Six Notes on Byzantine Documents

a) P.Ant.II 102: a Note on the Date

This fragmentary loan of money was dated to A.D.390 by the editor on the basis of a restoration of the consular date, which is given as follows:

[\'Υγατός Οδαλεντι[\νιανοῦ Αὐγουστου τὸ δ καὶ Φλ(αουίου) Νεω-]
[τεριού] τοῦ λαμπροτάτου]

The following is given as the justification for this restoration: "The only year known to us when Valentinian shared the consulship with a clarissimus is A.D.390. Cf. P.Lips.38.1: 'Fl. Valentiniano semper Augusto IIIII et Fl. Neoterio viro clarissimo'.

The one item which might confirm or disprove this date is the indiction numeral, partly preserved in line 11 but represented in the edition only by a dot. Now the month is Pachon (line 10 must at its end be restored something like Δπὸ ..., τοῦ δύνας μηνὸς Παchai-\\nχὼν), and in Antinoopolis in Pachon, 390, the indiction should be the 4th. We therefore asked R.A. Coles to confirm that delta was possible. He replied, however, that there was unmistakably a vertical stroke, as in gamma, eta, or iota.

There is one year in which the consuls were an emperor Valentinianus with a private person and in which the indiction was 3, 8, or 10(+), namely 445, a 14th indiction. We propose, therefore, the restoration:

[\'Υγατός Οδαλεντι[\νιανοῦ Αὐγουστου τὸ δ καὶ Φλαουίου]
[Νόμου] τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, Παχὼν ..., τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης (νόμο-
(πος))]

(The degree of abbreviation can of course vary, but later lines suggest about 33-35 letters lost along a straight break.)

The p.c. of 444 was still in use on 28.iii.445 (see CSBE 118). The only papyrus published to date referring to Valentinianus VI and Nomus is from 446 and has a much more elaborate titulature.
(BGU XII 2141), but Worp will publish elsewhere two papyri dated to the postconsulate of Valentinianus VI and Fl.Nomus, in which the latter is simply called δ λαμπρότατος. From a xerox provided by Dr.Coles, we see no objection on palaeographical grounds to dating this papyrus in the middle of the fifth century. For the omission of τοῦ δεσπότου Ἡμῶν before Valentinian's name cf. BASP 16 (1979) 241.

b) P.Mich.inv.1378

The late Herbert Youtie published in ZPE 38 (1980) 289-91 an interesting receipt of A.D.326 for vestis militaris from the Oxyrhynchite Nome. Below it stands a receipt for primipilon and epikephalaion, of which only three lines remain before the break. The fiscal period in question in these payments is described, in the editor's text, as (line 12) ὑπ(ἐρ) νέας ἦς ἦς ἤ (τὸνος). Youtie pointed out in his note that there were no other known examples of νέα applied to an indiction during the first fifteen-year indiction cycle (312-327), and he went on to observe acutely, "the credibility of the reading νέας is impaired by the fact that all other examples of this way of dating place the adjective after the number of the indiction" (he refers to our discussion of νέα Ἰν-δικτίων in CSBE 30-35).

The reading also seems to us not to impose itself palaeographically, to judge from the plate (XVIIIa), as Youtie's heavy dotting also suggests. We are grateful to Professor Ludwig Koenen for providing us with an excellent enlarged photograph and the benefit of his own examination of the papyrus in response to our suggestions. In the dubious spot in line 12, we have no difficulty in reading γενημ(ατος) instead of νέας. Youtie had in fact raised the possibility of this reading (line 3n.: "tempting") but dismissed it: "this is a most unlikely reading since the word has nowhere been brought into contact with vestis militaris, πριμίπιλον or ἡπικεφαλαῖον." Nonetheless, the reading is clear in line 12 and in line 3, also, we should read γ(ε)νήματος instead of π[.].ματος (πι looks different in this hand, as Koenen observes). The use of γένημα to
refer to a period or unit of tax liability in these particular taxes is indeed remarkable, but in the case of the vestis militaris and primipilon we are dealing with taxes based on landholdings, in connection with which reference to the crop is understandable, since it was on the basis of the crop that all agriculture-based taxes were collected. Cf. the reference to γένημα in connection with meat in e.g. P.Flor.I 31.5. At all events, the instance of νέα τυνωτιών in the first cycle and before the numeral is eliminated.

We take the opportunity to note a few minor readings from the enlargement and from Koenen's study of the original: 1, read παρέχοντικο(ν). 2, probably στηρίξσα(λού). 6, ογδόον Pap. 7, τεσσαρακωστογον(ο)ν Pap.

c) P.Mil.I 86

This papyrus, which has been re-edited recently with a full commentary by M.Manfredi, is dated by Oxyrhynchite era years read as οι λη/ (i.e. 70-38) in line 7. In his note ad loc. the new editor rightly remarks: "dovrebbe essere o λη", but with his following statement "ma le tracce non corrispondono" we cannot agree. Consultation of a good photo kindly provided by Prof. O.Montevecchi which reached us before we got Manfredi's new edition and a check of the original by Bagnall make us certain that the papyrus really has the expected o λη/. The left-hand part of the theta which follows immediately after the lambda has partly disappeared, and Manfredi has taken the remaining right-hand part in combination with the following sinusoidal curve arriving at an eta. There is thus no reason to suppose a scribal error in the registration of these era years (for the few papyri showing scribal errors in Oxy. era years cf. GRBS 20 (1979) 387 n.34).

It may be useful to communicate here a few readings made by us independently from Manfredi: line 5, we prefer Θν instead of τνν; 1) Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevecchi (Bologna 1981) 207-15; plate on p.216.

2) It should be noted that era years 118-87 read by Manfredi (p.214) in PSI III 165.5 refer to A.D. 441/2, not to 442/3.
the reading μέντων σοῦ seems impossible to us (we have considered μέχρι τοῦ νῦν σοῦ, but we are not certain that this is the true reading); in line 6, we think a reading ἐπιγενομένην possible; in line 8, we read the numeral of the epagomenal day as γʹ// (= 26 viii).

\[ \text{d) SB I 4797: a Remark on the Invocatio} \]

The first three lines of SB I 4797 are printed as follows:
1 \[ τὸ ἔν νοῦματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ \]
2 \[ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς δεσποτείας ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου \]
3 \[ ἔτους Διοκλείανου τριάκοσιοῦ δόξου \]

The first editor thus assumed that the first line was completely lost, and that there was a small lacuna at the left of the lines, a larger one at the right. The invocatio formula as restored by him presents a slight anomaly, in that normally an invocation by Jesus Christ and Mary ends by καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων (cf. R.S. Bagnall – K.A. Worp, Christian Invocations in the Papyri CāE 56 [1981] forthcoming). Between θεοτόκου and καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων one may find καὶ ἀδιπορήσου Μαρίας. In order to check the actual state of the papyrus we asked Dr. H. Harrauer and Dr. J. M. Diethart (Vienna) for a photostat of the text, and on the basis of this we note the following:

a. There is no sign that the top of the papyrus has broken off, and that consequently a line (or more) has been lost. This is the more unlikely because one would, then, expect some descending strokes from a lost preceding line to be visible on the photostat.

b. The piece has broken off sharply vertically at the left and the right, presumably on folds.

The consequence of this is, that if there is no lost first line, all of line "1" actually belongs to line "2", a loss of ca. 45 letters at most (one may reckon, however, with some abbreviation in the use of Nomina Sacra in which case the number of lost letters may be significantly lower). The lacuna in front of line "3" is thus much larger than suggested in the ed.princeps, and would contain sufficient space for a restoration of καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.
We propose the following restoration:
1 [† Ἐν ὧν ὁμόμιτο τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας]
2 [Θεοτόκου καὶ Δεσποτέου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ἔτους]
Διοκλητιανοῦ τριακοσιοκοστοῦ ὁγδοῆς [κοστοῦ - - - Month, Day, Indiction, ἕν - -]

This formula is our formula 4B. As the two lines have indicated restorations of about the same length, we do not think it likely that there was any abbreviation or use of abbreviated Nomina Sacra in the lacunas at all (note in this respect that the words Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος are written out in full).

The date of the document falls between 663-673 (cf. CSBE 4B). In this respect we should like to draw the attention of our readers to another document with a date by the era of Diocletian, viz. SB I 4665. The era year is given in the ed. princi- ceps as year 373, A.D.656/7, the indiction as 6, A.D.662/3. Apparently there is a gross conflict between date by the era year and date by the indiction. In order to solve this conflict we have asked our colleague Dr. J. Gascou (Paris) to inspect the papyrus kept in the Louvre, and with his customary kindliness he has done so with the following result: "La partie litigieuse, entre Αἱοκλη( ) et Με- χείρ a 2 cms de longueur, ce qui laissait la place à environ 6 lettres. Même en supposant que le quantième de l'ère de Dioclétien ait été écrit en lettres de gros calibre, cela ne suffirait pas à occuper toute la place disponible, or on voit des traces d'écriture sur toute la longueur des 2 cms. La première lettre-chiffre est assurément un tau, la 2me pourrait être un omicron, mais un qoppa serait plus difficile à justifier. La 3me, lue gamma par l'éd. pourrait à la rigueur être la barre horizontale d'un theta. On aurait donc le quantième τὸθ. Entre ce que j'appellerais donc un theta et le Μ de Μεχείρ, il y a d'autres traces d'une ou deux lettres que je ne sait comment interpréter (à l'extrême rigueur εὐ)." This solves the apparent conflict between era date and indictional date. Diocl. year 379 = A.D.662/63 and matches with a 6th indiction (A.D.662/63). The date of the document is now firmly established on 9.ii.663, and the document is no longer our first testimony for the use of the era of Diocletian in a papyrus contract (cf. BGU I 312 from A.D.656/7 or 657/8).
In the course of our study of invocations in documentary papyri our attention was drawn to SB I 4858. This papyrus (kept in the Louvre as E 4381 App.792) would be our earliest extant specimen of an invocation written at the top of a document, dated to 2.vi.591 (Fayum), and it would present a slightly deviant formula of a Christ invocation, in that it would present line 1 as follows:

\[\text{[t ʹEv ὄνωματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου ἡμῖν Ἰησοῦ Χρι[στοῦ τοῦ].}\]

In comparison with a normal Christ invocation ἡμῖν would be superfluous, and we expected here a mistaken reading of δεσπότου.

A check of a photostat kindly provided by Dr. H. Harrauer and Dr. J. M. Diethart (Vienna) revealed that a number of more serious errors were made by the first editor of this text, and that a new transcript of the papyrus was called for. We provide this herewith.

1 [† ʹΕν ὄνωματι τοῦ κυρίου ᾑ[αί] δεσπότου Ἰη[σοῦ Χριστοῦ] δι[ή ἡμῖν Ἰη[σοῦ Χριστοῦ] δι[ή]

2 [τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος] ἡμῖν, Βασιλεί[ας τοῦ θεοῦ] ο[τά][του]

3 [καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)] ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ[αουίου] Μαυρ[ίκιου Τι][βερ[ρίου] τοῦ α[ἰωνίου]

4 [Αὐγ(ούστου)] Ἀὐτόκωρ(άτορος) ἔτους] Ἡ Πα[ρα]ντι[τοῖς] Τ[ῆς]

5 [τρ[ί]της Ἐν(δικτύωνος) ἐν Αρ[τοῦ) Διο[νῖση 

6 [Ἄρσιν(οιττών)] καὶ θεοδοσιουπολίτῶν Λ[ὐρήλιοι] ε[]

7 [Φοιβάμων] ύλ[ὸς Μακαρίου καὶ ξέ[τερος Φοιβάμων]

8 [ο[ καὶ Πεβά                                                                             ο[ς Σαμβά μεθ[λίται ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως]

9 [ἀπὸ Αμω] ὅδου ὁ μὲν προγεγραμμένος Φοιβάμων

10 [..........]ς, ὁ δὲ ξέ[τερος Φοιβάμων] Γυναικί[ου χ[αρείν]]

11 [ʹΟμολογο]γοῦμεν ἐκουσά[λα γνώμῃ δο[θε μὴ ἔξετ[αι ἡμᾶς]

12 [μὴτ ἀλλ]ο[ν τίν[ά ἕ]κ][προ]σώπου ἡμῶν [ 

13 [                 ]. γεναμ(εν) ὑπὸ Αὐρ(ηλίων) [Φοιβάμωνος καὶ]

14 [Φοιβάμωνος] τοῦ (καὶ) Πεβά μεθ[λίτ[ων]

Verso

13 [                 ]. γεναμ(εν) ὑπὸ Αὐρ(ηλίων) [Φοιβάμωνος καὶ]

14 [Φοιβάμωνος] τοῦ (καὶ) Πεβά μεθ[λίτ[ων]

Apparently we are dealing with some kind of contract between two methlitai and the pagarch Fl.Strategius, but the exact nature of
this contract escapes us, as the text breaks off after the declaration that the \textit{methlitai} will not be allowed to ...

Notes:


2-4. The exact date of the contract is now certain. Payni 8, regnal Mauricius 19, end of the 3rd indiction = 2.vi.600. The date of the text should be corrected accordingly in \textit{RFBE} 62, form.8.

4. Of course, it is possible to restore only \textit{Δογιός} written out in full. The first editor printed \textit{ἐπ' Ἅρ(σιοντῷ) πόλις}, but we prefer \textit{ἐπ' Ἅρ(σιόν)}. In fact, we have not seen any papyrus which unequivocally has \textit{ἐπ'}, and we think that all instances of printed \textit{ἐπ'} rest on editorial error.

5. For the restoration of Strategius' name cf. \textit{P.Lond.} I 113 5(c).6 + \textit{BL} I 232. The London papyrus dates from 8.viii.600. It does not seem excluded that his name may be also restored in \textit{SB} I 4721, though that papyrus apparently dates from A.D.589/590. It is clear that this Strategius cannot be identical with the Strategius II of the Apion family (cf. \textit{P.Oxy.XVI}, p.6), and there is no chance that he may be identified with Strategius III (cf. \textit{P.Oxy.XVI}, p.5, where the date of \textit{P.Oxy.XVI} 1991 should be corrected to 601 according to information kindly provided by Dr.Zb.Borkowski), as this son of Apion III was ca. 6 years old at the time of the writing of this contract (information kindly provided by Dr.J.Gascou). For Strategius III cf. also \textit{CdE} 41 (1966) 179.

6. We are surprised that \textit{Ἀρσιν(ούτῳ)} is abbreviated, \textit{Θεοδοσίουπολιτῶν} written out in full.

8. For the restoration of the alias-name cf. the verso, line 14. The exact meaning of \textit{methlitai} is unknown (cf. \textit{LSJ}°, s.v. \textit{μεθολίτης}). On the basis of our new reading the form \textit{μεθολίτης} disappears and should be deleted from all lexica. Is there a connection between this word and \textit{μέθυ}? 

10. At the start of this line a name of an amphodon is lost in the lacuna. For the amphodon \textit{Γυναίκιος} cf. already C.Wessely, \textit{Die Stadt Arsinoe}, 25. F.Préisigke (\textit{Namenbuch}, s.v. \textit{Γυναίκιος}) takes this as a personal name and omits it from his \textit{WB} III, Abschn.22. We do not know of any other attestation of this amphodon which is not mentioned by A.Calderini-S.Daris, \textit{Dizionario geografico}, vol.II.

14. We assume that here the same man is mentioned as in line 8.
This private letter, from Eulogius to his father Sakaon, is of interest for the price quoted in it for the solidus, 16 myriads of denarii, which indicates a price per pound for gold of 11,520,000 den. or 7,680 talents. No date is preserved, but the editor restored in line 15 a mention of a year 9; and the provenance is unknown. There is a further point of note, a calculation of the value of two vessels, the material of which is not stated.

To take the first of these points, a forthcoming study by Bagnall will argue that the gold price can be dated approximately to the later 330's. There is no year 9 which can be identified in this period; the 9th year of Constans fell in 341/2, but a reference to this year by year 9 alone, omitting year 18 of Constantius II, would be unthinkable; and in fact in this period regnal dating is virtually extinct save in the Oxyrhynchite, where Constantine's posthumous count was also still in use (year 36)\(^3\). There is thus reason to be suspicious of the text\(^4\). We find in fact the following: δέδηκα δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὸ θάλλιν [ἐτο]ῦς ὑ μου. It is apparent that the word order is also curious: a reference to a ninth year would normally put 'ninth' before 'year'. The reading, however, is sound, although three letters may be somewhat too much for the lacuna\(^5\). We have not been able to find a suitable restoration, but we do not think that [ἐτο]ὺς will do\(^6\).

The calculation about the cup and censer are as follows: καυνκίν καὶ ἑσσικίν ἐξοντες λίτραν α (ὀθυγκίας) ᾧ γράμματα ἑξ ὅς τῆς λίτρας α μυρ(ιἀδέες) πε καὶ τὸ ξυγο(στασίον) τὸ διάντα) β ἄλεγχον(ονταί) μυρ(ιἀδέες) ρνδ x βφ. PSI XIV, with the customary

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3) Cf. our Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt (Zutphen 1978) 74.
4) We can also exclude the idea that we are dealing with a ninth indiction (the nearest would be 335/6), since we do not find ἐτος instead of ἐνδεκατῶν for reference to indiction years.
5) The fibers have come loose and moved to the right. Bagnall has examined the original under a microscope. The upsilon, although damaged, seems unavoidable.
6) One might suggest τότε ἀκταμοδ, but we are not sure what the point would be, and the assumption of scribal error in the immediate vicinity of a lacuna does not commend itself.
sobriety of that series, did not offer a translation, and the notes were brief. One reviewer was unable, without help, to follow the calculation: "Mit den Geldsummen Z.9-12 gestehe ich nicht zurecht zu kommen; sollen 2 Tal. 4000 Dr. = (154-85 =) 69 Myriaden sein?" Evidently Zucker did not understand the use of Ως. In Naldini's edition, however, the passage is translated correctly: "... coppe e l'incensiere di una libbra (e) 9 once, grammi 17, al prezzo di 85 miriadi alla libbra, e il valore della pesa pubblica 2 talenti 4000 dracme, che fanno miriadi 154 denari 2500." The general accuracy of the calculation may easily be verified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>288 gr.</td>
<td>850,000 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233 gr.</td>
<td>687,674 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weighing fee</td>
<td>4,000 den.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,541,674 den.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stated total in papyrus 1,542,500 den.

Since the amounts of the first pound and the weighing fee were easy to calculate, the error must lie in the second figure, which differs from the 688,500 presupposed in the total by 826, or .12%, a very small amount of error considering the methods of ancient arithmetic of fractions.

About the material, it is not hard to find the answer. There are not too many possibilities, after all, and since the ratio of the prices of gold and this material is 13.55:1, we may be sure that silver was the main ingredient: not pure silver, of course (which would be too soft for use in vessels in any case), but an alloy. Assuming a bullion ratio of 12:1 (which is the ratio always in use in the early fourth century) for gold and silver, we might suppose that the silver was about 88% fine. By comparison, modern sterling silver is 92.5% fine, about the maximum amount of silver at which the metal is still usable for implements and vessels.

New York Roger S. Bagnall
Amsterdam Klaas A. Worp

7) F. Zucker, Archiv 17 (1962) 112.
8) M. Naldini, Il cristianesimo in Egitto (Firenze 1968) 206-08, no. 45.
9) Cf. in general for silver and gold vessels, Th. Reil, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes (Borna-Leipzig 1913) 57.