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P. Iandana 99 : Italian wines in Egypt

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P. IANDANA 99: ITALIAN WINES IN EGYPT*

P. Ianda. VI, 99 (pl. XX), which contains a letter of Philoromaios to Calpurnius, who is designated as ἀξιολογώτατος, has been published and translated in the following manner:

- Φ]ιλορ[ώμ]αιος Καλπουρνίω τῷ
 ἀξ[ι]ολογώτατῳ χαίρειν.
 τ[ο]ῦ οἴνου τῆς Νικολαίδος ἐγευσ[σά]-
 μεθα τῇ κῆ και εὔραμεν αὐτο[ν] αὐσ-
 5 τηρ[όν. Τῶν] ἐν ἴκῳ κεράμων τ[α] πλεῖσ-
 τα και ὄξη [ἔχ]ει αὐτοῖς ἐγιά [δε ρεῖ ·
 ἔστι γὰρ π[ά]νυ ἐλα[φρ]ὰ ταῦτα . [Με-
 λομεν γὰρ χρεία[ν] ἔχειν ζ[ε]στῶν . . .
 οἴνου εἰς τὰς χρεί[ας] Ἀδρια[νῶν]
 10 και Ἀμινναίων . τ[α] κολή[για]
 γὰρ ἔχομεν . Πτολεμαῖον [εὐθέ-
 ως μεταπέψομαι . οὐ γὰρ μ[έ]λει
 μοι . Περὶ τούτων ἐδήλωσά σο[ι] . . .
 νων τῆς {σ} ἐν τῷ ἐκπλέξαι [. . εὐ-
 15 θέως, ἐὰν μὴ θέλῃ μεταστ[ῆ]ναι εἰς
 πόλειν [ἔ]τι εἰ ὄθεν λαμβάνει . . .
 . . . ζεῦγ[ος] ὀθονίων, οὐ και δ[ε]ῖται (?)
]δε ἡμᾶς λαμβαν[
] . τὴν διαταγὴν . . .]
 20 ἀ]ποδοθῆναι, δηλώσα[τε] και
 ἀποδοθ]ήσεται . Ἐρρωσθαί σαι εἰ[ύ]χο-
 μαί .

*Philoromaios dem hochansehnlichen Kalpurnios Freude. Vom Wein der Nikolais nahmen wir am 28 eine Kostprobe and fanden ihn herb. Die meisten die bei ihnen im Haus vorhandenen Krüge haben sogar Säure, einige aber laufen aus; denn diese sind gar leicht. Wir werden nähm-

* This contribution was written in 1965 on the inspiration and under the guidance of M. Roger Rémondon, Directeur d'études in Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, to whom I would like to express on this occasion my deep gratitude.

lich Bedarf an x Mass Wein haben für den Bedarf der Hadrians und Aminnaia; denn wir haben die Vereine. Den Ptolemaios werde ich gleich kommen lassen; denn mir liegt nichts daran...'

The remaining part of the text, very poorly preserved, has not been translated; nor was the provenance of the papyrus indicated. It is dated to the 4th century not so much on account of its paleographical character as on the strength of the mention of 'Hadriana' and 'Aminnaia' in lines 9 and 10. These names the editor associated with Emperor Hadrian and Flavius Abinneus, praefect of Ala Quinta Praelectorum in 342—351¹ during the reign of Constantius II, in whose honour the *collegia* were to hold festivities.

Since the publication quite important corrections have been introduced:² ξενικῶν κεράμων, 1.5; τρύγα καὶ ὄξη ἐν αὐτοῖς εὔραμεν, 11.5—6; τυμωλιτικὴν οὐ τυμωλιτικίον, 1.10; τὸ οἶνον, II 13—14; τῆς Σεντώ, 1.14; πολεῖν ὅ τι εἶοθεν (instead of πωλεῖν ὅ τι εἶωθεν) 1.16.

Careful reading of plate XX has led to the following lection of the text:

Φιλορώμμιος Καλπουρνίῳ τῷ
 ἀξιολογοτάτῳ χαίρειν.
 Τοῦ οἴνου τῆς Νικολαίδος ἐγευσ[α-
 μεθα τῇ κῆ καὶ εὔραμεν αὐτὸ[ν ἀν-
 5 τὶ τῶν ξενικοκεράμων πα[ρ'] ὀ[λί-
 γα καὶ ὄξη [ἐ]ν αὐτοῖς ἐναλ[λά]ξ[αι].
 Ἔστι γὰρ πάνυ ἐλαφρὰ τὰ πλεῖστα. Μ[έ]-
 λομεν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχειν ξεν[ικοῦ]
 οἴνου εἰς τὰς χρεῖ[α]ς Ἀδρειανῶν
 10 καὶ Ἀμινναίων. Τυμολίτην
 γὰρ ἔχομεν. Πτολεμαῖον [ε]ὔ[θε]-
 ως μεταπέμψομαι. Οὐ γὰρ μ[έ]λει
 μοι περὶ τούτου. Ἐδήλοσας [.
 νον τῆς Σεντώ ἐκπλέξαι μ[ε] εὔ-
 15 θεως. Ἐὰν μὴ θέλῃ μεταστα[θῆ]ναι
 πολεῖν ὅ τι εἶοθεν, λαμβάνειν θέ-
 λω ζεῦγ[ος] ὀθονίων. Οὐ γὰρ δεῖ [.
 οὐ] δὲ ἡμᾶς λαμβάν[ειν]
] . τὴν διαταγὴν . . . [.
 20] . ο δοθῆναι δῆλοσο[ν]
] ἴσεται. Ἐρρωσθαί σαι ε[ὔ]χο-
 μαι.

¹ See the commentary of the editors to line 8 p. 239. About Abbinneus: H. I. Bell, V. Martin, D. Van Berchem, *The Abinneus Archive*, Oxford 1962.

² See *Berichtungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten*, III, 1956, p. 87.

2 — Read — ἀξιολογώτατα. 6 — Pap. ὄζη. 8 — Pap. ἔχειν. 9 — Read Ἀδριανῶν. 10 — Read Τυμολίτην. 13 — Read τούτων, ἐδήλωσας. 15 — Pap. ἔαν. 16 — Pap. εἰῶθεν; read πωλεῖν, εἰῶθεν. 17 — Pap. ὀθονίων. 18 — Pap. ἡμας. 20 — Read δῆλωσον. 21 — Read σε.

This suggestion requires certain explanations:

- ll.4-5 reading ἀντί seems quite certain. The last two letters of the word at the beginning of line 5 are quite legible; the traces of the first two letters at the end of line 4 are similar to ἀν in the word ἔαν in line 15 and to λαμβάνειν in lines 16 and 18.
- l.5 instead of ξενικῶν κεράμων we read ξενικοκεράμων. The term seems new, but certain analogies can be found: ξενικόκουφον is attested in P. Oxy. 2153; similar word-forming principles can be found in καινόκουφον (P. Oxy. 1911), ξυλοκαύσιμον (P. Apoll. 3, 33, 36, 93, 95).
- l.5-6 in the word ἐναλ[λά]ξι[αι] (ἐναλ[λά]ξι[ασθαι] would be too long) the initial letters and the letter ξ can be deciphered without difficulty. Besides, this reading is justified by the preposition ἀντί which is preceding it. However, accusatives -γα (and not -τα), ὄζη in the sentence εἴραμεν αὐτὸν ἀντί τῶν ξενικοκεράμων ἐναλλάξαι 'we have managed to obtain for it (wine) foreign jars' makes sense only when both words are related to the same preposition. This at the beginning of line 5 would begin with π. We would be inclined to suggest here πα[ρ'] ὀ[λί]γα καὶ ὄζη ἐν αὐτοῖς 'with the exception of some of them which hold wine of an inferior quality.'³
- l.7 τὰ πλεῖστα can be read without difficulty. It would be in opposition to ὀλίγα which occurs in the preceding sentence.
- l.8 ξεστῶν cannot be accepted. We read clearly ξεν[ικου].
- l.10 Extant traces can equally well derive from Τυμολίτην or τυμολιτικὴν or τυμολίτικιον. Τυμολίτην (implying οἶνον) seems, in our opinion, the proper reading in view of the mentions of *Adrianoi* and *Aminnaioi* which obviously refer not to festivities but wines.
- l.13 περὶ τούτων could be linked with μέλει, to cite for example ἐμελιε (= μεμέληγε) ἐμοὶ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος in P. Oxy. 1155, 5. Beginning with line 13 the papyrus is so badly damaged that it rules out any attempt at interpretation.

Realizing the obscurities of the text, we would like to venture the following translation:

'Philoromaioi to the most estimable Calpurnius greeting. On the 28th we sampled the wine of Nikolais⁴ and managed to obtain it in exchange for foreign jars, with the exception of some of them which contained poor wine. For most part it is quite light. We will have a need of foreign wine for the requirements of the Adriatic and Aminnoian wines. Since the Tmolian wine we have. I will immediately send for Ptolemaios. Because I do not deal with them. Notify me immediately of the settling in Sento.⁵ If he does not want to stop selling what he used to sell, I would like to take a linen dress. Because it would not be good if...'

The significance of the text lies, in our opinion, in the above passage written in bold letters, whose sense, though not quite clear at first, is really straightforward.

³ Concerning the use of ὄζη see Maysner, *Grammatik*, II. 2, paragraph 126, p. 490. There may be doubt here which meaning of the word ὄζη to use: 'inferior wine' or 'sour wine'.

⁴ It is not quite certain whether Nikolais was the name of a woman. Perhaps it is the name of a locality like for example Sento, l.14. See χωρίον Νικ — δ, C. Wessely, *Studien* X, 60. l.10.

⁵ Alternatively: 'that the man... from Sento will immediately help me out from my difficulties.'

However, it is necessary first to determine the origin of the text, the date at which it was written, and — as far as it possible — to identify the persons mentioned in it.

The village of Sento, where Philoromaios was to attend to some business, is situated in the middle toparchia of the Oxyrynchite nome, between the Tomis canal (at present Bahr Yusuf) and the Nile, north-east of Oxyrhynchus.⁶ Thus, it is probable that the place in which Philoromaios was to attend to business lies either in the Oxyrhynchite nome or its neighbourhood.

The arguments on which the dating of this text to the 4th century is based are no longer valid. However, the use of the epithet ἀξιολογώτατος seems to provide a good indication.⁷ With the exception of two cases,⁸ which seem doubtful, this term is attested in the period between 196—8⁹ and 316.¹⁰ Consequently the text should be dated to the 3rd century, or more precisely to the beginning of the 3rd century, when we take into account the character of the script resembling W. S c h u b a r t, P.G.B. 33 (ab. 200), 34b (216), 35 (209), 36 (236); a similar script is represented also by P. Leit. 12, plate IV, from 210—11. The use of the designation 'the most estimable' allows us to define the social group to which Calpurnius belonged. In the opinion of H o r n i c k e l ἀξιολογώτατος is primarily an un-official honorary title borne in late Roman times by *honestiores* holding offices in the imperial administration of Egypt or in Egyptian municipal authorities or by virtue of their membership of powerful families.¹¹ G r e n f e l l and H u n t state simply that 'this term is used of strategi, logistae and senators.'¹² It seems, however, that its usage varied in the 3rd century.

On the basis of textes whose dating is certain, we can make up a list of persons who had this title, in chronological order:

(1) Gymnasiarch of Oxyrynchus, Horion (196—8)¹³, a member of a wealthy and influential family; his father, Apion, was a strategus of Antinoöpolis in 193/4 and subsequently a gymnasiarch of Oxyrynchus, concurrently with his son;¹⁴ with this family was connected steward Ninnarios, whose business dealings

⁶ P. Oxy. 533; 632; 1112; 1113; 1212; 1285, 109; 1470; 1659, 61; 2422, 60.

⁷ See Zehetmair, *De appellationibus honorificis in papyris Graecis obviis*, p. 44; Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikats in den Papyrusurkunden*, p. 3.

⁸ S.B. 4101; Lef. 597.

⁹ P. Oxy. 1664. The dating of this text was fixed by P. Mertens, *op. cit.*, p. 344, footnote 6. It is necessary to introduce a correction in Hornickel concerning the first mention of this title in documents.

¹⁰ P. Oxy. 84.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. VIII, 3.

¹² P. Oxy. 1490, footnote to l. 1; corroboration of the title without a date: P. Oxy. 118, 1408, 1490, 2153, 2273.

¹³ P. Oxy. 1664.

¹⁴ P. Oxy. 57; 908; 54.

extended far beyond the Oxyrynchite nome.¹⁵ A letter of Apion may indicate that he was an Alexandrian.¹⁶

(2) In 214—22 Claudia Isidora, owner of a substantial estate in the Oxyrynchite nome, who belonged to the Alexandrian aristocracy and possibly came of the Herodes Atticus family;¹⁷

(3) In 216—9 Maron, a hypomnematograph of Alexandria, whose son Hermias was this city's strategus;¹⁸

(4) This title occurs in three generations (231/2—264) of a well-known Alexandrian family, whose genealogy, connections, distinctions and scope of business activities, mainly based on its landed estate in Fayum, had been investigated by J. Schwartz¹⁹ on the basis of documents available at present. It was borne by:

Aurelius Poseidonius, a hypomnematograph of Alexandria:

his daughter, Aurelia Demetra, *matrona stolata*;

the husband of Aurelia Demetra, Aurelius Apianos, also a hypomnematograph of Alexandria; his title of *equus Romanus* would suggest that he occupied a higher place in the social hierarchy than his father in law;²⁰

son of Aurelius Apianos, Primus;

perhaps the daughter of Apianos and Aurelia Demetra, Aurelia Apiana Diodora called Poseidonia, who, like her mother, was designated *matrona stolata*, but in relation to whom the title ἀξιολογώτατη is not attested.

(5) In the same period as ἀξιολογώτατος is described a certain archidicastes;²¹

(6) In 257—9 the head of the officium of the praefect of Egypt.²²

It was not until the second half of the 3rd century that the title lost much of its splendour, but was still confined to the group of *honestiores*. Even if it was applied generally to the strategi of nomes in 273, it was also conferred on a prytaneus of Hermopolis during Gallienus' reign; on a hypomnematograph of the same town in 293, a hypomnematograph of Oxyrynchus in 289, the

¹⁵ P. Oxy. 929; P. Amherst 136.

¹⁶ P. Amherst 136.

¹⁷ P. Oxy. 919, 1578, 1046, 1630, 1634, 1659. See M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 490 and 674, footnote 48; 747 footnote 61.

¹⁸ P. Lond. III, 851, p. 48.

¹⁹ J. Schwartz, *Une famille de chepteliers (Recherches de Papyrologie, Vol. III, 1964, pp. 49—96)*.

²⁰ About the political career of Aurelius Appianus see Calderini, R., *Bouleutika (Aegyptus XXXI, 1/1951/p. 14)*. To the documents collected there must be added among others: P.S.I. 930, P. Reinach III.

²¹ P.S.I. 1052 (3rd century).

²² P. Oxy. 1637.

Boule of this city at the close of the 3rd century, and in 316 on the logistes of the same Oxyrynchus.²³

The dating of P. Ianda. 99 to the beginning of the 3rd century enables us to assume that Calpurnius belonged to the same social group as Horion and Apion, Claudia Isidora, Maron and Hermias, Posidonius, Aurelia Demetria, Aurelius Apianos and the children of the latter, Primus and Aurelia Apiana Diodora. The name he bears, quite popular in his day, does not permit a closer identification.²⁴

Nonetheless, it is quite probable that the Calpurnius mentioned in P. Ianda. 99 is the same man as ἀξιολογώτατος Καλπούρνιος, who appears in P. Oxy. 1764 from the beginning of the 3rd century. The following is a translation from a letter, whose end fragment has been preserved: '... doros and Sara to Pindarus greeting. We have been waiting for several days for the butcher Phileas to come to us and carry out an estimate. But he postponed this until today, until the arrival of the most estimable Calpurnius. This is what we wanted to inform you about in detail so that you could supply the villagers with working animals and so that nothing would prevent the cultivation of soil. We are sending you your ass and at the same time Saras in order that young plantations of peach-trees and citruses and vineyards...'

In view of the fact that both letters come from the Oxyrynthite nome and were written at roughly the same time, deal with similar matters and in both of them Calpurnius bears the same title, a comparison of both texts seems clearly indicated.²⁵

As far as Philoromaios is concerned, we suggest, in view of his functions mentioned in P. Ianda. 99, and his very rare name,²⁶ that he is the same man as the steward Philoromaios²⁷ in P. Oxy. 1560; through his intermediary a request is transmitted in 209 by a highly placed personage, a Roman citizen, who held in Alexandria the offices strategus, euteniarch, presbeutes and archidicastes. In 190-200 this Alexandrian, who also owned land in the Oxyrynchite nome, introduced in the city of Oxyrynchus annual games on the model of the ones held in Antinoöpolis to commemorate 'the loyalty, fidelity and friendship towards the Romans which the Oxyrynchites had displayed by helping them in the war against the Jews'; he also set up a charitable founda-

²³ P. Strass. 20 and 280; C.P.H. 7 II, 12; P. Lips. 4; P. Oxy. 2477 and P.S.I. 461; P. Oxy. 2407, 48; P. Oxy. 84.

²⁴ See *Namenbuch*, s.v.

²⁵ An account covering the years 218-221 (P. Oxy. 1659, 103) mentions a certain Καλλπ() in the lower part of the Oxyrynchite nome, but inclusion of this document in the Calpurnius archive has not enough justification.

²⁶ *Namenbuch* points only to P. Oxy. 1560.

²⁷ About the functions of the steward see for example P. Oxy 929, P. Amherst 136 concerning Ninnarios in the house of gymnasiarches Apion and Horion.

tion with the object of rendering assistance in the carrying out of liturgical duties in some villages of the Oxyrynchite nome (P. Oxy. 705).²⁸

In the latter text he is mentioned as Aurelius Horion. However, in lines 3, 10, 13 and 15 of the Philoromaios papyrus he bears three names, the first of which is unfortunately illegible: Ἰουριος Ἀυρήλιος Ὠρίων.²⁹

It is possible that Philoromaios was simultaneously in the service of Calpurnius and Aurelius Horion just like Heronianus, who served both Apianos and Alypios.

It seems safer, however, to assume that the archive of 'the most estimable Calpurnius' consists of only two documents: P. Ianda. 99 and P. Oxy. 1764 and draw from them only three conclusions.

He lived in the times of the Severian dynasty which are nostalgically recollected by an advocate ab. 250: '... when the Egyptian towns were still flourishing...' before the beginning of '... a change which brought about the decline of both villages and towns.'³⁰

Calpurnius belonged to the group of rich Alexandrians,³¹ many of whom had Roman citizenship prior to the Constitutio Antoniniana³² and — perhaps this was also true of Calpurnius — held important offices in Alexandria, in the administration of nomes and in municipal authorities. Their importances extended far beyond the frontiers of nomes.³³

Like many people with his background, Calpurnius was a landowner in the region of Oxyrynchus. At the beginning of the 3rd century this town was blossoming. During his visit in Egypt Septimius Severus placed it second after Pelusium, but before Memphis,³⁴ in the order of towns admitted to his Boule.

At a time when the neighbouring nomes, particularly Heracleopolis, were declining, Oxyrynchus — perhaps because of this — was flourishing and gaining in importance.³⁵

²⁸ See also a partial reedition and bibliography in C.P.J. II, 450.

²⁹ The length of the lacuna would also fit in with Καλπούρριος. Calpurnius Aurelius Horion, an odd sequence of these three names, is, however, not impossible in that period. See for example praefect Magnus Felix Crescentillianus (A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Aegypten*, pp. 114–5).

³⁰ T. C. Skeat and E. P. Wagener, *A Trial before the Prefect of Egypt*, (J.E.A. 21/1935 p. 224 sq. = *Sammelbuch* 7696). This favourable situation was probably paralleled by demographic developments in Bassianus lifetime, i.e., during the reign of Caracalla, about whom Aurelius Victor (248–9) writes: *Bassiani consilii tanquam in summo constitit*.

³¹ A definition of this group is provided by Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 490–1.

³² About the meaning of *gentilicium* see R. Taubenschlag, *Geschichte der Rezeption des römischen Privatrechts in Aegypten*, *Studi Bonfante* I, p. 370; I. Biežuńska-Malowitz, *La famille du vétéran romain C. Iulius Niger de Karanis*, (*Eos* 49/I, pp. 155–6). About Alexandrians with Roman citizenship prior to 212 see P. Mertens, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 345, footnote 3.

³⁴ P. Oxy. 705, 36–9.

³⁵ About the development of Oxyrynchus see H. Kees, *Oxyrynchus* in *RE*, XVIII, 2/1942/2043–2046; E. G. Turner, *Roman Oxyrynchus* (*J.E.A.* 38, 1952, pp. 78–93).

P. Ianda. 99 and P. Oxy. 1764 provide us with a certain amount of information about Calpurnius' economic operations and the extent of the affairs conducted by his landed estate in the Oxyrynchite nome. Like other landowners of the period,³⁶ though he did not stay all the time on his estate, he exercised good control over its management; he used to come for inspections³⁷ and the transactions concluded by Philoramaios required his consent. The personnel connected with the management of his estate was numerous and rather varied.³⁸ The conditions in which his γεωργοί, who are supplied with transport and draft animals, appear to be analogous to those in which peasants worked in other Egyptian estates of the time.³⁹ His interest in wine- and fruit-growing is amply attested by papyri.⁴⁰ (Yet there are few mentions about cultivation of peach-trees.)⁴¹

No papyrus, however, attests nearly so fully, in our opinion, the import of wine. P. Ianda. 99 testifies to its existence by mentioning 'foreign jars' in which original wine was kept, the foreign wine being partly replaced, according to the existing practice, by local wine;⁴² then by mention of 'foreign wines' in general and above all by citing their names: *Adrianoi*, *Aminnaioi* and *Tmolites*.

Tmolites was a Lydian wine from the mountain region of Tmolos in the vicinity of Sardes.⁴³ It is praised in turn by Cicero, Vergil, Strabo, Pliny, Galen and Nonnus from Panopolis.⁴⁴

Cato, Varro, Vergil, Columella, Pliny, Dioscorides, Galen, Macrobius and Isidorus of Sevilla praised the exceptional 'firmitas' of the Aminnoian wines from Campania.⁴⁵ According to Pliny, who ranks them among the best, there were five kinds of them.⁴⁶

³⁶ For example Alypius or Appianus.

³⁷ See concerning Alypius P. Flor. 127 = Select Papyri I, 140.

³⁸ An opinion can be formed on the basis of accounts of this estate preserved on ostraca O. Tait 1721-1760, O. Stras. 662-771, O. Bodl. 2271-2293.

³⁹ See A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 174 sq.; A. Świderek, *La propriété foncière privée*, Wrocław 1960.

⁴⁰ A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 386.

⁴¹ Besides P. Oxy. 1764 also *Sammelbuch* 7242 ab. 200; C.P.H. 29 from the times of Gallienus can be cited here; it seems, however, that the orchard was deserted; also P. Oxy. 1631(280).

⁴² See P. Oxy. 1759, 1760, 2153.

⁴³ See L. Robert, *Philologie et géographie (Anatolia)*, III, 1958, pp. 137 and 144).

⁴⁴ *Pro Flacco* 5, 8; *Georg.* II, 98; *Str.* XIV, 1, 15, (637); *Gal.* 8, 3, 12; *Nat. Hist.* XIV, 74; *Dion.* XIII, 468-470. See A. Jarde, *Dict. Saglio-Pottier, s.v. Vinum*, 913, footnote 48.

⁴⁵ Cato 7, 2; Varro I, 58, 59; *Georgicae* II, 97; Columella III, 2, 7-12; *Nat. Hist.* XIV, 21, 41, 46; Dioscorides 5, 19; Galen 12, 922; Macrobius III, 20, 7; Isidorus 17, 5, 18 sq.

⁴⁶ *Nat. Hist.* XIV, 21.

It is much more difficult to say what the name *Adrianoi* denotes. Possibly it refers to wines from three neighbouring but separate regions on the Adriatic.⁴⁷ Some of these wines were produced by the vineyards in Pucinum on the Bay of Tergeste (now Trieste),⁴⁸ others came from the region of Hadria in the province of Venetia, near the estuary of Padus,⁴⁹ and the third group from the wine-making centres of Ancona, Praetutium and Hadria in Picenum.⁵⁰ The latter were the best known and probably Athenaios had them in mind when he described the wine known as *Adrianos* as 'pleasant to imbibe, palatable and as a result harmless'.⁵¹

Lines 8—11 can be interpreted according to the meaning attached to the genitives dependent on τὰς χρείας 1.9. Namely τὰς χρείας Ἀδρειανῶν καὶ Ἀμιννοίων could be a compound of the first part of the sentence and then it would mean: 'For we will have a need of foreign wine,' i.e., of Adriatic wine and Aminnoian wine. The use of the word χρεία, once in the singular, once in the plural, to express the same meaning: need, seems to us very clumsy. It would be much simpler, in our opinion, to put the following reading on this passus: 'Calpurnius needs foreign wines for (the production) of Adriatic and Aminnoian wines', i.e. wines known under these names.

The acceptance of this hypothesis would mean that certain wines, in particular those of Tmolos, would be mixed with Italian wines to give the latter better body. This interpretation is justified by Athenaios' remark concerning *Adrianos*: 'just as in the case of Albano and Falerno it should be difused and left for some time.'⁵² The most convincing argument, however, is supplied by Pliny's remark about *Tmolites*: — its importance consisted not so much in its value as such, but as an admixture. Added to other wines, it lessened their pungency and gave them a taste characteristic of more mature wines.⁵³

Irrespective of certain ambiguities, this fragment demonstrates that Egypt imported in the first half of the 3rd century very expensive wines like *Tmolites* and various kinds of Adriatic and Aminnoian wines.⁵⁴

However, there is not enough detailed evidence concerning this question.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ *Nat. Hist.* XIV, 60 (about the incorrect distinction between wines from Pucinum and Praetutium); *Anthologia* 6, 257 (about the muddled names of different Adriatic wines).

⁴⁸ *Nat. Hist.* III, 127; XIV, 60; XVI, 31.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* XIV, 67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* XIV, 60, 67, 75; Strabo V, 4, 2.

⁵¹ Athenaios I, 33 a-b. See Dioscorides 5, 10; Galen I, 26.

⁵² Athenaios I, 33 b.

⁵³ *Nat. Hist.* XIV, 74

⁵⁴ To the fact that Calpurnius had numerous varieties of both kinds of wines points the use of the plural Ἀδρειανῶν and Ἀμιννοίων. Compare the juxtaposed singular Τυμολίτην (Τυμολίτων is indecipherable) and for the wine from Aminneia, O. Petrie 224, 240.

⁵⁵ L. C. West, *Phases of Commercial Life in Roman Egypt* (*J.R.S.* VII, 1917, pp. 45-58), A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 352.

The most often used source is Clement of Alexandria, but he is against luxury in general and it seems doubtful that the precious objects mentioned by him could be used in compiling a detailed list of products imported by Alexandria.⁵⁶

Papyri make above all mention of the wines from Colophon, Cos, Cnidus, Pramnós and Rhodes;⁵⁷ less often of wines from Loadicea, Crete and Spain.⁵⁸ Import of wines from Lydia is attested directly by a mention of 'jars from Tmolos' in the papyri of the 2nd century (P. Oxy. 1759/; 1760) and the 3rd century (P. Fay. 104, a list on which *τυρωλετικῶν* comes after *ξενικοῦ οἴνου*).⁵⁹

Aminnoian wine is twice mentioned in the 1st century, namely in the year 6 (O. Petrie 224) and in 34 (O. Petrie 240). Next we see it on the mutilated list of products found in Karanis (O. Mich. 250, 3/4th century), which is nevertheless important since apart from Egyptian goods *Αἰγυπτιακῶν* 11.3, 6, mentions also those which come from Italy *Ἰταλικῶν* 1.2: probably among them are Aminnoian *Ἀμινναῖα κ[ε]ράμια* 1.8 and Adriatic wines *Ἀδριακῶν* 1.9. It is the second mention, apart from P. Ianda. 99, concerning Adriatic wines in Egypt. It is possible that they are *Aminnaioi* and *Adrianoi* we are told about in a document from the archives of Apion and Horion, which we mentioned above, dated to before 180. On the recto of a letter sent to steward Ninnarius there is an account in which the abbreviations *αμε()* and *αδρι()* or *αδ()* are used several times.

Thus papyri tell us very little about the imports of Italian wines. This naturally increases the importance of P. Ianda. 99. On its basis we can try to solve the problem of the use to which these wines were put.

It is possible that Calpurnius kept them for his own use.⁶⁰ Against this hypothesis argues the fact that wine was imported in considerable quantities and that consignments comprised several different kinds; besides being a landowner cultivating vineyards, growing fruit and engaging in business transactions, Calpurnius possibly prepared — with the help of a specialist — mixtures and used for this purpose imported wines.⁶¹ Thus we are inclined to the opinion

⁵⁶ See Johnson's opinion, *ibid.*, p. 352, footnote 34.

⁵⁷ Documentation, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ Wines from Loadicea: O. Petrie 241, 289, 290; from Crete: O. Petrie 247; from Spain (?): O. Petrie 261.

⁵⁹ See *ξενικόκουφον* in P. Oxy. 2153.

⁶⁰ This is the case of a certain Constantine, who in the 5th century wrote to his friend: 'Will your discretion vouchsafe... to assist the noble Paul, who has been sent by me to purchase wine for me, and do not allow the boat of wine (?) to be overcharged at the custom-house... God knows that in reality I am not writing this to protect somebody, but it is for myself that I am bringing this wine.' P. Oxy. 1872 = Sel. Pap. I, 166.

⁶¹ The sense of the passus could be as follows: 'I will immediately send for Ptolemaios since I do not deal myself with these wines (i.e., Adriatic and Aminnoian wines and their conservation).'

that Calpurnius, a figure representative of the circle of Alexandrian aristocracy,⁶² imported Italian wines not for his own consumption but for sale.

Since this wine was brought to the Oxyrynchus nome it might have been bought by rich inhabitants of the metropolis and of other cities further to the south.⁶³

It is also possible that the wine was exported from Egypt, in which case Calpurnius' estate would be the second stage in its itinerary in Egypt.⁶⁴ From P. Ianda. 99 we know that it was kept, perhaps seasoned, poured into jars, partly sold and possibly prepared for further consignment. Here comes to mind the eastern and the far-eastern trade.⁶⁵

To substantiate this hypothesis three arguments can be adduced: the kind of wines in point, the date of the transaction, and the information we have about Calpurnius.

The staple article of export to the countries on the Erytreian Sea (the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf) were wines, particularly of the kind in question. According to Strabo⁶⁶ Aminnoian wines, mentioned in the 1st century together with wines from Laodicea, Crete and Spain in the Nicanor archive,⁶⁷ were sent from Coptos to the ports on the Red Sea and from there to India.⁶⁸

At the mouth of the Euphrates, in the port of Ommama on the coast of the Persian Gulf; at the mouth of the Indus; in Barygaza, at present Braoch, in the state of Gudjarat and further to the south, on the coast of Malabar, where, as we know from The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, wine was sold, preferably of Italian origin but also from Laodicea and Arabia.⁶⁹

⁶² M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, p. 491.

⁶³ Municipal aristocracy of Hermopolis, Antinöpolis and Oxyrynchus — the group of curiales has been dealt with in many contributions by C. Préaux. See *La fin de l'Antiquité en Egypte* (*Chr. d'Egypte* 47, 1949, pp. 123-132); *La singularité de l'Egypte*, (*ibid.* 49, 1950, pp. 110-123); *Les raisons de l'originalité de l'Egypte*, (*Museum Helveticum*, 10, fasc. 3/4, 1953, pp. 203-221). About the situation of Oxyrynchus see Mertens, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁶⁴ About diffusion of wine see Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, pp. 92 and 196.

⁶⁵ With regard to this question we would like to refer only to the latest studies by J. Schwartz, *Les Palmyréniens et l'Egypte* (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, 40, 1953, pp. 3-21); *L'Empire romain, l'Egypte, et le commerce oriental* (*Annales E.S.C.*, Year 15, No. 1, January-February 1960, pp. 18-44).

⁶⁶ Strabo, XVI, 752.

⁶⁷ This archive is composed of O. Petrie 220-304, O. Bruss. 7, O. Tait 1968-1971. See A. Fuks, *Notes on the Archive of Nicanor* (*J.J.P.* V/1951/, pp. 207-216).

⁶⁸ Rostovtzeff's opinion that of the products mentioned in the archive only medicines were earmarked for export can hardly be accepted. See J. Schwartz, *op. cit.* (*Annales E.S.C.*, p. 29).

⁶⁹ Periplus, paragraph 49: προχωρεῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον οἶνος προηγούμενος Ἰταλικὸς καὶ Λαοδικηνὸς καὶ Ἀραβικὸς καὶ . . . τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς εἰσφερόμενα . . . καὶ διάφορος οἶνος; § 6: προχωρεῖ δὲ . . . καὶ οἶνος Λαοδικηνὸς καὶ Ἰταλικὸς οὐ πολλὸς. See also M. Wheeler, *Les influences romaines au dela des frontieres imperiales*, pp. 145-158.

Strabo, Pliny and the ostraca from the Nicanor archive attest the lively character of this trade in the 1st century. A certain passage in *Digesta* (XXXIX, 4, 16, 7) would suggest that it was still continued in the times of Marc Aurely. Evidence substantiating the persistence of this trade in later times has been supplied by the studies of J. P i r e n n e,⁷⁰ who maintains that the traditional date of the origin of *The Periplus*, ab. 75, should be rejected. The date suggested by the author, 230, is also accepted by P. L é v ê q u e,⁷¹ who mentions the year 238 as an alternative. He agrees, however, with J. P i r e n n e that in all probability it should be dated to the close of the Severian dynasty.⁷²

The fact that wines 'preferably of Italian origin' were sold in trading-posts in India at a time when Adriatic and Aminnoian wines were imported into Egypt, which was clearly a transit stage, should not be taken to mean that Calpurnius, who imported these wines, had necessarily to play some role in the trade with the coast of the Erytreian Sea.

We must also make provision for other sources from the same period. A badly mutilated inscription of 194, found in Alexandria, mentions sailors and a fleet from the Red Sea.⁷³ A little after 212 a dedication from Medamoud mentions the names of two persons 'shipowners and merchants from the coast of the Erytreian Sea'; these are two women aristocrats of Alexandria: *matronae stolatae* Aelia Isidora and Aelia Olympias.⁷⁴ In 260 a certain Alexandrian shipowner also made a dedication in a temple of Coptos.⁷⁵ In the first half of the 3rd century, notwithstanding the competition of Palmyrians, rich Alexandrians, it seems, played an important role in the trade with the East.

This is the social group to which, in our opinion, Calpurnius belonged.

The above considerations have a hypothetical character. Irrespective of their correctness, the fact remains that P. Ianda. 99 is a document throwing valuable light on developments during the reign of the Severian dynasty:⁷⁶

⁷⁰ J. Pirenne, *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qataba et sa datation d'après l'archéologie et les sources classiques jusqu'au Periplus de la mer Erythrée*, Louvain, 1961; *Un problème-clé pour la chronologie de l'Orient: La date de "Periplus de la mer Erythrée"* (*Journal Asiatique*, 1961, pp. 441-459).

⁷¹ P. Lévêque, *La date du Periplus de la mer Erythrée* (*R.E.G.*, LXXVI, No. 361-363/1963/, pp. 428-9).

⁷² *Ibid.*; underlining by Lévêque.

⁷³ IGRR 1062 = *Arch. f. Pap.* II, p. 443, No. 77 = *Sammelbuch* 8821.

⁷⁴ P. Jouguet, *Dedicace grecque de Medamoud* (*BIFAO* 31/1930/, p. 1-29 = SEG VIII, 703 = *Sammelbuch* 7539).

⁷⁵ IGRR 1181 = *Arch. f. Pap.* II, p. 450, No. 90 = *Sammelbuch* 8821.

⁷⁶ It is worth mentioning here the latest treatment of this question: T. Pekary, *Studien zur römischen Währungs- und Finanzgeschichte von 161 bis 235 n. Chr.* (*Historia*, VIII/1959/ pp. 443-489); G. Waiser and T. Pekary, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches. Bericht über die Forschungen zur Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts (193-294 n. Chr.) von 1939 bis 1959*, Berlin 1962; R. Rémondon, *La crise de L'Empire romain*, Paris 1964, pp. 266-269.

the growth of the Empire's villages and towns; the large-scale production of Italian wine; the lively trade which flourished — even though it did not extend to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean — in the Mediterranean basin; the appearance of a new social group of *honestiores* at the time of Caracalla's death and which had both political importance and a strong economic position based on trade and agricultural production.

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Hanna G e r e m e k

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XXIX. Edited with a commentary by D. Page. London 1963. pp. 33 + Planches XX.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XXX. Edited with notes by E. Lobel. London 1964. pp. 98 + Planches XXI.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XXXI. Edited with translations and notes by J. W. B. Barns, P. Parsons, J. Rea, E. G. Turner. London 1966. pp. 307 + Planches X.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XXXII. Edited with notes by E. Lobel. London 1967. pp. 139 + Planches XV.

Les volumes XXIX et XXX ne contiennent que des papyrus littéraires. Dans le volume XXIX, D. Page nous offre la publication d'un seul texte (N° 2506), mais qui présente de sérieuses difficultés d'édition, d'interprétation et enfin des difficultés purement philologiques. Ce sont notamment 176 fragments d'un ou de plusieurs volumes écrits d'une main caractéristique de la haute période du II^e s. p., et qui constituent apparemment une sorte de commentaire ayant trait à un choix de poèmes de: Alkman, Stésichore, Sappho et Alcée. Malheureusement aucune trace manuscrite ne s'y laisse déposer, ce qui aurait permis de comprendre la construction du commentaire et aurait facilité l'interprétation de celui-ci. De l'avis de l'éditeur, le manuscrit était de mauvaise tenue du papyrus et est une des raisons.

Parmi les remarques les plus intéressantes qu'on relève dans le texte, notons d'abord l'opinion de l'auteur — un peu obscure d'ailleurs — sur l'origine d'Alkman (fr. 1, cf. commentaire p. 32), ensuite la thèse que le motif de la seconde naissance d'Oriste survenu grâce à la bouc de ses cheveux, qui figure dans les *Chéphores*, a été emprunté par Eschyle à Stésichore (fr. 26, col. II, cf. commentaire p. 31). Notons enfin l'information fort curieuse et apparemment attestée par Chamaition qui — à en croire Athen. XIV 630c — s'était particulièrement occupé de Stésichore, que celui-ci a été l'auteur de deux poésies et non pas d'une seule, l'autre ayant eu pour sujet le critique d'Hésiode d'un d'Homère (fr. 26, col. 1, cf. commentaire pp. 35-37). Le même fragment atteste également — contrairement à l'opinion de Dion de Prase — que, déjà dans la