

CHRONIQUE D'ÉGYPTE

LXXIV (1999)

Fasc. 148

EXTRAIT



FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH
EGYPTOLOGISCHE STICHTING KONINGIN ELISABETH

BRUXELLES

BRUSSEL

SOMMAIRE – INHOUD

ÉGYPTE PHARAONIQUE - FARAONISCH EGYPTE.

Études - Artikelen

Claire SIMON-BOIDOT, Marques verticales au temple funéraire de Néferir-karê-Kakai	203
Michel MALAISE, L'étymologie égyptienne du toponyme "Canope"	224
Olivier PERDU, Un appel à Isis (statue Londres, BM [1162])	231
Alicia D. DE RODRIGO, A Priestly Family of Busiris in the Saite Period	240
Marc COENEN, Horos, Prophet of Min Who Massacres His Enemies	257

Chronique — Kroniek

Philippe DERCHAIN, Pour l'érotisme	261
--	-----

Livres - Recensies

<i>L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887).Disegni e documenti nei Civici Istituti Culturali Milanesi</i> (Herman De Meulenaere)	268
David P. SILVERMAN (ed.), <i>For His Ka. Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer</i> (Herman De Meulenaere)	269
Rainer HANNIG, <i>Grosses Handwörterbuch Aegyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950v. Chr.)</i> (Michel Malaise)	270
Pascal VERNUS, <i>Essai sur la conscience de l'histoire dans l'Égypte pharaonique</i> (Claude Vandersleyen)	272
Stan HENDRICKX, <i>Analytical Bibliography of the Prehistory and the Early Dynastic Period of Egypt and Northern Sudan</i> (Toby A.H. Wilkinson)	277
Karol MYŚLIWIEC, <i>Herr Beider Länder</i> (Ingrid De Strooper)	280
Erich LESSING — Pascal VERNUS, <i>Dieux de l'Égypte — The Gods of Ancient Egypt</i> (Ingrid De Strooper)	281
Mu-chou POO, <i>Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt</i> (Philippe Derchain)	284
Torgny SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, <i>The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa es-Saiyad)</i> (Ann McFarlane)	286
Elisabeth Anne HASTINGS, <i>The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara 1964-76</i> (Dimitri Laboury)	290
Adolphe GUTBUB, <i>Kôm Ombo I</i> (Herman De Meulenaere)	295
Christian LEITZ, <i>Altägyptische Sternuhren</i> (Anthony Spalinger)	296

ÉGYPTE GRÉCO-ROMAINE — GRIEKS-ROMEINS EGYPTE

Études — Artikelen

Alain MARTIN et Georges NACHTERGAEL, Papyrus du Musée du Caire. III	301
Tony REEKMANS, Two <i>P. Cairo Zen.</i> on Barley-Feeding	316
Naphtali LEWIS, The Interplay of Jurisdictions in <i>P. Oxy. LXV 4481</i>	327
Roger S. BAGNALL, The date of <i>P. Kell. I G. 62</i> and the Meaning of $\chi\omega\rho\iota\omicron\nu$	329

The Date of *P. Kell. I G. 62* and the Meaning of χωρίον

This wooden board, found in House 3, contains a list of payments made by an individual ὑπὲρ φόρου χωρίου Πανέους. These are tabulated by the editor in his commentary, showing the earliest in Choiak and the last on Tybi 20 of the next year, that is, over a span of about 13 months. The total amount is 960 drachmas. The heading of the account indicates that the payments are made for a 5th year (only the S-shaped symbol is used, with no word for year).

In a lengthy note to line 1, the editor discusses the possible dates. He canvasses the possibility that the S-shaped symbol stands for ἔτος, in which case it should refer to a year before the accession of Diocletian, after which multiple regnal years are the norm; or that it stands for ἰνδικτίων, in which case only 316/7 can come into question. In the commentary, however, he had concluded that "it may be assumed that this wooden board should probably be dated to the first decade of the 4th century or else to the preceding period." The basis for this statement was the fact that 960 drachmas would not amount to very much money, hardly an artaba of beans, already in 308. The note thus says that if indiction is meant, no date earlier than 316/7 is possible, while the commentary says that no date much after 308 is possible. The implicit contradiction between these two statements suggests that no fourth-century date for the board is possible, and thus the S-shaped symbol cannot refer to indictions. Indeed, the payments are, as the editor pointed out, clearly made in the Alexandrian tetradrachm currency no longer in use after Diocletian's reforms in 296/7, including amounts of 24 and 68 drachmas.

Turning to regnal years, the editor notes that "the latest possible year 5 of a single ruler is that of the emperor Probus, i.e. 279/280; but then one cannot rule out, of course, year 5 of Aurelian, 273/4." Such a date is archaeologically significant, because the tablet would, with either date, be the earliest datable object found in House 3. It is therefore worth looking a little more closely at the question of what year 5 is at stake here.

The only basis for discussion is the amount of rent paid. As we do not know what the extent of property leased was, this may not seem like a

promising line of approach. In fact, however, it is possible to establish a terminus ante quem. Under Aurelian there was what Dominic Rathbone, in the most recent study of third-century prices, has called “the brusque leap in price levels around 274 by a factor of ten or more” (1). In the quarter-century before that leap, wheat sold in private transactions for amounts from 12 to 24 drachmas, with 16 the median. A jar of wine ranged from 8 to 21 drachmas, with a median of 12. Although the period after 274 is less well documented, wheat in transactions with the government stood at 200 dr. in 276, and other commodities followed roughly in its wake. That is, after 274 the sum in the Kellis tablet would have been worth at most about 5 artabas of wheat. As an amount to be painstakingly recorded over a 13-month period in nine installments, one worth as little as 1/8 artaba, this seems inadequate.

This first impression is reinforced when thought is given to the word *chorion* by which the object of the rent payments is designated. The editor translates it “farm”, which is in line with the practice of most recent editors of papyri (“plot” is also common). The influence of Preisigke (*WB II 767*, s.v. (1)) is visible: “Ackerstück, Landstück, Grundstück, Landgut, Landbesitz.” But in this case Homer nodded. Preisigke’s citations in support of this definition mostly do not fit this vague definition but the more specific and longer phrase χωρίον ἀμπελικόν which Preisigke cites immediately afterward. Here they are (2):

3rd century BC	Dittenberger, <i>OGIS</i> 59.9	Revenue-producing properties, type unknown (Thera)
	<i>P.Hal.</i> 1.85,108,110,111	Building plots (in civic laws)
2nd century BC	<i>P.Giss.</i> 108.17 (add.)	Word entirely restored
1st century BC	<i>BGU IV</i> 1130.31	2 arouras, character not stated
1st century AD	<i>P.Lond.</i> I 131 passim	“Central farm” with vineyard, gardens, date-palm grove (3)
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 985	account of work on vineyard
2nd century AD	<i>P.Oxy.</i> III 653	unclear character; on same roll as tax list concerning <i>apomoira</i> etc.
	<i>P.Par.</i> 18.13	nature of land unclear

(1) “Prices and Price Formation in Roman Egypt”, *Économie antique: prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques* (Entretiens d’archéologie et d’histoire, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, 1997) 183-224 at 215.

(2) I have altered Preisigke’s abbreviations to modern standards.

(3) See D.P. KEHOE, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt During the Early Empire* (Pap.Texte Abh. 40, Bonn 1992) 60. The land was artificially irrigated.

3rd century AD	<i>CPHerm.</i> 7 passim <i>P.Oxy.</i> IV 705.70, 78 <i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 907.8, 13 <i>P.Oxy.</i> IX 1220	vineyard ⁽⁴⁾ nature of land unclear vineyard: ἀμπελικόν ⁽⁵⁾ occurs in letter concerning vineyard work
5th century AD	<i>SB</i> I 4481.8, 14, 16, 21	vineyard ⁽⁶⁾
6th century AD	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 279.9 <i>P.Giss.</i> 56.6 <i>SPP</i> III 98 <i>P.Hamb.</i> I 23.16 <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67028.15 <i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 998 <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67104.6	concerns <i>chorion</i> with reedbed ⁽⁷⁾ vineyard: ἀμπελικόν money rent (<i>phoros</i>) on <i>chorion</i> vineyard: ἀμπελικόν <i>choria</i> part of inheritance; nature unclear reference to vineyard ⁽⁸⁾ vineyard: ἀμπελικόν
Byzantine	<i>SB</i> I 4869.4	means place or village

It is evident that Preisigke simply misclassified many of these references, where the modifier ἀμπελικόν actually appears, or where the land is clearly a vineyard. Although it is impossible in some cases to determine the nature of the land in question, there is not a single instance from the Roman period where it demonstrably refers to land which is not vineyard, garden, or orchard. This meaning could already be at stake in the Thera inscription of the Ptolemaic period, but in *P.Hal.* it is clear that building plots, what elsewhere would be called οἰκόπεδα, are at stake. But from (at the latest) the first century AD the reference to uninundated land used for tree crops is clear.

Instances published since Preisigke also conform to this pattern. An example can be seen clearly in *P.Oxy.* XVII 2153.3 (3rd century): ῥύσις χωρίου Διονύσου. Similarly, the letter *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3430 (4th cent.) deals with a *chorion* allowed (the writer says, perhaps hyperbolically) to "go to desert." Instructions are given for some children to be brought εἰς ἀμπελουργίαν τοῦ χωρίου. Still more telling is a petition dated 292/3, *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2712, in which a *matrona stolata* tells the acting strategos

(4) This papyrus concerns *choria* and *paradeisoi*, vineyards and orchards.

(5) This is the will of Aurelius Hermogenes. It distinguishes explicitly between ἀμπελικόν χωρίον and σιτικάι ἄρουραι.

(6) Preisigke actually, by a typographical error, cites *SB* 448 instead of 4481.

(7) Preisigke mistakenly assigns this text to the 3rd cent. Reedbeds were normal accompaniments of vineyards.

(8) This account is only described; the passage in question is given as [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Νεκόνθεως ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτ(ων) χωρ(ίων). The phrase will be discussed in Todd Hickey's forthcoming dissertation, chapter 1, where it is shown that it refers to vineyard.

of the misbehavior of a certain Salpon, ἐκ πατρὸς μισθούμενος χωρίον ἡμέτερον περὶ κώμην Ἰβίωνα Χύσιν καὶ σιτικὴν γῆν. That is, the *chorion* and the arable land are distinguished from one another (as in *P.Oxy.* 907, from the citations given earlier). In this connection it is worth recalling H. Cadell's argument that the word κτήμα suffered a "brusque disparition" after 280 in the traditional sense of vineyard" (9). It is thus possible that *chorion* had to take over by itself the role that *ktema* had often played up to that time in referring to a garden plot, usually enclosed, with vines and trees.

This is also the meaning we find in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, for example in Gelasios 2 and 4 (10), where a *chorion* (in Palestine) turns out to have olive trees. It may of course have contained other crops. Gardens on land not reached by the Nile flood commonly included several different tree crops, including olives, grapes, and dates. Such mixed plantings are common today in enclosed gardens in Egypt. Such a *chorion* could easily have farm buildings and facilities, even a threshing floor (*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354.40, ἐφ' ἄλλω τοῦ χωρίου; it is clear that this is referring to the ἀμπελικὸν κτήμα which is the object of this labor contract, cf. line 6).

It is routinely stated (but never to my knowledge clearly shown) that χωρίον comes in late antiquity to be used synonymously with κώμη as a term for "village" (11). The relationship of this development to the usage described above, if there is one, has also not been demonstrated. In any event, we need not suppose that the pattern of usage for which I have been arguing was absolutely exclusive even in the Roman period — that is, that no one ever used χωρίον with any other meaning. But it seems clear that the dominant sense was that of non-inundated land, primarily used for growing tree crops of various sorts, but especially vineyards, and sometimes also containing farm buildings or equipment.

If the *chorion* of the Kellis tablet was such a vineyard / garden, it was probably (as such gardens were) of considerable value. The fact that the

(9) "Le renouvellement du vocabulaire au IV^e siècle", *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Munich 1974) 67; cited in Marie Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula 1979) 42.

(10) In the alphabetic collection; Greek text in Migne, *PG* 65: 148, 152.

(11) See M. DREW-BEAR, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula 1979) 42, citing L. Robert and P. Lemerle. The point has not, however, been demonstrated for late antique Egypt, certainly not for the period before the Arab conquest, and it remains to be shown that the evidence usually taken to show such usage really does so. (I am indebted to Todd Hickey for discussion of this point.)

rent is given in cash may also be a sign that we are not dealing with a small plot of arable land, where the rent is most typically in kind, but with garden-land, where it is usually in money⁽¹²⁾. It is most unlikely that the equivalent of 5 artabas was sufficient rent for such a garden, of any size. A date after 274 thus seems extremely improbable. Because price movements between the Severan period and 274 were not large, we cannot exclude fifth regnal years before Aurelian, but at least it can be said that 273/4 is the latest possible date for the tablet.

Columbia University

Roger S. BAGNALL

(12) The pattern is well-known. See J. HERRMANN, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Münch. Beitr. 41, 1958) 111-12. Rents in money, as Herrmann notes, are also found for arable land planted in some crops other than the standard cereals, particularly in fodder (typically in alternate years in leases with crop rotation); money rents are thus not an absolute indicator but a confirming one. The fact that the rent year in the Kellis papyrus is not that of arable crops but that of tree crops makes it unlikely that fodder or flax is at stake.

Laurent BRICAULT, Sarapis et Isis, Sauveurs de Ptolémée IV à Raphia . . .	334
Georges NACHTERGÆL, Graffites du Sarapieion de Memphis	344
Klaus PARLASCA, Zwei angeblich verschollene Darstellungen des Sarapis aus der Sammlung Dattari	357

Papyrus littéraires et documents — Literaire papyri en dokumenten

Michael GRONEWALD <i>et alii</i> , <i>Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)</i> . Band 8 (Jean Lenaerts)	362
Eirene XXXIV. <i>Studia Graeca et Latina (Papyrologica)</i> (Georges Nachtergael)	366
Andrea JÖRDENS, <i>Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P. Louvre I)</i> (Jean Bingen)	369
Jean BINGEN <i>et alii</i> , <i>Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina. II</i> (<i>O. Claud. 191 à 416</i>) (Paul Heilporn)	372

Livres — Recensies

Willy CLARYSSE <i>et alii</i> , <i>Leuven Data-Base of Ancient Books (LDAB)</i> (Marc Huys)	375
Michèle MERTENS, <i>Les Alchimistes grecs. IV, 1: Zosime de Panopolis</i> <i>Mémoires authentiques</i> (Jean Lenaerts)	377
Teresa MORGAN, <i>Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds</i> (Jean A. Straus)	379
Günter GRIMM, <i>Alexandria. Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt</i> (Pascale Ballet)	381
Anssi LAMPELA, <i>Rome and the Ptolemies of Egypt. The Development of</i> <i>their Political Relations 273-80 B.C.</i> (Werner Huß)	385
Tormod EIDE <i>et alii</i> , <i>Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. III</i> (Jean Bingen)	386
David FRANKFURTER, <i>Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and</i> <i>Resistance</i> (Michel Malaise)	388
D.P.S. PEACOCK and V.A. MAXFIELD, <i>Survey and Excavation. Mons</i> <i>Claudianus, 1987-1993. Vol. I. Topography & Quarries</i> (Paul Heilporn)	390
Olaf E. KAPER (Ed.), <i>Life on the Fringe. Living in the Southern Egyptian</i> <i>Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine Periods</i> (Georges Nachtergael)	391

ÉGYPTE CHRÉTIENNE —CHRISTELIJK EGYPTE

Livres — Recensies

Philippe LUISIER, <i>Les citations vétéro-testamentaires dans les versions</i> <i>coptes des Évangiles. Recueil et analyse critique</i> (Jean Bingen) . . .	395
Marvin MEYER, <i>The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels (P. Heid. inv.</i> <i>Kopt. 685). Text, Translation and Commentary</i> (Jean Bingen) . . .	396

CHRONIQUE D'ÉGYPTE

Rédaction: J. BINGEN (*direction, Égypte chrétienne*), H. DE MEULENAERE (*égyptologie*), G. NACHTERGAEL (*papyrologie*).

On est prié d'adresser les manuscrits et les ouvrages pour compte rendu à l'adresse suivante: *Chronique d'Égypte*, FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH, Parc du Cinquanteaire 10, B-1000 Bruxelles (Belgique).

Abonnement: 2.700 FB.

Service gratuit de la revue aux membres de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (cotisation annuelle: 1.900 FB).

Les cotisations ainsi que les demandes d'affiliation ou d'abonnement et les commandes de livres seront adressées à la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Parc du Cinquanteaire 10, B-1000 Bruxelles (Belgique).

C.C.P. Bruxelles N° 000-0058725-40.

Redactie: J. BINGEN (*directie, Christelijk Egypte*), H. DE MEULENAERE (*egyptologie*), G. NACHTERGAEL (*papyrologie*).

Manuscripten en recensieëxemplaren dienen gestuurd te worden aan het volgende adres: *Chronique d'Égypte*, EGYPTOLOGISCHE STICHTING KONINGIN ELISABETH, Jubelpark 10, B-1000 Brussel (België).

Abonnement: 2.700 Bfr.

Leden van de Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elisabeth (contributie: 1.900 Bfr.) ontvangen het tijdschrift gratis.

Contributies, aanvragen om lidmaatschap of abonnement, alsmede bestellingen van boeken dienen gestuurd te worden aan de Egyptologische Stichting Koningin Elisabeth, Jubelpark 10, B-1000 Brussel (België).

Giro: Brussel Nr. 000-0058725-40.