

THE
BULLETIN
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY
OF
PAPYROLOGISTS



Volume 50
ISSN 0003-1186
E-ISSN 1938-6958

2013

The current editorial address for the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* is:

Peter van Minnen
Department of Classics
University of Cincinnati
410 Blegen Library
Cincinnati, OH 45221-0226
USA
peter.vanminnen@uc.edu

The editors invite submissions not only from North-American and other members of the Society but also from non-members throughout the world; contributions may be written in English, French, German, or Italian. Manuscripts submitted for publication should be sent to the editor at the address above. Submissions can be sent as an e-mail attachment (.doc and .pdf) with little or no formatting. We also ask contributors to provide a brief abstract of their article for inclusion in *L'Année philologique*, and to secure permission for any illustration they submit for publication.

The editors ask contributors to observe the stylesheet available at <http://papyrology.org/index.php/guidelines>. When reading proof, contributors should limit themselves to correcting typographical errors. Revisions and additions should be avoided; if necessary, they will be made at the author's expense. The primary author(s) of contributions published in *BASP* will receive a copy of the pdf used for publication.

Back issues are available online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/b/basp>.

Copies of books for review can be sent to:

Arthur Verhoogt
Department of Classical Studies
University of Michigan
2160 Angell Hall
435 S. State Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1003

John Wallrodt, Taylor Coughlan, and Kyle Helms provided assistance with the production of this volume.

“Goldfinger” on a Leiden Mummy Label?

Raquel Martín Hernández *UCM, Madrid* and
Klaas A. Worp *Leiden University*

Abstract

Discussion of the mummy label SB 14.11993 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 643.

In this article we will revisit the text of a mummy label from the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.¹ The label was purchased in 1828 and originated from the collection of the diplomat Giovanni d’Anastasi. It is exhibited in the permanent collection of the Museum, carrying the inventory number AH 159.² It has the shape of a *tabula ansata*, measuring 7.5 (H.) x 24.6 (W.) x 0.5 (T.) cm,³ and it features four lines of incised text, highlighted with black ink and palaeographically datable to the final years of the third or the early fourth century CE.⁴ At the beginning of the second line, moreover, appears a word written in red ink that has not been incised, and traces of red ink appear on the left side of the tablet. Unfortunately, there is no reliable information about the label’s provenance; given our present information about

¹ This article is part of a wider project on funerary practice in Egypt and mummy labels, in collaboration with the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, financed by the Spanish Ministry of Research (ACI-PRO-2011-1132). Martín would like to thank all the colleagues at the Leiden Papyrological Institute for helping her during her stay, especially Cisca Hoogendijk, Brian Muhs, Marja Bakker, and Alette Bakkers. Worp records with gratitude his discussion of the name Χρυσοχέριος with D. Hagedorn. They thank Sofía Torallas Tovar for her comments on an early draft of this paper, and Carolina López-Ruiz and the anonymous *BASP* referees for polishing the English and their useful comments.

² See the website <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=13970>.

³ P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Four Mummy labels in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden,” *OMRO* 55 (1974) 221. C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monumens [sic] égyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden 1840) 305, X 2, gives different dimensions: H. 0.075, W. 0.25.

⁴ On its date, see B. Boyaval, “Notes de papyrologie,” *ConnHell* 38 (1989) 75-76 (*BL* 9.278) and Sijpesteijn (n. 3) 221.

other texts from the d'Anastasi collection⁵ one may speculate in particular about the regions of Abydos, Memphis/Sakkara, or the Theban region as the provenance of this mummy label, but there is no certainty that only these three regions are acceptable candidates.

Since 1842, this label has been studied in various publications. It was first edited by C. Leemans.⁶ In his edition, he presents the following reading, in which the first word in the second line, written in red ink, is not transcribed: Σαραπίων Ἑρμαῖσκου Χρυσσοχερίου, || Ἐξηγητεῶν ἔναρχος, || Ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν || νε'.

In 1853 the label was edited again in *CIG* 3.4976c (*addenda et corrigenda*). This version presents a different reading of the text which was slightly changed in *SB* 5.8694, substituting a dot underneath for the brackets around the ν of the name Χρυσσογένης. Both of these readings avoid again the painted word in red ink at the beginning of the second line.

CIG 3.4976c

Σαραπίων Ἑρμαῖσκου Χρυσσογέ[ν]ου
ἐξηγητεῶν ἔναρχος
ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν νε

SB 5.8694

Σαραπίων Ἑρμαῖσκου Χρυσσογένου
ἐξηγητεῶν ἔναρχος,
ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν
νε

Based on this later reading, the name Χρυσσογένης was included in the dictionaries of personal names.⁷

In 1875 Le Blant presented the same reading offered already by Leemans with the following translation: “Sérapion, fils d’Hermaïscos Chrysocherios, exerçant les fonctions d’exégète, est mort [âgé] de cinquante-cinq ans.”⁸

⁵ For this collection, see http://www.trismegistos.org/coll/collref_list.php?tm=540&partner=all.

⁶ C. Leemans, *Animadversiones in Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi inscriptiones Graecas et Latinas* (Lugduni Batavorum 1842) 28. The editor stated in a previous publication that the text was written in three lines; see Leemans (n. 3) 305, X 2: “2. Bois. Tessère Grecque avec une inscription en 3 lignes, relative à Sarapion, le fils d’Hermaïscos Chrysocherius, member du college des interprètes, décédé à l’âge de 55 ans.”

⁷ F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienchildern usw.) Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg 1922), and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milano 1967).

⁸ E. Le Blant, “Tablai Égyptiennes à Inscriptions grecques,” *RA* 29 (1875) 304, n. 81. The edition is only a transcription in capital letters of the Greek text.

Nearly a hundred years later, all these different editions, translations, and commentaries were studied by Sijpesteijn who edited the text including for the first time the first word of the second line, written in red ink.⁹ He interprets the third name on the first line as the genitive form of a personal name Χρυσοχέριος.¹⁰ He understood the name not as a second name of Hermaiskos, like Leemans and Le Blant had done, but as the name of the grandfather of Sarapion.¹¹ He thus offers the following translation of the text: “Sarapion, son of Hermaiskos, grandson of Chrysocherios. He died at 55 years of age during his tenure of office as an *exegetes*.”

In 1983 the edition by Sijpesteijn was reproduced in *SB* 14.11993 as follows:

Σαραπίων Ἑρμαισκοῦ Χρυσοχερίου
 [[ἔναρχος]] ἐξηγητεύων ἔναρχος
 ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν
ve

Finally, B. Boyaval included this edition in his corpus of mummy labels.¹²

Here we offer an alternative interpretation for χρυσοχέριος and a new reading for the second line. The text we propose runs as follows:

Σαραπίων Ἑρμαισκοῦ χρυσοχερίου	Sarapion, son of Hermaiskos “goldfinger”
[[ἔναρχος]] ἐξηγητεύων ἔνα[[ρ]]γχος	holding the office of <i>exegetes</i> lately
ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν	died at the age of
<u>ve</u>	55.

1 χρυσοχερίου: This is the genitive form of a noun χρυσοχέριος or χρυσοχέριος, not yet attested in papyrus documents or in Greek literature.¹³ A

⁹ Sijpesteijn (n. 3).

¹⁰ Or, as he proposes alternatively, Χρυσοχερίας.

¹¹ For the absence of the article τοῦ before papponymica in mummy labels from Panopolis, see, e.g., W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptische und Griechische Eigennamen aus Mummenetiketten der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1901), nrs. 2, 25, 40, 49, 55. Moreover, as D. Hagedorn notes, in Greek ostraka from the Theban area the absence of the article τοῦ before a papponymic seems quite normal. Less relevant for the presence / absence of the article are the (now slightly antiquated) studies by F. Eakin, “The Greek Article in First and Second Century Papyri,” *AJP* 37 (1916) 333-340, esp. 336-338, and C.W.E. Miller, “Note on the Use of the Article before the Genitive of the Father’s Name in Greek Papyri,” *AJP* 37 (1916) 341-348. The matter might profit from a reinvestigation.

¹² *C.Étiq.Mom.* 643 = TM 30104.

¹³ For an alternation of -χεριος/-χειριος, see Hdn. Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας, 3.2, p. 588. One may also compare St.Byz. *Ethnika* 609, where the name of the territory appears as

masculine personal name Χρυσοχέρης is attested only in late literature,¹⁴ and the same goes for the personal name Χρυσόχειρ.¹⁵ The latter is also attested in Greek literature as a title meaning “the one with gold on his hands,” “knight,” since this apparently refers to rings.¹⁶

The noun χρυσοχέριος/-χείριος may be explained as a further thematic development, through some form of adjectivization (suffix *-γος*), from the compound noun χρυσόχειρ, or as a new compound of the noun χρυσός and the adjective χείριος.¹⁷ The meaning of both formations is the same: “the one with golden hands / gold on his hands.”

In the various editions of this mummy label χρυσοχέριος has been interpreted as (1) the second name (alias) of Hermaïskos,¹⁸ or as (2) the name of Sarapion’s grandfather.¹⁹

Now we observe that in mummy labels it is not exceptional to find alias-names. While usually these are introduced by expressions like ἐπικαλούμενος, “also called,” or ὁ καί, “too,”²⁰ they sometimes occur without any indication and without the article.²¹

As to the second option, it should be kept in mind that often enough in our documents an article is absent before a papyponymic, while in other documents it does appear in the same position (cf. above, n. 10).

Ταύχερα / Ταύχειρα, the *ethnikon* connected with it as Ταυχέριος / Ταυχείριος.

¹⁴ In the accusative in Thphn. *Chron.*, p. 468. The name is considered an eponym in Phot. *Epist.* 134 and *Contra Manichaeos*, 173.

¹⁵ Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus*, Josephus Genesius, *Βασιλείαι*, or Joannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*. The name Χρυσοχέρης – either derived from Χρυσοχέριος, with the *omicron* lost (see J. A. Berenguer-Sánchez and J. Rodríguez Somolinos, “Sur la flexion nominale en *-ις*, *-ιϛ*,” in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* [Vienna 2007]), or a corruption for Χρυσοχέρης – is also attested, see Petrus, *Historia utilis et refutatio Manichaeorum vel Paulicianorum* 67.

¹⁶ As explained in the *scholium* to Luc. *Tim.* 20: ἢ τοῖς δακτυλίοις περιαιυαζόμενοι τοῖς χρυσοῖς ἢ δι’ εὐπορίαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν χειροπληθῶς τὸν χρυσοῦν διασπείροντες.

¹⁷ A compound noun with a second element in *-χαίριος* (cf. Lat. *Eucherius*) seems unlikely.

¹⁸ By Leemans (n. 6) and Le Blant (n. 8). On the absence of an introduction of the alias name in question, cf. below.

¹⁹ By Sijpesteijn (n. 3).

²⁰ E.g. SB 1.1197 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 1970; SB 1.2277 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 2030; SB 1.4968 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 362; SB 1.5416 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 435.

²¹ See, e.g., SB 1.1204 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 112 and SB 1.5441 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 1730. On the nickname “the sparrow” and his family, see T. Derda, “Στρουθός, *pdđ*, an Example of a Bilingual Nickname: Reconsideration of SB I 5441”, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 187-190.

Next to these two options we think it is also possible to understand this as a nickname meaning “goldhand” or even “goldfinger” (*pars pro toto*). Such a nickname could refer to a skilful person (an outstanding craftsman or – metaphorically – someone with an exceptional ability to make money).²² In general, mummy labels often present the profession of the deceased or of his or her father (and often enough *without* the article) in the same way as in our mummy label.²³

In sum, it is quite possible that χρυσοχέριος/-χέριος can be taken as a nickname of Ἐρμαίσκος, **based on his excellent qualities. In the final end, however, we feel unable to pronounce a clear preference for any of the three options.**

2 [[ἔναγχος]]: as stated already above, the first word of the second line is only written in red ink and not incised. We think that the text of the mummy label was first drafted by the scribe with red ink, then incised and filled with black ink afterwards. This procedure is found in other mummy labels as well.²⁴

A close reading of this word on the photo of the wooden tablet reveals that even though the ink is faded, the letter before the χ resembles a γ rather than a ρ, as read thus far.

The Greek term ἔναγχος, “lately, recently,” is not yet attested in mummy labels, and at first sight two interpretations seem possible in our text:

²² In the same way as some other nicknames composed with χρυσο- like χρυσόστομος, the epithet of orators. A parallel compound / nickname based upon two words, one indicating a material and the other a part of the human body, and related to a profession, is σκυτοβραχίων, “the one with a leather arm.” Suda s.v. Διονύσιος Μυτιληναῖος (Δ 1175) says that he was nicknamed σκυτοβραχίων and also σκυτεύς, “shoemaker.”

²³ For example SB 1.1191 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 105: Ματρῶνα / γυνὴ Ἀπολλωνίου ἰατρ(οῦ), “Matrona, wife of Apollonios the physician”; SB 1.3439 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 198: Βῆσις θυγάτηρ Πανίσκου γεωμέτρου, “Besis, daughter of Paniskos the geometer” (in this mummy label the recto is written in black ink and the verso, featuring the same text, in red ink); SB 1.4218 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 353: Ψενθατρῆτος / μητρὸς Σενπε/τεβήκιος, θρυσ/π<ώ>λης (*ed.princ.*: Θρυσ/παίης), “(Body of) Psenthatres whose mother was Senpetebekis, the reed seller”; SB 1.4387 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 361: Πανισκεῦτος /κουρέως σῆμα, “The mummy of Paniskeus, the barber”; SB 1.4970 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 2045: Μίκκα/λος Διδ/ύμου ναυπηγός / Πανῶ(ν πόλεως), “Mikkalos, son of Didymos, the shipbuilder of Panopolis” (note that the *Sammelbuch* editor inserts a full stop after ναυπηγός, resolving only Πανῶ(ν)).

²⁴ J. Quaegebeur, “Mummy labels: An Orientation,” in E. Boswinkel and P.W. Pestman (eds.), *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilingues* (Leiden 1978) 239 states: “Some inscriptions were cut after the signs or letters had been first drawn in ink.” See also B. Boyaval, “Le transport des momies et ses problèmes,” in F. Hinard (ed.), *La mort au quotidien dans le monde romain* (Paris 1995) 112.

(1) the adverb ἔναγχος (in itself looking like a regular Greek adjective ending in -ος) is connected with the office ἐξηγητεύων: “lately holding the office of *exegetes*.”²⁵ In the papyri it appears, when modifying a participle, a substantivized participle.²⁶

(2) The adverb ἔναγχος is to be taken in connection with the verb ἐτελεύτησεν and must be understood as “he died recently at the age of 55.” Phrasings stressing a premature or, at least, an unexpected death are attested in mummy labels. Likewise, expressions modifying the precise moment in which the deceased died occur,²⁷ but to date the adverb ἔναγχος has never been used. While the first option cannot be ruled out, the second option is marginally preferable in view of the new reading of the third word on this line. In our rendering of the text we have deemed it wise to leave the matter open as much as possible by taking ἔναγχος *apo koinou* with both ἐξηγητεύων and ἐτελεύτησεν.

As regards our reading ἔνα[ρ]γχος, on top of the word’s fourth letter the photo shows an extra stroke, suggesting a scribal correction. The person who incised the text into the wood produced a ρ instead of a γ probably because the use of ἔναρχος in connection with ἐξηγητής was more familiar than the use of the adverb ἔναγχος.²⁸ When he noticed the mistake, probably because of the previous draft, he incised a horizontal stroke on top of the ρ, leaving its loop untouched.

A reading ἔναγχος in this position, therefore, makes the first inked draft agree with the final incised version, and maintains a logical syntax for the text.

²⁵ For the office of *exegetes* see D. Hagedorn, “Prosopographie der Exegeten der Städte und Metropolen Ägyptens,” *PHamb.* 4, pp. 217–271. This mummy label is his text nr. 259.

²⁶ E.g. *PLond.* 2.198, *P.Thmouis* 1, and *PLond.* 5.1708.

²⁷ E.g. *SB* 1.2632 + *T. Möller* 23 = *C.Étiq.Mom.* 196: Θμωσιῶτος Σανσνώτος Ψεντῶτος / ἐβίωσεν ἐτῶν κ πλήρης ἕως Χοι(άκ), “(Body of) Thmosios, daughter of Sansnos, son of Psentphos. She lived 20 years in full until Choiak.”

²⁸ The problematic use of ἔναρχος in this position was noted by Sijpesteijn (n. 3) 222: “the combination of ἐξηγητεύων and ἔναρχος, and the order in which these words are used (in this connection it totally escapes me why ‘ἔναρχος’ has been written with ink before ‘ἐξηγητεύων’ but afterwards not incised).” ἔναρχος in connection with the charge appears in, e.g., *PMil.* 1.2.63; *PColl.Youtie* 1.28; *PMil.Vog.* 4.221; *PRyl.* 2.120, *POxy.* 31.2584. The normal use of ἔναρχος with the charge ἐξηγητής (but never with the present active participle), and the clear ρ, must have influenced the editions of the mummy label.

“Goldfinger” on a Leiden Mummy Label? <i>Raquel Martín Hernández and Klaas A. Worp</i>	255
<i>Chrysos Bourdonon: SB 16.12828 Revisited</i> <i>Roger S. Bagnall and Klaas A. Worp</i>	261
Natural Resources in Roman Egypt: Extraction, Transport, and Administration <i>Colin Adams</i>	265
Notes on Papyri	283
Review Article	
Sur un nouveau manuel de paléographie des papyrus documentaires grecs <i>Jean-Luc Fournet</i>	287
Reviews	
Philodemus, <i>On Death</i> , ed. W. B. Henry (Voula Tsouna)	301
L. Popko, N. Quenouille, and M. Rücker (eds.), <i>Von Sklaven, Pächtern und Politikern</i> (Peter van Minnen)	309
V. Bartoletti, G. Bastianini, G. Messeri, F. Montanari, and R. Pintaudi, <i>Papiri greci e latini 15</i> (Maryline Parca)	311
H. Cadell, W. Clarysse, and K. Robic, <i>Papyrus de la Sorbonne</i> (Peter van Minnen)	315
J. Bazant, H. Harrauer, and R. Pintaudi (eds.), “Papyrologica III,” <i>Eirene</i> 46 (Peter van Minnen)	319
S. Gaffino Moeri, S. Gällnö, N. Poget, and P. Schubert, <i>Les Papyrus de Genève 4</i> (Peter van Minnen)	323
R. Ast, <i>Late Antique Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</i> (Peter van Minnen)	327
G. Poethke, S. Prignitz, and V. Valske, <i>Das Aktenbuch des Aurelios Philammon</i> (Peter van Minnen)	331
J.H.F. Dijkstra, <i>Syene I</i> (Sven P. Vleeming)	335
T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (eds.), <i>The Language of the Papyri</i> (Peter van Minnen)	339
M. Vierros, <i>Bilingual Notaries in Hellenistic Egypt</i> (Coulter George)	343
C. Armoni, <i>Studien zur Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Ägypten</i> (Andrew Monson)	349
A.T. Wilburn, <i>Materia Magica</i> (Joseph E. Sanzo)	353
Books Received	359
American Studies in Papyrology	361

Contents

<i>P.Oxy. 4.755 descr. – a Homeric Papyrus at Princeton (Iliad 5.130-174)</i> <i>Andrzej Mirończuk</i>	7
Greek von Scherling Papyri in Leiden <i>Klaas A. Worp</i>	15
Zwei Aufträge zur Ausstellung von Kopfsteuerquittungen <i>Dieter Hagedorn</i>	39
<i>Penthemeros</i> Certificates from the Granary C123, Karanis <i>W. Graham Claytor</i>	49
A Schedule of Contracts and a Private Letter: <i>P.Fay.</i> 344 Century CE <i>W. Graham Claytor</i>	77
<i>P.Tebt.</i> 2.562: Conclusion of a Report of Proceedings <i>Taylor Coughlan</i>	123
A Loan of Wheat <i>Daniel Ullucci</i>	129
Guarding Grapes in Roman Egypt (P.Mich. inv. 438) <i>Kyle Helms</i>	135
The <i>Mysterion</i> of P.Mich. inv. 4061 <i>C. Michael Sampson</i>	145
P.Corn. inv. 127: Letter Seeking Capture and Rendition of Runaway ταρσικάριοι <i>Ryan E. McConnell</i>	153
Receipt from Alexandros to Anoubion <i>C. Michael Sampson</i>	165
A Coptic Letter Referring to the Bishop of Babylon <i>Jennifer Westerfeld</i>	171
A Bawit Fragment in Phoenix <i>Leslie S.B. MacCoull</i>	183
Deux papyrus coptes et une inscription grecque du Monastère Blanc <i>Alain Delattre</i>	187
Attestations of ἡ κοινή in <i>BKT</i> 10.4 (Hom. <i>Od.</i> 15.531-553 with marginal annotations) <i>Michael Haslam</i>	203
The Earliest Corrections in Codex Sinaiticus: A Test Case from the Gospel of Mark <i>Peter Malik</i>	207