

Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten
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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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Tafeln 1–12

Die *Annona Epigraphica Austriaca* erscheint auf der Homepage des Instituts für Alte Geschichte der Universität Wien (<http://altegeschichte.univie.ac.at/forschung/aea/>) und wie bisher auch in der Zeitschrift *Römisches Österreich*.

E L E N A C H E P E L

P.Tbilisi inv. 344v: Extract from Memphite Land Register

Plates 1–2

In the introduction to P.Ross.Georg. V 25, a fragment of a roll of official correspondence regarding the sale of public land and containing a letter to the *dioiketes*, the editors refer to the text on the verso as to be published in the same volume, in the section ‘Listen und Rechnungen’.¹ However, the verso cannot be found there, nor anywhere in P.Ross.Georg. V. Furthermore, the edition of the recto states the geographical provenance as Memphite although it does not appear anywhere in the text nor is explained in the commentary. In fact, this provenance from the Memphite nome can be established from the text on the verso which mentions a Memphite village Taie. The papyrus is held at the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi in the Archive of G. Zereteli, under inventory number 344. In the Archive, I have also found a handwritten draft edition of the recto and verso together done by Zereteli.² Apparently, the publication of the verso had been planned in P.Ross.Georg. V but, perhaps, due to the hurry to print the volume as soon as possible, it was postponed until the sixth volume of *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*, which unfortunately never came out.³

¹ I would like to thank Zaza Abashidze, the Director of the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts for granting me access to the papyrus collection of the Archive of G. Zereteli. My gratitude also goes to Fritz Mitthof for his valuable comments on the drafts of this edition. This article has been written with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (Project 18-012-00844).

² Inv. 2017. The draft contains work-in-progress transcripts and a preliminary commentary.

³ The plans to publish P.Ross.Georg. VI are revealed in Zereteli’s paper *Папиология в СССР и обзор хранящихся в Музеях Москвы, Ленинграда и Тифлиса коллекций папирусов* [*Papyrology in USSR and the overview of the collections of papyri held in Museums in Moscow, Leningrad, and Tiflis*] presented in Tiflis on May 29, 1936, published in *Труды Тифлисского государственного университета* [Works of Tiflis State University] 5 (1936) 143–155 and in his private correspondence. The ongoing preparation of the sixth volume interrupted by Zereteli’s arrest in 1938 was also part of his wife’s argument in her letter to Stalin, in which she asked to release Zereteli from prison. On Zereteli, I. F. Fikhman, *Григорий Филимонович Церетели (1870–1939)* [*Grigorij Filimonovich Zereteli (1870–1939)*], *Древний мир и мы. Классическое наследие в Европе и России* [Ancient World and Us. The Classical Heritage in Europe and Russia] 2 (2000) 207–217; id., *G. F. Cereteli nei fondi archivistici dell’ex Unione Sovietica* (*Materiali per un ritratto socio-psicologico dello studioso*), *Comunicazioni. Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli* 3 (1999) 1–73.

It was noted already by the editors of P.Ross.Georg. V 25 that the text on the verso has margins on all four sides whereas the text on the recto is cut off on three sides (except for the top). This indicates that the document on the recto was cut into pieces for re-use. The papyrus was turned 90 degrees for re-use so on both recto and verso the text is written along the fibres. The hand of the verso is different, less elegant and regular than the chancery hand of the recto. There is no internal evidence for any rapport between the content of the recto and verso texts either, except for the main topic — land plots — which is too general. No further conclusions, therefore, can be drawn about their possible connection or provenance from the same office.

The provenance of the papyrus from the Memphite nome poses some interesting questions. Papyri coming from that region of Egypt are few. Almost all Memphite documents dating from III AD belong to the so-called ‘Archive of the Memphite official’ (Trismegistos archive 403) — about one hundred fragments that were found by locals near Saqqara around 1853 and later distributed between three European collections in Berlin, Leipzig, and Saint Petersburg.⁴ One text, P.Leipz. 1, even attests the village Taie. Could it be that inv. 344 originates from the same find in Saqqara? I shall try to answer this question in what follows.

The papyrus collection in Tbilisi was Zereteli’s private collection. After his death, it was kept at the institution where he worked, the State Museum of Georgia, later the Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, now the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, together with his private correspondence and other documents. This papyrus collection was transferred to Georgia from Saint Petersburg around 1920 when Zereteli took up the Professorship at the newly created Tiflis University of the then independent Georgian state. He revealed the provenance of papyri in his collection in one of his letters to his student, colleague, and co-editor Petr Ernstedt.⁵ According to this letter, one part of the collection was brought for Zereteli

⁴ Published in G. Parthey (ed.), *Frammenti di papiri greci asservati nella Reale Biblioteca di Berlino*, Rome 1865, and C. Wessely (ed.), *Die griechischen Papyri der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek (= P.Berl.Bibl.)*, Leipzig 1885. The collection of the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg (15 fragments) was described in E. de Muralt, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique*, St.-Petersburg 1864. Two papyri from Saint Petersburg were edited and published in separate articles and later included in P.Ross.Georg. I (no. 22) and III (no. 26). See also U. Wilcken, *Die Memphitischen Papyri der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin und der Kaiserl. Bibliothek zu Petersburg*, *Hermes* 22 (1887) 142–144. Three other papyri were edited and published for the first time in P.Ross.Georg. V: nos. 5, 19, and 56. On the present state of the Russian collections including the collection of the Public Library in Saint Petersburg, see, E. Chepel, *Russian Collections of Greek Papyri and the History of their Publication: An Overview (With the Catalogue of Greek Papyri held at the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow)*, Egypt and Neighbouring Countries (2018, forthcoming).

⁵ Letter from 16.4.1923, unpublished, held at the personal archive of P. Ernstedt at the Saint Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. On the correspondence between G. Zereteli and P. Ernstedt, see I. F. Fikhman, *Г. Ф. Церетели и П. В. Эрнстедт (из истории русско-грузинских научных связей)* [*G. F. Zereteli and P. V. Ernstedt. From the history of Russian-Georgian scholarly relations*], in: T. V. Gamkrelidze (ed.), *Византиноведческие этюды [Byzantine Studies]*, Tbilisi 1978, 99–104; E. Chepel, *Из истории отечественной*

from Egypt by a friend and brother-in-law, the Egyptologist Boris Turaev in 1909; another part was acquired for Zereteli by Mikhail Rostovzeff during his journey to Egypt in 1907; and the third part was given to Zereteli and Turaev by Vladimir Golenischev before he sold his collection to the Pushkin Museum in Moscow in 1909–1912.

It seems plausible that Zereteli himself actively participated in the process of selection of at least some of the papyri for his collection, wherever the possibility presented itself. Since he was aware of the Memphite papyri at the Public Library in Saint Petersburg, any documents coming from Memphis would be likely to spark his interest. It is probably not accidental that there are three other documents from Memphis in his private collection: P.Ross.Georg. II 16 and II 42, the verso of the Dionysiac hymn (P.Ross.Georg. I 11), both dated II AD, and one unpublished fragment P.Tbilisi inv. 341, which was dated IV AD by F. Mitthof and S. Kovarik when they studied the collection in 2010. For all the four papyri, including inv. 344, their provenance is established from the reference in the text. Two of them (II 16 and II 42) mention the village Taie.

Inv. 344 is hence the only papyrus from Memphis in Zereteli's collection which dates from III AD. Although there is little possibility that this papyrus came from the same find in Saqqara in 1853 and then somehow made it through Egyptian and European markets to the private collections in Russia in the first decade of the 20th century, this cannot be completely excluded. Apart from the provenance and the date, the parallels between this document and the texts from the Archive of the Memphite official include the content, since several of the Memphite fragments also concern land (see below).

The content of inv. 344v is an overview of plots of land in Memphite villages. The first two lines are badly preserved and, therefore, the beginning of the document is unclear. In the following part, the names of two villages appear at the beginning of the lines, opening a new section with plots of land in each village. It is plausible that the first line contained a name of a village as well. This would mean that the text listed plots of land in a total of three villages.

The reason for these plots to be written down on a piece of papyrus remains unknown. The list could be used as a draft for putting together an official land register. An example of such land registers in the Memphite nome is P.Ross.Georg. II 42, which also mentions the village Taie. Land registers from the Hermopolite nome dating from IV AD are published in P.Herm.Landl. and in K. A. Worp, *P.Flor. 1.64: A Re-edition*, BASP 45 (2008) 261–275. For III AD, cf. a list from Mendesian nome in P.Oxy. XLIV 3205. These lists usually include the name of the owner, the fiscal category of land, the number of *arourai* owned, and the description of the location of the plots. Some elements may be absent, e.g. the fiscal category (as in P.Ross.Georg. V 58, IV AD, Arsinoite nome) or the location of the plots (as in P.Yale III 137, 216/217, Philadelphia). A fragment of a third-century list, P.Hamb. IV 276 (Arsinoite nome), contains only the

папирологи: подготовка к изданию частных писем на папирусах в переписке Г. Ф. Церетели и П. В. Эрнштедта [On the History of Russian Papyrology: Editing Private Papyrus Letters in the Correspondence of G. F. Zereteli and P. V. Ernstedt], Вестник древней истории [Vestnik drevnej istorii] 78,4 (2018, forthcoming).

In Skenai and Taie, to the north, 4 *arourai*, another 28 *arourai*, another 11 *arourai*, another 3 *arourai*, another 6 *arourai*, another 5 *arourai*, another 7 *arourai*, another $46\frac{2}{3}$ *arourai*, another 21 *arourai*, another 4 *arourai*, another 12 *arourai*, another 4 *arourai* of uninundated land, another 7 *arourai* cultivated by the plasterer, another $1\frac{1}{2}$ *arourai*, total $\llbracket 150+\rrbracket$ 160 *arourai*, and of the orchard land (?) ... 7 *arourai*.

1 The first half of the line contains illegible traces. The name of a village would be expected before the sign of *arourai*.

2 . . . (): The line is either indented or there are ca. 3 additional letters missing before those indicated with the dots. The diagonal sign of abbreviation can be seen in the first part of the line and the traces before it could read ἰδι(), abbreviation for ἰδιωτικῆς, private land. Zereteli's draft reads γῆ ἀ[μπε]λουργῶν in the beginning of the line.

ἀμπελουργῶν: Vinedressers appear in a fragment of land register PSI Congr. XX 8 but the text is very uncertain. The *ed.pr.* suggests a reading ἀμπελουργῶν which is corrected in SB XXIV 16322 to (ἄρουραι) γέλουργῶν, where ἔλουργῶν is interpreted as an erroneous spelling of ἔλαιουργῶν, oil-makers. In any case, PSI Congr. XX 8 presents the only occurrence of a group of professionals in a cadastre document, apart from P.Tbilisi inv. 344v. The use of plural in both papyri points to a guild of workers (κοινόν). For a guild of oil-makers see P.Oxy. LIV 3738 (AD 312) and 3760 (AD 326?); for a professional association of vinedressers see P.Oxy. XIV 1673 (II AD). Two vinedressers from Saqqara in VI/VII AD occur in O.Wilck. II 1127.

The second half of the line is very abraded. A sequence of λπ can be probably read in the middle followed by a trace of another letter and a δ — ἀμπελίτιδος? The letter before δ is uncertain. It could be written with some orthographic irregularity: ἀμπελιτιδος or even ἀμπελιτδος. In the Memphite nome, vineyards are attested in two land registers P.Ross.Georg. II 42 and P.Strasb. IX 873 (III AD). The sign of *aroura* with a number is expected at the end of the line.

3 Παρρορείου: Παρορίου ἐποίκιον in the Memphite nome is attested in four documents, all dating from VII–VIII AD (Stud.Pal. X 295, 297, 298, 299, TM Geo 6335).

4 Σκηνῶν καὶ Ταῖη ἀπὸ βορρᾶ: This expression is a short way to describe the location as in P.Oxy. XLVII 3365.76 (AD 241) ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ κώμῃ Ταλαῶ ἐν περιμέτροις κώμης ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρεσι. Cf. P.Oxy.Hels. 13 (I AD) Τεβῆη ἀπὸ βορρᾶ. The village Taie in the eastern part of the Memphite nome is attested in six papyri (according to Trismegistos Geo 2227; also Diz. Geogr. IV p. 338); PSI V 544.11 ἐκ Ταῖη (III BC); P.Ross.Georg. II 42.4 περὶ Ταῖη (II AD); P.Ross.Georg. II 16.8–9 ἀπὸ κώμης Σκηνῶν Ἀράβων Ταῖη τῆς Ἀραβίας τοῦ Μεμφίτου (AD 121); SPP XXII 4.9–11 ἀπὸ Σκηνῶν [Ἀράβ]ων Ταῖη τῆς Ἀραβί(ας) [το]ῦ Μεμφίτου (AD 127/128); BGU XIII 2278.8 κώ[μ]ης Ταῖ . . . τῆς Ἀραβίας (III AD); P.Leipz. 1.4 οἱ ἀπὸ κώ(μης) Ταῖ (AD 244/245). The village has two names where the first one, Σκηναὶ Ἀράβων is Greek, and the second one, Ταῖη, indigenous. The first part of the first toponym, Σκηναὶ was a common name for the headquarters of military contingents located in the north-eastern part of Egypt: Σκηναὶ Μάνδρα (Memphite), Scenae Veteranorum (on the road from Memphis to Pelusium), Σκηναὶ Μεγάλαι (near Babylon), Σκηναὶ αἱ ἐκτὸς Γέρρου (eastern Delta); see Diz. Geogr. IV pp. 289–291; P.Hamb. I 39, esp. p. 178–179; P.Oxy. L 3574 and 3580; and CPR XXIII 19. The military fortifications started to appear at the north-eastern border of Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. During the Roman period, garrisons were located along the main road from Egypt to Syria (H. Verreth, *The Border between Egypt and Syria from the 7th Century B.C. until the 7th Century A.D.*, in: P. Van Nuffelen [ed.], *Faces of Hellenism. Studies in the History of the Eastern Mediterranean (4th Century B.C. – 5th Century A.D.)* [Studia Hellenistica 48], Leuven, Paris, Walpole/MA 2009, 199–216). The word Σκηναὶ, tents, can be explained either by the temporary character of the settlements in the regions on the border between Egypt and Syria, due to the natural conditions of a desert and constant threat of invasion from the east, as well as by the ethnic diversity of the

population of that region which included also nomadic tribes (Arabs/Syrians; see H. Verreth, *The northern Sinai from the 7th century BC till the 7th century AD. A guide to the sources*, Leuven 2006, 558 n. 2331, and E. Bickermann, *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P.Giss. 40*, Berlin 1926, 11 Anm. 32, citing a parallel in Amm. Marc. 22, 15, 2 *scenitae Arabes, quos Saracenos nunc appellant*; cf. H. Verreth, *The Ethnic Diversity of the Northern Sinai from the 7th Century BCE until the 7th Century CE*, in: M. Gruber, S. Ahituv, G. Lehmann, Z. Talshir (eds.), *All the Wisdom of the East. Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and History in Honor of Eliezer D. Oren*, Göttingen 2012, 405–418, esp. 405–406 and 417), or by the use of tents in the Roman army (H. Verreth, *The northern Sinai from the 7th century BC till the 7th century AD. A guide to the sources*, Leuven 2006, 558–559). The settlements that had temporary character before Roman times could later develop into villages and cities which was also the case of Taie.

6 β̣: The sign in the papyrus is a small open β followed by a long vertical stroke going down and left. For a similar writing of the ⅔ sign, see e.g. BGU II 552, fr. A,ii. 7–8 (AD 263), and BGU II 556, i.5 (III AD).

7 δι(ὸ) τοῦ κονιατοῦ: Plasterer, a stucco decorator; see K. Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihren Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri II*, Rahden 2008, 600–601.

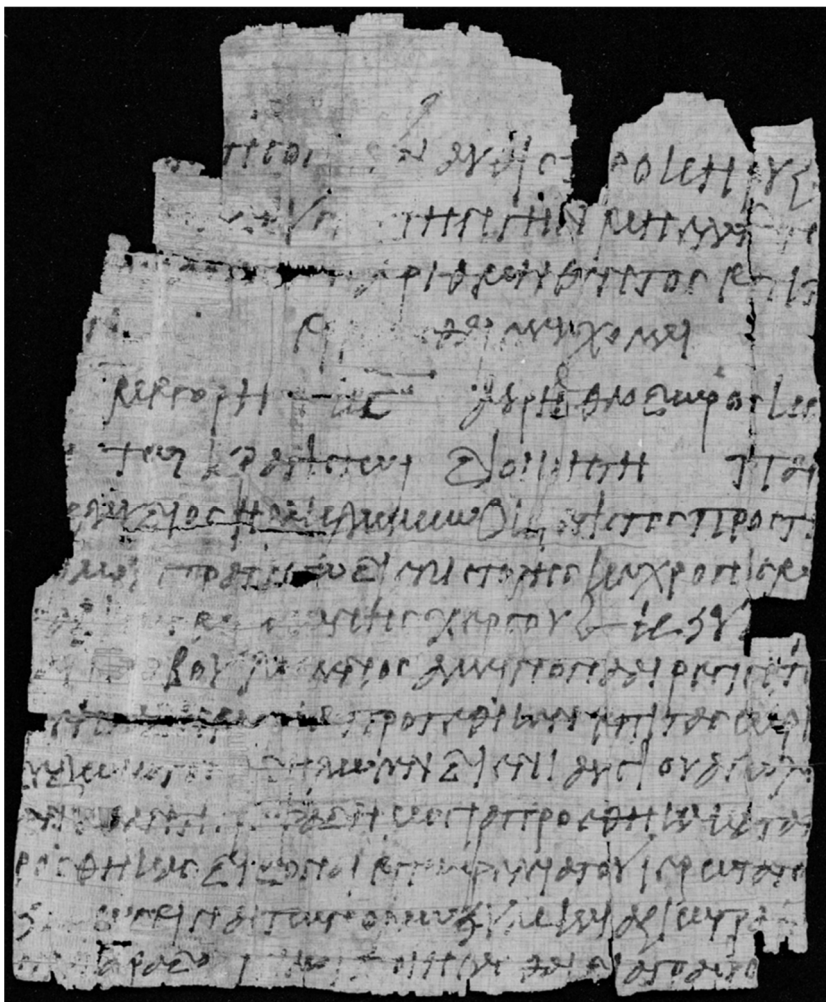
8 (γίνονται) (ἀρουραι) ρ̣[v.]ξ: The total of land parcels near the village Taie adds up to 160 ⅓ *arourai*, if the readings of the fractions are correct. The first letter cancelled is v. It might be followed by θ and the symbol λ, which would give the number 159 ½ *arourai*. Perhaps, the scribe forgot to add the fraction ⅓ from l. 6 at first, then realized his error and corrected the sum to 160 (omitting the ⅓).

8 παραδ(είσων): the land for orchards is attested in Memphis for I/II BC in UPZ I 117 and BGU VI 1216 and for III AD in P.Strasb. IX 873, πωμα(ρι) (ἀρουρ). The reading and interpretation of κ̣α̣ () remains unclear. Καί seems excluded palaeographically and grammatically. Zereteli's draft suggests also παραδεκτ̣() as a possible reading.

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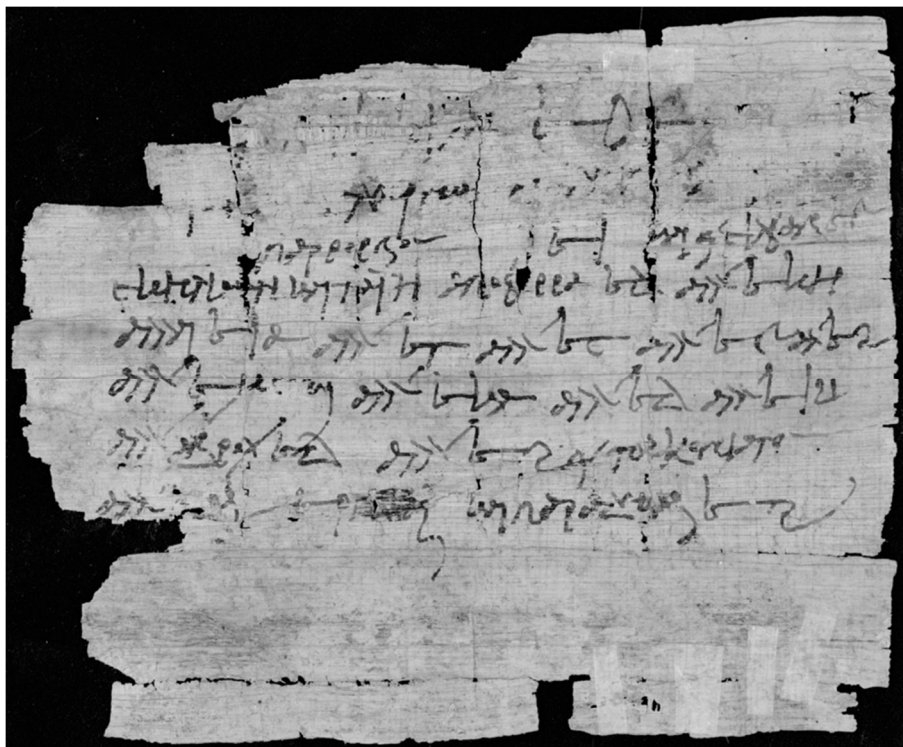
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