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Notes on Papyri from Roman Egypt II

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10. [P.Stras. 4 210](#) (Arsinoite, 90–95):¹ *Paramone* at an Imperial Oil Mill

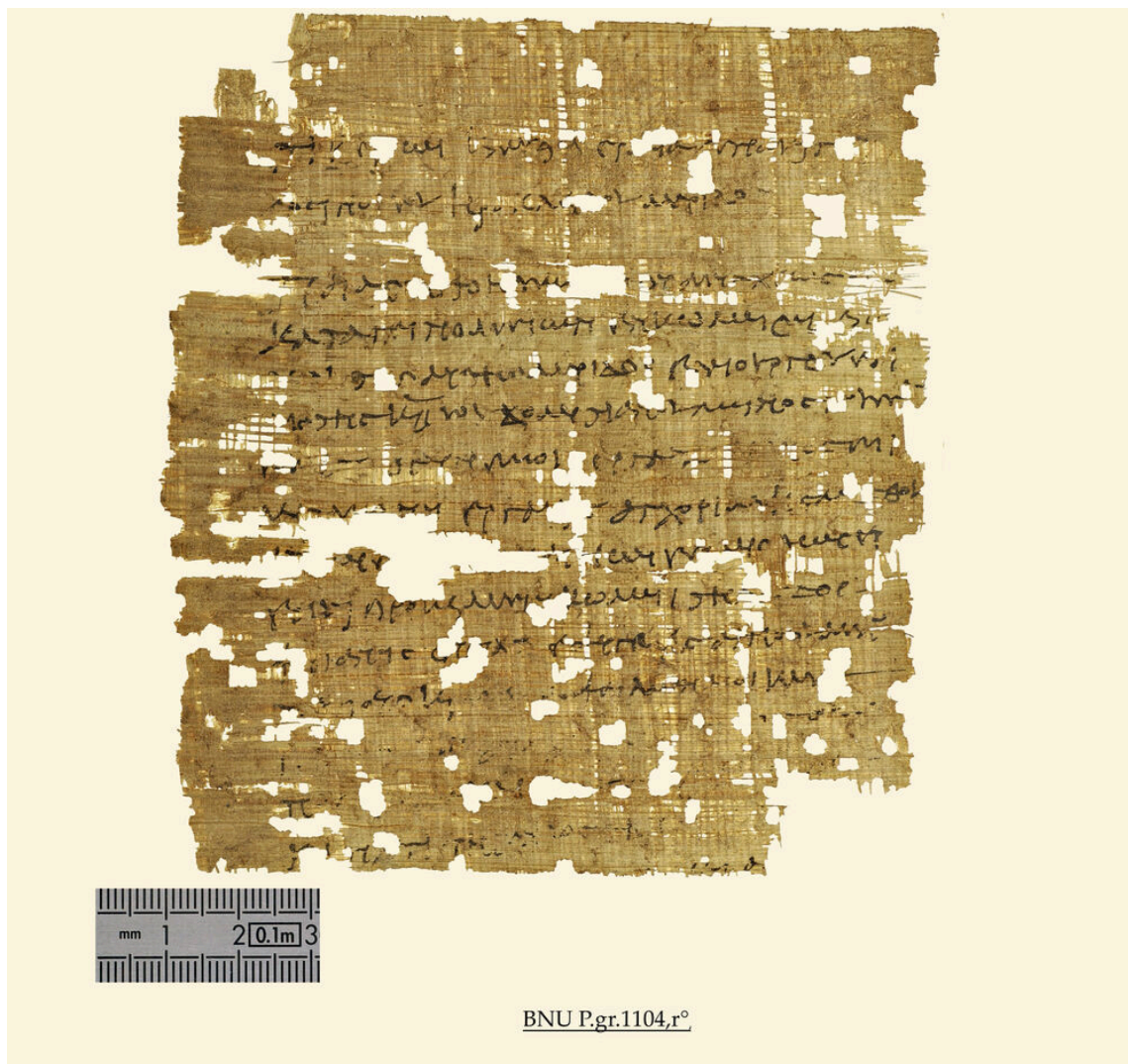


Fig. 1: P.Stras 4 210. © MISHA - BNU. Photography by Pascal Disdier and Ruey-Lin Chang.

§1 This petition hasn’t entered into discussions of *paramone* due to the simple fact that the word was not printed in line 8.² The passage runs ὁ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐργαζ[όμε]νος ἐπὶ [..] ταμονη ἐργά[τη]ς Ἀγχορίμφις Μύσθου (ll. 7–8) and the editor comments, “la lecture la plus possible est *καταμόνη*” (accented sic). Examination of the image supplied to me by Paul Heilporn shows that the expected παραμονῆ is agreeable: the pi is pointed at the top (just as that of Ἀπόγγεως in l. 3) and ligatures into an alpha without a loop, which in turn ligatures into a small rho, partially obscured. The only hesitation may stem from an almost horizontal tick following rho, which I would explain as a connecting or errant stroke.

¹ For the date, see [BGU 20 2851.3 n.](#)

² [Freu 2022](#), esp. 25–51, is the most up-to-date treatment of *paramone* in Egypt.

- §2 The work took place in a leased oil mill, as line 9 makes clear: ..ωι ε[... ἐλ]αιουργίωι ἐν μισθώσει. Here the editor considered but ultimately abandoned the reading ἐν ὧι ἔ[χω ἐλ]αιουργίωι (“impossible paléographiquement”), but this is surely right: of ἐν, the first stroke of epsilon is visible, nearly vertical as in the same preposition later in the line (though the ligature is not quite the same), while the horizontal of nu is where one would expect it; thereafter, the right side of omega can be seen connecting to final iota as in the first name of the *strategos* in line 1.
- §3 According to the next line, this oil mill belonged to an imperial estate and was located in the “aforementioned village,” referring back to line 4, where the petitioner is said to be domiciled in ἐν κώμῃ Σεβεργ[]|ν, as printed in the *ed. pr.* The residence of the petitioner can be read as Σεβενγ[ύ]|τωι, an identification anticipated by Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* 4.3, 252 and already recorded in Trismegistos (☞ [TM GeoRef 5458](#)). The petitioner’s name and patronym (Stoetis son of Apynchis) are both typical of Soknopaiou Nesos, a connection suggested by the editor’s note to l. 4, and this may indeed be where the papyrus was found.
- §4 The final preserved lines are challenging due to abrasion. In lines 12–13, the editor read κατε|φρ[....]|να|. Instead of the lower parts of φρ, I see these two uprights as the legs of pi and suggest κατὰ | παραμονήν, mostly based on sense since the traces are exiguous, but also drawing on the editor’s nu, which looks right.
- §5 The petition is similar to the more frequently cited ☞ [P.Ryl. 2 128](#) (Euhemeria, 30), which likewise narrates the flight of a paramonial worker, this time a girl, from an estate oil mill. Her position is described in comparable terms to the worker in the Strasbourg papyrus: ἡ παρ’ ἐμοὶ οὐσα ὑποσύγγραφος Σουήρις Ἀρσύθμιος παρεμβάλλουσα (ll. 7–10).³ Both petitions underline the contractual basis of the employment, as does ☞ [P.NYU 2 3.15](#), in which the petitioner relates that his donkey driver “was in agreement” (συνγνὸς ἦν) with the terms of the contract.⁴

³ On this text, see ☞ [Clayton, Litinas, and Nabney 2016](#), 91, where Soueris’ position is compared to that of Tahaunes, daughter of Harthotes. For a fuller analysis of the Rylands petition, see ☞ [Ratzen 2011](#): 467–483.

⁴ Cf. ☞ [Freu 2022](#): 105.

11. ☞ **SB 20 15033** (= P.Oxy. 2 364 descr., 94)

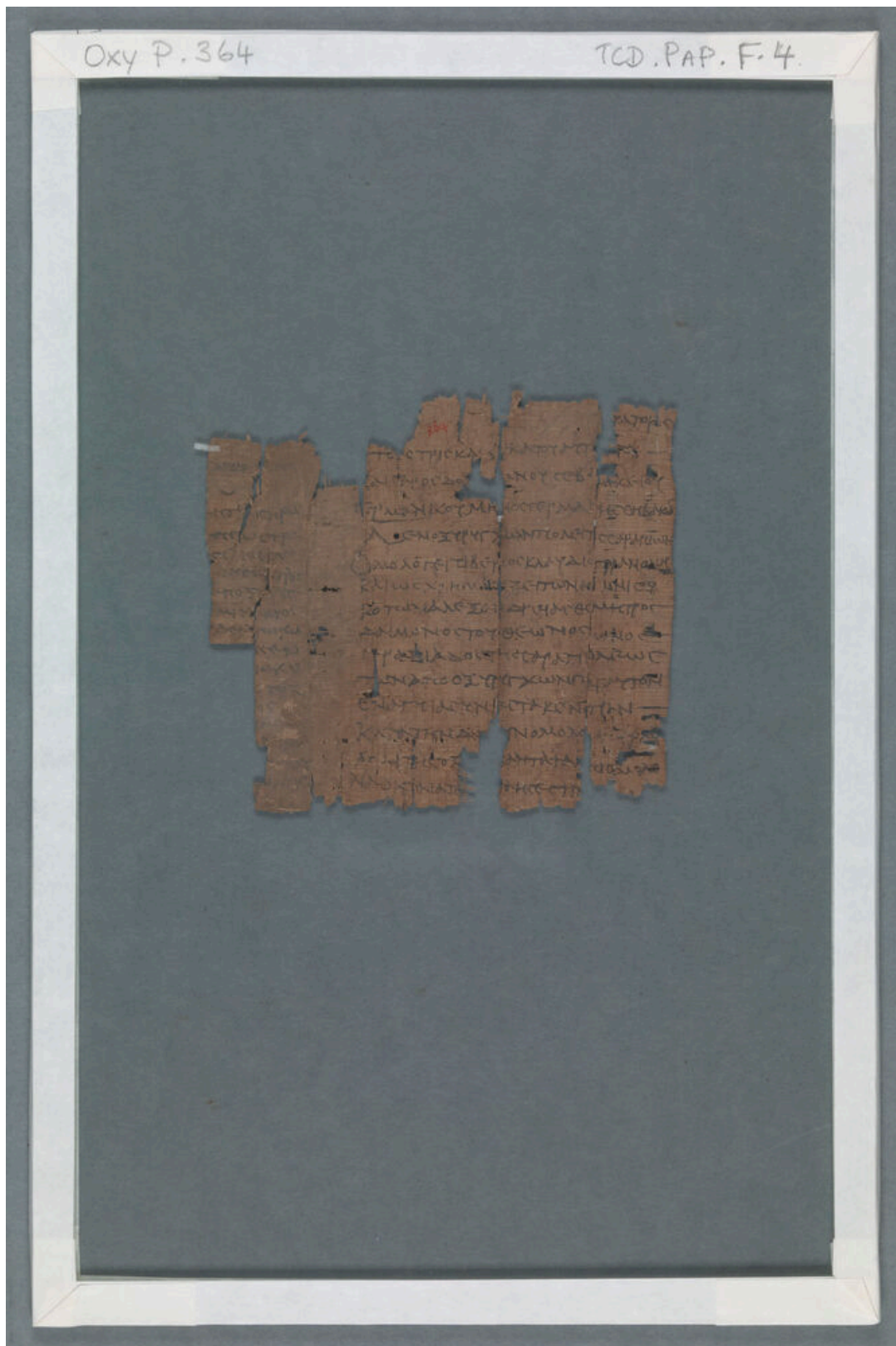


Fig. 2: SB 20 15033r. TCD Ms. Pap. F4 recto. Image courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.



Fig. 3: SB 20 15033v. TCD Ms. Pap. F4 verso. Image courtesy of The Board of Trinity College Dublin.

§6 Described in the second volume of P.Oxy., this papyrus, consisting of two sheets pasted together, was sent to Trinity College Dublin, and the more complete document at the right was published in

☞ **Daris 1989**. It is a mandate drawn up in Oxyrhynchos in 94 through which Ti. Claudius Sarapion, former *agoranomos* of Alexandria, authorizes a local to collect the debts owed to a woman whom he represented in some way (the editor supplies ἐπίτροπος (?) where the papyrus breaks off). Digital images have revealed a small piece folded onto the back of the papyrus, which went unnoticed in the *ed. pr.*, and provides the woman's full name, Octavia Politta. Lines 14–15 can be read as follows:

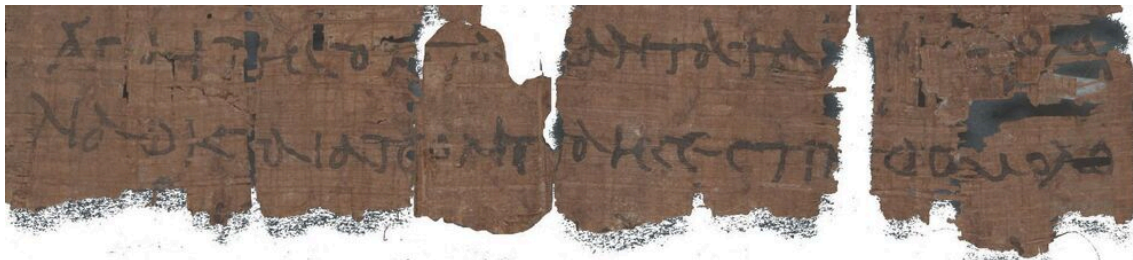


Fig. 4: Detail of TCD Ms. Pap. F4 with digital placement of fragment in ll. 14–15.

ἀπαιτήσοντα πάντα τὰ [ὄφ]ειλόμε-
 15 να Ὀκταία Πολίτιτα, ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ ὁμολο-
 [γῶν ἐπίτροπος (?)]

12. ☞ **Sel.Pap. 2 286 = W.Chr. 268 = BGU 2 515 (Karanis, 193)**

- §7 This petition narrates the aggressive methods of a pair of πράκτορες σιτικῶν, together with their secretary and assistant, to collect a single artaba owed by the petitioner and his brother, resulting in assault on their mother. Originally published as BGU 2 515, the document was improved in Wilcken's Chrestomathie and further refined in Sel. Pap. 2 286.⁵
- §8 Combined efforts have improved the understanding of the end of the narrative and details of the alleged attack, which began when the tax collectors burst into the petitioner's home while he was out in the fields and violently removed his mother's cloak: ἐπε[τ]ίσῆλθαν τῆ ο[ί]κία μου ... [κ]αὶ ἀφῆρπασα[ν] ἀπὸ τῆς [μη]τρὸς μου ἰμά[τι]ον (ll. 13–20). Schubart has so far offered the most attractive solution to what follows in ll. 20–21: καὶ λακ[τί]σασιν αὐτήν | [ἐξ]έβαλον (BL 2.2 18 = BL 3 13).⁶
- §9 As a result of this attack, the petitioner continues, his mother was bedridden: [διὸ ἐκ τ]ούτου τε κλει[ν]ήρους α[ὐ]τῆς γενομένης | [τε (?) καὶ μ]ὴ δυν[αμέ]νης τῶ[ν] [...]ν, as printed in W.Chr. 268.21–23. Commentators sought an infinitive beginning τω- to complement δυν[αμέ]νης (e.g. BL 5 11), but the editors of Sel. Pap. II 286 took the next step by printing [... μ]ὴ δυν[αμέ]νης τῶ | [...]ν, recognizing an articular infinitive with an instrumental use of the dative and leaving space for an infinitive complement of δυν[αμέ]νης.

⁵ Corrections are recorded in BL 1, 2.2, 3, and 5 (and two slight adjustments in Papyri.info). Doc.Eser.Rom. 80 simply reprints the text of W.Chr. 268. The abbreviated personal description was printed as εἰκ(όνικα)· (ἐτῶν) μζ οὐλ(ή) γόνατι δεξιῶ φα(μένου) (?) μὴ εἰδ(έναι) γρ(άμματτα) in Sel.Pap., whereas in BL 3 13 φά(μενος) is given without offering an explicit expansion of εἰκ(). ☞ **Mascellari 2021**, 1016 with n. 26 expanded εἰκ(ονίσθη), which is necessary if the participle is taken as nominative. The formulas are usually so abbreviated as to be ambiguous, but the passive verb is preferable when the notary does not explicitly stand as the subject: cf. εἰκονίσθ(η) φάμενος μὴ εἰδ(έναι) γρ(άμματτα) διὰ Ζω[σί]μου νομογράφου (☞ **SPP 22 55r.22–23**, Soknopaiou Nesos, 167), and contrast Κάστωρ νομογράφος εἰκόνικα φαμένου μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματτα, ☞ **P.Fay. 36.23–24** (Theadelphia, 111–112). See ☞ **Depauw 2011**, particularly 192–193 on these descriptions.

⁶ The latter prints [λακτί]σασιν, though the first three letters are indeed visible on the papyrus, as BL 2.2 18 has it. As for the prefix of -έβαλον, Schubart's supplement is supported by the remains of two horizontal strokes meeting epsilon, which are consistent with those of xi, judging by the example in ἀξιῶ in l. 14. The reading of this passage superseded Kukule's σὺν [τραύ]μσιν αὐτήν | [κατ]έβαλον (BL 1 438).

- §10 An examination of the image, however, reveals an issue with the ending -νης, namely a clear curving stroke before the eta that is not likely to come from nu. It is rather a sigma with the same shape as the final letter, which leads to the participle κινδυν[ε]υούσης. The line can be filled out with [καὶ κινδυν[ε]υούσης, producing a proper τε ... καί correlation in place of the awkward τε ... τε (?) καί of W.Chr. The articular infinitive is then easily supplied, as we have come upon a stock phrase of petitions: [καὶ κινδυν[ε]υούσης τῷ | [ζ]ῆν, which is often paired with κατακλινής or κλινήρης, as here.⁷
- §11 Finally, the name of the first πράκτωρ in ll. 14–15 can be read as Πετε|εύς (Πετε|σι[ο]ς: W.Chr., Πετε|ήσι[ο]ς: Sel.Pap.).

⁷ For examples and discussion, see ↗ [Mascellari 2021](#), 428–431, where the present text is adduced (430–431) for the κλινήρης formula.

§12 The place of writing of this contract has been lost along with the entire right side of the papyrus. The editor supplied ἐν [Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου] | μερίδος based on a note found with the papyrus and the word of the donor (l. 2 n.), rather than internal evidence. Two points speak against the idea, without disproving it: 1) the name and patronym of the creditor, Paouetis (☞ [TM Nam 11187](#)) son of Tanephremmis (☞ [TM Nam 7701](#)), had little currency in Theadelphia but are strongly associated with Soknopaiou Nesos and, to a lesser extent, Karanis; 2) the main hand cannot be identified among those associated with the *grapheion* of Theadelphia at the time (see ☞ [Iannace 2023](#): 200–211).

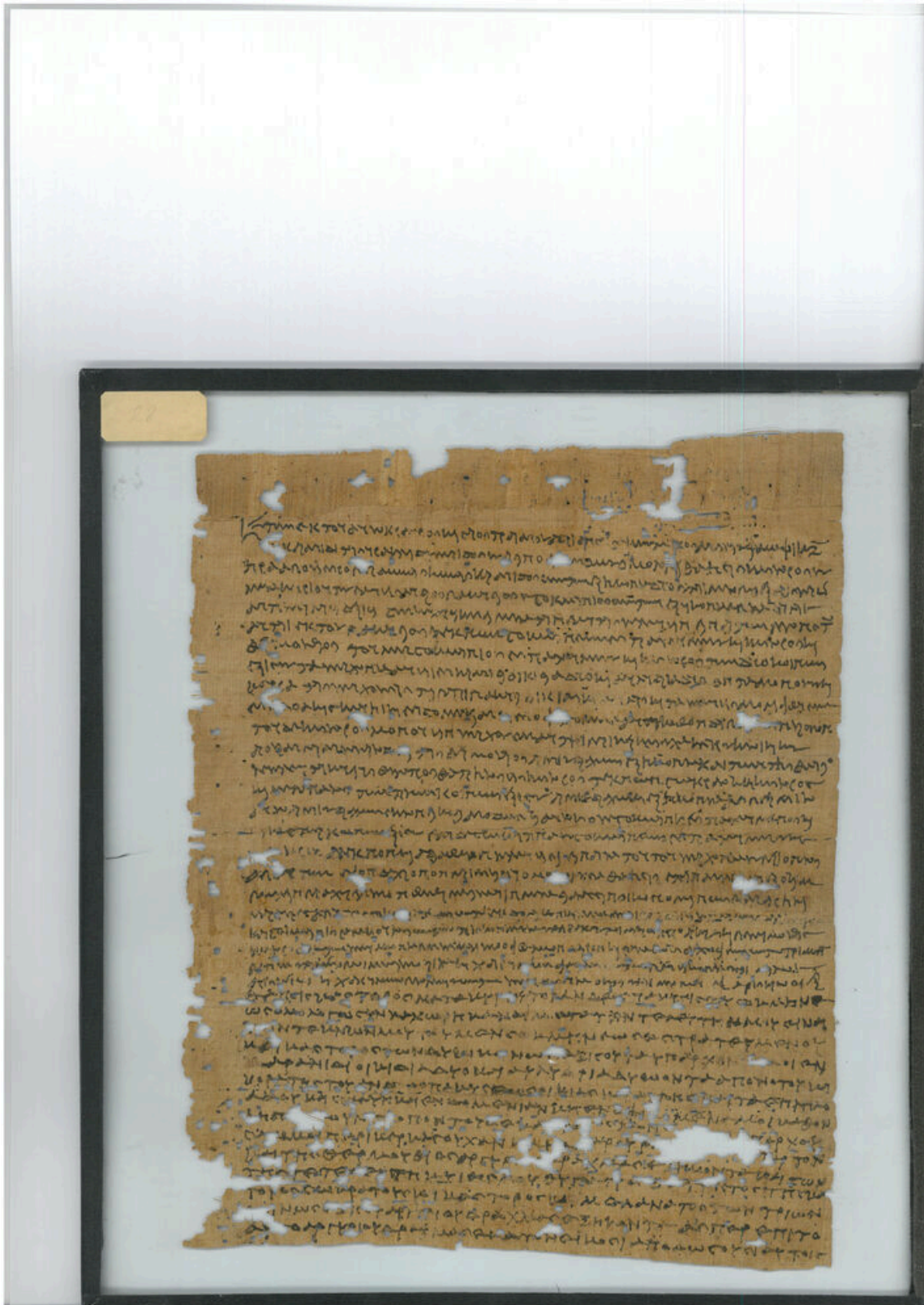


Fig. 6: P.Haun. inv. 28. Image courtesy of Adam Bülow-Jacobsen.

§13 The solution is provided by [P.Haun. inv. 28](#), dated just seven months later (24 Oct., 121), which is unmistakably written in the same main notarial hand: the Athens contract can thus likewise be attributed to Karanis and the second line read and restored ἐν Κ[αρανίδι τῆς Ἡρακλείδου] | μερίδος.

It joins a growing group of texts in the Archaeological Society collection that relate to this village, all more likely than not to have been found there: [P.Athen. 21](#), [P.Athen. 25](#), and [P.Athen. 27](#) are also notarial contracts written there, [P.Athen. 32](#) and [P.Athen. 37+39](#) (= [SB 10 10757](#)) petitions from Karanis residents, [P.Athen. 42](#) (= [SB 14 11912](#)) a declaration of unwatered land near the village, and [P.Athen. 66](#) a letter to be delivered there. Nikolaos Gonis has also recently connected [P.Athen. 19](#) (a lease of ousiac land)⁸ and the tax registers [P.Athen. 48](#)⁹ and [P.Athen. 49](#)¹⁰ to Karanis through internal clues.

§14 The end of line 30 and all of line 31 were left unread in the edition. This is the short subscription of the second party, which following parallels can be read and restored as γέγον[ε εἰς με ἢ ἀπόχη καθὼς πρόκειται],¹¹ as the editor was already thinking (l. 31 n.). The next line contains the illiteracy clause, although *Verschleifung* has obscured its exact rendition. ἔγραψεν can be read at the beginning (the clearest letter is psi), which makes ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ (possibly abbreviated) more-or-less inevitable, even if not readily apparent. Moving to the end of the line, I see γράμματ(α), concluding with a partially-lost tau raised in abbreviation, before which μὴ εἰδό(τος) can be read, all in ligature, except between ει- and -δο. The middle of the line escapes me. It is hard to see all of it as a drawn out ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, so perhaps we have the name and patronym of the subscriber, which can come in this position. I don't have a good solution other than to suggest the possibility that this is another subscription written by the well-attested *hypographeus* Heron son of Satyros, who was active in Karanis' *grapheion* at the time.¹²

14. [BGU 3 855](#) (Soknopaïou Nesos, 157)

§15 This short document is an abstract or draft of a contract concerning a slave girl, evidently arranging for her to work or serve an apprenticeship for one-and-a-half years (with a weaver, as we learn: see below). It is written against the fibers on the back of an unpublished document described as a "Heuerquittung aus der Zeit des Antoninus" in the Berlin inventory.¹³ The contract, presumably written later, opens with the full titulature of this same emperor, with the day of the month squeezed in before the main verb ὁμολογεῖ (no place of writing is recorded). Rather than year ια, we should be read κα (so too already in the Berlin inventory) due to the stroke connecting the two numerals: the date, then, was 7 November, 157.

§16 The name of the first contracting party in l. 3 was printed as [T]αούητ[ις], but since this is a female name and no *kyrios* is recorded, it is better to read the male name Παούητ[ις] (the traces are too meager to be decisive on their own). Some caution is in order, however, since mention of the *kyrios* may simply have been omitted in this version. Another clue to the gender may have stood at the end of the line, but the reading isn't obvious: any of ἱερέυς, ἱερέως (as the editor has it), or ἱερέος would seem possible, the latter two of which could stand for a nominative.

§17 At the beginning of line 5, I read γ[ε]ρδίω, showing that the second party was a weaver. What follows is the major crux, still unsolved. We expect a verb dependent on ὁμολογεῖ, but one can barely quibble with the editor's επ[.]ουμου. Perhaps μου can be separated as the pronoun (cf. the following τὴν παιδίσκιν μου), but this does not get us any closer to a verb, which perhaps was simply omitted by mistake. No doubt the weaver was to be entrusted with the girl (whose name at the end of l. 5 is Τασοῦς [l. Τασοῦν], not Τασεύς), but the precise arrangement remains unclear.

⁸ [Gonis 2023b](#), 124–125.

⁹ [Gonis 2021](#).

¹⁰ [Gonis 2023a](#), 225–227.

¹¹ On the phrase, see [Hagedorn 1998](#).

¹² [Clayton 2014](#).

¹³ Under P. 7287, part of the Sammlung Brugsch acquired in 1891. The Erwerbungsbücher of the Papyrussammlung have been digitized and are available [here](#) (accessed 15 May, 2024).

15. [P.Graux 2 21](#) (Apias, 151 CE)

§18 This is the latest papyrus in the archive of Hermas, son of Heron [\(TM Arch 569\)](#). The reading in l. 2, where *ταριχοπωλικῆς vel sim.* is expected (cf. l. 8), still perplexes, but a minor improvement can be made in the notary's subscription in ll. 22–23:

ἐγράφη δι(ὰ) τοῦ τε... | νομογράφου

→

ἐγράφη δι(ὰ) τοῦ τῆς κώμης | νομογράφου

§19 The editor's epsilon is rather the left half of a partially effaced eta; the remaining traces fit the reading well (for the sigma-kappa ligature just after the lacuna, cf. the next line). "The village" refers to Apias, mentioned twice above. In *hypomnemata* and *cheirographiai*, village notaries usually sign with their name (in contrast to contract registrations, which allowed for anonymity), but cf. [P.Oslo inv. 1468.16–17](#) (54), where the same anonymous identification is used: ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὁ τῆς κώμης νομογράφος. [P.Mich. 5 233.23](#) (24) and [BGU 11 2085.16](#) (119) also make use of the formula ὁ τῆς κώμης νομογράφος after the notary's name.

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