



Herausgegeben von:

Thomas Corsten
Peter Kruschwitz
Fritz Mitthof
Bernhard Palme

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

 **HOLZHAUSEN**
Der Verlag

Band 35, 2020

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Tafeln 1–32

DEDICATVM

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OCTOGENARIIS

AIKATERINI KOROLI
AMPHILOCHIOS PAPATHOMAS

The King, the Palace, the Circus, and a Notary.
A New Late Antique Literary Papyrus*

Plate 10

A hitherto unpublished papyrus belonging to the collection of the Austrian National Library (P.Vindob. G 25385) preserves a fragmentary text, the genre and purport of which cannot be precisely specified. The colour of the piece is medium brown. Its four edges are irregularly torn off. The top margin is preserved in its entirety and measures 2.5 cm. There is text missing on the right and left sides (cf. n. to l. 3), as well as at the bottom, the amount of which cannot be estimated. There are also several small gaps and holes. The text was written in a rather unpractised cursive script by a clumsy scribe, who also makes a lot of misspellings (see below). The text is written along the fibres. The back is blank.

Due to the textual losses, neither the content nor the syntactical connection of the preserved words can be reconstructed with certainty. In any case, the words *παλάτιν* (l. 1), *ἵπικόν* (l. *ἵπικόν*; l. 1), *νοτάριον* and *νοτάρην* (l. *νοτάριον*; ll. 2–3), and *βασιλέως* (l. 3) refer to the high levels of society and administration, which is an indication that the text does not deal with everyday issues. The co-occurrence of these words could be interpreted in several manners; for instance, the preserved lines could refer to the activity of a *νοτάριος* concerning an issue, which was important for the emperor and in which the circus (*ἵπικόν*; see n. to l. 1) was involved.

The vocabulary of the fragment, and specifically the verbs *ἔλεκεν* (l. *-γεν*) in l. 3 and *ἐκαυχάστω* (l. *-χάτω*) in l. 4, as well as the co-occurrence of 1st pl. (*ἐλούσαμεν* in l. 5; *ἐ]ξορύσαμεν* in l. 6) and 3rd sg. (*ἔλεκεν* in l. 3; *ἐκαυχάστω* in l. 4) point to a narrative text that might well be either literary or non-literary. The possibility that the fragment comes from a literary text is a more attractive suggestion, since there are no papyrus letters or documents containing the words *παλάτιον*, *νοτάριος*, *βασιλεύς*, and *ἵπικόν*,

* Aikaterini Koroli contributed as co-author to the present article in the framework of the FWF-Research Project “Business Letters from Byzantine Egypt. First Edition and Linguistic Analysis of twenty-five Greek Papyri” (T 1068-G25), University of Vienna, Austria. Both authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions. All dates mentioned in the present paper are A.D.

whereas in the few cases in which some of these words do co-occur, the context seems to differ from that of the present fragment¹.

We were not able to identify the text of our fragment with a text already known to us through the papyri or the medieval manuscript tradition. Literary texts provide us though with a considerable number of instances of the vocabulary contained in the fragment. One could mention historiographical, chronographical, biographical, hagiographical and epistolary parallels.

As far as historiography is concerned, cf., for instance, the following passages from Athanasius' (ca. 295–373) *Historia Arianorum*, written as part of Athanasius' fight against the heresy of Arianism: οὗτε γὰρ στρατιώτου παρόντος, οὐ παλατινῶν ἢ νοταρίων ἀποσταλέντων, ὅποια νῦν αὐτοῖ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βασιλέως παρόντος οὐδὲ ὄλωσ κληθέντες παρά τινος ἔγραψαν κτλ. (29.2); γράφει δὴ οὖν βασιλεὺς εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ πάλιν παλατινοὶ καὶ νοτάριοι καὶ κόμητες ἀποστέλλονται καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἔπαρχον κτλ. (37.2); καὶ γράφει τὸ πρῶτον βασιλεὺς καὶ πέμπει πρὸς τε τὸν δοῦκα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπειλήν. νοτάριοί τε Διογένιός τε καὶ Ἰλάριος καὶ παλατινοὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀποστέλλονται (47.3). One might cite as well the following passage from Procopius' (ca. 500–probably 560s) historiographical work on Justinian's wars against the Persians, probably written between 548 and 550: Ὑπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτίκα οὗ δὴ βασιλέα καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθηται δὲ ἐς τὸν βασιλεῖον θρόνον, ὅθεν αἰ βασιλεὺς εἰώθει τὸν τε ἱππικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν θεᾶσθαι ἀγῶνα. ἐκ δὲ παλατίου Μοῦνδος μὲν διὰ πύλης ἐξῆι κτλ. (*Bella* 1.24.42–43).

Concerning chronography, Joannes Malalas' (ca. 480–2nd half of 6th cent.) greatly influential *Chronographia*, a Christian universal chronicle of a period extending from the Creation to 565 or even 574 (in the preserved text the narration stops in 563), provides us with two parallels: καὶ συνάξας τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπετέλεσεν ἱππικόν κτλ. (7.6); τὸν δὲ πραιπόσιτον τοῦ παλατίου αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι Ῥοδανόν ... ζῶντα ἔκαυσεν εἰς τὴν σφενδόνην τοῦ Ἰππικοῦ φρυγάνοις, ὡς θεωρεῖ τὸ ἱππικὸν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Βαλεντινιανός (13.31); cf. also *Chronicon Paschale* 624–625, also a universal chronicle, probably written in the 630s and referring to a period extending from the Creation to 629/630 (in the preserved text the narration stops in 628): καὶ κατήλθεν αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰππικοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔδωκεν εὐθέως μίσσας τοῖς τοῦ παλατίου ... δηλοῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰουστινιανῷ, Ἴδου τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου πάντας ἐν τῷ Ἰππικῷ συνήγαγον· ὃ κελεύεις ποιήσον. ἀπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἐφραιμίου ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ θελήσαντος εἰσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ Θωμᾶς τις ἀδσηκρήτις, ἱατρὸς ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως, πάνν φιλούμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ

¹ Cf. indicatively P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.12–14 with BL XIII 166 (acknowledgement of a loan; Alexandria; 494): Φλάουιοι Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ λαμπρότατος | τριβο[ῦ]νος νοτάριος τοῦ θείου | παλατίου κτλ.; P.Lond. V 1679.3–5 (Aphrodite Kome; before 546–547; see BL XI 120; for a dating to ca. 525–526?, see HGV): τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) τριβούνου νοταρ(ίων) | πραιτωριανῶν (l. πραιτωριανῶν) τοῦ θείου παλατίου κ(αί) ἄρχον(τος) | τῆ[ς] Θηβαίων ἐπαρχείας Φλ(αοῦίου) Μηνᾶ; SB I 4483.1–4 with BL VIII 309 (Arsinoiton Polis; see HGV; 621; see BL VIII 309; for different datings, see BL VI 132; VII 184): † ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ [δ]εσπότηου [Ἰησ]οῦ Χριστοῦ ... τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλέων. τοῖς | θαυμασιωτάτοις Ἰούστῳ νοταρίῳ καὶ Εὐλογοῦδι.

λέγει τῷ κανδιδάτῳ, Που εἰσέρχη; ... καὶ ὑποστρέψας Ἐφραίμιος λέγει ... οὐδεὶς ἔστιν τῷ παλατίῳ.

In the fields of biography and hagiography, one could find parallels in *Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi* 60, written by Palladius (363 or 364–425 or 431), in defense of Joannis Chrysostomus in ca. 408: οὕτως ἀποστείλας ὁ βασιλεὺς Πατρικιον τὸν νοτάριον δηλοῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τάδε.

Finally, from the field of epistolography cf. the first epistle *Ad Innocentium papam* of Joannes Chrysostomus (ca. 349–407): καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως νοτάριον εἰς τοῦτο ἀποστείλαντος, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐδραπέτευσεν εὐθέως (PG 52.532).

Passages such as the ones cited above lead to the assumption that the present fragment should rather be considered as either a low-quality copy of a late antique literary text or what was left from the effort of an unknown local scholar to compose a narrative prosaic text of historiographical, hagiographical, chronographical or similar character — a rather clumsy effort considering the number of misspellings. The fragment should be therefore added to the list of literary copies written in cursive scripts; on similar cases, cf. indicatively E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. Second Edition Revised and Enlarged by P. J. Parsons (BICS Suppl. 46), London 1987, no. 5 (pp. 32–33; *Song of Boatmen on the Nile*); no. 43 (pp. 78–79; *Menander misoumenos*); no. 66 (pp. 110–111; *Chariton, Chaereas and Callirhoe*). In this context, the “king” mentioned in l. 3 (βασιλέως) must be the Byzantine emperor, whereas the παλάτιν in l. 1 must be understood as the imperial palace, located probably in Constantinople. If the text is of hagiographical nature, there is more scope for a more “imaginative” setting. Reference to a foreign monarchy or an entirely fictional setting is also possible, given that our text could be an instance of an even more fictional prose. For example, the possibility that the fragment is a part of a late antique lost novel or of court proceedings, perhaps fictionalized, similar to the codex P.Philammon (2nd half of 4th cent.), should not be excluded.

The preserved text provides us with no indications as to the place where the papyrus was written. There is no information regarding this fragment in Carl Wessely’s handwritten inventory. According to H. Loebenstein, the inventory number of the papyrus (P.Vindob. G 25385) points to the Hermopolite nome². In recent years, however, several cases have come to light in which the inventory number of the “Hermopolite section” of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library proved to be misleading concerning the provenance of a papyrus. Therefore, Loebenstein’s observation offers only a vague indication and not proof for the provenance of our piece from the Hermopolite nome.

² *Vom “Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer” zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren*, in: *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (P.Rainer Cent.), Vienna 1983, 21: “so erhielten z. B. die Papyri aus dem Hermopolites die Signaturen G 13.000–15.999 und 25.000ff.”

The fragment does not contain any information allowing its exact dating. Nevertheless, the occurrence of three Latin loanwords, namely *παλάτιν* (l. 1), *νοτάριος* (ll. 2 and 3), and *βιβίν* (l. 6) points to Late Antiquity, when Latin loanwords were frequently used. This dating would be aligned with the palaeographical features of the text, which point to the fifth — or at the latest to the sixth — century; cf. the shape of β, δ, η, λ, ν, π, σ, and τ. Close palaeographical parallels are offered by the following papyri: SPP XX 113 recto (401; see BL VII 262)³; SPP XX 117 (411)⁴; P.Köln III 151 (423)⁵; SPP XX 123 recto (445; see BL VII 263)⁶; P.Oxy. XVI 1995 (542)⁷; P.Hamb. III 221 (580)⁸; P.Oxy. LXVI 4535 (600)⁹.

The extremely high number of misspellings is worth commenting upon. Specifically, δ is used in place of τ: δώ (*l. τό*) in l. 1; see Gignac, *Grammar* (see below n. 10) I 80–81; ω is used in place of ο: δώ (*l. τό*) in l. 1; νοτάριον (*l. νοτάριον*) in l. 2; νοτάριν (*l. νοτάριν*) in l. 3; ἐκαυχάστω (*l. ἐκαυχᾶτο*); τώ (*l. τό*) in ll. 4 and 6; see Gignac, *Grammar* (see n. 10) I 277; η is used in place of ι in an unaccented syllable: ἥπικόν (*l. ἰπικόν*); see Gignac, *Grammar* (see n. 10) I 237–238; κ is used in place of γ between two vocals: ἔλεκεν (*l. ἔλεγεν*) in l. 3; see Gignac, *Grammar* (see n. 10) I 79; on possible further cases, see the commentary below. The striking number of misspellings, and specifically the τ/δ and γ/κ interchange, could be explained by the assumption that the scribe was a bilingual person, whose first language was not Greek.

Finally, the scribe has the tendency to prefer the ending in -iv (see *παλάτιν* in l. 1, *νοτάριν* in l. 3 and *βιβίν* in l. 6)¹⁰.

³ P.Vindob. G 02112; H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie, Textband*, Stuttgart 2010, 413f., No. 221 and *Tafelband* 209 (No. 221; Plate 206). Digital photo available at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00001008>.

⁴ P.Vindob. G 02116 = Harrauer, *Tafelband* (see n. 3) 210 (No. 222; Plate 207). Digital photo available at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00001010>.

⁵ See G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, London 1987, 36 (No. 14a); Harrauer, *Tafelband* (see n. 3) 213 (No. 225; Plate 210). Digital photo available at: http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Karte/III_151.html.

⁶ P.Vindob. G 02122; Harrauer, *Textband* (see n. 3) 424f., No. 229 = Harrauer, *Tafelband* (see n. 3) 217 (No. 229; Plate 214). Digital photo available at: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00001397>.

⁷ Digital photo available at: <http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH01e0.dir/POxy.v0016.n1995.a.01.hires.jpg>.

⁸ Harrauer, *Tafelband* (see n. 3) 241 (No. 251; Plate 237).

⁹ Digital photo available at: <http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH0191/1210fd3d.dir/POxy.v0066.n4535.a.01.hires.jpg>.

¹⁰ On the ending -(o)v, see W. Peterson, *Greek Diminutives in -ION. A Study in Semantics*, Weimar 1910; D. J. Georgacas, *On the Nominal Endings -ις, -iv in Later Greek*, *Classical Philology* 43 (1948) 243–260; *idem*, *A Contribution to Greek Word History. Derivation and Etymology*, *Glotta* 36 (1958) 161–193; D. C. Swanson, *Diminutives in the Greek New Testament*, *JBL* 77 (1958) 134–151; K. Elliott, *Nouns with Diminutive Endings in the New Testament*, *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970) 391–398; F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, II: Morphology*, Milano 1981, 27–28; 50.

P.Vindob. G 25385
Hermopolite nome?

9.3 × 13 cm

5th or 6th cent.
Plate 10

Diplomatic transcription:

- 1 [- - -] εις δωπαλατιν ηπικον ειδειδ[- - -]
- 2 [- - -] μεδε . ονωταριον χρισου`ν`καλ[- - -]
- 3 [- - -] βασιλεως ελεκενωταρινυπω . [- - -]
- 4 [- - -] κεισ ταυτα εκ αυχαστω εις τωλυπ[- - -]
- 5 [- - -] ελουσαμεν αλυουκυριανεγα[- - -]
- 6 [- - -] ξορυσαμεντωβριν ωλ . μα . κα[- - -]
- 7 [- - -] . . σ . [- - -]

Edition of the text:

- 1 [- - -] εις δὲ παλάτιν *vac.* ἡπικόν, *vac.* ειδειδ[- - -]
- 2 [- - -] μεδε . ον νοτάριον *vac.* χρισου`ν`καλ[- - -]
- 3 [- - -] βασιλέως ἔλεκεν νοτάριν ὑπω . [- - -]
- 4 [- - -] κεις ταῦτα ἐκαυχάστω *vac.* εἰς τὸ λυπ[- - -]
- 5 [- - -] ἐλούσαμεν *vac.* αλυου κυρίαν ἐγα[- - -]
- 6 [- - -] ἐξορύσαμεν τὸ βριν ὠλ . μα . κα[- - -]
- 7 [- - -] . . σ . [- - -]

1 *l.* τὸ *l.* ἡπικόν 2 *l.* νοτάριον *l.* χρυσοῦν 3 *l.* ἔλεγεν *l.* νοτάριον 4 *l.* ἐκαυχᾶτο *l.* τὸ 5 *l.* ἀλλοίου?
6 *l.* τὸ

“... the circus to the palace ... the notary ... gold(en) ... of the king ... was saying ... notary ... these ... boasted ... we washed ... the lady ... the *birin* ...”

1 εἰς δὲ (*l.* τὸ) παλάτιν ἡπικόν: The occurrence of this phrase at the beginning of our fragment serves as an indication that there is text missing on the left side; otherwise, we would have to assume that the narration starts *mediis in rebus*.

παλάτιν: This word is a late antique version of παλάτιον not elsewhere attested in the documentary papyri so far. On the Latin loanword παλάτιον, see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto* s.v. (p. 85), where papyrological parallels are offered; on a thorough discussion on this noun in the papyri, see J. R. Rea, P.Oxy. LV 3788, n. to l. 4 (p. 42).

ἡπικόν: The most common meaning of the word ἡπικόν in this period is “cavalry”. Alternatively, the word is used in the sense of “equestrian competition”, “circus”; on this meaning, see *LSJ*⁹ s.v., as well as John Malalas, *Chronographia* 13.7: ... ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν λέγεσθαι, ἀναπληρώσας καὶ τὸ Ἰππικόν καὶ κοσμήσας αὐτὸ χαλκουργήμασιν καὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ, κτίσας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κάθισμα θεωρίου βασιλικοῦ καθ’ ὁμοίότητα τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὄντος, and the passages cited in the introduction. Given the connection with παλάτιον, βασιλεύς, and νοτάριος, the meaning “circus” is clearly to be preferred here.

ειδειδ[.]: A possible reconstruction for this letter sequence is εἰ δεῖ δε[.

2]μεδε . ον: A possible reading and restoration of this puzzling part is με δὲ Ἄρόν (*l.* Ἰαρόν). Alternatively, one could read ἡ]μέδερον (*l.* ἡμέτερον) or ὠ]μέδερον (*l.* ὠμέτερον), although the illegible traces seem to belong to two letters. In any case, the top of ρ seems to be

open and its vertical stroke too short, considering the shape of this letter in the rest of the text; cf., e.g., ρ in νοτάριον (l. 2), νοτάρην (l. 3) and βρῖν (l. 6).

νοτάριον: On *notarii*, see the examples mentioned in n. 1 above, as well as H. C. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores. An Inquiry into Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire (from the Early Principate to c. 450 A.D.)*, Amsterdam 1985; S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel Greco d’Egitto* s.v. (pp. 74–75) and J. R. Rea’s note to P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.12 (p. 128). Given the mention of a palace in l. 1 it is noteworthy that there are attestations for νοτάριοι τοῦ παλατίου; from the era of our text, cf. the aforementioned P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.12–14.

χρῖσθῦν: On the use of ι in place of υ in unaccented syllables, see Gignac, *Grammar* (see n. 10) I 267–268; a parallel for this misspelling of χρυσῶν is offered by SB XVI 12940.10 (unknown provenance; 6th cent.; see HGV). Less probable seems to be the transcription χρίσθον; this rare form would be either imper. aor. act. 2nd sg. or participle neut. fut. act. sg. of the verb χρίω (“to rub”, “to anoint with scented unguents or oil”; see *LSJ*⁹ s.v.).

καλι: This might well be a form of καλέω.

3] βασιλέως: The ink at the beginning of the line clearly indicates that there is text missing on the left side, since the reconstruction of the word preceding βασιλέως requires in any case no less than three letters, e.g. τοῦ βασιλέως.

νοτάρην: This diminutive of νοτάριος in -ην is not elsewhere attested.

ὕπω]: The letter that follows π is most probably an ω; cf. the shape of ω throughout the rest of the fragment. Nevertheless, the possibility that this is an open-topped α should not be ruled out completely.

4] κεις: The sequence of these letters could be interpreted in various manners. Specifically, it could be a crasis (< καὶ εἰς), the ending of a verb in ind. pres. act. 2nd sg. (e.g. εὕρισκεις or δοκεῖς), the ending of a participle of passive aorist (e.g. ἐμπλακεῖς), or the misspelled ending of an adverb in -κις (e.g. ὁσάκις, or πολλάκις).

εἰς τὸ λυπ[: The passage should be rather reconstructed and read as the phrase εἰς τὸ (l. τὸ) λυπ[όν (l. λοιπόν), “in the future”; “henceforward”. On the use of υ in place of οι, see Gignac, *Grammar* (see n. 10) I 197; parallels for this misspelling are offered, among others, by P.Oxy. XLVIII 3400.18 (Oxyrhynchos; ca. 359–365); P.Oxy. XVII 2154.12 (Oxyrhynchite nome; 4th cent.); P.Oxy. XLVIII 3417.14 (Oxyrhynchos; 4th cent.). Nevertheless, it should be noted that a small spot of ink is visible near the edge of the right side between ll. 4 and 5. If this trace belongs to l. 4, the restoration λυπ[όν (l. λοιπόν) is not possible.

5 ἐλούσαμεν: It is possible that the sixth letter is a corrected omega.

αλου κυρίαν ἐγα[: αλου is a puzzling word, not elsewhere attested. The phonologically closest words are ἀλίου (“wheat flour”; see *DGE* s.v.; *LBG* s.v.), ἀλίου (“of the sea / fruitless, idle”; see *LSJ*⁹ s.v.; fisher; see *LBG* s.v.), or ἀλλοίου (“different”); however, neither of these readings makes good sense in the given passage. The most probable choice is ἀλλοίου, given that it has a more general meaning (on the use of υ in place of οι, see above, n. to l. 4). If so, a thinkable reconstruction would be αλου (l. ἀλλοίου) κυρίαν ἐγά[μῃσα. The possibility that the scribe meant to write the adverb ἀλλοίως should not be completely ruled out.

6 βρῖν: The noun comes from βερρίον, diminutive of βίρρος, which is a Latin loanword (< Lat. *birrus*, *burrus*, or *byrrus*) that denotes a kind of hooded cloak or cape and is attested in many

phonological variations in documentary papyri¹¹, inscriptions and literary texts¹², as well as in *Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis rerum venalium* 7.42f; 19.37f; 44f. For a detailed presentation of the meaning and etymology of the term, its attestations in written sources and its multiple versions in terms of phonology and morphology, as well as many references to the secondary bibliography, see Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, *Lexikon* (see n. 11) 164; 172–175; 211; 212 and H. Hofmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter im Griechischen bis 600 n.Chr.*, Erlangen 1989 s.v.; for the term, see also E. Kornemann's note to P.Giss. 76.4 (p. III 65); Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Borna, Leipzig 1913, 116; R. Murri, *Ricerche sugli abiti menzionati nei papiri greco-egizi: I*, Aegyptus 23 (1943) 106–127, esp. 115–117; J. P. Wild, *The Byrrus Britannicus*, Antiquity 37 (1963) 193–202; S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedik*, Berlin 1971, 238 (note to 7.43–45); K. Maresch's note to P.Köln VII 318.3 (p. 119); A. Papatomas' note to P.Heid. VII 406.8 (p. 182 with footnote 24); G. Poethke's note to CPR XIX 62.10 (p. 124); G. Schenke, *Anweisungen zur Übergabe von Textilien und Weizen in "O.Douch" I 40 und 49*, ZPE 162 (2007) 220–222, esp. p. 221, n. to l. 4.

The term βίρρος/βιρρίον/βιρίν is probably used in contrast to τρίβων, the worn-out garment (most probably also a cloak) worn by individuals who led a spiritual life of material abstinence; cf. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)* 37.6: Καὶ προσδραμόντες ἅπαντες, τριβωνοφόροι τε καὶ βιρροφόροι, λέγουσιν αὐτῶ; see also C. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lugduni 1688, s.v. βιρροφόρος; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, s.v. βιρροφόρος (βυρρ-); *DGE* vol. 4 s.v. βιρροφόρος. On the suffix -(ο)ν in general, see introduction; on this suffix in nouns denoting textiles, see I. Bogensperger, A. Koroli, *Qualities of Textiles and their Terminology in Documentary Papyri from Egypt*, in: M. S. Busana et al. (eds.), *Textiles and Dyes in the Mediterranean Economy and Society. Proceedings of the VIth International Symposium on Textiles and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World (Padova – Este – Altino, Italy 17–20 October 2016)*, Zaragoza 2018, 461–470, esp. 468 (with Plate XII).

ὠλ μα κα : The verb ὄλλυμαι (*l.* ὄλλυμαι) followed by a double point and a κα could be an option here. Both the emotionally charged tone of a verb meaning “I’m dying”, which points to a sort of novelistic popular prose, and the use of a symbol found in literary papyri fit the already made assumption that the text is of literary nature. Nevertheless, the supposed υ is not written like the previous ones; moreover, what follows α might well be read as the remains of a ρ; cf. the

¹¹ Cf. indicatively P.Harr. I 105.11 (3rd cent.?: see BL XI 90): βίρροι β' τέλειοι; P.Giss.Univ. III 32.17–18 (3rd–4th cent.): εὐτόχησα τῷ κυρίῳ σου β{ε}ί{ι}[ρι]ον ἐρεῖον (*l.* ἐρεῖον) ἀγοράσε (*l.* ἀγοράσαι) ἔν; P.Ryl. IV 627.7 with BL XIII 186 (early 4th cent.): βίρ<ρ>οι β; PSI XV 1564.11 (4th cent.): ὑπόδεξον τὸν βύρρον; O.Douch I 40.4 (4th–early 5th cent.); see the new edition of R. Bagnall, M. Choat, I. Gardner, *O.Douch I 40*, ZPE 147 [2004] 205–207; εἰρε; CPR XIX 62.8; 10 with BL XIII 83 (5th cent.): βυρρὴν λευκαὶ (*l.* λευκὸν) αἴγ(ειον) (or αἴγιον or αἰγικὸν) α; βυρρὴν στυπύ(τινον) πύρ{ρ}τινον Σίρ(τιον) (*l.* Σύριον) α; SB XX 14211.10 (mid 5th cent.): οσηρα (*l.* βίρρον; see note in J. Diethart, *Papyri aus byzantinischer Zeit als Fundgrube für lexikographisches und realienkundliches Material*, AnPap 2 [1990] 101); cf. also the compound σαγόβυρος in P.Bon. 38 A col.1.7 (3rd–4th cent.): σαγόβυρος and PSI IX 1082.12–13 with BL VI 184 (4th cent.?): τὸ[ν] σαγόβιρον (*l.* -βυρον). For further observations on the papyrological documentation and the secondary literature on this term, see also I.-M. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens mit Berücksichtigung koptischer Quellen 2 (Beta – Delta)*, Purkersdorf 2000, 172–174.

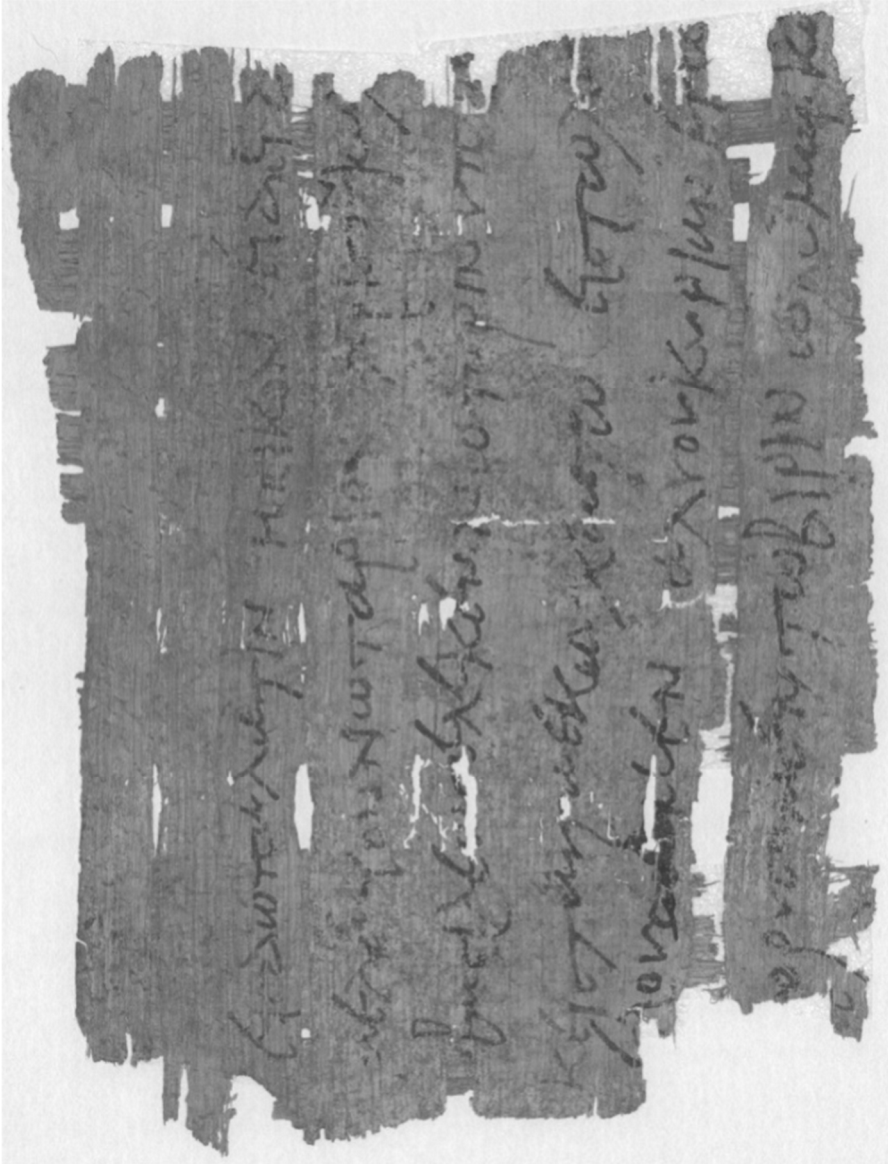
¹² Cf., among others, the following literary passages, which contain the version of the term attested in the present text: Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)* 63.2: λαβῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ στιχάριον καὶ τὸ βιρίν ἐν μεσαιτάτῃ νυκτὶ κατέφυγε πρὸς ταύτην τὴν παρθένον; *Penitentia s. Pelagiae (recensio I)* 41: καὶ ἔλαβε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου στιχάριον τρίχινον καὶ βιρίν τρίχινον.

shape of this letter in κυρίαν, l. 5. Alternatively, a probable restoration would be ὀλομάρκα[ρον, i.e. a misspelling for ὀλομάργαρον, “entirely covered with pearls”; see *LBG* s.v. However, this adjective is not papyrologically attested, and is very rare in literature. The only attestation dated from Late Antiquity is found in Sophronius, *Anacreontica* 20.23–24 (6th–7th cent.): Ἐπὶ τρίστοον παρέλθω | ὀλομαργαργυρόχρον (ὀλομαργαργυρόχρους has the meaning of “wholly of the colour of silver and pearls”; Lampe, *op. cit.* s.v.). On ὀλομάργαρος, cf. from later times *Tyricon monasterii Theotoci Bebaias Elpidos (sub auctore Theodora Synadena)* (= *Τυρικὸν τῆς μονῆς τῆς Βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος*) (1327–42) 24.93: Δέδωκε γὰρ εἰκόνημα χρυσοῦν ... ὅλον μετὰ μαργάρων ... μετὰ καλύμματος ὀλομαργάρου, ὃ καλοῦσι συρμάτινον.

7] . . σ . [: It is not clear whether the rounded trace of ink which is visible at the beginning of the preserved line, belongs to this line or to the previous one; in the second case, it could be read as the lower part of a ξ.

Aikaterini Koroli
Department of Ancient History,
Papyrology and Epigraphy, University of Vienna
Universitätsring 1
1010 Vienna, Austria
aikaterini.koroli@univie.ac.at

Amphilochios Papathomas
Department of Classical Philology
University of Athens
Panepistimiopolis Zographu
15784 Athens, Greece
papath@phil.uoa.gr



zu A. Koroli, A. Papathomas, S. 51

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