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Tafeln 1–25

CSABA A. LA'DA
AMPHILOCHIOS PAPATHOMAS

A New Greek Papyrus Fragment of an Account and a List of Toponyms from the Late Antique Heracleopolites*

Plate 18

In this article we continue our joint research on papyri of geographical interest at the Department for Papyri of the Austrian National Library.¹ Here, we offer the first edition of both sides of a papyrus fragment (P.Vindob. G 25372) of medium size containing part of an account on the recto and a list of Heracleopolite place names, probably also part of an account, on the verso. The physical dimensions of the papyrus are 16.7×5.5 cm. Apart from the top, the fragment is broken on all sides. Judging by the clean edges on the left and the right, this damage seems to have occurred along the folds rather than as a result of tearing. No *kollesis* is visible. On both sides of the papyrus the writing is the same way up. The colour of the fragment is light brown and the ink is medium brown. However, the pen used to write the verso was much thicker than the calamus used for the recto, leaving far thicker lines on the surface. As the texts on the recto and the verso are clearly different and were written in different styles of handwriting, we offer separate descriptions, transcriptions and commentaries on them, with the exception of the provenance and the dating, which we discuss in the following paragraphs.

The inventory journal of the Department for Papyri offers no information on the provenance, the date or the details of the acquisition of this piece. We are therefore entirely reliant on the content and the palaeography for determining the provenance and the date. The Heracleopolite provenance of this piece is suggested by the multiple toponyms from this nome in the text of the verso, which is in keeping with the

* We would like to thank Fritz Mitthof for bringing this papyrus to our attention and offering it to us for publication. We would also like to thank Bernhard Palme, Director of the Department for Papyri of the Austrian National Library, for his kind permission to publish this papyrus here, as well as the anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions.

¹ See C. A. La'da, A. Papathomas, *List of Geographical Names from the Late Antique Heracleopolite Nome*, in: A. Connor, J. H. F. Dijkstra, F. A. J. Hoogendijk (eds.), *Unending Variety. Papyrological Texts and Studies in Honour of Peter van Minnen* (Pap. Lugd. Bat. 42), Leiden 2023, 124–127, in which the first edition of P.Vindob. G 20709 with a re-edition of SPP X 94 = SB XXVI 16443 is offered.

geographical provenance of a large part of the Greek holdings of the Department for Papyri. Although Helene Loebenstein² suggested that Viennese papyri with the inventory numbers 25,025 and higher come from the Hermopolite nome, our text supplies yet another proof that this information is not necessarily correct for every single piece.

For determining the approximate date of the papyrus we can only go by the palaeography of both sides. Despite the obvious difference between the styles of handwriting of the recto and the verso, both indicate a date in the late sixth or in the first half of the seventh century. Thus, this papyrus represents another example of the appearance of quite different styles of documentary handwriting of the same time period on the two sides of the same piece. Although the ductus and the general appearance of the scripts on the two sides are different, there are similar palaeographical features that leave the possibility open that the scribes of the recto and the verso could have been identical. These common features include not only the shapes of particular individual letters such as α and φ, but also the practice of writing long vertical strokes with a left curving loop at the bottom; cf. the ρ in σιτοφόρου (recto, l. 1) and the φ in Φῶς (verso, l. 7). For further palaeographical details, we refer the reader to our descriptions of the recto and the verso.

The recto preserves a fragment of some type of an account with figures indicating artabas (yield, income or tax?) concerning various parcels of wheat-producing land at unknown geographical locations in the Heracleopolite nome. The verso preserves a list of Heracleopolite toponyms, which also seems to have been part of an account. The only line that does not contain a toponym (l. 4: ἀπ(?)]ῶ ἰδιοσπορίας) provides something of a clue for determining the practical context in which this document was written: it was apparently drawn up for agricultural purposes. The repetition of the preposition ἀπό throughout the text confirms this assumption, suggesting that we are dealing with an account of agricultural produce or income derived from these various settlements. Since we know that at Paseei there was a κτήμα mentioned probably in connection with the *domus gloriosa* of the Apions (CPR X 121.6 [543 AD]), it is possible that our document comes from the context of a large estate. Although the contents of the two sides appear at first sight to be quite different, their agricultural interest connects them and suggests the hypothesis that they were produced in the same economic context based on the exploitation of arable land. Since place names from a variety of different toparchies (according to the earlier system of territorial division) of the Heracleopolite nome are mentioned on the verso, it is tempting to assume that the text was drawn up in the capital of the nome, Herakleopolis.

P.Vindob. G 25372 Recto

The upper margin of the recto, of 2.3 cm width, has been preserved in full. The writing is along the fibres. As to the content of this fragment, the repetition of the word σιτοφόρος (probably γῆ, meaning “wheat-producing land”) strongly suggests that we

² H. Loebenstein, *Vom „Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer“ zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren*, in: P.Rain.Cent., pp. 3–39 (esp. 21).

are faced with some type of an account based on a land register. Apart from the title, the abbreviated phrase σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτῶ(ν) appears in all lines. The word αὐτῶ(ν) following σιτοφ(όρου) probably refers to the owners of the land listed in this document.

As the amount of the surviving text is rather limited and as the text is highly repetitive, only a narrow range of diagnostic letters remain. Therefore, the verso is more helpful in determining the date of the papyrus (see below). Nevertheless, a number of parallels for the style of the handwriting on the recto may be found, such as P.Amh. II 157 = Cavallo – Maehler, *GB*, no. 43a (Oxyrhynchos, 612), SB XXIV 16117 = P.Eirene I 29 (prov. unknown, 1st half of 7th cent.), SB XXIV 16121 = P.Eirene I 33 (Hermopolite nome, 1st half of 7th cent.) and P.Eirene IV 47 (Arsinoite or Heracleopolite nome, 7th cent.).

→ 1		σιτο]φόρου στ̣. [
	col. i	col. ii
2]γ'	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτῶ(ν) [
3] (ἡμισυ) κδ'	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτ̣[ῶ(ν)
4	μ]η'	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτ̣[ῶ(ν)
5	μ]η'	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτ̣[ῶ(ν)
6]	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτῶ(ν) [
7]	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτῶ(ν) [
8]θ (ἡμισυ) ιβ'	σιτοφ(όρου) αὐτῶ(ν) [

2 γ' pap. αὐτῶ pap. 3 ὁ κδ' pap. 5]'η pap. 6–8 αὐτῶ pap. 8 θ ὁ ιβ' pap.

“ ... of wheat-producing (land) ...

col. i	col. ii
... $\frac{1}{3}$	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)
... $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{24}$	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)
... $\frac{1}{48}$	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)
... $\frac{1}{48}$	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)
...	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)
...	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)
... $9 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12}$	of wheat-producing (land) of the same (individuals)”

1 σιτο]φόρου στ̣. [: The position of the first line above the *intercolumnium* and the larger size of the letters suggest that this line was the title of the text below. In addition, the blank space separating this line from the next (2 cm) is far wider than the space separating the other lines from each other (1 to 1.5 cm). The alternative word division]φόρους τ̣. [appears to be less likely to us in a title where we would probably expect the genitive case rather than the accusative. For]φόρους a number of alternatives would

be possible such as φόρους (“rents”), διαφόρους (“different, various”) etc. The adjective σιτοφόρος is very frequent in earlier documents, but it becomes less so from approximately the 3rd cent. onwards. However, it is also attested in late Byzantine Middle Egypt (e.g. P.Vat.Aphrod. 1.22; 598 AD).

Col. i

2]γ': As the oblique stroke rising above the lacuna immediately after the γ is rather long, we cannot rule out the possibility that it in fact belongs to a character lost here. If this is indeed the case, an ε is the likeliest character to have stood here, in which case the transcription and interpretation should be:]γ ε' ($3 \frac{1}{5}$). We prefer the interpretation of the traces given in the transcription above as the fraction $\frac{1}{5}$ does not occur in the subsequent lines.

3] (ἥμισυ) κδ': At the left edge of the papyrus, what appears to be a slightly damaged symbol for ἥμισυ can be seen, followed by a κ and a δ with a long horizontal stroke above all these three characters, equalling $\frac{13}{24}$ ($\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{24}$).

4 μ]η': This must be the smallest possible fraction for artabas. For the shape of the η, cf. this character in the following line.

5 μ]η': The oblique stroke above the line might suggest an ε before the η' (]ε η'), but such an interpretation of the traces would not be in accordance with the usual fractions for artabas (see Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, LXIX). It is therefore preferable to take the oblique stroke as a fraction marker even if this may seem superfluous in addition to the horizontal stroke above the numerals.

8]θ (ἥμισυ) ιβ': Given the fact that the θ is right at the edge of the lacuna, we cannot be certain what figure, if any at all, preceded it. It is followed by what appears to be a damaged symbol for ἥμισυ and ιβ with a horizontal stroke above them, signifying a fraction.

Col. ii

2 σιτοφ(όρου) ἀντῶ(ν) [: The attractive alternative reading σιτοφάκ(ου) or σιτοφάκ(ης) seems to be less likely in this list as, in addition to being extremely rare, it designates a mixed agricultural product rather than a type of land; cf. P.Oxy. XLVIII 3406.4 (4th cent.) and P.Rain.Cent. 137.2 (6th cent.).

P.Vindob. G 25372 Verso

An upper margin of 1.3 cm seems to have been preserved in full. The writing is against the fibres. The scribe writes carefully formed, upright and somewhat round letters. Just as the hand of the recto, the script clearly belongs to the end of the Byzantine era in Egypt, more specifically, to the late sixth and the first half of the seventh centuries. It shares numerous features with P.Laur. III 75 = Cavallo – Maehler, *GB*, no. 34b (Oxyrhynchos, 574; see BL VIII 165), P.Oxy. LVIII 3938 (Oxyrhynchos, 601), P.Oxy. LVIII 3946 (Oxyrhynchos, 606) and SB XVI 12492 (Hermopolite nome, 638), but our scribe writes more slowly with fewer ligatures than the writers of these palaeographical parallels. A particular feature of our scribe's handwriting is the shape of the φ written in two strokes, the vertical of which is decorated with a small wedge to the right at the top together with a larger, oval-shaped loop to the left at the bottom. This feature is

shared with the recto, which suggests that the scribes of the texts on the two sides could be identical.

As far as the content of the text is concerned, each line, with the exception of one, contains a Heracleopolite toponym. As mentioned above, ἀπ(?)]ῶ ἰδιοσπορίας in l. 4 as well as the preposition ἀπό before the place names strongly suggest that this text was an account of agricultural income derived from various different localities of the Heracleopolite nome.

In the line commentary, in the interest of a more precise localisation of settlements and in conformity with geographical reference works, we refer to toparchies in the full knowledge that by this time period toparchies no longer existed.

- ↓ 1 ἀ]πὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Καινο[ῶ
 2 ἀπ]ῶ ἐποικ(ίου) Νοστορι[άδος
 3 ἀπ]ῶ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἰατρο[ῶ
 4 ἀπ(?)]ῶ ἰδιοσπορίας [
 5 ἀ]πὸ Θμοιέφθα [
 6 ἀπ]ῶ ἐποικ(ίου) Αἰλια[νοῦ
 7 ἀ]πὸ Ὀρμου Φῶς [
 8] ἀπὸ Ὀρμου Παση[ει
 9] ἀπὸ Πρανι [
 10] ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀρμυ[ρᾶς
 11] ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ο . [
 — — — — —

2 l. Νοστοριάδος 9 Πρανι—*pap.*

1 ἀ]πὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Καινο[ῶ: On this village / hamlet, located in the old Πέραν toparchy, see TM Geo 953; M. R. Falivene, *The Heracleopolite Nome. A Catalogue of the Toponyms, with Introduction and Commentary* (American Studies in Papyrology 37), Atlanta/GA 1998, 95–97; H. Verreth, *A Survey of Toponyms in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period. Version 2.0* (Trismegistos Online Publications 2), Köln, Leuven 2013, 314 and Calderini, *Diz.geogr. Suppl.* 4 s.v. (73). Cf. SB XXVI 16442.5 (with the commentary of F. Mitthof in *Anal.Pap.* 10/11 [1998–1999] 96) and P.Vindob. G 12094+20709.3 (see fn. 1). In the geographical reference works cited above, ἐποίκιον Καινοῦ and κόμη Καινή are taken as meaning the same settlement, which does not appear to be convincing.

2 ἀπ]ῶ ἐποικ(ίου) Νοστορι[άδος: A place name starting with the letter string νοστορι- is to date unattested. Νοστορι[άδος is most probably a spelling variant of Νοστοριάδος, which is hitherto only attested in P.Vindob. G 12094+20709.10: Ἐποικ(ίου) Νοστοριάδος.

3 ἀπ]ῶ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἰατρο[ῶ: The end of the line is heavily damaged and has consequently had to be restored by Andrea Donau. After a clear ι and α, one letter has been damaged beyond recognition. This is followed by a ρ and an ο. An ἐποίκιον

Ἰατροῦ is not yet included in the geographical handbooks on Greco-Roman Egypt. However, this place name is attested in the Arsinoite (T.Varie 31.11, 13, 17 [first quarter of the 4th cent.]), the Oxyrhynchite (P.Oxy. LXIII 4372.8, 55 [341–399?]) and, more importantly, in the Heracleopolite nomes (SB XXVI 16442.6 [6th/7th cent.]).

4 ἀπ(?)ὸ ἰδιοσπορίας: The fact that in this line we have a noun (ἰδιοσπορίας), rather than a place name, suggests that the supplement ἀπ(?)ὸ is not absolutely certain even though the shape of the last letter is fully compatible with an *omicron*. The noun ἰδιοσπορία (“sowing carried out by one’s own labour”; *LSJ*⁹ s.v. 818; *WB* I s.v. 689) is rare in the papyri; in the Byzantine period only two attestations are known to date: P.NYU II 7.31 (Hermopolite nome; 4th cent.): ἐν ἰδιοσπορίᾳ [- - (ἄρουνται) n] and P.Eirene III 7.9 (Arsinoite nome; 1st half of 7th cent.):] . τῇ(ς) φροντίδο(ς) τῇ(ς) ἰδιοσπορίας (ἄρουντων) [. The fact that ἰδιοσπορία is mentioned as a specific entry may suggest that the other entries in this list concern leased-out land perhaps in the framework of a large estate.

5 ἀπὸ Θμοιέφθα: This place name, localised by Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome* (Am. Stud. Pap. 37), 84–85 in the old Πέραν toparchy, is attested with a variety of different spellings, such as Θμοῖφθα, Θμοιέφθα, Θμοινέφθα. For this toponym, see further Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* II 283, 285, 287; *Suppl.* 1, 146; *Suppl.* 3, 50; Verreth, *Survey*, 790 (U20). Our text allows the resolution of the abbreviation χ(ωρίον) Θμοιεφθ() in SPP X 202.7 (Heracleopolite nome; 7th/8th cent.) as χ(ωρίον) Θμοιέφθ(α); cf. also the much earlier P.Stras. II 111.23 (Heracleopolite nome; 215/214 BC with Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 84, fn. 3): Θμοι[έ]φθ[α].

6 ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Αἰλία[νοῦ]: On this settlement (probably located in the central part of the Heracleopolite nome: Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 44), see Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* I 1, 36; *Suppl.* 1, 13; *Suppl.* 3, 12; S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Teil 1 (A–C)* (Beihefte zum TAVO. Reihe B [Geisteswissenschaften] Nr. 41/1), Wiesbaden 1984, 98; Verreth, *Survey*, 39 (U20). This settlement is called either a χωρίον or an ἐποίκιον in the papyrological evidence. A homonymous *epoikion* is also attested in the Hermopolite nome; cf. Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 44, fn. 2.

7 ἀπὸ Ὀρμου Φῦς [: On the village/hamlet Φῦς, located in the old Μέση toparchy, cf. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* V 103; *Suppl.* 1, 248; *Suppl.* 3, 160; Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 251–253; Verreth, *Survey*, 584. The geographical dictionaries do not mention a harbour of or near this village, but see the early Roman BGU XVI 2669.1–3 (Heracleopolite nome; c. 21 BC – AD 5): ἀνα[γ]ρα(φή) σκευῶν ἀρνπω() | ἐν τῇ ἐ[v] τῷ ὄρμου οἰκ(ίᾳ) | ἐπὶ τῷ Φῦς (translated by the editor as: “List of furnishings ... in the house in the harbor in the (village of) Phys”).

8 ἀπὸ Ὀρμου Παση[ε]: On this village, see Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* IV 59; *Suppl.* 1, 220; *Suppl.* 2, 153; *Suppl.* 3, 120; J. Diethart, *Corrigenda und Addenda zu Wiener Papyri*, ZPE 76 (1989) 107–114 (esp. 107); Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 157; Verreth, *Survey*, 523. Against Παστοφόρων, the only other place name starting with the letter string πασ- and attested in the Heracleopolite nome (Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* IV 61–62; Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 158; Verreth, *Survey*, 524), argue the fact that it is far less frequently attested, and only in the Hellenistic period, and, most decisively, also

that the surviving traces at the edge of the lacuna are not compatible with a τ. The present passage seems to be the first mention of a harbour at this village.

9 ἀπὸ Πραῖ: On this village, probably situated in the central part of the Heracleopolite nome, see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit I–VI*, Wiesbaden 1984–1992, esp. IV (1988) 2012–2013; Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 184–185; Calderini, *Diz.geogr. Suppl.* 3, 130; Verreth, *Survey*, 622. Our text offers to date the third attestation of this place name, the previous two being CPR IV 2.12 (7th/8th cent.): χω(ρίον)³ Πραῖ and SPP X 72.13 with P.Tebt. II, p. 420 and Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* IV 2012–2013, fn. 1 (Heracleopolite nome; 8th cent.): χ(ωρίον) Πραῖ. As in our papyrus, in SPP X 72, too, Πραῖ and Ἀλμυράς are listed next to each other. The empty space after Πραῖ is filled by a short horizontal space-filler line.

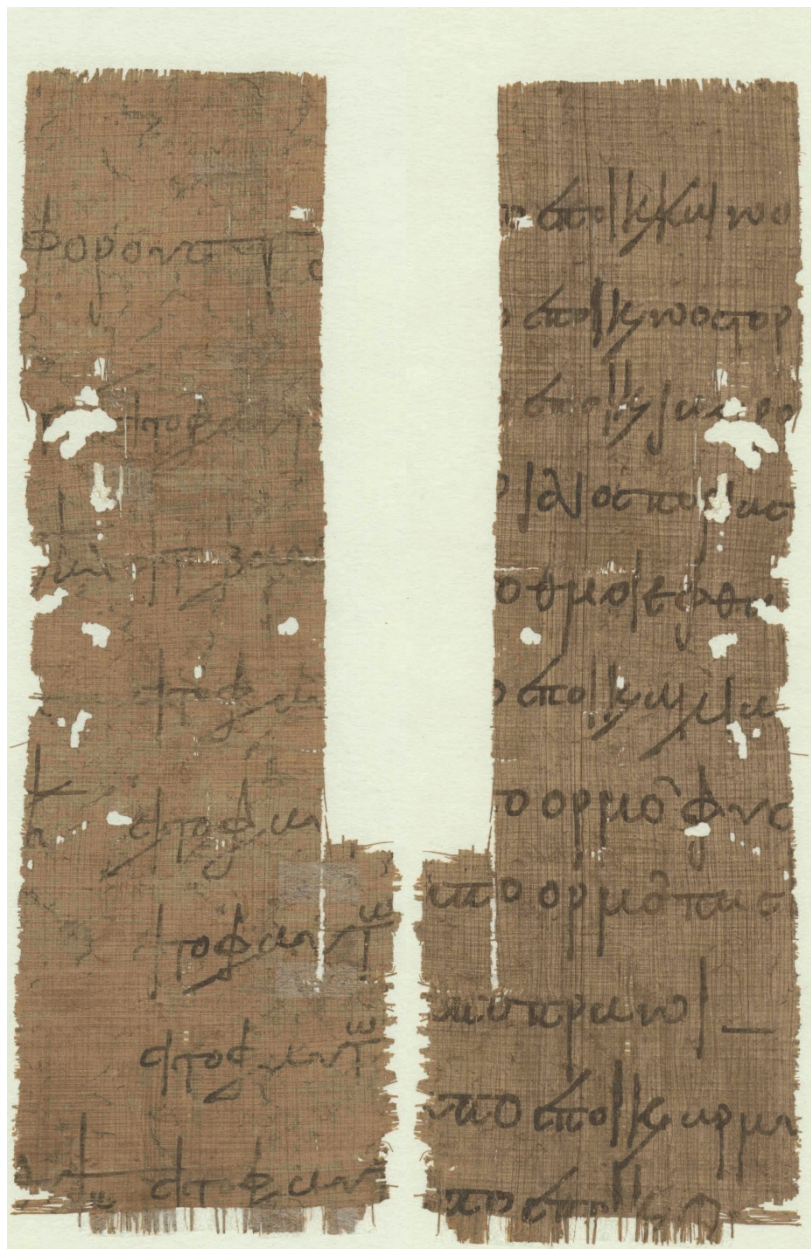
10 ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀρμυρᾶς: Ἀρμυρά is a spelling variant of the more common Ἀλμυρά. On this village, see TM Geo 734; Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 47; Verreth, *Survey*, 250; Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* I 2, 4 (2–3); 214; 427; *Suppl.* 3, 15 (2–3); *Suppl.* 4, 14 (2); *Suppl.* 5, 14 (2); K. Wessely, *Topographie des Faijûm (Arsinoites Nomus) in griechischer Zeit*, in: *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 50, Wien 1904, 34; P.Tebt. II, pp. 357, 366, 369, 413; Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* III, 1074; cf. also F. Morelli, *Ἡ χωρία in a dell'Arsinoite*, ZPE 149 (2004) 125–137 (esp. 133); C. Kreuzsaler, SPP III², p. 182. For the spelling variant Ἀρμυρᾶς, cf. P.Lond. III 901.5 (p. 23; late 1st/early 2nd cent.) and BGU III 790.5 with BL I 67 (198–199). It is noteworthy that in our text from the late Byzantine period Armyra is called an *epoikion* just like its Arsinoite namesake.

11 ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Ο . [: For Heracleopolite settlements the names of which begin with an o, see Falivene, *Herakleopolite Nome*, 148–154. For this period, the statistically most likely place names seem to be Ὀγου, Ὀννή, Ὀνώσις, Ὀξύρυγχος and Ὀστρακίνου.

Csaba A. La'da
Department of Classical and Archaeological Studies
University of Kent
Cornwallis North West
Canterbury, CT2 7NF, UK
c.lada@kent.ac.uk

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

³ In his transcription of this papyrus, the first editor places a thick dot above the χ, which seems to suggest an *omicron* (?). In the original, however, we read a tiny *omega* in this position, which is to be transcribed as χω(ρίον). We should further note here that this frequent abbreviation should probably be resolved as χω(ρίον) everywhere in this text; in some cases the tiny *omega* is clear to see (e.g. l. 11: χω(ρίον) Ποιμεν[-]), in others it is written very cursorily.



P.Vindob. G 25372 Recto + Verso
(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung)

zu C. A. La'da, A. Papathomas, S. 175 + 177