



TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Bernhard Palme
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 19, 2004

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WOLZHAUSEN



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H O L Z H A U S E N

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Tafeln 1–9

STAMATIOS BUSSÈS

Euripides, *Phoenissae* 469 and a Consular Date

P.Heid. Inv. G 1744
Provenance unknown

6.5 × 10.3 cm

112 or 222 or 236 A.D.
Tafel 1

Rectangular fragment of an extensively worm-eaten papyrus sheet. It is broken off on three sides except the upper margin, where a space of 2.2 cm is left unwritten. Text is written in two columns, the width and the height of which are unknown. The left column is written in greyish ink and contains the right part of a documentary text divided into three parts by spaces of 1.3 cm (= *l.* 6 and 10). Both spaces bear indiscernible traces of ink. The right column is written by another hand in darker ink and thicker pen; a series of the letters δ, ε, ζ is preserved. Both texts are written along the fibres and the back is blank. In between the columns there is another line (*l.* 22), written perpendicularly downwards and containing verse 469 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*. The writing of the documentary text indicates a professional scribe and it may be compared to W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonnæ 1911, Tab. 22b or to E. Boswinkel, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy Labels*, Amsterdam 1968, Nr. 20. It can be assigned to the 2nd cent. A.D. The second text is written by a slow, unskilled hand and shows features which can be attributed to a schoolboy: the writing is off the line, alphas have the epigraphical form and the λ in the word ἀπλοῦς is written in shaky handwriting. It can also be assigned to the 2nd cent. A.D. by comparison to *P.Mert.* II 54 (Tab. in *ed. pr.*).

| Col. I | | | Col. II | | |
|--------|-------|----------------------------------|---------|------|-------------|
| 1 | 2.H.? | <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i> | 12 | 2.H. | [- - -] |
| 2 | 1.H. | [- - -] σ̣τ̣η̣ χειρόγραφον | 13 | | δ̣[- - -] |
| 3 | | [- - -] κα τὸ γενόμενον | 14 | | δ̣[- - -] |
| 4 | | [- ἐπὶ ὑπά]των Ἀυτοκράτορος | 15 | | ε̣[- - -] |
| 5 | | [- Ἀφρι]κανοῦ πρὸ ἐπτὰ | 16 | | ε̣[- - -] |
| 6 | | • • | 17 | | ε̣[- - -] |
| 7 | | [- δηναρίω]ν ξ̣ ξ̣ ἄσσαρί(ων) ἰ | 18 | | ε̣[- - -] |
| 8 | | [- - -] ν̣ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων | 19 | | ζ̣[- - -] |
| 9 | | [- Ἀφρι]κανοῦ πρὸ | 20 | | ζ̣[- - -] |
| 10 | 2.H. | <i>vacat</i> <i>vacat</i> | 21 | | [- - -] |
| 11 | 1.H. | [- - -] πρὸς τὴν τια | | | — — — |

22 downwards: ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔ[φου - - -]

22. της ex την pap.

The hand of the Euripides text, the series of letters in alphabetical order at the end of the second column and the maxim character of the verse evidently point to a school exercise of an elementary level. The particular series of letters alludes to an alphabetical or — unlikely — a mathematical exercise. The possibility of having a complete *Addition* (1+1, 1+2, 1+3 ... 1+9, 2+2 ... 2+9, up to 9+9, as in *MPER NS XV 150–151*, Tab. 69, 1st cent. A.D.) must be ruled out. Five lines would be necessary for a complete addition and here there are only four, if epsilon stands for a number. An improbable example of mathematical exercise with multiplications of numbers arranged in four rows separated by a horizontal line can be found in *MPER NS XV 157* (Tab. 72) from 9/10th cent. A.D. The alphabet¹, *Sententiae* (like these in *CGFP 107*) or list of words or names² organized in sets of four³ starting with an identical letter could possibly provide an explanation for this exercise. The combination of alphabetical exercises with verses is not rare⁴ and is indicative of the common practice by Greek teachers to combine the alphabet with maxims. It is not unusual for documentary texts to be reused as school exercise material⁵. There exist papyri which bear documentary and school texts on the same side⁶ and this also applies to Euripides⁷.

Euripides is one of the most renowned ancient writers⁸, indeed the best known among the tragedians⁹ and *Phoenissae* one of his most popular plays, also among teachers¹⁰. Due to its maxim character, the verse in question has often been lifted by

I would like to express my thanks to Dieter Hagedorn for his invaluable suggestions, the staff of the Heidelberg and the Viennese collection and Amphilochos Papatthomas for the corrections to the text. I would also like to thank Georg Schmelz who had made a first transcription to the papyrus and Sandra Hodeček for her precious help.

¹ Writing exercises like *P.Oxy. II 285* (= R. Criore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta 1996 [= ASP 36] Cat. Nr. 131, Photo XVI, 1st cent. A.D.).

² Like those in F. Maltomini, C. Römer, *Noch einmal 'Ad Demonicum' auf einer Schultafel*, *ZPE 75* (1988) 297–300 (= Criore Nr. 308) or *P.Genova II 53* (= Criore Nr. 100).

³ For the “raggruppamento in tetradì” see *P.Genova II 10* fn. 1.

⁴ *BKT V.2 XVII no. 6*, 1st cent. A.D. (= Criore *l.c.* Nr. 182, Photo XIX) *Troades* 876–9; *SB XX 14654 + 14655*, *sententia*; W. Brunsch, *Orientalia Suecana 31–32* (1982–83) 38–39 no. 6 = G. Nachtergaeel, *Une tablette scolaire du British Museum*, *CdÉ 73* (1998) 324–326 = *SB XXIV 16071*.

⁵ F. G. Kenyon, *Mél. Weil*, p. 243–248 = *P.Lit.Lond.* 138; *P.Oxy. LX 4026* = *PCG 08 13*; *P.Mil.Vogl. VI 263* (cf. the discussion there about reusing papyri for school texts).

⁶ *MPER NS XV 14*, Tab. 4 (= Criore *l.c.* Nr. 7, 4–5th cent. A.D.); *MPER NS XV 13*, Tab. 3 (= Criore *l.c.* Nr. 10, 5th cent. A.D.); P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Hermeneus 42* (1971) 255 no. 2, Plate, *non vidì* (= Criore *l.c.* Nr. 25, 6th cent. A.D.).

⁷ *MPER NS III 32* (= Criore *l.c.* Nr. 192); *P.Mert. II 54* (= Criore *l.c.* Nr. 282). Both documents come from the 2nd cent. A.D.

⁸ In the LDAB (see fn. 13) Euripides in the 2nd cent. A.D. with 75 papyri is placed second in the list of authors in the papyri found after Homer (787), and third in the 3rd cent. with 37 papyri after Homer (641) and Hesiod (43).

⁹ Criore *l.c.* p. 49.

¹⁰ J. M. Bremer, *The Popularity of Euripides' Phoenissae in Late Antiquity*, Actes du VII^e Congrès de la F.I.E.C., Vol. I, Budapest 1984, 281–288, mainly 284; R. Criore, *The Grammarian's Choice: The Popularity of Euripides, Phoenissae in Hellenistic and Roman Education*, in: Yun Lee Too (ed.) *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Brill 2001, 241–259, mainly 248–250.

ancient writers and sometimes it is attributable to Euripides¹¹, other times it is not¹². Despite this fact no other papyrological evidence reports verse 469¹³. The papyrus does not offer variants to the textual tradition.

Too little survives as to the nature of the documentary text, the dating, or the provenance to be determined. Any attempt to come to absolute conclusions is impeded by the fragmentary nature of the papyrus, so we are limited to mere conjectures here. The layout suggests that it is a conclusive part of a document (including the date, the sum of money involved and closing formulas) or extracts from various documents. The mentioning of the word χειρόγραφον makes it even more difficult to decide, given the variant forms of construction of the particular document, especially during the Roman period¹⁴. Nevertheless, the *denarii* and *assaria* point to a military milieu¹⁵ or a private document that has been written outside the borders of Egypt, transported to Egypt or re-written in that country¹⁶.

¹¹ Alex. Aphr., in *Metaph.* 818, 18 (Hayduck); Jul., *Ad Herac.* 9, 34 (Rocheffort); Stob., *Anth.* 3. 11, 1, 2 (Wachsmuth, Hense); Ammon., in *Porph.* 49, 14 (Busse); David, in *Porph.* 126, 13 (Busse); Schol. Aeschin. 3. 50, 4 (Schultz).

¹² Sext. Emp., *adv. Math.* 3. 104, 4; 7. 50, 3 (Mutschmann, Mau); Did. Caec., *de Trin.* (lib. 3) 39, 781, 28 (MPG 39); Epiph., *Haer.* 2. 509, 19 (Holl, GCS 31); Jo. Philop., in *Arist. cat.* 13.1, 37, 15 (Busse); Elias, in *Porph.* 54, 6 (Busse); Michael, in *Nicom.* ix, 516, 4 (Heylbutt); Apostolius, 3. 62, 1 (von Leutsch); Schol. (vet.) *Plat. Resp.* 576c, 2 (Greene).

¹³ A collective catalogue of papyri containing *Phoenissae* can be found in *P.Oxy.* LXVII p. 12–14. In order to assist the reader I put here the numbers of the LDAB (W. Clarysse et al., *The Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>) followed by the corresponding numbers in Mertens-Pack³ (M.-H. Marganne et al., *La base de données expérimental Mertens-Pack³ en ligne*, <http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.htm>): 0529 = 0227 + 0425; 0894 = 0417 + 0420.21; 0907 = 0414.2; 0911 = 0424; 0919 = 0422; 0921 = 0423; 0923 = 420.01; 0925 = 0453; 0933 = 0415.01; 0934 = 0417.11; 0935 = 0426.01; 0946 = 0420; 0948 = 0421; 0950 = 0414.1; 0951 = 0420.2; 0952 = 0426.1; 0962 = 0417.2; 0984 = 0420.1; 0989 = 0419.01; 0998 = 0425.1; 1001 = 0418; 1002 = 0419; 1006 = 0415; 1013 = 0417.1; 1022 = 0416; 1050 = Pack 1934; 1051 = 0426; 1054 = Pack 2642; 9905 = 0425.01. P.Heid. Inv. G 1744 is Nr. 0923 = 420.01.

¹⁴ See H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats* II, München 1978, 111–112; M. Amelotti, L. Migliardi Zingale, *Συγγραφή, χειρόγραφον – testatio, chirographum. Osservazioni in tema di tipologia documentali*, in: G. Nenci, G. Thür (edd.), *Symposion 1988. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Köln, Wien 1990, 302.

¹⁵ A contract between two soldiers is probable. In this respect P.Heid. Inv. G. 1744 bears similarities to *P.Fouad* 45 = *ChLA* XLII 1207 = *CPL* 189 = *C.Epist.Lat.* 155, a loan of 50 *denarii* from 153 A.D. The text is bilingual and, as the editor notes, *le corps de l'acte est écrit en latin, mais le mode de rédaction reste grec puisque l'acte est établi, selon la forme personnelle, au nom du débiteur, comme dans le χειρόγραφον*. This document contains the main elements of P.Heid., i.e. consular dating, *denarii*, and date after *Calendae*.

¹⁶ E. Christiansen, *On Denarii and Other Coin-Terms in the Papyri*, ZPE 54 (1984) 278ff. reports two other kinds of documents mentioning *denarii*: a) Jewish tax receipts on ostraca, b) official documents (e.g. imperial laws) using *denarii* as a reckoning unit and accounting device. Both these cases have to be ruled out because the character of cheirographon contradicts them. The latter also observes that private documents mentioning *denarii* were, as a rule, drawn up outside Egypt (278–279, 282, 284) or subsequently

The dating formula after consuls¹⁷, of whom the first was an emperor, contains the twice mentioned (l.4–5 and 8–9) cognomen ending in $-\text{ικανός}$ ¹⁸. The cognomen Ἀφρικανός — fitting for the papyrus — indicates four consulships: a) Traianus and T. Sextius Africanus¹⁹ in 112 A.D., b) emperor Elagabal or emperor Severus Alexander and Gordianus (the later emperor Gordianus I.) as consul in about 222 A.D.²⁰, for which the consulship of Gordianus is uncertain, c) emperor Severus Alexander and the later emperor Gordianus II. as consul, at anytime and if Gordianus has served as consul under Severus Alexander²¹ and d) emperor Maximinus Thrax and consul M. Pupienus Africanus in 236 A.D.²².

The same difficulty in arriving at solid conclusions applies also to the provenance of the papyrus: although it cannot be excluded that the document was written in Egypt, being attributable to a military environment (accounts, contracts) that uses *denarii* as a reckoning unit and an accounting device, two elements strongly suggest that the document was drawn up outside the confines of Egypt²³: The papyrus is dated after consuls and mentions Roman money. Dating with consuls before the reform of Diocletian is a general characteristic of non-Egyptian papyri²⁴ and it is safe to assume

brought to Egypt (285). — Typical characteristics of cheirographa originating from provinces of the Roman Empire other than Egypt, and known to date are the loss of the letter-form and having the dating formula at the beginning of the document, not the case on this papyrus (Wolff, *Recht* [n. 14] 110, Amelotti, Migliardi Zingale, *Συγγραφή* [n. 14] 304).

¹⁷ “Distinctly rare before the third century A.D.”, as W. J. Tait, *A Fragment of a Table of Consuls from Tebtunis*, PapCongr XIV, London 1975, 303 concludes.

¹⁸ See comm. l.5, 9.

¹⁹ A. Degrassi, *I Fasti Consolari dell’Impero Romano. Dal 30 avanti Christo al 613 dopo Cristo*, Roma 1952, 33.

²⁰ See P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–236 n.Chr.)*. *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Elite im römischen Kaiserreich*, Amsterdam 1989, 180–181, 369.

²¹ D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, Darmstadt ²1990, 190; Leunissen, *Konsuln* (n. 20) 188, 296.

²² Degrassi, *Fasti* (n. 19) 65, *P.Dura* 117, col. i.

²³ No information is found in the Heidelberg collection as to the provenance of the papyrus nor can the palaeography provide any evidence. E. Crisci’s (*Scrivere greco fuori d’Egitto, Ricerche sui manoscritti greco-orientali di origine non egiziana dal IV secolo a.C. all’VIII d.C.*, [Pap.Flor. 27], Firenze 1996) observations pertinent to non-Egyptian palaeographical features cannot be considered indisputable because it can be argued that a) palaeography can serve only as rough proof and not empirical fact, b) papyri from Egypt also have the same palaeographical features and c) the term non-Egyptian refers to a vast area. In any case, should these characteristics see 21–23 for Syria, 25 for Lycia, 23–24 for Pamphylia, 51ff. for the northern part of the Arabian province, 144ff. for Mesopotamia, especially for the present papyrus Fig. 51–66 (Tav. 12), 113–126, Tav. 21–22 be valid, they are also found in this papyrus. A catalogue of papyri from the Near Eastern provinces is provided by H. M. Cotton, W. E. H. Cockle, F. G. B. Millar, *The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey*, JRS 85 (1995) 214–235.

²⁴ Dating after consuls before the Diocletian reform is typical for papyri written outside of Egypt, see e.g. in *P.Dura* 25, 26, 29, 30–32 and *P.Babatha* 5, 11, 12, 14–16, 17–23, 25–27, 31 or in *P.Murabba’ât* II 114 = *SB* X 10304 and in *BGU* III 913. For cases like *P.Oxy.* XLII 3054 (document drawn up in Bostra, capital of the Arabian province, see *P.Oxy.* LIV p. xviii), *SB* XIV 11589 (a Syrian χειριστής is involved, see the discussion of

that *denarii* did not circulate in Egypt before 296²⁵. Even rarer is the combination of consular dating with Roman money, which is found only in Latin²⁶ or Greek papyrus that have been written without the borders of Egypt before Diocletian's reform²⁷.

Notwithstanding the weak evidence, the hypothesis I am inclined to accept is that the papyrus came from a military camp and later on, having lost its legal value, was recycled as writing material for a school exercise.

1. It is difficult to decide if the traces of ink correspond to the letter ε, written by the second hand. It is rather improbable, due to its position, that its function is the numbering of a column, (ZPE 88 [1991], Com. "Upper margin" p. 171; *P.Oslo* III 115, Com. on numeration of columns p. 169) in case that the papyrus contains extracts of different documents.

2. –]στη: The reading is difficult even under magnification. The scribe wrote one letter above the other. There exists the possibility of reading στη which points to the formula δημοσιῶσαι παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδικαστῆι as in *SB* I 4651, 4653 and *P.Grenf.* II 71 Col. 1, directly followed by the word χειρόγραφον. All these documents from the third century A.D. describe the *demosiosis* of *cheirographon* (Wolff, *Recht* [n. 14] 112; O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Torino 1973, 153, 198). It is also possible to read] του, which points to the *Kyria-Klausel* (Wolff, *l.c.* 108) under the form of κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον, as for example in *P.Gen.* I² 35; *P.Hamb.* I 32; *BGU* I 50, 69, 272; *P.Diog.* 27; *P.Flor.* I 62; *CPR* I 194; *P.Oxy.* III 507; *PSI* XII 1250.

3. The ending -κα followed by τό implies a verb. A verb ending -κατο, leaving γενόμενον without an article, seem less probable. The word γενόμενον may be instead of γραφέν for the common documentary formula: ἀπλοῦν / μοναχόν / δισσοῦν γενόμενον.

4–5. ὑπάτων Αὐτοκράτορος: The reading -]των in line 4 allows only the phrase ἐπὶ ὑπάτων. The titulature of the persons involved must be taken without the characteristic formula τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. In case of the consulship of the emperor Traianus with the consul T. Sextius Africanus the longest possible titulature to be supplemented will be: ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Παρθικοῦ καὶ Τίτου Σεξτίου Ἀφρικανοῦ (± 74 characters, P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte* [30 a.C.–284 p.C.], Bruxelles 1964, 46–54). For the emperor Elagabal and the consul Gordianus the titulature will be: ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνί-

C. Gallazzi, *Per un'unificazione di P.Strasb. inv. 1234 e P.Strasb. inv. 1238*, ZPE 22 [1976] 72–73), *SB* IV 7366 (ἀπόφασις of the emperors Severus and Caracalla, expected to be under Roman dating. See also J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, 267–469, Nr. 243) and *P.Hamb.* I 39 BB (receipt from soldiers) which come from Egypt, the specific circumstances of drafting have to be taken into consideration.

²⁵ Christiansen, *Denarii* (n. 16) 278.

²⁶ E.g. *P.Lond.* II 229 p. xxi (24. May 166); *ChLA* I 12 (7. Oct. after 167); *P.Grenf.* II 108 (7. Oct. 167); *BGU* VII 1655 Col. III (3. June 169). Greek translation of the Latin text with mention of *sestertii*; *P.Mich.* VII 451 (206 A.D.).

²⁷ E.g. *P.Babatha* 37 (Maoza, 131 A.D.); *P.Turner* 22 (Side, 142 A.D.); *P.Murabba'ât* II 114 = *SB* X 10304 (Murabba'ât, 171? A.D.); *BGU* III 913 (Myra, 206 A.D.); *P.Dura* 32 (Dura Europos, 254 A.D.).

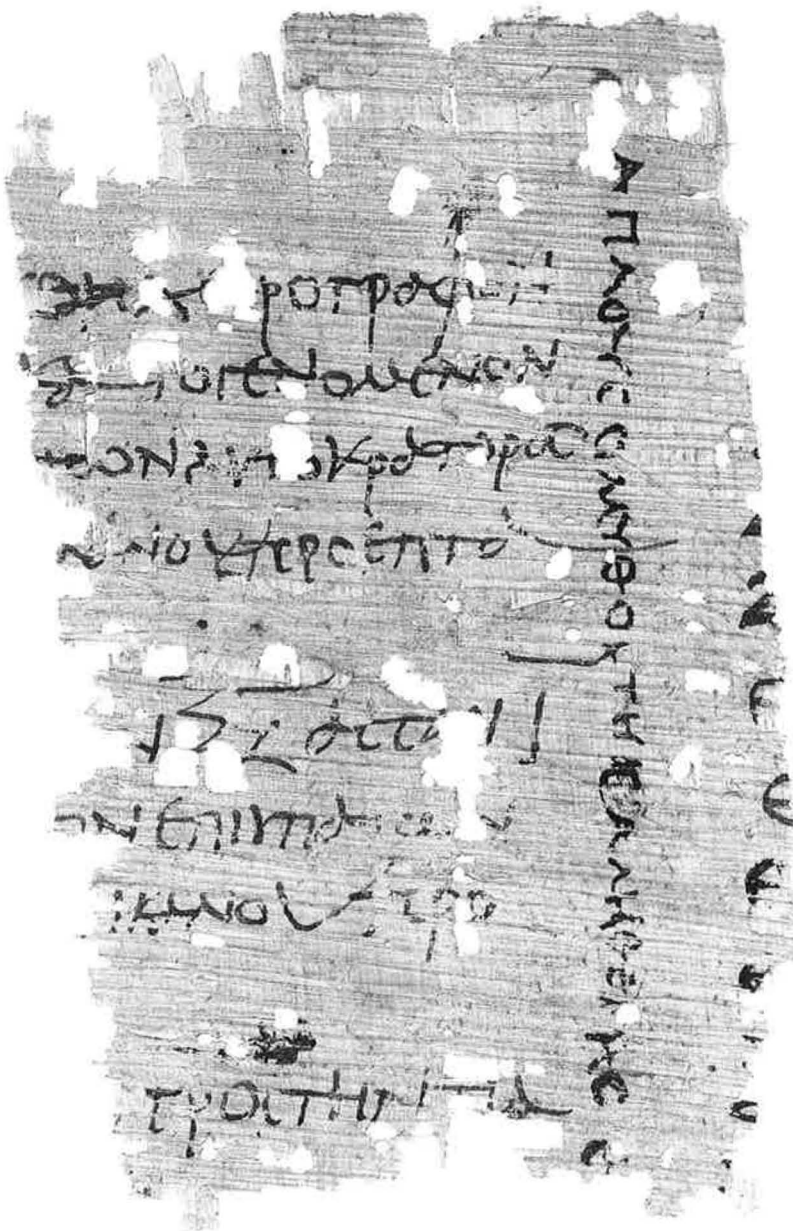
νου Εύσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Γορδιανοῦ Ρωμανοῦ Σεμπρωνιανοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ (± 134 characters; Bureth *l.c.* 107). For Severus Alexander with Gordianus I. or Gordianus II. (as father and son have the same titulature) it will be: ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντωνίνου Εύσεβοῦς υἱοῦ, Θεοῦ Σεπτίμιου Σεουήρου Εύσεβοῦς υἱωνοῦ, Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Εύσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπάτου πατρὸς πατρίδος καὶ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίνου Γορδιανοῦ Ρωμανοῦ Σεμπρωνιανοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ (± 267 characters; Leunissen, *Konsuln* [n. 20] 110). For Maximinus Thrax and consul M. Pupienus Africanus the titulature will be: ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμίνου Εύσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Πουπιηνοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ (± 81 characters, Bureth *l.c.* 110–111). The Gentilicium Pupienius — as given by Degrassi, *Fasti* (n. 19). 65 — has no other testimonies: M. Peachin, *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284*, Amsterdam 1990, 152–156. Although the aforementioned titulatures, being the longest possible, presuppose a considerable width for the papyrus, it is rather uncommon that the complete titulatures are written out in full in the document.

5, 9. For *cognomina* or *gentilicia* in -ικανός see H. Solin, O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1988, 455. For the possibility that this ending refers to a *cognomen*, as implied by its position in the papyrus, see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 19. -ικανός (l.5, 9) as a cognomen of an emperor or a consul leaves only two possibilities: Ἀφρικανός (*PIR*² I, s.v.; Degrassi, *Fasti* [n. 19] 242) and Γαλλικανός (R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987, 714, 721; *PIR*² IV, s.v.; Degrassi *l.c.* 253; see also Tait, *Table of Consuls* [n. 17] 304: l.150 ιγ] σκ[υ]λλαγ[-, mutilated form of M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus. The consul Ovinius Gallicanus (*cos.* 317 and 330; Degrassi *l.c.* 79, 80 and Bagnall et al. *l.c.* 168, 194) can be ruled out, because his consulship was always with other consuls, not with an emperor.

5. Πρὸ ἐπτά points to dating after the Roman calendar, followed by the name of the month after line 5 (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLII 3018, 10: πρὸ ἐπτά εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίων; *P.Babatha* 16, 9: πρὸ τεσσάρων νωνῶν Δεκεμβρίων; *P.Oxy.* I 43 Col. V: πρὸ τεσσάρων Καλενδῶν Φεβραρίων). The same is repeated in line 9.

7. The sum of 67 *denarii* and 10 *assaria* equals to 270 dr. 3 ob. (the parity of 1:4 is not always secure, see P. Cugusi, *CEL* II, Comment. 13, 7 and 72, 6. During the 2nd cent. A.D. the sum corresponds to living expenses of one man per year, cf. H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/ Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten*, St. Katharinen 1991, 453.

11. –] πρὸς τὴν τια: If the reading of the papyrus is –] πρὸς τὴν πα-, we can assume the formula πρὸς τὴν πᾶσαν πίστιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν and the similar (e.g. *BGU* XII 2180; *P.Amh.* II 95; *P.Berl.Leihg.* 21; *P.Ant.* I 42). Nevertheless, an examination under magnification shows the beginning of a vertical line above the horizontal stroke of what is supposed to be a π, which does not allow the reading πα. In case of reading τια, we can complete the word as τιαύτην = ταύτην (*P.Mich.* XIII 667, 48) or τιαύτην = τοιαύτην (F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology*, Milano 1976, 272), which offers no possible solutions.



zu Bussès, S. 9ff. (P.Heid. Inv. G 1744)