



# TYCHE

## Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer  
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 11, 1996

1996

BOHNERBRODER



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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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**H O L Z H A U S E N**

**Herausgegeben von:**

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

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Tafeln 1–10

JOHN R. REA  
P.Ant. I 44 Revised

Tafel 5, 6

Antinoopolis

23 × 28 cm

Fourth/fifth century

Reedited as M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* No. 92, see also BL *Konkordanz und Supplement*, p. 6 (BL V 6, VI 5); no entries in BL VIII–IX.

The impulse to look at this document came from a request of Dr J. Diethart to check the reading of *πλουμαρισίμων* in line 9, see now the article of Drs Diethart and M. Hasitzka (forthcoming in APF 43). In so doing I noticed that *ὁ πλουμέρ(ιος)*, interpreted as *ὁ πλουμάριος*, should really be *ὁ ἀνούμερ(ος)*, see below 17 n. Further reading led to other discoveries, and finally it seemed that a new edition was needed.

The new appearance of the *ἀνούμερ(ος)*, who must have been a member of the *officium* of a high Roman official, see 17 n., combined with the fact that the letter was written from Pelusium, which was an important city, eventually capital of the province of Augustamnica Prima, and even at the creation of the original undivided province in A.D. 341 a place where the *officium* of the *praeses Augustamnicae* could be found (see P.Oxy. L 3576.10–12 n., cf. LXIII 4371.1 and introd. para. 3), suggests that the sender was in some sort of contact with a circle of high officials, probably that of a governor of that province or of the Thebaid. Indeed his autograph postscript and farewell formula (15–21) has a slope with an air of Latin cursive about it. Antinoopolis, where this letter was found, may have been the metropolis of the Lower Thebaid at the date of this letter, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* I, ii 80, cf. M. Gelzer, *Studien zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens*, Leipzig 1909, 10. An intervening Middle Egyptian province of Arcadia was created near the end of the fourth century, towards the middle of the period to which this letter is assigned, cf. P.Oxy. LXIII 4385 introd. para. 3.

The writing on the front runs along the fibres of the recto. There is a sheet join to be seen fairly close to the right edge, and another running vertically *c.* 4 cm from the left edge, the distance between the edges being just under 18 cm. At the top left this join is damaged in a way which reveals the normal structure of manufacturers' joins. The edge of the left hand sheet, which had been stripped of verso fibres to reduce the bulk of the join (see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, Bruxelles 1978 [Pap. Brux. 16], 20, P.Oxy. LI p. 61, P.Harr. II 212 introd.), lost its remaining single layer of horizontal fibres over a patch about 1.5–2 cm high before the writer started work, so that the beginnings of lines 7–8 are written on the same right hand sheet as the rest of those lines, while lines 6 and 9–20 begin on the left hand sheet and traverse the join. Presumably lines 1–5, the beginnings of which are lost, also traversed the join.

I am grateful to Dr R. A. Coles for much help in discussion of the traces and of the structure of the papyrus, and to Dr N. Gonis for reading a draft and instigating several improving changes to it.

1 ] (vac.) Ἐρμάμμωνει  
 2 ] (vac.) Λονγίνος  
 3 c. 20 letters ] προσαγορεύομέν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλουσίου  
 4 εὐχόμε]νοι [ c. 10 ] ὑγειαίνοντί σοι ἐνχειρισθῆναι ταῦτί μου  
 5 τὰ γρά]μματα κ[α]ὶ [ἀ]ξι[ι]ῶ τῶν ἀμοιβέων ἡμᾶς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τῆς  
 6 γλ[υκύ]τητός σου διὰ τῶν ἐνπιπτουσῶν προφάσεων. παρακαλῶ  
 7 ... [ ] [ ] μῆσαι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίας. καταξίωσον, εἰ ἠνέχθη τὰ  
 8 σῖνδόνια, ἐν ζευγάρην, (m. 2) `μή' (m. 1) τῶν μαλλωτῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 ἄλλων,  
 9 τῶν πλουμαρισίμων τῶν λιτῶν, παρασχεῖν `τῶ' ἀδελφῶ ἡμ[ῶ]ν  
 10 Ἄδελφίῳ, λαμβάνων παρ' αὐτοῦ νομισμάτια. δέδωκα γὰρ αὐτῶ.  
 11 εἰ δὲ μηδέπω ἦλθαν ἐφ' ἃ ἀπεστάλκεις, γράψον ἐκεῖ τι τῶν  
 12 γνωρίμων ὥστε ζυγὴν μίαν χρησίμων παρασχέσθαι αὐτῶ  
 13 καὶ εὐπλούμων καὶ ἀξίαν σου τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότου. χαριεῖ γὰρ μοι  
 14 καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ μεγάλα, δέσποτα ἀσύγκριτε. ἀλλ' οὕτως  
 15 νυμφεύσης τὰ παιδία σου, τῆς ἀξιώσεώς μου μνημόνευσον. (m. 2) τὸν  
 θεόν σου,  
 16 μέμνησο ἡμῶν ὡς κὲ ἡμεῖς σου, κἂν δεῖα τοῦτο, ὅτι  
 17 τὰ σὰ ἐπ[ε]ί]γομεν. προσαγορεύει σε Βόηθος ὁ ἀνούμερ(ος)  
 18 πολλά. ὑγειαίνειν σε πανέστιον  
 19 τῇ θεῖα προνοία πανοικεῖ  
 20 πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὐχομαι,  
 21 δέ]σποτα ἀσύν[κ]ρι[τε].

Back, downwards along the fibres of the verso:

22 ] (vac.) (m. 1) Ἐρμάμμων[ι  
 23 ] (vac.) Λονγίνος.

1 l. Ἐρμάμμωνι 2 l. Λογγίνος 4 l. ὑγαιίνοντι, ἐγχειρισθῆναι 5 l. ἀμοιβαίων, τυγχάνειν 6 l. ἐπιπτουσῶν 8 l. ζευγάριον 9 l. πλουμαρισίμων?; see n. 14 l. ἀσύγκριτε 15. l. νυμφεύσεις?; see 14–15 n. 16 l. καί, διὰ, ὅτι 18 l. ὑγαιίνειν, πανέστιον 19 l. πανοικεῖ 20 l. εὐχομαι 21 l. ἀσύγκριτε 23 l. Λογγίνος

„To ... Hermammon, Longinus.“

„(I and all who are with me?) greet you from Pelusium, (praying to the divine Providence?) that you are in good health when this letter of mine is put into your hands and I ask that we may receive reciprocal (letters) from your own sweet self by whatever opportunities present themselves. I beg ... friendship towards us. Please think fit, if the linen goods have been brought, to deliver one set, not of the ‚fleece‘



sort, but the others, the plain ,plumed‘, ones, to our brother Adelphius, getting *solidi* from him, for I gave (some, them?) to him. If the goods you had sent off for have not yet come, write there to one of the people we know to supply him with one set of good and well ,plumed‘ ones and a set worthy of you yourself, my master. For you will be doing me a great favour in this matter too, incomparable master. But as you hope to marry off your children, remember my request. (2<sup>nd</sup> hand) By your own god (I adjure you), remember us as we do you, even if it is for this, that we are pressing on with your business (?). Boethus the finance officer sends you many greetings. I pray to the divine Providence that you may be in good health for many years with all those who share your hearth and house, incomparable master.“

Back: „To ... Hermammon, Longinus.“

1. Ἐρμάμμωνει (*l.* Ἐρμάμμωνι): Ἐρμάμμωνι *ed. pr.*, Naldini. There is a single trace surviving at the upper left which may have been part of this line. It is on a piece projecting upwards which is clearly warped out of place and difficult to position again with accuracy; it is not therefore indicated in the transcription, but since line 1 probably had something like τῷ δεσπότη μου ἀδελφῷ or (τῷ) κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ at the beginning, followed by the vacant space, of which *c.* 5.5 cm is still visible, it may best suit τῷ] κ[υρίῳ μου κτλ.

1–2. This simple form of address, „To B ... A“, is mentioned by F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, Washington 1923 only in connection with letters to officials (pp. 56–58), because he limited his study to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In private letters this form occurs chiefly in the fourth century, see F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, Halle 1911, 274–276, *cf.* M. Sirivianou, *Atti del XVII Cong. Internat. di Papirologia*, Napoli 1984, iii 1342 (note especially the many examples in P.Abinn.), but continues into the fifth and perhaps even into the sixth, although the dates assigned to undated private letters should always be regarded as suspect.

The beginning of the second line was probably blank. The visible vacant space is *c.* 7 cm, since a little more papyrus survives to the left, *cf.* 1 n., and there is also some vacant space under the beginning of the addressee’s name.

3. ]ς: ]ε *ed. pr.*, ]ε Naldini. Although this letter has a rising oblique to the right suggestive of epsilon, there is no sign of a crossbar. The high and low traces to the left of it would suit ]ε. Supply perhaps something like ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντ]ες. A good parallel to the shape of the combination ]ες here occurs in ἀπεστάλκεις (11).

On the metropolitan status of Pelusium see introd.

4. εὐχόμε]γου: [... ]οι *ed. pr.*, [... ]οι Naldini. It is clear from many parallels that this passage was a prayer that the recipient should be in good health when the letter arrived, although ἐγχειρίζειν, which usually means „to entrust“ rather than literally „to hand over“, is unparalleled in this connection. A very similar passage is P.Abinn. 10.5–8 εὐχόμενος τῇ θεῖα προνοίᾳ ὑγιαίνοντί σοι καὶ εὐθυμοῦντι ἀποδοθῆναι τὰ παρ’ ἐμοῦ γράμματα.

*c.* 10 ] ὑγιαίνοντί σοι: ..... ] ὑγιαίνοντί σοι *ed. pr.*, Naldini. The first trace is a very long horizontal cutting into the following epsilon. It could be compared with the final alpha of νομισμάτια in 10. If this is correct, restore probably τῇ θεῖα προνοί]α, see above and *cf.* 19.

In the second syllable of the next word the remains suit epsilon, especially a very high trace; ει and αι in this word look very different. The iotacistic writing, ει for ι, is routine (F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri i: Phonology*, Milano 1976, 189–191, 235), αι for ι is comparatively rare (*op. cit.* 259–262), *cf.* his index, *s. v.* ὑγιαίνω.

4-5. ἐνχειρισθῆναι (*l. ἐγχ-*) ταῦτί μου [τὰ γρά]μματα. Cf. P.Lond. VI 1915.29-30 (= P.Sel. I 160 = G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci*, Milano 1979, 22) ὅθεν ἐπιτίνωμεν (*l. ἐπτείνομεν*) πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταυτηνὴ τὴν ἐπιστολήν. After ἐνχειρισθῆναι *ed. pr.* printed no more in line 4, Naldini, from a photograph, offered τατιμ?, with the last three letters overlined. There is a raised upsilon above ατ, damaged by a long horizontal crack which on a photograph looks like overlining. Omicron is a clockwise loop on the last stroke of mu. The final upsilon may be lost, but there are dark specks which could well be ink from another raised upsilon, cramped in close to the edge.

5. τὰ γρά]μματα κ[α]ῖ [ἀ]ξ[ι]ῶ: [ ]ματ[ ]λ[ ]τ[ ]ξ[ ] *ed. pr.*, [ ]ματ[ ] [ ] Naldini. I owe the reading of κ[α]ῖ [ἀ]ξ[ι]ῶ to Dr R. A. Coles. The trace of our kappa, *ed. pr.*'s tau, consists of a descender up which the pen has retraced its course, exactly as in other kappas.

6. γλ[υκύ]τητός: [ι]λ[αρό]τητός *ed. pr.*, ἰλ[αρό]τητός Naldini. In the papyri ἰλαρότης is unknown as an honorific abstract, although it occurs as an abstract quality in P.Lond. VI 1917.4. In the papyri γλυκύτης occurs as an honorific only in SB VI 9158.28, where it refers to a woman. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen*, Helsingfors 1949, 66, and L. Dineen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography*, Washington 1929, 14, attribute it only to St John Chrysostom, but see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s. v. (3), for other references. The adjective γλυκύτατος occurs frequently in the papyrus letters, especially often in connection with terms of blood relationship. The new restoration fits the space well. The gamma consists only of a ligature coming from the left and curving down into the first oblique of lambda, which is damaged at top and bottom but seems unambiguous. Such a ligature cannot come from iota.

It seems impossible to accept λ[ογιό]τητος because the ligature indicates plainly that the lambda here is not an initial one, while ἐλ[λογομύ]τητος or ἐλλ[λογομύ]τητος are too long. These abstracts are standard for a σχολαστικός, see A. Claus, *Ὁ Σχολαστικός*, Diss. Köln 1965, 84-87, and a person with legal training would be appropriately found in the company of an ἀν(ν)ούμερος.

Naldini puts the full stop before διὰ τῶν ἐμπιπτουσῶν προφάσεων, translating, „Per le ragioni sopravvenute ti prego ...“. *Ed. pr.* translates, „in view of the relevant reasons“, which seems unsuitable to the context. I take προφάσεων to refer to opportunities which are expected to arise for Hermmammon to send letters to Longinus, see *LSJ*, s. v. πρόφασις II.2.

7. ... [ ] [ ] [ ] μῆσαι: οὐ[ ] μῆσαι *ed. pr.*, οὐ[ ] μῆσαι Naldini. The mu, though dotted, seems unavoidable and the real difficulty remains that of finding an infinitive (or an imperative, N. Gonis, rightly) of suitable sense to govern the following genitive.

There seem to be two traces not noticed by *ed. pr.* Naldini noticed one of them, but attributed it to the letter immediately before the mu, which is indeed possible. It seems to be from a slightly sagging horizontal, but it could be a flat upsilon. Another trace of an intervening letter, probably from a descender, survives on a piece with part of delta from the line below.

The first group of traces looks at first sight like a very large initial omicron, but it is damaged at the bottom left and oddly flattened on the right, where the stroke in fact could just as well be a descender. There is also a high trace, which suggests that this group is really the remains of εἰ. The second group is a vertical joined by a horizontal travelling away from it to the right, with very little of either stroke. The junction is rather high and very puzzling. Nu, as doubtfully offered by *ed. pr.*, may not be totally satisfactory, but it may be the best possibility. If it is right, we might have ἵνα spelled εἴν[α, compare P.Neph. 4.10-12 παρακαλῶ, ἵνα μου μνημονεύσης ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς. This, however, only compounds the original difficulty, making it necessary to find a subjunctive as well as an infinitive governing the following genitive.

8. σινδόνια: σιν[δ]όνια *ed. pr.*, Naldini. *Cf.* 7 n. para. 2.

ζευγάριον (*l.* ζεύγᾱριον). On the form see F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri ii: Morphology*, Milano 1981, 27–28. The material in the Duke Data Bank refers otherwise only to P.Cair. Zen. II 59251.7 (= P.Edg. 42 = SB III 6748), where ζευγάρια looks as if in that context it denotes pairs of oxen.

ᾠή. This addition looks just like the hand of the postscript and farewell formula (15–21), which is presumably that of Longinus himself.

μαλλωτῶν. The basic word must be μαλλός, „tress (of hair), hank (of wool)“. In G. Goetz, *CGL VII p. 576 μαλλωτός* is glossed as *uillosus*, „hairy“. In S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Berlin 1971, 134–135 (9.25) we have *taurinae lanatae* matched with [ταυρε]ινῶν μαλλωτῶν. We might guess that this refers to footwear made of bull's hide with the hair left on, but J. Diethart, *Papyri aus byzantinischer Zeit als Fundgrube für lexikographisches und realienkundliches Material*, *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990) 94, *cf. id.*, *Corrigenda und Addenda zu Wiener Papyri*, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 113–114, suggests „mit Wollbesatz versehen“, referring perhaps to woollen trimming or borders. *LSJ* suggests „lined with wool“ for garments and this might suit the footwear too. In the papyri the garments so described are linen in most of the cases where the cloth is identified, but wool in P.Ross. Georg. III 12.6, τὸ ἐρεοῦν μαλλωτόν. This feature did not exclude the one described as *plumarius* or the like, see *Stud.Pal.* XX 245.8 μαλλωτοῦ[ν] ὀθ[ό]νιν ἔχ(ον) πλουμ(ία) [*l.* μαλλωτόν ὀθόνιον], *cf.* next note.

9. πλουμαρισίμων. For the interpretation of this as a phonetically distorted spelling of \*πλουμαρισίμων see J. Diethart, M. Hasitzka (forthcoming in *APF* 43). This should not perhaps be accepted without doubt in view of the existence of πλουμάρσις, see *ibid.*, and in view of the use of the -σιμος ending to form new adjectives particularly from -σις abstracts, see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London 1946, 27–28. These cognates of Latin *pluma* are usually taken to relate to embroidery otherwise needlework, but surviving examples of needlework are rather rare, see Diane L. Carroll, *Looms and Textiles of the Copts*, Seattle, London 1988, 32, citing A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-grounds in Egypt* (Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Textiles) Vol. III *Coptic Period*, London 1922, 56–59, and Deborah Thompson, *Coptic Textiles in the Brooklyn Museum*, New York 1971, 26–27, and it might be wondered if the term could refer to some version of the commonest sort of surviving tunics, made largely of plain linen, but with strips or roundels or squares of tapestry work, see *e.g.* James Trilling, *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 AD* (= *Textile Museum Journal* 21 [1982], esp. Nos. 96, 103.

λιτῶν. This word appears to mean „simple, ordinary“, see Diethart, *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990) 93.

9–10. τῷ ἀδεκφῷ ἡμ[ῶ]ν | Ἀδελφίω: τῷ ἀδελφῷ [ . . . ] | ἀδελφίω, translated as „my young brother“, *ed. pr.*, τῷ ἀδελφῷ Φιλ-/ἀδελφίω Naldini (9–10n. Φιλαδελφίω: diminutivo di Φιλάδελφος?). For Ἀδελφίω see R. S. Bagnall, *Charite's Christianity*, *BASP* 32 (1995) 38. The traces of ἡμ[ῶ]ν are scanty, but quite suitable. Adelpheus is a fairly common name, Philadelphus is not a known name — in SB VI 9216.12 Φιλ-αδελφίου is the name of a slave-girl, nominative presumably -φιον — and the division of it here would be contrary to the rules of syllabification. *Cf.* P.Oxy. X 1300.4 for the occurrence of the very rare ἀδέλφιον in an illiterate letter.

„Brother“ is likely to be a term of friendship or respect here, as often, see *e.g.* P.Oxy. XLVIII 3396 introd. para. 3.

10. The vagueness of νομισμάτια is surprising. One might have expected the price to be specified in coins or simply to have been expressed by τιμή. There is a possibility that a numeral has been omitted by accident, but perhaps we should understand the words as an instruction to accept only payment in gold.

Dr Gonis points out that if it could mean simply „cash“, like κέρμα/κέρματα, that would give good sense here, but neither of us can supply another example for the moment.

11. ἀπεστάλκεις: ἀπεστάλκει ὁ (ἀδελφός) *ed. pr.*, Naldini. In making the final sigma the pen has remained on the surface as it travelled from the foot back to the top to add the cap, so producing a perfect minuscule medial sigma, with a long horizontal cap, evidently not noticed or disregarded by the previous editors. The oval part of the letter they took simply as omicron.

12. χρησίμων: χρησίμην *ed. pr.*, χρησίμαν Naldini. The contested letter is carelessly formed, but it is exactly like some other omegas, *e.g.* in ἐν τούτῳ, οὕτως (both 14). The correct reading was pointed out to me by Dr Gonis.

14. ἀσύνκριτε (*l.* ἀσύγκρ-), *cf.* 21: so also Naldini, ἀσύγκριτε *ed. pr.*

14–15. *Cf.* P.Oxy. LIX 4003.3–11 (and 4–6 n.) τὸν ἐπωράνιον σου θεόν, οὕτως νυνφεύσεις τὰ ἀρσενικά σου τέκτα, ... ἐπειθεσ σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (*l.* ἐπ-ουράνιον, νυμφεύσεις, τέκνα, ἐπίθεσ, ἐκκλησίαν). The future there is more direct and easier to understand; perhaps we should understand -σης as the phonetic misspelling of a future ending in our text too.

15. μνημόνευσον: μνημόνευ(σ)ον *ed. pr.*, Naldini. The bottom of the sigma is badly damaged but the upper left of the letter survives to show the cap and part of the back with the characteristic join where the cap was added.

τὸν θεόν σου: εὐθεύμει: *ed. pr.*, Naldini. The second hand, which must be that of Longinus himself, has a Latinate slope and look, using a particularly strange nu, almost like our minuscule, and a divided tau, but the reading of σου is the most difficult part of this passage: omicron is reduced to a dot on the end of the cap of sigma, and the cap of sigma looks as if it is doing duty also as the left arm of a Y-shaped upsilon. The parallels corroborate σου as the word intended, but it may be possible that Longinus wrote σοι.

This is a known type of adjuration, with the accusative unaccompanied by a particle such as μά or νή. A recently published example is quoted above in 14–15 n. The others are cited in P.Oxy. LIX 4003.4–6 n.

16. ἡμῶν: ἡ[μῶ]ν *ed. pr.*, ἡ[μῶ]ν Naldini. There is a trace of the lower left part of mu and another from the upper right of omega.

κὲ (*l.* καὶ): καὶ *ed. pr.*, Naldini. The lower part of epsilon is indicated by a very slight deviation of the lower arm of kappa, the upper part is rather distant and ligatures directly into the next eta.

κᾶν: καὶ *ed. pr.*, Naldini.

17. τὰ σὰ ἐπ[εἰ]γομεν: μελετ[ῆ]σομεν *ed. pr.*, τὰ σὰ ἐρ[... ]ομεν Naldini, τὰ σὰ ἐρ[... ]ομεν Manfredi in Naldini's *app. crit.* Manfredi's τὰ σὰ is correct; after the break *ed. pr.*'s ]σ is a possibility, or even one of the odd nus of this hand, but there is a good match with the gamma omicron of the following word, προσαγορεύει. The trace of pi is a tiny one from the lower left, not at all distinctive. The sense of ἐπ[εἰ]γομεν in this place seems satisfactory. It is probable that it means something quite specific that was known to the correspondents but not to us, *e.g.* „we are collecting (particular) payments that are due to you“, or „we are pressing on with your (particular) official business“.

ἀνούμερ(ος): πλουμέρ(ος) *ed. pr.*, Naldini. There is no mark of abbreviation, hence the use of diamond brackets, indicating an omission by the writer.

The word has been recognized in only one published document, see I.-M. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, J. Diethart, *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter* i, Wien 1996, 75–76 s. v. ἀννούμερος, citing only O.Ashm. Shelton 74.2 (= SB I 2253 No. 11). The group of ostraca into which it falls records distributions of allowances of food to officials, one of whom is a συγκάθεδρος, or *assessor*, the legal assistant of a high Roman procurator (O.Ashm. Shelton 80). From the papyri we know of only one *assessor*, who was in the

service of an epistrategus of c. A.D. 285, see P.Oxy. L 3570.3 n., which also cites a metrical inscription from Cilicia referring to a συνκάθεδρον Θήβης Νειλωΐδος ἡγεμονῆος, interpreted as *assessor praesidis Thebaidos*, see J. F. Gilliam, *A Student at Berytus*, ZPE 13 (1974) 147–150. See now also R. Kotansky, *Magic in the Court of the Governor of Arabia*, ZPE 88 (1991) 41–60, esp. 47–48, who publishes a magical inscription on a sheet of gold mentioning an *assessor* of a mid-fourth century *dux Arabiae*. The other recipients in the ostraca, *princeps*, *exceptores*, *quaestionarii* (see P.Oxy. LIX 3986.9–10 n.), etc., see O.Ashm. Shelton pp. 66–68, are all appropriate to the *officium* of a high Roman official.

I am grateful to Dr R. A. Coles for allowing me to refer also to a papyrus of A.D. 363, to be published by him in a forthcoming volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which mentions an ἀννούμερος τάξεως τοῦ κυρίου μου τ[ο]ῦ λαμ(προτάτου) δουκός.

For the odd Greek form of the title we can compare ἀβάκτις from *ab actis*, ἀβρέβις from *a breuibus*, and ἀκομεντανήσιος from *commentariensis* (with a sidelong nod at *a commentariis*), see Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, Diethart, *Lex.Lat.Lehnw.*, s. vv. It appears to be based on the unattested, but regularly formed, Latin term *a numeris*, similar to *a rationibus*, *ab epistulis* etc. One of the associated ostraca actually has τῷ ἀκομεντανησίῳ (O.Ashm. Shelton 73). This presumably denotes the same position as κομ(μ)ενταρήσιος, *commentariensis*, and we can conclude that the ἀν(ν)ούμερος occupied the same post as the νομμεράριος, *numerarius*, see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*<sup>2</sup>, s. v., a financial clerkship on the staffs of high Roman officials, cf. introd., where it is suggested that this man may have been on the staff of the governor of the province of Augustamnica, which had its metropolis at Pelusium, cf. 3. The earliest dated *numerarius* in the papyri occurs in P.Haun. III 58 of A.D. 439, see J. R. Rea, *P.Haun. III 58*, ZPE 99 (1993) 89–95, esp. 95 (note to line 20; add RE XVII 2 (1937) 1297–1323 s. v. *numerarius*), although they appear frequently in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, probably largely compiled by the turn of the fifth century. It is possible that this rare form should dispose us to date P.Ant. 44 earlier rather than later in the rather long period that our palaeographical judgement of the script would allow.

The name Ἀννούμερις looks as if it might have some connection with the title, although Guy Wagner derives it from Latin *Numerius*, see O.Douch I 6.1–2 Ἀννούμερις Θ[ c. 5? ] | γεωργῶ χάρ(ειν). δὸς κτλ. (IV/V), cf. III 251.5, 270.4, 16; SB XVI 12358.4–5 σεσημίωμαι ἐγὼ Ἀννούμερις (IV), 12803.3 δι' Ἀνν'οῦ'μ(έρεως, or -ερίου? — if from -ριος or *Numerius*, or -ερις? — if indeclinable from Latin *a numeris*). However, J. Gascou links it rather with the names and/or ethnics Ἀνωμερίδης and Κατωμερίδης, cf. ἀνωμερίτης, κατωμερίτης, see J. Gascou, L. MacCoull, *Le cadastre d'Aphroditô*, Travaux et Mémoires 10 (1987) 144 note 234.

18. πανέστιον (l. -τιον). This remains the only papyrological reference to πανέστιος.

21. ἀσύ[κ]ρι [τε (l. ἀσύγκριτε, cf. 14): ἀσύ[γ]κ[ριτε] ed. pr., Naldini. The upsilon is a very inconspicuous little bowl-shaped letter ligaturing directly into the odd nu of this hand, see 15 n., the iota is a high riser which is presumably what was read as kappa, but it is preceded by a spot of ink probably from the detached loop of rho.



P. ANT. I 44



P.ANT. I 44 back

zu Rea, S. 187ff. (Verso)