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A *SYMMACHOS* ON MISSION AND HIS PAYMASTER: P.HERM. 80 ENLARGED

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A SYMMACHOS ON MISSION AND HIS PAYMASTER: P.HERM. 80 ENLARGED

P.Herm. Rees 80 + P.Misc.inv. II 137c

15.3 x 11.9 cm

27 November - 26 December 553

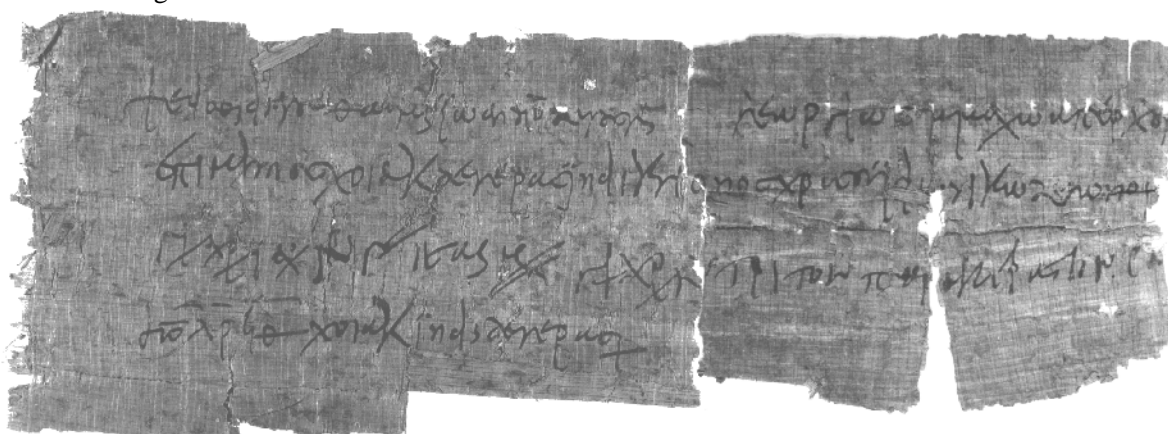
Oxyrhynchus

A fragment of the original document has been published as P.Herm. Rees 80. A further fragment, contiguous to the latter, has been identified among the unpublished papyri of the collection from which P.Herm. also came (P.Misc.).¹ Although about one third of the piece (the right outermost panel) is still missing, the nature of the text, described in ed. pr. as a 'receipt for taxes' (see 'Table of Papyri', p. xi) now becomes clear: it is a receipt for payment issued by a ζυγοστάτης (weighmaster) to a σύμμαχος (armed guard or messenger) who was about to depart on a mission. Unfortunately, the latter's destination and/or the purpose of his journey are obscured by the damage.

Documents recording cash payments to σύμμαχοι in respect of journeys include SB XVI 13052 (V), SPP VIII 1009 (VI?) (cf. below 1 n. para. 5), P.Oxy. XIX 2243A.92-95 (590), P.Amh. II 158 = SPP III 278 (612), P.Oxy. XVI 1904 (618); cf. also SPP VIII 1130 (VI) (wine) and 943 (VII/VIII) (oil).

As J. Gascou, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 56 n. 320, has pointed out, the ζυγοστάτης Ioannes appears again in P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780.22, dated 16 July 553, a few months earlier than our text; there, he is expressly called an employee of the *patricia* Flavia Gabriela (ζυγοστάτου αὐτῆς). It is a reasonable assumption that the σύμμαχος too was in the employ of the (οἶκος of the) same grand lady.

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank.



- 1 † ἐδόθη(η) διὰ τοῦ θαυμ(ασιωτάτου) Ἰωάννου ζυγοστά(του) Γεωργίῳ συμμαχῶ ἀπερχομ[ένῳ
c. 25-30]
- 2 ἐπὶ μηνὸς Χοιακ δευτέρας ἰνδικτίονος χρυσοῦ ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ νομ[ιματίου τρίτον παρὰ
κεράτιον ἐν ἡμῖν,]
- 3 γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) νο(μιματίου) γ' π(αρὰ) α(μόνον). (m. 2) γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ)
νο(μιματίου) τρίτον παρὰ κεράτιον ἐν [ἡμῖν μ(όνον) - -]
- 4 (ἔτους) Ϟλ ρθ Χοιακ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δευτέρας. †

1 εδοθη, θαυμς, ζυγοστα^α 2 ἰνδικτιονος, ἰδιωτικῶ 3 γι/(2), χρ/(2), ἰδ', ῥ (2), π/, μ// 4 L, ἰνδ?

¹ This small collection belongs to the Egypt Exploration Society, and is housed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; I am grateful to the Society for permission to publish the new fragment. I am also obliged to Dr P. McNiven, who supplied a photocopy of P.Herm. 80 on which I was able to confirm my initial suspicion that the two fragments belonged together, and who also arranged that I receive a photograph; this is reproduced by courtesy of the Director and Librarian of The John Rylands University Library of Manchester, where the papyri published in P.Herm. are now held.

‘There was given through the most admirable Ioannes, *zygostates*, to Georgios, *symmachos*, who is departing ... in the month of Choiak of the second indiction, [one-third] of a *solidus* [less one-and-a-half carat] of gold by the private standard, total 1/3 *solidus* less 1 1/2 carat of gold by the private (standard), only. (m.2) Total one-third of a gold *solidus* less one[-and-a-half] carat [only.]

‘Year 230/199, Choiak, indiction second.†’

- 1 ἐδό(θη). This introductory verb is typical of Oxyrhynchite receipts of this period. θαυμ(ασιωτάτου). On the adjective, usually found with low-ranking officials, see M. G. Sirivianou, P.Oxy. LVI 3869.14 n. It qualifies ζυγοστάται also in P.Oxy. 2780.22, SB XII 10810.1 (VI), and BGU III 837.19, v2 (609). Ἰωάννου ζυγοστά(του). Ioannes makes a payment to a ὑδροπάροχος in P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780.21-2. The other Oxyrhynchite receipts recording money payments to σύμμαχοι are issued by τραπεζίται (P.Oxy. XIX 2243A.92-95 [590], XVI 2045 [612], P.Amh. II 158 [612]), and by an ἐνοικολόγος (P.Oxy. XVI 1904 [618]; another ἐνοικολόγος issues rations of oil to σύμμαχοι in P.Oxy. VII 1043 [578]). Ioannes’ function here is essentially identical with those of the other financial functionaries. On ζυγοστάται see most recently J. R. Rea, P.Oxy. LXIII 4395.26-7 n. with the literature cited there. The office was instituted by Julian in 363 (CTh XII 7.2 = CJ X 73.2); each city had to have one. Initially the responsibility of ζυγοστάται was the weighing of solidi and assessment of their value, but several texts of later date show them acting as cashiers or treasurers of great landowners. We have already seen Ioannes making payments on behalf of Fl. Gabrielaia. In P.Oxy. XVI 1897 (VI/VII) the ζυγοστάτης Philoxenus undertakes to pay over to the ‘glorious household’ (probably of Apion III) a sum of money on behalf of a village. In P.Oxy. XVI 2032 (540/1, cf. BL VI 105), which records payments made through various Apion employees, one (cancelled) entry refers to a ζυγοστάτης (l. 69). Similarly, P.Oxy. XVI 2028 (VI) lists payments from various sources including the ζυγοστάται of Cynopolis to a τραπεζίτης of the Apions for the stables of Tacona. A function similar to that of a cashier may be seen in P.Oxy. XIX 2243A.38, 43, 45 (590), in which ζυγοστάται make payments on behalf of the heirs of certain individuals. In P.Oxy. LV 3805.30 (c. 566) a ζυγοστάτης makes a payment for a premium (παράμυθία), apparently upon entering office, in the same fashion as a ῥιπάριος or a προνοητής. In SB XII 11163 (601?), an acknowledgement of a debt by a ζυγοστάτης to a τραπεζίτης of the Apions (on the text and its date see R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 116 [1997] 105), the ζυγοστάτης may have been in the service of the Apions too. Whether these ζυγοστάται were state or private employees largely depends on one’s views of the character and function of the large estates in Byzantine Egypt; cf. Gascou, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 56 with n. 320, who discusses the implications of the case of Ioannes, but contrast I. F. Fikhman, *CE* 72 (1997) 165 n. 21. What is beyond doubt is that by the sixth century the functions of ζυγοστάται included money transactions which went beyond the mere weighing of solidi. This was not limited to Oxyrhynchus: cf. e.g. the Arsinoite SPP VIII 977 (VI) and SB XVIII 13900 (VI/VII), orders to ζυγοστάται to disburse money. The expanded capacities of ζυγοστάται are also evident in the Early Islamic period, when they played an important role in tax collection. As R. Rémondon, P.Apoll. 83.1 n., phrased it, ‘Ils apparaissent ... comme des trésoriers-payeurs, recevant, contrôlant et transmettant les recettes’ (cf. also P. E. Kahle, P.Bal. 287 introd.). Γεωργίω συμάχῳ. σύμμαχοι of this name are listed in A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 113, and *ZPE* 92 (1992) 230, but an identification would be hazardous. On the duties and standing of the Egyptian σύμμαχοι see Jördens, *ZPE* 66, 105-11, and P.Heid. V pp. 55-8. ἀπερχομ[ένῳ] would have been followed by Georgios’ destination, introduced by εἰς or ἐν, see H. Harrauer, B. Rom, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 97 n. ll. 1-2, cf. F. Mitthof, A. Papatomas, *ZPE* 103 (1994) 74 n. l. 3, and possibly by his task. A similar construction should be restored in SPP VIII 1009 (VI), published as follows:

Ἰωάννης [
 συμμαχ() ἀπ[κέρματος]
 μυριάδ(α) τετρα[κοσίας
 4 δεκάτης ἰνδ[ικτίονος
 (m.2) κέρματος [μυριάδας τετρακοσίας

- The structure of the Vienna text is similar to ours, and we may read συμάχ() ἀπ[ερχομέν- in line 2.
- 2 νομ[ιματίου]. Restored after P.Oxy. I 145.3 = SPP III 179.3 (552); νομ[ίματα] is another possibility. νομ[ιματίου] τρίτον παρὰ κεράτιον ἐν ἡμῖν. On the rate of the deduction, equivalent to 1 solidus minus 4 1/2 carats, see K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia* (1994) 65 (on p.164 the entry on this papyrus should now be corrected). The receipt P.Oxy. I 145, issued in the previous year, also records a payment of 1/3 sol. min. 1 1/2 car. ὑπὲρ ἀναλ(ώματος) [ἀναλ(ώματων)] ed. pr., but we are dealing with a single recipient].
- 3 νομ[ιματίου] γ’’: νομ[ιματία] γ’ ed. pr. In certain cases 1/3 sol. represents the monthly salary of a σύμμαχος, see F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell’Egitto tardo* (1996) 154 (pp. 153-4, 161, 181 on the salaries of σύμμαχοι in general).

Possibly nothing was written after (the restored) μ(όνον) in the lost part of the line, but cf. P.Oxy. I 145.4, which ends μόν(α) ἰδιωτικ(ῶ) ζυγ(ῶ).

- 4 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978) 87, 97, cf. 36-42 on the Oxyrhynchite era years.

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