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**CR of: D. Hagedorn-J. Frösén, Die verkohlten Papyri aus Bubastos (Pap. Bub.), Band 1**  
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### **Citation**

Hoogendijk, F. A. J. (1994). CR of: D. Hagedorn-J. Frösén, Die verkohlten Papyri aus Bubastos (Pap. Bub.), Band 1. *Applied Medical Informatics*, 51, 347-351. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/7711>

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

governor, who then assigned the *strategos* the task of deciding between the two parties (15). The dispute between Adelphios and the family of Theophanes continued, for we see Adelphios sending a petition after Anysios drove his flock onto disputed pasture land (16). For its part the family of Theophanes also relied on legal institutions. In a report of proceedings before the *strategos/exactor* (18), we learn that Theophanes literally caught this official at the gate of the city as the latter began a journey to the provincial governor. Theophanes sought to prevent the trial between his son and Adelphios set for that day by producing an act of sale showing that the land in question in fact belonged to his wife (Anysios' mother).

At first sight, justice seems to have been dispensed in a somewhat haphazard fashion here. Each party produced its own documentation to support its case, and it is doubtful if there was any centrally maintained register that could settle ownership of the land in question beyond dispute. Moreover, Theophanes' ability to defend his family's interests depended to some extent on what turned out to be a chance meeting with the responsible official. On the other hand, the parties involved in the dispute never relied solely on force or self-help, but at every possible turn they invoked the legal protection of the state. The problem was that the documentation that each side could bring to hear was "evidentiary" in nature rather than "probative", so that settling disputes about ownership or rights to land would be a difficult task. The state's answer to this was to establish some sort of arbitration procedure, or διαίτη. Law and order prevailed, if in a different manner than we are accustomed to today. In connection with this theme, W. lists fourth-century ὑπογραφαί to petitions by provincial governors in Egypt (Anhang c).

These remarks are to indicate the importance for students of Roman provincial history of the evidence provided by Egyptian papyri. Archives such the present one or the archive of Aurelius Isidorus, a farmer and liturgist from Karanis during the early fourth century (see A.E.R. Boak, H.C. Youtie, *The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan* [Ann Arbor, 1960]), to name just one more, provide the historian with evidence simply not available elsewhere in the Roman empire. Roman Egypt may have had a unique geography and history, but it is becoming increasingly clear that the Roman experience in Egypt should not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. Rather, the papyrological evidence allows the historian to examine in an Egyptian setting many problems that, *mutatis mutandis*, affected the Roman empire as a whole.

New Orleans, June 1993

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FRÖSÉN, Jaakko und HAGEDORN, Dieter, *Die verkohlten Papyri aus Bubastos (Pap. Bub.)*, Band 1. Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990 (24 cm, 221 pp., 32 pl.) = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia, Vol. XV. ISSN 0078-9410. ISBN 3 531 09925 6. DM 98,-.

In the thirties of the third century A.D., the central archive of the Boubastite Nome in the north of Egypt burnt down. It

is possible that it was set on fire purposely to destroy the tax registers. Though it may have been a disaster at the time, it was the same fire that saved, in a carbonized state, many interesting papyrus rolls that would otherwise surely have perished because of the moist climate in the Nile delta.

In the 1960's, carbonized papyri from Boubastos began to appear in the papyrus collections of the University of Cologne, the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna, the University of Athens, and the University of Duke. As a whole, the carbonized archive at the moment consists of 5500 fragments assigned to 38 rolls (some of which 6 to 8 m long) with official documents pertaining to taxation and administration of the Boubastite Nome from 205-232 A.D. In particular, the Finnish papyrologist Frösén has studied this archive, in co-operation with colleagues from the institutes owning Boubastos papyri.

*Die verkohlten Papyri aus Bubastos, Band 1* is the first of the projected ten volumes of Boubastos papyri, which will be published in the series Papyrologica Coloniensia. It contains the text of four papyrus rolls kept in the University of Cologne, nos. 1-3 published by Hagedorn (pp. 13-96), no. 4 by Frösén (pp. 97-201). Both editors, in the introductions to their separate parts of the book, vividly describe the restoration of the rolls. However, it is not before one has read the fragmentary texts and looked at the photographs of indeed the larger pieces, that one realizes how difficult and painstaking it must have been to handle these packages of crispy papyrus fragments.

Rolls 1-3 belong closely together as to contents and handwriting: they are written in the same beautiful and accurate chancery hand of the beginning of the third century A.D. The rolls are composed of copied letters of the *dioiketes*, the highest financial official of Egypt, residing at Alexandria. The *dioiketes* Claudius Severianus, here attested for the first time in a papyrus, is also said to occur in an unpublished papyrus from 225 A.D. and, at an earlier stage of his career, as *praefectus vehiculorum* in an inscription at Rome from 214 A.D. His letters were sent to the *strategos*, governor of the Boubastite Nome, whose name is nowhere preserved. Apparently they were copied in the *strategos*' office at Boubastos, since one of them also contains the *strategos*' answer. The order of the documents in the rolls does not seem to be strictly chronological but rather depends on subject matter. The letters all date from 224 A.D. or shortly after.

No. 1. The fragments of roll 1 (6.75 m long and 24,5-26,5 cm high) were restored to form 25 broad columns of text. As far as could be gleaned from the sometimes minute fragments, the letters of the *dioiketes* have the following content. Col. I-V, 5: about submitting in time the monthly accounts by the *strategos* and the *basilikos grammateus*, and the penalty for failing to do so. Col. V, 6-VI: about a (further unknown) decision (ἄροχος) of the emperor Septimius Severus on the sale of ὑπόλογοις and other state land, prices of which should stand in reasonable comparison to the rent the state received before the sale. Interesting is the mention (VI, 4) of M. Cocceius Nigrinus, earlier known from an inscription as *procurator provinciae Britanniae* under Caracalla; here he may have been mentioned as the predecessor of the *dioiketes*. Col. XI-XXV: fragments of offers to purchase state property, sent by private individuals to the *dioiketes*, and forwarded to the *strategos* with the *dioiketes*' covering letter, see below. This part of the roll was pasted as a whole to the foregoing part already in antiquity.

A remarkably large group of texts in P. Bub. I (the second half of roll 1, almost all of roll 2, perhaps some lines of roll

3, and almost one third of roll 4) deal with the sale of probably confiscated property (mostly land, sometimes houses), belonging to the state. The procedure was the following: after fiscal property had been put up for sale, private individuals sent their offer to purchase with their bid to the dioiketes in Alexandria (which is new for the third century, second century papyri show these offers sent directly to the strategos). The dioiketes then delegated to the strategos the task of verifying if the property was for sale and if the bid was high enough; if so, the strategos had to take care of the sale and payment, and publicly advertize for possible higher bids. The dioiketes wrote these instructions to the strategos in a letter that served as a covering letter to the offer to purchase, of which a copy or double was appended. All these letters of the dioiketes had the same pattern, so that it was possible to reconstruct from the many incomplete fragments the original "ideal" letter, which is printed in full (with translation) in the introduction to 1-3 (p. 17).

**No. 2.** The fragments of roll 2 (4.05 m long and 37-39 cm high) were assigned to 15 columns. Col. I and II differ from the rest in not dealing with the sale of state property. Still, they do seem to belong to this roll for material reasons. Col. I: letter in which mention is made of the trades of λινόϕοι and σαβαν[ (*addendum lexicis*, probably "Towel-makers"). Col. II: list of names in several cursive hands; perhaps autographed signatures? Is this fragment a *Fremdkörper* after all, as the editor suspects? Every entry ends with an enigmatic π( ), and since the first person is called γενό(μενος) π( ), it is taken to denote a function. Col. III-XV: fragments dealing with the afore-mentioned sale of state property.

**No. 3.** The 15 fragments of roll 3 were too small to be ascribed to columns, although their order within the roll could be established. All fragments are assumed to be (copies of) letters of the dioiketes sent to the strategos. Some of these were letters to the strategoi of all nomes. Their content can only be guessed at. Fragment 11 is an offer to rent state property. Fragment 13, lines 9-11 seem to deal with the sale of state property again.

**No. 4** is more interesting since we have here a τόμος συγκολλησίμος, a roll formed by pasting together the *original* documents that were sent to the strategos of the Boubastite Nome, Aurelius Heraclides. It was a so-called *liber litterarum allatarum*, book of incoming correspondence, in their original form. So the "columns" vary in width and we see different handwritings: the rather cursive hands of village officials, the regular handwritings from the chancery of the dioiketes, the beautiful chancery hand from the strategos' own office and even a Latin cursive. Examples of all hands can be found on the published plates.

This fourth roll, restored to 73 columns and one loose fragment (the fragments ranging in size from a few letters to the remains of 14 lines), contains official documents as well as letters, the only connection being their relationship to the dioiketes, Septimius Arrianus. The texts are ordered after subject matter and in a loose chronological way; all date from the period March/April to July 221 A.D.

At least eighteen of the columns of 4 are, like in 1-3, remains of the dioiketes' covering letters with the appended offers to purchase state property. The handwriting tells us that most of the appended offers to purchase were copied in the dioiketes' chancery, the originals being kept in the dioiketes' archive. Two of them (col. XII and XXV) are in a more

cursive handwriting and are probably originals. They were pasted to this τόμος συγκολλησίμος without the usual covering letter of the dioiketes, so perhaps they had been handed in with the strategos directly (probably still being officially addressed to the dioiketes, compare the ptolemaic *enteuxeis* officially addressed to the king, but submitted to the strategos, who usually handled the case).

Twenty-one columns of 4 are nominations of liturgic officials<sup>1</sup>), sent to the dioiketes by among others the ἐν κλήρῳ κομογραμματείας of Boubastite villages (some of these "designate komogrammateis" appear to represent the komogrammateus during several months; see col. I, 2-7, note). Part of the nominations are in the chancery hands of the dioiketes' office, so they must be copies of originals kept in his Alexandrian archive; the others are written in more cursive hands and bear original subscriptions: they were apparently submitted in twofold; one original was deposited in the dioiketes' archive, while the other was sent on to the strategos. Two other documents deal with the same subject. Under the nominees are Alexandrian citizens. New as a compulsory service, is the ἀμφοδοφυλακία in XXVI.

Of the remaining texts of 4 the following are notable. Col. X-XI: covering letter of the dioiketes (referring to sale of state land?) with a copy of an offer to purchase perhaps addressed to the prefect of Egypt: Γεμινίῳ Χ]ρήστῳ τῷ λα[μπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι? (l. 7-8). Col. XXIX-XXX: remains of a Latin letter (content uncertain), possibly from the prefect of Egypt to the dioiketes, followed by the beginning of a letter of the strategos himself, who, after receiving the Latin letter, apparently appended a Greek paraphrase of it (not preserved). Col. XXXVI: mention of Προμῶνιος Λαιτ[ι]ανός (?), perhaps identical with the *procurator Augustorum (procurator provinciae Syriae Coeles)* of 251 A.D. Col. XLVI-XLVIII: instructions of the dioiketes (?), citing an imperial edict of Elagabal, κεκ]ελευσμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ [.....] θεοφι[λεστάτου (unattested title of Elagabal) κυρίου ἡμ]ῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντ[ωνίνου]; followed by explaining letters (?) of the strategos. Col. LX-LXI: report of legal proceedings. First occurrence of the word κριτικός (meaning unclear here) in the papyri. "Loses Fragment": interesting fragment from the minutes of the strategos, in which he is reported to take part in a procession and make offerings in several temples to the honour of Caracalla and Iulia Domna, and perhaps also to the *praefectus praetorio*; in l. 7 the reading of π[ραιτωρι].ι' (π *corr.* ex τα) seems very attractive.

The transcriptions are reliable and each text is provided with an accurate material description, critical apparatus and commentary. However, further attempts at translation or paraphrase might have made the texts better accessible for less experienced readers or even non-papyrologists. The transverse printing of text with long (supplemented) lines is quite annoying to the reader who has to turn the book continuously.

A few minor remarks: 1 VI, 12: ]μερας instead of ]μερα; 1 VIII, 7: read ]παν[τ instead of ]τάγ[; 1 XII, 6: ἦ instead of <ῆ>; 1 XXIII, 1: δ instead of δ; 4 II, 3: ὄντος must be preferred to e.g. ἐπιμέν]λοντος regarding the rules for word division in Greek. Also Πρ[ω]τόκλι[ητος] in 4 XIII, 2-3 conflicts with this rule (in the absence of a photograph the reading of this rare name cannot be checked); 4 X, 2: the κ

<sup>1</sup>) See for a different opinion from the editor's: N. Lewis, "P. Bub. I 4 and Liturgy", *BASP* 29 (1992), pp. 130-131.

of ὑπ[ερκ]εἰμ[ένων should not be dotted; 4 XIV, 1-2: ] τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ | [—]συκαμου (?) was taken as a description of place of origin or as status description; a third possibility would be the permission of other officials, like e.g. in P. Petaus 59, l. 8ff.: γνώμη καὶ κινδύνῳ πάντων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν κ.τ.λ.; 4 XXXV, 5: a typing error in the ι of Ψόϊτος caused the whole rest of the Greek text to be set in a terribly small typecast. The *Korrekturblatt* to this p. 157 may not have reached every owner of this book. (The smaller and boldly printed line 9 of 4 XXII, however, is no misprint, here the script refers to an intralinear addition.); 4 XXXIX, 2: εἰ instead of δι; 4 LVI, 4: τῆς τ[ιμῆς instead of τ[ῆς τιμῆς; diaeresis not transcribed in 1 II, 9: προσῖεσθ]; 1 VIII, 3: ὑπο; 2 VIII, 2: ἴν; 4 XXX, 4: ὑπο.

The book concludes with the usual indexes compiled by E. Sironen. Rather misleading is the system of using round or square brackets for every reference to an abbreviated or supplemented word, also when it is only partly abbreviated or supplemented. Index II A s.v. Severus Alexander: read αὔτη instead of αὔτη. In general, it is best that an index be prepared by none other than the editor of the texts himself.

At the end 32 plates show 51 (of the 128) texts. The text numbers on the plates do not always clearly refer to the relevant part of the photograph. Of some texts only half is represented (1 X, 4 XXII and LIII). On plate 21, what is called 4 XXXI is still part of 4 XXX, while on plate 22 the references to 4 XXXI and 4 XXXII were transposed.

*Die verkohlten Papyri aus Bubastos, Band 1* is a collection of only small fragments, but the texts do offer new information. *Addenda onomasticis* (not always noted as such in the index): Βουβαστεῖνος, Θαμιῦσις, Κίσσιος, Λεοντάμων, Μίμνερος, Νισθερώου, Πελάτης, Σαλλῶς, Ἰσοῦνκίς. *Addenda lexicis*: πρσανανεύω, σαβανοποιός or σαβανόφυος, χωματεπιμέλεια or -μελητεία, and a demotic ending in Ἰνφρανισιεύς. The existence of the word ἀποκαλύφω seems to be proved (see 1 XVIII, note to line 9). New are also the names of Boubastite villages, among which a village with the remarkable name of "208", κόμη ση. It is a fact that the sigma (at least in 1 XIII, 11 on plate 6) has the typical form used in papyri to denote 200. However, since no parallel exists for numbered villages in Egypt, one might perhaps think of Ση as a Greek rendering of the Egyptian word for "place" (compare the Coptic *ce* or *ci* as an element of placenames and especially the village name *τσε = Ταση*, in which *τα* is only the Coptic definite article<sup>2</sup>)).

Although not one of the texts in this volume is complete, and many do not even contain more than a few words, their edition is worthwhile for anything that adds to our knowledge of the hardly known Boubastite Nome. We should be very grateful to the papyrologists who took and will take part in the laborious project of publishing the carbonized papyrus rolls from Bubastos.

Leiden, April 1993

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Roquet, *Toponymes et lieux-dits Égyptiens enregistrés dans le Dictionnaire Copte de W.E. Crum* (Cairo, 1973), pp. 12-13.

DELIA, Diana, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*. Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1991 (23 cm, XII + 210 pp.) = American Philological Association, American Classical Studies, 23. ISBN 1 55540 525 8 (hardback), 1 55540 526 6 (pbk).

D's monograph, which began life as a doctoral dissertation directed by Roger Bagnall at Columbia, provides a salutary warning of how little we shall ever know about the civic organisation of one of the ancient world's greatest and most populous cities. There must have been hundreds of thousands of members of the Alexandrian citizen body during the period when Egypt was ruled by the Romans. D's very valuable Appendices (*Astai* and *astoi* in Egypt, 30 B.C.-A.D. 284; Origins of Roman Legionaries Recruited in Egypt; Alexandrian Tribes and Demes; Alexandrian Ephebes; Alexandrian Magistrates; Alexandrian Councillors; *Gerontes* and *Presbeis*; *Neokoroi tou Megalou Sarapidos*) show how pitifully few names survive on which to base a reconstruction of the city's citizenship.

In Chapter I: Alexandrian Citizenship, D. summarises previous work on the Alexandrian citizenship, which has been considerable, and discusses the terminology associated with it. Her discussion of the terms *astos* and *astē* is characteristically cautious. Nevertheless while her conclusion that *astē* might also designate a citizenship of any of the other Greek cities in Egypt (i.e. Naucratis, Ptolemais, Antinoopolis) is probably true, it seems likely that the majority of *astai* listed in Appendix I were in fact Alexandrians, even though this cannot be proved. Thus I would query her later suggestion (p. 54) that Alexandrian citizenship of the father combined with citizenship in a Greek city for the mother may have been enough to ensure Alexandrian status for their children. It seems to me much more likely that, as in Athens after the citizenship law of 451/0 B.C., Alexandrian citizenship depended upon both parents having Alexandrian status (or higher).

In Chapter II: Tribes and Demes, D. discusses what is known or can be deduced about the tribal organisation of the citizen body. Her conclusions point to a fixed number of 10 Alexandrian tribes (no doubt based upon the Cleisthenic model, as we would expect) which were nevertheless renamed almost continuously throughout the Roman period in order to honour one emperor or another. In the past it has been argued that the Alexandrian tribal system was extensively reorganised during the reign of Nero whose special interest in the city is well documented. But D. concludes (rightly, I think) that while certain tribal names (*Auximētores*, *Theomētores*, *Propapposebasteios*) are likely to be Neronian, others just as clearly point to other emperors. Note though that *Neokosmios* (or *Sosikosmios*) has also to be Neronian or earlier rather than Flavian (or Hadrianic) on the basis of the occurrence of *...kjosmeiou* in P. Oxy. XLIX 3463. 23 (A.D. 55), while the previous association of *Agathodoteios* with Agathos Daimon and hence with Nero (pp. 65-66) which D. rightly rejects, is philologically suspect as much as anything else.

D. begins Chapter III: The *Ephebeia* with a full discussion of the types of evidence surviving about the Alexandrian ephebate before going on to challenge the commonly held view that the ephebate was the customary means of entry into the Alexandrian citizenship during the Roman period. I am afraid that, given the ambiguous nature of much of the evidence, I