It is my pleasure to offer these three notes as a token of my appreciation of and affection for Klaas Worp. The first presents a new text from a dossier that Worp and I published over a decade ago, while the second and third are put forward in recognition of Worp’s significant contributions to our understanding of the fiscal and chronological systems of late antique Egypt.

61. Another ostrakon from the dossier of Patermouthios sidērourgos*

O. OIM inv. 7076  
VII/VIII A.D.  
H. 8.2 x W. 7.1 cm  
Upper Egypt

OIM inv. 7076 is a sherd of ribbed pottery, with orange fabric and a sand-colored slip on the text side (and possible traces of pitch on its reverse). The bottom of the ostrakon preserves a rim. The upper left-hand corner of the sherd was repaired in modern times, and on its back is written an earlier inventory number (HM, i.e., Haskell Museum, 63) in addition to its current designation in both yellow and black.

The bulk of the dossier of Patermouthios sidērourgos, which is held by institutions in Chicago, Leiden, and Strasbourg, was published by Worp and myself in 1997.1 The

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* I thank William Sumner, former Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, for permission to publish this text; Geoffrey Emberling, Director of the Museum of the Oriental Institute (OIM), for arranging the provision of digital images of the ostrakon; and Raymond Tindel, former Registrar of the OIM, for his kind assistance during and after my work in the collection.

1 See T.M. Hickey — K.A. Worp, ‘The dossier of Patermouthios sidērourgos: New texts from Chicago’, BASP 34 (1997), pp. 79-109; cf. now SB XXIV 16016-16030. The complexity of our manuscript and the proofs resulted, regrettably, in the introduction of some errors into the printed version. A few of these mistakes have already been noted in B. Kramer, ’Urkundenreferat 1998’, AJP 45 (1999), pp. 267-268. To them may be added:

1) p. 90, n. 49, l. 1: delete “740.4”.
2) p. 93, l. 10: insert “nature of” following “the”.
3) p. 105, O. Leid. 369, 5: the alpha of ἀπελθ(εῖν) should have been dotted.
4) p. 105, l. 1 of apparatus: the circumflex accent over the omega of νο(μισμούμενός) should be deleted.

In addition, Nick Gonis (e-mail, 6.ix.06) has kindly brought the following new readings to my attention (with all of which I agree):

1) SB XXIV 16016, 5: Θ(ω)θ ξδ → Θ(ω)θ κγ
2) 16022, 8: Με(χείρ) αν → Μεσθο(πή) αν
3) 16027, 3: ὀμπρα(ζ) → ὀμπρα
4) 16028, 3-4: τετρα(κατ)(είκοστ(όν) → τετρα(κατ)(είκοστ(όν)
Chicago material, though currently divided between the Field Museum and the Oriental Institute Museum, derives from a single purchase of ostraka by E.E. Ayer in 1898. Additional study of the OIM portion of the Ayer ostraka has revealed another Patermouthios receipt, inv. 7076.

Like most of the texts in the dossier, OIM inv. 7076 is a receipt for dēmosia, ‘money taxes’. It is the only payment attested for the thirteenth indication and in all likelihood includes a sum toward the arrears of the eleventh indication (probably representing the dossier’s longest period of arrears). Payments for a total of 33 keratia are already known for the eleventh indication (SB XXIV 16022-23), and if, as seems probable (given the common signatory Nakeneiōt and handwriting, cf. below), all of these sums pertain to the same indication, a total of 55.25 keratia were paid for this fiscal year. The highest payment attested in the dossier is, however, 3 solidi, 14.75 keratia (cf., e.g., O. Leid. 368).

The missing left portion of the text undoubtedly made liberal use of abbreviation. The writing appears to be the product of the first hand of SB XXIV 16022-23.

Finally, although Worp and I maintained the ‘Patermouthios’ of O. Leid. (and I continue to use it herein) for the sake of consistency, it should be noted that it is much more likely that the nominative form of the name of the dossier’s protagonist was Patermouthios.

2 See HICKEY — WORP, art. cit. (n.1), pp. 80-81.
3 For discussion, see HICKEY — WORP, art. cit. (n.1), pp. 84-86.
61-62 — A LATE ANTIQUE MISCELLANY

[† ἔσχον παρὰ στοῦ Πατερμουθίου Λακ
[σιδηρογράφῳ ἀπὸ δὴ]μο(σίων) τρειςκαιδέκα(ά)της
[יוκίτιονος χρυσοῦ κεράτια εἴκοσι δύο ἡμίσια
[γν(ν.) χρυσοῦ κεράτια κβζ month, ind.] Νάκεκενειατ στοιχ(εί) †

sigla
] ἐνδέκατ(ης) ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίνονος) κβζ
1 πατερμουθίου² 2 δὴ]μο(σίων) τρειςκαιδεκατης³ 4 στοῖχος 6 ενδεκάτω, ἰδον

‘I have received from you, Patermouthios, son of Lak, ironworker, for/from the money
taxes of the thirteenth indiction twenty-two and one half carats of gold, total 22.5 carats of
gold [month, indiction.] Nakeneiot agrees … eleventh indiction, 22.25.’

3 κεράτια εἴκοσι δύο ἡμίσια: The most frequently attested sum in the dossier. I myself
support the explanation of the amount put forward in HICKEY — WORP, art. cit. (n. 1
above), pp. 89-92, but the matter would certainly benefit from additional investigation.

4 Νάκεκενειατ: For possible interpretations, see HICKEY — WORP, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 98, n.
ll. 9-10 (observing, contra that discussion, that a Coptic proper noun can be modified by
the attributive construction). I myself favor rendering this ‘Nake the Younger’. For Nake,
note now P. Bingen 143, 5.

5 sigla: Identified as tachygraphic writing in our publication, but see now P. Horak, pp.
161-62.

62. Another Coptic receipt with the apê Markos**

O. Uppsala VM inv. 2433
9.vii.729 A.D.
H. 11.5 x W. 5.9 cm
Western Thebes

This ostrakon in the Victoria museum för egyptiska fornsaker of Uppsala universitet is a sherd of red-
orange fabric with a tan slip. Its top third (or so) is ribbed, and the text of the receipt (for the
diagraphon/poll tax) only begins on the smooth surface of the sherd.⁴

The apê/stratêgos Markos is a well-known figure in the Coptic tax receipts of Western

** I remain very grateful to Geoffrey Metz of the Museum Gustavianum for his ‘beyond the call’ assistance
during my two visits to Uppsala. My work on the Uppsala ostraka has received generous support from the
Committee on Research of the Faculty Senate of the University of California, Berkeley. The digital image was
created by the author.

⁴ There may be a line of now illegible writing in the middle of the ribbed part of the sherd, but this need not
concern the text of the receipt, which is complete.
Thebes, but hitherto attestations of his activity have been confined to the tenth and eleventh indictions (726-728). VM inv. 2433 extends this ‘floruit’ into the thirteenth indiction (729/30).

The sherd’s scribe is neither Iōannês, son of Lazaros, or Kyriakos, son of Petros, the individuals responsible for Markos’ other receipts. His strokes are thick until Π†Π- (l. 6), at which point he seems to have sharpened his kalamos, perhaps in anticipation of writing the ‘Greek’ portion of the receipt; though the hand seems to change at Γ (l. 7), I suspect that this is merely a question of style (as opposed to one of scribes). Markos (l. 9) may be in a second hand, but the small sample precludes definitive comment. The thick strokes of ink return in l. 10 with † CTÓIΩX.

† ἙΙΚΟΓ ΟΥΞΟΒΟΛΟΚ
ΜΑΡΘΩΜΑ ΔΑΙΩΝ
ΕΤΟΟΤ ΓΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΠΑΤΟΚ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ
5 ΡΗΓ ΑΝΕΚΑΙΜΑΓΡΑΦΟ
ΓΙΤΠΠΨΤ ΚΑΤΒΟΥΠΠο Π-ΟΜΗΕ ΔΑΛΕΚΑΤΗ Υ', (ά)ρ(ιθμον) α
'Ἐπέιρε ει νη(Iκτιόνος) γυ
† ΜΑΡΡΟΚΟΣ ΠΑΠΗ
10 vacat † CTÓIΩX

1 ΟΥΞΟΒΟΛΟΚ(ΟΤΙΠΟ) 5 ΑΝΕΚΑΙΜΑΓΡΑΦΟ(Π) 6 ΓΙΤΠΠΨΤΗ(Ο) ΚΑΤΒΟΥΠΠ(Ο) Ω(Η) 7 γι,π 8 νδι

‘A solidus coin has come to me from you, Stephanos, son of Psês, for your poll tax in the first installment of the twelfth year, total by tale 1 [sol.], Epeiph 15 [9 July], indiction 13 [= 729]. Markos the apê, I agree.’

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6 Presumably on the basis of its formula and scribe, Delattre, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 364, n. l. 6, tentatively assigns the damaged O. Medin. Habu Copt. 286 to the tenth indiction; it should be noted, however, that the payment has been made for the taxes of the ninth indiction (l. 5). The same may be said of O. Medin. Habu Copt. 270 (presumably assigned to the tenth indiction on the basis of its scribe).
7 So Delattre, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 363-364, n. l. 6.
8 This is unlikely to represent a change in scribe, given, e.g., that the (distinctive) first Ο of ΕΤΟΟΤ (l. 3) is identical to that of ΟΜΗΕ (l. 7). ‘Greek’: On the basis of the handwriting, not any telling vocabulary or syntax; in fact, the abbreviation ρ (l. 7) is unknown to me outside of Coptic texts.
9 Cf. the remarks in Delattre, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 364, n. l. 6, in addition to the well-known case of Dioskoros (on which see P. Aphrod. Lit., vol. 1, pp. 245-248).
1 For the gemination, cf. P. Bala’izah I, p. 127.

2 Ἴναρίζω: ‘by tale,’ cf. P. Lond. IV, pp. 84-86. Pace P. Ness. III 77, p. 225, n. 1. 5 (and elsewhere in the scholarly literature, going back to JOHNSON — WEST, Currency), bookkeeping fees are not the crux of this term, which here signifies that the payment was a nominal (i.e., unweighed) solidus.

4-5 The taxpayer, Stephanos, son of Psês, does not appear in TILL, Prosopographie, and is otherwise unknown to me.


— ρ: For the abbreviation, see FÖRSTER, Wörterbuch, s.v. ἀφίθμος (p. 98).
The date of SB VIII 9825 (and a new dossier)***

SB VIII 9825 (= P. Osl. inv. 1438, Oxyrhynchus) has been identified by Jördens as a Weinlieferungskauf, i.e., a sale on delivery of wine (or if one prefers, a loan with repayment in wine). With a significant break on its right side, it presents the following dating clause (l. 1)

\[
\text{μπατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν θεοδοσίου αἰώνιον [ }
\]

which the editor supplements with “Αὐγούστου τὸ και N. N. (mese, giorno)”. He concludes his commentary on this line, “L’imperatore Teodosio appare nei papiri console per la seconda volta, insieme con Flavius Kyneios (nel 388; P. Lips. 63, 1; 22, 1; cfr. 37, 1), e per la terza volta insieme con Flavius Aboudantios [sic] (nel 393; P. Oxy. 1712, 1)”. Of course a second Theodosius wore the purple for nearly half of the subsequent fifth century, and his absence from the editor’s discussion is puzzling. The remains of the papyrus by no means exclude him from consideration; and in fact, he must be the emperor by whose consulship the document was dated. The first party of the Oslo text, Aurelius Phoibammôn, son of Ammônios, is known from another document, P. Oxy. XVI 1973 (15.ii.420, i.e., well into Theodosius II’s reign), where he is identified (vaguely, alas) as a hypêretês. The onomastic link between the texts is solidified by their subject matter: Like the Oslo piece, the Oxyrhynchus papyrus concerns a transaction in wine, and in both Phoibammôn is a

*** This note was developed during my survey of the Tebtunis papyri in the collection of the Universitet i Oslo. I am grateful to Gunn Haaland of the Universitetsbibliotek for her kind assistance and hospitality during my stay in Norway, and I thank the Hellman Family Faculty Fund and Mr. Warren Hellman for their very generous support of my Tebtunis research.

10 See P. Heid. V, p. 296, reiterated in ZPE 98 (1993), p. 263, n. 1. In the ed. pr. (A. TRAVERSO, ‘Documenti greci inediti della collezione papirologica Osloense’, Symbolae Osloenses 37, 1961, pp. 105-107), the description is less specific: “contratto concernente vino”. I have accepted Jördens’ identification for the purposes of my commentary here, but not without reservation. Though the Oslo papyrus has the expected Eingangsformel (cf. P. Heid. V, pp. 307-308), none of the other clauses characteristic of advanced sales of wine from the late antique Oxyrhynchite are extant, and I find myself unable to fit the expected text in the lacuna between lI. 4 and 5; a simpler formulation (such as we find in SB VIII 9773, an advanced sale of barley from the Herakleopolite) would have had to have been used. The HGV classifies 9825 as a “Quittungshomologie über den Empfang von Wein”.

11 Accordingly, the text has gone into the HGV with two dates: 388(?) and 393(?).  
12 Cf., e.g., P. Oxy. X 1319 (403), P. Köln II 103 (Oxyrhynchus, 438), and P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv. 48 (Oxyrhynchus, 439; Hickey, forthcoming). Like SB 9825, the latter two texts omit the article (τοῦ) before εικοσίαυ. I note that all texts with this phenomenon in the dating clause and a secure provenance (P. Lond. V 1777 of 434, P. Oxy. VIII 1134 of 421, in addition to those already mentioned) are from the Oxyrhynchite. Might we therefore assign the unprovenanced SB XVIII 14017 (434) to this nome?
13 Only in the endorsement of the papyrus.
debtor to a member of the local elite. The only differences are the legal instrument employed (P. Oxy. 1973 is a *Kauffreisstundung*, or sale on credit) and Phoibammôn’s relationship to the wine: In 1973, he is not selling wine but has purchased it on credit from Flavius Isak, *ex praepositis*, a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite and epitropos of the *domus divina*, through the *oinopratés* Didymos. It is tempting, *prima facie*, to see a case of ‘robbing Peter to pay Paul’ in these texts, i.e., to suggest that Phoibammôn had needed to ‘borrow’ wine from Flavius Isak to fulfill his contract with the anonymous *geouchos* in SB 9825.\(^{14}\) Just another case of chronic indebtedness among the humbler members of late antique rural society. Conveniently, one can restore the consuls of 420 in 9825:

\[
\text{υπατίας τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου αἰωνίου \[Λύγούστου τὸ ᾽Θ τοῦ Ἐπανυφαντικοῦ Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ′ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πατρικίου κτλ.}^{15}
\]

But then problems emerge: If 9825 was drafted before 1973, why does the latter text still have a postconsular date?\(^{16}\) More critically, the names of both of the consuls of 420 seem to have been disseminated late in Egypt,\(^{17}\) and, in any case, the necessity of assigning 9825 to the few weeks in 420 prior to the date of 1973 (15.ii) makes a connection between the transactions unlikely.\(^{18}\) In the face of the current evidence, we can only note Phoibammôn’s involvement in the wine trade, and wonder if he was one of those ‘entrepreneurial’ individuals whom we encounter operating on the margins of aristocratic estates or in the villages (like his much better known Aphroditan namesake).\(^{19}\) The fact that he was accruing debts “has no unequivocal meaning”.\(^{20}\)

In addition to 420, there are several other possible dates for SB 9825: 416, 433, 438, 439, and 444. Of these only 416 and 438 are represented by papyri with consular (as opposed to postconsular) dates, and 416 is, of course, the more attractive option given Phoibammôn’s ‘floruit’. The name of the Western consul Palladius was slow to reach the East in that year, giving us the following restoration:\(^{21}\)

\(^{14}\) One could envision that the wine in 9825 had gone bad; for this issue, see, e.g., É. Jakab, ‘Guarantee and jars in sales of wine on delivery’, *JJP* 29 (1999), pp. 33-44.

‘Anonymous *geouchos*: Does σεμνής τάξιος in 9825, 5 indicate that he was also a member of the provincial bureaucracy?

\(^{15}\) Cf., e.g., P. Oxy. VIII 1134, 1-2.

\(^{16}\) Note, however, R.S. Bagnall — K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems*, p. 92.

\(^{17}\) Cf. R.S. Bagnall — A. Cameron — S. Schwartz — K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, 1987), p. 375. In fact, SB 9825 would be the first text from 420 dated by its consuls (as opposed to a postconsular date).

\(^{18}\) Wine sold (by *Lieferungskauf*) in Tybi or Mecheir would not have been delivered until the vintage (Mesorê) at the earliest.

\(^{19}\) For this type, see, e.g., T.M. Hickey, ‘Aristocratic landholding and the economy of Byzantine Egypt’, in *Egypt in the Byzantine World* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 304-306.

\(^{20}\) The quote is from R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), p. 86.

SB XX 15137, the one papyrus hitherto attesting this consular date, is an Oxyrhynchite sale on credit. More remarkably, one of its parties is named Aurelius Phoibammôn; his patronymic is lost. This Phoibammôn is a creditor, however, loaning an unspecified commodity valued at 2 solidi to a tarsikarios named Aurelius Attiôn. Our man in action?

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22 Or τοῦ δηλωθησομένου κτλ.
Addendum: In 9825, 3 ὁμολογῶ was probably followed (in the lacuna) by ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεύθεν instead of ἀπέχειν παρὰ σοῦ (as ed. pr.).