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EDITED BY
TOMASZ DERDA
ADAM ŁAJTAR
JAKUB URBANIK

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS
GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA

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FROM THE EDITORS

2014 HAS BEEN CHIEFLY DEDICATED TO and consumed by the aftermath of the 27th Papyrological Congress: the collection of papers for the Proceedings, their peer review, and finally the beginning of the editorial work, has taken most of our time. The rest has been devoted to numerous reports, chronicles, and accounts as well as to the publication of no less than three new *Supplements* to our *Journal*. With two of them, Artur Obluski's study of the social changes in Nobadia and Giovanni Ruffini's publication of the hitherto unedited Old Nubian texts from Qasr Ibrim, we carry on with the documentation of research on the Middle Nile Valley in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The former, although not exactly 'papyrological', is an important historical study combining, for the first time in Nubian studies, research on written sources and archaeology with elements of methodology proper to historical and economic geography. The latter, on the other hand, is purely 'papyrological', even though the language of the edited texts, one of the oldest African languages preserved in written form, is not traditionally counted among the 'languages of papyri'. With Ruffini's book Nubian studies gains new source material of prime importance in any attempt to understand the history, culture, and society of the Kingdom of Makuria. The third volume, Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski's study of law and custom in Greek and Roman Egypt, being a thoroughly reworked and updated version of his doctoral thesis once written under the supervision of Jean Gaudamet, pays tribute to juristic papyrology proper. It is probably the most accessible manual of the law of papyri nowadays. We are extremely happy and lucky to be able to publish again the work of a great scholar whose first steps in his scientific career started more than half a century ago with our *Journal*.

Scientific accountancy is entering our world with an unprecedented force. There are aspects of this phenomenon which are undoubtedly positive: transparent rules of publication, creation of scientific councils for journals and proceedings, etc. Yet, there are also traits which are not entirely unproblematic. Everyone enthusiastically agrees to the postulate of peer review. But how to make it effectively double-blind, as often postulated, in a rather small discipline like ours, where we normally know who researches which subject, remains an open question. Individual and journal Impact Factors and citation lists ever so often become *conditiones sine qua non* of funding of our efforts and career advancement. This is also a problem in a little scientific community which normally feeds on its own research, yet, as rather hermetic, is not so often brought to the pages of some highly popular general journals in the humanities (or even these devoted to ancient history), which are in turn listed in databases. It seems that we cannot fight this trend anymore; we may only try accommodating it by having our usual reviews listed and catalogued by the most popular citation indices. By doing so we will boost the number of our citations and so we shall, hopefully, be able to achieve higher rankings on these lists and a higher IF value. These have become important criteria for many national ministerial offices, which have begun to use these international indices rather than creating their own.

*

Presenting you this 44th *Journal* we are glad to have it roughly balanced between various areas of the study of Egypt of the papyri: even if the majority of the papers concern Late Antiquity, there are also some devoted to Demotic documents and Ptolemaic times. We have also willingly accepted an article publishing some Arabic papyri with legal content, and thus this *Journal* yet again seems to be proof that rather than building barriers between various branches of papyrology we are able to build a wholesome picture.

Tomasz Derda
Adam Łajtar
Jakub Urbanik

María-Jesús Albarrán Martínez

**THE NUN ON THE RUN:
NEW PERSPECTIVES ON P. OXY. XLIII 3150***

THE PAPYRUS *P. Oxy. XLIII 3150* is a Greek letter datable to the sixth century AD on palaeographical grounds. The text contains interesting elements of complex interpretation. The first editor, John Rea, interpreted it as a letter written by a nun addressed to the mother superior of a monastery that she had apparently left.¹ Nevertheless, as he pointed out, there was some uncertainty as to some elements of the text due to a number of implicit elements which could only be understood by the correspondents, as is typical in letters. He also pointed out that the gender of the writer was not clearly defined. The text was later revisited by

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¹J. REA, 'Byzantine letter', [in:] J. REA *et alii* (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLIII*, London 1975, pp. 135–138.

Anthony Alcock who proposed that the background of the letter was a family dispute. He reconstructed the storyline – albeit in a somewhat fanciful way – as the writer’s family being against the monastery because he – or she – had been brought into it without the family’s consent. However, Alcock did not clear up other points, such as the gender of writer.²

It is my purpose to revise the text from a new perspective. I hope this interpretation will at least provide a reasonable explanation for some uncertainties which have not yet been resolved.

On the one hand, it is important to keep the structure of the letter in mind, as it is essential to understanding the story. The letter is structured in three parts which correspond to the initial greetings (ll. 1–7), a summary of past and present events (ll. 7–28), and finally a discussion of future events (ll. 29–39). Also, I propose to revise the text providing comparisons with legal texts.

On the other hand, I have reproduced the text from its edited version, but I would like to propose some adjustments. Because the letter follows a well-defined structure, I suggest reading ἐπειδ[ή] for ἐπεισ, at the end of line 7, adjusting the reading of the edited version. This term often appears in Greek epistolography at the beginning of the main subject of a letter, after the initial greetings.³ Also, following the structure of the text, I propose to complete the lacuna at the beginning of line 8 with a declarative verb, such as, for example, λέγω, πυνθάνομαι, or γινώσκω.

Regarding the translation of the edition, I propose to translate the verbal form ἤνεγκ[ό]ν in line 26 in the past tense rather than the future, and ποίησον, in line 36, as ‘prepare’ rather than ‘make up’, as I will explain below.

πρὸ μὲν πάντων
πολλὰ προσαγορεύω
τὴν σὴν μητρικὴν
4 διάθεσιν καὶ τάς

² A. ALCOCK, ‘P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 revisited’, *AfP* 50 (2004), pp. 187–188.

³ Cf., e.g., letters from the sixth century AD: P. Oxy. XVI 1842, 1844, 1849, 1861, 1864, 1868, 1869, and 1893.

- εὐλαβεστάτας μου
 ἀδελφὰς Θεοτίμαν
 καὶ Ταρίλλαν ἐπειδ[ή]
 8 [.....] ὅτι ὠλιγώ-
 ρησας δι' ἐμέ ὅτι
 ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ
 μοναστηρίου ἸἸαπα
 12 Σαρους. ὠλιγώρη-
 σα οὖν. πέμπουσίν
 με εἰς τὸ πραιτώ-
 ριον καθάπαξ
 16 πρὸς τὸν κόμι-
 τα καὶ καθ' ὥραν
 γράφω ἐπιστο-
 λὴν ἐν τάξει νο-
 20 ταρίων διὰ τοῦτο
 ἀπέστην ἐκ τῶν
 οἴκει ἕως οὗ ἂν
 συντάσσωσίν
 24 με ὅτι οὐκέτι
 ἀναγκάζουσιν
 σε καὶ ἡνεγκ[ό]ν
 με πάλιν εἰς
 28 τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον.
 μὴ οὖν ὀλιγω-
 ρήσατε δι' ἐμέ
 ὅλως, ἀλλὰ
 32 μνημονεύσατέ
 με ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ
 ὑμῶν. δὸς οὖν
 τὸ μοζίκιον μου
 36 αὐτῷ. ποιήσον
 καὶ τὸ καταπέ-
 τασμα καὶ τὴν
 νᾶς. στολήν μου.

Before all things I give many greetings to your maternal kindliness and to my most devout sisters, Theotima and Tarilla. Since [...] that you were discouraged because I left the monastery of Apa Sarous. So I was discouraged. They are sending me to the praetorium once and for all to the comes, and in this moment I write a letter in the office of the notaries. It is for this reason that I was outside my house, until they should come to an agreement with me that they will no longer use compulsion on you; and they brought me back again to the same place. So do not be discouraged on my account at all, but remember me in your prayers. Therefore give my belt to him. Prepare my veil and my robe.'

IDENTIFYING THE SENDER AND ADDRESSEE

The text of the letter starts off with the 'Before all things' formula and greetings, without any mention of the sender and addressee. It is not even clear if the sender was a woman. However, there are some clues that can be gleaned from the context. On lines 9–12 of the letter the sender states that he or she has left a monastery: ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου Ἀπα Σαρουσ, 'because I left the monastery of Apa Sarous'.⁴ We can infer that the sender, having lived in a monastic centre, most probably belonged to a monastic community, that is, he or she was a monk or nun.

The gender of the author can be deduced from the fact that the person addressed was a female, an anonymous person named through the

⁴ The location of this monastery is unclear. There are no references to it in other literary or documentary sources. In the *editio princeps*, Rea proposed that it could have been located near Latopolis, based on the mention of the martyr Sarous in the Coptic Synaxarion (see *Le Synaxaire arabe Jacobite (mois de Hatour et de Kihak)*, ed. R. BASSET [= PO 3], Paris 1909, pp. 456–457); S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit I* [= *Beibefte zum TAVO*, Reihe B, 41/1], Wiesbaden 1984, p. 1398, proposed that, since the papyrus was found at Oxyrhynchos, the monastery may have been located nearby. This hypothesis was rejected by ALCOCK, 'P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 revisited' (cit. n. 2), p. 187, n. 1. Nevertheless, L. BLUMELL, *Lettered Christians. Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus*, Leiden – Boston 2012, p. 337, mentioned the monastery in a list of monasteries in the Oxyrhynchite. I believe that, considering that the papyrus came from Oxyrhynchos, it is possible that the monastery was located nearby.

expression ‘your maternal kindness’ (ll. 3–4: σὴν μητρικὴν διάθεσιν). Therefore, this person was a woman whom the sender considered to be his or her mother. This same expression as well as similar expressions was used in some Greek private letters from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD to express the highest regard towards the mother figure, and an equivalent expression was also used for the father figure.⁵

The expression *μητρικὴ διάθεσις*, ‘maternal kindness’, in this letter can be related to the equivalent expression *πατρικὴ διάθεσις*, ‘paternal kindness’, employed in some Greek monastic letters addressed to male superiors of monasteries during the same period, such as SB XXII 15482 (5th–6th c. AD) from Abu Sha’ar. This text is a private letter addressed from a man named Apollonios to *abba* Iohannes. The title *abba*⁶ used to refer to Iohannes (l. 2) and other titles such as *πατήρ* and adjectives such as *κύριος* and *τιμιώτατος*, which were frequently used in religious contexts, probably indicate that he was a high-standing religious figure. Therefore, the expression ‘paternal kindness’ in this papyrus was used with spiritual rather than biological meaning. One finds the same expression in *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67064 (ca. AD 538–547), a fragment of a letter

⁵ For the mother figure, see SB XIV 11881 (unknown provenance, 4th c. AD); *P. Oxy.* LVIII 3932 (Oxyrhynchos, 6th c. AD); *P. Lond.* V 1789 (unknown provenance, 6th c. AD); for the father figure, see *P. Berl. Zill.* 13 (unknown provenance, 6th c. AD). The sender was a member of a religious order and it is well-known that, in the monastic system, there was parent-child relationship with spiritual significance between the members of monasteries and the superiors. The male and female superiors of the monasteries were considered, from a spiritual point of view, to be the fathers or mothers of the general groups of monks and nuns, respectively; cf. Ewa WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte, IV^e–VIII^e siècles* [= *The JfjP Supplement Series* 11], Warsaw 2009, p. 327; María Jesús ALBARÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos en el Egipto tardoantiguo. Estudio de papiros y ostraca griegos y coptos* [= *Subsidia Monastica* 23], Barcelona 2011, pp. 217–227. The Greek terms *πατήρ* or *μήτηρ* are used in a large number of monastic texts indicating the authority of the superiors. The Greek term *μήτηρ*, with spiritual meaning, appears in some texts on papyri: *P. Neph.* I, 7, 8, and 10 (Alexandria, 4th c. AD), and *P. Iand.* VI 103 (Herakleopolite, 6th c. AD).

⁶ J. DUPONT, ‘Le nom d’abbé chez les solitaires d’Égypte’, *La vie spirituelle* 77 (1947), pp. 216–240; T. DERDA & Ewa WIPSZYCKA, ‘L’emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* en l’Égypte byzantine’, *JfjP* 24 (1994), pp. 23–56; WIPSZYCKA, *Moines et communautés monastiques* (cit. n. 5), p. 327.

belonging to the archive of Dioskoros of Aphrodito, addressed to Apollo, the founder and superior of a monastery at Pharou, near Aphrodito. In this letter Apollo was named by the sender – who remains anonymous – using this expression (l. 12). It can also be compared to the term *μητρεῖωτ*, ‘fatherhood’, in Coptic monastic letters, as well as to the expression *τεκμητρεῖωτ ετογααβ*, ‘your holy fatherhood’, addressed to male superiors of monastic communities, in a spiritual sense.⁷

At the beginning of the letter, two women, Theotima and Tarilla, are also included in the greetings, right after the mother: *τὰς εὐλαβεστάτας μου ἀδελφὰς Θεοτίμαν καὶ Ταρίλλαν*, ‘to my most devout sisters Theotima and Tarilla’ (ll. 4–6). Alcock pointed out that the above-mentioned three women did not seem to be the biological mother and sisters of the sender, and that they could have belonged to a religious community or have been her aunt and cousins.⁸ The use of the epithet *εὐλαβεστάτας* could be the key to proving that they were spiritual not biological sisters. This epithet is frequently used in Greek papyri from the sixth to the eighth century AD to designate clerics and monks.⁹ Nevertheless, there are no surviving papyri in which it is used to designate women. The word is found, however, in literary sources or imperial law where it also applied to women, nuns in particular.¹⁰ Therefore, the two women, Theotima and Tarilla, were most probably nuns in the same monastery where the sender had lived.

The highest-ranking members of the monastic hierarchy, that is, superiors and their assistants, are usually mentioned in greetings in the open-

⁷ This expression is used in many Coptic monastic letters from the fourth to the eighth century AD to refer to fathers superior of monasteries: e.g. *O. Brit. Mus. Copt.* I Add. 23 (unknown provenance, 7th–8th c. AD); *O. Mon. Epiph.* 114, 268, 354, and 465 (Theban region, 7th c. AD).

⁸ ALCOCK, ‘*P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 revisited*’ (cit. n. 2), p. 187.

⁹ There are a large number of papyri that use *εὐλαβεστάτος* to designate monks in monasteries. In Oxyrhynchos in the sixth century AD, at the same location and time as *P. Oxy. LXIII 3150*, it is used in *P. Oxy. XVI 1890* (AD 508), 1900 (AD 528), 1952 (AD 564); *LXIII 4397* (AD 545); *LXXII 4928* (AD 564) and 4929 (AD 564).

¹⁰ E.g. Gr. Nyss., *Ep.* 3: *ταῖς κοσμιωτάταις ἀληθῶς καὶ εὐλαβεστάταις ἀδελφαῖς*, ‘to the most discreet and pious sisters’; *Nov.* 59 (AD 537): *ταῖς εὐλαβεστάταις ἀσκητριαῖς ἢ κανονικαῖς*, ‘to the most pious female ascetics or nuns’.

ing formulae of monastic letters in Greek on papyri.¹¹ The opening lines of *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3150 follow the basic structure of monastic letters. According to the text, we can assume that the three women were probably the mother superior and her assistants. Only women were named in these greetings, without any mention of men. This fact indicates that the monastery was possibly not linked to a male monastic centre and that it was an independent nunnery. Generally, if female monastic communities were linked to double monasteries – that is, monasteries with a male and a female section¹² – leading female hierarchical figures were named in greetings after those addressed to the male authorities.¹³

However, the eponym of the monastery, Apa Sarous, is masculine. This eponym probably referred to a holy man¹⁴ – as there were also male monasteries which were named after women¹⁵ – or to the founder of the monastery, as was apparently the case in other female communities, according to literary sources and papyri.¹⁶

Another interesting feature of the text is the final sentence; it is typical of documents from a monastic context since the fourth century AD.¹⁷

¹¹ E.g. *P. Iand.* VI 100 (unknown provenance, 2nd half of 4th c. AD); *P. Neph.* I, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 18 (Alexandria, 4th c. AD).

¹² J. PAROIRE, 'Les monastères doubles chez les Byzantins', *Echos d'Orient* 9 (1906), pp. 21–25; D. F. STRAMARA JR., 'Double monasticism in the Greek East, fourth through eighth centuries', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998), pp. 269–312; ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos* (cit. n. 5), pp. 175–185.

¹³ See *P. Neph.* I, 7, 8, and 10 (Alexandria, 4th c. AD); *P. Iand.* VI 100 (unknown provenance, 2nd half of 4th c. AD).

¹⁴ Rea in the *editio princeps* referred to a martyr called Sarous; see De Lacy O'LEARY, *The Saints of Egypt*, Amsterdam 1937, p. 69; H. DELEHAYE, 'Les martyrs d'Égypte', *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922), p. 97.

¹⁵ E.g. the Monastery of Ama Sophia was a male monastic community; it is mentioned in several papyri: *P. Ryl. Copt.* 124 (Wadi Sarga, 7th c. AD), *P. Brux. Bawit* 31 (Bawit, 7th–8th c. AD), *BKU* III 465 (Bawit, 8th c. AD), *P. Bal.* 288 (Dayr al-Bala'izah, 8th c. AD); cf. ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos* (cit. n. 5), pp. 193–194.

¹⁶ E.g. Pall., *H. Laus.* 29 and 30; *P. Cair. Masp.* II 67139, fols. III r^o, l. 22, IV r^o, l. 9, and VI r^o, l. 10; ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos* (cit. n. 5), pp. 203–206.

¹⁷ *P. Lond.* VI 1926 (Herakleopolite, ca. AD 340–350); *P. Neph.* I (Alexandria, 4th c. AD).

μνημονεύσατέ με ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν, ‘remember me in your prayers’ (ll. 32–34). Monks and nuns were able to intercede before God through prayers; that was one of their characteristics.¹⁸ A parallel sentence is found in a document from the archive of Christophoria, a female superior of a monastery in the Hermopolite nome, dated to the sixth–eighth century AD. In *P. Lond. Copt.* I 1104 there is a reference to the fact that the women in her community prayed daily for the good health of the *comes* Menas, a benefactor of her monastery: ΝΕCΝΗΓ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΩΛΗΛ ΖΑ ΠΕΤΝ-ΟΥΧΑΙ ΜΗΜΝΕ, ‘all sisters pray for you to enjoy good health every day’ (ll. 12–13).

All of the expressions discussed above point to the fact that *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3150 was a letter addressed to a female superior of a female monastery and that, consequently, the sender of the letter was a woman who belonged to the community, that is, a nun.¹⁹

MAIN SUBJECT OF THE LETTER

The central subject of the document is the fact that the nun left the monastery, as we can read on lines 9–12: ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου Ἀπα Σαρούς, ‘Because I left the monastery of Apa Sarous’. It is well-known that different rules regulated all actions of monks and nuns living in monasteries, including the movement in and out of them.²⁰ The internal rules of monastic centres did not allow the monks to leave monasteries, except in exceptional circumstances, such as the death of their parents, and always under the condition that they should go accompanied by another monk or nun who would watch them and guarantee their return.²¹ This was also clearly laid down in the Ecclesiastical canons. In

¹⁸ ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos* (cit. n. 5), pp. 87–90.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 166.

²⁰ Another case of a monk abandoning his monastery is attested in the Phoibammon’s monastery in Dayr el-Bahri, cf. M. KRAUSE, ‘Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Kloster in Theben’, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), pp. 62–65.

²¹ Pachomian Rule, *Praecepta* 55–56; cf. *Praecepta* 57 and 86.

the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon there was an order addressed to monks, according to which they were to embrace a quiet course of life and remain permanently in the places in which they were settled, never to leave them.²²

Roman law was also clear on this matter. Firstly, a law was enacted in AD 471 to prevent monks from leaving their monasteries temporarily.²³ Later, the emperor Justinian forbade it again in AD 531.²⁴ Shortly after that, in AD 539, female monastic life was specifically referred to in *Nov.* 133, 5, according to which control over entrance to and exit from female monasteries was ordered, and also exit from female monasteries was prohibited.²⁵

This legal background leads us to think that, by leaving without permission, the nun of *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3150 committed an infraction against the ecclesiastical canons, imperial law and, certainly, against the internal rules of her monastery. According to the letter, the nun apparently left her monastery and went home to her biological family, as can be deduced from lines 20–22: διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέστην ἐκ τῶν οἴκει, ‘It is for this reason I was outside my house’.

²² C. Chalc., *Can.* 4. Cf. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, alphabetical collection, Syncletica 6.

²³ C. 1, 3, 29: Οἱ ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις διατρίβοντες μὴ ἐχέτωσαν ἐξουσίαν ἐξιέναι τῶν μοναστηρίων, ‘Those who live in monasteries are not permitted to depart therefrom’. English translations of Roman law in this article belong to F. H. Blume, housed in an electronic version at <<http://www.uwyo.edu/liblaw/blume-justinian/>>.

²⁴ C. 1, 3, 52, 9: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινα διάταξιν εὕρομεν περὶ μοναχῶν διαλεγομένην καὶ βουλομένην αὐτοὺς μὴ καταλιμπάνειν τὰ οἰκεία μοναστήρια μηδὲ θορυβεῖν τὰς πόλεις, ἣν καὶ πρὸς νενομοθετῆσθαι καιρὸν τινες ὑποπτεύουσι, δεῖν ᾧθήμην ἀφορμὴν ἐντεῦθεν λαβόντες τελειότερόν τε εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ’ ἀνορθῶσαι, ‘We have, however, found a constitution which treats of monks and prohibits them from leaving the monasteries and roam about in cities. Some persons, however, consider this constitution to have been made (only) for a certain time and taking that as an occasion, we believed it best to perfect the law on this point, revising it to apply for all time’.

²⁵ *Nov.* 133, 5: Δεῖ γὰρ τοιαύτας τινὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τετάχθαι, αἵπερ ὁμοίως τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους τὰς εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἐποπτεύουσαι καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους κωλύουσιν καὶ ἀβάτους ἀνδράσι τὰς εἰσόδους πλὴν τῶν ἀποκρισιarίων καταστήσουσιν, ‘For such doorkeepers shall be posted at the doors, who may observe the ingress to and egress from the monastery, prohibit egress from it and make ingress impossible except to the *apocrisiaries*’.

It is also important to note that the nun was apparently forced to appear before the authorities: *πέμπουσίν με εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον καθάπαξ πρὸς τὸν κόμιτα*, ‘they are sending me to the *praetorium* once and for all to the *comes*’ (ll. 13–17).

The *praetorium* was the residence and workplace of the governor, but this term could also indicate in general a place to administer justice or decide legal proceedings.²⁶ In the sixth century AD it fell to regional governors and their local officials to uphold the law.²⁷ The post of the *comes* is not well understood today but it was a governor, so he held responsibility for judicial matters. It is possible that the *comes* delegated judicial responsibility to local officials.

The nun was sent to the *praetorium* against her will, but it is not clear who forced her, whether it was her family or the public authorities. If the nun appeared in the court, it is reasonable to assume that she was involved in judicial matters.

According to lines 17–20, the nun is required to write a letter: *καὶ καθ’ ὧραν γράφω ἐπιστολὴν ἐν τάξει νοταρίων*, ‘and in this moment I write a letter in the office of the notaries’.²⁸ This fact can be compared to *Nov.* 133, 6 (AD 539), where monks caught on the run in a secular place were taken to the court of justice, from where the superiors of their monasteries would be informed.²⁹ It is therefore possible to assume that the

²⁶ A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l’Égypte romaine*, Warsaw 1986, pp. 49–51, 177–178. Greek papyri show *praetoria* in Antinoopolis (SB XVIII 13174 [3rd c. AD]), Arsinoe (P. Oslo III 77 = SB V 8253 [2nd c. AD]; P. Flor. III 350, 2 [3rd c. AD]; P. Laur. I 19 [3rd c. AD]; P. Berl. Zill. 8 [7th c. AD]; SB I 5253 [7th c. AD]), Hermopolis (CPR IX 69 [6th–7th c. AD]; PSI V 477 [6th c. AD]), Panopolis (BGU I 288 [2nd c. AD]; PSI VII 742 [5th–6th c. AD]; P. Cair. Masp. III 67330, fol. 3, 14 [6th c. AD]), Oxyrhynchos (P. Oxy. III 471 [2nd c. AD]; XVI 1921 [7th c. AD]), and Koptos (P. Got. 7 [4th c. AD]).

²⁷ Germaine ROUILLARD, *L’administration civile de l’Égypte byzantine*, Paris 1928, pp. 149–151.

²⁸ A notary of the *comes* is mentioned in P. Cair. Masp. I 67058, fol. VII, l. 9 (Antaiopolite, 6th c. AD).

²⁹ *Nov.* 133, 6: *Ὡστε εἰ φανείη τις τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων μοναχῶν εἰς τι τῶν καπηλείων ἀναστρεφόμενος, τοῦτον εὐθὺς παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἐκδίκοις ἢ ἐνταῦθα τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς, σωφρονίζεσθαι τε διελεγχόμενον καὶ μηνύεσθαι τοῦτο τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐξελαύνειν τοῦ μοναστηρίου τὸν ταῦτα πλημμελήσαντα, οἷα τὸν ἐν αἰσχύνῃ βίον τῆς ἀγγελικῆς ταύτης καταστάσεως ἀλλαξάμενον*, ‘That if one of the pious monks appears

nun was found outside of her monastery and was taken to the *praetorium*, where a report was sent to the mother superior of her nunnery.

The letter is addressed to the mother superior since she was the highest administrative and spiritual authority in the nunnery, and consequently she took full responsibility for all events taking place in her establishment. In the above-mentioned *Nov.* 133, 1 of Justinian (AD 539), ultimate responsibility for granting permission for mobility to monks and nuns lay on the shoulders of the father superior, and therefore the mother superior for female monasteries.³⁰ The present text does not make it clear that the superior ever gave her permission to the nun, but she was apparently aware of the matter, as we can deduce from the opening statement in the letter in which the nun states that *ὅτι ὠλιγώρησας δι' ἐμὲ ὅτι ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου Ἀπα Σαρουσ. ὠλιγώρησα οὖν*, 'that you were discouraged³¹ because I left the monastery of Apa Sarous. So I was discouraged' (ll. 8–12).

It is very likely that, when the public authorities in the *praetorium* interrogated the nun about the matter, they wanted to know if the mother superior knew about it. We can assume that the public authorities could hold the mother superior responsible, due to the fact that the letter depicts her as being directly involved in the matter, as lines 22–26 show: *ἕως οὐ ἂν συντάσσωσίν με ὅτι οὐκέτι ἀναγκάζουσίν σε καί*, 'so that they

to live in some tavern, he shall immediately be delivered to the defender of the city, and here to the tribunal of Your Sublimity, and if he is convicted, he shall be chastised and reported to the abbot, so that he may expel the person who does this, changing an angelic status for a dishonourable life, from the monastery'.

³⁰ *Nov.* 133, 1: *Βουλόμεθα γὰρ τῆς νῦν σφοδρότεραν γενέσθαι τὴν παρατήρησιν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν μὴ πολλὰς εἶναι τὰς εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον εἰσόδους, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἢ δύο τυχόν, ἐφεστάναι τε τῇ πυλίδι ἄνδρας γεγηρακότας καὶ σώφρονας καὶ μεμαρτυρημένους ἐξ ἀπάντων. οἵπερ οὔτε τοῖς εὐλαβεστάτοις μοναχοῖς συγχωρήσουσι χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ ἡγουμένου γνώμης ἐκφοιτᾶν ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου*, 'We want a stricter rule to be followed than now; and in the first place we do not want the monastery to have any entrances but one, or perhaps two, and old and chaste men, approved by the testimony of all, shall stand at the door, who shall not permit the religious monks to leave the monastery without the consent of the abbot'.

³¹ The verb *ὠλιγωρέω* was translated 'to be troubled' by Rea in the *editio princeps*; for the meaning of this verb as 'to be discouraged' see the translation of SB XVIII 13762 by R. BAGNALL & Raffaella CRIBIORE, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800*, Ann Arbor 2008, p. 235.

should come to an agreement with me that they will no longer use compulsion on you'. Nevertheless, it is likely that the imperial authorities ultimately determined that the mother superior was not to blame because, immediately after that, the nun states in lines 29–34: *μὴ οὖν ὀλιγωρήσατε δι' ἐμέ ὅλως, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύσατέ με ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν*, 'So do not be discouraged on my account at all, but remember me in your prayers'. I believe that this sentence indicates that the nun was the only person responsible for her deed.

Also, imperial constitutions established by Justinian ordered monks who had left their monasteries to appear before the public authorities;³² these authorities, including bishops,³³ had responsibility for sending the monks back to their monasteries.³⁴ In *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3150 we find that the nun said in lines 26–28 *καὶ ἤνεγκ[ό]ν με πάλιν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον*, 'and they brought me back again to the same place'. John Rea pointed out the possibility – or doubt – that the sentence could be translated 'they will (?) bring me back again to the same (holy?) place'. However, since *ἤνεγκον* stands in the aorist, one must translate it in the past tense; moreover, the

³² C. 1, 3, 52, 9–10 (AD 531): *βουλομένην αὐτοὺς μὴ καταλιμπάνειν τὰ οἰκεία μοναστήρια (...) Ὡς καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτό τι πράττων ἐπιδοθήσεται τῇ βουλῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης, ἐξ ἧς ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν ἐν δικαστηρίου, 'prohibits them from leaving the monasteries and roam about in cities (...) If he does so, he shall be delivered over to the curia of the city in which he was born, or of another city'; Nov. 5, 6 (AD 535): *Εἰ δὲ ἀπολιπὼν τὸ μοναστήριον εἴς τινα ἔλθοι στρατείαν ἢ ἕτερον βίου σχῆμα (...) αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ταξεώταις τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἄρχοντος τετάξεται, καὶ τοῦτον ἔξει τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸν καρπὸν, καὶ ὃ γε τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ὑπεριδὼν δικαστηρίου χθαμαλοῦ προσκαρτερεῖται δουλείᾳ*, 'But if he leaves the monastery and takes up imperial service or other manner of life, he himself shall be compelled to join the order of provincial officials of the honourable president of the province, and the result of the change shall be, that as he despised the divine service, he shall remain in the service of a worldly judge'; and Nov. 123, 42 (AD 546): *Ἐὰν μοναχὸς καταλείψῃ τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ εἰς κοσμικὸν βίον μετέλθῃ, τοῦτον τῆς στρατείας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς*, 'If a monk leaves a monastery and returns to a secular life, he shall first be shorn of every position of service and honour, if he has any, and shall be thrown into a monastery by the bishop of the place and the president of the province'. Cf. Nov. 133, 6 (AD 539), quoted above in n. 29.*

³³ Nov. 123, 42 (AD 546), see previous note.

³⁴ Greg. M., *Epist.* VIII, 8 and 9, mentions that a bishop ordered the daughter of Tullianus, a Roman patrician, to return to her monastery, from where she had run away.

term *τόπος*, despite the fact that it can be used to refer to holy places such as monasteries,³⁵ is a general term which can also refer to any other place. Thus, even though this sentence unclear, it could be interpreted as if the nun was sent back to her home; this can be understood based on the previous lines (ll. 20–24), in which the nun pointed out that ‘I was outside my house until they should come to an agreement with me’. Therefore, it is possible that the nun had not yet gone back to the monastery.

OTHER FEATURES OF THE LETTER

There are other interesting features of this letter that provide additional details to the plot. The monastic habit was the external symbol of monastic life after its adoption by a given person.³⁶ Despite the fact that the nun was outside her monastery and she could come back to her home, she was compelled to continue following a monastic life by force of law. This implies that she was forced to take the habit again, a requirement that was both symbolic and practical.

³⁵ Mariachiara GIORDA, *Il regno di Dio in terra: le fondazioni monastiche egiziane tra V e VII secolo* [= *Temi e testi* 94], Rome 2011, pp. 21–29.

³⁶ On female monastic garments, see María Jesús ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, ‘El hábito monástico femenino en Egipto (siglos IV–VI)’, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 5 (2008), pp. 23–34; EADEM, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos* (cit. n. 5), pp. 91–103. On monastic garments in general, see R.-G. COQUIN, ‘À propos des vêtements des moines égyptiens’, *BSAC* 31 (1992), pp. 3–23; Maria MOSSAKOWSKA, ‘Maphorion dans l’habit monastique en Égypte’, [in:] *Aspects de l’artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen (Égypte, Grèce, monde romain)* [= *CIAHA* 2], Paris 1996, pp. 27–37; A. DE VOGUE, ‘Aux origines de l’habit monastique (III^e–IX^e siècle)’, *StudMon* 43 (2001), pp. 7–20; Sofía TORALLAS TOVAR, ‘El hábito monástico en Egipto y su simbología’, *Ilu, Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 7 (2002), pp. 163–174; Maria MOSSAKOWSKA-GAUBERT, ‘Les origines des tuniques à manches courtes et sans manches utilisés para les moines égyptiens (IV^e – début du VII^e siècle)’, *AntTard* 12 (2004), pp. 153–167; Sofía TORALLAS TOVAR, ‘The terminology of monastic garments’, [in:] M. GRÜN-BART *et alii* (eds.), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453)*, Vienna 2007, pp. 219–224; Anne BOUD’HORS, ‘Le «scapulaire» et la mélote: nouvelles attestations dans les textes coptes?’, [in:] Anne BOUD’HORS & Catherine LOUIS (eds.), *Études coptes XI: Treizième journée d’études (Marseille, 7–9 juin 2007)* [= *CBC* 17], Paris 2010, pp. 65–79.

This could explain the ending of the letter, in which the nun asked the mother superior to prepare her clothes: *ποιήσον καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα καὶ τὴν στολήν μου*, 'Prepare the veil and my dress' (ll. 36–39), which seems to refer to monastic garments. It seems obvious that her habit would have to be prepared for her return to monastic life, since the woman was forced back to her vows.

It is well known from different sources that monks and nuns were identified by their garments, which were external symbols of monastic life.³⁷ Pachomian and Shenoutian monastic rules show that anyone who joined these two congregations had to strip off all the clothes he was wearing and put on the garments of a monk. He could wear these garments after a period of time to prove his vocation.³⁸ Imperial law insisted on keeping a probation period of three years for monks and nuns before they were definitively invested with the monastic habit,³⁹ punishing any lay people who wore it improperly.⁴⁰

³⁷ Cf. C. Gangr., *Can.* 13 (AD 345); C. 1, 4, 4 (AD 394); *Nov.* 123, 40, 43, and 44 (AD 546).

³⁸ Pachomian Rule, *Praecepta* 69; Shenoutian Rule, canon 9 (see B. LAYTON, 'Rules, patterns, and the exercise of power in Shenoute's monastery: The problem of world replacement and identity maintenance', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15 [2007], pp. 59–60). Cf. *Arabic Synaxarium*, Phamenothe 15: Sarah; Thoth 20: Theopista.

³⁹ *Nov.* 5, 2 (AD 535): Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν τοῖς θείοις ἀκολουθοῦντες κανόσι, τοὺς εἰς μονήρην βίον παραγγέλλοντας μὴ προχείρως εὐθὺς παρὰ τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἡγουμένων τῶν εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων σχῆμα λαμβάνειν μοναχικόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τριετίαν ὅλην, εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι τυχόν εἴτε δοῦλοι καθεστήκοιεν, 'We therefore ordain, following the sacred canons, that those who devote themselves to a monastic life, shall not inconsiderately and immediately receive the monastic attire from the reverend abbots of the venerable monasteries, but they shall remain, whether they are free or slaves, for a full term of three years'; cf. *Nov.* 123, 35 (AD 546): Εἴ τις δὲ εἰς μοναχικὸν βίον ἐλθεῖν βουληθεῖ, κελεύομεν, ἵνα εἰ μὲν γνώριμός ἐστιν ὅτι οὐδεμιᾷ τύχῃ ὑπόκειται, ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὅτε συνίδει τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῷ παράσχει, εἰ δὲ μὴ γνωρίζεται εἰ οἰαδήποτε ὑπόκειται τύχῃ, ἐντὸς τριῶν ἑνιαυτῶν μὴ λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν τὸ σχῆμα τὸ μοναχικόν, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τοῦ εἰρημένου χρόνου ἀποπειράσθω τῆς τούτου ἀναστροφῆς ὁ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἡγούμενος, 'If any one, moreover, wants to take up a monastic life, and he is known not to be subject to any condition (which binds him to his station), the abbot of the monastery, if it seems good to him, shall furnish him with a (monastic) garb. But if it is not known whether he is subject to any condition, he shall not receive a monastic garb for three years, but the abbot of the monastery shall try him out during the aforesaid time'.

⁴⁰ *Nov.* 123, 44 (AD 546): Πᾶσι δὲ καθάπαξ τοῖς ἐν κοσμικῷ ἀναστρεφόμενοις, καὶ μάλιστα

The two garments mentioned in this papyrus correspond to the two fundamental parts of the female monastic habit: the dress and the veil.⁴¹ The word used for the dress is *στολή*, which can be compared with the equally general term *ἱμάτιον* used by Athanasius of Alexandria and Palladius for the female monastic dress.⁴²

The veil is referred to with the term *καταπέτασμα*. This word was used in Christian sources to refer to curtains, covering cloths, or church veils dividing the sanctuary from the nave (it is also used for veils in pagan temples),⁴³ following the New Testament tradition of the curtain torn in two.⁴⁴ However, in this papyrus the word appears in a sequence of clothes, so it seems to be a personal vestment, not a temple curtain or veil.

τοῖς τὰ σκηνικά μετερχομένοις ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξί. καὶ μὴν καὶ ταῖς προῖσταμέναις ἀπαγορεύομεν κεκρήσθαι σχήματι μοναχοῦ ἢ μοναστρίας ἢ ἀσκητρίας ἢ οἰωδῆποτε τρόπῳ τοῦτο μιμεῖσθαι, ἐπισταμένων πάντων τῶν τολμώντων ἢ χρήσασθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ σχήματι ἢ μιμήσασθαι ἢ ἐμπαῖξαι εἰς οἰανδῆποτε ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν, ὅτι καὶ σωματικὰς τιμωρίας ὑποστήσονται καὶ ἐξορία παραδοθήσονται, 'We, moreover, forbid all persons who lead a secular life, and especially those who are on the stage, men and women, and prostitutes, to wear the garb of a monk, nun or female ascetic, or to imitate such garb in any way, knowing that if they use or imitate such garb or dare to make sport of any ecclesiastical condition, they will be punished corporally and sent into exile'. Cf. C. 1, 4, 4 (AD 394): *Mimae et quae ludibrio corporis sui quaestum faciunt publice habitum earum virginum, quae dicatae sunt, non utantur*, 'Mimes and persons who make their living by the play of their bodies, shall not publicly use the dress of virgins consecrated to God'.

⁴¹ Cf. Pall., *H. Laus*. 33 and 59.

⁴² Ath., *Virg.* 11; Pall., *H. Laus*. 59; cf. *P. Wisc.* II 64. This word does not correspond to *λεβίτων*, which is generally used in literary texts; e.g. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* 10, 9; Pall., *H. Laus*. 32; *Apophthegmata Patrum*, alphabetic collection, Abba Theodoros of Pherme 18 and 29; Abba John of Perse 2; Abba Chronios 5; Abba Phocas 1; systematical collection, V, 26; VI, 20. Also, the term *κολόβιον* is frequently used in papyri; see TORALLAS TOVAR, 'El hábito monástico en Egipto' (cit. n. 36), p. 166, n. 18. Both terms can be compared to Coptic term *σοολες*, 'dress'. It is used in *P. Pisentius* 28, a letter from two dressmakers to bishop Pisentius of Koptos, to describe ecclesiastical or monastic garments.

⁴³ G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 714.

⁴⁴ Matt. 27:51; Mark 15:38, and Luke 23:45 (cf. Heb. 6:19; 9:3; 10:20). In Old Testament it refers to a curtain (Exod. 26:37) or temple veil (Exod. 26:33) without distinction. In papyrological texts it is only used in lists of church properties: *P. Grenf.* II III, 7 (Hibion, 5th–6th c. AD), *P. Leid. Inst.* 13 (unknown provenance, 6th–7th c. AD); *P. Ryl. Copt.* 238 (Hermopolite, 7th c. AD).

Covering the head and hair with a veil was an early practice among Christian women. According to the earliest sources, the veil was made of thick fabric.⁴⁵ In the Greek text of *Traditio Apostolica* 18 one finds the terms *πάλλιον* and *κάλυμμα*, both with the same meaning, namely a veil made of thick fabric to be worn by women. Athanasius of Alexandria and Palladius used the term *μαφόριον* to refer to a veil or cloak worn by nuns or monks.⁴⁶ It is described as a cloak that covers the neck and the back.⁴⁷ As Anthony Alcock has already suggested,⁴⁸ the *καταπέτασμα* was in fact a veil or cloak, and may be linked to the *μαφόριον* (contrary to the *editio princeps*' interpretation as 'curtain', which does not make sense in the context of this letter), hence, a garment covering the head.⁴⁹

P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 mentions another piece of clothing using the term *μοζίκιον* (l. 35), which can be interpreted as a belt. The monastic dress was tightened at the waist with a belt. John Rea, based on personal information by Anthony Alcock,⁵⁰ proposed that the Greek term is a Coptic loanword *μοχρ*, which also means 'girdle, belt'.⁵¹ On the one hand, in Greek texts the term used for a belt is *ζώνη*, which occurs, for example, in Palladius' *Lausiac History* 32, 25 to describe the belt of the Pachomian monastic garment.⁵² On the other hand, in Coptic texts from the Pachomian corpus, the belt of the monastic habit was described with the term *μοχρ* or *μοχρ*.⁵³

⁴⁵ 1 Cor. 11:1-16.

⁴⁶ Ath., *Virg.* 11; Pall., *H. Laus.* 59.

⁴⁷ *Apophthegmata Patrum*, alphabetical collection, Abba Theodoros of Pherme 18 and 29; Abba Chronios 5; systematical collection, IV, 83; Ioh. Cassian., *Institutiones Coenobiorum* I, 6. See A. BAZZERO, 'ΜΑΦΟΡΤΗΣ', *Studi della Scuola di Papirologia* II (1917), pp. 95-102; Joëlle BEAUCAMP, 'Organization domestique et rôles sexuels: Les papyrus byzantins', *DOP* 47 (1993), pp. 185-194.

⁴⁸ ALCOCK, 'P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 revisited' (cit. n. 2), p. 188.

⁴⁹ MOSSAKOWSKA, 'Maphorion' (cit. n. 36), p. 37.

⁵⁰ ALCOCK, 'P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 revisited' (cit. n. 2), p. 188.

⁵¹ Cf. W. VYICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1983, pp. 132-133.

⁵² Cf. Matt. 3:4; Mark 1:6; Rev. 1:13-15, 6.

⁵³ Karour, *Apocalypse* (ed. L.-Th. LEFORT, *Œuvres de S. Pacôme et de ses disciples* [= CSCO 159-160; *Scriptores Coptici* 23-24], Leuven 1964-1965, p. 102).

Some literary texts show that different parts of monastic attire had a spiritual meaning for monastic life.⁵⁴ Despite the fact that the texts that described the monastic habit directly referred to male garments, these descriptions are apparently also related to female monastic garments. According to the writings of Karour, the disciple of Pachomius of Tabennese, the tunic symbolized the prudence of monks.⁵⁵ The hood symbolized obedience and innocence, something that can be translated to the symbolism of the female veil. The belt symbolized courage or chastity,⁵⁶ being tightened to the waist in order to prevent any impurity.

Therefore, could the symbolism of the belt be related to the sentence written in the letter by the nun, 'So, give my belt to him'? When the nun left the monastery and returned to secular life, she became contaminated by the impurity of worldly life. For this reason, would she be allowed to wear the belt again? It is not clear who the man referred to as the recipient of the belt was. Since the belt was apparently an important element, could it be that that man was a person in a position of authority? Might he have been a man known to the sender and the addressee, despite not being mentioned previously in the text? Would this imply that he was a cleric, such as a priest linked to the female monastery? The community could have been served by a priest for the liturgy;⁵⁷ could he have assisted mother superior?

⁵⁴ *Apophthegmata Patrum*, anonymus collection 55; Evagr. Pont., *Praktikos*, prologue 2–5; Karour, *Apocalypse* (ed. LEFORT, *Œuvres de S. Pacôme* [cit. n. 53], p. 102); see TORALLAS TOVAR, 'El hábito monástico' (cit. n. 36), pp. 171–174; ALBARRÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Ascetismo y monasterios femeninos* (cit. n. 5), pp. 101–102.

⁵⁵ Karour, *Apocalypse* (ed. LEFORT, *Œuvres de S. Pacôme* [cit. n. 53], p. 102).

⁵⁶ Cf. Isa. 22:21 ('and I will clothe him with your robe, and strengthen him with your girdle').

⁵⁷ Literary sources and Roman law show that female communities were served by priests in liturgical service: see Pall., *H. Laus.* 33; Shenoutian Rule, canon 5 (LAYTON, 'Rules, patterns, and the exercise' [cit. n. 38], pp. 58–59); *Nov.* 133, 5 (AD 539): *Καὶ οὐ μόνον εἴπερ ἀνδρῶν εἴη τὸ μοναστήριον ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ γυναικῶν τυχόν, εἶναι δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἢ εὐνούχους. εἰ δυνατόν, ἢ τῶν γεγηρακότων τε καὶ ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ μεμαρτυρημένων. οἵπερ τὰ πράγματα αὐταῖς πράξουσιν καὶ τὴν ἄρρητον αὐταῖς διαδώσουσιν κοινωνίαν, ἡνίκα τούτου καιρός*, 'Not only a monastery for men, but also one for women, shall have two or three men, eunuchs, if possible, or old men, approved for their chastity, who shall attend to the

Alternatively, *αὐτῷ* may refer to the messenger delivering the letter from the *praetorium* to the monastery of Apa Sarous. It could be that he was supposed to return with the nun's belt, so that she could wear it at her reinsertion. However, the text does not make this point clear, allowing us to consider other possibilities.

Finally, comparing this text to imperial law allows us to pinpoint the date of the letter more accurately. Rea dated it only generally to the sixth century AD, and Alcock did not propose any adjustment to the initial date. In my opinion, the legal background of this papyrus provides a dating element that cannot be disregarded. *Nov.* 5 (AD 535), 133 (AD 539), and 123 (AD 546) established by Justinian show the dispositions present in our document; so the date of document is around or later than these constitutions.

In conclusion, *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3150 is a letter written by a nun who left her monastery and apparently went back home to her family. The cause of this action or decision is unknown because it is not explained in the text. The letter itself was written at the office of imperial scribes, which implies that the woman was going to be forced back into her original status as a nun. In this article I have attempted to prove that there is a clear legal background that explains the course of the events. In the times of the emperor Justinian, imperial law – as much as ecclesiastical canons and monastic rules – was strict about the monks and nuns being bound to their communities. There was an extensive set of legal dispositions, which are reflected in this Oxyrhynchus papyrus.

The nun in our text was brought before the imperial authorities in order to explain and account for her actions, according to the law. Subsequently, on the one hand, she explained her current situation to the

business matters and administer the ineffable communion when it is time for that'; *Nov.* 123, 36 (AD 546): *Ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν ὃν ἂν αὐταὶ ἐπιλέξωνται εἴτε πρεσβύτερον εἴτε διάκονον εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν αὐταῖς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν αὐταῖς κοινωνίαν φέρειν ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος ὑφ' ὃν εἰσιν ἀποκληρούτω, εἰ ὀρθῆς πίστεως καὶ βίου καλοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι γνοίῃ, 'If the women chose a man, whether a presbyter or deacon, to manage their business or to administer the holy communion, the reverend bishop to whom they are subject, shall designate such person (for such purpose), if he knows him to be of the right faith and of upright life'.*

mother superior of her monastery, being the highest authority of the convent, through this letter, written in the *officina* of imperial scribes. On the other hand, she could not abandon monastic life, despite the fact that she apparently managed to come to an agreement with the imperial authorities not to return to the monastery, at least temporarily. However, the writing of the letter itself corresponds to the legal dispositions that regulated the reinsertion of monks and nuns on the run.

María-Jesús Albarrán Martínez

Universidad de Alcalá

IRHT, CNRS

Collège de France

52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine

75005 Paris

FRANCE

e-mail: maria-jesus.albarran@irht.cnrs.fr





Gert Baetens

DEMOTIC PETITIONING*

1. INTRODUCTION

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS THE FIRST RESULTS of a four-year project on petitioning practices in Ptolemaic Egypt, funded by the Research Foundation Flanders. Petitions are formal communications addressed to the authorities in order to obtain their support in a dispute or other extraordinary circumstances. The most conspicuous difference between what we would call petitions in antiquity and petitions today is that the latter mostly relate to general problems and are signed by a large group of unrelated people, while in antiquity petitions were written by individuals or small groups of interrelated individuals who were treated unjustly. Greek petitions have received ample attention in scholarly debate, but surprisingly not a single study on their Demotic counterparts has been

* My express gratitude goes out to Mark Depauw and Willy Clarysse for their valuable advice on various documents discussed in this paper, and to Yanne Broux for correcting my English. While writing this paper, I had access to photographs of several unpublished texts. For this opportunity I would like to thank Brigitte Bakech, Marie-Pierre Chaufray, Frédéric Colin, Christina di Cerbo, Claudio Gallazzi, Verena Lepper, Joachim Quack, Kim Ryholt, Marcela Trapani, Günter Vittmann, and Andreas Winkler. Trismegistos numbers are given for all cited papyri in this paper. They can be used on the Trismegistos website to retrieve additional information (<<http://www.trismegistos.org/>>).

written so far.¹ Moreover, many historians seem to be largely ignorant of the rich documentation they contain.² A foundation for further research on Demotic petitioning has been laid by Mark Depauw, who discusses petitions as a type of document related to letters in his monograph on the Demotic letter. Within the petitioning genre, he distinguishes memoranda (*mḳmḳ*) from a second type of much longer and more rare petitions, and notes that ‘*n-smṯ*’ might possibly constitute a third category.³ It is beyond his scope to discuss Demotic petitions in detail, however; he only wishes to offer an overview of the existing evidence, mainly from epis-

¹ Old, but indispensable works on Greek petitions from the Ptolemaic period are: E. BICKERMANN, ‘Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte. III. Ἐντευξις und ὑπόμνημα’, *AfP* 9 (1930), pp. 155–182; P. COLLOMP, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides* [= *Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l’Université de Strasbourg* 29], Paris 1926; O. GUÉRAUD, *Enteuxeis: requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d’Égypte au III^e siècle avant J. C.* [= *Publications de la Société royale égyptienne de papyrologie, Textes et documents* 1], Cairo 1931. Anna Di Bitonto has written three articles about the formulas of Greek petitions: Anna DI BITONTO, ‘Le petizioni al re’, *Aegyptus* 47 (1967), pp. 5–57; EADEM, ‘Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico’, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968), pp. 53–107; EADEM, ‘Frammenti di petizioni del periodo tolemaico’, *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), pp. 109–143. More recent articles on Ptolemaic petitions are: J. HENGSTL, ‘Petita in Petitionen gräko-ägyptischer Papyri’, [in:] G. THÜR & Julie VÉLISSAROPOULOS-KARAKOSTAS (eds.), *Symposion 1995: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* [= *Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* 11], Cologne 1997, pp. 265–289; Eftychia STAVRIANOPOULOU, ‘Τοῦ δικαίου τυχεῖν, oder: Die Macht der Bitte’, [in:] Christina KUHN (ed.), *Politische Kommunikation und öffentliche Meinung in der antiken Welt*, Stuttgart 2012, pp. 123–149. Finally, John Bauschatz has written a chapter on the subject in his recent monograph on the Ptolemaic police: J. BAUSCHATZ, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 160–217. For petitioning practice in Roman Egypt, see B. KELLY, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt*, Oxford 2011.

² HENGSTL, ‘Petita in Petitionen’ (cit. n. 1), p. 281, states that ‘Griechisch ist die Sprache der Verwaltung und folglich auch der Eingaben’. Next, he gives examples of individuals that used Demotic documents for different purposes, but petitioned in Greek. BAUSCHATZ, *Law and Enforcement* (cit. n. 1), p. 188, is aware of their existence, but only one of his examples, UPZ I 6a (TM 3497), might be a petition. *P. Bürgsch.* 22 (TM 4452) and *P. Lille Dem.* I 4 (TM 2857) are contract sureties; *P. Bürgsch.* 16 (TM 43897) is a letter.

³ M. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against Their Intra- and Intercultural Background* [= *Demotische Studien* 14], Sommerhausen 2006, pp. 323–332.

tolographic and formulaic point of view. This paper aims to develop a more comprehensive image of Demotic petitioning.

The focus of this article lies on the Ptolemaic period, in which an autonomous and delineated group of petitions originated in Demotic as well as Greek. A short examination of indigenous petitioning practices before the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great, however, will serve as starting point. Next an overview of Demotic petitions and related types of documents during the Ptolemaic period will be offered, and lastly, the socio-legal context of Demotic petitions will be discussed and their relation to Greek petitions in the same period. A list of Demotic petitions is added in the appendix.

2. PETITIONING BEFORE THE PTOLEMIES

It is no easy task to assess petitioning practices during the pre-Ptolemaic period. The lion's share of evidence for interpersonal disputes and their resolution during the New Kingdom originates from Deir el-Medina; evidence from other communities is rather scarce. Moreover, the interpretation of legal documents from the New Kingdom poses many difficulties. If a dispute could not be resolved in an informal way,⁴ people had the possibility to make a complaint to the authorities. Post factum records of disputes and proceedings of the court (*ḳnb.t*) often mention such complaints.⁵ Personal statements made in court have been preserved, written

⁴ Interestingly, several letters give witness to attempts to solve disputes in an informal way. Complaints are often addressed against the wrongdoer him-/herself, e.g. in O. Gardiner inv. 5 (TM 136014), where the letter writer reproaches the addressee for using other people's pots of fat. In O. Berlin inv. P. 12630 (TM 136331), a workman who did not receive his payment approaches the wife of the debtor for rectification.

⁵ Cf. Andrea G. McDOWELL, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* [= *Egyptologische uitgaven* 5], Leiden 1990, pp. 13–14. Cf. S. ALLAM, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh* [= *Untersuchungen zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten* 1], Tübingen 1973, pp. 53–55; C. EYRE, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, Oxford 2013, pp. 113–115. The verb *sml* is often encountered in this context: cf. section 3.5: 'Petitions and related genres'.

in the first person singular and recognizable by their typical introductory formulas.⁶ Long lists of charges offer an interesting insight into criminality during the New Kingdom, but their exact purpose in relation to the litigation process remains obscure.⁷ Alternatively, people could resort to oracular questions. In Deir el-Medina, several queries addressed to the deceased and divinized king Amenophis I have been found, but oracular questions from other localities are known as well.⁸ The god was consulted during processions and expressed his opinion by moving in a certain direction. Consultants could submit yes or no questions or questions with two possible answers from which the god could choose his answer. Alternative procedures existed for special cases: for instance, a list of names could be read out from which the god appointed the culprit.⁹ According to popular belief, the consulted god was capable of making correct judgments about legal affairs, and had the power to settle disputes. A clear delineation between civil jurisdiction and oracular jurisdiction probably did not exist.¹⁰

⁶ Cf. K. DONKER VAN HEEL & B. J. J. HARING, *Writing in a Workmen's Village: Scribal Practice in Ramesside Deir el-Medina* [= *Egyptologische uitgaven* 16], Leiden 2003, pp. 167–171. Cf. also A. H. GARDINER, 'The inscription of Mes. A contribution to the study of Egyptian legal procedure', *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 4/3 (1905), pp. 89–140.

⁷ The best-known example is P. Salt inv. 124 = P. BM inv. 10055 (TM 139327), a long list of charges against the chief-workman Paneb, probably for the attention of the vizier. Interestingly the text begins with an introduction written by the plaintiff in the first person. But often the context of such documents is more obscure, e.g. P. Turin inv. 1887 (TM 322159), a long list of charges against at least three persons, submitted by an unknown individual to an unknown authority or possibly drafted by the authorities themselves. Interestingly, separate entries in these lists are introduced through *shꜣ* ('memorandum'), which reminds of the *mḳmḳ* / ὑπόμνημα format of Ptolemaic petitions (cf. section 3.1: 'mḳmḳ').

⁸ Cf. Sandra LIPPERT, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* [= *Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* 5], Münster 2008, pp. 82–84; McDOWELL, *Jurisdiction* (cit. n. 5), pp. 107–141.

⁹ McDOWELL, *Jurisdiction* (cit. n. 5), p. 109.

¹⁰ D. KESSLER, 'Bemerkungen zur Tempel- und Gottesgerichtsbarkeit im Neuen Reich', [in:] Z. A. HAWASS, A. D. KHALED, & B. H. RAMADAN (eds.), *Scribe of Justice: Egyptological Studies in Honour of Shafik Allam*, Cairo 2011, pp. 249–263.

Still, none of the named documents give witness to petitioning *stricto sensu*. Letters seem to have served a similar function as petitions did in later periods. Nice examples can be found in the Late-Egyptian miscellanies.¹¹ They include letters in which people address complaints and requests concerning conscription, taxation, and other disputes to officials. It is not entirely clear if the documentary texts recorded in these miscellanies are authentic or fictitious, but at least they do reflect scribal practices during the New Kingdom.¹² Probably they served as model-letters, together with other examples in the miscellanies that do not contain a request.¹³ Letters with requests and complaints can be found outside the miscellanies corpus as well. In O. Chicago inv. 16991 (TM 138690), once more from Deir el-Medina, the scribe Neferhotep complains to the vizier about the failure to provide adequate income in rations for the workmen. In P. Valençay inv. 1 (TM 316913), the mayor of Elephantine writes to the chief tax-master to protest against tax claims raised by a scribe of the estate. All these documents show that there was no distinction between petitions and letters during the New Kingdom, or more accurately formulated: during the New Kingdom people could address their complaints to officials in letters.

Several Demotic letters from the Late Period include extant requests as well, but none of them seem to be of extraordinary nature; the requests they formulate are always ordinary and/or business-related. Persian rule also introduced Aramaic documentation in Egypt. The fifth-century BC archive of Jedaniah, the leader of the Jewish community of Elephantine, contains several letters and letter drafts that could be considered epistolary petitions, including the famous request to Bagavahya, governor of

¹¹ Transcriptions: A. H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brussels 1937; translations: R. A. CAMINOS, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954. Some of them literally refer to themselves as *šꜥ.t*: P. Anastasi inv. 6 (TM 322162), l. 7; P. Bologna inv. 1094 (TM 322163), col. V, l. 1; P. Sallier inv. 1 (TM 322164), col. IX, l. 1. For *šꜥ.t* designating letters, see DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 257–258.

¹² Cf. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (cit. n. 11), p. ix; more recently F. HAGEN, 'Literature, transmission, and the Late-Egyptian miscellanies', [in:] R.J. DANN (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2004. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium*, Oxford 2006, pp. 84–99.

¹³ F. HAGEN, 'Literature' (cit. n. 12), p. 95.

Yehud, for a letter of recommendation to rebuild the temple in Elephantine.¹⁴

From the sixth century BC there is the famous *P. Ryl. Dem.* 9 (TM 47388) or ‘petition of Petiese’. Can this document be viewed as the first Demotic petition? The lengthy text of 25 columns can be divided into four parts.¹⁵ The first section is a report about events that took place in year 9 of Darius I and shortly thereafter; the second is an earlier report, addressed to the secretary of state (*snty*) and referred to in the first section; the third contains copies of two hieratic stelae; the fourth three hymns to Amun. Not a single part seems to be original, judging from the nature of the corrections that appear throughout the text. This curious ensemble of texts does not lend itself easily to interpretation.¹⁶ Günter Vittmann argues that the first two sections might constitute a petition which the priest Petiese wanted to submit or had submitted to a high official. The report of the second section had probably been sent to the secretary of the state earlier on, but was attached in copy to the later report copied in the first section.¹⁷ Erwin Seidl argues that this text cannot be a petition, because it contains no *petitum*.¹⁸ Vittmann, however, refers to a Greek *ἐντευξις* (UPZ I 20 = TM 3411) with two preceding drafts (UPZ I 18 and 19 = TM 3409 and 3410), of which only the second draft contains the actual *petitum*. In the final redaction (UPZ I 20) some irrelevant elements from both drafts are left out.¹⁹ According to

¹⁴ B. PORTEN & Ada YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic documents from Ancient Egypt I: Letters*, Jerusalem 1986, A 4.2 (TM 89406), A 4.5 (TM 89409), A 4.7 (TM 89411), A 4.8 (TM 89412).

¹⁵ G. VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* [= *Ägypten und altes Testament* 38], Wiesbaden 1998.

¹⁶ To some extent, the petition of Petiese might even be a fictional elaboration, rather than a real documentary text that was used as such: EYRE, *The Use of Documents* (cit. n. 5), p. 260; Jacqueline E. JAY, ‘The *Petition of Petiese* reconsidered’, [in:] F. HAIKAL (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Ola el-Aguizy*, Cairo 2015, pp. 229–247; VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (cit. n. 15), pp. ix–xiv.

¹⁷ VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (cit. n. 15), pp. 678–686. Cf. EYRE, *The Use of Documents* (cit. n. 5), pp. 259–260.

¹⁸ E. SEIDL, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit* [= *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 20], Glückstadt 1968 (2nd ed.), p. 8.

¹⁹ Cf. U. WILCKEN, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit I*, Berlin 1927, pp. 187–188.

Vittmann, *P. Ryl. Dem.* 9 might possibly be a similar preliminary petition draft, to which an explicit *petitum* was meant to be added in a later stage: implicitly, a clear request (for certain rights to offering endowments) emanates from the text, a claim that is moreover further supported by the copies of the two stelae in the third section.²⁰ Another possibility is that the first report was a copy of an earlier submitted report rather than a draft as well. In this case, *P. Ryl. Dem.* 9 might have been conceived as a family chronicle, or as a source collection, gathered with the intention of drafting a petition. In any case, the text does not conform in any way to the epistolary complaints of the earlier pharaonic period, nor to the petitions encountered under Ptolemaic rule.

3. PETITIONS AND RELATED DOCUMENTS DURING THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

1. *mḳmḳ*

The Ptolemies introduced new, autonomous types of Greek petitions in Egypt: ἐντεύξεις, ὑπομνήματα, and προσαγγέλματα (partly overlapping with the previous type). The majority of Greek petitions is written in the form of memoranda (ὑπομνήματα). It has long been recognized that the *mḳmḳ* (noun derived from the verb *mḳmḳ*, ‘to think, to consider’)²¹ is the Egyptian counterpart of the ὑπόμνημα.²² These Demotic memoranda are

²⁰ VITTMANN, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (cit. n. 15), pp. 684–692. The hymns recorded in the last part of the papyrus, on the other hand, seem to have no judicial relevance at all. It must also be noted that even UPZ I 18 was conceived as a formalized petition from the start, whereas the first section of *P. Ryl. Dem.* 9 was not.

²¹ Where it is written with the *kʹ* sign, *mḳmḳ* has often been transliterated as *mkmk*. But Vittmann has shown that the *kʹ* sign should be transliterated as *ḳ* here: G. VITTMANN, ‘Zum Gebrauch des *kʹ*-Zeichens im Demotischen’, *Studi di Egittologia e di antichità puniche* 15 (1996), pp. 1–12.

²² The *mḳmḳ* *P. Bürgsch.* 13 (TM 5858) is a literal translation from the Greek ὑπόμνημα *P. Eleph.* 27 (TM 5858). The *mḳmḳ* *P. Bürgsch.* 13 bis A (TM 2789) is explicitly designated as

the ideal starting-point for an examination of Demotic petitioning practice during Ptolemaic rule.²³

The typical prescripts of these documents make them easy to recognize: most commonly $w^c m\bar{k}m\bar{k} n$ (addressee = A) $n-dr.t$ (sender = s) or $w^c m\bar{k}m\bar{k} n-dr.t s n$ A. The first, inversed prescript with the name of the receiver preceding the name of the sender was adopted under influence of the Greek $\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$,²⁴ but in Demotic it was not used exclusively. Several less frequently attested variants of these formulas exist as well.²⁵

Formula	Attestations
$w^c m\bar{k}m\bar{k} n$ A $n-dr.t$ s (‘a memorandum to A from s’)	<i>O. Hor</i> 26 (TM 48993), 31 (TM 48438); P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v ^o , cols. I–II (TM 53821), 10599 (TM 48653), 10600 (TM 44188); P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 2 (TM 51409); P. München BSB inv. 5 (TM 45930); ²⁶ <i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 39 (TM 48545), 40 (TM 48880); P. Syrac. inv. 262 (TM 316183); ²⁷ P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 5169.5, 8334, 8342, 8448 ²⁸

a $\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$ in its Greek subscription: cf. W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus von der Insel Elephantine* [= *Demotische Studien* 2], Milan 1908, pp. 12, 15.

²³ Many short Demotic notes that evade strict classification are commonly called ‘memoranda’ as well, e.g. in G. R. HUGHES, B. P. MUHS, & S. VINSON, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* [= *Oriental Institute Communications* 29], Chicago 2005, pp. 2–3. But in the present paper I use the word ‘memorandum’ in a more strict sense, namely to refer to a group of documents that literally refers to itself as such: the Demotic $m\bar{k}m\bar{k}$ and Greek $\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha$. Because of this confusion WT. Brooklyn inv. 16.649 (= *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 5 = TM 69352) is wrongly listed as a $m\bar{k}m\bar{k}$ in DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 325.

²⁴ For the inversed prescript of Greek $\upsilon\pi\omicron\mu\nu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, cf. DI BITONTO, ‘Le petizioni ai funzionari’ (cit. n. 1), p. 62. I know of only one Demotic letter with a similar inversed arrangement, in its exterior address: *P. Cair.* III 50069 (TM 46709).

²⁵ Reworked version of DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 326–327.

²⁶ To be published by the present author and Pierre-Luc Angles. The text was already described in N. REICH, ‘Aus der Sammlung der demotischen Papyri in der Kgl. Bayrischen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München’, *WZKM* 25 (1911), p. 316, n. 5.

²⁷ Cf. G. BAETENS & M. DEPAUW, ‘A Demotic petition about the misconduct of an official in the Papyrus Museum in Syracuse (P. Syrac. 262)’, *ZPE* 197 (2016), pp. 191–194.

²⁸ The unpublished memoranda P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 4579.12, 4679.11, 5169.5, 5930.3, 8334, 8342, and 8448 were found during the Italian-French excavations in Tebtynis, super-

<i>Formula</i>	<i>Attestations</i>
$w^c m\dot{m}m\dot{k} i.ir-hr \Delta n-dr.t s$ (‘a memorandum to Δ from s ’)	<i>O. Hor</i> I (TM 48969), 2I (TM 48988)
$[w^c] b\dot{z}k m\dot{m}m\dot{k} r dy s n \Delta n-dr.t s^{29}$ (‘a document of memorandum to give to Δ from s ’)	<i>P. Cair.</i> II 30976 r ^o (TM 567) ³⁰
$w^c m\dot{m}m\dot{k} n-dr.t s n \Delta$ (‘a memorandum from s to Δ ’)	<i>P. Lille Dem.</i> II4 (TM 44438); <i>P. Loeb</i> 53 (TM 48851); <i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 37 (TM 46947), 38 (TM 48879), 4I (TM 48881), <i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> [unregistered <i>tomos synkollesimos</i>], r ^o col. II; ³¹ most probably originally in <i>P. Loeb</i> 40 (TM 48850) and 66 (TM 48852) ³²
$w^c m\dot{m}m\dot{k} n-dr.t s i.ir-hr \Delta$ (‘a memorandum from s to Δ ’)	<i>P. Cair.</i> II 3122I (TM 44349)

vised by Claudio Gallazzi. They will be published in the near future and will receive a Trismegistos number at that point of time. *P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv.* 4579.12, 4679.11, and 5930.3 probably contain the same prescript, but are very fragmentary: cf. Christina DI CERBO, ‘Neue demotische Texte aus Tebtynis. Überblick zu den demotischen Papyri der italienisch/französischen Ausgrabung in Tebtynis aus den Jahren 1997–2000’, [in:] F. HOFFMANN & H.-J. THILSEN (eds.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Lauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* [= *Studia Demotica* 6], Leuven 2004, pp. 117–118.

²⁹ Wrongly read [...] $p^3 m\dot{m}m\dot{k}$ by the editor: W. SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* II.2: *Die demotischen Papyrus. Text* [= *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 39], Strasbourg 1908, pp. 210–211.

³⁰ According to Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, this fragment belongs to the same papyrus as *P. Cair.* II 30975 and 30987 (cf. TM 567): Ursula KAPLONY-HECKEL, ‘Der demotische Papyrus Loeb 80 und ein Überblick über die demotischen Gebelein-Briefe und -Verwaltungsschreiben’, [in:] R. DE SMET, H. MELAERTS, & Cecilia SAERENS (eds.), *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii (P. Bingen)* [= *Studia Varia Bruxellensia ad Orbem Graeco-latinum Pertinentia* 5], Leuven 2000, p. 192.

³¹ An unregistered *tomos synkollesimos* from the Soknopaïou Nesos archive, kept in the Ashmolean Museum. The second sheet of the preserved part of the *tomos* (identified as sheet 108 in the heading of the text) is an unpublished $m\dot{m}m\dot{k}$, which the priests of Soknopaïou Nesos addressed to NN son of Herieus, the *lesonis*. Carolin Arlt is currently examining these texts.

³² They seem to be copies of the same text as *P. Loeb* 53; cf. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 326.

Formula	Attestations
$w^c b^3k mkmk n-dr.t s n A$ (‘a document of memorandum from s to A’)	<i>P. Bürgsch.</i> 13 bis A & bis B (TM 44604)
$w^c b^3k mkmk n-dr.t s i.ir-hr A$ (‘a document of memorandum from s to A’)	O. Strasbourg Dem. inv. 246 (TM 316909) ³³
$n A w^c b^3k mkmk n-dr.t s$ (‘to A a document of memorandum from s’)	<i>P. Bürgsch.</i> 13
$w^c mkmk n-dr.t s r dy s n A$ (‘a memorandum from s to give to A’)	P. Berlin inv. 15592, ll. 20–29; ³⁴ P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 1 (TM 51408); WT. Zürich inv. 1894 (TM 51507)
$p^3 b^3k mkmk$ ³⁵ (‘a document of memorandum’)	<i>P. Berl. Dem.</i> III 13567 (TM 48634)

Some texts with a different prescript or no prescript at all can yet be identified as *mkmk*. P. BM Siut inv. 10598 (TM 43409) is introduced by the epistolary prescript $s p^3 nty dd n A$ (‘s is the one who speaks to A’).³⁶ Apart from this, the text is a standard petition and is referred to as *mkmk* (l. 16). O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv. 632 (TM 128947) is a draft for a petition to the *strategos*. The expressions $gm^c m-sš n-dr.t$ (‘harmed exceedingly by’, l. 3) and $iw=f hpr iw=s hs$ (‘if it happens that it pleases’, l. 6) clearly indicate that this is a draft for a *mkmk* (cf. next paragraph). Curiously

³³ To be published by the Arpèges research group. The name of the addressee of this text (*3trstyks*) is puzzling, probably a faulty transcription of Aristodikos. His function is not known.

³⁴ To be published by the present author and Mark Depauw. The text is mentioned in Ursula KAPLONY-HECKEL, ‘Theben-Ost III. Die *r-rh=w*-Tempel-Quittungen und ähnliche Texte. Erster Teil: Allgemeiner Teil und Texte Nr. 18–25’, *ZÄS* 128 (2001), p. 30. Curiously, this *mkmk* mentions two senders (husband and wife) and two addressees (brother and sister) in its prescript. The precise nature of the request of this *mkmk* is unclear.

³⁵ No mention of sender or addressee, because this document is a draft with keywords only.

³⁶ Cf. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 144–147, for this epistolary formula.

enough, however, the text is introduced by *n-dr.t s m-bḥ* A ('from s before A').³⁷ This prescript never appears as such in other texts. On the other hand, the formula *n-dr.t s* ('from s'), without indication of the addressee, is used in some Demotic documents.³⁸ Lastly, *UPZ* I 6a (TM 3497) and *P. Freib.* IV 75 (TM 2515) can probably also be identified as *mḳmḳ*, although their prescripts are lost. The first is a copy of a complaint that was kept by Ptolemaios, *katochos* in the Serapeion. Its tone and similarity to two Greek *ὑπομνήματα* from the same archive (*UPZ* I 5 and 6 = TM 3396 and 3397) suggest that this document is probably a memorandum, originally introduced by *wᶜ (bḥk) mḳmḳ* as well.³⁹ *P. Freib.* IV 75 is a text consisting of four fragments, in which the beer-seller Ameneus seeks redress for being thrown out of his brewery. The narrative of this text reminds strongly of memoranda and its lost prescript may very well have been a *mḳmḳ*-formula. The only typical formula of the text that has been preserved, however, is *iw=s ḥs* ('if it pleases'), which appears in letters as well (cf. next paragraph). *P. Berlin* inv. 13608, col. b, a report about the murder of a soldier by Egyptian rebels, introduced by *n-dr.t s*, has been identified by Mark Depauw as a copy of a *mḳmḳ*. But in fact it does not contain any request, nor any formal feature typical of memoranda,

³⁷ D. DEVAUCHELLE & Ghislaine WIDMER, 'Un brouillon au stratège (O. Ifao Edfou D 632)', [in:] Isabelle RÉGEN & F. SERVAJEAN (eds.), *Verba Manent. Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks [= Cahiers de l'ENIM (CENIM) 3]*, Montpellier 2009, pp. 83–96. Remains of an earlier draft (TM 128946) with only a few signs remaining are still visible beneath the current text.

³⁸ The formula *n-dr.t s* appears in two letters (*P. Bürgsch.* 17 [TM 43898]; *P. Claude* inv. 2 [TM 44928]), a tender for tax farming (*P. Oxf. Griffith* 53 [TM 45613]), a draft for a report giving advice concerning a petition (*P. BM* Suit inv. 10591 v^o, col. III [TM 53822]), a report about a murder (*P. Berlin* inv. 13608, col. b [TM 308]), and several notes on ostraka in the archive of Hor (*O. Hor* 2 [TM 48970], 12 [TM 48979], 16 [TM 48983], 17 [TM 48984], 19 [TM 48986], 22 [TM 48989], 23 [TM 48990], 24 [TM 48991], 25 [TM 48992], 28 [TM 48995], 29 [TM 48996], 30 [TM 48997], 48 [TM 49014]): cf. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 154, 331.

³⁹ Most recent edition: W. CLARYSSE, 'UPZ I 6a, a reconstruction by Revillout', *Enchoria* 14 (1986), pp. 43–49. Depauw puts *UPZ* I 6a in his list of Demotic memoranda as well: DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 325. Bauschatz views this text as a translation from Greek, but I cannot find any reason for this: BAUSCHATZ, *Law and Enforcement* (cit. n. 1), p. 188.

so it seems better to interpret it as an ordinary notification.⁴⁰ Depauw also identified *P. Cair.* II 30960 (TM 552) as a *mkmk*, but this document might be reinterpreted as a letter (cf. section 3.5: 'Petitions and related genres').

Complaints in Demotic memoranda can be introduced by a formula with the verb *gm^c* ('to harm'),⁴¹ closely resembling narrations in Greek petitions introduced by ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος ('I have been wronged by NN').⁴² More often the exposition of Demotic memoranda is introduced through the date, *hpr* + date ('it happened in [date] that ...'), or *n-dr.t hpr=f* ('Since it happened that ...').⁴³ The construction *hpr* + date was one of the most common ways to introduce the exposition in letters as well, especially business letters.⁴⁴ Several Demotic memoranda introduce their requests with the verb *tbh* ('to beg'),⁴⁵ in most cases followed by the conditional formula *tw=f hpr tw=s hs* ('if it happens that it pleases') or just *tw=s hs*, ('if it pleases'),⁴⁶ after which the specific request is stated. This reminds of standard Greek petitioning formulas like δέομαι οὖν σου, εἴ

⁴⁰ The other columns of this papyrus contain land records, accounts, etc. The whole has been interpreted as a 'Tagebuch der staatlichen Verwaltung' by Kaplony-Heckel: Ursula KAPLONY-HECKEL, 'Demotische Verwaltungsakten aus Gebelein: Der große Berliner Papyrus 13608', *ZÄS* 121 (1994), pp. 75–91. The notification of murder that is recorded in col. b must have been relevant for the book-keeper.

⁴¹ *tw=y gm^c n-dr.t x* ('I am wronged by x') in *P. BM Siut* inv. 10598, 10599, 10600; *x gm^c r-hr=y* ('x is wronging me') in *P. Syrac.* 262; *x gm^c hr=y m-ss* ('x is wronging me exceedingly') in *P. Fitzhugh Dem.* inv. 2.

⁴² This Greek formula is typical for Greek ἐντεύξεις, but appears in many ὑπομνήματα as well: DI BITONTO, 'Le petizioni ai funzionari' (cit. n. 1), pp. 68–70.

⁴³ Cf. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 328.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 277.

⁴⁵ There are several variants on the same formula: *tw=y/n tbh n-im=s* ('I beg it'); *tw=y/n tbh n-im=s n-mtw=k/tn* ('I/we beg it from you'); *tw=n tbh n-im=s* ('while we beg it'). Demotic memoranda with this formula are *P. Berlin* inv. 15592, ll. 20–29; *P. BM Siut* inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, 10598, 10599, 10600; *P. Bürgsch.* 13; *P. Fitzhugh Dem.* inv. 2; *P. Oxf. Griffith* 40; *P. Tebt. Dem.* SCA inv. 8448.

⁴⁶ *tw=f hpr tw=f hs* in *O. Ifao Edfou Dem.* inv. 632; *P. Fitzhugh Dem.* inv. 2; *P. Lille Dem.* 114; *P. Oxf. Griffith* 40; *P. Tebt. Dem.* SCA inv. 8448. *tw=s hs* in *P. BM Siut* inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, and *P. Freib.* IV 75.

σοι δοκεῖ ('so I beg you, if it pleases you').⁴⁷ The request formula with *tbh* and attenuating formula with *hs* appear regularly in Demotic letters as well, but are never combined there.⁴⁸ In Demotic memoranda, on the other hand, they are almost consistently joined into a single formula, clearly influenced by Greek petitioning convention. Lastly, Demotic memoranda are closed with *sh* ('written'), often followed by the date and sometimes the name of the petitioner. They do not contain a final salutation like Greek petitions do (ἔρρωσο or εὐτύχει, 'farewell').⁴⁹

Structurally, the influence of Greek ὑπόμνημα petitions on their Demotic counterparts is manifest: they are compact messages, focusing on a specific grievance and composed with a prescript with the address (in several cases inversed like in Greek petitions),⁵⁰ a narration of events, and lastly a *petitum*, introduced by a similar set of polite formulas. They never contain an exterior address. Petitions of this kind are not known from the pre-Ptolemaic period. Most elementary formulas used in Demotic memoranda, however, appear in Demotic letters as well: the exposition through *hpr* + date, the request formulas using *tbh* and *hs* (separately) and the closing formulas with *sh*.⁵¹

⁴⁷ For variants of this formula, see DI BITONTO, 'Le petizioni ai funzionari' (cit. n. 1), pp. 71–74.

⁴⁸ *tbh* was already used in Demotic requests before the Ptolemaic period: DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 268. *hw=f hpr hw=s hs* superseded the earlier formula *hw=f hpr r mr=w s*: DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 265–267. A similar conditional formula appears in official Aramaic requests: P. E. DION, 'La lettre araméenne passe-partout et ses sous-espèces', *Revue biblique* 89 (1982), p. 50.

⁴⁹ In P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, a Greek salutation was translated in Demotic (cf. section 4: 'Socio-legal context'). In P. Bürgsch. 13 a list of autographs by the petitioners and family members standing surety is added; in P. Oxf. Griffith 38 a list of five people who have witnessed the violence.

⁵⁰ A notable structural difference between the Demotic and Greek petitioning prescript is that the word *mkmk* is included in the prescript during all centuries, while the word ὑπόμνημα has completely disappeared from it from the second half of the third century onwards.

⁵¹ Another example of epistolary influence on Demotic memoranda is the expression *p:shn nfr st ir-rh s* ('the good decision, may it be known') in P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 2. For difficulties concerning the interpretation and translation of this formula, see DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 231–235.

Ordinary memoranda without petitioning function could also be called *ὑπομνήματα* (literally ‘reminders’) in Greek. Except for their pre-script, these documents have little in common with the petition – *ὑπόμνημα*.⁵² Similar ordinary memoranda can be found among the Demotic *mkmk*:

1. Neither the contents nor the used phrases of *O. Hor* 1 and 21 from the archive of the oneirocritic Hor allow identifying them as petitions. *O. Hor* 21 is a *mkmk* to the priests of the animal necropolis of North Saqqara about the role which the author had in the reforms that were proposed to put a stop to the abuses in the ibis sanctuary. *O. Hor* 1 is another memorandum to (presumably the same) priests in which the seer recounts a divine revelation of his concerning the royal dynasty and the war with Antiochos IV Epiphanes. Requests do not appear in these *mkmk* and they do not really make a complaint either. It is possible, however, that these documents were intended to collect material for the drafting of a petition in a later stage.

2. It is uncertain whether *O. Hor* 31 belongs to the same archive as the previous two documents, but it is clear that this *mkmk* did not serve a petitioning function either: the text does not contain a request and refers to the wife of the addressee.

3. *P. Loeb* 40, 53, and 66, three copies of one and the same text,⁵³ are applications for enrolment in the desert guard. They cannot be classified as petitions, because they cannot be linked to genuine grievances or other extraordinary circumstances.

4. The unpublished *mkmk* documents O. Strasbourg Dem. inv. 246 and P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 8334 seem to be business letters rather than petitions.

All above documents are listed separately in the appendix as ordinary ‘memoranda’ and are not examined any further in the following argumentation. In many cases, however, it is difficult to determine whether

⁵² BICKERMANN, ‘Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte III’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 165–166, 169–170. He gives several examples of *ὑπομνήματα* without petitioning function from the Zenon archive.

⁵³ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 326.

a *mkmk* should be viewed as a petition or as an ordinary memorandum. This is especially true for the more fragmentary texts, but also for a couple of completely preserved *mkmk*. *P. Oxf. Griffith* 38, 39, and 41 are all complaints but do not make an explicit request. In the first document, the petitioner writes to the *lesonis* that he has received a beating from a colleague, and says that he submits this *mkmk* ‘for the investigation of the named business’ (*r pʒ šn nʒ md.w rn=w*). The second document contains a complaint about the misconduct of the *lesonis* Tesenouphis, submitted to the prophet of Bastet in order to prevent anything in the world from being hidden to him (*r tm dy hp md (n) pʒ tʒ (n) pʒ hm-ntr Bʒst.t*). Lastly, the petitioners of *P. Oxf. Griffith* 41 state that they submit their *mkmk* to prevent being accused themselves. Should such documents be considered petitions or not? Perhaps a detailed re-examination of the Greek material can shed more light on the classification of such documents.

2. Demotic petitions addressed to the king?

So there is ample evidence for Demotic counterparts of ὑπομνήματα – petitions. Beside these, some 250 ἐντεύξεις addressed to the king have been preserved in Greek.⁵⁴ This leads to the question if petitions to the king could be written in Demotic as well. If Plutarch’s statement that Cleopatra VII was the first Ptolemaic ruler who made the effort to learn the native language is to be believed,⁵⁵ Demotic petitions would have had a very small chance of success when read by the king. They might have been processed by his representatives (the *strategoï* and the *chrematistai*), like many Greek ἐντεύξεις, but these officials were traditionally recruited from the Greek population as well. Still, a small number of Demotic texts

⁵⁴ Estimate based on a search in the Trismegistos database. Many of these petitions were processed by the nome *strategoï* and *chrematistai* courts, who represented the royal jurisdiction. For the processing of ἐντεύξεις, see BICKERMANN, ‘Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte III’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 162–164; HENGSTL, ‘Petita in Petitionen’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 270–271; H. J. WOLFF, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer* [= *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 44], Munich 1971 (2nd ed.), pp. 9–18.

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 27.

has been identified in the past as petitions to the sovereign. A closer examination of these documents is necessary.

Adel Farid argues that stela 1962-500 from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (TM 53705) records a Demotic petition to a Ptolemaic king or Roman emperor. According to him the priests of Damanhur initially submitted their petition to an official called Ammonios (possibly a *strategos* or prefect). Next, Ammonios added his personal commentary to the request of the priests and forwarded the entire matter to the king (or emperor) in a new petition.⁵⁶ But this interpretation has been criticized by other scholars. First, Mark Depauw has challenged Farid's view that the text might originate from the Roman period.⁵⁷ Second, Sven Vleeming has proposed several new readings that discredit Farid's interpretation of the text as a petition.⁵⁸ Even apart from these discussed readings it seems untenable to identify the text as a petition, let alone a petition to the king. When Ptolemaic officials passed on the decision concerning petitions to higher levels of the administration, i.e. the king himself according to Farid, they did not write a new, amended petition, but a letter to which they attached a copy of the original petition in question.⁵⁹ The text refers to itself as *hrw-b'k* (l. 1). *b'k* means 'of the servant' here and is added to *hrw* in order to be polite. *hrw* is often translated as 'plea' or 'request' because of its use in oracular questions and the report of the Siut trial (P. BM Siut inv. 10591 r^o [TM 43343]), where the word denotes the separate speeches delivered by the plaintiff and the defendant.⁶⁰ Conse-

⁵⁶ A. FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen aus Berlin, Chicago, Durham, London und Oxford mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften aus Paris und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1995, pp. 77-134, especially 133-134.

⁵⁷ M. DEPAUW, review of A. Farid, *Fünf demotische Stelen* (cit. n. 56), *BiOr* 57 (2000), p. 280.

⁵⁸ S. P. VLEEMING, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications* [= *Studia Demotica* 5], Leuven 2001, pp. 101-108.

⁵⁹ BICKERMANN, 'Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte III' (cit. n. 1), pp. 174-176.

⁶⁰ See FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen* (cit. n. 56), p. 84, for different translations offered by scholars for the word *hrw*. The pleas in the Siut trial were not pronounced by the litigants themselves, but by the scribe of the judges: P. BM Siut inv. 10591, col. VI, ll. 9-10. More-

quently, Farid translates *ḥrw-bʿk m-bʿḥ Pr-ʿ* as ‘Eingabe des Untertans vor dem Pharao’. But *ḥrw* must have had a much more general meaning, because it can denote ordinary letters as well. Mark Depauw and Karl-Theodor Zauzich have translated the term as ‘voice’ (most literally) or ‘communication’, and this seems more appropriate.⁶¹ The Ashmolean Museum stela must probably be interpreted as an ordinary report, which Ammonios (probably a high official such as a *strategos*) wrote to the king. In this report he informs the king about the arrangements he made following a petition by the priests of Damanhur. The priests engraved this communication on a stela to make the decisions which Ammonios took in their benefit public to all.

Farid refers to the archive of Hor for other Demotic petitions to the king.⁶² *O. Hor* 3 (TM 47824), 7 (TM 48974), 27 (TM 48994), 28, and 29 are reports addressed to Philometor about the abuses in the ibis sanctuary and the divine revelation of Hor about the royal dynasty and the war with Antiochos IV Epiphanes. None of them contain a request, however, nor any formal characteristics that would suggest that they are petitions. Moreover, it must have been absolutely unacceptable to send a potsherd to the king. These ostraka are most certainly drafts, and there is no conclusive evidence that their final purpose was the composition of a petition.

Lastly, Wilhelm Spiegelberg has identified *P. Cair.* II 31057 (TM 609 + 610) as a Demotic petition to the king, on the basis of his reconstruction of the first line of the recto: [*ṯw=y ṯḥḥ*] *n-ṯm=s mṯw=k Pr-ʿ* (‘I beg it from you, Pharaoh’).⁶³ Unfortunately, the text is very fragmentary. Even if his emendation is correct, *ṯw=y ṯḥḥ* can also be part of a simple report or letter to the king. Moreover, it is not entirely certain whether the original

over, they cite each other literally and extensively. All this shows that the consecutive pleas before the *laokritai* must have been submitted in writing some time before the hearing.

⁶¹ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 131, n. 268, p. 258; K.-T. ZAUZICH, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine [= Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 1]*, Berlin 1978: P. Berlin inv. 13544, 13547, and 15527. Depauw notes that in the body of a letter *ḥrw* normally refers to legally valid depositions.

⁶² FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen* (cit. n. 56), pp. 123–124.

⁶³ Drawings and transliteration of *P. Cair.* II 31057 in SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (cit. n. 29), pp. 244–245.

version of the text was also Demotic. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel writes that *P. Cair.* II 31020 (TM 609 + 610) is a fragment of the same text.⁶⁴ The verso of this second fragment records an official Greek document, wrongly identified by Spiegelberg as a petition;⁶⁵ on the recto of this fragment, eight line endings of a Demotic text can be discerned. On the verso of *P. Cair.* II 31057, five line endings of Greek have been preserved, next to the Demotic text; perhaps they belong to the same Greek document as recorded on the verso of *P. Cair.* II 31020. The Greek writing at least shows that the papyrus must originate from a bilingual environment. Therefore, it is conceivable that the Demotic communication to the king recorded on the recto of *P. Cair.* II 31057 is a translation. In any case it has to be a copy or a draft, as is evident from the fact that the papyrus contains several other texts as well. Altogether, the identification of this text as a Demotic petition to the king seems implausible.

Other evidence pleads against the existence of an autonomous Demotic counterpart of the Greek ἐντεύξεις. In the *mkmk* *P. Oxf. Griffith* 39, five royal farmers from Soknopaiou Nesos (who probably also had priestly functions) complain to an important prophet about the misconduct of the *lesonis* Tese-nouphis. Greek petitions concerning this dispute have been preserved too: *P. Amb.* II 33 (TM 8669; addressed to the king), 34 a+b (TM 8670; addressed to the *epimeletes* and the royal scribe), c (TM 8671; addressed to the king), and d (TM 8672; probably also addressed to the *epimeletes* and the royal scribe).⁶⁶ This collection suggests that it was acceptable to write a Demotic petition to an Egyptian priest, but not to the Ptolemaic king or Greek officials. In *P. BM Siut inv.* 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, a Demotic translation of a Greek ὑπόμνημα (cf. section 4: ‘Socio-legal context’) to the *strategos* Noumenios, the petitioners refer to previous memorandum – petitions that they have

⁶⁴ KAPLONY-HECKEL, ‘Der demotische Papyrus Loeb 80’ (cit. n. 30), p. 192.

⁶⁵ SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (cit. n. 29), p. 228. Part of an eponymous dating, which never appears in a petition, has been preserved in ll. 2 and 3.

⁶⁶ Cf. Marie-Pierre CHAUFRAY, ‘Des *lésônes* en action dans le temple de Soknopaios à Soknopaiou Nesos à l’époque ptolémaïque’, [in:] Patrizia PIACENTINI & C. ORSENIGO (eds.), *Egyptian Archives: Proceedings of the First Session of the International Congress Egyptian Archives / Egyptological Archives, Milano, September 9–10, 2008* [= *Quaderni di Acme* 111], Milan 2009, pp. 160–163, 167–168.

written to Noumenios and a petition to the king that he has delegated to the same *strategos* (col. I, ll. 12–13). While the first type of petitions (ὑπομνήματα) is referred to as *mkmk* in Demotic, the second (ἐντευξις) is literally transliterated as *ʾntks*: an autonomous Demotic term for petitions to the king did not exist.

3. *ʿn-smy*: Demotic counterpart of the Greek προσάγγελμα?

Next, the question arises if there was a Demotic equivalent for the Greek προσάγγελμα. The *προσαγγέλματα* form the third and smallest category of Greek petitions. Originally, they were short notifications to the police and other local officials, mostly concerning violations of and damages caused to personal property.⁶⁷ These early *προσαγγέλματα* do not contain an explicit request for action. From the second century onwards, *προσαγγέλματα* gradually take on the form of ὑπομνήματα – petitions, including an explicit *petitum*, which makes it increasingly difficult to distinguish between both types of texts.⁶⁸ Mark Depauw has suggested that the Demotic *ʿn-smy* might perhaps constitute a Demotic parallel to the Greek προσάγγελμα.⁶⁹ In most cases, *ʿn-smy* is used as verb, meaning ‘to report’,⁷⁰ ‘to summon (for payment)’,⁷¹ or ‘to announce (someone)’.⁷² In other documents *ʿn-smy* appears as

⁶⁷ For *proangelmata*, see M. HOMBERT & Claire PRÉAUX, ‘Recherches sur le *proangelma* à l’époque ptolémaïque’, *CdÉ* 17 (1942), pp. 259–286; Marilyn PARCA, ‘*Proangelmata* ptolémaïques: une mise à jour’, *CdÉ* 60 (1985), pp. 240–247.

⁶⁸ DI BITONTO, ‘Le petizioni ai funzionari’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 53–56; HOMBERT & PRÉAUX, ‘Recherches sur le *proangelma*’ (cit. n. 67), pp. 259–273; PARCA, ‘*Proangelmata* ptolémaïques’ (cit. n. 67), pp. 240–241. One might even ask to what extent *προσαγγέλματα* were still conceived as a separate type of texts during this period, but this problem can not be expanded upon in this paper.

⁶⁹ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 330.

⁷⁰ *O. Hor* 2 r^o, l. 7; P. Insinger (TM 55918), col. XI, ll. 1–2; *P. Oxf. Griffith* 30 (TM 46800), l. 7; *P. Oxf. Griffith* 41, l. 9.

⁷¹ *P. Prag. Satzung*. (TM 2928), col. A, l. 12; *P. Cair.* II 30619, l. 6.

⁷² P. Paris BnF inv. 149 (TM 48882), col. III, ll. 18, 19, 21, 23, 24.

a noun, used in first instance to designate a simple written report,⁷³ but also as the Demotic equivalent of the Greek *παράγγελμα* in the sense of ‘military summons’.⁷⁴

Three unpublished texts that are explicitly referred to as ‘*n-smy*’ in their prescript seem to be of another nature than the ‘*n-smy*’ listed above. The unpublished P. Köln Dem. inv. 10502 (TM 322160) starts with a date followed by *p³ ‘n-smy r.ir St.t=ṣ-w-t³-wty m-b³h Wsir* (‘the ‘*n-smy*’ that Stotoëtis made before Osiris’). As the text proceeds, Stotoëtis promises to make an offering of one deben of silver to Osiris if his child stays alive. Another date introduces a second section in the text, probably written by another party (the priests of Osiris?) because Stotoëtis has not kept his promise. This ‘*n-smy*’ seems to be some sort of public declaration, made by Stotoëtis. The two other texts, however, show a closer resemblance to the Greek *προσαγγέλματα*. P. Sorbonne Dem. inv. 217 B (TM 372048) contains a report written by a royal farmer to the *komogrammateus* about something that was taken away from his land.⁷⁵ The third ‘*n-smy*’, P. BM Dem. inv. 10650 (TM 369018), is a complaint addressed to a police officer (*ṣ rsy*) named Bion concerning agricultural business.⁷⁶ The inversed prescripts of these texts (with the addressee preceding the petitioner), the introduction of the narrative by means of the date, as well as the addressees and sub-

⁷³ O. Hor 33 (TM 48999), l. 11; O. Manawir inv. 3414, l. 6; P. Count 5 (TM 8472), l. 2; P. Heidelberg Dem. inv. 811, ll. 2–3; P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 6481, l. 3. O. Manawir inv. 3414 is an unpublished ostrakon from the Persian period that contains a short internal report (‘*n-smy*’); the text will be published together with other ostraka from Ayn Manâwir by Michel Chauveau and Damien Agut-Labordère. P. Heidelberg Dem. inv. 811 is an unpublished communication with two ‘*n-smy*’, written by the *komogrammateus*, about the seeds of Greek estate managers. The unpublished P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 6481 is a letter with a report (‘*n-smy*’) concerning ruined lands, introduced through date + *x p³ nty ḏḏ + ṣw=s p³ ‘n-smy*. This fragmentary text enumerates damaged properties of several owners, including large estates possessed by Greeks. Possibly it has to be interpreted as a state initiative, after the passing of a rebellion or another disastrous event. The same introduction (date + *x p³ nty ḏḏ + ṣw=s p³ ‘n-smy*) appears in P. Count 5, l. 2, a report concerning the levy of the salt-tax.

⁷⁴ P. Berlin inv. 13381 (TM 162) and P. Heidelberg Dem. inv. 781 b (TM 201). Cf. DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 330.

⁷⁵ To be published by Brigitte Bakech.

⁷⁶ To be published by Andreas Winkler.

jects of the texts, conform to the model of the Greek *προσαγγέλματα*. The precise purpose of these texts, however, is unclear, so the identification of these ‘*n-smy*’ with the Greek *προσαγγέλματα* has to remain a working hypothesis. Both ‘*n-smy*’ are closed by *sh* + date, which is also standard for Demotic *mḳmḳ*, but not for Greek petitions. This shows that P. Sorbonne Dem. inv. 217 B and P. BM Dem. inv. 10650 are most probably original Demotic texts and not translations (cf. section 3.1: ‘*mḳmḳ*’).

Interestingly, ‘*n-smy*’ appears as a separate document type in the unpublished account P. Heidelberg Dem. inv. 695 (TM 454), directly after *mḳmḳ*.⁷⁷ This might possibly be another indication of the use of ‘*n-smy*’ as a second petitioning type, besides *mḳmḳ*. The basic meaning of ‘*n-smy*’ was ‘(to) report’ or ‘to declare/declaration’; in a more technical sense the term could refer to summons and could possibly be used as a Demotic counterpart of the *προσάγγελμα* as well.⁷⁸

4. Other Demotic petitions?

Mark Depauw cautiously distinguishes between *mḳmḳ*, ‘*n-smy*’, and a third category simply called ‘petitions’. He justifies this distinction between memoranda and other petitions as follows: ‘whereas a memorandum is a short recapitulation for mnemonic or administrative purposes of a complaint which was in most cases brought before the official orally, the ‘petitions’ I have brought together in this section are much longer and set out what has happened in great detail’. Final versions of these longer documents have not been preserved according to Depauw, only preliminary drafts.⁷⁹ Most of the texts to which he refers have already been interpreted differently above: P. Ryl. Dem. 9, the Ashmolean Museum stela

⁷⁷ KAPLONY-HECKEL, ‘Der demotische Papyrus Loeb 80’ (cit. n. 30), p. 193.

⁷⁸ P. Cair. II 30990 (TM 584) was also identified as an ‘*n-smy*’ by Spiegelberg, because he thought he could read ‘*n-smy*’ in the first line: SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (cit. n. 29), p. 217. But this reading has to be abandoned, on the basis of other, more certain attestations of the word that have been found in the meantime and do not resemble Spiegelberg’s tentative reading of ‘*n-smy*’ in P. Cair. II 30990 at all.

⁷⁹ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 330–331.

1962-500, and *O. Hor* 3, 7, 27, 28, and 29. The other documents from the archive of Hor, which he identifies as drafts for longer petitions,⁸⁰ except for *O. Hor* 23 (see below), do not contain a request either; it seems better to identify them as ordinary notes, perhaps collected with the intention to draw up a real petition in the future.⁸¹ In any case preliminary reports written to gather information for a petition should not be confused with genuine petition drafts.

O. Hor 23 seems to be an exception. The beginning of this ostrakon describes the role of Hor in the reforms of the ibis sanctuary. At the end, two (unfortunately fragmentary) appeals concerning the enforcement of these reforms are recorded, introduced by the formula *tw=y tbh n-im=s* (l. 7) in the first case and *tw=y tbh n-im=s iw-iw=s hs* (l. 18) in the second. As we have argued (see section 3.1: '*mkmk*'), the combination of formulas used in the second appeal is only known from petitions. Yet apart from this, *O. Hor* 23 is a very problematic text: it is introduced by *n-dr.t s*, the addressees of the appeals are not known and the purpose of the composition is unclear. Possibly, the two appeals should be interpreted as supplications to the gods or rhetorical exclamations. Alternatively, they might be rough drafts for two petitions concerning the reforms in the ibis sanctuary. In this case, however, we have no idea of their final redaction, which might very well have been in the *mkmk* format. *O. Hor* 23 cannot serve as evidence for a separate type of petitions, and certainly not for a traditional, more extant form of petitioning.

⁸⁰ *O. Hor* 2, 4 (TM 48971), 5 (TM 48972), 6 (TM 48973), 12, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25, 30, and 48.

⁸¹ Cf. J. D. RAY, *The Archive of Hor [= The Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations 2]*, London 1976, pp. 121-123. Ray also suggests that these ostraka from the archive of Hor and *P. Ryl. Dem.* 9 might be exponents of an indigenous tradition of long and detailed petitions. He wonders whether the famous Turin Strike Papyrus (P. Turin inv. 1880 [TM 139434]) might be a pharaonic precedent for this sort of petitioning. But this document can hardly be viewed as such: the text describes the hearing of grievances of the workmen, but several other events as well. The Turin Strike Papyrus is an extensive personal record made *post factum*, albeit possibly with the intention to appeal to the authorities in the future: cf. EYRE, *The Use of Documents* (cit. n. 5), p. 250; P. J. FRANDSEN, 'Editing reality: The Turin Strike Papyrus', [in:] Sarah ISRAELIT-GROLL (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I*, Jerusalem 1990, pp. 166-199.

5. *Petitions and related genres*

Other types of texts somehow seem related to the petitions discussed above, because they contain a complaint and/or request.⁸² Still, it would be unwise to group them together in one overarching category of petitions. There is a strong congruity between the petitioning *mkmk*, ὑπομνήματα, ἡ-*sm*y, προσαγγέλματα and ἐντεύξεις. Together they constitute an autonomous group of petitions, perceived as such in the Ptolemaic period as well, as is evident from their shared set of formulas and scope. The documents that will be discussed in this paragraph originated from the same social need for external resolution of disputes and difficulties as the above-mentioned petitions *stricto sensu*, but are documents of a very different nature, nevertheless. It would be an anachronism to lump all of them together into one sociological concept.

The legal manual of Hermopolis, a Demotic law book from the third century BC that probably dates back to the Persian period, explains that the rights of a buyer can only be guaranteed if no one reports (*sm*y) against him or issues a public protest (š^cr) against him for three years.⁸³ The verb *sm*y (basically ‘to report’) regularly appears in legal documents from the New Kingdom onwards. In a technical sense, it can refer to the act of complaining and even petitioning.⁸⁴ More interesting are the public protests (š^cr), a type of document that is known from Egyptian law only and continued to exist during the Ptolemaic period.⁸⁵ Their function was very spe-

⁸² Because of this reason, many Demotic documents have been misidentified as petitions in the past: see a list of misidentifications in DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 325.

⁸³ P. *Mattha* (TM 48855), col. IX, l. 27. For general information on the manual, see Sandra LIPPERT, *Ein demotisches juristisches Lehrbuch: Untersuchungen zu Papyrus Berlin P 23757 rto* [= *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 66], Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 153–159; J. MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI, *Droit et justice dans le monde grec et hellénistique* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement Series* 10], Warsaw 2011, pp. 150–157.

⁸⁴ See also LIPPERT, *Einführung* (cit. n. 8), p. 185.

⁸⁵ Cf. B. MUHS, ‘Clear title, public protests and P. Brux. Dem. 4’, [in:] K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999* [= *Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications* 27], Copenhagen 2002, pp. 259–272, for *status quaestionis* and bibliography.

cific in comparison to petitions: they could be made in property disputes by a buyer, if another claimant did not allow him to clear his ownership, or, conversely, by another claimant to prevent a certain piece of property from being clear for the buyer. In this way the protester could strengthen his own legal claim on a certain piece of property or discredit another's.⁸⁶

Next, there are dozens of Demotic oracle questions from the Ptolemaic period.⁸⁷ They give witness to the attempts of many people to resolve their disputes through divine intervention. But oracular justice was not integrated into the judicial system of Greco-Roman Egypt, like it had been during the New Kingdom. In the Ptolemaic and Roman period oracular questions had a religiously and psychologically inspired advisory function rather than actual legal significance, which distinguishes them clearly from petitions.⁸⁸ The same is true for letters to the dead or gods, in which individuals formulate complaints and ask for intervention.⁸⁹ One of these, P. Carlsberg inv. 67 (TM 48778), even refers to itself as a *mḳmḳ*.⁹⁰ Still, these letters did not have any judicial significance.

A last topic that demands more attention here is the relation between petitions and letters. As discussed above, letters were used to petition officials before the Ptolemaic period. Under the Ptolemies, however, a new autonomous group of petitions came into existence. What became of the role of letters in terms of dispute resolution after this innovation? Extensive research of both Greek and Demotic letters from the Ptolemaic period is necessary to formulate an adequate answer to this question, but the following preliminary observations can already be made on the basis of the Demotic material.

⁸⁶ Possibly, three consecutive public protests automatically led to litigation, as suggested by Muhs, but there is no hard evidence for that.

⁸⁷ See survey and bibliography in DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 301–307.

⁸⁸ Barbara ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS, '«Justice» oraculaire dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine', *RHD* 76 (1998), pp. 1–16.

⁸⁹ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 307–313; A. MIGAHID, *Demotische Briefe an Götter von der Spät- bis zur Römerzeit; ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des religiösen Brauchtums im alten Ägypten*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Würzburg 1986.

⁹⁰ J. D. RAY, 'Papyrus Carlsberg 67: A healing-prayer from the Fayûm', *JEA* 61 (1975), pp. 181–182.

Many Demotic letters from the Ptolemaic period contain requests.⁹¹ The request formulas that are used in Demotic petitions (*tw=y/n tbb*, *iw=f hpr iw=s hs*, and variants) appear in Demotic letters as well, but never combined (see section 3.1: '*mkmk*'). Most requests, however, are of ordinary nature and concern familial or professional matters. In rare cases, letters do focus on a single conflict for which they seek redress. Mark Depauw gives an example of such letters in his survey of conflict solving strategies: *P. Berl. Dem.* I 13587 (TM 46489).⁹² The writer of this letter complains to the first prophet that he has not received payment from a third party that had promised the debtor of the first party to transfer the money, despite claims from the third party to the debtor that he had in fact done so. Another example is *P. Bürgsch.* 16, interpreted wrongly as a petition by John Bauschatz.⁹³ A man named Harendotef son of Hor addresses this letter to the *mr-ms*^c ('general')⁹⁴ because he wants to stand surety for an associate of his who has been imprisoned. A third example is *P. Louvre inv.* E 3334 (TM 46772), in which the priest Herieus complains to an unknown addressee about the malfunctioning of an ibis sanctuary and the violent treatment he received from a boy and his father when he was there. Curiously, he concludes the letter by saying that all is the fault of a woman and by warning the addressee not to side with her.

In none of these letters, official action is requested. Probably the writers of these documents attempted to deal with their problems on a more informal plane. Presumably, all involved parties in *P. Berl. Dem.* I 13587 are priests and the letter writer seeks redress by involving one of their superiors. In *P. Bürgsch.* 16, Harendotef inquires after the addressee's well-being,

⁹¹ They can be easily found through the lists of letters that contain request formulas in DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 260–268.

⁹² M. DEPAUW, 'Conflict solving strategies in late pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt: The Demotic evidence', [in:] G. PFEIFER & N. GROTKAMP (eds.), *Außergerichtliche und gerichtliche Konfliktlösung in der Antike* [= *Global Perspectives on Legal History*], Frankfurt (forthcoming).

⁹³ BAUSCHATZ, *Law and Enforcement* (cit. n. 1), p. 188. The document is formatted as a standard letter though, including epistolary formulas and courtesies.

⁹⁴ For the uses of this title, see G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des lagides d'après les sources privées* [= *Studia Hellenistica* 45], Leuven 2009, pp. 455–456.

a courtesy that does not appear in petitions, which are much more straightforward. John Ray, the editor of P. Louvre inv. E 3334, notes that the tone of his complaint is much more intimate and informal than in *mḳmḳ* – petitions. Especially strange is the warning of Herieus that the addressee may not side with the woman who is responsible for the trouble, which has led Ray to assume that the dispute in question was an internal temple affair, with which Herieus wanted to deal internally. *P. Berl. Dem.* I 13619 (TM 46491), another letter which Depauw discusses in his survey of conflict solving strategies, shows how such internal resolutions could be effected.⁹⁵ In this letter, a man called *P³-wd³-mtw=s* (probably a priest) writes to a servant of Khnum that he has heard about the problems the servant experienced by the hands of Psentaes, presumably a servant of Min. The sender assures the servant that he has written about it to the prophet of Khnum, who in his turn addressed the prophet of Min. After this chain of letters, the prophet of Min approached the wrongdoer to put the dispute to an end. Dispute resolution is achieved here through an internal power game.

The procedure of addressing a letter was radically different from the procedure of submitting an official petition. Contrary to letters, *mḳmḳ*, ὑπομνήματα, ἡ-smy, προσαγγέλματα, and ἐντεύξεις contain no exterior address; they must have been personally handed over to their addressee. Perhaps some petitioners also had the chance to argue their case in an audience: this would account for the fact that most petitions are formatted as relatively short memoranda. Only the main arguments had to be written down; more extant information concerning the dispute and the petitioner could be presented directly.⁹⁶ Letters, on the other hand, are less concise and formal.

It is striking that *mḳmḳ* are mentioned on multiple occasions during the trials of Tefhape and Cratianch in the Siut archive.⁹⁷ The only letter that is referred to during the trials is a letter that was written in reaction

⁹⁵ DEPAUW, 'Conflict solving strategies' (cit. n. 92).

⁹⁶ BICKERMANN, 'Beiträge zur antiken Urkundengeschichte III' (cit. n. 1), pp. 170–172.

⁹⁷ P. BM Siut inv. 10591 r^o, col. II, l. 3 (= col. III, l. 20), col. III, l. 12 (= col. IV, l. 22), col. V, l. 7; v^o, col. IV, ll. 2, 3.

to a submitted petition.⁹⁸ A Greek petition to the king (*P. Amb.* II 33), in which the petitioner argues that his adversary is not allowed to seek the assistance of an advocate in a trial with implications for royal revenue, refers to the examination of ἐντεύξεις during proceedings before the chrematistai court:

δεόμεθ' ὑμῶν τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν εἰ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ
ἀποστεῖλαι ἡμῶν τὴν ἔντευξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρημα-
τιστὰς ὅπως ἐπὶ τῆς διαλογῆς τῶν ἐντ[εύ]ξεων συντά-
ξωσιν τῶι Τεσενούφει μὴ μετὰ συνηγόρου συνκαθίστασθαι.

We beg you, magnificent gods, if it seems good to you, to send our enteuxis to the chrematistai in order that, during the examination of the enteuxeis, they will ordain Tesenouphis that he may not appear before court with the help of an advocate.

All this suggests that *mkmk*, ὑπομνήματα, and ἐντεύξεις, contrary to letters, could serve as valid legal evidence in hearings. The formula *p' mkmk n-mt-w=k n/r mtr* ('the petition is with you for a witness'), found at the end of the preserved petitions of Tefhape,⁹⁹ might fit this hypothesis: Tefhape did not only submit these petitions in the hope that his requests would be fulfilled, but also to have legal evidence at his disposal in case of future litigation. Probably the same is true for *n-smj* and προσαγγέλματα, as they are closely affiliated to the *mkmk*, ὑπομνήματα, and ἐντεύξεις.

Several texts previously identified as petitions might be reinterpreted as letters. We have already mentioned *P. Bürgsch.* 16. An unpublished fragmentary ostrakon from the Egyptian Museum in Turin, suppl. 12723 (TM 92293), has been identified as a petition by Ursula Kaplony-Heckel. Apparently she understood the first signs as [*mkmk*].¹⁰⁰ But normally *mkmk* is written differently. As no other elements confirm the identification of this text as a petition, it seems more plausible to read the first

⁹⁸ P. BM Siut inv. 10591 r^o, col. IV, ll. 14, 23, col. V, l. 3.

⁹⁹ P. BM Siut inv. 10598, 10599, 10600.

¹⁰⁰ KAPLONY-HECKEL, 'Der demotische Papyrus Loeb 80' (cit. n. 30), p. 191.

signs simply as *mtw=w*. The text on the recto of *P. Cair. II 30960*, a request to temple authorities for financial support for a funeral, has been interpreted as a *mḳmḳ* petition by Mark Depauw.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, the prescript of the text, possibly including the word *mḳmḳ*, is lost. The only formal element that might confirm its identification as a petition is a request formula with *tbḥ*, appearing on line x+4, but this polite formula is common for ordinary Demotic letters as well. Moreover, there is no mention at all of a grievance or dispute in this text. The appearance of a request cannot on its own serve as a sufficient ground to classify a text as a petition rather than a letter with a request.

6. *The disappearance of Demotic petitioning*

Much has been written about the demise of Demotic documentation in Roman Egypt.¹⁰² This evolution has never been studied for petitions, however: do we have evidence for Demotic petitioning during the Roman period? It has already been argued above that stela 1962-500 from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is a Ptolemaic report rather than a Roman petition. More interesting is an ensemble of ostraka written by the priestly scribe Phatres, in the second half of the second century AD.¹⁰³ This scribe, active at the temple of Sobek and Renenutet in Narmouthis, wrote a series of 154 numbered ostraka that contain short notes about a dispute between himself and Pachrates. The large majority of them has been written in Demotic with some Greek additions (ODN 100–188).¹⁰⁴ Angiolo Menchetti suggests that these notes might have been used to draw up a petition to

¹⁰¹ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 324.

¹⁰² See M. STADLER, 'On the demise of Egyptian writing: Working with a problematic source basis', [in:] J. BAINES, J. BENNET, & S. HOUSTON (eds.), *The Disappearance of Writing Systems: Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*, London 2008, pp. 157–181, for overview and bibliography.

¹⁰³ A. MENCHETTI & R. PINTAUDI, 'Ostraka greci e bilingui da Narmuthis (II)', *CdÉ* 84 (2009), pp. 201–238.

¹⁰⁴ A. MENCHETTI, *Ostraka demotici e bilingui da Narmuthis (ODN 100–188)* [= *Biblioteca di studi egittologici* 5], Pisa 2005.

the Roman authorities. Considering the dispute-related contents of the ostraka, this hypothesis is plausible. But it is barely conceivable that Phatres wrote this final petition in Demotic. Several words in the texts, especially legal or financial terminology and titles, are written in Greek, because Demotic alternatives did not exist or had been forgotten by this time: the ostraka are a first-rate witness of the growing disability of Roman scribes to use Demotic in official documents.¹⁰⁵ The possible use of Demotic notes for the compilation of a Greek petition, reminds of the archive of Hor.

It is certain that the term *mḳmḳ* was still used as translation for ὑπόμνημα in the early Roman period: *P. Mich.* V 226 (TM 12067), a petition – ὑπόμνημα addressed to the strategos from AD 37, is called *mḳmḳ* in its subscription. But not a single *mḳmḳ* can be dated with certainty to the Roman period. *P. Cair.* II 31221, a *mḳmḳ* that has not been transliterated except for its first line, was dated to the Roman period by Wilhelm Spiegelberg.¹⁰⁶ Its dense handwriting does indeed suggest a late date of origin. Still, the late Ptolemaic period is possible on palaeographical grounds as well. The attestation of a *wyʿ Pr-ʿ* (‘royal farmer’) in line 3 favours such earlier dating. Considering the fact that there is no other evidence for Demotic petitioning during the Roman period, it seems more likely that this single document belongs to the Ptolemaic period as well.

3. SOCIO-LEGAL CONTEXT

In total thirty-six Demotic petitions from the Ptolemaic period have been preserved, doubtful cases included (see appendix: 33 *mḳmḳ*, 2 *n-smḳ*, and *O. Hor* 23). This is a small number in comparison to the approximately 900 Greek petitions from the Ptolemaic period that are known.¹⁰⁷ What can be said concerning the identity of the individuals who wrote

¹⁰⁵ I. C. RUTHERFORD, ‘Bilingualism in Roman Egypt? Exploring the archive of Phatres of Narmuthis’, [in:] T. V. EVANS & D. D. OBBINK (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford 2010, pp. 198–207.

¹⁰⁶ SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotischen Denkmäler* (cit. n. 29), p. 309.

¹⁰⁷ Preliminary estimate, based on my survey of the Trismegistos database.

and received these Demotic petitions? In several cases, the name and/or function of the petitioner(s) and/or addressee(s) is lost. Even when they are preserved, it can be very difficult to determine to which ethno-cultural community individuals in Ptolemaic Egypt belonged, certainly on the basis of the onomastic criterion only and especially in the later stages of the Ptolemaic era.¹⁰⁸ Still, some clear trends can be observed concerning the identity of the involved parties in Demotic petitions.

With one exception, not a single petitioner bears a Greek name or exercises a profession in which Greeks are normally expected to be found. In at least seventeen cases, the petitioners belong to the Egyptian priesthood and its personnel. Among the remaining petitioners are one farmer, one royal farmer, one group of five royal farmers who probably had a priestly function as well (see section 3.2: 'Demotic petitions addressed to the king?'), one beekeeper, and one beer seller, all typical professions for an Egyptian. The others are only known by name or not known at all. With one exception, all known accused bear an Egyptian name and several of them belong to the Egyptian priesthood as well.¹⁰⁹ Three petitioners (P. Berlin inv. 15592, ll. 20–29, *P. Oxf. Griffith* 40, P. Syrac. inv. 262) and one of the accused (O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv. 632) are women.¹¹⁰

The only petitioner with a Greek name is Alexandros son of Eirenaïos. The unpublished P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 8448 records his petition to Marres son of Marres, prophet of Bastet and royal controller (*epistates*) of temples in the Arsinoite. He complains that he was beaten on the street by Thortortaios, *pastophoros* of Soknebtynis, and asks Marres to write to another

¹⁰⁸ Cf. W. CLARYSSE, 'Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and administration', *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 57–66; K. GOUDRIAAN, *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* [= *Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology* 5], Amsterdam 1988, pp. 60–87; KELLY, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control* (cit. n. 1), pp. 143–146.

¹⁰⁹ Hetia and Wergira, the accused in P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, are Nubian or Blemmyan: J. F. QUACK, 'Das Diktum des Tutu über die Eingabe an Numenios', [in:] Andrea JÖRDENS & J. F. QUACK (eds.), *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äusserem Druck: die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI. bis VIII. Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 16.–19. 9. 2007* [= *Philippika* 45], Wiesbaden 2011, p. 271.

¹¹⁰ P. Berlin inv. 15592, ll. 20–29, mentions two senders in the prescript, apparently husband and wife.

Marres, *lesonis* of Soknebtynis and Thotortaios' superior, so that Thotortaios might be brought. Next the papyrus breaks off; probably Alexandros wanted Marres to interrogate Thotortaios. One cannot exclude that this Alexandros was in fact an Egyptian who used a Greek double name to identify himself. Yet here the petitioner addresses an important Egyptian priest in Demotic, so one would expect him to use his Egyptian name. The neat appearance and careful handwriting of the petition suggests that it was drafted by a professional scribe. Probably Alexandros was unable to write Demotic himself and hired the services of an Egyptian scribe in order to address Marres in a polite way. Marres was a priest of very high standing and had the right connections to bring an end to this dispute. In this way, P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 8448 might be a rare inversed parallel for those examples where Egyptians were required to write their petitions in Greek.¹¹¹

On a total of thirty-six Demotic petitions, at least eleven are addressed to an Egyptian priest.¹¹² All of these concern temple business or other disputes in which priests are involved. Interestingly, not a single Greek petition to a priest is known; Greek petitions were addressed to officials of the Ptolemaic administration, and exceptionally to estate managers and military officers. Individuals with various functions are approached in the other Demotic petitions:

1. *strategos*: P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II; O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv. 632;
2. royal scribe: P. Syrac. inv. 262;
3. *topogrammateus*: P. BM Siut inv. 10600;
4. *komogrammateus*: P. Oxf. Griffith 37; P. Sorbonne Dem. inv. 217 B;
5. village *epistates*: P. München BSB inv. 5;
6. *praktor* of the temples: P. Bürgsch. 13, 13 bis A, 13 bis B;
7. inspector (*p³ rmt² šn*): P. Oxf. Griffith 40;
8. police officer: P. BM Dem. inv. 10650; P. Lille Dem. 114 (?);¹¹³

¹¹¹ See HENGSTL, 'Petita in Petitionen' (cit. n. 1), p. 281.

¹¹² P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 4579.12, 4679.11, 5930.3, and 8342 are probably also addressed to priests from Tebtynis.

¹¹³ In P. BM Dem. inv. 10650 the addressee bears the title *ts rsy*. Cf. P. BM Siut inv. 10591, col. II, l. 9, for *ʿn rsy* as *archiphylakites*. In P. Lille Dem. 114, the addressee is called *hry p³ mš^c*,

9. overseer of lands: P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 2;
10. royal farmer: P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 1;
11. private persons (?): P. Berlin inv. 15592, ll. 20–29.

Interestingly, eight addressees bear a Greek name, transcribed into Demotic:

1. O. Hor 26: Ariston (*Ἀρστων*), function unknown;
2. O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv. 632: Hierax (*Ἱεράξ*), *strategos*;
3. P. BM Siut inv. 10591: Noumenios (*Νουμνῖος*), *strategos* and *archisomatophylax*;
4. P. Bürgsch. 13: Milon (*Μίλων*), *praktor* of the temples;
5. P. Bürgsch. 13 bis A: Milon (*Μίλων*), *praktor* of the temples;
6. P. Bürgsch. 13 bis B: Milon (*Μίλων*), *praktor* of the temples;
7. P. BM Dem. inv. 10650: Bion (*Βύων*), police officer;
8. P. München BSB inv. 5: Horion (*Ὡρίων*), village epistates.

This raises the question if it was possible to submit a Demotic petition to a Greek official. Or were all Egyptian petitioners forced to make their complaint in Greek? The first two texts cannot really elucidate the question, because they are written on ostrakon, and most probably served as drafts. Ostraka made the perfect material for preliminary versions (see the archive of Hor and the archive of Phatres from Narmuthis), but – being second-rate writing material – they were probably never used for the final redaction of petitions. We cannot know, therefore, whether the final versions of these petitions were written in Greek or Demotic.

P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, records a petition by the priests of Syene to the *strategos* and *archisomatophylax* Noumenios. Unfortunately, we have to conclude that this important Greek official did not receive petitions in Demotic. Literal translations from Greek petitioning formulas

a title for a village police officer according to Françoise DE CENIVAL, ‘Fragments de lettres administratives du Fonds Jouguet’, [in:] H.-J. THISSEN & K.-T. ZAUZICH (eds.), *Grammata demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, Würzburg 1984, p. 19. It cannot be excluded that *ḥry pꜣ mꜣꜥ* is a military title, but there are certain arguments against such an interpretation: J. TAIT, ‘A Demotic list of temple and court occupations: P. Carlsberg 23’, [in:] THISSEN & ZAUZICH (eds.), *Grammata demotika*, p. 224. More research on the Demotic police titles is necessary. See W. CLARYSSE & Dorothy J. THOMPSON, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, II: *Historical Studies*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 166–168.

show that this text was most certainly translated from a Greek original, especially *hpr=f i. ir n' y hpr iw p' hp ir. t n=n (n) rn=k iw-iw=k wd'* in lines 13–14 ('so that this happens, while justice is done for us in your name, while you are doing fine'), from *τούτου δὲ γενομένου διὰ σὲ τευξόμεθα τοῦ δικαίου. εὐτύχει* ('if this is done, we will obtain justice. Be prosperous'). The Greek memorandum was translated into Egyptian because Noumenios wanted the advice of the indigenous *laokritai* scribe Totoes, apparently a specialist in indigenous law. His advice has been preserved in col. III of the same papyrus.¹¹⁴

P. Bürgsch. 13, 13 bis A, and 13 bis B are addressed to Milon, *praktor* of the temples. The archive of Milon consists of ten Demotic and twenty-two Greek texts, of which most are addressed to Milon himself. Among these texts are four petitions (the three mentioned Demotic documents and one Greek), written by a prominent priestly family that experienced financial difficulties. *P. Bürgsch.* 13 and *P. Eleph.* 27 (TM 5858) record the same petition in respectively Demotic and Greek. Only the autographs of the petitioners in *P. Eleph.* 27 are Demotic. Wilhelm Spiegelberg notes that the Demotic text contains curious constructions: *n' n=f r iw=k ir=f* in (l. 12: 'it is good if you do it') and especially *hpr=f r iw=f hpr* (l. 13: 'so that it may happen'). The Greek text on the other hand confirms to the standard *ὑπόμνημα* model with its set formulas. Therefore, he identifies the Greek petition as the primary text, translated into Demotic afterwards.¹¹⁵ Kurt Sethe on the other hand argues that the Demotic text was primary and consequently translated into Greek. According to him, an Egyptian translation of a Greek petition to the *praktor* would have no function at all in the archive of the *praktor*.¹¹⁶ But one can equally pose the question what would have been the purpose of a Greek translation if the *praktor* understood Egyptian and received a Demotic petition in the first place.

¹¹⁴ Cf. G. BAETENS & M. DEPAUW, 'The legal advice of Totoes in the Siut archive (P. BM Siut 10591, verso, col. I–III)', *JEA* (forthcoming).

¹¹⁵ SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Papyrus von der Insel Elephantine* (cit. n. 22), pp. 10–14.

¹¹⁶ K. SETHE, *Demotische Urkunden zum Ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* [= *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 32], Leipzig 1920, pp. 287–288.

The formula $n^2-n=f r i w=k i r=f$ is paralleled in Greek by the expression $\kappa α λ ῶ ς π ο ι ῆ σ ε ι ς$ ('you will do well'), but was fully integrated in Demotic epistolography.¹¹⁷ The formula $hpr=f r i w=f hpr$, however, does look like an awkward transposition of $τ ο ύ τ ο υ δ ἔ γ ε ν ο μ ῆ ν ο υ$. In P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II, this Greek formula is translated into Demotic as $hpr=f i . i r n^3 y hpr$. The expression must have been quite a challenge for Egyptian translators. The Demotic autograph of *P. Eleph.* 27 also suggests that this document was the original. On the whole, Spiegelberg's hypothesis is the strongest.

One of the later petitions from the priests to Milon was most probably submitted in Demotic. *P. Bürgsch.* 13 bis A and 13 bis B are copies of one and the same Demotic petition. *P. Bürgsch.* 13 bis B is written on the verso of a fragmentary Greek letter (TM 5860), so it has to be a copy or draft. *P. Bürgsch.* 13 bis A was probably the originally submitted document, because it contains a Greek administrative docket, indicating that the subscribed text was the third memorandum that the priests addressed to Milon. The subscription shows that the Egyptian memorandum was read by Milon or someone of his personnel who mastered both Demotic and Greek. It does not surprise that the administration of Milon was able to cope with Demotic documents as well: as 'praktor of the temples' Milon probably had to deal with indigenous priests at multiple occasions.¹¹⁸

The 'n-smy P. BM Dem. inv. 10650 is addressed to a police officer with a Greek name, Bion. He is not known from other documents, however, and it would be incorrect to identify him as a Greek on the basis of this onomastic criterion alone. The last Demotic petition addressed to an

¹¹⁷ DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 262–263. It appears in another Demotic petition as well: WT. Zürich 1894.

¹¹⁸ The precise duties of the *praktor* are unclear. Clarysse argues that the $\pi ρ ά κ τ ω ρ ι ε ρ ῶ ν$ was a temporary state official, appointed when particular financial/fiscal problems arose in a temple: W. CLARYSSE, 'The archive of the *praktor* Milon', [in:] Katelijn VANDORPE & W. CLARYSSE (eds.), *Edfu, an Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period*, Brussels 2003, p. 22. Bussi thinks that it might have been a more permanent function, responsible for a larger area, e.g. a nome: Silvia BUSSI, 'Fiscalità e templi nell'Egitto tolemaico', [in:] EADEM (ed.), *Egitto dai Faraoni agli Arabi. Atti del Convegno 'Egitto: amministrazione, economia, società, cultura dai Faraoni agli Arabi' (Milano, 7–9 gennaio 2013)* [= *Studi ellenistici. Supplementi* 1], Pisa – Rome 2013, p. 123.

official with a Greek name is P. München BSB inv. 5, unfortunately incomplete. According to the description that Nathaniel Reich made of the text at the beginning of the previous century, the text originally consisted of two fragments.¹¹⁹ The lower part has gone missing since the 1980s, but used to contain some more lines of Demotic and a Greek subscription. Together with P. Bürgsch. 13 bis A, this would be the only Demotic petition that bore a Greek subscription. This might indicate that the village *epistates* Horion was versed in both Demotic and Greek as well.¹²⁰

The non-existence of Demotic petitions to the king has already been discussed (see section 3.2: ‘Demotic petitions addressed to the king?’). We have to conclude that other higher-ranking officials of the Ptolemaic kingdom were rarely approached with Demotic petitions either. Many Greek petitions are addressed to the *strategos*, whereas the first Demotic petition to this official (O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv. 632) is possibly a draft for a Greek document and the second (P. BM Siut inv. 10591 v^o, cols. I–II) certainly a translation from Greek. The documents from the Soknopaiou Nesos archive show that Egyptian petitioners addressed priests and lower officials in Demotic and the king and higher officials in Greek at the same time (see section 3.2: ‘Demotic petitions addressed to the king?’). P. München BSB inv. 5, the petitions from the archive of Milon, and possibly P. BM Dem. inv. 10650, on the other hand, might indicate that certain Greek (or perhaps more fittingly ‘multiethnic’) officials were capable of working with both Demotic and Greek documents. But once more, it must be stressed that the question of ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt is a tricky one.

The accusations in Demotic petitions are similar to those in Greek petitions. Most disputes are in some way property-related. Theft is the best-represented category (P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 1; P. Oxf. Griffith 40; P. Sorbonne Dem. inv. 217 B; UPZ I 6a; WT. Zürich inv. 1894). Other property-related grievances concern inheritances, sales, debts, loans, and

¹¹⁹ REICH, ‘Aus der Sammlung der demotischen Papyri’ (cit. n. 26), p. 316, n. 5.

¹²⁰ Most village *epistatai* bear Greek names; see E. LAVIGNE, *De Epistates van het dorp in Ptolemaeïsch Egypte* [= *Studia Hellenistica* 3], Leuven 1945, pp. 26–28.

unjust claims by officials. *P. Oxf. Griffith* 39 and 41 are complaints about the misconduct of certain priests, *P. Syrac. inv.* 262 about the misconduct of a state official. *P. Oxf. Griffith* 38 and *P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv.* 8448 concern personal violence cases. Not all of these accusations are followed by explicit demands of redress: to the documents discussed at the end of the section 3.1: ‘*mkmk*’ (*P. Oxf. Griffith* 38, 39, and 41), the ‘*n-smy*’ *P. Sorbonne Dem. inv.* 217 can be added, submitted for the addressee’s information (*r dy.t rh=k s*: ‘to cause that you know it’). It is not entirely clear whether these texts without explicit request should be considered as petitions or not.

Often, the addressee is asked to conduct investigations in some way. The petitioners of *P. Lille Dem.* 114, *P. Oxf. Griffith* 37, and *P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv.* 8448 request to summon the accused; the petitioner of *P. Oxf. Griffith* 40 asks to summon and interrogate his adversary. In *P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv.* 2, the beekeeper Nektanebo writes to his superior, the overseer of lands Harmiysis, so that he might order his agent Dikaïos to bring the men who defrauded him. An order to comply (*my in=w n’ rmt.w rn=w (r)-hr=n*: ‘may they bring the named men to us’) is added at the bottom, probably written by the scribe of Harmiysis. But in all these cases it is unclear whether the requested investigations were only preliminary procedures or actually meant to put an end to the dispute right away.

Other requests are more specific:

1. *O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv.* 632: to return the petitioner’s belongings;
2. *P. BM Siut inv.* 10591 v^o, cols. I–II: to order the *archiphylakite* and village *epistates* to temporarily block the wines of the petitioners’ property;
3. *P. BM Siut inv.* 10598, 10599, 10600: to summon the accused, to make him return the petitioner’s land and to prevent him from coming there anymore;
4. *P. Bürgsch.* 13: to release a mortgage;
5. *P. Bürgsch.* 13 bis A and B: to acknowledge a donation of land;¹²¹
6. *P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv.* 1: to forward a petition to the *komomisthotes*

¹²¹ The petitioners were unable to pay all instalments for their land, so they wanted the Greek Xenon to take over their property and pay the remaining instalments: CLARYSSE, ‘The archive of the *praktor* Milon’ (cit. n. 118), pp. 23–26.

and other (unspecified) individuals, so that they might prevent thieves from coming to the petitioners' fields;

7. *P. Freib.* IV 75: to write a letter to the *oikonomos* and the *topogrammateus* in order that they might hear the plea of the petitioner.

In other cases, the request is lost or unclear. As these petitions are only snapshots of more lengthy processes, it is often difficult to assess their precise place in dispute resolution and to evaluate the role which the addressed local officials and other high-standing members of society (like priests) played in this resolution. In order to investigate this, a further examination of the Greek petitioning corpus from the Ptolemaic period will be necessary.

APPENDIX 1 DEMOTIC PETITIONS¹²²

<i>Identification</i>	<i>TM no.</i> ¹²³	<i>Date</i>	<i>Nome</i> ¹²⁴	<i>Addressee</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Type</i>
<i>O. Hor</i> 23	48990	167 BC	Memphites	?	Hor of Sebennytos	petition?
<i>O. Hor</i> 26	48993	mid-2nd c. BC	Memphites	Ariston (function?)	Hor of Sebennytos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
O. Ifao Edfou Dem. inv. 632	128947	75/74 or 46/45 BC	Apollonopolites	Hierax (<i>strategos</i>)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)

¹²² Another list of *mkmk*'s has been published in DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), pp. 324–325, but this list has been updated on the basis of the discussions throughout this paper. There is one more unpublished candidate Demotic petition, of which I did not manage to obtain photographs: P. Ashmolean Museum Dem. inv. 74/1982.130, identified as a *mkmk* in DEPAUW, *The Demotic Letter* (cit. n. 3), p. 325.

¹²³ Some of the unpublished texts have not received a TM number yet.

¹²⁴ In theory, a petition can have a different place of origin and submission. This is further complicated by the fact that petitioners often took recourse to professional scribes to draft their petition. In most cases, however, this entire itinerary took place in the same region. Therefore the nomes in which these petitioning processes took place, as far as known, are listed in this table.

<i>Identification</i>	<i>TM no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Nome</i>	<i>Adressee</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Type</i>
<i>P. Berl. Dem.</i> III 13567	48634	Ptolemaic	Ombites	?	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Berlin inv.</i> 15592, ll. 20-29	91946	Ptolemaic	Panopolites	private persons?	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. BM Dem. inv.</i> 10650	369018	Ptolemaic	Arsinoites	Bion (police officer)	—	<i>n-smy</i> (petition?)
<i>P. BM Siut inv.</i> 10591 v ^o cols. I-II	53821	170 BC	Ombites ¹²⁵	Noumenios (<i>strategos</i> and <i>archisomatophylax</i>)	Siut	<i>mkmk</i> (petition: translation <i>ὑπόμνημα</i>)
<i>P. BM Siut inv.</i> 10598	43409	170 BC	Lykopolites	Spemminis (prophet and temple <i>epistates</i>) ¹²⁶	Siut	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. BM Siut inv.</i> 10599	48653	169 BC	Lykopolites	Spemminis (prophet and temple <i>epistates</i>)	Siut	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. BM Siut inv.</i> 10600	44188	169 BC	Lykopolites	Miysis (<i>topogrammateus</i>)	Siut	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Bürgsch.</i> 13	5858	223 BC	Apollonopolites	Milon (<i>praktor</i> of the temples)	Milon <i>praktor</i>	<i>mkmk</i> (petition: translation <i>ὑπόμνημα</i>)
<i>P. Bürgsch.</i> 13 bis A	2789	223 BC	Apollonopolites	Milon (<i>praktor</i> of the temples)	Milon <i>praktor</i>	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Bürgsch.</i> 13 bis B	44604	223 BC	Apollonopolites	Milon (<i>praktor</i> of the temples)	Milon <i>praktor</i>	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Cair.</i> II 30976 r ^o	567	132/131 BC	Pathyrites	Nechoutes (function unknown)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. Cair.</i> II 31221	44349	late Ptolemaic?	Arsinoites	priests	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)

¹²⁵ This petition, written by the priests of Syene, was sent to Noumenios, *strategos* of the entire Thebais. In this way it arrived in Siut (Lykopolites). Cf. BAETENS & DEPAUW, 'The legal advice of Totoes' (cit. n. 114).

¹²⁶ *shn Pr-3*; Cf. H. THOMPSON, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum Including an Account of a Trial before the Laocritae in the Year B.C. 170*, Oxford 1934, pp. 77-78.

<i>Identification</i>	<i>TM no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Nome</i>	<i>Addressee</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Type</i>
P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 1	51408	2nd/1st c. BC	Arsinoites	Ameneus (royal farmer)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
P. Fitzhugh Dem. inv. 2	51409	3rd/2nd c. BC	Memphites?	Harmiysis (overseer of lands)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Freib.</i> IV 75	2515	231/230 BC	Oxyrhynchites	?	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. Lille Dem.</i> 114	44438	3rd c. BC	Arsinoites	Tesenouphis (police officer?)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
P. München BSB inv. 5	45930	135 BC	Arsinoites?	Horion (village <i>epistates</i>)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 37	46947	161 BC	Arsinoites	Pa-sobek-pi (<i>komogrammateus</i>)	temple Soknopaïou Nesos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 38	48879	159 BC	Arsinoites	Tesenouphis (<i>Iesonis</i>)	temple Soknopaïou Nesos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 39	48545	156 BC	Arsinoites	Marres (prophet and royal controller of temples in Arsinoites)	temple Soknopaïou Nesos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 40	48880	147/136 BC	Arsinoites	Herieus (<i>Iesonis</i>), Pete- souchos (inspector), other priests	temple Soknopaïou Nesos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
<i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> 41	48881	131 BC	Arsinoites	Petesouchos (<i>Iesonis</i>), other priests	temple Soknopaïou Nesos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
<i>P. Oxf. Griffith</i> [unre- gistered <i>tomos synkol- lesimos</i>], r ^o , col. II	—	146/135 BC	Arsinoites	NN son of Herieus (?), <i>Iesonis</i>	temple Soknopaïou Nesos	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
P. Sorbonne Dem. inv. 217 B	372048	195 BC	?	<i>komogrammateus</i> (name unknown)	—	<i>ʿn-smy</i> (petition?)
P. Syrac. inv. 262	316183	Ptolemaic	Arsinoites	Horos (royal scribe)	—	<i>mkmk</i> (petition)
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 4579.12	—	mid-2nd c. BC?	Arsinoites	?	temple Tebtynis	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 4679.11	—	mid-2nd c. BC?	Arsinoites	?	temple Tebtynis	<i>mkmk</i> (petition?)

<i>Identification</i>	<i>TM no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Nome</i>	<i>Adressee</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Type</i>
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 5169.5	—	mid-2nd c. BC?	Arsinoites	Marres (<i>Iesonis</i>)	temple Tebtynis	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (petition?)
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 5930.3	—	mid-2nd c. BC?	Arsinoites	?	temple Tebtynis	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (petition?)
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 8342	—	mid-2nd c. BC?	Arsinoites	?	temple Tebtynis	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (petition)
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 8448	—	148 BC	Arsinoites	Marres (prophet and royal controller of temples in Arsinoites)	temple Tebtynis	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (petition)
UPZ I 6a	3497	163 BC?	Memphites	?	<i>katochoi</i>	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (petition?)
WT. Zürich inv. 1894	51507	late 2nd c. BC	Pathyrites	Patseous (prophet and estate holder/manager) ¹²⁷	—	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (petition)

APPENDIX 2 OTHER *MḲMḲ* DOCUMENTS

<i>Identification</i>	<i>TM no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Nome</i>	<i>Adressee</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Type</i>
<i>O. Hor</i> 1	48969	159 BC	Memphites	‘the priests’	Hor of Sebennytos	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>O. Hor</i> 21	48988	mid-2nd c. BC	Memphites	the priests of Thot	Hor of Sebennytos	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>O. Hor</i> 1	48969	159 BC	Memphites	‘the priests’	Hor of Sebennytos	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>O. Hor</i> 21	48988	mid-2nd c. BC	Memphites	the priests of Thot	Hor of Sebennytos	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>O. Hor</i> 31	48438	mid-2nd c. BC	Memphites	Sarapion (prophet and eponymous priest)	Hor of Sebennytos?	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)

¹²⁷ *c.* n 1000. For discussion of this title, cf. W. CLARYSSE, ‘Egyptian estate holders in the Ptolemaic period’, [in:] E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* [= *OLA* 5–6], Leuven 1979, pp. 736–743.

<i>Identification</i>	<i>TM no.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Nome</i>	<i>Adressee</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Type</i>
O. Strasbourg Dem. inv. 246	316909	early 1st c. BC ¹²⁸	Pathyrites?	Aristodikos? (function unknown)	—	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>P. Loeb</i> 40	48850	middle Ptolemaic?	?	Petehyris (<i>komogrammateus</i>)	—	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>P. Loeb</i> 53	48851	middle Ptolemaic?	?	Petehyris (<i>komogrammateus</i>)	—	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
<i>P. Loeb</i> 66	48852	middle Ptolemaic?	?	Petehyris (<i>komogrammateus</i>)	—	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)
P. Tebt. Dem. SCA inv. 8334	— ¹²⁹	mid-2nd c. BC?	Arsinoites	Sokonopis (<i>Iesonis</i>)	temple Tebtynis	<i>mḳmḳ</i> (memorandum)

Gert Baetens

Department of Ancient History
KU Leuven
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 – box 3307
3000 Leuven
BELGIUM
e-mail: gert.baetens@kuleuven.be

fundacja
im. Rafała
Taubenschlaga

¹²⁸ Judging from the writing, the text must have been written in the late Ptolemaic or Roman period. A dating in the early first century BC is most plausible though, because Psenanubis states that *ḏtrstyḳs* will go to Pathyris, a locality without much importance after its destruction in 88 BC.

¹²⁹ This petition will be published in the near future and will receive a TM number at that moment.



Lajos Berkes

**EINE OXYRHYNCHITISCHE
ENTHAFTUNGSBÜRGSCHAFT
AUS DEM 7. JH.***

DER UNTERE TEIL einer Enthaftungsbürgschaft (ἐγγύη εἰς παράστασιν) ist erhalten. Dux (zum Namen vgl. Anm. zu Z. 14), Sohn des Onno-phrios, Schiffer aus Oxyrhynchos, verbürgt sich für jemanden aus derselben Stadt, dessen Name nicht mehr erhalten ist. Der Verbürgte wird dem Bürgen bei dem Gefängnis übergeben, wohin er auch bereit ist ihn auf Verlangen des Bürgschaftsempfängers jederzeit abzuliefern. Die Provenienz des Textes wird – abgesehen von der unsicher gelesenen Rückseite – durch die für den Oxyrhynchites charakteristische Notarsunterschrift und das Formular gesichert, obwohl manche Abweichungen vorkommen, vgl. den Zeilenkommentar und Isaak F. Fikhman, „Une caution byzantine pour des coloni adscripticii: P. Oxy. VI 996“, [in:] R. Pintaudi (Hrsg.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica* [= *Papyrologica Florentina* VII], Firenze 1980, S. 67–77. Vom Anfang des Dokumentes fehlen das Präskript mit der Datierung und Ortsangabe, die Nennung der Vertragspartner und die einleitenden Sätze. Der ganze Text wurde von derselben Hand geschrieben. Sowohl der Notar als

* Ich danke Frau Professor Andrea Jördens für die Publikationserlaubnis dieses Papyrus und Dr. Nikolaos Gonis für seine wertvolle Hinweise. Die Studie entstand mit Unterstützung des Ungarischen Fonds für Wissenschaftliche Forschung (OTKA, NN 104 456: Classical Antiquity, Byzantium and Humanism. Critical Editions of Latin and Greek Sources with Commentary).

auch der Schreibgehilfe heißen Stephanos. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die zwei Personen identisch sind und der Notar auch der Schreiber des Textes war – was oft belegt ist. Vergleichbar ist z.B. die herakleopolitische Bürgerschaft, *CPR XXII* 4 (Mitte 7. Jh.), bei dem möglicherweise auch der Notar als Schreibgehilfe auftritt und wahrscheinlich auch den Text geschrieben hat. Ein Notar Namens Stephanos war aus Oxyrhynchos m.W. bis jetzt nicht bekannt; für seine Unterschrift, vgl. Anm. zu Z. 17–18. Die professionelle Hand deutet auf die erste Hälfte des 7. Jh. hin, vgl. etwa die durch das HGV erreichbare Abbildung von *P. Oxy.* LVIII 3961 (Oxyrhynchos, 631–632).

Die meisten aus dem 6.–7. Jh. stammenden oxyrhynchitischen Bürgerschaften garantieren, dass Dorfbewohner bzw. *coloni* nicht von ihrem Land flüchten; für eine Liste solcher Dokumente aus dem Gau, vgl. die Angaben von T. M. Hickey und F. Reiter in der Einleitung zu *P. Pintaudi* 19. In unserem Fall kann das nicht die Sachlage sein, da – wie aus der Zusammenfassung des Vertragsinhaltes auf der Rückseite vorgeht – der Verbürgte ebenfalls in der Stadt Oxyrhynchos wohnt. Es ist nicht mehr zu ermitteln, an wen die Garantie gerichtet ist. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob das Dokument an die Apionen adressiert ist, da viele oxyrhynchitische Dokumente dieser Zeit ihrem Archiv zuzuordnen sind. Da aber ein öffentliches Gefängnis das letzte Mal im Jahr 552 in ihrer Dokumentation erwähnt wird und danach nur noch das Gefängnis ihres „ruhmreichen Hauses“ vorkommt, ist diese Möglichkeit auszuschließen, vgl. T. M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt. The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* [= *New Texts from Ancient Cultures*], Ann Arbor 2012, S. 95. Der verlorene Adressat des Dokumentes hätte vielleicht ein Pagarch, z.B. der aus *PSI I* 52 (Oxyrhynchos, 602/617/647) bekannte Flavius Ioannes, sein können. Zu Gestellungsbürgerschaften in der Spätantike, s. allgemein B. Palme, „Pflichten und Risiken des Bürgen in byzantinischen Gestellungsbürgerschaften“, [in:] G. Thür & F. J. Fernández Nieto (Hrsgg.), *Symposion 1999. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Pazo de Mariñán, La Coruña, 6.–9. September 1999)* [= *Acten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* 14], Köln – Wien 2003, S. 531–555 (mit weiteren Literaturangaben).

Mittelbrauner Papyrus, beschrieben mit schwarzer, stark verblasster Tinte, parallel zum Faserverlauf. Links, rechts und unten vollständig, oben abgebrochen.

P. Heid. inv. G 5150

8,6 × 26,3 cm

erste Hälfte 7. Jh.

Rückseite

Spuren

- αὐτὸν ἐπιζητούμενον πρὸς ἐμέ
 παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν οἰαδήποτε ἡμέρᾳ
 4 οἰασθηποτοῦν ἔνεκεν προφάσε(ως)
 τοῦτον παροίσω καὶ παραδώσω
 ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ ἐκτὸς παντὸς
 τόπου προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγου,
 8 ἔνθα αὐτὸν καὶ παρέλαβον,
 ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλα(κῇ) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) πόλε(ως).
 εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσω, ὁμολογῶ
 ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι πᾶσιν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτ(ὸν)
 12 ἐπιζητουμένοις ἀποκρίνασθαι.
 κυρ(ία) ἢ ἐγγύ(η) ἀπλ(ῇ) γρα(φείσα). ἔπερ(ωτη)θ(εῖς) ὡμολ(ό)γ(ησα).
 ἐγὼ
 Δοῦξ ναύτ(ης) υἱὸς Ὀννωφρίου
 ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος) στοιχ(εῖ) μοι ἢ παροῦ(σα) ἐγγύ(η) ὥς πρόκ(ε)ται.
 16 Στέφανος ἀξ(ιω)θ(εῖς) ἔγρ(αψα) ὑ(πέρ) αὐτ(οῦ) ἀγρα(μμάτου)
 ὄντ(ος) †
 vac.
 χ di' emu Stefanu eteli-
 vac. othh S †

Vorderseite

- 19 [† ἐγγύη Δουκὸς ναύτου υἱοῦ Ὀννω]φρίου ἀπὸ [τ(ῆς) Ὀ]ξ(υρρυγ-
 χιτών) π(ό)λ(εως) [ἀναδεχομένου Name υἱὸν]. ἰοῦ ἀπὸ τ(ῆς)
 αὐτ(ῆς) πόλε(ως) †

4. προφάσε pap. || 9. φυλ pap. | αυτπολ pap. || 11. υπευθυνος pap. | αυ pap. || 13. κυρη-
 εγγαγγεπερωμολ pap. || 14. ναυ pap. || 15. προγεγραστοξ pap. | παρεγγγ pap. | προξ
 pap. || 16. αξεγργ αυαγροτ pap. | προξ pap. || 19]ξπ pap. | αποαυτολ pap.

(Ich anerkenne, dass) ... wenn ihr ihn von mir an einem beliebigen Tag, aus einem beliebigen Grund verlangt, werde ich ihn stellen und an einem öffentlichen Ort ohne irgendeinen Zufluchtsort und Schutzbrief übergeben, wo ich ihn auch empfangen habe, im öffentlichen Gefängnis derselben Stadt. Wenn ich das aber nicht tue, anerkenne ich, dass ich verpflichtet bin, all das von ihm Geforderte zu verantworten.

Die Bürgschaft, die in einfacher Ausfertigung geschrieben ist, ist maßgeblich. Auf Befragen habe ich zugestimmt.

Ich, der oben genannte Dux, Schiffer, Sohn des Onnophrios; die gegenwärtige Bürgschaft entspricht mir, wie sie vorliegt.

Ich, Stephanos, habe auf seine Bitte hin für ihn unterschrieben, da er schreibunkundig ist. †

✕ Durch mich, Stephanos, wurde es vollzogen. †

(Rückseite) † Bürgschaft des Dux, Schiffer, Sohn des Onnophrios aus Oxyrhynchos, der sich für ... Sohn des ... ios aus derselben Stadt verbürgt. †

2. αὐτὸν ἐπιζητούμενον: Die Reihenfolge dieser Wörter ist in der Regel umgekehrt. Man muss nicht unbedingt von einer Veränderung im Formular ausgehen, vielleicht handelt es sich um ein Versehen des Schreibers.

3. παρ' ὑμῶν: Diese Wendung ist in einer oxyrhynchitischen Bürgschaft an dieser Stelle unerwartet, vgl. F. Morelli im Komm. zu CPR XXII 4, Z. 22–23. Vergleichbar ist allerdings P. Pintaudi 19, Z. 18–19, mit seinem einmaligen Formular (vgl. den Komm. von T. M. Hickey und F. Reiter *ad locum*): ζητουμέ(νου) δὲ αὐτοῦ | [π]ρὸς ἐμὲ παρὰ τῇ(ς) ὑμετέρ(ας) ἐνδοξ(ότητος). In SB VI 9146, Z. 13 (Herakleopolites, 8. Jh.), kommt der Ausdruck in demselben Kontext vor: οὐστinas ἐπιζητουμέ(νους) παρ' ὑμῶν, vgl. auch Z. 16–17: πᾶσιν | τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς αὐτ(οὺς) ἐπιζητ(ουμένοις). Im fragmentarischen SB I 4747, Z. 2 (Arsinoites, 6.–7. Jh.), könnte der Ausdruck ebenfalls in Zusammenhang mit dem Partizip des Verbs ἐπιζητέω vorkommen: [περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων] παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς με ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Wegen des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes ist in SB VI 9146 nicht mehr zu ermitteln, auf wen sich der Ausdruck bezieht, aber aus Z. 9 erfährt man, dass die Bürgen sich παρὰ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐκλε(εῖ) δεσποτ(εῖᾳ) verbürgen, was auf jeden Fall eine hochrangige Person vermuten lässt.

3–7. ἐν οἰαδῇποτε ἡμέρα | οἰασθηποτοῦν ἔνεκεν προφάσε(ως) ... ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ ἐκτὸς παντὸς | τόπου προσφυγῆς καὶ λόγου: Zur Klausel, vgl. B. Palme, „Asyl und Schutzbrief im spätantiken Ägypten“, [in:] M. Dreher (Hrsg.), *Das antike Asyl. Kultische Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion*

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a letter or document, written on a piece of aged, textured paper. The text is arranged in approximately 15 lines, though some are partially obscured by damage or fading. The script is dense and flowing, characteristic of 18th or 19th-century handwriting. The paper shows signs of wear, including creases and discoloration.

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[= *Akten der Gesellschaft für Griechische und Hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* 15], Köln [u.A.] 2003, S. 203–236, bes. 221–222.

5. *παροίσω καὶ παραδώσω*: Die Wendung *παράφέρω καὶ παραδώσω* ist in oxyrhynchitischen Bürgschaften üblicher. Nur drei andere Dokumente belegen *παροίσω*, vgl. N. Gonis im Komm. zu *P. Oxy.* LXIX 4757, Z. 5 (der dritte Beleg ist *P. Pintaudi* 19, Z. 22–23). Man könnte allerdings an dieser Stelle des Formulars in *P. Mert.* II 98, Z. 12 (Oxyrhynchos, 7. Jh.), ebenfalls die Ergänzung *π[αροίσω]* statt *π[απαφέρω]* erwägen (zum Text, s. jetzt auch Giuseppina Azzarello, „«Distretti» nell’ Oxyrhynchites del VII sec.? *P. Mert.* II 98 revisitato“, *AfP* 59 [2013], S. 401–405).

8. *παρέλαβον*: Es wäre *παρείληφα* zu erwarten, vgl. F. Morelli im Komm. zu *CPR* XXII 4, Z. 18–19. Der Aorist ist an dieser Stelle nur in zwei anderen Texten der Mitte des 7. Jh. aus dem Herakleopolites (*P. Eirene* II 27 [Mitte 7. Jh.]) bzw. Arsinoites (*SB* I 4659 [653 oder 668]) belegt. Da unser Text ebenfalls aus dem 7. Jh. kommt, könnte man erwägen, dass in dieser Zeit der Aorist gegenüber dem Perfekt in solchen Klauseln häufiger verwendet wurde. Demgemäß könnte man auch in *P. Mert.* II 98, Z. 14, eventuell [*παρέλαβον*] statt [*παρείληφα*] ergänzen.

9. *ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ φυλα(κῇ) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) πόλε(ως)*: In oxyrhynchitischen Bürgschaften wird eine *δημοσία φυλακή* sonst nur in *P. Oxy.* LXIX 4757, Z. 6 (aus dem Archiv der Flavia Anastasia) erwähnt. (In anderen Gauen begegnet uns der Terminus häufiger.) Vergleichbare Ausdrücke wie *ἐν τῇ φυλα(κῇ) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) πόλε(ως)* kommen allerdings auch in anderen Dokumenten aus dem Gau vor; vgl. N. Gonis im Komm. zu *P. Oxy.* LXIX 4756, Z. 20. In Papyri finden wir sowohl öffentliche wie „private“ Gefängnisse. Die Forschung tendiert derzeit zur Auffassung, dass letztere auch als eine Art öffentlicher Aufgabe bzw. Last (*munus*) von verschiedenen Grundherren und Institutionen finanziert wurden. Über Gefängnisse in der Spätantike, s. F. Morelli im Komm. zu *CPR* XXII 4, Z. 17–18 (mit reichlichen Literaturangaben).

10–12. *ὁμολογῶ ... ἀποκρίνασθαι*: Diese Formel ist charakteristisch für den Oxyrhynchites, vgl. F. Morelli im Komm. zu *CPR* XXII 4, Z. 22–23.

13. *γρα(φείσα). ἐπερ(ωτη)θ(εῖς)*: Man würde zwischen diesen zwei Wörtern in der üblichen abgekürzten Form (*ς*) noch ein *καί* erwarten. An dieser Stelle ist allerdings ein Loch auf dem Papyrus, was die Lesung erschwert. Es scheint, dass nach der *γρ*-Kombination kein Platz mehr für ein abgekürztes *καί* da ist. Gelegentlich fehlt jedoch die Konjunktion in solchen Verträgen, vgl. *P. Mert.* II 98, Z. 19.

14. *Δούξ*: Der letzte Buchstabe scheint ein *ξ* zu sein und kein *ζ* – obwohl die Form dieser beiden Buchstaben in dieser Schrift leicht zu verwechseln ist. In unserem Text findet sich nur ein einziges *ξ* in der Abkürzung *αξ*^θ (Z. 16), aber die Form des Buchstaben ist nicht zu vergleichen, da die Schrift hier in einem

schnellen, extrem abgekürzten Duktus geschrieben ist. (Auf der Rückseite ist das ξ in Ὁ]ξ(υρρυγχιτῶν) nur in Spuren lesbar.) Vergleichbare ξ-s sind in *PSI I 52*, Z. 5, 7 und 10, oder *P. Wisc. I 11*, Z. 7 und 10 (Oxyrhynchos, 646/661/677), zu finden. Für den Namen (ΙΙ)Δούξ aus dem lateinischen *dux*, vgl. N. Gonis, „Arabs, monks, and taxes: Notes on documents from Deir el-Bala'izah“, *ZPE* 148 (2004), S. 213–224, bes. 220–221, mit weiterer Literatur in Anm. 36.

17–18. ✕ di emu Stefanu eteli-|vac. othh S †: Monolinguale lateinische Notarsunterschriften sind im Oxyrhynchites üblich. Besondere Formen des Christogramms – so wie in unserem Text – wie auch die Form *eteliob* sind für den Gau ebenfalls charakteristisch. Der Notar Stephanos hat seine Unterschrift bewusst in zwei Zeilen geschrieben, obwohl er am Ende der ersten Zeile sicherlich noch Platz gehabt hätte sie zu beenden. Vermutlich wollte er denselben Abstand zu den beiden Rändern behalten. Vergleichbar ist die Unterschrift von Kolluthos in *P. Michael.* 35 (Oxyrhynchos, 7. Jh.). Zu oxyrhynchitischen Notarsunterschriften, vgl. J. M. Diethart & K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* [= *MPER* 16], Wien 1986, S. 13–14, 19, und s. die Abbildung der Unterschrift von Kolluthos unter der Nr. Oxy. 10.1.2.

19. [ἀναδεχομένων ---]. ίου: Die Oberfläche der Rückseite ist extrem abgerieben. Die Endung -ίου gehört zum Vatersnamen des Verbürgten, der im Akkusativ nach ἀναδεχομένων zu erwarten ist. Nach ἐγγύη könnte man noch γενομένη oder γεναμένη ergänzen. Zur Formulierung, vgl. etwa *P. Pintaudi* 19 V, Z. 1–2 (Oxyrhynchos, 6.–7. Jh.), mit dem Komm. von T. M. Hickey und F. Reiter *ad locum*.

fundacja
im. Rafała
taubenschlaga

APPENDIX

BEMERKUNGEN ZU OXYRHYNCHITISCHEN BÜRGSCHAFTEN AUS DEM 7. JH.

PSI I 52

Anhand der kürzlich online gestellten Abbildung (<<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;1;52>>) lassen sich einige Lesungen dieser oxyrhynchitischen Gestellungsbürgschaft aus der ersten Hälfte des 7. Jh. verbessern. Ferner kann auch die in der ed. pr. nicht gelesene Zusammenfassung des Vertragsinhaltes auf der Rückseite entziffert werden:

Vorderseite:

1. Die erste Zeile beginnt mit einem Kreuz, das in der ed. pr. nicht transkribiert wurde.

3. $\Theta\omega\theta\ \kappa > \Theta\omega\theta\ \beta$: Diese Berichtigung ergibt, dass der Papyrus nicht auf den 17./18. September, sondern auf den 30./31. August zu datieren ist.

4. $\Phi\lambda(\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\omega)\ [I]\sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\nu\hat{\omega}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\omega)\ \pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta > \Phi\lambda(\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\omega)\ [I]\sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\nu\hat{\omega}\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda(\sigma\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega)\ \pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta$: Das Attribut $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ wäre für einen $\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ungewöhnlich. Das Ehrenprädikat $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\sigma\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ist jedoch für das Amt häufig belegt und da in Z. 24–25 (mit *BL* VIII, 391) auf Flavius Ioannes mit der Wendung $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon(\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha)\ |\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda(\sigma\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha)$ Bezug genommen wird, ist die Auflösung der Abkürzung als $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda(\sigma\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega)$ gesichert.

34. $[\eta]\ \acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda(\sigma\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha(?))\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda(\eta)\ \gamma\rho\alpha(\varphi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha)\ \langle\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\rangle\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho(\omega\tau\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma)\ \acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda(\sigma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu)$ (mit *BL* VII, 231) $> [\eta]\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}(\eta)\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda(\eta)\ \gamma\rho\alpha(\varphi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha)\ (\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota})\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho(\omega\tau\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma)\ \acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda(\sigma\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu)$ (l. $\acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda(\sigma\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu)$)).

Rückseite:

Die Zusammenfassung des Vertragsinhaltes ist nur e.g., anhand *SB* XVI 12484, Z. 20–22 (Oxyrhychos, 584), ergänzt:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | † $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta)\ \pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})\ \text{A}\upsilon\rho\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ M\dots\varsigma\ \text{A}\pi\alpha\ \text{A}\omega\rho\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \text{K}\alpha\iota\varphi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu\ \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \dots\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\mu(\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma)\ \text{A}\epsilon\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\ \text{T}\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu\ \text{A}\upsilon\rho\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \text{Θ}\epsilon\omicron\nu\acute{o}\eta\nu\ \theta\eta\gamma\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}(\rho\alpha)\ \Gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\mu(\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma)\ \text{A}\epsilon\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ |
| 2 | $\text{vac.}\quad\quad\quad\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\ \text{T}\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\iota\ \dagger$ |

P. Köln XIII 548

Diese kürzlich publizierte äußerst fragmentarische Enthaftungsbürgschaft aus dem 7. Jh. stammt wahrscheinlich aus dem Oxyrhynchites, wie die für den Gau charakteristische Angabe der Indiktion vermuten lässt. Der Text ist an den $\delta\eta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ der Stadt adressiert, wie Z. 5–7 von Fragment A zeigen:

- 5 τῷ δημ[οσίῳ λόγῳ
6 μὴν[
7 ..ρρ() [

Zu Z. 5.–6. bemerkt der Herausgeber: „Nach τῷ δημ[οσίῳ λόγῳ muss ein Ortsname und der Name des Repräsentanten gestanden haben, vielleicht διὰ | Μην[ᾶ“. Diese Vermutung wird durch zahlreiche Urkunden aus Aphroditos Kome und Hermupolis unterstützt. Die Lesung ..ρρ“ in Z. 7 kommentiert der Herausgeber folgendermaßen: „Es ließe sich βαρρ, allenfalls καρρ lesen. Die beiden parallelen Striche zeigen sicherlich an, dass das Wort abgekürzt geschrieben ist. Die Verdoppelung des Rho könnte ein Zeichen dafür sein, dass das Wort im Plural steht. Eine denkbare Auflösung wäre καρ(άβων). In erster Linie würde man aber wohl an βορρ für βορινός denken. Das Omikron wäre dann mit dem nachfolgenden Rho verbunden. In den Papyri steht wiederholt βορρινός anstelle von βορινός ...“.

Auf der publizierten Abbildung lässt sich die Vermutung des Herausgebers, βορρ“ für βορρινός zu lesen, eindeutig bestätigen. Ferner sind auf dem Foto nach der Abkürzung ein σ und Reste eines vertikalen Striches zu lesen. In dem Kontext einer Bürgschaftsurkunde könnte man wohl am ehesten an das βορρινὸν σκέλος, den „nördlichen Bezirk“, einer Pagarchie denken. Die Aufteilung der Pagarchie in ein βορρινὸν und ein νοτινὸν σκέλος ist für den Herakleopolites und den Hermopolites im 7. bzw. 8. Jh. gesichert und wurde kürzlich von Giuseppina Azzarello für den Oxyrhynchites wahrscheinlich gemacht, wobei unklar bleibt, ob diese Organisation auf die byzantinische Zeit zurückgeht oder nur nach der arabischen Eroberung stattgefunden hat, vgl. Azzarello, „«Distretti» nell’ Oxyrhynchites del VII sec.?“ (s. oben, Anm. zu Z. 5).

Wie kann aber die Erwähnung dieses Bezirkes mit dem δημόσιος λόγος in Einklang gebracht werden? Eine attraktive Parallele bietet die Adresse des koptischen Teiles der dreisprachigen Deklaration, *P. Cair. Arab.* III 167, Z. 2–3 (Panopolis, 8. Jh.):

- 2 [ΑΝΟΝ ΕΝΕΞΑΙ] ΝΠΑΗΜΟCΙΟC ΛΟΓ(ΟC) Η[ΤΟΙ] ΠΕΝΔ[ΟΕ]ΙC ΙΕΞΙΔ ΠΩΕ
ΝΑΒΔΕΛΛΑ ΠΕΝΔ(ΟΞΟΤΑΤΟC) [ΝΚΥΡ(ΙΟC) ΠΙΛΛΟΥ(CΤΡΙΟC) ΑΥΩ]
3 [ΠΠΑΓΑΡΧ(ΟC) ΝΤΠ]ΟΙC [Φ]Η[ΙΝ etc.

Die Ergänzung ist zwar nicht an jeder Stelle gesichert (vgl. den Kommentar von C. Schmidt *ad locum*), aber der Adressat war sicherlich der Pagarch, vgl. A. Grohmanns Einleitung zum Text. Vergleichbar sind auch die koptischen Bürgschaftsurkunden des frühen 8. Jh., die an den *δημόσιος λόγος* bzw. den Statthalter durch den Pagarchen adressiert sind, vgl. z.B. *P. Lond.* IV 1494, Z. 6–8 (Aphrodito, 709):

- 6 ... ενσζαι νδημοσιος λ[ο]γος ητοι πινδοεις πανεϋφημως κορρα
 7 περφγεςτατος νσυμβογλος ζιτοοττηγτην ντοτην πενδοζοτ(ατος)
 νδοεις πκυρ(ιος) βασιλειος.
 8 ζν πογωω νπνογτε πλλογ(στριος) αγω ππαγαρχ(ος) ντδκωογ
 μν νεσεποικιον αγω μν νεσεπεδιας

Diese Parallelen deuten an, dass auch unserer Text an den *δημόσιος λόγος* bzw. den Pagarchen des *βορρινὸν σκέλος* des – wohl – Oxyrhynchites gerichtet ist. Die Zeilenlängen können anhand der Ergänzung der Invokationsformel in Fragment A, Z. 1–2. bestimmt werden, worauf auch der Herausgeber aufmerksam gemacht hat. Anhand seiner Überlegungen und Ergänzungen, stehen uns für die folgenden Zeilen gesicherte Buchstaben Zahlen zur Verfügung: Fr. A, Z. 1: 30; Fr. A, Z. 2: 22; Fr. B, Z. 8: 28; Fr. B, Z. 9: 29. Man kann also mit einer Zeilenlänge von ca. 22–30 Buchstaben rechnen, wobei man mit einer gewissen Schwankung rechnen muss, da einige Wörter vielleicht abgekürzt waren.

Anhand dieser Überlegungen, schlage ich für die Z. 5–7 des Fragments A die folgenden Ergänzungen vor:

- 5 τῷ δημ[οσίῳ λόγῳ ἦτοι Φλαουίῳ]
 6 Μην[ᾶ τῷ Ehrenprädikat παγάρχη τοῦ]
 7 βορρ(ινου) σκ[έλους Angabe der Stadt/des Nomos]

In Z. 6. könnte das Ehrenprädikat am ehesten *μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ* gewesen sein, vgl. die obigen Bemerkungen zu *PSI I 52*. Ferner ist am Ende von Z. 7 τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως zu ergänzen, falls die Art der Angabe der Indiktion für die Provenienz wirklich aussagekräftig ist.

Wenn also diese Überlegungen zutreffen, liefert *P. Köln* XIII 548 einen weiteren möglichen Beleg für die Aufteilung der oxyrhynchitischen Pagarchie in ein nördliches und ein südliches σκέλος im 7. Jh und bezeugt zugleich Menas, den Pagarchen dieses Bezirkes.

Lajos Berkes

Institut für Papyrologie
Zentrum für Altertumswissenschaften
Universität Heidelberg
Marstalstr. 6
69117 Heidelberg
GERMANY

e-mail: lajos.berkes@zaw.uni-heidelberg.de





Lincoln H. Blumell

**P. BIRMINGHAM INV. 317:
AN ADDENDUM TO THE FOURTH-CENTURY
BISHOPS OF OXYRHYNCHUS?***

OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES there has been a burgeoning interest in the bishopric of Oxyrhynchus.¹ This increased interest has stemmed primarily from two developments: (1) the publication of new papyri that have helped to fill out and enrich the picture of the bishopric of

* I would like to thank Susan Worrall, Director of Special Collections and University Archivist, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, for permission to edit, image, and publish P. Birmingham inv. 317.

¹ L. H. BLUMELL, 'PSI IV 311: Early evidence for Arianism at Oxyrhynchus?', *BASP* 49 (2012), pp. 279–299; IDEM, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* [= *New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents* 39], Leiden 2012, pp. 149–154; A. M. NOBBS, 'Some duties and responsibilities of a bishop(?) in late antique Egypt', [in:] Carole M. CUSACK & C. HARTNEY (eds.), *Religion and Retributive Logic: Essays in Honour of Professor Garry W. Trompf* [= *Studies in the History of Religions* 126], Leiden 2010, pp. 159–166; AnneMarie LUIJENDIJK, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* [= *Harvard Theological Studies* 60], Cambridge 2008, pp. 81–112; A. BENAÏSSA, 'New light on the episcopal church of Oxyrhynchus', *ZPE* 161 (2007), pp. 199–206; N. GONIS, 'Dionysius, bishop of Oxyrhynchus', *JfurP* 36 (2006), pp. 63–65; Arietta PAPAConstantinou, 'Sur les évêques byzantins d'Oxyrhynchus', *ZPE* 111 (1996), pp. 171–173; cf. K. A. Worp, 'A checklist of Byzantine bishops (AD 325 – c. 750)', *ZPE* 100 (1994), pp. 283–318; R. L. B. MORRIS, 'Bishops in the papyri', [in:] *PapCongr* XX, pp. 582–587.

Oxyrhynchus in late antiquity and (2) recent reassessments of previously published papyri that have led to new insights.² Consequently, a clearer picture of the bishopric of Oxyrhynchus in the later third and fourth century is beginning to emerge even if there are still a number of lingering questions and uncertainties.

The nineteenth *Festal Letter* of Athanasius, written in the year 347, shortly after Athanasius returned from his second exile, mentions in passing the deposition of a bishop of Oxyrhynchus named Pelagius and the ordination of his replacement, a man named Theodorus.³ Presumably this is the same bishop Theodorus who appears a short time later in *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2729 (*ca.* 352–359),⁴ and who was involved in episcopal

² LUIJENDIJK, *Greetings in the Lord* (cit. n. 1), pp. 95–102, makes a compelling, albeit circumstantial case, that a certain Sotas who appears in a dossier of mid-third-century letters (*P. Alex.* 29; *PSI* III 208; *PSI* IX 1041; *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2785; *P. Oxy.* XII 1492) was the metropolitan bishop of Oxyrhynchus. A recently discovered Ethiopic manuscript that dates to the Aksumite age (4th–7th century) and contains fragments of some thirty-six different treatises includes a work that has come to be identified as the *History of the Alexandrian Patriarchate* (not to be confused with either the *Coptic History of the Church* or the *Arabic History of the Patriarchs*): see A. BAUSI, ‘La collezione aksumita canonico-liturgica’, *Adamantius* 12 (2006), pp. 54–70. This document is especially important because it renders accounts of various early Alexandrian patriarchs that were previously unknown. For the episcopates of Maximus (*ca.* 262–282), Theon (*ca.* 282–300), and Peter I (*ca.* 300–311) the document is particularly insightful since it reports that under these patriarchs a number of bishops were ordained in the *chora*. Remarkably, under the episcopate of Theon it specifically reports that he ordained a man by the name of Sotas as bishop of Oxyrhynchus. This text is currently being edited by A. Camplani and A. Bausi and is not yet published and the author gratefully acknowledges Camplani’s and Bausi’s permission to mention this detail. On another note, as the result of a recent reassessment of *PSI* IV 311 it is now evident that bishop Theodotus of Laodicea had strong theological ties with a prominent Christian from Oxyrhynchus, likely a bishop, in the aftermath of the Council of Nicaea: see BLUMELL, ‘Evidence for Arianism at Oxyrhynchus?’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 279–299.

³ Ath., *Ep. fest.* 19, 10. This letter is no longer extant in Greek but survives only via a Syriac translation. See W. CURETON, *The Festal Letters of St. Athanasius, Discovered in an Ancient Syriac Version*, London 1848, p. lv: ‘In Oxyrhynchus, Theodorus, in the room of Pelagius’. Elsewhere Athanasius mentions Pelagius: *Apol. sec.* 71, 6; 78, 7.

⁴ *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2729, ll. 7–8: δὲ(ᾶ) τοῦ πλοίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν, ‘through the ship of Theodorus our bishop’.

factionalism in Oxyrhynchus in the late 350s that is described in a *Libellus Precum* that is directed to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius in *ca.* 383 by two Luciferian priests Marcellinus and Faustinus.⁵ At this time the episcopal picture is further complicated: *P. Oxy.* XXII 2344 (*ca.* 351–352) attests to yet another bishop of Oxyrhynchus, by the name of Dionysius.⁶ The *Libellus Precum* of Marcellinus and Faustinus further alleges that sometime between 357–361 there was secession from the communion of the metropolitan bishop Theodorus because of his close ties with the Arian patriarch Georgios. In the ensuing chaos an orthodox anti-bishop named Herakleidas was ordained and the petition goes on to relate how his church was then demolished by the partisans

⁵ CSEL LXIX, pp. 361–392.

⁶ *P. Oxy.* XXII 2344, l. 1: Φλα[ουί]ω Παιανίω στρατη[γῶ] Ὁξυρυ[γχι]το[υ] παρὰ Διον[υσίου] ἐπισκόπου καθολικῆ[ς] ἐκκλη[σί]ας τῆς αὐ[τῆ]ς πόλε[ως], ‘To Flavius Paianius *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite from Dionysius bishop of the catholic church of the same city’. While there is no mention of this bishop in patristic literature it is possible that he could be referenced in two other papyri. *P. Harr.* I 94 (mid-4th c.), an account of freights that contains a list of ship-owners, ll. 12–13 reads: πλ(οῖον) Ἀπολλωνίου υἱοῦ Διονυσίου ἐπισκόπου, ‘ship of Apollonius, son of Dionysus the bishop ...’. As this text might have come from the Oxyrhynchite (N. GONIS, ‘Ship-owners and skippers in fourth-century Oxyrhynchus’, *ZPE* 143 [2003], pp. 164–165) there is a possibility it could be the same individual; cf. BENAÏSSA, ‘New light’ (cit. n. 1); p. 199. If it is, it may be wondered whether his son Apollonius is the same Apollonius who signs as bishop of Oxyrhynchus at the Council of Seleucia in 359 (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 73 [PG 42, col. 453]: Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπίσκοπος Ὁξυρύγχου, ‘Apollonios, bishop of Oxyrhynchus’) and who appears in Marcellinus and Faustinus, *Libellus Precum* 100–101 (CSEL LXIX, pp. 384–385). On hereditary episcopal succession see Claudia RAPP, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity* [= *Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 37], Berkeley 2005, pp. 195–199. It may even be possible that this same Apollonius, or Dionysius, appears in *P. CtYBR* inv. 4623, l. 3 (17 October 377) as ‘bishop of the catholic Church’; BENAÏSSA, ‘New light’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 200–201. Returning to Dionysius, a potential reference might also occur in *P. Mich.* XVIII 767 (IV), a letter titled ‘An original document from the Arian controversy?’. The letter appears to deal with ecclesiastical politics and a dispute over episcopal authority and mentions a bishop named Dionysius in l. 1: ἐπίσκοπον [[Μα]ξιμεινον] Διο[ν]ύσιον, ‘bishop Maximinus Dionysius’. Though some have questioned the legitimacy of Dionysius’ episcopacy since he is not known in any patristic source the evidence provided by *P. Oxy.* XXII 2344 surely establishes that he was a bishop of Oxyrhynchus. See GONIS, ‘Dionysius, bishop of Oxyrhynchus’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 63–65.

of Theodorus.⁷ To further complicate matters the *Libellus Precum* introduces yet another bishop of Oxyrhynchus named Apollonius who was a Melitian.⁸

In a seminal article on the bishopric of Oxyrhynchus Arietta Papaconstantinou attempted to assemble a *fasti* of the known bishops and proposed that the aforementioned Theodorus must have remained bishop until sometime in the 380s.⁹ While she also acknowledged that there were two passing references in patristic texts from the early 370s and 380s that mentioned additional bishops of Oxyrhynchus, a certain ‘Theodoulus’¹⁰ and ‘Dorotheus’,¹¹ Papaconstantinou suggested that these were likely corruptions of the name Theodorus: ‘Il semble raisonnable (...) considerer ces deux mentions comme des corruptions de Theodorus’.¹² She therefore contended that Theodorus emerged from the episcopal

⁷ *Libellus Precum* 94, 96.

⁸ *Libellus Precum* 100: *sedens et communicans in una eademque ciuitate cum Apollonio melitianorum episcopo consentienti impietatibus Georgii et cum ipso item Apollonio idem Theodorus persequens beatum Heraclidam catholicae fidei uindicem!* This is almost certainly the same Apollonius who attended the Council of Seleucia and who subscribed as ‘bishop of Oxyrhynchus’ and perhaps the same individual mentioned in *P. Harr.* I 94 (see n. 6 above).

⁹ PAPACONSTANTINO, ‘Sur les évêques byzantins d’Oxyrhynchos’ (cit. n. 1), p. 173. She argued this based on *Libellus Precum* 100–101, where a passing remark seems to imply that Theodorus was still a bishop of Oxyrhynchus during the time the petition was written.

¹⁰ A ‘Theodoulus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus’ (Θεόδουλος ἐπίσκοπος Ὀξυρύγχου) subscribes as a witness to a statement of faith presented to Athanasius by a deacon named Eugenius (of Ancyra) who was representing the followers of Marcellus of Ancyra (*Expositio fidei ad Athanasium pro causa Marcelli Ancyrani* 5.2 [CPG 2.2810]). The date of the text is 371: see M. TETZ, ‘Markellianer und Athanasios von Alexandrien. Die markellianische *Expositio fidei ad Athanasium* des Diakons Eugenios von Ankyra’, *ZNTW* 64 (1973), pp. 85–86; cf. T. ZAHN, *Marcellus von Ancyra. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Theologie*, Gotha 1867, p. 90.

¹¹ A ‘Dorotheus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus’ is mentioned in various bishop lists as a participant at the Council of Chalcedon in 381. See n. 21–24 below.

¹² PAPACONSTANTINO, ‘Sur les évêques byzantins d’Oxyrhynchos’ (cit. n. 1), p. 173. With respect to the reference to the name ‘Theodoulus’ Papaconstantinou was influenced by the suggestion made by M. Tetz who proposed in the notes of his critical edition of the *Expositio fidei ad Athanasium pro causa Marcelli Ancyrani* that ‘Theodoulus’ was likely a corruption of ‘Theodorus’ (TETZ, ‘Markellianer und Athanasios von Alexandrien’ [cit. n. 10], p. 84, n. 84; cf. WÖRZ, ‘A checklist’ [cit. n. 1], p. 304). It is worth pointing out that while

confusion of the 350s and remained bishop until at least the early 380s and perhaps even later.¹³

While there is reason to believe that Theodorus retained the office of bishop until at least the early 380s it is now becoming evident that the episcopal confusion that plagued the city in the 350s and is described in the *Libellus Precum* seems to have continued for the next couple of decades and that there were indeed other (rival?) bishops in the city. In a recently published fragment from the Yale Collection (P. CtYBR inv. 4623) that carries the date 17 October 377, a bishop of Oxyrhynchus is attested who cannot be Theodorus.¹⁴ Though the text is fragmentary and is partially lost where it mentions the name of the bishop, in lines 4–5 it reads as follows:]ίου ἐπισκόπου καθολικῆς [[ἐκκλησίας τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λα]μ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως, ‘-ius bishop of the catholic church of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites’. As noted in the edition the -ιον termination has to be the name of the bishop and the editor suggests either ‘Dionysius’ (Διονύσιος) or ‘Apollonius’ (Ἀπολλώνιος) as distinct possibilities since both are attested as bishops in the 350s.¹⁵ Therefore, whatever uncertainties remain about the bishopric of Oxyrhynchus at this time it is clear that Theodorus was not the only bishop in the city.

the name Theodoulus (Θεόδουλος) only appears a handful of times (less than twenty) in the papyri almost three quarters of these attestations appear in documents from Oxyrhynchus and about half of these appear in texts from the second half of the fourth century: *P. Oxy.* XLVIII 3428, ll. 7, 21 (ca. 330–385); XIX 2233, l. 2 (7 June 350); LI 3623, l. 2 (359); LXVII 4607, ll. 2, 10 (362/3); LXIII 4381, l. 9 (3 August 375).

¹³ PAPA-CONSTANTINOU, ‘Sur les évêques byzantins d’Oxyrhynchus’ (cit. n. 1), p. 173. A bishop Hierakion of Oxyrhynchus is the next attested bishop of Oxyrhynchus ca. 395 and is mentioned in two manuscripts of the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, Sinai 432 and Bodleian Cromwell 18, fol. 26v; cf. D. CHITTY, review of *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, *édition critique de texte grec et traduction*, ed. and trans. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, Brussels 1971, *JTS* 13 (1962), p. 174: πλὴν ὅσον παρὰ τοῦ ἐκεῖ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου Ἱερακίου ἡκριβευσάμεθα ἐδηλώσαμεν, μυρίους μὲν μοναχοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτόν, δισμυρίας δὲ παρθένους ἔχοντος, ‘However, as far as we could ascertain from the holy bishop of that place, Hieracion, we would say that he had under his jurisdiction ten thousand monks and twenty thousand nuns’. Neither of these manuscripts were utilised in Festugière’s edition.

¹⁴ BENAÏSSA, ‘New light’ (cit. n. 1), pp. 199–202.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 200.

Keeping this in mind it is now time to consider P. Birmingham inv. 317. This papyrus is a small fragment that is housed in the Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham. It measures 7.0 × 7.5 cm (H × W) and contains the remains of four lines of text, only two of which are completely legible. The extant text is written with a dark brown ink along the fibers and is well spaced; there is no writing on the back. While the hand is at times rapid, with ligatures, it is nevertheless fairly clear and it may be described as an upright cursive script that can confidently be assigned to the fourth century and may probably even be dated to the second half of the fourth century given that it shares distinct palaeographic parallels with the following texts: *P. Oxy.* LXI 4129 (11 May 358); *P. Oxy.* XLVIII 3392 (14 June 360); *P. Oxy.* LV 3803 (16 August 411).¹⁶ While the fragment is on the whole rather unremarkable it warrants attention because it contains a reference to a bishop of Oxyrhynchus that is not Theodorus and cannot be either Dionysius or Apollonius. The text reads as follows:

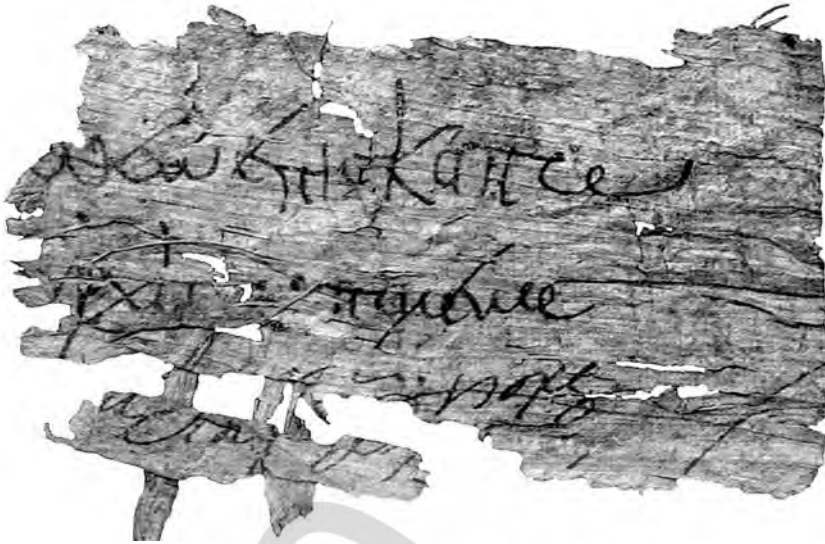
→]οθέω ἐπισκόπῳ
 Ὁξυ]ρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
].[...].ονομου
 4].[...].α.[

Based on the reconstruction given in P. CtYBR inv. 4623 the present fragment could perhaps be reconstructed as follows:]οθέω ἐπισκόπῳ | [καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυ]ρυγχιτῶν πόλεως, ‘-otheus bishop of the catholic church of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites’.¹⁷ The letter combination οθεω that precedes ἐπισκόπῳ cannot be an epithet but must be the termination of the name of the bishop in the dative case.¹⁸ There are effectively only two

¹⁶ Of particular note is the two stroke *epsilon* where the bottom half is written with a single lunate shaped stroke and the upper half is written with a single horizontal ascender that is characteristic of the fourth century.

¹⁷ BENAÏSSA, ‘New light’ (cit. n. 1), p. 201, ll. 3–4.

¹⁸ The fragment appears to preserve the first line of text, as there are no traces of ink



P. Birmingham inv. 317
(photo by L. H. Blumell)

possibilities for the name of the bishop ending in the dative case with *-οθέω*: Timotheus (*Τιμόθεος* > *Τιμοθέω*) or Dorotheus (*Δωρόθεος* > *Δωροθέω*).¹⁹ At the beginning of the sixth century there is evidence for a bishop of Oxyrhynchus bearing the name Timotheus but at present there is no other evidence for a bishop of Oxyrhynchus bearing this name before this

above the first extant line; it may be that the fragment represents a letter. The only epithets that could conceivably fit are *φιλόθεος*, *ισόθεος*, and *ἀξιόθεος*, but they are not used as titles of address for bishops. The epithet *φιλοθεΐα* is used abstractly to refer to bishops by Christian writers of later antiquity but it would not fit the present case and the dative termination of this noun here. On the use of this epithet for bishops, see Lucilla DINEEN, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography to 527 A.D.*, Washington 1929, p. 13.

¹⁹ A search on the DDBDP reveals that of the 87 attested names ending with *-οθέω* in only two instances is the name not either Timotheus or Dorotheus. In both cases it is the name Philotheus (*Φιλόθεος*): *P. Apoll.* 92, l. 4 (Apollonopolites, 651–700); *Stud. Pal.* VIII 904, l. 1 (Ariston Polis, 6th/7th c.).

time.²⁰ On the other hand, the name Dorotheus emerges as a very attractive possibility; not least because a bishop of Oxyrhynchus named Dorotheus purportedly attended the Council of Constantinople in 381. While Arietta Papaconstantinou has dismissed this patristic evidence, arguing that it was likely a corruption of Theodorus, this remains to be proven. The two oldest Greek manuscripts that contain a list of the bishops who attended the Council of Constantinople, both from the early ninth century, mention that a ‘Dorotheus [bishop] of the city of Oxyrhynchus’ was in attendance.²¹ Similarly, a bilingual Syriac/Greek manuscript of the eighth or ninth century that contains an episcopal list for the Council of Constantinople similarly lists Dorotheus in attendance.²² Furthermore, the extant Latin lists for the Council of Constantinople also note that a bishop named Dorotheus from Oxyrhynchus was in attendance;²³ given that there are differences between the Greek and Latin recensions it is surely significant that the name Dorotheus remains a constant in both. Therefore, any notion that Dorotheus is simply a corruption of Theodorus needs to be seriously reconsidered,²⁴ and the evidence

²⁰ SB XII 10939, ll. 1–4: τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν | ἀγιώτατον κ(αὶ) θεοφιλέστατον πατέρα ἡμῶν | ἅπα Τιμόθεον, ἐπίσκοπον τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὁξυρύνχιδος | πόλεως J. O’CALLAGHAN, ‘Dos papiros bizantinos de la Universidad de Yale (New Haven, EE. UU.) (P. Yale inv. 1603 y 1604)’, *StudPap* 11 (1972), pp. 29–39. On the sixth-century date of this papyrus, see A. BENAÏSSA, ‘571. The date of SB XII 10939 and Bishop Timotheus’, *Tyche* 22 (2007), pp. 216–217. On this bishop see also PAPAConstantinou, ‘Sur les évêques byzantins d’Oxyrhynchus’ (cit. n. 1), p. 173.

²¹ C. H. TURNER, ‘Canons attributed to the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, together with the names of bishops, from two Patmos MSS *POB’ POG’*’, *JTS* 15 (1914), p. 168: Δωρόθεος πόλεως Ὁξυρύνχου. In the apparatus Turner notes that in MS *POB’* that Ὁξυρύνχου reads Ὁξυρύνχου.

²² V. RUGGIERI, ‘The IV century Greek episcopal lists in the *Mardin Syriac*. 7 (olim *Mardin Orth.* 309/9)’, *OCP* 59 (1993), p. 343.

²³ C. H. TURNER, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, Oxford 1899–1939, vol. II, pp. 434–435.

²⁴ It is surely significant that in G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, II: *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus*, Padova 1988, p. 629, he lists Dorotheus among the known bishops of Oxyrhynchus.

presented by P. Birmingham inv. 317 could well constitute the first papyrological evidence for the episcopacy of Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus in the late fourth century.²⁵

Lincoln H. Blumell

Department of Ancient Scripture
Brigham Young University
Provo, UT 84602
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
e-mail: lincoln_blumell@byu.edu

²⁵ While there is no other papyrological evidence for a bishop of Oxyrhynchus named Dorotheus the evidence provided by *P. Lond.* VI 1927 is tantalizing and worth mentioning here. This letter was sent by an individual named Dorotheus, who identifies himself as an ‘Oxyrhynchite’, and although the name of the addressee does not appear in the extant portions of the letter it was presumably sent to an individual named Paphnutius since it was found in his archive. The letter sticks out among fourth-century Christian letters because of its overt Christian content, its use of a wide range of *nomina sacra*, and its use of scriptural language throughout where the author even cites Ephesians 5:16, which suggests that the author was no ordinary Christian but a member of the clergy or perhaps a monk. See BLUMELL, *Lettered Christians* (cit. n. 1), pp. 210–211. The letter was judged by Bell to date from about the middle of the fourth century and the opening section is worth citing here (ll. 1–4): τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ | θε[ο]φιλ[ε]ῖ. Δωρόθεος ὁ Ὁξ[υ]ρνηχίτης ὁ ἄχρ(ε)ῖος δοῦλος προσαγορεύει σε ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, ‘To my most honored brother and beloved of God, Dorotheus the Oxyrhynchite, the unprofitable servant, salutes you in the spirit and in the love of Christ’. Given the overall tone and content of the letter, as well as the use of the self-referential ἄχρειος δοῦλος, Timm suggested that the Dorotheus who authored the letter may have been a fourth-century bishop of Oxyrhynchus: see S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit I [= Beibefte zum TAVO, Reihe B, 41/1]* Wiesbaden 1984, p. 285. But Timm was seemingly unaware of the patristic references to a bishop Dorotheus of Oxyrhynchus being present at the Council of Constantinople in 381 since he never cites them. The meaning of the phrase ὁ ἄχρ(ε)ῖος δοῦλος, which is suggestive for Timm that Dorotheus may have been a bishop, is curious; it is attested in one other papyrus, *SB* XXII 15375, ll. 8–9 (5th/6th c.). While the phrase is ultimately derived from either Matt. 25:30 (τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον) or Luke 17:10 (δοῦλοι ἀχρεῖοί ἐσμεν), and may well constitute a scriptural allusion, it is important to note that it appears as a self-deprecating phrase of humility in patristic authors. PAPAConstantinou, ‘Sur les évêques byzantins d’Oxyrhynchus’ (cit. n. 1), p. 172, notes that there is nothing about the phrase ὁ Ὁξ[υ]ρνηχίτης ὁ ἄχρ(ε)ῖος δοῦλος that necessarily implies that the Dorotheus of *P. Lond.* VI 1927 was a bishop.



W. Graham Claytor

**ROGUE NOTARIES?
TWO UNUSUAL DOUBLE DOCUMENTS
FROM THE LATE PTOLEMAIC FAYUM***

NEW EVIDENCE is offering increasing illumination of what Theodore Skeat called the ‘blackened-out landscape’ of the last half-century of Ptolemaic rule.¹ In particular, we are gaining insights on the late Ptolemaic

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¹ ‘The last half-century of Ptolemaic rule resembles a blacked-out landscape illuminated by occasional flashes of lightning when Egypt impinges upon world events, the brilliance of these interludes only emphasizing the darkness of our ignorance concerning the

state's ambitions and accomplishments in regard to the regulation of private written transactions, which in turn offer a better basis for analyzing the transition to Roman rule. Central to these developments were the local *grapheia*, whose initial purpose was simply to register contracts, but which by the Roman period had become full service writing centers linked to regional and provincial archives.

Published here are two late Ptolemaic loans that were drawn up in the *grapheia* of Euhemeria and Theadelphia respectively. They are notable for their lack of standard diplomatic features: both have a large blank space where the body of the contract would normally be written, neither contains the autograph acknowledgement of the *syngraphophylax* or mention of witnesses, and the lender's name is omitted in both cases. Despite their apparent state of incompleteness, the two contracts were duly registered in their respective writing offices.

By the late Ptolemaic period, a new form of the traditional double document had arisen: the *scriptura interior* was no longer a copy of the contract *in extenso*, but generally a short abstract, and a subscription and registration docket were now appended at the bottom of the document.² Uri Yiftach-Firanko observed that these innovations occurred simultaneously sometime between 130 and 113 BC and concluded that the reduction of the *scriptura interior* to a short abstract was part of a reform that 'introduced (if not imposed) the registration of the Greek double document in the state *grapheia*'.³

internal history of the country' (T. S. SKEAT, 'Notes on Ptolemaic chronology. III. «The first year which is also the third». A date in the reign of Cleopatra VII', *JEA* 48 [1962], p. 100).

² H. J. WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats*, II: *Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs* [= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 10/5/2], Munich 1978, pp. 64–67. Cf. *P. Dion.*, pp. 176–193, and Francisca A. J. HOOGENDIJK, 'Greek contracts belonging to the Late Ptolemaic Tebtynis *grapheion* archive', [in:] Carolin ARLT & M. A. STADLER (eds.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit. Fallstudien zu multikulturellem Leben in der Antike*, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 67–68.

³ U. YIFTACH-FIRANKO, 'Who killed the double document in Ptolemaic Egypt?', *AJP* 54 (2008), pp. 214–215. Cf. H. J. WOLFF, 'Zur Geschichte der Sechszeugendoppelurkunde', [in:] *PapCongr* XIII, p. 475.

The standard double document of this late period consists of five sections:⁴

1. Abstract of the contract (*scriptura interior*),
2. Body of the contract (*scriptura exterior*),
3. Subscription of the party under obligation,
4. Acknowledgement of the *syngraphophylax*: ὁ δεῖνα ἔχω κυρίαν,
5. Registration docket of the *grapheion*.

In addition, the *scriptura interior* could still be rolled up, tied, and sealed, with the names of the witnesses, which were also recorded in the body contract (and occasionally in the abstract), written around the seals.

The missing or incomplete body of a registered contract has so far not been found in documents of the Ptolemaic period,⁵ but this practice can be paralleled in a common type of early Roman *grapheion* contract from the Arsinoite nome. Ranging in date from 26 BC to AD 10 and written in seven different *grapheia*, these documents have a large blank space above the registration docket and subscription,⁶ where normally the Roman-period body contract (the old *scriptura exterior*) would be written out in full (see the Appendix). The tops of the documents contain various notations,

⁴ For a list of late Ptolemaic double documents, see YIFTACH-FIRANKO, 'Who killed the double document' (cit. n. 3), p. 210, n. 24. Add SB XVI 12569 (Tebtunis [?], 66–58 or 55–51 BC) under the category 'extensive account of the contract'.

⁵ The unpublished P. Mich. inv. 4436d + 4283 is another document of this type, and was registered through the same notary as 2 (see 2, ll. 20–21 n., and Appendix). This notary also registered P. Mich. inv. 4281c, but the document is cut off above the subscription, so it is uncertain whether the body contract was written. Other possibilities include P. Col. inv. 91 (APIS dating: 2nd–1st c. BC; image available at <<http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.p517>>). This document consists of a well-preserved *scriptura interior* containing an abstract of a three-year lease of 50 arouras made by Didymos, son of Apollonios to Petesouchos, son of Epimachos, with rents due in wheat, barley, various pulses, and other goods. A *paragraphos* just below the abstract marks where the body contract was to have begun, but instead there are two well-spaced lines of uncertain writing. The papyrus is broken below, so we cannot tell if it also contained a subscription and the registration docket. Among published papyri, P. RyI. IV 580 (1st c. BC) is most similar in format to the documents published here, although it was not registered in the *grapheion*.

⁶ During Augustus' reign, *grapheion* registration dockets are generally written above the subscription, in contrast to earlier and later practice.

such as a description of the parties involved and/or the date and location of the contract (i.e., the regular opening of the body contract). Four papyri have incomplete renderings of the body contract. These Roman-period contracts are of course not double documents; yet, like the two Ptolemaic documents published here, they lack a full objective account of the transaction and were nevertheless certified as registered.⁷

How can we understand such contracts? Ulrich Wilcken was the first to recognize their idiosyncrasy, when only a few examples were published. In analyzing one that had been cancelled with cross-strokes, he concluded from this fact that it was a 'rechtsgültiger Schuldschein'.⁸ Elinor Husselman discussed those known to her in the introduction to *P. Mich.* V and argued that, despite their apparent incompleteness, 'the ἀναγραφή established the validity of the subscriptions'.⁹ Hans Julius Wolff was initially more hesitant,¹⁰ but later accepted their full validity on the strength of the ἀναγραφή and the cancellation through cross-hatching, although he took the narrow time frame of these documents as suggestive of a 'besondere Methode' of notarial contract writing limited to the early period of Roman rule.¹¹ The analogous contracts published

⁷ The registration docket sets them apart from the later series of subscriptions and other incomplete contracts from the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive, mentioned below. Also distinct are copies of *grapheion* contracts that omit the body contract, such as *P. Lond.* II 277 (p. 217) (Σοκνοπαίου Nesos, AD 23), which contains only a brief title of the contract before proceeding to the copy of the subscription and registration docket, all written in one hand. These subscriptions and copies, however, coupled with the registered contracts under discussion, demonstrate very clearly that to both the notaries and the contracting parties the subscription was seen as the most important part of the contract.

⁸ U. WILCKEN, 'Referate', *AfP* 5 (1913), p. 206, n. 3, with reference to *P. Fay.* 89. He considered these contracts related to a much later six-witness contract from Herakleopolis (*BGU* III 989 [AD 226]) and tentatively proposed a new category of contract, the 'verselbstständige υπογραφή'. *BGU* III 989 is now recognized as part of a small group of contracts so far limited to the late-second to early-third century Herakleopolite nome: see G. M. BROWNE, 'Ad *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2705', [in:] *PapCongr* XIII, p. 55, n. 10.

⁹ Elinor M. HUSSELMAN, 'The subscriptions', [in:] *P. Mich.* V, p. 10.

¹⁰ It is 'difficult to conceive such validity as entirely equivalent to that of a fully executed document' (H. J. WOLFF, 'Registration of conveyances in Ptolemaic Egypt', *Aegyptus* 28 [1948], p. 85).

¹¹ WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* II (cit. n. 2), pp. 42–43.

here show that this practice originated already in the late Ptolemaic *grapheion*.

The validity of these contracts, at least in the eyes of local notaries and their clients, is beyond doubt. Their peculiarities, however, should be attributed not to a 'special procedure', but rather to local experimentation with the bounds of late Ptolemaic and early Roman contracts and to a shared belief in the subscription as the operative part of the contract. It is understandable that *grapheion* scribes would seek efficiencies if given the chance, especially if complete versions and/or abstracts of these contracts were produced for archival purposes¹² or if their clients were primarily concerned with obtaining a personal statement of the first party's obligations, bolstered by the state registration.¹³ Similarly, scribes of Demotic *grapheion* contracts in the early Roman period omitted clauses and even left them incomplete, presumably because the detailed Greek *hypographe* contained all the necessary contractual information.¹⁴

This experimentation with the body contract, however, was addressed at some point in the early Roman period, either by stricter control over the

¹² Procedures in the Ptolemaic *grapheion* are not as well known as those in the Roman *grapheion*, but abstracts and registers were drawn up and it is possible that some complete contracts were stored in the *grapheion*. See B. MUHS, 'The Berkeley Tebtunis *grapheion* archive', [in:] G. WIDMER & D. DEVAUCHELLE (eds.), *Actes du IX^e Congrès international des études démotiques. Paris, 31 août – 3 septembre 2005* [= *Bibliothèque d'étude* 147], Paris 2009, pp. 243–251; IDEM, 'A late Ptolemaic *grapheion* archive in Berkeley', [in] *PapCongr* XXV, pp. 581–588, and HOOGENDIJK, 'Greek contracts' (cit. n. 2). Cf. the register from Pathyris' *archeion*: K. VANDORPE, 'A Greek register from Pathyris' notarial office. Loans and sales from the Pathyrite and Latopolite nomes', *ZPE* 150 (2004), pp. 161–186.

¹³ The suggestion of M. DEPAUW, 'Autograph confirmation in Demotic private contracts', *CdÉ* 78 (2003), p. 105 with n. 239, that incomplete contracts could be the result of omitting a Demotic body contract can be safely rejected: the types of contracts represented in the Appendix were no longer drawn up in Demotic in the Roman period and the examples with Greek opening formulae or an incomplete body contract show that these were conceived of as monolingual Greek contracts.

¹⁴ Maren SCHENTULEIT, 'Tradition and transformation – Einblicke in die Verwaltung des römischen Ägypten nach den demotischen Urkunden', [in:] Katja LEMBKE, Martina MINAS-NERPEL, & S. PFEIFFER (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule. Proceedings of the International Conference, Hildesheim, Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum, 3–6 July 2008* [= *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 41], Leiden – Boston 2010, p. 364.

quality of registered contracts or a ruling that negated the evidential value of such contracts.¹⁵ Incomplete contracts bearing a registration mark have so far not been found after AD 10. Nevertheless, the many subscriptions of the Tebtunis *grapheion* archive from the following decades, though not registered and returned to the contracting parties, show that subscriptions continued to be written as the primary element of the contract, with the body contract to be filled in later (although some documents simply do not have enough room for the body contract).¹⁶ More rigorous state regulation concerning the form of *grapheion* contracts probably explains, at least in part, why so many *hypographai* were left in the *grapheion* of the Tebtunis.

The two contracts published here also lack the autograph statement of the *syngraphophylax* and any reference to the usual six witnesses. These omissions might reflect the decreasing importance of such security measures, or rather, their absorption by the institution of the *grapheion* in the late Ptolemaic period. Although Yiftach-Firanko argued that ‘the social settings of the act were unaffected by the reform’ that introduced the registration of double documents,¹⁷ changes seem to have been afoot even before the formal elimination of these security measures in the Roman period. Francisca Hoogendijk, for instance, has recently suggested that the *syngraphophylax* and witnesses could be drawn from *grapheion* personnel.¹⁸

¹⁵ For Roman intervention in the minutiae of contract diplomatics, cf. the *μετέωροι οἰκονομίαι*, ‘unfinished contracts’, of *P. Oxy.* II 238 (AD 72) and the much later letter of the acting prefect Claudius Herennianus to the *strategoī* of the Heptanomia and the Arsinoite nome instructing that ‘contracts be legally completed’ (*νομίμως τὰ συναλλάγματα συντελεῖσθαι*), *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2705 (ca. AD 225), both with BROWNE, ‘Ad *P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2705’ (cit. n. 8), pp. 53–59.

¹⁶ See HUSSELMAN, ‘The subscriptions’ (cit. n. 9), pp. 3–11, and EADEM, ‘Procedures of the record office of Tebtunis in the first century AD’, [in:] *PapCongr* XII, pp. 223–238. Registered contracts occasionally have notations at the top, such as the personal description in *P. Corn.* 6 (Oxyrhyncha, AD 17) or the *grammatikon* due in *SB* XIV 11279 (Theadelphia, AD 44).

¹⁷ YIFTACH-FIRANKO, ‘Who killed the double document’ (cit. n. 3), p. 216.

¹⁸ HOOGENDIJK, ‘Greek contracts’ (cit. n. 2), pp. 69–70. An analogous relationship might be that between the so-called ‘professional’ *hypographeis* (subscribers) and the *grapheion* in the Roman period: see W. G. CLAYTOR, ‘Heron, son of Satyros: A scribe in the *grapheion* of Karanis’, *ZPE* 190 (2014), p. 199, n. 3, with further references. Perhaps in both cases we should think of a loose association with the *grapheion*, rather than formal employment.

Finally, a peculiar omission in the two contracts is the lack of the lender's name. This finds a parallel in a contemporary loan registered in the *grapheion* of Neilopolis in 74 BC, first published by Arthur Boak, then re-edited by Herbert Youtie.¹⁹ Unlike the two contracts published here, however, the body of the contract was written in full, with blanks left wherever the lender's name would normally appear. The top of the contract, containing the abstract (with a blank again for the lender's name), was folded over and sealed, while the names of the two borrowers and the six witnesses were written around the seals. There is no evidence for the sealing of our two papyri (although this is not impossible) and the verso of 2 is blank (I have not seen r's verso).

Boak suggested that either the document was a copy or that the blank spaces were intended to allow the obligations of the contract to be 'transferred by the original lender to another person who, by insertion of his name in the blank space, would become qualified to receive the repayment of the loan'.²⁰ Wolff supported the latter view by drawing attention to the transferability of *praxis* in the Greek law of Egypt and in particular to *P. Hib.* I 89 (239 BC), in which the name of the individual entitled to *praxis* was left blank.²¹ Most commentators have endorsed this view,²² interpreting the Neilopolis papyrus essentially as a negotiable instrument payable to the bearer, indisputable evidence for which is thin before the late Medieval and early modern periods.²³ Erich Berneker, however,

¹⁹ SB V 7532, discovered during Michigan's excavation of Soknopaiou Nesos (31-I-1120*-P): A. E. R. BOAK, 'A loan of 74 B.C.', *Aegyptus* 13 (1933), pp. 107-112; H. C. YOUTIE, 'P. Mich. inv. 6051 = Sammelbuch V 7532', *ZPE* 12 (1973), pp. 161-171 (*BL* VII, 194). The lender's name is occasionally omitted in the summaries of agoranomic loans from Krokodilopolis and Pathyris (*P. Bingen* 39-40, p. 197), but these of course could be found in the main contract.

²⁰ BOAK, 'A loan of 74 B.C.' (cit. n. 19), p. 108.

²¹ H. J. WOLFF, 'The *praxis*-provision in papyrus contracts', *TPAPA* 72 (1941), pp. 434-438, and WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* II (cit. n. 2), pp. 166-168. An early dissenter was U. WILCKEN, 'Referate', *AfP* 11 (1935), p. 126: 'Ich bekenne, daß ich an eine solche Manipulation nicht glauben möchte, ehe nicht zwingende Beweise gebracht sind'.

²² WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* II (cit. n. 2), p. 168, n. 20.

²³ See B. GEVA, *The Payment Order of Antiquity and the Middle Ages: A Legal History* [= Hart

argued for a more restricted form of negotiability limited to the original lender's assignment of an authorized agent for execution.²⁴ All such arguments remain speculative because even with the new documents published here there is no evidence of the loans actually being assigned and then reassigned.²⁵

Whatever the case, it is hardly imaginable that the notary's placing a registration mark on a contract with an unidentified party was allowed under state regulations. Already in the third century BC, a royal law laid out detailed rules for the identification of parties to loans,²⁶ while the procedures published in 146 BC regarding the registration of Demotic contracts naturally also require identification of the parties involved.²⁷ Roman decrees have similar provisions.²⁸ Regulations of this sort must have been in force regarding double documents in the first century BC. We are therefore faced with a glaring 'divergence of prescription and practice',²⁹ which

Monographs in Transnational and International Law 6], Oxford – Portland 2011, especially pp. 541–547 and 582–584.

²⁴ E. BERNEKER, 'Blanketterklärungen in Papyrusurkunden', [in:] *Ius et commercium: Studien zum Handels- und Wirtschaftsrecht. Festschrift für Franz Laufke zum 70. Geburtstag am 20.6.1971*, Würzburg 1971, pp. 11–32. Cf. J. HERRMANN, 'Papyrusdokumente mit Wertpapierfunktion', *MBPF* 83 (1990), pp. 297–304, especially 302–303. The arguments of Anette SCHUTGENS, 'Is it true that SB 5.7532 is a negotiable contract?', *ZPE* 20 (1976), pp. 297–298, are unconvincing. She suggests that the creditor's name was left out because the *syngrophylax* himself (who was supposed to be a disinterested party), or someone close to him, took on the role of creditor. Yet she does not explain why someone wishing to extend a loan would feel compelled to act as the *syngrophylax* as well.

²⁵ I am grateful to Bruce Frier for sharing his thoughts on the legal issues raised by these texts.

²⁶ *BGU* XIV 2367, ll. 4–14 (Alexandria [?], 3rd c. BC).

²⁷ *P. Par.* 65, with the analysis of P. W. PESTMAN, 'Registration of Demotic contracts in Egypt. *P. Par.* 65; 2nd cent. B.C.', [in:] J. A. ANKUM, J. E. SPRUIT, & F. B. J. WUBBE (eds.), *Satura Roberto Feenstra Sexagesimum Quintum Annum Aetatis Complenti ab Alumnis Collegis Amicis Oblata*, Fribourg 1985, pp. 17–25.

²⁸ E.g. the edict of the prefect T. Flavius Titianus: *P. Oxy.* I 34 verso (= *M. Chr.* 188), cols. I–II (22 March AD 127).

²⁹ Kathryn BURNS, *Into the Archive. Writing and Power in Colonial Peru*, Durham – London 2010, p. 76, discussing the common practice in colonial Cuzco whereby notaries prepared

suggests an occasional lack of supervision over the growing authority of the *grapheion*, at least in the Fayum of the 70s BC. It is less certain whether the lack of a body contract went against explicit state regulations. The high number of Augustan examples (see the Appendix) suggests that this practice was at least tolerated for a time.

1. Loan of radish seed

Cat. gen. 10825 (*P. Fay.* 240 descr.) 29.2 × 11.8 cm
Papyrus

30 August 74 (?) BC
Euhemeria

This papyrus was discovered in the temple of Euhemeria during Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt's Fayum expedition of 1898/9 and described as *P. Fay.* 240. The temple contained 'some late Ptolemaic documents, chiefly demotic, together with some Roman', along with ostraka, and a pot containing ritual apparatus.³⁰ Grenfell and Hunt did not note the precise locations of these small finds, nor did they produce a plan of the temple, so little more can be said about the archaeological context of this papyrus other than that it accords chronologically with the other dateable finds and that it was likely written and deposited when the temple was still in use.

The text is a loan of radish seed in the form of a double document that was registered in the *grapheion* of Euhemeria, most likely in 74 BC (see below). Besides the formal features discussed in the introduction, this text is notable for providing the first evidence that Euhemeria's *grapheion* was established already in the Ptolemaic period (see l. 15 n.). Also of interest is the reference to the oil-makers' measure in lines 4 and 10. Commentators have noticed the lack of references to radish oil in the Ptolemaic period,

blank contracts for their clients to sign, with the details to be filled in later from their draft books. Naturally, conflicts could arise from this shortcut, which was prohibited by royal law (p. 80). Ptolemaic and Roman notaries were also accused of misrepresenting their clients' wishes: see, e.g., *P. Tebt.* I 42 (Tebtunis, ca. 114 BC) and *P. Vind. Worp* 16, ll. 7–10 (Soknopaiou Nesos, AD 53), with the interpretation of H. C. YOUTIE, "Υπογραφεύς. The social impact of illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *ZPE* 17 (1975), p. 206.

³⁰ *P. Fay.*, p. 45.

when castor and sesame were the preferred vegetable oils, even if radishes were grown.³¹ In contrast, during the Roman period radishes displaced these other vegetables as the primary source of everyday oil, a phenomenon that caught the attention of Pliny.³² This contract provides evidence that radishes were already being used for producing oil in Egypt before the Roman period.

The papyrus is in poor condition and is much in need of conservation. Autopsy has not proven possible, so the following reconstruction must be considered provisional. The main fragment is well preserved until the bottom third of the papyrus and all margins are intact. At the top, a small margin of *ca.* 0.5 cm was left before the start of the abstract. The abstract itself occupies *ca.* 4 cm, below which is a *paragraphos*, then a blank space of 13 cm, where normally the body of the contract would have been written. The subscription is *ca.* 7.5 cm in height, below which there are two curved horizontal lines, perhaps indicating where the *syngraphophylax*' confirmation was to be written. Finally, the registration docket is written 2 cm below the subscription. Like the rest of the text, the registration slopes up to the right and is 1.5 cm from the bottom at the left and 2 cm at the right. The left margin varies between 1 and 1.5 cm and the lines come close to the right edge. The dimensions and overall format of the document closely approximate the Neilopolis contract discussed above (n. 20) and document 2 below.³³

The bottom third of the papyrus is marred by large lacunae and even the preserved portions are either tenuously attached to each other or taped together. The fragment containing lines 8–10 is not correctly

³¹ D. B. SANDY, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* [= *BASP Supplements* 6], Atlanta 1989, p. 6, and P. MAYERSON, 'Radish oil: A phenomenon in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 38 (2001), p. 109.

³² *Nat. Hist.* 19.26.79: *Aegyptio mire (sc. raphanus) celebratur olei propter fertilitatem quod e semine eius faciunt. hoc maxime cupiunt serere, si liceat, quoniam et quaestus plus quam e frumento et minus tributi est nullumque ibi copiosius oleum.* Cf. 15.7.30. On radish oil in later periods, see R. S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, pp. 30–31.

³³ The incomplete contracts from the early-Roman period listed in the Appendix are also generally of the tall and narrow format. See YIFTACH-FIRANKO, 'Who killed the double document' (cit. n. 3), pp. 211–212, for the typical format of late Ptolemaic double documents.

attached and must be shifted about 1 cm to the right, as should everything below it. Three loose fragments preserve text (numbered 1–3 from top to bottom in the original photo). Fragment 1 preserves parts of lines 9 and 10, with traces of the preceding and following lines. Its position in fig. 1 is only approximate, but attention to the tear and crease lines seems to support the proposed lateral position, which also allows sufficient space for the supplements at the ends of lines 9 and 10. The vertical placement does not leave satisfactory room for the bottom of line 11, traces of which are visible on fragment 1, but this must be due to the adjacent parts of the main fragment shifting and squeezing together between lines 11 and 12. Fragment 2 consists of two separate fragments stuck together: the smaller one to the right (2b) preserves a few letters from lines 8 and 9, while the larger one (2a), when flipped, fits the lacuna at lines 12 and 13, where the patronymic beginning Φ on the main fragment continues with $]\iota\lambda\eta\mu[$ in fragment 2a's second line. I have not been able to find a place for fragment 3; its letters appear both smaller and thinner than those of the subscription and so probably does not belong to this papyrus. Fig. 1 is digitally altered to reflect the proposed reconstruction; the original black-and-white and a color image can be viewed in the online Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum.³⁴ The text is written along the fibers. Verso *non vidi*.

Two hands can be distinguished in this text, although they are similar in style: the first, belonging to Philemon, son of Philemon, is responsible for the subscription; the second, that of the registering official Didymos, is found in both the abstract at the top and the registration docket at the bottom.³⁵ Comparable hands to the subscriber Philemon's (ll. 5–14) include *P. Tebt.* IV 1143 (115/14 BC), *SB XXII* 11078 (*ca.* 100 BC), the third hand of *SB V* 7532 (74 BC), *BGU VIII* 1813 (62/1 BC), and *P. Oxy.* LV 3777 (57 BC). Hand three of *SB V* 7532 is especially close to both hands of our

³⁴ At <<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Fay.&vVol=&vNum=240>> (accessed 23 June 2014).

³⁵ For this practice, see already U. WILCKEN, 'Referate und Besprechungen', *AP* 3 (1906), p. 523. Cf. YIFTACH-FIRANKO, 'Who killed the double document' (cit. n. 3), p. 215, and HOOGENDIJK, 'Greek contracts' (cit. n. 2), p. 68, and document 2 below.

text, so I prefer to date this text to the reign of Ptolemy XII and Kleopatra V (74 BC).

The contract is a simple loan of radish seed, which is to be returned ten months later, after the harvest. The phrase *σὺν ἡμιολίας* in the receipt clause means that the amount stated (three artabas) already includes the standard 50% interest on in kind loans; the actual amount lent, then, was two artabas (see l. 3 n.). Neither the abstract nor the subscription mentions a penalty for non-payment, which presumably would have been included in the body contract.

(Hd. 2) ἐδά(νεισεν) *vac.* Ἀχιλλεῖ τῶι καὶ
 Ἰναρώνυτι Ἀφροδισίου τοῦ καὶ Πνεφερώ(τος)
 Πέρσηι τῆς (ἐπιγονῆς) ῥαφ(ανίνου) σπ(έρματος) (ἀρτάβας) γ σὺν
 ἡμιολ(ίαι) ἀποδ(ότω)
 4 Παῦνι τοῦ η (ἔτους) ἐν Εὐ(ημερίαι) μέ(τρῳ) (ἑξ)α(οινίκῳ)
 ἐλ(αιουργικῷ) συ(γγραφοφύλαξ) Πτολ(εμαῖος).

(blank space of ca. 13 cm)

(Hd. 1) Ἀχιλλεῦ[ς ὁ καὶ Ἰ]ν[αρώνυς Ἀφρ]οδισί[ο]ν τοῦ καὶ
 Πνεφερώ(τος) Π[έρσης τῆς] ἐπιγονῆς
 ἔχω τὸ δάν[ειον τὰς τ]ρῖς ἀρτάβας τοῦ
 8 ῥεφανί[ν]ο[υ] ρ[.]... ἀπ[ο]-
 δώσω ἐν [μ]η[ν]ι Π[αῦ]νι τοῦ ὀγδόου [ἔτους]
 ἐν Εὐ[ημερ]ία μέτρ[ω] ἐλαιουργ[ικ]ῷ [καθὰ]
 γέγραπ[ται καὶ τέθειμαι τῇ]ν [συγγρ]αφῇ[ν]
 12 κυρίαν παρὰ Πτολεμ[αίω]. ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 Φιλήμων Φιλήμο[ρος] ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ
 φάσκει[ν αὐτὸν] μὴ [ἐπ]ίστασθαι γράμματα.

(Hd. 2) ἔτους ζ Μεσορῇ κδ ἀνα(γέ)γρ(απται) ἐν Εὐ(ημερίας)
 γρ(αφείω) διὰ Διδύμου.

1. εδ^a pap. || 2. αφροδισιῶ pap. | πνεφερώ pap. || 3. τη^ς pap. | π pap. | τ pap. | ημιό pap. | από pap. || 4. L pap. | ε pap. | με pap. | χ^ς pap. | ε pap. | θ pap. | πτο pap. || 7. I. τρεῖς || 8. I. ῥεφανίνου || 9. ὀγδόου corr. ex ὀκδόου || 15. αναγρ pap. | εὑ pap. | γρ pap. | δι^a pap.



Fig. 1. P. Fay. 240
 (photo courtesy of Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum)

Abstract (ll. 1-4): (blank) *lent to Achilleus, alias Inarous, son of Aphrodisios, alias Pnepheros, Persian of the epigone, 3 artabas of radish seed, including the additional one half. He is to return it in Pauni of the 8th year in Eubemeria by the 6-choinix, oil-makers' measure. Guardian of the contract: Ptolemaios.*

Subscription (ll. 5-14): *I, Achilleus, alias Inarous, son of Aphrodisios, alias Pnepheros, Persian of the epigone, have the loan, the three artabas of radish seed, including the additional one half (?), which I will return in the month of Pauni of the eighth year in Eubemeria by the oil-makers' measure in accordance with what has been written and I have placed the valid contract with Ptolemaios. Philemon, son of Philemon, having been asked, wrote on his behalf since he says that he does not know letters.*

Registration (l. 15): *7th year, Mesore 24. Registered in the grapheion of Eubemeria through Didymos.*

1. ἐδά(νείσειν). This same abbreviation opens some agoranomic loan contract summaries (P. Bingen 39-40, p. 198). Cf. 2, l. 1.

There is a vertical stroke with a hook to the left just before Ἀχιλλεῖ that may mark the end of the space left for the lender's name.

2. Ἰναρῶντι. Demotic *Ḫr.t-Ḫr-r.r=w*, 'the eye of Horos is against them',³⁶ the name of the famous Egyptian rebel against Persian rule.³⁷ This name, with its apotropaic qualities and link to a native hero, remained popular into the Roman period. The spelling found here, however, is much more common in the Ptolemaic period.³⁸

3. Πέρσηι τῆς (ἐπιγονῆς). A horizontal line extends from the end of the *eta* of τῆς and joins the top part of the *sigma*, apparently a low abbreviation stroke.

ῥαφ(ανίνου) σπ(έρματος) (ἀρτάβας) γ σὺν ἡμιολ(ίαι). That is, the amount stated already includes the 50% interest on the loan: the borrower actually received two artabas and must return three.³⁹

4. μῆ(τρῳι) (ἐξ(α)χ(οινίκῳι) ἐλ(αιουργικῳι). An otherwise unattested measure. μέτρῳ ἐλαιουργικῳ (sometimes μέτρῳ ἐλαικῳ) appears thirteen times (DDbDP

³⁶ Trismegistos.org, nameID 371.

³⁷ Thuc. 1.104.

³⁸ The only Roman-period examples are from the Hermopolite nome: P. Flor. I 80, P. Lond. III 903 (pp. 116-117), and P. Sarap. 52.

³⁹ N. LEWIS, 'The meaning of σὺν ἡμιολία and kindred expressions in loan contracts', TPAPA 76 (1945), pp. 126-139.

search, 13 June 2014), all in the Roman period, and often with a further modifier, such as the measure's amount or a topographic reference. *λαχανόσπερμον* was occasionally measured by a six-choenix *μέτρον* (e.g. *P. Leid. Inst.* 25 [AD 95–96]). For the abbreviation *χξ*, cf., e.g., *P. Tebt.* I 93, *passim* (113 BC; image accessible via papyri.info), where it is written *χξ*.

8. *ῥεφανί[ν]ο[ν]* (l. *ῥαφανίνου*). *P. Fay.* 240 was cited in the LSJ, s.v. *ῥαφάνινος*, as an example of the substantive use of the adjective. Based on the abstract, however, we expect *σπέρματος* (then *σὺν ἡμιολίαι*) to follow. *ῥαφάνινον* does appear as a substantive in other texts, with an understood *ἔλαιον* or *σπέρμα* depending on context (e.g. *BGU XVI* 2619, ll. 5–6 [ca. 21–5 BC]).

At the end of the line one expects *ὁ / ἂς (καὶ)* before *ἀποιδώσω*.

10. *μέτρ]ω ἐλαιουργ(ικ)ῶ*. Cf. l. 4 n. There is no room for a reference to the six-choenix measure. For the position of the reference to the measure in the contract, cf. *P. Tebt.* I 110, l. 7 (92 or 59 BC) and *P. Fay.* 89, ll. 15–16 (AD 9).

15. *ἔτους ζ*. The writing of the year is more careful and clear, which differentiates it from the rest of the docket. Cf. the similar writing of *ἔτους* in the docket of the Demotic contract *P. Hawara* 23 (written in Ptolemais Euergetis, 67 BC).

ἀνα(γ)γρα(α)ται ἐν Εὐ(ημερίας) γρα(φείω). The usual phrase is *ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τοῦ ἐν ... γραφείου*, but *P. Fay.* 89, ll. 6–7 (AD 9) offers a parallel: *ἀναγέ(γραπται) ἐν Πη(λουσίου) γρα(φείω) ..ρε()*. This is the first mention of Euhemeria's *grapheion*. For a list of the registration dockets written in this grapheion, see F. Reiter, 'Ein neuer Blick auf SPP XXII 78 und das Schicksal der Dorfgrapheia', [in:] Arlt & Stadler (eds.), *Das Fayyûm in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit* (cit. n. 2), p. 164.

2. Loan of money

P. Mich. inv. 3380
Papyrus

28.5 × 14 cm

22 December 71 (?) BC
Theadelphia

This papyrus was part of the University of Michigan's allotment of the British Museum consortium's 1925 purchase from Maurice Nahman.⁴⁰ It

⁴⁰ It was part of Bell's 'Lot III', described as a 'great mass of material' of disappointing quality: H. I. BELL, *Preliminary Report on Nahman's Papyri*, 1925, p. 1. A copy of this report is kept in the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection and a scan can be found under 'Acquisitions' on the collection's webpage (<<http://www.lib.umich.edu/files/libraries/papyrology/acq-reports/Report%20on%20Papyri%2C%20etc.%2C%20of%201925%20consignment.pdf>>, accessed 14 May 2014).

is complete on all sides, with only a small section missing at the bottom left and some deterioration, in particular along the vertical fold line in the middle.

The overall appearance of the document is quite similar to 1. The first section of text, the *scriptura interior*, written in abstract form, begins just below the top edge of the papyrus, with a small margin of *ca.* 0.75 cm, and side margins of 1 cm on the left and *ca.* 0.75 cm on the right. A *paragraphos* marks where the *scriptura exterior* would have begun, but instead there is a blank space *ca.* 9 cm in height. Below this blank space is the debtor's subscription, written with a left margin of 1–1.5 cm, and occupying 10.75 cm of the papyrus' height. After a small gap of 1–1.5 cm, the registration docket is written at the bottom of the papyrus, 1.5 cm above the bottom edge. There are two (?) lines of indistinct writing towards the left of this bottom margin. The verso is blank.

As in 1, the hand of the *scriptura interior* appears to be the same as that of the registration docket, which we consider to be hand 2. The first hand, that of the subscription, has enough similarities to 1's subscription and hand 3 of the precisely dated SB V 7532 (see above) that I prefer dating the document to 71 BC.

In this contract, Zosimos, alias Arebrus/Arebrous, son of Pasion, and his mother Apollonia, alias Senyris, receive a loan of 75 drachmas, which they are to repay six months later with the standard monthly interest of 2%. The borrowers are designated 'Persians' and they are mutual sureties for one another. The registration docket at the bottom contains the earliest example of the title νομογράφος as well as an unparalleled combination of this title with ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ.

- (Hd. 2) (ἐτους) ια Χοιὰχ ἰδ̄ ἐδά(νεισεν) *vac.*
 2a ...^{os}
 Ζωσίμῳ τῷ κ(αὶ) Ἀρεβρ[ύ]τ(ι) Πασι[ω]νος (Πέρση) τῇ(ς
 ἐπιγονῆς) καὶ ..λ()
 το(ύτου) μη(τρὶ) Ἀπολλῶ(νία) τῇ(ι καὶ) Σεπ[...]() Ζωσίμου τοῦ
 καὶ
 4 Ἀρεβρωῦτο[ς]...[*ca.* 4]..... υἱοῦ ἀργυ(ρίου) ἐπ(ισήμου) δοκ(ίμου)
 Πτολ(εμαιοῦ) ..[*ca.* 5].. δ[ρ]αχ(μὰς) ε.() οἱ ἀποδ(ότω) Παῦν(ι)



Fig. 2. P. Mich. inv. 3380
(photo courtesy of University of Michigan Papyrology Collection)

το(ῦ) α(ὑτοῦ) ια (ἔτους)[.]ισ.κ() [.] () Διον(ύσιος)
σ(υγγραφοφύλαξ) Πτολ()

(blank space of ca. 9 cm)

(Hd. 1) Ζώσιμος ὃς καὶ Ἀρεβρώς Πασίωνος Πέρσης τῆς

- 8 ἐπιγονῆς ἔχω τὸ δάνειον σὺν τῇ μητρὶ
μοῦ Ἀπολλωνία τῇ κ[α]ὶ Σενύρει Περσεΐνῃ
μετὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ τὰς τοῦ ἐπισήμου ἀργυρίου
δοκίμῳ Πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομίσματος δραχμ(άς)
12 ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε ἐγ τόκοις διδράχμ(οις)
καὶ ἀποδώσομεν ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐνδε-
κάτου ἔτους καὶ ἐγγνώμεθ' ἀλλήλους
εἰς ἔκτεισιν καθὼς γέγραπται καὶ τε-
16 θείμεθα τὴν συγγραφὴν κυρίαν παρὰ Πτολ-
[ca. 6-8]. ἔγραψεν Διονύσιος Διονυσίου
[ἀξιωθεῖ]ς ὑπ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φάσκειν αὐ-
τοὺς μὴ ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα.
20 (Hd. 2) ἔτους ια Χοιάχ ιδ' ἀναγέγρα(απται) διὰ Πετάλου
νομ(ογράφου) το(ῦ) πρὸς τῶι γρ(αφείωι) Θεαδελ(φείας)
traces of two (?) lines

1. L. pap. | χοιαχ: first χ corr. ex α (?) | εδ^α pap. || 2. τω^κ pap. | αρεβρ[υ]τ⁷ pap. | τ⁺
pap. | τ⁷ pap. | .^λ pap. || 3. τδ pap. | μ⁷ pap. | απολλων^ω pap. | τ⁷ pap. || 4. αρ^γ pap. |
π pap. | δδ^κ pap. || 5. πτδ pap. | δ[ρ]αχ pap. | απδ pap. | παυν pap. || 6. τδ pap. | L
pap. | [.]ισ^κ pap. | διοσ pap. | - pap. | σ pap. | πτδ pap. || 9. I. Περσίνῃ || 11. δραχ^μ
pap. || 12. I. ἐν | διδραχ^μ pap. || 15. I. ἔκτισιν | I. καθὼς || 20. αναγεγρ pap. | δα^α pap. ||
21. νο^μ pap. | τδ pap. | γρ| pap. | θεαδελ pap.

Abstract (ll. 1-6): 11th year, Choiach 14. (blank) lent to Zosimos, alias Arebrus, son of Pasion, Persian of the epigone, and ... his mother Apollonia, alias Senyris, with her son Zosimos, alias Arebrous as guardian (?) ... 75 (?) drachmas of coined silver of genuine Ptolemaic issue. He is to repay it in Pauni of the same 11th year ... Dionysios. Guardian of the contract: Ptol(.). Subscription (ll. 7-19): I, Zosimos, alias Arebros, son of Pasion, Persian of the epigone, have the loan, along with my mother Apollonia, alias Senyris, Persian, with me as her guardian, the seventy-five drachmas of coined silver

of genuine Ptolemaic issue, at the two-drachma interest rate, and we will pay it back in the month of Pauni of the eleventh year and we are mutual sureties for full repayment according to what has been written and we have placed the valid contract with Ptol.... I, Dionysios, son of Dionysios, having been asked, wrote on their behalf since they said that they do not know letters.

Registration (l. 15): 11th year, Choiach 14. Registered through Petalos, notary in charge of the writing office of Theadelphia.

2a. ...os. Faint letters can be read between ll. 1 and 2, perhaps partly erased. They are written above Πασίωνος and thus might be a note regarding Arebrus' patronymic. Otherwise they could relate to the missing lender's name.

2. Ἀρεβρ[υ]τ(ι). Written in l. 4 as Ἀρεβρωῦτο[s] and in the subscription (l. 7) as Ἀρεβρῶς.

† (Πέρσηι). I read this as the symbol that appears commonly in *grapheion* documents for words beginning with a *pi* and containing a *rho* or *lambda*, or even the whole phrase Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς,⁴¹ although here it apparently stands only for Πέρσης. It originated among late Ptolemaic notaries⁴² and in the Roman period its use spread outside the notary offices.⁴³

καὶ .λ(). καὶ τῇι is expected with the following το(ύτου) μη(τρὶ), but this does not seem possible.

3. Ἀπολλῶ(νίαι) τῇι καὶ Σερ[...]() Ζωσίμου. From the parallel passage in the subscription, we expect Σενύρει Περσίνηι μετὰ κυρίου, but if so, it must have been highly abbreviated.

5. νομίματος should follow Πτολ(εμαϊκῶ), as in l. 11 of the subscription.

δ[ρ]αχ(μάς) ε.() οε. Perhaps the statement of interest can be found here.

6.[.]ις.κ(). A reference to mutual surety should be sought, perhaps ending [ε]ῖς ἑκ(τισιν).

[.]() Διον(ύσιος). The missing term, abbreviated with one or two letters, should refer to Dionysios' role as subscriber (cf. ll. 17–19), which was called ὑπογραφεύς in the Roman period.

⁴¹ For discussion, see *P. Mich.* II 121 recto, introduction; *P. Mich.* V 241, ll. 13 and 17 n.; and *P. Mich.* V 293, introduction.

⁴² A clear example can be found in the double document from Nilopolis to which I have frequently referred, *SB* V 7532, l. 2 (74 BC), where the symbol stands for the patronymic Πτολεμαίου. An earlier example can be found at *P. Stras.* II 88, l. 13 (Pathyris, 105 BC, with *P. Mich.* V 241, l. 17 n. = *BL* III, 232). While I agree that the 'Πέρσης' symbol should be read, there is a clear *rho* following (as the editor notes), which is not found in later examples.

⁴³ E.g. the tax list *CPR* VIII 1, l. 40 (Arsinoite, 1st–2nd c. AD): (Πτολεμαίδος) Ἀράβ(ων).

8. σὺν τῇ μητρὶ κτλ. Coming after τὸ δάνειον, the inclusion of the borrower's mother in the subscription appears to be an afterthought. Cf. *SB VI* 9612, ll. 2–3 (Theogonis, 88/7 [?] BC): μεμισθώμεθα εἰς ἔτη τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ τριακοστοῦ ἔτους, σὺν Ἀκουσιλάω καὶ τῷ τούτῳ (l. τούτου) νύῳ Νικαίῳ κτλ.

12. ἐγ (l. ἐν) τόκοις. This would be an unusual exchange, since normally ν becomes γ only before velar stops (E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I/1, Leipzig 1898, p. 205, and F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I: *Phonology* [= *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità* 55/1], Milan 1976, pp. 166 and 167). Two parallels can be cited: *P. Col.* X 285, l. 32 (see editor's note), and *P. Bon.* 17, l. 2.

20–21. ἀναγέγραπται δι(ὰ) Πετάλου | νομ(ογράφου) το(ῦ) πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ) Θεαδελ(φείας). This is the earliest attestation of νομογράφος, which becomes common only in the Roman period;⁴⁴ ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ, on the other hand, is much older, making its first appearance shortly after the introduction of registration for Demotic contracts in 146 BC.⁴⁵ A combination of these titles is unparalleled in Greek documents, although it is generally assumed that in the Roman period these two positions were equivalent or at least frequently held at the same time.⁴⁶ In a number of early-Roman documents from Soknopaiou Nesos, we find what may be the Demotic equivalent of this combination of titles: *sh qnb.t sh mtn*, with *sh qnb.t*, 'writer of documents', equating to νομογράφος and *sh mtn*, 'writer of the (registration) mark', equating to ὁ πρὸς τῷ γραφείῳ.⁴⁷

The notary Petalos is responsible for the registration of two further unpublished documents in the Michigan collection.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ The only other Ptolemaic example is *BGU VIII* 1777, l. 6 (64–44 BC), νομογράφῳ τῶν ἐκ Πώεως, while the earliest Roman-period attestation is *P. Lips.* II 128, l. 28 (Talei, 19 BC).

⁴⁵ P. W. PESTMAN, 'Registration of demotic contracts', [in:] *P. Choach. Survey*, pp. 337–339.

⁴⁶ As suggested by A. E. R. BOAK, 'The *grapheion* at Tebtunis', [in:] *P. Mich.* V, pp. 1–2. Cf. R. H. PIERCE, 'Grapheion, catalogue, and library in Roman Egypt', *SymbOsl* 43 (1968), p. 69, and Sandra LIPPETT & Maren SCHENTULEIT [in:] *P. Dime* III, p. 103. There is still much room for improving our understanding of the relationship between the various titles associated with the *grapheion*.

⁴⁷ Sandra LIPPETT & Maren SCHENTULEIT [in:] *P. Dime* III, pp. 103–104. Cf. also *CPR XV* 1, l. 17 (Soknopaiou Nesos, 3 BC), in which the writer of the document is titled νομογράφ[ο]ς καὶ πρὸς τῷ χ[α]ρ[α]γμῶι κώμῃ[ς] Σοῦχ[ο]υ [τῆς] Σοκν[ο]π[ι]αίου Νή[σ]ου. Lippert and Schentuleit consider the latter title, attested only here in Greek, to be a translation of Demotic *sh mtn*, 'writer of the (registration) mark', which receives support from the unexpected absence of the Greek article before πρὸς.

⁴⁸ *P. Mich. inv.* 4281c is the bottom part of a contract concerning land, preserving part

APPENDIX:

REGISTERED *GRAPHEION* CONTRACTS
WITH MISSING OR INCOMPLETE BODY CONTRACT⁴⁹

Including the two documents published above (1 and 2) and unpublished papyri in the Michigan collection,⁵⁰ there are fifteen contracts written between 74 BC and AD 10 in eight different *grapheia* (all in the Arsinoite nome) whose body contract is either incomplete or not written at all.⁵¹ Numbers 1–3 are late Ptolemaic double documents, and the remaining ones early Roman *grapheion* contracts. Of the Roman *grapheion* contracts all but 9, 10, and 12 are cancelled by cross-hatching.

No.	Contract	Date	Grapheion	Type	Top of document ⁵²
1	1	30 August 74 (?) BC	Euhemeria	Loan of radish seed	Abstract
2	P. Mich. inv. 4436d + 4283 ⁵³	73 (?) BC	Theadelphia	Antichretic loan	Abstract
3	2	22 December 71 (?) BC	Theadelphia	Loan of money	Abstract

of the subscription and registration. P. Mich. inv. 4436d + 4283 (see n. 5) is an antichretic loan dated to a year 9 and thus probably two years earlier than 2.

⁴⁹ This list updates that found in BROWNE, ‘Ad P. Oxy. XXXIV 2705’ (cit. n. 8), p. 55, n. 10, and also includes documents with an incomplete body contract.

⁵⁰ Numbers 5, 11, and 14 are being edited by myself, Nikos Litinas, and Elizabeth Nabney and belong, like 6–8, to the Harthotes archive (Trismegistos.org, archID 99).

⁵¹ Others, such as P. Mich. inv. 4299 (20/19 BC) and P. Mil. I² 5 (AD 8/9) might also be of this type, but they are broken off above their registration dockets. Cf. also PSI X 1129 (Teb-tunis, 24/23 BC), a unilateral declaration from a *komogrammateus* that might have been influenced by this type of contract (note the blank upper part), although it was not registered in the *grapheion*. For other possible Ptolemaic examples, see above n. 6 and 2, ll. 21–22 n.

⁵² The examples with an ‘incomplete body contract’ are described further in the notes; ‘date/location’ refers to body contracts that contain only the opening dating formula and the location in which it was written.

⁵³ See above, n. 5.

No.	Contract	Date	Grapheion	Type	Top of document
4	<i>P. Ryl.</i> IV 601 ⁵⁴	1 August 26 BC	Ptolemais Euergetis	Lease of cleruchic land	Incomplete body contract ⁵⁵
5	<i>P. Mich. inv.</i> 4436g + 4344	12/II BC	Unknown	Work contract	Incomplete body contract ⁵⁶
6	<i>P. Gen.</i> II 89	6 January 5 BC	Theadelphia	Advance sale	Illegible
7	<i>P. Mil.</i> I ² 4	24 January 2 BC	Theadelphia	Advance sale	Illegible (person description?)
8	<i>P. Oslo</i> II 32	23 August AD 1	Apias	Sublease of public land	Personal descriptions
9	<i>P. Mich. inv.</i> 1324	25 March AD 6	Theadelphia	Unknown	Personal descriptions and date/location
10	<i>BGU</i> I 174 + 189 ⁵⁷	22 August AD 7	Soknopaiou Nesos	Loan of money	Date/location
11	<i>P. Mich. inv.</i> 4346 + 4446f	15 October AD 7	Philagris	Service contract	Incomplete body contract ⁵⁸
12	<i>P. Mich.</i> V 345	10 December AD 7	Tebtunis	Agreement not to prosecute	Date/location
13	<i>P. Fay.</i> 89	2 March AD 9	Pelousion	Loan of seed	Date/location

⁵⁴ There is a one line docket of an uncertain nature above the body contract, which has not been deciphered.

⁵⁵ The body contract seems to cut off mid-sentence and there is a sizable blank space above the registration docket, filled only by a large 'X' to match the cross-hatching of the rest of the document. The day of the month is also left blank in l. 3.

⁵⁶ The usual opening formulae containing the date and location are missing and the body contract reads more like an abstract.

⁵⁷ Published separately, *BGU* I 174 and 189 are the upper and lower halves of a single document, broken clean through the registration mark above the subscription (I thank Marius Gerhardt for providing images). The apparently different date at the bottom of *BGU* I 189 can be re-read as *Μεσορῇ κθ* (*ed. pr.* κδ) and the discrepancies in the names (e.g. *Σαταβοῦς* / *Χαταβοῦς*) are just variant spellings.

⁵⁸ Cuts off after *ὁμολογεῖ* and identification of the two parties to the contract.

No.	Contract	Date	Grapheion	Type	Top of document
14	<i>P. Grenf.</i> II 40 ⁵⁹	14 December AD 9	Soknopaïou Nesos	Unknown	Personal descriptions and date/location
15	<i>P. Mich. inv.</i> 931 + <i>P. Col.</i> X 249	4 April AD 10	Philagris	Service contract	Incomplete body contract ⁶⁰

Graham Claytor

Alte Geschichte
Departement Altertumswissenschaften
Uni Basel
Petersgraben 51
CH 4051 Basel
SWITZERLAND

e-mail: graham.claytor@unibas.ch



⁵⁹ The papyrus is broken in the blank space under the writing at the top; because of the cross-hatching, indicating that the obligations contained in the contract were fulfilled, it is assumed to be a registered contract.

⁶⁰ Cuts off mid-sentence after a substantial portion of the body contract was written.



Tomasz Derda
Joanna Wegner

**NEW DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI
FROM THE POLISH EXCAVATIONS
AT DEIR EL-NAQLUN (P. NAQLUN 35–38)**

THE FOUR DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI published in the present article were discovered during the excavation campaign carried out in 2011 by a Polish team under the direction of Włodzimierz Godlewski on the plateau at the monastic site of Deir el-Naqlun in the Fayum. The excavated area covered central complex on the plateau (monastic buildings) and the so-called site B where a vast refuse dump was located.¹

Out of the total number of forty-one textual finds of the season 2011, twenty-one were Greek (all of them, except for one ostrakon and one text inscribed on limestone, were written on papyrus); other texts were Coptic (10), Arabic (9), or Coptic and Arabic (1); one fragment of papyrus bore no inscription.

The state of preservation of the Greek material in most of the cases does not allow for its publication and commentary. The texts fit for publication, few though they are, have some interesting features and contain information important for the painstaking task of reconstructing the history of everyday life in the monastery in late antiquity.

¹ See W. GODLEWSKI, with appendix by Barbara CZAJA, 'Naqlun (Nekluni). Excavations in 2010–2011', *PAM* 23/1, *Research* 2011 (2014), pp. 173–191, and Dorota DZIERZBICKA, with appendix by Barbara CZAJA, 'Refuse dump in sector B in Naqlun: Excavation report 2011', *PAM* 23/1, *Research* 2011 (2014), pp. 192–203.

Two of the presented fragments belonged to letters addressed to people whom we are unable to identify in a precise manner; however, the titles used by the writers in these texts point to the monastic affiliation of their addressees. Two better preserved documents – Nd. 11.255 (*P. Naqlun* 35) and Nd. 11.375 (*P. Naqlun* 36) deserve our particular attention. The former almost certainly constitutes another testimony to the presence of Bishop Nikolaos in the Naqlun monastery (see commentary), while the latter contains a very interesting list of rare names. All the fragments were found in the refuse dump in sector B, dated to the first period of functioning of the monastery, namely the fifth–ninth centuries.²

The excavation strategy followed by Polish archaeologists during the last few years of excavations at Deir el-Naqlun³ results in the relative scarcity of Greek textual finds suitable for publication in the form of coherent volumes, similar to *P. Naqlun* I and II; hence the decision to publish the most interesting new finds in a series of articles. However, for the sake of clarity and continuity, we shall follow the numeration established in the major editions.

P. Naqlun 35

Nd. 11.255

3.0 × 33.0 cm

6th century

Plateau, sector B (refuse dump)

A complete papyrus strip found wrapped several times.

Upright majuscule script with some ligatures and several abbreviations, marked with abbreviation signs, supralinear strokes (l. 1), or slanting strokes after the last written letter of the abbreviated word (l. 2). The hand betrays a trained and educated scribe, and the orthography of the address is flawless.

² See T. DERDA & DOROTA DZIERZBICKA, 'Refuse dump in sector B in Naqlun: Excavation report 2008–2009' *PAM* 21, *Research* 2009 (2012), pp. 212–221, at 212.

³ See the annual reports published in the consecutive volumes of the *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (*PAM*).



Fig. 1. Nd. II.255

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- 1 † δεσπότη ἐμῶ τὰ πά(ν)τα ὁσιωτά(τω) μακαριωτά(τω) πατρὶ
 πνευμα(τικῶ) ἄββα Νικ[ολάω?] ἐπισκόπ(ω)
 2 Σανσνεὺς ἐλάχι(στος) δοῦλο(ς)

*To my lord, in all respects most holy and most blessed spiritual father, abba Nikolaos (?), bishop.
 Sansneus, the most humble servant.*

1. The restitution of the name in line 1 suggested above depends on three letters (out of which two, *iota* and *kappa*, are barely visible) and the word ἐπισκόπ(ω). In the documents from Naqlun known to us no other bishop except for Nikolaos is ever mentioned. The phrase τὰ πά(ν)τα ὁσιωτά(τω) μακαριωτά(τω) πατρὶ (in variants with other adjectives referring to various spiritual qualities) appears in several documents from the Byzantine period addressed to bishops and monastic superiors (*P. Fouad* 88 v^o, l. 1 [6th c., Aphrodito]: † δεσπ^οο'(τη) ἐμῶ ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) τὰ πάντα θεοφιλε(στάτω) (καὶ) ἀγνωτ(άτω) πατρὶ πνευματικῶ ἄββα Γεωργίω, προεστ(ῶτι) Μετ(ανοίας); *SB* XII 10809, l. 1 [6th c., Hermopolis]: † ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησί(α) ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν τὰ π(άν)τα ὁσιώ(τατον) ἐπίσκο(πον) Οὐλπιανόν; *SB* XX 14118 v^o, l. 15 [6th–7th c., provenance unknown]: † τῶ ἐμῶ δεσπότη(η) τ' ἅ πά(ν)τα θεοσεβεστάτω καὶ ὁσιωτά(τω) πατρὶ, χμγ.

2. The sender is a certain Sansneus, perhaps a monk or clergyman, as indicated by the adjective ἐλάχι(στος), commonly used by members of both groups to refer to themselves in texts addressed to their superiors. For ἐλάχι(στος) δοῦλο(ς) cf. a letter from a monk to a superior *P. Fouad* 89 [6th c., Aphrodito], address on the verso: τῶ ἐμῶ ἀγαθῶ δεσπότη(η), μετὰ τ(ὸ)ν Θ(εόν), προεστ(ῶτι), † Ψοῖος,

ἐλάχ(ιστος) δοῦλος; but see also *P. Iand.* II 22 [7th c., Oxyrhynchos], address on the recto: Ⲭ δεσπότῃ ἐμῷ τὰ πάν[τα μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτῳ)] Σεργήνος{s} Ἡσαίας ἐλάχιστος δοῦλός σου, where the context appears secular (the addressee is styled *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος*, which is unusual for ecclesiastical authorities). Sansneus is a popular name with numerous attestations in the documents from the first century AD onwards (430 occurrences in various forms – *Σανσνεύς*, *Σανσνῶς*, etc. – listed in the Trismegistos database); the majority of attestations of the form *Σανσνεύς* come from various locations in the *merides* of Herakleides and Polemon in the Arsinoite nome.

As far as we can guess from the shape of the strip, the fact that it bears traces of no other text than the addressing formula, and the layout of the text (had the address been followed by further lines, the scribe would have probably started writing his own name from the left-hand margin instead of aligning it to the right-hand side), our papyrus most probably served as a label attached to a parcel delivered to the Naqlun monastery. The parcel could have been additionally accompanied by a letter or a note describing its content.⁴ The recipient of the parcel was most probably the bishop Nikolaos, known from three fragmentarily preserved letters addressed to him (*P. Naqlun* II 32–34), and one letter from him to *comes* Basileios (*P. Naqlun* I 12), probably never sent from the monastery.⁵ Our text is almost certainly the fifth attestation of the presence of Nikolaos in Naqlun.⁶

⁴ Cf. *P. Naqlun* I 10, a list of foodstuffs delivered to a high-ranking monk of the Naqlun monastery (or perhaps even Nikolaos himself; see T. DERDA & Joanna WEGNER, 'Πατέρες τοῦ ἁγίου Νεκλονίου. Functionaries of the Naqlun monastery in the first two centuries of its existence', [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, A. OBLUSKI, & Iwona ZYCH (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. Jubilee Volume for Włodzimierz Godlewski* [forthcoming]). A series of later, early eighth-century examples of letters accompanying foodstuffs and objects of everyday use sent to the recipient through a messenger is preserved in the Coptic dossier of the hermit Frange (*O. Frange* 248, 250, 253, 257, and others). In all these cases the list of products appears together with greetings and requests for prayer addressed to the recipient.

⁵ See the commentary in *P. Naqlun* II, p. 160.

⁶ On the phenomenon of episcopal residence in monasteries, see Mariachiara GIORDA, 'Bishops-monks in the monasteries,' *JfjP* 39 (2009), pp. 49–82.

P. Naqlun 36

Nd. II.375

14.0 × 14.5 cm

6th century?

Plateau, sector B (refuse dump)

Almost completely preserved, roughly square sheet of brown papyrus inscribed by a trained, slightly sloping cursive hand with numerous elements of majuscule script; several abbreviations, marked either with abbreviation signs or raising letters above lines, and ligatures.

A list of names with patronymics and metronymics.

- . ()
- [A]νθηα (καὶ) Ἰωάννης (καὶ) Ἀβραὰμ τὰ ταύ-
της πεδία δι(ὰ) Τριβοῦς νοῦ βοηθοῦ
- 4 Σάρα Ὀρίωνος (καὶ) Εὐφράντιος
ἀδελφὸς μητρ(ὸς) Γηροσας
- Παπνούθις Σκουῦπα μητρὸς
Ἡραεῖδος
- 8 Νόννα Ἀκαθυ ἐκ μητρ(ὸς) Εὐκίας (καὶ) Μαρία ἀδελφ(ή)
Φοιβάμμων Ἀντ(ὸς) μητρ(ὸς) [...] [ο]ῦς ..
.....

2. παῖδια || 4. Ὀρίωνος || 6. = Σκόπα, see comm. || 7. Ἡραῖδος || 8. Ἀκάθου
= Ἀγάθου (?), see comm. | Εὐ(δο)κίας (?) || 9. Ἀντήους (?), see comm.

()

*Antheia and Ioannes and Abraam, children of the same (woman)
through Tribounos assistant (boethos)
Sara, daughter of Horion, and Euphrantios,
her brother, of the mother Gerosa (?)
Papnouthis son of Skoupas (= Skopas?), of the mother
Heraïs*

*Nonna, daughter of Agathes (?), of the mother Eukia, and Maria, sister
Phoibammon son of Antes, of the mother ...ou.e*

.....

1. The crossed letter at the top of the list is similar to what is usually transcribed by the editors as $\pi()$. The letter *pi* written centrally above a document occurs frequently in the papyri from the Byzantine period and is commonly understood as $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$, even if it is not followed by the name of the alleged author (sender) of the letter or, in the case of documents, the person who issued them; see, *inter alia*, A. Papathomas, *CPR* XXV 8, l. 1 note (with lit.); B. Palme, *CPR* XXIV 22, l. 1 note (with lit.). In letters, the character (sign?) is sometimes found in the place which is usually occupied by either a cross or a Christian symbol $\chi\mu\gamma$ ($\rho\theta$); some examples, indeed, resemble a cross or a double cross. Therefore, it should perhaps be understood as another Christian marker used in the documents' openings.

In our opinion, the meaning of the letter (symbol?) in question is not clear and therefore we prefer to leave it unsolved in our transcription.

2. Perhaps $[A]\nu\theta\eta\alpha$ for Ἀνθία ? The name is attested only in the tax rolls from Karanis, *P. Mich.* IV 224 and 225 which mention the mother of one of the tax-payers: $\Pi\tau\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu(\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma) \text{ Ὁρσενούφ(εως) τοῦ Ἑρείεως (l. Ἑρείεως) μη(τρός) Ἀνθείας}$. In two documents of a later date (*BGU* XVII 2728, l. 12 [5th–6th c., Hermopolite nome] and *P. Princ.* II 98 [4th c., provenance unknown]), Ἐὐανθεία appears, but this name seems too long to be reconstructed in our document.

3. Tribounos represents here the name of a man charged with the well-attested function of *boethos*. *Boethoi* appear in the Byzantine period in various administrative and fiscal contexts; the designation means literally 'helper, assistant', and points to the executive role played by its bearers in villages, offices, and private estates. This rare personal name is attested seven times in several documents dated from the second half of the sixth century to the first half of the eighth century. The documents pertain to three different people: Aurelios Tribounos son of Neilos (*SPP* III 384, l. 1 [AD 575–625, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome]; *SB* VI 9596, l. 7 [AD 579, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome]; *SB* I 4748, l. 7 [AD 605, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome]); Tribounos, *boethos logisteriou* (*BGU* XVII 2720, ll. 1 and 3 [AD 588–589?, Hermopolite nome]); Tribounos (*SB* XXIV 16027, l. 7, and 16028, l. 7 [both AD 643–725, Upper Egypt]). In *SB* VI 9596, Aurelios Tribounos is mentioned together with his brother, Aurelios Palatinos, which points to a peculiar onomastic practice in the family. Another possibility, namely that the person mentioned in line 3 is an assistant of a tribune (who in the late antique period was an official with joint military and police competences; see the commentary to *P. Oxy.* L 3581), $\tau\rho\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\beta\omicron\eta\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, is less probable; in this case we

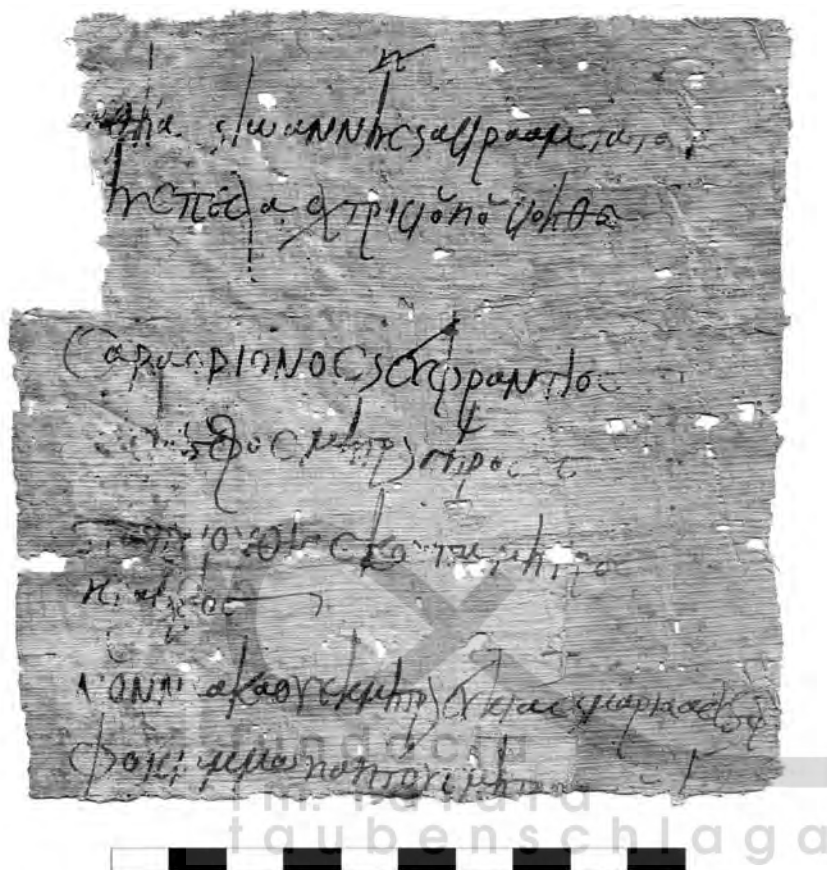


Fig. 2. Nd. II.375

(© archives of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology)

would rather expect a reversed word order, namely βοηθός τριβούνου (as in the numerous cases where the word βοηθός is associated with other genitives defining the scope of duties or the affiliation of the official in question. See, e.g. *BGU* XVII 2720, l. 1-2 [AD 588-589?, Hermopolite nome]: Τριβούνος σὺν θεῷ βοη(θός) λογι(στηρίου); *P. Athen. Xyla.* 20 [6th c., Aphrodito], l. 2: βοη(θού) κ(ώμης); *P. Cair. Masp.* II 67126 [AD 541, Constantinople], l. 73: Φλ(άμιος) Σῶγος, βοηθ(ός) το(ῦ) θεοφιλεστάτο(υ) κύρο(υ) Μηνᾶ διακ(όνου), but cf. the particular instance of *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67005 [AD 568, Aphrodito] – a highly rhetoricised petition to the *dux* of

the Thebaid, where the word order is reversed: ὑπὲρ Ἱερημ[ί]ο(υ) τινος τῆς κώμης βοηθο(ῦ) (l. 15), and finds no parallel in ‘ordinary’ documents. The document which provides the closest analogy to our text is *PSI XIV 1424* [date uncertain, 4th–5th c., provenance unknown], l. 12: ἐγράφη δι’ ἐμοῦ Μαρκελίνου τριβο(ύνου) ἂβοηθ(οῦ) is problematic. The inspection of the original proves the proposition of the editors wrong. The word βοηθ(οῦ), initially omitted by the writer, is subscribed above the genitive τριβο(ύνου), in spite of the fact that enough space is left in the line for it to be simply written after the second genitive. If Markelinos had deemed the word order τριβοῦνου βοηθοῦ natural, he would not have bothered to subscribe the omitted word.

4. Euphrantios is a rare name; out of its five attestations dated to the late fourth to seventh centuries, four are of Fayumic provenance; cf. especially *SPP X* 153, a sixth-century list of people, where two men named Euphrantios are mentioned in lines 14 and 15; the same document lists also a certain Paulos from Tebetny, a village known to be located not far from the Naqlun monastery (l. 18: Παῦλος ἀπὸ Τεβέτνοι [l. Τεβέτνυ]).

5. The name Gerosa is otherwise unattested. It resembles names with participial form, widely attested in various types of textual finds. If we assume that the name is indeed derived from the verb γηράω, ‘to get old’, we need to correct the mistake of the scribe of our text who recorded the name with an *omikron*. Still, one may entertain serious doubts about naming a new-born child ‘an old woman’; there are, however, few attestations of a masculine name Geron – literally ‘old man’ – dated from the second to the seventh century, while the derivative Geron-tios was popular from the second century AD onwards. Perhaps Γηροσα is a corrupted form of another name, the restitution of which is impossible.

5. Σκοῦπα is most probably a corrupted form of Σκόπα. This genitive of the name Σκόπας is attested in few documents (cf. *O. Bodl.* I 283, l. 15, and *P. Oxy.* VII 1070, l. 34 [both of much earlier date, 2nd and 3rd c. AD respectively]). For the interchange of *o* and *ou*, see Gignac, *Grammar I*, p. 213.

8. For the attestations of the name Nonna in Roman and Byzantine papyri, see *P. Athen. Xyla*, pp. 67–70. As suggested in the apparatus, the patronymic Ἀκαθυ can be a very corrupted form of the genitive Ἀγάθου (nom. Ἀγαθος). For the interchange of *υ* and *ou*, see Gignac, *Grammar I*, pp. 214–215; for the intervocalic change of *γ* into *κ*, see *ibidem*, p. 79; cf. *SPP XX* 29v [AD 227, Herakleopolite nome], l. 5: παρὰ Ἀκάθης (Ἀγάθης) Γλυσχ. . . ἀνι[.] μῆ(τρὸς) Θαή[σιο(ς)].

Since the name Εὐκία (or other similar name, e.g. Εὐκεια) is not attested elsewhere, we may assume that the form we encounter in our document results from a scribal omission. We propose Εὐ<δο>κία as the most plausible correction. It is attested seven times in documents dating from the late third to the eighth century: *P. Ross. Georg.* III 1, l. 24 [ca. AD 270, written in Alexandria]: Εὐδοκεία; *P. Strasb. Gr.* VII 655, l. 4 [2nd half of the 5th c., Hermopolis]: Εὐδοκία; *SB XX*

14091, l. 3 [AD 425–475, Oxyrhynchus]: *Εὐδοκίη*; *SB XVI* 12281, l. 1 [6th c., Arsinoite nome]; *BGU XVII* 2684, l. 12 [AD 555, Hermopolis]; *P. Herm.* 29, l. 18 [AD 586, Hermopolis]: *Εὐδοκία*. The name *Εὐκλεία*, in spite of its similarity to the name recorded in our document, can be excluded on chronological grounds; as far as we know, the name is not attested in the documents after the Ptolemaic period.

9. The patronymic *Ἀντρου*s is probably a variant of the genitive of the name *Ἀντης*, namely *Ἀντηνους*, attested in *P. Tebt.* II 340, ll. 3 and 24 [AD 206].

Unfortunately, we are unable to determine the character and purpose of this list. The presence of an assistant (*boethos*) through whom an action is supposed to be undertaken points to transactions of fiscal nature. The prepositon *δι(ᾧ)* in line 3, which occurs frequently in documents pertaining to fiscal matters, may suggest that this is a list of people liable to tax payments, although the document records only names without any sums of money. The list may be a record of the owners of land on which tax liabilities were imposed; this would explain the collective nature of entries, reflecting shared ownership of land acquired through inheritance. Such collective owners liable to tax payments are widely attested in the documents from the period under consideration; often they are not enumerated one by one but listed under a common designation *κληρονόμοι τοῦ δεινός*; the author of our list felt the need to indicate particular people by their names. The list could have been drawn on the basis of legal documents deposited in a local archive – wills, deeds of sale, etc. – which attested to landownership. The careful statement of the names of both parents, normal in legal documents but unusual in Byzantine lists and registers (cf. the Aphrodito tax register and cadastre, or the Hermopolite fiscal register, in which the names of mothers are absent from the entries), may therefore result from copying the names from documents in which indicating both parents' names was a routine practice. Let us compare this situation with the practices of the Roman period, when the statement of family descent was important in claiming fiscal and social privileges.⁷ The

⁷ See M. DEPAUW, 'Do mothers matter? The emergence of metronymics in early Roman Egypt', [in:] T. V. EVANS & D. OBBINK (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford 2010, pp. 121–139, especially 135–139.

use of metonymics becomes in general rare in the Byzantine period outside legal context.⁸

Our papyrus is but a fragment of a longer list; the entry preceding the preserved part of the text must have begun with the name of the mother of Antheia, Ioannes, and Abraham, who in line 2 are referred to as τὰ ταύτης πεδία (l. παιδία). We can hardly say anything about the original layout of the document, for the sheet seems to have been intentionally cut in order to be reused for some other purpose (filling of a book cover?). The disposition of lines is clear, as the scribe used to leave empty spaces of unequal width between the subsequent entries. Above line 8 there is a horizontal stroke of unknown function, probably serving for additional separation of entries.

The document presents noteworthy onomastic peculiarities. The name Gerosa is either a *hapax*, or a corrupted form of a name we are unable to reconstruct; others, like Skopas or Antes are surprising in such late a context (the latest known attestations of both date to the first half of the third century, AD 212 and 206 respectively). Euphrantios is a rare name, which, in the light of known documentation, save for one example, seems peculiar to the Arsinoite region.

The list cannot be connected in any convincing manner with the monastic community of Naqlun. Documents of administrative nature could find their way to the monastic settlement on the plateau (*P. Naqlun* II 24) and to hermitages in the nearby hills (*P. Naqlun* I 7 and 8), and were reused by monks for different purposes. Great amounts of wastepaper were undoubtedly needed for bookbinding – an activity which was certainly practised in the monastery;⁹ our papyrus was most probably supposed to end up as filling of a book cover. The archives of local administrative units, which from time to time must have disposed of old documents, were probably one of the sources of wastepaper.

⁸ See A. DELATTRE, 'Éléments de l'identification en Égypte (IV^e–VIII^e siècles)', [in:] M. DEPAUW & S. COUSSEMENT (eds.), *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World* [= *OLA* 229], Leuven 2014, p. 159.

⁹ The supposed bookbinding workshop at Naqlun was discussed in an unpublished Master's thesis by Ł. KRUPSKI, *Przykłasztorny warsztat intrologatorski w Naqlun?* [A Book-binding Workshop in Naqlun?], Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, 2009 (dissertation written under the direction of Włodzimierz Godlewski).

P. Naqlun 37

Nd. II.379

7.3 × 5.6 cm

6th century?

Plateau, sector B (refuse dump)

Damaged fragment of a light-brown papyrus sheet written in upright majuscule hand.

Left-hand side of a letter.

† τοῖς ἐν[αβεστ(άτοις)
καὶ ἄπα Π[
θεων καὶ π[
4 [...]υλαριν ἐ[
[...]. καὶ εἰδ[
[...].ται...εἰ.

verso

]..στατ() vac. ἄπα Φοιβά[μμωνι (?)

1. τοῖς ἐν[αβεστάτοις is an element of a beginning of a standard opening formula in letters addressed to monastic and ecclesiastic recipients; the letter had at least two addressees, namely an unknown *apa* whose name begins with Π, and *apa* Phoibammon (?), whose name is partially preserved on the verso. Monks bearing such names have been so far unattested in the published documents from Naqlun (however, see below, commentary to l. 1 in *P. Naqlun 38*).

3. The ending -θεων indicates either a genitive of a word in plural or a nominative of a third-declension noun (a name?) after which another name (?) appears after the conjunction καί. Judging from the position in the document, we would expect here either other names of addressees (in the dative case) or names of the senders (in the nominative or genitive); the latter option is more probable, as apparently in the next line the writer proceeds to the subject of the letter.

4.]υλαριν is most probably a nominative or accusative form of a diminutive with the ending -αριον (for the reduction of -ιον to -ιν attested in the documents from the first century AD onwards and usual in the Byzantine period, see Gignac, *Grammar* II, pp. 27–28; the reduced forms still function in the modern Greek language; cf. e.g. the modern Greek *μουλάρι*, derived from *μουλάριον*, a diminutive of *μούλη*). LSJ lists nine diminutives ending with -υλαρι(ο)ν, out of which three



Fig. 3. Nd. II.379

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(τυλάριον, στυλάριον, and δουλάριον) are attested in papyri dated from the second to the fourth century. The state of preservation of our document renders any plausible restoration impossible.

P. Naqlun 38

Nd. II.384

5.6 × 7.8 cm

6th century?

Plateau, secotr B (refuse dump)

Badly damaged fragment of a papyrus sheet, light brown to brown; text written in upright cursive, with several ligatures.

Right-hand side of a document (a letter to *apa* Paulos concerning a loan?).

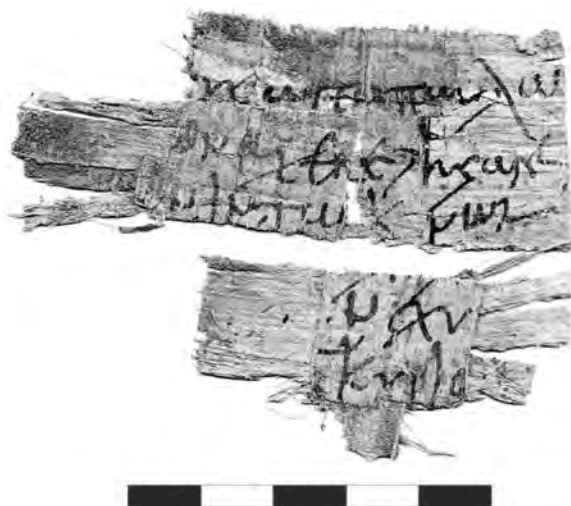


Fig. 4. Nd. II.384

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], vs ἄπα Παύλω
 εὐλαβ(εστάτω)? μ]ονάζ(οντι). θελήσατε
]αγιν τω[.] κενωγ
] ἐνεχυρ-
 τ?]οῦ κυρίου[υ

.....

3. καινῶν, see comm.

1.], vs – probably an ending of a third-declension name, cf. Σανσενεύς in *P. Naqlun* 35 above or a noun denoting the occupation of the sender (e.g. χαλκεύς?).

ἄπα Παύλω – a certain *apa* Paulos, a deacon and prominent member of the Naqlun community, appears in a letter from the village community of Tebetny to the monks of Naqlun, which was also discovered at site B on the plateau (*P. Naqlun* 39 in *Mélanges Gascou* [forthcoming]); *P. Naqlun* 37, a letter addressed, among others, to a certain ἄπα Π[may pertain to the same person, given the common context of both finds.

3.]ανιν (for]ανειν) could be an infinitive depending on θελήσατε in line 2. τῶ[v] κενῶν (for καινῶν) is a probable reading. In our opinion it is possible to reconstruct a *nu* in the space between the *omega* in τω and the initial *kappa* of the following word – as the lacuna is wide enough for this letter to fit – even though there is no trace of *nu*'s horizontal stroke at the bottom of the line, where the surface of papyrus is preserved.

4. ἐνεχυρ-: the word ἐνεχυρον which we restore here means 'pledge as a security for a loan' (see J. Keenan, J. G. Manning, & U. Yiftach Firanko [eds.], *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 252–253). Usually it was made up of movable objects (domestic utensils, jewellery) or money.

5. κυρίο[v]: if ἐνεχυρον in line 4 is a technical term, as suggested above, the word κύριος can be understood in its legal meaning of a guardian, or as referring to validity of a deed; this proposition, however, is merely conjectural, as the state of preservation does not allow for grasping the meaning of the text. It is also possible that it pertains to a third person, called *kyrios* as a mark of respect.

In this text we are most probably dealing with one of the numerous instances in which monks get entangled in purely secular transactions with their lay correspondents.¹⁰ Unfortunately, we are unable to reconstruct the details of the situation, except for the fact that it involved credit matters. The involvement of the sixth-century monks from the Naqlun community in financial operations is well-attested in *P. Naqlun* II 21–23 (loan contracts between monks and laypeople).¹¹

Both this and the previous document were discovered in the same location and layer; therefore, we have (highly conjecturally) suggested that the name of one of the addressees of *P. Naqlun* 37 may be restored as Paulos – perhaps identical with Paulos the deacon from *P. Naqlun* 39. It

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., the letters from the fourth-century archives of *apa* John (probably the famous ascetic *apa* John of Lykopolis), especially the famous letter *P. Herm.* 7 mentioning the writer's problem with creditor, and the archive of Nephros.

¹¹ On the private financial activities of monks as creditors, see T. MARKIEWICZ, 'The Church, clerics, monks and credit in the papyri', [in:] Anne BOUD'HORS *et alii* (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt* [= *ASP* 46], Cincinnati 2009, pp. 178–204; see especially p. 190 for the account of failed attempts of a certain Paul from Alexandria to recover a loan from a monk through his superior, the famous Nephros, the eponymous figure of the aforementioned archive (*P. Neph.* 1, 2, 4–8).

is possible that a locally influential monk lived at a certain point in the sixth or the seventh century in the Naqlun community. The papyri discovered by the Polish team in season 2011 could have formed a part of his and his colleagues' more extensive correspondence.¹²

Tomasz Derda
Joanna Wegner

Department of Papyrology
Institute of Archaeology
University of Warsaw
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
00-927 Warszawa
POLAND

e-mail: t.derda@uw.edu.pl

e-mail: j.wegner@student.uw.edu.pl



¹² The spatial disposition of the material found in the refuse dump in sector B suggests that the deposit was formed as a result of cleaning of various structures; refuse could have been thrown by basketloads, hence the easily distinguishable clusters of papyri in the excavated layers (see *P. Naqlun* II, p. 8).



fundacja
im. Rafała
Taubenschlaga

Johannes Diethart

**LEXIKALISCHE LESEFRÜCHTE
UND KORREKTUREN IN GRIECHISCHEN PAPYRI
AUS PLAUR- UND PSI-ONLINE**

SEIT PLAUR- UND PSI-ONLINE¹ im Netz einen angenehmen Zugriff auf Spassabel vergrößerbare Farbphotos einer Unzahl von in Florenz aufbewahrten Papyri erlauben, ist das Nachlesen dieser Papyri in vielen Fällen keiner Beschränkung mehr unterworfen.

Dieser erfreuliche Umstand hat es ermöglicht, einige nicht zufriedenstellend entzifferte Passagen in Papyri zu überprüfen, die in der ed. pr. bzw. in DDbDP unzureichend oder falsch gelesen worden sind.

Deshalb können hier drei kleine Berichtigungen vorgestellt werden, die unser Wissen um die Lexikographie des Griechischen der frühbyzantinischen Zeit in den Papyri aus Ägypten vermehren. Das gilt besonders für eine bisher im Griechischen nicht belegte Berufsbezeichnung in *PSI* III 239.

***P. Laur.* II 36**

P. Laur. II 36 ist ein Verzeichnis von Ausgaben von Fleisch für verschiedene Festlichkeiten aus dem 5. Jh. Der Titel lautet in DDbDP λό(γος) τωv (l. τoû DDbDP) κρε[ω]s.

¹ <<http://www.psi-online.it/>>.

Nach dem (ausgezeichneten) Photo ist u. E. eindeutig die Wendung $\lambda\acute{o}(\gamma\omicron\varsigma)\ \tau\omega\nu$ (l. $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ DDbDP) $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}[\omega]\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon(\tau\omega\varsigma)$ zu lesen, wie wir es von vielen Papyri, zuvörderst von Listen, zur Genüge kennen.²

PSI III 239

PSI III 239 ist eine Vertragsurkunde aus dem Jahre 601. Der Darlehensgeber ist Philoxenos, Sohn des Papnouthios. Nach dem Namen steht die Berufsangabe des Philoxenos, die von der ed. pr. und DDbDP als $\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\ \dots\epsilon\iota$ nur bruchstücksweise gelesen bzw. wiedergegeben wird.

Azzarella schlägt in *BASP* 45 (2008), S. 11 die Lesung $\kappa\rho\iota\beta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota$ vor, der ich allerdings einen Gegenvorschlag entgegenstellen möchte:

Am Beginn der Berufsbezeichnung, die wir (in Z. 11) als $(\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega)\ \tau\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\iota\nu\theta\epsilon\langle\hat{\iota}\rangle$ für $\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\beta\iota\nu\theta\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ lesen möchten, ist ein spitzes $\tau/$ nicht berücksichtigt worden, wie wir es z. B. in Z. 5 im Wort $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ finden; daneben gibt es auch das Majuskel-/T/ (z. B. Z. 3 im Wort $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$).

Von dem am Ende des Wortes von der ed. pr. gesehenen und von DDbDP übernommenen $/\iota/$ findet sich auf dem guten Photo auch bei großer Vergrößerung (für mich) keine Spur, kommt aber meiner Erklärung durchaus entgegen.

Ich vermeine in der (bisher nicht belegten) Berufsangabe eine solche mit dem Nominativ $-\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ zu sehen, wie wir sie im Griechischen in ausreichender Menge vorfinden: Man denke an Begriffe wie $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ('Schafszüchter'),³ $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ('Schmied'),⁴ $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ('Schuster, Lederarbeiter'),⁵ oder $\sigma\tau\iota\beta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ('Walker'),⁶ um einige zu nennen.

² Z. B. *CPR* IX 60, Z. 4 (5.–6. Jh.); *CPR* IX 69, Z. 2 (7. Jh. nach HGV): $\lambda\acute{o}(\gamma\omicron\varsigma)\ \kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon(\tau\omega\varsigma)$.

³ Bei LSJ aus Pollux VII 184 als Titel eines Stückes des Antiphanes genannt, der als Beruf ('grazier, Viehzüchter') dem $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ entspricht (ebda.).

⁴ K. RUFFING, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihren Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri* II, Rahden 2007, S. 741.

⁵ *Ibidem*, S. 751–755.

⁶ *Ibidem*, S. 758–759.

Beim *τερεβινθεύς* dürfte es sich um einen Beruf gehandelt haben, der sich wohl mit der Gewinnung und dem Vermarkten von *τερέβινθος* ('Terpentin', engl. 'turpentine') beschäftigt haben wird. Es sei noch an den bei LSJ genannten *Τερβινθεύς*, einen Beinamen des Gottes Apoll, erinnert.

Bei Ruffing⁷ scheint dieser Beruf nicht auf.

PSI VII 839

PSI VII 839 ist das Fragment eines Briefes aus dem 6. Jh., in dem in Z. 4 nach DDbDP zu lesen ist: ἀπε[στ]είλαμεν δὲ ἄμα Βέτρον (Πέτρον DDbDP) τοῦ πεδίου (παιδίου im app. von DDbDP) τοῦ κυρίου ...

Auf dem Papyrus ist aber statt *πεδίου* zu lesen *βεδὸς* für *παιδὸς*. Zum „koptischen“ Wechsel von β/π (wie sonst auch Δ/τ und γ/κ) lassen wir Girgis in kurz zu Wort kommen: „It is well-known, that (...) a Coptic ear was not accustomed to catch the difference between b and p, g and k, d and t“.⁸

Johannes Diethart

Wösendorf 110

A-3610 Weißenkirchen/Wachau

AUSTRIA

e-mail: johannes.diethart@wavenet.at

⁷ RUFFING, *Spezialisierung* (o. Anm. 4).

⁸ W. A. GIRGIS, „Greek loan words in Coptic“, *BSAC* 19 (1967–1968), S. 57. Ausführlicher bereits W. TILL, „Das Koptische. Heutiger Stand der Forschung“, *Orbis: Bulletin international de documentation linguistique* 3 (1954), S. 486–497, besonders 491. Dazu auch W. BRUNSCH, *Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Wiedergaben ägyptischer Personennamen*, Dissertation Würzburg 1975 (erschieden in: *Enchoria* 8 [1978]), S. 60–63.



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im. rafała
taubenschlaga

Gwen Jennes

OSIRIS-SMITHIS IN EGYPTIAN ANTHRONYMS*

IN AN ARTICLE FROM 2000, Herman De Meulenaere studied anthronyms containing the element *P³-mtr*, a reference to the sacred staff of Khnum specific to the First Upper Egyptian Nome.¹ Among the known personal names containing that element, such as *P³/t³-n-mtr* (Demotic *Pa/Ta-mtr*, Greek *Παμητης*, ‘The one of the staff’) and *Ns-p³-mtr* (Greek *Ἐσπημητης*, ‘He/She who belongs to the staff’), he lists the composite name *P³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr*. The last one was – according to the Meulenaere – originally transcribed into Greek as *Πετευσερζμηθις*,² but from the first century AD onwards more often as *Πετορζμηθις*.³ The writing *Πετευσερζμηθις*, however, is only attested four times, all four in the same text from the first century BC. In addition, the expected Greek transcription *Πετοσορσμητις* is only attested once, and this is also the oldest attestation of the name.⁴ It thus seems that the name was only written out in full in the earliest examples, after which it was shortened to *Πετορζμηθις*.

* I should like to thank Prof. Dr. Mark Depauw for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ H. DE MEULENAERE, ‘L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne’, *CdÉ* 75 (2000), pp. 235–241.

² De Meulenaere refers to *BGU* 1476, ll. 8, 11, 12, 16 (TM 7370; 99–91 BC).

³ DE MEULENAERE, ‘L’enseigne sacrée’ (cit. n. 1), p. 240.

⁴ *UPZ* II 180 a, col. 19, l. 8 (TM 3582; 113 BC). For the chronological spread of those names, cf. below.

The definite article *pꜣ*, which is expected before *mtr*, is never written in the Greek rendering, while it is present in less than half of the Demotic cases.⁵

An obvious question is that of the nature of this Osiris-Smithis. A theophoric name normally refers to a single deity by name, although two god's names, a god's name followed by an epithet, or an animal name are equally possible. Osiris-Smithis, however, seems to be formed of a theonym (Osiris) followed by an anthroponym (Smithis). Alternatively, the entire construction Osiris-Smithis could refer to a single deity. If so, this Osiris-Smithis should be attested in the region of the First Upper Egyptian Nome.

A child called Smithis son of Petearensnuphis is in fact mentioned in Papyrus Dodgson from Elephantine, dating to the second half of the Ptolemaic period.⁶ In the text, the child calls itself Osiris Smithis and 'son of Khnum.' Cary Martin therefore sees (Osiris)-Smithis as a deified child.⁷ Papyrus Dodgson provides many interpretational problems, however, and is therefore not the most reliable source. Fortunately, a cult of a child Osiris-Smithis, son of Khnum, is furthermore attested on building blocks from an Elephantine sanctuary that was erected during the reigns of Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan.⁸ Although Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal interprets the Osiris-Smithis mentioned on the building blocks

⁵ The article is written in following attestations: *P. Eleph. Dem.* 13, l. 2 (4 times) (TM 45679; 2 BC); *P. Berl. Eleph.* I 15518 r^o, l. 2, v^o, l. 1 (TM 46501; AD 11); *O. Wängstedt* 76, l. 3 (TM 50743; 30 BC – AD 199); *O. Wilcken* II 35 + E. REVILOUT & U. WILCKEN, 'Tessères bilingues', *RevEg* 6 (1891), p. 11, no. 14: demotic (TM 50748; AD 89).

⁶ = P. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 1932-1159 (TM 43648; 150-30 BC).

⁷ C. MARTIN, 'The child born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson revisited', *EVO* 17 (1994), p. 206.

⁸ C. UBERTINI, 'Restitution architecturale du «Temple Y», [in:] G. DREYER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 31./32. Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 61 (2005), p. 65. This architectural reconstruction is based on building blocks found during the 30th and 31st campaigns in a retaining wall at Elephantine. It is not entirely clear to me how this 'new' Temple Y relates to the Temple Y discussed by Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine* [= *Elephantine* 15; *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 73], Mainz a/Rhein 1996, which she dates to the reign of Ptolemy VIII (p. 21). It seems, however, that they both belong to a larger complex of sanctuaries.

as a child form of Osiris, and not as a deified child, she admits that both were closely related and that the later Osiris-child was probably derived from the earlier deified child Smithis.⁹

Does the element Osiris-Smithis then refer to both Osiris and the sacred staff of Khnum, or is it connected to the child of Papyrus Dodgson and the building blocks? In order to answer this question, the geographical and chronological spread of anthronyms mentioning Osiris-Smithis will be examined, as well as that of personal names mentioning the sacred staff alone. For this purpose the Trismegistos databank will be used.¹⁰ In the remainder of this paper I will refer to TM numbers, Nam_id's and Pnr's, all unique numbers assigned to texts, names and persons respectively, leading to more information online.¹¹

THE ELEMENT OSIRIS-SMITHIS IN PERSONAL NAMES

Already in his article on the sacred emblem of Khnum, De Meulenaere proposed to correct the reading 'Petosiris, son of Smithis' to 'Petosorsmetis' in

⁹ Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAŁ, 'Osiris Nesmeti – Child from Elephantine', [in:] DREYER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine' (cit. n. 8), p. 81.

¹⁰ Trismegistos aims to collect all texts from Egypt between ca. 800 BC and AD 800, together with the personal names mentioned in those texts, both in Egyptian and Greek (for a preliminary version and a *status quaestionis*, see <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref>>). Quantification of this material can take place on two levels, counting references or individuals. Some people, such as officials, are attested multiple times: on the basis of attestations, Zenon seems to be an extremely popular name in third century BC Egypt, while in fact the data are distorted by a single abundantly attested individual. It would therefore be best to quantify on the level of persons. However, this would require that all attestations of all persons throughout the database should be checked for possible identifications. So far this has only been done for people from the Ptolemaic period bearing titles, on the basis of W. PEREMANS & E. VAN'T DACK, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, 9 vols., Leuven, 1950–1981. Quantification on this level would thus likewise distort the image. Therefore the number of references will be used here.

¹¹ Information on TM numbers is accessible at <<http://www.trismegistos.org>>; information on Nam_id's via <<http://www.trismegistos.org/name/>>, followed by the Nam_id; and information on Pnr's via <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/search.php>>.

one graffito and two ostraka: *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 41 (TM 53141; AD 13), ostrakon BM 12427 + 12492 (TM 51761; 30 BC – AD 199),¹² and *O. Louvre* 62 (TM 55599; 254 BC). Although I have no objections to correct the first two readings, the third is problematic. The provenance of the text is uncertain, while only *Ns-p³...* is legible, which can likewise be supplemented to *Ns-p³-wt-t³.wy*,¹³ *Ns-p³-nb-^cnb*,¹⁴ or *Ns-p³-qy-šw.ty*.¹⁵ The text is moreover dated to 254 BC and this is far earlier than other attestations of names mentioning Osiris-Smithis (cf. below). Four other persons called *P³-di-Wsir* son of *Ns-p³-mtr* were found in Trismegistos. Only one of them¹⁶ can be corrected into Petosorsmetis, however. *O. Wilcken* II 35 + Revillout & Wilcken, ‘Tessères bilingues’ (cit. n. 5), p. 11, no. 14, is a Greek-Demotic ostrakon from Syene, naming the official *P³-di-Wsir* <son of> *Ns-p³-mtr*. The *s³*-stroke is nowhere to be found, and usually officials are not identified through their father’s name. This attestation was therefore corrected into *P³-di-Wsir-ns-p³-mtr*.

The just discussed corrections are included in the following statistics on the element Osiris-Smithis in personal names. Furthermore, names abbreviated as Πετορζ are also counted as attestations of Πετοσορζμηθις, since no other names – aside from Πετοσορζμητωσ – attested in Trismegistos begin with Πετορζ. The following table renders all personal

¹² Published in S. V. WÅNGSTEDT, ‘Demotische Ostraka: Varia I’, *Orientalia Suecana* 25–26 (1976–1977), pp. 22–23, no. 11.

¹³ Nam_id 1146; 281 attestations.

¹⁴ Nam_id 187; 69 attestations.

¹⁵ Nam_id 160; 41 attestations.

¹⁶ *P. Tor. Botti* 38 v^o, l. 10 (TM 45109; 145–116 BC), from Thebes is an entry in a witness list. All other persons are identified with the name of their father, and correcting *P³-di-Wsir* son of *Ns-p³-mtr* into *P³-di-Wsir-ns-p³-mtr* would leave this person fatherless. The fragmentary preservation of *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 178 from Elephantine (TM 89077; 699 BC – AD 350) makes it difficult to make any statement about a possible correction. The ostrakon contains a list of persons with their father. After *Ns-p³-mtr* more text follows, but the sherd is broken off. It is therefore possible that a patronymic follows, but this is just one possibility. The last reading – *P. Äg. Handschr.* 115 descr. from Elephantine (TM 45702; 332–30 BC) could not be checked, due to the lack of an illustration. A person followed by a father’s name is expected however, since the names are mentioned in a subscription. The last two readings were therefore not corrected.

names mentioning Osiris-Smithis.¹⁷ The (*) indicates that this name is not attested in that language, and that the entry was reconstructed.

Table 1. Names mentioning Osiris-Smithis

<i>Nam_id</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Egyptian</i> ¹⁸	<i>Greek</i> ¹⁹	<i>Translation</i>	<i>N</i>
7919	Petosorsmetis	<i>P³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr</i>	Πετοσορζμηθις	He who was given by O.S.	317
23998	Petosorsmetos	* <i>P³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr-ꜥ</i>	Πετοσορζμητωꜥ	He who was given by the great O.S.	4
20781	Psenosorsmethis	<i>P³-šr-n-Wsir-ns-mtr</i>	* <i>Ψενοσορζμηθις</i>	Son of O.S.	2

The first and second name belong to the *P³-di*-type, which is a common theophoric type during the Late and Graeco-Roman periods.²⁰ The difference between the two names is the addition of the element ꜥ, which can in Egyptian either be read as an epithet ‘Osiris-Smithis, (the) great’, or serve as a way to distinguish two people with the same name. The elder one would receive the apposition *p³ ꜥ*, while the younger could be named *p³ hm*. The four attestations of the name Petosorsmetos are, however, all rendered in Greek. If a contrast between two homonymous persons needed to be made, a Greek rendering of the personal name followed by a Greek designation for ‘older’ or ‘younger’ would be expected. This is

¹⁷ The name *Hr-s³-p³-di-Wsir-ns-mtr* / Ἀρσιπετορζμηθις, ‘Horos, son of «He who O.S. has given»’ (TM 16563; 1 attestation), also needs to be mentioned. The name is not incorporated in the table since the main element of the name is Horos and not Osiris-Smithis.

¹⁸ For all possible variants of these names, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=, followed by the Nam_id>.

¹⁹ See previous note.

²⁰ For a discussion of this name type, see Gwen JENNES & M. DEPAUW, ‘Hellenization and onomastic change. The case of Egyptian *P³-di-IIIετε*-Names’, *CdÉ* 87 (2012), pp. 109–132.

corroborated by *O. Eleph. DAIK* 116 (TM 29846; 2nd c. AD), where a [Πετο]ρζμητωσ μιζ, ‘Petosorsmetos the elder’, is mentioned. The name Petosorsmetos can therefore be translated as ‘He whom was given by the great Osiris-Smithis.’ The third name consists of the element $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r$ followed by Osiris-Smithis. This common way to form a theophoric name is remarkably rare in combination with Osiris-Smithis. Both attestations come from one text, *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 70 (TM 69491; AD 60), which does in fact not exclude a reading as $P^3\text{-}di$.²¹ Osiris-Smithis was thus nearly exclusively mentioned in a single male personal name Petosorsmetis.

GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD

Table 2 provides the geographical spread of personal names with the element Osiris-Smithis, with the absolute number of name attestations and the relative number compared to the amount of all name attestations from each site.

Table 2. Geographical spread of Osiris-Smithis attestations

Site	N	%
Elephantine/Syene	308	3.87%
Philae	7	0.35%
Thebes	5	0.01%

Elephantine and Syene – modern day Aswan – were only separated by a narrow branch of river (ca. 100 m) in antiquity.²² Travelling between the two was relatively easy, even more so since before the building of the first dam

²¹ Both readings ($P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r$ and $P^3\text{-}di$) are acceptable, but given the predominance of the name $P^3\text{-}di\text{-}Wsir\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ and the complete lack of attestation of $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}Wsir\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ (aside from the two under discussion here) I am inclined to read $P^3\text{-}di\text{-}Wsir\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ instead of $P^3\text{-}\dot{s}r\text{-}n\text{-}Wsir\text{-}ns\text{-}mtr$ on *P. Brooklyn Dem.* 70.

²² Strabo XVII 1, 48.

the water-level could be extremely low during winter.²³ Given their proximity, some convergence in naming practices is expected. Their theologies are also closely related, as Satet of Elephantine is often identified with Isis (who had her temple across the Nile in Syene) and Sothis,²⁴ while Isis of Syene can also be called Satet and Sothis.²⁵ Elephantine and Syene are therefore treated as a single site – called Aswan hereafter.²⁶ It is in this city only that Osiris-Smithis features prominently in personal names. All seven attestations in Philae are graffiti and given Philae's vicinity to Aswan, people carrying an Osiris-Smithis name may have had close ties with Aswan. The five attestations from Thebes are more difficult to explain. One – ostrakon BM 12427 + 12492 – is attributed a probable Theban origin in the publication. Judging from the names mentioned, however, an Elephantine origin is just as probable.²⁷ The other four might mention people that migrated to Thebes, but this is hard to prove. Four more examples are attested in texts with an unknown provenance, which may well originate from Aswan as well.²⁸ *P. Congr. XV* 17 actually deals with a payment made by a corporation in Elephantine and the Ombites and *P. Brooklyn* 85 does mention several other names that would not stand out in Aswan, including the rare name Psenpakhnumis²⁹ which refers to its main deity.

²³ J. L. BURCKHARD, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, p. 4, cited by C. VON PILGRIM *et alii*, 'The town of Syene: Preliminary report on the 1st and 2nd season in Aswan', *MDAIK* 60 (2004), p. 120.

²⁴ Dominique VALBELLE, *Satis et Anoukis*, Mainz a/Rhein 1981, p. 142; Ewa LASKOWSKA-KUSZTAL, 'L'Isis d'Assouan et son armée', *EtudTrav* 21 (2007), pp. 56–67.

²⁵ Satis: Edda BRESCIANI & S. PERNIGOTTI, *Assuan. Il tempio tolemaico di Isi. I blocchi decorati e iscritti* [= *Biblioteca di studi antichi* 16], Pisa 1978, E14: pp. 102–103; F16: pp. 116–117; F17: pp. 118–119; Sothis: *ibidem*, E15: pp. 104–105; Dem. 6: pp. 125–126.

²⁶ The majority of documentation from Aswan comes from the island of Elephantine.

²⁷ Several names refer to Khnum, the main deity of Elephantine.

²⁸ Two attestations from *P. Congr. XV* 17 (TM 29467; 2nd c. AD). The editor's note that Petosormetis is 'especially found among *laographia* payers', does not add anything to our understanding of the name, as only Roman citizens and residents of the four Greek poleis were exempt from payment. The remark is therefore applicable to all Egyptian personal names; one from *P. Brooklyn* 159 descr. (TM 27441; 2nd c. AD?) and one from *P. Brooklyn* 85 (TM 27404; 2nd c. AD).

²⁹ Nam_id 10281; 7 attestations.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

Aswan

When quantifying chronological evolutions, it is inconvenient that a certain amount of texts are dated imprecisely, some over a couple of years, others over multiple centuries. Since the majority of documents written in Egyptian is imprecisely dated, excluding these would add linguistic bias.³⁰ Therefore an inclusive ‘weighed dates’ system was developed, considering all texts and their attestations, but still working with time-slots of one year.³¹ The basic principle is that each imprecisely dated attestation only counts for a certain percentage for each year it can be dated to. An attestation from a document dated to the year 140 BC counts as 1 for that year, while an attestation dated to the years 149–140 BC would count for 0.1 for each of the years. Unfortunately, this system can for the moment only be applied to attestations and not yet to persons.³²

Since names mentioning Osiris-Smithis are more or less restricted to Aswan, the graph below uses this system of ‘weighed dates’ to render the chronological evolution of these name attestations there, expressed in relative numbers. This evolution is represented by the black line, plotted to the primary axis on the left. The grey columns reflect the absolute numbers of Osiris-Smithis attestations, plotted to the secondary axis on the right.

Personal names referring to Osiris-Smithis played no role in Aswan prior to the (late) first century BC. In fact, the first dated attestations are from 2 BC.³³ The elevation in the first century BC itself is the result of four

³⁰ As results would then nearly exclusively be based on Greek sources.

³¹ B. VAN BEEK & M. DEPAUW, ‘Quantifying imprecisely dated sources: A new inclusive method for charting diachronic change in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *AncSoc* 43 (2013), pp. 101–114.

³² Using persons would in this case require a thorough prosopographical study of the more than 7,000 attestations from Aswan, as the Osiris-Smithis attestations are set out against all Aswan-attestations in fig. 1. Even when this is accomplished, other methodological and technical problems occur, on which I will not elaborate here.

³³ Four attestations from *P. Dem. Eleph.* 13.

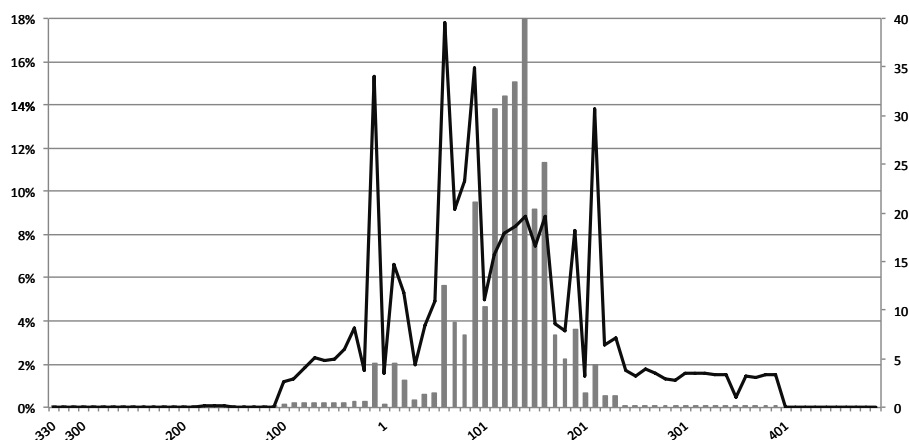


Fig. 1. Chronological evolution of names containing Osiris-Smithis set out against all name attestations from Aswan

attestations dated to that century in general. In AD 232 the latest exactly dated attestation occurred.³⁴ Some extreme peaks between 10 BC and AD 220 are the result of people mentioned several times: the first one, visible between 10 BC and 1 BC, and the third one, situated in the decades AD 80–99. The former is the result of *P. Dem. Eleph.* 13, where a person with the name *P³-di-Wsir-ns-p³-mtr* is the father of three people acting as second party in a sale contract.³⁵ The latter is created by two persons, a father and his son. The father is mentioned twice, the son seven times.³⁶ The other peaks genuinely result from a higher than average number of attestations mentioning Osiris-Smithis.

Only people with a certain age are mentioned in texts. Here, I operate with an average of 20 years. Furthermore, when fathers are mentioned

³⁴ The latest exactly dated text dates to this year: *Chrest. Wilck.* 41 (TM 23481). However, the name is reconstructed by the editor as [*Αὐρήλιος Πετορ*]*ζμηθ[ι]*s. The latest completely written attestation (*Πετορζμηθις*) can be found in *O. Wilcken* II 1610 (TM 77903; AD 221).

³⁵ The name of the father of the fourth person is lost, but since they are siblings, the name Petosorsmetis should probably also be restored there.

³⁶ Pnr's 361618 and 361650. Both as identifiers of Patsebtis (pnr 361619).

in an identification string they received their name an additional generation earlier, resulting in a gap of 40 years between the act of naming and the moment that person appears in our documentation. The first exactly dated attestation of a name mentioning Osiris-Smithis, dating to 2 BC, mentions both a person and a father named *P³-di-*W*si³-ns-p³-mtr*, meaning that the first person to receive such a name in our documentation was born around 40 BC. The latest exactly dated text – from AD 232 – only mentions a person with an Osiris-Smithis name, meaning that the last person attested with that name was born in the early third century, probably around AD 210.

Philae and Thebes

The texts from Thebes and Philae, as well as those with an unknown provenance, are not incorporated in the above graph. Four of the five attestations from Thebes are dated to the Roman period and therefore correlate to the dates from Aswan. The fifth document – UPZ II 180 a, col. 19, l. 8 (TM 3582) – dates to 113 BC, and is the earliest attestation of a personal name referring to Osiris-Smithis. The reading *Ζμηθις Πετοσορμητιος*, ‘Smithis, son of Petosorsmetis’, is certain and since it concerns a patronymic, the person will have been born approximately around 150 BC. The seven attestations referring to Osiris-Smithis from Philae are all graffiti; these are generally difficult to date. One is dated to the year AD 13,³⁷ while five are not dated in Francis Llewelyn Griffith’s publication. These can range between 380 BC and AD 499.³⁸ The last attestation,³⁹ however, was assigned to the Ptolemaic period by Griffith, apparently on the basis of the entry *Πετοσορμητις* in Friedrich Preisigke’s *Namenbuch*.⁴⁰ Preisigke, however, only lists one attestation of the name and this

³⁷ *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 41 (TM 53141).

³⁸ *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 348 (TM 53466); 352 (TM 53470); 367 (TM 53488); 381 (TM 53500); 446 (TM 53562).

³⁹ *Graff. Dodec. Philae* 341 (TM 53457).

⁴⁰ *NB*, p. 320.

is the previously mentioned *UPZ* II 180 a, dated to 113 BC: the only one out of 317 attestations that is certainly Ptolemaic. All four attestations with an unknown provenance can be dated in the second to third century AD and therefore fit with the dates from Aswan.⁴¹

Osiris-Smithis as dating criterion

The following table provides an overview of texts containing Osiris-Smithis names of which the chronological range can be confined on the basis of the above graph and comments. Given the dates of the first and last exactly dated references in 2 BC and AD 232 respectively,⁴² and allowing for a buffer I propose a lower limit in the middle of the first century BC and an upper one at the end of the third century AD. This is of course not a certainty in view of the single attestation of 113 BC. This text, however, is not only an outlier when it comes to its date, but also when it comes to its provenance (Thebes).

Table 3. Texts of which the date-range can be restricted

<i>TM</i>	<i>Publication</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Publication date</i>	<i>TM date</i>	<i>New date</i>
53457	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae</i> 341 ⁴³	Philae	Ptolemaic	332–30 BC	50 BC – AD 299
7370	<i>BGU</i> VI 1476	Elephantine	late Ptolemaic	99–1 BC	50–1 BC
53466	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae</i> 348	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299

⁴¹ Two attestations in *P. Congr. XV* 17, one in *P. Brooklyn* 159 descr., and one in *P. Brooklyn* 85.

⁴² For an extra argument on this dating, see also ‘Conclusion’ and the date of the building blocks.

⁴³ This attestation was seemingly assigned to the Ptolemaic period on the basis of the entry Περοσορμητης in *Namenbuch* (see n. 40). As previously said, Preisigke lists the only Ptolemaic attestation. I therefore propose to redate this graffito in the same range as the others.

Table 3 continued

TM	Publication	Provenance	Publication date	TM date	New date
53470	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae</i> 352	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
53488	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae</i> 367	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
53500	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae</i> 381	Philae	—	380 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
53562	<i>Graff. Dodec. Philae</i> 446	Philae	—	181 BC – AD 499	50 BC – AD 299
89091	<i>P. Brooklyn Dem.</i> 188	Elephantine (?)	—	699 BC – AD 350	50 BC – AD 299
25396	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13213	Syene	Roman	AD 1–399	AD 1–299
76864	<i>O. Wilcken II</i> 301	Syene	—	AD 1–399	AD 1–299
26308	<i>O. Eleph. DAIK</i> 168 descr.	Elephantine	Roman	AD 1–399	AD 1–299

THE NAME
Tꜣ-ŠR.T-Pꜣ-DĜ-WSĜR-NS-Pꜣ-MTR / ΣΕΝΠΕΤΟΡΖΜΗΘΙΣ

Fifteen women were named Senpetorsmetis⁴⁴ or ‘Daughter of Petosor-smetis’, yielding 17 attestations. These were not taken into consideration in the above discussion since the reference to Osiris-Smithis is only secondary. All attestations date to the second century AD. Senpetorsmetis is a compound name, constructed of *Tꜣ-šr.t* followed by a personal name. Compound names of this type are foremost popular in Athribis, near ancient Panopolis, but are also attested in Thebes, the Fayum and the First Upper Egyptian nome. They were probably used to name girls after

⁴⁴ Nam_id 18168.

male kin.⁴⁵ Since all women carrying this name act as identifiers (they are mentioned as mothers of the acting person), nothing is known of their fathers. At least three named their son Petosorsmetis⁴⁶ and one Petosorsmetis.⁴⁷

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL: KHNUM'S SACRED STAFF IN PERSONAL NAMES

Given the geographical restriction of Osiris-Smithis names to Aswan, this comparative section will also focus on that city. In Thebes, the name *Ns-p³-mtr* refers to the sacred staff of Amun⁴⁸ and therefore these references are excluded here. De Meulenaere pointed to the great diversity of anthronyms containing the element *P³-mtr*, but only the name *Ns-p³-mtr* is common in Aswan. The following table presents all *P³-mtr*-names that are attested more than five times in Aswan.

Table 4. Names mentioning Khnum's sacred staff

<i>Nam_id</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>N</i>
194	<i>Ns-p³-mtr</i>	<i>Ζμηθις</i>	142
9409	* <i>Ns-mtr-p³-ꜥꜣ</i>	<i>Ζμεντπως</i> ⁴⁹	33
193	<i>Ns-p³-mtr-šps</i>	—	14
715	<i>Pa-mtr</i>	<i>Παμητις</i>	6

⁴⁵ S. P. VLEEMING, *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications* [= *Studia demotica* 9], Leuven 2011, pp. 922–932; Gwen JENNES, 'P³-šr-personal name. An expression of genealogical relations?', *ZAS* 140 (2013), pp. 132–141.

⁴⁶ Pnr's 332253; 332213; 124031.

⁴⁷ Pnr 332249.

⁴⁸ DE MEULENAERE, 'L'enseigne sacrée' (cit. n. 1), p. 235.

⁴⁹ The root *mt* can become *mnt*: W. TILL, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1966, p. 47.

In contrast to the names with Osiris-Smithis, the article P^3 is there in most attestations of the name $Ns-p^3-mtr$. The majority of references of this name are in an Egyptian script, however, while those of Osiris-Smithis are mostly in Greek. The Greek transcription of $Ns-p^3-mtr$ becomes $Z\mu\eta\theta\iota s$, thus dropping the article. In the name $Ns-p^3-mtr-\dot{s}ps$ (only attested in Egyptian) the article is invariably written, but it is again dropped in the names $Ns-mtr-p^3-\dot{s}$ and $Pa-mtr$. Only Greek attestations of the name $Ns-mtr-p^3-\dot{s}$ are handed down, and it seems from the previously discussed examples ($Ns-p^3-mtr$ and the names with Osiris-Smithis) that the Greek transcriptions tend to drop the article. The omission of the article in $Pa-mtr$ has a different reason, as all attestations are written in Egyptian. Here it is probably the homonymy between Pa and P^3 that prevents the writing of P^3 .

The first attestation of a personal name containing the element P^3-mtr dates to 537 BC.⁵⁰ The earlier elevations, and likewise those between 490 and 410 BC, in graph 2 below (rendered in a dotted line) are the result of several texts dated over multiple centuries in combination with the low number of attestations from Aswan for those periods. During the Ptolemaic period, percentages remained more or less stable. From approximately 50 BC, however, the popularity of P^3-mtr names declines until the end of the first century AD when they only represent 0.32% of all attestations from Aswan anymore. There are, however, still P^3-mtr names attested in the second century AD. The ‘revival’ of these names in the form of two peaks in the second century is odd at least. Out of the 43 attestations of that century, 28 belong to the name $Zmentpos$, a name only attested in Aswan. Four of the remaining five attestations of $Zmentpos$ are dated in the first century, while the fifth is dated to the second and third centuries. The name reminds of the previously discussed Petosorsmetos where the epithet \dot{s} was added to the divine name Osiris-Smithis. This also seems to be the case here. Furthermore, the date range is comparable to the names formed with Osiris-Smithis. When the attestations of

⁵⁰ P. Ebeverträge 5 + W. C. ERICHSEN, ‘Zwei frühdemotische Urkunden aus Elephantine’, [in:] *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* [= *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute* 2], Boston 1950, p. 277 (TM 45692).

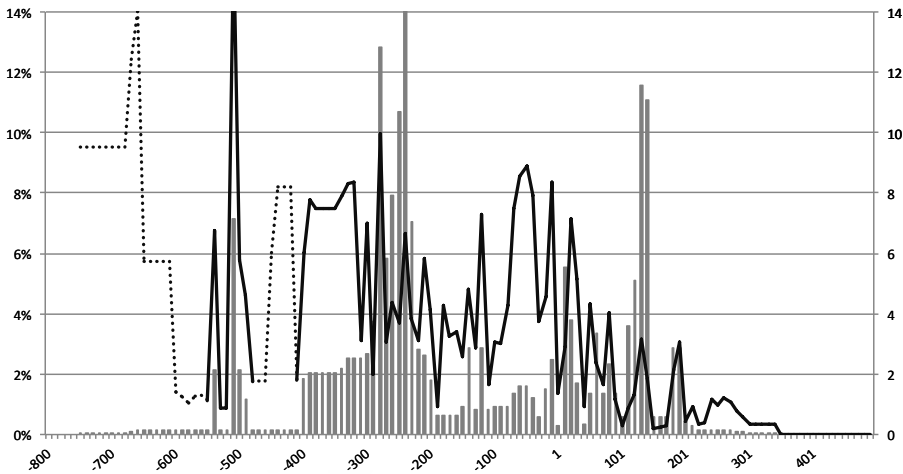


Fig. 2. Chronological evolution of $P^3\text{-mtr}$ names in Aswan

the name Zmentpos are taken out of the equation, the first peak of the second century AD flattens completely, while the second diminishes substantially.⁵¹ One can therefore wonder whether the name Zmentpos does not refer to Osiris-Smithis. In fact, multiple people named Zmentpos have fathers or grandfathers called Petosorsmetis.⁵²

⁵¹ The second peak diminishes to 2%. Two texts both yielding one attestation are responsible for this elevation: *O. Wilcken* II 1460 (TM 77791; AD 186) mentions a woman named Ταμητ and *O. Eleph. DAIK* 299 (TM 24275; AD 185) yields a person named σμητος. In both cases the connection to the emblem is questionable. Ταμητ (Nam_id 13861) is supposed to be the Greek equivalent of $T^3\text{-mtr}$ according to DE MEULENAERE, 'L'enseigne sacrée' (cit. n. 1), p. 236. Four Egyptian attestations exist, but they all predate 150 BC and are therefore separated from the Greek rendering by over 300 years. With the second attestation (σμητος) it is uncertain if this is the full name of the person, or that it is the ending of a patronymic. In the last case the name could just as well be a variant reading of Petosorsmetis.

⁵² Zmentpos (pnr 124025), son of Petosorsmetis alias Dax, grandson of Petosorsmetis; Zmentpos (pnr 150187), son of Petosorsmetis and Tisatis; Zmentpos (pnr's 269886, 299305, and 299034), son of Petosorsmetis; Zmentpos (pnr 269681), son of Chemis and Senzmentpos, grandson of Petosorsmetis. Of the thirteen persons of whom at least the father is known, six have a family member named Petosorsmetis. Strangely, of the nine persons of whom children are known, not a single one is called Petosorsmetis.

CONCLUSION

The chronological spread of names referring to the sacred emblem of Khnum not mentioning Osiris is different from the evolution of those referring to Osiris-Smithis. Personal names mentioning the staff are first attested in the sixth century BC, while Osiris-Smithis names are only first attested in Aswan in 2 BC, a substantial 500 years later. When the popularity of Osiris-Smithis names was at its peak – around AD 100 – names mentioning the staff were nearly extinct. This discrepancy suggests that the staff on the one hand, and Osiris-Smithis on the other are two unrelated phenomena. Furthermore, the chronological spread of Osiris-Smithis names is remarkably coherent with the dating of the building blocks mentioned in the introduction. The first emperor mentioned is Nero (AD 54–68). His reign starts roughly a hundred years after the first person was bestowed with an Osiris-Smithis name, but, as said in the introduction, Osiris-Smithis was probably related to the child Smithis mentioned in Papyrus Dodgson dated to the second half of the Ptolemaic period (see the introduction above). Veneration in all likelihood started long before a stone sanctuary was built under Nero. Khnum, for instance, was first worshipped alongside Satet in her temple⁵³ before he received his own temple in the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁴ The last embellishment of the Osiris-Smithis sanctuary was under Trajan's reign, at the beginning of the second century AD, exactly when the anthroponyms related to the cult were most popular. The sanctuary certainly functioned for many years after that, but making statements on its decay is near impossible. With the transition to Christianity the temple will most certainly have stopped functioning (if it was still in use at all by that time), and the majority of its blocks ended up in a retaining wall in the sixth century AD.⁵⁵ The last attestation of an Osiris-Smithis name dates to AD 232 and was therefore

⁵³ W. KAISER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 19./20. Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), p. 146.

⁵⁴ W. KAISER *et alii*, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine: 25./26./27. Grabungsbericht', *MDAIK* 55 (1999), p. 110.

⁵⁵ UBERTINI, 'Restitution architecturale' (cit. n. 8), p. 64.

probably given to that person in the early third century. This might mean that the cult of Osiris-Smithis lost popularity, or that the cult even ceased to exist. Two other possibilities should be considered, however. First, there is a substantial drop in name attestations from Aswan after AD 230. Documents containing Osiris-Smithis names may therefore simply not have been handed down, but this does not explain the gradual decline of the type during the preceding century. Second, since *P³-di-Wsir-ns-p³-mtr* was the only well attested name related to Osiris-Smithis, the decay of the name-type may also have played a role. Where *P³-di* names still represented approximately 6% of all attestations in Egypt at the time when Osiris-Smithis names started gaining popularity (2 BC), by AD 230 they represented a mere 2%.⁵⁶

Gwen Jennes

Department of Ancient History
KU Leuven
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 – box 3307
3000 Leuven
BELGIUM
e-mail: gwen.jennes@hotmail.com

fundacja
im. Rafała
taubenschlaga

⁵⁶ Gwen JENNES & M. DEPAUW, 'Hellenization and onomastic change' (cit. n. 20), p. 122, fig. 1.



fundacja
im. rafała
taubenschlaga

Delphine Nachtergaele

‘I AM FINE!’

INFORMATION ABOUT THE SENDER’S HEALTH IN THE GREEK PRIVATE LETTERS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD*

ONE OF THE EPISTOLARY FORMULAS in Greek private papyrus letters was the phrase in which the sender reassured the addressee that he was in good health. It appears in approximately 170 private letters. Often such information was placed immediately after a wish for the addressee’s well-being:¹ most scholars therefore considered the two phrases as two parts of one and the same formula,² like, for example, the one found in

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¹ Sometimes the two parts were contracted into an elliptic phrase, e.g. in *UPZ* I 61, ll. 4–5 (161 BC [TM 3452]): *εἰ ἔρρωσθε, καὶ παντὸς δ’ ὑγίαινον*.

² F. ZIEMANN, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis sollemnibus quaestiones selectae* [= *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 18/4], Halle 1910, p. 305, F. X. J. EXLER, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri* (3rd c. B.C. – 3rd c. A.D.): *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, doctoral dissertation, Washington 1923, pp. 103–107; H. KOSKENNIEMI, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* [= *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia toimituksia*, Sarja B, 102/2], Helsinki 1956, p. 131; R. BUZÓN, *Die Briefe der Ptolemäerzeit. Ihre Struktur und ihre Formeln*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Heidelberg 1984, p. 9.

PSI IV 331, ll. 1–2 (257–256 BC [TM 2025]): εἰ ἔρρωσαι, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ‘If you are well, that would be good. We are well too’ (my translation).

This example is rather typical of early Ptolemaic letters. Towards the end of the Ptolemaic period, however, the opening formula and the initial health wish were formulated in one phrase. This resulted in formulas like in *P. Tebt.* I 59, ll. 1–3 (99 BC [TM 3695]): Ποσειδώνιος τοῖς ἐν Τεπτύνῃ ἱερεῦσι χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρώσθαι, ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ‘Posidonios to the priests in Tebtynis, greetings and health. I myself was well too’ (my translation).

In Ferdinandus Ziemann’s view, the second part of the formula – with the information about the sender – was eventually omitted in many documents and only the shortened phrase χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρώσθαι or χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιάινειν survived.³ According to him, the information about the sender’s condition disappeared along with the Ptolemaic health wish, when in the Roman period a new health wish with a completely different structure arose: πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιάινειν, ‘before everything I pray that you are well’ (my translation). Nevertheless, Ziemann pointed to three Roman letters in which the sender still confirmed his well-being right after the health wish πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιάινειν. They have been considered mere remnants of the old formula.⁴ My investigation, however, has revealed that there are in fact twenty-one such occurrences from the first three centuries AD,⁵ and that they are not random relics from the old health wish.

³ ZIEMANN, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis* (cit. n. 2), p. 312.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 321–322. Francis EXLER, too, gave examples of the combination of the Roman health wish with information about the sender’s health, but he did not discuss them (EXLER, *The Form* [cit. n. 2], pp. 107–108).

⁵ *SB* VI 9165 (1st half of 1st c. AD [TM 25290]); *P. Mich.* VIII 475 (TM 27088), 476 (TM 27089), 478 (TM 27091), 480 (TM 27093), all dated to AD 100–125; *O. Claud.* II 283 (TM 29700), 303 (TM 29716), both written around mid-2nd c. AD; *P. Mich.* VIII 495 (AD 107–185 [TM 27105]); *P. Bingen* 74 (AD 130–199 [TM 78042]); *P. Mich.* VIII 491 (2nd c. AD [TM 27101]); *BGU* II 632 (2nd c. AD [TM 28196]); *BGU* III 794 (2nd c. AD [TM 28088]); *BGU* XI 2129 (2nd c. AD [TM 26963]); *P. Giss.* I 97 (2nd c. AD [TM 27875]); *P. Lund.* II 1 (2nd c. AD [TM 28115]); *BGU* I 27 (2nd or 3rd c. AD [TM 28211]); *SB* V 8027 (2nd or 3rd c. AD [TM 27373]); *O. Lund.* 14 (2nd or 3rd c. AD [TM 74875]); *P. Col.* X 278 (AD 225–275 [TM 31838]); *SB* VI 9194 (AD 275–299 [TM 30754]); *P. Hamb.* III 227 (3rd c. AD [TM 30070]). I omitted phrases such as the one from *P. Oxy.* XIV 1770,

Let me start by quoting one of the occurrences:

πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ εὐτυχεῖν μοι, ὃ μοι εὐκταῖόν ἐστιν, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ αὐτός, 'Before everything, I pray that you are well and prosperous, which is my prayer. I myself am well too' (*P. Mich. VIII* 476, ll. 3–4 [my translation]).

The quote comes from a letter from the Claudius Tiberianus archive. This archive is dated to the early second century AD and was found in Karanis. It is a bilingual archive which contains private letters in both Latin and Greek.⁶ The main correspondents are Claudius Terentianus, a soldier in the army and a sailor in the Alexandrian fleet, and Claudius Tiberianus, a veteran.⁷ The fact that the two protagonists are linked to the Roman army is not so surprising, as Karanis was inhabited by many Roman veterans. Also three other letters from this archive have a similar initial health wish in which the sender refers to his own well-being:

πρὸ παντός εὐχομαί σε ὑ[γ]ιαίνει[ι]ν, ὑγια[ί]νω δ[έ] καὶ ᾿γ[ώ], 'Before everything I pray that you are well. I myself am well too' (*P. Mich. VIII* 475, ll. 4–5 [my translation]);

πρὸ μ[ὲν πάντ]ω[ν] εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνει[ι]ν, [ὃ μοι εὐ]κταῖόν ἐ[στι]ν, ὑ[γ]ι[αί]νω δὲ καὶ αὐ[τ]ός, 'Before everything, I pray that you are well,

ll. 1–8 (late 3rd c. AD [TM 31812]): κυρία μο[υ μητρὶ] ἅμα τοῖς κυρ[ίοις μου ἀ]δελφοῖς πλείστ[α vac.] χαίρειν. προηγον[μένους] εὐχομε ὑμᾶς ὑγι[αίνειν] καὶ εὐπράττειν. γ[ινώσκειν] ὑμᾶς θέλω ὅτι μετ[ὰ πάντων] ὁλοκληροῦμεν, 'to my lady mother together with my lords brothers, very many greetings. First I pray that you are healthy and well. I want you to know that we are well with all (our people)' (my translation). In this letter, the information about the sender's well-being is part of the body of the letter, whereas the health wish – and, consequently, also the information about the sender's condition – belongs to the opening of the letter (cf. the classification in J. L. WHITE, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter. A Study of the Letter-Body in the Non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle* [= *Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series* 2], Missoula, MT 1972, pp. 1–5).

⁶ For a long time, this code alternation between Latin and Greek proved to be problematic. I recently proposed a new approach and a new explanation, in which the interlocutors to the conversation (e.g. people greeted in the letter) and symbolic value of Latin as the language of the Roman military identity played an important role (Daniele NACHTERGAELE, 'The code alternation in the Claudius Tiberianus archive', to be published in *Glotta*).

⁷ Terentianus addresses Tiberianus as 'father', but the view that the two were actually father and son has recently been questioned by Silvia STRASSI, *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis*, Berlin 2008, pp. 109–126.

which is my prayer. I myself am well too' (*P. Mich.* VIII 478, ll. 3–4 [my translation]);

[πρὸ] μὲ[ν π]άντ[ω]ν εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν, ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ αὐτός, 'Before everything, I pray that you are well. I myself am well too' (*P. Mich.* VIII 480, l. 3 [my translation]).

P. Mich. VIII 476 and 478 were found in Karanis but were probably written in Alexandria.⁸ In fact, also five⁹ other letters with information about the sender's health originate from this very same polis. In other words, (at least) 33% of the letters under investigation (i.e. seven out of twenty-one documents) were (presumably) sent from Alexandria. This high percentage is not due to a disproportionally large number of Alexandrian letters being preserved: quite the contrary, out of a total of 2149 private letters on papyrus dating to the first three centuries AD, only 82 originate from Alexandria.

The overrepresentation of documents from Alexandria is not the only geographical peculiarity: also many letters with information about the sender's health have a Latin background. Firstly, in several letters onomastics hints that the correspondents were probably Latin-speaking; for instance, the bipartite names Claudius Tiberianus and Claudius Terentianus point to a Latin identity. Like the Claudius Tiberianus archive, also the archive of Gaius Iulius Agrippianus to which *BGU XI 2129*

⁸ It is suggested that also *P. Mich.* VIII 480 was sent from Alexandria (H. C. YOUTIE & J. G. WINTER, *Michigan Papyri*, VIII: *Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis*, Ann Arbor 1951, p. 16), but I am not completely confident that this is the case: whereas *P. Mich.* VIII 476 and 478 have a *proskynema* formula before Sarapis, which mainly appears in letters written from Alexandria (cf. H. C. YOUTIE, 'Grenfell's gift to Lumbroso', *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 [1978], pp. 90–99), *P. Mich.* VIII 480 has a *proskynema* before before τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς, 'the local gods'. As a *proskynema* is normally performed before the main god of the town the sender is writing from, this might be an indication that *P. Mich.* VIII 480 was not written in Alexandria. To be on the safe side, I will only include the letters which (almost) certainly were written in Alexandria, and I will therefore exclude *P. Mich.* VIII 480.

⁹ Viz. *BGU XI 2129*, *P. Giss.* I 97, *P. Bingen* 74, *P. Col.* X 278, and *SB VI 9194*. The first two letters are thought to have been sent from Alexandria based on the information of the archives to which the two letters belong, viz. the archive of Gaius Iulius Agrippinus and the archive of Neilos, respectively. The three other letters are linked to the metropolis as they have a *proskynema* formula for Sarapis.

belongs, is a Latin-Greek bilingual archive, with Roman protagonists. Further, the senders of *P. Mich.* VIII 495 and *BGU* II 632 were called Iulius Germanus and Antonius Maximus respectively.

Secondly, several letters with information about the sender's well-being came from a Latin(ized) context. I have already discussed the letters from the Claudius Tiberianus archive, which were found in Karanis. Also two letters were found in Karanis: *P. Mich.* VIII 491 and 495.¹⁰ In these letters, correspondents might well have had a Latin background: this is further suggested by the sender's name in *P. Mich.* VIII 495 (cf. above) and by the place of sending of *P. Mich.* VIII 491, namely Italy. The sender Apollinarios writes to his mother Taesis reporting that he has reached Rome alive and well. His journey to Italy was clearly a part of his military duties (l. 7). Also *BGU* I 27 was written in Italy: another Apollinarios informs a certain Eirenaïos about his arrival in Rome and, related to this, about his state of health.

Some other letters originate from highly Latinized areas of Egypt. Three letters with information about the sender's health come from the Eastern desert: *O. Claud.* II 303 is unfortunately severely damaged; *O. Claud.* II 283 does not consist of anything more than philophrontic phrases and a request to send some items; in *SB* VI 9165 the female sender asks for writing materials.

So far we have already encountered several letters with connections to the army. Also some of the other documents with information about the sender's own health involved the military, for instance *BGU* XI 2129 was sent to the veteran Iulius Agrippianus. Also in *P. Lund.* II 1 the sender was a soldier. *BGU* III 794 is about a certain legionary, Maron; unfortunately, the letter is damaged, so there is no precise information about this person or about the correspondents. In other words, in quite a number of letters the sender who is reassuring the addressee that he is fine, is an (ex-)soldier. Could it be that a military man and his relatives are more concerned about well-being, as danger is always lurking in a soldier's life? This may be a possible explanation, especially in the letters sent by soldiers from far-away

¹⁰ The latter to the archive of Sokrates the tax collector. STRASSI linked this archive to the Tiberianus archive (STRASSI, *L'archivio* [cit. n. 7], pp. 160–163).

places such as Italy (*P. Mich.* VIII 491 and *BGU* I 27). However, fighting was not a major part of soldiers' lives; they are also often used as a convenient manual labor force.¹¹ The explanation is thus not completely satisfying, and there might have been other elements playing a part in the relatively extensive use of the information formula in the letters from soldiers.

There is probably a link between the high number of occurrences of information about the sender's health in military-related letters on the one hand and in letters from a Latin(ized) context on the other hand. It is common knowledge that the army was one of the only parts of the Graeco-Roman society where Latin was intensively used and had a strong influence. Could it be that the phrase with information about the sender's health mirrors a Latin formula? Indeed, like the early Ptolemaic bipartite health wish, the Latin initial health wish had a bipartite structure with the wish itself followed by information about the sender's health: *si vales, bene est; ego valeo*, 'if you are well, that is good. I am fine too' (my translation).¹² Unlike the Greek phrase, it remained in use for many centuries and it spread all over the Roman Empire. The formula appeared in the Vindolanda tablets, dated to the late first – early second century AD, for example *T. Vindol.* I 52, l. 2: *frater si vales b[ene e]st vero ego valeo*, 'brother, if you are well, that is good. I am certainly fine too' (my translation).¹³ The

¹¹ R. ALSTON, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, London 1995, pp. 78–79.

¹² Several scholars considered the formula *si vales, bene est; ego valeo* a loan translation from Greek (ZIEMANN, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis* [cit. n. 2], p. 302; EXLER, *The Form* [cit. n. 2], pp. 107–108; KOSKENNIEMI, *Studien zur Idee* [cit. n. 2], p. 131). However, the fact that the Latin formula also appeared in the Vindolanda tablets makes the loan translation hypothesis unlikely: Northern Britain never came in contact with the Greek language or the Greek epistolography. Features of the Vindolanda (epistolary) language are therefore generally considered authentic Latin (E. DICKEY, 'The Greek address system of the Roman period and its relationship to Latin', *Classical Quarterly* 54 [2004], pp. 494–527). Latin and Greek thus developed a similar phrase independently from each other. Note that KOSKENNIEMI remarked that a similar formula was already used by Plautus (KOSKENNIEMI, *Studien zur Idee* [cit. n. 2], p. 131). This makes the hypothesis of a calque from Greek even more doubtful.

¹³ *T. Vindol.* I 52 is the only Vindolanda letter with the standard initial health wish *si vales, bene est; ego valeo*. Initial health wishes are in general quite rare in the Vindolanda material. Sometimes *ad hoc* phrases are inserted and in some of those phrases the sender gives information about his own well-being: *ego certe cum hoc scribi valebam recte*, 'I at any rate when I wrote this was in very good health' (*T. Vindol.* III 664, ll. 2–3 [HALLA-AHO's

phrase is also attested in a first century AD letter from Vindonissa (*C. Epist. Lat.* 16 = *T. Vindon.* 43.190) and in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchos, dated to the Augustan era (*C. Epist. Lat.* 10 = *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3208). The existence of a Latin counterpart of the information formula could explain the marked geographical pattern of occurrences, namely that the *topos* almost exclusively occurred in Latinized or multicultural environments. Further, the chronology is also compatible with the idea of interference from Latin: the first occurrence of a Roman health wish (πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὖχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν) combined with information about the sender's health was found in a letter from the Eastern Desert.¹⁴ This seems to suggest that the *topos* first occurred in Latin(ized) environments.¹⁵

translation]), *ut scias me recte valere quod te invicem fecisse cupio*, 'I want you to know that I am in very good health, as I hope you are in turn' (*T. Vindol.* II 311, ll. 3–5 [HALLA-AHO's translation]), and *scias me recte esse quod te invicem facere cupio*, 'Know that all is well with me and I wish that the same may be true for you' (*T. Vindol.* III 670, ll. 3–4 [HALLA-AHO's translation]); see H. HALLA-AHO, *The Non-Literary Latin Letters. A Study of their Syntax and Pragmatics*, Helsinki 2009, p. 46–47.

Another idiosyncratic initial health wish in which the sender reassured the addressee that he was well, is found in a *stilus* tablet from London: *certiores vos esse credo me recte valere si vos indicem [f]ecistis*, 'I believe that you know that I am well, if you have been so in your turn' (*C. Epist. Lat.* 87, ll. 2–4 [HALLA-AHO's translation]); see HALLA-AHO, *Non-Literary Latin Letters*, p. 47.

Interesting is also *T. Vindol.* II 291, a letter by Claudia Severa to Sulpicia Lepidina. In the final health wish (ll. 12–14) the sender connects her wish for the addressee's well-being to her own health: *vale soror anima mea ita valeam karissima et hanc*, 'Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail' (translation of the edition). Normally, the final health wish is *vale, cura/opto (ut) valeas*, or *opto te bene valere* (HALLA-AHO, *Non-Literary Latin Letters*, p. 52): the phrase only deals with the addressee's health. The fact that both aspects – the sender's and the addressee's health – appear, makes the content of this letter somewhat similar to the initial health wish in *T. Vindol.* I 52 (see above).

¹⁴ It is dated to the early first century AD.

¹⁵ The *topos* is certainly attested in Alexandria from the beginning of the second century AD onwards (*P. Mich.* VIII 476, 478, and 480 are dated to AD 100–125; *P. Giss.* I 97 to AD 113–120; *BGU XI* 2129 to AD 103–148). From the six letters from other parts of Egypt, three are dated to the second century AD, two to the second or third century AD, and one to the third century AD. So, although the vague dating of many letters makes it difficult to get a precise picture, letters with information about the sender's health are attested in the Latinized parts of Egypt, and in Alexandria, earlier than in other parts of Egypt.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the Latin phraseology influenced the Greek one: the existence in Roman times of a Latin formula informing about the sender's well-being probably helped preserve its Greek counterpart, at least in some of the Greek letters. In this respect, we cannot only explain the relatively high number of letters with that *topos* written in Italy, the Eastern Desert, and Karanis, but also of those from Alexandria: this melting pot of different cultures, languages and contexts (private, business, military, etc.), was a likely environment for linguistic innovations and variants to expand. In the polis, the custom of informing your addressee about one's health could have easily spread from the specific Latin context to other contexts. It then probably diffused – to some extent – to other parts of Egypt.

In conclusion, this paper is one of the many recent studies¹⁶ showing that Latin influenced the Greek epistolary language, refuting the view that the linguistic influence was a one-way process from Greek to Latin.

Delphine Nachtergaele

Department of Ancient Greek Linguistics
Ghent University
Blandijnberg 2
9000 Ghent
BELGIUM

e-mail: delphine.nachtergaele@ugent.be

¹⁶ See, e.g., DICKEY, 'The Greek address system' (cit. n. 12), and Delphine NACHTERGAELE, 'The Asklepiades and Athenodoros archives. A case study of a linguistic approach to papyrus letters', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 53 (2013), pp. 269–293.

Naïm Vanthieghem

QUELQUES CONTRATS DE VENTE D'ESCLAVES DE LA COLLECTION AZIZ ATIYYA*

LE SOUVENIR D'AZIZ ATIYYA (1898–1988) est associé à la *Coptic Encyclopedia*, dont il organisa le plan mais qui parut de manière posthume. Il reste connu pour l'impulsion qu'il donna aux études arabes chrétiennes, en particulier coptes.¹ On ignore plus souvent son rôle dans le domaine de la papyrologie arabe.² Ayant en effet participé, en 1949–1950, à l'expédition américaine de sauvetage et de microfilmage des manuscrits et des

* Qu'il me soit permis ici de remercier Mme Luise Poulton, directrice des collections précieuses de la J. Willards Marriott Library de l'Université d'Utah, qui m'a permis de publier ces textes. L'aide qu'elle m'a fournie tout au long de la rédaction de cet article a été particulièrement précieuse. MM. Lahcen Daif et Christian Müller ont bien voulu formuler d'utiles remarques sur les éditions données dans cet article; je leur exprime ici toute ma gratitude. Ce travail n'aurait pas été possible sans l'aide que m'a fournie la banque de données CALD (Comparing Arabic Legal Documents) mise au point par Christian Müller et son équipe à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes – section arabe (Paris). Les sigles utilisés pour signaler les éditions de textes arabes ainsi que les ouvrages lexicographiques sont ceux repris dans la *Checklist* de papyrologie arabe (disponible sur le site <http://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/isap/isap_checklist/index.html>).

¹ Sur la vie et l'oeuvre d'Aziz Atiya, voir P. E. WALKER, «Aziz Atiya. A biography», [dans :] S. A. HANNA (éd.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, Leyde 1972, p. 5–8, et S. K. BROWN, «Aziz Suryal Atiya (1898–1988)», *JARCE* 26 (1989), p. 1–2.

² Par papyrologie arabe, j'entends l'étude des documents arabes écrits entre le VII^e et le XV^e siècle sur papyrus et sur papier et provenant de l'ensemble du monde arabo-musulman.

documents du monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Sinâï,³ il donna le premier inventaire provisoire du millier de documents arabes qu'abrite le couvent.⁴ Ce catalogue, bien qu'actuellement dépassé, reste un guide indispensable pour la papyrologie arabe.⁵

Son intérêt pour les documents transparait aussi dans la belle collection de papyrus et de papiers arabes qu'il acquit auprès d'antiquaires égyptiens, anglais et américains. On peut penser, vu le nombre important de pièces remarquables qui se trouvent dans cette collection, qu'il choisit patiemment et méticuleusement chacune d'entre elles. À sa mort, sa veuve, Lola Atiya, préserve l'unité de cet ensemble et en fit don au département des collections précieuses de la Marriott Library de l'Université d'Utah, où les pièces se trouvent toujours aujourd'hui.⁶ J'ai pu y découvrir une trentaine de documents juridiques arabes inédits de toutes époques, parmi lesquels quelques beaux spécimens de contrats de vente d'esclaves. Ces actes n'ont pas été repris dans l'ouvrage récent que Yūsuf Rāḡib a consacré aux contrats de ce type⁷ et je souhaite offrir ici un complément à cette très belle édition en donnant la publication de six contrats, qui

³ A. S. ATIYA, «The Monastery of St. Catherine and Mount Sinai Expedition», *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96 (1952), p. 578–586.

⁴ IDEM, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai. A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore 1955, p. 26–80.

⁵ Outre ce catalogue, on retiendra aussi son édition d'une *fatwā* de la British Library (Ms. Or. 9509) dans «An unpublished XIVth century *fatwā* on the status of foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria», [dans:] W. HEFFENING (éd.), *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des nahen und fernen Ostens. Festschrift Paul Kable*, Leyde 1935, p. 55–68.

⁶ Sur cette collection, voir Petra M. SIJPESTEIJN, «North American papyrus collections revisited», *al-Bardīyyāt* 1 (2002–2003), p. 11–19, en part. 18; W. M. MALCZYCKI, «An early survey of the University of Utah Arabic papyrus and paper collection», *al-Bardīyyāt* 2 (2007), p. 6–9, et M. MUEHLHAESLER, «Eight Arabic block prints from the collection of Aziz Atiya», *Arabica* 55 (2008), p. 528–582, en part. 529–530.

⁷ Y. RĀĠIB, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux* I, Le Caire 2002 (= *P. Vente*). On consultera pour le commentaire essentiellement IDEM, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux* II, Le Caire 2006. L'étude est remarquable, mais ne tient pas assez compte des contrats de vente des époques romaine et byzantine, qui présentent pourtant beaucoup de points communs avec les actes de vente arabes. On en jugera par exemple en consultant l'excellente étude de J. URBANIK, «*P. Cairo Masp. I 67120 recto and the liability for latent defects in the Late Antique slave sales or back to epaphē*», *JfjP* 40 (2010), p. 219–247.

viennent utilement enrichir la connaissance que nous avons de ces actes. J'ajoute en annexe à l'article un tableau reprenant les prix attestés dans les actes de vente d'esclaves publiés à ce jour (voir ci-dessous, p. 184-187).

1. Acte de vente d'une esclave noire

P. Utah inv. 60
Papyrus

15,5 × 25 cm

Rabī' I 272
Provenance inconnue

Le document se présente sous la forme d'un coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair. Toutes les marges sont préservées ; la marge supérieure est légèrement rognée en son centre. L'acte comporte neuf lignes, dont deux de témoignages. L'écriture est soignée et posée ; elle peut être comparée à celle d'autres documents contemporains, par ex. de *P. Chrest. Khoury* I 64 et 67. Aucune lettre n'est pourvue de point diacritique. Le verso est vierge.

ʿIlyās fils de ʿAbd al-Karīm achète, pour le prix de douze dīnārs, à ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fils de Minās une esclave noire au mois de rabī' I 272 (= août-septembre 885 du calendrier julien). Après la date, figurent, deux témoignages.

بسم [الله الرحمن الرحيم]

هذا ما اشترا الياس بن عبد الكريم من عبد العزيز بن مناس اشترى منه جارية سودا
تدعى مديج (?) جنسها اكمال [بئة الثمن] اثنا عشر [دينارا] وقد قبض عبد العزيز
4 بن مناس الثمن تاما وافيا وقبض الياس بن عبد الكـ [ريم] الـ [حـ] [اري]ـة وصارت اليه وفي
ملكه على ان ليس له جنون ولا عشا ولا دعوان فيه ولا . . . ولا اباق ولا حبل
ولا كاهي ولا عيب في فرج وابرا عبد العزيز بن مناس من الصكك والفدع
والـ . . . والكي والاثار وذلك في شهر ربيع الاول من سنة اثنين وسبعين
8 ومائتين شهد احمد بن محمد النقدي على اقرار البائع والمشتري بجميع ما في هذا الكتاب
وكتب شهادته امر بامرہ شهد علي بن داود على مثل ذلك وكتب شهادته امر بامرہ

Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Voici ce qu'a acheté ʿIlyās fils de ʿAbd al-Karīm à ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fils de Minās. Il lui a acheté une esclave noire qui se nomme Madīġ (?) et dont l'espèce est ... pour le prix de douze dīnārs. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz fils de Minās a pris possession du prix entièrement et pleinement et ʿIlyās fils de ʿAbd al-Karīm a pris possession de l'esclave qui est

devenue sienne et sa propriété. Il lui a été stipulé qu'elle n'est ni folle, ni héméralope, ni objet de demande, ni ..., ni portée à s'enfuir, qu'elle n'est pas enceinte et n'a pas l'haleine fétide et qu'elle n'est pas affectée de quelque vice dans ses parties génitales. Il a libéré la responsabilité de 'Abd al-'Azīz fils de Minās à l'égard des jambes vacillantes de l'esclave, de ses membres contrefaits, de ses ..., de ses cautérisations et de ses cicatrices. Écrit au mois de rabī' I de l'année deux cents soixante-douze. 'Aḥmad fils de Muḥammad al-Naqdī a témoigné de ce que le vendeur et l'acheteur reconnaissent tout ce qu'il y a dans cet acte et son témoignage a été écrit et ordonné sur son ordre. 'Alī fils de Dāwud a témoigné de la même chose et son témoignage a été écrit et ordonné sur son ordre.

2. Le nom Menās est vraisemblablement une autre forme du nom Mīnā; il correspondrait alors exactement à la graphie copte MHNAC .

3. Le race de l'esclave vendue n'est pas identifiable. Je lis l'adjectif *ikmāliyya*, mais je peux difficilement le rattacher à une région d'Afrique connue pour être une source d'approvisionnement en esclaves. Sur les différentes souches africaines décrites dans les actes, voir D. Little, 'Six fourteenth-century purchase deeds for slaves from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf', *ZDMG* 131 (1981), p. 297-337, en part. 304-305, et Y. Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 30-32, § 73-79.

Le prix de douze dīnārs pour une esclave paraît ordinaire pour l'époque (voir tableau en annexe).

5-6. La formule *'alā 'an laysa labu*, qui introduit les vices déniés, apparaît aussi dans *P. Vente* 2, l. 7 (261 H.); 3, l. 6-7 (280 H.); et 5, l. 5-6 (283 H.). On notera que le notaire a omis ici après *labu* le syntagme *fibā*, qui renvoie à l'esclave. Sur la portée juridique des termes *ḡunūn*, *'ašā*, *kābī*, *ḥublā*, *'ayb fī farḡ*, voir le chapitre qui concerne les vices déniés dans Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 75-85, § 196-223.

6. On trouve les mêmes vices déclarés dans *P. Vente* 1, l. 7-8. Au sujet de ceux-ci, voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 85-90, § 224-237, en part. § 231-236.

7. Le *rasm* du premier mot de la ligne doit sans doute se lire والحسن ; je ne vois cependant comment il faut diacritiser cette séquence, ni comment il convient de l'interpréter.

8. La lecture *kutiba šabādatuhu umira bi-'amrihi* est incertaine. Il n'en existe à ma connaissance aucune autre occurrence dans les documents juridiques, qui utilisent généralement la formule *kutiba šabādatuhu bi-'amrihi (wa-maḥḍarihi)*.

9. Il n'est pas rare que le notaire abrège le second témoignage ainsi que les suivants sous la forme *šabida fulān ibn fulān 'alā miṭl dālika*. Voir par exemple *P. Cair. Arab.* II 93, l. 16.

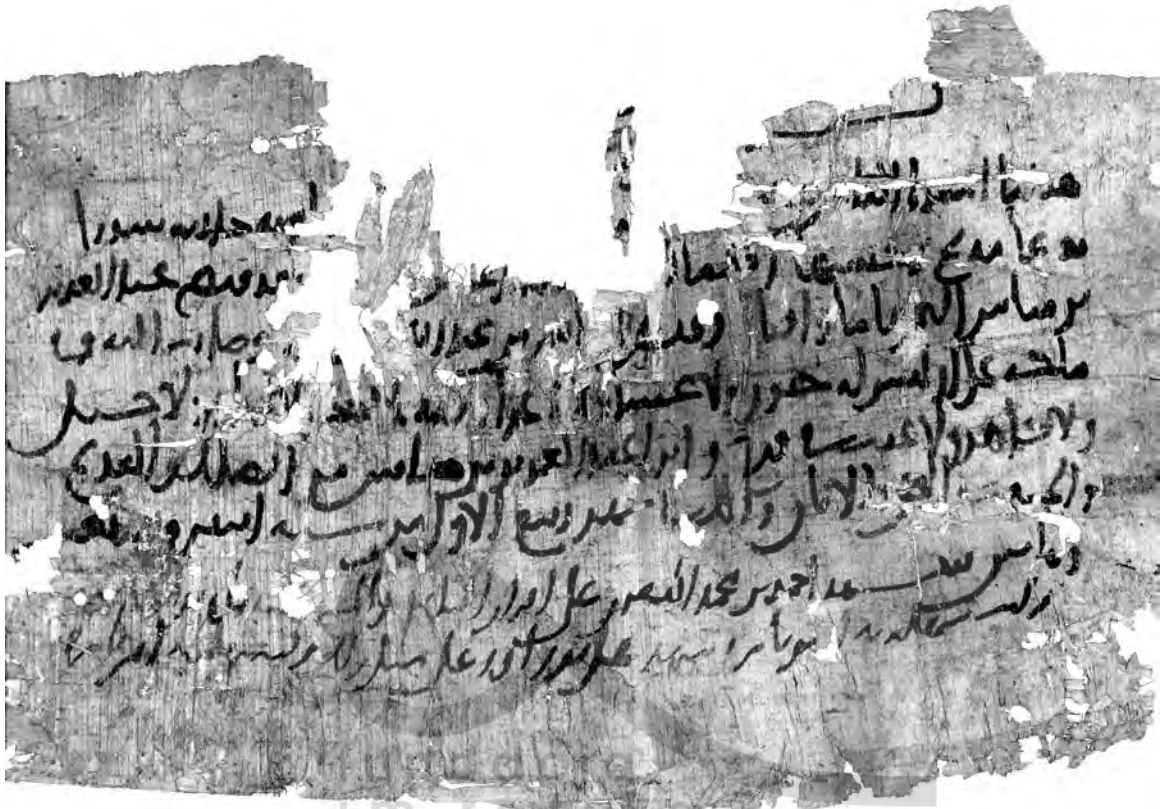


Fig. 1. P. Utah inv. 60 r° (Rare Books Division.
Special Collections. J. Willard Marriott Library – University of Utah)

2. Formulaire d'acte de vente d'une esclave noire

P. Utah inv. 427 recto
Papyrus

17,5 × 12,3 cm

Fin du III^e siècle
Provenance inconnue

Le document se présente sous la forme d'un coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair. La moitié gauche de l'acte a disparu, mais son contenu, formulaire, peut fort heureusement être reconstitué. L'écriture, tracée

à l'encre noire, est légèrement cursive; elle peut être comparée à celle de *P. Chrest. Khoury* I 80 et 84. Quelques lettres sont pourvues de points diacritiques. Le verso est vierge. Le document n'est pas daté, mais, sur base du tracé des lettres et des formules employées, on peut suggérer une datation au III^e siècle de l'hégire.

Il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler d'un acte de vente, mais plutôt, fait rare, du formulaire d'un acte de vente.⁸ Quelques papyrus arabes attestent cette pratique qui consistait à écrire à l'avance toutes les parties formulaires d'un acte, en laissant vide l'endroit où il fallait rédiger le nom des personnes impliquées, les sommes en jeu ainsi que la date. Dans notre document, le notaire a laissé vacant l'espace où devait figurer le nom de l'acheteur, celui du vendeur, le prix (?) ainsi que la date. Il n'y a d'ailleurs logiquement aucun témoignage au bas de l'acte. Ce formulaire aurait sans doute dû être rempli lors de la finalisation de la vente.

Un acheteur dont le nom n'est pas précisé achète, à une date inconnue, à un vendeur dont le nom n'est pas précisé, une esclave garamante, nommée Ġamīl, et ce pour un prix inconnu.

↓ [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]

هذا ما اشترا *vac.* من []

جارية سودا قرماطة تدعا جميل (?) حمر <الشعر و. [الثمن كذا وكذا ديناراً وقبض]

4 *vac.* الجارية وصارت في يده وق [بضته وقبض الثمن]

تامة وافية على انه تبرأ اليه من جميع الع [يون *vac.* ولا]

دوعان فيه ولا ... حيث كان ولا عيب في [فرج]

3 حاريه قرماطيه || 4 صارت في 5 وافيه - انه || 6 فقه حيب كان

Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Voici ce qu'a acheté (blanc) de (blanc). Il a acheté une esclave noire Garamante appelée Ġamīl, qui a des cheveux rouges et ... Le prix est de ... et (blanc) a pris possession de l'esclave et elle est entrée en sa possession et en sa puissance. (blanc) a pris possession du

⁸ Pour des exemples de formulaires, voir W. DIEM, «Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)», *Le Muséon* 97 (1984), p. 109-158, n^{os} 6 et 7 et les commentaires, en part. p. 134-136 et 140-141, ainsi que *P. Khalili* II 105.

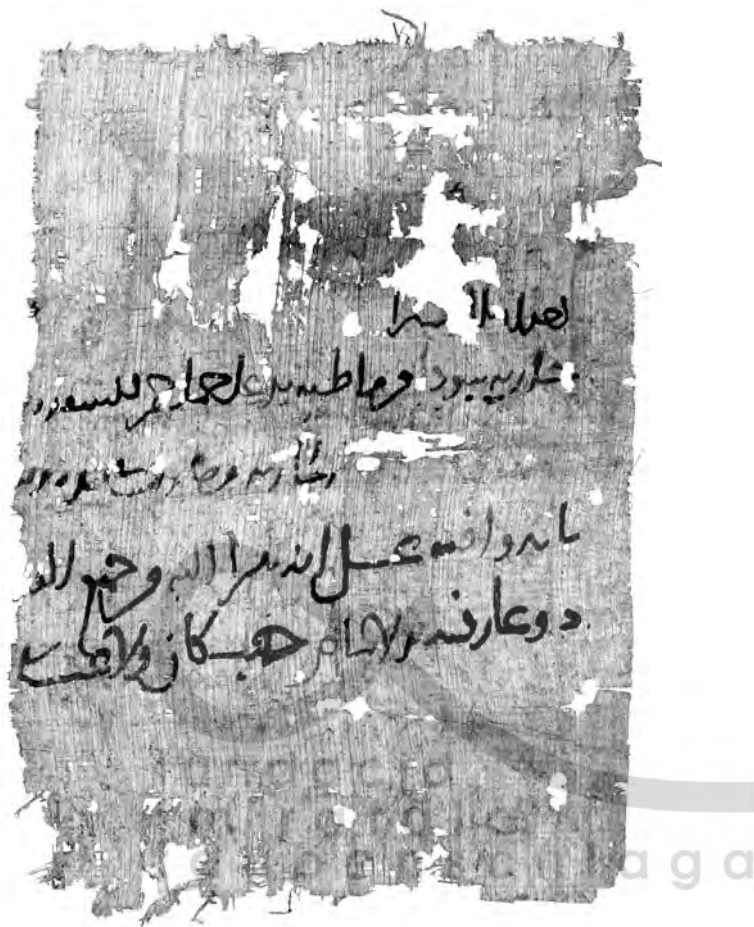


Fig. 2. P. Utah inv. 427 r^o (Rare Books Division.
Special Collections. J. Willard Marriott Library – University of Utah)

prix entièrement et pleinement. Il lui a été stipulé qu'il (scil. le vendeur) décline toute responsabilité pour les vices ... qu'elle ne fait l'objet d'aucune demande, que ... où qu'il soit et qu'elle ne présente aucun vice dans ses parties génitales ...

1. La *basmala* semble avoir été délibérément effacée, à moins qu'elle n'ait jamais été écrite. Les traces d'encre délavée qui subsistent ne permettent pas de trancher.

3. L'espèce de l'esclave *qarmāṭiyya* doit être rapprochée de l'espèce citée dans *P. Vente* 5, l. 4-5, que l'éditeur lit *qumāṭiyya* mais qui, sur base du *rasm*, doit se lire *qarmāṭiyya*. Il pourrait s'agir d'une variante des adjectifs *ġarmī*, *qaramiyy* (cf. *P. Vente* 8, l. 4) ou *ʿaġramanṭīs*, qui désigne la peuplade saharienne des Garamantes ; voir aussi l'acte 3, comm. à la l. 4.

Immédiatement après le nom, on trouve le début d'une description physique de l'esclave. Sur les descriptions physiques des esclaves dans les actes, voir Rāġib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 34-41, § 86-108.

En lacune, on devait trouver le prix en dīnārs du bien vendu, précédé du mot *al-ṭaman*.

4. Les actes de vente d'esclaves expriment de deux manières le fait que l'esclave devient la propriété de l'acheteur. On recontre tantôt l'expression *ṣārat ʿilayhi wa-fī-milkibi* («elle est devenue sienne et sa propriété»), comme dans le document 1, l. 4-5, tantôt *ṣārat fī-/bi-yadibi wa-qabḍatihi* («elle est entrée en sa possession et en sa puissance»), comme dans le présent document. Sur cette question, voir Rāġib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 61, § 154.

4-5. La mention de la réception du prix précède normalement la mention de la réception et de la prise de possession du bien acheté.

La séquence au féminin *tāmmatan wāfiyatan* est pour le moins curieuse dans un acte de vente. On trouve normalement la forme adverbiale au masculin *tāmmān wāfiyan* dans l'expression *qabaḍa fulān ibn fulān (ġamī) al-ṭaman tāmmān wāfiyan* («untel fils d'untel a pris possession du prix entièrement et pleinement»). Dans quelques cas, très rares cependant, on trouve ces deux termes mis à la forme adverbiale au féminin *tāmmatan wāfiyatan*, comme dans *P. Cair. Mus. Isl. inv. 9817*, l. 13,⁹ et dans *P. Istanbul s. n.*, l. 12.¹⁰

5. On peut interpréter le *rasm* سرا du verbe de deux manières différentes : soit comme le passif inaccompli de la forme I ou de la forme IV يبر *yubra*, soit comme l'accompli la forme V تبرأ *tabarra*. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'expression *ʿalā ʿan-nahu tabarraʾa min* n'est, à ma connaissance, attestée nulle part ailleurs.

6. Je ne suis pas sûr de l'interprétation qu'il faut donner au *rasm* au début de la ligne. Peut-être faut-il y voir une forme, fautive, du verbe *s-w-m*, par exemple de la forme IV. Si j'ai raison, le scribe aura voulu écrire <سام ولا>, qu'il faut comprendre : «il n'y a pas de marquage» ou encore «il n'y a pas de surenchère» (cf. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire* I, p. 1170a, et Dozy, *Supplément* I, p. 708 a).

⁹ M. A. FAHMĪ, «Waṭāʾiq li-l-taʾāqūd min faġr al-islām fī Miṣr», *Maġallat al-maġmaʿ al-ʿilmī al-Miṣrī* = *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 54 (1973), p. 1-58, n° 2.

¹⁰ Janine SOURDEL-THOMINE & D. SOURDEL, «Trois actes de vente damascains du début du iv^e/x^e siècle», *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965), p. 164-185, n° 1.

3. Vente d'une esclave garamante

P. Utah inv. 1356 recto
Papier oriental

11 × 20 cm

26 ramadān 325
Provenance inconnue

Le document se présente sous la forme d'un coupon de papier oriental de couleur jaune clair. La marge supérieure ainsi que les marges de gauche et de droite sont conservées. La marge inférieure est légèrement rognée, ne laissant apparaître que des bribes de la date qui clôt le document. Les témoignages ont disparu, à moins qu'ils n'aient, selon une habitude courante, jamais été couchés sur le papier. L'écriture est peu soignée et en certains endroits difficile à lire, car le ductus prend des allures étranges ; elle peut être comparée à celle de *P. Chrest. Khoury* I 45. Quelques rares lettres sont pourvues de points diacritiques. L'acte est daté du 26 du mois de ramadān 325, qui correspond au 7 août 937 du calendrier julien.

Fāṭima fille d'al-Ḥasan achète, le 26 ramadān 325, à Ġa'far fils de 'Aḥmad une esclave garamante pour le prix de douze dīnārs.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
هذا ما اشترى فاطمة ابنة الحسن
من جعفر بن احمد اشترى منه جارية
4 سودا تدعا ملحة وجنسها قرمية
الثلث اثنى عشر ديناراً وثمان و
قبضها جعفر بن احمد قبضت
فاطمة ابنة الحسن الجارية
8 وصارت اليها وفي ملكها
بيع المسلم من المسلم
وقد برى من الكي وشيب الراس
وسماجة يديها ودا
12 وذلك لاربع بقين من رمضان
س[نة] خ[مس] وع[شرين] وثلثمائة

2 الحسن || 3 جعفر

Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Voici ce qu'a acheté Fāṭima fille d'al-Ḥasan à Ġa'far fils de 'Aḥmad. Elle lui a acheté une esclave noire

dénommée *Milḥa*, qui est de race *garamante*. Le prix est de douze *dīnārs* un huitième. *Ġaʿfar* fils de *ʿAḥmad* en a pris possession (scil. des douze *dīnārs* un huitième). *Fāṭima* fille d'al-Ḥasan a pris possession de l'esclave et elle est devenue sienne et sa propriété. Vente de Musulman à Musulman. (Le vendeur) a dégagé sa responsabilité des cautérisations, de ses cheveux blancs, de la laideur de ses mains et de ses maladies. (Écrit) le vingt-six *ramaḍān* trois-cents vingt-cinq.

2. L'accord du verbe *istarā* a été fait au masculin alors que le sujet est féminin. Cette faute est courante dans les documents médiévaux; cf. S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic. Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.*, Oxford 1984, p. 139, § 141.

4. Sur l'adjectif *qaramiyya*, voir comm. à l'acte 2, l. 3.

Le nom *Milḥa*, si je le lis bien, doit sans doute être rapproché du nom *Milḥ* («le sel») qui est donné à certains esclaves. Sur la question, voir S. D. Goitein, «Slaves and slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza records», *Arabica* 9 (1962), p. 1-20, en part. 8.

5. On s'attendrait à ce que le mot *dīnār* fût décliné à l'accusatif indéfini, puisqu'il est précédé d'un nombre compris entre onze et quatre-vingt-dix-neuf. Il arrive néanmoins fréquemment dans les documents médiévaux, et plus généralement en moyen arabe, que cette flexion ne soit pas indiquée. Sur cette question, voir Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar* (ci-dessus, comm. à la l. 2), p. 165, § 167 h.

8. Sur la formule, *wa-ṣārat ʿilayhā wa-fī milkihā* («elle devenue sienne et sa propriété»), voir acte 2, comm. à la l. 4.

9. Yūsuf Rāḡib montre très justement que la formule *bayʿ al-muslim min al-muslim* («vente de Musulman à Musulman»), dont notre acte donne la plus ancienne attestation, ne doit pas signifier que le vendeur et l'acheteur sont eux-même musulmans – même s'ils le sont sans doute dans notre document – ou que la vente a été conclue en vertu de la loi musulmane. Elle indiquerait simplement que la vente a été réalisée sans tromperie et sans vice. Voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 68, § 176.

10. Les termes *ṣayb al-raʿs* («cheveux blancs») apparaissent aussi dans *P. Vente* 3, l. 10. Sur les conséquences juridiques que pouvaient présenter un tel vice pour les juristes, voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 88-89, § 235.

11. La laideur des mains, dans un cas aussi des jambes, est citée à deux reprises dans les actes de vente d'esclaves, dans *P. Vente* 3, l. 12, et 8, l. 9. Sur la question, voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 87, § 232.

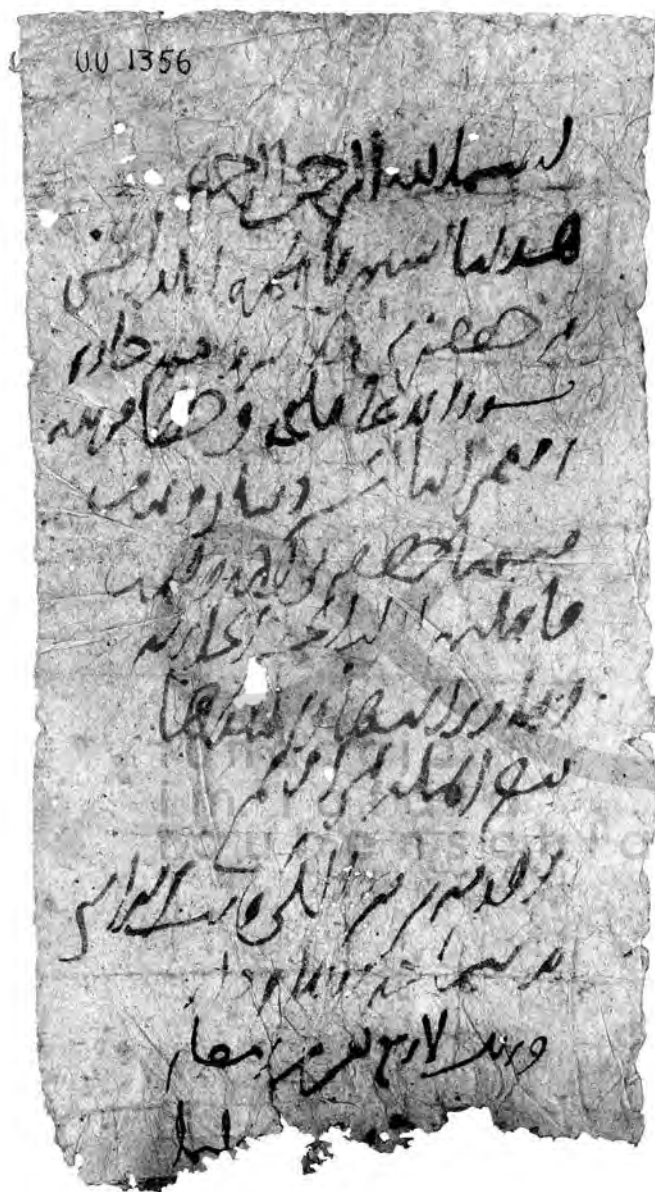


Fig. 3. P. Utah inv. 1356 r° (Rare Books Division.
Special Collections. J. Willard Marriott Library – University of Utah)

4-5. Deux actes de vente d'esclaves

Les deux documents qui suivent ont été écrits sur le même coupon de papier, l'un au recto, l'autre au verso. La feuille de papier est conservée dans son intégralité. La marge inférieure montre les traces d'une déchirure, vraisemblablement antérieure à l'écriture des deux actes de vente. Sur le papier, de fabrication orientale, on distingue les traces de neuf plis dans le sens de la longueur. L'écriture des deux documents, tracée à l'encre noire claire, est cursive et peu soignée; elle peut être comparée à celle de *P. Chrest. Khoury* I 45. Quelques lettres portent des points diacritiques.

Le seul élément qui relie ces deux textes est leur date: ils portent tous deux la date du 1^{er} ramaḍān de l'année 326 de l'hégire (soit le 2 juillet 938 du calendrier julien), même si la celle de l'acte 5 a été réduite par le notaire: on ne lit que le jour de la semaine, le quantième, le mois et l'unité de l'année. Les actes concernent la vente de deux esclaves par des vendeurs différents à des acheteurs différents; aucun n'est pourvu de témoignage. On peut dès lors penser qu'il ne s'agit pas de deux actes authentiques, mais de simples copies d'actes dressés le même jour, qu'un greffier aura pris soin de conserver dans les archives d'un tribunal.¹¹

Dans l'acte 4, 'Aḥmad fils d'al-Ḥusayn fils d'al-Nūrī achète, le 1^{er} ramaḍān 326, à 'Abd al-Razzāq fils de Muḥammad, le forgeron, une esclave nubienne pour le prix de treize dīnārs un quart. Dans l'acte 5, Maṣṣūr al-Muṣ'abī achète, le 1^{er} ramaḍān 326, à Muḥammad fils de 'Amr, une esclave dénommée Maṣṣūra pour le prix de dix-huit dīnārs et un quarantième.

4. Acte de vente d'une esclave nubienne

P. Utah inv. 949 recto
Papier oriental

12,5 × 20 cm

1^{er} ramaḍān 326
Provenance inconnue

أقر البائع بقبض الثمن وهو ثلاثة عشر ديناراً وربع
واقتر المشتري بقبض الجارية على الطهارة

¹¹ Voir RĀĠIB, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 118, § 312.

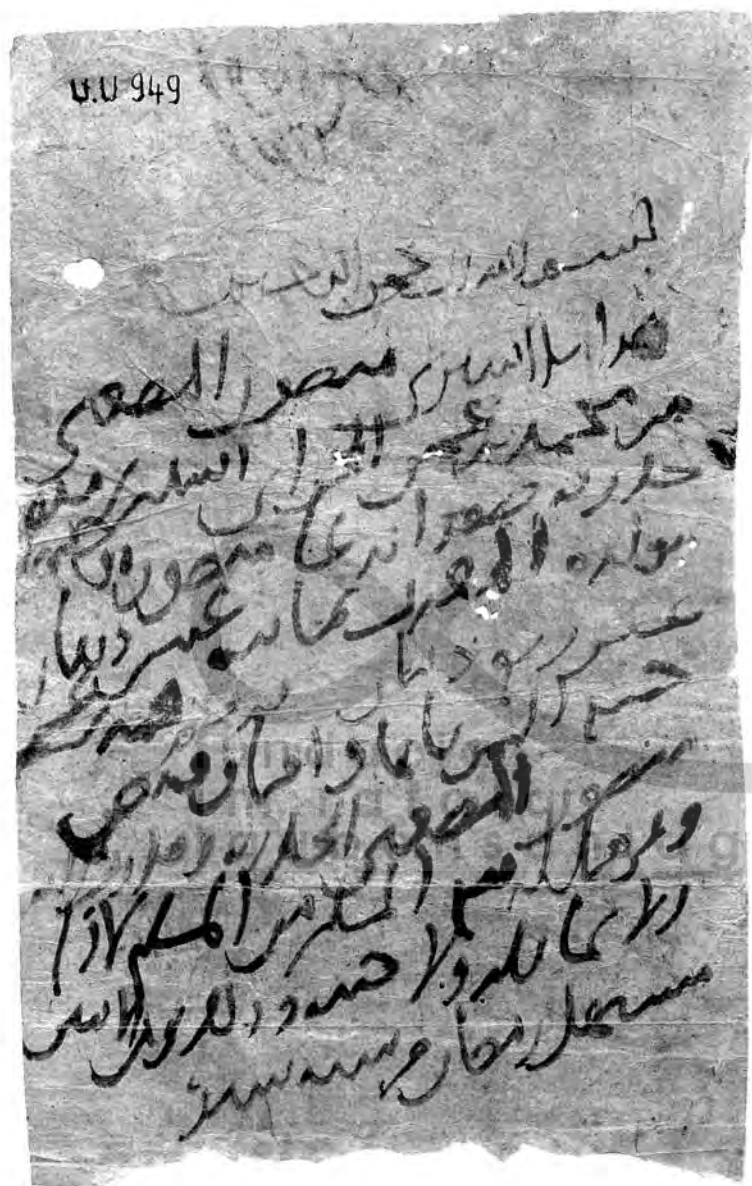


Fig. 4. P. Utah inv. 949 r° (Rare Books Division.
Special Collections. J. Willard Marriott Library – University of Utah)

- حسبي الله وكفا
 4 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 هذا ما اشترى احمد بن الحسين بن النوري
 من عبد الرزاق بن محمد الحداد اشترى
 منه جارية تدعى تجعة وجنسها نوبية الثمن
 8 ثلاثة عشر ديناراً وربع دينار عينا ذهباً وازنة
 جياذ وقبض عبد الرزاق بن محمد الحداد جميع
 الثمن تاماً وافياً وقبض احمد بن الحسين بن النوري الجارية
 المسماة في هذا الكتاب وصارت اليه و/في ملكه
 12 بيع المسلم من المسلم لا دا ولا غائلة ولا خبثة
 وذلك في مستهل شهر رمضان سنة ستة عشر وثلاثمائة
- 6 عد الرزاق || 9 عد الرزاق

Le vendeur reconnaît avoir pris possession du prix, qui est de treize dīnārs un quart, et l'acheteur reconnaît avoir pris sans tromperie possession de l'esclave. Dieu me suffit et combien ! Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Voici ce qu'a acheté 'Aḥmad fils d'al-Ḥusayn fils d'al-Nūrī à 'Abd al-Razzāq fils de Muḥammad, le forgeron. Il lui a acheté une esclave nommée Tuḡ'a, qui est de race nubienne. Le prix est de treize dīnārs un quart, en espèces d'or de plein poids et de bon aloi. 'Abd al-Razzāq fils de Muḥammad, le forgeron, a pris possession de l'ensemble du prix entièrement et pleinement et 'Aḥmad fils d'al-Ḥusayn fils d'al-Nūrī a pris possession de l'esclave citée dans cet acte, et celle-ci est devenue sienne et sa propriété. Vente de Musulman à Musulman : sans maladies, ni vices, ni défauts. Écrit le premier du mois de ramadān de l'année trois-cents vingt-six.

1-2. Ces deux lignes ont été écrites par le greffier après la rédaction de l'acte de vente, lors de l'enregistrement du document auprès d'un tribunal local. Le même genre d'information figure dans la marge supérieure des documents *P. Vente* 24, l. 1-2, et 25, l. 1-3. Sur l'enregistrement des documents, voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 118, § 312-313.

2. On lit la même expression *'alā al-ṭabāra wa-salāma* dans *P. Vente* 4, l. 10-12, et une expression similaire *ṭabāratan wa-salāmātan* dans *P. Vente* 7, l. 8, et 8, l. 8-9. Sur cette expression, voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 68-69, § 177. Il faut ici la comprendre, ainsi que le suggère Rāḡib, comme désignant une vente sans tromperie.



Fig. 5. P. Utah inv. 949 r
(détail)



Fig. 6. P. Stras. inv. ar. 589 r
(détail)



Fig. 7. P. Stras. inv. ar. 591 r
(détail)



Fig. 8. P. Utah inv. 914 r
(détail)

3. La formule religieuse *ḥasbī llāh (wa-kafā)* se retrouve généralement, à la fin d'un acte; elle servait à combler l'espace vacant qui pouvait subsister à la dernière ligne du contrat. Dans *P. Vente 6*, cette formule est placée au-dessus de la *basma-la*, et dans notre document, juste à côté. Peut-être est-ce là une innovation qui préfigure le développement de la *ʿalāma*, si fréquente dans les documents juridiques des époques mamelouke et ottomane.

Ce qui suit ne peut être une séquence d'écriture. En agrandissant la photographie, on peut distinguer une marque administrative courante (fig. 5) que l'on trouve dans des documents administratifs (figs. 6–8). Elle représentait peut-être à l'origine une étoile comme celle que l'on distingue sur certains sceaux arabes anciens.¹²

¹² Voir G. KHAN, *Arabic Documents from Early Islamic Khurasan*, Londres 2007, p. 86–88.

7. Les esclaves nubiens apparaissent couramment dans les actes de vente d'esclaves, et à différentes époques. Voir par exemple *P. Vente* 9 (372 H.) et 10–11 (383–384 H.) et *P. Ḥarām* inv. 298 (795 H.).¹³

9–10. La mention *ḡamī' al-taman* («la totalité du prix») est essentielle dans la mesure où le paiement du prix pouvait aussi être fractionné, comme dans l'acte de vente d'un captif chrétien conservé au Archives de l'État à Venise sous le numéro d'inventaire 180 IX n° 9.¹⁴

11. Sur la formule *wa-ṣārat 'ilayhi wa-fī milkihi* («elle devenue sienne et sa propriété»), voir l'acte 2, comm. à la l. 4.

12. Sur la formule *bay' al-muslim min al-muslim*, voir l'acte 3, comm. à la l. 9.

5. Acte de vente d'une esclave née à la maison

P. Utah inv. 949 verso
Papier oriental

12,5 × 20 cm

1^{er} ramaḍān 326
Provenance inconnue

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
هذا ما اشترى منصور المصعبي
من محمد بن عمر المحرابي اشترى منه
جارية صفرا تدعى منصور وكنسها
مولدة المقرف <الثلثين> ثمانية عشر دينار
عشر ربع دينار وقبض محمد بن عمر
جميع الثمن تاما وافيا وقبض
منصور المصعبي الجارية وصارت اليه
وفي ملكه بيع المسلم من المسلم لا دا
ولا غائلة ولا خبثة وذلك في يوم الاثنين
مستهل رمضان من سنة ستة

¹³ Édition dans LITTLE, «Six purchase deeds» (ci-dessus, comm. à I, l. 3), n° 5.

¹⁴ Édition dans Fr. BAUDEN, «L'achat d'esclaves et la rédemption des captifs à Alexandrie d'après deux documents arabes d'époque mamelouke conservés aux Archives de l'Etat à Venise (ASVe)», [dans:] Anne-Marie EDDÉ; Emma GANNAGÉ (éds.), *Regards croisés sur le Moyen Âge arabe. Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Pouzet s.j. (1928–2002)*, Beyrouth 2005, p. 269–325, en part. 304–318, n° 2.

Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Voici ce qu'a acheté Manṣūr al-Muṣ'abī (?) à Muḥammad fils de 'Amr ... Il lui a acheté une esclave jaune appelée Manṣūra, née à la maison d'un père esclave et d'une mère libre. Le prix est de dix-huit dīnārs et un quarantième. Muḥammad fils de 'Amr a pris possession du prix entièrement et pleinement. Manṣūr al-Muṣ'abī a pris possession de l'esclave, qui est devenue sienne et sa propriété. Vente de Musulman à Musulman: sans maladies, ni vices, ni défauts. (Écrit) le lundi premier ramadān de l'année (trois-cents vingt-)six.

2. La *nisba al-muṣ'abī* dérive du nom *al-Muṣ'ab*, attesté dans CPR XXI 2, l. 5.

3. Je ne parviens pas à identifier dans le *rasm* de la *nisba* du vendeur.

5. L'épithète *muwallad*, qui correspond à l'οἰκογενής de l'époque gréco-romaine,¹⁵ désigne un esclave né à la maison, par opposition à l'esclave importé par des marchands.

Le terme *muḡrif* signifie au sens propre «rebutant, malpropre» (cf. Dozy, *Supplément* II, p. 341 b); il renvoie au fait qu'un esclave est le fruit de l'union d'un père esclave et d'une mère libre (cf. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire* II, p. 721); le même adjectif, dans la littérature juridique musulmane, s'applique à un étalon (cf. Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II [ci-dessus, n. 7], § 61 et 80). Il s'agit à ma connaissance de la première occurrence de ce mot dans les actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux.

8-9. Sur la formule *wa-ṣārat 'ilayhi wa-fī milkibi* («elle devenue sienne et sa propriété»), voir l'acte 2, comm. à la l. 4.

9. Sur la formule *bay' al-muslim min al-muslim*, voir l'acte 3, comm. à la l. 12.

10-11. Il arrive parfois, quand cela ne prête pas à confusion, que les scribes arabes réduisent l'année à la simple expression de l'unité, dans le cas présent au mot *sitta* («six»), qui est écrit pour *sitta wa-'isrīn wa-talātami'a* («trois cent vingt-six»). Il n'y a aucun doute sur la décennie de cette année: le 1^{er} ramadān de l'année 326 tombe en effet un lundi. Pour un autre exemple de date abrégée, voir la quittance de *ḡizya* CPR XXI 89, l. 5 (corrigée par W. Diem, «Philologische zu arabischen Steuerquittungen», WZKM 96 [2006], p. 55-III, en part. 107), où le rédacteur a écrit l'année «399» sous la forme abrégée «9» étant donné que le siècle figure déjà au recto du document une quittance écrite en copte qui mentionne l'année «397».

¹⁵ Sur ce terme, voir la synthèse de J. STRAUS, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine. Contribution papyrologique à l'étude de l'esclavage dans une province orientale de l'Empire romain*, Munich – Leipzig 2008, p. 235-239.

6. Vente d'une esclave

P. Utah inv. 839 recto
Papier occidental

14 × 22,5 cm

10 rabī' II 903
Le Caire (?)

Le document se présente sous la forme d'un coupon de papier occidental de couleur brun clair. L'acte est conservé dans son intégralité. L'écriture, habile et professionnelle, est caractéristique de la fin de l'époque mamlouke. L'encre encore fraîche a déteint sur d'autres parties de l'acte, laissant apparaître quelques traces miroir. Quelques rares lettres sont pourvues de points diacritiques. L'acte est daté du 10 du mois de rabī' de l'année 903 de l'hégire, qui correspond au 6 décembre 1497 du calendrier julien. La rédaction du document pourrait avoir été réalisée au Caire (voir comm. au témoignage a).

Kīstān, l'affranchie de Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, achète, le 10 du mois de rabī' de l'année 903, à Muḥammad fils de Muḥammad une esclave dénommée Fa'ida pour le prix de vingt-huit dīnārs.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اشترت الحرمة كىستان المرأة عتيقة المقر الناصري محمد ولد المقر الاشرف
الاتاكي المعروفة بزواج المهتار شقير بمالها لنفسها بذكرها من المعلم محمد
4 بن محمد بن علي المعروف بابن نتيصة المسبب في سوق الخيل جميع الجارية المدعوة فائدة
المرأة المعلومة عندهما العلم الشرعي النافي للجهالة شرعا شرعا بشرا
جملته من الذهب الاشرفي السالم من العيب ثمانية وعشرون دينارا حالا مقبوض
بيد البائع سالما بعد ما قامت به المرأة من مالها زيادة على ذلك لجهة الدلالة
8 والنظر بسوق الرقيق المعتاد وتسلمت ما ابتاعته بعد النظر والمعرفة
والتقليب الشرعي [ي وال] معاقدة الشرعية الذي بينهما في ذلك بصحة
وسلامة بتاريخ عاشر ربيع الآخرة سنة ثلاثة وتسعمائة
a) شهد عليهما بذلك محمد بن علي الطوخي
b) شهد [عليهما بذلك] علي بن احمد الطوخي

2 كىستان || 3 شقير || 4 نتيصة، في سوق الخيل، فائدة || 7 زائدة

Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Dame Kīstān, l'affranchie de son éminence Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad fils de son éminence le noble atābak,

connue sous le nom de femme de son excellence Šuqayr a acheté, avec son argent, pour elle-même en son nom, à maître Muḥammad fils de Muḥammad fils de ʿAlī connu sous le nom d'Ibn Natīša, commerçant au marché des chevaux, l'ensemble de l'esclave dénommée Fāʿida, femme connue des deux parties d'une connaissance légale et niant toute ignorance légalement. (Elle l'a achetée) en une vente légale pour un prix dont la somme est, en or d'al-Ašraf exempt de tout vice, de vingt-huit dīnārs. (Ce prix a été payé) au grand comptant et reçu par le vendeur en toute régularité après que la dame se fut acquittée, en sus du prix, des droits de courtage au marché ordinaire des esclaves. (Dame Kīstān) a pris livraison de ce qu'elle a acheté après l'avoir regardée, l'avoir reconnue, l'avoir examinée légalement et avoir conclu un contrat légal. Ce qui s'est passé entre eux dans cette affaire l'a été sans vices ni tromperies. (Écrit) en date du dix rabīʿ II de l'année neuf-cents-trois. (Témoignage a) A témoigné pour eux de cela Muḥammad fils de ʿAlī al-Ṭūḥī. (Témoignage b) A témoigné pour eux de cela ʿAlī fils de ʿAḥmad al-Ṭūḥī.

3. L'épithète *al-muṭtār* est empruntée au persan et signifie «grand ou le plus grand». Sur ce terme, voir M. M. Amīn, *Catalogue des documents des archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516 (depuis le III^e/IX^e siècle jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mamelouke)*, Le Caire 1981, p. 372, n. 1. Le terme apparaît dans le document *P. Cair. Archives* 3, l. 29 (868 H.).

Il est courant de voir dans les actes de vente ou de location la précision que l'acheteur ou le locataire achète ou loue un bien avec leur argent et pour eux-mêmes ; il n'existe à ma connaissance aucun acte où l'acheteur ou le locataire précise qu'il agit en son nom (*bi-dīkribā*).

L'épithète *al-muʿallim* apparaît fréquemment devant des noms à partir de la fin VIII^e siècle de l'hégire, et doit vraisemblablement se comprendre, à l'instar du mot «maître» en ancien français, comme un titre employé pour s'adresser avec civilité à quelqu'un.

4. Sur le terme *al-musabbib*, voir Dozy, *Supplément* I, p. 623 b.

6. Le dīnār dit *ašrafī* fut frappé pour la première fois 825 H. (1425) pour contrer l'influence monétaire des Vénitiens, dont le ducat tendait à occuper tout le marché monétaire depuis plus d'un siècle. Sur cette question, voir J. L. Bacharach, «The dinar versus the ducat», *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973), p. 77-96, en part. 77.

7-8. Le vendeur pouvait faire appel à un courtier pour vendre son esclave. Dans ce cas, l'acheteur devait, lors de la vente, s'acquitter auprès de ce tiers de

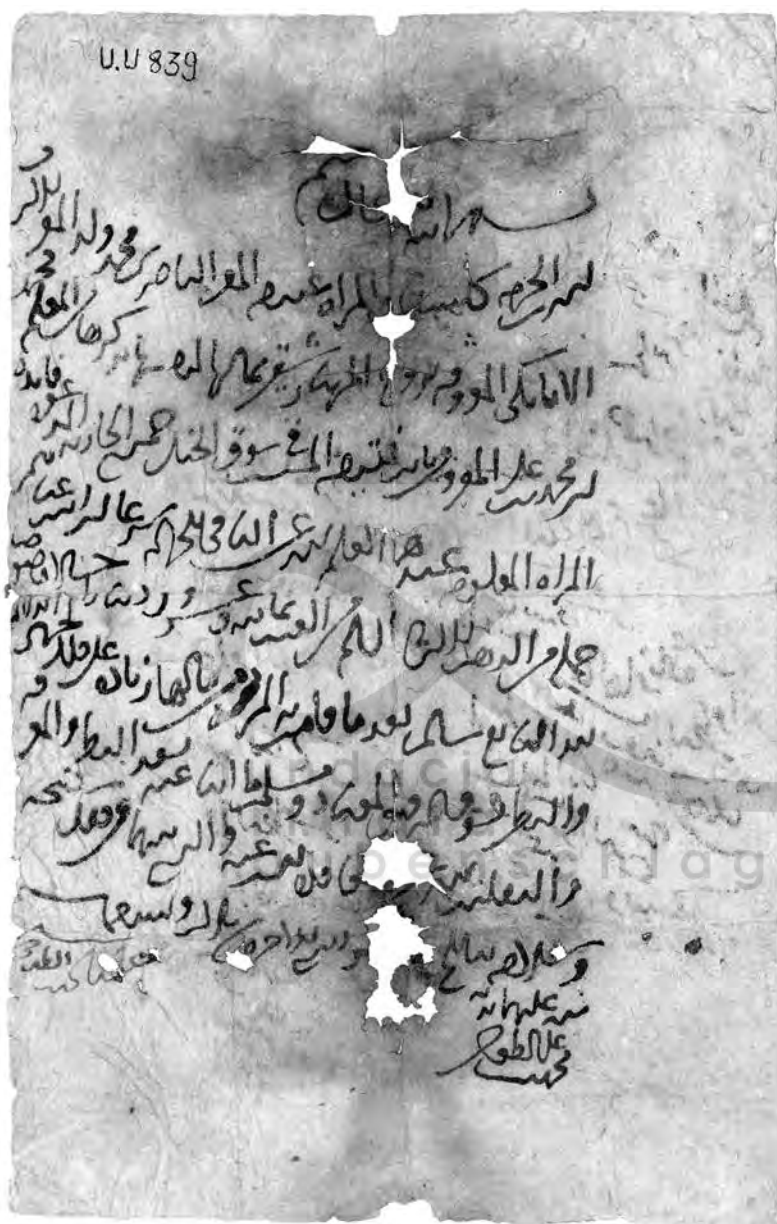


Fig. 10. P. Utah inv. 839 r° (Rare Books Division, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library – University of Utah)

droits de courtage, que l'on désigne dans les documents sous le terme *ḡu'l* (voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II [ci-dessus, n. 7], p. 48–53, § 121–133, en part. § 127). Le terme *dalāla*, qui n'était jusqu'alors attesté dans ce sens que dans la littérature juridique, désigne aussi ces droits de courtage ; dans notre document, ce mot est associé au terme *al-naẓar*. L'acte est ici explicite et précise que ces frais sont à payer en sus du prix (*'alā ziyādat ḡālik*), comme c'est le cas dans la plupart des actes de vente d'esclaves (voir Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II [ci-dessus, n. 7], p. 52, § 131).

9–10. Les termes *bi-siḥḥa wa-salāma* ne renvoient pas ici à la plénitude des capacités physiques et mentales des parties engagées, comme on le trouve dans certains contrats, mais plutôt au fait que la vente s'est déroulée en l'absence de vices et de tromperies. Sur cette question voir aussi Rāḡib, *Actes de vente* II (ci-dessus, n. 7), p. 68–69, § 177.

a) Muḥammad fils de 'Alī al-Tūḥī apparaît dans un acte du Caire comme rédacteur d'un témoignage en 911 (cf. *P. Cair. Archives* 9, l. 44). Il pourrait être identique au témoin qui rédige le premier témoignage de notre document, auquel cas il faudrait sans doute situer la rédaction de notre document au Caire.

La *nisba al-Tūḥī* renvoie à deux villages du Sud de l'Égypte, situés sur la rive occidentale du Nil ; voir Yaqūt, *Mu'ḡam al-Buldān*, Beyrouth 1988, IV, p. 42 b.

ANNEXE: LISTE DES PRIX D'ESCLAVES

Je donne ici, à titre de comparaison, une liste exhaustive des prix d'esclaves que l'on retrouve dans les contrats de vente d'esclaves publiés à ce jour ainsi que dans le journal d'un maquignon ayant vécu à l'époque fatimide. J'y joins les données que l'on trouve dans les contrats édités dans l'article.

<i>Texte</i>	<i>Datation</i>	<i>Type de marchandise</i>	<i>Prix</i>
<i>P. Vente 1</i>	257	une esclave ...	12 ½ dīnārs 2 qīrāṣ
<i>P. Vente 2</i>	261	une esclave jaune née à la maison	30 dīnārs
<i>P. Utah inv. 60 (n° 1)</i>	272	une esclave noire d'origine ...	12 dīnārs
<i>P. Vente 3</i>	280	une esclave jaune d'origine berbère	14 dīnārs

<i>Texte</i>	<i>Datation</i>	<i>Type de marchandise</i>	<i>Prix</i>
<i>P. Vente</i> 4	282	trois esclaves (une mère, sa fille et son fils)	10 dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 5	283	une esclave noire d'origine garamante*	14 dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 6	310	une esclave noire non arabe	16 dinārs
<i>P. Utah inv.</i> 1356 (n° 3)	325	une esclave noire d'origine garamante	12 ⅛ dinārs
<i>P. Utah inv.</i> 949 r° (n° 4)	326	une esclave noire d'origine nubienne	13 ¼ dinārs
<i>P. Utah inv.</i> 949 v° (n° 5)	326	une esclave jaune née à la maison	18 ¼ dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 7	355	une esclave d'origine nubienne	15 dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 8	367	une esclave noire tirant sur le rouge d'origine garamante	25 dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 9	372	une esclave noire d'origine nubienne	13 dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 10	383	trois esclaves noirs chrétiens d'origine nubienne (une mère, sa fille et son petit-fils)	40 dinārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 11	384	trois esclaves noirs chrétiens d'origine nubienne (une mère, sa fille et son petit-fils)	49 dinārs
<i>P. Fuṣṭāṭ</i> 78, I, 8 ¹⁶	vers 350-400	une esclave	100 dinārs

¹⁶ Édition dans D. S. RICHARDS, «Fragments of a slave dealer's day-book from Fuṣṭāṭ», [dans:] Y. RĀĠIB (éd.), *Documents de l'Islam médiéval. Nouvelles perspectives de recherche. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique (Paris, 3-5 mars 1988)* [= *Textes arabes et études islamiques* 29], Le Caire 1991, p. 89-96.

<i>Texte</i>	<i>Datation</i>	<i>Type de marchandise</i>	<i>Prix</i>
<i>P. Fuṣṭāṭ</i> 78, I, 10	vers 350–400	une esclave	27 dīnārs
<i>P. Fuṣṭāṭ</i> 78, I, 13	vers 350–400	une esclave	57 ½ dīnārs
<i>P. Fuṣṭāṭ</i> 78, I, 15	vers 350–400	une esclave	110 dīnārs
<i>P. Fuṣṭāṭ</i> 78, II, 2	vers 350–400	une esclave	40 dīnārs
<i>P. Fuṣṭāṭ</i> 78, II, 5	vers 350–400	un jeune esclave	12 ½ dīnārs
<i>P. Geniza Cambr.</i> 56	483	une esclave chrétienne dont la peau est de la couleur du caroubier	21 dīnārs
<i>P. Vente</i> 12	687	la moitié d'une esclave	100 dirhams
<i>P. Vente</i> 13	687	une esclave née à la maison	200 dirhams
<i>P. Ḥarām inv.</i> 316 ¹⁷	783	un esclave originaire de Saḥart	500 dirhams
<i>P. Ḥarām inv.</i> 688 ¹⁸	784	une esclave musulmane originaire de Damot	380 dirhams
<i>P. Ḥarām inv.</i> 382 ¹⁹	784	une esclave musulmane originaire de Takrūr	480 dirhams
<i>P. Ḥarām inv.</i> 574 r ^{o20}	787	une esclave musulmane d'origine nubienne	550 dirhams
<i>P. Ḥarām inv.</i> 574 v ^{o21}	788	une esclave musulmane d'origine nubienne	500 dirhams
<i>P. Ḥarām inv.</i> 298 ²²	795	un esclave d'origine nubienne	300 dirhams

¹⁷ Édition dans LITTLE, « Six purchase deeds » (ci-dessus, comm. à I, l. 3), n° IV.

¹⁸ Édition *ibidem*, n° V.

¹⁹ Édition *ibidem*, n° III.

²⁰ Édition *ibidem*, n° I.

²¹ Édition *ibidem*, n° II.

²² Édition *ibidem*, n° VI.

<i>Texte</i>	<i>Datation</i>	<i>Type de marchandise</i>	<i>Prix</i>
P. Ven. inv. 180 IX n° 9 ²³	822	une esclave chrétienne d'origine nubienne	27 ducats
P. Utah inv. 839 r° (n° 6)	903	une esclave	28 dīnārs

Naïm Vanthieghem

Aspirant du F.R.S. – FNRS
Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres
Université libre de Bruxelles
Av. Franklin Roosevelt 50 (CP 175)
1050 Brussels
BELGIUM

e-mail: nvthieg@ulb.ac.be



²³ Édition dans BAUDEN, «L'achat d'esclaves» (ci-dessus, n. 14), p. 304–318, n° 2.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Veronika Six, Steve Delamarter, Getatchew Haile, Kesis Melaku Terefe, & Jeremy Brown, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project*, II: *Codices 106–200 and Magic Scrolls 135–284*, Cambridge 2012, 477 pp., ISBN 978-0-227-17384-8.
Kesis Melaku Terefe, Steve Delamarter, & Jeremy Brown, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project*, VII: *Codices 601–654: The Meseret Sebbat Le-Ab Collection of Mekane Yesus Seminary, Addis Ababa*, Cambridge 2012, 250 pp., ISBN 978-0-227-17385-5.

The two books under review appear in the project series *Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies* (as volumes 3 and 13 respectively) the purpose of which is ‘to digitize and catalogue collections of Ethiopic manuscripts in North America and around the world’ (p. xiii). The importance of this task for Ethiopian studies (or strictly speaking Ethiopic/Gəʿəz philology) cannot be stressed enough¹ and it is most welcome that alongside EMIP there are other similar projects carried out.² Any description of previously uncatalogued collection is of course an important contribution although with all the most important³ collections already described,⁴ the possibility of utterly new and exciting manuscripts coming to light is not very

¹ For basic problems of cataloguing Ethiopic manuscripts, see: A. BAUSI, ‘La catalogazione come base della ricerca. Il caso dell’Etiopia’, [in:] B. CENNI, C. M. F. LALLI & L. MAGIONAMI (eds.), *Zenit e Nadir*, II: *I manoscritti dell’area di Mediterraneo. La catalogazione come base della ricerca*, Montepulciano 2007, pp. 87–108.

² One can mention Ethio-SPaRe (<<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ETHIO-SPARE/>>) hosted at Hamburg University and Endangered Archives managed by the British Library (<<http://eap.bl.uk/>>; though not focused exclusively on Ethiopic manuscripts).

³ That is, outside Ethiopia and Eritrea and with a striking exception of the Ethiopic part of the Schøyen Collection in Oslo.

⁴ The bibliography of the catalogues is to be found in: R. BEYLOT & M. RODINSON, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits éthiopiens*, Paris 1995.

high. At the same time, the methodology of describing Ethiopic manuscripts has advanced greatly since the pioneering era of August Dillmann or William Wright, particularly in the area of physical description. This is plainly visible in both books herein reviewed.

For the former, the editors managed to acquire services of the two currently most experienced cataloguers of Ethiopic manuscripts: Veronika Six (responsible for the large part of the Ethiopic documents described within the *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* series) and Getatchew Haile, illustrious scholar and co-author of the catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Microfilm Library in Collegeville. Whereas Veronika Six is solely responsible for the description of the magic scrolls, Getatchew Haile was assisted in describing the codices by Steve Delamarter, Melaku Terefe, Jeremy R. Brown, and Erik C. Young. The manuscripts chiefly come from various American private collections; one particularly impressive was assembled by Gerald Weiner and subsequently donated to the UCLA.

The description of manuscripts follows a well established pattern: shelf number, title, physical description, enumeration of the contents, enumeration of miniatures and various notes (on topics such as *addenda* and *marginalia*, land transactions, rubrication, names of scribes and owners, decorative elements, irregular allignment of text, pagination, etc.). A rather innovative feature is that each entry is accompanied by a graphic map of quires. The incipits and other fragments of the texts are written in Ethiopic script throughout. There are no illustrations.

None of the manuscripts described in this volume can be dubbed a revelation from a textual point of view. In fact a large number of them are actually ordinary Psalters. There are no items older than the seventeenth century. There are however manuscripts interesting for reasons other than textual and these have been enumerated by Steve Delamarter in the introduction (pp. xxv–xxx). To this list I might add a rather lengthy (101 folios) *EMIP* 179 – Alwan Codex 28, containing an Amharic commentary on Wəddāse Māryām, since the genre of Amharic commentaries of Biblical and liturgical texts virtually unknown until the mid-twentieth century is still seriously understudied.

The catalogue is furnished with a set of useful indices: general subject and modern names, works in the codices, names and places in the scrolls, miniatures, and finally – and this again is an important innovation – scribal practices. It should be stressed here that the amount of information on the physical features of manuscripts including issues such as binding techniques, covers, and arrangement of quires is very impressive, and even attempts are made to provide some statistical generalizations (pp. xxxv–xxxvii) concerning the quire structure. Since our knowledge of Ethiopian bookmaking still leaves a lot to be desired⁵ this is a very recommendable approach.

⁵ A useful summary of the current knowledge with extensive bibliography is to be found

The second volume under review is identical in terms of technicalities of manuscript description but unlike the first one describes only one collection namely that of Mekane Jesus Seminary in Addis Ababa. This collection was assembled by an Ethiopian scholar, teacher and author of theological works Meseret Sebhat Le-Ab, whose life and output are presented in the introduction. The collection contains fifty-four manuscripts, all but four dating from the nineteenth and twentieth century, and is fairly representative of the Ethiopic literary production. Apart from Biblical and liturgical texts one finds there theological treatises (such as the famous *Qerallōs*), synaxaria and some hagiographies as well as a certain number of manuscripts with traditional Ethiopian musical notation. The gem of the collection is however the fifteenth/sixteenth-century codex containing, among others, the Book of Jubilees. It was not used by James C. VanderKam in what is at the moment the standard edition of this apocryphon⁶ and its textual variants are described in Ted M. Erho's introduction.

Judging by the two volumes under review, ethiopisants worldwide have every reason to eagerly anticipate the publication of subsequent volumes.

[Marcin Krawczuk]

Jean-Pierre Coriat, *Les constitutions des Sévères: Règne de Septime Sévère. I, Constitutions datées de la première période du règne (juin 193 – automne 197 ap. J.-C) et constitutions non datées de Septime Sévère citée comme seul auteur de la décision [= Sources et Documents publiés par l'École française de Rome 1]*, Rome 2014, xxvi + 422 pp., ISBN 978-2-7283-0969-6.

The book under review inaugurates the edition and publication of palinogenesia of imperial constitutions from the times of Principate carried out by the École française de Rome under the name 'Programme Edoardo Volterra'.

in A. BAUSI, 'La tradizione scrittoria etiopica', *Segno e Testo* 6 (2008), pp. 507–557. Recently published: FÄQQÄDÄ SƏLASSE Täfarra, *Təntawī yäbəranna mäsəbəft azzägäḡagāt*, Addis Ababa 2002 EC [= AD 2010], is an absolutely fascinating monograph on the subject, even more interesting since written by an author who underwent the traditional Ethiopian education in bookmaking and himself is skilled in both preparing the parchment and copying the texts. As of today it is only available in Amharic.

⁶James C. VANDERKAM, *The Book of Jubilees*, Leuven 1989.

The idea of conducting a palingenesia of the imperial constitutions from the reign of Augustus to Justinian is not new – as noted by the author himself (p. 4)¹ – and dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century and the works of Gustav Friedrich Haenel.² Further research includes Pietro Bonfante and Pietro De Francisci under the auspices of the Academia dell'Italia and the Accademia dei Lincei,³ as well as Adolf Berger and Edoardo Volterra, yet in case of the latter two without completion.⁴ The revitalisation of such a project certainly encounters favourable conditions, particularly in the light of the fact that much of the material has already been treated by prominent and established scholars, as well as in perspective of the steady influx of new research.⁵ In this wake one finds the incentive of the École française de Rome, a fruit of a multiple effort of various scholars.

In the book under review, based on the author's doctoral thesis prepared under the supervision of Joseph Méléze-Modrzejewski, Jean-Pierre Coriat deals with the constitutions dating to the Severan dynasty. The contribution, being the first of the three volumes, covers the first period of the reign of Septimius Severus, that is the years 193–197. The two volumes to follow will cover the period of coregency (the end of 197 until 211), the reigns of Caracalla, the brief rule of Macrinus, and that of Alexander Severus, preceded by several decisions that could be attributed to Elagabalus. This presents an exciting perspective, as the realisation of the entire project will offer a much needed systematic study of the imperial constitutions from the times of Principate presented in chronological order. It also needs to be stated that although the book begins a new series, it

¹ On the history of research, cf. also: J.-P. CORIAT, 'La palingénésie des constitutions impériales. Histoire d'un projet et méthode pour le recueil de la législation du Principat', *MEFRA* 101.2 (1989), pp. 873–923.

² G. F. HAENEL, *Corpus legum ab imperatoribus Romanis ante Iustinianum latarum, quae extra constitutiones Codicis supersunt*, Leipzig 1857.

³ P. DE FRANCISCI, 'Un'opera italiana intorno all'attività legislativa imperiale', [in:] *Atti del I Congresso nazionale di studi romani (Roma 1928)*, Rome 1929, II, pp. 193–198.

⁴ Cf. S. RICOBONO, *Acta Divi Augusti. Pars Prior*, Rome 1945.

⁵ Cf., e.g., F. PERGAMI, *La legislazione di Valentiniano e Valente (364–375)*, Milan 1993; T. HONORÉ, *Emperors and Lawyers, with a Palingenesia of Third Century Imperial Rescripts, 193–305 A.D.*, Oxford 1994 (2nd ed.); Paola Ombretta CURREO, *La legislazione di Costantino II, Costanzo II e Costante (337–361)*, Milan 1997; T. HONORÉ, *Laws in the Crisis of Empire 379–455 A.D. The Theodosian Dynasty and its Quaestors. With a Palingenesia of Laws of the Dynasty*, Oxford 1998; S. CORCORAN, 'An introduction to the *Projet Volterra*', *BICS* 49 (2006), pp. 215–219. See also pp. 4–5 of the reviewed publication, with more references on pp. 4–7.

actually constitutes a continuation of the author's earlier studies on the methods of creation of the imperial law in the late classical epoch.⁶

The book is organised into three clearly defined parts. The introductory chapter outlines the general aims and rules governing the presentation. The two chapters that follow are devoted to the source analysis and form the essential part of the study. Exhaustive indices conclude the volume. The author collects the attestations of the normative acts issued by Septimus Severus encountered not only in juridical but also numismatic, epigraphical, papyrological, and literary sources.⁷ At the heart of the analysis stands the total number of 238 documents. The reunion of the diverse types of attestations allowed the author to form several inventories and lists contributing to the overall analysis and commenting on the source representation and their correlation. The methods of the elaboration of palinogenesia and the presentation of the proposed inventories are included in a short introductory chapter that precedes the proper analysis. Here, Coriat draws attention to the chronological distribution of sources, pointing at 122 documents that can be dated and 116 whose dating is impossible. The author compares juridical sources with the remaining material in the corpus, the former represented by 197 and the latter by 41 documents. The documents' character and origin are also shortly discussed. Coriat explores the relations between the documents and the imperial decisions by confronting their content. He stresses that the number of documents does not correspond to the number of decisions and signals the repetitions in the analysed citations. The reader will also find a convenient list, outlining the diversity of possible combinations and confrontations between the sources and an indication for each attestation of the mode of transmission of a decision. Finally, the categories of imperial decisions and their occurrence in subsequent years of the independent reign of Septimus Severus are presented. These comparisons make it possible to observe which years brought with themselves the most decisions by the emperor and which categories are best represented. Naturally, as noted by Coriat, deciding on the legal nature of the decisions, especially when transmitted in the works of jurists, is at times impossible, as the applied terminology is of a rather general character. Both the identification of each given type of constitution as well as the possible uncertainty as to the nature of the analysed decisions are given by the author under separate records of each decision. The results of these investigations are carried out skilfully and with noticeable

⁶ J.-P. CORIAT, *Le prince législateur. La technique législative des Sévères et les méthodes de création du droit impérial à la fin du Principat*, Rome 1997.

⁷ The author (pp. 6–7) underlines the value of the studies of G. GUALANDI, *Legislazione imperiale e giurisprudenza*, 2 vols., Milan 1963, repr. Bologna 2012 (in regard to juridical sources), and J. H. OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Philadelphia 1989 (in regard to epigraphical and papyrological sources).

understanding of the sources. The presentation is summarised and presented in a convenient and user-friendly form of tables and graphs. The introductory chapter provides also a thorough overview of the concept behind the analysis, outlines the rules applied in the course of palingenesia, as well as the methodological details, structure and composition of the work.

The presentation of documents is divided into two parts that are at the heart of this book: (i) constitutions dated to the first period of the reign (June 193 – autumn 197), and (ii) constitutions not dated, for which Septimus Severus is cited as the only author.

In the first part the author discusses the corpus of 122 documents that concern 70 dateable imperial decisions (cf. records 1–70). This part is therefore organised chronologically year by year starting from June 193 until Caracalla's ascension to the throne in autumn of 197. Both the selection and basis of dating are explained in detail. Moreover, each year of this period is preceded by a short introduction mentioning regions and cities where emperor and his court stationed while waging war or being on a military expedition. The incentive behind this is to stress the well known fact that jurisprudence at that time took shape in the course of imperial travels. At the same time, the reader is offered a better grasp of the geography of the emperor's normative activity (including references in the sources to specific localisations) as well as a wider context of the issued decisions.

The second part is devoted to the decisions that are either not dated or impossible to date but were issued by Septimus Severus himself. Again, an introductory section elucidates the methodological issues with which the author had to deal. The selection comprises 116 documents, 103 of which are juridical sources, while 13 represent papyrological and epigraphical material. Due to the fact that their precise date is unknown, the 108 constitutions included here are organised according to the type of attestation and the *ratione materiae*. First, the juridical sources are analysed that transmit information on 99 constitutions that are not dated but the name of Septimus Severus is suggested as their only author (cf. records 71–169). The attestations are grouped according to the type of legal matters in which the emperor's intervention took place, namely (i) sources and interpretation of law; (ii) law of persons and family; (iii) obligations; (iv) property; (v) fiscal process, civil process, penal process; and (vi) public law, municipal law. Further, the epigraphic and papyrological sources are explored (cf. records 170–178). Coriat identifies 9 constitutions that cite only the name of Septimus Severus and concern the administrative and economical issues. Their presentation is organised respectively to their recipients, namely (i) associations; (ii) cities; (iii) farmers in Egypt.

In both parts devoted to the palingenesia the presentation of imperial constitutions is carried out in the same manner. Each constitution is given a record number followed by a reference to the source transmitting the decision – this

allows an easier identification of the sources attributed to a constitution and facilitates moving through the text. If known, the date of the decision is also stated. Further, each constitution is provided with indications of the underlying subject matter, the nature of the emperor's decision, and type of the constitution or *oratio principis*. The sources are appended with the author's translation. The presentation of each constitution is concluded by short but valuable commentary. Although one may wish for a more thorough legal commentary, Coriat's aim is to propose a palimpsest of all the imperial constitutions issued during the chosen period, and it is unrealistic to expect anything more than a synthetic treatment of fundamental legal aspects dealt with in the sources.

It requires noting that Coriat correlates various sources on a given constitution exhaustively and with great attention to detail. In some cases, the prosopographical identification of individuals mentioned in the analysed sources allows the author to present a more comprehensive background of the imperial decisions. Moreover, the reader is conveniently referred to the relevant literature on a given source. The structure of the study is very clear and the reader has no difficulties in moving through the text.

Overall, Coriat impressively synchronises multiple and diverse sources and the claims he presents are sound. Undoubtedly, his book is a most welcome addition to the research on the imperial legislation in the Principate and will surely prove indispensable in future studies.

[Marzena Wojtczak]

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im. Rafała
Taubenschlaga



ABSTRACTS AND KEYWORDS

María-Jesús Albarran Martínez

THE NUN ON THE RUN: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON P. OXY. XLIII 3150

P. Oxy. XLIII 3150 is a Greek letter datable to the sixth century, after monastic dispositions of Justinian. Its author is a nun who left her monastery but then was forced to return according to both the imperial law and monastic rules. The letter was written at an office of imperial scribes, so there is a legal background that explains the course of events. It corresponds to the legal dispositions that regulated monastic life and status.

Keywords: female monasticism, infraction, imperial law, monastic status, monastic rules

Gert Baetens

DEMOTIC PETITIONING

This article deals with the petitions written in Demotic that originate from the Ptolemaic period. These documents have often been overshadowed by their Greek counterparts, a problem that this article aims to remedy. After a short examination of pre-Hellenistic petitioning practices in Egypt, various types of Demotic petitions (most notably the *mkmk*) and related documents from the Ptolemaic period will be discussed. Lastly, attention will be given to the broader social and administrative context of these texts.

Keywords: Demotic, litigation, petitioning, Ptolemaic administration

Lajos Berkes

EINE OXYRHYNCHITISCHE ENTHAFTUNGSBÜRGSCHAFT
AUS DEM 7. JH.

Edition of a fragment of an Oxyrhynchite deed of surety, P. Heid. inv. G 5150, from the first half of the seventh century. The appendix contains new readings in two more seventh-century Oxyrhynchite sureties, *PSI I* 52 and *P. Köln XIII* 548.

Keywords: deed of surety, 7th century, Oxyrhynchos

Lincoln H. Blumell

P. BIRMINGHAM INV. 317:
AN ADDENDUM TO THE FOURTH-CENTURY
BISHOPS OF OXYRHYNCHUS?

This article offers an edition of an unpublished fragment in the J. Rendel Harris collection at the University of Birmingham. The fragment appears to date from the second half of the fourth century and is noteworthy because it mentions a bishop of the city of Oxyrhynchus. While the name of the bishop is partially lost, the name Dorotheus appears to be the most likely candidate. If such is the case, this is the first piece of papyrological evidence for this bishop who otherwise only appears in ecclesiastical records as an attendee of the Council of Constantinople in AD 381.

Keywords: papyrus, Oxyrhynchus, bishop, ecclesiastical history

W. Graham Claytor

ROGUE NOTARIES?
TWO UNUSUAL DOUBLE DOCUMENTS
FROM THE LATE PTOLEMAIC FAYUM

Publication of two late Ptolemaic loans that exhibit unusual diplomatic features but were nevertheless registered in their respective writing offices. Both have a large blank space where the body contract would normally be written, neither contains the autograph acknowledgement of the *syngraphophylax* or mention of witnesses, and the lender's name is left blank. These irregularities are discussed

and put in the context of the changing nature of the *grapheion* in the late Ptolemaic period.

Keywords: late Ptolemaic Egypt, *grapheion*, notary, double document, contracts, Theadelphia, Euhemeria

Tomasz Derda & Joanna Wegner

NEW DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI
FROM THE POLISH EXCAVATIONS AT DEIR EL-NAQLUN
(*P. NAQLUN* 35–38)

The four fragments of documentary papyri presented below have been found in the refuse dump at site B in Deir el-Naqlun in 2011. The documents are dated to the sixth century based on archaeological and palaeographical criteria. *P. Naqlun* 35 is an address label that provides a new attestation of the presence of Bishop Nikolaos in the Naqlun monastery. *P. Naqlun* 36 – a fragment of a list of perhaps administrative character – is interesting because of some rare names that it contains; it has no clear connection with the monastery, though. *P. Naqlun* 37 and 38 are scraps of letters addressed to anchorites; the latter, perhaps, pertains to some business matters (a loan?).

Keywords: Deir el-Naqlun, documentary papyri, Bishop Nikolaos, monastic correspondence, onomastics

Johannes Diethart

LEXIKALISCHE LESEFRÜCHTE UND KORREKTUREN
IN GRIECHISCHEN PAPYRI AUS PLAUR- UND PSI-ONLINE

The article is concerned with lexicographical *collectanea* in Greek papyri from PLaur- and PSI-online. It presents some corrections to and rereading of *P. Laur.* II 36, *PSI* III 239 (rereading of the occupational title *τερεβινθεύς*), and *PSI* VII 839.

Keywords: Greek lexicography, *P. Laur.* II 36, *PSI* III 239, *PSI* VII 839, *τερεβινθεύς*

Gwen Jennes

OSIRIS-SMITHIS
IN EGYPTIAN ANTHROPONYMS

The anthroponym Petorsmethis is attested abundantly in the first two centuries AD. Names of the theophoric Pete-type normally refer to a single deity, although two god's names or a theonym followed by an epithet is equally possible. Osiris-Smithis, however, seems to refer to a deity (Osiris) followed by an anthroponym (Espmetis). Alternatively, the entire construction Osiris-Smithis may refer to a single deity. In this article the existence of a deity called Osiris-Smithis is explored, as well as the geographical and chronological spread of the personal names mentioning this deity.

Keywords: anthroponyms, theonyms, Assuan, Syene, Osiris-Smithis, chronological evolution, geographical spread

Delphine Nachtergaele

'I AM FINE!'
INFORMATION ABOUT THE SENDER'S HEALTH
IN THE GREEK PRIVATE LETTERS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

The epistolary practice of giving information about one's own well-being was common in the Ptolemaic Greek private letters: such a formula appeared in combination with the wish for the addressee's health. In the Roman period, a new health wish arose in the Greek private letters, and the combination of this new *formula valetudinis* and the information about the sender's health became rather rare (only about twenty occurrences). Such attestation often appear in letters of a Latin environment, for example letters written in Italy, letters from soldiers, or letters from areas in which the Romans were very active, like Eastern Desert. Given that the practice of giving information about one's own well-being was common in Latin letters from the Roman period, I argue in this paper that the relative absence of this topos in Greek letters from Roman times is due to Latin influence.

Keywords: epistolography, private papyrus letters, formulaic language, language contact: Latin and Greek

Naïm Vantheighem

QUELQUES CONTRATS DE VENTE D'ESCLAVES
DE LA COLLECTION AZIZ ATIYYA

Editions of six Arabic deeds of sale of slaves hosted at the J. Willard Marriott Library (University of Utah). The documents come from the private collection of the arabist Aziz Atiya and shed some new light on various aspects of the slavery in medieval Egypt.

Keywords: Islamic law, Arabic deeds of sale, slaves, Utah collection



