

Five Problematic Fourth-Century Pieces

1. *O. Stras.* 475

As published in 1923 by Paul Viereck, *O. Stras.* 475 was the sole representative of his "Einzelformular IV, 9." In the light of later publications of fourth-century ostraka, it presents two notable peculiarities.

4 Ἐμέτρησεν ἰδίου σησάμ[ου]
Οὔετρανὸς εἰς πλοῖον ἰδιωτικὸν
Κόιντος Μακαρίου ἀπὸ Ἀνταίου (sc. πόλεως)
ὑπὲρ κανόνος ι/ ἰνδικτίονος
ἄρτου ἄρτάβας τέσσαρας μόνας.
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ψάις ὁ προκ(είμενος) ἐξέδωκα τὴν
ἀποχὴν, ὡς π(ρόκειται).

3 read Κοίντου

The mention of ἰδίου σησάμ[ου] in line 1 is most surprising, since the formula (cf., e.g., *O. Leid.* 340, 343) calls for the name of the payer (and subject of ἐμέτρησεν) at this point. Moreover, σήσαμον essentially disappears from the papyri after the late third century (*P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2797), except for one mention in a price declaration of ca 326 (*P. Oxy.* LIV 3761). This declaration shows that it is unlikely that the disappearance can be accounted for by supposing that sesame was called by some other word in the fourth century; it therefore seems that sesame virtually vanished from documented cultivation in Egypt. In line 2, Viereck had taken Οὔετρανός as a proper name, but P. J. Sijpesteijn quite properly pointed out that this is instead a description of the payer, as it commonly is in the papyri, not a name (*ZPE* 17 [1975] 255, cf. *BL* 7.294). This too leads one to suppose that a proper name should have stood between ἐμέτρησεν and the start of line 2.

Study of the original¹ shows that the reading ἰδί is very doubtful, and

¹On 13-14 March 1989. It is a pleasure to thank Jean Gascou for his hospitality during my visit to Strasbourg and for discussing this ostrakon with me. My study of the two following papyri was also made possible by the same visit and by photographs kindly supplied by Professor Gascou subsequently. I am indebted to Klaas Worp for helpful comments throughout the article.

it is not clear that the faint traces after $\kappa\eta\varsigma$ (read as $\alpha\mu$ by Viereck) are to be taken as letters at all. The only clear reading, thus, is $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\eta\varsigma$, and since a name is needed, Μουσῆς is a natural guess in a text of the late fourth or early fifth century. In fact, a μ can, though somewhat faintly, be made out, and I therefore read Μουσῆς .

Almost as remarkable is $\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon$ in line 5. The overwhelmingly most common commodity measured in artabas, loaded onto ships, recorded in receipts of this period, and ending (in the genitive) in $-\tau\upsilon$ is, of course, $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, wheat.² Though the writing here is faded, it is not $\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon$; when wet it can be read with some confidence as $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon$. This text thus emerges as a receipt issued to the veteran Mouses (i.e., Moses) for four artabas of wheat.

Viereck commented about line 6, " $\delta\ \pi\rho\omicron\kappa(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ ist hinzugefügt, ohne daß Aurelius Psais vorher genannt ist. Sein Name hätte natürlich zu Anfang der Urkunde stehen können." His name certainly did not stand at the start of the text, nor would this formula permit it. Since the reading seems sound, most likely the writer, accustomed to the use of $\delta\ \pi\rho\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in documentary formulas in which the collector's name is given at the start, forgot that this was not the case here.

2. Loan of Money (*P.Stras.* VII 694)

Damaged on all sides except the bottom, this document is anything but easy to read. The editor, F. Voelckel-Scherding, expressed puzzlement at several features. The reader's attention is seized by two curiosities, the mention of a slave in line 5 (and, according to the editor, in line 3 as well), and an inconsistent restoration of the units of money in lines 7-8. The text that follows resolves some of the difficulties but cannot claim to have eliminated all of them.

²When artabas of (loaves of) bread are at stake, virtually every appearance of $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$, in fact, uses the genitive plural, $\alpha\rho\tau\omega\upsilon$. The only exception known to me is actually the preceding text in the same volume, *O.Stras.* 474, not at all of the same formula. Jean Gascou has checked the original and reads this ostrakon as follows: $\Phi\alpha\delta\eta\rho\iota\varsigma\ \text{Καβερε} \mid \alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\ \alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta(\alpha\varsigma)\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron \mid \text{Χοῦακ β Σ[. .]ματης} \mid \sigma\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, pointing out that $\Sigma[\alpha\rho]\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ is no doubt to be restored in line 3.

Traces

- [.....].[... π]ολιτενομ[ένω]
 [.....].τοϋ[...].υ τῆς κτ[
 4 [.....]...... κωλεω[
 [.....].μων τὴν δούλη[ν
 [διὰ χειρ]ὸς κεφαλαίου με[... ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ]
 [νομίσ]ματος ταλάντων [έβδομήκοντα]
 8 [έξ, (τάλαντα)] ος, έφ' ᾧ τέ με ταῦ[τα τὰ τά-]
 [λαντά σ]οι ἀποκαταστήσειν [έντός τοῦ]
 [εἰσιώ]ντος μηνὸς θῶθ τῆ[ς εἰσιούσης]
 [... ης] ἰνδικτίονος ἀνυπ[ερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ]
 12 [πάση]ς ἀντιλογίας, γινω[μένης σοι τῆς]
 [πράξ]εως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τ[ῶν ὑπαρ-]
 [χόντων] μοι πάντων καθάπ[ερ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον]
 [τὸ γραμμ]άτιον ἀπλοῦν γρα[φέν καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
 ὠμολ(όγησα).]
 16 [Αὐρήλι]ος 'Αλέξανδ[ρος ἔγραψα ---]
 [(2 H.)]ρίωνος [--- ἔσχον]
 [τάς δηνα]ρίων μυριά[δας --- καὶ ἀπο-]
 [δώσω ὡς] πρ[ό]κειται.

1 Probably the date or the end of the date.

2 Restored in the dative (ed.) on the assumption that this title goes with the name of the lender.

3 Restored by ed. as τῆς κτ[ητικῆς δούλης, but given the very uncertain character of these opening lines, that seems gratuitous.

4 τ]ῆς αὐτῆς ed., but this reading is very doubtful. I cannot read κώμης.

5 I do not know what can be restored here; ἡ]μῶν yields an unlikely word order.

6 μό[νου ed., but epsilon seems clear; and μόνος is usually placed close to and modifying the unit of account (talents, here). The restoration seems a bit long; perhaps one or more words were abbreviated.

7-8 ταλάντων [έκκαίδεκα | γί(νουνται) ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.)] ις ed., an obvious contradiction. The amount is in fact clearly 76 and not 16. It is possible, however, that in fact the amount was some larger amount like 176, 276, etc.

10 The restoration at the beginning of the line is due to Klaas Worp.

11 Probably either πρώτης, τρίτης, ὀγδόης, or ἐνάτης, given the space available.

16 The line probably ended with something like τὸ σῶμα.

17-19 The signature of the borrower; it is curious that the amount is stated in talents above and in myriads of denarii here, but the readings seem clear enough.

It remains difficult to imagine any reconstruction of the opening lines suitable for a loan, yet hard to interpret lines 6-14 as anything except a loan. It is conceivable that more is lost than either the editor or I suppose; that we have only the lower half of the text, for example. One could then think of the slave as security for the loan, and put the introductory formulas much earlier. Why the slave is not then mentioned again, however, would be difficult to say.

3. An Account of Flax and Tow (SB VI 9024)

The first column of this account was published by F.M. Heichelheim in *JEA* 29 (1943) 78-79 from a transcript of P. Collomp; brief extracts had already been published at the beginning of the century.³ Heichelheim was interested in it for economic reasons. As he put it, "our text is of numismatic interest. A Segrè has recently doubted my assertion that the expressions δραχμή Ἀττική and δηνάριον in many Egyptian documents of the time from Diocletian to Constantine the Great mean the new silver coin issued by these Emperors, and that νούμμιον, in the same texts, means as a rule the imperial gold coin. Ll. 7 and 20 of our papyrus, according to which the δηνάριον was equal to no less than one talent of debased Egyptian drachms and the νούμμιον at least to 5 and probably to 25 talents, give additional proof that Segrè's interpretation cannot be accepted."

Segrè was, of course, right to be skeptical of Heichelheim's assertions; the denarius or Attic drachma was an accounting unit in the Egypt of Diocletian and Constantine, not a coin, and the nummus or nummion was certainly not the solidus.⁴ But the difficult text on which

³In C. Kalbfleisch, *Papyri Argentoratenses Graecae*, Progr. Rostock, Semestre Aestivum (1901) 8 and pl. iv. It is kept in the papyrus collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire in Strasbourg, where I was able to examine it in March, 1989.

⁴These matters are treated in my *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (BASP Suppl. 5, Atlanta 1985) 9-18.

Heichelheim founded his views remains unsatisfactory in its published form. In fact, however, the evidence for Heichelheim's assertions can be removed by a rereading of the papyrus. That some problems remain is not surprising. In addition, I offer a transcript of the badly damaged second column, which clearly dealt with similar matter. There are also parts of a third column, too scanty for me to find any coherent text in them.

The onomastics suggest the Hermopolite Nome, which is a reasonable provenance for a Strasbourg papyrus. I suppose that the date is early fourth century, but the payments listed are not prices of standard commodities or wages for identifiable periods, and I have not found any way of fixing the date more precisely.

Column i

- Λόγος λ[ή]μματος [ούσία]ς Βησοδώρου.
αἰρ[οῦντ]α ἀπὸ [Β]η[σοδώ]ρου λινο[κ]α-
λάμης δέματα [.]. [. . .] α ᾠη, [με-]
4 τὰ τ[ὰ] ἀπενεχ[θέντ]α εἰς τὴν [ούσί-]
αν Βη[σο]δώρου δέ[ματ]α εἰς, τὰ δὲ λ[οι]π[ὰ]
ἐν ἐμ[οῖ] δέματα [ῥη, ὡ]ς τοῦ ἐνὸς [δέ-]
ματος μνᾶν μ[ίαν ἥ]μισυ, τὰ [. . .] [. . .]
8 τὸ (αὐτὸ) μναῖ ρ[μ]ζ. [ἐκ] τούτων δέδ[ω]-
κα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τῇ γεούχω μναῖ
οἷ καὶ ἐξ ἀπολύσεως τοῦ γεού-
χου ὥστε θέωνι ὀφικιαλίω
12 τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου σίππια λ(ίτραι) κε, αἱ μ < ν > αἱ ις,
(γίνονται) τοῦ λήμματος μναῖ ρμζ.
ἀνθ' οὗ ἀνελώθη <σαν> μνα[ι π]η, λοιπὲ
παρ' ἐμοὶ σίππια μναῖ [ν]θ. τούτων
16 ἀνελώθη ἀπὸ τῆς τιμ(ῆς) αὐτῶν
φόρετρον τοῖς κτήσι ὑπὲρ ὄνων οἷ
ὡς τοῦ ἐνὸς ὄνου (δρ.) σ, (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) β
(δραχμαὶ) 'Γ,
μισθοῦ ἐκτινάξε τὰ σί[π]πια ὡς τοῦ
20 κευδηναρίου ἐνὸς (τάλαντον) α, (τάλαντα) β
(δραχμας) 'Γ.

11 ὀφικιαλίω 12,15 σιππίου 14 λοιπαί 19 ἐκτινάξαι

Account of the revenue of the estate of Besodoros. Owing from Besodoros, 98 . . . bundles of flax, in addition to the 5 ½ bundles delivered to the estate of Besodoros, the remainder with me 98 bundles; at a rate of one and a half mnas per bundle [making a total of] 147 mnas.

From these I gave to the house, to the landlady, 72 mnas, and from the discharge of the landlord as to Theon the officialis of the procurator, 25 lbs. of tow, equalling 16 mnas; total for the revenue, 147 mnas.

From which were expended 88 mnas, balance with me 59 mnas of tow. Of these was expended from their value transport charge, for the beasts, for 75 donkeys at the rate of 200 dr. each, 2 T. 3000 dr.; and for wages for cleaning the tow, at a rate of 1 T. per hundred weight, 2 T. 3000 dr.

The basic outline of this statement is as follows: 2-6, a statement of the starting balance of 98 bundles of flax after the delivery of 5 ½ to the ousia; 6-8, reckoning that the 98 bundles made 147 mnas at a rate of 1.5:1; 8-13, a record that the writer gave 72 mnas of this to the house of the landlord and apparently 25 litrai/16 mnas to an officialis, followed by a restatement of the 147 mnas. There follows (14-15) a notation of the expenditure apparently of 88 (the 72 and 16 mentioned above), leaving a remainder of 59. Some of this (we do not learn how much) was sold to provide a total of 5 talents to pay for transportation charges (75 donkeys at 200 dr. each) and cleaning of the tow (250 lbs. at 1 T. per 100 lbs.). Since 75 donkeys can carry 1,500 lbs. or so, clearly the transportation is not simply that of the flax or tow. There appears to be no way of computing how much tow was sold to pay these 5 T. of expenses, although that information may have figured in a lost part of the very fragmentary column ii.

2 αἰρ[ετὸ]ν Collomp; but the active participle is normal in receipts of this period for amounts owing to be paid from someone and can agree with δέματα.

3-5 Evidently a note of some amount not included in the basic receipts total of this accounting.

4 ἀπενεχ[μένη]ς Heichelheim, apparently reporting Collomp.

7 Heichelheim's text, which justified his assertions about the nummion, was μνᾶ [α. 'Ο]μ[ο(ῖον) ? νοῦμ]μ[ί]ο]ν τὰ [(τάλαντα) κ]ε. Instead, we learn that the dema weighed 1.5 minas. At the end of this

line the restored text should indicate that what follows is the result of the computation: perhaps τὰ [πάντα ἐπὶ], though it is a bit long.

12 Heichelheim offers no explanation of what he (or Collomp) thought λ(ίτραι) κε, ἀ[ρ]μαὶ ις meant. The equivalence is interesting and difficult. Ancient measures varied widely, but the common equivalence of mna : litra in Roman Egypt is 1 mna = 1.04167 litra (cf. D. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 [1983] 267), but here the ratio seems to be 1 : 1.5625.

16-18 Heichelheim prints a lacuna in 18 after the sigma, but nothing is lost: 75 donkeys times 200 dr. each is 15,000 dr., or 2 T. 3000 dr.

17 κτή<νε>σι Heichelheim; but κτήσι is standard in the Roman period, cf. F. Gignac, *Grammar* II 67.

19 Heichelheim prints ἐκτινάξε<ιν>, but presumably this is actually meant for ἐκτινάξει, this commonplace interchange being also found in 14 λοιπέ.

19-20 The centenarius thus disposes of Heichelheim's denarius worth a talent. The tow being cleaned weighed 250 pounds.

Column ii

There are vague traces here and there to the right of where I show the beginning of the lacuna.

	λημ[
	τιμ[
	παρ[
24	κα[
	ιδι[
	τοδε[
	σησα[
28	τιμ(ης) [
	π(αρά) τοῦ γεούχου [
	τῆς μῶς μνᾶ[ς] . . . [
	τοῦ λήμματος [
32	ἀναλώματος ὁμοίως [
	μίσθου βοῶν . . [
	ρον καὶ τὸ ἄχυ[ρον
	τῷ γεούχῳ ν.[
36	τιμ() διμοίρου . [

40 εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον
 τιμ() ἄλλης ημ[
 μίσθου καθάρσεως
 μεθ' ἧς ἔσχον . . [
 (δραχμὰς) 'Δ, τὰ λοιπὰ [

4. Sale of a Pottery-Works (*PSI IV 300*)

This interesting document of 324 has been corrected in various respects over the more than seven decades since its publication. In a number of ways it is peculiar, with a formulary not much like sales of property and almost reminiscent of loans. The opportunity to study the original⁵ allows me to propose a few more improvements, and I offer a text incorporating these with those proposed by others. The most important novelty is a new reading of line 2, where information about the military unit of the purchaser of the works is given.

4 [τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπᾶτοις τὸ τέταρτο[ν] Παχῶν γ.
 [- 15 -] . φ' ἑλθῆς τρίτης 'Α[στο]υρίων διακε[ι]μέ-
 [νης ἐν τοῦ 'Οξ]υρυγίτου νομοῦ
 [Αὐρήλιος ὁ καὶ 'Ι]σίδωρος ἐκ πατρὸς Σαραπίωνος
 τοῦ Η..[
 [- 15 - β]ουλ(ευτῆς) τῆς λαμπρᾶς 'Αντινοέων πόλεως
 [ὁμολογῶ - 8 -] κατὰ τὴν ἐμμουτὴν ιδιόγραφον ὁμο-
 [λογίαν πεπρακέναι σοι] καὶ παρακεχωρηκέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νῦν
 8 [εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τ]ὸ ὑπάρχον μοι κεραμίων
 'ὀλόκληρον' ἐν κώμῃ Σ. . .
 [- 10 . τοῦ . π]άγου τοῦ αὐτοῦ 'Οξυρυγίτου σὺν τοῖς
 τοῦ
 [κεραμίου χρηστηρίοις] καὶ ἀνήκουσιν, καθὼς ἡ νυνὶ
 διάθεσις
 [ἐπὶ ταῖς οὖσαις γειτνί]αις τε καὶ τοποθεσίαις, τιμῇ[ς]

⁵For which (as with the following piece, *PSI IX 1073*) I am indebted to Manfredo Manfredi's kind invitation to Florence, to Gabriella Messeri's provision of photographs, and Rosario Pintaudi's help at the Biblioteca Laurenziana, where I saw the papyri on 25 May 1989.

- 12 τῆς πρὸς
[ἀλλήλους συμπεφων]ημένης ἀργυρίου σεβαστο[ῦ]
νομίς-
[ματος τάλαντων δε]καπέντε, (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) ιε/,
ἄπερ ἀπέσχοι
[παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ πλήρους, τ]ῇν δὲ ὁμολογίαν ταύτην
μο[ναχήν]
[ἐξεδόμην σοι πρὸς ἀσ]φάλιαν, βεβαίαν καὶ κυρίαν
ο[ῦσαν]
- 16 [- 15 -]αν γενομένην παραγενα[
[- 15 -]α{.}εισ.μαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ κεραμίου [
[- 15 -]. . . .ιους ἀναδώσω σοι καθά[περ ἔ]σχ[ον] . .
[- 13 - διὸ] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κυριεύειν σε τοῦ α[ὐτοῦ]
ὀλοκλή-
- 20 [ρου κεραμίου καὶ ἀνηκό]ντων τούτῳ πάντων, εἰ δέ τις
ἐπελεύσε-
[ται πρὸς σὲ τούτου] χάριν, ἐμὲ ἀποστήσιν τούτου
παραχρῆμα
[διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ν]ῦν σοι παρακεχωρηκέναι τὸ α[ὐ]τὸ
ὀλόκλη-
- 24 [ρον κεραμίου, καὶ ἐπε]ρωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
[Αὐρήλιος ὁ κ]αὶ Ἰσίδ[ωρος ὁ προγεγραμ]μένος
εὐδοκῶ το[ῖς πι]ρο-]
[γεγραμμένοις, καὶ] ἀπέσχο[ν τὴν τιμὴν ὡς πρ[όκ]εῖται.
[. . .]

1 For the restoration of the consular formula, see *BASP* 17 (1980) 16.

2 The editor read]λψ ι τῆς τρίτης Ἀ[στο ?]υρίων ἄλης, adding in square brackets and with a question mark a pi over the iota to allow the interpretation ἱπ(πεῖ). There may in fact be a diaeresis over that iota, but nothing more, and the lambda of ἱλης seems secure. About the restoration of the name of the unit the editor commented that Ἀστούρων or Ἀστούρων would be expected instead, which is true; the fact that Asturia was the name of the region may have led to this formation. Fink, *RMR* 53 b.22n., says that the Ala III Asturum was never in Egypt, but that goes beyond our evidence. We know in fact nothing

about the history of the unit, attested in *CIL* XI 3007 from Viterbo.⁶ Cichorius, in *RE* 2.2 (1897) 1231, says "Dass von einer *a. III Asturum* sonst nichts bekannt ist, erweckt keinerlei Bedenken, da die A. im Orient gestanden haben kann." It is also not obvious what other known unit can be meant here, and διακειμένης, "stationed," shows that active duty is meant. Since the papyrus comes from the spring of 324, just before Licinius' final confrontation with Constantine, movements of troops would hardly be surprising. The letter before omega after the break at the start of the line seems not to be lambda, as the editor read, but probably either kappa or chi. This should represent a rank in the unit, which I have not been able to identify; but it is possible that the rank was omitted and this is the end of a second name.⁷

5 The editor shows a sinusoidal curve with a line through it at the end of this line, but that is probably just the end of the sigma of πόλεως crossed by a descender from the end of line 4.

6 ἐμοῦ [α]ὐτήν ed., but there is not room for so many letters. The writer may have written ἐμοῦ and then turned it into an adjective; it is possible that correction to ἐμαυτήν was intended.

8 ἅπαντα is possible instead of ἀεί; length of restoration seems to reach 19 letters in some lines. On potteries, see H. Cockle, *JEA* 71 (1981) 87-97 (texts now *P.Oxy.* L 3595-3597).

9 The recognition of π[ά]γου is due to Grenfell, *PSI* V, p.IX (*BL* 1.395).

10 The editor restored αὐτοῦ where I have given κεραμίου, but that seems awkward.

11 The restoration is Grenfell's (cf. line 9), but I have omitted the ἐστίν (?), taken over from the editor, which would make the length excessive.

12-13 For the reading of the amount of money, see Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (BASP Suppl. 5, Atlanta 1985) 71 n.28.

14-15 The restorations were doubted by A. Ehrhardt, *ZSS* 51 (1931) 149-50 (*BL* 2.2.138), on the grounds that no sale of a plot of land from third-century Oxyrhynchos (there were 15 published when he wrote) had

⁶There is no indication that the unit was there, however. The inscription actually reads *Astorum*, but the same is true in *CIL* III 10507.

⁷I take this opportunity to record that in *P.Vindob.Inv.* G 25840, published in *BASP* 20 (1983) 4, line 15, J. Gascou reads ἐλ(ης) in place of εἰπ(όντος ?).

any mention of the delivery of the document to the purchaser. This appears still to be true, even for the fourth century, but one must admit that many phrases in this sale lack good parallels in other sales, and I cannot see any alternative to this restoration or something very close to it. Ehrhardt had suggested that one should find "längere Ausführungen über vorangegangene Kreditgeschäfte," citing *P.Oxy.* XIV 1634, 1701 and IX 1208, but the remains here are simply incompatible with any such restoration. Moreover, phrases like κυρίαν καὶ βεβαίαν οὔσαν (or the neuter thereof) are always connected with statements about the writing or delivery of the document for the recipient's protection. Most such instances are fifth and sixth century in date, but *SB X 10568* offers a late fourth-century example. The word order here, however, is the reverse of that found elsewhere. The phrase apparently does not occur in other Oxyrhynchite documents, suggesting that this one was actually written in Antinoopolis, even if preserved in Oxyrhynchos.

16-17 I have not been able to find any interpretation of these lines which might allow restoration.

18 I cannot find any use of ἀναδώσω which makes sense here; it normally refers to the return of something, such as a deposit, a receipt, a token, a copy of a document, a pledge.

21-22 The editor's restorations in these lines also were doubted by Ehrhardt, rightly I think. In 20-21, the editor read ἐπελεύσεσ[θαι βούλεται ? τούτου χάριν, to which one may object that the syllabic division is wrong and the formula unknown; the sigma at the end of line 20 also seems to me doubtful. In 22, the editor's ταῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δαπάναις ?, ἐξ[?]όν σοι κτλ. encountered Ehrhardt's cogent objections (p.150) that one could not have a perfect infinitive dependent on ἐξόν and that "vielmehr muss die Begründung für die μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι-Garantie in dem παρακεχωρηκέναι gefunden und die Zeile in diesem Sinne ergänzt werden." The letter at the left edge seems in fact rather to be an upsilon, and the editor's restoration is in any case too long; I suppose like Ehrhardt that the clause provides a reason for the undertaking to repel claimants. I have not been able to find a good parallel to the phrasing here, but it expresses what seems required.

5. An Unwanted Tremissis (*PSI IX 1073*)

The standard work of L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) says "the gold piece weighing a third of a solidus is not uncommon in the papyri and payments in the third of the gold piece are frequent. The τριμήσιον is mentioned expressly in a few cases (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.)" (p.134). No documentation is offered, nor any chronological indications.

Consultation of *WB III* 354 shows a dozen papyri mentioning the τριμήσιον, all from the sixth century or later. A search in the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri and the *WB Suppl.* turns up again mainly references from the sixth century or later, but there is one instance dated to the 5th or 6th century (*PSI XIV 1426.3*) and one dated to the 4th-5th, *P.Alex.* 40.2. These are both private letters without a date, and both seem to me sixth century in character. There is certainly nothing to argue for an earlier date than the late fifth century.⁸ It is, therefore, somewhat troubling to find in *PSI IX 1073.4* an apparent reference in 389 to τριῶν τριμ(ισίων).⁹ The writer says, παράσχου ὑπὲρ τι(μῆς) οἰνοκρέου τῆς κτήσεως μυριάδος μιᾶς καὶ ξεστῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων ἑκατόν, ἀκολούθως τῷ γενομένῳ λόγῳ παρὰ Διδύμου βοηθ(οῦ), μετὰ τὰ ἑπτὰ ὧν ἔσχας πιττάκιον παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου πατρός, καὶ τριῶν τριμ(ισίων) κουφισθέντων διὰ φορᾶς Παμοῦν, τὰ λοιπὰ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια τεσσαρακοντὲξ δίμυρον. A visit to Florence offered the chance to examine the text, and in fact the problematic word is nothing more than τρίτου. The writer therefore instructs the boethos Parakleios as follows: "Furnish, for the price of seventeen thousand one hundred (sextarii) of *oinokreon* for the *ktesis*, in accordance with the previous account from Didymos the boethos, beyond the seven (solidi) for which you got a receipt from my lord father, and the three and a third deducted for transportation by Pamoun, the balance, forty-six and two-thirds solidi of gold."

⁸I may note similarly that the editor of *P.Alex.* 39 dated it to the 3rd/4th century, when in fact it must belong to the 5th: *Currency and Inflation* 10. R. Rémondon, *Cd'E* 40 (1965) 175, thought *P.Alex.* 40 was no earlier than sixth century, in fact than late sixth century.

⁹Why one would refer to three tremisses rather than one solidus, of course, is not obvious.

The total price, then, was $46 \frac{2}{3} + 7 + 3 \frac{1}{3}$, or 57 solidi, for 17,100 sextarii. The price was thus exactly one solidus per 300 sextarii. This is the first price for *oinokreon* known to me. A brief recent discussion of οἰνόκρεον may be found in *P.Neph.* 45.18n., relying on H. Cadell's article in *Akten XIII Kongr.* 63,65. Cadell asserts that it is a composite word similar to σιτόκριθος, referring to the "ration quotidienne de viande et de vin des soldats," not meat pickled in vinegar. She offers no evidence or argument for this statement, which is accepted by B. Kramer in the note to *P.Neph.* 45.18. There is no doubt that in the case of σιτόκριθος the reference is to a total made up of separate amounts of wheat and barley; cf. *BGU XII* 2147.13n. Wheat and barley were both measured by the same artaba, so that a total for σιτόκριθος in artabas could easily be given. With wine and meat, however, the normal measures are different: meat is measured in pounds, λίτραι, while wine appears in various measures of volume, perhaps the most common the sextarius (ξέστης), which is the measure also used for οἰνόκρεον.¹⁰ It is not obvious just how a unified figure would be produced. (The rarity of οἰνόκρεον, compared to numerous attestations of wine and meat separately, even in a military context, also make this hypothesis difficult.) Moreover, a figure for *adaeratio* for a combination of amounts of wine and meat would be difficult to deal with unless one specified the exact amounts of each, since their cost per unit of weight was considerably different.¹¹ The value now established for οἰνόκρεον in *PSI* 1073, 300 sext. per sol., or 21,600 sext. per lb. of gold, would yield about 11,578 kg. per lb. of gold, or far more than either wine or meat could be acquired for that. It is true that the price may be lower than market, but the difference should not be so large. In other words, οἰνόκρεον would appear to be worth a good deal less than either wine or meat.

There is in fact good reason to see οἰνόκρεον as meaning some sort of mixture: the existence of similar compounds. For example, οἰνόγαρον occurs in *SB XVI* 12246.10 and now also in Coptic (ΟΙΝΟΚΑΡΟC) in *CPR XII* 25.11; πιπερόγαρον and ἐλαιόγαρον also occur in the same

¹⁰In addition to the texts cited by Kramer, one may add *SB XIV* 11574 and *XVI* 12663, in both of which amounts in sextarii are given (150 and 100).

¹¹Using the index figures from *Currency and Inflation*, I estimate that a pound of gold (72 sol.) would purchase 3013 kg. of meat but only 2470 kg. of wine (assuming that the wine weighed approximately the same amount per unit of volume as water).

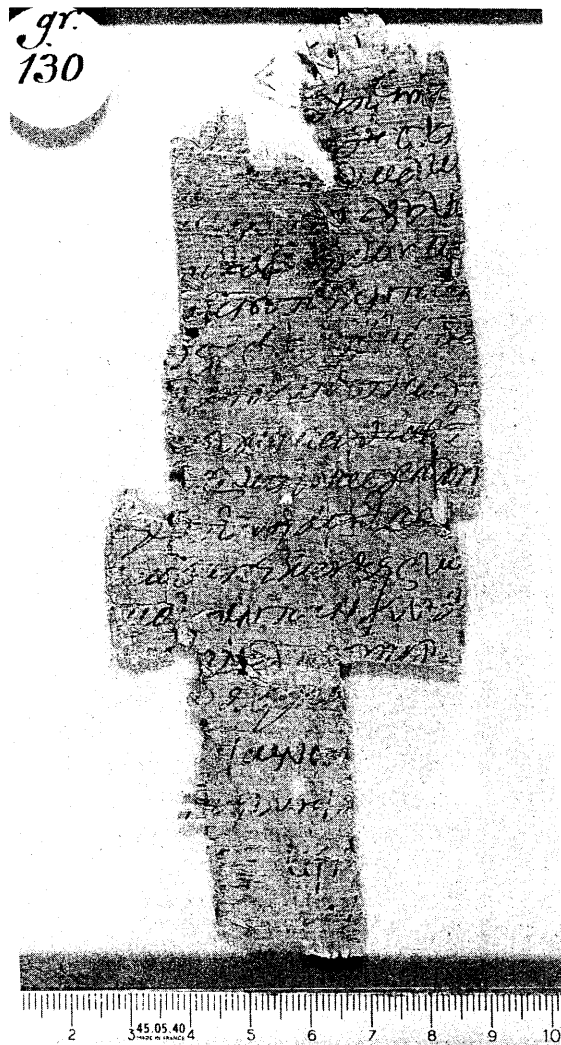
text (cf. p.34).¹² These words, like οἰνομέλι and οἰνέλαιον, suggest to J. Diethart¹³ that we are dealing with some sort of combination of substances, whatever exactly may have been meant culinarily. I see no way of describing precisely the nature of the compound foodstuff with present evidence, but it does seem to me that Diethart must be right on the basic issue.

Columbia University

Roger S. Bagnall

¹²Grenfell and Hunt, in a note to *P.Grenf.* II 99.3, suggested that the second element in the word came from κεράννυμι, and that the word meant "diluted or weak wine," like οἰνάριον. That suggestion would fit the low value attested here very well. Whether it is linguistically acceptable is another matter, and there are no other such compounds with -κρεον in Greek, while compounds of οἶνο- with another substance are attested. Grenfell and Hunt's suggestion, therefore, does not seem likely to be correct.

¹³"Materialien aus den Papyri zum byzantinischen Lexikographie," *Byzantina Vindobonensia* 18, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna 1988) 60 (on οἰνόγαρον) and 63 (on πιπερόγαρον).



P.Stras. VII 694 (no.2 above)

