

Order to a Wine Merchant

Dr. Ibrahim Mohamed El Said Mohamed Abdou
Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University

SR 3049/137
12.5 x 5 cm.

Oxyrhynchus
2nd half of V Cent. A.D.

The papyrus is of light brown color, and it is regularly cut off on all sides. The text on the recto is written by a legible hand, along the fibres, in 3 lines. The writing is large and untidy. There are remains of three margins; at the top one cm, at the bottom one cm, and at the right two cm. The top margin is intact, but the others are damaged. The papyrus has suffered; through the partial decay of the material and the ink is in places only faintly discernible. The papyrus is damaged at left because the fibres were removed from their original position. The verso is blank.

On palaeographical grounds, it can be dated back to the second half of the fifth century A.D., for palaeographical parallels, see: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390 (469 A.D., lease of land); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4391 (471 A.D., order to supply wine); *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5333 (482 A.D., order to supply wheat and money to churches). For images see: <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/>.

The transaction recorded on the recto was an order to an individual whose name is Paulus the wine merchant for transfer 8215 *denarii* the third part of the rent; The first traces of the first line may contain a reference to the title of Flavia Isis *femina clarissima* (λαμπροτάτης) the maker of the order which was issued. The chief interest point of the document was a woman from the senatorial rank (λαμπρότατος)¹, during the first half of the fifth century A.D.; Strategius is initially attested as an administrator of the imperial estates *domus divina* (διοικητής τῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας) in the

(¹) Raepsaet-Charlier, M-Th. 1981, 'Clarissima femina', *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 28, 189–212; Benaïssa, A. 2011, *An Arsinoite Landowner and Clarissimus Magister of a Military Unit*, *Tyche* 26, 23-31.

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Oxyrhynchite², and he was from the senatorial rank, see: *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4614 (475-500 A.D., petition addressed to Flavius Strategius I), l. 1:

Φλ(αουῖα) Στρατηγίῳ τῷ λαμπρο(στάτῳ) καὶ πολ(ιτευομένῳ) καὶ
ρίπ[α]ρ[ί]ῳ τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν)

*to Flavius Strategius the most illustrious, city councilman, and chief
of police of Oxyrynchites*

Strategius's only known child is a daughter named Isis, who inherited at least some of his property; Flavia Isis ran some part of the estate by the end of the 460 A.D. when Strategius himself was evidently deceased, see: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390 (469 A.D., lease of land), ll. 2-3:

Φλαουῖα Ἴσιδι τῇ λαμπρο[άτ]ῃ θυγ[α]τρὶ καὶ κληρονόμῳ τοῦ τῆς
ἐνδόξου μνήμης

Στρατηγίου γεουχούση

*to Flavia Isis, the most illustrious, the daughter the landowner and the
heiress of Strategius of glorious memory*

Flavia Isis has instructed to a vinedresser from the hamlet of Phatemet to issue to unnamed persons, see: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4391 (471 A.D., order to supply wine), l. 1:

Ἴσις λαμπρο(τάτη) ἀπελουρ(γῶ) ἐποικ(ίου) Φα<τε>μῆτ.

*Flavia Isis, the most illustrious, to the vinedresser of the farmstead of
Phatemet.*

And she has ordered Minas the administrator to supply wheat and money to churches, see: *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5333 (482 A.D., order to supply wheat and money to churches), l. 1:

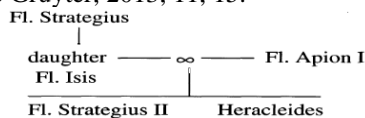
Ἴσις λαμπρο(τάτη) [vac. Μ]ηνᾶ προ(νοητῇ)

Flavia Isis, the most illustrious, to Minas the administrator.

Apion was married to Flavia Isis, the daughter of Strategius and that this alliance increased the fortunes. A hypothesis first proposed by Gonis³.

(²) Azzarello, G. 2010, “*Vecchi e nuovi personaggi della famiglia degli Apioni nei documenti papiracei*”, *Pap. Congr.* XXV, 33-46; *P.Köln* XI 459 (Oxyrhynchites, 436-437 A.D., agreement addressed to Flavius Strategius), ll. 5–6.

(³) Gonis, N. 2004, “*P.Bingen 135 and Flavius Apion I*”, *ZPE* 146, 175-178; Banaji, J. 2001, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 149–152; Azzarello, G. & Hickey, T.M. 2013, *Il dossier della Domus divina in Egitto: Archiv Fur Papyrusforschung Und Verwandte Gebiete*, Walter De Gruyter, 2013, 11, 15.



The document is an ordinary type of order for payment; these orders normally follow the structure of epistolary texts:

I Prescript: (sender – to recipient– *χαίρειν* in various forms).

II A form of the verb: (*παράσχου, δός* or *μέτρησον*).

III Body:

The contain of the order

The payments are in cash (money) or in kind (wine or wheat).

IV Date of the order ⁴.

The scribe of the papyrus has written the abbreviations in three different ways: The first way with an oblique stroke transects the last letter of the abbreviated word, such as *λαμπρο(τάτη)* line 1, *οινοπρ(άτη)* line 1, cf: *CPR XIX 35* (Arsinoites, 500 A.D., account of a textile trader). The second way is the common method of abbreviation by suspension, that is, to omit one or more of the final letters of a word, even all the letters after the first, like *ινουκι(ολόγου)*, *πλοί(ω)*, and *άνεν(έγκαι)* in the line 2, and *τρί(τον)* *σίτ(ου)* *ήνέχ(θη)* *α(ύτοῦ)* in the line 3, cf: *P.Oxy. LXIII 4391* (471 A.D., order to supply wine), l. 3. The third way with a symbol, such as *(δηνάρια)* line 3, cf: *CPR V 26* (Hermopolites, 451-500 A.D., list of names), l. 4.

Text:

Ἰσι]ς λαμπρο(τάτη) vac Παύλω οινοπρ(άτη)
] Σκαρῶν Ἡλν ινουκι(ολόγον) πλοί(ω) άνεν(έγκαι)
] μέρ<ο>ς τρί(τον) σίτ(ου) (δηνάρια) Ησιε, ήνέχ(θη) δια α(ύτοῦ)
Date?]

Corrections :

1. 1 ~~λαμπρο~~ ~~οινοπρ~~ pap.
1. 2 Ἡλίου, ένουκι(ολόγον),
1. 3 ✕ pap.

Translation:

Isis, the most illustrious, to Paulus the wine merchant
..... Skaroor's son of Elias the rent-collector, to deliver by the ship
..... the third part of the grain, 8215 denarii, this was delivered by him
Date?

(⁴) *P.Oxy. XVI 1945-1953*.

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Commentary:

l. 1: The hand of the writer looks very similar to that of *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4391 (471 A.D., order to supply wine), and *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5333 (482 A.D., order to supply wheat and money to churches), so the writer is probably the same.

The name Παύλω seems to be common name in middle Egypt, see: *P.Harr.* I 92 (Oxyrhynchites, 450-500 A.D., order for payment of corn)

τῷ ἀδελφ(ῶ) Παύλω οἰνοπρ(άτη)

to the brother Paulus the wine merchant.

οἰνοπρ(άτη): The Greek terms for wine merchant are: οἰνέμπορος, οἰνοπώλης, οἰνοπράτης and οἰνοκάπηλος, the usage of terms used to designate wine merchants in Greek papyri there are differences in Greek papyri. The term οἰνοκάπηλος common during the Ptolemaic period, is practically obsolete in Roman times. The term οἰνέμπορος is attested in the second and third centuries, mostly in the Oxyrhynchite and Alexandria⁵. The term οἰνοπώλης is in use in the first three centuries of Roman rule and is attested mostly in the Arsinoites, the term is maintained in the archive of Heroninos⁶. The term οἰνοπράτης is the sole designation of wine merchants from fourth century onwards. It seems to denote both wholesale and retail dealers⁷.

(⁵) Dzierzbicka, D. 2019, *Wine dealers and their networks in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Some remarks; in Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona 1-6 August 2016, ed. by Alberto Nodar & Sofía Torallas Tovar, Barcelona, 510-524.*

(⁶) Rathbone, D. 2005, “*Economic Rationalism and the Heroninos Archive*”, *Topoi* 13, 261-269; Husson, G. 2007, “*Les archives d’Héroninos dans la collection Théodore Reinach de la Sorbonne*”, in *Pap. Congr. XXIII, Wien, 295-299*; Mitthof, F. 2007, “*Bemerkungen zur Datierung von Urkunden aus dem Heroninos-Archiv*”, *ZPE* 161, 191-194; Rathbone, D. 2009, “*The First Acquisition: The Archive of Heroninos*”, in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia: 1908. Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri, 1928. Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli". Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Firenze, 12-13 giugno 2008 (Studi e Testi di Papirologia. N.S. 11), Firenze, 17-29.*

(⁷) Hickey, T.M. 2012, *Wine, wealth, and the state in late antique Egypt, the house of Apion at Oxyrhynchus*, University of Michigan Press, 128, 196.

l. 2: Σκαρῶον Ἡλίου: This is second papyrological example about the name of Σκαρῶος, see: *SB XIV 11957* (Primis, 451-500 A.D., letter), l. 26. The name of Ἡλίας is Hebrew name; the meaning of Elias is “God’s promise”⁸.

ἐνοικι(ολόγον): The rent-collector’s title is meaning rent from agricultural or urban property. These references to such employee have been found from the Roman period as in *P.Oxy. XIX 2240* (211 A.D., Account of a Large Estate), l. 49: Σαρᾶς βουλ(ευτῆς) ἐνοικ(ιολόγος). But most occur in the Byzantine era: see *P.Oxy. LVI 3870* (501-700 A.D., letter), l. 7. The rent-collector was responsible for organizing payments; as attested in *SB XX 14282* (Apollonopolis, 600-699 A.D., list of payments), l. 63, *SB XX 15183* (Oxyrhynchites, 401-600 A.D., order for payments), l. 1 and *SB XXII 15273* (Oxyrynchus, 501-599 A.D., receipt for rent received from a rent collector), l. 2, The rent-collector was responsible for leases (as attested in *P.Oxy. VII 1038*(568 A.D., lease of part of a house), l. 14⁹.

πλοί(ω): This is second papyrological evidence about the ship of heirs of Strategius, the most illustrious, see: *P.Oxy. LXVIII 4685* (401-450 A.D., List of Ships and Freights), v., l. 6:

πλ(οῖον) κληρ(ονόμων) Στρατηγίου λαμ(προτάτου) ὑπὸ Θεῶνα
ship of heirs of Strategius, the most illustrious, under Theon

The river Nile flows northwards through Egypt. There were no natural obstacles over a distance of thousand two hundred kilometers, the river Nile was vital for local movement of goods. But transport over any distance was by ships. For much of the year (from January to June) the low water in the Nile made sailing difficult not impossible¹⁰. During the Nile flood the ships were the main means of transportation, These ships could be used to navigate in the river, transport of crops, transport of animals, transport of stones, transport of military supplies, and also for the transport of the *annona*¹¹. Some fourth century lists of ships would emerge that a fair

(⁸) <https://www.trismegistos.org/nam/detail.php?record=2929>

(⁹) Ruffini, G.R. 2008, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt*, Cambridge, 71; Sarris, P. 2006, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge, 55.

(¹⁰) Davis, D.L. 2009, *Commercial Navigation in the Greek and Roman World*, The University of Texas at Austin, 73

(¹¹) Adams, C. 2007, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt; A Study of Economics and Administration in a Roman Province*, Oxford, 208ff, Worp, K. 2014, “*Nauklêroi, Kybernêtai and Nauklêrokybernêtai and Their Ships in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*”, *Analecta Papyrologica* 26, 261–278.

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number of the ship-owners were mostly members of the bouletic class, and played an active role in the running of the city's affairs¹². There were variety evidences for loading the ships, in which a total of 8 ships have a capacity between them of 40000 artabas, see *P.Oxy.* X 1259 (211 A.D., declaration of a shipper), ll. 2-4:

παρὰ Ποσιδωνίου τοῦ καὶ Τριαδέλφου ναυ-
κλήρου χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως πλοίων ἢ
ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) μ(υριάδων) δ̄.

from Posidonius also called Triadelphus, shipowner of 8 ships carrying 40,000 artabae in the administration of Neapolis.

For a similar case; three ships carry 15000 artabas, see: *P.Oxy.* XVII 2125, ll. 1-4 (225 A.D., receipt for corn for transport):

Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνι[ο]ς
Ἀμμωνίου ναύκληρος
χειρισμοῦ Νέας πόλεως πλο[ίω]ν
γ̄ ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) μ(υριάδος) ᾱ Ε

Aurelius Ammonius, son of Ammonius, shipmaster in the administration of Neapolis of 3 ships carrying 15,000 artabae

ἡνέχ(θη): Uncompounded forms of ἡνέχ(θη) are rare, see *P.Oxy.* I 158 (500 A.D., Letter from Victor to Cosmas).

l. 3: μέρ<ο>ς τρί(τον) σίτ(ου): For completing of the expression, there is possibility, see: *P.Oxy.* XIV 1636 (249 A.D., cession of land), l.13:

τὸ λ[ο]ιπ[ὸ]ν τρίτον μέρος πρότερον
the remaining third part formerly

μέρ<ο>ς can mean a part of property, and the description of property was frequently divided into fractional shares in the same way as (ἡμισυ μέρος, τρίτον μέρος, τέταρτον μέρος) of the total property¹³. In this line there is a reference to the third installment, the installments need not necessarily have been equal. In respect of the total rents are not clear. The

(¹²) Gonis, N. 2003, *Ship-Owners and Skippers in Fourth-Century Oxyrhynchus*, ZPE 143, 163-165. Clarysse, W. 1991, *Idion and idiotikon ploion*, ZPE 89, 69-70.

(¹³) Gascou, J. 2008, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine*, Paris, 59.

payment of rent in money is to be paid in three installments, where the rent is to be paid on the 10th or 15th of each month, is common in leases ¹⁴.

(δηνάρια) Ησιε: for palaeographical parallel, see: *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2421 (400 A.D., account of wheat), l. 5:
Ὀνη̅ς στεφανοπλόκος σίτ(ου) (δηνάρια) σμγ
Ones the crown-maker (the florist), 243 denarii of grain

l. 4: There is probably a line was missing from the end of the papyrus at the left side, containing the date of the papyrus; the best parallel, see: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4391 (471 A.D., order to supply wine), l. 4:

(ἔτους) ρμζ ρις, Τῦβι κ, θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος).
year 147 which = 116, 20 of (the month) Tubi, 4th indiction

As for example *P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5333 (482 A.D., order to supply wheat and money to churches), l. 4:

(ἔτους) ρνθ ρκη, Θωθ . . , ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ς.
year 159 which = 128, . . of (the month) Thoth, 6th indiction

(¹⁴) Herrmann, J. 1958, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der gräco-ägyptischen Papyri. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 41*, München, 113-114; Hennig, D. 1967, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten*, München, 24-25, 117-118; Fournet, J. 2000, “*Le système des intermédiaires dans les reçus fiscaux byzantins et ses implications chronologiques sur le dossier de Dioscore d’Aphrodité*,” *APF* 46, 233-247.

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Conclusion

The conclusion does refer to give papyrological evidence for:

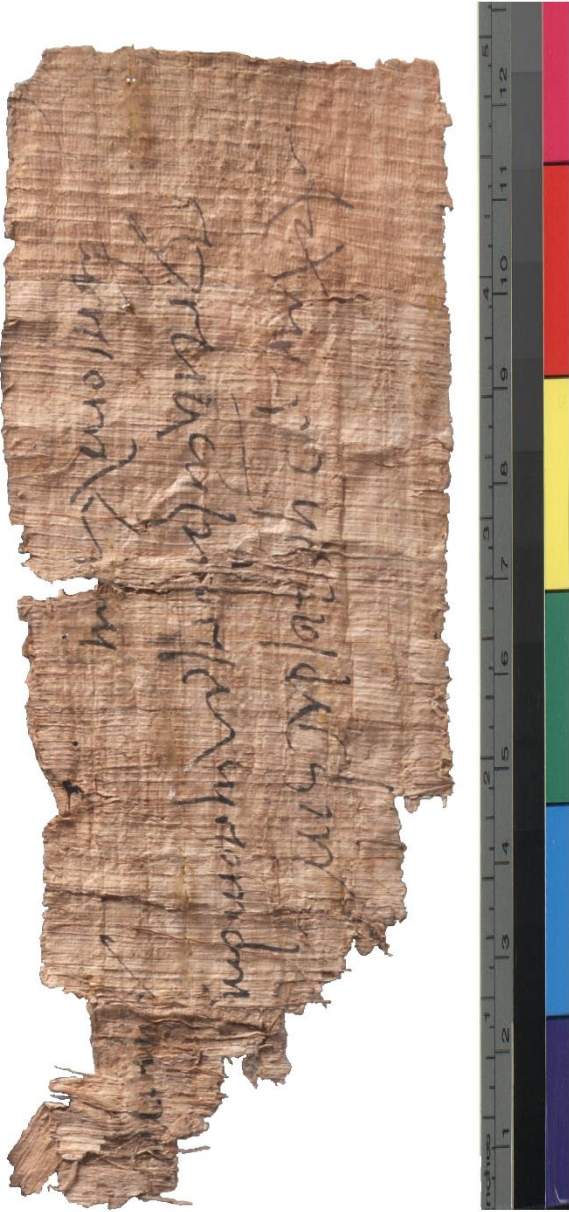
- Flavia Isis, the most illustrious, the daughter the landowner and the heiress of Strategius
- Paulus the wine merchant
- Skaroos son of Elias the rent-collector
- The payment of rent is to be paid in installments

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Egyptian museum in Cairo under glass 81 of the S(pecial) R(egister) Nr. 3049 with inv. 137 recto.