

# Gonis, Nikolaos

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## Six documentary fragments from Oxford collections

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The Journal of Juristic Papyrology 33, 67-76

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2003

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Nikolaos Gonis

## SIX DOCUMENTARY FRAGMENTS FROM OXFORD COLLECTIONS

THE FRAGMENTS PUBLISHED BELOW come from groups of papyri bought in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and now kept in Oxford collections. **1–2, 4** and **6** belong to the Egypt Exploration Society, and are housed in the Papyrology Rooms, Sackler Library; **2, 4** and **6** come from the collection from which the miscellany published in *P. Herm.* also came, while **1** is part of a much smaller collection, consisting of very fragmentary papyri of miscellaneous character and date. **3** and **5** belong to the collection of the Bodleian Library.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. RECEIPT FOR GOLD (FIG. 1)

The left-hand part of a receipt for three and two-third grams of ‘pure gold’ (bullion); no provenance is stated, but there are indications that the papyrus comes from Oxyrhynchus, see below 1 n. and 7 n. Comparable docu-

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society and the Keeper of Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library for permission to publish these papyri and reproduce their images.

Abbreviations used:

CLRE = R. S. BAGNALL, A. CAMERON, S. R. SCHWARTZ, K. A. WORP, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987;

CSBE = R. S. BAGNALL, K. A. WORP, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden – Boston 2003 (2ed).

ments are relatively few: *P. Mert.* I 31 (307), *P. Col.* VII 138 (307–8), 139–140 (308), all four from Karanis; *P. Mich.* XV 725 (Arsinoite?;<sup>2</sup> IV); *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3120 (Oxyrhynchus; 310); *SB* XIV 11885 (Hermopolis; 329); cf. also *P. Sakaon* 27 (Theadelphia; 312–29).

Landowners were required to provide gold and silver bullion to the treasury; the state bought the metals at a set price, lower than their market value. Thus such compulsory purchases were essentially a tax. On the issue in general, see John R. Rea, 'P.S.I. IV 310 and Imperial Bullion Purchases', *CdÉ* 49 (1974), pp. 163–174, and Roger S. Bagnall, 'Bullion Purchases and Landholding in the Fourth Century', *CdÉ* 52 (1977), pp. 322–336; cf. also Jean-Michel Carrié, 'L'Égypte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: fiscalité, économie, société', *Pap. Congr. XVI* (1981), p. 433, and Dieter Hagedorn, *P. Heid.* IV 323 introd.

The back is blank.

(EES) P. Misc.inv. III 8a

5.5 x 7.5 cm

Early fourth century

Διονύσιος χρυσοχ[οῦς  
 γυνῆ Ἀρτεμιδώρου [  
 παρέσχες εἰς τὸ συν[ωνηθῆναι (?)

4 τοῦ κυρίου μου διαση[μοτάτου  
 χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ γρά[μματα τρία δίμοιρον,  
 γίνονται] γ(άμματα) γ δίμερος. (ἔτους) ι . [  
 ὁ αὐτὸς σεσημίωμε .[

2. 1. γυναικί || 6. 1. δίμοιρον || 7. 1. σεσημίωμαι

### Translation

Dionysios, goldsmith, to ... wife of Artemidoros ... You supplied for the compulsory purchase of (? gold) ... my lord the *perfectissimus* ... three and two-third grams of pure gold, total 3 (and) two-third grams. Year 10+ ... I, the same (Dionysios), have signed ...

<sup>2</sup> Line 1 reads ]νεκεν (l. -]ήνεγκεν) Παῦλος Μέλανος ὑπὲρ συνωνῆς; similar constructions (παρήνεγκεν N.N. ὑπὲρ κτλ.) are very common among documents from Karanis (chiefly published in *P. Col.* VII, *P. NYU*, and *O. Mich.*), cf. especially *P. NYU* 10.10–13 (V?, cf. J. GASCOU, *P. Sorb.* II P. 46), signed by an ὑποδέκτης.

## Commentary

1. χρυσοχ[οῦς (or χρυσοχ[όος, though this form has not been found in any text from Oxyrhynchus). Cf. *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3120.1. Other such documents attest liturgical officials involved in tax collection: *τεσσεράριοι* feature in the Karanis texts, an *ὑποδέκτης* in *P. Mich.* XV 725, and an *ἀποδέκτης* in *SB XIV* 11885.
2. γυνῆ, l. γυναικί. For this heteroclitic form, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 52. The woman's name may have stood in the lost part of l. 1. On tax payments by women styled 'wife of so-and-so', see the remarks of J. Beaucamp, 'Donne, patrimonio, chiesa (Bisanzio, IV-VII secolo)', in: G. Lanata (ed.), *Il Tardoantico alle soglie del duemila. Diritto, religione, società. Atti del quinto Convegno nazionale dell'Associazione di Studi tardoantichi*, Pisa 2000, pp. 260–261.
- 3–5. Cf. *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3120.5–9 *παρέσ|χεται εἰς τὸ δημόσιον | ὑπὲρ συνωνῆς λι(τρῶν) κη χρυσοῦ | κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου | Ἰεροκλέως.*

3. εἰς τὸ συν[ωνηθῆναι (?). Cf. *P. Oxy.* XVII 2106.5–6 (IV) *χρυσόν] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίου συνωνηθῆ|ναι.* The expression *ὑπὲρ συνωνῆς* is attested in *P. Mich.* XV 725.1 and *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3120.7, while an *ἀποδέκ[τ]ης χρυσοῦ συνωνῆς* occurs in *SB XIV* 11885.1. See in general R. S. Bagnall, *CdÉ* 52 (1977), pp. 325–326.

*συν[ωνηθῆναι* would have been followed by a reference to a quantity of gold, cf. *P. Oxy.* 3120.7, or perhaps only by *χρυσόν*. After that, there might have stood *κατὰ κέλευσιν*, governing the genitives in l. 4, cf. *P. Oxy.* 3120.8. But it is doubtful that all this could fit into the break (and there is no evidence that abbreviations were used): seventeen letters appear to be lost in l. 5, which seems complete as restored.

4. τοῦ κυρίου μου διαση[μοτάτου. The reference could be to a prefect, cf. *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3120.8–9 (cited above, 3–5 n.), or *P. Heid.* IV 323.A.2–3, B.7–8, C.7–8 (310), but this is not the only possibility: *P. Panop. Beatty* 2.216 (300) refers to a *coemptio* of gold following the directives of a *rationalis*, who is styled *διασημότατος καθολικός*. The fragmentary *P. Mich.* XV 725 may cite the orders of a *procurator* (*ἐπίτροπος*), but the use of the epithet *διασημότατος*, not attested for *procuratores* in this period, makes it less likely that such an official was mentioned here.

6. δίμερος, l. δίμοιρον. A unique spelling; only the later *P. Flor.* III 307.13, 26 *δίμερον*, and *P. Grenf.* II 105. 4 *δίμερο(ν)*, may be seen as parallels.

(*ἔτους*) ι [. This is likely to be a regnal year of Galerius, which would have been followed by a regnal year of Maximinus. The earliest receipt of this kind is *P. Mert.* I 41 of 307 (Year 16 Galerius = 4 Maximinus).

7. ὁ αὐτὸς *κεσημίωμε* (l. -*μείωμαι*). The expression seems peculiar to Oxyrhynchite texts of the third and fourth centuries; cf. *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3107.11 (238), XLIV 3181.8 (251/2), XII 1509.7 (IV), *PSI* III 201.6 (327), VII 784.4 (362), *P. Laur.* IV 70.8, 12, 16, 20, etc.

At the end of the line perhaps restore  $\chi[\rho(\nu\sigma\omicron\upsilon)] \gamma\rho(\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha) \gamma \beta$ , cf. *P. Oxy.* 3120.15.

## 2. FOOT OF A DOCUMENT (FIG. 2)

The nature of the original document cannot be determined; that it was a petition is one possibility (contracts most often have the date clause at the top, petitions at the foot). The papyrus could be of Hermopolite origin, given that most of the items of known provenance in the collection to which it belongs come from that area; but the collection includes texts from other places too.

The back is blank.

(EES) P. Misc.inv. II 99a

16.1 x 11.8 cm

24 July 320

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 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ἕκτον  
 καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ πρῶτον, Ἐπειφ κ̄.

### Translation

In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the sixth time and Constantinus, *nobilissimus Caesar*, for the first time, Epeiph 20.

### Commentary

1–2. On the consulship, see *CLRE* 174–175, and *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 179.

## 3. WRITING PRACTICE

This is a curious piece: a scribe wrote a part of a consular dating clause, and nothing else; then a piece was cut from the original sheet, and someone else

wrote, upside down in relation to the *textus prior*, a formula of address, apparently a writing practice. On the back there are abraded traces of two lines.

The interest of this piece is prosopographical: it attests a new Arsinoite *προπολιτευόμενος*, Fl. Posidonius.

(Bodl.) MS. Gr. class. d 36b (P)<sup>3</sup>

6.6 x 4.8 cm

353<sup>2</sup>

ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτ[ῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου  
Ἀγγούστου τὸ 5" κ[αὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ

At 180 degrees:

(m.2) Φλαουῖω Ποσιδωνί[ω

4 προπολιτευομένῳ  
Ἀρσινοῖτου

3. ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας || 2. ἀγγούστου 1. Ἀγγούστου || 6. 1. προπολιτευομένῳ

### Translation

In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus for the 6th time and Constantius.

(2nd hand) 'To Flavius Posidonius, *propolitouomenos* of the Arsinoite ...

### Commentary

- 1-2. On the consulship, see *CLRE* 241, and *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 186. The clause will have continued ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β', but this was probably not written on the papyrus. It is less likely that one has to restore the consular pair of 320, viz. τῶν δεσποτ[ῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου] Ἀγγούστου τὸ 5" [καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ (ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α)]; in consular formulas of 320, Constantine is not styled Ἀγγούστος but Σεβαστός (in *P. Kell.* I 37.15 restore Σεβαστοῦ, not Ἀγγούστου, cf. *P. Kell.* I 21.24 and 52.8).
- 3-5. See above, introd., and generally K. A. Worp, 'Αρξάντες and πολιτευόμενοι in Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 115 (1997), pp. 201-220. On the assumption that the text dates to 353, this is the latest attestation of the term *προπολιτευόμενος* in an Arsinoite document.

<sup>3</sup> The papyrus was presented to the Bodleian Library by A. C. HEADLAM in August 1895.



## 4. TOP OF A DOCUMENT (FIG. 3)

Nothing can be said about the nature of the original document. For its provenance, see above, 2 introd. The back is blank.

(EES) P. Misc.inv. II 179b

17.5 x 3.6 cm

380

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατε]ρίαν Αὐσονίου καὶ Ἑρμογε]ξιανοῦ τῶν  
λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων

2.1. Ἑρμογε]ξιανοῦ

*Translation*

After the consulship of Ausonius and Hermogenianus, *viri clarissimi, praefecti* ...

*Commentary*

1. On the consulship of D. Magnus Ausonius and Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, *praefecti praetorio*, see *CLRE* 648–9, and *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 190. The version of the postconsular formula in our text recurs in the Hermopolite *P. Strasb.* VIII 749.1, which continues τοῦ ἱεροῦ [πραι]τωρίου. Another instance of this postconsulate is furnished by *CPR* VII 19.1 (6.v.380), which is also Hermopolite but attests a different formulation: [μετὰ τὴν ὑπ]ατείαν Αὐσονίου καὶ Ὀλυβρίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων) ἐπάρχων.

## 5. SALE OF WINE ON DELIVERY (FIG. 4)

Only the lower part of the document has survived, and most of the details of the transaction are lost; we are only told that Aurelius Pekysis has agreed to deliver the wine to the buyer in the month of Mesore in an eighth indiction. Aurelius Chrestos son of Ioannes, who writes on behalf of Pekysis, and the notary Menas are known from *SB* VIII 9876, a Heracleopolite *μισθαποχή* of 534.

The literature on this type of document is extensive; see in the latest instance É. Jakob, “Wo gärt der verkaufte Wein?” *Zur Deutung der Wein-*

lieferungskäufe in den graeco-ägyptischen Papyri”, in: *Symposion 1997* (2001), pp. 295–318, with references. For discussion of the clauses found in Herculopolite documents of this kind, see N. Kruit, “Local Customs in the Formulas of Sales of Wine for Future Delivery”, *ZPE* 94 (1992), pp. 173–175. *P. Coll. Youtie* II 93 (V/VI) and *SB XVI* 12639 (541) offer close parallels to our text; compare also *P. Select.* 2 (VI, cf. *BL V* 64 and IX 152), and *SB VI* 9593 (VI/VII).

The back is blank.

Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f 34 (P)<sup>4</sup>

13.9 x 15.3 cm

528/9?

]....

ἀπόδοσίν σοι ποιήσασθαι τῷ Μεσορῇ μ[η]νὶ [ρ]ύσεως  
ὀγδόῃς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἀνυπερθέτως. εἰ δὲ εὗρεθῆ ὄξος

4 ἢ ὄζζάριον ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ο]ἴνου ἕως μηνὸς Τύβι τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ἔτους, ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἀλλάττειν καὶ τὸ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ σοι παρασχεῖν  
ἐπιτήδειον ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων μου πάντων· καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς)  
ὦμ(ολόγησα).

† Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πεκῦσις Ἀιέκου ὁ προκειμένος συμφωνῆ μοι  
8 τὸ γραμμάτιον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Χρῆστος Ἰωάννου  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος.

† *di em[u] Mena etelesth* (flourishes)

4. 1. ὄζζάριον || 5. ἀλλάττειν || 7. αἰέκου || 1. συμφωνεῖ

### Translation

... I shall repay you in the month of Mesore, from the vintage of the eighth indiction, without delay. If there were to be found any sour or (musty) smelling wine from the same wine, until the month of Tybi of the same year, (I agree) to change (it) and provide you with suitable (wine), (payable) from all my belongings; and in reply to the formal question I assented.

<sup>4</sup> The papyrus was purchased from B. P. GRENFELL in 1895.



I, Aurelius Pekysis, son of Aiekos, the aforementioned — the document satisfies me as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Chrestos, son of Ioannes, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.

Through me, Menas, the completion was made.

### Commentary

2. ἀπόδοσις ... ποιήσασθαι. The collocation is common in the Roman period, but seems to have fallen out of favour with scribes in later times (*W.Chr.* 281.16, of 368/9, offers the latest instance before this).
- 3–6. εἰ δὲ εὐρεθῆ κτλ. On the clause, see É. Jakob, 'Guarantee and Jars in Sales of Wine on Delivery', *JJP* 29 (1999), pp. 33–44.
3. ὀγδόης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). The reference is to the fiscal indiction, which started on 1 May 529; see *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 148.
4. ὀζζάριον. This is wine with a musty or mouldy odour. N. Kruit, 'The Meaning of Various Words Related to Wine', *ZPE* 90 (1992), p. 267, argues that the term 'is best translated' as 'moldy tasting wine'; but we need a word that reflects the etymology of the term, referring to the smell of the wine (cf. H. Maehler, *BGU* XII 2176.1 n., on ὀζόμενος (*scil.* οἶνος), rendered 'muffig riechend').
6. ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων μου πάντων. This collocation is otherwise attested only in Arsinoite documents. It is normally part of the *kyria*-clause, which sometimes is omitted; see G. Fantoni, *CPR* XIV 3.17 n. It indicates that the buyer of the wine has the right of execution upon the property of the seller, if the latter fails to deliver what he has promised.
7. Ἀιέκου. The name appears to be new (note that the first letter is not pi).
- 8–9. Ἀὐρήλιος Χρήστος Ἰωάννου. Cf. *SB* VIII 9876.20–21 (534) Ἀὐρήλιος [Χρ]ῆστος Ἰωάννου ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως ἔγραψα | ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων ὄντων. A descendant of this person may occur in *P. Köln* III 158.30–32 (599) Ἀὐρήλιος Χρήστος | Ἰωάννου ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ | [αὐτ]ῶν ἀγρ[αμμάτ]ων ὄντων.
10. *di em[u] Mena etēlestb*. The notary is the same as the one identified as Herakl. 12.2.1 by J. Diethart & K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (*MPER* XVI), Wien 1986, p. 56, on the basis of *SB* VIII 9876.23 of 534. In that text, the Latinate subscription is followed by δι' ἐμοῦ Μηνα and notarial flourishes; flourishes are used here too, though more sparingly.

*etēlestb*. After the third *e*, the notary apparently wrote *te*; the upper part of *s* is a later addition, while the putative *e* remained unaltered, though it could

be seen as performing the role of a linkstroke (otherwise, read *eteles{e}th*). *etelestb* should be read in *SB* 9876.23 too. *Ed. pr.* read *ἐτελειώθη*, changed to *esmioth* by P. J. Sijpesteijn, 'Nachlese zu Wiener Texten', *ZPE* 50 (1983), p. 134 with n. 9, and taken over to *Byz. Not.* (*esemioth(e)* is common in Arsinoite notarial signatures, but has occurred only once in a Heracleopolite document, viz. *SB* VI 9590.28 [*Byz. Not.* Herakl. 10.2.1], of the seventh [or early eighth?] century.) In place of *smi* I read *tel* (cf. *Byz. Not.* Taf. 20; *e* may have an irregular shape, but *s* is impossible, and *l* clear enough); after that, *es* rather than *io*, and then *θη* (or *th*, if one reckons with an idiosyncratic *t*). Besides the texts signed by Menas, *etelestb* occurs only in two Oxyrhynchite signatures, both of them of the same notary (*Byz. Not.* Oxy. 18.2.1-2).

#### 6. TOP OF A DOCUMENT (FIG. 5)

The nature of this document is not known, though it is conceivable that it was a contract. If it comes from Hermopolis, which is likely but not certain (cf. above, 2 introd., and below, 2-3 n.), this would be the first text from this area to attest a consular clause of Heraclius. Unfortunately, the damage makes it impossible to tell which regnal and consular years were meant.

The back is blank.

(EES) P. Misc.inv. II 211b

11.4 x 6.6 cm

611-19?

† ἐν ὀνό]ματι [τ]ῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποιῦ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδος  
Πατρὸ[ς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

βασιλ]ε[ί]ας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου καὶ θεοστεφούς ἡμῶν  
[δεσπότης Φλ(αοῦ) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ

αἰων]ίου Ἀυγούστου Ἀυτοκράτορος καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργ[έτου ἔτους  
n μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ

4 αὐτο]ῦ εὐεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ε.[

#### Translation

In the name of the holy and life giving and consubstantial Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most serene and

god-crowned master, Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus, Emperor, and greatest benefactor, year *n*, after the consulship of our same most pious master ...

### Commentary

- 1–2. The *invocatio* belongs to the formula classified as of type 2E; see now *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 100, 103–104, 291–292.
- 2–3. For this regnal formula of Heraclius (no. 7), attested exclusively in the Thebaid, see now *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 269. Its earliest occurrence is in *CPR* IX 35 of 21.v.613. Its absence from documents dating to the period 629–41, if not an accident, may offer an indication that the text antedates the Persian conquest of Egypt.
- 3–4. I have restored *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν* on the assumption that *ὑπατείας* would be too short for the space. (But if the papyrus dates from 629–41, it surely had *ὑπατείας*.) On the consular count of Heraclius, see C. Zuckerman, 'La formule de datation du *SB* VI 8986 et son témoignage sur la succession d'Héraclius', *JJP* 25 (1995), pp. 187–201, B. Palme, 'Das erste Konsulat des Kaisers Heraclius. Zur Datierung von *CPR* X 130 und 131, P. Vindob. G 20535 und P. Rainer Cent. 119', *JJP* 26 (1996), pp. 117–126, and now *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 95–98.
4. ε[. The traces would admit either τ, that is, ἔτ[ου, which would imply that the text dates to the first postconsular (and second regnal) year of Heraclius (25.vi – 24.vii.612), or π, which would suggest Ἐπ[είφ or ἐπ[αγομένων.

*Nikolaos Gonis*

Wolfson College

Oxford OX2 6UD

UNITED KINGDOM

email: [nikolaos.gonis@classics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:nikolaos.gonis@classics.ox.ac.uk)

PLATE I

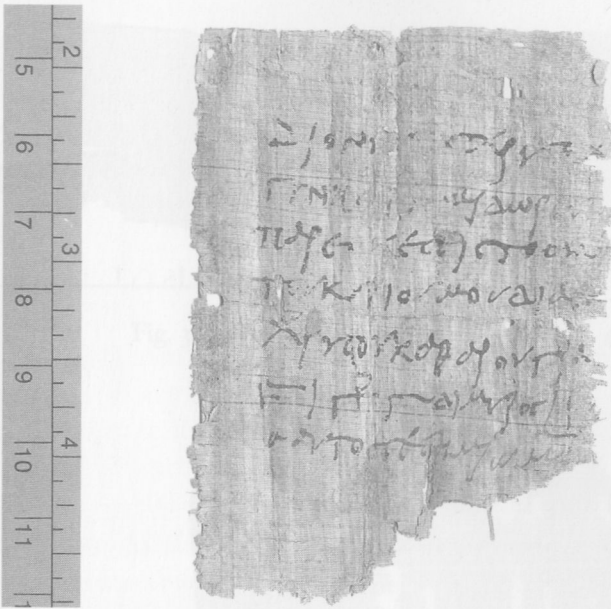


Fig. 1. Receipt for gold ([EES] P. Misc. inv. III 8a)

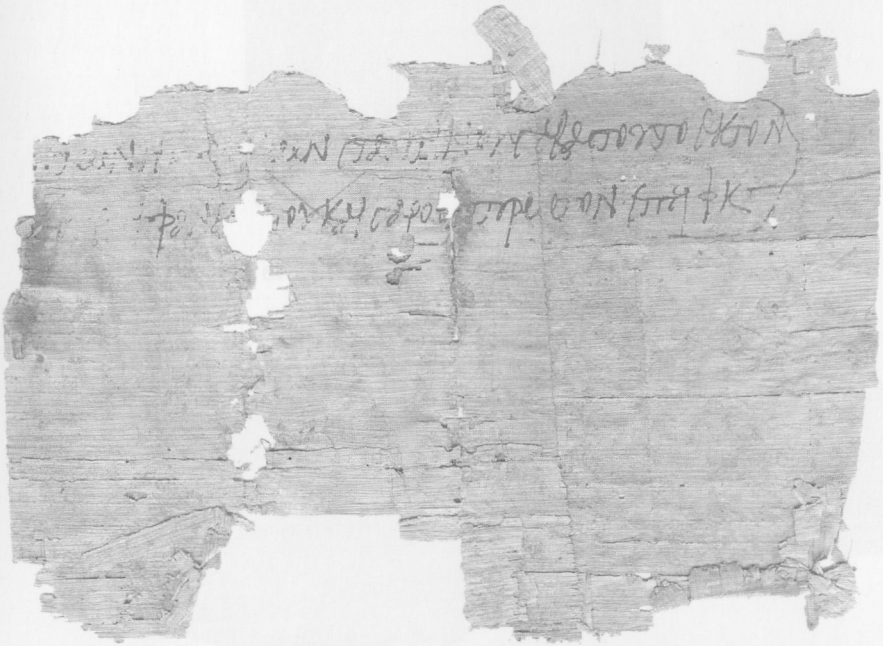


Fig. 2. Foot of a document ([EES] P. Misc. inv. II 99a)



Fig. 3. Top of a document ([EES] P. Misc. inv. II 179b)

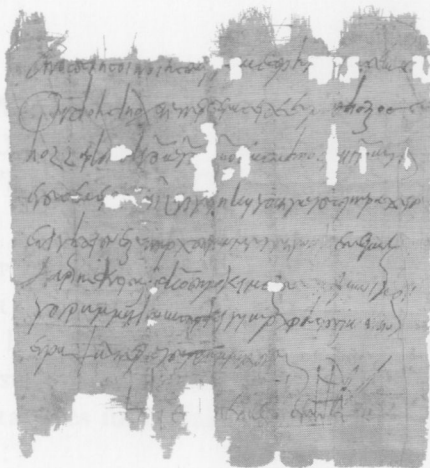
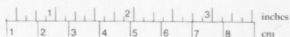


Fig. 4. Sale of wine on delivery ([Bodl.] MS. Gr. class. f 34 [P])

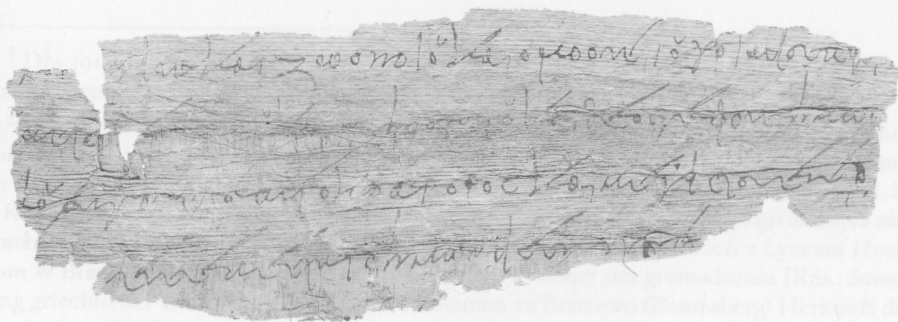


Fig. 5. Top of a document ([EES] P. Misc. inv. II 211b)