



**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

TYCHE

**Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte,
Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

Band 32

2017

HOLZHAUSEN
— Der Verlag —

Impressum

Gegründet von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert, Ekkehard Weber

Herausgegeben von

TYCHE – Verein zur Förderung der Alten Geschichte in Österreich

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Christoph Samitz, Patrick Sängler, Kerstin Sängler-Böhm

Zuschriften und Manuskripte erbeten an

Redaktion TYCHE, c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und
Epigraphik, Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, 1010 Wien, Österreich.

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Richtlinien unter <http://www.univie.ac.at/alte-geschichte>

Bei der Redaktion einlangende wissenschaftliche Werke werden angezeigt.

Auslieferung

Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, Leberstraße 122, A-1110 Wien

E-Mail: office@verlagholzhausen.at

Online Bestellungen Print & TYCHE–Open Access

<https://shop.verlagholzhausen.at/hhshop/buch.wissenschaft/Tyche/Jahresbaende.htm>

<http://tyche-journal.at>

Umschlag: Militärdiplom aus Carnuntum (ZPE 172, 2010, 271–276; Photo: P. Böttcher),
Inscription aus Ephesos (ÖJh 55, 1984, 130 [Inv. Nr. 4297]; Photo: P. Sängler), P.Vindob. G 2097
(= P.Charite 8).

Bibliografische Informationen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek und der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die ÖNB und die DNB verzeichnen diese Publikation in den Nationalbibliografien; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet abrufbar. Für die Österreichische Bibliothek: <http://onb.ac.at>, für die Deutsche Bibliothek: <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

Eigentümer und Verleger

Verlag Holzhausen GmbH, Leberstraße 122, A-1110 Wien

Herausgeber

TYCHE – Verein zur Förderung der Alten Geschichte in Österreich
c/o Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Papyrologie und Epigraphik,
Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, A-1010 Wien.

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Gedruckt auf holz- und säurefreiem Papier.

Verlagsort: Wien — Herstellungsort: Wien — Printed in Austria

ISBN: 978-3-903207-09-7 ISSN: 1010-9161 eISSN: 2409-5540

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freundliche Unterstützung der
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BEMERKUNGEN ZU POPYRI XXX

<Korr. Tyche>

832.–837. Lajos BERKES

Bemerkungen zu dokumentarischen Papyri aus dem 6.–7. Jh. II¹

832. P.Lond. III 1028

Zu dieser hermupolitischen Abrechnung — wohl aus der Mitte des 7. Jh. — schlage ich anhand des Originals folgende Berichtigungen vor:

Z. 21: Der über die Zeile geschriebene Text stammt von einer zweiten Hand.

Z. 25: [(ὄπερ) ῥύ]μ(ης) τ'οὐ' ἀγί(ου) . . . → [(ὄπερ) ῥύ]μ(ης) τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἐλισσ[α]ί[ου]. Der Heilige Elissaios und seine Straße in Hermupolis waren in Papyri bisher nicht belegt.²

Z. 26: Diese Zeile ist genauso ein Einschub von einer zweiten Hand wie Z. 21.

833. P.Lond. V 1791

Die Einsicht des Originals dieses Briefes (Herm./Oxy. [?]) zeigt, dass eine Datierung in das 6. Jh. (7. Jh. *ed. pr.*) zu bevorzugen ist. Ferner wird bisher nach der Lacuna am Ende der ersten Zeile in Z. 2: ὥστε με σημάναι. εἴη δὲ ὡς ἔχω τὰ π[α]ιδία [κτλ. gelesen. Dies ist eine merkwürdige Formulierung → ὥστε με σημάναι εἰ ἡδέως ἔχω τὰ π[α]ιδία [κτλ. ergibt mehr Sinn. Man könnte erwägen, ob in Z. 3 und 4, wo nach der *ed. pr.* der Name (eines Dorfes?) Herakleia genannt zu werden scheint (Ἡρακλεῖ[α]ς bzw. Ἡράκλε[ιαν]), in Wirklichkeit auf Herakleopolis verwiesen wird, da diese Lesungen bzw. Ergänzungen am Original kaum nachvollziehbar sind. Dies würde geographisch auch sehr gut zur mehrfachen Erwähnung von Oxyrhynchos (Z. 5, 7) passen. Die mutmaßliche hermupolitische Provenienz, die anhand einer zweifelhaften Ergänzung der Adresse auf dem Verso (τῆς Ἐρ[μουπ(όλεως) ?] in Betracht gezogen werden kann, ist deutlich weniger wahrscheinlich, als eine oxyrhynchitische oder herakleopolitische.

¹ Fortsetzung von *Korr. Tyche 735.–738. Bemerkungen zu dokumentarischen Papyri aus dem 6.–7. Jh.*, Tyche 28 (2013) 203–204.

² Vgl. A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, Paris 2001. De L. O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt. An Alphabetical Compendium of Martyrs, Patriarchs and Sainted Ascetes in the Coptic Calendar, Commemorated in the Jacobite Synaxarium*, London 1937 (repr. New York 1974), 129 enthält die Angabe „Elisha, Old Testament Prophet, 20 Baounah (14 June).“

834. P.Mich. XV 748

Dieser Lieferungskauf verdient besondere Aufmerksamkeit, da er vielleicht einer der wenigen Texte aus Oxyrhynchos ist, die in die früh-arabische Zeit datiert werden können.³ Ein Problem des Textes ist die Herkunftsangabe einer der Vertragsparteien in Z. 4: ἀπὸ γ(ορίου) Ματάειτος . . . [.] . () τοῦ Ὀξ(υρυ)χ(ίτου) νομοῦ. Das Dorf Mataeitōs ist von der Mitte des 4. Jh. bis zur arabischen Zeit bezeugt: P.Mich. XV 748 ist der letzte bekannte Beleg. Das Dorf gehörte früher zum 6. Pagus des Oxyrhynchites. Die problematische Stelle wurde von Gonis besprochen. Er klärt ein Missverständnis der BL, schlägt jedoch keine Lesung für die Buchstaben nach Ματάειτος vor.⁴ Anhand der Abbildung, die durch das HGV zu erreichen ist, lese ich → Ματάειτος βορρ(ινοῦ) (βορρ' pap.). Zum Dorf Mataei/Mataeitōs bemerkte Benaissa:⁵ „Gomaà et al., Mittelägypten⁶ 83, propose an identification with Kom Matai, but this place is too far south (near the territory of the Upper toparchy/1st pagus) to correspond to a village of the 6th pagus.“ Man könnte vermuten, dass Kom Matai die südliche Mataei(tos) war und in P.Mich. XV 748 das gleichnamige nördliche Dorf erwähnt wird.

835. SB I 5319

Dieses vermutlich arsinoitische Papyrusfragment wurde zuerst von Magirus 1886 beschrieben.⁷ Es enthält die rechte obere Ecke einer Urkunde, v.a. Teile der Invokation und der Datierungsformel. Der Text wurde von Plaumann für das SB bearbeitet⁸ und dann als SB I 5319 abgedruckt. Bagnall und Worp rekonstruierten später Μαρία in Z. 3.⁹ Die kürzlich online gestellte Abbildung ermöglicht jedoch weitere Fortschritte in der Textkonstitution:¹⁰ Unten biete ich eine Neuedition des Fragmentes an. Der Papyrus liefert einen weiteren Beleg für die Invokationsformel 4b und die diokletianische Ära.¹¹ Die Indiktion ist allerdings ein Jahr niedriger, als es das Ärajahr vermuten ließe. Diese Diskrepanz ist mehrfach belegt und ist wahrscheinlich auf Kalkulierungsfehler zurückzuführen.¹² Der Indiktion folgend datiert der Text auf den 8. März 673.

³ Vgl. N. Gonis, *Notes on Oxyrhynchus Papyri III*, ZPE 150 (2004) 197–202, hier 198–199 und id., *Seventh-Century Oxyrhynchite Documents in the Beinecke Library*, ZPE 153 (2005) 169–171, hier 171 mit Anm. 5.

⁴ S. Daris, *Ricerche di papirologia documentaria II*, Aegyptus 63 (1983) 117–169, hier 152 bemerkte bei der Diskussion von Mataeis, dass das Dorf zum 6. Pagus gehörte, was in BL VIII 219–220 als ein Ergänzungs- bzw. Lesevorschlag für ε' πάγου aufgenommen wurde, s. Gonis, *Notes* (s. o. Anm. 3) 198–199.

⁵ A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. A Papyrological Survey* (Trismegistos Online Publications 4), Version 2.0, May 2012 (<http://www.trismegistos.org/top.php>), s.v.

⁶ F. Gomaà, R. Müller-Wollermann, W. Schenkel, *Mittelägypten zwischen Samalut und dem Gabal Abu Sir: Beiträge zur historischen Topographie der pharaonischen Zeit* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften 69), Wiesbaden 1991.

⁷ K. Magirus, *Griechische Papyri im Ägyptischen Museum in Berlin*, WS 8 (1886) 92–108, hier 95 (Nr. 6).

⁸ 'Original durch Plaumann verglichen'. SB I, S. 564.

⁹ R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Christian Invocations in the Papyri*, CÉ 56 (1981) 112–133, hier 127 Anm. 7 (= BL VIII 321).

¹⁰ Vgl. den relevanten Eintrag unter <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/suche/>.

¹¹ Vgl. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden, Boston ²2004, bes. 101 und 109.

¹² Vgl. Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* (s. o. Anm. 11) 63–68.

27. 1. 552 ist jedoch genau die gleiche Kombination von Ehrentiteln zu finden wie in SB IV 7438.¹⁸ Die Identifikation des *dux* von SB IV 7438 bleibt somit unklar.

837. SB V 7655

Dieser spätantike Papyrusbrief zog schon mehrfach das Interesse der Forschung auf sich, da er im Detail über körperliche Züchtigung eines „dummen“ Kindes informiert. Criore interpretierte den Text aufgrund einer Überlegung des Herausgebers¹⁹ als den Brief eines Vaters an den Lehrer seines Sohnes.²⁰ Laes meinte ebenso:²¹ „In a papyrus, a father encourages a schoolmaster to give his son a good beating.“

Anhand des Originals schlage ich einige Berichtigungen zum Papyrus vor:

Z. 1: ἀξι[ω]τ[ι] → σζ . τ[ι]

Z. 2: εὐχαρ[ι]στ[ω] ὑμῖν → ηὐχαρ[ι]στ[ω] ησ-

Z. 3:] κατὰ[γ]η →] . α τῶν

Z. 4: ἐκεῖνο → καὶ ἴνα. Die Lesung θ[έ]λω ist am Original nicht nachvollziehbar.

Z. 7: φιλεῖτε ἐμὲ → φιλεῖτέ με; καταρ . [→ καγ . [

Z. 16: διαστραφῆ[ναι]: Es scheint nicht genug Platz für [ναι] auf dem Papyrus zu sein. Schrieb der Schreiber eventuell fehlerhaft διαστραφῆ? Für einen ähnlichen Fall vgl. L. Berkes, *An Estate Prison in Byzantine Egypt: PSI VII 824 Reconsidered*, ZPE 193 (2015) 241–243, bes. 242.

Z. 23: πρέπουσα → vielleicht πρέπουσα[v]

Z. 26: κατὰξω → βαστάξω. Der Schreiber wird den jungen Mann nicht zurückführen, sondern erträgt ihn.

Der Text wurde in der *ed. pr.* in das 6. Jh. datiert, jedoch deutet die Handschrift eher auf das 7. Jh. hin; in CPR XXX lassen sich zahlreiche Parallelen zur Paläographie finden. Es ist auch zu bemerken, dass die Anrede des Adressaten als μεγαλοπρεπέστατος in Z. 34 für einen Lehrer unangemessen zu sein scheint und es sich eher um einen hochrangigen Beamten handeln dürfte. Der Inhalt des Briefes, z.B. die Angelegenheiten der χωρία (Z. 16) oder die Erwähnung eines διοικητής (Z. 11), weisen eher auf eine administrative Korrespondenz hin. So liegt auch die Vermutung nahe, dass mit dem „Kind“ eher ein junger Mann gemeint ist, der vielleicht erst seit kurzer Zeit in der Verwaltung tätig ist. Es könnte eine Form von Spott sein, dass er als Kind beschrieben wird.

Es stellt sich auch die Frage, ob der Text eventuell mit dem Senuthios-Archiv in Zusammenhang zu bringen ist. Das Format, die Schrift und der Inhalt könnten für diese Vermutung sprechen, ebenso wie die Erwähnung des Dorfes Sinkere (Z. 4), das mehrfach im Archiv belegt ist, vgl. z.B. CPR XXX 5, 2. Ferner kommt der Ausdruck μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ὑμᾶς (Z. 34) sonst nur in zwei Texten vor: P.Lond. III 1075 (Z. 23) und CPR XIV 54 (Z. 4–5), die wohl beide zum Senuthios-Archiv gehören, vgl. F. Morelli in der Einl. zu CPR XXX, S. 1 und im Komm. zu CPR XXX 15, 3.

¹⁸ Diese Behauptungen stützen sich auf zwei im Druck befindliche Papyri aus Oxford: P.Oxy. inv. 55 1B.25(D)/H(5)a und P.Oxy. inv. 97/93(a) + 54 1B.26(E)/A(10)b. Ich danke Nikolaos Gonis für die Einsicht in seine Edition dieser beiden Dokumente.

¹⁹ „That the writer of the letter was Anastasius’ father is in itself probable and need not be ruled out because he speaks of himself in the third person in 1.29.“ C. H. Roberts, *Two Letters of the Byzantine Period*, JEA 21 (1935) 52–54.

²⁰ R. Criore, *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton 2001, 69–70 und 218–219.

²¹ C. Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2011, 141.

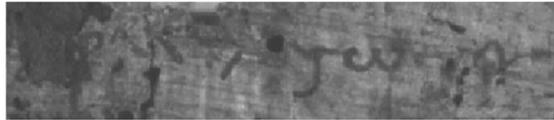
Obwohl einiges für die Zugehörigkeit des Textes zum Archiv sprechen könnte, ist eine eindeutige Zuweisung aber nicht möglich.

Lajos BERKES

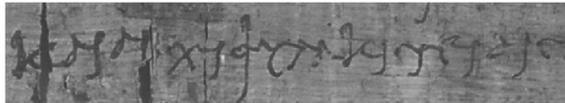
838.–843. Ana Isabel BLASCO TORRES
New Ghostnames from Papyrological Documents²²

838. Ἄρνελτωτης → Ἄρνεκτωτης

In P.Tebt. I 27, col. 2, l. 27 (113 BC), the editors read the proper name Ἄρνελτώτου, with a dot under the λ. This name is not listed in the *NB* or in the *Onomasticon*. The name that should be read here is Ἄρνεκτώτου, with κ instead of λ (cf. κ and λ in other words of the text written by the same hand, as, for example, in col. 2, l. 39: καὶ ἀρχιφυλακτείας; or col. 3, l. 64: ἐκπληρωθέντων), which corresponds to the Egyptian prototype *Hr-nḥt-ī=f*, “Horos, who protects his father”. The name Ἄρνεκτώτης as a rendering of *Hr-nḥt-ī=f*, listed in the *Onomasticon* (p. 50), is well attested²³.



P.Tebt. I 27, col. 2, l. 27



P.Tebt. I 27, col. 2, l. 39: καὶ ἀρχιφυλακτείας



P.Tebt. I 27, col. 3, l. 64: ἐκπληρωθέντων

839. Λαβως → Λαβωις

In PSI IV 371 Verso, l. 23 (250 BC), the editors read the dative Λαβῶτι, of a name **Λαβως, listed in the *NB* (col. 191). However, the ι between the ω and the τ has been missed by the editors, and the name should be read as Λαβῶτι (nominative Λαβῶις), listed in the *NB* (col. 191) and in the *Onomasticon* (p. 176) and attested in the same papyrus (cf. PSI IV 371 Recto, l. 1: Ζήνων Λαβῶτι χάρειν)²⁴. The name Λαβῶις is the Greek rendering of Egyptian *Lby* (*NB Dem.* [p. 722]).

²² I am thankful to Willy Clarysse for his comments on a draft of this paper.

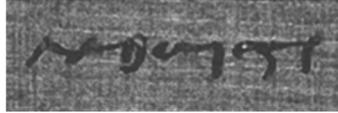
²³ Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=278>.

²⁴ Λαβος, listed in the *Onomasticon* (p. 176), had already been identified as a ghostname. Cf. P. W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (Pap.Lugd.Bat. 21), Leiden 1981, 272 (note 1) and 359.

The Egyptian *ȝod* is generally represented in the Greek transcriptions of this anthroponym²⁵ as τ or with an itacistic variant such as ετ.



PSI IV 371 Verso, l. 23



PSI IV 371 Recto, l. 1

840. Μαρυθισουχος → Μαρεσισουχος

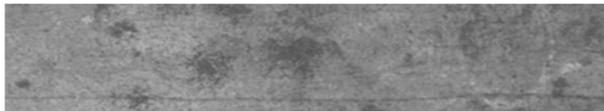
In P.Tebt. I 42 (= Chrest. Wilck. 328), l. 2 (ca. 114 BC), the editors read τοῦ Μαρυθισούχου — with dots under υ and θ —, a name that is not listed in the *NB* or in the *Onomasticon*. The υ, however, should be corrected to ε, and the θ, which is not really visible, to σ, which has been written with a ligature before the τ: Μαρεσισουχου. The proper name Μαρεσισουχος — Greek rendering of Egyptian *Mȝ'(.t)-R'-sz-Sbk*, “Marres, son of Sobek” (*NB Dem.* [p. 582–583]) — is attested in P.Hawara gr. 14, l. 1 and P.Hawara gr. 16 b, l. 3²⁶.



P.Tebt. I 42, l. 2

841. Πεταρσεπιθις → Πεταρσενθευς

In BGU VI 1491 (= C.Ptol. Sklav. II 221), l. 7 (II–I BC), the editors read the name Πεταρσέπιθεως, which is listed in the *Onomasticon* (p. 251). The letter π, with a dot, should be read as ν, since this name is a Greek transcription of Egyptian *Pȝ-di-Hr-Smȝ-tȝ.wy*, “He who has been given by Horos, the one who unites both lands” (*NB Dem.* [p. 334–335]). Even if the transcriptional variant Πεταρσεμθευς, with μ, is the most frequent for this name (cf. *NB* col. 311)²⁷, the variant with ν, Πεταρσενθευς, is also attested in P.Grenf. I 22, l. 1 and O.Cair. 21, l. 4. The name Πεταρσεπιθις should consequently be corrected to Πεταρσενθευς (genitive Πεταρσενθεως).



BGU VI 1491, l. 7

²⁵ Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=424>.

²⁶ For other transcriptional variants, cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=444>.

²⁷ Cf. also <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=860>.

842. Πρεκμηχίς → Πρεμμηχίς

In SB I 4364, l. 1 (AD 148), the editor reads the anthroponym Πρεκμήχ(εως), with a dot under the χ, a name listed in the *NB* (col. 343). However, the κ should be corrected to μ: Πρεμμηχ(εως). The first μ is wider than the next one, but it has been written with the same strokes and a ligature between the previous ε and the μ can be seen. The proper name Πρεμμηχίς is the transcription of Egyptian *P3-rmḫ-n-Mḥn, “The man of Hierakopolis”²⁸. The form Πρεμμηχίς as rendering of *P3-rmḫ-n-Mḥn is well attested²⁹.



SB I 4364, l. 1

843. Ταχεκυσίς → Ταπεκυσίς

The editor of P.Erl. 44, col. 3, l. 27 (II AD) reads the name Ταχεκῶσις, with a dot under the χ; this anthroponym is listed in the *Onomasticon* (p. 312). However, the crossed strokes of a χ cannot be clearly seen. The third letter of the name is uncertain, but the reading of a π is not impossible, as the etymology of the anthroponym indicates: this name is the Greek transcription of the Egyptian anthroponym *Ta-p3-ikš, “The one of the Kushite”³⁰. Consequently, it should probably be read as Ταπεκυσίς (cf. *NB* col. 414): this rendering is, in addition, well attested for this Egyptian prototype³¹.



P.Erl. 44, col. 3, l. 27

Ana Isabel BLASCO TORRES

844.–850. Willy CLARYSSE

844. BGU XVI 2673

In l. 23 the addendum onomasticis Σαρτίας ought to be corrected to the common name Σάτυρος, as is clear from the online picture of the Berlin website. *Tau* and *ypsilon* can be near identical in this hand.



²⁸ Cf. J. Bingen, W. Clarysse, *Elkab III. Les ostraca grecs (O.Elkab gr.)*, Bruxelles 1989, 40.

²⁹ Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=17992>.

³⁰ Cf. J. K. Winnicki, *Völkernamen als Personennamen im spätharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, in: A. M. F. W. Verhoogt, S. P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Greek and Demotic and Greek-Demotic Texts and Studies Presented to P. W. Pestman* (Pap.Lugd.Bat. 30), Leiden 1998, 172.

³¹ Cf. <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=1290>.

845. P.Erl. 90

P.Erl. 90 is an account of grain, written in a cursive hand. The first column is largely lost; the second column contains names of persons and amounts of wheat. The reading is difficult also because of the numerous abbreviations. L. 19 is a kind of a header but the reading is especially problematical³²:

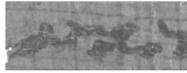


The editor read: καὶ εἰς τὴν α () τῶν κεφ(αλαίων) κ\ ((unintelligible)) / ρ

I propose: καὶ εἰς τὴν (μοναρταβίαν) τῶν κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων).

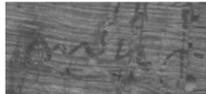
The abbreviation (μοναρταβίαν) is written as α (ἄρταβ.). This tax is attested for the Ptolemaic period in BGU IV 2441.124 and 133. In BGU XVI 2559.4, 8 and 15 (AD 9) it is even called (μοναρταβίας) κατοί(κων). The abbreviation used in those texts and a few others (all Roman period) is similar to that found here.

BGU XVI 2559.8

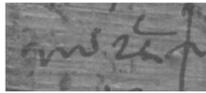


The abbreviation κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων) is attested e.g. in BGU XIV 2441; 2444v.1; 2446; 2450; P.Tebt. I 46.11; 47.9; IV 1095.14; 1096.9.

P.Tebt. I 46



P.Tebt. I 47



If this reading is accepted the following persons can be added to the catoecic cavalrymen: Charmos son of Pamphilos, Thallos son of Herakleides, Philokles, Sarapion son of Archibios, Dioxenos son of Asklepiades and Phaniias son of Titan.

In l. 26 the name was read as Αἰσχύλος by the editor, but the first letter is clearly a *delta*, not an *alpha*. Διόξεγος looks just possible.

In l. 27 the editor reads Φανίας ὑπ(έρ) Τίανος. This results in an unknown name and the symbol for ὑπ(έρ) is different from that used in ll. 22 and 23. Reading Τίτανος is palaeographically better and the patronymic Titan(os) is attested in Oxyrhynchos (P.Oxy. LVIII 3915.23), in Herakleopolis (P.Oxy. XIX 2230.5) and several times in Philadelpheia (SB XII 11112.3; BGU V 1559.3; P.Alex. 9.8; see A. Hanson, in: PapCongr. XXV, pp. 310–311).

In l. 18 the editor reads a date, (ἔτους) ις. In fact this is the figure ια preceded by the symbol (ὄν), as is clear from the account :

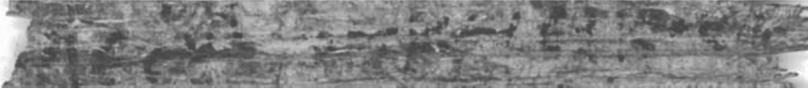
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| l. 17 (πυροῦ) ρνη (fraction) | (wheat) 158 (fraction) |
| l. 18 (πυροῦ) ρμζ (fraction) | (wheat) 147 (fraction) |
| l. 18 margin : (ὄν) ια | (difference) 11 (artabs) |

³² https://papyri-collection.dl.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/ErlPapyri_derivate_00005720/P_Erl_049r_300300.jpg.

Therefore the text is undated, and only the writing suggests a date in the later Ptolemaic period. Heliodoros son of Dionysios is attested as a katoecic cavalryman in Kerkeosiris about 119/118 BC (TM_perID 8438). The date would fit, but none of the other persons in our text is found in the Menches archive and therefore I think this is a case of accidental homonymy.

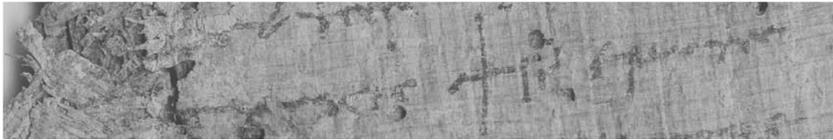
846. P.Köln XII 476

The incomprehensible passage in l. 12, read as] .ιεν αὐτου καὶ εἰκος, [should be corrected into]νι ἐνάτου καὶ εἰκος/[τοῦ ἔτους]. The word preceding the year is probably the Egyptian month [Παῦ]νι, though the article τοῦ is expected before the year number. The new reading confirms the proposal of the editor to link this fragmentary text with the “archive of Pasis son of Semtheus”, which is dated in years 30 and 31 of Ptolemy II. The new date is 256 BC, July 23–August 22. If this is right, Pasis son of Semtheus was a pastophoros.



847. P.Tebt. III 1039

In P.Tebt. III 1039, a list of persons making payments in kind, two unique names appear in l. 9, read by Grenfell and Hunt as: [A]συχχίς Ψιναρῶτος. A photograph of the text, which needs some more restoration work, is now available online:

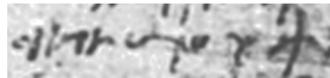


The first name is clearly an erroneous reading for the common name [Ἄ]πυγχίς. The following sign, read by the editors as a *psi*, is in fact a flat *my* crossed by a large *iota*, a common way of abbreviating μι(κρός). For other examples in the early Ptolemaic period, see e.g.:

P.Count 6.593: Πιάς μι(κρός)



P.Count 18.29: οἰκία Ἔρου μι(κροῦ)



P.Count 52.27: Ἐρος μι(κρός)



The passage may therefore be read as [Ἄ]πυγχίς μι(κρός) Ἰνάρωτος ‘Apynchis jr. son of Inaros’.

848. SB XXII 15600

This is a list of persons with patronymics and metonymics, attributed to the Oxyrhynchite nome by the editor (2nd cent. AD)³³. Several names are rare or unique and therefore suspect:

Panechotes in l. 3 and Hatres in l. 4 are apparently brothers sharing the same patronymic. In l. 3 the name of the father was read as Ἀχράτο[υ], whereas in l. 4 Sijpesteijn read Χρατου. There is, however, sufficient place in the small lacuna to read here also [A]χράτου. This is a new name, but the reading seems certain when the identification proposed here is accepted.

In l. 9 Sijpesteijn reads Ἀρσάσιος Ὠράπιος. He considers Ἀρσάσιος a variant form of Harsiesis, which is unlikely from a phonetic point of view. The only other instance of Harsasis is the bilingual mummy label CRIPEL 3 (1975) 181 no. 364 (= C.Étiq.Mom. 791; 2nd or 3rd cent. AD), where the editors read Παχοῦμις Ἀρσάσι<ο>ς. No doubt the demotic text on the back will show what Egyptian name is meant here.

The patronymic Horapis (with dotted omega) is very rare. Most examples of that name given in Trismegistos are reconstructions on the basis of the demotic name *Hr-Hp*³⁴.

In fact, the group read as -ιος is a large *kappa* followed by a small *omikron* (instead of *sigma*); the following two letters are damaged and instead of *omega-rho* I read *my-omikron*. The line can therefore be read as Ἀρσᾶς Κομοάπιος. No dots are needed because the damaged letters are clearly recognisable; compare the same name, with a larger *kappa*, at the beginning of l. 5.

The name Ἀρσας (TM_namID 14039) is attested eight times in different localities³⁵ from the early Roman to the Byzantine period. It is not found outside Egypt:

– O.Petr.Mus. 168.4 (AD 38): father of unknown person; this is by far the oldest example of the name. The reading by G. Messeri of the rather indistinct traces is fairly certain, as can be checked on the plate; since he appears as a father (Ἀρσᾶτος) Arsas would be born at the very beginning of the Roman period.

– O.Claud. II 307.10 (ca. AD 150): Σερήνος Ἀρσᾶς (sic; in this account only two persons are identified with a patronymic).

– P.Oxy. VII 1063.11 (2nd or 3rd cent. AD; Oxyrhynchus): Arsas son of Leon

– SB V 7634.4, 53, 57 (AD 249; Oxyrhynchus): Arsas father of Thonis, theagos

– P.Köln II 113.3 (= SB XII 10998) (3rd cent. AD): a priest (ιερέυς) called Arsas

– P.Oxy. XXXVI 2768.1 (2nd or 3rd cent. AD): Arsas son of Petosiris, brother of Harsiesis

– P.Princ. II 80.3 (4th cent. AD; Oxyrhynchus): Arsas father of Asinos

– P.Oxy. LXII 4343.31 (4th cent. AD; Oxyrhynchus): Paulus son of Arsas

– SB VI 9149.7 (late 4th cent. AD) is a list of shippers with freight charges for grain transport. Θεόδωρος Ἀρσᾶς occurs in l. 7. Arsas is the only person to be identified by a patronymic (undeclined); all other shippers in the list are identified by their village or nome (Lênaites, Kirkacaites, Antaeopolites etc.).

– SPP III² 479 a.2–3 (= SB XVIII 14004) (early 5th cent. AD; Herakleopolites): Arsas son of Palladios.

– P.Fouad 86.4 (6th cent. AD; origin unknown): Menas son of Arsas

³³ Ed. pr.: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Four Papyri from the Michigan Collection*, Tyche 9 (1994) 176–177.

³⁴ The equivalence *Hr-Hp* with Greek Ἀραπῆς is perhaps found in P.Mich. V 249, but the readings are far from certain both in the Greek and in the demotic.

³⁵ L. Koenen (ZPE 9, 1972, 20 n.1 and P.Köln II 113.3) knows only examples from the Oxyrhynchite nome, but in the meantime several examples from other places have come to light.

– P.Cair.Masp. I 67076.9 (6th cent. AD; Aphrodito) (largely supplemented) and l. 15, read on a photograph by B. Kramer and J. Shelton, ZPE 72 (1988) 277, correcting the editor's reading Θρσα (6th cent. AD): Arsas appears as the father of Iohannes.

Most editors transcribe the name with a *spiritus asper*, no doubt considering it a form of Horos name. Egyptian names, however, rarely receive the Greek ending -ας, which is far more common for Greek names. Where the name is combined with other names as a patronymic, the other names are usually Greek or Latin (Theodoros, Palladios, Serenus, Paulus). Probably Arsas is a derivation of Arsinoos, the masculine derivation of Arsinoe, which occurs from the early Roman period onwards.³⁶

13. Π[α]ναμού[νιος] should be corrected into Ψ[ε]ναμού[νιος]. The name Panamounis is not attested, though it could be a variant of the rare name Phanamoun(is), found in P.Petaus 102 i.14 and SB XVIII 13997.13 and 15. The initial *psi* is, however, clearly visible on the online photograph and Psenamounis is a common name.

14. Narmouthis as personal name is surprising and therefore suspect, the more so as the name is damaged: Ναρμουθ[ις]. On the plate it is possible to correct this into Νααρράους, a known variant of the common name Inaros, attested for instance in P.Prag. I 15.15 and 16.2 and 12, P.Oxy. LXVI 4533.2, SB I 5272.19 etc.

849. O.Wilck. 1152

This is a fragmentary letter written on an ostrakon in pink pottery with a red slip layer, typical of the area south of Thebes (from Elkab to Nubia; cf. O.Elkab, pp. 29–30). Though it was included in the appendix of S. Witkowski, *Epistulae privatae graecae quae in papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur*, Leipzig 1911, 137, the Roman date is clear from the script (I did see the original in the British Museum before the Greek texts were sent to the British Library), from the ceramics and from the epithet τῶι φιλ(τάτῳ) in l. 1. The earliest dated examples of this epithet in the greeting formula of a letter are BGU XVI 2627–2630 and 2648 of 2 BC and P.Heid. II 212. P.Heid. II 212 (= C.Ptol.Sklav. 82) is dated in a year 15, which is more likely to be the reign of Augustus (15 BC) or even Tiberius (AD 29) than that of Kleopatra.

The original in London confirms Grenfell's proposal to read ουν in l. 6 instead of ουν (BL II.1 93; the correction was not integrated in the text of papyri.info) and to supply μὴ οὖν [ἄλλως] ποιήσεις, a formula often found just before the greeting formula of first cent. AD letters (e.g. BGU III 811; 844; IV 1096; O.Claud. I 154; P.Fay. 109; 110; P.Mich.Mchl. 23; P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2844; P.Yale I 78). The subjunctive aorist is written with εἰ instead of ἦ, as in BGU II 597.12; XVI 2654.8–9; P.Flor. I 17; O.Krok. 76, as a result of itacism. Witkowski's supplement [τῷ ἀπο]διδόντι for l. 5 also suggests that only five letters are lost in the lacuna, but it is hard to find a solution with a short lacuna for the other lines. This would imply, for instance, that the sender's name is omitted in l. 1, which occurs only rarely (on the basis of the unpublished dissertation of D. Nachtergaele).

850. O.Wilck. 1221

In this ostrakon entitled λόγος Θεοτουτου πρὸς Πιμ[ιν] (l. 1) Pimimis acknowledges to have received from his partner (παρὰ Θεοτούτου) (ll. 2–3) the price of 22 jars of wine. The second party (Θεοτουτου) has to provide the empty jars (ll. 5–6). The name of the second party occurs three times in this short text. In ll. 1 and 2 *omikron* is to be preferred to *sigma* and Θεοστούτου should

³⁶ Cf. Y. Broux, W. Clarysse, *Would You Name Your Child after a Celebrity*, ZPE 200 (2016) 362.

be read instead of Θοτούτου. In l. 5 the letter is damaged but Θοτσύτου is preferable. Thotsytes (a derivation of Thotsytmis, ‘Thot hears’) is a common name, Thotoutes is a ghostname³⁷. My inspection of the ostrakon in the British Museum confirms a suggestion made by J. Quaegebeur and G. Wagner in BIFAO 73 (1973) 49.

Willy CLARYSSE

851. Susan FOGARTY

PSI XII 1228 and P.Turner 40

Contracts of sale often include provisions wherein the vendor agrees to guarantee that the property is not pawned or mortgaged, and that the purchaser has full and complete ownership. A common formula in this context is τῆς βεβαιώσεως διὰ παντός πρὸς πᾶσαν βεβαιώσιν ἐξακολουθούσης + dative. The guarantee could also be encompassed in the shorter phrase τῆς βεβαιώσεως ἐξακολουθούσης + dative, simply stating the guarantee is incumbent upon the vendor, as e.g. in the slave sale P.Oxy. I 94.20 (83). Another slave sale attesting this short formula is PSI XII 1228.19 (188) τῆς [β]εβαιώσε[ως συνακο]λουθούσης, though the participle should be emended to ἐξακο]λουθούσης. The same clause occurs in P.Turner 40.16 (c.215) [c.12].σεως ἐξακολουθούσης ἀϋτῶ, where τῆς βεβαι]ώσεως should be restored.

Susan FOGARTY

852. Nikolaos GONIS

Two notarial documents from Hermonthis: from Armant (through Fayum?) to Berlin and Paris

Six documents from Hermonthis were published in BGU II: 668–670, 672–674. Provenance and date combined make them rarities: when datable, they belong to the mid sixth century (673 dates from 525, 669–670 broadly from c.537–c.570). To judge from the hand, BGU II 668 may also be assigned to the sixth century, earlier rather than later. The text seems to have received virtually no attention since its publication, though there are several problems and remarkable features, some of them with interesting implications.

Only the lower part of the document is preserved. The extant clauses indicate a contract concerning a financial liability, probably in connection with a loan or advance payment. Among other things, the subscription contains the statement εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλ(ειαν) πεποιήμεθα τὴν ἀλληλέγγυον [. . .]ση . . . καὶ βεβαίαν (ll. 4–5); the editor’s brief note refers to ‘Wessely, Die Pariser Pap. S. 37 Z.8 sqq.’, i.e., SB I 4683.8–10, a sale on delivery: εἰς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν | τοῦτο πεποιήμαι τὸ ἀλληλέγγυον γραμμα(τεῖον) | κύριον καὶ βέβαιον. The online image (at <http://berlpap.smb.museum/01602/>) suggests reading τοῦτο τὸ ἀλληλέγγυον [. . .] . . . ρον καὶ βέβαιον in the Berlin papyrus; apparently κύριον is not a possible reading, and this must be a new formula. Of the endorsement we have the latter part, which begins] . . . ις κεφ(άλ); perhaps read] ἥμισυ (vac.) κεφ(αλαίου), which could be a reference to a sum of $n \frac{1}{2}$ solidi borrowed as principal. But φ is not the only possible reading, and κεφ() may also be considered: κεφ(άτια)? κεφ(άμια)? What follows was read as σ . . . λικ χ . ρ . κ() τ . . ; the papyrus seems to have πεντετεχιρικ(χιρι was suggested to me by S. Kovarik: ἰς χιρικ(ήν)?).

The document is signed by a curious pair, Αὐρήλιοι | Μουσαίου γεραμανπλάστης | καὶ Λαυσύμβιος θυγάτηρ | Ἀμμωνίου (ll. 6–9). γεραμανπλάστης in l. 7 was taken to be an error for

³⁷ See <http://www.trismegistos.org/ghostnames>.

κεραμοπλάστης, but the error is of a different kind: the image shows that what was read as gamma is a combination of a stroke that belongs to the cross in the line above and the leftward extension of the crossbar of epsilon. We should read Ερμαου πλάστης; Musaios is the son of Hermau and a ‘moulder’, most probably a potter. A different division is also required in l. 8, already suggested by Wilcken but relegated to a note: Λαυ σύμβιος; for the expression, cf. P.Lond. V 1727.5 (584) Τκακὸ ἡ τούτου σύμβιος θυ[γάτ]ηρ Ἰακώβ[ου], or P.Oxy. LVIII 3938.13–14 (601) Θέκλα | [ἡ α]ὑτοῦ σύμβιος θυγάτηρ Κο[νσ]ταντίνου. Λαυ, however, is otherwise known as a male name (TM_namID 14166).

Another name that invites scrutiny is that of the father of one of the witnesses, read as Θρα[. . .]ητος (l. 16). I propose to read Ἰορα[μ]ήτος. The name has been attested in the forms Ἰοραμῆς and ζοραμη (TM_namID 25729).

The last line of the text (17) was transcribed as ωανης δι . . . εγράφη This is the notary’s subscription, separated from the rest of the document by a blank space. I read † δι’ ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου Δίου ἐγράφη (*sign*). This is only the second example of notarial signature from Hermonthis.³⁸

The text has been compared with SB I 4683, as we saw; the affinities of the two documents extend beyond the formulaic parts. In BGU II 668, Musaios and Lau have their subscription written by Fl. Makarios s. Pesynthios, and one of the two witnesses is the soldier Fl. Dios s. Abramios. In SB I 4683, the subscribers are again a man and a woman, Ioseph s. Dios and Anna d. Matthias, who sign through an amanuensis, Fl. Isak s. Leontis; the witness is Fl. Comes. The notary’s subscription runs δ(τ’) ἐμοῦ Κυριακοῦ Ἐρμείου ἐγρά(φ)η. The presence of Flavii and the wording of the notarial signature are common to both documents, as if they came from the same milieu.³⁹ It would be desirable to know the physical shape of SB I 4683, but it is not possible now; transcribed by Wessely at the Louvre in the 1880s, it was declared ‘nicht auffindbar’ a century later (*Byz. Not.* p. 44).

SB I 4683 was long considered to be Arsinoite; it was published in *Die Pariser Papyri des Fundes von El-Faijum*, and the assumption has been that it was purchased with Fayum papyri

³⁸ *Byz. Not.* p. 58, Hermonthis 16.1.1, refers to P.Lond. I 77.88 (c.610), from the testament of bishop Abraham. J. Gascou, *Documents grecs de Qurnat Mar ʿy*, BIFAO 99 (1999) 203, points out that its Hermonthite origin is true ‘en un sens, mais le papyrus provient du monastère de Phoibammôn, entre Dayr al-Madīna et Dayr al-Bahary’. The heavy presence of Hermonthites as witnesses may suggest that the notary too was Hermonthite and not one from nearby Memnonia, given the format of the signature: documents from Memnonia do not contain the usual *completio*, but a statement by the person who wrote the document (καὶ ἐσωμάτισα vel sim.) which he adds after an illiteracy formula or witness statement. Memnonia is included in *Byz. Not.* p. 77, on the basis of P.Herm. 25.24f., apparently because of the reference to a λογογράφος; other contracts from Memnonia are written by a γραμματεὺς; P.Herm. 31.24, SB XVIII 13718.5, P.Lond. inv. 2912.6, 2914(1).6, 2918.5 (the last three items are published in A. Benaissa, *More Papyri from Late Antique Memnonia in the British Library*, APF 61 [2015] 352–370).

³⁹ These Flavii would have been soldiers in the local unit, though only one of them identifies himself as such. A group of soldiers occurs in another text of this group, viz. BGU II 673 (525), addressed to Φλ. ἄπα Ἰωάννης Ἀνδρέου (l. 3) and two other men, one of them a στρ(ατιώτης) ἀριθ(μοῦ) Ἐρμώνθ(εως) (l. 5) — the resolution στρ(ατιώται) is conceivable, even though nothing in the abbreviation suggests a form in the plural. It is unclear whether this ἀριθμός is strictly a *numerus* or the term was used loosely for the local military unit; according to the Notitia Dignitatum (Or. XXXI 39), the *legio II Valentiniana* was stationed at Hermonthis in the late fourth century (cf. also SB XX 14799.3 [IV] στρ(ατιώτης) λεγ(εωνος) Ἐρμώνθ(εως).

around 1880.⁴⁰ It was placed successively in Hermopolis (BL IX 240) and Antinoopolis (BL XIII 193) on the basis of its formulas, but the arguments are far from cogent,⁴¹ and these sites are not known to have yielded papyri as early as 1880. Nevertheless, we may be confident that it stems from somewhere in Upper Egypt — would that be Hermonthis? The names would be consistent with such a provenance.

Though presumed to have been bought with Fayum papyri in 1877–1881, BGU II 668, 669, 670, 672, 673, and 674 (= P.Berol. 5230, 5241, 5228, 5295, 5247, and 5233 respectively) were known to come from Hermonthis, otherwise the letter BGU II 674, whose text offers no clues to its provenance, would not have been ascribed to it.⁴² Such information about the Louvre papyri is lacking. SB I 4683 may be the odd piece out of an otherwise homogeneous group. Still, it makes me wonder whether papyri from other areas as well were among those considered as of the first Fayum find,⁴³ perhaps as a result of the mixing of items of various origins at the point of purchase. In the case of Berlin, however, the mixing may be due to the inventory: this group may not have been acquired with Fayum papyri.

Related to the Berlin Hermonthis group, particularly BGU II 669–670, is P.Gen. IV 167. The area to the west of Thebes links Berlin with Geneva also through the papyrus codex of the so-called *Blemyomachia*, which comes from the monastery of Phoibammon, situated not too far from Hermonthis (see now P.Gen. IV 158).⁴⁴ The bulk of the Berlin fragments (P.Berol. 5003) were acquired with other Greek and Coptic papyri by L. Stern in Thebes in early 1881; these

⁴⁰ The inv. no. of SB I 4683 as reported by Wessely is ‘6846 (App. 69)’. When this note was at proof stage, I was informed that the 6846 series was part of a group bought from J. G. Chester in 1879 (personal communication from N. Vanthieghem). This does not simplify matters: as far as I know, all other papyri acquired by the Liverpool museum (currently being prepared for publication) and the Louvre from Chester in 1879 come from the Fayum when their provenance can be established.

⁴¹ BL IX 240 = CPR XIV 5.17 n.: ‘The form of the *kyria* clause included in this contract, viz. γραμμα(τεῖον) κύριον καὶ βέβαιον, is not found in Arsinoite documents ... The document is from the Hermopolite’. Yet even if this clause is predominantly attested in Hermopolite texts, it is also found as far away as Syene: cf. P.Lond. V 1737.19 (613). — BL XIII 192 = N. Kruit, ZPE 140 (2002) 152 n. 10: ‘an Antinoopolite provenance is perhaps more likely: there too, the same formula is found. Moreover, the phrase καὶ ταύτας ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν παρασχεῖν (cf. 1. 2 with BL IX [240]) is typical for that nome, cf. P.Heid. V, p. 314 and my article in ZPE 94 (1992) 171. The notary Kuriakos of l. 20 may in fact be identical with the one who signed P.Ant. I 42 (= *Byz. Not.* p. 23 Antinoopolis 10.3.1).’ But this particular formula occurs in numerous loans and acknowledgements of debt from various areas, from Oxyrhynchus to Syene. As for the notary, Kyriakos in P.Ant. I 42 does not include his father’s name in his signature.

⁴² Marius Gerhardt, whom I thank, reports that ‘it seems to be clear from the inventory books that they were bought in the Fayum but were said to be from Thebes’ (email of 10.x.2017).

⁴³ Most of these papyri are now in Vienna; once again, it is worth remembering that the provenance ‘Arsinoites oder Herakleopolites’ assigned to Vienna papyri on the basis of their inventory alone should be taken as possible but not certain. The problem is compounded by the nature of Wessely’s inventory, which has been shown to be not wholly reliable; see F. Morelli, *SB XXIV 16222: due patrizi e un Liciniano*, Tyche 23 (2008) 142–145.

⁴⁴ It is not possible, however, to establish whether the two Geneva papyri were purchased together; my thanks to Paul Schubert for answering my enquiry. There are a few other papyri that connect the collections of Berlin and Geneva, the most famous of which is the Ninos-Roman (MP³ 2616), but these do not include Berlin papyri acquired as early as 1881.

included ‘Bruchstücke griechischer Contracte in cursiver Handschrift’.⁴⁵ It is conceivable that the documents from Hermonthis published in BGU II were among them.⁴⁶

There is another possible ramification. The two papyri with inventory numbers immediately prior to BGU II 668 (= P.Berol. 5228) are fragments of local hexameter compositions: 5226v, a poem about Thebes, and 5227r, a fragment that mentions Delos (= MP³ 1797 and 1799). They were reportedly acquired in the Fayum; should they not be assumed to come from the wider Theban area, and could they even be part of the same find as the (hexameter) *Blemyomachia*?

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Greek Mummy Labels at the British Museum — A Note

In a highly informative and useful article appearing in a recent volume of the journal *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 21 hitherto unpublished mummy labels inscribed in Greek have been edited from the collection of the British Museum.⁴⁷

On pp. 181–182 of their article, the two authors read and reconstruct the text on mummy label no. 11 (= inv. no. EA24487) as follows:

- 1 Ταπόλλου Ταπα-
- 2 τερμούντε· ἐβίωσεν
- 3 ἐτῶν λγ̄

3 l. ἔτη

They translate this as: “(The mummy of) Tapolos [sic, with one ‘l’], daughter of Tapatermoute. She lived 33 years.”. On the patronymic “Ταπατερμούντε” they remark on p. 182 that “this name is so far unattested as such, although the construction is frequent. It must be a feminine variant of the more common Πατερμούθης (TM/People name ID 7319), and closer to the Coptic form ΠΑΤΕΡΜΟΥΤΕ, a variation of *Pa-T3-rmn.t*. In Demotic only the name Psen-ta-patermouthis (*P3-šr-n-ta-pa-t3-rmn.t*) is attested: TM/People name ID 20850”. In fact, what we are dealing with here is Egyptian filiation in a Greek text, which has most recently been discussed by Willy Clarysse, who assembled some helpful examples from each of the three main epochs of post-pharaonic ancient Egypt.⁴⁸ These parallels leave no doubt that the first syllable of what the editors

⁴⁵ L. Stern, *Fragmente eines griechisch-ägyptischen Epos*, ZÄS 19 (1881) 70.

⁴⁶ Stern reports that his Theban papyri ‘sich nunmehr in der ägyptischen Abteilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin befinden’. This implies that they were formally accessioned, but with the exception of P.Berol. 5003 they were not associated with Stern. Marius Gerhardt tells me that ‘there are not many papyri registered as deriving from acquisitions made by Stern’ (e-mail of 17.x.2016); these are P.Berol. 1522 (= BGU II 561), acquired in 1880, three literary pieces bought in the Fayum and in Giza in 1881, viz. P.Berol. 5002, 5005 and 5017 (= MP³ 158, 394, 1491), and P.Berol. 5003.

⁴⁷ ZPE 198 (2016) 173–189.

⁴⁸ W. Clarysse, *Filiation the Egyptian Way in Greek Documents*, *Lingua Aegyptia* 23 (2015) 277–282, with the earlier literature cited in this article; see, for example, Όρουηβις πα Ιενμούθης (c.200?), S. P. Vleeming, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, *A. Texts* [Studia Demotica IX-A], Leuven, Paris, Walpole, MA 2011, no. 590B.1–2), Σενψενησις τα Βης (3rd c., ibid. no. 735B.1–2), Σενπατεμινς τα Ψενταησιος (3rd c., ibid. no. 743B.1–2) and Σενεχνηβις τα Βης (3rd c., ibid. no. 815B.1–2).

read as “Ταπατερμούντε” should in fact be understood as the feminine form (τα) of Egyptian filiation, meaning “daughter of”. Thus, the relevant part of the text should be transcribed as: Ταπόλλου τα Πα|τερμούντε and should be translated as “(The mummy of) Tapollos, daughter of Patermoute”.

Πατερμούθις, together with its numerous variants, is of course a very common personal name in Roman and Byzantine Egypt: see TM_namID 7319. For the form Πατερμούτε specifically, see BGU XVII 2723.65⁴⁹ (Hermopolites, 6th–7th c.) (Πατερμούτ(ε)), SB XVIII 13634.10 (prov. unknown, 7th c.) and SEG XXXIII 1330.1–2 (Medinet Habu, date uncertain).

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P.Flor. III 359: qualche considerazione

P.Flor. III 359 è un memorandum (*hypomnestikon*) di provenienza incerta e datato dall’editore al sesto secolo. Su base paleografica, tuttavia, una datazione al quinto secolo non può essere esclusa: si vedano, ad esempio, P.Köln V 234 (431), P.Oxy. LXVIII 4686 (440), 4688 (442), che presentano scritture simili. Il testo dell’*ed. pr.* è il seguente:

ὑπομνηστικόν. | τοὺς τέσσερας | κομάρχ(α)ς ἀγά[[γα]]γεται | ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τοὺς | ὀκτὸ ἀκροφυλάκους κ... ἀγκαίας χρίαν | ἐνέγκεται. ἀλλὰ | μὴ ἀμελήσατε, | ἐπὶ ἀπειλὰς | ἔχε[[ιε]]ται δέξασθαι | παρὰ τοῦ κόμιτος. (ἔτους) [].

Il documento contiene un’ordinanza rivolta ai comarchi di un villaggio non menzionato, se si accetta, come proposto dall’editore e come sembra opportuno, di correggere l’accusativo della l. 2 in un dativo⁵⁰. Questi ultimi devono condurre in città otto *agrophylakes*, ma il motivo del richiamo è ignoto: la questione sembra avere una certa urgenza e importanza, essendo coinvolto il *comes* in persona (l. 11).

Alla nota 6, viene proposto κατ’ ἀναγκαίας χρίαν (l. ἀναγκαίαν χρείαν) per quanto è stato letto come κ... ἀγκαίας χρίαν | ἐνέγκεται alle ll. 6–7. Tuttavia, *kappa* presenta un tratto verticale piuttosto pronunciato nel testo, a differenza di quanto si può notare all’inizio della l. 6, e non vi è spazio sufficiente per quelle che sono nell’edizione vestigia di quattro lettere; inoltre, il verbo ἐνέγκεται (l. ἐνέγκετε) sarebbe ridondante qui, essendoci già un imperativo alla l. 3; peraltro, la desinenza -ται non è, a mio parere, ravvisabile nel papiro. Conseguentemente, propongo qui la lettura ἀναγκαίας χρίαν | ἔνεγκεν (l. χρείας ἔνεκεν). L’espressione troverebbe uno stretto parallelo, tra gli altri, in P.Köln XIII 545, di provenienza ignota, ove, alle ll. 6–9, si legge ἀγάγης ἐπὶ τὴν | πόλιν Νῆβ τὸν | γεωργὸ[ν] χρε[ί]ας | ἔνεκεν ἀ[να]γκαίας. Anche questo documento è un memorandum (l. 1), rivolto a un ἐργοδιώκτης, al quale viene ordinato di portare in città un γεωργός; a quest’ultimo e a un altro γεωργός, l’ἐργοδιώκτης deve anche richiedere un solidus ciascuno in seguito a un prestito ricevuto da parte di una terza persona; infine, deve condurre in città due ἐργάται τῆς ἀγγαρείας. Il papiro di Köln è stato assegnato al quinto/sesto secolo dall’editore;

See also the important discussions by S. P. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou): A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C.* (Studia Demotica 3), Leuven 1991, 214–217, §51 and G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9, I–II* (ÄAT 38), Wiesbaden 1998, II 591–592, with the earlier literature referred to in these works.

⁴⁹ BGU XVII index, p. 166 also lists “2723, 192” but the printed text on p. 134 stops at line 191.

⁵⁰ M. W. Zellmann-Rohrer, APF 60 (2014) 221, mantiene l’accusativo e ritiene che il documento stia ‘calling for the recipients to bring four comarchs to the city’. Peraltro, il testo non è presentato con gli altri memoranda ufficiali, menzionati subito dopo.

forse, più verosimile sarebbe una datazione leggermente anteriore, alla fine del quarto o al quinto secolo: si vedano e.g. P.Oxy. XLVI 3311 (373/4), SB VIII 9825 (388–393), SB X 10568 (393/4), che presentano simili disegni delle lettere.

I due testi hanno lo stesso formato, trattandosi di strisce di papiro strette e lunghe, estese per quasi l'intera lunghezza del rotolo — P.Köln XIII 545 misura 28.5 cm in altezza, mentre P.Flor. III 359 ha un'altezza pari a 21 cm —, e la terminologia impiegata può essere altrettanto confrontata: cf., per esempio, l'incipit, ove viene dichiarata la natura del documento (l. 1, ὑπομνηστικόν), l'aoristo del verbo ἄγω indicante l'ordine (P.Köln XIII 545.6, P.Flor. III 359.3), la destinazione (ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν: cf. P.Köln XIII 545.6–7 e P.Flor. XIII 359.4). In nessuno dei due memoranda l'autorità che ha emesso l'ordinanza è menzionata.

Si potrebbe aggiungere un'ulteriore considerazione sull'interpretazione del rigo finale di P.Flor. XIII 359: l'editore ha visto qui il simbolo per anno seguito da lacuna, non facendo cenno alle tracce d'inchiostro visibili prima del suddetto segno. In questo periodo, il simbolo per ἔτος è riscontrabile per lo più in documenti provenienti dall'Ossirinchite, ma in essi è differente da quanto troviamo nel papiro fiorentino. Nel caso di P.Flor. III 359, penserei piuttosto a un *rho* abbreviato tramite un tratto orizzontale posto leggermente al di sopra della sua base; le tracce precedenti non sono chiare, ma forse si potrebbe ipotizzare la lettura ἔρρ(ωσθε), come forma di commiato finale; una simile, ma non identica, abbreviazione si trova in P.Mert. I 44.4 (V), dove il tratto indicante l'abbreviazione è posto al centro dell'asta verticale dei *rho*. Peraltro, forse si potrebbe anche ipotizzare una seconda mano per quest'ultimo rigo di testo.

P.Flor. III 359 è un memorandum ufficiale, come pochi altri sinora rinvenuti: per una lista dei medesimi, rimando a N. Gonis, *BASP* 37 (2000) 78, con l'aggiunta del memorandum lì pubblicato, SB XXVI 16575. Più numerosi sono invece i memoranda di natura privata, elencati da M. W. Zellmann-Rohrer, *APF* 60 (2014) 220–221, che presenta l'edizione di un *hypomnestikon*, P.Lond. inv. 2237, e cita anche due documenti contenenti memoranda ufficiali; una lista generica di tutti i tipi di memoranda è stata presentata da F. Mitthof e A. Papatthomas, *BASP* 45 (2008) 138, in aggiunta al documento pubblicato dai medesimi, *ibidem* 131–141, come testo num. 2.

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