

X. A Veteran in Quest of a Home

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Multa in parvo seems an apt characterization of the papyrus that I publish here with the kind permission of the authorities of the Cornell University Library.¹ For the philologist its syntax and phonetic spelling provide an unusually rich example of popular Greek speech in the second century A.D. For the student of Roman military institutions it captures *sur le vif* the picture of a discharged veteran looking for a place to settle in and deciding to try the village of a fellow-soldier. To the papyrologist it brings an improved perspective on the Terentianus letters of P. Mich. 467-81, with which it is almost certainly to be associated. It therefore seems desirable to publish the text without further delay, even though a close inspection of the papyrus might resolve some of the problems remaining in lines 21-23 as read from the photographs available to me.

P. Cornell Inv. No. I, 64

(Karanis)

17 × 11.5 cm.

136 A.D.

Οὐαλέριος Παυλεῖνος ὁ καὶ Ἀμμωνᾶς
 Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀπολιναρίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ πλεῖ-
 στα χαίρειν. γεινῶσκιν σε θέλω ὅτι τὸν
 μέλλων ἡνιαντὸν μ[ό]νον στρατεύομαι
 5 καὶ ἀπολύομα· ἂν ὁ θεὸς θέλῃ, ἔρχομαί σοι
 τὴν ὄψιν προσκυνῆσαι μετὰ τῶν πατρῶ-
 ων θεῶν. λοιπὸν οὖν σε ἐρωτῶ συνεστα-
 μένον ἔχε τὸν μεσσίκιν τίς τὴν ἐπίστο-
 λὴν φέρι σοι [.] Τερεντιανόν, καὶ γνώτω

¹ It is a pleasure to record here the generous help of Professor H. C. Youtie of the University of Michigan in the reading of the photographs and the reconstruction of the text.

The following abbreviations, in addition to those commonly used for papyrological publications, appear in this article: Blass-Debrunner = F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*⁹, bearbeitet von A. Debrunner (Göttingen 1954); Mayser = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*² (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923-38).

- 10 ποταποὺς κωμίτας ἔχωμεν μὴ ἐπηρι-
ασθῇ. ἐπὶ ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ θέλων ἐκὶ κατα-
μένιν, ἐκέλευσα αὐτῷ ἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν
κατὰ μὲν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἡνιαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ
μέλλοντες εἶνα δὴ (δραχμὰς) ξ, καὶ τοῦ εἰσιόντες
15 (ἔτους) καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἀγρόν μου
ἔχιν αὐτὸν ἐν μισθώσεως (δραχμῶν) ξ, τῶν (δραχμῶν) ρκ
εἶνα μοι ἀγοράσῃ διὰ σου ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου
ὀθωνοπώλου πρόδ' τῷ τεμένει ἐν τῇ πόλ[ι
]δύω καὶ κλίνας δύο καὶ προσ-
20 κεφάλαια δύ]ω καὶ τὰ πλήσζματα καὶ τὰ.
- - - - - (broken) - - - - -

Along the left edge of the papyrus, written from top to bottom:

φάγε τὰ σὰ καὶ πῖε. ἄμ μὴ ἔχῃς, ἐγὼ δώσω· ἀμέριμνος [γίνου?

On the verso, written from bottom to top (in terms of the recto):

]ανιστῇ Παυλείνου τοῦ μεσσικίου Ἀπολλωνίῳ ν . . .
τῷ ἀδ]ελφῷ

3 γινώσκειν 4 μέλλοντα ἐνιαυτὸν 5 ἀπολύομαι 8 μισσίκιον 9 φέρε
10 κωμῆτας ἔχομεν, ἐπηρε 11 ἐπεὶ, ἐκεῖ 12 μένειν, εἰς 13 ἐνιαυτοῦ
14 μέλλοντος ἵνα δοῖ, εἰσιόντος 16 ἔχειν, μισθώσει 17 ἵνα 18 ὀθωνοπώλου,
πόλει (the restoration [ι is dictated by space) 20 πλήσζματα 21 ἀν, ἔχης
22 παυλεῖ Χ νου Pap. μεσσικίου

Translation

Valerius Paulinus also called Ammonas, to his brother Valerius Apollinarius, warmest greeting. I want you to know that I am in service next year only, and (then) I am released: if the god wishes, I will come to reverence your countenance along with the ancestral gods. Now then I ask you, receive with my recommendation the discharged soldier Terentianus who brings you this letter, and let him know what sort of villagers we have, lest he get into trouble. Since he is a man of means and desirous of residing there, I have urged upon him that he pay for my house for the current year (a rental of) 60 drachmas, and that he have my field on lease for the coming 21st year of Hadrianus Caesar for 60 drachmas, and that with the 120 drachmas he buy for me through you from our friend the linen-merchant by the precinct in the city two . . . and two couches and two pillows(?) with their stuffing and . . .

Eat yours(?) and drink. If you don't have, I'll give: don't worry.

(*Address on verso*) . . . letter(?) of Paulinus, discharged soldier, to Apollonius . . . his brother.

Commentary

1-2. The writer, *né* Ammonas, received the Roman name Valerius Paulinus when he entered military service: cf. J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte* (Cairo 1918) 220-23. Thus in *BGU* 423 (reprinted as W. Chr. 480 and *Sel. Pap.* 112; for other editions see J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* [Ann Arbor 1933] 41-42) an Egyptian recruit named Apion writes to his father: ἔσ[τ]ι [δέ] μοι ὄνομα Ἀντωνίου Μάξιμος (lines 22-23). By the same token, the addressee Valerius Apollinarius would be Paulinus' older brother, who has already been discharged and has returned home.

3-5. Since Paulinus is already *missicius* (as we learn from line 22), the tone of this sentence is that of a veteran who, having been kept in the army beyond the statutory period of service, has just been given a definite date of discharge. Such retention of veterans in more or less active service began with Augustus and must often have been occasioned by the demands of a war in progress: cf. J. Marquardt, *De l'organisation militaire chez les Romains* (Paris 1891) 184-88. The date of this letter (cf. below, note to lines 13-15) suggests that Paulinus and other veterans in his situation were retained in service because of the Jewish revolt, which Hadrian's generals did not bring to an end in Judea till 135 A.D., and which may have had repercussions (τάραχος) in Egypt as late as 136/7 (cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 1 [1901] 557).

5. ἀπολόμοα : The dropping of the final *iota* is a feature of Egyptian speech: cf. Mayser 1². 105.

8. μεσσίκιν: The reduction of the ending -ιον to -ιν is common in vulgar post-classical Greek: cf. Mayser 1². 260. The rendering of the first *i* of *missicius* by *ε* is an example of the "bekannten Wandel von *ι* zu *ε* . . . , der uns so oft in der Volkssprache der Papp. begegnet" (S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit* [Munich 1938] = *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 28 Heft, 69, cf. also 63, 90-92, 109); the sounds *ε* and *ι* were apparently very similar in Egyptian speech: cf. Mayser 1². 80-82.

No evidence has yet appeared to make clear what the difference of meaning was, if any, between *missicius* and *veteranus*. In *ThLL* s.v., *missicius* is defined as meaning "i.q. militia solutus vel confecta militia missione donandus" (the same definition is applicable to the term *veteranus*: cf. Daremberg-Saglio s.v., and note to lines 3–5 above). Both these meanings are in fact confirmed by the present papyrus: Terentianus (*missicius* line 8) is clearly "militia solutus," while Paulinus (*missicius* line 22) is just as clearly "missione donandus." It has long been evident that a soldier in the Roman army or navy did not automatically acquire honorable discharge upon completing the statutory period of service: cf., most recently, *P. Dura* pp. 303, 309. Thus, the term *missicius*, like *veteranus*, appears to have designated a soldier who had been officially awarded his discharge, even if not yet actually released from service.

On the Hellenistic use of *τίς* as a relative pronoun cf. Mayser 2.1.80, Blass-Debrunner 187 (§ 298.4).

10–11. *μὴ ἐπηριασθῇ*: The (to us) piquant frankness of this remark suggests that in ancient as in modern times the well-to-do stranger was regarded as "fair game." On the spelling *-ρι-* for *-ρε-*, see note on *μεσσίκιν* above.

11. Since every veteran would have at discharge at least his enforced savings (Vegetius, *De re militari* 2.20) and his *praemia militiae*, presumably something more in the way of wealth is implied in *ἔχων*. The air of family affluence that pervades the correspondence in *P. Mich.* 467–81 is one of the many details that favor the identification of the Claudius Terentianus of those letters with the Terentianus of this Cornell letter.

11–12. *θέλων ἐκὶ καταμένειν*: It is clear from this and the preceding lines that Terentianus does not come from the village in which the brothers Paulinus and Apollinarius reside but is looking for a place in which to make his home after his recent discharge. This circumstance fits well the identification of this Terentianus with the soldier of the same name in *P. Mich.* 467–81. "All [those] letters," as the Michigan editors remark (page 16), "seem to have been written in or near Alexandria." A prominent figure in the correspondence is Claudius Tiberianus, whom Claudius Terentianus addresses as "lord and dearest father." In *P. Mich.* 475 Tiberianus is, in the editors' opinion, "a veteran . . . at home in the Fayum" (page 17). That is, to be sure, a natural inference

from the fact that *P. Mich.* 467–81 were found at Karanis, but nowhere in the correspondence is it actually stated that Tiberianus lived in the Fayum. On the contrary, *P. Mich.* 476 and 477 speak of his “sailing up to the Arsinoite nome” not in the tone of a man going to his home, but rather of a man going *from* his home to a place where he has business interests. The picture that thus emerges accords well with the editors’ above-quoted comment that the Michigan letters were all written in or near Alexandria: Terentianus was stationed there as a soldier, and the other correspondents lived in Memphis or the Delta. The letters were found in Karanis presumably because it was Terentianus, as we now infer from the Cornell letter, who went and settled there, taking his family records and papers—if not the family itself—with him.

The description in this letter of how Terentianus came to settle in his new home is interesting from another, and broader, viewpoint as well. Wilcken’s remark, written in 1912, is still true: “Die Papyri haben uns mit einer grossen Zahl von Veteranen bekannt gemacht, die Landbesitzer (γεωργοῦντες) sind, doch ist nicht oft zu ersehen, auf welchem Wege sie in den Besitz gekommen sind” (*Grundzüge* 403). Settlements of veterans, called *κολωνίαι*, are attested in the Egyptian countryside from early in the reign of Hadrian (*P. Giss.* 60, *BGU* 587, *P. Oxy.* 653 [= *M. Chr.* 90], *W. Chr.* 461), and similar settlements are attested in Gaul from the time of Claudius onward (cf. E. Kornemann, *Klio* 11 [1911] 390–91). But these were not *coloniae* in the official, municipal sense; and these settlements were not always created through assignment of lands by the Emperor. Some, if not all, of the Egyptian *κολωνίαι* may have come into being through a process of voluntary natural accretion as discharged veterans came and settled in localities where other veterans had preceded them. Such, precisely, is the story of Terentianus as we read it in this letter. Such veterans—in answer to Wilcken’s implied query—obviously became landowners by purchasing land with the not inconsiderable funds they carried with them on leaving military service. Cf. the discussion of the *κολωνίαι* by Lesquier (above, page 141) 328–32.

12–17. ἐκέλευσα . . . ἀγοράσῃ: Two *koinê* constructions are exemplified in this sentence:

- (1) κελεύω with the dative: “In der *Koinê* taucht dann der in der Sprache des Volkes wohl nie ganz ausgestorbene

Dativ . . . speziell c. inf. wieder auf'' (R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta* [Göttingen 1928] 209).

- (2) *κελεύω* followed by *ἵνα* + the subjunctive in place of the classical infinitive: cf. Mayser 2.1. 243–44.

Here, interestingly enough, the verb is followed by both constructions in three parallel clauses, first the subjunctive (*δῶ*, line 14), then the infinitive (*ἔχειν*, line 16), and then the subjunctive again (*ἀγοράσῃ*, line 17).

13–15. Since *ἐνεστῶς* designates the current year and the writer both here and above (line 4) uses *μέλλων* to refer to the coming year, *εἰσιών* might at first seem to be his way of denoting the year following that designated by *μέλλων*. But two considerations argue cogently against such a view. First, *εἰσιών* is the regular technical term for the year "coming in" after the current one; in fact, the stock phrase "the coming 21st year of Hadrianus Caesar" comes to the letter writer's mind and pen here from the formulaic language of land leases. Secondly, to understand three successive years here gives the anomalous result of having Terentianus rent Paulinus' house in the current and coming years, but his field not till the year after that (when, moreover, Paulinus expects to be home from the army: lines 3–5). Obviously what is really meant is that Terentianus will move into Paulinus' house now and will live there and cultivate the field during the coming year. At the end of that year there will be 120 drachmas of rental money to purchase house furnishings (lines 16–20) for Paulinus' return.

Thus *μέλλων* and *εἰσιών* both refer to year 21 of Hadrian, 136/7 A.D. Moreover, *μέλλων* suggests that the beginning of that new year is not far away. The date of the letter thus emerges as 136 A.D., some time before August 29th. Such a date, late in the year 135/6, also explains why Terentianus, although taking up residence in the house at once, will cultivate Paulinus' field only in the coming year: it is too late in the current year to do so.

14. *μέλλοντες* and *εἰσιόντες* for -ος: Interchange of *ο* and *ε* in unaccented syllables (both presumably approximating *ə* in pronunciation) is a common phenomenon in Hellenistic Greek: cf. Mayser 1². 94–97.

δῶ (i.e. *δοῖ*) is the *koinē* form of the third person singular aorist subjunctive of *δίδωμι* : cf. Blass-Debrunner 58–59 (§95).

18. The confusion of masculine and neuter nouns ending in -os, evident already in classical Greek, increased in post-classical times: cf. Mayser 1². 286–88, Blass-Debrunner 35–36 (§51.2). τεμένω is accordingly to be taken as a heteroclitic of, rather than as an error for, τεμένει. This marks, I believe, the first occurrence of this particular heteroclitic.

19–20. The specification of *two* couches, etc., may possibly suggest that Paulinus, like so many veterans of the Roman army, will be returning with a wife acquired during his period of military service. In the first and second centuries such marriages, though common, were legalized only upon honorable discharge: cf. e.g. Lesquier (above, page 141) 262–79 (with bibliography), 313–18.

20. πλήσζματα: On σζ = ζ = σ cf. Mayser 1². 204, 209–10. In the present context the meaning “stuffing” (for the pillows or mattresses) practically imposes itself, even though πλήσμα has not previously occurred in that sense. The related word πλήρωμα is cited from Pollux 10.41 as “stuffing for mattresses and pillows” by C. L. Ransom, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (Chicago 1905) 110.

22–23. The address on the verso does not appear to correspond to any of the familiar patterns. Since the letter is an *epistula commendaticia*, it is conceivable that the letters at the beginning of line 22 constitute the ending of a Greek adjective corresponding to *commendaticia*, with ἐπιστολή expressed or understood in the lacuna at the left; but I have been unable to find any such word that would fit the reading]ανιστη. (ἐμφανιστή, from ἐμφανίζω in the sense of “to explain,” “to give orders” [*LSJ* s.v. 2], comes close to the sense desired but is not really satisfactory. *Commendaticia*, incidentally, is regularly rendered in Greek as συστατική.) Furthermore, toward the end of line 22, where one naturally looks for the name of the addressee, it seems quite impossible to read Ἀπολλωναρίω. Unless we are to assume that the letter-writer absent-mindedly wrote the name wrong, we must conclude that this Apollonius was an intermediary through whom Paulinus got the letter to Terentianus, who in turn took it personally (lines 8–9) to Apollinarius. Such a situation would call for line 23 to be restored ὥστε Ἀπολλωναρίω τῷ ἀδ]ελφῷ: cf. *BGU* 423 = W.Chr. 480 = *Sel. Pap.* 112. The X drawn through παυλει X νου —

marking the approximate middle point where the papyrus was to be folded in half for convenience in carrying, and hence the approximate middle of line 22—indicates the need of a restoration of about that length. By the same token it indicates that approximately eight lines are lost at the bottom of the recto.