

Two Orders of Olive-Oil Delivery

Aphrodite village

(VI/VII AD)

This paper includes two unpublished ostraca. They are housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo under inventory number S.R. 18953 and the temporary number is $\frac{25}{53} \frac{1}{4}$. The two texts are complete. They are written in medium sized cursive hand with black ink. Regardless of the scribes' skill the two ostraca are written on the ribbed convex sides of the pottery shreds. Maybe the uneven surfaces lead to bad handwriting; in addition to most of the words are abbreviated. The two ostraca are distinguished with lower wide margins. The concaves are blank.

The two ostraca are dated by 6th indiction and could be dated to VI/ VII AD. The handwriting is similar to S.B. XX. 14548 (Aphrodite; VI/VII AD); especially letters τ, υ, β (text I) and letters ε, α and ι (text II) and according to PN search e.g. ἀντιγεούχος (text I, l. 4) as the land-agent or estate manager in the Byzantine period does not occur before fifth century.

The two ostraca have a similar topic; the formula runs as follows: It starts with the staurogram, the date (month, day, and the indiction's number), estate employees *oil producers of Aphrodite*, the imperative order to delivery followed by the beneficiary (ies), the quantity of oil measured by *sextarius* and the summery in figures followed by the subscription of the issuer or transmitter. Each item will be discussed separately. For these reasons we can say that the two ostraca are considered as new additional texts from oil producers' archive which housed in Thermenmuseum Heerlen, IFAO and papyrologisch Institute in Leiden, see Pap. Flor. XIX, J. Gascoü & K. A. Worp, "Un Dossier d' Ostraca Du VI^e Siecle: Les Archives Des Huiliers D' Aphroditô", Florence. 1990. PP. 217- 245.

According to Trismegistos places: Ἀφροδίτης Πόλις - Ἀφροδιτώ; Aphrodite village (Kom Isqaw); Latin Veneris, located on the western Nile bank. 26° 50' N, 31° 25' E. <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/270>. In the late antiquity Aphrodite was the capital of a small district known as the Aphroditopolite *nome*. Although this *nome* was incorporated into larger Antaeopolite *nome*, Aphrodite tried to stay independent from the new capital, Antaeopolis, it has right of *autopragia*, as it paid its taxes to the government directly without intermediary of the *nome* capital, see Van Minnen, Traianos Gagos, A Dispute: Towards a Legal Anthropology of Late Antique Egypt, Michigan University, USA, 1994, p. 9 f.

Dioscorus was the important notary who drew up a great value of documentary texts of Aphrodite. Dioscorus's archive is considered as a source for historical knowledge shed a most brilliant light upon sixth-century Egypt in all its different aspects; see Alasdair A. Mac Donald & others, Learned Antiquity: Scholarship and Society in the Near East, the Greco-Roman World and the Early Medieval West. Groningn University. 2013. PP. 101, 115, 161. So the archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite -which is mentioned- shed the light on economy and society life though VI/VII century.

I

10.1 x 7.5 cm.

12 Jan. ind. 6

It is medium brown ostrakon, many letters are faded. It consists of 6 lines.

1- ⲧⲓⲃⲓ ⲓⲥ ⲓⲛⲃ(ⲓⲕⲧⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ) ⲥ'

2- ⲧⲟⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲁⲓⲱⲣⲓⲓⲥ ⲁⲫⲣⲟⲃⲓⲧⲏⲥ

3- ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲕ(ⲉⲥⲑⲉ) ⲧⲟⲓⲥ ⲃ ⲁⲡⲟⲗⲗⲱⲛⲟⲥ

Two Orders of Olive-Oil Delivery

- 4- τοῦ [[ο]] ἀντιγεοῦχ(οις) ἐλαίο\υ/ ξ(έστας)
5- τρεῖς, γί(νονται) ἐλ(αίου) ξ(έσται) γ μ(όνοι) Φοιβάμ-
6- μων στοῖχ(εῖ)

Abbreviations & correction:

- 1- L. ἰνδ: ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
2- L. ἐλαιουργ: ἐλαιουργ(οῖς), Ἀφροδ: Ἀφροδ(ίτης)
3- L. παρᾶσχ: παρᾶσχ(εσθε), Ἀπόλλ: Ἀπόλλ(ωνος)
4- L. τοῦ [[ο]] ἀντιγεοῦχ: τοῖς ἀντιγεοῦχ(οις), ἐλαίο^υ: ἐλαίο\υ/ ξ: ξ(έστας)
5- L. γί~: γί(νονται), ἐλ: ἐλ(αίου), ξ: ξ(έσται), μ: μ(όνοι)
6- L. στοῖχ~: στοῖχ(εῖ)

Translation:

(Cross) Tubi 17, indiction 6. To the olive-oil producers of Aphrodite; Deliver to 2 of the land-agents from Apollonopolis three *sextarii* of olive-oil, total 3 *sextarii* of olive-oil. Phoibammon agrees.

II

12.9 x 6.6 cm.

21 July, ind. 6

It is dark brown ostrakon. It consists of 8 lines.

- 1- ⲡ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲫ ⲕⲥ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ς
2- τοῖς ἐλαιουργ(οῖς) Ἀφρ[οδ](ίτης)
3- παρᾶσχ(εσθε) τοῖς ἐκδ(ίκοις) Ἀνταίο\υ/
4- (καὶ) Ἀπόλλωνος (καὶ) γ ἐκλήμπ(τορσι)
5- (καὶ) παιδ(αρίοις) γ ἐλαίο\υ/ ξέστ(ου) ἥμισ(υ)
6- γί(νεται) ἐλαίο\υ/ ξ(έστου) (ἥμισυ) ⲡ ⲡ
7- (2nd hand) ⲡ Φοιβάμμων
8- γοτ(άριος) ἐξέδ(ωκα)

Abbreviations & symbols:

- 1- L. ἰνδ: ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
2- L. ἐλαιουργ: ἐλαιουργ(οῖς), Ἀφρ[οδ]: Ἀφρ[οδ](ίτης)
3- L. παρᾶσχ: παρᾶσχ(εσθε), ἐκδ: ἐκδ(ίκοις), Ἀνταίο^υ: Ἀνταίο\υ/
4- L. ⲓ: καί, ς: καί, ἐκλήμπ: ἐκλήμπ(τορσι)
5- L. ⲓ: καί, παιδ~: παιδ(αρίοις), ἐλαίο^υ: ἐλαίο\υ/, ξέστ: ξέστ(ου), ἥμισ: ἥμισ(υ)
6- L. γί~: γί(νεται), ἐλαίο^υ: ἐλαίο\υ/, ξ: ξ(έστου), ⲓ: ἥμισυ
8- L. γοτ: γοτ(άριος), ἐξέδ: ἐξέδ(ωκα)

Translation:

(Cross) Epeiph 27, indiction 6. To the olive-oil producers of Aphrodite; Deliver to *defensores* of Antaeopolis and Apollinopolis, (their) 3 stenographes and 3 *paidaria*, half *sextarius* of olive-oil, ¹/₂ *sextarius* of olive-oil (two crosses). (I) Phoibammon, the notary have issued.

Commentary:

Overview and compared with archive of Gasco J. & Worp K. A. *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite:

Two Orders of Olive-Oil Delivery

1- Date: As it is mentioned; the texts begin with the staurogram text I. 1.1, text II. 1.1. 6, cf. SB. XX. 14558 and 14570; and then the date see texts I, II. 1. 1, cf. SB. XX. 14562. 1. 6, whereas the date comes at the middle of the text, and cf. O. Wilck. II. 1603. 1. 6, whereas it comes at the end of the text. It is noticed that text I. 1.1, the letter ζ in day's number is bigger than usual.

ινδ(ικτίωνος) ς: See texts I, II. 1. 1. This abbreviated form which ends at letter δ is the most common form in that archive, and cf. SB. XX. 14563. 1. 2 and 14565. 1. 1. It is noticed that the order of the date was: name of month, number of the day, the indiction then its number cf. SB. XX. 14544. 1. 2.

Indiction term originally meant a levy of foodstuffs for the imperial government or it was the main method of fiscal reckoning from the reign of Licinius on (AD 312). From 1 September 312 onward it was used to refer to a 15- year tax cycle. An indiction year ran from 1 September to 31 Augusts, where cereal crops were harvested in late May/early June, giving peasant farmers enough time to sell off their surplus for the money needed to pay their taxes by 1 September, see John H: Rosser, *Historical Dictionary of Byzantine*, 2nd edition. Published by Scarecrow Press; United Kingdom (2013), p. 247. About νέα ἰνδικτίων (new indiction) see Bagnall S. R. & Worp K. A., "Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt" 2nd ed. Brill. Leiden. Boston (2004), pp. 36 – 42.

2- Addressee: τοῖς ἐλαιουργ(οῖς) Ἀφροδ(ίτης): See texts I, II. 1. 2. ἐλαιουργ(οῖς): This abbreviated form which ends at letter γ is the most common form in that archive, cf. SB. XX. 14545. 1. 2, and 14563. 1. 3. Ἀφροδ(ίτης): It is found that the scribe abbreviated it by putting a vertical stroke over letter δ.

Ἀφρ[οδ](ίτης): Text II. 1. 2; there is erased space after ρ, it is wide enough for two letters [οδ] as the most parallels show. This abbreviated form which ends at letter δ is the common form in that archive, cf. SB. XX. 14548. 1. 2, 14555. 1. 3 and 14571. 1. 2.

The manufacture of olive-oil was a seasonal occupation, requiring a plant which could only be used for one or two months of the year. While, to be sure, it was at least not the universal custom for estate to make all their own oil. They occur as estate employees, issuing oil on the order of managers' e.g. O. Wilck. 1603 - 1605 (Unknown provenance; AD 323/ 642). See Hardy E.R., *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York (1931) p. 130 f. About the production process of oil see Forbes R. J., "Studies in Ancient Technology", Vol. III, Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, Printed in Netherlands. 1965. PP. 103, 106f.

3- Order's verb to delivery παράσχ(εσθε): See texts I, II. 1. 3. This verb and its abbreviated form are stable throughout the archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite see e.g. SB. XX. 14544. 1. 4, 14545. 1. 3.

4- Beneficiary (ies): ἀντιγεούχ(οις): See text I. 1. 3f. τοῖς β Ἀπόλλ(ωνος) τοῖς ἀντιγεούχ(οις); Beneficiary must be in dative case after παράσχ(εσθε), so the genitive singular article is corrected into dative plural article. At the beginning of ἀντιγεούχ(οις). It is found that the scribe wrongly wrote an oval o letter instead of α which made him to cancel it by adding a stroke over the canceled o then he wrote a clear α. And it is noticed that the o letter in the middle of ἀντιγεούχ(οις) is very big and it looks like right angled triangle, so 'Α letter at the beginning of Ἀπόλλ(ωνος) is open and bigger than usual.

Two Orders of Olive-Oil Delivery

The land-agents or estate managers in the Byzantine period landlord's agent is self explanatory, ἀντιγεοῦχος is commonly person of importance and he is classed among the officials e.g. BGU. I. 303, (Arsinoite; AD 586) l. 4f, Φλ(αουίοις) Στεφάνῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ τριβούνῳ καὶ ἀντιγεοῦχῳ, (to the most magnificent Stephanos, tribune and land-agent), see Hardy E.R., *The Large Estates*, Op. Cit. p. 80).

According to Trismegistos places: Ἀπόλλωνος ἡ μικρά; Ἀπόλλων μικρός, Apollonopolis Parva (Qus, Kous - Kus), Latin Vicus Apollonos – Chus, located on the east bank of the Nile 25° 56' N, 32° 46' E. <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/270>. It is attested throughout the documents, P. Mich. XIII. 670 (Aphrodito, Aphroditopolis; AD 527) l. 5 [ἀ]πὸ κώμ[ης Τα]νυαί[θεως νομοῦ] [Ἀπόλλων]ος Πόλεως Μικρᾶς (of the village of Tanyaithis in the nome of Apollonopolis Parva), see Preisigke, F *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden, mit Einschluss der Griechischen Inschriften. Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder, usw. Aus Agypten*, III. Berlin, 1925, P. 285.

ἐκδ(ίκοις) Ἀνταίου/ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος: See text II. l. 3 f, ἐκδ(ίκοις): This abbreviated form is the same at SB. XX. 14550. l. 4f. ἐκδικός is as a legal representative P. Mich. VIII. 507, 4 - 8 (Karanis; II/III AD) ἐρωτῶ σε εἰ δυνασθῆς πέμψον μοι ἓνα ἐξ ὑμῶν ὅτι γὰρ χαίρειν ἔχω ἵνα ἐκδικός μοι γίνηται, ἐπὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι γυνῇ χωρὶς ἐκδίκου δικάσασθαι (I ask you, if you can, send me one of your group, since I need him to be my legal representative, for a woman is not permitted to engage in a lawsuit without a legal representative). ἐκδικός was an official of central government is used as Greek equivalent for the Latin *defensor civitatis* early in the fourth century, see P. Lips. I. 34 (Hermopolis; AD 375) l. 1, Ζ[ηναγ]έννης ὁ δηφίνσωρ (Zenagenes, the *defensor*), P. Münch. III. 19 (Hermopolite; AD 378) l. 1, ἔκδικος Ἑρ[μου]πολίτο[υ] (the *defensor* of Hermopolite), P. Herm. 19 (Unknown provenance; AD 392) l. 4, ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου δηφίνσωρος (through the most illustrious *defensor*). These variant uses of the Greek and the Latin title for the office suggest certain fluidity in terminology at the local level. In general, in the fifth century ἐκδικός seems to replace σύνδικος as a term for office in Egypt; although δηφίνσωρ appears once again, see P. Harr. I. 135 (Unknown provenance; V AD) l. 8, δηφίνσωρ κύριε (oh *defensor*, the master), see Robert M. Frakes, *Contra Potentium Iniurias: The Defensor Civitatis and Late Roman Justice*, München: Beck. 2001. P. 179.

ἐκλήμπ(τορσι): See text II. l. 4. cf. abbreviated form at SB. XX. 14550. l. 5. This title already known is the secretary-stenographers or exceptores, contractor of works, tax-collector. ἐκλήπτωρ later ἐκλήμπτωρ, O. Stras. I. 786 (Thebes; II-I BC) l. 1f, Ποσειδώνιος Παν[ί]σκῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ ἐκλήμπτορσι (from Poseidon to Paniskos and Ammonios, the contractors), P. Fay. 58. (Theadelphia; II AD) ll. 4 - 8, διέγραψεν Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Πτολε(μαίῳ) καὶ τοῖς λοι(ποῖς) ἐκλήμπ(τορσι) κοπ(ῆς) καὶ τριχ(δός) καὶ χειροναξίου (paid to Ammonius and Ptolemaeus and the rest of the farmers of the tax on cutting, hair and trade), see also P. Rain. Cent. 81(Hermoupolis Magna; VI /VII) ll. 2, 6.

According to Trismegistos places: Ἀνταίου Πόλις, Antaiopolis (Qaw el-Kebir), Latin Anteu, located on the eastern Nile bank (26° 54' N, 31 °31' E). <http://www.trismegistos.org/place/270>. It is attested throughout the documents, P. Cair. Masp. I. 67003 (Aphrodito, Aphroditopolis?; AD 567) l. 25 τῷ παγάρχη τῆς Ἀνταίου(υ), (to magister pagi of Antaiopolis), see Preisigke, F *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Op. Cit.* P. 284.

Two Orders of Olive-Oil Delivery

παιδ(αρίοις): See text II. 1. 4, SB. XX. 14550. 1. 5. This abbreviated form are stable throughout the archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite e.g. SB. XX. 14549. 1. 2, παιδάρια as house slaves is one of general terms for slaves in Egypt, see P. Bad. IV. 97 (Unknown provenance; AD 642?) 1. 5, τοῖς παιδαρ(ίοις) τοῦ οἴκου (to the slaves of the house). These slaves were employed on a range of contracts and most employees of this description are *meizoteroi* (headmen) or ex- *meizoteroi*; The Apion *paidaria* and their families received food allowances whose amount varied P. Princ. II. 96. Col. I (Oxyrhynchus; AD 551 - 2/ 566 - 7) ll. 1 - 4, † βρέ(ουιον) ὀψωνίων παιδαρ(ίων) Αἰγυπτ(ίων) καὶ γυναικ(ῶν) καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐπὶ τῆς ιε ἰνδ(ικτίονος), οὕτως βρέ(ουιον) ὀψωνίων παιδαρ(ίων) Αἰγυπτ(ίων)· Φιλοξένω μειζοτέρ(ω) σίτου κ(αγκέλλω) (ἀρτάβας) ιβ, (Cross) list of the wages of the Egyptian slaves, women and others in the 15th indiction, as follows; List of the wages paid to the Egyptian slaves, as follows, paid to; Philoxenos, headman, 12 artabas of wheat by the *cancellus* measure), see Jairus Banaji, "A Agrarian change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour and Aristocratic Dominance" Oxford University Press, United State, 2002, pp. 183, 186.

There are variable beneficiaries are mentioned throughout the archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite e.g. βουκελλαρίοι (*bucellarii*) SB. XX. 14562. 1. 5. στρατιώται (*soldiers*) SB. XX. 14558. 1. 2.

5- Quantity: See text I, 1. 4f, ἐλαίο\υ/ ξ(έστας) τρεῖς, γί(νονται) ἐλ(αίου) ξ(έσται) γ μ(όνοι), the quantity of the olive-oil is only 3 *sextarii*. It is noticed that the scribe wrote letter γ as total amount bigger than usual. μ(όνοι): this abbreviated form is common, see SB. XX. 14544. 1. 6, cf. SB. XX. 14550. 1. 6. Text II, 1. 5, the quantity of the olive-oil is half *sextarius*. Since the quantity throughout that archive is ranging between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ *sextarii* see SB. XX. 14544. 1. 6, SB. XX. 14562. ll. 3ff.

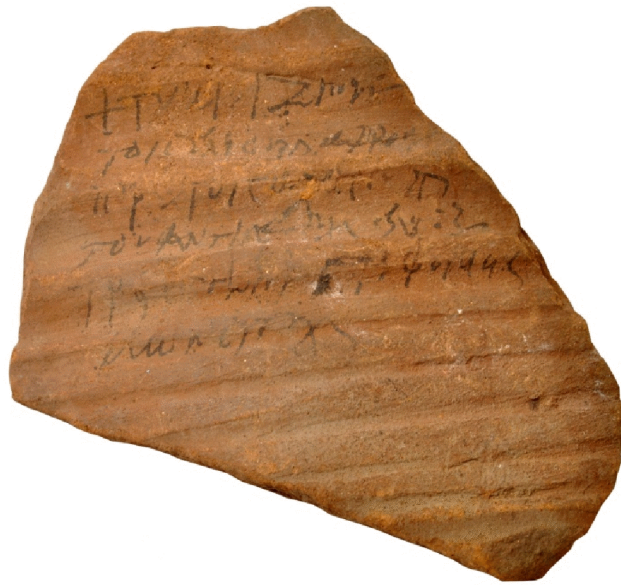
6- Issuers or transmitter: See text I, 1. 5f, Φοιβάμμων στοιχ(εῖ). Phoibammon, signed about four receipts of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite, he is the author of the sixth indiction order to supply Anonymous, see SB. XX. 14551. 1. 7, for the seventh indiction order to supply *paidarioi*, perhaps of an unknown *kurios*, see SB. XX. 14556. 1. 4. G. R. Ruffini, A Prosopography of Byzantine Aphrodito, American Studies in Papyrology. Vol. 50, Editor: James G. Keenan. Durham. 2011. P. 450.

Φοιβάμμων γοτ(άριος) ἐξέδ(ωκα) : See text II, 1. 5 f. Φοιβάμμων: Phoibammon, the notary is the author of a fifth indiction order to the archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite to supply people from Apollinopolis e.g. SB. XX. 14545. 1. 7, also of a sixth indiction to supply *summachoi*, see SB. XX. 14552. 1. 8f, Giovanni Roberto Ruffini, "A Prosopography. Op. Cit", p. 449f. γοτ(άριος): This abbreviated form is stable throughout that archive, see SB. XX. 14545. 1. 7, SB. XX. 14547. 1. 5f.

στοιχ(εῖ): See text I, 1. 6. This abbreviated form of the signature verb which ends at letter χ is the most common form in the archive of *elaiourgoi* of Aphrodite, cf. SB. XX. 14553. 1. 6. ἐξέδ(ωκα): See text II. 1. 8. These verbs are two of three verbs used in that archive. σεσημεί(ωμαι) occurs only one time, see SB. XX. 14558.

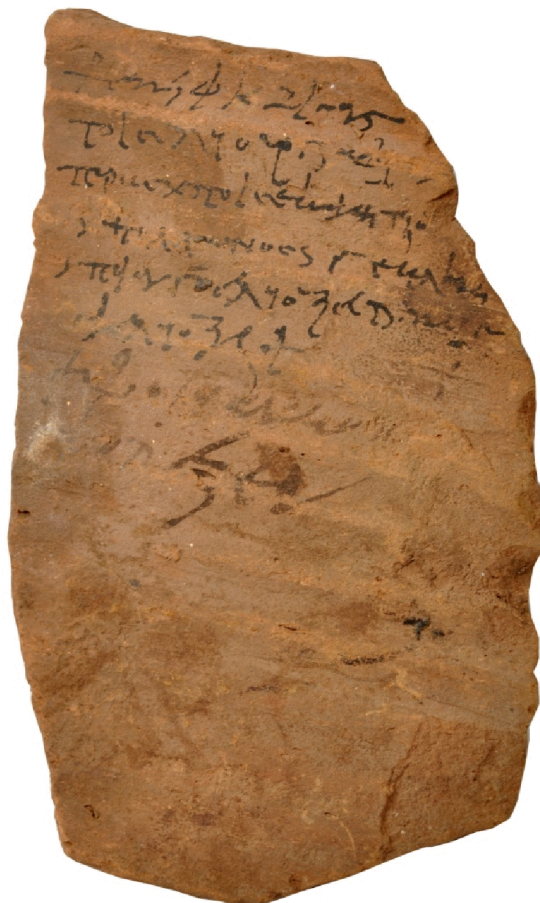
Seham Diab Almasry Aish

Plate I



(Aphrodite; 12 Jan.ind. 6 VI/ VII)

Plate II



(Aphrodite; 21 July.ind. 6 VI/ VII)