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## P.Lond. V 1876 desc.: Which Landowner?

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## *P.Lond.* V 1876 descr.: Which Landowner? (\*)

H.I. Bell described *P.Lond.* V 1876 as follows:

Inv. No. 1626 B. Acquired in 1906. Provenance unknown. 4 1/2 in. x 3 1/8 in. 5th (?) cent. In an upright cursive hand, along the fibers. Probably folded right to left. Fragment from the left side of a document of uncertain character, but probably a lease. One party was Φλ(αύτος) [sic] Ἄπι[, apparently a court official (l. 2, παλατινῶν, perhaps but not necessarily miswritten for παλατίου); and γεουχοῦντι ἐν[αῦθα in l. 2 recalls the Fl. Apion documents from Oxhyrhynchus; but the hand suggests an earlier date than theirs, and in them ἐνταῦθα is preceded by καί. Boundaries are specified. The name Ἄπι Νακίου occurs in the endorsement. 10 lines, small traces of an 11th, and endorsement, along the fibers (1).

With one exception (2) the papyrus seems to have been ignored until E.R. Hardy mentioned it in his *Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, suggesting in a footnote that it was “probably another lease addressed to Flavius Apphous as landowner and son of the late palatine Eulogius” (3). This proposition provided some certainty to Bell’s description; it gave *P.Lond.* V 1876 an Oxhyrhynchite provenance and a date at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century (4). Almost fifty years later, Hardy’s hypothesis was seconded by one of the present authors, who (from a photo of the papyrus) read lines 1 and 2 as follows:

(\*) We express our gratitude to Herwig Maehler and Roger Bagnall, both of whom kindly reexamined the back of the papyrus on our behalf; and to the British Library, for permission to publish the text.

(1) *P.Lond.* V, p. 274.

(2) Bell’s remarks about παλατινῶν/παλατίου were revised, cf. *BL* I 304: “παλατινῶν ist die regelmäßige Form.”

(3) New York 1931, p. 40, n. 2. Cf. R. Rémondon, “L’Égypte au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère: Les sources papyrologiques et leurs problèmes,” *Atti dell’XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, 144, n. 3; and Montevicchi, *Pap.*, p. 259, no. 79 (neither of which includes *P.Lond.* V 1876).

(4) For an overview of the dossier of the descendants of Flavius Eulogius, see T.M. Hickey – J.G. Keenan, “More from the archive of the descendants of Eulogius,” *Analecta Papyrologica* 8-9 (1996-1997) 209-18.

Φλ(αουίω) Ἄπφ[οῦτι  
παλατίνω (sic) γε[ο]υχοῦντι ἐν[ταῦθα] (5)

He concluded, however, “In the end, one can suggest, but far from prove, the piece’s connection with the archive [of Eulogius and his descendants].” When they reexamined the Eulogius dossier in 1997, the present authors likewise expressed reservations about the identification of Apphous as the landowner (6), and they promised a complete edition and discussion of the text (7). Hence the present article.

To begin with, it is certain that *P.Lond.* V 1876 is from the Oxyrhynchite — the phrase ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι κτλ. (l. 4) should remove any doubt — and that the text is a lease in the form of a ὑπόμνημα, specifically the lease of an artificially irrigated plot of land called a μηχανή (8). There is nothing about the hand that suggests a date other than the fifth (or early sixth) century (9).

(5) Keenan, “From the archive of Flavius Eulogius and his descendants,” *ZPE* 34 (1979) 133-34, n. 5, cf. *BL* VIII 194. παλατίνου should have been printed, and as the remainder of the note indicates, it would have been expected. For Keenan’s restorations in ll. 1-2, see the notes to these lines below.

(6) “More from the archive,” 210, n. 8.

(7) Originally intended for *P.Bingen*, but withheld by the authors from their contribution in deference to editor’s length limit.

(8) See n. to l. 6 below. μηχανή literally means “*saqiya*,” but synecdochic usage is well attested. Both usages are clearly illustrated in the Coptic *vita* of St. Matthew the Poor [ed. E. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l’histoire de l’Égypte chrétienne aux iv<sup>e</sup>, v<sup>e</sup>, vi<sup>e</sup>, et vii<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, vol. 4, fasc. 2), 718]:

ασωπε δε ον νογροογ ερε ογωηρε ωημ ταληγ ευροι εφδωρμ  
νσα νετεβνοογε μπωναστηριον μπενειωτ απα μαθεος α παια-  
βολος θι επωηρε [sic; read θιε πωηρε] κογι επεσχη επωηι αρωμς  
ζμ πμοογ αγω ντερε ογνοβ νναγ ωωπε αρωω εβολ νβι πμνηωε  
τηρη ετωσοοπ ζμ προι.

And it also happened one day that a small boy was up on a *mêchanê* [i.e., *saqiya*] goading the animals [i.e., the ones powering the *saqiya*] of the monastery of our father apa Matthew. The Devil made the little boy fall down into the *lakkos* [the *saqiya*’s reservoir]. He sank in the water, and when a long time had passed, the whole crowd that was in the *mêchanê* [here clearly = “artificially irrigated parcel”] cried out.

(9) Oxyrhynchite texts are uncommon in *P.Lond.* V. Organizing them by BM inventory number (as opposed to publication number) yields the following result:

inv. no.	<i>P.Lond.</i> V	provenance	date
1619 recto	1762	probably Oxyrhynchite, cf. <i>BL</i> X 108	VI-VII
1621	1808	Oxyrhynchite, cf. <i>BL</i> VIII 194	VII

Problematic is the identity of the landowner, who is not surprisingly a member of the “Flaviate” (10). It is certain that his name begins with Απ-. Thereafter, decipherment becomes difficult: the seemingly hopeless bits of ink immediately following *pi*, faint traces — maybe — of a long descender, perhaps with a tail curling to the right, and perhaps crossed by a line that once joined the dot of ink above the *gamma* of γεουχοῦντι. Bell’s dotted *iota* must carry weight, but one wonders to what extent it was influenced by the two letters preceding it. Φλάουιος Απ- is of course suggestive — as it was for Bell — of the famous Flavii Apiones (11). His reservations about the hand of the London papyrus are justified with regard to the Apiones who are styled “II” and “III”; the writing likely should not be dated to the forties of the sixth century, the decade during

inv. no.	<i>P.Lond. V</i>	provenance	date
1622	1764	Oxyrhynchite, cf. <i>BL VIII</i> 193	VI/VII (cf. <i>Byz. Not.</i> , pp. 83-84)
1624+1748C	1777+1895	Oxyrhynchite	7.ix.434
1625	1798	Oxyrhynchite	19.ix.434
1626A	1797 = <i>P.Bingen</i> 129	Oxyrhynchite	probably 10 (?) July 501
1626B	1876	Oxyrhynchite	V-VI
1731	1791	Oxyrhynchite or Hermopolite	VI
1759	1655 = <i>ZPE</i> 115 (1997) 187-88.	Oxyrhynchite	20.vi.364

We have ignored the texts dating to the Islamic period, cf. *BL X* 107 on 1738 (the “linch-pin” text in this series): “Die Herkunft... ist nicht zwingend.”

With the exception of inv. nos. 1731 and 1759 — the former of uncertain provenance, the latter an “outlier” with respect to its date (and date of acquisition) — all of the Oxyrhynchite texts have an inventory no. between 1619 and 1626 and date between the fifth and seventh centuries. Inv. no. 1623 may well fit the pattern; the provenance of this text dated V-VI is unknown. Inv. no 1620, however, belongs to the archive of Dioskoros of Aphroditô and thus breaks a possible Oxyrhynchite run. That this arrangement was not imposed upon the papyri in London, but rather reflects a common origin (i.e., a single acquisition), seems likely, for the provenances of 1619 recto, 1621, 1622, and 1626B (the present text) were unknown at the time of publication.

(10) See J.G. Keenan, “The names Flavius and Aurelius as status designations in later Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 11(1973) 33-63, 13 (1974) 283-304, esp. 283-288.

(11) For a recent overview of the family, see T.M. Hickey, “A public ‘house’ but closed: ‘Fiscal participation’ and economic decision making on the Oxyrhynchite estate of the Flavii Apiones,” diss. Chicago 2001, 12-21.

which Apion II assumed control of the family's Oxyrhynchite estate<sup>(12)</sup>. Apion I, whom Bell likely had not encountered<sup>(13)</sup>, cannot be ruled out on such grounds. There are reasons, however, to consider excluding him. For one, Apion has not yet been attested as a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite<sup>(14)</sup>. Line two's *παλατίνου* is probably also an impediment. If the first Strategius was Apion's father<sup>(15)</sup>, then one must reckon with the fact that Strategius likely would not have been referred to as a *palatinus*<sup>(16)</sup>. If *παλατίνω* should be read for *παλατίνου*, then one must attempt to reconcile this with what is known about Apion's career. At best, one can note that he was a *praefectus praetorio Orientis vacans* in 503<sup>(17)</sup>, a title earlier (in the fourth century, post 380) awarded to those completing service as one of the four palatine "ministers" (*quaestor sacri palatii, magister officiorum, comes rei privatae, or comes sacrarum largitionum*)<sup>(18)</sup>.

What of Flavius Apphous, then? In contrast to our earlier qualms, we would suggest that he is the better fit, though not a perfect one. It is certainly conceivable that Bell's *iota* — from the image, we presume that he only saw the end of the downstroke — was in fact part of a *phi*. This may leave a crossbar (cf. above) unexplained, or, at a minimum, the trace of ink above the *gamma* of *γεουχοῦντι*. We would prefer to see any crossbar — it may just be some darkened fibers — as a pious addition to the tail of a *rho*, but *Απρ[* and *Απ.ρ[* are unappealing. Harder to explain

(12) Cf. *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397. Bell's comments about *καὶ ἐνταῦθα* are applicable to these Apiones.

(13) Of the documentary texts referring to this Apion, only *Stud. Pal.* VIII 772 was published before *P.Lond.* V, and without any papyri to provide context, Bell would have had no reason to make the identification. Whether or not he accepted (or even knew of) Spohr's suggestion (*P.Iand.* III 48, p. 115; published in 1913) that the Egyptian Apion mentioned in literary sources like Procopius' *De bello persico* (i.e., Apion I) was connected to the family appearing in the papyri is unknown.

(14) Cf. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614, n. 1. 2.

(15) N. Gonis, *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614, n. 1. 2, raises the possibility that he was Apion's father-in-law.

(16) He is only attested as a *curator* of imperial estates and an honorary *comes sacri consistorii*, and it is the latter title that he bears in a text (*P.Heid.* IV 331) just months before his decease. For the *palatini*, see R. Delmaire, *Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien*, Paris 1995, esp. 122 and n. 7 (with refs. cited).

(17) See J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'État en Égypte byzantine: Recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative," *Travaux et mémoires* 9 (1985) 62, n. 344.

(18) Delmaire, *Les institutions*, 15. Note that Apion was PPO *vacans* quite early — he lived for at least another twenty-one years — and that his son Strategius, whose career is generally thought to be reflective of the family's upward mobility, was *comes sacrarum largitionum* only at the end of his life.

is the ink above the *gamma*. It may be the beginning of a *lambda*, and Ἄπολ[λωτός (or the like) seems, in truth, to be an acceptable reading. But no such *geouchountes* are known to us from the Oxyrhynchite. Apphous, conversely, is attested as a landowner (only) in the Oxyrhynchite (19), and his father Eulogius is described as a *palatinus* in several papyri (20), which removes any need for thoughts of emending παλατίου to παλατίνω (21). If indeed Apphous is the landowner, then *P.Lond.* V 1876 would be the first document that unambiguously concerns his agricultural (as opposed to urban) holdings (22). The eighth (fiscal) indiction mentioned in the text would refer to 499-500 or 514-15 (23), and the text presumably would have been drafted in the prior (chronological) indiction (498-499 or 513-514) (24). The restorations following assume that the document was in fact addressed to Apphous:

- 
- 1 Φλ(αούω) Ἄποφ[οῦτι τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ τριβούνῳ υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης  
μνήμης Εὐλογίου γεναμένου]  
παλατίνου γεουχοῦντι ἐν[ταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυ-  
ρυγχιτῶν πόλει Αὐρήλιος Ἀπανάκιος υἱὸς]  
Ψεναμουνίου μητρὸς [ - - -
- 4 χαίρειν. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
Oxyrhynchite era - - -  
ὀγδόης ἰνδικτίονος ἀ[πὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων - - -

(19) He is simply described as γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα; there is no καὶ present, cf. Hickey – Keenan, “More from the archive,” 210, n. 8.

(20) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1876.3, 1961.6, and *SB* XVI 12583.5, with the latter two texts dating to the period after his death. Grenfell, Hunt, and Bell (1876.3) classify him among the *mit-tendarii* — i.e., as an employee of the CSL or CRP — but he was in fact an *agens in rebus*, cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1960.4. In theory at least, Arcadia should not have been his province of origin or his domicile, cf. *CTh* 8.8.4.

(21) If Apphous were an imperial notary, cf. Hickey – Keenan, “More from the archive,” 209, n. 2, *palatinus* could be applied to him.

Sijpesteijn’s introduction to *P.Mich.* XV 731 suggests that the British Museum at one time possessed at least one other text from the dossier of Eulogius and his descendants. Tri- tianos Gagos, however, informs us, “*P.Mich.* XV 731 (inv. #3303) comes from Lot III of the Nahman collection which was purchased by the University of Michigan in 1925. The purchase was through the famous ‘cartel’ and the papyri went originally to the British Museum where the papyri were checked and evaluated by H.I. Bell” (e-mail, 16 December 1996). In other words, *P.Mich.* XV 731 was never part of the British Museum collection.

(22) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1994, e.g., might be a land lease, although based upon the patterns in the dossier, we suggested (“More from the archive,” 212) that it was a lease of house property.

(23) Apphous first appears as a Flavians on 29.xi.495 (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1891) and is last attested on 17.viii.511 (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1960). For additional discussion, see n. 1. 10 below.

(24) See n. 1. 4 below.

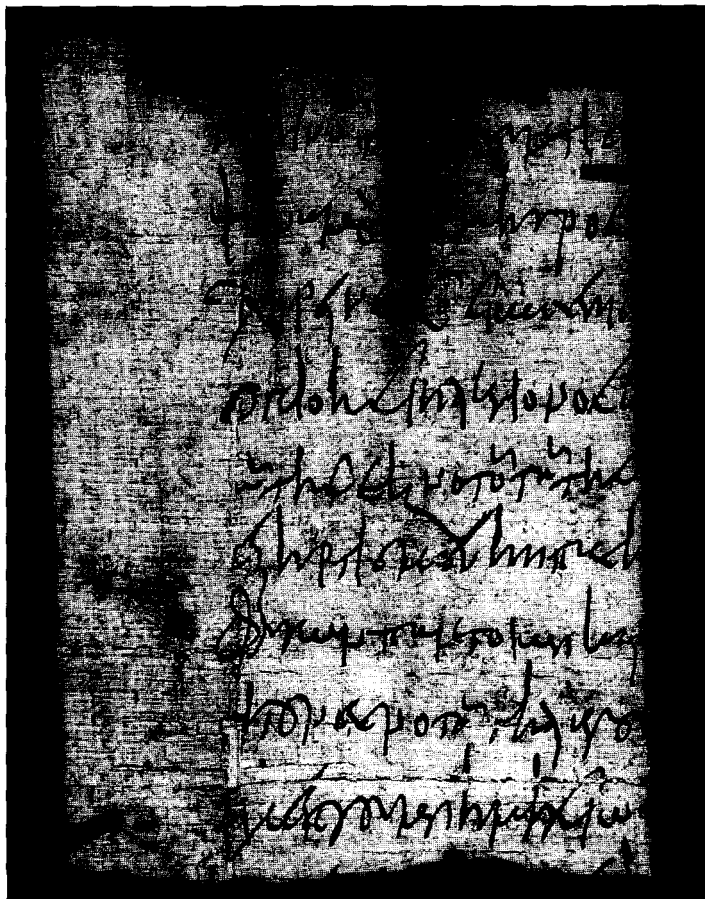


Fig. 1 P.Lond. V 1876 descr. 11.4 x 7.9 cm V/VI

αὐτῆς ἐκ νότου ταύτης [----- μηχανὴν ---  
 ἐξηρτισμένην πάση [ξυλικῇ ἐξαρτία καὶ σιδηρώμασιν --- καὶ]  
 8 φυτῶν παντοίων καὶ [παντὸς ἐτέρου δικαίου ----- ἤς?]  
 γίτονες νότου γήδια τοῦ [----- τῆς περι-]  
 βλέπτου μνήμης Ἰωάννου  
 [ ± 4 ]ε[ ± 8 ]εη[

Back, running perpendicular to front side's right edge and situated at bottom edge:

] μίσθ(ωσις) Ἐπινακίου μηχ( ) κολ( ) α[

**1** Φλ, pap. **2** παλατινο<sup>v</sup> pap. **3** ψεναμο<sup>v</sup>νιο<sup>v</sup> pap. **4** εκο<sup>v</sup>σιως pap. **5** ὀγδόης: first ο ex ε? **6** α<sup>v</sup>της, νοτο<sup>v</sup>, τα<sup>v</sup>της pap. **9** νοτο<sup>v</sup> pap.; 1. γείτονες **back** μισ<sup>θ</sup>, μη<sup>χ</sup>, κο<sup>λ</sup> pap.

- 1** This was probably not the first line; one would expect a dating clause (consuls, month-day, indiction) to have preceded it; cf. Keenan, "From the archive," 133-34, n. 5.  
The restoration is identical to that suggested by Keenan. If Apphous is the landowner, Ἐπιφῶ might also be read, cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1959.3. Φλαουῖο Ἐπιφῶ (sic) appears in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1891.2.  
ἀρίστης: μακαρίας also appears, e.g., in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1994.4.  
γενεαμένου: Or γενομένου, cf. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1961.6.
- 2** ἐν[ταῦθα is probable, though ἐν is attested, cf. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615.5.  
Up to πόλει, the restoration follows that of Keenan, "From the archive," p. 134, n. 5.  
Ἐπιανάκιος: For the spelling, cf. *P.Oxy.* LV 3804, n. 1. 221, and refs.
- 3** Ψεναμουνίου: The name seems to have been rare in the Byzantine Oxyrhynchite, only appearing in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2195.22.  
μητρός: After the name of the lessee's mother, his profession likely appeared (on which cf. the note below concerning the back of papyrus), then his *origo*.
- 4** Possible Oxyrhynchite eras for Apphous are: 175 = 144, 190 = 159. Note that, following standard Oxyrhynchite practice, these eras should correspond to the seventh (chronological) indiction; the eighth indiction in the following line is the fiscal one.  
For possible restorations following the era, see *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615, l. 10 and notes.
- 5** ὀγδόης: Probably preceded by τῆς σὺν Θεῷ, cf. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4615, n. 1. 11.
- 6** αὐτῆς: Following it has a noun like κόμης been omitted?  
μηχανήν: ὀλόκληρον μηχανήν καλουμένην X typically appears, cf. *P.Berl. Zill.* 7.12-13; *P.Flor.* III 325.10-11; *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3955.11-12, LXIII 4390.10; *PSI* I 77.14-15; *P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv.* 47.3 (Hickey, P.Anastasia, in preparation).
- 7** ἐξηριτισμένην: Dependent upon μηχανήν in the preceding line.  
For the (probable) restorations following πάση, cf. *P.Berl. Zill.* 7.14; *P.Flor.* III 325.11; *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3955.12-13; *PSI* I 77.15-16; and *P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv.* 47.4 (P.Anastasia). *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390.10 omits ξυλικῆ.
- 8** παντὸς ἐτέρου δικαίου: For this restoration, cf. *P.Berl. Zill.* 7.16; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1968.3, LVIII 3955.14; and *P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv.* 47.3 (P.Anastasia).
- 9** For the "γείτονες clause" in leases, cf. *P.Heid.* V, n. ll. 16ff. In *misthōseis* from the late Oxyrhynchite, it only seems to appear in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1126.



(*P.Erl.* 75 is actually from the Hermopolite; it is being addressed by Hickey elsewhere.)

- 10 Ἰωάννου: Admittedly an *Allerweltname*, but *peribleptos* (*spectabilis*) suggests a count, specifically Apio Theodosius Iohannes *vir spectabilis com(es) sacri consist(orii) et praesis provinc(iae) Arc(a)d(iae)* [so *P.Oxy.* XVI 1877.11], on whom cf. now J. Banaji, *Agrarian change in Late Antiquity: Gold, labour and aristocratic dominance*, Oxford 2001, 134. For John's "archive" — at best really only a dossier, and preferably to be separated into those texts concerning John and those concerning the counts Samouêl and Phoibammôn — see Montevocchi, *Pap.*, p. 259, no. 78, adding *P.Oxy.* I 155 (so Banaji), *P.Harr.* I 91 (included by Rémondon, "L'Égypte," 144, n. 4), and very probably *PSI* VIII 957 (cf. *BL* XI 248-49). Count John is last attested alive on 19.xi.503 (*P.Oxy.* I 141); if he is the John who is mentioned here as deceased, then *P.Lond.* V 1876 would have to have been created in 513-14, making it the latest attestation of Flavius Apphus.

**Back** We suggest that μηχ( ) be resolved μηχ(αναρίου) or, perhaps, μηχ(ουργουῦ). For such lessees, cf. *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67109 (Antaiopolite, 565) and *PSI* XII 1233 (Panopolite, 323 or 324), and note the individuals designated ὑδροπάροχος ἀροτήρ μηχανάριος in *P.Oxy.* XIX 2241.12, 41. κολ( ): καλ( ) seems less satisfactory palaeographically but might also be read. If it is correct, then one should probably read the end of this line as μηχ(ανῆς) καλ(ουμένης) Ἄ[.

α[ : ἀ[πὸ?

### Addenda:

- For additional texts from the archive of Eulogius and his descendants, see now *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4686, 4693-94.
- For *P.Erl.* 75 (n. l. 9 above), see now *Archiv* 49 (2003) 205.
- For Count John (n. l. 10 above), see now *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4696, n. l. 4.

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