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TWO UNLIKELY IMPERIAL TITULATURES

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TWO UNLIKELY IMPERIAL TITULATURES

Everyone who ever saw an original documentary papyrus or a photograph of one will have been struck by the fact that scribes keep at the left side of a document the line-beginnings in one straight line but bother less about equal line-endings with the result that many documents reveal at the right side a kind of sawtooth writing, just like a page written on a typewriter¹.

It is, therefore, impossible to supplement in the lacunae at the beginning of a regularly broken off document in one line, e.g., 33 letters, in the next one 18 letters, and in a third one again 22 letters. On the other hand, at the right side of a document the latitude to supplement letters is larger².

Studying *P. Mich.* XI 615 which attracted my attention by the unique imperial titulature of the emperors Valerianus and Gallienus and the Caesar Saloninus in lines 11-14 and the defective imperial titulature of the same rulers in lines 35-38 I had the original on my table³. As one can see on the photograph which accompanies this article (cf. Tafel XI), the papyrus is only complete at the bottom where there is a free margin of approximately 6.5 cm. Neither at the left nor at the right is the papyrus regularly broken off. However, one can also see that several clusters of lines are at the left side broken off at the same point.

The editor of *P. Mich.* XI 615 supplemented the lacunae at the left with the following numbers of letters⁴:

line 6 - 26 letters (14) ⁵	line 22 - 16 letters (13)
" 7 - 14 " (11)	" 23 - 19 " (14)
" 8 - 17 " (13)	" 24 - 15 " (11)
" 9 - 23 " (11)	" 25 - 18 " (8)
" 10 - 21 " (12)	" 26 - 15 " (15)
" 11 - 23 " (14)	" 27 - 24 " (16)
" 12 - 33 " (19)	" 28 - 16 " (16)
" 13 - 18 " (17)	" 29 - 17 " (8)
" 14 - 22 " (16)	" 31 - 14 " (10)
" 15 - 21 " (16)	" 32 - 19 " (6)
" 17 - 22 " (13)	" 33 - 22 " (14)
" 18 - 18 " (13)	" 34 - 21 " (19)
" 19 - 19 " (12)	" 37 - 20 " (20)
" 20 - 20 " (13)	" 38 - 27 " (19)

¹ Literary prose texts often show a straight line also at the right side. Cf., e.g., E.G. Turner, *G(reek) M(anuscripts of the A(ncient) W(orld)*, 2nd ed. by P.J. Parsons, *BICS* 46, London 1987, nos. 63, 71. I leave out of consideration *ecthesis* mainly used to draw attention to one thing or another and well known from the first line of tax-receipts on which the epsilon of ἔτους is written very large and out of line with the other lines of the receipt. Cf., e.g., *GMAW* no. 59 and the recently published *P. Pher.* It sometimes happens that a scribe, working towards the foot of a document, begins progressively further to the left = Maas's Law (or, exceptionally, further to the right).

² Cf., e.g., *P. Ryl.* II 110 (Hermopolis; A.D. 259) = plate 46 in R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* I.1, Stuttgart 1967 for an example of a documentary papyrus with rather uneven line-endings.

³ In footnote 81 (p.111) of his article entitled "Vom ἱερώτατος Καίσαρ zum ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ" *ZPE* 99, 1993, 97ff. F. Mitthof suggests to restore the usual titulature for these emperors and the Caesar Saloninus. He does not pronounce himself about the division of the titulatures over lines 11-14 and 35-38 in the papyrus under discussion.

⁴ The lacunae at the beginning of lines not taken into account cannot be supplemented with reasonable certainty.

⁵ Between brackets the number of letters restored by me in the lacunae at the left in the division of the text over the lines as printed below.

The hand of *P. Mich.* XI 615 is very regular and has an average of 4 to 5 letters per cm. Especially the difference in the numbers of letters supplemented at the beginnings of lines 12-14 and lines 27-28 is striking and arises suspicion. In lines 12-14 the editor reads and supplements a unique imperial titulature for Valerianus, Gallienus, and the Caesar Saloninus⁶. In lines 26-28 the editor is forced to supplement the lacunae as he does, since we are dealing with a standard formula⁷.

I think that the problems can be solved with some small changes and by placing some (parts of) words restored at the beginning of a line at the end of the preceding line. I divide the reasonable supplements made by the original editor of *P. Mich.* XI 615 as follows:

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-].[
- [± 40]ω. . .δ[⁸
- [± 17] . .[.]ρκ.ρι. εφ[.]κα. . .λεγ[ομένων]
- 4 [τριακο ± 7 εἰς ἅ] παρέξομαι κοῦφα κενοκέραμα [ἄφ' οὐ ἔχω περὶ
[± 5 ἀμπελικ]οῦ κτήματος παρὰ ληνὸν ἀνυπ[ερθέτως τῷ Μεσορῇ]
[μηνὶ μέτρῳ ᾧ τὸ γέ]νημα ἐξαντλεῖται· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκ[τείω σοι τὴν]
[τότε ἐσομένη]ν τοῦ οἴνου τιμὴν διπλῆν ᾧ[ε ἐτάθη γινο-]
- 8 [μένης σοι τῆς πρ]άξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν [ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάν-]
[των. κύριον τὸ] χειρόγραφον δις δὲ γραφὴν π[ανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμε-]
[νον καὶ παντὶ τ]ῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι καὶ [ἐπερωτ(ηθεῖα) ὠμολ(όγησα).]
[(ἔτους) Ἀυτοκρατόρων] Καϊσάρων Πουπλίου Λικ[ιννίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Που-]
- 12 [πλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλε]ριανοῦ Γαλλιανοῦ Γερμα[νικῶν μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν]
[Εὐτυχῶν καὶ Πουπλίου]ν Λικιννίου Κορνηλίου Ζ[αλωνίνου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ ἐπι-]
[φανεστάτου Καίσαρ]ος Σεβαστῶ[ν]
- [Ἀὐρ(ηλία) Ἰσιδώρα χωρ(ίς) κυρ(ίου)] χρη(ματίζουσα) ἔσχον [παρ]ᾶ σοῦ [± 4] . . . [± 10]
- 16 [± 5 ὄνπερ οἴνο]ν ἀποδ[ώ]σω ὡς πρόκ(εῖται) καὶ ἐπερωτ(ηθεῖα) ὠμολ(όγησα).]
[βουλόμενος δὲ ἂ]πὸ τοῦ δις[σοῦ] χειρογράφου μοναχὸν [ἐν δημοσίῳ γε-]
[νέσθαι δίδωμι τ]ῇ πόλει ἔνεκα τοῦ μοναχὸν δημοσιῶ[σθαι τὰς ὀρι-]
[θεισας (δραχμὰς) ἰβ] καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς δη[μοσιώ]σεως ὠρισμέ[νον καὶ ἀξιῶ]
- 20 [ἀναλαβόντας αὐ]τὸ παρὰ τοῦ διαπεσταλμένου ὑπ' [ἐμοῦ]
[ὑποχειρογραφ]ομένην ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ εἶναι [τὴν ὑπο-]
[γραφὴν ιδιόγρα]φον τῆς Ἀὐρ(ηλίας) [Ἰ]σιδώρας συνκατα[χωρίσαι]
[αὐτὸ τῷδε τῷ ὑπομ]νήματι, τὸ μὲν αὐθεντικὸν εἰς τὴν [Ἀδριανὴν]
- 24 [βιβλιοθήκην], τούτου δὲ τὸ ἴσον ὑπόμνημα καὶ εἰς τὴν [τοῦ Ναναίου, καὶ]
[συντάξαι] γράψαι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρ(ατηγῶ) μεταδῶναι τοῦ[του τοῦ ὑπομνήματος]
[ἀντίγραφον τῇ Ἀὐρ(ηλίᾳ)] Ἰσιδώρᾳ ἂν περιῆ, εἰ δὲ μή, κληρονόμοις α[ὐτῆς τελείοις,]
[ἐὰν δὲ ἀφήλικες ᾧ]σι, νομίμοις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρόποις, ὧν τ[ὰ ὄνο-]
- 28 [ματα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων δ]ηλωθήσεται, ἵν' εἰδῆ καὶ ποιήσῃ[ταί μοι τὴν ἀπό-]

⁶ Cf. J.R. Rea, *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III, Napoli 1984, 1125ff. For *SB* X 10737, see F. Mitthof, *loc. cit.*, 110, footnote 74.

⁷ Cf., e.g., *P. IFAO* III 12, 9ff.; *P. Oxy.* III 485, 29ff.; (X 1270, 50f.); *PSI* VII 736, 2f.; *SB* XVI 12333, 27.

⁸ The first editor read and supplemented in this line as follows: [τιμὴν πλήρη οἴνου γενήματος τοῦ ἐνεστ]ῶτος δ[. In his note on line 2 he suggested: δ[ευτέρου ἔτους or δ[ἔτους. This is, however, not possible, since as F. Mitthof, *loc. cit.*, 111, footnote 81 already remarked neither in the 2nd nor in the 4th regnal year was Saloninus (II.13-14) co-regent. A reading and supplement τοῦ ἐνεστ]ῶτος δ[ἔτους is, however, not compelling. One could, *exempli gratia*, read and supplement: [ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὴν τιμὴν πλήρη οἴνου ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελ]ῶνος Δ[καλουμένου γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος/ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους.

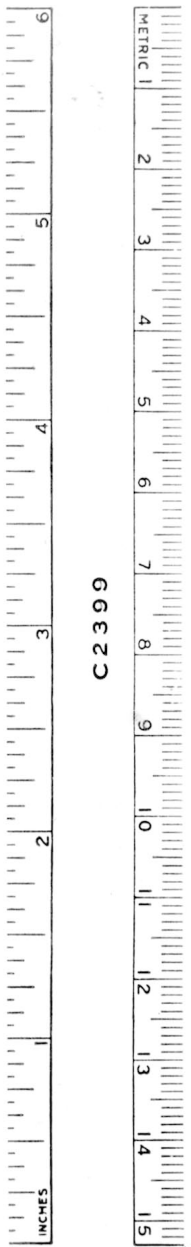
- [δοσιν τῶν] τοῦ οἴνου κεραμίων τριακο[
 [± 4 ἢ εἰ]δῆ χρησόμενον με τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀρμόζουσι περὶ ἐν[εχυρασί-]
 [ας, κατὰ μηδὲ]ν ἐλαττουμένου μου ἐν οἷς ἑτέροις ἔχω π[ρὸς αὐτὴν δικαίους]
 32 [ὡς καθή]κει. (ἔτους) ζ// Οὐαλεριανῶν καὶ Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβασ[τῶν
 [ἐσημειωσάμην. το]ύτου ὄντος ἀξιῶ τὴν μετὰ[δοσιν γε-]
 [νέσθαι τῆ Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἰσιδώρα ἐ]γώπιον ὡς καθήκει, μὴ ἐλατ' τουμέν[ου τοῦ]
 [creditor's name. (ἔτους) . Αὐτοκρατόρ]ων Καισάρων Πουπλίου Λικιννίου[υ Οὐαλεριανοῦ
 καὶ Που-]
 36 [πλίου Λικιννίου Οὐαλεριαν]οῦ Γαλλιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν μεγίστ[ων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν]
 [καὶ Πουπλίου Λικιννίου] Κορνηλίου Καλωνίνου Οὐαλεριανοῦ το[ῦ ἐπιφανεσ-]
 [τάτου Καισαρος Σεβαστ]ῶν, Παχῶν η̅.

There may be some doubts whether all lacunae now contain all the actual letters which originally stood on the papyrus (shifting of some letters is possible)⁹ but a more acceptable form of the original document has in my opinion be restored and two unique imperial titulatures have been removed. The above proposed reconstruction does not contribute in any way to a better understanding of *P. Mich. XI 615* (already admirably explained and commented upon by its original editor, the regretted J.C. Shelton) but it may remind future editors of mutilated papyri of their obligation to count the number of letters they restore in lacunae of nearly equal seize: there should not be too big a difference!

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⁹ Especially in the imperial titlature some elements may have been abbreviated or written with *Verschleifung* towards the ends of lines. *Exempli gratia* : in *P. Kell. Gr.* 1 to restore the usual imperial titlature of the emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus and the Caesares Constantius and Galerius together with the consulship of A.D. 293 (in a shortened and to date for that specific year not yet attested formula) 32, 33, 44, 42 (46), 36, 36, 46, 23+ letters respectively have to be supplemented in lines 1 through 8 (I wish to thank Dr K.A. Worp for showing me this text before its publication).



Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though many are partially obscured by the fragment's irregular edges and some damage. The ink is dark, and the papyrus is light-colored with some darker spots and a small hole near the bottom center.