

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)

SB 20.
14672

- 1 † Σόι <ς> υἱός Ἐνώχ Ἄνουφ(ίου) (ὕπερ) ἀνδ(ρισμοῦ) ἡ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
- 2 κερ(άτια) δεκαπέντε, γ(ίνεται) κ(εράτια) ιε μό(να).
- 3 † ὁμοί(ως) (ὕπερ) τετρακ(ερατίου) κερ(άτια) δύο ἡμισυ,
- 4 γ(ίνεται) κ(εράτια) βL μό(να). ἐγρ(άφη) Παοῦ(νι) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἀρχ(ῆ)
ἰγδ(ικτίωνος) ἡ.
- 5 Ἰωάν(νης) βοη(θός) στοιχ(εῖ). †

2. ιε Ostr. 5. ἰωαν(νης) στοιχ(εῖ) Ostr.

¹ *Preliminary Report Sixth Season of the Excavations at the Site of Akoris, Egypt, 1986*. Ed. by Hiroyuki Kawanishi and Sumiyo Tsujimura, The Paleological Association of Japan, Inc., Kyoto 1988. The present state of our knowledge regarding Akoris is conveniently summed up by E. Bernard in the introduction to his *Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris*, Le Caire 1988, vii – xxv. (Bibliothèque d'Etude 103).

² In *Orientalia* 54 (1985) plate xxvi, fig. 38 there is an unpublished demotic ostrakon from Akoris.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 Wopp 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.

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, 1 and BGU VII 1587, 7 (both from the Fayum); furthermore, there may be a connection with comparable names like Ἀγένιος/Ἀγένιος, 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 Kopten*, Heidelberg 1938 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums und des Mittelalters, Reihe C: Hilfsbücher, 2), 15, s. n.

We consider Παυλη as a variant form of the well-known name Παῦλος (Παῦλε), 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 undeclined 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 I. 2. Again, Lef. 164 provides us with a direct parallel from Akoris for the name Παυλη.

2. For the undeclined form of the name Μοῦϊς (gen. Μοῦϊτος) cf. supra, text I, 1 n. If the name were declined, a dative form Μοῦϊτι would be needed here.

With the resolution of the word βοελ() as βοελ(αἰών), 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 βοελ(ασίας), 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 VI^e 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 ἔγρ(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)

S 572 a 44 695

- 1 † Ἀγενῆ ἐλαιουργ(ᾶ).
- 2 παράσχ(ου) κυρ(ίους)
- 3 Παυλη (καί) Φοι(βάμμωνι) ζυμ(ουργοῖς)
- 4 ἐλ(αίου) ξ(έστας) γ, τρεῖς.
- 5 Τῦβι // κς ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) α.
- 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 (?) indiction."

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 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 κόρτος (cf. B. Rom, H. Harrauer, ZPE 63 [1983] 111-115); cf. also above, text 3, 2 n.

The word ζυμοουργός has not yet occurred in Byzantine papyri or ostraka, but ζῶμη 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 Dipla of Some Commodity

(p. 54, first text, pl. 22, lower)

- 1 † Φαμ(ενώ)θ δ ιδ ι[ν]δ(ικτιώνος)
 2 ἅγια Μαρία μ() δ(ιπλᾶ) λ φορ(ά)δ(ος) δευ[τέ-]
 3 ρας. † Σευῆρος στοιχεῖ. †
 2. μ_s Ostr.

SB 20
13 696

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

2. This line is problematical. The words ἅγια 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 ἅγια, and for that reason an interpretation of μ() as μ(ονάζουσα) *vel sim.* is excluded. On the other hand, we do not expect the Greek to read ἅγια Μαρία μ(οναστήριον) but rather expect μοναστήριον τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας or at least ἡ ἅγια Μαρία (cf. P.Bad. IV 95, 169, 171 and 180: εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρ(ίαν), but, as J. Gascou kindly points out to us, there are no Greek papyrus documents referring to a μοναστήριον τῆς ἁγίας 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. Dēr al-'Adra; it is also known as Dēr al-Tayr (10 kilometers to the north of Akoris); cf. also M. Martin, *La province d'Ashmūnāyn: 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(ιπλᾶ); though we can devise expansions of the abbreviation like μ(έλτος) = "honey"⁵ or μ(ούστου) (sc. οἴνου) = "must", we have not found any instance of these products packed in or measured by διπλᾶ⁶ and if the produce were must, the lack of the noun οἴνου would be disturbing, as in other documents the adjective μούστου 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 μ_sδ⁻ stands for μ(ο)δ(ίους), but this solution should probably be rejected, as it is normal to find μοδίους abbreviated as μο^δ. Moreover, one would expect the product measured in *modii* (or, for that matter, in διπλᾶ) to have been indicated *expressis verbis*.

To sum up: whether one takes μ_s as an abbreviation of μ(ονάζουσα) / μ(οναστήριον), μ(έλτος), μ(ούστου) or (together with the following delta) as representing μ(ο)δ(ίους), there remain problems with each of these interpretations.

One may also wish to read λ̄, i. e. prolong the abbreviation marking of δ⁻ to the right.

For φορά = "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, *Scriptunculae posteriores* I 299–300; 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() has been resolved as φορ(ᾶς), a resolution φορ(ᾶδος) (for this word form cf. SPP VIII 1257) should be substituted.

6. A Receipt

(p. 54, second text, pl. 22, upper)

- 1 † ΕΡΜΙΝΕ ΠΜΑΤΟΙ
 2 Φαῶφι ε τυδεράς

SB 20. 14697

⁵ For honey in the papyri cf. now H. Chouliara-Raios, *L'abeille et le miel en Egypte d'après les papyrus*. Ioannina 1989.

⁶ Usually one finds διπλᾶ used for packing meat, wine or fish, cf. R. Fleischer, *Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt*, Diss. New York 1956, 12.

3 ἰν{ι}δ(ικτίωνος) τεκαδῆου,
4 (γίνεται) ζ() ιβ μό(να) †.

2. δευτέρας 3. ἰνδ/ Ostr., δεκαδύο.

"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 80 ff.) 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(σύνη); 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 l. 3 before τεκαδῆου, but apparently the scribe omitted this.

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

SB 20. 13698

]όδωρος

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

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