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NOTES ON MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS IV

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 191 (2014) 198–202

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39. CPR XIV 11

The docket of this fragmentary Arsinoite lease of 578 was read as γενομ]έ(νη) μίθω(σ)ς ἐργακτηρί(ο)υ. The word order is anomalous and a participle is not found in this place elsewhere; in texts of this date, when there is something written before μίθω(σ)ς or some other term that indicates the type of document, it is usually a cross. On the published photograph (Pl. 14) it is possible to see traces that would admit epsilon after the break, but the on-line image shows this to be an illusion: the putative top of epsilon is not ink, and the right-hand tip of a crossbar can be made out: †.

40. P.Customs 425

In this receipt of 199 or 228 someone is said to export ἐπὶ ὄνω [α ἐλα]ίου ἄ(κού)ς. (ἔτρ)ς ζ Ἐπὶ[φ] | [] καὶ εἰκᾶδι (ll. 4–6). ἄ(κού)ς is difficult: the quantity is not given, the abbreviation is odd, and the measure usually found with oil in customs receipts is the μετρητής, save for the customs register P.Wisc. II 80.88 (114) ἄσκ(οὺς) β. The photograph (pl. XI) is not clear, but allows reading μ instead of ας, and with some effort one may read μετρητάς. The number would have come in l. 6, followed by the date, but I cannot make much out of the traces (it is unclear what is dirt and what is ink).

41. P.Flor. I 75

The illiteracy formula in this undertaking to deliver wheat to Alexandria, written in Hermopolis in 380, ends ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | [Φοιβάμμωνο]ς γράμματα μὴ εἰτότος (ll. 29–30). Though this follows a subscription in which a certain Phoebammon is said to represent his son (ll. 25–6, Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Χαρήμων δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς | [Φοιβάμ]μωνος), a name in this place is awkward in terms of grammar. In reediting the text as *W.Chr.* 433, Wilcken printed a row of ten dots in the lacuna, indicative of his reservations over the supplement. Yet there is no room for so many letters lost in the break (see P.Flor. I, Tav. XIII). [παρόντο]ς would fit perfectly: this is the standard formula in Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite documents, but occurs occasionally also in Hermopolite texts of this date; see R. Hatzilambrou, *JJP* 32 (2002) 42.

42. P.Gen. IV 176

This document of 360 is addressed Φ[λα]υί(ω) Ποσιδωνίω προπολ(ιτευομένω) Ἀρσι[ν]οίτου. The editor notes: ‘Flavius Posidonius apparaît pour la première fois dans la documentation papyrologique.’ I had made a similar statement a few years earlier, when editing a writing exercise (*JJP* 33 (2003) 70–72 = SB XXVIII 17012) which consists of an address to Fl. Poseidonios and a consular clause of 353 (the date is no longer in doubt): ‘The interest of this piece is prosopographical: it attests a new Arsinoite προπολιτευόμενος.’ We now have two texts recording Poseidonios, and the Geneva papyrus offers the latest attestation of the term προπολιτευόμενος in an Arsinoite text.

The text is said to be complete at the top, and the edge appears to be straight enough to be the original, but the absence of a sender is curious. As the editor points out, the ‘author’ of the text is probably a *praeses Augustamnicae*, who refers to himself as τῆ ἐμῆ καθοσιώ(σ)ι (l. 2); but why would a *praeses* choose not to disclose his identity? The absence of a farewell formula would match the abruptness of the prescript, and business letters with comparable prescripts are not unknown, yet this is a dated communication from a governor to a senior official in which a similar ellipsis would be out of place. If the text is complete, it could be an informal copy (rather than a draft); otherwise, we should assume that the first line is lost. *APF* 59 (2013) 229 records the view that in place of Φ[λα]υί(ω), ‘muß der Name des Absenders im Nominativ stehen. Möglich wäre Φήλιξ, aber wer ist das?’ The fact that we do not know any *praeses Augustamnicae* named

* Continued from *ZPE* 159 (2007) 267–72. Links to the on-line images mentioned here are found at www.papyri.info. I wish to thank A. Benaissa, G. Bastianini and D. Hagedorn, with whom I discussed some of these notes.

Felix is not a problem, but we would expect to find more than the governor's *cognomen*, especially when the addressee is given a title. It seems to me that the papyrus has φλ', i.e., Φλ(αουίφ); I wonder whether the strokes between φλ' and Ποσιδωνίφ come from the previous line, now mostly lost.

The papyrus was reused; the other side carries P.Gen. I² 80. It is very common that a used papyrus sheet was cut to size to receive another text on the back, but here the part presumably cut would have been a small strip. On balance, I would be inclined to think that the text is not complete at the top, and that the name of the governor stood in the first line of the document, now lost except for some traces in l. 2.

43. P.Oxy. XXVII 2479

The *colonus adscripticius* who submitted this late sixth-century petition says that three years earlier he had run away from his farming: ἀπέστην (BL VIII 259; cf. P.Oxy. LVIII p. xx) | [ἀπὸ ἐμ]ῆς γεωργίας (ll. 8–9). The possessive pronoun must be preceded by the definite article, and ἀπό is not strictly required by the grammar. I suggest reading ἀπέστην | [τῆς ἐμ]ῆς γεωργίας; for the construction cf. W.Chr. 408.4 (216) ἀπέστ[η]γ τῆς κόμης, or P.Flor. III 311.4 (448) ἀπέστην τῆς κατὰ σοῦ αἰτιάσεως.

44. PSI VI 684

The date of this Hermopolite document has long been disputed. The editor assigned it to the fourth/fifth century but also recorded the view that it could date from as late as the sixth century, though he expressed discomfort with a late dating in view of the handwriting. Earlier dates were proposed subsequently (see BL VII 236, X 243, XII 252), but the document was lately assigned to a time after 'ca 450' on the basis of arguments that seem conclusive enough; see A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire protobyzantin* (2002) 122, who goes on to note: 'Seuls les critères paléographiques peuvent permettre d'exclure une datation au VI^e siècle.' The hand alone cannot exclude a date in the early sixth century; cf. P.Oxy. LXIII 4395 (494–500), which does not look very dissimilar. But prosopographical considerations may in fact point to a date not long after 450. Among other things, the text refers to a (legal) case of a certain Andreas, *vir clarissimus* (l. 18, τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ λαμπ[ρ(οτάτου)] Ἀν[δ]ρέου). A person of this name and rank was active in Hermopolis in the second half of the fifth century; see P.Flor. III 343.1–2 (V; cf. F. Mitthof, *Tyche* 22 (2007) 208) Ἀνδρέα(ς) λαμπρ(ότατος) | καὶ πολιτ(ευόμενος) τῆς Ἐρμουπολ(ιτῶν), and P.Lond. V 1793.4–5 (Herm.; 472) Φλαυίω Ἀνδ[ρ]έα τῷ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) υἱῷ τ[ο]ῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου | μνήμ[η]ς Σερήνου. Naturally, this could be a different person, but our evidence on persons of senatorial standing from this part of Egypt is so meagre that the identification seems plausible.

45. PSI XVI 1629

This fifth-century petition from Oxyrhynchus concerns some salary arrears: ἐποφείλε[ι] μοι ἀπὸ λόγο[υ] μ[ι]κθοῦ ἀργυρίου | [] |, '... schuldet mir vom Lohnkonto an Silber(drachmen) ...' (ll. 4–5). Given the date of this text, the 'silver' currency in question is myriads of denarii, and it seems possible to restore [μυρ]ι[ά]δας at the beginning of l. 5 (see Tav. XXXV).

The petition is addressed to Fl. Ioseph, πατρὶ πόλεως Ὁξυρυγγίτου, a welcome addition to the scant evidence for this office in Egypt. The editor associates him with the *curialis* and *riparius* known from P.Köln V 234 (431) and SB XVIII 13596 (464) (given as 12596). There is a further attestation in P.Oxy. LXVIII 4684.3 (431), and the reader may be referred to the discussion in the note ad loc.

46. PSI XVI 1644

At the foot of a column of this sixth-century wine account (l. 20) the edition reads

λοι(πὸν) δι(πλᾶ) Ἦν τῆς Παχῶνος δι(πλᾶ) ω λοι(πὸν) δι(πλᾶ) ζ

Not only are 8,400 *diplo* an enormous quantity, especially if this is a 'remainder', but this figure is incompatible with the others mentioned in the rest of this document and the other 'remainder' at the end of the line (7 *diplo*). It would also be remarkable to find the Hellenized genitive Παχῶνος in a post-Ptolemaic text, even more so with the feminine article instead of the masculine. Examination of the published photograph

(Tav. XLVIII), aided by a digital image kindly supplied by G. Bastianini, allows reading something less exceptional though still problematic:

λοι(πὸν) δι(πλᾶ) η ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς πλ . . . voc δι(πλοῦν) α λοι(πὸν) δι(πλᾶ) ζ

The arithmetic works well ($8-1=7$), but what is the purpose for this supply of 1 *diployn*? To judge from the article, this would be a noun. The letter after πλ may be υ (suggested by G. Bastianini).

A few other textual points may be discussed in this place. Besides δι(πλᾶ) and δίδι(πλω), there are references to δίχ(ωρα) (ll. 3, 18, 19). N. Kruit and K. A. Worp, *APF* 45.1 (1999) 109, questioned the presence of such containers in late antique Egypt and the resolution of the abbreviation διχ(), and soon thereafter they put forward the solution (*Mnemosyne* 53.3 (2000) 343f., esp. 344 n. 1): διχ(ώνια).

ὑ(πὲρ) may be read in l. 15, where ed. has ὑμί(ν), but what follows has defeated me.

The first line of the docket on the back was transcribed as πιουτουωκκα; read Πιουτουω (l. Πιηούτος) καί. καί connects the name with what is written in the next line: Ἀπολλῶ ἀμπ(ελουργῶν) (Ἀπωλλῶ ἀμπ(ελουργοῦ) *ed. pr.*).

47. P.Wisc. I 8

This is a lease of an ἐξέδρα drawn up in Oxyrhynchus in 561. The editor states, '[t]he wording used differs in no respect from the one customary in this type of document', but this needs qualification: the text is the work of an inexperienced scribe, who committed a number of formulaic errors and used phonetic spelling to a much greater extent than *ed. pr.* recognized, though these do not affect the meaning (for another problem in l. 17, see R. W. Daniel, *Architectural Orientation in the Papyri* (2010) 78 n. 194).

The lessee is said to be the daughter τοῦ Μακαρίου τοῦ Πα[πνου]θίου (8–9), an unusual reference to the father and grandfather in this period; but the papyrus has the unexceptional τοῦ μακαρίου Πα[πν]ουθίου. The lease would start from the current year 238/207 of Oxyrhynchite era (l. 14); this has been correctly restored to σ[λη σζ] by F. Reiter, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 242 n. 121, and in fact the first part appears to have survived intact (perhaps the result of subsequent conservation work); read σλη [σζ].

The property is located ἐπ' ἰσμοδου Ἄνω Ἀχιλλίδος (ll. 17–18). But the scribe wrote ἀνόσου (it must be sigma rather than a malformed delta). μ > ν is a common interchange, but δ > c is unusual, even though it may be paralleled from l. 31 (see below). I find no relevant examples in Gignac, though the interchange δ > ζ is not uncommon (*Grammar* i 76), and c often interchanges with ζ. The name of the ἰσμοδου is curious (what is *Ἀχιλλίδος?), and the reading of its last part is not beyond doubt; read Ἀχιλλίου? Whatever the case, the ἰσμοδου in question is not attested elsewhere.

The lessee will pay rent annually: [ὑπὲρ ἐ]νοικίου ἰ [καθ' ἕκα]στ[ον ἐνιαυτόν] (ll. 24–5). The text in l. 25 cannot be confirmed on the traces but reproduces the usual formulation, yet this is not to be recognized at the end of l. 24, where I propose to read [ὑπὲρ οἰκίας. οἰκίας was written inadvertently instead of ἐνοικίου, perhaps under the influence of οἰκίας at the end of the previous line. The rent will be paid in equal six-month instalments: διὰ δ' ἕξαμήνου (l. 28); but the papyrus has διαδεξαμένου, a misunderstood version of δι' ἕξαμήνου.

The lessee agrees to surrender possession of the room, ὁμολογῶ ἐν νομῆν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξέτρας ἰ παραδοῦνέ κυ ὅς καὶ (παρείληφα) (ll. 30–31), whenever the lessor desires. ἐν is ungrammatical; the scribe must have written εννομην for τὴν νομήν. Then, I read ἐξέτρης (l. ἐξέδρα) παρακουε υ. Presumably we should read παρακοῦνε, l. παραδοῦναι (for the interchange δ > c, see above); the scribe had clearly little understanding of what he was supposed to write, and this is what he remembered of the clause reconstructed in *ed. pr.*

In the subscription the lessee states, στοιχεῖ μοι αὐτῆ ἢ μίθ(ωσις) (ll. 34–5). The dative is out of place; read αὐτῆ, in line with the formula that uses the demonstrative pronoun with the document type; an unambiguous example is e.g. P.Oxy. LVIII 3942.33 (606) στοιχεῖ μοι τοῦτο τὸ γραμμ(ατεῖον).

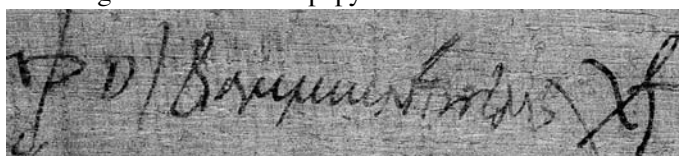
A few other minor corrections may be recorded here: ll. 17–18 ἀπιλειώτου → ἀπειλειώτου, l. ἀπηλιώτου; 18 ἐξέτραν → ἐξέτρον, l. ἐξέδραν; 29 βουληθειῆς → βουρηθῆς, l. βουληθειῆς.

48. PWisc. II 63

This Oxyrhynchite order to pay money, dated to 410, has an epistolary heading:

[τῷ κυρίῳ μο]υ ἀδελφῷ (*vac.*) Θεοδώρῳ χι(ριτῆ) Φοιβάμμων π(λειῖτα) ὑγιαί(νειν) (καὶ) χαί(ρειν)

The article at the beginning of the line is superfluous, but more importantly the collocation at the end is most unusual, especially in a fifth-century text; the presumed abbreviation is no less curious. The editor refers to a number of private letters that combine the two infinitives in the prescript, but they are much earlier in date and their wording is different. The papyrus has:



What was read as υγι may be read as πι; cf. the combination of the two letters in Ὀλυμπίῳ (with BL VII 251) in l. 2, though there they are ligatured. This is followed by μελ, with ε elliptical and merged with λ, the latter reaching well below the notional baseline. The upper part of ε may be recognized before πιμελ, but this seems to sit on top of two uprights; perhaps the scribe first wrote π and immediately corrected it, but imperfectly so. I propose to read:

[κυρίῳ μο]υ ἀδελφῷ (*vac.*) Θεοδώρῳ χι(ριτῆ) Φοιβάμμων ἐπιμελ(ητή) χαί(ρειν)

49. SB VI 9148

This document, of which ‘only two lines of the first column are intelligible’ (O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 74), was published as offering evidence for the rates of ναῦλον in the third and fourth centuries, which was scant at the time of its publication. The second of the two transcribed lines refers to a boat ἀγωγῆς (ἀρτάβων) σ καὶ ὑπὲρ ν(αύλου) (ἀρτάβας) κ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) σκ. The editor noted: ‘the boat carried a lading of 200 artabas, and ... 20 artabas were paid or earmarked for the freight charges; the total involved in the transaction was 220 artabas. The rate is 10%.’ The 10% surcharge in the context of transportation is common but has a different name, and this is what we have here: on the on-line image, instead of ν(αύλου) it is possible to read ρ ι, that is, (ἐκατοκτῶν) ι; for literature on this charge, see K. A. Worp, *BASP* 49 (2012) 298 n. 4.

50. SB VI 9461

This is an Arsinoite lease of five arouras, dated to 632. The lessee agrees to pay three solidi as rent: ὑπὲρ [τοῦ συμπεφω(νημένου)] | φό[ρ]ου αὐτῶν (ll. 18–19). The restored part is unparalleled otherwise; read ὑπὲρ [ἀποτάκτου] | φό[ρ]ου, a standard formula in Arsinoite leases of this period; cf. BGU I 303.16, II 364.13, P.Ross.Georg. III 32.8, PSI IX 1056.10, SB I 5139.5, etc. The money will have to be paid annually: καταβαλλόμενα παρ’ ἐμοῦ ἐτή[για] (l. 21). It would be preferable to restore ἐτή[για]; cf. PSI 1056.15.

51. SB XVIII 13242

This text contains an oath by the *fortuna* of Caracalla, referred to as Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου | Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ | μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ | [μ]εγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ (ll. 5–8; Εὐσεβοῦς) Σεβαστοῦ *ed. pr.* – original checked). It was thought to date from 212–17, but the absence of the title Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος from the emperor’s titulature points to a date in 212–13. This victory title first appears in the papyri late in 213, and occurs in most dating clauses by Caracalla from 214 to 217; see the discussion in M. Meckler, *ZPE* 105 (1995) 258f.

52. SB XVIII 13762

‘Phoibasia writes a long and interesting letter to the banker Agapetos who was probably her husband. She relates at first about the difficulties encountered in delivering a letter to him.’ (R. S. Bagnall, R. Cribiore, *Women’s Letters from Ancient Egypt* (2006) 236, parts of whose translation are reproduced below); the

date is some time in the late sixth century (VI/VII *ed. pr.*). It is mainly this first part that will concern us here; it contains more points of interest than was thought. Lines 2–7 read as follows:

ἤδη μὲν καὶ διὰ συμμάχου τῶν δεσποτικῶν γεγράφηκα πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν | δεσποτείαν κ[αὶ]
ἀποστ[ρέ]ψαντος τοῦ συμμάχου καὶ μὴ ἐγγέκωντός μοι γράμματα, | ὡς οἶδεν ὁ κύριος, πάνυ
ὀλιγορήσαμεν πάντες. εἶτα ἐρωτηθεὶς παρ' ἐμοῦ ὁ σύμμαχος | εἰς τὰ ἀντίγραφα εἶπεν ὅτι
γράμματα ἐδεξάμην πρὸς τὸν κουράτορα καὶ ἡῦρα | [αὐτὸ]ν εἰς τὴν Περώνην καὶ εὐθέως
ἀπέλυσέν με, τὰ δὲ γράμματά σου ἀποδέδωκα | [.] ἰψ̄ στρατιώτη τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἵνα
π[α]ράσχη τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀγαπητῷ.

The σύμμαχος τῶν δεσποτικῶν was taken to be a ‘courier of the imperial service’. Later on we hear of a ‘soldier of the imperial service’, and in between of a *curator*; ‘nothing is known of the identity and prerogatives of this curator’ (sim. *ed. pr.*). This curator was found ‘at the Perone’, a district or suburb of Alexandria (J. Gascou, *Sophrone de Jérusalem: ‘Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean’* (2006) 34 n. 157).

Central to the understanding of this passage is the reference to τῶν δεσποτικῶν; the editors noted, ‘con una giustificata libertà intendiamo genericamente il servizio imperiale’ (*Tyche* 1 (1986) 165). However, the term in this period seems to be used exclusively of matters relative to the *domus divina*, and the plural here should refer to its employees, not further specified; see most recently G. Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina in Egitto* (2012) 32f. In this context, it seems inevitable to assume that the *curator* is of the same institution. If he was in the area of Alexandria, this may have been his official seat, i.e., he may have been the highest-ranking administrator of the emperor’s estates in Egypt. Azzarello, *op. cit.* 20–26, argues that the term κουράτωρ was used for the *curator* of the *domus divina* at the highest level, whereas those responsible for imperial properties in the provinces were called φρονιτταί. I do not wish to engage with this view here, but the presence of a *curator*, central or provincial, in the area of Alexandria would be no great wonder.

The soldier would consequently be associated with the *domus divina*. This is not attested in any other document from Egypt, but it would be entirely reasonable to assume that regular soldiers (i.e., not *bucellarii*) were attached to imperial estates or rather their administrators, especially if the latter were *duces*: links between curators of the *domus divina* and the office of the *dux et Augustalis Alexandriae* in mid sixth century are well-attested (see J.-L. Fournet, J. Gascou, *CRAI* 2008, p. 1072).

I append a textual note. In 30–31, we find προκυνεῖ δὲ [ὕμῶς] | Β[ί]κτωρ ὁ παῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐτέρου[ς] αὐτοῦ Βίκτορα καὶ Cινοῦθιν, with τοὺς ἐτέρου[ς] αὐτοῦ translated as ‘the others of his (family)’. This is questionable: not only does ἐτέρου[ς] occupy the position of a noun, but this would be an unusual way of referring to family members. We are most probably dealing with ἐταίρους in phonetic writing; the word is common in this period, and we find the same error and construction in P.Oxy. XVI 1859.2 (VII). For a juxtaposition of such ‘companions’ and family members, cf. PSI VII 834.7–9 (IV?) ἄσπασαι | τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς σοὺς | πάντα.

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