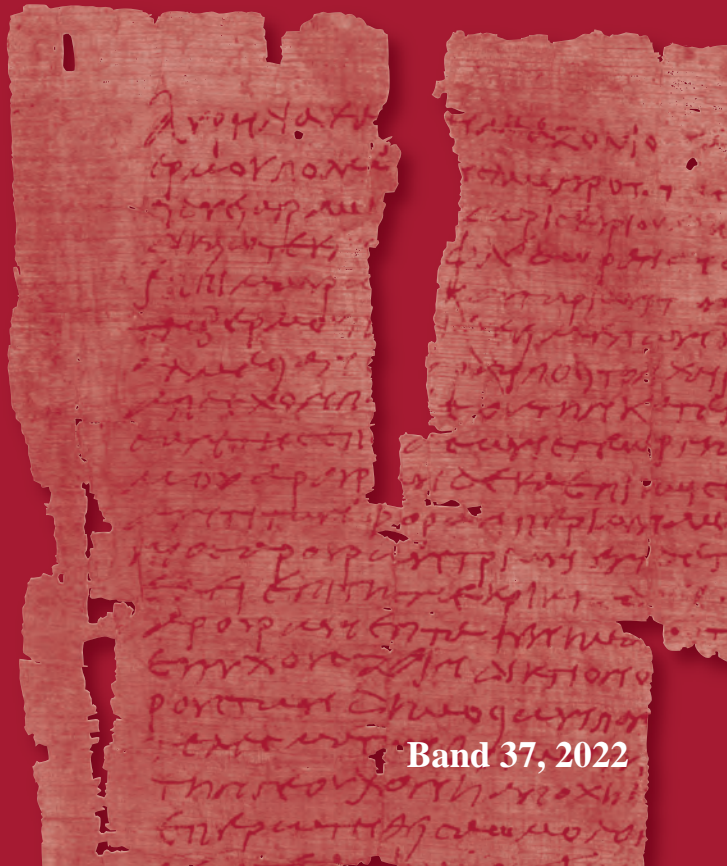


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ANASTASIA MARAVELA
W. GRAHAM CLAYTOR

Contributions to the Prosopography of Theadelphia in the Second Century CE*

I. Alexas son of Herieus son of Aphrodisios

The personal name Alexas (TM Nam 6550) is attested 106 times in the corpus of the documentary papyri from Egypt.¹ When three of the attestations come from Theadelphia, turn out to be datable in the 30s and 40s of the second century CE, and all the individuals in question have identically named paternal grandfathers, but their fathers have different names, a palaeographical control is called for.

BGU IX 1891 and P.Col. II 1r 1a are itemized (κατ' ἄνδρα) monthly registers of money taxes paid to the collectors of the village of Theadelphia, Heron son of Neilos and Heron son of Hakes, covering parts of the years 133 CE and 134 CE respectively.² The two rolls were acquired by the owner institutions eleven years apart, the Berlin register in 1912 and the Columbia register in 1923. However, their common provenance was recognised early given their similar content, the identity of the scribal hand and the fact that the Columbia rolls had been offered to the British Museum in 1911–1912, that is at around the time when the Berlin roll was purchased.³

* Part I is authored by Anastasia Maravela, who extends thanks to Jens Mangerud for constructive feedback. Parts II and III are authored by W. Graham Claytor.

¹ The attestations recorded by TM People (accessed 7 July 2022) correspond to 75 individuals.

² The payments in BGU IX 1891 cover the period from late September to early December 133 CE. On the date of this document see R. Ziegler, *Bemerkungen zur Datierung von Urkunden*, ZPE 125 (1999) 214. The payments of P.Col. II 1r 1a cover the months of September and October 134 CE, but some of the payments are marked as belonging to the preceding two years.

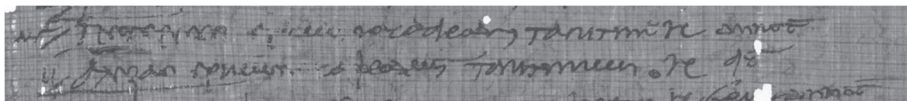
³ P.Berol. 11655 was purchased by W. L. Schubart from Ali Abdelhaj in Giza in November 1912, see the anonymised description in F. Schubart, *Von Wüste, Nil und Sonne*, Berlin 1922, 71–77. P.Col. II 1r 1a came to Columbia as part of this institution's share in the joint purchase made in 1923 by the British Museum and the Universities of Columbia, Michigan, and Oslo. Five packets were bought from Maurice Nahman. The Columbia roll was in packet II, described as coming from Batn-Harit (Theadelphia). In his first report to the participating institutions, dated July 20th, 1923, Bell remarks that eight of the ten rolls had been offered to the BM in 1911–1912, that is at around the time when the Berlin roll was acquired, see Bell's first report (typescript accessible in the historical archive of the papyrus collection at the University of Oslo Library), pp. 1–2. See also Introduction to P.Col. II, p. ix and Introduction to BGU IX, p. vi.

As observed already by the editor of BGU IX, Heinz Kortenbeutel, the Theadelphia tax registers in Berlin and Columbia shed mutual light on each other so that some of the readings in the latter report may be restored or corrected in light of BGU IX 1891.⁴ This is the case for an individual by the name of Alexas recorded in BGU IX 1891, xiii.403 and in P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.5. The Berlin roll provides the most information about this Alexas (TM Per 197702). His father's name is Herieus (TM Per 235747), his paternal grandfather is Aphrodisios (TM Per 235748) and his mother is Tapitynis (TM Per 235749). His payment is recorded right after that of a certain Petereus (TM Per 197701) who must be Alexas' brother since he has identical patronymic, papyonymic and metronymic.

BGU IX 1891, xiii.402–3

μγ / Πετερεῦς Ἐριέως τοῦ Ἀφροδ(αίου) μη(τρὸς) Ταπιτύνεω(ς) ἡ δεσ(μο-
φυλάκων) πο(ταμοφυλακίδος) ς(τατίωνος)

β / Ἀλεξᾶς Ἐριέως τοῦ Ἀφροδ(αίου) μη(τρὸς) Ταπιτύνεω(ς) ἡ φυλ(άκων)

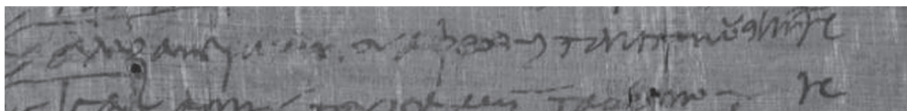


BGU IX 1891, xiii.402–3. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz.
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung

In the apparatus to l. 403 Kortenbeutel cited P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.5 α / Ἀλεξᾶς Ἐριμίου τοῦ Ἀφροδ(αίου) μη(τρὸς) Ταπιγούτεω(ς) διὰ Πτολ() ἡ, nodding at the differences ('dort ...'), but he did not correct the Columbia entry *expressis verbis* and did not identify the individuals concerned. The Alexas recorded in P.Col. II 1r 1a is still considered a different individual (TM Per 247763) than his homonymous taxpayer of the Berlin roll.

Inspection of the online image of P.Col. II 1r 1a ii.5, see below, shows that Alexas' patronymic is partly rubbed off, but the visible traces are best deciphered as Ἐριέως. The ligature of the last four letters shows close similarity to that of the Berlin entry, as does the way the metronymic is drawn. I propose to decipher P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.5 as

α / Ἀλεξᾶς Ἐριέως τοῦ Ἀφροδ(αίου) μη(τρὸς) Ταπιτύνεω(ς) διὰ Πτολ() ἡ



P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.5. © Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

The indication that the payment was made by an intermediary on Alexas' behalf was squeezed at a later point between the end of the matronymic and ἡ, the payment indication. The raised letter that realizes the abbreviated part of the intermediary's name intersects with the left curve of ἡ, while the minimal o is suspended from τ.

⁴ Introduction to BGU IX, p. vii.

The upshot of this discussion is that the two entries on Alexas in BGU IX 1891, xiii.403 and P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.5 concern one and the same taxpayer, Alexas (TM Per 197702), son of Herieus (TM Per 235747) and Tapitynis (TM Per 235749), and grandson of Aphrodisios (TM Per 235748).⁵

There may be more information to be gained about Alexas from another document that was also among the papyri purchased through the British Museum from Maurice Nahman in 1923. P.Oslo II 36 (inv. 455) was allotted to the Oslo collection following the distribution of the papyri between the partner institutions.⁶ It is a *cheirographon*-style agreement, dated 19 July 145 CE, by force of which Alexas (TM Per 252669), a former holder of the lease of a palm-grove pledges to the current leaseholder, Heron son of Dioskoros, that in fulfilment of the terms of his expired (or expiring) leasehold he would rebuild the mud-walls encircling the grove by 12 August 145 CE. The document has at least two points of interest. First, it belongs to the small private archive of Heron son of Dioskoros.⁷ Second, it presents the unusual situation of a former leaseholder being liable not towards the owner of the property but towards the successor leaseholder.⁸

In the *ed.pr.* the identifying information of the former tenant of the palm-grove has been deciphered as follows:

P.Oslo II 36.1–2 Ἀλεξᾶς Ὠρίωνος [το]ῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἀ[πὸ] | κώμης Θεαδελφείας

It would be preferable, I suggest, to decipher the patronymic of this Alexas too as Ἐριέως, see below. Physical damage has dislocated the first ε of the patronymic slightly more to the left than expected. Besides, ε tends to be at some distance when it ligatures with υ (the shape of which is similar to ρ, so compare ll. 16 and 18).⁹ The curve (left part) of the letter taken to be the second ε of has been expunged. The rest of the name, ending with an inverted c just before the large break, is clearly visible.

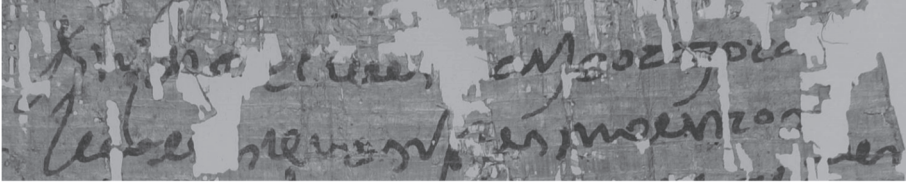
⁵ Put in a prosopographical perspective, Hermias (TM Per 308271) and Tapinouthis (TM Per 308285) must be stricken off the record, while Alexas (TM Per 247763 = TM Per 197702) and his grandfather Aphrodisios (TM Per 308276 = TM Per 235748) in the two tax-records are identifiable.

⁶ According to Bell's report, the Oslo fragment was part of lot C in packet V (V. C34). Images of the papyrus are available in: <https://ub-baser.uio.no/opes/record/257>

⁷ On this archive see W. G. Claytor, *Heron Son of Dioskoros. ArchID 685 Version 1* (2022) (www.trismegistos.org/archive/685).

⁸ On this point see P.Heid. V, p. 230, n. 31.

⁹ The comparison would not be valid if we adhere to the identification of the hands in the *ed.pr.* of P.Oslo II 36, according to which ll. 1–14 are in a different hand to that of ll. 14–16 with a third hand having added the date of ll. 16–18. It rather seems to me that the same hand is at work throughout the document. The subscription and date (ll. 14–18), which have somewhat larger and bigger interlinear spaces, have been added at a later point than the body of the agreement. Compare the form of ε (beginnings of ll. 4, 15, 16 and 17), φ (ll. 7, 9, 14, 18), ρ, the right-curving leg of which often links to the next letter, and the squarish shape of some instances of δ (l. 6 Διο-, 9 δηλ-, 15 -δν- and 17 Αδρ-).



P.Oslo II 36.1–2. © The University of Oslo Library, Papyrus collection.

The proposed new decipherment of P.Oslo II 36.1–2 is:

Ἀλεξᾶς Ἐριέως [τοῦ] Ἀφροδιείου ἀ[πὸ] | κώμ[η]ς Θεαδελφείας

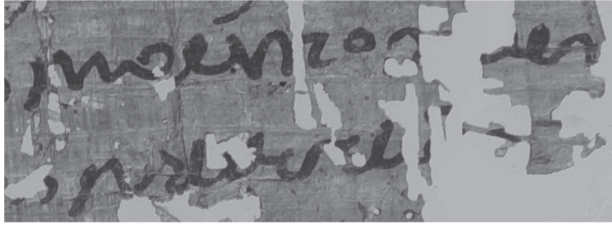
Since the information about Alexas does not include the metronymic, complete certainty about the identity of this Alexas with the taxpayer with identical patronymic and papponymic in BGU IX 1891, xiii.403 and P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.2 is impossible. However, the identity of the former tenant of the palm-grove in P.Oslo II 36 with Alexas, son of Herieus and Tapitynis in BGU IX 1891 and also in P.Col. II 1r 1b, is very likely given the temporal and geographical proximity of the documentation.¹⁰ If this is so, we may in light of P.Oslo II 36 add to the available information about Alexas also his physical description-*signalement* at l. 14 οὐλ(ή) ὄφρ(ύτι) ἀριτ(ερῶ), added by the notary at Euhemeria, Didymos.¹¹ Furthermore, since P.Oslo II 36.14 gives Alexas' age as 50 years old, his birth may be placed at ca 95/6 CE, which in turn means that he would be 38 and 39 years old respectively at the time when he paid the taxes recorded in BGU IX 1891, xiii.403 and P.Col. II 1r 1a, ii.5.

II. The owner of the palm-grove in P.Oslo II 36

The identification of the owner of the palm grove in ll. 3–4 was printed in the *ed. pr.* as follows: Παμήνιος | Ἐλένης τῆς Ἀρποκρατίωνος. A name followed by a metronym and a maternal papponym is not the expected form of identification, which raises suspicion about the reading, particularly regarding the rare name Pamenis. An examination of the image shows that instead of Παμήνιος at the end of l. 3, we should read *περὶ τὴν κώμ(ην)*, with every letter ligatured into the next and the final μ flattened into an abbreviation stroke over omega. The semi-detached fragment to the right has been digitally adjusted in the below image, showing *μσ-* at the end of l. 2 and part of what I take to be ω in the next line, curving back around as in the end of ὁμολογῶ in l. 8.

¹⁰ In prosopographical terms: Alexas TM Per 197702 = TM Per 247763 = TM Per 252669 (?). Horion (TM Per 311705) must be deleted, while Aphrodisios (TM Per 311706) = Aphrodisios (TM Per 235748).

¹¹ On the reading of l. 16 see D. Hagedorn, *Bemerkungen zu Urkunden*, ZPE 115 (1997) 223–224.



P.Oslo II 36.2–3. © The University of Oslo Library, Papyrus collection.

The owner of the Theadelphian palm grove was thus Helene daughter of Harpokration, a woman found some 20 years later as a landowning taxpayer and intermediary of another female landowner in BGU IX 1896, xii.278 and 280.

Two minor corrections to P.Oslo II 36 may also be noted here: l. 6 has Διοσκόρου (*l.* Διοσκόρου), while εικονίσθ(η) in l. 15 is abbreviated.

III. The agent in SB IV 7466

This document is a loan made by Isidora daughter of Didymos to Heron son of Dioskoros, the protagonist of the same archive to which P.Oslo II 36 belongs (TM Arch 685). In ll. 8–9, the editor's Ἰσιδώρα Διδύμου Ἄρου ἠδ'ἰώρου τοῦ Παγωνέσι requires a second look. An image provided to me by Florent Jacques of the Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne allows the following correction:

8 ... Ἰσιδώρα Διδύμου ἀπούση δι[ὰ]
9 ὤρου τοῦ Πανεσνέως ...

8 ἰσιδωρα pap.



Lines 7–8 (l. 7 included to show the descenders into l. 8). Inv.Sorb. 318
© École pratique des hautes études (Paris).



Line 9. Inv.Sorb. 318 © École pratique des hautes études (Paris).

The only issue with the reading ἀπούση is the second stroke of π, which appears to move downward at an unexpected angle (contrast the regular π of Πανεσνέως in l. 9). Nevertheless, the reading explains the appearance of another person in the next line:

the lender Isidora was out of town and acted through her agent Horos.¹² The presence of this male agent must have motivated the notary's $\pi\alpha\rho' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (instead of $\pi\alpha\rho' \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$) in l. 9. The agent also provides the solution to the end of l. 12, though only traces remains: $\tau\eta\text{'}\text{Ισιδώρα ἢ τῷ Ὀρω}$. Finally, in her later acknowledgement of receipt added at the bottom of the document (ll. 28–32), Isidora acted $\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}$ Ὀρίωνος, presumably the same man but conceivably a different agent with a similar name.

Anastasia Maravela
 Department of Philosophy, Classics,
 History of Art and Ideas
 University of Oslo
 Pb. 1020 Blindern,
 0315 Oslo, Norway
 anastasia.maravela@ifikk.uio.no

W. Graham Claytor
 Faculty of Archaeology,
 Chair of Epigraphy and Papyrology,
 University of Warsaw
 Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
 00-927 Warsaw, Poland
 w.claytor-vi@uw.edu.pl

¹² On the *cura absentis* in papyri, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri. 332 BC–640 AD*, Würzburg ²1955. Cf. e.g. PSI XII 1228.8 (188).