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NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS VII

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87. BGU I 190

The verb εἰσαποδίδωμι, ‘repay, refund’, is cited in LSJ from BGU I 190 fr. 2.3–4, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἰσαποδῶι ἀποτιμάτωι παραχρηῖμα, an Arsinoite loan from the time of Domitian. *DGE* adds an example from P.Cair. Zen. II 59327.16 (*post* 249 BC) [εἰσαποδέδωκ[εν] χαλ(κοῦ) ν]. The reading of the latter passage seems secure, but this does not hold for the Berlin papyrus. The clause ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ ... ἀποτιμάτω is standard in loans, and this text offers no exception (we may recall that it was published in the 1890s). To judge from the online image, the scribe wrote ἐὰν δὲ μὴι – ἰσαποδῶι, with a superfluous ι after μη, followed by a line-filler. Apart from fr. 2.3–4, the scribe added such iotas in fr. 1.2–3 and fr. 2.13. He was not alone in writing μηι ἰσαποδῶι; cf. BGU XI 2216.5 (26/25 BC) or SB XVIII 13783.8 (83/4). There may be line-fillers also in fr. 1.4 and fr. 2.16.¹

The document has been dated to 81–96, but this should be narrowed to 84–96: Domitian bears the victory title Germanicus, which was still unknown in the Fayum at the beginning of 84 (year 3); see A. Martin, *Pap. Congr. XVIII* (1988) ii 470.²

88. BGU I 323

This is an Arsinoite surety addressed to a *dux* of Arcadia in 651 (see CPR XXIV p. 204 n. 12). A village headman (μεῖζων) undertakes to arrest all foreign persons in his village and deliver them to the authorities by a certain date; if he fails to act by the deadline, he will have to pay a pound of gold for every missing person and be liable to the capital penalty. The reference to the latter punishment contains a textual difficulty, though the sense is not in doubt: μεῖζο καὶ ὑποκ[εῖσθαι τῆ] | κεφαλητικῆ τιμωρίᾳ (ll. 16–17). The online image shows that what looks like μεῖ is followed by a short high semi-horizontal that curves downwards at the end, before rising upwards to join the adjacent τ. This suggests μετα, i.e., μετὰ τὸ (l. τοῦ) καὶ ὑποκ[εῖσθαι με τῆ]. The construction recurs in several tax declarations from Hermopolis of the early years of Arab rule (cf. J. Gascou, *ZPE* 177 (2011) 248 with n. 26): P.Stras. VII 660.11 μετὰ καὶ τὸ (l. τοῦ) ὑποκεῖσθαι με τῷ τῆς ἐφοροκίας ἐγκλήματι, P.Laur. III 117.8 μετὰ τὸ (l. τοῦ) καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι κτλ; sim. P.Laur. III 112.10, 113.14, 114.18, 115.18, 116.14, 119.8 (μετὰ τοῦ), 120.5, P.Würzb. 20.12. It is reasonable to assume that this is administrative language introduced immediately after the Conquest.

89. BGU XI 2018

The declarant in this census return of 188/9 from Karanis describes himself as ὁ προγεγραμμένος Πετοροαιπις (ἐτῶν) ν ἐργά(της) (l. 8). The editor noted that the lowly profile of an ἐργάτης does not tally with the number of house properties in Petsoraipis’ possession. The apparent incongruity seems to have been removed after the reading of the end of the line was emended to (ἐτῶν) νζ λαω(γραφοῦμενος) (BL X 22), which has resolved one other difficulty: ‘Arsinoite village declarations ... do not usually give occupations, so the revised text is in better conformity with the standard formula’ (R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 29 (1992) 114). Yet the emendation is not without its problems: λαω(γραφοῦμενος) assumes a misspelling, and the left leg of the purported lambda is an upright, unlike other lambdas in this hand. The letter looks more like gamma, as read previously; it has the same shape as the first gamma of προγεγραμμένος, and in fact that

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¹ This correction has been anticipated in P.Giss. II 127.45 n. (but the passage is wrongly cited as BGU I 290.2–3).

² In this light, we may re-date BGU XI 2121, CPR I 236, P.Oxy. II 265, and SB XXVIII 16906 from 81/2–96 to 84–96. P.Oxy. II 334, ed. *ZPE* 170 (2009) 173ff., assigned to c. 81–3 on prosopographical grounds, cannot be earlier than 84.

gamma is linked to the next letter, ε, in the same way as gamma joins the next letter here. This has been read as alpha, but we may read epsilon instead, which will yield γεω(), and then γεω(ργός).

Instead of a propertied ἐργάτης, we have a propertied γεωργός. This is surely a shortening for δημόσιος γεωργός, not necessarily a destitute group in this period. To name an important parallel, the archive of Horos and Tapekysis from Bakchias (TM Arch 101) illustrates a relatively well-off family of public farmers. It is interesting that these farmers state their occupation in their census declarations: P.Mich. III 177.19–20 (104) Π[ετρε]ῦρις ὁ προγ(εγραμμένος) δημόσιος | [γεωργ(ός)] (ἐτῶν) μδ; 178.17 (119) ὦρος ὁ προγ(εγραμμένος) δημόσιος γεω(ργός) (ἐτῶν) μη.³

90. P.Corn. 36

This is an account of payments from Oxyrhynchite villages, assigned to the third century. ‘The list was made at the request of a *curator civitatis*’: ἐπιζητοῦ(ντος) Προ[. . .]υ λογιτο(ῦ) [(l. 1). The reference to a *curator civitatis* suggests a later date than the third century. More interesting is the official’s name. As we may see on the image, the first letter is eta, not pi, and the letter after rho is certainly alpha. The name then starts Ἡρα-. If we compare the traces and space with the way Ἡρακλεῖον is written in l. 6, we have a perfect match: Ἡρα[κ]λ[ε]ί[ο]υ. This must be Heraclius, *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus in 346 or 347 (P.Harris II 217). The account will be of the same date.

The payments are made in talents and minas. The editors printed μυ[, μ[, and μν[in l. 4–6, noting that ‘presumably μναῖ is to be supplied’, but there is no other option. These would refer to a product such as meat; cf. e.g. P.Oxy. XXIV 2422 = SB XXVI 16570 (290).

91. P.Laur. III 93

This short list was originally assigned to the sixth century; more recently, L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft in Ägypten von Diokletian zu den Abbasiden* (2017) 246, placed it in the seventh on the basis of the hand, and probably in the Arab period. It was read as follows:

† το(ῖς) γρ(αμματεῦσι) το(ῦ) Ἡρακλείον(ος)
 το(ῖς) μείζο(σιν) Ἀπολυτᾶς
 το(ῖς) μείζο(σιν) Διωνησιάδος
 δι(ὰ) Φιλοθέου υἱ(οῦ) Σερήνου ἀρχ(ι)κυμ(ά)χ(ου)

Ἡρακλείον(ος) was taken to be a misspelling of Ἡρακλέων(ος), and Διωνησιάδος of Διονυσιάδος, both of them well-known Arsinoite villages. Ἀπολυτᾶς has not been recorded elsewhere. Dionysias (TM Geo 565), formerly of the division of Themistos, is last attested in 362 (SB XXII 15286), three centuries earlier than our text. This is unsettling; it would also be unusual to find a village of North-West Fayum in this late period. The relative location of Dionysias and Herakleonos (TM Geo 796) is also problematic; the latter was part of the old division of Herakleides, located near Kerkesoucha Orous, anywhere but close to Dionysias. It is not likely that this short list of village officials referred to places so far apart.

We may revisit the first place name. The scribe wrote το ηρακλειον. The omicron of το sits on the notional baseline, unlike those at the start of ll. 1–3, written over the taus, indicative of abbreviations. The toponym is not abbreviated. Τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον is a known Oxyrhynchite locality (TM Geo 4345); the same applies to Διονυσιάδος, recorded also in this period (TM Geo 9964; cf. also P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5368.14 n.). Herakleion is found with the article in texts of the third century; in its two other late attestations, P.Oxy. XVI 2020.21 and XIX 2243(a).11, it occurs in constructions that would not have used the article. One may question the grammar, the use of the nominative instead of the genitive, but as we see from l. 2 a toponym could be used indeclinably. Τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον belonged to the old Middle Toparchy; the location of Dionysias is unknown, but it must have lain nearby.

³ As mentioned above, this is rare in census returns from rural Fayum. The public farmers from Talei in P.Tebt. II 481 = SB XX 14164 i–ii (161) and the priest from Bakchias in SB XXVI 16538 (217) stated their occupation, though not in the body of the text but in the prescript. We may question the supplement in SB XX 14164.i.9 Ἡρων ὁ προ[γεγραμμένος] γεω(ργός) (ἐτῶν) . . . The corresponding part in 14164.i.11 has ὁ προ[γεγραμμένος] (ἐτῶν) λ[.

We may also read the abbreviations at the beginning of ll. 1–3 differently. το() would stand for το(ῦ) or τό(ν); the former is preferable, since entries in the genitive are common in lists: το(ῦ) γραμματέως (1), το(ῦ) μείζο(ν) (2, 3). The list may derive from a government authority or an estate with interests in these villages. A *κόμμαχος* could be employed by anyone in authority, private or public.

92. P.Lond. II 387

A certain *Καμβῶς* *κυτομέυλης* occurs in l. 18 of this sixth/seventh-century Arsinoite account. *κυτομέυλης* was thought to be a version of *κυτομήλης*, and it is in this form that the word appears in Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, translated as 'Müller'. The *Revised Supplement* to LSJ presents it as *κυτομ(ε)ίλης*, 'miller', but the iota that has replaced upsilon is an error. *μευ* for *μυ* is an unusual interchange. Inspection of the image shows that *κυτομέυλης* is a 'ghost word': the papyrus has *κυτομέτρης*. A *κυτομέτρης* called Sambas is known from CPR X 30.4, but this text is earlier than P.Lond. 387.

93. P.Lond. III 972

This fourth century rent receipt closes with a signature, *κε(νημείωμα) . . . ροκ()* (l. 2). To judge from the online image, the papyrus has *κενη(μείωμα) ὡς πρόκ(ε)ιται* very quickly written, so that the second loop of ω, c and the first leg of π are fused together. Contemporary documents ending *κενημείωμα ὡς πρόκειται* are P.Stras. III 136.15 (281) and SB XXIV 16270.9 (341).

94. P.Lond. V 1740

This tax receipt begins *δέδωκεν ὀνόμ(ατος) Νόνα Ὀλημπιῶδ(ω)ρο(ν) δι(ὰ) Βασιλείδο(ν) ἀπαι(τητοῦ) τῆς Ἐλευθέρως*. The reading of *ἀπαι(τητοῦ)* was questioned, since the reference to a tax-collector is hard to explain at this point (BL IX 247); the combination of this function with a wife (*ἐλευθέρως*; a noun, not a name) would also be odd. An image shows that the papyrus has *ὑπέρ*: it is a payment made by Basileides for his wife. Numerous payments on behalf of wives are recorded in P.Sorb. II 69 (see p. 52 for discussion) and other tax registers from Hermopolis of the early seventh century.

95. P.Lond. V 1760

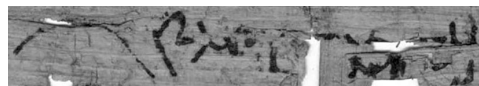
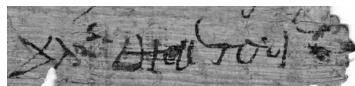
After the corrections of P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 47 (= BL X 108), line 3 begins *Ψαφο (?) ζῦν' Θ(ε)ῶ βοηθ(ός) λογι(τηρίου) (Ψαφο . . . θ() βοηθ(ός) ε . . . v ed. pr.)*. A dotted psi where we expect a cross is suspicious; an image shows that we should read † *Ἀφουζ ζῦν' Θ(ε)ῶ βοηθ(ός) λογι(τηρίου)*. Aphous recurs in P.Lond. V 1756.14–15, which also refers to indiction 4.

96. P.Prag. II 141

This is a land register assigned to the fifth century and said to be of unknown provenance. The entries consist of names or more often the phrase *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ* followed by fractions of the arura: e.g. pg.ii.6–9 run [] *Μιχαήλ (ἀρ.) ἡ'λβ'ξδ'* (*ἡ'ις'λβ' ed. pr.*) | [(καὶ) ἐν τῷ α]ὐτῷ (*ἀρ.*) δ'ις'λβ' | [(καὶ) ἐν τῷ] αὐτῷ (*ἀρ.*) ζη'ις'λβ' (the restorations are secure). The editor thought that *αὐτῷ* 'würde man auf einen vorausgehenden Namen beziehen und darin einen Landbesitzer sehen', but the references are to *κλήροι*; *κλήρω* is the noun implied by *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ*. One of the names, [] τῷ *Ψάντι* (pg.iv.4), is known to be of that of a Heracleopolite *κλήρος*; the editor referred to SPP X 206.13 *κλή(ρος) Ψάντι*, but maintained that '[t]rotz der vielen geographische Angaben läßt sich diese Liste keinem bestimmten Gau zuweisen'. Yet there is no reason to assume that the same *κλήρος* is not mentioned in both texts. One other *κλήρος* is *Ἄιουλίωνος* (iv.8), but this is not an attested name. We should probably restore *Μ]ουλίωνος*, attested as the name of apparently a *κλήρος* in the Heracleopolite P.Eirene III 33.16 (5th c.). For *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ*, we may compare a fifth-century Heracleopolite land lease, CPR I 42.9ff., *περὶ κώμην Κῶβτιν Μικρὰν κύκλω τοῦ χωρίου (ἀρούρας) ἡ | Κακαπρυ (ἀρ.) β' ἄλλως ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ | (ἀρ.) γ'*; here *τῷ αὐτῷ* can only refer to *Κακαπρυ*, which will have been a *κλήρος*, not a village (contrast M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome* (1998) 190).

97. PSI XIV 1413

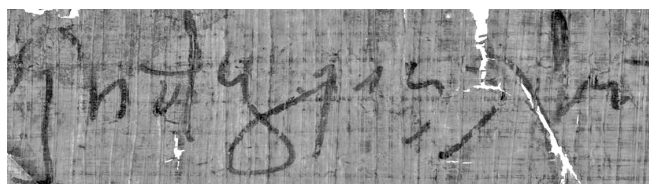
This is the lower part of a letter assigned to the second/third century, but the hand suggests a date not much later than the middle of the first century. There is a partly unread passage in ll. 8–9: πίθομαι ὅτι Ἀλέξ() Θηβ . . . | (παρ)ελεύεταί.



At the end of l. 8, the papyrus has ἄλλα θηβα(ῖκὰ) πλοῖα, followed by a letter with a curved back, if it is a letter. Every word ends with a raised α (a rounded *Hakenalpha*), although only the second is abbreviated. The beginning of l. 9 is more difficult. There is no (παρ), but what seems to be a large π, though there is no other such pi in the text; μ is less likely. I am not sure whether ελεύεταί is correct; if it is, and we incorporate the writing at the end of l. 8, we have ἀπελεύεταί: possible but uncertain.

98. SB XII 10903

The name of the payer in this receipt caused difficulty: ‘Après la voyelle initiale α, le scribe a tracé un signe bouclé en bas, qui ne ressemble à rien. J’ai pensé au chi: Αχμαλλης; mais ce nom n’est pas attesté ailleurs; en outre les chi dans ce texte sont très différents du signe en question.’ (*JJP* 16–17 (1971) 107) The image shows that instead of Ἰνδικ(τίονος) Α. μαλλης (l. 1) one may read Ἰνδικ(τίονος) Μαλλης. But I admit that Μαλλης is not a name known otherwise.



In l. 3, for π(αρά) κ(εράτια) γ δ’ read π(αρά) γ δ’ μόνα.

99. SB XII 10904

The subscription to this Hermopolite receipt or certificate for *annona* and *canonica* was read as † Κύρις διατολεὺς δι’ ἐμοῦ Βοηθοῦ Αἰλίου *signature* (l. 4). The name of the representative is curious, even more so his father’s. As one may see on the image, the papyrus has † Ταυρίνος διατολεὺς δι’ ἐμοῦ Βίκτωρος ἀπαιτητοῦ) συμφ(ωνεῖ).⁴ An ἀπαιτητής called Victor occurs in P.Lond. III 1310.6 and V 1740.3, but the hand is different. Taurinos does not seem to be known from elsewhere.

100. SB XII 10905

This is another Hermopolite receipt or certificate for *annona* and *canonica*. The taxes were paid for the account name of a certain Sennos: ὀν(όματος) Cέννου (l. 1). A check of the online image yields a more common name: ὀν(όματος) Cερήνου. The use of the nominative at this point is not uncommon; among such texts, cf. P.Batav. 18.6, SB XII 10902.2 or XX 14676.2–3, and generally see P.Sorb. II 69, p. 30.

In ll. 2–3, the editor read κεράτια δέκα τέσσαρες, γίν(εται) χρ(υσοῦ) κ(ερ.) ιδ † μό(νον). † δι’ ἐμοῦ Πέτρου λογογράφου, | συμφ(ωνῶ). The spelling is correct: the papyrus has τέσσαρα ῥυ(παρά). The text after the summary is curious: the name and function of the official who issued the receipt normally precedes the signature of the intermediary. In fact, the second cross is a δι-monogram, a common abbreviation of διατολεὺς. μό(νον) conceals the name of this official, who appears to be new: Β . . . (not Βίξ-, it seems). The signature is followed by ἡ [ἀποχή] τῆς πρώτης Ἰνδικ(τίονος) in the edition. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 49 (= BL X 207), stated that ‘κ() ιδ = κ(εράτια) ιδ instead of η is the correct reading’, but only a cross seems to be written. There is also no lacuna: no [ἀποχή] (did the editor intend ἀποχή?). A sinusoid

⁴ The error is not unparalleled; cf. SB VIII 9753.6 and 58 (Herm.; 457–74), where Κυρίνου was later corrected to Ταυρίνου (BL VII 214). Here, the ligature of the cross to tau strengthens the false impression of kappa.

after τῆς, not reported in the edition, stands for (ἀντῆς). In sum, I propose to read † Β . . δι(α)τολεὺς δι' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου λογογράφου | συμφ(ωνεῖ) † τῆς (ἀντῆς) πρώτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).

101. SB XIV 12130

This fifth/sixth-century account of money contains a reference to (δηναρίων) μυ(ριάδης) ρ Ἄφ (l. 22). The purpose of the two consecutive numbers, 100 and 1500, is not obvious, but on closer inspection the second number turns out to be illusory. The papyrus has αφ; if the dash represented the thousands, it would appear before α. This is to be read as ἄφ' (ᾠν), a phrase that normally introduces expenses.

102. SB XX 14451

This short fourth-century text conveys an urgent message: τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς προτέρας ἀννώγη[ς] | ἤδη συλλέξατε· καὶ γὰρ [ᾠν]ωθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔρχομαι, τῆς χρείας ἐπειγούσης.⁵ The Greek is unobjectionable, but [ᾠν]ωθεν makes one pause, as it adds an unnecessary detail. An image has recently been posted on line, and indicates that [αν] would fit in the lacuna only with difficulty (there would be no room in it for the αν of ἡμίσειαν). I propose to restore [ᾠ]ωθεν, which suits the space and adds to the urgent tone of the note: ‘Collect half of the previous (instalment of the) *annona* now; in fact, I’m coming to you early in the morning, since the need is pressing.’ All other examples of ἔωθεν in the papyri (six in DDbDP) are found with verbs that indicate or imply motion.

103. SB XX 14702

There are some curiosities in this seventh-century account from Hermopolis, including the entry (ὑπὲρ) ναύλ(ου) καμηλί(του) (ἀρτάβη) κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) Ἀντινίου (l. 13). (ἀρτάβη) creates an anomalous sequence, even if we opted for different case. The image shows the classic artaba-symbol, a circlet with a short horizontal above, but this is not the one used for the artaba at that time. A more natural reading would be ου, that is, καμηλίου. For the construction, cf. SPP XX 211.3 (6th/7th c.; ‘ν/νι’ *ed. pr.*) (ὑπὲρ) ναύλ(ου) καμήλ(ων) ξα.

104. W.Chr. 325

This is a revised version of a petition of 140, first printed as P.Lond. III 846. Wilcken had recorded the corrections in *APF* 4 (1908) 547f., where he noted: ‘Wenn also ἐπηρεάζοντ[ές] μοι zu schreiben ist, so muß notwendig das folgende ἀναδ[ω]σω και, dessen Lesung G[renfell &] H[unt] bestätigen, verschrieben sein für ἀναδεδώκασι.’ Wilcken printed: ⁶ ἐπηρεάζοντ[ές] μοι ⁷ ἀναδ[ω]σω και μου τὸ ⁸ ὄνομα εἰς πρεσβυτερίαν. This would be an extraordinary misspelling in an otherwise correct text, but the image reveals that what Wilcken thought as the intended form is the true reading. The letter after the lacuna is delta, with the right-hand part raised high. Then, κα is followed by a sinusoid that descends below the line. This should be read as ci, as in εὐεργεσία[ς] in l. 16. I juxtapose clippings of the two passages:



The text should now run ἀναδ[ε]δώκασι μου τὸ ὄνομα κτλ.

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⁵ The text begins π(αρά) Ὀλυμπίου, followed by a dot at mid height (a μέση στιγμή); the editor printed a dash, noting that it was on the original, but this must be an illusion created by the photograph.