PETER VAN MINNEN

P. HAWARA 208 REVISED

P. Hawara **208 Revised**[1]

A few years ago I discussed *P. Hawara* 208[2] in a note on *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 and the implications that papyrus might have for our view on the volume of the Oxyrhynchite textile trade.[3] *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 registers payments for customs duties, and I suspected that *P. Hawara* 208 would do the same. The main reason for this was provided by the curious entries in lines 2 and 6 of the Hawara papyrus:

<div align="center">

Ἀρ[cινοειτ]ικῶν χιθ(ῶνοc) α΄ τε[

</div>

and

<div align="center">

Ἀρcινοειτικῶν χιθ(ῶνοc) α΄ γε[

</div>

It should be χιθ(ώνων) in both cases, as had already been suggested by the editors of *C. Pap.Iud*. But what about the two instances of α΄? Two misreadings seemed excluded. Therefore I suspected the α΄ and the β΄ in P. Hawara 208 served the same purpose as they do in *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40. There they are used to distinguish various types of clothes mentioned in the list. The various types are taxed at different rates. In the meantime, however, I have had the chance of checking Milne's transcription on a photo.[4] In both lines the papyrus turns out to read χιθ(ώνων) δ΄.

Closer inspection of the photo reveals that my suspicion that the papyrus is a register of customs duties, or perhaps a private extract from such a register, is correct. In lines 5 and 11 the papyrus definitively refers to the ρ καὶ ν tax, the ordinary customs duties of 1% and 2% in the Arsinoite nome.[5] *P. Hawara* 208 antedates the earliest attestation of the ρ καὶ ν tax we had thus far by 19 years (see *P. Customs* 4 of A.D. 43/44).

A new transcription of col. II of the front side[6] of *P. Hawara* 208 may not be unwelcome. The first column shows the end of five lines. After some illegible traces the first line ends in (δραχμὰc) Ἀcπ. The other lines end in (δραχμὰc) Ἀυπ, (δραχμὰc) νε, (δραχμὰc) cκε (very uncertain) and (δραχμὰc) ρε.

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[1] This article owes much to a discussion with Professor R.S. Bagnall.

[2] *P. Hawara* 208 was first published by A.H. Sayce in W.M.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe* (London 1889), 30, and republished by J.G. Milne, *APF* 5 (1913), 388-389. It was reprinted after Milne in *C.Pap.Iud.* II 415 as "a list of clothes".

[3] In *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 5.2 (1986), 88-95.

[4] Through the kind offices of Dr. W.E.H. Cockle. On the photo (pl. **) the left portion of the papyrus is a few millimeters too low in regard to the right portion.

[5] On customs duties see now P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Zutphen 1987). Sijpesteijn mentions *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 on p. 86 in his discussion on the customs house registers (pp. 85-90), but not *P. Hawara* 208.

[6] The back side shows the remains of a column of 13 lines, much less carefully written than the text on the recto, but probably in the same hand. The upper and lower margins are preserved. It appears to be an account in drachmas and obols. The first line reads πρᾶcιc and is preceded by a check mark as are some of the other lines. To the left the ends of at least four lines of a preceding column are visible. To the right there is a blot of ink caused by the scribe when he tried out his pen.

Arsinoite nome   10.9 x 13.2 x cm.   A.D. 24/25

Col. II

→   [ἔ]τους ια Τιβερίου Καίσα[ρος (*month, day*)]
           Ἀρϲινοειτικῶν χιθ(ώνων) δ´ τελ[είων ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
                         Ἀϲκληπιάδης [   ]
4   Ἀρϲινοειτικοῦ χιθ(ῶνος) α´ τελ(είου) ρ̅ [καὶ ν̅   ]
           Ἀρϲινοειτικοῦ ιμιϲ( ) α´ ρ̅ κ[αὶ ν̅   ]
           Ἀρϲινοειτικῶν χιθ(ώνων) δ´ τελ(είων) [ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
           Ἀρϲινοειτ[ικῶν] χιθ(ώνων) β[´] τ[ελ(είων) ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
8   Ἀμ[μ]ώνιος [   ]
     ιδ   Ἀρϲινοει[τι]κ[οῦ χιθ(ῶνος)] α´ παρα(τελείου) [ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
           Ἀρϲινοειτικοῦ ιμιϲ( ) α´ Ἀνουβ(ιακοῦ) [ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
           Ἀρϲινοειτικῶν χιθ(ώνων) β´ παρα(τελείων) ρ̅ κ[αὶ ν̅   ]
12   Ἀρϲ[ινοει]τικοῦ χιθ(ῶνος) α´ παρα(τελείου) [ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
           Θ[εοδόϲ]ιος Ἰουδαῖου διὰ τ[   ]
           [Ἀϲκλη]πιάδου τοῦ Ἁρϲιϲ[ούχου]
           [Ἀρϲινο]ειτικοῦ χιθ(ῶνος) α´ π[αρ]α(τελείου) [ρ̅ καὶ ν̅   ]
16   Ἀμμώνο[ϲ

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
_____
all abbreviations are indicated by putting the last letter on top of the preceding   13 read Ἰουδαῖος
(see note)   16 read Ἀμμώνιος (see note)

In the 11th year of Tiberius Caesar [(*month day*)].
For 4 full-sized Arsinoite tunics, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
                         Asclepiades [– – –].
For 1 full-sized Arsinoite tunic, for the 1% and 2% tax, [(*amount of money*)].
For 1 Arsinoite *(h)imis( )*, for the 1% and 2% tax, [(*amount of money*)].
For 4 full-sized Arsinoite tunics, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
For 2 full-sized Arsinoite tunics, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
                         Ammonius [– – –].
For 1 nearly full-sized Arsinoite tunic, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
For 1 Arsinoite *(h)imis( )* in the fashion of Anoubis, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
For 2 nearly full-sized Arsinoite tunics, for the 1% and 2% tax, [(*amount of money*)].
For 1 nearly full-sized Arsinoite tunic, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
Theodosius the Jew through the intermediary of [– – –] Asclepiades, son of Harsisou-
                                                        chos.
For 1 nearly full-sized Arsinoite tunic, [for the 1% and 2% tax, (*amount of money*)].
                         Ammonius [– – –].

1: to judge from lines 13-14, the average length of the lines was ca. 30-35 letters. In the lacuna in this line all we need is the name of a month and a date.

2: again, if the average length of the lines was ca. 30-35 letters, there is room in this line and in most of the others only for the name of the tax, presumably ρ̅ καὶ ν̅ and the amount of money paid for it.

Ἀρϲινοειτικῶν χιθ(ώνων): tunics from Arsinoe. This type of textile is mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 6 (Ἀρϲινοιτικαὶ ϲτολαί) and 8 (ϲάγοι Ἀρϲινοιτικοὶ γεγναμμένοι καὶ βεβαμμένοι). The tunics here are called after the town where they were produced or where they were traded. In the latter case they do not really need to have been produced in Arsinoe itself. See my remarks on Vergilius, *Georgica* I 228 in *Mnemosyne* IV 44 (1991), 167-170. At least the passages on the two types of Arsinoite cloaks in the *Periplus* show that this particular kind of Egyptian textile was part and parcel of what can be referred to as international trade in the early Roman period.

τελ[είων: if correctly restored, the word would not have been abbreviated to τελ(είων), as we would expect from the rest of the text. There is no trace of a lambda above the epsilon. I have translated τέλειοϲ as "full-sized", largely because in *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 τέλειοϲ stands in opposition to παιδικόϲ.[7] Properly speaking τέλειοϲ means "for adults". See my remarks on *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 (above n. 3). Further on in our text the rare adjective παρατέλειοϲ ("near-τέλειοϲ") suggests that the ancients themselves treated τέλειοϲ very much like an adjective denoting size. See the note on line 9.

3: this looks like the heading of the four lines that follow. It should, however, refer to the immediately preceding line, because that line lacks a heading. Similarly, in the first entry for the taxes collected on the 14th of the month (lines 9ff.), four payments are registered (lines 9-12) before the name of the tax-payer is mentioned (lines 13-14). Hence, lines 3, 8, 13-14 and 16 all refer back. Asclepiades, Ammonius, and Theodosius are presumably the traders dealing in textiles. The amounts they carry (perhaps literally) are not large. In the lacuna there is enough room for, e.g., a patronymic. We may have to supply the one given in line 14, [Ἀρϲιϲούχου], if it concerns the same Asclepiades there.

5 ιμιϲ( ): Milne interpreted this as ἱμ(ατ)ιϲ(μοῦ), but that seems a very unlikely abbreviation. The word ἱματιϲμός, moreover, is not specific enough. One might interpret ιμι- as ἡμι- and try ἡμιϲ(τολῆϲ) or ἡμιϲ(άγου), in view of the passages in the *Periplus* referred to above. But half a cloak or dress is useless and would hardly be counted as one piece. The word ιμιϲ( ) could be Egyptian; cf. Pollux' derivation of ἡμιτύβιον from the Egyptian (VII 71). Note that no adjective denoting size is given for this particular type of textile (see line 10 for ιμιϲ( ) in combination with another adjective).

9 παρα(τελείου): if correctly read this adjective again refers to the size of the tunic (see note on line 2). It is impossible to read παιδ(ικοῦ) here or elsewhere in this text, as I had suggested in the article on *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 referred to above. Prof. R.S. Bagnall informed me that the adjective παρατέλειοϲ occurs in a fourth-century codex in the papyrus collection at Columbia University.[8] It refers to military clothing in that text. This supports taking the very terse abbreviation παρα( ), occurring after τέλειοϲ as it does here, as παρα(τέλειοϲ) rather than deriving it from παρά(πηχυϲ), a suggestion made by the editors of *C.Pap.Iud.*

The adjective παρατέλειοϲ is very rare. According to the original editor of *SB* XIV 11432 it also occurs in line 5 of that text. It concerns the sale of a μόϲχον παρατελην (read παρατελῆ or παρατέλειον). The passage shows that an adjective like παρατέλειοϲ can be used for an animal that is nearly full-grown, like a calf.

In relation to clothing the adjective παρατέλειοϲ can be interpreted in two ways. Because τέλειοϲ refers to adults in the parallel texts dealing with clothing (see the note on line 2), παρατέλειοϲ can be either "for near-adults" or "nearly adult-sized" (i.e. "nearly full-sized"). I prefer the second alternative, because it is difficult to suppose that special clothing for teenagers existed in Graeco-Roman Egypt. But the net result of both lines of interpretation is the same: παρατέλειοϲ refers to clothing that is slightly smaller than that normally woven for adults. Prof. R.S. Bagnall points out that the abbreviation π( ) in *P. Oxy.Hels.* 40 might stand for π(αρατέλειοϲ) rather than π(αιδικόϲ), which is otherwise abbreviated παιδ(ικόϲ) in that text. That would prove that both τέλειοϲ and παρατέλειοϲ refer to size.

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[7] As it does in *P. Hamb.* I 10, 13-16. See the editor's introduction as against Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. τέλειοϲ, 1.

[8] See now J.A. Sheridan, *Roman Military Clothing Requisitions* (diss. Columbia 1990), especially pp. 83-87.

10 Ἀνουβ(ιακοῦ): it is difficult to see why a special type of clothing "in the fashion of Anoubis" existed in Graeco-Roman Egypt. An Ἀνουβιακὴ cτολή is mentioned in *P. Giss.Univ.-Bibl.* I 10 II 14-15 (from the later Ptolemaic period). The editor glosses "Kleid eines Priesters des Anubis", but it seems to me that Ἀνου-βιακόc in relation to textiles rather refers to some specific kind of material. This is suggested by *PGM* I 147-148, where a cπάρτον Ἀνουβιακόν occurs; IV 1083, where λινάρια Ἀνουβιακά are mentioned; and XXXVI 237, where a λίνον Ἀνουβιακόν is found. See also *PGM* IV 2899-2900. Of course, in the magical papyri Ἀνουβιακόc denotes the kind of linen magicians would use. Ordinary clothes could also have been made of this special kind of linen, as is shown by *P. Giss.Univ.-Bibl.* I 10 and the present papyrus.

13 Θ[εοδόc]ιοc: if correctly supplemented, the name by itself would already suggest that we are dealing with a man of Jewish extraction. See the prosopographical index in *C.Pap.Iud.* III. The name is followed by Ἰουδαῖου, which I take to be a slip for Ἰουδαῖοc. Ἰουδαῖοc is not attested as a proper name,[9] and "the son of a Jew" seems difficult.

14 Ἀρcιc[ούχου]: difficult, but it is at least an attested name. The two papyri in which it occurs, *P. Lond.* III 1170 and *P. Mich.* II 126, are both from the Arsinoite nome. Asclepiades may be the same trader as the one mentioned in line 3, now acting as an intermediary for a colleague. But it could also be another person, identified by a double name as well as by his father's name.

16: if the trader in this line is the same as the one in line 9, Ἀμμώνοc must be a slip for Ἀμμώνιοc. A name starting with Ἀμμωνο- (like Ἀμμωνοθέων) is, however, not excluded.

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[9] Plutarchus, *De Iside et Osiride* 31, a reference to a mythical Ἰουδαῖοc,, is the exception that proves the rule.
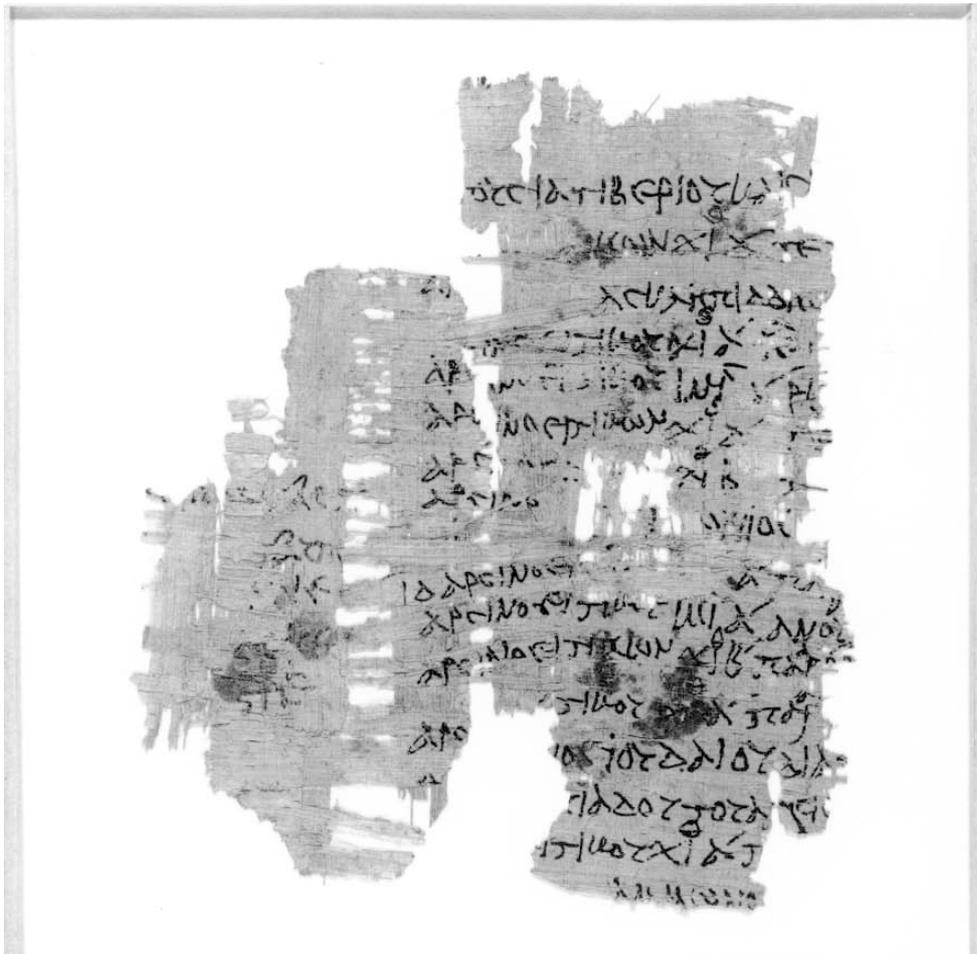
HAWARA PAPYRUS 208
List of Clothes   A.D. 24-25
Found in 1888 at Hawara by W. M. Flinders
Petrie. Published by A. H. Sayce in W. M.
Flinders Petrie, Hawara, Biahmu and Arsi-
noe, London 1889, p.30; re-edited by J. G.
Milne, Archiv für Papyrusforschung 5 (1913),
388~9, and as Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum II
415.

(University College London)

Verzeichnis von Zolleinnahmen (P.Hawara 208)