



NOTES ON THE LEIDEN OSTRACA

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NOTES ON THE LEIDEN OSTRACA

From 1963 the ostraca of the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden have begun to be published, the first from that collection to appear since Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien* in 1899.¹ The notes below are an attempt to present better texts and to understand more completely some of these ostraca. They will, together with any other corrections assembled in the next few years, be republished with the last installment of the ostraca, in *OMRO*.

We make no detailed division of responsibility for corrections below. In general, Bagnall has had photographs only of those ostraca which appear in *Greek Papyri, Ostraca, and Mummy Labels*.² Checking of other suggestions on the original documents, as well as much general rereading, has been done by Sijpesteijn in Leiden. It should be pointed out that much of the work that has been possible comes from the publication in 1964 of the indices to the Bodleian ostraca, a work to which all of us working with ostraca owe much, and a work which has opened up large new areas for social and economic research.

O. Leid. 2

This document is a receipt for the 2% toll, dated in the sixth year of an unnamed emperor, and collected by Apollonios and associates. In the *editio princeps* the date was given as second century A.D. The Apollonios named here as an *ἐπιτηρητὴς τέλους* (*πεντηκοστῆς*) appears also, in the same capacity, in *O. Bod.* 1090 (192) and 1091 and 1092 (193) turning over his collections. In the latter two receipts he is identified also by a patronymic, *Ταύρων*. He appears as a private individual in *O. Bod.* 1551 (191), paying grain for Charax. *O. Leid. 2* may therefore be taken with confidence to date to year 6 of Septimius Severus, 1 September 197.

The name *Ψεριεῦς* in line 3, which does not appear in the *NB* or the indices to the Bodleian ostraca, may be seen clearly to be correct on the plate published in *Greek Papyri*, pl. 10d, where through a slip the dating to second century A.D. in its publication has become second century B.C. and caused the ostrakon to appear among the Ptolemaic documents.

1. These ostraca have appeared as follows: Nos. 1-22, in *Oudheidkundige Mededeling uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (OMRO)* 44, 1963, pp. 34-47; Nos. 23-72 in *OMRO* 45, 1964, pp. 56-86; Nos. 73-115 in *OMRO* 48, 1967, pp. 1-22; Nos. 116-153 in *OMRO* 49, 1968, pp. 1-17; all edited by Sijpesteijn. Nos. 1-72 are reprinted as *SB* 10309-10377, and Nos. 73-115 as *SB* 10394-10436.

2. By E. Boswinkel and P.J. Sijpesteijn, Amsterdam, 1968.

O. Leid. 3

Considerable improvement of this text is now possible. A photograph is available in *Greek Papyri*, pl. 53b. A full discussion of this ostrakon by G. M. Browne appears in *ZPE* 4, 1969, pp. 183-195. For convenience we reproduce the correct text of the first three lines:

Πλάντας καὶ Πανίσκο(ς)
 ἀπαιτ(ηταὶ) κρ(ιθῆς) γενή(ματος) λα (ἔτους)
 Πικῶτι δ(μοίως) χ(αίρειν). Ἔσχ(ομεν) εἰς πρόσθ(εσω)

Plantas and Paniskos are known from *O. Ash. 68*, where they hold the same title, and collect the *πρόσθεσις* in *κριθή* for the same thirty-first year, and in the same second year of Severus. The date of *O. Leid. 3* is therefore 2 September 193, and the provenance Thebes, not Syene. The correct translation is “Plantas and Paniskos, collectors of barley from produce of the 31st year, to Pikos son of Pikos, greetings. We have received toward the additional payment etc.” The discussion about the *parousia* becomes irrelevant, and the text should be deleted from the list in *Historia* 18, 1969, p. 118, n. 44.

O. Leid. 5

In the critical apparatus, read the following: 2. Ψενσενμούθου 3. δεκατέσσαρας

O. Leid. 6

Instead of ζ γβ L / ζ γβ[L in line 5, read ζ γ''' / ζ γ''' .

O. Leid. 7

For Τατούπιος in line 4 read Τανούβιο(ς), and for Ἐρμιστο(ῦ) in line 5 read Ἐσμίω(ς).

O. Leid. 9

The name of the taxpayer in this granary receipt was published as Πετεχώ(νοιος) Ψενσενύριο(ς), and the editor remarked that the father's name was not in the NB. The taxpayer himself is, however, attested in three other ostraca, *O. Bod. 994* (A.D. 151), where his name has the form Πετεχω() Ψενενύρ(ιος); *O. Bod. 1480* (A.D. 171), where he appears as Πετεχώντρο(ς) Ψενσενύριο(ς); and *O. Leid. 22*, where, as Πετεχ() Ψενσενύριος, he pays dike tax in 150. A Pekysis who may be his son is known from *O. Bod. 863* (159). The spelling out of the name in *O. Bod. 1480* should leave no doubt that Πετεχών and not Πετεχώνοις was the man's name, and that *O. Leid. 9* and 22, as well as

O. Bod. 994 and 863, should read Πετεχωῶ(ντος) Ψενσενύριος (or the appropriate case thereof) for his name. The man appears to be a relatively senior man by 171, when he is identified as ἀρχιπαστ(οφόρου) γ̄ πυλώνος Ἀμμώνος θεοῦ μεγ(ίστου). He and his son are identified as from Agorai in all documents in which a location is given. The date of this document is 9 June 145 A.D.

O. Leid. 10

A photograph of this ostrakon appears in *Greek Papyri*, pl. 53f. The peculiar name Ἐρκῶς appears instead to be Ἐριεῦτο(ς) in lines 3 and 5. The photograph of the ostrakon is somewhat unclear, and the end of line 4 is therefore difficult to read. There is probably not room for either the reading of the editor or Ἐριεῦτο(ς) to be fully written out, but the third letter seems to be an *iota*, and Ἐρι(ε)ῦτο(ς) to be the best reading. In place of Γυμνιαδο(ς) we may read γυμνικο(ῦ), read (whether as name or description) in *O. Bod.* 1915, *O. Belf.* 10, *O. Strassb.* 213, and *O. Lips.* 73. The critical apparatus to line 5 should read “1. τέσσαρας.”

O. Leid. 11

In line 3, read ἀπ(ὸ) instead of δν(όματος). In line 4, the name Δαίμονος should have been printed as Δαίμ(ονος).

O. Leid. 12

It should be noted that the same payer appears in *O. Ash.* 55 (Charax, 151, paying grain) and *WO* 925 (Charax, 167), where the grandfather's name, Panechates, is given. The date here is 24 June 161 A.D., and the signer's name should be read as the well-known Ἀμώ(νιος) rather than Ἀνθ().

O. Leid. 13

The text of this ostrakon should read as follows:

Ἀντίγρα(φον) ἀποχῆς ἧς ἄλλοτε ἐξεδό-
 μην Τῦβι θ τοῦ κ (ἔτους) δνό(ματος) Ψεν-
 σεμμού(θου) Πετεσο(ύχου) ὑπ(έρ) ἐπιμερισ(μῶν)
 πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) τρίτον ὄγδον (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) γ̄η.
 Ἄλλας ἀπ(ὸ) (τοῦ αἰτοῦ) Φαῶ(φι) κζ ὁμοί(ως)
 πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ι // (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ι // Ἄσκ(λᾶς) σεση(μείωμαι)

“Copy of a receipt which I have issued at another time: Tybi 9 of the 20th year in the name of Psenemouthes son of Petesouchos, for the additional share, of wheat, one-third and one-eighth artabs, that is, art. of wheat, 1/3 + 1/8. Further, from the same person, Phaophi 27th, likewise artabs of wheat 10, that is, 10. I, Askas, have signed.”

3. For this formula, cf. *O. Bod.* 1200 (A.D. 114), note.

6. Askas, the most probable expansion of the signer's name, is not uncommon enough to pinpoint our man. There is, however, a series of receipts from the latter second century A.D. which could involve the same man: *O. Bod.* 732 (172), 734 (174), 1044 (175), 736 (184), 1679 and 1035 (3rd and 4th years of emperors unnamed). Together with the formula, usually late II to early III, the series suggests a date of 5 January 180 for this receipt but the date cannot be taken as certain.

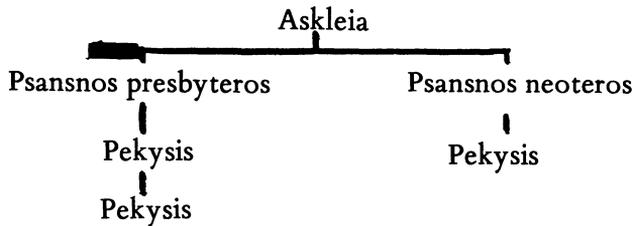
O. Leid. 14

The name in line 4 should be read $\Psi\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\omicron(\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega\varsigma)$, since the name is not only the better reading but attested in *O. Bod.* 1036. The signature (line 5) may read $\text{H}\rho(\quad)$.

O. Leid. 15

The family of which the payer here is a member appears in three of the Leiden ostraca published up to the present, as well as in two Petrie ostraca. A review of the evidence sheds light on the texts of these documents.

O. Leid. 48 is given to Pekysis, son of Pekysis, grandson of Psansnos the elder, and great-grandson of Askleia; the date is omitted, and said originally to be third century A.D. *O. Leid.* 111 (246 A.D.) has a Pekysis son of Psansnos the younger, grandson of Ask() (restored as Asklas in the *editio princeps*), with a mother $\text{K}\alpha\gamma\chi\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ (who has now been reread out of existence; cf. *infra* on the text). *O. Petr.* 344 and 346, undated, both have Pekysis son of Psansnos. Finally, the present text has what is read as Pekysis son of Psansnos grandson of Pe(kysis) $\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\kappa\upsilon(\quad)\text{'E}\sigma(\quad)$. This is now reread, and the correct reading (which can be checked on the plate in *Greek Papyri*, pl. 53h) is $\text{P}\epsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma\text{'}\Psi\alpha\nu\sigma\eta\nu\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma\text{'}\pi\rho(\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon)\text{'}\text{A}\sigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. The family tree may be reconstructed as follows:



Apollonios, perhaps to be resolved in line 5, is far too common a name to permit much inference. There is only one of whom we know active in this period as an official, however; he collects an unspecified tax in *O. Bod.* 1161 and receives $\epsilon\pi\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ in *O. Bod.* 1139, both from A.D. 256.

For the correct reading in *O. Leid.* 111, see the note on that text, below.

O. Leid. 16

There are two readings in this text to be corrected. In line 1, read (at the beginning) $[\Delta\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\alpha(\phi\epsilon)]$. In line 3, read $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta(\iota\alpha\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha)\ \epsilon] \xi\ \delta\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda(\omicron\upsilon)\ c$.

The taxpayer of this document is most likely the son of the Maieuris son of Horos who appears (with his name spelled in various ways) in six of the Strassburg ostraca. They are *O. Strassb.* 54 and 55 (A.D. 15; spelled $\text{M}\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$; in the latter his grandfather's name $\text{S}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ is given); *O. Strassb.* 61 and 179 (35); *O. Strassb.* 62 (36); and *O. Strassb.* 76 (reign of Claudius).

O. Leid. 17

For a full discussion of this text and new readings, see G. M. Browne, *ZPE* 4, 1969, pp. 195-196.

O. Leid. 20

Several readings may be changed here, by using the photograph available in *Greek Papyri*, pl. 53d. In line 2, read ὀ(μοίως) Σαχο(μνέως), rather than (διὰ) Σεχω̄(νς). Σεχω̄νς is attested only in the Ptolemaic *WO* 1202, though it may perhaps have been written in *O. Bod.* 897. Also in line 2, it appears that there is a small *omicron* above and to the right of the end of the name Ὀσορομήρι, and that we should therefore read the name as Ὀσορομήριος(ς), the genitive typically used (incorrectly by classical grammar) in this position.

In line 6, the signer's name should be expanded as Λουκ(ᾶτος), as in *O. Leid.* 21 and 44.

On the subject of the ἕπ(ερ) δ̄ ε' μέρο(νς) χω(μάτων) in lines 2-3, see the forthcoming article of P. J. Sijpesteijn in *Aegyptus*.

O. Leid. 21

This geometria receipt is now illustrated in *Greek Papyri*, pl. 53e. The unknown name Σεμω̄κς in line 2 should be replaced by Σεμμούθης. A Sennouthes daughter (not son) of Psenamounis is attested in *O. Bod.* 1367 (144), 780 (155), and 1462 (162). The present text, from 138, adds six years to this woman's known span of activity.

The signer's name in line 8 should be resolved as Λουκ(ᾶτος).

O. Leid. 22

The name in line 2 should read Πετεχ(ῶντι) or whatever the case should be (the original text needs correction which we cannot provide now), in accordance with the discussion of *O. Leid.* 9, above.

O. Leid. 35

The date of this document is 19 February 144 A.D.

O. Leid. 36

The payer of this receipt is known also from *O. Petr.* 76. The date of the present receipt is 29 February A.D. 52.

O. Leid. 37

The latter part of line 2 should read ἐξ – C. Λ .. Νέρωνος·

O. Leid. 38

The translation of the first two lines should read “Gaius Herrius to Psenamounis son of Petechonsis, greeting . . .” The critical apparatus should read “1 l. Ψεναμούνει.” Men with the name Psenamounis son of Petechonsis appear also in *O. Leid.* 109 (41) and *O. Bod.* 833 (114). The present taxpayer, falling squarely in the middle of the interval between these two documents, cannot with any conviction be identified with either of his namesakes. The date of *O. Leid.* 38 is A.D. 77/8.

O. Leid. 40

The correct date is A.D. 131/2.

O. Leid. 41

The correct date is A.D. 132/3.

O. Leid. 42

The name of the taxpayer in this document should be read as Ἀμενώθη Ἀρβήχ(ως) μη(τρὸς) Ξεν/χέσθ(ου), giving us the well-attested taxpayer of *O. Bod.* 531 and elsewhere.

O. Leid. 43

In line 2, in place of Ψεντφά(τι) read Ψεντφού(τι).

O. Leid. 46

The following readings should be changed: line 1, for *ω* read *ις*; line 2, for Ψεντφάντο(ς) read Ψεντφούτο(ς); line 3, for *ι* read *ις*.

O. Leid. 48

For a discussion of the family of the taxpayer, see the note to No. 15, above. In accordance with that reconstruction Askleia is a great-grandparent, not mother, of the Pekysis involved here. His father is in *O. Leid.* 15, of A.D. 244.

In line 3, instead of $\text{Λ}_{\iota}\text{C}$ read $\text{Λ}_{\iota}\text{ς}$, meaning 16 drachmas rather than 10 1/2.

O. Leid. 50

The date of this document is 28 June A.D. 121.

O. Leid. 54

The restoration Πα[χών in line 2 should read Πα[, since Payni is at least as probable as Pachon.

O. Leid. 79

In the *editio princeps* the editor read Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρος in line 2, on the basis of the known dates of activity of Kametis son of Psenchonsis, one of the taxpayers here; the references for him which are given show him active from A.D. 117 to 128. References are also given for Kametis son of Pikos, another taxpayer in this receipt, but accompanied by an expression of doubt about the identity of this man with those in the other references. Some clarification may be useful. Most of the references belong to a Kametis son of Pikos whose grandfather is unknown to us, and who is attested in the last two decades of the second century. Secondly, there is a Kametis son of Pikos grandson of Herieus known from *O. Bod.* 1867 and a Kametis son of Pikos grandson of Kametis from *O. Bod.* 1913, neither of whom is datable more closely than to the second century. Either of these might be the man attested near the end of the century, and equally, one of them might be the taxpayer here. Finally there is a Kametis son of Pikos grandson of Παμμοντεχ() who appears in *O. Cam.* 40, from 135. This may be the taxpayer of *O. Leid.* 79, but with the proliferation of men of this name during the century, the evidence is not firm.

There are two men named Gaios attested, one of them from the period 114-141 (if all the receipts signed thus belong to one man), and one from the end of the century (*O. Bod.* 1047, 931, 939). The final piece of prosopographical evidence which makes the editor's restoration certain to be correct is the attestation of a third taxpayer, Senchonsis daughter of Phthoumonthes, in *O. Bod.* 1242 (124) and 1249 (132).

The correct date for this document, then, is A.D. 122/3.

In line 4, in place of καὶ Κεφά(λου) read ὑπ(έρ) Κερα(μείων).

O. Leid. 81

The discussion here of the presence of both ninth and tenth years is not relevant to the text, since the formula is quite normal: payment is being made from produce of the ninth year, presumably on account of taxes for that year, but is being made after the end of the year, in the next year. The date to be assigned is therefore A.D. 125/6.

In line 6 read Ποριεῖθ(ου) ὁ(μοίως) Ἀμενώ(θου), as in line 3. Senchonsis, mentioned in the notes, is the sister, not brother, of Esoueris.

O. Leid. 85

The correct date of this document is A.D. 158/9.

O. Leid. 90

The genitive form resolved in line 5 should read 'Αμυντοῦ which is attested written in full in *O. Bod.* 1925, rather than the printed text, 'Αμυντᾶ.

O. Leid. 105

The name Palachemis in this receipt suggests that it, like *O. Bod.* 1066, 805, 456, and *O. Buckler* 1, comes from Elephantine/Syene. The formula of the receipt is also not found at Thebes until much later. The provenance should be given as “probably Elephantine/Syene,” therefore.

O. Leid. 111

The text of lines 4 and 5 should be revised to read
 ν(εωτέρου) Ἀσκλείας ὑπέρ Κ..() λη(μμάτων) τοῦ γ \perp
 ὀκτῶ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἡ Α[

according to the discussion under No. 15. The tax appears to be the same one as in *O. Bod.* 1159 of 245-6, where *WO* 665 is also cited.

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