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edited by
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ΥΠΕΡ ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ ΙΣΙΔΙ

PREFACE

The texts which comprise this edition of documentary papyri belong to The University of Michigan collection. The numeration continues the Michigan series, of which the last volume, containing the numbers 659-674, was edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn *(The Aphrodite Papyri in The University of Michigan Papyrus Collection)* and published in the Studia Amstelodamensia (X, Zutphen [Holland] 1977).

All documents published in this volume are Greek. They illustrate various aspects of the official administration and private life. 675, the only extant petition for exemption from a liturgy for a father of five children (241 A.D.), reveals the name of a new strategus and offers the *nomen* of a prefect mentioned elsewhere only once. 676 concerns the epicrisis for membership of the gymnasium (272 A.D.) and indicates the most detailed ancestry in documents of this type. Also, it provides the earliest reference to an epicrisis ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου in the reign of Nero. There are five receipts (677, 681-684), of which one offers evidence that the liturgical offices of the τραπεζῖται and πρεσβύτεροι were continued up to the third quarter of the 5th century (681). Another of the receipts seems to confirm the use of the word ὄκνος for shaduf (682; 496 A.D.). More new and rare words occur in a receipt for garments (684; 6th cent. A.D.) and in a memorandum for transport (680; middle 3rd-early 4th cent. A.D.). 678 is a relatively early lease (98 A.D.) of a house which is to be used for the purpose of plying the fuller's trade. There is, finally, an intriguing private letter the subject of which is still open to speculation (679; middle 2nd cent. A.D.).

I have had the opportunity of benefitting from the experience of several scholars. I am indebted to Dr. John Rea for his immediate responses to photostatic inquiries, and to Dr. P.J. Sijpesteijn for his untiring assistance and insight during his stay in Ann Arbor in 1975. Prof. Naphtali Lewis generously furnished comments regarding various aspects of liturgies. To Prof. O.M. Pearl I wish

to show my appreciation for his unfailing encouragement and help from the outset of my work. Prof. H.C. Youtie, the person whom we all consult, was kind enough to read a preliminary draft. His comments were profound and altered the course of many errant thoughts. Mrs. Youtie's constant cooperation considerably eased my task.

Finally, I was particularly fortunate to have been working upon this edition when Prof. L. Koenen decided to make Ann Arbor his home. It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of his guidance, inspiration, and relentless scholarship and I gratefully acknowledge my debt to him.

Ann Arbor
January 1979

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EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

The editorial signs employed in this volume are those in common use in editions of papyri.

[ ] lacuna in the papyrus

( ) resolution of an abbreviation or symbol

{ } superfluous letter or letters

` ´ additions above the line

[[ ]] deletion in the original

< > omission in the original

→ writing parallel to the fibres and crossing a kollesis at right angles

↔ writing parallel to the fibres when no kollesis exists

↑ writing across the fibres

A dot placed beneath a letter indicates that the letter is doubtful. Within square brackets dots indicate the appropriate number of missing letters.

The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc. are corrected.

For a discussion of the use of arrows indicating the direction of the writing see E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 (Brussels 1978).

675. PETITION CONCERNING EXEMPTION FROM LITURGY

Inv. 1016 28 x 23.8 cm. 19 and 20 July 241 A.D.
Oxyrhynchus Plates I-V

The light to medium brown papyrus has two kolleseis, the one ca. 8.7 cm. from the left edge; the other, 0.5 cm. from the right edge. The distance between them is about 14.5 cm. The papyrus is broken into two pieces along the first kollesis which is roughly in the middle of the original column. There is a margin of 1.5-2.5 cm. on the right side which is completely preserved from line 7. The lower margin is approximately 2.5 cm. All the beginnings of lines lack from ±11 to ±32 letters. The size of these lacunae has been calculated on the basis of lines 11, 14, and 15, where the supplements appear satisfactory. There are lacunae on the left upper portion and on the lower right hand part of the papyrus, a few of which can be reconstructed with assurance from common formulas. In the middle of the papyrus, to the right of the vertical break, the ink of part of a few lines has been rubbed off, but offers no serious difficulty in reading. The writing is parallel to the fibres and characterized by firm strokes. The scribe, striving for evenness on the right side, alternates between extension of the final letter and line fillers. The reverse is blank.

This text is our first instance of a father of five children claiming exemption from a liturgy (cf. note on line 16). The raising of the children is regarded as a public service which he contributes (lines 16-19). On the whole, the text consists of three documents, which on the papyrus are separated after lines 4 and 9. Of the first hardly anything remains: perhaps, a list of officials to whom the following letter of the strategus is addressed (cf. προτεταγμέ[νοις, line 6). Approximately 24 letters on the left and 46 letters on the right side are missing, and the top is lost.

The second document (lines 5-9) is the letter from the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, Aurelius Ammonius also known as Apollonios, to other officials, which accompanied the following petition of Aurelius Theon. The letter is dated Epeiph 25 (July 19).

The third document (lines 10-33) is the petition to the strategus from Aurelius Theon, consisting of the following parts: a) introduction of quoted materials such as the petition to the prefect (14-25) and the decision of the prefect (26ff.); reference is also made to extracts from imperial decrees which are not included

in the present document (12-13); b) reference to a list of nominees (27) to replace Aurelius Theon in the liturgy concerned; c) petition proper, in which Aurelius Theon asks the strategus to take the necessary action (28-32); it includes the aforementioned list of nominees (30ff.).

It seems that the local authorities expected Aurelius Theon to perform liturgical services. For this reason, he applied to the strategus for an exemption. His claim was based upon imperial ordinances and a favorable decision of the former prefect on his behalf. Thus, he asked the strategus to give the necessary instructions to the authorities of the village, where he had served previously (line 28) and was probably expected to serve again, and also to the keepers of the property registers (line 29), who would remove the lien (κατοχή) which they placed upon the property of every liturgic nominee: cf. BGU 619, P.Flor.2 (with *BASP* 14 [1977] 154), P.Oxy.44.3188.

The previous petition (lines 14-25) to Lucretius Annianus, the prefect, was submitted by Aurelius Theon in the second half of May, 239 A.D., which happens to be the earliest attestation for this prefect. The year, in which the petition was presented to the strategus, is lost; but, in the meantime, a new prefect took office, perhaps L. Annianus' immediate successor, L. Domitius Philippus, who held office from January 1, 241, until after April, 242.

Although the substance of personal petitions is, for the most part, unparalleled, a protocol prevails. For such format see O. Montevecchi's list of petitions (3rd cent. A.D.), *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 48-51; P.Mert.91; P.Oxy.7.1032.1-8; 8.1119.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ [±22]..αν. έπιστ[±46]
[±17 λειτο]υργίας έπιτετ[αγμένοις ±38]
[±22] Κλ[α]υδίφ έπισ[±45]
4 [±20]ραντι Κλ( ) Μα.[±46]

[Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὁ κ]αὶ Ἀπολλώνιος [στρατηγὸς
Ὀξυρυγχείτου ±25]
[±16]γειρ προτεταγμέ[νοις ἀντίγραφον οὗ βιβλιδίου
ἐπέδωκέν μοι]

[Αὐρήλιος Θέων ἐντετ]αγμένου ἑτέρου ἐπισ̣[τολί]ο̣υ̣ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
[Λο]υκρητίῳ Ἀννιανῷ τῷ ἡγε(μονεύσαντι)
8 [μετ' ἀντιγράφου τῆς ὑ]πογραφῆς ἐπιστέλλ[ομαι ὑ]μῖν,
φίλ(τατοι), ἵν' εἰδῆτε. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὔχο(μαι),φίλ(τατοι).
[(ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκρ]άτορος Κα[ί]σα[ρ]ος Μάρκου Ἀντ[ωνίο]υ
Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπεὶφ κε̅.

[Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀμμω]νίῳ τῷ καὶ [Ἀ]πολλωνίῳ στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχείτου
[παρὰ Αὐρηλίο]υ Θέωνος Διογένους μητρὸς Σ[ο]ήριος ἀπ'
Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως. οὗ ἐπέδω-
12 [κα τῷ διασημ]ότατα ἡγ[ε]μονεύσαντι Λουκρητί[ῳ] Ἀννιανῷ
βιβλειδίου ἐντεταγμένων α̣[ὐ]τῷ
[±11] τῶν θείων διατάξεων καὶ ἧς [ἔ]τυχον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ὑπογραφῆς ἐστιν ἀντί[γρ]αφον·
[Λουκρητίῳ Ἀν]νιανῷ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι π̣αρὰ Αὐρηλίου
Θέωνος Διογένους μητρὸς Σοήριος
[ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχω]ν̣ πόλεως. σαφεῖς μὲν αἱ θεῖαι δ[ι]ατάξ[ε]ις,
λαμπρότατε ἡγεμών, καὶ φανερῶς δια-
16 [τέτακται τὸν π]έντε τέκνων πατέρα γενόμενον ἀφίεσθαι τῆς
τῶν λειτουργιῶν ἐνοχλήσεως
[±11]̣.[̣.]γαν̣α̣ ̣α ὃς ὑφ̣ίσταται λειτουργίαν φροντίσει τε
καὶ ἀναλώμασιν τὴν τῶν τοσού-
[των τέκνων ἀν]α̣τροφήν· καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν καίτοι μέτριος ὢν τὰς
δυνάμεις οὐχ ὤκνησα περὶ τὴν τῶν
[τέκνων μου] ἀνατροφήν, οἳ καὶ νῦν διὰ βιβλειδί̣[ω]ν δημοσίων
φαίνονται. τὰ διηγορευμένα ὑπὸ
20 [τῶν θείων διατά]ξεων ἀξ[ι]ῶ καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ φυλαχθῇ̣[να]ι̣. δι[ὸ]
ἐπι<δί>δωμι τὰ βιβλείδια ὅπως, κύριέ μου, κα̣τ̣ὰ
[±11] πρὸς τοὺς νόμους εὐσέβειαν κελεύσῃς δι' ὑπογραφῆς τῷ
τοῦ νομοῦ σ[τ]ρατηγῷ
[±11]̣σται παρ[α]νομίαν ἰσ̣χ̣ὺν κα̣τ̣ε̣χ̣..., τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅπως
μὴ ἐνοχληθείην ε̣ἰς μηδεμί-
[αν λειτουργίαν ἀκ]ολο̣ύ̣θ̣ω̣ς τοῖς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν
κ̣ελε̣υ̣σθεῖσι, ἵν' ὦ εὐεργετημένος. διευτύχει.
24 [Αὐρήλιος Θέων διεπεμ]ψ̣ά̣μ̣ην πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν. Αὐρήλ[ι]ος
Χαιρήμων ἔγρ(αψα) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμμα-
[τα. τῇ πρὸ ..... κ]αλανδῶν Ἰουνίων τῷ κυρί(ῳ) ἡμῶν Γορδιανῷ
Σεβαστῷ καὶ Ἀβιόλα ὑπά[τοι]ς.

[ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰ κ]ᾳ̣τ̣ᾷ̣ [τὰ] π̣ε̣ρὶ τῶν τοιούτων διηγορευμένα
π̣άντα γενέσθαι προνοήσε̣τ̣α̣ι̣ ὅσ̣ῳ ἕξε-
[στιν. ἕως τούτου τὸ βιβλ]ε̣ί̣διον καὶ ἡ ὑπογραφή. ὑπ̣έ̣τ̣α̣ξα
τούτῳ .ῳ̣ .ν̣[...]ν̣ων τὰ ὀνόματα τ̣ῷ̣ν κ[ατ]ὰ
28 [±18]ό̣γων φαινομένων. ἀξιῶ ἐπιστεῖλαί σε τῷ τῇ[ς]
Μερμέρθ̣ων, ἔνθ[α] μ̣[ὲ]ν̣ ἐλει[τούρ]γη-
[σα ±6 ἵν' εἰδῇ οὐχ] ὑποκείμ[ε]νό̣ν με λε̣ιτουργί̣αις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῖς τῶν ἐνκτήσεων βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) τὴν δέουσαν πα-
[ραγγελίαν ἀφέσεως] ν̣ομε̣ίμου. ἔστι δὲ [*vacat*]· Π̣α̣υ̣σανίας/
Ἀπολλώνιος/ Ἀνείκητος/ Ἀ.ᾳ̣β̣[ι]ος/ Ἀν-
[±15 (ἔτους) δ Αὐτ]ο̣κ̣ρ̣ά̣[τορ]ο̣[ς Κ]α̣[ίσαρος] Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου
Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ.
32 [±32] Α̣ὐρ[ή]λ̣ι̣[ος] Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλάμμωνος ἔγρ(αψα) ὑπ(ὲρ)
α(ὐτοῦ) μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.
[±30]α. (ἔτους) δ'' Ἐπεὶφ κς.

---

12 βιβλιδίου 18 οὐκ 19 βιβλιδί̣[ω]ν 21 βιβλίδια 22 ἴσχυν 23 Pap. ι·ν 25 ἴουνιων 27 βιβλ]ί̣διον 30 νομίμου

5 and 10: Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος is attested in P.Coll. Youtie 65.2 for the same year (cf. J.E.G. Whitehorne, "A Checklist of Oxyrhynchite Strategi," *ZPE* 29 [1978] 180 no.83).

6 προ̣τεταγμέ[νοις: obviously the officials mentioned in lines 1-4.

7 [Λο]υκρητίῳ Ἀννιανῶ: P.Oxy.43.3108 provides us with the praenomen of this prefect: Lucius. The date of that papyrus can only be approximated, ca. 240 A.D. Here, consular dating (line 25) provides the earliest reference to Annianus as prefect: May, 239 A.D. For the period of his office cf. (in addition to Stein, *Präfekten* and Reinmuth, *Working List*) P.Oxy.43.3117.1n.; P.Oxy.43.3103, introd.; Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti," 311.

ἡγε(μονεύσαντι): in the meantime L. Annianus had left office. His immediate successor was C. Domitius Philippus, who took office on or shortly before Jan. 1, 241; cf. J.F. Gilliam, *Cd'E* 36 (1961) 386ff.; P.Oxy. 43.3108, introd.; Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti," 311.

10: see on line 5.

11: cf. P.Oxy. 8.1119.6. This line as well as lines 5, 10, 14, and 15 determine the number of missing letters for much of the broken left side of the papyrus.

12 διασημ]ότατα ἡγ[ε]μονεύσαντι: for similar phraseology see P.Oxy.17.2104.19-21. It involves the name of the same prefect mentioned here (see note 19-20); see also J.F. Gilliam, *Cd'E* 36 (1961) 388-89.

βιβλειδίου: "petition"; the equivalent of the Latin *libellus* (see H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* [Am. Stud. Pap. 13, Toronto 1974] 30). It is employed until the end of the third century A.D., after which it was replaced by βιβλίον and λιβέλλος (see *APF* 5, 262-63).

13: [ἐκλήμψεων ἐκ] τῶν θείων διατάξεων may convey the sense although, in the present document, the διατάξεις are not copied.

14 λαμπροτάτῳ: cf. no.683.1n. Also see, more recently, J. Mathwich, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 76.15n.

16: the third century reveals the empire-wide problem raised by the avoidance of compulsory services. However, exemptions from liturgical service are well-known; see O.W. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt* (Leipzig 1935) 18ff.; more recently N. Lewis in *Atti XI Congr. Intern. di Pap.* (Milan 1965) 508-41. Here, we are confronted with a request for exemption from a liturgy by a father of five children. The *Digesta* 50.4.3.12 state: *Cura frumenti comparandi munus est, et ab eo aetas septuaginta annorum vel numerus quinque incolumium liberorum excusat;* 50. 5.2.1: *numerus liberorum aut septuaginta annorum ab honoribus aut muneribus his cohaerentibus excusationem non praestat, sed a muneribus tantum civilibus (i.e. cura frumenti comparandi).*

18 μέτριος ὢν τὰς δυνάμεις: cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch, s.v.* μέτριος, where the word is equated with *pauper;* see also P.Mert.91. 6n.

21: before the πρός there is a trace of a letter which looks rather like an iota, suggesting perhaps κ]ᾳ̣ι̣. This would warrant a noun such as τὴν εὔνοιαν in the lacuna. However,]ν̣ cannot be excluded entirely, e.g. τὴν εἰωθυῖα]ν̣ εὐσέβειαν.

22-23 εἰς μηδεμί[αν λειτουργίαν: for phraseology see P.Oxy.17. 2110.20-21.

24 διεπεμ]ψάμην πρὸς ἐπίδοσιν: for phraseology see P.Oxy.12. 1467.28-29; 34.2713.27.

μὴ εἴδότος γράμμα[τα: cf. no.676.27n.

25: the petition to the prefect is thus dated to May, 239 A.D. See P.Tebt.285.7 (the only other reference to this consulship in the papyri). For the use of the Roman dating formulas in papyri see P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 229ff.

26: there is a dash over the ω in ὄσῳ. However, the place is too damaged to discern its significance.

27 τὰ ὀνόματα: other nominees for the office, a list of whose names was composed by the komogrammateus and sent on to the strategus. Aurelius Theon sent in an excerpt from the original list (see line 30).

28 τῷ τῆ[ς] Μερμέρθων: sc. κωμογραμματεῖ. For the existence of this office up to 245/8 see J.D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 111ff.

30-31 Π̣α̣υ̣σανίας/ Ἀπολλώνιος/ Ἀνείκητος/, κτλ.: the names promised in line 27. They have been checked off individually as correct. There are five names in all; two are badly damaged. The second letter of the fourth name seems to have been either a τ or γ. There are traces of the bottom of the vertical stroke and of the right part of the horizontal crossbar. Ἀτ̣ά̣ριος is not attested, but cf. Ἀτάρβιος.

31: it is likely, but by no means certain, that the year is the 3rd or 4th in the reign of Gordian (240-41 A.D.). The petition to the prefect was dated in May 239 (= second year). One would expect the prefect to make his decision at the next conventus, i.e. somewhere between February and April of the third year (240; for the dates of the conventus see U. Wilcken, *APF* 4 [1908] 378ff. and *Grundzüge* 33; J. Mathwich, *ZPE* 15 [1974] 77ff.). This may have given Theon sufficient time to write his follow-up petition to the strategus during the remainder of the 3rd year (before August 29, 240; so N. Lewis). In this case it took the strategus almost a full year to reply to the follow-up application. It is, however, more likely that Theon originally took it for granted that his application to the prefect would automatically reveal its results to the local authorities, because the strategus had to be present

during the conventus. In *P.Amsterdam* 23 (*ZPE* 15 [1974] 69ff.) it probably was the strategus who sent the prefect's decision concerning his province to his βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς asking for corresponding action within two months. If we assume a similar procedure, a claim on behalf of the central administration of the Oxyrhynchite could have been expected in May/June. It was reasonable to allow additional time for the local authorities to react.

Therefore, it may have been well into the fourth year before Theon realized that a follow-up petition to the strategus was called for.

32 [±32]: probably [Αὐρήλιος Θέων Διογένους ἐπιδέδωκα.]

Αὐρή̣λ̣(ιος) Ἡρακλείδ(ης): the one who wrote the letter to the strategus for Aurelius Theon.

33 δ´´ Ἐπεὶφ κς: 20 July, 241 A.D. It may be the date on which either the letter of the strategus was received by the lower officials or the copy of Theon's letter to the strategus was made in the office of the strategus and attached to the letter written by the strategus on the previous day (lines 5-9).

TRANSLATION

(from line 5) Aurelius Ammonius also known as Apollonius, [strategus of the Oxyrhynchite,] --- to the aforesaid: I send to you, my dear friends, [the copy of the petition which Aurelius Theon submitted to me] enclosing his other letter to Lucretius Annianus, the ex-prefect, [along with the copy of the] subscription, for your information. I pray that you may be in good health, my dear friends. [In the 4th year] of the Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordian Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 25.

To Aurelius Ammonius also known as Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, [from Aurelius] Theon, son of Diogenes, his mother being Soeris, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. The following is a copy of the petition which I submitted to the most eminent ex-prefect, Lucretius Annianus, [extracts] of the imperial ordinances having been inserted therein, and of the decision which I received from him:

To [Lucretius] Annianus, most illustrious prefect, from Aurelius Theon, son of Diogenes, his mother being Soeris, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. The imperial ordinances are clear, most illustrious prefect, and plainly [it is ordained] that one who has become father of five children, be released from the burden of liturgical offices, [because ---] who, with his care and expenses, undertakes the raising of so many children as a public service. I myself, although being of small means as to my resources, have not shrunk from the rearing of my children who now also have become known through public documents. I ask that the orders issued by the imperial edicts be safeguarded also for me. Therefore, I present the petitions in order that, my lord, in accordance with [your] --- reverence for the laws you, by (your) subscription, direct the strategus of the nome, ---lawlessness, that is, that I may not be burdened by any [liturgy] in accordance with the orders issued in the case of many others, so that I may be relieved. Farewell. I, [Aurelius Theon], sent (the petition) for submission. I, Aurelius Chaeremon, wrote for him since he is illiterate. [The --- day before] the Kalends of June, in the consulship of our lord Gordian Augustus and Aviola.

[The strategus] will see to it that everything is done as far as possible in accordance with the orders issued regarding such matters. This completes the petition and the subscription. I have appended to this the names of --- who seem to be trustworthy. I request that you send [instructions] to the official of Mermerthon where I have performed my public duties, [in order that he may know] I am not under the obligation of public duties, but also to send the appropriate [order of legal exemption] to the keepers of the property registers. The list is: Pausanias, Apollonius, Anicetus, A.ab[i]os, An--- [in the 4th year] of the Imperator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordian Pius Felix Augustus. ---. I, Aurelius Heracles, son of Heraklammon, wrote for him since he is illiterate.

--- The 4th year, Epeiph 26.

676. EPICRISIS FOR MEMBERSHIP OF THE GYMNASIUM

Inv. 1935 19.3 x 29.9 cm. 4 August 272 A.D.

Plates VI-VIII

The top of this papyrus is missing. Both the right side and the bottom are completely preserved. 9.5 cm. at the bottom are blank. The left side, where preserved, has a margin of approximately 1.9 cm. There is a kollesis of about 0.7 cm. from the right edge. The writing is parallel to the fibres and extends, in many lines, to the right edge of the papyrus. The beginning of lines 1-9 and 31-33 are lost on the left side. The papyrus is riddled with small holes and some serious lacunae, a number of which can be restored with certainty by following familiar formulas. The reverse is blank.

There are seventeen other documents from Oxyrhynchus which are concerned with the epicrisis for membership of the gymnasium: P.Oxy.2.257; 10.1266; 12.1452 (ii); 18.2186; 22.2345; 46.3276-3284; PSI 5.457; 7.731; P.Med.inv.72.16 in *Pap. doc. dell' Univ. Cattol. di Milano* presentati al xiv Congresso Internazionale di Papyrologia (1974) 29. On the nature and format of the epicrisis ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου cf. P. Mertens, *Les services de l' etat civil*, 113-128. The most recent treatment is that of Pharouk Xaphez El-Kanti, Ἡ "ἐπίκρισις" ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ Αἰγύπτῳ (Athens 1973) 103-9 (on Oxyrhynchus); English synopsis, 139-144. Additional bibliography will be found in the introduction to P.Wisc.17 and BGU 2086; O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 182; *Proc. of the xiv International Congr. of Papyrologists* (London 1975) 227-232; P.J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 13 (1976) 181-90.

Documents of this type begin with an address to the officials conducting the epicrisis from the parent or guardian of the boy. Application is made on his behalf usually upon his entering the fourteenth year (or when he is fourteen, as here). There follows a statement indicating that the application is being made in compliance with the orders (κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα) concerning the selection. Cf. the beginning of P.Oxy.18.2186, 22.2345 and PSI 5.457, which substantiate that this papyrus lacks no more than three or four lines at the top. His sponsor proceeds with a list of the boy's forebears who belonged to this class, after which an oath is taken by the sponsor that the applicant is a legitimate son. The date of the emperor is then given, and finally witnesses, of whom the normal number is three, put their signatures to the document.

In this papyrus Aurelius Seuthes (line 25), acting as the guardian of Marcus Aurelius Thonis, whose father is deceased, has submitted an application to the officials responsible for the epicrisis (names and titles missing). The purpose of the application

was to admit him to this class of privileged persons, who were either partially or wholly exempt from the poll-tax. Jouguet, *Vie munic.*, 83-5, emphasizes the fact that the epicrisis of those belonging to the gymnasium had a municipal rather than a financial basis and that this is the class from which most local offices were filled. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου came to mean the hellenized upper class of the population of Egypt; yet, the financial status and the municipal character of the class need not be mutually exclusive (cf. P.Oxy.12.1451, introd., 152).

Attached is a diagram indicating the genealogy of Thonis, tracing his ancestry back six generations on his father's side and eight on his mother's side through the general epicrisis of 72-73 A.D. (the fifth year of Vespasian) to epicrises in the third year (56-57 A.D.) and the fifth year (58-59 A.D.) of the reign of Nero conducted by Curtius Paulinus, chiliarch, in which Sarapion (great-grandfather five times removed) was selected. There is a further reference to Theoninus, the father of Sarapion, about whom no information is given. However, this takes us back one more generation, conceivably to the reign of Tiberius. The ancestry given in this papyrus extends over some 230 years from the birth of Sarapion (i.e. not including Theoninus).

This is the first document from Oxyrhynchus to mention an epicrisis (excepting the γραφή of 4-5 A.D.: P.Oxy.12.1452.54) which precedes the general epicrisis of Vespasian (72-73 A.D.). It states directly the years and the name of Nero. The τῷ αὐ[τῷ (ἔτει) of P.Oxy.2.257.33 is ambiguous, and ὁμοίως could as easily refer back to lines 12-13: the fifth year of Vespasian. Cf. P. Mertens, *Les services*, 119. Also, it provides the earliest reference to an epicrisis τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου in the reign of Nero (cf. P.Oxy.12.1452. 44-6n.; P.Lond.2.260, p.42ff.). Since the date of PSI 5.457 is doubtful (cf. P.Med.inv.72.16, introd.), this document proves to be the latest of its kind with a certain date: 4 August 272 A.D.

ANCESTRY OF AURELIUS THONIS

Paternal:			Maternal:
		THEONINUS (line 12)	
		SARAPION (line 12)	3rd and 5th yr. of Nero: 56/57 A.D. & 58/59 A.D.
5th yr. of Vespasian 72/73 A.D.	APOLLONIUS (line 5)	THEON (line 13)	4th yr. of Domitian: 84/85 A.D.
4th yr. of Trajan 100/101 A.D.	DIONYSIUS (line 6)	SARAPION (line 15)	15th yr. of Trajan: 111/112 A.D.
11th yr. of Aelius Antoninus:147/148 A.D.	DIOGENES (line 7)	EUPHELLIS (line 16)	21st yr. of Aelius Antoninus:157/158 A.D.
21st yr. of Commodus 180/181 A.D.	AMOUS (line 8)	ANTI.... (line 17)	32nd yr. of Commodus: 191/192 A.D.
5th yr.of reign after Severus Antoninus (i.e. Elagabalus) 221/222 A.D.	KOPREUS (line 9)	SARAPION (line 18)	4th yr. of Alexander Severus:224/225 A.D.

THONIS (272 A.D.)

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→ [±19] .ι̣τ̣ω [±8] τους ε.[±15] ο̣υ.κ̣ο̣ς [±8]
[±17] .φίλου .[±4 μετ]ηλλαχ[ό]τος κα̣ὶ̣ [±9] Μάρκος
Αὐρ[ήλιος Θ]ῶ̣νις
[μητρὸς Θερμου]θίου ὧ[ν πρὸ]ς τὸ ἐ[νεστὸς γ (ἔτος) (ἐτῶν)] ιδ,
οὐλ(ὴν) μὴ ἔχ[ων ....]μεὺς μανθάνων. ὅθεν
4. [παραγενό]μενος πρὸς τὴν τού[του ἐπίκ(ρισιν)] δηλῶ κατὰ τὴν
γενομένην τῷ ε (ἔτει) θε[οῦ Ο]ὐεσ(πασιανοῦ) τῶν
[ἐκ τοῦ γυμ]νασίου ἐπίκ(ρισιν) ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) τ[ὸ]ν τ̣[οῦ
πάππ(ου) αὐ]τ[ο]ῦ προσβ(αίνοντος) πρόπ(απ̣πον) Ἀπολλώνιον
ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου) Πλατίας
[ἀκολούθ]ω̣ς αἷς <ἐ>πήνεγκεν ἀπ̣ο̣δ̣ε̣ί̣[ξεσι], καὶ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ πρόπ(απ̣πον) Δι[ο]ν̣ύ̣[σι]ο̣ν̣ τὸν
[καὶ ±6 π]ροσβ(αίνοντα) τῷ δ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τρα̣[ιανοῦ
ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀ]μφ(ὁδου) τοῦ αὐτ[ο]ῦ, καὶ τὸν
πρόπ(απ̣πον) αὐτοῦ Διογένην
8. [προσβ(αίνοντα) τ]ῷ ι̣α (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντων[ίνο]υ
ἐ[πι]κ(εκρίσθαι) [ἐπ'] ἀμφ(ὁδου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν
πάππ(ον) αὐτο̣[ῦ] Ἀμοῦν
[±8 πρ]οσβ(αίνοντα) τῷ κα (ἔτει) θεοῦ Κομόδ[ο]υ ἐπ[ι]κ(εκρίσθαι)
ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐ[τ]οῦ Κοπρέα
π[ροσβ(αίνοντα) τ]ῷ ε (ἔτει) τ̣ῆς μετὰ θεὸν Σεο[υῆ]ρον
Ἀντωνίνον βασιλίας ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπὶ τα[ῖ]ς προκειμέ-
ναις [ἀποδ](είξεσιν) ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου) Λουκίων Π[αρε]μ(βολῆς), καὶ
τὸν τοῦ προπάππ(ου) τῆς μητρὸς `τοῦ' αὐτοῦ προσβ(αίνοντος)
πρόπ(απ̣πον)
12. Σαραπί[ων]α Θεωνίνου ἐν εἴδ̣ι̣ [τῶν] τ̣ῷ̣ γ (ἔτει) καὶ ε̣ (ἔτει)
Νέρωνος ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Παυλίνου
χ̣ηλιάρχ[ο]υ ἐπικ(εκριμένων) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Μυροβαλάνου, καὶ τὸν
τοῦ πάππ(ου) αὐτῆς πρόπαππ(ον) Θέω̣να προσβ(αίνοντα)
τῷ δ (ἔτει) Δ[ο]μ[ι]τιανοῦ ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου) τοῦ
αὐ[τ]οῦ, καὶ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς πρό`π'απ(ον) {αὐτῆς}
Σαραπίω[ν]α προσβ(αίνοντα) τῷ ιε (ἔτει) θεοῦ [Τρ]αιανοῦ
ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν
πρόπαππ(ον) αὐτῆς
16. Ε̣ὐ̣φελλιν̣ [π]ρ̣οσβ(αίνοντα) τῷ κα (ἔτει) θεοῦ Αἰλί[ο]υ
Ἀντωνίνου ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου) τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
τὸν πάππ(ον) αὐτῆς

Ἄντι.... προσβ(αίνοντα) τῷ λβ (ἔτει) θε[οῦ] Κομό[δ]ου
ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἁ[μ]φ(ὁδου) Μυροβαλάνου, καὶ τὸν πατέρα
αὐτῆς Σα[ρ]απίωνα πρ[ο]σβ(αίνοντα) τῷ δ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀποδ(είξεσιν) ἐπ' ἀμφ(ὁδου)
Βορρᾶ Δ[ρό](μου). παρέσχ[ο]ν δὲ τῆς ἐπ̣ι̣κρίσεως γνωστῆρας καὶ ὀμνοίω τὴν Αὐρηλιανοῦ
20. Καίσαρος τ[οῦ] κυρ[ί]ου Σεβαστοῦ τύχην ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ εἶναι τὸν
Θῶνιν φ[ύσ]ι τοῦ Κοπρέως καὶ τῆς Θερμούθιον υἱὸν καὶ μήτε θέσι μήτε ὑπόβλητο(ν)
μηδὲ ἄλλο[τ]ρίαις ἀσφαλίαις ἢ ὀμονυμίαις καιχρῆσθαι ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ.
(ἔτους) γ Αὐτ[οκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκ[ί]ου Δομιττίου Αὐρηλιανοῦ Γουθθικοῦ Μεγίστου
24. Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορὴ ια.
(2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιο[ς] Σεύθης ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὤμ<ο>σα τὸν ὅρκον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό]τος γράμματα.
28 (3rd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων Διογένους μητρὸς Ἑλένης ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως γνωστεύω τὸν Θῶνειν ὄντα φύσι υἐὸν τοῦ
Κοπρέως καὶ τῆς Θερμουτ̣ε̣ίου ὡς πρόκειται.
(4th hd.) [Α]ὐρήλιος Ἀμόις Ἀφυνχίου μητρὸς Ἀ̣φ̣λε̣ῶ̣ς
32 [±3]ῶ̣ς συ̣γ̣γνωστεύω τὸν Θῶνιν ὡς πρόκει-
[τα]ι. (5th hd.) Αὐρή[λ]ιος Ἰοῦστος Ἡρακλάμμωνος μητρὸς Ἴσειτος
συνγνω[σ]τέυω τὸν [Θ]ῶνειν ὡς πρόκειται.

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5 Πλατείας 6 απηνεγκεν Pap. 9 Κομμόδου (also line 17) 10 βασιλείας 11 Λυκίων 12 εἴδει 13 χιλιάρχου 14 πρό`π΄απ(ον): π is placed above deleted letter 15 Τραϊανου pap. 19 ὀμνύω 21 φύσει, Θερμουθίου, ὕιον pap., θέσει, ὑποβλητō pap. 22 ἀσφαλείαις, ὀμωνυμίαις, κεχρῆσθαι 23 δομιτ'τιου, γουθ'θικου 25 ἄμασα 26 ὕπερ 29 Θῶνιν (also line 34), φύσει, υἱὸν 30 Θερμουθίου 32 συγγνωστεύω

2: The beginning of the line probably contains the name of the father of Thonis, Kopreus.

Before Μάρκος perhaps ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ should be read.

3 ιδ: the expected age for a youth to enter the epicrisis lists. Cf., for further details, P.Oxy.12.1452.34-5n. Concerning the discussion as to a youth's being in his 14th year in some localities and elsewhere being fourteen years of age, cf. P.Wisc.17.8n.

οὐλ(ὴν) μὴ ἐχ[ων ....]μεὺς μανθάνων: κερα]μεὺς is likely to fit the context and the spacing. P.J. Sijpesteijn has suggested οὐλ(ὴν) μὴ ἐ[χων δρο]μεὺς μανθάνων (*Cd'E* 51 [1976] 142ff.).

4-5 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμ]ναστίου: "those who belong to the gymnasium" (Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 200, and Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 80ff.). On the importance of the gymnasium see B.A. Van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque de l'Egypte*, (Groningen 1924) 35-41; Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 82ff.; L. Koenen, *Eine Agonistiche Inschrift* (Meisenheim 1977) 1.

5 Πλατίας: a well-known amphodon in Oxyrhynchus (cf. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen*, 7; 29.

7: after [καί one expects an alias.

π[ροσβ(αίνοντα): though always written in abbreviation, the accusative is needed here as in P.Oxy.18.2186 and 22.2345 [the editors, however, resolve προσβ(αινόντων) in spite of the lacking article]; also see PSI 5.457; cf. Mertens, *Les services de l'etat civil*, 122. Both Oxyrhynchus papyri construe δηλῶ NN. (acc.) προσβ(αίνοντα) ἐπικ(ρίσει) τῷ --- (ἔτει) τοῦ (emperor) ἐπικ(εκρίσθαι) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου NN. The dative ἐπικρίσει, however, is omitted in PSI 5.457 as well as in the present papyrus; PSI 5.457 δηλῶ --- NN. (acc.) προσβ(αίνοντα) [partly omitted] ἐπ(ικεκρίσθαι) τῷ --- (ἔτει) (emperor) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου NN. The infinitive is here less disposable than the dative; see *Stud.Pal.*4, index *s.v.*; P.Rainer 94 (p.69). Cf. Mertens, *loc.cit.*

9: either his father's name (cf. line 12) or the alias of Amous (cf. lines 6-7) is missing.

10 τ]ῷ ε (ἔτει) τῆς μετὰ θεὸν Σεο[υῆ]ρον Ἀντωνῖνον βασιλίας: *i.e.* 221/22 A.D. (the fifth year of the reign of Elagabalus). This oblique reference to Elagabalus results from two political actions: first, the *damnatio memoriae* of Macrinus and Diadumenius, which eliminated their reign and made Elagabalus the immediate successor of Caracalla. According to this retrodating the first year of Elagabalus started on 29 August 217 A.D. (see articles of L. Koenen and P.J. Sijpesteijn in *ZPE* 13 [1974] 228ff. and 219ff. respectively). Second, Elagabalus himself underwent a *damnatio memoriae* after his

murder; see *Script. hist. Aug.* (*vita Elagabali*) 17.4 and 18.1

11 Λουκίων Π[αρε]μ(βολῆς): *i.e.* Λυκίων Π., cf. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen* 39ff.

12 ἐν εἴδ̣ι [τῶν] τ̣ῷ γ (ἔτει) καὶ ε̣ (ἔτει): read by P.J. Sijpesteijn and H.C. Youtie. A parallel phrase is found in P.Oxy.46.3279. 19: γ (ἔτει) καὶ δ (ἔτει). Obviously epicrises were held in the 3rd, 4th and 5th years of the reign of Nero (56/7; 57/8; 58/9 A.D.). It seems that Sarapion was not considered in the 57/8 year and his examination was deferred from 56/7 to 58/9. The reasons for the dual epicrisis are not known.

Nero appears here for the first time in documents dealing with the epicrisis for membership of the gymnasium. Together with the γραφή of 4/5 A.D., mentioned in a number of the Oxyrhynchus documents pertaining to the epicrisis τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου, the new dates constitute the earliest evidence of epicrises. For Nero's involvement in the epicrisis cf. O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 26-28.

12-13 ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Παυλίνου χη̣λιάρχ[ο]υ: the nomen of the chiliarch (*tribunus militum*), Curtius Paulinus, is new. J. Rea concurs that the reading of his name in P.Oxy.10.1266.25 (Κα̣υ̣ν̣τίου, *BL* 3,135 Καυνε̣ίου) should be Κο̣υ̣ρτίου. He is not to be identified with the prefect Paulinus, referred to as διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν in Josephus, *BJ* 7.10.4 (see G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto", *ZPE* 17 [1975] 275ff. and notes). Curtius Paulinus can be placed at Oxyrhynchus as *tribunus militum* conducting the epicrises in the 3rd (56/7 A.D.), 4th (57/8 A.D.), and 5th (58/9 A.D.) years of the reign of Nero. He was obviously the tribune, at this time, of either the Legio xxii Deiotariana or the Legio iii Cyrenaica which were the two Roman legions in Egypt (cf. J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Egypte*, 133). On the chiliarch see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I 2.1102; Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, 163; for his mention in epicrisis documents cf. BGU 265.12; 324.9; P.Hamb. 31.4; SB 5217.5.

ἐπικ(εκριμένων): cf. P.Oxy.10.1266.25 n., which can now be corrected by the distinct reading of επι here.

13 ἀμφόδ(ου) Μυροβαλάνου: cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen*, 43.

16 Ε̣ὔ̣φ̣ελλιν: an omicron cannot be read at the beginning of the name. In addition, H.C. Youtie concurs that Εὔφελις in O.Mich.

1.571.2 (inv.4370) should read Εὔφελλις.

18-19 ἀμφ(ὁδου) Βορρᾶ Δ[ρό](μου): see H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen*, 30-31.

19 παρέσχ[ο]ν δὲ τῆς ἐπ̣ι̣κρίσεως γνωστῆρας: justification for reading ἐπ̣ι̣κρίσεως rather than ε[ἰ]σκρίσεως (suggested by P.J. Sijpesteijn [see below]) is that there is evidence of an extremely small part of a horizontal line probably being joined to a vertical line. The impression of this vertical line is not created by what in reality was a horizontal line since a sufficient amount of surface on the right and left sides exists and does not show traces of ink.

On the basis of P.Oxy.18.2186.10; 22.2345.7; PSI 5.457.16; and the present papyrus, all of which are concerned with the ἐπίκρισις of boys entering the οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, P.J. Sijpesteijn (*BASP* 13, 1976, 187ff.) restored the phrase: παρέσχ[ο]ν δὲ τῆς ε[ἰ]σκρίσεως γνωστῆρας. According to this sentence, the father or guardian presenting a boy for ἐπίκρισις would have to provide witnesses who would identify the boy's father as a person who himself had undergone the εἴσκρισις, i.e. enrolled into the class of ephebs after the preceding ἐπίκρισις. If so, the father or guardian had to provide four sets of proofs: (1) written documents proving that the father and forefathers of the boy had passed the ἐπίκρισις at their time; (2) γνωστῆρες, who would testify that the father underwent the εἴσκρισις; (3) three γνωστῆρες, who would identify the boy and state that he is his parent's son by birth (P.Oxy.18.2186.14ff.; PSI 5.457.22ff.; the present papyrus, 25ff.; SB 4.7427.8; Stud. Pal.20.24.6 and O.Oslo 27.2n. [p.74]); (4) an oath of the father or guardian on the correctness of all his statements.

From the point of view of the procedures the γνωστῆρες εἰσκρίσεως (2) are unexpected. Throughout, the procedures are concerned with the ἐπίκρισις of the forefathers, not the εἴσκρισις, and written documents (1) are produced as evidence (cf. the excerpts of the official epicrisis register in SB 4.7427; A.E.R. Boak, *JEA* 13 [1927] 151ff.). A protocol of proofs is taken: the oath (4) and the witness of those γνωστῆρες who identify the boy as son of his parents (3); their action is called γνωστεύειν and, in the case of the second and third witnesses of the present papyrus, συνγνωστεύειν. These γνωστῆρες would not be mentioned in the preceding body of the document.

The action, however, of the γνωστῆρες ἐπικρίσεως (2) would be announced by the guardian though not protocolled. If, however, there were only one set of γνωστῆρες, i.e. the τῆς ἐπικρίσεως γνωστῆρες (3=2), the difficulties would disappear.

At this point, the evidence for τῆς εἰσκρίσεως γνωστῆρες becomes questionable. In fact, due to the fragmentary state of all four papyri mentioned at the beginning, the word εἴσκρισις is preserved only in PSI 5.457.15ff. As can clearly be read on a photograph, which M. Manfredi generously supplied, the sentence runs:

15 ἐμὲ δὲ προσβ(αίνοντα) ἐπ(ικεκρίσθαι) τ[ῷ] α (ἔτει) Δεκ[ίων]

16 ἐπὶ τ(αῖς) προκ(ειμέναις) ἀποδ(είξεσιν) ἐπ' ἀμ(φόδου) [Ἡ-] ρακλέ(ως) τόπ(ων) παρασχόντα τῆ[ς] εἰσκρίσ̣ε̣ω̣ς̣ γ̣[νωστ(ῆρας)· καὶ ὀμνύω - - -

The slightly different phrasing in comparison with the three other documents (see below) does not cast doubt on the fact that the same procedure is meant in all four documents. But the scribe of PSI 5.457 calls εἴσκρισις what in the present papyrus appears as ἐπ̣ί̣κρισις (on the palaeography see above). One of the two scribes made a mistake. As has been argued above, the general logic which is apparent in these documents favors ἐπικρίσεως γνωστῆρας, the version of the Michigan papyrus; the scribe of PSI 5.457 erred.

The above mentioned difference in the phrasing of PSI 5.457 concerns the syntax of the passage. Whereas P.Oxy.22.2345.7f. and the present papyrus begin a new sentence with παρέσχον δὲ - - -, PSI 5.457.16 subordinates the participle παρασχόντα to the preceding ἐμὲ δὲ προσβ(αίνοντα) and begins the new sentence with καὶ ὀμνύω. In both cases, however, it is the father who provides the witnesses. In addition it might be stated that P.J. Sijpesteijn's suggestion to read PSI 5.457.16, in accordance with the parallels, as παρέσχον δὲ (or τε) is not congruent with the traces visible on the photograph.

20 τύχην: cf. A.E.R. Boak and H.C. Youtie in *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* 2, 330. 4n.

21 φ[ύσ]ι---υἱὸν καὶ μήτε θέσι: see P.Oxy.10.1266.32-6 and note *ad loc.*; Taubenschlag, *Law* 133f.

27 μὴ εἰδ[ό]τος γράμματα: cf. H.C. Youtie, *GRBS* 12, 1971 (esp. p.257) [*Scriptiunculae 2*, 611ff.]; *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201-21.

31 Ἀ̣ώ̣λεω̣ς: the only recorded example of Ἀῶλις is in P.Lond. 1.119.128: Ἀώλιος (gen.). It is marked with a query in the index to that volume. Also, it is not feminine there.

32 συνγνωστεύω: the compound has not been previously attested.

[...]ω̣ς: rather the genitive of the grandfather's name than the nominative of an occupational term ([...]α̣ς); for such terms ending in -ᾶς see O. Masson, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 97-101.

TRANSLATION

(from line 2)- - -Marcus Aurelius Thonis, his mother being Thermouthion, being 14 years old in the present 3rd year, with no scar, apprentice [ ]. Therefore, having come for his examination, I declare that the great-grandfather of the grandfather of him who is coming forward, Apollonius, was selected at the selection of those from the Gymnasium, which took place in the 5th year of the deified Vespasian in the Broadstreet quarter in accordance with the proofs produced by him and that the great-grandfather of his father, Dionysius, also known as [---], coming forward was selected in the 4th year of the deified Trajan in the said quarter and that his great-grandfather Diogenes coming forward was selected in the 11th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus in the said quarter and that his grandfather Amous--- coming forward was selected in the 21st year of the deified Commodus in the said quarter and his father Kopreus coming forward was selected in the 5th year of the reign after the deified Severus Antoninus upon the aforesaid proofs in the Lycians' Camp quarter and that the great-grandfather of the great-grandfather of the mother of him (Thonis) who is coming forward, Sarapion, the son of Theoninus belongs in the category of those selected in the 3rd year and in the 5th year of Nero by Curtius Paulinus, chiliarch, in the Myrobalanus quarter, and that the great-grandfather of her grandfather, Theon, coming forward was selected in the 4th year of Domitian in the said quarter and that the great-grandfather of her father, Sarapion, coming forward, was selected in the 15th year of deified Trajan in the said quarter and that her great-grandfather Euphellis coming forward was selected in the 21st year of the deified Aelius Antoninus in the said quarter and that her grandfather Anti--- coming forward was selected in the 32nd year of the deified

Commodus in the Myrobalanus quarter and that her father, Sarapion, coming forward was selected in the 4th year of the deified Alexander upon the same proofs in the quarter of Borra Dromos. I have furnished witnesses of (his) epicrisis and I swear by the fortune of Aurelian Caesar, our lord, Augustus, that the aforesaid is true and that Thonis is by birth the son of Kopreus and Thermouthion and that he is neither adopted nor supposititious and he has not availed himself of credentials belonging to others or identity of names; otherwise may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. The 3rd year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelian Gothicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Mesore 11.

(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Seuthes, have submitted this declaration and have sworn the oath as stated. I, Aurelius Didymus, also known as Sarapion, write for him since he is illiterate. (3rd hd.) I, Aurelius Sarapion, son of Diogenes, mother being Helen, from the city, witness that Thonis is by birth the son of Kopreus and of Thermouthion, as stated. (4th hd.) I, Aurelius Amois, son of Aphunchios, mother being Aolis--- jointly witness regarding Thonis, as stated. (5th hd.) I, Aurelius Justus, son of Heraklammon, mother being Iseis, jointly witness regarding Thonis, as stated.

677. RECEIPT FOR RENT (CHEIROGRAPHON)

Inv.1994 13 x 11.4 cm. 18 August 6 B.C.
Arsinoite Nome Plate X
(Division of Themistes)

The top of this papyrus is gone. There are slight traces of ink above the first readable line. The rest is preserved in full. The margin on the left side is 2.5 cm. whereas the writing carries over to the right edge. There is a jagged bottom margin ranging from 4 to 4.5 cm. which is blank. A kollesis appears 2 cm. from the left edge. . The writing is at a right angle to the kollesis and parallel with the fibres. The writing slants at times to the left and again to the right, in an irregular pattern indicating a hand with a tendency toward cursive lettering. Consistency is lacking in both the linking of letters and the shape of the same letters. The reverse is blank.

For a full treatment of rent receipts see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht*; S. Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1905 (for format of these documents see 96-7); H.-A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der Graeco-Aegyptischen Papyri*, Münch. Beitr. 57 (1971). Cf. now also P.Soterichos (*Pap. Colon.*8) 8-16 and 18-21.

The document is an acknowledgment of payment of rent in kind in the form of a Cheirographon. The actual farmer is Ermut(h)es. It is, however, Callistratus who pays the rent to the owner whose name is broken off at the lost first line. Therefore, the owner issues the receipt to Callistratus. Thus it seems that Callistratus rented the piece of land from the owner and sublet it to Ermut(h)es. He remained responsible for the rent vis-à-vis the proprietor. The land referred to is at the village of Heracleia, near the north-east boundary of the Themistes, in the Arsinoite nome. The period of time indicated for the rental is one regnal year. The amount of the rent has been omitted, since the payment was made in full (see note 8-9). Also the size of the land is given only in general terms: "however many fields were sown." All this follows the usual pattern. Concerning Mesore as the month for payments in kind see note 9.

As parallels for the general outline and verbal details of the present papyrus see P.Amh.103-5; P.Princ.2.37, cols. i and ii; P.Cair.Isid.107-22. The format was not changed through the centuries.

On the verso, going with the fibres, are a few ink markings which are illegible.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

→]̣.[ ]̣.[ ]̣.[

Καλλιστράτωι Καλλιστράτου

χαίρειν. ἀπέχωι παρὰ σοῦ τὸ

4 ἐκφόριον ὧν γεγεώργ(ηκεν) περὶ μὲν

Ἡρακλείαν ἑλάσσονα ἑδάφηι

Ἑ̣ρ̣μ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ης Ψηφιγεῖδος, ὅσαι

[[γεγε]] ἐσπάρησαν ἐν τῶι

8 κδ (ἔτει) Καίσαρος, καὶ οὐθέν σοι

ἐγκαλῶι. (ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος, Μεσο(ρὴ) κε̅

---

3 ἀπέχω 5 ἐλασσόνων ἐδαφῶν 6 ὅσα 9 ἐγκαλῶ

4: ἐκφόριον is the usual term employed to indicate payment of rent in kind; φόρος = rent in money (cf., e.g., Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht*, 99. The actual produce is not mentioned.

περὶ μὲν: if it were not used inadvertently, the μὲν may

indicate that Ermut(h)es, as Callistratus' sublessee, farmed another piece of land in another area; or, it may suggest a description drawn from the proprietor's list of properties, as in a property declaration, with other parcels indicated by a corresponding δέ.

5 ἐλάσσονα ἐδάφηι: they were doubtless ἐλάσσονα because they were not reached by the flood. There seems to be no exact parallel for this formula. For the construction see the palaeographical apparatus. For Herakleia see A. Calderini-S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* II (Milan 1975) 206ff.

6 Ἑ̣ρ̣μ̣ο̣ύ̣τ̣ης Ψηφιγεῖδος: the names are not attested. The sublessee's name may be a variant of Ἑρμούθης.

7 [[γεγε]]: probably the scribe started to write γεγεώργ(ηκεν) a second time and became aware of his error before completing the word. The first two letters are actually deleted, which seems to indicate cancellation of the rest as well. Alternatively, [[γε]]γε could be interpreted as diplography of γε with the deletion of the first γε restoring ὅσαι γε for ὅσα γε.

8-9 καὶ οὐθέν σοι ἐγκαλῶι: acknowledgment of final payment (cf. WO 1.62). No further claim will be made upon the lessee (cf. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung*, 32ff. and 97). See also Taubenschlag, *Law*, 317-8 and 5n.

9 Μεσο(ρὴ) κε̅: 18 August. The months vary for payment upon certain types of goods, but certainly the ἐκφόριον will be delivered after the harvest which occurs approximately between March and April (esp. for wheat). A time allowance was made for the harvesting itself. For details relating to the harvest season see Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, 162ff. In documents which stipulate the due date for payment (it does not occur here) the months of Payni (May 26-June 24) and Epeiph (June 25-July 24) are most common. However, August is not an unusual month for payment of rent in kind, despite the remarks of E.H. Kase in P.Princ.2.37.12n. Frequently payments were made even later, often from the next harvest (see Sayed Omar's introduction to the Archive of Soterichos [*Pap.Colon.*8], p.29ff.; Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht*, 104f.).

TRANSLATION

- - -to Callistratus, son of Callistratus, greetings. I have received from you the rent of the fields of lesser quality which Ermut(h)es, son of Psephigis, has under cultivation in the vicinity of Heracleia, however many were sown in this 24th year of Caesar, and I have no claim against you. The 24th year of Caesar, Mesore 25.

678. LEASE OF A HOUSE

Inv.1991 7.5 x 19 cm. 17 August 98 A.D.
Provenance unknown Plate XI

The right side of this papyrus is completely preserved, but the left side is damaged in part (lines 8, 11, 14 and 18). The top is missing. At the bottom of the papyrus are traces which are illegible. These may have been produced by folding the document before the ink was dry. The writing is parallel to the fibres. Three hands are employed. The first is a closely written cursive. The second hand (18-20), using thicker strokes, is the personal and untrained hand of the lessor. It is larger, with more uncial than cursive letter forms. The third hand is a very rapidly and carelessly written scrawl. The reverse is blank.

A list of documents involving leases of immoveables is given by O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 287ff. See also Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 218 for more recent additions to the list. Cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 262ff. and 364ff.; J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* 7/8 (1954) 217, 29n.; A. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-ägyptischen Papyri", *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 29 (1913) 321ff.; Taubenschlag, *Law*, 364, 1n.; H. Braunert in *Festschr. Oertel* (Bonn 1964) 35-6; and the introduction to BGU 11. 2034 and 12.2202.

This papyrus is a relatively early example of a contract indicating an offer for, and a confirmation of, a lease of a house with the right of using two separate areas—roof and, perhaps, πυλών—for business purposes for one year at a rent of forty silver drachmas, the tenant being bound to deliver up the building in good repair at the end of the lease, and the landlord being responsible that the quarters be neither let nor used for any other purposes for the duration of this lease.

The extant part of the document begins with the duration clause. The lost beginning contained the name and village of the lessee and the clause of intention (βούλομαι etc.). Reconstruction is made easier by repeated instances of formalized language (cf.

CPR 32; P.Fay.36; 93; P.Lond.2.286 (p.184), 2.350 (p.193); P.Mil. Vogl.2.53).

Parallels both in general outline and in verbal detail are: BGU 393; P.Fay.93; P.Lips.16; P.Lond.2.286; P.Oxy.8.1128; SB 6.9465; P.Tebt.2.372. The format fits well with the pertinent parts of the outline given in P.Yale 69. The order of presentation of clauses naturally varies. See also P.Mert.76 (lease of a workshop).

— — — — — — — — — — — —

↔ α̣[ ]̣.[ ]̣.[ ]̣.[
πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἰσιὸν δεύτερον
ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα
4 Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
ἐνοικίου τοῦ παντὸς ἀργυρίου
δραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἃς καὶ
ἀποδώσω ἐν ἀναφοραῖς ἰσομερέ-
8 σι μ̣η̣ν̣ὶ Φαμ̣[εν]ὼθ̣ κα̣ὶ̣ μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ
ἐξουσίας μοι οὔσης ἐπειτελεῖν
τὴν γναφικὴν ἐργασίαν ἐν τῶι τῆς
[̣.]υ̣λω̣.. καὶ δώματι· καὶ μετὰ
12 [τὸ]ν χρόνον παραδώσω τὴν οἰ-
[κίαν] καθαρὰν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἀκα-
θαρσί̣ας σ̣ὺ̣ν̣ τ̣α̣ῖ̣ς̣ ἐφεστώσαις
θύραις καὶ κλεισί, ἐὰν φαίνητε
16 ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις, ἀμε-
ταμίσθωτα καὶ ἀναυτούργητα.
(2nd hd.) [̣....]σ̣ά̣ρ̣ιος Ἀπο̣λ̣[λῶ]τος
ἐπικεχόρηκα̣ καθ̣ὼ̣ς
20 πρόκιται.
(3rd hd.) (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Κα[ί]σαρ̣[ος]
Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβα̣σ̣[τοῦ]
Γερ<μ>ανικοῦ, μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου
24 κδ̅.

---

2 εἰσιὸν 3 ἔτος 9 ἐπιτελεῖν 13 πάσης 15 φαίνηται 19 ἐπικεχώρηκα
20 πρόκειται

5 ἐνοικίου: "house rent". Common in the Roman and Byzantine

periods, it was used essentially, but not exclusively, for rent upon dwellings (cf. Berger, 342-3). It is generally used for rents upon leases of immovables (cf. P.Mil.inv.263.12n.).

8 μ̣η̣ν̣ὶ Φαμ̣[εν]ώθ κα̣ὶ̣ μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ: two payments will be made: one in Phamenoth (Feb.25-March 26) and the other in Caesareus (Mesore: July 25-Aug.23), each payment covering virtually a six-month period. Leases normally became effective in Thoth, i.e. Aug./Sept., or Phamenoth, i.e. Feb./March (P.Oxy.6.911; 7.1036; 14.1697; Stud.Pal.20.53; see O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia*, 218). The beginning of the rental year does not necessarily imply that payment was made at that time. In this papyrus it seems clear that the first payment will be made in Phamenoth, which is six months after the date of the document. Payment at the end of a specified term is normal (cf., e.g., P.Oxy.3.502 indicating payment at the end of a six-month term) though payment in advance occurs occasionally. See B.W. Frier, *JRS* 67 (1977) 27ff.

10 τὴν γναφικὴν ἐργασίαν: for details of the fuller's trade cf. A. Mau, *Pompey, Its Life and Art*, trans. by F.W. Kelsey, 393-7; P.Fay. 36, introd.; S. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 26 (1946) 69-78. On the predominance of the γ of γναφικήν in documents of the Roman period cf. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, 77.

11 [̣.]υ̣λω̣.̣.: the traces suggest [π]υ̣λῶν̣ι̣. However, in this case the preceding word is omitted at the end of line 10: e.g. ἐν τῶι τῆς ‹οἰκίας› [π]υ̣λῶν̣ι̣. For explanation and location of the πυλών see P.Oxy.24.2406.1 and note; cf. M. Nowicka, *La maison privée*, 123ff.; P. Chantraine, *Classica et Mediaevalia* [Diss.ix] (Copenhagen 1973) 659-664.

δῶμα has the meaning 'roof' (see P.Oxy.14.1641.5n.; also J. Drath, *Untersuchungen zum Wohnungseigentum auf Grund der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Diss. Marburg 1970). Here it may serve for the purpose of drying the material and for removing the odor of harsh chemicals.

12 παραδώσω: for details concerning the restitution clause cf. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes..." (see p.22), 398ff.

14 σ̣ὺ̣ν̣ τ̣α̣ῖ̣ς̣ ἐφεστῶσαις θύραις καὶ κλεισί: a stipulation clause almost always mentioned in house rent documents placing responsibility upon the lessee not only not to steal them, but also to prevent them from being stolen (in most cases the doors were only loosely

attached partitions); see Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes..." (see p.22), 400-1; P.Stras.4.21n. Here, as is the case generally in the papyri, the penalty is not stipulated. The significance of the clause is found in the lack and, consequently, the value of wood in Egypt (cf. H. Braunert in *Festschr.Oertel* (Bonn 1964) 42; A.R. Schütz, *Der Typus des hellenistisch-ägyptischen Hauses* (Würzburg 1936) 67ff.; P.Zill.5.20n.

15-17 ἐὰν φαίνητε: sc. ἐὰν φαίνηται μισθῶσαι, cf. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes..." (see p.22), 350.

ἀμεταμίσθωτα καὶ ἀναυτούργητα: in house-leases only here and P.Tebt.2.372; but the clause is frequently used in landleases. It protects the lessee against the lessor (see Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht*, 160), who is not to lease any portion of the property to a third party or to use it himself. Often the clause is connected with the βεβαίωσις clause (e.g. P.Hamb.64.27), but frequently the clause is added without much regard for the logical and syntactical context: P.Tebt.2.372 (the house-lease mentioned above) line 25ff. in the subscription of the lessors: [μεμισ]θώκαμεν τῷ Ἀ[ρ]είῳ τὴν προκειμ[ένη]ν [οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλὴν] - - - [καὶ ἀπέσχομεν - -] - - τὰς - - - δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα [δύο, ἀμεταμί]σθωτα καὶ ἀναυδούρκητα, καθὼς [πρόκειται]. In P.Tebt.2.378.29 (land-lease), the clause follows asyndetically the last stipulation. In P. Soterichos (*Pap.Colon.* 8) 3, a landlease, the clause is added after the last stipulation and before the ἐὰν φαίνηται clause (37f.); in the subscription, the clause is connected with the μεμίσθωκα phrase (42f.). This could be the case here (cf. above on ἐὰν φαίνηται), though it may be more correct to regard the clause as an asyndetical phrase on its own.

18 [....]σάριος: [Και]σάριος is probable, although a number of names end in -σάριος.

21-23 contain the official endorsement of the lease.

TRANSLATION

- - - only for the coming second year of the Imperator Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus at a total rent of forty drachmas of silver which I shall pay in equal installments in the month Phamenoth and in the month Caesareus, the right resting with me to ply the fuller's trade [in the gate-way of the house] and on the roof

and, at the end of the period, I shall give back the house free from dirt of every kind with the doors intact and the keys, if you agree under all the above-mentioned (conditions) and without letting it to another or using it for your own purposes. (2nd hd.) I, [---]sareus, son of Apollos, have conceded it as stated. (3rd hd.) In the 1st year of the Imperator Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus, the 24th of the month Caesareus.

679. PRIVATE LETTER

Inv.1341 13 x 14.3 cm. Middle 2nd cent. A.D.
Provenance unknown Plate XII

Light brown in color, the papyrus, written in at least three columns, two of which are extant, has a jagged top margin of approximately 1.3 cm. to 1.9 cm. and a well-preserved right hand margin ranging from 1.9 cm to 2.5 cm. The first extant column (I) is in poor condition in parts: all the beginnings of lines are broken away and two to eight letters are lost. Lines 19 and 20 are broken and the ink is faded. The papyrus breaks off after line 20, as is evidenced by the first four letters of line 21. Column II somewhat resembles an inverted cone in shape, the lines narrowing on both left and right sides. The extant portion of this column is completely preserved and breaks off after line 41. Not much, however, seems to be lost at the bottom of both columns. The inverted cone of col.II has narrowed considerably at line 41; one expects there only the continuation of greetings(?) by brother Ammonius and the final greetings by the writer. Correspondingly, not much may be lost at the end of col.I, and it may be assumed that col.II still deals with the topic of col.I.

The writing is parallel to the fibres. Its date is approximately the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. (cf. *the British Museum Facsimiles*, vol.2, plate 67, dated 166 A.D.). It is a personal hand, relatively experienced, which had not developed beyond an early stage. On personal hands in general see W. Schubart, *Palaeographie*, Handb. d. Altertumswissenschaft (Munich 1925) 146ff. The reverse is blank.

The relationship of the individuals involved in this letter is difficult to ascertain as the beginning of the letter is lost. However, most of the facts become clear on the assumption that we are presented with a family affair. A man is writing, perhaps to his wife, about an incident concerning a member of her family, probably Karas by name (34-5), possibly her brother. The writer's sentiments, namely γράφω δὲ [ὑ]μεῖν οὐ χάριν τοῦ χαλκοῦ (12-13) and διὰ τὴν ὑμῶν πᾶ[σ]ᾳν ἐντροπήν (18-19), suggest a respect for his wife's family which may be that of a man who married into a higher social stratum. The writer entertained the young man, apparently very hospitably, for four days. However, the young man (Karas) suddenly disappeared, presumably financing

his departure with funds given him by the writer for the purchase of meat—a service he had volunteered to perform for his host. The precipitating factor in Karas' abrupt departure might have been a tactless reminder by the writer's sister, uttered in spite of the writer's admonition not to mention the matter, that Karas had an outstanding debt to her. This lack of discretion on her part seems to have been the reason for the writer's distress (20) and for the fact that he refers to his sister(?) as ἀγνωμονεστάτη (25).

Column II appears to confirm the relationship between the writer and the addressee: ἀπεσθα γάρ μου. He coped as best he could but evidently missed his wife's(?) assistance in this situation. Lines 28ff. tell us that the writer, concerned whether something serious might have happened to Karas, sent his sister to Karas perhaps for the purpose of making amends for her indiscretion. The reference to περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῆς may mean no more than that her brother received a letter from her indicating, as is usual in private correspondence, that she arrived and was well; whereupon he could conclude that the problems had been solved. But, many details of this story could be reconstructed differently (cf. note on line 26).

column I

[±3]κ̣αί κατέσχον αὐτὸν καὶ εὐ-
[ωχ]ή̣θη ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρες νυκ-
[τὸς] ἡ̣μέρας. τῇ ἐφαύριον, ὅτε
4 [οὐκ]έ'τι' ἐνῆ πεῖν, ἐστάθη μοι λέ-
[γω]ν̣ ὅτι "εἰ θέλις μνᾶν κρέος
[σοι] ἀγορασθῆναι;" λέγω· "ναί."
[εὐθὺ]ς δύο τετρώβωλα δέδω-
8 [κα] αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ
[κρέ]ος. λαβὼν τὰ δύο τετρώ-
[βω]λα οὐδὲ τὸ κρέας οὐδὲ τὸν
[χαλ]κ̣όν μου ἤνεγκε οὐδ'ὲ' ὤφθη
12 [μο]ι̣ μέκρι τούτο. γράφω δὲ
[ὑ]μ̣εῖν οὐ χάριν τοῦ χαλκοῦ,
[ἀλλὰ χά]ρ[ι]ν τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ
[περὶ] τ̣ῆς̣ ἀδελφῆς μου. λα-

16 [λεῖν δ]ὲ̣ αὐτῶ περὶ τοῦ χαλ-
[κ]οῦ οὗ ὀφείλει αὐτῇ ἐκώλυ-
[σ]α αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμῶν πᾶ-
[σ]α̣ν ἐ'ν'τ̣ροπήν. μὰ τοὺ<ς> θεο̣ύς,
20 [±7 ἐ]λ̣υπήθην ἀκ[ούσα]ς̣

— — — — — — — — — — — —

column II

μενη καὶ ἐπισκεπο-
μένη ποτὲ ἵν' ἐ̣καυ-
τῆς τὴν γνώμην συσ-
24 τήσω. καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ
ἀγνωμονοστάτη
ἐστί. ἀπῆσθα γάρ
μου. ἐφ' ἡμέρας
28 τέσσαρες ἐγὼ
ἀγωνι<άσ>ας, μήπο-
τε ἡσθένησε
ἢ ἄλλο τι πέπον-
32 θε, ἔπεμψά μου
τὴν ἀδελφήν
προφάσι τοῦ Κα-
ρᾶ. πυνθανό-
36 μενος περὶ
τῆς σωτηρίας
αὐτῆς ἀπέ-
φηνα τὸ π̣ᾶ̣ν.
40 Ἀμμώνιος
ὁ ἀδελφός

— — — — — — — —

3 ἐπαύριον, ε of ὅτε corr. from ι 4 [οὐκ]έ[[νι]]`τι´; τι is placed above deleted letters; ἐνῆν, πιεῖν 5 κρέως (also line 9) 7 τετρώβολα 11 ἤνεγκε, η corr. from ει, γ corr. from κ; ὤφθη, ω corr. from ο 12 μέχρι τούτου 13 [ὑ]μῖν 18 ὑμῶν 22 ἵν, ἐξαυτῆς 25 ἀγνωμονεστάτη 34 προφάσει

1 καὶ κατέσχον: cf. PSI 7.831.6 (new edition by J.R. Rea, *Cd'E*, 45 (1970) 357ff.

2-3 νυκ[τὸς] ἡμέρας: The only other example for the omission of καὶ between the two words in papyri is P.Giss.19.7-8.

4 [οὐκ]έ'τι':]ε'τι' corrected from]ενι; i.e. probably [οὐκ]-έτι from [οὐδ]ένι; although, it is also possible that οὐδ]έν τι was meant.

5 For ὅτι introducing direct discourse (ὅτι *recitativum*) see Mayser, *Grammatik*, II 3.46-7; F.-M. Abel, *Grammaire du Grec Biblique* (Paris 1927) 279; Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (Chicago 1961) §§ 396.5 and 470.1; N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (J.H. Moulton), III Syntax (Edinburgh 1963) 325f.

The use of εἰ in direct questions may result from the neglect of the difference between direct and indirect questions, a development which was furthered by the fact that εἰ and ἤ sounded just the same (itacism). On this matter see Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*; Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *loc. cit.*, 440.3; Mayser, *Grammatik*, II 3.53.5; N. Turner, *loc. cit.*, 333.

μνᾶν κρέος: in this papyrus it seems that two tetrobola will purchase 100 drams of meat. Prices of meat are extremely rare in papyri, especially in the 2nd cent. A.D. Due to inflation there is no real basis of comparison. To my knowledge, the only document which refers to prices of meat (P.Oxy.24.2423) does not give the weight: κρέως (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) on recto 1.3.27; recto iii 15 reads: κρέως ἀρίστ(ου) (4 dr. 4 ob.). Also see P.Mich.2.123 verso xi 18: (δραχμαὶ) δ (ὀβολοὶ) β ιδ τιμῆ(ς) κρεῶν.

6: The stroke ⟩ is used to fill out the line.

11: For χαλκός, 'money', see P.Mich.10.601.17-18n.

18-19 πᾶ[σ]αν ἐ'ν'τροπὴν: 'complete respect'; cf. introduction.

20 [±7 ἐ]λυπήθην: possibly [λίαν δὲ ἐ]λυπήθην. λίαν and λίαν δ' are found frequently in this context (cf. P.Amh.2.145.16; P.Mich. 8.487.5; P.Oxy.14.1676.10; P.Oxy.12.1481.4-5: λείαν δ' ἐλοιπήθην ἀκούσας; also Naldini, *Il Christianesimo*, 49.16-18, p.220). πολλά is occasionally found instead of λίαν (cf. P.Mich.8.473.9).

20ff.: the sense of the missing lines (cf. introduction)

might be: "[that, in my absence, she nevertheless asked for the money, though she knew (ἐπιστα|]μένη)] and, maybe, took into account that I at once would form my opinion (about her)." This reconstruction assumes that the writer is still talking about his sister (see, however, note 26).

21-22 ἐπισκεπομένη: ἐπισκέπω (=ἐπισκεπάζω) seems not to yield any sense in the context ("being covered over"). "Consider", "reflect" seems to fit the required sense, i.e. ἐπισκεπ<τ>ομένη. For ἐπισκέπτομαι instead of ἐπισκοπέω see *LSJ* and *TGL* s.vv. For ἵνα after ἐπισκέπτομαι cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II 1.242 (3b); B.S. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri* (Athens 1973) 582; and, in general, Blass-Debrunner-Funk, 392.1b. ποτε here may not mean 'at times', but 'maybe' (cf. Bauer [*loc. cit.*, 5n.] *s.v.*).

22-23 ἑ̣καυ|τῆς: probably ἑξαυτῆς, although ἐξ αὐτῆς cannot be ruled out.

25 ἀγνωμονοστάτη: this word, seemingly describing the character of the writer's sister, may reveal her presence in both cols. I and II.

26 ἀπεσθα: ἀπῆσθα is normal Attic and occasionally used in the papyri (see Mandilaras, *loc. cit.* [see on line 21-2] 110 and 114); but normal Koine is ἀπῆς. For this reason one might feel tempted to interpret απεσθα as a misspelling for ἀπέστη and change the punctuation in the following lines: "For she stayed away from me for four days. I, worried lest she was ill, ---." Cf. lines 36-38, where it is a question of "her health." In this case, the writer seems to have changed his topic and is dealing with a second woman who ran away just as the young man of col.I did. It would be to this woman that the writer sent his sister (32-35); πρόφασις (34) would denote an alleged reason (see, however, note 34).

29-30 ἀγωνι<άσ>ας μήποτε: cf. UPZ 62.29:ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀγωνιῶ μήποτε. For μήποτε with the indicative cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II 1.237; 239; Anm.3; also see P.Tebt.44.26-28; 58.30-32. The subject of the subordinate clause may be either the young man (Karas; see introd.) or the female involved [see note on line 26].

34 προφάσι: in private letters it assumes the meaning: 'reason' (see P.Ant.44.6; P.Herm.2). However, whether it is the real or

alleged reason cannot be ascertained.

34-35 Καρᾶ: the only other occurrence of the genitive Καρᾶ is P.Ryl.2.322.3.

TRANSLATION

Column I

- - -and I detained him and he feasted for four days, night and day. On the next day, when there was not even a bit to drink, he stood up saying to me: "Do you want a hundred drams of meat bought for you?" I say:"yes." Forthwith I gave him two four-obol pieces for the hundred drams of meat. Although he took the two four-obol pieces, he did not bring either the meat or the money, nor has he been seen by me up to now. I write to you not for the sake of the money, but in regard to his state of mind about my sister. I forbade her from speaking to him about the money he owes to her on account of my complete respect for you. By the gods - - - I was distressed when I heard- - -

Column II

though she - - - took into account(?) that, at once, I might form an opinion. She is completely inconsiderate. You were away from me. Worrying for four days lest he (or: she) was sick or had experienced some other trouble, I sent my sister for the sake of Karas. Having learned about her health I revealed the entire matter. My brother, Ammonius- - -

680. MEMORANDUM FOR TRANSPORT

Inv.1929	13 x 24.5 cm.	Middle 3rd-
Provenance unknown	Plates XIII-XV	Early 4th cent. A.D.

This papyrus has a left margin of approximately 0.5 cm. Writing extends to the right edge in most lines. Beneath the last line (27) there are 6 cm. of blank papyrus. Vertical breaks and notches at the top and bottom - two of them fairly extensive toward the center, one near the left edge, and a very slight crack in the middle toward the right - indicate that the papyrus was folded or rolled from right to left with the left edge folded back. A horizontal break across the center indicates further folding from top to bottom. There is a kollesis ca.4.5 cm. from the left margin. The fibres of the left part of the papyrus are vertical to the writing; those of the right part, horizontal. It seems this papyrus was

cut from the beginning of a used roll where the protocollon with its vertical fibres was joined to the roll proper with its horizontal fibres (cf. CPR 5.2.21. introd.; E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 (Brussels 1978) 20ff.

The hand is experienced, cursive in part, with some letters very awkwardly shaped, rendering reading difficult. There are no serious lacunae in the document. On the reverse there is a docket which extends the length of the papyrus parallel to the fibres and vertical to the lines of the main body of the text on the other side.

For dating the papyrus I have compared P.Graec.Berol. 38a (314 A.D.); P. Mich.3.157, plate 2 (250 A.D.) in H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri, Prolegomena* (London^2 1974); P.Ryl.2, plate 19, no.114 (280 A.D.); M. Norsa, *Scritture documentarie* (Rome 1946) plates 19 (PSI 5.472; 295 A.D.) and 20 (PSI 10.1161; 4th cent. A.D.).

The document is a memorandum (see note on line 1) for transport of several diversified commodities. Its specific purpose is not stated. The items which were delivered or made ready for transportation are noted by a dash drawn through the first word. There are scribal deletions at the beginning of lines 15,16 and 22-26, probably indicating that the entire line is to be disregarded due to the fact that those items had earlier been delivered. Similar lists are frequently found (cf., e.g., P.Oxy.10.1290; 14.1657-8; 16.1922-5.

A rather unusual feature of this papyrus is the abbreviation of παρὰ as π within the compound verb form παρενεγκεῖν. I have found no other example. However, for pertinent remarks see A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations*, BICS, Suppl.30 (1974) 12.

↑ + → πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ἐμοῦ Μαξιμίνου
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Σαραπάμωνα
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν τὰ σίππια, λί(τρας) (πεντήκοντα),
4 π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν τὰς δύο δάφνας καὶ τὰ δύο
Ἀρμένια,
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν σπέρματα κειναρῶν,
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν δέκα ῥ[ι]πίδια
8 π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν ὀστᾶ Περσεικῶν καλῶν
χειμερινῶν καὶ δωρακείνων,
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν ταπήτια διπρόσωπα
δύο τῆς πρώτης φούρμας,
12 π(αρ)ενεγκ[εῖ]ν λίτραν ρ̣ιαν̣κτου,
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν μοι φυτὰ γλυκυμήλω'ν',
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν ἄλατος ἀρτάβας τέσσαρες,

[[π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν μίλτου †ορβια† τριάκ-]]
16 [[οντα ἀληθεινῆς μίλτου]]
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν κώλλας λίτρας δύο,
π(αρ)ενεγκ[ε]ῖν νείτρ[ο]υ ἀρτάβην μίαν,
π(αρ)ενεγκ[ε]ῖν ἀρτάβην ἐρεβινθίων,
20 π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν δάφνην ξηρὰν ἄ-
λλην,
[[π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν δύο ἐχθέτας]],
[[π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν ὀνύχινων καὶ γάλα]]·
24 [[μνᾶς τριάκοντα]]
[[π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν δύο κόσκινα κοσ-]]
[[κινεῦσε ρτα τὰ σπέρματα]]
π(αρ)ενεγκεῖν καλάμους μεγάλους τριάκον'τα'.

reverse:
28 → τὸ ἴσον τοῦ ἐνταγίου π[αρ]ὰ [Σαρ]απάμωνος.

---

1 ε of ἐμοῦ corr. from γ 3ff. π/ενεγκεῖν 6 κιναρῶν 8 Περσικῶν 9 δωρακίνων 16 ἀληθινῆς 17 κόλλης 18 νίτρου 23 ὀνύχινον 25-6 κοσκινεῦσαι

1: The reverse indicates that this document is a copy of an order from Sarapamon; however, lines 1-3 have: "To serve as a reminder to me, Maximinus, to deliver to my father...". The substance of this memorandum was taken from an order prepared by Sarapamon. This fact is betrayed not only by the reverse, but also by the retention of μοι in line 13.

3 σίππια: 'tow'; one of a number of variant spellings of στυππεῖα. For examples of its phonological transformations and its measurement in litres cf. A. Calderini in *Raccolta Lumbroso* (Milan 1925) 77ff. Concerning the initial variance of στ and σ cf. Gignac, *A Grammar* I 66-67. The word is used often in papyri from the 3rd cent. A.D. Essentially, it is the raw material of flax (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 19.1 for preparation and manufacture); or tow, i.e., the waste material which remained after the flax was beaten and combed. For details regarding the cultivation, processing and use of flax cf. A. Lucas, J.R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industies* (London 1962) 142-43; J. Kalleris, Αἱ Πρῶται Ὕλαι τῆς Ὑφαντουργίας εἰς

τὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴν Αἴγυπτον (Athens 1952) 219-22. For more recent discussion see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile* (Warsaw 1965) 18f., 25f.

λί(τρας): for value and equivalency cf. Segre, *Metrologia*, 32.

5 Ἀρμένια: instead of Ἀρμενιακά, the *Prunus Armeniaca* (cf. *LSJ*). The *Geoponica* (10.73.2) define it as Ἀρμενιακόν ἐστι τὸ βερίκοκκον. It was considered a type of peach and identified with the πραικόκκιον, another variety. Through Arabic influence it became Βερίκοκκον in Byzantine Greek. Through Spanish, 'Albaricoque', and French, 'abricot', it survives in English as 'apricot' (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I 2.1152.

7: ῥιπίδια may refer to the skin-bellows which originated in the Near-East. However, they may have the meaning of leaves or feathers which were used as cooking fans as well as stirring the fire during ceremonial sacrifices (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, II 2.1152). For a detailed discussion of the types of bellows known to the ancient world cf. R.J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden 1950) 113-19; also see the chart of the kinds of bellows employed in Africa, 123. Since the papyrus gives no clear indication of the use to which they will be put the question as to which category we are dealing with must remain unsettled.

8 ὀστᾶ Περσεικῶν: P.Cair.Zen.59176.168n. renders the phrase ὀστῶν Περσείνων as 'peach stones'. There is considerable confusion concerning the *persea* and the *persica* (cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 13.17; 15.13). On the persea tree cf. P.Oxy.41.2969. introd. As to its uniqueness to Oxyrhynchus cf. P.Oxy. 9.1188; PSI 4.285.10n. and the discussion in M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 312-314. The *persica* are our ordinary peaches as distinguished from three other varieties: *duracina*, *praecoqua* and *armenia* (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I 2.1152). For further details cf. *Geoponica* 10.13-16.

9 δωρακείνων: *duracinum* (see on line 8); cf. *TGL*, *s.v.*: *Malum de genere Persicorum*. Also cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* I 2.1152; *Geoponica* 3.1.4; 10.13-17.

11 φούρμας: *forma*. For the phrase τῆς πρώτης φούρμας cf. *LSJ*, *Suppl.*: φόρμη. See also S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* 8,1ff., 243 (Wortregister, griech., 355).

12: The first letter of ̣ριαν̣κτου could be γ; however, sense cannot be made of it. It is a commodity since it follows λίτραν.

13: For μοι see note on line 1.

γλυκυμήλω'ν': γλυκύμηλον is a fruit of particular sweetness known only to the ancient world. It was produced by the grafting of a quince and apple tree (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* I 2.1151). P.Cair.Zen.59156.3 is the only other example of the word in papyri.

15: The deletion of the initial word seems to indicate cancellation of the entire line (also lines 16,22-26; see introduction). De facto, here as in 22 and 23 only -ενεγκειν is crossed out; in line 25 initial π(αρ)- is also hit by the stroke; in 16,24 and 26 the letters actually crossed out are only οντα, μνας τρια, κινευσε ̣ρτα. These cancellations make no sense by themselves.

μίλτου: red ochre, an oxide of iron is found in the vicinity of Syene, the oases of the Western desert, and widely scattered areas of the Mediterranean (cf. Vitruvius 7.7.2). It was used as red pigment by the Egyptians (cf. Lucas-Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials* 235-6; 346-8). It was employed principally for painting.

†ορβια†: no sense, as it stands; a measure is expected here. Perhaps, ὁλκεῖα was intended: 'large bowls or basins' (*LSJ*). It is a receptacle, like a crater, containing dry or wet material (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* III 1.231). For transformation of ρ/λ see Mayser, *Grammatik* I (2nd ed. by H. Schmoll) 1.161-2; Gignac, *A Grammar* I 102ff. κ may be miscopied as β. However, the λκ/ρβ transformation is unlikely.

16: See on line 15.

17 κώλλας: here a genitive (see P.Oxy.31.2581. col.ii.9: τεκτ̣[ο]νικῆς κόλλας). For the composition and uses of glue cf. Lucas-Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 3-5; also cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* II 2.1614ff.

18 νείτρ[ο]υ: "A naturally occurring compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate" (Lucas, *JEA* 18 [1932] 62 and 65; also see J.R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* [Berlin 1961] 193); a principal source was the Wadi Natrun, between Alexandria and the Fayum. For uses cf. H.C. Youtie in *Festschr. Oertel*, 24 (*Scriptiunculae* II 882). There is thought to have been a government monopoly on natron, which, also later, extended to private trading

(see Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 126; 311).

19 ἐρεβινθίῳν: probably the Roman *cicercula*, white in color as distinguished from the red and black-grained varieties referred to by Theophrastus (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* I 2.1144). For example of its usage cf. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, 189-90.

22f.: see on line 15.

22 ἐχθέτας: a σ which could be read as the doubtful letter would make no sense. Probably baskets are meant. In P. Soterichos (*Pap. Colon.* 8) 4.17f., the lessee of a date orchard is to deliver two σφυρίδας ἐκθέτας to the lessor in addition to other payments in cash and kind. Sayed Omar, the editor, explains these as baskets with oblique walls of which the radius of the opening circle is probably smaller than the radius of the bottom (or the other way round).

23: In P.Hib.I 121.23 (3rd cent. B.C.) ὀνύχ[ι]ν(ον) occurs among other small household items, particularly οἶνος, ἔλαιον and κίκι. The word is also used as denoting color (P.Gen.68.6; SB 6. 9359.9). According to Dioscorides ὀνύχινον (sc. ἔλαιον, made of ὄνυξ, LSJ, *s.v.* iii 5) καὶ βουτύρινον (an oil made of butter, LSJ, *s.v.*) καὶ στυράκινον (for ἔλαιον στυράκινον see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 36,91 and note on p.287), differing in name only, are analogous in preparation and effect to κρόκινον...τὸ ἔλαιον (cf.1.54.2).

24-26: See on line 15.

24: Since oil and milk are not found to be weighed in minas, the phrase μνᾶς τριάκοντα seems to have referred to a line which, between lines 23 and 24, was omitted when Maximinus made a copy of his father's order.

25 κόσκινα: probably made of wicker-fabric and distinguished from the finer sieves used for flour. For the manufacture of a sieve cf. Lucas-Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Material and Industries*, 133. For the processes of cleaning and sifting cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, 181; 192.

27 καλάμους: commonly used in conjunction with vineyards. But they were also employed in the construction of rural houses (cf. Nowicka, *La maison privee*, 36) as well as for weaving (cf. P.Tebt. 413.11; 414.14); lamp wicks (cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 5; writing

implements (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* I 2.811). For details concerning the harvesting of reeds cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft*, 256-61.

TRANSLATION

As a reminder to me, Maximinus, to deliver to my father, Sarapamon, tow, 50 pounds; to deliver the two bay trees and the two apricot trees; to deliver seeds of artichokes; to deliver ten small bellows; to deliver stones of fine winter peaches and of clingstones; to deliver two double-faced rugs of the first quality; to deliver a pound of ---; to deliver to me sweet-apple shoots; to deliver four artabas of salt; [[to deliver thirty large bowls of red ochre, of real red ochre;]] to deliver two pounds of glue; to deliver one artaba of natron; to deliver an artaba of little chick-peas; to deliver another dry bay tree; [[to deliver two baskets with convex sides(?); to deliver onyx-oil and milk; thirty minas; to deliver two sieves to sift --- the seeds;]] to deliver thirty large reeds.

reverse:

The copy of the order from Sarapamon.

681. BANK RECEIPTS

Inv.1959 8.5 x 23.1 cm. 1 February 467 A.D.
Oxyrhynchus Plate XVI

This papyrus contains two receipts written in different hands parallel to the fibres. The top portion has a margin ranging from 1 cm. to 1.5 cm. The letters of the first document extend to the right edge in most cases and nothing is missing. The left side, where preserved, has a margin of between 1 cm. and 1.5 cm.; lines 3-7 are slightly shredded. Holes near the center of lines 2,3,4,8 and 9 cause no difficulty.

There is a space of 4.5 cm. between the first and second document. The second document is preserved on the left side, but approximately one-third of it is missing on the right side. Based upon parallels in the first document and upon the formulae of documents of this type the lost portions can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty: the right side by lines 2,5,6 and 7; the bottom by lines 8-10. There are traces of approximately 5 letters above line 1, as well as ink remains between lines 1 and 2. Also traces of at least 2 letters exist between the first and second document. These facts lead to the conclusion that the papyrus is a palimpsest. The reverse is blank.

The two receipts are for public revenues from Paulus, banker, to Dioscorus, elder. The first acknowledges payment of eleven solidi of gold less thirty-and-one-half keratia. In the second receipt the amount is lost. The two receipts are written in different hands; that is, the second was delivered on a later date. The payments probably concern delivery of the taxes collected by Dioscorus in his capacity as tax-collector (see notes on lines 2 and 3). The date, extant only in the first receipt, is given according to the Oxyrhynchite eras.

The importance of these documents is in the information they provide for the continuation, at Oxyrhynchus, of the liturgies involving τραπεζῖται and πρεσβύτεροι up to the third quarter of the 5th cent. A.D. For details see notes 2 and 3.

For the format of such documents see, e.g., P.Oxy.1.142; 8. 1136; 10.1323; 1326; 1327; PSI 1.36; SB 1.1972.

→ ἐντάγιον ἐμοῦ Παύλου
τραπεζ(ίτου). ἔσχον π(αρὰ) Διοσκόρου
πρ̣(εσβυτέρου) ἀπὸ λόγ(ου) δημοσίων
4 πέμπτης ἰνδικ(τίωνος)
χρυσοῦ δημοσίῳ σταθμῷ
νομισμάτια ἕνδεκα
π̣αρ(ὰ) κερ(άτια) τριάκοντα
8 ἥμισυ, (γίνεται) ν[ο](μισμάτια) ια π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) (τριάκοντα)
(ἥμισυ).
ὁ̣ α(ὐτὸς) Παῦλος ἐσ̣η̣(μειωσάμην)
(ἔτους) ρμγ ριβ, Μεχεὶρ ζ.

(2nd hd.) ἔσχον ὁμοί(ως) π[(αρὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ]
12 χρυσοῦ δημοσ[ίῳ σταθμῷ]
νομισμάτια [±8]
παρὰ κερ(άτια) δεκα[±7]
.....[

— —

1: The term ἐντάγιον is used here for 'bank receipt'; this use developed from its original meaning 'order' (cf. introd. to P. Lips.58 and H.I. Bell, *Proc. of Amer. Philos. Soc.* 89 [1945] 531-42).

2: The nature of the business (see on 3) shows that Paulus was a public trapezites. These liturgical officials had to receive and credit the amount given them by tax collectors and, in addition, deposit the sum and issue a receipt for the deposit. In spite of the infrequency of the τραπεζίτης δημόσιος in the byzantine era, this document provides evidence that, at least at Oxyrhynchus, the office was continued (cf. E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* [New York 1931] 94-5; also cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, V.409-10).

3: One wonders whether a πρεσβύτερος τῆς κώμης is meant here. The short form of this title, πρεσβύτερος, was used frequently. The office was a liturgy placed upon property owners of the village (cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* [Leipzig 1917] 147-153) and generated security for the payment of taxes to the Roman administration since the πρεσβύτεροι were liable to supply the arrears of taxes. According to the evidence, it is generally agreed that the role of the πρεσβύτερος ceased in the early 4th cent. A.D. (see A. Tomsin, *Etude sur les* πρεσβύτεροι *des villages de la* χώρα *égyptienne* [Brussels 1953] 94-5 for details). Concerning the terminal date for πρεσβύτεροι having a non-Christian significance cf. E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 18 (1974) 220, no.90. The new document may indicate that the office was perpetuated at Oxyrhynchus until at least the third quarter of the 5th cent. A.D. Yet, it cannot be excluded that the abbreviation could simply be the use of πρεσβύτερος to distinguish an older brother from a younger of the same name.

ἀπὸ λόγ(ου) δημοσίων: similar to P.Oxy.1.71.1 and 15; 7.1041. 8-9. However, according to WO 1606.2 and 1607.1 it is conceivable that ἀπὸ λόγ(ων) δημοσίων be read.

4 ἰνδικ(τίωνος): refer to no.682.2n.

5 δημοσίῳ σταθμῷ: taxes were paid in a lump sum to an official department or, as here, to a bank, according to the public standard stipulating 24 full carats to the gold solidus (West and Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* [Princeton 1944] 145ff.). Cf. P.Oxy. 1.154.13n. for the ratios between private, public and Alexandrian standards. In the Byzantine period when the solidus was under-weight the minus carat system may have expressed that deficiency. Weighing of coins was essential and no doubt it was accomplished with relatively sophisticated measures so that coins could be weighed in

bulk rather than individually. Here the 11 solidi were weighed, and in bulk they were lacking 30½ carats. The total deficiency expressed in carats rather than in solidi plus carats probably reflects an easier method of calculation. For examples of the minus carat system exceeding the 24 carats = νομισμάτιον and for a general treatment of the matter of weights, see A. Segre, *Metrologia*, 466ff.; West and Johnson, *loc. cit.*, 155ff. (for the minus carat system) and 129 (for statistical data on the carat).

9: There are erratic spots of ink before ὁ̣ just as ink is splashed on the verso of the papyrus.

ὁ̣ α(ὐτὸς) Παῦλος ἑ̣σ̣η̣(μειωσάμην): the ink, faded as it is, prevents any certain judgment as to the script of this and the following line being different from the preceding lines of the document. This Paulus does not occur in the lists of bankers from Oxyrhynchus given by A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 260ff.

10: For the Oxyrhynchite era see now R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Stud. Amst. 8, (Zutphen 1978) Chapt.VI.

13: There is a trace of the first letter of the numeral which follows (cf. line 6).

TRANSLATION

Receipt issued by me, Paulus, banker. I received from Dioscorus, elder, on account of the public dues of the fifth indiction, eleven solidi of gold conforming to the public standard less thirty-and-one-half keratia; in total 11 solidi less 30½ keratia. I, Paulus, have so noted. The 143rd (which is) the 112th year, Mecheir 7.

(2nd hd.) I have likewise received from [the same x] solidi of gold conforming to the public standard less ten [+ x] keratia ---.

682. RECEIPT FOR IRON FOR REPAIR OF CISTERN

Inv.3778 31.4 x 6.5 cm 22 May 496 A.D.
Oxyrhynchus Plates XVII (b) and XX-XXI

This narrow, light-brown papyrus is almost completely preserved. The writing is across the fibers. Three horizontal folds extend across the width of the sheet. Care was taken by the scribe to equate the length of the lines: 3.5 cm. are left blank in line one and 12.5 cm. in line three. The hand is experienced, maintaining even margins on all sides; it is at times deliberate, at times rapid, lending itself to occasional flourishes. The reverse is blank.

The text is a receipt, dated by the eras of Oxyrhynchus, showing that Theophanius, landlord's agent, had paid for fifteen pounds of iron supplied for use in the repair of a shaduf (ὄκνος) of a cistern in the hamlet of Tillon.

For documents of similar form and content cf. P.Oxy.1.143-154; 7.1043; 16.2013; and Stud. Pal.3.276-290.

† ἐδόθ(ησαν) δι(ὰ) Θεοφανίου πραγμ(ατευτοῦ) εἰς χρείαν
τοῦ ὄκνου λάκκου τοῦ παρὰ ποταμὸν ἐν ἐποι(κίῳ)
Τίλλωνος ἐ[πὶ τῆ]ς δ ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) κατασπορ(ᾶς) ε ἐπινεμή-
(σεως), σιδήρου λίτρ(αι) δεκαπέντε, γί(νονται) σιδήρ(ου)
λί(τραι) ιε μό(ναι).
(ἔτους) ροβ ρμα Παχὼν κζ δ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). (2nd hd.) (γίνον-
ται) σιδήρ(ου) λί(τραι) ιε.

1: The simple cross does not come into general use in papyri until the 5th cent. A.D. Cf. M. Sulzberger, *Byzantion* 2 (1925) 447; M. Naldini, *Il Christianesimo*, 27 and 4n. For additional bibliography cf. P.Mich.378.1n.

ὄκνος: see T.C. Skeat in *Le Monde Grec, Hommages a Claire Preaux* (Brussels 1975) 791-95, who refutes the explanation given by the editor of P.Mert.41.3 and remarks that the ὄκνος, "a long-necked bird dipping its bill into the water, may well have suggested a shaduf, the pivoted beam with a bucket at one end and a counterweight

at the other ---." This meaning can be supported by, and helps to explain the reference to σιδήρου (line 2) which, probably, was to be used for the joint of the beam.

ἐποι(κίῳ): in the byzantine period it refers to a hamlet which is within the territory of a village upon which it is administratively dependent (see E.R. Hardy, *Large Estates*, index).

2: For the possible association of Tillon with the Apion estate see P.Oxy.6.998 and 18.2195. For a detailed account of this estate see E.R. Hardy, *Large Estates*, 25ff.

ἐ[πὶ τῆ]ς δ ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) κατασπορ(ᾶς) ε ἐπινεμή(σεως): the κατασπορά for which the shaduf was needed was to take place during the period of November-December. According to R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp (*The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Stud. Amst. 8, [Zutphen 1978] 17ff., particularly 26f.), the indiction, in Oxyrhynchus, was assimilated to the regnal year and began on Toth 1st. (August 29, resp. 30). The Epinemesis, on the other hand, was equivalent to the *praedelegatio* of the edict of Theodosius and Valentinian in *Cod. Theod.* 11.5.3, i.e. the advanced announcement of the tax schedules ordered by the emperors to take place in Egypt before May 1st (Bagnall-Worp 22; for the epinemesis cf. also 5.21n.). The sowing of the 4th indiction (Nov./Dec.) provided the taxes for the 5th epinemesis (starting in May). Most frequently the epinemesis was said to take place in the future; in the present case, the sowing itself was future and a special hint on the future character of the epinemesis was not needed. In any case, the epinemesis started earlier in the year than the indiction.

3: For the Oxyrhynchite era cf. no.681.10n.

TRANSLATION

Fifteen pounds of iron were given through Theophanius, landlord's agent, for use on the shaduf of the pond at the riverside in the hamlet of Tillon during the sowing of the 4th indiction, 5th epinemesis: total, 15 pounds of iron and no more. Year 172=141, Pachon 27, the 4th indiction. (2nd hd.) Total, 15 pounds of iron.

683. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT

Inv.1724 36.5 x 12.9 cm. 5th cent. A.D.
Hermopolite Plates XVII (a) and XVIII-XIX

This text, written across the fibres, is completely preserved. There are margins of 2 cm. above the text, 1-1.5 cm. on the left and right sides. 6.5 cm. are blank at the botton. The ink has a brownish-red tinge, making some portions of the document, which are darker than others, difficult to read. Because of ink spots throughout the text, it is not clear whether it is a palimpsest or was rolled when wet. The hand is an extremely rapid cursive, written perpendicular to the fibres; it shows a tendency toward floridity, loops and curves extending both above and below the line to indicate letters and abbreviations. There is a vertical break just to the right of the center of the papyrus which, however, causes no difficulty in reading. This break was caused by a fold made close to the center. On the verso, just to the right of this fold and running across the right half of the papyrus, a docket appears which reduces itself to a scrawl barely readable due to the lighter ink against the darker background.

I have dated this papyrus to the 5th cent. A.D. due to its similarity with the following documents: P.Amh., plate 22, no.148 (487 A.D.); E. Boswinkel and P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraka, and Mummy Labels. Tabulae Palaeographicae, fasc.1* (Amsterdam 1968) plate 43 (P.Wisc.Inv.78; 5th cent. A.D.); M. Norsa, *Scritture documentarie* (Rome 1946) plate 22 (PSI 12.1265; 426-441 A.D.).

The text is a receipt issued by Colluthus, chief clerk of the *exceptores*, the stenographers, in the prefect's office, to Serenus, *riparius* and *meizon* of the village of Thallu in the Hermopolite nome. If the papyrus means what it says, the payment was made as a yearly contribution to the stipend of the chief clerk of the prefect's office and to the expenses of his office. But nothing is known of the *riparii's* involvement in such payments (see note 31). The amount paid was seventeen keratia of gold.

For general format and phraseology cf. BGU 12.2194; P.Flor. 3.291; P.Herm.73-75; P.Iand.3.37.10-25; P.Lond.3.1051; 5.1780; P. Mert.2.95; P.Strasb.4.520; Stud.Pal.3.47; 309; 311.7ff.; 311b; 312; 313; 314; 316; 318. Most of the above documents are common to the Hermopolite nome.

↕ τῷ ἀδελφ(ῷ) Σερήνῳ ῥιπαρ(ίῳ) μεί(ζονι) Θαλλοῦ πέμπτης
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) Κολλοῦθος σὺν θ(ε)ῷ πριμικήριος τῶ(ν)
λαμπ(ροτάτων) ἑξκη(πτόρων)

τῆς ἡγεμονικ(ῆς) τάξεως. ἐδεξάμην παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἐπληρώθην χ̣ρ̣(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) δεκαεπτὰ ὑπὲρ παρούσης πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος),

ἀχθ(έντα) μοι παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πριμικηρίου τῶ(ν) ἑξκη(πτόρων) τῆς πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) ιζ καὶ εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν

4 πεποίημαι ταύτην τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν) ὡς πρόκε̣ι̣(ται). ⊥ Κολλοῦθος σὺν θ(εῷ) πριμικήρ(ιος) τῶ(ν) ἑξκη(πτόρων)· στοιχεῖ μοι ἡ ἀπόδειξ(ις) ὡς [πρόκ(ειται)].

reverse:

↔ ⊥ ἀπόδειξ(ις) τ(ο)ῦ πριμικ(ηρίου) τῶ(ν) ἑξκη(πτόρων) π̣έ̣μπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) ι̣ζ̣. ⊥

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1 ἑξκεπτόρων (also lines 3, 4, verso).

1 ὑπαρ(ίῳ): for the occurrence of the word in papyri see S. Daris, "Il Lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto", *Aegyptus* 40 (1960) 276-7; cf. P.Oxy.6.904.3n.; P.Cair.Masp.1.67019.2n.; P.Iand. 3.37.2n. Their original function, that of overseers of the embankments, was expanded to include an administrative capacity, under the direction of the pagarch, principally that of the chief of police. Their primary duty was to maintain public order. Petitions of complaint were addressed to them which could be settled by reparation under their authority. They are known from the 4th cent. A.D. (cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Egypte byzantine* [Paris 1928] 163 notes 2 and 3). The office was a liturgy (see P.Oxy.6.904; N. Lewis, *Invent. of Comp. Services* [1968; no revision in 1975].

μείζων: 'official', in some cases municipal, in others judicial and financial (cf. Rouillard, *L'administration civile*, 66-70; CPR V 2, P.Gr.Inv.39847.84 and 118 line 4). Concerning his powers of arbitration see P.Oxy.6.893. As to the *meizon* being a principal official of the legislative body of the village, the *protocometae* or *meizones* being the presiding committee of that village, and regarding the ill-defined inter-relationship of *meizones*, *protocometes* and *comarchs*, see A. Steinwenter, *Studien zu den Koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten* (Stud. Pal.19.41-5) and, esp., P.Oxy.16.1835.2n.

Θαλλοῦ: a village, probably in the Hermopolite nome. Cf. P. Herm. Rees 83. introd.; A. Calderini-S. Daris, *Diz. dei nomi geogr. et*

topogr. II (Milan 1975) 234f.; and now M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite: Toponymes et sites*, ASP 21 (Missoula 1979) *s.v.*

ϑ(ε)ῷ: there is a simple cross above the ϑω. It obviously has the same function as the stroke indicating the abbreviation of the nomen sacrum: ϑ(ε)ῷ.

πριμικήριος: the title is meant to signify one who holds a foremost position with a diversity of duties (cf. *RE* Supp.8, 614-24). Here, the *primicerius* belongs to the notarial staff. Concerning his importance in the bureaucratic structure of the administrative hierarchy cf. Cassiodorus, *Variae*, xi 18-32, esp. 25: *De primicerio exceptorum*. The *primicerius* is, perhaps, the senior member of the *schola exceptorum* (cf. *RE* VI 2 [1909] 1565-66). For further details see E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfektur seit Diocletian* (Amsterdam 1962) 31ff. and 75 (table of ranking orders).

λαμπρότατος = clarissimus. Once a senatorial title, by the 5th century it was reduced to nothing more than a title of courtesy. For further discussion cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangsprädikate* (Giessen 1930) 22-27.

ἐξκη(πτόρων): the *exceptores* are stenographers and clerks attached to the office of the various administrative officials of both the military and civilian service. Since the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. they were organized in *scholae*, a type of guild. Usually documents are addressed to a single *exceptor* (P.Hamb.1.23.4; P.Lond. 5.1714.14; P.Oxy.6.942.6; 16.1865; PSI 14.1429.10-11). Occasionally, however, they are referred to as a collective bureaucratic entity, the ἐξκέπτορες (P.Oxy.1.43 ii 26). The πριμικήριος ἐξκεπτόρων occurs here for the first time in Greek, but cf. Cassiodorus (quoted above). For further discussion see E. Stein, *loc. cit.* (see above) *s.v. primicerius*; A.H.M. Jones, *JRS* 39 (1949) 53ff.; *RE* VI 1565ff.

3ff. ὑπὲρ τοῦ πριμικηρίου κτλ.: according to this phrase, the payment was given to Colluthus in his official position as chief clerk of the stenographers; he would have had legal claims against Serenus had Serenus not paid the sum in full (see below on 3-4). The nature of Colluthus' claims are not clear. One might guess that the *riparius* had to forward, on behalf of his city, a contribution to the *primicerius* for the purpose of financing him and his office. Similarly, in P.Lips.62. col.1.34, ῥιπάριοι were in charge of

forwarding their city's χρυσὸς τιρώνων (cf. Lallemand, *loc. cit.* [see 1n.] 164). Since, however, there is no parallel for Serenus' payment due to Colluthus in his capacity as *primicerius*, it is tempting to assume that the order of words in the present phrase results from a correction. What was really meant may have been: ἀχθέντα μοι τῷ πριμικηρίῳ τῶν ἐξκηπτόρων παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς πέμπτης ἰνδικτίωνος. In the draft of the receipt, the words παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ may have been omitted and added above the line. When the final copy was made, they were inserted in the wrong place. Consequently, the dative, τῷ πριμικηρίῳ, was changed into the genitive according to the now preceding ὑπέρ. In this case Serenus may have been obliged to make payment to Colluthus for private reasons. But, even with this correction the text is badly drafted: ἀχθέντα---ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) renders the preceding ὑπὲρ παρούσης πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) almost superfluous.

3-4 εἰς σὴν ἀσφάλειαν: since the payment for the present year was made in full (cf. 2: ἐπληρώθην), Colluthus was safe from Serenus' claims.

TRANSLATION

To brother Serenus, *riparius* and *meizon* of Thallus in the fifth indiction, Colluthus, with god's help, chief clerk of the most illustrious *exceptores* in the prefect's office. I have received from you and have been paid in full seventeen keratia of gold on behalf of the present fifth indiction: paid to me from you on account of the *primicerius* of the *exceptores* for the fifth indiction,[1] in total 17 keratia of gold, and for your security I have produced this receipt as stated. Colluthus, with god's help, chief of the *exceptores*: this receipt, as recorded above, is satisfactory to me.

reverse:

Receipt of the chief clerk of the *exceptores* for the fifth indiction, 17 keratia of gold.

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1) Or, with the correction of the text proposed in note 3ff.: "paid to me, the clerk of the *exceptores*, from you for the fifth indiction".

684. RECEIPT FOR GARMENTS

Inv.1050 12 x 16.8 cm. 6th cent. A.D.

Provenance unknown Plate IX

Well-preserved on top and both sides, the papyrus is broken at the bottom, with damage to the last three lines. In line 15 the scribe has made a deletion after which there is a break in the papyrus that extends to the bottom of the text, at the right of the center of the papyrus. The break extends over much of the last line. Between the last two lines there is a broken and compressed insertion.

The script, written parallel to the fibres is rapid. The style of writing ranges from cramped lettering to excessive floridity. Ornamental flourishes are to be seen at the end of lines, as well as disproportion in the size of the same abbreviation and the extension well beneath the line of several letters, e.g. ι, κ, ρ, and φ.

On the reverse is a docket, extremely faded, and extending most of the length of the papyrus.

For parallels of the items mentioned in the document see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt*, Wortregister, griech. (see notes for specific references); P.Fouad.74; P.Gen.80; P.Hamb.1.10; SB 3.7033; Stud. Pal.20.245. Parallels for dating are P.Mert.1, plate 45 and *British Museum Facsimiles*, vol.3, plate 82 (505 A.D.).

This text is called a 'list of clothes' (lines 5-13), but in line 14 'silver spoons' are included as well. Thus, it can be assumed that the list actually comprises all the possessions of Theodosius, which, after his death, were kept in the house of Prisorius. There they were registered by Marturius, acting for Zenon. Later, an order written in the same hand, was added to take possession of the items on behalf of Zenon on account of the expenses for Prisorius' funeral (15-17). In the lost part Marturius, Zenon's agent, must have acknowledged that Zenon received the effects. Thus the register and order finally became a receipt; cf. the reverse where ἀποχή is read.

Nearly all the lists of this sort are damaged or defective. None offers a parallel for the beginning or the end of this document.

ΧΜΓ

↔ ℘ ὑπομνιστικῶν εἱματίων
τῶ ἐν τῷ Πρισορίου διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφῶ
4 Μαρτυρίου παρ' ἐμοῦ Ζήνωνος·
στιχάριον λινοῦν ᾱ, ἕναν·
φελώνια Ἀντιοχήσια ε̄, (γίνονται) πέντη·
ἁλη(θινὸν) καρακάλιον Ἀντιοχή(σιον) ᾱ, (γίνεται) ἕναν·
8 λινόπιξον στιχάριν ᾱ, (γίνεται) ἕναν·
πλανιτικὰ γ, τρία·
καμίσιν καὶ φελόνιν·
ἁρμαραύσιν πράσινον ᾱ, ἕναν·
12 ταβλία προυμαρικ(ὰ) δ, (γίνονται) τέσερα·
σιδόνιν ᾱ, (γίνεται) ἕναν·
μιστρία ἁσίμενα ι, (γίνονται) δέκα·
ταῦτα τὰ εἴδι [[δός]] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Θεοδο-
16 σίου λαβὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ λόγου ὃν
χρεωστῖ μο̣[ι̣] ε̣[ἰς] τ̣[ὰ] ̣.̣α' [εἰ]ς τάφ[ι]α.
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
reverse:
↕ ἀποχὴ Ζήνω̣ν̣[ος].....

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2 ὑπομνηστικὸν ἱματίων 3 τῶν, διὰ corr. from δ✝ [=δι(ὰ)], ἀδελφοῦ 5 sc. (γίνεται) ἕνα (also line 11) 6 φαιλόνια, //=(γίνονται) [also line 12], πέντε 7 καρακάλλιον, //=(γίνεται) [also lines 8 and 13], ἕνα (also lines 8, 11, 13) 8 στιχάριον 9 sc. (γίνονται) τρία, τρία corr. from δύο which was washed out 10 καμίσιον, φαιλόνιον 12 πλουμαρικά 13 σινδόνιον 14 μυστρία, /=(γίνονται) 15 εἴδη, [[δο]]ς pap., the stroke of deletion is too short 16 ὧν 17 χρεωστεῖ

1 ΧΜΓ: well known from Christian papyri and inscriptions, is either Χριστὸς Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ or Χριστὸν Μαρία Γεννᾷ; the ancients seem to have changed the former meaning into the latter. For earlier literature see P.Mich.6.378.1n. The numerous attempts to interpret the letters, together with abundant references, are accounted for by Tjäder, *Eranos* 68 (1970) 148-190; P.E. Testa, *Il simbolismo dei Giudeo-Cristiani* (Jerusalem 1962) index *s.v.*; cf. also O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 290; M. Naldini, *Il Christianesimo*, 28ff. For a palaeographi-

cal account of the evidence for ΧΜΓ, especially of its isopsephic significance, cf. A. Blanchard, *Proc. of the xivth International Congress of Papyrologists* (London 1975) 19-24.

2 ☧: the monogrammatic cross, a combination of the simple cross and the Constantine monogram, came into common use only in the second half of the 4th cent. A.D. at about the same time as the first simple crosses (cf. M. Sulzberger, *Byzantion* 2 [1925] 393). A full treatment of this symbol is contained in Testa, *loc. cit.* 389-96. For recent literature see M. Naldini, *loc. cit.* 23ff.

3 Πρισορίου: a proper name, as yet unattested.

5 ἔναν=ἕν: cf. A.N. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar,* 550, no. 25 and 30: ἕν > ἕνα > ἕναν.

6 φελώνια: from φελώνιον = φελόνιον (cf. P.Gen.80.14) = φαιλόνιον (cf. P.Oxy.6.933.30), a diminutive of φαιλόνης = φαινόλης, Latin *paenula* (cf. P.Oxy.4.736). For examples of the word see S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 40 (1960) 295; also his *Lessico latino* (Barcelona 1971). On the inversion of consonants cf. B. Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen* (Leipzig 1927) 62; Gignac, A Grammar I 154. The φαινόλης is an overgarment, a type of cloak which in the later Roman Empire replaced the toga (cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* I 2.1244).

Concerning this diminutive and the others in this papyrus, and on the influence of Latin, refer to A. Bataille, *Eos* II (1956) 88; W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in -ion* (Weimar 1910), index, *s.v.*; L. Amundsen, *Symb. Oslo* 40 (1965) 13-16; L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* (London 1946) 84ff.; R. Cavenaile, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 195 and *Cd'E* 52 (1951) 391-404.

Regarding Ἀντιοχήσιος (= Latin *Antiochensis*) as equivalent to Ἀντιοχεῖος see P.Fouad 74.6 and 9 (only other citations with the above spelling; P.Oxy.16.1978.4 reads Ἀν]τιωχ̣ύσια). The word indicates a certain quality of material and not necessarily its place of origin.

πέντη for πέντε. Cf. P.Cair.Isid.98.19n.; Gignac, *A Grammar* I 245.

7 καρακάλιον = καρακάλλιον: 'Kapuzenmantel' (Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt,* 238). It is a diminutive of καράκαλλον; cf. *Diokletians Preisedikt,* 7.44,45; 26.120,135; P.Hamb.1.10; Latin *caracalla* (G. Goetz,

Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum II 338.52, where it is identified with *cuculla*).

8 λινόπιξον: for discussion of -πηξον as a transliteration of the Latin *pexum* (from *pectere*) and its relation to λίνον, see A. Bataille, *Eos* 48 (1957) 87 (= SB 6.5970.8). This is the only other occurrence of the word.

9 πλανιτικά: unattested elsewhere.

10 καμίσιν: from καμίσιον (Stud. Pal.20.245.10). Sophocles, *Lexicon* refers to καμίσιον as a type of outer garment, perhaps identical with κάμασον (cf. B. Meinersmann, *loc. cit.* [see 6n.] 21). See κάμασα in P.Gen.80.1 and καμάσιον in SB 3.7033.41, and for other examples of the word, S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 40 (1960) 211; also his *Lessico latino* (Barcelona 1971). The numbers are not specified, but the use of the singular makes it clear that one shirt and one cloak are meant.

11 ἁρμαραύσιν: this is the first occurrence of the word in papyri. It is likely to have come from ἁρμελαύσιον (see Sophocles, *Lexicon*) which corresponds to *armilausa* (contracted from *armiclausa*) - a military cloak or upper garment (cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*). See generally R. Cavenaile, *loc. cit.* (see 6n.) 391-404.

12 ταβλία: from ταβλίον = *latus clavus*. Sophocles, *Lexicon, s.v.* refers to it as a stripe sewn upon the border of a garment. They are the square panels displayed on the border of cloaks (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* IV 1174).

προυμαρικ(ά): from πλουμαρικός: 'embroidered or painted with various colors' (see SB 3.7033.45). Cf. πλουμάριος, Latin *plumarius*: 'embroiderer'; a specialized artisan who contributed to the finishing of clothing. For *plumarius* as meaning ποικιλτής see Meinersmann, *loc. cit.* [see 6n.] 47; *Diokletians Preisedikt*, 20,1ff. (268 Lauffer).

τεσερα: Cf. Gignac, *A Grammar* I 158 and 278.

13 σιδόνιν: = σινδόνιον (cf. P.Oxy.6.921.15.19 and 21; 7.1051.12; P.Gen.80.8; SB 3.7033.40). It is the diminutive of σινδών: 'fine linen cloth'; 'garment of linen' (muslin). The other material designated by σινδών was cotton. In the Roman era σινδών incorporated both linen and cotton. For uses see Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire* IV 2.1346; Palmer, *loc. cit.* (see 7n.) 87.

14: μιστρία = μυστρία, from μυστρίον, diminutive of μύστρον:

'spoon' (cf. *TGL* VI 1317). This is the first occurrence of the diminutive in papyri. For the use of the substantive with qualitative adjectives see P.Mich.5.343.4; P.Oxy.6.921.25; 12.1449.17 and 30. For μυστρίον as equivalent to *ligula* see G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, vol.6.

ἀσίμενα: read ἀσήμενα; cf. ἀσίμενος (instead of ἀσήμενος) in P.Iand.103.15 and note. The suffix -ενος is equivalent to -ινος. Cf. also modern Greek ἀσημένιος. For the interchange of ι and ε see Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik* I i 65-6; Gignac, *A Grammar* I 249.

16 λαβὸς: miswritten for λάβε or λαβοῦ by analogy with δός in line 15. For phraseology cf. PSI 13.1344.4; M. Naldini, *Il Christianesimo*, 44.24.

17 ε̣[ἰς] τ̣[ὰ] '..α̣' [εἰ]ς τάφ[ι]α: for details of burial expenses see A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 322-24.

TRANSLATION

CMG ℘ List of clothes which are in the house of Prisorius, through brother Martyrius, from me, Zenon: A linen variegated tunic, 1, one; cloaks made in the Antiochian style, 5, in total, five; genuine Antioch hood, 1, in total, one; combed linen variegated tunic, 1, in total, one; ---(?), 3, three; a shirt and a cloak; a light-green upper garment, 1, one; embroidered panels, 4, in total, four; a fine linen cloth, 1 in total, one; silver spoons, 10, in total, ten. Take these effects of brother Theodosius from him on account of what he owes to me for the funeral expenditures ---.

reverse:

A receipt of Zenon ---.

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br.= brother
d.= daughter
f.= father
gdd.= granddaughter
gdf.= grandfather
gds.= grandson
h.= husband
m.= mother
s.= son
w.= wife
† denotes names not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* nor in the *Onomasticon*
Three dashes (---) indicate a lost or illegible name

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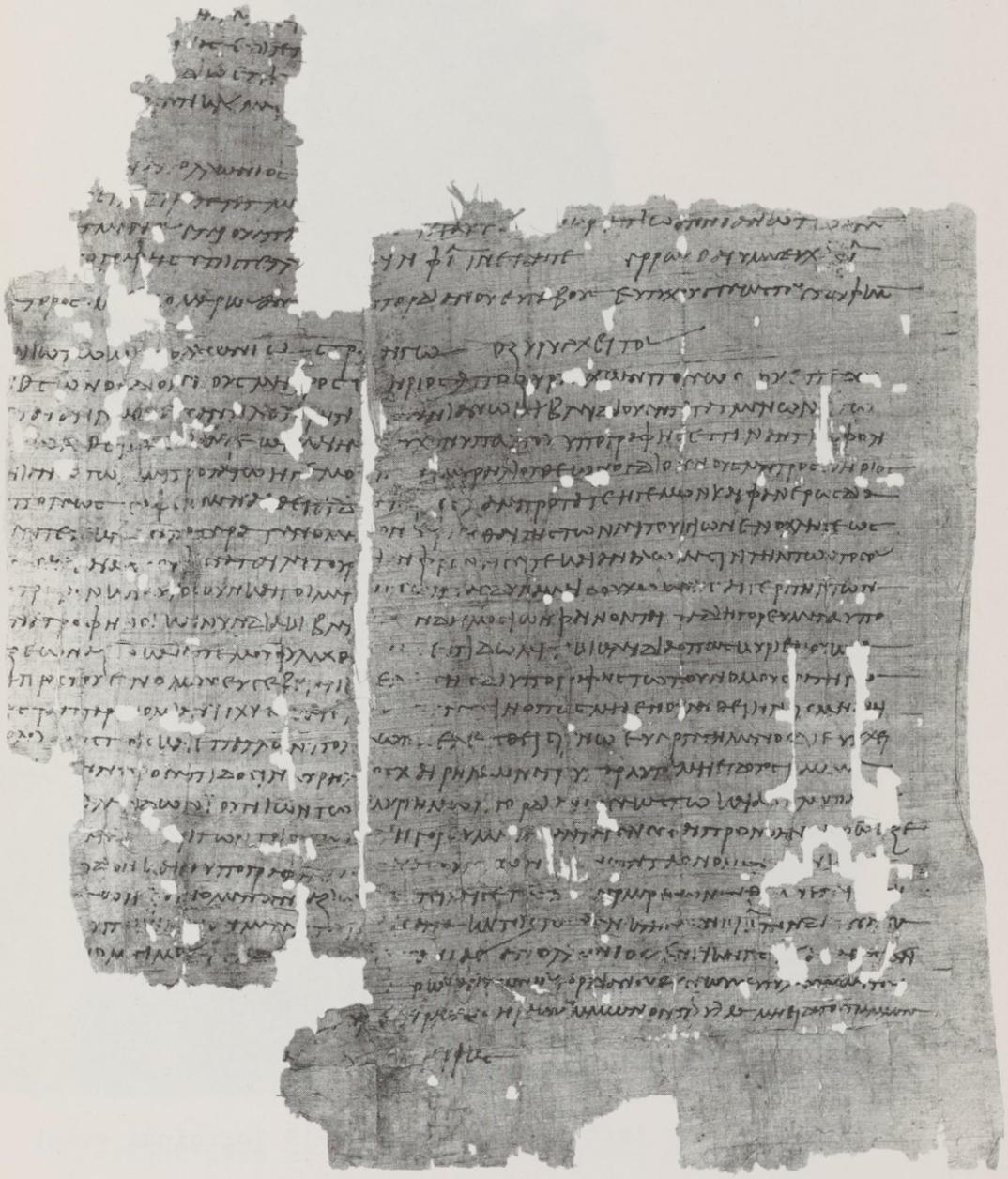

675. Petition Concerning Exemption from Liturgy

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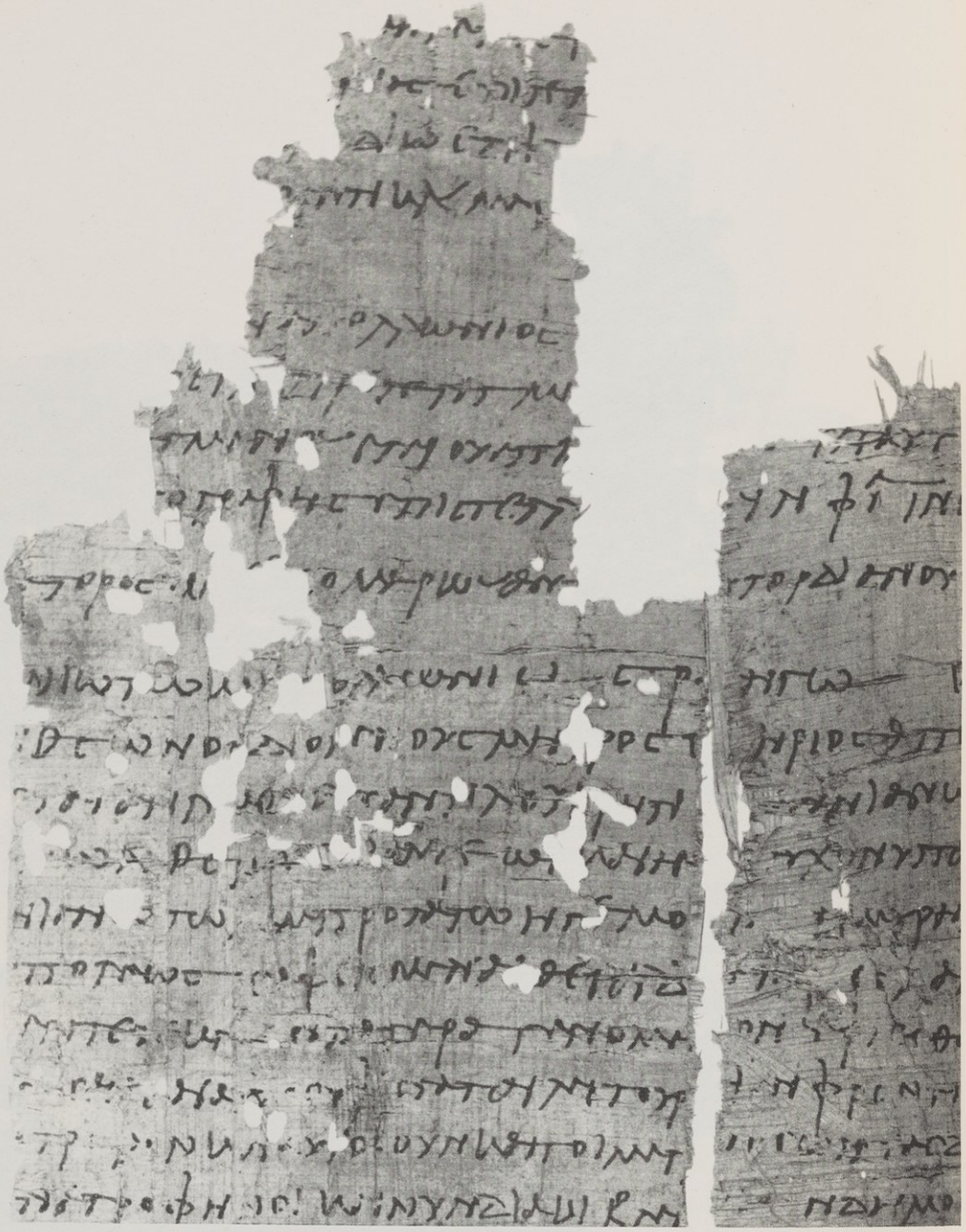

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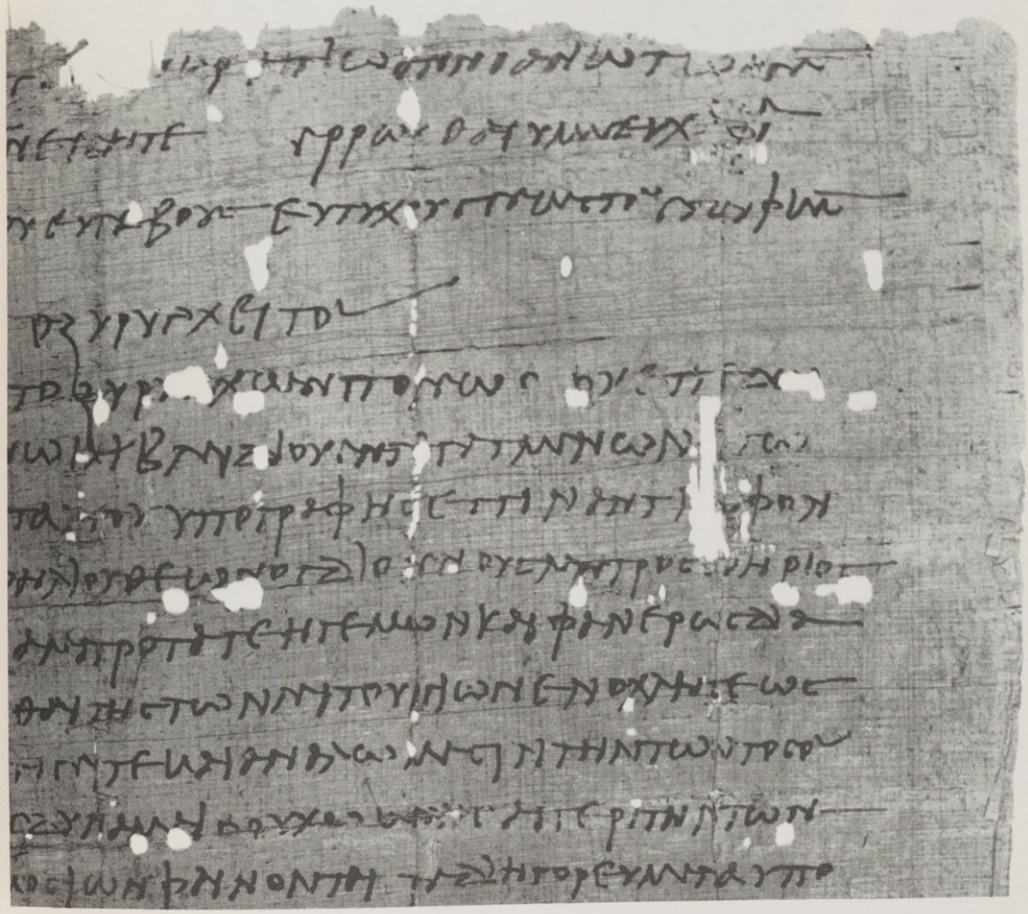

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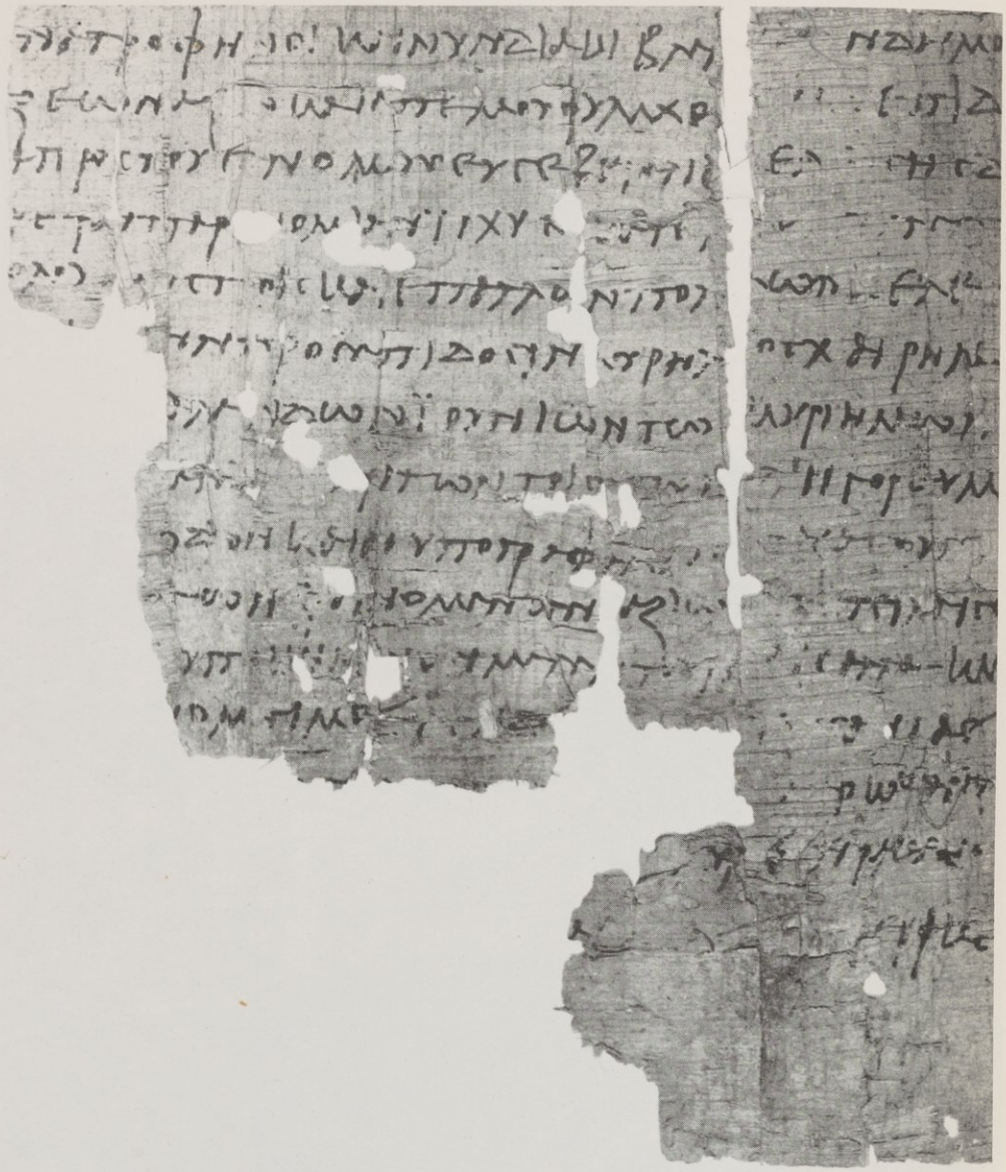

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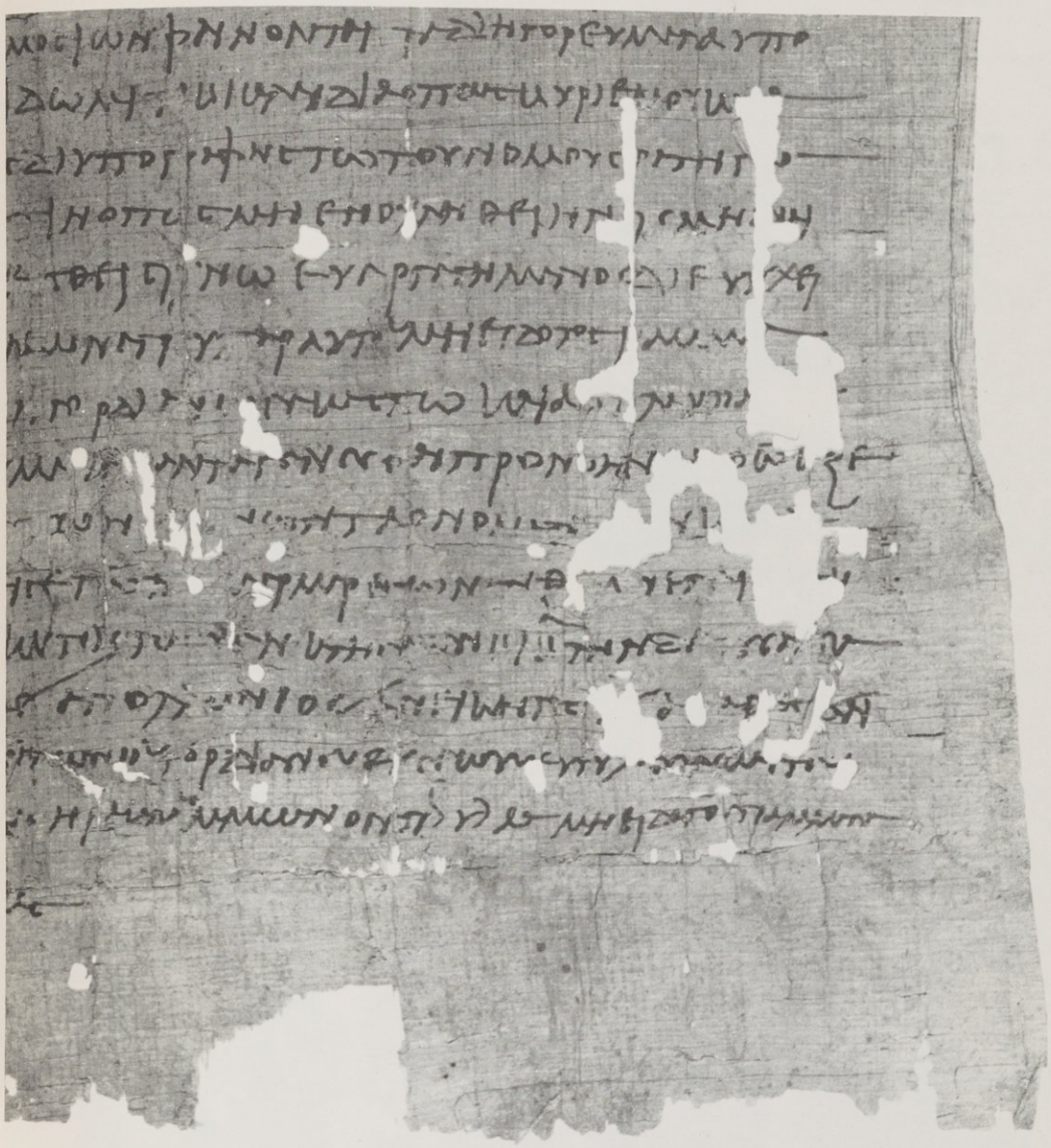

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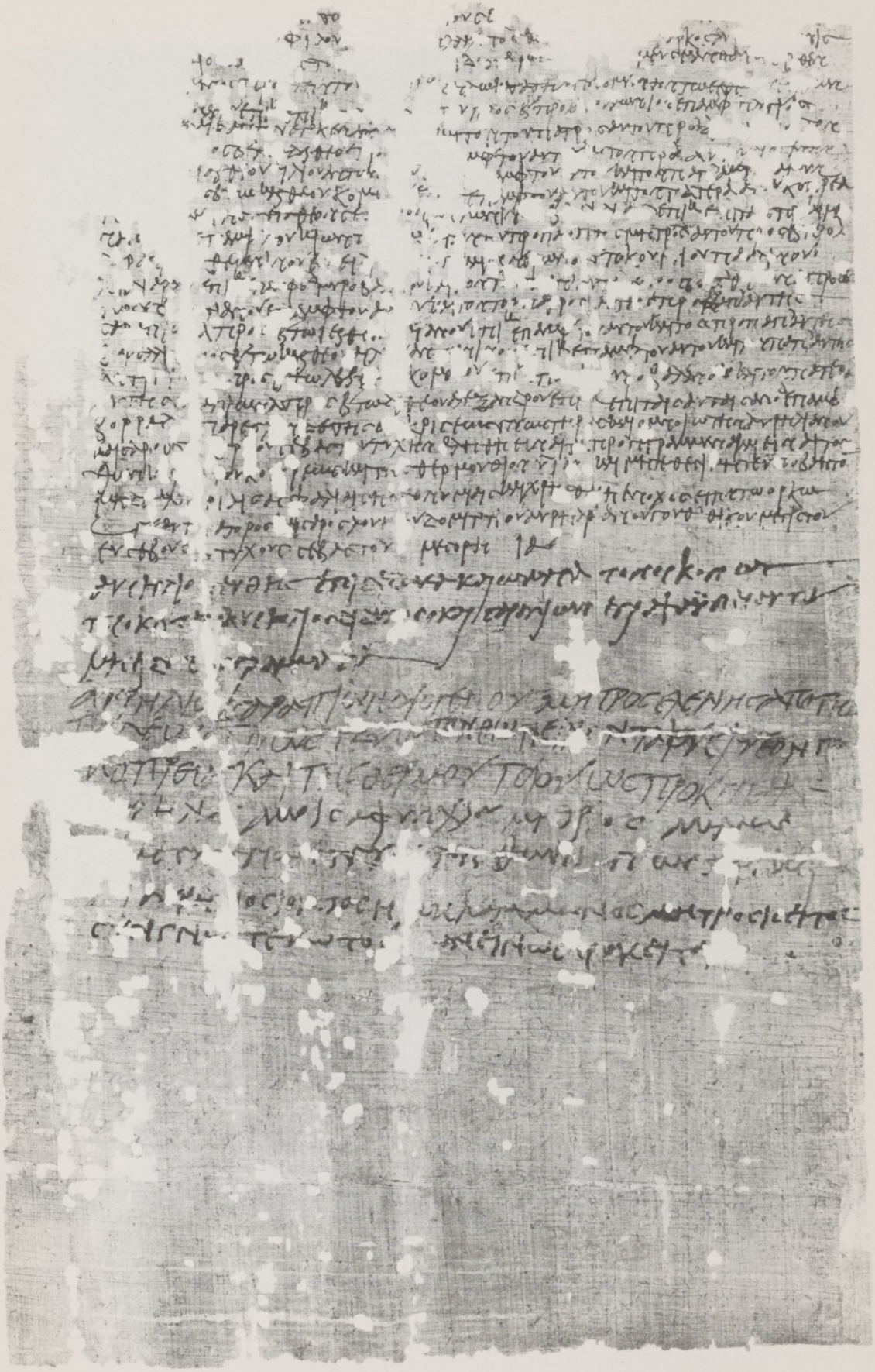

676. Epicrisis for Membership of the Gymnasium

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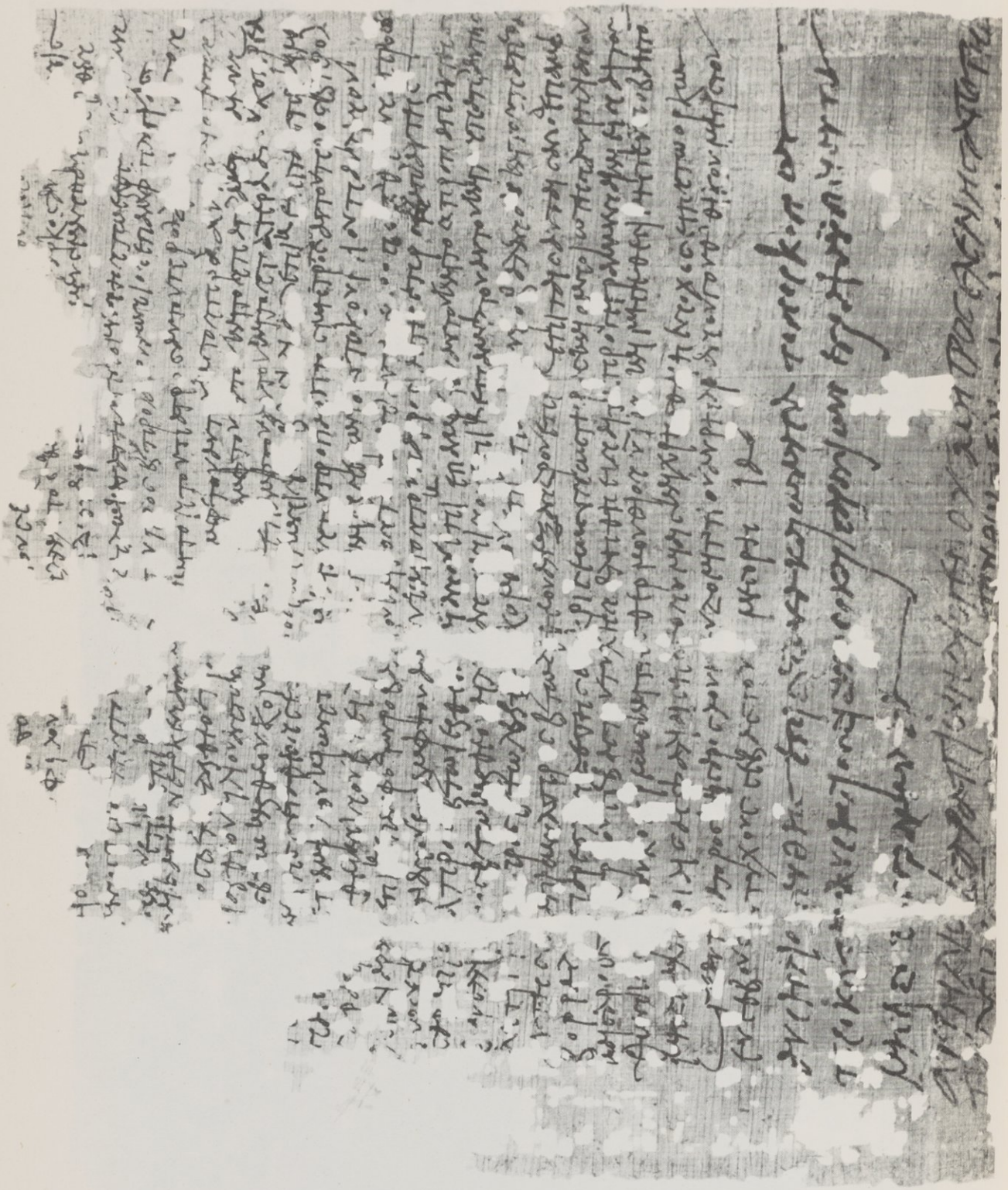

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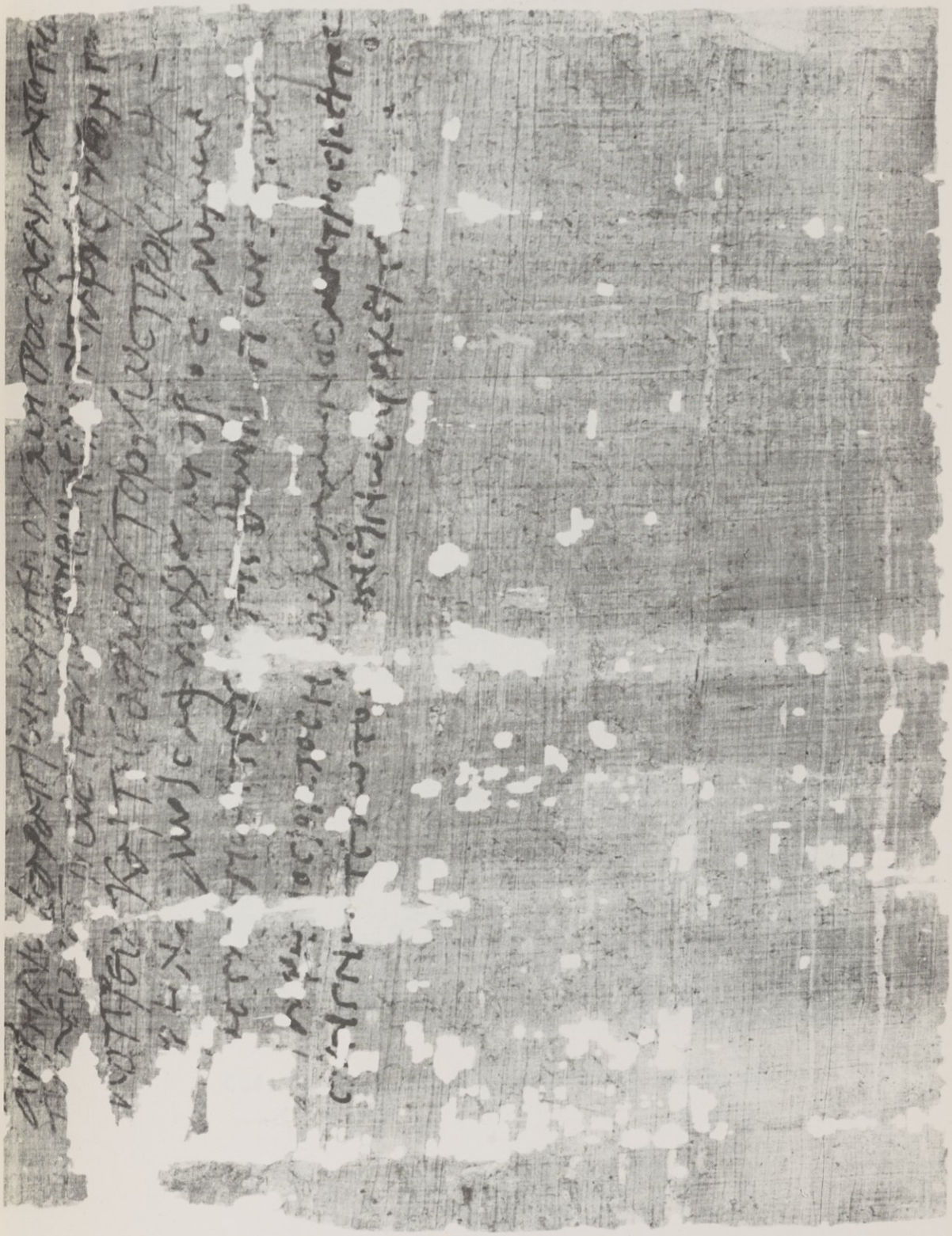

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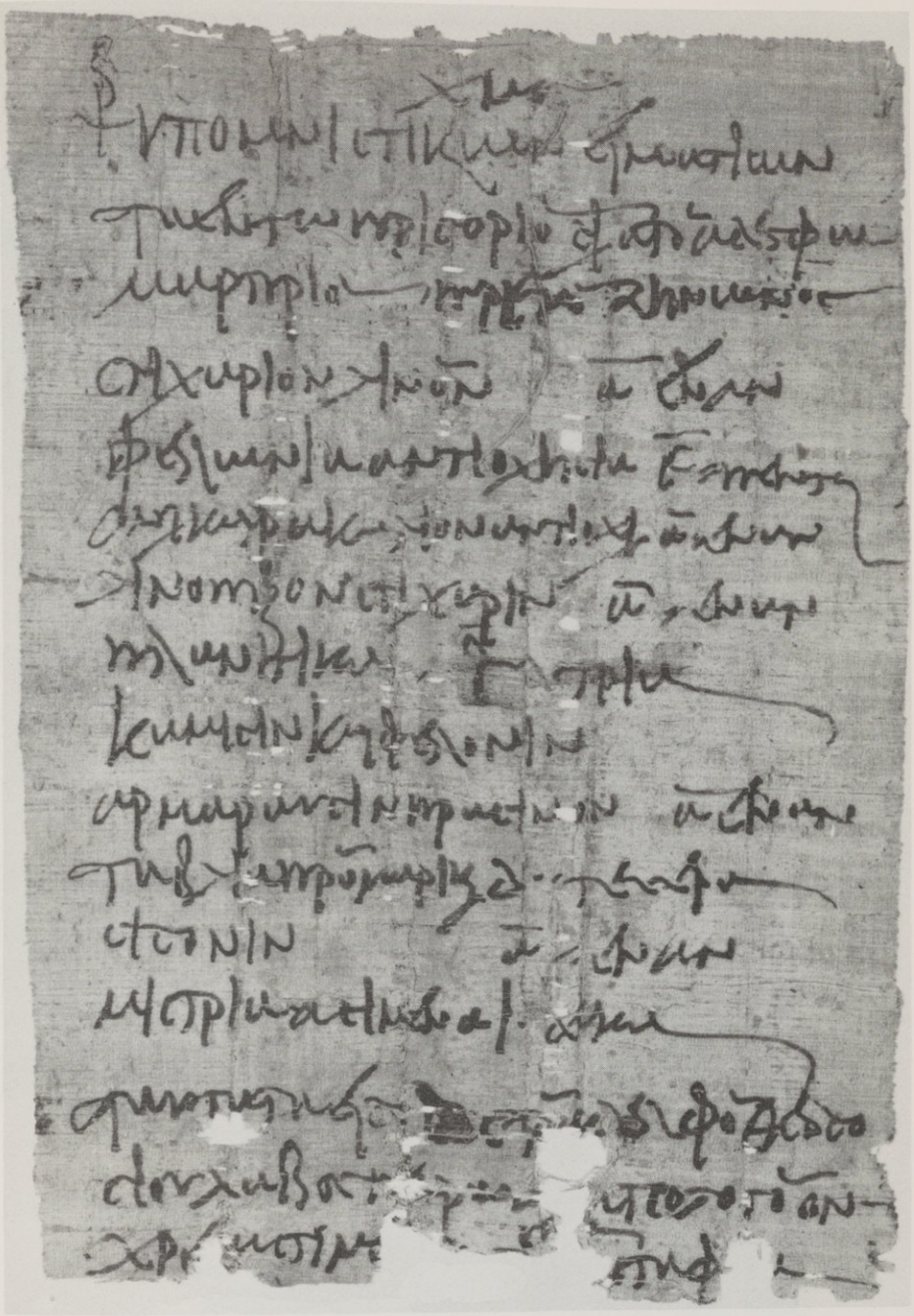

684. Receipt for Garments (original size)

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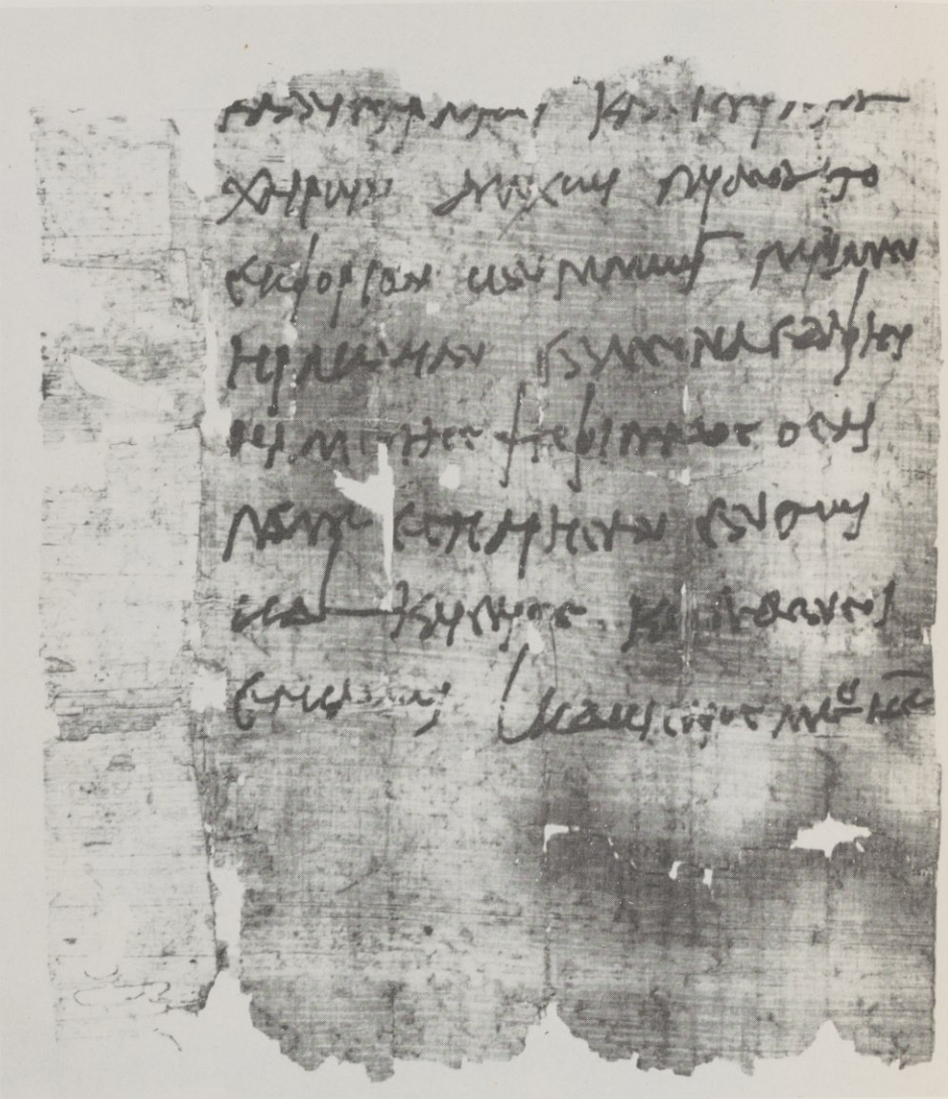
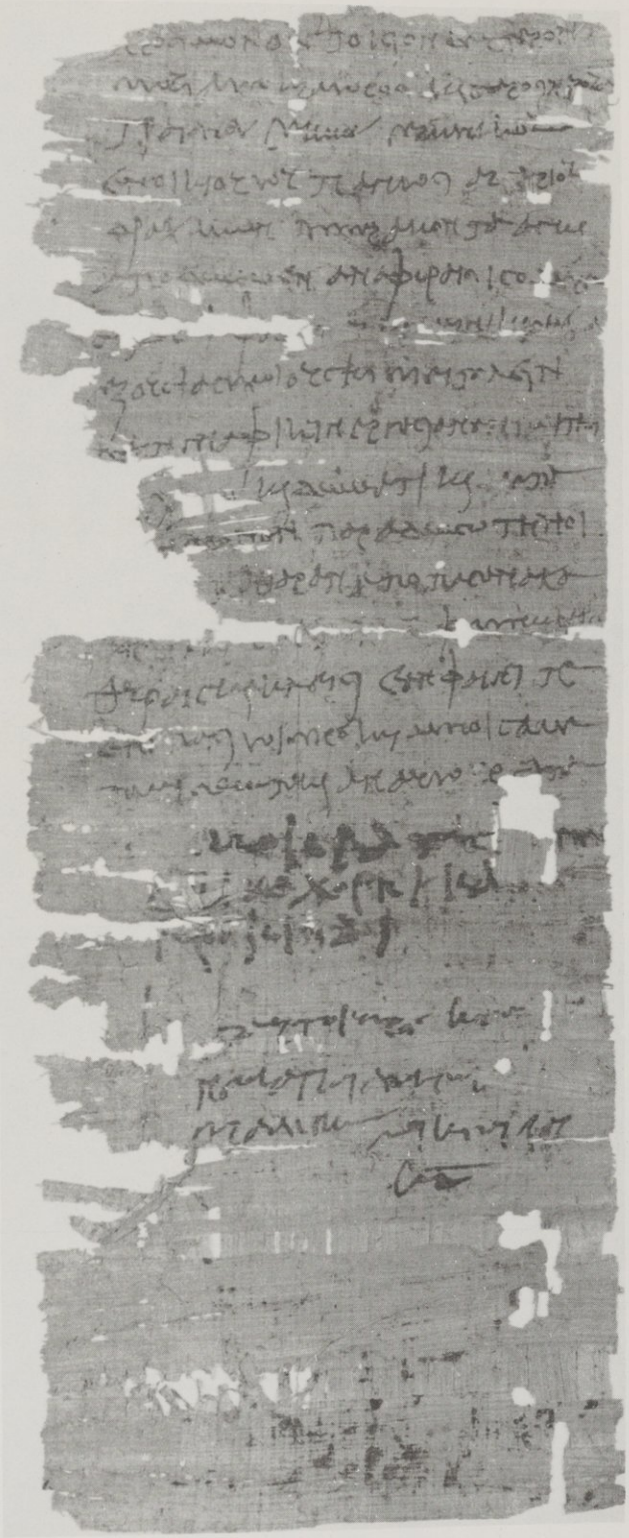


677. Receipt for Rent (original size)



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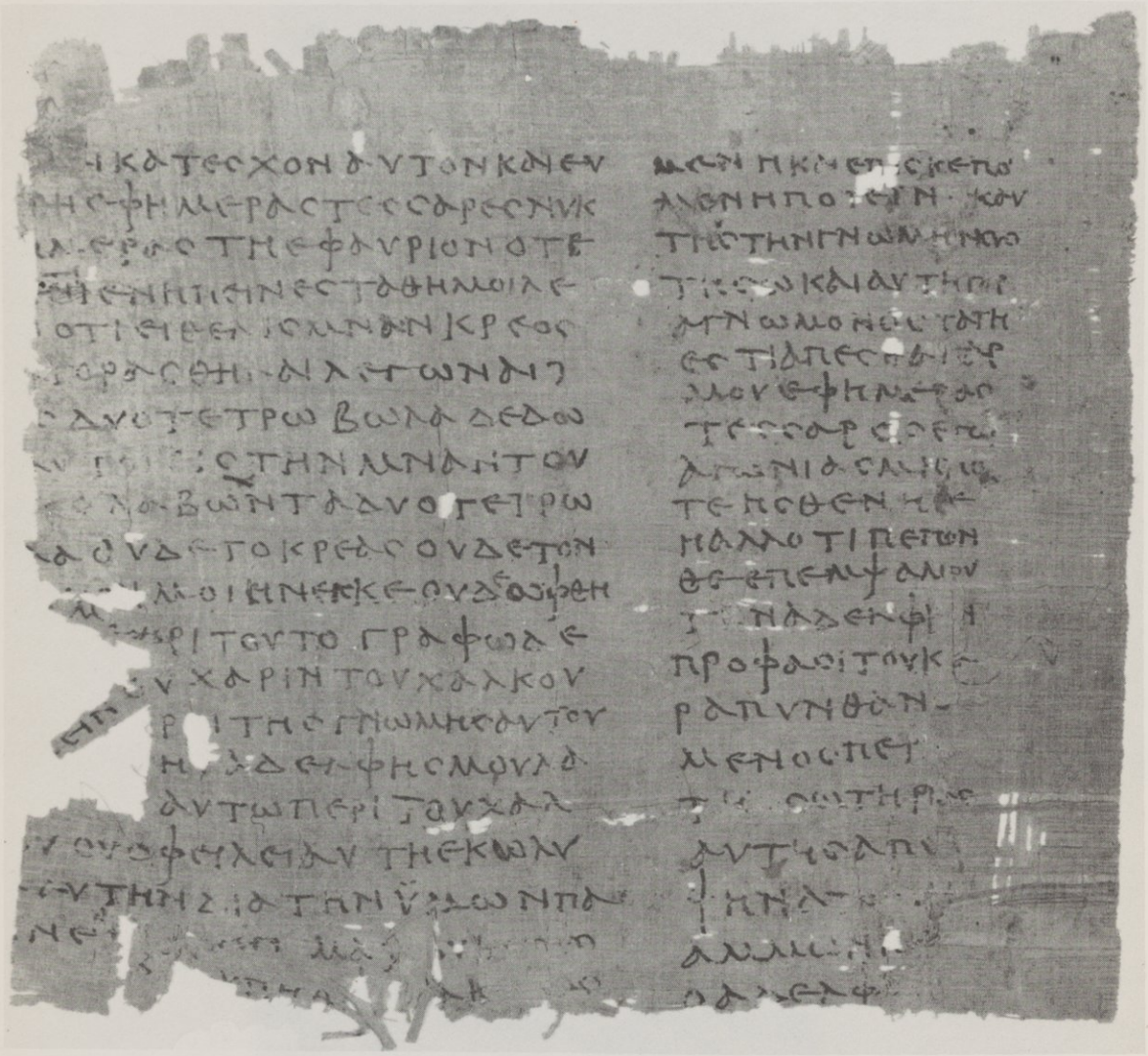

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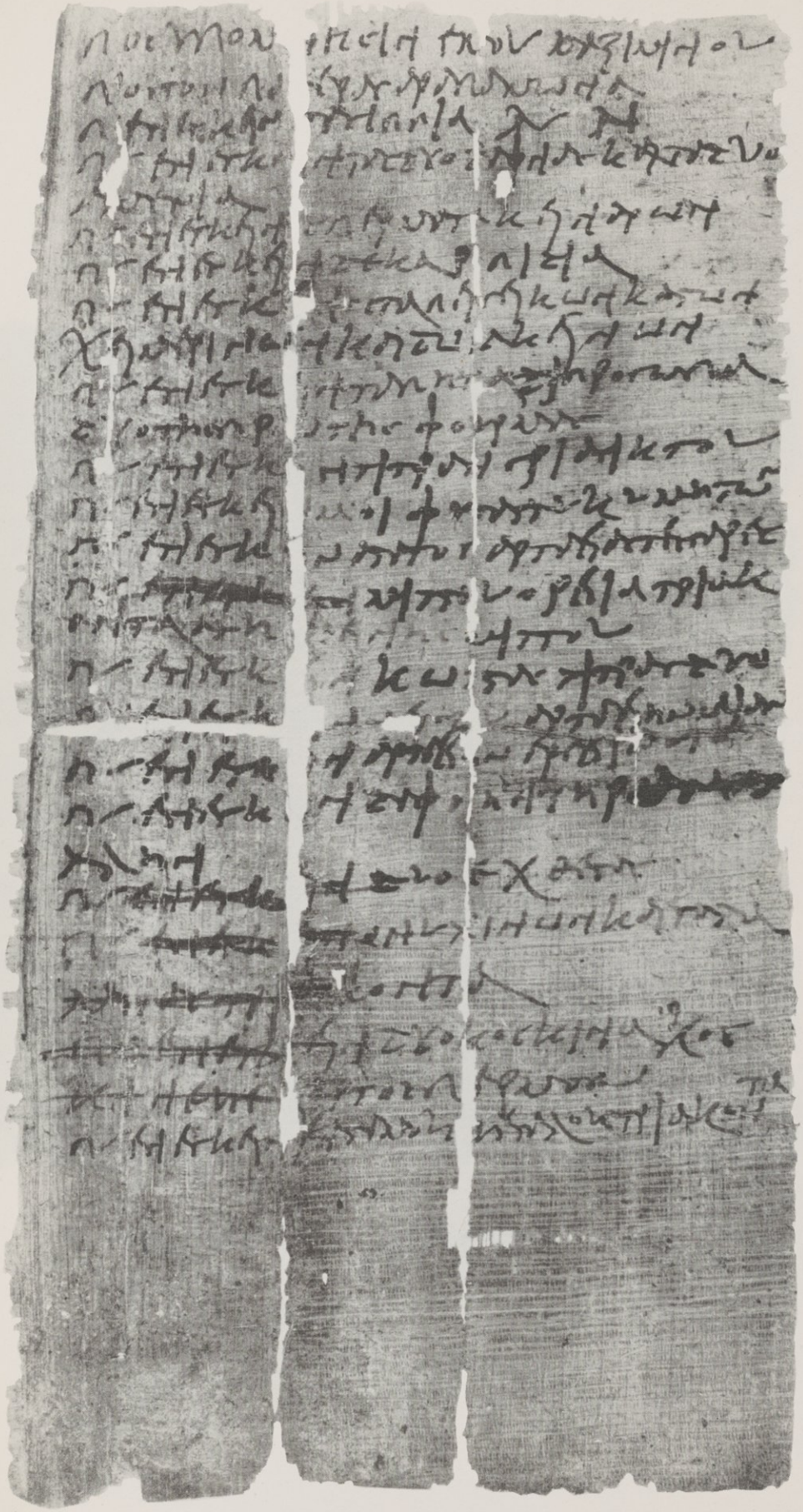

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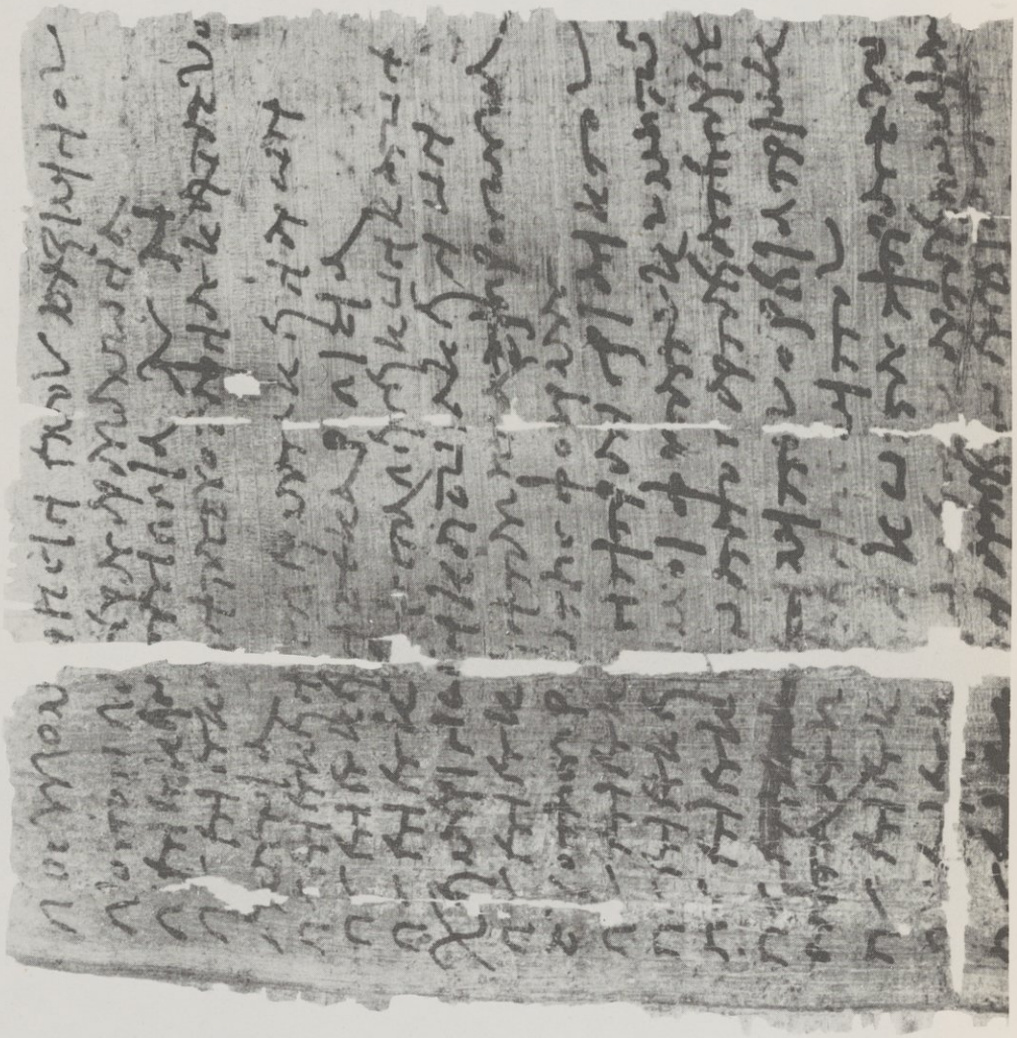

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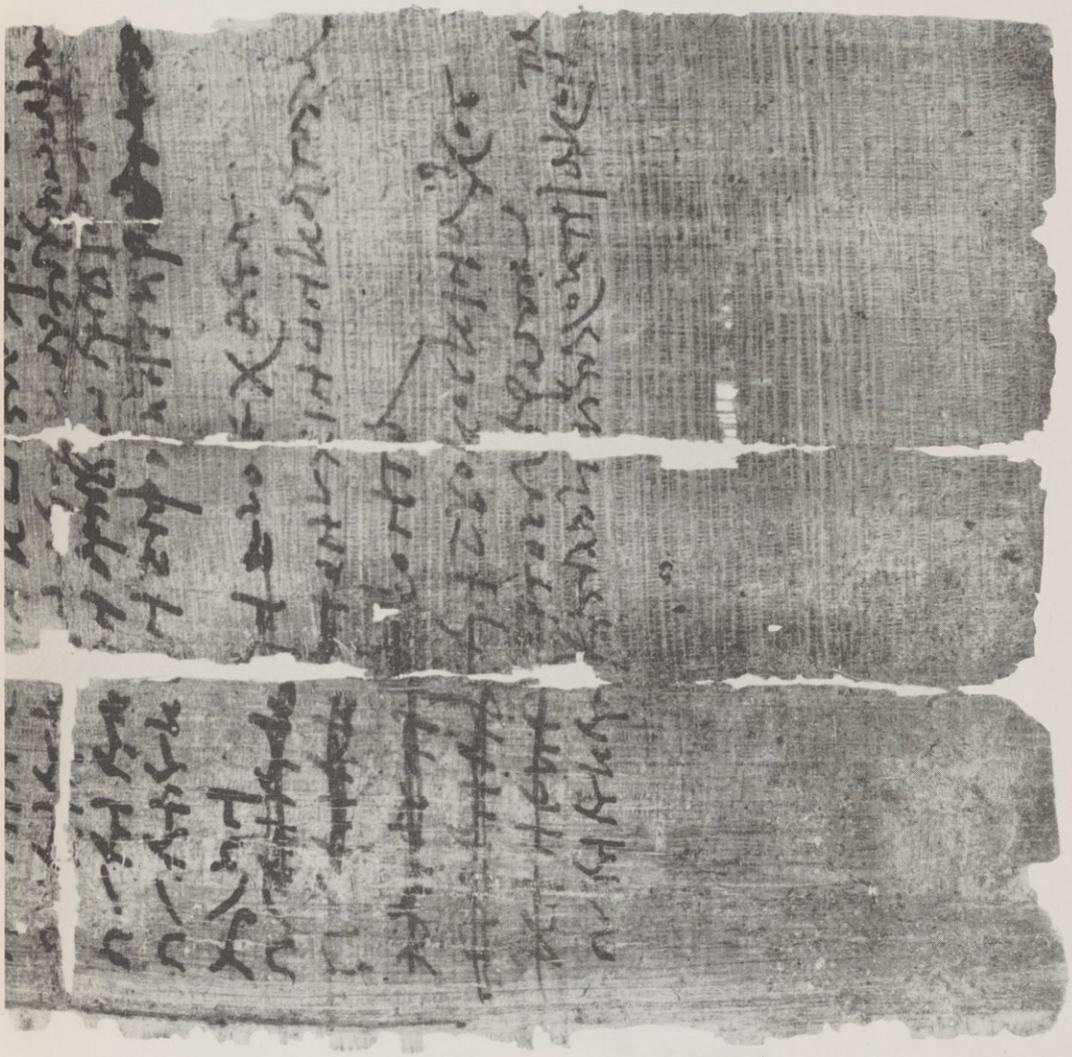

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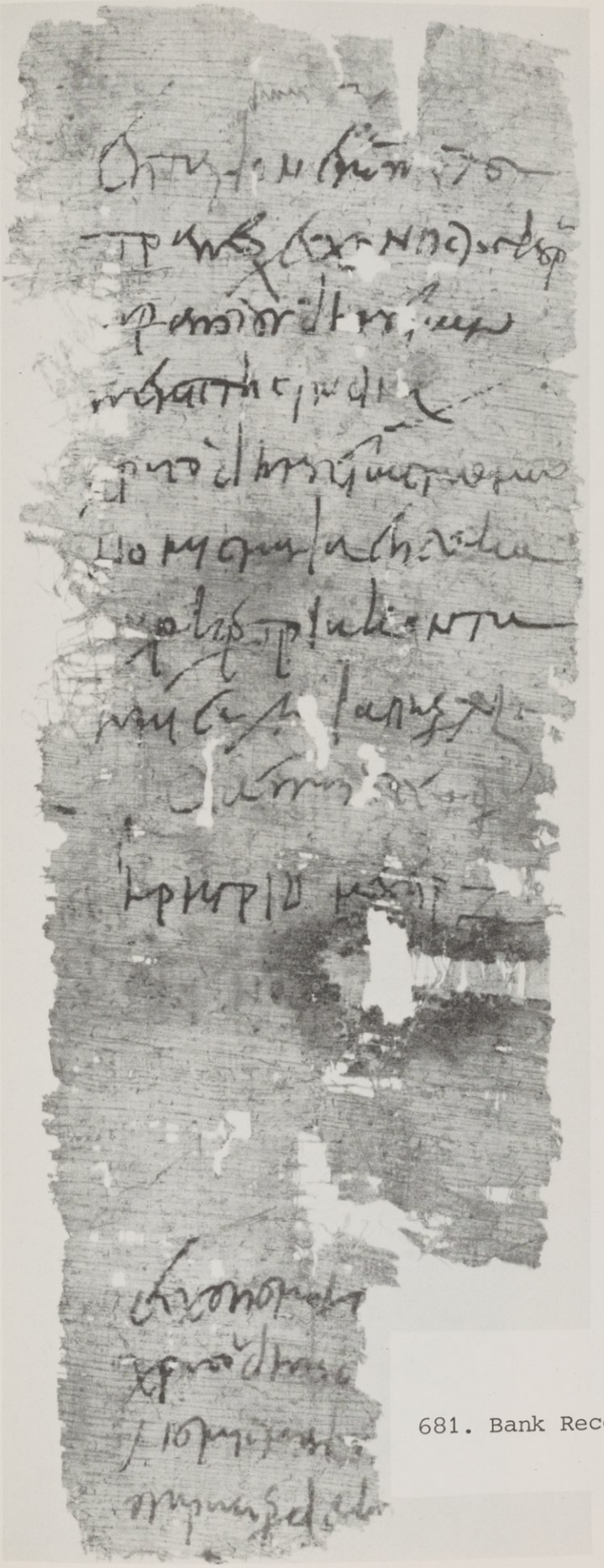
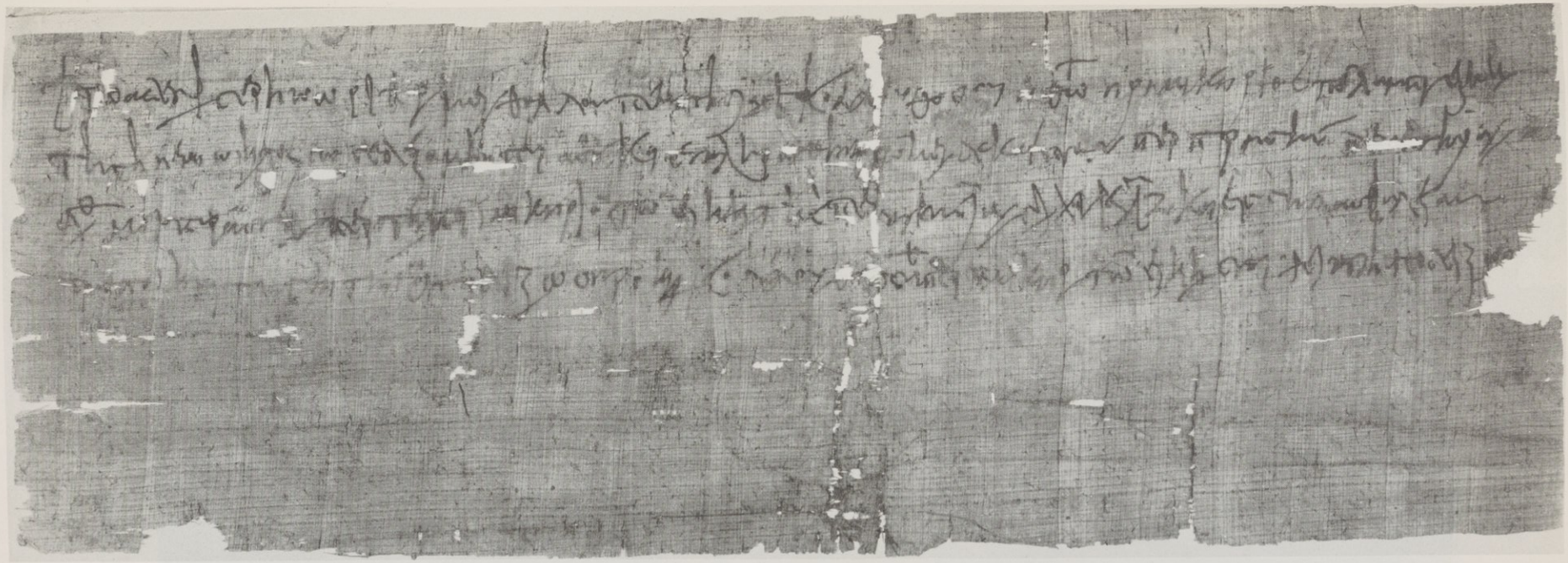
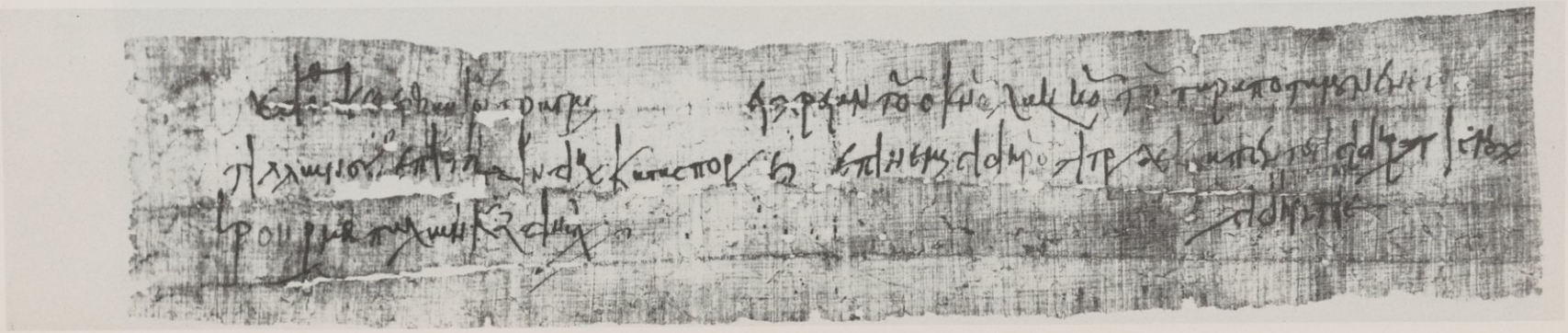


681. Bank Receipts (original size)



(a) 683. Receipt for Payment



(b) 682. Receipt for Iron for Repair of Cistern

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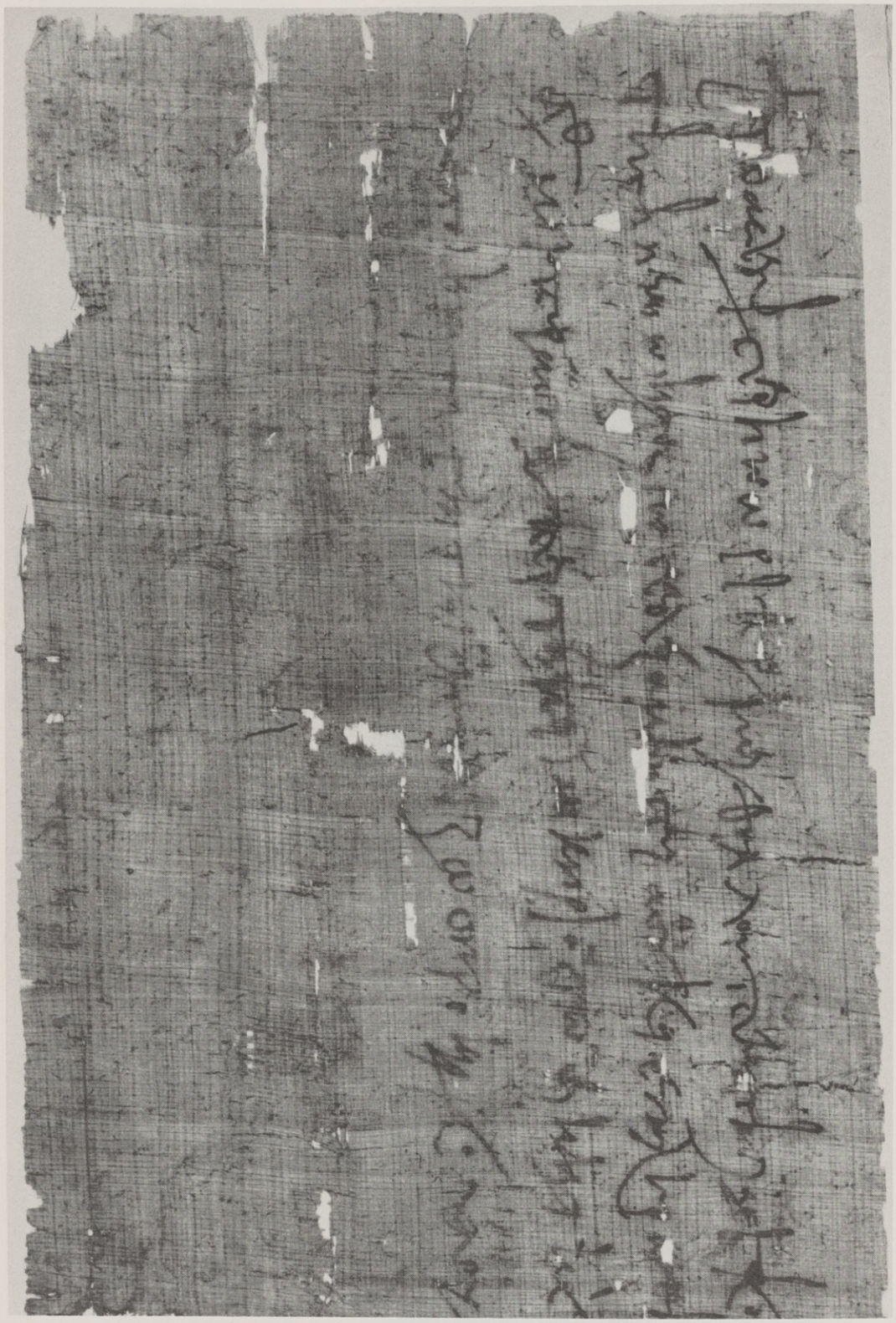

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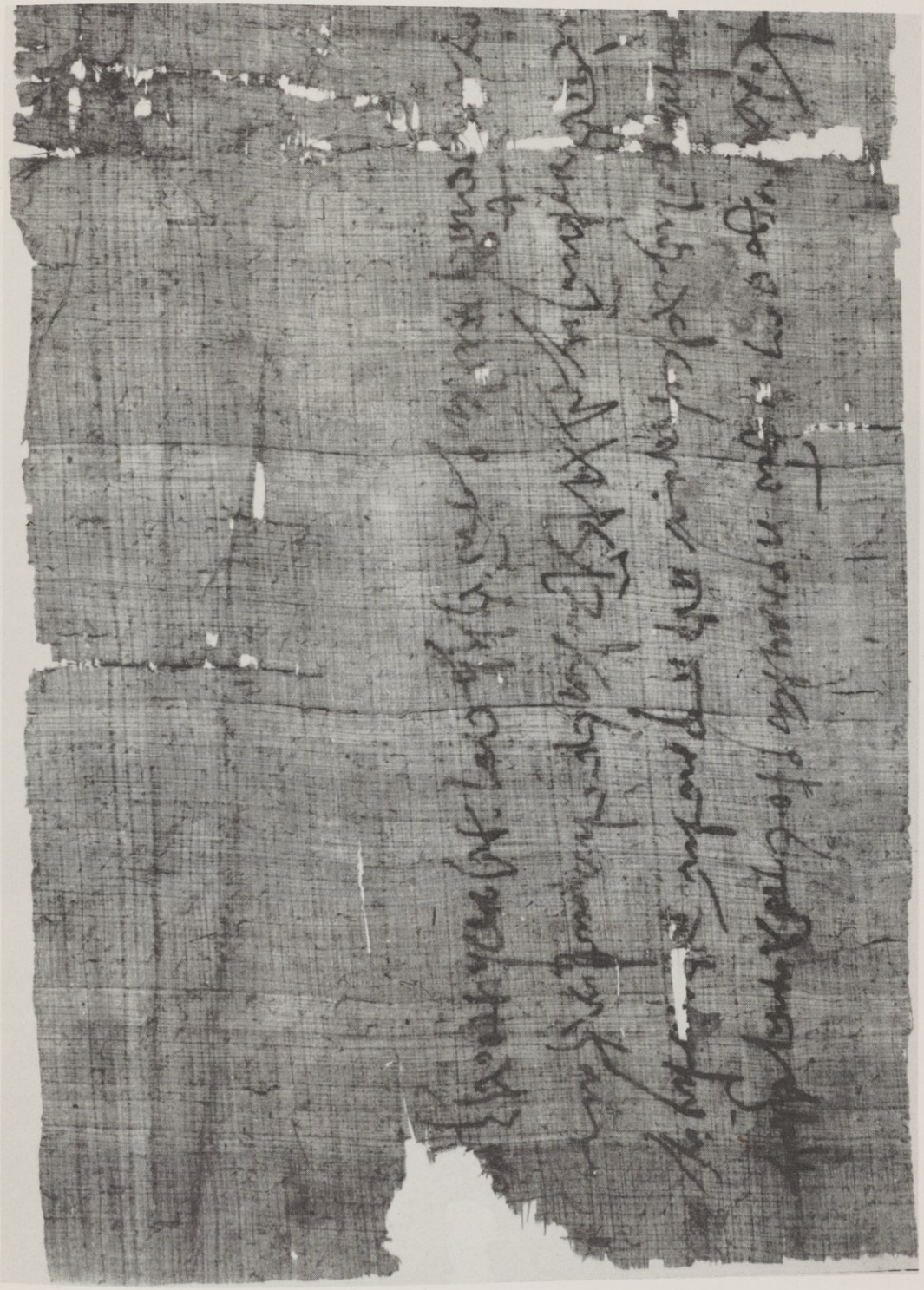

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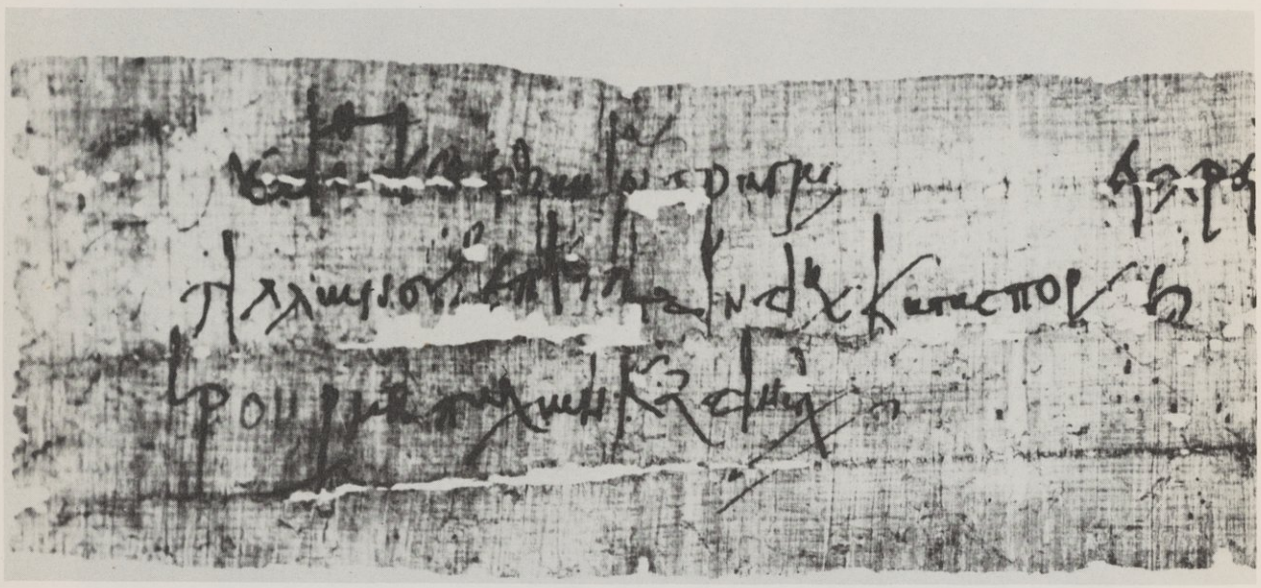

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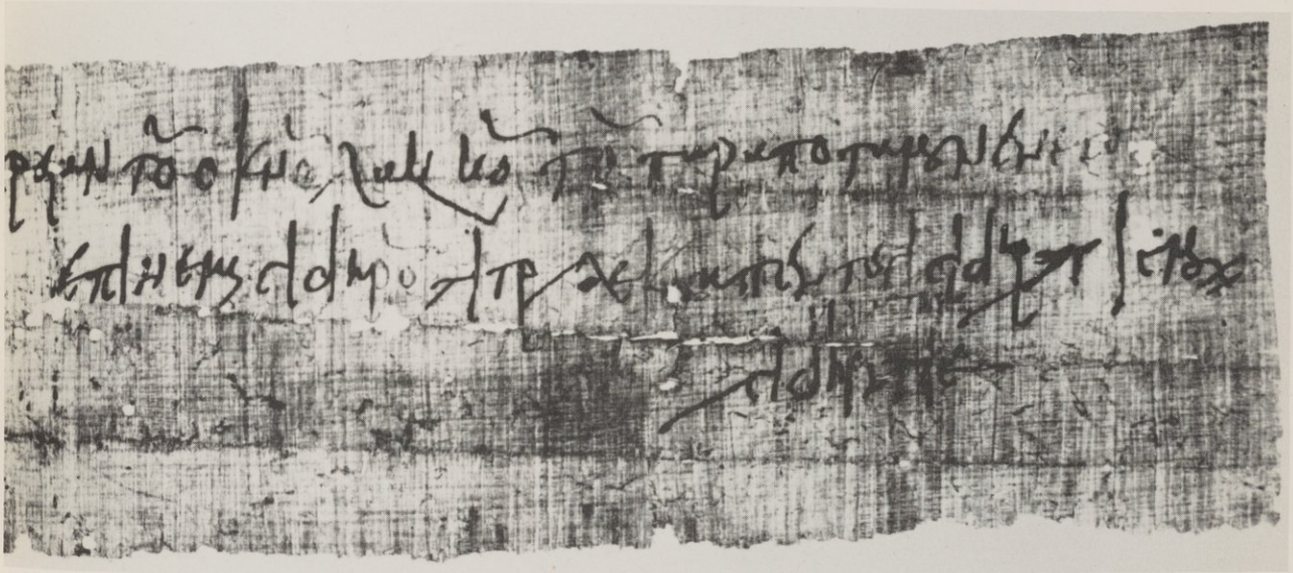

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