1979

From the Archive of Flavius Eulogius and His Descendants

James G. Keenan
jkeenan@luc.edu

Recommended Citation

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FROM THE ARCHIVE OF FLAVIUS EULOGIUS AND HIS DESCENDANTS (see pl. IX)  

The trends in Byzantine papyrological documentation and the archival origin of much of the papyrus evidence for Byzantine Egypt were at the XIth International Congress of Papyrology subjects of an instructive discussion by Professor R. Rémondon.  

Evidence for late Byzantine Egypt to no small degree consists of extensive archives of private origin, chief among these being the archives of Dioscorus of Aphroditus and of the Apiones of Oxyrhynchus. Study of these archives, the identifying of individual pieces as belonging to archives, and the reconstructing of smaller archives from scattered pieces are necessary and profitable fields of scholarly endeavor in Byzantine papyrology as in documentary studies in general.

One of the lesser Byzantine private archives is the late 5th-6th century archive of Flavius Eulogius and his descendants, first and most fully reconstructed by E.R. Hardy in The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt (New York 1931), 39-40. Documents identified as belonging to the archive are: P. Oxy. I 140; XVI 1876, 1891, 1958-60, 1962-63, 1994; PSI V 466; and P. Iand. 43 (Montevecchi, La papirologia, 259). A possible, but far from certain, addition is P. Lond. V 1876 desc. The large majority of the Eulogius papyri, therefore,  

1) The publication of P. Oxy. XVI 1962 undertaken below and permission to reproduce its photograph are by courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society through its secretary, Miss Mary Crawford. Photographs of this and other Eulogius papyri were made for me some years ago by Revel Coles. More recently, John Rea has been so kind as to test my readings and questions against the original papyrus.  


3) For the Byzantine Egyptian papyrus archives, cf. the summary lists and bibliography in O. Montevecchi, La papirologia, Torino 1973, 257-61. For the Dioscorus archive, see now also P. Mich. XIII.  

4) Cf. P. Oxy. XVI 1876 intro., and, recently, Keenan, ZPE 13, 1974, 297-98; I.F. Fikhman, Oxyrhynchus: City of the Papyri (in Russian), Moscow 1976, 80-82.  

5) Hardy, Large Estates, 40 n. 2. With the aid of a photograph sent to me through kind arrangement by T.S. Pattie, I find it possible to read the first two lines of P. Lond. 1876 desc. as:
are to be found in P. Oxy. XVI; most of them appear as descripta at the back of that volume. Of these papyri, the one whose description is least full in proportion to its size and state of preservation, to such an extent that its full publication seems a worthwhile task, is P. Oxy. 1962.

Like the majority of the Eulogius papyri, P. Oxy. 1962 is a lease of house property. By its terms Eulogius's sons, Martyrius and Apphous, lease to Aurelius Apa Nakios a small house in the Pammenes' Garden district of Oxyrhynchus. The text, written with the fibers, is virtually complete; but the papyrus is abraded and worn in spots, notably toward its left-hand edge from top to bottom. Most minor deviations in the transcript offered below, with its more extensive use of dots and brackets, from the transcript given in the P. Oxy. description are related to this fact. These minor changes are not reported in the critical apparatus or in the commentary below, but may be controlled by the reader against the plate that accompanies the present edition. In both hands, final υ is raised, except for the correction in line 14.

P. Oxy. 1962 desc.  15.5 x 31.2 cm.  A.D. 500

If the fragment does belong to the Eulogius archive, then these lines might be restored on the basis of related texts as (e.g.):

Φλ(αοுώ) Ἀπη[οου̱] παλατίνου γε[ο̱] γροθυντε ἐν[thritis]

In the end, one can suggest, but far from prove, the piece's connection with the archive. In passing it is perhaps worth noting that the fragment is a land lease and that the lessee's name, as in the present document, is Apa Nakios, though the two individuals are not necessarily identical.

4    .......    ......    γοταρίων ὑλοῖς τοῦ τῆς Δρίσ[τ]ῆς
[ἔντα]θα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτης Οἴξουργυχτῶν
8    [τῇ]ς λ[α]μπρᾶς [καὶ] λαμπροτάτης Οἴξουργυχτῶν
[πάλ]εως [χ]ε[ρεί]υν. ἱκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μεθοδικο-
[σα]ς ἄλ[λ]ὰ πό νεομνήνιας τοῦ θαύμα μηνὸς τοῦ ἄνεο-
12    [κτίο]νοις τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ ἡμῶν λαμ-
[πρ}π]τήτα διακειμένων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως
[ἐπʼ] ἄμφο]τ[ο]ρ Παραδίσου ὀλόκληρον
[μικράν] ὀλ[ίκ]αν νεοσώζαν ἐπὶ νότον μετὰ τῶν
16    [(?)] οἰκοπεδῶν σὺν χρηστηρίοις καὶ δικαιοὺς πάσι καὶ
[τελέσα] ὑπὲρ ἐνοίκιον ἐναποινότος χουσαφ ζει-
[τι]α ὑπὲρ, ὑπὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀποδόσω κατο ἔτος
[δι] ἔξοδομὸν τ[α] ἡμείς, καὶ ὂποταν βουλευθεὶς
20    [ἡ ὑμ]λὰν [λαμπρότης] παραδόσω τὴν αὕτην
[μικρὰν ὀλίκα]ν μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπόστοις αὕτης
[νομῆς] ἐν ἐπιπληθώς. κυρίος ἡ μίσθως
[(?)] σύλλη γιαγιαστι καὶ ἐπερατηθεὶς ἐξολόγητα.
24 (m2)    [Αὐρήλιος] Ἀ[πὰ] Νόκιος ὑλὸς Φιλοξένου [δ] προκειμένως πεποί-
[μα] περὶ τῆς μίσθων τῆς αὕτης μι[κ]ρᾶς οἰκείας μετὰ παντὸς
[αὕτης δ] ὑμείς καὶ ἀποδόσω τὸ ἐνοίκιον καὶ συμφω-
[νεὶ με] πάντα τὰ ἐν γεγογγαμένα δς πρόκειται. Ἀδρήλιος Ἰωάν-
28    [ντ]ς    ......    ὡς ἐξωθείς ἓξηγαφα ὑπὲρ αὕτου παρόντος
[γράμμα]τα (μ)ῇ ἐξέδότος.
30 (m3)    ὅ ὑμεῖ] τοῖς Σερεύσ[τ]οι ἐτελεσθε (remainder illegible)

 ↔ (Verso):    ἀμ odθ(ωςις) Ἀ[πὰ Ν[α]κίου (traces)

2 Ὀξυργυχ[ω] 4 ὑπὸς 7 ὑπὸς 11 ὑπὸς 12 ὑπὸς 14 Παρα-
δίσου, οὐ corr. from ὡ 24 Ἀπὰ Νάκιος, κ in corr. 27 πρόκειται

1-2: The date is September 15, A.D. 500.

2 Ὀξυργυχ[ω]: Ὀξυργυχ(ιτών), P. Oxy. edd., but cf. now D. Hagedorn, ZPE 12, 1973, 291 and n. 50 for the resolution.

4: Exceedingly abraded traces toward the beginning of this line. The restora-
5 παλατίνου: since he is referred to as a former and deceased μαγιστριανός in P. Oxy. 1960, it is clear that Eulogius in his career as a palatine official was in the service of the Master of Offices (cf. A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, Oxford 1964, 578) and not in that of the Count of the Sacred Largesses. Hardy, Large Estates, 39 (followed in ZPE 11, 1973, 58), should be corrected accordingly.

6-7: For the epithets applied to Oxyrhynchus (cf. lines 8-9), current in combined use from the A.D. 270s till the early sixth century, see D. Hagedorn ZPE 12, 1973, 285ff.

7 Ἀπα Νάκλας: Νάκλας appears to be derived from the Coptic ΝΑΚ, a dialectical form of the adjective meaning great, large or old, but also sometimes used substantively as a title for elder or notable (Crum, Coptic Dictionary, 250, s.v. ΝΟΣ). It is one of a series of Coptic names that appears consistently with the title ΔΡΑ (Crum, 13; see Preisigke, Namenbuch, col. 224; Foraboschi, Onomasticon, 202). That title, however, once having been attached to certain names, need not have indicated that persons so named were ecclesiastics of any kind. That seems to be true in the present instance and it may therefore be preferable here to print Ἀπανάκλας and to follow this practice in other cases where Ἀπα seems not to be used as a title but as part of a personal name.

10: House lease terms are commonly set to begin on Thoth 1 even in cases where the pertinent documents are, as in the present case (above, line 2), drafted after that date: Braunert, Festschrift Oertel, 43; O. Montevoci, La papirologia, 218; P. Soterichos (Pyr. Colon. 8, forthcoming) 26, 9ff. n.; P. Mich. 678 (forthcoming), 8n.

11: For the years of the Oxyrhynchite eras, see now Roger S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, Zutphen 1978, chapt. VI.

14: For the Pammenes' Garden district, see H. Rink, Straßen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchos, diss. Giessen, 1924, 37-38.

16 [(?) οἰκοπέδῳ]ων: aut sim.
137

18 [όωτ]ό: omega is reasonably secure, thus making the restoration unavoi-
dable. Eight karats here "probably represents the triens" or 1/3 solidus piece.--
L.C. West and A.C. Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, Princeton
Studies in Papyrology 5, 1944, 129.

18-19: For the common half-yearly installments, see P.Oxy. XVI 1889.11 n.
They were normally paid at the end of the payment period; cf. A. Berger, Zeitschr.
f. vergl. Rechtsw. 29, 1913, 387f.; B.W. Frier, JRS 67, 1977, 29, n.17; P. Sote-
richos (Papyr. Colon. 8, forthcoming) 26, 9ff. and 14ff. nn.; P. Mich. 678
(forthcoming), 8 n.

19 Βουλαίονίη; for the persistence of the optative in stereotypical expres-
sions, cf. B.G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri, Athens

23 [(?) &νπΛ:] single copies seem to be the norm in the drafting of late By-
zantine Oxyrhynchite leases of building property, e.g. P. Oxy. VIII 1038; XVI
1889, 1890.

30: The P. Oxy. description gives, after etelesthe, Θ(ωθ) (?) xviii (νδυ)-
χ(τ.) νvθiiii. Though occasional details of this continuation may be correct
(cf. also L. Koenen, ZPE 11, 1973, 215f.), it is exceedingly difficult to justi-
fy the total end result against the scribbles that stand on the papyrus; I print
here therefore only what seems to me to be reasonably secure. The illegibility
of these transliterated notarial subscriptions is well-known (e.g. P. Oxy. XXXIV
2718.22 n.). They were restricted in use to late Byzantine Oxyrhynchus (Irmscher,
Actes du Xe Congrés International de Papyrologues, Wroclaw-Warsaw-Cracow 1964,
131 n. 88; P. Michael., p. 61), and apparently their very illegibility was an
ingredient in their being "a form of code writing to prove the authenticity of the
document."-- H. van Oyen, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVII, p. 80 at bottom.

Verso: perhaps by a fourth hand if not by one of the three hands represented
on the recto; the remains are too scanty to allow judgement on this point. The
writing is with the fibers on the back of the upper left-hand corner of the
recto; read "[w]ith the eye of faith," but nonetheless I think rightly, by John
Rea.

TRANSLATION

In the consulship of the most brilliant Flavii Patricius and
Hypatius, Thoth 18 of indication 9, in the city of Oxyrhynchus.
To the most brilliant Flavii Martyrius and Apphous, — — of notaries, sons of Eulogius of most excellent memory, former pala-
tine official, landowners here in the brilliant and most brilliant
city of Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Apa Nakios, son of Philoxenus,
from the brilliant and most brilliant city of Oxyrhynchites, greet-
ings.

I voluntarily undertake to lease from the first day of the month
of Thoth of the current 177th = 146th year of the present ninth in-
diction from the property belonging to Your Brilliancy, situated
in this city in the district of Pammenes' Garden, an entire [small]
house, facing south, with its [building-site], with appurtenances
and all rights, and [I shall pay] an annual rent of eight gold kar-
ats, which rent I shall pay each year, one half every [six] months;
and whenever Your Brilliancy should wish, I shall hand over the
aforesaid [small house], with [possession] of it unharmed, without
delay. This lease, of which there is a [single (?) copy], is valid,
and in answer to the formal question, I gave my consent.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Apa Nakios, son of Philoxenus, have taken
in lease the aforesaid small house, with every right pertaining to
it, and I shall pay the rent, and I agree to all the provisions as
stated above. I, Aurelius John, [- - -], having been asked, wrote
in his behalf in his presence because he is illiterate.

(3rd hand) Executed by me, Serenus — —.

(Verso): Lease of Apa Nakios — —.

Loyola University of Chicago

James G. Keenan
Miete eines Hauses (P. Oxy. 1962 descr.); zu J. G. Keenan S. 133 ff.