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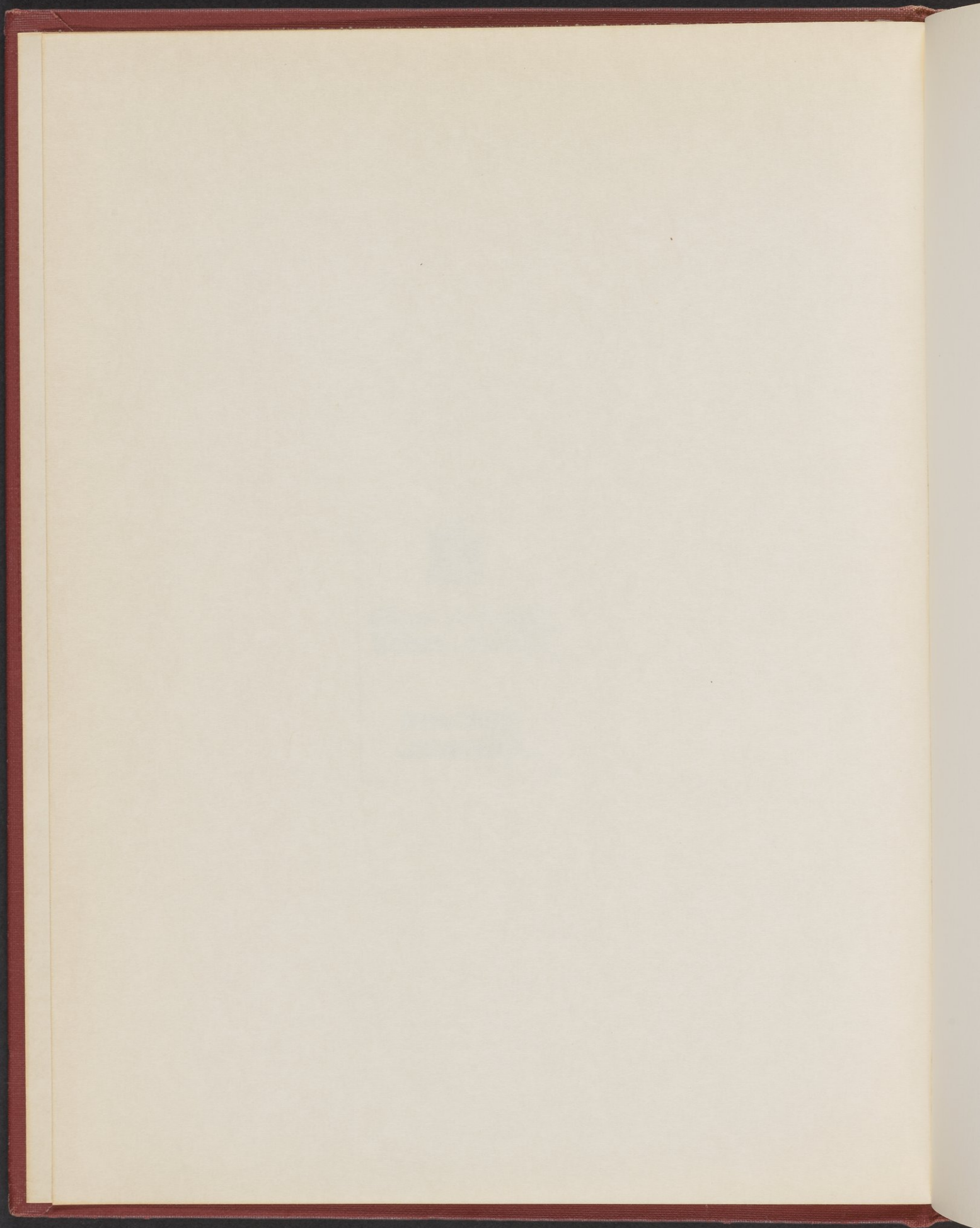
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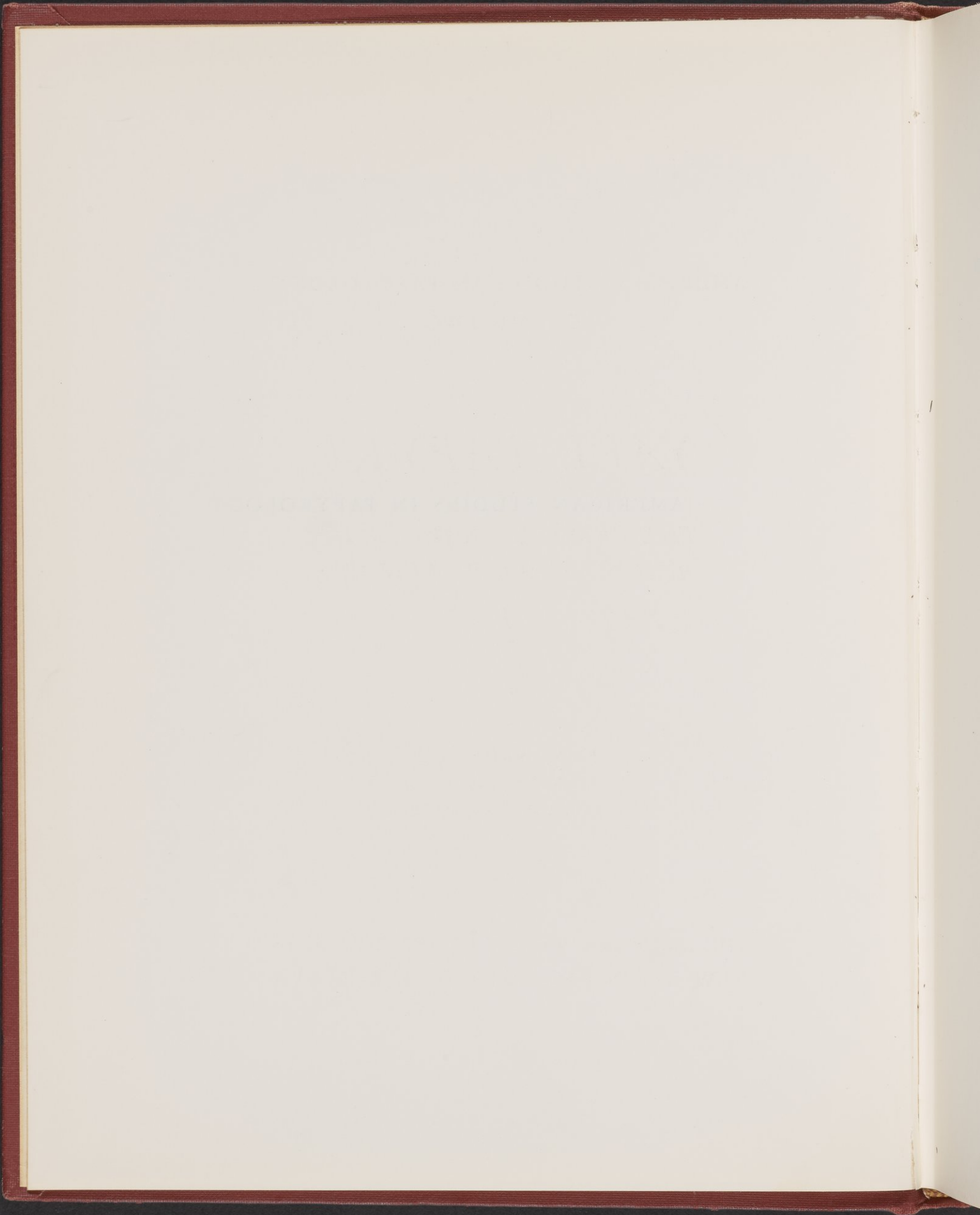






AMERICAN STUDIES IN POPYROLOGY





AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY  
VOLUME TWO

*YALE POPYRI*

IN

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*I*

JOHN F. OATES  
ALAN E. SAMUEL  
C. BRADFORD WELLES

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS  
NEW HAVEN AND TORONTO • MCMLXVII



PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF PAPYROLOGISTS

AMERICAN STUDIES IN PAPYROLOGY

- I Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles, 1966
- II Yale Papyri in The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,  
by John F. Oates, Alan E. Samuel, and C. Bradford Welles, 1967
- III Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt,  
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To the memory of  
Prescott Winson Townsend  
Ph.D. Yale 1926

The first publisher of a Yale papyrus  
and always a good friend of  
Ancient History at Yale; and

To  
Edwin J. Beinecke  
Yale College, Class of 1907  
Friend and loyal supporter of  
Yale papyrus studies



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## METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The method of editing the texts and the editorial signs used are conventional and follow normal procedure in the publication of papyrological texts — square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, double square brackets [ ] indicate an erasure in the text, angular brackets < > indicate an omission in the original, braces { } indicate superfluous letters, round brackets ( ) indicate the resolution of a sign or abbreviation in the original, and the signs ^ indicate an insertion above the line. Dots within square brackets suggest the approximate number of letters lost; dots under letters draw the reader's attention to the existence of some problem in the reading of the letters.

Abbreviations follow for the most part those of Liddell and Scott, *Greek English Lexicon* (9th edition). Any variations and new works should be clear; the following expansions, however, may be of aid to the reader:

- BASP* *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*  
*Gr. Pal.* W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie, (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 1.4.1*
- JJP* *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*  
Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, F.G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 2nd edition, 1951
- PCZ* C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du musée du Caire)*, Vol. 1-4.
- PGB* *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, collegit W. Schubart  
*Pros. Ptol.* *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, edited by W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, appearing as volumes in the series *Studia Hellenistica*
- Roberts C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, Oxford, 1955
- TAPA* *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies*
- ZSS* *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung*

## PREFACE

The Yale Papyrus Collection took its beginning on 5 November 1927, with the receipt of a number of documents purchased for various universities by H.I. Bell. The stimulus had come from Professors A.M. Harmon and M.I. Rostovtzeff, who jointly led a papyrological seminar in the following year. Further purchases were made between 1931 and 1933 by Professor Rostovtzeff and the undersigned, and accessions have continued irregularly, notably with recent gifts by Mssrs. E. J. Beinecke and H. P. Kraus. Inventory numbers run well over two thousand, although many of these are scraps. A recent purchase of several thousand fragments, most very small, has not yet been completely inventoried.

From the beginning, this was regarded as a study collection, rather than as material for publication. Over the past thirty-five years, I have given periodic seminars in papyrology, and few graduate students in Classics at Yale have failed to try their hands at reading, but throughout, my purpose has been to study the papyri in their historical setting and implication, rather than to prepare a group for publication. A good many have been published nevertheless, and the roster of their editors is a distinguished one. Prescott W. Townsend<sup>1</sup> was the first, followed by H.M. Hubbell,<sup>2</sup> A.M. Harmon,<sup>3</sup> C.C. Torrey,<sup>4</sup> C.H. Kraeling,<sup>5</sup> H.J. Wolff,<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth H. Gilliam,<sup>7</sup> J.A.S. Evans,<sup>8</sup> and E.C. Baade.<sup>9</sup> I myself have published a few.<sup>10</sup> Only in the past ten years did we think seriously of publishing a series of Papyri Yalenses, and due to various interruptions, this first volume has been slow to appear. It is hoped that subsequent volumes will move more rapidly.

This volume contains most of the literary texts in the collection, most of the Ptolemaic, and a small selection of the Roman texts. Many of these have been published before, and some come from the dispersion of papyri by the Egypt Exploration Fund early in the century. In including these, we have wished to make their location and present condition known, but have also found it possible in most cases to add substantially to their discussion, bringing the commentary up-to-date if not necessarily improving the readings. For this reason, the commentaries are more extensive than is usual in editions of papyri.

While the final edition in each case is that of one or another of us, all of us have worked on all of the texts, and this is to be regarded as a joint effort. In addition, I should like to thank the many students of the seminar who, in the past, have contributed to the reading of texts. If I were to add their names, it would be a long list. I should, however, like to express my gratitude here to those who have labored during the last eighteen months so that this volume might appear. I think of Miss Janalyn Gibb in New Haven, Mr. John Dillon in Durham, Miss Bernadette Evelyn and Mr. Bruce Lewis in Toronto, and of course, the fine staff of Vernon Hunt, Incorporated, printers in New Haven.

New Haven, 7 September, 1967

C. Bradford Welles



1. "A Yale Papyrus and a Reconsideration of the Chronology of the year 238 A.D.," *American Journal of Philology* 51, 1930, pp. 62-66.
2. "A Grammatical Papyrus," *Classical Philology* 23, 1933, pp. 189-198; "A Christian Liturgy from Egypt," *Yale Classical Studies* 8, 1942, pp. 69-78; "A Papyrus Commentary on Demosthenes," *ibid.* 15, 1957, pp. 181-193.
3. "Egyptian Property Returns," *Yale Classical Studies* 4, 1934, pp. 135-234.
4. "An Arabic Papyrus dated 205 A.H.," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56, 1936, pp. 288-292.
5. "Two Selections from Acts" *Quantulacumque, Studies in Honor of Kirsopp Lake*, 1937, pp. 163-172.
6. "An Oxyrhynchus Receipt for Repayment of Loans," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 71, 1940, pp. 616-622.
7. "The Archives of the Temple of Soknobraisis at Bacchias," *Yale Classical Studies* 10, 1947, pp. 181-281.
8. "The Archives of Leon," *The Journal of Juridical Papyrology* 7-8, 1954, pp. 29-70 (with C. B. Welles).
9. "Two Yale Papyri dealing with the Roman Army in Egypt," *Akten des VIII. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie, Wien 1955, 1956*, pp. 23-27.
10. "A Yale Fragment of the Acts of Appian," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 67, 1936, pp. 7-23; "The Immunitas of the Roman Legionaries in Egypt," *Journal of Roman Studies* 28, 1938, pp. 41-49; "The Archives of Leon" (above, n. 8); "Complaint from a Priest of Tebtunis concerning Grain Transportation Charges of the Late Second Century," *Etudes de Papyrologie* 8, 1957, pp. 103-111; "A Hitherto Unpublished Fragment of the Epistle to the Ephesians," *Harvard Theological Review* 51, 1958, pp. 33-35 (with William H. P. Hatch); "On the Collection of Revenues in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, 1964, pp. 7-16. In addition, A. E. Samuel has published two of the more recent additions to the collection, "P. Beinecke Inv. 4, A New Fragment of Demosthenes," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 2, 1964, pp. 33-40, "P. Yale (Beinecke) Inv. 1789", *ibid.*, pp. 105-108, and has printed a partial transcription of one of the most recent lot in "The Judicial Competence of the Oikonomos in the Third Century B.C.," *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Milan 1965, 1966*, pp. 444-450.

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I  
LITERARY  
PAPYRI



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BAY R

I. Genesis XIV, 5-8; 12-15

Plate I

P. Yale Inv. 419

14 x 9.7 cm.

Ca. A.D. 90

This fragment of a page from a codex was purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Cairo in February, 1931. The whole width of the column of writing is preserved as well as the bottom of the page. The lower margin is 1.3 cm. on both sides. Of the other margins, only that at the left on the recto can be measured with any confidence, it being 1 cm. The papyrus is dark in color, ragged at right and left, plentifully supplied with larger and smaller holes, dirty and much rubbed, especially on the verso. The letters are generally even in height, though *beta*, *phi*, and *upsilon* are taller. The lines of writing are 0.3-0.4 cm., with an inter-linear interval of 0.2-0.3 cm. Lines vary in length from 26 to 36 letters, most commonly 28 or 29. The original page must have had about thirty lines, making the length of the original codex about 188 pages, assuming that it contained all of Genesis and nothing else. Pages would have been about 23 cm. high. There is nothing to show whether the codex was made up of a single quire of about 47 sheets or of a number of smaller quires. The present pages, 41 and 42 of the text, would in the former case belong to the first half of the quire, where we should expect to have verso preceding recto unless the sheets were alternated to present a like surface on facing pages, and then 41 would be recto and 42 verso only if the text were preceded by a cover sheet with title page. In the latter case, recto might precede verso anywhere. It is evident, in any case, that this was a cheap piece of book making, the margins being narrow and the total dimensions relatively modest.<sup>1</sup> The character of the script, clear rather than elegant, confirms this impression.

It is, however, this script which furnishes a dating of the codex and gives the papyrus its interest. This is an example of a hand which appears in Egypt in

1. For a basis of comparison, see the figures quoted by F.G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 1951, pp. 103-110.



the Augustan period for both literary and documentary purposes.<sup>2</sup> In contrast with the ever more cursive hands of the late Ptolemaic period, it is a kind of print, wherein the letters occupy separate and roughly even spaces as if placed in ruled squares. Except for *iota*, which was an obvious exception, the letters tend to be as wide as they are high and most observe a rule of isocephaly, terminal hastae dropping below the line to some extent but letters rarely rising above it. At its best, this style achieved a certain elegance approaching that of the uncials of a later date; so the Oxyrhynchus Homer dated to the first half of the second century.<sup>3</sup> Properly, however, the style aimed at easy legibility rather than beauty. The earliest examples have something of a childish appearance,<sup>4</sup> are rough and labored, the curves jerky rather than flowing. As a better effect was sought with time, it took the form of attaching serifs to all terminal lines, and these characterize the style from the middle of the first to the middle of the second centuries.<sup>5</sup> Gradually, too, cursive features appear. Letters tend to be connected without lifting the pen. Curves and loops are employed wherever possible, and letters tend to be oval rather than round, sloping rather than upright, varied in height rather than even, with long and dashing initial and terminal strokes.<sup>6</sup> Within this process it is possible to date a given hand typologically with some confidence, although given scribes may be ahead of or behind the general development.

Within this sequence, the Yale Genesis stands rather early. There are no serifs, although an occasional letter, *alpha* or *kappa*, may begin with a little hook and terminal verticals may end with a slight curve to the left. Letters are much of a size. Curves are uneven. Letters are normally not connected, although the horizontal stroke of *tau* extends on to the next letter. Letters have their clear, 'monumental,' form: *mu* notably, but also *upsilon*, *nu*, *eta*. A cursive loop occurs, apparently, joining the left diagonal to the bottom of *delta*; so also in the middle

2. Schubart, *Gr. Pal.* p. 47.

3. Roberts, Pl. 12b. Cf. also Pl. 16 a and b (late 2d or early 3d cent.).

4. Roberts aptly calls this the "plain style." Early examples are his Pl. 9, b and c.

5. Agreeing with Schubart on the period of greatest frequency, although he would date the style somewhat earlier, from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 (*Gr. Pal.*, p. 112). For good examples see Roberts, Pl. 10 b and c (A.D. 30-35, 66); Schubart, *PGB*, Pls. 14, 18, 19c, 22b, 28 (Augustan to ca. A.D. 150), and *Gr. Pal.*, pp. 115-118. U. von Wilamowitz dated a fine Hesiod manuscript in this style to the 2d cent. (*Berlin Sitzb.*, 1900, pp. 839-851), and W. Crönert found an example of "einer grossen, breiten, runden, vielfach gezierten Schönschrift" at Herculaneum (*ibid.*, pp. 942-959), which supports the theory that the style is a western import into Egypt.

6. E.g., Roberts, Pl. 11a (2d half of 1st cent.) and b (A.D. 94), 18a (A.D. 138), 14 (ca. A.D. 150).

of the *omega* and at the bottom of *kappa*, but *alpha* and *epsilon* are made meticulously with three separate strokes, *sigma* and *omicron* with two. The only slightly mitigated effect is that of painful meticulousness, such as would well accord with the sacred character of the text. One would not hesitate to date such a hand to the mid-first century or even earlier. It seems quite impossible that it could be as late as A.D. 100.

The history of the codex in Egypt is fairly well known, thanks to the discovery of a number of major Biblical manuscripts and the studies of Kenyon and Roberts.<sup>7</sup> As a book form, it was developed elsewhere, very probably in the west and specifically in Rome. Pages of two literary codices in parchment have been found in Egypt, but the hands are foreign looking, and these were probably imports. They must date not far from A.D. 100, but precision is not possible because there are no exact parallels. Otherwise, except for note-books or memoranda, the codex is confined to Christian literature, and papyrus codices are now well known in the second century. The Yale Genesis would, then, appear to be simply the earliest in this series, presumably written in Egypt because of the hand and the use of papyrus, but belonging to the early days of the Christian community. It may have been copied from an imported parchment codex from the west, and belong to the period of the traditional mission of St. Mark in Alexandria.<sup>8</sup> There can be no doubt that the text belongs to a Christian community and not to a Jewish one. The Jews never to our knowledge employed the codex for Scripture. It was expressly forbidden, and the Rylands Deuteronomy of the mid-second century B.C., certainly the property of a Jewish and not a pagan group, is a roll.<sup>9</sup> To the early Christians, the Sacred Book was the Septuagint: Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, the Prophets;<sup>10</sup> and the New Testament only slowly took on that character. These are constantly cited, not only in the New Testament but in the Apostolic

7. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, London, 1939; revision by A.W. Adams, New York, 1958; Roberts, "The Christian Book and the Greek Papyri," *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 50, 1949, pp. 155-168; "The Codex," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 40, 1954, pp. 169-204. See also H.I. Bell, *Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri*, Oxford, 1937; E.J. Goodspeed, *Christianity Goes to Press*, New York, 1940, esp. pp. 68-77.

8. On the possibility of St. Mark's having brought the codex with him to Egypt see Roberts, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 50, 1949, pp. 161 f.

9. Kenyon, *Our Bible*, p. 37; Roberts, "The Codex," pp. 184, 194 f. On the limited use of the codex by Jews see S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, New York, 1950, p. 203.

10. A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4th ed., 1924, I, pp. 289-299; Kenyon, *Our Bible*, p. 102; Roberts, "The Codex," p. 187.



Fathers.<sup>11</sup> These provided the justification of their faith, their moral code, and their cosmology.<sup>12</sup>

This, then, is to be regarded as the earliest Christian fragment identified thus far, a generation earlier than the Rylands Gospel of St. John. That is also from a codex, but one of much greater sophistication, with shorter lines and fewer to the page, wider margins, and a very mannered writing.<sup>13</sup>

As would be expected, the text agrees in general with the early manuscripts, but has a number of individualities of its own. Of the five great uncials, the Sinaiticus (S) and Vaticanus (B) lack this section, and the Alexandrinus (A) and the Bodleianus (E) lack a part of it. Only the Cottonianus (D) preserves this passage completely. There are numerous papyrus manuscripts of Genesis. Roberts in 1949 mentioned that he knew of thirteen dating from the second to the fourth centuries, but did not list them. Of those which are known to me, only the Berlin Genesis and *Chester Beatty IV*, both of the fourth century, contain this passage in part. For other readings, it is enough to refer to the editions of Swete, Rahlfs, and Brooke-McLean.<sup>14</sup>

The variants of this text are not themselves of a special interest. For the most part, they seem to be pure mistakes or orthographic errors. It is of some importance, perhaps, that in verse 14, the number, 318, is not spelled out but given as a numeral; while the passage is fragmentary, there is no room for anything else. The same thing occurs, so far as I have discovered, only in *Chester Beatty IV*, but at the date of that text this has little meaning. It is well known how this numeral was regarded by the later Christians. *Iota eta* stood for ΙΗΣΟΥΣ

11. This chapter of Genesis is not cited in the New Testament, see D. McC. Turpie, *The Old Testament and the New. A Contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*, London, 1868, Index. For the Apostolic Fathers, see Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford, 1905, and *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 6th ed., Leipzig, 1920; O. von Gebhardt, A. von Hamack, Th. Zahn, Index, p. 227. Both lists in H.B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 381-432.

12. Hamack, *loc. cit.*, referring to Tatian, Orat. 29.

13. Roberts, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, Manchester, 1935; *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library at Manchester* 20, 1936, pp. 45-56; *P. Ryl.* III, 457.

14. Roberts, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 50, 1949, p. 165. The Berlin Genesis: H.A. Sanders, C. Schmidt, *The Minor Prophets in the Frier Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis*, New York, 1927; *Chester Beatty IV*: F.G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. IV, 1, London, 1934. The editions are A.A. Brooke, N. McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1917; this is the largest collection of variants; H.B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1925; A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, Stuttgart, 1935. For advice and information concerning papyrus manuscripts of Genesis we are indebted to Dr. Hanhart of the "Septuaginta-Unternehmen" of the Göttingen Academy.

and the *tau* stood for the cross.<sup>15</sup> The history of the cross-symbol has been much discussed.<sup>16</sup> It was probably a Jewish symbol of some sort, kept by the Christians and in time associated with the Cross on which Jesus died. If its use in the present instance was intended to give meaning to the otherwise meaningless number of Abraham's servants, then it would have a bearing on the Christian character of such doubtful phenomena as supposed crosses found at Pompeii and Herculaneum, the crucified figure with donkey's head at Rome, and the chrism consisting of a cross and *rho* occurring on an amulet of about A.D. 100.<sup>17</sup>

Reported: *The Yale Library Gazette*, 39, 1, July, 1964, pp. 1-8.

## Recto

XIV, 5-8

οἱ με[τ'] αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατέκοψ[αν τοὺς γί]γ[αντας]  
 τοὺς ἐν Ἀσταρῶθ Καρνάιν, καὶ ἔθνη εἰσχ[υ—]  
 [ρὰ] ἄμα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς Σομμαίους καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 5 Σαυῆ τῇ πόλει, καὶ τοὺς Χορραίους τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς ὄρεσιν Σηείρ, ἕως τῆς τερεμίνθου  
 τῆς Φαράν, ἣ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κα[ὶ] ἄ—  
 να[σ]τρέψαντες ἤλθοσαν ἐ<π>ὶ τὴν πηγὴν  
 τῆς κρίσεως, αὕτη ἐστὶν Καδδς, κα[ὶ]  
 κατέκοψαν πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας  
 10 Ἀμαλήκ καὶ τοὺς Ἀμορραίους τοὺς κα—  
 τοικοῦντας ἐν Ἀσασάν Θεμάρ: ἐ[ξ]ῆλ—  
 θεν δὲ βασιλεὺς Σοδολόμω[ν καὶ]  
 βασιλεὺς Γομόρρας καὶ βασιλεὺς [Ἀδαμὰ]

15. Epistle of Barnabas, 9, 8, quoted by D. Fishwick, *New Testament Studies* 10; 1963/4, pp. 52 f.

16. E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio, I, 2, 1573-1575; H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, 3, 1914, 3045-3131; E. Dinkler, "Zur Geschichte des Kreuz-symbols," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 48, 1951, pp. 148-172; E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, VII, Bollingen, 1958, pp. 177-179; Fishwick, "The Talpioth Ossuaries Again," *New Testament Studies* 10, 1963/64, pp. 49-61, where references to the recent discussions of the problem are given.

17. For Herculaneum, the first publication was that of A. Maiuri, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* 15, 1939, pp. 193-218. Further bibliography in Fishwick, *op. cit.*, p. 52. For similar evidence from Pompeii, see Fishwick, *loc. cit.* The crucified figure is often reproduced. It was found by P. Garrucci on the Palatine (Daremberg—Saglio, *op. cit.*, 1575). The chrism is published by I. Cecchetti, *Miscellanea Giulio Belvederi*, Rome, 1954/5, pp. 557-578, who would date the text somewhat later.



## Verso

## XIV, 12-15

[γ]ὰ[ρ] κατοικῶν ἐν Σοδόμοις. παρ[α]γενό-  
 [μ]ένος δὲ τῶν ἀνασωθέντων [τι]ς ἀπῆ[γ-]  
 [γει]λέν Ἀβράμ τῷ περάτῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 [κατῶ]κει πρ[ὸ]ς τῆ δρυὶ τῆ Μαμβρῆ[ ὁ Ἀ-]  
 5 μορίς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἐσχῶλ [καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ]  
 Αὐνάν, οἱ ἦσαν συνωμόται τοῦ [Ἀβράμ,]  
 ἀκούσας δὲ Ἀβρά[μ] ὅτι ἤχμαλ[ωτεύ-]  
 θῆ Ἄωτ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ἠρείθ[ι]μῃσεν]  
 τοὺς ἰδίους ο[ι]κογενεῖς αὐτοῦ, [τιη,]  
 10 [κ]αὶ κατεδίωξεν ὀπίσω αὐ[τ]ῶν ἕως Δάν.  
 [κ]αὶ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν νύκτ[α αὐ-]  
 [τὸ]ς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέ[τ]α[ξεν]

For the most part, the papyrus supports D as against A or E; so also do the Berlin Genesis and *Chester Beatty IV*. It shows an improper etacism in R 2 and 6 and V 8. Other variants: R 3, Σομαίους with E and *Beatty IV*, against Σομαίους, A and D. The second καὶ is otherwise unknown except in the Ethiopic.<sup>18</sup> 7. Omission of the *pi* in ἐπὶ points to visual copying; the following *iota tau* looks like a *pi*. 8. Possibly Καδδῖς; the reading of D and *Beatty IV* is Καδῆς. 11. Others have Θαμάρ. 12. Not, apparently, Σοδόδομων. V 3. D has article before Ἀβράμ, omitted by A. 5. Ἀμορίς, A; Ἀμορρίς, D. 7. Possibly ἡίχμ-. 9. Only *Beatty IV* has the numeral, as here.

18. This was kindly pointed out in a letter by Professor Robert A. Kraft of the University of Pennsylvania, who makes also a number of other interesting observations. He is of the opinion that the text may be of Jewish rather than Christian origin, and I do not deny the possibility; but prefer the other explanation until an uncontroversial example of a Jewish papyrus codex of the Septuagint has been identified. Roberts, *American Studies in Papyrology I*, 1966, pp. 25-28, accepts the Christian origin of the papyrus. While hesitating about the date of ca. A.D. 100, he admits it to "the select list of early Christian texts from Egypt."



2. *Ephesians* IV, 16-29; IV, 31-V, 13

P. Yale Inv. 415

13.5 x 29 cm.

Early Third Century

This fragment of a page from a codex was purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Cairo in February, 1931. It has been designated P<sup>49</sup>. Recto precedes verso. The right and lower margins are preserved on the one side, left and lower margins on the other. The lower margin on the recto is 2.5-3 cm., on the verso 3.5-4 cm. The left margin on the verso is 2-2.5 cm. and even, though not straight. The right margin on the recto is very uneven, with a consequent fluctuation in the number of letters to the line, the free space ranging from 2 cm. to 3.5 cm. The edge of the sheet on the side of the binding is lost, with a loss of nine letters on the average at the beginning of the column. Corresponding losses on the verso range from five to twenty. Lines vary from 32 to 44 letters in length, with a mean of 38. Between recto and verso there is a loss of 203 letters, meaning five lines of 40 or 41 letters. There is no way of knowing the width of the upper margin, but we may think approximately of a loss of 6 cm. in width and 5 cm. in height, for an original page (half sheet) of 19.5 x 25 cm. This would mean pages of 29 lines or about 1,100 letters, requiring six pages for the earlier part of *Ephesians* (the first page having contained only the title and some 17 lines of text), and four pages for the remainder of the Epistle, the last page containing only three or four lines. The present sheet would, then, have contained pages 7 and 8 of *Ephesians*, and the original codex would have continued with a further Epistle or Epistles. Since in the usual one-quire codex, verso normally precedes recto in the first half,<sup>1</sup> as in the only other papyrus codex of the Pauline Epistles that has survived, the great *Chester Beatty Papyrus* III of the first half of the third century, recto precedes verso in the second half of the manuscript; which is where we should look for *Ephesians*.<sup>2</sup> We may, therefore, assume *P. Yale* 2 to have belonged to a similar

1. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, p. 105.

2. In *Beatty* III, p. 46 *Ephesians* occupies pages 149-161 (actually numbered 146-158) of the original codex of 208 pages. In this codex, Hebrews follows Romans, and Galatians follows rather than precedes *Ephesians*. There is no way of knowing the sequence in this original codex, but both *Ephesians* and *Thessalonians* would be expected in the second half in any case.

edition of all the Epistles, and this assumption finds support from a papyrus in the Florence collection.<sup>3</sup> This is a page from a codex of 1st Thessalonians, which would follow Ephesians in the normal sequence, and which is regarded by Professor Bartoletti as having belonged to the same codex as the Yale Ephesians. Handwriting, page size, and column of writing are identical, except that there are more letters in each line, and recto precedes verso as would be expected. Professor Bartoletti would date the hand in the first part of the third century, making the original codex generally contemporary with *Beatty* III. In that document, the letters per line are somewhat fewer but the lines per page about the same, although the pages themselves are somewhat narrower and higher than those of the codex to which the Yale and Florence fragments belonged.

The physical condition of the papyrus is poor. There are three separate if adjoining pieces, and other sections are united only by a few fibres. Parts of the text are very ragged. In compensation, however, where the surface is well preserved, the writing is quite clear. There has been no surface rubbing, scuffing, or darkening, and the ink has neither washed nor faded.

The script belongs to a type which shows affinities with Schubart's "strenger Stil,"<sup>4</sup> in that letters tend to be narrow and lean to the right, but which is also under the influence of cursive hands and connects letters when this is convenient. The angular *alpha* and the two-stroke *upsilon* are of the second-century type, but the *delta* (left open at the right to be closed by the following letter) and especially the two-stroke *epsilon* belong to the period of Caracalla. Of Biblical papyri, *Beatty* I and II are similar; the latter has a very similar *xi* and also on occasion, places a small *omicron* under the horizontal of a *gamma*.<sup>5</sup> *Beatty* IX/X may be a little earlier. *P. Bodmer* VII must be closely contemporary. *P. Bodmer* XIV/XV and *P. Ryl.* 5 belong to the same school of writing, but are better written. *P. Oxy.* 1171 and 1355 may well be a little later. For the second-century *alpha* and *upsilon*, one may compare Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, Figs. 87 and 89, and for the early third-century letters, *PGB* 19b, (ca. 200), 32a (219/20), 40 (early III), and especially the edicts of Caracalla, *P. Giss.* 40 (*Gr. Pal.*, Fig. 47), *P. Yale* 2 is

3. *PSI* 1373. I am indebted for a photograph of the fragment to Professor Bartoletti who adds in a letter that he would insist on the similarity of the hands, but not necessarily on their identity. A close comparison of the two leads me to go further. Both hands show a wide variety of forms of the common letters, and all of the forms occurring in the Yale papyrus do not occur in the much smaller remains of the Florence fragment; on the other hand, every form appearing in the latter can be found on the Yale text. There is not a single case of difference in the letter shapes in the two papyri. The Florence papyrus has received the designation of P<sup>65</sup>. While very fragmentary, the papyrus gives one unique reading (πιστεύουσιν, II, 10), and in II, 7, gives νῆπιοι with εὐ, B, and D, as against ἤπιοι (A and later manuscripts). (P<sup>46</sup> is missing here.) Editors vary between the two, but the Latin has "parvuli".

4. *Gr. Pal.*, pp. 126-132.

5. In *λόγοις*, V, 14.



not as well written as most of these, however, and cannot be from a handsome codex. The lines are uneven as are the margins, and the writer, while fluent, was no calligrapher.

Punctuation is indicated, not always correctly, by a double dot. This has been followed in the transcription. Initial *upsilon* carries a diaeresis; in line 15 of the verso this stands actually on the *iota* of *υιούς*. Abbreviations of the holy names are marked by a line above them and by a vacant space of one letter following them. The following are used. Recto, ΚΩ (2), ΘΥ (5), ΙΥ (11), ΠΝΙ (14); verso, ΘΣ (2), ΘΥ (3), ΘΩ (6), ΧΥ (13), ΘΥ (15), ΚΩ (17), ΚΩ (20).<sup>6</sup> At the end of the column on the recto, the last seven letters are added in a separate line even with the right margin. Some dots which have no apparent meaning occur at the left between lines 23 and 24 of the verso.

The writer's orthography was not faultless. He confused *iota* (ἀσελγία, R, 7) and *epsilon iota* (μηκέτει, R, 21; πλεονεξεία, V, 8; εἴστε, 11; κληρονομεία, 13. He confused *alpha iota* (ὀργιζέσθαι, R, 19; ἀμαρτάνεται, 19; περιπατεῖται, V, 4; συνκοινωνεῖται, 21) and *epsilon* (ἐσχρότης, V, 9). He once wrote *omicron* for *omega* (ἀγαθοσύνη, V, 18). Twice he doubled the first consonant in ἐλλέγγετε (V, 22; so also the writer of *Beatty III*) and ἐλλεγχόμενα (V, 24; where *Beatty III* has ἐλε-).<sup>7</sup> He omitted *nu* as the accusative ending of κληρονομεία (V, 13).

The passage contains a few variants of interest, the most important being ἀπιστίας for ἀπειθίας in V, 15, changing the sense. Both words are in Paul's vocabulary, but ἀπειθία occurs twice elsewhere in the same expression (Ephesians, II, 2; Colossians, III, 6), and there can be no doubt that these are "sons of disbelief." Equally unexampled is the omission of ὑμᾶς after ἀποθέσθαι in R, 12; while the word would have occurred in a lacuna, this is too short to include it; and also the omission of καὶ before ὁ Θεὸς in V, 2; ὥσπερ for ὡς in V, 17; the omission of γὰρ before κρυφῆ in V, 22. On the other hand, in adding ἐν before τῷ πνεύματι (R, 14), the papyrus takes sides in a quarrel within the Alexandrine group, the preposition being added by the Vaticanus (B) but omitted by the other major witnesses: Sinaiticus (S), Bezae (D), and *Beatty III* (P<sup>46</sup>).<sup>8</sup> The issue is,

6. For this phenomenon it is enough now to refer to A.H.R.E. Paap, "Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D." (*Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* VIII, 1959).

7. This is a phonetic problem which arises in the Hellenistic Period and has dialectic antecedents (Mayser, I, p. 218).

8. Kenyon, *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. III, Suppl., 1936. The manuscript designations are standard, and are used with only minor modifications in most editions. The more important are described recently by Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (1964), pp. 36 to 92; who also gives a complete list of the papyri, pp. 247-256. It must be noted that the dates ascribed to the papyri vary, even widely, from those given by the editors. They are based on a committee's opinion, but must be used with caution. For example, P<sup>49</sup> and P<sup>65</sup> belong to the same manuscript, but they have been given different dates. Cf. further the report of K. Aland, *New Testament Studies*, 9, 1963, pp. 303-316.

of course, a grammatical one and not of meaning. On the other hand, the problem of the pronouns in V, 3, 5, and 6, is one of sense, and considering that ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς were pronounced identically in Roman Egypt, offered difficulties. In view of the large number of second person plurals which occur in the text of this papyrus,<sup>9</sup> we should expect the pronouns here to have been ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς, and ὑμῶν. Modern editors, however, obedient to the rules of text criticism, print without exception (so far as I have noted) ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς, but ἡμῶν, disregarding the fact that if this were the original text taken down by Paul's amanuensis, it would have been based on his interpretation, not on Paul's pronunciation. The situation is complicated by the fact that *alpha iota* and *epsilon* also were pronounced alike; witness the confusions just listed (where only περιπατεῖται is strictly ungrammatical), which can be matched in all the early manuscripts. Actually, these vary among themselves over these pronouns, as do their numerous followers.<sup>10</sup> In V, 3, ὑμῖν is given by the Alexandrinus (A),  $\aleph$ , and P<sup>46</sup>, but ἡμῖν by B and D. Editors follow the weight of numbers. In V, 5, ὑμᾶς is given by A, B, and  $\aleph$ , but ἡμᾶς by D and P<sup>46</sup>. Again, weight of numbers prevails. In V, 6, however, ὑμῶν is given only by B, but ἡμῶν by A, D,  $\aleph$ , and P<sup>46</sup>; and so that is what the dutiful editors print. But of the earliest exemplars, P<sup>46</sup> gives ὑμῖν, ἡμᾶς, and ἡμῶν; *P. Yale 2*, which may well be earlier still, gives ἡμῖν and ἡμῶν, and I suspect also, in the same context, ἡμᾶς. Of the fourth century codices,  $\aleph$  gives ὑμῖν, ὑμᾶς, and ἡμῶν (like the modern editions), but B, of equal authority, gives ἡμῖν, ὑμᾶς, and ὑμῶν; they agree in only one instance. A follows  $\aleph$ , but D gives a form of ἡμεῖς throughout. The confusion, therefore, is ancient. In view of the difficulty which these pronouns offer to writers of the imperial period in general, we may only be surprised that this is confined here to this one passage.<sup>11</sup>

Both Professor Hatch, in the first publication, and others after him, have identified the text of *P. Yale 2* as Alexandrine. No one who is not a professional Biblical scholar is entitled to express an opinion. According to Professor Hatch, the papyrus agrees with P<sup>46</sup>,  $\aleph$ , B, and A more than it disagrees with them in variant readings. The reverse is true with D. Its closest affinity is with B (26: 7),

9. The second person plural pronoun occurs as follows: R, 2, 9, 12, 14, 20, 25; V, 8, 14, or eight times. Verbs in the second person plural occur as follows: R, 10, 10, 11, 19; V, 1, 3, 4, 11, 16, 22, or ten times, in addition to the three infinitives in R, 12, 14, and 15, which have been taken as second person plurals by various scribes. It is true that these occur mainly in injunctions in which Paul was not including himself, while a shift to the first person in these three instances is possible, if not necessary.

10. The fullest apparatus criticus is still that of C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 8th ed., Leipzig, 1872.

11. It is possible to speculate that a loyal scribe may have introduced the first person in one of these three instances in order that Paul might not seem to be excluding himself from these acts of God's grace, although in the first two instances, at least, they follow a verb in the second person, and in the first of these, there is a second pronoun ἐαυτοῖς which can in no way be taken as a first person.



and then with A (23: 10) and P<sup>46</sup> (18: 9). It will be remembered, however, that it has several vagaries of its own, and had best not be classed too closely.<sup>12</sup>

Published: William H.P. Hatch, C. Bradford Welles, *The Harvard Theological Review* 51, 1958, pp. 33-37.

## Recto

## IV, 16-29

- [οἰκοδομὴν ἑαυτοῦ] ἐν ἀγάπῃ. <sup>17</sup> Τοῦτο οὐκ ἔγω καὶ  
 [μαρτύρομαι] ἐν ΚΩ μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καθ—  
 [ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ: ἐν [μαται]δότητητι τοῦ  
 [νοὸς αὐτῶν] <sup>18</sup> ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ δ[ι]ανοίᾳ: ὄντες  
 5 [ἀπηλλοτριω]μένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θ[Υ] διὰ τὴν ἄγνοι—  
 [αν τὴν οὖσαν] ἐν αὐτοῖς: διὰ [τ]ῆν πάρωσιν τῆς  
 [καρδίας αὐτῶν] <sup>19</sup> οἵτινες ἀπηλ[γ]ηκότες ἑαυτοῦς  
 [παρέδωκαν τῇ] ἀσελγίᾳ: εἰς ἔργα[σίαν] ἀκαθαρ—  
 [σίας πάσης ἐν πλ]ε[ο]ν[ε]ξία <sup>20</sup> ὑμ[εῖς δὲ] οὐχ' οὕτως  
 10 [ἐμάθετε τὸν ΧΝ] <sup>21</sup> εἴ γε αὐτὸν ἤκ[ούσατε] καὶ ἐν αὐτῶ  
 [ἐδιδάχθητε] ἐκ[α]θ[ώ]ς ἐστιν ἀ[λήθε]ι[α ἐν τῶ] |Υ <sup>22</sup> [ἀπ]οθ[ε]—  
 [σθα] κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀ[να]στροφ[ὴν τὸν] πάλαιον ἄν—  
 [θρωπον τὸν] φθ[ε]ιρόμενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς  
 [ἀπάτης] <sup>23</sup> ἀνα[νε]οῦσθαι δὲ ἐν τῶ Π[ΝΙ] τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν  
 15 [24 καὶ ἐνδύσασθ]αι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθ[ρωπο]ν τὸν κατὰ  
 [ΘΝ κτισ]θ[έν]τα ἐν δικαιοσύνη [καὶ ὀσιότη]τ[ι] τῆς ἀλη—  
 [θείας] <sup>25</sup> διὸ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν:  
 [ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτ[ο]ῦ [ὅτι ἐσμέν] ἀλλήλων  
 [μέλη] <sup>26</sup> ὀργίξασθαι καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάν[ε]ται ὁ ἥλιος  
 20 [μὴ ἐπ]ιδυέτω ἐπὶ παρο[ργ]ισμῶ ὑμῶν: <sup>27</sup> μηδὲ  
 [δίδοτε τ]όπον τῶ διαβό[λω] <sup>28</sup> ὁ κλέπτων μηκέτι  
 [κλεπτέτ]ω: μᾶλλον δὲ [κ]οπιάτω ἐργ[α]ζόμενος  
 [ταῖς χερσὶ]ν τὸ ἀγαθόν: ἵνα ἔχη μ[ε]τ[αδ]ιδόναι  
 [τῶ χρεῖαν] ἔχοντι: <sup>29</sup> πᾶς λόγος σαπρὸς [ἐ]κ τοῦ στόμα  
 25  
 τος ὑμῶν

12. I have not attempted to check Professor Hatch's figures, and he gives no list of instances. Many of the variants must be merely orthographic, and these have little value, especially when a manuscript may have been written from dictation. Metzger rightly introduces a note of caution as to purely objective criticism of the text. The extreme position of H. Freiherr von Soden, *Griechisches Neues Testament*, 1913, who classed all manuscripts by groups, has found no following. There is also a technical objection to classifying the papyrus codices, P<sup>46</sup> and P<sup>49</sup>/P<sup>65</sup>, as Alexandrine, if it is correct to suppose that this recension did not come into existence until a hundred years after the papyri were written. There are, however, considerable differences of opinion among Biblical scholars in the matter. See Metzger's convenient summary, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-145, and his own views pp. 207-246.

## Verso

## IV, 31-V, 13

[ση] κακία<sup>32</sup> [γί]ν[εσθε] δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλ[ους χρηστοὶ εὖσπλα-]  
 [γχν]οὶ χαρίζ[ομενοι] ἑαυτοῖ[ς] καθὼς ὁ Θ[Σ ἐν ΧΩ ἐχα-]  
 ρίσατο ἡμῖν<sup>V, 1</sup> [γίνεσθ]ε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θ[Υ ὡς τέκνα]  
 ἀγαπητὰ<sup>2</sup> [καὶ περι]πατεῖται ἐν ἀγαπῇ [καθὼς καὶ]  
 5 ὁ ΧΣ ἠγάπησε[ν ἡ]μᾶς: καὶ παρέδωκε[ν ἑ]αυτὸν ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμῶν προ[σφορ]ὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ ΘΩ εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐω-]  
 δίας:<sup>3</sup> πορν[εῖα δ]ὲ καὶ ἀκαθαρσία πάσα [ἢ πλεο-]  
 γεξεία μηδ[ὲ ὄνο]μαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν [καθὼς πρέπει]  
 ἀγίοις:<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐσ[χρο]τήης καὶ [μωρο]λογία ἢ εὐτραπεία δ]  
 10 οὐκ ἄνη[κ]ε[ν] ἀλλ[ὰ μ]ᾶλλον εὐχ[αριστ]ί[α]<sup>5</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ  
 εἴστε γινώσκ[ο]ντ[ε]ς ὅτι [πᾶς πό]ρνος [ἢ ἀ]κάθ[αρτος]  
 ἢ πλεονέκτης [ὁ] ἐσ[τ]ὶν εἰδωλολ[άτ]ρης οὐκ ἔχει  
 κληρονομεία ἐν [τῇ] βασιλείᾳ τοῦ ΧΥ καὶ ΘΥ<sup>6</sup> [μηδεις]  
 ὑμᾶς ἀπατάτω [κε]νοῖς λόγοις: διὰ ταῦτα [γὰρ ἔρχε-]  
 15 ται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θ[Υ ἐπι] τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπι[σ]τίας<sup>7</sup> μῆ]  
 οὖν γίνεσ[θε] συμμέ[τοχοι] αὐτῶν:<sup>8</sup> ἦτε γὰρ π[οτε]  
 σκότος ν[ῦν] δὲ φῶς ἐν ΧΩ: ὥσπερ [ρ] τέκνα [φωτὸς πε-]  
 ριπατεῖτ[ε]<sup>9</sup> ὁ γὰρ καρ[π]ὸς τ[οῦ] φωτὸς ἐν π[ό]σει ἀγα-]  
 20 θοσύνη καὶ δ[ικ]αιοσύνη κα[ὶ] ἀληθεία<sup>10</sup> δοκιμ[ά]-  
 ζοντες τί ἐσ[τ]ὶν εὐάρεσ[το]ν τῷ ΚΩ<sup>11</sup> καὶ μῆ [συν-]  
 κοινώνεται[ι] τοῖς ἔργοις τ[οῖς] ἀκάρποις τοῦ σκ[ό]τους  
 μᾶλλον δὲ κ[αὶ] ἐλλέγχετ[ε]<sup>12</sup> τὰ κρυφῆ γινόμενα  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀ[σ]χρόν ἐστιν καὶ λέγειν:<sup>13</sup> τὰ [δὲ πάν-]  
 τα ἐλλεγχό[μ]ενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανε[ροῦται]

A restudy of the papyrus has caused me to change my readings and restorations in some places, especially in the matter of dotted letters and the location of brackets. In only two instances does this affect the text materially. As mentioned earlier, I am unable to restore ὑμᾶς in the lacuna in R. 12, and should assume either that the scribe did not feel the need of a subject of the infinitive, or that he took the infinitive for an imperative, ἀποθέσθε (which, as a matter of fact, he may have written; it occurs in D and some later manuscripts). In the second place, in V. 20, I would now read ΧΩ with the manuscripts rather than ΚΩ. The hasta of *kappa* is often curved, but too much in this instance, I believe, for it to be anything but *chi*. It should, further, be pointed out that in V. 22, I am convinced that γὰρ cannot be read (as in the princeps). *Gamma* might be read instead of *tau*, but the *rho* is not there, and there would be no room in the lacuna for τὰ.



3. Acts VIII, 26-32; X, 26-31

P. Yale Inv. 1543

17.5 x 13.5 cm.

Ca. A.D. 300

The papyrus was purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Paris in June, 1933. It is coarse in quality and the edges have broken away in places, but the sheet is complete in its original outside dimensions. As employed, it was folded across with the recto inside to make a quire. The two pages which resulted are now separated by a straight cut, which widens out slightly in two places about 1.5 cm. long and respectively about 3 cm. from the top and bottom edges, suggesting a fastening thread which would have fastened this sheet to others to form a codex. A matching worm trench ending in a larger hole has disfigured both halves of the sheet, but the surface is otherwise in good condition. Marks of folding visible on the verso show that the double page was removed at some time from its presumptive original binding and folded over four times from the bottom. On what became page 4, a vertical strip of fiber about 1 cm. wide had broken away almost to the top before the writing was made. Occasional patches of papyrus fibers on the verso are probably modern.

The text occupies all of pages 1 to 3, and the top 4.5 cm. of page 4. There is an even margin of 0.5 cm. at the left and bottom of page 1, but elsewhere the margins, if any, are uneven, and on page 4 reach a maximum of 1 cm. The writing is coarse and black, with letters for the most part 0.3-0.4 cm. high and the inter-linear interval about 0.2 cm. The last line of each column is indented one or more spaces. There is some smudging between pages 2 and 3; the first letters of lines 7 and 11 of the third page seem repeated in mirror fashion in the corresponding blank area of the second page, possibly due to moistening of the papyrus. In other places, similarly shadowy traces seem due rather to corrections or erasures of the original writing.

While unattractive in appearance, the script is, in my opinion, earlier than the date suggested by the first editor, and far earlier than the date more recently proposed.<sup>1</sup> The influence of the epigraphic or Bible style is strong, as would be expected. Letters are isocephalic in principle, if not in practice always, and are as broad as they are long: again, in principle. There are no serifs, though there are occasional initial or terminal curls or loops. There is no shading. In principle,

1. Metzger's committee dates the hand "IV/V." Cf. *Text of the New Testament*, 1964, p. 252. This papyrus carries the designation P<sup>50</sup>.

letters are separate and not connected, though this ideal is not infrequently disregarded. Ligatures occur when they seemed natural, especially after *alpha*, *epsilon*, or *kappa*, *tau* or *gamma*. Common letters appear in a number of forms, depending on the context or the momentary whim: so *alpha*, *epsilon*, *eta*, *kappa*, *nu*, *pi*, and *upsilon*, and here there is a full range from the monumental to the cursive. It is the latter forms which constitute the best evidence for dating. The fully looped *alpha* goes out early in the fourth century, and the two-stroke hooked *epsilon* hardly lasts longer. On the other hand, the *nu* ending with a high up-stroke is earlier. The form of *nu* which resembles a written English N is late, but the same form for *eta* is earlier — as is, in general, *eta* with a high cross-stroke commonly curving into the second hasta. *Omicron* is usually large but sometimes small, and *alpha*, normally rounded, has occasionally the sharply angled and elongated form of the late second century. *Xi* and *zeta* are relatively simple zig-zags, and the two-stroke *upsilon* is an early type, though it occurs occasionally later (the shallow, dish-shaped *upsilon* of the later periods does not occur at all). While writing styles do not show a uniform or a methodical change such as to permit exact dating, it is hard for me to think of this hand as belonging other than in the period of Diocletian.<sup>2</sup>

Of the various aids to the reader, the use of the diaeresis is an early phenomenon, disappearing in the third century; this was pointed out correctly by the first editor. It occurs six times, four times over an initial *iota* (i 5, 7; iii, 5, 20) and once each over *eta* (i, 17) and *upsilon* (iii, 3). This has been seen in *P. Yale 2*, of a century earlier, and the same is true of the abbreviation of sacred words (IAHM, i, 5, 13; ΠNA, i, 18; ANOΣ, ii, 19; ΘΣ, iii, 7; ANON, iii, 9; ΘΥ, iv, 5/6) and of punctuation also, though these phenomena have a longer history. Instead of the double dot of *P. Yale 2*, this writer uses a single dot, high in the line, but occasionally a combination of dots and curves (iii, 14) or something much like an apostrophe (ii, 11). These last two stand at the end of questions, and the first editor took them to be marks of interrogation, but no others are known before the ninth century, and this is highly unlikely. Comma-like marks and combinations of dots occur in the Bacchylides papyrus, of the later second century, and as a matter of fact, that period is a high point of the use of readers' aids, including accents which are rare or non-existent in the Biblical manuscripts. These aids hardly occur at all in the great fourth-century uncials, but begin to reappear later. Here too, all signs point to a third-century date for *P. Yale 3*, or one

2. For shapes of individual letters, rather than for style, one may compare Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, Figs. 51 (A.D. 265) and 53 (Diocletian). *PGB* 38b (A.D. 348) and 43a (early fourth century) seem somewhat later, though the latter has many similarities, as Kraeling noted in the first edition.



very soon after.<sup>3</sup> Dots occur also here and there where they have no apparent purpose: spatterings, probably.

The orthography of the writer is that of his period, or actually better. He is little to be reproached, and it would be wrong to think of him as ignorant or untrained.<sup>4</sup> There is one instance of confusion between *alpha-iota* and *epsilon* (αἰσθητι, iii, 21), one of *epsilon-iota* and *iota* (ἔδιξεν, iii, 7), one of *epsilon-iota* for *eta-iota* (δδηγῆσαι, ii, 6, where editors have taken this to be a significant text variation). Confusion of unaccented short vowels is common in the third century, and certainly has a phonological basis (ἀνεγίνωσκον for -εν, i, 16; εἰσῆλθον for -εν, ii, 21; in each case D has a participle in -ων and ὁπὸ for ἄπὸ, iii, 15. The same is true of the doubling or simplification of liquids (ἀναντιρῆτως, iii, 10; ἐννάτην, iii, 18). In writing ἐπίστασθε (iii, 3) where other Biblical scribes wrote ἐφίστασθε (as if from ἐφίστημι), our writer shows a certain discretion. In ἐλεημοσύνη (iv, 4) the final letter looks more like *eta* than *alpha-iota*, but it would be perhaps possible to read the plural. The error, if error there is, would have been due to a confusion between singular and plural. In δυνάμην (ii, 5) for δυνάμην<sup>5</sup>, there may be a similar confusion between indicative and optative.

There are progressively more instances of apparent corrections in the text: 2 in col. i, 3 in col. ii, 5 in col. iii, and 4 in col. iv (in only six lines). Sometimes it is possible to make out the original text. In ii, 10, the writer wrote ἀναγίνωσ-, then wrote a large *epsilon* over the second *alpha*. In iii, 16, he wrote TH for τῆς, but then corrected by an over-written *alpha* (ταύτης). In other cases it is impossible to see the original letter which was supposedly corrected. In only one case do these corrections have any interest for the history of the text. In iii, 17, the writer planned to write ἦμην τὴν ἐννάτην with most of the manuscripts, but checked himself and wrote νηστεύων with D and E. It is possible to suspect that he was familiar with the other text and failed for a moment to note the divergence in his archetype.

The first editor has said what is necessary about the textual affinities of the papyrus, and in spite of its unattractiveness as a manuscript, it is not without its importance. There are earlier texts of Acts, though not many, but no earlier

3. The situation is well known. It is enough to refer to Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Paleography of Greek Papyri*, 1899, p. 27; Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Paleography*, 1912, p. 60; and especially C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Vol. II, 1902, p. 896.

4. This not-unnatural attitude (in view of the ugly handwriting and the sometimes incorrect spelling) is expressed a little too forcefully in the first edition.

5. Professor Kraeling in the first edition wished to spare the writer the onus of this mistake, but it seems to me quite clear that the *iota* was never written.



papyrus contains these two passages.<sup>6</sup> With the present dating, the papyrus would be earlier than the fourth-century uncials, and even with a late dating it is not far behind them. As would be expected, it has a number of unique readings, in addition to orthographic or grammatical variants just listed. None of them is of special importance, though all but one may be early. In i, 13, οὔτος ὑποστρέφων for ἦν δὲ or τε is ungrammatical and can hardly be original. The others are: προσελθῶν for προσδραμῶν (i, 21; this is a more prosaic expression); τῶ εὐνούχῳ added after εἶπεν (ii, 2/3), ἄρα without γε (ii, 3), and ὁ δὲ instead of καὶ ὁ (iii, 14), none of which changes the sense materially.

As between the Alexandrine text, represented primarily by S and B, and the Western text of D, *P. Yale 3* goes mostly with the former, and specifically avoids the following significant readings of the latter: ἐν for εἰς (i, 13); τί ποιεῖς for ἀνάστηθι (ii, 17/18); omission of αὐτὸς and addition of ὡς καὶ σύ after εἰμι (ii, 18/19); omission of καὶ συνομιλῶν αὐτῷ (ii, 19/20), reading βέλτιον ἐπίστασθε (iii, 3); ἐπέδειξεν for ἔδειξεν (iii, 7); addition of ὑφ' ἡμῶν after μεταπεμφθεῖς (iii, 11); τῆς τρίτης for τετάρτης (iii, 15); and τῆς ἄρτι for ταύτης τῆς (iii, 16). Three of the Western readings (ἀναστὰς προεὔθητι, i, 2/3; omission of καὶ, i, 14; addition of ἀνδρὶ before ἀλλοφύλῳ, iii, 6) are colorless, but in one case the papyrus agrees with D (and E) in making sense out of what looks like a corrupt passage. This is X, 30, where the Alexandrine text is unintelligible. Literally translated it goes: "From (the) fourth day down to this hour I have been praying throughout the ninth hour" (or "praying the ninth hour prayer"). Had the centurion, Cornelius, been repeating the ninth-hour prayer continuously for four days, or three, if the count was inclusive? Or is τετάρτης ἡμέρας the fourth day of a week?<sup>7</sup> In contrast, the text of D is quite sensible: "From the third (preceding) day down to this hour I have been fasting and during the ninth hour I was praying." The testimony of *P. Yale 3* to νηστεύων should give that neglected reading greater authority.

Professor Kraeling in the first edition has said all that can be said as to the

6. In Metzger's convenient list of the papyrus manuscripts of the New Testament (*op. cit.*, pp. 247-255), I note eleven which contain passages of Acts, but only P<sup>74</sup> (*P. Bodmer XVII*), of the seventh century, contains chapters VIII and X. Only three of these papyri seem to be earlier than or contemporary with *P. Yale 3*: P<sup>29</sup> (*P. Oxy. 1596*), P<sup>48</sup> (*PSI 1165*), and P<sup>38</sup> (*P. Mich. 138*). It is interesting that Metzger characterizes all three as representatives of the Western text. It may be questioned whether so strict a characterization is proper in the early period. The present papyrus shows how far the text was from being established in clear molds.

7. Such an interpretation might be suggested by the absence of the article, which the text of D supplies. Days of the week were numbered in the Jewish calendar, as they are in the modern Arabic, in contrast to the popular practice of designating the days by the planets which came to preside over them. Cf. the remark of E. Bickerman, *Chronologie*, 1963, p. 36, and the full discussion, *RE VII*, 1912, 2547-2578 (Boll).



origin and purpose of the papyrus. Both of the incidents repeated here are incomplete, the first at the end and the second at both beginning and end; neither has any real point in this form. Neither passage is notably important for doctrinal or devotional purposes, and neither is liturgical in character. The writer apparently attempted to break off his narrative after αὐτόν in X, 32, but then added one more word to make better sense. Then he drew a second line across the page to mark the break and started with his second passage, ending that without ceremony after completing only six lines of the fourth column. The most obvious suggestion especially in view of the many corrections, is that this was a school exercise, but the hand is not that of a schoolboy and the corrections were made by the original writer. There is, further, the suspicion that the sheet was at some time bound up with others in a codex—wherein, if it were to present a continuous text, it must have been the middle sheet. It is mysterious.

Published: Carl H. Kraeling, *Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake*, 1937, pp. 163-172.

## Column i

- [ἐλ]άλησεν πρὸς Φί—  
 [λ]ίππον λέγων ἀναστὰς πορ—  
 εὐθητι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνου—  
 5 σαν ἀπὸ Ἰ(ερουσα)λήμ εἰς Γάζαν·  
 αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος καὶ ἀνασ—  
 τὰς ἐπορεύθη· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀν—  
 ἦρ Α[ἰθί]οψ [εὐ]γούχος δυνά[σ—]  
 της Κανδάκης βασιλίσσης  
 10 Αἰθιόπων ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πά—  
 σης τῆς γάζης αὐτῆς  
 ὃς ἐληλύθει προσκυνή—  
 σων εἰς Ἰ(ερουσα)λήμ· οὗτος ὑποσ—  
 τρέφων καθήμενος  
 15 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκον τὸν·  
 προφήτην Ἡ[σ]αίαν· εἶπεν  
 δὲ τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τῷ Φ[ί]λίππῳ·  
 πρόσσελθε καὶ ἰ] κολλήθη—  
 20 τι τῷ ἄρματι τούτῳ·  
 προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Φίλιπ—  
 πος ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀνα—

## Column ii

γινώσκοντος Ἡ[σαίαν τὸν]  
 προφήτην καὶ εἶπ[ε]ν τῷ  
 εὐνούχῳ ἄρα γινώσκεις  
 ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις ὁ δὲ εἶ—  
 5 πεν· πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυνάμην  
 ἔαν μή τις ὀδηγήσει με·  
 παρεκάλεισέν τε τὸν Φίλιπ—  
 πον ἀναβάντα καθίσει  
 σὺν αὐτῷ· ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ  
 10 τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσ—  
 κεν ἦν αὐτῆ· ὥς πρόβα—  
 τον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη  
 καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐνεντίον  
 τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν  
 15 ἄφωνος

ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἤγειρεν  
 αὐτὸν λέγων ἀνάσ—  
 τηθι καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς  
 ἄν(θρωπ)ός εἰμι καὶ συνο—  
 20 μιῶν αὐτῷ εἰσῆλ—  
 θον καὶ εὐρίσκε[ι] συν—

## Column iii

ἐλ[η] [λυ]θότας πολλοὺς  
 ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὡς  
 ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ  
 5 Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προ[σ—]  
 ἔρχεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἀλλοφύ—  
 λῳ· κ[α]μοὶ [ὁ] θε(ὸ)ς ἔδιξεν  
 μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρ—  
 τον λέγει[ν] ἄν(θρωπ)ον ν διὸ νν  
 10 καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως  
 ἦλθον μεταπεμφθεῖς



πυνθάνομα[ι] οὖν τίνι [[οὖν]]  
 λόγῳ μετεπέμψασθε  
 με; ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος  
 15 ὁπὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας  
 μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας  
 ἤμην νηστ[ε]ύων καὶ  
 τὴν ἐννάτην προσευ-  
 χόμε[ν]ος ἐν [τ]ῷ οἴκῳ μου  
 20 καὶ ἰδ[ο]ὺ ἀνὴρ ἕστη ἐνώπι-  
 ο[ν] μου ἐν αἰσθητῇ

## Column iv

λαμπρᾶ καὶ φησι[ν] Κορ-  
 νήλιε εἰσηκούσθη σοῦ  
 ἢ προσευχῆ καὶ αἰ ἐλε-  
 ημοσύνη σοῦ ἐμνήσ-  
 5 θησαν [[τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ]] ἐνώπιον  
 τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ

Only the original punctuation is indicated. Apparent corrections made by over-writing occur in i, 3 and 5; ii, 14 (twice); iii, 8 and 18; iv, 2, 3 and 5 (twice); in addition to the corrections in ii, 10, iii, 16, and 17, already mentioned. The end of Ἰουδαίῳ in iii, 5, is only an *omega* by courtesy; the original writing may have been *omicron upsilon*, but even this is not certain. Erasures by lining through occur in iii, 12, and iv, 5; where the first editor, perhaps rightly, suggested that before the erasure an original cursive ΘΥ had been corrected into uncials. *Iota* in κοινὸν (iii, 8) is added above the line. A curving dash is written at the end of iii, 21.

In the first line of Column i, the space at the left is inadequate for the expected beginning: Ἄγγελος δὲ κυρίου. As the first editor suggested, it is likely that ἄγγελος was abbreviated.

#### 4 – 15. Homeric Fragments

Of the following twelve papyri, five (5, 6, 7, 12, 14) have been published before and are included in Pack's list.<sup>1</sup> They are, accordingly, included also in the statistics of Davison<sup>2</sup> and of Lameere.<sup>3</sup> The others are new. In the following discussion, the comparative evidence is drawn from these three writers as well as from the publications of Schwartz.<sup>4</sup>

The Yale papyri, all of Roman date, are as follows:

4. *Iliad* I, 361-393. Early II. Roll.
5. *Iliad* V, 324-334, 379-390. Ca. 300. Codex. (*P. Oxy.* 756).
6. *Iliad* V, 578-586. Augustan. Roll. (*P. Oxy.* 757).
7. *Iliad* V, 583-596. Ca. 200. Roll. (*P. Oxy.* 758).
8. *Iliad* VI, 232-248. Augustan. Roll (Verso).
9. *Iliad* IX, 272-291. I. Roll.
10. *Iliad* X, 311-319. Augustan. Roll.
11. *Iliad* XVI, 422-438. Late I. Roll (Verso).
12. *Iliad* XXII, 254-290, 328, 350-354, 358-365. Ca. 100. Roll. (*P. Fay.* 211).
13. *Iliad* XXII, 402-422. Augustan. Roll (Verso).
14. *Iliad* XXIV, 74-90. Ca. 200. Roll. (*P. Oxy.* 952).
15. *Odyssey* IX, 80-96. Early II. Roll (Verso).

1. Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed., Ann Arbor, 1965 (Pack<sup>2</sup>).

2. J.A. Davison, "The Study of Homer in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *Akten des VIII Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie*, Vienna, 1956, pp. 51-58.

3. William Lameere, *Aperçus de Paléographie Homérique*, Paris, 1960, pp. 7f., 255-258.

4. Jacques Schwartz, "Papyrus homériques (III)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 46, 1947, pp. 29-71 (nos. 1-22); 54, 1954, pp. 45-71 (nos. 23-32); 61, 1962, pp. 147-174 (nos. 33-40).



There is no indication that any of the rolls, and only a possibility that the codex, contained more than one book. All of the texts prior to the end of the third century are rolls, and in four of them, all new, the text is on the verso.

Combining the tables of distribution compiled by Davison with the additional texts assembled by Lameere, we have the following picture, wherein the Yale (and unpublished) texts are indicated by "Y", and are added to the previous totals in parenthesis.

	I	I/II	II	II/III	III	Total
<i>Iliad</i> I	6	5	13 (Y)	7	16	47 (48) <sup>5</sup>
<i>Iliad</i> V	5	2	9	5	11	32
<i>Iliad</i> VI	1 (Y)	3	5	4	4	17 (18)
<i>Iliad</i> IX	1	3 (Y)	5	—	3	12 (13)
<i>Iliad</i> X	—	1 (Y)	3	4	5	13 (14) <sup>6</sup>
<i>Iliad</i> XVI	—	1 (Y)	2	1	1	5 (6)
<i>Iliad</i> XXII	— (Y)	3	2	4	—	9 (10)
<i>Iliad</i> XXIV	1	1	3	—	1	6
<i>Odyssey</i> IX	1	—	1 (Y)	1	—	3 (4)

Two of the previously unpublished Yale texts contain passages not otherwise attested in the papyri: 10 and 13. One of the previously published texts is unique also: 14. The other passages, in whole or in part, have appeared previously as follows:

No. of Text	No. of Parallels
4	2
5	3
6/7 (which overlap)	2
8	4
9	2
11	1
12	1
15	1

5. This is on the assumption that the total given by Davison, p. 65, is incorrect. His previous figures add up to 41, not 35.

6. Lameere's No. 051 (p. 257) is marked as of unknown date, and so is not included in my total.

#### 4-14. Fragments of the *Iliad*

Papyrus manuscripts of the *Iliad* which date later than the edition of Aristarchus of Samothrace: later, that is, than the mid-second century B.C., contribute only rarely and little to the history of the text. Lines and readings are ordinarily those of the standard mediaeval and modern editions.<sup>1</sup> As all of the fragments in the Yale collection belong in this category, it is unnecessary to print the texts in full, but they are of interest as examples of ancient book manufacture.<sup>2</sup> With one exception, as has been noted, all are from rolls, and they range in date from the Augustan period to about A.D. 200. There is always some uncertainty, of course, in dating literary hands. The page from a codex (5) may be dated about A.D. 300. This codex may originally have contained at least two books. Each of the rolls presumably contained one book only. One of these (4) is of a certain interest because of the scribe's addiction to *iota* adscript, another (8) because of its many errors. One (7) contributes a number of new readings, and two (7, 11) contain diacritical marks.

#### 4. *Iliad* I, 361-393

P. Yale Inv. 489

11.5 x 26.2 cm.

Early Second Century

Purchased in Egypt from a Cairo dealer in 1931; complete above, below, and on the right. The margins are, respectively, 2, 2.7, and 1-3 cm. The original width of the column of writing was about 14 cm. There are 33 lines to the column, making this Column XII of the original roll. The total length would have been 19 columns or somewhat over 3 m. The surface is discolored in places and there are

1. This has long been recognized; cf. Wm. Schmid, Otto Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, 1, Munich, 1929, p. 164; and especially George Melville Bolling, *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad*, Baltimore, 1944, p. 5. See also Davison and Lameere, 11. cc.

2. So correctly Victor Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer I*, Geneva, 1954, pp. 9-20.



some small holes, mainly along what seem to be fold lines (three from right to left and two from top to bottom; all presumably modern). The writing is a large (0.4 cm.), somewhat mannered, and clear bookhand, but inexpert and lacking in real elegance. This, with the narrow margins, shows that it was an inexpensive publication.<sup>3</sup>

The writer shows a peculiar interest in *iota*. On a number of occasions, especially in the first lines of the column, he caps it with a diaeresis, and in addition to using the adscript correctly with *eta* and *omega* throughout, he adds it in many cases where it does not belong. The examples are as follows: ἄμφωι (363), προσέφηι, ὠικυς (364), ἀγορεύωι (365), ἤιγομεν (367), καλλιπάρηιον (369), ἐκηιβόλου (373), σκήιπτρωι (374), δύωι, κοσμήτορε (375), ἐπευφήμησαν (376), ἰέρηια (377), ἤικουσεν, ἤιεν (381), κῆιλα (388), πρῶιτος (386), δῆι (388), κλισίηθεν (391), βρισῆιος (392), ἔῆιος (393). Since these long diphthongs had ceased to be pronounced, this is a mark of literary pretension appearing not uncommonly especially in the century centering on A.D. 100.<sup>4</sup>

Five other papyri contain this passage, at least in part. Pack<sup>2</sup> 603 is unpublished, but is described as containing *iota* adscript as well as accents and diacritical marks. Pack<sup>2</sup> 604 shows the following variant: ἀπερήσι', line 372. Three others were published by Schwartz. Pack<sup>2</sup> 591, early 2d cent., has lines 215-442. In this passage it omits lines 375 and repeats line 374 after 380. Line 379 is inserted after 374 and before 381. Pack<sup>2</sup> 599, early 2d cent., has lines 308-375. It has one instance of superfluous iotacism: ἄμφωι, line 363. Pack<sup>2</sup> 601, of the first century, contains fragments of lines 339-397, but only 361-2 are preserved in usable form.

### 5. *Iliad* V, 324-334; 379-390

P. Yale Inv. 67

8.3 x 6.8 cm.

Late Third Century

Published as *P. Oxy.* 756 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund;<sup>5</sup> Pack<sup>2</sup> 744. The lower corner of a leaf from a codex, with recto preceding verso.<sup>6</sup> On the former, there remains the lower margin of about 1.5 cm., and a

3. Cf. the examples cited by Frederic G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, pp. 50-60.

4. The evidence has never been collected, so far as I know, but the phenomenon is marked. It appears also at Dura; cf. *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Final Report V, Part 1, New Haven, 1959, p. 47.

5. The distribution occurred on several occasions in the period 1900-1910.

6. This might mean that the page is from the second part of the codex; and this would indicate that the codex originally contained Books IV and V. On the other hand, the arrangement of leaves in codices was not uniform, and an edition of the whole *Iliad* in codices would be expected rather to combine Books V and VI; cf. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, pp. 105-108.

right margin of 4–6 cm., depending on the length of line. The outer 2.5 cm. of papyrus is ragged because of the loss of the vertical fibers of the verso at this point, with some 0.5 cm. from the left of the column of writing. The lower margin here is also 1.5 cm. In other words, assuming that the original width of the papyrus sheet is preserved, the original outer margin on the verso was about 2 cm. The interior margin is lost, but the width of the column on both sides may be estimated at about 10 cm. There were 56 lines to the page, giving with the top margin a total height of perhaps 26 cm. This is fairly large for Egyptian papyrus codices.<sup>7</sup> The surface is well preserved except for some small holes, but the quality of the recto is superior to that of the verso, and the color is lighter.

The hands are different (on the different sides). Both are semi-cursive, but that of the recto shows a small, graceful, easy manner while that of the verso is larger and rougher, with corrections. There are four instances of apostrophe: γ' (327), χαλέπ' (384), ἐνθ' (388), and τ' (390); one of diaeresis: [μη]τρειή (389). Variant readings are κυρανέουσαι for κοιρανέουσιν (332), [τέτ]λατι for τέπλαθι (382), ἄλιγ[ε], apparently (384), and τ' after [Ἐρ]μέα (390; but this occurs in some manuscripts).<sup>8</sup> The omission of δῆ (383) does violence to the meter. The -ξη- in ἐξήγγειλεν (390) are written as corrections, the η above the line. Portions of this passage occur in Pack<sup>2</sup> 746 and 2571, and in Lameere, No. 026 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 745), but without variation, except that the last omits *iota* adscriptum in line 387, and the first ἐξ- in line 390.

#### 6. *Iliad* V, 578-586.

P. Yale Inv. 68

3 x 4.2 cm.

Augustan Period

Published as *P. Oxy.* 757 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup> 756. A fragment of a roll with writing on the recto, the verso being blank. The end of one line (579) is preserved but without margin, and the fragment is incomplete on all sides. The surface is rubbed and full of holes. The script is a large (0.4 cm.), careful, even bookhand, similar to but rather more even than those of 8 and 10.<sup>9</sup> The only variant reading is ἐγ for ἐκ (582).

7. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, pp. 50 f.

8. We may refer to the Clarendon Press edition of David B. Munro and Thomas W. Allen, 3rd. ed., issue of 1957.

9. Cf. Roberts, pl. 9 b.



7. *Iliad* V, 583-596.

P. Yale Inv. 69

11 x 9.5 cm.

Ca. A.D. 200

Published as *P. Oxy.* 758 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup> 757. A fragment of a roll, complete at the top with a margin of 1.5 cm. The left of the column of writing is preserved in the first four lines, with a blank space of 0.6 cm. at the left. The third line (585) is preserved complete, but the rest have lost some letters at the end. Edges at the lower part of the papyrus are much broken, and the surface in general is marred by a number of holes, but the papyrus is light in color and the oval script is clearly legible. The writing is small (0.3 cm.) and even, with contrasting narrow (Ε, Σ) and wide (Μ, Π) letters. The general appearance is angular and sloping.<sup>10</sup>

Accents, breathings, apostrophes, and marks of punctuation occur irregularly.<sup>11</sup> The cases are: ἀρ' (584), ὁ γ' (585), κονίησιν· (586), εἰστήκει·, γάρ ρ' (587), [ῥφ]ρ' (588), [το]ύς, ἰμασ, Ἀντίλοχος· (589), στίχας· (590), [κε]κλήγως, ἄμα (591), Ἔκτορος· (595). Variant readings are ἐλέφ[αν]τα for ἐλέφ[αν]τι (583), εἰστήκει for ἐστ- (587), πέσον for βάλον (with some manuscripts), ἴππων· for ἴππω (588), [κε]κλήγως for the modern editors' κεκλήγων (591).

Of the two papyri which duplicate in part the texts of 6 and 7, Lameere, No. 028, offers nothing of interest; Pack<sup>2</sup> No. 755 contained a substitute line 580, too fragmentary to be certainly reconstructed.

8. *Iliad* VI, 232-248

P. Yale Inv. 457 V

4.2 x 9.3 cm.

Augustan Period

Purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in 1931; incomplete on all sides. Dirty but almost intact, except for a loose strand on the right. The writing is a mannered and even but slightly shaky bookhand, about 0.3 cm. high, similar to that of 6 and 10. The text, which contains nothing of special interest, is written on the verso of a roll which contained an unknown text in hexameters in a smaller, easier, more natural bookhand, datable to the last century of the Ptolemaic Era. While the surface is damaged and dirty, the following may be read with some certainty:

10. Cf. Roberts, pl. 15 c; *Gr. Pal.*, p. 125, pl. 83; *PGB*, pl. 19 b.

11. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, pp. 67-69.

]αι ἄνωθε  
 ]οὔτοι  
 ]κεΐηι  
 ].. εησεν  
 ].. ρεγκος  
 5 γ]ἄρ νευ.. α  
 ]ικωπ[..  
 ]... πισκος  
 ].....  
 10 ].....  
 ]ογ.[..]ον  
 ]εξε[..  
 ]ον  
 ]..ν  
 15 ].. καὶ ον. ηζ..

The right edge of the papyrus was covered by a pasted strip 1 cm. wide, which has broken away below. Since the surface beneath the strip is lighter in color than elsewhere, it should have been there in antiquity. On the other hand, the writing in line 15 (but nowhere else) extends onto this light surface and so under the strip. Where sensible combinations of letters can be read, there seem to be hexameter line endings, but the words are not those of the hexameter (ἄνωθε, οὔτοι, -ρεγκος, -πισκος) and while γλα]ικωπ[ις might be read in line 7 (the upsilon is difficult), this epithet was not used in the epic at the end of a line.

We have here, nevertheless, one of the infrequent instances of a literary roll being re-used for another literary work.

The *Iliad* passage, in whole or in part, occurs in four other papyri. Pack<sup>2</sup> 1755 is a reference only; his No. 1223 gives χαλκίων in line 236, in No. 785 omits the *iotas* adscript in lines 241 and 243. Lamere, No. 034, has the variant πύ]ργο[ν for φηγόν in line 237.

9. *Iliad* IX, 272-291

P. Yale Inv. 1062

6.5 x 15 cm.

First Century

Purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in 1931, and reported to be from Abutig. Light colored papyrus complete below and on left. There is no real margin on the left; the lower margin is 2 cm. A vertical line of holes as from a fold disfigures the top, at the lower end of which there is a fold line to the right edge, which is generally rough and uneven. The writing shows two differing hands, both



with strong cursive inclinations and generally similar in type; the upper is smaller than the lower, and the lines are closer together. Letters vary from 0.1 to 0.2 cm. above, 0.2 to 0.4 cm. below.

The interest of the text lies in its non-professional character. Both writers made mistakes, and while writing *Iliad* IX, 272-291 had lines 128-148 in mind and tended to use the first person for the third. The deviations are as follows:

- (272) κάλλι for κάλλει.  
 (273) δώσει , corrected from δώσω; ει is written twice above line.  
 (274) και ἐπι for ἐπι δὲ.  
 (276) ἦ δ' ἀνδρῶν for ἦ τ' .  
 (280) κεν corrected from κειε (?); δαδεώμεθα corrected from ταδ- (for δατ-).  
 (281) Τρώιδας for Τρωιάδας.  
 (282) τε for κε.  
 (283) Ἄρκος for Ἄργος; ἰκοίμεθ' corrected from -μετ' .  
 (284) ἕοις corrected from ε.η; τίσι for τίσει.  
 (286) τρίς for τρεῖς; μοί for οἱ.  
 (288) ἦν omitted; κ' ἐθέλησθαι for -σθα.  
 (289) οργον for οἶκον; ὁ τ' αὐτ' for ὁ δ' .  
 (290) ὄσ' over erasure for ὄσσ' .  
 (291) τοι over erasure; δώσω for δώσει.

The two parallel texts, Pack<sup>2</sup>, 842 and 843, have not been published, but seem to contain nothing of interest.

#### 10. *Iliad* X, 311-319

P. Yale Inv. 552

4.5 x 4 cm.

Augustan Period

Purchased in Egypt from a Cairo dealer in 1931; complete on left only. A small (0.2 cm.) neat bookhand very similar to that of 6 and 8. So far as we know, this is the first time this passage has occurred on a papyrus, and it contains nothing of interest.

#### 11. *Iliad* XVI, 422-438

Plate II

P. Yale Inv. 1082 V.

7 x 9.7 cm.

Late First Century

Purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in 1931; reported to be from Abutig. A very irregularly shaped fragment disfigured by the loss of some vertical strips of fiber. The color is light, however, and the writing is clear where it is preserved. All margins have been lost. The epic book was written on the verso of a

roll which had contained land records. It is possible to read in a good semi-cursive of the early Roman period the following:<sup>12</sup>

] λιβὸς ἔχομ(ένη) οἰκία [
   
] λιβὸς ἔχομ(ένη) οἰκία Π[
   
] λιβὸς ἔχομ(ένη) οἰκία Ου[

Above lines 2 and 3 at the right and below line 3 are additions in a small cursive, partly effaced and not yet read.

The interest of the epic text lies in the diacritical marks, which are of the usual sort: straight, angular acute and grave accents, a semi-circular circumflex, an apostrophe of modern form, and a rough breathing shaped like the left half of a bisected H. The cases are as follows:

κρατέει (424), Τρῶας, ἐπει, πολλῶν (425), ῥα, οχέων (426), ἐτέρωθεν (427), αιγυπιοι (428), ὑψηλῆι (429), κεκλήγοντες (430), ἰδων, ἐλέησε (431), εγών, ὀ (433), Πατρόκλοιο (434), δέ (435), ζῶον, ἔον (436), αναρπάξας (437), ὑπο (438).

Similar accents occur occasionally in papyrus manuscripts from the Augustan period on.

The only parallel text, Pack<sup>2</sup>, 934, has not been published.

#### 12. *Iliad* XXII, 254-290; 328, 350-354, 358-365

P. Yale Inv. 8

Above 26.5 cm. high

Ca. A.D. 100

Published as *P. Fay.* 211, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup>, 995. Twelve larger and smaller fragments of a papyrus roll, comprising most of Column VIII and much of the lower part of Column X of the original fifteen columns. Some minor pieces containing only a letter or two can be placed only conjecturally. Curiously enough, there were 36 lines in each column, but a line was omitted in each case. Line 263 from Column VIII was added in a smaller and more cursive hand in the lower margin, but line 363 was omitted altogether, so far as the fragments show. The upper and lower margins were 2 and 4 cm. respectively, so this was no lavish piece of book manufacture, but the large (0.4-0.5 cm.) and graceful hand with its somewhat archaic slenderness looks older than the date ascribed to it by Grenfell and Hunt. It might be late Augustan.<sup>13</sup> The

12. For the script cf. *Gr. Pal.*, p. 58, pl. 32 (of A.D. 84). The formula to indicate boundaries occurs in *P. Teb.* 87 (*Chr.* 231), of the late second century B.C.

13. Cf. Roberts, Pl. 9c.



surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed in many places and the stuff is frayed, but the color is light and clean. Unfortunately, however, the interest of the papyrus ceases there. The text contains nothing of interest, except the one variant  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu]$ - $\epsilon\iota\tilde{\omega}\tau\alpha$  for  $-\eta\tilde{\omega}\tau\alpha$  (364). Of the two parallel texts, Pack<sup>2</sup>, 993 and 994, the former omits the  $\gamma$  in line 266.

13. *Iliad* XXII, 402-422

P. Yale Inv. 518 V

6.2 x 16.3 cm.

Augustan Period

Purchased in Egypt from a Cairo dealer in 1931, this rather dirty scrap is remarkable chiefly for the small size of the original roll. The top and bottom margins (1.7 and 2.5 cm.) are relatively large for the total height, and in proportion to the 21 lines of text. If the roll contained originally Book XXII complete, this would have run to 26 columns or a total length of nearly seven meters, where-in this would have been Column XXI.<sup>14</sup> The large (0.3 cm.) bookhand is regular but rough and looks early. This would accord with the faint traces of writing on the recto, which look late Ptolemaic in date; not enough remains to indicate the original character of this text, but it was not, apparently, literary.

Beyond an erroneous letter smudged out after  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$  in line 402 and a vacant gap of one letter after  $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu$  in 415, the papyrus offers nothing of interest. The passage has not appeared elsewhere on a papyrus.

14. *Iliad* XXIV, 74-90

P. Yale Inv. A7

5 x 11.2 cm.

Ca. A.D. 200

Published as *P. Oxy.* 952, the fragment of a roll came to Yale as a gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup>, 1012. The top margin of 2 cm. is preserved, but otherwise the papyrus is incomplete on all sides. The surface is frayed and ragged, and the little text which remains contains nothing of interest, except for the presumably accidental omission of  $\tau\epsilon$  after  $\Sigma\delta\mu\omicron\nu$  in line 78. The script is a good example of the oval bookhand, similar to that of 7. The passage has not occurred elsewhere on a papyrus.

14. Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, p. 54.

15. Odyssey IX, 80-96

P. Yale Inv. 1589V

7.3 x 14 cm.

First Half of the Second Century

Purchased from Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1935, complete above and on the left. The margins are 2.2 and 1.2 cm. respectively. The original width of the column of writing was about 14.4 cm. The 16 lines occupy about 12 cm., and the column must have contained about 28-30 lines, giving it an over-all height of about 26 cm. The three previous columns in the roll would have held an average of below 27 lines, but the first column was probably shorter than the rest. The whole book would have been complete in 20 columns, for a total length of about 3.50 m.

The script is a late form of the epigraphical style, with letters generally rounded and unevenly spaced. Many strokes end in small hooks or loops. While different in general appearance, the hand is similar in style to that of the recto, a rather elegant business hand which can be ascribed to the late first century (the closest parallel I have seen is Kenyon, *Paleography*, Pl. V, of A.D. 72/3). *Alpha*, *beta*, *delta*, *mu*, *pi*, *omega*, and *sigma* are quite alike in form, the last showing the usual tendency at this period to continue the curve on almost to the base-line. On the other hand, the recto shows a cursive *epsilon*, *kappa*, *upsilon*, and *phi*.

The text of the recto is a list of names, perhaps for tax purposes. The column is incomplete on either side and below. So far as readily legible, the names are Egyptian: Phimenis, Petosiris, Horos, Pisis.

The papyrus shows no deviations from the standard text except for the omission of line 90, which was always a problem. Most manuscripts place this before line 89, and it is, in any case, a doublet of *Odyssey* X, 102. Line 89 is omitted in a few manuscripts, but 90 is otherwise always present, according to Allen's apparatus.<sup>1</sup> The one parallel text, Pack<sup>2</sup>, 1076, contains nothing notable.

1. See above, p. 24, n. 8.

P. Yale Inv. 1589V

Published as a gift from the that of Schubart, are carefully for appearance. Not except for rho a The left margin recto varies from fragment preserved ably included holes, the recto stayed. Pack<sup>2</sup>, 503 There is no all but an occa of our editions subscript is omi diacritical mark tis or ðá|ja in transcribed by d

1. Earlier ref. F. Jacoby, *Hesiodo della Teogonia verso to preced* 2. The manus 194, pp. 185-189.



16. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 930-940, 994-1004

P. Yale Inv. A8

6.5 x 6 cm.

Ca. A.D. 200

Published as *P. Oxy.* 873, this fragment of a papyrus codex came to Yale as a gift from the Egypt Exploration Society. The small, even writing is similar to that of Schubart, *Gr. Pal.* Figs. 83 and 85, and Roberts, Pls. 19a and 20a. Letters are carefully formed, wide rather than high, and present an almost stoichedon appearance. Notable is the *nu* with a low, almost horizontal diagonal. Letters, except for *rho* and *phi*, are evenly 0.2 cm. in height, with 0.3 cm. between lines. The left margin on the verso, which precedes, is 1.4 cm.; the right margin on the recto varies from 0.2 to 1.7 cm. Since there were about 65 lines to the page, the fragment preserves in part pages 16 and 17 of the original codex, which presumably included other works of Hesiod following the *Theogony*. Except for some holes, the recto is well preserved, but the surface of the verso is rubbed and frayed.

Pack<sup>2</sup>, 503; Rzach, O.; Jacoby Π 7; Arrighetti, pp. 258 f.<sup>1</sup>

There is no need of repeating the transcript of Grenfell and Hunt, of which all but an occasional letter can still be read, and which gives the standard text of our editions except in line 937, where the reading is τε instead of θ'.<sup>2</sup> *Iota* adscript is omitted. Elision is indicated after ποιήσατ' in line 999, but no other diacritical marks occur. It is impossible to decide between Grenfell and Hunt's δῖα or δε[ι]α in line 1004. On the other hand, it is possible to read line 940, not transcribed by them, with some confidence as

[Καδμε]ι[η δ' ἄρ]α οἱ Σμέλη τέκε φαίδιμον υἷόν].

1. Earlier references in Pack. The Rzach edition is the Teubner of 1913. Further, F. Jacoby, *Hesiodi Carmina*, Pars I: *Theogonia*, Berlin, 1930; Graziano Arrighetti, "Il Testo della Teogonia di Esiodo," *Athenaeum*, N.S., 39, 1961, pp. 211-284. It is normal for verso to precede recto in the first half of a codex (Kenyon, *Books and Readers*, p. 105).

2. The manuscript tradition of the *Theogony* is reviewed now by M.L. West, *CQ* 14, 1964, pp. 165-189.

17. Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*  
Plate II

P. Yale Inv. 1273 R

6.8 x 14 cm.

Ca. A.D. 100

The papyrus was purchased for Yale in Cairo from the dealer Maurice Nahman in September, 1931. The writing is a small (0.2 cm.), evenly spaced book hand, with a space of 0.3 cm. between lines. Letters are even in height, with the exception of the tall *phi*, and occupy (except for *iota*) a square area, as wide as high. Every line-end is occupied by a hook or a cross-stroke wherever possible, with such regularity that it is possible to identify fragmentary parts by these characteristic marks. The shapes and general effect are very close to those of the Berlin Homer *PGB* 19c, which shares with *P. Yale* 17 the use of accents, punctuation, and diacritical marks. These are as follows. An elevated single dot occurs at the end of lines 4, 6, 18, and 21. A dash occurs at the end of lines 15 and 16. A diaeresis stands over *upsilon* in *υίόν* (line 1) and over *iota* in *βασιλῆι* (line 2) and *ῥπιεν* (line 20). Acute accents are written on *τέριναν* (line 7), *-ων* (line 8; combined with what seems to be a horizontal stroke below it), and *ῶς* (line 9). There is a circumflex accent on *γ]ληχῶνα* (line 7) and *ῶρχ]ομενοῖο* (line 16). What seems to be a grave accent occurs in a fragmentary passage in line 8, and an unidentified sign resembling an inverted "V" occurs over the second syllable of *ἐράννη[ν* (line 23; this might be an *alpha* of the usual shape, written above as a correction of the more cursive *alpha* below).

Identification was made by Bruno Snell during a visit to Yale in 1953, who pointed out that the same text occurred in part on a fragment of a parchment codex published by Vittorio Bartoletti in 1951.<sup>1</sup> A photograph was sent to Reinhold Merkelbach, who published this and a partial transcription of the papyrus in 1956.<sup>2</sup> Further readings were made by Bartoletti and Merkelbach in 1957 and by E. Lobel in 1962.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Aegyptus* 31, 1951, pp. 263-268.

2. *Archiv* 16, 1956, pp. 34-36, E2 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 515).

3. R. Merkelbach, *Die Hesiodfragmente auf Papyrus*, Leipzig, 1957; Bartoletti, *PSI* 1383 (1957), with reprints of *P. Yale* 17; *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXVIII, p. 82, J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodica*, Diss. Paris, 1960, pp. 433-435 discusses the Yale papyrus following Merkelbach, and considers especially the first 9 lines.



I give the text of the Yale papyrus (on the right) together with relevant portions of the Florence codex. The two texts overlap slightly between lines 18 and 23. Restorations in lines 1-9 are by Lobel, in lines 12-27 by Merkelbach, except as otherwise noted.

The general subject of this section of the Catalogue is Boeotia.<sup>4</sup> Lines 1-9 are a description of the Cephissus River. The subject of lines 10-13 is obscure, but with line 14, the author has come to the immigration of the Minyans, presumably from Thessaly, into Boeotia and specifically the founding of Orchomenos and possibly other cities. For the first section, Lobel has cited Hesiod, Frags. 37 and 38 (Rzach).<sup>5</sup> The former of these gives us the presumptive full text of line 4:

ὅς τε Λιλαίηθεν προίει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ

This is from a Homer scholiast and may well be correct. The other fragment is quoted by Strabo (IX, iii, 16, 424) in two lines, and is corrupt:

παρέκ Πανοπηῆα διὰ Γλήχωνά τ' ἐρύμνην  
καί τε δ' Ὀρχομενοῦ εἰλιγμένους εἶσι δράκων ὄς.

It is also interesting that Strabo left out our line 8. In the same passage, he referred to line 9, but without quoting it: δι' ὄλης ῥέοι τῆς Φωκίδος σκολιῶς καὶ δρακοντοειδῶς.

πρί]ν ἠβῆσαι | φίλον υἰόν  
λητω | βασιλῆι  
]ἀργυρ[ο]δίνην  
καλλίρ]ροο[ν] ὕδωρ.  
5 ]μιν περὶ πέτρῃ[ν  
]ἄρσαλέος περ  
γ]λήχωνα τέριναν  
]...ων  
δράκω]ν ὄς  
10 ]..ς  
]κησειν  
]αρεπ.[..... ἔνδο]θι μήτε θύρηφι  
τ]ε θεῶν νέμ[εσιν θνη]τῶν τ' ἀνθρώπω[ν  
]ουκωνος κου[ρ .....]ν ἐξεπέρησα[ν  
15 ]εν Κοπρεὺς [.....φί]λος υἰός -  
υἰ]ωνὸς μεγαλήτορο[ς Ὀρχ]ομενοῖο -  
]ν ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι | εὐτροχέουσιν

4. The exhaustive treatment of the catalogue by Schwartz, *op. cit.* pp. 265-483, with the new Oxyrhynchus fragments published by Lobel (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXVIII), have superseded all previous discussions. A possible additional fragment is published by Lobel as *P. Oxy.* 2509.

5. This was noted independently by Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

με]γάροις θεοείκελα γείνατο τέκνα·  
 ]ήρῳα καὶ Ἴπποκλον μεγάλημνον  
 20 ]ην Ἀνδρείδης Ἐτέοκλος ὄπιειν  
 Ὀρχομ ]ενοῖο πάις Μινυηιά[ δ]αο·  
 ]μων γέμετο κρατερός τε μέγας τε  
 ]νεων κατενάσματο γαίαν ἐραννή[ν  
 ]οτην Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχο[ υσαν  
 25 ]..δαο Κομή[ το]ν τὸν περὶ πάντ[ων  
 ]..τε καταθ[ νήτ]ων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἄλλοι π[....].νον υἱὸν ἐτίκτι[εν

12. ]..μ.τε θύρηφι[ν, Merk.; the combination does not occur in our preserved text of Hesiod. The first adverb occurs frequently in Hesiod, but always as a preposition; the second occurs in *Works*, 365.

13. Merk. supplies ἀθανάτων at the beginning.

14. Bart. read Λεύκωνος, which may well be right, although the *epsilon* looks much rather like *omicron*. The relationship of the persons mentioned in the following lines is given variously. Merk. has arranged a stemma to fit the present evidence. Leucon, son of Athamas and grandson of Aeolus, and two daughters, Peisidice(?) and Euipe, who married the cousins Copreus and Eteoclus respectively; their respective fathers were Haliartus (?) and Andreus, sons of Orchomenus and grandsons of Minyas. The marriage of Copreus and Peisidice produced Argynnus and Hippoclus, that of Eteoclus and Euipe a son whose name ended in -mon. The verb at the end was suggested by Bart., and although doubted by Merk., is quite certain. The reference is presumably to the Minyan migration from Thes-saly to Boeotia.

15. The end of the line was previously not read; .ο...ος, Merk.; ]λωτος, Bart. (1957).

17. ]..ν, Bart., σ]ύν, Merk. Bart. suggested restoring κολλητοῖσι, and this was accepted as a reading by Merk. The reading in the text is a new formation from the familiar εὔτροχος, used in the epic as a description of chariots and wagons.

18. At the beginning, αὔτη δ' ἐν, Bart.; ἡ δέ οἱ ἐν, Merk., accepted by Bart. (1957).

19. At the beginning, Ἀργυννόν θ' (?), Bart., and without the question mark, Merk. Bart. (1957) omits this.

20. τήν, Bart. (1951), θ' ἦν (1957).

21. At the beginning, ἡγάγετ', Bart. (1951), παιδὸς ῥ', (1957).

22. At the beginning, ἐκ τῆς δ-, Merk.; ἐκ τῆς, Bart. (1957).

24. At the beginning, γῆμε δέ, Bart.

25. κούρην - - ]..ιδασ, Bart. (1951); omits κούρην, (1957).

26. .ε, Bart., σε, Merk.

27. ]τλον, Bart.; ]..λον π[....]νον[.].ο.ετ..], Merk. Accepted by Bart. (1957), who retains ]τλον.



### 18. Pindar, Unidentified Fragment

P. Yale Inv. 44

15 x 12.5, 7 x 13.5 cm.

Ca. A.D. 100

Published as *P. Oxy.* 408, these fragments of a roll of Pindar's odes came to Yale as a gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund. They have been republished many times (cf. Pack<sup>2</sup> 1373) but have been reread only by Snell, and appear in his Teubner edition (*Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1955) as No. 140 (pp. 265-268). A number of detached pieces may be assembled to form a fragment containing the upper part of two columns, of which the second preserves the complete but badly frayed and rubbed text of 25 lines, while the first gives us only the ends of 11 out of perhaps the first 15 or 16. Their connection is assured by a gloss or intercolumnar note which runs across from the left piece to the right and may relate to either, although its significance has never been determined. A second fragment gives, except for holes, the beginnings of 23 lines from the bottom of a column, of which the original lower margin is seemingly preserved. There is no proof that this follows immediately on the first fragment, but there is nothing against. The papyrus, brown and fragile, is identical in appearance, and the hand is the same. Since it is impossible to determine the original height of the roll, it is impossible to know how many lines would have been lost between the end of the first fragment and the beginning of the second. The interval between the columns varies widely since the ends of the lines vary greatly with the meter, but for the most part remains about 3.5-4.5 cm. The margin at the top is 2.3 cm., at the bottom 3.3 cm., but this is interrupted by a line of writing in another hand of which the purpose remains obscure.

The writing is a slender bookhand, graceful and easy, with loops appearing to give some letters a cursive appearance: so in the *upsilon* and *omega* made in a single stroke, and in the second half of *mu*, *eta*, and *pi*. There are thickenings at the end of some strokes, and downward strokes tend to end in a thin hook or curve, which may go to the left or the right in the same letter at the whim of the writer. *Iota* at times resembles a slim reverse "S". Letters are about 0.2-0.3 cm., interlinear interval about 0.2 cm. The original editors have called attention to parallels in the period after or slightly before A.D. 100. The formal nature of the roll is shown by the paragraphi marking a change in strophe between lines 1 and 2 of column ii and lines 8 and 9 of column iii, and the coronis in the margin at the latter place to mark the beginning of a new ode. A high point punctuation occurs at the end of lines 18 and 21 in column ii. Other aids to the reader are an apostrophe after  $\tau\omicron\tau$  in ii 3 and an acute accent over the vowel in  $\tau\omicron\tau$  or  $\tau\alpha\tau$  at the end in the same line; a diaeresis over *iota* in  $\mu\alpha\iota$  (ii 5); a long mark over the final

alpha in ἀρχαγέται (ii 11), a rough breathing over εἰ at the beginning of ii 21; an unknown sign resembling a smooth breathing following κες in iii 17 and an acute accent on the final syllable of ο[ι]ov in the same line.

Some interest attaches to two corrections. That of αἰ to ζ in ii 10 does not immediately suggest an explanation, but that of π to γε in ii 11 shows that the mistake was visual: the only difference between the two is horizontal stroke of the *epsilon*. This indicates that the mistake in ii 10 was visual too: an anticipation of the αλῖαι later in the same word. This seems proof that the text was copied and not written from dictation.<sup>1</sup>

There is no need to repeat the text completely, especially since we have no new restorations to propose. A revision of the papyrus has revealed some new readings, however, which may be listed.

i 3. εῦ or εἰ are alone now visible.

11. Read λῖ at end, with Snell, rather than αἰ as Grenfell and Hunt.

ii. 1. Of φ[ι]λ[λ].ν (S), the *lamda* is likely, the *nu* dubious. At the end, better μν than μι.

2. [ο] (S) better from considerations of space than [ω] (G-H).

3. αμφι (G-H) is better than αμφε (S). The trace above the line to the right which follows may not be writing, and fits no letter in this hand (κ is a bare possibility).

5. The first letter is almost certainly μ, not ν (G-H, S). The end would be read most naturally as ωεν.

6. The first letter cannot be θ. The original writing has been corrected, and the result looks like an *omega* changed into a *phi*. The twelfth letter is better read as *mu* than as *nu*, though the two are very much alike in this hand, at least on the left side. Final φα is fairly certain, and σε before that (G-H) possible.

8. The reading ἔρυκεν (S) is quite possible.

12. We agree with the reading of G-H. παυσιν would be easier than -σεν, but the latter seems inevitable. ἔργ' ἀναιδῆ is impossible.

15. In ζαθέας, the shape of the *alpha* is strange. It looks like a Latin "S" with a curving horizontal stroke through the middle.

17. At the end, τιμ.εαν is certain. The missing letter might be *iota* (G-H), or better *eta* or *nu*.

22. τῖ (S) is better than το (G-H).

iii 1. We should read αλκ rather than αλλα (G-H) or αλμα (S).

7. αυξοβη (G-H) is better than αυξανε (S).

9. We should read ιωμ rather than ιων (G-H and S).

11. The clear reading is φραγ-, not φρασ- (G-H and S); there is no curve at the bottom of the vertical.

1. T. C. Skeat, "Use of Dictation in Ancient Book Production", *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 42, 1956, pp. 179-208, argues for dictation.



19. Thucydides, VII 34, 8–36, 5.

P. Yale Inv. 360

8 x 11.2 cm.

Second Century

This fragment of a roll was purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Cairo in February, 1931. The surface of the recto is light brown in color and well preserved, except for a few small holes and some rubbing. The text is in columns about 8 cm. and 29-30 letters wide, with an interval between columns of 2 cm., and a margin at the top of 4 cm. The columns consisted of 44 or 45 lines each, and assuming that the roll originally contained the whole of Book VII of Thucydides, it would have been complete in 65 columns of 650 cm., and the preserved columns would have been nos. 25 and 26. The original height of the roll must have been about 28 cm.

The writing is a careful bookhand with some cursive tendencies, 0.3 cm. high with 0.2 cm. between the lines. Only a few strokes drop slightly below the line and none preserved rises above it, giving a regular, square effect. Loopings occur occasionally in *omega*, *upsilon*, *eta*, and *mu*. The manner is very similar to that of the Berlin Commentary on the *Theatetus*.<sup>1</sup> Paragraphi occur at lines 3/4, 5/6, and 14/15, in the first and last instance coinciding with breaks in the sense. What appear to be macra occur over the *alpha* of θίαι, line 7, and the *upsilon* of αὐτῶι in line 10.

The verso was occupied also by a text in columns with a top margin of 4.2 cm. and an interval of 1.7 cm. The writing is about the same size as that on the recto and follows the same direction but it has washed badly and is largely illegible. Enough remains, however, to show that it was a list of names. The Macedonian name Μαχάτας may be read in ii 11.

Four papyrus fragments of Book VII are listed by Pack<sup>2</sup>, 1529-1531, all of approximately this period, together with twenty-nine fragments of the other books, and two have been published more recently, *P. Hamb.* 163 (Book I, 2-3, 28-29) of the third century B.C., and 164, which Snell regards as coming from the same roll as *P. Mich.* 141 (Book VII, 57, 11). The Hamburg papyrus contains the same text as col. ii, 2-11 (τῆς τέχνης — ἀνάκρουσι]ν οὐκ εἶ) and agrees with it except in giving μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ χρῆ[σασθ]αι of the other manuscripts, where the Yale papyrus gives the reading of the Vaticanus, B. Similarly in col. i, 5, it gives the B reading ἐτελευτήθη (possibly -ήθη) against the other manuscripts which have ἐτελεύτα. On the other hand, the Hamburg papyrus has the B reading δ[ιεκπλε]ῖν corrected above the line to δ[ιέκπλο]υν, but the Yale papyrus has lost this word

1. *PGB* 31.

(col. ii, 4), and shows otherwise no corrections. It does not follow B in reading ἐξωθουμένης (col. ii, 11/12).<sup>2</sup>

## Column i

[ διαλυθέντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔστ]ησαν  
 [ τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀ]χαΐα ὡς νει—  
 [ κήσαντες, ἀπέχον τοῦ Ἐρ]ινεοῦ ἐν  
 [ ὧι οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὄρμουν ὡς εἴκ]οσι σταδίου,  
 5 [ καὶ ἡ μὲν ναυμαχία οὕτως] ἐτελευτήθη.  
 [ ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης καὶ Εὐρυ]μέδων ἐ—  
 [ πειδὴ ξυστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς οἱ Θ]ούριοι πα—  
 [ ρσκευάσθησαν ἑπτακοσίοις] μὲν ὀπλεί—  
 [ ταις, τριακοσίοις δὲ ἀκοντισ]ταῖς, τὰς  
 10 [ μὲν ναῦς παραπλεῖν ἐκέλ]ευσον ἐπὶ  
 [ τῆς Κροτωνιάτιδος, αὐτοὶ δ]ὲ τὸν πε—  
 [ ζὸν πάντα ἐξετάσαντες] πρῶτον  
 [ ἐπὶ τῷ Συβάρει ποταμῷ ἦγον] διὰ  
 [ τῆς Θουριάδος γῆς. καὶ ὡς ἐγένον]το  
 15 [ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑλίαι ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτ]οῖς

## Column ii

στενοχωρία οὐ[ τε περίπλου οὔτε]  
 διέκπλου, ὥτιπε[ρ τῆς τέχνης μάλι—]  
 στα ἐπίστευον· α[ὐτοὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ δύνα—]  
 τον τὸ μὲν οὐ δῶ[σειν διεκπλεῖν, τὸ]  
 5 δὲ τὴν στενοχω[ρίαν κωλύσειν ὥσ—]  
 τε μὴ περιπλεῖν. [τῇ τε πρότερον ἀμα—]  
 θαί τῶν κυβερν[ητῶν δοκούσῃ εἶ—]  
 ναι, τὸ ἀντίπρωρο[ν συγκροῦσαι μάλι—]  
 στα αὐτοὶ χρήσεσθ[αι· πλείστον γὰρ ἐν]  
 10 αὐτῷ σχήσειν· τ[ὴν γὰρ ἀνάκρουσιν]  
 οὐκ ἔσεσθ[αι τοῖς Ἀ]θηναίοις ἐξωθουμέ—]  
 νοις ἄλλοσε ἢ ἐς τ[ὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτην]  
 δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἐς ὀλίγο[ν, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στρα—]  
 τόπεδον τὸ ἑαυτῶ[ν· τοῦ δ' ἄλλου λι—]  
 15 μένος αὐτοὶ κρατή[σειν — —]

2. For a recent survey of the manuscript tradition of Thucydides cf. W. Eberhardt, *Gymnasium* 67, 1960, pp. 209-223.



n reading

20. Euripides

P. Yale Inv. A-5

8 x 5.7 cm.

Ca. 260-240 B.C.

Published as *P.Hib.* 25 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup>, 378. The fragment is complete on both sides and the bottom, and although broken at the top, may have lost no more than about 2 cm., enough to contain the first line and a margin. The bottom margin is 2.4 cm. at its greatest extent. A left hand margin of at least 0.4 cm. is extant, while the lines of text extend in some instances to the very edge of the sheet at the right. The surface is damaged by the removal of the sheet from the plaster. The writing is with the fibers, and there is no writing on the other side of the sheet. The hand is large, and relatively unpracticed. There are no deliberate ligatures, although some of the letters touch. The sizes of individual, even the same letters, vary strikingly: for example, the *rho* at the right of line 3 is only 0.5 cm. high, while that in line 9 is 0.75 cm. in height.

Grenfell and Hunt called the hand cursive; there is no attempt to represent the *epsilon* as a square letter, nor to draw the letters formally. The rounded *epsilon* and the *alpha* with its cross stroke coming diagonally from the lower left to meet the right leg above the center are both well known from the documents of the middle of the third century B.C. Yet there is some attempt to make letters in the way 'book hands' would represent them. There seems to be a true cross stroke in the last *alpha* of the last line. The *upsilon* of line 7 is rather elegantly formed. The inconsistency of the hand bears out Grenfell and Hunt's suggestion that the text is "probably a school exercise." However, the rather large sizes of the individual letters, the absence of any true ligaturing, the fact that there is no slant to the writing common to many of the Hibeh documentary hands, and the occasional attempt at elegant letter formation all suggest that the hand is (regrettably badly) attempting to render the text in a style of writing found in more elegantly written literary texts, specifically, a book hand.

The untrained character of the hand makes it difficult to date. The piece comes from mummy A, which produced a very large number of texts both literary and documentary in nature. Almost all of the dated documents have dates right in the middle of the third century, and none are very much earlier or later; the second century hand of *P.Hib.* 174, also from mummy A, is a noticeable anomaly which Turner points out in his edition of that text. Although there is no directly comparable hand, the letter forms are all consistent with the date of around 250 B.C.

erhardt,

which the context suggests. Grenfell and Hunt suggested a date of 280-240 B.C.

We know the horizontal dimensions of the sheet, and it is most unlikely that it was much taller. There is no evidence of folding, and a long thin strip would have been rather unwieldy.

The fragment preserves in nine lines the five line chorus which closes the *Alcestis* (1159-63), the *Andromache* (1284-8), the *Bacchae* (1388-92), the *Helen* (1688-92), and with a different beginning line of the chorus, the *Medea* (1415-9). The beginning of the chorus is missing, and it appears that the top of the sheet has broken off, destroying the first line of text. Grenfell and Hunt suggest in the original publication that the fragment is a school exercise, and this accords with what we can tell from the papyrus itself. In the first place, the piece looks as if it had been cut specifically the size for this chorus. The right edge is sharply cut, and it appears that the *eta* at the end of line five has been left off because of lack of room. The margin at the right is even, so the absence of the *eta* cannot be purely accidental. Trimming after writing, even, in modern times, would allow for a wider margin at the right. The second reason for assuming that the fragment is a school exercise is the hand: a book hand, but irregular and unpracticed.

Unlike some other fragments of Euripides for which we have third century B.C. remains (e.g. *P. Hib.* 24, fragments of *Iphigeneia in Tauris*), this fragment does not seem to come from an edition of a whole play, but is rather a selected chorus for transcription. In this way it is rather like *P. Teb.* 901, which contains the first line of the *Bacchae* written several times, and also like the selections of Euripides in the *Livre d'Ecolier*, *P. Fouad II*, which contains in among other literary texts, selections from the *Phoenissae* and *Ino*. Yet there is still a difference between our papyrus and these others: the selections from the student's notebook seem rather random; the lines from the *Phoenissae* are lines 529-34, from a speech of Jocasta, and the speech is not completed but is followed in the papyrus by lines from the *Ino*, which are in turn followed by lines from the *Odyssey*. Our text is a complete chorus, although only five lines, expressing a sentiment: 'the gods control many things unexpectedly, the expected doesn't happen, the unexpected does'. This kind of transcribing of moral maxims seems to have been part of schooling. *P. Oxy.* 79 is a little disquisition on doing nothing bad, followed by some comment on a person dying, and is written on the verso of a notification of death, 181-192 A.D. Even more like our chorus is a little three line trimeter, *PSI* 280, which the editors attribute to Menander or Euripides, and which says in essence 'whoever thinks he will come out well by thinking, is crazy'. Such little moralizations have always been popular in schools, and every society has its maxims which children learn.

It is interesting to see that as early as the beginning of the third century B.C. Euripides has joined Homer in school books. The fragment under discussion here has already received much attention by scholars and students of Euripides, whose attention was attracted by the fact that these five lines ended five of Euripides' plays. Most recently, these lines were the subject of comment by B.R.

Rees. All  
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4/5. e  
7. sig  
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and Lauren



Rees, *AJP* 82, 1961, p. 176. Apart from his discussion of the meaning of these lines to Euripides and in the plays, Rees is quite right when he says that they express the kind of moral which would appeal to the audience, which, as Rees comments, is composed not of metaphysicians but of ordinary people who may be expected to take to heart such sententious remarks as this chorus expresses. This fragment indicates how such a sentiment is accepted and repeated as a lesson.

In the text itself, there are two variants from the manuscript tradition, and these have been universally rejected by editors since the first publication of this fragment. These lines have not been found elsewhere among the papyri.

πολλαὶ μοῖρα[αἱ] τ[ῶν]  
 δαίμ[ονί]ων, νν πολ[λά]  
 τ' ἀέλπτως κρα[ίνου]-  
 σι θεοί, : καὶ τὰ δοκῆ-  
 5 σαντ' ὄκ ἐτελέσθη,  
 τῶν δ' ἀδοκῆτων  
 πόρον εὔρε[ν] θεός.  
 τοιόνδ' ἀπέβη τό-  
 δε πρᾶγμα.

1. This line is to be read as Grenfell and Hunt read it, and as it is repeated here. Only the merest traces of letters appear at the top of the sheet. There are two dots at the top of the sheet. There are two dots at the center top, which could be the bottoms of *rho* and *phi*, and to the right, a trace of what is probably the bottom of the *tau*. The 15 letters of line 1 are not too great a number; both lines 3 and 4 contain 15 letters and complete them on the sheet.

2. It is difficult to say whether the two letters which are missing at the end of this line, and the one letter missing from line 5, were originally left off by the copyist or whether a small piece was cut off from the sheet in antiquity; since it is difficult to understand why a small strip would be cut off (and the fact that the rest of the lines are complete indicates that not much can be missing) it is conceivable that the letters were left off.

3. τ' ἀέλπτως: δ' ἀέλπτως MSS in all cases. Grenfell and Hunt state that *delta* is impossible. While from the traces, *tau* is more likely, a *delta* is possible. In the case of the following word, we see no reason why the traces do not accord with ἀέλπτως as was stated in the original publication.

4/5. δοκῆσαντ': δοκηθέντ' MSS in all cases.

7. εὔρε[ν] The correction was made by erasure, and faint traces of the *nu* can be seen. The reading with *nu* is preserved for line 1691 of the *Helen* by Cod. Palatinus 287 and Laurentianus 172, elsewhere, εὔρε.

21. Plato, *Republic*, X, 607 E–608 A

P. Yale Inv. 31

8 x 5.5 cm.

Late Second Century

Published as *P. Oxy.* 24 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup> 1422. A fragment of a column from a roll, dark brown in color and pierced by a number of small worm holes. A margin from the intercolumniation remains on the left to a width of 0.7 cm. and on the right to 0.5 cm., but the upper and lower edges are uneven, no trace of the original margin remaining.

The script is a handsome example of Schubart's "strenger Stil" as it appears in the Bacchylides papyrus (*Gr. Pal.*, fig. 85) and elsewhere commonly in the latter part of the second century (e.g. Roberts, Pl. 19 a and b). We do not know why the first editors dated this to the third. The characteristic features are all present: small *omicron*, narrow *epsilon* and *sigma*, flat-bottomed *omega*, and *eta*, *mu*, *nu*, and *pi* wider than they are high. The general aspect is isocephalic. Letters are about 0.3 cm., interval 0.2 cm. There are no aids to the reader and no corrections, but an angled bracket stands at the end of line 5, perhaps merely as a space-filler (διπλή?).<sup>1</sup> *Iota* adscript is written once.

The only variants from the standard text are οὔτω for οὔτως, line 6, and ἐνγε- for ἔγγε- in the same line. According to Pack's list, this remains as the only papyrus fragment of this book of the *Republic*.

γε μ[ή, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε, ὥσπερ οἱ]  
 πότε τοῦ ἐρασθέντε[ς, ἐὰν]  
 ἠγήσωνται μὴ ὠφέλιμ[ον]  
 εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, βιᾶι μὲν,  
 5 ὅμως δὲ ἀπέχονται, καὶ ἡ-  
 μεῖς οὔτω, διὰ τὸν ἐνγεγο-  
 νότα μὲν ἔρωτα τῆς τοιαύ-  
 [τ]ης ποιήσεως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν  
 [κα]λῶν πολι[τ]ειῶν τροφῆς  
 10 [εὔνοι μ]ε[ῖ]ν ἐσόμεθα φανῆ-  
 [ναι

Small fragments of papyrus have been lost in lines 8 and 10 since the edition of Grenfell and Hunt.

1. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, Oxford, 1899, p. 31.



22. Demosthenes, XIX (*On the False Embassy*), 58-65

P. Yale Inv. 550 V

10.5 x 14 cm.

Late Second Century

This both dirty and ragged fragment of an opisthograph roll was purchased in Cairo in February, 1931, from a private collector. The recto was occupied by a handsome prose text which has not yet been identified, written in a fine monumental script of the period around A.D. 100. The verso contains parts of two columns in an elegant, strongly sloping hand of the "strenger Stil," datable to about a century later.<sup>1</sup> The first seven lines are complete except for a letter or two at the beginning, and the six following are partly preserved. Thereafter the loss of a large, rectangular fragment at the left has carried away most of the text, nothing remaining except a few letters at the ends of lines which attest a total of thirty-one lines. Of column ii, nothing remains but some initial letters, visible here and there. It is probable that thirty-two lines existed here. Between columns i and ii, thirteen lines are missing, giving an original column height of forty-four lines or 18.6 cm., which, with margins, would have made the roll originally some 22 or 23 cm. There are about 30 letters to a line or about 1350 to a column, which would mean for the whole "False Embassy" some 90-95 columns of perhaps 8.5-9.0 m.

The writer was a skilled penman, able to mingle cursive letters (*alpha*, *upsilon*, occasionally *pi*, and *mu* with a long left stroke like a pan-handle) with the monumental forms without sacrificing grace and uniformity. Letters connect when possible, preferably at the top, so as to produce at times an impression of writing suspended from a high horizontal. *Eta* and *nu* are in consequence very much alike, and the steep slope makes it possible for even the second stroke of *lamda* to be very nearly horizontal. *Epsilon* and *sigma* are narrow but *omicron* is not very small. While some final strokes trail below the line (*rho*, *iota*), the general effect is that of isocephaly, reinforced by the tiny hooks and loops with which strokes tend to begin and end. It is somewhat surprising to find an opisthograph roll so carefully written. If it was not prepared for the book trade, it must at least have been prepared for a collector or scholar of wealth and taste.

The form of the text presents the same picture. There is no punctuation,

1. Schubart, *Gr. Pal.*, p. 132. Of the same general type, but with less cursive tendency, are PGB 19a (which would be somewhat later), *Gr. Pal.*, fig. 89, and Roberts, 19a and c. The writing is the same side up, but from the reverse direction.

no accentuation; the reader did not need these. There is one instance of an apostrophe (δ', i, 3), but otherwise no certain instance of elision. The reading of the end of i, 2, is very uncertain, and πράγματα ἀπώλεσαν in i, 4, is written out against the manuscripts. A paragraphus in the form of a looped angle occurs at the break between ii, 3 and 4, where the herald would have read the document the title of which is otherwise added in the manuscripts: Ὁμολογία Φιλίππου καὶ Φωκέων. The spelling is that of the manuscripts except for ἐπηνέλλετο (i, 1) and ἐγείνετο (for ἐγίγνετο, i, 6). There are specific errors in ταύτη (for ταύτης, i, 7) and ὑμῖν (for ὑμῶν, i, 3), and only one variant properly speaking: the addition of μηνός (i, 7) as it occurs earlier in the same section 58 of the speech.

Papyrus manuscripts of Demosthenes are common, and this speech was the second most popular, after the "Crown."<sup>2</sup> Pack lists seven other papyri, in addition to a commentary and some quotations, but this passage has not previously occurred.<sup>3</sup> These are mostly contemporary with *P. Yale* 22, and the only two of which the provenience is known come from Tebtunis. One other is on the verso of a roll (292), but it is not this roll.<sup>4</sup>

## Column i

[  
 [σιν] ἐπηνέλλετο ὧν οὐδὲν ἐ[πί]στ[ευον]  
 [ἐ]κείνοι. σημεῖον δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δεῦρ' ἦκ[ον]  
 [ὧ]ς ὑμᾶς, ἢ δ' ἐκκλησία μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἧ  
 [π]ᾶντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπώλεσαν οὗτοι  
 5 [ψ]ευσάμενοι καὶ φενακίσαντες ὑμᾶς, τῆ  
 [ἐ]κ]τη ἐπὶ δέκα ἐγείνετο τοῦ Σκιροφ[ο-]  
 [ριῶ]νος μηνός. ἀπὸ τοίνυν ταύτη<ς> πεμ[π-]  
 [ταῖα λ]ογίζομαι τ[ὰ] π[α]ρ' ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς Φ[ω-]  
 [κεῦσι γ]ενέσθ[αι· παρῆσα]ν γὰρ οἱ τῶν  
 10 [Φωκέων π]ρέσ[β]εις ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς  
 [καὶ τί ἀπαγγελοῦσιν οὗτοι καὶ] τί ψ[ηφιεῖσθε]  
 [ὑμεῖς ἐπιμελές. οὐκοῦν εἰκάς, ἢ τίθε]με[ν]  
 13 [πυθέσθαι τοὺς Φωκέας τὰ παρ' ὑμῶ]ν· ἀπ[ὸ]  
 . . . . .  
 29 ἐξελέγχοντ]αι συν-  
 [ηγωνισμένοι Φιλίππῳ καὶ συ]ναίτ[ιοι]  
 31 [γεγονότες τοῦ τῶν Φωκέων ὀλέθρου.] ἔτι

2. Cf the discussion and tables of P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Chronique d'Egypte* 38, 1963, pp. 297-305. Add *BASP* II, 1964, pp. 33f., *De Falsa Legatione* 101-114.

3. Nos. 291-293, 285-298. 294 is a commentary; there is also the Didymus commentary (No. 241), and Sijpesteijn (*op. cit.*, p. 302) lists four treatises dealing in some fashion with Demosthenes.

4. In preparing this text, we had the benefit of a preliminary study made by Professor D. E. W. Wormell, when he was a student in the seminar at Yale.



## Column ii

- 3 βοη[θῆσαι κωλύσαντα ὑμᾶς, ἀκούσατε. λέγε.]  
 ἀκ[ούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ὁμολγία Φιλί-]  
 5 ππο[υ καὶ Φωκέων, φησὶν, οὐχὶ Θηβαίων καὶ]  
 Φω[κέων, οὐδὲ Θετταλῶν καὶ Φωκέων, οὐ-]  
 δὲ [Λοκρῶν, οὐδ' ἄλλου τῶν παρόντων]  
 οὐ[δενός.]

Nothing certain can be read at the beginning of ii, 1-2, although there are traces of letters visible. It is possible, although unlikely, that a small fragment of papyrus placed here belongs elsewhere. (The papyrus fits in color, texture, and shape, but the letter traces are not yet sensible.) At the end of the column, what might be lines 28-32, traces of letters are visible which ought to match parts of sections 64 and 65, but identification is still uncertain.

23. Demosthenes, XXV (*Against Aristogeiton*, I), 47/48

P. Yale Inv. A9

6.7 x 9.5 cm.

A.D. 125-150

Published as *P. Oxy.* 882, this fragment from the bottom of a roll was presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Pack<sup>2</sup> 324. Almost half of the surface (4.7 cm.) is occupied by the lower margin, and the inscribed, upper portion of the sheet contains one large and several smaller holes. The verso is blank.

The script is a small, exact hand, wherein each letter stands alone (ligatures, except after *epsilon*, are very rare) and occupies about the same space. *Omicron* is small and in addition to *phi*, some trailing strokes drop below the line: *iota* and *tau* (but not always); *beta* is tall. Otherwise an isocephalic effect is maintained. On the other hand, the script varies from the monumental in the use of some cursive forms, notably *mu* and *alpha*; and it is distinguished also by the small size (normally 0.2-0.3 cm.) of the letters and the large size (0.3-0.4 cm.) of the interlinear interval. Strokes are thin and even, and the occasional serifs or terminal loops are small and unobtrusive. This is a chaste but, with its evenness, a rather elegant hand. There are no accents or other aids to the reader, although Grenfell and Hunt suspected intentional blank spaces of one letter to serve as breaks in the sense after -τρ]εψεν, line 7, and αὐτῶι in line 10; these are, at best, not very obvious, and the second, occurring in a lacuna, is highly doubtful.

In common with the writer of *P. Yale* 22, this scribe avoids elision, which is commonly marked in the manuscripts in the desire to avoid hiatus. There is one instance of etacism (ἤφείετο) where the papyrus gives the Attic augment of the later manuscripts; modern editors print ἀφίετο. The assimilation κεγρα[γῶς, line 1, if correctly read (the letter is obscure, but I have no reason to question the reading of the first editors), is of a rare if not unexampled type. I find no instances of γρ for κρ in either Mayser or Dieterich.<sup>1</sup> The alteration of ἔχεις to ἔ-

1. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrh. n. Chr.*, 1898, pp. 101-111; Mayser, I, 1906, pp. 169-173.



ξεις, line 9, otherwise unattested, changes the sense, and would seem to be a pure mistake. The words δ'εὔ, omitted by mistake at the end of line 8, were added above the line by the original writer. Only the *delta* remains, but this is clearly in his hand. Some manuscripts (F, A) and some editors (Blass, for example), omit the εὔ, so the loss of the papyrus fragment at this point is particularly unfortunate.

- [ κ]αὶ κεγράφω[ς] κ[αὶ] ἰο[ύ] ἰού, π[άντα] ἄνω  
 [ τ]ε καὶ κάτω ποιῶ[ν] ἐν[τὴν] ταῖς ἐκκλησί-  
 [αι]ς ὡς δέον στ[ρεβλοῦ]ν, λαβὼν ὁ-  
 [τι]δήποτε, παρῶ[ν] ὅτε] ἠφέετο ἄφω-  
 5 [ ν]ος ἐγένετο· τῆ[ν] κατὰ] Δημοκλέ-  
 [ου]ς εἰσαγγελί[αν] ἀν[α]σε[ί]ας ποῖ ἔ-  
 [τρ]εψεν; ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν ἕμ[οι] μὲν  
 [ἔρ]γον ἀπάντων μνησθῆναι, σὺ ο[ὐ]κ ἴδα[ς] 'δ' εὔ'  
 [ὅ]τι καὶ τὰ [ἀν]τίγραφα αὐτῶν ἕξεις  
 10 [ἔρ]γο λαβῶν αὐτῶι. τίς οὖν ὁ τὸν τοι-  
 [τοῦτον] -

125-150

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1906, pp.

24. Demosthenes, XLII (*Against Phaenippus*), 14/15

P. Yale Inv. 549

5 x 4.5 cm.

Early Second Century

This small scrap of a literary roll was purchased in Cairo in February, 1931 from a private collector. About two thirds of the narrow column of writing is preserved, with an intercolumnar margin of 1.1 cm. on the right. The verso contains the ends of seven lines, written in a book-hand similar to that of the recto and not much later, with broad strokes and shading, and the end of a horizontal stroke or line between lines 2 and 3. The line ends are very uneven, leaving a margin at the right of 2.5-4.5 cm., but too little remains to show whether the text was metrical. Presumably, however, this is an instance of a literary roll being used to hold a second literary text on the verso. The writing, as would be expected, is the same side up, but in the reverse direction.

The writing of the Demosthenes fragment used fine, feathery strokes, and employs a small form of the monumental hand with some cursive forms (*mu*, *epsilon* sometimes). There occur rarely ligatures after *epsilon*, but otherwise the letters stand separately, occupying about the same space in width as they do in height. In principle, letters do not rise above or sink below the lines, and the right margin was even. *Eta* and *pi* are almost identical in shape, *alpha* is angular.<sup>1</sup> There are no readers' aids employed. A letter written in error in line 5 was marked by a dot above it, as well as being partly crossed out.

This seems to be the only papyrus fragment of this speech, and unfortunately it is lacking for two of three places where there are textual variants: αὐτῶ and αὐτῆ, line 6 and χρῆσομαι or χρῆσωμαι, line 7; the former are favored by recent editors. On the other hand, enough remains of line 3 to show that the papyrus had the reading given below, which is that of the two best manuscripts, S and A. Others have ἀλλ' ἢ βουλόμενος.<sup>2</sup>

[ - πρώην ] ἔδωκέ μοι βι-  
 [βλίον, οὐδ] ἐν [ἄλλο βου-]  
 [λόμενος] ἢ [δοκεῖν μέν]  
 [δεδωκέ] γαι τὴν ἀπόφασ[ιν],  
 5 [μῆ ἔχε] ἰν δέ με [[.] τοῖς ἐ[ν]  
 [αὐτῶ] γεγραμμένοις ὃ [τι]  
 [χρήσο]μαι. χρῆ δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες  
 [δικαστ]αί, μῆ τοῖς ἰσχυρο-  
 [τέραν ν]ομίζουσ[ι τῶν νό-]  
 [μων-

1. For generally similar hands one may compare *Gr. Pal.*, Fig. 79, *PGB* 29 b, and Roberts, 13 a.

2. Identification of the fragment and a preliminary study of it was made in the papyrus seminar by Miss Margaret Crosby.



25. Grammatical Treatise  
Plate III

P. Yale Inv. 446 V

19 x 22 cm.

Mid-First Century

This fragment of an opisthograph roll was purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Cairo in February, 1931. There is some water damage and there are numerous small holes. The papyrus has darkened, especially on the verso. Some fibers are missing from both surfaces, and the writing on the verso runs across one such loss, showing it to have been ancient. There are ancient patchings on the recto. The column of writing is complete on the verso but not on the recto, where the original top of the roll was cut away at a slant, leaving traces of writing above columns i and iii.

The recto is occupied by the remains of a list of tax-payers, presumably. The left of column i and most of column iii has been cut away. All three columns contained lists of persons, not in alphabetical order, identified by their own and their fathers' names and their places of residence. There are three instances of Hermoupolis and one of Thmouis, but the other places are villages of the Delta nome of Mendis, or Mendis itself; and it is reasonable to suppose that Mendis was the ultimate origin of the papyrus. Although as re-used for another purpose, the papyrus must have been taken to and found in a drier part of Egypt, probably the Fayum. Division of the names was by nationality, by date, and perhaps by tax. The upper part of col. i contains solely Greek names. Then, after an interval of slightly more than 2 cm., occurred a heading ending in ]των, in somewhat larger writing. This is followed by the words τῶν Πετω written in the reverse direction. Then occurs ]ων followed by ὀθονηρᾶς and the date, μα' (ἔτους) Καίσαρος (A.D. 11/12). Fourteen Egyptian names follow in that column, and six more at the top of col. ii. Again there is an interval, of almost 3 cm., and the date μ' (ἔτους) Καίσαρος (A.D. 10-11), followed by thirteen names in that column and ten in column iii. After a gap of about 3 cm., occur another date, λθ' (ἔτους) Κ[αίσαρος (A.D. 9/10), and the beginnings of seven names. None of the names in any of the lists repeats that in another, and there is no obvious reason why the lists should have been presented in a reverse chronological order. These cannot be lists of current collections or of persons currently liable for an assessment or a tax, whatever may have been indicated by the ὀθονηρᾶς (otherwise spelled, probably more correctly, ὀθονηρᾶ). The term occurs only in two other texts, both of the Ptolemaic period. In *BGU* 1375, of 16 December, 248 B.C., an Egyptian pays into the bank at Syene a small sum of money ὀθονηρᾶς, while in *WO* 1499, dated in mid-winter of the seventh year of an unidentified king (174, 163, or 110) a person with a Greek name pays a total of 17 talents into the bank at Thebes ὀθονηρᾶς. We can only speculate as to the nature of the tax which, from the name, must have involved linen cloths, ὀθόνια. The present document does not contribute to the problem, because no payments are listed,



and it is probable that the lists on the original roll, whatever their nature, concerned other matters than this.<sup>1</sup> The writing is a feathery, graceful chancery hand, which wrote without regard to an economical use of the papyrus; and this was itself of large size and good quality. It must have been that of one of the official scribes in the nome capital.

In contrast, the hand of the recto, which fits well into the period some thirty to fifty years later, is quite hideous, and might be that of the schoolboy of whom the first editor thought,<sup>2</sup> but unattractive as it is, it is not unpracticed. While observing in principle the monumental forms of letters, equal spacing, and isoccephaly in the manner of the contemporary book-trade, the writer reverts to cursive forms, notably of *epsilon*, *kappa*, and *xi*, and freely practices ligatures, especially after *epsilon* and *mu*. The *omicron*, while large, is often left open at top or bottom or both, and *alpha* has a variety of shapes, once (ii, 21) even lacking the cross-bar. Taken with the highly irregular margins (especially after line ii, 22, where ends of lines in the first column extend into the left margin of the second column and here and there (ii, 12 and 17) in the right margin of the second column where a letter at the end of the lines seems to have been crowded out altogether), the writing indicates that the manuscript is the work of a reasonably practiced writer who was unable or unwilling to produce an attractive literary text. I should draw the same conclusions also from his spellings, which are not mistakes in copying or in aural reproduction but of haste and carelessness. Witness the variant spellings ἄθρα (i, 13) and ἄθρον (i, 23) as against ἄρθρον (i, 4), δισταμόν (ii, 9) as against δισσασμοῦ (ii, 18), ἀκλουθίας (ii, 23), συυποκῆς (ii, 25) as against συνπλοκῆς (ii, 21), δια- without the *iota* (ii, 27), ἀπτόρευσιν (ii, 7) as against ἀπαγορεύσεος (ii, 15), οου for οῦν (ii, 10). Accusatives are used for nominatives in i, 5, 27, and 29, and a nominative for an accusative in ii, 24. There are redundant *iotas* in i, 4, 33, and ii, 2; and probably also in εἰπί, i, 10. Elsewhere, of course, the spelling simply reflects the current pronunciation. Etacism occurs in συντίνοισα (i, 11), δι- (i, 20), πτώσις (i, 25), ἐκῖ (ii, 14), εἶσος (ἴσως, ii, 18), ἐρμηγίας (ii, 20), τυοῦτοι (ii, 25), ἰμέν (ἡμέν, ii, 27). The aspirate is confused in ἐκθῆς and ἐνθαῦθα (ii, 13). Note also

1. U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka* I, 1899, pp. 266-269, who was the first to comment on the term, took it to be a money tax collected in some connection with the linen monopoly. Claire Préaux, *L'Economie Royale des Lagides*, Brussels, 1939, pp. 112f., took it to be a license. For other views, see the references in Préaux, *loc. cit.*, and M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1941, p. 305.

2. H.M. Hubbell, *CP* 28, 1933, p. 189.



ἐπίρημα (ii, 2) and the frequent use of *omicron* for *omega*. On the other hand, the Attic spelling συντάττουσα (i, 21), if it goes back to the author, fits with Attic ἀντονομασία.

There are no accents or marks of punctuation. Supralinear lines to separate words occur in i, 27 and 34. There are illegible intralinear corrections in ii, 3/4, and an error smudged out in ii, 12, possibly also in ii, 17. It is possible to view the text as that of a village schoolmaster, preparing in haste something for his pupils to read. He corrected in part, but did not finish.

The first editor, Professor Hubbell, argued that this was an abridgement of a grammatical treatise of the Alexandrine grammarian and philologist Comanus, who may have been also a courtier and statesman, friend and minister of Ptolemy VIII, and member of a prominent Alexandrine family.<sup>3</sup> He was a rival of his contemporary Aristarchus, a partisan of Ptolemy VI and teacher of the grammarian Dionysius of Byzantium, called the Thracian; whose preserved text is, paradoxically, the best guide to restoring the missing portion of the first column. This has not convinced everyone, and the evidence is certainly not compelling.<sup>4</sup> The case rests mainly on the use of the term ἀντονομασία for pronoun as against ἀνωουμία, and on the recognition of nine parts of speech. Identification of the grammarian with the statesman is based on the relative uncommonness of the name together with the prominent position held by both at the court of the same king.

The first editor suggested, not unreasonably, that this papyrus is the right hand half of an originally three-column text which covered in summary fashion letters and sounds before going on to words. It is less likely that the division of the sheet into two parts was made in modern times, since the present document was broken into a number of joining fragments at the upper left. There is no explanation of why the writer broke off in col. ii in the middle of a sentence, with 4 cm. of usable surface still available.

Published: Harry M. Hubbell, *CP* 28, 1933, pp. 189-198. Pack 2, 2138. Cf. A. Körte, *Archiv* 11, 1935, pp. 276 f.; F. Solmsen, *CP* 40, 1945, pp. 115 f.; V. de Benedetto, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. II, 27, 1958, p. 186.

3. Hubbell, *loc. cit.* I have summarized the evidence and the controversy in *BASP* II, 1965, pp. 93-104.

4. So, from different points of view, P.M. Fraser, *Classical Review* 67, 1953, pp. 43f.; V. de Benedetto, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. II, 27, 1958, p. 186. Hubbell's argument was accepted by F. Solmsen, *CP* 40, 1945, pp. 115f., and it seems to us the likeliest hypothesis under the present circumstances.

## Column i

- [ λόγος δ' ἐστὶν π]έξη λέξεων σύγ[θεσις,]  
 [διάνοιαν αὐτο]τελή δηλοῦσα. τοῦτο  
 [δὲ μέρη ἐστὶ] γ' ἐννέα· ὄνομα, προση-  
 [γορία, μετοχή,] ἀντονομασῖαι, ἄρθρον,  
 5 [ῥῆμα, πρόθεσις], ἐπίρημα, σύνδε[σμο]ν.  
 [- 5 - ὄνομα μ]ὲν οὖν ἐστὶν λέξις [οὐ-]  
 [σίαν ἰδίαν σώ]ματος ἢ πράγματος  
 [σημαίνουσα χ]ωρὶς χρόνου πτώσε-  
 [ων ἐπιδικτι]κῆ, οἷον Ὀμηρος, Πάρρις.  
 10 [προσηγορία δ'] ἐστὶν λέξις εἰπὶ πολ- vacat  
 [λῶν σωμάτων συ]γγίνουσα χωρὶς vacat.  
 [προσώπου καὶ χρό]νου, οἷον ποιητής,  
 [ἄνθρωπος. μ]ετοχὴ δ' ἐστὶν λέξις ἄθρα  
 [καὶ πτώσεις ἐπι]δεχομένη καὶ χρόνω ννν  
 15 [ - 10 - ο]ψα, οἷον λέγων, φρο-  
 [νούμενος· διὰ] τοῦτο καὶ μ[ε]το- ννν  
 [χὴ λέγεται διὰ τ]ὸ μετέχειν vacat  
 [καὶ ὀνόματος κ]αὶ ῥήματος. vacat  
 [ἀντονομασῖα] δ' ἐστὶν λέξις ἀντ' ὀ-  
 20 [νόματος τιθ]εμένη μετὰ δί- vacat  
 [ξως συντ]άπτουσα τὴν vacat  
 [ἐν τοῖς προσώπ]οις συζυγίαν, vacat  
 [οἷον ἐγώ, οὗτος.] ἄρθρον δ' ἐστὶν λέξις  
 [πτωτικῆ, προ]τακτικῆ, ἢ ὑποτακτικῆ (projects into col. ii)  
 25 [τῶν ἐπιδεχομ]ένων πτώσεις, ν καὶ τὴν (projects into col. ii)  
 [γενῶν διαφορ]ὰν κατὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν  
 [πτώσιν ἔχουσ]αν, οἷον ὁ, ἡ, τό.  
 [ῥῆμα δ' ἐστὶν λ]έξις πρᾶξιν ἢ πάθος  
 [σὺν χρόνω καὶ] προσώπῳ δηλοῦσαν,  
 30 [οἷον λέγω, γρά]φεται. πρόθεσις vacat  
 [δ' ἐστὶν λέξις κ]αθ' ἓνα σχηματισμὸν  
 [ἐκφερομένη, π]ροτακτικῆ τ[ῶ]ν τοῦ  
 [λόγου μερῶν με]τὰ συνπλοκῆ[σ]ι. αἰ vacat  
 [μὲν οὖν προθέσ]ις εἰσὶν αὐτ[α]·  
 35 [ἀνά, κατὰ, διά. μ]ετά, παρά, ἀντ[ί,] vacat



## Column ii

[ἀ]μφί, ὑπέρ, ἀπό, περί, ἐν, εἰς, πρό, πρός.  
 ἐπίρημα δ' ἐστὶν λέξις κατὰ  
 μίαν ἐκφορὰν δηλουμένη προτα-  
 κτική ἢ ὑποτακτική, ῥήματος ἄσυν-  
 5 [θ]έτως συμαίνουσα ποσότητα  
 ἢ ποιότητα ἢ χρόνον ἢ τόπον ἢ ἄρνη-  
 σιν ἢ συνκατάθεσιν ἢ ἀπατόρευσιν  
 ἢ ἐπικέλευσιν ἢ ἐρώτησιν ἢ εὐχή[ν]  
 ἢ παραβολὴν ἢ δισταμόν. ποσότη-  
 10 τος μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν δηλωτικὰ τὰ τοῖ-  
 αῦτα· πολλάκις, ὀλιγάκις. ποιῶ-  
 τητος δ[ . . ] ἐ εὖ, καλῶς, χρόνου δὲ νῦ[ν],  
 ἐκθές, αὐριον. τόπου δὲ ἐνθαῦθα,  
 ἐκί, ἔξω. ἀρνήσεος δὲ οὐ. συνκαταθέ-  
 15 σεος δὲ ναί. ἀπαγορεύσεος δὲ μή.  
 ἐπικελεύσεος δὲ τῆ, πάλιν. ἐρωτή-  
 σεος δὲ ποῦ. εὐχῆς δὲ .ΣΘΕ. παραβ[ο]λῆ[ς]  
 δὲ ὡς. διστασμοῦ δὲ σχεδόν, εἴσος.  
 σύνδεσμος δ' ἐστὶν λέξις συνάπτουσα  
 20 τὰ μέρη τῆς ἔρμενίας· παραλαμ-  
 βάνεται δὲ ἤτοι χάρις συνπλοκῆς  
 ἢ διαζεύξεος ἢ αἰτίας ἢ συλλογισμοῦ  
 ἢ ἀπορίας ἢ ἀκλουθίας ἢ τοῦ κε-  
 χηνέναι τὴν σύνθεσις. vacat  
 25 συνπλοκῆς μὲν οὖν | | εἰσὶν οἱ τσοῦτοι  
 vac. δηλωτικοὶ σύνδεσμοι· ἄρα, ἀλλά, τε,  
 κε, ἰδέ, ἠδέ, καί, ἰμέν, ἄν. δ ν ἀ-  
 ζεύξεος vacat

i, 5/6. σύνδε | σμος, H., but the *nu* is clear. The beginning of line 6 may have been indented, just as the margins elsewhere were uneven.

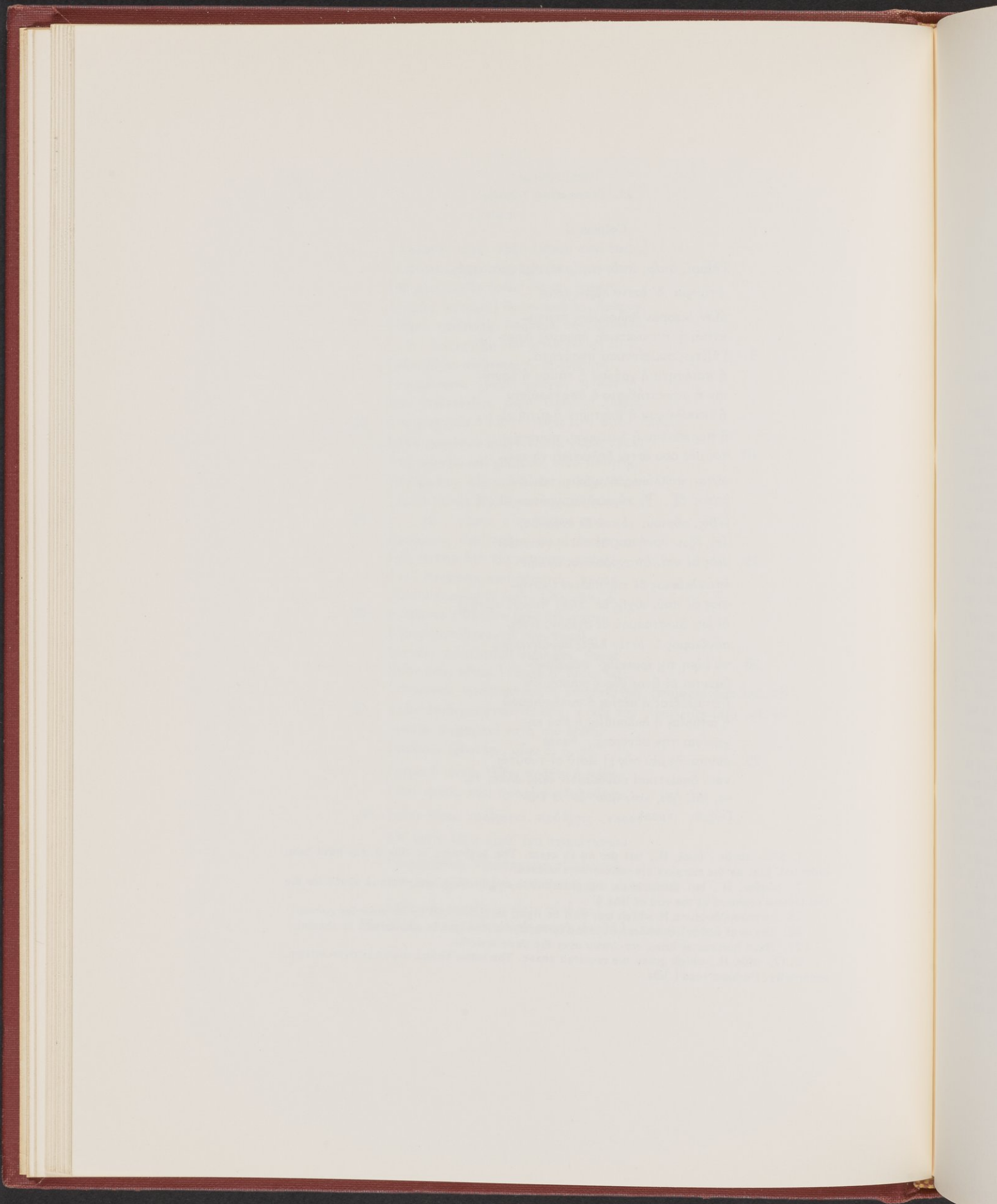
7. οὐσίαν, H., but this makes the restoration unduly long, and there is space for the two letters restored at the end of line 6.

15. [μεταλαμβάνου]σα, H., which may well be right, for χρόνω can be an error for χρόνου.

26. The *nu* of ὀρθήν lies under a fiber and is barely visible. How it was written is obscure.

27. Short horizontal lines are drawn over the three articles.

ii, 17. αἶθε, H., which gives the required sense. The letter before *sigma* is over-written, apparently. Perhaps read [.]ἔθε.





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## 26. Fragment of an Antichretic Loan

P. Yale Inv. A-3

22.4 x 5.1 cm.

Early Third Century  
Hibeh

Published as *P. Hib.* 148, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society. The papyrus, from cartonnage, and broken into two fragments, is the small remaining part of a contract. Of the larger fragment 6 lines remain, while of the smaller only 4 lines still exist. Top and bottom margins are lost, but the right and left margins are preserved, and the full width of the original sheet can be established as 22.4 cm. when the fragments are properly aligned. The left fragment is considerably worm-eaten. The hand is a typical cursive of the early third century, with no ligaturing and with letters about 0.4 cm. in height. The ink is black and clear, although it is slightly obscured in places by some remaining plaster.

What there is of the document states that one Poros is to repay double the damage if he is caught stealing, and then goes on to state that Poros is not to be away day or night without the consent of Epimenes, and that if he does absent himself he is to pay a penalty for each day or night. In the original publication by Grenfell and Hunt, the document was called a contract of apprenticeship, on analogy of certain phrases to contracts of this type, and it has been accepted as such for many years. Westermann, however, in *JJP* 2, 1948, p. 37, suggested that it might be a fragment of a *paramone* agreement which he called a 'general service contract'. That this papyrus is a fragment of an antichretic loan was argued by Samuel in *JJP* 15, 1965, p. 309.

As was seen there, referring to the analogies between the phraseology of this document and that of antichretic loans, this text has its closest affinities with such loans. There is striking parallelism between this document and *PSI* 1120, first century B.C. or P.C., in the caution in both papyri against thievery; the *PSI* document also has the discussion of absence day or night, stating that the borrower of the money, who is to remain with the lender, is not to be absent day or night. So too, *P. Teb.* 384, 10 A.D., another antichretic loan with antichresis of personal services, requires that the borrower not be away day or night, and *BGU* 1126, 8 B.C., expresses the same requirement in words like those of the Yale text. Finally, *P. Dura* 20, 121 A.D., another loan with antichresis of personal services, also expresses the obligation of the borrower not to be absent day or night without the consent of the lender, using phraseology again very much like that of the Yale papyrus.

There can be no question but that this text is the remnant of a contract establishing the obligation of Poros to remain with Epimenes; Grenfell and Hunt saw that



at the time of original publication. The very close affinities of the text of this papyrus with phrases of contracts of loan with antichresis of personal services of the borrower make it most reasonable to believe that the fragment comes from just such a loan. If this conclusion is correct, we have evidence that this type of antichretic loan, heretofore not attested before the end of the first century B.C., was known as early as the third century B.C. That this should be the case could have been attested from the evidence of *P. Dura* 20, a loan of this type, of the Parthian occupation of Dura, which uses standard Hellenistic legal phraseology. The Dura contract in itself would indicate that Hellenistic law knew of and used antichresis of services of the debtor in loans, and the parallel between the Dura parchment and the Yale papyrus should not surprise us, but rather should be welcomed as a confirmation of the existence of a kind of contract we expect to find in Ptolemaic law.

Poros, the name of the person who may not be absent day or night, is an unusual name. It is not the name of the Indian king, which has *omega* while this has *omicron*, and although unusual, this name can be found in Greek nomenclature. It appears as a divine name, a personification of wealth, industry (cf. G. Herzog-Hauser, *RE* 1953, 270-1), and also in Plato, *Symposium* 203 B, in a discussion of those present at the feast for the birth of Aphrodite, among whom was ὁ τῆς Μήτιδος υἱὸς Πόρος. That the name was more than a personification, and that it was used for people as well, is shown by its appearance in inscriptions. It is found in an inscription from Euboea of the third century B.C. In *IG XII* 9, 245, a catalogue of *epheboi* of Eretria, there appears in line B 61 [Π]όρος Ἀμφιτίμου Ζαρ. The name, used as a personal name by Greeks as early as the third century B.C., was also used later, at Thera. There are a number of references (*IG XII* 3, 479, 662, 718, 1655) to a Poros who was father of Mithres; the name was used in the Argolid (*CIG* 1209) and specifically at Hermione, *IG IV*, 687: Θεόδωρος Πόρου Ἀργεῖος. Thus, although the name is unusual, we need not seek outside of Greek tradition for examples of it.

We have then, in this Yale document, a man who is almost surely Greek obligated to another Greek. In the full discussion of the contracts creating obligation (Samuel, *JJP* 15, 1965, pp. 221-311) it was shown that these obligations under Greek law were obligations entered into by free men, and, as example of this kind of obligation imposed under surety contracts, we could see from *P. Hib.* 41 that even officials could be bound over under the obligation to remain. That Poros was a free man seems clear, since there is nothing in the text to contradict that inference, although the fragmentary nature of the papyrus precludes certainty.

Although Poros appears nowhere else in the Hibe papyri, Epimenes seems to have been more active. The same man is surely that Epimenes who appears in *P. Hib.* 84 (a), August-September 284 B.C., Epimenes the Athenian who sells 30 artabs of wheat to Timocles the Chalcidian. The two documents are contemporary paleographically, and it would seem reasonable that both refer to the same man. Even more conclusive is the fact that both documents come from the same mummy, number 5, and this makes it appear that some of Epimenes' correspondence was gathered

together or  
Hib. 30, a  
from mumm  
ferred to in  
[...], av  
[...], τω  
[...], συμ  
μενος  
5 μήτε δ  
τω τῆ  
1-2. G-H  
ἀποταράχ  
ἀρεσκ.  
... But if  
double. L  
day witho  
obol and  
(he is not  
1. Fo  
left hasta  
2. Th  
the delta a  
a formula  
person und  
αὐτῶ δ' Ἐ  
3. Th  
a letter aft  
to be a per  
appear to b  
may in fac  
traces of l  
or epsilon.  
the left of  
the right h  
probable,  
the first a  
all. Withou  
ious. The  
ἰού of PS  
6. Th  
punishmen



together on this mummy. This Epimenes may be the official named at the end of *P. Hib.* 30, a judicial summons which is also early in the century, and which comes from mummy 6. We may also speculate that the troop of Epimenes at Bubastis, referred to in *P. Hib.* 81 of 239 B.C., may have been named after our Epimenes.

[..]..ανκαιε..[

[..]τω δ' Ἐπιμ[ένης] Π[ό]ρωι[

[.] αμμ.νο .....κτη.η.[.....]ἐὰν δέ τι κλέπτων ἢ [νοσφιζό-]

μενος ἀλίσκηται Π[ό]ρος ἀποτεισά[τω τὸ βλάβος διπ]λοῦν. μὴ ἐξουσία δ' ἔστω  
Πόρωι

- 5 μῆτε ἀποκ[ο]ιτ[ε]ῖν μῆτε ἀφημερ[εύειν] ἄνευ τῆς Ἐπιμ[ένου]ς γνώμης. εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
ἀποτεισά-  
τω τῆς μ[ὲν ἡ]μέρας ἴ τῆς δὲ ν[υκτὸς] ἴ ἐξουσία δ' ἔστω Ἐπιμ[ένου]ς ἐὰν μὴ ἀρέσ-

1-2. G-H. not printed. 3. G-H. print only ἐὰν δέ τι κλέπτων.[.....]. 4. Π[ό]ρος ἀποτεισάτω: G-H. προσαποτεισάτω. 6. ν[υκτὸς]: G-H. ν[υκτὸς ..]. ἀρεσ-: G-H. ἀρεσ[κ].

... But if Poros is caught stealing or purloining anything, let him pay the damage double. Let there be no possibility for Poros either to sleep away or be away by day without Epimenes' consent. But if he does, let him pay for each day a half-obol and for each night a half-obol. And let there be possibility for Epimenes if (he is not pleased?) ...

1. Following the *epsilon* stands a somewhat abraded upright stroke, which may be the left hasta of a *pi*.

2. The reading of this line is somewhat conjectural. There may be an *epsilon* between the *delta* and the beginning of the name Epimenes. The reading, if correct, may be part of a formula dealing with pay for services, such as, in *P. Oxford* 10, the salary paid to the person under obligation to remain. If so, the whole formula may begin with line 1, e.g. δω-σέ]τω δ' Ἐπιμ[ένης] Π[ό]ρωι[ ὀψώνιον ἀργυρίου .....]

3. There are many problems in the reading of the first half of this line. The traces of a letter after the break at the left appear to be of a *delta*, and one would expect this word to be a perfect middle participle. What should in such a case be an *epsilon* does not at all appear to be *epsilon*, and bears resemblance only to *gamma*. The last letter, read as *omicron*, may in fact be *sigma*, and there may have been no writing for two spaces after that. The traces of letters after the space permit the reading of a drachma sign, or a *pi*, then a *sigma* or *epsilon*. The next letter could be a *pi*, but the horizontal stroke extends much farther to the left of the left hasta than is the case in other *pis* of this hand, and there is no trace of the right hasta. The two letters which precede the *kappa* could be *tau alpha*, with the *alpha* probable, and this would suggest a reading of ἀτακτήση. There is no room, however, for the first *alpha*, since the traces where the *alpha* would stand do not suggest that letter at all. Without some sense to confirm the reading, it is best to regard it as possible, but dubious. The restoration [νοσφιζό- is suggested by the τὸ δ' ἐπιδειχθὲν κλέμμα ἢ νόσφιμα διπ-λοῦν of *PSI* 1120.4 of I B.C.—I A.D.

6. This line is probably to be completed in line 7: ἀρέσ|κηι with the provision of some punishment or penalty which Epimenes may exact if he is not pleased with Poros' work.



### 27. Receipt

P. Yale Inv. A-1

7.8 x 8 cm.

23 November 276 B.C. (Sam.)  
Hibeh

Published as *P. Hib.* 97, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society. This is the earliest dated document in the Yale collection. Although parts of the top and both side margins are preserved, the piece is severely damaged. The entire upper right corner is lost, and the damage extends down into the fragment. Then from the left, the tear which has separated this fragment from the lost portion of the sheet begins at line 5, extends in about 2.5 cm., then down about 2 cm., and from there the rest of the way across the sheet. The piece was a unit when originally published by Grenfell and Hunt, but has broken into a number of fragments over the years, and these have been reconstituted to form the original piece.

The document is an acknowledgement of receipt. It is impossible to determine what has been received, as only the introductory formula indicating receipt has been preserved; the damage to the document is so extensive that the receiver cannot be identified, and only the patronymic of the other party to the transaction is preserved.

The person who acknowledges receipt in this transaction is described as "of those of Alexander", a so-called eponymous commander. This Alexander is found only in the Hibeh papyri, and there only in this document and in *P. Hib.* 30, early third century B.C. Our text, dated in the seventh year of Philadelphus, shows that these eponymous commanders existed as early as 276 B.C. The formula used in this document is exactly that used in connection with these commanders in the Ptolemaic period, i.e. ὁ δεῖνα τῶν τοῦ δεῖνος.

The nature of the office of eponymous commander has been the subject of only limited discussion. Lesquier, in *Les Institutions Militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, Paris, 1911, p. 81, categorized their function as descending "probablement des armées mercenaires", and suggested that the troops could have been formed of regulars and mercenaries together. He also suggested that the eponymous commanders were in charge of tactical units or detachments, and held the rank of hegemon or strategos, although he did not find proof that lower commanders did not give their names to their units.

The appearance of a strategos in *PSI* V, 513, described as τῶν Φιλίνου, led Wilcken in *Archiv* 8, 1927, p. 77, to suggest that the strategos was an inferior to the eponymous commander, and that this left only the title of hegemon for the eponymous commander. Wilcken also suggested on page 88 of the same issue of *Archiv* that these commanders might have been in command of phalanxes.



Bengtson, in *Die Strategie in die hellenistischen Zeit*, Munich, 1952, vol. III, p. 25, note 2, remarked that the solution to the problem of the eponymous commanders had not been found and that the whole problem required comprehensive re-examination. Bengtson is certainly right, and although a complete study cannot be entered upon here, some observations can be made about the nature of these commands and their eponymous officers.

In the first place, it does not seem likely that the commands are tactical units available for disposition. The men of a commander are scattered among different towns of a nome, and in some cases, among a number of nomes. For example, we find men of one Zoilos in both the Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes. In *P. Hib.* 209, 263 B.C., Lysikrates of the men of Zoilos acknowledges at Phebichis in the Koite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome that he has received from one Demetrios the rent for his holding according to a contract made at Heracleopolis. In *P. Hib.* 96, 260 B.C., one of Zoilos' men is party to a renunciation of claims made at Phebichis, and there are three witnesses who are also Zoilos' men. Much later, in 228 B.C., a captain described as one of Zoilos' pays the police tax, and, according to the editors of the papyrus, *P. Hib.* 105, the transaction probably took place at Phebichis.

In other documents we find Zoilos' men in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. In *P. Hib.* 94, 258/7 B.C., we find two of Zoilos' privates contracting to act as sureties in Tholthis, and in 239 B.C., in the same place, one of Zoilos' privates acts as *kyrios* for his daughter in a loan of money.

There are other documents cited under Zoilos, number 1908 in the list of eponymous commanders in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, ascribed variously with more or less certainty to the Koite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome and to the Oxyrhynchite Nome, but these mentioned here suffice to show that Zoilos' men are found in at least two nomes. One other appearance of one of Zoilos' men is in *P. Ross. Georg.* II, 1, dated as probably 245/4 B.C., a contract of loan made in the Thebaid, the borrower in which is one of Zoilos' men.

In other instances, men of a single commander are found in more than one nome. There are men of Antiochos in the Oxyrhynchite Nome (*BGU* 1228, 258 B.C.) and in Philadelphia in the Arsinoite Nome (*PSI* 389, 242 B.C.). There are men of Philon in the Oxyrhynchite Nome (*P. Hib.* 90, 223/2 B.C.) and in the Arsinoite Nome (*P. Frankf.* 7, verso, after 218/7 B.C.). One of Telestes men appears in the Koite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome (*P. Hib.* 99, 268 B.C.), and another in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome (*P. Hib.* 85, 261 B.C.), and one of Hippalos' men has land in Krokodilopolis of the Arsinoite Nome (*P. Teb.* 853, ca. 173 B.C.) and another is found in a contract from Diospolis Magna (*P. Haun.* 11, 158 B.C.).

It is clear, then, that it is possible for the members of a troop to be scattered among the nomes, and it is safe to say that the commands are not tactical units which remain at all times together. Yet it does appear that the majority of members are located in a given area. Although one person of Zoilos' appears in the Thebaid, most are in the Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes, and indeed, in that part of the Heracleopolite Nome, the Koite Toparchy, which borders on the Oxyrhyn-



chite Nome. Again in connection with those of Philon, only the one man from the Arsinoite Nome is outside the Oxyrhynchite Nome.

Furthermore, most of the commands are composed of members from only one nome, as an examination of the list of commanders in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* will show. Even discounting the commands for which we have only one or two names, we find the following commands, each with at least three references all coming from a single nome. The commands are attested at various dates of the Ptolemaic period.

Andriskos	Arsinoite Nome
Apollophanes	Heracleopolite Nome, around Tenis-Acora
Galestes	Arsinoite Nome, Philadelphia
Damon	Arsinoite Nome
Diodotos	Thebaid
Eteoneus	Arsinoite Nome
Hippokrates	Arsinoite Nome
Kineas	Arsinoite Nome
Lichas	Arsinoite Nome
Menelaos	Arsinoite Nome
Nikanor	Arsinoite Nome
Ptolemaios, son of Eteoneus	Arsinoite Nome
Ptolemaios, son of Nautas	Arsinoite Nome
Ptolemaios	Thebaid
Pythangelos	Arsinoite Nome
Phileus	Arsinoite Nome

It is clear that the assignment of men is local in nature, although not exclusively so. However, the local nature of the assignment does not imply that all the men in one area are assigned to a single commander.

Taking only the Arsinoite Nome into consideration, we find that in the year 238/7, there were in the meris of Polemon men of at least four commanders, Andriskos, Damon, Eumenes, and Hikatis( ), all signing as witnesses to a will, *P. Petr.* III, 4 (2). Again, at Hieria Nesos in 224/3 B.C., a contract, *P. Hamb.* 24, was signed, involving one of the men of Ptolemaios son of Eteoneus to which there were as witnesses two other men of Ptolemaios and three of Hippokrates. We find in the following year a petition, *P. Enteux* 55, in which it is stated that a man of Pythangelos had a cleruchy at Hieria Nesos. In connection with Krokodilopolis in the second half of the century we find men from not less than 18 commands, those of Agesarchos, Andriskos, Asklepiades, Damon, Eteoneus, Eurymedon, Herak(), Idaios, Hippokrates, Krateros, Leontiskos, Lichas, Maraios, Neoptolemos, Nikanor, Ptolemaios, Ptolemaios son of Nautas, and Pythangelos.

This first part of the inquiry would seem to make clear that whatever the nature of the commands, they were not tactical units which kept men together, nor were



they units composed of all men of one locale.

In the second place, it is clear from some of the men discussed in the preceding paragraphs that the occupations of the men are not solely military, and an examination of some other cases reinforces that conclusion. In *P. Col. Zen.* 49, a man of Antiochos' command pays rent, and in *P. Col. Zen.* 85, another of his men agrees to sell crops. In *P. Petr.* III, 11, one of Eteoneus' men is called a cleruch, and in *SB* 6278, a group of Zoilos' men are called logeutai. In *PSI* 513, one of Chrysermos' men, a chiliarch, is to receive a cleruchy, and in *P. Enteux.* 8, another of Chrysermos' men, called a cleruch, has died, and has left a gymnasium which he founded. The men of these commands rent land, borrow money, receive rents, and do the business which is done by those not categorized by assignment to a commander.

This much is clear then, from this short survey. The nature of the eponymous commands must be examined in the context of the whole cleruchic system of Ptolemaic Egypt. The commands do not separate the men out from the system, either by putting them in units on active duty or by separating them from the allotments of land. Rather, the eponymous commands are part and parcel of the cleruchic system; the men in the commands are on the land, scattered in the villages, and accomplish the same tasks as the other Greeks in Egypt. A careful examination of all the men in these commands is needed to explain their purpose, and their part in the cleruchic system.

Βασιλεύοντος Π[τολεμα]ίου  
 τοῦ Πτο[λεμα]ίου (ἔτους) ζ' ἐφ' ἱε-  
 ρείως Ἀ[μιναίου] τοῦ Ἀπ[ολ]λ-  
 λῶ μὴν[ος] Ἀπελλαίου κς  
 5 [ὁ]μολογεῖ ἀπέχειν κ[...]  
 [...].ος τ[ῶν Ἀ-]  
 λεξά]νδρου ἰδιώτης π[αρά]  
 [----- τοῦ] Μνασέου[

In the reign of Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy, the 7th year, in the priesthood of Limnaios, son of Apollon, Apellaios 26. K... of the men of Alexander, private, agrees that he has received from ... the son of Mnaseas...

2. Grenfell and Hunt suggest that the numeral could be read as a *delta*, but it seems clearly a *zeta*.

3. More of the papyrus has been lost after original publication. Grenfell and Hunt suggest that the reading could equally yield the name Ἀθηναῖος.

## 28. Beginning of a Legal Document

P. Yale Inv. A-4

3.7 x 8.6 cm.

268/7 B.C.(Sam.)  
Hibeh

Published as *P. Hib.* 128 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, this small piece of cartonnage preserves the first four lines of what was a legal document of some sort, a contract, loan, or receipt. The greater part of the original sheet is torn off after the fourth line of writing, but the top and side margins are preserved. We can read the dating formula, with the year and the name of the eponymous priest of Alexander. The hand is squared, with very few ligatures, typical of the first half of the third century B.C. Grenfell and Hunt, in describing this document in the first volume of *Hibeh Papyri*, stated that the hand is probably the same as that of *P. Hib.* 99, a receipt for rent, also of year 15, and suggest that this fragment may be part of a duplicate of *P. Hib.* 99.

The eponymous priest named in this fragment, Patroklos, the son of Patron, is named for the same year in *P. Hib.* 99, Daisios 20, 23 June 268, and *P. Hib.* 199. These documents have been discussed by Samuel in *Ptolemaic Chronology* and it is argued there that documents of the 15th year belong to the period before Philadelphus retroactively dated his reign to the beginning of the joint regency with his father, and that the beginning of the reign was reckoned at that time as 282/1. Thus, year 15 is 268/7.

It has been suggested in connection with these documents, that they may indicate that the cult of Theoi Adelphoi was established prior to the death of Arsinoe Philadelphus. In *P. Hib.* 99, the priest Patroklos is named as priest of the Theoi Adelphoi as well as of Alexander. According to the Mendes stele, Arsinoe died in Pachons of the year 15, and Grenfell and Hunt, in discussing *P. Hib.* 99, point out that the cult was established between the 13th and 15th years; the problem came to the fore again with the publication of *P. Hib.* 199, a list of priests which gives the priest of Alexander and the Theoi Adelphoi for the 14th and 15th years. The editors took the naming of priests of Alexander and the Theoi Adelphoi for both the 14th and 15th years to prove that the cult of the Theoi Adelphoi had been established before Arsinoe's death.

The argument may not be conclusive, however. *P. Hib.* 99 and 128 of the 15th year date from 268/7, as has been said, reckoning according to the system which calculated the reign beginning in 282/1. As for *P. Hib.* 199, the list of priests, since Patroklos is named for the 15th year in that document too, the reckoning there must be from 282/1, and so the 14th year in that list, for which there is a priest





29. Letter from Paris to Ploutarchos

P. Yale Inv. A-6

6.9 cm. x 24.6 cm.

265/4 B.C.  
Hibeh

This papyrus, among others in the Yale collection, came in the early years of this century from the excavations by the Egypt Exploration Society. Originally published as *P. Hib.* 64, in that publication it was presented in a very different form from that printed here. Now, it seems that the sheet arrived in two fragments, each approximately 12 cm. in height, and with no writing lost in the break between. The upper fragment preserves the top and side margins, and although the left margin is somewhat tattered, the fact that about 1.5 cm. of blank space was left at the left accounts for the preservation of almost all the letters at the left. The publication here of the upper fragment is essentially the same as the original publication by Grenfell and Hunt.

There is more difficulty with the lower fragment. As it is now published, it is made up of a number of fragments joined to make a piece 11.7 cm. long and 5 cm. in width at the widest point. At no part is the blank area at the left extant, but there are two lines in which the first six to ten letters are preserved. In general, the whole lower fragment is so badly tattered that no connected sense can be made of it, but fortunately, a small fragment with the date and part of the bottom margin shows the length of the whole piece.

When originally published, the bottom fragment was presented in markedly different format. The piece now printed as lines 19-21 was joined by Grenfell and Hunt to the upper lines, and printed as part of lines 18-20 (actually lines 16-18 of printed text, since Grenfell and Hunt assumed two lines to be restored in entirety). When the pieces of the lower fragment are arranged as Grenfell and Hunt placed them, they make an impossible piece. When the bottom fragment is placed to bring the first letters into line with the first letters of the lines of the upper fragment, this piece when joined at the right juts out 2 cm. beyond the right margin of the upper fragment; there are clear and readable letters over 1.5 cm. to the right of the last letter of the upper fragment, and traces of writing at the extreme right. It is quite clear that this piece when left in the place it was put by Grenfell and Hunt does not conform to the right margin, and that the whole lower fragment needed rearrangement.

When the pieces were re-examined, close attention to the fibers showed, with all but certainty, where the pieces actually joined. When the joins were made, a



much more consistent piece was presented than that proposed by Grenfell and Hunt. The lower fragment now takes this form: length 11.7 cm; the upper half of the fragment 5 cm. wide; and the lower half the tattered remnant of the center of the sheet, 3 cm. at the widest point. Since the lower fragment is almost the same length as the upper fragment, it is needless to assume that much is lost between the two. Furthermore, since the letters of the last line of the upper fragment are at the very bottom, and the lower part of some of these letters are broken off, and the letters of the first line of the lower fragment are at the very top of that fragment, it is safe to assume that the lost part was the blank space between the lines and that the lines were consecutive when the sheet was intact.

In the original publication, Grenfell and Hunt printed an unplaced fragment, which read ]i.[ ]πρὸς[ ]]. That fragment must have been lost over the years, as we do not find it. It could have belonged almost anywhere in the lower part of the sheet. In this letter, Paris tells Ploutarchos to take 250 artabas of grain from the 1450 which Antipater had written was to go to Paris, and to send the rest. He also remarks that he is in need of 60 drachmas. The rest of the letter is too damaged to be read.

This letter, like that which follows, *P. Yale* 30, belongs to a small group of documents addressed to Ploutarchos. Besides the two Yale documents, *P. Hib.* 63, 65, and *P. Hib.* 206 belong to this correspondence, and Ploutarchos is mentioned in an account, *P. Hib.* 110. All of these documents except this come from mummy 18, and this particular text, from mummy 97, written by Paris, connects *P. Hib.* 65, of which the address is lost but which mentions Paris, to the other documents of Ploutarchos' correspondence.

Ploutarchos clearly has some role in the handling of agricultural produce; all the letters deal with such matters. It is difficult to determine this role precisely, however. In this text, he is told in effect that he is to measure out 1450 artabas of olyra, keep 250 for himself, and send the rest along. While the nature of this transaction is not immediately clear, it does seem to be the same kind of transaction as some recorded in *P. Hib.* 110, recto, an account which mentions Ploutarchos along with others. The first entry records income of 331 artabas of wheat from various people, of which 1 was paid to the temple of Herakles, 10 for freightage, 20 to Ploutarchos, remainder 300. The second entry too concerns our Ploutarchos; it acknowledges receipt of 110 artabas of barley from Agathon, of which 20 went to Ploutarchos, remainder 90. It is clear from the examination of the two documents that Ploutarchos gets, for some reason, some of the olyra which is to be paid to Paris, and some of the wheat and barley which went to the writer of the account. The two documents have another kind of transaction in common; the writer acknowledges that someone, the name is lost, has from Ploutarchos 60 drachmas at interest in the 12th year, another 60 in the 13th year, and yet another 60 in that year. The Yale papyrus also mentions the sum of 60 drachmas; Paris says he has need of that sum. Even more striking, the account states that the money was further paid over to someone else, twice using the word κατέβαλε while the Yale text also uses



the word, line 15,  $\delta\varsigma$  καταβαλεῖ, where the papyrus is unfortunately so fragmentary that we cannot understand the context or the transaction. Nevertheless, enough is clear, and the two transactions are so similar, that it is safe to say that the two documents give us views from different directions at the same kinds of transactions. The letter from Paris shows the transaction as it must appear to Ploutarchos; it sets up the initial action. *P. Hib.* 110 reflects the transaction as it must appear to Paris or his equivalent; it records the whole transaction of which Ploutarchos' activity is only a part.

There seems to be nothing official about these transactions. None of the quantities either coming in or going out are described as taxes, and none of the people involved seem to be paying or receiving in any official capacity, except that in *P. Hib.* 110 some minor fees for scribes, guards, and the like are paid. Nowhere is Ploutarchos given an official title, nor do we find his correspondants given official titles. Paris is never called an official; Criton, the writer of *P. Hib.* 63, is never given an official title; nothing in *P. Hib.* 65 indicates any office held by the writer or addressee; Zoilos, the writer of *P. Yale* 30, might be an official, but no certain identification can be made; Theophilos, the writer of *P. Hib.* 206, is not called an official and is otherwise unknown.

Nothing that Ploutarchos does can be construed as official. We have already remarked the non-official nature of the transactions in this document and *P. Hib.* 110, and the other Yale text too deals in matters which seem to have nothing to do with the royal revenues. The same is true of *P. Hib.* 63, and in *P. Hib.* 65 there is clear implication that the grain dealt with is private, since in this letter the writer who is anxious to meet his obligations speaks of making up arrears by purchase from the state. It is unlikely that the letter deals with state grain.

There is also money being made. *P. Hib.* 110 makes it clear that Ploutarchos is gaining interest on money he lends, and this document and the Yale papyrus attests his gain for his part in the transactions in grain. If this group of letters is compared with other groups among the Hibeh correspondence, and then with some of the letters from the Zenon archive, its similarity to the Zenon letters rather than the other Hibeh groups is apparent. Most of the letters of Harimouthes' correspondence mention official matters, as do those of Ptolemaios. The letters mention state revenues and police activities; Harimouthes was a nomarch or toparch or both, as Grenfell and Hunt pointed out in the introduction to *P. Hib.* 40, since at one time or another he held both titles. Ptolemaios, while never identified by title, probably was a comogrammateus, as we suggested in the discussion of *P. Yale* 34. The difference between the letters of these two groups and the letters of the Ploutarchos group is obvious.

So too is the difference clear when we contrast these letters with the group of letters written by Leodamas. *P. Hib.* 45 shows clearly that Leodamas was concerned with taxation; he was surely an official, and, as we suggest in the discussion of *P. Yale* 32, probably the nome oikonomos. Another group, the correspondence of Kleitarchos, discussed in connection with *P. Yale* 47-49, deals so much



with the banking system that we can learn much about that system from it. In the comparison between all these groups and the Ploutarchos group, it is enough to say that the Ploutarchos correspondence differs strongly from the other groups.

When we turn to the Zenon correspondence, we do find similarities. For example, in *P. Mich. Zen.* 28, Sosos writes to Zenon about matters very similar to those dealt with in the Ploutarchos correspondence. He talks about selling corn, paying out incidental expenses, and debts arising from the sale. There are many letters in the Zenon archive about private matters: beer brewing, contracts for building, wages for work. It has always been clear that Zenon held a quasi-official position as manager of Apollonios' dorea; because he worked for such an important official his activities impinged upon the regular bureaucracy. Nevertheless, his position was essentially private, and he operated the dorea for Apollonios' (and incidentally his own) profit. The striking similarity between the Zenon archive and the Ploutarchos group is that among the Zenon letters there are many which mention sale and exchanges of grain, but with no concomitant mention of tax or any payment to the government. The letters must deal with private affairs. The Ploutarchos letters are just the same. They deal in private exchanges of produce.

We cannot carry the discussion further than the conclusion that all the Ploutarchos letters deal with private matters. It is safe to say that the letters do not lead us to any assumption that he was an official, and there are enough documents, six in all, which pertain to him, to make it safe to say that although he might have had some official capacity he probably did not, since one would have expected some mention of that in the correspondence if he was an official. We certainly could not argue that he, like Zenon, administered a dorea in the vicinity of Hibeh. There is nothing to rule that out, but neither is there any information to justify the inference.

It is interesting to see this evidence of private activity early in the Ptolemaic period. We have always been so conscious of the blanketing bureaucracy which the Ptolemies used to gather in the revenues of Egypt that we have tended to obscure the avenues available for private aggrandizement. It was the existence of these opportunities which drew Greeks to Egypt, and the immigration of Greeks in the early part of the third century B.C. provided the personnel to the first three Ptolemies to create their extensive overseas empire. Here, in this small group of documents, we see these Greeks in private life, dealing in large quantities of grain and money (thousands of drachmas are accounted for in *P. Hib.* 110), and with no apparent difficulties from the bureaucracy.

In the early publication of these documents, Grenfell and Hunt suggested in the introduction to *P. Hib.* 63, that Criton, the writer of that letter, and Ploutarchos, were located at or near Hieras Nesos in the Arsinoite Nome. Actually, this is the only document which mentions this town in connection with the Ploutarchos group, and the connection is with Kriton rather than Plutarchus. In fact, the only town with which we are justified in connecting Ploutarchos is Phebichis in the Koite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome. *P. Hib.* 110.35 specifically mentions a  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$

γενομένου Πλουτάρχ[ωι] ἐμ Φεβίχι. This must be taken to mean either that Ploutarchos was located at Phebichis, or that the area of his activities at least included that town. If he was located at Phebichis, he clearly was involved in activities which ranged outside the Heracleopolite Nome; *P. Hib.* 110 shows this in any case, and the letters show him in correspondence with people outside his own nome. If he was not located in the area of Phebichis, we must conclude that he himself traveled. In either case, the documents show that these private dealings were conducted among people rather widely separated geographically. It is clear then that the activities of Ploutarchos and his associates were extensive; these private activities involved large sums of money and at least two nomes.

Πάρις Πλουτάρχ[ωι]  
 χαίρειν. γέγραφέν σοι  
 Ἐντίπατρος μετρή—  
 [θαί μ[ο]ι ὀλυρών (ἀρτάβας) Αὐν  
 5 ὧν δε[ί] σ]ε λαβεῖν (δραχμάς) σν  
 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ με—  
 τρήσαι. χρεῖαν οὖν  
 ἔχω (δραχμάς) ξ. καλῶς  
 ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις δοῦς  
 10 Ψενομοῦτι τῶι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ  
 τὸν σῆτρον. ἀπόστ[ει-]  
 λον μοι τὰς[...]  
 ..[.] τη[...]  
 την ἄξω ....[...]  
 15 ὃς καταβαλεῖ....[...]  
 ..[.]....[.]...[...]  
 ...ποιη[...]  
 [..].ν μοι.[...]  
 [..]....[...]  
 20 [..].ο.η δὲ καὶ [...]  
 [..].ων ἂν χρεῖ.[...]  
 [..]α..[..].ς[...]  
 (ἔτους) κα Π[...]

Verso: Πλουτάρ-  
 χωι



Paris to Ploutarchos greeting. Antipater has written to you to measure out 1450 artabs of olyra to me, of which you should take 250 artabs and measure out the rest to me. I have need of 60 drachmas. You would do well giving the grain to Pse-nomous the one from me. Send off to me the (60 drachmas?)...

1. Πάρις: He is also mentioned in *P.Hib.* 65; the addressee is to measure out aracus to him. A Paris son of Sisybaios is named as agent of Harimouthes the nomarch in *P.Hib.* 85, and Grenfell and Hunt thought the two were not connected, assuming that *P.Hib.* 64 and 65 pertained to the Arsinoite Nome. We have seen in the introduction that Ploutarchos did indeed have dealings in the Heracleopolite Nome, and thus an identification with the Paris of *P.Hib.* 85 is more possible. In *P.Hib.* 85 Paris is definitely acting in an official capacity as agent of Harimouthes, issuing seed to a cleruch. Whether Paris had any office is doubtful. If he is to be identified with the Paris of the Yale papyrus, we have an insight into the activities of a man who at one time acts in a private capacity, at another, as an agent, in more official matters.

10. ἀπ' ἐμῶν: Grenfell and Hunt read this as ἀποδι- and restored the participle ἀποδίδοντι in a hypothetical following line. As has been pointed out, the assumption of lines lost after the break below line 10 is needless and probably wrong, and so something is needed here which will make sense with τὸν σῖτον following in line 11. The letter following the π cannot be ο unless it is part of the formation of οι, and that reading would also invalidate ἀποδι-. The ink looks most like the beginning of α but it could be the upper part of the hasta of ε. The surface is so badly damaged that the reading cannot be considered secure.

11. σῖτον: As Grenfell and Hunt pointed out, the τ is most uncertain. There appears to be a vertical stroke before the traces of the τ; the scribe may have made a correction.

12. τὰς[...]: Grenfell and Hunt restored ξ (δραχμᾶς). The restoration of this figure, or some sum of money, is reasonable, but not enough of the context remains to accept the restoration confidently.

18. Following this line we have placed the fragment which Grenfell and Hunt placed to the right. The fibers stretching down from line 18 seem to fit with the fibers on which the traces of line 19 appear.

24. (ἔτους) κϛ: The correction of the second digit, about which Grenfell and Hunt were dubious, is almost certainly from something to α. The month, which begins with π, could have been any Macedonian or Egyptian month beginning with that letter. The month may well have been written in a three letter abbreviation, followed by a numeral for the date.

30. Letter from Zoilos to Ploutarchos

P. Yale Inv. 24

Ca. 265 B.C.  
Hibeh

Three fragments of tan papyrus from the same letter. Fragment (a) is 3.5 x 9.5 cm., fragment (b) is 7 x 8 cm., and fragment (c) is 7 x 10.5 cm. Fragment (a) preserves the top and left margins, both fragments (b) and (c) preserve the two side margins, and the bottom margin is preserved by fragment (c). The pieces are not contiguous, but the original sheet must have been approximately 7 x 30 cm.

The fold lines indicate that no great amount has been lost between the fragments. There are three vertical fold lines, and the breaks between fragments indicate two horizontal folds. The sheet was folded in from the left three times, and the thin strip thus achieved was folded into thirds. The folds did not overlap one another; the bottom seems to have been folded up along one side of the thin packet, while the top was folded down along the opposite side, so that on unfolding, the middle portion was shorter than either top or bottom. This created a considerable strain along the horizontal folds, and this would explain the loss of some of the sheet between the extant fragments. One would not expect too much to be missing.

Only fragment (b) contains clear and consecutive writing; the other two fragments are badly worm eaten. The writing is on the recto and with the fibers, and is a hand very characteristic of the middle third century B.C. There is little ligaturing, and the letters average about 0.4 cm. in height in lines about 1 cm. apart.

On the verso, the latter part of the address,  $\text{Ἰϋτάρχωι}$ , is extant. Some plaster, painted with red geometric designs, still adheres to the surface.

The letter was previously published as *P. Hib.* 159, but only lines 6-10 were then printed.

This letter, along with *P. Hib.* 63, 65, 94, 110, 157, 158, 206, 208, and 269, come from mummy 18. Of these, the following can be securely dated: 94, 258/7 B.C.; 157, 264/3 B.C.; 206, 263/2 B.C. All the others are dated by the editors to about 265 B.C. The hand of the Yale papyrus fully supports the presumption that it is contemporary with the other papyri from mummy 18.

Unfortunately, the letter is too fragmentary to permit full understanding of the contents. As was said above, only fragment b permits consecutive reading; the other fragments require extensive restoration to create sense. The sense at which the restorations aim is almost surely the sense of the original text. Ploutarchos has written that he got something from a third party, probably Dokimos, on Zoilos'

account, a  
that Plout  
in such co  
Ploutarch  
third party  
While  
is impos  
suggested  
More likel  
ter singul  
mostly in

Zoilos  
160 drach  
at you if  
when you

1. Zoil  
archive we



account, and that it came damaged and worthless. Zoilos says that he is surprised that Ploutarchos believed, i.e., that he believed Zoilos would have sent the material in such condition. He goes on to say that he gave it to the third party, and urges Ploutarchos to investigate and write back if there is any complaint on the part of the third party.

While we restore some of the missing writing to provide the probable sense, it is impossible to know what the material under discussion is. Grenfell and Hunt suggested σπέρμα, but it is difficult to see how seed could be ἅπαν ἐπικεκομμένον. More likely is λίνον, which would fit the requirement of a generic term in the neuter singular. Also possible would be ξύλον, although this word tends to be used mostly in the plural.

Zoίλο[ς Πλου-]  
 τάρχω[ι χείρειν.]  
 ἔγραψας [ἡμῖν ὅτι]  
 ἐκομίσω [.....]  
 5 ρξ (δραχμῶν) πα[ρὰ Δοκί-]  
 [μου ὧ]ς [παρ' ἡμῶν]  
 ἅπαν ἐπικεκομ-  
 μένον καὶ ἀχρεῖον.  
 Θαυμάζω οὖν σοῦ  
 10 εἰ πιστεύεις· ἡμεῖς  
 γὰρ ἐδώκαμεν  
 αὐτῷ δέκα [...]...  
 [.....ἔξ]έτα-  
 [σον οὖν τὸ πρᾶγμα]  
 15 καὶ πυ[θόμενος]  
 γράψον ἕαν [οἴ]ηται  
 Δ[ό]κ[ι]μος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 ἀδικεῖσθαι.  
 ἔρρωσα.

Verso: Πλο]υτάρχωι

Zoilos to Ploutarchos greeting. You wrote to us that you received ..... worth 160 drachmas from Dokimos as if from us, all chopped up and useless. I am surprised at you if you believe it, for we gave to him ten ..... Investigate the matter, and when you have found out, write if Dokimos thinks he is wronged by me. Farewell.

1. Zoίλο[ς]: There are many persons of this name known in this period. From the Zenon archive we have the oikonomos Zoilos (PCZ 59073), who is probably also the writer of

PCZ 59096. The hand of that document is quite similar to the hand of the Yale papyrus, except that the form of the *eta* differs markedly. Thus we hesitate on identification with the *oikonomos*. In the Hibeh papyri, we have a Zoilos, banker of the Hermopolite Nome, in *P. Hib.* 110.86, and an eponymous commander, the Zoilos of *P. Hib.* 88, 94, 102, 105, *et al.*, mentions of whom range from 263/2 to 228 B.C. No certain identification can be made.

2. τάρχῳι: This same part of the name is found on the verso, and there the original editors read ]ντάρχῳι. We do not see the *upsilon*, but do find a trace of ink after the break which could be the end of the *upsilon*. A Ploutarchos is known from *P. Hib.* 63, ca. 265 B.C., in which he is there too the addressee. *P. Hib.* 63 also comes from mummy 18, and on the strength of this fact, and the original reading by Grenfell and Hunt, we read [Πλου]τάρχῳι without hesitation.

5. Δοκίμου: Restored here on the basis of Δ[ό]κ[ι]μος in line 17, the most probable reading there. The name Dokimos is found in four of the Hibeh papyri, all dating to around 250 B.C.

6. [ὦ]ς [παρ' ἡμῶν]. This construction, together with the reading of the name in the preceding line, is not required in its precise form; any phrase indicating that the material was transmitted for Zoilos by a third person would be satisfactory. But this seems to fit the space and text best, and it can be paralleled by the ὦς παρὰ σοῦ of PCZ 59516 (cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II (3) p. 167).



### 31. Receipt for Seed-Corn

P. Yale Inv. A-2

9.7 x 16.5

257/6 B.C.  
Hibeh

The papyrus was received from the Egypt Exploration Society in the early years of this century, and had been fully published as *P. Hibeh 87*. There has been some loss of the surface since Grenfell and Hunt read the text, and some of the letters which they read without question can barely be made out now.

The sheet is complete at the left and bottom, and the right edge of the sheet is tattered. The first two or three lines are missing, and of the extant lines on the upper part of the sheet, the last two or three letters are missing. The lower half of the sheet is worm-eaten and worn. The hand is a clear, stylized hand typical of the middle of the third century B.C. The vertical strokes of the letters are accentuated by lengthening, and the general appearance of the papyrus shows the work of a skilled scribe.

In this papyrus, three cleruchs acknowledge receipt from a sitologus of  $79 \frac{3}{4}$  artabs of wheat and  $33 \frac{1}{4}$  artabs of barley as seed for the 30th year for their holdings around the village of the Pastophoroi. The receipt ends with the phrase  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\eta\acute{\nu}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ , which serves as a release to the sitologus. This suggests that the cleruchs receive their seed as a matter of right, as such a release is only appropriate if the sitologus has an obligation to issue the seed. That these issues of seed are not loans, as they are conventionally called, but issues on government authority, becomes clear after an examination of the documents which pertain to this traffic. It is also clear that the issue and preservation of seed was carefully organized, and that seed was accounted for separately from grain destined for the trade.

Authority for these issues originates from the nome level or higher. In *P. Teb. 701* we have such authorizations, and this document originates at a higher level than we can prove for any of the other authorizations for the issue of seed. This papyrus is a long record of official business, all entries of which pertain to the year 235 B.C. Most of the entries on the recto are authorizations for the issue of seed. There are also entries relating to the shipment of fish, payments to fishermen for nets and wages, and miscellaneous entries of an economic nature. The bureau which made up the register cannot be identified, although the editors suggest the department might be that of the *oikonomos*. It is clear, however, from some of the entries, that the office which drew up the register was in an upper echelon

of the bureaucracy. Lines 274-301 record the proceedings of a joint gathering of nomarchs and Architimos the antigrapheus at which a number of people reported transactions. Another reference to the nomarchs as a group comes in a petition against a comarch addressed to the nomarchs, beginning with line 331. These entries record business with which no one lower than the nome level would be concerned, and the wide variety of entries indicates an office of general competence.

The entries which order actions or provide authorizations are entered in brief letter form; most are addressed to one Architimos, probably the antigrapheus of line 275, although some are addressed to other people. Practically none indicates the originator of the instruction. Some of the orders given to Architimos use the word ἐμβολοῦ, as in line 38, 'embark thrissas for Alexander', others use δός, as in line 87, 'give drachmas to the fishermen', and also, as in line 235, the order διὰ-γραφον is given. These entries make it clear that Architimos acts himself, and this is consonant with the role of the antigrapheus as he appears, for example, in *P. Mich. Zen.* 24, sending pear-tree shoots. None of the entries concerning the distribution of seed give direct orders for issue by Architimos; rather, the instruction is σύνταξον μετρήσαι. From this it is clear that at the nome level, orders are not given to issue seed, but rather, orders are given to give further orders for the measurement out of seed.

Another stage in the issue of seed is found in *P. Lille* 5, 259 B.C. This too is not the final issue order, since it also contains the phrase σύνταξον μετρήσαι. Unlike *P. Teb.* 701, however, this instruction heads a list of people to whom seed is to be issued, and there are also entries for poiologia as well. The Lille papyrus differs from the Tebtunis text in another way, in that there are notations of seed already issued, and the total to be issued reflects a deduction for these issues. This set of orders reflects the existence of yet another list, in which is kept a record of the actual issues of the seed. Such a record is probably that represented by *PCZ* 59788, a very fragmentary account at the end of which appear entries of names in the dative, followed by the word σπέρμα.

Thus we have established a number of stages involved in the issue of seed. Basic authorization for issue comes from at least as high as the nomarch's office. The actual issue is modified by the amount of seed which has already been issued, and new instructions are made up. We find the actual issues in receipts like the Yale papyrus, where a sitologus issues seed to cleruchs. In *P. Hib.* 85, the issue is made by the agent of a nomarch, thus confirming the role of the nomarch in the disbursement of seed. Presumably the issue in *P. Hib.* 85 is at the village level by the nomarch's agent, and there are parallels to his role in *BGU* 1226-30, issues of seed by the agent of the nomarch.

*P. Hib.* 85 and *BGU* 1230 both make reference to the "γραφὴν λήμμα καὶ ἀνάλωμα σπέρμα". This expression can only refer to the list of receipt and expenditure of seed; we have already seen that an accounting was kept of the expenditure of seed, and we must now turn to the list recording receipt. Fortunately, we have better examples of this list than of the expenditure list. In *P. Hib.* 117 we have



part of the records of Haronnophris, supervisor of the granary of the Coite Toparchy. Among his receipts he lists individual payment of seed. *P. Hib.* 118 records individual payments of olyra under the heading σπέρμα. *P. Hib.* 119 records the payments of τὸ ἐκφόριον due from a κλῆρος, together with σπέρμα, and κάτεργον, and then has entries by day of the actual amounts of olyra measured into the granary. Thus we see that a record was kept of seed issued and seed received.

It is clear from the documents thus far discussed not only that the procedure for the issue of seed was very carefully organized and controlled, but that a very careful record was kept of seed issued and returned. This accounting separation from the rest of the grain implies that the seed itself was handled differently from the grain for the trade. We have confirmation of the separate handling from *P. Teb.* 850, Fragment (3), which, although later than the other documents we have been discussing, shows the procedure in 170 B.C. The fragment speaks of the list by individuals of τῶν παρατεθέντων σπερμάτων ἐν τῷ ια (ἔτει) εἰς τὸν σπόρον τοῦ ιβ (ἔτ.) that is, seed from the harvest of one year stored for the next year's sowing. It seems, then, that the grain turned in as seed was kept separate, and issued at a later time for beginning the next crop. This confirms the hint of *P. Teb.* 703, referring to transport of grain: ὁ ὑπάρχων σίτος ἐν τοῖς νομοῖς πλὴν τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τόποις δαπανωμένου εἰς τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τοῦ ἀπλώτου .....ς κατάγεται. The text here refers to grain in the seed account, and the separation of seed is confirmed by *P. Teb.* 850.

In this discussion of the accounting and issue of seed, and its return and preservation, we have not taken up the matter of the so-called loans of seed. The Yale text makes no mention of any return of the seed issued, and there are other receipts with the same characteristic. *SB* 6280, III B.C., is a statement of issue of seed corn to a number of people; it ends with the same terms of release as the Yale receipt, and is followed by acknowledgements of receipt by those to whom the seed was issued. The text is broken at the top, but it begins with a reference to οἱ ὑπογ[εγραμμένοι] who in the main text acknowledge issuance and agree that they will make no complaint. In the appended texts receipt is formally acknowledged. Two other similar receipts are *BGU* 1229 and 1230, both 257/6 B.C. *BGU* 1229 is a receipt for 20 artabs of barley in place of 10 of barley and 10 of olyra by one Dionysios for seed for the kleros of Pyrrhios, and *BGU* 1230 is a receipt for seed issued for the kleros of Euangelos. These receipts show that the Yale text is by no means unique in its failure to mention repayment. Yet the numerous entries in accounts attesting to the payment of seed into the granaries do indicate that there was payment of seed as such, and there are receipts which do require that the seed be replaced, sometimes multiplied one and one half times, out of the new crop. Such a receipt is *P. Hib.* 85, and three other *BGU* receipts, 1226-1228, require that it be replaced. All are rather explicit in treating the seed apart from the ἐκφόριον. *P. Hib.* 85 states that τὸ σπέρμα ὃ εἴληφεν is to be returned πρότερον τῶν ἐκφορίμων ἐγ νέων. *BGU* 1226 expresses it: ἀπομετρησάτω ... τὸ σπέρμα ὃ εἴληφεν ἅμα τοῖς ἐκφορίοις ἐγ νέων. Receipts like this show the requirement to pay.



into the granary replacement for the seed issued, and *P. Teb.* 701 shows that this procedure is far the commoner one. In the orders of this text, all but one require that seed be paid back one and a half times. This text, which sets up the issue of seed, provides for its return, and also sets up the basic scheme of ἐκφόριον by stating that it will be assessed on the basis of the account of seed, must be seen as the basic arrangement and the best guide to the system, and dictates the conclusion that seed in general must be paid back. This is of course what is only to be expected from the evidence of the accounts.

But there is no doubt that some issues are not repayable; the Yale papyrus and its parallels show that. The possible reason for exemption from the requirement to repay the seed may be indicated by the sole entry in the Tebtunis register which fails to mention repayment. This entry, addressed also to Architimos, states that δεῖ σπέρμα δο[θῆναι] to people whose land was σκωληκόβροτος; presumably the crops were eaten by cutworms. The authorization for issue, σύνταξον μετρήσαι, is followed by a direct order, μέτρησον, to Menon, stating that it is to be done according to a list which will be forwarded. The list would in all likelihood be much like that of *P. Lille* 5. The main import of the entry is that in the only case not requiring repayment of seed, there seems to have been some natural disaster which made it necessary to issue free seed to the farmers. This conclusion, based on evidence not available to Grenfell and Hunt in their first publication of the Yale papyrus, nevertheless accords with their basic conclusion there published and set forth in greater detail in *Tebtunis Papyri* I, pp. 226-7. While we need not conclude that all texts which fail to mention repayment exclude it, we need not assume repayment where it is not mentioned. There were occasions on which seed was issued and need not be repaid.

The issues, even when repayable, were not loans, and should not be considered loans. The word δάνειον is never used in connection with these issues, and when the word δάνειον does appear in connection with issues, as in the κάτ-εργον loans of *P. Lille* 39-51, the loan does not strictly refer to the issue of seed corn. Rather, these issues form the last stages of a disciplined system of distribution of seed, to insure that the land will be sown in accordance with plan, and the returns of seed begin the process anew by returning to the granary the where-withal to begin again. The returns of seed are not repayments of loans, but are equally with the ἐκφόριον an ordered part of the Ptolemaic procedure for the control of the grain trade.

The conclusions which we draw from the references to the issue of seed then provide a fairly comprehensive picture of the whole procedure. The procedure begins with authorization at the nome level for the issuance of seed on the basis of the διαγραφὴ σπόρου, and this authorization provides information about the return of seed and the assessment of ἐκφόριον. At the next stage, information about seed already issued is collated with the basic authorization, and orders to issue are forwarded. Actual issue is accomplished at the village level, and upon the harvesting of the crops, the requisite amounts of seed are separated from the crops and stored for the seeding of the next crop. The Yale receipt is an example of the final transaction of issue, and provides an insight into the matters which were important and necessary to record.



The town near which the cleruchs have holdings is called τὴν τῶν Παστοφόρων. The reading is a restoration chosen by Grenfell and Hunt, and is something of a surprise. They pointed out that the name of this village does not occur elsewhere, unless it can be read in *P. Hib.* 118, 1.16, Παστο]φόρων. The name of this village has not appeared in papyri published since *Hibeh Papyri* I, and it is a peculiar name. One would not suppose that there would be enough pastophoroi to form a village, particularly since they do not appear so often in the papyri. But nothing else seems to fit, and this type of name, genitive plural + κώμη is common, and used for many villages. The name most like this is the 'Shepherd's village', Βουκόλων κώμη, found in *P. Lille* 11, of the middle of the third century B.C., and in many other papyri of that and later centuries. We accept the reading here as the best suggestion. Although the name is peculiar, it is not necessarily suspect because it appears only among the Hibeh papyri. It may well be one of the villages of the Coite Toparchy, and that area is represented primarily by the documents from Hibeh.

[.][.][..... Ἡρα-]  
 κλείδου καὶ Ἡρ[  
 Μενίσκου καὶ Ζη[  
 ρίου (εἰκοσιπεντάρουροι) ἔχειν παρὰ  
 5 τοῦ σιτολόγου εἰς οὐς ἔχ[ο-]  
 μεν περὶ τὴν τῶν Παστο-]  
 φόρων κλήρους σπέρμ[α]  
 εἰς τὸ λ (ἔτος) πυρ[ο]ῦ ἕβδο-  
 μήκοντα ἐννέα ἡμισυ  
 10 τέταρτον καὶ κριθῆς τριῆ-  
 κοντα τρεῖς τέταρτον  
 σίτον καθα[ρὸν] μέτροις  
 παραδ[ο]χικοῖς καὶ [οὐ]θῆν  
 ἐγκαλοῦμεν.

... son of Heraklides and Her... son of Meniskos and Ze... son of ..., 25-  
 aoura holders, (acknowledge) we have received from ... sitologus, for the holdings  
 which we have at the (village) of the Pastophors, seed for the 30th year, seventy-  
 nine and three-quarters artabs of wheat and thirty-three and one-quarter artabs of  
 of barley, pure grain by the receiving measures, and we will make no complaint.

1. Ἡρα]κλείδου: No other name with the ending -κλείδης has been found in the Hibeh papyri.

2. Μενίσκου: Unknown elsewhere in the Hibeh papyri.

4. (εἰκοσιπεντάρουροι): The siglum is κε corrected from εχ.

9. read ἡμισυ.

12. μέτροις παραδοχικοῖς: 'receiving measures', probably identical with μέτρα δοχικά. (cf. *Hibeh Papyri* I, pp. 229-30). This term appears also in *BGU* 1229 and 1230.

32. Letter From Leodamas to Laomedon

P. Yale Inv. 21

8.2 x 10.1

Ca. 257 B.C.  
Hibeh

This papyrus, published as *P.Hib.* 49 and given to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, must have been in better condition when read by Grenfell and Hunt. Their publication indicated few difficulties in reading, while now there are many. The papyrus is complete but for a small piece lost from the upper right corner. The surface, particularly that of the lower part of the sheet, is much abraded, and were it not for Grenfell and Hunt's publication, there are a number of words which could not have been read. The hand is a small cursive, rather careless, and the ink, where the surface is intact, is black and clear.

This letter belongs to a group of letters all written by Leodamas. There are ten in all. Six, *P.Hib.* 45, 46, 47, 48, 249, and 250 are written to one Lysimachos, and there are one each to Laomedon (*P.Hib.* 49), Theodoros (*P.Hib.* 50), Antipator (*P.Hib.* 251), and someone whose name ends in  $-\sigma\mu\omega\iota$  (*P.Hib.* 252). This small group of letters is quite unusual. Whereas in other cases in which there is a group of letters concerning the same people the connecting link is the man to whom the letters are addressed, in this group the connection is through the writer. For example, in the Kleitarchos archive the letters are written to Kleitarchos; in the group of letters concerning Harimouthes, *P.Hib.* 40 to 44, Harimouthes is the addressee; of the group which definitely pertains to the correspondence of Ptolemaios, *P.Hib.* 61-62, 167-8, 240, only 240 is not addressed to Ptolemaios, but is written by him. Even if there be other parts of the correspondence not yet identified, not written to these people just named, there is in each case a central group of letters written to a single person whose name identifies the different parts of the correspondence. In the case of the correspondence of Leodamas, Leodamas himself writes to five different people. A plausible explanation of this peculiarity would be that these texts are copies of letters written by Leodamas, kept, complete with addresses, for his files. In any case, the group is quite unusual.

This characteristic alone makes the group interesting. But besides, the name Leodamas, although it seems a perfectly ordinary kind of Greek name, is very rarely found in Egypt outside of this group. It appears also in *SB* 2554, an inscription on a vase from Naucratis in which only the name Leodamas appears, and which is dated as "early Greek". Thus there is no way to identify Leodamas from his appearance in other documents. Furthermore, although the names of his correspondents are known from other documents, they are not identified sufficiently in the Leodamas group to be securely identified with the names in other documents. Thus



we are left with a small group of documents, the persons in which are not known, and a group which is difficult to explain because the connection between the parts of the correspondence is provided by the writer of all the letters.

Leodamas, whoever he is, seems to be interested primarily in agricultural matters. Grenfell and Hunt believed he was connected with the grain revenues. *P. Hib.* 45, to Lysimachos, tells Lysimachos among other things to transfer the grain at Sephtha, and not to leave the grain from Philon still owing. *P. Hib.* 48, another letter to Lysimachos, asks who the person was who had been given the seed for the κλήροι which were held as surety. The letter published here mentions that Lysimachos is to be told that the grain has been embarked. *P. Hib.* 50 is concerned with olyra, and *P. Hib.* 249 is also concerned with grain. Although there is this great concern with grain products, it seems too restrictive of Leodamas' functions to say that he was an official connected with the grain revenues. His activities cover a much broader field. In *P. Hib.* 45, he is concerned with taxation; he directs Lysimachos not to collect the horse-physician tax, and to take what moneys have been collected and credit them to the embankments tax. In *P. Hib.* 47 he is concerned with animals as well as grain, and in the papyrus published here he deals with olives along with grain.

So Leodamas is concerned with agriculture in general, and is involved with taxation as well. The official whose capacity fits this description best is the nome oikonomos, and this is probably what Leodamas is. The letters fit into the scheme of activity appropriate to the oikonomos. In this regard, *P. Hib.* 48 is particularly interesting. This is a letter from Leodamas to Lysimachos directing Lysimachos to make up a list of seed issued, and to see that the list gets to Leodamas so that he will be able to make up his account. Now, *P. Teb.* 703, instructions from a dioiketes to a subordinate, probably an oikonomos,<sup>1</sup> late third century B.C., II.70 f. directs that grain be brought down, except for the seed expended on the spot and that which cannot be transported by water. Leodamas is apparently attempting to prepare the account of that grain which has been or is to be sent down river, and needs the list of seed expenditures to show that he can account for all the grain.

The nome in which these activities took place is the Oxyrhynchite. There are three villages of the Oxyrhynchite Nome mentioned in the correspondence. In *P. Hib.* 45, there is mentioned the transfer of grain at Sephtha, and Sephtha is mentioned along with Takona and Tholthis, two known Oxyrhynchite villages, in *P. Hib.* 111. Talao, a known Oxyrhynchite village, is found in *P. Hib.* 249, as a place to which Lysimachos is to proceed. Another village, Dikomia, is mentioned in *P. Hib.* 47, as a place to which animals may have been sent. The location of Dikomia is not certain. Grenfell and Hunt believed it to have been in the Oxyrhynchite Nome,<sup>2</sup> but probably only on the basis of its appearance in *P. Hib.* 47. However, on the basis of the appearance of Talao in *P. Hib.* 249 (and this is reinforced by the

1. For the demonstration that *P. Teb.* 703 was directed to the oikonomos, see the discussion by Samuel, in *Actes du XI<sup>e</sup> Congrès de Papyrologie*, 1966, pp. 444-50.

2. *P. Teb.* II, p. 414.



mention of Sephtha in *P. Hib.* 45), it is safe to take the Oxyrhynchite Nome as the area of Leodamas' activities.

In the letter published here, Leodamas orders Laomedon to go to the place where Lysimachos is, and be sure the grain is embarked quickly; he is to join him in bringing it down, and he is to bring olives as well. Since the letter is addressed 'to the city', one wonders about the locations of the three persons concerned. Clearly, Leodamas does not know where Lysimachos is. He has written to Lysimachos about these matters previously, but apparently those letters did not bring results. So he writes to Laomedon, whose whereabouts he knows, to go to Lysimachos, put pressure on him, and help him. It is hardly possible for us to know anything about where Lysimachos is, except that he is probably somewhere about the nome. Leodamas' location is almost as vague. He is not where Lysimachos is, and he is not in "the city", but greater precision is not possible. Laomedon is in the city, as we can tell from the address, and the city must be Oxyrhynchus. The existence of Oxyrhynchon Polis in the third century B.C. is attested by references to it in *P. Lille* 25, *P. Hib.* 62, 89, and 95.

Lysimachos' activities in the affairs presented by this letter are similar to those mentioned in the rest of the correspondence. He seems to be primarily concerned with collection of grain, although other matters come to his attention as well. In *P. Hib.* 46 we see his responsibility for transfer of goods. He is told to pay freight charges as soon as he collects anything. That is, as soon as he has money he is to pay the charges. We can see from this that he does collect money, and *P. Hib.* 45 specifically mentions collecting money; he is told to bring anything he has collected at once, and to try to levy the rest. *P. Hib.* 45 also mentions transfer of grain; Lysimachos is to transfer grain at Sephtha. Again, in *P. Hib.* 48, Leodamas asks Lysimachos for a list of seed issued, so it is clear that Lysimachos was responsible for or at least involved in these issues. In a letter to Theodoros, *P. Hib.* 50, Leodamas informs Theodoros that he has paid some grain to the state, and that the rest is to be given to Lysimachos. In *P. Hib.* 249 Lysimachos is to force some men to collect grain.

Lysimachos was concerned with more than grain. In some way he was involved with taxes. In *P. Hib.* 45 he is told to stop collecting one type of tax, the 'horse doctor' tax, and take any moneys already collected for that and transfer it to the credit of the embankments tax. The letter published here shows that he was involved in transfer of olives; Leodamas had written to him before, and tells Laomedon to tell him to package the olives for embarkation. *P. Hib.* 47 is a letter giving a number of instructions. He is to collect crops, sell any sifted wheat there may be, olyra and barley is to be prepared for measurement to the state, animals are to be delivered to Lykomedes, if they have not already been sent to Dikomia, and some letter is to be sent to Demetrios in order that a slave may not be sent. His duties were many and varied. He was clearly an agent of Leodamas, and he probably worked under Leodamas to accomplish the manifold tasks incumbent on the oikonomos. As can be seen here, the officials were busy about the nome. Leodamas was out of the city, Lysimachos' whereabouts were unknown, so that the only contact between them had to be through the city office, which would have known the locations of the different agents.



Λεωδάμας Λαομέδοντι [χαί-]  
 ρειν. πορεύθητι οὐ ἂν ἀκού[σηις]  
 Λυσίμαχον καὶ ἐπισπούδασον ὄπως  
 ἂν ὁ σῆτος ἐμβληθῆι ὅτι τὰχ[ι]σ[τα]  
 5 καὶ συνκατάγαται μεθ' αὐτοῦ.  
 εἴπ[ον] δὲ αὐτῶι καθάπερ ἔγρα-  
 ψα [α]ὐτῶι ὅπως ἂν ἐμβάληται  
 τὰς ἐλαίας εἰς βίκους ἢ εἰς μῶια  
 καὶ πειρᾶσθε ὡς ἀκοπωτάτας  
 10 καταγαγεῖν καὶ παρὰ Φίλωνος  
 τοῦ Λυσανίου ὑπόμνησον ὄπως ἂν  
 λάβηι τὰς ἐλαίας τὰς καλὰς  
 καθάπερ αὐτῶι ἔγραψα.  
 ἔρρωσο.

## Verso

Εἰ[ς τὴν] πόλιν Λαομ[έδον]τι [ι]  
 παρὰ Λε[ωδάμαντος]

## 5. G-H. συνκατάγαγε

Leodamas to Laomedon greeting. Proceed to wherever you hear that Lysimachos is and urge that the grain be embarked as quickly as possible, and that he bring it down with him. Tell him just as I wrote to him that he is to put the olives into casks or into jars and try to bring them down as unbruised as possible, and remind him that he is to take the fine olives from Philon the son of Lysanias, just as I wrote to him. Farewell.

## Verso

To the city. To Laomedon from Leodamas.

1. Laomedon is not mentioned elsewhere in the correspondence.
3. Lysimachos is the person who received six letters from Leodamas.
8. The word μῶιον is used in *PCZ* 59167 as a measure of quantity; in *P. Petr.* III 65(b) as a container, since it is followed by a mention of sealing up. In *PSI* 428. 78, there is mention of one moion of bronze, and here it may be a measure of bronze or a description of a receptacle. Grenfell and Hunt in their note on this line concluded that the word is here for a receptacle, and this is clear from the context.
10. Philon son of Lysanias is mentioned in *P. Hib.* 47, in connection with calves.

33. Letter from Deinon to Harimouthes

P. Yale Inv. 20

32.5 cm. x 12.2 cm.

5 April 253 B.C. (Skt.)  
Hibeh

Published as *P. Hibeh* 44, and given to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, this papyrus, mottled in color, is complete. All margins are preserved, and the surface is in good condition, except along a horizontal break in the center which almost obliterates line 5. The writing is in a very good hand, across the fibers. The letters range in height from .2 cm. for the *omicron* to .5 cm. for the *tau*, and the lines are about 1 cm. apart. Folds and breaks indicate the manner of preparation for handling. In addition to the abovementioned horizontal break, there is a vertical break in about the middle of the sheet, and three discernable horizontal folds, two above the horizontal break, and one below. The papyrus was folded once from the bottom, bringing the bottom margin to the center. Then two folds were made from the top. The first was made along a line about 2 cm. from the top margin, and the second brought the line of that fold to the center. Then the sheet was folded in half vertically, and then once again horizontally, making a thin packet about 3 x 17 cm. in its dimensions.

The text is a letter from one Deinon, ordering the toparch Harimouthes to send a detachment of native soldiers, μάχιμοι, under one Bithelminis, in accordance with the orders of the dioecetes Apollonios. These soldiers are to be sent immediately, and are to be followed by a group of farm laborers as soon as they have been readied. This document raises again the question of the status of the μάχιμοι. What we know about these soldiers derives mostly from papyri from Tebtunis. A number of the Tebtunis documents contain the names of machimoi who have been assigned lots of land at Kerkeosiris. Most of the documents which mention the machimoi deal with the land survey, so that although we have a fair amount of information about the position of machimoi as cleruchs, we find little information about their official duties.

Most of the machimoi found in the Tebtunis papyri, that is, *P. Teb.* 60-88, are μάχιμοι ἐπτάρουροι, and in *P. Teb.* 121 and in *PPetr.* III 100 (b) we find μάχιμοι πεντάρουροι. Peremans and Van't Dack<sup>1</sup> distinguish between these two in their

1. *Pros. Ptol.* 2.



prosopography, making the machimoi with the seven aroura holding members of regularized military units, while they list the five aroura men as members of the police. Cf. Lesquier's comment:<sup>2</sup> "il semble donc bien que la multiplication des catégories inférieures de clérouches commence avec Philopator et Epiphane. Elle correspond à l'extension des clérouches aux corps de police et à l'entrée de tous les indigènes sans exception dans l'armée." In specific discussion of the police, Lesquier notes that in the third century, the machimoi filled the job of police, but that in the second century, the cleruchy was extended to police who were not machimoi. That is, he remarks, they were soldiers, but the police organization remained distinct from that of the army. Lesquier further notes the tendency to use machimoi as attendants on personages of importance, as the τοπογραμματεύς (*P. Teb.* 112.81), the βασιλικός γραμματεὺς (*P. Teb.* 116.57), and the οἰκονόμος (*P. Teb.* 121.34). These machimoi have been classed as police by Peremans.

All of the above conclusions are based on papyri of the second century, except for *P. Petr.* III 100, and it is first in the period of Philopator and afterwards that we have any real knowledge of the machimoi. Rostovtzeff, summarizing the known facts about the machimoi<sup>3</sup> remarks: "A few words on the subject (Philopator's policy of association with the natives) will therefore suffice. It is well known that Philopator, for the purpose of his struggle with Antiochus III, increased his army not only by mobilizing his cleruchs and hiring new mercenaries, but also by appealing to the Egyptians and by forming a regular phalanx, trained in the native fashion, from the native militia (μάχιμοι), which before his time had taken part in military expeditions as auxiliary corps." Of this use of machimoi as auxiliaries, we have only the evidence of Diodorus (XIX 80.4) which, discussing the make-up of Soter's army at the battle of Gaza, says that besides mercenaries and Macedonians, he had Αἰγυπτίων δὲ πλῆθος, τὸ μὲν κομίζον βέλη καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν, τὸ δὲ καθωπλισμένον καὶ πρὸς μάχην χρήσιμον. But Diodorus does not call these Egyptians machimoi, which we will show later to have been a separate military class before Soter, nor does he indicate that any large number were actually armed and used for battle. There is no mention of them again in the line-up of forces, and in fact they do not appear again during or after the battle. We cannot conclude that they were regular auxiliaries.

Of the period of the reign of Philadelphus, from which our document dates, we have little information. No documents tell us of a difference between ἐπιτάρουροι μάχιμοι and πεντάρουροι μάχιμοι. We have only the references to πεντάρουροι μάχιμοι in a document which may be of this period, *P. Petr.* III, 100 (b), which without the ἐπιτάρουροι μάχιμοι does not give us a division of categories. The most enlightening document is *P. Petr.* III 59a, unfortunately undated, but pro-

2. J. Lesquier, *Les Institutions Militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, p. 177.

3. M. Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, p. 708.



bably of the time of Philadelphus. This is a census listing professions, and in column ii, machimoi are listed, along with such mundane occupations as potters, shopkeepers, and fishermen. This would lead us to assume that the machimoi were neither so military in use as to be out of place in such a list, nor of any distinguished official position they would have had were they regular detachments of police. A letter in the Zenon archive, *PSI 353*, reinforces this impression. This document very carefully distinguishes between the regular police and the machimoi: ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν τὸν τε φυλακίτην καὶ τὸν μάχιμον. *P. Col. Zen. II, 77* also helps us in arriving at the position of the machimoi under Philadelphus. The verso of this papyrus contains a list of expenditures for wages and supplies, and small advances for traveling expenses. Here we find a payment of three drachmas to μάχιμοις. Even if this wage is three drachmas for each machimos, the salary of the machimos is lower than that of the vinedresser, who, we find from line 7, receives four drachmas. Another document, *P. Teb. 703*, probably of the end of the third century B.C., also indicates this classification of machimoi as workmen in the time before Philopator. Here we see (lines 215-219) that machimoi are to be treated in accordance with a memorandum compiled on the men who absconded from their work: ἵνα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μάχιμους οἰκονομῆται κατὰ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὃ συντεθείκαμεν τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκῶτων σωμάτων ἐκ τῶν ἔργων.

We know that prior to the Ptolemaic domination of Egypt, the machimoi had assumed a posture of considerable importance. Herodotus (II, 164-7) indicates that in the sixth century, they were second only to the priests in the hierarchy. In 164 he lists the seven classes of Egyptians, and the machimoi are listed second. In chapters 165 and 166 he notes that the machimoi have only the trade of war which they are required to practice, and in 167 he remarks that such men always seem to be more highly honored. In 168 we find that they definitely are a privileged class: Γέρεα δὲ σφι ἦν τότε ἐξαιρετημένα μόνουσι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱερέων. The privileges are a 12 aroura plot of land, and for a special corps of the machimoi, the king's bodyguard, a regular ration of food and drink. This description of the machimoi is, admittedly, for the period at the end of the Saite dynasty, about 588-525.

Diodorus, writing in the first century B.C., supports Herodotus, saying in book I, 73, that in the tripartite division of Egypt, the king held one part, the priests another, and the machimoi the last. We also know from Diodorus (XVI, 47) that the caste of the machimoi persisted through the first Persian domination down into the middle of the fourth century. Discussing a battle between Nectanebos II and the Persians in 350, Diodorus notes that the pharaoh had among his forces Αἰγυπτίους δὲ τοὺς μάχιμους παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζομένους ἑξακισμυρίους. Certainly if the caste of machimoi persisted through the long first Persian domination (525-404 B.C.) it is reasonable to assume that it continued again through the second period of Persian control, which lasted only from 341-330 B.C. When the Greeks arrived as masters of Egypt, the machimoi were still the second highest class in Egypt.

Yet in the papyri of the reign of Philadelphus, we see that the machimoi were relegated to the status of shopkeepers, potters, and the like. Transfers of groups of machimoi are handled in the same way as movements of farm laborers, as the Yale papyrus shows. There is not one document until the time of Philopator which be-

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speaks any real organization of the machimoi, or of their use in military fashion. Rather the reverse is true.<sup>4</sup> Every document of the early period shows that, if they are doing any labor which might be of police nature, it is only very menial duty as guards. And this very assumption that they do serve as guards is based on such tenuous evidence as the connection between φυλακίτην and μάχιμον in *PSJ* 353.

It is only in the time of Philopator and after that the machimoi assume the position that scholars have outlined for them. When the Ptolemies had become settled in Egypt, when there was an opportunity to use native Egyptians with relative safety, the machimoi were brought back to a position closer to that which they had held in earlier times. But it is certainly not surprising that Soter and Philadelphus would attempt to destroy the prestige of the Egyptian warrior class. Certainly all the evidence points to a drastic lowering of the position of the machimoi during the reigns of the first two Ptolemies.

The appearance of one Bithelminis in line 2 as a hegemon raises again the question of office tenure by persons who were not Greek. Bithelminis is not listed by Littman in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* among the separate listings of Semites, nor does he appear in Wuthnow's *Die Semitischen Menschnamen in Griechischen Inschriften und Papyri*. We are reasonably sure, however, that the name is Semitic, most likely Aramaean. The name can thus be explained as a -nisb suffix, formed with a place name BT'LMYN 'house of God'. While we have not found this name elsewhere, and have not been able to find such a place name listed in Dussaud's *Topographie de la Syrie* or Abel's *Géographie de la Palestine*, the above explanation of the name seems by far the most probable, since the name is certainly neither Greek nor Egyptian. We have, then, an Aramaean in a position of authority in the middle of the third century.

We have one parallel to this. An inscription, *SB* 6210, tells us that one Eleazar (listed by Littmann as a Canaanite) held the office of hegemon: Ἐλεάζαρος Νικολάου ἡγεμών. The inscription dates to around the end of the third century or beginning of the second. This means that we can assume Bithelminis also held that rank, and that the title in the Yale text is a real rank.

We have seen, then, that even as early as the third century it was possible for a native of the Levant, or at least a Semite by race, to reach the office of hegemon, a rank which Lesquier considers quite a high one. Lesquier<sup>5</sup> considers that the term has three, possibly four applications: "officier.....commandant la place ou commandant en chef ... chef de l'unité tactique de l'infanterie.....un autre grade, équivalent dans l'infanterie à celui d'hipparque dans la cavalerie." While this last category, based on the offices named in *P. Rev. Laws* 37.2, may be superfluous,

4. The reference to the Αἰγυπτίων δὲ πλῆθος at the battle of Gaza (D.S. XIX 80) does not mention machimoi, and, although it does attest heavy-armed Egyptians under Ptolemy I, that passage neither suggests the upper-class machimoi of Herodotus, nor, indeed, any organized military group of Egyptians known in Greek as machimoi.

5. *op. cit.*

the other divisions seem to be supported by the papyri. We would add another category of hegemones: those whose commands are composed of machimoi. We assume that the duties of the hegemones of the regular army and those of the machimoi were not interchangeable, and that at least in the third century, the hegemones of the regular army were Greeks, and those of the machimoi in general were non-Greeks.

This division of commands has some support other than the papyri cited above. *OGIS* 731, an inscription of Ptolemy V (205-181), shows us that the commanders of the select court machimoi were Egyptians: .....ώτης Ὠρου καὶ Τεαρῶς ἀδελφός, λαάρχαι καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν περὶ αὐλήν ἐπιλέκτων μαχίμων. Unfortunately, no other inscriptions or papyri from the third century name the hegemon and the nationality of his unit together. However, the unanimity of the few sources we do have make it appear as though the hegemones of machimoi were non-Greeks. This can be easily understood if we presume that these commanders were bilingual Egyptians or Asiatics. There would be, most probably, a dearth of and a need for such persons in the third century.

We would be most surprised, furthermore, if any of the hegemones found in the third century who were not Greeks commanded regular Greek units of forces. We would thus state as a general rule, for the third century at least, that any non-Greek hegemon commanded machimoi, and that probably the Greeks themselves did not officer these forces.

Δείνων Ἀριμούθῃ χαίρειν. ἐγράψαμέν σοι πρότερον περὶ τῶν μαχίμων  
τῶν ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ σέ τόποις ὅπως ἀποσταλῶσιν μετὰ Βιθελμείνιος τοῦ ἡγε-  
μόνος καθότι γράφει Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διοικητής, ὡσαύτως δὲ ἴσως καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγεγραμ-  
μένους θεριστὰς κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσάν σοι γραφὴν, ὁρῶντες δὲ σε καταραθυμοῦντα  
5 ᾧμην δεῖν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστεῖλαι σοί. ὡς [ἀ]ν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάντα  
π[ά]ρρηχα  
ποιησάμενος ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μαχίμους ἤδη, τοὺς δ[ὲ] θεριστὰς ὡς ἂν  
έτοιμούς ποιήσῃς ἐπίστειλον ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἔτυχεν περὶ τούτων τὴν σπουδὴν  
προῖεῖται ὁ διοικητής. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λβ Μεχεῖρ ιγ.

Verso

τοπάρχῃ Ἀριμούθῃ  
(in demotic) Mecheir 14  
τῆς κάτω

Near the right margin, written in the reverse direction:

Μεχῖρ ιδ  
περὶ μαχίμων  
καὶ θεριστῶν



1. ν of τῶν corrected from μ. 2. εἰ of Βιθελμείνιος corrected from η.

Verso: 1. ι of τοπάρχηι corrected from ς.

Deinon to Harimouthes, greeting. I wrote to you previously about the native soldiers in the places under you, so that they may be sent with Bithelminis the hegemon, in accordance with what Apollonios the dioecetes writes, and also the reapers, enrolled according to the list given you; but seeing you remiss I thought it necessary to instruct you now again. As soon as you get this instruction, making everything else secondary, send the native soldiers to us immediately, and as for the reapers, as soon as you get them ready, inform us. For in no ordinary manner the dioecetes is making haste about these things. Farewell. year 32, Mecheir 13.

Verso

To Harimouthes, toparch of the lower (toparchy)

Mecheir 14, about native soldiers and reapers.

1. Deinon probably holds some office superior to that of toparch. A Deinon is known from the Zenon archive, and *P. Petr.* III 6a is the will of one Demetrios, son of a Deinon. However, no secure identification can be made between our Deinon with these, or others of the third century. Harimouthes appears in *P. Hib.* 40, 41, 42, and 43, and in *P. Hib.* 85 where he is called a nomarch. He held the nomarchy in 261 (if the same Harimouthes is meant in both) and the toparchy in 253. Grenfell and Hunt (*P. Hibeh*, p. 182) conclude that he either held them both at the same time, or was first nomarch and then toparch, that this is more likely, and suggest that the toparchy was the superior office. They are, however, puzzled by the fact that the nomarchy was regularly given precedence in *P. Rev. Laws*, so that it would seem that that office is the superior. We would suggest that demotions, as in every other bureaucracy, were not unknown to Ptolemaic Egypt, or as Samuel has suggested in *American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, pp. 213-299, that shortage of personnel lent a fluidity to appointments.

34. Letter from Skythes to Ptolemaios

P. Yale Inv. 22

12.0 x 9.2

28 January 250 B.C. (Skt.)

Hibeh

This text was published as *P. Hib.* 55 and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society; it is a tan piece of papyrus, complete on all sides, with surface in good condition. The hand is a typical one of the third century B.C., with no ligaturing. The ink is clear, save that it has run in some places and has faded almost completely in the lower left corner. The writing is across the fibers.

This letter, like the next, comes from the correspondence of one Ptolemaios, an official in a village of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. This correspondence, along with the position and activities of Ptolemaios, is discussed in connection with *P. Yale* 35.

In the letter published here, one Skythes orders Ptolemaios to come to Talao and bring a shepherd to give evidence about a matter which Ptolemaios had discussed with Skythes. Nothing is known about Skythes beyond that which can be deduced from this letter.

The name Σκύθης might seem to be an odd one for a Greek. However, there are enough references to Greeks of the homeland to show that a Greek might have such a name. According to Xenophon there was a Spartiate commander of helot hoplites under Agesilaus in 395 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch mentions this same Skythes in connection with Agesilaus' activities in Thessaly in 394.<sup>2</sup> An Athenian by this name, of the Cydonathenian Deme, son of Harmateus, is mentioned as a deponent in a deposition quoted in the oration against Stephanus.<sup>3</sup> Again, both Suidas and Harpocration report the mention of the son of a Skythes, a prometretes, by Deinarchus.<sup>4</sup> This last Skythes must then also have been an Athenian. These persons were all free Greeks, and at least one, the Spartiate, was of fairly high station, so it is clear that the name was used by Greeks.

From the peremptory tone of the letter it is clear that Skythes was a superior of Ptolemaios. Ptolemaios himself, as will be seen in the discussion of *P. Yale* 35, was involved with the economic affairs of a village, probably as a comogrammateus. From the letter published here, we see that Ptolemaios had discussed some matters with Skythes on a previous occasion. Skythes now requires Ptolemaios to bring a shepherd in evidence of what he had discussed with Skythes, and he is to do this immediately as Skythes had no time to wait. Ptolemaios is told that he will be hurting himself if he acts slowly.

We can form only a vague idea of what is happening. Skythes may mean, in his statement that he has no time to wait, that he wishes to close the matter quickly. More likely, however, he means that he will not remain in Talao, the town to which

1. Xen. *Hell.* III, 4, 20.

2. Plut. *Agesil.* 16; *Apophthegmata Lac.*, *Agesil.* 44.

3. Dem. *Against Stephanus*, 8.

4. Suid., *Harp.*; under citation προμετρητής.



Ptolemaios is to bring the shepherd. This would imply that he is traveling, and the purpose of the traveling might be some kind of inspection tour.

The best evidence we have to reconstruct the events comes from *P. Teb. 703*, instructions to an oikonomos. Lines 40-49 of that document instruct the oikonomos to cheer up all persons while going about on his tours of inspection, and if any persons complain about the comogrammateis or the comarchs in matters concerning agriculture, the oikonomos is to investigate and put a stop to wrongdoing.

The letter published here fits well into the picture of an oikonomos' inspection. If we assume that Skythes is the oikonomos of the Oxyrhynchite Nome,<sup>5</sup> and is on an inspection tour, the matter can be understood in connection with *P. Teb. 703*.<sup>6</sup> Skythes, in his tour, had come to the village of which Ptolemaios is comogrammateus. Some complaint had been made about Ptolemaios, and after some investigation, and discussion with Ptolemaios, Skythes had gone away. Then Skythes had second thoughts about the matter, and ordered Ptolemaios to bring a shepherd as evidence of whatever he had said to Skythes; since a shepherd was involved, we can guess that the affair was connected with animal husbandry. This suggestion of the nature of the events connected with the sending of the letter is *exempli gratia*, but it fits what can be known from the letter.

Σκύθης Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν.  
 παραγενοῦ εἰς Ταλαῶν ἤδη  
 ἄγων καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τὸν ἐλέγ-  
 ξοντα περὶ ὧν μοι εἶπας. ἐὰν δὲ  
 5 βραδύτερον ποιῆς σαυτὸν | βλά-  
 ψεις, [οἷ γὰρ σχολάζω μένειν πλείονα  
 χροῖ ὄνον]. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λε Χοῖαχ 5.

Verso

Πτολεμαίωι

Skythes to Ptolemaios greeting. Come to Talao immediately bringing also the shepherd who is to give evidence about the matters of which you spoke to me. If you do this slowly you will harm yourself, for I am not at leisure to remain longer. Farewell. Year 35, Choiach 6. Verso: To Ptolemaios

5. On this line and those following, some letters are dotted which are not dotted in the original publication by Grenfell and Hunt. The readings are now very uncertain, and might not be possible without Grenfell's and Hunt's earlier autopsy of the document when it was in better condition.

Verso. Opposite the address, Πτολεμαίωι, there are traces of writing. The traces are not legible, but form part or all of at least two lines. So far as can be determined, the hand is different from that of the rest of the document.

5. He is not oikonomos of the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, as that place is filled by Zenodoros. See *P. Yale 35*.

6. For an examination of *P. Teb. 703* and the oikonomos, see the discussion by Samuel in the forthcoming *Studi in Onore di E. Volterra*.



35. Letter From Patron to Ptolemaios

P. Yale Inv. 23

4.5 x 11.9 cm.

9 December 249 B.C. (Skt.)  
Hibeh

Published as *P. Hib.* 56, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, this small piece is complete, tan in color, with some black paint on the verso remaining from the plaster of cartonnage. The surface is abraded and the hand is small, with few ligatures. The ink is black and clear where the surface is intact. The last seven lines of the letter have been erased, and the two lines of the date have been written over the erasure.

This letter is one of a group of 15 documents pertaining to the affairs of Ptolemaios, an official in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. The documents are *P. Hib.* 51 through 62, 130, 167, 168, and 240, and all are dated around the middle of the third century B.C. (see above *P. Yale* 34). In the introduction to *P. Hib.* 51 Grenfell and Hunt suggested that Ptolemaios might have been a phylakites. The basis for this was the kind of order given in *P. Hib.* 59, 60, 61, and 62. In the first two, Ptolemaios is directed to send people under guard, and in the other two he is told to produce people. Although these documents deal with matters appropriate to the police, other letters in the collection show Ptolemaios' activities to have ranged farther afield. *P. Hib.* 51 concerns the exaction by Ptolemaios of payment due on the value of green crops, and deals also with purchase of Syrian cloths. *P. Hib.* 52 lists for Ptolemaios the names of persons at Tholthis who had pastured animals on crown land; Ptolemaios is to get security for payment. *P. Hib.* 53 is another list, this time amounts due from people, for which Ptolemaios is to get security. *P. Hib.* 54 instructs Ptolemaios to send people for a festival, mentions the arrest of a slave, and goes on to give instructions about sending up cheeses, vegetables, and delicacies. These four letters are from Demophon, as are *P. Hib.* 167, which tells Ptolemaios to bring cattle with Hamiusis the phylakites of the Iseion and Alexander the phylakites from Talao, and *P. Hib.* 168, which, like the four documents which Grenfell and Hunt cited in suggesting that Ptolemaios was a phylakites, orders him to send a person under guard.

In *P. Hib.* 59 Ptolemaios is told that if he does not cease his malpractices in the village he will repent it, so it is clear that the sphere of his activity was a village. He has authority to send people under guard, his activities were not limited to police activities, and he was concerned with the royal revenues. We must then look for an office at the village level, concerned with revenues but which at the same time had police powers, to find the office which Ptolemaios held.

*P. Yale* 53, a petition to a comarch, second century B.C., shows the comogrammateus was concerned with the royal revenues, and that he had the power to arrest. Since Ptolemaios was involved with the revenues and also had police



powers, it is very likely that he was a comogrammateus. The probability is increased by the fact that Ptolemaios received orders in *P. Hib.* 59 and 60 from one Zenodoros, an oikonomos. It is the comogrammateus more than any other village official who would be involved with the oikonomos.

The letter published here is addressed to Ptolemaios by one Patron. Grenfell and Hunt originally publishing the letter suggested that Patron might be the archiphylakites mentioned in *P. Hib.* 34 and 73. Among the Tebtunis papyri are nine documents written to or by one Patron; the editors of the Tebtunis papyri suggest that this Patron might have been an archiphylakites, and point out that the nome with which he was concerned was the Oxyrhynchite.<sup>1</sup>

The Tebtunis papyri dealing with Patron are *P. Teb.* 744 through 749, and 937 through 939. They are all dated around 245 B.C., and so are exactly contemporary with the Ptolemaios correspondence of the Hibeh papyri and the letter from Patron published here. That Patron has something to do with the police is indicated by *P. Teb.* 745. This is a letter to Patron from Agathon, telling that Apollonios has applied to be appointed as a phylakites at Takona, and that Patron would do well to give the post to him. Again in *P. Teb.* 749 Patron is told by Agathon to send a phylakites to the Arsinoite Nome to get donkeys. Unfortunately, the position of Agathon is unknown. Patron, however, seems to be connected with the police. Unlike Ptolemaios, he does not seem to have duties other than of a police nature. *P. Teb.* 744 is a letter from Patron dealing with private matters. *P. Teb.* 745 deals with the appointment of the guard at Takona. *P. Teb.* 746 is concerned with receipts from royal holdings, but is only a copy sent to Patron for his information. *P. Teb.* 747 is a letter of reprimand, with a vague reference to orders about timber; 748 is about the obtaining of draught animals, but this is to be done with Zenodoros, who, as will be seen, was an oikonomos. *P. Teb.* 749 again is concerned with the dispatch of guards. The other three, *P. Teb.* 937 through 939, are all fragmentary, but 937 seems to deal with the supply of a guide for a journey. The only real indications of the position of Patron come from the references to phylakitai, bringing the conclusion that Patron held a position in the phylakitai, and, since he had the authority to appoint a guard, the office must have been of some responsibility.

The evidence further suggests that the Patron of the Tebtunis Papyri may be identified with the Patron, archiphylakites of *P. Hib.* 34 and 73, and then with the Patron of the document published here. In the first place, the Patron of the Tebtunis documents, all dated around 245 B.C. is contemporary with the Patron of *P. Hib.* 34 and 73. *P. Hib.* 34 is of 243/2, and *P. Hib.* 73 is of the same year. Second, we can locate the Patron of the Hibeh texts in the same place as the Patron of the Tebtunis documents. *P. Hib.* 34 and 73 both call Patron the archiphylakites of the lower toparchy, and mention that he released a man from prison at Sinaru; *P. Hib.* 73 says further that he had taken a donkey to Takona. Both of these towns are in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, so the toparchy of which Patron is archiphylakites must be the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. The Patron

1. *P. Teb.* III (1) p. 163.



of the Tebtunis papyri too was located in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. *P. Teb.* 745 asks Patron to appoint a phylacites at Takona. That papyri from the Oxyrhynchite Nome should turn up at Tebtunis in the Fayum is quite interesting. The numbers of the mummies on which the Patron documents were found show that the group was kept together for the most part, as all come from either mummy 9 or mummy 97, and mummy 97 had only documents pertaining to Patron. Mummy 9 had also documents of the middle of the 2nd century. Apparently the Patron documents from the Oxyrhynchite Nome found their way to the Fayum, and were used as mummy cartonnage a century after they were written.

So we see that the Patron of the Tebtunis documents and the Patron of the Hibeh texts were contemporary, and both were located around Takona in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. This certainly makes it appear that they are one and the same person. Both were connected with the police, the Hibeh Patron is called archiphylakites of the lower toparchy and the Tebtunis Patron is told in *P. Teb.* 748 to go around τοὺς κατὰ σὲ τόπους, showing that there was a district under him. There can be little doubt that the Tebtunis and Hibeh texts are concerned with one Patron, the archiphylakites of the lower toparchy in the Oxyrhynchite Nome.

From this discussion of the persons involved in the two groups of documents, a picture of administration in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome can be evolved. The financial affairs of the village came under the cognizance of the comogrammateus, Ptolemaios. He was supervised by the oikonomos of the lower toparchy, Zenodoros. At the same time, he received orders from an official, Demophon, whose position cannot be determined. The comogrammateus received orders also from the archiphylakites of the lower toparchy, Patron. These orders were not concerned with the normal activities of the police, but were rather a caution not to molest one Nikostratos. Patron himself, as archiphylakites, was subservient to other officials, particularly one Agathon. Again, Agathon's position is unknown.

In the letter published here, Patron orders Ptolemaios not to exact money from one Nikostratos of Koba. Patron says that he had been advised of the matter by one Ilon, who is otherwise unknown, who told him that Ptolemaios had exacted 20 drachmae from Nikostratos. By what authority Patron gives these orders is not said. Ptolemaios must have been within his rights in general in exacting money, but perhaps Nikostratos was exempt for some reason from the tax, whatever it was.

But what of the Patron in the papyrus published here? Is he the archiphylakites of the lower toparchy and the same man as that in the documents just discussed? The Ptolemaios correspondence is contemporary with the Patron documents, and Ptolemaios was active in a village of the Oxyrhynchite Nome, so that we have coincidence of time and place. Besides this, there is in the Ptolemaios correspondence a group of letters from one Zenodoros, who also turns up in the Tebtunis documents concerned with Patron. This Zenodoros is called oikonomos in *P. Hib.* 210, line 4. The next line is restored to read [τῆς κάτω ( ) τοπ]



αρχίας τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου [υ], a restoration confirmed by *P. Hamb.* 183, *P. Hib.* 240, a memorandum from Ptolemaios addressed Ζη[νοδώρωι οἰ]κονόμωι καὶ τοπάρχῃι, provides the connection with Ptolemaios to show that the Zenodoros who writes to Ptolemaios in *P. Hib.* 59 and 60 is the oikonomos. Now in *P. Teb.* 748, Patron is told to go around with a Zenodoros to collect draught animals. This Zenodoros is clearly an official, and, although he is not called an oikonomos, his appearance in the Patron group provides another link to the Ptolemaios collection.

So we have a great deal of evidence tying the correspondence together. The letters are all contemporary; all the documents pertain to affairs in the Oxyrhynchite Nome; both Hibeh and Tebtunis documents mention a Zenodoros, in all probability the oikonomos of *P. Hib.* 210. The Patron of the Tebtunis group seems to be a member of the police, in an official capacity, and this would fit the position of archiphylakites. The coincidences are far too numerous to allow any other conclusion than that there was only one Patron, the archiphylakites of the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite Nome.

Πάτρων Πτολε-  
μαίωι χαίρειν. παρα-  
γενομενος πρὸς  
5 ἡμᾶς Ἴλων ἔφη εἰς-  
πράσσειν σε Νικό-  
στρατον ἐκ Κόβα  
(δραχμὰς) β. σὺ οὖν μὴ ἐνό-  
χλει [αὐτὸν. [[ερ]]  
7 lines erased  
10 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λζ̄  
Φαῶφι ιζ̄  
Verso παρά Πά[τρωνο]ς

Πτολεμαίωι

Patron to Ptolemaios, greeting. Ilon coming to me said that you were exacting 2 drachmas from Nicostratus of Koba. Do not annoy him. Farewell. Year 37, Phaophi 17. Address on verso: From Patron to Ptolemaios.

4. The name Ἴλων is not found elsewhere, so far as we know. There is a Greek name Ἴλος which is found in the papyri, and also a form Ἴλωσ.

5. This Nikostratos cannot be identified.

6. Grenfell and Hunt in a note on this line have pointed out that Koba is in the Coite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome. It appears in *P. Hib.* 218, a taxing list of towns in that toparchy in Roman times.

9-10. Written over the erased lines.

### 36-44. The Archives of the Toparch Leon

These nine papyri were part of a small lot purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Paris during the summer of 1935. The provenience is unknown. Their association is based on the observation that the hands, while different in each case (but the signatures in 38 and 39 are apparently identical), all belong to the same period, the latter part of the reign of Euergetes; that three come from the office of Leon while one is addressed to him and that an Apollonios appears as author or by mention in six, and that in four cases the name of the author, in two the name of the person addressed, is lost; and that the activity of the principals and the persons mentioned fit into a unified picture of bureaucratic and private enterprise. Only the fragmentary 43 is demonstrably neither by nor to Leon or Apollonios, and this may well have concerned them in some way. Leon is characterized in 37 as a toparch. Apollonios is never identified, but his role in 36 makes it very likely that he was an oikonomos. The close association of the two men is reflected in 42, which allows the reasonable inference, if not the certainty, that they were brothers as well as close collaborators. It may well be that they shared the same office, perhaps at Philadelphia (37, 40). There is no evidence to show whether an oikonomos at this time would have been responsible for the entire Arsinoite Nome. Another Apollonios appears in *PSI* 490 and 510 twenty years earlier in charge only of the lower toparchy of an unidentified nome, perhaps the Heracleopolite.<sup>1</sup>

The subject-matter of the letters touches on many aspects of the life of bureaucrats and their friends after ninety years of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. In 36, Apollonios forwards to Leon an imperative order from the dioecetes in Alexandria to have the sowing schedule for the year 16 completed immediately for forwarding to the capital. His letter is dated in Mesore of the year 15, so that at most

1. Considerable obscurity besets the nature and the competence of much of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, and it is likely that its organization varied from time to time. It is likely, also, that much depended in practice on the personality and influence of individual office-holders, and that not all even of the established positions were filled all the time (Cf. A.E. Samuel, *American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, pp. 213-299). The fullest collection of the evidence for the position of the oikonomos remains that of M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, 1922, pp. 147-157; cf. also his commentary on *P. Teb.* 703.



only some thirty days remained. Since the schedule could not well be prepared before the inundation receded, this must have been a hasty operation at best, and no time could be lost if the schedule must go down to Alexandria and return approved before the ground dried. With the day lost in the dates in lines 7 and 17, we cannot know how much time was available, but the dioecetes demanded to have the papers in his hands before the end of Mesore (lines 11f). Under the circumstances, employment of the police for expediting matters (lines 2, 13) is understandable, and so also the threat, or promise, of line 6.

A year later, in Mesore of year 16, Leon appears in a more routine matter. No. 37 is not a letter, but a release in the form of an acknowledgement addressed by Leon and his colleague, the topogrammateus Nechthosiris, to four persons with Greek names and characterized as leitourgoi. What, specifically, was released is lost with the end of the papyrus, but presumably it was a quantity of wine destined for the wine ration of the "Macedonians," or hoplite soldiers, in Philadelphia.<sup>2</sup> It is unknown whether this *agora* was actually sold to the soldiers or issued to them against stoppages of pay or as a supplement in kind to that pay. The wine would have come, in any case, from warehouses in Philadelphia under the control of the toparch and his associates. The situation is very similar to that reflected in the earlier *P. Col. Zen. 55*, of the late summer of 250 B.C. Etearchos, a nomarch, received wine produced on the estate of Apollonios at Philadelphia on two counts. One was a purchase for the benefit of local wine-merchants and one was an issue without charge for the rations of his staff of policemen. The latter was drawn from the Sixth of Arsinoe Philadelphus, the apomoira; the source of the former is not stated. Release of both was made by the village scribe on a written order (entole) of the oikonomos. The document differs in that it is the receipt of the receiver of the wine, while the Yale text is an acknowledgment of the releasing authorities - or, in effect, an entole. It is a pity that the authors of *P. Yale 37* neglected to state the source of the wine in question, whether from the apomoira, from other taxes in kind, or from government purchase, compulsory or otherwise, from the producers. There is some slight evidence, in addition to *P. Col. Zen. 55*, that wine of the apomoira, could be and was at times directed to other purposes than the maintenance of the queen's cult in the temples.<sup>3</sup>

Because of its fragmentary condition, the transaction involved in No. 38 must remain somewhat obscure, but may be plausibly recovered. A person whose name is lost writes to Leon, ordering him to furnish twenty drachmas for the transport costs of a commodity which was being shipped out of the Arsinoite Nome, and which was designated by a noun in the feminine singular. He was

2. Cf. J.A.S. Evans, *JJP* VII-VIII, 1953-1954, pp. 53-70.

3. Cf. Cl. Préaux, *L'Economie Royale des Lagides*, 1939, pp. 165-186.



instructed further to assign a fuller to the operation, which implies that the commodity was cloth or a textile fiber, and an identifiable *alpha* toward the end of line 3 suggests that this material was hemp, κόνναβις. Leon is further instructed to provide donkeys for the shipment, which consisted of eighty units (presumably of the textile material) with a certain amount of olyra or rice-wheat, which may have been intended as food for the animals. All of this derived from the former dorea of Apollonios at Philadelphia, which continued to be called ἡ Ἀπολλωνίου long after the disappearance of the high official from which it took its name.

In contrast, No. 39 is complete and a simple administrative document, although the circumstances which called it forth escape us. Apollonios writes to a certain Dikaios, scolding him gently for having failed to comply with an earlier order to send one of his men with the key to a tamieion, identified by the name of its owner or superintendent, the Egyptian Petearmotis. The term is used of small storerooms rather than of independent structures (thesauroi), and there are frequent references to such rooms as parts of oikemata or of oikoi (*P. Strassb.* 92.5 of 244/3 B.C.; *P. Petr.* II 41.6; III 51.1; 73.7, all of the third century B.C.; and *P. Amh.* 53.3, of 114 B.C.), wherein small objects could be kept. Garlic could be stored in a room of this type (*PCZ* 59299.7, of 250 B.C.; *PSI* 433, of 261/0 B.C.), or tow (*PCZ* 59472.10, no date), looms (*P. Teb.* 703.113), oil products (*ibid.*, 143), or hides (*P. Petr.* II 32). In all cases, however, the tamieion seems to be small and private, and we may suppose here that Petearmotis was rather the owner or lessee of the property, was engaged in some activity in which the treasury was interested, and that Apollonios was engaged in searching for contraband or illegal goods. There is no indication of the position of Dikaios, but he was clearly a member of the bureaucracy and subordinate to the oikonomos but with a staff of his own, here represented by Sarapion. Perhaps at the level of the toparchy, he would have removed the key and doubtless also have sealed the tamieion, so that nothing might be removed from it. The search would be conducted by the oikonomos or by his agent, whose presence was required; cf. *P. Rev. Laws*, Col. 55.20/21: ζ[η]τείωσαν π[άρ]οντος τοῦ π[α]ρὰ τοῦ οἰκονόμου. It is possible, on this analogy, to think of Dikaios also as a tax-farmer or an antigrapheus. There is no indication of the object of the search, of the commodity which Petearmotis was suspected of secreting; but it ought not to have been bulky.

The letter to Hermias (No. 40) deals with various subjects, and much of it is obscure. The identity of the writer is unknown, but there is no reason why he may not have been Leon. Apollonios, at all events, is ruled out because he is mentioned in line 12. Private business is mingled with public business. Hermias is a farmer of a 2% money tax which is otherwise unknown, but he acts also as agent for a certain Zenon in the purchase of wine; this may well be the famous Zenon, son of Agreophon, although the latest dated document of the archives is nearly ten years earlier than the period of the archives of Leon (*PCZ* 59373, of 25 July 239). He has business connections of some sort with a certain Diodoros



(if the name is correctly read and restored), who is the farmer of a tax of 1% for the area about Philadelphia, already known from *PCZ* 59373. 2/3; it is associated with wine (πρὸς τῆι εἰσαγωγῆι τ[οῦ οἴνου] καὶ τῆι ἑκατοστῆι τῶν κατὰ Φιλαδέλφειαν τόπων) but its precise nature remains obscure. Presumably, however, it cannot be a tax on the import of wine into Philadelphia, since Philadelphia itself was a wine-producing area. Diodoros (?) had made a deposit with someone, not the writer, of a talent of bronze against a payment in the same amount due from Hermias. If the writer were, in fact, Leon, it may be that the payment was made to his associate, the topogrammateus Nechthosiris, or to a royal banker authorized to receive payments from tax-farmers.

Wine seems also to be the subject of the middle of the letter. The ktema of line 9 may be a vineyard, and the situation be that someone in charge of it refused to allow agents of Apollonius to withdraw wine before the arrival of the writer, who in turn urges Hermias to come so that the whole situation may be reviewed. The entole, the order for release, might be issued by anyone authorized to effect this, and the mention of one throws no light on the nature of the reluctant person in this instance. Unfortunately, the beginning of line 9 has not been read satisfactorily, and the reading κτήματος itself is not certain, since the word seems to have been written over something else, and only the first three letters are certain. And a ktema is not necessarily a vineyard. But wine was one of the few commodities offering a field for private enterprise in Ptolemaic Egypt, and references to it are frequent in texts of the mid-third century.

But the government was interested in wine also. Wine was collected from the apomoiria and under title of various taxes, and it was acquired by purchase from growers or from middlemen for purposes ranging all the way from cults to rations (opsonia) or sale (agora) to civil servants and the military. Since an individual might hold wine under a number of titles - as tax-payer, as tax-farmer, as producer, seller, or consumer - it cannot have been easy in all cases to keep the records straight, and confusion and conflicts must have been frequent. It is enough, for illustration, to refer to *PCZ* 59375, dating to the period 255-250 B.C., where the rather highly placed Addaios, an agent of the dioecetes Apollonios, complains to Zenon that tax-farmers have taken from him wine which he was selling, possibly in collusion with Zenon, since he had reported to him previously about it. Zenon was urged to use his influence to have this returned, and certainly as much could be done by influence as by right in this society. Being cautious was not enough. One needed highly placed friends.

One could not be secure even in one's person, otherwise. Whatever its merits in theory, the court system of Egypt in the mid-third century served rather as an agency of investigation than as a guardian of absolute right. The real power to coerce and to punish lay in the bureaucracy, with the king at its head, and there personalities counted. It was dangerous for official or resident foreigner, employee or businessman, to place himself in the hands of an unfriendly or critical officer of higher standing. It might be hard to get away again; unscathed,



at all events. In such cases, resort was had to the *pistis* or safe-conduct, and this is the situation presented in fragmentary fashion in No. 41, which may have been written by or to Leon or one of his associates. After reference to the movement of some person or thing, the writer continues: "If this happens and he (unidentified) orders us to report, (he promises) that the *pistis* will be given to us." "Apollonios will explain the situation further." While the circumstances escape us, the situation supplies an excellent background for the next letter, dated 12 January 229.

No. 42 was written by Nechthosiris to Leon. Leon is still in Philadelphia, but Nechthosiris is in Alexandria. He reports that he is well, but also (if the text is read and restored correctly) that he has been detained by the *dioecetes*. Others, however, are in a less happy situation. Certain persons, unnamed, have been adjudged guilty by the court of the *chrematists*: very possibly those resident in Alexandria. Someone else has been implicated, very probably Leon's brother the *oikonomos* (?) Apollonios, but Nechthosiris is re-assuring. Apollonios will be cleared if he presents himself in Alexandria, because the king himself is to review the case. "They" will be condemned and Apollonios freed, and the jurisdiction of the *dioecetes* will be superseded.

Interpretation of the letter remains hypothetical in some degree. The writing and the style and the allusive nature of the narrative combine to make it hard to read and to follow. The first part is concerned with Nechthosiris' personal affairs, his anxiety for Leon, and his need of money and clothing. These have been resolved, or will be with Leon's help, and are of less interest to us, although the apparent reference to the oracle of Sarapis, line 9, has some importance for the history of that institution, so prominent later. But the precise situation of this group of persons cannot be known certainly.

It is possible, however, to reconstruct their circumstances with some degree of probability. The close association of Leon and Apollonios, and of Leon's associate the Egyptian Nechthosiris, is clear. The latter has been fully accepted by the Greeks. He is serving as their representative and confidential reporter in Alexandria. He has servants with him. He has a Greek named Dionysios in charge of his affairs in Philadelphia. They were all members of the bureaucracy, but it has already become apparent that they were in business privately also. They had professional and probably also personal and commercial relations with others in the Philadelphia area who occupied themselves, at least in part, with tax-farming. In a situation of mutual trust and confidence, such a group could easily combine to enrich themselves at the expense, at once, of the king and of the native peasants and producers. They would all, directly or indirectly, have contacts at the court in Alexandria, on which they would rely for help in case of an investigation. There were auditors and controllers who checked books and examined complaints, and the king was actively concerned to protect those persons and classes who made up the productive basis of the country, the crown peasants, and the artisans and animal-husbanders and the others referred to as "involved in the revenues."



These were to be kept at their tasks at any cost. They were immune from seizure for private debt, and when they complained that they were being kept from their work, they were listened to. A dishonest official or private businessman could not be sure that his peculations or illegalities would not be discovered, however influential his friends and partners. An honest one could not be sure that he might not be accused falsely, to cover another's operations. The atmosphere cannot have been healthy or secure, and factions which might go as high as the dioecetes and the king were almost inevitable.

In this case, Apollonios (with Leon and Nechthosiris) was engaged in a controversy with another group, and he had come, at least, under strong suspicion. If he is the subject of the verb in line 23, he was in danger of being arrested by his immediate superior, the dioecetes; and that official had wide competence and powers of suppression or punishment. His friend and agent, Nechthosiris, was detained (but not arrested) by the dioecetes, so that a plea to the jurisdiction might not be entered in his behalf. For in the mean time, the other party had been brought to trial before the king's superior judges, the chrematists, and found guilty. This would have ended the matter, if any court in an absolute monarchy could have absolute jurisdiction. The chrematists, however, could judge but not sentence, and if, as here proved to be true, the king was interested, even the judgment would be reviewed by him. Under such circumstances, the dioecetes lost his jurisdiction.<sup>4</sup> If the king, as Nechthosiris hoped and believed, proved to support the chrematists, then Apollonios was cleared. "It is up to the gods," writes Nechthosiris piously, but he has good reason to be hopeful.

If the king and Nechthosiris were on opposite sides in this instance, does it mean that they were hostile? Not necessarily, nor even probably. Both were in this case supporting different parties, but their ultimate objectives were the same: to increase the revenues and to maintain the peace. Their loyalties to one or another quarreling faction up-country did not run deep.

Of the two remaining papyri which may be regarded as belonging to this archive, little can be said. No 43 is a letter from Protarchos to Alexander, well-written and literate in style. It has not proved possible to restore any line, so that the amount missing cannot be estimated; but the lines cannot have been short. A number of topics were dealt with, grain (l. 5), vineyards (l. 8), accounting (l. 9), appeal (in a legal case? l. 14,) something done or someone punished as an example (l. 20), and a reason for a request (l. 25). In view of the height of the

4. On these relationships cf. E. Seidl, *Ptol. Rechtsgsch.*, pp. 69-84; H.J. Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 1962; J. Modrzejewski, "Zum Justizwesen der Ptolemäer," *ZSS* 93, 1963, pp. 42-82, and his *Introduction Bibliographique a l'Histoire du Droit, Monde Hellénistique*, 1965, especially p. 59. See further H.J. Wolff, "Law in Ptolemaic Egypt," *American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, pp. 67-77; J. Modrzejewski, "La règle de droit dans l'Égypte Ptolemaïque," *ibid.*, pp. 125-173.



papyrus, not much can be lost at the end, unless the text went into a second column. No. 44 is in even worse shape, for it has lost the beginning also, and we have no knowledge of the persons involved.

The relation of the world of Leon to that of Zenon, the son of Agreophon, cannot be decided positively. It is possible, but of course not certain, that Zenon himself may be mentioned in 40. Many names are too common to have any evidentiary value: Apollonios, Dionysios, Diodoros, Alexander. A *Dikaios* (39) appears in a position of some authority, however, in *PSI* 536, and writes to Zenon on terms of equality in *PSI* 397, of 240 B.C. *Petearmotis* (39) might be any one of a number of persons of this name who appear in the Zenon archives and elsewhere in the Arsinoite Nome at this time, and persons named *Protarchos* (43) are common also. Leon might well be the agent of the *oikonomos* *Hermolaos* of twenty years earlier (*PSI* 372, 368, *PCZ* 59596), and *Leukippos* (36) the secretary or paymaster of 248 (*PSI* 436 - *PCZ* 59332). These names are not common. The *dioecetes* *Athenodoros* is otherwise unknown. *Nechthosiris* suggests an interesting association. The name is rare, and does not appear in this form in the Zenon archive, but a *Nectosiris* appears as a worker in tow (*στιππουργός*; in *PCZ* 59472, undated); can this have any connection with the mysterious *στεβεύς* who is mentioned in 38? The possibility is, perhaps, worth mentioning.

### 36. Letter of Apollonios to Leon

P. Yale Inv. 1647

27 x 18 cm.

Late September 232 B.C. (Skt.)

The papyrus is complete except for the frayed margin on the right and a certain number of small worm-holes. The other margins are top 1.5 cm., bottom, 3.0 cm., left, 2.5 cm. The color is light brown, the ink faded but readily legible. The writing is on the recto but across the fibers, and offers a good example of the chancery cursive of the period, smooth and easy if rather unattractive in appearance. The lines are an even 0.5 cm. in height, except for the occasional letters which extend above and below this, and the interval between lines is a little greater. The signature in line 7 is not that of Apollonios (cf. on 38 and 39) but written by the scribe. This, with the tendency to leave a small space between words, gives the impression of affluence in the use of papyrus, suitable to the importance of the message and the dignity of the writer. After being written, the sheet was folded down five times from the top and then doubled over from the right—or the doubling may have taken place first, since there is no sign of breakage here. The address, and the docket added by the recipient, were written on the exposed fourth fold. The latter gives the only exact day preserved: the letter was received by Leon on the 9th of Mesore of the 15th year, or 23 September 232 B.C. This indicates that the letter of Apollonios was written between the 15th and 23rd of that month, and perhaps nearer the latter than the former date. Since the enclosed letter of the *dioecetes* was dated in *Epeiph*, it was written in the thirty-day period prior to 15 September, but unfortunately



the numeral giving the day is missing.

The Sowing Schedule, the διαγραφή τοῦ σπόρου, has been known from a number of references, but this is the first indication of how it was prepared.<sup>5</sup> Being drawn up in the villages at the height of the inundation, it reflected the actual conditions of the next crop year, so far as they could be forecast. The check and approval in the central offices in Alexandria protected the government from a low estimate.

The dioecetes, Athenodoros, is otherwise unknown. The name of Apollonios is too common for certainty, but no such person is known in a high fiscal position in the Arsinoite Nome at this time. It seems now more likely that he was an oikonomos than an epimeletes, as was suggested in the first publication. Identifications for Leon and for Leukippos have been suggested above.

Published: C.B. Welles and J.A.S. Evans, "The Archives of Leon," *JJP* VII-VIII, 1953-1954, pp. 35-41; SB 9257. Cf. M. Hombert, *Chron. d' Egypte* 30, 1955, p. 392.

- Ἀπολλώνιος Λέοντι χαίρειν. τῆς παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ διοικη[τοῦ]  
 ὑπόκειται σοι τ' ἀντίγραφον. ἐπιτελέσας οὖν τὴν διαγραφὴν τοῦ  
 σπόρου μετὰ τῶν εἰθισμένων ἀκολουθῶσας τοῖς ἐπε[σταλμένοις]  
 5 ἔχ' ἐν ἐτο[ίμῳ], ἵνα πρὸ τοῦ ὀρισμένου καιροῦ καὶ αὐτ[οῖ]  
 ἐπιδῶμεν Λευκίππῳ τῷ ἀρχιφυλακίτηι, γινώσκων ὅ[τι ἐάν]  
 ὑστέρημα γένηται καταποσταλήσει πρὸς τὸν διοικητ[ήν].  
 ἔρρ(ω)σ(ο). (ἔτους) ιε, Μ[εσορῆ . . ]  
 Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίῳ χαίρειν. τὴν διαγραφὴν τῆς Ε[ -  
 γῆς τοῦ εἰς τὸ ις (ἔτος) σπόρου συντελέσας μετὰ τοῦ [ - -  
 10 γραμματέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μεθ' ὧν καθήκει πέμψον Υ[ - -  
 μάλιστα μὲν συντομώτερον, τὸ δὲ μακρότατον ἔ[ως τῆς . ]  
 τοῦ Μεσορῆ, κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ κώμην καὶ ἐπὶ κεφα[λαίου],  
 Λευκίππῳ τῷ ἀρχιφυλακίτηι. γεγράφαμεν γὰρ αὐτ[ῷ], ἐπ' ἂν]  
 ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἀποδῶις τὰ γράμματα [ ταῦτα, ]  
 15 ἀποστείλαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, συμπέμψαντ[ι τοὺς]  
 ἀποκαταστήσοντας.  
 (ἔτους) ιε, Ἐπειφ [ . . ]

Verso

- (2nd hand) (ἔτους) ιε, Μεσορῆ θ. Ἀπολλώνιος ἀντίγρ(αφον)  
 τῆς παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου  
 (1st hand) Λέοντι  
 τοῦ δι(οικητοῦ) ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 διαγρ(αφῆς) τοῦ σπ(όρου) τῆς εἰς τὸ ις (ἔτος).

5. Préaux, *L'Economie Royale*, pp. 117-125; Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, p. 279, and now "H ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΠΟΡΟΥ" by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a forthcoming article which reached us in manuscript after this volume was in page proof.

Apollonios to Leon, greeting. The copy of the letter from Athenodoros, the dioecetes, is appended for you below. Accordingly, having prepared the Sowing Schedule with the usual persons in compliance with the instructions, hold it in readiness, so that we may personally hand it over to Leukippos, the chief of police, before the stipulated time; knowing that if a delay occurs, you will be sent down to the dioecetes. Farewell. Year 15, Mesore?

Athenodoros to Apollonios, greeting. Concerning the Sowing Schedule of the....land for the 16th year, prepare it with the - - - grammateus and the other customary persons, and send it if possible sooner, but at the latest by the ? of Mesore, (arranged) by cultivator and by village and in summary, to Leukippos, the chief of police. For we have written to him that by this date you will give him the documents to send off to the city, to us, sending along with them persons who will bring them back. Year 15, Epeiph —.

Verso

To Leon.

Year 15, Mesore 9. Apollonios, copy of the letter from Athenodoros the dioecetes, concerning the Sowing Schedule for the 16th year.

1. The loss of letters at the right being probably no more than 10 at most (1. 3), there hardly seems room for ἐπιστολῆς at the end; and the word is, of course, omitted in the docket.

4. There is room for more than αὐτοί, but ἡμεῖς seems unnecessary.

8. The last preserved letter being certainly an *epsilon*, σιτικῆς or σπιρίμου are excluded; εἰνταῦθα is not very attractive.

9. There is room for βασιλικού, and this is most likely; but there is no other indication that the basilicogrammateus was involved.

For τοῦ, τῆς could be read, as on the verso.

10. The last preserved letter is *upsilon* and not *tau* (as in the first edition), but this suggests no obvious restoration.

14. At the end, ταῦτα κατ- in the first edition; but the word-division is awkward.

15. At the end, perhaps καὶ τοῦς.

Verso, 4. τῆς apparently written over τοῦ.

### 37. Release of Wine to Leitourgoi

P. Yale Inv. 1622

11 x 16 cm.

13 October 231 B.C. (Skt.)

The papyrus is complete except at the bottom, and is light in color, while the ink is generally well preserved and legible. There are some worm-holes, and a line of breakage down the center, where there was a major fold. The sheet was folded three times from the right, and may then have been doubled over from the bottom, and the strain at that point would account for the loss of the lower half of the original document. Faint and blurred traces of small writing occur on



the verso, but the line is no more than 3.0 cm. in length, and cannot have been an address. The writing is otherwise on the recto with the fibers, and the hand is a rapid and careless cursive, small (except for the tall letters: 0.3 cm.) but with an interval of about 1.0 cm. between lines. This latter served the writer in good stead, since he was forced to cross out his original text in lines 6,7 and 12 and to write the correct words in this space.

The nature of the document has already been described. The toparch, Leon, and his counterpart, the topogrammateus Nechthosiris acknowledge that they have released to four persons with Greek names and patronymics and identified as leitourgoi toward the due agora of wine of the 16th year for the 'Macedonians' in Philadelphia—and here the text breaks off; but the commodity released was almost certainly a quantity of wine from the cellars in the village under their control.

The transaction has been discussed fully in the original publication (*JJP* VII-VIII, 68-70), with documentation, and this need not be repeated here. Our view at that time was that the leitourgoi were performing regular and probably compulsory services in supplying the military unit of 'Macedonians' at Philadelphia, that the wine was the new wine of the year just past, and that the so-called agora was actually a ration issued to the soldiers in kind, presumably at intervals. The vintage of the 16th year was just over (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 275-278) and the new wine available for issue. Presumably the leitourgoi drew whatever was needed for immediate issue only, and not the whole year's ration: εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν οἰνικήν ἀγοράν. That the term agora may be used in this sense is clear from the documents cited in the first edition, and cf. also *P. Petr.* II 15, where an issue is made to the architect Theodoros: [τὴν γινομένην ἀγοράν εἰς τὸ ἔτος]. He received 56 1/4 keramias in lieu of 900 drachmas, or at a rate of 16 drachmas the keramion.

Published: C.B. Welles and J.A. Evans, *JJP* VII-VIII, 1953-1954, pp. 41-43; SB 9258.

- Ἔτους ις, Μεσορὴ καθ.  
 Ὁμολ[ο]γεῖ Λέων τ[ο]πάρχης  
 παραδεδοσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ Νεχθοσίριος τοῦ τοπογρ(αμματέως)  
 5 Σαραπίωνι [καὶ] Εὐβούλωι (corrected το- λου)  
 Νικίαί Νικίου Σωστράτωι Σωστράτου (between lines)  
 καὶ Μενάνδρωι [καὶ τοῖς]  
 Φιλίπποι λειτουργοῖς (between lines)  
 [μεθ' αὐτῶν λειτουργοῖς]  
 10 εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν  
 οἰνικήν ἀγοράν τοῦ ις (ἔτους)  
 [Μ]ακεδόσιν (between lines)  
 [τοῖς ἐν Φιλαδέ]λφει[α]ι [σ]τρατιώταις]





Restorations are *exempli gratia*, but the sense seems clear. The reading καννάβεως is suggested by the mention of a fuller, below, and the certain *alpha*.

? to Leon, greeting. Having given to so-and-so twenty drachmas, for which you will draw up a receipt, for the transport of the hemp which is to be carried down from the Arsinoite Nome, and having assigned the fuller, do you now see to it that donkeys also are furnished them so as to transport the eighty bundles and other ? artabs of olyra; and write to me, for my information, for these come from the estate of Apollonios...Farewell.

2. ὄν σύμβολον was suggested by Guéraud. The term κάνναβις has occurred in the papyri only much later (*Wörterbuch*, s.v.).

3. For σύμβολον ποιήσαι cf. *P. Hib.* 67, 16 (288 B.C.); *Wörterbuch*, s.v. Also possible would be some form of λαμβάνω (λήψει, λαβέ), as in *PCZ* 59328. 112 (255 B.C.) The letter or letters before εἰς are most naturally T or TO, or possibly N. What was first written at the end is obscure. The NA of καννάβεως is also written above the line.

5. The article before σπιβέα, and the lack of a name, indicates that the matter had been under previous discussion.

8. For δέσμη as the unit of fibers cf. *PCZ* 59782b.5 (linen and tow) and *P. Col. Zen.* 113. 12 (wool). It may be that the number of artabs of olyra was indicated by a numeral in the lacuna. The grain may have been intended as sustenance for man and beast during the journey.

9. The abbreviated expression τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου as the source of textiles and other commodities occurs in *PCZ* 59206, of about 254 B.C. Later preserved references to the dorea are fuller (*PCZ* 59366. 7/8, 241 B.C.; 59372. 11/12, 239 B.C.)

For a possible connection with 39, it is worth noting that tow or hemp was kept stored in tamieia in *PCZ* 59472 and 59779.

### 39. Letter from Apollonios to Dikaios Regarding the Key to a Storeroom

P. Yale Inv. 1643

8 x 17 cm.

Not dated

The papyrus, light brown in color, is complete in its outside dimensions, except for the loss of a transverse strip at the bottom, but there are numerous holes, and the verso fibers have been lost except for one vertical strip, which bears part of the address and shows traces of colored plaster. The ink is faded in places, but in others a good clear black. The writing is bold (0.5 cm. high, with an interlinear interval of about 0.7 cm.) and heavy, made with a coarse pen. The script is clear, with letters usually carefully separated, giving an impression of interoffice efficiency rather than charm. The signature, however, which may well be in the same hand as that of No. 38, is a rapid cursive. Margins are top, 2.3, left 1.0, and bottom 4.0 cm.

Three horizontal fold-lines are marked by breaks in the papyrus, but it is not clear how the folding was done. The first and third sections of the sheet are equal, and smaller than the second and fourth. There is no sign of cross-folding,

but the address begins left of the center and must have run nearly to the margin; it is parallel to, but in a reverse direction from the writing on the recto.

The transaction has been discussed above, and nothing remains except to note the rather elegant, literary quality of the language and the delicacy with which the reproof and order is administered. The word ἀγνώμων is polite (but cf. PCZ 59362, 17 (242 B.C.) where it is used complainingly of shepherds). The expressions οὐ μὴν ἀλλά and ἔτι καὶ νῦν belong to the elevated style (Mayser, II, 2, pp. 136 f., 147 f.), and the μη οὐκ is a derivative of the usage with an independent subjunctive (Mayser, II, 1, pp. 234 f., 238 f.; II, 3, p. 548) in a transferred sense.

Published: C.B. Welles and J.A.S. Evans, *JJP* VII-VIII, 1953-1954, p. 52; *SB* 9261.

Ἀπολλώνιος  
 Δικαίῳ χαίρειν.  
 ἀγνώμων γέγονας  
 5 μη οὐκ ἀποστεί-  
 λας Σαραπίωνα  
 τὸν παρὰ σοῦ κο-  
 μίζοντα τὴν κλεῖ-  
 10 δα τοῦ Πετσαρμώ-  
 τιος ταμείου, κα-  
 θότι ἐτάξω. οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 ἐξαπόστειλον  
 αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.  
 ἔρρωσο.

Verso

Δικαί[ωι]

Apollonios to Dikaios, greeting. You have been inconsiderate in not sending on Sarapion, your agent, with the key to the storeroom of Peteamotis, as I ordered. Nevertheless, even now send him to us. Farewell.

Verso: To Dikaios

#### 40. Letter to Hermias concerning Wine

P. Yale Inv. 1641

11.3 x 23 cm.

Not dated

The papyrus is complete except at the top, where not more than 2.0 cm. with one line of writing need have been lost on the recto, and a few letters at the end of the first line on the verso. There are a few small holes and a diagonal line of breakage from the upper left corner to the center of the bottom. The margin on the left is 1.5 cm. No margins are observed below or on the right. The letter was folded up four times from the bottom and then doubled over, so that the address



on the verso is behind the upper left of the recto. The verso surface is well preserved, with patches of plaster adhering to it; the recto is dark but well preserved. The ink is black and the writing coarse and large (0.5 cm. with many taller letters), the interlinear interval about 0.7 cm. The writing is skilled but cursive and negligent, making reading often difficult and uncertain.

The transaction has been discussed above. The addressee, Hermias, is identified as the farmer of a 2% tax, and is further involved in private transactions in wine in the Philadelphia region, wherein his associates are the writer whose name is lost and a certain Zenon, who may perhaps be the famous son of Agreophon. An Apollonios, who is presumably the oikonomos, appears as interested in wine also.

Published: C.B. Welles, J.A.S. Evans, *JJP* 7/8, 1953-1954, pp. 30-35; *SB* 9256; cf. M. Hombert, *Chronique d'Egypte* 30, 1955, p. 392.

- [ - - ca. 22 - - ] ρ[.]  
 [ . - ca. 16 - - ] ἔφη παραγε-  
 [ νόμενον] Δ[ιόδ]ωρον τὸν πρὸς τῆι ρ'  
 [ τῶν π]ερὶ Φιλ[α]δελφείαν τόπων  
 5 δοῦναι αὐτῶι εἰς τὴν ν' ἦν σὺ  
 ἐξειλήφης χαλκοῦ (τάλαντον) α καὶ  
 [ γρ]άψαι τούτῳι ἔχειν εἰς τὴν  
 κ[α]θήκουσαν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ (ταλάντου),  
 καὶ ΟΡΓΙΛΩΣ ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήματος (over earlier writing)  
 10 ὠρίζετο μὲν μήτ' ἐντολὴν  
 δεδωκένοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν  
 Ἀπολλώνιον μήτε δώσιν ἕως  
 τοῦ με παραγενέσθαι. σ' οὖν  
 15 καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐκ παντὸς  
 τρόπου, ἐὰν δύνη παρα-  
 γενέσθαι, παραγενηθεῖς,  
 ὅπως περὶ τούτων φροντίσω-  
 μεν. σοῦ γράψαντος φροντιεῖν ὅπως  
 20 συναγοράσωμεν Ζήνωνι οἶνον  
 παλαιοῦ Φιλαδελφείου οἴνου κε(ράμια) θ  
 ὁμοίως οὔ ἀπέστειλας ἡμῖν  
 πέρυσι 5 Λ, (δραχμῶν) λε<).

## Verso

διασάφησον δ' ἡμῖν τίνες αἱ τιμαὶ εἰσιν καὶ πόσα ἐτίς,  
 καὶ μὴ βράδυσ[ε]  
 ἡμᾶς κινεῖν ἐναυῦτα. ἐπιμελοῦ δὲ καὶ σαυτοῦ ἴν' ὑγιαίνης.

Below, in reverse direction Ἑρμῖαι.

....said that Diodoros (?), farmer of the 1% tax for the area about Philadelphia, came and gave him for the 2% of which you are the contractor one talent of bronze, and wrote to the other to hold (or take?) it against the due payment of the talent; and ... from the vineyard determined not to issue a release to the agents of Apollonios, and not to do so until I came. You will do well, therefore, in every way to come, if you can, so that we may consider these matters. Since you write for me to consider how we may buy up wine for Zenon—nine keramía of aged wine of Philadelphia similar to that which you sent us last year, 6 1/2 for 35 1/2 drachmas, (Verso) inform us what the prices are and how much you want, and do not hesitate to bother us in the matter. Take care of yourself also to keep in good health. (In reverse direction) To Hermias.

The papyrus is not so well written as the others of the group. Note δώσιν and ἐτίς, ἀναφορόν, δύνη, ἐνταῦτα, and the awkward ὁμοίως οὐ.

3/4. The tax is known; see above.

5. No 2% tax is attested. Elizabeth H. (Mrs. J. Frank) Gilliam, in her study of the text, would see a connection between these two and the 3% tax of the Roman period, (ρ'καὶ ν').

7. Here, as below, the writer does not make his personal references clear. The writer, whoever he may have been, quoted a second person as having said (ἔφη) that one Diodoros (?) had come and given to him (presumably the second person) a sum of money for Hermias, and had written to a third person (τούτῳ) to hold (or to take) as the payment due from Hermias. The second person could be an agent of the government (antigraphus?); the third presumably would be the royal banker who was final recipient of tax money. Both of these persons must have been named in the beginning of the letter. It would be awkward both grammatically and factually to take αὐτῷ and τούτῳ as referring to the same person. Why should Diodoros (?) have handed someone a sum of money and then have written him a letter instead of speaking to him immediately?

The letters are quite clearly ΟΡΓΙΛΩΣ; Γ could also be read as ΑΙ, and ΩΣ or ΟΣ. We should expect a proper name here, but ὄργιλος is known only as an epithet, somewhat doubtful, of Dionysus. Mrs. Gilliam thought of the name Γόργιλος which occurs in the Zenon archives, and there is also an Ὀρίλαος in PCZ 59511 and 59653 neither of which is dated.<sup>6</sup> The adverb ὄργιλος, "angrily," is unsatisfactory, and it may be best to see here a name of a perfectly possible type, but which has not yet occurred elsewhere.

At the end, κτήματος may have been written over κτημένου.

13. It would be more natural to expect σε than με here, but no *sigma* is made in this fashion (an upside-down semi-circle). The situation is a familiar one, where the man in immediate charge does not wish to take the responsibility for releasing some of the goods in his care; cf. e.g. PSI 438, 13-16 (not dated).

18. The asyndeton is awkward, and the reading is difficult if unavoidable. Perhaps the rho was not written at all, or written above the line.

6. There are very few names of this type. Possibly similar might be the Ὀργέτου of SEG VI, 728. 56; Cf. L. Robert, *Noms Indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure Greco-Romaine*, 1963, p. 376, n. 3.



19. The verb συναγοράω is quite commonly used of purchases of all sorts, by government agents and otherwise. The meaning is "buy up," and the dative is one of interest: "for Zenon." At the end, οἴνου would be easier to read than οἶνον, but is grammatically less satisfactory.

22. The reading and explanation of the numerals and siglae is that of Mrs. Gilliam.

Verso, 1. The last two words may mean "how much you ask for it," or "how much you want to buy"; the former was suggested by Prof. A.D. Nock. For the idea cf. *PCZ* 59446. 16-19 (undated): ἀεβόλλετο δὲ Χαίρων ἕως ἂν Ἀμμώνιος παραγένηται καὶ ἀποδώσειν ἡμῖν. For βράδυνε. cf. well-known letter of Harentotes the lentil dealer, *PSI* 402 (not dated): βραδῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τοὺς φόρους ἀναπληροῦν "(permit me) to be slow in paying the rent to the king."

#### 41. Letter concerning a Safe-Conduct

P. Yale Inv. 1580

11.5 x 10.5 cm.

Not dated

The papyrus is incomplete at top and bottom; there are margins of about 1.0 cm. at left and right. The surface is stained but otherwise well preserved, with the exception of some holes and a missing strip of fiber at the left of line 8. The verso contains no writing. No evidence of folding remains. The script is coarse, ugly, and large (0.5 cm. or more), with an interlinear interval of 0.8 cm; writing is on the recto with the fibers. The ink is black, and at the ends of several lines letters look doubly written, as if the writer had come down heavily on the split nib when the pen was nearly dry.

The interest of the text lies in the mention of a safe-conduct, a pistis, which someone has informed the writer will be given "to us," in case "we" are ordered to present ourselves. The addressee will be informed further by Apollonios of the circumstances. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to see here the background of the complex legal difficulties experienced by Leon, Apollonios, and their associates in No. 42.

For the pistis, it is enough to refer to the Köln Dissertation of Walter Schmitz (1964), pp. 17-31. He lists four actual examples, all from the first century B.C., but the institution is referred to earlier, the earliest instance which we have seen being *P. Teb.* 741, of 187/6 B.C. This Yale text carries the documentation back into the third century. Various persons might be protected by pisteis, most commonly those who were important for the revenues, and the safe-conducts might be issued by a strategus or by the king, probably also by any highly placed official. Closely parallel to the situation assumed here is the situation in *P. Teb.* 895 (ca. 175 B.C.), where a sitologos accused of misconduct secured pisteis and accused the comogrammateus in turn, and still more that of *UPZ* 124 (2d cent. B.C.), where a village epistates asks the strategos δοῦναι

μοι ἔνγραπτον πίστιν ὅπως . . . ] ἀπολογίσωμαι ὑπέ[ρ τ]ῶ[ν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν  
καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς περισπασθῶ. In the first century, at least, these pisteis were  
protected by royal order, evidently because they had been either abused or dis-  
regarded (BGU 1812).

Unpublished.

[...]. ΛΕΙ[.]. Ρ[.]. [ - 6 - ]  
[...] ἀναγαγών....  
ἐὰν δὲ τοῦτο γένηται  
καὶ κελεύση ἀπαν-  
5 τῆσαι ἡμᾶς, τὴν πίσ-  
τιν ἡμῖν δοθῆναι.  
π[ε]ρὶ [δ]ὲ τῶν λοιπῶν  
[.....]. ὡς εἶχεν  
διασαφ[ή]σει σοι Ἀπολλ-  
10 [λώνιος...] πείσει δὲ

(he said) ..., but if this happens and he orders us to appear, that the safe-  
conduct would be given to us. As for the rest, ... how things stood, Apollonios  
will explain to you, and will persuade ...

10. The space may be filled by restoring ἐκ]πείσει, but without a context this has  
little value. The other letters seem reasonably certain, while not entirely complete,  
and the top horizontal of the *pi* remains enough to show that the letter cannot be *gamma*  
or *tau*.

#### 42. Letter from Nechthosiris to Leon

P. Yale Inv. 1634, 1585

14 x 42 cm.

12 January 229 B.C.(Skt.)

This long strip of light-colored papyrus came to us in two pieces, the jun-  
ction of which was discovered by Professor Howard N. Porter, then a student in  
the Seminar. This is a strip along the roll, the writing being on the recto but across  
the fibers; and three rough kollemata are visible, irregularly about 16 cm. apart.  
The quality of the papyrus is poor, as the low height of the roll from which it  
came would suggest; the upper left corner had lost its recto fibers before writing.  
There are progressively more holes toward the bottom. The letter was rolled up  
from the bottom, so that the address is at the top on the verso, running across  
the sheet in the reverse direction to the writing on the recto. The docket was  
written in a tiny hand even further up, and the loss of a transverse strip has



removed the first few letters of each line; the top margin of the recto must have been originally somewhat higher. It is unlikely that the rolled-up text was then doubled over.

The writing is coarse and rough, but fluent, and shows a practiced but uncultivated hand. Toward the bottom, the writer seems to have left blank spaces in his text, for no apparent reason unless he felt that the papyrus surface was unsuitable in places.

The letter has been discussed above. Nechthosiris is in Alexandria, where he has been waiting for some time, detained by the dioecetes.<sup>7</sup> He and his servants have been in need of food and of warm clothing, and he has been worried because he had no word from Philadelphia. Finally a certain Protolaos brought news, but the supplies are still not forthcoming. He has, however, good news for Leon and for Apollonios. Their opponents have been condemned by the chrematists, and the king will hear their case. He is confident that if Apollonios comes down to the city, he will be cleared.

Published C.B. Welles, J.A.S. Evans, *JJP* VII-VIII, 1953-1954, pp. 43-50; SB 9259; cf. M. Hombert, *Chronique d'Egypte* 30, 1955, pp. 392 f.

Νεχθασίρις Λέοντι τῶι  
 ἀδελφῶι χάρειν. ἔρρωστο καὶ  
 Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ ἀδ(ελφός) καὶ Ἡπιόδωρος  
 καὶ οἱ παρὰ σοῦ πάντες. ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ  
 5 αὐτός. ἐμοῦ σοι γεγραφότος πλέονας  
 ἐπιστολάς καὶ οὐθέμ μοι παρὰ σοῦ τί μοι  
 προσπεφώνηται, τὸ πλέον ἀγωνιῶν  
 ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδ' ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἀκηκοέναι  
 10 τὰ κατὰ σε, πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συνεχρώμην πολλάκις.  
 Πρωτολάου δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαντος ἡμῖν τὰ  
 κατὰ σέ, λίαν ἐχάρην. ἐπὶ οὖν ἀπέσ-  
 ταλκα Διονυσίωι τ[ῶι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποσ-  
 τ[ῶι] μοι ἱματίδιον κ[α]ί χιτῶνα ἀπὸ Θωύ[θ]  
 15 οὔτε ἀπέσταλκεν ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τοῖς παι-  
 δαρίοις ἀπέσταλκεν σιτ[ῶ]ν[ι] ἕως ἤδη  
 εἰς τὴν διατροφήν. διὸ ἀξιῶ σαυτὸν  
 παρενοχλήσαν, ἐπὶ παραγίνονται εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν ἕως ἰε τοῦ Χοῖαχ, καὶ σαυτὸν  
 20 ἐπιδοῦς ἕως τοῦ μοι ἀποσταλῆναι καὶ  
 τοῖς παιδίοις σιτάριον δῶι. ἐάν δὲ μὴ  
 δῶι, γράψομ μοι εἰ ἂν σοι ἀπαντήσῃ

7. The situation must have been not uncommon. Cf. the letter of Hermokrates to Zenon, *PSI* 392 (2 March 241 B.C.).

μηθὲν ὑποστειλάμενος. Περὶ δὲ  
 τῶν κατ' ἐμέ, μὴ ἀγωνία. πάντα λίαν  
 25 κατὰ λόγον γέγονεν. κατεγνωσμένοι  
 εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τῶν χρηματιστῶν, καὶ  
 τ[ού]των χάριν παρακατεσχέ-  
 [θη]ν ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικητοῦ, μὴ ἢ-  
 ποτε ἀξιωθεὶς ἐ[μφανί]σῃ τῷ  
 30 διοικητῇ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀγθῆναι.  
 ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς καθήμενος  
 διακούει. τὸ δὲ πλεον πάντων ἐπὶ  
 τῶν θεῶν ἔστιν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ σοῦ ἀδ(ελφοῦ)  
 [κρ]ίνω αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι εἰς  
 [τῆν] πόλ[ιν] [ἐπ]ὶ τῶν παρόντων,  
 (vacat)  
 35 [ἀ]πολυθήσεται γὰρ ἅμα αὐτὸν  
 καθαρὸν ποιοῦμεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς  
 [τ]ούτους κρίσιν. εὐχαριστήσις  
 οὖν μοι ἐπιμελούμενος τοῦ σώμα-  
 40 τ[ός] σοῦ [ί]να ὑγιαίνης.  
 εἰ ρρ(ώσο). (έτους) [ι]η' Ἄθυρ κξ.

## Verso (with the fibers)

τοπάρχῃ Λέοντι  
 2nd hand (across the fibers)  
 Ἄπολλωνίου δέησ(ις)  
 ἸΩΝ καὶ τοῦ (ταλάντου) α.  
 εὐ[θ]έως παραγενέσθ[αι]  
 ἔτι τοὺς παρά μου  
 5 ἰάντων τὰ ὁμολογού(μενα).

Readings discovered by Guéraud, Youtie, and Mrs. Husselman were listed in the first publication, and are again acknowledged gratefully. The ends of lines 9 and 28 of the recto, and of line 1 of the verso, as well as the beginning of line 3 of the verso, are here read for the first time. At the end of line 5 of the verso, ΟΜΟΛΟΓ seems certain, and the meaningless ἀπόλυτα has been abandoned.

Nechthosiris to Leon his brother, greeting. May you be well, and Apollonius our brother and Epiodoros and everyone with you; I am myself well also. When I wrote you many letters and no sound was uttered to me from you, being the more anxious because until now I have heard nothing concerning you, I consulted the god frequently; but when Protolaos brought word to us about you, I was most delighted. Since, therefore, I have sent to Dionysios, one of our group, to send me a cloak and a tunic from Thoth on, he has neither sent them but he has not even sent bread for the servants up till now for their sustenance. I do, therefore, ask you to trouble yourself, for they are coming to the city by the 15th of Choiach, and exerting yourself so that these may be sent to me and that he give bread for the servants. If he does not give it, write me whether he came to you without re-

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Concerning my affairs, do not be anxious. Everything is most in order. They have been convicted by the chrematists, and on this account (or, on their account) I have been detained by the dioecetes, lest being asked, he might make clear to the dioecetes that he (or they) cannot be arrested; for the king himself will sit and hear the case. The outcome is up to the gods. But about your brother, I judge that he should come to the city under the present circumstances, for he will be released as soon as we clear him in the suit against them.

You will gratify me, therefore, if you care for your person so as to be in health. Farewell. Year 18, Hathyr 25.

Verso

To the toparch Leon.

Request concerning Apollonios. ... the talent ... to come immediately ... also those from me ... bringing (?) what is agreed upon.

3. The abbreviation resolved here and in line 32 as ἀδ(ελφός) consists of a *delta* surmounted by an *alpha*, but the latter is in this case backward, a reverse L. The name Epiodoros is known in the Fayum at this period. In *PSI* 389. 5 (242 B.C.) he is a βασιλικός πράκτωρ. In other cases he is not identified. The writer of an undated letter to Zenon, too fragmentary to show its nature (*PCZ* 59437), may be the same person, but there is no reason to suppose a connection with the man named here.

5/6. Here and elsewhere, the writer's style is awkward and repetitious.

9. Since Nechthosiris is in Alexandria, one may suppose the god in this case to be Sarapis, whose oracular shrine was very popular subsequently. I know of no other instance of συγχρόμασι in this sense, but the meaning of the passage had been previously suspected by Mrs. Husselman ("By the god, I consulted much"), and the reading seems certain.

10. The name Protolaos is very rare in Greek, and occurs here for the first time in the papyri, so far as I have observed. Apparently the meaning is that Protolaos had come to Alexandria from the Fayum; or he may have been in Alexandria too and received word from some correspondent.

17. Here and line 37 below (κρίσιν), the writer ends a word in *nu* instead of *iota*. The error is obviously not phonetic, and it is not uncommon; cf. Maysner, I, pp. 197-199.

20. The change from the earlier reading εἶναι to δῶσι seems required palaeographically; the writer has shifted from εἰς τοῦ with an infinitive to a purpose clause.

21. The spelling εἰ ἄν is not unparalleled in early papyri, although it is not common (*P. Eleph.* 1. 6, 311 B.C.; *P. Petr.* II 4 (2), 7, 255 B.C.) and it may be dialectic in origin. The verb ἀπαντήσῃ should be in the subjunctive, and that may have been the intention of the writer; but in view of his other grammatical eccentricities, it is not certain. We should expect the sense, "whether he meets your request," and it may be that that was the intent of the writer. But no instance of ἀπαντάω in this meaning is known to me; cf. however συναντάω in *PCZ* 59359, *PSI* 392.10(241 B.C.).

24. For κατὰ λόγον cf. *PCZ* 59359. 17 (242 B.C.), and elsewhere. This technical use of καταγινώσκω is uncommon in the papyri, although it is common in the authors. But the verb occurs in a similar judicial context in *BGU* 1004.5 of the third century B.C.

25. It would be interesting to know what panel of chrematists this was. Since Necthosiris is reporting something unknown to Leon, however, it is strongly suggested that their seat was in Alexandria. This is the view of Wolff for the third century (*Justizwesen*, pp. 64 f.), while Seidl is less specific (*Ptol. Rechtsgesch.*, p. 75).

26-29. This passage is sensible except for the third person singular. If it were possible to read ἐμφανίσω, it would simply be a case of Necthosiris being kept out of sight by the dioecetes, so that he could not testify to the latter's lack of jurisdiction. But the *eta iota* seems clear and inescapable. Necthosiris did not have to make the situation clear to Leon, who knew what was going on.

30/31. On such royal jurisdiction, which would obviously supersede that of the dioecetes, cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-18; Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 74; and e.g. *P. Rev. Laws* 49, 20; περί μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς διαγνώσεται and similarly 14, 1; 93, 6; 97, 2.

38/39. A similar closing formula occurs in *BGU* 1208, 48 (27/26 B.C.) and cf. F.X. Exler, *A Study of Greek Epistolography* (Diss. Catholic Univ., 1923), pp. 113-5.

Verso. Leon's name is written in large letters, his title in small. The docket is in a tiny hand, by no means easy to read. I have not succeeded in making it into connected sense. There seems to be a reference to the request for Apollonios to come immediately (ll. 32-34), and to some sums of money. The sign after the talent sign is an *alpha* with a large hook over it; so presumably 1000, but it seems unlikely that Necthosiris in this time before the inflation expected to receive anything like 7000 drachmas.

#### 43. Letter from Protarchos to Alexander

P. Yale Inv. 1644

9.2 x 26 cm.

Not dated

The sheet of papyrus is of good quality and relatively free from worm-holes, and the document is complete above (margin 2.7 cm.) and on the left (margin 2 cm.), but it is quite dirty. The original sheet was cut vertically on a slight diagonal, so that at the top it is only 5 cm. wide; and since it has proved impossible to restore any line completely, the original width is unknown. The remaining bottom edge is even and may be original, but there is no indication that the text ended there; and there is no lower margin, the writing continuing to the preserved edge. The verso is empty of writing. The script is of a late third-century type, similar to but not identical with those of the other papyri of this group. Writing is on the recto, with the fibers. The persons involved, and the subject of the letter, remain unknown.

Unpublished.

Πρώταρχος - -  
 να τῶν περ[ι] - - Ἰαλίε-  
 ξάνδρωι χ[αίρειν]. -  
 νεὶ ΟΥΧΩ.[-  
 5 κως τῆ[ ] - -



τὸν σῖτον ἀπ[ -  
 σιν τῆς ἀγο[ρᾶς - πλεῖ-?  
 στα οἰνόπεδ[α -  
 10 ἀκῶς λογευθ[ - -  
 γῆν ὡς ἀσπ[ -  
 του μηδ' ὡς[ -  
 ὑπέλαβον .[ -  
 γραφῆ ἑμαυτ[ -  
 15 θῆναι ἔφεσις [εἰς -  
 χεῖν τηογρ[ -  
 ἐπικομησ.ολ[ -  
 νες ἄλλοι προαγ[ -  
 σθαι βλέποντες [ -  
 τὸν γεγενημένον -  
 20 εἰς ἐπίστασιν ελ[ -  
 δεανθρως δυνα[ -  
 τὰ γεγνῶτα δια[ -  
 καὶ ὑμῖν δετω.[ -  
 .ον μὴ παρελθ.[ -  
 25 τούτου γὰρ γενομέν[ου -  
 .....κ...εἰα.[ -  
 [γ]ραφῆν τὴν .σπ[

2. This might be part of the identification of Protarchos, but writer of letters do not, unfortunately, identify themselves. The first two letters could be the end of a patronymic. For τῶν, τὸν could be read; for περ[ί, MEP.

10. Instead of ἀσπ, πσ could be read. Without context, it is here and elsewhere impossible to identify single letters certainly.

14. The term ἔφεσις suggests legal proceedings.

16. It would be possible to read also ἐπικολ ( or π ) ησ.οπ.

17. Equally possible is ἄλλαι.

20. The expression πρὸς ἐπίστασιν, "as a warning" or "deterrent", is cited by Wörterbuch: *P. Amh.* 134. 9 (early 2nd cent. B.C.); 35, 48 (132 B.C.); *P. Oxy.* 1465.15 (1st cent. B.C.); *SB* 5235.15 (A.D. 12).

#### 44. Letter (?)

P. Yale Inv. 1645

6 x 29 cm.

Not dated

Like the preceding, this is a section from the left of a papyrus sheet, which has been evenly cut on the diagonal, so that it measures only 1.5 cm. in width at the top. It is to be hoped that the cutting was done in modern times, and that the remainder of these two papyri exists in dealer's hands or in another collection.

The papyrus is clean and of good quality, and almost free from holes. Since no line can be restored, the original width of the sheet cannot be estimated. The writing, on the recto and with the fibers, belongs to the same period as the rest, but is not identical with any. The left margin is 2 cm. at the top, 1 cm. at the bottom. There is no clue to the subject or to the persons involved, but as with 43, the use of so large a sheet and the care and quality of the writing indicates that the letter came from an official bureau. Some two or three lines may be missing at the top.

Unpublished.

	γ[ -
	ιε[ -
	α[ -
	ν[ -
5	πο[ -
	πρ[ -
	μοι[ -
	ουσ[ -
	ημ[ -
10	λλε[ -
	ώστ[ε -
	ηκ...[ -
	κατα[ -
	νο εἰν [ -
15	σχρον [ -
	στου κα[ -
	δε τι[ -
	καὶ ὄνομα - -
	οἰκονομ[ -
20	πάντα .[ -
	επινω[ -
	οὐ μηδ[ -
	εἶναι ὑπ[ -
	ποιήσεις [ -
25	μος γὰρ νῦν [ -
	ρια ἐπί τη[ -
	τῶν σὺν π[ -
	τὰ δ' ἄλλα ε.[ -
	ματος ὅπως [ -
30	ἔλρωσο.

30. The presence of a large epsilon 4 cm. from the left margin dictates this restoration.



les. Since no  
estimated. The  
as the rest,  
1 cm. at the  
but as with  
ng indicates  
y be missing

45. End of a Letter

P. Yale Inv. 1792

9.8 x 6.1 cm.

Mid Third Century B.C.

This small fragment is in a good, large, clear hand of the mid-third century B.C. It is complete on both sides and the bottom, with a blank margin of ca. 3.5 cm. It is clearly the end of a letter, but so little is left that it is impossible to know the import of the communication.

The hand is typical of those in the Zenon archive, and we print the piece here in the hopes that it may be recognized as belonging to the major fragment in another collection. The papyrus was recently acquired by Yale, and nothing is known of its provenance.

[  
ἐκφόριον προσδεξόμε-  
θα.

ἔρρωσο Ἐπεὶπ κυ

"...rent we received. Farewell, Epeip 23."

## 46. Book of Petitions

P. Yale Inv. 1627, 1628

246-221 B.C.

These two fragments of light brown papyrus were purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in Paris in 1935. Fragment a, 13.2 x 13.6 cm., almost complete, contains a petition of 20 lines. The left margin is missing, and about six letters have been lost from the beginning of each line. There is no true margin at the top; the first line is 0.5 cm. below the edge, which is very ragged and irregular. The sheet was glued to another along the right margin, and about 1 cm. of the first sheet seems to have broken off, carrying away the last 1 or 2 letters of some lines. There is no margin at the bottom. Fragment b, 5.5 x 11 cm., is complete at the top and left. The top margin is 2.5 cm. wide, and the left margin is 2 cm. at its widest point. The fragment contains part of a petition, but not the beginning, and is in the same hand as Fragment a.

It appears, then, that the two fragments belong together, either as two petitions cited in a dossier, or as two unrelated petitions copied by a scribe in a government office. While either of these instances are fairly common in the Roman period, we have found parallels to neither in the third century B.C., although we have evidence that petitions were copied in the office of the strategos. *P. Enteux. 1* has on the verso: Ἐντεύξεις καὶ ἀντίγραφα || ἐντεύξεων || αὐτῶν, and *P. Enteux. 12* contains the subscription: Ἀπέσταλκά σοι τῆς ἐλθοῦσης μοι παρ' Ἀφθονήτου ἐντεύξεως τὸ ἀντίγραφον. As Guéraud says, *P. Enteux.*, p. XXXVIII, these two subscriptions provide proof that copies were made at some time of some petitions. The fine hand of the Yale papyri makes it more probable that these were copied in an office by an experienced government scribe. The hand is far superior to those of the Magdola Papyri. These, because the subscriptions are in a different hand from those of the body of the petitions, are almost surely the original documents. If then, our petitions formed parts of a dossier, made out by the petitioner, we should not have a hand of such a quality, nor would the names on the two petitions be so unrelated. In line 5 of Frag. b, we find one Phimimis, and in line 14 we have -δρη, restored as Herakleides. Neither of these names appears in Frag. a, nor do any of the names of that petition appear in Frag. b. We thus take the Yale texts to be copies made in a government office. We choose the office of the strategos, as *P. Enteux. 12* shows that this was one, if not the only, office in which petitions were copied. The alternative to assuming that the copies referred to in *P. Enteux. 1*, and *P. Enteux. 12* were made in the office of the strategos is to propose that petitions were handed in in duplicate, a procedure for which there is no evidence, and which seems unlikely. We can use the Yale papyri as evidence for copies being



made in the strategos' office: the Yale documents are in an official hand; they are copies of petitions; by the time some petitions leave the office of the strategos, copies have been made; there is no office between the petitioner and the strategos; therefore, copies of some petitions must have been made in the strategos' office.

There is an example of a petition copied, although a hundred years later than our documents, in *UPZ* 170 (127/6 B.C.). This is one of the documents dealing with the family of choachytai found in a grave in the Theban necropolis. We have two copies of a petition, a regular ἔντευξις of one Apollonios complaining of actions by members of the family. The two are identical, save that A has ἡμῶν τὴν ἔντευξιν in line 35, for the μου τὴν ἔντευξιν, of B, and that B has an erased καί in line 43 while A has no καί at all in that passage. Brunet de Presle, who publishing one copy (B) earlier as *P. Par.* 14 stated that the Paris document had a duplicate in a papyrus of the Turin Museum (A), and quoted Peyron's comment on the hand. "Alterum huius papyri exemplar eademque manu descriptum servatur." Wilcken said about the hand: "Das ist mir paläographisch, wenn auch nicht absolut sicher, so doch äusserst wahrscheinlich." Unlike the Yale ἔντευξις and most of the Magdola documents which request that action be referred to the epistates, the *UPZ* petition requests that the case be sent to the chrematists for disposition, a request paralleled by *P. Fay.* 11 and 12 (ca. 115-103 B.C.).

Wilcken assumed that the copies were made in the office of the chrematists. "So ergibt sich, dass unsere Texte A und B Kopien sind, die in dem Bureau der Chrematisten (wohl auf Anordnung des εἰσαγωγεῦς) geschrieben und zweien der beklagten fünf Choachyten zugestellt worden sind." This is certainly possible, but it does not rule out the possibility that copies were made in the office of the strategos as well, before the petition was sent to the chrematists, as Wilcken himself suggests. "Am nächsten liegt die Annahme, dass alle diese Kopien von dem von Apollonios in Ptolemais in das ὄγγειον geworfenen Original abgeschrieben sind."

The *UPZ* petition tells us of one part of the process we would not otherwise know. Copies of the petitions reached the persons complained against. Wilcken suggested that abstracts or copies may have been sent with the summons. In any case, the persons petitioned against seem to have received copies of petitions, probably in order to prepare themselves for the hearings. This certainly applied in cases heard before the chrematists, and probably the same was true of cases going to the epistates.

We must note one great difference, however, aside from the interval of years, between the *UPZ* petitions and the Yale documents. The *UPZ* papyri are separate sheets, each of which contains a separate petition, whereas *Frag. b* contains a petition which is continued from another sheet, probably, as has been said, continued from the bottom of the sheet, part of which makes up *Frag. a*. Thus the Yale petitions were probably not intended to go back to the petitioners, but were to be kept as official records. Furthermore, the Yale documents are almost surely petitions dealing with two separate cases, since the names in *Frag. a* are different from those in *Frag. b* (so far as it is preserved), as has been noted above. The Yale petitions, then, cannot be either parts of a dossier, or separate copies of



petitions for return to the accused as part of service, but must be parts of a record kept either by an office which dealt with the case or by some central office which kept records for all nomes, possibly in Alexandria, as the petitions are addressed to the king.

We can add to Guéraud's discussion of the path that the ἔντευξις traveled on its way to final disposition. We agree with Guéraud that the special nature of the ἔντευξις would bring it directly to the strategos, and we also consider that the existence of the ἀγγεῖον is far from proved, and that any evidence adduced to prove the existence of such a receptacle is extremely tenuous. Combining the evidence of the petitions of Magdola, the UPZ petitions, and the Yale petition, we can sketch a process which some petitions, if not all, might go through in entirety.

The petition was drawn up by the petitioner, and submitted to the strategos. In the office of the strategos, copies were drawn up for the strategos' records, or for submission to the king, or both. Here also, copies might be drawn up for service on the persons petitioned against, or this procedure might be followed at the next stage of the petition's travels. The petition went from the office of the strategos to the epistates or to the chrematists, and they followed insofar as is possible the suggestions made in the strategos' subscription. Copies of the petition were in the hands of the accused, and the case was resolved and closed after he had presented his side. Although new action might arise from the same matter, a new petition would have to be drawn up for this, and go through the same channels.

We have had evidence for most of the above from petitions, published earlier, but the Yale document provides the evidence for the keeping of official records, and we see that the records were kept at least as early as the end of the third century B.C.

The Yale petition is an ἔντευξις of regular form, beginning with greeting to the king, followed by the name and office of the petitioner. The designation of the cult adds to our information about the incorporation of Arsinoe Philadelphus into the temples of Egyptian gods. Otto<sup>1</sup> listed all the examples of Arsinoe as Σύνναος Θεά known in 1905, and provided a useful bibliography. It is worth while reviewing these instances here. The first appearance of Arsinoe as Σύνναος Θεά is on a stele from Mendes, 271/0. "Im Jahre 15, im Monat Pachons (an dem Tage X ward angesetzt die heilige Weihe der Königen und ihre Einführung in) den Tempel." <sup>2</sup> The stele goes on to state "dass aufgestellt würde ihr Widderbild in sämtlichen Tempeln." In this case she is sharing the cult of Mendes. The next instance has her incorporated into the cult of Mut at Thebes in 267/6. <sup>3</sup> The following year she was incorporated into the cult of Neith in Saïs. Revillout<sup>4</sup> has translated it, and it says in part: "...Arrivée, celle-la, faite par les prophètes, les pères divins du sanctuaire de Neith, au lieu que Sa Majesté en lui. Ils dirent

1. W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im Helleistischen Aegypten*, Vol. I, pp. 348-9.
2. *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* 13, 1875, pp. 33-40.
3. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen* IV, 8.
4. *Révue Egyptologique* I, 1880, pp. 182-187.

devant Sa M  
germe des de

By 251/0  
we learn from  
find her in a  
B.C. which,  
ber der Rech  
in der ganze  
149/8 B.C.,  
porated into  
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deity, and a

The Py  
pator at Rap  
adelphus an  
ever-living,  
avenger of l  
Arsinoe, th  
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divinity, v  
been worsl  
The a

5. J  
p. 372.  
6. E  
7. A



devant Sa Majesté: Le roi, nôtre maître, a fait apparaître l'image de la reine, germe des deux pays, Arsinoë, sa soeur..."

By 251/0 B.C. she had been introduced into the cult of Souchos in the Fayum, as we learn from *P.Petr.* III, 126: οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Σοῦχου καὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου, and we find her in association with Ptah of Memphis in an inscription of the 3rd century B.C. which, in Krall's translation,<sup>5</sup> begins: "Schreiber des Doppelhauses, Schreiber der Rechnungen des Königs, Schreiber des Pntah und der Arsinoë Philadelphie in der ganzen vierten und fünften Phyle". Another papyrus, *P.Lond.* 590, dated 149/8 B.C., cited in *P.Grenf.* I, page 24, shows that Arsinoë had also been incorporated into the cult of Month: οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ἐν Ἐ[ρμώνθει] τῆς Θη(βαίδος) ἱεροῦ τοῦ Μόν[θ].....ἢ καὶ Ἀρσ[ινότης] κ[αὶ] Θεῶν [Ἀδελφῶν] καὶ Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, κτλ. This document provides an excellent parallel to the Yale petition, since it shows that the Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί were associated with the cult of Arsinoë and the Egyptian deity, and all were served by a single college of priests.

The Pythom stele, dated to 217 B.C., commemorating the victory of Philopator at Raphia, records that a synod of priests voted the following honors to Philadelphus and Arsinoë:<sup>6</sup> "Also a royal statue shall be put up of king Ptolemy the ever-living, the beloved of Isis, which shall be called the statue of 'Ptolemy, the avenger of his father, him whose victory is beautiful', and a statue of his Sister, Arsinoë, the father-loving Goddess, in the temples of Egypt, in every temple, in the most conspicuous place in the temple, fashioned according to Egyptian art.

"Also they shall cause an image of the local god to be shown in the temple and set it up at the table of offerings at which the image of the king stands...." The inscription goes on to describe the practices which the priests of the cult should perform.

In addition to the inscriptions and papyri which tell us of Arsinoë's inclusion in various temples, we know of instances of her statue placed in temples. Nock<sup>7</sup> mentions the temple of Isis at Philae, the temple of Chons at Karnak, and the temples of the local gods at Phakusa as instances of this. It is certainly clear then that as early as 271/0 B.C., and increasingly more commonly thereafter, Arsinoë II is found in temples devoted to worship of Egyptian divinities.

The Yale papyrus gives another Egyptian god with whom Arsinoë was associated, this time Ammon, the chief god of the Egyptian pantheon. Since Philadelphus, in the eyes of the Egyptians, was himself Ammon-Re, god incarnate, it is hardly surprising to find Arsinoë associated with the cult of that god. It is to be noted in passing that the presentation of a woman, even the king's wife and sister, as a divinity, was a Ptolemaic innovation in Egyptian religion. Even Hatshepsut had been worshipped as a man, the king.

The appearance of the name Arsinoë, not in its official form Ἀρσινόη Φιλάδελ-

5. J. Krall, "Studien zur Geschichte der alten Aegypten, II", *Wien. Sitzb.* 105, 1883, p. 372.

6. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, p. 391.

7. A. D. Nock, "Synnaos Theos", *Harv. Studies in Class. Philol.* 41, 1930, pp. 1-62.



φος, but simply as Ἀρσινόη, can be paralleled by two other documents. The papyrus cited on p. 24 of *P. Grenf. I*, mentioned above, and a decree of Euergetes II, *P. Teb. 6.17*, the text of which, if the emendation to that line is accepted, would read: [ἱερεῖς ..... καὶ Ἀρσινό]ης καὶ Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ [Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, κτλ.

Following the identification of the petitioner, the facts of the case, beginning with the verb ἄδικοῦμαι, are presented, and the petition closes with a request for action on the part of the king and a complimentary ending, similar to many in the Magdola Papyri, assuring the king that the petitioner is confident that he will obtain justice.

Our petition deals with the assignment of the writer's house as a stathmos. The most recent discussion of stathmoi appears in *Chronique d'Egypte*, 27, 1952, p. 218-264. This is a discussion of the prostagmata of *P. Petr. III, 20*, by Marie-Thérèse Lenger,<sup>8</sup> and we refer to this article for information on stathmoi in general. Our document goes most closely with *P. Teb. 5.168 - 177*, which exempts certain persons from the requirement to provide quarters. "The following classes, the Greeks serving in the army, the priests, the cultivators of Crown lands, the ..., all the wool-weavers and cloth-makers, the swineherds, the gooseherds, and makers of ..., oil, castor-oil, honey, and beer, who pay the proper sums to the Crown, shall not have persons quartered in the one house in which each of them lives, and in the case of their other buildings which may be used for quarters, not more than half shall be occupied for that purpose"<sup>9</sup>

The Yale petition complains that billeting rights have been abused, but unlike such petitions as *P. Enteux. 11*, where the writer complains ἐκβέβλημαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ ταύτης (οἰκίας), our petitioner asserts not that he has been ejected from his house, but that part of his land has been sold as if an additional division were being made of the property. This leads one to assume that a previous division of the property had been made, and this must be the division made between the owner and the σταθμοῦχος discussed in the Tebtunis document. While *P. Teb. 5* is considerably later than our document, a section of the προστάγματα of Philadelphus, *P. Petr. III, 20*, verso, col. 3, shows that there was legislation in existence at the time of the composition of our petition to the effect that the owners of property were not liable to the requisition of more than half of their property for quarters. Our priest is complaining, not of expulsion from his house or even of an illegal holding of a stathmos, but of the selling of a stathmos by one Androbios.

Returning to *P. Petr. III, 20*, we find in the light of the πρόσταγμα of Philadelphus which relates directly to this case and which was in effect at the time of these events, that Androbios seems to have violated the provision of that legislation; cf. verso, col. 2, lines 10-16,<sup>10</sup> which forbids the selling of stathmoi. Thus the writer of the Yale petition seems to be on good legal grounds in his complaint about the actions of Androbios and his brother.

8. See now *C. Ord. Ptol. 5-10*.

9. *C. Ord. Ptol. 53*.

10. *C. Ord. Ptol. 8*.



The remark, καταφρονήσας μου ὅτι Αἰγύπτίος εἰμι, line 13, was commented on by Rostovtzeff in the *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 1644. To support his view that the Greeks in Egypt held a privileged position which was resented by non-Greeks, Rostovtzeff cited this Yale petition, and also noted *P. Col. Zen.* 66, in which the petitioner complains that one Jason has failed to provide him with proper pay, and that he has been scorned because he is not a Greek (κάτεγνώκασι μου ὅτι εἰμι βάρβαρος), and he asks for help so that he may not perish ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἑλληνίζειν. Rostovtzeff also mentions the fragment of comedy cited on page 71 of *P. Teb.* III, 1 which lists, among a number of qualities which a Ptolemaic official must have, that of being φιλέλλην. *P. Enteux.* 79 (219/8 B.C.) reflects the Greek attitude that the Egyptians were inferior, when Herakleides the petitioner, asks the king not to overlook the fact that he has been insulted by an Egyptian woman (οὕτως ἀλόγως ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίας ὑβρισμένον, "Ἕλληνα ὄντα).

## Column i

- [Βασιλεῖ] τῆ Πτολεμαίῳ [χαίρειν .... ἱερεὺς ἐν  
[.....] του Ἄμμωνος καὶ Ἄρσιν[ό]λης, Θεῶ[ν]  
Ἄδελφῶν καὶ Θεῶν Εὐεργ[ετῶ]ν ἀδικοῦμ—  
[αι ὑπ' Ἄν]δροβίου. ὑπαρχούσης γ[ὰρ] μοι οἰκίας  
5 [καὶ τῶ]ν συνκυρόντων [τῶν] π[α]τρικῶν  
[ἐν τῆ] προγεγραμμένῃ [κώ]μῃ, ταύτη[ς]  
[δὲ τῆ]ς οἰκίας ἐπισταθμευθείσης, τὸ  
[ ] αὐτοῦ κακτὰ τελευτήσαντος, οὔτοι κατέσχον  
[τὸν σ]ταθμὸν Ἄνδροβίος τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί·  
10 [ὁ δὲ ὡ]σεί προσδιελόμενος πέπρακεν τὸ  
[τρίτο]ν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνκύροντος τῆ οἰκία  
[τόπου] Πέτηται Πετήσιος οἰκοδομεῖν  
[καταφρον]ήσας μου ὅτι Αἰγύπτίος εἰμι.  
[δέομαι ο]ὖν σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι Ἐπα[νέ]—  
15 [τῶ]ν στρατηγῶν γράψαι Νικάρχωι  
[τῶ] ἐπιστάτῃ ἀποστεῖλαι Ἄνδροβίον  
[ἐπ' αὐτὸν κα]ὶ ἐὰν ᾗ ταῦτ' ἄληθῆ, μὴ ἐπι—  
[τρέπειν μ]ηθὲν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐν τῶ τόπῳ  
[ἴν' ἐπ]ί σε κ[α]ταφυγῶν, βασιλεῦ, τύχῳ  
20 [τοῦ δικαίου]. εὐτύχει

## Column ii

αὐτῶι μῆ[  
 ἔντευξι[ ἴν μου τῶι δεῖνι τῶι στρατη—]  
 γῶι ἐν δέ[  
 με σὺν Σ[  
 5 Φιμίσιος .[  
 ὄθεν οὐ σὺν[  
 αὐτοὺς τὸν .[  
 μήσας πρόκ[ ... δέομαι οὖν σοῦ, βασι—]  
 λεῦ, προστάξι[ αι τῶι δεῖνι τῶι στρα—]  
 10 τηγῶι γράψα[ι τῶι δεῖνι τῶι ἐπιστά—]  
 τη ἀποστείλαι[ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅς ἐξηνέγ—]  
 καντο η (ἀρτάβας) ν[ σὺν]  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐ[πιτρέπειν Ἡρακλεί—]  
 δη! ἀτιμάσαι μ[ε

To King Ptolemy, greetings, ....Priest in .....του, of Ammon and of Arsinoe, of the Theoi Adelphoi, and of the Theoi Euergetai. I am wronged by Androbios. I have a house with adjoining hereditary property in the aforementioned village, and this house was assigned as quarters ..... These had the lodging, Androbios and his brothers. Now he, as though making an additional division of the property, sold the third part (?) of the land adjoining the house to Petes son of Petesis, to build on it, holding me in contempt because I am an Egyptian. Therefore I beg you, O King, to order Epainetos (?) the strategos to write to Nikarchos the epistates to send Androbios to him, and if these things are true, not to allow anyone to build on the place; so that, appealing to you, O king, I may obtain justice. Farewell.

1-2. The reconstruction ἐν.....]του is necessary to explain τῆι προγεγραμμένῃ κώμῃ in line 6. A number of papyri such as *P. Grenf.* I, 10, give the locations of the priests and their cults.

8. This is a difficult line, and clearly something has gone wrong at the time of copying. The scribe has omitted the τα of κατατελευτήσαντος, and at first copied, or started to copy, something other than the aorist participle we have. Perhaps he thought the word was going to end as an adjective, κατατελευτάιον. We do not think the verb can be taken with the genitive αὐτοῦ, to mean 'he having died', for two reasons. First, only τελευτάω is used in this formula, not κατατελευτάω, and the only instance of the latter verb known (cited by *LSJ*) is in Aristotle, *Περὶ Ζῴων Μορφῶν*, 671b, 13, and here the verb has a local sense, not a temporal meaning. Secondly, no one has been mentioned in the petition, who could have died. However, αὐτοῦ is the only genitive with which to understand the verb, the το ending the preceding line will require either a nominative or accusative.



tive. One possibility exists, to read τοῦ instead of τό at the end of line 7. There is ample room on the papyrus for this reading, but not a trace of the letter exists, and the surface is not badly abraded. If we can read τοῦ, we would suggest a restoration of μέρους at the beginning of line 8, and the whole phrase would read: τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ κατατελευτήσαντος to mean something like: 'his share was marked out'. That is, the ends, or boundaries of the share of the σταθμοῦχος had been established.

14. The name of the strategos is doubtful, and the first four letters do not provide a name which can be identified with any known strategos of this period.

Column ii

5. The name Φιμίνις is found only in *P. Grad. 7*, dated to the reign of Euergetes, which is also badly preserved. Interestingly, one Ἡρακλείδης, a name that has been restored in lines 13/14 of our document, appears in the Gradenwitz papyrus along with Φιμίνις. Unfortunately, the Yale papyrus contains so many lacunae that we cannot see whether the two are related.

8-11. The restorations are virtually certain, as these lines are formulaic.

47-49. Correspondence of Kleitarchos

Ca. 230-227 B.C.

The following three papyri, published as *P. Hib.* 160, 161, and 162, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, belong to the correspondence of Kleitarchos, a banker in the Coite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome at the end of the reign of Euergetes I. The largest number of these papyri was published in *P. Hibeh I*, six in full, numbers 66 through 70 (b), and four in description, numbers 160 through 163. Of these, numbers 160 through 162 are the documents of the Yale collection published here. Others found their way into the Gradenwitz collection. Six were published as *P. Grad.* 2 through 5, 9, and 11. One additional papyrus in the collection turned out to be a copy of *P. Grad.* 4, and the two texts were published by Crawford in *P. Fouad I Univ.*, pp. 90ff. Another, *P. Grad.* 197, was partly published as No. 20 in the *Catalogue of the Fouad I University Collection*, on p. 103.

Many other Ptolemaic papyri in the Gradenwitz collection probably also belong to the Kleitarchos correspondence, and it is probable that there are pieces in many collections. The papyri come from mummy cartonnage from Hibeh, and, as Grenfell and Hunt pointed out in the introduction to *P. Hibeh I*, there had been some excavation and much plundering of the necropolis at Hibeh before they arrived on the scene. They themselves had their attention drawn to Hibeh in 1902 when, while excavating in the Fayum, they were offered some papyri by a dealer who had been traveling in upper Egypt. The documents in the Gradenwitz collection most likely came from the plunderings prior to Grenfell and Hunt's excavations, and it seems more than probable that many small pieces of mummy cartonnage were dispersed by the plunderers and still lie unnoticed.

Kleitarchos first appears in documents of the 18th year of Euergetes I. He is found as a subordinate of one Asklepiades, a banker, in *P. Grad.* 4 (*P. Fouad I Univ.*, pp. 90ff.). This document is a royal oath by one Semtheus, who swears that in working under Kleitarchos, who is on the staff of Asklepiades the banker, in the tax office at Phebichis in the Coite Toparchy, he will report sums paid to the royal treasury and will deposit them at the bank in Heracleopolis, and will render account to Kleitarchos. He also swears to remain accessible to Kleitarchos, and in connection with this there is a papyrus of the 21st year of Euergetes, *P. Grad.* 3, of which SB 6301 is the outer copy, in which one Herakleodoros son of Herakleodoros goes



surety for Semtheus son of Teos, also called Herakleodoros, and this is the same Herakleodoros working under Kleitarchos. Semtheus may well have got the name Herakleodoros from his sponsor. It is interesting to speculate that Herakleodoros son of Herakleodoros may have taken an interest in Semtheus, an Egyptian, brought him into the house as a servant, taught him Greek and used him in dealings with the native population. If Semtheus was a boy when first taken up by Herakleodoros, his appearance in the papyri begins from the time he grew up, when Herakleodoros son of Herakleodoros sponsored him and got him a government job.

These two texts give us three levels of the banking bureaucracy. Asklepiades is a banker. From the Hibeh papyri which belong to this correspondence it is clear that he supervises closely the activities of Kleitarchos. In *P.Hib.* 69, 230 B.C., a document much like *P.Yale* 47, Asklepiades curtly orders Kleitarchos to come bringing the account of the month of Phaophi and the balance of some money. We also find Asklepiades setting forth in detail the amounts to be paid to cloth weavers in *P.Hib.* 67 and 68. These disbursements, which are for royal business in connection with the cloth monopoly, are to pay the weavers the prices of cloths supplied to the treasury. The sum to each weaver is stated, and this letter would serve as authorization to Kleitarchos for the disbursement, and would be available for the balancing of accounts. Again, in *P.Yale* 48, which unfortunately is very fragmentary, we have a letter, probably from Asklepiades, directing Kleitarchos to take some action concerning moneys for the repair of stables. This also has to do with royal business, in this case the royal horses. Such horses are mentioned in many papyri, such as *P.Teb.* 843, 152 B.C., and there is mention of a stud-stable, ἵπποτροφεῖον, in *P.Petr.* III, 62 (b).<sup>1</sup>

The area under the jurisdiction of Kleitarchos is the Coite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome. This is shown by *P.Hib.* 66. This is a letter addressed to Kleitarchos and on the verso the address reads: τραπεζίτη Κωίτου. Presumably, then, Asklepiades, his superior, is the banker in charge of the whole Heracleopolite Nome. The subordinates of Kleitarchos would then work in the offices of the banking system in the Coite Toparchy. This is just what the evidence shows. The one person whom we can be sure is a subordinate of Kleitarchos is Semtheus also called Herakleodoros. In *P.Grad.* 4, as has been noted, Herakleodoros swears to perform his duties faithfully in the tax office of the village of Phebichis. When Asklepiades directs Kleitarchos to pay certain weavers in villages of the Coite Toparchy, Kleitarchos is not told to disburse the funds himself, but rather to make the payments through the topogrammateus and the comogrammateus. In *P.Yale* 46 Kleitarchos is informed of receipts by Herakleodoros, and Kleitarchos himself does not appear as the actual receiver of moneys. It appears that the banking bureaucracy in the Heracleopolite Nome had two managerial levels. At the nome and toparchy levels were

1. Royal horse breeding is discussed by M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, Madison, Wisc., 1922, pp. 167-8.



Asklepiades and Kleitarchos, and at the working level were the subordinates of Kleitarchos, such as Herakleodoros in the tax office at Phebichis, which in *P. Hib.* 106 is called the logeuterion of the Coite Toparchy.

That Herakleodoros works in a logeuterion, or tax office, shows that the bankers were involved with the tax system.<sup>2</sup> *P. Hib.* 66, a letter from Protarchos, a tax farmer, to Kleitarchos, informs Kleitarchos that Protarchos has contracted for the 1½ percent tax on "the dorea", and requests that, since Kleitarchos already receives the 5 percent tax in his district, he have his agents take in the other tax as well. Protarchos cites a letter of Asklepiades as authorization. This testifies to the close association between the banking and tax systems. Again, *P. Hib.* 70 (a) is a letter from a Zoilos, who may be the tax gatherer of *P. Petr.* III, 119, of 221 B.C., informing Kleitarchos that there had been a sale of 20 arouras on which was due the encyclion tax of 5 percent.

As is clear from *P. Rev. Laws*, columns 75 and 76, the royal banks in the villages were farmed. This fits with the information from the documents dealing with the banking structure. The operation of the banks was handled in the same fashion as that of the tax structure, in which the collection of taxes was farmed. It is worth while noting, however, that the evidence does not support a conclusion that the banking and tax bureaucracies were co-ordinate operations carried on by one staff, even at the village level. The letter from Protarchos to Kleitarchos does not mean that the agents are to act as tax farmers. The key to the meaning of this letter lies in a passage in *P. Rev. Laws* dealing with the payment of taxes to the royal bank. This is column 56, lines 14-18, which Grenfell and Hunt translate: "The contractors shall appoint sureties for a sum greater by one twentieth than that which they have contracted to pay, and shall pay up the taxes collected every day to the bank, while the monthly installment shall be paid up before the middle of the month following."

The bankers do not receive the taxes from the taxpayers, but from the tax collectors. The system in use, as the placement of Herakleodoros in the tax office in Phebichis shows, was to place the banker or his agent in the tax office itself to facilitate the turnover of funds from the collectors to the royal bank. In *P. Hib.* 109, 247-6 B.C., a receipt for ἀπόμοιρα, Aristander pays to the banker and to the controller (δοκιμαστή) the amount due from him and his partners for the tax of 1/6th on the palm garden of Tisander. The group of partners must be a group of tax farmers, particularly since the tax is paid on land belonging to someone else. Similarly, there are a number of receipts in the Hibeh papyri dating to about 254 B.C., *P. Hib.* 106 and 107, and 136 through 142, in which various agents of a person named Taembes, of Talao, pay to the banker and to the controller at the logeuterion in

2. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1941, p. 405.



Phebichis sums for the beer tax. Grenfell and Hunt, in discussing the situation, concluded that Taembes was a tax payer, and not a tax farmer. However, when the series of receipts is examined closely, it seems much more likely that Taembes is in fact a tax farmer. This can be shown most easily by listing the receipts in chronological order.

<i>P. Hib.</i>	140	year 2, Hathyr 16	the account of Phaophi	19 dr. 5½ obols
	138	year 2, Hathyr 24	the account of Hathyr	8 dr.
	106	year 2, Hathyr 30	the account of Hathyr	20 dr.
	136	year 3, Pachons 13	the account of Pharmouthi	11 dr.
			the account of Pachons	9 dr.
	141	year 3, Pachons 22	the account of Pachons	15 dr. 3 obols
	137	year 3, Pachons 30	the account of Pachons	18 dr.
	107	year 3, Payni 30	the account of Payni	?
	139	?	the account of Phaophi	9 dr.
	142	?	?	12 dr.

Now, in this group there are for the year 2, two payments for the account of Hathyr, and in the year 3 there are three payments for the account of Pachons. This is in addition to three payments for the account of other months and two receipts which cannot be placed definitely. When we consider the *P. Rev. Laws*, column 56, we see the nature of the situation. The law states that the tax farmer shall pay into the bank each day whatever he collected that day, and that the monthly installment shall be paid up by the middle of the following month. This means that the farmer, who has contracted for a certain sum, is liable by the month for a stipulated amount. He is to pay this as the money comes in, but if it is not paid in full by the end of the month, he has until the middle of the following month to make it up. Now the two payments for Phaophi of the 2nd year and the three for Pachons of the 3rd year are the daily payments of moneys collected. There are two payments for the accounts of preceding months, one on Hathyr 16th of the 2nd year, for Phaophi, which is a day late by the regulation of the Revenue Laws, and one on Pachons 13th of the 3rd year, for Pharmouthi. These are the payments making up the amounts of previous months, and, except that one is a day late, they fit the system required by the Revenue Laws. Thus, Taembes must be a tax farmer, not a tax payer, and this reinforces the conclusion that the bankers had no dealings with the general populace so far as tax collection was concerned, but dealt only with the tax farmers.

In addition to the operation of the banking system in government service, the banks served private persons in private transactions as well. Such evidence for this for the third century as exists comes primarily from the Zenon Archive, in documents dealing with the affairs of one banker, named Python. *PCZ* 59504 is a credit note from Python, crediting to Epharmostos, the brother of Zenon, 3700 drachmas, on mortgage of a vineyard in favor of Dipilos son of Konon. The bank is used here for the transfer of private moneys. Another document dealing with loans through a bank is *PCZ* 59355, lines 63-64, in which Zenon, totaling up moneys owed



to him by a certain Philon, adds 20 drachmas which was gotten from the bank of Python: "and what he has in the 33rd year, the month of Payni, from the bank of Python, which he must repay, silver, 20 drachmas." The two documents together show that private persons could and did maintain accounts in the bank, and the bank would transfer monies to and from private persons for private reasons.

The banking system in the third century B.C. can be described as an agency of the government, the main purpose of which was to receive and disburse funds for the government, but which could be used by private persons to the same purpose.

Kleitarchos carried on his business in the Coite Toparchy, in the Heracleopolite Nome, as has already been said. This toparchy, as Grenfell and Hunt noted,<sup>3</sup> was on the east bank of the Nile, across from the southern part of the rest of the Heracleopolite Nome. The evidence for this is scanty, but nothing contradicts what exists. There is among the villages found in the Hibehe papyri an Ἰγκυρῶν πόλις mentioned in *P. Hib.* 67, the instruction to Kleitarchos to pay some weavers. Since Kleitarchos is banker for the Coite Toparchy we can presume the village to be in that toparchy. The presumption is reinforced by the appearance of Ἰγκυρῶν πόλις in *P. Hib.* 112 and 117 among other villages of the Coite Toparchy. Now Claudius Ptolemaeus the geographer lists an Ἰγκυρῶν πόλις and he states that it is on the east bank of the Nile.<sup>4</sup> Bilabel has identified this town with el Hibehe, and Roberts and Wegener concurred in publishing *P. Hib.* II, 217.<sup>5</sup> Also, in a list of towns of Roman times, *P. Hib.* 218, along with this town, which gets to be called Ἰγκυρῶνων, and many other towns known to be in the Coite Toparchy, is a town Ἰππῶνων (*P. Hib.* I, pp. 8-10). As Grenfell and Hunt pointed out, there is a town listed in the *Itinerarium Antonini* called Hipponon, located on the east bank of the river, across from the rest of the Heracleopolite Nome.<sup>6</sup> Now the town may not have existed in Ptolemaic times, since, as Grenfell and Hunt said, it is not mentioned in Ptolemaic papyri, and it is found only in one other Roman papyrus, *P. Amh.* 142, of the 4th century, the provenance of which is suspected to be Heracleopolis. So we may believe that it was a town of Roman date, but even so, since it was found in a list of Coite villages, and a town of that name is listed in the *Itinerarium* as being on the east bank, there is again reason to believe that the Coite Toparchy was on the east bank of the Nile. The strongest evidence for placing the location of the Coite Toparchy on the east bank comes from the Hibehe collection as a whole. El Hibehe itself is on the east side of the river, and it is from this collection that we have the greatest number of references to the Coite Toparchy.

A glance at a good map of Egypt will show that the east bank of the Nile across from and south of Heracleopolis is easy of habitation. There is a gentle grade

3. *P. Hib.* I, p. 9.

4. Claudii Ptolemaei *Geographia*, ed. C. Mueller, Paris, 1883-1901, p. 716.

5. F. Bilabel, "Die Griechische Nome der Stadt El-Hibehe," *Philologus* 77, 1921, pp. 422ff.

6. *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*, ed. O. Cuntz, Leipzig, 1929, p. 22.

for ten or fifteen  
canal along the ri  
This open country

P. Yale Inv. 25

This is a ta  
corner. All marg  
sections, and thi  
traced any traces  
hand itself is a  
ink has faded sl  
of the abrasion

The letter is  
Hleodoros has r  
There is no stat  
planation was or  
may have been o

Heracleodoros  
three hundred f

4. Ptolema  
112(a), dating  
papyrus, since  
involved in th  
Ptolemaic fou  
Yale document  
7. In the  
and Hunt gave



for ten or fifteen miles back from the river, and large scale maps show a modern canal along the river, and traces of an ancient road about a mile from the river. This open country must have been the Coite Toparchy.

## 47. Letter from Herakleodoros to Kleitarchos

P. Yale Inv. 25

6.6 x 10.9 cm.

Ca. 230 B.C.

This is a tan piece of papyrus, stained brown at the bottom and upper right corner. All margins seem to be preserved, but the lower third is split into four sections, and this damage, together with the stain and surface abrasion, has destroyed any traces of writing. There may have been three more lines of writing. The hand itself is a good cursive typical of the second half of the third century; the ink has faded slightly in spots, and in other places the writing is faint because of the abrasion of the surface.

The letter is a notification from Herakleodoros to Kleitarchos stating that Herakleodoros has received 340 bronze drachmas from Ptolemaios son of Nikolaos. There is no statement about the purpose of the payment, but it may be that the explanation was originally in the letter, and would then be in the three lines which may have been on the bottom third of the sheet.

Ἡρακλεῶδωρος

Κλειτάρχῳ χαίρειν.

ἔχω παρὰ Πτολε-

μαίου τοῦ Νικολάου

5 χαλκοῦ (δραχμᾶς) τρια-

κοσίας τεσσαρά-

[κ]ο[ντ]α

Herakleodoros to Kleitarchos greeting. I have from Ptolemaios son of Nikolaos, three hundred forty bronze drachmas.

4. Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Νικολάου. There is a Ptolemaios called λο(γευτής) in *P. Petr.* III. 112(a), dating to about 220 B.C. He may be the same person as the Ptolemaios in our papyrus, since we should expect Herakleodoros to be receiving monies from persons involved in the tax system. Nikolaos, the father of Ptolemaios, may be the banker in Phebichis found in *P. Hib.* 107, 244 B.C., which is about ten years earlier than the Yale document.

7. In the present state of the papyrus, [κ]ο[ντ]α can only be read because Grenfell and Hunt gave the reading in the original publication.

## 48. Letter to Kleitarchos

P. Yale Inv. 26

7 x 7.2 cm.

Ca. 230 B.C.

This is a light brown piece of papyrus, complete at both sides. The surface is in good condition. The hand is a large clear cursive, with few ligatures, and the ink is black and clear.

This letter is like *P.Hib.* 67, an order to Kleitarchos to come on the 8th of Phaophi bringing accounts and money. Although the name of the writer is lost from the Yale papyrus, it is almost surely also Asklepiades. The letter may also end with instructions to bring accounts and money.

[ Ἀσκληπιάδης ]

Κλειτάρχῳ

χαίρειν. παρα-

γίνου τῆι

5 κθ̄ τοῦ Φαμενώθ

(Asklepiades) to Kleitarchos greeting. Come on the 29th of Phamenoth...

## 49. Letter from Asklepiades to Kleitarchos

Plate II

P. Yale Inv. 27

8.5 x 30 cm.

16 July - 14 August 227 B.C.

This letter is preserved on three pieces of papyrus. The largest, 8.5 x 25 cm., preserves the left, right, and bottom margins; the next, 6.5 x 4.8 cm., preserves the top margin; the third, 1.0 x 7.4 cm., is an unplaced fragment. The surface is much worn and abraded, and the ink has faded. The hand is a clear cursive with few ligatures. It is the same hand as that of *P.Grad.* 5, a letter from Asklepiades to Kleitarchos, and so the Yale papyrus must come from Asklepiades.

Only the last third of the document can be read. This part deals with moneys for repair of horse stud-stables.



[ Ἄσκλη]ηπιῖδ[ης]  
 Κλε[ιτάρχωι χαίρειν.]  
 οὐκ ο.[  
 ἐγδημήσ[  
 5 τῆς ἡμετέ[ρας  
 γν. αἰ  
 [.]. . . .[  
 [  
 .[  
 10 [  
 [  
 καὶ τ. . σ. . . . νωσι  
 τῆς ἀποχῆς τῶν  
 Α (δραχμῶν) ὧν ἀναφέρεις  
 15 δεδωκώς εἰς ἐπισκευ[ὴν]  
 ἵπποτροφιῶν καὶ μὴ  
 ἄλλως ποιήσης.  
 ἔρρωσω. (ἔτους) ιθ Παῦν[ι]

1.13 ...of the receipt of the 1000 drachmas which you pay, having assigned (it) to the repair of the stud-stables, and do not do otherwise. Farewell. Year 19, Payni ..

50. Fragment of a Letter

P. Yale Inv. 241

12 x 14.4 cm.

Early Second Century B.C.

This papyrus was brought in Cairo for the Yale Collection in 1931. It is a light tan piece of papyrus, with much lost from the original sheet. Of the remaining fragment, the entire top margin remains, half of the right margin, and about 3 cm. of the bottom margin, at the left; a piece about 8 x 7 cm. has been lost from the lower right. The part of the sheet lost at the left must have been half the width of the original sheet. The names of the addressee and addressor have been lost, together with *χαίρειν* and five more letters, *εἴ ἔρρ*. The sheet was folded in a manner which would lead to the loss of half the sheet. It was folded three times horizontally, from bottom to top. The fold lines are clear, and a part worn away from the top matches with a section missing at the center when these two places line up along a fold. Then, after this horizontal folding, the thin packet must have been folded in half, and because of the strain on this fold, half the sheet broke away.

The hand is of the early second century, clear, and of very good quality. The scribe tended to curl the ends of his lines, and in one case, the *tau* of *τάς* in line 4, the leading edge of the letter is so flourished as to seem to be an *omicron*. The ink is black and clear, and the surface of the fragment is not too badly worn, except at the fold lines at the left, where some letters are lost, and line 6 is completely illegible.

So much is lost from the text that it is impossible to know the matters with which the letter dealt. In line 2 there is mention of *τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν ὄντων* and there is probably some connection between these places and the *ἐρημοφυλάκων* mentioned in the next line. In line 3 there is reference to *μισθοφόρους*, but whether these are to be connected with what has gone before, or whether they are connected with the statement in the next line, line 4, is unknown. Line 4 refers to the making of arrangements without some unnamed person, who is referred to simply as *αὐτοῦ*.



εἰ ἔρρ]ωσα[ι καλ]ῶς ἄν ἔχοι καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' ὑγιαίνομεν.  
 ]ατρὸς τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν ὄντων  
 ἐρ]ημοφυλάκων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους  
 ]νων τὰς οἰκονομίας ἄνευ αὐτοῦ  
 5 ]γομενον κ[.....]σεις  
 ].....[  
 ].πτως εἰ  
 2nd hand ἔρρ[ωσο.]

2. τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν ὄντων: While the condition of the text does not allow much reconstruction, it may be that this expression was continued in line 3 by νομων, on the supposition that the letter refers to events in the nomes above Memphis. This expression is similar to, but not the same as τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν Ἡρακλεοπολίτου, of which the *Wörterbuch* gives many examples. This latter phrase seems to be one of geographical location, while that in the Yale papyrus refers to something in the plural, and this must be the places where some events which concern the writer of the letter are transpiring.

It is likely that we are concerned here with a document dealing with the unrest in upper Egypt in the early part of the second century. We have the mention of nomes or places above Memphis. The mention of desert guards in line 3 shows that the document is concerned with internal security to some extent, and the appearance of the mercenaries may be a detachment of troops, perhaps even an eponymous detachment like that of the Nikanor named in *P. Giss.* 36, 22, ca. 161 B.C., and the αὐτοῦ of line 4 may refer to the leader of the detachment. While this last is conjectural, the fact that the document is involved with soldiers and guards and mentions places in upper Egypt supports the conclusion that it is concerned with events during the period of unrest in the early second century. The *omicron* of ὄντων is represented by a line which crosses between the *nus* on either side of it.

51. Lease of Land

P. Yale Inv. 237

Plate IV

11 April 184 B.C. (Skt.)  
Kerkesoucha

This papyrus was acquired for Yale University in 1926 as part of a purchase in Egypt by Sir H. I. Bell. It is brown tending to light brown in color and contains the right-hand part of a land lease from Kerkesoucha in the Fayum district of Egypt. The papyrus has two major fragments, *a* and *b*, and one minor fragment *c*.

Fragment *a* is 5.7 cm. wide by 6.8 cm., and is the upper right-hand corner of the whole piece. There is a break across the middle, 3.6 cm. from the top, but these two pieces are treated as one fragment. It is impossible to determine absolutely whether anything has been lost between the two pieces of Frag. *a*. The wear along their edges, even if slight, destroys the possibility of an actual join. Another piece about 1.45 cm. high and now lost would easily fit in and fit the pattern of the fold lines. Frag. *a* preserves the upper text of a contract written twice. The only other documents close to this time, and preserved well enough to give us information on how long an upper text should be are *P. Teb.* 819 of 171 B.C. and *P. Amh.* 42 of 179 B.C. *P. Teb.* 819 has fifteen lines of upper text to thirty lines of lower text. *P. Amh.* 42 has nineteen lines of upper text to over forty lines of lower text. *P. Yale* 51 has more than thirty-one lines of lower text, and we might expect it to have more than eleven lines of upper text. However, there is no way of predicting these things and no way of really knowing how long the upper text should be.

The parallel evidence is scant. *P. Yale* 51 is the only known preserved Greek double document of the 80's of the second century B.C. Another contract, *P. Teb.* 817 of 182 B.C., has only one text preserved. Greek documents in general of the period 189-180 B.C. are scarcer than in any other ten year period in the Ptolemaic period. The problem is further complicated because the last seven lines of this upper text are illegible and thus we can get no help from the sense of the text in determining whether or not anything is missing. However, the probability based on the coloring and the continuity of fiber strands is that the two pieces of Frag. *a* are continuous, and there are only eleven lines in the upper text.

Frag. *b* is 22.5 cm. high and 11.3 cm. wide. One piece preserves the right-hand edge of the document. The second large piece joins the first along the left-hand edge and preserves parts of lines 4-25. In addition, there is another small piece which joins at lines 17-20. The small Frag. *c* does not join *b* but probably belongs somewhere along lines 12-16. Its placing, as we shall see, can be determined from the measurement of the fold lines. It is also likely that the bottom of Frag. *a* joins

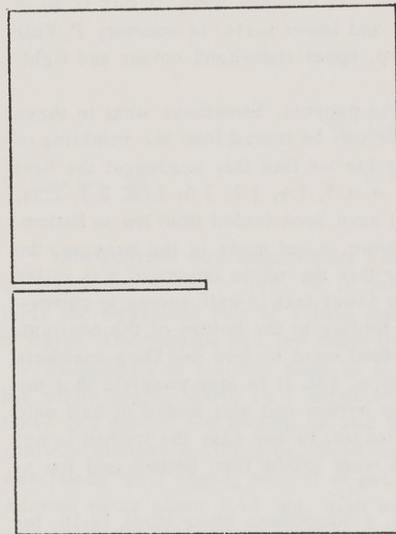


the top of Frag. b, and that nothing has been lost between them. If this is so, a space of 3.7 cm. was left between the upper and lower texts. In summary *P. Yale 51* as a whole probably has preserved its top, upper right-hand corner and right-hand edge to line 31.

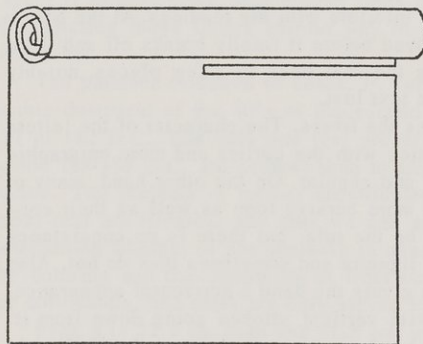
It is possible to see the fold lines on the papyrus. Sometimes wear in these places has caused holes, but usually the folds can be traced from the wrinkling of the papyrus. If we measure the folds from the top we find this sequence: the first fold measures 1.3 cm. and subsequent ones 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 2.0, 2.08, 2.1, 2.34, 2.4, 2.5, 2.75, 3.0 cm. Thus the papyrus must have been folded from top to bottom. The upper contract could have been folded down, a cut made in the papyrus, the upper text folded over and then sealed. After this the whole document was rolled or folded into one small bundle by folding the lower text in half across to correspond to the upper text and by continuing the folding to the bottom of the contract. (See accompanying diagram.) This is the method used to fold the Dura contracts written on parchment (cf. *P. Dura*, introduction, p. 14). It is also possible that the document was folded continuously from top to bottom and was folded in half only after it had been completely folded down its length. In any case the method is not that used for the Elephantine papyri, which were rolled from bottom and top to meet in the middle.

The analysis of the folding places Frag. c somewhere along lines 13-16, for this piece measures 2.4 cm. in height, and presumably its size was caused by breaks on the fold lines. As we shall see, this is of little help in reading or restoring the papyrus because the fragment is so small and also because it cannot be precisely placed in a horizontal position. Other damage within the preserved part of this papyrus is slight. There are tiny holes in the first few lines of the lower text. These lines have also become somewhat wrinkled by the folding. In lines 17-20 there are holes but they do not interfere with the readings. At the bottom of the lower text, Frag. b begins to be frayed before it finally breaks off and little has been preserved of lines 27-31. Along the fold lines in a few places, notably lines 3 and 9 and 15, there has been some text lost.

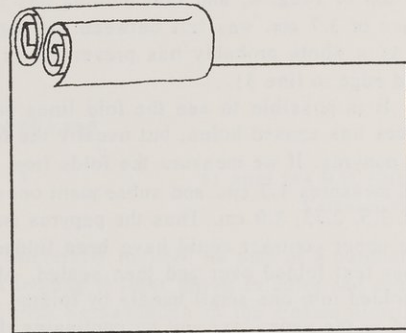
The handwriting is on the recto across the fibers. The character of the letters shows us that this hand has clear affinities with the earlier and more epigraphic hands, for the letter shapes are squarish and angular. On the other hand, many of the letters are cursive and others have a more cursive form as well as their epigraphic form. Ligatures are beginning to be the rule, but there is no consistency in this document. Sometimes letter groups ligature and sometimes they do not. Also strokes are added to create ligatures, thus giving the hand a horizontal appearance. That is, the effect of a horizontal line with vertical strokes going down from it. This effect is not nearly so strong in this hand as it became later in the Ptolemaic period. Within this document we can also see the exact opposite effect, the saw-tooth handwriting. Frequently, especially where *eta*, *phi*, *kappa*, or *mu* are concerned, the appearance of the writing is like that of a row of humps. These two divergent tendencies in the writing illustrate the most general characteristic of the hand, its total lack of style. Letter shapes and writing character vary in—



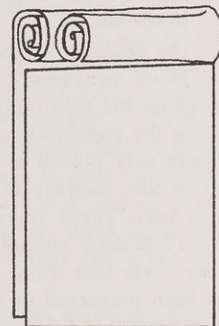
(1)



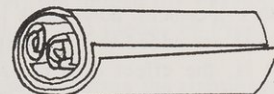
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(3)



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(5)

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7. k  
8. 7  
18.



dividual lines and even in individual words. Subjectively the hand is not a pretty one.

The letter forms in the upper text in no case differ from those found in the lower text. They are usually those found in the lower text, but written much faster. There is hardly any question that both texts were written by the same hand.

In this contract, Petebentetis, a desert-guard and a man of Arsinoe, leases some land to two men with Greek names, Agathokles, who is a soldier-clerouch, and Herakles, who is a "Persian of the epigone". The lease itself as preserved seems fairly straight-forward, resembling, at least in general, other leases of this period from the Fayum. The sociological situation is a bit peculiar, for we find a man with an Egyptian name leasing land to two men with Greek names, one of whom is a soldier clerouch. We know of no parallel situation in the papyri earlier than this time. We do know from the Tebtunis papyri, the land registers, that the desert-guards were granted small lots and there is no reason to suppose they could not lease them. There is much we do not know about military designations in Ptolemaic Egypt so that, while Agathokles must be designated at least a thirty aroura holder, it is not absolutely sure how much land he would actually have. In any case as a resident clerouch soldier, at this time he may have wanted to invest in more land. Herakles his partner is designated Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and is thus an Egyptian who has hellenized and who has no official position.<sup>1</sup>

In the reconstituted text which follows, the approximate length of line has been established by the certain restorations in the protocol heading to the contract. Furthermore, the date of *P. Yale 51* is established by the names of the holders of the eponymous priesthoods. The one name we can read clearly here is the name of the kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphus, Δημητρία. From *P. dem. Louvre 2309* we know that this woman was kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphus in 185/4 B.C. One other Greek heading of the year 185/4 B.C. is preserved, *P. Teb. 176*. This is also quite fragmentary. We reproduce it here with restoration since it is of some importance in determining the restoration of *P. Yale 51*. The numbers at the right refer to the number of letters in the line. The question of the readings and restoration in lines 2-4 will enter into the discussion of the same points in *P. Yale 51*.

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 1. Βασιλεύοντος Πτολ[εμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου]                         | 35 |
| 2. καὶ Ἀρσι[ι]ν[ό]η[ς] Θεῶν Φιλοπατ[όρων ἔτους πρώτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ] | 48 |
| 3. ἐφ' ἱερέως [Πτο]λεμαίου τ[οῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Χρυσέρμου]           | 43 |
| 4. Ἀλεξάνδρου κ[αὶ Θεῶν] Ἀ[δελφῶν [καὶ Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν]              | 38 |
| 5. καὶ Θεῶν Φιλοπ[ατόρων] καὶ Θεῶν Ἐπι[φανῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερε—]      | 46 |
| 6. νίκης Εὐερ[γέτιδος] Τρυφα[ίνης τῆς Μεναπίουτος,]                 | 38 |
| 7. κανηφόρου Ἀρ[σινόης] Φιλαδέλφ[ου Δημητρίας τῆς Φι—]              | 42 |
| 8. λείνου. [ἱερείας Ἀρσι]νόης Φιλοπ[άτορος — —]                     |    |

1. See Oates, "The Status Designation: Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς," *Yale Class. Stud.* 18, 1963, pp. 1-129.



Comparing the Yale text with that of *P.Teb.* 176 shows how much of the official heading for the year 185/4 B.C. has appeared anywhere in Greek. Δημητρία appears in *P. Yale* 51 for the first time. Once we know that we are in the twenty-first year of Epiphanes, we can be certain of the traces of the name Ptolemaios in line 1: he was priest of Alexander in this year. Nevertheless, much of the heading, including some names, has yet to appear in Greek. These names are restored from the demotic contract, *P. dem. Louvre* 2309; for, in this year, the holders of the priesthoods have common Greek names and the demotic equivalents are recognizable. This fact coupled with the formulaic nature of the headings allows us to restore or reconstitute the whole protocol.

This reconstitution will be valuable, for it will allow us to establish an approximate line length which can act as a control in restorations of lease provisions. However, in spite of the formulaic nature of the contract headings there are still enough questions so that only two lines out of the first four in the heading of *P. Yale* 51 are certain. About lines 3 and 4 there can be no doubt; they must be read as restored. Both of these contain 97 letters each. The problem in line 1 is whether the year date was written out πρώτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ or expressed κα', a difference of fifteen letters. In line 2 we do not know whether Ptolemaios the priest of Alexander was identified with his grandfather's name as well as with his father's name thus: Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Χρυσέρμου, an addition of twelve letters.<sup>2</sup>

In line 1, if we read κα', the line will be eighty-nine letters long. This would be reasonable for the first word would probably be written larger to mark the beginning; the writing would be more careful since the date must be clear, and the κα' would be large for the same reason. Thus eighty-nine letters in line 1 could occupy the same amount of space that ninety-seven letters do in lines 3 and 4. However, from 220 B.C. or thereabouts the scribes tend to write out the year date; there is no instance in the period 220 to 150 B.C. where the year date in a contract heading was expressed numerically. Furthermore, the day of the month is written out in line 5, and this argues that, in all probability, the date was written out in line 1. Thus line 1 could range from 89-104 letters with the higher figure the more probable.

In line 2, the problem is whether or not to restore the name of Ptolemaios' grandfather. The demotic document, *P. dem. Louvre* 2309, identifies him as Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, son of Chrysermos.<sup>3</sup> In *P. Teb.* 176 this seems the most probable restoration; otherwise the line would be very short. It appears to have been the practice to write in grandfathers' names for those men who were named Ptolemaios and were sons of Ptolemaios since the name was common and the

2. We can now say that the Theoi Soteres would not have been mentioned at this period and are not to be restored in line 2; cf. Oates, *Etudes de Papyrologie* 9, 1964, pp. 55-72.

3. Ptolemaios and his father both appear as ambassadors to Delphi in 188/7 B.C. (*SIG* 585, 136f.) See J. Ijsewijn, *De Sacerdotibus Sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum Eponymis*, Brussels, 1961, No. 62. See also his discussion in *Aegyptus* 38, 1958, pp. 165-70.



holders of it could be confused. In 215/4 B.C. the priest of Alexander was Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, son of Stasikrates. *BGU* 1264, 1275, 1278, *P. Grad.* 10 and *P. Frank.* 2 are the Greek documents of this year. Also of the same year is a London demotic papyrus (10377) reported by Revillout in *Revue Egyptologique* 1, 1880, p. 135, note 1 (see also p. 20). Revillout interpreted the demotic as Sosikrates, but this must be corrected in light of the evidence provided by the Greek texts. In the year 177/6 B.C., Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, son of Dionysios, was Alexander priest. There are other men named Ptolemaios, sons of Ptolemaios, who were priests, and they are identified with their fathers' names and their grandfathers' names. Sometimes the daughter of a Ptolemaios is also identified by her grandfather's name as Ptolemais, daughter of Ptolemaios, son of Euboulos, who was athlophoros in 172/1 B.C. There does not seem to be much question then that τοῦ Χρυσέριου should be read in line 2, and the line has been so restored with 90 letters.

The net result of this examination of the heading of *P. Yale* 51 shows that line lengths may vary between 89 and 105 letters. In spite of this range, the information is of great value in providing a control for the restorations offered in the text of the lease itself.

The upper text, as usual, provides no independent witness to our calculation, but on the basis of the restorations in the lower text, it would have about 310 letters in the first two lines, 146 in the third, and 137 in the fourth, which would be shorter on the assumption that proper names would be written clearly. Once again there is no way to gauge the use of abbreviation or contraction in this upper text. One point can be made: in eleven lines of text averaging 150 letters apiece the total of the whole would be about 1700 letters. In the lower text from the beginning to line 31 there must be about 3000 letters. Either the upper text is incomplete or else it is very much abbreviated. I have made no attempt to restore the upper text for these reasons.

## Upper Text

	].....
	]ιερείας [Ἄρ]σινόης Φιλο-
	Πετ]εβεντήτις Ἐριέως Ἀρσινοίτης
	Πέρσ]ηι, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὸν κλῆρον
5	]
	]
	]
	]
	]
10	]Πετ]εβεντητ.....
	]...φιλ.....

## Lower Text

- [Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων  
 ἔτους πρώτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέω]ς Πτ[ολε]μ[αί]ου [τ]οῦ  
 [Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Χρυσέρμου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν  
 καὶ Θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ Θεῶν Ἐπι-  
 [φανῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος Τρυφαίνης τῆς Μεναπίου καληφόρου  
 Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου] Δημητριάς τῆς  
 [Φιλείνου ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος Εἰρήνης τῆς Πτολεμαίου μηνὸς Γορπι-  
 αίου ἕκτη] Φαμενώθ ἕκτη ἐν Κερκεσοῦ-  
 5 [χοις τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου νομοῦ. Ἐμίσθωσαν Πετεβεντήτις]  
 Ἐριέως Ἀρσινό[ι]της ἐρημοφύλαξ  
 [Ἀγαθοκλεῖ-----]ονταρούρω καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ Κυ[δ]ίου Πέ-  
 [ρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κληρὸν ὅλον ---- ἡ μίσθωσις ἦδε εἰς ἔτη δύο  
 βρεχόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου  
 [καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους ----- ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτος ἄρουραν ἐκάστην πυρῶν]  
 ἄρταβῶν τεσσάρω[ν] ἐφ' ὧι δώσουσιν  
 [Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει ----- ]...... ἔτους  
 πυρῶν ἄρτάβας  
 10 [ --- τὰ δ' ἐκφόρια ἀποδιδότωσαν Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει πυρὸν]  
 νέον καθαρὸν καὶ [ἄ]δολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ  
 [μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν εἰς Κερκεσοῦ]χα οὐ  
 ἂν Πετεβεντήτις συντάσσει. ἐὰν δὲ  
 [μὴ ἀποδῶσι τὸν πυρὸν καθὰ προέγραπται ἀποτεισάτωσαν Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ  
 Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει τιμὴν τῶν πυρῶν τῆς  
 [ἄρτάβας ἐκάστης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδῶσι χαλκοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς ----- ].i  
 ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἠνίκαν  
 [ ----- Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποδότωσαν  
 αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ  
 15 [ ---- ετους ἄρτάβας δέκα. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἀποτεισάτωσαν αὐτῷ Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ  
 Ἡρακλῆς σὺν] ἡμιολίαι ἄρτάβας δεκαπέντε εἰς τὰ  
 [ἐκφόρια ----- τὸ δ' ἐκφόριον ἔσται ἄσπερμον ἀκ]ίνδυνον  
 παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογον  
 [πάσης φθορᾶς πλὴν ἀβρόχου, τῆς δὲ γενομένης γῆς ἀβρόχου ἐν τῇ γῆι τῇ]δε  
 ὑπόλογος ἔστω [Π]ετ[ε]βεντήτει εἰς τὰ  
 [ἐκφόρια τὰ προγεγραμμένα ----- ἀναπαυσ]άτωσαν  
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τὴν  
 [μεμισθωμένην αὐτοῖς γῆν κατ' ἔτος χόρτωι ἢ ἀράκωι ἢ τήλει ἢ γένεσι]ν πᾶσιν  
 οἷς ἂν βούλωνται.....  
 20 [ ----- ἐὰν δὲ εἰς αὐ]τούς  
 βρεχθίσης τῆς γῆς μὴ κατασπείρωσι



[καθάπερ προέγραπται τότε τὸ βλάβος ἔστω αὐτοῖς καὶ μηδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ μίσθωσις  
ἔστω κ]υρία, ἀποδιδότωσαν δὲ [Ἄγα]θοκλῆς καὶ

[Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει κατ' ἔτος τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ ἐκάστου ἔτους ἢ ὅ]ταν  
ἢ ἄφεις τοῦ γενήματος δοθῆι πυρὸν

[νέον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστ]ήσαντες  
τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀ[νη]λώμασιν εἰς Κερ-

[κεσοῦχα οὗ ἂν Πετεβεντήτης συντάσσει καὶ ἔαν μὴ ἀποδώσι τὸν πυρὸν] καθά  
προέγραπται ἀποτεισάτωσαν

25 [Ἄγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδώσι χαλχοῦ  
ν]ομ[ίσ]ματ[ος] δρ[α]χμῶς

[ --- ἢ τὴν πλείστην οὔσαν τιμὴν ----- κυριεύτω δὲ Πετεβεντήτης  
τῶν καρπῶν ἔ]ω[ς] ἂν τὰ ἐκφόρια κο-

[μίσσηται. ἔαν δέ τι πραχθῶσιν Ἄγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὲρ Πετεβεντήτεως εἰς  
τὰ βασιλικά τὸ δὲ σ]ύμβολον ἐπιδει-

[ξάτωσαν καὶ ὁμολογον ὑπολογείτωσαν ἐπὶ τῶι ἐκ τῶν ἐκφορίων, ἔαν δὲ μὴ ἐκ-  
ποιῆι ἐξέστω Ἄγαθ]οκλ[εῖ] καὶ

[Ἡρακλεῖ πράξει αὐτόν.

30 [ ----- ].ν .....ου νομισ[  
]...[ ]πενε[

In the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe the father-loving gods, the twenty-first year, Ptolemy son of Ptolemy son of Chrysermus being priest of Alexander and the brother-sister gods and of the well-doing gods and of the father-loving gods and of the manifest gods. The athlophoros of Berenice Euergetis being Tryphaine daughter of Menapion, the kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Demetria daughter of Philinos, the priestess of Arsinoe Philopater being Eirene daughter of Ptolemy, the month being Gorpiaios sixth, Phamenoth sixth in Kerkesoucha of the Heraklid meris of the Arsinoite Nome.

There has leased Petebentetis son of Erieus Arsinoite, desert-guard..... to Agathokles.....-arouros holder and to Herakles son of Kydias, Persian, of the epigone, his kleros.....

This lease is for two watered years from the twenty-second year for a rent each year for each aroura of four artabs of grain on condition they will give, Agathokles and Herakles to Petebentetis ..... -x- artabs of grain.

The rent let Agathokles and Herakles pay to Petebentetis in new, pure unadulterated grain by a just measurement and let them transport it at their own expense to Kerkesoucha wherever Petebentetis may decide. If they do not pay the grain as it is written above, let Agathokles and Herakles pay to Petebentetis a fine of grain for each artab which they do not pay.....

.....in the twenty-second year whenever ..... Let them pay to him against the rent of the .....year ten artabs..... If they do not,



let Agathokles and Herakles pay to him with a fine of one and a half, fifteen artabs against the rent.....

The rent shall be without seed, free of all risk and free from reduction for any mishap except being unwatered. And if the land is unflooded, let there be a reduction by Petebentetis against the rent.....

Agathokles and Herakles may let lie fallow the land leased to them with fodder or arak or teilis or..... or with whatever crop they wish.....

If the land is watered for them and they do not sow as written above, then the fault shall be theirs, and this lease shall be no less valid.

Let Agathokles and Herakles pay the rents to Petebentetis yearly at the end of each year or whenever the release of the crop is granted, as grain, new, clean and unadulterated, by just measure and with just measurement, bringing it at their own expense to Kerkesoucha wherever Petebentetis shall decide, and if they do not pay the grain as it is written above, let Agathokles and Herakles pay to Petebentetis for each artab for which they do not pay, -x- drachmas of bronze money or whatever is the greatest fine in .....

Petebentetis shall control the crop until he gets the rent.

If Agathokles and Herakles pay anything on behalf of Petebentetis to the state, let them show the receipt and let them deduct a like amount for it from the rent. If he does not do this, it shall be possible for Agathokles and Herakles to take action against him.

#### Upper Text

1. This line is abraded and thus impossible to read.

5. It looks as if it were possible to read this line, but there are insuperable difficulties. The word ἐκάστης and the letters αρτα appear clearly and the mark after them might be interpreted as Δ. Thus the statement of rent would be accurate. However, the ink traces after Δ, while dark and clear, escape interpretation. In the lower text the statement of rent is followed by ἐφ' ὧι δώσουσιν. The letters in the upper text cannot be ἐφ' ὧι. Further between ἐκάστης and ἀρταβῶν we would expect to find πυροῦ. There is no possibility of reading this word. The letters after αρτα are also not clear enough; we could make them into βων if the rest of the phrase were consistent. One striking thing about this line is the size of the letters and their wide spacing. This is understandable since the rent was the most important part of the contract, and even in the abstract, it would have been written clearly.

6-11. Lines 6 through 9 are indecipherable. In line 10 Πετρεβεντητ can be read, but it is impossible to connect this to any of the clauses known from the lower text. Likewise in line 11 the letters φιλο cannot be connected to any significant phrase or context.

#### Lower Text

4. *P. Yale 51* was drawn up on Phamenoth 6 of the twenty-first year of Ptolemy Epiphanes. This date in Julian terms is April 11, 184 B.C. The Macedonian month can be restored as Gorpaios on the basis of *SB 5675* of 183 B.C. where Daisios equals Choiach, a scheme in which Gorpaios would equal Phamenoth. More significantly, however, by this period the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars had been fully assimilated based on the



equation Dystros 1 equals Thoth 1 for the beginning of the year.<sup>4</sup> Thus *P. Yale 51* was drawn up on 11 April some six months before the lease took effect, since the twenty-second year began on 8 October 184 B.C. Generally speaking, Ptolemaic leases were drawn up after flood conditions were known, and *P. Yale 51* is the latest of five out of twenty Ptolemaic leases that are drawn up in advance of sowing. See J.F. Oates, "Chronological Aspects of Ptolemaic Land Leases", *BASP I*, 1964, pp. 47-62.

5. The town (κώμη) of Kerkesoucha is a well-attested locality in the Fayum, for it appears in a great number of papyri. In Appendix II of *P. Teb. II*, Grenfell and Hunt discuss, in their topographical survey of the Fayum, what was known of Kerkesoucha in 1906. They point out that it is attested in the Heraclid Meris from the earliest Ptolemaic papyri through the Roman period and probably into the Byzantine era. It was not far from Karanis, for in *P. Lond. 196*, 32-34, a piece of land is described as near Karanis and Kerkesoucha; *περὶ Καρανίδα καὶ Κερκεσοῦχα*. Thus it is to be found in the northeast sector of the Heraklid Meris. The perimeter of the Fayum has been well explored in this area, and the only towns existing there are Karanis, Philadelphia, and Bacchias. It might be located more towards the center of the Fayum. However, there is a *Κερκεσοῦχων ὄρος* in the Heraklid Meris near Kerkesoucha itself. There is also a place known as *Κερκεσοῦχων ἀγορά* in this same area which seems in fact to be a sub-division of Karanis (*P. Cair. Isidor.* 12.3, 99.6, and 100.6). Our Kerkesoucha may well be associated with Kerkesouchon agora and in turn be part of Karanis. This at least would explain why a place so frequently mentioned in the papyri has left no evident remains.

The fullest possible identification has been restored for Kerkesoucha. This brings the line to eighty-nine letters. Since there might well be a space before *ἐμίσθωσεν* left to signal the beginning of the contract proper, this total of letters is consistent with the other lines of the heading. The name of the lessor, Petebentetis, is an unusual one, but belongs with the related forms *Βεντήτις* (*P. Mich.* 228) or *Ἐσβεντήτις* (*P. Teb.* 892) or *Ζβεντήτις* (*UPZ 180a*). Es- or Z- mean "the one belonging to" and Pete- is Egyptian for "gift of". All of these are formed from the element b3-nb-ddt, meaning "Ram-Lord-of-Mendes"

Petebentetis' father's name is a common one. It is the same Egyptian name apparently that can be transliterated into Greek as Ergeus, Iereius, or Erius as here. The designation *Ἀρσινόιτης*, and ones similar to it based on the nomes of Egypt, first appear in the third century and are used throughout the Ptolemaic period. They are used by Egyptians to replace the Greek or Macedonian designation used by the non-Egyptians in Egypt and are further a continuation of practices developed in Pharaonic Egypt where men were identified by their nomes.

The desert-guards (*ἐρημοφύλακες*) were members of the police force; a list of them can be found in *Pros. Ptol.* II, Nos. 4829-4855. In *P. Teb.* 62 of 119/18 B.C., a land register, three desert-guards are listed, each holding ten arouras of land. The designation of Petebentetis probably stopped with the word *ἐρημοφύλαξ*. At least there is no parallel for any further designation here.

6. The lacuna at the beginning of line 6 must be from fifty to sixty letters long and be concerned with Agathokles, one of the two lessees. The name *Ἀγαθοκλῆς* we can naturally restore from the mention of this man through the body of the document. After this would follow his father's name, then his nationality, then his military troop, and finally his rank, of which we have the end preserved. This sequence would be true if Agathokles followed the most common type of designation used. What all the parallels for restoration are may be seen in Uebel, *Die Kleruchen*, pp. 292-297. What I have suggested is the most common type. However, there would be no trouble in filling out sixty to seventy-five letters with any one of several designations. The following would fit the space, *exempli gratia*:

4. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 129-132; Skeat, *Reigns*, *passim*.



Ἄγαθοκλεῖ Ἀπολλωνίου Μακεδόνι τῶν φίλωνος ἑκατονταρούρι,  
Ἄγαθοκλεῖ Ἀπολλωνίου Μακεδόνι τῆς δευτέρας ἰππαρχίας ἑκατονταρούρι

The lowest possible restoration of Agathokles' rank is thirty arouras (τριακοντάρουρος); forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, or one hundred would also fit, or any combination of numbers that ended with these numbers.

The other lessee is Herakles. The reading of his name is certain from its occurrence throughout the contract but the rest of the line is very difficult to read. Κυδίου is certainly a possible reading; the name is common enough and a Kydias was strategos of the Herakleopolite Nome from 167 to 160 at least. The initial letter of the name could be a *kappa* or an *eta* or even a *beta*. Following this is the very bottom of a hasta with a slight turn to the right. This could easily be the end of an *upsilon*, but the space for it following the initial letter is small. Then there is a blank space and then a strong up and down stroke. Then what appears to be the second half of another *upsilon* is visible. The space between the up and down stroke and the end of an *upsilon* would barely admit an *omicron*. Thus Κυδίου is just compatible with the few traces left on the papyrus.

The Πε— of Πέρσηι is no longer visible on the papyrus. The few traces of ink are compatible with the reading but do not insure it. However, in the abstract, line 4, |ηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς can be read. That Herakles is described as τῆς ἐπιγονῆς argues a strong statistical possibility that he would be a "Persian"; and an ethnic ending -ηι, that is -ης in the nominative singular, argues almost conclusively that he is indeed a "Persian of the epigone", for to this date no papyrus has come to light where a man with an ethnic other than Πέρσης where the dative ends in -ηι has been described as τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. Thus whether or not the Πε— can be read in line 6 makes little or no difference; even if it were not there we would be forced to restore Πέρσηι in the text.

7. Between the end of the phrase τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and the beginning of the next clause (ἡ μίσθωσις ἦδε) there is room for thirty to fifty letters. What goes here is the object of ἐμίσθωσεν—that is the land which is to be leased. This phrase usually involves the use of the word κλήρος in some way; the two most common expressions are τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κλήρον ὅλον or ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ κλήρου ἀρούρας. The first is far too short here, but the second could fit with some rather large numbers written out. However, there is no standard phraseology here, and the wide variety of types of land defies formulaic restoration. Also if the lease is a sub-lease, or if it is in more than one parcel, or in a specific locality, these items would be stated here. Quite obviously the space here in line 7 is not long and not much beyond the minimum statement of the amount of land could be expected. Certainly there is no elaborate location of the land in geographical terms nor any listing of neighbors as in *P. Teb.* 105 or *P. Oxy.* 1628.

Ἡ μίσθωσις ἦδε is not an essential restoration. It does, however, commonly occur in this position as in *P. Teb.* 819 of 171 B.C., *P. Teb.* 105 of 103 B.C., *P. Teb.* 106 of 101 B.C., *P. Freib.* 22 of 179/8 B.C. and *SB* 7188 of 154/3 B.C. It does not occur in *P. Teb.* 815, frag. 3 of 222/1 B.C. or in *P. Freib.* 21 of 179/8 B.C. These documents are all from the Fayum. Documents from Upper Egypt do not provide evidence, for they are never written in this style. These Fayum documents vary in making the time of the lease depend on ἐμίσθωσεν as in *P. Teb.* 815, frag. 3: ἐμίσθωσεν .... τὸν αὐτοῦ κλήρον ὃν ἔχει ἐκ βασιλικῶν.... εἰς τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος or in breaking the sentence after the description of the land and beginning a new sentence with ἡ μίσθωσις ἦδε as we have restored here.

*P. Yale* 51 is made for two years. A duration of one year is standard and the overwhelming number of leases are made for this length of time. However, leases of longer duration are neither unknown nor really scarce; those of seven, five, three, and two years' length are known. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*,<sup>5</sup> in his lists gives the length of leases and the

5. Pp. 89-98 and 247-54.



above information has been collected from this book.

The phrasing ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους is characteristic of the Fayum. The variation εἰς τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος for example also occurs (*P. Teb.* 819). The standard phrase in the leases from Tholthis is εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν σπόρον καὶ θερισμὸν ἕνα. The distinction in wording is the work of the different scribal traditions, but in the Fayum, the lease was thought of in terms of the civil year, in the Tholthis leases in terms of the agricultural year, of sowing and harvesting.

The word βρεχόμενα is unique in this position; a water provision does occur later in the text, and "watered years" is a very odd locution. The text, however, is clear, and there is no doubt about the reading. *P. Teb.* 71 of 114 B.C. is a προσάγγελμα τῆς βεβρεγμένης (sc. γῆς). The official use of the word may have influenced the scribe of *P. Yale* 51. It will be more convenient to discuss the watering provision as it occurs below.

8. The end of line 7 reads ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου and this phrase will carry over into line 8 for sixteen letters: καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους. At the end of line 8 there are twenty-seven letters preserved and, as we shall see, forty-four additional letters will be needed to complete the phrase. This total of eighty-seven letters leaves little room for anything else to be added after ἔτους. The only possible lengthening might occur if we read ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους σπόρου σπόρους δύο as in *P. Freib.* 22 of 179/8 B.C. We might expect the use of σπόρος since it is slightly illogical to say that a lease begins with the entire twenty-second year when either the beginning of that year or some other fixed point is meant. However, leases from the Fayum do use ἀπὸ with the year as *P. Teb.* 105: ἡ μίσθωσις ἦδε εἰς ἔτη πέντε ἀπὸ τοῦ πεντεκαδεκάτου καὶ δωδεκάτου ἔτους. *P. Teb.* 106 and *SB* 7188 have similar wording.

Amounts of rents in Ptolemaic Egypt are included by Hermann, *Bodenpacht*, in his lists, pp. 247-254. A rent of four artabs is not unusual. It must, however, presuppose that this rent is reckoned per aroura. Rent in the Ptolemaic period ranges from two to eight-and-one-half artabs per aroura, and the rents in kind remain constant throughout the Ptolemaic period. Rents vary in being reckoned as a whole or by individual aroura. There does not seem to be any particular reason why a given method is used in different cases. The Fayum leases do show a tendency to state the rent as a total and not per aroura. However, *P. Freib.* 21 is like *P. Yale* 51 since the amount of rent there also is too low to be a total and must be reckoned per aroura.

Thus τὴν ἀρουραν ἐκάστην is a necessary restoration in line 8. Further the rent was paid in πυρός since this word occurs later in preserved parts of the papyrus. The word ἐκφορίου is of course necessary, but it also seems essential to have some indication of the fact that this rent holds for each year of the lease. We have restored on the basis of *P. Teb.* 105 and *P. Teb.* 106 κατ' ἔτος but again this is for the sense and not the precise wording. The greater question here is whether the rent is for each year or only for the first year. It must be for each year; otherwise we should find some traces of separate rent clauses somewhere in the preserved parts of the papyrus.

We would expect as part of the rent statement a statement of risk and a water provision as in *PSI* 1098: ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς πυρῶν ἀρτάβας εἰκοσιεπτά ἀνευ σπέρματος ἀκινδύνου παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλογον πάσης φθορᾶς πλήν ἀβρόχου ἢ καταβρόχου, ἥτις ἐὰν γένηται ἐν τῇ γῆι ταύτῃ ἕως ἄθου τριακάδος, τῆς δὲ γενομένης ὑπόλογος ἔστωι ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων ἐκφορίων κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀβροχίας ἕκαστον. These occur but later in the papyrus.

8 and 9. Conditions expressed by ἐφ' ὧι are not uncommon in the leases of the Ptolemaic period. The problem is that they always express a condition unique in the situation governed by the individual contract. In *SB* 7188 it is a question of the tax being correctly divided; in *P. Teb.* 105 the condition is that the lessee break up all the dry land. In *BGU* 1266 it is that the lessees share the land with the lessor, and in *BGU* 1270 that the lessor give the lessees one aroura of his land rent free. It is clear that none of these can establish the reading in *P. Yale* 51 by parallels. First, then, it is necessary to examine what does remain in *P. Yale* 51. At the end of line 8 δώσουσιν tells us that it is the two lessees here



who will do the giving. On this basis we might restore the names of the parties in the next line. At the end of line 9 we can read ].....ἔτους πυρῶν ἀρτάβας. The ἀρτάβας may well be the direct object of the verb δώσουσιν. The situation would be much clearer if we could read the traces of letters before ἔτους but they are very dim and compatible with πρώτου, δευτέρου, or ἐκάστου. There is then the possibility that we are dealing with two separate clauses here, i.e. that the condition finishes in the course of line 9 and belongs only to the rent of the first year. The end of line 9 might then read ἐκφορίου τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους.

However, it is much more likely that the end of line 9 is part of the condition, partly because the accusative case of ἀρτάβας argues that this word is the object of δώσουσιν. In this case the provision could be some addition to the rent of either the first or second years or both, or it could be an advance payment for either year. It could even be a provision for the division of chaff as in *BGU* 1267: ἐφ' ὧι δώσουσιν | [Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ ἐκάστου ἔτους τοῦ ἀχύρου τὸ τέταρτον μέρος].

Thus there are so many possibilities for restoration that none could be certain. The most likely, however, would be one dealing with an advance payment; ἐφ' ὧι δώσουσιν | [Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους πυρῶν ἀρτάβας] [-X-].

10-13. The two clauses are standard; we can compare the comparable phrasing in *PSI* 1098; *P. Teb.* 105 and *BGU* 1262. It is somewhat peculiar here that the month for payment and measure to be used are missing and even stranger that these clauses are repeated below in this same contract. In lines 20-26 where the time of payment is included, we have restored καταστήσαντες because it is preserved in the repetition of the clauses below.

13-16. This clause presents the greatest puzzle of the many found in this lease. In fact it is hard to tell if there is only one clause in these lines or two. The end of line 13 is surely a beginning of a provision because of the use of ἦνικαν. This word, which probably should be written ἦνικ' ἄν, has never occurred previously in the papyri; it is, however, a good Greek word or combination of words. ἦνικα does occur in *PCZ* 59245. Furthermore, in the papyri it is common practice to use a temporal adverb with ἄν. Ὄταν is the most common form of this type and indeed it is the word we might expect here. The standard phrase from the leases, ὅταν ἡ ἀφεις τοῦ γενήματος δοθῆι is the best example of this case.

In any case we would expect something like ἄρξουσιν κατασπεῖραι or simply κατασπεῖραι to precede what is preserved at the end of line 13. The traces of letters that remain would fit either αἰ or σι or in fact any reasonable suggestion; all that remains looks like a connecting stroke and *iota*. Restored in this way the clause anticipates in some fashion the provision in line 20 regarding sowing when the flood receded. The provision in line 20 follows the pattern to be expected in the leases and is paralleled for wording and sense in other documents. For lines 13 and 14 there are no parallels at all. With much hesitation over both wording and sense, the following may be suggested as a bare possibility: [ἄρξουσιν κατασπεῖραι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἦνικαν | [ἡ μεμισθωμένη αὐτοῖς γῆ βρέχηται.]

The clue to any understanding of the lines 14-16 is in the words εἰς τὰ ἐκφόρια and in the plural verb. That is, Agathokles and Herakles must give something to Petebentetis "against the rent". Loosely the provision is easy to fill out. We have a payment provision and a fine for non-payment. What we do not know is exactly why the payment is being made although we know the amount, ten artabs, since the fine is one and a half this amount, 15 artabs. The use of the plural ἐκφόρια suggests that both years are in question. However, these lines could contain provisions governing separate conditions for each year, a factor which might explain much of the repetition in the whole document. Against the possibility of an advance payment provision here is the absence of any other trace of it in this contract. Where prodomatic leases occur elsewhere such as *P. Freib.* 34 or *P. Frankf.* 1, the payment—advance provision is long and the nature of the contract is always such that there can be no mistake about the prodomatic nature of the contract. In *P. Yale* 51 there is no such evidence, and it does not seem probable that this lease contained any prodomatic provision.



There is no parallel nor internal evidence to make clear the situation here. Without offering a restoration, we would suggest that the contract may specify some small payment of ten artabs in advance, for a reason we cannot now recover.

One last peculiarity of this section is the use of αὐτῶι in line 14 where we should have restored Πεπεβεντήτει. This is one further indication of the uncertainty of restoration.

16-18. The risk clause is out of place compared to other leases, but its wording parallels the usual formulae. Cf. *P. Freib.* 21 or *P. Teb.* 106.

18-20. This provision covers fallow land; a parallel can be found in *P. Teb.* 105: ἀναπαύσει Πτολεμαῖος κατ' ἔτος ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς μισθώσεως τοῦ κλήρου τὸ ἡμισυ γένεσιν οἷς] εἰ ἀν ἀίρηται πλὴν ἑλαϊκῶν φορτίων]. We cannot recover the exact particulars in *P. Yale* 51, but the general situation is clear. Agathokles and Herakles are to leave fallow some part of the leased land. We cannot recover how much or whether they are to do this on one or both years of the lease. After βούλωνται it is impossible to read what remains; πλὴν ἑλαϊκῶν φορτίων is possible as in *P. Teb.* 105. The list of crops, however, is restored after *P. Teb.* 106: [ἀναπαύσάτωι κατ' ἔτος τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς γῆς χόρτωι ἢ ἀράκωι ἢ τῆλει.

20-21. This supplement fills out the gap in line 21 very nicely. Again, *P. Teb.* 105 may be compared: καὶ τὸ βλάβος καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν ἢ μίσθωσις κυρία εἰστω.

21-26. Here begins the second statement in this lease regarding the payment of the rent. As we observed above, this time the provision is more exact and follows the parallel wording found elsewhere in leases. See *BGU* 1270 as a particular example: ἐάν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι, ἀποτρεῖσάτω παραχρήμα Ἀρνώτης Νίκωνι τῆς τῶν πυρῶν — — ἐκλάσσης ἧς ἀν μὴ ἀποδῶι χαλγοῦ νομίσματος δραχμῶν χιλίας ἢ τὴν οὖσαν πλ[εῖστην τιμὴν τῆς Φιλαδέλφειας]. The restoration of these lines is more controlled than some others because of the length which spreads them over several lines and gives us more points of control. There are, of course, some uncertainties; ἐπὶ τέλους might have well been replaced by the specific months when payment was due. Also in line 23 perhaps the specific measure to be used in measuring grain was mentioned something like this: μετρῶι τῶι δεκαχοινίκωι τῶι ἐν τῆι ἐμ Φιλαδέλφεια ἀγοραῖι (*P. Freib.* 34).

The penalty provision in line 25 follows the pattern found in other leases of the Fayum. The line is a little short with only eighty-one letters as restored, but the general sense must be close to this restoration.

26-27. The control-of-grain clause is again a standard item in leases of the Ptolemaic period. The following are examples: τῶν δὲ σκόρδων κυριεύτω Πυλάδης ἕως ἀν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίσῃται] (*P. Teb.* 819). Κυριεύτω δὲ [Ἀ]π[ολ]λ[ώνιος] τῶν καρπῶν ἕως [ἀν] τὰ ἀντοῦ κομίσῃται] (*P. Frankf.* 1).

There is no convenient and accurate translation of κυριεύτω. Possession it cannot be on a factual basis. And it is not ownership even apart from the question of whether there was any private ownership of grain. It simply means that the lessees could not legally sell or otherwise dispose of the crop until the rent was paid. The single word "control" is used as a translation, even if it is not exact.

27-29. By the time we reach line 27, the preserved parts of the papyrus are becoming smaller and smaller. The last provision we can restore in this text is based on the reading in line 27. As a parallel we can cite among many *PSI* 1098: ἐάν δὲ τι πραχθῶσιν οἱ μισθῶν] οἱ μὲν] οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀρίστωτος εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἢ ἰδιωτικὸν ἢ ἄλλην τινα εἰσφοράν, ἐπιδειξάτωσαν σύ[μβολον] [ὁ]μῶλον, καὶ ὑπολογεῖτωι τῶν προκειμένων ἐκφορῶν.

In effect, *P. Yale* 51 breaks off after line 28. There is no hope of restoring further since there are no more clues to the wording at all. We would expect the surety clause to follow with its accompanying epitimon provision. This would fill out the papyrus probably through line 31. The names of the witnesses would then be added to complete the document.

52. Fragment of an Official Document

P. Yale Inv. 243

16.7 x 13.8 cm.

Second Century B.C.

This papyrus, purchased for Yale in 1926/7 by Sir. H.I. Bell, is so fragmentary that little of its original import and character can be determined. What exists preserves the lower right corner of a document, with the bottom and right margins. The ends of two columns appear, the left column is broken off at the left, and the whole width of the right column remains. Below the left column are the ends of three lines set off by brackets. The original two columns, marked below by a horizontal line, occupy a little more than the upper third of the sheet; the added lines occupy the next third at the left; at least half the surface of the sheet is blank.

The last four lines of the right column can be read with ease, as the hand is firm and the ink clear. The first line of that column is badly frayed, and neither that line nor the incomplete lines of the left column can be restored; so much has been lost that restoration is impossible.

It is difficult to know just what the document is about. It is clearly not a letter, not a receipt, not an account. That it is an official document of some sort is indicated by the fine hand, and also by the addendum, which probably represents either a commentary on or a disposition of the main text. The best assumption is that the document was an official instruction. The understandable portion refers to forcing someone to do something, not turning the task over to others, and this matter conforms to the view that the document deals with official matters. It may be the kind of official report represented by *P. Teb.* 730.

Column i

].[

].ντ[

].εν.[.].

].ν καὶ τ' ἄλλα

5 ]προέθησα

].ν γραμματέα

addendum

].τοις δι( )

].χειν ἐν τῶι

].ν τινος



## Column ii

εατ[.....]τ' ἄδ[ι]κα[...].  
 ποήσ[α]τε μήτ' αὐτοῖ  
 περισπῶντες αὐτὸν  
 μήτ' ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέποντες  
 5 νῦν τε καὶ ὅταν ἐπιστρέφη.

Col. ii, 2-5 ... do it, neither disturbing him yourselves nor turning (him) over to others, now and when he returns.

col. ii, 2. ποήσ[α]τε read ποιήσ[α]τε. περισπῶντες is most likely; περιέποντες is possible.

53. Petition to a Comarch

P. Yale Inv. 913

8.5 x 16.1 cm.

Mid Second Century B.C.

Purchased in Egypt for Yale in 1931 from a private dealer in Cairo, this is a light tan piece of papyrus, complete at the top and right. The papyrus was folded vertically into thirds, starting at the right, placing a strain on the left fold, where the papyrus has broken. Along this fold, beginning 1.5 cm. below the top edge, a piece 6 cm. in height has broken off, and three or four letters of the first six lines have been lost. The bottom is missing, and the break at the bottom probably represents a horizontal fold where the document was folded in half. We may therefore assume that about half the original sheet is lost.

The writing is quite rapid, and with the fibers. The 'rearing nu' indicates that the document cannot be later than around 130 B.C. The letters average about 0.2 cm. in height, and the lines are about 0.5 cm. apart.

The petition is from one Peteusorapis, a royal farmer, and is addressed to the comarch of Euemeria. Peteusorapis complains that someone, whose name is lost, the son of Polykles, has bought 1/4 artab of chortos from the royal land but has not paid for it, and further has gone into his land after forcibly expelling the guard, and taken another 1/2 artab of cut chortos. The papyrus breaks off after this much statement of the case. We do not know the relationship between the parties, nor the nature of the action which Peteusorapis wished the comarch to take.

The judicial competence of the comarch has never been examined, and only three other petitions to comarchs are known to us. One of these, *P. Gurob* 5, 215 B.C., provides an excellent parallel to the Yale document. Here one Sokomenis complains to Petesis, comarch of Lysimachis, that Petesouchos, a former comarch of that village, took 385 bundles of cut chortos from the royal land which he, Sokomenis, cultivated on the condition he pay the rent into the treasury. Sokomenis states that his sickness has become worse, that he has a right to demand payment, and that the comarch would do well to compel Petesouchos to do something. Just at this point the papyrus breaks off. Another petition to a comarch, *P. Teb.* 805, 113 B.C., to Petesouchos of Oxyrhyncha, concerns a lease of land. The petitioner complains that he had leased some land and states the conditions of the lease. This papyrus breaks off before we learn the nature of the complaint, but presumably violation of one or more of the provisions of

the contract  
from Tebuni  
and concern  
unknown.

Besides  
to a comarch  
about a theft  
to Horos, c  
write to the  
so that it w  
83, 221 B.C.

she complain  
situation, h

These  
of the coma  
he had the  
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1. Cf.  
1934, pp. 1



the contract is the subject of the protest. The last of these petitions also comes from Tebtunis, *P. Teb.* 965, 145-116 B.C., to Harsiesis, also of Oxyrhyncha, and concerns a transfer of land, but is so fragmentary that the details are unknown.

Besides the actual petitions to comarchs, we have the mention of a report to a comarch in *P. Teb.* 796, 185 B.C. This is a petition to an archipylakites, about a theft. The petitioner states that he has handed in a report of the event to Horos, comarch of Satyros Laura, and he requests that the archipylakites write to the proper officials to do something about a copy (perhaps retain it) so that it will be available to him at the inquiry before Horos. Last, in *P. Enteux.* 83, 221 B.C., the petitioner states that after violence to her person in a bath she complained to a comarch, but now complains that instead of rectifying this situation, he imprisoned her and caused her more damage.

These documents together give us some picture of the judicial competence of the comarch. From the Enteuxis it appears that at the end of the third century he had the authority to arrest and to decide questions of assault. From the evidence of *P. Teb.* 796 it appears that he could hold enquiry over questions of theft, and that reports of theft were made to him; this was true at least in the early part of the second century. The Yale and Gurob petitions indicate that he was involved in questions of payment for goods, and *P. Teb.* 805 shows him involved in matters of lease and contract. It is impossible to say with certainty that at any one time the comarch's jurisdiction could be invoked to cover all of these matters, but this was probably the case and it is clear that at least in different periods he interested himself in all of them.

The question of the jurisdiction of the comarch is closely tied up with that of the comogrammateus. We have a large number of documents relating to the activities of the comogrammateis of the villages, among which are many petitions. Most of these petitions come from Tebtunis, and are addressed to one Menches, comogrammateus of Kerkeosiris.<sup>1</sup> These are *P. Teb.* 39, 44-51, 53, and 125-129, all dating to around 112 B.C. Besides these, addressed to other comogrammateis there are *P. Teb.* 793, a collection of official correspondence containing petitions to Horos, comogrammateus of Berenice's Thesmophoroi, of 183 B.C., *P. Teb.* 798, to Petosiris of Oxyrhyncha, second century B.C., and *P. Teb.* 958, to an unknown comogrammateus of Berenice's Thesmophoroi and Argaios Ibion, dated 162 B.C. Aside from the Tebtunis papyri, there are a few other known petitions to comogrammateis. The earliest two of these are addressed to Semphthis, of Lysimachis, *P. Petr.* II, 38(a), 240 B.C., and *P. Petr.* III, 34(a). Another third century text is *P. Gurob* 8, 210 B.C. From

1. Cf. G.M. Harper, "Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris", *Aegyptus* XIV, 1934, pp. 14-32.

the beginning of the second century, there is *SB* 7351 addressed to the comogrammateus of Philadelphia. Two other second century documents, *BGU* 1254 and 1256 complete the list. These documents help to determine what the authority of the comogrammateus was, and suggest how the jurisdiction of the comarch was affected by the activity of the comogrammateus.<sup>2</sup>

The petitions to the comarch show him acting in matters which do not involve the royal revenue. This is what we should expect, since the comogrammateus is the revenue officer in the village. The comarch acts in matters involving private funds, as the Yale and Gurob documents and *P. Teb.* 805 show, and he seems to be involved in questions of theft (*P. Teb.* 796) and assault (*P. Enteux.* 83). However, many of the petitions to the comogrammateus show him involved in the same kind of cases as the comarch was and this overlapping of jurisdiction is what complicates the matter.

*P. Teb.* 793, the register of official correspondence of 183 B.C., with the many petitions to the comogrammateus Horos, provides a number of documents illustrating the activities of the comogrammateus. Column i notifies the comogrammateus of a theft so that he may make inquiry into the matter. Column vi tells of the theft of a donkey and requests that the notice be placed on record. In columns xi and xii we find the forwarding to Horos of the petition concerning an assault. All of these petitions deal with matters that do not seem to affect the crown revenues, and we can find parallels to this among other petitions.

In *P. Teb.* 44, Haryotes, a royal farmer, addresses a petition to the comogrammateus Menches, of Kerkeosiris. The petitioner had been in the temple of Isis where, he says, he was attacked and severely beaten. He complains that the beating he received was so severe that his life was, and remained, in danger. He wishes the petition to be forwarded to the proper authorities, so that if anything happens to him subsequently the culprit may not go unpunished. This petition seems to have no connection with the crown revenues. The only relevance might be that due to his physical condition, Haryotes was unable to fulfill his duties to the king, but this is not suggested in the petition itself. Apparently we have here a petition to the comogrammateus which has no connection with the royal finances. *P. Teb.* 45 and 46 are petitions from royal farmers concerned with damage done during a plundering raid led by one Pырrichos, a cavalry soldier. Each petition complains of forcible entrance and theft and requests that the comogrammateus subscribe to the statements in the petition and forward a copy of it to the proper officials so that the petitioner

2. Cf. Wolff, *Justizwesen*, p. 163, arguing that the comarch and comogrammateus among other junior officials did not have proper power to punish, concedes (n. 11) the "ermittlungsberichts" of the comogrammateus, citing *P. Teb.* 793.



may recover his property. *P. Teb.* 47 deals with the same event, and makes the same request, but there is added to the statement of the case the allegation that the petitioners were hindered in their work. Certainly then, in the last document, we can see how the comogrammateus might interest himself in matters that normally would not seem to deal with revenue matters. Another document dealing with theft and assault is *P. Gurob* 8, 210 B.C., a report of robbery of a vineyard and assault on the guard.

In the cases of the two earliest petitions, the Petrie papyri mentioned above, we are in some doubt about whether the revenues were involved. Probably in the case of *P. Petr.* II, 38(a), we are concerned with revenue matters. The situation in the document has something to do with the harvest. The nature of the complaint itself is lost, but the probabilities are that it did concern revenues. *P. Petr.* III, 34(a), unfortunately, is even more fragmentary. The matter discussed is a fire in a stable, when the neighbors of the petitioner came to his assistance. This is all we have, and we cannot tell whether the petition concerned itself with revenue matters.

There are petitions to the comogrammateus which very clearly involve revenue matters. *P. Teb.* 39 discusses an assault made on one Apollodoros concerned with illicit sales of oil. *P. Teb.* 125 is also concerned with the oil monopoly, and illegal oil sales. *P. Teb.* 48, from Horos, a comarch, is another petition showing connection with revenue. Here, the comarch complains that he has been attacked and driven away while collecting grain on the threshing floor. Another Tebtunis document, only described, *P. Teb.* 128, also from the comarch Horos, complains that because of an assault he and the royal farmers were hindered in their collections and the land was not sown.

The power of the comogrammateus to arrest is clearly indicated in *P. Teb.* 758, a petition to the comogrammateus of Oxyrhyncha. Here a sitologos complains that he has been assaulted while in the baths. He requests that the culprits be secured, and states that a copy of the petition has been presented to the usual authorities. It is certainly reasonable that the comogrammateus would interest himself in an assault made on an agent of the crown, but it is interesting to find here that the sitologos himself presented the copy of the petition, and did not ask that the comogrammateus do this, as did the other petitioners.

Another group of petitions to the comogrammateus deals with land, clearly a matter of interest to this official in his financial capacity. *P. Teb.* 50 is a petition concerning damage to crown land, and the statement of the situation shows that the comogrammateus had previously reached a decision in the matter but that his judgement had not been carried out. The petitioner requests the comogrammateus to subscribe to his statements and forward the petition to the proper authorities so that the damage may be repaired and restitution made, and the petitioner then may be able to pay the rent on the land. *P. Teb.* 49 complains about damage to crops, requests that the accused be summoned and



compelled to refund the damage and, in the event that he refuses, that a copy of the petition be forwarded so that it may be placed on record and the king may incur no loss.

Considering all the petitions to the comogrammateus, we see that his activity regularly extended to matters affecting the royal revenues, but that it occasionally reached into other affairs and into the jurisdiction of the comarch. However, we have no examples of the converse, and the comarch never seems to have been involved with the revenues. The accretion of power to the comogrammateus at the expense of the comarch can probably be understood in terms of the power structure in the chora. As an officer dealing with the revenues, the comogrammateus would have had more frequent and more direct contact with higher officials, and as a man with more personal influence, the comogrammateus would naturally receive more and more appeals from natives who had been wronged.

The appearance of the comarch acting along with the πρεσβυτέρων τῶν γεωργῶν elucidates further the nature of his jurisdiction. There are two petitions, *P. Teb.* 48 and 138, in which the comarch and the elders of the farmers petition the comogrammateus. In *P. Teb.* 788 we find them petitioning the strategos. In *P. Teb.* 22, a letter to the comogrammateus, we find the comarch and the elders together again as the writers, and this is also true of *P. Teb.* 907, from the comarch and elders of the farmers to the chief of police. In *P. Teb.* 13, we find the comogrammateus, in company with the comarch and the elders of the farmers, inspecting the embankments. In *P. Teb.* 43, a petition from Menches the comogrammateus to the king and queen, we find that on the occasion of the visit of Asklepiades, epistates of the phylakitai of the Arsinoite Nome, he was greeted by Menches and the comarch along with some of the elders of the farmers, and that this was customary. In *P. Teb.* 50, a petition to Menches, the petitioner mentions in connection with the damage to his land that on an earlier occasion he took Menches, along with Horos the comarch and the elders of the farmers, and pointed out the damage which had been done. In *UPZ* 124, a prisoner was transmitted to a comarch while two elders of the village were with him. One other document, *P. Teb.* 842, of 140 B.C., shows the official nature of the association between the comarch and the elders of the farmers. This is a receipt issued to the comarch and elders of Oxyrhyncha for the dues of chaff for the 30th year.

From these documents we can conclude that the office of comarch was intimately connected with a group of village elders which was a recognized entity. Whether the elders acted only as advisors or had any real control over the comarch to form with him some sort of gerontocracy, we cannot know, but it is clear that the office of comarch involved acting with the village elders.

One last document in which we find information about the comarch shows the nature of his activities in connection with the providing of labor. *P. Petr.*



II, 13(2), 255 B.C., is a suggestion to Kleon the architect to order supplies to be given to the comarch of Sebennytos for the construction of three bridges, and that an overseer be sent there to supervise the work. The role of the comarch was probably to provide the labor.

Insofar as the evidence permits us to see the area of activity of the comarch in the Ptolemaic period, we have found that he was involved in matters of assault, theft, and private financial questions. The comarch seems to have acted often along with the elders of the village, perhaps forming with them a kind of village council to act for the village in any dealings with the crown which did not involve the revenues. The comarch's activity never penetrated into the realm of the royal revenues. The *comogrammateus*, on the other hand, who regularly dealt with the revenues, found himself more and more involved with matters which perhaps more properly might have been the business of the comarch. This change of relations between two local offices illustrates the fluidity of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, which responded to local pressures and adapted itself to the realities of situations which arose in the chora. The *comogrammateus*, with his direct connection to the financial administration, had to perform tasks which constantly brought him into contact with officials higher in the bureaucracy, and this contact gave him a potential to rectify complaints which was quickly exploited by the villagers. The jurisdictional structure of the bureaucracy was loose enough to provide for this expansion of activity, and it took place at the expense of the comarch. Although the office of comarch persisted with the same authority as it originally had, it is clear that by the middle of the second century that authority was shared, and was not exclusive.

[...]ρει κωμάρχη  
 [Εὐ]μερίας ....ρίας  
 [παρὰ] Πετευσοράπιος τοῦ  
 5 [...]σιος βασιλικοῦ γεωργοῦ  
 [τῶν] ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς.  
 [...]ωρου τοῦ Πολυκλείους  
 ἡγορακότος παρ' ἐμοῦ [ἄφ' ἧς]  
 χόρ[το]ν (ἀρούρας?) δ' τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ  
 πορείοις ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς μου γῆς, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
 10 ἀπα[ι]τούμενος οὐκ ἀποδίδω-  
 σι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐπιπορευό-  
 μενος ἐπὶ τὸν κεκομ-  
 μένον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ χόρτον  
 καὶ ἐκβιασάμ[ε]νος [τὸ]ν φύλακα  
 15 ἀπενήνεκται εἰς (ἀρούρας?) ἄ.  
 [ ..... ]

To ....res, comarch of Euemeria, from Peteusorapis, son of ....sis, a royal farmer and one of the inhabitants of the same village. ...oros, son of Polykles has bought from me 1/4 aroura of fodder for his own baggage animals, from my royal land, and being asked for payment, does not give it. Yet further, going to the fodder which has been cut by me, and forcibly expelling the guard, he has carried off 1/2 aroura.

2. The reading of this line is difficult. We read Euemeria as the village as this is the only name which could fit in the space and contain the letters on the papyrus. There are however, ink marks between what we read as the *mu* and the *epsilon*, and this makes the reading not entirely satisfactory. The occurrence of another word, also ending in ρίας is puzzling, as nothing should follow the name of the village. This second word is written a little bit higher on the line. The only explanation we can offer is that the writing of the name Euemeria did not satisfy the scribe, and he wrote the end of the name in a second time to make it clear. It may be possible to read Εὐημερίας with some crowding of the first letters. The damage to the papyrus may have resulted from the attempt to erase the second name.

3. The name Πετυσόραπις in just this form appears only in the Tebtunis papyri, 85 and 830. The appearance of a name peculiar to the Tebtunis documents increases the probability of the correctness of the reading of the village name, since Euemeria is a known village in the Arsinoite Nome, the nome in which so many of the persons in the Tebtunis documents reside.

8. The symbol in this line presents some difficulty. It is most like the symbol for artab in the *Tebtunis Papyri* (Vol. I, Index XI). In line 15 we have another symbol, presumably representing the same measure as that in line 8, but somewhat different in form. In *PSI IV*, Index XI, p. 195, we find a symbol, also somewhat like this in line 8, but representing aroura. An examination of the common manner of measuring chortos is of no help. Most often, it was measured by bundles, δέσμαι, as in *P. Petr. II*, 25(c), *P. Teb.* 122, and others. *P. Gurob 5* has ἀγκάλας for bundles. However, we find examples of reckoning by arouras, *P. Teb.* 815, fr. 7.31, and by a ἡμερούριον in *PSI* 368. Counting by artabs appears throughout the land survey reports of Tebtunis, when reckoning the produce of arouras of land. Thus we cannot exclude either aroura or artab as a possibility of the meaning of the sign. The only example of chortos allotted for πορείοις is *P. Teb.* 1055, of the second century B.C., and the quantity allotted is one, but unfortunately we do not know the measure. No conclusion can be definite, but we take aroura as the more probable meaning. A quarter artab of fodder would hardly feed one animal, let alone the number of animals mentioned here.



54. Fragment

P. Yale Inv. 140a

4.7 x 3.0 cm.

Second Century B.C.

This exiguous scrap on which only lines 3 and 4 can be read with confidence was purchased for Yale in Egypt in 1926 by Sir H.I. Bell. The three words which can be read with certainty shows that some sort of correspondence is being discussed. The writer is ordering, or asking, or something of the sort, that the addressee write something, probably the letter mentioned in the succeeding line.

Two hands appear. The first, of which only a trace appears in line 1, is a large blocky hand, not much ligatured. This hand makes up lines 1, 3, 4, and 6, which are about one cm. apart. The second hand, smaller and more cursive, makes up lines 2 and 5.

].[  
]ἐπιστῶσι ἐρ[  
]μεν ὅε' γράψ[αι  
]. ἐπι[σ]τολήν[  
]ρωπ..[  
].[

55. Letter of Diodoros to Dionysios concerning Grain-Collection

P. Yale Inv. 494

7 x 21 cm.

6 August 107 B.C. (Skt.)

This well-preserved papyrus was purchased in February, 1931, from a private collector in Cairo. It is complete in outside dimensions and damaged by only a few holes. The color is light brown, and the rather pale ink is clearly visible. After having been written, the letter was folded four times vertically from the right and then doubled over. The address, written along the sheet toward the top, is on the verso of the last fold at the top. The writing (on the recto with the fibers) extends to the edge of the sheet on the right. Margins are: left, 1 cm.; top, 4.5 cm.; bottom, 6.5 cm. The script is a cursive characteristic of Upper Egypt in the latter part of the second century B.C. (Schubart, *Gr. Pal.* 19, p. 43), and is difficult to read especially at the ends of words where it becomes undifferentiated saw-teeth, with the scribe neglecting even to include strokes for all the necessary letters. The entire text, including the signature, is in the same hand. For advice and help in the reading, we are indebted to Professor Youtie.

Diodoros writes to Dionysios, a social equal (τῶι ἀδελφῶι); the form of greeting is one which was in use at this period (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. ῥώνυμι).<sup>1</sup> He states that he is crediting him (παραδέχομαί σοι, cf. Preisigke, s.v.) for the account of a comogrammateus with three artabs of wheat, and requests that this credit be passed on to the comogrammateus in the form of six artabs of barley. In the first edition it was argued that it was the obligation of the comogrammateus to pay certain taxes or fees due from his village, and that the amount here in question was paid in to the local granary under the charge of a sitologos, Diodoros. Why then should Diodoros notify Dionysios of the transaction? It is logical to suppose that he was involved as a guarantor of the collection, as a liturgy or as the function of a tax-farmer. The grain was not drawn from the threshing floor but from some private store, since this was the season of the inundation.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. F.X.J. Exler, *A Study of Greek Epistolography*, Diss. Catholic University 1923, p. 32.

2. Zola M. Packman has dealt with the evidence for grain payments in the Thebaid at this period in a Yale dissertation (1966) and finds that they occur at various times of the year, though primarily in the late spring, at the time of harvest. Cf. *BASP* III, 1966, pp. 58-59, forthcoming as *American Studies in Papyrology*, Volume IV.



For such deferred deliveries, a tax-farming system was of obvious value to the government, and may have arisen in consequence of the growth of a landed aristocracy with large private holdings in the Thebaid in the course of the second century.<sup>3</sup> In this society, the name Dionysios occurs a number of times between 129 B.C. and 98 B.C. as land-owner and government functionary, and while these need not be the same person or identical with the writer of the present letter, there is no reason why they may not be.<sup>4</sup>

Published: C. Bradford Welles, "On the Collection of Revenues in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, 1964, pp. 7-16; cf. J. Bingen, *Chron. d'Egypte* 40, 1965, pp. 456f. (for certain reservations).

Διόδωρος Διονυσίῳ τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν καὶ  
 ἐρῶσθαι. παραδέχομαί σοι  
 εἰς τὰ ..ΦΡ .... κωμογρ[α]ματέως  
 5 πυροῦ τρεῖς. εἰάν οὖν γίνῃ,  
 παραδέξει αὐτῷ κ[ρ(ιθῆς)] (ἀρτάβας) ς.  
 ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) ι Ἐπίφ κβ.

Verso Διονυσίῳ.

Diodoros to Dionysios his brother, greetings and health. I credit you toward the account of ....., comogrammateus, 3 artabs of wheat. If you come (?), you will credit him with 6 artabs of barley. Farewell. Year 10, Epiph 22. (Verso) To Dionysios.

4. We accept Youtie's suggestion for the beginning of the line, although the first three letters are faint and damaged. Thereafter the writing is clear, but the only certain letters are *phi* and *rho*. It would be possible to read τοῦ before κωμογρ[α]ματέως (Youtie), but that would not account for the earlier part of the line. It seems to us possible to read -φρεως, as in the common Thebaic name Onnophris, but the preceding letters are not right.

5. At the end, γίνῃ is a possible reading, although the *gamma* looks more like *sigma*. It may be possible also to read γίνῃται (Youtie), but the meaning in both cases is obscure. One would expect δοκῆι or φαίνῃται.

6. The *kappa* is clear at the end (or what may be a *kappa*), but there is no sign of the *rho*, part of which should show before the lacuna.

7. The reading is difficult at the end. The *beta* is clear, but the *phi* and *kappa* are hard to read.

3. Cf. *Studien ...Oertel*, pp. 7-13.

4. Listed *Studien ...Oertel*, pp. 15f.

## 56. Edict of Ptolemy X Alexander I and Berenice

## Plate V

P. Yale Inv. 507

8.2 x 18.5 cm.

B.C. 100

The papyrus was purchased in February 1931 from a private dealer in Cairo. It is complete below, where a margin of about 3 cm. remains, but incomplete elsewhere. The papyrus is of good quality, the writing being on the recto with the fibers, and we may suppose some 8-10 cm. to have been lost at the top, with seven or eight lines of writing, so that it is possible to think of the original document as being in a single column on a separate sheet. On the other hand, the presence of a fairly conspicuous kollema and the uniform hand in the three texts, together with the lack of indication of folding, makes it more likely that this was part of a tomos synkollesimos from an official office of some sort, perhaps (as suggested above on No. 46) that of the nome strategos. So far as the remaining text goes, the basic document is a petition, of which there remains only parts of three lines and the subject of which remains obscure. The royal letter and the prostagma are cited, presumably, as supporting documents. The hand is that of a skilled and professional scribe, similar in type to Schubart, *Gr. Pal.* 17, p. 41, but better in quality.

Enough remains of the prostagma to show that the edict was concerned with the protecting of sacred fishes. This is a phenomenon well attested in antiquity (Herod. 2, 73; Strabo, 17, 2, 4; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* 10, 46; Athenaeus, 7, 312 a; Geoponica, I, 20, 7, 1, 13), and well known to modern scholars.<sup>1</sup> The oxyrhynchus was, of course, the titular deity of the city and nome named after it, and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 72) reports warfare between that nome and the people of the Cynopolite, because each had eaten the sacred animal of the other. In the later period of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, when the rulers were compelled to be solicitous about native opinion, such an ordinance is not surprising. It was the period when many temples of minor deities receive the right of asylum, and later, Cleopatra VII is reported to have made specific efforts to please the native Egyptians.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. particularly F. Dölger, *Ichthys*, I, 1928, pp. 123-126, with further citations.

2. So A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de Lagides* II, 1904, p. 176; E. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, p. 187; W.W. Tam, *CAH* X, 1934, p. 36; Rostovtzeff, *Hellenistic World*, 1941, pp. 899-903. On the fish cults see further H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1952, pp. 191-194; H. I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 1953, pp. 10 f., 60 f.



The oxyrhynchus was well-known in antiquity, and is presumably the Mormyrus Oxyrhynchus (Mormyrus Kannume) of modern Egypt. As observed at the beginning of this century, it was not only odd-looking, a large fish up to 1 m. with a long prehensile snout with which it sucked worms out of the mud, but also possessed of striking characteristics which may well have contributed to its being regarded as sacred: quarrelsomeness, a tendency to swim backwards, glowing eyes, and particularly a charge of electricity capable of giving a distinct shock. On the other hand, the second fish here named, if he is the *choiros* of ancient writers, is not known to have been held sacred and cannot be identified exactly. There are three fish which bear the name "porcus" (Porcus Bayad - Bagrus Bayad; Porcus Docmac - Bagrus Docmac; Porcus Auratus - Chrysichthys Auratus), all with numerous barbels and varying in length from 22 cm. to 1 m., and any or all of these may have been the *choirogynos* of the present text.<sup>3</sup>

]...ασι σ[  
 ἐν]τὸς τῶν ὠρισμ[ένων  
 γενομ]ένων ἐσόμεθα ἀντειλημ[μένοι].

vacat

5 [Βασιλεὺς Πτολε]μαῖος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενο[ς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ]  
 [Βασιλισσα] Βερ[ενί]κη ἡ ἀδελφὴ Χάρμω[ι χαίρειν.]  
 [ - 9 - ]...[.]ξαι τὸ ὑπ[ο]τετ[α]γμέν[ον πρόσταγμα]  
 [- μεταγραφ]ῆν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἐγχω[ρίοις γράμμασιν]  
 [ἐν τοῖς ἐπ]ισημοτάτοις τόποις τῆς κατὰ [ - 8 - ]  
 10 [φρόντισον ὅπως] ἕκαστα ἐπιτελεσθήσεται ἀ[κολούθως τοῖς]  
 [? - ἐνταῦθ]α διηγορευμένοις. ἔρω(σο). (ἔτους) ιδ', Μ[ - ]

vacat

[Βασιλέω]ν προσταξάντων. μηθένα ἀλ[ῶναι θηρεύοντα ? ]  
 [ - 7 - ]ι παρευρέσει μηδεμίαι τὸν ὀξύρ[ρυγχον - ]  
 [- 6 κ]αὶ τὸν χοιρόγυνον. ὃς δ' ἀν[άλω, θαν]άτωι ἐνοχον]  
 [εἶναι.] (ἔτους) ιδ' [

vacat

15 ]τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις νομ[οῖ]ς.

...within the specified .... (and if this is done), we shall have been aided.

King Ptolemy also called Alexander and Queen Berenice his sister to Char-  
 mos, greeting, ... the appended ordinance, translated in Greek and native letters  
 (publish) in' the most prominent places of the (district under you ?) and see that  
 everything is carried out in accordance with its provisions. Farewell. Year 14,  
 month M(?).

3. The standard treatment of the subject is G.A. Boulenger, *The Fishes of the Nile* (Zoology of Egypt III, 1, 2, 1907); see pp. 61-65 and 324-336, and Pls. XII, 1; LVII; LVIII; LX, 1.

The kings having ordered. Let no one be caught catching under any pretext the oxyrhynchus and the ... and the choirogynos. Whoever is caught is liable to the death penalty. Year 14.

Similarly to those in the other nomes

3. This well-known formula (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v.) marks the first document on the sheet as a petition; it is standard in the second and first centuries B.C. and carries over into the early Roman period. What precedes, however, is not clear. This is, unfortunately, the only clue to the transaction represented by the group of texts. The ἐντός is not certain, but seems very likely, and would lead one to expect χρόνων: "within the specified times," but I have found no examples of this. Ἡμερῶν would be equally possible, and occurs at a much later period (*P. Amh.* 72.5; A.D. 246), but nothing in the royal ordinance as preserved indicates a specified time (as conceivably for the presentation of information regarding a violation looking for a reward). The participle is used normally in the singular with a word indicating penalty, ἐπίτιμον or πρόστιμον. There can be few if any other instances of a petition being based on criminal legislation, especially one designed to protect a sacred animal.

4-5. For the heading of the letter cf. Lenger, *C. Ord. Ptol.*, Nos. 62/63. The office, as well as the identity, of Chamos is unknown. On the analogy of No 63 above, his position would not have been given at the end of line 5, where a maximum space for 14 letters is indicated by the certain restorations of lines 4 and 7. This would also exclude the καὶ ἐρῶσθαι of No. 63.

6-8. The restorations are based on the letter of Cleopatra VII and Caesarion (Lenger, *op. cit.*, No. 75: τὸ ὑποκείμενον πρόσταγμα σὺν τῶι χρηματισμῶι μεταγραφῆτω τοῖς τε Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ ἑγχωρίοις γράμμασι, καὶ ἐκτεθῆτω ἐν τε τῇ μητροπόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις τοῦ νομοῦ τόποις, καὶ τὰλλα γινέσθω τοῖς προστεταγμένοις ἀκολουθῶς. There should be a reference to publishing probably at the beginning of line 6, but the reasonably certain *xi* is awkward. At the end of line 8, τῆς κατὰ [σὲ ἐπιστρατηγίας would be a possibility, if it is not ruled out by the reference to ἄλλοι νομοὶ in line 15.

10. Either Μεχείρ or Μεσορή.

11-14. Cf. the ordinance of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII (Lenger, *op. cit.*, No.73): Μηδέν...κατάγειν παρευρέσει μηδεμίαι...πάντας παρακομίζειν...ἢ ὁ φωρασθεὶς θανάτῳ ἔνοχος ἔσται. The lacuna between lines 7 and 8 may have contained the names of other fishes.



57. Official Letter

P. Yale Inv. 854

12.6 x 17.9 cm.

93-70 B.C.

Purchased in 1931 from a Cairo dealer. The text is written with the fibers on a tan piece of papyrus. The left margin of 2.5 cm. and the bottom margin of 6.2 cm. are preserved, but the top and right parts of the sheet are torn off. It is badly eaten by worms along the beginnings of lines, and that symmetrical line of holes, with an axis running at a slight angle down the left margin, is the only indication of folding. The hand is large and well formed, with little variation in the sizes or forms of letters. The lines of writing are straight, there is almost no ligaturing, and the ink is black and clear.

The names of both writer and addressee are lost. The extant part of the text picks up with a reference to a vineyard in the village of Peenpibukis of the Coite Toparchy. This vineyard is presumably the site of the occurrences alluded to in the remainder of the text. Some people in the nome have been convicted before the chrematists, and have tried to escape their punishment. The writer asks that "the enteuxis" be sent to *Λυσανίαν τὸν [συγγενῆ] καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνακρίσεις* for actions referred to in the fragmentary remainder of the papyrus.

Since the publication of *P. Teb. 5*, 118 B.C., lines 205 - 220 of that papyrus have been taken to demonstrate that the chrematists administered Greek contracts, while the *laokritai* administered Egyptian contracts, and this conclusion has been extended to suggest a 'personality of law'. In recent years the doctrine of personality of law has lost favor,<sup>1</sup> and H.J. Wolff has argued that the chrematists specifi-

1. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 1944, p. 2, and the documents and studies there cited, for the expression of the concept. The doctrine has been challenged, successfully, we think, *inter alia* by: H.J. Wolff, "Plurality of Laws in Ptolemaic Egypt", *Rév. Int. des droits de l'antiquité*, 3<sup>e</sup> sér., 7, 1960, pp. 191-223; J. Modrzejewski, "La Règle de Droit dans L'Egypte Ptolémaïque", *American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, pp. 140-9.

cally had jurisdiction over the whole population, and not just the Greek portion of it.<sup>2</sup> Wolff took the view that, despite a coexistence of Egyptian with Greek law,<sup>3</sup> and with dikasteria administering Greek and laokritai administering Egyptian law, the chrematists acted as the representatives of the king for all law in Egypt. This theory has not met with complete acceptance,<sup>4</sup> and, unfortunately the Yale text does not introduce any new information which might help to resolve this issue.

More helpful is the allusion to the πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις. Heretofore there have been only two citations of this title. It appears in the titulature of one Apollodoros in *SB* 1568, mid. II B.C.: τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ τροφεὰ καὶ τιθηνὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐπιστρατηγὸν καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις. *P. Teb.* 86, col. ii, line 1-3 merely gives us the land holdings of one Apollonios ὁ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις. Now for the first time, in this Yale text, we have some indication of activity on the part of this officer. He clearly has some role in the petitionary process here, as he receives an enteuxis, and has some responsibility for the appearance of the parties concerned.

Taubenschlag thought that the πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις examined petitions submitted to the king, and in his brief comment on the matter<sup>5</sup> suggested that the title was synonymous with ἐπιστολόγραφος, ὑπομνηματογράφος. Wolff, in his hardly more extensive comment<sup>6</sup> suggested that he was one of the "ständigen beamten", and, citing earlier assignments of the office to the chora, noted that an unedited papyrus, Lond. inv. 610, 148 B.C., shows two archisomatophylakes fulfilling this function. If, as *SB* 1568 suggests, the πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις did his work at court, and if the London text, with the archisomatophylakes fulfilling the tasks of this office be taken to confirm the central aspect of the activity, we should expect to find in the Yale text some indication that the Lysanias, holding the office here, was a very high ranking individual.

The probabilities point in that direction. There is a Lysanias, called συγγε-

2. *Justizwesen*, pp. 64-89, and especially p. 83; "Law in Ptolemaic Egypt", *American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, p. 74.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 73 ff.

4. E. Seidl, *Ptol. Rechtsgesch.*<sup>2</sup> in particular. Modrzejewski, *op. cit.*, treating the notion of 'plurality of law', has argued cogently for the view that law, *qua* law, is to be sought in the Ptolemaic legislative activity, while the apparent plurality derives from the diverse νόμοι, custom, Greek and Egyptian.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 378. Taubenschlag's view probably rests on the mention of a hypomnemato-graphos in *P. Mich. Zen.* 55 as holding the written report of an anakrisis.

6. *Justizwesen*, p. 7 and note 9.



νοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in *OGIS* 179, 95 B.C., and this same man appears in *SB* 7259, 95/4 B.C., and *SB* 6152 and 6153, 93 B.C. The name is not among the very common, the date of the strategos is in accord with the hand of the Yale papyrus, and the restoration of line 8 (see note *ad. loc.*) as συγγενῆ is at least possible. The identification of our Lysanias with the strategos is made even more probable by the appearance of the strategos Theris in line 10. All the papyri in which the uncommon name Theris appears date to the first century B.C., and when more precise dates are given, these are in the first half of that century. A Theris appears in *BGU* 1746.15, 64/3 B.C., and the payments from one Θ<ο>ήριδος in *P. Teb.* 121, 94 or 61 B.C., may be other instances of the name. These one (or two) references in all probability belong to the official known from three other papyri. In *PSI* 949, I B.C., Theris is συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγός, and the editors of the *PSI* text identify their Theris, surely rightly, with the Theris of *SB* 5219=*SB* 6155, 69/8 B.C., there called συγγενῆς καὶ ὑπομνηματόγραφος. The evidence of the synchronisms is striking: we have two officials in our document, dated by the hand to the first half of the first century B.C.; the names of these officials appear in other documents, and these documents date to the first half of the same century; the names involved are not overly common; all the evidence points to the conclusion that the Lysanias and Theris of the Yale text are Lysanias συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγός and Theris, στρατηγός and ὑπομνηματόγραφος of the other texts.

The *Sammelbuch* texts in which our men appear are all asylum inscriptions from the Themistes Meris of the Arsinoite Nome, and show something of the succession to the strategate of the nome. In *SB* 6152 and 6153, both 93 B.C. and from Theadelphia, Lysanias is syngenes and strategos. By the time of *SB* 6236, 70 B.C. and *SB* 6154, 69 B.C. we find a new strategos, one Apollonios. He may be the strategos referred to in *SB* 6155, of the next year, the 13th of Auletes, in which Theris appears as hypomnematographos, and in any case has been replaced by 57 B.C., since one Dioskourides appears in *SB* 6156, of that year. There are no strategoi attested for the Arsinoite Nome between 93 B.C., the last appearance of Lysanias, and 70 B.C., the first mention of Apollonios, a period of some 23 years. The Yale papyrus fits neatly into this period of time. In our text, Lysanias, last seen in 93 B.C. as strategos, has been promoted, and Theris, with whom we are confronted by 69 B.C. in *SB* 6155 as hypomnematographos, has not yet reached that rank, and still serves as strategos. The Yale text must fall in the period 93-70 B.C., and shows that Theris served in the strategate between Lysanias and Apollonios. The successive officers in that command in the Arsinoite Nome for the first half of the first century then were: Lysanias (down to 93), Theris, Apollonios (by 70), and Dioskourides (by 57 B.C.). The succession was in all likelihood direct, since, with four strategoi attested in a



35 year period, the probabilities point in that direction.<sup>7</sup>

This Yale text, showing as it does that the one-time strategos Lysanias reached the position of πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι, and also that Theris, who in a later document was designated as hypomnematographos, had at one time been strategos, indicates something of the *cursus honorum* in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy in the first century B.C. Here we have two instances of men who, after reaching high rank in the chora, are brought to court to serve the king. Furthermore, the nature of promotion from strategos, to πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι in one case and to hypomnematographos in the other, shows that the two offices, if not identical as Taubenschlag suggested, were at least related. That conclusion is reinforced by some similarities of activity between Lysanias in the Yale papyrus and Theris in SB 6155. In SB 6155 the petitioner asks the king to order the hypomnematographos to communicate with the strategos and other appropriate officials with regard to his application for grant of asyilia. In the Yale text an enteuxis is to be sent to the πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι. The activity is not unrelated, and we have some evidence of the kind of matters in which the πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι may be engaged. His role is not limited to actions at court, but he, like the hypomnematographos of SB 6155, can play an intermediary role in the communication of legal matters from court to the chora.

The Yale text is too fragmentary to permit the determination either of its

7. A Lysanias appears as syngennes and strategos in *P. Teb.* 41, and the authors of *Pros. Ptol.* (I, no. 276) raise the question of identity with our Lysanias. The Tebtunis papyrus is dated ca. 119 B.C., and we suggest a later date. The editors of the Tebtunis text chose 119 B.C. on the basis of the appearance of the topogrammateus Marres in their text. They propose two topogrammateis of that name, one about 119, and the other later, pointing to the fact that during the tenure of the later Marres the strategos was Horos, while those offices were filled in the papyrus in question, *P. Teb.* 41, by Lysanias and Harmiusis. If indeed there were two topogrammateis of the name Marres, with the Onnophris of *P. Teb.* 63 intervening as the editors suggest, the second Marres was in office as late as 112 B.C. (*P. Teb.* 75, 112, 154). Ptolemaios was indeed strategos in the Arsinoite Nome in 114 B.C. (*P. Teb.* 15) and he surely is the Ptolemaios strategos of SB 7787, 108/7 B.C. at the earliest. We suggest, therefore, that the tenure of Marres, or at least the second Marres if there were two, lasted through the strategate of Ptolemaios into that of Lysanias, which, by this reasoning, would have begun sometime after 108/7 B.C. This would involve redating *P. Teb.* 41 to the very end of the century or to the nineties of the first century. As there are a number of Tebtunis texts of the nineties, the redating does not violate the context of the collection, and the names of the comarchs of Kerkeosiris do not stand against the conclusion. Horos (*Pros. Ptol.* I, no. 776) appears no later than 112 B.C., i.e., before the end of the tenure of Ptolemaios the strategos, and Harmiusis is attested only in the text under discussion, *P. Teb.* 41. Harmiusis may be supposed to follow Taos (*Pros. Ptol.* I, no. 764) attested in 112 B.C. If this reasoning is correct, the succession leading to Lysanias would be: Eirenaios (*Pros. Ptol.* I, no. 250), down to about 116 B.C. then Ptolemaios, and then Lysanias, succeeding sometime after 108/7 B.C.



actual nature or of the business conveyed. The appearance of the actual word *enteuxis* and the *ὄθεν δέομαι* formula makes it appear that the text is an *enteuxis* itself. However, in *enteuxeis* the petitioner usually asks that his petition be sent to the *chrematists*, to the *strategos*, or to some other official in the *nome*. That a petitioner ask for transmittal to the *πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσει* is unparalleled. Further, it is most unusual for the petitioner concluding his request to mention his petition without reference to a possessive, i. e., *ἐμοῦ τὴν ἔντευξιν*. ἡμῶν τὴν ἔντευξιν, and this seems to be the case here. Finally, none of the usual formulae which normally terminate *enteuxeis* can be fitted in here. We should, therefore, prefer to see this document as a letter which deals with matters raised by the *enteuxis* mentioned, but which itself is part of the official correspondence treating of the case. Indeed, it may be an official letter to the king asking him to act. This may explain the *ὄθεν δέομαι* formula, and, as an official document, such a request might not contain all the ordinary formulae of *enteuxeis*.

.....].φον ποιησαν[ .....  
 [...].ν...[ .... ἐν κώ]μη Πενπιβύκει τῆς [ Κοίτης]  
 [...] ἀμ]πελώνος καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκ[εκλη-]  
 5 [μέν]οι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ χρημα[τιστῶν]  
 καὶ κατ[εγν]ωσμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ δέοντος καὶ [ὡς]  
 ποιήσω φανερόν διελήφασιν ἐκφε[ύ]ξεσθ[αι]  
 [τ]ὴν περὶ τούτων κόλασιν. Ὅθεν δέομ[αί] σου πέμ-  
 ψαι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἐπὶ Λυσανίαν τὸν [συγγενῆ]  
 καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσει ὅπως ἐξαποστ[ύ]λῃ τὸν?  
 10 αὐτῶν διὰ Θηρίδος τοῦ στρατηγού[.....]  
 ν[ό]μον καὶ παρασφραγίσ[θῃ]...[.....]  
 [ὡς] προσήκει, τὰ δὲ ὑπ[ὲρ] ἀρχοντα .....εἰς τὸ  
 βασιλικόν.

ἔ[ρ]ρωσο.

...village of Peenpibyki of the Coite Toparchy...vineyard, and having been accused with regard to these things before the *chrematists* in the *nome*, and having been convicted as was fitting, and, as I shall make clear, they have planned to escape the penalty for these things. Wherefore I ask you to send the petition to Lysanias, kinsman and supervisor of investigations, so that he may send their ... through Theris the *strategos* ... and may seal up, as is proper ... and the property ... into the royal treasury. Farewell.

2. The village of Peenpibyki is located in the Coite Toparchy of the Heracleopolite Nome by *Stud. Pal.* X 233 and 235.

3. There is room at the beginning of this line to read *τοῦ* but, as the syntax is not at all clear, and we should ordinarily expect the article to precede the dative of location (if the vineyard is indeed in the village of Peenpibyki), we are reluctant to settle on that reading. *ἐκ[εκλη-]* fits both the sense and the space in the missing part of the sheet.

Only the beginning of the *kappa* appears before the break; the beginning of that letter and the remaining four on this line, εκλη, would fill a space not appreciably shorter than a number of supplements to other lines, and the μέν] proposed for the beginning of line 4 fits the hole there.

7. πέμψαι. The hole damaging *psi* at the beginning of the following line seems somewhat larger than is needed for this letter, but the traces do not seem to accord with any other possibility. Ἀποστέλλειν is more common in a construction of this sort, but will not fit here, and in any case the meaning requires a verb indicating that the enteuxis is to be sent to Lysanias.

9. Some accusative is indicated here, to be object of the verb. Most probable is an article, to go with some word, e.g. κληρονόμον, to follow στρατηγοῦ in line 10. We should expect a word denoting a person, since ἐξαποστέλλειν consistently takes a personal object, and the most probable word would be a participle, i.e., someone appointed or sent διὰ Θηρίδος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. However, the appearance of ν[ό]μον at the beginning of line 11 would seem to resist the interpretation of a participle, and might very well be the ending of κληρονόμον, and if this be the case, we are required to understand that the heir is to be sent through the agency of Theris, a construction which, though awkward, would be clear to the reader.

11. παρασφραγίζεσθαι seems to indicate the sealing up of places, as oil-making equipment is sealed in locations in *P. Rev. Laws* 26, 46, 51, and the oil itself is sealed in storage places in *P. Rev. Laws* 54 and 57/60. *P. Teb.* 703. 141-158 makes it clear that the oil and the oil-making implements themselves are not to be sealed, but the factories and storehouses are the objects of sealing. In *P. Teb.* 703. 113-117 looms are to be transported to storehouses and sealed. Tax farmers seal buildings, houses in *PCZ* 59275 and 59474, and dove-cotes in *SB* 7202. In *UPZ* 5 and 6, officials, after taking deposits from the Serapeum, seal up the remaining treasure. An apparent exception to this meaning of sealing up (objects in) places is *P. Teb.* 801. 12-17: δεῖν γραφῆναι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων, καὶ στρατηγοῦ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρασφραγίζεσθαι καὶ ἐξαποστῆλαι ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. As the editors remark in the note to this passage, παρασφραγίζεσθαι seems to have ἀνθρώπους as its object, and in this case, it should be interpreted to mean something like "under guard", as an extension of the meaning attested in earlier texts. It may well be that the Tebtunis text, which uses both παρασφραγίζεσθαι and ἐξαποστῆλαιν to refer to men, is a parallel to the Yale text, and the meaning may be that the [person] to be sent is also to be 'sealed' with the verb in the transitive, παρασφραγίσ[ηται]. On the other hand the usage may be the more conventional, it may be a place which is to be sealed, and the verb may be in the passive, e.g., παρασφραγίσ[θη]ναι, παρασφραγίσ[θη].



58. Receipt

P. Yale Inv. 139

13.1 x 15.2 cm.

6 September 98 B.C. (?) (Skt.)  
Tebtunis

Acquired for Yale University from an Egyptian dealer by Sir Harold I. Bell, this torn and abraded piece of papyrus is the more tantalizing for the fact that the matters which appear to be of the greatest interest are those for which the readings are the most uncertain. Although parts of all margins are preserved, a large piece is missing from the lower left, another from the upper right, and the whole right margin is in tatters. Much has been broken away from within the piece. The surface is so broken and worn that few words are intact, and abrasion has carried away whole groups of letters in a number of places. The hand is a practiced cursive typical of the first century B.C., and the ink, where undamaged, is black and clear.

The date of the receipt is the 16th year of some king, and, since the hand can only be first century B.C., or the very late second at the earliest, attribution is limited to the only kings who had 16th years at that time, Ptolemy X, Alexander, and Ptolemy XII, Auletes. A date of 65 B.C. (Auletes) is by no means excluded palaeographically, and the hand of this document, which is from Tebtunis, is not unlike the documents from Tebtunis which the editors themselves cannot ascribe with confidence to either Ptolemy X or XII, as for example, *P. Teb.* 103 or *P. Teb.* 120. However, the majority of the Tebtunis Papyri are earlier than the middle first century B.C., the hand of this papyrus is close enough to the earlier hands as that of *P. Teb.* 47, and the form and vocabulary of this text is most like that of the receipts of *P. Teb.* 100, 117-116 B.C., and in balance, it is rather more likely that this receipt belongs to 98 B.C.

The receipt, if the readings are correct, acknowledges payment of 1 talent, 800 drachmas, bronze. The sum is fairly large, and compares with figures in some of the accounts among the Tebtunis Papyri, e.g. *P. Teb.* 876, mid II B.C. The receipt can hardly be one issued for ordinary payments by an individual taxpayer, particularly in view of the fact that line 5 indicated that the payment was made for Payni. It may well be that the receipt was issued to an official for his transfer of a total of collected sums.

What seems to be paid is the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος*. This term first appeared in the Tebtunis land survey papyri published in volume I of *Tebtunis Papyri* and was discussed in Appendix I, #7 of that volume. This was a separate category of land, and Grenfell and Hunt, basing their conclusions on *P. Petr.* 97.10, which refers to land *ἐν προσόδω τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως*, argued that the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδος* refers to land set aside to produce revenues for the royal children. Land of this sort is mentioned at Kerkeosiris, Tebtunis, and Magdola. Grenfell and Hunt noted that it is not possible to know whether the land remained perman-



ently with each royal child even after his accession, or was an endowment which was always separated for the children only.

The only subsequent appearance of this term in Ptolemaic times is in *BGU* 1216.81, 110 B.C.(?) which showed this category of land in the Heracleopolite Nome. It was simply that—a statement of quantity of land, and added nothing to our knowledge. Nothing has appeared since to challenge Grenfell and Hunt's conclusion, which was noted without demur by Rostovtzeff (*Kolonat* p. 44) and Wilcken (*Grundzüge* p. 147). Roman use of the term appeared in *P. Bouriant* 30, of the second century, and there, with all previous comments noted, Grenfell and Hunt's conclusion was accepted and it was shown that in Roman times the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* became a subdivision of the *διοίκησις*.

But something new was added by the Bouriant papyrus. Since the references to *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* in the texts published in volume I of *Tebtunis Papyri* and also in *BGU* 1216 consistently use the term as a category of land, any discussion based upon these would conclude that the rents or proceeds ought to have been paid in kind. Such would have been the normal procedure. Yet the Bouriant text, fragmentary though it is, reckons in money throughout, and it is clear that the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* yielded cash in Roman times. There is an indication that in Ptolemaic times too, the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* yielded cash, in *P. Teb.* 700, and this indication is confirmed by the Yale text. In lines 2 and 81 of *P. Teb.* 700, 124 B.C., the term *τὸν κεχωρισμένον* completed in restoration as *τὸν κεχωρισμένον λόγον τῶν λημμάτων* appears, and whatever the precise phraseology was, the general context is clear. The beginning of the document is a banker's receipt for payment into the bank of moneys and taxes paid for land which had been sold at auction by the government, and the money is to be credited to an account called *κεχωρισμένον*. The editors, in discussing this term, note that it recalls the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος*, but note that the non-recurrent nature of the payment suggests rather payment to the *idios logos*. There is no reason, however, that non-recurrent payments should in any way exclude the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος*, particularly in view of the fact that in *P. Teb.* 700 a sale of land is involved, and, as Mr. Paul Swaney has shown in a recent Yale dissertation, dealing with the historical development of the *idios logos*, by 124 B.C. the office was well enough developed to suggest that the term would be used if it was meant. That a sale of land, presumably of the category of the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* would be credited to the 'special account' is not at all surprising, even though payment is in cash, and this would fit well with the earlier published Tebtunis documents in which the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* appears only as a category of land. But the Tebtunis text adds to the capital sum of 5 talents, sums for tax, 300 drachmas for *telos*, 500 drachmas for the sixtieth, 30 drachmas for the thousandth.

The Yale papyrus confirms the payment of cash for the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος*. Here, as one would expect, the payment of 1 talent 800 drachmas seems to be described as *φόρος*, but little more than this can be ascertained since the sheet is so badly damaged. Indeed, the receipt might not have told us much more even if it were intact. The extant text suggests clearly that in Ptolemaic times *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* meant more than a special category of land, and included



revenues in cash as well, and that these revenues, either from sale of produce or the land itself, or revenues from entirely discrete sources, were collected and recorded in a separate account.

Since there are few references to these revenues, it is reasonable to assume that they did not play a large part in the Ptolemaic economic structure. Although the evidence does show that land of this category existed in more than one nome, with its appearance in both Arsinoite and Heracleopolite contexts, and may well have existed more generally, the land category or the revenues cannot have been a very general concern, as it neither appears beyond these few citations among the multitude of records nor is mentioned in any of the official instructions of the Ptolemaic period. It must have persisted through the Ptolemaic period into Roman times, as the Bouriant papyrus shows in the accounting of *κεχωρισμένη πρόσοδος* in the second century. We have in this Yale text and in the scanty other references to these revenues a reminder both of the articulation of the Ptolemaic economy and our still imperfect understanding of it.

Ἔτους ἰς Μεσορή κ̄ε. Διαγέγραφε )  
 διὰ Μ . . . . . ιου ἐν Τεπτύνει  
 [..].αρ.....σιος τοῦ Παθιείου  
 ἐκ φόρου . [ . . ] . [ . . ] ης κεχωρ(ισμένης) [π]ρ(οσόδου)  
 5 εἰς Παῦνι χαλκοῦ τάλαντον ἕν,  
 [ὀκτακο]σίς / (τάλαντον) [α] ω

Year 16, Mesore 25. Paid through M(?)...in Tebtunis, ... son of Pathieies, from revenue ... of the kechorismene prosodos, for Payni, bronze, one talent, eight hundred, (Talent) 1, 800.

2. The *mu* at the beginning of the name is most uncertain. The letters could be a most peculiar *sigma*, followed by *alpha* or *epsilon*, that in turn by *iota* or *rho*; alternatively, the strokes could be *tau-rho*.

3. The names at the beginning of this line too cannot be read. The first ink must come from a long hasta, either of *iota*, *rho*, *phi*, or *psi*, and the next letter looks more like *alpha* than anything else. Of the letters which follow the two which are read, the second and third look like *epsilon-iota*. This line must contain the name of the payer, his father, and his grandfather, and only the last can be read. The name of the grandfather, probably Παθιεύς in the nominative, appears neither in the *Namenbuch* nor among the names known at Tebtunis. There is a name, Παθρῆς in *P. Teb.* 845, 264 B.C., and it is not impossible that we should read here a *rho* rather than *iota*, and possibly even *eta* for *epsilon-iota*, although if the name comes from Παθρῆς it could certainly have the spelling Παθρείους in the genitive.

4. The *epsilon* of *κεχωρ* is peculiar, but no other letter seems possible. The upper part of a *rho*, ending an abbreviation, is clear.

5. The dubious letters have been almost completely destroyed by abrasion, but enough remains of the final *upsilon* of *χαλκοῦ* to make it almost certain. Much of the sheet is broken away at the right, but the high upward stroke of the final *nu* is clear, as is most of the lower part of the letter, and the preceding traces must be of either *epsilon* or *sigma*.

6. Both sign for 'talent' and the *omega* for '800' are very seriously abraded, but both can be read with reasonable safety.

59. Fragment

P. Yale Inv. 28b

3.7 x 4.5 cm.

First Century B.C. or P.C.

This tiny scrap of light tan papyrus comes from a group of fragments the provenience of which is unknown, although we suspect that they came to the Yale collection with papyri from Hibeh. The writing, on the recto with the fibers, is in a very fine hand, and the fragment is either from a literary prose work or an extremely well written document.

]·[·].ο·.[  
τ·περ·[  
των περι[  
του ακου[  
5 ητης μοι λ[  
ποποι[

6. ποποι: All the citations of this word in Liddell-Scott have been checked, as well as its occurrence in Homer, Aeschylus and Sophocles as listed in the lexica to those writers. This brought no identification, and we conclude that ποποι is continued from the preceding line, perhaps a form of αποποιέω.



III  
DOCUMENTS  
OF THE  
ROMAN PERIOD

DOCUMENTS  
FOR THE  
ROMAN PERIOD

P. Yale H

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1. Aegyptis 31.
2. for the 27th in any in of 5 B.C.



60. Cancelled Note of Hand

P. Yale Inv. 501

15 x 14.5 cm.

6/5 B.C.

The papyrus was acquired in Cairo in 1931 from a private collector. It is complete on all sides except below, where a major fold may have caused the breaking away and loss of the lower half of the original sheet. The left margin is re-inforced by a blank strip of papyrus, which tends to cover the first letters of the lines and which is held in place by patching on the verso; whether this was done in modern times or in antiquity we should not be inclined to guess. After having been written, the document was folded from both sides toward the center vertically, and then doubled over. The center fold contains on its back writing running vertically from top toward bottom and is encrusted with dirt, showing that it was for some time the only part of the papyrus which was exposed. This may well argue that the document was preserved long after it had been cancelled on the repayment of the loan. This may be identified as a docket.

The writing is on the recto with the fibers, and the script is a clear semi-cursive with a professional aspect. Lines are straight and even, and about the same height (0.5 cm.) as the interlinear intervals, and few letters project above or below the others. The top and left margins are about 2.5-3.0 cm. There is no margin at the right. The whole of the recto is criss-crossed with cancellation lines in a diamond grid of about 1.5-2.0 cm. in each direction.

The transaction is a simple one. A certain Dionysios, son of Chairemon, who as debtor styles himself "Perses, of the Epigone,"<sup>1</sup> acknowledges that he has received as a loan from C. Julius Carus the sum of 102 drachmas which he will repay with interest on the first (ἡμέρα Σεβοστῆ)<sup>2</sup> of the following Epiph, under the usual 50% penalties applying to both interest and principal. (In the loss of the date at the end of the document, the duration of the contract remains unknown, but it cannot have been more than ten months.) The value of the text

1. Hans-Albert Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der Graeco-Aegyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit* (Münch. Beitr. 51, 1967), p. 19 and notes 27-31.

2. Cf. W.F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* 18, 1938, pp. 227-233; 44, pp. 162-164, who holds for the first, against J. Schwartz, who has recently argued for an imperial birthday, the 27th in the case of Augustus. The present example, not known to Snyder, is earlier than any in his list. *P. Teb.* 459 dates from Choiach of the 26th year, or November/December of 5 B.C.

lies in its date – it is one of the earliest of the Oxyrhynchus texts<sup>3</sup> – and in the identity of the creditor, C. Julius Carus, who is designated as a discharged cavalry soldier. It would be interesting to know whether his service had been in a legion or in an auxiliary squadron. In any case, he must have received his citizenship from Caesar or from Augustus, and must have been left behind, presumably by the latter, whether discharged or still in service. He is the earliest attested veteran in our records from Egypt. Twenty years or more later, he here appears as a business man. This loan is not large and is given for unspecified purposes, but it was not all that Dionysios owed him.

Two other features of the text are also unusual. We have not found any parallels either for the docket, if that is what it is, on the verso, nor for the specification of the increased interest in line 12. In his new and valued study of the loans in the papyri, Rupprecht gives no example of either.<sup>4</sup>

Published: E.C. Baade, "Two Yale papyri dealing with the Roman Army in Egypt," *Akten des VIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie*, Wien, 1955 Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, N.S., V, 1956, pp. 23-25; SB 9289.

[Δ]ιονύσιος Χαιρήμονος Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς,  
 Γαίωι Ἰουλίωι Κάρωι ἱππεῖ ἀπολελυμένωι  
 χαίρειν. ὁμ[ολογῶ]ι ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς  
 [Ἰ]ξυρύγχων πόλει Σαραπειῖου διὰ τῆς Ζωίλου  
 5 [καὶ Διονυσίου] τραπέζης ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου  
 νομίσματ[ος] δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν δύο, καὶ ἀπο-  
 δώσω σοι ἄ[ν]ευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης εὐρη-  
 σιλογίας τῆι Σεβαστῆι τοῦ Ἐπιφ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 πέμπτου κ[αὶ] εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος, ἐὰν δὲ [μὲν]  
 10 μὴ ἀποδῶ[ι], ἐκτείσω σοι τὸ προκείμενον κεφά-  
 λαιον με[θ']ἡμιολίας καὶ τόκον τοῦ ὑπερπεσόν-  
 [τος] χρόνου δραχμὰν μίαν τριώβολον, τῆς πράξεως  
 σοι οὔσης ἐ[κ] τε ἐμοῦ κ[αὶ] ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι  
 πάντων καθάπε[ρ] ἐ[κ] δίκης, ἀκύρων οὐσῶν  
 15 κ[αὶ] ὧν [ἐὰν ἐπενέγκω] π[ί]στε[ω]ν. Κυρία ἡ χεῖρ  
 [πα]ντ[ι] ἀχῆ ἐπιφερομένη καὶ [πα]ντὶ ἐπι-  
 [φέ]ρ[οντι], μὴ ἐλαττουμένου σου περὶ [ῶ]ν ἄλλων ὀφείλωι  
 [σοι - -

## Verso

E.....ΑΙΧΟΣ...ΣΑ.ΒΑ. τῆς χ[ρ]ήσεως  
 Διονυσίου - - ... [

3. Cf. Tumer's article on "Roman Oxyrhynchus," cited on lines 4/5, and the comment of the editors in *P. Oxy.* XIV, pp. 5 f. The earliest text known seems to be *P. Oxy.* 1723, of 116-107 B.C.

4. Cf. his discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-99, with the literature, p. 97, n. 1.



Dionysios son of Chairemon, Persian of the Epigone, to C. Julius Carus, discharged cavalryman, greeting. I acknowledge that I have from you at the Sarapeium in Oxyrhynchus through the bank of Zoilos and Dionysios one hundred and two drachmas of capital silver coin, which I shall return to you without suit or judgment or any excuse on the first (Augustan Day) of Epeiph of the current twenty-fifth year of Caesar. And if I do not return this sum, I shall pay you the above capital plus 50% and interest for the over-time at the rate of a drachma and three obols (each month), you having the right of execution from me and from all my property as if on the basis of a judgment, and all safe-conducts which I may bring forward shall be invalid. This note is valid wherever presented and for anyone who presents it, with your rights not being diminished with respect to other debts which I owe you ---

2. For the designation cf. *P. Hamb.* 1. 5/6 (A.D. 57): Λούκιος Ουέτιπιος Λουκίου υἱὸς Διογένης τῶν ἀπολελυμένων ἰππέων; *ibid.*, 5. 1-4 (A.D. 88/9): Λουκίω Ουαλερίω Γάλλω ἀπολυσίμω ἰππὶ παρὰ Νεοπολέμου τοῦ Κρίστου τῶν ἀπολελυμένων ἰππέων; *P. Oxy.* 1471. 5/6 (A.D. 81): παρὰ Μάρκου Λογγεῖνου Κ[αστρ]ησίου ἀπολελυμένων ἐντίμω; *P. Fouad* I, 44 (A.D. 44): παρὰ Λουκίου Πομπηίου Λουκίου υἱοῦ φυλ(ῆς) Πολλία τῶν ἀπολελυμένων στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ εἰκοστῆς λεγεῶνος.

4/5. For the expression cf. *P. Oxy.* 1639. 3-5 (77 or 44 B.C.): ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύχων πόλει Σαραπειῶν ἃ καὶ διαγράφεται διὰ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου ἰδιωτικῆς τραπέζης, and further Preisigke, *Griewesen*, pp. 20-27; E.G. Turner, *JEA* 38, 1952, pp. 78-93, esp. p. 82. This bank is not otherwise attested.

6. The interest is not mentioned, leaving open the question whether any was to be charged (Rupprecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84). Because the capital value of the loan is an uneven sum, and because interest at a 50% mark-up from the normal 12% is prescribed in case of default, we are inclined to suspect that the loan was actually for 100 drachmas for a period of two months, making the total due payment at the end of the term 102 drachmas.

12-15. This form of praxis clause belongs to the late Ptolemaic period, when royal or other πίστεις were still in existence and might stand in the way of execution on the person. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 1639. 16/17 (73 or 44 B.C.): μὴ μενουσῶν ἡμῖν πίστεων καθ' ὄντινον ὄντινον τρόπον, and references. See further on the whole subject E. Seidl, *Pistis in der griechischen Literatur bis zur Zeit des Peripatos* (Diss. Innsbruck, 1953); Walter Schmitz, *He Pistis in den Papyri* (Diss. Köln, 1964).

17. The final clause occurs regularly in loans throughout the Roman period in one form or another. It is enough to cite *BGU* 636. 21-23 (A.D. 20): μὴ ἐλατουμένου σου περὶ ἐτέρων ὧν ὀφείλω σοι. It may, but does not necessarily, mean that other debts were actually outstanding, since these are frequently mentioned expressly (so, e.g., *BGU* 1166. 13 B.C.).<sup>5</sup>

5. In writing the commentary, I have had the benefit of extensive notes assembled by E.C. Baade, which he did not use in the *editio princeps*.

61. Edict of Subatianus Aquila

Plate VI

P. Yale Inv. 843

13.5 cm. x 35 cm.

May 22, ca. 208-210 A.D.

This fine piece of papyrus was acquired by purchase for the Yale Papyrus Collection from a private dealer in Cairo in February of 1931. It has margins of 3 cm. at left; 2 cm. at the top and 3 cm. at the bottom. A vacant space of 7.5 cm. has been left between the end of the order and the dating formula at the bottom. The writing is on the recto with the fibers. At some time the papyrus was folded in thirds lengthwise in such a way that the left hand edge was on the outside; and this has resulted in some wear and fraying at the left in lines 1 and 2 and at the left hand edge of the dating formula where the year date has been lost. Both this, however, and the letters lost in lines 1 and 2 can be restored with virtual certainty.

The hand of the prefect's order itself on this papyrus is of great interest. It is very similar to that of *PGB 35* (*SB 4639*), also an order of Subatianus Aquila written in December of 209 A.D. There is a full discussion of the paleography of the Berlin text in Schubart *Gr. Pal.*, pp. 73f., and in the original publication by Zucker, *SB Akad. Berlin XXXVII* (1910) pp. 710-730. For the chancery hand see G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45, 1965, pp. 216-249. *P. Yale 61* is not by the same hand as the Berlin papyrus and in general is not so fine an example, but both show a strong sense of style with tall slender straight lines emphasizing the vertical even in *omicron* and *theta*. The curves are, however, gracefully done particularly in *alpha* and *delta* which, as in the Berlin document, are about 0.4 cm. to 0.7 cm. in average height, and in our papyrus there is a stronger tendency to use cursive forms particularly in *kappa*, *pi* and *epsilon*. *Kappa*, for instance, is always a one stroke letter rounded at the bottom while in *PGB 35* it is made with a long vertical hasta and with another stroke to complete the letter. In spite of these differences in some individual letters and in general fineness of execution, these two papyri stand together palaeographically in this tradition of the chancery hand.

Given the attention to the writing and the sense of style in this papyrus, we are somewhat surprised at the number of mistakes which were made in writing the text, some of which have been corrected and some of which have not. Corrections where made are done in a cursive hand different from that of the heading or date. The following are the errors and corrections:



In line 5 ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ has been added.

In line 8 αὐτακέρσιν is written for αὐταρκέσιν and not corrected.

In line 9 εἰς has been corrected with ὦν; ὀλογλήροις written for ὀλοκλήροις.

In line 10 ἡμέρας has been written for ἡμέραις and has not been corrected.

In line 11 βουλούμενοι has been written for βουλόμενοι and not corrected.

In line 12 ον has been crossed out and ὦν of δύνωνται written above.

In line 13 παρεγγέλλενται is written for παρεγγέλλεται and is not corrected.

In line 15 ἄν has been prefixed to ἐλθῶν by adding it above the line.

In line 16 ποιήσονται has been changed to ποιήσῃται by crossing out the letters ον and writing η above. Also in this line εκλεμψιν is written for ἐκληψιν.

More serious problems, however, occur because there is also confusion in the syntax of this order. Whether it is the fault of the scribe or of a higher official that each of the two sentences in the edict is somewhat obscure must remain unknown. Nonetheless the general intent is clear and specific difficulties are discussed in the notes. We might note here only the unique use of ἐκέλευσεν instead of ἐκέλευσα and ask whether this too is the work of this particular scribe. Two separate points may be mentioned to close this discussion of the hand of the order; one is the use of the apostrophe above *gamma* in παρεγγέλλενται and in τυγχάνη. The other is the peculiar separation of σεσημ(είωμαι) between two lines. This ought to be the approval of the prefect and in his own hand; it does not, however, seem to be the same as that hand that signed *PGB 35* with ἐρρώσθαί σε βούλομαι although the comparative evidence is slight. It does seem clear that the letters σεσημ in our papyrus are written in the same hand as that which provided the corrections in the order itself, and that may be in the hand of the strategos.

The heading with the name of the strategos is written in an entirely different hand, a cursive characteristic of this period, and was probably added in the strategos' office. It is usual for the strategos' name to be given in the nominative with no verb in such situations as this heading; e.g. *P. Leit.* 5.20 and *P. Iand* 140.1. The dating formulae at the bottom are written in yet another hand separated from the main text by a space of 7.5 cm. This hand is extremely cursive to the point of illegibility and may be accurately characterised as a scrawl.

The year date has been lost on the papyrus but can be fixed within a range of five years on the basis of the prosopographical data, the known dates for the tenure of office of Subatianus Aquila as Prefect of Egypt and those of Serapion as strategos of the Themistes and Polemon districts of the Arsinoite Nome. Subatianus Aquila from Cuicul in Africa was a member of a family prominent under Septimius Severus and had a long tenure as Prefect in Egypt for which there is a great deal of evidence (see A. Stein, *Die Präfecten Aegyptens*, pp. 111-14 and *RE* s.v. Subatianus(1)). See also H. Pflaum, *Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres*, vol. ii, pp. 649-650, the entry for his brother Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus). He is first attested as Prefect in 206 and last mentioned in July 210. Unfortunately this does not establish a definite limit to his tenure of office, for the



next dated reference to a prefect is to L. Baebius Aurelius Juncinus on 29 January 213 in *P. Giss.* 40. It has been traditional to insert one Magnius Felix Crescentillianus between Subatianus and Baebius but his dates are not really known.

A similar difficulty exists in establishing the dates of Serapion's tenure as strategos of the Arsinoite. Serapion, also called Apollonianus or Apollonius, is a well known figure of this period in Egypt. He was later governor of the Hermopolite Nome, also a senator and prominent resident of Oxyrhynchus. The Italian excavations of 1932 turned up what is obviously part of his archive of business papers (see introduction to *PSI* 1243) and what may have been part of his extensive library. Other papyri concerning this family are in the Oxyrhynchus collection. Professor Eric G. Turner discussed the archive in "Roman Egypt", *JEA* 38, 1952, pp. 86-90 and provided a stemma for the family. Our piece was probably also preserved in Serapion's papers although it came on the market separately. He is first attested as strategos of the Themistes and Polemon Divisions on 15 March 208 in *PSI* 1243, although *PSI* 1245 may be datable to July/August of 207, and this too mentions Serapion as strategos of the Themistes and Polemon divisions. His predecessor was one Hierax attested last on 4 March 206. He is last known in office on 31 July 210, in *P. Flor.* 317, but the next mention of a strategos in this area is in *BGU* 321 (= *MChr.* 2. 114) on 7 April 216 naming one Aurelius Didymus. We can narrow the gap a little further because in *P. Oxy.* 2184 in 215 Serapion, now called Aurelius Serapion, also called Apollonius, is styled as former strategos στρατηγῆσ[αντι Ἀρ]σινοείτου Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος [ε]ρίδων and so by 215 he was out of office. (Mussies admirable lists supplementing H. Henne, *Stratèges*, in *Studia Papyrologica Varia (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava XIV)* are a little misleading at this particular point by implying that Serapion was still in office in *P. Oxy.* 2184. Henne himself had placed a certain Theon who is addressed in *PGB* 35 in the list of strategoi of the Polemon and Themistes divisions although he is simply addressed as στρατηγῶι Ἀρσινοείτου. Since he would interrupt the tenure of Serapion he must have been strategos of the Heraclidou meris and there is no evidence to contradict this. In fact, he is probably to be identified with the Theon also called Philoserapis attested there in 212 in *BGU* 2 (= *MChr.* 113).

With this information we can narrow the possible range of dates for our papyrus to 208 (possibly 207) to 212. The probabilities build a case for the years 208-210. If Magnius Felix Crescentillianus was prefect in 211-12, as is possible, that would narrow our range. Further, if strategoi do usually have a tenure of three years, and such seems often to be the case, we would expect Serapion to have been in office from 207 to 210. However, *P. Oxy.* 2184 dated to 215 is a letter to Serapion, here called Aurelius Serapion, reminding him that he has not yet turned in the accounts of his period of office for audit, and it might be thought he had only recently quitted that office but there is no sure evidence. Serapion's tenure as strategos of the Hermopolite Nome could have begun as early as 211 or as late as 217 and, if *P. Oxy.* 2227 is rightly restored, he was strategos there in 215/6. This establishes no definite information about when he left the Arsinoite Nome.



One other piece of evidence might fit here; in *PSI* 1148 we learn that Subatianus Aquila planned a trip through Egypt in 210 as far as the Coptite Nome. This took place in the early months of that year for the purpose of holding the conventus and Arsinoe may well have been included, in which case Subatianus was there on March 22, 23 and 24 of 210 (Phamenothe 16, 17 and 18 in our text), but no doubt he made more than one trip through Egypt during his long prefecture and no certainty is attainable.

In spite of the difficulties and uncertainties in points of detail, the intent of the edict preserved on this papyrus is clear. Subatianus Aquila orders that petitions (*libelli*) which had been handed in at the conventus in Arsinoe two months earlier to which he had responded and which had been published in Alexandria, now be displayed in the Arsinoite Nome. This is obviously a change in procedure and one that must be reckoned of some importance in the administration of justice in Roman Egypt. The office of the prefect has received a great deal of study<sup>1</sup> and we can outline briefly the procedure surrounding the conventus. When the prefect held the assize the petitions were turned in<sup>2</sup> and after examination by the prefect and his legal staff an answer was given which might be a decision or might refer the case to a lower official for specified action investigatory or judicial. This answer was written as a subscript and then the petition with the subscript was posted (προτεθείς) for a certain period of time. *P. Col.* 123, the apokrimata papyrus, while it preserves the decisions of the emperor rather than the prefect, provides a good parallel to the kinds of answer given by the prefect in different cases. *P. Col.* 123 preserves copies of the subscriptions alone which were posted along with the original petitions in the Stoa of the Gymnasium in Alexandria and, while the purpose of this varied collection of subscripts has been much discussed<sup>3</sup> no agreement among scholars has been reached. Our papyrus may shed some light

1. O. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, *Klio Beiheft* 34, 1935, and *ibid.*, *RE* 44, 1954, Nachträge, 2353-77, s.v. *Praefectus Aegypti*. An excellent survey of judicial function and procedure is Jean Coroi, "Le Conventus Juridicus," *Actes de iv<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des études Byzantines*, *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9, 1935, pp. 355-81. Humbert, "La Jurisdiction du Préfet d'Egypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien," in *Aspects de l'Empire Romain*, 1964, pp. 97-144, does not discuss this aspect of the prefect's role. A new survey of the dates of the prefects, by Reinmuth, will appear in the forthcoming *BASP* IV, 4, as "A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt, 30 B.C.-299 A.D."

2. The wording of *P. Yale* 61 would tend to confirm that cases were not investigated prior to the conventus, that is the first knowledge the prefect had of a case came at the conventus itself when the petition was handed in. (See J.N. Coroi, *op. cit.* pp. 376 f. for a discussion of the problem.) However, our papyrus seems to show that the answers were not published immediately.

3. See the bibliographies of E. Seidl in *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, XXI, 1955, pp. 434 f.; XXV, 1958, pp. 411 f.; XXVII, 1961, p. 463.



on the question by indirection, for in ordering copies to be placed in the nomes, this order makes us wonder what procedure was followed previously. If answers to libelli handed in at Arsinoe were posted in Alexandria, either the petitioner or someone else had to copy the answer given when they were posted. Naturally the petitioners would have a copy of the petition and so would their lawyers; and, if they lived in the Fayum, for instance, they might return home after the assize and hire someone else to copy the answer for them when it was posted. The apokrimata copies in *P. Col.* 123 then would be the work of a man hired by a group of people or a lawyer from one locality (or even different groups from several localities) to do such copying. Since the petitioner had his copy of the petition it seems only probable that he would save the expense of having a long document recopied when just a few lines were all he needed. If it later became necessary to copy over a whole document then a notarized copy could be made from the official archives. *BGU* 525 plus 970, *P. Oxy.* 35 and 2131, are such copies.

The order in our papyrus is, then, an attempt to make justice more readily available to the people outside of Alexandria and to make them less dependent on a copyist for information.

We cannot of course tell from this papyrus whether this was done only for the Polemon and Themistes merides of the Arsinoite Nome or was general throughout Egypt. Subatianus may have decided that all the areas should receive copies of petitions and decisions. We do know on the other hand that petitions could be posted outside of Alexandria (cf. *P. Oxy.* 2131: ἐν Ἀντινοῦ πόλ(ει) ἐν τῷ Ἀντινοῦίφ and *BGU* 525 plus 970: ἐν Ἰουλιόπολ(ει)), but there is no evidence that they could be or were posted in Arsinoe or throughout the nomes and our papyrus may be extending to the Arsinoite a privilege already enjoyed elsewhere. In any case such posting is an innovation at least in the Fayum or else it would not be the subject of an edict; and it is an innovation that reflects the prefectural concern for the administration of justice, to make it easily and readily available to all.

It is worth commenting on the nearly incredible number of petitions handed in during the two and one half days of the conventus, 1804, an astounding burden on the prefect. This is remarkable evidence showing how hard the administrators had to work to keep the empire functioning, especially when we remember that each petition was special pleading involving many times obscure material.

The second paragraph παρεγγέλλεται κτλ. must be related to the first order and in spite of slight obscurity, clearly concerns the administration of the edict itself. The edict does not say who is to copy the petitions and put them up, but the office of the strategos is certainly responsible for getting the petitions up and perhaps the prefectural chancery in Alexandria sent along copies to be so posted this time. And now each interested party can make his own copies, or have them made. It is probably not a new permission granted here, for copies could always be made of posted answers; rather the sentence stresses the availability of justice to each individual for he need not hire a lawyer or copyist in Alexandria but can attend to the task himself in the metropolis.



Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπόλλων στρατηγὸς Ἀρσι(νοῖτου) Θεμ(ίστου) καὶ Πολέ(μωνος)  
μερίδων

- (2nd hand) ὁ λαμπρῶτατος ἡγέμων Σουβατιανὸς  
Ἀκύλας] κατὰ τὴν εἰς πάντα αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν  
5 ἐκέλευσεν τὰ ἐπιδοθέντα αὐτῷ βιβλίδια ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ  
τῇ κς καὶ κς καὶ μέρει τῆς κη τοῦ Φαμενώθ  
μηνὸς ἀρίθμῳ Ἄωδ προτεθέντα καὶ  
ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ αὐτακέρσιν ἡμέραις  
καὶ ἐπὶ τόπ[οις] ἄνω προτεθῆναι ὀλογλήροις  
10 ἡμέρας τρισὶν καὶ δηλωθῆναι τοῖς ἐν τῷ  
νομῷ ἵνα οἱ βουλούμενοι τὰ διαφέρον—  
τα ἑαυτοῖς ἐκλαβῖν δυν[οῦν] ἴωνται παρεγ—  
γέλλενται οὖν τοῖς κατὰ κώμην  
ὅπως εἰ τυγῆ ἄνη τις ἐπιδοῦς  
15 βιβλίδια ἀνέλθων εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν  
τὴν ἐκλεμψιν ποιήσ[ον] ἥται σε—  
σημζείωμαι)
- (3rd hand) (ἔτους) [..] Λου[κίου] Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος  
[καὶ] Μάρκ[ου] Αὐ[ρηλίου] Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν  
20 καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
Πάχωνος κς

Serapion also called Apollon strategos of the Arsinoite Themistes and Poleon divisions.

The most illustrious prefect Soubatianos Aquila has ordered according to his all-embracing foresight that the petitions handed in to him in Arsinoe on the 26th, 27th and part of the 28th of the month of Phamenoth, 1804 in number, having been published in Alexandria also for sufficient days, are also to be published on the spot for three whole days and to be made clear to those in the nome in order that those wishing to get a copy of what answers pertain to themselves may be able. It is announced, therefore, to those in each village, if anyone happens to have handed in a petition, that he may come to the metropolis and have a copy made.

approved

Year .. of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus. Pachons 27.

1. No mark of abbreviation follows Ἀπόλλων although we would expect either Ἀπολλώνιος or Ἀπολλωνιανός. On this man's name see the remarks of Turner in *JEA* 38, 1952, p. 88.

8. The ρ has been misplaced, read αὐτακέρσιν.

9. The letters οἰς are crossed out with a single light line drawn through them. At the end of the line read ὀλοκλήροις.

10. Read ἡμέραις.

11. Read βουλόμενοι.

12. Read ἐκλαβεῖν. The letters ον are again crossed out with a light line.

13. Read παρεγγέλλεται.

16. Read ἐκλεψιν. The letters ον are crossed out here with two light lines.

62. Summons

P. Yale Inv. 377

16.5 cm. x 9.2 cm.

ca. 200 A.D.  
Tebtunis

This text was purchased for Yale in 1931 from the dealer Maurice Nahman. This is a brown piece of papyrus with writing on the recto with the fibers. This method of writing occurs in summonses such as *P. Cair. Preis. 5*, *P. Merton 29*, *P. Oxy. 2574*, and *P. Lund vi 2*. In most cases summonses have writing on the verso across the fibers.<sup>1</sup> There are margins of 2 cm. at the top and left sides. There is no margin at the right. 10 cm. were left blank at the bottom. The document was folded three times down and then twice across. It was then sealed, the only evidence for which now is the hole in the lower left hand corner which would have been on the outside of the document when folded in antiquity.

Unfortunately the papyrus was folded when the ink was still wet. Thus while the papyrus is in excellent condition the ink in the middle of the lines has blotted off. Traces of this blotting can be seen below the text in exactly the places where the ink would have smudged given the scheme of folding described above. These traces now are very faint and totally unreadable. The handwriting itself is a nice example of the official hand of the late second or early third century.

The document is a summons addressed to the archepodos and the hegoumenoi of Tebtunis. Documents of this type are not uncommon; a list of them is given by Knudtzon in his introduction to *P. Lund. vi, 2*, also a summons. To his

1. Cf. the comments of Knudtzon to *P. Lund vi 2*.



list should be added: *P. Yale* 62, *P. Fay.* 37, *Symb. Osl.* 37, 1962, p. 139, *P. Oxy.* 2572-6. The documents as a group are better called "summonses" than "arrest orders" (*Haftbefehlen*). They are issued by the strategos, for petitions to this official contain wording similar to that found in the summonses. Thus a petitioner makes this request of the strategos in *P. Bon.* 20 (Tebtunis):

Διὸ ἀξιῶ γράψαι]  
το[ῖ]ς τῆς κώμης ἡγουμ[ένοις καὶ τῶ]  
ἀ[ρχε]φόδῳ ἐκπέ[μ]ψαι τὸν π.[

or in *P. Mich.* 229 (Tebtunis):

διὸ ἀξιῶ! γράψαι  
τῶ τῆς Ταλεῖ ἀρχεφόδῳ  
ἐκπέμπε (l. αι) τοὺς ἐγκαλου-  
μέν[ο]υς ἐπὶ σοὶ (l. σέ) πρὸς τὴν ἐ-  
σομένην ἐπέξοδον.

Furthermore, in two cases (*P. Gen.* 102 and *P. Teb.* 290) seals are preserved both of which have the legend ὁ στρατηγός σε καλεῖ. Undoubtedly then these summonses reflect the initial action of the strategos. After reading a petition and deciding to accept the case he would send for the accused so that he might undertake an investigation into the charges and see what action was necessary. The best description of judicial procedure can be found in Jean N. Coroi, "L'organisation judiciaire sous le principat", *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie*, 1937, pp. 615-662. There are many uncertainties in the judicial and legal procedure of Roman Egypt, but we do know that the strategos could take action on his own or could be asked to investigate by the prefect or epistrategos. In either case he might send for the accused. On the other hand it is true that through the office of the strategos the accused was supposed to get a copy (ἴσον) of the petition accusing him.<sup>2</sup> Also these orders are addressed to the archephodos in the villages. These indications that arrest and not summons is at issue in these orders are not conclusive. If the documents were truly arrest orders, we would expect it to be stated more explicitly and we would not expect the name of the accu-

2. Coroi, pp. 646-7 gives the evidence, and we would imagine that the defendant would act to protect himself (i.e. he would not need to be summoned).

ser to be written out as it always is. These summonses were sent out because the state wanted to make certain that the accused party was informed and would not be the victim of judgment by default. This consideration together with the wording of these documents makes them more understandable as summonses sent to notify the defendants of court action initiated against them than as arrest orders.

These summonses are almost always addressed to the archephodos although other persons are sometimes joined with him (e.g. πρεσβύτεροι<sup>3</sup> in *BGU* 1248, εὐσχήμονες in *BGU* 1247, 376 and *Stud. Pal.* 22, 1922, No. 1). The ἡγούμενοι are not otherwise addressed in these documents although the strategos is asked to write to them in *P. Bon.* 20 cited above. The ἡγούμενοι are frequently mentioned in the papyri; they are the presidents of various guilds (cf. the guild charters, *P. Mich.* 243, 244, 245. Also A.E.R. Boak "The Organization of Guilds in Greco-Roman Egypt", *TAPA* 68, 1937, pp. 212-20 and his Introduction to *P. Mich.* 243). The ἡγούμενοι are not δημόσιοι and are not included in lists of such (e.g. *P. Ryl.* 89, *P. Berl. Leihg.* 6). Nonetheless they had certain public duties and *P. Ryl.* 196 shows that they were responsible for the collection of certain taxes; this is understandable, based upon their positions at the head of guilds which might assume collective responsibility for certain taxes. We have no way of knowing specifically why they are addressed in this papyrus, but undoubtedly they were able to help locate Onnophris in some way. That they could be held responsible shows the informal structure of village administration. Lines of authority were not clear cut, and thus the strategos could address anyone he thought might be able to carry out his orders. The ἡγούμενοι would certainly be influential even if not endowed with formal executive or administrative authority within the village.

With the exception of *P. Oxy.* 64 and 65 which are later and much different in form, all of these summonses come from the Fayum. They reflect the different procedures which are often noted in that area. (ἡγούμενος, "president" likewise occurs only in the Arsinoite Nome; in the Oxyrhynchus area it is used only of the prefect of Egypt). It may be that each nome strategos (or the office with its staff) developed his own procedure for judicial and civil business, and that these summonses reflect the administration of justice peculiar to the Arsinoite Nome.

*P. Yale* 62 does not have the series of X-marks often found in summonses to fill out the last line or to fill up the line below the last line. The purpose of the marks seems clear; in such a document with an official seal it was necessary to show that the message was complete and thus prevent tampering with the document.

3. See above, p. 160, for discussion of the πρεσβύτεροι acting with the comarch in the Ptolemaic period.



Ἦγουμένοις καὶ ἀρχεφόδωι  
 κώμης Τεπτύνεως.  
 Ἐκπέμψατε Ὀννώφ-  
 ριν Κ..... ἐγκαλού-  
 μενον ὑπὸ .....σου

5

Verso [Seal]

To the presidents and archephodos of the village Tebtunis. Send out Onno-  
 phris son of K... accused by ....

Verso: At the lower left of the sheet a hole appears where the papyrus has broken  
 away with the seal which would have adhered to the verso (cf. Introduction).

63. Repayment of Loan

P. Yale Inv. 491

10.4 x 18.3 cm.

7 July 64 A.D.  
Oxyrhynchus

The major part of this document, purchased from a private dealer in Egypt in 1931, has been preserved, although both top and bottom are missing and a large piece near the left edge. A piece of perhaps six to eight lines in length has been lost from the top, in which were included the names of the parties to this agreement and the nature of the agreement itself. Some of the names are recoverable from the preserved portion of the text, and the fact that this is a repayment of loan is clear from the substantial amount of text preserved. In all probability no writing has been lost where the bottom edge has frayed away. Both right and left margins are preserved; at the left it is 2.0 cm. and at the right the writing goes to the edge of the sheet. Vertical fold lines are clearly visible, showing that the document was rolled or folded from the right to the left. The first fold line occurs 1.5 cm. from the right edge and the others follow at intervals of 1.6, 1.7, 1.9, and 2.1 cm. respectively. Damage is progressively worse along the fold lines from right to left, but only a small amount of text has been lost along the left edge of the writing, nothing which cannot be restored with virtual certainty.

The writing is on the recto with the fibers and four hands may be distinguished. The first is that of the major part of the text, through the first 15 lines which are preserved. It is presumably a professional hand and is extremely fast and practised writing often nearly illegible to the modern reader. In spite of its speed and often scrawling appearance, it is a hand with a marked sense of style and a fondness for curves. The writing is small and averages 0.3 cm. in height. The second hand is that of the dating formula in lines 17 to 19 and is similar to the writing of the first hand. The third hand is that of Herakles, one of the parties to the contract; it is less fast than the first two hands and has less stylistic concern, but is similar in nature and in letter forms. Across the bottom of the sheet, 1.0 cm. below the rest of the text, appears a one line date written in a larger writing by a fourth hand.

This document is the acknowledgment by a lender to the borrowers that he has been repaid a loan of 106 drachmas plus the interest on it after a period of 13 months. It is a subjective homology, cast in the first person throughout, straightforward in nature, and similar in language and form to other repayments from Oxyrhynchus and clearly drawn up in that city. It is a somewhat small loan, as can be



seen from the list below, and one of the earliest repayments of loan that we have from the Roman period. Two items are deserving of comment. First the original loan involved more than one borrower or at least this repayment is addressed to the borrowers as ὑμεῖν (lines 6, 11, and 13) and ὑμῶν (line 13) but Herakles in his own statement in lines 18 to 22 addresses himself to only one borrower Thoonis. Perhaps each borrower got individually an acknowledgment of repayment or perhaps the borrowers were all members of the same family, husband and wife or brothers, and only one receipt was necessary. The other feature is the use of the phrase κατὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ διαγραφὴν (line 6) where the words καὶ διαγραφὴν appear tautological since the mention of payment through a bank implies a διαγραφῆ. The words may reflect, however, the fact that the original transaction was more than usually complicated. This may also be reflected in the mention of the previously unknown bank of Ammonius the agent of Sarapion and Sarapion. Ordinarily we would expect here the statement διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπεζῆς, but clearly here the loan is repaid from a different bank from that in which it was made. Exactly what complications were present in the original loan cannot now be discovered. They might, however, be connected with the reasons necessary for giving each borrower an individual copy of this document.

What follows is a list of the repayments of all unsecured loans during the Roman occupation of Egypt down to the middle of the third century of our era. Mortgages and other similar repayments of secured notes and those involving habitation rights we have excluded from the list. Where months only are given in Greek we have based the Julian date on the first day of that month.

For the most part these repayments are cast in the form of objective or subjective homologies, 13 are objective (ὁμολογεῖ ἀπέχειν or ὁμολογοῦσι ἀπέχειν) and five subjective (ὁμολογῶ ἀπέχειν) and three others use a form of ἀπέχειν alone. They are generally speaking clear and simple in form; other repayments of loans with various types of security included are also similar in form, as are repayments which involve habitation rights such as *P. Warren* 9 and *P. Hamilton* 1. From a legal and formal point of view such repayments might well have been included in the list above, but their exclusion and the study of only these 21 do make one point clear: that in all but two or three cases there are special circumstances involved in the matter of repayment. In eight cases either repayment is made to the heir of a now dead lender or repayment is made on behalf of a now dead borrower. These eight are *P. Oxy.* 1282, *P. Fam. Teb.* 9, *P. Amh.* 113, *PSI* 1324, *P. Teb.* 396, *BGU* 1656, and *P. Lond.* 918. In *BGU* 394 and *P. Yale* 65 the original contract has been lost. In *P. Yale* 65 also and in *P. Oxy.* 98 complex installment payments are involved. In *P. Princet.* 34 all the debt is paid but no sum is specified, clearly an attempt to settle some legal situation. *P. Oxy.* 1132 represents payment of principal and interest before the due date of the original loan. *P. Amh.* 112 is the partial payment of an original loan. *P. Lond.* 142 is paid in Karanis while the original was drawn up and registered in Alexandria. *P. Amh.* 110 is connected with the sale of a house as is *P. Cair. Preis.* 43. *P. Princet.* 141 and *P. Ryl.* 174a

DOCUMENT	DATE	PLACE	AMOUNT	DATE OF LOAN	DATE OF REPAYMENT	DURATION
1. <i>P. Princet.</i> 141	23	Oxyrhynchus	300 dr. and interest	Year 5 Nero Payni 26 May 59	Year 10 Tiberius Mecheir 15 8 August 23	1 or 2 months
2. <i>P. Cair. Preis.</i> 43	59	Oxyrhynchus	160 dr.	Year 9 Nero Payni 26 May 63	Year 5 Nero Epiph 19 or 29 13 or 23 July 59	13 months
3. <i>P. Yale</i> 63	64	Oxyrhynchus	106 dr.	Year 7 Vespasian Tybi 19 14 Jan 75	Year 10 Nero Epiph 23 7 July 64	5 months
4. <i>P. Amh.</i> 110	76	Soknopaiou Nesos	35 artabs of wheat	Year 11 Vespasian Neos Sebastos 28 Oct. 78	Year 3 Domitian 18 Neos Sebastos 15 Nov. 83	5 years
5. <i>P. Oxy.</i> 1282	83	Oxyrhynchus	400 dr. and interest	Year 13 Domitian Pharmouthi 19 5 March 94	Year 15 Domitian Choiach 1 27 Nov. 95	1 year 8 months
6. <i>P. Lond.</i> 142	95	Karanis	1240 dr. and interest	Year 8 Trajan Caesarion 16 11 Aug. 104	Year 11 Trajan Neos Sebastos 22 Nov. 107	3 years 3 months
7. <i>P. Fam. Teb.</i> 9	107	Tebtunis	1224 dr. and interest	Year 12 Hadrian Hathyr 12 9 Nov. 127	Year 13 Hadrian Phaophi 7 4 Oct. 128	11 months
8. <i>P. Amh.</i> 112	128	Soknopaiou Nesos	120 dr. balance of original loan of 420 dr.	Year 16 Hadrian Phaophi 10 8 Oct. 132	Year 16 Hadrian Mesore 17 10 Aug. 133	10 months
9. <i>P. Amh.</i> 111	133	Heraklea (Arsinoite)	224 dr.	Year 22 Hadrian Phaophi 9 8 Oct. 137	----- Phamenoth 26 22 March	-----
10. <i>BGU</i> 394	137	Nilopolis	248 dr.	Year 9 Hadrian Pachons 19 14 May 126	Year 2 Antoninus Payni 3 29 May 139	13 years
11. <i>P. Ryl.</i> 174a	139	Soknopaiou Nesos	168 dr.	Year 14 Hadrian Sebastos	Year 2 Antoninus Payni 3 29 May 139	9 years at least
12. <i>P. Yale</i> 65	138/9	Oxyrhynchus	300 dr. and interest	Year 14 Hadrian Sebastos	Year 2 Antoninus Payni 3 29 May 139	9 years at least



DOCUMENT	DATE	PLACE	AMOUNT	DATE OF LOAN	DATE OF REPAYMENT	DURATION
10. BGU 394	137	Nilopolis	248 dr.	Year 22 Hadrian Paphlagonia 8 Oct. 137	Phamenech 26 22 March	13 years
11. P. RyL 174a	139	Soknopaiou Nesos	168 dr.	Year 9 Hadrian Paphlagonia 14 July 139	Year 2 Antoninus 29 Nov. 139	13 years
12. P. Yale 65	138/9	Oxyrhynchus	300 dr. and interest	Year 14 Hadrian Sebastos August/Sept. 130	Year 2 Antoninus (at the earliest)	9 years at least
13. P. Oxy. 98	141/2	Oxyrhynchus	see below*	Year 22 Hadrian Hathyr 28 Oct. 137	after 140/1 for 532 dr. were paid in Year 4 Antoninus	more than 4 years
14. P. Princet. 34	143	Theadelphia	all owed is repaid	-----	Year 7 Antoninus Mesore 15 9 August 144	-----
15. P. Amh. 113	157	Soknopaion Nesos	178 dr. and interest (one half of original loan)	Year 10 Antoninus Hathyr 12 9 Nov. 146	Year 21 Antoninus Phaophi 22 19 Oct. 157	11 years
16. P. Oxy. 1132	after 162	Oxyrhynchus	600 dr. and interest to date (paid before due)	Year 2 Aurelius Epagomenal 5 28 Aug. 162	-----	-----
17. P. Lond. 918	171	Nilopolis	112 dr.	Year 16 Antoninus 152/3	Year 12 Aurelius Hathyr 10 6 Nov. 171	ca. 19 years
18. PSI 1324	173	Ptolemais Euergetis	136 dr.	Year 23 Antoninus Hadrianus 27 Nov. 159	Year 14 Aurelius Thoth 30 27 Sept. 173	14 years
19. P. Osl. Inv. 1046 (Sym. Osl. 38)	175/6	Ptolemais Euergetis	1700 dr. plus 100 dr. paid as remain- der of interest	Year 12 Antoninus Payni 8 2 June 149	Year 16 Aurelius 175/6	ca. 26 years
20. P. Teb. 396	188	Tebtunis	100 dr. and interest (one third of original loan)	-----	Year 28 Aurelius Epiph 25 June 188	-----
21. BGU 1656	213/4	Philadelphia	200 dr.	-----	Year 22 Caracalla	-----

\*700 dr. were lent to be repaid in 50 monthly installments of 15 drachmas each. 168 dr. are acknowledged as paid in this receipt and 532 stated as previously paid.

show no special circumstances. Our *P. Yale 63* does not show particular circumstances but it does have the two peculiarities that we mentioned above: the plural "you" in the text but only one borrower mentioned by name, and the phrase κατὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ διαγραφὴν.

We can see from this examination that written repayments of loans were not given for repayment itself, but to cover peculiar circumstances. We can easily see that in the ordinary instance, the original loan would be returned crossed out and that this would suffice to show it had been repaid, if indeed for small loans written contracts were even made. But in special cases written repayments would indeed be necessary and what we have preserved in the 21 documents listed above is a record of special cases.

].[  
]ωσ.[ ] π [ ] .

5 [τ]ραπέζης ἀργυρίου Σεβ[αστοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαικοῦ νο-  
μίσματος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἕξ γίνον(ται) (δραχμὰς) ρς  
κεφαλαίου καὶ τοῦ[ς] καθήκοντας τούτων τόκους  
ἄς εὐχρήστησα ὑμεῖν κατὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ διαγρα-  
[φὴν] διὰ τῆς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ συνεσταμένου ὑπὸ  
[Σαρα]πίωνος καὶ ἑτέρου Σαραπίωνος τραπέζης  
[ἐν τῷ] Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ ἑνάτου ἔτους Νέρωνος  
10 [Κλαυ]δίου Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ) Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος  
[καὶ] ἀναδέδωκα ὑμεῖν κεχιασμένον  
[καὶ] ἠκυρ[ω]μένον διὸ οὐθὲ ἐνκαλῶι οὐ-  
[θὲ] ἐνκαλ[έ]σωι ὑμεῖν οὐδὲ τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν  
[οὔ]τε περὶ τ[ούτων] οὐδὲ περὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς  
15 [ἀ]πλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας.  
[κυρί]α ἢ χ[ε]ίρ. (2nd hand) ἕτους) δεκάτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου  
[Καίσαρος Σε]βαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος  
Ἐπίφ κγ. (3rd hand) Ἡρακλῆς ὁ καὶ Θεῶνις  
Θεῶνι ἀπέχωι τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρ<ί>ου  
20 δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἕξ κεφαλαίου  
καὶ τοὺς καθήκοντας τόκους καὶ οὐ-  
δὲ ἐνκαλῶι καθότι πρόκειται.  
ἕτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος  
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἐπίφ κγ.  
25 (4th hand) [ἕτους] δεκάτου Νέρωνος.

....(through someone's) bank of imperial and Ptolemaic money one hundred and six silver drachmas, that is 106 drachmas of principal and the requisite interest on this, which I lent you in accordance with a note of hand and a bank order payable through the bank of Ammonius appointed by Sarapion and the other Sarapion



in the month of Payni in the ninth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, and I have given back to you (the note of hand) cancelled and invalidated. Therefore I neither make nor will make any claim against you or those acting on your behalf concerning these things or anything else up until the present day. This note of hand is valid. The tenth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator Epiph 23.

Herakles, also called Thoonis, to Thoonis. I have received one hundred and six silver drachmas of principal with the requisite interest and I make no claims, as it is stated above. Year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epiph 23.

Tenth year of Nero.

2. It would appear that the money was borrowed through one bank, that of Ammonios as stated in lines 6-7 and returned through another which would have been specified in line 2, most of which is now missing. If there were only one bank involved in both transactions, we would expect the second reference to be *διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς τραπεζῆς* as, for example, in *P. Oxy.* 98.

6. *διὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ διαγραφὴν*: This expression occurs elsewhere only in *P. Oxy.* 241 (Registration of Mortgage, ca. 98) and *P. Ryl.* 585 (Loan and assignment of salary under oath, from the early second century B.C.).

11. *κεχιασμένον καὶ ἠκυρωμένον*. The usual expression is *εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν* as in *P. Warren* 9, *P. Fam. Teb.* 9, *P. Ryl.* 174, *BGU* 394 and *P. Ryl.* 174a. Two documents have *κεχιασμένον εἰς ἀκύρωσιν*; these are *P. Hamilton* 1 and *P. Oxy.* 1282.

12. Read *ἐνκαλῶ*; *iota* is added regularly to the first person singular forms in this papyrus and commonly in this period.

23. The year is omitted here.

64. Loan

P. Yale Inv. 133

14 cm. x 22.5 cm.

December/January 75/76 A.D.  
Oxyrhynchus

Purchased in Egypt for Yale in 1926 by Sir H.I. Bell. It is a light brown piece of papyrus with writing on the recto with the fibers; the verso is blank. The ink has faded somewhat but is generally legible.

The papyrus preserves almost all of a contract of loan, for only the upper and lower right hand pieces have been lost, containing some of the names of the parties and some of the closing formulae. The main details of the contract, however, are preserved in the middle section. The lost pieces are the result of the folding of the document. It was folded three times from left to right and thus the upper and lower edges of the outside fold have disappeared. There are in addition a few small holes and some wear along the fold lines. The margins are preserved to full extent at a few points on all sides; they measure 2 cm. at top; 6 cm. at bottom; 3 cm. at the left side; on the right side the writing extends to the edge of the sheet.

The hand is clear and legible, characterized by the use of capitals and little ligaturing. One can compare similar hands. *P. Mert.* 11, 12 and 13, and *P. Oxy.* 270. The style is not so common as the more cursive ligatured script (cf. Schubart, *Gr. Pal.* pp. 55-60), and, while the style of writing in small capitals becomes more common in the first quarter of the next century (Schubart, *Gr. Pal.* pp. 59-60 and fig. 34), still it is characteristic of business hands and not of infrequent occurrence in the last half of the first century.

*P. Yale* 64 presents a very interesting situation and in many respects a puzzling one. A certain Thaesis lends her husband, Aperos, 212 drachmas. The loan is apparently without interest and must be paid back 60 days after payment is ordered. The 212 drachmas are part of 300 drachmas which Thaesis has received for a cession of liturgic days. We must turn again to this matter of liturgic days dealt with in lines 10-15 of our papyrus, but first the situation of the loan itself calls for comment. On the whole the situation resembles that of *P. Mich.* 192 (*P. Mich.* 191 is a duplicate) from Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 60. In this document, cast in an objective homology form, a certain woman Thermouthion lends her husband 200 drachmas without interest out of the proceeds of the sale of part of a house. The rest she pays to her mother in settlement of a debt owed to her mother by her mother's divorced and now deceased husband. Thermouthion too is to be repaid by her husband 60 days after demand. Thus in both the Michigan and Yale documents we have a loan without interest by wife to husband, a statement of the source of the money, and a repayment clause providing for repayment 60 days



after demand. In the case of the Michigan papyrus we also have the receipt showing that the loan was repaid, *P. Mich.* 194 of A.D. 61. Here, to complicate an already complex sociological situation, Thermouthion has divorced her husband between the time of the loan and that of the receipt.

It seems clear that in both the Michigan papyri and in our papyrus we are dealing with a dowry of sorts concealed in the form of a loan, for in both cases wife lends husband money. Business transactions between husband and wife are not common occurrences in the papyri except in cases surrounding the marriage agreement itself. In fact the form taken by the marriage contracts from Egypt is indeed close to that of a loan: e.g. *BGU* 717 (A.D. 149), ὁμολογῶ ἀπέχειν διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου. Furthermore in the marriage contracts the source and value of the dowry are stated. This has its parallel in the Yale papyrus in the statement that Thaesis has 300 drachmas from a cession of liturgic days. In *P. Mich.* 192 Thermouthion has her money from the sale of a house but the exact value is not stated, probably since she gave whatever she did not lend to her husband to her mother.

Also these loans are to be repaid ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἔαν αὐτῷ παραγγείλη (ἀφ' ἧς ἔαν ἀπαίτηθῆ in the Michigan papyrus). This repayment clause of course strongly confirms the dotal nature of the loans, for its wording is found in almost every fully preserved marriage agreement and in no other situation. It can be found in marriage agreements ranging from *P. Freib.* 29 and 30 of 179/8 B.C. to *P. Oxy.* 1273 of A.D. 260. As almost contemporary parallels one can cite *P. Ryl.* 154 from Bacchias of A.D. 66: ἐν ἡμέραι[ι]ς τριά[κο]ντα ἀφ' ἧς ἔαν ἀπαίτηθῆ and *P. Mich.* 340 from Tebtunis of A.D. 45/6, ἐν ἡμέρες (sic) ἐξήκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἔαν ἀπαίτηθῆ. Ἀπαίτέω is the usual verb but παραγγέλλω appears in *P. Teb.* 368 of 12 B.C. which is the loan of a dowry by wife to husband. The wording there is ἐκτίσω ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἔαν μοι παραγγείλη ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. This papyrus, *P. Teb.* 386, further illustrates the connection between marriage and business. *P. Oxy.* 267 of A.D. 36 is also the loan of a dowry from wife to husband, although here a fixed date is set for repayment. Closely connected to these loans are three contracts of deposit, *CPR* 29 of A.D. 184, *Mitteis, Chr.* 167 of A.D. 144 and *P. Warren* 6 (*SB* 7535) of A.D. 198/9, all of which have long been considered dowries concealed under the deposit form of contract.

All of these considerations then, the business arrangement between husband and wife, the statement of the money's source, the repayment clause, and the close connection of loans and dowries, show that in both *P. Yale* 64 and *P. Mich.* 192 we are dealing with a concealed dowry or at least a loan made after marriage, treated like a dowry. Further proof can be found in the Michigan situation where we have the receipt for repayment of the loan (*P. Mich.* 194) and as we should expect, Thermouthion has indeed divorced her husband.

The inserted paragraph (lines 10-15) stating the source of Thaesis' money is of some interest in itself, and again the liturgic days, the priesthood of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Kore, Dionysus, and the hearth-sharing gods, and the ἑκστασις, all call for comment.



Liturgic days occur only twice in the papyri. One mention is of Roman date, Wilcken, *Chr.* 115 (time of Alexander Severus) which apparently concerns the cult of Ἀφροδίτη ἡ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα. Line 15 of the fragmentary text reads: ἡμερῶν λειτουργικῶν ἡμέρας εἴκοσι. The other mention comes from the Ptolemaic period, *P. Teb.* 88 (115/4 B.C.) which is a list of temples and their property. The list gives the names of many priests, each of whom has thirty liturgic days. There is no way of knowing if these liturgic days are of the same nature as those of *P. Yale* 64, but whether or not, those in our papyrus are probably similar to the ἀγνευτικά ἡμέραι of *PSI* 1914-20, 1022, and 1024 where such days are leased and sold, a closer parallel to *P. Yale* 64. At least there is no question that the liturgic days of our papyrus were theoretically a profitable item.

Λειτουργία (and its verb λειτουργέω) occur frequently in the related sense of rights and privileges of the priests (opposed to λειτουργία, *munera*, compulsory public service); cf. *P. Teb.* 5, 65-67 (118 B.C.): ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐκ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γέγρα καὶ προφητείας καὶ γραμματείας καὶ ἄλλας λειτουργίας τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἐν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ ἐνίοις καιροῖς ἀπητημέν[α]ς [καρ] | πείας ἕως τοῦ ν (ἔτους), Wilcken, *Chr.* 368 (*P. Teb.* 302) mentions τὰς τῶν θεῶν λειτουργίας. There are also many other examples; see *Wörterbuch*, cited s.v. λειτουργία, λειτουργέω. There is no semantic problem then in understanding λειτουργία ἡμέραι as profitable prerequisites of the priesthood.

The priesthood of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Kore, Dionysus and the hearth-sharing gods is also of interest. Temples to all of these gods are attested by *P. Oxy.* 1449 (A.D. 213-217), a list of temple property, although no other priest has the same title nor is a cult or single temple of all these gods known. *P. Oxy.* 483 (A.D. 108) has ἱερέως Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας καὶ. Also *P. Oxy.* 1265 (A.D. 336) which cites ἱερέως ἱεροῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας καὶ τῶν συννάων μεγίστων.

The title of συνεστίων θεῶν probably refers to the imperial cult and the expression then is the equivalent of συννάων θεῶν which is frequently found. Συνέστιοι θεοί does not otherwise occur in the papyri, although in *P. Giss.* 99 (second or third century) Meyer read [συνεσ]τίων θεῶν, which although cited as a certain reading by *LSJ* must remain less than that.

The liturgic days are conveyed by an ἔκστασις a form similar to the sale (see Schwarz, *Oeffentliche und Private Urkunde*, pp. 219 ff.) but used where the sale form would not quite fit; thus ἐκστάσεις are frequently found when rights are conveyed. And so in *P. Oxy.* 268 of A.D. 58, a daughter cedes any rights to her dead father's property; in *P. Oxy.* 1123 of A.D. 158/9, the farming rights to some land are ceded by the daughter of the dead tenant for a consideration; *P. Ryl.* 117 from Hermopolis in A.D. 269, an heiress cedes rights to her brother's estate and is not to be responsible for debts; cf. also *P. Fam. Teb.* 17 of ca. A.D. 117; *P. Mich.* 350 of A.D. 37; *P. Mich.* 352 of A.D. 46; *P. Teb.* 380 of A.D. 67; also some ὁμολογία



ἐκτάσεως are listed in the Michigan grapheion registers, *P. Mich.* 121, *P. Mich.* 123, and *P. Mich.* 238.

\*Ἐκστασις is also used for the situation that corresponds to the Roman *cessio bonorum*; that is cession of property in default of payment for debt: *P. Ryl.* 75 of the late second century; *MChr.* 71 of A.D. 464; *P. Vindob. Boswinkel* 4 of A.D. 280. Of similar nature is the cession of property to avoid liturgies or compulsory public office: *PSI* 292 of the third century; *P. Oxy.* 1405 of the third century; *P. Oxy.* 1417 of the early fourth century; *CPR* 20 (Wilcken, *Chr.* 402) of A.D. 250.

Ἐπ[ο]υς ἑβδόμου Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ]  
 Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι ἐν Ὁξυρύχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος]  
 ἐδάνεισεν Θαῆσις Βηρᾶτος τοῦ[-----μητρὸς --]  
 5 τος τῆς Πτολεμαίου μετὰ κυρίου[  
 τοῦ Ὀνώφριος μητρὸς Ταόρσε[ος τῆς---τῶ ἑαυτῶ!]  
 ἀνδρὶ Ἀπερῶτι Διογενοῦς τοῦ[-----μητρὸς---]  
 κης τῆς Ἀτρέους Πέρση, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς πάντες τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁ-]  
 ξυρύχων [πόλ]εως ἐν ἀγυ[ῖ] ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ νομί-]  
 10 σματος δρα[χ]μὰς διακοσίας δέκα [δύο κ]εφαλαίου  
 αἷς οὐδὲν τῶ κρηθόλου προσῆκται αἴ εἰσὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔσχεν  
 ἡ Θαῆσι(ς) τῆ ἐν[ε]στωσῆ ἡμέρα μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρῶ[ς]  
 Ἀπερῶτος καὶ Ἀμοίτος υἱοῦ Λευκίου νεωτέρου ἱέρεως  
 Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διουύσου  
 καὶ τῶν συνεστῆτων θεῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκστάσεως λει-  
 15 τουργιῶν ἡμερῶν δραχμῶν τριακοσίων ἀποδό-  
 τω δὲ ὁ δεδανεισμένος Θαῆσι τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 χμὰς διακοσίας δέκα δύο ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα ἀφ' ἧς  
 ἐὰν αὐτῶ παραγγελίη περὶ τῆς τοῦ[των] ἀποδόσεως  
 20 χ[ω]ρὶς πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδοῖ καθὰ γέ-  
 γραπται ἀποτεισάτω ὁ δεδανεισμέ[νος Θαῆσι] τὸν  
 μὲν δάνειον μεθ' ἡμιολίας καὶ [τόκους μετὰ τ]ῆς  
 παραγγελείας ἡμέρας ἐξήκοντ[α τοῦ ὑπερπέσοντος]  
 χ[ρ]όνου τοὺς καθήκοντας τ[ῆς πράξεως]  
 οὔσης] Θαῆσι ἐκ τε τοῦ δεδα[ν]εισμένου καὶ ἐκ τῶν!  
 25 ὑπαρχόντ[ων] αὐτῶ πᾶν[των]  
 κ  
 ξει.[...]οφε.[.]φα.. ὁ δεδα[ν]εισμένος  
 μεαν και ... γραφη[  
 κυ[ρ]ία ἡ συγγράφη [

Seventh Year of Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, Tybi in Oxyrhynchos of the Thebaid. There has lent Thaeisis daughter of Besas son of ... her mother being ... daughter of Ptolemaios with her kyrios ... son of Onnophrios, his mother being Taorsis daughter of ... to her own husband Aperos son of Diogenes son of ... his mother being ... ke daughter of Atreus, a Persian of the epigone, all from Oxyrhynchos in the street, of silver imperial coinage two hundred twelve drachmas of principal to which nothing at all has been added which are from what Thaeisis had on this present day with her kyrios her husband Aperos and Amois son of Leukios the younger priest of Zeus, Hera, Apollo, Kore, Dionysus and the hearth-sharing gods for a cession of liturgic days drachmas three hundred. Let the borrower pay back to Thaeisis the two hundred and twelve silver drachmas in sixty days from when it may be announced to him concerning the repayment of these without any delay. If he does not pay as it is written let the borrower pay back to Thaeisis the loan with a penalty of one-half and the usual interest sixty days after the announcement for the overtime. The right of execution being to Thaeisis from the borrower and from all his possessions.

Valid the contract.

12. Read υἱοῦ. We might expect ἀπὸ instead of καὶ but καὶ seems clear. It would, however, be easier to treat it as a mistake and understand ἀπὸ. We have, however, translated the Greek of the text as read.

15. Perhaps λειτουργιῶν instead of the genitive plural of the noun. A form λειτουργίων from \*λειτούργιος is otherwise unattested unless it could be read in *WChr.* 115.

18. τοῦ[των] is probable but not certain.

21. τόκους agrees with καθήκοντας in line 23. Μετὰ provides the required sense here and no longer restoration is possible.

25-28. This clause or clauses seem unique and cannot be restored from parallels in other documents.

29. It is surprising to find no subscription to the document. We ought to have the signature of Aperos and his statement that he has the money.



65. Repayment of Loan

P. Yale Inv. 417

8.5 x 13.5 cm.

After 138 A.D.

Purchased in Egypt in 1931 from the dealer Maurice Nahmann. It is a virtually complete repayment of loan although some essential pieces have been lost at right. The document was folded from top to bottom five times, and most of the bottom fold which would have been on the outside has been lost. In addition to this and the losses at the right there has been some fraying along the fold lines. The fragment containing the last four preserved lines does not actually join and a line of writing may have been lost after line 34. At present the papyrus is in a very fragile and crumbling state. It is tan in color with dark, clear ink; the writing, with the fibers, is in small capitals with some ligaturing, the strictly utilitarian style so very common in the early second century. Margins are 1.5 cm. at the left and 1.0 at the top. There is no margin at the right. We are grateful for the help given us with this text by Professor Herbert C. Youtie; his specific contributions are acknowledged in the notes.

This papyrus contains the repayment of a loan and the general characteristics of this type of document have been discussed above, pp. 194-9, in connection with *P. Yale 63*, where a list of all published repayments has been included. *P. Yale 65* is epistulary in form (χαίρειν) and is a subjective homology (ὁμολογῶ ἀπέχειν) similar to *P. Yale 63*. This form seems to have been conventional in Oxyrhynchus, for both Yale papyri come from there and are very similar to *P. Oxy. 98, 1132, 1715*.

There are a number of problems in reading and interpretation that occur in this text and they are most conveniently discussed in the notes. More seriously, there seems to be a problem in understanding the nature and amount of the original loan and the method of repayment. The circumstances are as follows: 300 silver drachmas are being repaid together with the interest owing on them; interest was at the frequently used rate, a drachma per mina per month, that is 12% per year. However, in lines 22 to 27 is repeated the repayment clause from the original loan, and here it is stated that the loan was to be repaid in thirty installments starting with the month following that in which the loan was made. Each installment was eight drachmas, which clearly enough makes only 240 drachmas. There is no notice taken here of the lapse of time between the loan and this repayment, at least eight years. Was the interest charged for the whole period? Perhaps some

settlement was made, but this is not mentioned. We have noted above (pp. 195-8) that many contracts or receipts for repayment of loan show a time lapse or other such circumstance which accounts for the existence of the repayment in written form. We might conjecture that some part of the original repayment clause has been omitted in this document, but in any case we cannot now recover the total amount being repaid here, the reason for the eight years or more delay in repayment, nor the actual circumstances of the loan and its repayment.

A. .

- Διονυσία Διδύμου μητ[ρὸς] Δημα-  
 ροῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχω[ν πόλεως] με-  
 τὰ κυρίου Ἀθηναίου .[.....] τοῦ Ἀ-  
 5 θηναίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς [πόλεως τῶ τού-  
 του ἀπελευθέρω Διον[υσί] φ τῶ]  
 καὶ Ἀμ[μοια]οῖτος .... Σαραπίω-  
 νος τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 10 πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἀπέ-  
 χειν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Σαραπε[ί]-  
 ου Ἀρτεμιδώρου καὶ τ.[  
 αυ.....νω.[τραπέζης ἀρ]-  
 15 γυρίου δραχμὰς τριακ[οσίας τοῦ κε]-  
 φαλαίου καὶ τοὺς ὄφι[λομένους]  
 τόκους, τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον δανισθέν  
 σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ χειρόγραφον γε-  
 γονὸς διὰ τῆς αὐ[τῆς] τραπέζης τῶ  
 20 τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτῳ [ἔ]τει [θεο]ῦ Ἀδρι-  
 ανοῦ μηνὶ Σεβαστῶ τό[κου] δραχ-  
 [μια]ίου ἐκάστης μνᾶς κα[τὰ] τὰ μῆνα  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἐπὶ ]  
 τῶ καταβαλεῖν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑξῆς [μη-]  
 25 νὸς Φαῶφι κατὰ μῆνας τριάκ[οντα]  
 δραχμὰς ὀκτῶ ἄχρι οὗ πληροθ[ῶ]  
 τῶ προκειμένῳ κεφαλαίῳ καὶ  
 τοῖς τόκοις. καὶ μηδὲν [σοι ἐν-]  
 καλεῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλέ[σειν] μη-]  
 30 δὲ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μήτ[ε] περὶ τού-  
 του μήτ[ε] [πε]ρὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς]  
 ἀπλῶ[ς] μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡ-]  
 μέρας [   
 χιρογράφου [   
 .αν.. παραπεπ[τω]κέναι .... ]  
 35 [.....] ἐμοὶ τε καὶ ἰ παντὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπι-]  
 [φέρον]τι. κυρία ἡ ἀπο[χῆ]. (ἔτους). Αὐτο-]  
 [κράτ]ορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου!  
 [Ἀδ]ριανοῦ [Αν]τωνί[νου] Σεβαστοῦ



Dionysia daughter of Didymos, her mother being Demarous, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, with her kyrios, Athenaios, son of ....., son of Athenaios, from the same city, to the freedman of this man, Dionysios also called Amois.... Sarapion also called Dioskoros from the same city greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you through the bank of Artemidoros and ... near the Sarapeum at Oxyrhynchus, three hundred silver drachmas of principal and the owing interest. The principal was lent to you by me according to a cheirograph through the same bank in the fourteenth year of the Divine Hadrianus in the month of Sebastos, the interest being a drachma for each mina per month from the same month Sebastos, on condition that you pay in installments beginning from the following month, Phaophi, for thirty months, eight drachmas until I have been paid the aforementioned principal and the interest. And I make no claim nor shall I proceed against you concerning this matter nor any other at all up to the present day. ... the cheirograph ... having been lost ... to me or to anyone bringing it on my behalf. Valid the receipt. Year . of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius.

1. The reading and significance of the letters at the head of the text are unclear. One, apparently similar, occurs at the head of *P. Oxy.* 98, a loan repayment of 141/2, which Grenfell and Hunt interpreted αλ( ) ζ( ), but this seems unlikely. Headings of apparently different letters occur in *P. Oxy.* 47, 276, 1282, *P. Cair. Preis.* 43 and *P. Merton* 18.

4. Youtie confirms the reading Ἀθηναίου.

7. Youtie suggested that there might be an erasure somewhere in the apparent ditigraphy. Our examination of the papyrus shows dots of ink over the first *omicron* and the second *mu*. There may also be dots over the *iota* and *alpha* although the papyrus is in poor condition at this point. The interpretation here presented assumes then a ditigraphy cancelled by the scribe and further a mistaken Ἀμόιτος for Ἀμόι or Ἀμόιτι. There is, however, some mark of ink above the *omicron* in -τος. This may represent a correction; or it is possible that these letters go with what follows. Since a freedman cannot have a father, Youtie suggests that Sarapion alias Dioskoros is his agent in this transaction, but neither he nor we find δειά (=δία) a possible reading of the uncertain letters. In any case the relationships among these four people remain obscure and dubious, but the delay in repaying without penalty and the fact that Athenaios is kyrios for the woman who has lent money to his freedman suggests that they were close. Perhaps the loan is an actual or fictional device used to purchase Dionysios alias Apion's freedom.

12. Artemidoros has not appeared before as a banker at Oxyrhynchus. Youtie suggests καὶ τῶ[ν σὺν] αὐτῷ τεμένω(=θεμένω) and translates "Artemidoros and his co-founders". The participle is used by Plato (*Laws*, 820E) to mean "Mortgages".

16. κεφάλειον 'corrected' from κεφάλαιον originally written.

32ff. Παραπεπ[τωκέναι] informs us that the original contract of loan was lost and following it, we might expect the words ἄκυρον εἶναι to go with the clause that follows as in *P. Oxy.* 1133, 13-14: ἄκυρον....εἶναι ἐμοί τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσ[ιν αὐτό]ι; cf. also *P. Oxy.* 1716, 16-19.

What goes in lines 32-4 is difficult to ascertain. The letters at the beginning of line 34 are not entirely clear: .αναι or .ανου might be read, but, as Youtie remarks, nothing is entirely satisfactory. We must also reckon with the possibility that a line is missing between lines 34 and 35. The bottom non-joining fragment is, however, in its proper place along the line since this can be found by matching the lines of fibers on the verso.

35. Originally δε was written and then corrected to τε.

66. Contract

P. Yale Inv. 219

12 x 13.5 cm.

Second Half of the First Century  
Oxyrhynchus

Purchased in Egypt for Yale in 1926/7 by Sir H. I. Bell, this piece shows a great deal of damage: the top edge is preserved but the first five lines have been reduced to shreds only, and while lines 6 through 9 preserve the total length of line, from line 10 on there is progressively more lost from the end of the lines at the right. There is another large piece missing towards the left in lines 12-15, and of line 16 only two letters are preserved at the beginning while beyond this the papyrus breaks off. In addition the papyrus has darkened to a brownish color and the ink has faded almost to the color of the papyrus, causing further difficulties of reading.

The margins are 1.0 cm. at the top and 2.0 cm. at the left; the writing extends to the edge of the sheet at the right, and as was noted the papyrus is broken off at the bottom. The writing is on the recto with the fibers; the verso is blank but some notation now illegible has been written across the fibers on the recto in the margin at the left. The hand is handsome, using well formed capitals and showing a liking for almost elegant curves. The individual letters are well made and the overall appearance of the hand is attractive. It is a hand contemporary with and very similar to *P. Yale* 64 of A.D. 75/76 and to the papyri cited there.

In spite of all damage to the papyrus and in spite of the difficulties of interpretation, this text presents a situation of some interest. It contains some sort of agreement written in connection with the sale of a house whereby the buyer acknowledges payment of half the price and promises to pay the other half to the seller (when, is not preserved) and apparently such payment was accomplished, for the text is crossed out with diagonal lines running from upper right to lower left and we may assume this is evidence that the obligation was invalidated by payment of the owed money.

Such a partial payment has no parallel elsewhere in sales, but *P. Oxy.* 512 has somewhat similar wording in a situation where a buyer of vegetables pays part of the price to one man and promises to pay the rest to his landlords. The



wording there is as follows: ἡγό|ρασα παρὰ σοῦ ἃ ἔχεις ἐν μισθώσι χλώρα| ἐντὸς Σαμφουχίνου λε|γομέν[ο]ν (δραχμῶν) Ἄφκ ἐξ ὧν μετεβαλό|μην σοι (δραχμᾶς) χ τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς (δραχμᾶς) Ἄρκ μετα|βαλοῦμαι πραγματευταῖς κληρονόμων Αὔρηλιου Ἀντιόχου (lines 3-9).

On the verso, at the top, are six lines of writing, now illegible.

...  
 ξιρρο  
 κυρ  
 τε.χ  
 5 τὰς καταγραφὰς τῆς οἰκίας  
 ἐφ ὑπογραφῆ σου διὰ τοῦ Θέωνος κατὰ τὰς  
 κοινὰς ἡμῶν συνθήκας καὶ μετεβα-  
 λόμην σοι ... του εναλ ... η .. ν .. [ .  
 ὡς ενετειλημειν τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς τιμῆς  
 10 αὐτῆς δραχμᾶς τρισχειλίας ἐπὶ τῶ {με}μετ[α-]  
 βάλεσθαί σοι ἐν [ Ὀ]ξυρυγγεῖτη τὰς [λ]οιπα[ς]  
 εἰς [ . ] ἀγ[απλή]ρωσιν τῆς ὀλοκλήρου τ[ί]μι[ς]  
 ταλά[ντου] ἐνὸς δραχμᾶς τρισχε[ί]λι[ας]  
 κα[ὶ] ἐμ]μένειν τῇ ἰδιογρ[ά]φω σ[ὶ]  
 15 ευρα[.....]... ενος μον[ι]  
 τα[

5. The context is not full enough here to shed any light on the meaning of καταγραφὰς. See Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 242-8 for a discussion of its use. The word also occurs in the plural in *SB* 4512, *P. Fay.* 100 and perhaps in *SB* 4434.

7. Συνθήκας "agreements" perhaps referring to the contract of sale and/or that of cession. Συνθήκη is not, so it seems, a technical word in the papyri, and might refer to any kind of formal or informal arrangement.

8. The ink is very faded in this line; we would expect the name of a banker here.

9. Ενετειλημειν must be considered a form of ἐντέλλω "as it was instructed".

10. Αὐτῆς is written in the margin at the left.

14. Κα[ὶ] ἐμ]μένειν τῇ ἰδιογράφω σ[ὶ] υγγράφη?

67. Lease of Land  
Plate VII

P. Yale Inv. 409

15.2 x 15.5 cm.

January/February A.D. 31  
Tebtunis

Purchased in 1931 from the dealer Maurice Nahman. This document is written on the recto of the papyrus in the direction of the fibers, and is complete above and on the left. There is a good margin of 1.5 cm. on the left where the original edge is preserved. There is also a 1.5 cm. space left at the top of this piece. On the right hand edge, in some lines, from two to four letters have been lost. The papyrus as far as it is preserved is in fair condition; it has a number of tiny holes and one large gap in lines 14 and 15. The papyrus breaks off after line 20; probably the signatures of the parties agreeing to the terms of the contract appeared below this.

The hand is a good example of the script peculiar to the early Roman period. Its basic letter forms are those which appear both earlier and later, but it is the ligatures and variations which are characteristic of the early first century. The result is a hand which is difficult to read but rather attractive. The margins are neat and even, the lines of writing are kept straight.

In this document Marepkamis, son of Marepkamis, leases 7 arouras of land under a complicated contract to Marsisouchos, son of Marepsemis. All of these names are common in Tebtunis, but Marsisouchos is the same man who appears in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R, II, vi of A.D. 42 and in *P. Princet.* 146 of 36 A.D.; in both of these cases, as in *P. Yale* 67, he is the lessee, leasing land in advance from a lessor styled Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς with payment of an unnamed sum as rent in advance. Also he appears in *PSI* 1130 of A.D. 25 from Tebtunis. In this contract Marsisouchos buys from two men four teams of oxen and one team of bulls.

*P. Princet.* 146 and this Yale papyrus are μισθώσεις προδοματικά. Hermann discusses this type of lease with payment in advance where the lessor is described as Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς among other leases with payment in advance in *Bodenpacht* §24, "ΜΙΣΘΩΣΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΔΟΜΑΤΙΚΑΙ" especially pp. 232-3. On p. 233, n. 1 he gives a list of these leases, 6 in number, where the lessor is described as a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. In most of these contracts, the lessor, in addition to being paid in advance, does all the work on the land and guarantees the lease. Sometimes the leases are made one or more years in advance. Certainly the designation Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς clearly shows that the lessor had the



inferior status in these cases.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps significant that the designation was common enough in Tebtunis, so that in the grapheion roll, *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R, a symbol is used to stand for Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as it is clear that Marepkamis, the lessor in *P. Yale 67* is under an obligation of some sort to Marsisouchos, the lessee, the other parts of the document become clear. Certainly, in effect Marepkamis is merely doing all the work on his own land for Marsisouchos' benefit. Marsisouchos does provide the seed, but Marepkamis does all the work and pays the taxes. And naturally the crop must belong to the lessee. The stipulation for lease 18 months in advance may be explained if Marepkamis were under obligation to Marsisouchos, if his only possessions were these parcels of land, and if they were under previous obligation until the 19th year of Tiberius.<sup>3</sup> This may be the only way that Marepkamis could repay Marsisouchos. The contract would then be a true *datio in solutum*. This also would explain why no rent is mentioned; it is simply not to the point, since the amount of money or debt would be covered by another contract. If this document is not a case of *datio in solutum*, it is at least a lease forced on Marepkamis by Marsisouchos in the same way apparently that leases are forced by this same Marsisouchos on Hatres in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R II, vi and on Marepsemis in *P. Princet.* 146.

*P. Yale 67* and *P. Princet.* 146, furthermore, are probably to be considered as the type of contract abstracted in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R., II, i, v, vi; III, viii, xi, xiv; and IV, v. In all of these cases the lessor is designated by the sign Ξ which means Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, the payment of rent is in advance, the lessor guarantees the lease and no sum of rent is mentioned. In *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R, II, vii the rent is paid in advance but it is the lessee who is a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. The scribe apparently also thought this odd, for this is the only case in the whole grapheion roll where Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς is written out. Also in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R, III, x payment is made in advance, but neither lessor or lessee is designated as Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and in this case it is specified that the lessee will do all the work on the fields. This last provision is not mentioned in the other abstracts and we must assume that the lessor did all the work as in the full contracts, *P. Yale 67* and *P. Princet.* 146. It is worth noting that in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R there are nine leases with payment in advance, in seven of which

1. J.G. Tait, *Archiv* VII, 1924, pp. 175-182, and F. Pringsheim, *ZSS*, XLIV, 1924, pp. 396-456. See also Oates, *The Status Designation: Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* (YCS 18, 1963).

2. See Boak, *P. Mich. Teb.* Vol. 1, p. 21.

3. We find leases made in advance in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R II, i and III, viii. In the first case two years in advance and in the second, seven years. We can find one also in *PSI* 1134 of 92 A.D. This lease is made two years in advance. All of these are μισθώσεις προδοματικά.

the lessor is designated Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and there are only six leases of the ordinary type among the abstracts. This may well reflect an economic situation where the holders of small parcels of land were becoming obligated to money-lenders or entrepreneurs speculating in grain and other crops. In any case it does not suggest that the small farmer was in a particularly favorable position in the Fayum in the first century.

That economic conditions in Egypt were not particularly favorable was first noted by Rostovtzeff,<sup>4</sup> Préaux in a recent article<sup>5</sup> argues using much the same evidence that Egypt was relatively well off and stable during the first and second centuries. The loss of population in the Chora she attributes to an urbanizing trend. It is worth noting that, if in contracts like *P. Yale 67* the lessors are obligated to perform the work on the land, they were not escaping to Alexandria.

The following are the other lease contracts similar to *P. Yale 67*.

*P. Mich. Teb.*311: 27 August 34 A.D., from Tebtunis.

The lessor, a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, does all the work, guarantees the lease and receives payment of unspecified sum in advance. The lessee provides the seed.

*P. Fouad I*, 40: 11 December 35 A.D., from Heimera (Arsinoite Nome).

The lessor, a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, guarantees the lease; no work division is mentioned. The peculiarity here is that this is a contract leasing land for sowing εἰς χόρτου σποράν made in December for the following 8 ½ months when the land would have been sown already. Herrmann<sup>6</sup> thinks that this is simply a sale of a crop in advance. This may be true; or it too could be a forced lease or *datio in solutum*; the lessor is merely paying off a debt by giving the rights of this crop to the lessee. However, χόρτος was frequently used as a second crop and this may be the case here. See Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 214 and the editor's (N. Lewis) note on the line in the original edition. As in the other contracts, the rent of unspecified sum is paid in advance. The phrase εἰς χόρτου σποράν is used simply as part of the lease formula, and probably has no bearing on the contractual arrangements.

*P. Princet.*146: 21 April 36 A.D., from Tebtunis.

The lessor, a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, guarantees the lease, pays the taxes

4. *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd edition, pp. 102-103 and note 29 pp. 581-2 where all the bibliography to 1930 is cited. See also his article "Roman Exploitation of Egypt in the First Century A.D.", *Journal of Economic and Business History* I, 1929, pp. 337-364.

5. "La stabilité de l'Égypte aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère", *Chronique d'Égypte* 62, 1956, pp. 311-331.

6. *Bodenpacht*, p. 230.



and receives the rent of unspecified sum in advance. No work division is mentioned.

*P. Warren 11*: 16 September 98 A.D., from Karanis.

The lessor is a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, and has received the rent in advance and guarantees the lease. The rent, however, is stated to be 56 drachmas and the lessee is to do all the work.

*P. Meyer 12*: 17 February 115 A.D., from Theadelphia.

The lessor, a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, receives an unspecified sum of rent in advance and guarantees the lease. The lease is for six months and the verb is ἐπικεχωρηκένοι.<sup>7</sup> This is then another forced lease or sale of crops similar to *P. Fouad I*, 40.

*P. Flor. 20*: 9 August 127 A.D., from Theadelphia.

The lessor, a Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, receives the rent in advance, does all to work and guarantees the lease. The lessee provides the seed. The verb used is ἐπικεχωρηκένοι.

The following four documents are similar to the above except that the designation Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, is not used.

*P. Oslo 32*: 1 A.D., from Theadelphia.

The lessors here, although not styled Πέρσης, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, do all the work except providing the seed. Here we know that the lessee had lent 200 silver drachmas to the lessors, and obviously this is the rent for the year; or else we could say that the lessee simply collects the crop as repayment of the loan.

*BGU 636*: 5 November 20 A.D. from Karanis.

The lessor receives rent of no specified sum in advance and also says that the rent κατὰ μηδενὸς ἐλατομένου σου περὶ ἐτέρων ὧν [ὁ]φείλω σοι, The lease is made in November and is apparently another parallel to *P. Fouad I*, 40 and *P. Meyer 12*. The verb used is also ἐπικεχωρηκένοι.

*BGU 526*: 12 October 86 A.D., from Socnopaiou Nesos.

Lessors do all the work and guarantee the lease against all charges. The rent of unspecified sum is paid in advance.

*PSI 1134*: 21 November 92 A.D., from Tebtunis.

The lessor receives rent of no specified sum in advance; but there the lessee does all the work as well as provides the seed. The lease is made two years in advance, in the 11th year of Domitian for the 13th year.

These prodomatic leases present certain peculiarities, reflecting perhaps the strangeness which the scribes felt in dealing with such documents. For we must remember that, while the prodomatic lease resembles an ordinary contract, the obligation is reversed; the lessor contrary to usual practice is obligated and

7. See below p. 214 for the use of this verb.

the lessee benefits. These peculiarities occur in the opening formulae of the contracts, in the variations and substitutions in the standard phrase ὁμολογῆ ὁ δεῖνα τῷ θεῖνι μεμισθωκέναί.

First of all, four of the prodomatic leases use the form ἐπικεχωρηκέναί to replace μεμισθωκέναί. These four are *P. Oslo* 32, *P. Flor.* 20, *P. Meyer* 12, and *BGU* 636. This substitution is not surprising if we realize the close relationship of the two verbs, and the peculiarity inherent in the nature of the prodomatic lease. The verb ἐπιχωρέω is used most commonly in Roman times in requests for monopoly rights. The best example of this is *P. Amh.* 92 (*WChr.* 311) of 162/3 A.D., from Heracleia of the Themistes Meris of the Arsinoite Nome. Marcus Anthestius Capitolinus addresses Claudianus, the nomarch of the Arsinoite Nome, asking to be granted control of selling all the olive oil in the village of Heracleia. He is willing to pay 80 silver drachmas and 80 obols for this privilege. He begins his request βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι and the form of the document follows that of a request for lease of land with provisions for length of the lease, payment, and a statement that he, Marcus Anthestius, will not take partners or sub-let. The document closes ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθώσασθαι. Even here then the nature of the contract was considered a lease. Other documents which are similar to *P. Amh.* 92 are: *PSI* 459 of 72 A.D., a request for the right to sell wool in Karanis; *P. Fay.* 36 of 111/12 A.D., a request for the right to make and sell bricks in the village of Kerkethoeris, (both of these two papyri begin with ἐπιχωρηθείσης μοι and end with ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρηῆσαι); *P. Lond.* 906 of 128 A.D., from Euemeria, a request for gold-smithing rights; *P. Aberdeen* 45 of 141 A.D., from Socnopaiou Nesos, (the subject of this request is unclear, the papyrus is fragmentary and is restored after *P. Amh.* 92); *P. Ryl.* 98(a) of 154/5 A.D., from Theadelphia, a request for the sole right to hunt birds in a marsh near Theadelphia for the last 6 months of the 18th year of Antoninus Pius. Exactly what happened to the applicant in *P. Ryl.* 98 (a) is not known; *P. Ryl.* 98 of 172 A.D., from Arsinoe, a request for the right to run the weaving trade. These last five documents are like *P. Amh.* 92 in beginning βούλομαι ἐπιχωρηθῆναι and ending ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρηῆσαι. That ἐπιχώρησις was the official designation of documents of this sort can be seen from the grapheion roll, *P. Mich. Teb.* 123, where the ἐπιχώρησις χαρτηρᾶς is mentioned twice: Recto, I (b), 22 and Verso, X.6. There it probably refers to the paper tax. See the introduction to the papyrus, page 100 of *Michigan Papyri*, Vol. II, where Boak discusses the χαρτηρά and says the ἐπιχώρησις χαρτηρᾶς must be the concession for farming the tax on paper.

*P. Mich.* 185, a request for lease of grain land from Bacchias in the Fayum in 122 A.D., begins βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι but closes ἐὰν φαίνεται ἐπιχωρηῆσαι. *BGU* 636 which uses the form ἐμισθωσεν ἐπικεχωρηκέναί has the signature of one of the parties to the contract which reads ὁμολογῶ μεμισθωκέναί. Thus we can see that the two verbs ἐπιχωρέω and μισθῶ are connected in their usage. This,



coupled with the scribe's uncertainty over exactly what form a prodomatic lease should take, may have led to the substitution. It may also have some bearing that the verb ἐπιχωρέω is used in these situations in the Fayum and that all the prodomatic leases come from the same area.

Even more striking than the substitution of ἐπικεχωρηκέναι for μεμισθωκέναι in prodomatic leases are the variations of the introductory formulae. Five of these leases and *P. Yale 67* are objective homology contracts, that is, they use the introductory formula ὁμολογεῖ μεμισθωκέναι. Leases are cast in the objective protocol form (ἐμίσθωσεν ὁ δεῖνος τῷ δεῖνι) or the hypomnema (ὑπόμνημα) form (τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνου βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ.) In the Fayum, the hypomnema form becomes more common at the expense of the protocol form. In the 1st century there are 23 protocol leases to 12 hypomnemata; in the 2nd century 13 protocol leases to 48 hypomnemata; and in the 3rd century 3 protocol leases to 20 hypomnemata.<sup>8</sup> The objective homology form as in *P. Yale 67* is only used for μισθώσεις προδοματικά.<sup>9</sup> Thus *P. Teb. 441* and *PSI 1135* are also μισθώσεις προδοματικάί. Both are from the Fayum and date to the first century. *P. Teb. 441* is published only in description but dates to 91/2 A.D. It uses the formula ὁμολογεῖ μεμισθωκέναι and again begins like the other μισθώσεις προδοματικάί. No other leases fragmentary or complete use any form of the verb ὁμολογεῖν.

Of these six objective homology prodomatic leases, three (*P. Yale 67*, *PSI 1134*, and *P. Warren 11*) use the introductory formula ὁμολογεῖ μεμισθωκέναι; one (*BGU 526*) ὁμολογοῦσιν μεμισθωκέναι; two (*P. Meyer 12* and *P. Flor. 20*) ὁμολογεῖ ἐπικεχωρηκέναι; one other, (*P. Oslo 32*) has ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐπικεχωρηκέναι; Thus six leases use the objective homology form and a seventh uses a first person plural of ὁμολογῶ. The other four documents of this class, prodomatic leases, are rather peculiar in their use of introductory formula. *P. Fouad I, 40* and *P. Mich. Teb. 311* have ἐμίσθωσεν μεμισθωκέναι; *BGU 636* has ἐμισθσε (sic) ἐπικεχωρηκέναι; *P. Princet. 146* has ἐμίσθωσεν ἐμίσθω[σεν] but μεμισθω[κέναι] probably should be read in line 8. It is hard to tell whether these contracts reflect scribal errors or whether this formula was an intentional device used because of the peculiar nature of the transaction. Certainly there is no sign of erasure in any of these documents. It is true that leases and particularly prodomatic leases resemble sales in form (cf. *PSI 1130*, *P. Mich. Teb. 259*, 260, and 263) and it is possible that scribes used the form ἐμίσθωσεν μεμισθωκέναι to distinguish this type of contract from sales and ordinary leases. Two of these contracts come from

8. These figures are taken from Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 21. The numbers of the protocol leases include the homology contracts. On pp. 20-28 Herrmann discusses the forms of leases.

9. Herrmann did not see this. *P. Fouad I, 41* which he cites as an example of lease with homology statement is not a lease but an agreement involving several matters.



Tebtunis (*P. Mich. Teb.* 311 and *P. Princet.* 146), one from Heimera in the Polemon Meris (*P. Fouad* I, 40) and one from Karanis in the Heraclid Meris (*BGU* 636). This last document was drawn up in 20 A.D.; the other three in 34, 35, and 36 A.D. Since all other leases use only the aorist form of the verb, perhaps habit tricked these scribes into using it here where an homology form should have been used.

The grapheion registers from Tebtunis (*P. Mich. Teb.* 121-126 and 237-40) use the word μίσθωσις for leases and δάνειον for loans and ὁμολογία for most other transactions. Thus loans on security, sales, dowry agreements, nursing and apprenticeship contracts, in short any kind of acknowledgement except straightforward leases and loans, are described by ὁμολογία. Prodomatic leases in the abstracts of *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R use the form ὁμολογῆ μισθωκέναι, but on the verso of this papyrus, in the lists of contracts drawn up, μίσθωσις is used indiscriminately of all leases. It is only in *P. Mich. Teb.* 238 covering the first four months of the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius, 46 A.D., that the scribe distinguished between μίσθωσις and ὁμολογία μισθώσεως προδοματικῆς. Unfortunately here we do not have abstracts of contracts to check the consistency of the scribe, especially since he used the designation ὁμολογία μισθώσεως eight times, and there is no way of knowing whether or not these are prodomatic. However, the evidence does show that in the Fayum, a definite distinction was made between the prodomatic leases and leases of the ordinary type, whatever may have been the legal basis of this distinction.

One further fact which may have a relationship to the peculiarities described above should be recorded. Of the five prodomatic leases which are completely preserved, three show the signature of both parties. The longer statement using the phrase ὁμολογῶ μισθωκέναι is made by the lessor followed by a repetition of the major elements of the document. The lessee merely says γέγονε εἰς ἐμέ ἡ μίσθωσις καθὼς πρόκειται (*P. Mich. Teb.* 311) or ὁμολογῶ καθὼς πρόκειται (*BGU* 526 and probably *P. Fouad* I, 40 where the verb is lost but καθὼς πρόκειται is preserved.) In *P. Oslo* 32 and *P. Warren* 11, which are complete, there are no signatures. In the period of Roman domination in Egypt until 140 A.D. (after which time contract forms of leases become rarer), of nine complete leases from the Fayum, both the lessor and lessee sign in six cases, the lessee alone signs in two, and in one the lessor alone signs. This last is a peculiar contract made for 19 years with no rent. In Oxyrhynchus, in the same period of time, there are seven complete leases, in six of which the lessees alone sign and in one of which, for reasons that are not explained, the lessor signs. There are no unsigned complete lease contracts, and the situation is what we expect the lessee is the person obligated and in nearly all the cases his signature is affixed. In the prodomatic leases we expect the signature of the lessor as he is the obligated party. Thus, unless these two unsigned contracts, *P. Oslo* 32 and *P. Warren* 11 are private copies (which seems unlikely, since any copy would most probably include all the particulars), they are quite



strange and do not fit what we would expect of either ordinary or prodomatic leases.

Returning to *P. Yale 67*, we find that the exact amount of land involved is somewhat vague. There is a total of 7 arouras mentioned, but it is left unclear whether the 3 arouras in 2 parcels of the first year carry over to make a total of 7 for the second year, or whether it is a question of 3 arouras for the first year and 4 only for the second year. The latter seems more likely.

These parcels of land leased in *P. Yale 67* are designated each by a name, undoubtedly the name of a man who had held these pieces at one time or another. All of these names present some difficulties in reading. In line 9 Ταυρίτου seems to be the reading. Ταῦρις is a common name in the papyri, but its genitive is Ταύριος. Ταυρίνου or Ταυρίθου are also possible readings. Ταυρίνος is commonly attested as a name in the Fayum. At the end of line 9 perhaps Λεπτίνου ought to be read. Λεπτίνης again is a name commonly attested in the Fayum. Of the third name only M[. .]σ[.] can be read; however, this parcel of land is πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ ὁδῷ. Parcels of land are described as near the "Great Road" in *P. Mich. Teb.* 121 R I, v.1 and II, vi. 5 for example. This may be a major road which connected Tebtunis to some other city or village.

Ἔτους ἑπτακαιδεκάτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ [ἐβ]δό-  
 μη Μεχειρ ἑβδόμη ἐν Τεβτῦνι τῆς Πολέμονος μερίδος τοῦ]  
 Ἀρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Μαρεπκᾶμις Μαρεπκᾶμιος Πέρσης,]  
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἔτων πενήκοντα ἐνός, οὐλῆ ἀντικνημίωι ἀρι-  
 5 στερῶι, Μαρσισοῦχῳ Μαρεψήμιος ὡς ἔτων τεσσαράκοντα πέντε,  
 οὐλῆ πῆχει δεξίῳ, μεμισθωκέναι αὐτῷ Μαρσισοῦχῳ εἰς ἔτη δύο  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσίοντος ἑνεακαιδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,  
 τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἔτους τῆς μισθώσεως γῆς ἀρούρας τρεῖς ἐν δυσι σφρα-  
 γίσι, ὧν μὲν ἄρουραι δύο ἐν τῷ Ταυρίτου λεγομένας καὶ ἐν τῷ Λεπτ[.]ου  
 10 ἄρουραν μίαν, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτι ἄλλας ἀρούρας τέσσαρες ἐν M[.]σ[.]  
 πρὸς τῇ μεγάλῃ ὁδῷ ..... ἧ ὅσων ἐὰν ὦσιν εἰς χόρτου σποράν [κα-]  
 ταβρώματος προβάτων, τοῦ Μαρσισοῦχου χωρηγοῦντος ἑαυτ[ῷ σπέρ-]  
 ματα, τοῦ δὲ μεμισθωκότος τοὺς χωματισμοὺς καὶ πο[  
 15 πους καὶ τὴν ἀναβολὴν .....]ων πασῶν, ποιούμενος τῶν πρ.κ.ο...  
 ν[.]. ἀρουρῖ ουρ[ῶν] ..... ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπέσχηκεν ὁ Μαρεπκᾶ-  
 μις παρὰ τοῦ Μαρσισοῦχου τὸν φόρον ἐκ προδώματος διὰ χ[ε]ι-  
 ρὸς ἐξ οἴκου καὶ βεβαιοῖ ὁ Μαρεπκᾶμις τὴν μίσθωσιν ....ν[.].  
 τος ἀπὸ δημοσίων καὶ πάντων ἐιδῶν] χωρὶς]  
 ὁ Μαρεπκᾶμις τῷ Μαρσισοῦχῳ  
 20 ὁ]μολογοῦντος[  
 ὧν πάντων

The seventeenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, month of Xandikos seventh, Mecheir seventh, in Tebtunis of the Polemon meris of the Arsinoite Nome. There acknowledges Marepkamis, son of Marepkamis, Persian of the epigone, being fifty-one years old, scar on the left shin, to Marsisouchos, son of Marepsemos, being forty-five years old, scar on the right forearm, to have leased to this Marsisouchos for two years from the coming nineteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, of the lease of the first year, three arouras of land in two parcels, of which two arouras in what goes by the name of Tauritos and in what goes by the name of Lept...one aroura. Of the second year another four arouras...towards the Great Road or as much as there is, for sowing with fodder and feeding the sheep. Marsisouchos supplying himself seed..... arouras... For which Marepkamis has received from Marsisouchos the payment in advance from his hand out of the house and Marepkamis guarantees in advance ...from public and all claims except...Marepkamis to Marsisouchos....agreeing... of all the....

1. ἑπτὰ is not at all clear, but it is certain; it can be determined from line 7 where the εἰσίοντος ἑννεακαίδεκάτου ἔτους of Tiberius is mentioned. Ὀκτώ is not a possible reading in line 1.

9. Λεγομένας is probably attracted to the accusative by the influence of ἀρούρας in line 8. Cf. also in line 10 ἀρουραν μίαν and ἄλλας ἀρούρας. The same mistake is made in *P. Mich. Teb.* 311.

10. Μ[...]σ[...], we would expect either a dative or more likely the genitive preceded by τῶ.

11. After ὀδῶν we would expect either an indication of direction or of the type of land. However, there is not enough room for ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς νότου μέρους or the like. On the other hand neither δημοσίας γῆς or βασιλικῆς γῆς fits the remaining letter traces. Perhaps λεγομένας, which does fit the few traces, ought to be read. In any case the formula is not consistent here.

12. Καταβρώματα is more usual.

14. Read ποιουμένου. Πο[...] at the end of line 13 is clear and ποτισμούς is what we expect; however, line 14 seems to begin with a very clear π. Ἄν[...] ἀβολὴν διωρύχ[...]ων would fit the space in the middle of the line and make sense. At the end of line 14 we might expect τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν τρεῖς or ἑπτὰ; however, it is hard to reconcile this with the letters at the end of line 14 and the beginning of line 15. Πρ.κ.ο... is what appears. Line 15 seems to begin with ν[...]. Also the ink trace of the last letter before ἀρουρουρ is not compatible with a ν.

17. Perhaps διὰ πάντος ought to be read, but the letters at the end of line 17 look like καὶ ν[...];τος is clear at the beginning of line 18.



68 Contract of Loan and Lease  
Plate VIII

P. Yale Inv. 490

23.5 x 11 cm.

16 November 204 A.D.  
Heracleopolite?

This piece of papyrus was acquired for the Yale collection by purchase from a private dealer in 1931. It is light brown in color and preserves the left-hand half of a complicated agreement of loan and lease. The first hand is a rather fine, handsome, flowing script with a good sense of style; its predilection for the curvilinear often makes it hard to distinguish one from the other *epsilon*, *pi*, *nu*, *gamma* and even *sigma*; likewise *mu* and *kappa* resemble one another. The second hand is thicker and squarish in stroke and resembles block printing.

The upper left-hand corner of the papyrus is preserved, as is the left-hand edge; the margins are 3.1 cm. at the top and 3.0 cm. at the left edge. From the restoration of the imperial nomenclature in the dating formula at the end of the contract we can tell that about half of the width of the original is lost, and thus the right edge has broken off along the line of the major vertical fold. The preserved half of the contract extends through the first six lines of the subscription and probably not much is lost at the bottom. In lines 17 to 22 several small pieces are lost apparently because of the horizontal folding. In a few other places the ink has been abraded.

The general nature of this document is clear, but particulars are often difficult to interpret. Basically two men, Apion and Diogenes, borrow at least 1700 drachmas and 24 artabs of grain from a certain Zoilos, and also lease to him land which belongs to them. The proceedings may be outlined as follows:

- I. (Lines 1-3) Names of the parties.
- II. (3-9) Acknowledgement by Apion and Diogenes that they have borrowed from Zoilos. Also a payment clause.
- III. (9-16) Lease of land by Apion and Diogenes to Zoilos. Also a rent clause.
- IV. (16-28) Payment provisions. Complicated because repayment of loan is somehow combined with rent payments.
- V. (28-34) Surety, executive, and kyrieia clauses.
- VI. (34-36) Date with imperial names.
- VII. (36-41) Subscription written by Apion and Diogenes.

Specific problems are discussed in the notes to the text, for in spite of the general clarity of the situation, this is a most peculiar document, indeed unique, with no parallels to its format, style or content. Actually what we have here is two separate types of contract, a loan and a lease, put into one document. However, the loan repayments of Apion and Diogenes are somehow adjusted to take account of the rent payments by Zoilos. Such a unique and complicated agreement carried out over a four year period of the lease would be difficult to restore and interpret with only half of the document preserved, but worse, at this crucial point, *P. Yale 68* has suffered even more damage, thus destroying any hope of even a partial reconstruction. We can, however, state that this document is not a mortgage, hypotheke, hypallagma, loan on security, antichretic loan, or prodomatic lease. It is clear evidence that homology statements are merely acknowledgements of an action and do not necessarily follow any theoretical or symbolic form nor are they evidence of any symbolic act. Like all protocol statements or homologies, *P. Yale 68* involves obligations in the future, but these stem from the actions of the parties, not from any theoretical form of agreement.

Clearly, certain areas of Egypt follow certain patterns in drawing up contracts, and while such practices have not yet been charted, we can note that protocol leases are common in Oxyrhynchus and almost unknown in the Fayum (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* p. 21). The peculiarity of form in *P. Yale 68* suggests that it comes from an area of Egypt from which we have few contracts and none of this type: loans of money and grain (rare in any case.) This is supported by the language of the document, which does not resemble any others, although it comes closest to those of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. For instance the words ταξόμεθα and ἐκμισθοῖν are rare in the senses used here. Τάσσω is often used of tax payments but never in other documents to replace ἀποδίδωμι. The infinitive ἐκμισθοῖν occurs only here, although five instances of the verb are cited by Preisigke from the fourth century. Two of these, *BGU 944* and *P. Amh. 142*, are from the Heracleopolite Nome, and the Heracleopolite would be a logical provenance for our papyrus. The only other clue from the papyrus is the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως which is found in the Heracleopolite (*CPR 40, 42, 247*) as well as in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, whereas it is not used in the Arsinoite or Hermopolite nomes.





1. The name of Apion's mother, the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡράκλεως πόλεως and the necessary καὶ would fill out this line so that there is no room for another party to the contract.

3. τι: the end of an alternative name for Zoilos [Ζωίλω τῷ καὶ ...] τι. We would expect [ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεσχηκέναι (or the like) καὶ πα] ραμεμετρήσθαι.

4. Any number of restorations are possible and the amount of money may be larger than 1700 drachmas.

6. The beginning of this line may contain place names specifying the measure to be used for the grain; otherwise, read ΚΟΣ as the end of a word preceding.

7. read ταξόμεθα. Lines 5 through 10 present difficulties. We ought to find here the rate of interest on the loan, the time for repayment and the length of lease; perhaps also we should find some statement of the relation of the lease to the loan. The restorations given in the text provide for all of these factors. The δραχμὰς δεκάπεντε κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον as well as the 24 artabs of grain in the principal of the loan are found in the subscription. From line 15 we learn that the contract was made for a four year period.

11. There are at least four and probably five parcels of land mentioned here.

16. ἔκκρουσις "deduction"; cf. *P. Tebt.* 121.

18. The 36 artabs must be the payment in case of a hemiolion penalty for nonpayment; but the 50 artabs of line 22 cannot be brought into any relationship with the other numbers of the text. Τιμῆς in line 19 along with the wording of subsequent lines suggests that payment of the loan could be made in grain instead of money and perhaps the rent payments would be adjusted to account for this, but the condition of the papyrus here renders any clear knowledge impossible.

37. Read ὀφείλομεν, which is rarely used in this way (but cf. *P. Oxy.* 501); it may be merely a variation of the usual ἔχομεν; however, its use may suggest that Apion and Diogenes did not actually receive any money, and that this contract represents the renegotiation of an earlier loan. Further evidence for this state of affairs is lost along with the section in lines 14 to 24 detailing repayment provisions.



69. Lease Of Two Rooms Of A House

P. Yale Inv. 227

19.7 x 7 cm.

24 June 214 A.D.

Oxyrhynchus

Purchased from the dealer Maurice Nahman in 1926. This is a light brown piece of papyrus; the writing is on the recto with the fibers and the verso is blank. The papyrus has many small holes and is shredded in many places, particularly near all edges. The main body of the contract, however, is virtually complete; missing are the introductory lines containing the names of the parties and their identifications and the signature which would follow the date. The writing apparently continued to the right edge, preserved in lines 20-34. In these same lines there is a margin of 1.0 cm. at the left.

The hand is a tiny closely written cursive with an occasional attempt at stylization. After line 20 the hand becomes even more cursive and less well formed, with thicker strokes more heavily inked. Either we have here a second hand, or else the scribe re-inked his pen. The papyrus is also worn differently in the upper and lower portion, which may contribute to the different appearance of the writing. The letter forms are similar in both parts.

The reading of the document is made much easier by its close parallelism with other house leases from Oxyrhynchus. The following are the leases in this group:

<i>P. Oxy.</i> 502	164 A.D.	Lease of a house.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1128	173	Lease of a dining-room.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1207	175/6?	Lease of a camel stable.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1127	183	Lease of a pigeon-house.
<i>P. Yale</i> 69	214	Lease of two rooms in a house.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 911	233 or 265	Lease of a house.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 912	235	Lease of a cellar.
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1694	280	Lease of a house and appurtenances.

*P. Merton* 76 of 181 A.D., the lease of a work-shop, also follows this general form but has many peculiar details, and *P. Oxy.* 2284 of 258 A.D. combines this form with the land lease form in a contract involving both house and land. These are all the leases for immovables or real property, outside of land, from this area

of Egypt in the first three centuries A.D. The form used for the leases is simple, clear, and straightforward. They are cast in the objective form of the private protocol, and the following outline fits all of them in a general way.

- I. Heading - ἐμίθωσεν, names and residences of parties.
  - II. Length of lease and beginning date.
  - III. Object of lease and its location.
  - IV. Rent.
  - V. Surety.
  - VI. Rent payment clause
  - VII. Use clause
  - VIII. Return of property clause.
  - IX. Penalties for failure to return property in good condition.
  - X. Execution clause.
  - XI. Statement that lease is valid.
  - XII. Date.
  - XIII. Signature of lessee.
- } The order of these two clauses varies.

Perhaps the single most interesting feature of this papyrus is the mention of Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Ἀπία who appears in or is named in a number of documents of the early third century and who owned extensive property in the area of Oxyrhynchus. The documents in which she appears were collected first by Grenfell and Hunt in *P. Oxy.* 1630.3. n., then by Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire* p. 747, n. 61, and lastly by John Rea in the note on line 6 of *P. Oxy.* 2566<sup>1</sup> These documents are cited again here with fuller commentary on date and circumstances. It will be noted that the dates of many of these documents are in doubt; also the identification of the same Claudia Isidora in all these documents can be called into question. The worst that can be said for these ten documents, however, is that they all come from Oxyrhynchus, mention a Claudia Isidora, and can be dated to the early third century.

*P. Oxy.* 919.

Dated in the 22nd year, Payni 27 of an unnamed emperor. Grenfell and Hunt originally conjectured "182?", but as Eitrem (*P. Oslo.* III, page 153) has pointed out, it may refer to the twenty-second year of Caracalla in which case the papyrus can be dated 21 June 214.

160 drachmas are given to a ship captain so that he may pay the duty at Memphis on a shipment of olives and honey from the Arsinoite. Seven jars and 20 boxes of honey are intended for μόνη Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα.

*P. Yale* 69.

24 June 214 (twenty second year of Caracalla, Payni 30). A sublet of two rooms in a house which the lessor has on lease παρὰ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδ[ώρας τ]ῆς καὶ Ἀπίας.

*P. Oxy.* 1530.

215/6 (Twenty-fourth year of Caracalla). An account of grain owed to the sitologoi of a village in the Oxyrhynchite Nome in which two entries concern Claudia Isidora.

1. One further text as yet unpublished is at the University of Mississippi. Cf. W.H. Willis, "The New Collection of Papyri at the University of Mississippi", *Proc. IX International Congress of Papyrology*, 1958, p. 381, n. 1.



*P. Oxy.* 1046.

December 218 to January 219 (Tybi of the second year of Elagabalus). This is an account of payments for various taxes, and lines 7-9 read:

καὶ διεγρά(φισαν) ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσί(αν) τρά(πεζαν)  
ὑπὸ Κλαυδ(ίας) Ἰσιδώρα(ς) τῆς κ(αὶ) Ἀπίας  
ἀπομοίρη(ς) (δραχμᾶς) ρις

*P. Oxy.* 1659.

An account of the crown tax collected from Hathyr 10-14 (7-10 November) in the reign of Elagabalus (218-221). After the dating formula the first entry in lines 5 and 6 reads:

δ[ιὰ δη]μο[σί]ας τρα[πέ]ζης. Ἄθ[η]ν[α] ὑπ[ὲρ] ἰ[σ]ιδώρα[ς] κ[αὶ] Ἀπί[ας] (δραχμᾶς) σ[τ]λ[ς]

*P. Oxy.* 1578.

Dated Choiak 20 in the fourth year of an unnamed emperor, probably Elagabalus and thus 16 December 221. Three demands for payment are addressed to Sarapammon, the overseer of Claudia Isidora's estate in Tholthis of the Thmoisepho toparchy. Column II begins (as corrected by Grenfell and Hunt in *P. Oxy.* 1630, note to line 3):

Ἀὐρηλίω Σαραπάμμωνι ἐπιτρόπῳ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώ[ρας]

Column III.1 and 2 (also given in note on line 3 of *P. Oxy.* 1630) read:

...ἐπιτρόπῳ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώ[ρας] τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης

*P. Oxy.* 1634.

The date is uncertain, but the papyrus clearly comes from the early third century and can probably be dated 19 February 222, that is Mecheir 23 (a certain reading) of the fifth year of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus. Claudia Isidora buys: ἐ]π' ἀμφοδου Χηνοβοσκῶν οἰκίαν λιθίνην καὶ αἶθριον acting through an agent, one Ἀὐρήλιος Σαρᾶς, βουλευτῆς of Oxyrhynchus. Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Ἀπία is mentioned in lines 3, 6, 19, and again in line 23.

*P. Oxy.* 1630.

Tybi 30 in the fifth year of an unnamed emperor; the numeral 5 (*epsilon*) is an uncertain reading, but if right and the emperor is Alexander Severus, the papyrus can be dated 26 January 223.

A bid or lease of land belonging to Claudia Isidora is made to her representative and higher rent is offered. At the end of line 3 τῆς Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας appears, but the beginning of line 4 is lost. The land is located [περὶ] τὴν Ὀασιν.

*P. Oxy.* 2566.

13 June 225. (Fourth year of an unnamed emperor, Payni 19; Severus Alexander is likely.) This is an acknowledgment by one Aurelia Apollonarion that she owes 600 artabs of wheat to the estate of Claudia Isidora which has escheated to the treasury and also that with an associate she owes another 300 artabs and 75 artabs interest. The confiscation of Claudia Isidora's estate is clearly in the year of this text, but no indication of causes or circumstances is given.

*P. Oslo* 111, col. I. 126 and 130.

Dated in Mecheir of the 14th year of Alexander Severus, February 235. This is a register of houses in Oxyrhynchus. A house, ἀμόδου Ἐρμείου is said to have formerly been the property of Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς κ(αί) Ἀπίας. We are not given the name of the present owner.

Unfortunately these papyri cannot give any connected picture of this obviously wealthy woman. From the chance finds it does seem clear that she owned a great deal of property, several houses in Oxyrhynchus itself and a great deal of land around the city. Rostovtzeff (*Roman Empire* p. 747, n. 61) connects her with the rich and powerful landlords managing large tracts of crown land in Egypt, and suggests that a large part of her holdings were γῆ οὐσιακῆ. It is perhaps unfortunate that we cannot recover the circumstances under which her property was confiscated; they might be interesting and informative. With luck, they may become clear with the discovery of more documents concerning Claudia Isidora.

].[  
 ]....[            ]...[  
 ]....[            ]...[  
 5 [ἀπ]ὸ νομηνία[ς] Θ[ὺ] τῷ τοῦ [εἰσί-]  
 [ον]τος κγ (ἔτους) ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχ[ει]  
 [ἐμ]μισθώσει παρὰ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώ[ρας]  
 [τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας] .....[ .....  
 [ἐπ'] ἀμόδου Παμμένου Π[α]ραδί-  
 [σου] οἰκίας τόπους δύο ..[ .....  
 10 [ἐν]οικίου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀρ[γυρίου]  
 [δραχμῶν] ὀγδ[έ]κα ἡκοντα [.....  
 [ἀς] καὶ βεβουμένης τῆ[ς] μισθώ-  
 [σεως] ἀποδότω ὁ μεμισθωμ[ένος]  
 [τῷ] μεμισθωκῶτι ἐν δόσεσι δυοῖ δι' ἑ  
 15 [ἑξαμ]ήνου [τὸ] ἡμ[ί]σι. χρά[σθω] δὲ  
 [σὺν] τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μεμισθου-  
 [μέ]νοις αὐτῷ τῶ[πο]ις ἐπὶ τὸν χρό-  
 [ν]ον ἀκολύτως μεθ' ἃ ὄν παραδότω  
 20 τούτους καθαρῶ[ς] ἀπὸ κο[μ]πρίων  
 καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ὡς παρα-  
 λαμβάνει. ννν καὶ [ὁ] .[...].αριω[...]  
 ὁ μεμισθωκῶς ἀναβαλεῖ θ[ύ]ρας  
 εἰς τὸν τῆς οἰκίας ..... ἰδίαις  
 25 αὐτοῦ δαπάναις καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρό-  
 νον παραδῶσι ὁ μεμισθωμένος  
 δὲ μεμισθωκῶτι τὰς θύρας καὶ τὰς



κλειδῶς ἢ ἀποτεισάτω οὐ ἔξιν μὴ  
 παραδῶ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ ὃ ἔαν  
 προσοφειλέσῃ ἀπὸ [τ]ῶν ἐνοικίων  
 30 μεθ' ἡμιολίας, γεινομένης  
 τῆς πράξεως ὡς καθήκει. κυρία  
 ἢ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) κβ̄ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 35 Βρεττανικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσε[βοῦς]  
 Σεβασ]τοῦ Παῦνι λ̄ [

- (I) There has leased .....  
 (II) from the first of Thoth of the coming 23rd year  
 (III) from that which he himself has in lease from Claudia Isidora also called Apia  
 ..... in the quarter of Pammenes' Garden of a house two rooms. ....  
 (IV) for a rent for a year of eighty ..... silver drachmas.  
 (V and VI) which, the lease having been guaranteed, let the lessee pay back to  
 the lessor in two installments, every six months, the half  
 (VII) Let him use along with his associates the rooms leased to him for the time  
 without hindrance.  
 (VIII) After which time let him return these clean from dung and from all unclean-  
 liness as he takes them.  
 (VIIIa). . . . . the lessor will put up doors on the . . . . . of the house  
 at his own expense.  
 (IX) And after the time the lessee will return to the lessor the doors and keys  
 or let him pay for what he does not return the value and whatever he owes from  
 the rents, one and a half the amount.  
 (X) The execution being as is fit  
 (XI) The lease is valid.  
 (XII) Year 22 Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus  
 Megistus Brettanicus Megistus Germanicus Megistus Pius Augustus, Payni 30.

1-3. These lines would contain the names of the parties: nothing consistent can  
 can be made of the few remaining traces.

4. *P. Oxy.* 1207, 1127, 912 also begin on the first of Thoth and have the same word-  
 ing as that used here. *P. Oxy.* 502, 1128, 911, 1036, 1694 have the same phraseology but  
 different beginning dates.

7. The second half of this line resists interpretation. After Ἀπίας the first letter  
 seems to be κ. Αχ seem clear in the middle, as does a μ just before the break. In *P. Oxy.*  
 1578 col. III 1-2 (see above) Claudia Isidora is styled ἡ ἀξιολογώτατη, but that is not a  
 possible reading here, and the other leases provide no parallel for this specific place.  
 For the clause of sub-let in general one may compare *P. Oxy.* 912, also a sub-let using

wording close to that used here. The other house leases use varying wording because each piece of property demands its own description. For Pammenes' garden, cf. *P. Yale* 71.9.

9. ὑπ[ερώους] is compatible with the letter traces before the lacuna. It is also used in *P. Oxy.* 1127.

10. The brevity of the rent clause is best paralleled by *P. Oxy.* 1128, 912, 1036 and 1994. The same idea but with additional provisions is found in *P. Oxy.* 502, 1207, and 1127.

12. The wording is slightly peculiar here; it is the lessor who makes act of surety, but the language here subordinates this to the action of the lessee in paying his rent. *P. Oxy.* 1127 and 912 have the use clause here before the repayment clause. The other leases follow the order used here. *P. Oxy.* 1127, 912 and 1036 also have their rent paid in two installments per year.

βεβαιομένης; read βεβαιουμένης.

15. The letters χρα at the end of this line are clear, but the next two lines are badly damaged and nothing further is clear until ἀκολύτως. The reading and restorations follow the similar wording in *P. Oxy.* 502.

18. The return clause is much the same in all these leases, but there are variations of detail. *P. Oxy.* 1036 provides the closest parallel in wording.

19. τούτους is very clear, but we would expect τόπους.

20-21. The present indicative, παραλαμβάνει is surprising. *P. Oxy.* 502 has καὶ ὡς παρεῖληφεν; *P. Oxy.* 1127 and 912 have ὡς ἔαν παραλάβῃ; and *P. Oxy.* 1036 and 1694 have καὶ ὡς ἔαν παραλάβῃ.

After παραλαμβάνει a space equal to three or four letters is left blank, and then there begins a clause peculiar to this lease. The letters ]αριω[ are undoubtedly part of the lessor's name, and he is to do something to the property at his own expense. Ἀναβαλεῖ probably here means "put up" (See citations in *Wörterbuch*, s.v., second definition.) At the end of line 22 above the last letter of θ[ύρας there appears to be another letter which may however, be a flourish of the pen. In line 23 we print εἰς τὸν τῆς οἰκίης, but the following word is difficult. In spite of some problems, πύργον may be the correct reading here. A tower is frequently a part of a house and such a reading would be compatible with rooms or spaces on a roof (ὑπερώους in line 9, note).

25. The end of line 25, all of line 26 and the ends of lines 27 and 28 are nearly unreadable. The readings given here follow closely the wording of *P. Oxy.* 502 and are fitted to what letters can be discerned. *P. Oxy.* 1127 and 912 are also similar.

30. There is a similar praxis provision in *P. Oxy.* 1694 and 1036. *P. Oxy.* 1694 reads γεινομένης τῆ[ς] πρ[ὸς] ἄξ[ε]ως παρά τε τοῦ με[μ]ισθωμένου ὡς καθήκει.



70. Fragment of a Lease

P. Yale Inv. 155

6.5 cm. x 7.4 cm.

Early Third Century  
Oxyrhynchus

Purchased in Egypt in 1926. This small brown scrap contains parts of thirteen lines of a land lease. Lines 6 and 7 are preserved at their full width. Thus the right hand edge where there is no margin is the original one. The margin preserved on the left in line 6 is 1.5 cm. The writing is on the recto with the fibers in a very small, exceedingly cursive hand.

This papyrus preserves part of a land lease, a private protocol of a type commonly used in Oxyrhynchus. It is the form used for land, analogous to *P. Yale 69*, the one used for houses. The following is the outline of contents for this general form:

- I. ἐμισθωσεν, names of the parties.
- II. Beginning time and length of lease.
- III. Object and location.
- IV. Crop to be sown.
- V. Rent.
- VI. Risk Clause.
- VII. Taxes to be paid by lessor.
- VIII. Control of crop by lessor until rent is paid.
- IX. Reduction of Rent, if land is not watered (frequently omitted).
- X. Surety.
- XI. Method and date of payment.
- XII. Penalties for non-payment.
- XIII. Execution clause.
- XIV. Validity Clause.
- XV. Date
- XVI. Signature of lessee.

The following is a list of all the leases from Oxyrhynchus to the end of the third century which follow this general outline:

<i>PSI</i> 1029	52 A.D.	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 101	142
<i>Princet.</i> 147	87	<i>P. Merton</i> 17	158
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 280	88	<i>PSI</i> 739	163
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2188	107	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1686	165
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 499	121	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1687	184
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 730	130	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 501	187

<i>P. Fouad</i> 43	191	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1689	266
<i>PSI</i> 1036	192	<i>SB</i> 7443	285
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 910	197	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1691	291
<i>PSI</i> 468	200	<i>PSI</i> 1071	296
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2189	220	<i>PSI</i> 73	III
<i>P. Ryl.</i> 683	244	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1688	III
<i>PSI</i> 880	254	<i>PSI</i> 1072	III

*P. Oxy.* 2351 of 112 A.D. is similar but has very complicated repayment provisions involving rent from the past.

All of these documents exhibit more or less minor variations from the norm based on differences in each leasing situation. *P. Yale* 70 also has its variations; basically it preserves in whole or part the clauses numbered VI to XV (IX, XII, XIII missing) in the outline above. One difference from the norm is clear in the use of τὸ λοιπόν, which indicates that part of the rent was paid in advance. We can compare *PSI* 1071 of 296 where some of the rent was paid in advance and the phrase τὸ λοιπόν τοῦ φόρου, is used, or *PSI* 1036 of 192 where τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμάς is found. Most peculiar in *P. Yale* 70, however, is the statement of payment for the rest of the rent, which is contained in lines 8 to 12. Here the syntax is difficult (frequently an indication of a unique situation and one not covered by formulae); the mention of the survey (γεωμετρία) is unique in this part of a lease; and payment is to be made on Phamouthi 30 (April 25), a time when it is unlikely that the harvest was in. Finally the word ἀνυπερθέτως is used, and, while this is common in payment or repayment clauses in general, it does not appear otherwise in leases of this type. Furthermore, the clauses dealing with penalty for non-payment and the executive clause are missing from this document. Having only a small part of this document, we can merely catalogue these differences and are not able to see the context, or the relative positions of the lessors and lessee.

παν]τὸς κινδύνου τῶν  
 τῆς γῆς] δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς  
 τὸν μεμ]ισθωκότας οὐς καὶ  
 βεβαι]ώσειν τὴν μίσθωσιν  
 5 καὶ κυριε]ύειν τῶν καρπῶν  
 ἕως [ἀ]ν τὸ λ[ο]ιπὸν κομίσωνται  
 τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως βεβαιωμέ-  
 νης] ἀποδότω ὁ Δωρίων τὸ λοι-  
 10 πὸν ἐκ τῆς γεωμετρίας φανησό-  
 μενον ὀφείλῃσθαι τῆι τριακά-  
 δι τοῦ Φαρμοῦθι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 ἔτους ἀνυπερθέτως. κυρία  
 ἢ μίσθω]σις. (ἔτους) θ Αὐτοκράτορος



...of all risk. The public charges being to the lessors, who also guarantee the lease and have title to the crops until they receive the rest. The lease having been guaranteed, let Dorion pay the rest to be owed which will appear from the survey on the thirtieth of Phamouthi in the present year without delay. The lease is valid. Year 9 of the emperor.....

9. γεωμετρίας

13. Probably the ninth year of Alexander Severus, 229/30 A.D.

71. Lease of a Dining Room and Bedroom

P. Yale Inv. 353

30 cm. x 17 cm.

28 August 456 A.D.  
Oxyrhynchus

Purchased in Egypt in 1931 from the dealer Maurice Nahman, this lease is complete except for minor breaks along the fold lines. It is written on the recto with the fibers in a rather unattractive hand. Attempts are made at stylization with alternations between rounded strokes and the vertical and oblique strokes of other letters. The subscription is written in an even less practised second hand. The notation of the official is added, as frequently happens, at the bottom in Latin characters. There is a title on the verso.

This lease is straight forward in detail and presents no problems; it may be compared with other leases from Oxyrhynchus of the same period listed by Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, pp. 202-3.

There is, however, a confusion in the dating formulae. In the first place the era dating cannot be right, for the 133rd year must equal the 102nd year. From *P. Oxy.* 1116 we know, if there was any previous doubt, that these two Oxyrhynchus eras were reckoned from the first of Thoth:

ἐφ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνὰ τῶν ἀπ[ὸ ν]εωμηνίας Θῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ ἐπαγωμένον  
πέμπτῃς καὶ αὐτ[ῆς τῆς π]έμπτῃς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους μ (ἔτους) θ (ἔτους).

The consulship of Valentinian and Flavius Anthemius is attested for the year 455 (Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*). The fifth epagomenal day is, of course, the last day of the Egyptian civil year. The lease is to begin "on Thoth first of the present [sic!] year". Obviously this cannot be true. Since the new year was only hours or possibly minutes away the scribe has obviously made an error and what he meant to write was ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσίοντος ἔτους ρλγ ρβ which would have begun on Thoth first, August 29, 456 A.D.

The question of when the tenth indiction began would add no further information. Παρούσης, however, is written in above the line and may reflect further the confusion of the scribe. The evidence suggests that in Egypt the indictional year began in Pachons: among other documents we can cite *P. Oxy.* 1280, 8ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ παρελθόντος μηνὸς Παχῶν ἀρχῇ τῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδ (ικτίονος). Cf. also the comments of Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. lix. In Constantinople the tenth indiction could not have yet begun; it would have begun three days later on September 1. Thus *P. Yale* 71 adds further evidence that in Egypt the indiction began earlier than in the rest of the empire.



- Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατιάν τοῦ τῆς θείας ληξέως Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ  
καὶ Φλα(ουίου) Ανθεμίου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) ἐπαγομένων ε  
Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Θεώνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς  
καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλία  
5 Θεοδοσία θυγατρὶ Ὁφειέως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομηνίας  
τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρλγ ρα τῆς ἑπαρούσης ἑκατάτ(ης)  
ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ  
πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Παμμένους Παραδίσου ὀλόκληρον  
10 συμπόσιον καὶ τὸν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ κοιτῶνα σὺν χρηστη-  
ρίοις πᾶσι. καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου ἐνιαυσίως  
ἀργυρίου μυριάδας δισχιλίαις, ὅπερ ἐνοίκιον  
ἀποδώσω κατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμήνου τὸ ἥμισυ  
καὶ ὁπόταν βουληθῆς παραδώσω σοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
15 τό[που]ς ὡς καὶ [παρ]εἶληφα. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις  
δισσὴ γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.  
Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθε[ος υἱὸς] Θεώνος ὁ προκείμενος  
μεμίσθωμαι τὸ συμπόσιον μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐντὸς κοιτῶνος  
καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐνοίκιον καὶ συμφωνί μοι  
20 πάντα ὡς πρό[κι]ται. Αὐρήλιος Ἀφροῦς Ἡραίσκου  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ [αὐτοῦ] γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.  
Ϡ di' emou.....ou

## Verso

μισθ(ωσις) Τιμοθέου

The year after the consulship of Valentinian of sacred memory and of Flavius Anthemius the most illustrious, on the 5th epagomenal day.

Aurelius Timotheus, son of Theon from the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchites to Aurelia Theodosia daughter of Opheieus from the same city.

Willingly I undertake to lease from the first of Thoth of the present 133rd equals 101st year of the present tenth indiction from your property in the same city in the quarter of the Garden of Pammenes a complete dining room and the bedroom within it with all appurtenances.

And I shall pay on behalf of the rent yearly two thousand myriads of silver, which rent I shall pay back each year every six months half, and whenever you wish I shall return these places even as I took them.

Valid the lease written twice and, having been asked, I have agreed. Aurelius Timotheus son of Theon, the aforementioned, I have been leased

the dining room with the bedroom in it, and I shall pay back the rent and I have agreed to all things as they are written above. I Aurelius Amphous son of Heraiikos wrote on his behalf since he does not know how to write.

Verso: Lease of Timotheos.

9. The Garden of Pammenes occurs frequently in papyri from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Yale* 69, 72, *P. Oxy.* 1452 (127/8 A.D.), *P. Oxy.* 1958, 1961, 1962, 1964, all 5th/6th century).

21. This is written in Latin letters as frequently. It is a fine flowing hand, but the name is not decipherable.



## 72. Lease of Part of a House

Inv. 355

15.5 cm. x 11 cm.

Fifth Century  
Oxyrhynchus

Bought from the dealer Maurice Nahman in 1931. The top, bottom and left edge of this piece are lost. The right side is the original edge and no margin was left. The preserved part of this tan papyrus is riddled with small holes. The fine writing in dark ink is on the recto with the fibers in the handsomely stylized manner of the fifth century with contrast between the full rounded strokes of *omega* and *mu* and the regularly oblique lines of the *epsilons*, *kapas* and *lambdas*.

The general nature of this contract is clear; it is similar to that of *P. Yale* 71 and preserves the latter part of a lease of some real property and the beginning of the subscription to the lease by the parties involved. Missing, however, are all the important particulars, the names of the parties, the object leased, the amount of the rent, and the duration of the lease. The formulae that are preserved are clearly those found in leases from Oxyrhynchus and particularly those of the latter half of the fifth century; some restoration based on *P. Yale* 71 is supplied with the text merely to give a context to what this papyrus preserves. From these minimum restorations it would appear that about half of the original has been lost at the left side; cf. particularly lines 6 and 7.

		]νο[
		ἐ]π' ἀμφόδου Πα[μμένους Παραδείσου
[object of lease	σὺν πᾶσι χρη]στηρίοις καὶ πάντι τῷ ὑ[π]ο[σ]τέλλοντι καὶ ἀνήκ[ο]ντι	
[	τελέσομέν σοι ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου αὐτῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐγίαιτόν	
5 [amount of rent	ἄσπ]ερ ἀποδώσομεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης κατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμήνου	
[	τὸ ἥμισυ ὁπόταν βουλευθῆς πα]ραδώσομέν σοι ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον	
[ὡς καὶ παρ]ειλήφαμεν· κυρία ἢ μίσθ]ωσις ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν		
second hand	]..ου δ' πρ[ο]γεγραμμένος μεμισθοῦμε	
	]ας [.ι]λαδελφου σὺν χρι[σ]τιρίοις πᾶσ[ι]	
10	ἀποδώσομεν ]τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὡς πρόκειτα[ι	

3. Ὑποστέλλων, "belonging to", is unique in a lease in this sense and in this position, but it is common enough in this meaning; cf. *P. Flor.* 47 or *P. Oxy.* 486 among many other examples.

8. Read μεμισθοῦμαι.

9. [Φ]ιλαδέλφου? probably a proper name.

73. Receipt For Poll Tax

P. Yale Inv. 14

9.9 x 6.6 cm.

A.D. 186

Described as *P. Fay.* 351, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society, this receipt is one example of a standard type, acknowledging receipt of poll tax and adding an accounting of ten obols prosdiagraphomena. The tax itself was 20 drachmas. This type of receipt, and the meaning of the terms, has been most recently discussed in connection with the publication of a poll tax receipt from the Hamilton College collection, in *JJP* XIII, 1961, pp. 48-51.

Ἔτους κε Μάρκου Αύρηλι[ου] Κομμόδου  
 Ἀντωνίν(ου) Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπίφ[... ἄρι]θ(μήσεως) Ἐπειφ δι(έγραφε)  
 Σαρᾶς Ἰσάτου τοῦ [.....]. (ὑπέρ)  
 λαο(γραφίας) κε (ἔτους) [ ].

5 (δραχμάς) εἴκοσι / [(δραχμάς)κ προσ(διαγραφομένα) χαλκοῦ] ὀβ(ολούς) δέκα.

Year 25 of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, Epeiph . . . , the account of Epeiph. Paid by Saras (son) of Isatos son of . . . . . , as poll tax of the 25th year . . . . . twenty drachmas, that is, 20, additional payment of bronze obols, ten.

3. The name of Isatos is attested from *P. Oxy.* 134, of the 6th century. The orthography is very difficult, and there is a good possibility that the name is Isakos, a more common name. The symbol for ὑπέρ is not like that which we have seen elsewhere, and it may be that referred to in *P. Fay.* 50 as read for διά. It looks like a large *delta*.

4. In the lacuna would appear the name of the taxpayer.



#### 74. Customs House Receipt

P. Yale Inv. 7

4.4 x 3.9 cm.

Middle of the Second Century

First mentioned as *P. Fay.* 180, and presented to Yale by the Egypt Exploration Society. This receipt for the payment of the tax of 1/100 and 1/50 through the gate of Bacchias fits in its general aspects with all the customs receipts, cf. *JJP* XIII, 1961, pp. 43-48. It is however, unique in one aspect. None of the other receipts record the payment of tax on olives: oil is frequent, but the olives themselves have not yet been recorded.

Lines 3 and 4 show that we have here to deal with ἐλαίαι measured by the artab. We have found this word in connection with keramia in the customs account of *P. Lond.* 1169, second century, and also in a customs receipt of 160-67 A.D., *BGU* 765, and in these cases it is clearly oil which is being exported. In the Yale receipt, we have the ἐλαίαι measured in artabs, and it must be the whole olive which is referred to.

Such measuring of olives by the artab is attested in other documents. In *P. Oxy.* 1631, 280 A.D., we have mention of a half artab of ἐλαιῶν μελαινῶν in line 23, and in *P. Oxy.* 1744, 287/8? A.D., we have frequent measurements of ἐλαιῶν by artab.

Evidence for transport of olives is furnished by *P. Oxy.* 919, 182? A.D. This is a memorandum of an advance paid to a ship's captain for customs dues at Memphis, and there is a mention therein of ἐλαίας. *P. Yale* 74 is the first receipt to appear which records customs dues on olives.

In *JJP* XIII, 1961, p. 44, this document was listed with a date of 134 A.D. The less precise date given here is to be preferred.

τετελ(ώνηται) δι(ὰ) πύλ(ης) Βακχι(άδος)  
 ρ' καὶ ν' 2nd hand Ἑρμίας ἐ( )γ(ων)  
 ἐπὶ ὄνοις ὄνσι ἐλαιῶν  
 (ἀρτάβας) ἕξ (ἔτους) ιζ'  
 5 Ἀδριανοῦ ἐνάτη θ.

Paid through the gate of Bacchias the 1/100th and 1/50th. Hermias ?porting on two donkeys six artabs of olives. Year 17, Hadrianos ninth, 9.

2. The last word in this line, abbreviated as it is, and written very cursively, remains uncertain. The *epsilon* is certain, as is the *gamma*, and as this word is frequently written without the final *omega* and *nu*, there is no question that it is either εἰσάγων or ἐξάγων. However, the writer has inadvertently omitted the third letter, so that we do not know whether Hermias was importing or exporting. Since most of the extant receipts are for exports, it is probable that this is an export receipt also.

3. The interpretation of the sigla in line 4 is almost surely artabs. The writing of ἐλαιῶν is extremely cursive, but no other interpretation fits what exists on the papyrus.

### 75-76. Two Customs House Receipts From Tebtunis

Acquired by purchase in Cairo for Yale in 1931 from the dealer Maurice Nahman, these two receipts acknowledge the payment of taxes at the toll-gate at Tebtunis. They are both dated Payni 21, year 16 of Marcus Aurelius, and in both the payer of the tax is one Petesouchos. In one receipt, *P. Yale 75*, the tax paid is the ρ'καὶ ν', while in the other, *P. Yale 76*, the tax paid is the ἔρημοφυλακία.

These two receipts almost surely are for taxes paid on the same passage. There are no goods passing through the toll-gate, only one large black donkey, which in both receipts is described as βόλον ἔχοντα, 'having shed its teeth'. Although in *P. Yale 75* the donkey is described as female, with the numerical adjective in the feminine, and in *P. Yale 76* there is no statement that the animal is female, and the numerical adjective is masculine, the coincidence of the date, the name of the transporter, the fact that the animal in both receipts is a black donkey 'having shed its teeth' makes it almost certain that we have here one transaction. The difference in gender of the adjectives on the two papyri can be attributed to carelessness of the scribes. Even on the receipt which specifically states that the animal is female we have the description ἔχοντα as a masculine.

The customs house receipts from the Fayum have been discussed recently in *JJP* XIII, 1961, pp. 43-48. Among those receipts are a number like the two Yale receipts; that is, two separate receipts referring to the same passage. *P. Aberd.* 41c, 167 or 199 A.D., a payment for ρ'καὶ ν' is a payment for ἔρημοφυλακία. There are two different taxes paid on the same load in *P. Soc. Nes.* 1 and 3, 215? A.D., ρ'καὶ ν' and λιμένος Μέμφεως; *P. Hamb.* 76 and 77: 176 A.D., ρ'καὶ ν' and λιμένος Μέμφεως; *P. Fay.* 73 and 74, both II-III, ρ'καὶ ν' and λιμένος Μέμφεως; *P. Lond.* III, p. 36, 1265 a and b, 83 A.D., an unnamed tax and λιμένος Μέμφεως. On *BGU* 1593, ii or iii A.D. there are two separate receipts for payments on the same load. One payment is for ρ'καὶ ν' and the other for ἔρημοφυλακία. Thus the situation reflected in the two Yale papyri is known, and we can conclude that more than one tax was paid on each load, but that we do not have all the receipts for each transaction.

The overwhelming majority of these customs house receipts mention both an animal and a load carried by that animal. There are, besides these two documents, only four which mention the animal(s) only: *P. Aberd.* 42h, 189 A.D., one donkey; *P. Fay.* 68, 158 A.D., 4 camels; *P. Grenf.* II, 50a, 142 A.D., a female camel with a second set of teeth; and *P. Merton* 20, 184 (?) A.D., one mouse-colored female donkey. Grenfell and Hunt concluded that the ρ'καὶ ν' was a tax on the value of the produce, and was not a tax on the value of the animals, so



that it would not have been paid on the unloaded animals.<sup>1</sup> In the Yale papyrus and in *P. Merton* 20 we find this tax paid on the unloaded animal. It is important to note that these receipts describe the animals in great detail, and it seems reasonable to believe that the tax was applicable to animals only when these animals were themselves the imported items. That is, when the animals were transporting goods, the tax was paid on the goods, but when the animals themselves were brought in for sale or an income producing purpose, as ἀπεργασίαν in *P. Merton* 20, the animals were taxed. This is supported by the fact that in the Customs House Registry published by Clausen, *Aegyptus* 9, 1928, (SB 7563), there are a number of individual entries for animals only passing through the toll-gate.

75

P. Yale Inv. 297

8.8 x 4.5 cm.

15 June 176 A.D.

ΤΕΤΕΛ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλ(ης) Τεπ(τύνεως) ρ'καὶ ν' Πετεσοῦχος  
 εἰσάγων ὄνον θηλ(είαν) μέλαιναν βόλον  
 ἔχοντα μείαν (ἔτους) ἰς Παιῦνι μία καὶ  
 εἰκᾶδι κα.

Seal

(ἔτους) ἰς Αὐρη(λίου) Ἀντωνίν[ου Καίσαρος το]ῦ  
 κυρίου πύλης Τεπ[τύνεως].

Paid through the gate of Tebtunis, the 1/100 and 1/50, by Petesouchos, importing a donkey, female, black, having shed its teeth, one. Year 16, Payni twenty-one, 21. Seal: Year 16 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, the gate of Tebtunis.

3. Read βόλον. The parallel to the expression βόλον ἔχοντα which appears in these two receipts can be found in *SB* 7365, 104 A.D., which mentions donkeys βόλον ἔχοντες, 'having shed the teeth', and *P. Grenf.* II, 50a, 142 A.D., a customs receipt on passage of a camel, δευτεροβόλον 'having shed the teeth a second time'. This would mean that the animals were over two years old. Another receipt, *Stud.Pal.* XXII 140, 156-7, A.D., mentions a camel πρωτοβόλον. The seal adhering

1. *P. Fay.*, pp. 195-200.

to the receipt is in an excellent state of preservation. There is a portrait of an emperor, facing right, and bearded. The portrait, while not as well executed as the coin types of this period, most closely resembles the portraits of Marcus Aurelius.

76

P. Yale Inv. 300

4.8 x 6.9 cm.

15 June 176 A.D.

τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ ἐρημο-  
 φυλ(ακίας) πύλ(ης) Τεπτύν(εως) Πε-  
 τεσοῦχος ἰσάγω(ν)  
 ὄνον ἓνα μέλαν  
 5 βόλον ἔχοντα  
 (ἔτους) ις ἴ Παῦνι  
 μία καὶ εἰκάδι

Paid for the tax of desert guards through the gate of Tebtunis by Petesouchos importing a donkey, one, black, having shed its teeth, Year 16, Payni twenty-one.

1. διὰ. This governs ἐρημοφυλακίας. There is in this receipt a variation from the word order usually found in these receipts. ἐρημοφυλακίας should come either before διὰ or after Τεπτύνεως. The receipt was sealed, and there is a part of the seal still adhering to the verso.



## 77. Private Letter

P. Yale Inv. 115

7 cm x 16.8 cm.

Ca. 100 A.D.  
Oxyrhynchus

This papyrus was acquired for the Yale Collection by Sir H.I. Bell by purchase in Egypt in 1926/27. It is a private letter written on both sides of the papyrus, with the fibers on the recto and across them on the verso. The papyrus was turned upside down to take writing on the verso and thus the bottom of the recto is the top of the verso. The letter is complete except for minor holes and fraying at the bottom which has caused the loss of one line on the recto. The margins are: top 1.0 cm; left margin 0.8 cm. verso, top 0.9 cm. and left margin 0.8 cm.

The handwriting is in a rustic style with cursive capitals and written by someone rather unpractised in writing. This combined with some smudging of the ink, the many corrections, and the confused syntax makes the reading and interpretation of the document problematic at many points. The writing is very close and small at the foot of the recto, as if the writer was hopeful of finishing on that side.

The letter itself from one Eirenes (of dubious gender, see below note on line 1) to Epaphrys deals with several matters, all of them more or less obscure to us. Lines 6-23 are concerned with several gold bracelets. Eirenes is warning Epaphrys to take care of them or how to make them. Without further information the situation remains slightly cryptic. In any case, Eirenes is worried about them and how Epaphrys will treat them. These gold bracelets must have been of some value and may well represent an investment. Certainly they would always be worth at least their metallic value. Gold coinage, of course, was not allowed to circulate in Egypt at this time and gold jewelry would always maintain its value whatever the problems of the actual currency. Gold bracelets were not common, however, in Roman Egypt, or at least they are very rarely mentioned in the papyri: *BGU* 590 of 177/8 is a list which includes two gold bracelets; in *P. Oxy.* 259 of 23 A.D. a bondman pledges to produce a man arrested for the theft of a gold bracelet worth two minae; and in *P. Oxy.* 265 of 81-95 A.D., a marriage contract, part of the dowry is gold bracelets. Silver bracelets are rather common particularly as a standard parapherna in marriage agreements; see *P. Mich.* 121; the alimentary contract abstracts there all include silver bracelets as parapherna.

The second matter in the letter is not so clear. Epaphrys is told to get something from Petechon. This is apparently ἀγρία ἀσταφίς, stavesacre, (Delphinium Stavisagria), a kind of larkspur, the dried seeds of which were medicinal. The plant is mentioned by the medical writers: Ps.-Dsc. 4.152, Gal. 11.842 and Pliny HN 23.17.

The third item of the letter concerns the two other parties Zoilas and Hermodoros and something about wool. Finally another matter is discussed in which the Oasis and return to Oxyrhynchus are discussed. Eirenes seems to ask Epaphrys to join him in the Oasis, but this last section is difficult to interpret.

The syntax of the letter is terribly disjointed and scarcely logical. Even a barely literate person makes some sense, but this writer often does not. He also has a thoroughly annoying habit of using ὡς ἐδήλωσά σοι about every other line. This last does, however, underline the fact that Eirenes is clearly the superior of Epaphrys.

Εἰρηνῆς Ἐπαφρῦτι  
 τῶι ἀδελφῶ πλειῶ-  
 τα χαί(ρειν). πρὸ πάντων  
 5 ἀσπάζομαι σε μεγά-  
 λως [σ]ὺν τοῖς σοῖς πα-  
 σιν. ἔπιτα ἐρωτῆ-  
 σά σοι, ἀδελφε, μὴ  
 ἀμελεῖν περὶ τοῦ  
 10 ψελείου χρυσοῦ {ν}.  
 ὡς ἐδήλωσά σοι  
 γεινέσθω εἰς χερί 'ν'  
 τελείας γυναικὸς  
 ὡς τὰ τῆς νεωτέρας·  
 γεινέσθω ὡς εἰς  
 15 χεῖραν Μαν(ν)οῦτος  
 τῶν δῦω [χ]ρυσῶν  
 ὡς δι' ἐτέρρας ἐπισ-  
 τολῆς ἐδήλω-  
 σά σοι τῆ ἄλλη  
 20 φορᾶ ἀλλὰ μέλ-  
 λει ποίσαι τὸν ἄλλον  
 ᾧ χρυσῶν. ἔπιτα  
 αὐτῆς εἰς ἄλλην  
 25 ἀίτη[ί]αν ὑπε.....  
 κόμισαι παρὰ Πετε-  
 χῶντ(ος) ἀγρίας ἀσταφί-  
 δος μ(ετρητήν) α ὄν ἐδήλω-  
 σεν Διογᾶς. πέπομ-  
 [φα-----]

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 of the gol  
 just like t  
 two gold p  
 to make th  
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1. The  
 it is masculi  
 ine of the ty  
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 and cites ar  
 man's name  
 6. Read  
 and sense are  
 9. Read



## Verso

30 διὰ Ἑρμοδώρου  
 Ζοιλᾶτι. ἔρεις  
 δὲ Ζοιλᾶ[τι] ὅτι  
 ὡς ἐδήλωσά σοι  
 οὐχ εὐρων δοῦναι  
 35 Ἑρμοδώρῳ ἔδωκα  
 Πετεχῶντ(ι) καὶ εἶδος  
 καὶ σάκκον καινὸν  
 ὅπως δώσεις εἰς αὐ-  
 τὸ τὰ ἔρια. εἰ δοκεῖ  
 40 σοι λυτὸν ἐλθέναι  
 εἰ<ς> αὔασιν μημα  
 ἔλθης μετὰ λόγον ἐνι-  
 αὐτὸς σημά' ἐν Ὀξυρύν' χ'(οις)  
 εἰ<ς> τέλειον τὸ τῆς οἰκίας  
 45 ἐρρῶσ(ο) Θῶθ ἰ

απ..... Ἐπαφρῦτ(ι)  
 ]ἀδελφῶι

Eirenes to Epaphrys his brother best greeting. Before all I greet you heartily with all your family. Then to ask you, brother, not to be negligent in the matter of the golden bracelet. As I showed you, let it be for the arm of a grown woman, just like those of the younger girl; let it be as for the arm of Manous, and of the two gold pieces, as I showed you in another letter at another time, but take care to make the other of three gold pieces. Then, since she has ... for another reason, take from Petechon a metretes of stavesacre the one which Diogas showed. I sent ... through Hermodoros to Zoilas. You will tell Zoilas that, as I showed you, not finding (one) to give to Hermodoros, I have given to Petechon both (other) things and a new sack so that you may put the wool into it. If hereafter you think best to come to the Oasis ... For a year I shall ... in Oxyrhynchus until the matter of the house is completed.

Farewell. Thoth 10

(Docket) Give this to Epaphrys my brother.

1. The name Εἰρηνής has not occurred elsewhere and it is difficult to decide whether it is masculine or feminine. It could be a simple mistake for Εἰρήνη or it could be a feminine of the type -ής or -άς with genetives in -ῆδος or -ᾶδος. These last are most recently discussed by Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12, 1960, p. 393, n. 1 where he gives some literature and cites among other examples Τιτιανής and Ἀγαθής. It might also be a hypocoristic man's name modelled after such names as Διορᾶς and like Εἰρηναίς from Εἰρηναῖος.

6. Read ἔπειτα. Θέλω perhaps is to be understood with ἐρωτῆσαι but the construction and sense are clear and logical.

9. Read ψελίου.

11. Read γινέσθω. Χεῖρα is undoubtedly intended or χεῖραν as below in line 15 which is the common spelling of the word in the papyri.

15. An Αὐρηλία Μαννοῦς appears in *P. Grenf.* 85 of 536 A.D. and compounds with μαν- are common.

20. Φορά means a shipment or load of freight. The modern meaning of ἄλλη φορᾶ "another time" would fit here but is not attested in antiquity.

21. Read ποιήσαι.

23. Read ἔπειτα.

24. Most of this line is badly abraded; we would expect a verbal participle in order to complete the genitive absolute.

29. The writing becomes more crowded as it reaches the bottom of the sheet and a very small amount of fraying has caused the loss of the bottom line.

40. Read λοιπόν. From here to the end, the papyrus does not yield any consistent clear sense.

41. Read Ὀασιν. i.e., the Small Oasis, now El Behariyeh, to which Oxyrhynchus lay nearest and which was administratively attached to the Oxyrhynchite Nome. The end of the line is clear but does not make sense.

43. Σημ(ειωθέντα)? and then translating "You should come with the yearly account as sealed in Oxyrhynchus."

46. The ink has smudged here but there appears to be too many letters for ἀποδῶ and perhaps ἀπὸ Εἰρηνηδός was actually written.



## 78. Private Letter

P. Yale Inv. 169

7 cm. x 15 cm.

First half of the Second Century  
Fayum

This papyrus was acquired for the Yale Collection by Sir H.I. Bell in the Fayum in 1926/7. It is a tan piece of papyrus with writing on the recto with the fibers. The upper right hand corner is lost and the left edge is badly frayed; but otherside it preserves a complete letter. There was a margin of 0.5 cm. on the left and 1.0 cm. at the top. A collyma 2 cm. wide reinforces the left margin. At the right the writing extends to the edge of the papyrus and at the bottom 7.0 cm. were left blank. The hand is a small neat printed capital, but the letter shapes are so varied and the practice of ligaturing so inconsistent that reading is often difficult. The hand is clearly not that of a professional scribe.

In this letter a certain Isidoros writes to Chenanoubis that he is sending his father with instructions for Chenanoubis and presents for Chenanoubis' daughter's wedding. Apparently Isidoros is much concerned that Chenanoubis carry out his orders, for the letter ends with a peremptory note slightly out of character with the tone in the earlier part.

Ἰ[σίδ]ωρος Χεναγοῦβ[ι]  
 πλεῖστα χαίρειν.  
 [π]ρ[ὸ π]άντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγι-  
 α[ί]ν[ει]ν. ἰδοῦ, πόλλα ἐνετει-  
 5 [λάμ]εθα τῷ πατρί μου περὶ σοῦ  
 [ἴν' εἰ]ς σέ ἐνέγκη μετ' αὐτοῦ  
 εἰς τοὺς γάμους τῆς θυγάτρος  
 σ[ο]υ ἐπανενέγκων ὁ μέλ-  
 [λο]με(ν) αὐτῇ ἐγδοῦναι. ὄρα,  
 10 [μὴ οὔν] ἄλλως ποιήσης καὶ  
 λυπήσης ἡμᾶς.

Verso

ἀπόδος Χενανοῦβι

ἀπὸ Ἰσιδώρου

Isidoros to Chenanoubis best greetings. Before all I pray you are well. Look, we gave instruction to my father about you so that he might bring them to you with him to your daughter's wedding, bringing what we intend to give her. See that you do not, therefore, do otherwise and cause us grief. Verso: Deliver to Chenanoubis from Isidoros.

9. Ἐγδοῦναι is used of giving a dowry to a bride in *P. Cair. Preis.* 2.7 and 3.7, both of A.D. 362. It is normally used of giving away the bride; cf. H.J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages*. We should expect a future infinitive after μέλλω, but the aorist is used frequently.

79. Private Letter  
Plate V

P. Yale Inv. 171

21.3 x 7 cm.

Ca. A.D. 150

This brown piece of papyrus with writing on the recto with the fibers was purchased in Egypt for Yale in 1926 by Sir H.I. Bell. The handwriting is easy to read, with large clear letters, the forms of which vary between the printed and the cursive. There is no attempt at stylization and the hand is definitely utilitarian. Writing of this sort is very difficult to date, but the type of hand and the letter forms seem best suited to the middle of the second century.

This letter presents a very interesting situation but leaves many puzzles, partially because of the vocabulary and partially because of details known only to the parties involved. Sarapammon apparently gave a bag of coins to Harpocras saying that the bank ought to have checked them. Harpocras, apparently assuming that the banker had done so, went away, but when he tried to spend the money (perhaps to pay workers in the field), he found eight of the coins were bad. He now writes to Sarapammon mentioning the earlier circumstances and sends with his letter five of the coins which he found completely worthless. Harpocras hopes that the banker will take them back; his concern must be, that otherwise, he will be responsible and have to make up the deficit out of his own pocket.

This reconstruction still leaves a number of questions. The meaning of βεβληχέναι in lines 6 and 7 is unclear; we do not know what would make a coin σαπρός; the use of ἐντινάσσω is unparalleled in the papyri or elsewhere; and finally we do not know what kind or amount of money is involved which could be described as χαλκός or στατήρ. βεβληχέναι must be the perfect infinitive of βάλλω; the χ has been introduced by analogy with such perfects as ἐντετίναχα used below in this papyrus. It should mean "checked" here, but this is not a possible meaning for βάλλω. Harpocras says that he ought to have examined or tested (δοκιμάσαι) the bronze. He then makes a contrast between the bronze and staters: "We ought to examine σαπρούς στατήρες, I neglected the bronze". Harpocras marvels that the banker passed on bad bronze coinage; part of his wonder may come from the fact that the bronze would not be worth a great deal, but he himself becomes quite agitated about redeeming five of these coins. Now the imperial bronze coinage in Egypt forms one of the cruxes of numismatics. These coins were minted in various sizes, but no one knows the denominations of any given size. The stater was a billon coin which contained a small amount



of silver, enough to give it an appearance of a silver coin. This coin was first minted in Alexandria under Tiberius. Augustus apparently minted a bronze tetradrachm. However, under the later emperors with the billon tetradrachm, we would not expect that any of the bronze coins could be called staters. Officially and otherwise, money in Egypt in the Roman period was called ἀργύριον (See Johnson and West, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, 1936). Χαλκός is also used simply to mean money although it may well have the connotation of "small change". In *P. Oxy.* 531 of the second century, a father writes to his son:

διὰ Ἄνουβᾶ πέμψω σοι καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐπιμήνια.....  
 ἕως πρὸς σέ ἐλθη Ἄνουβᾶς ἀπὸ σοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸ ὀψώνιον σου  
 καὶ τῶν σῶν ἐξοδίασον ἕως πέμψω.

It would appear then that the amount of money at issue here in *P. Yale* 79 is not large. But whatever the actual coins, it is difficult to understand in what way they are σαπρούς, "rotten" or "bad" (it is an antonym to καλός). In *P. Oxy.* 1411 of the third century we learn that the bankers are refusing imperial coinage because it is παράτυπον καὶ κίβδηλον; these are technical terms: παράτυπος refers to the badly struck coins and κίβδηλος to a coin made of adulterated metal. *P. Michaelidae* 12 may also belong to this time where there is a question of returning τὸν στατήρα παραχάραγμα. But the situation and the meaning of παραχάραγμα are uncertain. *P. Michaelidae* 12 reads:

Ἡρακ(λείδης) Δημητρίᾳ χαίρει(ν)  
 τὸν στατήρα παραχάραγμα  
 οὗ ἂν δούς σοι τὰ γράμματα  
 μεταδὸς αὐτῷ

Marcus Aurelius (11.15) uses σαπρός and κίβδηλος together of a person: ὡς σαπρός καὶ κίβδηλος λέγων. But the use of σαπρός is no clearer in respect to coinage. Numismatic finds tell us that coins do not wear out, or at least they remained in circulation long after the type or legends were legible. Also coins imperfectly struck seem to have been acceptable throughout antiquity. Furthermore, the value of the bronze coinage cannot have been such to make forgery a profitable pastime. All we can say about σαπρός in this letter is that in some way certain coins were unusable, that is Harpocras could not get any one to take them.

Ἐκτινάσσω does not occur in this sense in the papyri. The instance in *P. Flor.* 163 (cf. *Berichtigungs*l. I) is fragmentary and we have been unable to make sense of it. It occurs in *LXX*, 1 *Ma.* 2.36 and 2 *Ma.* 4.41 where it means "throw or shake down upon" and is used of stones hurled down upon attackers from a battlement. Clearly it does not mean this here. However, ἐκτινάσσω is not uncommon in the papyri, and S.G. Kapsomenakis (*Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 28, 1938, pp. 13-17) has distinguished three meanings for it. It is used literally in an agricultural context to mean "shake out" olives from a

tree; it can mean "to withdraw" (so also C. Préaux, "Notule de semantique sur UPZ 5 et 6", *Chron. d'Egypte* 33, 1942); and in a mercantile context it means "to sell or dispose of stock". This last meaning would fit the context of this papyrus very well. Harpocras has done something with three of the coins. Obviously he has not thrown them away, and, if he had kept them we would expect him to send them to Sarapammon with the other five. In fact Harpocras undoubtedly tried to get rid of all eight and it was only when no one would accept five that he sends them back.

It is, furthermore, clear that asking the banker to exchange the coins is a desperate last resort, for how could he possibly recognize any given coin as one that has passed through his hands. Here we see an interesting use of the oath in antiquity. Harpocras has no chance of proving any misdeed done by the banker, but he can hope that the banker would be frightened by the thought of perjuring himself before the gods and would thus admit his wrong-doing.

	Ἄρποκράς Σαρα-
	πάμμωνι τῶι
	φιλτάτῳ χαίριν.
5	λέγοντός σου πε-
	ρι τοῦ τραπεζεί-
	του ὅτι ὀφείλι βε-
	βληθέναι τ[ὸν]
	χαλκὸν, σα[πρ]οῦ(ς)
	στατήρες ὀφεί-
10	λομεν δοκι-
	μάσαι. τὸν [χ]αλ-
	κὸν ἐγὼ ἡμέ-
	λασα, θαυμά-
15	ζων εἰ ἄνθρω-
	πος πιστευόμε-
	νος τοῦτο ποι-
	εῖ. εὖρον οὖν ἢ
	σαπρούς καὶ μὰ
	τὴν σωτηρίαν σου
20	καὶ τῶν παι-
	δίων μου, τοὺς
	ἄχρηστους ὄντας
	ἔπεμψά σοι τοὺς
25	ἔ. εἰ ὀμασάτω ὅτι
	οὐκ εἰσι αὐτοῦ ἢ
	ἄλλαξάτω. ἐρρῶ-
	σθαί σε εὐχομαι,
	φίλτατε, πανοικεῖ.



Harpocras to Sarapammon his dearest friend, greeting. When you said concerning the banker that he ought to have checked (?) the bronze, we ought to have examined the rotten staters; I neglected the bronze, marveling if a man being trusted does this. Yet I found 8 rotten and, by your life and that of my children, I disposed of 3. Being worthless I sent the 5 to you. Either let him swear that they are not his or let him change them. I pray that you be well, dearest friend, and your entire household.

3. Read *χάρειν*.

6. Read *ὀφείλει*.

8. The letters *σα* are very clear. There is no problem in reading the *ου*. But the lacuna is very small for *πρ* and *ς* is missing at the end of the line. However, the only word beginning with *σα* which has any relevance here is *σαπρός*.

9. Read *στατήρας*.

25. Read *ἡ ὁμοσάτω*.

## 80. Private Letters

P. Yale Inv. 77

14.3 x 14.5 cm.

Second Century

Purchased in Egypt in 1926 by Sir H.I. Bell, this papyrus contains parts of three letters each in a different hand. The papyrus is broken away on top, bottom and left side. The right side is the original edge, but no margin has been left. Not much has been lost at the left, for in the second letter only the names of the addressor and addressee are missing. Further there are two fold lines visible on the papyrus and it is likely that only the left hand fold has been lost. Probably not much has been lost from either top or bottom.

The first letter was apparently the longest and we have preserved most of the last ten lines. None of the letters yields much sense in the present state of the papyrus, and, while there seem to be connections, they remain similarities of vocabulary: πιστόν occurs in line 8 and διὰ ἀνθρώπου πιστοῦ in line 14; Alexandria is mentioned in line 16; an Alexandrian in line 5 and then another Alexandrian is identified by tribe and demotic in line 18. In the first two letters there is a question of sending someone. In the first letter Tebtunis is mentioned and three persons, two men or boys, Achillas and Kronion, and one woman or girl, Achillis, but the relationships among them or with the Ammonios of letter two and with the son or grandson of Hermeios and Isidor— of letter three remain unclear. The vocabulary of the letters is strange and at points unique (see notes), but perhaps the most singular feature of the document is the occurrence of three private letters on one papyrus, an unparalleled circumstance outside of official circles.

]σας κἀγὼ .....[  
 ]ἐπιστροφή ἔχ[ει] γὰρ [α] τις δη[όσι]ον χαλκὸν .....  
 ὥστε ]τότε ἰλαροὺς εἶναι κἀγὼ ἀναψύχω. γράφω σοι οὖν περὶ  
 ]ἡμῶν περὶ Ἀχιλλᾶτος λοιπή. κρυβῆ πέμψον Κρονίων ἄ'  
 5 ]Ἀλεξανδρέα κἀγὼ Ἀχιλλᾶν τὸν υἱὸν σου εὐλυτώσω  
 ]κἀγὼ ἐχάρην πόλλα ἀκούσας ὅτι ἦκι εἰς Τεπτῦνιν  
 τ]οῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις μὴ ἀπελθεῖν μηδαμοῦ. ἀσπαζο-  
 ]ουν καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῇ ὅτι οὐχ εὖρον πιστόν ὥστε  
 ]ρω πέμψω σοι καὶ Ἀχιλλῆτι σκευαρῖδιν ἀφροδει-  
 10 ]ιω εἰπάτω αὐτῷ Ἀχιλλῆις τί αὐτῇ ἀγοράσω. ἀσπα-  
 π]άντας τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀληθείας ἀσπαζο-  
 ἐρρῶσθε



2nd hand ]φιλιτάτω χαίρει[ν] γινώσκιν σε θέλω ὅτι ἔπεμψας  
 ]φια . α κ....[ ]πέμψω σοι διὰ ἀνθρώπου πιστοῦ  
 15 ]α Ἄμμ[ων]ί[ω] ]τι ποιήσης ἐὰν ἐκπλέκης τὸ  
 ]μησαν καὶ ἔρχ[ου εἰς] Ἄλεξανδρίαν χάριν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 ]...μου ..τω[ ]τ..  
 3rd hand ]ωπου του Ἑρμείου Σωσικόσμιοσ ὁ καὶ Ἄλθαιεύς  
 ]α Ἰσιδωρ[. . . . .]. ησ οικον και τω α....[

2. Cf. *P. Lips.* 40 III. 2 (4th cent.).

3. Ἄναψύχω, cf. *P. Oxy.* 1296.7 φιλοπονοῦμεν καὶ ἀναψύχομεν, "relax" must be the meaning in these places; the word is rare in this sense anywhere else.

4. Κρυβῆ cf. *P. Oxy.* 83.44 "secretly".

5. Εὐλυτώσω: no form of εὐλυτώω has occurred previously outside of the citation of the aorist imperative εὐλύτωσον' ἀπάλλαξον in Hesychius. The meaning here must also be "discharge," undoubtedly a debt. Εὐλυτέω also has this meaning.

6. Read ἦκει.

9. Σκευαρίδιν is undoubtedly intended for σκευαρίδιον; such forms with -ιν for -ιον are common in the papyri. This word has not occurred before, although σκευάριον is a diminutive common in Aristophanes. Σκευαρίδιν might as a diminutive of σκευός denote any kind of vessel or implement or as a diminutive of σκευή some article of clothing. Our lexicographical interest is sharpened by the following letters and Ἄφροδει[της or ἀφροδει[σιακόν might be restored.

13. Read γινώσκειν.

15. Ἐκπλέκης might mean "accomplish" as in *P. Teb.* 314.6 and/or "help out" as in *P. Teb.* 315.21.

18. Apparently this line begins a third letter.

## 81. Private Letter

P. Yale Inv. 174

9.9 cm. x 7.8 cm.

Late Second Century

Purchased in Egypt in 1926 by Sir. H.I. Bell. This is a light tan piece of papyrus with writing on the recto along the fibers. It preserves the text of a short letter. A strip has been lost which included the first few letters of the first five lines, and there are small holes at the end of lines 7 and 8. The margins are 1.0 cm. at left and right, 0.5 cm. at the top and 3.5 cm. at the bottom. The ink is dark; the letters are made with thick strokes, and there is a tendency to make serifs at the end of the strokes. Otherwise the hand has no particular style.

The letter is virtually complete and the situation is clear. The addressor reports to the addressee that he has discovered ten arouras of land which were unleased but planted with χόρτος; he has taken some workmen to fence off this crop and field from a certain Panechotes. Probably Panechotes has planted the fodder crop and had hoped to harvest it before it was discovered that he had no right to the field.

....]λιος, Ἀχιλλεῖ  
 ]τῷ φιλτάτῳ  
 χ]αίρειν  
 5 ἄ[ν]ευρῶν ἦλθαν  
 χ[ώ]ραν. ἄρουραι δέκα  
 ἐν χόρτῳ ἄμισθοι.  
 ἐγὼ οὖν παρέλαβον  
 ἐργάτας εἰς τὸ ἔρξαι  
 παρὰ Πανεχώτου.

.....to his dearest Achilles greeting. I have returned from finding a plot. There are ten arouras in fodder without lease. So I took laborers and fenced it off on the side of Panechotes.

1. About four letters are lost at the beginning of the line. λιος are by no means certain.

7. The last four letters of παρέλαβον are represented by very slight ink traces. The word is, however, frequently used in this sense: to take someone to do a task.



## 82. Private Letter

P Yale Inv. 177

9.8 x 11 cm.

Late Second Century

Purchased in Egypt in 1926 by Sir H.I. Bell. This piece of papyrus preserves the upper left hand corner of a private letter with an indeterminable amount lost at the right and the bottom. The margins at the top and left edge are generous, about 2.5 cm. The writing itself, on the recto with the fibers, is also generous, with large letters. This is not a common script and in type appears to be a forerunner of the official hands of the early third century. The surface of the papyrus is dirty, but the ink is dark and legible where preserved.

It is at present impossible to determine how much is lost of this letter at the right. Χαίρειν must be restored in line 2; no trace of it remains now and the minimum restoration would be to begin the word at the point at which the papyrus breaks off, perhaps, then 2.5 cm. in line 2 and 1.2 cm. in lines 5-9. Perhaps maximum and minimum limits can be established in line 1 by the cognomen of Flavius, which probably ranged from four to ten letters in length. Thus from 1/3 to 1/2 of line 1 is missing and five to six letters at the most in lines 5-9. All of this does not, however, provide any satisfactory basis for restoring lines or the situation in the letter. As far as we can tell, lines 1 and 2 are the address; lines 3-6 report of action by Anoubion: he gave 50 or more drachmas to one Theon as an arrabon and as payment for some lamps; lines 6-10 report further action concerning a cloak, the nature of which is uncertain. Of interest is the fact that a man named Anoubion treats Flavius as an equal if not as a subordinate, a fairly unusual social situation.

Ἄνουβίων Φλ[ανίωι-----τῶι]  
 τιμιωτάτωι [χαίρειν]  
 Θέωνι εἰς ἀρραβων.[  
 λόγον τῶν λύχνων ἕδ[ωκα]  
 5 πενήκοντα δραχμᾶς [  
 ὡς σου τοῦτο βουλευθέντο[ς  
 [[εν]] τῷ δ'αὐτῷ ἔδωκα τὸν .[  
 φαιλόνην μου τὸν ἄσιρω.[  
 τον ἵνα ποιήσης αὐτὸν ..[  
 ]αι εἰς τὸ στι[  
 ]θε[

Verso Φλαυίωι

3. ἀρραβῶνοϛ is possible; ἀρραβῶναϛ is unlikely.

8. φαιλόνην is derived from the Latin *paenula*, usually spelled φαινόλη in the papyri; but both spellings are common. In *P. Oxy.* 736 and 1583 we find φαίνολον; diminutive φαινόλιον is found in *P. Oxy.* 531 and 936. Φαινόλη was probably considered masculine as here in *P. Yale* 82. A *paenula* was a heavy storm or rain cloak and would be a valuable item. There is a good description of it in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *pallium*, IV. 1, 291. See also Lillian M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, 1938, pp. 87-92, and *RE*, s.v. *paenula*.

Probably the end of the line should be restored ἀσίρωτ[ον] for ἀσίρωτον; this might mean "unbelted" or "unedged". Cf. σείρα, "belt" or "edging", and also σειρώ and the adjective σειρωτός. Ἀσίρωτος itself has not occurred elsewhere.



83. Letter from Ptolemaios to Ammonas  
Plate IX

P. Yale Inv. 173

21.5 x 11.8 cm.

ca. A.D. 200

Purchased in Egypt in 1926 by Sir H.I. Bell. This is a brown piece of papyrus with writing on the recto with the fibers. It is well preserved. The section between the second and third fold lines from the left edge (there are five fold lines) has been badly damaged and the bottom half of this section is completely lost. At the left and top there is a margin of 1.0 cm. There is no margin on the right and 5.5 cm. have been left blank at the bottom. The hand is an attractive printed capital with small, neat, and extremely readable letters, made with short, separate strokes, in the manner of one writing on a waxed tablet.

This letter presents an interesting picture of the indignant and excitable personality of the writer Ptolemaios. Apparently he is an agent for Ammonas and while engaged on business for him, received a ὕβρις which caused him to abandon all the rents both due and collected. Either something had happened to him in the course of doing business or else Ammonas had expressed some suspicion about his operations. Ptolemaios in any case is now indignant, but he can explain all and will. He defends himself vigorously in this letter saying that he did the best he could and that he knows how to handle business matters. He is now on his way to see Ammonas and make all this clear.

So much seems clear, but the writer's use of Greek leaves many points in doubt. The first sentence is clear, as far as line 7, although the intrusion of the participial clause in line 5 interrupts the sense. Then, however, he proceeds with a complex idea extending from lines 7 to 13 which lacks a main verb, and depends on the participle ἐπιστάμενος; either the writer forgot what he started to say, or was used to expressing himself, in the Semitic manner, with participles serving as verbs. "I know that I have injured no one (another independent participle, ὀδίκησα[ς]; the missing sigma is needed to fill the lacuna), but neglected everything (this is a late usage of καταφρονεῖν), and abandoned." The γάρ in line 14 shows that he is on a new sentence, but what follows is hardly an explanation of what has preceded; and again there is an undue tendency to use participles. "I am a man who knows well how to apply myself"; this use of προσέρχεσθαι is also late and colloquial. He promises to come soon, but concludes with the obscure remark: "Since I have bought from Ammonios what I needed, I did not wish to help (?) him"; does this have something to do with the insult or injury (ὕβρις, line 10) which he had received and on which he bases his neglect of duty? "But (the adversative seems necessary) on the instruction of your letter I undertake (or "decide", this is a strained use of συντίθημι) to go to work again."

The date of the text is based on the writing only, and this style of hand is not easy to date. The location of the events which it records is indicated only by one place name; Ptolemaios had been at Magdola, which was probably, then, not far from his place of stewardship. There are several Magdolas known in Egypt, in addition to the Migdal of the eastern Delta which appears in the story of Moses. But this is a common Aramaic place-name which occurs also in Syria, and accords with the unidiomatic Greek and the unpapyrological handwriting to suggest a location outside of Egypt. The type of stewardship, too, which Ptolemaios is here exercising, caring for agricultural receipts and stores for an absentee landlord, accords well with the society reflected in the Gospels, which is certainly less typical for Roman Egypt. But the address on the verso contains no place names, as would be natural in a letter carried over some distance. The papyrus was found in Egypt. And citizens of the metropoleis and of Alexandria, especially in the second and third centuries, did have properties in other areas which were operated for them by bailiffs. The idea that this is a situation which occurred outside of Egypt is unlikely.

Πτολεμ[αῖος] Ἀμμωνᾶ τῶι  
 φιλιτάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 γεινώσκεις σε θέλω ὅτι ἐ-  
 κομισάμην σου γράμματα τῇ  
 5 ια ἀνελθῶν ἀπὸ Μαγδῶλων  
 δι' ὧν γράφεις μοι ταχέως πρὸς σέ  
 γενέσθαι. ἐπιστάμενος πάντα  
 τὰ μετοξὺ ὅτι μηδὲ ἐν ἀπλῶς  
 ἀδικήσα[ς] μηδένα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν  
 10 γεναμένην μοι ὕβριν κατεφρό-  
 νησα πάντων καὶ τοῦ [[παρὰ σοί]] λήμ-  
 ματος καὶ τῶν γενημάτων τῶν  
 ἀποκειμένων ἀπεχώρησα. ἄν-  
 θρωπος γὰρ εἶμι εὖ συνειδῶς πᾶν  
 15 πᾶσι πράγμασι προσερχόμενος  
 πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπεσῖν εὐσχήμονι  
 ἀνθρώπῳ [ὑπ]ερέτρω πάντως δὲ  
 μέχρι κ̄ [γενή]σομαι πρὸς σέ. ἐπὶ  
 20 εἴωνημαι π[αρὰ] Ἀμμωνίου ἦν ἀνά-  
 κη μοί ἐστ[ί]ν, αὐτὸν ἐκπλέξαι οὐκ ἠ-  
 βουλόμην [ἢ ἀλλ'] ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα [ἐκ τῆ]ς προτροπῆς τῶν  
 γραμμ[άτων σο]υ πάλιν συντίθη-  
 25 μι. ἀσπ[ά]ζου [ν] τὸν φίλον καὶ  
 Ἀπολιν[ᾶ]ριν καὶ τ[ο]ὺς παρὰ σοι πάν-  
 τας, ἐρ[ῶ]σο  
 2nd hand [ἐρῶσθαί σε] εὐχομαι

Ptolem  
 ceived your  
 come quick  
 have not w  
 lected ever  
 am a man  
 and emin  
 sence. Sin  
 wish to he  
 the matter  
 well. I pray

3. Rea  
 6. Rea  
 8. Rea  
 18. μέ  
 19. T  
 eight letter  
 ginning of  
 27. T  
 hand which



Verso ἀπόδ(ος) Ἄμμωνᾶ π(αρά)Πτολεμαίου

Ptolemaios to his dearest Ammonas greeting. I want you to know that I received your letter on the 11th on my return from Magdola in which you write me to come quickly to you. I know that as to what happened in the intervening time, I have not wronged anyone in any way but because of the injury I received, I neglected everything and abandoned both the receipts and the stored-up grain. For I am a man who knows well in all circumstances to apply myself so that a decent and eminent man does not suffer loss. Certainly by the 20th I shall be in your presence. Since I have brought from Ammonios what was necessary for me, I did not wish to help (?) him, but from the instruction of your letter I decide to return to the matter. Greet ..... my friend and Apollinarios and all of those with you. Be well. I pray that you be well. Verso: Deliver to Ammonas from Ptolemaios.

3. Read γιγνώσκειν.

6. Read γράφεις.

8. Read μεταξύ.

18. μέχρι otherwise only means "until" or "as long as".

19. The end of this line is the only place where the hand is hard to read. The last eight letters are little more than mere smudges. However, the κη are very clear at the beginning of line 20 and only ἀνάκη would make sense here.

27. The second hand is very cursive and large. The signature of Ptolemaios is in a hand which reflects his personality.

## 84. Private Letter

P. Yale Inv. 510

11.2 cm. x 19 cm.

29 January 213

Purchased in 1931 in Cairo from Maurice Nahman for Yale, this brown piece of papyrus preserves a complete letter. There are margins of 2.0 cm. at the top and left; 4.0 cm. were left blank at the bottom in which the docket has been written. There is no margin on the right. The handwriting is on the recto with the fibers and is of the late second or early third century, similar to handwriting found in official documents of that period. The only twentieth year within this time is that of Caracalla, 212/3.

Apion writes to Tryphon telling him to send half of the glass he has received. Apparently Tryphon has received a shipment of glass from somewhere and has failed to send on half of it to Apion. Alexandria was famous for its glass in the ancient world, but Alexandrian may well have been the term used outside of Egypt for all the products made within the country. Certainly all of Egypt is well supplied with the requirements for glassmaking, the sand and soda (so A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 336). We do not, however, know much about the glass trade within Egypt; for, although it was a common item, it is rarely mentioned in the papyri. We cannot then assume that our letter has any connection with Alexandria.

The style of writing, similar to the chancery hands of this period, and the brisk tone of command used by Apion suggest that he is in an official or quasi-official position, perhaps steward of an estate, and is a superior of Tryphon's. Further, Tryphon is probably not located at a great distance from Apion, since Apion asks him to send ψωμιά, which must be some kind of bread product. The prefixes κατα- in κατενεχθέντων and ἀνα- in ἀνάπεμψον are probably not any indication of location, but even if they are, we can only define the relative position of the two men. It is possible that Apion himself had sent the glass to Tryphon and now wants it back, but it is more likely that Tryphon received the glass from another source and has simply failed to carry out the job of shipping half of it to Apion. Apion, we are sure, was expecting the glass and even knew by what transport Tryphon received it.

Ἀπίων Τρύφωνι ἰβᾶ  
 τῶι φιλότατῳ χαίρειν.  
 τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν ὑέλων τῶν  
 κατενεχθέντων σοι τοῖς  
 5 γόμοις Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος,



ἔξαυτῆς λαβῶν μου τὰ γράμ-  
 ματα ἀνάπεμψον καὶ τὰ  
 ψωμιά περὶ ὧν σοι καὶ ἄλ-  
 λοτε ἔγραψα. ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι  
 10 φίλτατε  
 (ἔτους) κ' Μεχείρ δ̄

Apion to Tryphon Ibas his dearest friend greetings. Half of the glass sent down to you in the cargo of Agathodaimon, as soon as you receive my letter, send this up and the dainties about which I wrote you another time. I pray you are well dearest friend.

Year 20 Mecheir 4

1. ἴβᾱ may be either the dative or genitive of ἴβᾱς. This in turn appears to be a hypocoristic form of the Semitic name Yahiba or Iahiba which is based on the past participle YHB of the Semitic verb "to give". (So André Caquot in *Recueil des Tessères de Palmyre*, p. 173). Yahiba, a synonym for the very common name Zebida, occurs at Palmyra in the Greek form ἰαειβᾱς (William Kelly Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* No. 353). The name occurs at Dura on an inscription from the Mithraeum (*Report* viii, No. 846, p. 84) and is spelled there Εἰαειβᾱς. The hypocoristic form Εἰβᾱς also occurs once at Dura (*Report* vi, No. 617, p. 37, in the genitive Εἰβᾱϋ).

2. Τρύφων is a common Greek name. It was the name of a well-known Alexandrian grammarian (*RE*, s.v. Tryphon, No. 25) and of a Hellenistic king *RE*, s.v. Tryphon, No. 1) among others. It was also apparently a name frequently given to slaves of eastern origin, and Tscherikover points out (*CPJ*, I p. xix) that, while it is not an indication of Semitic background in itself, it is a name frequently born by Jews.

Whether or not it should be taken here as Semitic in connection with the Semitic name ἴβᾱς does not solve the question of why we have two names used here. Further, whether ἴβᾱ is genitive and we should translate Tryphon son of Ibas or whether it is dative, the use of a father's name or of two names is otherwise unparalleled in private letters.

3. Read ὑάλων.

8. ψωμιά means bread in modern Greek demotic and often in the papyri is spoken of in terms of ζεύγη (*Stud. Pal.* xx, 218, 32 or *P. Gren.* II, 67, 14 for example) yet the word for bread is ἄρτος. Ψωμιά has been translated "dainties" or "cakes" (*P. Oxy.* 1489 or *P. Gren.* II, 77 for example). We would expect every town or center of population to have its own oven or bread shop, and thus it would be surprising if Apion was dependent for his bread on Tryphon. "Dainties" or "cakes" would make more sense here; they would be some delicacy made only in the area where Tryphon was located.

## 85. Invitation to Dinner

P. Yale Inv. 587

5.7 x 6.8 cm.

Late Second Century

This papyrus, bought in Cairo from the dealer Maurice Nahman in 1931, is complete and in excellent preservation. All margins are intact, and the sheet is not at all worm eaten. The hand is a clear cursive, and only a few letters are slightly abraded.

In this text, one Dionysios invites an unnamed person, addressed simply as  $\sigma\epsilon$ , to eat at the *kline* of Helios great Sarapis on the 21st of the month at the 9th hour. The dinner is to take place at Dionysios' father's house. This text is typical of these invitations in that the writer names himself in the third person and addresses his guest only by the pronoun. It is also typical in that only a numeral is given for the date, and no month is named.

The puzzling aspects of these invitations have been discussed for a long time. It was Wilamowitz' suggestion in *Griechische Lesebuch* II 2, 263 that the lack of an address indicates that the invitations were sent within covers. Wilcken, in *Grundzüge* I, p. 419 proposes that the invitation was normally given by messenger, orally, but that these 'Billete wohl als etwas gesellschaftlich "Feines" gegolten haben' if a person was not satisfied with the oral invitation. This certainly seems to accord best with the evidence. As Wilcken pointed out, the name of the invitor was given in such brief form that the invitee might not even know just who was inviting him if a messenger was not present to expatiate upon the invitation. Furthermore, there are so few of these invitations extant - only five besides the Yale papyrus of just this type - that the written invitation may be seen as the exception rather than the rule. The same relative rarity applies to invitations to weddings and other celebrations which are couched in the same form without addressee. A summary of all invitations will show the situation:

*Invitations to the κλίνη Σαράπιδος*: P. Oxy. 110, 523, 1484, 1755, P. Oslo 157, P. Yale 85.

*Invitations to weddings*: P. Oxy. 111, 524, 927, 1486, 1487, 1579, 1580, P. Fay. 132, P. Fouad VIII 7, SB. 7745.

*Invitations to other functions*: P. Fouad III 76, to a  $\text{ἱέρωμα}$  of Isis, P. Oxy. 926, to an epikrisis, P. Oxy. 2147, to a stepsis in the gymnasium, P. Oxy. 747, to a  $\text{ξενική}$ , P. Oxy. 1485, an invitation to dine, without mention of the occasion. Only invitations similar in format have been considered here, and while there may be some overlapping in purpose, as we shall see later in discussing P. Oxy. 1484,



which is an invitation ὑπὲρ μελλοκουρίων, one thing becomes clear from this list. Of the innumerable occasions for invitations during the second and third centuries, the period of all these invitations, we have invitations for only twenty. Even if we limit the locale to Oxyrhynchus, whence come most of the examples, there are too few, and the existence of *P. Fay.* 132 from Euemeria shows that there was no such geographical limitation.

An explanation of the rarity of examples will carry further Wilcken's explanation of the lack of an addressee. It is not just that the messenger was sent to the addressees to make the invitations orally, and carried written invitation to those who were not satisfied by the oral invitation, but rather that the written invitation was very rarely made up at all. Most of the time, the slave or messenger must have simply appeared to the guest to tell him "My master invites you to his daughter's wedding tomorrow." An excellent illustration of this kind of inviting is portrayed by Petronius in his description of the preliminaries to Trimalchio's dinner. Encolpius and Ascyltus had apparently been invited to the dinner as the pupils of Agamemnon, a teacher of rhetoric, and in *Satyricon* 26 they are reminded of the engagement: *Unus servus Agamemnonis interpellavit trepidantes et "Quid? vos", inquit, "nescitis hodie apud quem fiat? Trimalchio, lautissimus homo, horologium in triclinio et bucinatorem habet subornatum, ut subinde sciat quantum de vita perdidit."* The significance of this is not so much in the description or identification of Trimalchio as the man giving the dinner, as it is in the fact that Encolpius and Ascyltus were perfectly able to identify Agamemnon's servant. Even at Rome, people knew the servant of their acquaintances, and an initiation by a servant for his master would identify the invitor. Thus it is perfectly reasonable to accept the paucity of these invitations as evidence that written invitations were not commonly issued. Those that were made out, like the few we do have, would be as Wilcken suggests, "Feines". They would not fill any real need, and would not need any address. They would be like the formal invitations of our day, and it is interesting to note that, like our own formal invitations, the invitor is expressed in the third person.

There has also been some discussion of the dates of the dinners. It is obvious that the reason no month is given is that the invitations were issued for dinner in the near future. When there is any indication of the relation between the issue of the invitation and the dinner itself, we find that the dinner was on the day the invitation is given, as *P. Oxy.* 1485, or the next day, as *P. Oxy.* 110 *P. Fouad* III 76, and *P. Oslo* 157. In the discussion of the dates in connection with the publication of *P. Oslo* 157, Eitrem and Amundsen suggested that the invitations might be referred to a Sarapis festival which fell in the middle of the month and lasted for several days. There was some justification for that proposal; *P. Oxy.* 1755 was dated the 13th, *P. Oxy.* 110 and *P. Oslo* 157 were dated the 15th, and *P. Oxy.* 523 the 16th. The reference to this kind of dinner in *P. Oxy.* 1144, δαπάνης ἱερᾶς κλεῖ[νης] | ἕως ἰς seemed to support a festival falling about this time. The Yale invitation, unfortunately, makes this proposal most improbable. It places the



dinner on the 21st, well away from the others, and has little relevance to the date given in P. Oxy. 1144.

This leaves at least two possible explanations for the dates of the dinners. They may have been completely at random, and that is certainly possible. Or, since the dinners were cult-dinners, as we shall see, the dates may be dates on the civil calendar which corresponded at different times to a single date on the lunar religious calendar. Since there is already known a cycle regulating the lunar religious year, in *P. dem. Carlsberg* 9, published by O. Neugebauer and A. Volten in 1938.<sup>1</sup> Here we have evidence of the existence of an independent lunar religious year in Roman times, and the use of a cycle to provide correlations with the civil year. Any single date in the lunar year would have varying equivalences in the civil year, over the twenty five years which the cycle used to provide a period of time over which the first day of the lunar year would return to accord with the first day of the civil year. The religious feast would be fixed by the religious calendar, but people would still mark its date on the civil calendar. Thus our invitations, undoubtedly issued in different years, might well all point to a dinner given only once a year. Unfortunately, since no month date is given, we cannot locate the date on the religious calendar. There are many individual dates which could over the years give as equivalents the series which we have in the invitations, and without month dates we cannot isolate a date which we might propose for a festival.

The most significant question about these invitations refers to the dinner itself. The dinners were held in various places, in the Serapeum in *P. Oxy* 110 and 1755, in the temple of Thooris in *P. Oxy*. 1484, in the house of a third person, *P. Oxy*. 523, in the invitor's own house, *P. Oslo* 157, or in the house of his father, *P. Yale* 85. The issue mooted about the nature of the meals is whether they had religious significance or not. Wilcken, *Archiv* VI, 1920, p. 424, took the view that they were cult-meals, amplifying the remarks in reprinting *P. Oxy*. 110 as *WChr*.99. By the time *P. Oslo* 157 was published, the editors were able more or less to assume the cult nature of the dinner, and H.I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, New York 1953, p. 21 accepted this fully. The evidence is manifold. Aristides speaks of cult dinners to Sarapis, in the declamation to Sarapis, XLV, 27 (Keil). The Gnomon of the Idios Logos set up, in section 88, regulations for cult dinners, using the term κλίνης. Further, as an inscription cited by A. Salaç in *Phil. Woch.* 34, 1914 p. 253 shows, the κλίνη was associated with Sarapis even in Latin in a dedication from Cologne: *Soli Serapi cum sua cline in h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae)*. Another inscription, *IG XI* 4, 1299, as Wilcken points out, connects these religious meals with the description of the Sarapis feast by Aristides. This inscription, of the end of the third century B.C., found in the Serapeum of Delos, speaks also of the feasts:

1. *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik*, 4 1938, p. 383, discussed by R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Egypt*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Chicago, 1950.



ΤΕΤΕΛΕΣΤΟ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΜΕΛΑΘΡΩΙ ἔδρανά τε κλισμοί θεοκλήτους ἐπὶ δαΐτας.

We have seen then that dinners were connected with the worship of Sarapis, and we note that as far as Cologne, the *kline* was seen as an integral part of the Sarapis worship.

From papyri also we have some indication of the religious nature of these meals. We have already noted that *P. Oxy.* 1144, a temple account of the end of the first or beginning of the second century discusses the δαπάνης ἱερός κλει[νης]. That this account deals extensively with these matters is indicated by the frequent references to pastophoroi, and we are reminded cf. *P. Gnom.* 88, which says that the pastophoroi are the ones to taste of the *kline*. Secondly, line 10 of *P. Oxy.* 1144 mentions Thooris, and *P. Oxy.* 1484 has associated this divinity with a Sarapis invitation. Further, *P. Fouad* III 76, an invitation to the ἱέρωμα of Isis, show that the invitation form may be used in connection with religious functions.

It seems assured then that there were religious meals associated with Sarapis, and that these invitations deal with those meals. The evidence is overwhelming. That there were meals associated with Sarapis is assured by Aristides and *IG XI* 1299; that κλίνη in Egypt was a technical term for religious observances is assured by the references to them in *P. Gnomon* and *P. Oxy.* 1144; that the technical *kline* is associated with Sarapis is proved by the inscription from Cologne. We may thus conclude that an invitation to dine εἰς κλείνην Σαράπιδος is an invitation to a specific kind of religious observance.

Just exactly what the nature of those meals was is somewhat more difficult to ascertain. We have already pointed out that we cannot determine the date of the festival, if indeed the meals were concerned with a festival. The invitations do show that the meals could be served in private houses as well as in the Serapeum, and they further show that they could be connected with other aspects of life. *P. Oxy.* 1484 is an invitation ὑπὲρ μελλοκουρίων τῶν [ἀδελφῶν?] and this makes it clear that the meal could at times be connected with a domestic celebration. The μελλοκουρία, while not understood or known completely, was some kind of coming of age ceremony, and as such probably has a family-festival nature.

While the other invitations involving Sarapis do not mention ancillary aspects of the celebration, certain other invitations are involved with family celebrations. *P. Oxy.* 926, of the third century, is an invitation δειπνήσαι εἰς τὴν ἐπίκρισιν. *P. Oxy.* 2147 is an invitation of the early third century δειπνήσαι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐπὶ τ[ῆ] | στέφει τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτ[ο]ῦ. Both of these, as well as the ten invitations to weddings, deal with matters specifically relating to family matters. While they use the same format as the invitations to the Sarapis meals, none of them make any mention of the *kline* or mention Sarapis. In this they differ from the invitation εἰς κλείνην Σαράπιδος which clearly was issued in connection with the Sarapis cult meal, and because of this difference, we may not assume that they are connected with the cult meals. We thus have two categories of invitations. There are those clearly related to the Sarapis cult, and there are those which have not any apparent connection with that cult. There is one piece of evidence, *P. Oxy.* 1484,



which attests the possibility of combining the two types of meals. The fact that the format for the two kinds of invitations is the same does, however, lead us to the conclusion that the cult meal, as the family celebration, was essentially a private matter. The cult meal was probably arranged by a private person for his own devotional purposes, and does not form part of any public festival. The cult meal, though private, was formally part of the cult procedure, and thus does come under the regulation of the Gnomon, and it may have been supervised or regulated through by the priests of Sarapis.<sup>1</sup> But the actual arrangements for the meal were essentially private.

The best illustration of the essentially private nature of these arrangements comes from contrasting two invitations not yet discussed. *P. Oxy.* 1485 is an invitation in which the exegetes invites someone δειπνήσαι ἐν τῷ Δημητρίῳ. This may be a cult meal held in the temple of Demeter, but the nature of the meal is nowhere mentioned. Yet the format is exactly like that of the invitations to the Sarapis meals. Next we see the invitation in *P. Oxy.* 747, in which a decadarchos simply calls someone to a ξενική, hospitality. The formula of this invitation is that of all the others, save that the verb δειπνήσαι is not used. Yet this invitation is apparently for a purely secular matter, and there is not even the celebratory aspect of an epikrisis present.

It would appear then that the format of the invitations is that of a private nature, and that the invitations may have been used indiscriminately in this form for religious and secular occasions of a private nature. This written invitation, as we have noted at the beginning of the discussion, is not what one would normally expect. It is more likely that invitations, whether for secular or religious celebrations, would have been delivered orally and not written. The written invitation is something elegant, and therefore the comparative rarity of these invitations is understandable. Since the written invitation itself is unusual, it is understandable that no separate forms were evolved for differing functions; the simplest format was used for all occasions, and its very use was a mark of formality and elegance.

Ἐρωτᾶ σε Διονύσιος  
 δειπνήσαι τῇ κᾶ  
 εἰς κλείνην Ἥλιου  
 μεγάλου Σαράπιδος  
 5 ἀπὸ ὥρας θ' ἐν τῇ  
 πατρικῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίᾳ.

Dionysios asks you to dine on the 21st at the *kline* of Helios, great Sarapis, at the 9th hour, in the house of his father.

1. Cf. L. Robert, "Sur un décret d'Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux", *American Studies in Papyrology* I, 1966, pp. 175-211.



## INDICES

In the following indices, we have omitted all appearances of the copula and the definite article, save where these appear as subjects of discussion in the Grammatical Treatise, *P. Yale* 25. In the indices to the literary texts, we have not indexed restored words. In the indices to the documentary texts, we have indexed restored words, and words which have been restored in entirety are indicated by square brackets enclosing the relevant numeral. Words for which the text is partially extant are not differentiated from words which are complete. Only one citation is given for multiple appearances of the same word in single lines.

ἄλλος  
ἄμαρ  
ἄνδρ  
ἄνθρω  
ἄργυρ  
ἄρμα  
βασιλι  
γαῖα  
γίγνε  
γλήχ  
δράκα  
ἐκπερ  
ἐνδο  
ἐραν  
Ἐτέ

αἰτί  
ἄκο  
ἄλλ  
ἄμα  
ἄν  
ἄν  
ἄν  
ἄν  
ἄπ  
ἄπ  
ἄπ  
ἄρ



## I NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### (a) P. YALE 17, HESIOD, CATALOGUE OF WOMEN

ἄλλος 27	εὐτροχέω 17	κοπρεύς 15	πέτρα 5
ἀμάρυγμα 24	ἔχειν 24	κρατερός 22	πρίν 1
Ἄνδρείδης 20	ἦβᾶν 1	μεγάθυμος 19	τε 13,22
ἄνθρωπος 13,26	ἦρως 19	μεγαλήτωρ 16	τέκνον 18
ἄργυροδίνης 3	θαρσαλέος 6	μέγας 22	τέρην 7
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## II OFFICIAL DATING FORMULAS

### (a) KINGS, EMPERORS, REGNAL YEARS

#### PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS

Βασιλεύοντος Π[τολεμαίου] τοῦ Πτο[λεμαίου] (ἔτους) ζ 27.1  
 Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου (ἔτους) ιε 28.1  
 Regnal years: ζ 27.2 ιε 28.2 κα 29.23 λ 31.8 33.8 λβ 33.8 λε 34.7 λζ 35.8

#### PTOLEMY EUERGETES

[Βασιλεῖ]τ Πτολεμαίωι 46 i.1  
 Regnal years: ιε 36.7,17,v.1 ις 36.9,v.5 37.1,11 [ι]η 42.40 ιθ 49.18

#### PTOLEMY EPIPHANES

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων ἔτους  
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## PTOLEMY X ALEXANDER AND BERENICE

[Βασιλεὺς Πτολε]μαῖος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενο[ς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Βασιλίσσα] Βερ[ενι]κή ἢ ἀδελφή 56.4

Regnal years: ι 55.7 ιδ 56.10,14 ις 58.1

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## VESPASIAN

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[ (ἔτους). Αὐτοκράτ]ορος Τίτ[ου Αἰλίου Ἀδ]ριανοῦ [ Ἀν]των[ίνου Σεβαστοῦ] 67.36

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Regnal years: ις 75.3 76.6

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ἔτους κε Μάρκου Αὐρηλί[ου] Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίν(ου) Σεβαστοῦ 73.1

Regnal years: κε 73.1,4



## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA

(ἔτους) [..] Λου[κίου] Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος [καί] Μάρκ[ο]υ  
 Ἀϋ[ρ]ηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα  
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(ἔτους) ιγ Αὐτ[ο]κράτ[ο]ρων [Καισά]ρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλί[ο]υ  
 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρο(ς)  
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Regnal years: δωδεκάτου [68.5] ιγ 68.34 τρισκαιδεκ[άτου] 64.8,11 ις [68.17]

## CARACALLA

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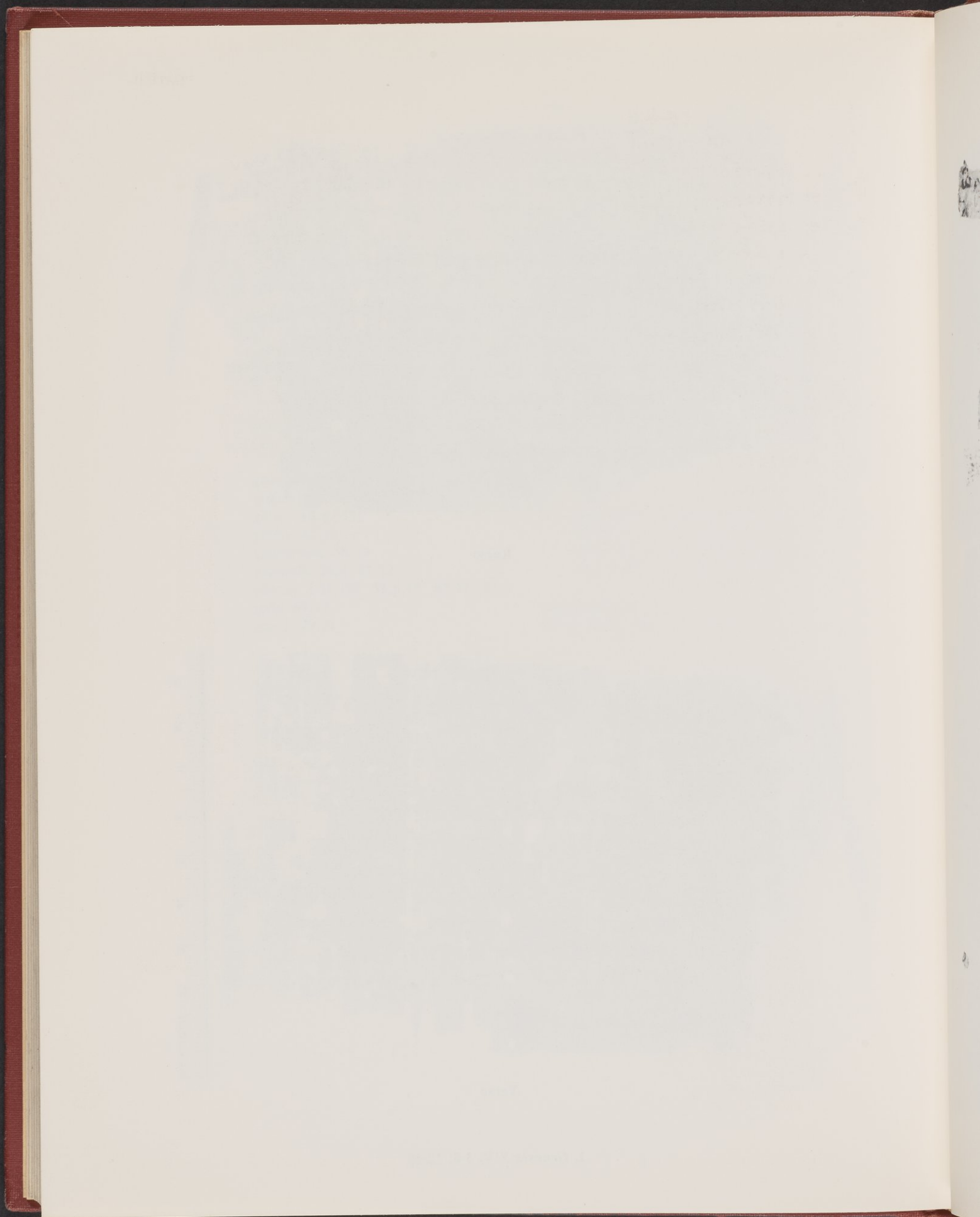


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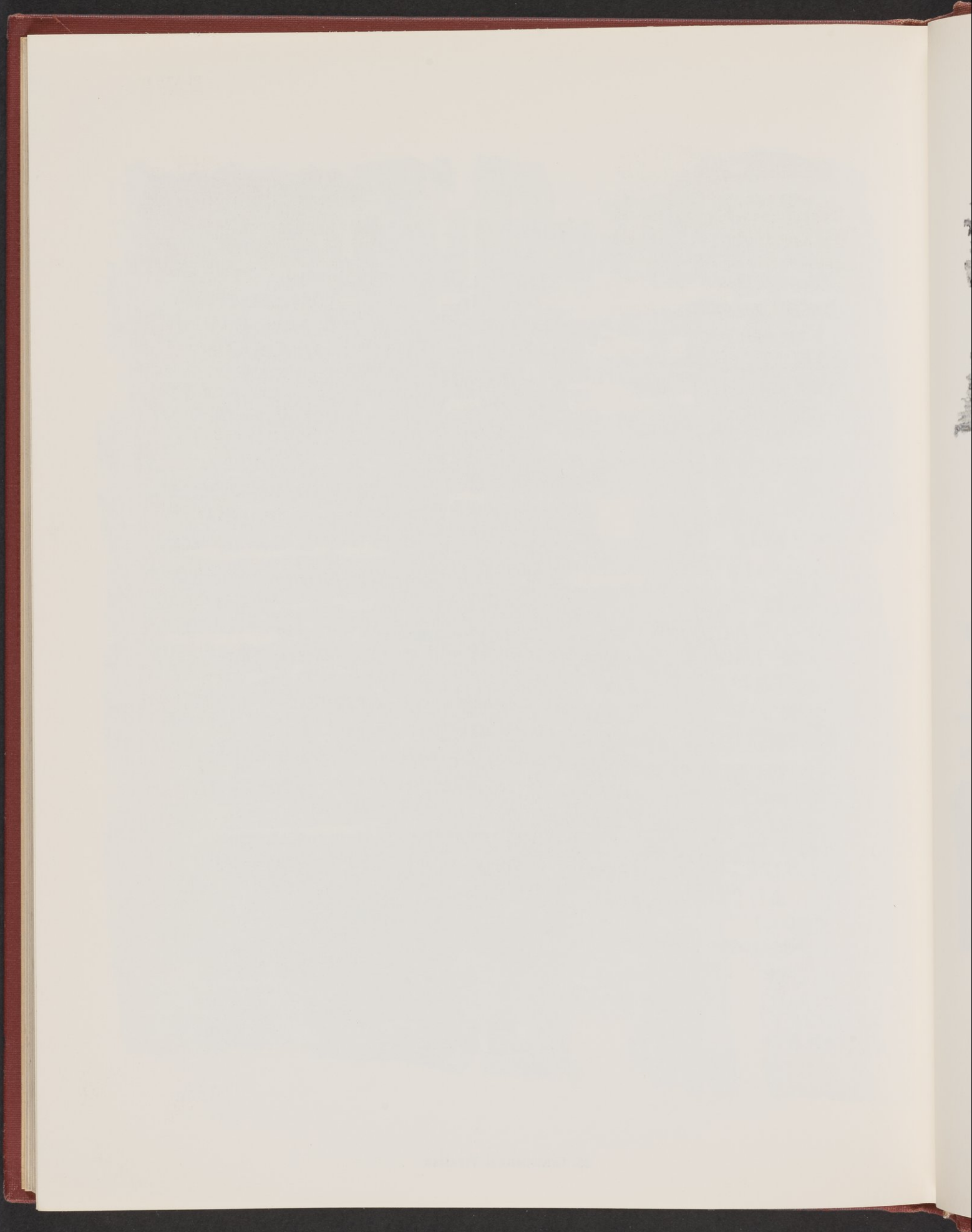


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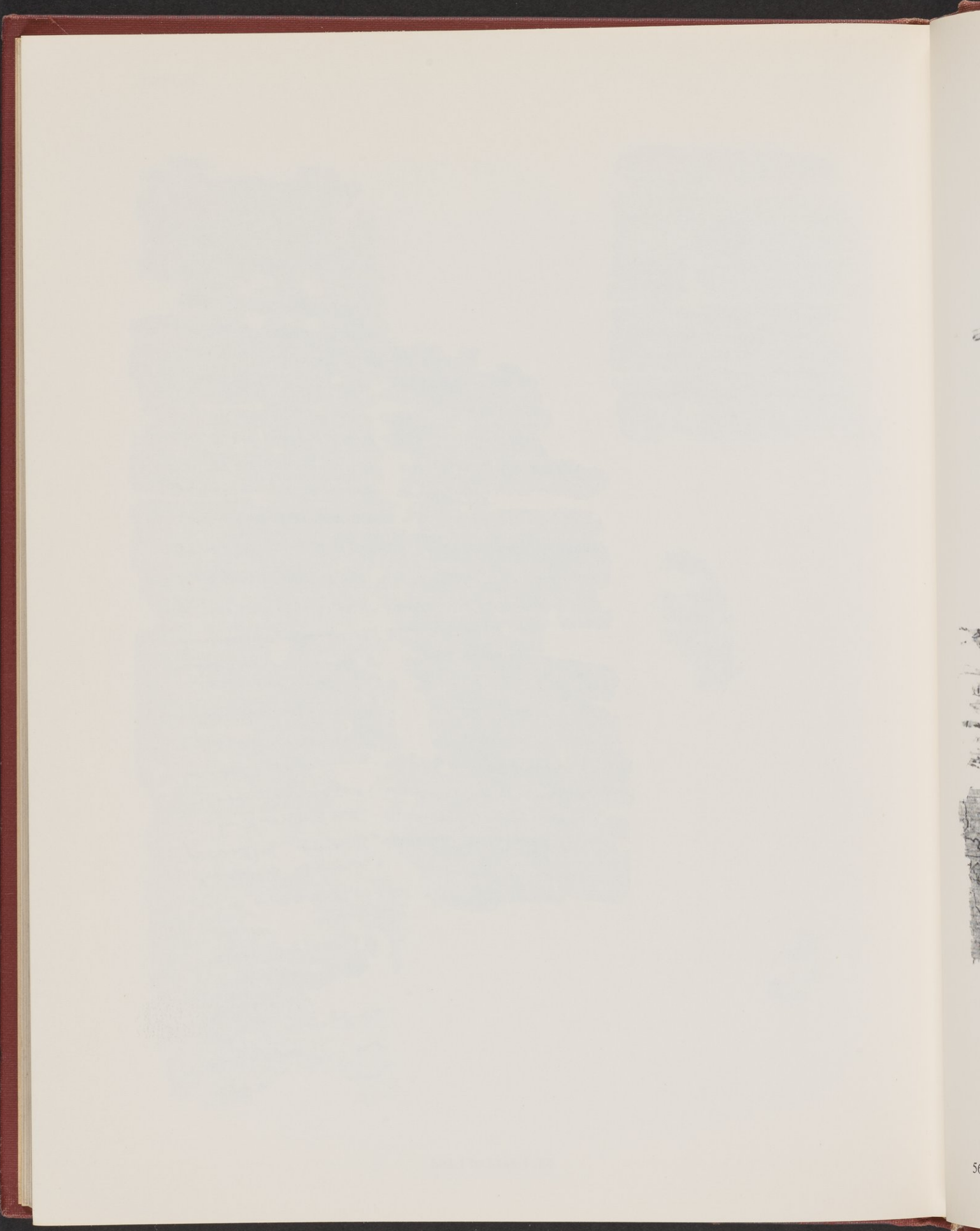


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[Small, faint handwritten notes or fragments, possibly bleed-through.]

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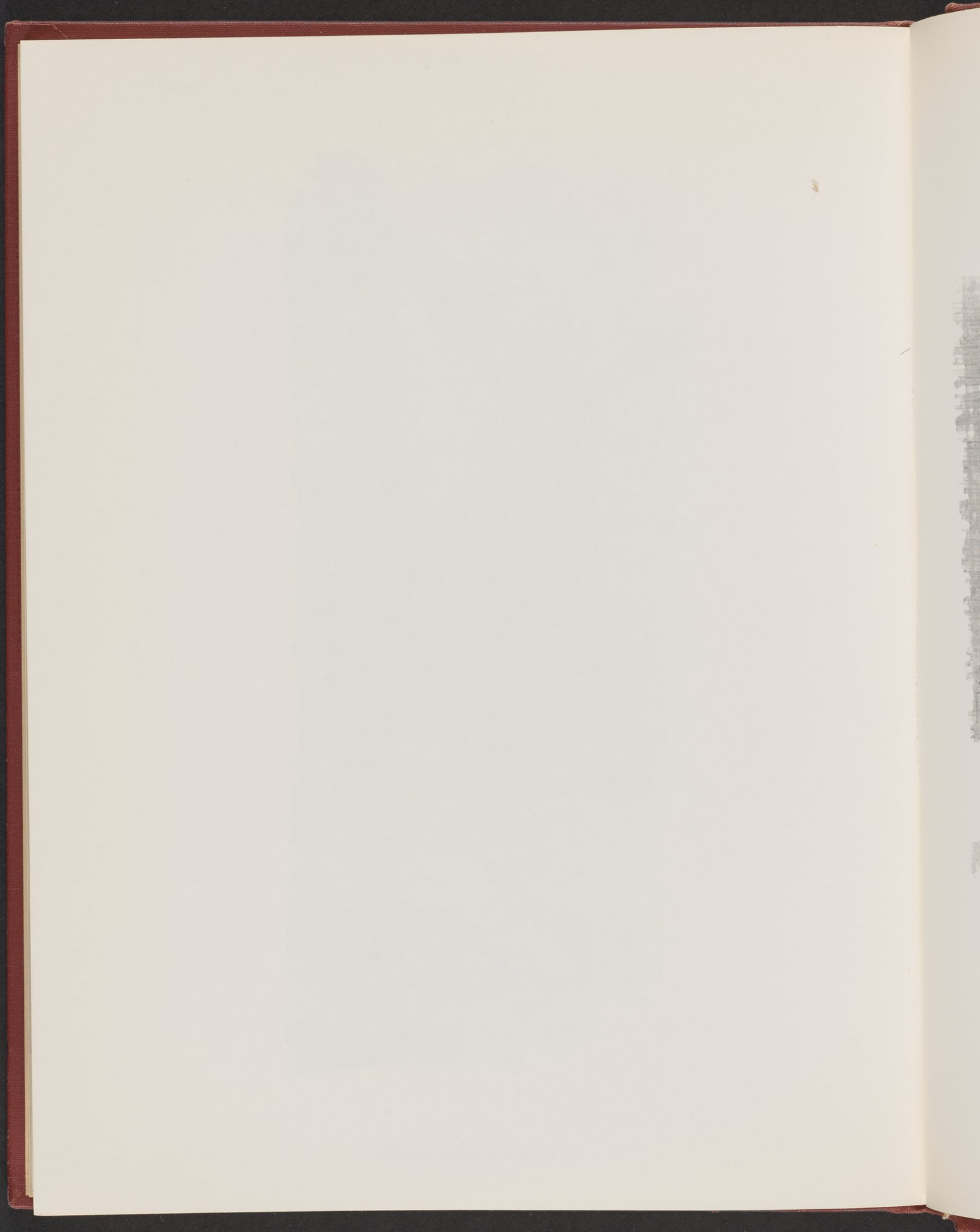






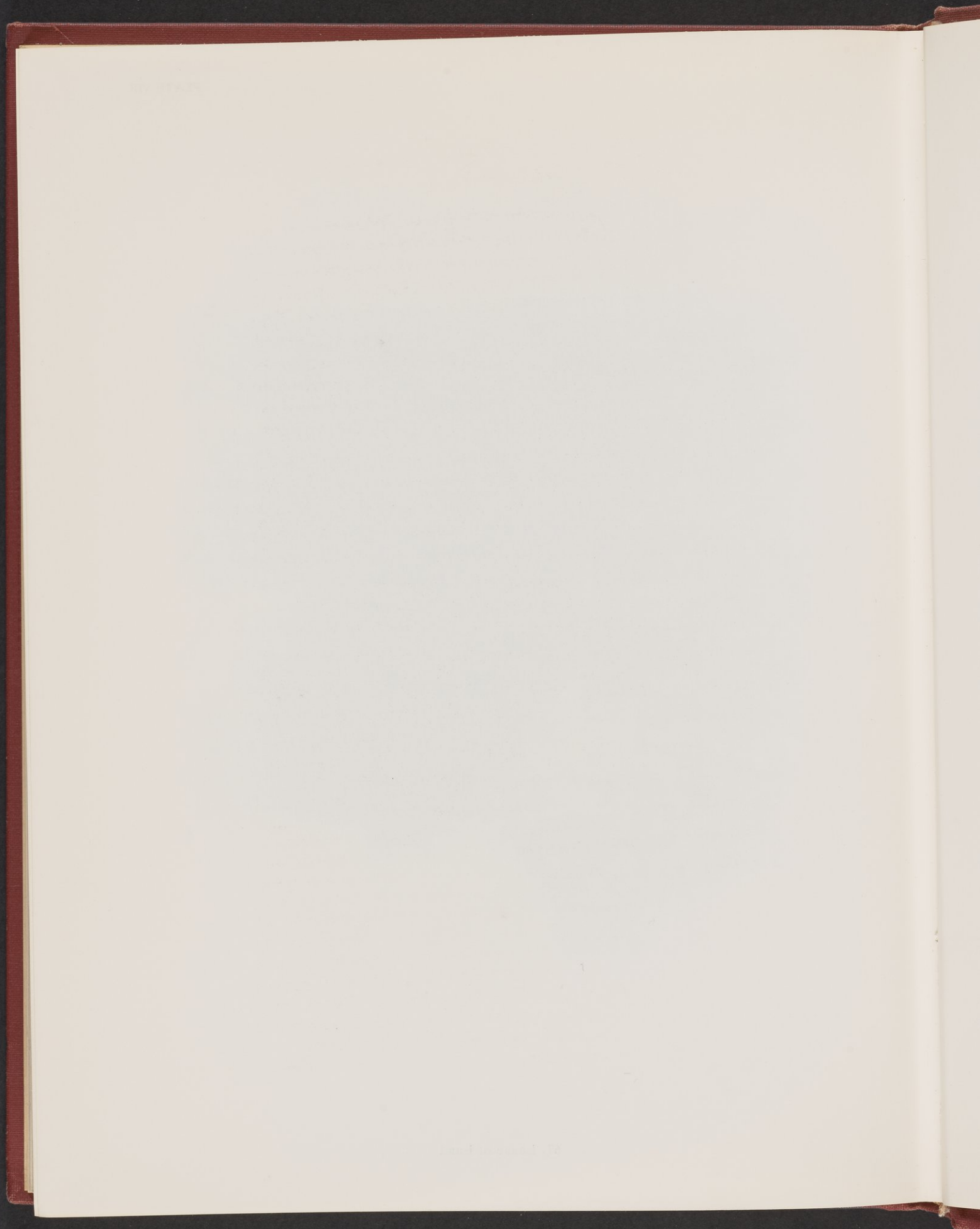






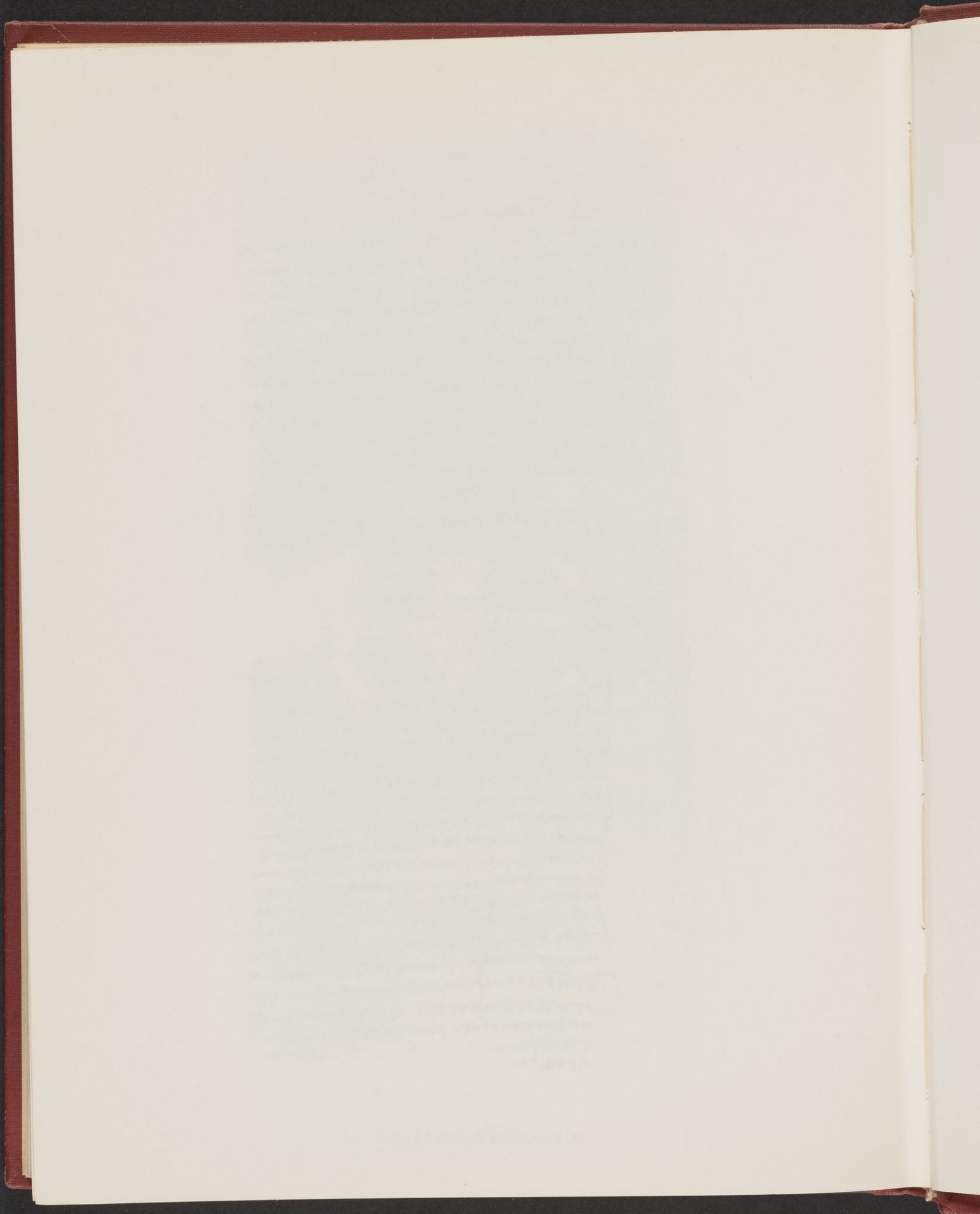






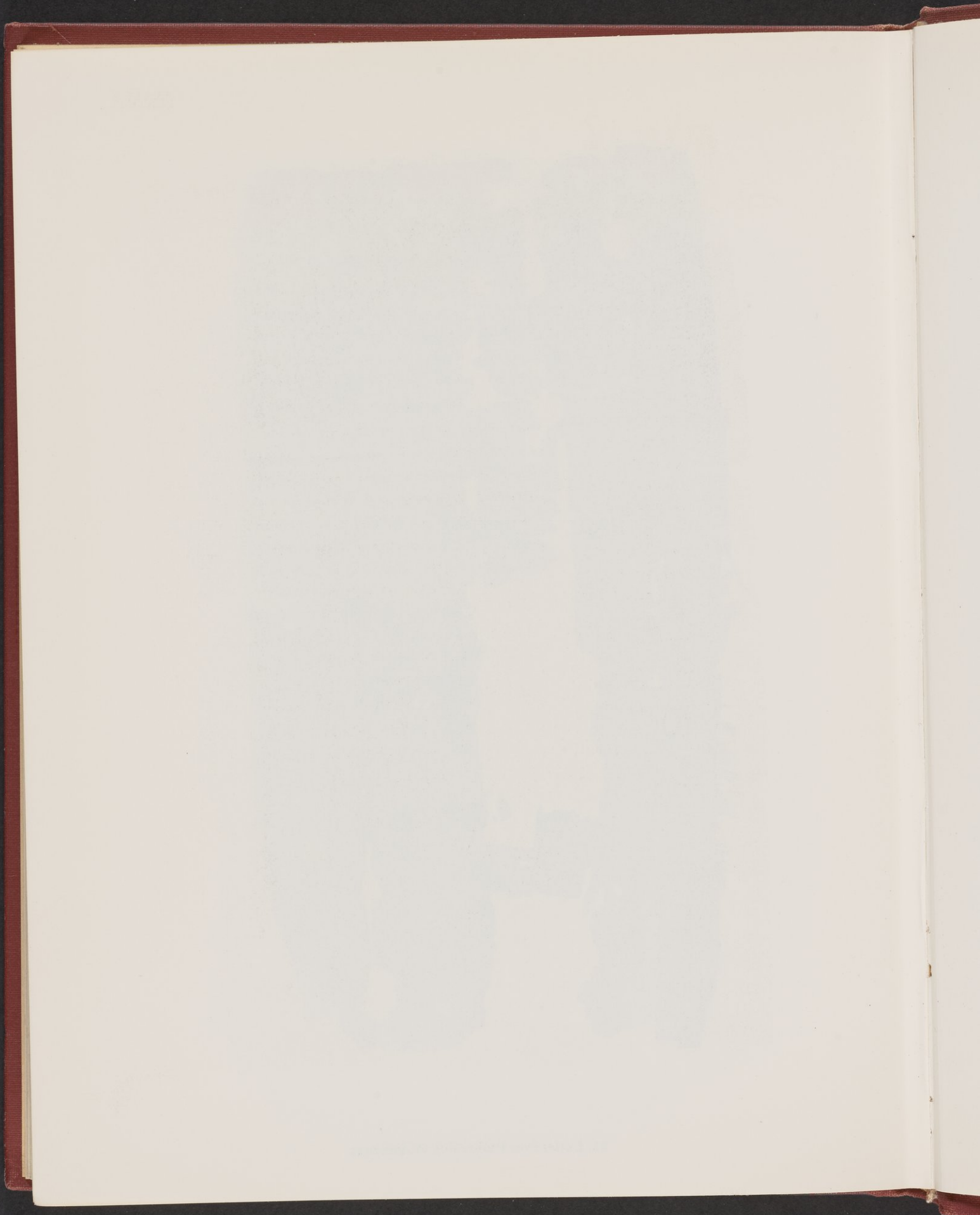










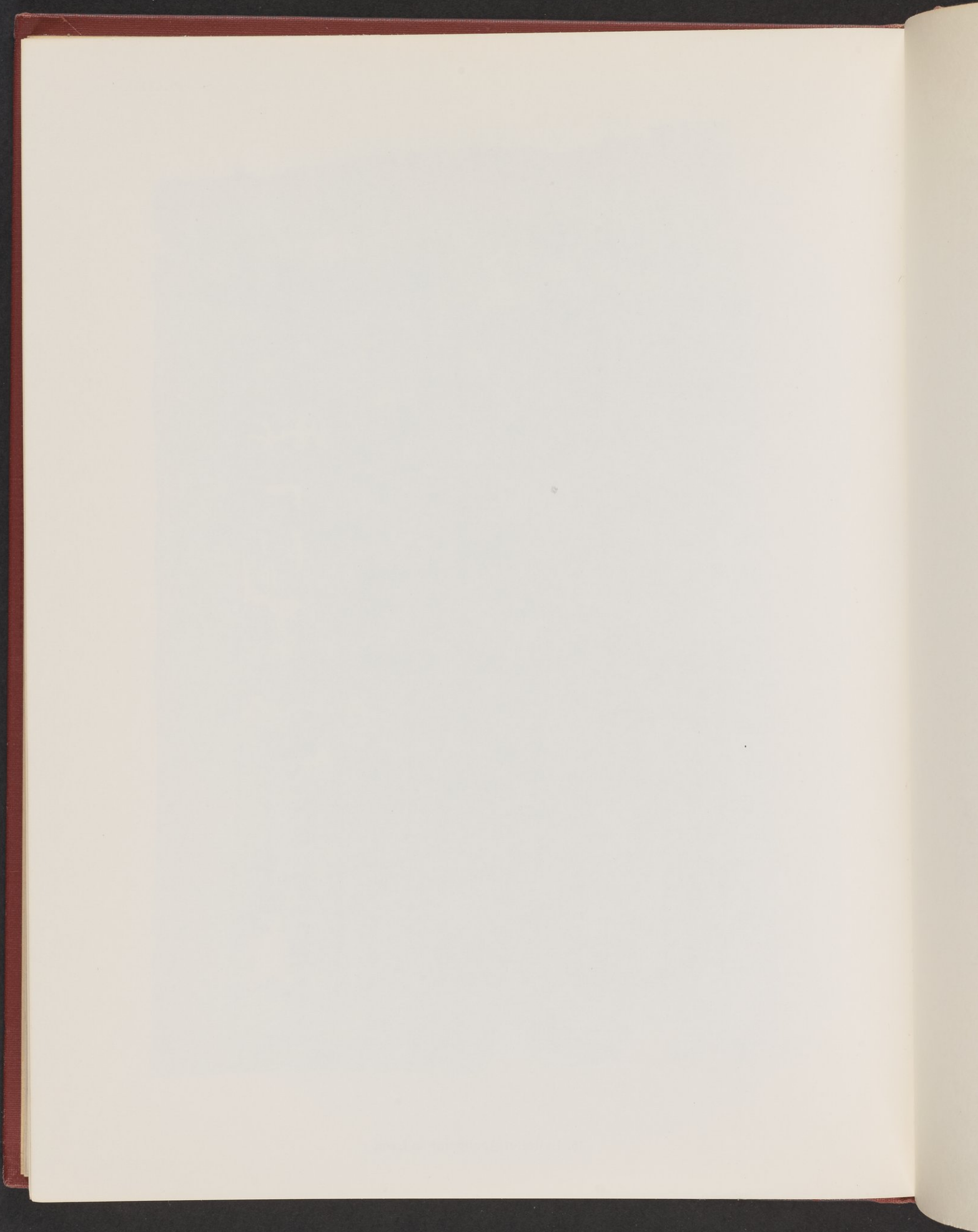




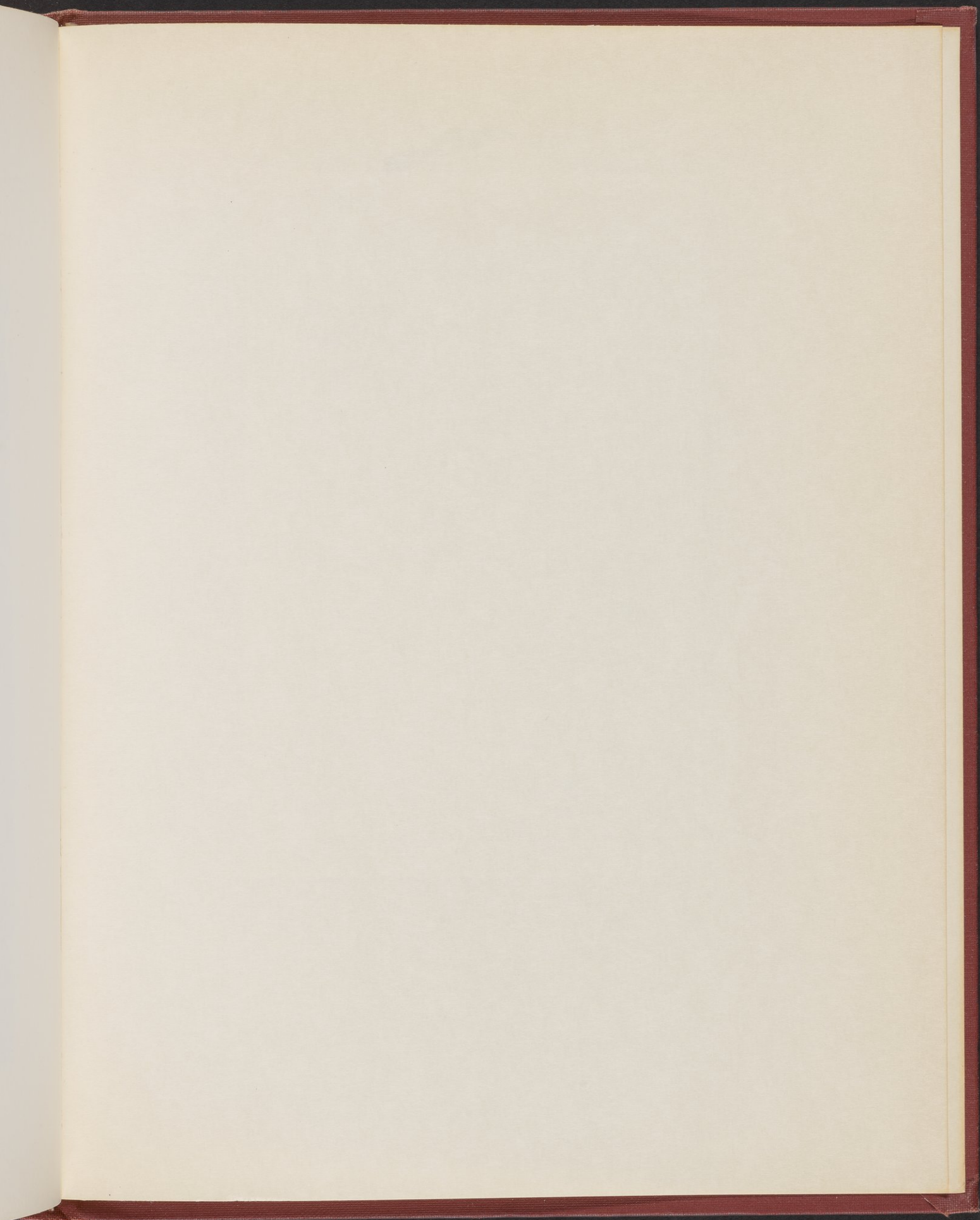
[Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing several lines of cursive script. The text is partially obscured by damage and is difficult to decipher. The fragment is oriented vertically on the page.]

36. Letter of Apollonios to Leon









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