



TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 5, 1990

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Tafel 1 – 21

A New Edition of Ostraka from Akoris

In a recently published report on Japanese excavations at Akoris¹ some Greek and Coptic ostraka found at this site are presented. Their provenance gives these texts some special interest, as they come from a part of Egypt where ostraka are rare². As we feel that the transcripts are not satisfactory, we present our own (new) transcripts of the Greek ostraka made on the basis of the plates accompanying the ed. princ.³ Given the numerous divergences between our own texts and the ed. princ. it would be tedious to indicate these systematically; therefore, we refrain from doing so. Judging by palaeographical criteria these ostraka all date from the late Byzantine or early Arab period⁴.

1. A Receipt for Poll-Tax and Another Tax (?)

(p. 52, first text, pl. 18, 9)

- 1 † Σοί <ς> υἱὸς Ἐνωῶχ Ἀνουφ(ίου) (ὑπὲρ) ἀνδ(ρισμοῦ) ἡ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
 2 κερ(άτια) δεκαπέντε, γ(ίνετα) κ(εράτια) ιε μό(να).
 3 † ὁμοί(ως) (ὑπὲρ) τετρακ(ερατίου) κερ(άτια) δύο ἥμισυ,
 4 γ(ίνετα) κ(εράτια) βL μό(να). ἐγρ(άφη) Πιαοῦ(νι) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἀρχ(ῆ)
 ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἡ.
 5 Ἰωάν(νης) βοη(θός) στοιχ(εῖ). †

2. ἰε Ostr. 5. ἰωαν(νης) στοῦχ(εῖ) Ostr.

¹ *Preliminary Report Sixth Season of the Excavations at the Site of Akoris, Egypt, 1986*. Ed. by Hiroyuki Kawanishi and Sumiyo Tsujimura, The Paleological Association of Japan, Inc., Kyoto 1988. The present state of our knowledge regarding Akoris is conveniently summed up by E. Bernard in the introduction to his *Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris*, Le Caire 1988, vii–xxv. (Bibliothèque d'Etude 103).

² In *Orientalia* 54 (1985) plate xxvi, fig. 38 there is an unpublished demotic ostrakon from Akoris. In *ASAE* 6 (1905) 142 one finds an announcement of the discovery of Coptic ostraka at Akoris; as far as we know, they have not been published.

³ No transcript is given for the (barely legible) ostrakon illustrated on pl. 20, 1.

⁴ When we showed a draft of this article to Prof. R. S. Bagnall (New York) in November 1989 he pointed out to us that he had rough transcripts of nos. 1–4 made by Worp and him in June 1987, on the basis of photographs received from J. Jarry through the intermediary of Th. Drew-Bear (Lyon). The substance, but not transcripts, had been communicated to Jarry at that time. These transcripts accord closely with texts nos. 1–4 as published in our article. We are grateful to Prof. Bagnall for his informations and for his kind readiness to correct our 'Englutch'. We are also grateful to Prof. J. Gasco (Strasbourg), to whom we owe suggestions for our better understanding of texts 1 and 5.

“Soi(s), son of Henoch, the son of Anouphios, (has paid) for *andrismos* of the 8th indiction fifteen carats, i. e. 15 c. in total. Likewise, for *tetrakeration* two and a half carats, i. e. 2.5 c. in total. This (receipt) was written in Pauni at the start of the 8th indiction. I, John, assistant, am satisfied.”

1. One may prefer to regard Σόι as an undeclined Egyptian name, i. e. as a nominative without an ending on -ς; for this question and the problems involved cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 119–120; cf. also *infra* text 3, 2 n.

Henoch, son of Anouphis, also occurs in the following text.

2. For the tax called ἀνδρισμός (the poll-tax in the early Arab period) cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, pp. 235–236.

3. J. Gascou points out to us that a payment for τετρακερ(άτιον) refers to a supplementary tax of 4 carats to the solidus, making a supplementary payment of 2.5 carats to the 15 carats mentioned in line 2. He identifies the same tax in O.Edfou I 211, 1–2 (cf. the new edition of O.Edfou III 322 by B. Palme, *ZPE* 64 [1986] 92 f., note to l. 2; ed. pr.: τετρακερ(άμιον)] and compares the supplementary tax of 6 carats to the solidus occurring in some late Byzantine texts, cf. R. Rémondon, *CdE* 40 (1965) 425–426 (add to the attestations cited there: P.Laur. III 112, 6; 113, 8; 116, 10; 122, 9; P.Strasb. 660, 3). For the word τετρακεράτιον cf. also the inscription from Caesarea (Palaestina) published by B. Lifshitz, *REG* 70 (1957) 119–132, esp. 120, ii 7 and 124–125 (not entered into the SEG; reference courtesy of J. Gascou).

4. It is remarkable that the scribe would have omitted the numeral for the day in Pauni. Did he commit some form of haplography, and was Pauni 10 intended? Likewise, the repetition of the (abbreviated) word ἰνδικτιώνος is remarkable. For indictions starting in Pauni cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Appendix A, I, pp. 56–57 and *ZPE* 56 (1984) 135–136.

5. The assistant John occurs also in the following text.

2. A Receipt for Some Money Payment

(p. 52, second text, pl. 19, upper)

- 1 † Ἐνωχ Ἄνουφίου (ὕπερ) []
- 2 δ(ιά) λό(γου) Θεοδώ(ρου) Ἄνουφ(ίου) κερ(άτια) τεσ[σερα-, γ(ίνετα) κ(εράτια) – μό(να).]
- 3 ἐγρ(άφη) Μεσ<ορ> ἡ ὀγδ(όη). Ἰωά(ννης) βοη(θός) σ[τοιχ(εῖ). †]

“Henoch, son of Anouphios, (has paid) for - - - through the account of Theodoros, son of Anouphios, four + ? (or: forty + ?) carats, i. e. – carats in total. This (receipt) was written on Mesore the eighth. I, John, assistant, am satisfied.”

1. For Henoch, son of Anouphis, cf. the preceding text. The man occurring in l. 2, Theodore, son of Anouphios, may have been his brother.

3. An Order for Oil

(p. 52, third text, pl. 18, 7)

- 1 † Ἀγενῆ ἐλαιουργ(ῶ)· παράσχ(ου) Παυλη
- 2 (καί) Μοῦι (ὕπερ) βοελ() ἐλ(αίου) ξ(έστας) δ, (γίνονται) τέσσαλας.
- 3] . . Χοιάκ // ζ ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) α.

1. Ἀγενεῖ 2. μοῦι Ostr. τέσσαρες

“To Agenes, oil-manufacturer. Deliver to Paule and Moui(s) for ox-drivers 4 sextarii of oil, i. e. four. Choiak 7 of the 1st indiction.”

1. The same oil-manufacturer Agenes occurs in the following text 4. The name Agenes occurs also in a number of Christian inscriptions from Tehneh/ Akoris, cf. Lef. 118 and 164 as well as BIFAO 3 (1903) 92–93, nos. 43 and 45. But its use is not restricted to Middle Egypt (as was supposed by W. E. Crum, P.Ryl. copt. p. 90 n. 4), cf. O.Mich. I 269, 1 and BGU VII 1587, 7 (both from the Fayum); furthermore, there may be a connection with comparable names like Ἀγένιος / Ἀγένις, which are attested in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes (BGU VII 1630, B, 31; P.Flor. I 65). For other Coptic occurrences of this name cf. G. Heuser, *Prosopographie von Ägypten, IV: Die Kopten*, Heidelberg 1938 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters, Reihe C: Hilfsbücher, 2), 15, s. n.

We consider Παυλη as a variant form of the well-known name Παῦλος (Παῦλε), cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s. n. Though a female variant of this name, sc. Παύλη, is listed there, we do not think that we are dealing here with a female person. Apparently one is dealing in this text with an undeclined form of the name, as one needs a dative form. We assume that this man is not the same person as the yeast-maker Paule occurring in text 4, 3, cf. our note ad loc. and below, our note to l. 2. Again, Lef. 164 provides us with a direct parallel from Akoris for the name Παυλη.

2. For the undeclined form of the name Μοῦϊς (gen. Μοῦϊτος) cf. supra, text 1, 1 n. If the name were declined, a dative form Μοῦϊτι would be needed here.

With the resolution of the word βοελ() as βοελ(ατῶν), there is no indication of how many ox-drivers were to be the recipients of these 4 sextarii. One may also consider a resolution of the abbreviation as βοελ(αστας), i. e. in that case Paul and Mouis would be the two ox-drivers concerned. Daily allowances could vary pretty considerably, cf. J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, *Un dossier d'ostraca du VI^e siècle; les archives des huilliers d'Aphrodite* (in *La Charta Borgiana. Miscellanea Papyrologica per il bicentenario dell'edizione di Niels Schow*, ed. R. Pintaudi, Firenze 1990, 217–244 [Papyrologica Florentina 19]).

3. There are some ink traces at the start of this line which we have not been able to read. One might think of, e. g., some form of ἐγγ(άφη), but we cannot read this and in the following text 4, also addressed to Agenes, it is also lacking.

4. An Order for Oil (p. 53, first text, pl. 19, lower)

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | † Ἀγενῆ ἐλαιουργ(ῶ). |
| 2 | παράσχ(ου) κυρ(ίους) |
| 3 | Παυλη (καί) Φοι(βάμμωνι) ζυμ(ουργοῖς) |
| 4 | ἐλ(αίου) ξ(έστας) γ, τρεῖς. |
| 5 | Τῦβι // κζ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α. |
| 6 | † † † |

“To Agenes, oil-manufacturer. Deliver to Messrs. Paule and Phoibammon the yeast-makers (?) 3 sextarii of oil, i. e. three. Tubi 27 of the 1st (?) indiction.”

1. The oil-manufacturer Agenes occurs also in the preceding text 3.

2. There is in the center part of this line a certain amount of ink which we cannot read/interpret with confidence. This may be only a rather long diagonal stroke sloping downwards from to the right hand upper part of the χ and indicating the abbreviation.

3. Probably not the same Paule as in the preceding text 3, 1, since he is labelled here κύριος (cf. B. Rom, H. Harrauer, ZPE 63 [1983] 111–115); cf. also above, text 3, 2 n.

The word ζυμουργός has not yet occurred in Byzantine papyri or ostraka, but ζύμη is found in some Byzantine documents. Cf. E. Battaglia, *'ARTOS'. Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci*, Milano 1989, 185.

5. A Receipt for 30 Dipla of Some Commodity

(p. 54, first text, pl. 22, lower)

- 1 † Φαμ(ενώ)θ δ ιδ ι[ν]δ(ικτίωνος)·
 - 2 ἅγια Μαρία μ() δ(ιπλᾶ) λ φορ(ά)δ(ος) δευ[τέ-]
 - 3 ρας. † Σευῆρος στοιχεῖ. †
2. μ_S Ostr.

“Phamenoth 4 of the 14th indiction. The Holy Mary (church/ monastery?), 30 dipla of (or: for?) the 2nd instalment. I, Severus, am satisfied.”

2. This line is problematical. The words ἅγια Μαρία suggest to us that one is dealing with a monastery or a church dedicated to the Holy Mary; we do not expect a living woman Maria to be labelled ἅγια, and for that reason an interpretation of μ() as μ(ονάζουσα) *vel sim.* is excluded. On the other hand, we do not expect the Greek to read ἅγια Μαρία μ(οναστήριον); we would rather expect μοναστήριον τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας or at least ἡ ἅγια Μαρία (cf. P.Bad. IV 95, 169. 171 and 180: εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρ(ίαν), but, as J. Gascoü kindly points out to us, there are no Greek papyrus documents referring to a μοναστήριον τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας in the Hermopolite Nome; this name is found only in connection with a church in Hermopolis itself. For a religious establishment dedicated to the Holy Virgin in this Northern part of the Hermopolite Nome see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1984, II 817–823 s. n. Dēr al-‘Adra; it is also known as Dēr al-Tayr (10 kilometers to the north of Akoris); cf. also M. Martin, *La province d’Ashmūnayn: historique de sa configuration religieuse*, Annales Islamologiques 23 (1987) 1–29, esp. 10.

The rest of this line yields problems as well. We reckon with the possibility that μ() should be taken as an abbreviation of a product packed in δ(ιπλᾶ); though we can devise expansions of the abbreviation like μ(έλιτος) = “honey”⁵ or μ(ούστου) (sc. οἴνου) = “must”, we have not found any instance of these products packed in or measured by διπλᾶ⁶ and if the produce were must, the lack of the noun οἴνου would be disturbing, as in other documents the adjective μούστου is not found without it. In all cases, moreover, one must assume that the name of the product in question has been abbreviated very radically and this may form an argument against this line of thinking.

We have also considered the possibility that μ_Sδ⁻ stands for μ(ο)δ(τους), but this solution should probably be rejected, as it is normal to find μοδίους abbreviated as μοδ^δ. Moreover, one would expect the product measured in *modii* (or, for that matter, in διπλᾶ) to have been indicated *expressis verbis*.

To sum up: whether one takes μ_S as an abbreviation of μ(ονάζουσα) / μ(οναστήριον), μ(έλιτος), μ(ούστου) or (together with the following delta) as representing μ(ο)δ(τους), there remain problems with each of these interpretations.

One may also wish to read $\bar{\lambda}$, i. e. prolong the abbreviation marking of δ⁻ to the right.

For φορά = “instalment” cf. H. I. Bell, *Wadi Sarga*. Coptic and Greek Texts edited by W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, Copenhagen 1922, 105 ff. Cf. also H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I 299–300; II 517. Given the delta written in superposition we must read φορ(ά)δ(ος) here. It remains to be seen, whether in all comparable cases, where an abbreviation φορ() has been resolved as φορ(ᾶς), a resolution φορ(άδος) (for this word form cf. SPP VIII 1257) should be substituted.

6. A Receipt

(p. 54, second text, pl. 22, upper)

- 1 † ΕΡΜΙΝΕ ΠΜΑΤΟΙ
- 2 Φαῶφι ς τευδέρας

⁵ For honey in the papyri cf. now H. Chouliara-Raïos, *L’abeille et le miel en Egypte d’après les papyrus*. Ioannina 1989.

⁶ Usually one finds διπλᾶ used for packing meat, wine or fish, cf. R. Fleischer, *Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt*, Diss. New York 1956, 12.

3 ἰν{ι}δ(ικτίωνος) τεκαδήου,
 4 (γίνεται) ζ() ιβ μό(να) †.

2. δευτέρας 3. ἰνιδ/ Ostr., δεκαδύο.

“Hermine the soldier. Phaophi 6 of the second indiction. He (delivered / received) twelve — —, i. e. 12 in total.”

1. This line is in Coptic. The errors in the following lines (for interchange of τ/δ cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 80ff.) show that the scribe was not very fluent in Greek.

4. We are not quite certain about our reading of a zeta written in ligature with a preceding diagonal, representing an abbreviated (γίνεται) / (γίνονται). If our reading is correct, one may solve the abbreviation as, e. g., ζ(εύγη); this would mean that 12 pairs of some commodity (e. g. loaves of bread?) could be involved. It would seem more likely, then, that the soldier Herminos received these, than that he delivered these. One would expect the commodity to have been mentioned already earlier on in this text, i. e. in l. 3 before τεκαδήου, but apparently the scribe omitted this.

7. A Fragment

(p. 53, middle, pl. 18, 8)

]όδωρος

The editor restores the name as Θε]όδωρος, but in itself there is no objection against another name ending on -όδωρος, e. g. Διονυσ]όδωρος.

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