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"The Oxyrhynchus Papyri", XXXIX-XLIII, 1972-1975 : [recenzja]

The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 19, 169-176

1983

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SURVEY OF PAPYRI

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXIX. London, 1972,

pp. 60+Plates VI.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XL. London, 1972,

pp. 134+Plates VIII

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLI. London, 1972,

pp. 115+Plates VI.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLII. London, 1974,

pp. 204+Plates XII.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLIII. London, 1975,

pp. 163+Plates XII.

Volumes XLII (p. XVI) and XLIII (pp. XV–XVIII) contain invaluable lists of additions and corrections to papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society (P. Ant. II; P. Oxy I–IV, VI–X, XII, XIV, XVI–XVIII, XXI, XXIV, XXVII, XXX–XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI–XLI; P. Hibeh I; P. Tebt. I and II).

Three of the analysed volumes are prepared by only one editor: volume XXXIX, bringing only literary papyri is the ninth of this series, published by E. L o b e l (and the fifteenth, edited with the participation of E. L o b e l), the documentary volume XL is prepared by J. R. R e a and volume XLII containing both literary papyri and documents is edited by P. J. P a r s o n s. Volume XLI is a traditionally mixed one: on its title page appear 15 names of editors and contributors; this is a testimony both of the energy of the original editors and of their generosity and promptness in making their achievements accessible to others. Volume XLIII, virtually prepared by one editor, J. R. R e a, is however an interesting novelty in this series: its second part namely, called: *Documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, with contents initialled by 18 contributors, is the final result of a seminar, held in the Trinity Term of 1970 at the Institute G. Vitelli of the University of Florence by Dr. R e a, who was in Florence as a British Academy-Wates Foundation Visiting Fellow. This makes the volume not only a publication of texts, but also a token of scientific and pedagogical collaboration between two great centres of papyrology: Florence and Oxford.

Literary texts are presented in three volumes: vol. XXXIX which is entirely literary, vol. XLI and finally vol. XLII. The first of them begins with a wide dedi-

cative table, on which the most famous representatives of papyrology and other sciences connected with the antique universe pay their tribute to E. L o b e l, the indefatigable editor of literary papyri. This volume brings new lyric and dramatic verses (2878–2881), nineteen frayed hexameters, originating probably from Messeniaca of Rhianus (2883), two fragments of elegiacs which might be hellenistic (2884–2885), and finally three papyri with fragments of learned commentaries (2886–2888); the last of them is to be noticed as representative of Pergamone rather than Alexandrian scholarship. Two papyri, published as 2889 and 2890, bring the beginning and a small fragment of the Socratic dialogue attributed to Aeschines, entitled *Miltiades*. The volume is closed by a fragment from Philaenis' work, which—as we see—was a systematic exposition of *ars amatoria*, treated here rather in a summary way as a matter of fact (2891).

Interesting literary texts are also to be found in volumes XLI and XLII, which both continue the oldest tradition of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, putting under one cover literary papyri and documents. Volume XLI brings, among others, an unknown fragment of Samia by Menander (2943) and a small scrap of a small-size de luxe roll, containing probably a collection of ἀποφάσεις (2944); both published by E. G. T u r n e r. The second of these texts merits a special attention, as it contains the history of a trial, which is essentially the same as the famous judgment of Solomon, known from 1 *Kings* 3, 16 ff. The author of this text, in search of the source of this story, refers to the opinion of Philiscus of Miletus, known as a pupil of Isocrates. This testifies, that the anecdote of the judgement was known in the Greek world as early as the 4th century B.C. or even earlier. The small fragment of the *Fall of Troy* (391–402) by Triphiodorus, published by J. R. R e a as 2946, seems to refute the usual conjecture about Triphiodorus' date. The type of script in which it is written compels namely to date the text to the third or, at the earliest to the fourth century A.D. while up till now Triphiodorus was generally placed in the V century and considered as an imitator of Nonnus. Now the new papyrus compels to recognize that Triphiodorus is likely to have been a source for Nonnus, rather than deriving from him.

Both literary papyri and documents are also found in volume XLII, entirely composed by one editor, P. J. P a r s o n s. The first part contains only new texts, under the heading: *New literary and subliterary texts*. They are dated from the 1st century A.D. (perhaps even from the 1st century B.C.) to the 3rd century. The most interesting among them is 3000, the earliest one (1st century B.C. / 1st century A.D.), a fragment of *Hermes* by Eratosthenes, which tells, among others, that the poem had about 1600 lines. Very interesting also is 3010, headed: *Narrative about Iolaus*, which presumably represents a tradition of Greek comic novel, on which Petronius drew for the *Satyricum*. 3011 and 3012 might be fragments of romances, the first one translated or derived from an Egyptian source, the second—from the novel of Antonius Diogenes, actually known only from a résumé by Photius.

The two volumes edited by J. R. R e a, namely volumes XL and XLIII, the main part of volume XLII of P. J. P a r s o n s and volume XLI—a collective work of many editors, present documents from the Roman and Byzantine period. Volume XL is the first one of the series comprising one only Archive. Already this fact gives it a special position in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, a position emphasized by the importance of this Archive. It tells us that a corn dole was distributed in Oxyrhynchus in the reigns of Claudius II and Aurelian. Up till now it was mainly assumed, that nowhere in the Empire was there corn dole, comparable with that of Rome itself. The new evidence, however, shows that the Oxyrhynchite dole followed the Roman model closely, at least in the 3rd century. The situation was presumably the same in the other cities of Egypt. The editor, J. R. R e a, is the first one who realized the purport of these texts, isolated them as an archive and then published them with his masterly commentary, which shows in a clear and exhausting way the full meaning of the so published documents.

In his introduction to the Corn Dole Archive the editor analyses the scarce materials, relative to the corn dole in Alexandria and Hermopolis and discusses afterwards the new evidence about Oxyrhynchus. He starts by determining the qualifications, allowing to take the corn dole (cf. N. L e w i s, *The recipients of the Oxyrhynchus Siteresion, Chronique d'Egypte XLIX*, 1974, 158–162), discusses then the procedures for its distribution and finally draws conclusions about quartes and tribes in Oxyrhynchus and the role of the phylarch before passing to analyse, in the light of the new documents, of our information about the Roman dole. The Oxyrhynchite Corn Dole Archive gives also to J. R. R e a the possibility of introducing a convincing order of the confuse chronology of the reigns of Claudius II and Aurelian.

The proper Corn Dole Archive counts 49 texts (2892–2940); the bulk of the Archive is constituted by applications (2892–2922) issued mainly from *τόμοι*. The standing of the several officials and boards to whom the applications are addressed are far from clear. It may be that the distinction between the individuals is solely one of time and that they succeeded to one another in the same office of secretary of the corn dole.

A special attention, among other texts of the Archive, should be paid to 2928 (District totals of *δμόλογοι* and *ρεμβοί*) and 2929 (District totals of a restricted population group); they are chiefly of value for what they reveal of the organization of the quarters of the city. Important are to 2930–2933 (Headings of registers of recipients) and 2934–2937 (fragments of registers coming from rolls like those to which 2930–2933 are the headings), which allow among others to state, that the distribution was on a monthly basis.

Two documents, 2941 and 2942, certifying the existence of a corn dole in Antinoopolis already in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. are added to the Oxyrhynchite Corn Dole Archive.

Among the documentary papyri included in volume XLI a special attention

should be given to four Latin documents from the late 3rd century and from the beginning of the 4th century, 2950–2953, two of which are bilingual. Among Greek official documents, 2954 and 2955, bring new details about the prefects of Egypt. The first of these texts (if the correction proposed by their editor, R. A. Coles is admitted), brings September 7th, 137 as a new terminus *ante quem* for the prefecture of Avidius Heliodorus, while the second provides the first attestation in the papyri of the prefecture of Basilianus. Under the heading: *Returns to officials*, we find, among others, a group of texts about *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός*: three requests for refund of price of *πυρὸς* (2958–2960) and seven receipts for its price, all dated from the end of the 1st and from the 2nd centuries. In a contract from A.D. 323, three men and their associate undertake to tend a persea tree which has been planted near their home (2969; a fragment of the duplicate of this contract was published among the Minor documents as 2993). Among the private documents and private letters from the 1st to the 3rd centuries (2970–2988) we may point out three texts: 2975, 2983 and 2984, which were found and inventoried together and, presumably, concern the same question, namely the return of money, deposited in the Oasis of Siwa. The volume is closed by Minor documents (2987–2996) and Texts first published elsewhere (2996–2998).

Volume XLII is again published by only one editor, P. J. Parsons. As first among the official documents is here a new fragment of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, bringing §§ 35–41. It comes from the 1st century, and thus is as much as a century earlier than the only known complete copy, published as BGU V. It avoids some minor errors and gives a few more substantive variations (e.g.: 1. 3 f. the property of soldiers who die intestate and without heirs *eiusdem generis*, goes to the camp, the clause omitted in BGU; 1. 9 f.: those who go into self-imposed exile are allowed one-twelfth of their property, the concession attributed in BGU to Antoninus Pius). 3015, from early 2nd century, presents extracts from court records, containing three decisions, probably issued from the prefect's *commentarii*. The judicial proceedings published as 3016 (May 28th, 148) are an extract from the prefectorial day-book, mentioning the *xenokritai* who appear here in the number of fifteen, are Roman citizens and return a decision in Latin. 3017 is an edict of the prefect Ti. Pactumeius Magnus (A.D. 176–7), but in a copy at least forty years later (the petition on the front was submitted in A.D. 218); this edict concerns the procedure of coping with petitions, which have been answered with a subscription or a letter of the form *ἐντυχέ μοι προ βήματος*. The next document from the 3rd century, 3018, contains a rescript from Severus and Caracalla and a letter of Hadrian about the privileges of *Paeznistae*. Five further documents are in some way related to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. In 3019 we find an extract from proceedings before the emperor Septimus Severus in Alexandria, on March 9th, 200. This is presumably a text deriving from the imperial *commentarii*, later adapted and abridged. 3020, from earlier 1st century, brings the beginning of a letter from Augustus to Alexandria and, in col. II, proceedings of an Alexandrian embassy before an Emperor. This text

is closely related to PSI 1160 (*Boule* papyrus) and 2435 verso, which records another audience given by Augustus to Alexandrian envoys. All three were copied at a date very little later than the events described, all three were probably derived from an official source. As the editor states: "There is everything to be said for taking this earliest group of *Acta* as strictly documentary". 3021, also from the 1st century, is likely to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (it mentions the Alexandrian envoys, one of them is Isidorus son of Dionysius, and also an Emperor and the Jews). Probably also 3022, a letter of Traian to Alexandria, was copied as part of the *Acta Literaturae*. In 3023 too (2nd century) are found proceedings before an Emperor in which a Claudius Atilianus and a group of Antiochenes are involved. The editor wonders if this might be a literature, analogical to the *Acta Alexandrinorum* issued in Antiochia or if perhaps the Antiochenes intervene in problems related to Alexandria. Among other official documents we may note 3031, a letter of Aurelius Ammonius, *procurator Alexandriae*, known from three inscriptions (this title is here mentioned for the first time in papyri) to Annus Diogenes, *procurator Heptanomiae* (his full title appears here for the first time and confirms a conjecture of Sk e a t, P. Beatty Panop. p. XVI). It is the earliest evidence for this post. 3033, a petition to the prefect C. Iulius Postumus referring to an earlier petition made to the ex-prefect Marcus Heius, mentioned here for the first time. His prefecture fits between those of L. Aemilius Rectus (last attested on April 29th, 42) and of Iulius Postumus (first attested on August 8th, 45). 3035 is an ordinary order to arrest from February 28th, 256. The name of the wanted man, described as Πετοσαρᾶπιον Ὁρου χρησιανόν cannot be otherwise name of the translated as Christianus. Nevertheless it is difficult to decide if this man was arrested as a Christian, as the beginning of the persecution under Valerianus dates only to 257 A.D. Thus, "Christian" may be no more than an individuating description; even in this case the document remains most interesting, as it testifies that Petosarapis did not conceal his religion and even could have been identified by it among the inhabitants of his village. 3036-3045 are receipts for ἐπικεφάλαιον from the very end of the 3rd century (the earliest date is 297/8) and the first years of the 4th century. In the following part of this volume we find five documents of the reign of Philippus Arabs supplementing the materials collected by the editor in *JRS* 57, 1967, 134 ff. They certify both the decline in production and the attempt of wide administrative reforms during the reign of this Emperor. 3049 provides the earliest mention of the *decaproti* in Oxyrhynchus and gives support to the view that the office was a creation of the Philippian reform. Among the private documents of this volume, 3054 from 265, a registration of sale of a slave is of a particular interest. The registrant comes from Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia and the sale itself had taken place in Bostra. We learn incidentally some new facts about the constitution of this city and the nomenclature of its citizens. 3055 and 3056 are two orders to supply eggs, both addressed to an Ammonius and dated in Phamenoth of a first year; 3054 gives exactly this date as Γα Διοκλήτος. This primary form of Diocletian's name, known up till this time

only from literary texts, appears for the first time in this document. The date of the day: Phamenoth 11, allows to state that Diocletian had been recognized in Egypt by March 7th 285. Among the private letters (3057–3070) a special attention should be drawn by a letter of Ammonios, coming perhaps from the 1st century; its general tone might suggest, that it concerns Christians, what on the other hand could be contradicted by a too early date. The fragment published as 3059 is remarkable for the unusual metaphor of affection in the first lines of the letter. A very interesting letter of Arius (3065) mentions some terrible atrocities, which happened in a city, probably Alexandria. The editor states that the hand suggests the earlier, rather than the later 3rd century, and quoted here, as analogy, P. Berol. 7216, which however comes from the reign of Caracalla and not the one of Severus Alexander (cf. A. Ś w i d e r e k, *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists*, London 1975, p. 293–298), which makes it earlier than it was presumed by the editor. It may thus be that 3065 may speak about the massacre, perpetrated in 215 in Alexandria by Caracalla. The volume ends with Minor documents (3071–3087).

All the items in the volume XLIII are documentary. The volume is composed of two sections, the first of them consisting of official documents of the Roman period, edited by J. R. R e a. 3088 from 128 brings a fragment of two letters. In the second, better conserved, Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt, gives his consent to a plan to carry out work on the baths at Oxyrhynchus, using funds already collected by the municipality. The letter is addressed simply “to the city of the Oxyrhynchites”. Two documents, 3090 and 3091, refer to a voyage of Caracalla to the East. The first, dated February /March A.D. 216, is a report of liturgists, appointed to convey calves to Alexandria for the visit of Caracalla. In the second, a liturgist undertakes to convey to Alexandria barley, destined for the troops of Caracalla in Syria. Analogous to it is a text, published as 3109, from the reign of Valerianus (A.D. 253–256), in which villagers from the Oxyrhynchite nome undertake to convey ploughing oxen to wherever they might be required in Syria. Thus the Eastern expeditions of both Caracalla and Valerianus were supported by supplies from Egypt. 3094, dated ca. A.D. 217–218, is a private letter, relating in outline the story of legal proceedings which troubles three successive prefects of Egypt: Heracleitus, Dates and Iulius Basilianus. This letter was probably written in Alexandria, which might be confirmed by the formula of obeisance to Sarapis. However it is addressed on the back “to Eutyches who distributes branches (θαλλοδοτοῦντι) under the gateway (δπὸ τὸν πυλῶνα) of the Serapeum by the great image”, this, in turn should compell us to admit, that the text concerns some unknown work of art in the Oxyrhynchite Serapeum, and not the famous statue of Sarapis in Alexandria. Four further documents 3095–3098, from the early 3rd century, the first of which was already published by J. B. L i d o v in *TAPA* 99, 1968, 259–263, refer to the rotation of the duty of filling liturgical offices among the tribes at Oxyrhynchus. 3099–3102 from A.D. 225–226 are applications to join the Gerusia. We learn from these documents that these applicants were chiefly interested in it, because membership

entitled them to be maintained at the public expense. It was in part an old-age pension scheme, but confined to those, who could prove not their need, but their inherited social status. Age was an important criterion for admission, but the minimum age is still unknown. In 3099 the applicant is 58 years old, in 3100 he is 53, in 3101 even 63. Among the remaining official documents we find still a new copy of a rescript of Severus of A.D. 200, which was known already from P. Oxy. XII 1405. It concerns *cessio bonorum* for the purpose of avoiding public service and is followed by a document, addressed to the strategus. 3106 brings a fragment from a second Oxyrhynchite copy of Severus Alexander's letter to the Greek κοινόν of Bithynia, known from Dig. 49, 1, 25 and from a longer version on papyrus, published as P. Oxy. XVIII 2104. A freight contract from May 15th A.D. 257 (3111) and a letter of the viceprefect Mussius Aemilianus from January 19th A.D. 258 (3112) show us both the activities of a new *corrector Aegypti*, Ulpian Pasion. Though the function and status of *correctors* are still not absolutely clear, these documents are attesting that they had the supreme authority in Egypt. 3112 mentions in l. 6 a man named Dionysios. The editor advances the hypothesis, that this might have been the famous bishop of Alexandria, known from the period of the Valerian's persecution of the Christians in Egypt. This hypothesis is most probable, as it has already been suggested, that Theodorus, Pasion's immediate successor as *corrector Aegypti*, might have been sent to Egypt to take measures against the Christians. Christians are also mentioned in the fragment of official correspondence from the 3rd century, 3119. It seems probable, that this refers also to some persecution. This part ends with ten documents, 3120–3129, all from the 4th century.

The second section of volume XLIII entitled: *Documents of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, is the result of a seminary, held in 1970 at the Institute G. Vitelli in Florence by J. R. Rea who, as responsible also for the publication of the whole group of these documents, put by the texts the initials of all the members of the seminar, chiefly pre-*laurea* students of Professor M. Manfredi. Among these twenty one various texts from the 2/3 to 6th century (3130–3150), there is, among others, a small fragment of charioteer's work contract, the first of this sort to emerge from Egypt. It is 3135, dated by the editor to ca. A.D. 273/4 (with a question-mark). The charioteer is here a citizen of Hermopolis and he engages to drive the horses of an Oxyrhynchite *gymnasiarch* in Oxyrhynchus for a festival of contest, that is named after the Roman *agon Capitolinus*. In a small document from the 3rd century published as 3138, Arsinous instructs the banker Sarapion to pay to an *orthographus* 600 dr for copying for him a document from the public records. This text seems to solve a long discussion by proving finally, that the *orthographus* had nothing in common neither with literature nor with architecture, as some scientists supposed. The editor suggests tentatively, that the *orthographus* might have been the ancient equivalent of a shorthand-typist, that is, that his work consisted of two parts, the rapis notation of a text by means of shorthand, and the preparation of a fair copy in longhand.

According to the tradition of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, all the volumes are provided with indices and perfect plates, which in a great choice illustrate now the documentary texts too.

P. Lond. VII

Greek Papyri in the British Museum (now in the British Library), volume VII: *The Zenon Archive*, ed. by T. C. Skeat, F.B.A., British Museum Publications Limited, London 1974, pp. 345.

This volume was published as the VIIth of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, because the study *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*, published in 1924 by Sir Harold Bell, was included in this series as vol. VI.

The present volume contains all papyri in the British Museum which certainly, or probably, come from the Zenon Archive, and thus renders accessible the last still unpublished numerous group of documents from this Archive, elaborated in a masterly way by the unfailing T. C. Skeat. Many of the actually published documents were already often quoted and discussed, mainly by M. Rostovtzeff in his *Large Estate* and by Mlle C. Préaux in *Les Grecs en Egypte*. They were also mentioned in numerous other works as the earlier transcripts of some of these documents were always widely accessible. Many texts were also formerly published and the most interesting among them have even a wide literature. Especially Papyrus 1955 (= SB 7986) and the till now not published as whole, but also fully discussed by Rostovtzeff in *Large Estate* (pp. 73–74), P. 1954. In these two texts, composed in autumn 257 B.C. the farmers from the Heliopolite nome criticize the Greek administration of Apollonios' estate and ask for an interview with Dioiketes himself.

A letter of Apollonios, dated September 21, 254 actually 1973 (= SB 7983), with an urgent command to Zenon to dispatch conveyances and baggage-animals to Ptolemais, at the entrance to Fayum, to meet the ambassadors of Parisades and the delegates of Argos, who had been sent by the King on a sight-seeing tour of the Arsinoite nome—awoke formerly the greatest interest. The volume contains also such texts as 1964 (= SB 7983) discussing the private business of Zenon, 2017 (= SB 6997)—a long but interesting request of Herakleotes, concerning a musical instrument bequeathed to him by his teacher or 2052 never yet entirely published, but widely known, since most of its contents is quoted by Rostovtzeff (*Large Estate*, pp. 20–21) which gives perhaps some explanation of the end of Apollonios' career. All these papyri, already known from former publications, appear now with a commentary, summing up the results of previous discussions and containing the editors own remarks.