

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Roxanne B é l a n g e r S a r r a z i n — Jitse H. F. D i j k s t r a — Nicholas H e d l e y — Sabrina C. H i g g i n s: New Greek Inscriptions from Philae (Taf. 1–7).....	1
Lajos B e r k e s: Two Greek Tax-Receipts with Hijri Dates from the 730s (Taf. 8–10).....	13
Dan D e a c, Dan E l e f t e r e s c u: A Lead Tag Inscribed in Greek from <i>Durostorum</i> (Moesia Inferior) (Taf. 11).....	19
Christopher D e g e l m a n n: Schwätzer oder Hexer? Ein Ostrakon gegen Leagros Glaukonos (Kerameikos O 5847).....	25
Anna D o l g a n o v — Fritz M i t t h o f — Hannah M. C o t t o n — Avner E c k e r: Forgery and Fiscal Fraud in Iudaea and Arabia on the Eve of the Bar Kokhba Revolt: Memorandum and Minutes of a Trial before a Roman Official (P.Cotton) (Taf. 12–16).....	37
Anne K o l b — Michael A. S p e i d e l: Ein Vermessungsingenieur der 22. Legion in <i>Aquae Helveticae</i> (Taf. 17).....	167
Csaba A. L a ' d a — Amphilochios P a p a t h o m a s: A New Greek Papyrus Fragment of an Account and a List of Toponyms from the Late Antique Herakleopolites (Taf. 18).....	173
Leah L a z a r: New readings in a Hellenistic Athenian honorific decree from Priene (<i>I.Priene</i> 45 = <i>I.Priene B-M</i> 99 = <i>IG</i> II/III ³ 1, 1239) (Taf. 19–20)	181
Jack W. G. S c h r o p p: Eine neue fragmentarische Grabinschrift aus Mustis mit <i>signum</i> und <i>carmen</i> (Taf. 21).....	191
Mirko T a s s o: Ein bislang übersehener jambischer Senar aus Mauretania Tingitana.....	197
Thomas A. W a y m e n t: Two Lists of Personal Items from Oxyrhynchus (Taf. 22).....	201
Ekkehard W e b e r: Apocolocyntosis. Mit einem „botanischen“ zweiten Teil von Monika K i e h n.....	207
Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXXVI (<Korr. Tyche> 1113–1141)	221
Adnotationes epigraphicae XIV (<Adn. Tyche> 124–127) (Taf. 23–25)	249

Tafeln 1–25

BEMERKUNGEN ZU PAPYRI XXXVI

<Korr. Tyche>

1113.–1124. Notes, new readings and corrections to papyri from the archive of Dioskoros of Aphrodite*

In this paper, I present several corrections, new readings, and ideas for published papyri from the archive of Dioskoros from the village of Aphrodite. These revisions include significant changes that either complement or modify the existing corrections in the Berichtigungsliste. The changes are based on high-quality images, which are readily accessible online through the links provided on *papyri.info*.

1113. P.Cair.Masp. I 67026

The document is a draft or a copy of an imperial rescript preserved in two not entirely identical copies concerning inheritance. The ancient scribe occasionally denotes the final nu as a superscript curved line, which is represented in the edition by a suspended horizontal stroke, see e. g. line 3 $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\bar{\omega} = \pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega(v)$. However, it seems that the editor overlooked this detail in line 22. Despite the faded ink, the sign on the papyrus is still discernible: $\mu\epsilon\tau' \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta \rightarrow \mu\epsilon\tau' \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\bar{=}\mu\epsilon\tau' \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta(v)$.

Line 3:



Line 22:



1114. P.Cair.Masp. I 67116

An acknowledgement of debt (εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ... πιττάκιον) by Victor son of Apollos. The security clause in line 2 begins with a peculiar infinitive construction, 'ἐτοίμως ἔχειν', which is governed by an implied 'ὁμολογῶ'. The sequence continues with other infinitives. Although Maspero employed square brackets to indicate partially preserved or dubious letters, one can still observe the well-preserved traces of $\sigma\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu$, where the *editio princeps* had $\sigma[\pi]\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho[\epsilon]\iota\nu\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu$:



* The paper was prepared within the framework of the project 'Law in social networks of late antique Aphrodite' (OPUS Grant no. 2019/35/B/HS3/02301) headed by Maria Nowak, and funded by the National Science Centre of Poland. Many thanks are due to Jean-Luc Fournet and Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello for their valuable feedback on the draft.

1115. P.Cair.Masp. II 67170

In this lease agreement concerning a piece of land, my main objective will be to determine a more accurate date, in addition to introducing a minor correction. As a general remark, it is worth noting that the left margin of the papyrus displays faint traces of a line of text written perpendicularly to the main body, starting to the left of line 12. It appears to begin with a cross:



I suspect that this may be a type of subscription starting with ‘δὲ ἐμ[οῦ]’. However, closer inspection is required due to the lack of clarity in the image.

line 2: εἰ[κοστο(ῶ) τρίτο(υ) (?)] → εἰκ[οστοῦ]. It appears that nothing else would fit the gap after the restoration of εἰκοστοῦ as there is a lack of ink traces after the lacuna and insufficient space remaining until the edge to accommodate any additional (even short) numerals.



This restoration also affects the interpretation of the indiction in the following line.

line 3: Φαρμο(ῶ)θι κ[α τρισκαιδε]κάτηζ´ → Φαρμοῦθι κ[. ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) δε]κάτηζ´.

In his commentary, the editor points out that not even the abbreviated form of the term ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) would fit in the gap. However, I contend that it is possible to fit the abbreviated three-letter form of indiction (ἰνδ) by changing the ordinal number to ‘tenth’ (δεκάτης). The day of the month could fall anywhere between 20–29 Pharmouthi, essentially at the end of the indiction cycle in the Thebaid (commencing in the following month of Pachon).¹ Consequently, the date on which the document was written would fall between 15–24 April 561² or 562.³

In his discussion on the date of the document (s. n. 124), F. Reiter argues that another papyrus, P.Cair.Masp. II 67171, which involves a similar transaction between the same parties, has been erroneously regarded as a duplicate of 67170. The latter is dated to the 13th indiction and the 23rd year of the post-consulate of Fl. Basileios. Reiter

¹ R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden, Boston 2004, 30.

² According to the table in *CSBE*² (s. n. 1), 151.

³ According to the ‘Neuer Stil’, which has sparked some controversy, see E. Stein, *Post-consular et AYTOKPATOPIA*, Mélanges Bidez (1934) 869–912; F. Reiter, *Datierungen nach dem Postkonsulat des Basilius in Papyrusdokumenten*, ZPE 145 (2003) 231–245; N. Gonis, Stein’s “Style Nouveau” and the Post-Consulates of Iustinus II and Tiberius II, ZPE 154 (2005) 211–213.

notes that the presence of a regnal year at the beginning of 67171, which is absent in 67170, serves as evidence against the idea of a duplicate.⁴

line 21: ἐλαῖῳσι → ἐλαῶσι. This is in fact a common by-form of ἐλαίων.⁵ The papyrus does not have an iota judging by the digital image:



1116. P.Cair.Masp. III 67298

In this contract of *emphyteusis*, the main change to be considered is the restoration of an appropriate infinitive in line 23. The current reading is not well supported by the evidence for commitment clauses.

ὁμολογεῖ τὸ δίκαιο[ν] τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλη[ησ]ί[ας] τῆς Τεντυριτῶν πόλεως] ... [ἀποστρέψαι] πάντ[α] ἄ[ν]θρ[ω]π[ον] ἐπελευσόμενον [αὐτῷ] ἢ τῷ κτήματι τούτου χάριν → [ἀποτρέψαι] or [ἀποσοβῆσαι] or [ἀποστήσαι] πάντ[α] ἄ[ν]θρ[ω]π[ον] ἐπελευσόμενον [αὐτῷ] ἢ τῷ κτήματι τούτου χάριν. It appears that the original edition's restoration is solely based on the occurrence of this clause with ἀποστρέψαι in P.Cair.Masp I 67097, 54, which might have been a notarial error since the suitable verb is ἀποτρέπειν ('prevent, deter') and not ἀποστρέφειν ('return, cause to return'). This is evident from the numerous instances of ἀποτρέψαι, ἀποτρέψω *et sim.* in clauses where one party undertakes the commitment to safeguard the other party's rights.⁶ Additionally, there are other verbs that could also be applicable in this context.

1117. P.Cair.Masp. III 67299

This is yet another *emphyteusis* contract authored by the same scribe as the above 67298. Here, I present a few notes and corrections.

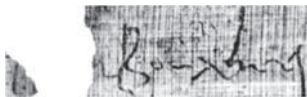
line 6: πρὸς τῷ δύννα[σθα]ι → πρὸς τὸ (corr. ex τῷ) δηνα[σθα]ι (*l.* δύνασθαι). As already noted by Maspero, a correction of the article has taken place. The scribe (presumably), while reviewing his text, covered the omega with a concave stroke to resemble a round omicron. The ink used for the inserted curved line is darker compared to the surrounding letters, suggesting a subsequent revision of the text. For an image, see below the comment on line 54, where a similar type of correction is observed.

⁴ The alternative dating possibilities proposed in the article are based on the premise of supplementing various numerals in the lacuna. However, as has been shown, numbers higher than εἰκοστού are improbable within the available space.

⁵ See Mayser, *Gram.* I 1, *Einleitung und Lautlehre*, ed. by H. Schmoll, Berlin ²1970, 85; and Gignac, *Gram.*, vol. I, *Phonology*, Milan 1976, 196.

⁶ See e.g., P.Cair.Masp. II 67167.58–59: πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐπελευσόμενον κατὰ σο[φί] | τούτο(ν) ἔνεκεν ἀποσοβῆσαι καὶ ἀποτρέψαι ἀφ' ὧν αἰ ποτε; P.Cair.Masp. II 67169.35: ἀποσοβῆσαι καὶ ἀποτρέψαι ἀπ' ὧν σο(ῦ); P.Mich. XIII 664.29–30: καὶ τὸν | ἐπελευσόμενον εἰς σε τοῦ λοιποῦ περὶ τούτου ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀποτρέψω ἀπὸ σου; SB XVIII 13320.80: καὶ τῶν (*l.* τὸν) ἐπελευσόμε(νον) εἰς ὧν τοῦ λοιποῦ περὶ τούτο (*l.* τούτου) ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἀποτρέψω.

line 28: κ[υρί]α βουλήσει → ἰ[δί]α βουλήσει. The expression ἰδία βουλήσει is closer in meaning to αὐθαιρέτω βουλήσει, the standard expression. Earlier parallels include: P.Oxy. LIV 3756.15 (325) κατὰ τὴν ἰδ[ί]αν βούλησιν; P.Oxy XX 2267.11 (360) ἰδία ἔαντοῦ βουλήσι (*l.* βουλήσει). Similarities can also be observed with other terms: P.Köln. VII 323.4 (7th–8th cent.) ἰ[δ]ί[α] μο]υ πί[σ]τει καὶ βεβαιώσει. Regarding the initial letter, the visible traces indicate an iota as the most probable option, given that the low hook visible is wider than a regular small hook of a kappa (if present at all).



line 54: <τὰ> πρ[ο]δ[ι]ο]μολογηθέντα → τ[ὰ] διομολογηθέντα. Maspero's προ finds no justification on the papyrus; the first letter is a clear tau. Accordingly, the supplementation of the article is not necessary.



ὄνασθαι → ὄνασθαι (corr. ex ὄνασθαι). In a fashion similar to τω in line 6, the scribe or a reviewer placed a hat on top of the omega and corrected it to an omicron. Unlike the correction in line 6, this went unnoticed by Maspero. Compare the two instances:

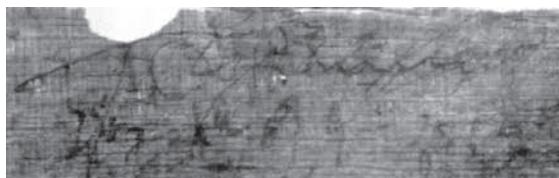
line 6:



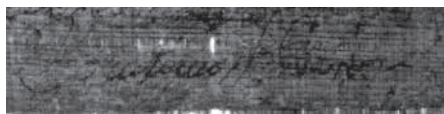
line 54:



On the verso, aside from the tachygraphic signs (mentioned by Maspero), there are words and names that remained untranscribed. In the series of lines starting with a cross-sign (witness subscriptions written in tachygraphic signs?), after the last preserved cross towards the bottom left, one reads the name Φοιβάμμων:



and then, in the following line towards the bottom right, once again:



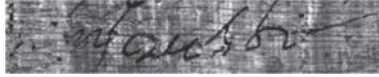
1. † Φοιβάμμων *traces*. . . . [. .] . . . σ ἀπο . α αι
2. Φοιβάμμων σχολαστι[κός].

The letter traces indicate the presence of more words, but the present state of the image makes them almost impossible to restore.

1118. P.Flor. III 285

In this contract of lease of an oil press, the following corrections are proposed:

line 7: ὁμολογῶ ἐκὼν καὶ ἀμετάσμενος → ὁμολογῶ ἐκὼν καὶ πεπεισμένος. For this standard clause, cf., e.g., P.Cair. Masp. III 67301.10 or CPR VII 40. 8.



σὺν [ὑ]περῶα → perhaps σὺν [ὑ]περῶ (l. ὑπερῶφ) α, i.e. one. The alpha seems to stand out without being an integral part of the word.

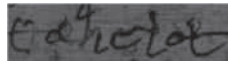


The term for the upper floor/chamber is ὑπερῶφον, cf., e.g., P.Bingen. 130 (*passim*), from the same archive.⁷ It is unlikely that the author had ὑπερῶα = palate in mind or ὑπερῶα in the plural. The specification of the number of the ὑπερῶφον would constitute an unicum, though a hint to more ὑπερῶα within one structure could be a reference to ‘all the upper-floor areas’ in P.Fay. 95.11–12 (2nd cent.): [σὺν] | τοῖς οὖσι ὑπερῶσι (l. ὑπερῶσις) τόπο[ις] πᾶσι.

1119. P.Hamb. I 23

In this lease of a vineyard several improvements to the text are possible:

line 8: The mother’s name should be changed to Θαησίας instead of Θαήσιος (this correction is credited to J.-L. Fournet).



line 21: The description of the island can be restored as follows: ἐῖν τῇ κάτω π. . . . νήσῳ πόλεως Ἀντινόου → ἐῖν τῇ καταγτικρῇ νήσῳ πόλεως Ἀντινόου (as proposed by J.-L. Fournet).⁸ This means that the vineyard was located on an island directly opposite the city of Antinoe. In P.Oxy. LXIII 4352. Fr. 5 ii, verse 14 perhaps alludes to its existence: δῶρον δ’ Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ πόλι[ς], Νεῖλοι[ο] δὲ νῆ[σος].⁹ The first to recognize this possibility was J. Rea, the editor, who in his commentary to line 14 discusses the identification of the island, as well as the technical term νήσος (alluvial pocket) in the

⁷ For a description of this house area, see G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d’après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983, 284–285.

⁸ Email from 31. 03. 2022.

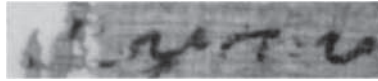
⁹ ‘Hadrian’s gift was the city, while Nile’s was the island.’

Nilotic context, citing a relatively modern map reprinted by M. Drew-Bear in her *Le nome Hermopolite*, after pl. 6. On this map, one can find the island of Sheiba (modern Jazīrat Shaybah) adjacent to the wider Antinoopolitan area, opposite the modern town of Qalandul. Moreover, the subsequent verse 15 ἡ μὲν ἑρῖσταφυλος γλυκερῶι παρ[ὰ] γείτο[νι κείτῃ],¹⁰ corresponds well with the reference to viticulture on that island in P.Hamb. I 23 (an ἀμπελικὸν χωρίον is the subject of lease) and its proximity (παρὰ γείτονι) to Antinoopolis, presumably.¹¹

Concerning the shape of the letters, the left loop of the alpha and traces of the curved nu (occasionally appearing throughout the text)¹² followed by τι can be seen on the papyrus. Only a few ink traces have survived from the remaining letters.



line 23–24: ἀρδεῦσαι τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦ | γεωργοῦ πωμαρ[ίου] → ἀρδεῦσαι τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦ | αὐτοῦ πωμαρ[ίου]. One can discern the circular traces of the alpha's loop in αὐτοῦ. The passage refers to the πωμάριον mentioned in line 18.



line 26: [το]ν (l. τὸ) ἐκέϊσε [λ]αχάνιον → [τῇ]ν ἐκέϊσε [λ]αχανιάγ. The *hapax legomenon* λαχάνιον was added as a lemma to LSJ citing this papyrus. It is, however, easier to account for the nu in the article by reading the much more common feminine noun τὴν λαχανιάν (= vegetable garden).

line 27: ὑφορθ[ῶ]σαι (BL III 75; ὑφορθ[] . . . ed. pr.) → ὑφορθ[ο]ῦν (l. ὑπορθοῦν; ὑφορθ pap.). The form ὑπορθοῦν is preferable to ὑφορθῶσαι due to the faint traces of what appears to be a raised upsilon above the lost omicron, followed by traces of a nu. For the sequence of infinitives in lines 26–27 of this document, cf. P.Mich. XIII 666. 17 and 21: καὶ σκάπτειν καὶ κληταδομεῖν (l. κλαδοτομεῖν) καὶ ὑπορθοῦν / τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ ὑπορθοῦν.

¹⁰ 'The latter lies, rich in grapes, adjacent to its sweet neighbour.'

¹¹ A different interpretation is given by E. Ligrea, *Poema epico-storico attribuito a Soterico di Oasi*, ZPE 138 (2002) 20–21, who argues that the word island is a symbolic reference to Hermopolis, and specifically to its mythological appellation as the 'Island of the Flames'. The Hermopolis argument was subsequently supported by D. G. Piccardi, *Antinoos, Antinoupolis e Diocleziano* ('P. Oxy.' 4352 fr. 5 II), ZPE 139 (2002) 57–58. As we see, the anonymous poet employs a chiasmus: 1. Hadrian's city – 2. Nile's island | 2. the one, rich in grapes lying next to its neighbour – 1. the other, a well-selected flower from the Achaean land (ἡ δὲ λελεγμένον ἄνθος Ἀχαιῶδες ἐστὶ). It appears that the two creations complement each other and form an integral area, the wider Antinoopolitan region. Consequently, in the absence of evidence for other known islands in the area and in conjunction with the Hamburg papyrus, which is not a poetic composition carrying symbolisms, I shall side with J. Rea's tentative identification of the island with Jazīrat Shaybah.

¹² See, e.g., the final nu in ἐφεστώτων in line 10.

line 36: νόμων βοηθείας [ύ]περειδομ[έ]νοι<ς> → νόμων βοηθεία ἐπερειδόμ[ε]νοι (l. ἐπερειδομένοις). The initial epsilon of ἐπερειδομένοι was mistaken for a sigma in a ligature with the preceding alpha. A similar expression can be found in SB XVI 12692. 27 (339 CE): θεῖω τοίνυν καὶ προσκυνητῷ νόμῳ ἐπεριδόμενος (l. ἐπερειδόμενος) τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰώνιων Αὐγούστῳ(ν).

1120. P.Hamb. IV 265

In line 1 of this *misthosis*, a reference to a previous sale is being made:]αναμι . εἰησπρα[→ [κατὰ or πρὸς τὴν δ]ύναμιν τῆς πρά[σεως. Cf. BGU II 371. 16–17: κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς γεγεννημένης σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ πράσεως; P.Münch. I 7. 40: μέρος οἰκίας πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πράσεως αὐτοῦ.



1121. P.Lond. V 1694

A papyrus containing a lease of land, the text of which was greatly improved by Florence Lemaire in the draft of her unfinished doctoral dissertation *Les baux ruraux à Aphrodité au VI^e siècle de notre ère: les contrats de location et les reçus de loyer des archives de Dioscore*, vol. II – Éditions.¹³ Here, I reconsider certain readings.

line 14: τῆς δὲ σπερμολίας <τοῦ.....> παρὰ σοῦ διδόναι (l. διδομένης) → τῆς δὲ σπερμολίας παρὰ σοῦ διδόναι (l. διδομένης). There is no need to supply anything additional. The intention is clear: the seeds shall be provided by ‘you’, the addressee, cf. e.g., P.Ross.Georg. III 44.6 (6th cent.) σοῦ διδομένου τὴν σπερμ[ο]βολίαν; P.Heid. V 351.10 (534–535, partly reconstructed) [τῆς δὲ σπερμολίας διδομένης παρ' ἐμοῦ.

line 14–15: καὶ λαμβάνεις ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ | ἀνίει → καὶ λαμβάνεις ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ | ἄγγει (l. ἄγγείου; ἀγ' γ pap.). A shared container is meant (ἄγγειον), where the crop was to be stored. The two processes of seed providing (σπερμολίας παρὰ σοῦ διδομένης) and receiving parts of the common produce in return (λαμβάνεις ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἄγγείου) suggests a co-ownership of the crops.¹⁴ An earlier example illustrates the same situation involving a shared threshing floor, see P.Sakaon. 67.7–9 (321): τῆς τῶν | [σπερ]μᾶτων προχρίας (l. προχρείας) παρεχομένων (l. παρεχομένης) ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κτήτορος | [.] . | . | ἀπὸ κοινῆς ἀλωνίας ἐν πρώτοις.¹⁵ For such joint ventures, compare ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ πίθου in P.Stras. V 486.15 (504–505) and SB XX 14416.13 (6th cent.) or ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ γλεύκου in P.Hamb. I 23.32 (569), indicating the use of a common *pithos* containing must under fermentation. It has been suggested that these *pithoi* were

¹³ I owe gratitude to J.-L. Fournet for sharing this work.

¹⁴ On sharecropping, in general, see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, München 1958, 204–213.

¹⁵ Cf. also P.Sakaon 70. 12–13 (338): τὰ δὲ ἐσπέρματα (l. σπέρματα) [καὶ] τὰ ἐκφόρια βασιτάζωμαι (l. βαστάζωμαι) | πάντα ἀπὸ κοινῆς ἄλω.

permanent installations inside the winery and not movable vessels.¹⁶ In our text, the process seems analogous, yet it is surprising that the author decided to specify the container as an ἀγγεῖον. Could such a container store all the crops? In all other instances of seeds being shared a more generic or elliptical expression is employed, e.g. P.Hamb. I 68. 22–23: καὶ τὴν ταύτης δώσωμεν | ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σπερμαβολίαν; P.Flor. III 282.18–19: διδόνα[ι] | τὴν σπερμοβολίαν ἐκ τῆς κοινότη[τος]. Here, both ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ and ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος are merely periphrastic expressions to denote common shares, that is equal shares/participation, for which cf. SB XIV 11855.26–27: τῆς δὲ σπερμοβολίας | ἐξ ἴσου διδομέν[ης].

line 29: . . . βαις [Ἀπο]λλῶτ[ο]ς → Φοιβ Ἀπ[ο]λλῶτ[ο]ς. There is a scribal correction involved in the first letter of the name, which overshadows the phi. However, it is plausible that the round loop belongs to the top of the phi.



In the text, the name of one of the parties appears in three forms: in a Hellenized version Ἰβεις (l. Ἰβις), an Coptic Egyptian Φοιβ (essentially ΦΙΒ, but in a partly Hellenizing version with an omicron), and then — if the restoration on the verso is correct — in a hybrid Greco-Egyptian form Φίβειος (l. Φίβιος).

line 30: Ἀ[ὐ]ρή[λιος Φοιβ]βάμμω[ν] → [ϣ ἐγρά]φη [δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀβρα]αμίου Ἀπ[ο]λλ(ῶτος)

For his subscription, cf. e.g. P.Lond. V 1701.14 (=Not.Byz. Aphrod. 1.1.12).



verso: (hand 4). μ[ισ]θ[ωτι]κ/ [- -] Ἰβ[α]ις Ἀπολλῶτος . . . : Although the ink traces are confusing and not very generous, the text probably runs as follows: μίσθ[ωσις] Μαθίου Πόννιτος καὶ Φιβείου (l. Φιβίου) Ἀπόλλωτος (l. Ἀπόλλωτος) κλήρ(ου) Ἰερ[άδος].

1122. P.Lond. V 1715

In lines 14–15 of this lease of a house in Antinoopolis, the edition originally had παραδώσω σοι τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν σὺν ταῖς ἐφεστώσαις θύραις δυσὶ χωρὶς θυρίδων ('I shall deliver the said house together with its installed two doors, apart from the windows'), which was subsequently corrected to χωρὶς κλειδῶν by G. Husson, *OIKIA*, 103–104 = BL VIII 192. Upon closer examination of the digital image, the first letter after χωρὶς is in fact a theta. For the sequence of doors and windows, cf. BGU IV 1116,

¹⁶ D. Dzierbicka, *Wineries and their elements in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, JJP 35 (2005) 69–70.

15–16: παρελληφότα τὴν οἰκίαν τεθυρωμένην καὶ τεθυριδωμένην (‘furnished with doors and windows’).



1123. P.Michael. 45

In this sale of a pasturage, I have suggested several changes:

lines 3–4: ποιμένες κ[αὶ] |. [. . .] . . . [. . .] ἐς ὑπογρ[ά]φοντες ed., ποιμένες κ[αὶ] ἄγρο|φ[ύλα]κ(ες) Marthot → ποιμένες κ[αὶ] ἄγρο|φ[ύλα]κ(ες) β[ρ]αδ[έ]ως ὑπογρ[ά]φοντες.¹⁷ The restoration of the word ἄγρο|φ[ύλα]κ(ες) has been correctly put forth by I. Marthot, *Un village égyptien et sa campagne: étude de la microtoponymie du territoire d'Aphrodité (VI^e – VIII^e s.)* [unpubl. diss. EPHE 2013], vol. III, 45. Other ‘slow-writers’ in the Aphroditan dossier include:

the priest Joseph (Ἰωσηφίου πρεσβυτέρου) in P.Cair.Masp. III 67297.4 (535);

Besarion son of Mousaios from Salacha in P.Cair.Masp. III 67306.3 (515);¹⁸

the farmer Ioannes in P.Flor. III 283 (536);

the soldier Flavius Samuel (Σαμουηλίου) in P.Vat.Aphrod. 14.7 (524) and P.Michael. 43.3 (526).

the unnamed woman, daughter of Isidoros and Antonia, in P.Var.Aphrod. 14.4–5.

In our text, the dual function exercised by shepherds, i.e., both as shepherds and field guards, is a well-documented phenomenon in Aphrodite. In P.Cair.Masp. I 67001 (514 CE), we observe an attempt to consolidate an already existent tradition of this dual function in the village by putting it in a written document that would seemingly guarantee the shepherd’s abstinence from misbehaviour.¹⁹

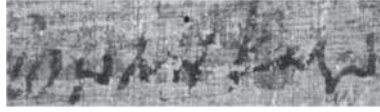
line 7: ὠνηγικῶν → ὠνητικῶν: In the commentary on line 22 of P.Panop. 21,²⁰ which contains the term ὠνητικῶ δικαίῳ, after citing the second known attestation of the term ὠνητικός in P.Herm. 18.16 (323?), the editor suggests the possibility of another occurrence in P.Michael. 45.7 (= BL VII 106). It can be confidently affirmed that ὠνητικῶν is indeed what is written on the papyrus. The letter in question is evidently a tau, connected to the eta through a superfluous stroke that follows the eta’s corpus in a typical manner. Subsequently, the concave horizontal stroke of the tau descends, and then the pen ascends to form an iota (or the iota is formed with a secondary stroke that passes over the right tip of the tau). The likelihood of it being a nu instead of a tau is low due to the different shape of the character in this specific text.

¹⁷ On ‘slow writers’ see H. Youtie, *Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy*, GRBS 12, 2 (1971) 239–261.

¹⁸ This is Besarion 2 in Ruffini’s *Prosopography* (G. R. Ruffini, *A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodito*, Durham 2011).

¹⁹ On the topic, see J. Keenan, *Village Shepherds and Social Tension in Byzantine Egypt*, YCS 28 (1985) 254–258, as well as the chapter on Aphrodite, in J. Keenan, *Pastoralism in Roman Egypt*, BASP 26 (1989) 186–198.

²⁰ L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn, H. C. Youtie, *Urkunden aus Panopolis III*, ZPE 10 (1973) 107.



lines 9–10: ὦν[. . .] | ρ[. . .] . . . ίου → ὦν[ητικοῦ] | γρα[μμά]τίου, cf. P.Herm. 18. 16–17 (323?): ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ὀνητικοῖς γραμμα[τείοις, προνοουμένον] τοῦ ὄνουμένου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας (*l.* ἀσφαλείας).

line 17: διηνεκῇ → διενεκῇ (*l.* διηνεκῇ) on the papyrus.

line 19: π[αρελθόντα(?)] | εἰς ἡμᾶς → π[ερίελθόντα] | εἰς ἡμᾶς. The phrase is well-attested by many other documents in the context of inheritance.²¹

lines 21–22: By correctly aligning the two parts of the text in lines 21–23, the following picture emerges:



ἐν[ό]ντι [- - -] | [- - -] πρὸς τὰ παλαιὰ → ἐν[ό]ντι | δ[ικαί]ω πρὸς τὰ παλαιὰ. Although there seems to be some space remaining to the right of ἐνόντι, based on the pattern observed in other lines, the scribe likely halted there and continued the clause in the following line. The presence of a delta at the beginning of line 22 is supported by comparing the shape of a delta followed by an iota, as seen in line 27 διὰ; cf. also P.Lond. V 1691 σὺν παντὶ τῷ ἔνοντι δικαίω | πρὸς τὰ γονικά σου δικαιώματα.²²



lines 22–23: πο . . . κατὰ μηδὲν ἡμῖν [| ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπολείπει σ[. . .]] → πρὸς τῷ (*l.* τὸ) κατὰ μηδὲν ἡμῖν | ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπολείπε[σθα]ι. Presumably, after ἡμῖν the text resumes directly in the next line as no further additions are anticipated at the end of line 22 other than what is mentioned in the following line.

In summary, the text in lines 21–23 can be reconstructed as follows: σὺν παντὶ τῷ ἐν[ό]ντι | δ[ικαί]ω πρὸς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχ[αί]α ὅρια πρὸς τῷ (*l.* τὸ) κατὰ μηδὲν ἡμῖν | ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπολείπε[σθα]ι.

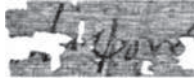
This clause bears resemblance to the non-limitation of rights clauses found in other papyri, such as CPR VII 46. 13–15 (6th cent.): παντὶ τῷ τούτου δικαίω πρὸς τὸ (*l.* τὸ) | ὡς εἴρηται μη[δὲ ἐν] δίκαιον ἢ νόμιμον ὑπολείπεσθαί μοι | ἐν τούτῳ τὸ παράπαν; PSI I 66.4–5: πάντων χρυστηρίων (*l.* χρηστηρίων) καὶ δικαίων, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὑπολείπεσθαί

²¹ e.g. BGU XII 2156.8 (483): περιελθὼν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ ἐγγράφου διαιρέσεως; P.Bodl. I 45. 7 (ca. 610): περιελθόντα εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γονέων κληρονομίας.

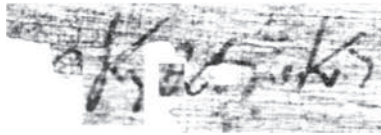
²² The clause may also appear with the preposition μετά: SB VI 9293.12 (573): με]τὰ π[α]ντὸς ἐ[ν]ό]ντος δικαίου.

ἡμᾶς; SB I 5112.31–33 (618): ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲ ἐν μέρος ἢ δίκαιον | ὑπολείπεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμποσίου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων | τῶν κο[ινω]νιμαίων τόπων ὡς εἴρηται [π]ε[ρι]ελθὼν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ διαδοχῆς; SB I 5114.11–12 (630–640): καὶ ὁμολογῶ τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲ ἐν [μέρος ἢ δίκαιον] | ὑπολίπεισθαι (l. ὑπολείπεσθαι) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγίου μοναστηρίου.

line 27: . . . αφους → ἐδάφους: already considered by the editor but not restored. The vertical stroke of the delta is certainly there:



lines 28–29: ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀπηλιωτικῷ [ἀνέμῳ] | [. . .] . . . ἐπόκου Ἄμα Μαρίας (with reference to a possible but doubtful ἐποίκιον according to the editor) → ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀπηλιωτικῷ [τόπος] [τῆς ἀγ]ί[ας] κ[αὶ] Θεοτόκου Ἄμα Μαρίας; the first adjective ἀγίας is expected due to the καὶ conjunction. Together with its article τῆς it fills the space adequately. The part following ἀγίας is sufficient to accommodate a typical ligature of καὶ and the left portion of the theta. Here is a tentative restoration based on the scribe's letters:



The exclusion of a repetition of ἀνέμῳ is necessary as the sentence requires a noun (denoting real property),²³ to which Ama Maria would refer to. The shortest word that can be supplied is τόπος. As a matter of fact a topos of Ama Maria is attested in Aphrodite in the 8th-century account P.Lond. IV 1419.535 (716–717): τ[ό]που/ Ἄμα Μαρίας. It should be noted, however, that Aphrodite also had a church of Ama Maria, for which see P.Cair.Masp. III 67283 II 6 (547): Καλλίνικο[ς] πρεσ[β] (ύτερος) ἐλεεινὸς τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας (l. ἐκκλησίας) ἄμα Μαρίας κώμης Ἀφρ[ο]δίτης (l. Ἀφροδίτης), and the aforementioned P.Lond. IV 1419.533 [δ(ιὰ) ἐκκλ(ησίας) Ἀγί(ας) Μαρί(ας) τ(ῇ)(ς) κώμ(η)(ς)]. The word ἐκκλησία is longer than τόπος, hence the latter appears to be the more suitable option.²⁴

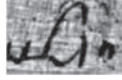
line 31: πρασεσι (l. πράσει) τῇ καὶ προβεβαία ἀπανταχοῦ → πρασεσι (l. πράσει) τῇ καὶ {πρα}βεβαία ἀπανταχοῦ: I am inclined to see an alpha there instead of an omicron, which could better explain the perplexity if taken as a scribal error influenced by the

²³ For the omission, cf. PSI V 456.12–13 (279–282): ἐν μὲν τῷ λι[βικῷ] μέρει c.10]τα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀπηλιωτικῷ καινὰ οἰκοδομήματα.

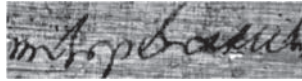
²⁴ I have primarily consulted I. Marthot, *Un village égyptien*, vol. II, 146 (not widely available). A general overview can be found in L. Antonini, *Le chiese cristiane nell'Egitto dal IV al IX secolo secondo i documenti dei papiri greci*, Aegyptus 20 fasc. 3 (1940) 193–194; also listed by R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, Routledge 2002, 299, as Ama Maria/Theotokou. See also, S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 6 vols., Wiesbaden, 1984–1992, 6: 2804.

preceding word πράσσει (*l.* πράσει), i.e., the scribe initially wrote τῇ καὶ πρα without reviewing his error. For the clause, see, e.g. P.Michael. 42b.16–17 ὑποθηκιμαία (*l.* ὑποθηκιμαία) συγγραφῇ τῇ | καὶ βεβαία μενούσα (*l.* μενούση) πανταχοῦ προφερομένη.

line 33: οἱ ἐὰν ὧσι ο[ι] γείτονες → οἱ ἐὰν ὧσιν γείτονες. The nu at the end of ὧσιν was mistakenly for the omicron of the alleged article.

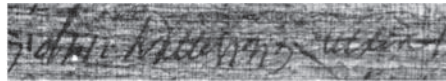


line 35: ὑπεγορέσαμεν (*l.* ὑπηγορεύσαμεν) → ὑπεγορεύσαμεν (*l.* ὑπηγορεύσαμεν). There is an upsilon forming a ligature with the preceding epsilon.



line 41–42: [ἐφ' ᾧ] | ἐντεῦθεν σε etc. → [πρὸς τὸ] | ἐντεῦθεν σε etc.: Although the editor considered πρὸς τὸ in his commentary, he preferred to use [ἐφ' ᾧ] instead, presenting πρὸς τὸ as an alternative along with ὥστε. However, it should be noted that all the known examples with this clause use πρὸς τό, cf., e.g., P.Mich. XIII 664.20 (Aphrodite, 584–595/599–600): ἐφ' ᾧ τιμῇ καὶ πεπεισμένη πρὸς τὸ ἐντεῦθεν σε; P.Lond. V 1722.35 (Syene, 530): πρὸς τὸ ἐντεῦθεν σε τὸν ὠνούμενον; and two much earlier occurrences, P.Lond. III 877.30 (Antinoopolis, 330) πρὸς τὸ ἐντεῦθεν κρατεῖν [σε etc.]; P.Kell. I 48. 6–7 (Kellis, 355): πρὸς τὸ | ἐντεῦθεν σε ἔχειν τὴν ἐλευ[θερί]α.

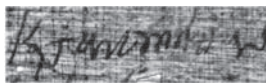
line 54: ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν ἀναλώματι καὶ δαπ[ανή]ματι → ἰδίῳις ἡμῶν ἀναλώμασι καὶ δαπ[ανή]μασι.]



line 55: βεβαιώσι (*l.* βεβαιώσει) → βεβαιώσει.



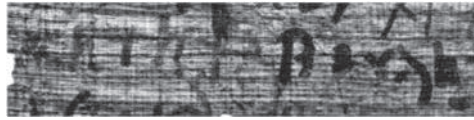
line 61: καὶ συνηθῶν μαρτύρων → καὶ τῶν συνήθων μαρτύρων: the article τῶν was omitted in the edition.



line 62: πᾶσι ταῦθ' οὔτως ἔχειν → πᾶσι ταῦθ' οὔτω<ς> ἔχειν: the adverb lacks a sigma ending on the papyrus. The omega of τῶ is directly connected with the epsilon of ἔχειν.



line 74: καὶ τῇ καβουλῇ (*l. καταβολῇ*) → κη τη ταβουλη (*l. καὶ τῇ καταβολῇ*), i.e. in the mind of the subscribing witness κατὰ was probably conflated with καὶ τῇ creating a truncated form ταβουλη.



1124. P.Vat.Aphrod. 3 A+C

Fr. C, line 3: ἐν τῇ ἀπηλιω]τικῇ πεδιά(δι) τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Ἀφροδίτης . . . (the edition proposed to read ἐν κ[λήρω etc.) → ἐν τῇ λι]βικῇ πεδιάτι (*l. πεδιάδι*) τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Ἀφροδίτης κλή[ρου: The traces of a low stroke (almost at the baseline) connected to the iota indicating the possibility of another letter instead of tau. In my opinion, these are the traces of a u-shaped beta.



Regarding κλή[ρου, here is a snippet:



If so, the name of the missing *kleros* might be Tchioutos, where Phoibammon, son of Triadelphos, had leased land from the monastery of Apa Sourous, see P.Mich. XIII 667 ἐν τῇ λιβικῇ πεδι[άδι] τῆς (αὐτῆς) κώμ(ης) κλήρου Τχιούτος.²⁵

Constantinos BALAMOSHEV

1125.–1130. Notes on the population of early second-century CE Theadelphia

The rich documentation part of or associated with the administrative archive of Theadelphia (TM Arch 247) gives us a valuable insight into the population of this village in the second century CE.²⁶ Since the publication of its core texts in the early twentieth century, the part of the archive dealing with the cultivators of public and private land has been extended by new publications, commented upon, and clarified by means of new readings.²⁷ However, the earlier texts, which list payments for the poll tax and the *merismoι*, are also interesting for the prosopography and social history of

²⁵ The *kleros* is also listed in I. Marthot, *Un village égyptien*, vol. II 35, 382, 429; vol. III 33.

²⁶ For this archive, see J. France, *Theadelphia and Euhemereia. Village History in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Trismegistos Online Publications Special Series 2), Leuven 1999, 143–153.

²⁷ For an overview of texts for the *pittakia* of public cultivators and related texts, see BGU XXII, p. 1–3. See also B. Borrelli, *Ancora sui pittakia di Theadelphia*, *Aegyptus* 99 (2019) 61–66.

the village. These consist principally of P.Col. II 1 1a (TM 10444), 1b (TM 10445), 2 (TM 10446), and 3 (TM 10447), as well as BGU IX 1891 (TM 9461) and 1892 (TM 9462). Kortenbeutel, the editor of BGU IX, already noted that many people occurring in the BGU texts can be identified with individuals in those of P.Col. II, and that readings of the latter could be improved or corrected based on the new texts.²⁸ The reverse also turns out to be true.

Based on the identification of individuals, some corrections have been proposed over the years, but many others can be made.²⁹ In several cases, Kortenbeutel's apparatus refers to the occurrence of individuals in the P.Col. II texts, sometimes but not always indicating variant readings. However, no attempt was made to harmonize these differences. In the course of work for volume VIIa of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, focusing on Lower Egypt and the Fayum, the texts have been compared in a systematic way, resulting in the corrections presented below. *LGPN* is not only an onomastic project, but aims to provide prosopographical identifications as well, especially for the protagonists of archives, people with unusual names, and individuals for whom family members other than the father are known. Not all the identifications are reproduced in this contribution, which focusses solely on new readings, and only on those that result in substantial changes (excluding, e.g., the resolution of abbreviations). Identifications have been made directly in the *Trismegistos People* platform, and the *Trismegistos* Per id following the corrections below can be used to consult all the attestations of the same individual.³⁰ The corrections were made using images available online.³¹

A general prosopography of Theadelphia in the second century CE remains to be produced, but it is hoped that the new readings proposed here will make a further contribution to this long-term goal.

1125. BGU IX 1891 (TM 9461)

- Col. 2, 35: Ταστ . . . () → Ταστωοῦ(τος) (TM Per 235592)
- Col. 2, 61: Ταρνεῖτ(ος) → Ταουήτ(ιος) (TM Per 236005)
- Col. 5, 146: Ταπονθ() → Ταποντῶ(τος) (TM Per 235913)
- Col. 6, 162: Ταπετεζ() → Ταπετερ(μούθεως) (TM Per 235830)
- Col. 7, 201: Ταρνεω() → Ταρνώ(φρεως) (TM Per 236487)
- Col. 9, 266: Σεγτω() → Σεγθ() (TM Per 397770)
- Col. 9, 278: Πάπου → Πανο(μείως) (TM Per 308823)
- Col. 10, 315: Ταωσξω() → Ταμύσθ(ας) (TM Per 235507)

²⁸ P. VII.

²⁹ For previous corrections, see the *Berichtigungsliste* and the commentary to texts published in P.Col. V, BGU XXII, and P.Cair.Gad.

³⁰ By searching for "TM Per #" in www.trismegistos.org/ref/.

³¹ BGU IX 1891: berlpap.smb.museum/03232/; BGU IX 1892: berlpap.smb.museum/03233/; P.Col. II 1 1a and 1b: papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;2;1%2Cr%2C1a/images; P.Col. II 1 2 and 3: papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;2;1%2Cr%2C2/images.

- Col. 11, 335: Θεμίου → Θεναμ(ούνεως) (TM Per 235563)³²
 Col. 11, 342: Ταορσενο(ύφεως) → Ταόρσεω(ς) (TM Per 235581)
 Col. 11, 352: Άβου → Άκοῦ (TM Per 309089)³³
 Col. 14, 430: Ταμ . . . () → Ταμύσθ(ας) (TM Per 235507)
 Col. 18, 529: Ταονεῖ(τος) → Ταουήτ(ιος) (TM Per 236005)

1126. BGU IX 1892 (TM 9462)

- Col. 1, l. 6: το() → [Τα]οννώ(φρεως) (TM Per 236487)

1127. P.Col. II 1 ro 1a (TM 10444)

- Col. 2, 5: Έρμίου → Έριέως (TM Per 235747)
 Col. 2, 5: Ταπιγούτεω(ς) → Ταπιγύνεω(ς) (TM Per 235749)
 Col. 4, 11: Τεξῆτο(ς) → Τεξενο(ύφεως) (TM Per 236053)
 Col. 4, 19: Έρακλ() → Πρωτ(α) (TM Per 197787)
 Col. 4, 25: Ταπουθ() → Ταποντῶ(τος) (TM Per 235913)³⁴
 Col. 4, 27: Πεκύσ(εως) → Πεθέως (TM Per 235815)
 Col. 5, 3: Έδονέως → Έσονέως (TM Per 236308)
 Col. 5, 19: [. . .]μεθ() → [Τα]μύσθ(ης) (TM Per 235977)
 Col. 5, 20: Έρακλᾶς → Έραίδο(ς) (TM Per 236100)
 Col. 5, 22: αρς → Σαρμασίας (TM Per 236281)
 Col. 5, 25: Τα . . . φ . . . → Τεφοράτος (TM Per 236637)
 Col. 5, 26: Π[. .] . . . → Έ[ρ]ακλ(ᾶ) (TM Per 235989)
 Col. 5, 26: Πτο[.] . ο . [.]αρεγμ() → Πτο[λ]λοῦτ(ος) (TM Per 235991)³⁵
 Col. 5, 27: Ηρ . . . [.] . . . → Έρῶτ[ος] . . . (TM Per 236012)
 Col. 5, 30: Ε . . . θ() → Έσονέω(ς) (TM Per 236214)
 Col. 5, 33: → Θ[ε]ναπύμ(ιος) (TM Per 236015)
 Col. 6, 11: Ταπεύτ(ιος) → Ταπετερ(μούθεως) (TM Per 235830)
 Col. 6, 12: Θεωσ() → Θεναπ(ύγχεως) (TM Per 235591)
 Col. 6, 28: Τανεῦτο(ς) → Τανενέ(ως) (TM Per 236385)
 Col. 7, 7: Ταπενευτ() → Ταπενευή(ριος) (TM Per 308410)
 Col. 7, 12: Θαώ(σεως) → Θαή(σεως) (TM Per 236477)
 Col. 7, 14: Καης → Καήτις (TM Per 197956)³⁶

³² The name Θεμίων is thus to be considered a ghostname.

³³ Kappa and beta look very similar in this period, but in P.Col. II 1 ro 3 (TM 10447), col. 7, 3, the letter is most probably a kappa, and the name Hakes is more common.

³⁴ Ταπουθ() is a (now obsolete) correction found in P.Col. V, p. 131. The original reading in P.Col. II was τῆς αὐτῆς.

³⁵ Some additional signs precede the amount paid that are clearly not part of the matronymic, but like the editors, I do not know how to make sense of them.

³⁶ The name Κα(η)ς is most probably a ghostname. The sole attestation outside of the four purported mentions in BGU IX and P.Col. II is to be found in SB XXVIII 16937 (TM 133476), 6, where the reading is Καή[ς]τος, but it may be better to interpret the corrected form as a genitive of Καήτις, as do the editors of O.Petrie Mus. 348 (TM 75508; there line 8).

Col. 7, 20: Τα [. .]θ() → Ταγ[εσ]ν(έως) (TM Per 236165)

Col. 7, 25: Πετερ() → Πετεσούχ(ου) (TM Per 235705)

1128. P.Col. II 1 ro 1b (TM 10445)

Col. 3, 4: Καηης → Καήτις (TM Per 197956)

Col. 3, 6: Τετυτο() → Τεσeno(ύφεως) (TM Per 236016)

Col. 3, 7: Ὡρωνο(ς) → Νέωνο(ς) (TM Per 236290)

Col. 3, 7: Ὡρωνο(ς) → Νέωνο(ς) (TM Per 236291)

Col. 3, 13: Ἑρμωνο(ς) → Ἑριέως (TM Per 236503)

Col. 3, 14: Τανεσνέως → Πανεσνέως (TM Per 309690)

Col. 3, 14: .σηρωτ() → Ἑσσηρέως (TM Per 309692)

Col. 3, 16: [Π]ετρεμμουθ() → [Π]ετεσούχ(ου) (TM Per 235705)

Col. 3, 19: Κεφαλᾶτ(ος) → Κεφάλωνο(ς) (TM Per 236137)³⁷

Col. 3, 19: Τορῶτ(ος) → Τορεῦτ(ος) (TM Per 236139)³⁸

Col. 3, 22: Ταρσευθ() → Μάρωνο(ς) (TM Per 236351)

Col. 3, 23: Τεε[ῦ]το(ς) → Τεσ[ε]νο(ύφεως) (TM per 236053)

Col. 3, 26: Β[] → [Ῥ]ορσ[ε]νο(ύφεως) (TM Per 236330)³⁹

Col. 3, 30: . . . ηο() → [Δε]ίνο[υ] (TM Per 236432)

Col. 3, 31: . . . [. .] → Βελλή[ς] (TM Per 198028)

Col. 3, 31: [.]τοίτος → Χόίτος (TM Per 236435)

Col. 4, 3: Ταποντῶ(τος) → Ταπεθέω(ς) (TM Per 236304)

Col. 5, 2: Θενάτυμ(ιος) → Θεναμ(σύνεως) (TM Per 235563)

Col. 5, 8: Φομμωτο() → Φομμῶτ(ος) (TM Per 236277)

Col. 5, 13: Πετοψ() → Πετσί(ρεως) (TM Per 236188)

Col. 5, 18: Πετοῦτ(ος) → Τεταυτ() (TM Per 235595)

Col. 5, 21: Θενασ() → Θεναπ(ύγγεως) (TM Per 308620)

Col. 5, 23: Θενος(ίρεως) → Θεναπ(ύγγεως) (TM Per 236691)

Col. 5, 26: Τεφορᾶτ(ος) → Τεφορσ(άιτος) (TM Per 236504)

Col. 5, 30: Θα[ώ]σεως → Θα[ή]σεως (TM Per 236477)

Col. 6, 7: Ἑσοή(ρεως) → Ἑσον(έως) (TM Per 235657)

Col. 6, 8: Θευτοσίας(?) → Θεγτουάπι(ος) (TM Per 236735)

Col. 6, 27: Καηη[ς -ca.?-] → Καητ[ις] (TM Per 248044)

1129. P.Col. II 1 ro 2 (TM 10446)

Col. 2, 28: Πε[. .]ρεως → Πε[τσί]ρεως (TM Per 235579)

Col. 3, 23: [. .]μα → [Δη]μᾶ (TM Per 236719)

Col. 3, 23: [. . .]ριδος → [Σωτη]ρίδος (TM Per 236721)

³⁷ For the identification of the people in BGU and P.Col. II, see already P.Stras. IX, p. 44.

³⁸ For now, the name Τόπος is to be considered a ghostname in Egypt, as this was the only attestation. For the name Toros elsewhere (with a different genitive than the one supposed here), see O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* vol. I, Paris 1990, 371.

³⁹ Or another abbreviation of the name Orsenouphis; except for the rho, all letters are lost.

- Col. 5, 7: . . τε . . . → Πετερέως (TM Per 236004)
 Col. 5, 7: Τα → Ταυήτεως? (TM Per 236005)
 Col. 6, 1: . . ορσεως → Ταορσεως (TM Per 236190)
 Col. 7, 7: Ταα . . ωσεως → Τααγχώσεως (TM Per 236001)
 Col. 8, 10: Χα . . [. .]ωνος → Χα[ιρημ]ωνος (TM Per 235641)

1130. P.Col. II 1 ro 3 (TM 10447)

- Col. 4, 13: Τανενσέω(ς) → Ταπέτεω(ς) (TM Per 235663)
 Col. 4, 24: []αξέω . . → Έλένης (TM Per 235959)
 Col. 5, 23: Δ . . [. .] → Ζωίδος (TM Per 235676)
 Col. 5, 25: . . ψ[] . . → Άμψά(τος) (TM Per 235587)⁴⁰
 Col. 5, 25: [-ca.?-] . . μουμ() → [Σ]αμβούτ(ος) (TM Per 235588)
 Col. 6, 2: Θεοπ → Θεογείτων (TM Per 197615)
 Col. 6, 4: Θ . . . ω() → Θεμ(ίσωνος) (TM Per 235662)
 Col. 6, 10: Διοσκ() → Διον(υσίου) (TM Per 235887)
 Col. 7, 1: []ψουτ() → [Τε]φορσ(άτος) (TM Per 235553)
 Col. 7, 15: . . ησμ . . . → Θάήσεως (TM Per 236477)
 Col. 8, 3: Κάντις → Καήτις (TM Per 197956)⁴¹
 Col. 8, 6: Καηης → Καήτις (TM Per 197869)
 Col. 8, 12: Άνυς → Άντει() (TM Per 235568)
 Col. 9, 16: Τασνεούτ(ος) → Ταστωούτ(ος) (TM Per 235592)
 Col. 9, 23: Διοσκ() → Διον(υσίου) (TM Per 235887)
 Col. 9, 23: [. .] τος → [Τ]αώτος (TM Per 235888)
 Col. 10, 3: . . . ιεθε [-ca.?-] → [Τ]απεθέ[ω(ς)?] (TM Per 236304)
 Col. 10, 17: [. .] . . . → Τε[φο]ρσ(άτος)? (TM Per 236637)

1131.–1134. Ptolemaic beer revenues: ζυτηρά versus ζυτικά and
 a Herakleopolite debt register

The Ptolemaic bureaucracy took a keen interest in the beer industry. State involvement, often erroneously described as a ‘state monopoly’, mostly consisted of the lease of the village beer revenues, derived from taxation and the sale of state barley.⁴² The usual term for these contracts is ζυτηρά, attested at least 70 times. However, a few texts refer to ζυτικά. In Ptolemaic and Roman papyri, tax names in -ηρά and -ικά referring to the same tax base could often be used interchangeably, and the same has been suggested for the pair ζυτηρά-ζυτικά.⁴³

⁴⁰ [μητ(ρὸς)] is in the lacuna between Άμψά(τος) and [Σ]αμβούτ(ος).

⁴¹ Κάντις is another ghostname for Καήτις, like Κα(η)ης discussed above. The only attestation is in the line re-read here.

⁴² N. Dogaer, *Beer for the Gods and Coin for the Priests: Temple Involvement in the Hellenistic Egyptian Beer Industry*, *Ancient Society* 51 (2021) 81–100, at 83–88.

⁴³ E.g. in P.Oslo II, p. 60.

In the case of the Ptolemaic beer industry, however, ζυτικά appears to have had a more specific meaning. Both secure attestations originate from the Oxyrhynchite nome, and one would assume at first sight that ζυτικά was simply the Oxyrhynchite ζυτηρά.⁴⁴ However, the latter term was used in the region as well.⁴⁵ Both ζυτικά texts stem from a military environment, and both deal with debts, one in cash, the other in cash and emmer (*olyra*). The ζυτηρά, on the other hand, was paid in cash only. Perhaps the ζυτικά was related to the supply of beer to the army, which may have been the responsibility of one of the soldiers.⁴⁶ The emmer was then destined for transport expenses, such as the feeding of donkeys.

These considerations necessitate the re-reading or re-interpretation of three texts related to the ζυτικά:

1131. P.Gurob 4 (TM 5867)

The first text concerns the transport of barley for the σιτάρια καὶ ζυ(τικά) of the village Samareia. However, all other texts related to state supply of barley refer to the ζυτηρά, the usual term employed in the Ptolemaic administration.⁴⁷ We should thus resolve ζυ(τηρά) in l. 6 of this papyrus too. Σιτάρια usually refers to a quantity of grain, and it is unclear what ‘the *sitaria* of Samareia’ entails, but it was in any case not unusual for ζυτηρά barley to be administered together with grain for other purposes.⁴⁸

1132. P.Rain.Cent. 49 (TM 4438)

The second document deals with the apparent maltreatment and unlawful arrest of a brewer, one of the farmers of the [...] κῶν τῆς κόμης, resolved by the editor as [ζυτι]κῶν (l. 2).⁴⁹ However, if my interpretation of the latter as charge related to the beer supply of the army is correct, ζυτικαὶ ‘of the village’ would not make much sense. In fact, later in the letter, the usual term ζυτηρά is used to refer to the loss of beer revenues, and the lacuna moreover seems a bit short to accommodate ζυτι.⁵⁰ As indicated by the editor,

⁴⁴ P.Hib. II 264 (TM 5220), 2 and P.Sorb. I 10 (TM 3125), 10. The editor of the latter hesitates between the Arsinoite and the Oxyrhynchite nome as provenance of the document. F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin / Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 3), Berlin 1968, 290, n. 2 adduces additional arguments in favor of an Oxyrhynchite provenance, but also does not exclude the Herakleopolite nome, where the papyrus was found.

⁴⁵ E.g. BGU X 1917 (TM 4976), 3.

⁴⁶ As suggested by the editor of P.Sorb. I 10 (TM 3125). For supply of beer to soldiers, see P.Alex. 1 (TM 77937), 6 and P.Alex. p. 19 no. 417 descr. (TM 77927), 18–19.

⁴⁷ P.Hib. II 212 (TM 8286), 21–22, 36–37, 41 and 43; P.Köln VI 259 (TM 2484), 2–3; P.Lille I 3 (TM 3210), 49–53; P.Sorb. I 18 (TM 3133), 3–5.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., P.Sorb. I 18 (TM 3133).

⁴⁹ Followed by D. Kaltsas, *Διορθωτικά*, ZPE 171 (2009) 186–192, at 190.

⁵⁰ digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DOD_%2BZ120247702. Compare ζυτοποιόν on line 2 and ζυτη[ρ]ᾶν on line 5. On the other hand, it should be stressed that the reassembly of

the brewer may have been the farmer of a different tax, like the brewer Mithres of P.Heid. VI 379 (TM 3076), who farmed a village-level tax on fulling.

1133. SB XXVI 16634 (TM 44533)

This list of dues by cavalrymen includes 30 artabas of wheat for ζυ[τηρ]ᾱς.⁵¹ Here too, the lacuna is rather short, and the ζυτηρά was normally paid in cash.⁵² If we accept the hypothesis of a separate army contract, we could perhaps read ζύ[το]υς and connect it with the supply of beer for the army in the context of ζυτικά.

1134. P.Hels. I 26 (TM 5161)

Debts for the ζυτηρά are also recorded in P.Hels. I 26, a Herakleopolite register dating to 162 BCE. Some sections of part A of this text concern arrears for the beer revenues of several toparchies. The first toparchy is the Koites (l. 9–11), where in l. 10, the editor tentatively reads οἶ(ν)ος τέλος or ‘wine tax’. However, the taxation of wine was organized in a different way through a separate administration.⁵³ Moreover, from the structure of the document we would rather expect the name of a Koite village, as pointed out by the editor himself. I propose to read Ταλέους instead, an attestation of the village Talae (TM Geo 2233), located in the Koite toparchy.⁵⁴ The taxation of the beer industry of this locality is well-known for the third century BCE, thanks to the archive of Taembes.⁵⁵

The inclusion of arrears for τιμὴ κριθῆς in l. 17 is not strange, as stated by the editor, but should be associated with the ζυτηρά as well, rather than with tax receipts issued by banks in the Thebaid. The entry represents arrears for the price of barley purchased by the brewers from state reserves. From an unpublished receipt, we know that the brewers had to pay the purchase price to the state: one of its clauses states *iw=y di.t sw n it* (‘I will give the price of the barley’).⁵⁶ It is clear, then, that lines 9–18 deal with

the fragments by the editor is on the conservative side, see the remark of Kaltsas, *Διορθωτικά* (o. Anm. 49), at 191.

⁵¹ Line 23. For the sums in the entire section referring to wheat, see line 21.

⁵² Image consulted in the print publication.

⁵³ W. Clarysse, K. Vandorpe, *The Ptolemaic Apomoiria*, in: H. Melaerts (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^e siècle avant notre ère* (Studia Hellenistica 34), Leuven 1998, 5–42.

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Marja Vierros for providing me with a higher resolution image of the papyrus. On the village, see M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome: A Catalogue of the Toponyms with Introduction and Commentary* (American Studies in Papyrology 37), Atlanta 1998, 207–208. For other attestations of the same form, see BGU XIV 2435 (TM 4031), 25; P.Hib. I 36 (TM 8188), 3; and P.Hib. I 37 (TM 7818), 4.

⁵⁵ TM Arch 371. See W. Clarysse, *The Archive of Taembes, a Female Brewer in the Heracleopolite Nome*, *Ancient Society* 37 (2007) 89–95 and M. G. Elmaghrabi, *Three Receipts for Beer Tax from Hibeh*, *ZPE* 186 (2013) 237–243.

⁵⁶ P.Vind.Barb.Dem.inv. 13, now housed in the Museo del Papiro in Siracusa (information from Willy Clarysse).

arrears for the ζυτηρά, which is also suggested by the totals. The only remaining problem is a small amount for α() in l. 16. This is probably a 1% surcharge,⁵⁷ or perhaps the ἀ(ρχικόν), associated with the ζυτηρά in P.Mich. XVIII 778 (TM 8772), 17 as a small proportion of the total amount of the lease. The latter is linked to one particular contract, however, and its nature wholly unclear.

1135.–1136. Cash and cannabis: corrections to some Ptolemaic textile texts

1135. O.Lips. 829 = Festschrift Junge pp. 393–394 no. 9 (TM 91826)

One of the more common types of receipt from the second-century BCE Thebaid records payments by linen weavers for a charge known as ἰστέων λινυφαντικῶν, usually attested in abbreviated form. The abbreviation has been read and resolved in various ways, but Borrelli in a recent article firmly established the correct reading.⁵⁸ To her list of Greek examples should be added a bilingual ostrakon from the Leipzig University collection (no. 829), published by Kaplony-Heckel in the *Festschrift* for Friedrich Junge.⁵⁹ The name of the impost on line 5 is read there as (διακοσιοστῆς) λινύ(), which should be corrected into ἰσ(τέων) λινυ(φαντικῶν). A comparison of the Greek and the Demotic material suggests that the charge is best understood as a cash substitution for a missed delivery of textiles to the state rather than as a craft tax or a tax on looms.⁶⁰

1136. P.Yale I 38 (TM 6207)

The Ptolemaic state not only levied craft taxes in cash from those involved in the textile industry, but also demanded quota of finished pieces. The papyrus P.Yale I 38 appears to be related to this aspect. In line 3 of the very fragmentary piece, the editors suggest to read εἰς φόρετρο[...] ὄν' κ[αν] γά[βεως], i.e., a reference to the transport of hemp fibres (κάνναβις). The involvement of a fuller does seem to suggest that the commodity being transported consisted of or was related to textiles. But there are problems with that material being hemp. Although the plant was certainly known to several Greek authors, the first secure attestation in Greek papyri dates to the fourth century CE, whereas Demotic does not seem to have had a word for the plant nor its fibers at all.⁶¹ Due to its association with ropes, sacks, etc., the term στιππύον is sometimes translated as hemp,

⁵⁷ Various surcharges for the ζυτηρά are discussed in UPZ I 112 (TM 3504), col. 5, 19–21.

⁵⁸ B. Borrelli, *Stoffe, telai, tessitori e tasse: correzioni a papiri e ostraca*, *Aegyptus* 98 (2018) 161–172, at 164–167.

⁵⁹ U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Neun neue Leineweber-Quittungen*, in: G. Moers, H. Behlmer, K. Demuß, K. Widmaier (eds.), *Jn.t dr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*, vol. 2, Göttingen 2006, 383–400, at 393–394, no. 9 (TM 91826).

⁶⁰ N. Dogaer, *Industry, Trade and the State in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Cambridge forthcoming, following R. Bogaert, *Les opérations des banques ptolémaïques*, *Ancient Society* 29 (1998–1999) 49–145, at 71–72.

⁶¹ P.Charite 15 (TM 15575), 33–34.

but it clearly refers to flax tow.⁶² As for earlier periods, some pharaonic-era hemp textiles have been excavated, but overall the plant does not appear to have played a major role prior to the Arab conquest.⁶³

Moreover, the involvement of a fuller is an argument against hemp. The treatments of fullers are more suited to and usually associated with animal fibers rather than vegetal fibers.⁶⁴ The Ptolemaic state's interest in woollen textiles is amply documented: in addition to various linen, byssos and tow items, weavers also had to supply woollen articles.⁶⁵ The collaboration between officials and linen boilers to treat the linen pieces delivered is well-known, and it would make sense for the state to work with designated fullers as well.⁶⁶ Deliveries by wool weavers usually concern *συρία*, 'Syrian garments', probably a kind of thick cloak destined for the army.

If we accept the identification of the traces by the editor, we could consider the reconstruction *κ[αυ]γά[κης]*, which refers to a garment similar to those Syrian cloaks.⁶⁷ However, the [...]νης on the next line then implies that the order would be given for a single garment, which hardly seems credible. Moreover, there are problems with the reading of κ and ν. In fact, it is possible to read *εἰς φόρετῶ* in its entirety before the deletion, in which case the commodity being transported starts with the ο above the line. A possible reading would be *ὀλ[ύ]ρῶ[ς]*, and emmer is indeed part of the transport (l. 8).⁶⁸ Of course, this does not change the involvement of the fuller,⁶⁹ and in addition to the *olyra*, eighty units or articles of a commodity lost in another lacuna are to be transported (l. 9). Instead of *[δέ(σµας) καὶ]*, we could reconstruct an abbreviated form of *συρία*, the only woollen garment known to have been supplied to the state, but this is only a hypothesis. The option *[ισ(τοὺς) καὶ]*, the usual term for 'pieces' of textile, is excluded based on the gender.⁷⁰ In any case, the reading *κ[αυ]γά[βεως]* in line 3, and with it the only Ptolemaic attestation of hemp, is clearly to be rejected.

Nico DOGAER

⁶² P.Iand.Zen., p. 77–79. See especially P.Mich. I 120 (TM 2018), 3; P.Cair Zen. IV 59779 (TM 1404), 1–3 and 59782 b (TM 1407), col. 1, 5, 6, 7 and 10.

⁶³ P. Rodríguez Frade, *Tissus de chanvre trouvés par la mission archéologique espagnole à Dra Abou el-Naga*, BIFAO 122 (2022) 394–523; W. Benson Harer Jr., *The Marijuana Myth in Ancient Egypt*, JARCE 51 (2015) 356–358.

⁶⁴ For Ptolemaic fullers, linen boilers and other professionals involved in the finishing and laundering of textiles, see N. Dogaer, *The Role of Linen Boilers in the Ptolemaic Textile Industry*, ZPE 215 (2020) 195–200.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of this quota system, see Dogaer, *Industry, Trade and the State* (o. Anm. 60).

⁶⁶ Dogaer, *The Role of Linen Boilers* (o. Anm. 64).

⁶⁷ Findit.library.yale.edu/bookreader/BookReaderDemo/index.html?oid=15517614#page/1/mode/1up. In this case the genitive of the feminine word *καυνάκη* would be meant rather than the nominative of male *καυνάκης*. For the feminine form, see, e.g., PSI VI 605 (TM 2214), 1.

⁶⁸ I thank the anonymous reviewers for these readings.

⁶⁹ Another suggestion by one of the reviewers is to read *[πρά]ξας* rather than *[τά]ξας* τὸν *στιβέα* in line 5.

⁷⁰ E.g. P.Hal. 13 (TM 43674).

1137. BGU III 975, 6 und 13: Itazistische Verwechslungen

In der Edition der aus Soknopaiu Nesos stammenden Scheidungsurkunde BGU III 975 (44 n. Chr.; vgl. BL XI 23) liest man in Z. 6: Ἡρακλίδου μερίδος. Statt Ἡρακλίδου ist jedoch die grammatisch zu erwartende Form Ἡρακλείδου zu lesen. Vgl. dazu die Schreibweise von ε und ι bei μερίδος. Das δ in demselben Wort zeigt, dass der vertikale Strich nach ε nicht zu einem δ gehören kann.



In Z. 13 ist anstelle von συγγηνός (*l.* συγγενοῦς) der Edition eindeutig συγγυνός (*l.* συγγενοῦς) zu lesen:

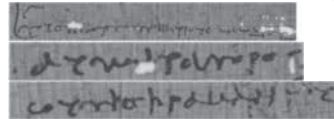


Dass es sich um ein υ handelt, ergibt sich aus den anderen υ des Textes, z.B.

Z. 2: ἔτους τετάρτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου

Z. 4: Αὐτοκράτορος

Z. 6: σου, Ἡρακλείδου

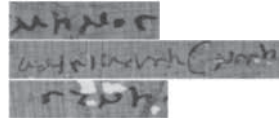


Zur Schreibweise von η vgl. dagegen

Z. 4: μηνός

Z. 5: καὶ εἰκάτη ἐν τῇ

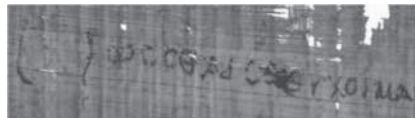
Z. 10: γυνή



Die Schreibweise mit υ könnte als Einfluß vom γυνή in Z. 10 erklärt werden.

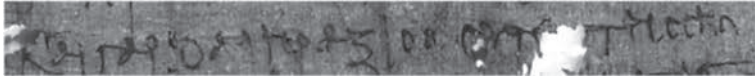
1138. BGU I 38, 31: Abschiedsgruß

In diesem Privatbrief des Serenos an Apollinarios aus dem 2. oder 3. Jh. n. Chr. liest man in Z. 31 den üblichen Abschiedsgruß: ἐρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι. Eine Überprüfung der elektronischen Abbildung des Textes (<https://berlpap.smb.museum/01699/>) ermöglicht eine Präzisierung der Transkription an zwei Stellen: ἐρῶ{σ}θαί σε [[ε]] εὔχομαι (*l.* εὔχομαι). Der Fehler ἐρῶσσθαι für ἐρῶσθαι ist häufig in den Papyri der Römerzeit (DDBDP gibt 16 Belege). Die Verwendung der irregulären Form εὔχομαι ist wohl auf den Inhalt des Verbs zurückzuführen: Der Schreiber scheint εὔχομαι („wünschen“) mit dem Optativ in Verbindung gebracht zu haben, der bekanntlich sehr oft zum Ausdruck von Wünschen verwendet wird, und bildete für das Verb eine grammatisch und syntaktisch falsche Form, die von Optativformen (mit -οι-) beeinflusst ist.



1139. PSI XII 1261, 17–19: οὕτως + Adjektiv

Im Privatbrief des Aur. Apollonios an Aur. Diogenes (212–217 n.Chr.) liest man in Z. 17–19: καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄξιος . . . [.] τῆς σῆς | ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς πάντας | σπουδῆς. Mit Hilfe der elektronischen Abbildung des Papyrus (<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;12;1261>) liest man das noch nicht gelesene Wort und vervollständigt den Satz: καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄξιος οὕτω[ς] τῆς σῆς κτλ.



Zur Konstruktion οὕτως + Adjektiv, bei der οὕτως zur Verstärkung der Bedeutung des Adjektivs verwendet wird, vgl. P.Cair. Zen. III 59362, recto 17–18 (243 v. Chr.): [ἀλ]λ' οὕτ[ως] ἀγνώμονες | ἐ[ῖ]σι γ' οὗτοι und P.Merton I 12, 4–6 (59 n. Chr.): οὕτως περιχαρῆς ἐγενόμην[ν κτλ.]. Gegen die auf den ersten Blick verlockende Rekonstruktion καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄξιος οὕτε τῆς σῆς κτλ. sprechen zum einen die Platzverhältnisse (nach dem mutmaßlichen ξ ist Platz für einen weiteren Buchstaben), zum anderen die Tatsache, dass kein zweites οὕτε folgt.

Amphilochios PAPATHOMAS
Eleni TSITSIANOPOULOU

1140. ChLA XLIV 1291 b und ChLA XLIV 1264

Die vier kleinen Fragmente, die in der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek unter der Inventarnummer P.Vindob. L 61 a–d verwahrt werden, wurden ohne Transkription als ChLA XLIV 1291 a–d (TM 70078) publiziert. Die Darstellungsweise entsprach dem Prinzip, dass in den ChLA alle lateinischen Bestände einer Sammlung nach dem *numerus currens* erscheinen sollten, notfalls als Descriptum ohne Edition. Der Herausgeber, Tiziano Dorandi, war bei dieser Inventarnummer nicht völlig davon überzeugt, dass die vier Papyrusstücke zu derselben Urkunde gehören.⁷¹

Für eine Neuedition von ChLA XLIV 1291 im Rahmen des *Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus* (CLTP) konnte ich die Fragmente im Original studieren: Tatsächlich sieht es so aus, als ob die Bruchstücke von vier unterschiedlichen Papyri stammen. Obwohl die Kleinheit der Fragmente es schwer machen, Vermutungen über die Natur und Datierung dieser Texte vorzubringen, kann doch etwas Wichtiges über Fragment b gesagt werden. Dieses Papyrusstück ist nicht größer als eine Briefmarke (etwa 2 x 2 cm) und ist auf beiden Seiten parallel zu den Fasern beschrieben. Auf derjenigen Seite, die in ChLA abgebildet ist, findet man die lateinischen Buchstaben -]mer() [- ⁷², während auf der anderen die griechische Buchstabenfolge -]τοτῶ[- erhalten ist.

⁷¹ T. Dorandi, ChLA XLIV 1291, Lemma: „Non si può dire con certezza se appartengano allo stesso documento“.

⁷² In der rechten oberen Ecke eine sehr kleine Tintenspur, welche zu derselben Zeile oder zu der vorangehenden gehören könnte.

Dorandi bezeichnete die lateinische Schrift als ‚verlängert‘ („allargata“) und schlug unter Vorbehalt vor, dass es sich deshalb um einen Schriftrest vom Anfang einer Urkunde handeln könnte. Tatsächlich ist der Gestalt dieser Schrift bemerkenswert: Die Buchstaben sind ziemlich groß und wurden mit sorgfältiger Eleganz ohne Neigung geschrieben. Die von Dorandi beobachtete Ähnlichkeit zwischen der sogenannten ‚verlängerten‘ Schrift der spätantiken und hochmittelalterlichen Kanzleieurkunden und derjenigen auf der lateinischen Seite von ChLA XLIV 1291 b erscheint überzeugend.

Auf der griechischen Seite des Papyrus, die in den ChLA weder beschrieben noch abgebildet wurde, befinden sich Spuren einer Schrift, die gleichfalls in das bürokratische Milieu gehören könnte. Der erste und der dritte Buchstabe sind zwei elegante τ, die jeweils aus zwei leicht gebogenen Strichen bestehen. Das ο ist so groß wie das τ, das α ist hingegen kleiner und steht höher als die übrigen Buchstaben.

Die lateinische Beschriftung auf der einen, die griechische auf der anderen Seite (jeweils parallel zu den Fasern) sowie die paläographischen Eigenheiten von ChLA XLIV 1291 b entsprechen den Eigenschaften eines anderen, berühmteren Papyrus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, nämlich dem Schreiben der Prätorianerpräfekten P.Vindob. L 61 a–c vom Jahre 399 n. Chr. Nach Karl Wesselys Edition von Fragment a in SPP XIV, p 4 und neuerlich in SPP XX 289 wurde dieser Brief, von dem drei nicht aneinanderpassende Fragmente erhalten sind, von Johannes Kramer vollständig ediert⁷³ und danach als SB XX 14726 und ChLA XLIV 1264 a–c (TM 14904) wieder abgedruckt⁷⁴. Das wichtigste gemeinsame Kennzeichen ist paläographischer Art. ChLA XLIV 1264 sticht durch seine in die Länge gezogenen und verzierten runden Buchstaben hervor. Dieser Papyrus ist ein herausragendes Beispiel für die Entwicklung der stilisierten Kanzleischrift in den Amtsstuben der obersten Verwaltungsebene der östlichen Provinzen, nachdem Valentinian und Valens durch Erlass (*C.Theod.* 9.19.3) der kaiserlichen Kanzlei das Prärogativ der exklusiven Benutzung der sog. *litterae caelestes* verliehen hatten.⁷⁵

Wenn man die Schriften von ChLA XLIV 1291 b und ChLA XLIV 1264 im Detail vergleicht, dann fällt auf, dass diese nicht nur ähnlich, sondern identisch sind. Die Größe ist in beiden Fällen die gleiche. Die Gestalt des *m* mit seinen drei Beinen gehört völlig zur Minuskel. Das *e* besteht aus zwei Teile: der obere hat die Form einer engen, nach rechts oben verlängerten Schlaufe, deren Abstrich horizontal nach rechts geht, um den Mittelstrich zu bilden. Dieser verbindet zum folgenden Buchstaben, der möglicherweise ein *r* ist (das ist aber zweifelhaft, da der Papyrus dort abbricht). Die zwei lateinischen Buchstaben, die in ChLA XLIV 1291 b gut erhalten sind, stammen von derselben Hand wie ChLA XLIV 1264.

⁷³ J. Kramer, *Schreiben der Prätorialpräfekten des Jahres 399 an den praeses prouvinciae Arcadiae in lateinischer und griechischer Version*, Tyche 7 (1992) 157–162.

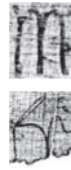
⁷⁴ Wegen seiner paläographischen Bedeutung wurde dieser Papyrus auch in zahlreichen anderen Werken reproduziert oder abgebildet, s. die Bibliographie in ChLA XLIV 1264.

⁷⁵ G. Cavallo, *La κοινή scrittura greco-romana nella prassi documentale di età bizantina*, JÖB 19 (1970) 27–29 [wieder abgedruckt in: *Il calamo e il papiro*, Florenz 2005, 67–69].

ChLA XLIV 1291 b

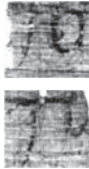


ChLA XLIV 1264

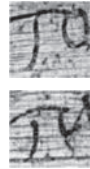


Die griechische Schrift auf der anderen Seite erbringt den entscheidenden Nachweis, dass es nicht nur um dieselbe Hand, sondern auch um die gleiche Urkunde geht:

ChLA XLIV 1291 b



SPP XIV 4



Diese Elemente zeigen, dass ChLA XLIV 1291 b ein *membrum disiectum* von ChLA XLIV 1264 a ist. Das Bruchstück lässt sich leider an kein anderes Fragment von 1264 a–c direkt anschließen. Da ChLA XLIV 1291 b beidseitig Schrift trägt, ist die Hypothese, dass das Fragment vom Anfang der Urkunde kommen könnte, abzulehnen. Die erste Zeile der lateinischen Seite entspricht nämlich dem Leerraum des linken Randes auf der griechischen Seite. In ähnlicher Weise ist es unwahrscheinlich, dass ChLA XLIV 1291 b nah zu den Bruchstücken b und c von 1264 lag, da diese keinen griechischen Text auf der anderen Seite haben. Deshalb ist es wahrscheinlich, dass ChLA XLIV 1291 b in der Nähe des Hauptfragmentes (Fragm. a) von 1264 zu plazieren ist. Die genaue Lage des ‚neuen‘ Bruchstückes in der Urkunde bleibt trotzdem ungewiss — wie im Übrigen auch das Verhältnis zwischen den ‚alten‘ Fragmenten von ChLA XLIV 1264 nicht einwandfrei klar ist: Johannes Kramer hielt es zwar für „wahrscheinlich“, aber nicht für „völlig sicher“, dass Fragment a und die Nebensfragmente b–c von derselben Urkunde stammen.⁷⁶

Ein kleiner Hinweis auf die mögliche Stellung des Fragmentes b von ChLA XLIV 1264 ist vielleicht in der Z. 1 zu finden: Dort hat Kramer *exa[-* transkribiert, aber man könnte eher *exemplum* lesen. Solche Kopie-Vermerke sind manchmal nach einem *vacat* in der ersten Zeile einer Kanzleiurkunde zu finden. Die nächste Parallele unter den lateinischen Dokumenten ist ChLA III 213 *recto* (TM 99306; Prozessprotokoll aus Hermupolis, 5. Jh. n. Chr.), wo *exempl(um) l(itterarum)* in den Leerraum am Ende der ersten Zeile geschrieben ist. In den griechischen offiziellen Urkunden findet man das Wort ἀντίγραφον — in voller oder abgekürzter Form — in der gleichen Stellung z.B. in P.Oxy. XII 1428 (TM 33646; Präfektenedikt aus Oxyrhynchus, 325–375 n. Chr. HGV: Mitte 4. Jh.), P.Oxy. VIII 1101 (TM 21726; Präfektenedikt aus Oxyrhynchus,

⁷⁶ Kramer, *Schreiben der Prätorialpräfekten* (o. Anm. 73) 157. Es scheint hingegen sicher, dass die Fragmente b und c von demselben Papyrus kommen.

367–370 n. Chr.) und P.Mich. XX 812 (TM 18161; Prozessprotokoll aus Oxyrhynchos, 373 n. Chr.).

Wenn man nach diesen Parallelen annimmt, dass ChLA XLIV 1264 b vom rechten Teil der Urkunde stammt, dann kommen zumindest zwei Möglichkeiten in Betracht: (a) ChLA XLIV 1264 b–c gehören tatsächlich mit dem Präfektenbrief zusammen, und lagen rechts von Fragment a. Nach dem Namen der Präfekten in Z. 1 folgten ein *vacat* und der Kopie-Vermerk; (b) ChLA XLIV 1264 b–c waren Bestandteile einer anderen Urkunde aus einer hohen Kanzlei. In beiden Fällen wäre die Abwesenheit der griechischen Schrift auf dem Verso der Fragmente b–c erklärbar. Im Fall (a) wäre es nicht wunderlich, dass die griechische Version auf der anderen Seite weniger Raum benötigte, da die griechische Kursive viel kleiner als die ‚verlängerte‘ Kanzleischrift auf dem Recto ist; so sind die im Recto rechts platzierten Fragmente auf dem Verso unbeschrieben geblieben. Gegebenenfalls würde das ‚neue‘, beidseitig beschriftete Fragment ChLA XLIV 1291 b zur linken Seite des Recto gehören. Im Fall (b) gäbe es keinen Grund zu vermuten, dass die lateinische Urkunde der Fragmente b–c auf dem Verso ebenfalls beschrieben war. Mangels anderer Hinweise muss diese Frage noch offenbleiben.

Michele PEDONE

1141. BGU VIII 1844

BGU VIII 1844 was classified by editors as “Eingabe wegen Vertragsbruch (an Soteles)”. More specifically, this papyrus from the Herakleopolite nome (50–49 BC) contains a partially preserved petition related to violation of an agreement on shares in a wall dividing neighbouring properties. The text seems to have received little attention since its publication, even though it is the only Greek document that offers us a glimpse into the division of wall shares and problems that might arise therefrom. I would like to suggest the following corrections based on the consultation of a high-resolution digital image,⁷⁷ thus clarifying some circumstances of the dispute between neighbours:

l. 3 κωλυ., → κώλυμα – ‘hindrance’. The *mu* is bigger than usual.

ll. 3–4 περὶ τοῦ μηντοι.[] → περὶ τοῦ μηδένα ...|ον. Περὶ τοῦ μη is quite clear, but it is not the case with the letters following it. The uncertain reading proposed here by the editors – μηντοι – can be excluded, as between the *eta* and *tau* there is enough room for more than one letter. After scrutiny, it seems to me that the most likely reading is μηδένα. After the *eta*, there are visible traces of a triangular letter, corresponding in form to the *delta* in line 3 (δικαίου). Reading of the *epsilon* is not easy, as there are traces of a letter going beyond the register. However, an *epsilon* would sometimes be written this way, especially in conjunction with a *delta* (cf. παραδεδειωκότος, ll. 19–20). At the beginning of line 4, a small *omicron* and a clear final *nu* (characterised by smaller dimensions and an upraised right leg, e.g., θέμενοι, l. 7; ἔχειν, l. 8; διακωλύσειν, l. 10;

⁷⁷ The digital photograph of the document is available online on the website of the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank: <https://berlpap.smb.museum/03838/>.

ἔχον, l. 13; ἐχόμενα, l. 18) are visible. The last letters in line 3 are difficult to read, although an *omicron* seems likely as the penultimate letter. It would be tempting to read the word λόγον here, as the phrase μηδένα or οὐδένα λόγον followed by the verb ποιέω ('taking no account') is well attested in the Ptolemaic petitions [e.g., P.Enteux 43 (221 BC, Magdola), P.Enteux 54 (218 BC, Bakchias), P.Enteux 73 (222 BC, Magdola), P.Enteux 75 (222 BC, Magdola), P.Hib. I 34 (243 BC, Oxyrhynchos), P.Polit. Iud. 12 (135 BC, Herakleopolite), P.Sorb. III 104 (220 BC; Muchis), P.Sorb. III 127 (222–218 BC, Muchis?), UPZ I 42 (162 BC, Memphis)]. Additionally, a similar formula – περὶ τοῦ μηδένα λόγον – can be found in BGU VIII 1782.11 (53–52 BC, Herakleopolite), an official letter in which Leonides confirms restitution of goods confiscated from a certain woman to the strategos' office. However, the traces of letters at the end of line 3 hardly agree with the reading of *lambda* and *gamma*. The word division (λόγ|ον) would also be highly unusual in case of such a reading.

l. 4 μετακωλυ....ης → μετὰ κώλυμα...ης. The editors read μετακωλυ, with the addition that the form μετακωλυθείσης might be possible. However, a close examination of the ductus reveals that after a clearly visible λυ, the most probable letter is *mu*, which excludes any verb form in this position, as even for the middle or passive voice participle an *upsilon* should be followed by an *omicron*, which is missing here. Most probably, the *mu* is followed by an *alpha* instead. The only word that fits those letters is κώλυμα. This word is preceded by the preposition μετά,⁷⁸ which in the papyri can be combined with the genitive or accusative.⁷⁹ Therefore, we should look for the endings appropriate to these cases. The most plausible form here is singular accusative κώλυμα (meaning 'after hindrance') followed by some additional word that ends with ης, the beginning of which escapes me.

In Ptolemaic papyri, the word κώλυμα is almost exclusively attested in the phrase βασιλικὸν κώλυμα γένηται [e.g., BGU VI 1267, 20 (286–227 BC, Oxyrhynchites?); BGU X 1949, 8–9 (221–205 BC, Tholthis?); BGU X 1950, 9 (221–205 BC; Oxyrhynchites?); BGU X 1943, 18–19 (215–214 BC, Tholthis); BGU VI 1264, 29–30 (215–214 BC, Tholthis); BGU X 1959, 18–19 (215–214 BC, Tholthis); BGU XIV 2384, 18 (215–214 BC, Tholthis); BGU VI 1265, 16–17 (214–213 BC, Tholthis); BGU X 1944, 12 (214–213 BC, Tholthis?)]. The majority of them are from the Oxyrhynchite nome, some others from Arsinoite, and none from Herakleopolite. This clause appears in contracts of different sorts, usually of lease, which does not correspond to the context of BGU VIII 1844 nor help in its understanding.

ll. 5–6 τῇ {τῇι} | κατὰει → τὰ γιτν||.||\ὦ/γτα. The beginning of the word is clearly visible at the end of line 5. The first letter in line 6 is illegible, but an *omega* is written

⁷⁸ It seems more likely that we are dealing with two separate words rather than a compound noun, although, knowing the petitioner's preference, the latter possibility cannot be strictly ruled out.

⁷⁹ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften. Band 2: Satzlehre, Teil 2: Analytischer Teil, Hälfte 2*, Berlin 1970, 440–445.

above it. The itazistic γιτν instead of γειτν is commonly found in the papyri.⁸⁰ Together with the preceding words it would mean ‘wherefore adjacent things have been destroyed’.

l. 15 τρόποις ἐνχρώμενος → τρόποις) συνχρώμενος – ‘making use in ways’. The reading συν instead of εν is suggested by a special type of ‘double’ *nu*, similar to *pi*, from which it differs by the horizontal stroke that is slightly wavy. In this document, the ‘double’ *nu* appears only in combination with an *upsilon* (νὺν, l. 19; συντάξει, l. 22). However, we have to assume haplography to accept this interpretation. Accepting a scribal mistake here can be additionally justified by the fact that the reading ἐγγράομαι, as per the *editio princeps*, would be a *hapax legomenon*, with the meaning (*dash against*, *LSJ* s.v., *WB* s.v.) that would be difficult to put in the context of the document. Meanwhile, συγχράομαι + dative is attested in other papyri, including those from the Herakleopolite nome [e.g., BGU IV 1192 9 (65–50 BC); BGU IV 1187 22 (49–48 BC)]. Its meaning, *to make use of*, *to make joint use of*, or *to avail oneself of* (*LSJ* s.v., *WB* s.v.), would also fit the petition context better, most probably referring together with τρόποις, rendered in the *editio princeps* as ‘Winkelzüge’, to various illegal actions undertaken by the defendant.

l. 29 (ἔτους) γ... () → (ἔτους) γ' Ἀθὺ(ρ) The year is followed by an abbreviated form of Ἀθὺρ with a raised *ypsilon*. Unfortunately, the day date is preserved too poorly to suggest any reading, but it is followed by presumed traces of two numbers. All petitions published in BGU VIII are dated to the same period: years 18–26 and 30 of the reign of Ptolemaios XII, and years 1–8 of Cleopatra VII.⁸¹ The third year probably refers to the reign of the latter (50/49 BC). Since the month is known now, the date can be narrowed down to between November 4th and December 3rd 50 BC.

Aneta SKALEC

⁸⁰ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften. Band 1: Laut- und Wortlehre, Teil 1: Einleitung und Lautlehre*, Berlin 1970, 60–65.

⁸¹ W. Schubart, D. Schäfer, BGU VIII, 8–9; T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, München 1954, 37–42.