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VICTOR, SON OF PSAILOS, AND THREE APHRODITO RENT RECEIPTS

1

PSI VIII 935, a receipt acknowledging payment of rent for land near the village of Phthla, was published in 1927. The editor in commenting on the text sought to connect it with two other papyri, both of them Phthla land leases: P. Flor. III 281 (A.D. 517) and P. Cair. Masp. I 67113 (dating clause lost at top). A third, related land lease is P. Lond. V 1689 (527). These three papyri form a small archive not obviously integral to the main set of papyri issuing from Aphrodito (modern Kom Ischkaw) and preserved in the sixth-century archive of Flavius Dioscorus. Their unifying figure is their lessor, Flavius Panolbios, πολιτευμένος (i.e. curialis) of Antaiopolis, son of John, deceased and former politeuomenos. The rent recipient of PSI 935 is one Flavius John, politeuomenos--perhaps therefore Panolbios' father.

It was not until thirty years after PSI VIII's publication that Gertrude Malz, in her important summary of the Dioscorus papyri, pointed to PSI 935's (much more certain) links with P. Cair. Masp. II 67135 and III 67327, establishing also in her

1 See intro. to P. Lond. 1689. Inasmuch as P. Flor. 281 refers (line 10) to the coming 12th indiction (518) and P. Lond. 1689 (line 17) to the coming 7th indiction (528), there is some likelihood that the 5th indiction referred to as future in P. Cair. Masp. 67113.7 is that of the year 526 and that the lease was drawn up in 525. See the tables in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt (Stud. Amstel. VII: Zutphen 1978), at pp. 86-87.

2 Aphrodito linkages are established, inter alia, by the witness to one of the leases (P. Flor. 281), Flavius Theoteknos, son of Psaios, ex-praepositus (for refs., P. Michael 51 intro., P. Freer 1 V 15 note), and by the lessee in two of them (P. Flor. 281, P. Cair. Masp. 67113), the Aphrodito shepherd, Aurelius Victor, son of Psaios and Tachymia (cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67001, 67053, III 67328); V. A. Girgis, Prosopografia e Aphroditopolis (Berlin 1938) nos. 682 and 359 respectively.

3 If so, then PSI 935 (cf. the dates of the Panolbios papers) and related rent receipts (see below) are all very early sixth-, if not late fifth-century documents (cf. PSI 935 intro.), but this does not seem likely.

succinct discussion (pp. 351-52) that the scribes of PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67135 were identical; his name: Victor, son of Psaio. Malz, drawing on parallels from PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67327, offered a revised text of P. Cair. Masp. 67135, cf. P. Cair. Masp. II, pl. II. It is possible here to sharpen Malz's revision, but the larger aim of this article is to carry the examination of these mutually illuminating rent receipts one step further by offering additional comments on PSI 935 that will draw its circle with the two Cairo papyri still tighter.

It is first necessary to clarify the text of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 of PSI 935 by proposing a revised version with comments.

1 Ἱερ. Ἰάννου λαμπρὸστατοῦ πολιτευμένου δὲ'

\[\text{ειμὼθ̄ φείβ \ προ(νοητού) \ νασατ \ 'Απαυλατ [ι Δωσικόρου]\}

2 Ἀφοδ [ητης].

1 Read Φλ(αούλος) Ἰωάννης λαμπρὸστατοῦ πολιτευμένος, Ἀπολλατί Δωσικόρου

5 Thus (Malz, p. 355), no personal name needs restoring at the end of PSI 935.6; Βίκτορός, at line 7's beginning, stands for the nominative. More on Victor's case confusions below, esp. n. 20.

6 Line 1: Φλ(αούλος), Malz; [Φ] Φλ(αούλος), Keenan. Line 2: Δωσικόρου(ου) κώμης Ἀιφ.[ο]πολίτης, M.; Δωσικόρου ἀπὸ Ἀιφοροτίτης, K. (cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67237.38). Line 4: Φθάλλα, M./Maspero; Φθάλ νασατ, K. (cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67237.33; read Φθάλλα). Victor's alphas and lambdas are close in form, the shorter, left leg of lambda sometimes written with a flattened loop, like but flatter than the alpha loop. Φθάλ seems written larger, more clumsily (phi and theta appear corrected) than the rest of the receipt. It has the look of a later addition. Lines 4-5: [Ἀκολούθως τῆς μισθῶσες(?) . . . ] | Μείζων ἕως, M.; Ἀκολούθως (sic) | τῆς μεισθῶσες (sic), K. (PSI 935.3-4, cf. P. Lond. V 1702.4, PSI VIII 936.3 for the proper locution: Ἀκολούθως τῆς μισθῶσει). Line 7: η [ρ]εζάθ(υτέρου) [σοιεικὲ κτλ., M.; πρεζάθ(υτέρου) καὶ προνοητοῦ κτλ., K. It should be noted that the photograph of P. Cair. Masp. 67135 in P. Cair. Masp. II, pl. II, is somewhat skewed; particular visual problems are caused by the alignment of parts of lines 3-6 from the right side against lines 2-5 from the left.

I worked from a photograph, roughly three-fifths the size of the original, made available to me by the courtesy of Dr. Rosario Pintaudi. From this, my former student and current colleague, Thomas Federenko, made an assortment of slides, both of the full papyrus and of details. Printed enlargements were made from some of the latter (see plates a and b). Fourth-hand though they may be, they seem clear and reliable enough to support some of the observations made below.
1 'Io[.]ınınou (see pl. a): 'Ioınou, ed., but the first omicron looks secure, as does the omicron-upsilon ending. After the first omicron, there is an extra trace, seemingly canceled (not a correction of omicron to omega); then alpha, then two nus, somewhat lapping. Victor tends to use omicron for omega, as later in the present line ('Ἄπαυλδτ[ι] and in line 3 (δκυλοδός[ς for δκυλοδύς), cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67135.3 ([τ]ervatives for τόν); and vice versa, omega for omicron (P. Cair. Masp. 67135.2: Διωσκόρ[ου] for Διωσκόρου). His penchant for employing genitive case endings for expected nominatives is also one of his hallmarks (cf. nn. 5, 6, 20, PSI 935.7 n.). In the present line the genitives are perhaps founded on a notional but unwritten παρά; but this may accord Victor more credit than is his due.

δι': δι', ed., θαπ. -προ(νοτοῦ): προ/ παπ. The loop of rho looks as if it has been rewritten. Although the hand of PSI 935 is the same throughout, the writing of δι' ἐμοῦ Φειβ προ/ and of lines 5-7, beginning with Φειβ, is larger than that of the rest of the receipt. Apparently, both sections are later additions to the body of the receipt. In the former case, a blank space was left, but the filler δι' ἐμοῦ Φειβ προ/ fell short of occupying the whole vacancy. Thus there remains a small blank space, with room for another five letters or so, after προ/. See pl. b.

'Ἄπαυλδτ[ι Διωσκόρου]: see pl. b. 'Ἀπολλ[—], ed., expected, but hardly accounting for what is on the papyrus. The dots do not indicate damaged letters: the writing is clear, not so its interpretation. BL V, p. 125, reports another reading for the end of line 1 and beginning of line 2: ἀπὸ Φθα[α | κῶ(μης) 'Ἀφρο(διτοπολύ- του). Though based on inspection of the original papyrus in Alexandria, this reading, for line 1, represents no palaeographical advance over the ed.pr. On the negative side, it does not account for spatial requirements (the alpha of Φθαα falls well short of filling the end-of-line lacuna) or historical context. The Aphroditopolite was not at this time a distinct nome; rather, Aphroditos, no longer a metropolis, had become a village of the Antaiopolite (cf. A. Calderini, Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano I, 2 [Madrid 1966] 310-13). Phthla, a neighboring village, was administratively independent of Aphroditos, though closely tied socially and economically. The BL reading does, however, point the way toward solving line 2's beginning; see below. 'Ἀπαυλδτ[ι Διωσκόρου]: this comes straight from Maspero's scrupulous reading of P. Cair. Masp. 67135.2 (reconfirmed in essentials by Malz). The second alpha could well be
omicron (cf. ed.pr. and BL V, p. 125); upsilon is clear; omicron is doubly circled over another letter, possibly another upsilon (but there seems to be even more underneath). The orthography of the restored patronymic, Δυστομώσου, cannot be guaranteed; but: 1) Victor's orthographical idiosyncrasies are remarkably consistent (Malz, p. 351) and 2) both PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67135 concern rents for a second indiction. There is some ground for believing they were drafted together, the orthographical peculiarities of one being transferred to the other; see part 3 below.

2 ἀπὸ Ἀφροδή(της): see pl. a (omicron, in ἀπὸ, looks clear) and cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67327.38; κόσμημ(υς) Ἀ., BL V, p. 125, perhaps rightly, but not, as far as I can see, so securely. Inter alia, a large crack, developed from an ancient fold, runs horizontally through the writing of the first third or so of line 2, obscuring much that is there. Ἀφροδή(της): the letters after phi, beginning abruptly with rho, are written somewhat above the plane on which the line begins. Delta is clear, as is another delta closely following, written larger and back on a lower plane than the first delta. I cannot locate traces of the first epsilon of the ed.pr.'s Ἐξεύ[ει]dıμεν (read -μην). Perhaps print <τ>δ[ει]dıμεν.

In sum: Whatever PSI 935's connections with the Panolbios papyri (above, part 1), the revisions proposed just now reinforce (if reinforcement was necessary) its position among the papers of Apollos of Aphrodito (below, part 3), subsequently preserved in the archive of his son, Flavius Dioscorus. Malz's identification of the scribe, Victor son of Psaios, with that of P. Cair. Masp. 67135 can be, and is, developed further in part 3, with reference to P. Cair. Masp. 67327.

3

P. Cair. Masp. III 67327 is a series of rent receipts, each in content and format akin to PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67135 and other Aphroditan rent receipts. The P. Cair. Masp. 67327 receipts are all addressed to the same rent-payer, Apollos, son of Dioscorus; they were never cut up into separate chits. They all concern rents for a third indiction, and therefore seemingly for the year immediately following PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67135, both of which have to do with second indiction rent payments. Interesting, and perhaps revealing, is that one of the receipts in the 67327 series, the one recorded in lines 5-12, would have had, but for the death of the rent-receiving landlord, Flavius Kyros,
the same participants as *P. Cair. Masp.* 67135. As it stands, Kyros is represented here by his heirs; the rent-paying lessee is the same: Apollos, son of Dioscorus; so is the landlord's intermediary agent: Victor, son of Psaios, the writer of *PSI* 935 and *P. Cair. Masp.* 67135.

A further point of interest is that the very next receipt in the 67327 series, the one at lines 13-20, has the same cast of characters as *PSI* 935:9

1. **Landlord/rent-receiver:** Flavius John. The Cairo text adds to the *PSI* text John's Antaiopolite connection. He is styled there (line 13): δ λ[α]μπρ(δατας) πολ(ιτευμενος) της Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν.

2. **Intermediary agent** (προνοητής): Phib (Φις in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67327.13, 19; Φε in *PSI* 935.1, 6), son of Dios (patronymic in the Cairo papyrus, not given in *PSI* 935).

3. **Rent-payer/lessee:** Apollos, son of Dioscorus. This is, as must be already clear, the father of the well-known Dioscorus. His leaseholdings from Flavius John, from other absentee landlords and from ecclesiastical institutions show him to have been something of a local entrepreneur in these endeavors, not a common tenant farmer.

4. **"Scribe":** Victor, son of Psaios, priest and pronoetes, but only if *P. Cair. Masp.* 67327.20 is revised from its present reading, ψ[α]zos(? Βι)κτορος, to (simply): .[(?)Βι]κτορος. Supplying the short lacuna thereby left at the beginning of line 20 presents a problem that cannot be solved without access to the original papyrus or to a photograph; but the problem is hardly an

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9 *The doubts that may attach to the fourth party should be removed by the discussion below.*

10 Φις, "a curious variant for Φις," according to *P. Cair. Masp.* II 67141 IV r 9 n., on the same spelling. The *PSI* 935 spelling, Φεις, is of course simply itacistic.


13 Several possibilities suggest themselves: (1) Maspero's Ψ is a damaged Π; (2) the lacuna included the pronoun ἰγνοτος or the status designation Αόρ(ηλικος); (3) the writing was slightly indented at the line's beginning; (4) the lacuna does not exist. Maspero's queried restoration is evidently intended to supply a nominative personal name to justify the (seeming) patronymic genitive, Βικτορος; but see above, n. 5, and below, n. 20.
overriding one in view of the considerations that follow, for the Victor who wrote PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67135 has left his "signature" in P. Cair. Masp. 67327, even though Maspero did not fully and consistently distinguish the P. Cair. Masp. 67327 hands. Evidently there was a main scribe, a professional, who wrote the bodies of the receipts in the series (see Maspero's note to line 44); others wrote as required. Thus Victor, who wrote all of PSI 935 and P. Cair. Masp. 67135,14 may only have written lines 11-1215 of P. Cair. Masp. 67327 and lines 19 (after ιυνωκ/) and 20. The latter pair are as follows:16

19 Ἡλη Ἡώανη δι' εμου Φίλειβ πρ/ο στοιχεί μοι ἡ αποχήν ὡς προκ/
20 .[(?)]Βικτόρος πρεσβ/ αξιώθεϊς εγραφα υπερ αυτού γραμμάτα μη εἰσδοτος ή17

The pronoun αὐτοῦ in this acknowledgement and illiteracy formula must refer, not to Flavius John, but to his agent, Phib, for whom Victor had the year before (above, part 2) filled out PSI 935. Phib, presumably, was fully unlettered, Victor could make do, although in rough-and-ready fashion. Victor was, strictly, Kyros' agent,18 but helped John's agent, Phib, on occasion by writing in his behalf. Phib, in turn, must have been a trusting soul, for

14 Though see the remarks on Φθόλ in n. 6 above.

15 Even this short stretch, however, seems to be too perfectly done to have come from Victor's hand.

16 Incorporating the revision just proposed. Abbreviations are purposely left unresolved, articulation is limited, so that the reader may get a clearer impression of what Victor actually wrote.

17 πρ/ο: abbreviation for προ(νοητοῦ). Maspero remarks (ad loc.) that the omicron was added after the bar indicating abbreviation because the scribe feared confusion with πρ(εισθετος).

Another explanation is that Victor, when writing for himself, labeled himself as a priest first, a pronoetes second (PSI 935.7, P. Cair. Masp. 67135.7, with n. 7 above); when writing for Phib (not a priest), Victor, from force of habit, began his titling with the short-form abbreviation for priest. The omicron was added not to clarify but to correct, or to clarify and correct.

18 προ/ τοῦ κυρίου Κύρου (read κυρίου Κύρου) in PSI 935.7.

That Kyros had other holdings outside the Antaiopolite, these under the supervision of agents other than Victor, may be the force of Victor's title in P. Cair. Masp. 67327.6: προνοητοῦ τῶν Ἀνταιοπολιτικῶν πραγμάτων.
Victor, priest though he was, although he managed to get his point across, had difficulty in spelling and declining personal names (his own included), and apart from other evidences of clumsiness, struggled with the most elementary of documentary formulas—with incomplete success.

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19 Some Aphrodite priests "did not know letters" (e.g., P. Cair. Masp. II 67129.29-31, a priest previously a deacon, 67128.32-35; P. Cair. Masp. III 67283 II 10--a "reader," ἀναγόμενος, signs for an illiterate priest); others could subscribe for others (P. Mich. XIII 664.43), or for themselves in their own hands (P. Cair. Masp. 67283, for many examples; P. Mich. XIII 667.34 ff.), occasionally, however, only very "slowly," βασιλεῖς (P. Cair. Masp. III 67297.3-4). In general, Youtie, Scripturale II, 611-27, 629-61. Victor had greater quantitative range and qualitative skill than a "slow subscriber," but was still well short of the accomplishments of a fully competent writer.

20 Spelling: Ἰοᾶννου (PSI 935.1, revised above); Ἰωάνης (P. Cair. Masp. 67327.19); Ἀπαυλόττα (PSI 935.1, revised above, P. Cair. Masp. 67135.2). The itacistic Φε៤ for Φ汴 (PSI 935.1, 6) is hardly worth mention, but Φε៤ is notable (P. Cair. Masp. 67327.19; did Victor copy this spelling from line 13?). Declining: Βetails, gen. for nom. (PSI 935.7, P. Cair. Masp. 67327.20, revised); Ἰοᾶννου, Ἰωάνης, gens. for nom. (refs. above; for Ἰωάνης as gen.: F. T. Gignac, S.J., A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods II, pp. 104, 436); Κύρος, nom. for gen. (PSI 935.7). Presumably Κύρος in P. Cair. Masp. 67135.1 is correctly nom. for nom., but the model of PSI 935.1, with the spelling Κύρος in line 7, might suggest otherwise. If so, P. Cair. Masp. 67135.1 (and Malz's revision, too) needs resolutions and restoration in the genitive case to represent what Victor would have thought and may have written.

21 Cf. P. Cair. Masp. 67327.19: στοῖχει μου Ἡ ἄποχή (sio) ὦς πρόκειται (eita); PSI 935.3-4: πε]ποιησμα (sio) τὴν πληρωτικὴν [η] ἄποχην. In light of such bungling, the restoration of PSI 935.6 can hardly be guaranteed: στοῖχει μου Ἡ ἄποχη [ὡς πρόκειται]. In fact, the square bracket does not open up a pure lacuna. Rather, there are numerous, broken traces of writing, obscured by another horizontal crack, from an ancient fold (see above, part 2, note to PSI 935.2). The first traces are hardly reconcilable with omega, but they include a clear hasta, reconcilable with nu. For another example of Victor's handiwork, see P. Cair. Masp. I 67134.9-10.
a) $PSI$ 935 (enlarged detail, upper left)

b) $PSI$ 935 (enlarged detail, upper right)