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Tomasz Derda

P. NAQLUN INV. 66/87: LIST OF CLOTHING
DELIVERED TO THE MONASTERY

*To the memory of Zbyszek Borkowski
my teacher and friend*

The papyrus, which was found at the bottom of the storage pit in room D of hermitage 2, was folded at the time of discovery. Upon removal it broke into three pieces: 5.6 x 13.0 cm (fragment A), 6.0 x 13.0 cm (fragment B) and 4.7 x 4.5 cm (fragment C).

The text is written only on the *recto*, and runs in the same direction as the fibers. Spread out, the fragments form a card with original edges preserved at the top and on the sides. There is no doubt that the text in lines 1-8 on the left side of the card is fully preserved, making the left margin — constituted by practically all of fragment B — 6 cm wide! The writing is a relatively skilled cursive, although not without elements of the majuscule. This type of writing is characteristic of the VIth century.

P. Naqlun inv. 66/87 is a *γνώσις ὀνελασίῳν*, that is, a list of things (pieces of clothing as shown by what follows) delivered on donkeyback to the monastery¹. The document was drawn up by a certain Joseph who received payment for his service (ll. 4-5) to the amount of one golden solidus and six trienses (i.e. coins equalling $\frac{1}{3}$ of a solidus). Since the sum seems inappropriately high for simply transporting something, it probably also covers the price of the listed pieces of clothing. The document is presumably a bill for the clothes delivered to the monastery or a kind of way-bill sent with the shipped goods. The phrase *παρ' ἐμοῦ* should be connected with the noun *γνώσις* ("list, from me, Joseph, of things ...") or the noun *ὀνελασίῳν* ("list of things ... from me, Joseph"); this, however, is of little importance for interpreting the text. In either case the way-bill was made out by Joseph,

¹ Cf. *infra*, com. ad v. 2.

a clothes merchant, who did not have to deliver the goods to the monastery himself, but could have employed persons to transport the sold pieces of clothing on donkeyback. The latter version seems more probable considering the relatively high value of the clothing sent to the monastery (a total of 3 solidi) which indicates Joseph was not a travelling salesman of goods of small value.

The papyrus was found — as already mentioned — in hermitage 2. It should be added that remains of a donkey pen were discovered in western corner of the hermitage's courtyard². This is only additional proof indicating the importance donkeys had as the chief means of transporting goods needed by the hermits living in the hermitages (the Naqlun *gebel* was not a significant obstacle in terms of heights). Clothes merchant Joseph, or his *ὀνηλάται* was just one of the many people who reached the hermitages on donkeyback.

The list proper starts in l. 6. Only three items are readable; the first two are surely names of monks' garb (*sticharomaforion* and *galerion*), the third may possibly have something to do with it, too, considering the context³.

The new word *γαλέριον* (assuming the reading is correct) is a Grecized form of the Latin *galerum/galerus*⁴. Latin terms, or rather terms loaned straight from the Latin, used to denote articles of dress, are common in Greek papyri, particularly in the Byzantine period⁵.

P. Naqlun inv. 66/87
Hermitage 2, Room D,
storage pit

A: 5.6 x 13.0 cm.
B: 6.0 x 13.0 cm.
C: 4.7 x 4.5 cm.

Vith century

Fig. 3

Fragment A.

† Γνώσις
ὀνελασίων
παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωσήφ
χρυσίου νομισμάτιον) α

² W. GODLEWSKI, T. HERBICH, E. WIPSYCYKA, *Deir el-Naqlun (Nekloni) 1986-87: First Preliminary Report*, "Nubica" 1-2, 1989, pp. 171-207; hermitage 2 is described on pp. 194-197, but remains of the donkey pen have not been recorded here.

³ None of the three terms mentioned in this document was included in K.C. INNEMÉE'S, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1992.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, com. ad l. 8.

⁵ E.g. P. Munich iii 142 (VIth cent.) contains 12 examples of such words taken straight from the Latin (some of them have an origin going back to the Celtic and even Germanic languages).



IV/N/77

N. 66/87

Fig. 3. P. Naqlun inv. 66/87

5	(καὶ) τρίμισα ἔξ στιχαρομαφ(όριον) μοναχικ(όν)	a
	γαλέριον	a
	...]αλλοδ()	a
10]ξ	a
	

Fragment C.

.....
].
 (καὶ) ῥάχνη . [
 ..]. (καὶ) αρ() [
 ..]. [].. [

2. ὄνελασίων = ὄνηλασίων; 3. εἰς pap.; 4. χῥῖ / ν^ο pap.; 5. ὅ (= καὶ) pap.; 6. στιχαρομαφ / pap.; 7. μοναχικ / pap.; 8. γαλέριον = γαλέριον; 9. ...]αλλοδ' pap.; 11., 12. ὅ (= καὶ) pap.

“List of things (?) brought on donkeyback, from me, Joseph, [valued at] one golden solidus and six trienses:

monks' <i>sticharomaforion</i>	1 piece
<i>galerion</i>	1 piece
.....	1 piece
.....	1 piece
.....	
.....	
and cloaks (habits?)	”

2. ὄνελασίων (= ὄνηλασίων). Even though there is a lacuna in the place of the almost completely destroyed letter following *alpha*, the reading seems absolutely certain. The obvious *iota* after the lacuna excludes the reading ὄνελάτων.

The meaning of the phrase γνῶσις ὄνελασιων which opens P. Naqlun inv. 66/87 is not clear. The noun ὄνηλασία, which in papyri has a strictly technical meaning (*Wörterbuch*: “Eselhalterei, insbesondere die Pflicht, eine bestimmte Anzahl von Eseln für öffentliche Zwecke zu halten”), and is often used to mean liturgy (cf. F. OERTEL, *Die Liturgie*.

Studien zur Ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens, Leipzig 1917, pp. 117-118; A. LEONE, *Gli animali da trasporto nell'Egitto greco, romano e bizantino*, Roma - Barcelona 1988, pp. 35-36), has no sense here, if the phrase γυῶσις ὄνελασιῶν is considered in conjunction with the list of garments which follows. What's more, it is doubtful the noun ὄνηλασία could appear in the plural.

Presumably then, it is the word ὄνελάσιον, which we are dealing with in our papyrus, or rather its plural τὰ ὄνελάσια. The word ὄνηλάσιον is known from only one source so far and its meaning there is hardly obvious. P. Ryl. ii 183a (A.D. 16) is a receipt for a shipment of hay made out by Ptolemaios son of Leonides who referred to himself as *προστάτης ὄνηλασίου ὄνων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδ(ρου)*. Interestingly, the editors of this papyrus (J.M. JOHNSON, V. MARTIN and A.S. HUNT) all but omitted the word ὄνηλασίου from their translation ("superintendent of the donkeys of Apollonius son of Alexander"). The word entered dictionaries later as τὸ ὄνηλάσιον, but its interpretation was hardly clear (*Wörterbuch*: "Eselstallung"; *LSJ*: "provision of stabling for donkeys"). Of course, these meanings do not have any sense in the context of P. Naqlun inv. 66/87. The rest of our text suggests τὰ ὄνελάσια (= τὰ ὄνηλάσια) should be understood as "things delivered on donkeyback".

The noun τὰ ὄνελάσια is written here with an *epsilon* instead of the expected *eta*, but I have refrained from changing this in the *apparatus*. Just as the noun ὄνηλάτης/ὄνελάτης could be written in both forms (cf. *Wörterbuch*, s.vv.; *LSJ*, s.vv.), so the word ὄνηλάσιον could have been written with an *epsilon* without being treated as a simple spelling mistake (it is not a *iotacism*, but a phonetic variant, after all!). F.Th. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. I, *Phonology*, Milano 1976, p. 243, was unjustified in considering the analyzed phenomenon in the same way as mistakes like ἀλεθῆ (instead of ἀληθῆ) etc., although his own list indicates quite clearly that in the case of the words ὄνηλάτης and ὄνηλασία "mistakes" occurred surprisingly often. Quite probably we are dealing here with doubts about how to join the noun ὄνος with the verb ἐλαύνω. Also the noun ἐλάτης, "driver", could have had an influence on the noun ὄνηλάτης/ὄνελάτης being written with an *epsilon*.

4. ἕ[ξ] is the reading proposed by Jean GASCOU. The expected numeral here can only be ἕξ, because the way *epsilon* is written excludes a joining with *pi* (ἕπτά) but is easily explained as a connection with a following *xi* written below the line.

6-7. στιχαρομαφ(όριον) μοναχικ(όν). Στιχαρομαφόριον (*Wörterbuch*, s.v., "ein mit dem Rocke verbundenes Kopftuch, Kapuze(?)") is a noun made up of στιχάριον (*Wörterbuch*, s.v., "Rock, eng anliegendes Kleidungsstück"; cf. K. INNEMÉE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 44-45; P. VAN MINNEN, *P. Leid.* (= P. L. Bat. 25) 13, com. ad l. 28: "a tunic, a long 'shirt' covering the whole body") and μαφόριον (= μαφόριον = μαφόρτης) (*Wörterbuch*, s.v., "Kopfschleicher, Kopftuch"). Both nouns occur often both in papyri and in Christian literature; the former can mean the thin outer garment worn by monks (*GPL*, s.v. 1), as well as a priest's liturgical alba (*ibidem*, s.v. 2). It is also worth noting that the word μαφόρτης is of a foreign, Celtic origin (cf. P. Meyer 23, com. ad l. 6).

The compound noun στιχαρομαφόριον, which is not found in literature, has appeared in a number of papyri: SB III 6024 (byz.), ll. 2, 3, 7; 7033 (Vth cent.), l. 39; SPP XX 275 (VIth cent.) l. 6; P. Cairo Masp. I 67006, *verso*, ll. 80, 85 (l. 80: ἦτοι στιχα<ρο>-μαφόρια; cf. P. Oxy. XVI 1978, com.); P. Leid. (= P. L. Bat. 25) and P. Oxy. XVI 1978 (VIth cent.). This last document is particularly interesting for it is probably part of a marriage contract (at least according to its editors) listing the garments, chiefly *sticharomaforia*, which include red *sticharomaforia* from Antioch (l. 10), other red *sticharomaforia* (l.

7), octagonal *sticharomaforia* from Antioch (l. 5), and *sticharomaforia* with red borders dyed with Achaian purple (l. 3: *στιχαρομαφόριον* [πα]ραγαύδωτον ἀπὸ Ἀχάης; cf. J. DIET-HART, *Corr. Tyche* 27, "Tyche" 4, 1989, pp. 237-238. However, none of the mentioned *sticharomaforia* have anything to do with monk's garb, meaning that the noun could have been used also to denote a kerchief worn by ordinary people (judging by the variety they may have been part of female apparel).

Following the editors of P. Oxy. XVI 1978, P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, *Στιχαρομαφόριον/στιχαροφελώνιν*, ZPE 39, 1980, pp. 162-163, observed that a noun having *στιχάριον* as the first part of the compound should rather be *στιχαριομαφόριον*; going even further, P.J. Sijpesteijn suggested that both terms appearing in the title of the article should be understood as compounds from *στίχος* (and not from *στιχάριον*). In that case the noun *στιχαρομαφόριον* would mean as much as "striped veil". P. VAN MINNEN, P. Leid. (= P. L. Bat. 25) 13, com. ad l. 5, disagreed with P.J. Sijpesteijn, arguing that the noun *στιχαρομαφόριον* means "a type of veil worn over a *στιχάριον* [as] *κολοβιομαφόριον* is a type of veil worn over a *κολόβιον*, etc.". Van Minnen's reasoning, although based chiefly on common sense, seems quite convincing.

It is also worth noting that in P. Naqlun inv. 66/87 the noun appears for the first time together with the adjective *μουναχικόν*. Thus we can assume it meant: "a monk's head covering, a hood with the habit (in contrast to *γαλέριον*)".

8. *γαλέριον* is a very probable reading, although only the top parts of the first three letters have been preserved. *Gamma* is written exactly as in *γῶσις* (l. 1). Of the *alpha* only a small part of the stroke going up to the right has been preserved; as for the third letter only a dot is visible indicating that the letter was written lower than others, as was usual for *lambda* written in the cursive of the VIth century.

Γαλέριον is a word unknown in Greek dictionaries. It should be understood as a Greek diminutive from the Latin word *galerum/galerus* which means a head covering of leather (*ThLL*, s.v., 1: "capitis tegimen de pelle") as well as a head covering indicating priestly authority (ibidem, 1b: "insigne sacerdotum regumque"). The Latin *galerum* comes from *galea*, and this in turn from the Greek *γαλέη* (cf. *ThLL*, s.vv.; A. ERNOUT, A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, nouvelle édition, Paris 1939, s.v. *galea*; *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* von A. WALDE, 3., neubearbeitete Auflage von J.B. HOFMANN, Band I, Heidelberg 1938, s.v. *galea*). Even so, the *γαλέριον* in P. Naqlun inv. 66/87 should rather be considered as a word taken over straight from Latin, particularly since there is no evidence of *γαλέη* being used in papyri.

It is difficult to define *γαλέριον* exactly. Perhaps it is a covering of the head which is not part of a habit (in contrast to *στιχαρομαφόριον*), or perhaps (by analogy to the second meaning of the Latin *galerum*) *γαλέριον* means the covering of the head worn by priests of high rank in the hierarchy (abbot or bishop?).

9-10. In indices to K. INNEMÉE's work, op. cit., there is no term ending in *xi* or including the letters *αλλοδ()*. Possibly the article of clothing mentioned in line 9 was of foreign origin (adjective *ἀλλοδαπός* "auswärtig" [F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.], is used in various documents of the VIth and VIIth century, although not in connection with clothing). The name of this garment would have had to be very brief — just 3 or 4 letters. Possibly the adjective referred to another *galerum*, other than the one mentioned in l. 8, and the lacuna should be filled with the conjunction *καί*, giving the following sense of the lines 8-9:

<i>galerum</i> (of local production)	— 1 piece
and a foreign [<i>galerum</i>]	— 1 piece

11. *ράχνος*, *neutrum*, has appeared in papyri twice: as one of the items on the list of articles of dress and textiles, P. Gen. i 80 (IVth century), l. 7: *ράχνη* — *β* (text revised by U. WILCKEN, APF 3, 1903, p. 404; cf. BL i, p. 168); and in a less obvious context, SPP iii (=P. Klein. Form.) 407 (VIth cent.), l. 1: *λατ() α (sic!) (καὶ) ράχνη πρασινω() ἔχου(σιω)* (F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *ράχνος*, suggests *ράχνη πράσινα*). The editor of P. Gen. i 80 (J. NICOLE) understood the noun *ράχνη* as “un tissu très fin” (cf. com. ad loc. cit.); in dictionaries the noun is given the meaning “cloak” (*Wörterbuch*, s.v., “Mantel(?)”; *LSJ*, s.v., “perh. cloak”). However, it is difficult to consider its meaning as certain, especially in the view of the fact that it appears only in papyri and its etymology remains unknown. The context of our papyrus suggests that it referred to some kind of outer garment worn by monks, like the habit for instance, but not the same as *σχήμα*, which was the usual term used in literature and papyri to denote habits worn by monks (cf. *Wörterbuch*, s.v. 2; *GPL*, s.v. 8.c).

[Warszawa]

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