

A Seventh-Century list of jars from Edfu Kruit, N.; Worp, K.A.

Citation

Kruit, N., & Worp, K. A. (2002). A Seventh-Century list of jars from Edfu. *Bulletin Of The American Society Of Papyrologists*, *39*, 47-56. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/10116

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

A Seventh-Century List of Jars from Edfu¹

P.CtYBR inv. 72

15.5 cm x 9.7 cm Plates 5-6² 619-629 or shortly later

8

Edfu

This papyrus, whose margins are all preserved, was purchased in Egypt by H.I. Bell from Hamed Hamid in Edfu on 7.12.1926. The item was numbered "II 6" in Bell's distribution list of purchases for that year. Bell dated the text palaeographically to the sixth/seventh century A.D.; there is a distinct possibility (cf. Verso, 1n.) that the text can be dated more precisely, i.e. to the period A.D. 619-629 or shortly afterwards.

Evidently, we are dealing with an administrative list specifying the deliveries of various types of jars. The content of these jars is not indicated in the preserved part of the document, but the most obvious commodities that they might have held are wine, oil or plain water.

Recto

¹ We are most grateful to our colleagues Dr. N. Gonis (Oxford), who directed our attention to this interesting document, and Dr. Rober Babcock (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University), who kindly gave us permission to publish this text.

 $^{^2}$ Images of this papyrus can be found at: <u>http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/S4183883.JPG</u> and <u>http://130.132.81.124/papyrimg/S4183883.JPG</u>

	άπὸ κυρ(ίου) Οτρατ]ηγ	ου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ξ	
8	ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου)] ερ	ου όμοί(ως) (ὑπὲρ) Διο-	
]	κ[ό]λ(οβα) μ	
	[ά]π[ὸ] κυρ(ίου) Λιβερί	υ όμφ(ακηραί) ξ	
	ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) 'Αριστίου	κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) γβ	
12	Χαρήσιος γωμιτ() του	ει μ(ε)γ(άλα) ς	
	Γεωργίου πραγμ(ατευτ	νῦ) πυρρ(ὰ) ζ.	
	γί(ν.) (όμοῦ) κόλ(οβα) χμ (καὶ) κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ρϊβ		
	(καὶ) ὀμφ(ακηραὶ) ξ (καὶ) μ(ε)γ(άλα) ς (καὶ) πυρρ(ὰ) ζ		

|-- and given lof Kollouthos koloba 160 la koloba 200 lora, from lord lerios, koloba 100 from lord koloba 140 los, from lord Strategius, large koeis 60 from lord lerios likewise on behalf of Diokoloba 40 from lord Liberios. omphakerai 60 from lord Aristios, large koeis 52 Charisios -large (jars) 6 of Georgios, trader, "red" jars 7 Total: koloba 640, large koeis 112 omphakerai 60, large jars 6, "red" jars 7.

3ff. For κολ() = κόλ(οβον), cf. N. Kruit - K.A. Worp, "Geographical Jar Names: Towards a Multi-Disciplinary Approach," AFP 46 (2000) 138 ff.; a resolution κόλ(αθον) is unlikely. Evidently the addition of 160 + 200 + 100 + 140 + 40 produces a total of 640 (χμ, cf. line 14).

⁶ At the start read perhaps] µov for] ov.

7 For the restoration cf. Verso, line 5, mentioning the same (?) Strategius. We see no link with the most famous Strategius mentioned in documents from the early seventh century; for the latter see B. Palme, "Die domus gloriosa des Flavius Strategius Paneuphemos," Chiron 27 (1997) 95-125.

For the KÓEIC, jar attested to date only once in a Greek document, see Kruit - Worp, "Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids," AFP 45 (1999) 104 on SB XVIII 13930.5, 7, 9, 13 (VI/VII A.D. = P.Ross.Georg. V 41.Frr. IV, V + BGU III 972), οἴ(νου) κόεις 400 ἀνὰ λὰκ 4 ἑκάςτου κόεις (i.e. 4 λάκ = 1 κόεις); for attestations in Coptic documents, see W.E. Crum, Coptic Dictionary, p. 120a; O.Crum 217 (pp. 27-8, n. 1); CPR IV 35 introd., XII 13.4n.; O. Vind. Copt. 359; P. Mich. Copt. III 3.7-8; O. Medin. Habu 62.5; O.Bawit 53. The precise size of the κόεις is unknown. Assuming that a single κνίδιον contains at least 3 ξέςται, it follows that 1 λακοοτ holds $(4 \times 3 =) 12 \xi \text{έct.} (= \pm 6.5 \text{ l.})$. Assuming, furthermore, that 1 λακοοτ = 1 λακ, a κόεις would contain $(4 \times 12 =) 48$ ξέςτ. $(= \pm$ 26 l.); jars containing 48-50 ξέςτ. are well known, cf. Kruit - Worp, ibid. 99. If, however, 1 λακ = 0.5 ξέςτ. (see K.A. Worp forthcoming in Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Coptologists [Leiden 2000]), 1 κόεις would have 2 ξέςτ., i.e. smaller than the smallest Greek κνίδιον known to date; cf. Kruit - Worp, AFP 46 (2000) 104-10. Evidently, the addition of (κόεις μεγάλα) 60 + 52 produces a total of 112 (piß, cf. line 14)

10 (and Verso, 2): For a man called Liberius holding the office of pagarch in Apollonos Ano/Edfu ca. 650 A.D., see *P.Apoll.* 61.v.16 with note, and J. Gascou - K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite," *ZPE* 49 (1982) 83-95, esp. 84; it is conceivable that we are dealing with the same person everywhere. For the date of the present text, cf. below, note to line 1, Verso.

For the use of κύριος, cf. H. Harrauer - B. Rom, "Ho kurios-Listen auf Papyrus," Aegyptus 63 (1983) 111-5.

10 and 15 We resolve ὁμφ() as ὁμφ(ακηραί) [for this term cf. the Appendix, below], while comparing SB XIV 12077.4, 5 (2x ὁμφ(ακηρά); cf. line 3, ὁμφακηρά), but we cannot exclude a resolution ὀμφ(αρά) serving as a spelling variant of ἀμφ(οράρια); cf. below

at P.Vindob.Worp 11.12. For the various forms of the term $\dot{\alpha}\mu$ - ϕ po $\dot{\alpha}$ pιον in the papyri, cf.:

άμφαλαρι[-: SB XX 14210.3 (VI A.D.).

άμφ
(ολάριον): P.Got. 17.v.6 (VI/VII A.D.; cf. below sub άμφολά
– ρ (ιον)).

άμφορ(άριον): *P.Mich.* XV 740.2, 20 (VI A.D.; the editor resolves the unique, hence unlikely form άμφορ(ϵ ύς)).

άμφολάρ(ιον): P.Got. 17.r.17; 17.v.5, 11, 21 (VI/VII A.D.; see also under άμφ(ολάριον)).

όμφαλάριον: P.Herm. 23.7 (IV A.D.); P.Vindob.Worp 11.6 (VI A.D.); P.Laur. IV 184.7 (VII A.D.).

όμφαλάρ(ιον): SB XVIII 13762.23 (VI/VII A.D.).

όμφ(αράριον): P.Vindob.Worp 11.12 (VI A.D.; cf. the same papyrus, line 6: ὁμφαλάριον).

11 The name 'Apiction has a classical ring and occurs more frequently in Ptolemaic papyri than in later times. We have not found a man Aristius in other documents from Edfu. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie* 62, mentions only the name Aristios from O.CrumST 61.3.

12 We have not found a man $X\alpha\rho\dot{\eta}c\iota oc$ elsewhere in documents from Edfu; the name's regular spelling is $X\alpha\rho\dot{\iota}c\iota oc$.

γωμιτ(): perhaps an error for κόμιτ(oc)? We have no solution to offer for the word(s) preceding $\mu(\epsilon)\gamma(\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha)$ ς.

12 and 15 For jars called μεγάλα cf. P.Sarga, p. 24 under # 14. The precise content of such jars is not known and one can only observe that apparently they are in this papyrus distinguished from κόεις μεγάλ– (cf. 7, 11, 14), the κόλοβα (cf. line 3n.), the ὀμφακηραί (cf. above, note to lines 10 and 15), and the πυρρά (cf. below, note to line 13), maybe also from πυρρὰ μεγάλα and κόλοβα μεγάλα (cf. below, Verso lines 2-4). Furthermore, the situation is even more complicated, because jar designations like ἀγγεῖα μεγάλα, διπλᾶ μεγάλα, κνίδια μεγάλα and λάη μεγάλα are also known. Perhaps these and similar jars are generally to be distinguished from ἀγγεῖα μικρά, διπλᾶ μικρά, κνίδια μικρά, κόεις μικρ–, λάη μικρά, and πυρρὰ μικρά, while the nature of their different quality is the same as of the dif-

ference between ἀπλοῦν / διπλοῦν, μονόχωρον / δίχωρον, etc. However, the question still remains as to what distinguishes a μέγα from, e.g., κόεις μέγα? To be sure, in documents one should distinguish between the abbreviations $\mu^{\gamma} = \mu(\hat{\epsilon})\gamma(\alpha)$ and $\mu\alpha\gamma()$ = $\mu\alpha\gamma(\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu)$.

13 For the term πραγματευτής = "trader," see N. Gonis, "Some Πραγματευταί with False Identities," ZPE 132 (2000) 187-8; the resolution of the abbreviation is inspired by the fact that already before the beginning of the fifth century an official called πραγματικός no longe appears in our documents. The latest instance is πραγμ[ατικοῦ in SPP XX 88.12 from 337 A.D.

For $\pi u \rho \rho(\delta v) = \text{"red"}$ jars, see our discussion of BGU II 549 = SPP VIII 897.6 in AFP 46 (2000) 107, n. 103. After we published this article, our colleague A. Boud'hors (Paris) kindly drew our attention to a publication by C. Heurtel³ of a Coptic ostracon featuring the Coptic term ΤΔΡω6 and the Greek term πυροόν next to each other. While noting earlier attestations of the TAPWE in O.Medin. HabuCopt. 41 and O.Crum 475 (the term is not listed in Crum's Coptic Dictionary) Ms Heurtel states that "c'est l'héritier du vase "rouge" de l'Egypte ancienne (SD DŠR)" and that "l'adjectif grec a été utilisé comme correspondente etymologique de TAPWE alors qu'il ne semble pas avoir dans les textes documentaire grecs un sens équivalent à celui du mot Copte." To this observation we add a comment made by P. Ballet, De la Méditerranée à l'Océan indien. L'Égypte et le commerce de longue distance à l'époque romaine: les données céramiques, TOPOI 6,2 (1996) 809-40, esp. fn. 45: "Les amphores d'Edfou se subdivisent en deux groupes: un ensemble à pâte alluviale brune, comprenant une proportion assez importante de dégraissant végétal; un second à pâte alluviale brune, fine, et à engobe rouge rosé (our italics)."

³ In Études Coptes vol. V = Cahiers de la bibliothèque Copte 10 (Paris -Louvain 1998) 150.

Verso

While the text on this side of the papyrus and that on the recto have a similar character, it would go too far to contend that the text on this side forms a sequel to the text on the other side.

† Λ(ό)γ(ος) Κοςμᾶς νοταρ(ίου) 'Αςτραγατουρ ἀπὸ κυρ(ίου) Λιβερίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) ιδ (καὶ) πυρρ(ὰ) μ(ε)γ(άλα) δ (καὶ) μικρ(ὰ) πυρρ(ὰ) ς

4 (καὶ) κόλ(οβα) μ(ε)γ(άλα) δ

άπὸ κυρ(ίου) Cτρατηγίου κόεις μ(ε)γ(άλ-) τβ α ὁμοί(ως) Κοςμᾶς νοταρ(ίου) κόλ(οβα) κζ

β Κοςμᾶς ὁμοί(ως) κόλ(οβα) λ

8 γ τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ὁμοί(ως) κόλ(οβα) κ

δ όμοί(ως) τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) κόλ(οβα) τ [γίν. (ὁμοῦ)]μ (καὶ) κόλ(οβα) μικρ(ὰ) πζ

1, 6, 7 Κοςμᾶ

† Account of Kosmas, secretary of Astragatour (?); from lord Liberios, 14 large koeis and 4 large "red" jars and 6 small "red" jars and 4 large koloba; from lord Strategios, 12 large koeis; on the (?) 1st, likewise, of Kosmas secretary, 27 koloba; on the (?) 2nd, of Kosmas, likewise, 30 koloba; on the (?) 3rd, of the same, likewise, 20 koloba; on the (?) 4th, likewise, of the same, 10 koloba. [Makes together] 40 --- and 87 small koloba.

1 A word combination "Koc μ - vota ρ -" (cf. lines 6ff.) occurs 7 times in the DDBDP.

'Αστραγατουρ (or 'Αστραςατουρ): we reckon that the undeclined and unabbreviated form αστραγατουρ/αστραςατουρ may contain a Persian (Iranian) personal name, cf. the remarks by J. Gascou, "Notes de papyrologie byzantine (II)," Cd'E' 59 (1984) 337-40, esp. 339 fn. 4 on names like "Asphatourios/Aspagourios" deriving from a

Persian background. If this approach is correct, 4 one automatically obtains a date for this text, as it must have been written during the period of the Persian occupation of Egypt or not long afterwards. In itself it is not abnormal to find in the papyri people styled as "νοτάριος τοῦ δεῖνος," cf. P.Cair.Masp. I 67002.ii.15, III 67289.v.2; P.Oxy. XVI 1893.31.

2-5 An addition of the amounts "14 + 4 + 6 + 4 +12" makes "40" (in line 10). Evidently all different jars from lines 2-5, i.e. κόεις μεγάλ-, πυρρὰ μεγάλα, μικρὰ πυρρά, and κόλλαθα μεγάλα, were counted together indiscriminately. In view of the restricted space available at the start of line 10, we cannot propose a complete restoration for the lacuna; maybe one should think of a generic term like κεράμια.

6-9 An addition of the amounts "27 + 30 + 20 + 10" makes "87" (in line 10). Evidently, the κόλλαθα from lines 6-9 were κόλλαθα μικρά.

One can only guess what the numerals α , β , γ , δ at the start of these lines refer to: days in a month, e.g., or deliveries ($\phi \circ \rho \circ \gamma$)?

APPENDIX AΜΦΟΚΕΡΑΙΟC: AN ETYMOLOGICAL MISUNDERSTANDING

LSJ Revised Supplement (1996) contains on p. 25 the following entry: "κάμφοκέραιος, ον, two-handled, P.Oxy. 1343 (VI A.D.; -κερυια pap.; for κάμφικ-)." No doubt, this entry derives from a similar entry in F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden I (1925) col. 73, "άμφοκέραιος, doppelgehenkelt, Ox

⁴ We consulted Prof. D. Weber (Göttingen) on this matter; he replied that in itself the name 'Αςτραγατουρ/ Άςτρας ατουρ definitely looks like an Iranian/ Persian compound, that names ending in "-adur" (in Middle-Persian: "Fire") or in (Iranian) "-tour" look acceptable enough, but that it is difficult to find a convincing explanation for the first part of the name, "Astras(a)-"/"Astrag(a)-."

1343 [VI]: κοῦφα ἀμφοκέρυια (read: -κέραια)." The edition of the papyrus itself presents only an entry "κοῦφα ἀμφοκερυια η," without accentuation for the word under review; it gives no commentary on the word's meaning or etymology and only contains in the word indices (p. 297) an entry "ἀμφοκέρυιος (?) 1343." It seems obvious that Preisigke was the first scholar to seek the origin of the compound in a combination of an element ἀμφί + an element κέρας.

In itself this might seem acceptable enough, if there were not the remarks on compounds in -κέρας made by P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque II (Paris 1970), pp. 517-8 s.v. κέρας: "comme second terme apparaissent également des formes diverses: -κέρας dans δίκερας (Callix.) et dans les noms des plants: αίγο-, βου-, ταυρο-, n. d'après la forme du fruit ---; la plupart des composés sont en -κερως ---; il existe aussi quelques composés thématiques en -ος: p. -ê. μουνόκερος (Archil.), νήκερος, nom. pl. νήκεροι "sans cornes" (Hés. Tr. 529); on observera aussi les féminins καλλικέραν, ὑψικέραν (B.); les composés en -κερατος sont rares et relativement tardifs, p. ex.: ἀκέρατος (Pl., Arist.), Pl., Plt. 265 b c, emploie τῆς ἀκεράτου à côté de ἄκερων; ἀκέρωτος (AP 6, 258) est isolé, mais témoigne de l'extension de la finale -ωτος."

Though LSJ lists an adjective δικέραιος, "two-horned, two-pointed," from AP 6, 111, Chantraine does not discuss its formation. The only other Greek adjective in $-\kappa$ έραιος is ἀκέραιος, but its meaning of "pure, unmixed" indicates that this adjective derives from the verb κεράννυμι and has nothing to do with κέρας.

So much is certain, therefore, that the number of compounds with a second element in -κεραιος and connected with κέρας = "horn > handle" is remarkably small. For that reason one may look for an alternative approach for explaining a form αμφοκερυιος, purportedly written instead of an intended (but unattested) ἀμφικέραιος. Such an approach is easily available, if one reckons with three well-attested linguistic phenomena:

⁵ Our colleague Prof. Dr. C.J. Ruijgh who read an earlier version of this note kindly referred us to Pollux 1.91 where there is an entry "ἀκροκέραια" (n. pl.), "ends of sail-yards," a substantive made from an adjective ἀκροκέραιος; the substantive ἡ κεραία, "horn, sail-yard," obviously derives from κέρας.

- a) interchange between the vowels α/o, visible in particular in forms like ὀμφαλάριον for ὀμφαράριον/ἀμφοράριον; of course, one should also reckon with the reverse, i.e. ἀμφο- written for ὀμφα-(cf. below, SB XX 14625.24);
- b) loss of difference of length between the vowels ε/η , for which see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 242ff.; for an illustration of this phenomenon in the word under review, cf. below, at *P.Oxy*. XVI 1924.5, 11 and *SB* XX 14625.24.6
- c) a vulgar spelling of the adjective as ending in -υιοc instead of a regular -ιοc, perhaps influenced by the pronunciation of Greek υἰός as "iós."

Hence, we would regard a spelling ἀμφοκέρυιος as a vulgar variant of an adjective ὁμφακήριος going with ἡ ὁμφακηρά "a rounded vessel, flaggon" (so LSJ Rev. Suppl. 228). As a container of sweet grape juice, garum and wine, this type of vessel occurs already in a number of papyri (listed here in chronological order without correcting the original spelling of ὁμφακηρά), viz. in:

P.Abinn. 31 (= P.Lond. II 239).13 (IV A.D.)	γλυκοιδίων όμφακηρά α.
PSI VII 829.9 (IV A.D.)	όμφακηρῶν δ.
Tyche 11 (1996) 231, ii.20ff. (IV A.D.)	όμφακερ() n, όμφ() n ⁷

 $^{^6}$ Prof. Ruijgh compares the development of classical Greek νηρόν > Modern Greek νερό.

⁷ The editor of this Vienna papyrus takes the view (cf. his remarks at p. 237) that the gender of όμφακηρ- in this text is neuter, because he reads the verb in line 21 as ἐκλάcθη. On Plate 8 in Tyche 11 one sees after εκλαcθη a small dot. Upon our request Prof. H. Harrauer checked the original papyrus for us and confirmed that this is not dirt or stray ink but deliberate writing. As we do not think that this is a form of interpunctuation, we take it as a kind of imperfect abbreviation marking, hence we read ἐκλάcθη(cαν). Hence we come to the conclusion that there is no need to regard the noun in the Vienna papyrus as a neuter variant of the fem. noun ὁμφακηρά, deriving from the adjective ὁμφακηρός. According to the electronic TLG, this feminine noun is found in Georgius Cedrenus, Compend. Historiarum I, p. 679.6, and Theophanes Confessor, Chronographia, p. 235.28. Both describe a fire in the imperial palace in Constantinople which went ἔως τῆς (Theoph. adds "λεγομένης") Ὁμφακερᾶς. In the passage cited by the editor of the Vienna papyrus from Aetius Amidenus, Iatricorum V 141.17, ἀγγεῖα ὀcτράκινα τὰ ὁμφακηρὰ καλούμενα, the adjective ὀμφακηρὰ takes the same neuter plural form

P.Oxy. XXXIV 2729.20, 21 (late IV A.D.)	οίνου όμφακηραί.
SB XIV 12077.3-5 (IV-V A.D.)	όμφακηρά μία, όμφ(ακηρά) α.
P.Oxy. XVI 1870.13 (V A.D.)	οί]γου όμφακηράν μίαν.
P.Oxy. XVI 2047.2 (V A.D.)	όμφακηρ(ὰν) προπώμ(ατος) α.
P.Oxy. XVI 1924.6, 12 (V/VI A.D.)	όμφοκεράς γάρου α; όμφωκεράς κούφ[η] α.
SB XX 14625,24 (V/VI A.D.)	άμφοκεράς β.
P.Wash.Univ. II 105.3 (VI/VII A.D.)	όμφοκ(ηράς) δ [evidently wine].

For the etymology of ὀμφακηρά as a "rounded container" (grape-shaped?), cf. P.Abinn. 31.12n. (where one finds a citation from LSJ s.v. ὀμφακηρός, "for holding ὄμφακες" = grapes) and P.Wash.Univ. II 105.3n. In sum, in P.Oxy. X 1343 one seems to be dealing with eight κοῦφα-jars of the (grape-shaped) ὀμφακηρά-type. For κοῦφα see the discussion in ZPE 136 (2002) 142, note to line 2 of P.NYU II 22.

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Correction note:

A reedition of *P.Got.* 17 (see above, p. 50) will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Eranos*.

as the noun to which it belongs. The same applies to *ibid.*, 140.9, τὸ μέλι --- ἀναλάμβανε ὀστρακίνοις ἀγγείοις μάλιστα ὁμφακηροῖς.