

Habent sua fata fragmenta*: “Donum Borgianum”

The present papyrus has got two “*fata*”. The first one followed the “*fatum*” of the well-known *Charta Borgiana* (= *CB*) from the Egyptian desert to Rome to be a part of the Egyptian collection of Cardinal Stefano Borgia¹. The second one has two points of view. Even though in the very beginning the fragment shared — among the other preserved fragments of *CB* — the honour that it could be a key to reveal the mysteries of the ancient world, at the very end — after the edition by the Danish Professor Niels (in the edition, Nikolas) I. Schow — it did not share the disappointment that it was just a list of workers of Ptolemais Hormou, who had to work for five days at the dykes of Tebtynis. This fragment was not known to Nikolas Schow and so not published then, because it was given as a personal present of Cardinal Stefano Borgia to a Portuguese dignitary who later brought it to the Library of the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, where it is kept now (inv. MS A[zul] 1725). This small piece of papyrus has got another “*fatum*”. It is the first papyrus after the discovery of the papyri in the 18th century which is seemed to be a “*donum*”, a “*donum Borgianum*”. This “*donum*” should have been made to the Portuguese dignitary sometime between the acquisition of *CB* in Rome in 1778 or a little later and 1787 when Nikolas Schow arrived in Rome², where in the next year he published the edition (now called *P.Schow* = *SB* I 5124).

CB consists of a roll which preserves 12.5 columns of 30–34 lines each. The width of the columns differs. In addition, twenty-two fragments of different sizes are preserved. The present fragment joins at the top left of the first fragment of *CB*³.

The scribe of *CB* had a few characteristic ways to write abbreviations and a distinctive style of writing, and all could be recognized in the present papyrus: e. g. the way the words ἀπ(άτωρ) and μη(τρός) are abbreviated as ἀπ̄ and † respectively⁴. When the scribe had to continue an entry to the following line, he wrote it in εἴσθεσις, and if he had to continue to a third line, he began writing further to the right in εἴσθεσις; cf. col. II, 6–8. The name Taphorsais, attested mainly in the genitive as the name of the mother of many workers, is written with a trema on iota, i.e. Ταφορσαῖτος.

* Cf. Terentianus 1286 *habent sua fata libelli*.

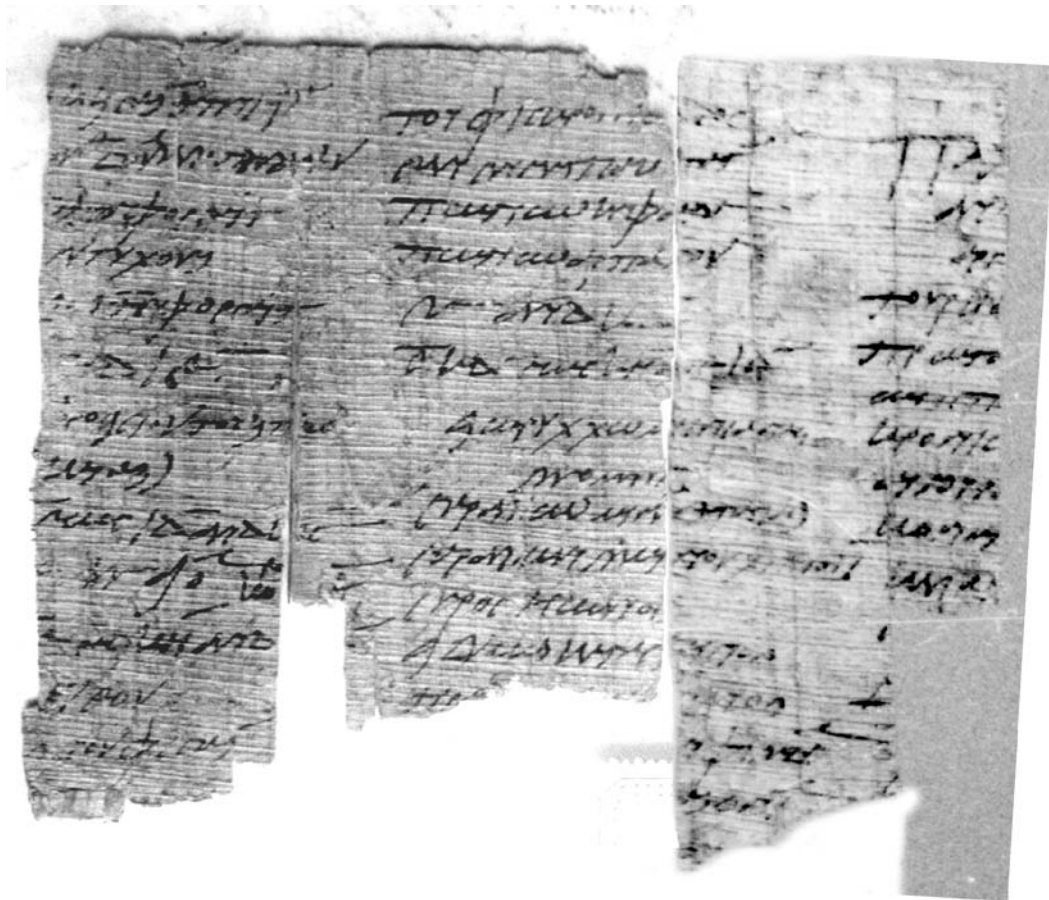
¹ For the story of the *Charta Borgiana*, now kept in Museum Nazionale di Napoli see A. Martin, *En marge de la Charta Borgiana*, *CdE* 75 (2000) 118–125, esp. 118–119, where information on the re-editions, corrections, latest bibliography can be found. Photographs of the *Charta Borgiana* can be found in I. Gallo, *Avviamento alla papirologia Greco-latina*, Napoli 1983, between 15–17 and M. Capasso, *La nascita della papirologia: La Charta Borgiana dal Museo di Velletri al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, *AFLN* 29 (1986–1987), between 160–161. Here, references are made to the *specimina* at the end of *ed. princ.* (see n. 3 below). I would like to thank Stefano De Caro, Director of Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta, who gave me the permission to publish only in this article the photograph of fr. I of *CB* and the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, through its Secretary-General Prof. Doutor Justino Mendes de Almeida, who gave me the permission to work and publish this papyrus along with its photograph. In addition, Adel Sidarus, who gave me all the available pieces of information on the latter papyrus fragment’s story and K. A. Worp for his critical notes on certain points of the papyrus.

² See Capasso, *La Charta* (n. 1), 151–168 esp. 152, 156–159.

³ For *Fragmentum I* see in *ed. princ.*: *Textus graecus* (without *latina versio*), p. 36; *adnotatio critica*, pp. 100–101; *specimina fragmentorum eiusdem chartae papyraceae*, *Fragm. I col. I lin. 6(–8) / ibid. col. II lin. 1(–4)* in *Tab. VI*.

⁴ For the abbreviation ἀπ(άτωρ) see *ed. princ.*, pp. 45–46, n. *ad lin.* 11, p. 127 and for (μη)τρός see *ed. princ.*, p. 45, n. *ad lin.* 5, pp. 130–131 and *Specimina chartae papyraceae Musei Borgiani Velitris*, *Tab. III–VI*.

The text reads now as follows:



Col. I = MS A[zul] 1725, col. i

- 1 Πακ]ῆβκικς ἀπ(άτωρ) μη(τρὸς) Τανεῦτ(ος)
Κολλ]οῦθ(ος) δοῦλ(ος) Ἄπολ() υ
- NN] ἀπ(άτωρ) μη(τρὸς) Ταφορσαίτ(ος)
NN] Εὐτύχους
- 5 NN] ἀπ(άτωρ) Ταφορσαίτ(ος)
γί(νονται) ἄ]νδ(ρες) ιε⁻
διὰ Ἄ]φροδισίου Τουκιπ[] ..
] κατασπ(ορέως)
- ι] ἔως ιδ⁻ ἀνδ(ρες) ς[΄]
- 10] υγφολ() κο() []
κδ] ἔως κη⁻ ἀνδ(ρες) [κδ]⁻
Κολλ]οῦθου
Ἄρσ]ενοῦφικς ἀπ(άτωρ)
μη(τρὸς)] traces of ink

1 απ⁻ + Τανευ^τ 2 Κολλ]ου^θ δου^λ 3 απ⁻ + Ταφορσαίτ 5 απ⁻ Ταφορσαίτ 6 ανδ ιε⁻ 8 κατασπ)
9 ι] εως ιδ⁻ ανδ 10 φο^λ 11 κδ] εως κη⁻ ανδ [κδ]⁻ 13 απ⁻

Col. II = MS A[zul] 1725, col. ii 1–13 + SB I 5124, Fr. I, col. i

Textus graecus ed. princ.

1	Τοῦφισ Κρονίωγος Σανσνεῦς Πακύσεως Πωλίων Κεφαλᾶ Πωλίων Ἀρπάλου	σος ατ λα λου
5	γί(νονται) ἄνδ(ρες) κδ ⁻ ὁ(μοίως) κδ ⁻ ἕως κη ⁻ ἄνδρες ιδ ⁻ διώρυχ(ος) Χωμνιακῆς λεγομένης Σαραπίων Μιτύσιος μη(τρὸς) Τασιαί(πιος ?)	vacat νδρες ιδ ⁻ ηνιακης – not counted – μητρος Τασιασ νου, χηνοβ
10	Σαραπίων Γεμίνου χηνοβ() Σῶρος Ἡρωνος Δίδυμος Καλασι...σίου Ἡρα[.....] νος [.....]υφισ ἀδελ(φός)	vacat αισιος νος ν φιλαδελφος
15	[.....] ὀνηλ(άτης)	απατωρ, ονηλατης

5 γι⁻ ανδ κδ⁻ 6 ο⁻ κδ⁻ εως κη⁻ ανδ ιδ⁻ 7 διωρυχ 9 + Τασιαι 10 χηνοβ⁻ 14 αδελ^λ 15 ονηλ^λ

Col. III = SB I 5124, Fr. I, col. ii

1	Παχ[ἄνδ[(ρες) διώρυχ(ος) Ἀργ[αίτιδος Τούρβ[ων
5	Πρωτᾶ[ς ῶσις Π[Κρονίω[ν Αἰλουρ[ᾶς Κοναι[
10	Καπα[[Δ[[[

Col. I

1 Πακ]ῆβκίς: Cf. the name in ll. **98** and **380**. For the name see C. E. Holm, *Griechisch-ägyptische Namenstudien*, Uppsala 1936, 3–16 and *DNI* 6, 418.

μη(τρὸς): For abbreviations of the noun “mother” in *CB* see footnote 4 above. There are five forms, μη^τ, a chi-type and three cross-types. H. C. Youtie, in *Scriptiunculae* II, Amsterdam 1973, 942 noted about the abbreviation of μητρος found in some other papyri as “y” that “the first stroke is wavy, and I have accepted it as a μ”; cf. also idem, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri. Prolegomena*, 1974², (BICS Supplement, no 33) 49, where he resolved it as μη(τρος). In *CB* the oblique stroke which runs from the bottom left to the top right in the chi-type and the horizontal stroke in the cross-type should be considered as “m”, which resembles the beginning of an initial M in many entries of *CB*. The vertical stroke in chi- or cross-types finishes with a loop at the bottom turning to the left and this could remind us the same form of the first vertical of η.

Τανεῦτ(ος): Cf. the name in l. 94, where it is written in exactly the same way. The name Taneus is attested so far in documents of the Roman period mainly from the Arsinoite nome.

2 δούλ(ος): See Martin, *En marge* (n. 1), 119–121, about the proportion of the slaves as they are attested in *CB* and generally in Egypt.

Ἀπολ() υ: The scribe began to write the name in full, *i. e.* Ἀπολλωνίου, but because of the lack of space he stopped after the second λ and wrote on top of it the beginning of the next word. The line ends with υ. The letter before it could be either an ε or an α. A reading γραφεύ(ς) is difficult. Most probable to read Απολ()'s name of the father.

3 NN] ἀπ(άτωρ) (μητρὸς) Ταφορσάιτ(ος): The name of the worker could be three or four letters, e.g. Ἦρων; cf. l. 177 Ἦρων ἀπ(άτωρ) Ταφορσάιτ(ος). The name Ταφορσάις is attested in many papyri from Tebtynis; see *DNI*, 14, 1069.

4 NN] Εὐτύχους: Or Εὐτυχοῦς; for the forms of the name see Gignac II, 75. In ll. 175–176 the name is spelled Εὐτύχου. The name of the worker in the beginning of the line should have been short, c. four letters.

5 NN] ἀπ(άτωρ) Ταφορσάιτ(ος): The name in the beginning of the line could consist of about six letters. The scribe does not use the same formulaic way to entry “ἀπάτορας”; he writes down either “name, ἀπάτωρ, μητρὸς name of the mother” or “name, ἀπάτωρ, name of the mother” or “name, ἀπάτωρ”. At this point above Τα- we can see the abbreviation stroke of ἀ), which finds parallels to the same scribe; e. g. l. 101.

7 Ἀ]φροδισίου Τουκιπ[] . . . : The name Aphrodisios is not attested in *CB*, but it is well-known so far in the Arsinoite nome. The name of his father is very doubtful. The first letter is either τ or λ (cf. ἀπολ- in col. I, 2 above), and then ου or ασ or αρ. In the beginning of the line the scribe probably wrote δια with his characteristic way; see *Specimina*, Tab. V, col. viii, lin. 7. The ligature κι is characteristic for this scribe; cf. col. I, 1 πακ]ηβικς and some corrections to *CB* in Appendix 3 below.

8 [- -] κατασπ(ορέως): For their role see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (P.Lugd. Bat. XII), Leiden 1964, pp. 15–17. Aphrodisios signs here for the fifteen persons who were entried above and in the previous lost column. In the beginning of the line there was probably nothing written, because of the *usus scribentis* to continue the line below in εἴσθεσις; cf. introd. above.

9 ἄνδ(ρες) . . . ζ': The letter before ζ at the end of the line is very damaged; either an ω (cf. Ἡρώνος) in col. II 11 or a κ (*i. e.* the digit 26). However, in l. 11 another entry begins mentioning twenty-four names, which ends in col. II 5. Based on the evidence of entries 5 and 6 of *CB* (see Appendix 1), first, we could supply in the lost beginning of l. 9 ὄμ(οίως) ι]- ἕως ιδ- ἄνδ(ρες) . . . ζ' and in the lost beginning of l. 11 ὄμ(οίως) κδ]- ἕως κη' ἄνδ(ρες) [κδ]', then, assume that in l. 10 the name of a worker is written, without expecting the total just after his name, e. g. (γίνονται) ἄνδ() α. However, at the end of l. 9 a reading εἶς, *i. e.* one person for 10th to 14th of the month, is very doubtful, and moreover, one person working in the dykes is not attested elsewhere in *CB*.

10 [- -] . υγφολ() κο () [] . . . : Instead of φ (cf. a similar form in l. 96 χορτοφαγου) one could read δι (cf. Ἀ]φροδισίου, l. 7 above). There is no indication that the word begins with φολ- pointing to the well-known dyke of Pholemis (cf. 194, 269) or the personal name Pholemis (cf. 226). However, not even the superscripted letter is certain, because one can compare it with καλαμευ followed by the same exactly superscripted letter(s) in ll. 326, 327, 328. *Ed. princ.* reads (της) and *SB* I 5124 (τος). Above κο (or βο?) there is a letter which resembles an ε followed by ω; cf. απυγχεως, l. 294 and αρπαησεως, l. 321, where both letters εω at the end are superscripted.

11 [κδ]- ἕως κη- ἄνδ(ρες) [κδ]-: The digit 24 is supplied by the sum indicated in col. II 5. Therefore eighteen names are lost at the bottom of col. I, a calculation which agrees with the general of form of *CB* (as said above c. 30–34 lines per column).

Col. II

1 Τοῦφις: Cf. ll. 88 and 674.

Κρονίωνος: Cf. also below the same name in III 7. For the name attested at Tebtynis see Holm, *loc. cit.*, 51–59, esp. in *CB*, pp. 58–59 and 144–147.

2 Πακύσεως: Cf. l. 410.

3 Κεφαλά: The name Kephalas is not attested in *CB*, but it can be found in several papyri of the second century A.D. from the Arsinoite nome. For the genetive in -ᾶ see Gignac, II, 16–18.

6 ὁ(μοίως) κδ̄ ἕως κη̄ ἄνδρες ιδ̄: ἄνδρες ιδ̄. Incipit novus catalogus, qui num. xiv operariorum complectitur” (*ed. princ.*, p. 100).

7–8 διώρυχ(ος) Χωμηνιακῆς | λεγομένης: “. . . ηνιανης. Finis cuiusdam nominis; primae literae deletae sunt. In lin. seq. initium nom. matris servatum est” (*ed. princ.*, p. 100). However, (checking the photo) the letter after α is not ν, but κ. The spelling is usually Χομηνιακη as in P.Mich. V 337, ii; 263, 11. 29; P.Tebt. I 61, 140; 62, 322 and SB VIII 9924b, 6. For this canal see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 80, no 23. For a probable etymology of the name see Martha H. de Kat Eliassen, *Six Documents Concerning Penthemeros from the Oslo Papyrus Collection*, SO 40 (1965) 45, 6 note. For the form διώρυχ- see Gignac, II, 51.

9 Μιύσιος: The name is attested seven times in *CB* and is found in other papyri from Tebtynis.

Τασιά(πιος?): Cf. SB XIV 12600, 4 from Soknopaiou Nesos.

10 Γεμίνου χηνοβ(): “Servata est terminatio nom. patris, cuius filius erat χηνοβοσκος, anseraius, anserum pastor, nam sic legendum esse existimo” (*ed. princ.*, p. 100). Neither the personal name Geminus nor another gooseherd are attested elsewhere in *CB*.

11 Σδρος: Cf. ll. 274, 401.

12 Καλασι. σι. ος: The two doubtful letters in the middle of the name could be αι, but a name Kalasiaisis is not attested. “αισιος. Ante has literas cernitur vestigium lit. Π, ita ut legendum sit Παῖσιος (a Παῖσις iuxta flex. Δημητρις, ιος. Ορσανουφίς, ιος) quod idem esse videtur ac obvium illud Παησις, vid. not. ad col. ix, lin. 27” (*ed. princ.*, p. 100). Certainly names as Καλαης, Καλαμευς, Κατασις, Καλασειρις found in *CB* could not be read. However, it could be another name attested in the Arsinoite nome beginning with Καλα-, but any letter after this certain Καλα- is doubtful.

14]υφίς ἀδελ(φός): ν φιλαδελφος in *ed. princ.* with the note “litera ν ad nomen, quod praecessit, pertinet: ipsi nomini adiunctum est cognomen φιλαδελφος, cuius scriptura in siglis exhibetur”. Probable supplement [NN Ορσενο]υφίς or [NN Το]υφίς, assuming a mistake instead of the genitive in the father’s name -ουφεως.

15] . . ὄνηλ(άτης): απατωρ, ονηλατης *ed. princ.* But, after απατωρ written abbreviated as απ, one expects the stroke of the abbreviation and an abbreviated form of μητρος with the mother’s name; cf., however, 239 αντουσις απ(ατωρ) γναφευς. Then ὄνηλ is clear. The letters after the break could be υς; cf. the end of col. I, 4 ευτυχους.

Col. III

1–3 Probable restoration could be based on col. II 6–8:

1 Παχ[ὸν x ἕως x
ἀνδ[(ρες) x διώρυχ()
Ἄργ[αίτιδος

In ll. 492–493 the word διωρυχ(ος) precedes αργαίτιδος. For this canal see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 80–81, no 1.

6 ὦσις: The name is an Arsinoite mainly of the second century A.D.

7 Κρονιῶ[v: “n. Κρονίς perspicuum est” (*ed. princ.*, p. 101). The final letter before the break is the beginning of an ω.

8 Αἰλουρ[ᾶς: Cf. 186 and Σιλουρας in 238.

9 Κοναι[: The third letter is doubtful. To read Κουριμι[?

10 Καπα[: The reading of the *ed. princ.* is doubtful. The first letter is κ or β, the second λ or α, the third σ or γ, the fourth ι or ρ. To read Κασια[νος, Κλειμ[? Βασιλ[?

Appendix 1

The entries in *CB* as in *ed. princ.*

Entry 1

3 λγ/ Μεχῆρ ι ἕως ιδ Πτολεμαῖδ(ος) Ὅρμ(ου)
4 ἀνδ(ρῶν) ρπα’ ὦν τὸ κατ’ ἀνδ(ρα)
5–190 names of the workers
191 γί(νονται) ἀνδ(ρες) ρπα’, δι’ . [.]μ . . () κατασπ(ορέως)

Entry 2

- 192 β ἐγβ[ολῆς] . .
 193 ὁμοίως ἀπὸ ια ἕως ιε
 194 Φολήμεω(ς) διώρυχ(), ἀνδ(ρες) ξθ
 195–265 names of the workers
 266 γ(ίνονται) ἀνδ(ρες) ξθ
 267 διὰ Κάστορος καὶ Ἰσιδώ(ρου) κατασπ(ορέων).

Entry 3

- 268 Φαμενῶθ β ἕως ς διώρυγ()
 269 Φολήμ(εως) ἀνδ(ρες) ϑβ
 270–370 names of the workers
 371 γ(ίνονται) ἀνδ(ρες) ϑβ
 372 διὰ Κάστορος καὶ Ἰσιδώ(ρου) κατασπ(ορέων)

Entry 4

- 373 Φαρμουῦθι ε ἕως θ
 374 ἀνδ(ρες) λε
 375–410 names of the workers
 411 γ(ίνονται) ἀνδ(ρες) [λε

Entry 5

- 412 Φαρμ(οῦθι) ε ἕ[ως θ]
 413 ὁμοίω(ς) . . [
 414–415 names of the workers

Entry 6

- 416 ὁμ(οίως) ς ἕως ια
 417 ἀνδ(ρες) . . []
 418 Πτολεμαίς δ[ιώρυγ(ι)]

However, it is clear that the scribe follows some principals when he drew up this list:

1. When he continued to a following line, he wrote in εἴσθεσις; cf. introd. above. This helps us to understand where an entry begins and ends.
2. When the month is the same with the previous entry, the scribe writes (in full or abbreviated) the adverb ὁμ(οίως).
3. The κατασπορεῖς are mentioned at the end of an entry.

Based on these, we can do the following proposals:

In entry no 2, l. 192 β ἐγβ[ολῆς] . . is written at the top of col. vii of *CB* and in εἴσθεσις. That means that it continues the previous line; cf. also that κατασπ(ορέως) reaches the right edge of the columnar area, almost reaching the text of the following column. Also, the reading β ἐγβ[ολῆς] . . is very doubtful; see Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I, 84, n. 83. Is it possible to consider a reading κατασπ(ορέως) β ἐγβ[ολῆς]? Consequently the entries 1 and 2 should be:

Entry 1

- 3 λγ/ Μεχεῖρ ι ἕως ιδ Πτολεμαίδ(ος) Ὀρμ(ου)
 4 ἀνδ(ρῶν) ρπα' ὦν τὸ κατ' ἀνδ(ρα)
 5–190 names of the workers
 191 γ(ίνονται) ἀνδ(ρες) ρπα' , δι' [] μ . . () κατασπ(ορέως)
 192 β ἐγβ[ολῆς] . .

Entry 2

- 193 ὁμοίως ἀπὸ ια ἕως ιε
 194 Φολήμεω(ς) διώρυχ(), ἀνδ(ρες) ξθ
 195–266 names of the workers
 266 γ(ίνονται) ἀνδ(ρες) ξθ

Then entries 3 and 4 follow the *usus scribentis*, but entry 5 is problematic since the month is the same as the previous entry (denoted by the adverb ὁμοίω(ς)), but it is mentioned again one line above, Pharmouthi, and the total is missing. Checking the photo of the papyrus I could see that the reading in l. 412

is very doubtful, but I cannot make out any better reading. What I assume is to read the indication of the *κατασπορείς* and l. 412 could belong to entry 4. Then, two names registered, have a parallel in ll. 488–491. Finally, l. 418 Πτολεμαίος δ[ιὼρυγ(ι)] of entry 6 is written at the left edge of the columnar area and that means that it is a new line and not a continuation of the previous line. In fact, I can read Πτολεμαίος, written in the same way as in l. 132; cf. also l. 375. Consequently the entries 4, 5, 6 are as follows:

Entry 4

373 Φαρμοῦθι εἴως θ
374 ἄνδ(ρες) λε
375–410 names of the workers
411 γ(ίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) [λε
412

Entry 5

413 ὁμοίω(ς) . . [εἴως x , ἄνδ(ρες) x
414–415 names of the workers

Entry 6

416 ὁμ(οίως) ς εἴως ια
417 ἄνδ(ρες) . . []
418 Πτολεμαίος [etc.

Appendix 2

Some corrections on *CB* (= SB I 4124), checked on photos

10 ἀπ(άτωρ) → ἀπάτωρ; cf. *ed. princ.*, p. 45 “hic locus et fr. xxi lin. 13 soli sunt, in quibus v. απατωρ plene scribitur, quique ceteris locis, ubi απατωρ litteris απ cum nota compend. Indicatur, lumen dederunt”.

12 Παν . . . ὄτις → Πανεσαῦτις; cf. P.Mil. Vogl. II 101, 3 *et passim*.

67 Κηλητῆς Μαξίμου (Κηβητης *ed. princ.*) → Κηλη^τ Μαξίμο[

126 Δημητρι(οὔτος) → Δημητρι^ι pap. Δημητρί(ας)?

157 Ἀβῦτις Πάσι(τος) → Ἀβῦκις . . .; The ligature κι is characteristic for the scribe of *CB*. Cf. the present papyrus col. I, l. 7. The name “Abykis” is well-attested in the Arsinoite nome.

202 Ἀμμωνίλλ(ου) → Ἀμμωνει^λ pap.

234 Ἀνισάεις → Ἀνκιάεις. Again the characteristic ligature κι.

239 Ἀντοῦσις ἀπ(άτωρ) → Ἀντοῦς Ἰσαπ(όλλωνος); the first name ends to ους because of the characteristic final ς. The name “Antous” is attested in P.Princ. I 10 viii 24 and in the genitive Ἀντουσις in *BGU IX* 1900, 135. The name “Isapollon” is attested mainly from the Arsinoite nome.

240 Ἰσκέως → κικεῦς; The first two letters are the characteristic κι. It is not certain whether it refers to a personal name or a profession, e. g. “the cultivator of kiki?”; cf. ἐλαιουργός in l. 245, ἀρτυματᾶς in l. 251 etc.

253 Καλλῆς Ἀνισῶλις? Βελλῆς Ἀνκιάλις. The first name is the same as in l. 217 and the name of the father has the characteristic ligature κι. “Ankialis” is attested in P.Mich. I 22, 17 and P.Mich. IV 223, 1925 *et passim*.

257 Ἀνισάειτος → Ἀνκιάειτος; again the characteristic ligature κι and the name “Ankias” is attested in SB XIV 11595, 3

300–301 Κρονίων ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Εἰρηναῖος | μητρὸς Ταεῦτος → Κρονίων ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Εἰρηναῖος (μητρὸς) Ταεῦτος. Note that the scribe wrote the beginning of the new line -ος in εἴσθεσις.

310 Διαρίω(νος) → Φαρί^ω [= Φαρίω(νος)], a well-attested name in the Arsinoite nome.