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Tafeln 1–16

BEMERKUNGEN ZU POPYRI XXXII

<Korr. Tyche>

886.–894. Elena CHEPEL

Corrections to P.Leipz.¹

Greek papyri of the Leipzig University Library were published by C. Wessely in 1885, in one of the pioneer editions of documentary papyri.² These papyri were found in Saqqara near Memphis in 1853 and belonged to the so-called ‘Archive of Memphite official’ (Trismegistos Archive 403) which was distributed shortly after its discovery between collections in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek, now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)³, Leipzig, and Saint Petersburg (Russian National Library).⁴ The texts of this archive are very fragmentary and do not explicitly yield the name of the owner or the office where the documents were produced. This, combined with the early date of publication, might partly explain why this unique group of documents from Roman Memphis of the 3rd century has been largely understudied. After the revision of these texts, it is possible to tentatively trace a certain connection of this archive with the department of *dioikesis*, the Roman financial administrative body. The corrections below are based on the consultation of high-resolution digital images.⁵

886. A new join: P.Leipz. 30 + P.Ross.Georg III 26
(= P.Berl.Bibl. 5 + P.Petersb. 7)

The fellahin who found the archive and/or the sellers apparently cut the documents into neat rectangular pieces in order to increase the price, and these fragments ended up separated in the three collections: Berlin, Leipzig, and Petersburg. The two upper parts of this document (P.Berl. Bibl.5 and P.Petersb. 7) were identified and joined by U. Wilcken in 1887.⁶ This join was included into

¹ This article has been written with the financial support of the Council for grants of the President of the Russian Federation, Project MK 699.2019.6.

² P.Leipz. = *Die griechischen Papyri der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek* (Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 37), ed. C. Wessely, Leipzig 1885, 237–275. See also G. Parthey in: *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865*, Berlin 1866, 423–425.

³ The Berlin part of the archive has been thought to be lost. However, I have discovered that these papyri are presently held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

⁴ On the archive, see E. Chepel, *P.Tbilisi inv. 344v: Extract from Memphite Land Register*, Tyche 33 (2018) 44 n.4 and E. Chepel, *Russian Collections of Greek Papyri and 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 3 (2018) 57–58, online publication: <http://www.enc-journal.com/images/contributions/2018-3/3-6-chepel.pdf>.

⁵ I sincerely thank Almuth Märker for providing me with digital images of P.Leipz.

⁶ *Die Memphitischen Papyri der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin und der Kaiserl. Bibliothek zu Petersburg*, Hermes 22 (1887) 142–144. See the photo of the left half held at Saint Petersburg

the edition of this document in P.Ross.Georg. III 26. The lower part of the text with priests' signatures was believed to be missing. I have found that P.Leipz. 30, in fact, presents the bottom right part of the document and should be read as Αὐρήλιος Ἐμβής ὁ καὶ Νέφθμις ἀπέσχον ὡς πρόκειται.



The text of the edition princeps had: Ἰεφθμῆ ἀπέσχον ὡς πρόκειται. Instead of Ἰεφθμῆ in Wessely's edition, the name should be read as Nephthemis, which stands in P.Berl. Bibl. 5,2. Nephthemis was the fourth of the seven priests named in the heading of the document; here, he appears to be the last one to sign the receipt. The name has a clear connection to the Memphite god Nefertem, son of Ptah. A more usual theophoric name deriving from the name of this god would be Πετενέφθμις, 'he who is given by Nefertem', the majority of Demotic attestations of which come from Memphis. The form in P.Berl. Bibl. 5 and P.Leipz. 30 does not occur elsewhere, being a 'pure' divine name, which, however, is in line with the names of the other priests.⁷

The formula of the signature is identical with the signatures of the three other priests. From the size and shape of both P.Leipz. 30 (13×12 cm) and P.Petersb. 7 (13.7×11.2 cm) it can be seen that the document was cut into four relatively equal pieces. Therefore, it is likely that P.Leipz. 30 has a direct connection to P.Berl. Bibl. 5, meaning that there are no more lines with signatures missing between the two fragments. The left bottom part of the document still remains to be identified. The new join allows for a more precise description of the layout of the document, since the bottom margin is now known. It is remarkably wide: the blank space in the bottom is of about the same size as the whole text of the document.

This new join is the only case so far when parts of one document from this archive are distributed between the three collections. It thus ultimately proves the common provenance of the three groups of fragments in Berlin, Leipzig, and Petersburg.

887. P.Leipz. 2

The papyrus presents an almost complete private letter to Aurelius Serenus, as we know from the address preserved on the back. The content of the letter concerns a business issue (the registration of *onomata* in the *dioikesis*) and private requests (for the sending of peas and lentils). The first three lines are heavily abraded, although Wessely was able to read the greeting formula and the name of the sender, Herodes, son of Didymos, which is, however, dubious. Wessely left dots in the middle part of l. 3 and at the end he read three letters: [πλεισ]τα χείρειν . . . ινω. I suggest that the end of l. 3 and beginning of l. 4 be read as: χύτρηνον ὀθήριον (for: ὀτάριον), 'a ceramic handle of a vessel'.⁸

in E. Chepel, *Arthur Hunt's Corrections to P.Ross.Georg. III in an Unpublished Letter to Petr Jernstedt*, ZPE 211 (2019) 184–188, fig. 2.

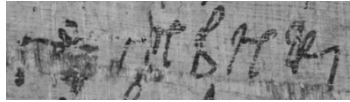
⁷ See J. Quaegebeur, *The Genealogy of the Memphite High priest Family in the Hellenistic Period*, in: D. J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Leuven 1980, 75–76.

⁸ For the interchange of τ > θ in an intervocal position, see Gignac, *Gram. I*, 92. For ὀτάριον meaning 'handle of a vessel', cf. BGU III 781 (I–II AD) and, perhaps, also P.IFAO III 37 ii 19 and 37 (136–199 AD, Oxyrhynchus) where it is used in the context of an account listing various objects, mainly food items.



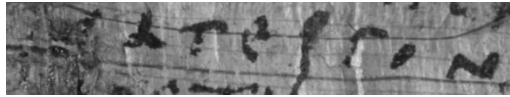
If correct, this reading implies that l. 3 does not contain the greeting, as Wessely read it, but rather belongs to the main part of the letter. The mentioning of a pot with handles suits the context of other private requests. Perhaps some lines from the top of the letter are missing.

In l. 10, *τινβηκι* (interpreted by Wessely as an unattested female name *Θινβηκι*) can be either *τι Ἀρβήκι*, with a very slim alpha connected to rho, or *τιν (l. τι) Βήκι*.⁹ Both names are well-attested in Roman Egypt. The latter is less plausible, as it suggests an error of the scribe. In any case, *Θινβηκι* should be considered to be a ghostname. The meaning of the phrase *συνφέρει | γὰρ* in ll. 9–10 remains the same: so, bring something to Harbekis/Bekis.



888. P.Leipz. 4 verso

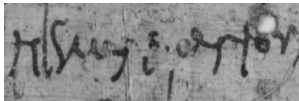
The fragment is written on both sides by the same hand. The side identified as the verso by Wessely contains an account of payments from the bank of Thermouthis for various expenses. The sums are given in drachms. At the beginning of col. ii 6, Wessely printed *πατερον*, without further commentary. Instead, *κάτεργον*, ‘wages, labour costs’, can be read, along with other types of expenses. This seems to be the first attestation of this word in the Roman period, since so far it has been attested only in papyri dated to 3rd–2nd centuries BCE. It then reappears at the beginning of 8th century CE with a different meaning, ‘construction works’.



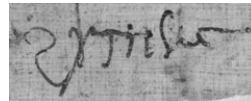
889. P.Leipz. 5

The fragment presents the beginning of an official document dealing with taxes written by (at least) two Roman citizens. Only the beginnings of the lines are preserved. In l. 2, the name of one of the authors of the document was read *Νεμεσιανοῦ*. Since the vertical stroke after the first letter belongs to the line above, it is more logical to read the name *Ἡρωνιανοῦ*. A similarly shaped *rho* can be found in the first word of l. 9, *ζυτηρᾶς*.

l. 2



l. 9

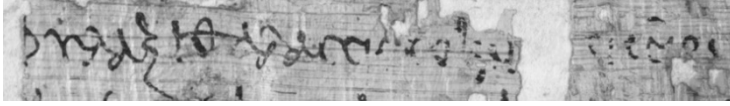


890. P.Leipz. 10

The document is very fragmentary. It deals with money transactions. Line 3 was read by Wessely as: *φυλαξι θαλασσιον καὶ [αἴ]θριον αν . . .*. Wessely noted in the commentary that *φυλαξι θαλασσιον* might be one word. However, the papyrus contains two names here: of an Alexandrian phyle and

⁹ See Gignac, *Gram. I*, 112–113, for erroneous addition of *nu*.

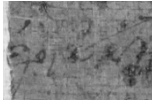
of a deme, Φυλαξιθαλάσσιος ὁ καὶ [Ζ]ήγειος. A phyle with this name was established during the reign of Nero. The text presents so far the only attestation of such phyle-deme combination.¹⁰



891. P.Leipz. 18 *recto* and 31 *recto*

The fragment P.Leipz. 18r seems to be part of a longer document, as it has a column number 41 on the top of the sheet. With the corrections, the content can be understood as a list of land plots some of which previously were private and then were transferred into the administration of the department of *dioikesis*.

At the beginning of l. 3, Wessely did not read the first word at all; then he read an abbreviation, consisting of an *alpha* and a diagonal stroke, as ἀ(πὸ). It should be read instead as] διοικ(ήσεως) (πρότερον), cf. P.Bub. 1 col. xi 12 (224 CE), P.Oxy. XIV 1633, 8–9 (275 CE).



Line 5 reads Ἡρα]ακλείδου Ἀρτότου (πρότερον) Νανίω[νος, instead of Wessely's Ἡρα]ακλείδου Ἀρπάλου α νανίω[. Harthotes is a common Egyptian name, which is to be found also in P.Leipz. 31r, at the beginning of l. 1: Ἀρτότης, and not]ερτωπτις. Interestingly, both papyri have the rare variant of this name with the first *tau*, which is used also in two other Memphite papyri: P.Lond. III 915, 31–32 (160 CE), and P.Rain. Cent. 59, 21 n. 21 (160 CE).

P.Leipz. 18, 5



P.Leipz. 31, 1

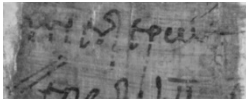


892. P.Leipz. 20 *verso*

Line 1: Instead of ἐν ἱερῷ, the personal name Νεφερός can be read.

Line 4: In the very beginning in the bottom of the line on the edge of papyrus, there is a tiny trace of a letter that is compatible with lambda. The next preserved letter is upsilon rather than omicron, and the name reads Λυβάιδος, corrected by the scribe from Λυβάτος, cf. Λυβάτος in P.Leipz. 13v, 4. These are the only two papyri with the spelling of this name with upsilon, while normally it is spelled Λοβάις/Λουβάις. In the genitive of this name, tau is more regular than delta.

line 1



line 4



¹⁰ For Alexandrian phylai and demoi, see W. Schubart, *Alexandrinische Urkunden aus der Zeit des Augustus*, APF 5 (1913) 93–104, U. Wilcken, *Kaiser Nero und die alexandrinischen Phylen*, APF 5 (1913) 182–184, and D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship During the Roman Principate*, Atlanta 1991, 49–68, 135–141.

893. P.Leipz. 23

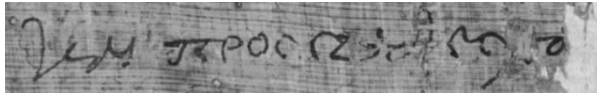
The papyrus is a fragment of a land register or a tax account.

Line 1: Wessely printed $\kappa\omicron\iota \tau$, without explanation. This is an abbreviation of some form of $\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\eta$, a land parcel.

Line 4: $\pi\rho\sigma\lceil$ should be probably read as $\pi\rho\sigma(\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu})$, and the preceding abbreviation as $\kappa\alpha\theta(\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu})$, instead of Wessely's suggestion $\kappa\alpha\theta(\eta\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon)$. Cf. P.Bour. 42, 160 and passim (167 CE, Hierakonchos).

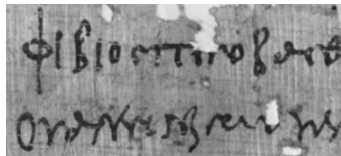
Line 5: the name Νεχθερωτοϛ should be read instead of Πεχθερωπ[οϛ . The latter is otherwise unattested and should be thus regarded to be a ghostname.

Line 8: The word after $\kappa\alpha\iota$ should be read as an abbreviation, not as a preposition, and the word after that starts with *epsilon* followed by *delta*, not a *zeta*. Therefore: $\pi\rho\sigma(\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}) \epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota$, the revenue-fields, cf. CPR I 189 (II, Arsinoite nome), SB VI 9618, 12 (192 CE, Arsinoiteon Polis), P.Bour. 42, passim (167 CE, Hierakonchos), and P.Oxy. XXIV 2414, col. ii 6, col. iii 7 (175–225 CE). In the last two texts, the prosodika fields are explicitly connected to the department of the *dioikesis*.¹¹ The last two letters were read by Wessely as $\chi\omicron\lceil$ but the traces of the first letter are not compatible with the way *chi* is written elsewhere in the papyrus, and the traces of the last letter suggest *alpha*, so, perhaps, $\sigma\alpha\lceil$ or $\tau\alpha\lceil$.



894. P.Leipz. 24

Two columns of what was most likely a list of tax payments can be seen on the papyrus. In the edition, col. ii 1–2 are printed as: $\Phi\acute{\iota}\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{Πενοβάσθ[ου] | Ο\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lceil\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. However, the second name should be read as Πετοβάσθ[η] , not Πενοβάσθ[η] . The latter is otherwise unattested and thus is a ghostname. It is tempting to make a connection between this document and an account of the wheat levy from the Hermopolite nome transported by ship to Alexandria, SB XXVI 16528 (II–III CE), where both a Phibios Petobasthios and a Oualenteinos appear. If the latter is the same person, the procurator of Nea Polis, one should probably read $\text{Ο\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\gamma\lceil\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon}$ in l. 2, cf. SB XXVI 16528, 5, 75, 92.



¹¹ See P.Collart, comm. on P.Bour. 42, 156–159; cf. also S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, London 1938, 3–4.

895.–908. Nikolaos GONIS

SPP VIII mimima¹²

895. SPP VIII 708

This fragmentary receipt of the seventh century was read as † παρησχ[ε]ν ὁ κ[υ]ρ[ι]ς [] | καρπῶν τρίτης ἰν(δικτίωνος) [] | τὰ δὲ ἄλλ(α) (κεράτια) ἰα κ[] | τῆς αὐτῆς ἰν(δικτίωνος) ὄγ[δ]ός (ll. 2–4). The reference to ‘the same eighth indiction’ in l. 4 after one to the third in l. 2 makes one pause. A check of the online image shows that the third indiction was meant also in l. 4, but the number was omitted from the published text: the papyrus has τῆς αὐτῆς γ ἰν(δικτίωνος). At the end of the line, I would simply transcribe ο. [.

896. SPP VIII 752

This receipt for *diagraphon* appears not to refer to any taxpayer, but on closer inspection this turns out to be due to the modern rather than the ancient scribe. The edition omits l. 4, which reads Μακάρ(ιος) ὀνελάτ(ης) (l. ὀνη-).

897. SPP VIII 821

There are three references to money in this seventh/eighth-century text (ll. 2–4):

ἀρ(ίθμια) νο(μίσματα) β ἔχο(ντα) (κεράτια) μγ δ’ τεσσαράκ[οντα] τρία τέταρτον
 ἀρ(ίθμιον) νό(μισμα) ἔν - ἔχο(ν) (κεράτια) κ[]
 ἀρ(ίθ(μιον) νό(μισμα) α ἔχο(ν) (κεράτια) κα εἴκ[οσι] ἔν (after BL VIII 447)

The image shows that in l. 3 the papyrus has α γ’, not ἔν -. If we reckon with a 21-carat solidus, as in l. 4, 1½ sol. = 28 car., so that we should restore (κερ.) κ[η] εἴκοσι ὀκτώ. But the solidi in l. 2 have 21½⁄₈ carats each; 1½ solidus of this kind makes 28½⁄₃ carats, i.e., (κερ.) κ[η] γ’ εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ ἥμισυ τρίτον.

898. SPP VIII 826

In l. 1 of this fragmentary receipt, Wessely read παρέσχ(ε) ἦ and then drew the top of a letter before indicating the lacuna. It is curious that he did not recognize ε, since parallels were not lacking. Read ἦ ἐ[ργ](ασία); cf. SPP VIII 840 (= XX 186), 841, 842, and 878.¹³

A bigger slip affected l. 4, which was omitted from the edition; read ἥμισυ τέταρτον [.

899. SPP VIII 830

The date clause of this tax receipt was presented as a series of drawings, followed by ‘ἰδ(νδικτ.)’. On the image it is possible to read μ^λ κ ἰ^δ ι, i.e., Μ(ε)χ(ειρ) κ ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ι.

900. SPP VIII 842

The last line (4) of this receipt was omitted from the edition; read + δ(τ’) ἐμοῦ . . [.

¹² I am grateful to Federico Morelli for checking originals in Vienna and commenting on a draft of these notes.

¹³ In these texts Wessely had understood the writing differently: η (l. οἱ) ἐργ(άται). This was corrected in BL I 417.

901. SPP VIII 1077

This is an order to supply fodder for donkeys to two donkey drivers: παράσχε]τε τοῖς δύο ὄνελ(ά)τ(αίς) [ὑπὲρ τρο]φῆς γαιδ(αρίων) αὐτ(ῶν) ἀπὸ Τ[ῦβι νεομηνί]ας τρίτης ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) [(ll. 2–5). Details on the fodder are given in l. 6, but the passage is problematic. This is Wessely's text, a good reproduction of what is written on the parchment, now in a bad state of preservation:

The abbreviations have given difficulty.¹⁴ The context suggests resolving the first of the two as μ(αν)δ(άκια) ‘bundles’, apparently of hay (χόρτ(ου) would have stood at the end of the previous line); the plural form is suggested by δύο. The same abbreviation occurs in SPP X 83.1–4.¹⁵ It is less clear what ἐν χε() represents. P.Amh. II 94 = W.Chr. 347.6 χορτενχέρσου (Herm.; 208) might be relevant.

Another problem is the transition from l. 4 to l. 5. The phrase ἀπὸ Τ[ῦβι νεομηνί]ας is not expected in a text of this kind. The parchment has ἀπὸ τοῦ . [, but I cannot reconstruct what follows.

The text was assigned to the seventh/eighth century, but is slightly earlier. The hand and the structure of the text are comparable to the group of orders issued by Fl. Petterios, especially SPP VIII 1079, which date from the 660s–670s.

902. SPP VIII 1236

The first two lines of this fragmentary receipt of the seventh century (‘VI’ *ed. pr.*) were read thus:

] Σαβίνος τὸ δημό(σιον)
]ρμε(νων) παρ' αὐτ(οῦ) ἀρουρῶ(ν) ἐπὶ κώμ(ης)

The image shows that l. 2 begins]ρμες, to be restored as σπειρ]ομέ(νων). Sabinos has paid the tax on a number of aruras that he sows. A parallel is offered by SPP VIII 1346 (below, no. 908).

Two other points of detail. In l. 1, there are traces in the papyrus before Σαβίνος, not reported in *ed. pr.*:]ε . . . In l. 3, for] .σιδ() read]ης ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) (i^δ pap.).

903. SPP VIII 1238

Wessely drew what was visible at the beginning of l. 1 and continued with τιμας. The image allows reading φ]ιλῶτιμας.

904. SPP VIII 1286b

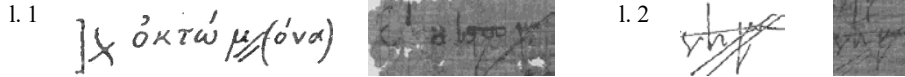
This short memorandum of the seventh/eighth century reads as follows (cf. BL XII 270): † ἔχει Γερ(όντιος) μεσίτ(ης) | (ὑπὲρ) τ(ῶν) μωαγαρ(ι)τ(ῶν) ἐποικίου Ἠλία (ἀρτάβας) η | (καί) λογι(σμοῦ) Κυρικῶ διακ(όνω) (ὑπὲρ) Φουρτιν (ἀρτάβας) γ ω. I do not see how to explain λογι(σμοῦ) in terms of sense and syntax; a verb corresponding to ἔχει would be preferable. I suggest reading λογί(ζεται): Gerontios received 8 artabas and credited 3½ artabas to Kyrikos the deacon.

¹⁴ The passage was transcribed in DDbDP as μ(ηνῶν) δ \ε/ δύο.

¹⁵ But not in P.Ross.Georg. III 57.16, where μ(αν)τ(άκια) should be read instead of μ(αν)δ(άκια).

905. SPP VIII 1301

The first line of the text as edited begins with a sign followed by ὀκτώ μ(όνα); the next and last line contains a kind of signature ending η μ(όνα). I reproduce what appears in the edition, juxtaposed with clippings from the online image:



In l. 1 the drawing is not entirely accurate and the top of the upright that follows was ignored. The enigmatic sign is that of ξ(έστης), and we should read] ξ(έσται) η ὀκτώ μ(όνοι). The same sign was written before η in l. 2; read ξ(έσται) η μ(όνοι).

906. SPP VIII 1310

Of this fragmentary parchment document from the Fayum of the seventh/eight century, lines 2–4 call for comment. The edition has:

2]ραφον κεράτια
3 ἡμισυ γ κβγ Ἀλεξ^{αν}(θερείας)
4]() κθ δσ() + δ/(ι)]η[
5]Χριστοφόρου

This is a receipt for 22½ carats paid for *diagraphon*; cf. SPP III 675. It is unclear why Wessely did not restore διαγ]ράφου in l. 2 and [εἴκοσι δύο ἡμισυ in l. 3 (in the latter case, the space available on the page may have dictated choices, but not in the former). Line 4 is more difficult; here is a clipping of the image:



We have a date: ο κθ δ ιγδ(ικτίωνος). The name of a month came before κθ, but the letter under the raised omicron is not identifiable. Θο(θ) (l. Θωθ) is hardly attractive, nor is Τυ(βι). Με]σο(ρη) should be excluded, since there is a blank area before the unread letter.

At the end of the same line, F. Morelli points out that δ(ι)]η[is also dubious; what is the name beginning]η-, and how does it relate to Χριστοφόρου in the line below? There is no abbreviation stroke after δ, and this allows a different division of the letters and reading: δι' ἡμῶν. There are very few examples of signatures introduced by δι' ἡμῶν in receipts, but they include P.Ross.Georg. V 46.2.4, SPP III 262.2, III².5 532.4, and 547.3, all from the Fayum. ἡμῶν would have been followed by a name, now lost; Χριστοφόρου indicates the second signatory.

There are faded traces above l. 1, but these are not the remains of another line.

907. SPP VIII 1327

In l. 2, τὰς δοθ(είσας) τῷ [, a word was omitted: τὰς καὶ δοθ(είσας) τῷ [.

908. SPP VIII 1346

This is a Heracleopolite account assigned to the sixth/seventh century. Lines 3–4 were read thus:

] τῶν ἀρουρ(ῶν) τῶν σπειρομέ(νων)
] τῶν ἀπὸ Κοβα (καὶ) Δεριζομεμε()

The last word was taken as a personal name (indexed as such on p. 290), but it is not one, and delta was misread: the papyrus has $\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon$. Before $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ in l. 4, F. Morelli observes that it is possible to read \omicron , with the end of a high horizontal to its left, such as of π . I propose to read l. 4 as follows:

[ὄ]πρὸ τῶν ἀπὸ Κοβα (καὶ) $\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}(ν\omicron\nu)$

The reference is to aruras harvested and sown by the people from the village of Koba.

909. Giulio IOVINE

ChLA XLV 1321¹⁶

ChLA XLV 1321 features a small portion of three lines from a presumably larger bilingual Latin-Greek *Prozeßprotokoll* (report of court proceedings).¹⁷ The trial was presided by Flavius Anthemius Isidorus Theophilus ('Theofilus' in the text), *praeses* of the province of Arcadia in the first half of the fifth century (perhaps in AD 436).¹⁸ The text in ChLA reproduces the *editio princeps* by Karl Wessely published in SPP XIV 12A. In ChLA, J.-O. Tjäder has proposed some new readings of the text.¹⁹ The title of Theophilus, between his name and the verb *l(egatur)*²⁰ in l. 1 and the writing in between *ex offic(io)* and *et cum benisset* in l. 3 are, however, still undecided.

(1) The reading of the title seems the most problematic. Wessely suggested *u(ir) c(larissimus)* after *Theofilus*, which is found also in the aforementioned P.Oxy. XVI 1879²¹. Indeed, *u(ir)* is certain (in ligature with the preceding *s*), followed by what might be a badly written *c* with an abbreviation stroke, i.e. *c(larissimus)*. The upper stroke of *c* is missing: since there is no trace of ink above the letter, and the fibre is intact, it probably was mistakenly omitted by the scribe. The following sequence has been interpreted as *per*, which, together with the following *l*, gave *per-l(egatur)*.²² However, *a* looks inevitable. If we accept *par* rather than *pas*, *p(raeses) Ar(cadiae)* might be a solution. Both words can be abbreviated in this manner²³. The absence of *p(rouinciae)* between the two words is, however, odd. There is only one instance, in which the same omission

¹⁶ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement n° 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project 'Papyri and Latin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri', University of Naples 'Federico II' – PI Maria Chiara Scappaticcio. I wish to thank M. Miglionico (Roma 3), M. Pedone (Napoli 'Federico II') and M. Wyatt (Bologna, CNR).

¹⁷ = P.Vindob. inv. L 109, TM 70107.

¹⁸ See *PLRE* II 1109 s.v. F. Anthemius Isidorus Theophilus 7. This *praeses* is attested also in P.Oxy. XVI 1879 (AD 434, TM 22015), where he is styled *u(ir) c(larissimus) praes(es) prouinc(iae) Arcad(iae)* (ll. 3; 9).

¹⁹ J.-O. Tjäder in ChLA XLVIII, p. 126, henceforth: Tjäder.

²⁰ I prefer Wessely's *l(egatur)* to Tjäder's *l(egit)*, for two reasons: 1) in the extant *Prozeß-verhandlungen* on papyrus, the Roman magistrate or governor does not read, but orders something to be read ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\omega\theta\iota$ is often used); 2) *l(egatur)* perfectly translates the following $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\omega\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\omicron$.

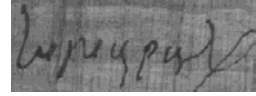
²¹ The name in SPP XIV 12A is read as Teofilus. In ChLA XLV 1321, l. 1 it is read as Theophilus. Tjäder reads Theofilus. After looking at the original, I agree with Tjäder.

²² This has been suggested in H. B. van Hoesen, *Roman Cursive Writing*, Princeton 1915, 142–143.

²³ *Praeses* is abbreviated simply *p* in several inscriptions: see e.g. CIL VIII 23179 = AE 2015, 1767, ll. 8–10 *Vi]bius Flauia|[nu]s u(ir) p(er)fectissimus p(raeses) p(rouinciae) Val(eriae) | [B]yz[acena]e* (Byzacena, AD 303–305). As for *Ar(cadia)*, see e.g. P.Oxy. XVI 1878, l. 4 *praes]e[s prouin]c(iae) Ar(cadiae) [ἀ]ν[άγ]ν[ω]θι et recitabit* (AD 461, TM 22014).

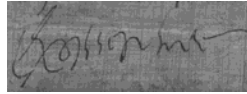
appears: P.Lips. I 40, col. II l. 2 and *passim* (late IV–early V AD, TM 33700), where the presiding *praeses* is repeatedly mentioned as *Fl(avius) Leontius Beronicianu(s) u(ir) c(larissimus) pr(aeses) Tebaei(dis)*.

l. 1: *-lus u(ir) c(larissimus) p(raeses) Ar(cadiae) l(egatur) ...*



(2) J.-O. Tjäder has already noticed that l. 3 starts with the well-known sequence *ex offic(io)* and ends with *cum benisset* (r. *uenisset*).²⁴ In between, however, there is something written that has not been read before. After careful consideration, one might propose an otherwise unattested abbreviated form of the Greek γίνομαι, γενέσ(θω) ‘let it happen’, or ‘let him come.’²⁵ This is perhaps the logical premise to the following *et cum benisset* ‘and after he had come’.

l. 3: *ex offic(io) γενέσ(θω)*



910.–922. Sophie KOVARIK

Bemerkungen zu spätantiken Urkunden

Namen und Berufe

910. BGU I 295

In BGU I 295 kann der Vatersname des Ausstellers Aurelios Pseeios in Z. 11: λίου auf Ἀμαίου korrigiert werden. Ein kleine Unachtsamkeit in der Transkription findet sich in Z. 15–16, *l. νομισμάτιον* statt *νομισμάτι[ον]*.

911. BGU III 751

Der Darlehensvertrag BGU III 751 aus dem späten 4. oder frühen 5. Jh. kann in einigen Details berichtigt werden. In Z. 5. kann die Lesung *ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀνε...* [...] *ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀνε πάση[ς] ἀντιλογί[α]ς* verbessert werden. Die Formel findet auch arsinotische Parallelen, vgl. z.B. P.Col. VII 184, 14–15 (372) und CPR VIII 47, 6–7 (4.–5. Jh.).

Für den Namen des Ausstellers in Z. 7f., *Αὐρήλιος Ἀ...σιος Π...ου*, würde ich als Vatersnamen *Παύλου* vorschlagen. Für den Namen selbst scheinen mir nur zwei Lesungen möglich, die beide problembehaftet sind. Entweder der Name *Αὐφ<ι>διος*, der selten und nie so spät belegt ist, oder *Ἀτίσιος*. Jedoch ist Tau alles andere als überzeugend, da kaum eine Unterlänge erhalten ist, zudem stünde es in Ligatur mit Iota. *Atisios* ist ein typischer Name aus Karanis im 3.–4. Jh. und damit wohl zu bevorzugen. In P.Haun. III 58 (439) gibt es dort sogar einen *Ἀτίσιος Παύλου*. Unser Aussteller kommt allerdings aus Sebennytos, wie dem Dorsalvermerk zu entnehmen ist (s. BGU III, Berichtigungen und Nachträge, S. 4).

²⁴ ChLA XLVIII, p. 126.

²⁵ I owe this important notion to M. Pedone and M. Miglionico. Parallels of Greek sequences following the syntagm *ex officio* can be found in P.Oxy. XVI 1877, l. 2 (AD 488, TM 22013): *ex offic(io)*: ἐπιδ(έδωκε) Παμουθιος ὁ βοηθός τῶν κομμέν[των] κτλ. and P.Oxy. XVI 1878, ll. 2–3 (AD 461, TM 22014): *cum obtoliset libellum Filoxeno*: *ex offic(io)*: ὁποῖον λίβελλον Φιλόξενος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγιτῶν | ἐπιδέδωκεν κτλ.

Den Rest des Satzes in Z. 8–9, der in der ed. pr. ὁ προκείμενος ὁμο[λογῶ] ἔχιν κ[αὶ] δ[ε]δ[ε]χ[θ]ῆ[ι]σθ[αι] | ὡς . . . το Φλ(αουίω) Οὐφρονίω lautet, lese ich als ὁ προκείμενος (l. προκειμένος) ὁμολογῶ ἔχιν (l. ἔχειν) κ[αὶ] χρεωστίν (l. χρεωστεῖν) το (l. τῷ) Φλ(αουίω) Οὐφρονίω (l. Εὐφρονίω). Ein arsinoitischer Vergleichstext für diese Formulierung ist P.Bodl. I 39, 9–10. Dieser Euphronios ist Angehöriger des Staatsdienstes, ein *agens in rebus*. Das erfahren wie aus dem Verso, wo nach εἰς Φλ(άουιον) Εὐφρόνιον τὸν καθοσιωμένον anstelle von μ(ου) κύριον [†] der ed. pr. am Ende der 2. Zeile des Dorsalvermerks μαγιστριανόν zu lesen ist.

912. CPR X 26

Die Spuren zu Beginn des Dorsalvermerks auf dem Verso von P.Laur. II 31 = CPR X 26 sind anders zu deuten: vor ὑπό + Angabe des Ausstellers kann nicht [μίθωσ]ις zu lesen sein, da es sich nicht um den Beginn der Urkunde handelt, wo die Vertragsgattung zu erwarten ist. An dieser Stelle ist vielmehr mit der näheren Bestimmung des Mietobjekts zu rechnen, deshalb lies hier möglicherweise ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Περσ[έ]ας. Das gleiche *amphodon* begegnet in CPR X 27 aus dem Dossier desselben Notars Epiphanius.

Am Ende des Vermerks lese ich anstelle von Ἰωάννην πινκέρυ[η] als Berufsangabe des Ioannes σιτομέτρ[η]. Auf dem Recto wird die letzte Zeile der *Hypographe*, Z. 13, in der ed. pr. nicht gelesen; der Text endet mit Z. 12 καὶ ὑπογράφω χρι εἰμῆ. Ich lese in Z. 12–13 hingegen καὶ ὑπογράφω χρι εἰμῆ ἀπέ]λυσα †. Das entspricht der üblichen Formel eigenhändiger arsinoitischer Unterschriften (vgl. BGU II 371, P.Col. VIII 244, P.Lond. I 113, SB I 4706²⁶, SB I 4753, SPP XX 139).

913. CPR X 136

CPR X 136 ist die bisher späteste bekannte Tabellionenurkunde aus dem Arsinoites und datiert in das 419. Jahr nach der Ära des Diokletian (702). Es handelt sich um eine Bürgschaft eines Priesters namens Menas für einen gewissen Diakon Naaraus, Bürgschaftsempfänger ist wahrscheinlich der Bischof. Der Dorsalvermerk (Z. 7) mit der Inhaltsangabe ist in der Edition nicht vollständig gelesen worden. Der Hrsg. gibt: † ἐγ' γύη Ναρ() δι(ακόνου) υἰο(ῦ) ἄπα Κουθίου *Spuren*. Es lässt sich hier zunächst die Transkription verfeinern: † ἐγ' γύη Νααρά(ου) δια(κόνου) υἰοῦ Ἄπα Κουθίου, und um γεγαμέ(νη) ὑπ(ὸ) Μη(νᾶ) πρε(σβυτέρου) υἰοῦ Π[αύλου]] ergänzen; die Kürzungen werden sowohl durch einen Kürzungsstrich als auch zusätzlich durch das Hochstellen von Buchstaben angezeigt, beim Ende -ου von υἰοῦ in Ligatur δ.



CPR X 136 Verso

Die verlorene Passage zu Beginn der Z. 5 auf dem Recto nach Μηνᾶς πρεσβύτερος | [] κληῖς υἰὸς Παύλου muss sich auf die Kirche beziehen, in welcher Menas Priester war. Ich würde daher nach Μηνᾶς πρεσβύτερος eine Ergänzung der Kirche [τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἁγίας Θ]έκκλης vorschlagen, wie sie im Arsinoites hinreichend belegt ist (s. etwa SB I 5127, SPP III² 104, SPP X 259).

²⁶ Auch SB I 4706 hat nicht ὑπόγραφα (l. ὑπέγραφα), wie in der ed. pr. gelesen, sondern ὑπωγράψ[α]ς (l. ὑπογράφας) – s. bereits BL X 179.

914. P.Corn. inv. II 48

Die *absolutio* in der Form ἀπέλυσα halte ich auch für P.Corn. inv. II 48, 26–27 (ed. T. Gagos, BASP 45 (2008) 59–67) wahrscheinlicher (vgl. oben no. 912 [CPR X 26]), wo vom Hrsg. in Anschluss an ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμῆ <καὶ> διέλυσα gelesen wird. Die ungewöhnliche Strichführung des απ — vom Hrsg. als δι interpretiert — erinnert an die von Ἀπολλῶς drei Zeilen darüber. Die Formulierung ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμῆ entspricht der üblichen Standardfloskel, ungewöhnlich ist nur der Aorist aktiv anstelle des Partizips (*l. ὑπογράφας*).

915. P.Vind. Tand. 32

Zur Datierung siehe bereits BL VII 280, wo die Indiktion korrigiert wurde; nach der Datierung in Z. 7 ἰν(δικτίονος), findet sich der Errichtungsort ἐν Ἀρ(), der in der *ed. pr.* nicht angezeigt wurde.

Außerdem lassen sich einige Berichtigungen auch im Urkundskörper finden.

In Z. 9 lies für den Vatersnamen eventuell Κ[ύ]ρρου; ein Phoibammon, Sohn des Kyros erscheint in SB XVI 12279 (Ars., 7. Jh.); ein Großteil des Namens ist aber weggebrochen, die Lesung bleibt daher hypothetisch.

In Z. 10 hat die *ed. pr.* κ ε() οβροχοι. Die Lesung von βροχοι ist sicher — ich kann die Korrektur in BL VIII 507 (ἡγεμονεϊκοί, *l. ἡγεμονικοί*) nicht nachvollziehen —, allerdings muss an einen alternativen Wortbeginn gedacht werden. Ich würde die Lesung κυθροβρόχοι vorschlagen; diese Profession ist ein einziges Mal belegt in der nach Berufständen gegliederten arsinoitischen Steuerliste P.Prag. I 25, 10 (κυθροβρόχοι, das Wort ist nicht gut erhalten, κυθροβρόχοι scheint möglich) und muss Topfmacher o.ä. bedeuten (s. P.Prag. I 25, Zeilenkommentar), jedoch offensichtlich zu unterscheiden vom häufig belegten κουφοκεραμουργός, dem Fasstöpfer. Die Zunft der Topfmacher umfasst dort nur zwei Mitglieder, wie wir sie also auch in dem vorliegenden Papyrus vor uns hätten²⁷. Es erscheinen insgesamt 40 Sackträger (σακκοφόροι), 11 Bäcker (άρτοκοποι), zwei Feinbäcker (καθαυργοί), ein Papyrushändler/Papyrusfleurer (?) (ἀνθηλάτες – s. BL IX 212), 25 Salzhändler²⁸ (ἀλουργοί), zwei Topfmacher (κυθροβρόχοι), 33 Färber (βαφεῖς), zwei Bohnenmüller (?) (ἐρέκται), 16 Walker (κναφεῖ[ι]ς). Für P.Prag. I 25 scheint mit dieser Parallele ein weiterer Hinweis auf eine arsinoitische Provenienz vorzuliegen²⁹, die bisher nur aufgrund der Herkunft aus der Privatsammlung Karl Wesselys angenommen wurde.

In Z. 12 lese ich Αὐρηλίω Φιβῆ υἱῷ Κυρικοῦ. Die *ed. pr.* hat Αὐρηλίω κυρίω. In der Edition gibt es auch zu Beginn der Z. 13 Text: υἱ[ῶ ± 12] . . ., ich kann dort jedoch keine Tintenspuren ausmachen, zu erwarten ist die Berufsangabe des Urkundempfängers.

916. SB I 4853

Z. 1–2 dieser Pariser Urkunde werden in der *ed. pr.* folgendermaßen wiedergegeben:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | ὄδὸν ἔχειν [] |
| 2 | ὑποκειμένων σοι εἰς [] . |

²⁷ Eine Auswahl von Zunftmitgliedern scheint mit ἀπὸ κεφαλῶν ausgedrückt zu werden, wie bei P.Prag. I 25, 4 für die Feinbäcker, anstelle von κεφ(αλή/αί) + Zahl wie in den anderen Zeilen; oder aber die zwei Feinbäcker sind als Unterkategorie Teil der in der vorhergehenden Zeile genannten 11 Bäcker.

²⁸ Früher als Purpurfärber aufgefasst, s. aber J.-L. Fournet, J. Gascou, *À propos de PSI IX 1061 descr.: Le nom du saunier et une formation méconnue d'anthroponymes féminins*, ZPE 135 (2001) 142–146 (= BL XII 161), vgl. aber auch SPP III² 127A, Komm. zu Z. 2.

²⁹ Auch der Beruf ἀλουργός ist bisher mit Sicherheit einzig im Arsinoites belegt, s. Fournet, Gascou, *À propos* (o. Anm. 26) 145.

In Z. 3 liest die *ed. pr.* (als Z. 1): [κυρίαν οὖσαν, καὶ ἐπερω(τηθ) ὠ(μολόγησα) Ἥλιας Ἀπολλω(). Tatsächlich steht hier καὶ ἐπερω(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμ(ολόγησα) †. Ἀπολλῶς. Zu Beginn der Zeile ist die Kyria-Klausel zu erwarten — da das finale -v am Anfang der erhaltenen Zeile sicher scheint, dürfte es sich wohl um eine Homologie handeln, neben der Quittung (*apodeixis*) die einzige Kyria-Klausel, die für gewöhnlich im Akkusativ formuliert wird: [καὶ πρὸς σὴν/ὑμετέραν ἀσφάλειαν ταύτην σοι/αὐτῇ πεποιήμαι τὴν ὁμολογίαν κυρ]ῖ[αν οὖσαν].

Die Notarsunterschrift in Z. 5 wurde in Z. 3 der *ed. pr.* gelesen als [] † δι' ἑμοῦ Ἀπολλων() γρα(μματέως) und in BL VIII 320 (= *Byz. Not. Ars.* 1.3.1) auf [† *di emu Apo]llo sum[bo]l(iografi) – δι' ἑμοῦ Ἀπολλῶ* Zeichen korrigiert. Lies stattdessen: [† *di emu] Apollo esem[iot]h* Zeichen δι' ἑμοῦ Ἀπολλῶ Zeichen.

920. Der arsinoitische Schreibervertreter Iustos Petrou: SB VI 9456,
SB I 4675 und P.Eirene II 28

In der Dialysisurkunde SB VI 9456 (594) zwischen zwei Fleischproduzenten oder Köchen (ἰσικιομάγειροι) wurde der Dorsalvermerk in Z. 25 mit der Zusammenfassung der Vertragsvorgänge gar nicht transkribiert. Ich lese: γε]νομέ(ν) ὑπὸ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Π[έτρου. Der Name kann mit Hilfe des Rectos vervollständigt werden, statt Z. 5 [Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος Ἐπιμάχου ἰσικιομάγειρος lies [Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος υἱὸς Ἐπιμάχου ἰσικιομάγειρος. Am fragmentarischen Ende der Urkunde werden *Hypographe* und Schreibervertreterformel in Z. 22–23 mit [Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος ὁ προγεγραμμένος | [ἐκόμισα ο.ä. ταύτην τὴν διάλυσιν. Αὐρήλιος ὁ δεῖνα ἔγραψα ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου wiedergegeben. Ich lese stattdessen [Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πέτρος υἱὸς Ἐπ[ι]μάχου ὁ προγεγραμμένος in Z. 22, der Rest der *Hypographe* ist verloren. Am Ende der Z. 23 beginnt die Schreibervertreterformel] . . Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰουστός Πέτρος; der Rest der Formel [ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρόντος ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος], vielleicht z. T. auch gekürzt, ist zu Beginn der nächsten Zeile weggebrochen wie auch die Notarsunterschrift in der Zeile darauf.

In SB I 4675 — der Schrift nach zu schließen auch aus dem späteren 6. Jh. — erscheint ein Hypographeus Aurelios Iustos, Vatersname verloren, der mit diesem Schreibervertreter Iustos Petrou identisch sein könnte.

In P.Eirene II 28 aus dem Jahr 577 wird der Name des Hypographeus in Z. 27–28 als Αὐρήλιος [. .] υἱὸς . . . Ἰου gelesen. Auch hier schlage ich die Lesung Αὐρήλιος Ἰο[ὸ]στος Πέτρου vor.

Die Lesung der Notarsunterschrift in Z. 30 kann ebenso verbessert werden, die Spuren nach den initialen Anfangsbuchstaben des Namen † *di emu Ge* . . [verstehe ich als *Geῖo[ntiu]* Zeichen. Dieser Notar ist in zwei fragmentarischen *Inedita* aus Wien (P.Vindob. G 36229) und Berlin (P.Berol. inv. 5787) belegt. Der Vatersname des Hypographeus im Berliner Text lautet wiederum Πέτρος.

921. P.Erl. 74

In dieser *Misthosis* unbekannter Herkunft aus dem 6. Jh. wird in Z. 6 angeblich ein Kompromiss erwähnt: [] κομπρο(μίσσου) πρὸ συμπληρώσεως. Dort steht anstelle von κομπρο(μίσσου) aber λαμπρο(τάτου ?). Die *agrammatos*-Klausel in der Form Ἰουστός | [ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμ]μ(άτου) ὄντος in Z. 14f. — anstelle von [] ζοντος in Z. 15. der *ed. pr.* — ist typisch für Mittelägypten. Wir kennen einen Schreibervertreter Iustos im 6.–7. Jh. aus dem Arsinoites (P.Eirene II 28 [577], SB VI 9456 [594] und SB I 4675, s.o. Nr. 920), dem Herakleopolites in P.Worp 37 (620/650), und dem Oxyrhynchites (P.Oxy. I 134 ([569], PSI I 23 [624]), wo es sich um den Notar selbst handelt, der auch als Schreibervertreter fungiert. Von den späten Erlanger Urkunden sind mindestens drei aus dem Herakleopolites (P.Erl. 67, 68, 73) und vier aus dem Oxyrhynchites (P.Erl. 37, 65, 77, 78, 87), aber keine aus dem Arsinoites. Im Vergleich mit der Notarsunterschrift in PSI I 63 zeigt sich, dass es sich wohl um den Notar Iustos (*Byz. Not. Oxy.*

9.2.) handeln dürfte; man lese in Z. 16: [Ϡ di] ε[*mu Iu*]s[*tu et(elio)t*]h̄h̄. Die Herkunft ist somit Oxyrhynchos, die Datierung frühes 7. Jh.

P.S.I 63



P.Erl. 74



922. P.Ross.Georg. III 53

Die Notarsunterschrift lässt sich mit Hilfe der Photos des Puschkin-Museums in Moskau³² um das nicht gelesene Patronym ergänzen: Lies † *di emu Cosma Fib esemioth* Zeichen, wo bisher nur † *di emu Cosma . . esemioth(e)* transkribiert wurde.

Das *b* von *Fib* und das *e* von *esemioth* werden in Ligatur geschrieben. Über der lateinischen Unterschrift befindet sich θμγ. Es handelt sich um den aus SB I 4699 (6.–7. Jh.) und SPP III 422 (6.–7. Jh.) bekannten arsinoitischen Notar Kosmas, Sohn des Phib, was für die beiden eine genauere Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 7. Jh. erlaubt, da P.Ross.Georg. III 53 exakt auf das Jahr 674–675 datiert ist.

923.–930. Claudia KREUZSALER — Julian SCHNEIDER —
Kathrin STENZEL

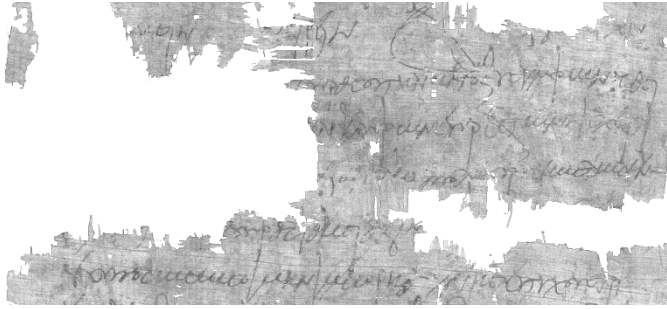
Bemerkungen zu Papyri rund um den Wein

Die folgenden Neulesungen entstanden im Zuge einer Lehrveranstaltung zum Thema „Wein in den Papyri“ (Universität Wien, WS 2018/19) und im Rahmen der Arbeiten am Katalog zu einer Ausstellung im Papyrusmuseum der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek mit selbigem Schwerpunkt, s. B. Palme, A. Zdiarsky (Hrsg.), *In vino veritas. Wein im alten Ägypten* (Nilus 25), Wien 2019. Ihre Gemeinsamkeit besteht folglich darin, dass alle Texte in irgendeiner Form mit dem Thema Wein zusammenhängen.

923. CPR X 39

Von diesem Lieferungskauf über 2400 Weingefäße (s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 15; Herakleopolis, 13. Nov. 443 [?] n. Chr.) sind zwei große Fragmente erhalten, die in der Edition separat untereinander angeordnet waren (s. CPR X 39 mit Tafel 21). Tatsächlich lassen sich von den Fasern und vom Text her die beiden Fragmente nahtlos aneinanderfügen, wodurch die Z. 11 und 13 der *ed. pr.* zu einer Zeile vereint werden. Die nach der Erstedition komplett fehlende Z. 12 ist zu streichen, die folgenden Zeilen folglich um zwei niedriger zu zählen. Der entsprechende Passus wird so auch klarer: Wie in der Hypographe bestätigt der Schuldner zuerst den Erhalt des Kaufpreises von 2200 Gefäßen und unmittelbar darauf die noch bestehende Verbindlichkeit über die noch ausstehenden 200 Gefäße, woraus sich die Gesamtsumme von 2400 zu liefernden Weingefäßen ergibt.

³² Einschbar (auf dem Kopf stehend) unter <http://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/collections?id=6987352>.



CPR X 39 Z. 8–13 mit aneinandergesetzten Fragmenten

Die Anerkennung der noch offenen Forderung aus dem laufenden Jahr ist in der Formulierung der Hypographe missverständlich verkürzt: Z. 23–24 ἔχω δὲ καὶ | ἀπὸ λόγου ἕτερα κούφα διακόσια. Im Vertragstext Z. 11–12 wird klar, dass ἀπὸ λόγου ῥύσεως δωδεκά[της] ἰ[ν]δ[ικ] (τίωνος) ἔ[τ]ε[ρα] κούφα διακόσια gemeint ist, also „aus der Abrechnung von der Pressung des zwölften Indiktionsjahres weitere 200 Gefäße“. Als syntaktische Überleitung ist ἔχω δὲ καὶ aus der Hypographe zu kurz für die Z. 11 und auch mit den Tintenspuren nicht zu vereinbaren. Zu rekonstruieren wäre dem Sinn nach in etwa ἔχω δὲ καὶ χρεωστῶ oder καὶ ὀφείλω. An mehreren Stellen lassen sich die vorhandenen Tintenreste gut mit einer Lesung καὶ ὀφ[ε]ίλω vereinbaren. Manche Spuren wirken dabei störend, etwa eine gut sichtbare Oberlänge über ω. Allerdings ist der Vertrag auf einem wiederverwerteten Blatt geschrieben worden, und an vielen Stellen sind noch deutliche Spuren der getilgten Erstbeschriftung zu sehen.

Weiters ist am Ende von Z. 8 anstelle von ὁ[μο]λ[ο]γ[ῶ] με ἔχιν der *ed. pr.* (με nach BL IX 72 zweifelhaft) besser ὁμ[ο]λ[ο]γ[ῶ] ἐ]σχη- zu lesen, wonach jetzt problemlos ἐσχη[κέναι καὶ πεπληρωσθ]αι παρὰ σοῦ in Z. 9 ergänzt werden kann (zu den bisherigen Ergänzungsvorschlägen s. BL IX 72). In der darauffolgenden Z. 10 ist, wie nach BL IX 72 bereits vermutet, die Wendung συμφωνηθεῖσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τιμ]ήν zu ergänzen, wobei der Platz für ausgeschriebenes ἀλλήλους durchaus ausreicht.

Der zentrale Passus des Vertrages ab Zeile 8 lautet entsprechend:

- 8 χαίρειν. ὁμ[ο]λ[ο]γ[ῶ] ἐ]σχη-
 9 [κέναι καὶ πεπληρωσθ]αι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν μεταξὺ συμφωνηθεῖ-
 10 [σαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τιμ]ήν κούφων εὐαρέστων δισχειλί-
 11 [ων διακοσίων, ἔχω δὲ] καὶ ὀφ[ε]ίλω ἀπὸ λόγου ῥύσεως δωδεκά-
 12 [της] ἰ[ν]δ[ικ] (τίωνος) ἔ[τ]ε[ρα] κούφα διακόσια, γ(ίνεται) κο[ῦ]φ[α] Β[υ], ἄπ[ε]ρ ἑ[πάναγ]-
 13 κες ἀποδώσω σοι μηνὶ Μεσορῆ ἀρχῆ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς τρις-
 14 καιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος) εἰς ῥύσιν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἀνυπερθέτως

Claudia KREUZSALER

924. CPR XVIII 19

Der Vertrag des Aurelios Adelphios mit einem Flötenspieler über die Unterhaltungsmusik während der Weinlese (s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 11; Hermupolis, 20. Dez. 321 n. Chr.) wurde mehrfach ediert und unzählige Male kommentiert. Dabei hat der Name des Flötenspielers eine eigentümliche Geschichte:

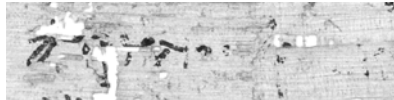
In der ersten Bearbeitung des Textes (SPP XIII S. 6–7) las K. Wessely am Verso Z. 26: [σύμφωνον Αὐρηλί]ου Ψε[ν]υμι[ς] (sic!) εἰ(ς) Εὐ]γνε[ι]ον] (ebenso in SPP XX 78; nicht

abgedruckt in SB I 5810). Entsprechend rekonstruierte er die namentliche Nennung des Flötenspielers auf dem Rekto in Z. 5: Αὐρήλιος [Ψενυμς K]ολλούθου κτλ. und in der Hypographe Z. 22: Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος) Ψε]ν[υμς] ἀποπληρώσω. In CPR XVIIIA 19 wurden die Tintenreste auf dem Verso völlig neu interpretiert, allerdings fälschlich in zwei Zeilen angeordnet: Z. 26 [---]συμφ[ων ---]λη . [---] und Z. 27 [---] . . . [---]. Obwohl es nun keinen Grund mehr gab, dass der Flötenspieler den Namen Psenymis tragen sollte, lautet die Transkription auf dem Rekto in CPR XVIIIA 19, 5: Αὐρήλιος Ψ[. . . υ]ις und Z. 22: Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος)] Ψ[. [.] υ . [ις]. Der Musiker ist entsprechend bis dato als Aurelios Ps...y.is bekannt.

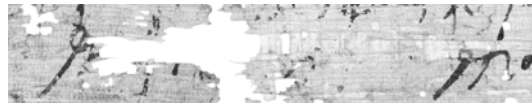
Ein Name Ψενυμς ist in den Papyri bislang nicht aufgetaucht. Ähnliche Namen mit dem Kompositum Psen- („der Sohn des“) sind zwar belegt, etwa Ψενυρις oder Ψενησις, wären allerdings untypisch für Zeit und Ort des Vertrages. Vor allem aber sind solche Namen aus paläographischen Gründen auszuschließen: Während in Z. 22 vom ersten Buchstaben des Namens nur Ober- und Unterlänge einer Senkrechten übrig ist, lässt sich in Z. 5 das entscheidende Ψ nicht nachvollziehen. Auch bietet die Z. 5 für den Namen des Flötenspielers nicht mehr Raum als für fünf Buchstaben.

Der Anfangsbuchstabe dürfte am ehesten Φ sein. Zusammen mit der nur vage zu erkennenden Endung -ις liegt die Lesung des Namens Φίβις nahe, wobei das erste ι fehlt, die Spuren zu β durchaus passen könnten. Immerhin ist Φίβις im Hermupolis des 4. Jh. ein bereits mehrfach bezeugter Name. Auch in Z. 22 ließen sich die Tintenreste dem Namensanfang von Φίβις zuordnen: Ober- und Unterlänge von Φ, das untere Ende von ι und von einem großen β der Teil unterhalb der Zeilenlinie. Danach ist weit mehr Platz übrig, als für die Namensendung -ις notwendig wäre. Die vorhandenen Tintenspuren etwas weiter rechts könnten aber als -υλ- gelesen werden und zur Berufsbezeichnung αὐλητής gehören.

Als zumindest plausible Lösung wäre entsprechend zu transkribieren:



Z. 5: Αὐρήλιος Ψ[. . . υ]ις → Αὐρήλιος Φ[ι]βις



Z. 22: Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος)] Ψ[. [.] υ . [ις] → Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος)] Φίβ[ις α]ὐλητής

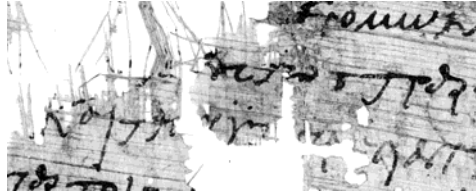
Auf dem Verso steht in Wahrheit nur eine Zeile, deren Spuren schwer sicheren Buchstaben zuzuordnen sind. Akzeptiert man die — keineswegs zwingenden — Lesungen συμφ (wofür die Bezeichnung der Urkunde als σύμφωνον in Z. 19 am Rekto spricht) und λη (welches die Lesung der Berufsbezeichnung des Flötenspielers nahe legt, die allerdings angesichts der relativ sicheren Endung auf -ς fälschlicherweise im Nominativ stehen würde), bietet sich als mögliche Rekonstruktion der Vertragsbezeichnung auf dem Verso an:



Z. 26: σύμφ[ωνον] Αὐρ(ηλίου) Φίβις αὐλητής (l. αὐλητοῦ).

925. P.Vind.Sal. 8

Bei P.Vind.Sal. 8 (s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 6; Hermopolites, 323 [?] n. Chr.) handelt es sich um einen Pacht- und Arbeitsvertrag, bei dessen Überprüfung am Original es gelungen ist, in den Z. 24 und 25 eine der zahlreichen Fehlstellen zu schließen. Dies war mir mittels Anpassung des größten der ursprünglich fünf losen Fragmente möglich, die seit der Erstedition nicht zugeordnet werden konnten.³³



P.Vind.Sal. 8 Z. 24–25 mit platziertem Fragment

Die Platzierung des Fragments wird vor allem durch die textliche Ergänzung der Z. 25 bestätigt.

Z. 25: καὶ τὴ[ν ὑπ]ηρεσίαν → καὶ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν (ὑπηρεσιαν *pap.*)

Die wichtigste Konsequenz der Anpassung ist die Aufgabe der in BL XII 287 vorgeschlagenen Ergänzung für Z. 24, statt welcher ich folgende Lesung vorlege:

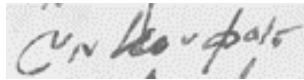
Z. 24: ἀνπερθέτως [καὶ ἀνευ/δίχα κρίσ]εως → ἀνπερθέτως [καὶ ἀκ]οιλάντως

Parallelen für diese Formulierung bieten sowohl P.Gen. II,1 10, 15–16 (316 n. Chr.) ἀκοιλάντως | [καὶ ἀνπ]ερθέτως, als auch P.Lond. III 954, 17–18 (260 n. Chr.) ἀνπ[ε]ρθέτως καὶ ἀκοιλάντως. Bei letzterem handelt es sich, wie bei dem vorliegenden Dokument, um einen Pachtvertrag aus dem Hermopolites. Durch die Neulesung von ἀκοιλάντως liegt mit P.Vind.Sal. 8 nun ein weiteres Beispiel eines Vertrages vor, in dem der Pächter eine vollständige Zahlung verspricht.

Kathrin STENZEL

926. SB I 4504

In diesem Lieferungskauf über Wein (This, 18. November 613 n. Chr.) ist in Z. 22 anhand des Faksimiles der editio princeps³⁴ und entgegen BL IX 239 aufgrund des Schriftvergleichs mit dem von demselben Notar aufgesetzten Lieferungskauf SB I 4505, 24 (s. dazu sogleich Nr. 927) eher σὺν κούφοις zu lesen.



Z. 22: σὺν κούφαις / ἐν κούφοις → σὺν κούφοις

Julian Gabriel SCHNEIDER

³³ In der Edition werden fünf Fragmente genannt, die auf der Tafel nicht mit abgebildet sind. Zum Zeitpunkt der Anpassung waren es sechs Kleinstfragmente, von denen fünf noch unplatziert bleiben.

³⁴ A. Schmidt, *Die griechischen Papyrusurkunden der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1842, 17–20 Nr. 2 mit Taf. 2. Der Standort des Objekts ist unbekannt (cf. <http://berlpap.smb.museum/00990/>, zuletzt aufgerufen am 15.10.2019).

927. SB I 4505

Im vorliegenden Lieferungskauf über Wein des Purpurhändlers Aurelios Pachymios (This, 11. Oktober 606 oder 608 n. Chr.³⁵, s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 25) schlage ich nach der Überprüfung am *recto* des Originals folgende Korrekturen vor:

Z. 1: [†] ἐν ὀνόμα(τι) → † ἐν ὀνόμα(τι)

Die Lesung der sog. Fässerklauselel ἐν κούφαις in den früheren Editionen³⁶ wurde mit BL IX 239 zu ἐν κούφοις korrigiert.³⁷ Der Lesung κούφοις ist mit Sicherheit zuzustimmen, allerdings ist die Präposition eher als σύν zu entziffern, wie ein Schriftvergleich mit Z. 26 σύν θ(εῶ) sowie SB I 4504, 22 (s. dazu Nr. 926) nahelegt; die Fässer sind somit explizit vom Produzenten zu stellen.³⁸ Eine Parallele dieser Klausel σύν κούφοις bietet der Pachtvertrag P.Cair.Masp. I 67104, 12 (19. August 530 n. Chr.), wo ein Teil des Pachtzinses in Form von Wein mitsamt den Fässern abgegolten werden sollte.

Z. 24: σύν κούφαις / ἐν κούφοις → σύν κούφοις



Z. 28: ἐπερ(ωτη)θ(εῖς) → ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)

Z. 32–35: Neben der Hand des Notars Paulos³⁹ (1. Hand, Z. 1–29 und 36) und jener des Weinproduzenten Aurelios Kallinikos (2. Hand, Z. 29–32) ist noch eine dritte, bisher nicht gekennzeichnete Hand zu identifizieren. Sie schreibt von Z. 32 (ab Kreuz) bis einschließlich Z. 35 und ist diejenige des Priesters Ioannes, Sohn des Abraamios, aus This in der Funktion des Vertragszeugen. Derselbe Ioannes bezeugt später auch den koptischen Verlöbnisvertrag aus dem Archiv des Aurelios Pachymios (CPR IV 23 = SB Kopt. II 932, 29. August 610 n. Chr.) eigenhändig (Z. 24 bis Staurogramm in Z. 27).

Nach der Herkunftsangabe des Priesters Ioannes ἀπὸ Θινός sind spärliche Buchstabenreste zu erkennen, die in den früheren Editionen bisher unerwähnt blieben⁴⁰; möglicherweise wurden sie von Ioannes wieder gelöscht. Die Buchstaben sind vermutlich koptisch und weisen eine strukturelle Parallele zu CPR IV 23, 25 auf: Derselbe Priester bestätigt dort nach der Herkunftsangabe seine Funktion als Zeuge mit ⲧⲞ ⲘⲘⲀⲢⲦⲮⲮⲞⲤ ‚ich bin Zeuge‘. Im vorliegenden Vertrag wechselte Ioannes vermutlich irrtümlicherweise mitten im Satz von griechischer zu koptischer Manier. Da der Passus im Griechischen aber abweichend konstruiert wird, nämlich μαρτυρῶ ‚ich bezeuge‘, muss ihm der Fehler sogleich aufgefallen sein, und er löschte die koptischen Buchstaben wieder.

Z. 33–34: ἀπὸ Θινός, | μαρτυρῶ → ἀπὸ Θινός, [†ⲟ] | [Ⲙ]μαρτυρῶ

³⁵ Die zweijährige Datierungsdiskrepanz zwischen 606 (4. Regierungsjahr des Phokas) und 608 n. Chr. (12. Indiktionsjahr) ist möglicherweise als lokales Phänomen der κόμη This zu erklären. cf. K. Wessely, *Neue griechische Papyri aus This und Panopolis*, WS 7 (1885) 125f.; R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden, Boston 2004, 125.

³⁶ Synchron und offenbar voneinander unabhängig K. Wessely, *Neue griechische Papyri aus This und Panopolis*, WS 7 (1885) 123–130 Nr. 1 und J. Krall, *Neue koptische und griechische Papyrus*, RecTrav 6 (1885) 67–68 Nr. 5, dann K. Wessely, *Zu den griechischen Papyri des Louvre und der Bibliothèque nationale*, Sechzehnter Jahresbericht des K. K. Staatsgymnasiums in Hernalts (1890) 47–50.

³⁷ N. Kruit, *Local Customs in the Formulas of Sales of Wine for Future Delivery (A Supplement to P.Heid. V)*, ZPE 94 (1992) 181.

³⁸ Zur sog. Fässerklauselel cf. É. Jakab, *Risikomanagement beim Weinkauf. Periculum und Praxis im Imperium Romanum*, München 2009, 139–144.

³⁹ J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten (Byz. Not.)* (MPER XVI), Wien 1986, 95 mit Taf. 56.

⁴⁰ Die Angabe des Zeilensprungs zwischen Z. 33 und 34 ist in SB I 4505 versehentlich ausgelassen worden.

Auf dem *verso* steht nach den bisherigen Editionen die einzeilige Kurzbeschreibung des Vertrags, Z. 37: (1. Hand) † Ἀσφάλ(εια) γεναμέ(νη) π(αρά) Καλλινίκου Παχυμί(ου) μισθ(ίου) ἀπὸ Θινὸς οἴκ(ου). Ein Verweis auf den οἶκος des Schuldners wäre an dieser Stelle jedoch untypisch. Nach dem Iota ist ein Abkürzungsstrich sichtbar, sodass eine übliche Angabe zum Vertragsinhalt des Lieferungskaufes wahrscheinlicher ist, der gemäß Z. 21–23 75 κόλοβα Weinmost (οἶνος) betrug. In den spärlichen Buchstabenresten direkt unterhalb ist deshalb das Zahlzeichen der vereinbarten Menge zu vermuten.

Z. 37–38 ἀπὸ Θινὸς οἴκ(ου) → ἀπὸ Θινὸς οἴ(νου) κ(όλοβα) | οξ.

Ein deutliches Spatium auf dem *verso* bei Καλλινί vac. κου bezeugt, dass die Urkunde bereits verschlossen, gefaltet und zugeschnürt war, als die Inhaltsangabe angebracht wurde. Dadurch erklärt sich die bisher unkommentierte Namensverwechslung des Schreibers Paulos: Der Weinverkäufer Kallinikos ist nicht, wie auf dem *verso* vermerkt, Sohn des Pachymios, sondern gemäß *recto* Z. 8 Sohn des Senouthos. Der Purpurhändler Pachymios hingegen ist sein Auftragsgeber und Gläubiger.

Julian Gabriel SCHNEIDER

928. SB VI 9151

Das erhaltene untere Teilstück eines Pachtvertrages über Weinland (s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 3; Hermupolis, die allein auf der Schrift basierende Datierung der *ed. pr.* „um 600 n. Chr.“ ist zu spezifisch, paläographisch 6. oder 7. Jh.) überliefert eine besonders detaillierte Formulierung der in Pachtverträgen typischen Klausel ἀποτάττομαι πάση βοηθείᾳ νόμων, mittels der die Pächter auf ihr Kündigungsrecht vor Ablauf des Vertragszeitraums verzichteten.

Die hier vereinbarte Dauer der Pacht betrug laut Edition zwei Jahre. Dies beruht allerdings einzig auf der Ergänzung [διετοῦ]ς χρόνου am Beginn der Z. 3, wofür als alleiniges Argument der Platzverbrauch dienen konnte: „[διετοῦ]ς ist dem verfügbaren Raum nach sicher zu ergänzen“ (Komm. zu Z. 3). Freilich würde τριετοῦς (vgl. etwa SPP XX 218, 35) kaum merklich mehr Platz einnehmen und ist damit eine ebenso wahrscheinliche Ergänzung. Aber auch längere Befristungen (vgl. etwa δεκαετοῦς in P.Ross.Georg. V 42, 21) sind in den Pachtverträgen üblich und allein aufgrund der Breite des Fehlstreifens nicht auszuschließen. Der Vergleich mit den anderen Zeilen zeigt Ergänzungen zwischen 4 und 7 Buchstaben, auch im erhaltenen Text variiert der Platzbedarf der Zeichen stark.

Im Übrigen wäre eigentlich eine viel längere Ergänzung zu erwarten: Die Parallelen haben ausnahmslos die Formulierung πρὸ συμπληρώσεως τοῦ εἰρημένου (oder τοῦ αὐτοῦ) χ-ετοῦς χρόνου. Nach πρὸ συμπληρώσεως am Ende von Z. 2 würde dann noch der Verweis auf die vorige Nennung der Pachtdauer sowie vor allem der Artikel zu χρόνου fehlen. Zumindest eine Ergänzung von [τοῦ ... ετοῦ]ς χρόνου ist in Betracht zu ziehen.

In der Hypographe ist nach μεμίσθωμαι am Ende von Z. 8 noch ὡς πρόκειται zu erwarten. Dagegen ist die Lesung [†] ἐγὼ [Ἀ]θανάσιος am Beginn von Z. 9 mit den vorhandenen Tintenresten ohnehin schwer vereinbar:

Z. 9: [†] ἐγὼ [Ἀ]θανάσιος → [ὡς πρόκ]εἰτ[α]ι, Ἀθανάσιος

Weitere minimale Beobachtungen zur Transkription:

Z. 2: συμπληρ[ώσεω]ς → συμπληρ(ώσεως)

Z. 6: συμπληρσεως → συμπληρεως (l. συμπληρώσεως)

Z. 7: [ἦ] παρ[οῦσα μ]ίσθω(σις) → [ἦ] παροῦ[σα μ]ίσθω(σις)

Z. 8: [ὡμολό]γησα → [ὡμολόγ]ησα

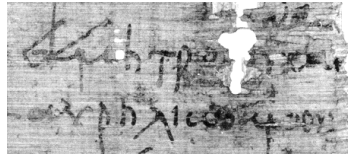
Z. 10: [ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ → [ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

Z. 11: μαρτυρ[ῶ] → μαρτυρῶ

Claudia KREUZSALER

929. SB XVI 12492

Bei diesem Weinlieferungskauf (s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 20; Hermupolis, 18. März 638 n. Chr.) waren aufgrund der Eigenart des Schreibers, gegen Zeilenende die letzten Buchstaben der Wörter sehr eng zu schreiben oder über der Zeile einzufügen, die Namen der Vertragsparteien nicht vollständig zu entziffern. Am Original lässt sich der Name der Mutter des Weinverkäufers Aurelios Danielis als Susanna identifizieren, der Name des Käufers ist nicht Aurelios Samoel, sondern Aurelios Kiamul, geschrieben mit einem koptischen Schima.



Z. 9: ἐκ μητρὸς ὑσιωῖν . . . → ἐκ μητρὸς Σουσάννας
 Z. 10: Αὐρηλίω Σαμοήλ → Αὐρηλίω ΣΑΜΟΥΛ

Claudia KREUZSALER

930. SPP III² 141

Eine erneute Überprüfung dieses Lieferungskaufs über Wein (Arsinoites, 6.–7. Jh. n. Chr., s. Nilus 25, Kat.-Nr. 23) am Original vermag die bisher unsicher gebliebene Charakterisierung des Weinverkäufers klären. Dieser soll gemäß der ersten Erwähnung des Papyrus in PERF Nr. 376 auch ‚Salzkrämer‘ gewesen sein. Entsprechend liest die *editio princeps* SPP III 141, 1 † Ἐχω ἐγὼ Πεκύσιος ἀλοπόλιος υἱός [---] (ebenso in SPP XX 162). Die ansonsten unbezeugte Wortbildung ἀλοπόλιος wird somit als Kombination der Substantive ὁ ἄλος und ὁ πόλιος (als Variante von πώλης⁴¹) aufgefasst: *l. ἀλοπόλιος*⁴². Die *editio altera* SPP III² 141 tendiert zu derselben Deutung, verweist allerdings auf das Fehlen von Parallelen und eine alternative Erklärung von P. Jernstedt. Dieser bezweifelte die bisherige morphologische Herleitung und emendierte zu ὀλοπόλιος als Adjektivkompositum, bestehend aus ὀλος und πολίος, für ‚völlig ergraut‘⁴³. Er verweist dabei auf den Weinlieferungskauf P.Ross.Georg. V 39, 1 (Arsinoites, 6. Jh. n. Chr.), wo der Verkäufer, ein gewisser Pseeios, als μιζοπόλιος ‚mit graumeliertem (Haar)‘ äußerlich beschrieben wird. Auf auffällige Körpermerkmale wird in den Verträgen des 6.–7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. selten verwiesen. Interessanterweise sind gerade bei Lieferungskaufen über Wein aus dem Arsinoites weitere Parallelen bezeugt, so die Charakteristika ὀζύτριξ (*l. ὀζύθριξ*) ‚mit spitzigem, borstigem Haar‘ in SPP III² 151, 1 (Arsinoites, 6.–7. Jh. n. Chr.) oder σπογοκεφάλος ‚Schwammshädel‘ in C.Pap.Jud. III 512, 1 (Arsinoites, 6.–7. Jh. n. Chr.).

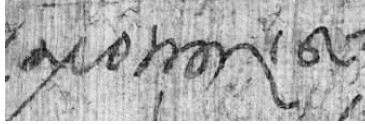
Auch im Falle des Pekysios war graues Haar wohl ein auffälliges Körpermerkmal: Der Anfangsbuchstabe des Wortes ist eher die geschwungene, leicht geneigte Schleife eines Omikron

⁴¹ Zu solchen Berufskomposita cf. H.-J. Drexhage, *Die Komposita mit -πώλης und -πράτης im hellenistischen Ägypten*, MBAH 10 (1991) 1–17 und L. Casarico, *Repertorio di nomi mestieri. I sostantivi in -πώλης e -πράτης*, *Studia Papyrologica* 22 (1983) 23–37.

⁴² F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden I*, Berlin 1925, 61 s.v. ἀλοπόλιος; F. R. Adrados (Hrsg.), *Diccionario Griego-Español II*, Madrid 1995, 169 s.v. ἀλοπόλιος.

⁴³ P. Jernstedt, *Kritisch-lexikalisches*, *Aegyptus* 10 (1929) 75–77. Folglich E. Kießling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden IV*, Berlin 1944, 93 s.v. ἀλοπόλιος; „Unter ἀλοπόλιος [...] ist ὀλοπόλιος zu verstehen“. Zu ähnlichen Wortbildungen von Adjektiven auf -ιος cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri I. The Suffixes*, London 1946, 30f. und spez. 33 Anm. 7, allerdings mit der Schreibweise ὀλοπόλιος (sic!).

mit ungewöhnlicher Anbindung nach rechts (cf. die zwei anderen Omikra in demselben Wort) als ein Alpha. Folglich lässt sich die Herleitung Jernstedts zu ὀλοπόλιος ‚mit völlig grauem (Haar)‘ auch durch die Lesung bestätigen.



Z. 1: ἄλοπόλιος → ὀλοπόλιος

Julian Gabriel SCHNEIDER

931.–932. Guus A. J. C. van LOON

931. Mary ἀειπάρθενος in Egypt: some observations

The title of ἀειπάρθενος ‘Perpetual Virgin’ was already in Late Antiquity a matter of hot debate and therefore appears often in literary texts from this period.⁴⁴ Its use in the papyri from Egypt is, however, much more restricted. It appears almost exclusively in the invocation formulas of documents, although some papyri from the Arsinoite nome refer to a church (SPP XX 243, 14–16) and a monastery (P.Prag. I 65, 2–3) “of Our Lady the Holy God-bearer and Perpetual Virgin Mary” (τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας). When we take a closer look into the invocation formulas we notice two things:

All the attestations from Egypt are from the Arsinoite nome. There is one text from Herakleopolis, SB VI 9146, which seems to mention ἀειπάρθενος. This text was never mentioned in CSBE², due to the fact that the whole invocation is a restoration and a wrong one for that matter. Two attestations of the invocation formula come from papyri of uncertain provenance: CPR X 134 and P.Eirene II 26 (provenance for both texts was Arsinoe or Herakleopolis). It seems more than likely that these texts come from the Arsinoite nome.

All dateable texts come from the Arab period. The earliest attestation is from 644 (BGU I 320) and the latest from 702 (CPR X 136). It therefore looks like that this invocation (4B according to the typology of CSBE², 100–102) appears only in the Arab period, and not during the Persian occupation. This would mean that the texts mentioning this invocation should be dated most likely after the Arab conquest.

932. P.Prag. I 37

P.Prag. I 37 (Arsinoite nome, 466), a lease contract for a piece of land, is broken off in the middle of the twelfth line and therefore unreadable, according to the *editio princeps*. The eleventh line ends in παρέχοντος μ[ου]. The commentary suggests cautiously that this could be followed by τοῦ μισθωσαμένου. After checking it on an online image of the papyrus, I can confirm that the end of line 11 and the beginning of line 12 contain this formula that only appears in texts from 5th and 6th century Arsinoite nome: παρέχοντός μ[ου] | τ[οῦ] μ[ισθ]ωσαμέν[ου]. The suggestions made in the *editio princeps* for the continuation of line 12 cannot be confirmed.

⁴⁴ For a short overview of ἀειπάρθενος and the discussion surrounding this title in Antiquity, see: G. Nathan, *The Jovinianist Controversy and Mary Aeiiparthenos: Questioning Mary’s Virginity and the Question of Motherhood*, *Saeculum* 68.2 (2018) 225–236.

933.–949. Peter van MINNEN

Notes on Latin and Bilingual Texts from Hermopolis

In preparing texts from Hermopolis for inclusion in the corpus of Latin and bilingual papyri (ed. M.C. Scappaticcio), I made a series of observations that are better presented separately than in the confines of the corpus itself.⁴⁵

I reviewed 20 papyri, mostly from Late Antiquity. In some cases, the provenance is not beyond doubt and there are also several other papyri that are unprovenanced, but with a likely origin in Hermopolis (the alternative being Antinoopolis or Heracleopolis). This is especially the case with bilingual reports of proceedings before the governor of the Thebaid, who resided in Antinoopolis and could most easily be approached by inhabitants of Antinoopolis itself or of nearby Hermopolis. With few exceptions, the proceedings took place in Antinoopolis, but the parties involved often originated in Hermopolis.

933. The abbreviation *d(ixit)*

In the earlier reports of proceedings (ChLA XLI 1187, P.Kramer 11, ChLA XLI 1189, SB XXVIII 17038, and, the latest, ChLA X 463 [ca. AD 349]), *d(ixit)* is abbreviated as *d* with a diagonal stroke through the vertical hasta, whereas in the later reports of proceedings (the earliest ChLA XII 520 [AD 390], ChLA XII 518, and ChLA III 213), it is abbreviated as *d* with a diagonal stroke below the line. Exceptionally, in ChLA XII 525.2.8 (AD 368), in a quotation from an earlier ruling, *d(ixit) ei* appears with a diagonal stroke through the hasta of *i*, but below the line.

934. Scribes in court proceedings

The Greek and Latin in the bilingual reports of proceedings are written by the same scribe, not just in copies such as ChLA III 213. This is perhaps hard to demonstrate conclusively in each instance, but the alternative, that two scribes worked on the report of proceedings, and that one would have handed over the papyrus to another each time after finishing a section in one language, is much harder to swallow, let alone the idea that one scribe would have written everything in one language first, leaving appropriate blanks for the other scribe. This is just not practicable. Occasionally, a scribe dipped his pen in ink after finishing a section in one language, so that the next section in the other language starts darker, but this is not an indication of a change of scribe. Fortunately we do not have to indicate any of this in our transcriptions, because the switch from Latin to Greek and *vice versa* is clear from the typography used.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Over the course of three summers (2016–2018) I was able to study several papyri from Hermopolis in Berlin, Leipzig, London, Manchester and Vienna, and I would like to thank all those in charge of the papyrus collections there (Marius Gerhardt, Nadine Quenouille and Reinhold Scholl, the staff at the British Library, Roberta Mazza, and Claudia Kreuzsaler and Bernhard Palme) for making it possible for me to see the originals of some of the papyri. I did not see all of the papyri in Leipzig and London, and I was not able to see the papyrus in the Theresianum in Vienna.

⁴⁶ J.-L. Fournet has suggested at the 29th International Papyrological Congress of Papyrology in Lecce (2019) that we insert “(s. 2)” (etc.) each time there is a change of style rather than a change of hand. I suggest that we do no such thing. Surely, “(s. 2)” (etc.) will be mistaken for “second scribe” (etc.), and there is no problem in English, where “in another hand” may well mean “in another hand (= style of writing) by the same scribe,” even if the corresponding French does not allow this ambiguity. Given that the identification of different scribes is uncertain (even more so after A. Sarri, *Material Aspects of Letter Writing in the Graeco-Roman World, 500 BC*

935. Latin scripts in court proceedings

The date in the opening line of reports of proceedings is written in a Latin script that is (even) more artificial than in the rest of the text, although it is written by the same scribe. The script of the dates, where preserved (in the original reports of proceedings P.Kramer 11.1, SB XXVIII 17038, and ChLA XII 520, and, in an even more hybrid form, in ChLA III 213, a copy of a report of proceedings), resemble the second alphabet in P.Worp 11 (early V AD), which provides two alphabets, one for “ordinary” bits of Latin, such as the introduction of the governor, one for dates. This second type of Latin script shares some of the characteristics of the earlier Latin cursive, but is not as far removed of the contemporary cursive as the so-called *litterae caelestes*.

936. ChLA III 213

For this papyrus, we only have Marichal’s edition of this copy of a report of proceedings (V AD), but thanks to N. Gonis, I was able to use a provisional transcript by H. I. Bell as well. Marichal detected *litterae caelestes*, presumably in line 1, but the Latin script used for the date there is a mixture of the ordinary Latin cursive used in the rest of the text and the more artificial script used for the dates in original reports of proceedings (P.Kramer 11.1, SB XXVIII 17038, and ChLA XII 520). Marichal reads the first line as follows:] . . . Aug(usto) cos(ulibus) die . . . Non(as) Ian(uarias) in Antino . vac. exempl(um) l(itterarum) vacat. Let us start with *cos(ulibus)*. What is written on the papyrus is actually *coc*, thus *co(n)c(ulibus)* for *co(n)s(ulibus)*. In the rest of the text there are similar mistakes. Before *coc*, there is indeed *Aug*, but above the *g* there is another *g*, added *après coup*. We should therefore transcribe *Aug’g(ustis)*. This is important, because it narrows down the date to when two emperors shared the consulate. In the fifth century that would be the first few decades, when Theodosius II and his co-emperor shared the consulate on and off (until 436, so it seems). Before *Aug’g* there are two two-letter composites repeated one after the other. The lower letter is presumably a somewhat archaizing *p* known from the second alphabet in P.Worp 11 (early V AD), the one typically used for the initial dates in reports of proceedings. Above the *p*, there is a somewhat archaizing and rather artificial *r*. The combination of *p* and *r* is an abbreviation for *p(e)r(petuis)*, so we can read *p(e)r(petuis)* before *Aug(ustis)*. Before *p(e)r(petuis)* there is a trace, probably a numeral rather than the final *-o* of the name of one of the emperors. We now turn our attention to what follows *coc*. After a possible abbreviation mark, we see, with Marichal, *die*. What follows must be a date, but I cannot recognize a number (*I*, *V*, or *X*). So, it has to be *pridie* in some form. We can see indeed another archaizing *p* — if we want to. This could be an abbreviation for *p(ridie)*. What follows it is *c*. After the *c* there is a vertical hasta and a small gap. Below the gap, the end of an elaborate abbreviation mark is visible, such as we find later on in the line (where we will see it attached to an *l*). I want to read *Ca[l](endis)*, but the vertical hasta, which is not topped by a horizontal stroke, cannot be read as *a*, even in the somewhat archaizing script expected in the dates of reports of proceedings. *Non liquet*. At any rate, *Idus* and *Nonas* are nowhere to be seen. After the small *p*, Marichal read *Non(as) Ian(uarias)* — somewhere. I can see an *i*, but only before in *Antino*-. I do not see an *n* anywhere, as the concave curve at the end, typical of the *n* in the Latin script used in dates, is nowhere to be seen. Somewhere in the middle, I can see a small *on*, but I rather think it is *in*, because it looks the same as *in* before *Antino*-. Before the first *in*, then, there is again no *n*, as the typical concave

– AD 300, Berlin 2017, than before), it is better not to try to be too precise. One can always use typography to bring out certain features (e.g., italics for more cursive portions of a text written by the same scribe or just a larger font size for portions of a text written by the same scribe in the same style but larger, as is sometimes the case for the remarks of the governor in the reports of proceedings).

curve at the end is again not in evidence. We rather expect the name of the month there instead, and I can indeed read *augg* for *Aug(ustas)*. After that, as I just said, there seems to be *in*, followed by a further specification of time, perhaps, but I have not been able to decipher it. After two or three letters (*pri*-?), I see again *gg* (for *nc* or *ng*?), topped by a small swirl (a letter?), and then a *ti* combination, also in evidence in *Antino*-. It could conceivably also be a building in Antinoopolis, where the proceedings would have taken place, but again, I have not found anything suitable. *Non liquet*. What follows is a bit clearer: *in Antinou* (so Bell), perhaps to be transcribed as *Antinou(poli)*. Following that, Bell read *depl*(), and this is undoubtedly correct. It should be expanded as *de pl(ano)*, “from the level ground,” not from a tribunal. This refers to more informal sessions, and in what follows we indeed see that the plaintiffs (if that is what they are) do not present a written petition, and the governor has to find out first what exactly they want from him. After a brief space, Marichal read *exempl(a) l(itterarum)*. It is indeed *exempll*, and I think the double *l* (with a diagonal abbreviation mark through each) indicates a plural: *exempl(a)*, “copies.” The text is not a letter, so *l(itterarum)* is unexpected.

Marichal read the second line as follows:] *§[ilv]anus monachis et ceteris* *et d(ixerunt)*: δέομεθα ἐλεῆσαι. *vacat*. Tjäder (ChLA XLVIII, p. 25) read *manachis* (also for *monachi*, just as *ceteris* stands for *ceteri*), and recognized *et* as part of a verb form ending in *-cisset* (so did Bell). Bell read, correctly, ἐλέησον at the end. I read, after *ceteris*, [*cJum r(oga) an seceicisset*]. The reading is not really in doubt. The abbreviated *r(oga)* looks like the *r* in *p(e)r(petuis)* in line 1, and with its cross stroke through the *hasta* it is not unlike the *r* in *r(espondit)* in other reports of proceedings, except that we do not expect *r(espondit)* with the following *an*. The intended form is more likely *r(ogavisset)* or *r(ogasset)*, in which case I assume an officer of the court is here reported as having asked the following question. Note that the beginning of the line is missing, and such an officer may have been introduced there, perhaps the *executor* mentioned in the next line (see below). The question itself is at any rate difficult to make out. The form *seceicisset* may stand for *secessisset*. But in that case the question would be very odd: “Whether he (Silvanus, the “ring leader”) had revolted.” The monks may have presented themselves in a rather uproarious state, to impress the governor with their plight. Their response is, at any rate, in style: “Please, have mercy on us.” After this, there is a huge space left blank, because, as we have seen often before, it is now the turn of the governor, and he has to be introduced in a new line, line 3.

Marichal read line 3 as follows:] *σαν τι βουλόμενοι προσέρχονται οἱ μονάζοντες*. *vac. Silvanos et Iohanne et cetesis monachis terni continos exec(rantes?) d(ixerunt)*: ὥστε μὴ α εἰς ἄει. Here, Bell’s provisional transcript helps us get a bit further. He read *προσέρχονται* instead of *προσεύχονται* and at the end of the line *ἀπαιτεῖσθαι*. Instead of *terni continos*, Tjäder, ChLA XLVIII, p. 25 (and Bell) read *per Nicantinos* (for *Nicantinoum*, a very good name for an officer of the court in Antinoopolis), and Tjäder recognized what follows as *exec(utorem)* for *ex<s>ec(utorem)*, a Latin title for an officer of the court. I would read the earlier part of the line as *τί βουλόμενοι προσέρχονται οἱ μονάζοντες*, “what the monks want that they come here for.” Then Silvanus (whose name is here spelled *Silvanos*) and Iohannes (spelled *Iohanne<s>*, not *Iuhanne<s>*, as Tjäder suggested) and the other monks (*cetesis* instead of *ceteris* for *ceteri* and *monachis* for *monachi*) respond through the officer of the court. I think they do this, because, beyond the set formula at the end of line 2, they do not know how to express themselves in Greek. They talk to the officer of the court in Coptic, and he translates it into Greek for the governor, so that it can be properly entered into the *commentarii*.

Marichal read line 4 as follows:] α ρμ *σαντα τη θεια φ] εν κεκτημεν[.] τοκ χορηγήσαντα*. *vacat*. Bell provides a superior reading of this line:] ἀγιερώσαντα τῇ θείᾳ ἀρ[.] α[. μ]ηδὲν κεκτημέν[ον τὰ χρήμ]ατα ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς δεομέ[ν]οις χορηγήσαντα *vacat*. I cannot read *πρ[ονο]ῖα* after *θεία*. It is perhaps safer to read

κεκτημέν[instead of κεκτημέν[ov. The complaint is about taxation. The monks are being taxed on property that was given to them for a charitable purpose. After χορηγήσαντα there is a considerable space left blank, because the governor’s reaction has to be introduced in a new line. There are several corrections to make in the Greek of line 6, the last preserved line (e.g., read ἀποδίδωσει (l. ἀποδίδοσι) for Marichal’s]ω διδ . ει at the end of the line), but they do not clarify the details of the case.

The new reading of lines 1–4 goes as follows:

[---] . p(e)r(petuis) Aug(ustis) co(n)c(ulibus) die . C . [I](endas) Aug(ustas) in . . . gg .
i() in Antinou de pl(ano). vacat exempl(a) vacat

[---] S[ilv]anus manachis et ceteris [c]um r(oga) an ꞑseceicisset ꞑ d(ixerunt): δεόμεθα ἔλῆσον. vacat

[---]σαν τί βουλόμενοι προσέρχονται οἱ μονάζοντες. vac. Silvanos et Iohanne<s> et ceteris monachis per Nicantinos ex<s>ec(utorem) d(ixerunt): ὥστε μὴ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι

[---] . ἀγιερώσαντα τῇ θεῖα . ρ[. . .]α[. . . μ]ηδὲν κεκτημέν[. . . τὰ χρήμ]ατα ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς δεομέ[ν]οις χορηγήσαντα.

“In the consulate of . . . the eternal Augusti, on the day before (?) the Kalends of August, in the . . . in Antinoopolis. Copies (?) . . . Silvanus the monk and others, when he asked (?) whether he . . . , said: ‘Please, have mercy.’ . . . ‘. . . what the monks want that they come here.’ Silvanus and Iohannes and the other monks said, through Nicantinous assistant of the court: ‘To not be taxed . . . dedicated . . . to the divine . . . while owning nothing, supplied those in need . . . his own money . . .’”

937. ChLA X 425

For this early text (II AD), only R. Marichal’s edition is available. He treats the Latin text as written on the *recto*, and an unpublished Greek text as written on the *verso*. In reality, the Latin is on the *verso* of this reused papyrus. In line 3, Marichal read, rather adventurously, *Amidea*[, as if derived from Amida in Armenia. But *amidea*[can be divided up in a number of ways, and it is safer to just print *amidea*[.

938. ChLA X 463

This report of proceedings (ca. AD 349) is, as far as it goes, well preserved. There are two columns: the first is broken off to the left, but the second is almost perfectly preserved. Confusingly, the *editio princeps* refers to the two columns as “Fr. A” and “Fr. B.” But the papyrus was merely cut in two for framing. Before the first preserved column, at least one more column preceded, with the opening statement by the lawyer, which ends in col. I 9.

The following improvements can be made on the *editio princeps*:

Col. I 1: The line begins with]ίου ἄρξαντ[ο]ς Ἑρμ[οῦ πόλε]ως.

Col. I 5 and 9: The opening of l. 5 surely has to be οἰκονό[μ]ων τῆς πόλεως (read as] . . . μον τῆς πόλεως earlier). The same individual is mentioned in l. 9, where οἰκ[ονό]μων instead of κληρ[ονό]μων should be supplied. where the same individual is mentioned for the first time. The lawyer asks the governor to make sure that the οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως appears in court, because, thanks to his involvement in an earlier investigation, he can be made to testify.

Col. I 7–8: The end of l. 7 and opening of l. 8 were read as πρὸ δὲ [τοῦ γενέσθαι ταῦ]τα, which would give us the width of the line (much shorter than in col. II), but it is better to be agnostic and read only πρὸ δὲ | [---]τα instead.

Col. I 10: The opening of this line was read as] . . . εἰαν . . . ἔνταῦθα. In between both words, I read a Latin *r* with a diagonal stroke through it, and this stands for *r(espondit)*. The governor’s remark ends in] . . . εἰαν (or rather] . . . σεἰαν), and after a blank space, the lawyer who has been

interacting with him in col. I (not Theodosius, who is introduced only in col. II 19) is introduced with *r(espondit)*.

Col. II 24: At the end of col. II 24, a plus sign has been read, as if it were a cross, but there is no apparent reason for a cross at the end of that line. If we read carefully, we recognize that col. II 23–24 is spoken by the governor, and he is again quoted in col. II 26–27. Col. II 25 must therefore be an intervening remark made by the lawyer who has been interacting with the governor in this part of the text, Theodosius. His remark must have been introduced by *r(espondit)*, and this can indeed be read at the end of col. II 24 instead of the + sign. The “economy” of the scribe, who knows that the lawyer’s remarks should immediately follow those of the governor, is at work here. It is just that in this case there was no more room for the actual remark in Greek after *r(espondit)*, and we therefore find it in col. II 25. At the end of that line the scribe leaves a generous space, because the governor has to be introduced in a new line.

Col. II 27–28: The Latin in these lines is by two different scribes. The “signature” of the *exceptor* (stenographer) in col. II 28 was written first: *Fl(avius) Antirus obtuli*, “I, Flavius Antirus, produced the text” (via an assistant, because the Latin in the body of the text is different). This identifies the text as an authentic copy of the report of proceedings. The governor then added his “signature” in col. I 27, authorizing the issuing of the text (*edantur*). His Latin hand is distinctly less neat than that of the *exceptor*, let alone his assistant. In other texts, not from Hermopolis, *edantur* was also added by the governor, and in ChLA XLIII 1245 it *follows* the authentication by the *exceptor*.

939. ChLA XI 484

Again, for this early text (II–III AD), only Marichal’s edition is available. The text should be printed in two columns. The first column is written in Latin capitals. The second column may be in Greek, but Marichal transcribes only one Latin letter there (*o*[]) that may, in fact, be the top of a *phi*. At the end of the lines in the first column, there is not much missing. I suspect that the text of lines 2–3 as given by Marichal (*An]tonium · cri[/] · num*) should be restored as *[An]tonium · Cri[s]/[p]inum*, which would also show how little is missing from the beginning of the lines, and how narrow the first column was.

940. ChLA XII 518

This is a long report of proceedings (before AD 399). A few bits of papyrus have gone missing from the end since Mitteis and Wilcken first edited the text in APF⁴⁷ (and later in P.Lips. I 40). Marichal was told that the text was missing, so there is no plate in ChLA, where the text given is basically that of Mitteis-Wilcken. A German translation accompanies the edition in P.Lips. I 40, and an English translation was recently produced by Keenan.⁴⁸ The case involves battery. A councilor from Hermopolis, Asyncritius, was beaten up at night by a slave and his accomplices. Asyncritius is represented here by his father Philammon, the owner of the famous codex with the fictional lawsuits before the prefect of Egypt, recently reedited as P.Philammon. We know that he was dead by AD 399 (see P.Giss. 104), and ChLA XII 520 must therefore be from the end of the fourth century, not the early fifth century.⁴⁹ There is at least one column missing before what

⁴⁷ L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *P.Lips. 13*, APF 3 (1906) 106–112.

⁴⁸ J. G. Keenan in J. G. Keenan, J. G. Manning, and U. Yiftach (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge 2014, 508–516.

⁴⁹ R. P. Salomons, *P.Harrauer*, p. 161, n. 25, wants to date the text before AD 381/2, because of the use of the word ἀρετή for the governor, but for a late instance of this, see now P.Bagnall 27.9 of ca. AD 397/8.

is now the first column, and after the present col. 3 at least one more column with the verdict of the governor originally followed. In col. II 10 I think the unread participle in τοῦτον <τὸν> Ἀσυνκρίτιον ἐ . [.] . μενον καὶ τυπτόμενον is just ἐ[λκ]όμενον. Various longer attempts at reading it are recorded in BL II.2 79 (ἐν[δ]εόμενον and ἐν[ελ]κόμενον).

In col. II 9 and 13 and col. III 7, 13, and 16, following the titles of various officials, there appear two horizontal strokes, the upper one concave, the lower one convex, that were interpreted by Mitteis-Wilcken as standing for an abbreviated word beginning with ε(). Quenouille and Scholl⁵⁰ have pointed out that these strokes are merely a mark of abbreviation. I think they are more particularly a mark of abbreviation for the ending *-(or)*. This works well with the first two instances (*curat(or)*) and the last instance (*adiut(or)*), but in fact also fits the other two instances: where Mitteis-Wilcken read *superstat(ionarius)* (?) we should no doubt read *superstat(or)*, the equivalent of Greek ἀρχιστάτωρ in texts of the Roman period, a kind of police officer. Here, the police officer is representing the owner of the slave, and he seems to be an old curmudgeon, who makes a lot of irrelevant remarks and repeats himself a lot. One would almost think that ChLA XII 520 is itself a fictional account, given that the *superstat(or)* is called Senecion (*nomen est omen*)! But that would be too clever.

941. ChLA XII 525

This is a *litis denuntiatio ex auctoritate* (AD 368), which means that if the defendants do not show up in court (as they have done, more than once, after earlier *litis denuntiationes* — just not *ex auctoritate*), they will be held in contempt of court. This requires the approval of the governor, which is quoted here in Greek in col. II 7–8. Interestingly, an earlier ruling by an earlier governor (about how often a lawsuit can be “renewed”) is quoted as well, in both Latin and Greek. It runs in Latin (col. II 8–9): *reperabuntur [t]empora si semel negotium is t[] / vac. evol[u]tum est*. In Greek (col. II 9–10): ἀν[α]νεωθήσονται οἱ χρόνοι εἰ ἅπαξ ἢ δίκη ἐξ[έπε]σεν. Instead of *semel* I see *simel* (*l. semel*) and for the ending, where little is missing, I suggest we follow V. Arangio-Ruiz, who suggested in FIRA III,⁵¹ p. 547, n. 1, *ist[ud]*, “that (lawsuit) of yours.” This is distinctly better than P.M. Meyer’s *is* (*l. iis*) *t[]* (Jur.Pap. 88, n. on col. II 8), let alone Girard-Senn’s *is* (*l. iis*) *t[unc]* (*Textes de droit romain*, 6th ed., p. 913, in their “translation”).⁵²

In col. II 3 one of the defendants is identified as Ἰσ[τδ]ώρω ὄφ(φικιαλίω). In the *editio princeps* L. Mitteis had dotted the initial *omicron* of ὄφ(φικιαλίω), but by the time he reedited the text as M.Chr. 97 the dot had disappeared. Unfortunately, this part of the text was damaged since Mitteis edited the text, and only Ἰσ[τδ]ω[] is now visible. There is therefore no way to decide whether the recent suggestion to read the title as β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίω) instead of ὄφ(φικιαλίω) (BL XII 98) is correct. This also applies to a suggested reading in the *editio princeps* for col. II 25, where Mitteis printed just ὄ . [.] . . v in M.Chr., but earlier suggested reading ὄ ἡ[γεμόν], before rearranging the fragments somewhat.⁵³ I read ὄ followed by a vertical *hasta*, most likely an *eta*,

⁵⁰ Apud J. Gascou, *Procès-verbal d’audience du juge Ammonius*, ZPE 170 (2009) 153 n. on l. 6 with n. 14.

⁵¹ The appendix in the second edition of 1969 does not add anything on this text. It also does not appear in G. Purpura (ed.), *Revisione ed integrazione dei Fontes iuris romani anteiustiniani (FIRA): studi preparatori 1–2*, Torino 2012.

⁵² (P. F. Girard and) F. Senn, *Textes de droit romain*, 6th ed., Paris 1937. This part does not appear in the seventh edition (of which two volumes appeared in 1967 and 1977).

⁵³ Note that the text of an unplaced fragment in P.Lips. I, pp. 98–99, was afterwards placed and integrated in the text reedited as M.Chr. The Papyrological Navigator erroneously includes the text of the once unplaced fragment separately.

but after that the papyrus is now in disarray, and the ending cannot be confirmed. Since the text at this point mentions the *commentarii*, a reference to the *auctor* of these *commentarii*, the governor, is expected, and Mitteis' initial suggestion should be taken seriously.

942. ChLA XLI 1187

This text was relatively recently published, and earlier appeared as SB XVIII 13295. It is one of the earliest examples of a report of proceedings (AD 298–300), together with P.Kramer 11 (AD 299) and the undated ChLA XLI 1189 (late III/early IV AD). It shows a number of characteristics that are also familiar from later reports of proceedings.⁵⁴ There is small problem in the remark of the governor in lines 7–9: does the expression ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν go with what precedes (ἐπειδὴ καὶ κούρατωρ ὀνομάσθη τῇ ἀφήλικι καὶ λοιπὸν δύναται νομίμως συστήναι τὸ δικαστήριον) or with what follows (ἄκουσον τοῦ πράγματος)? The translation in the *editio princeps*⁵⁵ is somewhat misleading, but correct, I think, in taking ἐντὸς πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν with what follows: “Since a guardian was named for the girl minor, then the court can be legally convened which will hear the case within fifteen days.” This should be: “Since a guardian (*curator*) was named for the female minor, and it is henceforth become possible to legally convene the court, hear the case within fifteen days,” the imperative being addressed to the *strategos* as local judge.

943. ChLA XLI 1189

The editor of this early report of proceedings (late III/early IV AD), T. Dorandi, asserts that the hand is the same as in ChLA XLI 1187, but the *editio princeps* argued against this, and I think rightly so.⁵⁶ The Greek is somewhat less rounded, and the Latin is also somewhat different. Compare the way *Thebaid(os)* is abbreviated: here with a squiggle (read as *-os* in the *editio princeps*, but rightly, I think, transcribed as *-(os)* in ChLA XLI 1189), with a raised dot in ChLA XLI 1187. It is, however, possible that ChLA XLI 1187 and P.Kramer 11 were written by the same scribe. There is not enough Latin available to compare in P.Kramer 11, but the Greek there is much more like that in ChLA XLI 1187 than that in ChLA XLI 1189.

944. CEL 222

This and CEL 223 are two letters of recommendation for Theophanes for his official business trip to Antioch (AD 320–324 or, more specifically, 322–323?).⁵⁷ CEL 222 is almost perfectly preserved. I have not seen the original in Strasbourg, but on an excellent scan I was able to read the address on the *verso* somewhat different from what has hitherto been read there. Before Marichal had a go at it in ChLA XIX 687, the address was read as *domino suo Achillio ἡγεμ(όνι) Φουεΐκης | Vitalis*. Marichal detected *F(avius)* before *Achillio* and also noticed that the ending of Φουεΐκης was added below the line: Φουεΐκης\̄. I see *F(avius)* also before *Vitalis*, and the correct transcription of the Greek is ἡγεμ(όνι) Φουί\̄κης\̄. More importantly, I think that all of the address was written by the same scribe as the body of the text on the *recto*. Various editors have asserted that the various bits of Latin and Greek in the address were written by different

⁵⁴ See most recently J.-D. Rodríguez Martín, *Protocolos procesuales en dos lenguas: un ejemplo en un papiro de Montserrat*, Index 44 (2016) 123–140, and especially B. Palme, *Libellprozess und Subskriptionsverfahren*, in: G. Thür, U. Yiftach, and R. Zelnick-Abramovitz (eds.), *Symposion 2017*, Wien 2018, 257–275.

⁵⁵ R. Coles, *Julius Athenodorus*, praeses Thebaidos, BACPS 1 (1985) 51–54 at 53.

⁵⁶ Coles, *Julius Athenodorus*, praeses Thebaidos, BACPS 1 (1985) 55.

⁵⁷ See, comprehensively, J. F. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, New Haven 2006.

scribes — the Greek even by Theophanes himself. This is impossible in light of his known handwriting, exemplified by P.Ryl. IV 625 and, more formally, P.Bagnall 55. P. Cugusi, the editor of CEL, already identified all of the address as having been written by one scribe, just not the same as the scribe who wrote the body of the text on the *recto*. The writing of the address, although also with the fibers, is somewhat less careful than the writing on the *recto*, and the second line of the address is even less careful than the first, but not really different.

945. CEL 223

The other letter of recommendation can be made to resemble CEL 222 even more than has been the case in editions so far. In line 7, the reading is *Hermu[po]litanoru[m]* as in CEL 222, 7, not *Hermo[po]litanoru[m]*. Earlier in that line, in the supplement, we should restore the “Greek” ending *Theofanen*, as in CEL 222, 7, not *Theophanem*.

946. CEL 242

This is an official letter from the *comes Thebaici limitis* to a military tribune in Hermopolis (AD 505, the consulate mentioned in line 8). The *comes* instructs the tribune to enlist a recruit from Hermopolis, if there are no objections. I have only a few corrections to make, in the address in line 1. This reads: (the *comes*) *vac. Fl(avio) u. rte sive Theodoti in CEL*. The editor, Cugusi, is right to retain *Fl(avio)*, which J. R. Rea, CPR V 13, 1n. rejected in favor of *fl()l()*. Technically, only the *l* has a mark of abbreviation, and it is just too much of a coincidence that the abbreviation *fl()*, if it is not *Fl(avio)*, would appear right above a blank space, because that is what comes in between the title of the *comes* and the name of the addressee, which starts with what Cugusi read as *u*. What he transcribes as has no traces of ink at all. The scribe who wrote the letter may have been unsure about the exact name of the addressee: did he have a *gentilicium*, and if so, which? Flavius would, of course, be a safe bet for a military man. The clue to the situation may be in the name of the addressee, not convincingly read so far. After initial *U* (or *V*) I see the top of a rounded letter, most likely *e*. The *r* that follows seems secure, as is the *t* above it. Again, we see that the scribe hesitated in writing the name of the addressee. I assume the hesitation stemmed from the fact that it is a “foreign” name, most likely of Germanic origin. Soldiers at this time were often hauled from the border areas in the West to serve in the East. The name can thus be read as *Verte*, but I have not been able to trace this as a Germanic name. His alternative Greek name at the end of the line may well be *Theodoti[o]* instead of *Theodoti*, as it is written on the right edge of the papyrus.

Corrections to lines 9–10 of this text appear in G. Iovine, *Preliminary Inquiries on Some Unpublished Documentary Papyri* (P.Vindob. inv. L 74 *recto*; 98 *verso*; 169 *recto*), in: A. Nodar, S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), *Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Papyrology*, Barcelona 2019, 638–43 at 641.

947. P.Kramer 11

This early report of proceedings (AD 299) does not appear in ChLA, because the Latin in lines 1–2 was only recently read by F. Mitthof in P. Kramer 11. I have only one correction to make to his excellent edition. In l. 5 he reads] . ov. ἐν πα γάρ καὶ γυμνα[σ]μαρχία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀξιώ[μασι]. The position of the particle γάρ in the sentence is unexpected. It is also heavily dotted. Inspection of an excellent scan revealed τῆς rather than γαρ, and τῆς is part of ἀϋτῆς. What precedes is more easily recognizable as πάτηρ. What Mitthof articulated as two sentences (one ending in] . ov and one starting with ἐν) is in reality one sentence, and the beginning can be read as γέγονεν and the whole sentence as γέγονεν πατήρ ἀϋτῆς καὶ γυμνα[σ]μαρχία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀξιώ[μασι], “(Polydeukes) was her father, in both the gymnasiarchy and the other positions of honor” (the syntax is lost).

948. P.Lips. I 35 (= ChLA XII 524)

This text (AD 373) was relatively recently reviewed by Mitthof, who was able to confirm many of U. Wilcken’s readings, which Marichal had not put in his text, and corrected several others.⁵⁸ The text is a petition written by a professional scribe for an *officialis*, Flavius Isidorus, who submitted it to the governor, who asked for more details. Isidorus then set down to revise the text himself with the help of various deletions and interlinear and marginal additions, which have not all been read. We have a later version of the petition, which adopts some of the corrections in evidence here (P.Lips. I 34). The Latin in lines 24–25 does not fill the complete width of the papyrus, and its scribe may have tried to “center” his text, leaving generous blanks before and after each line. Line 25 is on the lower edge of the papyrus and almost illegible.

Line 24 has been read as *[aurum qu]od alius tibi . . . [. . .] perferr[e . . .] . . . di ma [. . .] . non poposçisse*. I think I see, after *tibi, çessit* and I think the following gap is wide enough to contain two letters, thus *[ut]*. Instead of the infinitive *perferr[e]*, we need a subjunctive, as follows: *[aurum qu]od alius tibi çessit [ut] perferr[es]*. What follows is difficult to read, but Marichal’s *d* is surely an *r*, and Mitteis read the traces following *ma* as *n*, no doubt correctly. Before *ri* I see a round letter, perhaps *a*, itself preceded by a long letter, perhaps *d*. Between *perferr[es]* and *. . . ri* (*dari?*), there is room for about two letters, so perhaps we should read *er] dari man[davi]t*. The connection with the following infinitive is unclear, but perhaps we should understand: “To not have asked for the gold that another gave you to convey and ordered to be handed over” (is interpreted by the governor, whose remark is here quoted, in a certain way as laid out in line 25, but not recoverable for us). Note that, contrary to what has been maintained so far, line 25 is in the same hand as line 24, just a bit faster and more cursive.

On the *verso* I read the beginning of the first line as τούτο <τό> χρυσίον rather than τὸ ὑπό(λοιπον) χρυσίον. There is no mark of abbreviation, and abbreviation is unexpected in such a note (which copies the final remark by the governor, asking for more information). By this time τούτο χρυσίον itself is “correct” Greek, so there may not even be need for the <τό>.

949. P. Lips. I 38 (= M. Chr. 97; ChLA XII 520)

This papyrus contains a report of proceedings in two columns (AD 390), which were cut up for framing. The second column has just five lines and survives in its frame. Unfortunately, the first column, with the bulk of the text, is lost. There is, however, a plate of this column in the *editio princeps*, P.Lips. I 38.

In the lacuna in col. I 2, instead of Marichal’s *decurione Hermupolis*, I expect *decurione civitatis Hermupolitanorum* in abbreviated form, perhaps without *civitatis*.

In col. I 10, where P.Lips. I 38 had *[I]os]eph(us)*, M.Chr. 97 . . . [. . .] . . . and ChLA XII 520 [.], I suspect *[At]res*, because *ad(vocatus)* does not follow, and the only person present who is not a lawyer, or does not have another title, is the representative of the defendant, *Hatres*. Wilcken had rejected *[I]os]eph(us)*, pointing out that the trace before the lacuna belonged to the preceding *nu*.⁵⁹

J.-O. Tjäder thought he could read the name of the governor as *Esuthius* in col. I 15 (or rather *Esuthiu(s)*, as the final *-s* is lacking in all instances where the name can be read on the plate or the original) instead of *Esychiu(s)*. The *y* is written exactly the same as *u*, and the *ch* combination, if that is what it is, does look a lot like *th*, but the name of the governor is Ἡσύχιος in Greek texts, e.g., P.Lips. I 66, 15. The *H-* of *Hesychius* is left out in the Latin rendering of the name, and this is paralleled by the spelling *Atres* for Ἄτρης, the representative of the defendant in this case. At

⁵⁸ F. Mitthof, *Bemerkungen zu den Kaiserpetitionen P.Lips. I 34 und 35 (ChLA XII 524)*, ZPE 139 (2002) 139–142 [= BL XIII 61f.].

⁵⁹ U. Wilcken, *Zu den Leipziger Papyri*, APF 4 (1908) 472.

the end of col. I 15 there is a bit of Latin (P.Lips. 1.38 read it as *εἰς . . . ἀίε*). Marichal connects it with the beginning of the next line, where there is a lacuna, as follows: *εἰς ἑμὴ ἀίε* (*asterium*) (?) / [*ing(ressus) f(uisset)*]. But in the next line, the governor is introduced, and his name should start at the beginning of the line. We can do no better than to revert to the reading in P.Lips. I 38.

After col. II 5 there is a kind of *paragraphus* (two wavy lines). Marichal read one of the wavy lines in combination with the vertical *hasta* of *rho* of τέτοις in col. II 5 as a word in what he thought was a sixth line: *εἰς(emplum)* (?), but this is impossible.

The *verso* is blank, but editors after the *editio princeps* have persistently read λίβελλος there.⁶⁰ The text is, however, not a *libellus*, but a report of proceedings. In fact, the word λίβελλος should instead be read on the *verso* of P.Lips. I 37, as pointed out by Wilcken long before the reeditions.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Jur.Pap. 91; FIRA III 174; ChLA XII 520.

⁶¹ U. Wilcken, *Zu den Leipziger Papyri*, APF 4 (1908) 469 n.1.