraclius et à l'occupation sassanide, c'est-à-dire au début du VIIe siècle. Il est certain d'autre part, d'après *KRU* 75, que le monastère était encore en activité vers le milieu du même siècle, encore qu'on n'y ait rien trouvé qui fasse allusion aux Arabes.[13] Les trouvailles de Khirbat al-Mird sont d'une époque très avancée comme en témoignent les papyrus arabes édités par Grohmann. Quelques codex grecs chrétiens de Khirbat al-Mird sont il est vrai attribués au Ve ou au VIe s.,[14] mais les papyrus grecs publiés récemment par J. van Haelst et qui, parce qu'ils comptent plusieurs documents, témoignent mieux de la floraison actuelle de la laure, sont tous postérieurs à la conquête arabe.[15] Grohmann estime que le prôtokollon de Khirbat al-Mird "was certainly used in the Early Arab or in the late Byzantine periods."

Il me semble donc que le prôtokollon de Vienne, comme ses semblables, ne peut guère être antérieur à l'extrême fin du VIe siècle ou au début du siècle suivant. Peut-être même est-il encore plus tardif au vu de sa dernière ligne en grec. Ce trait est singulier. Il contredit toute l'évolution connue des timbres byzantins post-justiniens qui tend à l'élimination complète des anciennes données textuelles. Ne faut-il pas y voir la conséquence d'un changement institutionnel ou politique qui serait intervenu au VIIe siècle dans l'administration de l'Egypte et qui aurait pu se traduire en particulier dans le mode de timbrage des rouleaux de papyrus? On songe évidemment à l'occupation sassanide de 619/629, mais il serait encore plus tentant d'envisager la haute époque arabo-islamique. On sait en effet, depuis les travaux de Grohmann,[16] qu'à compter de 693 ou 695/696 les Arabes ont réintroduit le grec dans les prôtokolla, encore que toujours dans des formulations bilingues présentant d'assez nombreuses variantes et où le grec sert à traduire des expressions de piété musulmane ou les noms des califes et gouverneurs du moment.[17] N'étant apparemment pas un bilingue, notre document n'a guère de chance d'appartenir à une époque si tardive, mais il pourrait représenter un premier témoin de l'effort des conquérants pour rendre plus visible leur domination.

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[12] Un bon jalon intermédiaire serait fourni en la matière par la partie droite du prôtokollon de Qarara (*VBP* IV 88, pl. 2) où s'amorcent nettement, à partir de pseudo-formes abrégées, de telles volutes.

[13] Voir la discussion de W.E. Crum, *Epiphanius* I, 98-103. On ne peut faire grand cas, pour la chronologie du monastère, de copies ou d'allusions à des oeuvres de l'archevêque Damien (578-605).

[14] Van Haelst, *Cat.*, n°s 370 (VIe s.), 387 (VIe s.), 483 (Ve s.); en revanche sont postérieurs 277 (environ 700) et 769 (VIIe - VIIIe s.)

[15] *AncSoc* 22 (1991) 297-317.

[16] Voir son *CPR* III 1, dont il a répété plusieurs fois les conclusions par la suite.

[17] A. Grohmann, "Zum Papyrusprotokoll in früharabischer Zeit," *JÖB* 9 (1960) 5-13, estime avoir identifié un bilingue des années 661-674, mais ses arguments sont peu convaincants. Les parties grecques du texte sont entièrement restituées.

Comme le gouverneur arabe de l'Égypte a porté dès le début le titre de cύμβουλοc, il serait même fort tentant de restituer, dans le document de Vienne, des formules telles que ὁ δεῖνα cύμβ]ουλ̣[oc ou ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνοc cυμβ]ούλ̣[ου.[18]

Si ma datation du prôtokollon de Vienne est fondée, on voit quelles conséquences il faut en tirer pour celle du *Pater* qui lui est nécessairement postérieur: communément attribué au Ve/VIe s., ce texte date au plus tôt de l'extrême fin du VIe et appartient même beaucoup plus probablement à la première moitié du VIIe, le début de l'époque arabe n'étant pas à exclure.

Dans ces conditions, certains problèmes liés à ce texte se posent en termes nouveaux. Je pense tout d'abord à la paléographie de son latin: pour cette écriture qui, selon la terminologie de J.O. Tjäder, relève de "l'écriture commune nouvelle" du Bas-Empire,[19] nous avions encore quelques parallèles du début du VIIe siècle, mais italiens.[20] En voici à présent une nouvelle illustration particulièrement tardive et égyptienne. Nouvel exemple aussi de la relative fragilité des datations obtenues sur critère paléographique.

Dans l'ordre culturel, peut-être une attestation aussi basse non seulement du latin, mais d'un effort d'apprentissage rudimentaire de cette langue en Égypte, attirera-t-elle l'attention des spécialistes, sans parler de l'intérêt, pour les historiens du christianisme, de voir abaissée d'au moins un siècle la date de ce témoin de la *Vetus Latina*.[21]

Encore faudrait-il établir que ce papyrus, que j'ai considéré comme égyptien tout au long de cette discussion, n'a pas été écrit en Occident sur du papyrus importé puis réintroduit en Égypte, par exemple par un pèlerin ou par un moine en déplacement.

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[18] Je n'ose envisager une lecture au nom du calife Walid, bien que son nom soit parfois transcrit en grec par Αλουλιτ ou Αλουλιδ (voir *APEL* I, n°1, n. 7), en raison de ses dates de règne (705/715) et du fait qu'il n'apparaisse que dans des bilingues.

[19] Voir J.O. Tjäder, "Later Roman (Common) Script. A Tentative Definition in Anticipation of a Forthcoming Monograph," *Calames et cahiers. Mélanges de codicologie et de paléographie offerts à Léon Gilissen* (Bruxelles 1985) 187-99, limitant la diffusion de cette écriture à la première moitié du VIIe siècle "but not further" (référence aimablement communiquée par Alain Martin).

[20] A. Martin me renvoie sur ce point aux planches de *P.Ital.* I 20 (vers 600; voir en particulier les pl. 82 et 83) et à *P.Ital.* I 28 (613-641; voir en particulier la pl. 97).

[21] A. Martin, *op.cit.*, 413, n. 6, indique cependant que la Vulgate ne s'est imposée totalement qu'à partir du VIIIe s.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 25-27

4. THE TANGLED TALE OF *P.MEY.* 8

(Naphtali Lewis)

To David Thomas, newly septuagenarian:

There are few recent historians of the Roman empire, and no papyrologists, whose work has not benefited from yours. In this volume of tributes we celebrate your scholarly distinction and express our affection for a precious friend of many years. *Ave collega doctissime, ave amice carissime, annos per multos futuros floreas.*

P.Mey. 5-10 are papers relating to a family that belonged to the class of "the 6475 Greek men in the Arsinoite."[1] No. 8, a petition written on 16 August A.D. 151, concerns properties that Philippos and his sister Charition, children of Aphrodisios, inherited from their mother Didymarion ca. 130, when they were still minors. The properties included building sites, slaves and stores.[2]

From *P.Mey.* 9 we learn that the slaves were recorded as belonging to Philippos and Charition in the census of 131/2, but in the census of 145/6 they appear as the property of Aphrodisios.[3] In other words, at some point between those two censuses Aphrodisios, as his children say in their petition of 151 (*P.Mey.* 8), took possession of their inherited properties; and although they now term his action a "seizure,"[4] at the time they took no countervailing action.[5]

At some point after 145/6 (ὕcτερον, *P.Mey.* 8.8) Aphrodisios took a new wife, Sarapias/ Athenarion. This marriage did not immediately alter the status of the inherited properties, but when Aphrodisios moved to transfer the properties to Sarapias, that destroyed whatever understanding had

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[1] A review of the evidence on the 6475, together with a minutely detailed prosopography (647 individuals), is given by D. Canducci, *Aegyptus* 70 (1990) 211-53 and 71 (1991) 121-216. For the family of *P.Mey.* 5-10, see there stemma 9 and under the respective names.

Meyer remarks (p. 31 n. 7) that members of the family turn up also in P.Berol. 11644 and 11651 (subsequently published as *SB* IV 7393 and *BGU* IX 1896-1897a) and in two papyri in Manchester. These last are, presumably, *P.Ryl.* II 324 and 332 (both A.D. 139); but if those relate to the same Aphrodisios, it remains unclear why he is styled an Antinoite there but not in any of the later documents of his dossier. Meyer's identification of that man as a member of this family may be in error; Aphrodisios was a very common name in and around Theadelphia (cf., e.g., *BGU* IX, index of names).

In *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* II (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) 724-6, Orsolina Montevecchi assembles evidence suggesting that the group of 6475 was constituted from the families of Ptolemaic katoikoi, specifically the Μακεδόνεc τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων.

[2] *P.Mey.* 8.5-7, ἐπὶ κληρονόμοιc ἡμῖν τότε ἀφήλιξιν ... τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ οἰκόπεδα καὶ δουλικὰ cώματα τέccερα καὶ τ̣[ὰ τούτων ἔγγο]να καὶ ἀπόθετα ἄπα̣[ντ]α̣. The inclusion of ἔγγονα is the kind of evidence making it "reasonably clear that masters expected their adult female slaves to bear children, and that female slaves often did so" (R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* [Cambridge 1994] 158). As registered in the census of A.D. 145/6 (*P.Mey.* 9), one of these slaves had three children (aged 20, 18 and 8) living with her, and another had one such child (aged 6); the other two, if female, may have been childless, but are more likely to have borne children who were not included in this census return because they were no longer part of the same household.

[3] As *P.Mey.* 9 is a census declaration (of individuals), there is no occasion to mention the children's other properties.

[4] *P.Mey.* 8.7-10, ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμένοc ἡμῶ̣[ν πατὴρ Ἀφροδί]cιοc πάντων ἀντεφαπτ[όμενοc] ... καταφρονῶν τῆc περὶ ἡμᾶc ἀβ̣[οηθήτου ἀcθενείαc].

[5] This failure to act suggests some kind of amicable arrangement regarding the property.

existed up to that time, and consequently the children submitted their plea for repossession. Here is the relevant text (the restoration in line 14 is mine, the rest are Meyer's):

ἔκτοτε οὖν μέχρι τοῦ ν̣[ῦν] πάντων ἀντιλαμβανομένου καὶ̣ [ἀντιποιουμέ-]
12 νου καὶ τῶν cωμάτων τὰc ἀποφορὰc ἐγλεγομένου, πάντα̣ [καταγραφῆναι]
cυνέταξεν εἰc τὸ τῆc γυναικὸc αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸ[c ἡμῶν cιτοπαρα-]
λήμπτου γενομένου καὶ εἰc ἄπορον τραπ[έ]ντων. αὐτοί τε οὖν ἡ̣[μεῖc ἄποροι γε-]
νάμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐν δημοcίαιc χρεία⟨ι⟩c γεγον[έναι καὶ ἀναγ-]
16 καίωc τὴν ἐπὶ cὲ τὸν εὐεργέτην καταφυγὴν ποιούμενο[ι ἀξιοῦμεν]
τὰ ἴδια ἡμεῖν ἀποκατacταθῆναι cὺν ταῖc τοῦ παντὸc χρ[ήcεcιν, ἔτι δὲ]
καὶ τῶν cωμάτων ⟨τῇ⟩ ἐπιγονῇ, ⟨ἵνα⟩ καὶ ὦμεν ὑπὸ cο̣[ῦ] βεβοηθημένοι.

14 read -ντοc

"Having from then until now [laid claim to] and appropriated everything and pocketed the earnings of the slaves, he (now) arranged that it all [be registered] in the name of his wife, even though our father had been a liturgic [wheat-] collector and been turned (thereby) into an *aporos*.[6] We, having also ourselves become [*aporoi*] through me, Philippos, also having been in liturgic services, do perforce flee for protection to you,[7] our benefactor, [asking] that our own properties be restored to us complete with the [usufruct] of the whole, and also the offspring of the slaves, so that we may be succoured by you."

In his commentary Meyer (the editor, some years later, of *Juristische Papyri*) speculated, in vain, on the legalities that may be reflected in the above-quoted passage. Let us, instead, take another viewpoint and examine this text as a document of human interest and social history.

I. Lines 11-14.

Liturgy is, as a matter of law, immaterial.

First, the καίτοι clause, added after πάντα ... ὄνομα, precedes it in time. The sequence of events, clearly was: After the property was reduced through his liturgic service, he later transferred what remained to his wife. That Aphrodisios' liturgic service must have preceded his transfer of the properties to Sarapias by several years is evident from the following: The transfer took place in A.D. 151 and Aphrodisias turned seventy in or about 146,[8] after which date he was exempt, being ὑπερετήc, from further liturgic service.

The liturgy, if we read between the lines, is mentioned *en passant* as the cause of the reduction in Aphrodisios' wealth, and that reduction *is* the point of the καίτοι clause. The petitioner's line of thought, expressed here elliptically, runs something like this: "After our father suffered such a diminution of

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[6] For the technical meaning of *aporos/aporia* in the context of liturgy, see, e.g., *WB* s.v. 1 (briefly), Pap.Flor. 28, 73-4 = 11, 74-6 (more fully).

[7] L. Trebius Proculus, probably an ep[istrategos], not otherwise attested; cf. J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. 2: *The Roman Epistrategos*. Pap.Col. 6.2 (Opladen 1982) 189, 200.

[8] In *P.Mey*. 7 Aphrodisios's age is given as "about 54" in A.D. 130, which would make him about 75 in 151, the year of *P.Mey*. 8. Statements of age in the papyri are often approximations, and are sometimes even demonstrably erroneous (cf., e.g., *P.Cair.Isid*., p. 4). But, since "the Egyptian [census] returns display little obvious age exaggeration ... we think it justified to trust [age statements] except where clear grounds exist for suspecting them" (Bagnall and Frier, *op.cit*. [above, n. 2] 44, 47). Among considerations further arguing for accuracy in the case of Aphrodisios are: (1) He was a member of an elite group and (as such) presumably literate. We do not have his signature, but his father and his son sign their names in *P.Mey*. 5 and 8. (2) His age in *P.Mey*. 7 is given as 54, not rounded to the nearest multiple of five.

wealth, one would think he would want to hold on to what was left. Instead, he transferred what we had inherited to his (second) wife." As Meyer noted, this transfer, if allowed to stand, would remove the properties from Aphrodisios' estate and thus from his children's inheritance after his death. That is why they filed their claim for recovery at this time.

II. Lines 14-18.

Liturgy is, again, irrelevant to the gravamen of the petition.

The mention of liturgy offers nothing essential, or even directly material, to the plea for the recovery of the properties. It does nothing to bolster the petitioners' legal stance; it does–or, at least, is intended to do–something to bolster their civic standing in the eyes of the epistrategos, presenting them as loyal and dutiful subjects deserving of his favor. "My father," is the implication, "has no claim to special consideration. I too, when called upon, perform my liturgic duty to the state, and at substantial out-of-pocket cost."

To sum up, the following appears to have been the sequence of events culminating in the petition of A.D. 151, *P.Mey.* 8.

1. Ca. A.D. 130 Philippos and Charition, at that time minors, inherited from their mother a sizable estate including building lots, slaves and stores. The slaves were recorded as their property in the census of 131/2.

2. At some time thereafter Aphrodisios appropriated to himself the above-mentioned properties, and in the census of 145/6 the slaves were registered as his property (*P.Mey.* 9). Although in their later petition they refer to their father's action as a "seizure" of their properties (above, note 4), at the time the children did not move to overturn the expropriation and regain possession. The thought occurs that they may still have been minors. Whatever the attendant circumstances, the children apparently acquiesced, willingly or perforce, in Aphrodisios' becoming the owner of record. What followed suggests that there was an agreement, whether tacit or explicit, that Aphrodisios could retain the properties during his lifetime, after which the properties would revert to his children.

3. At a date not specified, Aphrodisios took a new wife, Sarapias/Athenarion. In A.D. 151 he undertook to transfer ownership of the properties to her. To the children this action constituted a fundamental and intolerable breach of the understanding about the properties, tantamount to disinheritance. Since Sarapias was not their mother, Philippos and Charition could have no hereditary claim to her estate. It thus became essential for them to prevent the disputed properties from passing into her possession, and they accordingly submitted the plea of *P.Mey.* 8.

THE SEQUEL

No published document, so far as I know, records whether the petition of *P.Mey.* 8 was successful. But an item of indirect evidence has long been concealed rather like the proverbial needle in the haystack.

Dated to A.D. 166, fifteen years after *P.Mey.* 8, *BGU* IX 1896 is one of the voluminous tax-lists from Theadelphia. At lines 342-344 it records Philippos son of Aphrodisios as the owner of vineyards formerly belonging to Didymarion daughter of Apion. Didymarion, as we noted at the outset, was the name of the mother whose properties Philippos and Charition inherited when they were children. With Philippos once again in possession, it appears that the petition of *P.Mey.* 8 had been successful.

Cambridge, Mass.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 29-30

5. ΑΡΤΟΝ ΦΑΓΕΙΝ: A NOTE ON MARK iii. 20-21

(Theodore C. Skeat)

In Mark iii. 14-19 we are given a list of the Twelve Apostles who, we are told, had been chosen by Jesus to be his companions (ἵνα ὦcιν μετ' αὐτοῦ) and to be sent out on evangelising missions, during which they would also have power to cast out evil spirits. There can be no doubt that attendance on Jesus was their primary function, since although one mission by them is rather perfunctorily described, apart from this they appear as constantly in attendance on Jesus, right up to the final scene in Gethsemane.

Immediately after this we are told (verses 20-21 in Nestle-Aland's 27th edition): καὶ ἔρχεται εἰc οἶκον· καὶ cυνέρχεται πάλιν ὁ ὄχλοc ὥcτε μὴ δύνacθαι αὐτοὺc μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. καὶ ἀκούcαντεc οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆcαι αὐτόν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέcτη.

Problems arise right at the outset, because although καὶ ἔρχεται εἰc οἶκον stands at the beginning of verse 20 in Nestle-Aland 27 and also in UBS[4] (so also in Westcott and Hort, and hence R(evised) V(ersion), in Textus Receptus, and hence A(uthorised) V(ersion) and also R(evised) E(nglish) B(ible), the Preface to which states that the verse-division of A.V. has been followed), these words come at the *end* of verse 19: and there is a further complication in the text itself, for instead of the singular ἔρχεται there is widespread attestation for the plural ἔρχονται (S^2 ACL f I3 M(ajority) T(ext) lat syr^{ph}) or εἰcέρχονται (D). Thus, A.V., for instance, has "and *they* went into an house." This is clearly wrong, since it implies that the Twelve Apostles, who had just been listed, were accompanying Jesus, although it is clear from the sequel that Jesus was alone, and therefore had to be rescued by his family and friends (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ). The conclusion is inescapable, that the Apostles were *not* there when most needed because they had *not* yet been appointed—indeed, it may well have been the riot here described which prompted their recruitment.

Further difficulty arises with the words καὶ ἔρχεται εἰc οἶκον, translated "And he cometh into a house" (R.V.) or "he entered a house" (R.E.B.). Both, I believe, are wrong. οἶκοc certainly means "house", but it also has the specific meaning of "home." Thus, the adverb οἴκοι means "at home", οἴκαδε means "homewards", etc. The modern Greek cπίτι has the same meaning of "house" and "home." In any case, if Jesus had got into a house, why was he in such danger from the mob? My suggestion is that the words mean simply that Jesus "came home," i.e., to Nazareth, which he himself described as his πατρίc, as also did the local population (Matthew xiii. 55-57).[1]

We now come to the crucial phrase telling us that such a mob collected ὥcτε μὴ δύνacθαι αὐτοὺc μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν. The words ἄρτον φαγεῖν must surely be corrupt, for they make no conceivable sense. Why should the mob have wanted to *eat*, let alone eat *bread*? They were not out in the wilderness,

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[1] English is, I believe, one of the few languages which make a clear distinction, inherited from Anglo-Saxon, between "house" and "home", and this has crossed the Atlantic, for it was an American, John Howard Payne, who wrote the words of "Home, sweet home." In these circumstances it is remarkable how reluctant English translators have been to use the word "home" even where it is the obvious meaning. For instance, at Mark viii. 3: καὶ ἐὰν ἀπολύcω αὐτοὺc νήcτειc εἰc οἶκον αὐτῶν (no variation in the Greek), A.V. has "And if I send them away fasting to their own houses," R.V. "And if I send them away fasting to their home," R.E.B. cuts out the verbiage and at last provides an idiomatic version with "If I send them home hungry."

but their own home town; and in any case they did not want to eat—they wanted to see Jesus, to get near him, to touch him, since it had been rumoured that even the touch of his garments could confer healing.

It is my belief that the original was not ὥcτε μὴ δύνacθαι αὐτοὺc μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν, but ὥcτε μὴ δύνacθαι αὐτὸν μηδὲ φανῆναι, i.e., that Jesus could not even be seen—he had disappeared into the crowd. Everyone knows how dangerous it is to be caught up in the middle of a large and excited crowd, out of control, and the danger was fully appreciated at the time; cf. Luke xii. 1: ἐπιcυναχθειcῶν τῶν μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου ὥcτε καταπατεῖν ἀλλήλουc, while Jesus, who, according to an ancient tradition, was somewhat short of stature, would have been particularly at risk. In any case, as has been said, the Apostles were clearly nowhere to be seen.

It is my belief that the primary corruption was from αὐτόν to ἄρτον, and it was only after this that φανῆναι was altered to φαγεῖν to provide some kind of sense. But, it will be argued, how could such different words as αὐτόν and ἄρτον have been mistaken for each other? The answer is, very easily. Consider the following readings in Sinaiticus where, in each case, it is the corrector C^a who gives the right word:

I Maccabees iii. 1:	αρτου.	C^a αυτου
Psalms civ. 16:	αυτου.	C^a αρτου
Proverbs xx. 13:	αυτων.	C^a αρτων

That is as may be, the critic will say, but how could such totally different words as φανῆναι and φαγεῖν possibly be confused? Once again let us look at Sinaiticus, at James v. 3, where we find:

φαινετε (i.e., itacistic for φαινεται) S^* solus.[2]
φαγεται rell.

A final difficulty is provided by the word ἐξέcτη. This has usually been applied to Jesus, meaning that he was out of his mind, and that his family and friends said this to quieten the mob and defuse the situation. This would certainly have been a sensible thing to do, but it is perhaps not surprising that some critics have applied these words to the mob, i.e., telling them that they were out of their minds. However, this is hardly likely to have had a calming effect, nor do I see how it can be reasonably obtained from the Greek.

London, U.K.

[2] Not noted in Nestle-Aland 27th ed., but it is in the new Editio Critica Maior, *ad loc.*, p. 84.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 31-39

6. EXUBERANCE AND ACCESSIBILITY:
NOTES ON WRITTEN DEMOTIC AND THE EGYPTIAN SCRIBAL TRADITION

(W. John Tait)

Plates 1-3

This article attempts to explore the question: to what extent and in what ways was the Demotic script accessible to anyone but those who had undergone training in the script? Was there any attempt to make texts to any degree comprehensible to a wider group of "users"? Some comments will first be offered on the accessibility of the Hieroglyphic script in the dynastic period, then on some features of the Hieratic script that was in use alongside it throughout, and then on Demotic, which developed from a form of Hieratic around the eighth century B.C.E. Some details of large, formal and elaborate contracts will be considered, and then aspects of the numerous tax-receipts of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, written on modest ostraca of potsherd or of limestone, and finally it will be suggested that it might not be very difficult for an illiterate Egyptian to recognize many Egyptian names.

No firm conclusions can be reached, and the difficulties that face this line of enquiry are many. The Egyptians themselves had no interest in discussing these matters. Any feature of written material that makes it in any way more approachable by the illiterate or poorly literate must almost certainly be of service to the literate, also. For all the Egyptian scripts until the emergence of Coptic, we lack examples of the work of those who are just learning to write, or who are painfully making use of writing despite an obvious lack of skill. This might have to do with the ways in which our evidence happens to have survived, but it must support the widely-held view that Egyptians learnt to write only if they were to follow a scribal career. Reading, however, is another matter. The one possibility that may save this account from proving to be mere fruitless—even if possibly entertaining—speculation is that it may suggest contrasts and comparisons with material in other languages, or even from other contexts. These notes are dedicated with affection and gratitude to David Thomas, in the hope that he may find this yet another area in which it is interesting to compare Greek with Egyptian.

Willy Clarysse a few years ago published an article based upon a conference paper, which tried to explain some of the mysteries of Demotic to Greek papyrologists, in order to encourage them to make more use of Demotic material.[1] That article incidentally touched upon some of the topics raised here, but it was not primarily concerned with ancient as opposed to modern attitudes to Demotic. He made a point that is rather the converse of the discussion of Egyptian personal names here: that, when Greek words and names are written in Demotic, the modern scholar can read them without knowledge of the Egyptian language.[2]

1. Hieroglyphs

It is common among those who work on Egyptian texts—but not a matter often discussed in print—to speculate that all the Egyptian population could have made *something* of a Hieroglyphic text. Such a view was hardly implicit in Sethe's wide-ranging study of pictorial and alphabetic scripts *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben*.[3] Schott contrasted the helplessness of the illiterate confronted with an alphabetic script with

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[1] W. Clarysse, "Demotic for Papyrologists. A First Acquaintance," in M. Capasso (ed.), *Atti del V seminario internazionale di papirologia, Lecce 27-29 giugno 1994* (Lecce 1995) 87-114.

[2] Clarysse, *ibid.* 102.

[3] K. Sethe †, *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben: Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Schrift*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 12 (Leipzig 1939).

their only slightly better plight in tackling a pictorial script: "Auch die Bilderschrift kann ein Unkundiger nicht lesen, doch erkennt er an ihr etwas, was er versteht, die Bilder, mit denen die Schrift schreibt, die freilich Behelfe sind, insofern sie Laute nicht mit Lautzeichen, sondern mit Bildern wiedergeben."[4] Although te Velde explored the "metalinguistic" aspects of the Hieroglyphic script,[5] he stressed that it was not "a simple picture language;" the "pictorial aspect" of the script did not mean that it "could be grasped easily by those who have little or no knowledge of the Egyptian language."[6] However, Janssen put the matter more optimistically: "Moreover, the hieroglyphs contain much metalinguistic information that was directly understood."[7] Most recently, and most positively, Goldwasser has stated, in the context of the use of writing by the elite to control "the conceptual system of the reader," that this might embrace "the non-literate beholder," at least to a degree: "Due to its iconic nature it is very plausible that parts of the hieroglyphic inscriptions were understandable even to the illiterate."[8]

Such discussions take place against the background of changes in views on literacy in dynastic Egypt over the last twenty years. In 1983, Baines and Eyre published an article in which they debated several issues of literacy in (chiefly dynastic) Egypt.[9] They took a generally unflattering view of Egyptian scribal training,[10] and endeavoured to suggest what might be plausible estimates of the proportion of the Egyptian population that was literate: one per cent on the most optimistic calculations, and probably much lower. They quite explicitly took it for granted that the literate were only to be found among the trained scribal and administrative part of society. Reactions to this article have chiefly focused on the elite community of Deir el-Medina, from where a worryingly high proportion of our New Kingdom evidence derives, and on the question of partial literacy.[11]

It may be worth specifying very briefly some factors that would have made it possible for an untrained Egyptian partially to understand a Hieroglyphic text. Terminology for different kinds of signs (and issues as to how they are to be classified) are deliberately avoided here, partly because such matters are the subject of debate.[12]

(1) Some words are simply written by means of a Hieroglyph that represents the thing in question. For example the word for "bull" can be written  . A word may also be written with a sign that an Egyptian

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[4] S. Schott, *Hieroglyphen: Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der Schrift.* Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 24 (Mainz 1951) 1707-862, at p. 1769 (= p. 63).

[5] H. te Velde, "Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Signs, Symbols and Gods," *Visible Religion* 4-5 (1985-1986) 63-72.

[6] H. te Velde, "Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Linguistic Signs and Metalinguistic Informants," *Visible Religion* 6 (1988) 169-79, at p. 174.

[7] J.J. Janssen, "Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medîna," in R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium "Texts from Deir el-Medîna and their Interpretation," Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991* (Leiden 1992) 81-94, at p. 82.

[8] O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 142 (Fribourg-Göttingen 1995) 33, n. 20.

[9] J. Baines and C.J. Eyre, "Four Notes on Literacy," *GM* 61 (1983) 65-96.

[10] Contrast W.J. Tait, "Aspects of Demotic Education," in B. Kramer et al. (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* II (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1997) 931-8.

[11] Both, in the case of Janssen, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7).

[12] See for example W. Schenkel, "Schrift" in W. Helck und E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, V 713-35; L. Depuydt, "On the Nature of the Hieroglyphic Script," *ZÄS* 121 (1994) 17-36; clearly the uses of signs discussed below here correspond, in turn, to what Gardiner called (with some misgivings) "ideograms," "determinatives," and "phonograms," a terminology that has had a wide currency.

would, presumably, have had no hesitation in associating with it, for example "god," written by 𓇋 (a pole with pennant).[13]

(2) Signs are placed at the end of the great majority of words indicating something of the sense of the word (and something of how the Egyptians classified their concepts). They are usually very general, for example 𓂝, indicating a connection with motion or movement, while others may be entirely specific, such as 𓋔, the royal double crown.

(3) Signs which are used with a phonetic value (to indicate all or part of the consonantal skeleton of a word—one, or two, or three consecutive consonants), normally derive their value from the name of the thing they depict. This is in some cases very clear to us today, when we are aware of the existence of an Egyptian word featuring the appropriate consonants. In other cases (including some of the signs representing just a single consonant), we may have no convincing explanation, but this need not lead us to assume that an Egyptian would have been at a loss.

In the volume of *Saqqara Demotic Papyri*, it was suggested[14] that in text 27 for the first time a word was attested (in, probably, the fourth century B.C.E.) which accounted for the phonetic value of a ubiquitous single-consonant sign (𓅱, *w*). The text appears to be an exercise based on methods of teaching the accepted order of the consonants of the Egyptian language.[15] It is of course possible that some zealous Egyptian schoolmaster had shared our regret at the lack of an explanation for the origin of the Hieroglyph, and had invented a word to meet the need. The "Sign Papyrus" from Tanis,[16] dating from the early Roman Period, shows that literate Egyptians might be very conscious of the representational nature of their scripts. The text lists Hieroglyphs in pen-drawn form, and appends in Hieratic script the name (or a description) of the object that each represents. Griffith suggested that these explanations were the "names" of the Hieroglyphs, as taught in school.[17] Thus the Hieratic entries may in some cases happen to "spell-out" the word in full, and thus reveal the reading of the sign to anyone who is literate in Hieratic (whether a modern or an ancient reader). The compiler did not, however, feel a need to make an effort to do this consistently, and some entries are not helpful in this way.

Overall, the phonetic values of many signs, while they certainly would not have been self-evident to an Egyptian, could readily have been grasped and remembered. It would be wrong of course to give the impression that the Hieroglyphic script is, or was, even in part, readily intelligible to those who have not been taught it. It is necessary to know something of the way the script operates before any use can be made of the clues the Hieroglyphs offer. The commonest difficulty faced by the modern complete beginner is to know which signs indicate sense, and which "merely" indicate sounds. It is of course possible to argue that Hieroglyphs can never be *merely* phonetic. Goldwasser perhaps comes closest to this. She gives an example of a word containing a sign that would normally be explained as serving only a phonetic purpose, but which she suggests may have been included because of its iconic relevance.[18] She also suggests that a particular sign that seemingly can be used only phonetically, to represent a single consonant (𓅓, *m*), would not lose its iconic force;[19] but she may mean by this only that the Egyptians

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[13] Cf. J. Baines, "On the Symbolic Context of the Principal Hieroglyph for 'God'," in U. Verhoeven und E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (Leuven 1991) 29-46.

[14] H.S. Smith and W.J. Tait, *Saqqara Demotic Papyri* I. Texts from Excavations, 7 (London 1983) 201, n. *k*.

[15] Most recently on this topic see K.-Th. Zauzich, in P.J. Frandsen and K. Ryholt (eds.), *The Carlsberg Papyri* III. *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies, with Contributions by J. F. Quack et al.* (Copenhagen 2000) esp. 28-31.

[16] F. LL. Griffith and W.M.F. Petrie, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis* (London 1889).

[17] Griffith and Petrie, *ibid.* 5.

[18] Goldwasser, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 20, n. 61.

[19] Goldwasser, *ibid.* 77, esp. n. 44.

would have never ceased to be aware that the Hieroglyph depicted a bird: it would never have become "just" an element of the script. This is precisely the issue raised by Hieratic.[20]

2. Hieratic

At first sight, the position would seem to have been radically different in the case of the Hieratic script,[21] the script that was used for the practical purposes of everyday life from the Archaic Period until Demotic took over that role in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E., and Hieratic became much more restricted in its use. The Hieratic script comprises Hieroglyphic signs simplified or modified, so that they can conveniently and quickly be written with a rush pen. It is commonplace to point out that Hieratic must have begun to develop very early. In his palaeography of Hieratic down to the early Middle Kingdom, Hans Goedicke argues that the traditional notion of a "linear descent" of Hieratic from Hieroglyphs if anything turns our evidence on its head: "The two forms of ancient Egyptian writing ... should rather be recognized as parallel developments."[22] This is perhaps how the Egyptians themselves viewed the relationship between the scripts.

For those who are familiar with Hieratic, some signs may readily be perceived as quickly drawn Hieroglyphs, but many are changed beyond recognition. Experience in teaching Hieratic to beginners suggests that the similarity of Hieratic signs to their Hieroglyphic equivalents is by no means obvious until the student has gained some familiarity with the script itself.

The pictorial qualities of Hieratic come into play in perhaps two ways. First, the scribes often enjoy using signs that may be seen as small drawings. The sole manuscript of the "Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor" (earlier Middle Kingdom) has stylish determinatives for the two words for monkeys in the list of the exotica given to the sailor to take back to the Egyptian court (see Plate 1, fig. 1). The same enjoyment of attractive signs can be seen in the later New Kingdom Hieratic material that comes from the context of the village of Deir el-Medina.[23] One of the most striking examples is the first column of a Hieratic version[24] of Ramesses II's Qadesh poem (see Plate 1, fig. 2). The well-known figured ostraca (some of which come from the same community) show similar features (see Plate 2, fig. 3 for three examples from the Petrie Museum).[25] It is difficult to be sure of the purpose for which this material was produced, and no doubt this varied greatly, including practicing scribal skills, drafts for professional work, and votive material.

Secondly, the Deir el-Medina scribes, in more imposing papyri (but also sometimes upon ostraca), had a habit of forming some signs in a large, stylish and elaborate way, even if these cannot be seen as very pictorial. This is inextricably linked to two aspects of the general style of writing in this context: (1) words are made more recognizable, and the recognition of word-divisions in the texts is made easier, by a general tendency to form the first or the first few signs of words clearly and on a large scale, while the ends of

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[20] Goldwasser's book is generally confined to the Hieroglyphic script, with the interesting exception of her citation of a drawing of an (unidentified) amulet included in a late New Kingdom Hieratic text: J.J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* (London 1991), BM 10411 Verso, 3 (pl. 3-4).

[21] So, for example, Depuydt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12), 33: "In hieratic, the shapes of ideograms are often no longer recognizable as the unambiguous depictions of beings or objects."

[22] H. Goedicke, *Old Hieratic Palaeography* (Baltimore 1988) vii-viii.

[23] See for example P.W. Pestman, "Who were the Owners, in the 'Community of Workmen', of the Chester Beatty Papyri," in R.J. Demarée and Jac J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden 1982) 155-72.

[24] *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum* I (London 1841) pl. 24.

[25] A. Page, *Ancient Egyptian Figured Ostraca in the Petrie Collection* (Warminster 1983) no. 51, UC 26937, p. 36; no. 56, UC 33209, p. 39; and no. 61 (from Amarna), UC 1585, p. 42.

words "tail off;"[26] (2) the organization and lay-out of elaborate texts can be made clearer by the use of larger signs and a more formal style at the beginning of sections of text.[27] Key words may have a striking initial sign (e.g., "It was found ...", "It was written down ..."). More puzzling is why the (masculine singular) definite article, "the," begins with a similarly prominent sign—Demotic scribes soon settled upon a small, discreet, but recognizable shape.

3. Demotic[28]

When we move to Demotic, a glance at some of our surviving material—perhaps the Demotic text upon the Rosetta Stone (196 B.C.E.),[29] or any column of the Ptolemaic "Siut Archive" (170 B.C.E.),[30] the extensive report of a lawsuit—would suggest that the pictorial aspects of the script had entirely withered away.[31] However, it is possible to point to a number of features in our surviving Demotic evidence that reflect earlier habits. In the only surviving manuscript of the First Setna story,[32] which is mostly rather drab, if neat and punctilious, the scribe seems to enjoy drawing the scorpions that in two passages end the word for scorpion in the description of the venomous protectors of the magical book written by the god Thoth with his own hand (Plate 3, fig. 4). The "re-emergence" of Hieratic and Hieroglyphic signs in later Demotic has often been noted, but this is perhaps just a reflection of the self-consciously learned milieu of the Egyptian temples from which our evidence chiefly survives.

The Demotic "contracts" drawn up in lavish style, which survive from the First Persian Period down to the second century B.C.E., show many features that help readers find their way through the text. Several may be seen in a papyrus from North Saqqara, H5-DP 486, dated to the 11th year of Darius, recently published by Martin (Plate 3, fig. 5).[33] First, at the beginning of the text at the upper right, there is the large writing of the expression for "regnal year" (Plate 3, fig. 6, a) introducing the date of the document.[34] In the middle of the first line, in the mention of the first party, "the woman Shemty, daughter of Petiese," the title "woman" appears in a grand writing (Plate 3, fig. 6, b), different, as Martin points out,[35] from the form that occurs later in the text. Towards the end of the last line, the scribal signature begins with a large writing of the phrase "In the writing of ..." (Plate 3, fig. 6, c).

Ostraca were inscribed in Demotic for a wide range of purposes, but one of the commonest types in our collections is the receipt for the payment of a tax. Demotic receipts survive alongside those in Greek, and

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[26] This manner of writing is by no means confined to non-alphabetic scripts. Highly cursive Greek documentary hands from Egypt can show a rather similar phenomenon.

[27] For these issues in Hieratic, see J.J. Janssen, "On Style in Egyptian Handwriting," *JEA* 73 (1987) 161-7.

[28] One of the difficulties of Demotic—for us—is that the appearance of hands changed drastically over the period of about a millennium that the script was in use. It is assumed here that at one time (and in one place), the possessor of a contract or the user of a tax-receipt will have found Demotic to be written rather consistently.

[29] R.A. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes* (London 1999).

[30] Sir H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut* (Oxford 1934).

[31] Again, very explicitly, Depuydt, *op.cit.* (above, n. 12) 33: "In hieratic and even more in Demotic, hieroglyphs become cursive to the point that hardly any element of the script could be associated with a hieroglyphic shape, let alone be recognized as the depiction of a certain object."

[32] Plates published in W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* I (Cairo 1906-1908).

[33] C.J. Martin, "A Twenty-Seventh Dynasty "Marriage Contract" from Saqqara," in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith* (London 1999) 193-9.

[34] When not at the beginning of a document, the same expression can be written in a much simpler form. Cf. S.P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou* (Leuven 1991) 223-4. This volume has a number of comments on such orthographic features.

[35] Martin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 33) 197, n. l (cf. p. 196, n. b).

apparently serving an identical purpose.[36] The choice of language was presumably a matter of convenience. When issued by a bank, the receipt was no doubt carried away by the payer to satisfy the collector. The payer might therefore have wished to be sure that his receipt was in order.

The content may be considered of one Demotic ostracon (frankly selected because of its extreme simplicity), *O. Mattha* 31 (see Plate 3, fig. 7, a).[37] A word-by-word translation is awkward, but might run as follows:

1 That-which-has-deposited
2 Pamerih son (of) Horpabik
3 for the money of poll-tax, *stater* 4,
4 in regnal-year 29, first-month (of) *shomu*, day 23.

Just a few details may be mentioned:

Line 1: The curious relative expression "What so-and-so has deposited" (the literal meaning is "put down," i.e., "paid") is one of a number of phrases that regularly begin receipts,[38] and make them instantly recognizable. The very first diagonal stroke, as is common in receipts, is made far larger than it is normally written in Demotic. Here (unusually) the word stands on a line of its own.

Line 2: The names of the payer and of his father are separated by the small diagonal stroke signifying "son of" that often makes it easy to spot names in, for example, Demotic accounts. Neither of the names is of the most accessible kind discussed below, but they are equally easy to recognize (the long horizontal stroke below the father's name is especially prominent).

Line 3: The name of the tax begins with a large and distinctive pair of signs (Plate 3, fig. 7, b).

Every detail of this receipt cannot be discussed here. Clearly the payers would be more in control of their affairs if they had some knowledge of how Demotic numerals work. However, it may be suggested that very little has to be learned to get to grips with a text like this, especially as the payers may expect this year's receipt to look very much like last year's, and certainly no general competence in Demotic is required.

4. Names of Deities and Names of Persons

The names of most deities are written in Demotic with a simple shape or group of shapes which has to be recognized as a shape, and cannot be "read" phonetically. Some names in fact derive, via Hieratic, from Hieroglyphic writings which were purely phonetic (for example those of Ptah and Amun), but the phonetic signs have been fused and modified so as to be quite unrecognisable. An exception is the god Anubis, whose name is usually written out with single-consonant signs in a perfectly normal way. The names of male gods almost always end in a tall distinctive determinative (see Table 1, e.g., Amun), and this is (rather surprisingly) found also with a few names of goddesses (e.g., Bastet). Many names of goddesses end with a distinctive sign deriving from the Hieroglyph representing a seated goddess (e.g., Mut). Thus to recognize the name of a deity normally calls for the remembering of a shape, and requires little training in Demotic.

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[36] See R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca*. Pap.Flor. 25 (Florence 1994), esp. 155-6. The Demotic receipts of Western Thebes are discussed on pp. 187-9.

[37] G. Mattha, *Demotic Ostraca* (Cairo 1945) 90, pl. 4: from Thebes, year 29 of Augustus.

[38] The payment may be "given" or "brought": the usage seems to be constant in any one place or period. The variations were first set out in detail by Mattha, *Demotic Ostraca*. The formula may be simply "So-and-so has paid" instead of "That which so-and-so has paid," which suggests that perhaps not all scribes were aware what grammatical form they were using. When the diagonal stroke (which marks the relative expression) is not present, the whole initial word is often enlarged.

Table 1 gives the writings of a number of deities from *P.Cairo* 31168-9, a Demotic compilation of divine names and epithets.[39]

Personal names in Egypt almost universally make reference in one way or another to a deity or deities. In Demotic[40] the commonest[41] type of name includes the name of a deity (here indicated by "DN") embedded (at the end, or at the beginning, or in the middle) in a short phrase. The commonest formulations are listed in Table 2.[42]

Women's names do not significantly differ in type from men's names. However, when a name consists simply of the name of a deity, this is of the appropriate (i.e., same) gender, e.g., the very common man's name ḥr, "Hor" (the same word as the name of the god Horus).[43] The name of the goddess Isis is apparently not attested as a woman's name in Demotic, except with an epithet attached, although it is known from earlier Egypt, and is not uncommon in Greek.[44] There is some tendency—difficult to quantify or reduce to rules—for women's names to include the name of a goddess and men's the name of a god. This seems to depend on the meaning of the name. For example, a name that *describes* a goddess will tend to be reserved for women. Names of the type "The one whom (*Deity*) has given" do not show much tendency for the gender of deity and named individual to match, as is demonstrated by the great popularity of pꜣ-tj-ỉs.t, "The one (masc.) whom Isis (fem.) has given"[45] and the reasonable popularity of the completely reverse case, tꜣ-tj-wsỉr, "The one (fem.) whom Osiris (masc.) has given."[46]

Not all Demotic names can be mastered so readily. The name of a deity may have an epithet attached, and not all personal names include an actual divine name. Greek names are "spelled out," consonant by consonant.[47] However, what has been outlined above does cover a high proportion of the entries of the *Demotisches Namenbuch.* The illiterate perhaps would not presume to try to write a tax receipt, but perhaps it could be claimed that anyone stood a good chance of coming to recognize their own name.

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[39] For this kind of material see W.J. Tait, "Aspects of Demotic Education," and K.-Th. Zauzich, in P.J. Frandsen and K. Ryholt (eds.), *The Carlsberg Papyri* III. *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies, with Contributions by J. F. Quack et al.,* (Copenhagen 2000) 27-52.

[40] The standard reference work for Egyptian and foreign private names written in Demotic script is E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden 1980-), which is nearing completion [Demot. Nb.]. See also the discussion by Lüddeckens, "Namenkunde," in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo 1972) II 241-8.

[41] Through no fault of the Demot. Nb., there are a number of reasons why the material there may not be a random and representative sample of Demotic usage, and thus comments on the relative frequency of names must be treated with caution.

[42] To avoid confusion, the Demotic transliterations given here follow the transliteration style of Demot. Nb. References to it give Lieferung number and page.

[43] It is purely a matter of convention among UK Egyptologists—and for the present purpose not very convenient—that the names of the commonest deities tend in English to be "translated" in a classical guise, whereas personal names are given in a crude approximation to a vocalized transcription.

[44] F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922), e.g., col. 96, 153; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* (Milan 1967-1971) 103, 150-1.

[45] Demot. Nb. 4.290-1.

[46] Demot. Nb. 15.1156.

[47] For the principles by which this is done, see W. Clarysse, in W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt.* Pap.Lugd.Bat. 24 (Leiden 1983) 129-65 (index published by W. Brunsch, "Index zu W. Clarysse, The Demotic Transcriptions of the Greek Names of the Eponymous Priests," *Enchoria* 16 (1988) 119-28). A glance at the material in Demot. Nb. suggests that there may be more variation in the way Greek names are written than is the case with Egyptian names.

TABLE 1

Amun	m	
Anubis	m	
Atum	m	
Bastet	f	
Horus	m	
Isis	f	
Min	m	
Mut	f	
Nefertem	m	
Neith	f	
Osiris	m	
Sakhmet	f	
Thoth	m	

TABLE 2

ns-DN, 'He belongs to (*Deity*)'

a form of name that goes back to the Old Kingdom. In Demotic, this formulations seems to be attested overwhelmingly for men, although an analogous feminine form is quite usual in Egyptian. Entries for names of this type begin at Demot. Nb. 9.657-

pꜣ-tj-DN, 'The one (masc.) whom (*Deity*) has given'
Demot. Nb. 4.280-

This has the feminine equivalent

tꜣ-tj-DN, 'The one (fem.) whom (*Deity*) has given'
Demot. Nb. 15.1154-

pꜣ-šr-DN, 'The son of (*Deity*)'
Demot. Nb.4.221-

This has the feminine equivalent

tꜣ-šr.t-DN, 'The daughter of (*Deity*)'
Demot. Nb. 14.1086-

pa-DN, 'The one (masc.) belonging to (*Deity*)'
Demot. Nb. 5.348-

This has the feminine equivalent

ta-DN, 'The one (fem.) belonging to (*Deity*)'
Demot. Nb. 15.1161

nḫṯ-DN, '(*Deity*) is strong'
Demot. Nb. 9.645-

Other formulations are less common, either in the sense that they are found including only a limited range of divine names, or that few examples of each permutation are attested.

Examples with the divine name at the beginning include

DN-*i-ir-tj-s*, 'it is *Deity* who has given him'

DN-*m-ḥb*, '*(Deity)* (is) in festival'

DN-*iw*(*.w*), '*(Deity)* has come'

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 41-44

7. ON THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING A PAPYROLOGIST

(Dorothy J. Thompson)

Many exploit the rich harvest of literary and documentary papyri from Egypt but the practitioners of the art of papyrology are fewer in number, and the really skilled practitioners are fewer still. David Thomas is undoubtedly one of these rare masters of his trade—a scholar who, while knowing well the significance of his texts both Greek and Latin, can read them in the first place. This short tribute comes from one who learned late of the importance of actually looking at the physical text—the historian's raw material—at its layout as well as its words. Through an investigation of a minor problem—the rate of the Ptolemaic salt-tax liability of slaves—I hope to illustrate the importance of studying the original text in its physical form, of not relying on the printed page, and in sum the importance of being a papyrologist.

The context of this study is the early Ptolemaic state and the system of taxation through which the Ptolemies exploited their kingdom. Both people and land were subject to tax as the new rulers of Egypt established themselves, raising wealth to run the system, to subsidise their new capital, to fight their wars and compete with their peers on the international scene. In a series of low-level taxes, the central administration subjected the population of their country to constant levies. Of these, the most widely applied was the salt-tax, a tax levied in cash on all adults in the country with very few exceptions.[1] It was the levy of taxes, especially the salt-tax, which in the main lay behind the various census activities of the Ptolemies, and the rate paid by slaves is a well-worn question on which much has been written.

It was Uebel, in his fundamental study of the salt-tax, who first suggested that a female rate applied to all slaves, whatever their sex, and more recently Shelton and Scholl have endorsed and elaborated this view, taking account of the more recent evidence of *P.Lille dem.* III 101 and (Scholl) *CPR* XIII.[2] At best this new evidence is dubious, at worst contradictory. The whole question should be reconsidered, in the light both of rereading of these more recent texts and, more especially, the papyrological basis of Uebel's earlier conclusion.

First, the more recent material. The evidence of *P.Lille dem.* III 101 (254-231 B.C.) is reasonably unequivocal. This text, perhaps from Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoite nome, is a demotic register of taxpayers, most of whom were liable for the salt-tax at rate B—i.e. 1 drachma for males and 3 obols for females—and with one obol for the obol-tax normally added to their liability. Tax-rates are expressed in *kite* but are translated below into the more familiar drachmas and obols. Since this text will be reedited in Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People* (in preparation), I give our new line numbers in brackets following the current line numbers. In this register, as elsewhere in such texts, *ḫl* and *ḫl.t* are the demotic equivalents of *pais* and *paidiskê* in Greek; males with Hellenic tax-status may be identified through the absence of the extra obol for the obol-tax.[3] The following entries for slaves occur in this register:

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[1] See W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, "The Salt-tax Rate Once Again," *Cd'É* 70 (1995) 223-9, with earlier bibliography; *P.Hal.* 1.260-264 (259-253 B.C.), for exceptions.

[2] F. Uebel, "Die frühptolemäische Salzsteuer," *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia. Milano, 2-8 settembre* (Milan 1966) 325-68 at 341-2; J. Shelton, "Notes on the Ptolemaic Salt Tax under Ptolemy III," *ZPE* 71 (1988) 133-6 at 135; R. Scholl, "Zur Höhe der Salzsteuer für Sklaven," *ZPE* 76 (1989) 95-7.

[3] Thompson, "The Infrastructure of Splendour: Census and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt," in Paul Cartledge, Peter Garnsey and Erich Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1997) 242-57 at 247-8, discusses this phenomenon further.

ii.14	(44)	Totoês, his slave	1 dr.	1 obol
iii.3	(63)	Sostratê, his (female) slave		3 obols
v.13	(135)	Tekysis, his (female) slave		3 obols
v.28	(150)	*Tw=w-wtn*, his (female) slave		3 obols

Taking account of Clarysse's new readings, it is only the first of these entries that is now relevant to the question of the salt-tax rate for slaves. Totoês, male slave of the tax-Hellene Petechonsis son of Imouthes, would appear to be charged the full male levy for the salt-tax at rate B; he is even charged the obol-tax, for which his tax-Hellene master was not liable. He is here treated as an independent person, who has no share in his master's privileges. This picture of the liability of male slaves (in practice no doubt their masters) for the full salt-tax rate is just possibly repeated in *CPR* XIII 4.33 (254-231 B.C.).[4] These new texts provide no support for the earlier view.

That slaves were liable for the salt-tax at the full adult rate is further clear from the salt-tax liability for cleruchs recorded in *P.Lille dem.* III 99.vi.18-19 (229 B.C.), where figures for adults both slave and free from the households of the preceding cleruchs are recorded together with their tax-liability. The figure for males includes male slaves, charged at the current full rate of 4 obols a head; the fact that this text belongs to the later C-rate for the salt-tax makes no difference at all to the liability of slaves.[5]

P.Lille I 27 = *W.Chrest.* 199 = Scholl, *Corpus* 87 (254-231 B.C.) still, however, remains the central text in this discussion. This was the text on which Uebel based his argument and it remains the key text in Scholl's acceptance of a preferential lower (female) rate for slaves. This census declaration, now in the Sorbonne, was first published (with an excellent plate) by P. Collart and J. Lesquier as "Liste de noms propres" in *P.Lille* I 27 (Ptol. III or IV).[6] It was republished with corrections as "Eine Subjektsdeklaration" as *W.Chrest.* 199 (III B.C.). The most recent republication is that of Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte* I 87 (second half III B.C.). The lay-out of this text is important and a translation which preserves this is given below. The alignment, which differs at the right foot from that of published editions, may be checked against the plate in *P.Lille* I:

Declaration [for the salt-tax]
Leptinês, Pisidian, of the troop of Krateros,
a two-parter (*dimoiritês*), and his wife Hêdylê
4 and sons Glaukias, Moirikôn, Nikandros,
Theophilos, and daughter Baia, (total) dr. 6,
and slaves (*paides*):

Leukôn	Daphnis
8 Chrysippos	Emporion
Styppax	Habron, total 13, total 6 (dr.) 3 obols
Drimakos	and in the Herôon

[4] Published as Marres, slaveboy (*paidion*), 1 dr.; Scholl, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) attempts to explain this text away; Clarysse reads only the initial *pi* of the second word. *CPR* XIII 6.56 (254-231 B.C.), recording Petearmotis son of Pais (not a *pais*) preceding his wife, is no longer relevant to the question; see Scholl, *ibid.*, 96.

[5] Male slaves (*ḫl*) are listed in iv.29, v.13, 30, 31. The differential at rate C is recognised by Scholl, 96.

[6] Cf. p. 278 where the figure 6 in line 5 is, as in *W.Chrest.* 199, interpreted as the number of persons (without the daughter). The text recording "Year 15" together with a few letters which is described as found together with this declaration in the introduction to *P.Lille* I 27 has been examined by Clarysse; it is in a different hand and appears unrelated. On the date of the main text, see below.

		close by the city
	Apartôn	slaves (*paides*):
12	Pyrrhias	
		Totoês
	Artemidoros	Semtheus
	[.] . abdaios	another Semtheus
	[ ] n . .	. . . . .

text broken at foot

In line 5 of this census declaration we find the dues at rate B for the immediate family of Leptines: Leptines himself (1 dr.), his wife Hedyle (3 ob.), their four sons (4 x 1 dr. = 4 dr.) and their daughter (3 ob.). Though of taxable age, all of these children still lived at home and the total family liability recorded in line 5 is correctly given as six drachmas. The salt-tax rate (rate B) enables us to date this text more specifically to the period 254-231 B.C. So far, so good. Then there follow Leptines' slaves who are listed in two columns and who lived in at least two locations. In ll. 10-11, right column, "in the Heroon close by the city" forms the start to a second group of slaves, for whom three Egyptian names survive with traces of a fourth to the right of line 15. In line 9 to the right, following three names at the head of the second column, the text reads: "total 13, total 6 (dr.) 3 obols." If, as is stated, six and a half drachmas is the charge for 13 persons then these are clearly charged at 3 obols each. By assuming an extra line at the foot,[7] 13 slaves can be identified, at least 8 of them male (in the column to the left). Slaves, on this view, were all of them charged at 3 obols each with no gender distinction applied. Such was the claim of Uebel, adopted by Shelton and Scholl. There are, however, problems with this interpretation. Six and a half drachmas is of course the regular rate for 13 females at 3 obols apiece and, as noted above, *P.Lille dem.* III 101.ii.14 suggests that in this period (of rate B: 254-231 B.C.) male slaves were charged a full male-rate. Here, however, the slaves in the left hand column all carry (Greek) names that are male. How can this apparent discrepancy be resolved?

Historians must always look at their texts. Closer inspection of this papyrus is what is needed. What the earlier explanation of our census declaration failed to take into full account is the break at the foot of the text. Those slaves in the column of names to the left are all of them male whereas, strikingly, the three names at the head of the column to the right—those immediately followed by the total—are all of them female.[8] Daphnis is, of course, known as a male name but can equally well be female.[9] Emporion occurs as a name in Ephesos, though whether a father or mother is listed there is unclear;[10] with this form of ending for her name and in this company we may assume that this slave too is female. Habron, in contrast, is regularly female.[11] These three female slaves would appear to form the end of the listing of an all-female group.

The size of the surviving text is just 13 cm high and 17 cm broad; there is, then, no reason to be bound by the judgement of the original editors that just one line is missing at the foot. In fact, we have no means of knowing how much is lost below; the sheet may have extended well down below its break. And in that case we might conclude that Leptines' large holding of slaves was even larger than it now

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[7] *P.Lille* I 27: "manque une ligne;" Scholl, *op.cit.* (above, n. 2) 87: "Es fehlt eine Zeile" below line 15.

[8] Scholl, *Corpus* p. 311 opts to take them as male without strong support.

[9] Lucian, *D.Meretr.* 293 (6), female; for other examples, see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II-IIIA as Δαφνίς rather than the male Δάφνις.

[10] *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* V 1687.2a.5 (I B.C.), from *LGPN* files.

[11] *CPR* XIII 5.20 (254-231 B.C.); *IG* II^2 9210 (Hellenistic), Cyrenaica; *IG* II^2 5241 (c. 300 B.C.), Athens; *IG* II^2 8497 (I A.D.), Argolid (from *LGPN* I-IIIA).

appears on the printed page. His first group of slaves—those with Greek names—seems to be divided by sex, with their dues totalled at the end of each group. The three female names of ll. 7-9 to the right, to judge from the total 13, will have been preceded by 10 more females at the foot of the previous column. We might also assume that in that column a total for males followed the preceding list of male names. That these male slaves were liable for the salt-tax at the full male rate of 1 drachma a head may also be assumed, on the pattern of *P.Lille dem.* III 101 from the same period. More (Egyptian) slaves followed in the second Heroon group. In this interpretation, this text provides no evidence at all for a special rate for slaves, but rather preserves an interesting record of a substantial slave-owning cleruch in the mid third century B.C.

Pisidian Leptines, in this interpretation, is a very substantial individual, a prime example of those who did well out of the new opportunities of the Fayum expansion under the early Ptolemies.[12] Whether he lived in the capital of Crocodilopolis—as suggested perhaps by the group of his slaves located "in the Heroon close by the city" (l. 10)—or in Pharbaithos of the Herakleides *meris*, where two of his sons are known, is nowhere stated. Leptines' immediate family was a large one, with noticeably more sons than daughters. Two sons, Nikandros and Myrikon (the same as Moirikon above), are known from a Zenon letter as the owners in Pharbaithos of a black horse which—it was claimed—was useless except for breeding because of swellings on its legs. The Alexandrian doctor Artemidoros requested that Zenon try to buy the stallion cheaply or else borrow it for him.[13] A fifth possible son named Phaidros may be listed with his brother as a 100-aroura cleruch some five years later.[14] All in all, the full household of Leptines was among the largest we know, with 4 sons (and possibly others), one daughter and two groups of slaves. It seems likely that these were workshop slaves, involved in some form of production. Slaveholding was very much a Greek phenomenon in this period though not all Greeks owned slaves; just one family in seven is the figure we calculate in our work on the salt-tax registers. And, in those households where slaveholding is found, just one or two household slaves was the norm. The large numbers found here for Leptines were very much the exception.[15]

If the scale of slaveholding illustrated by this text is somewhat exceptional, I have tried to show that the same does not apply to the salt-tax rate for which Leptines' slaves were liable. The only surviving figures in this text for slaves—thirteen individuals charged 6 dr. 3 obols for the salt-tax—is likely to be that for female slaves. If we take account of the break at the foot of the text, we may assume that many more slaves (10 females + x males) were once recorded in the missing part of the text. Leptines' declaration should probably now join those other texts which clearly show a uniformly differential rate for the salt-tax charged on males and females, both slave and free alike.

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[12] F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Aegyptens* (Berlin 1968) 76, no. 158.

[13] *P.Cairo Zen.* II 59225.2-8 (253 B.C.).

[14] *P.Petrie* III 109 (a) ii.1, [Ph]aidros son of Leptin[es]; iii.1, [x. son of Le]ptines (248 B.C.).

[15] For other large slaveholdings in the Ptolemaic period, see I. Biezunska-Malowist, *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Première Partie: Période ptolémaïque* (Warsaw 1974) 66-9, on textile production.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 45-50

8. *P.COLL.YOUTIE* 77 = *P.COL.* VII 171 REVISITED

(Ewa Wipszycka)

In 1976, among other papyri edited to honour Herbert C. Youtie, Naphtali Lewis published a document which is most interesting for historians of Christianity in Egypt. It is the oldest known record of the word μοναχός in the papyri. This text comes from the Archive of Aurelios Isidoros of Karanis and it is dated on the 6th of June 324.

The document was later reprinted as *P.Col.* VII 171, from which comes the text and translation I reproduce here:

Διοσκόρῳ Καίσωνι πραιπ(οσίτῳ) ε πάγου
παρὰ Ἰσιδώρου Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Καρ[α]νίδος
τοῦ ὑμετέρου πάγου· τῶν θρεμμ[άτ]ων Παμού-
4 νεως καὶ Ἁρπάλου καταλυμηνα[μέ]νων ἣν
ἔχω σπορὰν καὶ μὴν καὶ τῆς β[οὸ]ς α[ὐτῶν] πάλιν
ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καταβοσκηθείσης ὥστε ἀχρή-
σιμόν μοι τὴν γεωργίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ καταλαβο-
8 μένου μου τὴν βοῦν καὶ ἀνάγοντος αὐτὴν
ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης ἀπαντήσαντές μοι κατὰ τοὺς
ἀγροὺς μεγά⟨λῳ⟩ ῥοπάλῳ καὶ χαμαιριφῆ ἐμὲ ποι-
ησάμενοι πληγαῖς κατέκοψαν καὶ τὴν βοῦν
12 ἀφείλαντο ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ περὶ ἐμὲ πληγαὶ
δηλοῦσιν, καὶ εἰ μὴ βοηθείας ἔτυχο(ν) ὑπὸ
τῶν παραγενομένων Ἀντωνίνου διάκο-
νος καὶ Ἰσὰκ μοναχοῦ τάχα ἂν τέλεόν
16 με ἀπώλεσαν. ὅθεν ἐπιδίδωμι τάδε
τὰ ἔνγραφα ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ σοῦ
καὶ περὶ τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ περὶ τῆς ὕβρεως
τηρεῖσθαι ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τοῦ
20 ἡγεμονικοῦ δικαστηρίου . . . . . .
τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ
Παῦνι ιβ

To Dioskoros Caeso, praepositus of the 5th *pagus*, from Isidoros son of Ptolemaios, from the village of Karanis in your *pagus*. The cattle of Pamounis and Harpalos damaged the planting which I have and, what is more, [their cow] grazed in the same place so thoroughly that my husbandry has become useless. I caught the cow and was leading it up to the village when they met me in the fields with a big club, threw me to the ground, rained blows upon me and took away the cow—as indeed the (marks of) the blows all over me show—and if I had not chanced to obtain help from the deacon Antoninus and the monk Isaac, who happened by, they would probably have finished me off completely. Therefore I submit this document, asking that they be brought before you to preserve my claim (to be heard) in the prefectural court both in the matter of the planting and in the matter of the assault.

In the year of the consuls-to-be for the fourth time, Pauni 12.

A year after publication of this document E.A. Judge, already known to papyrologists as the author of articles on church history, published a study with the title "The Earliest Use of *Monachos* for 'Monk' (*P. Coll.Youtie* 77) and the Origins of Monasticism."[1] This article provides description of the oldest literary evidence on monasticism. Judge was mostly interested in the forms of monasticism in its early phase, but he also tried to establish which of them was practised by Isaac in our document.

Interpreting the key lines of *P. Col.* VII 171, Judge wrote:

> "The bareness of this record makes the matter-of-fact appearance of a deacon and a monk at the very least all the more striking. Antoninus is the earliest of a number of deacons[2] who are mentioned in or who initiate formal documents of public life in the villages of Egypt during the generation which runs down to the middle of the century. Taken together they show that deacons were active and prominent figures in village affairs. Antoninus is the only instance in this group where the deacon is mentioned by another person who can be assumed not to be a member of the church. That he can be cited in this way by an outsider appealing to the *praepositus pagi* confirms the local effectiveness of the Constantinian establishment. His rank adds weight to the petition, and his evidence will be available to support the plea." [...]
>
> "Similar considerations apply to the monk, Isaac, whose position, from Isidorus' point of view, parallels that of Antoninus. It is taken for granted that he can be identified by the public authorities. He is no remote hermit. On the other hand, his association with the deacon suggests that he is in some way church-related, and not a monk from a coenobitic monastery. Since no further details are given, it can be assumed that he belongs to the village of Karanis. The citing of his style in a civil document implies that it offered Isidorus a familiar and respectable security." (pp. 72-4)

Judge's interpretation was accepted by G. Gould, even though the latter had some doubts as to the value of Judge's reconstruction of the beginnings of the monastic movement: "Judge's reconstruction ... is not without its problems."[3] Similarly, J. E. Goehring comments: "This monk, the earliest for whom direct non literary evidence is available, is not one who, in a quest of solitude, fled to the desert or mountains where he might avoid the encumbering affairs of the world. Isaac, as a μοναχός, remained an active member of the wider community. The simple inclusion of his title μοναχός in the petition, together with that of the deacon Antoninus, suggests that both the titles and the individuals were recognized in Karanis. The petitioner, Isidorus, undoubtedly hoped to add weight to his claim through the use of the titles."[4]

It seems to me that the interpretation of *P.Col.* VII 171 as given by Judge (and repeated by Gould and Goehring) should be well and critically tested.

1

In no case is the petition in question a proof for the "local effectiveness of the Constantinian establishment." Judge has forgotten that the Constantinian era in Egypt starts later than in the West, only after

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[1] *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (1977) 72-89. Judge included a shorter version of the article in G.H.R. Horsley (ed.), *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1976*, (Macquarie 1981) 124-6 (no. 81, "The Earliest Attested Monk").

[2] R.S. Bagnall in *BL* IX, 60, makes it evident that there is an earlier document recording this term, namely *P.Oxy.* LV 3787.84 (see below, section **2**). Even if there were not any records of the word "deacon" in the papyri, nevertheless we would be certain of the presence of deacons in the Egyptian Church in the III/IV cent. A.D., based on our knowledge of the Church institutions in general. In this period one could not say mass without the assistance of a deacon.

[3] "Early Egyptian Monasticism and the Church," in J. Loades (ed.), *Monastic Studies. The Continuity in Tradition* (Bangor 1990) 1-2.

[4] "The origins of monasticism," in H.W. Attridge and G. Hata (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* (Leiden 1992) 220-41 = J. E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society and the Desert. Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg 1999) 22.

the final victory over Licinius. Licinius did not openly persecute Christians, but he did not favour them either. Thus, one should wait for the beginning of the new (from the Church point of view) era in Egypt till Constantine took over power there. It still had not happened by the day in which Isidoros went forward with his plea, *P.Col.* VII 171, that is, the 6th of June 324. The first defeat of Licinius was at Adrianopolis, on the 3rd of July and the final battle between the contenders over the Empire took place at Chrysopolis, on the 18th of September. Anyway, even if our document had been dated a couple of months later, we should not rush into a conclusion that Constantine's new religious policy was put instantly into effect. Constantine's change of policy in Egypt should rather be dated in the year 325, and more specifically to its second half.

2

The conclusion from the chronological considerations for the interpretation of *P.Col.* VII 171 is clear: A *praepositus pagi* has no reason to treat Christians with any particular respect. There is nothing in this document that could show us that the deacon Antoninus and the monk Isaac enjoyed any special reverence in Karanis. Their participation in this case was, obviously, a pure accident; they were simply going to the village when the fight took place and, hence, they were the only witnesses. Isidoros was not able to present any other testimonies. Judge certainly knows about it and bases his interpretation on a different piece of information put forward by the text. He points out that the scribe who wrote *P.Col.* VII 171 (Aurelios Isidoros was illiterate) provided the witnesses' names and recorded their position in the Church, even though they had no relevance for the case.

Judge, however, makes a mistake in his interpretation by forgetting the customary rules that govern the diplomatic of documents. We deal here, indeed, with a rather common way of giving the personal data in papyri and making it, thus, possible to identify a person living or staying in a bigger village among several (or even a dozen or so) homonymous people. In such a case, the scribe would normally use a patronymic. This is, however, omitted for the names of the witnesses in the Columbia papyrus and is replaced with the terms "deacon" and "monk." We are led to such a conclusion by the way the entries containing clerics' names were carried out in two lists of an official character. The first one is a register of real estate in Panopolis (*P.Berl.Bork.*, dated between 298 and 330)[5] that includes six deacons owning houses. The other one is *P.Oxy.* LV 3787.24-5 (end of the 3rd century, or, possibly, beginning of the 4th century), a tax list,[6] that mentions a "deacon of the church." In both texts deacons' names are not followed by a patronymic. The scribes followed the same practice in cases of persons whose occupation was mentioned: they did not enter the father's name.

The reader might think that my reasoning is weakened by the fact that both Isidoros' wrong-doers are mentioned only by their name, with neither the patronymic nor their title or occupation. An examination of *P.Cair.Isid.*—the edition of the majority of the *dossier* gathered by the protagonist of our text, Aurelios Isidoros—shows that the scribes executing (numerous!) petitions with claims against different persons—pleas that were to be later submitted to the authorities—often omit the patronymic of the wrong-doers. Such is the case of the defendants in *P.Cair.Isid.* 68 (309/310), 74 (315) and 76 (318) who are described only by their name; only in 75 (313) does a patronymic occur. The plaintiff might have taken the ones that had trespassed against him to be well-known enough, and thus there was no reason for any additional identification.

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[5] There are six deacons named in this document: I 19; IX 29; XI 7; XI 32; XIV 30; A IV 10; see Borkowski's commentary on p. 69.

[6] It is worth noting that the scribe felt the need to write: διάκων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, since the term "deacon" by itself did not have the unambiguous ecclesiastical meaning yet.

Certainly, recalling one's ecclesiastical position can aim at strengthening the position of the claimant before the authorities. Such cases, however, appear much later. The following is the oldest text of this kind, *P.Abinn.* 55, dated on the 11th of February 351:

"To Flavius Abinnaeus, formerly one of the protectores, *praefectus alae* of the camp of Dionysias from Aurelius Heron, deacon, of the village of Berenikis in the same nome, greeting. If we did not possess the truth of the laws we should long ago have been destroyed by evil-doers. Euporus then, son of Hermias, of the village of Philagris in the same nome, robbed me in my house, entering it in the manner of a robber, and seized all my clothing, and appropriated it to his own use until now, although I can demonstrate that it was he who perpetrated this outrage. Wherefore I ask, my lord *praepositus*, that what he robbed me of should be given to me without demur; for I am a deacon of the principal church (διάκων γὰρ τετ[ύ]χηκα τῆς κ[αθ]ολικῆς ἐκ⟨κ⟩[λ]ησίας).[7] And obtaining this I shall owe you thanks for ever. Farewell. After the consulship of Flavius Sergius and Nigrinianus the most illustrious, Mecheir 17."

Let us remember that when *P.Abinn.* 55 was written, only 27 years later than *P.Col.* VII 171, the Church situation had radically changed.

3

In his commentary Judge expresses the conviction that the monk Isaac was "in some way church related." In the conclusions of his article he comes back to the question of relations between Isaac (and ascetics alike him) and the Church and considers *P.Col.* VII 171 as evidence for the existence of a group "ranking alongside the ministers of the Church" (p. 88). What arises from the document, however, is the following fact: the monk and the deacon found themselves together, not far from the village, and nothing more. We cannot tell what the relation between the monk and the deacon was. In cases as this one, it is better for commentators to refrain from suggestions that are simply not able to be proven.

4

The monk of *P.Col.* VII 171 interests Judge mostly as an early example for the history of monastic forms. Having thoroughly overviewed the literary and documentary sources for the period before more or less the end of the fourth century that relate to monasticism, Judge, followed by Goehring, considers Isaac as a member of an ascetic group described in the sources as ἀποτακτικοί. The type of asceticism practised by these monks resembles another model of premonastic asceticism: groups of widows and virgins long-existing in the Church. The *apotaktikoi,* forming small communities, stayed in the same villages in which they had lived before, did not renounce their personal belongings, and did not seclude themselves from social and economic life.

Judge's starting point is based on his conviction that the lack of any additional information about the monk-witness proves that he was connected to Karanis and that the authorities knew where to find him ("it is taken for granted that he can be identified by public authorities" [*ibid.* p. 73]; "he belongs to the village of Karanis" [*ibid.* p. 74]). This idea, however, is wrong. Bringing the witness to the authorities (i.e., the *praepositus pagi,* or possibly the governor's court, if Isidoros was going to take action) is not

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[7] Considering the context in which the term *katholike* is used, one has no doubts that the deacon Heron used this term in the meaning of "general, universal, extending throughout the world" (cf. Lampe, *A Patristic Lexicon* s.v.). The fact, however, that the deacon belonged to the church of the small village Berenikis, would not have served him much before Abinnaeus. On this issue, see my article "Καθολική et les autres épithètes qualifiant le nom ἐκκλησία. Contribution à l'étude de l'ordre hiérarchique des églises dans l'Égypte byzantine," *JJP* 24 (1994) 209-10 = *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome 1996) 173-4.

the responsibility of the "public authorities," but of the plaintiff who—in our case—could also arrange with the monk where to find him when he was needed.

Obviously, rejecting Judge's interpretation that the monk Isaac "belongs to Karanis" does not mean by itself that the rest of his argument has also been dismissed. We must still reconsider his belief that the monk Isaac cannot have been either "a remote hermit," or a member of a semianachoretic laura (organised on the prototype of the community in Pispir under St. Anthony),[8] or even a monk of a coenobitic monastery, and thus he must be placed in some different form of asceticism.

Judge's assertion is based on his assumption that Isaac's presence close to Karanis is symptomatic. In other words, if Isaac had been a hermit, a member of a semianachoretic laura or coenobitic monastery, he could not have come close to Karanis, that is to the "world." Alas, such a consideration—so obvious to Judge that he did not feel the need to formulate it in writing—is totally false.

Let us remove from the discussion the coenobitic monks: the event told in *P.Col.* VII 171 happened in the year 324, whereas the beginnings of the Pachomian community, i.e., the first coenobitic monastery, are usually dated to ca. 325.[9] Isaac cannot have belonged to a *coenobion*, as such a form of monasticism had not come into existence yet. It is, however, almost certain that for a dozen years or so a semianachoretic community under the supervision of Anthony had been functioning in Pispir. Another famous society of similar character, Nitria, was just beginning its history. There must have been some ascetics living alone or in small groups at *gebel* borders or foot-hills.

Contrary to Judge's assumption, hermits and members of semianachoretic communities constituted a busy and restless society.[10] The necessity of shorter and longer journeys for monks was determined above all by economic reasons: they had to sell their products and buy materials. Although we sometimes meet lay agents, their interventions are rather exceptional.[11] The monks set off for a journey when they were discontented with their life, looking for a different place for their cell, a different semianachoretic group, and a different master, or when they wanted to visit brethren famous for their piety or they looked for counsel or support in hard times, etc. A periodic visit "to the world" was not in principle contrary to the "quest for solitude" or an aspiration to avoid "the encumbering affairs of the world."[12]

It is true that many monastic texts (*apophthegmata*, ascetic treatises) emphasise the need to stay in a cell, but the same sources not infrequently provide evidence for travels of monks. Resting in a cell belongs to the monastic ideal; leaving it brings one to reality, especially a reality accepted without suspi-

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[8] Judge rightly resists the temptation to connect Isaac with St. Anthony.

[9] I should add briefly here that there were never coenobitic monks, even in the most rigorous Pachomian version, hermetically enclosed in their monasteries. Monks could happen to be out of their monastic community, that is in the "world," for (at least) two reasons: (i) conducting monastery business at the administrative authorities, buying food and other goods for the monastery, selling goods produced by monks, looking for orders for these goods or even for a hired job for monks; (ii) visiting family (especially in the case of their relatives' death or illness or of arguments of various nature). Pachomius and his immediate successors did not like such returns "to the world" very much, as the psychological losses in which they could result were real (especially in the case of younger monks whose monastic life was of a shorter time), but they could not entirely forbid them. Total separation from their families could hardly have been accepted by monks. Only monastery leaders could afford forgetting about family ties; forbearance fell on the others.

[10] See G.E. Gould, "Moving on and Staying Put in the Apophthegmata," *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989) 231-7. It is beyond my perception why Gould did not see the contradiction between the results of his study and Judge's reasoning (I recall here Gould's publication cited above, n. 3).

[11] On the topic, cf. the broad data in my study "Les aspects économiques de la vie de la communauté des Kellia," in P. Bridel (ed.), *Le site monastique copte des Kellia. Sources historiques et explorations archéologiques* (Geneva 1986) 117-44 = *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome 1996) 337-62.

[12] Goehring, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 22

cions of the Devil's inspiration. Perhaps, we perceive the co-existence of both of these positions as something inconsistent, but the monastic mentality does not respect the rules of Aristotle's logic and it does not eliminate contradictions.

Finally, we should remember what in fact constituted the "monastic desert" in Egypt, if we exclude the πανέρημος, i.e. the "deep, desolate desert." The average distance from *gebel* to the "black" (that is cultivable) earth and from Egypt—the Egyptians did not recognise the desert as Egypt; it was only desert—to desert can amount only to a couple of kilometres. Hence, it was not the distance that would lead to a total isolation of the monks from the "mundane," because lay people would come to monks through desert paths seeking blessing and counsel, the monks would follow the same paths to get water from a canal, to buy food, to attend mass in the nearby church, to visit sick people, to meet other monks, and so on.

In conclusion, there is nothing that would entitle us to treat the presence of the monk Isaac close to Karanis as a clue to determine his belonging to any monastic group active in Egypt. Commentary *ad loc.* to *P.Col.* VII 171 is not the place where one could (and should) occupy him- or herself with the *vexata quaestio* of the precise meaning of the term *apotaktikos.*[13] This document simply does not belong to a *dossier* concerning *apotaktikoi.* Judge and his followers, Gould and Goehring, have committed the venial sin of the papyri commentators: they are guilty of over-interpretation.

University of Warsaw

[13] *Vexata* —because the sources that record this term supply us with information that cannot be reconciled.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 51-68

9. DELIVERIES FOR CYNHΘEIA IN BYZANTINE PAPYRI

(Klaas A. Worp)

For J. David Thomas, as his own share of "extras,"
ad multos annos

In various Byzantine contracts for, e.g., the lease of land or, occasionally, the lease of a house or for the performance of work—or in some cases, even for both a lease of land and for work—or for a loan, one finds often enough, next to "normal" payments, promises to perform something "extra": deliveries in kind, e.g., in the form of a number of agricultural commodites, etc., "λόγῳ/ὑπὲρ cυνηθείαc." The most recent general discussion of the subject of such "extra" payments in land leases was given forty years ago by J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958) 118ff., where he noticed that in the Byzantine papyri the phrasings of such "extra" promises distinguish themselves from similar promises about "Pächtersondergaben" in texts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt with the use of new terminology.

As Herrmann's discussion does not seem adequate any longer, a new analysis of the deliveries of these "extras" as mentioned in a corpus of now more than 50 texts seems interesting for various reasons:

a. for establishing more precisely the nature of the various commodities to be delivered,

b. for establishing more precisely the order in which they are mentioned, and

c. in order to see whether there is some relationship between the provenance of the texts and points "a" and "b." It will be obvious that such an analysis may contribute to a more full and convincing restoration of some fragmentarily preserved texts.

In order to obtain a clearer picture on this subject I present, after scrutinizing the papyrological evidence available on the DDBDP, PHI #7,[1] a list of papyri from Byzantine Egypt[2] illustrating the question of what exactly was stipulated on the subject of such extra-payments. As stated above, such deliveries are to be distinguished from regular rent payments in kind.[3] A variant of the λόγῳ/ὑπὲρ cυνηθείαc formula is found apparently in two Fayumic leases of orchards (cf. *SB* I 4483.11ff.; 4485.2ff.) in which the authors write χαριτήcω δὲ ὑμῖν λόγῳ ὑπηρεcίαc κτλ.; for the term ὑπηρεcία, cf. below, *P.Lond.* I 113.[4].26. These two *Sammelbuch* documents present fairly drastic departures from the known standard

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[1] As usual the DDBDP is an indispensable help for this type of research. Searching, however, in the DDBDP for cυνηθεια one does not find the attestations of *P.Stras.* 486.11 and *SB* VIII 9778.8 (where the spellings cηνηθ- and cυνοιθ- correspondingly have not been corrected). Moreover, it turns out that quite a few papyri refer to "Pächtersondergaben" without any use of the phrase λόγῳ/ὑπὲρ cυνηθείαc; these cases can be found found only via a search for commodities apparently handed over in other such clauses which *are* marked by way of this phrase. All dates are A.D. My own suggestions for corrections are marked with the initials KAW.

[2] I.e., dating from after 300. The earliest such delivery in this period seems to be *P.Vindob.Sal.* 8 (Hermop., 325?), and there are hardly any parallel cases in the 4th century. Only starting with the late 5th century (*SB* III 7167 from 477) these deliveries become more numerous in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.

[3] Cf. the Oxyrhynchite texts *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.23ff. and *P.Erl.* 75.18ff. which apparently mix up both elements. Not quite unambiguous on this point are the deliveries referred to in *P.Herm.* 26.12f.; for sake of completeness I have incorporated these texts into the list and discussion below.

formulas[4] and, hence, they will not be included in the following discussion.[5]

Reference and Provenance	Pertinent Phrase
P.Berl. Zill. 7.23, Oxy., 574	δώcω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκτακτα πάντα καὶ τὰc κατὰ καιρὸν γεουχι(κὰc) | ὑπηρεcίαc πάcαc καὶ τὰ ἑορτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν | φόρων, τουτέcτιν οἴνου λάγηνιν ἓν καὶ δελφάκιον ἕν.
BGU III 725.24, Arsinoe, 618	δώcω δέ coι καὶ ὀρνίθια μεγάλα |τρία.
BGU XII 2175.5,[6] Herm., V (cf. *BL* VIII 53)	δώcω δὲ κατ' ἔτοc ἐν καιρῷ τρύγηc | δελφάκιον ἄξιον ἀργ̣υ̣ρ̣[ίο]υ̣ τ̣α̣λ̣ά̣ν̣των ἑξακ[ιcχ]ειλίων καὶ πινάκιον μεcτὸν διαφόρων | βρωμάτων ἤγουν ἄξιον ἀργυρ[ίου τα]λ̣ά̣ντω̣ν̣ ἑξα[κιc]χειλίων καὶ ὀψαρίου λίτραc πέντε καὶ ἐλαίου ..... | ξέcτην ἕνα καὶ ἄρτων ἀπαλῶν ζεύγη πεντήκοντα καὶ οἴνου παλαιοῦ διδιπλοῦν ἓν καὶ ξηροcτ̣.[....] | ἀρτάβηc δωδέκατον.

[4] For completeness and in order to facilitate their mutual comparison I present in parallel fashion the pertinent formulas of *SB* I 4483.11ff. and 4485.2ff.:

4483.11	χαριτήcω δὲ ὑμῖν λόγῳ ὑπηρεcίαc μίαν διὰ μιᾶc εἰc ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
4485.2	[χαριτήcω δὲ ὑμῖν λόγῳ ὑπ]ηρεcίαc μίαν διὰ μιᾶc εἰc ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
4483.12	[... γογγυλῶν δ]έματα ἑπτὰ καὶ κοριδίου δέμα ἓν καὶ ἡδεοcμοῦ δέμα ἓν καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τῆc
4485.3/4	[... γογγυλῶν δέματ]α ἑπτὰ καὶ κοριδίου δέμα ἓν καὶ ἡδεοcμοῦ | [...ν δέμα] ἓν
4483.13	... τῶν βελοκίων καὶ τοῦ κίτρου ἐπὶ μῆναc δύο καλάθιον ἓν καὶ πεπόνιν ἓν
4485.4	καὶ τοῦ κίτρου ἐπὶ μῆναc δύο καὶ καλαθίου
4483.14	... κίτρον .... ια καὶ προcάπαξ ῥοὰc ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τῷ τῶν περcικῶν
4485.5/6	... κίτρου πεπόνια καὶ προcάπαξ ῥοὰc ἐνενήκοντα | [καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τῶν π]ερcικῶν
4483.15	[πάλιν μίαν διὰ μιᾶc περcικὰ τεccαρ]άκοντα καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἄcτρων περcικὰ διακόcια καὶ πεπόνια τέccαρα
4485.6/7	[π]άλιν μίαν διὰ μιᾶc περcικὰ τεccαράκοντα | [καὶ τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἄcτ]ρων περcικὰ διακόcια καὶ πεπόνια τέccαρα

SB 4483.12-13, restore τρύγηc, Preisigke, *WB* s.v. βελόκιον; *SB* 4485.4, KAW: read καλάθιον? *SB* 4483.14, KAW: restore at start κ̣α̣ί̣ (likewise in *SB* 4485.5) and read κίτρου πεπόνια (cf. *SB* 4485.5)? In general it remains mysterious why Wessely restored [!] twice γογγυλῶν δέματα (cf. *SB* 4483.12, 4485.3), while there was (and even today apparently still is) no model/parallel for this combination; in fact, any agricultural produce packed in "bundles" may be restored; cf. e.g., below §II.9.a/b (λαψάνη).

[5] In the following listing I have often normalized iotacistic spelling and other minor things without explicit comments.

[6] KAW proposes the following corrections to this text: line 7 ἑξα[κιc]χιλίων (ed.pr. ...[...]χειλίων); restore at line end ῥαφαν(ίνου); cf. other such deliveries of oil in Hermopolite contracts? Line 8: ἀπαλῶν cf. below, §II.1.a (ed.pr.: ἁπλῶν), and ξηροcτα̣[φίδω]ν̣ (ed.pr. : ξηροcτ̣.[....]).

BGU XII 2186.10-1, Herm., 514 (?)	παρ[έ]ξω δὲ καὶ ε̣[lost
	|] ἀπαλῶν ἀρτάβης ἥμισυ.
CPR IX 26.17 + *BL* IX 70,[7]	ἀ̣[π]οδ[ώ]σ̣ω̣ δέ σοι κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθείας τυροὺς
Herm. 545/6	| [ca. 34 καὶ στα]χ̣ύ̣ω̣ν δέματα ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ γάλακτος χύτρας |
	[ca 34] . . . . . σου κεράτια τρία καὶ ὄνους δύο εἰς μετα-
	| [φοράν ca. 14 πρὸς τὴν ἑ]ο̣ρτ̣[ὴ]ν κώμης Θύνεως εἰς τὸ ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐλθεῖν.
CPR IX 30.10, Herm., VII	παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθείας
	| τυρία δέκα καὶ σταχύων δέματα δέκα καὶ λεψάνης
	| ἀγγεῖον ἕν.
CPR XIV 2.15 + *BL* X 53,[8]	ὑπὲρ συνηθείας και̣[ν]όκουφ(α)
Arsinoe, VI/VII	| εὐάρεστα πεπισσωμένα̣ κο̣ῦρι
	| [ca. 6] κοντα καὶ σ̣τ̣ά̣μ(νους) δέκα ἑπτά.
P.Cair.Masp. I 107.17 + *BL* I 108 &	παρέξεις μοι
IX 43, Aphrod., 525/40	| τ̣υ̣ροὺς π̣[έντε καὶ λεψάν]ης κολοβὰ ἕξ.
P.Cair. Masp. III 67300.15,	παρέ̣[ξω] δὲ καὶ τυροὺς πε[ντ]ήκοντα καὶ λεψ̣[άν]ης κολ[ο]β̣ὰ̣ τέσσερα
Aphrod., 527	| --- καὶ χρυσοῦ τριμήσιον ἕν.
P.Coll. Youtie II 89.18, Herm., 485	π̣αρέ̣ξω [δ]ὲ ἐν τ[ῷ κα]ιρ̣ῷ τ[ῆς] τρύγης δελφά-
	| κι[ον ἄξ]ι̣ο̣ν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων ὀ̣κ̣τακισχιλίων καὶ πινάκιον ἄ̣[ξιο]ν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων
	| τε[τ]ρ[α]κ̣ι̣σ̣χιλίων.
P.Erl. 75.19,[9] Oxy., 535	-- ἀρταβῶν δύο καὶ τυρῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ σ̣τ̣ρ̣ο̣β̣[ίλων]
	| [. . . .]δ[. . . . ἀρ]ο̣ύ̣ρας δύο καὶ δελφάκια [
P.Flor. I 37.7 + *BL* I 138 & VIII 124,	πα]ρέξομεν δὲ καὶ λόγῳ δώρου δελφάκιον ἓν εὐάξιον.
Herm., 500-512	
P.Hamb. I 68.40, Aphrod.,	παρέξω δὲ ὑμῖν κατ' ἔτος ὑπὲρ δαπάνης τοῦ φόρου οἴνου
549/50 or 564/5	| ἀγγεῖα δύο καὶ κρέως λίτρας δώδεκα καὶ λεμψάνης κολοβὰ τέσσερα
	| καὶ τυροὺς ξηροὺς καλοὺς γεουχικοὺς ἑκατόν.
P.Heid. V 352.12, Herm., 558	παρέ]ξω δὲ κ̣α̣τ̣' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθε[ί]ας καιρῷ τρυγῶν α̣-
	| [ca. 28 καὶ προς]ομο[λ]ο̣γῶ κτλ.
P.Herm. 26.12,[10] Herm., V	-- τεσσ]ε̣[ρ]ά̣κοντα καὶ τυροὺς γεουχικοὺς
	| [*n* καὶ σταχύων δέματα] τ̣ρία καὶ λόγῳ ἑορτικῶν ὀρνίθια
	| [*n*.
P.Köln II 104 = *P.Vat. Aphrod.* 2,	παρέξω δὲ ὑμῖν καθ' ἔτος τυροὺς
Fr.B.12, Aphrod., VI	| ξηροὺς τεσσεράκοντα καὶ λεμψάνης κολοβὰ δύο καὶ ἑορτικὰς
	| ἐξαλλαγὰς τρεῖς ἀν̣ὰ̣ τ̣υ̣ρία καὶ λάχανα.

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[7] *BL* reports for line 18 that "nach dem Photo" the reading στα]χ̣ύ̣ω̣ν should be rejected, but I am not certain that this opinion should be followed, because: (a) one can read]χ̣υ̣ω̣ν, (b) if confronted with an amount of 75 δέματα one had hardly a choice to read anything but στα]χ̣ύ̣ω̣ν, and (c) the sequence of the various commodities is normal, if "bundles of corn ears" are meant (cf. similar sequences in the list given below). In line 22 restore: [πρὸς τὴν ἑ]ο̣ρτ̣[ή]ν; cf. *P.Oxf.* 16.14ff. (ed.pr.:] . ρ . . ν).

[8] In line 17 read σ̣τ̣ά̣μ(νους) (ed.pr.: σ̣υ̣ω̣μι).

[9] One may speculate about reading in line 20: οἴνου χ]ύ̣τ̣ρας; cf. the regular sequence of extras in *P.Berl. Zill.* 7 and *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132, both from Oxyrhynchus, in which also "wine" preceds "a little pig." But the term χύτρα is used normally with milk rather than with wine.

[10] I have filled in the lacuna of line 13 (cf. below, *P.Stras.* V 486.11); the sequence of commodities on this papyrus, viz. "cheeses, bundles of ears of corn," is normal for the Hermopolite nome.

P.Laur. I 7.9, Herm., 551? (cf. *BL* IX 120)	παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθείας | δελφάκιον ἓν καὶ πινάκιον ἓν μεστὸν διαφόρων βρωμ[άτων ἄξιον --] | καὶ ψωμίων ζεύγη τριάκοντα.
P.Laur. II 29.6, Herm., VI[11] (cf. *BL* IX 121)	παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συν[ηθείας] | [χοιράδα μίαν τιμ]ῆς κερατίων τριῶν καὶ τυρία ἑκατὸν πεντ[ήκοντα ...] | [ταχύων (?) δέ]ματα ἐν καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν καὶ οἴνου παλαιοῦ μεγάλ[α ἀγγεῖα] | [ ] δύο.
P.Lond. I 113 (4).24 + *BL* I 236,[12] Arsinoe, 595	παράς- | χομεν σοι τυροὺς εὐαρέστους ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐρίφια εὐάρεστα | δύο κ[αὶ τ]ὴ[ν ὑπ]ηρεσίαν τοῦ γάλακτος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν σταμνὶν ἓν μετὰ τυρίω(ν) | ἀναλό[γως καὶ] ψωμίου . ρεκτου γάλακτος ἑνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Τῦβι | μηνὸς [ἕως τετά]ρτης τοῦ Φαρμοῦθι μηνός.
P.Lond. III 1036.8 + *BL* III 95 & X 103, Herm., VI	δώσω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ [συν]ηθείας ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεως | οἴνου ἀγγεῖον μέγα ἓν καὶ πινάκιον μεστὸν διαφόρων | [βρωμάτων --.
P.Lond. V 1694.21, Aphrod., VI	παρέξωμέν σοι τυροὺς ξηροὺς καλοὺς μεγάλους γεουχικοὺς | πεντήκοντα καὶ λαψάνης κολοβὰ ἕξ.
P.Lond. V 1695.24, Aphrod., 531?	δώσω δὲ κ[αὶ τυ]ροὺς ἑβδ[ομή]κοντα καὶ λεψ[άνη]ς | κολ[ο]βὰ [ἕξ (?).
P.Lond. V 1698.4, Aphrod., VI	-- τυροὺ]ς τες[ς]εράκοντα ἓξ καὶ λαμψάνης κολ[ο]βὰ τέσσαρ[α] κ[α]ὶ | [--
P.Lond. V 1770.16 + *BL* III 99,[13] Herm., 548	[παρέξω λόγῳ συνηθείας] | ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἀποδόσεως τῶ[ν] δη[μοσίων χοιράδαν] | μίαν ἀξίαν ἀργυρίου ταλάντων χε[ιλίων] | καὶ τυρ(ί)α εὐάρεστα εἴκοσι καὶ [ ] | καὶ ἀχύρου σιτίνου σαργάνας δ[ύο.

[11] In line 8 ταχύων (?) δέ]ματα proposed by KAW (cf. below, §II.8.c; φασήλου or ξύλου δέματα less likely); ed. pr.:]αγα; move ἀγγεῖα from line 8 to 9 (i.e. read: μεγάλ[α] | [ἀγγεῖα] δύο = "2 angeia").

[12] In line 27 ἀναλό[γως καὶ] was supplied by KAW (ed.pr. : αναλ[. . . . .]). For this restoration, a (single) parallel is found in *CPR* VIII 62.26; in other texts one finds prepositional combinations like πρὸς/κατ' ἀναλογίαν. The reading αιρεκτο given in *BL* I 236 for l. 27 is not entirely correct. On the microfilm of the London papyri one can read -ρεκτου before γάλακτος, the final upsilon (written, as so often, *supra lineam*) being covered for the most part by the downward end of the right leg of the lambda of γάλακτος in the preceding line. As to the start in αι-, this reading causes problems; it is even not quite certain whether there are two letters or only one before -ρεκτου. On balance, though actually one cannot be certain, I would be inclined to read only one letter before it. Furthermore, it should be noticed that: (1) there is no adjective αιρεκτος in Greek; (2) there is no reason to reckon with the genitive of a look-alike adjective, viz. ἄρρεκτος (= "unaccomplished"); and (3) an alternative adjective ὀρεκτός (= "longed for, desired") does not seem to occur yet in the documentary papyri and is not attested in literary sources with the meaning expected here, i.e. "of good quality" (cf. the adjective designation "of good quality" found rather frequently in such συνήθεια-clauses, viz. ἀρεστός; but that adjective cannot be read here either, as the letters -ρεκτο- are quite certain). It looks, therefore, as if one is dealing here with either a scribal mistake or with a new expression for which there is no parallel yet. For bread composed partly of milk ψωμίον γάλακτος = ψωμίον ἀπαλόν) cf. E. Battaglia, "*Artos.*" *Il lessico di panificazione nei papiri greci.* Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum 2 (Milan 1989) 99; cf. also the ἄρτοι ἀπαλοί in *SB* XIV 12050.13 and *BGU* XII 2175.8. Furthermore in l. 27 the microfilm shows that the correct reading is in fact ἑν^{ὸς}, i.e. the scribe first wrote only εν, then added the ending -ος "supra lineam;" the *BL* editors printed ἑνός. For the festival referred to in lines 27-8, cf. below, *SB* VI 9589.12ff. (Pharmouthi 4 = March 30).

P.Lond. V 1771.8 + *BL* III 99,[14] Herm. VI	παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθ[είας δελφάκιον]
	| ἓν ἄξιον χρ[υ]σοῦ κερατίου ἑνὸς ἡμίσεως καὶ τ̣υ̣ρ̣ὸ̣ν̣ εὐ̣[ά]ρεστον [ἕνα καὶ ?? καὶ]
	|σταχύων δέ̣μ̣ατα δέκα καὶ λαψάνης ἀ̣γ̣γεῖα δύο̣ κ̣[α]ὶ̣ γά̣λ̣α̣κ̣τος χ[ύτραν
P.Michael. 43.11 + *BL* IV 53, Aphrod., 526	παρέξεις δέ μοι καὶ τυροὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ λαψάνης κολοβὰ τέσσαρα καὶ ὀρνι[θ- --.
P.Michael. 46.21, Aphrod., 559	παρέξω δὲ ὑμῖν καθ' ἔτος τυροὺς ξηροὺς γεουχικοὺς
	| καλοὺς τεσσεράκοντα καὶ λεμψάνης κολοβὰ δύο.
P.Michael. 54.11ff., Aphrod., VI	-- τυροὺς]
	| πεντήκοντα καὶ λεμψάνη[ς κ]ολοβὰ̣ [--
P.Oxf. 16.14, Herm., VI/VII	παρέξει δὲ κατ' ἔτος καὶ ἀ̣χ̣ύρου καυ̣σί̣μ̣ου̣
	| σαργάνην μίαν καὶ γάλακτος χύτραν μίαν καὶ σταχύων̣ δέματα δ̣έ̣κα
	| καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύν(εως) ὄνον ἕνα εἰς τὸ ἀπελθεῖν χωρὶς φορέτρων.
P.Oxy. XVI 1890.12, Oxy., 508	(ἐπὶ τὸ διδόναι ἡμᾶς) ὑπὲρ ἑορτικῶν ὄρνεα τρία καὶ ᾠὰ τρ[ι]άκοντα.
P.Oxy. LXI 4132.29, Oxy., 619	δώσω δὲ καὶ τὰ
	| ἀναλώματα τῆς τρύγης οἴνου
	| παλαιοῦ σηκώματα ὀκτὼ καὶ
	| μουστάρια ὀκτὼ καὶ δελφάκιον
	| ἓν τιμῆς κερατίων τεσσάρων.
P.Palau Ribes 23.5,[15] Aphrod., VI	δώσω δὲ καθ' ἔτος τυροὺς
	| [ξηροὺς *n* καὶ λαψάνης ἀγγεῖα / κολοβὰ *n*] ἑορτικὰς ἐξαλλαγὰς τρῖς
	| [ἀνὰ τυρία καὶ λάχανα ---].
P.Ross.Georg. V 42.18,[16] Herm., 602?	παρέξω δὲ ὑ]μῖν ὑ̣π̣ὲ̣ρ̣ συνηθείας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν καιρῷ τ̣ῆ̣[ς
	| [τρύγης] . . μ . . ης[. . χοι]ρ̣ά̣δαν μ̣ί̣[αν] τιμῆς κερ(ατίων) τ̣[ρ]ιῶν κ̣α̣ὶ̣ χόρτου . [ ]
	| [---
P.Select. 16.13, Herm.,[17] V/VI (cf. *BL* VIII 200)	παρέξω δὲ ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ πέντε καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ μηνὸς
	| λόγῳ συνηθείας οἴνου ἀγ]γεῖον ἓν καὶ πινάκιον μεστὸν διαφόρων βρω̣μ̣ά̣τ̣ων
	| [. . . . .] . . . . . καὶ δελφάκια δύο εὐάρεστα ἄξια ἀργυρίου ταλάντων
	| [. . . . χιλίων καὶ δισκάρια] μεστὰ διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἔχοντα τυροὺς διακοσίους
	| [καὶ . . . . .] τ̣εσσεράκοντα ἀφ' οἵου θέλητε τούτους τρεφομένους.
P.Stras. V 482.15, Herm., 538	[παρέξω δὲ λόγ]ῳ ς̣[υνηθείας σταχύ]ω̣ν̣ δέματα ἓξ καὶ τυροὺς
	| [εὐαρέστους n καὶ ἀχύρου κ]αυ̣σί̣[μ]ου σαργάνην μίαν καὶ γά̣λ̣α̣κ̣τ̣ος
	| [χύτραν μίαν καὶ . . . . . τ]ρεῖς.
P.Stras. V 486.11,[18] Herm., 504/5 (cf. *BL* VIII 420)	παρέξω δὲ λ[ό]γῳ συνηθείας σ̣τ̣α̣χ̣ύ̣ων δέμματα τρ[ία]
	| κ[αὶ ca 27 ?χόρ]τ̣ο̣υ̣ ἀγκάλας [δύ]ο καὶ λεψά[νη]ς ἀγγῖα δύο καὶ ξύλου̣

[13] Line 17, χοιράδαν supplied by KAW; l. 19 τυρ⟨ί⟩α KAW; l. 20 δ[ύο more likely than δ[έκα, KAW (ed. δ[ύο] ?).

[14] Line 8, δελφάκιον supplied by KAW (cf. below); was there another commodity listed in the lacuna of l. 9?

[15] For this text, see the remarks by N. Gonis, "Korr. Tyche #330," *Tyche* 14 (1999) 330.

[16] In ll. 18-9 restore τ̣ῆ̣[ς] | [τρύγης or τ̣ῶ̣[ν] | [τρυγῶν?; cf., e.g., *P.Laur.* II 29.8; *P.Vindob.Tandem* 28.19-20; ed.princ. . . [| [--). In l. 19 restore χοι]ρ̣ά̣δαν μ̣ί̣[αν] (cf. below, §II.6.b; ed.princ.] . . . αν . . [. .]). For the amount of χόρτος, cf. below.

[17] In line 17 KAW has supplied . . . . χιλίων καί. For the lacuna in l.18, cf. the ed.princ., note ad loc. and below, §II.6.c; for l. 15 cf. below, §II.4.b.

δέμμα⟨τα⟩ δύο
| καὶ παρε̣[ca 25]̣. . [καὶ] ψωμίων ζε[ύ]γη̣ τεσσεράκοντα̣ καὶ τυ̣ροὺς εὐαρέστο(υς) τεσσεράκοντα
| καὶ κρέω[ς λίτρας . . . . .]̣.[̣. κ]αὶ πινάκ̣[ι]ον μεστὸν βρωμάτων μίαν καὶ ἐλέο̣υ̣ ῥαφανί⟨ν⟩ου ξέστην μίαν
| καὶ οἴνου ὅ[ξους ca 8]α̣. . [̣.]ντη̣.[. .]̣. ἀγγῖα ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ πίθου καὶ ὑπὲρ σμήματος ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ πίθου
| καὶ τ̣. . τ̣.[ca 12] ξυλικῶν ὀ̣[ργά]νου καὶ δελφάκιον μίαν ἄξιον ς̣[ί]του ἀρτάβας μίας ἥμισυ.

P.Stras. V 488.3,[19] Herm., VI — παρέξω δὲ
| κατ' ἔτος [λόγῳ συνηθείας γά]λα⟨κτος⟩ χύτραν μίαν καὶ σταχύων
| δέματα [ca 10 καὶ δέ]μ̣ατα ἓν καὶ ἀχύρου καυσίμου σαργάνην
| ἥμισυ.

P.Stras. V 489.4,[20] Herm., VI — παρέξω] δὲ κ[ατ'] ἔτος λόγῳ
| [συνηθείας φασήλο]υ χλωρο[ῦ δέ]μματα (read δέματα)
| [. . . καὶ ψωμίων ζεύγη δεκαὲξ καὶ τυροὺς εὐα]ρέστους δεκαέξ.

P.Stras. VI 597.12, Herm., 541 — καὶ λόγῳ συνηθεί-
| α[ς τυροὺς] κ̣αλοὺς γεο̣υχικ[οὺ]ς διακοσίους [καὶ] λ[αψ]άνης ἀγγεῖα δέκα
| . . . . . .

P.Stras. VIII 755.19,[21] Herm., 600 — παρέξω δὲ λόγῳ συνηθείας τ̣[υροὺς *n* καὶ]
| σταχύ[ω]ν δέμ̣α̣[τ]α τεσσερά[κοντα --

P.Vat.Aphrod. 1.35, Aphrod., 598 — καὶ διδόναι σοι σ̣τ̣α̣χ̣(ύων) ἓν δέμα ἔτι καθ' ἔτος· δώσω δέ σοι κ[α]θ' ἔτος τυροὺς
| ξηροὺς γεουχικοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ λεμψάνης ἀγγῖα ἓξ καὶ ἑορτικὰς ἐξαλλ[αγ]ὰ̣ς τρεῖς
| ἀνὰ τυρία καὶ λάχανα.

P.Vindob.Sal. 8.24, Herm., 325? — παρέξω δέ σοι
| ἐν τῷ καιρῷ [τῆς τρύγης] δελφάκιον καὶ τὴ[ν ὑπ]ηρεσίαν τῶν σταφυλο-
| πατητῶν

P.Vindob.Tandem 28.18 + *BL* VIII 507,[22] Herm., 576/7 — παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθείας]
| θηλυκοῦ φοίνικος φοινίκω̣[ν ἀρτάβας *n* καὶ ἐν καιρῷ]
| τῶν τρυγῶν χοιράδα μίαν̣ [τιμῆς κερατίων *n* καὶ ῥαφανελαίου]
| ξέστην ἕνα καὶ οἴνου παλαιοῦ μεγ̣[άλα ἀγγεῖα *n* καὶ προσομολογῶ]
| φυτεῦσαι καὶ ἀνηνεγκεῖν πλη̣[
| καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀμπελουργικὴν ἐρ̣γ̣[ασίαν ποιῆσαι ἀμέμπτως καὶ]
| ἀκαταφρονήτως κτλ.

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[18] In line 12 KAW supplies χόρ]τ̣ου (?) and in l. 15 he reads οἴνου ἀ̣[γγεῖα μεγάλ]α π[ε]ντήκ̣[ον]τα (?); but notice the following ἀγγῖα in the same line.

[19] In line 5 KAW restores ξύλου or φασήλου (χλωροῦ) δέ]μ̣ατα (read δέ]μα)?

[20] In line 5 φασήλο]υ has been supplied by KAW.

[21] In line 19 τ̣[υροὺς *n* καὶ] has been supplied by KAW (cf. below).

[22] In line 19 ἐν καιρῷ has been supplied by KAW; l. 20: alternatively restore ταλάντων instead of κερατίων? (cf. below); ῥαφανελαίου has been supplied by KAW (cf. below; ed.princ.: ἐλαίου); l. 21 μεγ[άλα ἀγγεῖα *n* καὶ προσομολογῶ] supplied by KAW (ed. princ.: μέτ̣[ρα]); l. 22 ἀνηνεγκεῖν read by KAW (ed. princ.: ἀπηνεγκεῖν). For ll. 21ff., cf. also *P.Heid.* V 352.13f.

SB III 7167.11,[23] Herm., 477 (cf. *BL* VIII 325)	παρέξω δὲ καὶ δελφ[ά]κιον | [ἓν εὐάρεστον ἄξιον μυριάδων ἑκατὸ]ν καὶ ῥαπάλων (read: ῥαφάνων) ἀρτάβας δύο καὶ τυροὺς ε[ὐαρ]ἑ̣σ̣τ̣ο[υς --.
SB IV 7369.16, Herm., 512	παρέξομεν δὲ κατ' ἔτος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν δελφάκιον ἄξιον | ἀργυρίου ταλάντων [ἑ]ξακισχιλ̣ίων κ̣αὶ πινάκιον μεστὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἄξιον ἀργυρίου | ταλάντων τετρακισχιλίων -- -- (l. 25) καὶ ὑπὲρ συνηθείας τοῦ νεοφύτου δελφ̣ά̣κιον ἄξιον | [ἀ]ργυρίου ταλάντω[ν] πεντακισχ̣ιλίων [καὶ πι]νάκιον ὁμοίως ἄξιον ἀργυρί[ου] ταλάντω[ν] τρισχιλίων.
SB VI 9085 inv. no. 16048.18, Herm., 565	παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθείας | [ἀχύρου σι]τ̣ί̣νου σαργάνας δύο καὶ φασήλου χλωροῦ δέμα ἓν καὶ | [γάλακτος] χύτραν μίαν καὶ σταχύων δέματα δώδεκα καὶ λαψάνης | [ἀγγει- ca 5].
SB VI 9085 inv. no. 16050.20 + *BL* V 198 & VIII 338, Herm., 579	π̣α̣ρ̣έ̣ξ̣ω̣ κατ' ἔτος λόγῳ συνηθείας σταχύων | δέματα ὀκτὼ καὶ ἀχύρου σιτίνου σαργάνην μίαν | καί γάλακτος χύθραν μίαν καὶ φασήλου δέμα.
SB VI 9085 inv. no. 16055.28, Herm., 589	μετὰ τῆς | [συνηθεία]ς̣ στα[χύω]ν δέματα ὀκτὼ καὶ ἀχύρου | [σιτίνου] σαργ[άνην] μίαν καὶ γάλακτος χύτραν | [μίαν].
SB VI 9294.19 + *BL* VII 206 & VIII 343,[24] Arsinoe, VI/VII	παράσχω δέ σ̣οι τῷ καιρῷ | [τῆς τρύγης λό]γῳ συνη[θ]είας οἴνου παλαιοῦ κοῦρι ἓν | [καὶ γλεύκου]ς δύο καὶ δελφάκιον ἓν κερατίων δύο κα- | [τ' ἔτος καὶ ἀ]ρκοῦντα ψωμία καὶ ἐλαίου.
SB VI 9587.23 + *BL* V 177, Arsinoe, VI/VII	δώσω δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ | τυρία ἕξ, -- | -- (l. 27) δώσω δὲ τῇ τρύγῃ δελ[φ](άκιον) | ἓν κερατίων δύο (καὶ) οἴνου μούστου κ̣ο̣ῦ̣ρ̣ι | ἓν καὶ τὸ κόσκ(ινον).
SB VI 9589.12 + *BL* VII 211,[25] Arsinoe, VI/VII	δώ[σω σοι] καὶ λόγῳ συνηθ(είας) | [. . . . .] ἐ̣λ̣α̣[ί]ο̣υ̣ ⟨καὶ⟩ δελφ⟨άκ⟩ιον ἓν μυριάδων ἑκατὸν | [καὶ τυροὺς] πέντε κ̣α̣ὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Τῦβι μηνὸς | [ἕως τετάρτης τ]οῦ Φαρμοῦθι μηνὸς καθ' ἑκάστην κυριακ(ὴν) | [γάλακτος] στάμν[ο]ν ἕνα.
SB VIII 9778.7 + *BL* IX 265,[26] Arsinoe, VI	παρ[έξομε]ν δὲ λόγῳ συνη- | θεία[ς δ]ελφάκιο[ν ἓν τιμῆς ἄ]ξιον κεράτιον

[23] In line 12 [ἓν εὐάρεστον ἄξιον μυριάδων ἑκατὸ]ν has been supplied e.g. by KAW; τυροὺς ε[ὐαρ]ἑ̣σ̣τ̣ο[υς KAW (ed.princ. τυροῦ σε[. .] ἑ̣π̣τ̣ά̣.

[24] γλεύκου]ς looks suspicious, as one expects two units of another commodity; rather restore [καὶ τυροὺ]ς?

[25] The editor's reading of ἐ̣λ̣α̣[ί]ο̣υ̣ ⟨καί⟩ is most uncertain and, in general, rather unlikely. One may as well start the list of gifts with δελφ⟨άκ⟩ιον. It is not clear, however, what word(s) preceded this. At best the papyrus can be read as:] . λ̣ . ο̣υ̣ (I am grateful to B. Palme for checking the original). Line 14 [καὶ τυροὺς] supplied by KAW, cf. other such Fayumic contracts (ed.princ.: [ca 10]); l. 15: [ἕως τετάρτης supplied KAW (ed.princ.: [καὶ ca 6]); for the festival cf. *P.Lond.* I 113 (4); Pharmouthi 4 = 30.iii. Obviously, in the case of ἑορτὴ τοῦ Τῦβι μηνός one is dealing with the festivals of Christmas and New Year; hence, it is promised here to deliver the 'extra' commodities on every Sunday for the first three months of the year.

| καὶ ἡμ[ῶν] κινο[ύντων κ]αὶ οἴνου παλεοῦ
| κοῦρι δύο καὶ οἴνου κοῦρι τέccαρα
| καὶ ἐλ[α]ίου ξεcτίου τὸ ἥ[μι]cυ καὶ τοὺc
| δεομένουc ἄρτουc.

SB XIV 12050.13,[27] Herm., 498

[δώcομεν δὲ]
| κατ' ἔτοc λόγῳ cυνηθείαc τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεωργίου καὶ ῥαφανελαίου ξέcταc πεντ[ ]
| ἐν ἐλαίῳ καλλίcτῳ καὶ εὐαρέcτῳ τῷ cῷ ξέcτῃ καὶ μέλιτοc ξέcταc [-- τῷ cῷ]
| ξέcτῃ καὶ τυροὺc εὐαρέcτουc δ[ια]κοcίαc πεντήκοντα καὶ δελφάκια ἓξ [κάλλιcτα]
| καὶ εὐάρεcτα καὶ ἄρτων ἀπαλῶν ζεύγη ἑκατὸν καὶ cταχύων δέματα ἑκα[τὸν καὶ ⟨οἴνου⟩]
| διδιπλᾶ ὀκτὼ --- καὶ χόρτου ἀρούρηc μιᾶc κα[ὶ ἀχύρου]
| cιδίνου μούεια ἑκατόν.

SB XIV 12132.14,[28] Herm., VI

[παρέξω δέ coι λόγῳ cυνηθεί]ac ⟨οἴνου⟩ διδιπλᾶ δύο καὶ γάλακτοc χύθραν
| [μίαν καὶ]. α . ην ἕν.

SB XVIII 13585.1 + *BL* X 220,[29] Herm., V/VI

-- πέντε καὶ οἴνου ἀγ[γεῖον μέγα ἓ]ν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεωc

SB XVIII 13586 = *P.Lond.* III 1056.12, Herm., VI/VII

δώcομεν δὲ
| κατ' ἔτοc ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεωc οἴνου ἀγγεῖον παλαιοῦ ἓν καὶ διcκάριον
| ἓν ἐξηρτιcμένον.

SB XVIII 13885.21,[30] Arsinoe, 547/562

δώcω δέ coι λόγῳ
| cυνηθείαc ἐνιαυcίωc τυροὺc εἴκοcι
| πέντε καὶ γάλακτοc τιλμεει τέccαρα.

SB XVIII 13997.7, Arsinoe, VII

δώcω δέ coι λόγῳ cυνηθείαc
| τῷ καιρῷ τῆc τρύγηc οἴνου μούcτου
| κοῦρι δύο καὶ κόcκινον ἐξηρτιcμένον ἓν
| καὶ ψωμία ζε⟨ύ⟩γη δεκαπέντε.

SPP XX 218.28 + *BL* X 272, Herm., VII

παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτοc
| λόγῳ cυνηθείαc χοιράδα μίαν τιμῆc κερατίων τριῶν
| ἀπὸ φολλέων τριάκοντα ἓξ καὶ οἴνου παλαιοῦ ἀγγεῖα

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[26] The editor's reading ἡμ[ῶν] κινο[ύντων in line 9 looks suspicious, as the phrasing is not expected here. Upon my request, B. Palme kindly checked the original and informs me that he doubts ημ["η oder κ? μ hat keine Unterlänge") and that after κινο[the lower parts of a few letters are still visible which cannot be matched with any part of -υντων. Instead of ἡμ[ῶν] κινο[ύντων one may reckon with another commodity, but its nature cannot be guessed.

[27] In line 17 ⟨οἴνου⟩] supplied KAW (ed.princ. omits it, but διδιπλᾶ are usually wine measures).

[28] The beginning of line 14 has been restored by KAW. Reading of l. 15 is mostly as proposed by H. Maehler in *ZPE* 25 (1977) 190 n. 22 and pl. VII.b. P.J. Sijpesteijn's alternative reading λάγηνον has been considered, but B. Palme and I have come to the conclusion that it should not be adopted: the λ would not have the right shape if compared with other lambdas in this hand and εν (rather than ον) is certainly correct. At best one might consider a reading] λαγήν(ιον) ἕν, but the problem with the λ would remain and there is no sign of abbreviation after -αγην-.

[29] The alternative supplement proposed in *Tyche* 6 (1991) 115, οἴνου ἀγ[γῖον παλαιὸν ἓ]ν, seems to make less good sense in that in parallel texts the issue is not about an "old jar," but about "old wine." Hence, one would have to restore ἀγ[γῖον παλαιοῦ ἓ]ν.

[30] For the Egyptian word τιλμεει (l. 23) being the equivalent of the Greek cτάμνοc, cf. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 811 ϭ(ϵ)ⲗⲙⲇⲓ, Fay., ⲇⲓⲗⲙⲓⲛ, ϭϵⲗⲙⲇϵⲓⲛ (I am grateful to R.S. Bagnall for his help in identifying this Coptic word).

| μεγάλα [τ]ρία καὶ δισκάριον ἓν μεστὸν διαφόρων
| βρωμάτων ἔχον τυρία ἑκατὸν καὶ ψωμίων ζεύγη ἑκατὸν καὶ
| ῥαφανελαίου ξέστιον ἕν.

In addition to the preceding, cf. also the following texts:

BGU I 308.12, Arsinoe, Byz.	δώσωμεν δὲ ἐρύφια η̣΄ πρὸς τὸ γάλα κατὰ κυριακ[ή]ν.
CPR VII 43.19, Herm., 513?	δελ]φάκια τρία ἕκαστον ἄξιον | [--
P.Giss. 56.20, Herm., VI	παρέξω δὲ κατ' ἔτος τοὺς συνήθεις
	| τῶν τρυγῶν κ[άδους (?) . . .]ς.
P.Hamb. I 23.24, Antin., 569	π[α]ρέξομεν δὲ ὑμῖν τὰς εἰθισμένας τῆς τρύγης δαπάνας καὶ τὰ
	| ἀναλώματα κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.
P.Lond. V 1872.15,[31] Herm., 548	[ca 17 κατ' ἐν]ι̣αυ̣τὸν τυροὺς
	| [ca 22]τατη μεγάλα τυρ[. . .]
	| [ca 22] . αὗτε (?) γί(νονται) ἐνοικ(ίου) τυρο̣[ὶ -].
SB XX 14416.15,[32] VI	]ους γεουχικοὺς ἑξήκοντα καὶ [
P.Stras. V 483.21,[33] Herm., 512	[παρέξω δὲ λόγῳ συνηθείας . . . . .] . ικ . . . [. .] . σὺν ἄρτοις
	| [ ] τ̣ούτ[ων] φοινίκων

II. It is striking that the overwhelming majority of the texts listed above comes from the Hermopolite and Antaiopolite nomes. There are only a handful of texts from the Arsinoite (*BGU* III 725; *CPR* XIV 2; *P.Lond.* I 113.(4); *SB* VI 9294, 9587, 9589; XVIII 13885, 13997) and the Antinoopolite nomes, while an important nome like the Oxyrhynchite is hardly represented (cf. *P.Berl.Zill.* 7; *P.Erl.* 75; *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132) and the Herakleopolite simply does not occur. It should be kept in mind, however, that Byzantine land leases from nomes other than the Hermopolite, the Antaiopolite and the Arsinoite are rare. Moreover, in *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.23-5 and *P.Erl.* 75.19f.,—both from the Oxyrhynchite nome—among the "regular" rent payment commodities like little pigs, wine and cheese are listed. In other texts from different regions these commodities are enumerated more or less separately under the "Pächtersondergaben" for which cf. below.

There is some reason to believe that in some cases specific terminology was restricted to a particular nome: compare, for instance, the use of λεψάνης κολοβά—apparently almost restricted to the Antaiopolite nome—versus the use of λεψάνης ἀγγεῖα in the Hermopolite. In the listings above, there is one exception to this "rule," viz. *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1 (from Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome) in which one finds λεψάνης ἀγγεῖα. A similar combination is given in the administrative list *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67289.11, also from Aphrodite.

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[31] Line 17, ed.princ.: γί(νεται), τυρο̣[ὺς]. Despite the editor's remark that "the rent seems payable in kind," it looks more likely that the yearly delivery of cheese (cf. l. 15) was a kind of 'extra' payment. In the preceding lacuna there is space enough for an indication of a rent payment in money as usual.

[32] The provenance of the papyrus is unclear and is tentatively indicated as "Hermopolites / Antinoopolites / Antaiopolites." The ed.princ. does not restore the full word ending in]ους, but since the document is a lease of a vineyard, in this line one is clearly dealing with a delivery of cheese; cf. below §II.3. The full phrase to be restored may be τυροὺς ξηροὺς καλοὺς μεγάλους γεουχικούς (cf. *P.Lond.* V 1694), but any of these adjectives may be left out.

[33] This does not look to me like a regular συνήθεια-phrase. One can only wonder whether the restoration at the beginning of l. 21 is warranted.

An analysis of the various commodities mentioned in these documents produces the following result:[34]

1. Bread

1.a) ἄρτων ἁπαλῶν ζεύγη:
BGU XII 2175.8 (50; ed.princ.: ἄρτων ἁπλῶν); *SB* XIV 12050.17 (100); *SB* VIII 9778.12 (τοὺς δεομένους ἄρτους)

1.b) ψωμίων ζεύγη:
SB XVIII 13997.10 (15); *P.Stras.* V 489.6 (16 restored); *P.Laur.* II 7.11 (30); *P.Stras.* V 486.13 (40); *SPP* XX 218.32 (100); *SB* VI 9294.22 (only ἀ]ρκοῦντα ψωμία)

1.c) ψωμίον -- γάλακτος:
P.Lond. I 113.(4).27 (1)

2) Milk

2.a) γάλακτος χύτρα:
P.Lond. V 1771.10 + *BL* III 99 (1); *P.Oxf.* 16.15 (1); *P.Stras.* V 482.16-7 (1); *P.Stras.* V 488.4 (1); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16048.20 (1); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16050.22 (1); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16055.30 (1); *SB* XIV 12132.14-5 (1); *CPR* IX 26.18-9 ([-]; the amount is expected to be in the range of 2-4 χύτραι)

2.b) γάλακτος στάμνος:
P.Lond. I 113.(4).26 (1); *SB* VI 9589.16 (1)[35]; *SB* XVIII 13885.23 (4, γάλακτος τιλμεει)

3) Cheeses

τυρία / τυροί:
P.Lond. V 1771.9 (-ρός 1, εὐάρεστος); *SB* VI 9294.21 (-ροί] 2); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 107.18 + *BL* I 108 (-ροί 5); *SB* VI 9589.14 (-ροί 5); *SB* VI 9487.24 (-ρία 6); *CPR* IX 30.11 (-ρία 10); *P.Stras.* V 489.6 (-ροί 16, εὐάρ.); *P.Lond.* V 1770.19 (-ρ⟨ί⟩α 20, εὐάρ.); *SB* XVIII 13885.22-3 (-ροί 25); *P.Erl.* 75.19 (-ροί 40); *P.Stras.* V 486.13 (-ροί 40, εὐάρ.); *P.Köln* II 104 = *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 2.12-3 (-ροί 40, ξηροί); *P.Michael.* 46.21-2 (-ροί 40, ξηροὶ γεουχικοὶ καλοί); *P.Lond.* V 1698.4 (-ροί 46); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67300.15 (-ροί 50); *P.Michael.* 43.11 (-ροί 50); *P.Michael.* 54.11-2 ([-ροί] 50); *P.Lond.* V 1694.21-2 (-ροί 50, ξηροὶ καλοὶ μεγάλοι γεουχικοί); *SB* XX 14416.16 (-ροί] 60, γεουχικοί); *P.Lond.* V 1695.24 (-ροί 70); *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1.35-6 (-ροί 75, ξηροὶ γεουχικοί); *SPP* XX 218.32 (-ρία 100); *P.Hamb.* I 68.42 (-ροί 100, ξηροὶ καλοὶ γεουχικοί); *P.Laur.* II29.6 (-ρία 150); *P.Lond.* I 113 (4).25 (-ροί 150, εὐάρ.); *P.Select* 16.16 (200+ ?); *P.Stras.* VI 597.13 (-ροί 200, καλοὶ γεουχικοί); *SB* XIV 12050.16 (-ροί 250, εὐάρ.); *P.Herm.* 26.12-3 (-ροί [-], γεουχικοί); *P.Stras.* V 482.15-6 (-ροί [-], [εὐάρ.]); *CPR* IX 26.17-8 (-ροί [-]); *P.Palau Ribes* 23.5 (-ροί [-]); *SB* III 7167.12 (-ροί [-], εὐάρεστ[οι); *P.Stras.* VIII 755.19 ([-]; the restoration τ[υροὺς *n* καὶ] is supported by the fact that σταχύων δέματα are preceded often enough by an amount of cheese (cf. below); for cheeses, cf. also P.Lond. V 1872.15f.)

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[34] After each reference to the pertinent papyrus and line number, one finds between ( ) the number of the item(s) to be delivered. Papyri are listed in increasing order of the amount of the commodity to be delivered. At the end of each listing follow references to texts where amounts are lost. If amounts are lacking or are based on restoration, this is indicated by the use of [ ].

[35] Note that the commodity has been restored—from *P.Lond.* I 113.(4).26?—and that in principle restoration of another product such as honey is conceivable; cf. R. Fleischer, *Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt* (M.A. Diss., New York Univ. 1956) 38. However, because both texts are from the Fayum, milk seems more likely.

4) Honey and Wine

4.a) μέλι:

SB XIV 12050.15 (ξέcται [-], τῷ cῷ ξέcτῃ)

4.b) οἶνος:

P.Berl.Zill. 7.25 (λαγῆνιν 1); *P.Select* 16.14 (ἀγγεῖον 1); *P.Lond.* III 1036.9 (ἀγγεῖον μέγα 1); *SB* XVIII 13585.1 (ἀγγεῖον μέγα 1); *SB* XVIII 13586.13 (παλαιοῦ ἀγγεῖον 1); *P.Hamb.* I 68.40-1 (ἀγγεῖα 2); *P.Laur.* II 29.8-9 (παλαιοῦ μεγάλ[α ἀγγεῖα (2?)]; *SPP* XX 218.30-1 (παλαιοῦ ἀγγεῖα μεγάλα 3); *P.Vindob.Tandem* 28.21 (παλαιοῦ μεγ[άλα ἀγγεῖα -]); *SB* VI 9294.20 (παλαιοῦ κοῦρι 1); *SB* VIII 9778.9-10 (παλαιοῦ κοῦρι 2 and 4); *SB* VI 9587.28-9 (μούcτου κοῦρι 1); *SB* XVIII 13997.8-9 (μούcτου κοῦρι 2); *P.Stras.* V 486.15 (ὅ[ξουc ca 8]α . . [.]ντη . [. .] . ; read ἀ[γγεῖα μεγάλ]α π[ε]ντήκ[ον]τα ?); *BGU* XII 2175.8 (παλαιοῦ διδιπλοῦν 1); *SB* XIV 12132.14 (διδιπλᾶ 2; οἴνου to be understood); *SB* XIV 12050.17-8 (διδιπλᾶ 8; οἴνου to be understood); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4162.30-2 (παλαιοῦ cηκώματα 8, μουcτάρια 8). For wine, cf. also above, *P.Erl.* 75.20 note.

5) Oil

5.a) ἔλαιον:

SB VI 9294.22 (τὰ ἀρκοῦντα); VIII 9778.11 (0.5 ξέcτηc). For *SB* VI 9589.13 ([ca 10] ἐ.λ.α[ί]ο.υ), see above, note *ad loc.*

5.b) ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου (ῥαφανελαίου) ξέcτηc / ξεcτίον:

BGU XII 2175.7-8 (1; ἐλ. [ῥαφαν.?]); *P.Stras.* V 486.14 (1; ἐλ. ῥαφανί⟨ν⟩ου); *P.Vindob.Tandem* 28.20-1 (1; [ῥαφανελαίου]); *SPP* XX 218.33 (1; ῥαφανελ.); *SB* XIV 12050.14 (5 or 50?, i.e. read π.έ.ν.τ[ε] or π.ε.ν.τ[ήκοντα]?; ῥαφανελ., ἐν ἐλαίῳ καλλίcτῳ καὶ εὐαρέcτῳ τῷ cῷ ξέcτῃ)

6) Various Animals (Pigs, Goats, Fowl), Meat and Fish:

6.a) δελφάκιον:

P.Vindob.Sal. 8.25 (1); *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.25 (1); *P.Laur.* I 7.10 (1); *P.Flor.* I 37.7 (1, εὐάξιον); *SB* VIII 9778.8 (1, ἄξιον κερατ. 1); *P.Lond.* V 1771.8-9 (1, ἄξιον χρυcοῦ κερατ. 1.5); *SB* VI 9294.21 (1, κερατ. 2); *SB* VI 9587.27-8 (1, κερατ. 2); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132.32-3 (1, τιμῆc κερατ. 4); *SB* VI 9589.13 (1, μυριάδων 100); *SB* III 7167.11-2 (1, εὐάρεcτον ἄξιον μυριάδων ἑκατό]ν ?); *SB* IV 7369.16-7, 25-6 (1, ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 6000 + 1, ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 5000); *BGU* XII 2175.6 (1, ἄξιον ἀργυρίου ταλάντων 6000); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 89.18-9 (1, ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 8000); *P.Stras.* V 486.16 (1, ἄξιον c.[ί]του ἀρτάβ. 1.5); *P.Select* 16.15 (2, εὐάρεcτα ἄξια ἀργ. ταλ. [-]); *CPR* VII 43.19 (3); *SB* XIV 12050.16 (6, [κάλλιcτα] καὶ εὐάρεcτα); *P.Erl.* 75.20 (-)

6.b) χοιράc:[36]

P.Laur. II 29.7 (1, τιμῆc κερατίων 3); *SPP* XX 218.29 (1, τιμῆc κερατ. 3 ἀπὸ φολλέων 36); *P.Ross.Georg.* V 42.19 (1, τιμῆc κερατ. 3); *P.Lond.* V 1770.17-8 (1, ἀξίαν ἀργ. ταλ. χ.ε[ιλίων --]); *P.Vindob.Tandem* 28.20 (1, τιμῆc --)[37]

6.c) ἐρίφια:

P.Lond. I 113 (4).25-6 (2, εὐάρεcτα); cf. *BGU* I 308.12ff, δώcωμεν δὲ ἐρύφια η΄ πρὸc τὸ γάλα κατὰ κυριακ[ή]ν

---

[36] It should be noted that indications of the value of a commodity are given in cυνήθεια-clauses almost exclusively with δελφάκια and χοιράδεc. The single exception to this rule is found below in §7.d, *SB* IV 7369, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 89 and *BGU* XII 2175, and it is perhaps a mere hypothesis that the author of these contracts may have confused πινάκιον with δελφάκιον. At any rate, confronted with a price indication following a not-preserved commodity in a cυνήθεια-clause one may restore the word which matches the gender of a preserved adjective such as ἄξιον / ἀξίαν.

[37] Instead of carats (so ed.princ.), talents may as well be restored here.

6.d) ὀρνίθια / ὄρνεα:
BGU III 725.24 (3, μεγάλα); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1890.12 (3); *P.Herm.* 26.13-4 ([-]); *P.Michael.* 43.11 (-); cf. also *P.Select* 16.17: [ca 17]40 ἀφ' οἵου θέλητε τούτουϲ τρεφομένουϲ, and the note *ad loc.*: "Was fowl intended?"

6.e) κρέωϲ λίτραι:
P.Hamb. I 68.41 (12); *P.Stras.* V 486.14 (-)

6.f) ὀψαρίου λίτραι:
BGU XII 2175.7 (5)

6.g) ᾠά
P.Oxy. XVI 1890.12

7) Sieves, Dishes, Baskets, and Jars:

7.a) κόϲκινον ἐξηρτιϲμένον:
SB XVIII 13997.9 (1); *SB* VI 9587.29 (1, κόϲκ(ινον) only)

7.b) διϲκάριον ἐξηρτιϲμένον:
SB XVIII 13586.13-4 (1)

7.c) διϲκάριον μεϲτὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἔχον τυροὺϲ / τυρία
SPP XX 218.31-2 (τυρία 100); *P.Select.* 16.14 (τυρούϲ 200)

7.d) πινάκιον μεϲτὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων:
P.Laur. I 7.10 (ed. rest. ἄξιον --]); *P.Lond.* III 1036.9-10 + *BL* III 95; *P.Select.* 16.16; *P.Stras.* V 486.14 (om. διαφόρων); *SB* IV 7369.17-8, 25-6 (ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 4000 and ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 3000); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 89.19 (om. μεϲτὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων; adds ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 4000); *BGU* XII 2175.6 (ἄξιον ἀργ. ταλ. 6000; cf. note *ad loc.*)

7.e) καινόκουφα πεπιϲϲωμένα:
CPR XIV 2.15 (κ̣οῦρι [ca 6]κοντα εὐάρεϲτα καὶ ϲτ̣ά̣μ̣(νουϲ) 17

8) Chaff, Clover, Beans, Wood

8.a) ἀχύρου καυϲίμου ϲαργάνη
P.Stras. V 488.5-6 (0.5); *P.Oxf.* 16.14-5 (1); *P.Stras.* V 482.16 (1)

8.b) ἀχύρου ϲιτίνου ϲαργάνη:
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16050.21 (1); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16055.29-30 (1); *SB* VII 9085, inv. no. 16048.19 (2); *P.Lond.* V 1770.20 + *BL* III 99 (2 ?)
Cf. also under χόρτου

8.c) ϲταχύων δέματα:
P.Vat.Aphrod. 1.35 (1); *P.Herm.* 26.[13] (3); *P.Stras.* V 482.15 (6); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16050.20-1 (8); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16055.29 (8); *CPR* IX 30.11 (10); *P.Lond.* V 1771.10 (10); *P.Oxf.* 16.15 (10); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16048.20 (12); *P.Stras.* VIII 755.20 (4[0]); *CPR* IX 26.18 (75); *SB* XIV 12050.17 (10[0]); *P.Stras.* V 488.4-5 ([-])

Cf. also *P.Laur.* II 29.8: δέ]ματα ἐν καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν. In such ϲυνήθεια-phrasing δέματα are found frequently in conjunction with ϲταχύων, rarely with ξύλου or φαϲήλου (χλωροῦ) (cf. below, 8.e-8.g).

8.d) χόρτος:
P.Ross.Georg. V 42.19 (no indication of quantity preserved); *P.Stras.* V 486.12 (ἀγκάλαι 2); *SB* XIV 12050.18-9 (χόρτου κα[ὶ ἀχύρου] | σιδ̣ίνου μούεια 100)

8.e) φασήλου δέματα:
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16050.22 (1); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16048.19 (1, χλωροῦ); *P.Stras.* V 489.5 ([-], χλωροῦ)

8.f) ξύλου δέματα:
P.Stras. V 486.12 (2)

8.g) ξύλου or φασήλου (or φασήλου χλωροῦ ?) δέ]μ̣ατα:
P.Stras. V 488.5 (1)

8.h) στρόβιλοι
P.Erl. 75.19 (-)

9) Charlock, Radishes, Dates, and Raisins

9.a) λαψάνης ἀγγεῖον
CPR IX 30.11-2 (1); *P.Lond.* V 1771.10 (2); *P.Stras.* V 486.12 (2); *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1.36 (6); *P.Stras.* VI 597.13 (10+?); *SB* VI 9085, inv. no. 16048.20-1 (-; ἀγγεῖ- [correctly] restored)

9.b) λαψάνης κολοβά:
P.Köln II 104 = *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 2.13 (2); *P.Michael.* 46.22 (2); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 673000.15 (4); *P.Hamb.* I 68.41 (4); *P.Lond.* V 1698.4 (4); *P.Michael.* 43.11 (4); *P.Lond.* V 1694.22 (6); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67107.18 + *BL* I 108, III 34 (6); *P.Lond.* V 1695.24-5 (-); *P.Michael.* 54.12 (-)

For the above 16 attestations of the plant name λα(μ)ψάνη / λε(μ)ψάνη—cf. also the restoration in *P.Palau Ribes* 23.6–, see the detailed discussion by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 13 (1974) 137-8. In addition, Dr U. Thanheiser (Vienna) kindly informs me that, as far as Egypt is concerned, the only relevant plant is '*sinapis arvensis*.' Other similar plants like '*brassica arvensis*,' '*Hirschfeldia incana*,' and '*Bunias erucago*' are not indigenous in Egypt. An attestation of bundles (δέσμαι) of the vegetable is now found in *SB* XII 11128.15. It remains a small enigma why in all of the papyri published to date one finds only very few references to this plant *outside* of the clauses concerning deliveries ὑπὲρ συνηθείας (in addition to the *SB* papyrus, cf. *P.Petr.* III 53.M.9; *P.Ant.* II 92.26; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 289.11); apparently, it was a kind of rare treat.

9.c) ῥαφάνων ἀρτάβαι:
SB III 7167.12 (2)

9.d) φοινίκων ἀρτάβαι:
P.Vindob.Tandem 28.19 + *BL* VIII 507 ([-], θηλυκοῦ φοίνικος; restore καὶ ἐν καιρῷ] τῶν τρυγῶν)

9.e) ξηροστα[φίδω]ν̣ (?) ἀρτάβη:
BGU XII 2175.8-9 (1/12)

III. The analysis given above can be used further for trying to establish a more or less regular pattern in the sequence the various commodities are listed in the contracts:

Reference	Reason of Payment	Sequence of products (cf. above, § II)
P.Stras. V 488.3, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(2.a), (8.c), [8.g?], (8.a)
	***	
SB XVIII 13885.21, Arsin.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(3), (2.b)
SB VI 9587.23, Arsin.		(3), (6.a), (4.b), (7.a)
P.Lond. I 113 (4).20, Arsin.		(3), (6.c), (2.b), (3), (1.c)
CPR IX 26.17, Herm.[38]	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(3), (8.c), (2.a), [ ]
CPR IX 30.10, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(3), (8.c), (9.a)
P.Stras. VIII 755.19, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	[3], (8.c), [ ]
P.Erl. 75.19, Oxy.		(3), (8.h), [4.b?], (6.a)
P.Stras. VI 597.12, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(3), (9.a), [ ]
P.Vat.Aphrod. 1.35, Aphrod.		(3), (9.a), καὶ ἑορτικὰ ἀνὰ τυρία καὶ λάχανα
*P.Cair. Masp.*I 67107.17, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b)
P.Köln II 104 = *P.Vat. Aphrod.* 2.11, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b), καὶ ἑορτικὰ ἀνὰ τυρία καὶ λάχανα
P.Lond. V 1694.21, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b)
P.Lond. V 1695.24, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b)
P.Michael. 46.21, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b)
P.Michael. 54.11, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b)
P.Cair. Masp. III 67300.15, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b), χρυσοῦ τριμή σιον 1
P.Michael. 43.11, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b), (6.d)
P.Lond. V 1698.4, Aphrod.		(3), (9.b), [ ]
P.Palau Ribes 23.5, Aphrod.		(3), (9.a/b),[39] καὶ ἑορτικὰς ἐξαλλαγὰς τρῖς
	***	
SB XIV 12132.14, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(4.b), (2.a), [ ]
SB VI 9294.19, Arsin.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(4.b), [3?], (6.a), (1.a), (5.a)
P.Berl. Zill. 7.25, Oxy.	ἀναλώματα φόρων	(4.b), (6.a)
P.Oxy. LXI 4132.30, Oxy.	ἀναλώματα τρύγης	(4.b), (6.a)
P.Hamb. I 68.40, Aphrod.	δαπάνης τοῦ φόρου	(4.b), (6.e), (9.b), (3)
SB XVIII 13997.7, Arsin.	λόγῳ συνηθείας τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τρύγης	(4.b), (7.a), (1.b)
SB XVIII 13586 = *P.Lond.* III 1056.12, Herm.	ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεως	(4.b), (7.b)
P.Lond. III 1036.8 + *BL* III 95, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεως	(4.b), (7.d)
P.Select. 16.14, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(4.b), (7.d), [ ], (6.a), (7.c), [6.d?]
	***	
SB XIV 12050.13, Herm.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(5.b), (4.a), (3), (6.a), (1.a), (8.c), (4.b), (8.a+d)
SB VI 9589.12, Arsin.	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(5?), (6.a), [3?], [2.b]
	***	
P.Vindob.Sal. 8.25, Herm.	ἐν καιρῷ τῆς τρύγης	(6.a)
P.Flor. I 37.7, Herm.	λόγῳ δώρου	(6.a)
P.Lond. V 1771.8, Herm	λόγῳ συνηθείας	(6.a), (3), [ ], (8.c), (9.a), (2.a)

[38] The sequence "(3), (8.c)" is found three times in documents from the Hermopolite nome.

[39] The sequence (3), (9.b) seems to be restricted only to papyri from Aphrodite where it is attested nine times.

SB VIII 9778.7, Arsin.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(6.a), [?], (4.b), (5.a), (1.a)
SB IV 7369.16, 25, Herm.	ἐν καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν cυνηθείαc τοῦ νεοφύτου	(6.a), (7.d) (both twice)
P.Coll.Youtie II 89.18, Herm.	ἐν καιρῷ τῆc τρύγηc	(6.a), (7.d)
P.Laur. I 7.9, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(6.a), (7.d), (1.b)
BGU XII 2175.5, Herm.	ἐν καιρῷ τῆc τρύγηc	(6.a), (7.d), (6.f), (5.a/b), (1.a), (4.b), (9.e)
SB III 7167.11, Herm.		(6.a), (9.c), (3), [ ]
	***	
P.Laur. II 29.6, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc ἐν καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν	(6.b), (3), (8.c?), (4.b), [ ]
P.Lond. V 1770.16 + *BL* III 99, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc ἐν καιρῷ τῆc ἀποδόceωc τῶν δημοcίων	[6.b], (3), [ ], (8.b)
SPP XX 218.28, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(6.b), (4.b), (7.c), (1.b), (5.b)
BGU III 725.24, Arsin.		(6.d)
P.Oxy. XVI 1890.12, Oxy.	ὑπὲρ ἑορτικῶν	(6.d), (6.g)
	***	
CPR XIV 2.15, Arsin.	ὑπὲρ cυνηθείαc	(7.e)
	***	
P.Oxf. 16.14, Herm.	ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεωc	(8.a), (2.a), (8.c), καὶ ὄνον 1 εἰc τὸ ἀπελθεῖν χωρὶc φορέτρων
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16048.18, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(8.b), (8.e), (2.a), (8.c), (9.a)
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16055.28, Herm.	μετὰ τῆc [cυνηθεία]c̣	(8.c), (8.b), (2.a)
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16050.20, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(8.c), (8.b), (2.a), (8.e)
P.Stras. V 482.15, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(8.c), (3), (8.a), (2.a), [ ]
P.Stras. V 486.11, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(8.c), [ ], [8.d], (9.a), (8.f)
P.Stras. V 486.13, Herm.	καὶ παρε̣[ca 25] . . ,	--, (1.b), (3), (6.e), [ ], (7.d), (5.b), (4.b), (6.a)
P.Stras. V 489.4, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc	(8.e), (1.b), (3)
	***	
P.Vindob.Tandem 28.18, Arsin.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc ἐν καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν	(9.c), (6.b), [5.b], (4.b)
	***	
P.Herm. 26.12, Herm.	--, λόγῳ ἑορτικῶν	--, (3), [8.c], and –λ.ἑ.– (6.d)
P.Ross.Georg. V 42.18, Herm.	ὑπὲρ cυνηθείαc καιρῷ τῆc τρύγηc	--, [6.b], (8.d)
P.Stras. V 486.13, Herm.	καὶ παρε̣[ca 25] . . ,	--, (1.b), (3), (6.e), [ ], (7.d), (.b), (4.b), (6.a)
SB XVIII 13585.1, Herm.		--, (4.b)
P.Heid. V 352.12, Herm.	λόγῳ cυνηθείαc, καιρῷ τῶν τρυγῶν	[ ]
BGU XII 2186.10-11		[ ]

III.b. One can also produce an analysis of the pertinent documents arranged according to frequency of provenance:

Hermopolis

P.Stras. V 488.3	(2.a), (8.c), [8.g?], (8.a)
CPR IX 26.17	(3), (8.c), (2.a), [ ]
CPR IX 30.10	(3), (8.c), (9.a)
P.Stras. VIII 755.12	[3], (8.c), [ ]
P.Stras. VI 597.12	(3), (9.a), [ ]
SB XIV 12132.14	(4.b), (2.a), [ ]
SB XVIII 13586 = *P.Lond.* III 1056.12	(4.b), (7.b)
P.Lond. III 1036.8	(4.b), (7.d)
P.Select. 16.14	(4.b), (7.d), [ ], (6.a), [7.c], [6.d?]
SB XIV 12050.13	(5.b), (4.a), (3), (6.a), (1.a), (8.c), (4.b), (8.a+d)
P.Vindob.Sal. 8.25	(6.a)
P.Flor. I 37.7	(6.a)
P.Lond. V 1771.8	(6.a), (3), [ ], (8.c), (9.a), (2.a)
SB IV 7369.16, 25	(6.a), (7.d) [both twice]
P.Coll.Youtie II 89.18	(6.a), (7.d)
P.Laur. I 7.9	(6.a), (7.d), (1.b)
BGU XII 2175.5	(6.a), (7.d), (6.f), (5.a/b), (1.a), (4.b), (9.e)
SB III 7167.11	(6.a), (9.c), (3), [ ]
P.Laur. II 29.6	(6.b), (3), [8.c?], (4.b), [ ]
P.Lond. V 1770.16	(6.b), (3), [ ], (8.b)
SPP XX 218.28	(6.b), (4.b), (7.c), (1.b), (5.b)
P.Oxf. 16.14	(8.a), (2.a), (8.c), καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Θύνεως ὄνον
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16048.18	(8.b), (8.e), (2.a), (8.c), (9.a)
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16055.28	(8.c), (8.b), (2.a)
SB VI 9085, inv. no. 16050.20	(8.c), (8.b), (2.a), (8.e)
P.Stras. V 482.15	(8.c), (3), (8.a), (2.a), [ ]
P.Stras. V 486.11	(8.c), [ ], (8.d), (9.a), (8.f), --, (1.b), (3), (6.e), [ ], (7.d), (5.b), (4.b), (6.a)
P.Stras. V 489.4	[8.e], (1.b), (3)
P.Vindob.Tandem 28.18	(9.c), (6.b), [5.b], (4.b)
P.Herm. 26.12	--, (3), [8.c], (6.d)
P.Ross.Georg. V 42.18	--, [6.b], (8.d)
SB XVIII 13585.1	--, (4.b)
P.Heid. V 352.12	[ ]
BGU XII 2186.10-11	[ ]

Aphrodite

P.Vat.Aphrod. 1.35	(3), (9.a)
P.Cair.Masp. I 67107.17	(3), (9.b)
P.Köln II 104 = *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 2.11	(3), (9.b)
P.Lond. V 1694.21	(3), (9.b)
P.Lond. V 1695.24	(3), (9.b)
P.Michael. 46.21	(3), (9.b)

P.Michael. 54.11	(3), (9.b)
P.Cair.Masp. III 67300.15	(3), (9.b) χρυcοῦ τριμήcιον
P.Michael. 43.11	(3), (9.b), (6.d)
P.Lond. V 1698.4	(3), (9.b), [ ]
P.Palau Ribes 23.5	(3), [9.a/b]
P.Hamb. I 68.40	(4.b), (6.e), (9.b), (3)

Arsinoe

SB XVIII 13885.21	(3), (2.b)
SB VI 9587.23	(3), (6.a), (4.b), (7.a)
P.Lond. I 113 (4).24	(3), (6.c), (2.b), (3), (1.c)
SB VI 9294.19	(4.b), [3?], (6.a), (1.a), (5.a)
SB XVIII 13997.7	(4.b), (7.a), (1.b)
SB VI 9589.12	(6.a), [3?], [2.b]
SB VIII 9778.7	(6.a), [?], (4.b), (5.a), (1.a)
BGU III 725.24	(6.d)
CPR XIV 2.15	(7.e)

Oxyrhynchus

P.Erl. 75.19	(3), (8.h), [4.b?], (6.a)
P.Berl. Zill. 7.25	(4.b), (6.a)
P.Oxy. LXI 4132.30	(4.b), (6.a)
P.Oxy. XVI 1890.12	(6.d), (6.g)

IIIc. The breakdown of "III.b" yields the following (slightly divergent) popularity rates of products in two nomes, viz.:

Arsinoe

cheeses (3): 4x [+ 2x]
bread (1): 4x (2x 1.a + 1x 1.b + 1x 1.c)
wine (4.b): 4x
piglets (6.a): 4x
milk (2.b): 2x [+ 1x]
oil (5.a): 2x (+ 1x?)
sieves (7.a): 2x
goats (6.c): 1x
fowl (6.d): 1x
jars (7.e): 1x

Hermopolis

sucking-piglets (6.a) and sows (6.b): 11x + 4x [+ 1x]
corn-ears (8.c): 12x [+ 1x + 1x?]
cheeses (3): 12x [+ 1x]
wine (4.b): 11x
milk (2.a): 9x
chaff (8.b; 8.a; 8.a+d): 8x (i.e. 4x 8.b + 3x 8.a + 1x 8.a+d)
baskets with produce (7.d): 7x
bread (1): 6x (i.e. 2x 1.a + 4x 1.b)

jars with charlock (9.a): 5x
(radish) oil (5.b; 5.a/b): 3x [+ 1x] + 1x
clover (8.d; 8.a+d): 2x + 1x
(green) beans (8.e): 2x [+ 1x] + [1x?]
dishes: (7.c; 7.b): 1x [+ 1x] + 1x
radish (9.c): 2x
fowl (6.d): 1x [+ 1x?]
wood (in bundles) (8.f): 1x [+ 1x?]
dried raisins (9.e): 1x
honey (4.a): 1x
meat (6.e): 1x
fishes (6.f): 1x

III.d At the end of this paper it may be instructive to compare two Coptic texts containing a promise to deliver various commodities as ϲυνήθεια, viz. *P.Ryl.Copt.* 158.36ff. and 159.15ff., probably both from Hermopolis and to be dated to the VI/VII or VII centuries A.D. The commodities to be delivered are:

P.Ryl.Copt. 158.36ff.: 1 pig worth 1.5 ker. (i.e. δελφάκιον / χοιρὰϲ κερατίων ἑνὸϲ ἡμίϲεωϲ, cf. §II.6.a/b; for the price, cf. above, *P.Lond.* V 1771); 1 *lahe* of old and 1 *lahe* of new wine (οἶνοϲ, cf. §II.4.b); 1 dish (διϲκάριον, cf. §II.7.b/c); 20 cheeses (τυροί / τυρία, cf. §II.3); 1 needful amount (χρεία) of loaves (ἄρτοι / ψωμία, cf. §II.1); 1 needful amount (χρεία) of oil (ἔλαιον, cf. §II.5)

P.Ryl.Copt. 159.15ff.: 2 *lahe* of old wine (οἶνοϲ, cf. §II.4.b); 50 cheeses (τυροί / τυρία, cf. §II.3); 50 pairs of loaves (ἄρτοι / ψωμία, cf. §II.1); 2 dishes (διϲκάρια, cf. §II.7.b/c); 1 sextarius of oil (ἔλαιον, cf. §II.5); 1 pig worth 2 ker. (δελφάκιον / χοιράϲ κερατίων δύο, cf. §II.6.a/b; for the price, cf. above, *SB* VI 9294 and 9587).

Santpoort-Zuid

II. TEXTS

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III B

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 71-76

1. LETTER TO THE KING (?)

(Brian C. McGing)

TCD Sel. Box 137 Plate 4 Fragment A: 20 cm x 17.5 cm
III B.C. Fragment B: 11 cm x 5.5 cm
Arsinoite Nome

Although this Petrie text from Trinity College Dublin is frustratingly fragmentary and short, the mixture of elements in it makes it unusually interesting.[1] We start out with a reference to elephants, although what connection they have with the rest of the document is not at all easy to explain. Something is then addressed to *you*, or assigned to *your* account, or done in *your* name (εἰς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα), and a date is given. We then move on to a somewhat clearer section in which certain people have made a request, as for three years it seems they have not received their clothing allowance (ἱματισμός), which was supposed to come in the form of woollen cloaks (συρίαι), and are in debt or difficulty. Given the shortage of *syriai* the oikonomos, Akestor, has arranged for the payment of ten drachmas to each person in lieu of the cloaks, since even in the countryside it was normal to be given money if there were no cloaks. All the people concerned are reported as being, or doing something, in *your* sanctuary (ἐν τῶι τεμένει σου), and the oikonomos has written to the towns concerning, presumably, the failure of those responsible to meet the government's monopoly requirements (μὴ [σ]υντελεῖσθαι). The text breaks off with a mysterious reference to the closure of a bathhouse.

The phrase "in your sanctuary" makes it difficult to think that the document is addressed to anyone other than the king, or possibly a priest. Elephants, however, were a specifically royal concern, and likewise the production of *syriai*, the manufacture of which was under state monopoly in Ptolemaic times. The addressee is almost certainly the king. Most of the surviving documentation addressed to the king comes in the form of petitions. In this case, in spite of the presence of the word ἠξίουν in line 5, we seem to be dealing rather with a report of some sort. The obvious person to be writing to the king and reporting on the activities of the oikonomos is the dioiketes; and the traditional distinction made in line 8 between the countryside and Alexandria (καὶ ἐν τῆι χώραι) supports the notion of a writer with an Alexandrian outlook. The dioiketes is a good candidate. Although we have no examples of correspondence between the dioiketes and the king, they must have been in constant communication and we know that the king both received and sent a large volume of letters and other documents (see *P.Hib.* I 110 verso [255 B.C.], "a record of the arrival at and departure from some intermediate station of letters and other documents sent to or from the king, or high officials").

There remains the problem of trying to make any coherent sense out of the document as a whole. As the text is so fragmentary it is possible that the reference to elephants belongs to the end of a report quite separate from that about cloaks and clothing allowances, but if we are to connect them, we might sug-

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[1] I am very happy to be associated with this volume in honour of David Thomas: he has been extremely generous to me, as, I know, to many others, with his time and scholarly expertise. My thanks to Willy Clarysse for releasing his transcript of this text to me and to Bärbel Kramer and James Cowey for their comments and advice. I am grateful to the Board of Trinity College Dublin for permission to publish. The Joint Committee for Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies generously provided travel support for the writing of this article.

gest that it was elephant liturgical workers, or army units involved with elephants, who had not received their clothing allowance of cloaks. We have valuable information about elephant hunting in the third century B.C. in the horn of Africa (see commentary to Frag. A line 1), but this is a Fayum text and Akestor seems to be dealing with a local problem. The interest of the papyri is predominantly focused on the hunting of the beasts, and we hear very little about them after capture, but they had to be brought up from the south and there are passing references to elephants at Memphis (*P.Petrie* II 20.col 4.8, 13 [252 B.C.]), and Hiera Nesos in the Arsinoite nome (*BGU* X 1913 [250 B.C.]). They must have been kept and trained in the heart of Egypt ready for military service: presumably the elephants which, according to *P.Petrie* III 114.4, 15 (before 223/2 B.C.), had "died in the cleruchy" (τεθνηκότων ἐν τῆι κληρουχίαι) were on station at a military depot or barracks. *Syriai* appear in various contexts, but the royal monopoly was very probably intended to supply the army: in the present text perhaps the elephant handlers had not been receiving their allowance of *syriai*. This can only be a speculative explanation, but the involvement of the oikonomos in the matter is not at all surprising: the textile industry, particularly linen, was one of his major concerns, and this text now adds to the evidence supplied by *P.Enteux.* 1 (259 B.C.) and *P.Sorb.* I 21 (252 B.C.) that he was also involved in the production of *syriai* (see commentary to Frag. A line 7). Baths too formed one of his areas of responsibility, but how the closure of the bath in Frag. A line 13 is relevant, I cannot explain.

The writing is clearly third century B.C., in line with the other Petrie material. In Frag. A the right hand edge of the column is preserved in lines 4 to 10, indicating only a few missing letters at the end of lines 11 to 13, but a neat tear or cut forms the left hand edge of the papyrus and deprives us of an uncertain portion of the left hand side of the column. Line 13 seems to mark the bottom of the column. The writing is along the fibres. On the back of both Fragment A and B are the fragmentary remains of another text, written in a different hand and agricultural in content. The supplements on the left hand side of Frag. A were kindly suggested to me by Willy Clarysse and are offered as the sort of readings that would restore what seems to be the sense of the text. How much is missing on this left margin is difficult to say, but there must be at least as much as is implied by the supplement in line 7.

Fragment A

]̣ λυκ̣ριαι̣̣[ca. 23]
]των ἐλεφαντ̣[ca. 20]
]̣ ματων εἰc̣ τὸ cὸν ὄνομα τ̣ [ca. 12]
4]c̣ τῆι κε̅ τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου α[ca. 10]μ̣-
]ιc ἠξίουν ἐπειδὴ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἱμ[α]τιc-
μὸν οὐκ ἔχουc]ιν ἐν χρείαιc δέ εἰcιν. Ἀκέcτωρ δὲ ὁ οἰκονόμοc
ἐκέλευcε διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπ]άρχειν cυρίαc προδοθῆναι ἑκάcτωι εἰc
8 ἱματιcμὸ]ν (δραχμὰc) ι ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τῆι χώραι ἔφαcαν ἐν ἔθει
εἶναι ἐ]ὰμ μὴ ὑπάρχωcιν cυρίαι τιμὴν αὐτοῦ
λαμβάνειν] πάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῶι τεμένει cου
ὄντων Ἀκ]έcτοροc τε τοῦ οἰκονόμου γράψαν[τοc]
12 ὑπομνήμα]τα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν μὴ [c]υντελεῖcθαι τ̣[. . .]
κα]ταφθείρεcθαι καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀργε[. . . .]

4 A[ἰγυπτίων δ]ε Smyly 5-6 μ⟨ῆ⟩τιc Smyly; ἱμ[α]τιc|μόν Clarysse 12 [c]υντελεῖc διὰ τ̣[Smyly; [c]υντελεῖcθαι τ̣[Clarysse

Fragment B

Traces of three lines

4]...ημ̣.[

]α̣κα̣...[

χρη]ματιcθη̣.[

].̣ειουν λα̣.[

8]α̣μονεc απ[

... the elephants ... to your account ... on the 25 th of Apellaios ... they requested since for three years they have not had (?) their clothing allowance and are in debt. Because there are no (?) *syriai*, Akestor the oikonomos ordered (?) that each man be paid 10 drs as clothing allowance, since even in the countryside they said it was customary to receive money if there were no *syriai*. As they are all in your sanctuary and Akestor the oikonomos has written memoranda to the towns concerning the non-fulfillment of the monopoly requirements ... and the closure of the bath ...

(Fragment A)

1 It is difficult to make anything out of the traces. What I have read as αι could be a tau, allowing for a name such as Πολύκριτος.

2 On the Ptolemaic organisation of elephant hunting in the third century B.C., see especially M.I. Rostovtseff, "Zur Geschichte des Ost- und Südhandels im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten," *APF* 4 (1908) 310-4; H. Kortenbeutel, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser* (Berlin 1931) 16-41; C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 34-7; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford 1972) 178-9; H. Raios-Chouliara, "La chasse et les animaux sauvages d'après les papyrus grecs," *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 69-81; L. Casson, "Ptolemy II and the hunting of African elephants," *TAPA* 123 (1993) 247-60. In Ptolemaic times hunting was by and large a government monopoly, exercised directly by a corps of royal hunters or else by concessionaires who would sublet. Some of our most interesting texts concern the hunting of elephants. In the third century at least this seems to have been a liturgy: ἐλεφαντοθῆραι were people requisitioned from the peasantry for a certain period (*UPZ* II 157.13-5; *P.Hibeh* I 110.79 [c. 255 B.C.]). Such, presumably, are the elephant hunters stationed down on the horn of Africa, addressed in a Petrie text from 224 B.C. (*P.Petrie* II 40a). The hunters clearly want to come home, but Manres urges them to be of good cheer: a new elephant transport ship (ἐλεφαντηγόc) is being equipped after the last one sank; a new group of hunters will be chosen soon; and a corn ship is on its way. This could be dangerous work: the carpenter Dorion expresses his relief, on an inscription from Philae, at getting back safe to Egypt from an elephant hunt with the corps of Eumedes (A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El Kanais: les inscriptions grecques* [Leiden 1972] No. 9b [284-246 B.C.]). And there are graffiti at Abu Simbel written by men who had gone elephant hunting – ἦλθεν ἐλεφαντοθήραc - and had perhaps lived to tell the tale (*SB* I 4144, 4151). We have references to a cτρατηγὸc ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων (*SB* IV 7306; V 8771 = A. Bernand, *Pan du Désert* [Leiden 1977] No. 77; No. 84; also No. 85); and as one text concerns the payment of 231 elephant hunters (*W.Chr.* 451), we can conclude that this was a very big operation. The object of the operation was mostly military (*OGIS* 54 = *SB* V 8545 [246-221 B.C.])—the elephant functioned as a sort of tank in battle—but ivory was also the aim: an account of payment made to hunters refers to tusks acquired either from elephants which have died in the cleruchy or from elephant hunts (*P.Petrie* III 114

[223-2 B.C.]). The king's interest in elephant matters is well demonstrated by the correspondence he both sent to and received from officers involved in the elephant business: see *P.Hib.* I 110.78-9; 92; 102 verso (255 B.C.). As noted in the introduction, the papyri have almost nothing to say about what happened to the elephants once they were brought up to Egypt. We hear less of papyrological elephants in Roman times, but a Michigan papyrus of fifth or sixth century date has a drawing of an African elephant with his handler (T. Gagos, "Three Short Byzantine Papyri from the Michigan Collection," *ZPE* 79 [1989] 273-5; cf. S.M. Burstein, "An Elephant for Anastasius: A Note on P. Mich. inv. 4290," *AHB* 6 [1992] 55-7, and H. Whitehouse, "The Elephant and its Keepers. A Postscript on P. Mich. inv. 4290," *ZPE* 85 [1991] 277-8).

3 The traces of the letter before -ματων can only fit ω or α, and would fit either equally well. ἀναλ]ωμάτων, "expenses," would be an obvious possibility. In view of the proximity of the word "elephants" it is also possible we could be dealing with tusks, ἀνασ]αμάτων as in *P.Petrie* III 114 (for the translation of ἀναστάματα as "tusks," see B. Hemmerdinger, "Comptes de chasseurs d'éléphants," *APF* 20 [1970] 25-7). In an unpublished papyrus from Trier Bärbel Kramer kindly tells me that στρώματα appear in conjunction with συρίαι; στρ]ωμάτων would, therefore, have some support.

For the phrase εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ δεῖνα and the use of ὄνομα in banking see F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten* (Strasbourg 1910) 149-52. If this document is addressed to the king, the phrase εἰς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα must mean that something is being done in his name or being assigned to his account or possibly addressed to him. Petitions (ἐντεύξεις) were addressed εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα (e.g., *P.Hal.* I 9.2 [III B.C.]; *P.Petrie* II 12 col. 3.4 [c. 241 B.C.]; II 46.10 [210 B.C.]; II 64c.2 [239 B.C.]): if you were communicating with the king directly and referring to a petition to him, you would presumably refer to it as being addressed εἰς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα. The proximity of ἠξίουν might suggest that the report encloses a reference to a petition sent to the king.

4 At the end of the line Smyly's transcription reads A[ἰγυπτίων δ]έ, but the last trace of lettering cannot be an epsilon: it is almost certainly a mu.

5 Smyly read μ⟨ῆ⟩τις at the end of the line, but what he must have seen as the second upright of the nu of τῶν would make that letter too wide and is much more probably an iota; and there is a space between the mu and the tau which would fit an alpha perfectly. Clarysse's reading ἱμ[α]τισ- is undoubtedly correct. ἱματισμός, either an allowance of dress or an allowance of money for dress (*P.Cairo Zen.* I 59028.1 [258 B.C.] comm.), is referred to quite frequently in third century B.C. texts. When money is given instead of the clothing itself, although there is one instance where 10 drachmas are paid (*PSI* VI 571.16 [252-250 B.C.]), the sum is usually larger: in *P.Col.* IV 90.11 (243-2 B.C.) Zenodorus says he is owed 60 drs. by Zenon as clothing allowance for three years; a certain Pyron is paid his ἱματισμός at the rate of 30 drs. per year (*P.Cairo Zen.* V 59825.3 [252 B.C.]), and Python at 50 drs. (*CPR* XVIII 18.11 [231 B.C.]). The provision of a clothing allowance was often specified in marriage agreements (e.g., *P.Eleph.* I 1.4 [311-310 B.C.]; *SB* XVI 12687.7 [III B.C.]; *P.Freib.* III 26.8 [179/8 B.C.]; 30.33 [179/8 B.C.]; *P.Giss.* I 2.17, 25 [173 B.C.]; *P.Münch.* III 62.2, 8 [II B.C.]), and also in weavers' apprentice contracts (*P.Mich.* V 355.10 [I A.D.]; *P.Wisc.* I 4.4 [I A.D.]) or wetnurse contracts (*CPGr* I 7.52, 76, 85-6, 112 [8 B.C.]; 14.10 [A.D. 26]; 20.13 [A.D. 50]; 24.5 [A.D. 87] etc.).

6 The oikonomos Akestor is listed in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I, 1006 as a result of a note in Grenfell and Hunt's commentary to *P.Hibeh* I 51.3, in which they refer to this text: Mahaffy had told them of its existence. The name Akestor does occur in one other third century B.C. text, *P.Cairo Zen.* IV 59736.55, but there is no context to tell us if it is our man. The name is also present in *BGU* IV 1120.2 (5 B.C.) and possibly *BGU* X 1968.2, 4 (184 B.C.).

There is no full modern study of the Ptolemaic administration, but the best brief analysis will be found in R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 3-10; and there are interesting considerations in E. G. Turner, "Ptolemaic Egypt," *CAH*[2] VII.1 (Cambridge 1984) 118-74. For bibliography on earlier studies and on some specific officers, see J.D. Thomas, "Aspects of the Ptolemaic Civil Service: the Dioiketes and the Nomarch," in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (eds.), *Das Ptolemäische Aegypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27-29 September 1976 in Berlin* (Mainz 1978) 188 n.1. The most important text concerning the role of the oikonomos is *P.Tebt.* III 703, which is a series of detailed instructions from a senior officer to a subordinate, now generally accepted to be from a dioiketes to an oikonomos: for the argument see, for instance, A.E. Samuel, "P. Tebt. 703 and the Oikonomos," in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* II (Milan 1971) 451-60. Further analysis of *P. Tebt.* 703 in V. Polacek, "P.Tebt. 703, its Significance then and Today," *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970) 411-26; D.J. Crawford, "The Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt," in Maehler and Strocka, *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten* (above this note) 195-202: W. Huss, "Staat und Ethos nach der Vorstellungen eines ptolemäischen Dioiketes des 3 Jh. Bemerkungen zu P. Teb. III 1, 703," *APF* 27 (1980) 61-77. For an oikonomos at work, the archive of Apollonius in *P. Köln* VI 258-271 (III B.C.) provides a good portrait. At nome level, while the nomarch had responsibility for agricultural production, and the basilikos grammateus for record-keeping, the oikonomos oversaw the finances and was involved in all activities connected with government revenues: for a list of his various involvements, see A. Farah, "οἱ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου in Ptolemaic Egypt," *BACPS* 4 (1987) 90-105. W. Clarysse, "Harmachis, Agent of the Oikonomos: An Archive from the Time of Philopator," *AncSoc* 7 (1976) 185-207 deals with the oikonomos' role in the supervision of grain shipments to Alexandria. In general see also G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches* (Darmstadt 1994) 59-61; and earlier, E. Bernecker, *Die Sondergerichtsbarkeit im griechischen Recht Ägyptens* (Munich 1935) 94-102.

7 For helpful recent commentary on *syriai*, a type of woollen cloak, see *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4434.8 (A.D. 154); and for wool garments more generally, J. Kramer, "Warm und wollig, dick und rauh: κάς, κασῆς und κάσ(σ)ος in den Papyri," *APF* 45 (1999) 192-204. The standard ancient definitions are Hesychius (ed. M. Schmitt 1419): cυρία: ἡ παχεῖα χλαῖνα, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς cιcύνης, ἢ ὅτι ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ γίνεται, οὗτοι δὲ Cύροι; and Pollux, *Onom* 7.61: ἣν δὲ cυρίαν οἱ πολλοί, ταύτην αὐτόκοπον ἱμάτιον οἱ κωμικοί. In the third century B.C. *syriai* were produced under government monopoly. Although there is no explicit statement that they were intended for the military, Préaux was surely right to suggest that this was probably their destination (C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* [Brussels 1939] 106-7). Certainly in Roman times we have evidence for army use: in *BGU* VII 1564.5-6 (A.D. 138) four *syriai* are among the goods ordered by the Prefect of Egypt to be sent to army units in Cappadocia. They also feature among items to be delivered to the gladiatorial school in Alexandria (*P.Lips.* 57.29 [A.D. 261]). They were not, however, exclusively a male garment: *SB* XVIII 13160.11 (219 B.C.) reports the theft of a "woman's *syria*" (cυρίαν γυναικείαν). They were bought by the Ptolemaic king at a fixed price, just over six drachmas in *P.Hib.* I 51.5-6 (245 B.C.), for, as the text explains, that was the official rate (τοcοῦτο γὰρ ἔκκειται ἐγ βαcιλικοῦ). And there were quotas to be filled. In *P.Hal.* I 13.3-6 Apollonius is told that he owes 390 webs πρὸc τὰc ἕωc τοῦ Μεcορὴ cυρίαc. In *P.Enteux.* 1 Patron receives from Antisthenes the job of collecting wool from the shepherds of several villages. With this wool he has to ensure the production of a certain number of *syriai*. Exactly the same process of wool collection and *syriai* production seems to be in evidence in *P.Sorb.* I 21 (251 B.C.); *O.Bodl.* I 143.3-5 (249 B.C.); and in the three texts published by P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Receipts for Wool and a Woollen Garment, 215-213

B.C.," *YCS* 28 (1985) 67-71 (= *SB* XVIII 13843-5), where the person responsible, Onnophris, is an agent of the topogrammateus. In Patron's case he has done what was required of him and handed over his quota to Nikostratos, but has been asked to pay up a second time. Interestingly, although he asks the king to forward his request for justice to the strategos, the scribe had originally written the oikonomos and then crossed it out (line 12). It is possible the petitioner knew that the oikonomos had no judicial competence (as argued strongly by A.E. Samuel, "The Judicial Competence of the Oikonomos in the Third Century B.C.," in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Milan 1971] 444-50); or else he had second thoughts, believing that his opponent had been getting himself into the good graces of the oikonomoi in the Arsinoite nome (lines 16-8), and that, therefore, an appeal to the strategos might be more sound strategically. What is interesting, but not unexpected, is that the oikonomos is seen to have a concern with the production of *syriai*—as *P.Sorb.* I 21 (251 B.C.) and the present text also clearly demonstrate. Perhaps curiously, although *P.Tebt.* I 703.87-117 makes evident how important the linen-weaving industry was to the oikonomos, it does not refer to wool products.

Other texts mentioning *syriai* are *P.Hib.* I 38 (252-1 B.C.), where an entire cargo of *syriai* is lost when a ship sinks in a storm; *P.Bon.* I 11(a).3 (III B.C.); *P.Stras.* II 95.9 (214 B.C.); *SB* X 10241.1 (A.D. 45); *P.Wash. Univ.* I 41.6 (V/VI A.D.).

10 The use of the second person in the phrase ἐν τῶι τεμένει cου is parallelled only in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2976.2 (II B.C.) where a divinity is addressed: Θοήριδι θεᾶι μεγίcτηι ἐν τῶι εὐτυχεcτάτωι τεμένει. The involvement of temples in the production of textiles is well documented (see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* [Warsaw 1965] 95-6 for discussion of the Ptolemaic period). As the text is so fragmentary it would be unwise to draw any firm conclusions, but it is possible that the *syriai* producers were working in a sacred precinct.

12 Smyly read [c]υντελεῖc διὰ τ̣[at the end of the line, but although the photograph makes this look possible, it is very difficult to see how it would work syntactically, and the traces do favour an alpha following a letter that has almost disappeared: Clarysse's reading [c]υντελεῖcθ̣α̣ι τ̣[looks very probable. cυντελεῖν is the technical term for the manufacture and supply to the king of monopoly products (see *P.Hal.* I 13.6 comm.). Why those responsible have failed to produce the requirement of *syriai* is not altogether clear, but it might be connected with the verb καταφθείρεcθαι in the next line.

13 καταφθείρεcθαι: The primary meaning, "destroy" or "ruin," is not the only one: it can also mean "waste time," "languish" in a place, particularly prison—see *P.Enteux.* 27.7 (222 B.C.) comm. for discussion.

At the end of the line some form of the verb ἀργεῖν, "to be unused," "to lie idle," "to be closed," is indicated: T. Reekmans, "'Αργόc and its Derivatives in the Papyri," *Cd'É* 60 (1985) 275-91 has a full discussion of the meanings of the word. For a much later parallel, see *P.Flor.* III 384.56 (V A.D.): ἀργεῖ τὸ λουτρόν. For the role of the oikonomos in relation to baths, see, for instance, *P.Cairo Zen.* III 59371 (239 B.C.) in which Ammonios the oikonomos is involved in the leasing of baths (or of the bath tax); *P.Col.* III 57 (249 B.C.); *P.Mich.* I 65 (245/4 B.C.).

Trinity College, Dublin

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 77-80

2. ORDER FROM PTOLEMAIOS TO NECHOUTES

(John F. Oates)

P.Duk. inv. 318 http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/318.html 32.8 cm x 12.6 cm
4 December 180 B.C.E. Arsinoite Nome

This large and generously used piece of papyrus has margins at the top of 4.5 cm. and of 2.5 cm. at the left. At the bottom a space of 2.5 cm. was left after the date where a comment has been written. The writing continues to the right edge of the papyrus in some lines. The text is fairly well preserved and the writing clear except in lines 8-10 where a piece is missing at the left and in line 8 where the top layer of fibers has broken off. The lost writing does not seriously interfere with the interpretation of the text. There is a kollema visible at 2.3 cm. from the right edge of the papyrus. The overlap of the two joined pieces is 4.0 cm., visible on the back side.

The handwriting runs in the same direction as the fibers and resembles earlier rather than later Ptolemaic hands. It most closely resembles some of those in *P.Erasm.* I, particularly no. 45 (plate XXIV); in format also this text resembles those of *P.Erasm.* I. Common characteristics include the wide margins at top, bottom and left side as well as the generous spacing of the lines of writing. In this text there is generally a centimeter of space between the lines. There are three hands evident on the front side of this text. On the back side there is a note of three very short lines written in a small hand. Two of these lines are written with the fibers, i.e. transversa charta. The third line appears to have been written in a space where a layer of fibers had broken off before the letters were inscribed and it is thus written across the surviving layer.

The situation in this text may be contextualized as follows: Ptolemaios, the strategos of the Arsinoite nome, writes an order to Nechoutes, the basilikos grammateus, to measure out kleroi for three men designated Thracians who have been enrolled among the 80 aroura cavalry men. Late in the reign of Epiphanes and early in that of Ptolemy Philometor, there seems to be an attempt on the part of the government to encourage further Hellenic settlement in the chora. *P.Tebt.*III 793 (183 B.C.E.) attests Ptolemaios also involved in the measurement of kleroi. The Tebtunis land registers of the Menches archive (119 -115 B.C.E.), also attest activity in land grants at the end of Philometor's reign.[1]

Ptolemaios is first attested as strategos of the Arsinoite nome in 193/2 (*P.Athen.* 8) and last recorded in 170 (*BGU* III 1012). His last known predecessor is Agathis in 199/8 (P.Duk. inv. 314) and his first known successor is Demonax in 166 (*P.Erasm.* 3).[2] Twenty four years, 193 B.C.E. to 170 B.C.E., is a long tenure for a strategos and Ptolemaios is a most common Greek name in the papyri; nonetheless,

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[1] See D. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period* (Cambridge 1971) Table I and the discussion in pp. 58-60. P.Duk. inv. 318 is the earliest from the reign of Philometor and probably reflects more the policies of the end of the reign of Epiphanes. In the Kerkeosiris registers no other grant is recorded as allotted until those which were granted in 151 B.C.E., year 31 of Philometor.

[2] On the dating and documentation of Ptolemaios see most recently J.D. Sosin, "P.Duk. inv. 677: Aetos, from Arsinoite Strategos to Eponymous Priest," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 142-3 and J.D. Sosin and J.F. Oates, "P.Duk. inv. 314: Agathis, Strategos and Hipparches of the Arsinoite Nome," *ZPE* 118 (1997) 254-5. It is unlikely that the 2nd year could refer to 169 when a revised regnal dating was used to recognize that Euergetes II had joined his brother as co-ruler.

until further evidence appears, we must accept Ptolemaios as a single person and as the holder of the strategeia during this period.

That Nechoutes is the basilikos grammateus is clear from his function of measuring out the land for the kleroi. No other Ptolemaic official has this function.[3] We do not have the name of another basilikos grammateus between 200 B.C.E. and 170 B.C.E. The latter date attests the first basilikos grammateus with a Greek name. The evidence is slight for the early second century; new texts may fill out our picture or correct it.

Πτολεμαῖος Νεχούτει
χαίρειν· Ἀνδρομάχωι
καὶ Ἀρι⟨ς⟩ταίωι καὶ Παραιβάτωι
4 τοῖς γ Ἀνδρομάχου
Θραιξὶν κατακεχωρις-
μένοις εἰς τοὺς (ὀγδοηκοντ)(αρούρους)
ἱππέας, κατὰ τὴν
8 παρ[ὰ τοῦ] .[. . . . . .]
[ἐπιστ]ολήν, συγ-
[καταμ]έτρησον
μετὰ τ[ῶ]ν εἰθισμένων
12 τὸν καθήκοντα ἑκάστωι
κλῆρον ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρ-
χούση[ς] γῆς ἀφορολογήτου
περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ
16 Τεβέτνου ἀκολ⟨ο⟩ύθως
τοῖς προυπάρχουσιν
χρηματισμοῖς.
φρόντισον ὅπως μὴ τῶν
20 ἀγνοηθῆι{ηι}
(m.2) πέμψον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
τὰ κατὰ σφραγῖδα τῶν κλήρων.
ἔρρω(σθε). (ἔτους) β Φαῶφι κθ
24 (m.3) Πτολεμαῖος. συνκαταμέτρησον

verso
(m.4) τὴν ς ' ιβ'
κ . ο
τῶν (ὀγδοηκοντ)(αρούρων)

(m. 1) Ptolemaios to Nechoutes greeting. For Andromachos and Aristaios and Paraibatos, all three sons of Andromachos, Thracians, who have been enrolled in the 80 aroura cavalry men, measure according to the instructions in the letter from ..... with the usual associates, the kleros appropriate to

[3] J.F. Oates, *The Ptolemaic Basilikos Grammateus*. BASP Suppl. 8 (Atlanta 1995) 32-3 for this function during the third century and p. 96 for the second century. For names see the lists in Oates, *ibid.*

each one from the existing non-revenue land near Eleusis and Tebetnu according to aforesaid instructions. Take care that you do not overlook these.

(m.2) Send us the specifications by parcel of the kleroi.

(m.3) Ptolemaios. Measure together.

Verso: (m.4) ... of the 80 aroura cavalry men

1 Note that, in typical style of this period, the order is expressed in one sentence.

2 None of these men nor their father are known otherwise and none of the names is Thracian.

9 cυγ- is suggested on the basis of cυγκαταμετρῶ in line 24, but the merest traces of ink remain.

14 ἀφορολόγητοc occurs in the papyri otherwise only in *P.Tebt.* III 737 of 183 B.C.E. Its meaning is clear but it is not the technical term of the later papyri, particularly the Kerkeosiris registers.

15 Eleusis and Tebetnu are villages of the Polemon Meris of the Arsinoite Nome and they must be close to one another.

22 Apparently added as an afterthought by Ptolemaios (?) as he read the order before sending it. Since each kleros might well consist of several pieces, it makes sense that he would want to know the measurements of the individual pieces. The verb

24 καταμετρέω is the standard verb for measuring out land, particularly to klerouchs. See already Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. and more recently *P.Erasm.* I 1 and the note to lines 7-8 with the bibliography cited there. Cυγκαταμετρέω is used here in line 24 and above in lines 9/10 to indicate that measurement will be done by a team, μετὰ τῶν εἰθιcμένων.

Duke University

3. A

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 81-85

3. A PTOLEMAIC CUSTOM HOUSE REGISTER FROM PHILADELPHIA

(Willy Clarysse)

P.Hamburg inv. 49[1] Plate 5 12 cm x 26 cm
23 May - 22 June 132 B.C. or Philadelphia
26 April - 25 May, 9 A.D.

The same hand has written the text on recto and verso. On the recto there are remains of three columns: the third of these is complete (with a margin at top and bottom) and easily legible. Of the first column we have only some line ends. On the verso only a few fragmentary figures are preserved.

The text is dated in a 38th year, which must be either that of Ptolemy VIII (23 May - 22 June 132 B.C.) or that of Augustus (A.D. 9, 26 April - 25 May). An early date is supported by the writing, which looks definitely Ptolemaic, by the fact that no royal name accompanies the year (this is normal practice in Ptolemaic times, whereas in the period of Augustus Καίcαροc is expected) and by the figures, all multiples of 10, which point to copper rather than to silver drachmae, i.e. to the period 210 to 30 B.C.[2] On the other hand the tax ρ΄ καὶ ν΄ is hardly attested before the reign of Tiberius. The earliest customs house receipt for this tax dates from A.D. 43/44; cf. *P.Customs*, p. 102 no. 4. Though the name is not fully preserved, P. van Minnen has convincingly supplied ρ΄ κ[αὶ ν΄] in a Hawara papyrus dated A.D. 24/25; see "*P. Hawara* 208 Revised," *ZPE* 93 (1992) 205-8 (= *SB* XX 15189). But the present text is the only witness for its existence for the Ptolemaic period, one hundred and fifty years earlier.

The 3% customs duty ρ΄ καὶ ν΄ is attested by no fewer than 150 receipts in the Roman period; cf. *P.Customs*, pp. 23-6 (for addenda, see most recently *P.Louvre* I 27-29 with introduction). The Heidelberg Database registers 62 customs house receipts for Philadelphia, ranging from A.D. 106 to the late third century; cf. also *P.Customs*, pp. 102-42 passim. Payments for ρ΄ καὶ ν΄ in Philadelphia only start in A.D. 140 (*ibid.*, nos. 183, 202, 227, 234, 235, 259, 262, 281, 336, 346, 354, 372, 418, 459, 477, 488, 489). A few earlier receipts deal with a 1% tax (*ibid.*, nos. 135, 137, 139, ranging from A.D. 125 to 133). The presence of a ρ΄ καὶ ν΄ tax more than a century earlier shows a far greater continuity between Ptolemaic and Roman period than we would have expected. Cl. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 350-9 has hardly anything to say about internal customs duties in the Ptolemaic period. *P.Yale* I 40, however, provides an early parallel. According to this business letter a certain Diodoros ὁ πρὸc τῆι ρ΄ [τῶν π]ερὶ Φιλ[α]δελφείαν τόπων (*Pros.Ptol.* VIII 1539a), is also interested in the 2% tax (ν΄), which is presently farmed by the addressee Hermias (*Pros.Ptol.* VIII 1548a). Here the two taxes are found side by side in a text from the late third or early second century B.C. (for the date, see *BL* VIII, 513; the wine prices suggest a date before 211). The 2% tax is farmed by Hermias for no less than 1

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[1] With thanks to Dr. Eva Horvath, director of the Handschriftenabteilung der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, for permission to publish and reproduce this papyrus. A first transcript of the text was produced by M. Salvo.

[2] Though the bronze standard continued to be used in private documents, official documents, like the present one, normally count in silver drachmas, cf. D. Rathbone, "Prices and Price Formation in Roman Egypt," in J. Andreau, P. Briant, and R. Descat (eds.), *Économie antique. Prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques.* Entretiens d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (Saint Bertrand-de-Comminges 1997) 187-244, esp. 188-90.

talent, which confirms that transport between Philadelphia and the Nile valley was flourishing at the time. No doubt most of the traffic went to the Nile harbour of Kerke, only 15 km away.[3]

The interpretation of the present text has to start from the well-preserved third column of the recto (ll. 13-20), a set of figures for the month Pachon, which are presented in the following table:

Pachon						total
day 1-5	3890	2940	2830	4710	2030	16,400
day 6-10	2690	2800	3640	4850	2770	16,750
day 11-15	1520	2190	1880	1330	2260	9,190 (l. 9180)
day 16-20	1710	3300	3550	1600	1950	12,110
day 21-25	1870	2680	2630	2040	2405	11,625
day 26-30	3310	3610	3870	1250	1710	13,650 (l. 13,750)

The totals in talents and drachmae at the end of each line clearly show that these are money figures. Though with the exception of the figure 2405 they are all multiples of 10, they do not have any other common denominator. The heading calls this column an ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου ἀπό $\overline{\alpha}$ ἕως $\overline{\lambda}$, i.e. a grand total for the whole month, day by day.

The third column is called ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου, i.e. a summary total; the preceding second column offered a more detailed account κατ' ἄνδρα.[4] Col. ii preserves the details for the last two days of the month. Although the day indication is lost the total of 1250 in l. 9 corresponds with that of 29 Pachon and is followed by the figures, imperfectly preserved, for day 30 (day indication preserved). The total of day 29 is the sum of the five preceding lines (ll. 4-8), which can be tabulated as follows:

l. 4	Adelphion	5	400
l. 5	[- -]on	2	120
l. 6	[- -]iphilos	10	500
l. 7	[- -]nes	3	150
l. 8	Ariston (?)	2	80
l. 9	total		1250

From this section it is clear that the totals of each day were obtained by payments made by different persons, apparently all with Greek names, each of them followed by two figures. The first figure is small (the highest figure preserved is 10), the second is apparently obtained by multiplying the first figure by a multiple of ten, between 40 and 80:

l. 4	[A]delphion	5	400	400 = 5 x **80**
l. 5	[- -]on	2	120	120 = 2 x **60**
l. 6	[- -]iphilos	10	500	500 = 10 x **50**
l. 7	[- -]nes	3	150	150 = 3 x **50**
l. 8	Ariston (?)	2	80	80 = 2 x **40**

[3] Cf. W. Clarysse, "Philadelpheia and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive," *Stud. Hell.* 24 (1980) 96-7.

[4] For the opposition, cf. *P.Yale* I 36.12 (κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ κώμην καὶ ἐπὶ κεφα[λαίου]); *P.Laur.* III 86.6 (μ[η]νιαῖα ἐ[πὶ] κ[εφ]α̣λ̣α̣ί̣ο̣υ̣ καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα); *P.Sorb.* I 18.7 (ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου σνη, τὸ δὲ καθ' ἓν ἀνοίσω σοι ἅμα τῆι ἡμέραι); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 30.18 (ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου ὧν τὸ καθ' ἓν ὑπάρχει).

l. 10	Nikolaos	5	350	350 = 5 x **70**
l. 3	[- -].ilos	10	500	500 = 10 x **50**

Some similar custom house registers from the Roman period contain fuller information: besides the name of the transporters and the sums paid, they also give the direction of transport (import or export), the type and number of transport animals (donkey, camel, camel foal), the quantity and name of the product transported (artabas of wheat, metretae of oil, keramia of wine etc.). This type of document is well illustrated by the following extract from *P.Lond.* III 1169 (pp. 43-7):

l. 6 Ὅμηροϲ ἐξάγ(ων) ἐπ(ὶ) ὄν(ῳ) α ἐλ(αίου) με(τρητὰϲ) β (δρ.) η=
l. 7 Πάλιμιϲ ὁμ(οίωϲ) ἐπ(ὶ) καμ(ήλῳ) α ἐλ(αίου) με(τρητὰϲ) δ (δρ.) ιϛ (τετρωβ.)

The rates of the customs duties in this text depended upon the type of product involved, the quantities calculated in artabas of wheat, metretae of oil or keramia of wine, but also on the number and type of transport animals. Donkeys were usually loaded with half the amount of camels (3 to 4 artabas of wheat, 2 metretai of oil for donkeys vs. 6 artabas of wheat and 4 metretae of oil for camels); camel foals (πῶλοι) usually carry 4 artabas of wheat.[5]

As shown in the table above the total sums are apparently obtained by multiplying the first figure by 40, 50, 60, 70 and 80 (for day 25 alone a multiple of 5 must have been used somewhere). If the first figure represents the number of animals, the end figure is therefore not likely to be explained by complicated combinations of donkeys, camels and foals. More likely all animals are of the same type (donkeys?)[6] and the different rates, which are not explicitly given, refer to different types and/or quantities of goods. The information given by the text is too incomplete (no names of animals, no quantities, nothing on the type of goods) to allow further speculation.

But even so the text clearly shows the importance of trade from and to the Fayum through the village of Philadelphia in the second century B.C. If, just by way of hypothesis, we take the lowest amount, that of l. 8, to represent two donkey-loads of 3 artabas of wheat each, the 3% tax of 80 dr. suggests a value of (80 x 100)/ 3 = 2,666 dr. for 6 artabas of wheat. One artaba of wheat would then be worth 444.4 dr., a figure which comes very close to the wheat price of 400 dr. attested for the period around 130.[7] The total amount for the whole month, 79,725 dr., corresponds to 3% of 2,657,500 dr., or, at a wheat price of 400 dr., to 6,643.75 artabas or 2,214 donkey loads (74 donkeys a day). Although these calculations are speculative, they confirm our dating in the reign of Ptolemy VIII[8] and give some

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[5] Cf. W. Habermann, "Statistische Datenanalyse an den Zolldokumenten des Arsinoites aus römischer Zeit II," *MBAH* 9 (1990) 50-94.

[6] We have further worked with the hypothesis that the first figure represents the number of donkeys. There is, however, a problem here: the existing customs house texts, receipts and lists, suggest that donkeys came in singles or by two, whereas camels were more often grouped (see the lists by Sijpesteijn in *P.Customs*, pp. 102-43). In our text the groups tend to be rather large (twice up to ten animals), which may suggest camels rather than donkeys. It is even possible that the first figure represents artabas and/or keramia. In the case of camels the number of goods would be double what we here propose, but the prices would be lower; if the figures represent artabas or keramia there would be less goods, but at a higher price.

[7] Cf. K. Maresch, *Bronze und Silber*. Pap.Col. 25 (Opladen 1996) 182.

[8] Compare the much lower monthly amounts in some similar registers from the Roman period: 233 dr., 170 dr., 361 dr. 2 ob., 215 dr. 4 ob., 256 dr. 5 ob. in *P.Lond.* III 169 (pp. 43 ff.) (Soknopaiou Nesos; 2nd cent.); 1,041 dr. 1 ob. in *P.Wisc.* II 80 (Bakchias; 114 A.D.); 624 dr. 1.5 ob. in *SB* XX 15012 (Soknopaiou Nesos; 2nd cent.).

idea of the traffic going from Philadelphia over the short stretch of desert to Kerke on the Nile. *P.Wisc.* II 80 registers about 160 transports a month (i.e. about 5 a day) in the custom house in Bakchias in A.D. 114; *P.Lond.* III 969 lists 61 transports for Pharmouthi; *P.Lond.* III 1169 (Soknopaiou Nesos; 2nd cent.) lists 34 transports for Hathyr and 19 for Choiak.[9] At the same time this illustrates the continuity between the Ptolemaic and Roman period: the internal customs duty of 3% is not a Roman innovation, but continues a Ptolemaic levy. Why Ptolemaic custom duties are hardly represented in our documentation remains unknown. Were they perhaps written in demotic?

Recto :

col. i

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]..
]..(δρ.) χν
].ιλος ι φ
- - - -

col. ii

4	[κθ̄ 'A]δελφίων	ε	υ	day 29 Adelphion	5	400
	[...]ων	β	ρκ	[...]on	2	120
	[...]ιφιλος	ι	φ	[...]iphilos	10	500
	[...].νης	γ	ρν	[...].nes	3	150
8	'Αρίστων	β	π	Ariston (?)	2	80
	(γίνονται) 'Ασν			total	1250	
	λ̄ Νικόλαος	ε	τν	day 30 Nikolaos	5	350
	[...]..	.	ρκ	- - -	.	120
12	[...]..	.	.μ	- - -	.	.40
	- - - -					

col. iii

ἔτους λη Παχὼν γένη ρ΄ καὶ ν΄ Φιλαδελφείας
ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου ἀπὸ α̅ ἕως λ̅

	α̅	'Γωρ	β̅	Ϡμ	γ̅	'Βωλ	δ̅	'Δψι	ε̅	'Βλ	(γίνονται) (τάλ.) β 'Δυ
16	ς̅	'Βχρ	ζ̅	'Βω	η̅	'Γχμ	θ̅	'Δων	ι̅	'Βψο	[(γίνονται) (τάλ.) β] 'Δ̣ψ[ν]
	ια̅	'Αφκ	ιβ̅	'Βρρ	ιγ̅	'Αωπ	ιδ̅	'Ατλ	ιε̅	'Βσξ	(γίνονται) (τάλ.) α 'Γρρ
	ις̅	'Αψι	ιζ̅	'Γσ	ιη̅	'Γφν	ιθ̅	'Αχ	κ̅	'AϠν	(γίνονται) (τάλ.) β ρ̣ι
	κα̅	'Αωο	κβ̅	'Βχπ	κγ̅	'Βχλ	κδ̅	'Βμ	κε̅	'Βυε	(γίνονται) (τάλ.) α 'Ἐχκε
20	κς̅	'Γσι	κζ̅	'Γχι	κη̅	'Γωο	κθ̅	'Ασν	λ̅	'Αψι	(γίνονται) (τάλ.) β 'Αχν

4 η̅ corrected from ε̅ 8 'Γσι corrected from an illegible earlier figure

[9] As a "transport" I have counted every single animal listed, adding one "transport" for those lines where goods are listed without mention of an animal.

Verso

Remains of three columns in the same hand as the recto and clearly belonging to a similar account.

col. i

End of about 12 lines. Two lines only are recognizable:]υξ (l. 9) and] . . . (γίνονται) 'Αψν (l. 10)

col.ii

Bottom of a column; about 7 lines, most of them heavily damaged. Some figures are partially legible: 'Α[(l. 2),] (τάλ.) [.] φ . . (l. 3), 'Ε[. .] καὶ (l. 4), πάντων [.] φμ (l. 5), (γίνονται) (τάλ.) [.] 'Αρμ (l. 6), (λοιπὸν) . [. .] . (l. 7).

col. iii

Bottom of a column; about 12 lines, heavily damaged and difficult to read because the background is very dark. Again only a few figures are legible: (γίνονται) (τάλ.) α 'Ε . [(l. 3), ἀργυ(ρίου) (l. 5).

2 The symbol for (δρ.) is clear, but unexpected, as the scribe does not indicate the drachmae elsewhere.This is the highest subtotal in the text. It is not preceded by a (γίνεται) sign and therefore not a day-total.

4 The name Adelphion is apparently an *addendum onomasticis*.

6 Perhaps ['Αντ]ίφιλος.

17 The total for day 11-15 should have been 9,180 instead of 9,190.

20 The total for day 26-30 should have been 13,750 instead of 13,650.

15-20 The subdivision of the month in six weeks of five days each is based on the division of the month in three ten-day periods, which is found both in classical Greece and in pharaonic Egypt. The difference between the highest (day 9, with 4,850 drachms) and the lowest figure (day 29, with only 1,250 drachms) is great, but the custom house is open every day (no Hermes days, i.e. days without entries, see e.g. *P.Coll.Youtie* I 31.12n) and the pattern of high and low days is apparently random. The sums are all divisible by 10, except for 2,405 for day 25.

Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven

P.Mich
23 May

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 87-89

4. ANTICHRETIC LOAN WITH RIGHT OF HABITATION IN LIEU OF INTEREST

(Peter van Minnen)

P.Mich. inv. 96 Plate 6 8 cm x 13 cm
23 May, 41-54 A.D. Tebtunis

This is a fragmentary papyrus in a good state of conservation. It is broken off at the bottom, about halfway down the text, and incomplete at the left, where about 10-12 letters of text are missing. No sheet joins are visible. The hand is a fluent cursive of the first century. A petition dated to A.D. 45 and illustrated in *ZPE* 81 (1990), Taf. X, was written in the same hand. Line fillers are used at the end of all lines except 1, 3, 6, 12, 14 and 15. The papyrus was acquired for the University of Michigan by F.W. Kelsey through B.P. Grenfell in 1920, before the large batch of papyri from the Tebtunis *grapheion*. The document is cancelled with crude diagonal strokes, indicating that it derives from a private archive. There is nothing on the back.

This document is a so-called "antichretic" loan (styled as an "objective homology") which stipulates that the creditor, a woman called Thases, instead of receiving interest enjoys the right to inhabit a house in Tebtunis. The house, a *pastophorion*, is located in the precinct of the temple of Kronos (the Egyptian Sobek) in Tebtunis. The document is unique in that it does not concern the private property of the debtor, but a house he himself leases from a woman and a man. The latter, Thaubastis and Marepsemis son of Marepkemis, cannot be identified in other documents from Tebtunis. Because of the lacunas in lines 4 and 6 the identity of the debtor and the creditor and her brother, Paopis, cannot be established either.

Antichretic loans are frequent in papyri; for discussion and literature, see H.-A. Rupprecht, "Zur Antichrese in den griechischen Papyri bis Diokletian," *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* II (Cairo 1992) 271-89. Another example from first-century Tebtunis is *SB* XII 11041, which is also cancelled with diagonal strokes. There are many "homologies" for *enoikesis* in the Tebtunis *grapheion* registers, which seem to have been antichretic loans just like the present document. The debtor's hold on the house of Thaubastis and her son may also issue from such a loan. In that case he is their creditor, whereas in the contract with Thases he is her debtor.

[ἔτους . . . . .] Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίcαροc Cεβαcτοῦ Γερμανικ(οῦ)
[Αὐτοκράτορο]c μηνὸc Γερμανικήου κη̄ ἐν Τεβτύνει
[τῆc Πολέμωνοc] μερίδοc τοῦ Ἀρcινοείτου νομοῦ. ὁμολο-
4 [γεῖ . . . . . .]ήρεωc Πέρcηc τῆc ἐπιγονῆc ὡc ἐτῶν
[. . . . . .]ων οὐλὴι φακὸc ῥεινὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν
[Θαcῆτι . . . . ε]ωc ὡc ἐτῶν τεccαράκοντα ὀκτὼι οὐλὴι
[. . . . . με]τὰ κυρίου τοῦ ὁμοπατρίου καὶ ὁμομη-
8 [τρίου αὐτῆc] ἀδελφοῦ Παώπιοc ὡc ἐτῶν τριά-
[κοντα . . . . οὐ]λὴι ἀντικνημίωι δεξιῶι ἔχειν

[παρ' αὐτῆς παρα]χρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου
[δραχμὰς . . . .] ἓξ καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων συνκε-
12 [χωρηκέναι τὸ]ν ὁμολογοῦντα ἐνοικεῖν τὴν Θασῆν
[καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτ]ῆς καὶ οὓς ἐὰν βούληται ἐφ' ἔτηι
[. . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ π]ροκιμένου χρόνου ἐν ᾧι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει
[καθ' ὁμολογία]ς ἐνοικήσεως παρὰ Θαυβάστιος
16 [τῆς . . . . . .]πιος καὶ Μαρεψήμιος τοῦ Μαρεπκέ-
[μιος ἐντὸ]ς τοῦ ἐντὸς περιβώλου τοῦ ἐν τῆι
[προγεγραμμέ]νηι κώμηι Τεβτύνει ἱεροῦ Κρόνου
[θεοῦ παστο]φόριον κα[ὶ βεβαιοῦν τὸν] ὁμολογοῦντα
20 [καὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτο]ῦ τ[ῇ Θασῆτι καὶ το]ῖς παρ' αὐτῆς
[πάντα ? τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνοίκησιν ταύτη]ν ἐπὶ τὸν συν-
[ηλλαγμένον ? χρόνον πάσηι βεβαιώσει . . . . . .] . . . . [. . . .]

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1 γερμανι^κ 2 read Γερμανικείου 3 read Ἀρσινοίτου 5 read οὐλή, ῥινί 6 read ὀκτώ, οὐλή 9 read οὐλή
13 read ἔτη 14 read προκειμένου 15 read ὁμολογία]ν 17 read περιβόλου 19 read παστο]φορίῳ

Year ... of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Germanikeios 28, in Tebtunis of the district Polemon of the Arsinoite nome.

... son of -eris/-ereus, Persian of the *epigone*, about ... years old, with a mark, a wart, on the right side of his nose, declares to Thases daughter of ..., about forty-eight years old, with a mark ..., with as kyrios her brother on her father's and mother's side Paopis, about thirty-... years old, with a mark on his right shin,

(a) to have received from her at once, from hand to hand, on the spot ...-six/sixteen silver drachmas,

(b) that instead of the interest on these the declarant has granted Thases and her representatives and whoever she wants the right to inhabit for ... years from the present time the *pastophorion* which he himself holds by virtue of a contract (?) of lease from Thaubastis daughter of -pis and Marepsemis son of Marepkemis within the inner enclosure wall of the temple of the god Kronos in the above-mentioned village Tebtunis,

and (c) that the declarant and his representatives will guarantee for Thases and her representatives all which pertains to this contract of lease for the duration agreed upon ...

1 The year in the reign of Claudius cannot be established. The word ἔτους might have been written as a symbol.

4 The epsilon and omega of the patronymic seem to have one stroke too many.

7 The identification mark of the creditor is relatively short, which probably means that there was no need to indicate left or right.

11 The lacuna could be filled by δέκα, but δραχμάς might have been written as a symbol. Sixteen drachmas would be a rather small amount.

15 Here one expects καθ' ὁμολογίαν in the lacuna, but the sigma is clear. Presumably the scribe made a mistake (genitive for accusative), just as did the scribe in *P.Mich.* V 282.8. Alternatively he used a preposition with the genitive.

17 There were two enclosure walls around the temple of Sobek in Tebtunis. *P.Mich.* V 322a.12 (46 A.D.) locates a *chortotheke* inside the outer enclosure wall and to the west of the *dromos* of the temple of Sobek; line 5 of that text locates a *pastophorion* inside the inner enclosure wall (lines 11-12 locate *pastophoria* generally within the enclosure walls of the temple). Conceivably the *pastophorion* in the present document was located *outside* the inner enclosure wall, but it makes more sense if it was located *inside* it. The inner enclosure wall is attested archaeologically; *pastophoria* are located inside. Cf. P. Davoli, *L'archeologia urbana nel Fayyum di età ellenistica e romana* (Naples 1998) 210 (fig. 95). The outer enclosure wall has not been located.

19 The lacuna is too short for θεοῦ μεγάλου. The scribe wrote παcτο]φόριον instead of παcτο]φορίῳ, which one would have expected after ὧι in line 14, where the relative pronoun is assimilated to the main clause.

21 The supplement is somewhat uncertain. Parallels do not have πάντα, but τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐνοίκηcιν ταύτην does not fill the lacuna.

22 Parallels suggest an indication of time here, e.g., "always" or "for the duration agreed upon." For a parallel for ἐπὶ τὸν cυν[ηλλαγμένον χρόνον, see *BGU* IV 1116.17 (17 B.C.), but other verbs starting with cυν- are also conceivable. The traces at the end might yield]. ἀ̣ρ̣γ̣υ̣[ρι-, but]. ν̣ π̣[is equally possible.

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 91-97

5. Sworn declaration to agents from the centurion Cattius Catullus: P.Col. inv. 90*

(Ann Ellis Hanson)

P.Col. inv. 90 | Plate 7 | 12 cm x 27.5 cm
24 July 46 A.D. | Philadelphia

P.Col. inv. 90 derives from the papers of Nemesion, son of Zoilus, and collector of money taxes (*praktôr argyrikôn*) in the Fayum village of Philadelphia for Julio-Claudian emperors, for Nemesion was himself a party to this transaction (line 8).[1] Nemesion was attested seven times as *praktôr* (or *logeutês*) between the years A.D. 44/45 and 57/58, and if he held the position continuously throughout these 13 years,[2] his stint stood in sharp contrast with the three-year terms of *praktores* once the position became a leiturgic office from the reign of Trajan onward, when those appointed could not refuse the *munus*.[3] In his official capacity Nemesion had frequent dealings with members of the Roman bureaucracy, including petitions to the prefect and perhaps the epistrategos, as well as interchanges with and about various strategoi. For example, he approached Dionysodoros, strategos of the Herakleides division, on 18 April 45 for personnel to aid him in collecting capitation taxes from villagers of Philadelphia currently resident in the neighboring Herakleopolite nome; his request was then obligingly forwarded by Dionysodoros to his counterpart in the Herakleopolite, C. Julius Iollas.[4] Others with Roman names, but for whom the *tria*

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*It has been my pleasure to prepare this papyrus for publication in the volume honoring a good friend and colleague over many years, David Thomas. It is published with the permission of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

[1] P.Col. inv. 90 has been discussed by me in "Village Officials at Philadelphia: A Model of Romanization in the Julio-Claudian Period," in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba* (Bologna 1989) 429-40, especially 433-5. This papyrus was also cited by Richard Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* (London-New York 1995) 88, Table 5.1, but the inventory number was erroneously given as "P.Corn. inv. 90."

P.Col. inv. 90 was purchased by Columbia University in 1924, subsequent to that university's joining the cartel of buyers for whom Sir Harold Idris Bell had been purchasing papyri on the antiquities markets of Cairo and Alexandria since 1921. The bulk of the papyri from Nemesion's archive was purchased for cartel members in 1921 and 1922. These purchases were distributed to the University of Michigan, Cornell, Princeton, the University of Geneva, Switzerland, and Bell's own institution, the British Museum, where they are housed at present. Private collections also acquired texts from the archive (e.g. *P.Ryl.* IV 595; *P.Harris* I 72, 164, 165; *P.Graux* I 1-3, 5 [= *SB* IV 7461-63, 7465] and II 9-11).

[2] His continuous service as *praktôr* seems likely, given the fact that his papers contained tax records dated to nearly every year between 44/45 and 57/58.

[3] See Naphtali Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*[2] (Florence 1997) 42-3.

[4] Petition to the prefect Ti. Claudius Balbillus, *SB* IV 7462, and *BL* VIII 328, for the likelihood that it should be dated in summer, A.D. 57; petition to either the prefect Cn. Vergilius Capito, or the epistrategos, *P.Mich.* X 582, A.D. 49/50 + *BL* VII 114, for the reading of Nemesion's name in the first line; although *P.Graux* II 9 to the prefect Avillius Flaccus (A.D. 33) was also found among Nemesion's papers, it probably antedated his activities within the tax bureau, not attested until a decade later. Dionysodoros' letter to Iollas is *SB* IV 7461; *P.Mich.* XII 656 + *BL* VII 116, a letter written in Nemesion's own hand to

nomina were not recorded, either because they were not, in fact, Roman citizens, or because the context did not call for full identification, also appeared in his private papers. Servilius' letter to Nemesion, for example, not only noted luxury items sent to the tax collector through the agency of Servilius' son-in-law Julius and the soldier Antonius, son of Leonides, but Servilius expected Nemesion to cooperate with Julius in selling some grain (*P.Graux* II 10).[5] Nemesion was wealthy by village standards; his sympathies lay with the governing class of the province; he was a man who knew well how to manipulate to his own advantage the political and social systems currently existing around him.

Nemesion also made loans of money,[6] and P.Col. inv. 90, the sworn declaration to men dispatched by a centurion, apparently involved a private debt owed to Nemesion, although this was not spelled out in the declaration.[7] The likelihood that the obligation was a private one comes from the fact that the sums owed were interest-bearing, while arrears of capitation taxes owed to the fisc were not, and the fact that an older woman, mother of the man who swore the oath and wife of the debtor, was never liable to the taxes Nemesion collected for Rome, yet she too was to be handed over to him in company with her husband. Their son, the declarant Psosneus, son of Praxias, was a peasant villager of Philadelphia, and no doubt known to Nemesion, as his name appeared frequently in the tax registers, variously written.[8] Psosneus was born about A.D. 7/8 and became liable for capitation taxes about 21/22. His father, Praxias, son of Diodoros, must have been relatively old at the time this declaration was sworn in A.D. 46, since the son was already 38 years old (line 1); Praxias was less than 62 years of age,[9] however, and was still liable to the *laographia* in the following year, when his name appeared in the year-ledger for 46/47.[10] No payments were recorded for Praxias during 46/47 in the year-ledger, and the notation "dead," τε(τελευτηκώς), was written in the margin next to his name. The year-ledger also named his wife Thaesis, the daughter of Anoubion, as part of the official identifiers for their son Psosneus (*P.Princ.* I 8 ix 1).

The first two letters in the name of the centurion, to whose agents this document was sworn, have been restored as [Κα]ττίου Κατύλλου (line 4), on the basis of *P.Sijp.* 15.1, a much mutilated petition of

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Tryphon, spoke of the necessity to appeal to the strategos in regard to the demand of an *archimachairophoros* for journey money (*BL* IX 163).

[5] See also P.Mich. inv. 615, three letters on a single sheet of papyrus, the second of which was addressed to Longinus; this papyrus was described more fully in my "Village Officials" (above, footnote 1) 435.

[6] See also *SB* IV 7465 + *BL* III 186 (A.D. 44), a copy of a bank receipt in which Nemesion acknowledged that a debt of 200 drachmae owed to him by Herakleides, son of Hermodoros, had been repaid at the bank.

[7] Public facilities were apparently being used in the transaction: cf. ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ λογιστηρίῳ (line 9, and see the note *ad* 9-10) and [τ]ῇ δη[μ]οσίᾳ (line 12, and see the note *ad* 11-12).

[8] E.g. both Ψονσνεύς and Ψομσνῆς in P.Col. inv. 90.1 and 2; Ψοσνεύς in *P.Princ.* I 1 i 3 (the date of this papyrus is 27 Nov.-26 Dec. 50); Ψονσνεύς in P.Mich. inv. 898.66; and read Ψωμτισνεὺς Πραξίου in *P.Corn.* 21 xii.302. For Psosneus, son of Praxias, in other published texts of the archive, see also *P.Mich.* XII 642.163 (a date in A.D. 48/49 is certain); *P.Mil.Congr. XVII* (P.Med. inv. 274v iv.20) p. 94. Psosneus' own son Praxias died in the second regnal year of Nero (= A.D. 56/57) and his debt of 26 dr. 4 obs. to the fisc was recorded in *P.Ryl.* IV 595.130 (for the correction to his name, see *P.Sijp.* 26, p. 167, footnote 12).

[9] For the evidence that this was the age of exemption in the I and II centuries, see A.E. Hanson, "Estimate for Capitation Tax of Philadelphia for Year 11 of Claudius: A *Synopsis* of the Village," in B. Sirks and K.A. Worp (eds.), *Papyri in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn* = *P.Sijp.* 26 (forthcoming as Am.Stud.Pap. 40) 173, note to line 21.

[10] *P.Princ.* I 8 viii 24, and for the date of this year-ledger, *BL* VIII 282.

A.D. 50/51 that addressed him in full as Λουκίωι Καττίωι Κατύλωι { } | ἑκατοντάρχῃι.[11] Because the centurion's *tria nomina* involved both a nomen and a cognomen with geminated consonants, Cattius | Catius,[12] and Catullus | Catulus,[13] tracing his origins and relationship to others of the same gens has thus far proved unrewarding. Within Nemesion's archive, however, retrieval of the centurion's full name seems to reunite references to the centurion Cattius in the public papers with three texts involving a man named Lucius among Nemesion's private papers. This Lucius had soldiers at his disposal and participated in Nemesion's agricultural activities; no other Lucius has to date appeared in the papers of the archive. If this Lucius is the centurion, L. Cattius Catullus, it then becomes possible to trace with considerable likelihood the cooperation that existed between tax collector and centurion over a period of at least 14 years.

P.Col. inv. 90, 24 July 46, was the earliest dated document among Nemesion's papers to mention Cattius, for Cattius dispatched the men who received the declaration (lines 3-4). At some point in A.D. 49/50 Nemesion drafted a petition protesting the negligence of a fellow *praktôr* who scorned his obligations and he requested that a letter be written to Cattius,[14] τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἑκατοντάρχῃ,[15] so that the

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[11] See Michael Peachin, "A Petition to a Centurion from the NYU Papyrus Collection and the Question of Informal Adjudication Performed by Soldiers" in *Papyri in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn* (above, footnote 9) 74-91. New York University participated in the cartel purchases made by Bell (see above, footnote 1) through the agency of Columbia University and thus acquired this papyrus from the papers of Nemesion. Purchased at about the same time was the dossier of Isidoros, with five of its papyri housed at the University of Michigan, but one each at Columbia University and New York University, for which see A.E. Hanson, "Isidoros of Psophthis, Augustan Cultivator: An Update," in B. Kramer et al. (eds.), *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologen-kongresses, Berlin, 13.-19.8. 1995* (Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997) 413-29, especially 414-5.

[12] The gentilicial Catius was Etruscan in origin, and Cattius was a later form; the name was attested with a single *tau* at Luca, Sutrium, and Careiae, and with geminated *tau* at Sutrium: thus, Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (reprint, Zurich-Hildesheim 1991) 76 and 423. Edmund Groag had already presented the gens Catia as absorbing those named Cattius in *RE* III (Stuttgart 1899) cols. 1792-4, and his 6) Catius Celer, a legate in Thrace ca. A.D. 241, appeared in inscriptions as both Catius and Κάττιος. The *RE Supplementbände* I, III, XII, XIV, and *PIR*^{2} also interspersed Catius and Cattius. For recent information on members of the plebeian gens Catia, see Werner Eck, s.v. Catius, *Der neue Pauly* 2 (Stuttgart-Weimar 1997) cols. 1032-3.

[13] While Catulus was primarily associated with the plebeian gens Lutatia, a family that first came to prominence toward the end of the First Punic War, the cognomen Catullus was more widespread in time and place. I have as yet found no Catius/Cattius who bore either cognomen.

[14] The reading of the *editio princeps*, *P.Mich.* X 582 ii 15, was Κλοτίωι, and the editor suggested this was a vulgar spelling of Clodius. As can be seen on the scanned image of P.Mich. inv. 886 (= X 582), the correct reading is Καττίωι. For the image, see http://images.umdl.umich.edu/a/apis/gagos/886r.jpg. The reading of the names of Philadelphia tax payers listed in column i can also be improved, in addition to corrections in *BL* VII 114. The following readings have been confirmed on the papyrus, as well as on the scanned image: line 4, Ἀλ(εξανδρίας) Ἑστιῆς (the geographical rubric apparently applied only to the names listed in lines 4-7; 12, 16); line 6, Ἀπολλώ(νιος); line 7, Ἀπολλω(νίου); line 10, Πετεῖρις Ἡρακλ(ήου); line 11, Νετνῆφις Ἡρακλ(ήου); line 13, Φᾶσις; line 14, Διονύς(ιος); line 17, Μάρωνα (*leg.* Μάρων) Ἡρακλ(ήου); line 19, Πεούριος.

[15] For the phrase as a rendering of the Latin *centurio regionarius*, "the district centurion," see e.g. Alston (above, footnote 1) 93; Alston did not, however, note in his Table 5.1, p. 88, that the phrase occurred in *P.Mich.* X 582, apparently its earliest occurrence in the papyri published to date as means to characterize a centurion. The phrase ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων was employed in Ptolemaic times to qualify other officials: e.g. τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων στρατηγοῖς (*P.Enteux* 27.9, Magdola 222 B.C.); τῶι οἰκονόμωι τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων (*PSI* IX 339.9, Philadelphia 243 B.C.).

latter compel the malingerer to perform his duties as *praktôr argyrikôn*. *P.Sijp.* 15, the mutilated petition to L. Cattius Catulus that was also among Nemesion's papers, bore the date 50/51. On 7 July 59 Thermouthis, Nemesion's wife,[16] wrote to her husband while he was absent in the metropolis, and her letter centered on news about Lucius, his *subricus*,[17] and his intervention in a dispute with shepherds and their wages. Thermouthis quoted Lucius' very words: "I am sending a soldier (ϲτρατιώτηϲ) ... immediately, he says, to seize such of the shepherds' belongings as are still in place."[18] Not only did Lucius possess a piece of clothing identified by a Latin name, but he was in a position to dispatch a soldier to help Nemesion and his family settle a labor dispute with shepherds in their employ.

Two additional papyri from Nemesion's private papers, both accounts involving Lucius, revealed that the latter had become in some sense a partner in Nemesion's agricultural activities. An elegantly written and lengthy account, dated after 24 July 57, bore the heading "Account of the sheep (πρόβατα) of Lucius in year 2 of Nero." The second through fourth columns of the texts reported on the same flock during the third regnal year of Nero.[19] This flock was sizable, varying between 102 and 77 animals; ewes outnumbered rams by about two to one, and the number of lambs was between 15, when the herd was smallest, and 22, at its greatest. Decreases due to mortality were carefully recorded and seem to have been booked as the responsibility of the shepherd Pnepheros who managed the flock (lines 5 and 36). Pnepheros' wages of 16 drachmas per month, a wine allowance, and payment of his bath and beer taxes were charged as expenses to Lucius along with purchase of fodder. Income booked to Lucius' account derived from the sale of sheep, sheepskins, and wool. When the sale of wool was recorded, however, the number of ewes shorn was 200, and rams were shorn in addition, although the number of rams and the amount for which the wool was sold were lost in lacuna (line 69). That a second flock, in all likelihood belonging to Nemesion, was pastured with the flock of Lucius is suggested not only by the 200 ewes and x rams shorn, but also by additional information introduced into the account. First, there were other shepherds mentioned by name, but no expenses on their behalf were booked against Lucius; second, the flock made use of two grazing plots.[20] A subsequent account, the latest dated text among Nemesion's papers, covered expenses that again involved Lucius for the second, third, and seventh regnal years of Nero (A.D. 55/56 to 60/61).[21] Although the account was written by Nemesion in his characteristic hand, his letters were considerably enlarged, perhaps due to presbyopia. In addition to the mention of Lucius

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[16] The letters to Nemesion, *P.Graux* II 10 and 11, included greetings to "Thermouthis and the children," making it certain that Thermouthis was wife to Nemesion. The author of the latter letter greeted not only his wife by name, but also his children: ἀϲπάζου | Θερμοῦθιν καὶ Διωγένην καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦ καὶ Νε{ε}μεϲοῦ, *P.Graux* II 11.11-12.

[17] A hood which also covered the upper body, a "parka": see Preisigke, *WB*, s.v. ϲουβρικομαφόρτιον, and H.C. Youtie, "P. Cornell inv. I 11: ΣΟΥΒΡΙΚΟΣ," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 53-6 = *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I (Bonn 1981) 335-8.

[18] *SB* XIV 11585.5-11 (= P.Corn. inv. I 11).

[19] *SB* XX 14525; the inventory number 880 in the Michigan collection identifies the text as belonging to the papers of Nemesion.

[20] The personnel for whom Lucius paid nothing: the shepherds Apollos, son of Sosippos (*SB* XX 14525.43), and Sambas the Arab (line 49). For the "Forty-arourae plot" and the "Hundred-arourae plot," see lines 40, 48, 65. The translation for ἐν Λουκίου (line 31) should be revised to read: "in the [account] of Lucius." On the advantages that derived from the merging of flocks up to about 400 head, see James G. Keenan, "Pastoralism in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 26 (1989) 175-98, especially 178-81.

[21] *SB* XX 14526, a republication of *P.Princ.* III 152; on the front of the Princeton papyrus (inv. AM 8915 = *P.Princ.* II 53) were monthly accounts of income at the tax bureau, the second column of which was labeled as income of dike tax during regnal years 2 and 3 (of Nero).

in this document's heading, some of those named in the longer account reappeared once again in this much abbreviated account covering expenses only, including the shepherd Pnepheros with his wages of 16 drachmas per month (lines 7-8, 14, 32-33).[22]

The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, mid-II century in its present form, but with its origins in the reign of Augustus, expressly forbade soldiers from buying property in the province in which they served, so long as on active service (sect. 111).[23] There is nothing to indicate that Cattius had become a veteran in the early years of Nero's reign and had settled in Philadelphia; Thermouthis' letter, written toward the end of regnal year 5 of Nero (7 July 59), suggests quite the opposite. Instead, Cattius was dodging the imperial government's ban through collaboration with Nemesion. Nemesion would have been the owner of record of the land and animals, but Cattius shared in the profits, once expenses directly related to his portion were deducted. Thus, Cattius was able to benefit financially from the rich agricultural lands of the Fayum, much as were the imperial family, their courtiers and freedmen, all of whom were still acquiring lands in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.[24] What Nemesion derived from this partnership was the use of a soldier when needed, and although expenses for *machairophoroi* figured in his accounts for expenses incurred in running the tax office,[25] *stratiôtai* under Cattius' command were made available to Nemesion, even for the collection of private debts. This striking instance of sustained cooperation between Roman and provincial underscores the fact that accumulation of wealth was a great aid in overcoming barriers between men. My suspicion is that this pattern must have been repeated in similar ways all over the empire, although Nemesion and Cattius stand out for the detail in which we can trace the relationship between the two men at a low rung on the political ladder of Roman imperial power.

(m. 1) [Ψ]ονcνεὺc ὡc (ἐτῶν) λη μέco(c) μελίχ(ρωc) μακρο(πρόcωποc)
εὐθ(ύριν) οὐλῆ(ι) ὑπὸ γόνυ δεξ[ι(όν).]

(m. 2) [Ψ]ομcνήουc Πραξίου τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδἐλ΄φέωc τῆc [Ἡρα-]
[κ]λείδου μερίδοc τοῦ Ἀρcινωίδου νωμοῦ τοῖc π[αρὰ]
4 [Κα]ττίου Κατύλλου ἑκατοντάρχου· ὀμνύω Τιβέρι[ον]
[Κ]λαύδιον Καίcαρα Cεβαcτὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτορ̣[α]
[εἶ] μὴν ἑκουcίωc ἐγ[γεγ]υῆcθαι Πραξίαν Διοδώρ[ου]
[τὸ]ν̣ πατέραν μου καὶ [Θ]α[ῆ]cιν Ἀνουβίωνοc τὴν μη[τέ-]
8 [ραν] μου οὓc καὶ παραcτήcω Νεμεcίωνι [πρά]κτορ̣ι [τῆc]
[αὐ]τῆc κώμηc ἐν τῷ δημοcίῳ λογιcτηρίῳ [τῆc Ἡρα-]
[κ]λ̣είδου ἐν [ἡ]μέραιc εἰκοcιπέντε ἀπὸ τῆ[c ἐνεc-]

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[22] For Apollos, son of Sosippos, line 27; for Theon the farmer (*SB* XX 14525.24), now called "Theon, hay-man" (ταβούριοc), lines 3 and 31. The shepherd Pnepheros and other workers also had a clothing allowance (lines 10-14).

[23] The relevant passage from the *Gnomon* and three restatements of the prohibition in the *Digest* are collected in Naphtali Lewis, "Soldiers Permitted to Own Provincial Land," *BASP* 19 (1982) 143-8, especially 143-4. Lewis' attention was drawn, however, to two apparent exceptions to the ban (*BGU* II 462 = *W.Chr.* 376, ca. A.D. 155/56, and *P.Lond.* III 1157 verso = *W.Chr.* 375, A.D. 246).

[24] For imperial and other estates in the vicinity of Philadelphia, see G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. 18 (Las Palmas 1978) 34 and Hanson (above, footnote 9) 165-76 (= *P.Sijp.* 26.11-15).

[25] *SB* XX 14576.27-29, 32-33, 35-41, 62-66, 76-79, 88, 222-25, 552-54 (republication of *P.Princ.* I 13); cf. also *P.Mich.* XII 656 + *BL* VII 116, IX 163.

[τώς]ης ἡμέρας· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραστήσω, ἐκτίσω [τὰ σὺν]
12 [τόκ]οις ὀφλ[ήματα τ]ῇ δη[μ]ο̣σίᾳ. εὐορκοῦντι μέν μ[οι]
[εὖ] εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δέ, τὰ ἐναντία. Νικάνωρ Νικά[νορος]
[ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθὶς διὰ τὸ φάσκιν αὐτὸν μὴ εἰ[δέ-]
[ναι γ]ράμματα. (ἔτους) ς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος [Σε-]
16 [βα]στοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, Ἐπὶφ τριακά[δι].
(m. 3) Δωσείθ(εος) ς[ες]η(μείωμαι). (ἔτους) ς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σ̣εβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπεὶφ τριακάδι.

1 μεσ^{o}, μελιχ, μακρο$^{\backslash}$, ευ$^{\theta}$, ουλ$^{\eta}$ pap. 2 [ψ]ομσνηους, see note *ad loc.*; φιλαδε$^{\lambda}$φεως pap., *leg.* Φιλαδελφείας 3 *leg.* Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ 7 *leg.* πατέρα 7-8 *leg.* μη[τέ-ρα] 14 *leg.* ἀξιωθείς, φάσκειν 17 *leg.* Δωσίθ(εος)

(m. 1) Psonsneus, about 38 years, medium height, honey-complexioned, long-faced, straight-nosed, with a scar beneath the right knee.

(m. 2) Psomsnes, son of Praxias, of those from Philadelphia of the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome, to agents from Cattius Catullus, centurion. I swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I willingly have become surety for Praxias, son of Diodoros, my father, and Thaesis, daughter of Anoubion, my mother, whom I shall also present to Nemesion, *praktôr* of the same village in the public *logisterion* of Herakleides (division) in twenty-five days from the present day. If I do not present them, I shall pay their debts with interest to the public (bank). To me swearing honestly, may it be well, but to me forswearing, the opposite. I, Nikanor, son of Nikanor, wrote for him when asked, because he says he does not know letters. Year 6 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph thirtieth.

(m. 3) Dositheos, I have signed. Year 6 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph thirtieth.

1 [Ψ]ονσνεύς: For Psosneus, son of Praxias, and the various ways in which his name was written, see above in the introduction and especially footnote 8. I use Psosneus as the most common form of his name in the discussion here.

μέσο(ς) μελίχ(ρως) μακρο(πρόσωπος) εὐθ(ύριν) οὐλῆ(ι) ὑπὸ γόνυ δεξ[ι(όν)]: Signalments, such as these, were noted in the descriptions of Egyptian peasants over the centuries, and the same characteristics described Psosneus' contemporary Chales, son of Chales, in the village of Tebtunis (*P.Mich.* V 264/65.17, A.D. 37).

2 [Ψ]ομσνήους: Genitive for a nominative Ψομσνῆς; within Nemesion's tax archive, the name Πανετβῆς | Πανετβεῦις also shows variable inflections in nominative and oblique, with genitives Πανετβήους, and Πανετβεύιος | Πανετβεύεως, respectively. See F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II (Milan 1981) 59-60.

ἀπὸ Φιλαδὲλ΄φέως: The form is apparently without parallel in the published texts.

3 Ἀρσινωίδου νωμοῦ: The interchange of the vowels *omicron* | *omega* and the consonants *tau* | *delta* are well attested in F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I: *Phonology* (Milan 1976) 277 and 82 (intervocalic). Faulty orthography for the nome's name also occurred at contemporary Tebtunis (*P.Mich.* V 310.3, A.D. 26/27, Ἀρσενωείτου νωμοῦ).

4 [Κα]ττίου Κατύλλου ἑκατοντάρχου: For the centurion Cattius Catullus, see above, introduction.

6 Πραξίαν Διοδώρ[ου]: For Praxias, son of Diodoros, see above, introduction.

7 [Θ]α[ῆ]cιν Ἀνουβίωνοc: For Thaesis, daughter of Anoubion, see above, introduction.

7-8 πατέραν ... μη[τέ-|ραν]: For the accusative singular of consonant stems of the third declension with an ending in -αν, especially ὁ πατήρ, ἡ μήτηρ, κτλ., see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* II: *Morphology* (Milan 1981) 45-6. It is, of course, not totally impossible that μη[τέ-|ρα] was written here, instead of μη[τέ-|ραν].

8-9 Νεμεcίωνι [πρά]κ̣τ̣ορ̣ι̣ [τῆc | αὐ]τῆc κώμηc: For a brief summary of Nemesion as *praktôr argyrikôn* at Philadelphia, see above, introduction.

9-10 ἐν τῷ δημοcίῳ λογιcτηρίῳ [τῆc Ἡρα|κ]λ̣εί̣δου (*sc.* μερίδοc): Apparently a specific bureau (building ?) in the metropolis of the nome. The phrase τῆc Ἡρακλείδου μερίδοc λογιcτηρίῳ κατακλειθείc ὑπὸ αὐτῶν occurred in the mutilated conclusion of a petition, *P.Amh.* II 80.4 (Arsinoite nome, A.D. 232/33), but the implication that this was, at least in the III century A.D., a place of incarceration is clear enough. A similar office existed in the Oxyrhynchite nome and was also used as a prison; it was referred to either as τὸ λογιcτήριον Ὀξυρυγχίτου (*P.Oxy.* XLIII 3104.8-9, 24 June 228), or τὸ δημόcιον λογιcτήριον (*P.Oxy.* XLVI 3302.15, 300/301).

11-12 ἐκτίcω [τὰ cὺν] [τόκ]οιc ὀφλ[ήματα] [τ]ῇ δη[μ]οcίᾳ (*sc.* τραπέζῃ): The location of the bank was not specified, apparently because it was known to all the parties concerned. There was a δημοcία τράπεζα at Philadelphia in the Roman period, but also one in the metropolis, for which, see Raymond Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca*. Pap.Flor. 25 (Florence 1994) 56, 78, 386.

13 Νικάνωρ Νικά[νοροc]: The name Nikanor was virtually unknown among the peasant tax-payers of Philadelphia in Nemesion's day, and it is tempting to think this Nikanor might be the same man as "Nikanor the citizen (of the metropolis)," mentioned by the komogrammateus of Philadelphia Herakleides in a letter he sent to Nemesion (*SB* XIV 12143.8-9). Cf. also below, note to line 17.

14-15 [ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθὶc διὰ τὸ φάcκιν αὐτὸν μὴ εἰ[δέ|ναι γ]ράμματα: The open *kappa* of φάcκιν is written in the same fashion as the *kappa* in Κλαυδίου in the following line. This form of the illiteracy statement was common in documents of the later Ptolemaic period, although ἐπίcτασθαι was more frequent than εἰδέναι (e.g. *BGU* VI 1282.20, II-I B.C., and 1302.9, I B.C.; *P.Tebt.* II 326.27, 12 B.C.).

16 and 18 τριακάδι: The 30th of the month was the day on which loans often fell due and the papyri show that this date was often written out in full, as here.

17 Δωcείθ(εοc): Although the name Dositheos was common in Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine Egypt, this is the first occurrence of a Dositheos in the Philadelphia tax archive, and no tax-payer at Philadelphia was ever named Dositheos in the Julio-Claudian period. As is the case with Nikanor (above, line 13), not all the actors in this drama seem to have been peasants of the village.

Verso: two or three very faded lines of Demotic, none of which were related to the text on the recto.[26]

Yale University

[26] I owe this information to the kindness of Dr. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, letter of 28 October 1990.

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 99-113

6. *PSI* XI 1183: RECORD OF A ROMAN CENSUS DECLARATION OF A.D. 47/8

(Dominic Rathbone)

PSI XI 1183
A.D. 47/8

Plates 8-9

21 cm x 19 cm (A)
14 cm x 9.5 cm (B)
Oxyrhynchus

PSI XI 1183 A and B are two incomplete copies of a mid-first-century A.D. declaration in Latin of people and property made by a legionary veteran in Egypt, Lucius Pompeius Niger. They come from a small archive of papyri relating to Pompeius (as he seems to have been called), of which Richard Alston and I are preparing a study. More than sixty years after its first publication, the declaration remains unique among the papyri in form and content. Some commentators have interpreted it as a declaration for the Roman provincial census of Egypt, but because this view has problems, many scholars loosely call it "a declaration of people and property"; a new suggestion is that it is Pompeius' declaration of his daughter's birth. When in 1998 David Thomas was preparing his paper for the Oxyrhynchus Papyri Centenary,[1] and asked my opinion on this document, I was not ready to give an argued view. Commenting on a Latin document for a co-editor of the Vindolanda tablets is on par with sending coals to Pons Aelii, but I offer now a belated explanation of why I think these texts are certified copies of the declaration Pompeius made for Claudius' empire-wide census of Roman citizens in A.D. 47/8.[2] On the way I comment on the use of double documents on papyrus in Roman Egypt, and I review the question of whether Roman citizens were registered in the provincial census of Egypt.

The texts were published as *PSI* XI 1183 (1935), with plate, by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, following their preliminary publication, "Frammenti di apographe latina del primo secolo di Cristo," in *Mélanges Maspero II. Orient grec, romain et byzantin* (Cairo 1934-37) 241-3, and were immediately commented on by U. Wilcken, "Urkunden Referat, I. PSI XI 1183," *APF* 12 (1936) 75-7.[3] They have been republished in several corpora: *FIRA* III 8 (V. Arangio-Ruiz, 1943); *Papiri latini* 31 (A. Calderini, 1945); *CPL* 170 (R. Cavenaile, 1956-8); *Ch.L.A.* XXV 785 (R. Marichal, 1986), with plate, and listing other reproductions (add *BL* VIII, 408) and palaeographical references. The text is discussed briefly in many works relating to the Roman provincial census of Egypt or the archive of Lucius Pompeius Niger. The most important articles are cited in the discussion below.

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[1] J.D. Thomas, "Latin Texts and Roman Citizens," in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (forthcoming).

[2] A Leverhulme Personal Research Professorship has given me the time to complete this research.

[3] The preliminary publication is referred to in a postcard of 27th September 1934 from Vitelli to Norsa: D. Morelli and R. Pintaudi, *Cinquant'anni di papirologia in Italia. Carteggi: Breccia - Comparetti - Norsa - Vitelli* (Naples 1983) II 588-9, no. 316. In a letter of 27th February 1935, Wilcken asked if Vitelli had yet sent him a photograph of the text as promised; on 3rd March he sent Vitelli comments from his study of the photograph: H. Harrauer, "14 Wilcken-Briefe an Vitelli und 2 Karten an Comparetti," *AnPap* 10-11 (1998-99) 213-36. nos. 10 and 11. These comments were expanded into the article cited above; cf. Wilcken in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan 1936) 112 n. 4.

I give the two texts below, numbered A and B as in previous editions. I make no restorations in either text which could not be divined without the existence of the other.[4] I represent all the legible lectional signs in the texts (interpunct, long I, apex, superscript bar). I owe a great debt to Rosario Pintaudi, who has, with his habitual generosity, again examined the originals in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, with unexpected and important results. I also thank Alan Bowman for various advice.

A. Recto →

[- - - -]• POL• NIGRAM• . [. . .]
[*blank ?*]
[- - e]T• FÌLIOS• CÌUITATE• DONATOS• ESSE [ab•]
4 [Ti• Claudio• Caesar]E• AUGUSTO• GERMANICO• ÌMP•
[Ti• Plautio• Siluano• Aeli]ANO• TAURO• STATILIO• CORUÌNO[• COS•]
[domum - Oxyry]NCHÌTE• METROPO<L>Ì• HS CCCC•
[communem• sibi• cum• Hapiō]NĒ• ET• SERĀPIŌNĒ• SÝRÌ• FILÌS• [ET]
8 [Syro• pro• parte• iiii• in]TER[•] AD•FÌNES• ISCHYRAN• THEONIS• ET•
[Ha]MYN• SELEUCÌ• L•
[domu]M• ITEM• OXYRYNCHÌTE• METROPOLÌ• HS D
[com]MUNEM• SIBI• CUM• DIDYMO• ET• APOLLŌNIO• ET• HÁTRIONE•
12 [filis•] HATRIONIS• ET• HATRIŌNE• PRO• PARTE• III• INTER• AD•FÌNES•
[Apol]LONI[um• A]POLLONÌ• ET• CTESĀN• CTESÁTIS•
[. . . . .] HS CC
[supelle]C̣TILEM•[- -] HS CL
16 [*blank ?*]
[*blank ?*]
[*blank ?*]
[- - -] *(m.2)*ac . . . . e . it . ụ . ṣ
20 [- - - - - -] . h . .
(the papyrus breaks off)

B. Recto →

[- -]
[prof]ẹ̣ẹ̣ẹ̣ẹ̣ssus• est [L•] Pompeiam• L• f• P̣ọ̣l[•] Nigram f• anṇ̣ . . . .
ị̣ḍẹ̣ṃ professus se et fìlios• cìuitate• donatos• ẹ̣ṣṣẹ̣
4 ab• Ti• Claudio• Caesare• Aụg̣• Germanico•
[imp] Ṭị̣ P̣ḷaụṭị̣ọ Siluano• Ạ̣ẹ̣ḷị̣ạṇọ• Tauro•
Ṣṭ̣ạ̣ṭị̣ḷị̣ọ• Coruìno• cos•
ḍọṃụṃ• Ạẹ̣gypto• nomo• Oxyruncho• HS CCCC
8 metropolì• communem• sibi• cum• Hapione
Sarapione• Syrì• fìlis• et• Suro• pro parte IIII
inter• adfìnes• Ischyran• Theonis• et
Hamyn• Seleucì• lìb•

[4] The details of the first house are also known from Greek texts in Pompeius' archive (see below).

(the papyrus breaks off)

B. Verso *(written at right angles to the writing on the recto)*

census Poṃ[pei - -

Apart from my addition of the lectional signs and long I, the following are the main divergences from previous readings:

A.1: ed.pr.:]DOṢ• NIGRAM . . [; corr. Burkhalter, *op.cit.* (below, n. 51) 148.

A.16-18: ed.pr.: <spazio di 3 centimetri>; but, as with A.2, we cannot tell if there was any writing in the lost part to the left.

A.19-20 (= 16-17 in previous editions): ed.prelim.: . . . . AS E . . . . . ; ed.pr.: . . . . Λς ; Arangio-Ruiz, *op.cit.* p.19: [K]λ(αυδίου) ς ἔ[τουϲ]; Pintaudi, ap. Whitehorne, *op.cit.* 1988 (below, n. 18) 446 n. 8: λζ (i.e. *kollêma* number); Marichal, *op.cit.*:] . . . ac . . . . et . it . u . s |] . h . . . Perhaps to be restored as "act(um)" as in a *testatio* or contract, or "acc(eptum)" (cf. *CPL.* 163.14), followed by the place, "Alex(andriae)," and date, which in A.D. 48 would have been "(day + month), A. (or L.) Vitellio L. (or *x.*) Vipstano cos."

B.2: ed.pr.: . . . . . sus• es[.] . Pompeiam• I . . . dos• Nigram• R . . . . . ; corr. Pintaudi / Rathbone (cf. Burkhalter, *op.cit*, 148).

B verso: add. Pintaudi / Rathbone.

Fragment A has a maximum size of 21 x 19 cm, fragment B of 14 x 9.5 cm. Texts A and B are both written along the fibres, certainly on the recto of the papyrus in the case of A, for Pintaudi has noticed a *kollêsis* running down its right edge. The back of A is blank, but an extra strip of papyrus has been glued across it, probably in antiquity to reinforce a weak point. The back of B is blank apart from the "label." The recto surface and writing of B are better preserved than those of A, because B was folded up and sealed. Five dark vertical fold-marks are visible at approximately 2 cm intervals, increasing slightly from right to left. Experiment with a photocopy confirms that when B is folded over five times from right to left, the "label" on the verso appears neatly in the middle of the top of the folded document, where it was originally written after folding. The right edge of B was presumably trimmed in antiquity to facilitate the folding. Tears at roughly 3 cm intervals on the outside right edge of the folded document (corresponding to the left margin of the text inside), and the holes in the unfolded flap of papyrus to the left of the text, apparently caused by ripping away strips of fibres from the verso, suggest that, when folded, the document was tied up with fibres which passed through holes in the flap, and were held down on the verso with wax seals, probably each accompanied, also on the (now stripped and truncated) verso of the flap, by the signature of a witness. Fragment B also has much fainter marks of two or three horizontal folds, caused by someone (the modern finders of the papyrus?) tearing off the seals along with the underlying strips of fibres, unfolding the text and then refolding it horizontally.

The text of A, apart from the cursive docket at the bottom, is written in generously spaced Rustic Capitals; indeed it is one of the earliest examples of this script.[5] Text B, like the docket to A, is written clearly in Old Roman "Cursive." The two texts were written by different scribes. Even allowing for variation in the

[5] After the "Gallus" papyrus, probably of Augustan date: P.J. Parsons et al., "Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaṣr Ibrîm," *JRS* 69 (1979) 125-55, at 135-7; cf. Thomas, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1).

same hand writing capitals and "cursive," the long I and sesterce symbol, for example, are formed quite differently in A and B. Other distinguishing traits are the interpunction of "ad•fines•" in A.8, 12 (cf. B.10), and the solecism of "nomo Oxyruncho" in B.7 (cf. A.6). Typically for this period, both A and B make conscientious use of the interpunct between words; indeed the scribe of A overdid it with "ad•fines•" in A.8, 12. Untypically, while both frequently employ the long I, neither uses the apex to mark any other Latin vowels.[6] Instead, in text A only, the apex is often used to mark the short vowels, and a superscript bar (and also long I) to mark the long vowels, in, and only in, the latinised versions of the Greek and hellenised Egyptian personal names in the declaration, and upsilon by itself in these names and the place names is normally written as Y. The scribe of B also usually wrote Y for upsilon, but although he did not accent the personal names, he seems to have known the system for he did not use the apex on Latin words in the normal way. I can find no parallel for this accentuation, but it implies some Roman interest in how local names should be pronounced. Also notable is the identical latinisation of the names by both scribes, including "Hamys" for "Amois," and the hyper-correct "Hapion." Perhaps they were using a manual of Graeco-Egyptian names prepared for the Roman administration by a local used to Greek accentuation. In any case, texts A and B are the products of professional Latin scribes who, granted that the quantity and quality of Latin texts produced at Oxyrhynchus were low,[7] are best located in Alexandria, and probably, since this is a *professio*, in the offices of the Prefect.

Although the two texts were purchased separately in Cairo, A in February 1933 and B in February 1934,[8] Wilcken and other commentators suspected, and Marichal argued, that they come from a "double" document on one piece of papyrus, comprising a folded and sealed *scriptura interior* (B) and an unsealed *scriptura exterior* (A). The "ideal type" of double document on papyrus of the Roman period may be defined as follows.[9] Two full copies of the text were written, normally by the same scribe, one above the other with a small gap in between, on a strip of papyrus used *transversa charta* (i.e. on a roll turned through 90°) and hence across the fibres of the recto. The upper copy (*scriptura interior*) was folded up downwards, and tied with a string of fibres passing around it and through holes in the blank section of papyrus above the lower copy of the text; this string was held down on the verso by the wax seals of the witnesses (seven or more for a *testatio*, fewer for a *chirographum*), and the name of each witness was written by his seal, that is across the back of the lower copy of the text, at 90° to it.[10] The lower copy of the text (*scriptura exterior*) could be folded or rolled around the folded and sealed *scriptura interior* for storage, but it was left unsealed and thus open for consultation.

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[6] The apex was used, sporadically, by Latin writers of the first century B.C. to third century A.D. to mark some long vowels. For Latin lectional signs, with further bibliography, see: A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *T.Vindol.* II (1994) 57-61; J.N. Adams, "The Language of the Vindolanda Writing Tablets: An Interim Report," *JRS* 85 (1995) 86-134 ["Punctuation" at 95-8]; Parsons, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 129-34; J. Kramer, "Die Verwendung des Apex und P.Vindob. L 1 c," *ZPE* 88 (1991) 141-50; B. Rochette, "Sur la signification des accents et des marques de quantité dans les papyrus latins," *ZPE* 119 (1997) 203-8.

[7] Thomas, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1).

[8] *PSI* XI 1183 introd.; both purchases may have been made from the same dealer. Separate sale of pieces from the same document was not uncommon.

[9] The fundamental discussions of Roman-period cases are: E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso. The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll.* Pap.Brux. 16 (Brussels 1978) 26-53 (list of cases at 39-42); N. Lewis, *P.Yadin* (1989) pp. 6-11; J.D. Thomas, introd. to *P.Oxy.* LXV 4481 (1998).

[10] *P.Yadin* 15 and 16, plates 11-14, show how the string was used (but lack seals).

Known examples of these double documents, excluding *PSI* XI 1183, range in date from A.D. 77 to 367, and come from Egypt and other eastern provinces.[11] Some are *testationes* of various types; most are private contracts or receipts, drawn up according to Roman law, or Greek imitations of them.[12] Unsurprisingly, all the examples from Egypt written in Latin involve soldiers or veterans because, in the areas where papyri survive, they constituted the vast majority of Roman citizens obliged to use Roman legal instruments. Essentially, these double documents on papyrus were used where Roman tradition was to use a diptych of waxed tablets, in which the *scriptura interior* was incised on the wax inside the tablets, the *scriptura exterior* and the names of the *signatores* were written in ink on the wood exterior, and the tablets were tied together with string held down by the seals of the witnesses. The format of the double document, with a full interior copy of the text, deliberately reproduces the format of the diptych, and is distinctly Roman.[13] The traditional diptych was also widely used in Roman Egypt, as the examples in *CPL* show, occasionally for private contracts and receipts but most commonly for *professiones* and *testationes* of the birth of children. A motive for choosing tablets or papyrus almost certainly was cost: tablets, presumably more expensive, were preferred for "public" documents of long-term importance for the status of individuals.[14] In A.D. 61 a new securer method of tying the tablets was prescribed for legal documents, which was to pass the string through holes bored through the edges of the frames. In Italy this was accompanied by a total switch to the use of triptychs (which were becoming popular anyway), in which a groove cut across the back of the second tablet held the seals, and the *scriptura exterior* was incised on the wax inside the third tablet. All the Dacian documents of the mid-second century are also on triptychs, but in Egypt, although the system of tying through holes was adopted, only diptychs were used right through to the third century.[15] It is not safe to

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[11] Several documents found in Egypt were drawn up elswhere; cf. too *Apocalypse* 5.1ff, with Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 44.

[12] In the second century, by 150 in Syria Palestina, in the late 170's in Egypt, the category of *testationes* came to include sworn copies of Greek or Latin petitions to governors with their responses; see R. Haensch, "Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487-546, at 499-503, with *P.Oxy.* LXV 4481.

[13] Turner, *op.cit.* (above, n. 9) 38, argued for the distant influence of similar Greek double documents of the third century B.C., but, apart from the novel Roman specifically legal use of the format, the Hellenistic format of the second and first centuries was quite different, with only a brief summary of the text in the *scriptura interior* and the writing not normally *transversa charta*. Hellenistic-style double documents, though now often written *transversa charta*, were still produced in the Roman period, such as *P.Lond.* III 1178 (p. 214) = *W.Chr.* 156, drawn up at (Greek-speaking) Naples in A.D. 194, which is not a Roman legal document. Some of the double documents from Syria, Judaea and Arabia also seem more Hellenistic than Roman in type (see further below).

[14] Availability was not in itself a problem, for tablets have been found in the ruins of Arsinoite villages, and were used for *testationes* even in distant military bases like Pselkis (*P.Mich.* VII 436 = *CPL* 161). It could be argued that tablets recording birth declarations were not likely to be re-used, but they predominate even although other potential uses were far more numerous. The contrast with the Campanian archives (just one *testatio* of birth out of over four hundred tablets) is striking. Note also the frequent choice by auxiliary veterans in Egypt as elsewhere, from the 50's onwards, of a bronze *diploma* to record their award of Roman citizenship.

[15] G. Camodeca, "Nuovi dati sulla struttura e funzione documentale delle *tabulae ceratae* nella prassi campana," in H. Solin et al. (eds.), *Acta colloquii epigraphici latini Helsingiae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti* (Helsinki 1995) 59-77; cf. his *Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum* (Rome 1999) I 31-6. The ancient sources for the new rules are Suet., *Nero* 17, and (pretty certainly) Paul. *Sent.* 5.25.6. The SC (which it is wrong to call the "SC Neronianum") seems to have been a response to the forgery case of A.D. 61 (Tac., *Ann.* 14.40-1, anticipated under A.D. 55 by Dio 61.7.6). In Egypt *CPL* 148 of A.D. 62, like some Campanian triptychs of that year, does not yet use the prescribed holes, but all later diptychs do, beginning with *CPL* 105 = *P. Mich* VII 432 (late I A.D. re-use of the tablets).

conclude from the Egyptian evidence that the Neronian ruling did not also specify the use of triptychs. Use of triptychs may simply not have been enforced in Egypt because they were not essential to the new system of tying, their higher cost might have diminished the already limited use of tablets, and, above all, because the regulations were irrelevant to the double document on papyrus which apparently remained a publicly acceptable alternative to the use of tablets. Indeed Egypt was probably not a special case. As noted above, use of the papyrus format extended to other eastern provinces. Of course, it was probably also used in Italy, and perhaps western provinces, where climatic conditions mean we sometimes find tablets but very rarely papyri. However, it is a hypothesis worth testing that use of the papyrus version of the double document was characteristic of the eastern provinces in general, whereas tablets predominated in the Latin-speaking west, partly because of the relative availability and cost of papyrus, but also because there were fewer Roman (or Latin) citizens in the east, and less concern on their part to follow Roman traditions minutely.

One curious difference between the double documents in tablets and those on papyrus is that both the diptych and triptych arrangement left less space for the *scriptura exterior*, which normally had to be written in a smaller hand, whereas on papyrus the *scriptura interior*, that is the upper text, was often, though by no means always, written in a more compressed hand.[16] The natural expectation is that the upper text would have been written first, on as much papyrus as it needed, so, to explain some particularly squashed cases of upper texts (e.g. *P.Yadin* 18 and 20), and one apparent case of no upper text (*P.Yadin* 34), it is now often supposed that the upper text was written after the lower text.[17] However, there is no procedural reason for this: it was the *scriptura interior* which was authenticated by the witnesses, and certainly it had to be written before being sealed; the sealing and witnessing could have preceded or followed writing of the lower text. In *P.Oxy.* XVII 2131.A19 and, probably, *PSI* VI 729.B2 = *CPL* 186, a numeral has been omitted from the upper text, but not the lower one, as if the scribe had already written and sealed up the former before he wrote the lower text. Since the limited palaeographical evidence is, arguably, not decisive either way, it is probably best to stick to the natural supposition that the upper text was normally written first. The reason it was sometimes compressed may have been to save papyrus, or to imitate in reverse the tablets' format. However, a cultural explanation may be suggested, that to Romans it was the inner text which mattered as the guarantee against any future challenge about the primary oral statement or agreement, but to "easterners," perhaps more used to reliance on written documents than verbal *fides*, and influenced by the tradition of Hellenistic "double" documents, a clearly legible outer text was more important.

A problem with the study of Roman double documents on papyrus is that few complete examples of them survive, probably because the holes for the string and the application (and removal) of the seals weakened and tended to separate the papyrus between the inner and outer texts. Most of the supposed cases found in Egypt are separate, and usually single, copies written across the fibres, hence certainly or probably *transversa charta*. Some single copies have traces of signatures on the back, as the *scriptura exterior* should; some pairs of separate texts have one fragment written in a smaller hand than the other. Otherwise it is just the writing *transversa charta* that suggests the fragments come from a double document, and although this may often be so, some of them could represent just single, or two separate, copies of a document written in "*rotulus*" format. For instance, the top of *P.Lond.* 229 (*Ch.L.A.* III 200 = *Jur.Pap.* 37), a contract of sale of A.D. 166 drawn up in Seleucia Pieria, was folded over five times, tied and fixed with seven seals. But the folded top seems to be blank inside, the seals are on the front (recto), and the witnesses' signatures

[16] Hunt's suggestion that the lower text of *P.Oxy.* XVII 2131 was the *scriptura interior* is disproved by the signatures on its back.

[17] I ignore cases where blank spaces were left round the upper text, for this was just to facilitate folding.

are also on the recto at the bottom of the text—and comprise the Latin assents of the two parties and signatures of four witnesses, plus the Greek docket of the sales-tax collector. This is a half-hearted mimicry of the ideal Roman format, which again suggests, as do other later cases with abbreviated inner texts (and perhaps too the blank top of *P.Yadin* 34), that what mattered in the east was the *scriptura exterior*. Whether these "Hellenistic"-style variations were a development of the later second century, or an older phenomenon only attested then, is not clear.

PSI XI 1183 is often cited as the earliest known Roman double document on papyrus, but it differs significantly from the ideal type. Texts A and B do represent two full copies, written in Latin, of the same text, which was a *professio* by a Roman citizen, and one copy (B) was written in a smaller script and was folded up and sealed. Unusually, however, they were written by separate scribes, and the open copy (A) was written in a different type of script (capitals), not just a larger hand. Both copies were written using the papyrus in the normal direction, not *transversa charta*. Since B was folded up from right to left, if A and B had formed a single document, B must have been written after and to the right of A. This would have been odd, and in any case there are no traces of the expected signatures of witnesses on the back of A. It is fairly certain that A and B were separate copies of the same *professio* written as separate documents. B had a protected text, probably sealed and signed, according to Roman legal tradition, by seven witnesses (the complete document would have had room for seven seals). Text A was apparently not sealed, and its probative force came from the scribal docket at the bottom (A.19-20) attesting it was a "genuine" copy. In effect, even as separate documents, texts A and B fulfilled the functions of the Roman double document. Without more evidence we cannot say whether *PSI* XI 1183 A and B represent a one-off peculiarity, or an experiment towards the ideal type of Roman double document on papyrus, or a rare early case of a continuing use of various formats with a similar effect. However, the "monumental" writing in capitals of text A, the unsealed copy of the text, was presumably intended for display and to impress, and fits the idea that it was the open text which mattered in the eastern provinces.

I turn now to the question of the nature of the text of *PSI* XI 1183. The nucleus of the archive of L. Pompeius Niger has been revealed by the work of Parássoglou, Gilliam, Van 't Dack and Whitehorne, who was the first to realise that *PSI* XI 1183 belonged to it and that Pompeius must have made the *professio*.[18] Like the other papyri of the archive, it was purchased in Egypt in the 1930's, and clearly comes from the site of Oxyrhynchus. The prosopography fits. Pompeia Nigra, the woman declared in A.1/B.2, looked to be a member of Pompeius' family, and now, from the re-reading of Burkhalter and Pintaudi, must be a previously unattested daughter of his. Other texts show that the house declared in A.6-9/B.7-11, with the same neighbours, had been inherited by Pompeius jointly with Apion, Sarapion and Syros, who were his brothers, from their father Syros in A.D. 31, and that Pompeius still owned his quarter-share of this house in A.D. 64.[19] In

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[18] G.M. Parássoglou, "Property Records of L. Pompeius, L. f., tribu Pollia, Niger," *BASP* 7 (1970) 87-98; J.F. Gilliam, "A Legionary Veteran and His Family," *BASP* 8 (1971) 39-44; E. Van 't Dack, "Notes de lecture 3. Le dossier de L. Pompeius, L. f., tribu Pollia, Niger," in S. Janeras (ed.), *Miscel•lània papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig* (Barcelona 1987) 334-5; J.E.G. Whitehorne, "More about L. Pompeius Niger, Legionary Veteran," *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* II (Athens 1988) 445-50 [on *PSI* XI 1183]; cf. his "Soldiers and Veterans in the Local Economy of First Century Oxyrhynchus," in M. Capasso et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*. Pap.Flor. 19 (Florence 1990) 543-57.

[19] *SB* VIII 9824 (A.D. 31; as corr. Rathbone / Alston in our forthcoming study); *P.Fouad* 44 (A.D. 44); *SB* XII 10788 (A.D. 61, 62, 64). The other house may have belonged to his wife's family.

A.3-5/B.3-6 the declarant asserts that he and his children had been granted Roman citizenship in A.D. 45; more precisely, it had been in March to June 45.[20] We know that Pompeius had become a legionary in the XXII Deiotariana, based outside Alexandria, before A.D. 31, and had been discharged by 28th August 44, probably shortly before this date.[21] We also know that he had been called Nilos before enlistment, and had not been a Roman citizen, and in an Egyptian census declaration of A.D. 62 he described himself as "a discharged soldier of those who have received the *dona*."[22] These must be the *dona* referred to in A.3-5/B.3-6 of enfranchisement of himself and of his children; the latter presupposes also a grant of *connubium* with his "wife." This is exactly the package which under Claudius was made standard for discharged auxiliary veterans; indeed Pompeius' award is the earliest attested.[23] So the claim in A.3-5/B.3-6 fits with other evidence in the archive, and however surprising the facts seem, Pompeius' case was probably not so unusual in the early Principate.[24] The last point here is the date of the declaration, which all agree must lie between March 45 and October 54, that is after Pompeius' award of Roman citizenship and before the death of Claudius, who is not called *divus* in the text.

From its first publication, scholars have recognised that Pompeius' *professio* is a wholly Roman declaration, quite distinct from a *kat'oikian apographê* (registration by house) made for the provincial census of Roman Egypt, which, after more frequent experiments under Augustus, was held every fourteen years from A.D. 19/20 to 257/8.[25] Although there are some variations by nome and date in the format of *apographai*, they were all written in Greek, even those submitted by or for Roman citizens. As their name and first-person phrasing (*apographomai* ...) reflect, they belong to a tradition of written declaration, at least nominally drafted by the registrant, and even certified copies of *apographai* retain the first-person phrasing. In *apographai* the people to be registered were listed by name (gendered), status and profession (where appropriate) and age, which was the crucial information needed for drawing up registers of those liable to the poll-tax (*laographia*) and related capitation taxes. The intimate connection between the provincial census and the poll-tax is evident from their shared name of *laographia*. To maintain the fiscal registers in between the fourteen-yearly censuses, declarations of individual births and deaths, and of changes of civil status, had to be made to the local authorities.[26] Although *apographai* were nominally made house by house, they were really made by "household," and no details of the property were given, let alone its value. As the Romans introduced a liturgic system into Egypt in the first century A.D., they had to elicit and record men's wealth (*poros*), but this was done by procedures separate from the provincial census.[27] *Oikia* here also carried the

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[20] When Plautius Silvanus was suffect consul: see P. Gallivan, "The *Fasti* for the Reign of Claudius," *CQ* 28 (1978) 407-26, esp. 408.

[21] *PSI* XIII 1318; *P.Fouad* 44.6-7.

[22] *SB* VIII 9824 (corr. Rathbone / Alston); *SB* XII 10788 B.

[23] The earliest known bronze *diploma* is still *CIL* XVI 1 (= *ILS* 1986) of 11th December 52. See below on the lack of reference to his "wife" in A.3-5/B.3-6.

[24] As Richard Alston will argue in our forthcoming study, against the view founded by Mommsen that non-citizen recruits to legions were given citizenship on enlistment.

[25] See M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. 5 (Leiden 1952), summarised and up-dated by R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 1-30.

[26] References in O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Milan 1988^2) 179-81, 565.

[27] The assessment of *poros* needs more research; meanwhile, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*. Pap.Flor. 28 (Florence 1997^2) 73-5; cf. J.D. Thomas, "Compulsory Public Service in Roman Egypt," in G. Grimm et al. (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinischen Ägypten* (Trier 1983) 35-9.

connotation of civil domicile (Greek *idia*, Latin *origo*), for a man could only be liable in one place for dues on the person, and a multiple property owner would only register himself as a resident of his "home" property.[28]

In contrast to a *kat'oikian apographê*, *PSI* XI 1183 is a copy, made from the official record in the third person by a secretary, of a *professio*, a verbal declaration made before a Roman magistrate. It is in Latin, and uses Roman coinage (sesterces, not Alexandrian drachmas) and the Roman convention for locating a property (by two linear neighbours, not by neighbours to the four compass points, as in Egypt). As well as attesting the civic status, that is Roman citizenship, of one or more persons, Pompeius declared the round values of a number of items of his property at Oxyrhynchus. Scholars have, nonetheless, tended to associate *PSI* XI 1183 with the provincial census in Egypt. Wilcken argued that, since no *kat'oikian apographai* by Roman citizens before the Constitutio Antoniniana of 212 were known, this document showed that Roman citizens instead submitted a Roman-style *professio* directly to the Prefect, and he suggested that it belonged to the provincial census of 47/8.[29] In 1956/7 Müller published a fragmentary *kat'oikian apographê* by Petronia Gaia for the census of 173/4, from which he argued that by the second century Roman citizens had been subsumed within the provincial census, although originally, so *PSI* XI 1183 suggested, they had registered separately.[30] Ten years later, Braunert doubted Müller's interpretation of the declaration by Petronia Gaia, and argued that Roman, and other, citizens were only obliged to submit *apographai* as owners of property, and to declare any "Egyptians" resident in their property.[31] Most recently, Bagnall and Frier have argued that all residents, whatever their civil status, had to be registered in the *kat'oikian apographai*, and have left *PSI* XI 1183 in limbo.[32]

In my view, Roman and Alexandrian citizens, with their slaves, were not required to register themselves, or to be registered, through *kat'oikian apographai* for the provincial census in Egypt, because "Egypt" in the sense of the *chôra* outside Alexandria was not their *idia* or *origo*, and their home communities had their own independent civic forms of registration. Hence too, as citizens of Rome or Alexandria, they were exempt from the poll-tax (*laographia*) and related taxes imposed by the Romans on the non-citizen "Egyptians" (also called *laoi*). They were obliged to submit declarations for properties they owned in the *chôra*, but only in order to register any "Egyptians" resident in them. In practice, however, the *origo* and civil status of serving soldiers, veterans and their families, the main body of Roman citizens in the province, could pose problems. While the general rule was that only Alexandrian citizens, not "Egyptians," could gain Roman citizenship,[33] which means that Alexandria was, in theory, the only possible "municipal" *origo* for a Roman citizen in Egypt, many soldiers in Egypt, perhaps most, were of "Egyptian" origin and returned to live in the *chôra* after discharge. The second century added two complications. First, the foundation in 130 of the autonomous city of Antinoopolis, whose new citizens were recruited heavily from hellenised Arsi-

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[28] These principles emerge clearly in *P.Fam.Tebt.* 42 and 48, which concern Arsinoites who had migrated to Antinoopolis; cf. Braunert, *op.cit.* (below, n. 31).

[29] Wilcken, *op.cit.*; followed by many, including Hombert and Préaux, *op.cit.* (above, n. 25) 56. I do not list all contributions to this debate.

[30] W. Müller, "Zensus-Deklaration einer *civis Romana*," *Eos* 48.3 (1956) 155-60.

[31] H. Braunert, "Cives romani und κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί," in E. Boswinkel et al. (eds.), *Antidoron Martino David*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. 17 (Leiden 1968) 11-21.

[32] Bagnall and Frier, *op.cit.* (above, n. 25) 11-2.

[33] D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta 1991) 39-45 (but not accepting her re-reading of the Plinian passages).

noites, especially veteran families. Although exempt from the poll-tax, they still had to submit *kat'oikian apographai*, albeit to their own civic officials, perhaps because the Roman authorities feared that freeing Antinoites from the provincial census might lead to uncontrolled migration there to reduce or escape poll-tax.[34] Second, the change around 140 in the award made to auxiliary veterans on discharge, with the result that their prior "illegitimate" children were now no longer granted Roman citizenship.

Paragraphs 58 to 63 of our second-century copy of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* cite penalties for non-registration in the provincial census. The apparently general rule of §58: "Those who have not registered in the *kat'oikian apographai* themselves and those they must ...," is immediately modified by §59: "Romans and Alexandrians who have not registered those they must ..." Clearly §58 relates to "Egyptians," and Romans and Alexandrians were not expected to register themselves in *kat'oikian apographai*. The rule of §62: "Those who are on military service and are not registered are not subject (sc. to investigation and possible punishment), but their wives and children are investigated," reflects the awkward position of soldiers and their families (cf. §§53-56). It implies that serving auxiliary soldiers (and legionaries like Pompeius), not yet Roman citizens, should in theory be registered, but in practice are not pursued, probably in the Republican tradition of leniency to those on state business. Accordingly, registers compiled from the *apographai* only list Roman and Alexandrian citizens as owners of *oikiai* in which "Egyptian" residents had been declared, or because they had, since the last census, acquired that citizenship and so now had to be removed from the roll of liable taxpayers, and there is no sign of officials in the *chôra* collating local lists of Romans and Alexandrians, whether for their own use or to forward to Roman or Alexandrian officials.[35] A wish to check on such "promotions," and perhaps on soldiers' families, may explain the catch-all oath which ends *apographai* made in the Oxyrhynchite nome only, that "no outsider (*epixenos*), Roman, Alexandrian, Egyptian, freedman or anyone else is in my house except those listed above."[36] In fact no known Oxyrhynchite declaration registers any Romans or Alexandrians.

To date nearly four hundred *kat'oikian apographai* have been published.[37] Not one of them registers an Alexandrian citizen.[38] Indeed a declaration for the census of 145/6 does not register an *astê*, citizen woman, whom it mentions as living in the property with her local husband.[39] For the census of 173/4, another *astê* submitted a declaration through an agent, implying her residence elsewhere, that no-one was resident in her Arsinoite property.[40] For the censuses of 103/4, 131/2 and 145/6 we have five similar *apographai* by agents

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[34] P. Schubert, *P.Diog.* (1990) pp. 24-33; M. Zahrnt, *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988) 669-706; Braunert, *op.cit.* (above, n. 31).

[35] Two Arsinoite examples: *SPP* IV, an updating in 72/3 of the registers for an *amphodon* of Ptolemais Euergetis (esp. ll. 331-77; cf. ll. 626-28: a new Alexandrian has gone off to his *idia*), and *P.Lond.* II 257-259 (pp. 19-42), a revised list of *oikiai* at Philadelphia in 94.

[36] The earliest known example is *P.Oxy.Hels.* 10 for the census of 33/4. I quote the wording as it was later standardised.

[37] 304 in the catalogue of Bagnall and Frier, *op.cit.* (above, n. 25); plus 63 in *P.Oxy.Census*; plus 16 listed or published in R. Duttenhöfer, "Five Census Returns in the Beinecke Library," *BASP* 34 (1997) 53-78 and *P.Bodl.* I 17.

[38] The two "agents of (the?) councillors" (*proxenoi bouleutôn*) in *P.Oxy.Census* imply that these *apographai* for 89/90 come from an Upper Egyptian *metropolis* which had links with the autonomous city of Ptolemais and its *boulê*, rather than from Ptolemais itself. Thus there is no evidence that the citizens of Ptolemais, or Naukratis, had to register in the provincial census, but none that they did not (they could have been treated as the Antinoopolites were later), so I do not discuss them.

[39] *P.Wisc.* I 36 (with *BL* VII, 100) = 145-Ar-24 in Bagnall and Frier's catalogue.

[40] *BGU* XIII 2223 = 173-Ar-12.

for certain or probable Roman citizens, all from the Arsinoite nome.[41] It is possible that the *astê* and these Romans were registered in *apographai* for other properties, but, unlike contemporary migrants to Antinoopolis, they do not say this, because they had no need to avoid investigation by referring to their registration elsewhere. Despite their use of agents and alleged absence, the declarants may have been resident in their properties. For the census of 61/2 Lucius Pompeius Niger submitted in person an *apographê* for his quarter share of the paternal house in Oxyrhynchus, "in which at times," he admitted, "when I am present there (sc. Oxyrhynchus), I reside," and then declared that there was no-one in the property to register.[42] Pompeius probably did live in the house, which his language concedes while claiming that he was only a *peregrinus* there.[43] He carefully describes himself as a discharged soldier with the *dona*, that is a Roman citizen, and his *apographê*, though a certified copy, lacks the usual Oxyrhynchite oath, perhaps another indicator of his independence from the provincial census.

The only other two known *apographai* made in person by Roman citizens, both again from the Arsinoite nome, are the problem cases. For the census of 159/60, Gaius Valerius Apolinarius, a legionary veteran discharged in 149/50, declared himself, his young legitimate son and two slave-women, and also a *katoikos* (privileged "Egyptian") who was now a soldier; the latter, it seems, owned the half-*oikia* of the *apographê*, which Apolinarius was submitting on his behalf in his absence "on military service."[44] Apolinarius was obliged to make an *apographê* for the property as the soldier's agent, and strictly he was right to register the soldier, presumably an auxiliary with Latin name but not yet Roman citizenship. Since the *apographê* does not have a docket, it is even possible that it was a draft never submitted, but Apolinarius' registration of himself and his family is better explained as an error of safety: although an ex-legionary, his Roman citizenship may not have been secure before his discharge, on which, like Pompeius, he insists, and this was the first provincial census he had experienced since discharge. For the census of 173/4, Petronia Gaia, acting herself by the *ius trium liberorum*, submitted an *apographê* at Karanis, as she had to for her property, but in the preamble she declared "myself and my children and my sister Petronia Gemella [- -."[45] Because the papyrus then breaks off, we do not know whom she actually registered properly in the body of the declaration, and there are two differences from the normal local format: instead of saying she was "from Karanis," she stresses her Roman status, and in the preamble she specifies her children and names her sister in place of the usual vague "me and mine," as if she might not repeat them below. Almost certainly this is another military family, again with worries about their status; indeed the *Gnomon* did threaten investigation of unregistered wives and children of serving soldiers. While the catch-all Oxyrhynchite oath and the *apographai* of Apolinarius and Gaia show a concern that the provincial census should not be evaded and a fear of being accused of evasion, they do not negate the other evidence and considerations that Roman and

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[41] *P.Heid.* IV 298 = 103-Ar-14; *BGU* I 53 = 131-Ar-5; *BGU* VII 1581 = 145-Ar-7; *SB* VI 9554,1 = 145-Ar-13; *SB* VI 9554,4 = 145-Ar-16. I exclude *P.Stras.* IV 268 (with *BL* IX, 326) = 173-Ar-1, because the Roman citizen is only the agent for his mother, who seems to have had "Egyptian" status.

[42] *SB* XII 10788 B.

[43] Cf. the criticism in Pliny, *Ep.* 6.19.4, that provincial senators "urbem Italiamque non pro patria sed pro hospitio aut stabulo quasi peregrinantes habere." Pompeius got the rhetoric the right way round.

[44] *SB* X 10219, as re-edited by R.S. Bagnall, "Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations. V," *BASP* 30 (1993) 49-54 = 159-Ar-6. The text is lacunose and difficult to interpret. I suggest *p[r]ogegra(mmenon)* in l.13. Apparently the father of the *katoikos* had also been a soldier, and his son's lack of inherited citizenship probably reflects the restricted award made to auxiliary veterans after 140.

[45] *SB* VI 9573 = 173-Ar-10; cf. Müller, *op.cit.* (above, n. 30), and Braunert, *op.cit.* (above, n. 31).

Alexandrian citizens were not required to be registered in *kat'oikian apographai* for the fourteen-yearly provincial census.

Insofar as we have evidence for the nominally autonomous system through which Alexandria registered its citizens, it was a constant rolling process, with no regular general revisions requiring census-like *apographai* or synchronised with the cycle of the provincial census.[46] In the classical Roman Republic, censors had been appointed every five years to hold a census of all Roman citizens. In the late Republic regular taking of the census broke down, and although Augustus held three censuses, in 29/28 B.C., 9/8 B.C. and A.D. 13/14, only another two were ever held, by Claudius in 47/8 and Vespasian in 73/4.[47] These last two were in part antiquarian and propagandist exercises, because under Augustus, through the lex Aelia Sentia of A.D. 4 and the lex Papia Poppaea of A.D. 9, a rolling system of registration had been formalised. Legitimate children had to be registered within thirty days of birth, preferably by their father or mother in person, through a declaration (*professio*) made before a civic magistrate in communities with Roman or Latin status, or, for Romans living outside those, to the provincial governor. There were other procedures for recording awards of Roman citizenship such as grants to discharged auxiliaries, and deaths were notified by heirs. The procedure is documented in Egypt by the remains of ten waxed diptychs, dating from A.D. 62 to 163, which certainly or apparently come from military families living in the Arsinoite villages of Philadelphia and Karanis.[48] The *professio* was made and recorded in the following formulae: "L. Valerius L. f. Pol. Crispus (professus est) filium natum L. Valerium L. f. Pol. Crispum ex Domitia L. f. Paulla III k(alendas) Iulias q(uae) p(roximae) f(uerunt); c(ivis) R(omanus) e(sto?) ad k(alendarium)."[49] The Prefect accepted the declaration without investigation ("citra causarum cognitionem"), which meant it was open to later legal challenge by a third party, and entered it in his chronological register (*kalendarium*). Some time later (over time this process got progressively slower), the register entries were posted publicly on boards (the "tabulae albi professionum"), from which private copies could be taken. When a scribe was paid to make copies in a diptych, before the diptych was sealed and witnessed, another scribe added the *census* of the declarant to both the inner and outer texts in any blank space near his name; this indicates that in the Prefect's offices, separate from the register of *professiones* of birth, there was a cumulative register of Roman citizens which included the *census* of each *paterfamilias*.[50] These details show that *PSI* XI 1183 cannot be a record of

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[46] Delia, *op.cit.* (above, n. 33) esp. 56-8.

[47] Claudius' census, probably following Augustus' innovation of including women in the published total, recorded 5,984,072 Roman citizens according to Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.25 (ignoring the inflation to near seven million in much later writers). Some scholars have doubted whether Vespasian enumerated the citizens, for no total is cited (but we lack Tacitus' account). However Pliny, *NH* 7.162-4 shows that citizens in Italy were registered, and inscriptions now attest provincial censuses in some Latin-speaking provinces in 73/4, which could have included special enumeration of Roman citizens.

[48] Collected as *CPL* 148 to 157. See F. Schulz, "Roman Registers of Births and Birth Certificates," *JRS* 32 (1942) 78-91 and 33 (1943) 55-64; R. Haensch, "Das Statthalterarchiv," *ZSSRA* 109 (1992) 209-317, at 283-9 (with 306-13). I leave aside the three rather different declarations on papyrus of the Severan period from Oxyrhynchus (*CPL* 158 and 163, and *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2565).

[49] *CPL* 148, of A.D. 62, with a few amendments. I base my interpretation of "c r e ad k" on Schulz. The record of the *professio* was prefaced with a dated statement about the making of the copy, and it ended with the date the *professio* had been made.

[50] The seven surviving cases are: *CPL* 148.23 (wood), HS 375; 149.1 (wax), HS 20,000; 150.15 (wax), HS 500(?); 151.iii.5, ext.descr. (both), HS 375; 152.16 (wax), (HS ?); 156.i.19, iii.18 (both), HS 5,000(?); 157.14, ext.descr. (both), HS 400. One of Augustus' Cyrene edicts implies the existence and use of a similar register in that province (*SEG* IX 8, i.4-6): "Since I find that there are altogether two hundred and fifteen Romans in the province around Cyrene of every(?) age with a *census* of two thousand five hundred denarii or more, from which group jurors come ..."

Pompeius' *professio* of the birth of his daughter Nigra, as Burkhalter has recently suggested on the basis of her important re-reading of lines A.1 and B.2.[51] We lack the word "natam," the mother's name, the date of birth, and the abbreviated *kalendarium*-formula; conversely, instead of insertion of Pompeius' total *census*, we have his untotalled valuation of four items of property.

We seem to be back where Wilcken started. *PSI* XI 1183 can only be a record of Pompeius' *professio* for a Roman census of Roman citizens. This is now proven by the reading of the label, "*census* of Pom[peius - -]," written on B when it had been folded and sealed. The texts also contain what we would expect in a Roman census declaration. But first the question of its occasion and date remains. Whereas the Roman veterans of Egypt have left us a fair number of *professiones* and *testationes* of births of children, attesting the banal normality of those procedures, there is no other pre-Diocletianic document apart from *PSI* XI 1183 which could be a record of a Roman census declaration.[52] This strongly implies that, as for Alexandrian citizens, there was no regular parallel system of census declarations for Roman citizens synchronised with the provincial census of "Egyptians," and there is no cause to associate Pompeius' *professio*, as Wilcken suggested, with the provincial census of 47/8. It must relate to a special occasion which, in the time-frame of A.D. 45 to 54, was surely Claudius' old-style universal census of Roman citizens also, fortuitously, in 47/8.[53] That makes *PSI* 1183 the only extant documentary record of a *professio* for a census of Roman citizens in the Republican tradition, and a valuable check on our knowledge of the procedure.[54]

The purpose of the Republican census was not just to count and register the citizens, but also to ascertain their propertied wealth (*census*), which determined the *classis* to which they were assigned, and hence their voting position in the *comitia centuriata* and their liability to pay *tributum* (not levied after 168 B.C.) and arm themselves for military service.[55] The Tabula Heracleensis, of the mid-first century B.C., summarises (and elides) the information required thus: "eorumque nomina, praenomina, patres aut patronos, tribus, cognomina, et quot annos quisque eorum habe<bi>t, et rationem pecuniae ex formula census, quae Romae, ab eo qui tum censum populi acturus erit, proposita erit, a<b> eis iurateis accipito."[56] From other sources we know that declarations were made only by citizens *in sua potestate*, so wives and children, and "their" property, were normally declared by the *paterfamilias*. It seems that the censors had some leeway to prescribe what the "ratio pecuniae" should include, but standard items were land in Italy, farm equipment,

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[51] F. Burkhalter, "PSI 1183: déclaration de naissance de la fille légitime d'un citoyen romain," *AnPap* 5 (1993) 145-53.

[52] The only possible exception is *P.Ross.Georg.* V 26 = *CPL* 168, a fragment of waxed tablet, dateable to the third century, with a declaration of children and their ages in a *libellus* format in Latin and Greek. The editor rightly noted its similarity to declarations for the "romanised" censuses introduced to Egypt under Diocletian; if its year 2 was of Diocletian, 285/6, it would seem he started with a revival of the fourteen-yearly cycle for declarations of people (last in 257/8).

[53] There is no evidence for other coordinated provincial censuses, and Claudius had a domestic Roman motive, the Secular Games, for his choice of 47/8.

[54] *I.Ital.* X.3 30 and 136, two late first-century bronze tablets from north-east Italy, may relate to Vespasian's census of 73/4, but they are either summary lists of local Roman citizens, not copies of their declarations, or records of communal grants of citizenship. See C. Zaccaria, "Il governo romano nella *regio X* e nella provincia *Venetia et Histria*," in *Aquileia nella «Venetia et Histria»*. Antichità Altoadriatiche 28 (Udine 1986) 65-103, at 81-3.

[55] C. Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome* (transl. London 1980) 60-73; cf. P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14* (Oxford 1971, repr. 1987) 15-6.

[56] *CIL* I^2 593 = *FIRA* I 13 = ed. M.H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (London 1996) I no. 24; cf. D.H. 4.15.6 (ascribing the procedure to Servius Tullius). Note that the citations from Ulpian, *De censibus*, in *Digest* 50.15, relate to Roman provincial censuses modelled on the old Roman census and cannot simply be quoted as direct evidence for it.

houses, slaves, cash, loans and debts. In the Republic citizens who possessed land in the provinces were not expected, normally, to declare it at Rome, partly to avoid double fiscal liability, but also because it was not owned under Roman law and so could not be used at Rome as a public pledge.[57]

Assuming that *PSI* XI 1183 A was written on a sheet of papyrus about 30 cm high, there will have been space for ten or so lines of text above line A.1. These would have sufficed for a preamble about the making of the copy, like those which head the records of *professiones* of birth (date, "descriptum et recognitum . ."), the preface to the *professio* giving the occasion and date, and Pompeius' *professio*, giving their full Roman names and their ages, of himself and his two other children Fuscus and Herennia; our text then continues with his *professio* of Nigra ("He declared Lucia Pompeia Nigra, daughter of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe, his daughter, aged *x* years"), the date and occasion of their award of citizenship, and their property, all declared by him as *paterfamilias*.[58] His wife, if still alive, would not have been listed because she probably was not a Roman citizen, but an "Egyptian" with whom he had been granted *connubium*; indeed even the grant of *connubium* did not need mentioning in A.3-5/B.3-6. It is interesting that Pompeius' daughter Nigra was given a tribal affiliation (A.1/B.2) because normally this was not given for Roman women even in "official" texts such as *professiones* of birth (see the example above). Perhaps this reflects the Augustan inclusion of adult women citizens in the published census totals.

Pompeius' declaration of his wealth (*census*) is also interesting.[59] From the *professiones* of birth we know that, despite their functional obsolescence, the Republican *census*-levels fixed around 140 B.C. were still being observed beyond the mid-second century A.D.[60] In all the cases, including Pompeius, the veterans had a census of HS 375 or more, the minimum qualification for the fifth *classis*, that is of the *assidui*, the basic criterion for armed military service, though only one had a *census* of (or near) HS 20,000, the minimum for the fourth *classis*, the first rung of social distinction. Pompeius declared property worth HS 1,250: shares in two houses worth HS 400 and 500 respectively, an item (cash?) worth HS 200 and furnishings worth HS 150.[61] His valuations are evidently round sums, presumably converting (Alexandrian) drachmas into sesterces on a one-to-one ratio. Those for the houses seem low. Six other first-century prices for Oxyrhynchite houses range from around 530 to 1,500 dr., and in A.D. 44 Pompeius had raised 400 dr. as an antichretic loan against his quarter-share of the family house, here valued at HS 400.[62] His phrasing ("domum ... communem") implies that he was giving the value of the whole house, which would fit with the

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[57] Cic., *Pro Flacco* 79-80 (trial of 59 B.C., referring to census of 61/60); Festus 50L: "censui censendo agri proprie appellantur qui et emi et venire iure civili possunt"; cf. Gaius, *Inst.* 2.14a, 21, 27: tributary provincial land is "nec mancipi."

[58] Enough survives to show that it is a traditional *professio* made by a *paterfamilias*, including all his property, not a declaration by the householder as for the Egyptian *apographê* or, possibly, the *recensus* for street maintenance and the grain dole introduced at Rome by Julius Caesar, which some have wrongly thought supplanted the traditional census (cf. Brunt, *op.cit.* [above, n. 55] 104 n. 3; Crawford, *op.cit.* [above, n. 56] I 359-60).

[59] Cf. Burkhalter, *op.cit.* (above, n. 51) 149-53.

[60] D.W. Rathbone, "The *Census* Qualifications of the *Assidui* and the *Prima Classis*," in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al. (eds.), *De Agricultura: in Memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve* (Amsterdam 1993) 121-52, at 142-4. See n. 48 above for the *professiones*.

[61] *Dig.* 33.10 defines what "suppellex" should be taken to mean in a will ("suppellex legata"). Pomponius, *Dig.* 33.10.1 is clearest: "suppellex est domesticum patris familiae instrumentum, quod neque argento aurove facto vel vesti adnumeretur," that is, moveable furnishings excluding "treasure" and clothes.

[62] Prices: H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten* (St Katharinen 1991) 84-5. Loan: *P.Fouad* 44.

longstanding suspicion that Romans could use inheritance in common, the *societas ercto non cito*, to maintain for each individual heir the full *census*-rating of the deceased *paterfamilias*, but it looks as though Pompeius may have declared the notional value of his shares rather than the full values of the houses (implicitly HS/dr. 1,600 and 1,500 respectively). Possibly he just made a mistake, or perhaps he deliberately underdeclared his wealth, despite his theoretical veteran's immunity from liturgies.

Pompeius apparently did not give the total value of his property, probably because determining his *census* was the job of the *censitor*. It is unlikely that he had made a separate declaration of property owned in another nome, for the phrasing "domum Aegypto ..." (B.7; cf. A.10 "domum item Oxyrynchite ...") implies that this *professio* was meant to cover his property in all Egypt. Various explanations are possible for the lack of declared farmland. *P.Fouad* 28 has Pompeius riding his donkey back to Oxyrhynchus "*ex agrou*," probably from his "farm" rather than the "country." In theory soldiers were not allowed to own land in the province where they served, and Pompeius might have just rented land, but comparison with Arsinoite veterans suggests that he will have owned some private land.[63] Perhaps the Republican convention about not declaring provincial land liable to *tributum soli* (which houses were not) was still being implemented for Claudius' census.[64] One last query is how the *census*-levels of Roman citizens in Egypt and other provinces, who lived outside Roman-style communities with quinquennial magistrates or other internal censorial officials, were maintained and updated in between and after the empire-wide censuses of Claudius and Vespasian. The insertion of the *census* of the *paterfamilias* in the *professiones* of birth suggests that for new citizens by birth the *census* was simply inherited, while new citizens by award may have had their *census* assessed at the moment of registration in the province. This, however, will have to remain yet another question left bobbing in the wake of this discussion of *PSI* XI 1183, a text which raises far greater problems of interpretation than I realised when I began, but which, in both form and content, has much to contribute to our understanding of "Romanisation" in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire.

King's College London

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[63] R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London 1995) 57-8, 127-35, 226-7 n. 19.

[64] The rise of provincial senators implies growing laxity about the convention, although some probably owned land in communities with the *ius Italicum*, and Trajan and Marcus Aurelius did try to force them to acquire estates in Italy (Pliny, *Ep.* 6.19, cf. n. 43 above; *HA Marc.* 11.8).

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 115-118

7. FRAMMENTO DI VENDITA DI UN ANIMALE

(Paola Pruneti Piovanelli)

PSI inv. 8* 8 cm x 11 cm
69 d.C. provenienza ignota

Il frammento, la cui provenienza è ignota, conserva parte di un contratto di vendita di un animale (o, forse, di più animali).[1] In alto il documento risulta mutilo dell'intestazione e di una porzione non trascurabile del testo,[2] mentre in basso la perdita sembrerebbe limitata a parte della data; il margine di sinistra è integro, quello di destra, ridottissimo perché la scrittura si estende fino all'estremo bordo, è tuttavia ancora presente fino all'altezza del r. 10. La scrittura corre sul *recto*, lungo le fibre, ed è stata tracciata da una mano non priva di esperienza, ma che risulta poco armoniosa e quasi trascurata, più preoccupata della rapidità che non della chiarezza e leggibilità delle lettere; il *verso* è bianco.

I nomi dei contraenti,[3] così come le altre informazioni e precisazioni che, senza dubbio, erano contenute nella prima parte del documento, ci rimangono del tutto sconosciuti. Risulta impossibile anche stabilire quale sia l'animale[4] oggetto della vendita: è assai probabile che un aiuto per la soluzione si nasconda fra i rr. 1 e 3, dove, però, non riusciamo a integrare in maniera soddisfacente quanto è andato perduto a causa dei danni subiti dal papiro, né, tanto meno, a comprendere il contenuto del testo. Si può tuttavia osservare che alla metà del secolo I d.C., epoca alla quale si riferisce il contratto, il prezzo pagato, dodici dracme in tutto, si adatterebbe o a un quadrupede di non grande mole o a qualche capo di animali da cortile.[5]

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* Ringrazio il Presidente dell'Istituto Papirologico "G.Vitelli" per il permesso di pubblicare PSI inv. 8, che fa parte della collezione fiorentina.

[1] Gli animali venduti potrebbero essere anche più di uno, cfr. nota 4.

[2] Delle parti costitutive del contratto (che presumibilmente seguiva lo schema consueto ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι ὁμολογεῖ πεπρακέναι κτλ), non si è conservata la parte dove il venditore dichiarava al compratore di avergli venduto quella determinata 'merce', di cui faceva seguire la descrizione (rr.1-4), ma che noi, purtroppo, non siamo in grado di riconoscere. Rimangono, invece, sia la ricevuta del pagamento effettuato in contanti (rr. 5-7), sia la clausola di garanzia del venditore (r. 8).

[3] La persona che vende, comunque, è una donna, per conto della quale il figlio redige il contratto (cfr. rr. 9-11).

[4] La formula τοῦτον τοιοῦτον κτλ, al singolare, fa presupporre che si tratti di un unico animale. Tuttavia la presenza dell'articolo τούς al r. 2 e gli ipotetici accusativi plurali di cui si potrebbero riconoscere le desinenze al r. 3 (-δας all'inizio del rigo e, più avanti -ους) non escludono la possibilità che la formula sia riportata, banalmente, al singolare, ma gli animali siano anche più di uno. Si vedano, ad ogni modo, le note *ad l.*

[5] Sui prezzi praticati, in questo periodo, per la compra-vendita degli animali, cfr. la nota al r. 6.

A proposito della data del documento, riconducibile al regno di Vitellio, ci sembra opportuno mettere in evidenza il fatto che questo papiro va ad aggiungersi all'esiguo numero di testimonianze datate al breve e burrascoso periodo di tempo durante il quale l'imperatore rimase sul trono.[6]

Sui contratti di vendita di animali si veda O.Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano. III. I contratti di compra-vendita," *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 33-53. Ai documenti ivi elencati (pp. 33-6 asini; pp. 42-3 cammelli; pp. 49-50 bovini, ovini, cavalli) sono da aggiungere i papiri, editi successivamente, segnalati in O.Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* (Milano 1988[2]) 212 e 569. Liste di contratti di vendita di animali di varia specie, anteriori al 284 d.C., si trovano pure in H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 280-312.

In particolare, per ciò che riguarda la notevole quantità di contratti che hanno per oggetto asini, [7] si rimanda, oltre alle liste sopra ricordate, anche a quella compilata da S. van Lith e al recente aggiornamento fattone da J. Bingen.[8] Un elenco di contratti di vendita di cammelli è in *P.Vind. Worp* 9: a questi vanno ad aggiungersi i documenti citati in *P.Prag.* II 155.

— — — — —
]..
τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ τοὺς .[ ]
δας ι τηι . . ους τοῦτον τοι-
4 οῦτον ἀναπόρριφον. καὶ
ἀπέχωι τὴν τιμὴν ἀργυρίο(υ)
δραχμὰς δεκαδύο παραχρῆ-
μα διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου καὶ
8 βεβαιώσωι πάσῃ βεβαιώ-
σει. Ἀϊῶνος ἔγραψα ὑ[π]ὲρ
τῆς μητρός μου μὴ [εἰδ]υ-
είης γράμματα. (ἔτους) [
12 Ὤλου Οὐιτελλίου Κ[αίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικ[οῦ
— — — — —

5 l. ἀπέχω 7 l. χειρός 8 l. βεβαιώσω 10-11 l. εἰδυίης 12 l. Αὔλου

...] di un anno (?) e [ ] così come è, senza possibilità di rimandarlo indietro. E ricevo al momento, in contanti, direttamente, il prezzo di dodici dracme d'argento e fornirò ogni garanzia. Io, Aion, ho

[6] L'anno 69 d.C. vide il succedersi di 4 imperatori: oltre a questo papiro, i documenti datati al regno di Aulo Vitellio sono, fino ad oggi, *SB* I 1931; *SB* XVI 12686; *C.Pap.Jud.* II 236; *OBodl.* II 672, 1125; *O.Petr.* I 294, *O.Wilck.* 421 (cfr. *BL* II, 60).

[7] Nei papiri, come appare chiaro dal confronto dei vari elenchi, l'asino risulta di gran lunga l'animale che più frequentemente è oggetto di transazioni commerciali.

[8] Cfr., rispettivamente, il commento di S. van Lith a *CPR* VI 2 (pp. 22-4) e J. Bingen, "Une vente d'âne d'Ibiôn Argaiou," in *Studia Varia Bruxellensia ad orbem Graeco-Latinum pertinentia*. IV. *In honorem Aloysi Gerlo* (Leuven 1997) 37-47 (per la lista si veda alle pp. 44-7). A questi lavori si rimanda anche per gli opportuni riferimenti bibliografici.

scritto per mia madre, che non sa scrivere. Anno [primo (?)] di Aulo Vitellio Cesare Augusto Germanico [...

1-2 Se nelle minime tracce superstiti alla fine del r. 1 si potessero riconoscere *alpha* e *hypsilon*, non sarebbe del tutto improponibile, forse, l'ipotesi che venisse indicata l'età (ἐνι]αυ̣|τοῦ ἑνός) dell'animale, o degli animali, in vendita. Quello che segue (καὶ τοὺς .[ ) sembra riconducibile a un accusativo plurale maschile.

2-3 καὶ τοὺς .[ ] | δας ι τηι . . ους: Non riusciamo a individuare quali potessero essere le parole (sicuramente determinanti per identificare la bestia—o le bestie—di cui si stava trattando) che si celano fra le lacune e gli incerti segni di questi due righi. Ammettendo che τούς fosse l'accusativo maschile plurale dell'articolo, dovrebbe riferirsi a un termine di cui rimarrebbe soltanto, all'inizio del r. 3, la finale, cioè -δας. (Forse ὄρνιδας al posto della forma corretta ὄρνιθας? Oppure l'attributo τοκάδας? In tal caso, però, si tratterebbe di animali femmine, e ci sarebbe discordanza con l'articolo maschile. Oppure siamo in presenza di qualche altro vocabolo che per il momento ci sfugge? Avanziamo solo, e con molta cautela, alcuni dei possibili suggerimenti che, tuttavia, non escludono altre, e forse migliori, ipotesi: anche perché dopo τούς, e prima della lacuna, si intravede una minima traccia verticale che sembra scendere un po' sotto il rigo). D'altra parte, per quanto i segni appaiano tracciati frettolosamente, e senza particolare attenzione, la lettura δας sembrerebbe abbastanza sicura.

Lo *iota* che segue δας potrebbe indicare un numero (quello degli animali venduti?) e con τηι . . ους continuerebbero le informazioni, sempre collegate a τούς del rigo precedente. È tuttavia possibile che *iota* non sia affatto un numero, ma che sia invece la lettera iniziale di una parola, per noi ugualmente misteriosa, che dovremmo trascrivere come ιτηι . . ους. Non va trascurata, infine, neppure l'eventualità che δας non costituisca la parte finale di un vocabolo che inizierebbe alla fine del rigo precedente, ma che sia, invece, l'inizio di una parola a se stante, a formare la quale concorrerebbero (in tutto o in parte) le tracce che precedono τοῦτον τοιοῦτον.

3-4 τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον: è la formula con la quale, unendo una espressione desunta dal diritto romano (*talis qualis*) a un termine greco (ἀναπόριπτος, poi divenuto ἀναπόριφος / ἀναπόρριφος), il venditore si cautelava da ogni e qualsiasi reclamo relativo a difetti che il compratore eventualmente riscontrasse in ciò che gli era stato venduto. Cfr. F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar 1950) 481-3.

5 ἀπέχωι : sta per ἀπέχω. Per l'aggiunta di *iota* alle lettere *eta* e *omega* in posizione finale, si veda F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I. *Phonology* (Milano 1976) 185, b. 1.

6 δραχμὰς δεκαδύο: in questa epoca, indicativamente, dodici dracme potrebbero essere il prezzo di un porcello (ad esempio, in *P.Ryl.* II 134, datato al 34 d.C., una femmina τοκάς, cioè da riproduzione, viene valutata proprio 12 dracme, e in *P.Ryl.* II 140, del 36 d.C., un δέλφαξ, vale a dire un maialino adulto, vale 8 dracme); la cifra si adatterebbe anche a una pecora o a una capra, venduta magari insieme a qualche piccolino nato da poco: il valore, comunque, dovrebbe essere quello di un animale di non grandi dimensioni. Con la somma di dodici dracme, sempre a titolo indicativo, sarebbe stato ugualmente possibile acquistare qualche coppia di polli o un discreto numero di colombi, insomma vari capi di piccoli animali da cortile. Per un più esauriente raffronto dei prezzi, sarà utile consultare, in H.-J. Drexhage, *op.cit.*, le rispettive tabelle.

6-7 παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου: con questa formula si vuol precisare che il pagamento è contestuale alla stesura del contratto, in contanti e diretto, senza alcuna intermediazione bancaria.

8 Il venditore rilascia la garanzia d'uso, βεβαιώϲω πάϲῃ βεβαιώϲει (il papiro ha βεβαιώϲωι, ma cfr. nota al r. 5).

9 Pur con qualche incertezza per il nesso grafico αι, è possibile leggere ’Α̣ϊῶνοϲ; il nome, abitualmente, è attestato nella forma ’Αϊῶν: qui si tratterà o di una variante o di un genitivo usato al posto del nominativo.

11 Dopo il simbolo di ἔτουϲ, appena riconoscibile, è caduta l'indicazione dell'anno; sono andati perduti anche i riferimenti al mese e al giorno che, con molta probabilità, erano specificati dopo la titolatura imperiale. Trattandosi del regno di Vitellio il quale, fra le burrascose vicende del 69 d.C., rimase al potere fra il gennaio e il dicembre di quell'anno (2 gennaio: è acclamato Imperator a Colonia; 19 aprile: *dies imperii*; 20 (o 21?) dicembre: viene ucciso dopo aver abdicato) e mancando la precisazione del mese, si potrebbe essere incerti, in teoria, se integrare "anno primo" oppure "anno secondo." Tuttavia gli altri documenti datati per Vitellio sono tutti riferiti all' "anno primo" (fino ad oggi la prima attestazione è *SB* XVI 12686, del 25 maggio e l'ultima è *O.Petr.* I 294, databile fra il 25 luglio e il 23 agosto). Ciò appare abbastanza significativo, le legioni giurano fedeltà a Vespasiano, proprio in Alessandria, il 1° luglio del 69 d.C. (*dies imperii*) e che già dopo pochi giorni sono attestate, in Egitto, datazioni per il suo "anno primo" (a parte *SB* XX 14968, per la cui data, compresa fra il 4 luglio e il 10 agosto, si rimanda alla discussione presente nell'*ed.pr.*, possiamo citare altri documenti che risultano scritti durante il mese di Mesoré e cioè *O.Wilck.* 773, *SB* XVI 13039, XVIII 13229, e *P.Soter.* 1).

Non sembra, perciò, del tutto ingiustificata l'ipotesi che in Egitto, superato il primo periodo di confusione (luglio-agosto) durante il quale troviamo attestate, contemporaneamente, datazioni per l' "anno primo" sia di Vitellio che di Vespasiano, si prenda come riferimento—e forse, non a caso, con l'inizio del nuovo anno—solo il regno di Vespasiano (ad esempio *BGU* II 644 e *P.Lond.* II 282, risultano datati, rispettivamente, al 12 (cfr. *BL* VIII, 31) e al 20 settembre del' "secondo anno" di quell'imperatore).

In base a queste considerazioni, per il documento qui esaminato non sarebbe improponibile, pur con la massima cautela, una data compresa fra la seconda metà di aprile e la fine di agosto del 69 d.C.

Per un conciso schema cronologico dei due imperatori si veda D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (Darmstadt 1996[2]) 106-10.

12 Ὤλου Οὐιτελλίου: la stessa grafia Ὤλου al posto di Αὔλου si trova anche in *O.Bodl.* II 672 e in *O.Petr.* I 294. Per lo scambio fra αυ e ω, cfr. F.T. Gignac, *op.cit.*, 234, g. 1.

Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli", Firenze

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 119-123

8-9. DRINKING AND CHEATING IN THE DESERT

(Adam Bülow-Jacobsen)

The two texts offered here were found in January 1999 at the Roman *praesidium* of Didymoi in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, where excavations have been carried out during the past three years.[1]

The Eastern Desert has preserved many private letters on ostraca, mostly dealing with every day matters, not least the supply of vegetables and other victuals. Such letters, and private letters on papyrus as well, always give us half of the correspondence between individuals. Questions, but no answers, or answers to questions we do not know. But the present two letters are to the best of my knowledge unique inasmuch as they give us both the questions and the answers, presumably because the answer was never mailed. Unsent letters must be frequent, not least among those found in the desert, but cannot always be recognized as such. Some are drafts to letters that were sent, others were just never sent, for reasons we shall never learn.

The *praesidium* of Didymoi is the second on the road that connects Koptos in the Nile valley to Berenike on the Red Sea coast, the first stop being Phoinikon (now Laqeita) where the roads to Myos Hormos and Berenike separate. Didymoi is followed by Aphrodite further south. The ancient names of these *praesidia* are known from the *Itinerarium Antoninianum* and have been confirmed through the ostraca found in the region. We can be reasonably sure where our correspondents found themselves. Longinus is the addressee of three letters from Numerius that have been found at Didymoi, so we may safely assume that he was stationed there. Since letters in the desert normally travel from station to station, if nothing else is indicated, Numerius is either in Aphrodite or in Phoinikon. But, since he mentions the possibility of forwarding two bags to Koptos which he has received from Longinus, he is without any doubt at Phoinikon, about 32 km closer to Koptos. If any confirmation of this were needed, it is supplied by the mention of cabbage that Numerius is to give to someone. This implies that Numerius has cabbage to give because he is in a place where there is some agriculture. Laqeita is an oasis where there is a little agriculture even today, while Didymoi never seems to have had enough water for this, although there is a large well and several cisterns.

Apart from the banalities of sending and receiving various items, the important subject of the letters is the story of the sixty drachmas that Numerius claims to have lent to Quadratus. From what we can read, it would seem that Quadratus denies having received this sum from Numerius, who in his turn tries to make Longinus bear witness to the truth of his claim. There is no question of written proof for the loan. In his reply Longinus declares himself willing to testify, but it seems clear that he has no recollection of the matter, and he asks Numerius for help, so that their stories may confirm each other. He gives no hint that he remembers the incident, but asks for guidance to choose between several possible occasions when he and Numerius have been together at Phoinikon. The choice seems to fall on a day when they shared a κεράμιον of wine for lunch. Since the standard κεράμιον in the desert contains ca. 6.5 liters it might provide an explanation for Longinus' failing memory, but I cannot help feeling that Numerius, with the help of Longinus, is trying to swindle Quadratus out of sixty drachmas.

Both ostraca were found in layers that can be dated to the end of the first century of our era.

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[1] The excavations are funded by the French Minstry of Foreign Affairs and the IFAO in Cairo, and are directed by Hélène Cuvigny.

8. Letter from Numerios to Longinus

O.Did. inv. 313 — Plate 10 — 13 cm x 15 cm
end of I A.D. — Didymoi

Νομέριος Λογγείν[ῳ τῷ]
τειμιωτάτῳ καὶ ἀ[δελφῷ]
πλεῖ[ς]τα χαί[ρειν.]
4 καθὼς ἔγραψ[ά σοι ἔλ]αβα
τὰ δύω μαρς[ί]ππια. ἐὰν κα-
ταβαίνω εἰς Κόπτον ἐγὼ αὐτὰ
Λουκιᾶτι δώσω. θέλω δέ σε γει-
8 νώσκειν ὅτι [. .] ἔχρησα Κοδρά-
τῳ δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα ὅτε
ἅμα ἐπείνομεν εἰς ὖκον . .
νης [. . . . .] λοιπὸν ἃ μνημο-
12 νεύι[ς γράψο]ν μοι ἵνα μοι
μαρτυρ[ή]σῃς καὶ ἐάν τι
ἀγοράζῃς εωσε . . . . .
μάτιν καὶ τὴν ελ .
16 . . . ἀσπάζετ[αί σε]
Ἡραὶς καὶ Ἀβάσκαν-
[τος.] ἄσπασαι τοὺς
[συστρ]ατιώτας.
20 [ἔρ]ρωσο.

10 read οἶκον

Numerius to Longinus, his most honoured brother, many greetings. As I wrote to you, I received the two bags. If I go to Koptos, I shall give them to Lucia. I want you to know that I lent Quadratus sixty drachmas when we drank together in (my?) house ... besides, write to me what you remember to be my witness. (Write) also if you buy anything ... *mation* and the ... Herais sends her greetings and Abaskantos. Greet my fellow soldiers. Farewell.

3 There is a space of two letters after πλεῖστα.

17 Herais and Abaskantos are mentioned in the present texts and in inv. 299, always in connection with Numerius. Presumably, Herais is his wife and Abaskantos, who is once called Ἀβασκάντιον, is his son.

9. Letter from Longinus to Numerius

O.Did. inv. 329 Plate 10 13 cm x 16.5 cm
end of I A.D. Didymoi

Λονγῖνος Νομερίωι τῶι τιμι-
ωτάτωι φιλτάτωι καὶ ἀδελ-
φῶι πλῖcτα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸc
4 ὑγιαίνειν. λαβὼν τὸ ὄcτρακον παρὰ
τοῦ ζμαραγταρίου τούτου ἐν ᾗ μοι γρά-
φιc κεχρῆcται Κοδράτῳ (δραχμὰc) ξ εἰc οἶκον
ὁμοῦ πίνοντεc, εὐθέωc ἔγραψα καὶ
8 ἔπεμψά coι ἀντιφώνηcιν διὰ τῶν κα-
μηλιτῶν τῶν μετὰ τῶν κιβαρίων
ἀναβεβηκότων. ἐποιήcαμεν τοὺc
ἄρτουc cου καὶ ἀν{ακ}εκάλυψεc κερά-
12 μιν καὶ πεπώκαμεν ἐπ' ἄριcτον ἐγὼ ⟨καὶ⟩
cὺ αὐτόc. εἰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦν,
γράψον μοι. εἰ δὲ εἰc λόγον δελφακίων
πάλι⟨ν⟩ γράψον καὶ ἀνάμνηcόν μοι. ἐγὼ
16 ἔδυμόc εἰμι τοῦ μαρτυρῆcαι, μόνον
ποίωι χρόνῳ καὶ εἰc τίνα{ν} τρόπον ἔλα-
θε. γράψον ἵνα οἱ λόγοι cυνφωνήcω-
cιν, μὴ cὺ εἴπῃc ὅτι ἐν ἐκίνῳ τῶι
χρόνῳ ἔλαβεc, καὶ ἐγὼ ἄλλῳ. πό-
20 τερον εἰ ἔλαβε πρὶν ἀνενέγκῃc Ἡρα-
εὶν ὥτε ἢ{ι} οὔcηc αὐτῆc ἢ μετὰ τὸ
καταβῆναι αὐτῆc ο . . εἰc ταχὺ καὶ
μὴ πολλοὺc λόγουc ἀλλὰ πρὸc
24 ἃ λελάληκεc αὐτ[ῷ.] ἀcπάζου
Ἡραεὶν καὶ Ἀβάcκαντον. δὸc
αὐτῶι δέcμην γ̣ρ̣ά̣μβην.

5 read cμαραγδαρίου τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ 6 read κεχρῆcθαι; ⟩ pap. 11 read ἀνεκάλυψαc 12 read κεράμιον, ἐπίνομεν
13 τη · ημερα pap. 16 read ἕτοιμοc 21 read ὥδε 23 read αὐτήν 26 read κράμβηc

Longinus to Numerius, his most honoured friend and brother, many greetings and good health always. As soon as I received your ostracon from the emerald-worker, the one in which you write that you have lent 60 drachmas to Quadratus when we drank together in your house, I wrote at once and sent you a reply through the camel-drivers who have come up with provisions. We made your bread and you opened a jar and we drank it for lunch, you and I. Write to me whether it was that day. If it was the day of accounting for the pigs, write to me again and remind me. I am ready to testify for you, but I have forgotten on what day and in which way. Write to me so that our accounts agree, lest you say 'You got it on *that* day,' and I say on another day. (Tell me) whether he received it before you brought Herais here

or while she was present or after she went back again ... quickly and not in many words, but according to what you have said to him. Greet Herais and Abaskantos. Give him a bunch of cabbage.

1-2 There is a blank space of 3-4 letters after τιμιωτάτωι.

5 τοῦ ζμαραγταρίου: Emerald-workers occasionally figure as carriers of messages and other items (O.Did. inv. 484). They clearly moved up and down the line between Koptos and the emerald-mines further south in Senskis (Sikkayt) in Mons Smaragdus.

ἐν ᾗ: perhaps Longinus had the word ἐπιcτολή in mind, forgetting that he had just written ὄcτρακον.

6 and 7 ἔγραψα and ἔπεμψα must be epistolary aorists.

9-10 τῶν καμηλιτῶν ... ἀναβεβηκότων: ἀναβαίνειν always means moving from the Nile into the desert. This is therefore a caravan that has brought supplies from Koptos to the stations in the desert and is now on its way back. So here the perfect is to be taken as a real perfect; see also n. 11-12, below.

10 ἄρτουc: Bread for those living in the desert would mostly be baked in the valley for reason of fuel- and labour-economy, but exceptions existed as proven by the presence of ovens and carbonized bread at Mons Claudianus. Here the bread-making seems to have taken place at Phoinikon where fuel was perhaps more plentiful.

11 ἀνακαλύπτω is the proper word for "opening (a bottle)" in Greek, as found in Sext. Iulius Africanus, *Cesti* I 19.60 where it is the opposite of περιφιμόω (= "close tightly"). The amphoras were closed with stoppers made of gypsum, often on a base of potsherd that had been cut into the shape to fit the opening. Very often a seal was put in the wet gypsum.

11-12 πεπώκαμεν is perfect as far as the morphology is concerned, but must be understood as an aorist. On this widespread phenomenon in later Greek, see most recently G. Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London 1997) 118-9, where the related phenomenon of ἀνακεκάλυψαc, an aorist with a perfect reduplication is also discussed.

13 It is uncertain whether the middle point between the two *etas* is accidental or meant to separate them.

20-21 πότερον εἰ maybe understood in two ways: i) as introducing an indirect question, i.e. as πότερον alone in classical Greek—in this case we must understand it as dependant on the γράψον μοι in line 18; ii) as intensifying, a real comparative (= "or rather"), and the indirect question introduced by εἰ.

Later Greek offers examples of πότερον εἰ used exactly like πότερον alone in classical Greek. The following two examples have been chosen among several that were found in TLG #E:

Athanasius (IV A.D.), *Dialogus Athanasii et Zacchaei* 4.7: καὶ οὕτωc εὑρίcκεται πότερον εἰ ὁ αὐτὸc ἐcτὶν ὁ cαρκωθείc, ἢ οὔ;

Theophanes Confessor (VIII A.D.), *Chronographia* 111.25: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει γράμματα πρὸc τοὺc ἑκάcτηc ἐπαρχίαc ἀπέcτειλεν ἐπιcκόπουc ὁ βαcιλεύc, γράψαι αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν γνώμην ἕκαcτον, πότερον εἰ τοῖc ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ὁριcθεῖcιν ἀρέcκοιντο, καὶ περὶ τῆc τοῦ Ἐλούρου χειροτονίαc τί λέγοιεν;

21 πρὶν ἀνενέγκηc cannot be correct in classical Greek, where we should expect πρὶν ἀνενεγκεῖν/ἀνενέγκαι or πρὶν ἀνήνεγκαc. But while πρὶν ἄν + subjunctive becomes rare in the Greek of the papyri, πρίν + subjunctive takes over in several contexts, not only referring to the future or an eventuality, but also to the past. One example will suffice: *M.Chr.* 239, ὀφειλομένων ἐμοί ... πρὶν ἢ ἐν cτρα[τ]είᾳ γένωμαι ... [δραχμ]ῶν διcχιλίων. The further possibility, πρὶν ἂν ἐνέγκηc, has been disregarded after due consideration, both because it would be inadmissible, at least in correct Greek and,

more important, because it would destroy the correspondence between ἀνενέγκῃς and καταβῆναι in line 23.

22 ὅτ̣[ι] could be read, but may take us in the wrong direction. An imperative, as I have had to supplement in the translation, seems necessary, but while γράψον μοι is out of the question, something ending in -τησον would be possible, although it would mean sacrificing αὐτῆς. If we assume that the writer telescoped the words, αὐτήν, στῆσον in the sense "state" is worth a thought.

27 αὐτῶι can hardly be Abaskantos. Since Longinus is running out of space, he could mean the bearer of the letter.

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 125-129

10. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS ISIDORUS: ALEXANDRIAN GYMNASIARCH AND EPISTRATEGUS OF THEBAID

(Adam Lukaszewicz)

Late I A.D. Plate 11 66 cm x 56 cm x 50 cm
Kom el-Dikka, Alexandria

It is a great pleasure to offer this publication of a new inscription mentioning a Roman epistrategus as a token of appreciation to the scholar whose two volumes on epistrategi are among the fundamental works in the field of the history of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

In the early weeks of 2000, at the site of Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria, Dr Wojciech Kolataj, Dr Grzegorz Majcherek, and a team of researchers of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology found a stone block with a Greek inscription. The piece was re-used in the Roman baths of Kom el-Dikka. The material is nummulithic limestone. Usually inscriptions on that kind of stone are not very handsome and not particularly easy to read. Our text is no exception to that rule.

The height of the inscribed surface is 66 cm, its width 56 cm, the thickness of the stone block 50 cm. The height of letters is between 2 and 3 cm. The text has been read by the present writer during a brief visit to Alexandria in March 2000[1].

[Τ]ιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τιβε[ρίου]
Κλαυδίου Ἰϲιδώρου γυμναϲιάρχου
[Κ]ώιον, Κυρειναῖον, Ῥόδιον, τὸν καὶ
4 Ἰϲίδωρον, γυμναϲίαρχον,
ὑπομνηματογράφον, χιλίαρχον,
ἐπιϲτράτηγον Θηβαίδοϲ καὶ
ἀραβάρχην ἡ πόλιϲ διὰ Τιβερίου
8 Κλαυδίου Ἡρακλείου

3 read Κυρηναῖον

To Tiberius Claudius, son of Tiberius Claudius Isidorus gymnasiarch, citizen of Kos, Kyrene and Rhodes, also called Isidorus, gymnasiarch, hypomnematographus, *tribunus militum*, epistrategus of Thebaid and arabarch, the city by the agency of Tiberius Claudius Heraclius.

Two Alexandrian gymnasiarchs, both named Isidorus (*senior* and *junior*), must have received Roman citizenship and the appropriate *nomina* of Tiberius Claudius Isidorus from the emperor Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Caesar Germanicus). Isidorus *senior* is in our text called "Tiberius

[1] I wish to express here my appreciation for the long-lasting co-operation with the mission at Kom el-Dikka directed by Dr W. Kolataj (restoration) and Dr G. Majcherek (excavations) and to acknowledge their permission to publish the epigraphic material.

Claudius Isidorus, gymnasiarch" and his son "Tiberius Claudius also called Isidorus." It is uncertain whether we should understand τὸν καὶ Ἰсίδωρον of the text (lines 3-4) as an expression meaning "otherwise styled," as in most instances known from the papyri, or rather see in it a simple statement that the son was his father's namesake. At any rate, it is possible that before the grant, Isidorus *junior* was no more a child and had already been registered in official records as Isidorus, son of Isidorus. That could be a possible explanation of the use of ὁ καί in our text.

Our inscription must inevitably be compared with the famous dossier of the gymnasiarch Isidorus which belongs to the *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs (Acta Alexandrinorum)*.[2] Since the writing of our text can be dated to the later first century A.D., and since no other Isidorus appears in known records as a gymnasiarch of Alexandria (cf. Sijpesteijn's list of the gymnasiarchs),[3] we may suppose that Isidorus the elder of our text is most probably identical with the famous gymnasiarch. We know that he was put to death after a trial which took place in Rome in the reign of the emperor Claudius. The information about his Roman citizenship brought by the inscription under discussion is new and requires our attention.

Isidorus *junior*, who is honoured by the inscription, also bears the title of gymnasiarch, but he is certainly not the Isidorus known from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* for reasons which will become evident in the following discussion, including a reason which seems to be decisive: as we may now assume from an Oxyrhynchus fragment of the *Acta Isidori*, the famous Isidorus was probably son of a Dionysius.[4]

Thus, Isidorus *senior* of our text is most probably Isidorus the gymnasiarch, executed at Claudius' order. His son is a hitherto unknown gymnasiarch of Alexandria.

Both Isidorus *junior* and Isidorus *senior*, the latter being apparently identical with the gymnasiarch known from the *Acta Alexandrinorum*[5] and from Philo,[6] do not seem to appear in other published documentary records.

J. Mélèze Modrzejewski, not unlike the editors of *CPJ* II 156, is convinced that the trial of Isidorus took place in spring of A.D. 41 (beginning from 30th April) when king Agrippa I (whom Isidorus accused) was in Rome.[7] This date seems to Tcherikover and Fuks, and to Modrzejewski much more probable than the alternative possibility of A.D. 53, when Agrippa II was present in the capital of the empire.

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[2] *CPJ* II 154-159, pp. 55-107; J. Mélèze Modrzejewski, "Le procès d'Isidôros: droit pénal et affrontements idéologiques entre Rome et Alexandrie sous l'empereur Claude," *Praktika tês Akadêmias Athênôn* 61 (Athens 1986) 245-75 (in modern Greek with a French summary).

[3] P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques de l'Égypte romaine*. Stud.Amst. 28 (Zutphen 1986) 52.

[4] *P.Oxy*. XLII 3021.6; the editor has some doubts as to the identity of Ἰсίδωрос Διονυсίο(υ) which J. Mélèze Modrzejewski does not share; see his *Les Juifs d'Égypte. De Ramsès II à Hadrien* (Paris 1991) 141: "le gymnasiarque alexandrin Isidôros, fils de Dionysios." On the other hand it is still a question, whether the Oxyrhynchite text should not be read as follows in lines 5-7:

5]Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος
6 Βάρβιλλος καὶ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιο]ς Ἰсίδωрος, Διονύсιο(с)
7 καὶ οἱ ἄλλο]ι πρέсβειс πάντες.

[5] H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs. Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford 1954) 18-26 (*Acta Isidori*); *CPJ* II 154-159, pp. 55-107.

[6] Philo, *In Flacc*. 20-4, 125-7, 135-50; *Leg*. 355.

[7] Mélèze Modrzejewski, *op.cit*. (above, n. 4) 141-3.

Indeed, the emperor's reference to Isidorus having "killed" many of Claudius' friends in the preceding reign (*CPJ* II 156d III 4: [πολ]λούς μου φίλους ἀπέκτ[ει]νας, Ἰσίδωρε) and Isidorus' statement that he did it, since he obeyed the former ruler (*ibid.*, 5-6) would in A.D. 53 be a reference to rather remote events, not likely to become a reason of Claudius' wrath.[8]

The readers of Philo remember well that to the Alexandrian anti-Semites the chief enemy was Agrippa I, involved in the events of A.D. 38, rather than Agrippa II. In 41 the conflict of 38, so vividly described by Philo (*In Flaccum*), was still current. The atmosphere in Alexandria in A.D. 41 is well illustrated by the letter of Sarapion to Heracleides, containing a warning βλέπε σατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.[9]

Unfortunately, we do not have enough data concerning the Alexandrian gymnasiarchs at that period to place Isidorus correctly on the list. One Demetrius is recorded around 50 A.D.[10] and Gaius Iulius Iollas in 54. If Isidorus *senior* were a gymnasiarch in 53, he might perhaps have begun his rather short term of office after Demetrius. But a longer term of office and 41 as the date of his trial seem far more probable. Around 41 there is a vacuum in Sijpesteijn's list.

The grant of Roman citizenship to Isidorus *senior* is therefore likely to have taken place early in 41 A.D., immediately before his trial. That is also indirectly confirmed by the *tria nomina* of Tiberius Claudius Barbillus (or Balbillus), the leader of the Alexandrian embassy mentioned at the beginning of the well-known letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians.[11] There were also other Tiberii Claudii in that embassy and in the emperor's letter: Phanias and Archibius.[12] Isidorus, as a member of the embassy, in which Barbillus also took part, was likely to receive the same honour as some of his colleagues.

As we learn from the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, Isidorus had served Caligula and took part in an action against Theon and Naevius (Macro), both friends of Claudius.[13] A mention of his role, made by the emperor, may, however, belong to a later moment of the trial, when it could serve as an instrument to destroy Isidorus. At the beginning of the trial, it was Isidorus who played the role of the accuser of Agrippa.

It would be only natural if a person like Isidorus, no matter whether considered more a danger or a celebrity, received the grant of Roman citizenship, which was sometimes conferred upon ones lesser than him.

Barbillus, who in 41 received Roman citizenship from Claudius, was also involved in the trial of Isidorus, survived it and has been mentioned in the letter of Claudius published in Alexandria on 10th November of the same year. Incidentally, it is not surprising that in that letter there is no mention of the executed ones, Isidorus and Lampon, who were certainly subject to *damnatio memoriae*.

The list of gymnasiarchs by Sijpesteijn contains only two Tiberii Claudii among the Alexandrian gymnasiarchs. Both of them belong to the first century A.D.: Tiberius Claudius Theon (A.D. 89) and

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[8] Cf. *CPJ* II 156, commentary on p. 68.

[9] *BGU* IV 1079 = *CPJ* II 152.24-6.

[10] Obviously not identical with the arabarch Demetrius known from Josephus, *Antiquitates Iud.* XX 147, since that Demetrius was Jewish, like another arabarch Gaius Julius Alexander, the brother of Philo (Josephus, *Antiquitates Iud.* XVIII 259); cf. Mélèze Modrzejewski (above n. 4) 150 (on Demetrius): "un autre notable juif d'Alexandrie."

[11] *P.Lond.* VI 1912 = *CPJ* II 153 ii 16 (Barbillus), ii 18 (Phanias) and ii 19 (Archibius), cf. 108. Cf. A. Lukaszewicz, "Claudius to his own City of Alexandria (*P.Lond.* VI 1912. 103-4)," *JJP* 28 (1998) 71-7.

[12] *CPJ* II 153 ii 15 cf. v 108 and the commentary on p. 44.

[13] Musurillo, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5) 19 (col. ii 16-9); *CPJ* II 156b I 12-7.

Tiberius Claudius Eros (I A.D.).[14] The elder Isidorus, hitherto known only from Philo and the *Acts*, and recorded by Sijpesteijn on the basis of these sources, was in these texts called only by his Graeco-Egyptian name.

At the time of the drama, Isidorus *senior* was 56 years old, since it is obviously he who is concerned in the passage mentioning the age of a gymnasiarch: *CPJ* II 156 b II 34-5 (Ἐπάγομαι γυμ[νασίαρχος Ἀλεξανδρείας,] ἐτῶν ϛ̅ Ἕλλ[ην). That would mean that he was born in 15 B.C. His son, the Isidorus who was honoured by the inscription, was at the time of the trial probably a young man, born perhaps about A.D. 15.

Isidorus *junior* had indeed a brilliant career. At the beginning of his *cursus* we find the title of gymnasiarch, certainly in a way inherited after his father's death. Obviously enough, such a choice of a gymnasiarch by the Alexandrians could under these circumstances be considered a defiant anti-Roman act. Its date is unknown and cannot even be guessed due to our incomplete knowledge about the sequence of the Alexandrian gymnasiarchs. The nomination of Isidorus *junior* was perhaps an immediate consequence of the news about the martyrdom of his father, the elder Isidorus.

The next office held by Isidorus *junior* was that of hypomnematographus. According to the editor of *CPJ* II 156 (p. 70), a similar function of Lampon, another eminent Alexandrian of the same *milieu*,[15] shows that the "Alexandrian martyrs" were not true aristocrats. However, the fact that the office of hypomnematographus held by Isidorus is mentioned after the title of gymnasiarch and before the chiliarch seems to contradict the opinion about the hypomnematographus as a low ranking office in the administrative structures of Roman Egypt.

The title of chiliarch must obviously be understood as *tribunus militum*, which is no surprise in a career of an eminent Roman citizen.

The titles of epistrategus of Thebaid and arabarch are further confirmation of a very high standing of Isidorus *junior*. Tiberius Claudius Isidorus as epistrategus of the Thebaid is to be added to the list of the epistrategi compiled by J. David Thomas.[16] The list shows that the title of the epistrategus of Thebaid and the title of arabarch appear jointly in the second half of the first century A.D.[17] That may reflect a general practice of the time and could confirm the date of our inscription (late I A.D.).

The promotion of Isidorus *junior* to the position of epistrategus of Thebaid and of arabarch may have happened during or after the *Bellum Judaicum*, when the son of an anti-Semitic leader was certainly a *persona grata*. Unfortunately, we have no precise chronological data which would allow us to insert Tiberius Claudius Isidorus *junior* as arabarch and epistrategus of the Thebaid into J.D. Thomas' list of the epistrategi. Under Nero we find in this function Tiberius Iulius Alexander born in 16 A.D. (?), whose term of office was rather long.

Because it is not likely that Isidorus *junior* held all of the offices mentioned in the inscription simultaneously, we must interpret them as a recapitulative list—whether during his lifetime or posthumously is not certain. In either case, a date in or after the early 80's would seem plausible. Thus our text

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[14] Sijpesteijn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) Suppl. I A, nos. 5 and 6.

[15] *CPJ* II p. 69: "Besides the office of gymnasiarchos, which was a civic post, Lampon was also a government official (ὑπομνηματογράφος)."

[16] J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.* 2: *The Roman Epistrategos.* Pap.Col. 6.2 (Opladen 1982).

[17] Thomas, *op.cit.*, 185 (no. 8, Claudius Geminus undated, before 91?), cf. *I.Memnon* 67.

would belong to the reign of Domitian (rather than Titus, Nerva or Trajan). This seems to agree with the palaeography of the inscription.

The reign of Domitian was a rather appropriate moment to honour a son of a famous anti-Semite. However, the honorific inscription has a rather careless form, perhaps due to the material. The text in honour of Isidorus *junior* was set up by the city, presumably at public expense, "through" Tiberius Claudius Heraclius.

Who was Tiberius Claudius Heraclius? Unknown from other sources, he certainly was a member of the family of the Isidori and might have been a son of Isidorus *junior* and a grandson of the hero of the *Acta Isidori*. Perhaps he was born to Isidorus junior before 41 and retained his earlier name as a *cognomen* after the grant of citizenship to his grandfather.

Another interesting point in the career of the younger Isidorus is his citizenship of other Greek cities: Kos, Kyrene and Rhodes. Two of them are islands, but all three are traditional partners of Alexandria. It is difficult to see whether that multiple citizenship conferred upon an Alexandrian gymnasiarch was part of diplomatic routine or perhaps a record of a period of exile, which may have followed Isidorus *senior*'s death. Furthermore, Isidorus *senior* was, according to the statement of Philo, temporarily in exile, as a consequence of his conflict with the prefect Flaccus.[18]

Warsaw, Poland

[18] On the self-imposed absence of Isidorus who fled "by his own freewill" see Philo, *In Flacc.* 145; cf. Mélèze (above, n. 4), 135, 136.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 131-137

11. PSI INV. 233 *RECTO* E *VERSO*

(Guido Bastianini)

PSI inv. 233, *recto* e *verso* — Plate 12 — 9.6 cm x 14.3 cm
I/II d.C. e 150-153 d.C. — Ossirinco

PSI inv. 233 è un frammento di rotolo, scritto su entrambe le facce, che fu rinvenuto nel kôm Abu Teir di Ossirinco[1] durante una campagna di scavo la cui data non è precisabile.[2] Sul *recto*, si legge una serie di nomi (uomini liberi e schiavi); il *verso* contiene un'elencazione di lettere ufficiali pervenute alla città e alle magistrature cittadine di Ossirinco da parte del prefetto d'Egitto.

recto

]νος Ἡφαιστᾶτος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίο[υ
]ων Ἡφαιστᾶτος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίο(υ) μη(τρὸς) [
Ἡ]φαιστίων [Κ]ανώ(που) τοῦ Ἡφαιστίω[νος
4 Ἀπ]ολλώνιος Ἡρακλήου τοῦ Ἀπολλω[νίου
Ἀπ]ολλώνιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Σαραπάμμω(ν) υἱὸ(ς) μη(τρὸς) [
Εὐ]τύχης ἀγο(ρασ̣τὸς) δο(ῦλος) Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρα[κλήου
Σαρ]απίων δο(ῦλος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρ[ακλήου
8 Ἑρ]μῆς δο(ῦλος) Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρακλήου [
Νυ]χθήμερος δο(ῦλος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (πρότερον) τῆς μη(τρὸς) [αὐτοῦ
Πτολ]εμαῖος Π[ο]λεμαίου τοῦ Η[
Πτολε]μαῖος Πτολεμα[ίου το]ῦ [
12]ρος οἰκογ(ενὴς) δο(ῦλος) αὐ[τοῦ
Κλα]ύ(διος) Φλάμμα[ς
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

2 απολλωνι° μ^η (cfr. rr. 5, 9) 3 [ ]ανω) 5 ο^κ σαραπαμμ^ω υι° 6 αγο) δο̄ (cfr. rr. 7, 8, 9, 12)
7 ᾱ 9 ᾱ 12 οικογ 13]υ

[1] Quest'indicazione si trova scritta in basso, sulla fascetta che chiude i due vetri tra cui è racchiuso il frammento.

[2] Può trattarsi di una delle campagne di scavo che Pistelli diresse dal 1911/12 al 1913/14, oppure di una di quelle condotte da Breccia tra il 1931/32 e il 1933/34: cfr. L. Papini, "La scuola papirologica fiorentina," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere «La Colombaria»* 38 (1973) 312-3, 320-2; M.S. Funghi e G. Messeri Savorelli, "Note papirologiche e paleografiche," *Tyche* 7 (1992) 78 n. 28; R. Pintaudi, "PSI II 147: provenienza e statistiche," *AnalPap* 7 (1995) 32.

verso

νατ(ίου) Φήλικος τοῦ λ[α]μπ[ροτ(άτου) ἡγεμό]ν[ος τοῖς(?)
τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) πρεσβ(ευταῖς?) σα̣ [
κη̅ ἐπιστολ(ὴ) γρ(αφεῖσα) τῇ π[όλ(ει) ὑπὸ Μουνατ(ίου)
4 Φήλικος τοῦ λαμπροτ[ά]του ἡ[γεμόνος
Διονύσιος γυμν(ασίαρχος) τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) [π]ό[λ(εως)
ἐπιστολ(αὶ) γρ(αφεῖσαι) κατὰ μέρος, ὡς αἱ ἀρχ[αί,
τῇ πόλει κ(αὶ) τοῖς ἄρχουσι ὑπὸ Μουν[ατίου
8 Φήλικος τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγ[ε]μόνος κε[
Παχ(ὼν) κ̅ς̅ ἐπιστολ(ὴ) γρ(αφεῖσα) τῇ πόλ(ει) ὑπὸ Μουν[ατ](ίου) Φήλ[ικος
τοῦ λαμπροτ(άτου) ἡγεμόνο[ς] (vac.) [
Ἐπεὶφ η̅ ἄλλη ἐπιστολ(ὴ) γρ(αφεῖσα) το[ῖς ἄ]ρχουσι ὑπὸ
12 Μουνατίου Φήλικ(ος) τ[οῦ λαμπ]ροτάτου ἡ[γεμ(όνος)
](ἔτους) [ ] (vac.) [
]¯ ἄλ(λη) ἐπιστολ(ὴ) γρ(αφεῖσα) τῇ πόλ[ει ὑπὸ
Μουνατ(ίου) Φ]ήλικ(ος) τοῦ λαμπροτ[άτου ἡγεμ(όνος)
16] (vac.) [
] [ ] [ ] [
- - - - - - - - - - - - -

1 νατ) 2 ο̅ξ̅ πο^λ (cfr. rr. 5, 9) 3 επιστο^λ γρ∫ (cfr. rr. 6, 9, 11, 14) 5 γυμν∫ οξυρυγ^χ 7 κ∫ 9 πα^χ μουν[ ]) 10 λαμπρο^τ 12 φηλι^κ (cfr. r. 15) 13 L 14 α^λ

recto

... ...nus, figlio di Hephaestas figlio di Apollonius ...
... ...on, figlio di Hephaestas figlio di Apollonius, di madre ....
... . Hephaestion, figlio di Canopus(?) figlio di Hephaestion ...
... ... Apollonius, figlio di Heracles figlio di Apollonius ...
Apollonius alias Sarapammon, figlio, di madre ...
Eutyches, schiavo acquistato di Apollonius figlio di Heracles ...
Sarapion, schiavo del medesimo Apollonius figlio di Heracles ...
Hermes, schiavo di Apollonius figlio di Heracles ...
Nychthemerus, schiavo del medesimo, già della madre di lui ....
... ... Ptolemaeus, figlio di Ptolemaeus figlio di ...
... ... Ptolemaeus figlio di Ptolemaeus figlio di ...
...rus, schiavo nato in casa del medesimo ...
... ... Claudius Flamma, ...

verso

... di Munatius Felix, illustrissimo governatore, agli ambasciatori(?) della città degli Ossirinchiti.
28(?): lettera scritta alla città da Munatius Felix, illustrissimo governatore.
Dionysius, ginnasiarco della città degli Ossirinchiti.
Lettere scritte distintamente, come le magistrature (?), alla città e ai magistrati da Munatius Felix, egregio governatore, datate così (?):

26 Pachon: lettera scritta alla città da Munatius Felix, illustrissimo governatore.
8 Epeiph: altra lettera scritta ai magistrati da Munatius Felix, illustrissimo governatore.
Anno ...
... ... altra lettera scritta alla città da Munatius Felix, illustrissimo governatore.

recto

Il *recto* conserva i resti di una colonna di scrittura mutila su entrambi i lati e in basso; il margine superiore misura cm. 1,7. Il testo non contiene nessuna indicazione esplicita né di data né di provenienza. La scrittura, tuttavia, una grafia d'ufficio non priva di eleganza, caratterizzata dal contrasto nel modulo delle lettere,[3] sembra collocabile tra la fine del I secolo e i primi decenni del II d.C., mentre il testo sul *verso* fornisce il 150-153 d.C. come approssimativo *terminus ante quem*.

Riguardo alla provenienza, il fatto che il testo del *verso* sia stato scritto, con ogni verosimiglianza, a Ossirinco e che lì effettivamente il papiro sia stato rinvenuto non implica di necessità che questo sia anche il luogo di redazione del testo sul *recto*; ma il nome (romano) del r. 13, che ricorre soltanto altre due volte nella documentazione, sembra ricondurci comunque ad Ossirinco (vedi nota *ad loc.*).

Riguardo al contenuto, ci troviamo di fronte a una lista di persone di sesso maschile, liberi e schiavi;[4] è plausibile che questa lista rappresenti un registro (derivato da un τόμος συγγκολλήσιμος di κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί) redatto al fine di stabilire l'elenco dei soggetti alla *capitatio*.[5] Ad ogni singolo individuo è riservato un rigo di testo. Purtroppo, le mutilazioni della colonna, sia sulla destra che sulla sinistra, impediscono di accertare se questo testo fosse effettivamente simile a documenti quali *P.Lond.* 257-259 (II 19-42) o *BGU* II 493.[6]

1-2 I due uomini,]νος (r. 1) e]ων (r. 2), sono chiaramente fratelli, figli almeno dello stesso padre Hephaestas, figlio di Apollonius; la lacuna finale dei righi impedisce di verificare se anche il nome della madre era identico per entrambi. Si può pensare che i due fratelli fossero intestatari di due abitazioni (o ciascuno di una parte della stessa casa), per cui avrebbero presentato due ἀπογραφαί separate, e quindi si troverebbero qui indicizzati separatamente, con i dati anagrafici completi per entrambi. Se così non fosse, sarebbe stato sufficiente, per il secondo nominativo, un semplice ἀδελφός (magari con l'indicazione del solo nome della madre, se questa era diversa da quella del fratello).

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[3] Cfr. *P.Oxy.* XLII 3051, introd.

[4] Una ricerca sul PHI CD #6 non ha portato ad alcuna identificazione sicura né probabile. Si noti il nome Νυχθήμερος al r. 9, che rappresenta un *hapax*.

[5] Se questo è vero, potremmo pensare che questo registro sia stato redatto, nell'ambito dell'arco di tempo sopra definito, in una data di poco successiva ad uno degli anni in cui si sono succeduti i censimenti quattordecennali: 89/90, 103/04, 117/18, 131/32, 145/46 d.C. Cfr. M. Hombert e C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine*. Pap.Lugd. Bat. 5 (Leiden 1952) 136-41; R.S. Bagnall e B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1994) 26-8, 187-233; R.S. Bagnall, B.W. Frier e I.C. Rutherford, *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans*. Pap.Brux. 29 (Bruxelles 1997).

[6] La mancanza di un preciso allineamento a sinistra per tutti i nomi iniziali dei rr. 3, 4, 10, 11, 13 (quei nomi, cioè, che sono ricostruibili con sicurezza pressoché totale e verosimilmente designano il capofamiglia dichiarante) fa supporre comunque che prima di questi nomi, sulla sinistra, ci fosse effettivamente l'indicazione relativa all' οἰκία, proprio come nei due paralleli citati.

1 Ἡφαιστᾶτος: il nome Ἡφαιστᾶς non è frequente ad Ossirinco; cfr. *P.Oxy.* III 520.3, XXXIV 2772.5, L 3595.2.

3 Ἡ]φαιστίων: anche questo nome compare piuttosto raramente a Ossirinco; cfr. *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726.2; *P.Wisc.* II 73.1, *SB* XII 11168.6 = *P.Oxy.* III 625 descr.

[Κ]ανώ(που): la lettura è molto incerta; dopo νω (sicuro), si vede un segno di abbreviazione, costituito da una linea curva ad andamento verticale, concava verso sinistra, che suggerisce la stilizzazione di un π (ma cfr. l'analoga abbreviazione di ἀγο(ρασ̣τός) al r. 6). Per la presenza del nome Κάνωπος a Ossirinco, cfr. *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860.19, *SB* V 7634.16, *P.Oxy.* XX 2286.2, XLII 3031.4, LIX 4004.1.

4-9 In questo gruppo di sei righi, sembra che si tratti di un unico nucleo familiare, i cui componenti di sesso maschile sarebbero il padre, Apollonius, il figlio, Apollonius alias Sarapammon, e quattro schiavi del padre: Euthyches (schiavo acquistato), Sarapion, Hermes e Nychthemerus (già appartenuto alla madre del capofamiglia). Cfr. J. A. Straus, "L'esclavage dans l'Égypte romaine," *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988) 841-911.

4 Ἡρακλήου: vedi anche rr. 6, 7, 8; la forma è forse più probabilmente da considerare come genitivo eteroclito di Ἡρακλῆς piuttosto che come scrittura itacistica per Ἡρακλείου; cfr. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. II: *Morphology* (Milano 1981) 70-1.

6 Εὐ]τύχης: il nome non è infrequente per uno schiavo; cfr. per es. *P.Mich.* IV 222.772 etc., *PSI* X 1154 a.5, *P.Thmouis* 143.7.

8 Ἑρ]μῆς: come nome di schiavo, è più volte attestato: *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 30 XV 18; *P.Mich.* IV 224.1358 etc., *P.Ryl.* II 408, *PSI* V 447.7, *P.Lond.* 261.223 (II, 60) = *Stud.Pal.* XIV p. 66.

Alla fine del rigo, ci aspetteremmo l'indicazione dell'età dello schiavo: ma l'esigua traccia prima della lacuna non si accorda con il simbolo di ἔτος; sembra piuttosto la parte sinistra di un ω: forse, ὡ[ς (ἐτῶν) ?

9 Νυ]χθήμερος: sembra questa l'unica integrazione possibile, anche se Νυχθήμερος, come onomastico, non risulta altrove; νυχθήμερος è bensì attestato in *M.Chr.* 78.6 (376-378 d.C.) come sostantivo, nel senso di "spazio di 24 ore, giorno intero" (cfr. LSJ, dove il termine è registrato primariamente come aggettivo, "che dura un giorno e una notte"). Certo, come nome di schiavo, sembra avere un sapore particolare, come per dire "(uno che lavora) giorno e notte".

10-11 Sul nome Πτολεμαῖος, cfr. O. Masson, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 157-67.

10 Ritengo che il Ptolemaeus citato in questo rigo faccia parte a sé e non abbia presentato una dichiarazione inglobante il Ptolemaeus del r. 11: cfr. sopra, nota ai rr. 1-2.

11-12 Avremmo in questi due righi un unico gruppo familiare, i cui componenti maschi sarebbero il dichiarante Ptolemaeus figlio di Ptolemaeus (r. 11) e il suo schiavo]ρος (r. 12).

11 Πτολε]μαῖος: ς sembra corretto *in scribendo* sul calice di un υ (lo scriba stava scrivendo Πτολεμαίου).

12]ρος: forse, un nome composto in -δωρος.

13 Κλα]ύ(διος) Φλάμμα[ς: un Ti. Claudius Flamma è citato come γενόμενος βουλευτής e padre (già defunto: cfr. K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 30 [1978] 242-4) di Aurelia Arsinoe, la quale nel 266 d.C. presenta un ὑπόμνημα allo stratego dell'Oxyrhynchites (*PSI* VIII 940.3-4); si veda anche *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3120.4, del 310 d.C., dove un Flamma, μυλωνάρχης insieme a Philumenus, figura come intermediario nel rilascio d'una ricevuta per una consegna d'oro. Malgrado le evidenti distanze cronologiche, non si può escludere, data la rarità del nome (che figura solo in questi tre documenti), un'appartenenza dei tre Flamma ad una medesima linea di discendenza familiare.

verso

Il testo scritto sul *verso* mantiene l'alto nella stessa direzione del *recto*. Rimane una colonna di scrittura mutila in basso; sulla destra, una vasta abrasione interessa i rr. 1-5; dal r. 6 in poi la scrittura è visibile fino al bordo di frattura e se ne deduce che, almeno fino al r. 12, solo poche lettere sono andate perdute (il r. 11 è addirittura completo). In alto rimane un margine di cm. 1,6; sulla sinistra è visibile in parte l'intercolunnio (cm. 1): nel r. 5, in *echthesis*, la prima lettera lambisce il bordo sinistro di frattura. Sul limite di frattura a sinistra, all'altezza del r. 7, si scorgono tracce che sono forse la parte finale di un rigo della colonna precedente. Inoltre, sopra i rr. 9-10, si vedono tracce d'inchiostro parallele tra loro e disposte diagonalmente, che sembrano interpretabili come tracce speculari lasciate dalla scrittura di un testo che era rimasto soprammesso al nostro: di questo testo rimangono ancora delle fibre che aderiscono alla superficie di *PSI* inv. 233 *verso* poco dopo la metà dei rr. 10-11.

La data è approssimativamente determinabile dalla menzione di L. Munatius Felix come prefetto d'Egitto in carica, cioè il periodo 150-154 d.C. (vedi nota al r. 1); ma è plausibile che per questo testo si possa comunque escludere il 154 d.C (vedi nota al r. 13).

Il testo (a parte i rr. 1-2) è costituito dalla semplice elencazione di varie lettere, di cui si dice che sono pervenute alla πόλις o agli ἄρχοντες di Ossirinco da parte di Munatius Felix; lo scopo di quest'elencazione non risulta determinabile: si tratta forse di un lavoro preparatorio alla compilazione di un *dossier*. Il documento risulta un *unicum*: non mi sono noti altri testi che possano ritenersi simili a questo.

Come esempio concreto di una ἐπιστολή indirizzata dal prefetto d'Egitto ad una città, cfr. *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3088.7 sgg.; per i problemi della 'personalità giuridica' di una capitale di nòmo prima dell'introduzione delle βουλαί, cfr. ivi, introd.; A. Jördens, "Das Verhältnis der römischen Amtsträger in Ägypten zu den 'Städten' in der Provinz," W. Eck (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen von 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert* (Oldenbourg 1999) 141-80: 164-9. È interessante notare come nel nostro papiro si distingua nettamente tra la πόλις (Ossirinco) e gli ἄρχοντες della medesima città.

PSI inv. 233 *verso* figura già menzionato in *ZPE* 17 (1975) 292.

1 νατ(ίου) : se la lettura è esatta, la prima sillaba del *nomen* prefettizio (Μου]||) doveva figurare alla fine dell'ultimo rigo della colonna precedente.

Il prefetto d'Egitto L. Munatius Felix è attestato dal 17.4.150 d.C. (*P.Ryl.* II 75 I 1,6) al 2/3.154 d.C. (*P.Oxy.* XLI 2962.12): cfr. *ZPE* 17 (1975) 291-2, 38 (1980) 82; *ANRW* II 10.1, 485, 509. Si segnala inoltre A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert* (Paris 1984) n° 78.8 (= *SB* V 8816), *SB* XII 10967.1, 16 (= *P.Mich.* inv. 2964 *verso*), *SB* XIV 12087 B 3, 6 (= *P.Mich.* inv. 160 + *P.Oslo* II 18), *P.Oxy.* LX 4056.10.

Dopo Φή̣λι̣κ̣ο̣ς, la lettura del titolo prefettizio si fonda più sul confronto con i rr. 4, 10, 12, 15 che non sulle labilissime tracce, le quali comunque non ostano alla lettura proposta. Si deve tener conto, comunque, della possibilità che la titolatura del prefetto, nella parte in lacuna, possa essere stata scritta con modalità differenti da quelle proposte in testo: ciò potrebbe comportare, alla fine del rigo, uno spazio maggiore di quello supposto (τῷ/τοῖς): cfr. nota al r. 2.

2 τῆς: la presenza dell'articolo fa propendere per la soluzione Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) piuttosto che Ὀξ(υρύγχων); di conseguenza, l'espressione τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) dovrebbe essere relativa ad una carica cittadina (cfr. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 [1973] 279-80): da qui discende la plausibilità che nell'

abbreviazione πρεcβ( ) si debba riconoscere un πρεcβευτής (-ταί) o un πρέcβυc (-βειc) piuttosto che dei πρεcβύτεροι (funzionari di κώμη).

πρεcβ( ): il segnale dell'abbreviazione è un tratto orizzontale soprastante il β. La soluzione più probabile è forse πρεcβ(ευτῇ)/πρεcβ(ευταῖc) (cfr. sopra), al dativo, se immaginiamo un articolo τῷ/τοῖc alla fine del r. 1. Per i πρεcβευταί nelle città dell'Egitto romano, vedi per es. *P.Oxy.* XII 1560.11 e *PSI* XII 1255.7 (Alessandria) o *P.Oxy.* VI 933 *verso* (con *BL* IX 182) (Antinoe): cfr. A.K. Bowman, *JRS* 60 (1970) 23 n. 12.

cα̣ ̣[: la traccia prima della lacuna è un minimo punto, in alto nel rigo. Si può pensare che qui sia indicato il nome del (o dei) πρεcβ( ) subito prima citato (o citati); nella parte, abrasa e perduta, del rigo non manca lo spazio anche per due nomi (per es., Cα̣ρ̣[απίωνι καὶ ?).

3 κη̣: la lettura della seconda cifra è veramente molto incerta; la parte iniziale a sinistra potrebbe sembrare un ε, legato dal basso al precedente κ, ma non si spiegherebbe allora il vistoso tratto conclusivo discendente a destra. Se la lettura esatta è davvero η, si tratterebbe comunque di una realizzazione molto corsiva, diversa dagli altri η presenti nel testo. Il numero 28(?) dovrebbe riferirsi al giorno di un mese (come ai rr. 9, 11, [14]), anteriore a Pachon (vedi r. 9); il motivo per cui il nome del mese non viene specificato è riconducibile forse al fatto che quel nome doveva figurare in precedenza, in relazione ad un'altra lettera o un altro atto (rr. 1-2). Non è possibile dire con certezza se questa data, e le altre indicate ai rr. 9, 11 e [14], si riferiscano al momento in cui le lettere sarebbero state ricevute a Ossirinco, oppure al momento in cui sarebbero state scritte dal prefetto: credo però che questa seconda alternativa sia la più probabile (vedi nota ai rr. 6-8).

5 Con questo rigo, data la vistosa *echthesis* del nome Διονύcιοc, sembra cominciare una nuova sezione del testo. Per pura ipotesi, si potrebbe pensare che col mese di Pachon abbia cominciato il suo periodo di servizio (l'ultimo quadrimestre dell'anno?) un nuovo ginnasiarco (cfr. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt.* Pap.Flor. 28 [Firenze 1997²] 19), appunto Dionysius, e che sia quindi lui, in quanto principale magistrato della città, ad essere indicato qui come colui che sarebbe stato in carica quando le lettere scritte dal prefetto sarebbero pervenute alla *polis* e agli *archontes.*

Διονύcιοc: né sul PHI CD #6 né in P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (Zutphen 1986), pur tenendo conto delle correzioni di D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 277-82, è possibile individuare altre sicure attestazioni di questo ginnasiarco di Ossirinco. Una possibilità, più teorica che realistica (data l'estrema diffusione del nome), potrebbe essere rappresentata da *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3492.13 (161-169 d.C.); più vaghe ancora sono le possibilità di riconoscere il nostro Dionysius in *P.Oxy.* I 117.20 o in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1762.15 (II-III d.C.).

6-8 Tutto il complesso dei rr. 6-8 sembra una premessa introduttiva alle lettere elencate di seguito, nei rr. 9 sgg. In questa direzione punta anche l'agg. ἄλλη, che qualifica le ἐπιcτολαί dei rr. 11-12 e 14-15.

6 L'ε iniziale di επιcτο^λ^ ha un disegno anomalo, quasi come se fosse scritta due volte; penso che si tratti soltanto di una trascuratezza dello scriba.

ἐπιcτολ(αὶ) γρ(αφεῖcαι): lo scioglimento delle due abbreviazioni come plurali mi sembra richiesto dal successivo κατὰ μέροc (cfr. *P.Thmouis* 84.12); si tratterebbe, cioè, di lettere scritte "singolarmente, distintamente" alla città e ai magistrati cittadini.

ὡc αἱ ἀρχ̣[αί: la lettura è molto incerta (dell'ipotetico χ rimane solo una labile traccia a metà altezza nel rigo), tanto più che il senso stesso non risulta perspicuo. Alla conclusione del rigo, in lacuna,

possono comunque essere perdute solo poche lettere, due o tre al massimo. L'espressione, se la lettura è esatta, potrebbe essere intesa come una spiegazione del precedente κατὰ μέρος.

8 κρατίστου: altrove, in questo stesso testo (rr. 1?, 4, 10, 12, 15), Munatius Felix è sempre detto λαμπρότατος: sull'oscillazione dell'epiteto di rango κράτιστος / λαμπρότατος per il prefetto d'Egitto in questo periodo, cfr. *ANRW* II 10.1, 583; *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli 1984) 1339. L'epiteto di rango, comunque, non figurava certamente nel prescritto delle ἐπιστολαί inviate dal prefetto (cfr. *ANRW* II 10.1, 585; *Atti XVII*, 1336): sarà dovuto, piuttosto, all'iniziativa del redattore di questo testo.

κε[: penso che qui sarebbe possibile integrare la parola κε[χρονισμέναι, in abbreviazione, seguita da un'indicazione che alluda al momento in cui le lettere furono scritte dal prefetto: per es., κε[χρ(ονισμέναι) οὕ(τως).

9 Παχ(ὼν) κϛ̄ = 21 maggio (150-153 d.C): vedi nota al r. 13. Sopra questa data si scorge un lungo tratto orizzontale, che prosegue discendendo nell'intercolunnio a sinistra, almeno fino al r. 11; sulla destra, si vede ancora un tratto orizzontale soprastante Φηλ[(vedi nota al r. 16).

Μ̣ο̣υ̣ν̣[ατ](ίου): dopo la lacuna, si scorge un tratto che, scendendo sotto il rigo, piega a sinistra.

11 Ἐπεὶφ η̄ = 2 luglio (150-153 d.C.): vedi nota al r. 13.

13] (ἔτους) [: mi sembra che non si possa interpretare diversamente il segno angolare visibile sul papiro: sarebbe dunque perduto nella lacuna seguente il numero dell'anno egiziano immediatamente successivo a quello cui appartengono le date precedenti (rr. 3, 9, 11). Il ginnasiarco Dionysius avrebbe proseguito la sua carica anche nella prima parte del nuovo anno? In ogni caso, se qui veramente dobbiamo riconoscere l'indicazione di un nuovo anno, ciò è rilevante per la cronologia del documento: infatti, se le ἐπιστολαί di Munatius Felix sono datate verso la fine di un anno egiziano (Pachon, rr. 9-10; Epeiph, rr. 11-12) e anche nel successivo (rr. 14-15), si può molto probabilmente escludere qui il 17° e il 18° anno di Antonino Pio, poiché il 1° Thoth del 18° anno (= 29 agosto 154 d.C.) è già in carica M. Sempronius Liberalis (*BGU* II 372 = *SB* XX 14662: cfr. A. Jördens, *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* [Stuttgart-Leipzig 1997] 520 n. 37). Queste lettere di Munatius Felix sarebbero dunque da datare, al più tardi, nel 153 d.C., oppure, con uguale probabilità, nel 152 o nel 151 o nel 150 d.C. (vedi nota al r. 1). Rimane incerta invece la possibilità del 149 d.C., perché il prefetto noto anteriormente a Munatius Felix, cioè M. Petronius Honoratus, ha come ultima attestazione il 15 Hathyr del 12° anno (= 11 novembre 148 d.C.): ciò farebbe pensare che Honoratus sia rimasto in carica ancora fino all'estate seguente, oltre il 21 maggio 149 d.C. (cfr. *Aegyptus* 58 [1978] 168-71), per cui queste ἐπιστολαί di Munatius Felix non potrebbero essere assegnate al 149 d.C. Ma rimane comunque un margine d'incertezza.

14 All'inizio della parte conservata del rigo, il segno orizzontale visibile in alto, che arriva a coprire anche la successiva abbreviazione α̣ᾳ̣, dovrebbe essere la fine del tratto sovrastante la cifra del giorno, preceduta dall'indicazione del mese (cfr. rr. 3, 9, 11).

16 Il rigo è occupato per buona parte, sulla sinistra, da un tratto orizzontale—forse la prosecuzione del segno che inizia al r. 9; è possibile forse pensare che si sia voluto evidenziare in questo modo tutto il complesso dei rr. 9-15, cioè il brano relativo alle (tre) lettere del prefetto Munatius Felix alla città e ai magistrati di Ossirinco (vedi nota al r. 9).

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12. DOCUMENTI IN COPIA RELATIVI A ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΞΙC E ΚΥΡΩCIC DI TERRENO

(Gabriella Messeri Savorelli)

PSI inv. 739* Plate 13 12.7 cm x 7 cm
post 167/8P Isieion Panga

Parte superiore di un foglio di papiro opistografo in senso proprio[1] giacché la stessa mano ha scritto i testi che si trovano sulle due facciate. Entrambi i testi, sia quello presente sul *recto* che quello del *verso*, sono in copia e mutili in basso. Sul *recto*, contro le fibre, si legge la lettera (rr. 1-4) con cui Dioskoros, *komogrammateus* del villaggio ossirinchita di Isieion Panga e di altri villaggi limitrofi, inoltra l'ordine emesso dallo scriba regio affinché venga eseguita la παράδειξιc di un'arura e mezzo di terreno; è omessa l'indicazione del destinatario o dei destinatari che potevano essere i γεωμέτραι, cioè coloro che effettivamente procedevano all'accertamento. Segue (rr. 5-12) la copia dell' ἐπίcταλμα inviato da Heracleides, scriba regio del nòmo ossirinchite, allo scriba del villaggio di Isieion Panga, contenente l'ordine di procedere all'accertamento dell'arura e mezzo di terreno; il testo dell'ἐπίcταλμα informa sulla proprietaria e sullo stato del terreno che è ὑπόλογοc, inoltre specifica come deve avvenire l'accertamento e quali elementi devono essere controllati. L'originale dell' ἐπίcταλμα aveva in calce la copia della richiesta presentata allo scriba regio dalla proprietaria dell'arura e mezzo—tal Zenarion, figlia di Hierax—per ottenere l'accertamento del terreno (cfr. r. 6); con ogni probabilità tale richiesta era stata di nuovo copiata (a partire dal r. [15]?) dal *komogrammateus* Dioskoros in questa trasmissione di atti ai suoi subordinati.

Un' idea chiara della struttura dei documenti di questo tipo e dell'intera procedura messa in moto dall'offerta di un privato che voglia acquistare terra appartenente allo Stato e che si conclude con l'aggiudicazione (κύρωcιc) all'offerente e con l'accertamento ufficiale (παράδειξιc) della condizione del terreno, passando per lo stratego, lo scriba regio e lo scriba di villaggio, si ha da *P.Amh.* II 68 = *W. Chrest.* 374 e dal gruppo dei *P.Petaus* 13-25. Particolarmente utile il confronto con i citati *P.Petaus* che si datano ad anni non molto distanti dal PSI inv. 739.

Sul *verso*, lungo le fibre, la stessa mano[2] ha copiato un testo che ha una esplicita intestazione: si tratta di un estratto dall'elenco delle aggiudicazioni fatte dallo stratego Claudio Demetrio nell'ottavo anno di Marco Aurelio e Vero. L'estratto è relativo all'arura e mezzo di terra ὑπόλογοc assegnata a

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* Il papiro è conservato all'Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli di Firenze. Molto devo a Guido Bastianini, Dieter Hagedorn, Manfredo Manfredi, Rosario Pintaudi: a ciascuno di loro va il mio più sincero ringraziamento.

[1] Sui papiri opistografi, cfr. *ZPE* 104 (1994) 233.

[2] Non è possibile dire chi sia che ha copiato i testi su entrambe le facciate del foglio. Il fatto che il foglio sia utilizzato *transversa charta*, che ci sia la indicazione ἀ(ντίγραφον) nel margine superiore e che sia stato utilizzato il *verso* di seguito al *recto* esclude, a mio parere, che tutto ciò sia avvenuto ad opera del *komogrammateus* nell'atto di dar seguito all'ordine del *basilikos grammateus* e, invece, rende più plausibile che questa copia di atti sia stata fatta dopo un certo tempo dalla aggiudicazione e dalla verifica su richiesta di Zenarion o dei suoi aventi causa per contestazioni sorte intorno alla operazione.

Zenarion, figlia di Hierax: se ne riportano derivazione, ubicazione, confinanti, termini di esenzione fiscale, data dell'aggiudicazione, aliquota della tassa.

Questo nostro papiro non ha paralleli dal punto di vista diplomatico; sembrerebbe di dover concludere che un tale assemblaggio di atti (quelli relativi alla richiesta di παράδειξις copiati sul *recto* e l'estratto dai registri circa la κύρωσις copiato sul *verso*) fu effettuato su richiesta di Zenarion o dei suoi aventi causa perché servisse di prova in una azione legale avente per oggetto il terreno.

I testi contenuti nel papiro assumono un valore rilevante poiché non sappiamo ancora molto né della κύρωσις né della παράδειξις. Ora, sulla base del r. 7, possiamo dire che la παράδειξις, cioè l'accertamento ufficiale delle condizioni dell'immobile, veniva dopo la κύρωσις, cioè dopo l'aggiudicazione dell'immobile all'intenzionale acquirente. Sappiamo ora con certezza che la κύρωσις era di competenza dello stratego (cfr. rr. 14-6; 23), mentre la παράδειξις spettava allo scriba regio cui l'acquirente, che avesse già ottenuto la κύρωσις dallo stratego, si rivolgeva presentando βιβλίδια (cfr. rr. 5-7). La παράδειξις concludeva, dunque, il procedimento di vendita dei beni dello Stato; questa informazione permette di comprendere quanto detto nelle ben note espressioni del tipo: ἐφ' ᾧ παραδειχθεῖσα διαγράψω τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὰ ἑπόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν ("restando inteso che, una volta ottenuta la παράδειξις, pagherò il prezzo e le spese susseguenti alla banca pubblica") (*P.Petaus* 17.29) e nelle altre: καὶ βεβαιωθήσατέ μοι καθαρὸν ἀπὸ δημοσίων πάντων καὶ παντὸς εἴδους μέχρι τοῦ τῆς παραδίξεως χρόνου ("e mi sarà stato garantito libero da tutte le tasse statali e da ogni altra tassa fino alla data della παράδειξις") (*P.Petaus* 17.32-3). Fra la data della κύρωσις e quella della παράδειξις intercorreva del tempo durante il quale l'acquirente non pagava le tasse relative al terreno acquistato (cfr. rr. 21-2), né alcuna altra tassa statale (cfr. sopra *P.Petaus* 17.32-3). Tuttavia, nonostante che la κύρωσις e la παράδειξις appaiano due operazioni distinte, portate avanti per la massima parte da due funzionari diversi in stretta collaborazione fra di loro (l'una dallo stratego, l'altra dallo scriba regio), è probabile che esse procedessero in parallelo, altrimenti non si spiega perché lo stratego inviasse allo scriba regio copia della richiesta di acquisto presentatagli dal privato (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.18-23; 18.10-20; 20.6-12; 22.18-26); dovevano, dunque, concludersi a breve distanza l'una dall'altra.

Conclusasi positivamente la παράδειξις a favore del privato e debitamente informatone lo stratego, all'acquirente non rimaneva che di pagare, mediante la banca di Stato, tutto ciò che c'era da pagare; e cioè: 1) il prezzo (τὴν τιμήν) dell'immobile, che è un prezzo imposto dallo Stato (cfr. *P.Amh.* II 68.20-1); 2) e le spese aggiuntive (τὰ ἑπόμενα), non meglio specificate.

recto ↓

ἀ(ντίγραφον)
παρὰ Διοσκόρου κωμογρ(αμματέως) Ἰσί[ο]υ Π(αγγᾶ) καὶ ἄλ(λων) κωμ(ῶν) τῆς
ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας)·
τοῦ ἐπισταλέντος ἐπιστάλματος περὶ παρα[δ]ε̣ίξε̣[ως]
4 (ἀρούρης) αL/ τὸ ἀντίγρ(αφον) ὑπόκειται· ἐστὶ δέ·
Ἡρακλείδης βασιλ(ικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) Ὀξ(υρυγχείτου) κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Ἰσίου
Π(αγγᾶ) [καὶ ἄλ(λων) κωμ(ῶν) χαίρειν·]
τῶν δοθέντων μ̣ο̣ι̣ βιβλε̣ι̣δ̣[ίων παρὰ] Ζ̣[ηναρίου Ἱέρακος ἀξιούσης]
παραδειχθῆναι ἣν ἐώνηται καὶ ἐκυρώθη τῷ [ζ (ἔτει)] ἀπὸ ὑπολό-
8 [γο]υ̣ τὸ ἴσον ἐπιστέλλεται σοι ὅπως γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ δηλούμ(ενον)
ἔδαφος καὶ ἐξετάσας εἰ αἱ γιτνίαι σύμφωνοί εἰ[σι]ν̣ τῇ κατ' ἀ-

γρὸν διαθέσει καὶ οὐ προαντεποιήθη οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἐναντίον εἴη
παράδειξον ὡς καθήκει καὶ προσφώνησον ὡς πρὸς σὲ τοῦ λόγου
12 [ἐσομένου ἐ]άν τι μὴ δεόντως γένηται. σεσημ(είωμαι)
] tracce [

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verso →

ἔγλημ(ψις) ἐκ γραφῆς κεκυρωμένων τῷ η (ἔτει) Αὐρηλίων
Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων
16 ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Δημητρίου τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμίου στρ(ατηγοῦ). ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας)
Ἰ[σ]ί[ο]υ Παγγᾶ [. . .] Ζηνάριον Ἱέρα(κος) τοῦ Ζήνωνος μετὰ κυρίου
τοῦ πατρὸς] . [.]υ ὑπολ(όγου) . . . ( ) ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδ(ου) ἀπὸ κοίτ(ης)
(ἀρουρῶν) κη∠
μετα . . [ ] . (ἄρουραι) δL/ ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) (ἀρουρῶν) κδ∠
(ἀρούρης) L/ οὗ γί(τονες) νότου
20 καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ὑπόλ(ογος) τῆς κοίτ(ης) βορ(ρᾶ) ὠνημένη λιβὸς πλευρισμ(ὸς)
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κοίτ(ης) ἄλλη (ἄρουρα) α ἧς γί(τονες) πάντοθ(εν)
ὑπόλ(ογος) ἀ[τε]-
λείᾳ (τριῶν) (ἐτῶν) ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς κυρώ(σεως) χρόνου γίν(εται) (ἄρουρα) αL/.
ζ (ἔτους) Μεχεὶρ ιᾱ ἐκύρωσα τῇ προγεγρ(αμμένῃ) · τῆς τοῦ εἴδους τιμῆ[ς
24 κ]αὶ ἄλλων κατὰ (ἄρουραν) (δραχμαὶ) δ καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων πάντων . [
] . [. . . . .] . . . [. .]ων δι . [

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5 ϊσιου pap. 8 ϊσον pap. 14 *l.* ἔκλημ(ψις) 17 ἰ[σ]ι[ο]υ pap. 20 *l.* ἐωνημένη (vide n.)

recto

Copia.

Da parte di Dioskoros *komogrammateus* di Ision Panga e di altri villaggi della toparchia meridionale.

Segue la copia della inviata direttiva circa l'accertamento di un'arura e mezzo. E cioè:

Heracleides, scriba regio dell'Ossirinchite, al *komogrammateus* di Ision Panga [e di altri villaggi salute.]

Delle richieste a me consegnate [da Zenarion, figlia di Hierax, che richiedeva che] fosse sottoposta ad accertamento la (arura) che ha acquistato e che le fu aggiudicata nel [settimo anno] da terra in detrazione, ti viene inviato il duplicato affinché, recatoti sull'appezzamento indicato e avendo esaminato se i confinanti corrispondono alla situazione sul terreno e se in precedenza non fu avanzata alcuna pretesa e se non c'è niente in contrario, tu proceda all'accertamento com'è opportuno e riferisca tenendo presente che ti sarà chiesto conto se qualcosa non avverrà nel modo dovuto. Ho vistato. ----------

verso

Estratto dalla lista dei beni aggiudicati nell'ottavo anno degli Aurelii Antonino e Vero, i Signori Imperatori, dallo stratego Claudio Demetrio *alias* Ermia. Toparchia meridionale: villaggio di Ision Panga. Zenarion, figlia di Hierax, figlio di Zenon, con tutore [suo padre? ---] dall'*hypologos* ... dal *kleros* di Heracleides: da una parcella di arure 28 3/4 ... [---] arure 4 1/2, dalle rimanenti arure 24 1/4: la metà di un'arura, i cui confinanti (sono): a sud e ad oriente la terra in detrazione della parcella, a nord la terra acquistata, ad occidente l'argine; ancora dalla stessa parcella un'altra arura 1, i cui confinanti (sono): terra in detrazione da ogni lato; con esenzione fiscale di tre anni a partire dalla data dell'aggiudicazione; fanno arure 1 1/2.

Settimo anno Mecheir 11, ho aggiudicato alla soprascritta; l'ammontare della tassa e degli altri contributi essendo di dracme 4 all'arura e le spese conseguenti [essendo di dracme ...

1 Nel margine superiore e in posizione centrale rispetto ai righi del testo che segue, c'è un *alpha* di modulo piuttosto grande obliquamente attraversato da un lungo e deciso tratto di penna; la mano è la stessa che ha scritto il successivo testo; si tratta di un modo per abbreviare ἀντίγραφον che si è mantenuto a lungo nella consuetudine burocratica di Ossirinco, come stanno a dimostrare molti esempi rintracciabili fra papiri dei secoli III e IV d.C. provenienti da Ossirinco: cfr. *BGU* IV 1073 = *W.Chrest.* 198 (tav. in Schubart, *PGB*, 37b); *P.Oxy.* IX 2228.30, 41; XII 1428.1; 1470.8; XXIV 2409 *passim*; XXXI 2558.1 (tav. 12 in *Aegyptus* 45 [1965]); XXXIII 2666.II.1; XXXIV 2705.10; XLII 3048, Introd.; XLIII 3110.1 (tav. VII); XLIX 3475.1(?); LI 3611.22; LIV 3756.1; *PSI* IV 285.1; V 449.1; 456.1; VIII 951.1; X 1101.1; *SB* VI 9298.1; XIV 11999.18.

2 Ἰcί[ο]υ Π(αγγᾶ): cfr. rr. 5, 17; attestazioni in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Firenze 1981) 71-2; Calderini e Daris, *Dizionario* III, 35; *Suppl. 1°*, 159.

3 περὶ παρα̣[δ]ε̣ίξε̣[ωc: cfr. *P.Amh.* 68.1; sul significato dei termini παράδειξιc / παραδείκνυμι si veda *P.Petaus* 17.3 nota, ove vengono intesi come termini che sembrano connotare l'intero procedimento dell'assegnazione a privati di proprietà statali. PSI inv. 739 apporta nuovi elementi di informazione poiché attesta chiaramente che, nella procedura di acquisto di beni dello Stato, la παράδειξιc avviene dopo la κύρωcιc (si veda l'introduzione).

5 Le attestazioni dello scriba regio Heracleides si vedano in G. Bastianini e J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*. Pap.Flor. 15 (Firenze 1987) 143.

6 Una frattura, determinatasi in corrispondenza della *kollesis* orizzontale (il foglio è utilizzato *transversa charta*), corre lungo tutto questo rigo ed ha causato la perdita del testo della metà destra del rigo; il nome e il patronimico della proprietaria, che si desumono dal r. 17, riempiono bene la lacuna; dopo il nome e il patronimico della donna non c'è l'indicazione del suo κύριοc com'è normale nella corrispondenza fra funzionari (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.3; 12; 20), mentre tale indicazione—espressa nel modo più preciso possibile—compare nella richiesta che l'intenzionale acquirente rivolge allo stratego (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.24-5). Il nome Ζηνάριον è raro e di diffusione ossirinchita.

6-7 ἀξιούcηc (*vel* βουλομένηc) | παραδειχθῆναι ἣν ἐώνηται καὶ ἐκυρώθη τῷ [ζ (ἔτει)]: cfr. r. 23 e *P.Mich.* VI 364.5. Per la costruzione ed il significato di κυρόω si veda *P.Mich.* VI 364, Introd.; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2982.23 nota. Come esposto nell'introduzione, questa frase ci mette di fronte a questa situazione: l' acquirente, il quale aveva già ottenuto la aggiudicazione (κύρωcιc) del terreno da parte dello stratego, avanzava richiesta al βαcιλικὸc γραμματεύc per ottenere la παράδειξιc del terreno aggiudicatogli. Lo scriba regio delegava l'ispezione al κωμογραμματεύc (cfr. r. 11: παράδειξον ὡc καθήκει καὶ προc-

φώνησον) come sapevamo dalle molte relazioni in proposito rimesse da Petaus a vari scribi regi (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17; 19; 21; 22).

7-8 ἀ̣πὸ ὑπολό|[γο]υ̣ "dall' *hypologos*" (cfr. anche rr. 18, 20, 21): seguo Roberts e Skeat nel conside-rare ὑπόλογος un sostantivo maschile sulla scorta di *P.Lips.* I 10.I.29; *P.Oxy.* 1537.17; P.Lond. inv. 2153 dove la parola, all'interno dell'enumerazione dei confinanti, è scritta per esteso e appare come sostantivo maschile (cfr. C.H. Roberts e T.C. Skeat, "A Sale of ὑπόλογος at Tebtunis in the Reign of Domitian," *Aegyptus* 13 [1933] 466-8; = *SB* V 7599). Dell' ὑπόλογος, cioè della terra in detrazione, si ha una precisa definizione tecnica in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2847.12 ss., su cui si veda D. Bonneau, "Recherches sur le kyriakos logos (Commentaire de P.Oxy. 2847)," *JJP* 19 (1983) 138-40; si trattava di terra incolta e non più redditizia che lo Stato tentava di recuperare alla produttività offrendola in vendita ad un prezzo eccezionalmente basso, cui aggiungeva il privilegio dell'esenzione fiscale per tre anni (cfr. rr. 21-2), passati i quali colui che ne fosse diventato proprietario avrebbe pagato le tasse usuali gravanti sul tipo di terreno acquistato. Sulla condizione della terra in detrazione e sulle modalità della sua vendita, si veda *P.Petaus* 17-23, Introd. (pp. 108-11) con i necessari riferimenti bibliografici; per quanto riguarda l'Ossirinchite, cfr. J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt. The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 48-53.

10 προαντιποιέομαι, *addendum lexicis*.

12 [ἐ̣σομένου ἐ]ὰν ...: cfr. *P.Amh.* 68.4-5; 10; oppure [ὄ̣ντος ἐ]ὰν ... cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.15-6; 18.6-7; 24.12.

13 In questo rigo e nel successivo doveva esserci la data dell'ἐπίσταλμα inviato dallo scriba regio al *komogrammateus*, cfr. *P.Amh.* II 68.11; *P.Petaus* 20.4-5.

16 Sullo stratego cfr. Bastianini e Whitehorne, *op.cit.* (sopra, n. 5) 93.

17 ἰ̣[ς]ι[ο]υ̣ π̣α̣γ̣γ̣α̣: lettura difficoltosa perché rimangono soltanto le estremità superiori delle lettere ma nondimeno assai probabile; fra Π̣α̣γ̣γ̣ᾶ e Ζ̣ηνάριον c'è una piccola lacuna in cui probabilmente non è caduto niente: fra la località e il nome della donna era stato lasciato uno spazio bianco.

18 La metà sinistra del rigo è pressoché perduta: prima di ἐκ τοῦ rimangono tracce delle estremità superiori di alcune lettere; in ogni caso, sembra difficile che potesse esserci grado di parentela con Zenarion, nome e patronimico del suo tutore: l'ipotesi τοῦ πατρός rende superfluo ripetere nome e patronimico del padre che si trovano indicati nel rigo immediatamente precedente; dopo avrebbe dovuto esserci una frase del tipo ὠνησαμένη ἀπὸ ... ὑπολ(όγου) (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.3; 12-3; 25-6; *et passim*).

ἀπὸ κοί(της): (cfr. rr. 7, 8) κοίτη è termine tecnico del linguaggio catastale equivalente a σφραγίς. Cfr. Preisigke, *Fachwörterbuch*, s.v.; *P.Oxy.* XII 1470.11 nota; V. Martin, "Un document administratif du nome de Mendès," *SPP* XVII (1917) 30, n. 16; A. Déléage, "Les cadastres antiques jusqu'à Dioclétien," *Ét. de Pap.* 2 (1934) 119, 125.

18-19 Le estensioni in arure presenti in questi righi sono in rapporto fra loro ma la lacuna che ha inghiottito la prima metà del r. 19 impedisce la piena comprensione; comunque "da una parcella di arure 28 3/4 [non si considerano?] arure 4 1/2; dalle rimanenti arure 24 1/4 (è stata aggiudicata?) mezza arura, i cui confinanti ...". Questa mezza arura e quella del r. 21 costituiscono l'arura e mezzo aggiudicata e richiesta di παράδειξις (cfr. r. 22 e rr. 3-4).

20 *l.* ἐωνημένη (γῆ). Ma la lettura ὠνημένη è stata soffertissima. Se la lettura è giusta, l'errore è plausibile: non c'è più chiarezza sulla corretta grafia del participio presente e del participio piuccheperfetto (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.6; 7; 21.5).

πλευρισμός, un tipo di diga; parola attestata solo in documenti di provenienza ossirinchita; cfr. D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* (Leiden 1993) 44-5.

22-23 Che la esenzione fiscale (ἀτέλεια) concessa per consentire il recupero a coltura del terreno (εἰς κατεργασίαν καὶ ἀνάκτησιν) fosse di tre anni era noto, ma solo qui si specifica che il computo dei tre anni comincia dalla data della aggiudicazione.

23 La data con cui inizia questo rigo (5 febbr. 167), per la posizione in cui è stata scritta, dopo aver lasciata bianca la metà destra del rigo precedente, sembra essere la data in cui avvenne la κύρωσις da parte dello stratego. Ciò è in contraddizione con il r. 14: "estratto dalla lista dei beni aggiudicati nell'ottavo anno ..."; può darsi che l'ottavo anno del r. 14 sia un *lapsus calami*, cioè che l'estratto (l' ἔκλημψις) sia stato realmente scritto nell'anno ottavo, ma che la lista (γραφή) fosse quella dei beni aggiudicati nell'anno settimo.

23-24 τῆς τοῦ εἴδους τιμῆ[ς | κ]αὶ ἄλλων: anche con questa frase siamo di fronte ad una nuova informazione: la κύρωσις comporta il pagamento della relativa tassa (εἶδος) e di altri tributi per un ammontare di 4 dracme all'arura. Zenarion deve pagare 6 dracme.

καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων πάντων: alle "spese conseguenti" (τὰ ἑπόμενα) si fa riferimento nelle richieste di acquisto di beni statali presentate dai privati allo stratego, là dove si dice che, una volta avvenuta la παράδειξις del terreno, si pagherà il prezzo dell'immobile e le "spese conseguenti" (cfr. *P.Petaus* 17.28; *et passim*). Purtroppo il nostro papiro si interrompe qui; altrimenti avremmo conosciuto l'ammontare delle "spese conseguenti" all'aggiudicazione di un'arura e mezzo di terreno alla fine degli anni sessanta del secondo secolo.

Università di Napoli Federico II

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 145-148

13. ISTANZA AGLI ἐπιτηρηταὶ ξενικῆς πρακτορείας

(Manfredo Manfredi)

PSI inv. 439
183p

11.4 cm x 15.4 cm
Ossirinco

Il foglio di papiro, scritto sul *recto*, è conservato nella parte superiore sinistra; sussistono significative parti dei relativi margini.[1]

La scrittura è una corsiva piccola e fluida, ricca di legature, ben documentata nel II sec. d.C. in atti ufficiali.[2] Come l'analogo papiro del 201p edito da Gabriella Schöpflich, *SIFC* n.s. 12 (1935) 103-8 (= *SB* V 7817; poi ripubblicato come *PSI* XIII 1328, da Anna Calabi), anche il nostro frammento verrà dagli stessi scavi di Evaristo Breccia al kom Ali El-Gamman di Ossirinco [1934].

Si tratta di un documento redatto al fine di ottenere da parte dei competenti uffici il rilascio delle attestazioni necessarie all'esecuzione, in un procedimento di ἐνεχυρασία discusso in giudizio. Come in *PSI* XIII 1328, la cui impostazione grafica è molto simile a quella del presente documento, è possibile recuperare la decisione dei crematisti, nonché una parte molto frammentaria della petizione al prefetto. La datazione fornita è quella dell'atto di trasmissione della sentenza dei crematisti allo ξενικῶν πράκτωρ. Mancando la parte conclusiva dell'istanza, non possiamo stabilire di quanto tempo fosse posteriore ai preliminari dell'azione giudiziaria. Testi analoghi in *P.Flor.* I 56 (234p) e in *BGU* IX 1573 (141/142p) (ed. H.J. Wolff).

Al momento della redazione dell'istanza, la pratica è giunta alla fase della richiesta agli ξενικῶν πράκτορες[3] di promuovere l'immissione in possesso dei beni sui quali all'attore è stato riconosciuto il diritto di proprietà da parte dei χρηματισταί. Si trasmette copia della decisione, che a sua volta contiene gli elementi base della originaria petizione allo stratego dell'attore. La decisione contiene la condizione della contemporanea presentazione da parte dell'attore di un attestato di veridicità delle pretese e della non sussistenza di cambiamenti intervenuti successivamente al momento della petizione. Infine si ripor-

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[1] Nel margine superiore un'altra mano ha scritto 5 o 6 lettere grossolane e mal decifrabili, di modulo più grande e dai tratti più marcati: ε̣ . . ωε̣. Inoltre, al di sopra delle lettere d'inizio del documento, in scrittura analoga a quella del testo, sembra di riconoscere un ε iniziale accompagnato da svolazzi sopra e sotto il trattino mediano della lettera. Sul *verso*, in corrispondenza del margine superiore del *recto*, prove di calamo (?), forse fatte scrivendo lungo le fibre.

[2] Cfr. *P.Merton* III 109 (1a mano), tav. II (ed. J.D. Thomas) e *PSI Congr.XXI* 9, tav. I (ed. G. Menci).

[3] Per l'ufficio e le funzioni del πράκτωρ, vedi l'articolo di Stanisław Płodzień, "The Origin and Competence of the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν," *JJP* 5 (1951) 217-27; conservano interesse le note di Ludwig Mitteis a *P.Lips.* 120. La supposta competenza di questi funzionari in azioni promosse nei confronti di persone residenti in altro νομός, sostenuta da vari studiosi al fine di chiarire il valore del termine ξενικός, è stata particolarmente discussa da Claire Préaux, "Sur les fonctions du πράκτωρ ξενικῶν," *Cd'É* 30 (1955) 107-11, e da Henrik Kupiszewski, "Les formulaires dans la procedure d'exécution," *Symbolae Taubenschlag* III (1956) 89-103. Quest'ultimo lavoro raccoglie comodi testi di riferimento per la ricostruzione di esemplari, come il nostro, ricchi di lacune. Mi sia consentito di citare anche la dissertazione di laurea, inedita, di Cinzia Foches, *L'attività del "praktor" e la documentazione papiracea*, Firenze 1989. Forse in quest'epoca ξενικῶν potrebbe equivalere a *inter peregrinos*.

tava copia dell'atto privato sul quale l'attore fondava la propria iniziale richiesta di risarcimento per aver prestato denari od altro al querelato, dietro garanzia di beni specificati nell'atto stesso.

Dopo l'intervento degli ἐπιτηρηταί, richiesto nel presente documento, questi avrebbero trasmesso certificazione dell'intervento stesso al komogrammateus o allo stratego perché venissero compiute le trascrizioni formali di trasferimento della titolarità dei beni da un nominativo ad un altro nei registri del nomo (la βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήcεων), cosa che avveniva evidentemente soltanto dopo l'immissione concreta nella proprietà.

Cαραπίωνι καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνι [ἐπιτηρηταῖc τῆc ἐν Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτῃ) ξε-]
νικῆc πρακτορείαc διὰ Φ[ι]λάμω[νοc
παρὰ Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Ἡρᾶ διὰ τοῦ ἀδελ[φοῦ (Γαίου Ἰουλίου?) Cαρα-]
4 πίωνοc. Οὗ ἐπορίcαμεν ἐκ τοῦ καταλ(ογείου) ἐν[εχυραcίαc χρημ(ατιcμοῦ) ἐcτιν
ἀντίγρ(αφον) · ξε-]
νικῶν πράκτορι Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου) · τῆc τετελ(ειωμένηc) ἐνε[χυραcίαc χρηματιcμοὶ (?) ἐτελέ-]
cθηcαν καθότι cυνκέκριται L κγ Αὐρ[ηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου]
Cεβαcτοῦ Παχὼν η̄ Ἀριcτ δ(ιὰ ?) Φλαυ ἀρχιδι[καcτ
8 L κγ Αὐτοκράτοροc Καίcαροc Μάρκου Αὐρη[λίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου]
Cεβαcτοῦ [Ἀ]ρμενιακοῦ Μηδ[ι]κοῦ Παρθι[κοῦ C]αρματι[κοῦ Γερμανικοῦ]
μεγίcτου Παχών. Ἀνα[γ]νωcθείcηc ἐν[τεύ]ξεωc [Γ]α[ίου Ἰουλί]ου Ἡρᾶ
τῶν δὲ δι' αὐτῆc cημαινομένων διαγραφῆ[c] καὶ δημ[ο]cιώcεωc καὶ ἀν-
12 τιφωνήcεωc ὑπογεγραμμένων ἐκ τῆc δ[η(μοcίαc) βι]βλιοθή[κηc] ἐπενη-
ν[εγμένων] καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου διαπεcτάλθ[αι Ἰ]cιδώρου τοῦ προcυ [
... ὑπογ[εγρ]αφότοc διαπεcτάλθαι πρὸc τὴν τοῦ χρηματιcμοῦ
τ[ελεί]ωcι[ν cυνεκρ]είναμεν [γ]ραφ[ῆναι καὶ π]εμφ[θῆν]αι τῆc
16 ἐ[ν]τεύ[ξ]εωc ἀντίγρα(φον) τοῖc τοῦ Ὀξυρ[υ]γ[χ(ίτου) cτρατηγῷ καὶ ξε-]
ν[ικῶν] πράκτορι εἴν' ἐὰ[ν] παρουcα ἐπ'[αὐτοὺc
εὐ[δοκῇ τού]τοιc κ(αὶ) προῆ[τ]α[ι] τὴν καθή[κουcαν χε]ιρ[ογραφίαν περὶ τοῦ]
[ἀλη]θ[ῆ εἶ]ναι τὰ δ[ι]ὰ τῆc ἐντεύξεωc δεδη[λωμένα καὶ μηδὲν
20 [ὑπ]εναν[τί]ον ὠκονομῆcθαι μηδὲ ἔχ[ειν τι εἰc τὰ πραccόμενα ἀπε-]
[ρί]λυτον δὲ εἶναι τ[ὴ]ν ὀφει[λ]ὴν τὸ την[ικαῦ]τα μ[εταδοθέντο]c [
[τ]ῶν [γρ]αμμάτ[ων] τούτων ἀντιγρ[ά]φου τῷ δ[ι' αὐτ]ῶν δη[λουμένῳ]
[ἐνε]χυραζομέν[ῳ] ἐνωπί[ῳ] ἵν' ἐ[δῇ κἂν μηδὲν ἀντείπῃ ἐν ἡμέραιc]
24 [δέ]κα . . κα . . [cυ]ντε[λῶcι τὰ τῆc πράξε]ω[c ὃν τρό-]
[πο]ν καθήκει τοῖ[c] προcτεταγμέ[νοιc ἀκολούθωc. Δεκί]μῳ [Οὐε-]
[το]υ[ρί]ῳ Μακρείνῳ Ἰούλιοc . [ ]. ειcεν
[ ]. [ἀ]πὸ κώμηc C[ ]λείῳ Ἀπολλοδώ[ρ]ου ορ[
28 [ ]. . [τὰ]c ὀφε[ιλ]ο[μέν]αc [μο]ι κατὰ χειρόγραφον τετ[ε-
[λειωμένον L κβ (?)] [Κο]μμ[ό]δου [Ἀντωνίν]ου Καίcαροc τοῦ κυρίου [
[ἀργυρίο]υ δραχμὰc τριακοcίαc [cὺν ?] ἡμιολείᾳ τόκου δραχ[μιαίου
[ἐκ]άcτηc μνᾶc κατὰ μῆνα ἕ[καcτον]ταξηc κβ› ἐφ' οἷc [

32 [συγ]γ[ρ]αφὰς περιεχε[ ] κιας δεστα[ ]κι[
[ ]α ου αρ [κατὰ συγγ]ραφὴν γεγο[ν]υίαν[
– – – – – – – – –

12 e 14 ὑπογεγρ- pap. 15 *l.* συνεκρίναμεν 17 *l.* ἵνα 23 ἵν pap.

A Sarapione e Arpocrazione sovrintendenti della esattoria *xeniké* dell'Ossirinchite, tramite Filamone, aiutante dell'esattore (?), da parte di Gaio Giulio Eras, tramite il fratello (Gaio Giulio) Sarapione. Della decisione di pignoramento che abbiamo ottenuto dall'archivio, questa è la copia: "All'esattore *xenikôn* dell'Ossirinchite: del pignoramento compiuto le pratiche conseguenti sono state eseguite in base al giudizio dell'anno 23° di Aurelio Commodo Antonino Augusto, Pachon 8." Arist( ) e (?) Flav( ) ... dell'arcidicasta controfirm(iam)o. L'anno 23° dell'Imperatore Cesare Marco Aurelio Commodo Antonino Augusto Armeniaco Medico Partico Sarmatico Germanico massimo, Pachon. Letta la petizione di Gaio Giulio Eras e essendo state prodotte l'ordinanza, la pubblicizzazione e la replica tramite essa significate, sottoscritte, emesse dal pubblico archivio e l'attestazione del dichiarato essere incaricato di rappresentanza Isidoro... che ha sottoscritto di essere incaricato di rappresentanza per l'adempimento della decisione, abbiamo giudicato di far scrivere ed inviare una copia della petizione allo stratego e all'esattore *xenikôn* dell'Ossirinchite, perché, nel caso che presentandosi ad essi... li soddisfi e consegni la prescritta dichiarazione giurata circa la veridicità di quanto esposto nella petizione e che non è intervenuto nessun atto in senso contrario né sussiste alcunché avente relazione con l'azione in corso, e che il debito è insoluto, al qual punto, avvenuta la consegna della copia delle presenti scritture di persona al sottoposto a pignoramento in esse indicato, perché ne sia informato, nel caso che egli non faccia opposizione entro 10 giorni, ... si eseguano le pratiche di esazione nel modo opportuno, in conformità alle ordinanze. A Decimo Veturio Macrino, Giulio... del villaggio di S... di Apollodoro dovutemi in base a scrittura privata compiuta nell'anno x di Commodo Antonino Cesare signore, trecento dracme d'argento col 50% di penale, con l'interesse di una dracma per ogni mina ogni mese dal... dell'anno 22°... in base a quanto... secondo il contratto che fu fatto... .

1 Ad un ἐπιτηρητής di nome Σαραπίων è indirizzata anche l'istanza di *PSI* XIII 1328. Per la funzione di ἐπιτηρητής nelle sue diverse connessioni (che ricorre prevalentemente nei documenti del II sec.d.C.), cfr. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (Firenze 1998^2) 28 ss.

2 Per l'integrazione, si può pensare a un attributo che specificasse le funzioni di Φιλάμμων: βοηθοῦ? (cfr. N. Lewis, *op.cit.*, 28); ὑπηρέτου ? (cfr. S. Strassi, *Le funzioni degli ὑπηρέται nell'Egitto greco e romano* [Heidelberg 1997] 208-9, n° 207).

3-4 La diffusione in Egitto dei nomi Γάϊος Ἰούλιος è preponderante nel II sec. d.C. Probabilmente consegue all'acquisizione dello *ius civitatis* da parte di militari in congedo: vedi gli indici in Robert O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association 26 (Cleveland 1971). Un Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων appone il proprio sigillo sull'attestato di una petizione, assieme ad un [Γάϊος Ἰούλιος ?] Ἡρακλείδης, in *P.Oxy.* XVII 2131.22-3, nel 201P.—Per il procedimento di ἐνεχυρασία, vedi da ultimo le note di H.-A. Rupprecht in *Symposion 1995* (Wien 1998) 296 ss.

5 In luogo del normale riferimento agli ἀντίγραφα, a reggere ἐτελέcθηcαν, forse era stato introdotto il concetto dei χρηματιcμοί. Il verbo ricorrente con ἀντίγραφα è μετεδόθηcαν, cfr. *BGU* II 578.7, ecc.

6-7 Per la compresenza nello stesso documento di diverse formule di datazione per l'imperatore Commodo come quella data in questi righi, e quella data invece ai rr. 8-10, cfr. ad es. *PSI* IV 282 (da Ossirinco), rispettivamente ai rr. 36 e 33 (sempre per l'anno 23°). Ancora diversa, se correttamente integrata, la formula al r. 29, risalente probabilmente ad un altro anno e ad una diversa località di stesura del documento ivi citato.

7 Cfr. *PSI* XII 1237.14 (162p); *P.Oxy.* XII 1474.6 (216p) e nota; *P.Ryl.* II 115.9 (156p). Non è certo né il significato, né il riferimento delle parole (abbreviate) αριcτ e φλαυ. Ci è parso comunque di offrire una soluzione con il nome dell'estensore e/o del compilatore della copia (ἀρχιδικαcτοῦ ὑπηρέτηc cεcημ(είωμαι)), che firmava per garanzia (oltre a *PSI* XIII 1328.56, cfr. Strassi, *op.cit.*, 182-3, n° 126; 198-9, n° 177).

8 ss. Per il formulario, cfr. H. Kupiszewski, *art.cit.*, 97-101.

11-12 Questa volta l' ἔντευξιc conteneva, oltre alla normale διαγραφή dei crematisti, anche l'atto di δημοcίωcιc (cfr. *PSI* XIII 1328.14) e l'esposto della controparte (ἀντιφώνηcιc). Nella terminologia giuridica la "replica" della controparte è detta ἀντίρρηcιc, la quale tuttavia potrebbe essere stata considerata un intervento più copioso della difesa, in un "contraddittorio" (cfr. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1881.13, del 427p), rispetto alla ἀντιφώνηcιc, cfr. *M.Chr.* 228 (Oxy., 131p).

12-13 Per ἐπενηνεγμένων cfr. *BGU* VII 1573.21. A fine rigo le tracce malamente leggibili potrebbero riferirsi o all'indicazione della funzione identificativa di Ἰcίδωροc o anche al suo patronimico.

17 παρουcα è inaspettato, in quanto la petizione fu presentata da uomini. A parte la possibilità di un errore dell'amanuense (per παρών), non si può escludere del tutto il riferimento ad atti od obbligazioni a cui aveva avuto parte una donna. Questo si verifica spesso in procedimenti in materia di successione. Naturalmente la parte finale del rigo doveva comunque contenere un nome.

20 La specificazione μηδὲ ἔχειν τι εἰc τὰ πραccόμενα non sempre è presente nel formulario; ma vedi *P.Aberd.* 19 (II/IIIp), 13; *P.Ryl.* II 115.14-5.

23 Anche in questo caso il formulario previsto per l'Ossirinchite (ὑποχρέῳ) non sembra corrispondere alle tracce di scrittura, che invece si adattano alla lettura ἐνεχυραζομένῳ (cfr. *P.Ryl.* II 115.17).

24 δέκα, μετὰ ταύταc cυντελῶcι τὰ τῆc πρά[ξεωc] ὃν τρόπον καθήκει in P.Meyer, *Jur.Pap.* 48 (= *P.Fam.Tebt.* 29, 133p), 24-5. Per cυντελῶcι cfr. anche *P.Ryl.* II 115.18.

25 ἀκολούθωc: lo spazio successivo potrebbe aver contenuto un ὡc καθήκει (cfr. *PSI* XII 1328.65). Ma è più probabile sia stato lasciato uno spazio prima del nome del prefetto, destinatario della petizione che segue.

25-26 In *P.Strasb.* IV 198.1 (181-183p) si legge completamente anche il praenomen del prefetto: Δεκίμωι Οὐετουρίωι Μακρίνωι ἐπάρχωι Αἰγύπτου. Cfr. G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30a al 299p," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 300; *ZPE* 38 (1980) 84.

30 τόκου δραχμιαίου tra il II e il III sec.d.C., ad es. nei mutui di *PSI* X 1142.17-8 (154p) e *PSI* IX 1068.9-10 (246p).

31 ss. Per il formulario, cfr., in parte, P. Meyer, *Jur.Pap.* 48 (= *P.Fam.Tebt.* 29), 34-5 e 29.

Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli", Firenze

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 149-151

14. PRIVATE LETTER

(John E.G. Whitehorne)

P.Mich. inv. 2995 Plate 11 10.0 cm x 13.0 cm
Second half of II A.D. 24-5006E[2]-A, Karanis[1]

Roman knights in the higher echelons of the administration in Egypt, or Gallic auxiliary troops doing deals in Latin at the other end of the empire. David Thomas has been equally active in solving the problems of both Greek and Latin documents, in texts produced at all levels of society. I hope that he will also be interested in the problems of this letter, which like most of its kind is one side of a private conversation, faintly overheard.

Written along the fibres on the front with the address written along the fibres on the back, the text is almost complete. There is a top margin of 2.0 cm, and the end of the text lacks only c. 2-3 lines of the closing formula(s). There is a sheet join 2.0 cm from the right hand edge. The writing is assignable to the second century. The occurrence of the name Ἀντῖνος (line 11) points to a date in the second half of the century, after the foundation of Antinoopolis in 130, but there is no other indication of date.

Didymos writes to Hatres, rather brusquely since this is his third letter on the topic (lines 15-6), about letting a house and attached courtyard. Because of a difficulty with some sort of liability (line 5), presumably connected with the property, he himself has withdrawn (ἀνεχώρησα, 6). I have preferred to take this to mean simply that he has withdrawn from renting out the property (cf. line 4), rather than to take the verb in the technical sense of *anachoresis* and suppose that Didymos had gone away to avoid trouble about tax arrears on the house. Because the house is now unoccupied, all movables have been removed, including the door of the courtyard. In line 7 we meet for perhaps only the second time in the papyri (see below, 7 n.) the term ἐξώδια, used substantivally to mean either an outer door or more probably the bar (κλείς) with which it was closed.

I am grateful to Traianos Gagos for the opportunity to edit this text for David, and to both him and Paul Heilporn for kindly checking my readings.

Δίδυμος Ἁτρῆτι τῷ τιμι⟨ωτ⟩άτῳ
πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
ϲοῦ γράφοντος "εἶπόν ϲοι μιϲθῶϲαι
4 τὴν οἰκίαν. οὐκ ἐμίϲθωϲαϲ." ἐνο-

[1] The papyrus was excavated in Karanis during the first expedition of the University of Michigan in 1924 in area G, which was heavily disturbed by the local farmers. It was found in the same structure (5006) that produced a large number of the papyri that once belonged to Gaius Apolinarius Niger and his family. However, this letter does not seem to be connected with this family. According to the records at the University of Michigan, at some stage, the upper part of inv. 2995 was in the same folder with various fragments under inv. no. 2984 that came also from the same structure, and was later transferred to its current location. Further on area G and the excavations at Karanis, see P. van Minnen, "House-to-House Enquiries: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Roman Karanis," *ZPE* 100 (1994), esp. 227-9.

χλούμενος δὲ τῆς παραγραφῆς
εἵνεκα, ἀνεχώρησα. Παν.μαυ-
λης δὲ ἄρας τὴν ἐξωδίαν τῆς
8 θύρας τῆς αὐλῆς (καὶ) ἁλων⟨ί⟩ας, ἐξε-
φόρησεν ὅτι ἐὰν ᾖ ἐ[ν] τῇ οἰκίᾳ,
καὶ [[και]] θύρα⟨ν⟩. σήμερον ἤνυται.
Ἀντῖνος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἡραίσκου ἠσφά-
12 λεισεν τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν μέ-
νει. πᾶν ποίησον οὖν τοῦ πρ.[.]..[
..]ελθεῖν περὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἢ τῆς αὐλῆς
[ὅτι] γράφω σοι σήμερον τρείτην
16 ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τούτου. ἀσπάζον-
ταί σε οἱ ἐμοὶ πάντες κατ' ὄν[ο]μα
- -

Back, along the fibres:
Ἁτρῆτι οἰ{π}νοπωλήτῃ X Ὡρί[ωνος (?)

3 εἶπον pap. 7 read ἐξοδίαν 11 read ἠσφάλισεν 15 read τρίτην

Didymos to his most honoured Hatres, very many greetings. You wrote: "I told you to let the house. You haven't let it." Being troubled because of the liability, I withdrew. Pan.maules lifted off the outer bar of the door of the courtyard and threshing floor and carried off whatever was in the house, and the door. He did it today. Antinos, Heraiskos's boy, has secured the house and is remaining there. So make every effort to (finalise the matter (?)) of the house or the courtyard because I am writing to you today my third letter about this. All my people greet you by name ....

To Hatres, wine dealer, (son of?) Hori(on?).

3 σοῦ γράφοντος "εἶπόν σοι ...": I take the genitive absolute as equivalent to a finite verb (cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II.3, 73, §157 (h)), followed by a quotation in direct speech. It is difficult to determine whether it is Didymos who has been instructed by Hatres, or vice versa. If the latter, then translate "When you wrote, I told you to let the house. You (*sc.* Hatres) haven't let it."

4 ἐμίσθωσας: The final σ is very small, but quite distinct. ἐμίσθωσα can be ruled out, although it would seem to make better sense with the sentence which follows.

5 παραγραφῆς: A *paragraphe* is a marginal notation or entry in an official register, recording a debt or liability of any kind attaching to a person or a property, as here. More specifically it might refer to *longae possessionis praescriptio*, μακρᾶς νομῆς παραγραφή, a matter on which a ruling was issued by Severus and Caracalla in 199, see L. Mitteis on *P.Stras.* I 22 (pp. 85-7), *BGU* II 267. An owner might hesitate to rent out a property in circumstances where he was afraid that a tenant might thereby gain any right to possession.

6-7 Παν.μαυλης: The letter after ν was written across the sheet join and the top part of it has also been lost in a lacuna. Not identifiable with any of the names listed by Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum* , although Egyptian names in Pan- are very common.

7 The doors of Egyptian houses were easily removed and portable: see G.Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris 1983) 93-107 (figs 10 a. and b., p. 95, illustrate a house door from Karanis now housed in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan). For doors in the pharaonic period, see H. Brunner, *LÄ* VI 778-87, esp. 779-80, s.v. "Tür und Tor." For αἴρειν of the lifting of doors from their sockets cf. *P.Mich.* V 226.30. There the door was stolen (for further references, see Husson, *op.cit.*, 97); here the intention is to prevent its theft while the property is unoccupied.

ἐξωδίαν (read ἐξοδίαν): *sc.* κλεῖδα, cf. *BGU* II 606.15: τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς κέλλας σὺν ταῖς ἐφεστῶσι θύραις καὶ κλ(ε)ιδὶ ἐξοδίῳ, and Husson, *op.cit.*, 137. This remains the only parallel. ἐξόδιος, -ον usually has two terminations in classical Greek: for the tendency of such adjectives to have also a fem. form in papyri, see Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* II. *Morphology* (Milan 1981) 108-11.

9 ἐ[ν]: The ν has been accidentally covered by an ink blot, not deliberately erased. Another blot at the end of the line, and the blotting and rewriting of καί at the beginning of 10 suggest that the scribe had dipped his pen again at this point and had too much ink.

10 θύρα⟨ν⟩: Nominative by attraction into the indefinite clause, although grammatically the object of the main verb. This is the door of the courtyard, not that of the house, which can still be secured; see lines 11-3.

13 τοῦ πρ̣.[.]..[| ..]ελθεῖν: For the articular infinitive in the genitive, see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) §§815-35, esp. 835, and cf. *BGU* III 845.17, *W.Chrest.* 21.28-9.

τοῦ πρ̣.[.]..[: Perhaps α after ρ, ο is less likely. No more than two letters have been lost at the beginning of 14. πρᾶγμα διεξελθεῖν vel sim. is likely but the traces are not sufficient to be certain. Alternatively a more neutral πρὸς ἡμᾶς (or ἐμὲ) ἐλθεῖν (or ἀνελθεῖν) is also possible.

15 There is a minute trace of ink at the beginning of the line, but not enough to be sure of a letter.

University of Queensland, Australia

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 153-165

15. RHETORICAL HANDBOOK*

(Peter J. Parsons)

Hancock Museum inv. no. Plate 14 fr. 1: 11.3 cm x 27.3 cm
NEWHM: AREGYPT 522 fr. 2: 5.3 cm x 5.2 cm
II A.D. Oxyrhynchus

This papyrus came to the Hancock Museum in 1924, through its subscription to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. A letter on behalf of the director of the School, Sir Flinders Petrie, dated 26 August 1924, records the dispatch to the Museum of two cases of antiquities. The attached list, headed "Qau and Badari," includes only one papyrus, with the description "Oxyrhyncus [sic] Papyrus (Ptol.)." The special note of provenance shows that the piece did not come from this excavation; it may be one of those acquired earlier by Petrie during his campaign at Oxyrhynchus, 16 Feb.- 10 April, 1922. Petrie notes (*Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos* [London 1925] 1): "many papyri were purchased from the diggers and dealers; a few were retained for publication by Professor Hunt, the bulk were sent to Washington University, St Louis, and others to Ann Arbor University, Michigan." In fact, Washington University received several hundred fragments "in return for contributions" to the costs of excavation (*P.Wash.Univ.* I, p. ii). It may well be that the Hancock Museum was given this papyrus on the same basis, since it contributed to the excavation fund, for the first time, in 1923/4, to the tune of £10 10s. 6d (*British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Report of the XXXth Year* [1924] 11), and £6 2s 6d in the following year.

Two fragments survive. The larger, with remains of two columns, preserves a top margin of c. 2 cm and an intercolumnium of c. 2 cm, with lines of c. 24 letters (written width c. 7 cm) and at least 58 lines to the column (written height at least 25.5 cm). A sheet-join can be seen, 2 cm from the left-hand margin of col. i. The smaller fragment, fr. 2, is broken on three sides; to the right a margin of c. 2 cm survives. The backs are blank.

Only one roll in Johnson's material has more lines to the column (W.A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* [Diss. Yale 1992] 308); the actual height too is at the upper end of the range. A space-saving format for a bulky textbook?

The script is roughly bilinear; φ and ψ project well above and below the notional parallels, but ρ is curtailed. This bilinearity is emphasised by heavy and consistent ornament: uprights end in full or half serifs (the half-serifs may point either left or right); similarly on the left leg of λ, and at the top left of ι, κ and φ, and the top right of ν. Shading is not consistent, but sometimes noticeable, e.g. in the contrast between the thin rising oblique of κ and its thicker descending strokes. Notable letter forms are: A normally in the pointed shape (three movements), occasionally with rounded bow (two movements); B with

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* The papyrus published below belongs to the Hancock Museum, Barras Bridge, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; the Museum and its collections are owned by the Natural History Society of Northumbria. I am grateful to the Senior Curator of the Museum, Mr Alec Coles, and to the Keeper of Biology, Dr L. Jessop, for allowing the original to be moved to Oxford for study and for permitting its publication here. David Thomas first introduced me to this papyrus: I hope he will enjoy the results.

triangular lower loop, the base made separately and projecting on either side; E often with the upper curve (made separately) touching the cross-bar, sometimes leaning asymmetrically to the left; M in three movements (?), with the bow curved and almost touching the base-line; Π with its top extending to left and right of the verticals; C with its cap made separately, often flattened, the whole sometimes leaning asymmetrically to the left; Y sometimes in two movements (the left hand oblique and short stem in one), sometimes almost v-shaped (one movement or two?); Φ with the bowl in two movements, generally a flattened oval (but angular in fr. 1 i 12).

The hand may be compared with that of *P.Oxy.* L 3532 (Menander), assigned by Turner to the second century (more formal, alpha in the capital shape). Objectively datable parallels include *P.Oxy.* VIII 1090 (Hesiod), on the verso of a mathematical text whose cursive Hunt dated to the second century (G. Cavallo, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 36 [1967] 212 & pl. i); and *P.Oxy.* V 841 (Pindar, *Paeans*), second hand (Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands* [Oxford 1955] pl. 14), on the back of a document (*P.Oxy.* VI 984) compiled in 91/2 (*P.Oxy. Census*). This sort of script represents a coarser form of the "Roman Uncial"; *P.Ryl.* III 482, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1084 and *P.Oxy.* V 844 (Cavallo, *op.cit.*, pls. 3-4), assigned to the earlier second century, are comparable in various ways. Here the backward-leaning letters, and the closed-top ε, give an archaic touch: compare the more elegant *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3317, assigned to the second century. Cavallo once assigned the Polybius *P.Ryl.* I 60 + P.Berol 9570 to a date c. 50 A.D. on similar grounds (*op.cit.*, 212-3); but other, more substantial features point to c. 200 (E.G. Turner and P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. BICS Suppl. 46 [London 1987[2]] 38 n. 1; Parsons, *Gnomon* 42 [1970] 379), which Cavallo later accepted (*Scriptorium* 26 [1972] 73 n. 10). For the Hancock papyrus, a date in the second century, and perhaps the first half, seems likely.

Paragraphos was written below fr. 1 ii 33, 57, but apparently no other punctuation or lectional signs. The scribe writes ληπτ- in fr. 1 ii 54, but λημπ-, λημψ- in fr. 1 i 33, ii 22 (in both cases μ carries a sign like an acute accent, perhaps intended as a deletion mark), and οὐκ ἥκιστα without aspiration at fr. 1 i 26 and 28 (dittograph of 26): the second certainly an odd feature in what looks otherwise like a very professional copy. Unmarked elision in fr. 1 i 10; otherwise *scriptio plena* (i 4, 14, 24, 26; at clause end fr. 2.4?). Iota adscript omitted at the one place where it was certainly required, fr. 2.7 τω. There are no signs of a corrector except in fr. 1 i 28, where some one has crossed out a dittograph with hasty horizontal strokes.

The content certainly refers to rhetoric. Fr. 1 i 31-4 list the four *staseis* attributed to Hermagoras (and there may be other traces of *stasis*-terminology in col. ii); 1-12 rehearse an argument about *topoi* and *gene*; despite obscurities of detail, what survives would allow the assumption that the central debate concerns the merits of *staseis* rather than *topoi* as the basis of invention. The opinions of others are quoted (fr. 1 i 6, 15, 35); in particular, Theophrastus is invoked as evidence for one or other side of the argument (fr. 1 i 12ff), apparently in summary and not as direct quotation. Here (13-5) and later (23-5) the author summarises systematically the progress of a cited argument ("he says … then he turns to …"); but the general style suggests that the work as a whole was not itself a commentary on a text, but a treatise which made its way by citing and explicating authorities. The author seems to allow himself elegant hyperbata (fr. 1 i 13ff), but hiatus within clauses (fr. 1 i 2) and at clause-end (fr. 1 i 12).

In this technical material, I owe much to the advice of friends: at the beginning, to Doreen Innes and Donald Russell; later, to Malcolm Heath and Tobias Reinhardt. In the notes, some separable suggestions and arguments are attributed to them by name. But my debt to their advice and expertise is much wider; in particular, the view given above of the general drift derives from invaluable discussion with Dr Heath and Dr Reinhardt.

fr. 1

	col. i		col. ii
	top		
	] αυτοcεπειδανπερι̣των . [		
	] φαλαιωνειπωειcεκαcτ . [		
	] αυτωναφορμαcπαραδιδω[		
4	] πολλαα̣ντιcεγκαλεcαcαιτια [		
	] cαιτομηκεφαλαιαπαραδιδον [		
	] τατινωνδεφαcιμνημονευε̣ . . [		
	] τωνεκθεμενωντουcτοπουc [		
8	] . υγαροcοιδιειλονειcτατρια [		. . .
	] γενητονλογονκαιτουc̣το [	]	. . [
	] πουcουτωcεξεθεντοουδα [	]	. . [
	] κολουθειπαντωcκαιτουτοι̣c		
12	. .] . η̣ναιογουνθεοφραcτοc		vestiges
	. . .] . ωνκ̣οινωνειπωντο		
	. . . . .] . α̣επιτουcπεριαιρε		
	. . . . .] . βαcιδ̣ιουcφηcιδυ		. . . [
16	. . . . .]ενκαιτουτουc . . .		. . [. .] . [
	. . . . .] . ναγεcθαιλε . [ ] .		. . . [
	. . . . .]α̣ρμ̣οζοντα . [ ] .		
	. . . . .]ωνμι̣μνηc . [ ]		vestiges
20	. . . . .] . υνειπε[]νοι̣c [ ]		
	. . . . .]ν̣εγκαλειικα . . [ ] .		ειc̣α . [
	. . . . .] . ηcδιαιρεc . ω . . οι		λημ΄ψι̣[
	. . . . .] . ειπωνδ̣ε̣προcτ̣ουc		μενοταν̣[
24	. . . . .]α̣α̣ρκειν̣ε̣πιτουc	24	αντεχητα[
	. . . . .]αcμεταβαινειταc		ωcαδ̣ικημ[
	. . . . .]οιcουκ̣ηκιcταα̣υ		θεcιν . ε . [
	. . . . .] . ν̣ταιφαμενονοι		ετε̣ρανα̣ . [
28	. . . . .] . cε̄ . [[ο̣ιcουκ̣ηκιcτα]]	28	δεαcπαλιν[
	. . . . .] . cε̣[ ]ουληθηcανκαι		κλημακα . [
	. . . . .]υcπαραδουναιτο		μεταcτ̣α̣[
	. . . . .] . α̣cαν . ι̣ναικ̣ατα		νικον . [
32	. . . . .] . η̣νοριcτικηνκα	32	αξιονc̣[
	. . . . .]η̣κ̣ο̣cμεταλημ΄πτι		<u>και</u>ετιτ̣[
	. . . . .]ν̣τεcοιτα^c^cτα		οδετω[
	. . . .] . cεφαcαν		δ̣ων . [
36	. . . . .] . co . [ ]υ̣τα	36	θειcιν̣α̣[
	] . . [ ] . [		ουνουτ̣[
	. . . .		πονφα[

γαρφη . [
40 μ̣εμν̣ . . [
μ̣ατικη̣[
cταcιν̣ . [
cθαιτο̣ . [
44 εχειν̣ . [
ειγ̣ειν̣οι[
γματοc . [
γη̣μενο̣[
48 ειμ̣ηγα̣ . [
τιμ̣ω . . [
ποcοτη[
ταυτα̣ . . [
52 μεν . [
cκοπο̣ . [
ταληπτ[
ρ̣ε̣τ̣ . . . . [
56 δυνα̣ . [
λοιcκ̣[
. .] . [
. . .

fr. 2

. . . .
]ητ . [. .] . γ̣ου . . . [ ] [
]δε̣ . . ω̣ . . ι [
] . ν̣α̣ι̣ . ο̣γ̣ο̣υ̣και [
4] . τ̣α̣ειδ̣ . δ̣ι̣η̣ν̣ε̣γ̣ [
] . cματ̣α̣καιτο [
] . cει̣ . . . ο̣μεν [
] . πιτωμηδιεc [
8]ωcειc̣ . []υ̣τον [
]ο̣ι̣cμενωνπλει [
] . . . . ειτω̣ . ανω [
]μ̣ατ̣ . ν̣[
. . . .

Fr. 1, col. i

1 .[, top of upright with serif projecting to the left 2 .[, trace on edge at mid-height, perhaps another above to left (this may continue the cross-bar of τ, but stands higher than expected) 8 .υ, upper and lower elements of ο or possibly ϲ 13].., short horizontal at line-level (serif?) 14]., high thin horizontal; further ink lower down to right belongs to α following or not? 15]., oblique descending from left to right, i.e. back of α or the like 16 ..., top curve as of ϲ, but perhaps trace of cross-bar at left, i.e. ε; parts of long thin high horizontal; extended horizontal at line-end (τ rather than ϲ?) 17]., foot of oblique descending from left to right; .[, upright, damage to right 18 .[, left-hand curve;]., extended horizontal at line-end (ε rather than ϲ?) 19 .[, point of ink on the edge level with letter-tops 20]., upright; .[, upright, thin horizontal crossing top and extending to the right (γ? π?) 21 ..[, trace, then upright topped by horizontal: ιγ or ιπ? or together τ?]., trace descending from left to right, upright (ν?) 22]., right hand end of high horizontal; ϲ., confused traces; ..οι, lower arc; short horizontal at line-level (serif?), dot above 23]., trace on displaced fibres 27]., right-hand curve? 28 .ϲε̣., horizontal stroke above ε; then perhaps top of oblique descending from left to right, more ink touching it below 29]ϲε̣, horizontal, sloping slightly downwards, at mid-height, joining ϲ; of ε̣ the back and beginning of the cross-bar, perhaps θ? 31]., right-hand curve occupying lower half of line (bowl of φ?); ν., upper arc and ink on edge below, ε or ϲ 32]., horizontal trace at line-level 33]., upright, thin horizontal above touching upright to right at two-thirds height: η? τι? 35]., trace on edge level with letter-tops 36]., top of upright? .[, left-hand end of high horizontal (π, τ?), or prominent serif 37]..[, top of upright, then high rising ink to right (together κ?)

Fr. 1, col. ii

9 ...[, apex and right-hand side of triangular letter (α, δ, λ); second, remains of upright or left-hand arc with medial cross-bar (e.g. η, ε) 10 ..[, first, upright with high horizontal crossing at top (π, τ?) 11-20 surface scoured; vestigial traces 26 .ε., oblique descending from left to right; left-hand curve as of ϲ 27 .[, point at line-level (unless it continues the tail of α) 29 .[, apparently horizontal ink at line-level, unexplained discolouration higher to left 31 .[, left-hand end of high horizontal 35 .[, long high horizontal 39 .[, left-hand curve, ο or ϲ 40 ..[, feet of two uprights (?), then foot of oblique rising to right? 42 .[, upright, ink at mid-height to right (κ?) 43 .[, upright, ink at two-thirds height to right 44 .[, space before; upright, perhaps horizontal crossing top (π, τ) 46 .[, back and top of ο rather than ϲ 48 .[, ink touching the tip of the tail of α 49 ..[, first suggests uprights of ν, but above an arc like the top of a narrow ο (correction?); then foot of oblique rising from left to right 51 ..[, upright; more ink to right, level with letter-tops 52 .[, base and cross-bar of ε or θ 53 .[, foot of upright 55 ...., first, top and back as of ο, ϲ; second, point on line; third, point on line below high horizontal ink sloping down gently to right

Fr. 2

1 .[, lower left quadrant of oval; possibly more ink to right on edge;]., foot of upright with serif to left? or lower right quadrant of rounded letter? ...[, ε or perhaps θ, then upright descending from the cross-bar (i.e. ει in ligature, as at the end of 9?), then dot on edge at mid-height 2 ε̣.., foot of oblique descending from left to right; foot of oblique rising from left to right, gap, short horizontal trace at line-level; ω.., possibly remnants of ν? second, large α with tail curving sharply upwards? or two letters, second lower arc? 3]., upright; ι̣., δ with damaged base or λ with its left leg heavily serifed 4]., horizontal traces at top and foot (ϲ? κ?); .δ̣, left-hand arc of circle; of δ only the long base 5]., horizontal trace at line-level, touching ϲ 6]., point on edge at three-quarters height; ι̣..., first, λ rather than μ; second, part of left-hand arc? third, serifed foot, above to right high horizontal joining ο (γ, τ?) 7]., ink on edge at top and base level 8 ϲ., left-hand end of high horizontal (τ, perhaps π) 10]...., first perhaps upper and lower elements of ϲ; second and third perhaps point at line-level, then low curving stroke joining remains of α; then upright (ι); τω., foot of oblique descending from left to right (ν?) 11 τ̣, lower arc of circle (ε, ο?)

fr. 1

	col. i		col. ii
	top		
	αὐτὸς ἐπειδὰν περὶ τῶν κ̣[ε-]		
	φαλαίων εἴπω εἰς ἕκαστο̣[ν]		
	αὐτῶν ἀφορμὰς παραδιδω[		
4	πολλὰ ἄν τις ἐγκαλέσας αἰτιά-		
	σαιτο μὴ κεφάλαια παραδιδόν-		
	τα. τίνων δέ φασι μνημονεύε̣.[		
	τῶν ἐκθεμένων τοὺς τόπους;		
8	οὐ γὰρ ὅσοι διεῖλον εἰς τὰ τρία		. . .
	γένη τὸν λόγον καὶ τοὺς τό-	]	..[
	πους οὕτως ἐξέθεντο οὐδ' ἀ-	]	..[
	κολουθεῖ πάντως καὶ τούτοις		
12	..]̣ηναι· ὁ γοῦν Θεόφραστος		vestiges
	...]̣ων κ̣οινῶν εἰπὼν το-		
	.....]̣α ἐπὶ τοὺς περιαιρε-		
	.....]̣βας ἰδίους φησι δυ-		...[
16	.....]εν καὶ τούτους ...		..[..]̣.[
	.....]̣ναγεσθαι λε̣.[....		...[
	.....]αρμοζοντα̣.[...].		
	.....]ων μιμνησ̣.[....		vestiges
20	.....]̣υνειπε[]νοις̣.[....		
	.....]ν ἐγκαλεῖ κα̣..[...].		εισα̣.[
	.....]τ̣ης διαιρέσεως̣ .οι		λημψι[
	.....]̣.ειπων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς		μενοταν[
24	.....]α ἀρκεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς	24	αντεχητα[
	.....]ας μεταβαίνει τὰς		ωσαδικημ[
	.....]οις οὐκ ἥκιστα αυ		θεσιν .ε̣.[
	.....]̣.νται φαμενονοι		ετερανα̣.[
28	.....]̣.σε̣.[οισουκ̣ηκιστα]	28	δεασπαλιν[
	.....]̣.σε[̣.]ουληθησανκαι		κλημακα̣.[
	.....]υς παραδοῦναι το		μεταστα[
	.....]̣.ασανεῖναι κατα-		νικον̣.[
32	στοχαστι]κ̣ὴν ὁριστικὴν κα-	32	αξιονς[
	τὰ συμβεβ]ηκὸς μεταλημπτι-		<u>και</u>ετιτ[
	κήν .....]ντες οἱ τὰς στά-		οδετω[
	....]̣.σεφασαν		δων̣.[
36	....]̣.σο̣.[ ]υτα	36	θεισινα[
	]..[ ].[		ουνουτ[
	. . . .		πονφα[

γαρφη . [
40 μεμν . . [
ματικη[
cταcιν . [
cθαιτο . [
44 εχειν . [
ειγειvοι[
γματοc . [
γημενο[
48 ειμηγα . [
τιμω . . [
ποcοτη[
ταυτα . . [
52 μεν . [
cκοπο . [
ταληπτ[
ρετ . . . . [
56 δυνα . [
λοιcκ[
. .] . [
. . .

fr. 2

. . . .
]ητ . [. .] . γου . . . [ ] [
]δε . . ω . . ι [
] . ναι . ογουκαι [
4] . ταειδ . διηνεγ [
] . cματακαιτο [
] . cει . . . ομεν [
] . πιτωμηδιεc [
8]ωcειc . []υτον [
]οιcμενωνπλει [
] . . . . ειτω . ανω [
]ματ . ν[
. . . .

Fr. 1 col. i.

1ff Even this relatively complete section throws up substantial difficulties:

(i) The detailed reconstruction falters at several points. How to restore the end of 3? Could 4 begin in asyndeton, or must 1-3 belong to the same sentence? In 6, is φαcί the main verb, or parenthetical, and how is the end to be read? Is the sentence 8ff. a statement or a question? What is the meaning of οὕτωc 10? How long do the views of Theophrastus continue after 12? How much of all this represents the author's view, how much the cited arguments of others?

(ii) The technical terms used do not give a clear guide to the overall meaning. 1-10 concern themselves with *kephalaia* and with the exposition of *topoi*. 13-5 deal (if the restorations are right) with *koinoi* and *idioi* (*topoi*), as discussed by Theophrastus. 31-4 list the four Hermagorean *staseis*.

We could combine these terms as part of a single argument about *staseis*: each *stasis* divides into *kephalaia* (e.g. Hermog. *de stat.* 1.8-9; Apsin. *Ars Rhet.* 9.1 quoted below); each *kephalaion* consists of *topoi* (Apsin.); some *topoi* are common to all *staseis*, some peculiar to an individual *stasis* (Anon. Segue. §169 quoted below). Other ambiguous elements could be brought in: 14f περὶ αἱρε[τῶν? (subdivision of the *stasis* κατὰ cυμβεβηκόc, cf 32-3); 22 διαιρέcεωc (εἰc τὰ κεφάλαια, Hermog. *l.c.*); ii 30 μεταcτα̣[(μετάcταcιc, another subdivision of κατὰ cυμβεβηκόc); 42 (-)cταcιν; 54 με?]ταληπτ[(*stasis*, cf i 33) etc. That leaves ἀφορμάc i 4: since these look to be subdivisions of each *kephalaion*, it would be tidy to take them as an equivalent of *topoi* (τόποc ἀφορμὴ ἐπιχειρήματοc κτλ, Alex. Numeniu ap. Anon. Segue. §169; Alex. Aphr. cited as Theophr. fr. 122B).

Alternatively, we could recognise a contrast between two different systems of invention: by τόποι and by cτάcειc. This analysis would give a larger structure to the dispute which is evidently in progress. Dr Reinhardt, whose suggestion it is, notes that the contrast may be implied in Theophrastus fr. 673 Fortenbaugh; and occurs commonly in Cicero (e.g. *de Or.* 2.99-184).

Any view of the general argument has to accommodate the short-term argument in 1-12. There are two particular difficulties here: (a) 4-6 apparently say "... one would greatly accuse and blame him (me?) because (if) he (I) did not transmit *kephalaia*." In 1-3 the question seems to concern transmitting *aphormai* for each of the *kephalaia*; unless this is a quotation, the author speaks emphatically in his own person, and that encourages the idea that it is also the author who would be blamed in 4-6. I am tempted to see the thread as "If I myself say that I transmit material for each *kephalaion* separately, one would blame me if I did not transmit *kephalaia* (at all)": this has some likeness with Marcellinus below, though the need to understand "at all" is a little discouraging. Then the point might be:"I, using *staseis*, organise the material by general heads (*kephalaia*) and detailed materials (*aphormai*) under each head; yet those who work with *topoi* (equivalent to *aphormai*) have no equivalent of the *kephalaia* which they would blame me for omitting." (b) 8ff introduces the further idea of τρία γένη. Assuming that these are the traditional divisions of oratory (forensic, deliberative, demonstrative), and assuming that οὕτωc means "according to this triple division" rather than "in the way described above," the question of organising *topoi* under each *genos* must somehow advance the issue. Perhaps the point is that *staseis* are (or may be) common to all three *gene*: at least, Hermagoras is normally thought to have organised his *staseis* in a single block, irrespective of *genos*; among later authors, *ad Herennium* divides its *status*-material by *genus*, whereas *de Inventione* divides only the parts concerned with *confirmatio* and *reprehensio*, and includes the rest in a common section; Quintilian too divides by *genus*, except for an initial section (3.6)

on *status* in general. If this question is central, then we might guess that the author cites Theophrastus as one who accepted the τρία γένη but offered a scheme of *topoi* which crosses or transcends them.

(iii) If this is the outline, how did the argument progress in detail? There is a dispute between the author and others (6 φαcι). "They" have apparently cited in their support certain authors who have expounded τόποι; it is questioned whether all those who divided the argument (τὸν λόγον: or does it mean "speech-making"?) into three γένη also expounded τόποι in this way (οὕτωc, i.e. in accordance with the three-fold division? or in the way previously described?); the author (or his opponents?) cites as confirmation the views of Theophrastus on κοινοί and perhaps also ἴδιοι, sc. τόποι (apparently in summary, not by quotation). It is not clear how long the reference to Theophrastus continues. In 32-3 we have mention of four *staseis*, the third named κα[τὰ cυμβεβ]ηκόc, a term which Quintilian attributes specifically to Hermagoras, the fourth μετάληψιc, an invention of Hermagoras according to most authorities (Heath). Heath and Reinhardt both observe that, if Theophrastus had anticipated the Hermagorean *staseis*, our authorities would have made the point. That suggests that, somewhere between (say) 19 and 31, the summary of Theophrastus ceased; it may be another authority who is being summarised in 25—Hermagoras himself, or a follower?

(iv) What kind of work was this? The author argues against "them." Is he defending his own procedure? or the procedure of some other authority? By and large, the remains read to me like a coherent treatise rather than like a commentary; but there are similarities with a passage cited by Donald Russell from Marcellinus' exposition of Hermogenes, *de statibus* 1.2 (Walz 4.67.8ff): Ἐζήτηcάν τινεc, τί δήποτε περὶ διαιρέcεωc ἐπαγγειλάμενοc κεφαλαίων εἰπεῖν, ἐμνήcθη νῦν τῆc εὑρέcεωc, καὶ λέγομεν, ὅτι ἀντέπιπτεν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' οὐ μόνα τὰ κεφάλαια λέγειc ἐκτὸc τῶν νοημάτων· ἔcτι δὲ ταῦτα τῆc εὑρέcεωc· διὰ τοῦτο ἠναγκάcθη εἰπεῖν· ἔcτι δ' ὁ αὐτόc· εἰπὼν γὰρ τοῦτο τὴν πρὸc τὰ κεφάλαια κοινωνίαν τῆc εὑρέcεωc ἐδήλωcεν. Εἰ δέ τιc εἴποι καὶ διὰ τί ὅλωc ἐχρήcατο ἐνθυμήμαcι, λέγομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὅρον ἑκάcτου κεφαλαίου δοῦναι ..... φηcὶν οὖν αὐτόc· ὅτι οὐ περὶ εὑρέcεωc λέγω, ἀλλὰ περὶ κεφαλαίων· οὐ δυνάμενοc δ' ὅρον ἑκάcτου δοῦναι ἐνθυμηματικῶc αὐτὰ παραδιδοὺc δείκνυμι μετὰ τῶν κεφαλαίων τὴν εὕρεcιν κτλ. Certainly the author argues to a text and about the order of treatment there: i 23-5 εἰπών ... μεταβαίνει, just as (probably) εἰπών ... μεταβάc in 13-5.

1ff κεφάλαια: Apsines, *Ars Rhet.* 9.1 Dilts-Kennedy (Spengel, I 380.18-22) περὶ μὲν τῶν cτάcεων καὶ τῶν ἑκάcτῃ ἐμπιπτόντων κεφαλαίων ἱκανῶc τοῖc πρὸ ἡμῶν λέλεκται, νυνὶ δὲ ἴδωμεν αὐτὰ [τὰ κεφάλαια] τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν κεφαλαίων, ἐκ ποίων τόπων cύγκειται καὶ κατὰ ποίαc καταcκευὰc [... τόπων τὰc cυcτάcειc λαμβάνει καὶ τὰc καταcκευὰc καὶ πῶc cod. B] cυνίcταται. καὶ πρῶτόν γε περὶ τῶν τελικῶν εἴπωμεν. ἔcτι δὲ ταῦτα, νόμιμον, δίκαιον, cυμφέρον, ἔνδοξον, δυνατόν ...

3 ἀφορμή: common enough as "subject matter" in general, eg Lucian, *Rh. Pr.* 18 [II 325 M], the audience suggests ὑποθέcειc καὶ ἀφορμάc to the rhetor, Men. Rh. p. 334.4 RW; Schmid, *Atticismus* IV 141. Technically, "material for the argument," treated in Thrasymachus, ἀφορμαὶ ῥητορικαί (Suda s.v. = Thras. B IX 1 Radermacher = 85 A 1 DK) and Lollianus περὶ ἀφορμῶν ῥητορικῶν (<Marcellini?> *Prol. in Hermog. de Statibus* p. 293.1 Rabe). See Longinus, *Ars Rhet.* 553 W (Spengel I 300) (beginning lost; presumably περὶ εὑρέcεωc): under ἡ τῶν πιθανῶν ἰδέα, arguments from place, time, what a character was carrying or wearing; τὸ δὲ κεῖcθαι cχῆμα μὲν δηλοῖ, ῥᾴδιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου cυλλέγειν ἀφορμὰc τῶν λόγων κτλ.

1ff There are two basic difficulties here:

(i) Restoration. (a) 3 παραδιδω[. To judge from the following lines, there would be room for one more letter; but one cannot exclude the possibility that the scribe wrote more than one letter very small

to get them in. (Ideally he would do this only when the rules of syllable division required either a short line or a crowded one.) This allows: δίδωμι, -ωϲ, -ωϲι; all forms of διδῶ(ι) subj. (active and middle). Given εἴπω, this verb is most likely to be first person singular? (b) 6 μνημονευε . . [. After ε, the ink would suit an upright; after that, the space would allow another letter, or none, and the quite uncertain traces on the uncertainly placed scrap to the right may not be ink at all. One possibility is μνημονεύε̣ι̣[ν (-ειν̣), "Who are these people they say they recall as having expounded the *topoi*?" But that seems very awkwardly phrased. Alternatively, we could take φαϲι as parenthetic and write μνημονεύε̣ι̣ (or -ει̣[ϲ, -ειϲ̣), "Who, they say, are the expounders of *topoi* that he recalls (you recall)?" ("He" would be the authority whose views our author defends.) But in that case it would be natural to take οὐ γὰρ ... as their argument, not as the author's; and in that case ὁ γοῦν too belongs to them, so that we are landed with a long quoted sequence. (I have considered whether οὐ γὰρ ... ἐξέθεντο, as statement or as question, represents their view, to which the author replies with οὐδ' ἀκολουθεῖ κτλ. Yet οὐδ' does not seem strong enough to introduce a rebuttal.)

(ii) Syntax. If we exclude an asyndeton at the beginning of 4 (and the repetition of παραδιδ- favours a continuous argument?), we have somehow to construct 1-3 as a subordinate clause. I have considered two possible approaches:

(a) Simple conditional: ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ] αὐτόϲ ... παραδίδω[μι or ἐὰν μὴ] αὐτόϲ ... παραδιδῶ... (b) Conditional quoting direct speech: εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴποι] αὐτόϲ, "ἐπειδὰν ... παραδίδω[μι" or εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἴποι] "αὐτὸϲ ἐπειδὰν κτλ." But in neither case do I see clearly the precise point of the argument.

8-9 τρία γένη: Presumably *tria genera causarum* (Lausberg §61), not *tria genera loquendi* (Lausberg §1078; in any case the normal Greek term seems to be χαρακτήρ or perhaps ἰδέα). The Aristotelian division of rhetoric into three types, i.e. forensic, deliberative, demonstrative (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1358ᵃ6 τρία εἴδη; 1358ᵇ7 τρία γένη) was widely accepted later (see Hinks, *CQ* 30 [1936] 170-6), but not universally: Quint. 3.4.1, *sed tria an plura sint ambigitur. nec dubie prope omnes utique summae apud antiquos auctoritatis scriptores Aristotelen secuti ... hac partitione contenti fuerunt. verum et tum leviter est temptatum, cum apud Graecos quosdam tum apud Ciceronem in libris de Oratore, et nunc maximo temporum nostrorum auctore prope inpulsum, ut non modo plura haec genera, sed paene innumerabilia videantur*. It has been inferred from Quint. 3.7.1 that Theophrastus accepted it, and our papyrus seems to confirm that (it is therefore cited by Fortenbaugh in app. crit. to Theophr. fr. 671).

10f ἀκολουθεῖ . . . καὶ τούτοιϲ: What is the subject of the verb, and does the dative depend on it or on the apparent infinitive following? "He follows" might describe the position of a quoted authority, but then I do not see what to do with -ηναι. "It follows" could express a whole variety of causal and logical relations (e.g. Theophr. *HP* 1.10.10.6: τὸ δ' ὑγρὸν ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τούτοιϲ, fr. 100B Fortenbaugh: οὐκ ἀδύνατόν τι ἀκολουθήϲει); since there is no space for a noun, I assume that -ηναι functions as subject. If so, I would have expected the article before the infinitive (Aristotle, *Cat.* 14ᵃ31 ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἓν εἶναι).

12ff The line-beginnings are lost. The dots printed in the transcripts represent as usual an approximate count of average letters. The diplomatic transcript assumes a vertical left margin. But in the reconstructed text I have assumed that the supplements in 32-3 are correct, and they suggest that as often the column inclined progressively further to the left (in accordance with Maas' law), an assumption recommended by the perceptible batter of 1-11; the estimate of missing letters allows for this. On the other hand, col. ii seems to be sloping in its middle, vertical in its lower part, so that it may be dangerous to extrapolate a single continuous inclination.

The citation of Theophrastus looks like a summary (15 μετ]α̣βάc) rather than a quotation; it is not clear where it ends, but presumably before 31, where we meet the Hermagorean staseis. No title is given, but the topic could have occurred in a number of Theophrastus' attested rhetorical writings (fr. 666), especially in a section, or work, on *inventio* (frr. 672-80).

12 . .] . ηναι: η is damaged, but apparently secure (not ει). Before that ink at mid-height, followed by the top of an upright which would suit η, ι, ν: ν looks most likely, though the former trace does not fully suit the diagonal. In that case perhaps φα]ν̣ῆναι, "... nor does it follow at all (without exceptions?) that they too took this view." This leaves no room for an article with the infinitive.

13 Space allows περὶ] τ̣ῶν κοινῶν εἰπὼν τόι[πων κ̣ᾷτ]α ἐπὶ τοὺc περιαιρει[. . . . .]α̣βὰc .... But κοινῶν could stand on its own. If what follows is rightly read, there is no clear space for a noun to τούc: understand τόπουc? It is not clear whether ἰδίουc belongs with τούc (a second hyperbaton), or represents a predicate.

After τούc, περιαιρει- or περὶ αἱρει-; the cross-bar of ε is greatly extended, which shows that it ends the line. Then, in 15, μετ]α̣βάc (for which see 25 below) seems likeliest, though κατ]α̣- and ἀν]α̣- could be considered.

If this was one word, we could consider περιαιρει[τούc or περιαιρει[θένταc (the second certainly and the first probably too long for the space); if two words, περὶ αἵρει[cιν or περὶ αἱρέι[ceωc (the second perhaps too long)? None of these makes obvious sense. D.A. Russell doubtfully suggested περὶ αἱρε[τέα, and in fact the context would support a variant of this, περὶ αἱρει[τῶν (a little long for the space, but possible). περὶ αἱρετῶν καὶ φευκτῶν (as e.g. Diog. Laert. 10.30; Syrianus 4.507.6: ἔcτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆc ἐκβάceωc, ὅτ' ἂν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματοc ἑπόμενα ἵca ὄντα ἐπιδεικνύωμεν. Τὰ δὲ ἑπόμενα τὴν τῶν αἱρετῶν ἢ φευκτῶν ἔχει φύcιν·) corresponds to *de adpetendis et fugiendis*, which Quintilian uses to describe the first division of Hermocrates' *stasis* κατὰ cυμβεβηκόc, see 32-3.

For this contrast of κοινοί and ἴδιοι τόποι, compare Anon. Segue. §§169-71 (p. 46 Dilts-Kennedy) (D.A. Russell): Τόποc μὲν οὖν ἐcτιν, ὡc Ἀλέξανδρόc φηcιν, ἀφορμὴ ἐπιχειρήματοc ἢ ἀφορμὴ πίcτεωc [εἰ], ὅθεν ἄν τιc ὁρμώμενοc ἐπιχείρημα εὕροι· τῶν δὲ τόπων ἔνιοι μέν, ὡc ὁ Νεοκλῆc φηcι, κοινούc τιναc [κοινῶc τινα cod.] κατὰ παcῶν τῶν cτάceων εὑρήκαcιν [εἰρή- cod.]· οἱ δὲ ἰδίουc [-ῶc cod.] ἑκάcτηc cτάceωc, Ἀριcτοτέληc δὲ (*Rhet.* 1.3, 2.22-23) καὶ κοινοὺc καὶ ἰδίουc τοὺc μὲν πλείcτουc εὕρηκε [Volkmann: εὕαδεν cod.: εὗρεν Sp., εὖ διεῖλε Seg.], περὶ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων διαλέγεται cυμφωνῶν καὶ αὐτὸc Εὐδήμῳ τῷ ἀκαδημαϊκῷ. εἰcὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ τόποι οἵδε· ὅροc, διαίρεcιc, παράθεcιc, cυcτοιχία, περιοχή, ὅμοιον, παρεπόμενον, μάχη, δύναμιc, κρίcιc. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, φηcίν, οἱ γενικώτατοι τόποι. ἀρκτέον δὲ ἤδη περὶ ἑκάcτου λέγειν.

Note the central issue of dividing *topoi* under separate *staseis*. But in the Latin tradition we find other uses of the distinction: *ad Her.* 2.9 *proprii* to the defense or to the prosecution, *communes* usable by either in different cases; Cic., *Top.* 97 *proprii* to particular parts of the speech; cf *Or.* 126, *de Or.* 3.106 (so-called *loci communes* need to be *proprii* to each individual case). [Hermogenes], περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητοc 29 (445.18ff Rabe) discusses how κοινὰ διανοήματα can be made ἴδια.

15 Probably the line ends with δυ; if another letter had followed, there should be more ink visible.

15-16 Perhaps δυι[νατοὺc μ]ὲν καὶ τούτουc, then e.g. ε̣ι̣c̣ (after ἀνάγεcθαι, see 17 note?). The final trace of 16 suits the extended cross-bar of ε or perhaps c.

17 Perhaps ἀνάγεcθαι, commonly used of referring items back to a larger category (e.g. Anon. Segue. §135 (p. 36 Dilts-Kennedy): τὰ μὲν κεφάλαια πολλά, ... εἰc ἓν δὲ ... ἀνάγεται; Sop. Sch. ad Hermog. 5.79.20: πᾶν πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ μίαν cτάcιν ἀνάγεται, 5.188.7: διὰ τὸ καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέραc ἀνάγεcθαι

ϲτάϲειϲ). Quint. 3.6.2: (status) *caput ad quod referantur omnia.* At the end possibly λέγ̣[ει (λέγ[ων, λέγ[ουϲι).

18 (-)αρμόζονταϲ possible. Aphth., *Prog.* 7 (II p. 32 Sp.) κοινόϲ ... τόποϲ ... ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινῇ πᾶϲιν ἁρμόττειν τοῖϲ μεταϲχοῦϲι τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματοϲ.

20 νῦν (not ϲυν-) εἰπε[ῖ]ν οἷϲ ... ἐγκαλεῖ καὶ̣ ...?

22 διαιρέϲεωϲ: For διαίρεϲιϲ as a τόποϲ, see Anon. Segue. §171 above; for διαίρεϲιϲ of ϲτάϲειϲ, e.g. Hermog. *de Statibus* 3.17ff (p. 43 Rabe).

23 εἰπὼν (or compound? the trace before ε very uncertain) δὲ πρὸϲ τ̣οὺϲ |[. . . . . .]α ἀρ̣κεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺϲ |[. . . . . .]αϲ μεταβαίνει τὰϲ | [. . . . . .]οιϲ οὐκ ἥκιϲτα αυ|[. Assuming that τ̣ουϲ (the tau squashed) and αρ̣κειν (not αϲκειν, it seems) are rightly read, was it "Having stated that this suffices in regard to ..., he goes on to ...?" But if we supply ταῦτ]α in 24, not much space remains before it for the noun or adjective after τούϲ (a topic? or a group of people?). In 25, again, we need something to complete ἐπὶ τούϲ: either a very short word at the beginning, or a longer word ending in]αϲ: if the second, a noun like ϲοφιϲτ]άϲ? or a participle? if a participle, did it govern (hyperbaton again) τὰϲ | [? In that case, continue οἷϲ (or ἐν] οἷϲ or the like) οὐκ ἥκιϲτα ---?

26 ουκ clear. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* 145ff (147 n. 7 on ἥττων, ἥκιϲτοϲ) cites sporadic examples from literary MSS. Repeated in 28, so not just a passing lapse.

27]ο̣νται possible. Then (i) φαμέν or (ii) φάμενον. As to (ii), the middle participle does occur in respectable prose from Xenophon on; οι could then be the nominative plural masculine of the article, attached to a noun which (as T. Gagos points out) would conveniently provide a subject for the third person plural verbs in 27 and/or 29. But what then did the participle attach to? (i) might answer ἔφαϲαν (31?, 35), but we have then to explain or divide the sequence ονοι. I do not see what to do with ὂν οἱ. On the other hand, ἐν] οἷϲ οὐκ ἥκιϲτα αὐ|[τοὶ γίν]ο̣νται, φαμέν, ὄνοι sounds implausibly crisp.

28 οιϲουκηκιϲτα repeated and deleted. The letters before,] . ϲε̣ . , were not included in the deletion, but ε̣ has an unexplained horizontal mark above it which may suggest deletion or correction.

29 ἐ[β]ουλήθηϲαν?

30]υ̣ϲ (eg κοινο]ὺϲ) παραδοῦναι το (eg τό|[πουϲ). Cf 3, 5.

31-34 mention *staseis*, on the lines of Quint. 3.6.56: ... *Hermagoras solus quattuor, coniecturam, proprietatem, translationem, qualitatem, quam per accidentia, id est* κατὰ ϲυμβεβηκόϲ, *vocat* .... The list was apparently limited to four (there is no trace of further stasis-terminology in 31 or 34); in 32-3 κα[τὰ ϲυμβεβ]ηκόϲ is likely, and striking, since Quintilian explicitly attests this as Hermagoras' equivalent of ποιότηϲ, and adds that the first element of the *divisio* was *de adpetendis et fugiendis*, cf above 14. Probably we have here the Hermagorean scheme, in the order attested e.g. by Fortunatianus (Hermag. Fr. 12(b) Matthes). All except (necessarily) κατὰ ϲυμβεβηκόϲ take adjectival form; the adjectives may stand alone (supply e.g. τέχνη) or be used with e.g. ζήτηϲιϲ or ὑπόθεϲιϲ, see below.

31 ἔ]φαϲαν εἶναι (the trace suits phi very well), cf 35? or -αϲ ἂν εἶναι.

31-32 We might expect the first of the four *staseis*, elsewhere ϲτοχαϲμόϲ, ϲτοχαϲτική. κατα would make difficulties if taken as an independent preposition, since κα[τὰ ϲυμβεβ]η̣κόϲ follows. Dr Heath solved this problem by proposing κατα[ϲτοχαϲτι]κ̣ήν as one word, a form which appears in Schol. *Il.* 18.497-98 (see his paper in *Mnemosyne* 46 [1993] 356-63).

32-33 ὁριϲμόϲ and μετάληψιϲ are both *staseis*; the adjectives may stand alone (supply e.g. τέχνη) or be used with e.g. ζήτηϲιϲ or ὑπόθεϲιϲ (Apsines, *Ars Rhet.* 5.1, p. 150 DK: ζήτηϲιϲ ϲτοχαϲτικὴ ἢ ὁριϲτική; Syrianus 4.202.19: ἐν γὰρ τῷ, τίϲ ὁ πράξαϲ, ἡ ϲτοχαϲτικὴ ζήτηϲιϲ, ἐν δὲ τῷ τί κληθῆναι ἡ ὁριϲτική, ἐν δὲ τῇ ποιότητι αἱ λοιπαὶ ϲτάϲειϲ).

33 Here and ii 22, λημ΄ so written, with a stroke like an acute accent above the mu. The insertion of μ in such forms (by analogy with λαμβ-) "is paralleled in classical Ionic and widely in the literary and non-literary Koine" (Gignac, *Grammar*, II 269): was the mark intended to delete mu and restore a classical Attic spelling?

34f οἱ τὰς στά[σεις ....ντ]ες ἔφασαν? But I am not sure how to combine this with another possible ἔφασαν in 31, and another apparent participle in 34.

Col. ii

21 e.g. ἀντί]|λημψι[ν.

25f e.g. ἀντί]|θεσιν

28 One possibility is ἰ] | δέας.

28-29 ἔγ]|κλημα? ἀντέγ] |κλημα? Heath

30 μετασ̣τα[σ-: subdivision of κατὰ συμβεβηκός, see Matthes, *Lustrum* 3 (1958) 156ff.

30f συγγνωμο] |νικόν? Heath

40f ἀντεγκλη]ματικη(-)? Heath

41f ἀντί]|σταστιν or μετά]|σταστιν Heath

45 εἰ γείνοι[το?

53f με] |ταληπτ[ικη(-) Heath.

Fr. 2

The right-hand margin survives to c. 2 cm. This shows that the fragment cannot be placed in the missing lower part of fr. 1 col. i. I have considered two other possibilities: (a) It could stand to the top left of fr. 1 col. i. The margin-width would suit, and some of the fibres, if fr. 2.1 ranged with fr. 1 col. i 2-3. But the fibre-matches are not enough to confirm this. (b) It could provide line-ends from fr. 1 col. ii (a direct join is not possible, since the resulting column would be too narrow). But where words are divided over line-ends, I find no plausible overruns between line-ends and line-beginnings, unless indeed with fr. 1 col. ii 9-20, where the traces are too slight to check.

1 γέν]η τ̣ο[ῦ λ]ο̣γου possible.

3 .ογου: At first sight, δ, given the traces at line-level to left and right, which would conveniently represent the long base-line. But I see no likely articulation; and λ̣ too could be considered (the traces then represent a serif on the left foot, and a flattened extension of the right foot to join the following letter). –ναι λ̣όγου και(-)?

4 Perhaps εἰ δὲ̣ διηνεγ |[κ- (not εἴδη).

5]ασματα likely: φ- (φαντ-), πλ-, (προ)γυμν- etc.

6 λ̣ε̣γομεν?

7 ἐ̣πὶ τῷ μὴ διες |[-.

8 εἰς (-εις) τ[ο]ῦτον or τ[α]ὐτόν. The latter might suit the space better, and contrast with e.g. διες[τάναι before.

9 –οις μὲν ὧν, (-)ηθρ]οισμένων.

10 καὶ εἰ τῶν̣ ἄνω?

Christ Church, Oxford

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 167-170

16-18. THREE MUMMY LABELS IN THE KELSEY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

(Terry G. Wilfong)

It is with great pleasure that I offer these brief texts—three Roman period mummy labels—in honor of David Thomas, who has done so much for the study of Roman Egypt. The mummy labels published here were acquired by the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in the Fayum as part of the Askren collection in 1925. Dr. D.L. Askren was an American physician resident in the Fayum who amassed a substantial collection of (mostly Graeco-Roman period) Egyptian antiquities.[1] Francis W. Kelsey purchased this collection of nearly 2000 artifacts for the University of Michigan in 1925 to supplement the material beginning to come to light from the Michigan excavations at Karanis. The Askren collection is particularly rich in Roman period glass and terracottas, but includes a wide variety of artifacts that ultimately came from both domestic and funerary contexts. Although many of the pieces from the Askren collection clearly do come from Fayum sites, others demonstrably do not: a significant portion of the Askren collection seems to have come from Upper Egypt, possibly acquired by Askren in Luxor. The Askren artifacts that came to the Kelsey Museum include five mummy labels; all but one have been exhibited and described in Kelsey Museum exhibition catalogues, but none have previously been published in full.[2]

16

Kelsey Museum inv. 23454	Plate 15a-b	4.3 cm x 13.0 cm x 0.9 cm
Middle II C.E.	incised wood	Thebes?

Rectangular wooden label with the corners of one end squared off and a hole for suspension; the inscription is incised horizontally on both sides along the grain of the wood. This label was described and translated by Peter van Minnen in Marti Lu Allen and T. Keith Dix, *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World* (Ann Arbor 1991) 105-6 (no. 107) and a photograph of the recto published in Terry Wilfong, *Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt: From Prehistory to Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 1997) 53 (no. 53). Based on the form of some of the letters and the presence of the age on the back, Peter van Minnen dated the label to the middle of the second century C.E.

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[1] I would like to thank Robin Meador-Woodruff, Kelsey Museum Registrar, for information about Askren and his collection, in addition to her help with photography and study of these labels; photographs published courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

[2] In addition to the three labels published here, two others (Kelsey Museum inv. 23452 and 23453, both Demotic) were described by Ursula Kaplony-Heckel in Marti Lu Allen and T. Keith Dix, *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World* (Ann Arbor 1991) (nos. 106 and 105 respectively, pp. 104-5) and are currently being edited for publication by Alexandra O'Brien.

recto
Εὐcέβεια
Ἱέρακοc

verso
ἐβίωcεν
4 (ἐτῶν) ιη

4 Lιη=

Eusebeia, daughter of Hierax. She lived 18 years.

Εὐcέβεια (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 114; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum*, 115) is a relatively uncommon name; most attestations are Byzantine in date, although it is known as early as the second century C.E.

Ἱέραξ (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 147), by contrast, is extremely common. Although the Demotic "falcon" names tend to be localized in the south (see discussion of no. 18 below), Ἱέραξ is found throughout Egypt, and over a wide chronological range.

17

Kelsey Museum inv. 1999.3.1	Plate 15c	11.4 cm x 5.2 cm x 0.5 cm
II-III C.E?	carved wood	Thebes?

A wooden label of the tabula ansata type with one rounded ear at the top, pierced for suspension, with inscription incised against the grain of the wood on one side. Quaegebeur[3] notes that labels of this shape are typically Theban. This label is previously unpublished.

Μαξίμα

Maxima

The woman's name Μαξίμα (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 205, Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum*, 187) is not particularly common, but is attested in a number of instances from the second to the sixth centuries C.E.

[3] Jan Quaegebeur, "Mummy Labels: An Orientation," in E. Boswinkel and P. W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues*. Pap.Lugd.Bat. 19 (Leiden 1978) 232-59 at 236.

18

Kelsey Museum inv. 4972 Plate 15d-e 7.0 cm x 4.8 cm x 1.0 cm
II C.E. ink on limestone Upper Egypt

A limestone label of Quaegebeur's "stela" type (*op.cit.*, 235), roughly rectangular and pierced twice at the top, on which a Demotic inscription in ink has been written on one side, and an image of the god Osiris drawn on the other. A facsimile of the drawing on this label was published in Janet E. Richards and Terry G. Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity—Modern Goals, Ancient Intentions: Egyptian Funerary Artifacts in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology* (Ann Arbor 1995) 49 (no. VIII.5), but the text itself is unpublished. Palaeographically, the label is clearly Roman, probably second century C.E.

recto
Wsjr
Wrš(e) sꜣ
Pꜣ-ʿḫm-pꜣ-šr-tḥwty

verso
[drawing of Osiris wearing the atef crown and holding crook and flail]

Osiris Wershe, son of Paachempashertehuty

Wrš(e) (*Demotisches Namenbuch* = *DNB* 121, cf. Greek ʼΟρϲεῦϲ); name meaning "sentry, guard;" the form in this text is most closely paralleled by Roman period examples (although without the determinative, but see writing 1 of the name Wrš-n-tꜣ-wgše, *ibid.*). Published Roman period Demotic examples of this name mostly come from Philae.

Pꜣ-ʿḫm-pꜣ-šr-tḥwty (*DNB* 170; no known Greek equivalent); name attested from the Roman period meaning "the falcon, the son of Thoth." Both Pꜣ-ʿḫm and Pꜣ-šr-tḥwty are frequently attested separately (*DNB* 165-7 and 274-5 respectively), with many instances and variations in the mummy labels from Petrie's Dendera excavations republished in Günther Vittmann, "Die Mumienschilder in Petries Dendereh," *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 153-68. The compound name Pꜣ-ʿḫm-pꜣ-šr-tḥwty is attested in only one other instance, on a Roman period stela also from the Petrie excavations at Dendera. Names compounded with Pꜣ-ʿḫm are discussed in references cited in *DNB* 167. Pꜣ-ʿḫm, of course, is Παχοῦμιϲ in Greek and ⲡⲁⲭⲱⲙ or ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ in Coptic, and is particularly common in Upper Egypt; this makes a southern provenance likely for this piece, despite the circumstances of its acquisition. Note the comment on the Demotic label Kelsey Museum inv. 23452 for one Tꜣ-šrt-pꜣ-ʿḫm, daughter of Pꜣ-šr-tḥwty, in Allen and Dix, *op.cit.*, 105, where it is suggested to be the label for an Upper Egyptian who migrated to the Fayum. It is, however, much more likely that both the present example and Kelsey Museum inv. 23452 were acquired by Askren in Upper Egypt (most probably in Luxor) and brought by him back to his Fayum residence, where they were then acquired by Kelsey. The fact that the genitive n in the second part of the name (pꜣ-šr-(n)-tḥwty) is not written out shows that the label must date to before the third century (Quaegebeur, *op.cit.*, 241), so the second century date suggested by the handwriting is made all the more likely.

Mummy labels with drawings of funerary gods are well-known (Quaegebeur, *op.cit.*, 240); see examples in, e.g., Vittmann, *op.cit.*, nos. 10, 41, 56 (drawings all on recto with inscription) and a label from the Medinet Habu excavations (see *BASP* 31 [1995] 163 [no. 4] and pl. 11: drawing on verso separate from inscription). Although there is no exact parallel among the mummy labels to the present drawing, its cursive style is similar to the drawings on other examples (and to images in contemporary funerary papyri).

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 171-174

19. CLAUDIUS LUCILIANUS, PRÉFET D'AILE ET DE BÉRÉNICE

(Hélène Cuvigny)

I.Did. inv. 940 Plate 23 13 cm x 29 cm x ca. 5 cm
Vers 190p Didymoi

La campagne de décembre 1999-janvier 2000 à Didymoi[1] a livré plusieurs inscriptions, dont l'une, enregistrée sous le numéro d'inventaire 940, livre le nom mutilé d'un nouveau préfet de Bérénice. Seul le cognomen subsiste. Pour sa lecture, on pourrait hésiter entre Κα]ι̣κιλιαν[-- et Λο]υ̣κιλιαν[--, mais un examen attentif de la gravure impose la deuxième option: de la lettre qui précède le *kappa*, on n'aperçoit que le bas de la haste et ce trait est trop éloigné du *kappa* pour que nous ayons affaire à un *iota* (les *iota* de notre inscription sont serrés contre les lettres voisines); on distingue aussi dans certaines lumières une courbure orientée vers la gauche, qui est le départ de la branche gauche de l'*upsilon*.

Une recherche dans la DDBDP livre une seule attestation du cognomen Lucilianus (d'ailleurs rare d'une façon générale) dans les papyrus; elle se trouve dans *P.Bas.* 2.7, contrat daté de 190, par lequel deux chameliers de Soknopaiou Nèsos s'engagent à convoyer trois chameaux réquisitionnés (?): ὁμολο[γοῦμε]ν παρειληφ[έ]ναι παρ' ὑμῶν καμήλους ἀπο[. . . . . ὑπὸ το]ῦ κρατίστου ἐπάρχου Κλαυδίου Λουκιλλιανοῦ κτλ. (l. 6-8).

Claudius Lucilianus a longtemps figuré dans les listes de préfets d'Égypte, mais G. Bastianini, dans les *addenda et corrigenda* qu'il publie en 1980, fait suivre son nom d'un point d'interrogation, en raison de réticences exprimées *per litt.* par J.D. Thomas[2]: outre la teneur du papyrus, le prédicat honorifique du préfet d'Égypte aurait dû être, à cette époque, non pas κράτιστος, mais λαμπρότατος et, par ailleurs, lorsque κράτιστος s'applique au préfet d'Égypte, il qualifie le titre ἡγεμών et non pas ἔπαρχος. Bastianini en conclut: "Forse, Claudius Lucilianus è un praefectus militare. La questione richiede approfondimento ulteriore." Par la suite, il placera carrément Claudius Lucilianus dans la liste des préfets "éliminés," avec la mention "forse un prefetto di tipo militare."[3] L'inscription de Didymoi a de grandes chances de régler la question.

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[1] Le *praesidium* de Didymoi (aujourd'hui Khashm al-Minayh) se trouve sur la route romaine de Koptos à Bérénice. C'est la Didymè de l'*Itinéraire Antonin*. Il a fait l'objet, de 1997 à 1999, de trois campagnes de fouilles financées par le ministère français des Affaires étrangères et par l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. On trouvera des rapports préliminaires sur ces campagnes à l'adresse: www.igl.ku.dk/~bulow/praesidia.html

[2] G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30a al 299p. Aggiunte e correzioni," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 84 et n. 5.

[3] G. Bastianini. "Il prefetto d'Egitto (30 a.C.-297 d.C.): addenda (1973-1985)," *ANRW* II.10.1 (1988) 516.

Plaque de grès. 27 x 29 x ép. *c.* 5 cm. Haut. moy. des lettres: 2 cm. US 12011. Trouvé parmi les gravats dans une couche de destruction de la pièce 120 (pièce dans l'angle nord-ouest du *praesidium*, immédiatement voisine de la chapelle). Vers 190ᵖ (d'après *P.Bas.* 2).

— — — — — — —
]̣ [
Λο]υ̣κιλιαν̣[1-2]
[ἐπάρχου ὄρ]ουϲ καὶ εἴληϲ Ἡ̣[ρα-]
4 [κλιανῆϲ Ἰ]ούλιοϲ Κλήμηϲ
[κουράτωρ] πραιϲιδίου ἔκτι- *vac.*
[ϲε ϲὺν τ]οῖϲ ϲὺν αὐτῶι ϲτρατι-
[ώταιϲ εὐ]χαριϲτίαϲ χάριν ἐπ[1-2]
8 [*c.* 6 Ἀμ]μώνιοϲ Μέλα̣ [̣ ̣]
[*c.* 8]ανόϲ *vac.* (ἔτουϲ ?) (̣)[*c.* 7]
[*c.* 8]ου̣ Καίϲ̣[αροϲ
]̣ ι *vac.* ̣[

2-3 Le nom du préfet était probablement au génitif et introduit par ἐπί ("sous…"); ainsi en est-il dans l'inscription grecque de l'autel de Yarhibol récemment trouvé à Bérénice:[4] ἐπὶ Αἰμιλίου Κέλεροϲ ἐπάρχου ὄρουϲ Βερενείκηϲ καὶ εἴληϲ Ἡρακλιανῆϲ. Selon moi en effet, la reconnaissance de la ligne 7 ne s'adresse pas au préfet (en ce cas, l'inscription serait la dédicace de sa statue, ce qui est très improbable dans le contexte de notre petite garnison), mais à une divinité: c'est d'ailleurs toujours le cas avec l'expression εὐχαριϲτίαϲ χάριν en Égypte.

3 Après εἴληϲ, bas d'une haste verticale, qui conviendrait bien à un *èta*. Deux autres préfets de Bérénice au moins ont été également préfets de l'*ala Herculiana*, venue de Palmyre à Koptos entre 183 et 185: non seulement Aemilius Celer, mais aussi un homme dont le cognomen, grec, se terminait en -νίαϲ et qui apparaît en *O.Did.* inv. 733 (probablement postérieur à 212: le *curator* auteur de cette lettre est un Aurelius). Le seul autre préfet de Bérénice ayant la préfecture d'une autre aile que l'*Herculiana* est Caesellius (non daté), qui signe sur le colosse de Memnon: praefectus Gallorum al[ae], praefectus item Ber[, cette formulation insolite s'expliquant par des contraintes métriques (*I.Memnon* 14).

4 D'autres soldats de l'armée romaine d'Égypte se sont appelés Iulius Clemens (dont un à Maximianon, *O.Max.* inv. 253); c'est une combinaison banale.

5 κουράτωρ plus probablement qu'un accusatif complément d'objet de ἔκτιϲε ("a construit le … du *praesidium*").

7-8 ἐπ[: On peut hésiter entre ἐπ[ʼἀ|γαθῷ et ἐπ[οἰήϲεν ou ἐπ[οἰήϲαν. Jusqu'à présent, la séquence εὐχαριϲτίαϲ χάριν ἐπ'ἀγαθῷ n'apparaissait en Égypte qu'à Philae, à l'époque impériale avancée: *I.Philae* 174 (200ᵖ); *I.Philae* 184 (II-IIIᵖ); *I.Philae* 271; *I.ThSy.* 328 (Philae, 186ᵖ: cf. Bingen, *Cd'É* 65 (1990) 159); *I.ThSy.* 330 (Philae, IIIᵖ); dans tous ces cas, la reconnaissance s'adresse à une divinité. On retrouve à présent cette séquence dans une autre dédicace de Didymoi, provenant aussi de la chapelle et dont le *terminus post quem* est le règne de Caracalla (*I.Did.* inéd. inv. 958). Ἐπ[οίηϲεν/ϲαν aurait

[4] A. Verhoogt dans: S.E. Sidebotham, W.Z. Wendrich, *Berenike 1997* (Leiden 1999) 207-9.

l'avantage de justifier l'apparition des anthroponymes au nominatif *in fine* et signifierait "a/ont fait" (l'objet qu'a fait élever le *curator* ?); notons néanmoins que ce verbe, dans les inscriptions grecques, est *presque toujours* précédé par son sujet.

8 La lettre après Μέλα pourrait être c (cf. le *sigma* à courbe serrée de -τίαc à la ligne précédente), ou plutôt, selon Jean Bingen qui me suggère cette solution, φ, un *phi* dont il semble, sous un certain éclairage, qu'on voit le sommet de la haste rejoignant le premier jambage du *pi* à la ligne précédente. Ammônios (fils de Melas ?) était apparemment nommé avec un ou plusieurs compagnons. Il s'agit sans doute des soldats (ou d'une partie d'entre eux) qui ont assisté le *curator*.

9 (ἔτου ?). On pourrait distinguer un vestige du sigle L et peut-être même aussi sous certains éclairages un éclat dans l'arête du bord brisé qui serait le haut du *kappa* qu'on attend dans le quantième de l'année régnale. Ensuite, une titulature brève de Commode (Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδ]ου Καίc[αροc τοῦ κυρίου; je ne me prononce pas sur l'emplacement exact des sauts de lignes.

10]̣ι: Spontanément, on lit]ο̣ι mais *thèta* au lieu de *omicron* est possible au besoin. Φαρμοῦ]θι λ̣[?

Les probabilités sont donc fortes pour que le Λο]υ̣κιλιαν̣[de notre inscription et le Claudius Lucilianus du *P.Bas.* 2 soient une seule et même personne: à la relative rareté du cognomen Lucilianus s'ajoute la présence du prédicat honorifique κράτιcτοc qui, comme le soulignait J.D. Thomas, ne convenait pas pour un ἔπαρχοc Αἰγύπτου. De plus, les cas égyptiens où ἔπαρχοc reçoit l'épithète κράτιcτοc ne sont pas nombreux et, sur cinq, il s'agit trois fois expressément du préfet de Bérénice: *P.Aberd.* 149.3 (II-IIIp); *P.Turner* 34.2 (216p), *O.Krok.* inéd. inv. 693.57 (109p). Les deux autres attestations sont *P.Col.* VI 123.48 (200p), où c'est un *praefectus castrorum*, et, finalement, *P.Bas.* 2.

On songe alors à restituer ἐν τῷ Κοπτεί]τῃ νομῷ en *P.Bas.* 2.9, dont les lignes 8-9 sont ainsi publiées: ἄρ[ρεναc τρεῖc οὔc κ]αὶ ἀποκαταcτήcωμεν καὶ παραιδώcω[μεν ἐν τῷ . . . . .]τῃ νομῷ κτλ. Les chameaux réquisitionnés iraient travailler dans le désert de Bérénice, à l'instar de leur confrère de *P.Lond.* II 328 (p. 75) qui a été emprunté à son maître en 163 εἰc κυριακὰc χρείαc τῶν ἀπὸ Βερνείκηc γεινο(μένων) πορ⟨ε⟩ιῶν. Le propriétaire de cet animal est un villageois de Soknopaiou Nèsos; c'est aussi de ce village que sont originaires les deux chameliers chargés de convoyer les trois chameaux du *P.Bas.* 2 (le document ne dit rien de leurs propriétaires).[5] Néanmoins, l'étendue de la lacune telle que l'a estimée l'éditeur, Rabel, est trop longue pour la restitution Κοπτεί, ce que confirme l'examen de la photo.

L'hypothèse selon laquelle les chameliers s'engageraient à conduire les chameaux dans le nome Koptite rend problématique, en outre, la restitution du participe en lacune à la ligne 7, qui fait difficulté pour des raisons déjà exposées par Rabel:[6] le sens paraît imposer "réquisitionner" (solution à laquelle Rabel se rallie en définitive), mais on ne voit pas quel verbe pourrait convenir, le préverbe entier ἀπο-

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[5] Soknopaiou Nèsos, village coincé entre le lac Moeris et le désert, n'avait quasiment pas de terre agricole, si bien que ses habitants se sont spécialisés dans d'autres activités que le travail de la terre, en particulier l'élevage des chameaux: la plupart des actes de ventes de chameaux, de déclarations de chameaux et d'attestations de la taxe sur les chameaux proviennent de ce village (D. Hobson, "Agricultural Land and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos," *BASP* 21 (1984) 89-109).

[6] Introd., pp. 12-13 et *comm. ad l.* 7.

suggérant au contraire des verbes signifiant "renvoyer."[7] J'ajouterai que l'autorité qui ordonne les réquisitions des chameaux (comme d'ailleurs toutes les réquisitions militaires) est toujours le préfet d'Égypte, ce que n'est pas (n'est plus) Claudius Lucilianus; ainsi par exemple, dans le recueil de correspondance envoyée *P.Flor*. II 278, l'officier anonyme qui ordonne aux stratèges de lui fournir des chameaux rappelle que ceux-ci ont été commandés par le préfet d'Égypte[8].

Je pense par conséquent que les trois chameaux de *P.Bas*. 2 ont bien été *renvoyés* pour une raison quelconque par le préfet de Bérénice Claudius Lucilianus et que, au lieu de les rendre simplement à leur propriétaire,[9] on leur a trouvé une autre affectation. Si le préfet d'Égypte ordonnait la réquisition, ce sont en effet les officiers bénéficiaires qui inspectaient les bêtes qui leur étaient amenées;[10] on a même le cas d'un animal renvoyé en *W.Chr*. 245.21-22: τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν κάμηλον εἷς (l. ἕνα) ἀποβληθέντα[11] φανέντα ἀνεπιτήδειον, "le chameau restant, renvoyé parce qu'il s'est avéré impropre au service…"

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[7] Rabel pense à ἀπο[βληθέντας; ἀπο[λυθέντας ("congédiés, libérés," cf. *P.Oxy*. LVII 3912.16) conviendrait encore mieux pour l'étendue disponible.

[8] κατεπείγοντος τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς πορείας ἣν εὐτυχῶς ἄγειν μέλλω ἐξαυτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐνκέλευσιν τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος καμήλους οὓς προσέταξεν ἄρρενας καὶ ῥωμαλέους δυναμένους ταῖς πορείαις ὑπηρετεῖν. Signalons encore. *P.Col*. X 288 (330P), déclaration de chameaux dans laquelle est mentionné un édit du préfet d'Égypte Flavius Hyginus ordoonnant la réquisition du cinquième des bêtes de chagne propriétaire (je remercie Roger Bagnall pur cette référence).

[9] Il n'est en effet pas possible de comprendre ἀποκαταστήσωμεν καὶ παραδώσω[μεν comme "nous les restituerons (à leurs propriétaires)," car c'est l'expression consacrée pour "remettre une fourniture à l'État."

[10] *P.Flor*. II 278 r° ii.17, iii.21, iv.5.

[11] C'est la lecture de Krebs dans l'*ed. princeps* (*BGU* I 266: exactement ἀποβληθέντ[α]); Wilcken l'a corrigé en ἀποκληθέντα, correction qu'il ne présente pas comme une certitude paléographique ("scheint mir eher ἀποκληθέντα dazustehen") et qui n'est guère satisfaisante pour le sens; de plus, contrairement à ἀποβάλλειν, ἀποκαλεῖν est à peu près absent du corpus papyrologique. Preisigke avait déjà confirmé la lecture initiale de Krebs (*P.Bas*. 2.7n.).

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 175-185

20. A NEW *AGNITIO BONORUM POSSESSIONIS*

(Traianos Gagos and Paul Heilporn)

P.Mich. inv. 1946 Plate 16 15.5 cm x 14.3 cm
269-270 A.D.[1] Oxyrhynchus

The papyrus was bought, under unknown circumstances, in 1924.[2] Its most obvious particularity is that it is made of two sheets of papyrus, each of different size and quality, glued together. This unusual feature may be explained by the different stages of composition of the text (see below). On the left, some twenty to thirty letters of the first column—written on a darker and wider papyrus—are missing. The second sheet, lighter and longer, is broken at the top and damaged at the beginning of lines 2-10 as well as at the very end of most lines.

The first column of text is a Latin petition submitted in September 269 by Aurelius Thonis, of Oxyrhynchus, to the prefect of Egypt, concerning an inheritance from his deceased sister, Aurelia Saraheus.[3] The petitioner acts not only in his name, but also on behalf of his two half-brothers, Aurelius Thonis (II) and Aurelius Theoninos alias Petronius, perhaps because these are still minors or are absent. Their sister has died childless and intestate, and Aurelius Thonis requests that the three of them be allowed to come into possession of her property (*bonorum possessio*, or in Greek, διακατοχὴ ὑπαρχόντων). The document contains no description of the property and is silent on how Saraheus came to possess it; she may have inherited it from her parents or from a husband deceased before her or perhaps even as a result of a divorce.[4]

The Latin petition is written in a fast, chancery hand (col. I 1-7). It is followed by a subscription in Greek (col. I 8-11), not written by Aurelius Thonis himself, as he was illiterate, but by Aurelius Dioskoros; this second hand presents similarities with the flow and shape of the Latin, but due to the

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[1] All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated.

[2] The papyrus belongs to a very mixed lot which was bought through the cartel led at the time by the British Museum and includes many small fragments from the Roman period, but also many late texts from the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes. See also *P.Mich.* XVIII 795, footnote 2.

[3] We follow the Latin version of the text for the spelling of this name (see note to col. I 5).

[4] On the channels of female inheritance, see D. Hobson, "Women as Property Owners in Roman Egypt," *TAPA* 113 (1983) 311-21; *Ead.*, "The Role of Women in the Economic Life of Roman Egypt: A Case Study from First Century Tebtunis," *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 28 (1984) 373-90, and J. Rowlandson, "Sales of Land in their Social Context," *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico 1981) 371-8. But contrast T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, "Documenting the Rural Economy of Egypt: Three Byzantine Papyri from Alabastrine," *JRA* 5 (1992) 186-8. Interestingly enough, in our papyrus the female is becoming one of the channels through whom the male members of the family do in fact inherit. As Hobson has shown (see above, 1983, p. 319), "the proportion of women transmitting property among the extant documents, which is about one-third of the total, is in itself roughly comparable to the proportion of female property owners we were able to identify at Socnopaiou Nesos ..." Hobson's figures of course could change, because, as our document reminds us, many men and women could die intestate.

change of alphabet, it is uncertain whether both parts were written by the same man. The petition was certainly submitted in two (or three) copies to the prefect,[5] who must have added his signature of approval to one of them which was then retained as a record in his office. On the copy which has survived to us, a member of his staff copied his subscription, with a reference to the location of the original in the prefect's records (col. I 11, in a third hand), and returned it to Aurelius Thonis. The latter, then, had the Latin text (and its Greek subscription!) translated into Greek on a second sheet, which was glued to the first one (col. II 1-29). The hand responsible for this is a fast, small cursive; unfortunately, this scribe did not sign his translation. The presence of another subscription in the name of Aurelius Thonis (col. II 26-9, in a less experienced hand) shows that he took one last step, that of requesting that the local authorities—probably the property registrars in the nome capital (βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων)—have the property transferred—as approved by the prefect—and officially registered in his name;[6] he included the Latin petition and its Greek translation in the document he submitted to them: the main text of this request must have been written on a sheet of papyrus, now lost, which was probably glued to the left of the Latin petition, while its subscription alone survives below the translation.

The following table summarizes the different steps taken by Aurelius Thonis:

before or on Sept. 26, 269[7]	Thonis submits the Latin petition, with Greek subscription
on or after Sept. 26, 269	The prefect endorses the petition; a copy is returned to Thonis
at the latest in Sept./Oct. 270	Thonis has the petition and the prefect's endorsement translated into Greek
in Sept./Oct. 270	The whole document is submitted to the local authorities

There are few parallels for such a composite document, so that a brief survey of the evidence might be in order here. As a matter of fact, only two papyri have preserved, like P.Mich. inv. 1946, such a Latin petition, with its Greek subscription and the copy of the prefect's approval, as well as the Greek translation of the petition and of the approval note:

•*Ch.L.A.* XI 486 (= *P.bibl.univ.Giss.* inv. 40 = *SB* I 1010): a petition from an Antinoite boy (with his father as guardian) to inherit from his Oxyrhynchite mother, written on Sept. 14, 249, and submitted to the administration, if not endorsed by the prefect, on the next day[8] (a copy of the Greek translation has been preserved separately: *P.Iand.* inv. 253 = *SB* VI 9298).

•*Ch.L.A.* IV 233 (= *P.Oxy.* IX 1201): petition to inherit from a father; provenance unknown, Sept. 24, 258 (the date both of the original petition and the one written by the prefect's administration under the former one).

Further parallels include:

•*Ch.L.A.* XXVIII 865 (= *P.Ryl.* IV 610 + *P.Daris* inv. 200 = *SB* XVIII 13610; see also *Ch.L.A.* IV 247, with the corrigenda): fragmentary Latin petition, with its Greek subscription, followed by a copy of

[5] For the description of this process, see for instance *Ch.L.A.* XI, p. 28, with further references.

[6] For this, see the parallels discussed further in the introduction, such as *P.Oxy.* XIX 2231 and *P.Amh.* II 72.

[7] On the significance of this date, see note to col. I 11.

[8] See note to col. I 11.

the prefect's approval and by a list of seven(?) witnesses,[9] to which the text of the petition seems to have referred.[10] Apart from the supplementary element of the seven witnesses, the purpose of which is uncertain—witnesses of the death certificate?—, the structure of this papyrus could have been similar to that of the documents mentioned above. The petition, of unknown provenance, was made, through an ἐπίτροποϲ, to inherit from a woman—the mother of the petitioner?—, and was received by the administration probably on Apr. 20, 223.

•*P.Oxy.* XLIII 3108, dated ca. 240: only the beginning of the Greek translation of a petition, entitled ἀντίγρ(αφον) ταβέλληϲ διακ̣α̣[τοχῆϲ; the petitioner, who wants to inherit from his father, is a villager from Ision Tryphonis, in the Oxyrhynchite.

•*PSI* X 1101,[11] copy (ἀ(ντίγραφον)) of the Greek translation of a petition addressed to the prefect, in 271, by a *decurio* of Oxyrhynchus, asking to be allowed to inherit from a woman, perhaps his mother; this, as far as we know, is the only *agnitio bonorum possessionis* to refer to the will of a deceased person.

•*P.Oxy.* I 35, a fragment which ends (ll. 6-13) with the beginning of a Greek translation of a Latin certified copy, dated in 223, of a petition to the prefect, but the papyrus breaks off before the petition itself starts; however, its object is shown by the title given to it in l. 5, which is probably to be read [ἑρμηνεία τῆϲ] δ̣ι̣α̣κ̣[ατ]ο̣χῆϲ ὑπαρχόντων.[12] This was appended to a document, of which only a Greek subscription survives (ll. 1-3, with the verb ἐπιδέδωκα); as it was followed by a translation of a certified copy of the petition, rather than by a translation of the petition itself (as in our text and its closest parallels), this document can hardly have been the Latin original of the text translated, as submitted to the prefect, but rather an application for registration of the inheritance, addressed to the local authorities.[13]

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[9] In l. 10 of *P.Ryl.* IV 610, *exemplum ṭestationis*, suggested by R. Marichal in *Ch.L.A.* IV 247, seems unlikely: the letter before *a* is rather an *r*, and the line seems to be just above the lower margin of the papyrus, leaving no place for the copy of the supposed *testatio*; moreover, the names in ll. 8-9 of the same fragment are clearly those of witnesses, and one expects them, in a Latin document, to be seven in number. Therefore we would read here *] . crationis*, the ending of a cognomen which belonged to the seventh witness and which could have been e.g. *Harp]ocrationis*.

[10] The mention of seven witnesses at the end of the document seems to support the reading *testati* in l. 6 of *P.Daris* inv. 200, suggested by R. Marichal in *Ch.L.A.* XXVIII 865.

[11] Republished by M. Amelotti, *Il testamento romano attraverso la prassi documentale* (Florence 1966) 273, no. 14 (and p. 60).

[12] Cf. already A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter roemischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart 1915) 145; U. Wilcken, "Zu den Kaiserreskripten," *Hermes* 55 (1920) 32-4 (cf. *BL* I, 311). U. Wilcken, without having the opportunity to check the papyrus, suggested [ἑρμηνεία τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν· πε⟨ρὶ δια⟩κατ]ο̣χῆϲ ὑπαρχόντων, for the editors' [ca. 21] . . . . [. . .]ο̣χηϲ ὑπαρχόντων. However, the expression ἑρμηνεία τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν is never followed by the title of the text translated, and such a long supplement is not necessary if one assumes that the scribe tried to center the title on the papyrus. Our colleague T.M. Hickey, whom we thank warmly for checking the reading of this line on the original at the University of Pennsylvania, confirmed that the reading δ̣ι̣α̣κ̣[ατ]ο̣χῆϲ was indeed possible, though "the traces are minimal to the left of the omikron," with the α being the only letter more or less certain; there are no traces of what preceded this word.

[13] Therefore, we do not consider it necessary to supplement, as suggested by U. Wilcken, a short l. 4 containing the prefect's endorsement in the space between the subscription of ll. 1-3 and the title of l. 5.

Agnitiones bonorum possessionis are also referred simply as διακατοχαί in various contemporary texts;[14] among these, two or three requests for registration of inheritance offer a parallel for the last step taken by Aurelius Thonis in P.Mich. inv. 1946, as well as for the reconstruction suggested just above for *P.Oxy.* I 35:

•*P.Oxy.* XIX 2231, presented in 241 to the βιβλιοφύλακες of Oxyrhynchus by a woman who is the legal heir of her own daughter; the text was submitted with two copies (now lost) of the *agnitio* sent to the *dux* Domitius Philippus, then acting as prefect of Egypt;

•*P.Amh.* II 72, addressed in 246 to the deputy-strategos of the Hermopolite nome by a woman who has written a διακατοχή to the prefect and declares to be the legal heir of her paternal uncle, who left a property valued at no less than 3 talents—this is the only attestation of this legal act in a papyrus for which any link with the Oxyrhynchite nome seems excluded;

•*P.Oxf.* 7, of unknown provenance, starts with the conclusion of a request for the registration of an inheritance (ll. 1-4) and refers to an *agnitio* (ll. 2-3: ἀ]ν̣τ̣ίγ̣ρ̣α̣φ̣ον ταύτης τῆς κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη διακ̣α̣- | [τοχῆς). It is followed by a description of the inheritance, a mortgaged house (ll. 5-11), and by the beginning of the copy of another document (ll. 12-7); the latter was taken as the translation of the *agnitio* by the editor, who supplemented [ἑρμηνεί]ας ἀντίγραφον in l. 12. However, its only surviving part is a date given in Greek (ἔτους τετάρτου, followed by the titulatures of the Valerians and Gallienus = 256/7), so that it cannot be a translation of the *agnitio* mentioned in ll. 2-3, but a copy of some other, Greek document proving the rights of the petitioner.

In most, if not all, of the cases illustrated by these petitions and requests, it seems, as M. Amelotti, among others, noticed,[15] that the petitioners would have had the right to inherit through their close family relationship with the deceased, in accordance with the Roman *ius civile*, or through the stipulations of the will of the deceased, as in the case of *PSI* X 1101.[16] From the strict point of view of Roman law, it was simply unnecessary for them to request the *bonorum possessio* from the prefect, who is assuming

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[14] See for instance:

•*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3348.5-6 (official correspondence concerning estates spread in several nomes; ca. 228-231/2?);

•*P.Oxy.* XIV 1725 (after A.D. 229; mentioned in the abstract of a contract concerning some land, probably as source of ownership of the property);

•*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3365 = *P.Coll.Youtie* I 65 (after May 22, 241; mentioned in a registration of a sale of land, as one of the sources from which the property had come into the possession of its former owner);

•*P.Got.* 12 (III/IV; letter of a man to his "brothers," asking them among others to sign the λεγομένην διακατοχήν and send it to him so that he too can sign it).

See also *P.Oxy.* VIII 1114 (= *Ch.L.A.* III 216), a Latin document of 237, by which a citizen of Oxyrhynchus declares to a Roman official in charge of the *vicesima hereditatum* that his daughters have inherited from his wife, who died intestate (ll. 9-11: *pr[o]f[iteor obvenisse fil]iabus me[is] . . . [her]editatem seu bonorum possessionem Aureliae Ap[o]lloniae*, etc.); there is however no mention here of an *agnitio* addressed to the prefect.

[15] M. Amelotti, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 205-6.

[16] As noted already by V. Arangio-Ruiz in the introduction of *F.I.R.A.* III 61 and, more recently, by R. Katzoff, "The Provincial Edict in Egypt," *RHD* 37 (1969), esp. 416-26, there are moreover inaccuracies in the application of the Roman law in most, if not all, of the *agnitiones* preserved on papyrus. Hence, it is possible that the only model known and used in Oxyrhynchus for such petitions was the one using the formula *unde legitimi* (τοῖς νομίμοις κληρονόμοις), since none of the petitions refer to conditions such as *unde liberi* or *secundum tabulas*, even when these are met.

here the praetorian authority. Probably, Aurelius Thonis and the other petitioners, by doing so, hoped to reinforce their position and rights as heirs, with the approval of the public authorities of the province. We can perhaps speculate that the size and value of the property to be inherited was one of the main reasons that led people like Aurelius Thonis to opt for a procedure which forced them to pay for a considerable amount of paperwork, some of which was in Latin. However, as the majority of our evidence comes from the Oxyrhynchite nome, it is not impossible that the local authorities there requested such a document more frequently, while it remained exceptional in other nomes—but this could also be the consequence of the accidents of survival of our evidence, as the third century is the period in which the documentation is most abundant in the Oxyrhynchite, while it drops sharply in the Arsinoite nome.[17]

Chronologically, the appearance of *agnitiones bonorum possessionis* among the Egyptian papyri is clearly a by-product of the concession of Roman citizenship to most of the inhabitants of the province through the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, as our evidence concentrates between 223 and 271. We must note that, given such a short time-span, our evidence is not so small, at least for the Oxyrhynchite nome. The expression (δια)κατοχὴ ὑπαρχόντων appears in at least two documents already in the second century, but only in the jargon of the higher administration, under clear Latin influence.[18] Although one of these texts concerns the inheritance of a man with an Egyptian name, this is not enough to suggest, as R. Taubenschlag once did, that Roman law might have been applied to and by peregrines.[19] Later on, following the evolution already visible in the papyri of the third century, the various types of inheritance will blend, and διακατοχή is used much more loosely, often in combination with κληρονομία and διαδοχή.[20]

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[17] See W. Habermann, "Zur chronologischen Verteilung der papyrologischen Zeugnisse," *ZPE* 122 (1998) 144-60, especially Abb. 3; note also that a large part of the Arsinoite evidence in the third century belongs to the Heroninos archive, in which a document such as an *agnitio bonorum possessionis* would be unexpected.

[18] These documents are:

BGU I 140 = *M.Chr.* 373 (119): letter of Hadrian to the prefect of Egypt, by which he announces his decision to allow illegitimate children of soldiers to ask for the κατ[ο]χὴ[ν] ὑ[πα]ρχόντων from their father;

SB VIII 9862 (148-154): fragmentary letter of a higher official to the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite, concerning an inheritance in a family where the names are clearly Egyptian (the expression used is μένειν ἐν τῇ διακατοχῇ);

Cf. perhaps *P.Giss.* 111 descr. (end of the IInd cent.?), a report of proceedings which seems to concern the inheritance of a Valeria, and where the words]..τῶν διακατεχόντ[ων appear.

[19] See, e.g., his comment in his review of *P.Mich.* VI, *JJP* 1 (1946) 123; in the same vein, see M. Tsoukalas, *Anekdotoi Philologikoi kai Idiotikoi Papyroi*. Bibliotheke tes en Athenais Philekpaideutikes Hetaireias 17 (Athens 1962) 88, no. 4. Against this view, see, e.g., M. Amelotti, *op.cit.* (above, n. 11) 204; R. Katzoff, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16) especially 436-7.

[20] See briefly the remarks by T. Gagos and P. van Minnen in *P.Mich. Aphrod.*, note to lines 40-1; for a fuller discussion, see *P.Münch.* I 1.38n. The change in the meaning of this term is found already in the fourth century: a good example is *P.Mey.* 23.

Col. I[21]

(m.1) [- - - viro perfectissimo prae]f(ecto) Aeg(ypti)
[ab Aurelio Thonio Thonii(?), mat]ris Thaidis, de Oxyryncho
[splendida. Rogo, domi]ne, mihi et fratribus meis
4 [consanguineis Aureliis Thonio et Theo]nino q(ui) e(t) Petronae ex eode(m)
[patre qui supra, matre Hieraciain]e, des b(onorum) p(ossessionem) Aureliae Saraheutis
[sororis nostrae consanguineae sine p]ueris et intestatae defunctae
[ex ea parte edicti qua legitimis heredibus] dari pollicetur. Dat(um)
8 [Claudio et Paterno consulibus.] (m.2?) Αὐρήλιος Θῶνις αἰτοῦμαι τὴν δια-
[κατοχὴν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίοις μο]υ ἀδελφοῖς τῶν τῆς ἀδελφῆς [[μου]]
[ἡμῶν Σαραεῦτος ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορο]ς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ
εἰ[δ]ότος γράμματα.
[(ἔτους) β Θὼθ κθ. Ex edicto; legi.] (m.3) κολ(λήματος) μη τόμ(ου) α.

Col. II

- -

(m.4) [- - - ἀπ' Ὀξυ]-
ρύ[γχ]ων πόλε[ως τῆς λαμπρᾶς.]
ἐ[ρωτ]ῶ, κύριε, ὅπως μο[ι] καὶ τ[οῖς]
4 ἀδ[ελφ]οῖς μου τοῖς κωνσανγυ[ιν-]
αἱ[οις Αὐ]ρηλίοις Θωνίῳ καὶ Θεω[νί-]
ν[ῳ τῷ] καὶ Πετρωνίῳ ἐκ τοῦ [αὐ-]
τ[ῦ καὶ πρ]οκειμένου πατρός, μη-
8 τρ[ὸς Ἱερ]ακιαίνης, δῷς ὑπαρχόν-
τ[ων διακ]ατοχὴν Αὐρηλίας Σ[αρα-]
ε[ῦ]τος ἀδελφῆς ἡμῶν κωσα[ν-]
γυναίας ἀτέκνου καὶ ἀδιαθέτου
12 τελευτησάσης ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ
διατάγματος δι' οὗ τοῖς νομίμ[ο]ι[ς κλη-]
ρονόμοις δοθῆναι ὑπεσκέθη.
ἐδόθη ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
16 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
Πατέρνου ὑπάτοις. Αὐρήλιος
Θῶνις αἰτοῦμαι τὴν διακα[τοχὴν]

[21] The supplements in the Latin text are based mainly on the Greek translation preserved in col. II. The lacuna on the left is ca. 30-35 letters in the Greek subscription of ll. 8-11 and it must have been ca. 20 letters in the Latin text of ll. 1-8, because the letters are substantially larger, but it is difficult to determine in some places which words were abbreviated in the lost part and in what form. Therefore, we have refrained from indicating any abbreviation in the supplements. Note also that the abbreviations in the surviving part are marked in three different ways: with a dot (prae]f. Aeg., l. 1; dat(um), l. 7), with a slash (eode(m), l. 4; b(onorum) p(ossessionem), l. 5), or with a rounded slope above the letter (q(ui) e(t), l. 4).

ἐμ̣αυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίοι̣[ς]
20 μου ἀδελφοῖς τῶν τῆς ἀδελφῆς̣
ἡμῶν Σαραεῦτος ὡς πρόκειται.
Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα. (ἔτους) β
24 Θὼθ $\overline{\text{κθ}}$. ἐκ τοῦ διατάγματος· ἀνέ-
γ̣νων. κολ(λήματος) $\overline{\text{μη}}$, τόμ(ου) $\overline{\text{α}}$.

(m.5) Αὐρήλιος Θῶνις Θώ[νιος ἐπή-]
νε⟨γ⟩κα. Αὐρήλιος Κ̣ο̣π̣[ρῆς ἔγρα-]
28 ψα ὑ̣πὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδό̣[τος γράμ-]
μ̣ατα. (ἔτους) γ [

Col. I 1 praef Aeg 4 q̄ ē eode 5 b' p' 7 dat 10 ὑπερ 12 κο$^{\lambda}$ το$^{\mu}$
Col. II 8-9 ὑπαρχοντ̣[ων 14 ὑπεσ̣κεθη 17 ὑπατοις 22 ὑπερ 25 κο$^{\lambda}$ το$^{\mu}$

Col. I

(Latin) (m.1) [To X, most illustrious] prefect of Egypt, [from Aurelius Thonius son of Thonis(?)], his mother being Thais, from [the illustrious] Oxyrhynchus. I beg you], my lord, to grant to me and my [kindred] brothers, [Aurelii Thonius and Theo]ninus, alias Petronas, from the same, [aforesaid father, their mother being Hieraciaena], possession of the property of Aurelia Saraheus, [our kindred sister], who died childless and intestate, [in accordance with the part of the edict in which] it is promised to be given [to the lawful heirs]. Dated [in the consulship of Claudius and Paternus.

(Greek) (m.2) I, Aurelius Thonis, ask for myself and my kindred] brothers the possession of the property of our sister [Saraheus, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Dioskoros], wrote for him because he does not know letters.

[**(Latin)** In accordance with the edict; I have read it.] **(Greek)** (m.3) Column 48, volume 1.

Col. II

(Greek) (m.4) [To X, most illustrious prefect of Egypt, from Aurelius Thonis son of Thonis(?), his mother being Thais, from the illustrious] city of Oxyrhynchus. I beg you, my lord, to grant to me and my kindred brothers, Aurelii Thonis and Theoninos, alias Petronius, from the same and aforesaid father, their mother being Hieraciaena, possession of the property of Aurelia Saraheus, our kindred sister, who died childless and intestate, in accordance with the part of the edict in which it is promised to the lawful heirs. Dated in the consulship of our lord Claudius Caesar Augustus and of Paternus. I, Aurelius Thonis, ask for myself and my kindred brothers the possession of the property of our sister Saraheus, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Dioskoros, wrote for him because he does not know letters. Year 2, Thoth 29. In accordance with the edict; I have read it. Column 48, volume 1.

(m.5) I, Aurelius Thonis, son of Thonis(?), have presented (this petition). I, Aurelius Kopres, wrote for him because he does not know letters. Year 3, [month date].

Col. I

1 The name of the prefect of Egypt to whom the petition was addressed in Sept. 269 cannot be established securely. It could have been Tenagino Probus, who held the office at least in 270, and might have switched from Numidia to Egypt already some time in 269;[22] one might note, however, that Probus has not yet been attested in the papyri. His immediate predecessor is unknown; the latest prefect attested before him is Iuvenius Genialis, recorded as such in several documents, from March 16 to July 15, 267.

2 For the patronymic, see col. II 26. On the Latin form of the city name, *Oxyrynchus*, see J.D. Thomas, "P. Ryl. IV 654: the Latin Heading," *Cd'É* 73 (1998) 127-8.

4 *Petronae*: interestingly, the Latin text uses the Greek hypocoristic Petronas/Πετρωνᾶς, while the Greek translation transforms this into the regular form, Petronius/Πετρώνιος.

5 The name Σαραεῦς, or *Saraheus* as it is spelled in the Latin petition, is attested in some twenty papyri of the Roman period, all but one being from Oxyrhynchus or concerning people living in the Oxyrhynchite nome;[23] though it was probably of Semitic origin, its relative success in this city makes it likely that it had lost any ethnic connotation.

7 Above the first letter of *dari*, a trace, probably the end of the abbreviation mark of *heredibus*. Although the reading is somewhat uncertain, the Greek ὑπεσκέθη (col. II 14), with no expressed subject, confirms that *pollicetur* is to be taken here as a passive impersonal. In the parallels to our text (see introduction), we find in one case a participial construction involving the verb δίδωμι (with διάταγμα being the subject, but not an openly expressed person),[24] and in two other cases a second person singular of the verb *polliceor* (in Latin) and ὑπισχνέομαι (in Greek).[25] These latter texts have led scholars to the conclusion that the edict referred to was an edict issued by the prefect of Egypt, and in particular the supposed provincial edict that each prefect issued when he took over the administration of the province. However, R. Katzoff and J. Modrzejewski—in his study of documents concerning the tutelage of women—have shown that the διάταγμα-formula is in all likelihood of Roman origin, and that the edict mentioned must be the edict of the urban praetor, as the case is, for instance, in Hadrian's letter on the

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[22] Cf. mainly A.H.M. Jones et al., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I (Cambridge 1971) 740-1, s.v. Probus 8. The latest attestation of Tenagino Probus in his former office (*praeses provinciae Numidiae*) is only dated by the second *tribunicia potestas* of Claudius (Dec. 10, 268 - Dec. 9, 269), so that it is possible that his promotion to Egypt took place some time in the course of 269; before his capture by the Palmyrenes and suicide in 270, he was able to defeat the Marmaritae in Cyrene (*SEG* IX 9, dated under Claudius) and the Palmyrenes in Egypt.

[23] The only exception—assuming that the reading is correct—is *P.Col.* II 1, recto, col. II 12 (Theadelphia, 134/135 A.D.; note that Saraheus appears here as a matronymic); *P.Ant.* III 199, though found in Antinoopolis, must have originated in the Oxyrhynchite nome, as noted by its editor. In *SB* XVIII 13907 = *P.Mich.* inv. 145b.10 (edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn, "List of Canal Workers," *ZPE* 60 [1985] 282-8; Arsinoite nome, 145 A.D.), we read Σαραπο̣ῦ̣τος instead of Σαραε̣ῦ̣τος of the original editor.

[24] *Ch.L.A.* IV 233 (Latin lost; ll. 21-3: ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ | μέρους τοῦ διατάγματος τοῦ τοῖς νομίμοις | κληρονόμοις τ[ὴ]ν̣ διακατοχὴν διδόντος).

[25] *Ch.L.A.* XI 486.6-7: *ex ea parte edicti quae* (scil. *qua*) | *[legi]timis heredib(us) b(onorum) p(ossessionem) daturum te polliceris*; similarly in the Greek translation of this text (*P.Iand.* inv. 253.14-8): ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιφαλ|λαίου τοῦ διατάγματος οὗ τοῖς | νομίμοις κληρονόμοις διακατοχὴν ὑπαρχόντων διδόναι | ὑπίσχῃ; *PSI* X 1101.11-3: ἐξ ἐκε[ίν]ου το[ῦ] μέρου̣ς̣ | τ[οῦ δ]ιατάγματος ἀφ' οὗ τ̣οῖ̣ς̣ ν̣[ομίμο]ι̣ς̣ | κλη[ρο]νόμοις διδ̣ό̣ναι ς̣ε̣ ὑπέσχ[ου] αὐ̣τ̣[ήν].

succession of soldiers by their illegitimate children.[26] Our text supports this view and confirms negatively that we must not place too much weight for the interpretation of the formula on the second person singular that appears in the two other *agnitiones*.

8 There would hardly be enough space to add the month and day at the beginning of this line, before the names of the consuls: this would presuppose a lacuna of ca. 27 letters which is not possible (see above, n. 21). Note that the date is absent in the Greek translation in col. II and it might have been omitted altogether in the Latin version too.[27]

11 (and col. II 24): As noted by J.D. Thomas,[28] it is uncertain whether the date which appears just before the prefect's subscription (col. I [11] = col. II 23-4) gives the day on which the prefect endorsed the petition, or the day on which his administration received it. Relevant to this is also the problem of the exact meaning of the fixed phrase *ex edicto*/ἐκ τοῦ διατάγματος in the prefect's subscriptions to *agnitiones bonorum possessionis*, which could mean either that the facts alleged corresponded to the requirements of the edict, or that the facts, after investigation, did indeed meet these requirements, or that the expression simply forms the alleged basis of the claim, without any judgment by the prefect about whether the facts would support the claim if true.[29] In the parallels closest to our text, this date corresponds either to the date of the writing of the petition[30] or to the next day.[31] If we assume that such a short delay was normal, two scenarios are possible. In the first one, the *agnitiones* would have been processed very quickly, perhaps even delivered directly to the prefect or to one of his aides, during one of his audiences: in such a case no enquiry of the facts alleged in the petition would have been possible. Under this scenario, the date before the prefect's subscription would then be the date of the subscription, and the meaning of *ex edicto* would only be that the facts alleged corresponded to the requirements of the edict. In the second scenario, the date before the subscription would be the date on which the petition was received by the prefect's administration. Hence, the administration would then have some time to check the facts alleged in it—an investigation to which the words *ex edicto* would refer—, before submitting the *agnitio* to the prefect for his subscription which could have then been written weeks, if not months, later. This might explain in part why it took Aurelius Thonis one year to submit his approved petition to the local authorities. However, it is worth noting that, of the four *agnitiones* dated precisely—all listed in our introduction—, three were submitted in September,[32] as if there was a special

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[26] R. Katzoff, *op.cit.* (above, n. 16); *Id.*, "Sources of Law in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Prefect," *ANRW* II.13 (1980) 807-44; J. Modrzejewski, "À propos de la tutelle dative des femmes dans l'Égypte romaine," *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Munich 1974) 263-92. For a contrary opinion, see more recently G. Purpura, "Καθολικὸν διάταγμα (Sulla denominazione dell'editto provinciale egizio)," *Studi in onore di Arnaldo Biscardi* II (Milan 1982) 507-22. For Hadrian's letter (*BGU* I 140), see above, note 18.

[27] The month and day are also missing in *PSI* X 1101 (a Greek translation of an *agnitio*, see our introduction).

[28] J.D. Thomas, "Subscriptiones to Petitions to Officials in Roman Egypt," in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World.* Stud.Hell. 27 (Leuven 1983) 375, n. 25; see also p. 381-2 of the same article, on the system of reference to the prefect's file by roll (τόμος) and by item number inside each roll (κόλλημα).

[29] See R. Katzoff, *op.cit.* (above, n. 26, 1980)

[30] *P.Oxy.* IX 1201 = *Ch.L.A.* IV 233.15 and 25.

[31] *SB* I 1010 = *Ch.L.A.* XI 486.7-8 and 11.

[32] Our text (Sept. 26, 269) and its two closest parallels, *SB* I 1010 = *Ch.L.A.* XI 486 (Sept. 14, 249) and *P.Oxy.* IX 1201 = *Ch.L.A.* IV 233 (Sept. 24, 258); the fourth precisely dated *agnitio* is *Ch.L.A.* IV 247 = XXVIII 865 (= *SB* XVIII 13610), of April 20, 223—thus one of the earliest, if not the earliest, petitions of this kind, and the only one to refer to witnesses (see

opportunity, at this time of the year, to submit such petitions. The small number of *agnitiones* known to us makes it impossible to draw any clear conclusion, and both the meaning of the words *ex edicto* and the significance of the date written before the prefect's submission remain thus uncertain.

Col. II

2 For the title of Oxyrhynchus, cf. D. Hagedorn, "Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις und ἡ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις," *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-92, especially 281-5; E.M. Grocholl, "Bemerkungen zur Datierung von Bezeichnungen und Epitheta der Stadt Oxyrhynchos," *ZPE* 85 (1991) 268-70: it was λαμπρά from at least February 269 until 271/272, when it became λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη. The only parallel for such a city titulature in the Latin texts from Egypt seems to be *M.Chr.* 362 = *CPL* 172.12-3 (cf. l. 3): *Hermupoli maior(e) antiqua et splend(ida)*, which would correspond to the Greek ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ ἀρχαίᾳ καὶ λαμπρᾷ).[33]

3 For this construction of ἐρωτάω, see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) 266 §§594-5.

4-5 and 10-11: The word κω(ν)ϲανγουιναῖοϲ, transliterated from the Latin *consanguineus*, appears here for the first time. One can only wonder whether the scribe who produced the Greek translation considered this to be a technical term not to be translated, or whether he did not remember the Greek equivalent, ὁμοπάτριοϲ, even if the latter figures in the Greek subscription to the original petition (col. I [9]), which he himself copied a few lines later (col. II 19).

8 The name of the mother of the brothers must be mentioned here because she is not the mother of the main petitioner, whose name was given in the address of the document (col. I 2; this part of the Greek translation is missing). Most of the letter before κ is now in the lacuna, but it joins the following letter at such a low point that [Πανι]ϲ̣κιαίνηϲ seems a much less likely supplement than [Ἱερ]α̣κιαίνηϲ; [Κρ]ο̣κιαίνηϲ is excluded.

14 For the passive impersonal ὑπεϲκέθη̣, see col. I 7, note. For the replacement of χ by κ after ϲ, see F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I (Milan 1976) 86.

15-7 The author of the Greek translation confuses here two ways of introducing the names of the consuls, the classical Greek formula ἐπί + gen. and the dative without preposition, which is more frequent in Egyptian papyri of the 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. The dative (absolute) is clearly used incorrectly instead of a genitive absolute and, as has been argued, it is due to local officials who could not understand the original Latin abbreviation (*consulibus*) as an ablative absolute; see S. F. Johanson, "A Note on the Roman Attitude towards the Bureaucracy," *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* (London 1975) 183-8. Note also that ὑπαρχόντων διακατοχή in col. II 8-9 is copied from the Latin *bonorum possessio*, while the author of the original subscription (col. I 8-10, copied in col. II 18-21) uses a formula more respectful of the Greek. It is also noteworthy that the only point where the translator seems to have taken some freedom with the original text is in l. 16, where he probably added a short titulature to the name of the Emperor and consul, Claudius. The omission of the month and day is somewhat surprising, but seems to be confirmed by the size of the lacuna in col. I 8 (see note *ad loc.*).

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above, footnote 9); note also that the prefect's subscription on this papyrus reads simply *recognovi*, without the usual mention *ex edicto*.

[33] For the epithets of Hermopolis Magna, see N. Litinas, "Hermou Polis of the Thebais. Some Corrections and Notes Concerning its Name and Epithets," *APF* 41 (1995) 66-84, especially 78-9.

For Paternus, see A.H.M. Jones et al., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I (Cambridge 1971) 671, s.v. Paternus 4.

18 διακ̣α̣[τοχήν] may have been abbreviated due to shortage of space.

29 Only three other papyri are known to have been dated in the 3rd year of Claudius II and they all fall early in the Egyptian year: *P.Stras.* I 7 (Θὼθ κ̅γ̅ = Sept. 20, 270; Arsinoite); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1646 (Φα̣ῶ̣[φι] . . = Sept./Oct., 270);[34] and *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3477 (month and day in lacuna). By the middle of Φαῶφι, news of the death of the Emperor seems to have reached the Fayum. At that stage, *P.Strasb.* IX 856 was dated ἐπὶ ὑπάτων | Φαῶφι ι̅ε̅ (= Oct. 12, 270);[35] the consular formula, a clear indication of uncertainty about who held then the power, remained in use for one or two months, until Aurelian and Vaballathus were officially recognized in Egypt.[36] The last lines of our text must thus have been written between Aug. 29 and mid-October, 270, in Θώθ or early Φαῶφι of year 3.

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[34] As read by J. Rea, "The Date Clause of *P.Oxy.* XIV 1646.32-4," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 227-9.

[35] And not Oct. 13, as given in the edition.

[36] Cf. *P.Oxy.* XL, pp. 20-5; D.W. Rathbone, "The Dates of Recognition in Egypt of the Emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus," *ZPE* 62 (1986) 120-3.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J.David Thomas, 187-201

21. 296 DRACHMAS FOR EACH SOLDIER: MS SCHØYEN 244/1 RECTO

(Revel A. Coles and Roger S.O. Tomlin)

Schøyen MS 244/1 recto
III A.D.

Plate 17

14 cm x 25 cm
Provenance Unknown

We publish here and discuss a papyrus fragment of unknown but Egyptian provenance, now MS 244/1 recto in a private Norwegian collection, that of Martin Schøyen.[1] It is inscribed by a practised hand in a rounded Greek cursive appropriate to the third century A.D. date which can be deduced from its content. It contains three incomplete columns from a document of unknown length, with part of the top margin and the bottom margin preserved, indicating a column height of some thirty lines. The entries in Column ii are broken into sections, with a short inset heading above each section. This pattern is clearest in the bottom six lines of the column; higher up in the column the pattern still applies, but the layout has been obscured by untidy later insertions. In Column i, a gap one-third of the way down may indicate the beginning of a new section; but Column iii, so far as it is preserved, is continuous. In the transcript the use of bold type marks later insertions; there is no obvious change of hand. A smaller font serves the same purpose in the translation.

The verso was later used for what appears to be a school exercise, with the problematic ends of what seem to be intended as hexameters, which we do not publish here. Severe damage to parts of the already rough surface on this side creates numerous reading problems, and TLG searches have been negative.

1. Format

The document lists soldiers to each of whom a sum of money—invariably 296 drachmas—has been paid or credited. That they are soldiers may be deduced both from the heading in ii 6-7, the cohort and its prefect,[2] and from the sub-headings which follow in ii 8, ii 14, ii 21, ii 25 and ii 29, the names of five of its six centuries. The Roman army's equivalent of the modern "name and number" was to identify a man by his century.[3] The men's names, with the exception of *Saturnilus* and *Silvanus*, are Greek or Egyptian; and except for *Saturnilus*, they are all preceded by αυρ′, the regular abbreviation for Αὐρήλιος. In Col-

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[1] We are grateful to Mr Schøyen for making it available to us, and for allowing it to be published here. We are jointly responsible for what follows, but initially Revel Coles contributed the transcript and Roger Tomlin the discussion. We are particularly indebted to R.O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Cleveland 1971), whose texts are cited below as "Fink, *RMR*" with item-number.

[2] The Greek is equivalent to the Latin *cui praeest*, part of the formal identification of a Roman auxiliary unit by the name of its equestrian commander. Greek instances are hard to find, but one has been restored in *SB* VI 9228.22 (*Cd'É* 26 [1951] 426), for the *cohors I Lusitanorum* in 160. The prefect cannot be identified. The only possibility is P. Aelius Erasinus, tribune of a milliary cohort in 220 (Devijver, *PME*, A 32), a post which implies that he had recently commanded a quingenary cohort.

[3] Fink, *RMR*, p. 4. An auxiliary cavalryman was identified by his troop (*turma*), a sailor or marine by his warship.

umn iii these notations are tabulated in such a way that it even looks as if the cognomina were added later. Such a concentration of *Aurelii* post-dates the *constitutio Antoniniana*, effective in Egypt, it seems, from A.D. 214.[4] The terminus ante quem is the reign of Diocletian (284-305), when soldiers were generally accorded the imperial gentilicium *Valerius*.[5]

Enough survives of Columns i and iii to show that they were not ordered in quite the same way as Column ii: their lists of names are long, not short. In Column i there are 10 names without a break, then a 4-line gap, and then 22 names without a break; these may have continued into Column ii, unless ii 1-5 consisted of a summary or some statement of the total.[6] The rest of Column ii is a breakdown of the *cohors Apamenorum* by centuries; since only five are named, it must have continued into Column iii where its end has been lost. What remains of Column iii is an unbroken list of 17 names.

The 4-line gap in Column i may not have been entirely void. More likely it marked the end of one list with a space, and then the beginning of another list with a heading like ii 6-7, which would have been too narrow for its line-endings to be preserved. There must have been another such gap in Column iii, when the *cohors Apamenorum* list came to an end. That the 17 names in Column iii belong to a new unit may be deduced from the annotation which follows the names Nephoros (iii 28) and Sarapion (iii 31), two short diagonal strokes. This is to distinguish them from previous homonyms in the list, Nephoros in iii 26 and Sarapion in iii 20. There is a third Sarapion, in the *cohors Apamenorum* list (ii 20), but it was disregarded: evidently there was no fear of confusion since it belonged to a different military unit.[7] In all there were four units, therefore, but only one seems to have been divided into subunits, for reasons which are unknown. This is the *cohors Apamenorum*, the only unit whose name is preserved.

2. The *cohors I Apamenorum*

This auxiliary cohort, nominally 500-strong (*quingenaria*), joined the Egyptian army before 144, and remained there until the end of the 4th century. It originally contained archers (*sagittarii*) and a cavalry element (*equitata*), but whether this continued to be the case is uncertain.

The cohort first occurs in two Italian inscriptions. P. Valerius Priscus, who died at Torre Nova aged 65, had been *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Apamen(orum) sa(gittariorum) in Cappad(ocia)*.[8] His command cannot be closely dated, but an inscription from Ostia honours C. Nasennius Marcellus "senior," sometime *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Apamenae*. Marcellus was duovir for the third time in 111, so his prefecture can be dated to the Flavian period.[9] No military diploma of the army in Cappadocia has yet been

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[4] *P. Oxy.* LVIII 3920.16-7 n. F.G.B. Millar, "The Date of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*," *JEA* 48 (1962) 124-31.

[5] J.G. Keenan, "The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 46.

[6] ii 1 begins further to the left than any succeeding line, except the insertion at ii 22-3. The first word, πληρ', is suggestive of πλήρωμα / *pleroma*, in the sense of "complement," since it is used to identify members of the fleets by the name of their ship: see H. Cuvigny, "Plèrôma dans l'identification des soldats de marine," *ZPE* 110 (1996) 169-73. But the next word in ii 1, αυρ', is not the name of a ship.

[7] Unfortunately Anubion (iii 25) is incomplete, so we cannot confirm that this entry ignored the previous Anubion (ii 19) who belonged to a different unit. Aurelius Apolinaris in ii 23 is apparently distinguished from the previous Aurelius Apolinaris (ii 15) by the addition of Ἱέραξ.

[8] *AE* 1974, 226 = *CIL* VI 3654 (Devijer, *PME*, V 28).

[9] *CIL* XIV 171 = *ILS* 2741 = R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1973²) 560, No. 9. Dessau's note to *ILS* 2741 identifies him with C. Nasennius Marcellus, *curator operum publicorum perpetuus* in 184, but Meiggs distinguishes them as grandfa-

found, and the cohort is not named there by Arrian in 137. It is likely to have been one of the five unnamed cohorts he left at Apsaros.[10]

The fullest version of the cohort's name occurs in the career inscription of M. Valerius Lollianus, whose first post was that of *praefectus cohort(is) I Apamenorum sa[gittariorum] equit(atae)* in the 150s. By now the cohort was in Egypt.[11] It is listed, not in the diploma of 24 September 105 when it was still in Cappadocia, but in two later diplomas, a fragment of 156/61 and the diploma of 23 March 179.[12] Almost all the other evidence is papyrological.

In Egypt itself the cohort is first attested in 144, in the papers of C. Iulius Apollinaris, a soldier then serving in the century of Julianus.[13] There is also the fragment of a waxed tablet containing a codicil to the will of a *miles coh(ortis) I Apamenorum, (centuria) Octavi.*[14] A fragmentary register of letters received by *tabularii* includes one from the prefect of the *cohors Apamenorum*, but without adding any details.[15] An ostracon found in the ruins of Qasr-el-Banat in the Wadi Hammamat is apparently addressed to someone in the *cohors I Apamenorum.*[16] The find-spot is a fortlet on the Mons Porphyrites route from Coptos to the Red Sea at Kosseir, little larger than a "milecastle" on Hadrian's Wall, which presumably held a small out-posted detachment. Much the most interesting of these scraps of evidence is the well-known letter written by Apion, an Egyptian who has just joined the Roman fleet at Misenum. The address reads: "To Philadelphia, to Epimachus, from his son Apion. Deliver to *cohors I Apamenorum*, to Julianus, clerk (*libellarius*), from Apion, to be forwarded to his father Epimachus." Apion tells his father that he has arrived safely, and has taken the Roman name "Antonius Maximus." He adds a detail which will be important to us: "On arrival at Misenum, I received from Caesar three gold pieces for travelling-money (*viaticum*)."[17]

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ther and grandson (*Roman Ostia*, 509-10). This is surely correct, since Marcellus "senior," after commanding the *cohors I Apamena*, became tribune of *cohors I Italica civium Romanorum voluntariorum*. This sequence is also found in the career of P. Valerius Priscus (see previous note), and must be due to both units still being *in Cappadocia*. The entries in Devijver, *PME*, N 6 (with supplements), are allusive but imply an erroneous identification with the *curator* of 184.

[10] M.P. Speidel, in S. Mitchell (ed.), *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia* (London 1983) 16-7 = *Mavors* I, 282-3.

[11] *ILS* 2724 add. (Devijver, *PME*, V 17). His career is dated by his fourth *militia*, the command of a large cavalry vexillation equivalent to a milliary *ala* drawn from six *alae* and fifteen cohorts in Mesopotamia, which can be associated with Lucius Verus' Parthian War (162-5). As usual we do not know the duration of his various commands, or the intervals (if any) between them, but if the two intervening commands were three years each, this would take us back to the mid-150s.

[12] M.M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977* (London 1985) No. 9; *CIL* XVI 184 = *P. Mich.* VIII 441; Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1985-1993* (London 1994) No. 185, *(cohors) I Apamenorum.*

[13] *BGU* III 729 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 167. There are further references in *P.Lond.* II 178 (A.D. 145) and in *BGU* III 888 (*Chrest.* 239), A.D. 159-60, when his centurion had become Heraclides. In 172, more than two years after serving "such a long time in the army," he was a veteran at Karanis: *BGU* I 168, cf. *BGU* I 180 (= *Sel.Pap.* 285).

[14] *P.Mich.* VIII 446.

[15] *AE* 1965, 143.

[16] J. Schwartz, *Cd'É* 31 (1956) 118-9, cf. *JEA* 39 (1953) 96. G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat* (Paris 1957) 133, No. 132.

[17] *BGU* II 423 (*Sel.Pap.* I 112); translated with commentary by R.W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989) 20. The implication is that the cohort was stationed at Philadelphia in the Fayûm.

Apion's letter is not dated, but the second half of the 2nd century is likely.[18] The cohort remained in Egypt: it is the only military unit to be named in the first of the two Beatty Panopolis Papyri, in a letter dated 12 Sept 298 sent by the strategus of the Panopolite nome to Theodorus, *actuarius* of the *cohors I Apamenorum*.[19] Towards the end of the 4th century it is located by the *Notitia Dignitatum* at "Silili," which can be identified with Selino, immediately downstream from Panopolis.[20]

We may therefore conclude that the *cohors I Apamenorum* came to Egypt in *c.* 140, and remained there until at least the end of the 4th century. In the 2nd century it may have been stationed in the Fayûm, but by the end of the 3rd century it had been transferred to Upper Egypt, where it remained. We cannot say where it was when the papyrus (MS Schøyen 244/1 recto) was written, since this is a 3rd-century text and originated, not from the cohort itself, but from the central administration. The cohort was certainly "quingenary," nominally 500-strong, since it was commanded by prefects as their first command, but we do not know whether it continued to be part-mounted (*equitata*). This detail is explicit only in the career-inscription of Valerius Lollianus, who commanded it in the 150s soon after it joined the Egyptian garrison, and is not mentioned by the diplomas. But this is something that tends to be omitted from diplomas.[21]

The cohort, if *equitata*, would have contained six centuries of infantry and four cavalry troops (*turmae*), a paper strength of 380 infantry and 120 cavalry.[22] The question must remain open, since the first half of Column iii has been lost. We simply do not know whether this contained only the sub-list of the sixth and last century, or the sub-lists of four *turmae* as well. So we do not know whether the centuries were nominally 80-strong (as in the legions, and in auxiliary infantry cohorts *peditatae*), or only 60-strong (as in auxiliary part-mounted cohorts *equitatae*), which would indicate what proportion these sub-lists form of the total. But this is not a consideration that will bear much weight: units in any army are liable to be under-strength, and in the 3rd century Roman army it is more than likely that their strengths were dwindling.

3. The type of document

The papyrus is certainly a military account, but not one which we can parallel. Each soldier without exception receives—or at least is credited with—296 drachmas, the Egyptian equivalent of 74 *denarii*. This must be a standard figure, no doubt 75 *denarii* less one *denarius*.

It immediately suggests the standard *stipendium* of a Roman soldier for more than a century, from the reign of Augustus until that of Domitian, 75 *denarii* credited three times a year, in January, May and

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[18] It is earlier than the *constitutio Antoniniana*, and belongs to the reign of a sole emperor. If Epimachus is a veteran of the cohort, it may be noted that his son was not a Roman citizen; this ceased to be the rule in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

[19] *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.46.

[20] *Not. Dig. Or.* 31, 64; compare *Antonine Itinerary* 166.4. The identification is made by the editor Seeck, and accepted by Skeat.

[21] See above, nn. 11 and 12; M.M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1985-1993* (London 1994) 312, n. 13. The preceding cohort in the diploma of 179 (Roxan, No. 185) is the *cohors I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum*, which is not explicitly *equitata*, although we know that it was from its *pridianum* (Fink, *RMR* 64).

[22] Ps.Hyginus, *Liber de Munitionibus Castrorum* 25-7; compare *CIL* III 6760, which lists four decurions in a *cohors equitata*.

September.[23] In 83 Domitian added what is misleadingly called a "fourth" *stipendium*.[24] The government in practice, no doubt for its own convenience, continued to pay soldiers in three annual instalments.[25] This new pay-scale of three *stipendia*, each of 100 *denarii*, lasted for more than a century until it was increased by Septimius Severus; there was a further increase by Caracalla, which brings us to the period of our papyrus.

The sum of 75 *denarii* cannot have been a 3rd-century *stipendium*, therefore, although this was probably still a simple multiple of 25 *denarii* (reckoned as one *aureus*).[26] Nor is it credible that four centuries of the *cohors I Apamenorum* numbered only 13 men (ii 8-28), which would necessarily follow if this papyrus were an account of *stipendia* received by the unit. It might be objected that the recipients are members of a small detachment out-posted somewhere like Qasr-el-Banat, but this possibility can be rejected. The heading in ii 6-7 may be incomplete, but it certainly applies to the whole cohort: a detachment would have been introduced by the Greek equivalent of *milites cohortis I Apamenorum sub cura Aeli NN praepositi*.[27] Moreover the note in ii 23-4, that Aurelius Apolinaris "died in Alexandria," cannot apply to an out-posted detachment.

4. The *viaticum*

These are not 3rd-century soldiers receiving 1st century pay. We suggest instead that they are recruits credited with *viaticum*, reimbursement of the "travel expenses" which followed enlistment.

The process of joining the Roman army has been well studied.[28] Essentially there were two stages, first the examination and "approval" of recruits by the provincial governor known as *probatio*, and then their "enrolment" in the records of their unit; *nomen in numeros referre*. The stages were separated by an interval, during which the approved recruit travelled to his unit.

In 52 the Prefect of Egypt released a weaver of Oxyrhynchus from the draft, since he was "suffering from cataract and impaired vision." "The examination," we are expressly told, "was conducted in Alexandria."[29] Another Oxyrhynchus papyrus is the copy, from the archives of an auxiliary cohort, of a letter to its commander from the Prefect of Egypt: "Give orders that the six recruits approved by me should be

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[23] This was certainly a legionary soldier's pay before deductions, but auxiliaries are often thought to have received less. This vexed question is well discussed by R. Alston, "Roman Military Pay from Caesar to Diocletian," *JRS* 84 (1994) 113-23, and we accept his conclusion that there was in fact no difference. Our own argument does not stand or fall by this conclusion.

[24] Suetonius, *Domitian* 7.3, *quartum stipendium*. This may have been a one-off payment of 75 *denarii*, which would be the fourth, fragmentary *stipendium* apparent in the pay-sheet of *c*. 84 (Fink, *RMR* 69, with commentary) corresponding to Domitian's *congiarium* of 75 *denarii* in that year.

[25] A late second century pay sheet (Fink, *RMR* 71) attests a pay-day on 1 May, which implies three, not four, annual *stipendia*; and pay-days in January, May and September have also been detected in the *Feriale Duranum* (Fink, p. 266).

[26] Alston (above n. 23) 114.

[27] For examples see *P.Oxy*. I 43, ὑπὸ NN πραιπόσιτον (πρεπ- pap.).

[28] The mosaic of evidence is assembled by J.F. Gilliam, "Enrollment in the Roman Imperial Army," *Eos* 48 (1957) 207-16, reprinted in his *Roman Army Papers* (*Mavors* II, 1986) 163-72; and by R.W. Davies, "Joining the Roman Army," *BJ* 149 (1969) 208-32, reprinted in D. Breeze and V.A. Maxfield (eds.), *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989) 3-30.

[29] *P.Oxy*. I 39, translated by B. Campbell, *The Roman Army, 31 BC - AD 337: A Sourcebook* (London 1994) 12, No. 6.

included in the roster of the cohort which you command, to take effect from 19 February." The names follow of the six recruits. The letter itself was received on 24 February, 103.[30]

The actual process of *probatio* is not relevant to our purpose, except to note that in Egypt it would normally take place in Alexandria, where the Prefect resided, and that the recruit was then posted to his unit. The letter just quoted took five days to arrive; most likely it accompanied the recruits themselves, and indicates the distance they had to travel.

When the recruit arrived at his unit, he was "enrolled" and thereby became a soldier. Ulpian rules that only serving soldiers can make a valid will; he expressly excludes recruits travelling at public expense who have not yet been enrolled.[31] Three surviving documents record the arrival of recruits at their unit. The most significant is a well-known *pridianum*, the strength-return of an Egyptian cohort, the *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata* on 31 August, 156.[32] After giving the total strength on 1 January (505 officers and men), it lists the various accessions since, which include: "Recruits, volunteers, approved by Sempronius Liberalis, Prefect of Egypt, among them one cavalryman and one camel-rider: 9." They are all then identified by century or troop:

"in the century of Herculanus
Philon Isiognis
Apollos Herminus
in the century of Marcus
Anubas Ammon
in the century of Gaianus
Gaius Sigillius Valens
in the century of Sempronianus
Ammonius
in the century of Gan[...]
Gaius Iulius [ ]
Heraclammon
in the troop of Artemidorus
cavalryman Hermacius Apynchis
in the troop of Salvianus
camel-rider Cronius Barbasatis"

We quote this for its similarity with our own papyrus, but of course the format they share is due to the standard way in which soldiers were identified in the Roman army. Technically, in the words of another document from the *cohors I Lusitanorum*, the recruits had now been "assigned to their centuries."[33] The death of Aurelius Apolinaris "in Alexandria" is now significant: after being "approved" by the Prefect of Egypt, he must have promptly died there, before he could set out to join his unit.

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[30] *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (Fink, *RMR* 87), translated by Campbell, *ibid.*, 13, No. 9: *tirones sexs probatos a me in cohorte cui praees in numeros referri iube*. The cohort is *II* or *III Ituraeorum*.

[31] *Digest* 28.1.42, ... *qui nondum in numeris sunt, licet etiam lecti tirones sint et publicis expensis iter faciunt, nondum milites sunt: debent enim in numeros referri.*

[32] Fink, *RMR* 64, translated by Fink. The passage quoted is i 31-ii 11.

[33] Fink, *RMR* 74 (dated 3 May 117), i 5-6 and passim. The Greek transliterates the Latin term *distributus in centuria*.

The third document, from the archives of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* at Dura, must be more or less contemporary with our papyrus; it belongs to 239.[34] It contains the morning reports for three successive days in that year. On 27 and 28 May, 781 men were present, with the comment: "No change in strength." But 29 May begins with the note: "[Two] recruits approved by [*name lost*] our governor: [*name lost*] and Aurelius Germanus, from 10 May, 239."[35] The acting-commander of the cohort then orders that their names, distinguishing marks and height, be recorded. They had evidently been "approved" by the legate of Syria on 10 May, but only reached the cohort with their documentation on 29 May, after a journey of some 19 days. This contrasts with the 5-day journey already mentioned.[36]

During this journey, in the words of Ulpian, recruits travelled "at public expense."[37] This term is not self-evident. Ulpian may have meant that recruits were paid a *viaticum* in advance, from which they paid their own way. When Valens reformed the system in 375, a recruit received six *solidi* from the recruiting-officer "for his clothing and expenses," which implies that it was an immediate payment.[38] But if the *viaticum* was virtually a bounty, although it would have encouraged volunteers, it might have tempted them to take the money and disappear en route. Perhaps, then, they received it only on arrival at their unit, like the Egyptian Apion at Misenum. Alternatively recruits may have travelled in supervised parties, using public facilities like the *mansiones*, the cost of which would be deducted from the *viaticum* to which they were entitled. This would have been the cheapest and most reliable system, so far as the Roman government was concerned. The evidence is conflicting, but there is some support for all these possibilities in our sources.

The classic evidence is Apion's letter to his father: "On arrival at Misenum, I received a *viaticum* from Caesar of three *aurei*."[39] Three *aurei*, in theory equivalent to 75 *denarii*, seem to have been the standard sum. A set of pay sheets compiled in 192, now fragmentary and difficult to interpret, records against each name the deposit *in viatico (denarios) lxxv*.[40] But these men are not recruits, for their dates of enlistment are recorded; and in one case it was twenty years ago. Also unlike Apion, they did not receive their *viaticum* in cash; it was credited to them, and was apparently treated as a compulsory saving which might not mature until their death or discharge. This piece of sharp practice would have helped the Roman government's "cash-flow," not that it saw its behaviour in quite these terms.[41] But the fact that soldiers were still being credited with *viaticum*—one soldier for twenty years on end—does suggest that it was automatic, even if in practice it had become a small discharge-bounty. There is a possible instance, however, of an earlier *viaticum* which was actually issued, like Apion's at Misenum, and was then carefully preserved by the recipient. It is part of the Thorngrafton Hoard, which was found in the Roman quarry at Barcombe just above the fort of Vindolanda. Inside a bronze arm purse were 60 *denarii* down to Trajan (17) and Hadrian (4), but only three *aurei* (Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian). "Each of the gold coins was wrapped up in a separate piece of greenish leather or vellum, which was still quite tough

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[34] Fink, *RMR* 50.

[35] *Ibid.*, i 14.

[36] Fink, *RMR* 87 (cited in n. 30).

[37] See above, n. 31.

[38] *Cod. Theod.* vii 13.7, A.D. 375, *gratia vestis et sumptuum*. See further below, n. 45.

[39] See above, n. 17, βιατικὸν παρὰ Καίcαροc χρυcοῦc τρεῖc.

[40] Fink, *RMR* 70.

[41] Perhaps it was thought to reinforce soldiers' loyalty to their units, like their savings deposited *apud signa* (Vegetius, *epitoma rei militaris* ii 20).

and strong." The hoard as a whole is obviously a soldier's savings, and arguably its major constituent was his *viaticum* still intact.[42]

The legionaries who built Hadrian's Wall had travelled long distances to join their units, from Spain, Gaul, northern Italy, the Rhine and upper Danube.[43] The etymology of the word *viaticum* suggests that it was meant for the cost of travel between *probatio* and enrolment. Arguably it also served as a bounty; from the Roman point of view it was a donative "from Caesar," to use Apion's phrase, just like Augustus' bequest to the legions of three *aurei* or one *stipendium* which marked Tiberius' accession. A modern analogy would be "the Queen's shilling" of the Victorian army or—more realistic in money terms—the five guineas received by William Lawrence when he first enlisted in the army of George III.[44] Direct evidence is rather late, however, and continuity must be surmised. When Valens in 375 reformed the old abuse whereby governors levied cash in lieu of recruits and then "bought in" volunteers, he ruled that syndicates of landowners should contribute 36 *solidi* for one recruit; this was used to compensate the member who surrendered a tenant, and included six *solidi* for the recruit himself, "for his clothing and expenses."[45] Six *solidi*, one-twelfth of a Roman pound of gold, would be the equivalent in specie of four Augustan *aurei*. Another constitution, in 406 when Italy had just been invaded, actually offers volunteers ten *solidi*, but only three down, the balance to be paid "when things are finished."[46] Even slaves were solicited: they would receive two *solidi* for *pulveraticum*, the late-Latin term for official travelling expenses.[47]

These late-Roman bounties, which may have worked like the old *viaticum*, can only be regarded as arguments by analogy. The other possibility is that recruits actually travelled from *probatio* to their new unit in supervised parties; "at public expense," in Ulpian's words, but with the cost subtracted from their *viaticum*. Such a system is implied by a document of the Egyptian *cohors I Lusitanorum* which has been cited already.[48] It is a set of six receipts in different hands, but all of them dated 3 September A.D. 117 and of identical form, in which the standard-bearers of the six centuries each acknowledges receipt of money from the senior centurion "on deposit for the Asian recruits assigned to the century." The amount of money and the number of recruits varies from century to century; they are respectively, if we disregard fractions: 423 *denarii* (20 recruits), 232 (17), 452 (20), 211 (22), 316 (24) and 192 (23). The average credited to each recruit thus varies quite widely, from 8 *denarii* to 22. They are probably "the unexpended balances of *viatica*" used in getting the recruits to their unit.[49] Since the senior centurion pays the money as a lump sum to the standard-bearer of each century, who kept the century's accounts, it follows that the recruits themselves never handled any of it. It simply remained on deposit, even if it was

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[42] J. Hodgson, *Gent. Mag.* (Dec. 1837) 637 (quoted by E. Birley, *Num. Chron.* 7th ser. 3 [1963] 62). The argument is that of G.R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (London 1969) 44 with 190, n. 243.

[43] One example of many is Maximius Gaetulicus of Lugdunum (Lyons), who enlisted in the Twentieth Legion in 127: for his career, remarkable for its length, see *AE* 1985, 735.

[44] G.N. Banks (ed.), *The Autobiography of Sergeant William Lawrence* (London 1886) 10. Lawrence spent most of his 5 guineas at once, and then re-enlisted in the 40th Foot for a bounty of 16 guineas (*ibid.*, 13-4).

[45] *Cod. Theod.* vii 13.7, *gratia vestis ac sumptuum*. See further A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Oxford 1964) 616 with n. 17.

[46] *Cod. Theod.* vii 13.17.

[47] *Cod. Theod.* vii 13.16, *pulveratici nomine*; compare Cassiodorus, *Var.* xii 15.7, *pulveratica*.

[48] Fink, *RMR* 74 (cited in n. 33).

[49] As suggested by Johnson, followed by Fink, *RMR* 74.

credited to them. And since the average sum per head varies, century by century, it follows that there were separate parties of recruits travelling independently and incurring different costs. They had evidently been "assigned to their centuries" not when they arrived at their unit, as one might have expected, but by the central administration.

There is an indication of such a party in a 3rd-century ostracon from Bu Njem, one of the series of "day reports."[50] It begins:

"16 June, total: 96
recruits, total: 64
(including 3 cavalry)"

This is much the highest total for any day, the average being *c.* 50. The explanation is the presence of 64 recruits. They are far too many to be replenishing a garrison which was only about 50-strong; and if the ostraca of 19 June (total 61), and of some date between 16 July and 12 August (total 43 or 44), belong to the same year, we can be even more certain that the recruits were only in transit.[51] This can hardly be doubted: 64 men would be more than enough to replenish a unit 500-strong. The party must have travelled under supervision; there are 4th-century analogies, the classic instance being the future monk Pachomius: when he and other conscripts were drafted into the army of Licinius, they were locked up each night to make sure they did not desert.[52]

One last document may be cited, since it shows that *viatica* were not only held on deposit, but might also be drawn on; it is not stated for what purpose.[53] This is the set of fragmentary accounts, more or less contemporary with the standard-bearers' receipts from the *cohors I Lusitanorum*, which record sums held on deposit by the members of an auxiliary cavalry *turma*, and the sums they withdrew; the three accounts are "deposit" (*depositorum*), "restricted-access" (*sepositorum*) and *viaticorum*. Only the last concerns us: one man withdraws 2 *denarii*, another 25 *denarii*, as *[recessa] viaticorum*; and in the concluding *(summa) viaticorum*, 25 names are credited with 1,416 *denarii*. [54] This is an average of 56 *denarii* a man, the balance of their *viatica*. But we do not know whether they had been originally deposited intact, or only as the balance of what had been spent on travelling to the unit and perhaps also on equipment and fitting-out.

5. The figure of 296 drachmas

We therefore suggest that our papyrus records the issue of *viaticum* to men recruited by several units including the *cohors I Apamenorum*. Possibly they received cash like Apion at Misenum, but more likely it was a paper transaction, the money being credited to them when they left Alexandria to join their units. Since *probatio* occurred at Alexandria, as confirmed by the death of Apolinaris "in Alexandria," and since several units are listed, this papyrus surely originated from the central administration. It is thus a tantalising fragment for Roman military historians, for when it was entire it seems to have listed by name, unit and sub-unit, one year's recruits for the whole Egyptian army.

Our suggestion is prompted by the uniformity of the figure "296 drachmas," and depends on identifying it with the 75 *denarii* of the Augustan *stipendium* and the *viaticum* which derived from it. But

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[50] R. Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu Njem*. Libya Antiqua Suppl. 7 (1992) 121, No. 5.

[51] *Ibid.*, Nos. 6 and 7.

[52] *Life of Pachomius*, 4. See further A.H.M. Jones (above, n. 45) 618 with n. 22.

[53] *P. Fay.* 105 = Fink, *RMR* 73, c. A.D. 120/50.

[54] *Ibid.*, i 14-6 and iii 29.

why, then, is the figure actually equivalent to 74 *denarii*? We have already suggested that this results from a standard deduction of one *denarius*, but we do not know why it was made. We can only point to a similar unsolved problem elsewhere. Two surviving pay-sheets itemise deductions made from soldiers' salaries, the first in 81 from a *stipendium* of 247 $^1/_2$ drachmas, the second in *c.* 84, just after the Domitianic pay-rise, from a *stipendium* of 297 drachmas.[55] These figures are the equivalent of 62 $^1/_2$ *denarii* and 75 *denarii* respectively, less one percent. The figure of 75 *denarii* (not 100 *denarii*) can be explained as one of four *stipendia* in an exceptional year, but the figure of 62 $^1/_2$ *denarii* is puzzling. One would have expected 75 *denarii*.[56] Fortunately we can avert our eyes from this notorious crux, since our own problem is why these figures were reduced by one percent: "the nature of this deduction is obscure."[57] Our own deduction is slightly different in kind, being flat-rate, not percent. But the controversy the other figures have generated does at least suggest three possible explanations. The *viaticum* may have been subject to a special contribution of one *denarius*, like that which was apparently levied on the regular *stipendium*. Or there may have been a conversion charge for changing *denarii* into drachmas. Or there may have been what may euphemistically be called a "book-keeping charge."

The pay-sheet of 81 itemises a deduction from the second annual *stipendium* of four drachmas [one *denarius*] "for the Standards" (*ad signa*). This may have been a subscription to the cult of the Standards, the *Feriale Duranum* containing two *supplicationes* in May *ob rosalias signorum*, for which the second *stipendium* in May would be appropriate; or it may have been a subscription to the burial fund, the "eleventh sack" which Vegetius says was deposited "at the Standards" (*apud signa*) containing a "small contribution" (*particulam aliquam*) from each legionary to meet burial expenses.[58] The latter is more plausible as a charge levied on recruits against the first money they received: the *rosalia* was an annual ceremony, whereas a funeral might happen any time. The deduction of one *denarius* from the *viaticum* would have amounted to an insurance premium against the chance of a recruit dying before he received his first *stipendium*. Only the unfortunate Apolinaris would have seen a return on his investment.

This may be over-ingenious. Alternatively it has been suggested that a fee was levied for changing *denarii* into drachmas.[59] No parallel is cited, but it might be found in the circulation of local city currencies in Asia Minor, since even money-changers need to live. It is not clear whether this deduction was also made in pay accounts kept in *denarii*, a practice which would invalidate this suggestion.[60] The idea of a "service-charge" is more attractive, since it accords with the Roman bureaucrat's belief that a *sportula* or fee should be levied before parting with someone else's property.[61] But here too, parallels should be sought.

6. Recruitment-figures

If only the document survived entire, it would be of great actuarial interest. Even as it is, it offers a glimpse of the numbers needed to keep a quingenary cohort up to strength in the 3rd century. Unfortu-

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[55] Fink, *RMR* 68 and 69 respectively.

[56] Fink, *RMR*, pp. 244-5.

[57] As Michael A. Speidel rightly remarks, in *JRS* 82 (1992) 93 with n. 50.

[58] Fink, *RMR*, p. 247, note to 68 ii 19.

[59] By Michael P. Speidel in *JRS* 63 (1973) 144 = *Mavors* I, 86.

[60] This is claimed by Michael A. Speidel in *JRS* 82 (1992) 93 n. 50, citing Fink, *RMR* 70 and *ChLA* 446 and 495, but these texts are very difficult.

[61] G.R. Watson, "Documentation in the Roman Army," *ANRW* II 1 (1974) 493-507, esp. 499.

nately we do not know if it was an "average" year; nor indeed that the cohort even approached its nominal strength of 500 men. But we can see that four centuries, three-fifths or two-thirds of the unit-strength, depending on whether it was part-mounted or not, recruited some 14 men. The total recruitment can have been little more than 20. This is the figure for a single century of *cohors I Lusitanorum* in 117, but the comparison is misleading since the cohort must have been replacing heavy losses in the recent Jewish rebellion.[62] A more useful comparison is the epigraphic evidence for the numbers of veterans discharged annually by some 2nd-century legions. It is comparatively slight, but it does suggest that "just over 100 men from each year-group survived to become veterans."[63] The corresponding figure for an auxiliary cohort 500-strong would be just over ten. They would have been men in their mid-40s who had passed a medical examination on enlistment 25 years ago; since then they had been better housed and fed than most civilians, even if they ran a greater risk of violent or accidental death. We can only guess what proportion of recruits survived for discharge as veterans. Perhaps "rather less than half."[64] Just over ten veterans might imply 25-30 recruits in an average year, but there are far too many imponderables. We can only say that the figures in our papyrus seem to be in the right order of magnitude.[65]

Col.i [Bold lettering indicates an addition]

] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
4] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
]̣ (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
]ϫ̣α̣̈ (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
8] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
] (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
]
]
]
]
]....̣ (δρ.) ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅
12]ⲥϥ̅ⲥ̅

[62] Fink, *RMR* 74, with his introduction and commentary.

[63] J.C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement* (London 1983) 59-60.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] Since this was written, Roger Bagnall has drawn our attention to the important study by Walter Scheidel, "The Demography of the Roman Imperial Army," Chapter 3 of his *Measuring Sex, Age and Death in the Roman Empire*. JRA Suppl. 21 (Ann Arbor 1996). Scheidel does not discuss Mann's figures in his critique of other estimates (121-2, n. 80), but he concludes (122, Table 3.14) that if they served 25 years, a legion 5,000-strong would have been needed 280 recruits a year. The corresponding figure for an auxiliary cohort 500-strong, therefore, would have been 28 recruits a year.

]κ̣ιωνας
]....′ (δρ.) ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]. (δρ.) ς ϟ
] (δρ.) ς ϟ
]ϟ
] (δρ.) ς ϟ
] (δρ.) ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ϟ
]ϟ
]ς ϟ
]ς
]ς

Col.ii

πλ̣ηρ′ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Α̣[
Φ[
Αὐρ̣[(ήλιος)
Α̣[ὐρ(ήλιος)] . . [
. . . . [. . .]. [

χώρτ(η) Ἀ̣παμη̣[νῶν ἧς ἔπαρχος]
Αἴλιος Ε̣. . . . . [
c(enturia) Ποτάμων
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡρακλείδης [
Αὐρ(ήλιος) . . . . των [
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἄ̣ρ̣ειος [
τ̣. .
⟦. . . .⟧ (vac.)

c(enturia) Διοcκόρου
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ἀπολινᾶριc [
16 ̣ Ἀ̣μ̣μ̣ωνιανὸ̣c Νι . . . κα̣δ (δρ.) cϟς
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ἅρπαλοc (δρ.) [cϟ]ς
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ὡρ̣ε̣ίων (δρ.) cϟς
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ἀνουβίων (δρ.) cϟς
20 Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Cαραπίων (δρ.) cϟς

c(enturia) Ἀνουβίων
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Βηcᾶc (δρ.) cϟς
Α̣ὐ̣ρ̣(ήλιοc) Ἀπολινᾶριc Ἱέραξ
24 **ἐν Ἀλεξ(ανδρείᾳ) τετ . . λ΄**

c(enturia) Ποcιδωνίου
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ἀπολλ̣ωνίδηc (δρ.) cϟς
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Ὡρειγένηc (δρ.) cϟς
28 Ἰούλι⟨ο⟩c Cατουρνεῖλ(οc) (δρ.) cϟς

c(enturia) Πανίcκου
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) Cιλβανόc (δρ.) cϟς

Col.iii

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8 [
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12 [
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16 ̣[
Αὐρ(ήλιοc) ̣[

Αὐρ(ήλιος) .[
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰς̣ι̣[-
20 Αὐρ(ήλιος) `Σ̣α̣ρ̣α̣π̣ί̣ω̣ν̣´ Πε̣.[
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡρ̣ω̣[-
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ὡριγ̣[-
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀμ̣μ̣ω̣[ν-
24 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Εὐδαίμ[ων
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀνουβί̣ω̣[ν
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νεφορῶ[ς
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κ[ο]πρῆς (δρ.) [
28 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νεφορῶς `` (δρ.) [
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πασίων (δρ.) [
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀρίστων (δρ.) [
Αὐ[ρ](ήλιος) Σ̣αρ̣απίων `` (δρ.) [
32 Αὐρ(ήλιος) . . . . λ̣ος (δρ.) ς̣[
Αὐρ(ήλιος) .ε̣. . . ς (δρ.) ς̣[

i ʃ = (δραχμαί), here and throughout 13]κ̣ιωνας: or]ις̣ιωνας?

ii 1 αυρ´ = Αὐρ(ήλιος), here and throughout 2 Φ[: the start of a Roman *nomen*, e.g. Φ[λάουιος? 5 init. Σ̣α̣ [? .ς̣α̣ [? Ε̣υς̣[? .ε̣υ̣ [? 6 χωρτ̄ 8 ϛ = *c(enturia)*, here and throughout; read Ποτάμωνος 12 Possibly washed-out αυρ´? 13 Deleted αυρ´? 21 read Ἀνουβίωνος 23 ἱεραξ? read Ἱέρακος? Possibly in a different hand? 24 αλεξ´ 28 ἰουλις σατουρνειλ

iii 22 Αὐρ(ήλιος) deleted, just smudged, or written over a deletion? 32 A smudge or a correction in the name after Aurelius?

Col.ii 6-30

Cohors Apamenorum, [of which the prefect is] Aelius . . . [

Century of Potamon:

Aurelius Heracleides [
Aurelius . . .ton [
Aurelius Areius [
. . .
. . .

Century of Dioscorus:

Aurelius Apolinaris [
Ammonianus . . . dr. 296
Aurelius Harpalus dr. 296
Aurelius Horion dr. 296
Aurelius Anubion dr. 296
Aurelius Sarapion dr. 296

Century of Anubion:

Aurelius Besas dr. 296

Aurelius Apolinaris (son of?) Hierax

died in Alexandria.

Century of Posidonius:

Aurelius Apollonides dr. 296

Aurelius Horigenes dr. 296

Julius Saturnilus dr. 296

Century of Paniscus:

Aurelius Silvanus dr. 296.

Oxford, U.K.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 203-209

22. FRAGMENT DE CORRESPONDANCE OFFICIELLE

(Alain Martin)

P.Cair.Cat. 10572 Plate 16 13.8 cm x 19.1 cm
1er quart du IVe s. p.C. Hermoupolis (?)

La description de *P.Cair.Cat.* 10572 par B.P. Grenfell et A.S. Hunt est laconique: "Fragment of a letter or petition. 3rd century."[1] Le texte du papyrus est édité ici sur la base d'un cliché réalisé pour les "Archives photographiques internationales de Papyrologie" et conservé à la "Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth." Le numéro d'inventaire range le document à la suite d'une série de papyrus de provenance assurément hermopolitaine, *P.Cair.Cat.* 10567-71, dont deux au moins appartiennent aux archives de Charitè et de ses proches:[2] 10567 = *P.Cair.Preis.* 4 = *CPR* XVIIA 9 (ca. 310-20 p.C.), 10569 = *CPR* XVIIA 23 (322 p.C.).[3] L'écriture de notre papyrus manifeste une étroite affinité avec une pièce de ces archives, *CPR* XVIIA 5 (planches 4-5) (316 p.C.). À défaut de garantir la provenance du document, ce rapprochement paléographique[4] fournit une indication sur le moment où il a été copié: je propose de le placer dans le 1er quart du IVe s. p.C., soit à l'époque de la Tétrarchie.[5]

Le document revêt assurément la forme d'une lettre (ligne 2 χαίρ[ειν]). L'identité de l'expéditeur nous échappe, comme celle du destinataire, mais le texte s'éclaire le mieux si l'on y voit un fragment de correspondance officielle. Le caractère général du propos conviendrait à une copie de rescrit impérial, mais, compte tenu de la fourchette chronologique définie ci-dessus, il faudrait admettre que l'un des princes de la Tétrarchie ait osé rompre la fiction de la collégialité pour s'exprimer à la 1e personne du singulier (lignes 5-6 ἐποιηcάμην, μοί).[6] On a quelquefois, il est vrai, prêté une telle audace à Licinius, qui fut effectivement seul maître en Égypte de 313 à 324 p.C.[7] Il est sans doute plus sage de situer notre

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[1] B.P. Grenfell et A.S. Hunt, *P.Cair.Cat.* (1903) 72.

[2] Sur ce vaste ensemble archivistique, dont des pans importants ont été publiés dans *P.Charite* et dans *CPR* XVIIA, cf. A. Martin, "Archives privées et cachettes documentaires," dans A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists. Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992* (Copenhagen 1994) 576-7. La pièce la plus ancienne date de 312 p.C. (*CPR* XVIIA 1), la plus récente de 348 p.C. (*Stud.Pal.* XX 98 = *P.Charite* 8).

[3] R.S. Bagnall et K.A. Worp, "Five Papyri on Fourth Century Money and Prices," *BASP* 20 (1983) 6 proposent de rattacher également à ces archives *P.Cair.Cat.* 10571 = *SB* XVI 12826 (340 p.C.).

[4] Le modèle de cette écriture est à chercher dans une calligraphie empruntée à la chancellerie et attestée, dès le 1er quart du IIIe s. p.C., dans *BGU* I 296 (= *SB* XVI 12785) = Schubart, *PGB* n° 32a; cf. Schubart, *Pal.* 79. *P.Col.* IX 247 = *SB* XX 14661 (ca. 324-6 p.C.), qui appartient peut-être aux archives de Charitè et consorts, en offre une variante cursive.

[5] J.-M. Carrié et A. Rousselle, *L'Empire romain en mutation, des Sévères à Constantin, 192-337* (Paris 1999) 145-229 ont fourni récemment un aperçu de cette période; cf. S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs. Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284-324* (Oxford 1996) 5-9, auquel j'aurai l'occasion de renvoyer plusieurs fois ci-dessous.

[6] *P.Lips.* 44 = *Chrest.Mitt.* 381 = *C.Pap.Lat.* 241 = S. Corcoran (n. 5) 138, n° 44 (324-37 p.C.) inclut une copie d'un rescrit remontant aux premiers temps de la Tétrarchie: la lettre, rédigée à la 1e personne du pluriel, commence par l'énumération des quatre princes associés à la tête de l'Empire. Rien n'indique que leurs successeurs aient renoncé à cette pratique.

[7] M. Amelotti, "Da Diocleziano a Costantino. Note in tema di costituzioni imperiali," *SDHI* 27 (1961) 269, n. 81 = *Scritti giuridici* (Torino 1996) 520, n. 81 explique de cette façon *P.Thead.* 49 = *P.Sakaon* 30.2 où il est fait mention du seul

texte dans le cadre d'un échange entre un fonctionnaire de l'administration égyptienne (p.ex., un stratège-*exactor*)[8] et un de ses subalternes (p.ex., un *praepositus pagi*). Un administré désireux de mettre fin à son activité d'agriculteur (lignes 8-9: ἀφίcτacθαι | τῆc γεωργίαc) n'a respecté ni la procédure, ni l'échéance légales (lignes 7-8: ο[ὔ]τε κ[α]τὰ καιρὸν οὔτε κατὰ νόμουc).[9] L'auteur de la lettre rappelle les grandes lignes de la réglementation en vigueur: il convient, après s'être acquitté du montant des loyers, d'adresser une requête au préfet; en cas d'accord, le demandeur sera libéré avant la date d'une "inspection" fixée par un édit impérial. Le papyrus rejoint ainsi le petit dossier, datant pour l'essentiel du Haut-Empire, qui illustre la cessation anticipée d'un contrat de location de terre.[10] Lorsque, dans les pièces connues à ce jour, une autorisation est sollicitée d'un représentant de l'État en vue d'une telle cessation, c'est au stratège que s'adresse le demandeur.[11] Notre document prévoit un recours au préfet (ligne 10: τῷ μεγέθει τῆc ἡγεμονίαc). Il est possible que cette divergence s'explique par le statut particulier du lopin concerné.[12] Mais il se peut aussi, indépendamment du statut de la terre, que le recours au préfet plutôt qu'au stratège s'inscrive dans le train de réformes administratives et fiscales que l'Égypte (comme le reste de l'Empire) a connu sous la Tétrarchie.[13]

Certains aspects du texte (lignes 12-3: τῆc καταπα|[τήcεωc κατὰ τὸ θεῖον π]ρόcταγμα; 15-6: τοὺc χρεώc[ταc τ]οῦ | [ἱερωτάτου ταμείου]) ne prennent d'ailleurs tout leur relief, comme j'espère le montrer, que si on les met en rapport avec les efforts déployés par Dioclétien pour réorganiser la fiscalité, en particulier la levée de l'impôt foncier. Rappelons que ces efforts, sans doute amorcés dès 287 p.C., ont été précisés en Égypte par un édit du préfet Aristius Optatus daté du 16 mars 297 p.C.[14] Les années 298-302 p.C. sont caractérisées par une intense activité de recensement sur le terrain: dépôts de déclarations foncières, opérations de vérification et de révision, établissement d'un cadastre de la terre cultivable.[15] Les procédures mises en œuvre pour ce faire demeurent entourées de nombreuses incertitudes. Je serais

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Licinius; J.D. Thomas, *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 807 place le document avant 314 p.C. Cf. cependant S. Corcoran (n. 5) 277-8: "All imperial pronouncements will have included the names of both emperors [i.e. Constantine and Licinius] as joint issuers."

[8] Rappelons que l'époux de Charitè, Aurelios Adelphios, fut stratège du nome Hermopolite en 314 p.C.; sur sa carrière (plusieurs pièces des archives lui confèrent les titres de gymnasiarque et de bouleute), cf. K.A. Worp, *CPR* XVIIA (1991) 10-11.

[9] Je n'exclus pas que la correspondance concerne plusieurs contrevenants plutôt qu'un seul; j'utilise le singulier par commodité.

[10] Cf. J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri.* Münch.Beitr. 41 (München 1958) 169-71.

[11] Cf. *PSI* I 57 (51 p.C.), *P.Lond.* III 1231 (p.108) (144 p.C.), *P.Graux* I 8 = *SB* IV 7468 (221 p.C.).

[12] Rien n'oblige en tout cas à penser que nous soyons en présence d'une terre dont la mise en culture résulte d'une assignation forcée; sur cette procédure (désignée au début du IVe s. p.C. à l'aide du substantif ἐπινέμηcιc), cf. G. Poethke, *Epimerismos. Betrachtungen zur Zwangspacht in Ägypten während der Prinzipatszeit.* Pap.Brux. 8 (Bruxelles 1969) 63-6.

[13] Sur les formes qu'ont prises en Égypte ces réformes, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du Diocèse (284-382)* (Bruxelles 1964) 34-40.

[14] *SB* V 7622 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 1 = S. Corcoran (n. 5) 174, n° 4.

[15] Je renvoie aux enquêtes détaillées de J. Lallemand (n. 13) 168-82 et de D. Bonneau, "La disparition de l'*épiskepsis* officielle des terres au IVe s. ap. J.-C.," dans J. Wolski (ed.), *Actes du Xe Congrès international de Papyrologues. Varsovie - Cracovie, 3-9 septembre 1961* (Wroclaw - Varsovie - Cracovie 1964) 137-49; ead., *Le fisc et le Nil. Incidences des irrégularités de la crue du Nil sur la fiscalité foncière dans l'Égypte grecque et romaine* (Paris 1971) 198-203. Cf. en général J.-M. Carrié et A. Rousselle (n. 5) 190-3.

heureux si, à défaut de les dissiper, le présent document pouvait contribuer à mieux les définir, et par là à affermir notre connaissance d'une époque-charnière, si bien servie par les recherches du Professeur J. David Thomas.[16]

La marge droite est conservée aux lignes 4-15; la marge gauche est partiellement conservée aux lignes 8-9. L'écriture est parallèle aux fibres.

[ ] βου[λευτ - -]
[ ] χαίρ[ειν.]
[ ] ἀποῦcιν [ ]
4 [ ] ρου τῆc γῆc ευ [. .] . .
[πρόνοι]αν ἐποιηcάμην
[ἅ]περ φανερά μοι κα-
[. . . . .] πεποίηκαc ο[ὔ]τε κ[α]τὰ καιρὸν οὔτε κατὰ νό-
8 μουc γέγονεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βουλόμενοι ἀφίcτacθαι
τῆc γεωργίαc πρῶτον πληρώcαντεc τοὺc
[φόρουc ὀφείλουcίν] τε τῷ μεγέθει τῆc ἡγεμονίαc
[ἐντυχεῖν περὶ ὧνπε]ρ [ἀ]ξιοῦcιν καὶ ἐπιδὰν cυνχω-
12 [ρηθῶcιν ἐκβαίνουc]ιν πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆc καταπα-
[τήcεωc κατὰ τὸ θεῖον π]ρόcταγμα· ὁ δὲ μήτε ἐντυχὼν
[τῷ μεγέθει τῆc ἡγεμονία]c μήτε κελευcθεὶc ἀναχωρουν-
[τ - -] . τοὺc χρεώc[τac τ]οῦ
16 [ἱερωτάτου ταμείου] . . . . . ναι . [. . . . .] .
[ ] . [ ]

11 l. ἐπειδάν

(Traduction des lignes 6-14)

… (les faits) que tu m'as signalés ne se sont produits ni en temps opportun, ni conformément aux lois. En effet, ceux qui veulent se soustraire aux activités agricoles, après avoir d'abord payé les loyers, doivent adresser une requête à sa grandeur le préfet au sujet de ce qu'ils demandent et, quand ils y sont autorisés, ils se retirent avant la date de l'inspection fixée par l'édit divin; quant à celui qui n'a pas adressé de requête à sa grandeur le préfet et qui n'a pas reçu d'ordre ...

[16] Je ne mentionne ici, parmi les travaux de J.D. Thomas, que ceux qui concernent un point abordé dans la présente contribution: sur le rythme et la dénomination des cycles de taxation entamés en 287, cf. "*Epigraphai* and Indictions in the Reign of Diocletian," *BASP* 15 (1978) 133-45; sur la relation entre la révolte de 297/8 (ou 296/7?) et l'édit du préfet Aristius Optatus (n. 14), cf. "The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 253-79, part. 271; sur l'équivalence des titres de stratège et d'*exactor* à partir de 307/8 (date à laquelle apparaît aussi le *praepositus pagi*), cf. "*Strategos* and *exactor* in the Fourth Century: One Office or Two?," *Cd'É* 70 (1995) 230-9.

1 βου[λευτ - -]: La séquence commence par un tracé sinueux dont le mouvement rappelle l'initiale de βου̣λόμενοι̣ à la ligne 8 (la boucle inférieure de la lettre aurait été laissée ici entrouverte). Parmi les restitutions que suggère ce rapprochement, je retiens une forme de βουλευτής, au nominatif ou au datif, selon que le mot se rapporte à l'expéditeur ou au destinataire de la lettre. S'il fallait retenir la seconde hypothèse, il conviendrait d'admettre la perte d'une ligne au moins avant notre ligne 1 pour offrir un espace suffisant à la désignation de l'expéditeur. Il est possible en outre que le corps de la lettre ait été précédé de la date, isolée par un *vacat* (à moins que celle-ci n'ait figuré au bas du texte).

3 ἀπο̣ῦ̣σι̣ν: La lecture n'est pas assurée, mais une forme du verbe ἄπειμι (soit le participe présent au datif masculin pluriel, "qui sont absents") ne surprendrait pas dans le contexte.

4-5 [--] . ρου τῆς γῆς ευ . [. .] . . | [-- πρόνοι]α̣ν ἐποιησάμην: À la ligne 5, le trait qui aboutit contre le N qui précède ἐποιησάμην peut appartenir à un A (H et O sont en tout cas exclus): je restitue *exempli gratia* l'accusatif πρόνοιαν, souvent associé à une forme de ποιέω à la voix moyenne; cf. *SB* IV 7361 = XIV 11478.6-7 (210/1 p.C.): οἱ κατὰ κερὸν (l. καιρὸν) ἡγεμόνες τὴν πρόνοιαν ποιούμενοι τῆς | γῆς, *P.Cair.Isid.* 77.22-3 (320 p.C.): τοῦ καιροῦ ... ἐν ᾧ χρὴ τῆς γῆς | πρό[νο]ιαν ποιήσασθαι. Le génitif τῆς γῆς, à la ligne 4, dépend peut-être de [πρόνοι]α̣ν, comme dans les deux textes cités (à moins que ce rôle ne revienne au mot terminé par - . ρου).

6-7 [- - ἅ]π̣ε̣ρ̣ φανερά μοι κα|[- -] πεποίηκας: L'expression peut être rapprochée de *P.Lond.* III 924 (p.134) = *W.Chrest.* 355.13 (187/8 p.C.): ὅπερ καὶ σὺ (l. σοὶ) φανερὸν ἐ̣ποιήσαμεν. Il ne manque que 6-7 lettres au début de la ligne 7. Je ne crois pas qu'il soit possible de restituer κα[ί] à la fin de la ligne 6; la syllabe Κα- pourrait constituer l'amorce d'un nom propre (celui du destinataire de la lettre, au vocatif).

8-9 ἀφίστασθαι | τῆς γεωργίας: Les quelques parallèles que j'ai relevés pour cette expression sont tardifs, mais ils proviennent presque exclusivement du nome Hermopolite: p.ex. *SB* VI 9085 (inv. 16050).23-4 (579 p.C.): ἀποστῆναι τῆς γεωργίας τῶν αὐτῶν | [ἀρουρῶν].

8-14 Les lignes 8-9, intégralement conservées, permettent d'apprécier l'ampleur des lacunes initiales des lignes 10-4 (14-7 ou 16-9 lettres selon les cas). Je me suis efforcé de restituer *exempli gratia* un texte suivi, en recourant à des expressions attestées soit ailleurs dans le papyrus, soit dans des documents parallèles ou contemporains.

9-10 πληρώ̣σ̣αντε̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣ὺς̣ | [φόρους]: Le verbe πληρόω est couramment utilisé dans les papyrus pour désigner le paiement intégral d'une somme due. La voix varie selon que l'on se place du point de vue du créancier (le cas échéant, le propriétaire d'un bien loué) ou du débiteur (le cas échéant, le locataire): *SB* XII 10766.2 (2e m. du Ve s. p.C.): ἐπλήρωσας τὸν φόρον; *BGU* II 409.8-9 (313 p.C.): πεπληρ[ῶς]θαί μαι (l. με) | τὸν φόρον, *P.Ant.* II 106.10-1 (304 p.C.): πεπλήρωμαι τὼν | φόρων (l. τὸν φόρον), *O.Bodl.* II 2138.3-4 (début du IVe s. p.C.): πεπλήρωμαι παρὰ σοῦ τὸν φόρον μου ὑπὲρ ἧς | ἐγεώρ̣γ̣η̣σας γῆς. Dans les exemples cités, le verbe régit le substantif φόρος, qui désigne un loyer payé en espèces (à la différence de ἐκφόριον, qui caractérise un loyer payé en nature); dans les trois derniers cas, le loyer se rapporte à un lopin de terre. Je m'inspire de ces textes pour restituer le pluriel φόρους au début de la ligne 10, en accord avec l'article conservé à la fin de la ligne 9. *P.Graux* I 8 = *SB* IV 7468.6-7, cité plus haut (n. 11), fait également du règlement des loyers dus une condition pour une rupture anticipée d'un contrat de location de terre.

10-11 τῷ μ̣ε̣γ̣έθ̣ει τῆς ἡ̣γ̣εμ̣ο̣νίας | [ἐντυχεῖν]: La circonlocution τὸ μέγεθος / μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἡγεμονίας qualifiant le préfet n'était attestée jusqu'à ce jour que dans des documents oxyrhynchites de la 2e m. du IIIe s. ou du début du IVe s. p.C.: p.ex. *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3304.22 (301 p.C.) (μεγαλεῖον), LXI 4122.19 (305 p.C.) (μέγεθος). Le verbe ἐντυγχάνω, régissant le datif, est d'un usage fréquent jusqu'au

IVe s. p.C. pour qualifier l'envoi d'une requête à un fonctionnaire (le cas échéant, au préfet): p.ex. *P.Oslo* III 128.12-5 (ca. 368 p.C.): οὐκ ὀκνή|cω γὰρ ἐντυχεῖν τῇ ἐξουcίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ | λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνοc ... | περὶ τῆc ... ἀταξίαc. Je le restitue ici en m'inspirant du participe ἐντυχών de la ligne 13.

11-12 ἐπιδὰν cυ̣χω|[ρηθῶcιν ἐκβαίνουc]ι̣ν: Le passif cυ̣χω|[ρηθῶcιν] convient mieux à l'ampleur de la lacune que l'actif cυ̣χω|[ρήcη̣] (dont le préfet serait le sujet). Je restitue ensuite une forme de ἐκβαίνω, sur la base de *PSI* I 57.21-2 et de *P.Graux* I 8 = *SB* IV 7468.15, cités plus haut (n. 11), où le verbe qualifie également le fait de quitter un lopin de terre avant l'échéance fixée par un contrat de location.

12-13 πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆc καταπα̣|[τήcεωc]: Le verbe καταπατέω, "je foule aux pieds," et les mots de sa famille ont fait l'objet d'une mise au point par A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Καταπάτηcιc: storia del termine, con un papiro inedito (P.Med. Inv. 63, ispezione di un terreno," dans *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di Papirologia* III (Napoli 1984) 1309-15. Outre le texte mentionné dans le titre de sa contribution, l'auteur relevait neuf occurrences du substantif καταπάτηcιc dans les papyrus, appartenant toutes aux IIIe-IVe s. p.C.[17] Entre-temps seules deux attestations supplémentaires ont été publiées: *P.Köln* VII 316.9 (avant 302 p.C.), *SB* XIV 12208.5 (ca. 350 p.C.). A. Passoni Dell'Acqua montre que le mot, conformément à son étymologie, désigne une inspection de biens fonciers, effectivement menée sur le terrain. Dans la plupart des cas, celle-ci semble résulter d'une initiative locale: p.ex. dans le n° 6 (*Stud.Pal.* V 7 = XX 58), où une καταπάτηcιc est organisée à Hermoupolis, au IIIe s. p.C., sur ordre de la βουλή. Dans un cas, cependant, l'inspection est explicitement mise en rapport avec les opérations de recensement consécutives aux décisions de Dioclétien. Il s'agit du n° 8 (cf. n. 17), où il est fait allusion à une καταπάτηcιc menée plusieurs décennies auparavant, soit vers le début du IVe s. p.C., par le *censitor* Sabinus, attesté ailleurs en pareil contexte (cf. n. 18): cf. J. Lallemand (n. 13) 93-4; D. Bonneau, "La disparition de l'*épiskepsis*" (n. 15) 145. Dans notre texte, la tournure prépositionnelle [κατὰ τὸ θεῖον π]ρόcτα̣γμα plaide en faveur d'une initiative centrale. L'absence d'une date précise nous interdit toutefois de déterminer si l'inspection en question a été réalisée dans la foulée des décisions de Dioclétien ou si elle illustre une vérification postérieure, jusqu'à présent ignorée.

13 [κατὰ τὸ θεῖον π]ρόcτα̣γμα: L'usage du substantif πρόcταγμα dans la langue administrative ne s'éteint pas avec l'époque ptolémaïque, ainsi que l'a déjà observé M.-Th. Lenger, "Les *prostagmata* des rois Lagides," *RIDA* 1 (1948) 123-4, part. 124, n. 2; cf. M. Amelotti, J. Bingen & M.-Th. Lenger, "Προcτάγματα βαcιλέων (*Gnomon* § 37)," *Cd'É* 25 (1950) 318-9 = M. Amelotti, *Scritti giuridici* (n. 7) 276-7, part. 319, n. 2 = 277, n. 2. Il est attesté sporadiquement à l'époque romaine, avant de connaître une résurgence remarquable à la fin du IIIe s. et dans la 1e m. du IVe s. p.C. Le plus souvent, le mot qualifie alors un édit impérial relatif aux opérations de recensement décidées par Dioclétien: aux exemples de cet emploi recensés par M.-Th. Lenger, on joindra notamment *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.145-6 (300 p.C.): ἐν ταῖc μικρῷ | πρότερον γενομέναιc κα̣[τὰ τὸ θεῖο]ν̣ πρόcταγμα ἀπογραφαῖc πρὶν τῆc τῶν κηνcιτόρων ἀφίξεωc.[18] Les archives de Charitè et de ses proches ont livré l'une des attestations les plus

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[17] Le texte de *P.Med.* inv. 63r, point de départ de l'enquête d'A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, figure maintenant dans *SB* XVI 12733 (IIIe s. p.C.). Sa liste n'appelle qu'une seule mise à jour, en plus des suppléments que je fournis: n° 8 (*SB* V 8246 = *P.Col.* VII 175) = *SB* XVI 12692 (339 p.C.). Les tablettes de la Grande Oasis signalées en annexe à la liste ont été reprises dans *SB* XIV 11938 (ca. 246-9 p.C.).

[18] La place manque pour reproduire ou compléter la liste de M.-Th. Lenger. Je me contente, outre la référence additionnelle tirée de *P.Panop.Beatty* (cf. aussi 2.22, 50, 52 et 95), de mettre à jour les renvois qui concernent les opérations de recensement et qui ont été réédités dans *P.Cair.Isid.* ou dans *P.Sakaon*: *P.Corn.* 19 = *SB* X 10726 = *P.Sakaon* 76.3 (298 p.C.), *SB*

tardives de cet usage du mot, cette fois sans rapport apparent avec une opération de recensement: *CPR* XVIIA 37.8 (ca. 340 p.C.): ὡς ἐκ θείου προστάγμ[ατος]. Dans ces deux derniers textes (et dans de nombreux autres) πρόσταγμα est précédé de l'adjectif θεῖον. Je ne vois pas de raison de douter, avec S. Corcoran (n. 5) 170, que l'épithète dénote la provenance impériale de l'édit en question: à ma connaissance, l'adjectif ne s'observe pas dans les textes où πρόσταγμα désigne de manière assurée l'édit d'un préfet; cf. *P.Oxy.* LIV 3758.92-3 (325 p.C.): τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἐπάρχου τῆς Αἰγύπτου | Φλαυίου Μάγνου. La restitution [κατὰ τὸ θεῖον π]ρόσταγμα comble parfaitement la lacune de la ligne 13, compte tenu de l'espace déjà octroyé aux syllabes finales du mot καταπα|[τήσεως]. C'est à celui-ci (et non à l'ensemble de la phrase qui précède) que je rapporte notre groupe prépositionnel; la répétition de τῆς devant κατά rendrait la syntaxe plus limpide, mais la place manque et l'article est absent aussi de la tournure très proche restaurée par J. D. Thomas, "*Epigraphai* and Indictions in the Reign of Diocletian" (n. 16) 142, n. 48 dans *SB* VI 9098.2-3 (302 p.C.): θίας διατυπ(ώσεως) κατὰ τὸν θῖον | νόμον; cf. *P.Col.* VII 137.58 (302 p.C.). En raison du caractère elliptique de l'expression utilisée dans le papyrus, il est impossible de déterminer si πρόσταγμα se réfère aux décisions initiales de Dioclétien, lesquelles auraient prévu la tenue d'une καταπάτησις (éventuellement renouvelée périodiquement), dans le cadre des opérations de recensement, ou à une décision ultérieure des Tétrarques, laquelle ne porterait que sur l'organisation ponctuelle d'une καταπάτησις.

14-16 Les lignes finales du document sont trop abîmées pour autoriser une reconstruction suivie. Le sens se devine cependant sans trop de risque: le contrevenant, en quittant la terre dont il avait la charge sans respecter la réglementation, sera assimilé aux débiteurs du fisc.

14-15 ἀναχωρουν|[τ - -]: Le verbe ἀναχωρέω, "je me retire," est attesté plusieurs fois au IVe s. p.C., soit dans son sens premier, soit dans un sens imagé. Dans le contexte du papyrus, il paraît naturel de songer à la signification qui avait valu au substantif ἀναχώρησις de désigner aux siècles précédents la fuite des contribuables; cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 76.14, *SB* VI 9187 = *P.Col.* VII 169.9, *SB* VI 9188 = *P.Col.* VII 170.15 (318 p.C.).

15-16 τοὺς χρεώς[τας τ]οῦ | [ἱερωτάτου ταμείου]: Dans les papyrus, le complément déterminatif le plus fréquent du mot χρεώστης, "débiteur," est le génitif τοῦ φίσκου ou τοῦ ταμείου (plus correctement ταμιείου), désignant le trésor public: p.ex. *BGU* I 8 = *Chrest.Wilck.* 170.ii.30 (248 p.C.): χρε[ώστο]υ το[ῦ ἱ]ερωτά[τ]ου ταμείου. Je restitue la seconde forme, qui est de mise au IVe s. p.C., en la faisant précéder, comme dans l'exemple cité (et dans de nombreux autres textes), du superlatif ἱερωτάτου. Faut-il conclure que notre contrevenant devient débiteur du fisc parce que le lopin dont il était locataire appartenait à cette institution? Il est vrai que des textes attestent l'existence d'une telle catégorie de terre:[19] p.ex. *SB* XIV 11614.10 (303 p.C.): γῆν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου. Une explication moins spécifique se dessine à la lecture de *P.Cair.Isid.* 126.3-8 (308/9 p.C.): οὐκ ἀγνω[εῖς] (l. ἀγνοεῖς) τὸ κελευς[θὲ]ν | ὑπὸ τῆς θείας κ[αὶ ο]ὐρανίου αὐτ[ῶν τύ]χης τῶν | δεσποτῶν ἡμ[ῶν] βασιλέων πάντ[ας] τοὺς ξένους | τοὺς εὑρισκωμένους (l. εὑρισκομένους) ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ... | ... ἐπανεγκῖν (l. ἐπενεγκεῖν) τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ |

V 7623 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 2.6 (298 p.C.), *SB* V 7669 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 3.5 (299 p.C.), *SB* V 7670 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 4.5 (299 p.C.), *SB* V 7671 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 5.4 (299 p.C.), *P.Ryl.* IV 656 = *P.Thead.* 55 = *P.Sakaon* 3.4 (300 p.C.), *P.Thead.* 54 = *P.Sakaon* 2.5 (300 p.C.), *SB* V 7673 = *P.Cair.Isid.* 8.5 = S. Corcoran (n. 5) 186, n° 23 (309 p.C.), *P.Stras.* 42 = *W.Chrest.* 210 = *P.Sakaon* 1.4 (310 p.C.). À l'exception des deux derniers, tous les documents de cette liste mentionnent le *censitor* Sabinus.

[19] On en explique en général l'origine par des confiscations réalisées aux dépens de contribuables déficients: cf. J. Lallemand (n. 13) 79; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt. The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford 1996) 60-1.

ταμι[εί]ῳ. Il est fait état là d'une décision des Tétrarques enjoignant de livrer au fisc (contre récompense) tous les fugitifs; cf. J. Lallemand (n. 13) 227. En quittant de manière irrégulière la terre dont il était locataire, l'homme ne se serait-il pas rangé lui-même dans la catégorie des fugitifs? Il ne serait pas étonnant en ce cas de voir le trésor public, dans le fil de la volonté impériale, le considérer désormais comme l'un de ses débiteurs.

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 211-215

23. QUATTRO CONTRATTI DI TRASPORTO VERSO PANOPOLIS

(Rosario Pintaudi)

PL III/541 Plates 18-19 33 cm x 24 cm
7 settembre 338 d.C. Panopolis?

Ho restaurato (distendendolo da un grumo informe) e trascritto per la prima volta questo papiro nel 1980; dopo ne ho discusso per lettera con J. Rea e P.J. Sijpesteijn il testo e l'interpretazione; ho quindi chiuso il tutto in un cassetto che riapro in occasione dell'omaggio ad un caro amico di allora che viene adesso con ragione celebrato.

Il papiro era ed è assai malridotto e con il restauro mi ero fermato ad una semplice stesura di fibre e collocazione tra due vetri, che non ho più aperti e non aprirò per evitare ulteriori danni. Lungo le fibre si conservano quattro contratti di trasporto debitamente datati e sottoscritti, ma irrimediabilmente mutili nella parte iniziale.

Il testo conservato dei quattro esemplari permette integrazioni e conferme reciproche: si ha un'indicazione fiscale e cronologica ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοcίου τῆc ια ἰνδικτίωνοc (53-4), alla quale seguivano le quantità di prodotto trasportate, di cui restano leggibili almeno βώξια δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μάρια ε (55-6), misure per liquidi (olio/vino) ben sigillate (γεγυψωμένα καὶ ἐcφραγιcμένα), che il trasportatore si impegnava a consegnare o ad un inviato di coloro che spedivano (ἢ τῷ ἀποcταλέντι ὑπ' αὐτῶν) o a Panopolis (ἢ εἰc Πανὸc πόλιν) entro dieci giorni ὡc παρέλαβον. I φόρετρα erano a carico del trasportatore, pena lo spergiuro con le conseguenze di legge.

I contratti sono esattamente datati, dopo la loro formulazione, al 10 di Thoth (7 settembre) del consolato di Ursus e Polemius (338 d.C.); si concludono con le sottoscrizioni mal conservate e poco leggibili del trasportatore e di chi scrive per lui.

Sul *verso* lungo le fibre si conservano resti assai malridotti e illeggibili delle annotazioni del contenuto: purtroppo quanto riesco a leggere sul *verso* del terzo e del quarto contratto (rr. 51 e 68) non mi è di alcun aiuto.

I primi tre contratti paiono scritti dalla stessa mano, mentre per il quarto cambia non solo la mano, ma anche l'ampiezza delle righe.

Nella parte iniziale mancante nei singoli contratti avrebbe dovuto esserci al dativo un'intestazione a più persone, i riceventi, seguita da παρὰ Αὐρηλίου δεῖνοc ..., che nel caso di un trasporto fluviale avrebbe potuto essere ναυκλήρου κυβερνήτου + la descrizione dell'imbarcazione e della sua portata, quindi la provenienza ἀπὸ ... νομοῦ ... (χαίρειν). Seguiva ὁμολογῶ, con (ὀμνύc, cfr. r. 64) il giuramento, παρειληφέναι καὶ ἐμβεβλῆcθαι: tutto questo nel caso di un trasporto fluviale, per il quale ho tenuto presente il *P.Vind.Sijp.* 1 del 23 dicembre 338 d.C. due contratti ancora uniti, di tre mesi posteriori ai nostri. Un riferimento bibliografico obbligato è A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht*. Stud.Amst. 13 (Zutphen 1978).

Nei nostri contratti però si trasportano liquidi, olio o vino, contenuti in βώξια / μάρια, misure (cfr. *infra*) assai raramente utilizzate nella valle del Nilo, ma ben attestate nelle Oasi. L'espressione usata è

κατοίcω καὶ παραδώcω (r. 59) ed il κατά fa pensare (cfr. *infra*) ad un trasporto lungo le strade che dalle Oasi occidentali portavano a Panopolis.

I contratti furono quindi stipulati, scritti a Panopolis, oppure da Panopolis provenivano le persone implicate nelle operazioni? Il dubbio è d'obbligo!

col. I

(m.1)]...α...
]..... .
].. εδρου
4]ντων
] ἀπὸ τοῦ
δημοcίου τῆc] ια̣ ἰνδικτίονοc
]... καὶ βώξια δύο
8 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μάρια πέν]τε γεγυψωμένα
καὶ ἐcφραγιcμένα τ]ῇ αὐτῶν cφραγῖδι,
ἅπερ κατοίcω καὶ πα]ραδώcω ἢ τῷ ἀπο-
cταλέντι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἢ εἰc] τὴν Πανὸc πόλιν
12 εἴcω ἡμερῶν δ]έκα ὡc παρέλαβον.
πεπλήρωμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ τ]ούτων φόρετρα
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶc ὡμολ]ό̣γηcα.
ὑπατείαc Οὔρcου καὶ Πολεμίου τ]ῶν λαμπροτάτων
16 Θὼθ ι]
vac.
(m.a) Αὐρήλιοc]....cαπ̣ιc ὁ προκ(είμενοc)
παρέλαβον εἰc]. ψ̣α̣ τὰ προκεί-
μενα] tracce
20] tracce
] tracce
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ]. ηχθι̣..
(margine inferiore cm 4)

col. II

(m.1)] tracce
24] tracce
] tracce
καὶ βώξια δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐ]τὸ μάρια
πέντε γεγυψω]μένα καὶ ἐcφραγιcμένα
28 τῇ αὐτῶν cφρ]α̣γῖδ̣ι, ἅ[π]ερ κατοίcω καὶ
παραδώcω ἢ] τῷ ἀπο[cταλ]έντι ὑπ'

αὐτῶν ἢ εἰς τ]ὴν Πανὸς πόλιν εἴςω
ἡμερῶ]ν δέκα ὡς παρέλαβον.
32 πεπλήρωμαι δὲ] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τὰ τούτων φόρετρα
καὶ ἐπερωτηθ]εὶς ὡμολόγηςα.
ὑπατείας Οὔρςου] κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων.
Θὼθ ϊ
36 (m.a) Αὐρήλι]ος Κλώτιος ὁ προκ(είμενος) παρέλα-
βον εἰς] tracce
] tracce
(margine inferiore cm 9)

col. III

(m.1) tracce
γε̣γυ̣ψ̣ω̣μένα καὶ ἐςφρ̣[αγιςμένα τῇ]
40 αὐτῶν ςφρ[αγ]ῖδι, ἅπερ κατο̣[ίςω καὶ παρα-]
δώςω ἢ τῷ ἀποςταλέντι [ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἢ]
εἰς τὴν Πανὸς πόλιν εἴςω ἡ̣μ̣ερῶ̣ν
δέκ̣α̣ ὡς παρέλ[αβ]ον. πεπλήρωμ[αι δὲ καὶ τὰ]
44 τούτων φόρετρα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγηςα.
ὑπατείας Ο̣ὔρςου̣ καὶ Πολεμίου τῶ̣[ν] λ̣α̣[μπροτάτων]
Θὼθ ϊ/
(m.a) Αὐρήλιος Κ̣ . . ε̣χ̣ων Η̣μ̣ . . .
48 ὁ προκ(είμενος) παρέλ̣α̣β̣ο̣ν̣ τὰ προκεί-
[μενα] tracce
[καὶ παραδώςω] tracce [ὡς πρόκ(ειται).

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51 *verso* → . . . . . μυρε̣κ̣ . ια . . . . .

col. IV

(m.2) tracce
52 κων̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ [.] . ν . . [. .]
ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοςίου τῆς ι̣α̣
ἰνδικτίονος ε . . . . . [.] . .
τέςςαρ[. . κ]α̣ὶ̣ βώξια δ̣ύ̣ο
56 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μάρ(ια) ε [γεγυ]ψω-
μένα κ[αὶ] ἐ̣ςφραγιςμένα
τῇ αὐτῶν ςφραγῖδι, ἅπερ
κατοί[ςω κ]α̣ὶ̣ [πα]ρ[αδώ]ςω
60 εἰς τὴν Πανὸς πόλιν εἴςω

ἡμερῶν δέκα ὡς παρ-
έλαβον. πεπλήρωμαι
δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων φόλετρα
64 ἢ ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ θείῳ ὅρκῳ
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
ὑπατε[ίας Οὔρ]σου καὶ Πολεμίου
τῷ[ν λαμπροτάτων Θὼθ ϊ]

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68 *verso* → . . . . . ξον εμυ tracce

5-6 ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου: cfr. 53. Impôt, "rente-impôt" domaniale, cfr. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine," *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 85. Altrimenti ἀπὸ κανόνος, ἀπὸ / ὑπὲρ γενήματος: *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3395.9; XLIX 3481.7; o semplicemente ὑπὲρ τῆς ... ἰνδικτίωνος (e.g. *P.Vind. Sijp.* 1.I 10-1; II 8-9).

6 L'indizione 11ª (se ι̣α̣ è ben letto) = 1° maggio 337 - 30 aprile 338 d.C.; quella utilizzata per scopi fiscali inizia il 1° maggio (6 Pachon), mentre quella adoperata per la datazione inizia più tardi, il 1° luglio (7 Epeiph) o il 29 agosto (1 Thoth); cfr. *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3841, n. 7. Se qui ci si riferisce ad un δημόσιον / γένημα dovrebbe essere quello τῆς παρελθούσης εὐτυχοῦς ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος.

7-8 Cfr. 55-6; per questo tipo di misura per liquidi (olio/vino) cfr. R.S. Bagnall in *P.Kell.* IV, introduzione, p. 49 sgg.; N. Kruit e K.A. Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt," *APF* 45 (1999) 127. L'utilizzazione al di fuori delle Oasi è estremamente improbabile. Per la metrologia il nostro papiro non aiuta molto: si parla di 2 βώξια, ma l'espressione che segue ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μάρια πέντε non è una pura equivalenza (2 βώξια = 5 μάρια) ma un totale di misure per liquidi ridotto a 5 μάρια. In 54-5 purtroppo non riesco a leggere a che tipo di misura si riferisce il sicuro τέσσαρ[che precede καὶ βώξια δύο.

10 Cfr. 40-1; 58-9. Il verbo κατοίκω suggerisce che il punto di partenza del trasporto sia a sud di Panopolis. Con κατα- e verbi di movimento/trasporto si indicava il seguire la corrente del Nilo, quindi verso nord, verso il delta, mentre con ἀνα- si indica il risalire, contro corrente, verso il sud. Così κατέρχομαι ed ἀνέρχομαι, in *P.Oxy.* LX 4087-8 (*mansio* accounts) indicano gli spostamenti tra Ossirinco-Takona e la Tebaide (κατέρχεσθαι ἀπὸ Θηβαΐδος ἐν τῇ πόλει ... spostamenti verso nord; ἀνέρχεσθαι εἰς Θηβαΐδα ἐν μονῇ Τακόνα ... spostamenti verso sud). La stessa contrapposizione κατα- ἀνα-, regolare per gli spostamenti lungo la valle del Nilo sia per via terrestre che fluviale, si osserva anche nel caso dei percorsi che dall'entroterra orientale o occidentale vanno verso la valle. Il regolare alternarsi di καταβαίνω - ἀναβαίνω si riscontra per i viaggi dei corrieri o dei militari di stanza al Mons Claudianus (*O.Claud.* I 157 e *passim*); κατέρχεσθαι (*O.Claud.* II 358.6) , è detto per il corriere diretto a Kena, cioè che si sposta verso la valle.

Le nostre misure, βώξια e μάτια, tipiche delle Oasi occidentali fanno pensare ad un trasporto che da queste oasi è diretto verso la valle a Panopoli.

Con il verbo καταφέρω si indica sia l'operazione di scarico delle mercanzie (dalla nave, *P.Flor.* II 278.II 13), sia, probabilmente, la direzione del trasporto; cfr. *SB* XIV 12217.2 (ringrazio I. Andorlini per avermi raccolto queste informazioni).

12 Cfr. 60-1. Il termine di consegna entro 10 giorni può indicare genericamente un termine massimo entro il quale effettuare l'operazione di trasporto, e non deve essere preso come elemento per determinare la provenienza / distanza del carico da portare a Panopolis.

13 Cfr. 43-4; 62-3. Non ricorre questa generica espressione nelle ναυλωτικαὶ συγγραφαί esaminate da Meyer-Termeer, *op.cit.* (v. introd.); genericamente per i φόρετρα connessi alla spedizione/trasporto del grano cfr. S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (repr. New York 1969) 42-4.

15-16 Cfr. 45-6. Il 7 settembre 338 d.C.; per il consolato di Fl. Ursus e Fl. Polemius cfr. R.S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987) 210-1. L'omissione di Fl. per entrambi non è un'eccezione.

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze

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P.Heid
Ende

Das F
unterh
kann a
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und d
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hande
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[*]

Beständ
numme
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Schuld

[1]

kolle, d
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(1998)
genannt
aus eine
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Bild: W
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407; die
mit 31 d

[2]

nen.

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 217-226

24-25. FRAGMENT EINES BILINGUEN VERHANDLUNGS-PROTOKOLLS*

(Ursula and Dieter Hagedorn)

P.Heid. Inv. G 59 | Plate 20 | 18.5 cm x 29.5 cm
Ende 4./5. Jh. n.Chr. (?) | Herkunft unbekannt

Das Fragment ist an keiner der vier Seiten unversehrt erhalten, jedoch läßt ein relativ hohes Spatium unterhalb von Z. 15 vermuten, daß hier der untere Rand erreicht war. In Anbetracht der erhaltenen Höhe kann auch vor Z. 1 nicht allzu viel verloren sein; es ist zumindest sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß hier das bei Protokollen dieser Art übliche Präskript mit vollständiger Datierung, Angabe des Verhandlungsorts und den das Verfahren eröffnenden Wendungen noch ergänzt werden könnte, weil dann das normale Blattformat in der Höhe überschritten würde.[1] Wir müssen daher folgern, daß der Kolumne, aus der unser Fragment stammt, (mindestens) eine weitere Kolumne vorausgegangen ist,[2] und die erste noch vorhandene Zeile dürfte unter diesen Umständen auch die erste Zeile der Kolumne gewesen sein. Die uns bruchstückhaft erhaltene Kolumne könnte freilich die letzte gewesen sein; vgl. den Komm. zu Z. 15.

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* Als der eine der beiden Autoren dieses Beitrags (D. H.) nach seiner Berufung nach Heidelberg im Jahre 1981 die Bestände der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung zu sichten begann, stieß er sehr bald auch auf das Fragment mit der Inventarnummer P.Heid. Inv. G 59 und erkannte, was zuvor nicht bemerkt worden war, daß es sich um eine griechisch-lateinische Bilingue handelte, vermutlich ein Verhandlungsprotokoll. Da ihm aber die mit der Entzifferung und Interpretation des Stückes verbundenen Probleme unüberwindlich erschienen, wandte er sich Hilfe suchend an denjenigen, von dem er am ehesten Beistand erwartete, nämlich den Spezialisten auf dem Felde der lateinischen Paläographie und besten Kenner der Verwaltungsstrukturen des griechisch-römischen Ägypten, seinen Freund David Thomas, indem er ihm eine Photographie zusammen mit einer provisorischen Abschrift übersandte. Das Hilfeersuchen war nicht umsonst; denn in seiner Antwort vom 17. Februar 1983 ging David Thomas detailliert auf den Text ein und gab eine Vielzahl von wichtigen und förderlichen Hinweisen. Er schloß dann allerdings mit dem Satz: "Anyway it's your problem, Gott sei Dank!", womit der Schwarze Peter, d.h. die Verpflichtung zur Bearbeitung des Textes, wieder in Heidelberg war. Wir freuen uns, in dieser Festschrift die alte Schuld mit großem Dank für die langjährige Freundschaft endlich abtragen zu können.

[1] Bei der Untersuchung von Fragen hinsichtlich des Formulars und der Diplomatik der bilinguen Verhandlungsprotokolle, die in Ägypten bekanntlich erst seit den diokletianischen Reformen begegnen, ist die aktuelle Liste von veröffentlichten Parallelen, die J. David Thomas jüngst im Anhang seines Aufsatzes "P.Ryl. IV 654: the Latin Heading," in *Cd'É* 73 (1998) 125-34 (hier 132-4) mitgeteilt hat, von größter Hilfe. Nachzutragen sind—abgesehen von den von Thomas in Anm. 1 genannten *Descripta*—*SPP* XIV, Tafel XII = *ChLA* XLV 1321 (436 n.Chr.?), wobei es sich vielleicht nur um einen Auszug aus einem solchen Protokoll handelt, und *SB* XVIII 13769 = *ChLA* XLV 1337 (345-352 n.Chr.), wo in Z. 7ff. ein solches Protokoll zitiert wird. –Die Durchsicht des Materials ergibt hinsichtlich der Höhe der verwendeten Papyrusrollen folgendes Bild: Wo die Höhe der Blätter überhaupt noch erkennbar ist, beträgt sie am häufigsten um 26 cm, ist also geringer als die im vorliegenden Fall noch meßbare Höhe; 29.5 cm, wie beim Heidelberger Blatt, beträgt die Höhe auch in *SB* I 5357 = *ChLA* X 407; die größte Höhen, die wir verzeichnet gefunden haben, weisen mit 31.3 cm P.Oxy. *XVI* 1877 = *ChLA* XLVII 1407 und mit 31 cm *P.Lips.* 40 = *ChLA* XII 518 auf.

[2] Die meisten Parallelen umfaßten, soweit der Erhaltungszustand überhaupt Aussagen darüber zuläßt, mehrere Kolumnen.

Wieviel Text in ihr links und rechts des uns vorliegenden Ausschnitts fehlt, läßt sich nicht mehr abschätzen, doch ist ganz ohne Zweifel nur ein sehr kleiner Teil der ehemaligen Kolumnenbreite vorhanden.

Beschrieben ist das Fragment parallel zu den Fasern auf der Rekto-Seite des Blattes, die an einer wenig rechts von der Mitte senkrecht verlaufenden Klebung eindeutig zu erkennen ist; die Rückseite ist unbeschrieben. Bei der ersten flüchtigen Betrachtung hat man den Eindruck, daß mehrere Schreiber am Werk gewesen seien, aber dieser Eindruck täuscht. Er rührt daher, daß ein und derselbe Schreiber mit deutlich unterscheidbaren Stilen gearbeitet hat: Die griechischen Wörter in den Zeilen 4, 10 und 15 sind größer, sorgfältiger und mit teilweise abweichenden Formen der einzelnen Buchstaben geschrieben als die griechischen Partien in den anderen Zeilen und die lateinischen Rahmenwendungen. Bei den so hervorgehobenen Partien handelt es sich, wie nähere Betrachtung zeigt, um die Worte des Verhandlungsvorsitzenden (zu ihm s. unten), die offenbar im Vergleich zu den Reden der übrigen an der Verhandlung beteiligten Personen herausgehoben werden sollten.

Dieses Verfahren ist ebenso in manchen der Parallelen zu beobachten.[3] Aber während man schon lange gesehen hat, daß die Eingangszeile dieser frühbyzantinischen Verhandlungsprotokolle, die ja die Datierung und damit zumeist eine Nennung der regierenden Kaiser enthält, häufig in einer besonders großen und zudem ganz eigenartig stilisierten Schrift gehalten ist,[4] haben wir in der Literatur keine Diskussion des hier interessierenden Phänomens gefunden,[5] das ganz offenbar auf dasselbe Bestreben zurückzuführen ist wie die Hervorhebung der Kaisernamen: Die verschiedenen Ebenen—die kaiserliche Sphäre, die Ebene der zentralen Provinzialverwaltung und die der "normalen" Bevölkerung—sollen schon am Schreibstil deutlich erkennbar und voneinander unterschieden sein.

Auf eine weitere häufig anzutreffende diplomatische Eigenheit der bilinguen Verhandlungsprotokolle ist in diesem Zusammenhang aufmerksam zu machen, da sie anscheinend gleichfalls in P.Heid.

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[3] Ganz deutlich etwa in *ChLA* V 292 (352-354 n.Chr.?); *ChLA* XI 470 (380 n.Chr.); *P.Kell.* I 26 (ca. 389 n.Chr.; vgl. Pl. 26); *SB* XX 14688 (365-400 n.Chr.; vgl. *Tyche* 5 [1990] Tafel 9 und *ChLA* XLIII, S. 38-9); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1879 (8. Sept.-31. Dez. 434 n.Chr.; vgl. *ChLA* XLVII, S. 21); *ChLA* III 217 (437 n.Chr.?; vgl. unten den Anhang); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1876 (ca. 480 n.Chr.; vgl. *ChLA* XLVII, S. 14-5); *P.Mich.* VII 463 (5. Jh.; vgl. Plate XVIII a); *ChLA* XI 471 (5. Jh.?); *SB* I 5357 (5. Jh.; vgl. *ChLA* X, S. 2-3); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 (vor 566/7 n.Chr.; vgl. *ChLA* XLI, S. 49). Andeutungsweise ist das Verfahren auch in *P.Berl.Zill.* 4 (ca. 350 n.Chr.; vgl. Tafel IV und *ChLA* X, S. 85-6) und *P.Lips.* 38 (19. Sept. 390 n.Chr.; vgl. *ChLA* XII, S. 8-9 und 11) erkennbar. Zu wissen, was die unterschiedliche Schrift zu bedeuten hat, kann beim Verständnis eines Dokuments von Wichtigkeit ein. So hat z.B. der Herausgeber von *P.Kell.* I 26—zu Unrecht, wie wir meinen—verschiedene Schreiber in diesem fragmentarischen Protokoll wahrzunehmen geglaubt; das ganze Dokument stammt indessen wohl von einer einzigen Hand; was er mit "M. 3" bezeichnet—die deutlich größer geschriebenen Wörter—, sind Fetzen aus der Rede des Vorsitzenden, des *Praeses Thebaidos* Septimius Eutropius. Auch in dem dürftigen Fragment *ChLA* XLIII 1251 (V n.Chr.) erweisen sich die vergrößerten griechischen Wörter in den Zeilen 3 und 5 auf diese Weise als Rede des Vorsitzenden. In Z. 1 ist dort übrigens *prouinc(iae) Ar[cadiae* anstelle von *prouinciae* [zu lesen (teilweise so schon *ChLA* XLVIII, S. 119), und in Z. 2 würden wir προ]νοεῖν anstelle von]ποεῖν und in Z. 3 προν]οήϲει anstelle von π]οήϲει vorziehen; in Z. 5 statt το]ῦ̣το γενήϲεται vielleicht α]ὐ̣τογενῆ ἔϲται. –Weitere Beispiele ließen sich leicht anfügen.

[4] Vgl. dazu J.-O. Tjäder, "La misteriosa «scrittura grande» di alcuni papiri ravennati e il suo posto nella storia della corsiva latina e nella diplomatica romana e bizantina dall'Egitto a Ravenna," *Studi Romagnoli* 3 (1952) 173-221, zu den bilinguen Verhandlungsprotokollen aus Ägypten bes. S. 199-207.

[5] In manchen Bänden der *ChLA* hat man allerdings die Unterschiede in der Schriftgröße auch im Druck kenntlich zu machen versucht.

Inv. 59 befolgt war (vgl. Z. 4, 10, 12 und den Kommentar zu Z. 15): Während die Reden der übrigen an der Verhandlung beteiligten Personen an einer beliebigen Stelle innerhalb des Dokuments eingeführt werden können, nämlich immer da, wo die Wiedergabe der Worte des Vorredners endet, steht die entsprechende Floskel für die Einführung der Reden des Vorsitzenden immer am Zeilenanfang, unabhängig davon, wie weit die vorangehende Zeile reichte.[6] Da ferner alle Zeilen, die nicht mit einer solchen Nennung des Vorsitzenden beginnen, deutlich nach rechts eingerückt werden und auf diese Weise folglich eine Unterordnung erfahren, steht der Name des Verhandlungsvorsitzenden immer an exponierter Stelle.[7]

Große Mühe bereitet uns die Datierung des Stücks, die nur aufgrund paläographischer Überlegungen erfolgen kann, da keine anderen evidenten Datierungskriterien zur Verfügung stehen. Bei einem Vergleich mit den Paralleltexten glauben wir jedoch in z.B. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381 vom 3. Aug. 375 (abgebildet auf den prächtigen Tafeln VII und VIII) und *P.Lips.* 38 = *M.Chr.* 97 vom 19. Sept. 390 (abgebildet in *ChLA* XII, S. 8-9 und 11) so viele Übereinstimmungen mit der Schrift des vorliegenden Protokolls (in ihren verschiedenen Ausprägungen) gefunden zu haben, daß uns eine Datierung in das Ende des 4. Jhs. gerechtfertigt erscheint. Freilich können wir eine Entstehung erst im 5. Jh. keineswegs ausschließen. Mögen andere mit schärferen Augen für die Schriftentwicklung unseren Datierungsvorschlag korrigieren oder präzisieren.

Was das in P.Heid. Inv. G 59 protokollierte Verfahren zum Gegenstand gehabt hat, bleibt wegen des desolaten Erhaltungszustandes des Stücks unklar. Die Wendung παρακαλῶ, εἰ παρίcταται, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνεθῆ[ναι in Z. 7, mit der unseres Erachtens ein Advokat für die Entlassung seines Mandanten plädiert, scheint immerhin dafür zu sprechen, daß eine Einkerkerung (in einem Schuldenprozeß?) eine Rolle gespielt hat. Einer der am Verfahren Beteiligten war ein gewisser Artemidoros (vgl. Z. 8, 10 und 11), doch bleibt offen, in welcher Funktion (d.h. ob als Angeklagter, als Advokat oder als Zeuge) er anwesend war.

Das eigentliche Interesse des Fragments liegt in der Person des Verhandlungsvorsitzenden. Sein Name ist zwar nirgendwo erhalten, und auch seine Amtsbezeichnung ist weitgehend verstümmelt, aber was wir in den Zeilen 4 und 10 (vgl. auch Z. 12) noch erkennen können, ist interessant genug. Der Vorsitzende war danach *defensor Alexandreae*.

Die Geschichte des Amtes bzw. der Ämter, die in Ägypten mit dem Titel *defensor* und dessen griechischen Äquivalenten cύνδικοc und ἔκδικοc bezeichnet worden sind, hat zuletzt B. Kramer skizziert.[8] Sie unterscheidet im wesentlichen drei Verwendungen der Termini (ihre Rubriken 4 und 5 können

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[6] Positiv gewendet heißt das: Wenn eine Zeile ein *vacat* aufweist, besteht eine große Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die nächste Zeile mit der Nennung des Verhandlungsvorsitzenden begann.

[7] Offenkundige Beispiele für diese Praxis liefern *SB* XVIII 13295 (298-300 n.Chr.); *P.Oxy.* LI 3619 (ca. 314-325 n.Chr.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2952 (315 n.Chr.?); *P.Sakaon* 33 = *P.Ryl.* IV 653 (3. Juni 318-320 n.Chr.); *P.Sakaon* 34 = *P.Thead.* 13 (12. Dez. 321 n.Chr.); *P.Abinn.* 63 (13. Nov. 350 n.Chr.); *P.Berl.Zill.* 4 (ca. 350 n.Chr.); *P.Lips.* 38 = *M.Chr.* 97 (19. Sept. 390 n.Chr.); *P.Lips.* 40 (4. /5. Jh. n.Chr.); *SB* I 5357 (5. Jh. n.Chr.); *ChLA* XLIII 1247 (5. Jh.); *PSI* XIII 1309 (5./6. Jh. n.Chr.). *P.Lond.* III 971 S. 128 = *M.Chr.* 95 (4. Jh. n.Chr.) ist eine Abschrift eines bilinguen Protokolls, in der alle lateinischen Rahmentexte weggelassen sind, weil der Schreiber anscheinend des Lateinischen nicht mächtig war (vgl. J. Rea in *P.Oxy.* LI 3619.9 Anm.). Das Layout seiner Vorlage hat er aber beibehalten, und so läßt sich erkennen, daß auch dort dieselbe Praxis angewandt war.

[8] B. Kramer, "Liste der Syndikoi, Ekdikoi und Defensores in den Papyri Ägyptens," in M. Capasso u.a. (Hrsg.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana* I. Pap.Flor. 19 (Firenze 1990) 305-29.

hier außer Acht bleiben): Nach den ἔκδικοι/cύνδικοι im rein privaten Bereich, die seit der frühesten Römerzeit bezeugt sind, können wir seit ca. 222/235 n.Chr. (d.h. *de facto* wohl schon seit der Einführung der βουλαί in Ägypten) bis 326 n.Chr. ein Zweierkollegium von cύνδικοι in städtischen Diensten beobachten. Die dritte Gruppe, die uns hier allein interessieren kann, bilden die *defensores civitatis*, die seit Juni 331 in Ägypten nachweisbar sind. Sie heißen griechisch ἔκδικος oder cύνδικος, später (seit etwa 375, s. auch unten) auch δηφήνcωρ, und treten nicht mehr im Kollegium, sondern als einzelne Beamte auf. Amtsbereich dieser *defensores civitatis* sind, wie schon der Name sagt, die Munizipien (oder *civitates*), das bedeutet in Ägypten die ehemaligen Gau-Metropolen mitsamt ihrem Territorium, den Gauen. Dies wird auch durch Bezeichnungen wie ἔκδικος τῆc Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεωc, ἔκδικος Ἑρμοῦ πόλεωc usw. unterstrichen. Diese *defensores* rekrutieren sich aus dem Milieu der munizipalen Beamtenschaft; sie sind häufig ehemalige λογιcταί oder προπολιτευόμενοι. Der so beschriebene *defensor* hat nach B. Kramer "in Ägypten offensichtlich nicht die Rolle eines überregional bedeutenden Beamten gespielt; nach allen sicheren Zeugnissen ist er immer nur für die Civitas, d.h. Stadt und Gau, niemals aber für eine ganze Provinz zuständig."[9]

Wie paßt diese Charakterisierung nun zu der Rolle, die der *defensor* in unserem Verhandlungsprotokoll spielt? Unseres Erachtens nur schlecht. Daß er in Z. 5 den Ehrentitel λαμπρότατος führt, könnte man vielleicht noch als in dieser Zeit wenig bedeutsam abtun. Daß ein für das Munizipium zuständiger *defensor civitatis* eine Gerichtsverhandlung leitet, ist auch nicht ohne Parallele.[10] Daß aber ein munizipaler Amtsinhaber in einem bilinguen Protokoll erscheint und ihm die damit verbundenen, oben beschrieben Ehren zuteil werden, scheint ganz ohne Parallele zu sein. Betrachten wir die Ämter, die in David Thomas' Liste (vgl. Fußn. 1) in der Spalte "Presiding official" erscheinen, so finden wir dort ausschließlich Provinzialbeamte oder noch höher gestellte Personen:[11] in den meisten Fällen sind es *praesides* der ägyptischen Teilprovinzen, daneben der *praefectus Aegypti*, der *rationalis*, ein *agens vices praefectorum praetorio*, der *iuridicus*, der *dux Aegypti*, ein *comes sacri synhedri* und ein *comes militum*. Es wäre uns wohler, wenn wir in dem Vorsitzenden unseres Protokolls eine diesen hohen Amtsträgern ebenbürtige Person sehen könnten.

Wichtig wird hier der Hinweis auf eine Abweichung von der von ihr aufgestellten Regel, den B. Kramer, a.a.O., S. 308 in Fußn. 12 gegeben hat: *P.Ross.Georg.* V 27 ist eine Eingabe, die an einen δεφήνcωρ Ἑπτανο[μίαc gerichtet ist; dessen Amtsbereich war also, wie sein Titel zu erkennen gibt, nicht ein Munizipium, sondern die Ἑπτανομία, d.h. eine größere Verwaltungseinheit innerhalb einer Provinz, die m e h r e r e solcher Munizipien umfaßte. Daß dieser δεφήνcωρ nicht auf derselben Stufe stand wie die sonstigen, uns viel besser bekannten cύνδικοι bzw. ἔκδικοι der Munizipien, läßt sich im übrigen daran erkennen, daß ihm in Z. 11 von dem Bittsteller der Ehrentitel coῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον beigelegt wird, der nur Beamten allerhöchsten Ranges zusteht. "Μεγαλεῖον is a title," schrieb J. Rea im Kommentar zu *CPR* V 12.4, "reserved for the highest officials, prefect, praeses, catholicus. The only exception is *P.Ross.Georg.* V 27.11, where it is applied to the unusually titled *defensor Heptanomiae*." Wir würden

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Eine Zusammenstellung älterer Literatur findet sich dort auf S. 305, Fußn. 3. Vgl. ferner R.M. Frakes, "Later Roman Justice and the Origin of the *Defensor Civitatis*," *CJ* 89 (1994) 337-48.

[9] B. Kramer, a.a.O., S. 309.

[10] Vgl. etwa *SB* XVI 12692 = *P.Col.* VII 175 (17. Mai 339 n.Chr.) und *PSI* VII 768 (23. Juli 465 n.Chr.).

[11] Die Nummern 45 und 46 seiner Liste, welche die einzigen Ausnahmen von dieser Regel zu sein scheinen und bei denen es sich um einen *defensor Antaeopoleos* und einen *defensor?* handelt, können außer Betracht bleiben, da sie dem 6. Jh. angehören.

nun dafür plädieren, daß es sich eben nicht um eine "exception" handelt, sondern daß der *defensor Heptanomiae* in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 27 ebenso wie der *defensor Alexandreae* in P.Heid. Inv. G 59 zu dieser Gruppe der "highest officials" gehört.[12]

Fragen ließe sich natürlich, wie denn wohl im Vergleich zu dem Amtsbereich des *defensor Heptanomiae* der Amtsbereich eines *defensor Alexandreae* zu verstehen sei.[13] Mehrere Modelle sind denkbar: Angesichts der Bedeutung der Weltstadt Alexandria könnten beide *defensores* durchaus ranggleich gewesen sein, selbst wenn die Kompetenz des letzteren nur auf die Stadt Alexandria und ihr Umfeld beschränkt war; man könnte sich aber auch vorstellen, daß der *defensor Alexandreae* noch höher gestellt war als der *defensor Heptanomiae* und entweder für die Provinz *Aegyptus* oder gar für ganz Ägypten zuständig war, so wie der in *P.Abinn.* 63 = *M.Chr.* 96 = *P.Bour.* 20 = *ChLA* XVIII 661 bezeugte *iuridicus Alexandreae* vermutlich mit dem in *P.Ryl.* IV 654 = *ChLA* IV 255 genannten *iuridicus Aegypti* identisch ist, weil beides nur eine Verkürzung des Titels *iuridicus Alexandreae et Aegypti* darstellt.[14] Eine Entscheidung ist bei unserem heutigen Kenntnisstand ganz offenbar nicht möglich.

Wenn nun hinreichend wahrscheinlich gemacht ist, daß es sich bei dem Vorsitzenden der in P.Heid. Inv. G 59 protokollierten Verhandlung um einen Beamten aus der Gruppe der "highest officials" handelt, ist es an der Zeit, daß wir uns dem Element in seiner Titulatur zuwenden, das in unserem Text regelmäßig der Bezeichnung *def(ensor) Alex(andreae)* voranzugehen scheint und über das wir bislang noch überhaupt nicht gesprochen haben. Am meisten davon ist in Z. 4 erhalten, wo man zunächst]̣*raet* transkribieren würde, und die Spuren vor *et* an der entsprechenden Stelle in Z. 10 schließen *ra* zumindest nicht aus. Was daraus zu machen ist, konzentriert sich auf die Frage, ob die Buchstaben *et* das Wort *et* sind oder Bestandteil eines längeren Wortes. Im ersteren Fall hätten wir eine Doppelung vor uns wie z.B. *com(es) sacri consist(orii)* ***et*** *praesis provinc(iae) Arc(adiae)* in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1877.4,11 (ca. 488 n.Chr.); *com(es) ord(inis) prim(i)* ***et*** *praef(ectus) Aug(ustalis) Aeg(yptiae) dioec(eseos)* in *SB* XX 14688.1 (365-400 n.Chr.); *com(es) ord(inis) prim(i)* ***et*** *dux* in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381.3 (3. Aug. 375 n.Chr.) oder auch *ex praetor(e)* ***et*** *praes(es) pr(o)uinc(iae) Arc(adiae)* in *ChLA* XLIII 1247.4,12 (1. Hälfte V n.Chr.).[15] Da aber nicht zu sehen ist, welches Wort (oder welche Wörter?) mit]̣*ra* abgekürzt sein könnten, wird man die zweite Möglichkeit ins Auge fassen müssen, und das führt dann—wie David

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[12] Umstritten ist die Datierung von *P.Ross.Georg.* V 27, den die Herausgeber aus paläographischen Gründen gerne an das Ende des 4. Jhs. gesetzt hätten, dem sie aber wegen der Erwähnung der Heptanomia, die bislang so spät anderweitig nicht bezeugt ist, einen Platz im früheren 4. Jh. zugewiesen haben (vgl. zu dieser Frage B. Kramer a.a.O. und zuletzt D. Thomas, a.a.O. [Fußn. 1] S. 134, Anm. 7). Ohne daß wir glauben, hier das letzte Wort sprechen zu können, scheint es uns doch einleuchtender anzunehmen, daß diese hohe Variante des *defensor* eine Neuschöpfung des späteren 4. Jh. ist und daß die Verwendung des lateinischen Titels *defensor* auch im griechischen Gewande, die erstmals in *P.Lips.* 34 und 35 (um 375-378 n.Chr.) belegt ist, irgendwie mit dieser Neuschöpfung einherging. Ob das neugeschaffene Amt immer denselben hohen Rang bewahren konnte und ob zwischen δεφήνϲωρ / δηφήνϲωρ einerseits und ϲύνδικοϲ / ἔκδικοϲ andererseits auch später noch unterschieden wurde, wollen wir dahingestellt sein lassen. Klarer *terminus ante quem* für *P.Ross.Georg.* V 27 scheint uns allein die Gründung der Provinz Arcadia zu sein, die ja das Territorium der alten Heptanomia eingenommen hat.

[13] Die Bezeugung eines ἔκδικοϲ τῆϲ Ἀλεξανδρέων in *PSI* I 76.11 (6. Mai 572 oder 573 n.Chr.) hilft in der Frage nicht weiter, ganz abgesehen davon, daß sich im Laufe der rund 200 Jahre, die unserer Meinung nach zwischen unserem Text und jenem liegen können, die Verhältnisse grundlegend geändert haben könnten.

[14] Vgl. dazu D. Thomas, a.a.O. (Fußn. 1), S. 126.

[15] In Frage kommen die Jahre 425, 426, 430 und 435 n.Chr.; vgl. *ChLA* XLVIII, S. 119.

Thomas schon 1983 gesehen hatte—zwangsläufig zu der Lesung] *praet()* in Z. 4, die in der Tat vertretbar ist.

Praetores oder Personen mit der Bezeichnung *ex praetore* begegnen in den Papyri der in Frage stehenden Zeit nur selten. Der Herausgeber des soeben zitierten *ChLA* XLIII 1247 verweist noch auf *MPER* XV 63.45 und 96.1 (um 420/1 n.Chr.), wo ein Φλάουιος Φλαουιανός und sein Bruder Πτολεμαῖος als ἀπὸ πραίτορος bezeichnet werden,[16] und *P.Vind.Sijp.* 7.3 von 463 n.Chr.,[17] wo ein Φλάουιος Ὀλύμπιος ἀπὸ πραίτορος erscheint, der übrigens auch schon aus *SPP* XX 127.3 vom 3. Febr. desselben Jahres bekannt war und der später in *CPR* V 14.4-5 (25. Jan. 475 n.Chr.) und *P.Rain. Cent.* 123.4-5 (15.-23. Juni 478) als *comes sacri consistorii* und Grundbesitzer im Herakleopolites bezeugt ist. Dieser Fl. Olympius ist in der *PLRE* II S. 62 noch fälschlich unter *Fl. Al(yp)ius 7* verzeichnet, aber die Erläuterung "He was a *vir clarissimus*, formerly *praetor* (at Constantinople since he was an easterner)" gibt einen hilfreichen Hinweis darauf, was wir hier unter *ex praetore* zu verstehen haben: Es dürfte sich um Leute handeln, die zuvor in Konstantinopel das städtische Amt eines Prätors bekleidet hatten.[18]

Daß auch der in unserem Text als Verhandlungsvorsitzender bezeugte *defensor Alexandreae* einem vergleichbaren sozialen Milieu entstammt, erscheint uns nach den vorangehenden Ausführungen als durchaus wahrscheinlich. Wir halten daher die Ergänzung von *ex praet(ore)* in den Zeilen 4, 10, 12 und 15 für gerechtfertigt.

] . . . . ν . . cύcταcιν τὴν [. .] . [
]μων εἰρημένα ει . ετιc . [.] . προcε . [
]ιαc μάρτυραc *vacat* [
4 ex] praet(ore) def(ensor) Alex(andreae) d(ixit)· χρή cε ταῖc προcο[
λαμ]πρότατε, τὰ δικαcτήρια τούτου τοιc[
] . . θείαc βραβεύων τοῖc ἀδικουμέν[οιc
] παρακαλῶ, εἰ παρίcταται, αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνεθῆ[ναι
8 Ἀρτ]εμιδωρ[.] . ἀπεργαζόμενον εὑρὼν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ . [
] δι' οἰκε[ί]αc φωνῆc παρακαλῶ ὡc ου[
ex p]raet(ore) def(ensor) Alex(andreae) d(ixit)· λεγέτω Ἀρτεμ[ίδωροc
] A[rt]emidorus d(ixit)· οὐδένα λόγον [
12 ex praet(ore) de]f(ensor) [A]lex(andreae) d(ixit)· . . ω . [
] . [± 5] . . . . . d(ixit)· προνοίᾳ τοῦ . [
]ναι *vacat* [
ex praet(ore) def(ensor) Alex(andreae) d(ixit)·] c[υ]νῳδὰ ἀμφοτέρω[ν

[16] Hierbei handelt es sich möglicherweise um fiktive Personen, die in den Wiener Schultexten (Schreibübungen usw.) häufiger auftauchen und denen dort höchste Ämter bis hin zum Konsulat beigelegt werden. Vgl. zu ihnen auch *Tyche* 7 (1992) 228 und *Tyche* 10 (1995) 240. Ob nun fiktiv oder nicht, in jedem Fall machen die Texte deutlich, daß ἀπὸ πραίτορος eine extrem hohe Position bezeichnen soll.

[17] Zur Datierung vgl. *BL* VIII 199.

[18] Vgl. zu dem Amt A. Chastagnol, "Observations sur le consulat suffect et la préture du bas-empire," *RH* 219 (1958) 221-53, bes. den Abschnitt IV, "La préture postconstantinienne," S. 243-52.

1 cύcτα̣c̣ιν: Falls die Lesung korrekt ist, müßte das Schluß-Ny sehr klein und hochgestellt gewesen sein, so daß es sich mit dem Querbalken des folgenden Tau berührte.

3 Das Iota nach der Lücke scheint von links her angebunden zu sein, also vielleicht -ε]ί̣ac.

4 *ex] praet(ore) def(ensor)*: Zur Lesung und Ergänzung s. die Einleitung; eine gute Parallele für die Buchstabenverbindung *etd* findet man z.B. in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381.3,11 in *et dux*. Im vorliegenden Text ist am Ende der Zeile beispielsweise προcό[δοιc oder προco[ύcαιc zu ergänzen.

5 λαμ]πρότατε: Anrede des Verhandlungsvorsitzenden, also etwa κύριε λαμ]πρότατε. Es ist allerdings zu bemerken, daß in ähnlichen Anreden das Epitheton sonst immer vor dem Substantiv steht, also λαμπρότατε ἔπαρχε (*P.Oxy.* XII 1470.15; 336 n.Chr.); λαμπρότατε ἡγεμών (*P.Stras.* VI 596.11,13; 376 n.Chr.; ebenso *SB* XVIII 13251.8,16,17,20; 372 n.Chr.); λαμπρότατε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέcτατε ἡγεμὼν κύριε (*ChLA* XLIII 1247.10; V n.Chr.); und so auch λαμπρ[ό]τατε δηφ[ήν]c[ωρ] in *M.Chr.* 71.15 (458-473 n.Chr.; vgl. *BL* VIII, S. 225, *BL* IX, S. 170 und *CSBE* S. 83-4) und λαμπρότ[ατ]ε ἔκδικε in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1883.9 (504 n.Chr.). Entsprechendes gilt für andere Ehrenprädikate, doch vergleiche immerhin die unsichere Folge δέ[cπο(τα) ἔνδ]ο̣ξ(ε) [κ]ύρ(ιε) ? ὑπ(ερ)φ[υέc]τ(ατε) ἀπ[ὸ ὑ]πάτων πανεύφημε in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67007.22 (567/8 n.Chr.).

λαμπρότατοc ist als Ehrenprädikat für *defensores* bzw. ἔκδικοι erst relativ spät bezeugt; vgl. B. Kramer, a.a.O., S. 308 Anm. 12. Dabei fällt auf, daß die drei frühesten Zeugnisse mit dem Titel δηφήνcωρ verbunden sind. Die Belege sind *P.Herm.* 19.4 (392 n.Chr.): ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δηφήνcοροc; *P.Herm.* 69.3 (410 n.Chr.): Φλαυ̣είῳ Ἑρμαίωνι τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀπὸ δηφηνc̣όρων; *M.Chr.* 71.15 (458-473 n.Chr.): λαμπρ[ό]τατε δηφ[ήν]c[ωρ] (vgl. auch ἡ cὴ λαμπρότηc in Z. 7 und 15). Erst noch später erscheint λαμπρότατοc auch bei ἔκδικοc, nämlich in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1943.1 (spätes V n.Chr.): Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἰ[ω]άννῃ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἐκδίκ[ῳ]; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1883.9 (504 n.Chr.): λαμπρότ[ατ]ε ἔκδικε; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67327.21,26f. (540 n.Chr.): Φλαύιοc Μέγαc ὁ λαμπρ(ότατοc) ἀπὸ ἐκδίκων; *P.Oxy.* I 129 = *M.Chr.* 296.3 (VI n.Chr.): διὰ Ἀναcταcίου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) ἐκδίκου (vgl. Z. 10 und 11); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 43.2 (VI n.Chr.): τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ Φοιβάμμωνι κόμετι κ̣[α]ὶ̣ ἐ̣κδίκ(ῳ). Vgl. auch die Anrede ἡ [ὑ]μῶν λαμπρ(ότηc) für einen ἔκδικοc in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 43.3 (VI n.Chr.). Häufiger findet sich vom 5. bis zum 7. Jh. in Verbindung mit dem Defensor das Prädikat λογιώτατοc; der früheste sicher datierte Beleg stammt von 458 n.Chr. (*PSI* IX 1075). In *P.Cair.Preis.* 7.1 (ca. 330 n.Chr.), wo früher [τῷ λογιωτάτῳ] ergänzt wurde, kann man jetzt wegen des Duplikats *SB* XX 14638 [προπολιτευομένῳ] herstellen; vgl. die Neuedition als *SB* XX 14639. Zu *P.Ross.Georg.* V 27.1 vgl. *BL* IX, S. 227.

τοιc̣[: Das Omikron wird bogenförmig in das Iota weitergeführt; zu lesen ist τούτου τοῖc̣ [, τοῦ τούτοιc̣ [oder auch τούτου τὸ̣ ἴc̣[ον usw.

6 Es läßt sich kaum entscheiden, ob θείαc Ende eines längeren Wortes ist oder ein vollständiges Wort. Die Reste davor sehen nicht nach einem Eta aus, so daß Formen wie etwa ἀληθείαc, βοηθείαc, cυνηθείαc nicht in Frage kommen. Allenfalls wäre ein Ypsilon zu lesen, doch scheint auch] ε̣ὐθείαc nicht gut möglich.

Die Bedeutung von βραβεύω ist "anordnen, entscheiden, urteilen," so daß wohl der Vorsitzende als Subjekt zu denken ist. Interessant ist das Zitat aus Muson. 8 in *LSJ*: προcήκει βαcιλεῖ τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν τοῖc ὑπηκόοιc.

Zur Form des ersten Beta, das eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit einem Delta des lateinischen Typs aufweist, vgl. N. Gonis in *ZPE* 123 (1998) 191 zu *P.Harris* I 112 mit der dort zitierten Literatur. Gerade das hier vorliegende Beispiel verdeutlicht indessen, daß keineswegs wirklich ein Delta geschrieben wurde (wie Gonis zu erwägen gibt), sondern daß es sich nur um eine Ähnlichkeit handelt.

7 εἰ παρίcταται hier wohl nicht mit persönlichem Subjekt, sondern in der Bedeutung "wenn es recht scheint," vgl. Preisigke, *WB* II s.v. 4). So steht εἴπερ παρίcταται in *P.Gen.* I 14.21 (ca. IV-VII n.Chr.) und εἰ παρίcταται wohl auch in *P.Lond.* V 1787.7 (VI n.Chr.); vgl. auch *P.Oxy.* LIV 3759.41 (325 n.Chr.): εἴ τι παρίcταται τῇ ἐμῇ μετριότητι ἀποκριθήcομ[αι], "I shall give such decision as occurs to my humble self." Häufiger ist die Wendung im Optativ; vgl. *P.Hamb.* III 230.18 (um 565 n.Chr.) mit Kommentar.

Es redet hier der Advokat; mit αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνεθῆ[ναι meint er seinen Klienten.

8 'Αρτ]εμιδωρ[.] . ἀπεργαζόμενον: Die Lesung am Anfang der Zeile verdanken wir Fritz Mitthof. Zu ergänzen ist 'Αρτ]εμιδώρ[ο]υ oder 'Αρτ]εμίδωρ[ο]ν; vgl. Z. 10 und 11.

9 Zu] δι' οἰκε[ί]ας φωνῆc vgl. *P.Flor.* III 304.6 (V-VI n.Chr.): οἰκείᾳ φωνῇ καὶ γνώμῃ und besonders *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67131 = *ChLA* XLI 1197.6 (vor 566/7 n.Chr.): αἰτῶ αὐτὸν Θε[ο]δόcιον τὸν εὐδοκιμώτατον ταχυδρόμον δι' οἰκείας φωνῆc cαφηνίcαι κτλ. Das Wort οἰκεῖοc bezieht sich an der hier vorliegenden Stelle also nicht auf das Subjekt von παρακαλῶ, sondern auf einen Beteiligten, der in der 3. Person erwähnt war, d.h. nicht "ich bitte mit eigener Stimme," sondern "(er|sie) ... mit eigener Stimme."

11 οὐδένα λόγον: Diese Verbindung erscheint in den Papyri der römischen und byzantinischen Zeit nahezu ausschließlich in der Wendung οὐδένα λόγον ἔχειν πρόc τινα, "keine Ansprüche haben gegen jemanden," wofür die DDBDP rund 60 Belege liefert.

13 Falls *d(ixit)* richtig gelesen ist, sollten die Spuren davor ebenfalls Latein sein und zu einem Namen oder einer Amts- bzw. Berufsbezeichnung gehören. Weder *def(ensor) Alex(andreae)* noch *Artemidorus* läßt sich lesen. Am Ende der Zeile stand vermutlich ein Amtstitel, z.B. προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἐ[ξάκτοροc; vgl. *P.Fuad I Univ.* App. II 320.2 (IV/V n.Chr.); *SPP* XX 283 = *ChLA* XLV 1325.8 (III/IV n.Chr.); *P.Stras.* VIII 734.1 (2. Hälfte III n.Chr.): προνοίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνοc; *ChLA* XLIII 1245.7 (Ende IV n.Chr.): προνοίᾳ[19] 'Αλεξάνδρου το[ῦ π]ρωτεύοντοc; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1879 = *ChLA* XLVII 1409.6 (434 n.Chr.): προνοίᾳ τῶν ἐκβιβαcτῶν.

15 Die vergrößerte Schrift macht deutlich, daß wir es hier wieder mit Rede des Vorsitzenden zu tun haben, und da die Zeile mit der Einleitungsformel begonnen haben muß, handelt es sich bei dem Erhaltenen um die ersten Worte dieser Rede, vielleicht um den endgültigen Beschluß der Verhandlung. c[υ]νφδὰ ἀμφοτέρω[ν könnte z.B. der Beginn eines Genitivus absolutus sein, etwa: "Da beide Parteien übereinstimmend aussagen ...".

[19] So ist hier ebenso wie in Z. 3 anstelle des Nominativs πρόνοια zu schreiben.

25. Anhang: Neuedition von *ChLA* III 217

Das Fragment eines Verhandlungsprotokolls (P.Lond. Inv. 2563), das aus dem 5. Jh. n.Chr., und zwar vielleicht aus dem Jahre 437 n.Chr., stammt,[20] lautet heute einschließlich zweier in BL VIII 83 für die Zeilen 5 und 7 mitgeteilter Korrekturen folgendermaßen:

]to u(iris) c(larissimis) co(n)s(ulibus) [
] . εχο.... υτο ποιον[
] ἀναγνωcθ[ῆναι
4]δώρου βουλευτοῦ τῆc [
]ατα ἔχων τῶν [
]τω δημοcίων καὶ ἐπει [
]c προνοίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶν [
8 τῆ]c εὐκταιοτάτηc cου ἀρε[τῆc
]... πρ[ὸc] ἀτεκ[νο
] .. ατε .. οι δοθ[
] . ιου δια τηc [

Aufgrund eines Studiums der Abbildung[21] glauben wir folgenden verbesserten Text vorschlagen zu können:

1]to u(iris) c(larissimis) co(n)s(ulibus) [
]e ex offic(io) d(ictum) est· ὁποῖον λ[ίβελλον ὁ δεῖνα ἐπιδέδωκεν κτλ.
] d(ixit)· ἀναγνωcθ[ήτω
4]δ.ώρου βουλευτοῦ τῆc [
]ατα ἔχων τῶν [
]τω δημοcίων καὶ ἐπειδ[ὴ
]c προνοίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶν [
8 τῆ]c εὐκταιοτάτηc cου ἀρχ[ῆc
] . . τα πρά[ξ]ατε καὶ . [
proui]nc(iae) Arc(adiae) d(ixit)· οἱ δοθέ[ντεc
]c.ίου διὰ τῆc [

1 Wir übernehmen hier in Ermangelung eines besseren Vorschlags den Text der *ChLA*.

2 Zu diesen Eingangsworten vergleiche man die entsprechende, rein lateinisch gehaltene Partie in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381.2-3 (3. Aug. 375): *ex offic(io) d(ictum) est, 'cuiusmodi libellum Pelion duc(enarius) publice magnitudine[m] tuae obtulerit prae manibus habentes [reci]tamus, si praecipis.'* | *Fl(auius)*

[20] Zur Datierung vgl. R. S. Bagnall und K. A. Worp in *BASP* 17 (1989) 114. Der Herausgeber der *ChLA* hatte aus paläographischen Erwägungen eine Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 5. Jhs. n.Chr. für wahrscheinlich gehalten und daher das Jahr 483 gegenüber den anderen möglichen Daten im 5. Jh. (nämlich 401, 423 und 437) vorgezogen, während Bagnall und Worp das paläographische Argument für nicht zwingend halten und 437 n.Chr. favorisieren.

[21] Die Zeilen 1-3 sind auch bei Tjäder (s. oben Fußn. 4) auf Tav. V abgebildet.

Mauricius, u(ir) c(larissimus), com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) et dux, d(ixit), 'legatur et actis indatur.' Ferner, mit ins Griechische gebrachter Rede, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1878.2-3 (1. Sept. 461 n.Chr.): *cum obtoliset* (*l. obtulisset*) *libellum Filoxeno* (*l. Filoxeni*): *ex offic*(*io*). ὁποῖον λίβελλον Φιλόξενος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν | ἐπιδέδωκεν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ἔχων μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναγνωσόμεθα, εἰ προστάξιέν (l. προστάξειεν) σου τὸ μέγεθος (ganz ähnlich lauten die Paralleltexte *P.Oxy.* XVI 1876 [ca. 480 n.Chr.] und 1879 [434 n.Chr.]); *ChLA* XLIII 1247.2-3 (V n.Chr.): *adstante offic*(*io*) *Iohannes subaiuba d*(*ixit*)· οἷαν ἀναφ[ορὰν ἐπέδωκεν ---] | πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναγνώσομαι, εἰ προστάξιέν (l. προστάξειεν) σου τ[ὸ μεγαλεῖον. Zu einer Parallele aus den christlichen Märtyrerakten vgl. J. Rea in *P.Oxy.* LXIII, S. 82.

3 Die vergrößerte Schrift macht deutlich, daß der Vorsitzende spricht (zu seinem Rang vgl. Z. 10). ἀναγνωσθ[ήτω entspricht dem lateinischen *legatur* (s. oben *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381.3); in den griechischen Parallelen ist der Imperativ der 2. Person ἀνάγνωθι üblicher, doch ist in *SB* XVIII 13769.9 (345-352 n.Chr.) vor] βιβλία καὶ ἐνταγήτω τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι ganz offenbar ebenfalls ἀναγνωσθήτω zu ergänzen. Danach würden wir dort übrigens anstelle von *ex*[*cepit ut*] *dictum est* in Anlehnung an oben Z. 2 und die dort zitierten Parallelen *ex* [*officio*] *dictum est* vorschlagen.

8 τῆ]ς εὐκταιοτάτης σου ἀρχ[ῆς: Vgl. *P.Col.* VII 173.19 (nach 342 n.Chr.?; vgl. *BL* X 41): [τ]ῆς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς σου ἀρχῆς (in der Anrede an einen Praeses?).

10 Der Vorsitzende war also, wie sich nun zeigt, ein *praeses Arcadiae* (diese Erkenntnis war vielleicht früher schon einmal vorhanden, denn bei Tjäder [vgl. oben Fußn. 4], S. 203 zu P.Lond. Inv. 2563 heißt es "presso il *praeses Arcadiae*"). Seine Rede in dieser und in der folgenden Zeile ist wieder durch vergrößerte Schrift gekennzeichnet.

Arc(adiae) d(ixit): Zahlreiche eindeutige Parallelen beweisen heute hinreichend, daß die Rede des Vorsitzenden regelmäßig mit *d(ixit)* eingeleitet wurde. Man sollte daher auch in den Fällen, wo man das *d()* früher als Bestandteil eines vorausgehendes Wortes verstanden hat, dahingehend ändern. *Arc(adiae) d(ixit)* statt *Arc(a)d(iae)* wäre zu schreiben in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1877 = *ChLA* XLVII 1407.4,11. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1878 = *ChLA* XLVII 1408.4, wo *Ar(cadiae)* gedruckt ist, sieht man nach dem *r* so deutlich einen hohen Buchstaben, den wir jetzt als *d(ixit)* interpretieren möchten, daß er nur versehentlich in der Transkription ausgefallen sein kann. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1876 = *ChLA* XLVII 1406.3,10 und *P.Oxy.* XVI 1879 = *ChLA* XLVII 1409.3,9, wo *Arcad(iae)* in Lücken ergänzt wurde, wird man ebenfalls besser *Arc(adiae) d(ixit)* herstellen.

Köln - Heidelberg

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26. SCHEDULE OF PRICES AND SHIPPING LIST

(Peter van Minnen)

P.Mich. inv. 5576c Plate 21 13 cm x 5 cm
V A.D. Unknown Provenance

Acquired in 1928/9, this is the top left corner of a papyrus of unknown provenance that was later reused for a document on the back. The **recto** of this papyrus is written in a lavish fifth-century hand and adds a tiny detail to what we know about prices in later Roman Egypt. For other fifth-century schedules of prices, see *P.Oxy.* LI 3628-33.

The text gives an equivalency of 1 *solidus* = 4,800 myriads of *denarii* or 48,000,000 *denarii* or 32,000 talents; this works out as 2,304,000 talents for a pound of gold, which puts the text firmly in the fifth century; see R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth-Century Egypt.* BASP Suppl. 5 (Atlanta 1985) 61-2, with the addenda in *P.Kellis* IV, p. 225, where it appears that later fourth-century equivalencies *almost* attain this level. From the later fourth century onwards the level of inflation in Egypt was very low, so that a more precise date within the fifth century cannot be suggested; see now in general J.-M. Carrié, in J.-M. Carrié and A. Rousselle, *L'Empire romain en mutation des Sévères à Constantin, 192-337.* Nouvelle histoire de l'Antiquité 10 (Paris 1999) 563-84, who claims that the astronomical figures did not impede ordinary transactions except during the high tide of inflation (in my view, the last quarter of the third century). In *P.Oxy.* LI 3628-33 of the fifth century the *solidus* costs between 3,800 and 4,000 myriads of *denarii.*

Although uncertain, the text also seems to give a price for wheat: eight artabas of wheat cost one *solidus*. This is in keeping with price levels in the sixth century (8-12 artabas of wheat for a *solidus*) and not too far removed from price levels in the first half of the fourth century (6 artabas or less); see again Bagnall, *op.cit.* 6 and 64, with *P.Kellis* IV, p. 226. In *P.Oxy.* LI 3628-33 of the fifth century the price of wheat fluctuates between about 8 (e.g. 8 2/3 in the Aphroditopolite nome), 12-3 (in the Cynopolite and Oxyrhynchite) and 16 2/3 artabas (in the Arsinoite). The reading in line 3 here is, however, not certain.

The provenance of the text might be deduced from the text on the back, a shipping list, which relates to a member of the Apiones family. But this family held land in various nomes and such a list may have been drawn up anywhere in Egypt.

℞ διατύπωϲιϲ ὠνίων [?
2 τοῦ νο(μιϲματίου) α (δηναρίων) (μυριάδεϲ) Δ/ ω [?
τῶν (ϲίτου ἀρταβῶν) η ν[ο(μ.)] α [?

---

2 N̊, ⲕ 3 ⲥ

Schedule (of prices) of goods for sale
4,800 myriads of *denarii* for a *solidus*
1 *solidus* for 8 artabas of wheat

1 There is an additional loop at the top of the staurogram. Some indication of the place and the time period must have followed in the lacuna.

2 The lacuna may have contained lower digits, but the space after the omega suggests that the figure is complete.

3 After τῶν there does not follow a word ending in ων. This suggests that an abbreviation or a symbol followed: (cίτου ἀρταβῶν) is my best bet. With a bit of imagination one sees the left top of sigma and the upward and downward top of iota. the loop to the right is the top of the diagonal crossing, the now invisible bottom of iota and the beginning of the abbreviation of ἀρταβῶν. The space after alpha suggest that the figure is complete.

The **verso** of the papyrus is written in a typical fifth-century hand: note the rounded superscript upsilon, even in the middle of words, in addition to a more normal pointed upsilon. The text is a shipping list for taxes in kind. My attention was drawn to it years ago because of the name of Isis used for a lady of rank. In the meantime the same lady Isis had turned up in two documents from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390-1 of A.D. 469 and 471 respectively), where she is also styled λαμπροτάτη. She was the daughter of one Strategius, an ancestor of Strategius I, who heads the sixth century family tree of the Apiones. Her father is attested in several other fifth-century documents (cf. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4389, note to l.1).

The document is also interesting in that it attests a *second* "preliminary payment" of taxes in kind. So far we did not know that such προτέλειαι could be numbered. The skipper Herakleides is otherwise unknown.

γνῶcιc πλοίων τ(ῆc) δευτέρ(αc) προτελείαc
ρ τρίτηc ἀποcτολῆc οὕτωc·
πλοῖα γ̄ Ἡρακλίδου ναύτου (ἀρτ.) Ζ̄τπθ̄
4 οὕτωc· ὑ(πὲρ) μὲν Ἴcιδοc λαμπροτάτ(ηc)
---
1 τ^s δευτερ 3 ⟶ 4 υ, ϊcιδοc λαμπροτατ^s

List of ships of the second preliminary payment (of taxes in kind)
Of the third shipment as follows:
3 ships, with Herakleides as skipper, 7,389 artabas
(specified) as follows: for the most illustrious Isis ...

1 On προτέλεια, "versement anticipé," see J. Gascou and P.J. Sijpesteijn, "P. Berol. G 25003: deux documents fiscaux hermopolites," *ZPE* 97 (1993) 117-8 n. 4.

2 It is odd that a staurogram does not precede line 1. Here in line 2 it probably indicates the beginning of a subheading. A "fourth shipment" is mentioned in *PSI* XV 1569.2.

3 The average amount per ship is 2,463 artabas. This list is not concerned with the loading capacity of the ships, which would have added up to a rounded figure; see I.J. Poll, "Ladefähigkeit und Grösse der Nilschiffe," *APF* 42 (1996) 127-38.

Groningen and Leuven

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27. OFFICIAL RECEIPT FOR *KALANDARIKA* AND ANOTHER PAYMENT

(John R. Rea)

Happy Birthday, dear David!

P.E.E.S. Misc. II 186(a) 20 cm x 11.5 cm
V/VI A.D. Hermoupolis

This document comes from a small collection stored in the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, but belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society, a collection from which the papyri published in *P.Herm.* also came.

It is a receipt from an *eques singularis* (ϲιγγουλάριοϲ) and is subscribed in a second hand, probably his own, the main text being the work of a clerk. He acknowledged to a board of superior officers of the well-attested unit of "Moorish" cavalry stationed at Hermoupolis, collectively called *priores*, that he had received from them four gold *solidi* less twelve carats in respect of customary New Year emoluments, καλανδαρ(ικῶν), and of another allowance doubtfully read and restored as ἐπιβατ̣ι̣κ̣[οῦ or -ῶν], possibly a contribution to the maintenance of horses; see note on the interlined addition above line 2. The first of these is known only from a single inscription, *SEG* 9 (1954) no. 356.69 (p. 70), but must mean broadly a New Year gratuity, like καλανδικά; the second is completely unknown and its meaning can only be guessed; see notes.

An incomplete passage alludes to the chief administrator of the *singulares* (πριμικηρίῳ τῶν ϲιγγουλαρίων), probably saying that payment was to be delivered to him. A *primicerius* of *singulares* also appears in *P.Mert.* II 95, an order to pay which remains enigmatic because of its extreme illiteracy; see J. Gascou, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 207-9. However, it seems to emerge that the *primicerius* is to be the ultimate recipient of a payment called a ϲυνήθεια, cf. Gascou, 208 n. 5. In *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67284 a receipt is issued by two collectors whose individual subscriptions describe them as ϲιγγουλάρ(ιοϲ) καὶ ἀπαιτητὴϲ τούτου τοῦ λόγου (5-6). The payment there is defined as being εἰϲ λόγον τοῦ αἰδεϲίμου κομμενταρηϲίου τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἔθοϲ διδομένην ϲυνήθειαν (2), that is, it was a customary payment due to the chief record clerk (*commentariensis*) of the staff of some provincial governor or more likely of the *dux* of the Thebaid. According to *SEG* 9.356, a constitution of Anastasius assigned to A.D. 501, in which he sought to reduce the sums of money collected by the *dux* of Libya under the name of ϲυνήθειαι (56), καλανδαρικά (69) fall into that category; cf. the indispensable commentary of A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* I (Oxford 1964) 598-9. Anastasius prescribed that they should be payable to the ducal staff (τάξιϲ = *officium*) as a whole and did not specify how they should be divided, but this may be one of the changes commanded by the emperor; they could previously have been collected for individual senior officers, such as the *primicerius* of the *singulares*. The ϲυνήθειαι were customary payments, often abusive, collected by custom rather than by legal right for the benefit of imperial civil servants and soldiers. However, imperial orders have often been repeated, and therefore presumably often disobeyed, so that we cannot safely take the speculation so far as to argue that the present document reflects circumstances that could not have existed after the edict of Anastasius.

The payment relates to an eleventh indiction (3). The Moors had left Hermoupolis by A.D. 538; see F. Mitthof, "Quittung eines ὑποδέκτηϲ ἀνωνῶν ἐπὶ τόπων Μαύρων über eine Steuerzahlung in Gold,"

Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists (Copenhagen 1994) 262, citing *SB* XVI 12488, τοῦ πρότερον ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ἀριθμοῦ τῶν Μαύρων. Possible eleventh indictions consistent with the writing might be, say, 457/8, 472/3, 487/8, 502/3, 517/8, 532/3. Since the earliest document attesting the minus carats system, which is used here to specify the amount of the payment, dates from A.D. 444 (see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*. Pap.Colon. 21 [Opladen 1994] 159), years outside the range listed are unlikely.

What survives of the top edge appears to be intact except for wear, but the piece of papyrus has lost strips at both sides as well as at the foot. There is a fold down the middle of the fragment and a symmetry in the patterns of worm damage suggests that this was the middle of the entire document and that the loss is about equal on each side; possibly the receipt was folded first down the middle and then folded a second time in the same horizontal direction, so that subsequently two outer pieces broke off along the vertical line of that fold. Equal losses at the sides seem to suit what is necessary to complete the wording. Not much can be missing at the foot, since we can already see part of the subscription of the payee. The width of this sort of document is that of the height of the roll from which the piece was cut, and when complete is usually close to 30 cm. Here therefore about ten centimetres should be missing, five to each side.

The structure of the papyrus is not perfectly straightforward. A sheet-join runs horizontally just above line 2, overlapping downwards. The fibres above the join run horizontally, that is line 1 and some stray risers from line 2, as well as an interlinear addition, are written along the fibres. Below the join the fibres run vertically with respect to the writing, which therefore runs across them. These features indicate that the top is part of a protocollon, the first, protective, sheet of a roll, which was attached with its fibres running contrary to those of all subsequent sheets; see E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*. Pap.Brux. 16 (Brussels 1978) 20-4. For a photograph of such a join, see *P.Oxy*. LXIII, Plate V, the join there being close below the writing. Here lines 2-6 are written across the fibres of the first normal sheet of the recto of the roll, that is the text is written parallel with the short side of the original roll in the way which we think of as natural to medieval scribes, rather than in the classical manner with the roll opening horizontally; this is often labelled with the term *transversa charta*; see Turner, *op.cit.*, 26-53. The back is blank so far as it survives.

[τοῖς καθ]ο̣σιωμένοις πρί[ο]ρσι ἀριθμοῦ Μαύρ(ων) Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως π(αρὰ)
Πα̣[γκρατίου σιγγ(ουλαρίου).]
ἐδεξάμην] π̣αρ̣ὰ τῆς ὑμῶν λαμπρότητος ὑπὲρ καλ̣ανδαρ(ικῶν) `(m.2?) καὶ
ἐπιβ̣ατ̣ι̣κ̣[up to 12 letters?]′ (m.1) τῶν . . [c. 12 letters
[c. 8 letters]. πριμικηρίῳ τῶν σιγγουλαρίων ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκάτης { . } (ἰνδικτίωνος)
[c. 12 letters
4 [χρυσοῦ νο]μισμάτια τέσσαρα παρὰ κεράτια δώδεκα, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ)
νο(μισμάτια) δ π(αρὰ κεράτια) ιβ [μόνα, καὶ πρὸς]
[ἀσφάλειαν τῆς] ὑμ̣[ῶν] λαμπρότητος ταύτην πεποίημαι τὴν ἀ[ποχὴν ca. 10
letters
[c. 20 letters]. . . (m.3?) Παγκράτιος σιγ̣γ̣(ουλάριος): στοιχεῖ μο⟨ι⟩
ἡ ἀ̣π̣ο̣χ̣[ή c. 15 letters

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1 read καθωσιωμένοις; μαυρ/, π/ (obliques in all cases cut the letter from bottom left to top right) 2 ῡμων, ὑπερ καλανδαρ/ 3 ὑπερ 4 γι/χρ/ν° δπ/ιβ 6 σιγγ/?

To the loyal superior officers of the unit of Moors of Hermoupolis, from Pancratius, dispatch rider.

I have received from your distinguished company, in respect of New Year allowances (2nd hand?) and horse maintenance (?) (1st hand) (to be delivered? to the most distinguished?) chief clerk of the dispatch riders in respect of (the) eleventh indiction, (the due sum of?) four gold *solidi* less twelve carats, total gold *solidi* 4 less carats 12 (only, and for the security) of your distinguished company I have made this receipt (over my subscription as aforesaid?). (3rd hand?) Pancratius, dispatch rider: the receipt is satisfactory to me (as aforesaid?).

1 τοῖς καθ]ο̣σιωμένοις, read καθωσιωμένοις: The trace is almost horizontal ligature only. It is comparatively rare to find this word written correctly in the augmented form, so that I have chosen to regard the trace as a ligature emerging from a rapid omicron written with a continuous circular movement like the second one in λαμπρότητος in line 5; the same word in 2 makes use of a different form of sigma and is obscured by abrasion. The Greek term is the equivalent of the Latin *devotus* or *devotissimus*, applied to all soldiers with reference to their loyalty to the emperor.

A Christian symbol, a chrism or a staurogram, may have stood at the beginning of this line, but there is no definite presumption to be made from the spacing.

πρί[ο]ρσι ἀριθμοῦ Μαύρ(ων) Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως: These *priores*, senior officers of various grades ranking below the commander, who would have been a prefect or tribune, constituted a board which directed affairs of interest to all the serving soldiers of the unit, see *CPR* V 13.5 note; add *SPP* VIII 1112.2, *SB* XVIII 13884.13, both sixth century. They were sometimes referred to in Greek as οἱ πρῶτοι or πρωτεύοντες; see J. Gascou, "Deux inscriptions byzantines de Haute-Égypte (reédition de *I. Thèbes-Syène* 196 r° et v°)," *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994) 337 line 4, 338, who adds a reference to πριώρων in an inscription from the Negev, *SEG* 31 (1981) 1453 (A.D. 505). Dr Nikolaos Gonis also refers me to a Coptic document republished in M. Hasitzka, *Koptisches Sammelbuch* I. MPER 22 (Vienna 1993) no. 030 (p. 16), from F. Hintze, *ÄZ* 104 (1977) 104-6, which shows the πρῶτοι of the garrison of Elephantine acting as a group (κοινόν) in a minor financial transaction of an obscure nature. It looks as if the individual concerned had deposited one *solidus* with the regimental funds, perhaps for safe keeping only, since no interest is mentioned, and had afterwards authorized the unit to expend one third of that sum, a *tremissis*, for what is at present very doubtfully interpreted as an offering to the poor. The document guaranteed the individual that the payment had been made and the amount on deposit reduced to two thirds of a *solidus*.

On the unit of Moorish cavalry stationed at Hermoupolis, see *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381.3-4 note. Dr Bernhard Palme has kindly supplied me with the following list of additions to the references collected by F. Mitthof (see my introduction) 260-2 and note 13: *O.Oasis* 11 (= *SB* XX 14760); *SPP* III 293, VIII 999 (= *Aegyptus* 74 [1994] 25-31), 1050; *P.Oxy.* LX 4084; *ZPE* 114 (1996) 162-4; *APF* 42 (1996) 225-34. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381 relates to the other *cuneus* of Mauri stationed at Lycopolis; cf. J. Gascou, *Abstracts. XXII congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Florence 1998) 34-5, which mentions documents concerning the Mauri of Lycopolis now being prepared for publication.

Πα[γκρατίου σιγγ(ουλαρίου): See line 6, cf. line 3.

The provincial *equites singulares* were originally the guards of high ranking Roman officers and governors. From at least the fourth century they were minor civil servants of the *militia officialis* rather than fighting soldiers and are known mostly as dispach riders; see M.P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies: An Essay on the Singulares of the Provinces.* Antiquitas I.28 (Bonn 1978) 40-1, cf. *CPR* XIV

39.13-7 note. Pancratius is perhaps most likely to have served on the staff of the *dux* Thebaidos, cf. J. Gascou (above, note to l. 1) 336 and note 74, since the chain of command ran directly from the *dux* to the troops. However, there are other *officia* in which he might have served, including that of the provincial governor, who in the middle of the fourth century also had his seat at Antinoopolis, the nearest city to Hermoupolis; see R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 66, and for the late fifth century *CPR* XIV 39, esp. 13-7 note.

2 καλα̣νδαρ(ικῶν): The form καλανδαρικά is recorded only from *SEG* 9 (1954) 356.69 (Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, sixth century A.D.), see *LSJ Supplement* (1996) 164; but the entry in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 61 verso fr. C.17 ὑπὲρ καλανταρικοῦ (read καλανδ–) must relate to something similar, although the damaged context there gives no help in understanding it. καλανδαρικά seem to be the same as or similar to καλανδικά, "new year's allowances" (*LSJ* s.v. καλάνδαι), but very little is known about them. The note to *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480.41 defines καλανδικά as "gifts on the occasion of the New Year, which afterwards became a prerogative of the officials"; the text itself, also of the sixth century, records double jars (διπλᾶ) of wine given from the produce of the Apion estate "to the mimes of the two troupes—τῶν β ἐργαcτηρ(ίων)—, 8 double-jars, to the rope-walkers 4." That passage, therefore, seems to concern genuine celebrations for the New Year on the Apion estate. Reference is also given there to *P.Oxy.* XVI 1869.2-3 and 1875.11, both of the late sixth or early seventh century. The first is a letter from a *scholasticus*, whose function is unknown, to a *dioecetes*, that is, the chief administrator of an Apion estate, requesting him to pay to a *scriniarius*, an imperial civil servant, καλανδικά which were overdue. In Justinian, *Edict* 13.2-3, καλανδικά are linked with cυνήθειαι, equally vague extra payments to officials; cf. my introduction para. 3.

`(m.2?) καὶ ἐπιβα̣τ̣ι̣κ̣[: The writing of the addition is more cursive and more sloping than the hand of the body of the document, and at the same time looks more practised than the subscription. This presents a puzzle; we might expect either that the clerk had recognized an omission of his own and corrected it, or that the recipient had corrected the clerk's text. The intervention of a third person would suggest that the clerk was a subordinate in the secretariat of the unit and that his text was reviewed and corrected by a senior clerk. This is a hypothesis only; in spite of appearances it is impossible to be sure that the insertion was not made by the original clerk or the payee. If it is correct, the numbers follow the order of the events: hand 1 is the clerk's text, hand 2 his superior's addition, hand 3 the subscription of the payee to the corrected version.

The interpretation of the last three letters was suggested to me by Dr Nikolaos Gonis and seems to be the most satisfactory reading of the traces, although the meaning is uncertain. Since the *equites singulares* were horsemen, the most obvious possibility is that it was exacted as a contribution to the maintenance of horses, although no contemporary parallels to this term have been found. It seems less likely that it had any connection with river transport; although ἐπιβάτηc is applied to marines and supercargoes at earlier dates, there are no helpful references from documents of this period. However, Hermoupolis, headquarters of the Mauri, where this document was probably drafted, was west of the Nile, while Antinoopolis, the probable station of the *singulares*, was on the east bank, so that river crossings to communicate with the Mauri would have been unavoidable. This might suit the case of Pancratius, but it is argued below that the payment was destined for his superior, the *primicerius* of the *singulares*, to whom it would perhaps be less applicable. We might also have expected the word ναῦλον, "boat fare, freight charge," to be used of this type of expense.

2-3 At the end of line 2 the first trace would suit sigma or epsilon best; the second seems to be the foot of a very ambiguous upright. The trace at the beginning of 3, very exiguous, would suit omega

rather than upsilon, although the other possibilities must be numerous. The documents discussed in intro. para. 3, referring to customary payments to members of the staffs of high officials, suggest that the payment was destined for the *primicerius* of the *singulares* mentioned in line 3, so that we might expect a phrase to that effect, e.g., τῶν ἐ̣π̣[ιδοθηcομένων / τῷ λαμπροτάτ]ῳ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν cιγγουλαρίων, "to be delivered to the most distinguished *primicerius* of the *singulares*." This wording is of course only a more or less specious example, but it seems that we need something of about that length.

A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1964), refers to the *primicerius*, e.g., Vol. I, p. 599, as the head of his section or of an entire *officium*. In this case he is the administrative head of the section or *schola* of dispatch riders.

3 { . } (ἰνδικτίωνοc): The traces after ἐνδεκάτηc are puzzling. There is a faded upright descending from the tip of the crossbar of the final sigma of ἐνδεκάτηc, followed by what looks like most of a generous double curve in an S-shape, the rather high top of which is lost and the bottom of which comes very close to the foot of the upright; above the curve there seems to be a cap which is arched upwards. The upright could be the iota of ἰνδικτίωνοc, but the curve seems incompatible with nu, nor is ἐπινεμήcεωc, in some contexts an alternative to ἰνδικτίωνοc, at all suggested either by the traces or by the context, which has no relation to agriculture or land tax. Before the noun we might have had the phrase cὺν θεῷ, in full or contracted, but that too does not satisfy the traces, nor do the various standard participles παρούcηc, διελθούcηc, παρελθούcηc, εἰcιούcηc. The double curve surmounted by an arched cap looks very like the abbreviation sign customary in Upper Egypt for (αὐτόc) and its cases; see *CPR* V 6.6 note, with H.C. Youtie, "Notes on Papyri," *Scriptiunculae* I (Amsterdam 1973) 406, note 25 "sinusoïde verticale surmontée d'un arc de cercle" (P. Bureth); cf. e.g., *P.Charite* 26.8, Taf. XXII, although that document is at least one hundred years earlier than this. Perhaps we could think that the clerk intended first to write ἰνδικτίωνοc and after having sketched the iota decided to insert (αὐτῆc) before it. But the word order would be contorted and in addition, we would have to assume that the indiction was mentioned previously, possibly in the gap between lines 2 and 3. And we need that space to develop a link between the payment and the *primicerius* of the *singulares*; see above. We could resort to supposing that the addition above line 2 was longer, e.g., ἐπιβα̣τ̣ι̣κ̣[οῦ/ῶν τῆc ια ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc)], but that is implausible because the postulated (αὐτῆc) occurs in the main text, whereas it is natural to suppose that the addition was made after the body of the text was complete. Dr Gonis has provided a completely satisfactory escape from this quandary by drawing my attention to *P.Oxy*. XVI 2023, where, as stated in the commentary, "The abbreviation of ἰνδικ. in l.1 consists of a shallow spiral with a horizontal stroke; cf. 1916.25-7 n."

The faded upright can be regarded as accidental, or as the initial iota of ἰνδικτίωνοc in full, immediately abandoned in favour of this abbreviation.

The gap at the end of the line might have contained an expression such as [τὰ χρεωcτηθέντα, "the sum owing," agreeing with the following solidi and carats, νομιcμάτια and κεράτια.

5-6 ἀ[ποχήν. Cf. line 6, ἀ̣π̣ο̣χ̣[ή. Another possible word is ἀπόδειξιc, which is also palaeographically possible in 6, although the remaining top of an oblique stroke there has been doubtfully taken as better representing a chi than a delta. However, there is no surviving delta in that hand, so that Pancratius might have used one with an oblique final stroke rather than the upright stroke of the usual Latinate deltas of the main hand. the form used for the number four in line 4 does have a more oblique final stroke.

The damage is slightly greater at both ends of lines 5 and 6 than previously, hence the larger estimates for numbers of missing letters. The beginning of line 6 could be plausibly filled up by [ἐφ'

ὑπογραφῆς μου (or ἐμῆς) ὡς πρόκι]τε̣ (for πρόκειται, as often), "over my subscription, as aforesaid." For the end of 5 the best I can think of is α[ὐθεντικὴν ἀποχήν, for which see *P.Oxy.* VIII 1115.5, 7, 9, 18 and *P.Charite* 15. 26, but those texts of A.D. 284 and c. 330-340 are not quite convincing as parallels to this much later document.

At the end of 6 ὡς πρόκειται would probably have followed. There seems no need for more.

St. Leonards-on-Sea

Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 235-249

28. A DEED OF EXCHANGE FROM APHRODITO[1]

(Ludwig Koenen)

P.Michael. 51+P.Colon. inv. 1376 Plate 22 (P.Colon.) 23 cm x 37 cm
ca. 514-547 (most likely before 538) Aphrodito

P.Köln inv. 1376 is the left part of the deed of exchange that D.S. Crawford edited in 1955 as *P.Michael.* 51. Both fragments were once part of the Michaelides collection. The joined fragments (23 cm x 37 cm.) are the lower, inner part of the roll, written *transversa charta*. In addition, there exist a large fragment from the upper margin that belongs on top of the right side (ca. 17.5 cm x 5.5 cm) and 5 small or tiny fragments, all kept with *P.Michael.* 51 in the Cambridge University Library. Only one of the tiny fragments comes from the area of writing (a vertical stroke followed possibly by the top of ο̣). The main hand as well as those writing the subscriptions space their letters and words quite irregularly. The same letters occur in different sizes. For example καί at the end of line 15 takes 3.5 times the normal space of this word. In general, there is clearly a tendency to stretch or compress words at the end of lines in order to avoid word division. But there is also great variation of letter- and word sizes within the lines. Sometimes standard phrases are written in a peculiar flourish (for a particularly clear case in a subscription, see note to l. 28, with picture). The lines with subscriptions (24-9) begin .5 cm. to the left of the lines of the body of the deed (lines 1-23) and end .8 cm to their right, extending the writing to the very end of the margin.

Most persons occurring in the present transaction belong to the family of Dioskoros, the well-known landowner and "poet", from Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite nome, the village in the South of Egypt that is better known as Aphrodito as the name sounded later under Arabic rule.[2] This Dioskoros' grandfather was

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[1] I offer this small gift to David Thomas as a token of our friendship which began in our young years on professional grounds, but soon came to include our families, especially our sons Michael and Heinrich. In the early sixties, I prepared a first transcript and identified the Cologne fragment as the left part of *P.Michael.* 51. At the time I was not much interested in Byzantine papyri, but my recent work on the Petra papyri reminded me of the Cologne fragment of the Michaelides piece. This year, on my way to Amman, I spent a day in Cologne checking my old transcript. Fabian Reiter provided me with a superb printout of a scanned image that is much better than my old photograph. Traianos Gagos informed me that *P. Michael.* 51 is kept in the Cambridge University Library (S.J. Clackson, *ZPE* 100 [1994] 223-6, esp. 225). Thanks to Dorothy Thompson's powerful persuasion, Les Goodey, LBIPP, Photography & Digital Imaging of the Cambridge University Library, made a scanned image of highest quality available to me in Amman within two working days. The most recent piece to emerge from the Michaelides collection is P. Lampros [*P.Bingen* 130, edited by R.S. Bagnall and J.G. Keenan], a division of house property from ca. 526-45). To my knowledge, there is one other unpublished Michaelides papyrus in the Cologne Collection (P. Inv. 3282, a will).—I owe an immense debt to all who helped me. These also include Cornelia Römer, Patricia and Pierre Bikai, the directors of ACOR, and R. Daniel, with whom I worked on some parallel passages in P.Petra Inv. 10. All dates are A.D., but I have added A.D. occasionally to avoid confusion with other numbers.

[2] For convention's sake, I shall use the later name in the following pages; for the archive of Dioskoros and his poetical production see now J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle*. MIFAO 115 (Cairo 1999); L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito. His Work and His World* (Berkeley 1988); T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, *Settling a Dispute* (= *P.*

Dioskoros son of Psimanobet (line 27). Bēsariōn (line 23) and Apollōs,[3] one of the three witnesses of the deed (line 27), were sons of the elder Dioskoros. Among Apollōs' sons were the younger Dioskoros, the grandson of Dioskoros, and Senouthēs, another witness in our document (line 28) and, by 541, the village chief of Aphrodito (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.ii.21).[4] Consequently, Victor the son of Bēsariōn, the party of the present deed that offers the deal (styled in the first person), is a cousin of the younger Dioskoros.

The other party is Aurelios Hermauōs, alias Hermaōs, son of Psaios (see note to l. 22), who in the body of the document is addressed in the second person. He is illiterate, and, upon his request, Aurelios Theoteknos son of Psaios, possibly his brother, signs the deed for him. Theoteknos, an upper class landowner and former *praepositus*, rendered the same service on other occasions to other people and served sometimes as witness (see note to l. 25). These activities seem to have been part of his social services to members of his village as well as of his family. Also the notary Victor is well known.

The prosopographical setting provides an approximate date for the present deed between, say 514 and 547, or rather before 538. By 547, both Victor, son of Bēsariōn, one of the parties to the deed, and Apollōs son of Dioskoros, one of the witnesses, were dead (above and note to ll. 23 and 27-8.). Moreover, Apollōs had founded a monastery in 538 but, in the present deed, he is not given the title Aba. These data compare well with the fact that (a) the attested activities of Theoteknos, the signer of the deed for Hermaōs, fall between 517 and 547, and (b) that Johannes, son of Abraamios, appears in papyri of the years 531 and 540 (on both, see note to l. 25).

The best extant examples of ἀντικαταλλαγαί or deeds of exchange are *P.Flor.* I 47 (Hermoupolis Magna; 213-7),[5] extant in two copies, *PSI* XIII 1341.19 (also *SB* V 8951; Antinooupolis; V, perhaps 425-50),[6] and now *P.Kell.* I 30 (363), a contract that was recorded in Aphrodito.[7] After naming the parties, the texts begin with something like ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀντικαταλλάχθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλου[ς ἀπὸ τοῦ] νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν [ἅπ]αντ[α] χρόνον τὸ ἐλθὸν εἰς σὲ --- (so *P.Kell.* 30.8). A similar opening must be expected in the lost part of the papyrus published here. Then the description of the properties to be exchanged between the parties followed, either beginning with the property that the person speaking as "I" surrenders to the person addressed as "you" (so in *PSI* XIII 1341.6-12 [*SB* V 8951];[8] cf. *P.Flor.* I 47.5-12) or vice versa (*P.Kell.* I 30.8-17). Part of this section is extant in the new Cologne fragment, but since up to 44 letters are missing at the right side, we see only that the properties include some structures, whose precise nature remains unclear. Among them are a room or storage room or vault (κέλλα) and a place or site or shed or another type of room (χώρημα; lines 1-8). It is impossible to differentiate, with any degree of

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Mich.Aphrod.; Ann Arbor 1994), Introd., esp. 8-18; J.G. Keenan, "The Aphrodite Papyri and Village Life in Byzantine Egypt," *BSAC* 26 (1984) 51-62.

[3] On this Apollōs see J.G. Keenan, "Aurelios Apollos and the Aphrodite Village Élite," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* III (Naples 1984) 957-63.

[4] For the third witness, Aurelios Johannes son of Abraamios see note to l. 26.

[5] Cf. *PSI* XIII p. XIII; reedited as Mitteis, *Chrest.* 146. Crawford referred already to this example as well as to the fragmentary *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67243B (Aphrodito; VI).

[6] Tentatively ascribed to, most likely, 425/50 by K. A. Worp, "Byzantine Imperial Titulature in the Greek Documentary Papyri: The Oath Formulas," *ZPE* 45 (1982) 208 (Theodosius/Valentinianus III [d]).

[7] Other fragmentary ἀντικαταλλαγαί include *P. Stras.* VI 556 (Hermoupolis; 389), *CPR* XIV.13 (Arsinoite nome; VI/VII), and *CPR* XVIIB 3 (Panop.; 180/192). For additional examples see the introduction to *P.Kell.* I 30 (p. 88).

[8] Line 6 with a certain supplement [ἐγὼ Cυρίων] and line 8 ἐγὼ δὲ Βηcᾶc.

certainty, between the properties surrendered by each party to the other,[9] except for the fact that line 9 refers to property ceded by Victor and line 10 to that given by Hermaōs. But these two lines may be part of a summary, not of the original description.

The description of the properties exchanged is always followed by the traditional terms that are also used in other types of property transactions (lines 10-23).[10] For example, *P.Kell.* 30.17-20 asserts the resulting property rights and guarantee from all claims by a relatively brief version: [πρὸς τὸ ἀπεν-τε]ῦθεν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν κ[υρ]ιεύειν καὶ δυν[ας]τεύειν καὶ δεσποτεύειν καὶ οἰκο[ν]ομεῖν τῶν κατηλλ[αγμένων καὶ ἀν]οικοδομεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσο[με]ν ἀλλήλοις πάσῃ [β]εβαιώσει ἀπὸ παν-τ[ὸ]ς τοῦ ἐπ[ελε]υ[σο]μένου ἐμοί [τε καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμο]ῦ ἀποστήσειν ἐξ ἰδίο[υ] ἀναλώματος. Next, or in connection with the following promise to abide by the terms of the deed, we could expect an oath clause in the Michaelides papyrus,[11] but the notary or the scribe did not mention an oath in the body of the document. In his signature, however, Victor son of Bēsariōn, one of parties, refers to an oath (l. 24). Theoteknos, signing for Hermaōs, the other party, may have followed and used the same formula, but then, when he became aware that the notary did not ask for an oath, he may have bracketed the reference to an oath and thus deleted it. Or—here the paleographical diagnosis is ambiguous—what can be interpreted as a bracket, is the correction of a minor scribal error. In this case he retained the reference to the oath (see n. to l. 25), and we may conclude that the notary or the scribe of the document simply forgot the oath clause in the contract. Instead, the βεβαίωσις is followed by the promise to obey by the terms of the deed, the penalty clause for violations, and the assurance of the validity of the deed despite any violation and even against the will of the transgressing party follow in traditional order and wording (17-9). In the penalty clause (17-8), our notary (or his scribe) seems to be losing track of his words (see note to ll. 17-9; also see n. to 15-6). The penalty clause (lines 17-9) is often connected with an expression that stipulates the continued validity of the deed (note to ll. 19-20). This is, for example, the case in *PSI* XIII 1341.18-9 (*SB* V 8951; mentioned above), a deed of exchange already mentioned: πρὸς τὸ (r. τῷ)[12] βεβαίαν καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ἡμῖν εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ταύτην τὴν ἀντικαταλλαγὴν ἥνπερ δισσὴν ὁμότυπον γραφεῖσαν ἐθέμεθα πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν κυρίαν καὶ βεβαίαν πανταχο[ῦ] ἐπιφερομένην, καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) οὕτως ἔχειν ὡμολ(ογήσαμεν). Here as well as in the papyrus published below, the statement about the continued validity of the deed leads directly to the mention of the total number of copies written (here: three) and the number of copies given to each party (here: one each; see note to l. 21). As always, the deed ends with the Roman stipulation clause (22ff. ἐπερωτηθέντες --- ὡμολογήσαμεν) and the signatures (23-9).

The Cologne fragment confirms, by and large, D.S. Crawford's reconstruction, and the reader will notice how much I owe to him. Yet, the new evidence and a fresh look lead to changes. Whenever I felt comfortable enough, corrections are made silently; where things were less clear, some discussion will be found in the commentary. In an apparatus under the text, I record abbreviations and anomalies, and offer reading help for non-papyrologists. But where the Byzantine scribe in his usual manner writes an upsilon

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[9] For the meager and inclusive indications, see the notes to the relevant lines (1-10).

[10] See L. Koenen, "Preliminary Observations on Legal Matters in P.Petra 10 (P. Petra Khaled and Suha Shoman)," forthcoming in the *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Florence 1998) and the edition of this papyrus with note to ll. 192-208 (in preparation, scheduled for 2001/02; main editors: R. Daniel, T. Gagos, and L. Koenen).

[11] *PSI* XIII 1341 (*SB* V 8951), one of the extant deeds of exchange mentioned above, contains an oath clause after the *bebaiōsis* clause (line 16f. and in the subscriptions, ll. 20-2).

[12] Thus taken by me; see note to ll. 19-20 and 20 πρὸς τῷ.

by a straight or curved stroke above the preceding letter, I simply put the upsilon in parentheses. This is not an abbreviation, rather an optional way to write this letter. But the papyrologist needs to know about a scribe's use of this space-saving device in order to calculate available space. Only when the strokes over letters seem to stand for another letter than υ, I shall record this in the apparatus and discuss it in the commentary.

(↓)

παραχωρης̣[
ἀπὸ το(ῦ) μικρο(ῦ) χωρήματος ἐν̣προς̣τα̣[
παρ[α]χ̣[ω]ρ̣η̣θέν̣τ̣ον μοι παρὰ σο(ῦ). εἰ δὲ [
4 το(ῦ) ὀγδό(ου) μέρους τῆς κέλλας καὶ τὸ μέ̣τ̣ρ̣ο̣[ν (?)
κέλλας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ χωρήματος, τουτέστι[
τοίχο(υ) ἀπὸ το[(ῦ)] νοτίνο(υ) μεσοτοίχο[(υ)] τῆς [
εἰς νότο(ν) ὅπο(υ) φθάνι, τοῦ μέτρο(υ) το(ῦ) αὐ̣[τοῦ
8 .ο..(υ) [..]...[.].[..... ....]ρ̣ος τῆς αὐτ[ῆς
τῆς κέλλας παραχωρεῖν σ̣οι καὶ μὴ ἐξο[υσίαν ἔχειν *(ca. 25 letters)*]...[?]
χωρήματος, ἀλλ' εἶναι ὑπ' ἐμὲ τὸ(ν) προ[κείμενον Βίκτορα *(ca. 3-13 letters)*
παραχωρηθέντα μοι]
παρὰ σο(ῦ) εἰς τὸ παντελές, ὧν ἐθέμεθα δεl[όντως (?) ταύτην τὴν ἀντικαταλ-
λαγὴν πρὸς τὸ ἕκαστον εἰς]
12 τὴν ἑκάστο(υ) μερίδα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐξελθεῖν | [ἐκ τῆς ἑκάστου μερίδος καὶ
ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν καὶ δεσποτεύειν τὴν ἐκ̣ά̣l[στου μερίδα καὶ
(1) καὶ νέμεσθαι καὶ παραπέμπειν ἐπὶ κlληρονόμους ἰδίους καὶ διαδόχο(υ)ς καὶ
χρήσασθαι
ᾧ βούλῃ τρόπῳ ἀκωλύτως, ὧν τὴν | [νο]μ̣ὴ̣ν̣ ἐκώντες καὶ πεπεισμένοι καὶ
16 βεβαιώσιν ἀλλήλοις πάσῃ βεβαιώς[ει ἀπὸ παντὸς καὶ διὰ παν]τὸς το(ῦ)
ἐπελευσομένο(υ)
(4) ἢ ἀντιποιησομένο(υ) παντὶ καιρῷ ἐπά̣[ναγκες·] κ̣[αὶ μηδὲν ὑπεναντίο]ν πώποτε
χωρεῖν
τὰ προγεγραμμένα, τὸν δὲ παραβlαίνοντα ἐξ ἡμῶν `τὰ προγεγραμμέν̣α̣΄ — δώσει
ὁ μὴ ἐμμένον μέρος
τῷ ἐμμένοντι χρυσο(ῦ) οὐγκίαν μίαν — | κ[αὶ] ἄκο̣ν̣τα αὐτὸν ἐμμένειν πᾶσι τοῖς
ἐγγεγραμμένοις
20 πρὸς τῷ ἀρραγὴν καὶ βεβαίαν εἶναι ταlύτην τὴν ἀντικαταλλαγὴν πανταχο(ῦ)
προκομιζομένην,
(8) τρισσὴν γραφ(εῖσαν) ὁμότυπον πρὸς τὼ ἑκl[άτ]ερον μέρος ἔχειν ἀνὰ μοναχὸν
μεθ' ὑπογραφ(ῆς)
ἐμῆς Βίκτορος καὶ το(ῦ) ὑπὲρ Ἑρμαυῶτος | ὑπογράφ(οντος) καὶ τῶν συνήθων
μαρτύρων. καὶ ἐπερωτηθέν(τες)
ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι ὡμολογήσαμεν. (m. 2) ⊥ Αὐρήlλ̣ι̣ο̣ς̣ Βίκτωρ Βησαρίωνος ὁ
προκ(είμενος) ἐθέμην τα(ύ)την
24 τὴν ἀντικαταλλαγὴν καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν θεῖον ὅρlκον ὡς πρόκ(ειται). (m. 3) ⊥ Αὐρή-

λ̣ι̣ο̣ς Ἑρμαῶς Ψαίο(υ) ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἐθέμην
(12) τα(ύ)την τὴ[ν ἀ]ν̣τικαταλλαγὴν καὶ ὅμοσ|α τὸν̣ θ̣[ῖ]ο̣ν̣ ὅρκο̣ν̣ ὡς̣ π̣ρ̣ό(κειται).
Φλά(ουιος) Θεότεκνος Ψαίου ἀποπραιπός(ιτος)
ἀξιωθ(εὶς) [ἔγ]ραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτο(ῦ) γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος. (m. 4) ⊕ Αὐρ(ήλιος)
Ἰωάννης Ἀβραάμίο(υ) μαρτυρῶ
τὴν [ἀ]ν̣τικαταλλαγὴν ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶ|ν θ̣ε̣μ̣ένων†. (m. 5) ⊕ Αὐρήλι̣ο̣ς
Ἀπολλῶς Διοσκόρου μαρτυρῶ
28 τὴν ἀντικαταλλαγὴν ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶ|ν θεμένων ὑ̣π̣(ογράφων) ἰδίᾳ χ̣ε̣ιρ(ί).
(m. 6) ⊕ Αὐρήλιος Σενο(ύ)θης Ἀπολλῶτος
(16) μαρτυρῶ τῇ ἀντικαταλλαγῇ ἀκο(ύ)σας παρὰ | τῶν θεμένων. ⊕

(m. 7) ⊕ ἐγράφ(η) δι|ι' ἐμο(ῦ) Οὐίκτορος ἀπὸ τῆς (αὐτῆς) κώμης†

3 read παραχωρηθέντων (see comm. *ad loc.*) 7 νοτο̅ pap.; read φθάνει 10 το̅ pap. 15 read ἑκόντες 16 read βεβαιώσειν 21 read τὸ; υ̣π̣ο̣γρ̣ pap. (the descender reaches into the next line between ω and θ of επερωτηθεν(τες) 22 ἐμῆς, μ written in corr.; υ̣π̣ο̣γρ̣ pap.; επερωτηθεν(τες), the upper part of the ε continues into a huge ν reaching into the interlinear space below the line 23 αυρη?λ̣ι̣ο̣ς pap.; προκ̣ pap. 24 read ὅμοσα; προκ̣ pap. (twice) 25 και probably written in corr. (see comm. on 25; read ὅμοσα; καὶ --- θ̣[ῖ]ο̣ν̣, see comm.; read τὸν̣ θ̣[εῖ]ο̣ν̣; π̣ρ̣ο̣κ̣; αποπραιπό̣, in the abbreviation π and ο are fused into each other 26 αξιωθ pap.; ὑπερ pap.; αυ̣ρ̣, there is some smear of ink in α and ρ; ἰωαννης (single tremma dot) 27 θ̣ε̣μ̣ε̣νων, written in large and broad letters 28 τη for τήν, or possibly τη[(ν)] written as τη̅ (see comm. *ad loc.*); υ̣π̣ιδιαχειρ, see comm. *ad loc.* 30 ἐγρ̣ά̣φ̣ pap.; ουϊκτορος,ζ̅, sc. αὐτῆς; for the end see comm.

(1) … to surrender … from the small shed (or: "room", "site") in front of (?) … of the things (?) surrendered to me by you. But if … of the eighth part of the storage (?) room and the measure (?) … (4) of the storage (?) room from my shed (or: "room", "site"), that is … of the wall from the southern shared wall of … towards south wherever it extends to, the measure of the mentioned … being (?) (8) … [I agree (?)] to surrender to you [the … part (?)] of the mentioned … [and (?)] of the storage (?) room and to have no power over [… and] of the shed (or: "room", "site"), but that … (the things) surrendered to me] by you be completely under my, above-mentioned [Victor's] control, namely the things for which we have made [this deed of exchange in suitable fashion (?) so that each party (12) take possession of its part and give up possession [of its part and …] from now on possess and own each party's part and …] and manage and bequeath the things to its own heirs and successors and use them in any way it wishes and without hindrance. (We agree) of our free will and with our consent (16) to guarantee the possession of these things to each other with every guarantee, always and against anybody who will lay or enter a claim, at any time and by necessity; and (we agree) that no party ever proceed in anything against the above-written (?), but that the one of us who transgresses the above-written—the non-abiding party will pay to the abiding party one ounce of gold—will even against his will abide by everything written in this document, (20) and, in addition, this deed of exchange will be unbroken and secure at every place where it will be produced. The deed is written in three identical copies so that each party may have one copy each with the signatures of me, Victor, of the person signing for Hermauōs and of the customary witnesses. Upon being formally asked, we agreed with all these conditions.

(m. 2) ⊕ I, the aforesaid Aurelios Victor son of Besariōn have executed this (24) deed of exchange and have sworn the sacred as aforesaid.

(m. 3) ⊕ I, the aforesaid Aurelios Hermaōs son of Psaios, have executed this deed of exchange and have sworn the sacred oath as aforesaid (see n. to 25); I, Fl. Theoteknos, a former *praepositus*, son of Psaios wrote for him upon his request since he is illiterate.

(m. 4) ⊕ I, Aurelios Iohannes son of Abraamios, witness the deed of exchange after I have heard from the executing parties⊕.

(m. 5) ⊕ I, Aurelios Apollōs son of Diokoros, witness the deed of exchange after I have heard from the executing parties, and I sign with my own hand.

(m. 6) ⊕ I, Aurelios Senouthēs son of Apollōs, witness the deed after I have heard from the executing parties.

(m. 7) ⊕ (This deed) was written by me, Victor, from the same village⊕

1-23 Body of the contract; see introd.

1-8 Description of the property (including a κέλλα, see comm. on 4, 5, 9) surrendered by Aurelios Victor. Similarly, the preceding lost part must have dealt with the property surrendered (see lines 3, 5, and 10).

1 παραχωρης[: There is only an insignificant trace of ς.

2 ἐν προςτα[: ν rather than κ (as written in 5 and 9 κέλλας); possibly ἐνπροςτά [(read ἐμ-) as in *P.Haun.* III 58.9ff. (439) κλήρων τῶν ἐμπροςτὰ τῆς αὐτῆς Θανεςάμην. Or, if a new item is listed, ἐν προςτά[δι, "in the vestibule" (T. Gagos). ἐκ προςτά[γματος is not expected. For χώρημα, see below, note to 4, 5, 9.

3 παρ[α]χ[ω]ρηθέντον: read –των. The lower part of the letters is broken off. το is written with open ο and in a juncture similar to ςο in 17, ἀντιποιηςομένου: the ς and τ, respectively, connect with a vertical, which at its bottom curves to the right and up where it ends in a slope. But in 3, the slope is much larger. Cf. *P.Ness.* 23.6 (566-7?), a sale, but de facto an *antikatallagē*, referring to the tax obligations τῶν παραχωρηθέντων μοι | [παρὰ ςοῦ.

4, 5, 9 κέλλας: *cella*. The precise meaning ("room," "storage," "vault") in the present context is unclear (cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* [Paris 1983] 136-47). The genitive was formed either on -ας or –ης (Gignac, *Grammar* II, 7ff.). The χώρημα is equally unclear ("shed," "room," "place," "site"); cf. *PSI* VI 708.10 (436) ἐν ᾧ κέλλαι τέςςαρες καὶ χωρήματα.

4 τὸ μέτρο[ν: or το[(ῦ)] μέτρο[(υ). The top is broken off; The middle stroke of ε was connected to a following vertical (for reason of spacing most likely τ or γ), then probably ρ; the extant traces match those of μέτρο(υ) in line 7, although, in line 4, also μετρο[υμενο- is possible.

5-8 τουτέςτι[: Introducing some details of the surrendered property.

7 εἰς νότο(ν): The ν is marked by a curved stroke on top of ο (ὄ), which Byzantine scribes normally write for υ. The precise shape of the stroke, in particular as to whether curved or straight, does not seem to matter. Both shapes are developed from the shape of υ. Also ν has a long history of being written as a raised stroke, usually, however, at line end. For its use in the present text, see also *app. crit.* on line 10, and note to 26ff., 27ff., 29 and cf. note to 25 Φλά(ουιος) Θεότεκνος κτλ. In 7, εἰς νότο(ν) appears to indicates the orientation of a piece of architecture and may have been preceded by a pres. participle of βλέπειν, νεύειν, (προς)βάλλειν, the perf. part. ἀνεῳγμέν-, or similar phrases (see also next note).

ὅπο(υ) φθάνι: In local sense, "to extend to," as in e.g., *P.Flor.* I 50.87 (Herm., 268; *BL* I, 139), μερίδων δύο --- φθανουςῶν [εἰ]ς βορρᾶν μέχρι χωρίου τῆς αὐτῆς ---, or "to be somewhere."

8 .ο..(υ) [..]...[.].[..... ....]ρ̣ο̣c: The first letter begins with a diagonal stroke from 7 to 1 o'clock above which a rounded top continues into a descending diagonal turning into a slope; it looks like λ̣ο̣. Then one or two letters and a stroke above the last letter follow; probably (υ̣). With some difficulty one could then read [πα]ρ̣α̣χ̣[ω̣]ρ̣[- and, after 7 letters, μέ]ροc.

8-11 Exchange of property rights. Each party, in 8-10 Aurelios Victor and in 10-1 (beginning with ἀλλά), Aurelios Hermauōs, surrenders its property rights (cf. Introd. and note to ll. 1-7). For the use of the Roman gentile names Aurelius (after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*) and Flavius (a newer and more prestigious status marker for the elite that relates its bearer to the second Flavian dynasty of the fourth cent., more specifically to Flavius Valerius Constantinus), see J.G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63, 13 (1975) 237-50, and 53 (1983) 245-50.

10 ὑπ' ἐμὲ τὸ(ν) προ[κείμενον Βίκτορα: Possibly, as in the signatures, with abbreviation προ-[κ(είμενον). In this case, the remaining space could take between ca. 10 and 20 letters. For referring to Victor simply by this name, see 22: Βίκτοροc. But the name may have been given here in full (Αὐρήλιον Βίκτορα Βηcαρίωνοc, followed by τὰ παραχωρηθέντα (altogether 20 additional letters). Or the things surrendered by Aurelios Hermauōs to Victor may have been specified.

11-23 Final clauses on ownership rights (with exemplification, 11-5), freedom of consent (15), guarantee against claims (βεβαίωcιc, 16ff.), renunciation of violations of the contract (17ff.), and penalty clause (18ff.) with confirmation of continued validity of the contract (19ff.), all in the traditional language used in the various types of contracts by which landed property and houses changed hands.

11 πρὸc τὸ or ἐφ' ᾧτε or a similar phrase introducing the final clauses as intentions or conditions of the present exchange deed. The notary Victor of Aphrodito (l. 30 with note and Introd.) uses ἐφ' ᾧ with the inf. in at least one extant lease (*P.Flor.* III 280.14; restored in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 33.17), but in not quite comparable contexts.

11-15 Exchange of the ownership rights and their specification; cf. Koenen, *loc. cit.* and the forthcoming edition of P.Petra inv. 10 (P.Petra Kh. and S. Shoman), esp. commentary on lines 192-208 (for both see above, footn. 10).

12 ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐξελθεῖν: As these infinitives precede καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν καὶ δεcποτεύειν, they refer to the new owners taking their new, and vacating their old, ownership rights.

12-15 By the sixth century, the infinitives describing the property rights have become rather long with many variations; e.g., *P.Mich.* XIII 662.37-49 (sale of part of a house; Aphrodito; VII), --- πρὸc τὸ ἐντεῦθήν (r. –θέν) cε --- κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ δεcπόζειν --- καὶ οἰκεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐπεικοδομεῖν (r. ἐποικο-) καὶ μιcθοῦν καὶ μηταμιcθοῦν (r. μετα-) καὶ παραπέμπειν ἐπεὶ (r. ἐπὶ) κληρονόμουc ἰδίουc --- καὶ χρύcαcθαι (r. χρήcαcθαι) καὶ νέμαιcθαι (r. νέμεcθαι) κατὰ τὼν (r. τὸν) δ̣οκοῦντά coι κυριευτικὼν (r. -κὸν) τρόπον ἀγορήτοc (r. ἀκωλύτωc); *P.Mich.* XIII 663.12-6 (sale of two κελλία; Aphrodito; VI), --- κ]αὶ οἰκεῖν καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομῖν (r. –μεῖν) [καὶ μιcθοῦν καὶ μεταμιcθοῦν κα]ὶ παραπέμπειν ἐπὶ κληρονόμουc [ἰδίουc καὶ διαδόχουc ---] --- καὶ χρύcαcθαι (r. χρή-) καὶ νέμεcθαι [κατὰ τὸν δοκοῦντα ὑμῖν] κυριευτικὼν (r. -κὸν) τρόπων (r. -πον) ἀκωλύτωc ---. *SB* I 5112.45-50 (sale of half part of a dining hall; Apollonop. Magna; 618), κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν --- καὶ οἰκεῖν καὶ δι[ο]ικεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ ἐκχωρεῖν καὶ παραχωρεῖν καὶ μετacχηματίζειν καὶ ἐκμιcθοῦν καὶ ἐναλλάττειν καὶ νέμεcθαι καὶ πωλεῖν --- καὶ κληρονόμουc καταλιμπάνειν καὶ διαδόχοιc--- καὶ χρᾶcθαι περὶ αὐτῶν τρόπῳ παντὶ --- ἀκωλύτωc καὶ ἀνεμποδίcτωc.

In the present deed of exchange, the list of infinitives is comparatively short. Similar is *P.Bingen* 130.8-10 (Aphrodito; 526-545; above, n. 1) ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν καὶ δεcπόζειν καὶ διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκεῖν καὶ

νέμε[c]θαι καὶ παραπέμπειν ἐπὶ κ|ληρονόμουc ἰδίουc καὶ διαδόχο(υ)c καὶ χρήcαcθ[αι ᾧ] ἂν βούλῃ τρόπῳ ἀκωλύτωc. For more examples see introd. (on *P.Kell.* 30) and *P.Flor.* I 47.12ff. (above, footn. 5) and 33ff., ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἑκάτερον ἀντιλαμβάνεcθαι καὶ χρᾶcθαι καὶ οἰκονομῖν καὶ διοικεῖν περὶ οὗ ἀντικατηλάγη ὡc προδεδήλωται ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον; *PSI* XIII 1341.4ff. and 12-4 (Antinooup.; V), ὁμολογοῦμεν --- ἀντικατηλλάχθαι ἀλλήλοιc ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπ]αντ[α] χρόνον --- πάντῃ [π]άντοθεν εἰc τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ παντελὲc ἕκαcτον ἡμῶν κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ δεcποτεύειν τῆc ἀντικαταλ[λαχθείcηc α]ὐτῷ γῆc ὑ[π]ὸ θατέρου καὶ τοὺc παρ' αὐτοῦ μεταπα[ρα]λημψομένουc δεcπόζονταc χρωμένουc καὶ διοικοῦνταc καὶ οἰκονομοῦν-[ταc καὶ ἐπιτε]λοῦνταc π[ε]ρὶ αὐτῆc καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἱρῶ[ν]ται τρόπον ἀνεμποδίcτωc. The lists are followed by *bebaiōsis*, here lines 15-7.

13 δεcποτεύειν τὴν ἑκά[cτου μερίδα καὶ: Hereafter between ca. 24 and 34 letters are missing. One may either expect (a) a phrase specifying the beginning and end of the contract (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον or a variation of this formula) or (b) a continuation of the infinitives exemplifying the rights of ownership.

(a) The time of validity is already defined by ἐντεῦθεν, which almost certainly refers back to the lost beginning of the document (see Introd. with quotation of *PSI* XIII 1341; similarly *P.Kell.* I 30. 8ff. and the two copies of *P.Flor.* I 47.3ff. and 24-6). Such a beginning of the document would not preclude a repetition of the time of validity. At the end of the line χ]ρ[όνον is not impossible although it would not match what, on the digital image, looks like additional traces of ink. Only a deep vertical stroke is certain.

(b) The extant *antikatallagai* (above, note to ll. 12-5) may suggest verbs of rather general meaning. νέμεcθαι is, indeed, typically preceded or followed by χρήcαcθαι or κτήcαcθαι (e.g., *P.Mich.* XIII 662 and 663, above note to ll. 12-5); cf. esp. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097.24ff. (Aphrodito; 573), καὶ νέμεcθ[αι τοῦτο] καὶ κτήcαcθαι καὶ παραπέμπειν ἐπὶ κληρονόμουc coὺc παντοίουc ---. Other combinations include κατέχειν καὶ νέμεcθαι (*P.Mich.* XIII 659.199; Aphrodito; 527-42; cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1892 27ff. [581] and XLVII 3355.8 [535]). One may therefore expect some combination of two verbs like χρᾶcθαι (χρήcαcθαι), κτήcαcθαι, κρατεῖν, οἰκονομεῖν, and διοικεῖν). However, depending on the use of the properties the notary may also have chosen more specific verbs like οἰκεῖν (διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκεῖν in *P.Bingen* 130.9 [above, n. 1 and on line 12-5]), ἐκχωρεῖν, ἐκμιcθοῦν , etc. The traces at the end of the line suit -c]θ[α]ι (producing a very short, but not impossible line) or] ρ[ε]ι[ν, as in παρα- or ἐκχ]ω-ρ[ε]ῖ[ν.

15-17 Mutual guarantee from claims (*bebaiōsis*).

15-16 ὧν τὴν | [νο]μὴν ἑκώντεc καὶ πεπειcμένοι καὶ | βεβαιώcιν ἀλλήλοιc: Not] καὶ ἑκών-τεc (thus Crawford) as καί would not be written with a freestanding and high-rising iota. The καί at the end of line 15 is an exception: it takes 3 1/2 times the space of a normal καί in this hand and is meant to fill the rest of the line.

ἑκώντεc (read ἑκόντεc) καὶ πεπειcμένοι indicates that the notary thought of a phrase of agreement like (προc)ομολογοῦμεν, as this formula for "of our free will and with our consent" accompanies either verbs of agreements or, as in l. 11, of making a contract. The infinitive βεβαιώcιν (read βεβαιώcειν) depends on an implied (or forgotten) ὁμολογοῦμεν. While the formula ἑκόντεc καὶ πεπειcμένοι begins to appear by the middle of the fourth cent. (Mitteis, *Chrest.* 361 [355, see *BL* VII, 123], ἑκοῦcα καὶ πεπειcμένη), it is frequently used in the sixth cent. and sometimes in the first half of the seventh cent. It was particularly common in contracts from Aphrodito (at least, 17 instances; e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001. 16, 67111.11, II 67299.26, 67301.12, 67310.v.10, *P.Michael.* 40.49, 45.59, 48.13, 56.r.1, and 57.r.5).

τὴν | [νο]μὴν (suggested by T. Gagos). βεβαιώcειν guarantees the guarantee the right of possessing

free from encumbrances. This noun is usually connected either with (i) καθαροποιεῖν or (ii) παραδιδόναι. See, for example, (i) *P.Dubl.* 32.12 (Arsinoe; 512) καὶ τὴν νομὴν καθαρποιῆϲαι (read καθαροποιῆϲαι) and *BGU* I 313.6 (Byz. period) καὶ τὴν νομὴν καθαραποιήϲωμεν; (ii) *P.Köln* IV.193 (Antinooupolis?; V/VI) ὧν τὴν νομὴν καὶ τὴν δεϲποτείαν ἐντεῦθεν ὑμῖν παραδεδώκαμεν and cf. D. Hagedorn's introd.; also *P.Mich.* XIII 664.24 (Aphrodito; 585); for the verb with a long series of nouns (including τὴν νομὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆϲιν καὶ τὴν δεϲποτείαν) see e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* II+III p. 2-6, 67169.11ff. (Antinooupolis; 569).

16 ἀπὸ παντὸϲ καὶ διὰ παν]τὸϲ: Either in this order, as restored by Crawford in his note *ad loc.*, or in reversed order, as printed by Crawford in his text. In either case, τοῦ ἐπελευϲομένου ἢ ἀντιποιηϲομένου determines ἀπὸ παντόϲ; cf. *CPR* XVIIB 6.11 (Panop.; 180-92) [ἀπὸ] παντὸϲ ἐπε[λευϲο]μένου ϲοι διὰ παν[τόϲ]. The clause is part of the *bebaiōsis* formula which here is used in the characteristic wording that occurs in many contracts from Aphrodito; cf. e.g., *SB* XVIII 13320.81-3 (= *P. Mich.* XIII 665+J. Gascou, *CRIPEL* 7 [1985] 129-35; 613-41 A.D.), καὶ βεβαιώϲω ὑμῖν πάϲῃ βεβαιώϲει ἀπὸ παντὸϲ καὶ διὰ παντὸϲ τοῦ ἐπελευϲομέ(νου) ἢ ἀντιποιηϲθηϲομέ(νου) παντὶ καιρῷ ἐπάναγκεϲ. The middle future ἀντιποιηϲομένου, used in our text, is more common than the pass. participle. Other texts from Aphrodito offer minor deviations: *P.Michael.* 40.44ff. and 52.22-4 (both VI); *P.Lond.* V 1686.38ff. (565), *P.Mich.* XIII 664.31ff. (585); *P.Michael.* 55, fr. C.2ff. (582-602; mostly restored) and 40.44ff. (VI); *P.Mich.* XIII 663.20-2 (VI); *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 25.fr.C.29 (VI).

As indicated, the phrase occurs also in opposite order as διὰ παντὸϲ καὶ ἀπὸ παντόϲ: *P.Lond.* V 1724.46ff. (578-82; Syene), *P.Oxy.* XIV 1708.16ff. (311), *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 21.11 (Herm. Magna; 309); and without καί (with διὰ παντόϲ sometimes preceding, sometimes following ἀπὸ παντόϲ: e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67154.v.18ff. (Antinooup.; 527-65), *P.Münch.* I 9.71 (585), 11.43ff. (586), I.12.35 (590/1) and 13.38ff. (594; all Syene), *P.Kell.* I 4.fr.2.12 (331), *CPR* VII 36.11 (Herm.; 331) etc.; *P.Köln* IV 193.6 (V/VI; Antinooup.?) or, frequently, without διὰ παντόϲ.

17-20 Renunciation of any violation of the present contract, the fine for any violation, and the continued validity of the contract, all in traditional order.

17-19 the infinitives 17 χωρεῖν and 19 ἐμμένειν depend either on a verb of agreement implied or omitted in l. 15ff. (ὁμολογοῦμεν; see above) or on πρὸϲ τὸ --- in l. 11. In the case of implied or omitted ὁμολογοῦμεν, the nominative construction ἑκώντεϲ (read ἑκόντεϲ) καὶ πεπειϲμένοι (15) changes for good reason to accusatives: 18ff., τὸν δὲ παραβαίνοντα and 19, κ[α]ὶ [ἄ]κοντα αὐτόν. The wording seems confused, although the general meaning is clear. In 17ff., ὑπεναντίον χωρεῖν τὰ προγεγραμμένα is clumsy ("proceed contrary with regard to the above-written"), although *P.Michael.* 55.fr. C.4-6 (Aphrodito; 582-602) offers the same sequence of words: ἐμμένειν] τῇ δυνάμ[ε]ι τα[ύ]τηϲ τῆϲ ἐγγράφου διαιρέϲεωϲ ἀρρ[αγοῦϲ οὔϲηϲ (ca. 25 letters) καὶ μ]ηδὲν ὑπεναντίον [π]ώποτε χωρεῖν τὰ προγεγραμμέ(να) ϲ[(ca. 25 letters) . εἰ δέ τιϲ ἡμῶν] παραβαίη ταύτην τὴν διαίρεϲιν ---. Here, however, τὰ προγεγραμμέ(να) may depend on the text lost in the lacuna. The meaning of χωρεῖν in the present context is exemplified by *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67243.fr.B.20ff. (Antaiop.?; 565-74, see K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 [1982] 211), καὶ μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον πώποτε χωρεῖν κατὰ ταύτηϲ τῆϲ ἀπαραβάτου ἐγγράφου ἀντικαταλλαγῆϲ, "and not ever to proceed in anything against this inviolable written document of exchange." *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67299.42ff. (*FIRA* III 115; Antinooupolis; 527-65, see K.A. Worp, *loc. cit.* 211) ἢ ὑπεναντίον αὐτῆϲ (sc. τῆϲ προγεγραμμένηϲ ἐμφυτεύϲεωϲ) χωρεῖν; *P.Mich. Aphrod.* 83ff. (527-47, probably before 538) εἰ δέ ποτε --- τολμήϲαιμι παραβῆναι --- καὶ βουληθείην ὑπεναντίον τι χωρεῖν --- ; also *P.Köln* III 157.29-31+IV addendum, p. 241 (Apollonopol. Mikr.; 589) εἰ δέ ποτε --- τολμήϲειέν [τιϲ – –]– ὑπεναντίον [ταύτ]ηϲ τῆϲ ἐλευθε[ρίαϲ χω]ρεῖν, ---. On the

basis of these uses of χωρεῖν, we expect the sense of "and never to proceed in anything in violation of the above," and the phrase may just be understood in this way. But it seems more likely that the scribe intended to write at the beginning of line 18: μηδὲν ὑπεναντίο]ν πώποτε χωρεῖν τῶν προγεγραμμένων or rather <πρὸς> τὰ προγεγραμμένα.

The construction becomes worse in the following part of the sentence, where δώσει --- μίαν interrupts the infinitive construction. The notary may have taken the κ[αὶ before ἄ]κοντα αὐτόν adverbially: "but the one of us who violates the above-written—the party that does not abide by the contract shall give the abiding party one gold ounce—shall abide by all the above-written *even* against his will." Alternatively one may read with a different punctuation: τὸν δὲ παραβ|αίνοντα --- `τὰ προγεγραμμένα´ — ὁ μὴ ἐμμένον μέρος τῷ ἐμμένοντι — χρυσο(ῦ) οὐγκίαν μίαν κ[αὶ] ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐμμένειν ---. Cf. *P.Bingen* 130.10-2 (above n. 1 and on 13-5) καὶ μὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ παραβῆναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα, τὸν δὲ παραβαίνοντα ἢ τὴν παραβαίνουσαν δώσει<ν> λ[ό]γῳ προστίμου χρ[υ]σοῦ οὐγκίαν δύο καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐμμένειν (for the continuation see n. to l. 19, for the notary's confusion also notes to ll. 24-5 and 25).

18 ὁ μὴ ἐμμένον μέρος: "A curious confusion of gender due to the use of μέρος to mean "party"" (Crawford). Such *constructio ad sensum* is common enough. The scribe of P.Petra inv. 10 (P.Petra Kh. and S. Shoman) wrote in the same context: ἐκτίσει ἕκαστο[ν] πρόσωπον π[αρ]αβαίνοντα, παρέξει τῷ [ἐμ]μένο[ς]ντι ἢ τοῖς ἐμμέ[νο]υσειν ἐξ οἰκείας --- χ[ρυ]σείνους εἴκοσσει (r. -σίνους εἴκοσι), κ· τῆς ποινῆς καταβαλλομέ[νης τὴν ὁμολογίαν (?) εἶναι κυρ]ίαν καὶ βεβαίαν (ll. 203-6; cf. Koenen, *loc. cit.* (above, footn. 10 and the edition of P.Petra inv. 10 [in preparation]). Here, too, the syntax is unclear. The scribe may have intended ἐκτίσει<ν> ἕκαστο[ν] πρόσωπον π[αρ]αβαίνοντα — παρέξει τῷ [ἐμ]μένο[ς]ντι ἢ τοῖς ἐμμέ[νο]υσειν — ἐξ οἰκείας --- χ[ρυ]σείνους εἴκοσσει κτλ.

19-20 The fine for breach of contract is traditionally followed by a clause stipulating that the contract will remain valid. The wording varies considerably. χωρίς or καὶ μηδέν ἧσσον commonly connect the stipulation of the continued validity with the preceding clause on the fine; in late Byzantine texts, μετά is often used in the same function, either with a noun in the genitive or with τοῦ + infinitive, or πρὸς τῷ + infinitive ("besides"); see A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln* (Leipzig-Berlin 1911), chapt. 1; L. Koenen, *loc. cit.* (above, footn. 10). In P.Petra inv. 10, quoted in the note to line 18, no such formula occurs before τῆς ποινῆς καταβαλλομέ[νης, and also the following lacuna seems not to have enough space for it. Instead, the accusative of the subject and an infinitive (in the lacuna) seem to continue the preceding series of infinitives. Similarly, the text of the present *antikatallagē* seems to proceed from the fine to the continuation of the validity without a transitional phrase (see below on κ[αὶ ἄ]κοντα).

19 χρυσο(ῦ) οὐγκίαν μίαν: i.e. 6 nomismata or 24 grammata (*scripula*) or ca. 26.7g gold; see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia*. Pap.Colon. 21 (Opladen 1994) 101. In the 6th cent., one gold-uncia was a relatively small fine: *P.Michael.* 55C.6-8ff. (Aphrodito; 582-602), *P.Flor.* III 288.5ff. (Aphrodito), *P.Lond.* V 1730.22ff. and 1731.28f (*FIRA* 23; both Syene and 585 A.D.), *SB* XVIII 13778.1-3 (Memnoneia); cf. *P.Erl.* 79.11 (unknown prov.).

| κ[αὶ] ἄκοντα: Restored by Crawford. There is nothing lost between the two fragments. Also *P. Bingen* 130.13-4 completes the clause quoted in n. on 17-9: καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν ἐμμένειν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις. F. Ritter compares *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032.81-3 (*Sel. Pap.* II 363, *FIRA* 179; Constantinople, concerning matters at Aphrodito; 551), εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσομεν, παρέξει (read παρέξειν) τὸ μὴ ἔμμενον μέρος τῷ ἐμμένοντι χρυσίου λίτρας δύο ἔργῳ καὶ δυνάμει ἀπαιτουμένας καὶ ἆκον ἐμμενεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις συμφώνοις. The following connections are more typical (see above, 19-20): *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67158.29 (*FIRA* 158; AD 568), μετὰ] κ[αὶ] το(ῦ) αὐτὸν τὸν παρα-

βάτην ἄκοντα ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένεοις) [συ]μφώνοις; III 67311.28-31 (569-70), μ[ετὰ] καὶ τ[ο(ῦ)] αὐτὸν ἄκοντα ἐμμεῖναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμ(μένοις) συμφώνοις τῇ π[αρ]ούσᾳ (r. -σῃ) ἀ[ποζ]υγῇ ἧς [τὸ] γράμμα κύριον ἔσται καὶ βέβαιον πανταχοῦ προφερόμε(νον); cf. also esp. 67314.fr.3.4 (shortly before 570, see L.S.B. MacCoull, *op. cit.* [footn. 2], 35); *P.Flor.* I 93.29 (569; all Antinooup.).

20 πρὸς τῷ: Because of the spelling habits of the time, πρὸς τῷ and πρὸς τό with following infinitive, "in addition, besides" and "in order that," respectively, are difficult to distinguish, and modern editors have a tendency to eliminate πρὸς τῷ. For this idiom see G.L. Cooper (after K.W. Krüger), *Attic Greek Prose Syntax* II (Ann Arbor 1998), 1216ff. (§68.38.1C), Mayser, *Grammatik* II.1, 329; Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 861; T. Gagos and P. van Minnen in comm. on *P.Mich. Aphrod.* 86 (p. 113); Koenen, *loc. cit.*, footn. 19; also index and comm. (on ll. 29-30) in the edition of P.Petra inv. 10 (for both references see above, footn. 10). Cf., e.g., *PSI* XIII 1341.18-9 (*SB* V 8951), a deed of exchange (quoted above, introd. and footn. 12); *P.Köln* IV 193.7ff. (Antinooup.?; V/VI), καὶ [μηδὲν ἧσσον πρὸ]ς τῷ ὑμῖν μένει[ν] τήνδε τὴ[ν π]ρᾶσιν κυρίαν καὶ βεβαίαν---; *P.Bingen* 130.13 (above, n. 1 and on 13-5) πρὸς τῷ βεβαίαν εἶναι καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ταύτην τὴν διαίρεσιν; *P.Michael.* 45.58ff. (Aphrodito; 540), πρὸς τῷ βεβαίαν εἶναι κ(αὶ) ἰσχυρὰν ταύτην τὴν πρᾶσιν π[ανταχοῦ] προκομιζομένην (*scripsi*, the editor read τό and wrote προσκομιζομένην, whether the latter is a scribal or editorial mistake); *SB* XVIII 13173.82-4 (Hermop.; 629 ?), πρὸς τῷ | καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ προστίμου καταποχὴν ἐρρῶσθαι | τὴν παροῦσαν πρᾶσιν κυρίαν οὖσαν καὶ βεβαίαν; and above, note to ll. 19-20.

ἀρραγὴν καὶ βεβαίαν: ἀρραγήν with accusative formation borrowed from the first declension (cf. below, note to ll. 26ff., 27ff., 29)—a not uncommon phenomenon. The two words are traditionally used to express the validity of documents, but usually in combination with other adjectives and in reversed order; cf., e.g., *P.Lond.* V 1660.36-8 (Aphrodito; ca. 553), ταύτην τὴν ὁμολογίαν διαφυλάξαι σοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρραγῆ καὶ ἀσάλευτον καὶ ἀ[μεταμέλη]τον (*BL* III, 97) καὶ ἀμετανάτρεπτον εἶναι.

20-23 For the typical connection of the formulas see now *P.Bingen* 130.14-7 (above, n. 1 and on 13-5) ταύτην τὴν διαίρεσιν πανταχοῦ προκομιζομένην, ἥνπερ (pap., not ἥν{α}περ [so edd.]) γραφ(εῖσαν) δισσὴν ὁμότυπον <ἐθέμην ὑμῖν> (thus Koenen) ἐφ' ὑπογραφ(ῶν) ἡμῶν --- (names) καὶ τοῦ (see editors' note) note) ὑπὲρ --- (name) ὑπογράφ(οντος) καὶ ἐπερωτηθέν(τες) παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπερωτήσαντες ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν ποιεῖν φυλάττειν ὡμολογήσαμεν. For the omission of ἐθέμεθα cf. *P.Mich.* XIII 667.25 (middle of VI).

21 τρισσὴν: Three copies are said to have been written and executed. The two parties to the deed receive one copy each. The notary may have kept the third copy, if it was not needed for an unspecified purpose.

ἀνὰ μοναχὸν: For ἀνὰ μοναχόν, see *P.Lond.* I 113.1.67ff. (Arsin. nome; VI), ἥπερ (sc. ἡ ὁμολογία) [ἐ]γένε[το δι]σσὴ (*BL* I, 234) ἰσότυ[π]ος αὐθεντικὴ ὥστε ἕκαστον μέρος ἔχειν ἀνὰ μοναχόν; *SB* XII 11225.8, division between three parties (425-50?), ἐγ]ράφη τρισσὴ πρὸς τὸ ἑκάτερον μέρος ἔχειν ἀνὰ μοναχὸν πρὸς ἀσφάλιαν. Mostly, however, μοναχόν is used without ἀνά.

22 Aurelios Hermauōs the son of Psaios (line 24) is illiterate in Greek; see line 26. He seems not yet to be known from any other papyrus. Fl. Theoteknos, who signs for him, spells the name differently: Ἑρμαῶς. For variations of the name of the same person see H.C. Youtie, *ZPE* 21 (1976) 193-6 = *Scriptiunculae posteriores* (Bonn 1981) 307-10; A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 124ff. n. 150; *P. Soter.* 3.3 with S. Omar's note, 4.1 and 29 (even in the same document), 19.2 and 22.12 (both with ed.'s note; the two last mentioned papyri do not belong to the Soterichos archive; see B.E. Klakowicz, *Stud. Pap.* 19 [1980] 128).

22ff. Cf., for example, *P.Michael.* 45.61ff. (Aphrod.; A.D. 540) ἐφ' ὑπογραφ(ῶν) ἡμῶν καὶ cυνηθῶν μαρτύρων· καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντεc ἐπ̣[ὶ] πᾶcι ταῦθ' ο̣ὕτως ἔχειν --- ὡμολογήcαμεν.

23-29 Signatures (23-6) and witnesses (26-9), mostly in traditional wording.

23 Αὐρή|λιοc Βίκτωρ Βηcαρίωνοc: The cousin of the younger Dioskoros (see introd.), a priest (*P. Mich.* XIII 659.282; A.D. 527-42). In 541, he was together with his brother Apollōs in Constantinople; and probably in 544, he, Apollōs, and the latter's son Senouthēs took out a loan (*P.Mich.* XIII 669.3,18; for the date, see J. Gascou, *Cd'É* 104 [1977] 365). Victor's church was in Aphrodito (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67126 [541]. The last document in which he was involved was a petition by the village of Aphrodito to Empress Theodora which was drafted and co-signed by Victor in 547 (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.iii.3.9 [547, see A. Hanafi, *Bull. of the Centre of Pap. Stud.* 1 (1985/86) 57-61, esp. 58]). He died in the same year before Nov. 9 (*SB* XVIII 13297.9-11; publ. by Hanafi, *loc. cit.*). This Victor may be identical with the Apa Victor son of Bēsariōn (*P.Flor.* III 297.115, 152, 249 [Aphrodito; 525/6]; cf. 104 and 270 where, as in *P.Erl.* 79.14ff., no title is mentioned).

24-25 For swearing when executing an *antikatallagē* see the introd., footn. 11. In *PSI* XIII 1341.20-2 (*SB* V 8951; see introd.), the oath clause of the deed (missing in our document, see introd.) corresponds to the subscriptions; after the name of both parties follows: ὁ προκείμενοc ἐθέμην τὴν ἀντικαταλλαγὴν καὶ ὤμοcα τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον καὶ εὐδοκῶ (respectively, ὅρκον εὐδοκῶν) πᾶcι ὡc πρόκειται (spelling normalized). However, in the present case the oath may have been omitted (cf. n. on 25).

24 Αὐρήλιοc Ἑρμαῶc Ψαίο(υ): see introd. and n. on l. 22. We may suspect that he was a brother of Theoteknos the son of Psaios who signs for him. Neither Hermaōs' Egyptian name nor his illiteracy, i.e. his inability to write Greek, indicate that he necessarily was of a lower social status than Theoteknos (cf. T. Gagos and P. van Minnen, *op.cit.* [footn. 2] 13). After the father's name, the scribe left a small blank.

25 καὶ ὅμοcι̣α̣ τὸν̣ θ̣[ῖ]ο̣ν̣ ὅ̣ρκο̣ν̣: Crawford's reading of the traces on the *P.Michael.* fragment as κ̣αὶ ὤμ̣οcα [τὸ]ν̣ ὅ̣ρκον cannot be maintained, after it has become known that και ομοcι̣ appears on the Cologne fragment. What he read as κ̣α, is cα, with the sigma shared by both fragments. There remains a problem. Before the first κ, there exists a small stroke in the shape of an opening parenthesis which, at its bottom turns, slightly back to the left. A parenthesis would fuction as bracket and begin the deletion of text. However, I do not find any trace of the closing parenthesis. It could be hiding between ὅ̣ρκο̣ν̣ and the following ὡ̣c̣ where most of the ink is gone. If so, then Theoteknos first followed the lead of Victor and referred to an oath, but then became aware that the notary was not asking for an oath. But there is a more persuasive alternative interpretation of the trace that I termed a parenthesis. Theoteknos may have written κ across an ω̣ (ω̣ recognized by T. Gagos). If this is right, then he started ὤμοcα with the correct spelling, noticed his omission of καί and wrote it across the ω and continued to complete the clause, this time with the wrong spelling ὅμοcα that also Victor had used. If this is correct, then both parties swore an oath, although the notary or scribe had omitted a request for an oath in the body of the contract.

Φλά(ουιοc) Θεότεκνοc Ψαίου ἀποπραιπό(citoc): Ψ corrected from π (recognized by Crawford). Flavios Theoteknos was a member of Aphrodito's landowning elite, κτήτωρ κώμηc Ἀφροδίτηc (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.iii.3.9 [547, see n. on l. 23]). He is well known for his services as *hypographeus* and witness, which are attested for the period between 517 (*P.Flor.* III 281.20ff.) and 547 (III 67283.iii. 8ff., just mentioned; cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67127.23ff. [544]). He was a former praepositus, ἀποπραιπό(citoc). The documents, however, reflect some ambiguity. In Theoteknos' signatures, the end of his title is often abbreviated by an horizontal stroke above the last letter. Byzantine hands usually use this stroke for υ (but see note to l. 7, εἰc νότο(ν)), hence ἀποπραιποcίτο(υ), which sounds as if it were his father's title (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328.iv.28, v.26ff., vi.26ff., vii.26 [521]; II 67127.22ff. [544]). The use of

this raised stroke may have become multivalent (cf. note to l. 7). For example, in *P.London* V 1687 (523) Theoteknos signs Φλά(ουιος) Θεότεκνος Ψαιο̅ [ἀποπραιπος]ιτο̅, when he wants to say ἀποπραιπόcιτος; and in one of the papyri in which Theoteknos signs for illiterates (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67296.17 [535]) one other person signs as Φλ(άυιος) 'Ανο(υ)φιο̅ 'Αβρααμιο̅ ἀποπ[ρ]αιποcιτο̅, where clearly 'Ανο(ύ)φιος and, by the same right ἀποπ[ρ]αιπόcιτος is meant. The case is decided by the standard order of the names, and the stroke may be meant as an undefined letter. The same principle applies to Theoteknos' signature (line 18): Φλ(αύιος) Θεότεκνος Ψαίο(υ) ἀπο[πραιπόc(ιτος)]. However, real confusion results in the case of unabbreviated signatures: Φλ(αύιος) Θεότεκν[ος] Ψαίου ἀποπραιποcίτου instead of ἀποπραιπόcιτος (*P.Flor.* III 281.20ff. [ἀπὸ πραιποcίτου, ed.] and *P.Ross.Georg.* III 36.23ff., A.D. 517 and 537, respectively [ἀποπραιποcίτου, ed.]; also *P.Lond.* V 1687. 22f [523]). Theoteknos writes his name as if the genitive would depend on ἀπό as in ἀπὸ πραιποcίτων.

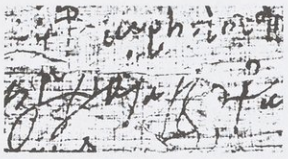
Theoteknos' title may have been a military one. In the just mentioned *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67296, Flavios Anouphios is first introduced as ἀποπ[ρ]αιποcιτο() Κάcτρου Π[...] (line 3), while he signs simply as ἀποπραιπόcιτος, just as Theoteknos does in his subscription (cf. Maspero's note on line 3). Once Theoteknos' title is slightly different: in the complaint to Theodora (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283.iii.9. [547, see n. on l. 23]), his signature appears as Φ[λ](άυιος) Θεότεκνος Ψαίο(υ) κτήτωρ κώμης 'Αφροδίτης, [ἀπ]οδιατόχου (read [ἀπ]οδιάδοχος) πραιποcίτων. If the reading of the title is correct ("très incertaine", Maspero), then Theoteknos may have become an acting praepositus (possibly *honoris causa*). In any case, the genitive of the title, here even written in full, refers clearly to Theoteknos himself.

26 Αὐρ(ήλιος) 'Ιωάννης 'Αβραμίου: Attested in *P.Lond.* V 1695.22 (531?), where he signs for an illiterate, and *P.Michael.* 45.70 (540).

27 Johannes marks his signature by a cross.

27-28 For Aurelios Apollōs son of the older Dioskoros, brother of Bēsariōn and father of Dioskoros, a village chief (πρωτοκομήτης) between 514 and after 531 (*P.Flor.* III 280.6; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67301), and for Senouthēs son of Apollōs, grandson of the older Dioskoros and brother of the younger Dioskoros, see Introd. Apollōs, then Apa Apollōs, founded a monastery in 538 (see also P.Freer 08.45 a and b, 105 [J. Gascou and L. MacCoull, "Le cadastre d'Aphrodito", *Travaux et Mémoires* 10 (1987) 103-58]). He died in 546/7; see J.G. Keenan, *loc.cit.* (above, n. 3).

26ff., 27ff., 29 μαρτυρῶ ---: This verb can be construed with the dative or the accusative. The dative was used by Senouthēs (l. 29). Johannes, the first witness, wrote an accusative (τὴν [ἀ]ντικαταλλαγήν); and so may have Apollōs, the second witness. Most likely he omitted the ν of την (see app.). The omission and addition of nasal ν is very common (Gignac, *Grammar* I, 111-4). But it is also possible that a horizontal stroke over η has disappeared in a lacuna over τη (line 28). The stroke would produce τὴ(ν) (cf. line 7 εἰc νότο(ν) and comm. *ad loc.*). Alternatively, the ν of ἀντικαταλλαγήν may be superfluous: 28, τῇ [ἀ]ντικαταλλαγῇ. On the whole, it is more likely that Apollōs, indeed, by an understandable mistake, wrote τη instead of την at the beginning of l. 28, and Senouthēs, with an eye on his father's τη, settled on the dative (29). However, the matter is additionally complicated by the fact that, after the τη in 29, a high slightly diagonal stroke appears, leading from 11 to 2 o'clock. *If* this was an intentional stroke and *if* it meant to add a ν after τη, then Senouthēs could not make up his mind.



28 ὑ̣π̣(ογράφων) ἰδίᾳ χ̣ε̣ιρ(ί): ink and ductus are quite clear, but the words are written in a stylish flourish that makes reading difficult. After the first "cross" read by Crawford (in l. 2 of the picture on the left), P.J. Sijpesteijn, without seeing a photograph, suspected ειδιω() αυ, "perhaps for ἰδιό-γ(ραφον) αὐτοῦ". Sijpesteijn "reluctantly" read the abbreviated phrase also in *P.Mich.* XIII 659 (Aphrodito; 527-42; see his note on l. 307). While this suggestion is neither paleographically nor otherwise persuasive, it opens the way for an understanding. In the Michaelides papyrus that we are revising, I recognize ἰδίᾳ χ̣ε̣ιρ(ί). The ρ has no abbreviation stroke, but is curved (paralleling the s-shaped curve formed by part of the epsilon and the iota). This way of drawing may not only be decorative, but also meant to indicate the abbreviation. The strokes of ink before ἰδίᾳ, including what Crawford read as cross, may yield ὑ̣π̣(). Above υ̣ appears a little hook in the shape of our metrical sign for a breve. I take is as a trema dot. The υ̣ leads into the horizontal stroke of a π̣ that is shortened to one leg; this leg begins high above the horizontal, crosses it, curves into a small slope to the left and returns as a diagonal crossing the leg of the π, thus indicating its abbreviation. Less persuasively, one may read ☩υ̣(). Both, υ̣π̣() or ☩υ̣() should stand for ὑπογράφων, ὑπογράψαϲ or a indicative form of the verb, which together with ἰδίᾳ χειρ(ί) occurs at the beginning of documents and in signatures (e.g., *P.Herm.* I 30.26 [VI], ὑ̣π̣έ̣γ̣ρ̣(αψα) ἰ̣δ̣ί̣ᾳ χειρεὶ (r. χειρὶ) καὶ μαρτυρῶ) and frequently in the Petra papyri (with ἰδίᾳ or ἐμῇ). In the Michigan papyrus, I cannot see exactly the same phrase, but its rather scribbled version may be read as εἰ̣δ̣ί̣ᾳ α̣ὐ̣(τοῦ) ὑ̣(πογράφων), with χειρί understood (read ἰδίᾳ). Admittedly, the δ̣ is extremely small, in contrast to the huge following ι. The following letters α̣υ̣ are written on top of of δ̣ι̣ᾳ; the υ turns down and connects to a very large υ̣. The dot above the υ (this time a clear dot) distinguishes it from γ and τ. A second dot follows after υ̣ at its bottom.

If we read υ̣π̣(), the entry refers to the preceding signature of Apollōs; if we prefer ☩υ̣(), to the following signature of Senouthēs the son of Apollōs, who then would begin the signature again with a cross. In both papyri the entry is probably written by a professional scribe. I do not understand its function. In *P. Mich.* XIII 659, the signature, here following the entry by an official scribe, is that of Flavios Victor son of Anouthēs. He writes letter by letter, although not quite as clumsily as "slow writers" do. On other occasions this Victor may have used the help of a person signing for him. This rationale, however, does not apply to the present *antikatallagē*. Whether here the phrase refers to the preceding signature of Apollōs or the following of Senouthēs, both men have a well-practiced hand. For Apollōs' signature see *P.Vat. Aphrod.* 7.33 (VI before 547; probably his earliest extant signature), *P.Cair.Masp.* 67300.20 (526; signing for an illiterate person, and *P.Mich.* XIII 669.22 (544, see note on l. 23); and for Senouthēs see *P.Mich.* XIII 76-81 (527-47, probably in or before 538), *P.Mich.* XIII 659.292-301 (527-42), 664.45-7 (585), and 669.20-1 (544).

30 Signature of the notary Victor: "The *nomikos* Victor always spelled his name with initial Οὐ" (Crawford). For his extant signature see J.M. Diethart und K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten* (Vienna 1986) 29ff., Aphr. 15.1.1-15.2.1 (read 15.1.9, see N. Kruit, *Riv. di Bizantinistica* I.1 [Bologna 1991] 257-67) and Tafel 4 (Aphr. 15.1.6). The long horizontal strokes over the signature appear in the signature of many notaries from Aphrodito, especially over the name. In all but one extant signatures, Victor employs a stroke only above his name. Instead of ἀπὸ τῆϲ (αὐτῆϲ) κώμηϲ, he usually uses his father's name: ἐγράφ(η) (or once ἐγράφη) δι' ἐμοῦ (ἐμο(ῦ) in the present papyrus) Οὐίκτοροϲ Ἀπολλ(ῶτοϲ): *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67100.27 [506; cf. *BL* VIII, 71), III 67306.21 [515]; 67297+*P.Flor.* III 287.9 (535; see *BL* IV, 31); *P.Flor.* III 280.28 [514], 281.22 [517]; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 33.26 [522; see *BL*

IV, 72]). But in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67301.39 (531) he signs as ἐγράφη δ(ιὰ) Οὐίκτοροϲ νομικ(οῦ). With these variations in mind, we must leave the supplement of *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 19.fr.C.4 (VI) open.

After the last letter follows a deep vertical stroke with a very small slope at its top (see the picture on the left). At the bottom, the vertical turns sharply to the left into a ascending diagonal from 5 to 9 o'clock. Below the beginning of η it turns again sharply to the right and becomes a slightly ascending horizontal stroke that crosses the vertical and continues to the right. Whether this is meant to be a cross or other marker used by the notary, I cannot tell (cf. the cross after Johannes' signature). Victor's mark in his signatures that end on his father's name is different and merges with the abbreviated ʼΑπολλ(ῶτοϲ); see Worp, *op.cit.*, and R. Pintaudi, *Papiri Greci e Latini a Firenze*. Pap.Flor. 12, Suppl. (1983) pl. XLVIII.

Crawford thought that the notary's signature and the main body of the document were written by the same hand, "probably that of the *nomikos* Victor himself." The general shapes of letters look similar but, because of some details like the ρ of ἐγράφ(η), I remain doubtful.

Amman and Ann Arbor

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 251-254

29. A FLAVIA CHRISTODOTE FRAGMENT FROM GIESSEN*

(Todd M. Hickey and James G. Keenan)

P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63 Plate 21 8.7 cm x 19 cm
572 or 573 (?) A.D. Oxyrhynchus

If the connections proposed here are right, the fragment under consideration comes from the upper left-hand corner of what must have been a very large document. Critical to this is the identification of Flavia Christodotê in line 2 with a woman of the same name in *PSI* I 76.[1] *PSI* 76 in fact designates two copies of an affidavit (διαμαρτυρία) addressed by Christodotê, a distinguished lady from Oxyrhynchus, to an Alexandrian banker named Flavius Eustathius. Christodotê, according to her testimony, is being harassed by creditors. She is in danger of losing her Oxyrhynchite estates despite the fact that her brother, the most glorious Kômêtos (or Kômêtês), owes her 61 pounds of gold. The banker Eustathius had allegedly agreed to pay this to Christodotê through an arrangement known as a *constitutum debiti alieni* (Greek ἀντιφώνηϲιϲ); but Eustathius failed to live up to the agreement, and this is what drives Christodotê to seek legal redress. She begins the process by drafting an affidavit for signing by the *defensor civitatis* of Alexandria.

PSI 76(a) and (b) are two virtually complete but unsubscribed copies of Christodotê's affidavit. Both are large format documents. Copy (a) measures 112 x 26 cm.; copy (b) measures 101 x 26 cm., but would have been several centimeters wider in its original form had not its right edge apparently been trimmed in antiquity, causing a loss of a half dozen or so letters at the end of each line. Although the hands of the two copies are different, both conform to the familiar pattern of grand, sloping and flowing Byzantine chancery hands. The writing runs with the fibers on the recto of what may have been, to judge from the measurement of height (26 cm.), a single roll. Both of the versos contain extensive agricultural accounts, which, like the texts on the rectos, are very closely related.[2] The question posed by P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63 is whether it is yet another copy of Christodotê's affidavit. Small as the Giessen fragment is, it provides a half dozen hints that suggest an affirmative answer to this question:

1. The Giessen piece is written along the fibers in a typical Byzantine chancery hand, similar to both hands of the Florence affidavits (though not necessarily identical with either of them).

2. The physical quality and color (medium brown) of the papyrus itself, to compare only from the photographs, is quite like that of the Florence papyri.

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* The fragment was discovered by Hickey during his work on the Flavia Anastasia papyri in the same collection. He remains grateful to Dumbarton Oaks for its generous support of that research, and thanks Prof. Dr. Manfred Landfester of the Institut für Klassische Philologie for his kind permission to publish the present fragment. Hickey also would like to express his continuing gratitude for the wonderful hospitality shown to him by Prof. Landfester, Dr. Peter Kuhlman, Dr. Christa Frateantonio, Ms. Barbara Kuhn-Chen, and Ms. Birgit Eickhoff during his visit to the Universität Giessen.

[1] Re-edited with commentary by J. G. Keenan, "The Case of Flavia Christodote: Observations on *PSI* I 76," *ZPE* 29 (1978) 191-209; see now also R. Bogaert, "La banque en Égypte byzantine," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 85-140, esp. at 125-6.

[2] These accounts are being prepared for publication by Rosario Pintaudi and Hermann Harrauer.

3. Fl(avia) Christodotê is named in line 2, at the beginning of the line, as in both copies of *PSI* 76.

4. A "most glorious" brother is mentioned in line 3, cf. *PSI* 76.4 (in both copies a and b). The Florence lines begin with ἐνδοξοτάτου in abbreviated form. P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63.3 has the word spelled out in full.

5. Lines 4 and 5 hint at a financial angle, a claim for interest on principal, something that is also at issue in the Florence papyri.

6. Line 6 alludes to someone's, probably Christodotê's, being away from home. Those familiar with the Florence affidavits may recall (see *PSI* 76a.8, line 9 in copy b) that Christodotê was also claiming reimbursement for her travel expenses (προφάϲει ξενιτείαϲ ... δαπανήματα) in addition to the principal and interest on the gold.

Nevertheless, even if, as these details suggest, the Giessen fragment is concerned with the same affair as the Florence affidavits, it cannot have been a close copy of either one of them. For this, see the notes to lines 3, 4 and 6 below.

Unfortunately, P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63 contributes almost nothing to our knowledge of Christodotê or her case, and one wonders if we would even know that this aristocratic woman existed were it not for her financial difficulties. The apparent silence might reasonably be thought surprising: We are concerned, after all, with a significant amount of money, with someone whose wealth would place her in the top tier of the local (if not Eastern) aristocracy.[3] Why then is she not mentioned in either of the two texts (*P.Oxy.* XVI 2020, 2040) that are generally considered to provide "snapshots" of the Oxyrhynchite aristocracy in the last half of the sixth century?[4] The answer, we suspect, lies in the fact that a Kômêtos—very probably her brother—does appear in these accounts. Or rather his *oikos* does. The *oikos*—recently defined as an estate "held in joint ownership and thus immune to the devastating fragmentation of partible inheritance"[5]—suggests to us that Christodotê's holdings, probably acquired from her father on his death,[6] were a part of Kômêtos' *oikos* (at least for fiscal purposes). We have also noted that the contribution of Kômêtos' *oikos,* as a percentage of the whole, decreases between *P.Oxy.* XVI 2040 (dated 560/70, i.e., before the affidavits) and 2020 (580's, after the affidavits); in the former text, it is 17.5% of the total, while in the latter it has dropped to 12.5%.[7] To be sure, any conclusions drawn

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[3] *PSI* 76 reports that Christodotê's father was a *patricius,* for which see B. Palme, "Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos und die Apionen," *ZSavRom* 115 (1998) 297, n. 20, and refs. The sum that she is seeking (principal only) is the equivalent of 4,392 *solidi*. Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 199, called this "impressive," and it is indeed so. For the sake of comparison, note that the (Oxyrhynchite) rural receipts of the famous Fll. Apiones roughly fifteen years later were only a bit over four times this; see J. Gascou, "Notes critiques sur quelques papyrus des Ve et VIe siècles," *Cd'É* 47 (1972) 243-8. One might also compare the sum to that at issue in the recently published *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397.

[4] Cf., e.g., E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IVe au VIIIe siècle.* Pap. Brux. 10 (Brussels 1972) 48-9.

[5] J. Banaji, "Agrarian History and the Labour Organisation of Byzantine Large Estates," in A.K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times.* Proceedings of the British Academy 96 (Oxford 1999) 205.

[6] See already Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 200-1.

[7] For 2020, see the correction in T.M. Hickey, "Notes on Some Cairo Papyri from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus (Part I)," *ZPE* 123 (1998) 163.

from the comparison of these two texts must at best be tentative,[8] but one nonetheless wonders if the decrease in Kômêtos' percentage might have something to do with the seizure of Christodotê's land by her creditors or the severance of her property from the *oikos*.

P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63 was part of the Deutsches Papyruskartell's sixth purchase (1910); the seller was Hagg Mahran of Ashmunāyn.[9] The text's top margin of 1.5 cm. survives fairly well intact; the left-hand margin of 1.7 cm. survives in part (in greatest extent before line 3). There are no visible *kollêseis*. The back is blank.

We make this offering to honor David Thomas, confident that, as much as he values the larger historical picture to which papyrology so importantly contributes, he is also a great connoisseur of matters of papyrological detail.

[†] βαcιλείαc τοῦ θειοτάτο[υ
Φλ(αουία) Χριcτοδότ[η τοῦ]
ἐνδοξοτάτου μου ἀδε[λφοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Κωμήτου
4 ὑπὲρ ἐ[νι]αυcίου τ[όκου
αὐταῖc τόκων .[
ἐκδημῆcαι cυ[

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2 Φλ/ pap.

1 The chrism is suggested by *PSI* 76a.1. Almost nothing of line 1 survives in copy (b), and line 1 of (a) is heavily restored. The regnal formula and dating clause are therefore highly problematic, and further complicated by the question of where the documents were drafted (Alexandria or Oxyrhynchus). See Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 195-6, and R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, "Chronological Notes on Byzantine Documents II," *BASP* 16 (1979) 235-6 (principal results noted in *BL* VIII, 392). According to Bagnall and Worp, the Florence papyri date to either 572 or 573; if from Oxyrhynchus, they would have had regnal formula (4) for Justin II; see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt*. BASP Suppl. 2 (Missoula 1979) 50-1. The queried dating of P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63 is obviously dependent upon, and derived from, a relationship to the Florence papyri.

2 As in both copies of *PSI* 76, Flavia Christodotê's name begins the second line and is indented.

3 ἐνδοξοτάτου μου ἀδε[λφοῦ: cf. the beginning of *PSI* 76a.4. If (and only if) P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 63 is from yet another copy of Christodotê's affidavit, then something has been omitted (perhaps the sentence at the beginning of *PSI* 76a.3 that starts ἡ πίcτιc τῶν cυναλλαγμάτων) or substantially shortened. This cannot be a matter of mere verbal variation or slight differences in line lengths as in the copies of *PSI* 76. [Copy (a) in the body of its text has measurably longer lines of writing and is finished after twelve and a half lines. The line lengths of (b) are shorter. Its text takes fourteen full lines to complete.]

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[8] To begin with, the accounts concern different charges (ἀρκαρικά vs. ἐγκαύματα for a new public bath), and it is very possible that the bases of assessment diverged.

[9] Cf. H.G. Gundel, *Papyri bibliothecae universitatis Gissensis: Eine Einführung*. Kurzberichte aus den Giessener Papyrussammlungen 27 (Giessen 1968) 5.

4 ὑπὲρ ἐ[νι]αυσίου τ[όκου: this locution is not found in *PSI* 76, but the mention of "annual interest" is surely appropriate under the circumstances we have imagined. See below, note to line 5.

5 αὐταῖς τόκων: based upon *PSI* 76a.4 and b.4 and 6, the expression expected here (carried over from line 4) is: μετὰ τῶν ἐπισυναγομένων | αὐταῖς τόκων, with καί perhaps following μετά as in b.6.

6 ἐκδημῆσαι: presumably to be taken as referring to Christodotê's absence from Oxyrhynchus—actually in Alexandria, potentially in Constantinople; see Keenan, *op.cit.* (above, n. 1) 205. The word, however, does not appear in the Florence affidavits. As written here, it appears that a second hand has written above kappa another kappa in a shape that he judged to be more legible than the original. Possibly above the first eta, and surely above the second, the hastas have been extended, with a slight squiggle at the top of the first and an elaborate swirl in the second. The aim (again) appears to have been improved legibility, to guarantee that the eta's would not be mistaken for, say, pi's or nu's.

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Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas, 255-262

30. SOME EGYPTIAN DATINGS FROM THE REIGN OF PHOCAS*

(Nikolaos Gonis)

I. An Early Dating by Phocas: A Hermopolite Land Lease of 603

P.E.E.S. Misc. inv. II 191b[1] Plate 23 6.3 cm x 15.6 cm
30 August - 28 September 603 Hermopolis

The writing is along the fibres. On the back there are a few traces of ink, which probably belong to the usual endorsement, now practically lost along with the beginnings of the lines. The pattern of the folds and damage suggest that the papyrus was folded in two halves along the horizontal axis, and then was folded twice from the right (or was rolled up and flattened). We are missing the left outermost vertical panel, as well as a few lines from the top and the lower half of the document. Although no *kollesis* is visible, it seems likely that the sheet was cut from the recto of a roll about 32 cm high, twice as high as the surviving fragment.

The document is drawn up in cheirograph form, typical of Hermopolite leases of this period. The lease was to run for two years or more; see below, 12 n. Its object as restored is a plot measuring 1[4] 1/2 *ammata*, i.e., less than one quarter of an arura, of "uninundated seed-land;" this is an unusually low figure; see further 15-16 n. The papyrus breaks off at the point where the boundaries of the plot were described, and before the amount of the rent was stated. Two lines containing the greatest part of the *invocatio* have been lost from the top; cf. below, 1 n.

The main interest of this text resides in the fact that it is one of the earliest dated documents from the reign of Phocas. The implications are discussed in section II.

— — — — — — — —
[καὶ cωτῆροc ἡ]μῶν. βα[cιλεί]ας τοῦ
[θειοτάτου ἡ]μῶν δεcπότου Φλαουΐου
[Φωκᾶ τοῦ] αἰωνίου Αὐγούcτου Αὐτο-
4 [κράτοροc] ἔτουc πρώτου Θὼθ
[c. 5 ἐβδ]όμηc ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc).†
[Αὐρηλί]ῳ Caραπάμμωνι
[c. 7]που ἀπὸ τῆc Ἑρμου-
8 [πολιτῶν] π(αρὰ) Αὐρηλίου Χριcτοδώρο[υ]

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* I am grateful to Prof. R.S. Bagnall and Dr J.R. Rea for their reaction to some early thoughts on the topic discussed in Section III. Dr Rea also kindly read and commented on an earlier draft of this paper.

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

CNBD V = R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, "Chronological Notes on Byzantine Documents V," *BASP* 17 (1980) 19-25.

CSBE = R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978).

[1] The piece belongs to the collection from which the papyri published in *P.Herm.* also came. I am grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish it.

[c. 6 ἀ]πὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
[ὁμολογῶ] ἑκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως
[μεμισθῶ]σθαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ
12 [2-3ετῆ χρ]όνον λογιζόμενον ἀπὸ
[καρπῶν] τῆς σὺν Θ(εῷ) εἰσιούσης
[ὀγδόης ἰν]δ(ικτίωνος) καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ δια-
[φέροντά] σοι ἄμματα δεκα-
16 [τέσσαρα] ἥμισυ σπορίμης
[καὶ ἀνύ]δρου γῆς ὄντα ἐξ ἀ-
[πηλιώτο]υ τῆς πόλεως ἐν
[c. 6 λ]εγομένῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ
20 [c. 7]ου ὑπὸ τὴν παρα-
[φυλακὴν] τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης
[c. 6] τοῦ Ἑρμουπολίτου
[νομοῦ· γεί]τονε[ς τ]ούτων νότου
24 [c. 7]τρ.[..]ε..μισθωσα-
[c. 5 βο]ρρᾶ [γῆ]δια [τ]οῦ υἱοῦ
— — — — — — — —

5, 14 ϊνδ// pap. 8 π// pap. 13 σ$^{\theta}$ὺν pap. 19, 25 υϊου pap. 20 ὑπο pap.

... and our saviour. In the reign of our most godly master Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus (and) Imperator, year first, Thoth ..., indiction seventh.†

To Aurelius Sarapammon, (son of) ...pus, from (the city) of the Hermopolites, from Aurelius Christodorus, (son of) ..., from the same city. I acknowledge that of my own free will and choice I have leased from you for a ...-year period from the harvest of the, God willing, coming eighth indiction, and (including) this (indiction), the 14 (?) 1/2 *ammata* of uninundated and seed-land which belong to you, situated on the east of the city, in the ... called of the son ... (being) under the surveillance of the villagers of ... of the Hermopolite nome, their boundaries being: on the south ..., on the north fields of the son ...

1 The remains of the *invocatio* indicate that it belongs to the formula classified as type 1 by R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, "Christian Invocations in the Papyri," *Cd'É* 56 (1981) 113, 118; see also below p. 258. It would have run: [† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡ]μῶν. I should stress that although the mu of ἡ]μῶν is mostly broken, the trace does not allow reading ἁγ]ίων, that is, the last word of a type of Trinity invocation (3C) used in the Fayum at that time, see Bagnall and Worp, *op.cit.* 115, 119.

1-4 For the form of the regnal clause, typical of documents from the Thebaid, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas of Byzantine Egypt* (Missoula 1979) 67 no. 5 (the text mentioned there as *SB* VI 9403 is now *SB* XVI 12604, see below p. 258). The same combination of Christ invocation and regnal formula occurs in *P.Laur.* III 77, and corroborates its dating to 6.7.603 by Bagnall and Worp in *BASP* 18 (1981) 46 (= *BL* VIII, 166).

2-3 Φλαουΐου [Φωκᾶ: Although the name of the emperor is lost, the length of the break, as well as the correspondence of regnal and indictional years, makes the identification with Phocas certain.

4 For Year 1 of Phocas, see below, section II. This text shows that the change of the traditional civil year did not affect Phocas' regnal count.

5 The lacuna has taken away the ordinal indicating the day of the month. Spacing suggests one of the following days: (Thoth) 1, 3, 5-10, 20, 30.

ἐβδ]όμης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος): In Upper Egypt this indiction 7 ran from 1.5.603 to 30.4.604, see *CSBE* 25-6, 91.

6-8 This Aurelius Sarapammon has not been identified elsewhere.

8 An Αὐρήλιος Χριστόδωρος Τ[ι]βερίου from Hermopolis occurs in *SB* XVI 12492.35-6 (638), but he does not need to be the same man. The name is common in the Hermopolite region in this period (on names ending in -δωρος, see *P.Sorb.* II, p. 53).

12 The space would allow διετῆ, τριετῆ, or ἑξαετῆ.

12-14 ἀπὸ [καρπῶν] ... αὐτῆς: See H. Comfort, "The Crops of an Indiction in Late Byzantine Land-leases," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 429-46; J. Hermann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Munich 1958) 95-8.

15-16 ἄμματα δεκα[τέσσαρα] ἥμισυ: The restoration, suggested by spacing, seems inevitable. An ἄμμα is 1/64th of an arura and equals 40 square cubits, see J.C. Shelton, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 93-6; cf. *P.Köln* VII, pp. 177-83.

There are extremely few leases referring to plots of land whose size is less than half an arura. The closest parallel is *SB* I 4767 (VII), a very fragmentary lease of 1/4 ar. Cf. also *P.Giss.* 7 (c. 118), an application to lease two plots of state land, one of 1/8 ar., the other of 1/4 ar. We may also take notice of two sharecrop leases: *PSI* I 32 (208), which concerns 1/4 ar. of arable land that the lessee is to cultivate without charge for four years, while he is to share the crops with the lessors for a further four-year period; and *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51 (630, cf. *BL* VII, 171), a lease of 1/4 ar. of vineland.

17 καὶ ἀνύ]δρου γῆς: For the restoration, cf. *P.Laur.* III 77.11 (603), *SB* VI 9085 inv. 16055.15 (589), inv. 16166.14 (643?). The term ἄνυδρος indicates that the land does not possess its own irrigation facilities; see further D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* (Leiden 1993) 221-2. In Coptic leases from the area of Hermopolis we find a verbatim translation, ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩ "waterless;" cf. *CPR* IV 117.13, 122.7 (re-editions of the two texts mentioned in W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 198a).

17-18 ὄντα ἐξ ἀ[πηλιώτο]υ τῆς πόλεως. For a similar formulation in a Coptic land lease from Hermopolis, cf. *BKU* III 347.5 ⲉⲥϩⲛ ⲫⲁⲉⲓⲏⲃⲧ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ "welches auf der Ostseite der Stadt ist."

19 At the start of the line it is tempting to restore γεωργίῳ, the commonest substantive occurring in this context, but this would not fit in the space without some difficulty. For the range of possible restorations of the lacuna, see *P.Heid.* VII 405.11 n.

τοῦ υἱοῦ: Cf. l. 25; are we dealing with the same person in both cases? The lacuna in the next line presumably carried away (most of) the name of the father. For the expression, cf. *P.Herm.* 67 = *SB* XIV 12133.7 (VI) γεωργίῳ καλουμένῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀδωρᾶς, *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51.13-4 (631) ἐν κλήρῳ] καλουμένῳ | τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰούλου, *SB* XXII 15729.16 (639) ἐκ βορρᾶ τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ υἱοῦ Θαισαρίου.

20-22 ὑπὸ τὴν παρα[φυλακὴν] τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης [: For the expression, typical of Hermopolite leases, see *P.Stras.* VIII, pp. 77-8, *P.Heid.* VII 405.11-2 n.

22 The name of the village is lost in the lacuna. It is just possible that it was Ενσευ: most of the land leases mentioning a location east of Hermopolis as being under the surveillance of some villagers refer to

this village; see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula 1979) 98 and n. 86 (to her examples add now *SB* XIV 12132.7; cf. also *P.Stras.* VIII, p. 77). But Ενcευ seems short for the space available, and this has discouraged me from restoring it. There should be other possibilities too; in *P.Herm.* 34.16 (VII) we find a similar construction with τῶν ἀπὸ κώμηc Τώβθεωc καὶ Πκέρδων.

23 γεί]τονε[c τ]ούτων νότου: Cf. *P.Stras.* VIII 751.12 (c. 600).

24 At the start of the line, [γῆδια Πέ]τρο[υ would just fit well. For what follows, I am in despair. After ε, possibly τ, then ω? The horizontal fibres are disturbed, and the formulation does not seem to have occurred elsewhere. μιcθωcα suggests μιcθωcα|[μένου, which suits the space, and the sense could be "fields of X who took them on lease." We might compare *P.Ross.Georg.* III 40.11 (589) γῆδια ἐμοῦ τοῦ μιcθωcαμένου, although note that ἐμοῦ cannot be read here.

II. The "Early" Recognition of Phocas in Egypt

SB XVI 12604 has been thought to offer the earliest Egyptian dating by Phocas: 21 December 602. Lines 1-3 of this text have been read as follows:

† ἐν ὀνόματι τῆc ἁγίαc καὶ ὁμοου[cίου] τριάδα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύμ[α]τ(oc)
βαcιλείαc τοῦ θεοτάτου καὶ εὐcεβεcτάτου ἡμῶν δεcπότου Φλαυίου Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου
Αὐγούcτου Αὐτοκράτοροc καὶ μεγίcτου [εὐερ]γέτου ἔτουc π[ρ]ώτου Χοιὰκ κε ς ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) ἐν Ἑρ(μοῦ πόλει)

This text has recently been discussed by J. R. Rea (*P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 60-1),[2] who has pointed out that its date entails serious difficulties. We know that the news of Phocas' accession had not yet reached Arsinoe on 20.12.602 (*P.Grenf.* II 88), and it is probable that five days later a clerk at Oxyrhynchus used a nameless consular formula of Maurice (*P.Laur.* III 91). The date of *SB* XVI 12604, which comes from Hermopolis, a city situated a little further to the south of Oxyrhynchus, seems to conflict with these data. But line 3 of this text contains several dotted letters. Dr Rea noted (p. 60):

> A photograph ... shows that the emperor's name and ἔτουc π[ρ]ώτου Χοίακ are certain. Doubts about what follows, κε ς ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) ἐν Ἑρ(μοῦ πόλει), are possible, but unlikely to be resolved. We will have to await further evidence before making up our minds whether π[ρ]ώτου here might be a clerical error and the indiction number therefore different, or we must accept a rapid and uneven spread of the news of the accession of Phocas.

Literary sources tell us that the news of the murder of Maurice (27.11.602), carried by a messenger from Constantinople, reached Alexandria in about nine or ten days.[3] As Rea has observed, we are entitled to maintain some doubt over the credibility of such accounts. He further noted (p. 61): "Two general considerations—the slower spread of news in the later period, and the season of the year, unfavourable for sailing—prejudice me against" the possibility that the news had reached Alexandria around 6.12.602, and Hermopolis on 21.12.602.

There is one further element which seems to point away from a 602 date for *SB* XVI 12604: the invocation. The text appears to attest the earliest instance of the invocation of the Holy Trinity, introduced under Phocas.[4] But this causes difficulty. Any change in the formulaic elements of a dating clause would only have been implemented following the directives of the central administration: Maurice and Heraclius are known to have issued such decrees.[5] It has been argued that the changes of

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[2] There is an earlier discussion by K.A. Worp, "Chronological Observations on Later Byzantine Documents," *BASP* 22 (1985) 360-1.

[3] Theophylactus Simocatta (*SHB*) 8.13-4, Theophanes (*SHB*) i.450.

[4] See Bagnall and Worp, *Cd'É* 56 (1981) 118.

[5] See Z. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1981) 127-36.

the invocations had a political bearing. In our case, it is reasonable to assume that the new type of invocation signalled a break with the reign of Maurice, during which an invocation of Christ was in use (the accession of Heraclius also entailed a similar change). It would be astonishing if such a decision were taken in the first few days of the new regime (Phocas was crowned on 23.11.602).[6] But even if it were, would it have reached Egypt so quickly? That it took nine to ten days for a messenger from Constantinople to travel to Egypt seems plausible enough. But it is hard to believe that in the circumstances—winter, slowness of the bureaucratic machine—an imperial decision was put into effect in Upper Egypt less than four weeks after the accession of a new emperor.

The Hermopolite evidence for Phocas' first year of rule, spotty as it may be, is also instructive. Even though the Trinitarian formula was used in the Fayum already on 7.2.603 (*BGU* II 365), two Hermopolite texts dating from the summer and autumn of 603 are headed by the invocation of Christ: *P.Laur.* III 77, of 6.7.603, and the papyrus published above (section I), dated to 29.8-27.9.603. Hermopolite documents from later years of Phocas' reign regularly employ the Trinity invocation. It seems, therefore, that Hermopolis did not give up using the old formula at once, and it was only in the last months of 603 when the new type of invocation became firmly established. In this context, we may recall that when the Christ invocation was re-introduced under Heraclius, the Trinitarian formulas persisted in Upper Egypt.[7]

To conclude, I suggest that the writer of *SB* XVI 12604 inadvertently did not advance the regnal year, and the text dates to 21 December 603. ἔτους π[ρ]ώτου should be a mistake for ἔτους δευτέρου, with the putative indiction figure, ς, concealing a ζ. I have examined the photograph mentioned above (reproduced here as Plate 24); although the end of the line is difficult to read, ζ seems to me to account for the traces better than ς.[8] Such a failure to advance the regnal year has parallels enough, especially with dates close to the beginning of the year. It follows, therefore, that the earliest Egyptian dating by Phocas so far is 7 February 603 (*BGU* II 365).

III. Some Aberrant Dates from Oxyrhynchus

J. R. Rea has argued that in Oxyrhynchus under the emperor Maurice

> It seems that at least some clerks or their authorities gave up trying to juggle with a regnal year beginning on 13 August, a consular year beginning near 1 January, and an indiction year beginning on 29 (or 30) August each year. They settled on a fixed relationship for the consular year and made its beginning coincide with one, or both, of the others ... My suspicion is that the consular, and indeed regnal, year may begin not with the alleged regnal year on 13 August, but rather with the old traditional calendar year on 29 (or 30) August, and at the same time as the indiction year; ... although the items of evidence are still very few, the indications are that in Oxyrhynchus conflation of the regnal, consular and indictional years endured into the reigns of Phocas ... and Heraclius.[9]

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[6] See J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* IIIB (Cambridge 1994) 1031f.; the basis is the *Chronicon Paschale* (*SHB*) i.693-4, and Gregory, *Epist.* (*MGH*) 13.1. The date is given as 27.xi.602 in *CSBE* 91f., and R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (Missoula 1979) xi, 66, but that is the day of Maurice's murder (*Chron. Pasch.* 694). The date in the latter work has been corrected by Worp, *BASP* 22 (1985) 360 n. 8; correct also the date in *CSBE*.

[7] See Bagnall and Worp, *Cd'É* 56 (1981) 120.

[8] The editor's reading of ς may have been conditioned by the number of the regnal year.

[9] The citations are from *P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 54, 57; the discussion of the dating clauses of the period occupies pp. 51-7, but several remarks relative to the issue are to be found in the introductions and notes to some of the texts published there.

We happen to possess more evidence for this conflation in the reign of Phocas than was thought. Dr Rea has demonstrated that in at least two cases Oxyrhynchite scribes assimilated the starts of consular and regnal years of Phocas.[10] In fact, they seem to have assimilated the starts of regnal and indictional years too, as becomes evident from a group of Oxyrhynchus papyri dating from Phocas' regnal year 5; the dates of these texts with their Julian equivalents may be presented as follows:[11]

P.Oxy. LVIII 3943	Hathyr 19, Year 5, Indiction 10	15 November 606
P.Oxy. LVIII 3944-45	Hathyr 20, Year 5, Indiction 10	16 November 606
P.Oxy. LVIII 3946	Hathyr 22, Year 5, Indiction 10	18 November 606

With a reckoning which takes Phocas' *dies imperii* as 23 November, the day of his coronation, the regnal year appears to disagree with the indiction.[12] In Oxyrhynchus indiction 10 started on 29 August 606;[13] according to the system prescribed in Justinian's *Novella* 47,[14] Hathyr 19 in that indiction should be Phocas' regnal year 4. On the other hand, Hathyr 19 of year 5 Phocas should fall in indiction 11. The dates of some other documents, none of which is Oxyrhynchite, may serve as illustrations:[15]

BGU XII 2207	Hermopolite	Phaophi 15, Year 4, Indiction 10	12 October 606
SB I 5286	Panopolite	Hathyr 4, Year 5, Indiction 11	1 November 607
CPR IV 23[16]	Panopolite	Thoth 1, Year 6, Indiction 12	29 August 608

This conflict requires explanation. The indiction, almost three months after its commencement, is unlikely to be wrong.[17] Rather, it seems that the scribes advanced year 5 too soon. This cannot be a mere blunder. Four different hands and three distinct dates are represented in the group from Oxyrhynchus; and, as considerations of date and content suggest, these papyri "were together in some filing system, probably in a city office belonging to the Apion estate."[18] Clearly, something systematic must be at work. For some scribes in the service of the *oikos* of Apion III, Phocas' year 5 had already began by 15 November 606 (*P.Oxy.* 3943). One might think of an error made once in a central office, and then widely disseminated. But it seems more likely that these Oxyrhynchite scribes recorded what was common knowledge; that is, these scribes, unlike their colleagues elsewhere in Egypt, used the first day

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[10] *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3933.2-3 n. item 12 (pp. 61-2), 3948.5-6 n. (p. 86).

[11] The group also includes *P.Oxy.* 3947, whose day number does not survive; the mention of the month Hathyr indicates a date between 28.10 and 26.11.606, but it is very likely that its date was very close to those of 3943-6.

[12] For such irreconcilable dates, see *CSBE* 64-6, *CNBD* V 19-25, and section IV of this paper. It is probably of no direct relevance to the issue that "two documents under Phocas contain striking disagreements of the indiction with the regnal year, in both cases a matter of *two* years' discrepancy: *SB* I 4503 and 4505. In such a difference, it does not seem possible to offer an explanation with the available evidence" (*CNBD* V 24)/

[13] Cf. *CSBE* 26, 92.

[14] See *CSBE* 45; also Worp, *BASP* 22 (1985) 357-60.

[15] I have found four other documents from the reign of Phocas with dates between 29/30.8 (1 Thoth) and 23.11: the Hermopolite text of 603 published above (section I); *P.Bodl.* I 53 (16.9.605; Ars.; in line 4 the plate [no. 34] suggests reading ἔτους τρίτου Θὼθ ιθ ἐνάτ[ης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐν Ἀρς(ινοϊτῶν πόλει)] in place of ἔτους τρίτου Θὼθ ιθ ἐν Ἀρ[σινοϊτῶν πόλει), *P.Vind.Tand.* 32 (30?.9.605, cf. *BL* VII, 280; Panop.); *SB* I 5285 (31.10.607, cf. *BL* VII, 187; VIII, 320; Ars.).

[16] Lines 1-5 of this text probably correspond to *SB* I 5287, cf. *BL* VII, 187, which also corrects the date.

[17] There are of course texts in which the regnal date is later than the indictional, and the latter has been thought to be wrong, see *CNBD* V 22-3.

[18] *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 80.

of the Egyptian civil year (Thoth 1 = 29/30 August) for the change of the regnal year,[19] as they probably did with the consular and regnal years of Maurice, and with the regnal years of Heraclius too.[20]

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the conflation of regnal, consular, and indiction years by the scribes of Oxyrhynchus in the reign of Phocas posited by Rea seems virtually certain. Once the step was taken, there was no return; convenience was to prevail. There is no sign of this practice in contemporary documents from other Egyptian regions; Oxyrhynchus stands alone in having used this simplified dating system. For a city that maintained its own era for more than three centuries notwithstanding the political changes,[21] this is no great surprise. In fact, the beginning of the Oxyrhynchite era year coincided with the traditional New Year's Day, 1 Thoth; for Oxyrhynchus this was the start of the indictional year too. Thoth 1 clearly had many attractions for the Oxyrhynchites.[22]

IV. An Interesting Coptic Inscription, or Further Evidence on Phocas' Consular Count

A further example of a conflicting date from the reign of Phocas occurs in a Coptic inscription from the Monastery of Epiphanius recently discussed by K.A. Worp.[23] It is dated to Phocas' 8th regnal and consular year, the indiction being the 12th; there is no mention of a month. As Dr Worp has pointed out, there is no correspondence between the indiction date (1.5.608-30.4.609 in Upper Egypt) and the dates

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[19] I have considered, but think it unlikely, that Phocas' *dies imperii* was not 23 November, i.e., he reckoned his first regnal year from before he officially became Augustus; that he chose to celebrate his *dies imperii* on the anniversary of the day when the rebellious troops raised him on a shield (Theoph. Simoc. 8.7.7), a ceremony which "suggests that Phocas was already proclaimed emperor" (M. and M. Whitby, *The History of Theophylactus Simocatta* [Oxford 1986] 218 n. 28, 220 n. 32, followed by C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor* [Oxford 1997] 416 n. 30; Martindale, *PLRE* IIIB 1031, although essentially right in noting that "it is likely that, to begin with, Phocas was chosen as a new army commander by the army rather than as emperor," does not seem to acknowledge the symbolic character of the shield raising). The putative *dies imperii* would be some time between 1 (*SB* I 5286) and 15 November (*P.Oxy.* 3943); note that *Chronicon Paschale* 693 records that Phocas' uprising took place in November. There would be parallels with the *dies imperii* of Tiberius II, who reckoned his regnal years from when he became Caesar, and not from his accession as sole ruler, see *CSBE* 90 n. 1; or with that of Maurice, see *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3934.1-6 n. But on the whole the hypothesis of an aberration peculiar to Oxyrhynchus seems more economical.

[20] The dating clause of *P.Oxy.* 3955 shows a clerk who "advanced the regnal year number to 2 before the first anniversary of the *dies imperii* of Heraclius" (*P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 102). I am not aware of anything similar concerning the counting of Heraclius' consular years.

[21] The Oxyrhynchite era is in evidence in the two latest dated documents from this region, both from after the Islamic conquest of Egypt: *SB* VI 8987 (644/5) and *T.Varie* 8 (669). Its importance for the Oxyrhynchites probably underlies the fact that this era is the most reliable of the dating systems used in Byzantine Egypt; cf. *CNBD* V 21.

[22] There is a further Oxyrhynchite eccentricity in this period, viz. the use of the nameless consular formula during the reigns of Tiberius II, Maurice, and Phocas, see *P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 51-2, 59-63. It is unclear whether it had anything to do with the Apions, see *ibid.* 62. The same may also hold for the "aberrant" regnal and consular years that we saw above.

[23] "A Forgotten Coptic Inscription from the Monastery of Epiphanius: Some Remarks on Dated Coptic Documents from the Pre-Conquest Period," *AnPap* 2 (1990) 139-43. The text displays a remarkable feature: Phocas is described as ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ "who heareth and ruleth." As Worp notes, this should stand for Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτορος, but the writer's prototype apparently had Ἀκούστου instead of Αὐγούστου, perceived as ἀκουστοῦ ≈ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ. The phonetic version Ἀκούστου has now appeared in *P.Hamb.* IV 266.2 (507?).

indicated by the regnal (23.11.609-5.10.610) and consular (610) years. If the indiction number is right, and in fact the indiction figure is statistically more likely to be correct,[24] year 8 should be an error for year 7, and the text should date from the period January-April 609. A wrong indiction figure, 12 instead of 13, would place the date early in 610, and produce the latest Egyptian dating by Phocas, whose latest certain dating is 9.6.609 (*P.Oxy*. LVIII 3948). *SPP* XX 209 shows that the rule of Phocas was no longer recognised in the Fayum on 27.2.610 (cf. *BL* VIII, 471). There is no relevant information from Upper Egypt, but it seems unlikely that Phocas continued featuring in the dating clauses of documents from this region long thereafter.[25] The alternative dating would therefore be January-March 610. On balance, a date in 609 seems the likeliest possibility. But until more evidence becomes available, we should suspend judgement.

Another point of interest is that this is only the third text to contain a consular clause of Phocas combined with a regnal formula. The other two are *BGU* I 3 (7.6.605), mentioning regnal year 3 = post-consular year 2, i.e., consular year 3; and *P.Oxy*. LVIII 3948 (9.6.609), with regnal year 7 = consular year 6. The consular dates of *BGU* I 3 and *P.Oxy*. LVIII 3948 reflect two different systems, the former equating consular with Julian years, the latter reflecting Oxyrhynchite idiosyncrasies; see *P.Oxy*. LVIII pp. 62, 86. The inscription provides further evidence that outside Oxyrhynchus consular years coincided with Julian, see *ibid*. 62, which is in line with traditional practice. The date of *BGU* I 3 is no longer isolated.

Wolfson College, Oxford

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[24] See *CNBD* V 21.

[25] A minimum difference of ten days' transit-time between the Thebaid and the Arsinoite nome in the third century is assumed by D.W. Rathbone, "The Dates of the Recognition in Egypt of the Emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus," *ZPE* 62 (1986) 103. But in our case there may have been local resistance, which would have slowed down the diffusion of news within Egypt.

31. A COPTIC GRAFFITO FROM THE VALLEY BUILDING AT DEIR MUSTAFA KASHEF

(Roger S. Bagnall)

This graffito stands on the west wall of the large central room of the valley building; for the context, see above, p. 4.

ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲭ
ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ
[ⲉ]ⲕⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁ ⲙⲛⲅⲉⲱⲣⲅⲓⲟⲥ
4 ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲥⲓⲟⲥ
ⲡⲣⲙⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲃ
ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲭⲟⲓⲁⲕϩ
ⲓⲅ ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕ̅ⲇ̅ ⲡⲣⲱ^{T}**S** ⲯ

God of the archangel Gabriel, have mercy on Georgios the son of Athanasios, the man of the city of Hib. Month of Choiakh 13th, first indiction. (cross)

Similar expressions can be found, for example, in *SBKopt*. I 389 (Monastery of St. Antony, southwest chapel of old church) and *Graff.Mon.Epiph.* 643 *(Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* II, pp. 141 and 326). For the verb form, cf. H.J. Polotsky, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus* II. ASP 29.2 (Atlanta 1990) 193-94: "Das **e=f-e-sôtm** is einerseits die normale Wiedergabe des griech. Optativs. In dieser Funktion kann es gar nicht besser als durch *euktiké* charakterisiert werden: es ist die Form des *indirekten Gebets*." Cf. W. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (Munich 1931) 53 for the dialect form ("subachmimisch") with alpha instead of epsilon after kappa in the "Futurum III."

Columbia University

INDICES

αἰτιάομ
ἀκολου
ἄν **15** F
ἀρκέω
αὐτός
ἀφορμή

γάρ **15**
γένος
γοῦν **1**

δέ **15**
διαίρε
διαιρέ

ἐγκαλε
εἰς + a
ἕκαστ
ἐκτίθη
ἐπειδ
ἐπί + a

ἥκιστ

Θεόφ

ἴδιος

καί **1**
κατά
κατα
κεφάλ

A. GREEK LITERARY TEXTS

ἔτους β
ἔτους λ

CLAUD
Τιβέριο

VITEL
Αὖλος

MARC
Αὐρήλι

COMM
Αὐρήλι
Αὐρήλι
Αὐτοκρ

Κόμμο

CLAU
Κλαύδ

JUSTI
βασιλε

PHOC
ὁ θειότ

ἔτους
ἔτους
(ἔτους
(ἔτους

(ἔτους

269/27
338 A

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ἔτους λη (Ptolemy VIII?) **3** 13

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JUSTINUS II
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(ἔτους) ζ (Marcus Aurelius and Verus) **12** [7]; 23
(ἔτους) η (Marcus Aurelius and Verus) **12** 14
(ἔτους) κβ (Commodus) **13** [29] ?; 31
(ἔτους) κγ (Commodus) **13** 6; 8
(ἔτους) β (Claudius II) **20** Col. I [11]; Col. II 23
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f. = father of
b. = brother of
w. = wife of
d. = daughter of
gdf. = grandfather of
gdd. = granddaughter of
s. = son of
h. = husband of
m. = mother of
sis. = sister of
gds. = grandson of

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V. RELIGION

VI. OFFICIAL, MILITARY, AND TAX TERMS

VII. GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

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269

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Ap

Ap
Art
Aur

Aur

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II. PERSONAL NAMES

For the names of Kings, Emperors, and consuls, see Index I. a, b, and c. The following abbreviations are employed below to indicate relationships between individuals:

f.= father of
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h.= husband of
m.= mother of
sis.= sister of
gds. grandson of

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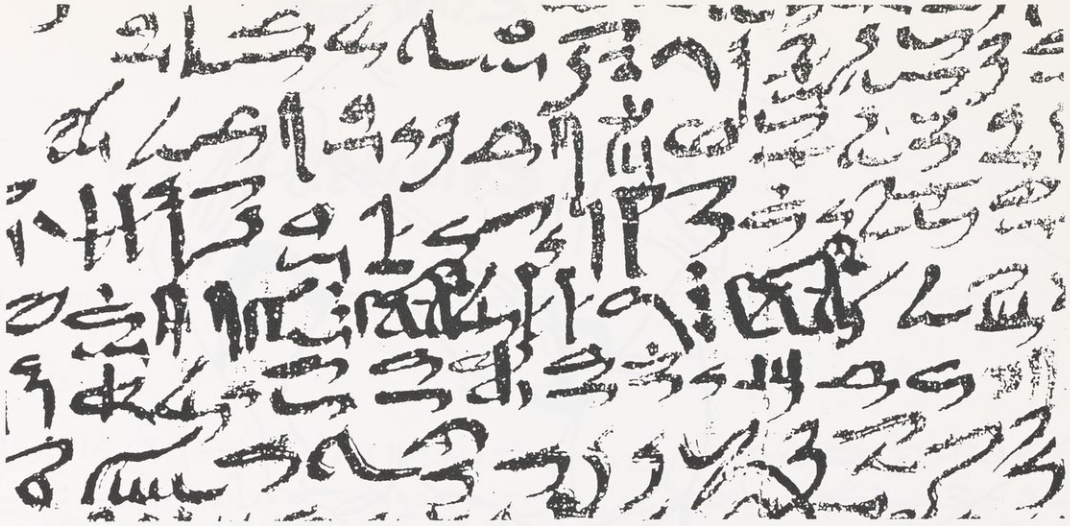


Fig. 1

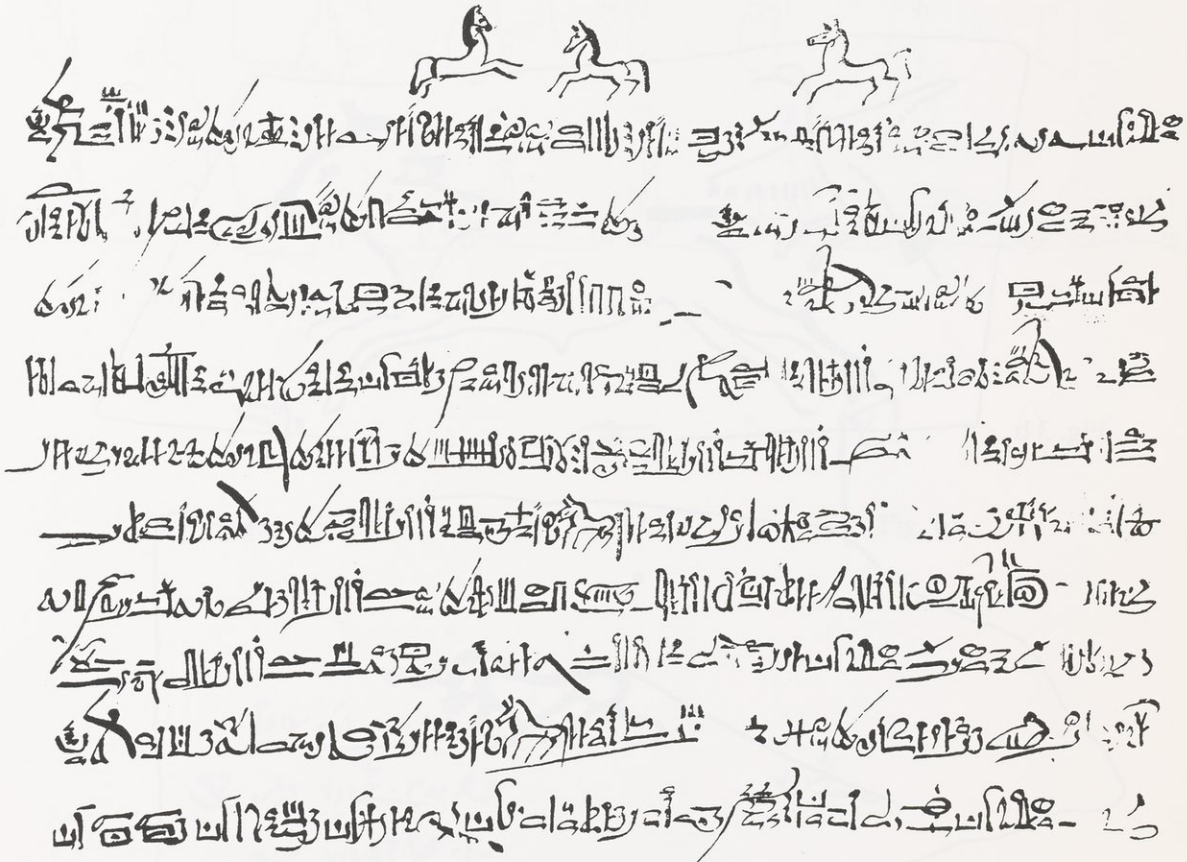


Fig. 2

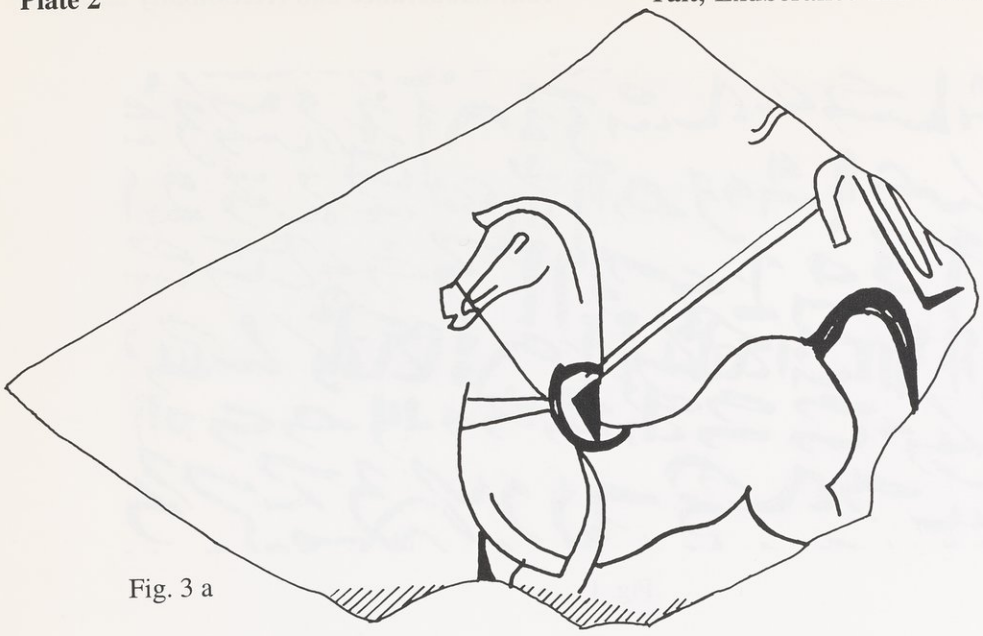


Fig. 3 a

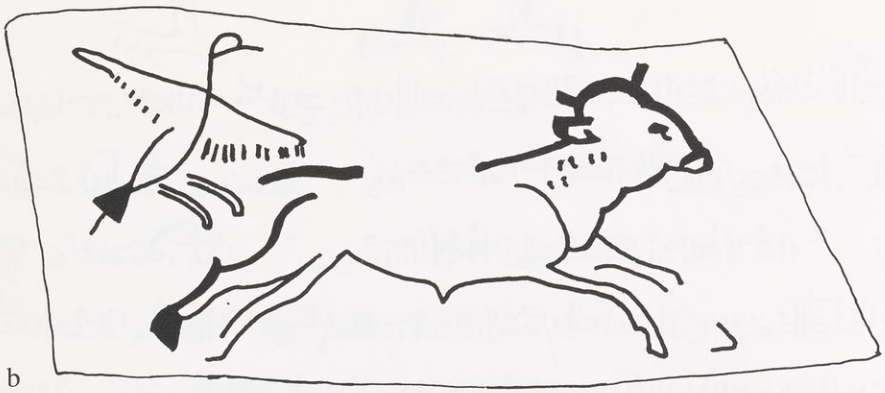


Fig. 3 b

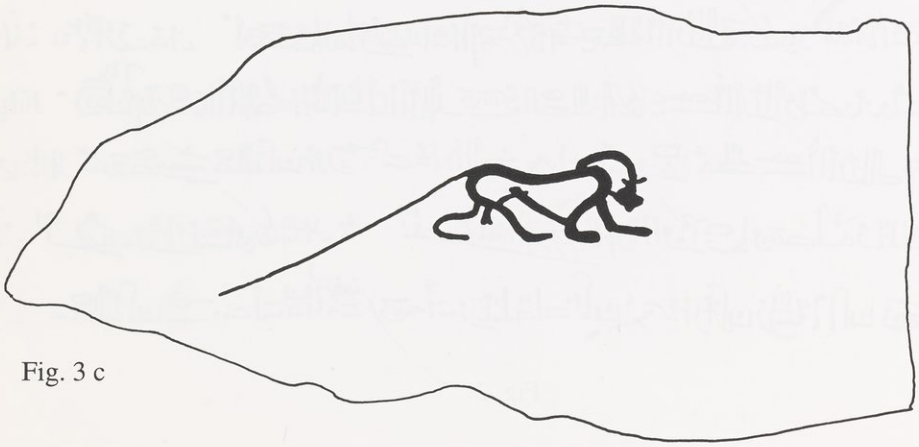


Fig. 3 c

Fig. 4 

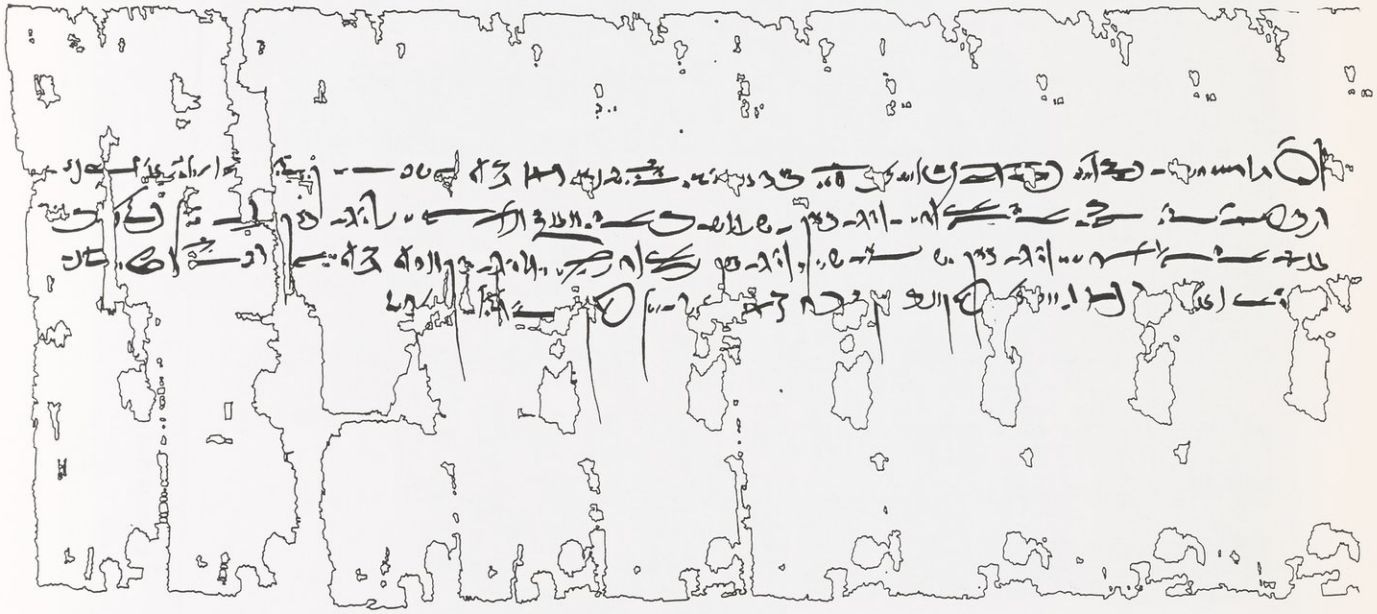


Fig. 5

Fig. 6 a

Fig. 6 b

Fig. 6 c

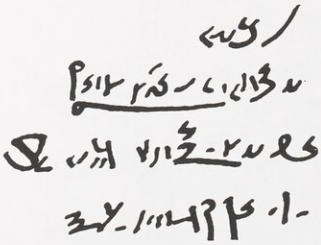
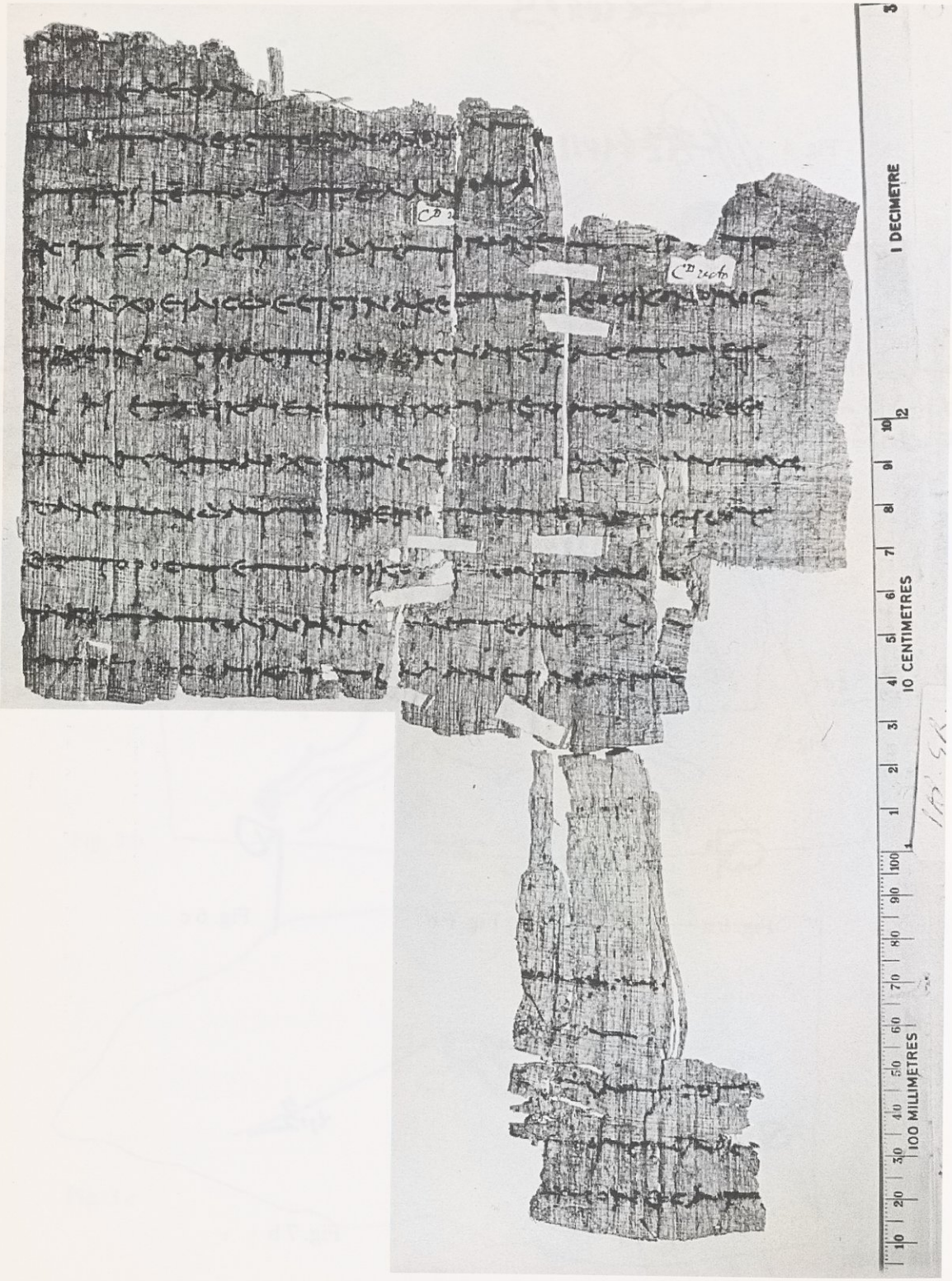
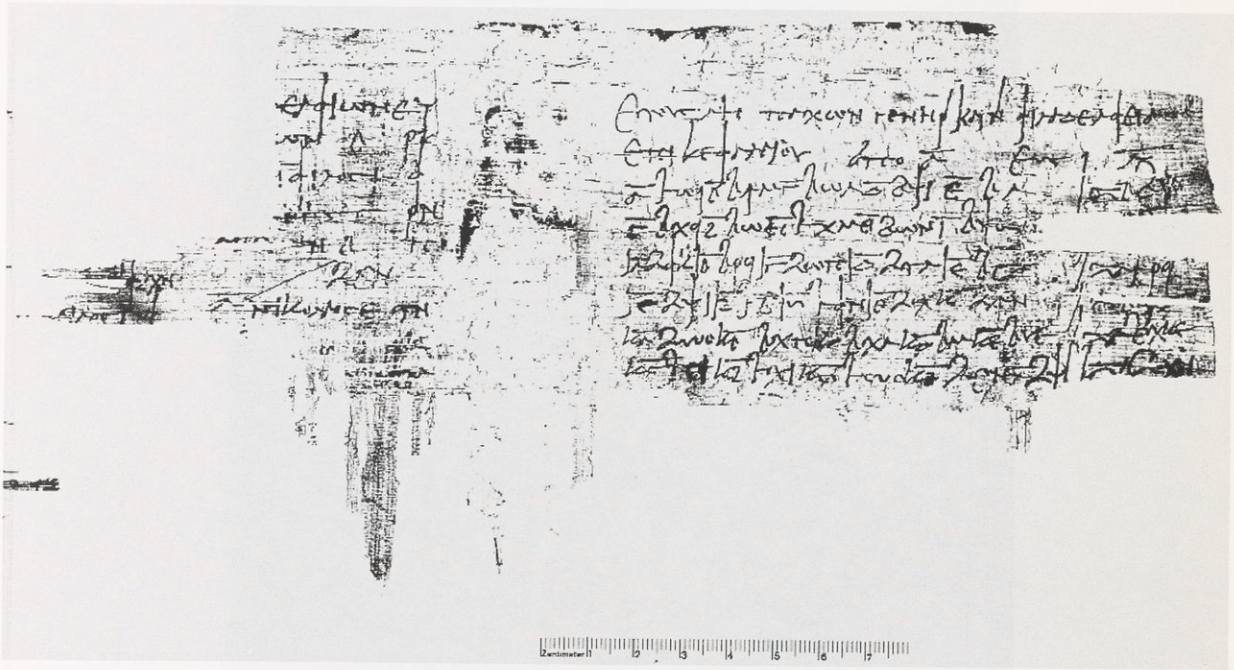
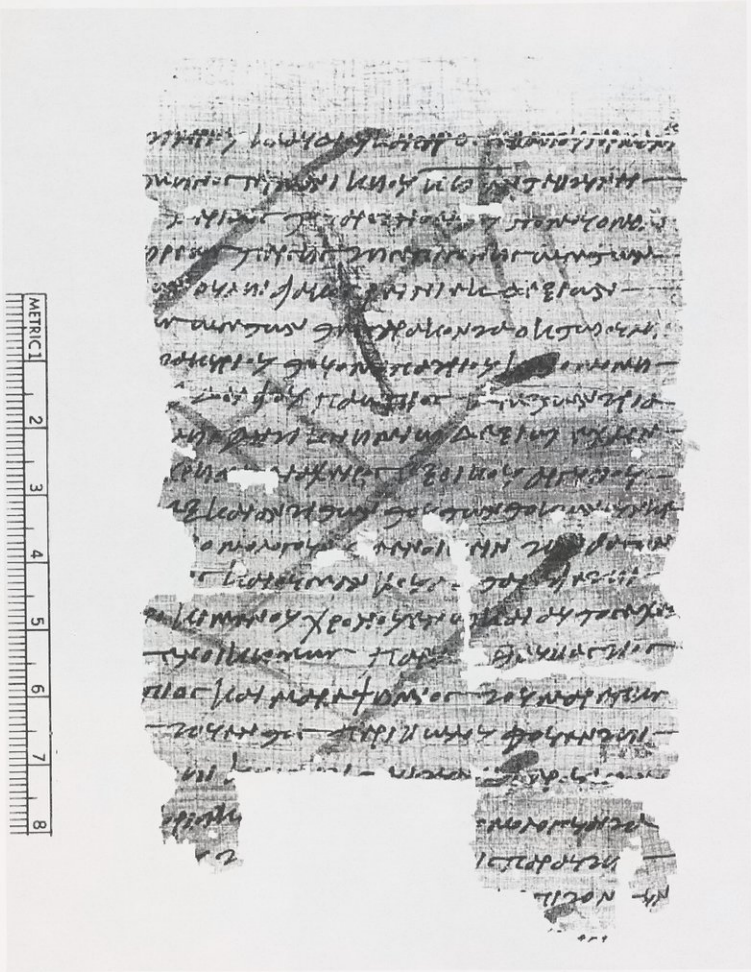


Fig. 7 a

Fig. 7 b


1 DECIMETRE
10 CENTIMETRES
100 MILLIMETRES




METRIC 1
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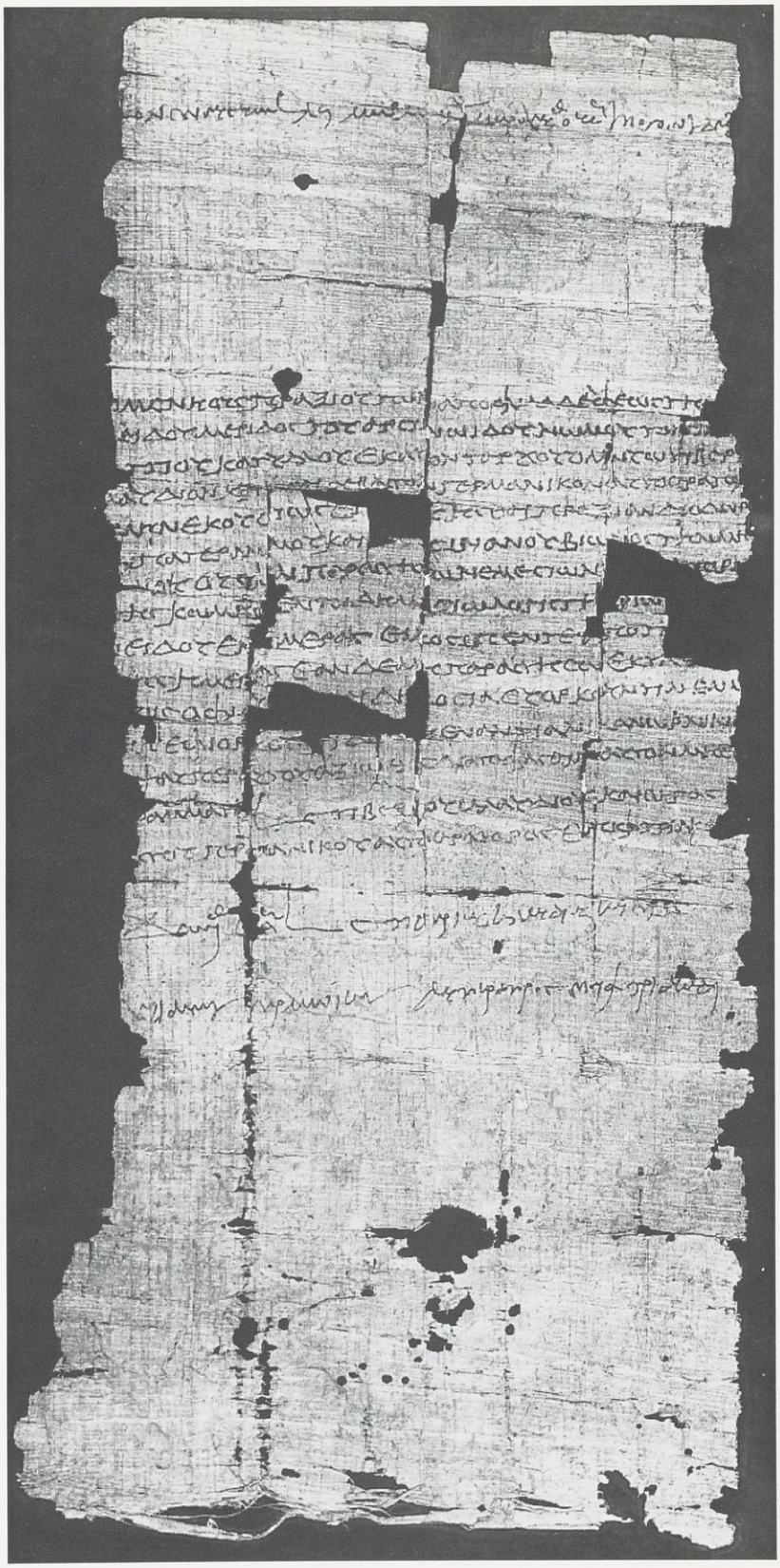

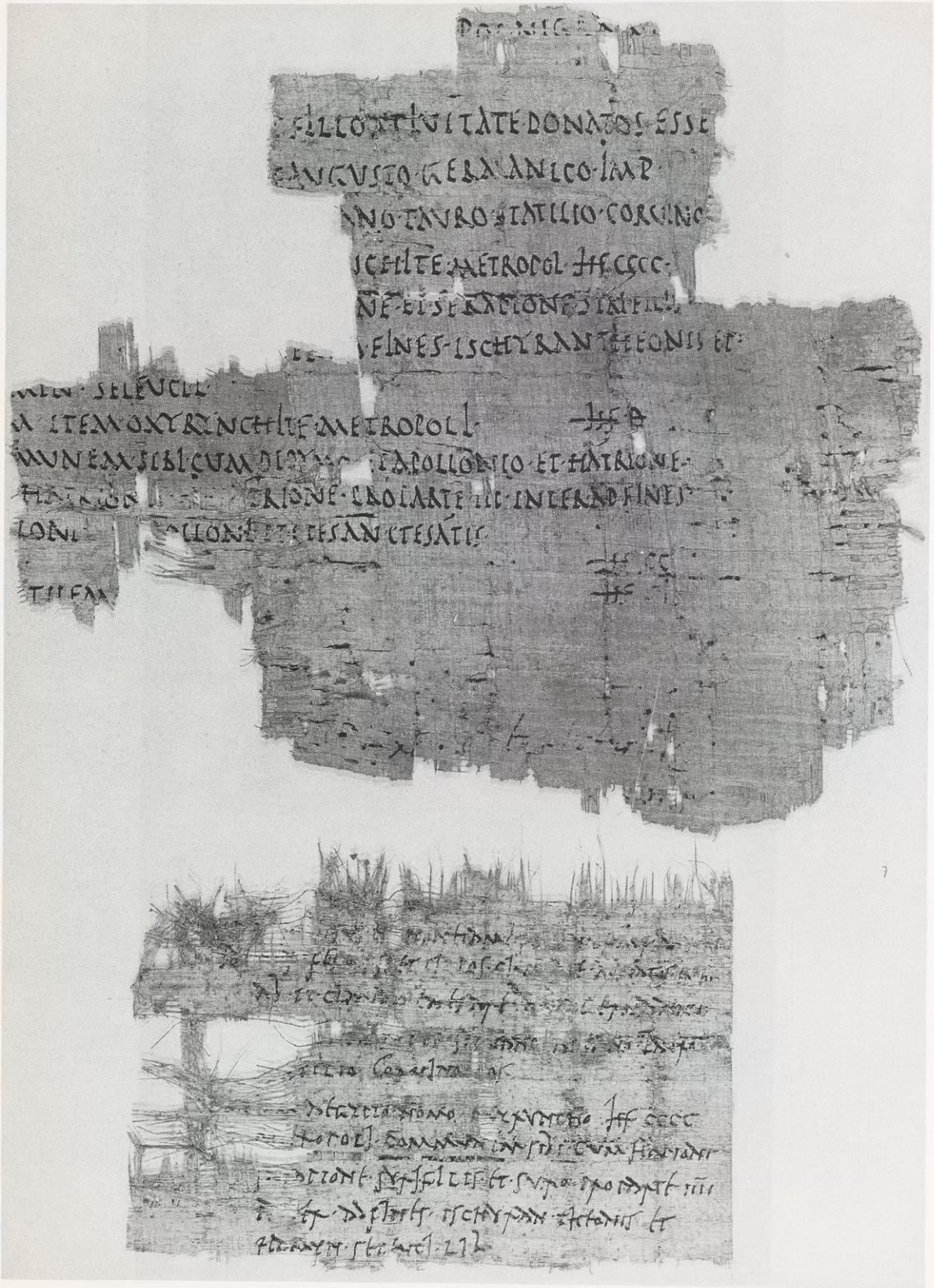

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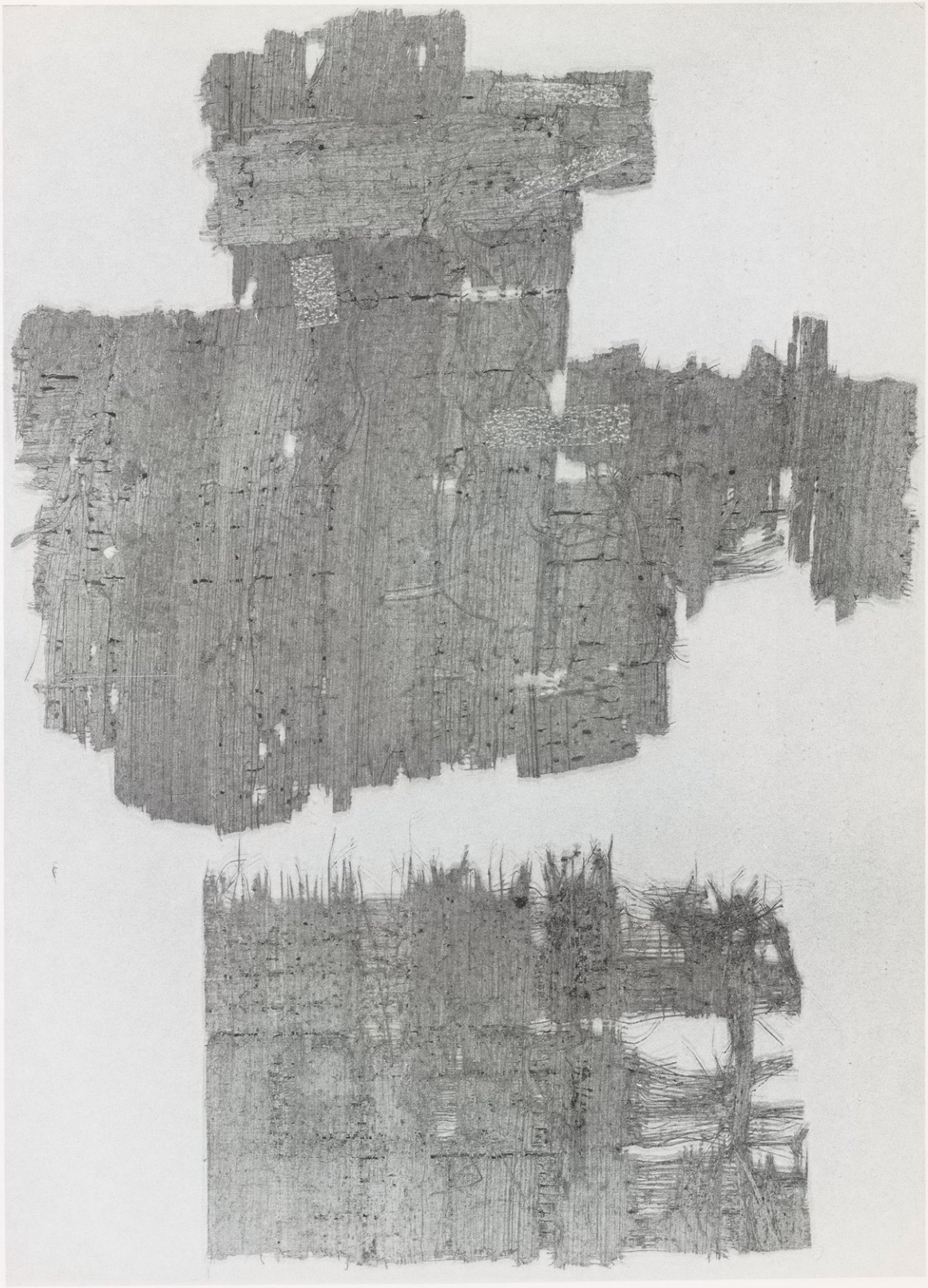
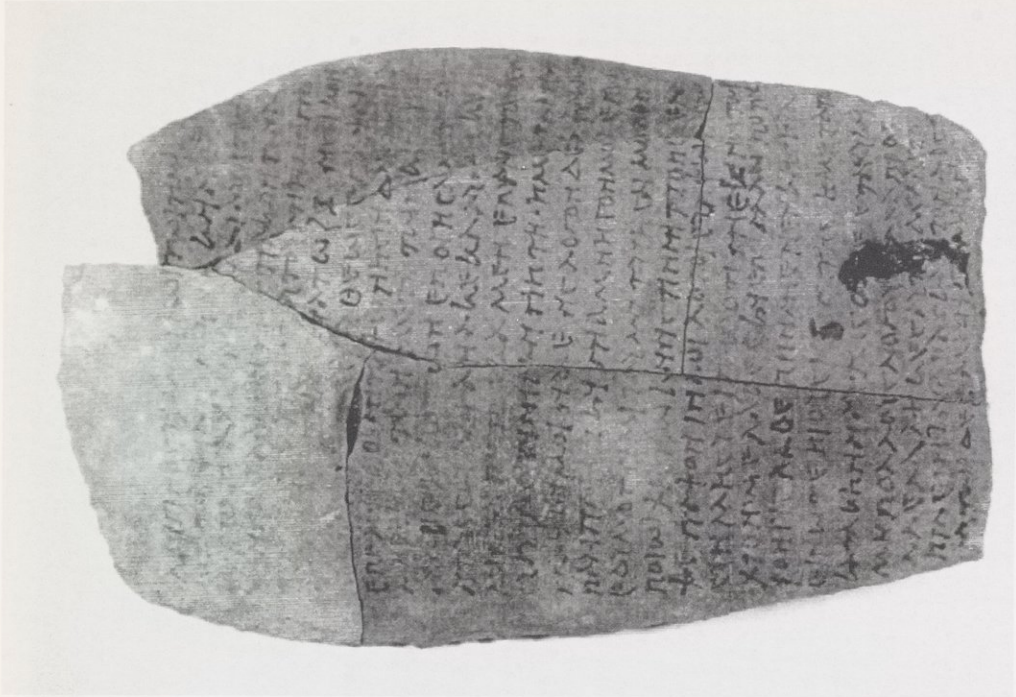


Verso

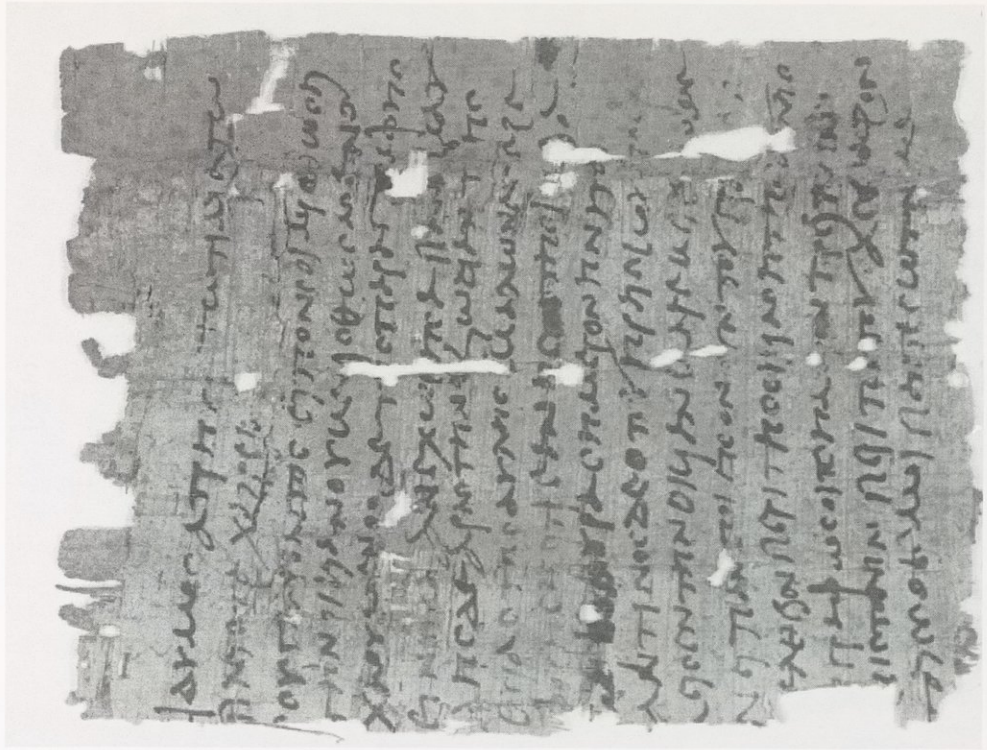


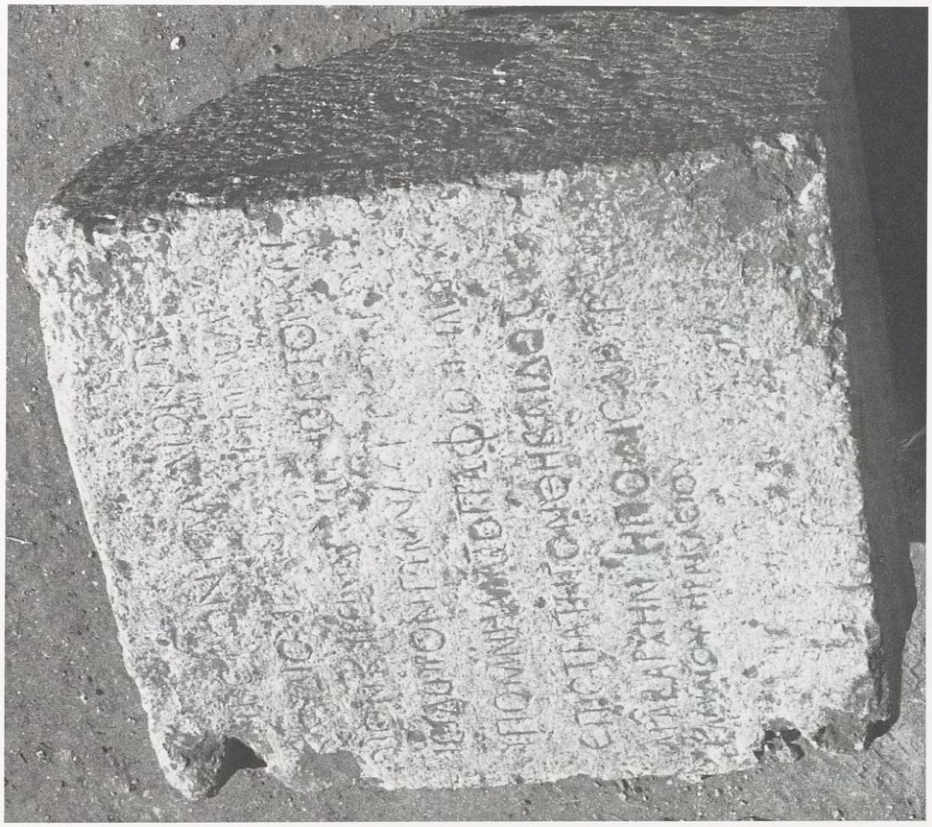
Text 9

Text 8

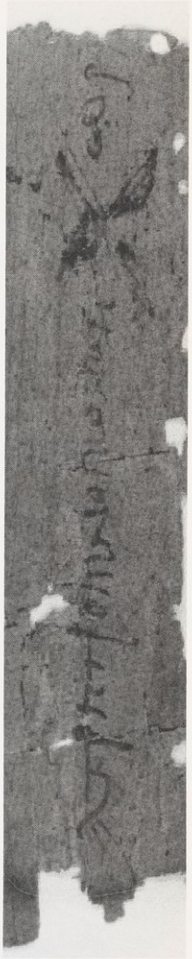
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

C

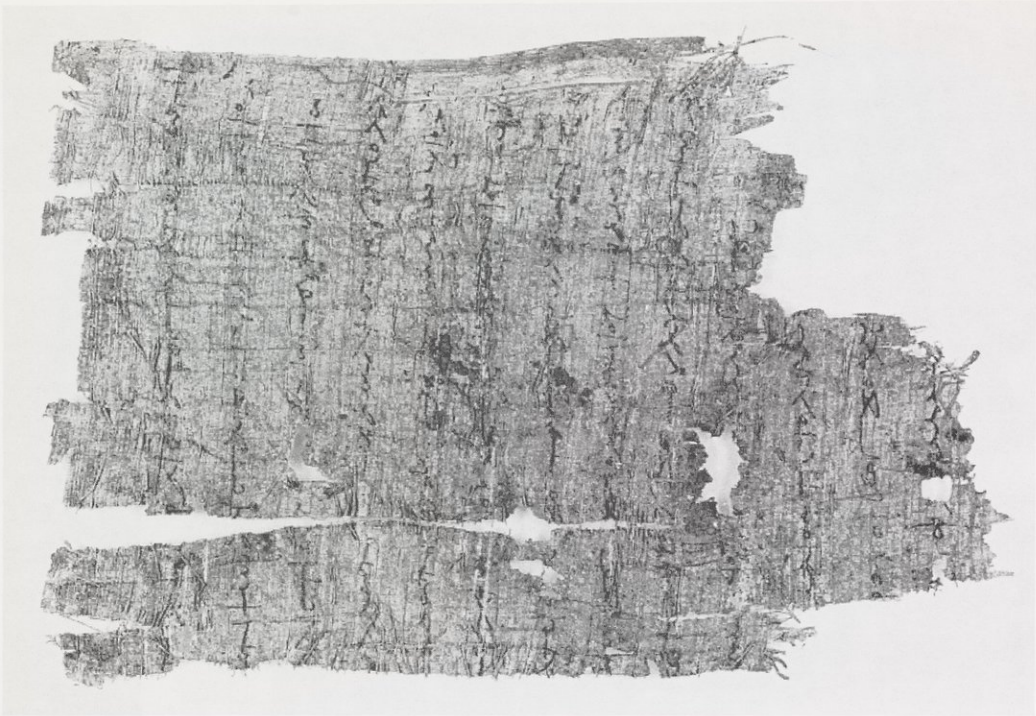




Text 10, Lukaszewicz



On right, Text 14, Whitehorne
recto above, verso below



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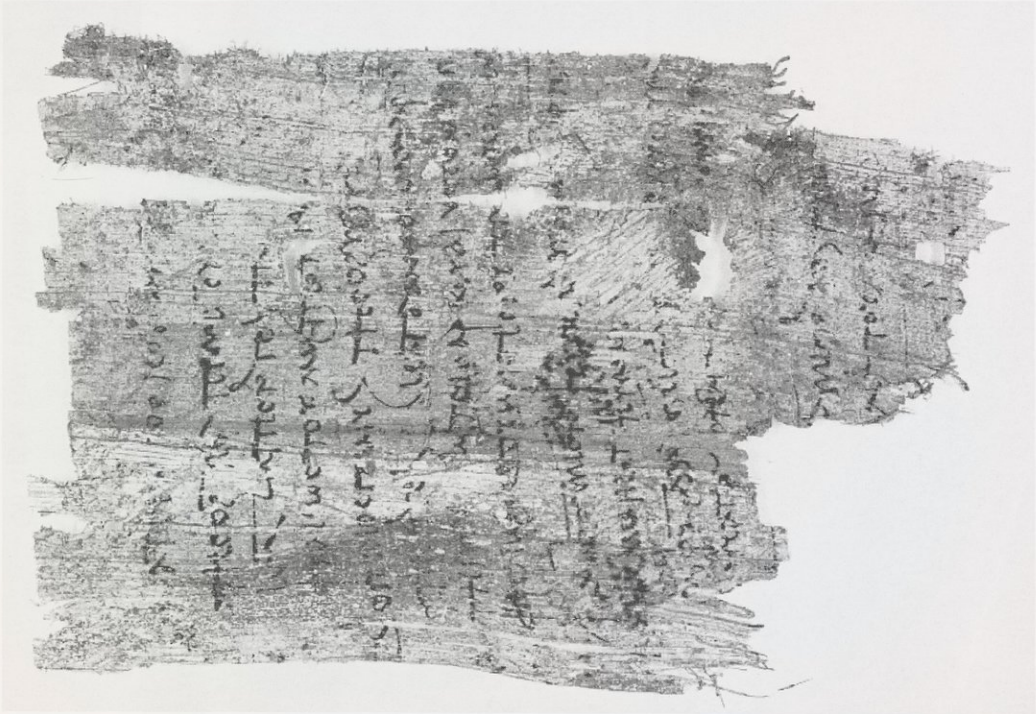
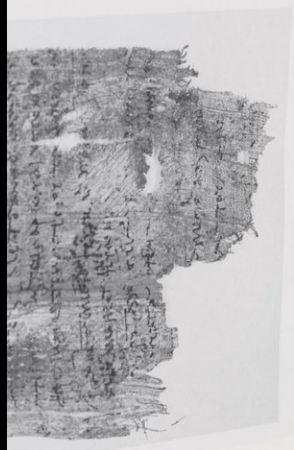


Verso

Recto



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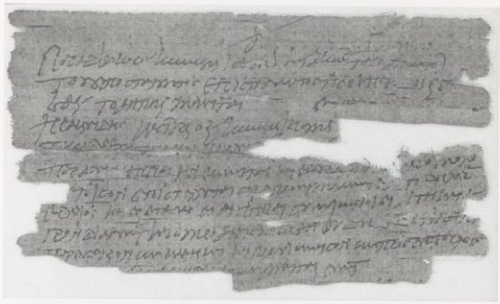

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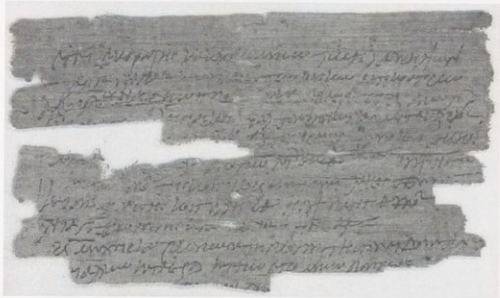
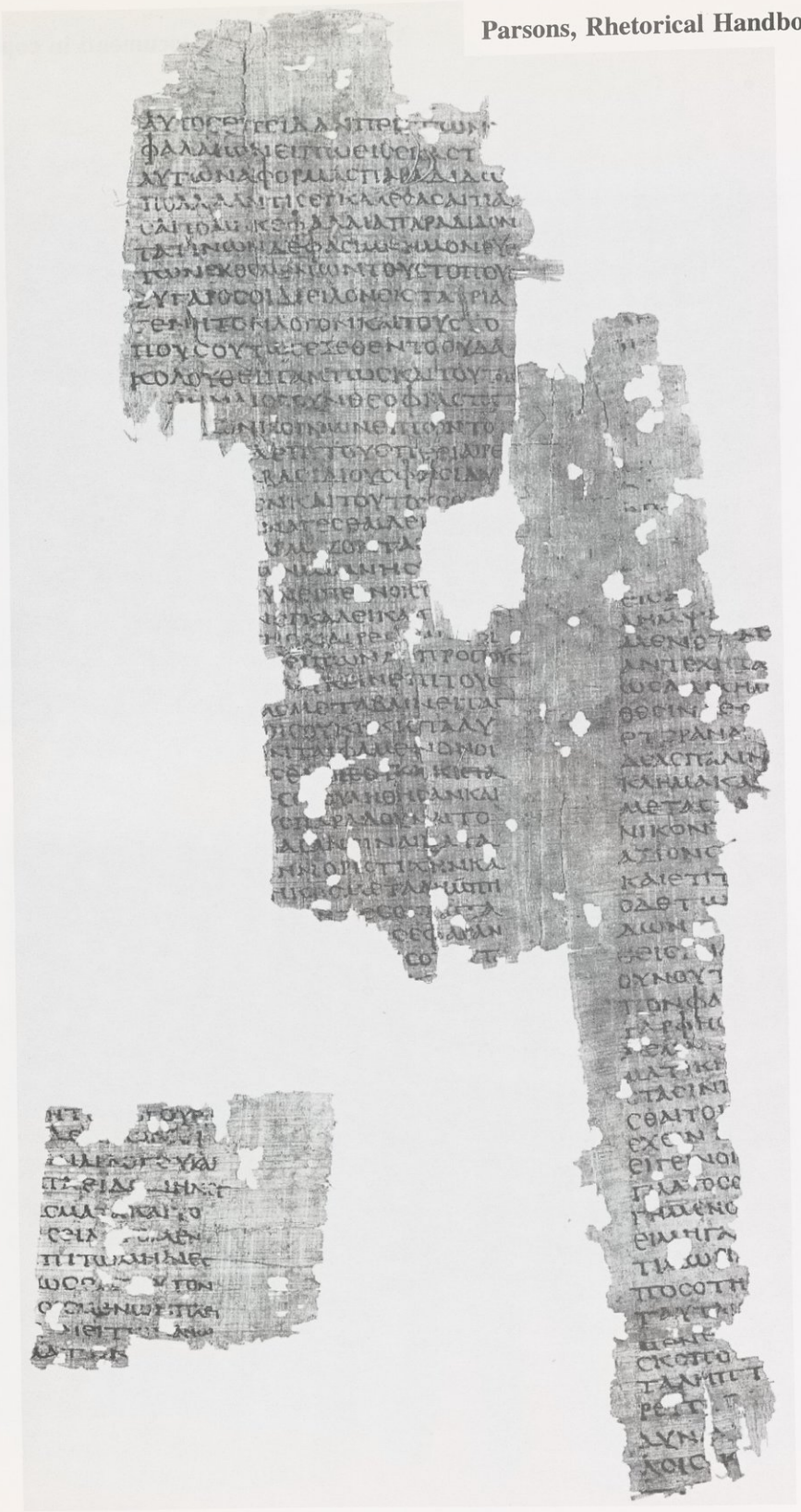
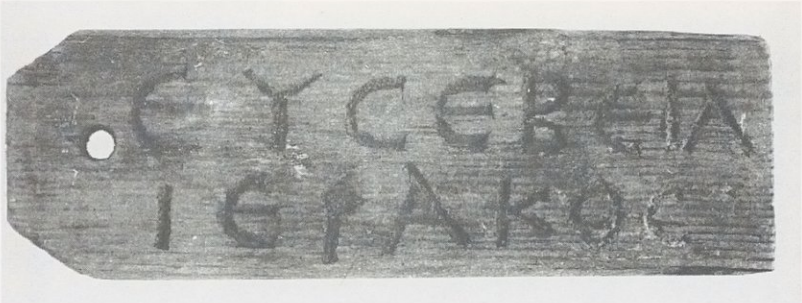


verso

Plate 14

Parsons, Rhetorical Handbook, 153–165





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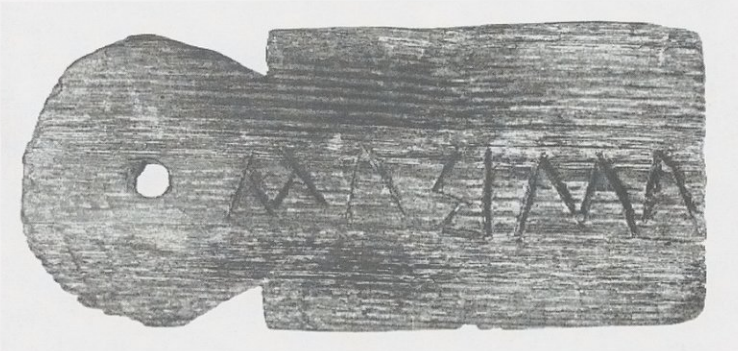

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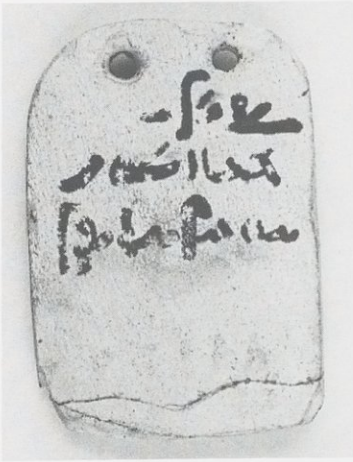

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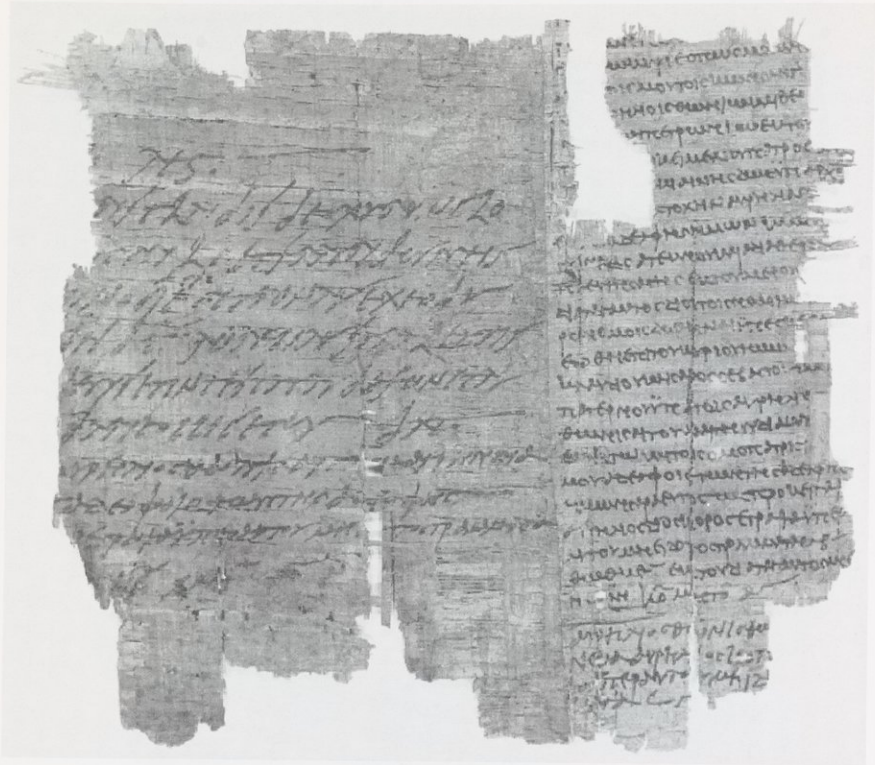
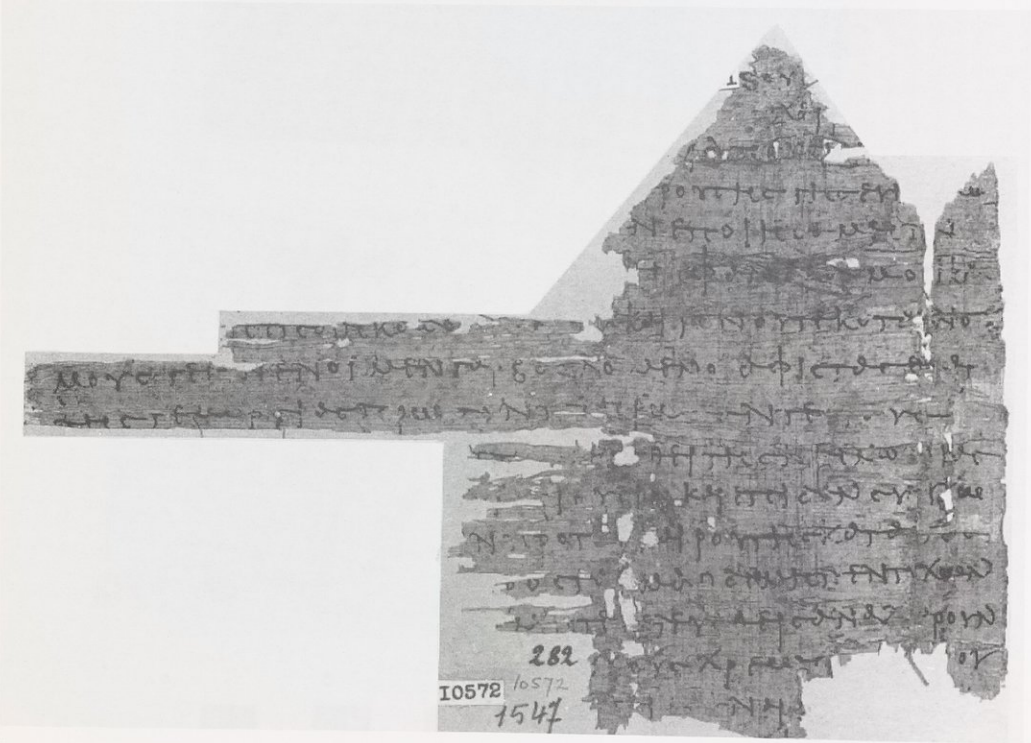
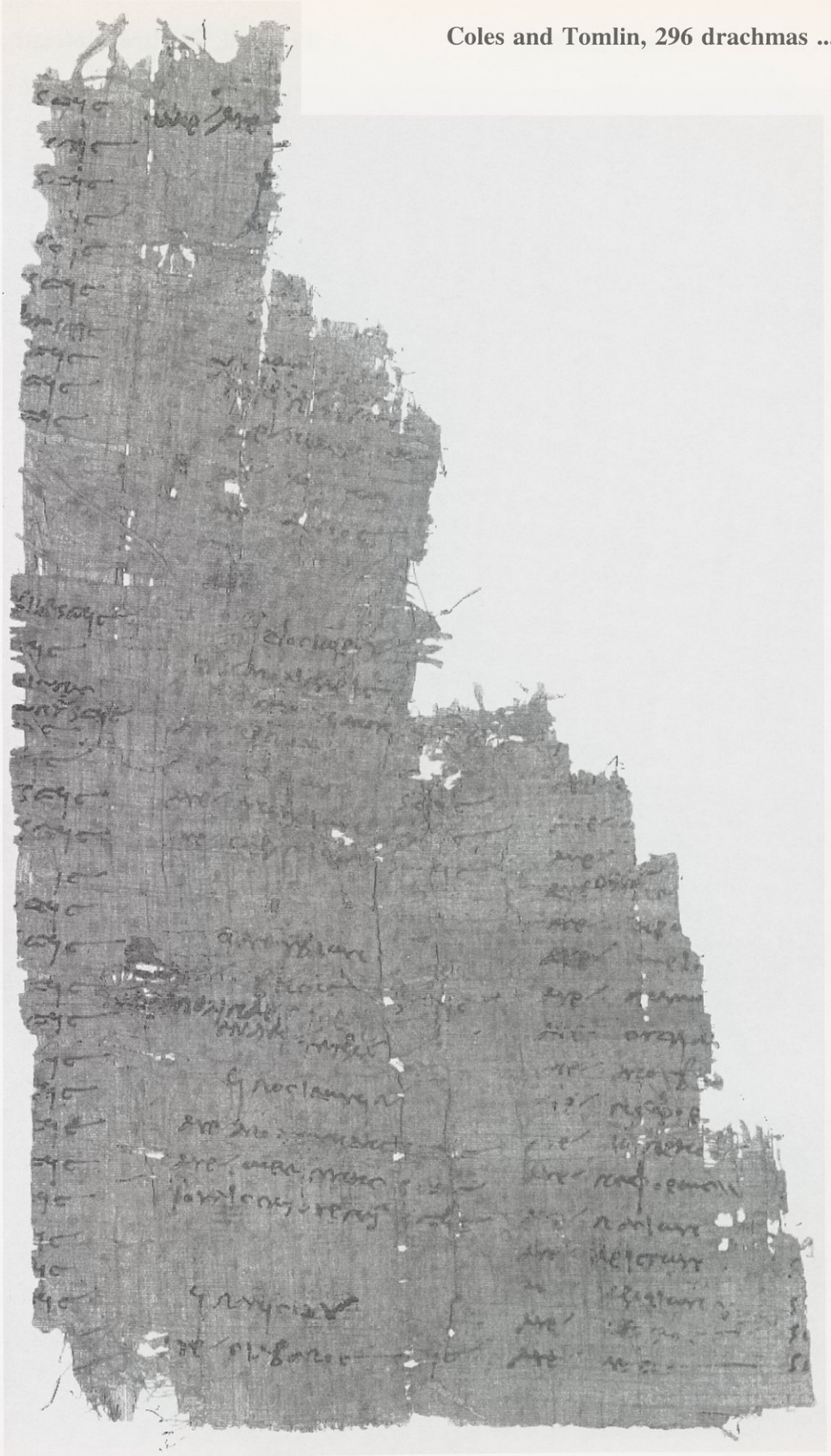
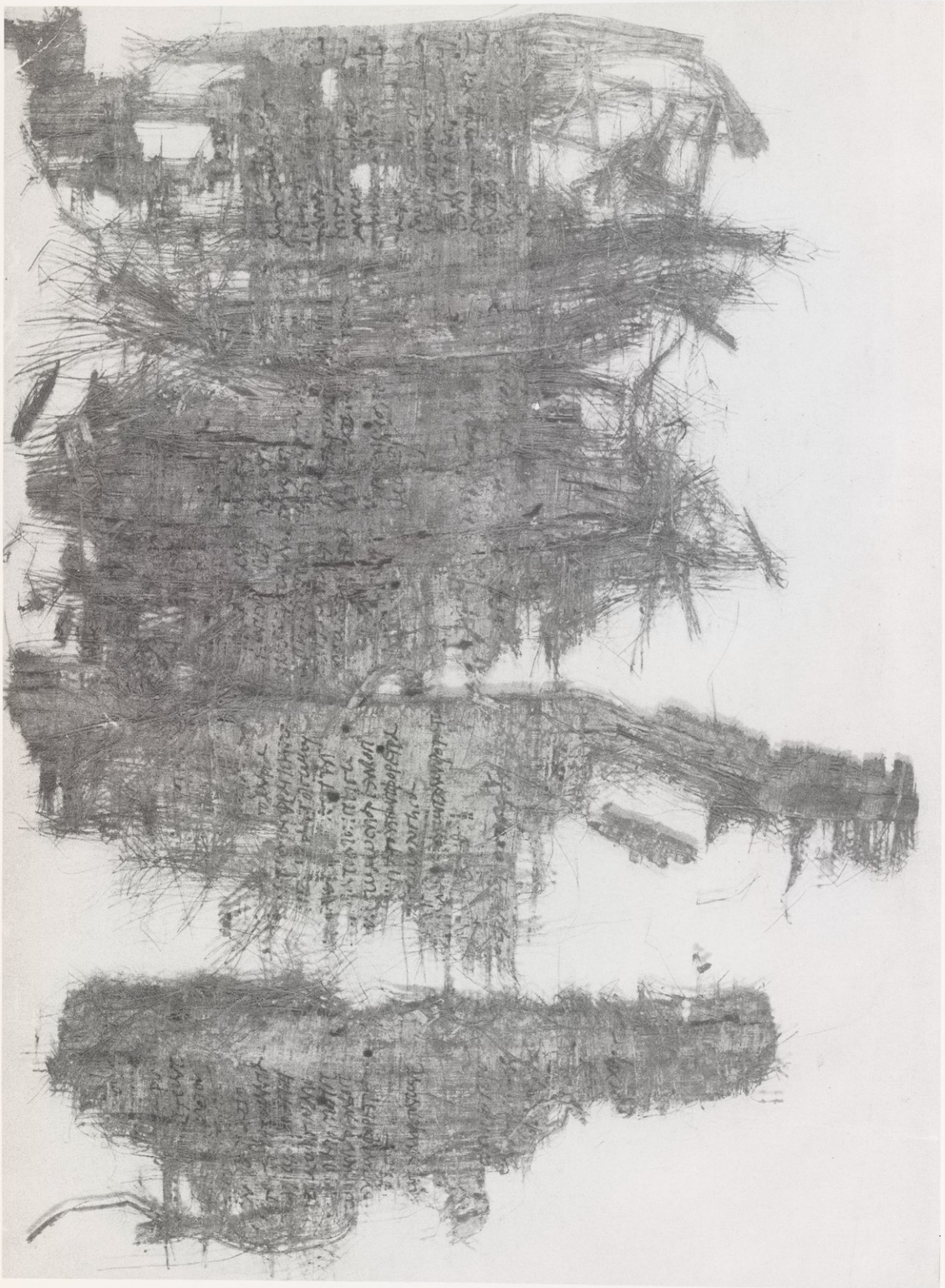


Text 20



Text 22, Martin





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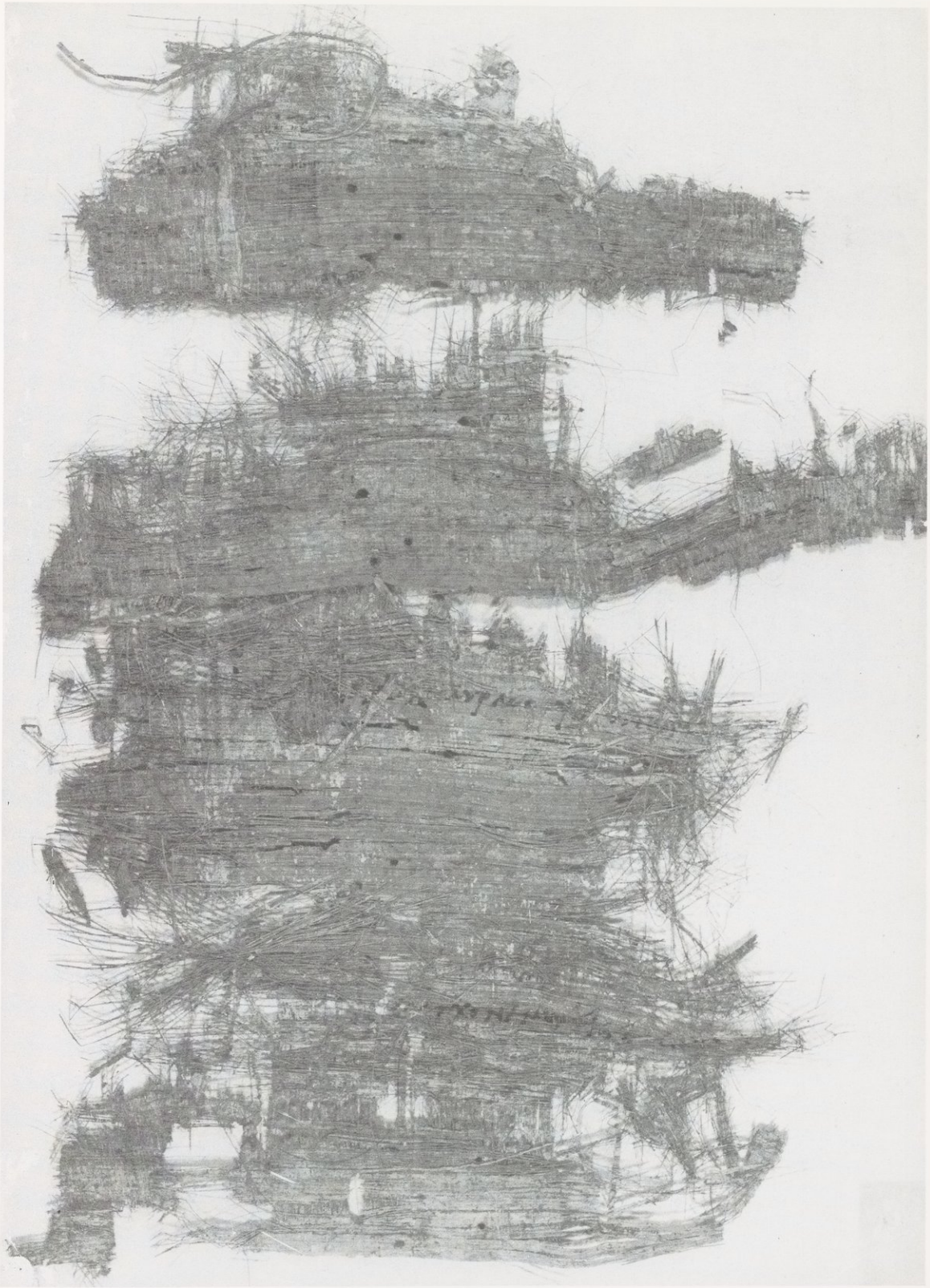

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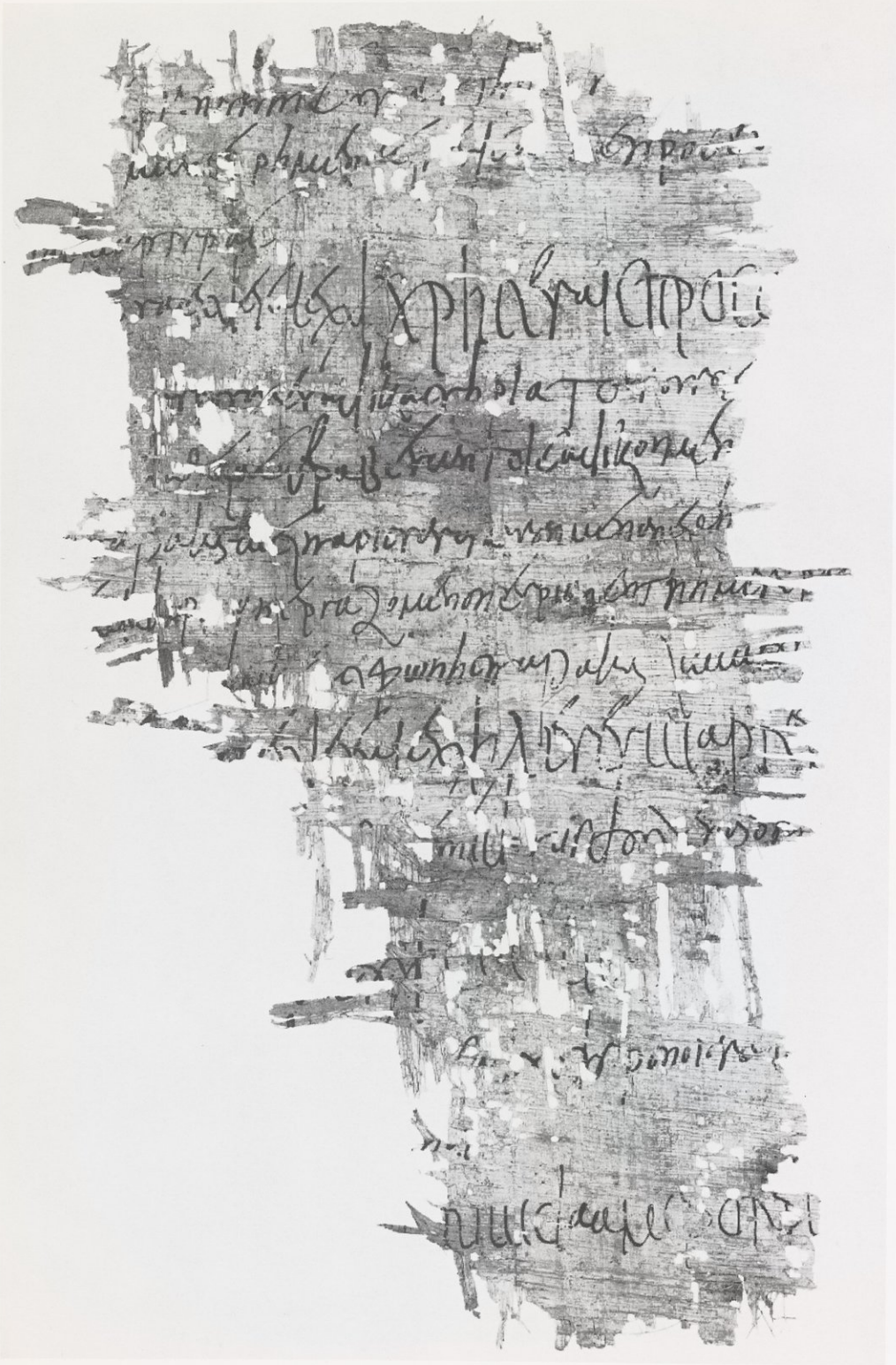
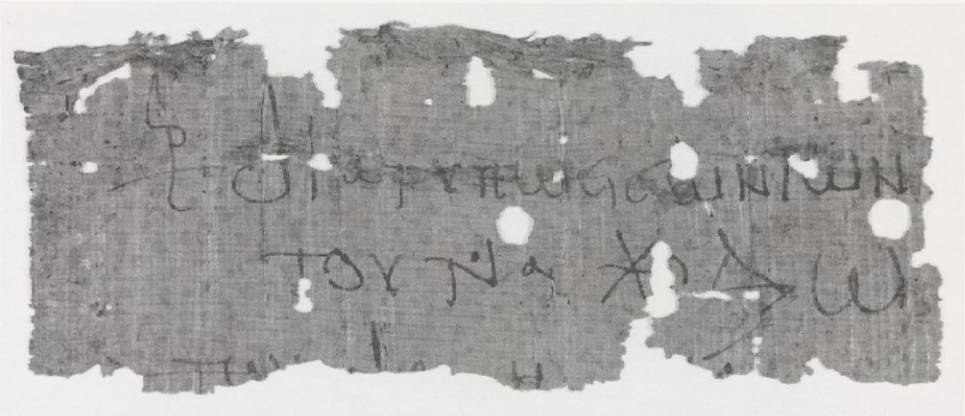
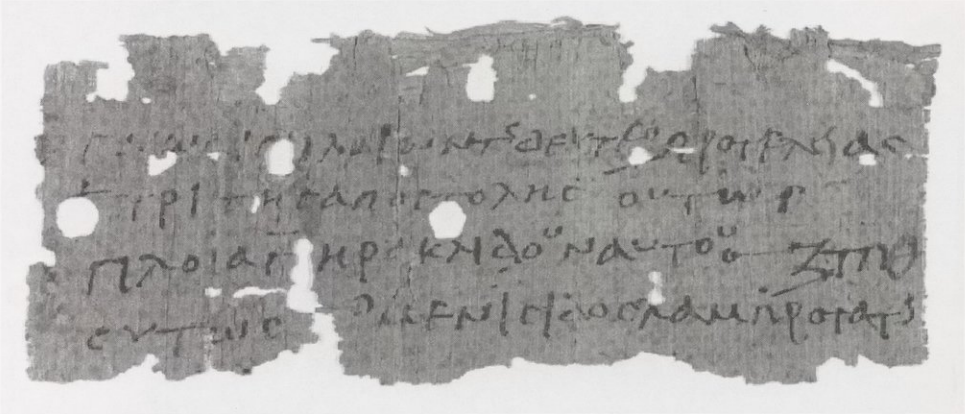


van Minnen, Schedule of Prices ..., 227–228
Hickey and Keenan, Flavia Christodote ..., 251–254



Text 26, van Minnen, recto



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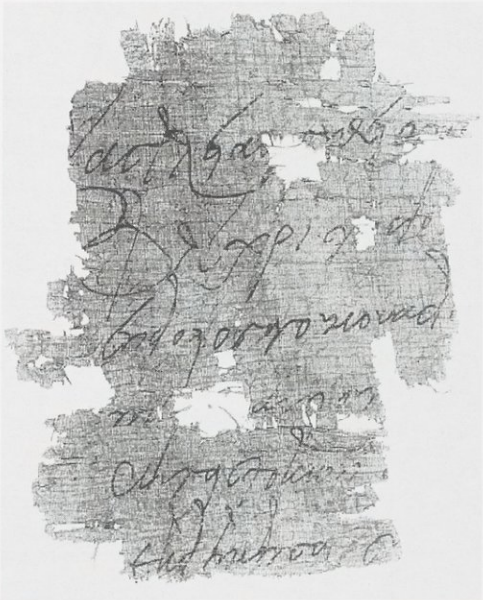
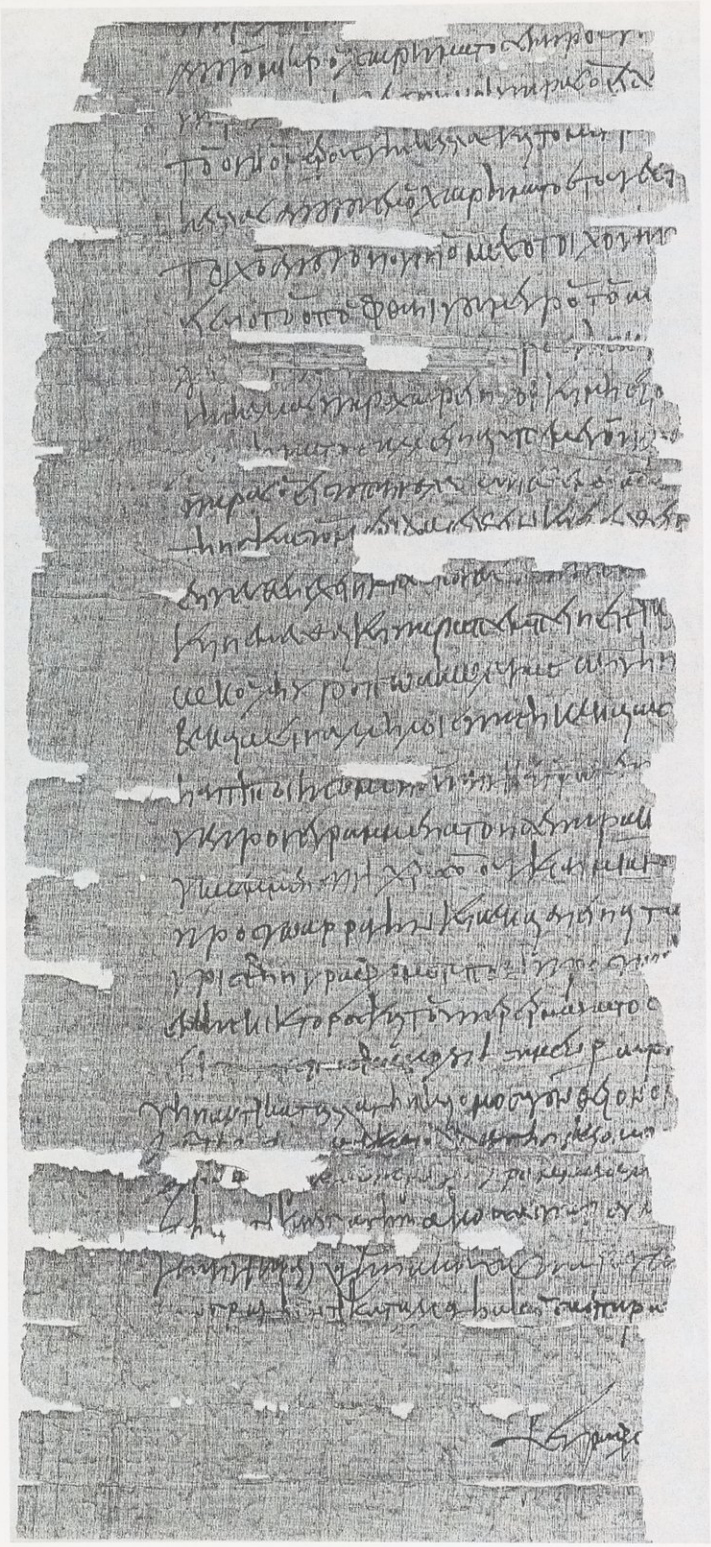
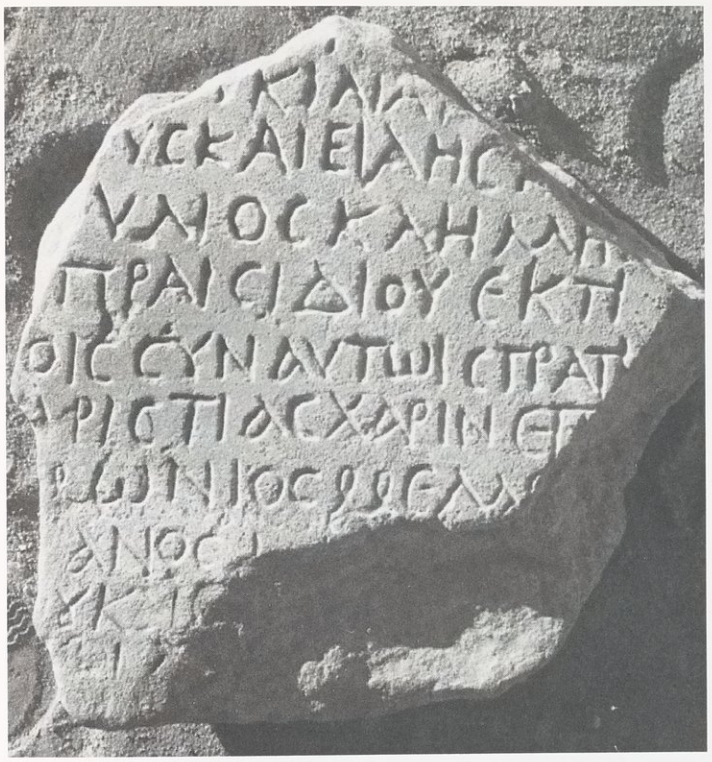
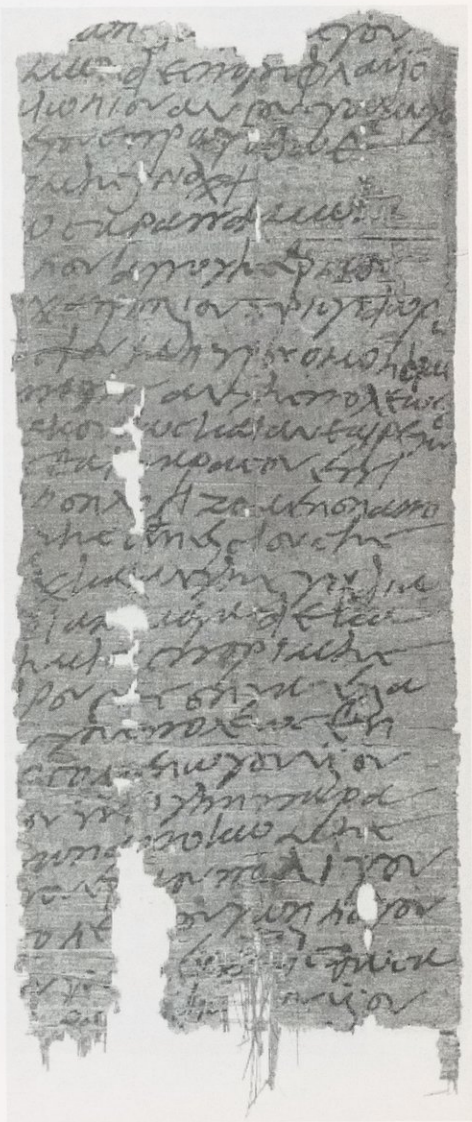


Text 29, Hickey and Keenan

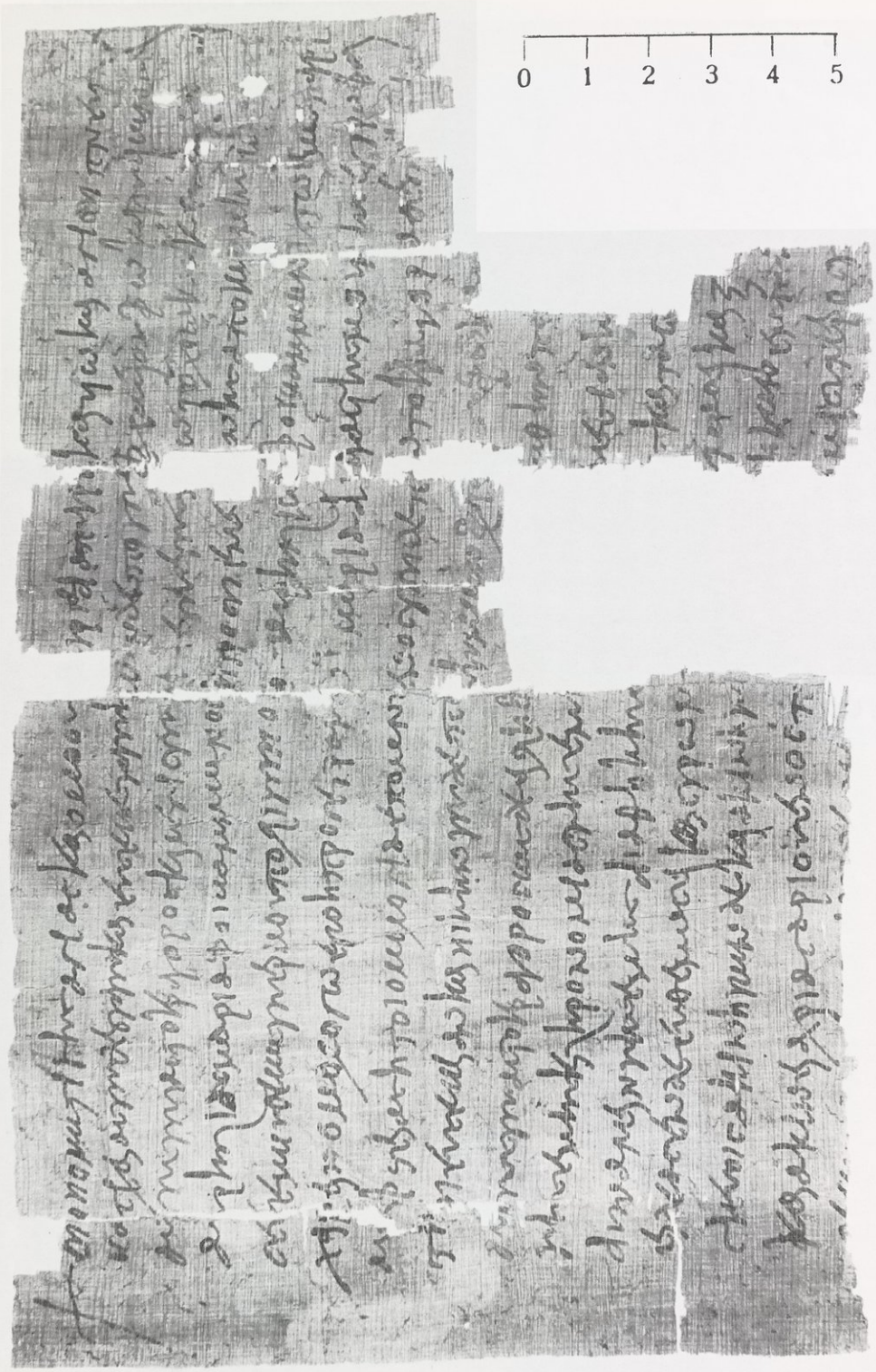




Text 19, Cuvigny



Text 30, Gonis



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