



Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten
Peter Kruschwitz
Fritz Mitthof
Bernhard Palme

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I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Carmelina A r i o s t o — Antonello V i l e l l a — Norbert Z i m m e r - m a n n: Un inedito cippo sepolcrale da Roma (Taf. 1)	1
Andrea B e r n i n i: Due lettere latine frammentarie su papiro (Taf. 2)	5
Chiara C e n a t i: Von der Nekropole in den Kindergarten: Der seltsame Fall von zwei stadtrömischen Grabinschriften in Kärnten (Taf. 3–5)	13
W. Graham C l a y t o r: Public Land in Private Hands: Two Rent Receipts from the Archive of Asoeis and Atammon (Taf. 6–7)	25
Denis F e i s s e l: Invocations chrétiennes à Éphèse (Taf. 8–9)	35
Aikaterini K o r o l i — Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s: The King, the Palace, the Circus, and a Notary. A New Late Antique Literary Papyrus (Taf. 10)	47
Sophie K o v a r i k: Der herakleopolitische Notar Paulos: Ein Kompromiss aus dem umayyadischen Ägypten — der bisher späteste griechische Vertrag (Taf. 11–12)	55
Peter K r u s c h w i t z: Five Feet Under: Exhuming the Uses of the Pentameter in Roman Folk Poetry	71
Adrian C. L i n d e n - H i g h: Testamentary Manumission for Slaves of Roman Imperial Soldiers	99
Nino L u r a g h i: Herodot und das Ende der Perserkriege. Ein Beitrag zur Tendenz der Historien	127
Bülent Ö z t ü r k: New Inscriptions from Karadeniz Ereğli Museum IV (Herakleia Pontike and Tieion/Tios) (Taf. 13–18)	143
Andrea R a g g i: [<i>C. Iu</i>]lius Menodorus, il primo tribuno militare dalla provincia d'Asia (Taf. 19)	157
Peter S i e w e r t: Eine epigraphische „Werkstatt“ des 6. Jh. v. Chr. in Olympia? (Taf. 20–22)	171
Søren Lund S ø r e n s e n — Klaus G e u s: A Macedonian King in Arabia. Seleukos IV in Two Old South Arabian Inscriptions. A corrected synchronism and its consequences	175
Christian W a l l n e r: Die Inschriften des Museums in Yozgat — Addenda (2) (Taf. 23–28)	181
Uri Y i f t a c h: A Petition to the <i>Iuridicus</i> from the Archive of Ptolemaios Son of Diodoros (147 CE, Theadelphia) (Taf. 29–31)	195
Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXXIII (<Korr. Tyche> 950–988)	219
Adnotationes epigraphicae XI (<Adn. Tyche> 116–118)	241

Buchbesprechungen 251

Frank D a u b n e r, *Makedonien nach den Königen (168 v. Chr.–14 n. Chr.)* (Historia. Einzelschriften 251), Stuttgart: Steiner 2018 (K. Freitag: 251) — Luis Ángel H i d a l g o M a r t í n, Jonathan E d m o n d s e n, Juana M á r q u e z P é r e z, José Luis R a m í r e z S á d a b a, *Nueva epigrafía funeraria de Augusta Emerita. Tituli sepulcrales urbanos (ss. I–VII) y su contexto arqueológico (NEFAE)* (Memoria I. Monografías arqueológicas de Mérida), Mérida 2019 (S. Tantimonaco: 253) — Stephen M i t c h e l l, David F r e n c h, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra). Vol. II: Late Roman, Byzantine and other Texts* (Vestigia 72), München 2019 (Ch. Wallner: 257).

Tafeln 1–32

DEDICATVM

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OCTOGENARIIS

BEMERKUNGEN ZU PAPHYRI XXXIII

<Korr. Tyche>

950.–966. Notes on Oxyrhynchite Toponyms¹

950. P.Giss. I 115: villages and pagi

P.Giss. I 115 descr. is an account of grain due from Oxyrhynchite villages. It is organised by pagi, the new territorial subdivisions of the nome instituted soon after 307/308. Parts of two columns are preserved; of the first, only some amounts in artabas are extant. The editor reported the names of some villages in the second column and transcribed lines 1–9. For the villages in the 9th and 10th pagi, a number of corrections and new supplements can be proposed. I give a full transcription of lines 7–21, which completes the editor’s partial transcription of the second column:²

	θ' πάγου	[
		ὠγ	[
		Ἰσίου Κάτω	[
10	Ἰβιῶνος	Ἄ[μμωνίου					
	Ἰ[σίου	Ἰρύφ[ωνος					
	Ψόβθεω[ς						
	..υ..λ..[
	Τακ[ον]α	[
15	ι' πάγο[υ						
	Σέσφθ[α						
	Τ	[
	Μ	[
	.	[
20	Θ[ώλθεω						
	..[

9 Ἰσίου Κάτω [: Ἰσίου Κερκ[*ed. pr.* Isieion Kato was in the northern part of the former Lower toparchy, which suits a location in the 9th pagus.

¹ I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for its support of my research through a Philip Leverhulme Prize and thank Nikolaos Gonis for reading a final draft.

² Online image: https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/GiePapyri_schrift_00005730. I am grateful to Barbara Zimmermann at the Universitätsbibliothek Gießen for providing me with a higher-resolution scan. Two further small corrections to the preceding lines: in 3 I read μ instead of μ̄ (there is a trace of an additional letter after μ) and in 4 ξδ instead of ξα.

10 Ἴβιῶνος Ἀ[μμωνίου: Ἴβιῶν Κ[ed. pr. (Ἴβιῶνος Κ[PN). This village is known to have lain in the former Lower toparchy. It is last attested in SB XVI 13035.5 (341).

13 . . . υ . . . λ . . . [: Κουψβεμ(?) ed. pr. The surface is highly damaged, and the editor's improbable reading cannot be corroborated.

14 Τακ[ον]α [. The location of this village in the 9th pagus is confirmed by an unpublished text in the Oxyrhynchus collection at Oxford. Takona was not far from Psobthis (12).

17 T [: possible villages in the former Lower toparchy include Ταλαω, Τυχινφαγων, and Τυχινψαλβω, but the latter is not attested after the early second century, and Talao was close to Sinary = modern Šinara, which is too far south to have been in the 10th pagus.

18 Μ[: possibilities include Μουχιναρυω and Μουχινταλη. The former was near Tholthis (20); cf. P.Hib. I 53 (246 BCE) and SB VI 9617 (129).

19 [: υ[or π[.

20 Θ[ώλθεωσ; known to have lain in the 10th pagus from PSI I 90.5 (364); see BL X 236.

951. P.Giss. I 57.10: Abak()?

In this administrative letter from the late 6th or early 7th century, the addressee is identified on the docket as Φοιβάμμωνι βοηθ(ῶ) Αβακ(). The editor considered him to be the *boethos* of a village, interpreting Αβακ() as a toponym, but the contents of the letter do not point to a rural context and suggest that both sender and addressee operated at a higher level. There is, furthermore, no known village anywhere in Egypt that begins with these letters. The word is to be resolved as ἀβάκ(τις): Phoebammon was an *adiutor* of the official called *ab actis*, on whom see F. Mitthof, CPR XXIII 32.16 n. He presumably belonged to the *officium* of the *praeses Arcadiae*, since the letter mentions Oxyrhynchus. The letter must have been sent from elsewhere, perhaps Heracleopolis.

952. P.Col. VII 191.12: Agathammonos

This brief list of names of uncertain purpose is assigned to the mid-fourth century. In lines 11–12, the editors read ἀποὺ γῆς τῆς | κώμ(ης) Ἀγαθάμμωνος. They do not offer a translation of this puzzling passage but record Ἀγαθάμμων in the index of personal names. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* (Pap.Flor. IX), Firenze 1981, 23 = BL VIII 88, comments: “che si tratta di una indicazione locale (come ai rr. 3 e 8) sembra probabile: non è quindi da escludere l'ipotesi di una κώμη Ἀγαθάμμωνος.” To date an Oxyrhynchite village of this name remains unattested. For the beginning of line 11 at least, I propose reading the personal name Ἀπούτης.³ A variant of it is attested in an Oxyrhynchite text of the fifth century, P.Harr. I 87.2 (440) Ἀπουτίου.⁴ I remain puzzled, however, by what follows. The editors' reading seems secure, and the indentation of line 12 shows that this is not a new entry with a personal name.

³ <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;7;191/images>.

⁴ For instances from other nomes, see TM Nam 27203 (www.trismegistos.org/name/27203). P.Mert. I 34v.7 should be deleted: see BL VII 104.

953. PSI I 60.36: Akakiou *epoikion*

PSI I 60 (595) is a receipt for the replacement part of irrigation machinery addressed to the Apion estate by an individual ἀπὸ ἐποι[κίου] Ἀκακίου (12). The designation ἐποίκιον implies that Akakiou was an estate-dependent hamlet. The editor did not report or read the docket on the back, but R. Pintaudi, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Ἀκακίου/Λευκίου: Rilettura di toponimi*, AnPap 3 (1991) 143 = BL X 235, subsequently read it as + χειρογραφή(α) Μαρθίου υἱοῦ Σερήγου ἀπὸ κώμη(ς) Ἀκακίου μικροῦ ἐργά(του) ἐνό(ς), removing the doubts about the reading of the toponym (cf. P.Oxy. LV 3804.211 n.). ἀπὸ κώμη(ς), however, jars, and the authors' explanation that "lo scambio tra κώμη ed ἐποίκιον ... è normale in questo periodo" is inaccurate. The online image favours the expected ἐποικ(ίου).⁵ The abbreviated letter is a tall upright potentially compatible with both eta and kappa, but the diagonal stroke indicating the abbreviation would be more suitable for kappa. What the authors transcribe as the initial kappa of κώμη(ς) can also be interpreted as the top of epsilon. The vestiges of the letters in the middle are negligible.

954. PSI VII 799.27: Aletou?

This document of the third century is a list of names arranged by day of the month, with filiation, age, place of origin or residence, and occasionally occupation. At line 27 the editor read ἀ]π[ὸ] Ἀλέτου as a supralinear addition, commenting "(se letto bene): nome di villaggio non altrimenti noto". The editor's π is not easy to make out: I see rather ρο on the online image.⁶ There is then no reason to assume that the following word is a toponym. It is more likely to be ἀλέτου < ἀλέτης, "grinder (of grain)"; cf. BGU XIV 2425.24 (Heracl.; 1st c. BCE), P.Oxy. XXIV 2421.31 (c. 312–323; BL VIII 257), XLIX 3169.91 (c. 200–212; BL XIII 161), PSI Congr. XXI 12.ii.32, v.6, 7 (Oxy.; 261). It is unclear to me how this supralinear addition fits with the previous or following line, but it may be noted that elsewhere, too, occupations were added subsequently at awkward places (19 ἀλιεύς, 24 ὀνηλ(άτης)).

955. P.Wash.Univ. II 84.12: Apelle

In this Apionic account of the later sixth century (BL XIII 262), the editor reads the village in line 12 as Ἀπιλλᾶ, which she considered "probably identical" with the well-known Ἀπελλῆ. "If so, the spelling appears to be unique." The final letter, however, seems to be a tall upright and therefore eta: Ἀπιλλῆ.⁷ This seems to have been the original reading of the editor, since she refers to it in this form in her note on line 2.

⁵ <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;1;60>.

⁶ <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;7;799>.

⁷ <http://omeka.wustl.edu/omeka/items/show/8088>.

956. SB I 1989(i): Bakin?

SB I 1989(i) is an undated fragment of a jar from Oxyrhynchus inscribed with the name of the *chorion* Θακιν. Recently, an Oxyrhynchite hamlet called Βακιν has surfaced in P.Bagnall 33.8, 12, 14 (496), which has in turn allowed the reading of the final letter of the village Βακιν in PSI VIII 953.13 (567/568; BL V 125).⁸ Could Θακιν have been a misreading of Βακιν? PSI 953 shows that Bakin was a viticultural site, and it has been argued that the toponyms on the pots published in SB 1989 refer to vineyards.⁹ The location of this and other pottery fragments described by Grenfell and Hunt is unfortunately unknown, so that the original reading cannot be verified.

957. P.Oxy. XII 1434.24: Idy()?

In this report by a village scribe concerning tax remissions, line 24 was read as [Ἰ]δυ() λβ' ξδ', (γίνονται) α δ' ις' ξδ', Ἰδυ() [λβ' ξδ']. The editors expressed doubts about both the reading and the interpretation of the beginning of the line: “the papyrus has δ, with ιδ repeated later ... the horizontal line apparently represents υ, as it does certainly in l. 19 κατεξυ(σμένης), and probably in l. 15 αὐ(τῶ) and l. 25 [ἀρ]γυ(ρικῶν) ναυ(βίου), and perhaps l. 26 [να]υ(βίου?). [Ἰ]δυ() or [.]δυ() is regarded by us as a new place-name; but the repetition of Ἰδυ() is uncertain, and the fractions at the end of l. 23 may have been δ'λ'β', in which case 1 21/64 arurae in l. 24 refer to the whole amount, not to the two Psobthis items [in l. 23] only.” In view of all these uncertainties, it seems unfounded to assume that [.]δυ() is a village name, and nothing in fact requires the presence of one here. All I can confirm on an archival image is]δ; the supposed Ἰδυ() further in the line is indeed highly “uncertain” and virtually illegible.

958. PSI VII 782.1: Kissonos

The village-name Κισσῶνος in PSI III 165.4 (441/442; BL VIII 393) was corrected to Κισσῶνου in P.Oxy. XVI 1911.72–75 n. = BL VII 232 on the basis of the reading Κισσῶνου in P.Oxy. XVI 1911.74, 79, 82 (557). J. R. Rea, P.Oxy. LV 3804.48, 151–153 n. = BL IX 190, 312, rightly corrected both instances back to Κισσῶνος. The only doubtful remaining instance is PSI VII 782.1 (340/341), where Pruneti, *I centri* 85 = BL VIII 401, suggested reading Κισσῶλογ or Κισσῶλογ in place of the editor's Κισσ The online image does not rule out Κισσῶνος; the trace of the final letter is minimal and faint.¹⁰ The Oxyrhynchite provenance of the document, however, is not completely certain, and the designation χωρίον probably does not refer to a settlement.

⁸ The first half of the final nu is visible on the online image: <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;8;953>.

⁹ See T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt*, Ann Arbor 2012, 43.

¹⁰ <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;7;782>.

959. P.Oxy. XXIV 2415.27–28: not Megalou Choriou

P.Oxy. XXIV 2415 = P.Mich. XX App. B(2) (4th c.; BL XIII 158) is an account of freights of various ships with the names and provenance of their skippers. At lines 27–28, the editors print ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Χωρίου, noting that the reading is “doubtful”. This is the name of an Oxyrhynchite hamlet otherwise attested only in the sixth century. The origin of the skippers in this account, however, is always a nome or a region (Elearchia) rather than a city or village, which throws further doubt on the reading. A reinspection of the original shows that one should read ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἐρμιοπολ(ίτου).

960. P.Oxy. I 43v iv.4 and P.Oxy. XLVIII 3428.5: Mytron

P.Oxy. I 43v = W.Chr. 474, dating from some time after 295, is a list of guards posted to different areas of Oxyrhynchus and provides a valuable overview of the city’s topography. In the fourth line of the fourth column, a guard is said to be stationed πρ(ὸς) τῷ Μύτρωνι, an otherwise unattested locality. Wilamowitz suspected that the true reading is λουτρῶνι, “bath-house” (W.Chr. 474 ad loc.), but a check of the papyrus (British Library inv. no. 748) confirms the editors’ original reading. The place has now resurfaced in P.Oxy. XLVIII 3428.5 (4th c.), which names a πραγματευτής ἐν τῷ Μύτρων (sic). The editor commented: “with τῷ understand ἐποικίῳ, κτήματι, or a similar word. The locality was not known before.” The preposition ἐν, however, does not necessarily imply that this was a rural settlement. It is likely to be identical to the area or building in the city attested by P.Oxy. I 43v iv.4.

961. P.Oxy. IV 742.17: Nekle

The address on the back of this letter of 2 BCE refers to a place read as εἰς Νέκλη. Pruneti, *I centri* 113 = BL VIII 237, noted that “la lettura non è certa; tra l’altro, in base a un controllo sull’originale, potrebbe anche essere Νεισλη (Manfredi)”. In fact, the online image confirms the editors’ original reading.¹¹ It is not certain, however, that the toponym refers to an Oxyrhynchite settlement, since the letter could have been addressed to someone in another nome. Might it be identical to Heracleopolite Νοκλη (TM Geo 6035)?

962. P.Oxy. XVI 2032.51: Nesos Lachanias

In this account of the Apion estate, dating from 540/541 (BL VI 105), line 51 mentions a money payment π(αρά) Παμουθίῳ βοηθ(ῶ) αρμ() Νήσου Λαχανίας. The next few lines (52–54) list payments to various sailors. On the basis of a reinspection, I suggest reading ὄρμ(ου) in place of αρμ(). What appears to be a connecting stroke between ο and ρ is in fact a continuation of the sinusoidal abbreviation mark after βοηθ^ο. Nesos Lachanias is known to have had a harbour from P.Oxy. LV 3805.35 (after 566) ὑ(περ) πάκτου τοῦ ὄρμου Νήσου Λαχανίας. In P.Amh. II 149.5 (6th c.), the village is said to

¹¹ http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=papyrus_1541_f001v.

be situated across from (πέραν) Oxyrhynchus, “which probably means that it lay just east of Oxyrhynchus on the opposite bank of the Bahr Yusuf” (P.Oxy. LV 3805.35 n.).

963. P.Oxy. LXII 4351.20: Pakerky

On the docket of this contract from the late sixth century, the origin of the contracted parties is given as τ]ῶν ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Πακέρκη. A consultation of the original suggests that it is easier to read Πακερκυ, the usual spelling of this village in papyri of the sixth century. It occurs in 8 out of 11 documents where the ending of the toponym is preserved or not abbreviated. The only instances of the spelling with eta in this period are P.Iand. II 20.3, P.Oxy. XVI 1897.6 Παπερκη (*sic*) (the spelling Πακερκυ appears in line 11), and P.Ross.Georg. V 12B r.2, all assigned to the late sixth or early seventh century; the readings are verifiable on images.

964. P.Lips. I 113.6: Petne

BL I 215 wrongly corrects Πετνη in P.Lips. I 113.6 (127; BL X 96) to Πατνη(.). Πετνη is in fact clear on the online image, and there is no abbreviation.¹²

965. P.Oxy. XXIV 2411.9: Pinaua

In the incomplete first column of this petition (c. 173/174), the conjectural suggestion by G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs*, Cairo 1987, 136 = BL IX 195, to read περὶ δὲ τὴν Αὔα[σιν in line 9 instead of περὶ δὲ Πινάα is not supported by the online image of the papyrus. Pinaua has not given up the ghost then, but it is unclear whether it was an Oxyrhynchite village.

966. PSI XII 1231.7: Sinary

In ZPE 170 (2009) 170 (14 n.), I corrected the reading of the village name Σιναχ in P.Oxy. II 348.14 (late 1st c.) to Σιναρυ. “A village by the name of Σιναχ has been otherwise read only in PSI XII 1231.7 (274), where it is designated a κόμη and is not assigned to a toparchy; but this reading is probably based on that of P.Oxy. 348 descr. (to which the editors refer) and is thus open to suspicion. An image is unfortunately not available for checking the reading” (ibid.). An online image is now accessible and shows that one should again read Σιναρυ in place of Σιναχ.¹³ In the same note I suggested that Καλλικράτους in PSI VIII 897.66, 88 (93), part of the name of a *kleros* in the territory of Sinary, “is either a scribal mistake for Καλλιστράτου [attested in P.Oxy. II 348.15 and XLVII 3365.34 = P.Coll. Youtie I 65] or an editorial misreading”. The online image confirms the reading Καλλικράτ[ους] in line 88 at least, so that this was likely a scribal slip.¹⁴

Amin BENAÏSSA

¹² https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_schrift_00001130.

¹³ <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;12;1231>.

¹⁴ <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;8;897>.

967. SB I 4455. The Decian *Libellus* from Philadelphia

This was the second Decian libellus published and remains the only example issued to residents of Philadelphia.¹⁵ Karl Wessely's *editio princeps* appeared in 1894;¹⁶ his *editio secunda*, published with a plate in 1906,¹⁷ was printed with slight modification in the first volume of the *Sammelbuch*, which is the standard text.¹⁸ The applicant's names and title were read as follows (ll. 3–5):

παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίων Σύρου καὶ Πασβείου τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Δημητρίας καὶ Σαραπιάδος
γυναικῶν ἡμῶν ἐξωπλειτῶν.

At the bottom of the papyrus, we find a subscription of the two male applicants, written on their behalf because they are illiterate (ll. 12–13):

Ἀὐρήλ(ιος) Σύρος καὶ Πασβῆς ἐπιδεδώκ(αμεν).
Ἰσίδωρος ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτ(ῶν) ἀγρα(μμάτων).

The name of the second *libellaticus*, read as Πασβείου in the genitive in line 2 and Πασβῆς in the nominative in line 12, finds no parallel in either form. The image in the online catalogue of the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* presents an opportunity for correction.¹⁹



SB I 4455.3

¹⁵ The first was BGU I 287 = W.Chr. 124. For an analysis of the corpus of *libelli*, see P. Schubert, *On the Form and Content of the Certificates of Pagan Sacrifice*, JRS 106 (2016) 172–198, with earlier literature; to Schubert's list of texts, add W. G. Claytor, *A Decian Libellus at Luther College (Iowa)*, Tyche 30 (2015) 13–18 and P.Mich. inv. 4462g, the bottom-left corner of another Theadelphian *libellus* with an account on the back (unpublished, image accessible through Michigan APIS: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-13159/4462GR.TIF>). For the context and motivations of Decius' empire-wide order to sacrifice, see J. Rives, *The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire*, JRS 89 (1999) 135–154 and B. Bleckmann, *Zu den Motiven der Christenverfolgung des Decius*, in: K.-P. John et al. (edd.), *Deleto paene imperio. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 2006, 57–71.

¹⁶ K. Wessely, *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Classe* 30 (1894), No. 1, 3–9.

¹⁷ K. Wessely, *Le plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*, Paris 1906, no. 4, 24–25 (reprinted Paris [1946], 118–119), with Plate II.7.

¹⁸ No corrections are recorded in the BL (BL II.2, 117 notes a translation).

¹⁹ <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00000835> (accessed 10 October, 2020).

Πανiv- can be read instead of the editor's Πασβει-. The final stroke of the first nu, which is slightly smudged, hooks to the right (as does the second nu) and is joined by the end of iota, which gave the impression of β. The following nu is perfectly clear. The rest of the line is damaged and is best revisited after consulting the other example of the name, written in the hand of the subscriber.



SB I 4455.12: Σύρος καὶ Πανίνουθις ἐπιδεδόκ(αμεν)

Πανiv- is once again clear and here continues Πανινούθις (read Πανινούθης),²⁰ a rare name attested a few times in Philadelphia, albeit two centuries earlier.²¹ The name leaves little room for the verb, but the writer seems to have squeezed it in: ἐπι-δεδόκ(αμεν). Returning then to line 3, we can read Πανινούθου, eliminating the editor's article, which is unnecessary.

The brothers Syros and Paninouthis and their respective wives Demetria and Sarapias are all described as ἐξωπλιῖται, a term that first appeared in this text and was later explained by Youtie as referring to undertakers.²² Drawing on Youtie's analysis, Gascou recognized ἀλλόφυλοι as an equivalent term, linked through its emphasis on the alterity of funerary professionals,²³ although Bagnall has shown that the νεκροτάφοι of Kysis (who are also called ἐξωπλιῖται and ἀλλόφυλοι) were actually well integrated into local society.²⁴ Half a century later, we meet another pair of funerary workers in Philadelphia, the ἀλλόφυλοι Hatres and Isas.²⁵

At the time of Wessely's *editio princeps* in 1894, the libellus was the first published documentary papyrus that could be traced to Philadelphia.²⁶ Its precise date of accession is unknown,²⁷ but if it was part of the Fayum finds of the 1880s, as seems likely, the

²⁰ As implied by the genitive in l. 12 (written, however, by a different hand).

²¹ TM Nam 7287; the Philadelphia examples are found in SB XVI 12737.v.5; *P.Princ.* I 14.iii.18; *P.Mich.* XII 642.i.5 and 11, all from the Nemesion archive. For an onomastic survival in Philadelphia on the Greek side, see Clarysse, *Korr. Tyche* 822 on the name Stratippos.

²² H. C. Youtie, *Notes on O.Mich. I*, TAPA 71 (1940) 623–659 at 650–657.

²³ J. Gascou, *Les ΑΛΛΟΦΥΛΟΙ*, REG 110 (1997) 285–294.

²⁴ *P.Nekr.*, pp. 7–13.

²⁵ For a discussion of this archive (TM Arch 261), see W. G. Claytor, *Funerary Workers and Village Society: Notes on the Archive of the Allophyloi Hatres and Isas*, in preparation.

²⁶ The first papyrus from Philadelphia published was a topography of Troy, edited by J. Nicole in 1893 (LDAB 1586 = M-P³ 1204); the verso contains a fragmentary letter mentioning Philadelphia, which was edited by P. Schubert, *Philadelphie. Un village égyptien en mutation entre le II^e et le III^e siècle ap. J.-C.*, Basel 2007, 139–142 (TM 133455).

²⁷ The inventory number of the piece indicates that it belongs to the “Alter Bestand” (acquisitions before 1899), and it was obviously acquired some time before Wessely's *editio princeps* in 1894, but no specific information is found in the inventory book of the Papyrussammlung. My thanks to Bernhard Palme for checking the records for me.

document predates the first major extraction of papyri from the *kôm* of Philadelphia around 1892.²⁸ Before this find, only a handful of wooden mummy labels mentioning Philadelphia were known,²⁹ in addition to portraits extracted from the necropolis. Given the context of these finds from the late 1880s, it is a reasonable assumption that the papyrus was also found in the necropolis of Philadelphia, where, after all, the funerary workers who were issued the *libellus* worked and may have lived.

W. Graham CLAYTOR

968.–977. SPP III minima

968. SPP III 288

The papyrus preserves a receipt for rent, which begins ἐδόθη(η) δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ Ἄππα Κύρου ν(ο)τ(αρίου) ὑπὲρ ἐνοικ(ίου) οἰκ(ίας) τῆ(ς) ἀγί(ας) Φιλοπ(ονίας) δι[.](). It was assigned to ‘s. V–VI’, and nothing was said about its provenance. Its edition follows nos. 277–287, receipts from Oxyrhynchus of the sixth and early seventh centuries, which begin ἐδόθη(η) δ(ιὰ).

Inspection of the online image shows that the hand is of the seventh century, and that there is no lacuna after δι, but a tiny omicron with ink smudges above and below. I propose to read Διός. A confraternity of this name has been attested in the Heracleopolite P.Worp 35.10f. (596) τῆς ἀγίας μεγάλης | φιλοπον[ίας] καλουμένης Διός. If this is the same φιλοπονία, the absence of μεγάλης or καλουμένης may be due the nature of the document, which favours brevity. Its format, very similar to Oxyrhynchite receipts of this date, may be explained by the close relationship of Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus in late antiquity.

969. SPP III 376

One of the witnesses to this seventh-century Hermopolite lease is the son of μακαρίου Παμουθο() (l. 7). A check of the image yields a different name: Κολλούθου.

970. SPP III 377

This is the lower left-hand corner of a document, edited as follows:

λέγω δὴ ὑπὲρ κ[αρ]πῶν τῆς π[α]ρ[ούσης] ἐν(δικτίωνος)
 ἕκτον ῥυπαρὸν κ[αὶ] σ[ίτου] ἀρτάβης μιᾶς
 Ἐπεὶ κς ἀρχ(ῆ) τῆ(ς) αὐτ(ῆς) ἐν(δικτίωνος) † δ(τ') [έμοῦ]

The origin of the papyrus was said to be ‘angeblich Hermopol[ites]’, presumably on the basis of acquisition information reconstructed by Wessely. However, the

²⁸ On this find, see Schubert (n. 26) 26–30. Based on published material, Vienna does not appear to have acquired papyri from this find and has very few Philadelphia papyri in general.

²⁹ Listed by Wessely (n. 16) 4–5, n. 1; reprinted as *SB I* 1214, 2052 and 2054 (*ed. pr.* in the year 1889), 5140–5145 (*ed. pr.* 1892), all in the Vienna collection.

reference to the ἀρχή of an indiction in Epeiph points to the Fayum (cf. *CSBE*² 128), and there are additional indications to support this attribution.

ἕκτον ῥυπαρόν in l. 2 can only refer to money, as it is followed by a quantity of wheat. It will be one-sixth of a solidus. The grammatical gender of ῥυπαρόν is probably determined by the noun that it qualifies rather than by the fraction, and perhaps one νόμισμα was mentioned at the end of l. 1; the papyrus may have had something similar to SPP III².2 155.4 ἐν ἕκτον ῥυπαρόν). The use of the term ῥυπαρόν has been shown to be exclusive to the Fayum; see B. Palme, P.Harrauer 60 introd., pp. 238f., who also noted its occurrence in allegedly Hermopolite documents that should rather be considered Arsinoite.³⁰ It is also relevant that the phrase λέγω δὴ ὑπέρ in l. 1 seems peculiar to Arsinoite documents; see SPP III 378.2, and (with the addition of κα ὑπέρ before ὑπέρ) P.Gascou 41.4f., P.Prag. I 65.5, SPP III².1 22.3.

971. SPP III 380

Lines 2–4 of this account were read as follows:

2] εἰς μελιτυ()ξέστ()φ ζς
3] ἀπό μελιτυ()ξίστ(α) β
4] φ ζ η Κεντασι ψη

The sign that gave the editor difficulty in lines 2 and 4 is ζ, a number. There are 566 *sextarii* of honey mentioned in l. 2 (μέλιτ(ος) ξέστ(α) φζς), and 568 (φζη) in l. 4. The difference between the two numbers is 2, and 2 *sextarii* of honey are recorded in l. 3, though ἀπό indicates a subtraction. But the reading of what precedes ψη evades me.

972. SPP III 401

What remains of the first line of this text was presented thus:

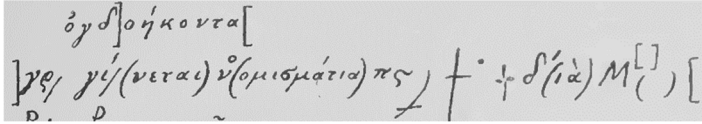
] καλουμ(έν) Αλει;

The online image shows that first two words should be read as] καλουμ(έν) Αλει; the crossbar of ε is intersected by a tall ι, which gave the (false) appearance of ψ.

973. SPP III 404

The first two lines of this fragment were edited as follows:

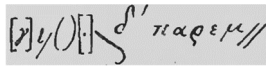
³⁰ One of them is SPP III 446, which also contains a date in Epeiph in the ἀρχή of an indiction (cf. BL XII 265). One other is SPP III 155; its re-edition in SPP III².2 added a further argument for its Arsinoite provenance (see 3 n.), but did not dismiss the original attribution to the Hermopolite nome. Another putative Hermopolite exception, P.Berl.Zill. 5, relies on a misreading, now corrected on the Papyrological Navigator.



For the end of l. 2, I propose to read νομίσματα ὄγδ]οήκοντα [ἕξ κεράτια εἴκοσι ἦμισυ τέ]τ[α]ρ(τον), γί(ν.) νο(μ.) πς (κερ.) κ δ' μό(να) (the line division is uncertain and thus not indicated). This is a large sum, 86 solidi 20³/₄ carats; it may be a payment from a fiscal district.

974. SPP III 412

It is a pity that this tax document of the late seventh or rather early eighth century is too fragmentary for the context to be recovered. The edition does not report a short line at the foot of the papyrus, centred in relation to the text above, which reads γί(νονται) νο(μίσματα) δ. This is the summary added to tax demands (*entagia*) or receipts; the reference to an ἀπόδειξις in l. 3 suits the former. The sum paid was first mentioned at the end of l. 1, read as follows:



The papyrus has γί(νονται) νο(μίσματα) δ δέσαρε (l. τέσσαρα) μ(όνα).

975. SPP III 421

At the beginning of l. 4, the edition has] κ ε ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος), but one word was omitted; read (*month*)] κ ε ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ἐνάτης.

976. SPP III 424

The first line of this text was read as] τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) Πλε() ὁμολογ[ῶ ὁ]φείλειν καὶ χρεωστῆν λόγῳ καθαρ[. There is a tiny dot over π: I suggest reading πόλε(ως). ὁμολογ[ῶ begins the body of this short contract, preceded by a description of the contracting parties, one of whom comes ‘from the same city’ as the/one other.

977. SPP III 428

Only line ends survive of this document, assigned to the sixth century. It involved a grandee (name and function lost) represented by his *chartularius* (1, δι]ὰ³¹ τοῦ περιβλ(έ)π(του) αὐτοῦ χαρτουλαρίου), and presumably thirty-three men (2, ?τρ]ιάκοντα τρεῖς; cf. 3, οἱ προγεγραμμέ(νοι) ἄνδρες). It refers to 100 artabas of wheat (3, σίτου ἄρτ(άβαι) ἑκατόν), and is dated to Epeiph 23. The endorsement, not transcribed in the edition, reveals the text’s identity:

³¹ δι]ὰ (]a ed. pr.) is a correction that entered silently into the DDbDP version of the text.

+ πρόσγραφ(ον) ρ̄ [

A πρόσγραφον in the sixth century was a receipt for the loading of the *embole*; see F. Mitthof, CPR XXIII, p. 216. This would suit the date in Epeiph, not long after the harvest, but here we probably have something else. BGU I 304 (647), called a πρόσγραφον in the body of the document and the endorsement, is addressed to a Heracleopolite pagarch δι' ὑμῶν Κοσμά τοῦ περιβλ(έ)π(του) | αὐτοῦ χαρ(του)λ(αρίου) (4f.). The text refers to 20 artabas of wheat supplied to a bread-maker, to be turned into bread for soldiers whenever the authorities wish (17f., ὅτε|δήποτε βουληθεήτε). This is close to what remains of l. 5 here, βουληθεήτε ἀναμφιβόλ(ωζ). SPP III 428 must then be a document of the same kind as BGU I 304, and of the same date: the handwriting is compatible with a mid seventh-century date. The role of these thirty-three men is less clear; perhaps a village community that supplied the wheat?

Nikolaos GONIS

978.–986. Notes on Papyri from Early Roman Alexandria

In this installment I limit myself to observations concerning the first batch of papyri published by Wilhelm Schubart in BGU IV 1050–1059.³² Readings have been checked with the help of the scans available in the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (BGU IV 1050–1051, 1057–1059) and the online International Photographic Archive of Papyri (BGU IV 1054–1056). BGU IV 1052 is lost. English translations are available online (https://classics.uc.edu/users/vanminnen/ancient_alexandria/).

978. BGU IV 1050

In line 3 of this marriage contract (undated), μετά is not crossed out. The editor used [[]] to indicate superfluous matter, what we would nowadays enclose in { }. At the end of line 9, Meyer (Jur.Pap. 19) expected some form of τετάρτη (the weight, ca. 1.75 grams³³). Inspection of the scan allows us to read τετα(ρτῶν), with the *alpha* written above the second tau. The golden earrings are listed by weight, while the clothes that are also part of the dowry are listed by value.³⁴ The clothes might wear out, and their current value would have to be refunded in case of a divorce. That would not apply to the golden earrings. There is also a certain amount of money that changes hands in this marriage contract.

There is no need to add <ἐφ' ᾧ> before τὸν Διόνυσον in line 11, as Mitteis (Chrest. 286) suggested, because the text continues with the mutual agreements in a series of

³² For BGU IV 1053, see P. van Minnen, *An Antichretic Loan from Early Roman Alexandria Revisited (BGU IV 1053)*, ZPE 199 (2016) 143–154. Despite the title I gave to this article, BGU IV 1053 is *not* an antichretic loan.

³³ See H. Cuvigny, *Les avatars du chrysous dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine*, BIFAO 103 (2003) 111–131.

³⁴ On clothes in dowries see most recently K. Droß-Krüpe, Y. Wagner, *Kleidung als Mitgift im kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, MDAH 31 (2014) 153–173.

infinitives, all dependent on συγχωροῦσιν in line 5. On the other hand, in line 17 we may add <τῆ Ἰσιδώρα> after τῆς πράξεως γινομένης or at least assume it in translating the text. There is no need to change the tense of θέσθαι in line 24 to θ<ήσ>εσθαι, as Meyer (Jur.Pap. 19) suggested, because these infinitives are mostly present or aorist, rarely future. The aorist is pertinent here, as it denotes the step yet to be taken. The earlier infinitives are either perfect, to denote the result of previous steps (ll. 6–7), or present, to denote ongoing responsibilities (ll. 12–16, 20, 22–24). The additional marriage contract (συγγραφή, not this συγχώρησις) which the couple still has to draw up before the Alexandrian officials called *hierothytai*³⁵ represents a step, not an ongoing responsibility, and the verbs that refer to it are all aorist (l. 26 προείπωσιν; l. 30 κριθῆι; the future passive ἐγγραφήσεται in lines 27–28 is itself derived from aorist passive).³⁶

Below the text (not on the *verso*, as HGV has it) is the draft of a letter (BGU IV 1183 descr.), which is unpublished. On the *verso* (not signaled by the editor or the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank) are two texts in a small hand, both addressed to Protarchos, and both dated to Phaophi of year 26 (September 28–October 27, 5 BC). Since the *recto* is a palimpsest, we cannot quite use 5 BC as a *terminus ante quem* for BGU IV 1050. The date given for this text by HGV, 12/11 BC, is based on a mirage. P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer, Second edition, Revised*, no. 14 thought that there might be a date in a line 31, which is in fact a leftover from an earlier, washed-out text, located at some distance from the bottom of BGU IV 1050 and in any case in the wrong position for a date, and not like ἰθ ἔτους at all. Note that Trismegistos introduces a further error: it equates the erroneous date, 12/11 BC, with year 21 of Augustus. Russo³⁷ dates the text to April, 13 BC, but this is based on the presumed similarity of the hand with that of BGU IV 1054, 1057, and 1059. But I do not think BGU IV 1050 was written in any of the hands that wrote the other texts, and all three were probably written in different hands. U. Wilcken, *Papyrus-Urkunden*, APF 3 (1906) 509–510 claimed BGU IV 1050 and 1052–1059 for Pharmouthi of year 17, based on the presumed similarity of the hands of two of the undated texts (1050 and 1059) with that of one of the dated texts (1057). This seems risky, because many more texts from Alexandria from the reign of Augustus, written in deceptively similar hands, are now available to us, and they date from different years.

979. BGU IV 1051

Line 33 of the edition of this marriage contract (from before April 26, 10 BC) reads [[καὶ]] (read {καὶ}) <σ>τέρεσθαι. The form of καὶ assumed by the editor does not occur elsewhere in the texts from early Roman Alexandria, and the squiggle read as καί is more likely the first curved stroke of sigma with an extra loop going downward from

³⁵ See on these most recently F. Burkhalter, *Les hiérothytes alexandrins: une magistrature grecque dans la capitale lagide*, in: W.V. Harris, G. Ruffini (eds.), *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, Leiden 2004, 99–114.

³⁶ In BGU IV 1098, 42–43 Schubart reads θῆ|σεσθαι, but the scan in the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank allows |θέσθαι, as expected. There is nothing at the end of line 42.

³⁷ S. Russo, *I gioielli nei papiri di età greco-romana*, Firenze 1999, 33.

the end of the stroke. The expected second horizontal stroke of sigma is written above it and connects to the following tau. The verb can therefore be read as στέρεσθαι without the initial sigma enclosed in <>.

980. BGU IV 1052

The papyrus is lost (the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank states that the papyrus is in Warsaw by mistake). In line 20 of the first text, a marriage contract, we may add <τῆ Θεμίω> after τῆς πράξεως γινομένης. In lines 23–24 the wife agrees to . . .]τιλιν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ [τὸν κοινὸν βίον δίκαια. Elsewhere the verb is τηρεῖν or συντηρεῖν. I think we have the latter here, συν]τιλῖν, with the first iota for eta, lambda for rho, and the last iota for epsilon-iota. See also below at BGU IV 1058 for the interchange of lambda for rho in the same verb. The second text, a loan contract, is in the same hand and is most likely from the same day as the first text, April 15, 13 BC, or shortly after.

981. BGU IV 1054

The text is a draft of BGU IV 1055, a loan contract (March 31, 13 BC), in a different hand. In line 8 I prefer ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως to ἀνυπερθέτως, both mentioned in the editor's note. The former is the standard expression in these texts, while ἀνυπερθέτως occurs only once (BGU IV 1167 III 5). In lines 14–15 we should put καὶ ὧν ἐὰν <ἐπενέγκη> πίστεων πασῶν in the text. Note that the scans for BGU IV 1054–1055 are switched at <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk>.

982. BGU IV 1055

In lines 6–7 of this loan contract (March 31, 13 BC) the interpunction has to be corrected: περὶ τῶν διεσταμένων (“Concerning the points at issue,” a leftover from when these *synchoreseis* were real settlements of disputes) goes with συγχωρεῖ.³⁸ The interest-free loan of 64 drachmas will be repaid by daily deliveries of milk, worth four obols each, but in three months this adds up to only 60 drachmas. Presumably, the creditor was satisfied with this, or they did not want to bother with calculating how much the four drachmas worked out if spread out over 90 days (it works out as two *chalkoi* and a bit each day). The *paragraphos* is written below the last two words of the main text, which the second hand added. Exceptionally, the date is therefore not in a line of its own.

983. BGU IV 1056

In lines 6–7 of this loan contract (April 17, 13 BC) the interpunction has to be corrected: περὶ τῶν διεσταμένων goes with συχω[ροῦ]σιν, as in 982. BGU IV 1055 above.

³⁸ See van Minnen, *Antichretic Loan* (n. 32 above) 145.

984. BGU IV 1057

In the lemma among the parallels for the hand it should be BGU IV 1054, not 1055, but as I mentioned above (978. BGU IV 1050), none of these texts is in quite the same hand. BGU IV 1057 consists of a loan contract and an associated indemnity contract (both April 9, 13 BC).

985. BGU IV 1058

Sillis, the rare name of the man hiring the services of a wet-nurse owned by his own mother Philotera, caused the scribe difficulties in line 11 of this wet-nursing contract (March 30, 13 BC). The name also occurs in an inscription from Alexandria (I.Alex.Ptol. 47, 2; II BC). Masson thought that the name was of Phoenician origin, given that three men named Sillis in three inscriptions from Delos (IG 11.2.203, 2; 269 BC), Thessalonica (IG 9.2.1093, 2; III BC), and Kios (Bithynia; IK Kios 71, 1; undated) are from Sidon, Sidon, and Tyre respectively, but compare the rare Greek adjective σίλλος “squint-eyed” (also used as a noun) and the rare name Σύλλαξ.³⁹

In line 15 the ψώμισμα is meant for the baby.⁴⁰ In the transitional phase, from breastmilk to solid food, babies were given morsels of food prechewed by the mother or, as here, the nurse. Likewise, the oil in line 15 should also be taken as meant for the baby, not for consumption, but to be rubbed in or used otherwise on the baby. On this see already the general introduction to C.Pap.Gr. I and the commentary to C.Pap.Gr. I 4, which re-edits BGU IV 1058. Chrétien-Vernicos assumed that these two items were meant for the nurse.⁴¹ See, however, Soranus, *Gyn.* 2.13(82).2.15–17 Ilberg and 34(103).1.16–17 Ilberg (on dripping oil in the baby’s eyes) as well as 2.31(100).1.16–17 Ilberg (on rubbing oil on the baby’s back) and 34(103).1.15–16 Ilberg (on rubbing oil on the baby’s front), and for the *psomisma*, Aristophanes, *Eq.* 714–717.

See also the objections to this of Soranus, *Gyn.* 2.46(115).5.19–20 Ilberg: οἱ γὰρ διὰ τῆς μασήσεως τῆς τροφῆς ψωμισμοὶ διὰ τὴν συμπλοκὴν τοῦ φλέγματος βλαβεροί (“morsels formed through the chewing of the nurse are harmful (for the baby), because they are mixed with phlegm”). Here the oil and the *psomisma* are included in the wages, 12 drachmas a month, totaling 288 drachmas for two years.

In line 32 the subject of the verbs is not expressed. It must therefore be the owner of the slave who is going to nurse the child, not the nurse herself, even if in a practical sense it is the nurse who is going to handle what the owner of the child provides for the child.⁴² In a legal sense it is the owner of the nurse who is receiving it. In lines 32–33 συντηρήσιν was written for συντηρήσειν (see 980. BGU IV 1052 above).

In lines 49–50 συντρόφου in συνχώρησιν περὶ δουλικοῦ παιδίου | συνητρ[ρ]όφου could be the name of another slave child nursed for Sillis by Philotera, but I find it odd

³⁹ O. Masson, *Onomastica graeca selecta 1*, Paris 1990, 280.

⁴⁰ See H. Eideneier, *Psomisma*, *ByzZeit* 57 (1964) 338–339.

⁴¹ G. Chrétien-Vernicos, *Le contrat de nourrice en droit hellénistique: une misthōsis bien particulière*, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 75 (1997) 587–615.

⁴² See B. Adams, *Paramoné und verwandte Texte*, Cologne 1964, 147: “wohl die Sklavin?”

that the Greek would not state more clearly that it is another slave child than the one in the contract that precedes. I therefore think, with Schubart and others, that συντρόφου is the adjective here: the other contract mentioned *pro memoria* in lines 47–50 concerns a child owned by the same owner and nursed by the same nurse. This is neither illegal nor practically impossible: although the nurse is not supposed to suckle a second child (line 31), the other child may well have passed the suckling stage. It would seem legal and practicable to feed a child with morsels of prechewed food while at the same time suckling a younger baby. The nurse here would be handling two children at different stages of their development at the same time.

986. BGU IV 1059

This sale contract for a slave dates from April 7, 13 BC or earlier, not later, as the HGV has it. The text is written on the *recto*. The *verso* was glued onto the *recto* of another papyrus, blank on both sides. The editor calls that combination the *recto* and the side with BGU IV 1059 the *verso*. In the documents from early Roman Alexandria we are not dealing with the remains of one or more *tomoi synkollesimoi*, where *recto* would be glued onto *recto*, but with drafts written on often reused pieces of papyrus, randomly stuck together. In lines 4–5 the interpunctuation has to be corrected: περὶ τῶν διεσταμένων goes with συγχωρεῖ, as in 982. BGU IV 1055 above. In line 17 the scribe starts another genitive absolute, which he then forgets about when he gets to the verb, which is in the indicative (*l. ὄντων*).

The second text is written over a partially washed out, partially still visible text in a large hand. In line 21, what Schubart transcribes as Ἀμμωνίω can also be Ἀπολλωνίω, just a bit more *verschliffen* than Ἀπολλωνίωι in line 29. Lines 28 and following are in the same hand and share some symbols with the text in lines 21–27, and I therefore assume that they are a summary (what Schubart elsewhere calls an *Entwurf*) of a document of which lines 24–27 is a passage. The passage is heavily corrected and clearly a draft. What Schubart transcribes as Μεικενάρου in lines 21 and 26 is in reality Μενάνδρου. In line 22 the otherwise unattested κατατέτεσθαι is in reality καταγειοχέναι, which verb also occurs in lines 25–26. The symbol preceding ψζ in line 24 looks different from the symbols in lines 23 and 27 preceding ριζ. There the symbols may stand for ἄρουραι, while the symbol in line 24 may stand for ἀρτάβαι. In that case the 760 artabas may be the rent on 117 arouras, the rent being very close to 6.5 artabas per aroura (6.5 times 117 equals 760.5). But the text is hard to follow with all the unresolved abbreviations. At any rate, what Schubart read as δι' Ἀγαριστίου in the summary in line 28 should be read as Δίος Ἀριστέου, two common Alexandrian names, and this is then followed by the nominative Ἀλθαιε(ύς).⁴³

Peter van MINNEN

⁴³ Research towards this contribution was made possible by a Loeb Classical Library fellowship.

987. P.Vindob. K 2569 Recto (= CPR IV 114 Recto):
Nomisma zu 22 ½ Keratia

Bei der Erstedition dieses auf dem Recto des koptischen Mietvertrags CPR IV 114 = CPR II 125 (*ed. alt.*: T. S. Richter, JJP 32 [2002] 122–124 Nr. 3; Herm., 7. Jh.) befindlichen Fragments einer griechischen Kaufurkunde in Tyche 22 (2007) 119–122 (Abb. Taf. 3) ist mir entgangen, dass der in Z. 1–2 genannte Geldbetrag sich nicht auf 22 ½ Nomismatia (d. h. Solidi) beläuft, sondern dass eine unbekannte Anzahl von Nomismatia im Münzstandard von 22 ½ Keratien gemeint ist. Es handelt sich somit um einen Solidus-Standard des Typs *νόμισμα ἀπὸ κερατίων*.⁴⁴ Ein wichtiges Indiz hierfür liefert der Genitiv *ἡμίσεως* in Z. 2, der nicht zu *ἡμισυ* zu korrigieren ist, wie von mir in der *ed. pr.* irrtümlich angenommen, sondern die korrekte Form darstellt.⁴⁵ Aus dieser Beobachtung ergibt sich nicht nur eine Neulesung des betreffenden Passus in Z. 1–2 (s. unten), sondern auch ein geringfügig späterer Datierungsansatz für das Dokument. Der Vertrag fällt nicht, wie von mir in der *ed. pr.* angenommen, ins 7. Jh., sondern eher ins späte 7. bzw. frühe 8. Jh. Dies bedeutet, dass auch der sekundäre Mietvertrag auf dem Verso in diese Zeit oder sogar ein wenig später zu datieren ist (Richter, a. O.: 7. Jh.).

Der Solidus zu etwas weniger als 24 Keratien (v. a. zu 23 und 22 ½ Keratien) begegnet in den Papyri zwar vereinzelt schon im 6. Jh., wurde aber erst im 7.–8. Jh. in Ägypten allgemein üblich, auch in privaten Rechtsgeschäften. Dabei scheint der Solidus zu 22 ½ Keratien etwas später Verbreitung gefunden zu haben als derjenige zu 23 Keratien. Tendenziell fallen die Belege für den 23 Keratien-Standard nämlich eher in die erste Hälfte des 7. Jh., während der 22 ½ Keratien-Standard ab der zweiten Hälfte des 7. Jh. vermehrt in Erscheinung tritt; vgl. N. Gonis, Korr. Tyche 803, Tyche 30 (2015), 227–229, bes. 229. So begegnet der Standard zu 22 ½ Keratien unter anderem als reguläre Einheit für Steuerzahlungen im Dossier des Eisenschmieds Patermuthios aus Oberägypten, das hauptsächlich in die 20er und 30er Jahre des 8. Jh. fällt (TM Arch 174); s. T. M. Hickey, K. A. Worp, *The dossier of Patermouthios sidêrourgos: New Texts from Chicago*, BASP 34 (1997) 79–109, bes. 87–92 (= SB XXIV 16019, 4–5; 16020, 3–5; 16021, 2–3; 16030, 3–4; jetzt auch P.Worp. 61, 4); zum Datum der Textgruppe s. jetzt L. Berkes, *Dorfverwaltung und Dorfgemeinschaft*, Wiesbaden 2007, 237–240.

Weitere Zeugnisse für den 22 ½ Keratien-Standard sind: P.Michael. 35, B 3–4 (Oxy., 7. Jh.?). P.Wisc. I 11, 14–16 (Oxy., 646, 661 oder 676); SB I 4727, 7–8 (Ars.?, byz. Zeit); T.Varie 3, 5–6 (Oxy., 669); 8, 5–6 (Oxy., 669); 10, 5 (Oxy., 7. Jh.); P.CtYBR inv. 358, 3–4 (Oxy., 7. Jh.; ed. N. Gonis, *Seventh Century Oxyrhynchite Documents in the Beinecke Library*, ZPE 153 (2005) 170–171 Nr. 3; s. die Bemerkungen von Gonis ebd. im Komm.). Belege in koptischen Urkunden bieten etwa T.Varie 11 = SB Kopt. III 1415 (Herakl. oder Oxy., 7.–8. Jh.) und P.Mon. Apollo I 26, 13 (Herm., 8. Jh.). Dass im Übrigen die Standards zu 23 und 22 ½ Keratien für Steuerzahlungen durchaus

⁴⁴ Ganz selten erscheint auch die alternative Bezeichnung *νόμισμα εἰς κεράτια* x.

⁴⁵ Eine weitere Korrektur an der Fassung der *ed. pr.* betrifft das Wort *ἑκάστων* in Z. 2; in Wirklichkeit ist *ἕκαστο* (*l. ἕκαστον*) zu lesen. Am Wortende ist weder ein Ypsilon noch ein Abkürzungszeichen erkennbar. Das Omikron bindet direkt an das folgende Zeta an.

bereits im 6. Jh. in Gebrauch waren, zeigen BGU II 367, 17–18. 25–26 (Ars., 6. Jh.); P.Oxy. I 126, 15 (Oxy., 572) und P.Oxy. LXXXII 5340, 15 (Oxy., 572); hierzu K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* (Pap. Col. 21), Opladen 1994, 112 Anm. 15.

Der neue Vorschlag für die Rekonstruktion von Z. 1–2 des Dokuments lautet wie folgt:

1 [- - - χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια *Zahl ἀπὸ κερατίων*]
 2 [εἴ]κοσι δύο ἡμίσεως, ἕκαστο ζυγῶ Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ)
νο(μισμάτια)
 [1–2 ἀπὸ] κερ(ατίων) κβ β, ἕκ(αστον) ζυγ(ῶ) Ἑρμ(οῦ) π(όλεως), ἥνπερ τιμὴν

2 l. ἕκαστον

Übersetzung

„... an Gold (soundsoviel) Nomismatia zu 22 ½ Keratia, jedes (sc. Nomismation) entsprechend dem Münzstandard von Hermupolis, das macht (soundsoviel) Nomismatia zu 22 ½ Keratia, jedes (sc. Nomismation) entsprechend dem Münzstandard von Hermupolis. Diesen Preis ... (etc.)“

Fritz MITTHOF

988. BGU VII 1549 und 1550

Beide Ostraka aus Philadelphia enthalten eine Aufzählung von nummerierten ληνοί, denen jeweils eine geographische Bezeichnung beigegeben ist. Die verwendeten Verbformen sind ἀπέζεσεν und κατηλείφθη und für die meisten ληνοί wird angegeben, am wievielten Tage die durch diese Verben ausgedrückte Tätigkeit durchgeführt wurde (z.B. BGU VII 1549,2 τεταρτα[ί]α [*l. τεταρταίαν*], „am vierten Tag“). Der Übersichtlichkeit halber werden im Folgenden die Transkriptionen beider Texte angeführt.

BGU VII 1549 (210–192 v. Chr.)

(ἔτους) ιγ ἐξ Ἡφαιστιάδος ἀποζέσαντα (*l. ἀποζέσασαν*) | τεταρτα[ί]α (*l. τεταρταίαν*) τὴν
 \πρώτην/ [πενμπτ] ληνὸν | κατήλειψα τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, | τῶν δ' ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας ἡ γ
 λη(νός) |⁵ πεμπταία ἀπέζεσεν καὶ κατηλείφθη. | ἡ τοῦ κλίματος τοῦ πρὸς τῇ | ληνῶι
 ἑνδεκαταία κατηλείφθη.

BGU VII 1550 (208–190 v. Chr.)

(ἔτους) ιε ἡ πρώτη ληνός ἡ ἀπὸ | νότ[ο]ν τοῦ μαγδώλου ἀπέζεσεν | τεταρταία καὶ
 κατηλείφθη, | ἡ β λη(νός) τὰ περιχώματα [τ]εταρταία, |⁵ ἡ γ λη(νός) τὸ πρὸς τῇ ληνῶι
 κλίμα κατελιήφθη (*l. κατελείφθη*) τῷ δόλιον, | ἡ δ λη(νός) τὸ νεόφυτον κατηλείφθη, |
 τεταρταίον, | ἡ ε λη(νός) ἡ ἄρουρ[αία] κατηλείφθη, |¹⁰ ἡ ς λη(νός) τὸ ἀπὸ νότου κλίμα
 κατηλείφθη ε..

Die Herausgeber der beiden Texte verstehen unter ληνοί die Kelter,⁴⁶ unter ἀποζέω das Auskochen mit heißem Wasser und unter καταλείφω das Austünchen der Kelter. Demzufolge sind sie der Meinung, dass die zwei Ostraka die Reinigung von Kelterern thematisieren.⁴⁷

Meiner Meinung nach ist aber in diesen beiden Ostraka nicht von der Reinigung von Kelterern die Rede. Ἀποζέω ist hier eher als „aufhören zu blubbern“, „aufhören, Blasen zu bilden“ zu übersetzen, wobei dies im konkreten Kontext der Weingärung zu verstehen ist. Diese besteht aus zwei Phasen. Die erste dauert einige Tage und benötigt Sauerstoff.⁴⁸ Erst nach dieser Phase folgt die anaerobe Gärung, für die der Wein in gut verschlossene Gefäße umgefüllt wird.⁴⁹ In den zwei BGU-Ostraka ist also m.E. mit ἀπέξεσεν das Ende der ersten Gärungsphase angegeben, was auch zu der Zeitangabe (z.B. BGU VII 1549,2) passt. Für den Gebrauch von ἀποζέω in diesem Kontext vgl. Alexis Dem. 46,1–3 Kassel-Austin ὁμοιότατος ἄνθρωπος οἴνω τὴν φύσιν / τρόπον τιν' ἐστί. τὸν γὰρ οἶνον τὸν νέον / πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀποζέσαι;⁵⁰ Diosc. V 54 οἶνος ἀρωματίτης οὕτως σκευάζεται. - - - μετὰ τὸ ἀποζέσαι τὸν οἶνον μετὰγγιζε.⁵¹

Dementsprechend ist mit κατηλείφθη eher das Verschließen bzw. die Versiegelung der Gefäße, die den Wein enthalten, gemeint. Καταλείφω ist ansonsten in den Papyri nicht bezeugt und begegnet zugegebenermaßen in *Geoponica* VI 1 (10. Jh. n. Chr.) im Kontext der Auspichung der Kelter: δεῖ δὲ τὸν ληνεῶνα ὄλον κατηλείφθαι πάντοθεν λειοτάτοις κονιάμασι. Das von der gleichen Wurzel abgeleitete ἐπαλείφω ist jedoch oft

⁴⁶ Ληνός wird vorwiegend als „Kelter“ übersetzt. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten, Bd. I: Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft* (Münch.Beitr. 7), München 1925, 283. Daneben wird das Wort als „Fass“, „Weinreservoir“ (siehe etwa M. Schnebel [wie oben] 283–288; F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus Ägypten, Bd. II*, Berlin 1925 s.v. ληνός; K. Ruffing, *Weinbau im römischen Ägypten* [Pharos. Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 12], Münster 1997, 116–117) oder als „Kelterraum“, „winery“ verstanden (siehe Ph. Mayerson, *The Meaning and Function of ληνός and Related Features in the Production of Wine*, ZPE 131 [2000] 164–165). Zur Diskussion über die Bedeutung des Wortes siehe auch P.Köln XVII 658,6 Komm.

⁴⁷ Im Zusammenhang mit der Auspichung bzw. der Reinigung der Kelter verweist auch D. Dzierzbicka, *Wineries and Their Elements in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, JJP 35 (2005) 33f. auf BGU VII 1549.

⁴⁸ Vgl. *Geoponica* VI 12.

⁴⁹ Siehe D. Meeks, *Oléiculture et viticulture dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, in: M. C. Amouretti, J.-P. Brun, *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée* (BCH Suppl. 26), Athen 1993, 23; D. Dzierzbicka, *Oinos: Production and Import of Wine in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (JJP Suppl. 31), Warsaw 2018, 190–192.

⁵⁰ In der Edition wird das lateinische „defervescere“ als Synonym angegeben und auf Leuc. Fr. 6 Kassel-Austin θυμὸν ἀποζέσαι hingewiesen.

⁵¹ Vgl. ferner Hippolytus, *Fragmenta in Psalmos* 12 ὃν γὰρ τρόπον ληνός ὑποδεχομένη τὸ γλεῦκος ἐκ θλιβέντος βότρουος χωρεῖ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ βράσσει ἀναζέον ἅφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιρρέει, θλιβέντος ὡς βότρουος Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀναβράσσον ὡσεὶ γλεῦκος «εὐφραίνει καρδίαν».

zusammen mit Wein im entsprechenden Kontext belegt und wie Ph. Mayerson⁵² gezeigt hat, bedeutet das Verb dort „versiegeln“. Vgl. P.Oxy XLVII 3354,17–19 (257 v. Chr.) λαβόντα τὸν οἶνον συνθήσομεν | ἐν τῷ ἡλιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐπαλείβομεν καὶ κεινήσομεν καὶ παραφυλάξωμεν ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐκ[εῖ] | ἀπόκειται. Vgl. ferner Gal. *De al. fac.* VI 577 εἰς ταύτην οὖν τὴν τρύγα τὰς καινὰς χύτρας πλήρεις τῶν σταφυλῶν ἐντιθέασι, πώμασι στεγνοῦντες ἀκριβῶς, ὡς μηδαμόθι παραπνεῖσθαι, καὶ καθ’ ὃ συμβάλλει γε τὸ πῶμα τῇ χύτρᾳ, πίτταν ἐπαλείφουσιν ἀποκλείουσιν ἀπάσας τὰς διαπνοάς.⁵³

Für die Auslegung, dass mit κατηλείφθη die Versiegelung des Weinbehälters und nicht die Auspichung der Kelter gemeint ist, spricht auch der Wortlaut in BGU VII 1550,5–6 ἡ γ λη(νός) τὸ πρὸς τῇ ληνῶι κλίμα κατελήφθη (*l. κατηλείφθη*) τὸ δόλιον. Die Herausgeber verstehen δόλιον zu Recht als „Fass“, kommentieren aber, dass es ohne grammatische Verbindung zu der erwähnten ληνός stehe. Möglicherweise wurde das Substantiv δόλιον in diesem langen Eintrag hinzugefügt, um zu präzisieren, dass als Subjekt von κατελήφθη das Fass gemeint ist. Gemeint wäre dann, dass das Fass der dritten ληνός, aus dem in der Nähe der ληνός liegenden κλίμα,⁵⁴ versiegelt wurde. Was die geographischen Informationen betrifft, die den nummerierten ληνοί beigefügt werden, geben sie meiner Meinung nach nicht die Lage des Kelters, sondern den Ursprung der Trauben an, aus denen der jeweilige Wein produziert wurde. So erklärt sich auch der Gebrauch der Präposition ἐκ in BGU VII 1549,1 ἐξ Ἡφαιστιάδος und 4 ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας. Der Wortlaut in BGU VII 1550 ist etwa abstrakter. Die Ortsangaben werden hier nämlich als Apposition gestellt (vgl. Komm. der Erstedition). Gemeint dürften aber auch in diesem Fall sein, dass die Trauben aus dem jeweils genannten Ort kommen.

So sind die zwei Ostraka wie folgt zu übersetzen:

BGU VII 1549

„13. Jahr. Am vierten Tag versiegelte ich die erste [[fünfte]] *lenos* aus Hephaistias, nachdem sie am vierten Tag aufgehört hatte, Blasen zu bilden. Von denen aus Philadelphia hörte die dritte *lenos* am fünften Tag auf, Blasen zu bilden, und wurde

⁵² Ph. Mayerson, *ἐπαλείβομεν* in *P.Oxy. XIV 1631.17 and XLVII 3354.18*: „Oiling“ or „Sealing“, *BASP* 37 (2000) 97–100.

⁵³ Vgl. den Gebrauch des Wortes *ἄλειψα* siehe dazu LSJ s.v. II. Vgl. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, H. Cuvigny, *ἀλειφάς, not ἄλειψα and Other Words for 'Erasure'*, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 175–182.

⁵⁴ Κλίμα lässt sich dokumentarisch außer in den zwei hier besprochenen Ostraka erst im 6. und 7. Jh. n. Chr. finden (P.Ness. III 60,11 [674 v. Chr.]; 61,11 [675 n. Chr.]; 63,7 [675 n. Chr.]; 64,8 [676 n. Chr.]; 65,6 [675–676 n. Chr.]; 66,6 [677 n. Chr.]; 67,10.15 [689 n. Chr.]; 76,1 [687–689 n. Chr.]; P.Petra III 23,9 [544 n. Chr.]). In den späteren Belegen hat das Wort die Bedeutung „Region“. Siehe dazu P.Petra III 23,9 Komm. Dieser Gebrauch des Wortes ist auch literarisch schon bei Dionysius von Halicarnass bezeugt (siehe LSJ s.v.). Die Herausgeber von BGU VII 1549 und 1550 ziehen für κλίμα in BGU VII 1549 und 1550 die Bedeutung „Hang“ vor, die ebenfalls literarisch bezeugt ist (siehe LSJ s.v.). Auch die Bedeutung „Region“ ist jedoch für die zwei Ostraka nicht ganz auszuschließen.

versiegelt. Diejenige aus dem Hang (oder aus der Region)⁵⁵ in der Nähe der *lenos*⁵⁶ wurde am elften Tag versiegelt.“

BGU VII 1550

„15. Jahr. Die erste *lenos* südlich des Wachturms hörte am vierten Tag auf, Blasen zu bilden, und wurde versiegelt, die zweite *lenos*, der Ringdamm, am vierten Tag, die dritte *lenos*, der Hang (oder die Region)⁵⁷ neben der *lenos*, das Fass wurde versiegelt, die vierte *lenos*, das Neuangelegte, wurde am vierten Tag versiegelt, die fünfte *lenos*, das Ländliche, wurde versiegelt, die sechste *Lenos*, der Hang (oder die Region) südlich, wurde versiegelt.“

Eleni SKARSOULI

⁵⁵ Siehe Anm. 54.

⁵⁶ Bei der vorgeschlagenen Interpretation ist ληνός hier wohl in der Bedeutung „Kelter“, also in einer anderen Bedeutung als an den anderen Stellen des Textes, gebraucht. (Zu den Bedeutungen des Wortes siehe auch oben Anm. 46). Auch die Erstherausgeber haben hier Schwierigkeiten gehabt und meinten, dass der Wortlaut unbeholfen sei. Eine Parallele für den Gebrauch von ληνός in zwei verschiedenen Bedeutungen im selben Text dürfte P.Erasm. I 19 darstellen.

⁵⁷ Siehe Anm. 54.

