

## Two Chronologically Interesting Papyri from the Michigan Collection

(Plates 7-8)

During a short period (September/October 1992) P. J. Sijpesteijn stayed and worked in the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. L. Koenen gave him permission to publish the two papyri edited here, among other texts. We present them separately because both texts provide interesting chronological problems.

### 1. Order to Pay Wages

SB 22. 15339

P.Mich.inv. 3469<sup>1</sup>  
Arsinoite Nome (?)

16.9 x 7.1 cm

November 6, A.D. 271 (?)

Κ[ρά]τη[ς] Εὐσχήμενος  
Λογκρητίφ

- 4 ὁδὸς Πάννοι ἀρχιποιμένοι  
[κ]αὶ τοῖς ἐτέροις ποιμέσι ὑπὲρ  
ὄψωνίου Θῶθ καὶ Φαῶφι  
τοῦ βS καὶ εS πυροῦ ἀρτά-  
βας εἴκοσι μίαν, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κα.  
8 (ἔτους) β|| καὶ ε|| Ἀθῦρ ι-  
(2nd hd.) ἐσημωσάμην πυροῦ  
ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι μίαν.

9 ἐσημειωσάμην

Krates, son of Euschemon, to Lucretius. Give Pannos, head shepherd, and the other shepherds for their wages for Thoth and Phaophi of the 2nd

<sup>1</sup>The light-brown text is rather regularly broken off at all sides. 7.5 cm have been left free at the bottom and 1.5 cm at the top. One horizontal and four vertical folds are still visible. On the other side, along the fibers, the ends of five lines of a text which can no longer be identified:

]. κάθως  
approximately 9 cm left free  
]ρθηνι  
].ενεις  
]ν ὑπαρ-  
]ατο

SB 22. 15340

and 5th year twenty-one artabs of wheat, total 21 art. of wheat. Year 2 and 5, Hathyr 10. (2nd hand) I have signed twenty-one artabas of wheat.

1 The proper name (as opposed to substantive) *Ἐδοχήμων* is relatively uncommon. Cf. the remarks of N. Lewis, above, p. 31.

3 Πάννου: Instead of introducing a new, indeclinable proper name, we assume that the scribe meant Πάν(ν)φ.

ἀρχιποιμένι: F. Preisigke lists—in our opinion without reason—the ἀρχιποιμήν in WB III Abschnitt 8. ἀρχιποιμένεες = head shepherds (cf. D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century Egypt* [Cambridge 1991] 78 f., 83, 205) occur also in SB V 8087.8 (cf. BL V 102); VI 9908.1; 9909.3; 9912.2,13, all texts connected with the so-called Heroninos archive. It is not to be excluded that the present text too has to be connected with the same archive, since an administrator (?) Lucretius (cf. here line 2; D. Rathbone, *op.cit.*, 68, 76, 338) is known from the same archive. For other Heroninos texts in the Michigan papyrus collection, see H. C. Youtie, ZPE 40 (1980) 81 ff. = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II (Bonn 1982) 605 ff. Cf. also J. Bingen, Cd'E 24 (1949) 148 f., where under the places with papyri from this archive the Michigan collection is listed (cf. Cd'E 55 [1980] 175 n.1 for Milan and Vienna; Cd'E 56 [1981] 304 n.3 for possibly Uppsala).

4 For a list of herdsmen, see CPR XIII pp.143 ff.

9-10 The person who wrote these two lines (Krates or Lucretius) was certainly a βραδέως γράφων (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II [Amsterdam 1973] 629 ff.).

The date of this papyrus, an order to provide an unknown number of shepherds headed by an ἀρχιποιμήν, their wages for two months, rests upon palaeographical and chronological elements. As far as palaeography is concerned, the hand may be attributed to the late third or early fourth century A.D.; earlier and later periods seem excluded. In lines 6 (in the indication of the period of time concerned) and 8 (in the dating of the papyrus) one finds a reference to a combination of two years, the first of which is either a beta (= 2) or a kappa (= 20), the second an epsilon (= 5). The problem as far as the reading of the first numeral is concerned is that the single other beta in the part of the text written by the same hand is written differently (ἀρτάβας in line 7) and that it looks rather like the kappa of Λουκρητίφ in line 2 and εἴκοσι in line 7. A combination of years 20 and 5, however, does not produce a match with a known combination of the usual dating by regnal years in either the late third or the early fourth century (or in any other period, for that matter). Furthermore, for various reasons one is forbidden to think that these numerals should be related to a parallel count of years within two indiction cycles, the former being the

number of the year in an 'old' indiction and the latter related to a 'new' indiction cycle (i.e., indiction year 20 = 5. Cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* [Stud.Amst. 8, Zutphen 1978] chapter 3, esp. 14-15).

On the other hand, a combination of years 2 and 5 may be attributed to the joint reign of the emperors Aurelianus and Vaballathus (years 2 = 5 = A.D. 271/2; cf. *P.Oxy.* XL pp.15 ff. and *ZPE* 26 [1977] 227 ff.). As far as these regnal years are referred to in the phrase indicating the period of time concerned (line 6) there is no problem. It is, however, curious that the dating part of the document (line 8) does not give any regnal titulature for the emperors concerned. On the other hand, it is well known that since the reign of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Verus short texts (especially those written on ostraca) could be dated by an 'anonymous' regnal year only (cf. R. Bogaert, *Cd'E* 55 [1980] 286). This practice, moreover, is well known from documents from later reigns, i.e., those of Diocletian and Maximian and their successors starting in 284 (cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* [BASP Suppl. 2, Missoula 1979] 3, 6).

## 2. Order for Payment

P.Mich.inv. 1782<sup>2</sup>  
Oxyrhynchite Nome (?)

14.5 x 9 cm

IV?

S 322. 153 41

π(αρά) Σαρμάτου

Θεογνώστ[φ]

παράσχο[v] μ[οι] ὑπὲρ τιμῆς πίσης .[

τῶν πλοίων δηναρίων μυριάδα[ς χιλίας τετρακοσίας

τεσσαράκοντα.]

- 4 γί(νονται) (δηναρίων) (μυριάδες) ἄνυμ/μόνας. ἐγρά[φη]  
. ἔτους α/ μ[α]S/ ι/ Ἐπειφ ι.[

From Sarmates to Theognostos. Give me for the price of pitch - - of the ships thousand four hundred forty myriads of denarii, total, 1,440 myriads of denarii only. Written in year 1, year 41 = 10, Epeiph 10(+).

1 Although the proper name Σαρμάτης is not an uncommon one, we should like to draw the reader's attention to the appearance of a Sarmates in the following fourth-century texts from the Oxyrhynchite nome: *P.Oxy.* X 1297.1,23 (IV); XIV 1751.1 (347); XLVIII 3393.3 (365); 3429.14,19 (IV); LV 3820.2,23 (ca 340?). Perhaps something followed Θεογνώστ[φ].

<sup>2</sup>The other side is blank. The medium-brown papyrus is at the top and at the bottom rather regularly cut off. At the top and at the bottom 1 cm has been left free; at the partly regularly cut off left side, 1.5 cm. Three vertical folds are still visible. At 4.5 cm from the top there is a κόλλησις.

2  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ : cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Stud. Amst. 17, Zutphen 1987) 66 no.39; K. A. Worp, *Cd'E* 66 (1991) 264. For the use of pitch in connection with ships, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 211 ff.

5 We cannot explain the sign (?) at the beginning of this line, which looks like .

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\phi$   $\iota\phi$  seems the most likely reading. If our chronological explanation of this text given below is correct, the date of the present text was in all probability July 8, A.D. 365. (Outer limits: 5-13 July.)

The date of this papyrus (line 5 mentions a date by year 1 = 41 = 10, Epeiph 11-19 [cf. note to line 5]) is, again, something of a problem. As in the preceding papyrus, there are both palaeographical and chronological considerations. As far as palaeography is concerned, the hand can be attributed to the fourth-fifth century A.D. Furthermore, the reference to myriads of denarii persuades us that a date after the 340s should be looked for (cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* [BASP Suppl. 5, Atlanta 1985] 12). Regnal years 1, 41 and 10, however, do not occur (either in this or in any other sequence) anywhere in the papyri before or after the 340s. While attempting to solve the problem we wish to refer to the (so far unique) sequence of years found in *P.Laur.* III 75.5 (A.D. 367/8), where one finds reference to years 44 = 13 = 5, the first two numerals (44 = 13) being related to the Oxyrhynchite era (always starting with Thoth 1 = 29/30.viii, based on the prolonged count of the regnal years of the deceased emperors Constantius II and Julian. Cf. *CSBE*, chapter 6), while the third numeral is related to the 5th regnal year of the emperors Valentinian and Valens. Now year 41 = 10 (A.D. 364/5?) in the papyrus under discussion fits the sequence to which 44 = 13 belongs, but year 1 does not; analogy with the *Laurenziana* papyrus would require year 2 of Valentinian and Valens.<sup>3</sup> We think, however, that this 'error' might be explained by comparing the situation with the first year of the emperor Gallus (and later that of Theodosius I), which we also find ignored (cf. *ZPE* 28 [1978] 239 ff.). Moreover, we know of no parallel for the phenomenon that the regnal year of a living emperor precedes an era year (cf. the tables in *CSBE* on 37 f.). On balance, however, we think that these arguments are only minor difficulties with a date for this papyrus to 5-13.vii.365.

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<sup>3</sup>Valentinian came to the throne on 26.ii.364 and Valens on 28.iii.364. Epeiph 11-19 in their first year would have fallen, then, on 5-13.vii.364 and, following the age-old practice of Roman Egypt, their partial first year should have ended on 28.viii.364.