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Three fragmentary Byzantine documents from the Duke Collection

The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 29, 7-12

1999

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Nikolaos Gonis

THREE FRAGMENTARY BYZANTINE DOCUMENTS FROM THE DUKE COLLECTION*

1. ORDER TO SUPPLY OIL TO WORKER(S)

What little survives of this document suffices to identify it as an order to supply oil to one or more workers; compare the phrasing of such orders in the sixth-century Arsinoite archive of the ἐλαιουργός Sambas, assembled by F. Mitthof, A. Papathomas, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 53-84. These texts also give us an idea of what is missing from this papyrus, which is not little: we do not know the names and capacities of the person who issues the order and of the recipient, the exact purpose of the payment, and the amount of oil to be disbursed. (The script of this text cannot be identified with any of those in evidence in the Sambas archive.) For a discussion of workers' allowances paid in oil and other related issues, see F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo*, Firenze 1996, 1-7, 127-38.

The writing is along the fibres and the back is blank. The papyrus came to Duke by purchase in 1970.

P. Duk. inv. 69
Plate I

3 cm x 5.3 cm

Fifth/sixth century
Provenance unknown

[] ἐργαζομ(ένοις) εἰς []
[] ἐλαίου ξέστ[α]ς
(m. 2) [] ἐλαίου ξ(έστ-) []

* The papyri published here are housed in the Special Collections Library of Duke University, with whose permission their photographs are reproduced. They have been studied on the basis of the catalogue records (by P. VAN MINNEN) and digitised images offered at the website of the Duke Papyrus Archive. (On acquisition information see <http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/acquisitions.html>) I am indebted to Professor John F. OATES for his encouragement and practical help.

1. The trace on the edge would admit sigma, so that we may read -ι]ς ἐργαζομ(ένοις); otherwise, resolve ἐργαζομ(ένω). For the construction, cf. *SPP VIII* 890,2-3 (*Arch. Sambas* 3) ἔξ ξέστας ἐλαί[ο]υ π[α]ράχ(ου) πρίσταις ξ(ύλου?) καὶ Ἰ Καμβῆ τέκτ(ονι) [ὄ]ψωνιαστ(ῆ) ἐργαζομ(ένοις) εἰς οἰκοδομ(ήν) περεστερεῶνος (the text after Morelli, *op. cit.*, 16 n. 14 — the edition has [ὄ]ψώνια ἀπεργαζομ(ένοις); accordingly, in *Arch. Sambas* 5,3 change ἀπεργαζομ(ένοις) (?) to ἐργαζομ(ένοις)). Cf. also *SPP* 902,2; 908,2 and 926,1 (all from the archive of Kyrikos, VII/VIII cent.).
2. ἐλαίου. This must have been oil made from 'vegetable seed' (λαχανόσπερμον), on which see the literature assembled in *P. Hamb. IV*, p. 142 n. 1.
ξέστ[α]c. On the *sextarius* see most recently N. Kruit & K. A. Worp, *APF* 45.1 (1999) 111-17, 119-20.
3. The trace on the edge suggests the upper part of an ascending oblique. I cannot match it with any letter. It could be part of an oblique stroke marking an abbreviation: at this point the texts of the Sambas archive usually have ἐρημει(ωράμην) (ερημει/ pap.) ἐλαίου ξέστας number. Alternatively, the trace could be the top of an oblique of the type commonly preceding totals, i.e. (γίνονται) ἐλαίου ξ(έσται), but I think this less likely.

2. LEASE OF LAND*

The papyrus preserves the lower left-hand part of a land lease of the type known as *Teilpacht*, in which the lessee agrees to share the crops with the lessor as payment for the rent (sharecropping). For a list and discussion, see A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* [= *P. Heid.* V], Heidelberg 1990, 233-59. Issues relative to sharecrop leases are also addressed by J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt*, Oxford 1996, *passim*. For some interesting parallels with modern India, see J. Banaji, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 5 (1992) 379 ff., esp. 385-86.

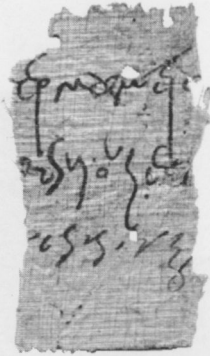
The formulaic parts of the document strongly suggest an Antaeopolite provenance; cf. *P. Heid.* V 351 (534/5), 353 (VI); *P. Lond.* V 1694 (VI), 1841 (536), *PSI VIII* 934 (VI), and especially *SB XIV* 11855 = *P. Berl. Brash.* 17 (c. 546). Most of these texts are connected with the archive of Dioscorus.

The terms of the lease are largely lost. The clause about the provision of seed-corn (line 3) suggests that the crop envisaged would have been some sort of cereal. Most of the lacunas may be supplemented on the basis of other texts — the length of the break to the left may be estimated by lines 7-8, securely restored on the basis of parallels. There appears to be a novel formulation, not securely restored, in line 6.

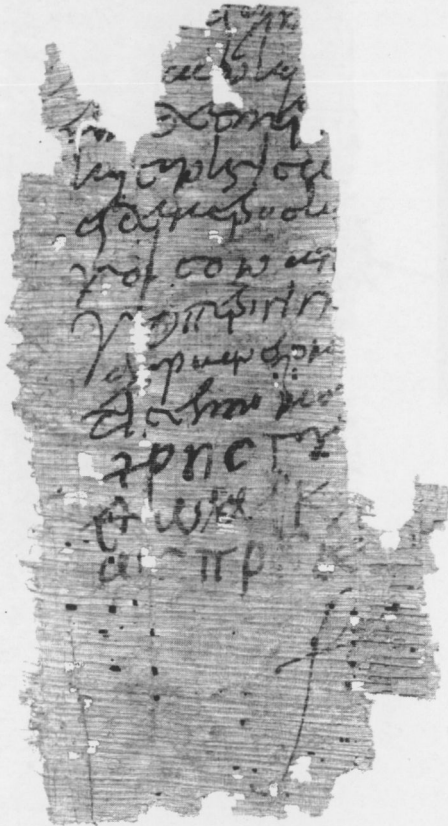
The script is an unprepossessing large cursive, typical of the sixth century. The hand of the subscriber is that of a 'slow writer'. The writing is along the

* I am grateful to Dr Andrea JÖRDENS for comments on an earlier draft.

PLATE I

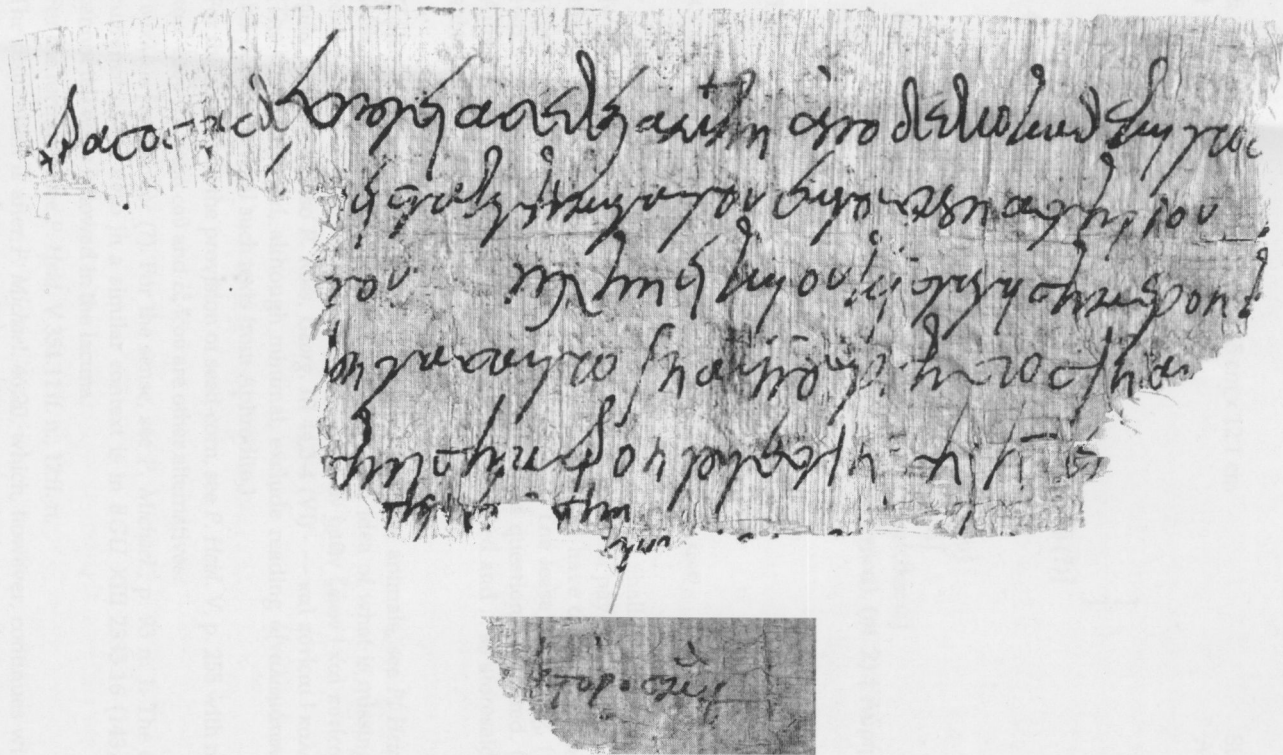


P. Duk. inv. 69 (reduced by 90%)
(<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/69.html>)



P. Duk. inv. 500 (reduced by 90%)
(<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/500.html>)

PLATE II



P. Duk. inv. 497 (original size)
(<http://odyssey.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/497.html>)

fibres. The back is blank. The papyrus was purchased from the University of Mississippi in 1988 (formerly P. Miss. 66).

P. Duk. inv. 500
Plate I

6.5 cm x 12.1 cm

Sixth century
Antaeopolite

- [c. 4] εἰς ξ π[c. 20-25]
 ζ[φ]ων καὶ [c. 20-25]
 τῆ[c] δὲ σπερμ[οβολία]ς διδομένης παρ' ἐμοῦ (?)
 4 καὶ συνκλίω [τοῦ παντός (?) c. 11-16]
 εἰ δὲ μέρος κα[ταφρονήσ]ω τῆς γεωργίας
 τὸ ἴσον ἀπ[οτί]ω (?) . τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ γενομένου
 τὸ περιγιγ[όμενον παντοίων γεννημάτων καὶ]
 8 ἀχύρων ἕξομ[εν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ . κυρία (?) ἢ μίσθωσις]
 δις σὴν ὁμότ[υπον καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὠμολ(όγησα) . (m. 2) † Αὐρήλιος]
 Χρήστη[c ὁ προκείμενος μεμί]ς-
 θωμαὶ κ(αὶ) [c. 15]
 12 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) . [
 † [— — — —]

4. I. συγκλείω 4. ἴσον: *lex corr.* 9. I. δις σὴ ὁμότυπος 11. κ/ 12. προκ/

'... the seed-corn being provided by me (?) ... and I shall complete the work fully (?) ... And if I neglect part of the cultivation, I shall pay (?) an equal amount (to the damage). And when the time comes, we shall have one half of the resulting produce of the various crops and of the chaff. The lease is binding, (written) in two identical copies, and in reply to the formal question I assented. (2nd hand) Aurelius Chrestes, the aforesaid person, have leased and ... as aforesaid. (Notarial subscription)'

2. ζ[φ]ων καὶ [. For the clauses referring to the use of animals, see *P. Heid.* V, p. 254 with n. 20. *SB* XIV 11855,20-23 may give us an idea of what is missing from our text: ἐφ' ᾧ με (I. ἡμᾶς) ταύτας γεωργεῖν) | ἐκ τῶν ἡμῶν ζφῶν | καὶ ποτίσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ | ἡμῶν λάκκου; cf. also *P. Ross. Georg.* III 44,3-4 (VI) - - - καὶ ποτίσαι | καλοφρονήτως. (The traces after καί, although minimal, exclude reading ἀ[ναλωμάτων, found at this point in several such texts from Aphrodito.)
3. For the clauses on the provision of seed-corn, see *P. Heid.* V, p. 255 with n. 26. παρ' ἐμοῦ (?). παρὰ σοῦ and ἐξ ἴσου are other alternatives.
4. συνκλίω [τοῦ παντός (?). For the sense, see *P. Michael.*, p. 93 n. 1. The earliest occurrence of the verb in a similar context is in *BGU* XIII 2333.16 (143/44). But I cannot tell what followed in the lacuna.
- 5-8. For the formulas, see *P. Heid.* V 351.11 ff. n., 12 ff. n.
5. The restoration is after *P. Michael.* 46,20, which, however, continues with a rather garbled phrase: ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν τὸ μέρος | ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεφιλοκαλημένου.

6. τὸ ἕκον ἀπ[οτίω (?). I have found nothing similar in any other sharecrop lease. ἀπ[οτίω is tentative; the collocation may be paralleled only by three texts, all much earlier: *P. Wisc.* I 4,30 (53); *P. Oxy. Hels.* 29,40-41 (54); *P. Lond.* II 154,17 (68). We might also consider restoring ἀπ[οδώω. In any case, this is a penalty clause, on which see *P. Heid.* V, p. 257 with nn. 32-35.
- 6-8. The supplements are after *SB XIV 11855,27-31*.
- 7-8. On the clause see *P. Heid.* V, p. 245 with n. 44.
8. There is no proof that κυρία stood in the original document, and we should also consider the possibility that the word was omitted (spacing is inconclusive). The elliptic *kyria*-clause is well paralleled among documents from Aphrodito, cf. e.g. *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67105,24-25 (532); *P. Lond.* V 1695,20 (531?); *P. Flor.* III 286,27-28; *SB XIV 11855,31*. In *P. Heid.* V 351,25 [- - - κυρ(ία) ἢ μίθ(ωσις)], we may also consider restoring [- - - ἢ μίθ(ωσις)], with κυρία omitted.
9. διςσὴν ὁμότ[υπον]. The ungrammatical collocation also occurs in *P. Lond.* V 1695,20, after which it has been restored in *P. Cair. Masp.* I 67105,24-25 (*BL I 446*); both texts omit the *kyria*-clause (a check of the microfilm shows that the London papyrus is not by the same hand). Cf. also *ChLA V 282,3-4* κυρία ἢ ὁμολογία διςσὴν ἰγραφέσαν; *P. Vat. Aphrod.* 7,frA.23 (VI) διςσὴν γ[ραφ(εῖσα)].
10. Χρήστη[ς]. (I owe the reading to Dr A. Jördens.) The name (a variant of the more common Χρήστος?) is a rare one, hitherto confined to sixth-century texts from Aphrodito: *P. Cair. Masp.* III 67283,3,19 (546/7) Χρύστης κτήτωρ; 67353r,3 [ed. L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito. His Work and His World*, Berkeley, New York, London 1988, 41-43] (c. 569/70) ΧΡΗΣΤΗΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΠΑΖΔΜ; *P. Freer* 1+2,155 (VI) μονακτήριον Ἰαπα Σουροῦτος ὑπὸ Χρήστην Ἰωάννου καὶ Μουσίην; possibly also in a Coptic letter published by MacCoull, *Le Muséon* 106 (1993) 39 (no. 13). It is unclear whether Chrestes' patronymic followed in the break.
11. It is uncertain how this line will have continued. One possibility is καὶ [στοιχεῖ μοι πάντα], cf. *P. Cair. Masp.* III 67303,23 (553); another is καὶ [συμφωνεῖ μοι], cf. *SB XIV 11855,37-38*.
12. Probably nothing was written after πρόκ(εῖται).
13. The form of the *chrismon* here is similar to that found in several notarial subscriptions from Aphrodito; see J. M. Diethart & K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, Wien 1986, Taff. 2-4.

3. LETTER OF VICTOR, CYMMAXOC

This papyrus too was formerly the property of the University of Mississippi (*P. Miss.* 63). No provenance is recorded. The writing is across the fibres, i.e. *transversa charta*; for this format, see *P. Oxy.* LIX 4005 introd. The back contains the end of the address, written along the fibres upwards in relation to the text on the front. The pattern of the folds as well as the address suggest that the papyrus was folded in two vertically first, and then was rolled up from the foot and pressed flat, with the top edge tucked inside. The address was written

1. For the crosses here and in line 2, see *P. Oxy.* LVI 3871,1-2 n. They usually mark the central position; in this place we also find the mysterious π(), or, especially in earlier times, the Christian symbol χμγ. Letters headed by simple crosses are generally not earlier than the sixth century.
2. For the lost beginning of the line, compare *P. Ant.* II 94,1 (VI) τὰ γράμματα τῆς ὑμετέρας περιβλέπτου δεσποτείας ἐδεξάμην; *P. Berl. Zill.* 14.1 (VI) ἐδεξάμ[ην] νῦν τὸ τίμιον γράμμα τῆς ὑμετέρας πατρικῆς καὶ ὁσίας δεσποτίας; *P. Oxy.* XVI 1940,1 (VI/VII) τὴν γραφὴν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας περιβλέπτου δεσποτείας ἐδεξάμην; *P. Lond.* III 1075,1f. (VII) τὰ γραφέντα παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλοπρεπο[ῦ] καὶ ἰθεοφυλάκτου πατρικῆς δεσποτείας ἐδεξάμην.

τῆς ὑμετέρας ὁσίας δεσποτείας. The collocation also occurs in *P. Berl. Zill.* 14,1 (quoted above). The plural is most probably *pluralis maiestatis*. It is interesting that in most cases where ὁσιος is found with δεσπότης (*vel sim.*), the person thus qualified is a bishop: cf. *P. Grenf.* I 63,6f.; 66,4?; II 91,9; *SB* VI 9287,1f. (VII); XVI 12869,1 (VI/VII). This allows the assumption that the addressee of the letter was a person of authority, perhaps the superior of the monastery mentioned in line 3, or even a bishop.

ἐδεξάμην. ἀποδέδωκα δὲ κτλ. The construction recalls the reported speech of another σύμμαχος in *SB* XVIII 13762,5f. (VI/VII) εἶπεν ὅτι γράμματα ἐδεξάμην - - - τὰ δὲ γράμματά σου ἀποδέδωκα. (I should note that *SB* 13762 is not by the same hand as our text, and the general context is different.)

3. κτήματα τοῦ εὐαγοῦς μοναστηρίου. For the expression, cf. e.g. *P. Hamb.* I 68,10; *P. Mich.* XIII 667,4 (VI); *P. Stras.* VII 697,14 (VI).

It may be worth noting that this letter belongs to a group (ex-Mississippi papyri) which includes texts associated with the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit/Titkooh (I discuss this point in an article forthcoming in *ZPE*). One may thus entertain the suspicion that the monastery mentioned here is that of Apa Apollon, although all the certain Bawit texts in the Duke collection are later in date than *P. Duk. inv.* 497.

6. Perhaps κατὰ] τὴν σήμερον.
8. Β[ί]κτορο(ς) συμ(μά)χ(ου). On the omission of final sigma see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, i.124-25. On the abbreviation see *P. Lond.* IV, p. 608 (index).

A σύμμαχος named Victor seems not to have been recorded elsewhere. He may have been in the service of the monastery of line 3, although this is not certain. Another text referring to a σύμμαχος and the possessions of a church is *P. Rain. Cent.* 126 (VI). On σύμμαχοι in general, see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 105-18; *P. Heid.* V, pp. 55-58; *ZPE* 92 (1992) 219-31; cf. also P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 257-60.

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