

**Preliminary inquiries on some unpublished
Latin documentary papyri (P.Vindob. inv. L 74
recto; 98 verso; 169 recto)**

Giulio Iovine

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**Preliminary inquiries on some unpublished Latin documentary papyri
(P.Vindob. inv. L 74 recto; 98 verso; 169 recto)***

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According to H. Löbenstein's account in the introduction to P. Rainer. Cent., the Latin papyri stored in the Wiener Papyrussammlung at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek were found –together with all the Viennese papyri– in the Arsinoites and Herakleopolites nomoi; information about the origin of the individual papyri, when available at all, can only be gathered from their content.¹ Thanks to the scholarly efforts of Tiziano Dorandi, volumes XLIII to XLV of the Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, published between 1995 and 1996, were devoted to this particular set of Latin items and contain the largest and most important manuscripts of the whole collection; some of the most fragmentary and less clearly relevant, which were simply transcribed or described without an edition, do however present a number of issues. In line with PLATINUM's commitment to study Latin texts on papyrus, I have begun studying the unpublished Latin items from the Viennese collection; I discuss some results of this ongoing inquiry in this paper.

1. P.Vindob. inv. L 74 recto: further notes

The paper I gave at the Barcelona Congress originally opened with a discussion on L 74 recto; this was meant as a preliminary edition –with commentary– of that papyrus. While these proceedings were in progress, the first edition of the manuscript has been published in the journal *Tyche*.² My preliminary edition, which occupied the first paragraph of this contribution, is therefore obsolete, and will not appear here. Instead, I will make some further remarks on the papyrus.

a. At l. 5, instead of *aure*[, I would rather read *aere*[: the supposed *u* is way too angular and is likelier to be a forked *e*. Furthermore, at l. 10, what seemed initially to be *ui*l[might also be *ue*l[, as the *i* looks once again very similar to a forked *e*.

b. Although a *παραθήκη* is indeed mentioned more than once, the presence of land –l. 7 *partibus iug(era)*– suggests that it is not a real contract of deposit we are reading; the other possibilities I mentioned (dotal settlements, marriage contract, testament) still hold. There is an interesting parallel (at least, in the choice of words) in P.Mich. VII 453.³ The document,

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¹ «Hatten sich doch in den Jahren 1881 und 1882 dank des Geschicks Graf's, der seine Gewährsleute von Kairo ausschwärmen ließ, an die 10.000 Papyri, die aus den Trümmerfeldern nördlich von Medinet el-Fayyum (dem griechischen Krokodilopolis-Arsinoe) und Ehnas (dem griechischen Herakleopolis Magna) stammten, in Wien angesammelt» (Löbenstein [1983] 4). See also pp. 24-25 for a complete account of the 'Lateinischer Bestand'.

² In April 2018; see Iovine (2017), with photographic reproduction.

³ 2nd cent. CE, TM 42958. The text runs as follows: ¹[- - -] . . . *lertis et eodem loco alia* [- - - | ²- - -] *et eodem loco ex ypologo* [- - - | ³- - -] *quae fuerunt prius meu*[- - - | ⁴- - -] *ha*] *buerat Liris alia iugera V et*[- - - | ⁵- - -] . . . *quae*

though very fragmentary, has been construed by its first editor as a Roman will;⁴ and by subsequent scholars, as the record of a purchase.⁵ It can be clearly understood as mentioning portions of land (measured in *iugera*); in addition to identifying the portions through the name of their proprietors, it also employs the term *pars* (ll. 8-9). This reminds one of l. 7 in L 74 recto; and suggests that, while ruling out the possibility of a contract of deposit, it is not impossible to construe L 74 too as the record of some sort of purchase, or at any rate, an inventory of items and valuable goods.

2. P.Vindob. inv. L 98 verso: a pay record? (fig. 1 ll. 4-9)

This papyrus too can be dated to the second century CE.⁶ The recto contains a hardly legible text, originally neatly written, where a *manumissio inter amicos* is spoken of. On the contrary, the verso appears to have been written in a less formal hand. Remnants of two columns survive, but the second column consists only of initial letters. No margins are visible but the upper one; the intercolumnium between column i and ii is instead clearly visible. Two blank spaces (3 cm the former, 1.5/2 cm the latter) divide what appear to be three distinct sections of the first column. The text runs as follows:

]eraris . . uini n(umero) xui fit cxx
] man fit s(umma) . . .
 xx . . xii

]ēdicos ob(oli) xxxii xiiii K(alendas) Aug(ustas)
 5 V]alerio H<o>mullo co(n)s(ule)
] . . . p xii pdi f(it) xxu era[. .]
] ob(oli) xxxiii nomi{m}<n>e M . . ias
] g · agra . . . tis sigillis
 Sep]tembres · m · pdi
 10] o co(n)s(ule) xui
] . gra . .

] Longus . . [.] [.]
] u . nilus I . . n s
 Cl]emens . m · assi
 15] . . [.] . . s . . [.] an . s me . . .

The papyrus is in very bad condition and many lines cannot be fully read, at least at this stage. Many sequences of letters, such as *pdī* at ll. 6, 9, are probably abbreviations so far unparalleled, and I refrained from attempting to resolve them. At ll. 4-5]ēdicos ob(oli) xxxii xiiii K(alendas) Aug(ustas) | [... V]alerio H<o>mullo co(n)s(ule) one can see a sum (32 *oboli*) and a regular Roman dating, with the day of the month (July 19th) and the consular

fuerunt Sempro[ni] - - - | ⁶ - - -] r[.] is quod fuit Antisti[- - - | ⁷ - - -] phitu ius fiduciae licitum - - - | ⁸ - - -] . Philadelph<i>ae partem [- - - | ⁹ - - -] . filius et partem IIII faena[- - -]. Both the upper and lower margins are lost.

⁴ See Sanders in P.Mich. VII, 89.

⁵ See D'Ors (1948) 362 and Gilliam (1950) 436.

⁶ The script is remarkably irregular; however, some forms are clearly related to analogous forms in coeval documents. Ligatures *mi* and *xi* appear almost identical in PSI IX 1026 (CE 150, TM 17460); similar samples of *m* can be found in Ch.L.A. X 412 (= P.Berol. inv. 7124, CE 131, TM 69914); this kind of slightly sloping, narrow *f* can be compared to other *f* letters in BGU II 696 (CE 156, TM 69913), and also the ligature *co* bears comparison with analogous specimens in Ch.L.A. III 203 (= P.Lond. inv. 482, CE 130, TM 78865).

year (Valerius Homullus was consul in 152 CE).⁷ The recipient of the sum is unclear: the sequence]eḍicos might be supplemented as m]eḍicos, but no reason can be given for the accusative plural. This pattern appears to be repeated at ll. 9-10 (*Sep]tembres ... | [...]o co(n)s(ule) ...*), again without a clearly recognizable recipient. Clues pointing towards the Roman army appear at ll. 1-3, where one can conjecture the word *tess]erari<ī>s*,⁸ and after it, some figures; given the word *uini* at l. 1, one can think of a payment consisting also in valuable items, not only in money. Also *man* (l. 2) may be an abbreviation for *manipulus*, though that word is usually abbreviated *manip(ulus)* elsewhere.⁹ *Sigillis* (l. 8) has only one parallel in Latin papyri, i.e. Ch.L.A. I 12, l. 12 *αἰτῶ sup sigillo* (167 CE, TM 69871); no particular meaning is suggested in either context.

Given the military-related words and the structure of the papyrus, which seems to consist, at least for ll. 1-11, of a number of entries concerning payments, one may think of a pay record, pertaining to a specific unit from Roman army. However, one cannot understand this document as an official pay record, i.e. the one concerning regular *stipendia*. The format of this kind of document, which we know from a handful of papyri, appears to be very regular; it includes features –such as the name of the soldier and his birthplace in rustic capitals– and formulae –like *accepit stipendi, ex eis*– which one does not see here.¹⁰ Such an arrangement as the amount of money (the payment being at least partially in kind: see l. 1) on a registered date is not attested yet in military papyri.¹¹ Moreover, an entry at l. 7 (*] ob(oli) xxxiii nomi{m}<n>e¹² M . . . ias*) is worth some remarks. One can see in it the remnants of a particular Latin phrase, *nomine* + genitive ‘under the name of’, ‘by way of’, amply documented in Latin literature¹³ and whose Greek parallel ὀνόματι + genitive is well attested in papyri.¹⁴ Two Latin papyri also have a similar entry: Ch.L.A. XXV 790,¹⁵ a list of names in nominative, some of which are followed by *nomine* + genitive;¹⁶ and PSI XIII 1321, apparently a list of accounts whose context is uncertain.¹⁷ Although the syntactic structure is

⁷ The scribe has omitted the *o* in *Homullo*, and has mistakenly written *V]alorio*, here corrected in *V]alerio*.

⁸ The *tesserarius* was the Roman army officer charged with the watchword. See Salati (2017a) for a full account.

⁹ See T.Vindon. 5 (= C.Epist.Lat. I 24) *Q(uito) Maio milit(i) | leg(ionis) xiii Gem(inae) | [h]asta(to) iii manip(uli)*; T.Vindon. 69 (= C.Epist.Lat. I 56) *Prisco | medico | manip(uli)*.

¹⁰ See the military pay records collected by Fink (1971) 241-268, no 68 (Ch.L.A. I 7a-b, CE 81-90, TM 69867), 69 (Ch.L.A. I 9 recto, CE 83-84, TM 69868), 70 (Ch.L.A. X 410, CE 193-196, TM 63048), 71 (Ch.L.A. XLIV 1298, late 2nd cent. CE, TM 70085), 72 (P.Ryl. II 273a, 2nd cent. CE, TM 27910). One should add P.Harr. I 35 recto (1st cent. CE, TM 110834: see Salati [2017b]).

¹¹ Other kind of payment records are, for instance, P.Masada 722 (CE 72/75, TM 78491), P.Flor. inv. 129 recto (3rd cent. CE, TM 70148), PSI inv. 2450 recto (3rd cent. CE, TM 128489; for this and the preceding one, see Radiciotti [2006-2008]), Ch.L.A. X 446 recto (3rd cent. CE, TM 69944) and probably Ch.L.A. III 212 (3rd cent. CE, TM 69874). Though connected with Roman army, and recording some sort of payment, SB XX 14386 (CE 277-282, TM 32180) is probably not a pay register (see Renting-Sijpesteijn [1987]). None of these documents appears to be similar to L 98 verso in its formulary.

¹² For *nomime* instead of *nomine*, probably a phonetic slip, see PSI XIII 1307 recto (CE 65 ca., TM 25148), col. ii, l. 15 *a[d] nomem*.

¹³ See OLD (1186) s.v. *nomen* 24.

¹⁴ See for instance P.Erl. 42, l. 7 Διονύσιον ἀδελ(φόν) ὀνό(ματι) τοῦ πατρὸ(ς) Λευκί(ο)υ (2nd cent. CE, TM 28571), P.Strasb. Gr. I 56 fr. A 2, l. 2 ὀ[νό]ματι Ἑρμείνου τοῦ καὶ [Μύ]ρωνος Διοσκόρο[υ ὑπ]ηλλάχθαι τὴν οἰκίαν (2nd-3rd cent. CE, TM 27754), three instances in P.Oxy. XII 1534, col. II, l. 3 ὀνό(ματι) Ἡλιοδώρου, l. 12 ἄλ(λαι) ὀ[νό]ματι Μαρκίωνος, l. 13 ἄλ(λαι) ὀ[νό]ματι Ἀμυντιανοῦ Διονυσί(ου) (3rd cent. CE, TM 31757). See also P.Flor. II 226, ll. 12-13 πέμψων αὐτὰ εἰς | Τάλει τῶι ἐμῶι ὀνόματι («under my name», 3rd cent. CE, TM 11102).

¹⁵ 1st cent. CE, TM 70007.

¹⁶ See l. 1 *Eud[aimon]] nom[ne]*, l. 12 *C · Noster · nomine · C · Rur ·]ον . . .*, l. 16 *per · Saluium · nomine · Clesippi ·*, l. 20 *idem · nomine · D[]α . . .*, l. 23 *Zena · col[lybista] · n[omine] · me* . . ., etc.

¹⁷ Ch.L.A. XXV 788 (early 1st cent. CE, TM 25149). The *editores principes* M. Norsa and V. Bartoletti thought of ‘conti’ (see PSI XIII 1321 ad loc.). Gilliam moved slightly further, stating, «the use of Latin in the accounts also leads one to conclude that the fragment concerns the affairs of Roman merchants or bankers» ([1986] 371).

not perspicuous, one can find at l. 5 a figure followed by *nomine* and a name in genitive case: (*denarios*) *cccxiii · e[t] · exactos · n[u]m[m][o]s · nom[i]ne · C(aii) · Naevi*. This may well be the case for l. 7, where one might infer the presence of a name, perhaps in genitive, after *nomine*. To conclude, the safest way seems to classify ll. 1-11 as a register of accounts, probably not concerning official *stipendia*, and related instead to payments of some sort, regular or extraordinary, within a military unit. As for the last lines (12-15), almost nothing can be gathered from them; this section appears to have been a list of Latin names, perhaps names of soldiers (only Longus and Clemens are certain),¹⁸ but which kind of entry was subsequent to these names one cannot fathom.

3. P.Vindob. inv. L 169 recto and the last Latin papyri from Egypt (fig. 2, ll. 2-3)

The last case I wish to discuss here is a small scrap, L 169, which can be dated back to the sixth century CE.¹⁹ Three Latin lines are visible on the recto, whereas on the verso one can spot a handful of Greek lines, in faded ink and written along the fibres. The text runs as follows:

- - -
] *Kal(endarum) Nouembrium domino* . . [. .] . [. .] . [. .]
] *cum ceteris contubernalibus suis* [
] *compleuisse dinoscitur* †

The dating formula is incomplete, but the presence of *domino* prompts one to think of an Emperor as consul (l. 1 *domino no[st]r[o]*?). The last two lines appear perfectly to match the closing lines (7-10) of P.Ryl. IV 609:²⁰

ex die Iduum
 [.] *m Sabiniano et Theodoro uiris clarissimis consulibus ministrari curaturus cum*
ceteris
 [*conturma*] *libus suis muniis militaribus o[pe]ram nauaturo ita tamen si octauum decimum*
annum
 [*peregi*] *sse dinoscitur*

This papyrus is an official Latin letter sent to recruit soldiers in the *χώρα*.²¹ It is dated back to 505 CE and, until now, seems to be one of the latest papyri from Egypt written completely in Latin. The Viennese papyrus is akin to this document, and provides a suggestion on how to supply the two lacunae of the Rylands papyrus:] *libus suis* at l. 9 may in fact be [*contuberna*] *libus suis*,²² and instead of [*peregi*] *sse* at l. 10, [*compleui*] *sse* might be read.²³ L

¹⁸ In addition to several sources where they appear separately (Longus in P.Hamb. I 10, SB XXII 15215, P.Mich. IX 551, P.Mich. IX 570, BGU II 581, BGU I 69, etc.; Clemens in P.Mich. VIII 483, P.Mich. VIII 489 verso, P.Diog. 5, and so on) one can also witness them together in P.Gen. II 97 (second half of 1st cent. CE, TM 25170), Chrest.Wilck. 463 (96 CE, TM 80130), T.Mich. III 166 (128 CE, TM 78515) and P.Mich. IV 223 (171/172 CE, TM 11998); 224 (173 CE, TM 11999), 225 (175 CE, TM 12000).

¹⁹ The document is written in the so-called Latin new cursive. Parallels found in Ch.L.A. XLIV 1288 (5th/6th cent. CE, TM 70075: compare in particular *e* and *n*), and P.Ryl. IV 615 (4th/5th cent. CE, TM 32758, particularly for *b* and *d*) suggest that the manuscript, probably written in Egypt, can be dated back to the 6th century CE, perhaps the first half.

²⁰ TM 17309.

²¹ «A call-up notice served to an inhabitant of Hermoupolis by order of the Count of the Thebaid frontier through the local tribune, in which the conditions that would exempt him from conscription are carefully stated» (P.Ryl. IV, p. 97).

²² The current supplement (*conturma*] *libus*) comes from Cugusi (see C.Epist.Lat. I 242, p. 260); Roberts and Turner thought of *aequa*] *libus* (see P.Ryl. IV, p. 98).

169 stands now as the only known parallel of a document up to now unique, and can be added to the list of the few fully Latin papyri from Late Antique Egypt.²⁴

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²³ The supplement is to be ascribed to the *editor princeps*, Brandi (1914). Notably, the verb *complere* also appears in the subscription to the Rylands papyrus, at l. 12 (*conpleui*).

²⁴ One may mention for instance official documents and letters from imperial administration –the aforementioned P.Ryl. Gr. IV 615, Ch.L.A. XII 528 recto (4th/5th cent. CE, TM 69996), Ch.L.A. XXVIII 839 (4th/5th cent. AD, TM 70008), CPR V 13 (401 CE, TM 12866), the aforementioned P.Ryl. Gr. IV 609 –imperial constitutions and rescripts– P.Ryl. Gr. III 476 (4th/5th cent. CE, TM 64583), SB XX 14606 (CE 425-430, TM 23768), Ch.L.A. XVII 657 (436-450 CE, TM 69999), Ch.L.A. 44 1301 (465-467 CE, TM 70088) –and a handful of undetermined texts, such as P.Ryl. Gr. 3 481 (5th cent. CE, TM 64749), CLA X 1523 (5th cent. CE, TM 64817), Ch.L.A. III 213 recto (5th cent. CE, TM 99306: probably the minute of the verbal of an audience).

Plates

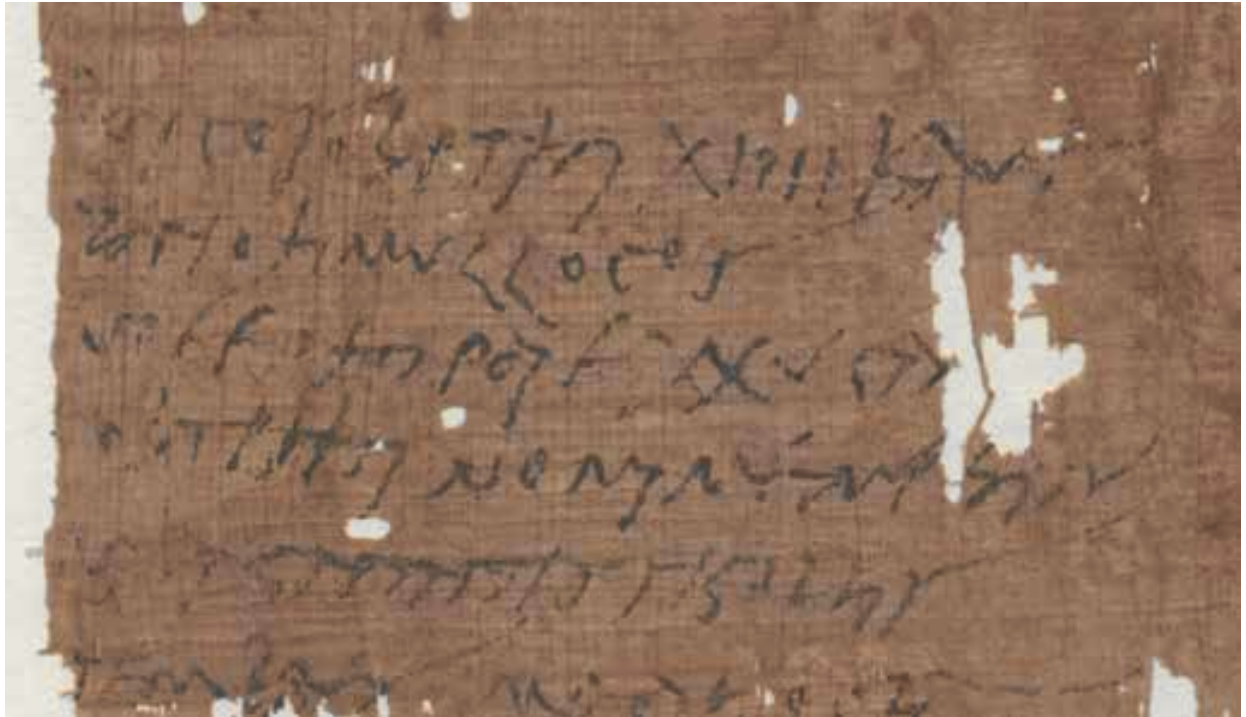


Fig. 1. P.Vindob. inv. L 98 verso, ll. 4-9. Courtesy of the Austrian National Library

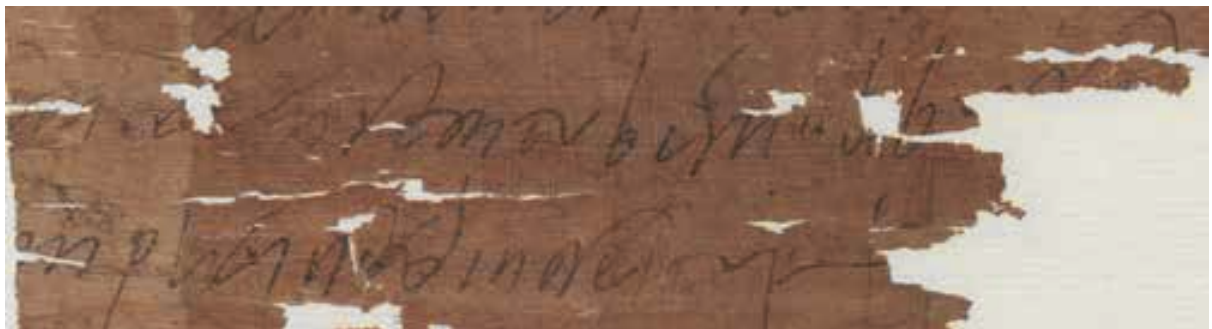


Fig. 2. P.Vindob. inv. L 169 recto, ll. 2-3. Courtesy of the Austrian National Library