A New Edition of Ostraka from Akoris

In a recently published report on Japanese excavations at Akoris1 some Greek and Coptic ostraka found at this site are presented. Their provenance gives these texts some special interest, as they come from a part of Egypt where ostraka are rare2. As we feel that the transcripts are not satisfactory, we present our own (new) transcripts of the Greek ostraka made on the basis of the plates accompanying the ed. princ.3. Given the numerous divergences between our own texts and the ed. princ. it would be tedious to indicate these systematically; therefore, we refrain from doing so. Judging by palaeographical criteria these ostraka all date from the late Byzantine or early Arab period4.

1. A Receipt for Poll-Tax and Another Tax (?)

(p. 52, first text, pl. 18, 9)

1. Σοί <ε> νίδος ἑνάχ Ἀνουφ(ιοῦ) (ὑπέρ) ἀνδ(ρισμοῦ) η ἤνδ(ικτίωνος)
2. κερ(άτια) δεκαπέντε, γ(ίνεται) κ(εράτια) ει μό(να).
3. δμοί(ως) (ὑπέρ) τετρακ(ερατίον) κερ(άτια) δόο ἡμισιν.
4. γ(ίνεται) κ(εράτια) βλ μό(να). ἐγρ(άφη) Παυ(νί) ἤνδ(ικτίωνος) ἄρχ(ή)
   ἤνδ(ικτίωνος) η.
5. ἵωάν(νής) βοη(θός) στοιχ(εῖ). ↑

2. ἐν Οστρ. 5. ἵωάν(νής) στοιχ(εῖ) Οστρ.

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2 In Orientalia 54 (1985) plate xxvi, fig. 38 there is an unpublished demotic ostrakon from Akoris. In ASAE 6 (1905) 142 one finds an announcement of the discovery of Coptic ostraka at Akoris; as far as we know, they have not been published.

3 No transcript is given for the (barely legible) ostrakon illustrated on pl. 20, 1.

4 When we showed a draft of this article to Prof. R. S. Bagnall (New York) in November 1989 he pointed out to us that he had rough transcripts of nos. 1–4 made by Worp and him in June 1987, on the basis of photographs received from J. Jarry through the intermediary of Th. Drew-Bear (Lyon). The substance, but not transcripts, had been communicated to Jarry at that time. These transcripts accord closely with texts nos. 1–4 as published in our article. We are grateful to Prof. Bagnall for his informations and for his kind readiness to correct our ‘Englutch’. We are also grateful to Prof. J. Gascou (Strasbourg), to whom we owe suggestions for our better understanding of texts 1 and 5.
“Soi(s), son of Henoch, the son of Anouphios, (has paid) for andrismos of the 8th indiction fifteen carats, i. e. 15 c. in total. Likewise, for tetrakeration two and a half carats, i. e. 2.5 c. in total. This (receipt) was written in Pauni at the start of the 8th indiction. I, John, assistant, am satisfied.”

1. One may prefer to regard Ζως as an undeclined Egyptian name, i. e. as a nominative without an ending on c; for this question and the problems involved cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 64 (1986) 119–120; cf. also infra text 3, 2 n.

Henoch, son of Anouphis, also occurs in the following text.

2. For the tax called ἀνδρόμος (the poll-tax in the early Arab period) cf. Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 235–236.

3. J. Gascou points out to us that a payment for τετρακερ(ατίον) refers to a supplementary tax of 4 carats to the solidus, making a supplementary payment of 2.5 carats to the 15 carats mentioned in line 2. He identifies the same tax in O.Edfou I 211, 1–2 (cf. the new edition of O.Edfou III 322 by B. Palme, ZPE 64 [1986] 92 f., note to l. 2; ed. pr.: τετρακερ(άμοιον)] and compares the supplementary tax of 6 carats to the solidus occurring in some late Byzantine texts, cf. R. Rémondon, CdE 40 (1965) 425–426 (add to the attestations cited there: P.Laur. III 112, 6; 113, 8; 116, 10; 122, 9; P.Strasb. 660, 3). For the word τετρακεράτου cf. also the inscription from Caesarea (Palaestina) published by B. Lifshitz, REG 70 (1957) 119–132, esp. 120, ii 7 and 124–125 (not entered into the SEG; reference courtesy of J. Gascou).

4. It is remarkable that the scribe would have omitted the numeral for the day in Pauni. Did he commit some form of haplography, and was Pauni 10 intended? Likewise, the repetition of the (abbreviated) word ἱδικτίωνος is remarkable. For indictions starting in Pauni cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, Appendix A, i, pp. 56 – 57 and ZPE 56 (1984) 135 – 136.

5. The assistant John occurs also in the following text.

2. A Receipt for Some Money Payment

(p. 52, second text, pl. 19, upper)

1. † Ἑνάχ Ανουφίου (ὑπέρ) [ ]
2. δ(ιά) λ(όγου) Θεοδό(ρου) Ανουφίου κερ(άτια) τεσ[σερα-], γ(ίνεται)
κ(εράτιο) — μό(να).]
3. ἄγρ(άφη) Μεσ <ορ> ἡ ἄγρ(άφη). Ἰωά(ννης) βοη(θός) σ[τοιχ(εί)]. †

“Henoch, son of Anouphios, (has paid) for — through the account of Theodoros, son of Anouphios, four + ? (or: forty + ?) carats, i. e. — carats in total. This (receipt) was written on Mesore the eighth. I, John, assistant, am satisfied.”

1. For Henoch, son of Anouphis, cf. the preceding text. The man occurring in l. 2, Theodore, son of Anouphios, may have been his brother.

3. An Order for Oil

(p. 52, third text, pl. 18, 7)

1. † Ἀγενή ἔλαιουργ(ῆ)· παράσχ(ου) Παυλῆ
2. (και) Μοῦι (ὑπέρ) βοη(λ) ἔλ(αιον) ξ(έστας) δ, (γίνονται) τέσσαρας.
3. Χοίακ // ζ ίδι(ικτίωνος) α.

1. Ἀγενή 2. μοῦι Ostr. τέσσαρες;

“To Agenes, oil-manufacturer. Deliver to Paule and Mouis(s) for ox-drivers 4 sextarii of oil, i. e. four. Choiak 7 of the 1st indiction.”
1. The same oil-manufacturer Agenes occurs in the following text 4. The name Agenes occurs also in a number of Christian inscriptions from Tehneh/Akoris, cf. Lef. 118 and 164 as well as BIFAO 3 (1903) 92–93, nos. 43 and 45. But its use is not restricted to Middle Egypt (as was supposed by W. E. Crum, P.Ryl. copt. p. 90 n. 4), cf. O.Mich. I 269, I and BGU VII 1587, 7 (both from the Fayum); furthermore, there may be a connection with comparable names like 'Aγένιος⁄'Αγένις, which are attested in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes (BGU VII 1630, B, 31; P.Flor. I 65). For other Coptic occurrences of this name cf. G. Heuser, Prosopographie von Ägypten, IV: Die Kopfien, Heidelberg 1938 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altersums und des Mittelalters, Reihe C: Hilfsbücher, 2), 15, s. n.

We consider παύλη as a variant form of the well-known name Παύλος (Παύλος), cf. F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, s. n. Though a female variant of this name, sc. Παύλη, is listed there, we do not think that we are dealing here with a female person. Apparently one is dealing in this text with an undecorred form of the name, as one needs a dative form. We assume that this man is not the same person as the yeast-maker Paule occurring in text 4, 3, cf. our note ad loc. and below, our note to l. 2. Again, Lef. 164 provides us with a direct parallel from Akoris for the name Παύλη.

2. For the undecorred form of the name Μουίς (gen. Μοῦίτος) cf. supra, text I, 1 n. If the name were declined, a dative form Μοῦίτιν would be needed here.

With the resolution of the word βεσλ( ) as βεσλ(ατόν), there is no indication of how many ox-drivers were to be the recipients of these 4 sextarii. One may also consider a resolution of the abbreviation as βεσλ(ατιος), i.e. in that case Paul and Mouis would be the two ox-drivers concerned. Daily allowances could vary pretty considerably, cf. J. Gasco, K. A. Worp, Un dossier d'ostraca du VIe siècle; les archives des huiliers d’Aphrodite (in La Charta Borgiana. Miscellanea Papyrologica per il bicentenario dell’edizione di Niels Schow, ed. R. Pintaudi, Firenze 1990, 217–244 [Papyrologica Florentina 19]).

3. There are some ink traces at the start of this line which we have not been able to read. One might think of, e.g., some form of ἐγγ(άφη), but we cannot read this and in the following text 4, also addressed to Agenes, it is also lacking.

4. An Order for Oil
(p. 53, first text, pl. 19, lower)

1 † 'Αγενής ἐλαίουργ(ός).
2 παράσγ(ου), κυρ(ίος).
3 Παύλη (καί) Φοι(βάμμοινι) ζημ(ουργοίς).
4 ἐλ.αίου) ἕ(εστας) ῥ, τρεῖς.
5 Τοβί // κ' (νδικτίονος) ο.
6 † † †

“To Agenes, oil-manufacturer. Deliver to Messrs. Paule and Phoibammon the yeast-makers (?) 3 sextarii of oil, i.e. three. Tubi 27 of the 1st (?) indication.”

1. The oil-manufacturer Agenes occurs also in the preceding text 3.

2. There is in the center part of this line a certain amount of ink which we cannot read/interpret with confidence. This may be only a rather long diagonal stroke sloping downwards from to the right hand upper part of the χ and indicating the abbreviation.

3. Probably not the same Paule as in the preceding text 3, 1, since he is labelled here κύριος (cf. B. Rom, H. Harrauer, ZPE 63 [1983] 111–115); cf. also above, text 3, 2 n.

The word ζωομυγρός has not yet occurred in Byzantine papyri or ostraka, but ζωμή is found in some Byzantine documents. Cf. E. Battaglia, ‘ARTOS’. Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci, Milano 1989, 185.
5. A Receipt for 30 Diplo of Some Commodity
(p. 54, first text, pl. 22, lower)

1. † Φαμ(ενώθ) δ ίδ ίν[ν] δ(ικτεώνος):
2. άγια Μαρία μ( ) δ(ιπλά) λ(φορ(ά)δ(ος) δε[ν[το-]
3. ρας. † Σεύρος στοιχεί. †

2. μ5 Οστ.

"Phamenoth 4 of the 14th indiction. The Holy Mary (church/monastery?), 30 diplo of (or: for?) the 2nd instalment. I, Severus, am satisfied."

2. This line is problematical. The words άγια Μαρία suggest to us that one is dealing with a monastery or a church dedicated to the Holy Mary; we do not expect a living woman Maria to be labelled άγια, and for that reason an interpretation of μ( ) as μ(οναζουσα) vel sim. is excluded. On the other hand, we do not expect the Greek to read άγια Μαρία μ(οναζήμιον); we would rather expect μοναζήμιον τής άγιας Μαρίας or at least ή άγια Μαρία (cf. P.Bad. IV 95, 169. 171 and 180: εἰς τὴν άγιαν Μαρ(κιν), but, as J. Gascon kindly points out to us, there are no Greek papyrus documents referring to a monasticism tής άγιας Μαρίας in the Hermopolite Nome; this name is found only in connection with a church in Hermopolis itself. For a religious establishment dedicated to the Holy Virgin in this Northern part of the Hermopolite Nome see S. Timm, Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, Wiesbaden 1984, II 817 – 823 s. n. Dər el-ʿAdra; it is also known as Dər al-Ṭayr (10 kilometers to the north of Akoris); cf. also M. Martin, La province d’Ashmūnayn: historique de sa configuration religieuse, Annales Islamologiques 23 (1987) 1 – 29, esp. 10.

The rest of this line yields problems as well. We reckon with the possibility that μ( ) should be taken as an abbreviation of a product packed in δ(ιπλά); though we can devise expansions of the abbreviation like μ(νάτος) = "honey" or μ(ονάτος) (sc. ονόμ) = "must", we have not found any instance of these products packed in or measured by διπλά and if the produce were must, the lack of the noun ονόμ would be disturbing, as in other documents the adjective μονάτος is not found without it. In all cases, moreover, one must assume that the name of the product in question has been abbreviated very radically and this may form an argument against this line of thinking.

We have also considered the possibility that μ5 δ5 stands for μ(ονάζουσα) μ(οναζήμιον), μ(νάτος) or (together with the following delta) as representing μ(ο)δ(ος) ονόμ, there remain problems with each of these interpretations.

One may also wish to read ἧ, i. e. prolong the abbreviation marking of δ5 to the right.

For φορ(α) = “instalment” cf. H. I. Bell, Wadi Sarga. Coptic and Greek Texts edited by W. E. Crum and H. I. Bell, Copenhagen 1922, 105 ff. Cf. also H. C. Youtie, Scriptuinaeulae posteriores I 299 – 302; II 517. Given the delta written in superposition we must read φορ(ά)δ(ος) here. It remains to be seen, whether in all comparable cases, where an abbreviation φορ(α) has been resolved as φορ(άς), a resolution φορ(άδος) (for this word form cf. SPP VIII 1257) should be substituted.

6. A Receipt
(p. 54, second text, pl. 22, upper)

1. † Ερμίνε Πιατοι
2. Φαώφις ἔ τευδέρας

5 For honey in the papyrus cf. now H. ChouliaRaïos, Λ’αβελα και τ’η μιέλ εν Εγγυτεί α’ξης παπύρου. Ioannina 1989.

6 Usually one finds διπλά used for packing meat, wine or fish, cf. R. Fleischer, Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt, Diss. New York 1956, 12.
3 ἵν(τ)δ(ικτίωνος) τεκαδήου,
4 (γίνεται) ζ( ) τβ μό(να) †.
2. δευτέρας 3. ἱνάδ/ Ostr., δεκαδόο.

"Hermine the soldier. Phaophi 6 of the second indiction. He (delivered / received) twelve — —, i. e. 12 in total."

1. This line is in Coptic. The errors in the following lines (for interchange of τ/δ cf. F. T. Gignac, Grammar I 80ff.) show that the scribe was not very fluent in Greek.

4. We are not quite certain about our reading of a zeta written in ligature with a preceding diagonal, representing an abbreviated (γίνεται) / (γίνονται). If our reading is correct, one may solve the abbreviation as, e. g., ζ(εύγη); this would mean that 12 pairs of some commodity (e. g. loaves of bread?) could be involved. It would seem more likely, then, that the soldier Herminos received these, than that he delivered these. One would expect the commodity to have been mentioned already earlier on in this text, i. e. in 1. 3 before τεκαδήου, but apparently the scribe omitted this.

7. A Fragment
(p. 53, middle, pl. 18, 8) 51320. 14698

[ὁδωρος]

The editor restores the name as Θε]ὁδωρος, but in itself there is no objection against another name ending on -ὁδωρος, e. g. Διονυσ]ὁδωρος.

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