

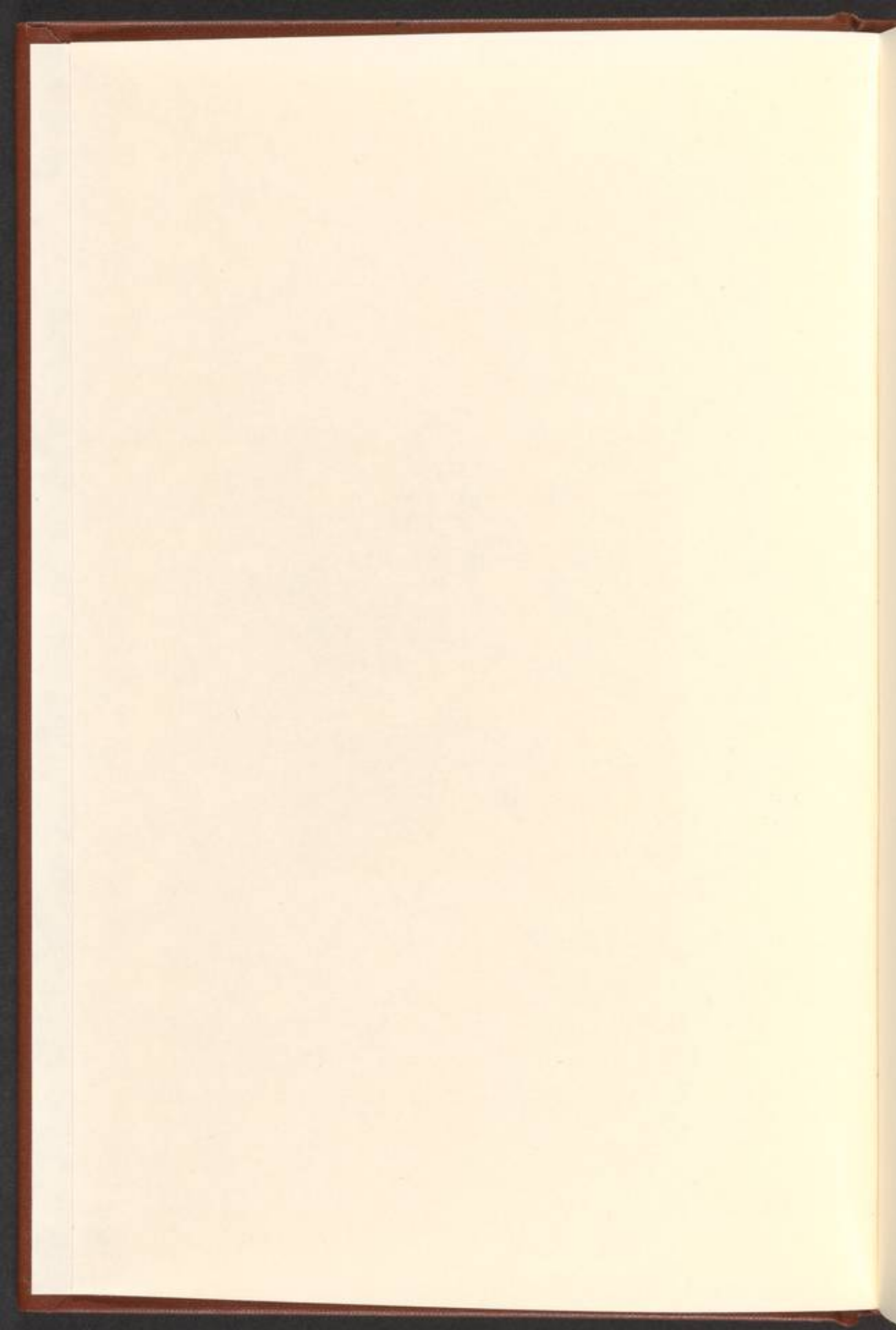


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COLUMBIA PAPYRI VIII

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Editor
Ann Ellis Hanson

COLUMBIA PAPYRI VIII

Roger S. Bagnall, Timothy T. Renner,

Klaas A. Worp

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**Roger S. Bagnall
Timothy T. Renner
Klaas A. Worp**

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Roger S. Bagnall, Timothy T. Renner,
and Klaas A. Worp

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Preface

The Columbia papyrus collections owes its beginnings to the arrival of that energetic historian, William Linn Westermann, in 1923. Westermann had bought papyri for Wisconsin and Cornell, his two previous institutions, and part of his negotiations with Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia's president, was a guarantee of the funds to continue participation in the syndicate presided over by H.I. Bell. The first papyri arrived in 1923, and buying continued actively until 1932, after which the collection made only sporadic acquisitions.

Publication of the collection began with *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* in 1929. By 1932 it had been decided to view this as volume I of *Columbia Papyri, Greek Series* (a remarkably prudent title; at the time Columbia owned virtually nothing in any other language), and the volume of Theadelphia documents published in that year was denominated volume II. Through volume VII, the series had the unusual characteristic that each volume was devoted either to a single important document (I, II, V, VI) or to an archive (III, IV, VII). Texts which did not form part of such groupings were published in separate articles, beginning with Keyes' publication of the Augustan document republished below as 209, which appeared in 1928. The following year Keyes began publishing literary texts as well; Westermann had originally determined not to acquire anything but documents, but Keyes' interest in papyrology led him to change this plan.

Over the years a considerable number of Columbia papyri have appeared in articles. One of the aims of the present volume is to collect those published before 1980 and reedit them in the light of suggestions and comments which have appeared since the original publications. Where the original publication was mainly a springboard for a lengthy investigation of some subject, our commentaries are briefer; in other cases they are sometimes more extensive. To these texts we have added about thirty unpublished documents of diverse date, provenance and type. Renner has taken responsibility for the reediting of the entire literary section, while Bagnall and Worp have prepared the documents.

Kathleen McNamee read the manuscript of the literary part of the volume, and Bärbel Kramer and Dieter Hagedorn that of the documentary part in penultimate form, making many improvements great and small. For these services we are deeply grateful. P. J. Sijpesteijn and Ann Ellis Hanson, as well as one anonymous referee, read the entire book in final form for the American Society of Papyrologists and contributed numerous corrections and additions, most importantly the recognition by Hanson of 211 as part of an archive published by her. For this careful labor too we are very thankful.

We owe to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO) a grant which made possible Worp's spending 1982-83 in New York; during that year he made most of the preliminary transcriptions of the unpublished texts and studied those previously published. The complete draft of the documents was finished during Worp's visit to New York in December, 1987-January, 1988 also funded by the ZWO. In addition, Renner wishes to thank the Institute for the Humanities, Montclair State University, for technical support during the preparation of the literary material. Photography of the papyri was mostly supported by grants from the Dunning Fund of the Department of History of Columbia University.

We thank the staff of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Columbia University Libraries, for their assistance with our work, and Dragonfly Software for technical advice. This book was prepared camera-ready using Nota Bene's Special Language Supplement.

June, 1990

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Note on Editorial Procedure

Texts in this volume are presented according to the usual papyrological practices. In the case of 192 (Abbot Isaias) and all documentary texts, punctuation, accents and breathings are added. Diaeresis in the text is noted in the apparatus. All other literary texts have been printed with only those accents, breathings, and other lectional marks which actually occur in the ancient texts. The following signs have their usual senses:

()	Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[]	Lacuna in the papyrus
< >	Letters omitted by the scribe
[]	Letters written, then deleted, by the scribe
{ }	Letters erroneously written by the scribe
$\alpha \beta \gamma$	Letters, the reading of which is uncertain or would be uncertain outside of the context
...	Letters of which part or all remain but which have not been read
[± 5]	Approximate number of letters lost in a lacuna and not restored
` $\alpha\beta\gamma$ `	Letters inserted by the scribe above the line

In addition, the following numerical symbols may need explanation:

d	1/4
L, S	1/2
β'	2/3
ϑ	3/4
$\iota\omicron$	1/12 (= $\iota\beta$) or 1/16 ($\iota\varsigma$) (depending on context)
$\lambda\omicron$	1/32 (= $\lambda\beta$)
$\xi\omicron$	1/64 (= $\xi\delta$)

Where scribal orthography differs from the standard forms of Greek, the latter, except in cases of very obvious or common iotacisms, are given in the critical apparatus, or (for literary texts other than 192) the commentaries. In the documents, the 'corrected' versions of proper

names are given solely to indicate the editors' view of the syntactic role of the names or to indicate the usual spelling of a name when it is considered that we are dealing with an actual error and not a legitimate variant. Errors of case are corrected in the apparatus. Names and words corrected in the apparatus are generally accented in the text as if the correct form had been written.

Papyri are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, ed. J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis and K.A. Worp (*BASP* Suppl. 4, 1985); abbreviations for more recently published editions may be found in the electronic version of the *Checklist* included with the CD-ROM version of the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri published by the Packard Humanities Institute. Journals are cited according to the practice of *TAPA*. Books cited by short title may be found in the Bibliography. Bold-face type is used to indicate the numbers of papyri included in this volume.

P. Mertens has most generously supplied us with bibliographical information on literary papyri published since Roger Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd edition, Ann Arbor 1965). We have, however, decided not to attempt to cite "MP³" numbers, i.e., those assigned by Mertens and Pack to more recently published literary texts in their forthcoming *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins*. Rather, "MP³" citations are given, where relevant, only for Columbia papyri edited in this volume. Existing "Pack²" numbers are, of course, cited in the customary fashion where literary papyri are concerned. As a general principle, it should be noted that in almost every instance, a papyrus which already has a "Pack²" number will retain that number unchanged in the "MP³" system.

Literary Texts

TEXTS

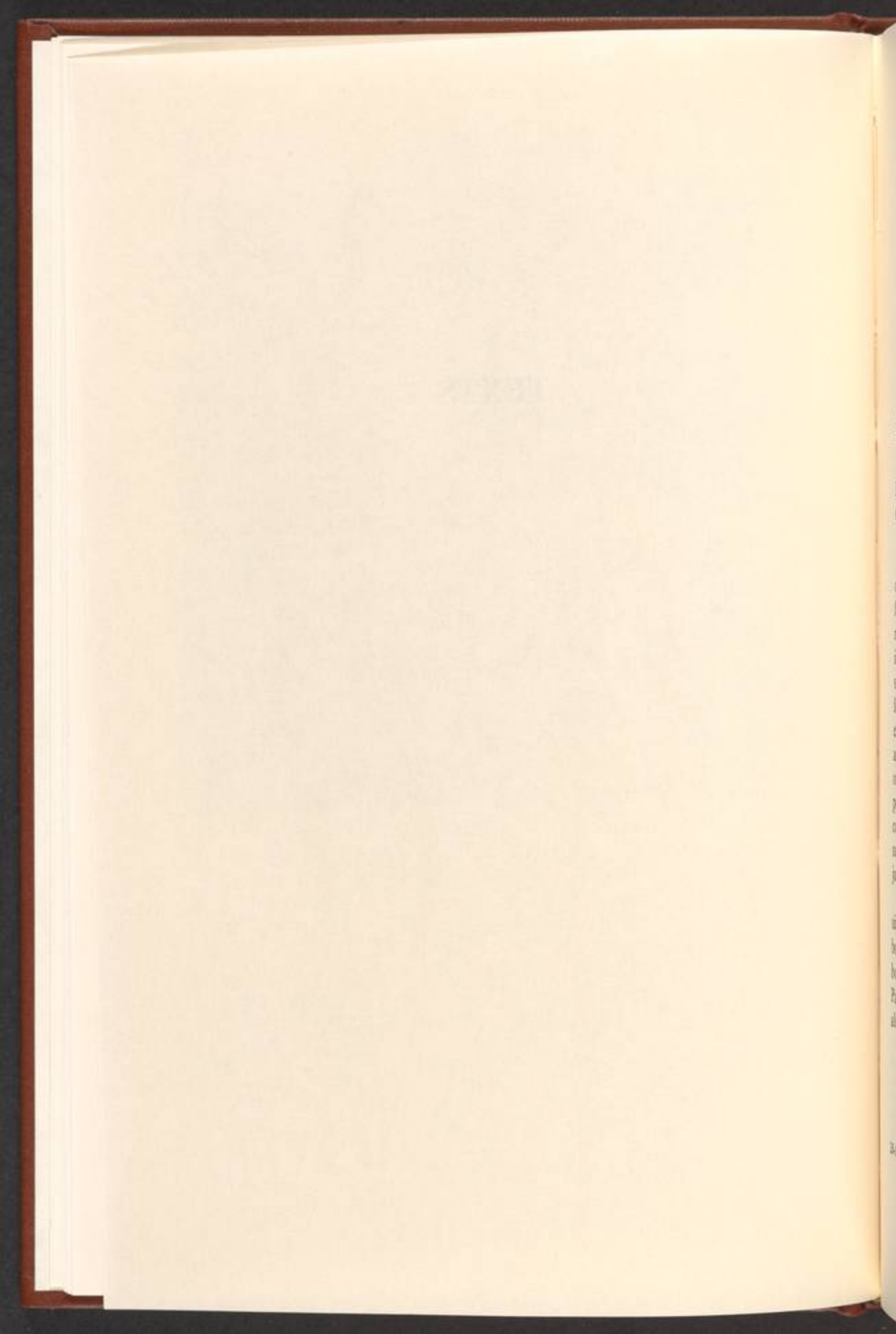
1900-1950

William S. Burroughs, *The Waste Land*, 1920

The paper was prepared in 1920, when it was first published in the *Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters*. It is a masterpiece of the modernist movement, and is considered one of the most important works of the 20th century. The poem is a collage of images and ideas, and is a reflection of the poet's own life and the life of his generation. The poem is a masterpiece of the modernist movement, and is considered one of the most important works of the 20th century. The poem is a collage of images and ideas, and is a reflection of the poet's own life and the life of his generation.

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Copyright © 1920 by William S. Burroughs



Literary Texts

192. Abbot Isaias, *Discourse IV*

Inv. 553 recto
Pl. 1

30.5 x 52.5 cm.

VI
Fayum

Published: E.R. Hardy, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1944) 127-136 (Van Haelst 673)

The papyrus was purchased in 1932, when H.I. Bell reported that it originated in the Fayum, probably at Philadelphia. A cogent argument for a provenance in the Fayum is the fact that all of the individuals mentioned in the fragmentary sale of land on the back, which is published in this volume as 244, pertain to Arsinoe. Both texts were written in single columns running the length of the papyrus. This *transversa charta* format is common for Byzantine documents but rare for literary texts even during that period.¹ In antiquity the papyrus was folded--or rolled and then crushed--in such a way that the lower edges of both texts were on the inside of the packet. The papyrus is currently missing its upper portion, which has broken away along a line of fold. In addition, the strip containing lines 1-4 of the Isaias text has separated from the main surviving part of the papyrus along the next fold line. Another fold line just below line 28 coincides with a kollesis.

Both its cursive hand and its contents place the sale document in the sixth century. The Isaias text is written in a practised, serviceable, sloping book hand distinguished by few ornamental features except for the *xi*, the bottom of which is drawn out into a huge, descending S-curve. Palaeographical parallels suggest a date in the sixth century for this hand also, but in any case more than a few years may well have elapsed

¹On texts so written, see E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 26-53.

between the copying of the Isaias and the re-use of the papyrus for the document.²

The text consists of an exhortation directed toward monks of the Egyptian and Near Eastern type who customarily lived in solitary cells in the desert. The subjects covered include proper behavior toward fellow monks, the need to confide in one's elders, the avoidance of heretical thoughts, the subduing of passions, and the proper way to pray to God. The whole has a very practical character which makes it typical of a gradually evolving corpus of λόγοι or instructive discourses, as well as apophthegmata, attributed to a certain Abbot Isaias and circulating under his name from the early Byzantine period onward. The original Isaias in question seems to have been Isaias of Scete in Egypt, who at some time in his life headed a monastery in the Wadi Natrun and who probably flourished around the year 400. That he was actually the same as the monk Isaias of Gaza, who died around 488 and to whom some modern authorities have attributed the Isaian corpus, seems unlikely. In any case the discourses and sayings attached to the name of Isaias took on a life of their own and were eventually translated into a variety of languages including Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Latin.³

Only one other papyrus of the Isaian corpus has come to light. This is a piece of a fourth or fifth century codex in Florence published by S.G. Mercati in *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 463-471 (Van Haelst 1221) and containing a passage from *Discourse XXI*.

In the course of a few centuries or even generations following the original composition, widely differing Greek texts of the Isaian discourses came into circulation. The differences are often much greater than variations among manuscripts of, say, classical Greek authors. The

²G. Cavallo/H. Machler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period = BICS*, Suppl. 47 (1987), nos. 32a (ca. A.D. 560-575) and 32b (A.D. 571) illustrate the type to which the Isaias hand belongs. Compare the following, all assigned to the same century: Schubart, *Palaeographie* Abb. 63, first hand; Schubart, *P. Graec. Berol.* 44b (cf. *Palaeographie*, p. 142); Seider, *Paläographie* II 64. Hardy's picture of the papyrus' history is plausible: "For a generation or two it served for the instruction of novices and other monastic purposes. Then, treated as an old letter rather than a book, it was thrown out and used for the business document now on the verso."

³For a very full discussion of the sources on the two individuals named Isaias, as well as for painstaking analysis of the development of the Isaian corpus, see R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Asceticon syriaque d'Abba Isaie* (Louvain 1968), vol. 3, 11-126*. Cf. also the introductory material to vol. 1. Although Draguet's four-volume study has as its primary goal an edition of the Syriac version of the discourses, its treatment of the historical question and the textual tradition as a whole, including extensive discussion of the Greek versions, makes it the only comprehensive work on the Isaian corpus to date.

commentary below, in which variant versions have been cited rather extensively after Draguet, illustrates well this phenomenon.⁴ Draguet distinguishes two branches of the Greek textual tradition:

(1) **G_a**, an older layer represented for this passage by λ = Cod. Par. Coisl. 283 (saec. XII)

(2) **G**, a more recent layer represented by

β = Cod. Ven. Marc. 132 (saec. XIII)

γ = Cod. Par. Coisl. 123 (saec. XI)

κ = Cod. Oxf. Bodl. Cromwell. 14 (saec. XIII)

ξ = Cod. Muscov., Musée Hist., 320 (saec. XII)

Within **G**, $\beta\xi$ and $\gamma\kappa$ form distinct subgroups. The $\gamma\kappa$ branch shows strong affinities with Σ , a Jerusalem codex written in 1769. Σ formed the basis of an edition published in 1911 by the monk Augoustinos and reprinted as S. Schoinas, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Ἡσαίου λόγος κθ'* (Volos 1962), which it has not been possible to consult here.

As may be seen from the commentary, the papyrus supports **G** against **G_a** almost constantly throughout this part of the work. This prejudice extends to the inclusion of three passages which **G_a** either omit entirely or place elsewhere in the discourse (see notes on 3-4, 6-9, 22-23). Within its preference for **G**, the papyrus on occasion offers entirely new variants, as apparently in the fragmentary line 1 and again in δ ὀπέλθης. More frequently, the papyrus shows a preference for the reading of one or more manuscripts of **G**; often this is $\beta\xi$. On one occasion, however, **G_a** is preferred.

In the commentary reference has also been made to **Z**, the Latin version of a now-lost Greek manuscript which was made by the Veronese Pietro Zini in 1574 (see Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 40, 1103ff.). It would appear that this manuscript followed **G** for the most part.

The educated Koine of the discourse shows two features which are worthy of special mention and which occur frequently in the Isaian texts transmitted in manuscript. One of these--also well paralleled in other patristic works as well as in documentary papyri--is a sporadic confusion in the use of moods in the protases of conditions: $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ with indicative in 23, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ apparently with subjunctive in 2.⁵ The other is a penchant for using

⁴ Cf. previous note. For the parallel Greek versions printed by Draguet, see vols. 3-4. The portion of the Greek *Discourse IV* given by the papyrus corresponds to the Syriac *Discourse XI*, sections 60-75; see vol. 3, 174-182.

⁵ In the latter, $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\eta$ could of course be just an itacistic spelling of the future. In 43 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$. . . $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota$ could be reconciled with classical rules by assuming another itacism. On this problem in the Isaian corpus see Draguet III, 62*. A breakdown in the norms surrounding the subjunctive may be seen in many writers of this general period. See Mays, *Grammatik* II 284-285; H. Reinhold, *De graecitate patrum apostolicorum*

the present tense in a futuristic sense, especially to describe the results of proper behavior in the eyes of God. The example in 6-8 is characteristic: πάντα λογισμῶν πολεμοῦντά σε μὴ αἰσχυρθῆς εἰπεῖν τῷ μείζονί σου, καὶ κουφίζονται ἀπὸ σου (sc. οἱ λογισμοί; see comm.).⁶ Additional points of language peculiar to the papyrus, such as an unusual dative usage in 27, are discussed in the notes. Minor spelling variants of the sort commonly found in documentary papyri occur with some frequency. In 22 the scribe wrote ἀνθίστ<ατ>αι by haplography.

The text is punctuated rather frequently with high stops. It displays no breathings and only one accent, on the subjunctive ἦς in 31. Occasional diaereses and word-dividers assist the reader. *Nomina sacra* are abbreviated in the customary way. All of these features are noted in the critical apparatus.

- ὑποστρέψεις [ca. 13] . . [. .] . . . [.] ν σεαυτῷ ἄλλο
 κελλίον
 . . . μὴ ἀμαρτήσης εἰς θε(εό)ν. εἴ τε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσει
 θελήσῃ ἀναχωρήσα[ι]
 ἀθῶος εἶ. εἴ τε καὶ σκευὴ ἴασας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνήλωσεν
 αὐτὰ, μὴ ζητή-
 4 σης αὐτὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς ἀναχωρήσαι ἀπὸ
 κελλίου, βλέπε τὴν
 χρεῖαν, μὴ αὐτ[ή]ν λάβῃς μετὰ σου· ἄλλ' ἔασο[ν] αὐτὴν
 ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ ἀδελφῶν
 πτωχῶν, καὶ ὁ θε(ε)ς οἰκονομεῖ σε ὅπουδ' ἀπέλθῃς.
 πάντα λογισμῶν
 πολεμοῦντά σε μὴ αἰσχυρθῆς εἰπεῖν τῷ μείζονί σου, καὶ
 κουφίζονται
 8 ἀπὸ σου· χαρὰν γὰρ ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὰ πν(εύμα)τα εἰ
 μὴ εἰς ἄν(θρωπ)ον σιωπόντα
 εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἄλογισμούς αὐτοῦ εἴτε καλοὶ εἰσιν εἴτε κακοί.
 φύλαξον

librorumque apocryphorum Novi Testamenti quaestiones grammaticae (Vienna 1923) 101-109; G. Ghedini, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 234-237.

⁶ Three additional examples appear in 4-6 and 26-27; others may be seen in the GGA versions of earlier parts of the discourse. Similar is *Herm. Past.* 2.2.4: μετὰ τὸ γνωρίσαι σε ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῖς . . . τότε ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς αἱ ἀμαρτίαι. Cf. *P.Lond.* II 404.7 (mid-fourth cent.). Jannaris, *Grammar* 434, 553 and Blass/Debrunner/Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen 1976) 267 list other parallels.

- σεαυτὸν μεταλαμβάνων τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν μυστηρίων
 μὴ σχεῖν
 κακίαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, ἐπεὶ σεαυτὸν ἀπατᾶς. ἐὰν
 ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν
 12 σοι οἱ λόγοι τῆς γραφῆς τοῦ ἀλληγορήσαι αὐτ[ο]ῦς,
 ἀλληγόρησον. φύλαξον δὲ
 σεαυτὸν μὴ καταργῆσαι τὸ γράμμα, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσης τῇ
 γνώσει σου ὑπὲρ
 τὴν ἁγίαν γραφὴν· σημεῖον γὰρ ἐστὶν τοῦτο τῆς
 ὑπερηφανίας. ἐὰν ἀπατη-
 θῇ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐν λόγοις αἰρετικῶν καὶ πλατηθῇ ἐν
 ἀγνωσίᾳ
 16 ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ μὴ
 ἐξουθενήσης αὐτὸν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδίῳ θελήματι τοῦτο ἐποίησεν. φύλαξον
 σεαυτὸν τοῦ διαλέ-
 γεσθαι μετὰ αἰρετικῶν θέλων στήσαι τὴν πίστιν, μὴ ποτε
 ὁ ἴος τῶν
 λόγων αὐτῶν πλήξῃ σε. ἐὰν εὖρης βιβλίον αἰρετικῶν
 λεγόμενον, μὴ θε-
 20 λήσης αὐτὸ ἀναγνῶναι, μὴ πως πληρώσῃ τὴν καρδίαν σου
 ἰοῦ θανάτου,
 ἀλλ' εἰς ὃ ἐβαπτίσθης κατέχε· μὴ προσθῆς μήτε ἀφέλης
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
 φύλαξον σεαυτὸν ἐκ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἥτις
 ἀνθίσται τῇ ὑγίαι-
 νούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος. ἐὰν
 νεώτερος εἶ καὶ
 24 ἀκμὴν οὐκ ἐτέλεσας τὴν δουλίαν τῆς κακοπαθίας τοῦ
 σώματος καὶ ἀκούσης
 περὶ μεγάλων καὶ ὑψηλῶν ἀρετῶν π(ατέ)ρων, μὴ θέλε
 φθάσαι εἰς αὐτὰς ἀκόπως·
 οὐ γὰρ ἔρχονται σοι ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ποιήσης τὴν
 λειτουργία αὐτῶν. ἐὰν δὲ τελέσης
 τὸν κόπον αὐτῶν, ἐαυταῖς ἔρχονται σοι. φύλαξον σεαυτὸν
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκηδίας·
 28 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀφανίζει πάντα καρπὸν τοῦ μοναχοῦ. ἐὰν
 ἀγωνίζῃ πρὸς πάθος,
 μὴ ἐγκακήσης, ἀλλὰ παράρψον σεαυτὸν τῷ θ(ε)ῷ λέγων

- "βοήθει μοι τῷ
 ταλαιπῶρῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐγὼ δύνομαι πρὸς αὐτόν"· καὶ
 βοηθεῖ σοι ἐν τάχει.
- 7 ἐὰν ᾗς ἐν ἀσκήσει ἀνθιστάμενος τῇ ἔχθρῳ καὶ ἴδῃς αὐτὴν
 ἀσθενήσασαι
- 32 ἀπὸ σου καὶ φυγοῦσάν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, μὴ χαρῆ σου ἡ καρδία,
 ὅτι ἡ κακία τῶν
 πν(ευμάτ)ων ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἐτοιμάζουσι γὰρ
 πόλεμον χεῖρονα τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ
 ἐώσω αὐτὸν ὀπίσω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐντέλλωνται αὐτῷ μὴ
 κινηθῆναι· καὶ
 ἐὰν ἀντιστῆς πολεμῶν μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ
 σου ἐν πανουργίᾳ·
- 36 καὶ ἐὰν ὑψηλοφρονήσης καὶ θαρροσῆσης τῇ δυνάμει σου καὶ
 ἐάσης τὴν
 πόλιν τοῦ καταδιώξαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, ἐὰν οὖν ἴδωσιν ὅτι
 κατέλειψας τὴν πόλιν,
 οἱ μὲν ἀνθίστανται ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐγείρονται ὀπισθεν
 καὶ συγκλείουσιν τὴν
 ταλαίπωρον ψυχὴν ἐμὲ μέσῳ αὐτῶν μὴ ἔχουσα παντελῶς
 τοῦ φύγι.
- 40 ἡ πόλις οὖν ἐστὶν τῷ παραρίπτειν ἑαυτὸν τῷ θ(ε)ῷ
 ἀδιαλείπτως· εἴ τις οὖν
 ἀεὶ παραρίπτει ἑαυτὸν ἐνόπιον τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ,
 βοηθεῖ αὐτῷ ἐν παντὶ
 πειρασμῷ καὶ σώζει αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολέμων τοῦ
 ἐχθροῦ.
 [ἐὰν εὐχῆ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ περὶ πειρασμοῦ ἵνα λάβῃ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ
 σου καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσει σου,]
- 44 [μὴ ἐγκακήσης· γινώσκει γὰρ τὸ συμφέρον σοι
 περισσώτερόν σου. ἀλλ' ἐὰν εὐχῆ]
 [περὶ παντὸς αἰτήματός σου ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου, μὴ
 εἴπῃς "ἄρον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τότε"]
 [ἢ "δοῖς μοι τότε" ἀλλὰ εὐξε λέγων οὕτως, "κ(ύρι)ε
 Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, σὺ εἶ βοηθός μου, ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου]
 [εἰμί· σὺ γινώσκεις τὸ συμφέρον μοι· βοήθησόν μοι· μὴ
 ἐάσης με ἀμαρτῆσαι εἰς σέ."]

1 See comm.; σαυτῶ ed. pr. 2 See comm.; Ἦν pap.;
 θελήσει 3 ἀθῶος; καθαρὸς ed. pr.; εἴσας (ἴσας pap.)
 4 αὐτου pap. 5 See comm.; ἀλλ' pap.; ἕα ταύτην ed. pr.
 6 Ἦς, ἀπελθης pap. 8 πντα, ανου pap.; σιωπῶντα
 9 κακοι pap. 11 ἀπατας pap. 12 τοῦ ἀλληγορήσαντος
 εὔ ἀλληγόρησον ed. pr. 13 γραμμαῖ ἵνα pap.
 14 ὑπερφανίας pap. 17 ἐποίησεν pap. 18 ἴος pap.
 19 σε pap. 20 ἴου pap. 21 ἀλλ', αὐτου pap.
 22 ἀνθίσταται 23 ἀποστολος; εαν' pap.; και ex corr.
 (... ην) 25 πρων pap. 26 λειτουργίαν
 27 σοι pap. 28 μοναχου pap. 29 παράρριψον; Ἦω pap.
 30 δύναμαι, αὐτό 31 ἦς pap. 33 πνων pap.
 34 ἐντέλλονται 36 ὑψηλο- pap. (η corr. ex o?); θαρσήσης
 39 ἐν, ἔχουσαν 40 τὸ, παραρρίπτειν (second ι corr. ex ε);
 τῶ ex corr. (supralin. bar above); Ἦω pap. 41 παραρρίπτει,
 ἐνώπιον; Ἦω pap. 42 αὐτόν; ἐχθρου/ pap. 43 Ἦω pap.
 44 ἀλλ' pap. 46 δός, εὔξαι; κέ ἰω pap. 47 γινώσκεις

... [and if] you return, [do not expel him (sc. the other brother)] but [find] for yourself another cell, lest you sin against God. But if by his own choice he wishes to depart, you are innocent. But if you left goods in it as well and he consumed them, do not require them from him.

(4ff.) If you wish to depart from your cell, see to it that you do not take the necessities with you; but leave them for a poor brother, and God provides for you wherever you go.

(6ff.) Do not be ashamed to tell your superior all hostile thoughts, and they are removed from you. For the spirits have no other joy except against a man who keeps his irrational thoughts (?) secret, whether they be good or evil.

(9ff.) When sharing in the offering of the mysteries, beware of holding malice against your brother, for you are deceiving yourself.

(11ff.) If the words of scripture are revealed to you for the purpose of allegorizing them, allegorize. But beware of annulling the letter, lest you trust your knowledge above the holy scripture; for this is a sign of pride.

(14ff.) If your brother is deceived by words of heretics and wanders in ignorance from the orthodox faith, if he returns do not despise him, for he did not do this by his own will.

(17ff.) Beware lest, wishing to establish your faith, you dispute with heretics--lest at some time the poison of their words smite you.

(19ff.) If you find a book said to belong to the heretics, do not desire to read it, lest in some way it fill your heart with deadly poison. But hold fast to that into which you were baptized; neither add to nor take away from it.

(22f.) Beware of knowledge falsely so called, which is contrary to the sound teaching, as the Apostle said.

(23ff.) If you are young and have not as yet ended the slavery of the evil passion of the body, and you hear about great and lofty virtues of elders, do not desire to attain to them without effort. For they do not come to you unless you first perform their service; but if you accomplish their labor they come to you of themselves.

(27ff.) Beware of discouragement, for it destroys every profit of the monk. If you struggle against passion do not be remiss, but cast yourself on God saying, "Help me in my misery, for I can do nothing against it"; and he helps you speedily.

(31ff.) If you are resisting the hostile power by ascetic discipline and see that it has weakened before you and has fled in retreat, do not let your heart rejoice, because the wickedness of the spirits is behind them. For they prepare a war worse than the first and leave it behind the city and order it not to move; and if you resist and combat them, then they flee from you deceptively; and if you are proud and confident because of your strength and leave the city to pursue after them--if they see that you have left the city, some offer resistance in front and some rise up behind, and they surround the miserable soul in their midst, having nowhere to flee. Now the city is the constant casting of oneself on God. If therefore one always casts himself down before God with whole heart, he helps him in every temptation and saves him from all the onslaughts of the enemy.

(43ff., **CROSSED OUT**;) If you pray to God about temptation, that he take it from you, and he does not hear you, do not be discouraged; for he knows what is to your advantage more than you. But if you pray about every request of yours in time of struggle, do not say "Take this from me" or "Give me this," but pray saying thus: "Lord Jesus, you are my rescuer, I am in your hands. You know what is to my advantage. Help me, do not allow me to sin against you."

1 E.g. [καὶ εἰ] ὑποστρέψεις, [μὴ ἐκβάλῃς αὐτὸν] (*sc.* τὸν ἄλλον ἀδελφόν) [ἀλλὰ εὖρ[ο]ν σεαυτῷ ἄλλο κελλίον. The traces representing εὖρ- are not at all distinctive, but the second aorist form built on a first aorist stem would be very much at home in the Koine (Gignac, *Grammar*

II 335-345; Jannaris, *Grammar* 200, 202). ἐὰν . . . ὑποστρέψεις μετὰ καιρὸν εἰς τὸν τόπον, μὴ ἐκβάλῃς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ζήτησον σεαυτῷ ἄλλο κελλίον G(γκβ; κελλίον ἄλλο ξ); sim. Z; μὴ ἐκβάλεις (sic) τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τοῦ κελλίου Ga. See Draguet III, 63* on the text of this and the following line. The situation being discussed here is that of the monk who has temporarily abandoned a cell which he has built but has then returned to find it occupied by another monk.

2 At the beginning, ἵνα looks slightly more probable than καὶ. ἵνα μὴ ἁμαρτήσῃς εἰς θεόν G(γβ; ξ has ἁμαρτήσῃς, κ has ἁμάρτης); sim. Z; καὶ ἁμαρτήσῃς εἰς θεόν Ga; sim. Z.

2-3 εἶτε . . . ἀθῶος εἶ: ἀλλ' ἐὰν θέλει ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἐξελεθῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ κελλίου, ἀθῶος εἶ GGa; sim. Z; Draguet notes that βξ have προαιρέσει and that γκ have προθέσει in place of it but does not give other details of G's text.

εἰ . . . θελήσῃ: On the mood see introd.

3-4 εἶτε καὶ . . . παρ' αὐτοῦ: So G; sim. Z; om. Ga.

4-6 Of the words printed with dotted letters in 5, all but μὴ offer at least some letters which may be read even without context; the ed. pr., however, printed only dots preceding ἀλλ' (βλέπε τὴν | χρεῖαν μὴ λάβῃς τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ sugg. Draguet). Reading the papyrus is assisted by a comparison with the version of the whole section given by GGa: ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃς ἀπὸ κελλίου, βλέπε μὴ λάβῃς τὰς χρεῖας τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἄφες αὐτὰς δι' ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν πτωχόν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς οἰκονομεῖ σε (φροντίζει σοι Ga) ὅπουδ' ἀπέρχῃ; sim. Z.

5 χρεῖαν: In earlier passages of this discourse the word is used in the singular to refer to the daily food necessary to sustain the monk and in the plural to describe unspecified necessities which he must buy. Z has "quae in ea (sc. cella) sunt usui necessaria."

6 ὅπουδ' ἀπέρχῃ: The word occurs from time to time in Christian literature and in Byzantine papyri, but it does not seem to be attested before the third century (Dio Cas. *Fr.* 109.21).

πάντα λογισμῶν: Taking the noun as it stands, rather than as a spelling error for λογισμὸν (the reading of GGa), would allow for a plural subject to be understood in the case of κουφίζονται following. A genitive construction with πᾶς is paralleled by Dio Chr. 3.70 τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων πᾶς; cf. [Xen.] *Ath.* 3.3, Diod. Sic. 36.4.3, Dion. Hal. 6.74 (B).

6-9 πάντα . . . κακοί: So G; sim. Z; πάντα λογισμὸν πολεμοῦντά σε μὴ αἰσχύνου ἀποκαλύψαι ἐνώπιον τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀναπαύει οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ χαρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἰ μὴ τι ἀνθρώπῳ κρύπτουσι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμούς Ga (but placed earlier in the discourse; cf. Draguet, ad loc.).

9 ἄλογισμους: The word seems not to be attested elsewhere, but we may compare ἀλογία and ἀλογίζομαι. All of the Greek manuscripts have λογισμούς; cogitationes Z.

9-11 φύλαξον . . . ἀπατῆς: So G; sim. Z; πρόσσεχε σεαυτῷ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, μήποτε ἔχεις κατά τινος καὶ μεταλαμβάνεις εἰς κρίμα τῆς ψυχῆς Ga.

11-14 ἐὰν . . . ὑπερηφανίας: So G; very similar are Ga ἐὰν ἀποκαλυφθῆ σοι λόγος τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς τοῦ ἀλληγορησαι αὐτόν, ἀλληγόρησον· πρόσσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ καταργῆσαι τὸ γράμμα, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσεις τῇ γνώσει σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ἁγίαν γραφήν· σημεῖον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας and Z.

14-17 ἐὰν . . . ἐποίησεν: So G(βξ), but with ἐξέπεσεν in place of τοῦτο ἐποίησεν; sim. Z; ἐὰν δὲ πλανηθῆ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ ἢ ἀπὸ αἰρετικοῦ, ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ μὴ ἐξουδενώσεις αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἔπεσεν Ga.

17-19 φύλαξον . . . σε: So G (βγκ; ξ has πνίξῃ instead of πλήξῃ); sim. Z; φύλαξον σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ αἰρετικοῦ τοῦ μὴ διακρίνει μετ' αὐτοῦ θέλων στήσαι τὴν πίστιν, ὅπως μὴ βλάβῃ τὴν καρδίαν σου ὁ ἴδς τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ κινδυνεύσεις Ga.

19-21 ἐὰν . . . αὐτοῦ: So G (γκ; β has θανατηφόρου and ξ θανατικοῦ instead of θανάτου); sim. Z; ἐὰν εὐρῆς σύνταγμα αἰρετικῶν, μὴ θέλε ἀναγνῶναι αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ πληρώσει τὴν καρδίαν σου ὁ ἴδς τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλ' εἰς θ' ἐβαπτίσθης ὀρθοδόξως οὕτως κάτεχε τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα, μηδὲν προστιθῶν μηδὲ ἀφαιρῶν, ὅπως ποιήσεις τὸν πάντα σου χρόνον ἐν ἀναπαύσει Ga (on ἐὰν with indicative, see introd.).

22-23 φύλαξον . . . ἀπόστολος: So G; sim. Z; om. Ga. The scriptural allusion is apparently to *I Tim.* 6.20.

23-27 The differences between G and Ga in this section are usually very minor; sim. Z.

23 ἐὰν . . . εἶ: See introd.

25 ἀκόπως: So G(βξ)Ga; ἐν ἀναπαύσει G(γκ).

26 τελέσης: So G(βξ); ποιήσης G(γκ)Ga.

27 ἐαυταῖς ἔρχονται σοι: ἐαυτοῖ σοι ἔρχονται Ga. For the tense see introd. The use of the reflexive pronoun where classical practice expects a form of αὐτός is well attested in the Koine of Roman and Byzantine papyrus documents (Gignac, *Grammar* II 170). But the use of the dative in the papyrus is hard to categorize; it apparently carries a vague associative sense and is equivalent to καθ' ἑαυτοῦς.

27-28 φύλαξον . . . μοναχοῦ: So γκβ; sim. Z; om. ξ; φύλαξον σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσι πάντα καρπὸν μοναχοῦ Ga.

28-30 ἐὰν . . . τάχει: So G (γκ have ἀναπαύει instead of βοηθεῖ σοι ἐν τάχει); ἐὰν ἀγωνίζεαι πρὸς πάθος, μὴ ἐγκακήσεις, ἀλλὰ πρόσπιπτε τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ σου λέγων ὅτι οὐδὲν δύναμαι, καὶ βοηθεῖ σοι ἐν τάχει Ga; Si cum animi perturbationibus et vitiis pugnas, ne defice, sed te ipsum prosterne coram Deo, "non possum" inquam in toto corde tuo "per me resistere. Tu mihi misero, Domine, fer auxilium." Et superabis Z.

30 δύνομαι: On thematic forms of this verb in Koine, see Gignac, *Grammar* II 384-385; Jannaris, *Grammar* 198, 234, 258.

31 The wedge-shaped paragraphos at 31 signals clearly the beginning of a new section, which consists of a striking and rather elaborate passage likening the attacks of the πνεύματα upon the soul to those of an enemy upon a city, itself a metaphor for submission to God. Immediately before it, however, G(γκ)Ga (sim. Z) include another, rather extensive one which inveighs strongly against sexual passion; G(βξ) like the papyrus omit the passage but insert it at a later point in the discourse (see Draguet ad loc.).

31-42 ἐὰν . . . ἐχθροῦ: So G (γκ have ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ instead of ἐν πανουργίᾳ); ἐὰν ἀγωνίζεαι κατὰ ἐχθρῶν σου καὶ ἴδῃς αὐτοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ σου, μὴ χαρῆς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, ὅτι ἡ κακία τῶν δαιμόνων ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἐτοιμάζουσι γὰρ πόλεμον ποιηρότερον τοῦ προτέρου καὶ ἀφίουσιν αὐτὸν ὀπίσω τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐντέλλονται αὐτῷ μὴ κινηθῆναι· καὶ ἐὰν <ἔξω?> τῆς πόλεως πολεμήσεις, τότε φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ σου ἐν ποιηρίᾳ· καὶ ἐὰν ὑψηλοφρονήσεις καὶ θαρσήσεις τῇ δυνάμει σου καὶ ἐάσεις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ καταδιώξαι ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, ἐὰν ἴδωσιν ὅτι ἀφῆκας τὴν πόλιν, οἱ μὲν ἀνθίστανται ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεγείρονται ὀπίσω, καὶ οὐκ ἀφίουσι τὴν ἄθλιαν ψυχὴν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, μὴ ἔχουσαν ποῦ φυγεῖν· τὸ προσπίπτειν ἀδιαλείπτως αὕτη ἐστίν ἡ πόλις· εἴ τις οὖν προσπίπτει τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, βοηθήσει αὐτῷ ἐν παντὶ πειρασμῷ Ga; Z compresses considerably.

33 πόλεμον: "A battle force" Hardy; "une guerre" Draguet, based on the Syriac. Is this a concretization, a personification, or both? Zini's Latin expands the sentence, probably to address this problem.

36 θαρρήσης: Gignac, *Grammar* I 142-145 lists no documentary examples of -pp/-ps- spelled in such a fulsome manner.

42 αὐτῷ (read αὐτὸν): Perhaps best explained by the ο/ω interchange (cf. line 40) plus the writer's tendency to omit final ν (cf. 26, 39).

43-44 [ἐάν . . . σου]: So G (γκ have πολέμου instead of πειρασμοῦ); sim. Z; ἐάν παρακαλέσεις τὸν θεὸν βοηθήσαι σοι περὶ πειρασμοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰσακούσῃ σου, μὴ ἐγκαθήσεις· αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδεν τὰ συμφέροντά σοι ὑπέρ σε Ga. On ἐάν with indicative see introd.

44-47 [ἀλλ' . . . σέ]: The papyrus in general follows G, which however have λαβὲ instead of ἄρον; ἐάν παρακαλέσεις τὸν θεὸν διὰ πᾶν αἴτημά σου, μὴ εἴπῃς· ἄρον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τι, ἢ δός μοί τι, ἀλλ' εὖξαι λέγων οὕτως· δέσποτα Χριστέ, σὺ βοηθός μου· ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου εἰμι ἐγώ, βοήθησόν μοι· μὴ ἐάσεις με ἀμαρτῆσαι εἰς σέ Ga; Z compresses considerably.

46. δόις (read δός): See Mayser, *Grammatik* I.1 89; cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I 197, 293.

193. Homer, *Iliad* 1.159-167

Inv. 178gl
Pl. 2

6.2 x 7.0 cm.

II/III
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Verso

Published: L. Feinberg, *BASP* 8 (1971) 27-28 (MP³ 581.1)⁷

The popularity of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as literary works in Greco-Roman Egypt has provided us with a quantity of Homeric papyri that is very large in relation to those of other authors. As is exemplified by the nine fragments of Homer published in this volume,⁸ these numerous papyri constitute evidence for ancient books of widely varying qualities. Some of the fragments are likely to represent not complete papyrus volumes containing entire books of Homer but excerpts from the poems made for practice or study. Such might be the case with the lines written on the verso of this small scrap, although the fact that the column begins in mid-sentence shows that there ought to have been at least one preceding column containing the first part of Achilles' speech. The verses

⁷ For the Mertens-Pack number, see "Note on Editorial Procedure."

⁸ We do not republish in this volume P. Col. inv. 695 recto, *BASP* 8 (1971) 35-38 = *PSIOd.* 11, the whole containing *Od.* 18.2-42.

are in an irregular, unpracticed school hand which could fit into the second or third century; indicative of this general period is part of a single line of writing in a good documentary hand which survives on the recto. The piece was reused for the school text at a time when a section of the verso fibers of the papyrus had already stripped away.⁹ Lectional signs are entirely lacking. There are no real textual variants, although a spelling interchange has produced $\omicron\delta$ for $\omicron\delta\delta'$ in 160.

The evidence of the papyri shows clearly that of all the books of the Homeric epics, *Iliad* I was the one most frequently read or used for study purposes.¹⁰ The lines represented in our fragment occur also in the following published papyri:¹¹

- P.Ryl.* I 43 (III; roll) = Pack² 578 - Verses 161-167.
- P. Bibl. Bodl. MS. gr. class. g 16(P) descriptum*, Lameere, *Paléographie homérique* 004 = Pack² 581 (III; roll) - Verses 159-166.
- P.Oxy.* IV 749 = Pack² 582 (II; roll) - Verses 160-167.
- P.Univ.Giss.* IV 36 = Pack² 583 (ca. 100 B.C.; roll) - Verses 163-167.
- P. Berol. inv. 9813 descriptum*, *BKT* V.1 p. 4 = Pack² 584 (II-III; roll) - Verses 164-167.
- P. Mich. inv. 6653*, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 54-55 (II/III; roll) - Verses 159-167.
- P. Berol. inv. 6869 + 21158*, *APF* 24-25 (1976) 6-12 (I/II; roll) - Verses 159-164 (no overlap).

⁹For the hand of the Homer text compare Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 5 (II/III, assigned); Roberts, *Literary Hands* nos. 20b (206) and 20c (mid-III, assigned) are professional hands which provide some general points of comparison. Lack of attention to the verticality of the left margin by the writer of the Columbia papyrus, as well as fluctuating letter size and spacing, must be responsible for the fact that, although according to the received text lines 160-161 have 37-38 letters apiece, they do not project as far to the right as one would normally expect (contrast especially verses 166-167, with 39 letters apiece, in the photograph).

¹⁰See *BASP* 22 (1985) 272 n. 2; as of 1979, 9.5% of published Homeric papyri (totaling 674 at the time) came from Book I.

¹¹For the sake of completeness, in this list and in the similar lists for the other eight Columbia Homeric fragments all papyri which contain any part of the verses in question are given. However, a papyrus which because of its state of preservation and that of the relevant Columbia papyrus (for example, if the one papyrus preserves only line ends and the other only line beginnings) shows *no textual overlap at all* with the portions of verses contained in the Columbia text under discussion, is annotated with "no overlap." If actual textual overlap concerns only some of the verses, the fact is ignored. Of course, it is often not possible to verify such particulars for papyri which were published only as *descripta*.

In the line notes to this and the following papyri of the *Iliad*, the readings of the medieval manuscripts are cited according to Allen's edition of 1931.

- 160 [τιμην αρνυμενοι Μενελαω] σοι τε κυνωπα
 [προς Τρωων των ου τι μετατρεπ]η οδ αλεγιζεις
 [και δη μοι γερας αυτος αφαιρησεσ]θαι απειλεις
 [ω επι πολλα μογησα δοσαν δε] μοι υιες Αχαιων
 [ου μεν σοι ποτε ισον εχω γερα]ς οπποτ Αχαιοι
 164 [Τρωων εκπερσωσ ευ ναιομεν]ομ πτολιεθρον
 [αλλα το μεν πλειον πολυαικος π]ολεμοιο
 [χειρες εμαι διεπουσ αταρ ην] ποτε [δασμ]ος κητ[αι]
 [σοι το γερας πολυ μειζον εγω δ ολιγον τε] φιλ[ον τε]

Recto: υποπα [. .] [(above, a large η or else a series of pen trials resembling the letter).

160 The verse was athetized by Zenodotus (Schol. A ad 159).

μετατρεπ]η: Could be -πη]ι.

οδ: Upper right third of ο survives; ούδ' codd.; ο]υδ P. Mich. inv.

6653. For the spelling interchange cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I 211-212.

αλεγιζεις: -ζει V¹.

163 οπποτ: ούδ' οτ' Zenod. (Schol. A).

164 ναιομεν]ομ: See Gignac, *Grammar* I 167; but the μ may in fact be a rapid ν.

194. Homer, *Iliad* 1.258-278

Inv. 472
Pl. 3

5.7 x 14.2 cm.

II/early III
Provenance unknown

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 255-56 (Pack² 594)

The papyrus comes from the lower part of a single column of a roll which was carefully executed by a professional writer in an attractive, upright book hand.¹² Accents, probably written during the production of the book, are carefully formed; they are usually indistinguishable in color from the text, but a few seem lighter. Apostrophes appear to be used consistently to mark elision. Those in 259 and 275 might have been inserted by the writer of the roll; but the one in 264, where the medieval manuscripts in fact differ on a question of word division, clearly looks like an afterthought by someone.

This passage is represented extensively in other published papyri, as follows:

- P.Ryl.* I 43 = Pack² 578 (III; roll) - Verses 258-274, 277-278.
- P.Oxy.* III 537 *descriptum* = Pack² 589 (III; roll) - Verses 258-264, 266, 273-278.
- P.Oxy.* III 538 *descriptum* = Pack² 595 (III; codex) - Verses 273-278.
- P.Fayum* 141 *descriptum* = Pack² 596 (I/II; roll) - Verses 273-278.
- PSI* VII 745 = Pack² 590 (II?; roll) - Verses 276-278 (no overlap).
- P. Strasb. inv. gr.* 3-32, *BIFAO* 54 (1955) 45-62 = Pack² 591 (II; roll) - Verses 258-278.
- P. Mich. inv.* 3430, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 56-58 (III/IV; codex) - Verses 258-267 (no overlap).
- P. Fayum inv.*, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 263 (II; roll) - Verses 272-278 (no overlap; apparently not from same roll as *P.Fayum* 141)

From a textual point of view, our papyrus seems to be of high quality. It would appear to present a new variant in 278, where the

¹²Compare Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 28 (II, assigned); Schubart, *P.Graec.Berol.* no. 31 (II, assigned). See also Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 23a (227-275).

accented ἐπι in such a carefully tended manuscript suggests that the writer, or the exemplar, intended to construe this and the preceding verse as μήτε σύ, Πηλείδη, θέλ' ἐριζέμεναι βασιλῆϊ | ἀντιβῆν ἐπι· οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς, with asyndeton between the two clauses. Also worthy of comment is the fact that our fragment joins the other four papyri which furnish evidence on this point, as well as many medieval manuscripts and perhaps Aristarchus himself, in not including verse 265 with its reference to Theseus.

-
- 260 [οι πε]ρι μεν β[ουλην Δαναων περι δ εστε μαχεσθαι]
 [αλλα] πίθεσθ' ἀ[μφω δε νεωτερω εστον εμειο]
 [ηδη] γαρ ποτ ε[γω και αρειοσιν ηε περ υμιν]
 [ανδ]ρασιν ωμ[ιλησα και ου ποτε μ οι γ αθεριζον]
 [ου γ]αρ πω τόιο[υς ιδον ανερας ουδε ιδωμαι]
 [οιο]ν Πειρίθ[ον τε Δρυαυτα τε ποιμενα λαων]
 264 [Και]νέα τ' Εξαδι[ον τε και αντιθεον Πολυφημον]
 266 [καρ]τιστοι δη κ[εινοι επιχθονιων τραφεν ανδρων]
 [καρ]τιστοι μεν [εσαν και καρτιστοις εμαχοντο]
 268 [φη]ρσιν ορεσκω[οισι και εκπαγλωσ απολεσσαν]
 [και] μεν τοισιν ε[γω μεθομιλεον εκ Πυλου ελθων]
 [τηλ]όθεν εξ ἀ[πιης γαιης καλεσαντο γαρ αυτοι]
 [και] μαχομην κ[ατ εμ αυτον εγω κεινοισι δ αν ου τις]
 272 [των] οι νυν βρο[τοι εισιν επιχθονιοι μαχεοιτο]
 [και μ]έν μεν βρυ[λεων ξυνιεν πειθοντο δε μυθω]
 [αλλα] πίθεσθε κ[αι υμμες επει πειθεσθαι αμεινον]
 [μητ]ε συ τουδ' αγαθο[ς περ εων αποαιρεο κουρην]
 276 [αλλ] ἔα ως οι πρωτα δ[οσαν γερας υιες Αχαιων]
 [μή]τε συ Πηλειδη θε[ελ εριζεμεναι βασιλη]
 [αντι]βην ἐπι ου πο[θ ομοιης εμμορε τιμης]

264 τ' Εξαδιον: τε Ξαδιόν O⁴; παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις χωρὶς τοῦ ε εὐρέθη Schol. AB.

264-266 Verse 265, which also appears in the Hesiodic *Scutum* as 182, is omitted by a number of codd. as well as by *P.Ryl.* I 43, *P. Mich. inv.* 3430, *P. Strasb. inv. gr.* 31-32, and *P.Oxy.* III 537. Other codd. give it in the margin, and O⁶U⁵W³ place it before 264; νόθος ὁ στίχος οὗτος BM⁴. For the tradition that the verse was athetized by Aristarchus cf. H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* (Berlin 1975) I 83. M. Van der Valk,

Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad II (Leiden 1964) 519-521 argues that it is genuine.

266: The Strasbourg papyrus places the verse before 258.

273 $\mu\epsilon\nu$: $\mu\nu$ *P.Fayum* 141.

275-276 *P.Oxy.* I 538, *P.Fayum* 141, and *PSI* VII 745 all agree with our papyrus and with the codd. in the inclusion of these two verses, suggesting that their omission in *P.Ryl.* I 43 was due to haplography.

278 See introd. The suggestion there is due to M. W. Haslam.

195. Homer, *Iliad* 2.188-203

Inv. 463a

12 x 11.6 cm.

III

Pl. 4

Provenance unknown

Verso

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 256-257 (Pack² 641)

This fragment, peppered with worm holes and abraded in many places, bears a text of Homer written on the back of an already used roll. The writer is practised but mixes non-cursive and cursive shapes for some letters and otherwise has no pretensions to elegance or ornamentation.¹³ One rough breathing and a few accents, one grave and the others acute, are present. The grave in 188 causes puzzlement (see comm.). Those in 190-191 appear fainter and may be by a pen other than that of the main text. *Iota* adscript was apparently not written. There is only one minor spelling mistake, in 192.

The passage is represented in other published papyri as follows:

P.Lit.Lond. 5 *descriptum* = Pack² 634 (III; codex) - Verses 188-203.

P.Tebt. I 4 = Pack² 632 (II B.C.; roll) - Verses 197-203.

¹³The other side of the piece is currently inaccessible because of mounting; according to Keyes it bears "a few illegible letters." For a plain book hand with similar features compare Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 30 (early III, assigned); Schubart, *Palaeographie* no. 52 (first half of III, assigned) and *P.Heid.* IV 302 (177/178), although faster than the Columbia papyrus, provide a general parallel for the more cursive features.

P. Hawara descriptum, W.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889) 24-28 = Pack² 616 (II; roll) - Verses 200-203.

PRIMI (P.Mil.) I 2 = Pack² 638 (II; roll) - Verses 188-203.

P.Pisa Lit. 36 = *P.Münch. II 36* (III/IV; roll) - Verses 188-192.

Although the Columbia papyrus comes from what must have been a relatively inexpensive book, the quality of its text is good; perhaps, in fact, it was copied for personal use by someone with an interest in accuracy. In 196 the text supports an Aristarchean variant which also occurs in *P.Lit.Lond. 5* and *P.Pisa Lit. 36*. In 192, it again supports *P.Lit.Lond. 5*, this time against *P.Pisa Lit. 36*.

- 188 [ου τινα μεν β]ασι[λ]ηα και εξοχον ανδρα κιχειη
[τον δ αγανοις ε]π[ε]εσσην ερητυσασκε παρ[α]στας
[δαιμονι ου σε εοικ]ε κακον ως δειδίσσεσθαι
[αλλ αυτος τε καθησ]ο κα[ι] άλλους ιδρυε λαους
192 [ου γαρ πω σαφα οισθ] ήιος νόος Ατρείδαιω
[νυν μεν πειραται τα]χ[α δ] ψεφται υιας Αχαιων
[εν βουλη δ ου παντε]ς ακουσαμεν ριον εειπε
[μη τι χολωσαμενος ρ]εξη κακον υιας Αχαιων
196 [θυμος δε μεγας εστι δ]ιοτ[ρ]εφ[ε]ο[ς] βασ[ι]ληος
[τιμη δ εκ Διος εστι φι]λει δε ε μητιε]τα Ζευς
[ον δ αυ δημου τ ανδρα ιδοι] βροωντα τ εφευροι
[τον σκηπτρω ελασασκε]ν ομοκλησασκ[ε] τε μυθω]
200 [δαιμονι ατρεμας ησο και αλ]λων μυθον ακο[υε]
[οι σεο φερτεροι εισι συ δ απτολ]εμος και α[ν]αλκις]
[ουτε ποτ εν πολεμω εναριθμ]ιο[.]ς ουτ' ε[νι] βουλη]
[ου μεν πως παντες βασιλευ]σθ[ι]μεν ευθαδ Αχαιοι]
- - - - -

188 πρὸς τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐξῆς τὸ ἀντίσιγμα Schol. A.

κιχειη: Grave accents are often used in literary papyri on the syllable immediately preceding one which is to receive an acute, but this practice does not seem to have been observed here. κιχοίη qu. Schol. T; ἐφεύροι Max. Tyr. 26.5f. (ex 198).

189 ερητυσασκε: -τυεσκε O²; -ασθε V²³; -ασκε E⁴W⁵.

192 ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἔδει τετάχθαι τοὺς ἐξῆς παρεστιγμένους στίχους (203-205) Schol. AT.

Ἀτρεΐδᾶω: Ἀτρεΐδᾶω codd., *P.Lit.Lond.* 5; for the interchange see Gignac, *Grammar* I 277. According to Schol. A Aristophanes and other scholars preferred Ἀτρεΐωνος, which *P.Pisa Lit.* 36 has.

192-197 Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.58 omitted these lines.

193-197 According to Schol. Ab, these verses were athetized.

196 διοτρεφ[ε]ος βασι[ι]λης: So many codd. and *P.Lit.Lond.* 5; Schol. A state that Aristarchus and other scholars (but not Zenodotus) favored the singular. A large number of codd. and ancient testimonia have διοτρεφέων βασιλήων.

198 εφευροι: ἐφεύρη MS.

202 εναριθμ]ιο[.]ς: Codd., and papyri which provide testimony, all have ἐναριθμιοσ. Did a spelling error in the case ending produce the extra use of space in our fragment?

196. Homer, *Iliad* 2.433-452

Inv. 517b
Pl. 5

6 x 13.7 cm.

I B.C./Early I A.D.
Provenance unknown

Published: L. Feinberg, *BASP* 8 (1971) 2-32 (MP³ 652.1)¹⁴

Reported to have been associated in a purchase lot with the fragment of Euripides' *Orestes* published below as 202, this Homeric papyrus does in fact appear to date from the same general period as it. As Feinberg noted, the unusual physical condition of the piece seems to have prevented it from being identified for some time. It consists in fact of two damaged strips, representing the central and right portions of the column respectively, which have become fused together. This has occurred in such a way as to create discontinuous, horizontally misaligned verses which present a special challenge to the editor.¹⁵

Although written in a reasonably uniform and practised book hand, the text, small enough in extent as it is, shows repeated signs of

¹⁴ For the Mertens-Pack number, see "Note on Editorial Procedure."

¹⁵ See Feinberg's discussion. The verso of the papyrus is not known to contain writing; it is currently inaccessible because of the mounting. Parallels to the hand are Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 8b (30-29 B.C.); Seider, *Paläographie* II no. 16 (I B.C., assigned); Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 21 (I B.C., assigned); no. 57 (*Acta Alexandrinorum*, first half of I A.D.); Schubart, *Palaeographie* no. 76 (Augustan).

sloppiness. One error, in 449, is a case of spelling confusion which resulted in an extra *epsilon* being written within a word; the superfluous letter was deleted with a diagonal line that appears to be the work of a thicker pen. Another, which was left uncorrected, consists of a nominative where the accusative is called for at the end of 443. Yet another, compound error occurs in 438, where a subsequent verb form beginning with *alpha* perhaps confused the scribe into turning a nominative into an accusative and also omitting the letter at the beginning of the verb. Insofar as we can tell, the resulting unmetrical mess received no attention from a corrector.

The visible lectional signs are one high stop at the end of a verse and one apostrophe marking an elision. *Iota* adscript is not written in the one possible instance where it could have occurred. The passage in question is represented in other published papyri as follows:

P.Oxy. VI 944 = Pack² 653 (III; roll) - Verses 436-444.

P.Oxy. XI 1385 = Pack² 654 (V; codex) - Verses 444-446.

 [τοις αρα μυθ]ων [ηρχε] Γερ[ηνιος ιπποτα Νεστωρ]
 [Ατρειδη κυδι]στ[ε ανα]ξ αφυδρων Αγαμεμνον]
 [μηκετι νυν δη]θ' αφυθι λεγωμεθα μηδ ετι δηρον]
 436 [αμβαλλωμεθ]α εργον [ο δη θεος εγγυαλιζε]ι:
 [αλλ αγε κηρ]υκες με[ν Αχαιων χαλκοχιτ]ωνων
 [λαον κηρυσσο]ντας γε[φροντων κατα νηα]ς
 440 [ημεις δ αθρο]ρι ωδε κ[ατα στρατον ευρυ]ν Αχαιων
 [ιομεν οφρα] κε θασσο[ν εγειρομεν οξυν Αρ]ηα
 [ως εφ'ατ ουδ] ασιθησε[ν αναξ ανδρων Αγ]αμεμνων
 [αυτικα κηρυκε]σσιω λιγ[υφθογγοισι κελ]ευσε
 444 [κηρυσσειω π]ολεμουδ[ε κερη κομοωντα]ς Αχαιοι
 [οι μεν εκηρυ]σσουν τοι δ [ηγειροντο μαλ ωκ]α
 [οι δ αμφ Ατρει]ωνα διοτρ[εφες βασιλης]
 [θυνον κριν]οντες με[τα δε γλαυκωπις] Αθηνη
 448 [αιγιδ εχουσ] εριτιμοι αφηρων αθανατην] τε
 [της εκατον] θυσανοι πα[γχυρυσσει ηρεθ]οντο
 [παντες ευπ]λε[ε]κεες [εκατομβοιοις δε] εκαστος
 [συν τη παιφασσ]ουσα διε[σσυτο λαον Αχαιω]ν
 452 [οτρυνουσ ιεναι] εν δε [σθενος ωρσεν εκασ]τω
 [καρδιη αλληκτο]ν πο[λεμιζειω ηδε μαχ]εσθαι

435 νυν δη]θ' α[υθι: So many codd.; [δη] νυν ταυτα Zenodotus; δη νυν αυθι Callistratus (Didymus and Schol. AbT); δη αυθι qu. Schol. b, so V³; μη δ' αυθι U⁹; νυν δ' αυθι O⁵.

438 κηρυσσο]ντας γε[ιροντων: Twofold confusion; κηρυσσοντες αγειρόντων codd.

442 κηρυκε]σσιw: The movable ν is discussed in detail by Feinberg in the ed. pr.

443 Αχαιοι: 'Αχαιούς codd. Perhaps the papyrus had κομοωντε]ς as well.

448 ηερεθ]οντο: So Zenodotus and the vulgate; ηερέθονται many codd.

449 ευπ]λε{ε}κεες: εύπλοκέες Bm⁶Bm⁸Le¹O⁶P³V⁹.

451 εκασ]τω: εκάστου is attested by a number of codd. and by Plut. *Vit.Hom.* 2.130.

197. Homer, *Iliad* 5.857-878
(= *P.Heid.* I [Siegmann] 201)

Inv. 496
Pl. 6

7.2 x 16.7 cm.

Late II/III
Oxyrhynchos

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 386-387 (Pack² 769)

The papyrus comes from the left side of a column of a book of high quality. Written in a skilled, upright hand of the "strenger Stil," the text presents an attractive and easy-to-read appearance that was enhanced by generous intercolumnar spaces.¹⁶ It has not been possible to establish an actual physical join between the Columbia papyrus and *P.Heid.* I (Siegmann) 201, as the right third of the column carried by the latter is missing. But the fact that the Heidelberg papyrus appears to be written in an identical hand to that of the Columbia fragment and bears a column

¹⁶Compare the following hands: Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 20a (early III, assigned); Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 49 (II-III, assigned); Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 84 (III, assigned). The Heidelberg papyrus (see below) was assigned by its editor to II.

comprising verses 835-856 provides circumstantial evidence that the two pieces represent two successive columns from the same roll.¹⁷ At the left edge of its margin and opposite 873, the Columbia fragment preserves a complete *nu* which should represent the end of 851.¹⁸

The height of the column is 22 lines, which indicates that of the 42 columns required to contain Book V the Heidelberg and Columbia fragments bear the 38th and 39th. The height of the roll was probably in the 18-20 cm. range; and its length, if it contained only this book, should have been at least 5.5 m. The verso of both the Columbia and Heidelberg pieces is blank.

In the Columbia fragment, assistance was provided to the reader by the writing of diaeresis on initial *upsilon* as well as by accents and rough breathings over initial vowels at the beginnings of 860 and 864. These marks could be by the same hand as the main text and are comparable in distribution, as well as in physical form, to those of the Heidelberg fragment. In 859 someone with a thicker pen--very possibly the same one which cancelled a superfluous letter in 840 of the Heidelberg piece--and a cruder writing style has inserted above the line a $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ which had been omitted, probably as a result of the following *delta*. As is generally the case in this period, *iota* adscript is neglected. A wedge-shaped paragraphus immediately preceding 864 is perhaps intended to call attention to the simile which begins at that point. This mark is in very light ink and may be the work of a third pen or hand.

There are no noteworthy variants in the Columbia papyrus, the text of which, like the Heidelberg piece, is of high quality. The passage covered by the Columbia fragment is represented in other published papyri as follows:

P. Bodmer I = Pack² 736 (ca. 250-350; roll) - Verses 857-878.

P. Soc. Pap. Alex. inv. 242, BIFAO 46 (1947) 41-48 = Pack² 765 (II; roll) - Verses 857-859.

P. Bodl. Lib. inv., Lamceere, Paléographie homérique 032 = Pack² 768 (I/II; roll) - Verses 857-878.

νείατον ες [κενεωνα οθι ζωννυσκετο μιτρη]
τη ρα μιν ο[υτα τυχων δια δε χροα καλον εδαψεν]

¹⁷ Thanks are due to D. Hagedorn for providing a photograph of the Heidelberg papyrus.

¹⁸ The Columbia piece also shows a section of horizontal in a similar position opposite 862. This might be part of the *nu* at the end of 839.

- 860 εκ `δε` δουρ σπασε[ν αυτις ο δ εβραχε χαλκεος Αρης]
 ὄσσον τ εννε[αχιλοι επιαχον η δεκαχιλοι]
 ανερες εν πι[ολεμω εριδα ξυναγοντες Αρης]
 τους δ αφ ὑπο [τρομος ειλεν Αχαιους τε Τρωας τε]
 864 > δεισαντας· τό[σον εβραχ Αρης ατος πολεμοιο]
 ὄη δ εκ νεφέω[ν ερεβεννη φαινεται σπρ]
 καυματος εξ α[νεμοιο δυσσαεος ορνυμενοιο]
 τοιος Τυδειδη Δ[ιομηδει χαλκεος Αρης]
 φαινεθ ὁμου ν[εφεεσσιν ιων εις ουρανον ευρυν]
 868 καρπαλιμω[ς δ ικανε θεων εδος αιπυν Ολυμπου]
 πα[ρ] δε Δίη Κρ[ονιωνι καθεζετο θυμον αχειων]
 δειξεν δ α[μ]βρ[οτου αιμα καταρρεον εξ ωτειλης]
 872 κα[ι] ρ ολοφυρ[ομενος επεα πτεροεντα προσηυδα]
 [Ζευ] πα[τερ ου νεμεσιζη ορων ταδε καρτερα εργα]
 [αιει] τοι [ριγιστα θεοι τετληοτες ειμεν]
 [αλλ]ηλων [ιοτητι χαριων ανδρεσσι φεροντες]
 [σοι] παντ[ες] μαχομεσθα συ γαρ τεκες αφρονα κουρην]
 876 [ουλο]μεν[ην η τ αιεν] αησυλα εργα μεμηλεν]
 [αλλ]οι με[ν] γαρ παντες οσοι θεοι εισ εν Ολυμπω]
 [σοι τ] επιπε[ιθονται και δεδημημεσθα] εκαστος]

858 τη ρα μιν: ἔνθά μιν Eustathius; τήν Bm⁸ uv.

860 τ: om. BE⁴LiPaV⁹; δ' Aristophanes (Schol. T ad 14.148), so T.

862 δ: om. M¹, eras. V¹⁹.

864 ὄη: The η is small, cramped, and further to the left than one would expect; but I do not believe Keyes was correct in believing it to have been inserted later. οἴος . . . ἐρεβεννῶν γρ. W³.

873 τοι: γὰρ Lesbonax 179.

198. Homer, *Iliad* 6.215-228

Inv. 492b
Pl. 7

6.7 x 9.0 cm.

Late I/Early II
Provenance unknown

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 258 (Pack² 784)

The papyrus bears text from the lower portion of a column. The writer is practised, but a number of cursive features and a few eccentricities of letter form prevent his product from being characterized as a book hand. These qualities likewise make dating difficult, although a general impression is possible based on palaeographical parallels.¹⁹

There are no noteworthy textual features or errors, and as far as we can tell the quality of the text is high. In two out of three instances, the writer took care to include *iota* adscript. In 219 a supralinear mark like an acute accent may have served to refer to a note or call attention to a point in the text. No lectional aids are present except for a diaeresis in 224 which has the form of an acute accent and appears to be in thinner ink than that of the main text.

The passage is represented in published papyri as follows:

P. Bodmer I = Pack² 736 (ca. 250-350; roll) - Verses 216, 219-224.

P. Oslo II 7 = Pack² 783 (III; roll) - Verses 215-224.

P. Mich. inv. 14, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 76-77 = Pack² 565 (II-III; roll) - Verses 211-221.

P. Berol. inv. 21102v, *MusHelv* 24 (1967) 61 (II; roll) - Verses 220-228.

PSI XV 1456 (II; roll) - Verses 215-228

¹⁹The *nu*, *pi*, and *tau* of the writer are especially idiosyncratic. Parallels to many features of the hand are provided by Roberts, *Literary Hands* nos. 11a (second half of I, assigned) and 13b (first half of II, assigned). Was the writer aiming for something like *P. Graec. Berol.* 22b (135)? Some examples of ω could suggest a later date than these.

- 216 [η ρα νυ μοι ξεινος πατ]ρ[ωιος εσσι παλαιος]
 [Οινευς γαρ ποτε δι]ος α[μυμονα Βελλεροφοντην]
 [ξεινισ ενι με]γα[ρ]οισιν εε[ικοσιν ηματ ερυξας]
 [οι δε και αλληλο]ισι πορον ξ[εινηια καλα]
 [Οινευς μεν ζω]στηρα διδ[ου φοινι]κι φαε[ιων]
 220 [Βελλεροφοντ]ης δε χρυσεον [δεπα]ς αμφ[ικυπελλον]
 [και μιν εγω κατ]ελειπον ιων [ε]ν δωμασ εμ[οισι]
 [Τυδεα δ ου μεμ]νημαι επει μ ετι τυτθοι [εοντα]
 [καλλιφ]οτ εν Θ]ηβησιw απωλετο λαος Αχ[αιων]
 224 [τωι νυν σοι με]ν εγω ξεινος φιλος Αργεί μ[εσσωι]
 [ειμι συ δ εν Λυκι]ηι οτε κεν των δημον ικ[ωμαι]
 [εγχεα δ αλλη]λων αλεωμεθα και δι ομι[λου]
 [πολλοι μεν γα]ρ εμοι Τρωες κλειτοι τ επικ[ουροι]
 228 [κτεινειw ον κε θ]εος γε πορη και ποσσι κιχ[ειw]

219 ζω]στηρα: Above τ is what resembles an acute accent in the same ink as that of the text. Its significance is uncertain.

225 των: Many codd. have τὸν.

226 αλλη]λων αλεωμεθα: According to Schol. AT the Zenodotean reading was ἀλλήλους ἀλεσώμεθα.

227 εμοι Τρωες: Τρῶες ἐμοὶ Bm⁸O²V³Vⁱ2.

κλειτοι: Many codd. have κλητοί.

228 πορη: Many codd. have πόροι.

199. Homer, *Iliad* 14.367-376

Inv. 414

10.7 x 8.8 cm.

Late I/Early II

Pl. 8

Provenance unknown

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 259 (Pack² 918)

The papyrus preserves the top right corner of a column. The careful execution of the writing and the skilled book hand with restrained

decorative features mark the roll out as one intended to be of high quality, at least as far as aesthetics are concerned.²⁰

The original scribe added Δαυαοισι above the line in 369 to signal a possible reading of the second half of the line as ἀμυνόμεναι Δαυαοισι. This wording--certainly acceptable in itself--is not attested elsewhere but probably derives from verse 362. Now if we ignore the supralinear 'Δαυαοισι' and look only at how verse 369 was written on the line itself, the papyrus reads ἀμυνεμεναι ἀλληλοισι. This reading, however, is unmetrical. Only at a later time did someone (whom we shall call M3) using lighter ink restore the metre by cancelling αι at the end of the infinitive. Since, however, this rendered the other variant metrically unworkable--or since he decided to eliminate it anyway--this corrector placed parentheses of deletion around 'Δαυαοισι'. The verse end then stood in the roll only in the form in which it occurs in the manuscript tradition, ἀμυνέμεν ἀλληλοισι. It appears that when faced with two variants in his exemplar, the original scribe left readers to fend for themselves in understanding either ἀμυνόμεναι or ἀμυνέμεν as needed. What he wrote may in fact have been due to copying blindly from an uncorrected exemplar where both variants were present.

A second variant of special interest is εχοντες in place of the ἐλόντες of the manuscripts in 373. A corrector (M2) who used ink comparable to that of the original scribe inserted a supralinear *lambda* but did not delete the *chi*. Someone, at some time, accented correctly for ἐλόντες. While ἔχοντες would be a satisfactory alternative here (see comm.), it probably arose at first as simply a visual error for ελοντες.

The two new variants displayed by the Columbia papyrus very likely do not go back to the earlier Hellenistic period when such deviations in Homeric texts were more frequent. The passage as a whole is represented by three other papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods. On each of the textual points where the Columbia papyrus shows a variant, these three all follow the common text shared by the manuscripts and restored by the correctors of the Columbia piece.

P.Lit.Lond. 22 = Pack² 899 (I; roll) - Verses 367-376.

P. Morgan, *SitzbBerl* 1912, 1198-1219 = Pack² 870 (IV; codex)

Verses 367-376.

²⁰For the hand compare Schubart, *P.Graec.Berol.* no. 19c (late I/early II, assigned); *P.Ryl.* I 60; *P.Ryl.* III 482. The latter two as well are generally assigned to late I/early II; see the plates and discussion in G. Cavallo, "Osservazioni paleografiche sul canone e la cronologia della cosiddetta 'onciale romana'," *AnScPisa* 36 (1967) 210-220.

P. Berol. inv. 11910 + 21156, *APF* 24/25 (1976) 26-32 (late II/early III; roll) - Verses 367-375.

The additions of *iota* adscript in 367 and 372 (but not 371) were cosmetic touches by M2. But the insertions, also by M2, of the *mu* of μένει (accompanied by the deletion of a now superfluous *nu*-movable) in 367 and of the first syllable of ἔσσειται in 368 were essential to restoring both meaning and metre to an inattentively written text. Lastly, the generous use of accents is worthy of note.²¹ In particular, these include several instances of the grave to signal for the reader a following syllable which was to be given the acute.²²

- 368 [ινησιw ἐπι γλαφυρη]σι[ν] ἔνει κεχολωμένος ἦτορ
[κεινου δ ου τι λιην π]οθη ἔσσειται εἰ κεν οἱ ἄλλοι
(Δαναοισι)
[ημεις στρυνωμεθ α]μυνέμεν[αι] ἀλληλοισιν
[ἀλλ ἀγεθ ως αν εγων ε]ιπῶ πειθώμεθα πάντες·
[ασπιδες οσσαι αρισται ε]νι στρατῶ ἦδε μέγισται
- 372 [εσσαμενοι κεφαλας δ]ε πᾶναιθησιν κορύθεσσιw
λ
[κρυψαντες χερσιν τε τα] μακρότατ' ἔγχε' ἐχόντες
[ιομεν αυταρ εγων η]γησομαι· [ο]υδ' ἐτι φῆμι
[Ἐκτορα Πριαμιδην] μενξειw [μ]ᾶλα περ μεμαῶτα
376 [ος δε κ αηρ μενεχαρμ]ος [εχει δ ολι]γ[ον σακος ωμω]
-

367 γλαφυρη] ἔσσειται ἔνει: γλαφυρησι μένει codd.

368 π]οθη ἔσσειται: ποθη ἔσσειται codd. Perhaps the scribe responsible for the error--whether he was the writer of the Columbia pap. or the writer of an exemplar--had words like ὑποθήσεται in mind.

369 α]μυνέμεν[αι] ἀλληλοισιν (Δαναοισιν): ἀμυνέμεν ἀλλήλοισι codd.

²¹ The majority appear to be by the original scribe or M2. The second acute in 367, the acute on the supralinear addition in 368, and the grave in 371 are probably by M3; this may also be true of the first acute in 367, the grave in 372, and possibly others as well. Stops and the one breathing present are attributable to M2.

²² See J. Moore-Blunt, "Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137-163, esp. 140. Cf. the comm. on 2.188 in 195, above.

373 ἐγχε': So codd. and the other papyri; ἔγχη Ag Bm⁴DM⁸V¹²V²⁹; ἄγχε P¹⁵.

εχ`λ'όντες: ἐλόντες codd. ἔχοντες would be a perfectly defensible reading here (cf. *Il.* 9.86, 12.444, 17.412 plus the many examples of δώματ' ἔχοντες), but see the discussion in the introd.

376]ος: Just inside the preserved top left curve of ς is a diagonal stroke which has some resemblance to a stroke of deletion. The pap. adds to the evidence that the verse (athetized by Aristarchus and apparently unknown to Zenodotus; cf. Schol. T ad loc.) was current in texts in general circulation in early Roman times.

200. Homer, *Odyssey* 12.384-390

Inv. 201c1
Pl. 9

5.5 x 7.0 cm.

Late III/II B.C.
Provenance unknown

Back blank

Published: L. Feinberg, *BASP* 8 (1971) 33-34 (MP³ 1108.1)

This tiny scrap containing the middle portion of lines from the bottom of a column is the earliest literary papyrus in the Columbia collection. The text, in a typical book hand of the period, shows no punctuation or other lectional signs.²³ It is, however, of special interest because it presents us with three viable variants which are not attested elsewhere and because it could easily fall into the general period before about 150 when "eccentric" texts often occur in the papyri.²⁴

The first variant, consisting of the substitution of δ' for the κ' or τ' of the manuscripts in 387, is perfectly acceptable and could have been composed by Homer. The same is true of the second one, which involves the replacement of a verb and the omission of the participle in 388 (see comm.). The third variant, which centers around a Doric genitive in 390 (see comm.), has been shown with great probability by G. Giangrande to

²³Compare Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 5a (late III B.C., assigned); Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 9 (II B.C., assigned); Schubart, *P.Graec.Berol.* no. 7a (II B.C., assigned).

²⁴For extensive discussion of such Homeric papyri see S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Köln 1967), especially 11-17.

have arisen from the attempt of a grammarian to rid the verse of διάκτορος as a genitive form. Following methods which can be shown to have been practiced by grammarians in the case of other Homeric passages, this individual would have abbreviated an existing Ἑρμείω and read the line as ἡ δ' ἔφη Ἑρμῆα δι' ἄκτορος αὐτῆ ἀκούσαι.

The papyrus joins *P.Ryl.* I 53 = Pack² 1106, a parchment codex of the third century A.D., in attesting to the inclusion of the passage 374-390, describing the interchange between Zeus and the irate Helios, in books in circulation during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. It reinforces our impression that Aristarchus' athetizing of this section probably had no effect on books in circulation, even in the Ptolemaic era.²⁵ However, neither the Rylands codex nor any other ancient manuscript covers the passage contained in the Columbia fragment.

The texts of this and the following *Odyssey* papyrus have been collated with the *editio maior* of A. Ludwich, Leipzig 1889.

- 384 [του δ απαμε]ιβομεν[ος προσεφη νεφεληγερετα Zeus]
 [Ηελι]η τοι μεν συ μ[ετ αθανατοισι φαεινε]
 [και θ]νητοισι βροτοι[σιw επι ζειδωρον αρουραν]
 [των] δε δ εγω ταχα ν[ηα θσην αργητι κεραυνω]
 388 [τυτ]θα διαραισαμι [μεσω ενι οιωπι πουτω]
 [ταυ]τα δ εγων ηκου[σα Καλυψους ηυκομοιο]
 [η δ ε]φη Ερμηα δι ακτορος αυτη ακουσαι]

387 δ: Not attested in the codd; κ' Ω; τ' PU. For potential uses of the optative without ἄν or κε see P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* II (Paris 1958) 213-221.

388 [τυτ]θα διαραισαμι: τυτθὰ βαλὼν κεάσαιμι codd. In Homer, forms of διαρραῖω are positioned in such a way that the second syllable must count as long, and they are spelled with -pp- by the codd. However, Aristarchus wrote forms with a single ρ in certain verses; see J. La Roche, *Homerische Textkritik im Alterthum* (Leipzig 1866) 390.

390 Ἑρμηα: Ἑρμείω codd.; Ἑρμῆα<ο> Feinberg, who took the verse as unmetrical as it stands in the pap. See introd. The verse has been supplemented after Giangrande, *Glotta* 51 (1973) 1-6.

δι ακτορος: See introd. διακτόρου Ω; διάκτορος P, Schol. 5.79.

²⁵On this point see K. McNamee, "Aristarchus and Everyman's Homer," *GRBS* 22 (1981) 247-255.

201. Homer, *Odyssey* 17.331-355

Inv. 514

4.2 x 16.8 cm.

I

Pl. 10

Provenance unknown

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 387-388 (Pack² 1128)

The papyrus preserves the middle part of 25 verses comprising an entire column of text. With this format about 24 columns would be required to contain Book 17, and this column would correspond most closely to the fourteenth. The roll was professionally written in an attractive book hand, but no accents or other lectional signs are evident.²⁶ The scribe appears to have written *iota* adscript consistently. Meticulousness is also evident in 355, where the *nu* of φρεσω was written in above the line--but where it destroys the metre--and in the altering of *ye* to *de* in 338. These changes cannot be distinguished from the pen of the main text. In 340, where there is considerable dirt and loss of surface fibers, it seems that a horizontal line was drawn through several of the letters in κυπαρισσ[ωωι]. This is puzzling; was it meant to be a cancellation of the word?

But the most valuable feature of the papyrus for Homeric textual criticism is an entirely new variant, *δος*, in line 354 in place of the reading of the codices, *μοι*. As Keyes showed, our new variant is just as worthy of consideration as the traditional reading, if not more so.

The passage is represented in other published papyri as follows:

PIFAO inv. 75, BIFAO 46 (1947) 66-67 = Pack² 1127 (I?; roll)
- Verses 331-335.

²⁶Keyes assigned the papyrus to the second century A.D. However, the palaeographical parallels make the previous century a more appropriate estimate of date. Even the late first century B.C. is possible. See especially *PSI* II 122 (Tav. lx in *P. Mostra* = Pap. Flor. XII, Suppl., Florence 1983; I, assigned), containing *Od.* Book I and very close to, although not identical with, the Columbia piece. Cf. also Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 18 (I, assigned); Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 13 (II, assigned); Schubart, *Palaeographie* no. 76 (Augustan period, assigned); Roberts, *Literary Hands* nos. 9b and 9c (late I B.C., assigned) also provide important points for comparison.

P. Acad. d. Inscr. et Belles Lettres, *CRAI* 1905, 215-217 =
Pack² 1126 (IV; parchm. codex) - Verse 331.

- 332 [κειμενον ε]νθα δε δαι[τρος εφ]ιζεσκε κρεα πολλα
[δαιομενος] μνηστηρσ[ι δομον κατα δαι]νυμενοισιν
[τον κατεθηκ]ε φερων προ[ς Τηλεμαχοιο τραπεζα]
[αντιον ευθα δ α]ρ αυτος εφεζετ[ο τω δ αρα κηρυξ]
[μοιραν ελων προ]τιθει κανερον τ[εκ σιτον αιφρας]
336 [αγχιμολου δε] μετ αυτον εδυσατ[ο δωματ Οδυσσευς]
[πτωχω λευγαλ]εωι εναλιγκιος η[δε γεροντι]
[σκηπτομενο]ς τα δε λυγρα περι χ[ροι ειματα εστο]
[ιξε δ επι μελινο]υ ουδου εντοσ[θε θυραων]
340 [κλιναμενος σταθ]μωι κυπαρισσ[ινωι ου ποτε τεκτων]
[ξεσσειν επισταμ]ευωσ και επι [σταθμην ιθυνευ]
[Τηλεμαχος δ επι] ρι καλεσασ προ[σσειπε συβωτην]
[αρτον τ ουλον ελ]ων περικα[λλεον εκ κανεοιο]
344 [και χρεασ ως οι χειρ]εσ εχανδα[νον αμφιβαλουτι]
[δος τω ξεινω ταυ]τα φερων αυτον τ[ε κελευε]
[αιτιζειν μαλα πα]ντας εποιχομε[νον μνηστηρας]
[αιδωσ δ ουκ αγαθη] κεχρημενωι αυδ[ρι παρεωαι]
348 [ως φατο βη δε συφ]ορβος επει τον μ[υθου ακουσειν]
[αγχου δ ισταμενο]ς επεα πτεροειτ[ε αγορευειν]
[Τηλεμαχος τοι ξ]εινε διδοι ταδε κ[αι σε κελευει]
[αιτιζειν μαλα παν]τας εποιχομε[νον μνηστηρας]
352 [αιδωσ δ ουκ αγαθη]η φησ εμμεναι αυ[δρι προικτη]
[τον δ απαμειβομ]ενος προσεφη π[ολυμητις Οδυσσευς]
[Ζευ ανα Τηλεμαχο]ν δος εν ανδρασ[ιν ολβιον ειναι]
[και οι παντα γενοιθ ο]σσα φρεσι `ν` σηισι μ[εινοια]

331 The verse was omitted by P.

ε]νθα δε: ενθα τε Bekker.

333 Om. H; add. in marg. H².

334 εφεζετ[ο; ε]φιζετο H.

335 Om. H; add. in marg. H².

προ]τιθει: So MJ; ε]τιθει Ω; παρετιθει gl. X.

336 μετ αυτον: So P; μετ' αυτουσ Ap. Soph. 5.25.

εδυσατ[ο: So GH; ε]δύσετο F, Schol. T ad 16.820; ε]δύσσετο
XDULW; ε]βήσσετ' Ap. Soph. 1.1.

338 δε: δ was corrected from γ.

340 See introd.

347 κερημενωι αυδ[ρι: φησ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ J, γρ. M^a.

350-352 Om. G, add. in marg. G².

350 ταδε: So Ω; ταῦτα P.

352 αγαθ]η: Palaeographically this, the reading of FP, is to be preferred over that of HDULW, ἀγαθ]ην.

φησ: So VLXWDU; φη PH.

354 δος: μοι codd. The traditional reading entails construing an "infinitive for imperative"; on this feature of Homeric prayers see Keyes' note.

355 φρεσι`ν': φρεσσιν U.

202. Euripides, *Orestes* 208-247

Inv. 517a
Pl. 11

7.2 x 14.0 cm.

Late II/Early I B.C.
Provenance unknown

Published: C.W. Keyes, *Classical Philology* 33 (1938) 411-413 (Pack² 410)

With seventeen published fragments of rolls or codices as well as three excerpts quoted in anthologies, the *Orestes* is second only to the *Phoenissae* in statistical representation among the papyri of extant Euripidean tragedies. Clearly the play was one of the most commonly read tragedies in Greco-Roman Egypt from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period. Especially noteworthy in the case of the *Orestes* papyri is the large number of texts--six as well as two of the anthologies--which date from the Ptolemaic period.²⁷

²⁷Seven fragments of rolls or codices of the *Orestes* are listed in Pack² (402, 409-414), as are three anthologies (1576, 1592, 1950). To the first group should be added P. Berol. inv. 17014 + 17051, the probable identification of which with P. Berol. inv. 21180 is discussed by J. Lenaerts, *Pap. litt. grecs* (Brussels 1977 = Pap. Brux. 13) no. 6; P. Laur. inv. III/908 = Π¹⁷ (see comm. on lines w-z, below); P. Flor. inv. 1475, *Bibl. di Studi Sup.* 51 (1965) 114; P. Berol. inv. 21180, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 108; *P.Köln* III 131 = VI 252; *P.Oxy.* LIII 3716-3718; P. Mich. inv. 3735, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 261-266. The Ptolemaic examples in addition to the Columbia papyrus are Pack² 411 (with musical notation), 414; *P. Köln* III 131; *P.Oxy.* LIII 3716; P. Mich. inv. 3735. Two of the anthologies (1576, 1592) are also Ptolemaic in date. The quotation in P. Herculanensis 1012, ed. W. Croenert, *NGG* (1922) 26, cf. *Cron.Herc.* 10 (1980) 32, should also be noted. For some recent publications of other papyri of extant Euripidean plays see H. Maehler, *APF* 30 (1984) 5-29; F. Montanari, *RFIC* 115 (1987) 24-32. Papyri of the *Phoenissae* have been studied by D. Mastronarde and J. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoenissae* (Berkeley 1982), esp. 16-19. For statistical studies concerning finds of Euripidean papyri of both extant and non-extant

The Columbia papyrus is a section of roll containing the left half of one column and, to the left of it, line ends from the preceding column. The text is written in an experienced book hand with features characteristic of the later Ptolemaic period.²⁸ The roll would have been a reasonably attractive book, although the intercolumnar space is reduced to zero or nearly so following some of the longer iambic verses of Column I. This feature, which seems to be characteristic of Ptolemaic literary rolls as contrasted with Roman ones,²⁹ is here accentuated by the pronounced tendency of the writer to begin lines in Column II progressively further to the left. With a format of 22 lines per column, 77 columns filling some ten metres of roll would have been required to contain the play if it were colometrized as it appears in modern editions.

Some of the problems with which choral passages contained in dramatic papyri often present us are well illustrated by the scanty fragments of the end of the parodos which precede verse 208. In this edition we designate these lines w-z (see comm.). In the papyrus they were given a colometry different from, and seemingly quite inferior to, that of P. Laur. inv. III/908 = Π¹⁷ (above, note 27), which has been dated to the second half of the second century B.C. The latter, which covers 196-216, is the only other published papyrus containing any of the lines represented in the Columbia fragment. The colometry and lectional signs of the lyric portion of Π¹⁷, where part or all of lines 196-207 are preserved, show a considerable grasp of, and perhaps interest in, metre. Both papyri are late enough to have drawn upon the colometrization of lyrics which was presumably instituted by Aristophanes of Byzantium. That the text of the Columbia papyrus reflected with much accuracy Aristophanes' arrangement seems doubtful. But the irregular line ends in the lyric section as well as the date of the fragment suggest that it had

plays at Oxyrhynchus alone, see B.E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri, I: Texts from Oxyrhynchus*, New Haven/Toronto 1969.

²⁸ Compare the following: P. Oxy. IX 1178 (early I B.C., assigned, itself from a roll containing the *Orestes* and very similar to, although not identical with, the Columbia papyrus); Schubart, *Palaeographie* no. 76 (found with documents of early I B.C.); Schubart, *P. Graec. Ber.* no. 11b (I B.C., assigned); Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 10 (II B.C., assigned); no. 11 (II B.C., assigned); no. 13 (after 150's); Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 12 (mid-II B.C., assigned); no. 55 (mid-I B.C., assigned). See also the introd. to 196.

²⁹ K. McNamee reports that of 47 papyri of the Ptolemaic period known to her to have marginal notes 16, or 34%, have intercolumnar spaces of 1.1 cm. or less. But of 474 papyri dated to the first three Roman centuries, by contrast, 27, or only 6%, meet these specifications.

some pretensions--however misguided--to colometrization and that it was not simply written out like prose after the fashion of earlier Ptolemaic papyri.³⁰

It is a pity that the stichomythia portion of the fragment overlaps with Π¹⁷ but rarely. Paragraphi, written in ink that cannot be distinguished from that of the text, regularly indicate change of speaker. No other marks indicating speaker assignment are in evidence. Of special interest is the paragraphus following 232, which helps to confirm the assignment of the line to Orestes as reflected in the best manuscript tradition and in the preferences of modern editors (see comm.). At the same time, remains of ink following *δυσσρεστον* indicate that the text of this verse deviated from the known version.

The papyrus also presents four other variants which are not attested elsewhere: In 211 it has the unsatisfactory *νοσφ* in place of *νοσου*; by contrast Π¹⁷ gives the standard, and better, reading. In 216 the papyrus has Orestes say that his lack of memory is due to being deprived of "remedies" (*ἀκῶν*) rather than of "wits" (*φρενῶν*). In 240 the omission of *ἐς* requires us to revise our grammatical understanding of this and the previous line, although in a way which is acceptable. Finally, in 231 *ᾠτις* (a spelling which is itself not attested in the manuscripts) was changed to the colorless *ᾠτη* by a corrector who may not have recognized this spelling of the adverb as an acceptable possibility.

On additional textual points the papyrus is, as Keyes noted, rather eclectic in its relationship to the medieval manuscripts. As with the new variants cited above, the selection of readings is also a mixed one with regard to merit. Thus, the omission of *τ'* in 220 goes against the better tradition and obscures the sense. In 224 *νοσ]ωι*, which is cited as a variant by some manuscripts and by the scholia, at least gives acceptable sense and demonstrates the antiquity of this variant. On the whole, then, the papyrus offers us a rather extensive demonstration of how access to the ancient tradition is represented sporadically in various parts of the manuscript tradition and how, in addition, a portion of the ancient tradition is not represented in the manuscripts at all.³¹

³⁰ For Euripidean papyri which were too early to be affected by the tendency to colometrize following the period of Aristophanes of Byzantium, see G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 249-250. Cf. A. Tuilier, *Recherches critiques sur la tradition du texte d'Euripide* (Paris 1968) 61. On the identification of the colometry of the medieval manuscripts with that of the Alexandrian tradition see Zuntz, 32. Mastronarde and Bremer (above., n. 27), Chapter 7 exhaustively treat the colometry of the *Phoenissae* in both papyri and manuscripts.

³¹ For a general discussion of the contributions of papyri to Euripidean textual studies see M. Manfredi, *Proc. XII Congr.* 273-278.

A single acute accent is visible, in 229. No other lectional signs or punctuation marks can be verified. Opposite 230 is a long diagonal mark with a termination that resembles a dipole; its significance is unclear. The one instance of metrically required crasis (233) is written out fully and is unmarked. Elided spellings in 229 and 231 contrast with *scriptio plena*. *Iota* adscript is not consistently written. The orthography is not entirely free from variations of the sort common in papyri: In 236 an iotacistic error by the scribe has been corrected, perhaps by him; but in 243 a would-be corrector seems to have introduced an itacistic misspelling.

In the upper margin and the broad intercolumnar space to the right of lines w-z, parts of three widely spaced lines of writing in a different hand from that of the main text, as well as lighter than it, are visible. There may have been an attempt to erase these; in any case it has not been possible to determine what, if anything, they have to do with the Euripides. On the verso, a few numerals together with a talent sign are evidence of the roll's reuse for documentary purposes.

The text has been collated with the edition of W. Biehl, *Euripides, Orestes* (Leipzig 1975), where the papyrus is designated Π⁴.

Column I

w	[	ca. 27]
x	[	ca. 27	]ος
y	[	ca. 27].
z	[	ca. 27]
208	[ορα παρουσα παρθεν Ηλεκτρα πελας] [μη καταβαιν σε συγγονος λεληθ οδ]ε [ου γαρ μ αρεσκει τωι λιαν παρειμενωι] [ω φιλον υπνου θελγητρον επικουρον] νοσω		
212	[ως ηδυ μοι προσηλθες εν δεοντι γε] [ω ποτινια Ληθη των κακων ως ει σοφ]η [και τοισι δυστυχουσιν ευκταια θεος] [ποθεν ποτ ηλθον δευρο πως δ αφι]κομην		
216	[αμνημονω γαρ των πριν απολειφθ]εις ακων [ω φιλταθ ως μ ηυφρανας εις υπνον] πρεσων		

- [βουλι θιγω σου κανακουφισω δεμα]ς
 [λαβου λαβου δητ εκ δ ομορξον αθλι]ου
 220 [στοματος αφρωδη πελαιον ομματ]ωι εμων
 [ιδου το δουλευμ ηδου κουκ αναινο]μαι
 [αδελφ αδελφη χειρι θεραπευειν με]λη
 [υποβαλε πλευροις πλευρα καυχμω]δη κομην
 224 [αφελε προσωπου λεπτα γαρ λευσω νοσ]ωι
 [ω βοστρυχων πινωδες αθλιον καρ]α

Column II

- ως ηγρωσαι δι[ια μακρας αλουσ]ιας]
 κλινομ μ ες εξ[υνην αυθις οταν μ ανη] νοσος]
 228 μανιας αναρ[θρος ειμι κασθενω μελη]
 ιδου φιλον το[ι τωι νοσου]ντι δεμνιου]
 αυιαρον ον το [κτημα αναγκαιον δ ομ]ως]
 232 αυτ[ισ]η μ ες ορθο[ν στησον ανακυκλει δεμα]ς]
δυσαρεστον .[
 η και επι γαιας α[ρμωσαι ποδας θελεις]
 χρονιον ιχνο[ς θεις μεταβολη παντων γλυ]κυ]
 236 μαλιστα δοξα[ν γαρ τοδε υγ]ειας εχει]
 κρεισσον δε το δ[οκειω και αληθειας απ]ηι]
 ακουε δη νυν [ω κασιγνητου καρ]α]
εως εωσι σε ευ [φρονειω Ερι]νυες]
 240 λεξεις τι καινο[ν κει μεν ευ χαρι]ν φερεις]
ει δε βλαβην τιν [αλις εχω το δυστυ]χηω]
 Μενελαος ηκει [σου κασιγνητος πατρο]ς]
 244 εν Ναυπλια δε σ[ελμαθ ωρμισται νεω]ν]
 πως ηπασ ηκει[ι φως εμοις και σοι]ς κακοις]
ανηρ ομογειης [και χαριτας εχω]ν πατρο]ς]
 ηκει το πιστον [τοδε λογων εμων δε]χου]
Ελενην αγομε[νος Τρωικων εκ τει]χεων]
 ει μονος εσωθη μα[λλον αν ζηλω]τος ην]

Intercolumnar space near top: ... επι . . . ου | ιτ . ρ | . . . τει

Col. I x-z: The letter at the end of y was probably either ε or σ, but conceivably ο or even η. For 201-207 Π¹⁷ (ed. R. Pintaudi, *SCO* 35 [1985] 13-23) has [συ] τε γαρ εν [νεκ]ροις το τ εμον οι[χετ]αι | βιου τ[ο πλεο]ν

μερος εν | στοναχαι[σι] τε και γοιοισι δακρυσι τ ουχιαις αγαμος | επι
 δ ατεκνος οτε βιοτον α | μελεος εις τον αιεν [ελκω] χρονον. In the
 Columbia papyrus, there would seem to be room in the lacuna for a
 maximum of about 27 letters in w-z; but one must also reckon with a
 (perhaps varying) eisthesis of at least 2-4 letters. Assuming the papyrus
 had a text similar in length to that of the manuscripts and Π¹⁷, line x
 perhaps ended with ατεκν]ος and y with μελεο]ς. Such an arrangement--
 and others can be hypothesized--would obscure the metre of the passage,
 at the very least splitting one dochmiac (μελεος εις τον αι-) between two
 lines. By contrast, colometry in the text of Π¹⁷ = P. Laur. inv. III/908
 usually shows an effective grasp of metrical principles. For recent
 discussion of the textual and metrical problems which have vexed the
 interpretation of the last few cola of this parodos, see the articles by V. di
 Benedetto and M. Martinelli in the same *SCO* volume. Cf. G. Willink,
Euripides, Orestes (Oxford 1986) ad loc.

211 νοσω: νοσου ed. pr. The ω seems clear despite an ink smudge
 obscuring its right side. The codd. read νόσου (except for A, which has
 νόσον). The genitive construction is the normal one. The scribe may
 have been influenced by the ending of the preceding verse. See also
 Gignac, *Grammar* I, 208.

213 σοφ]η: Light smudges around and to the right of the letter may
 be additional remains of the intercolumnar writing described earlier.

215 At the end of the line, possibly a (mistaken) double dot mark of
 speaker change; but the ink is similar to that of the intercolumnar writing.

216 ακων: φρενῶν codd., Schol. "The scholiast [Schol. V] remarks
 that the pause in the line can be put after γάρ or after πρίν, and the
 adoption of the papyrus reading would not end the ambiguity on this
 point, though the pause after πρίν seems decidedly preferable. Cf. *Electra*
 1111, οὐκ ἔχεις ἄκη" Keyes. κακῶν conj. Willink in preference to the
 "inept" ἀκῶν. M.L. West, *Euripides, Orestes* (London 1987) 74 mistakenly
 gives κακῶν as the reading of our papyrus.

220 ομματ]ων εμων: So VC; ὀμμάτων τ' ἐμῶν codd. Keyes read
 the latter on the papyrus, but close examination shows that he was
 mistaken.

222 με]λη: Right leg of λ. The ink following includes up to three
 horizontal strokes and may incorporate a correction. Was λει written?

224 νοσ]ωι: νόσω suprascr. M^{cr}C^{cr}, Schol.; κόραις codd. (preferred
 by West and Willink).

Col. II 227 κλωσμ: Read κλωου.

μ: West, perhaps confused by the assimilation of the preceding imperative, queries the existence of this reading in the papyrus.

228 ανα[θρος: ἔναθρος L.

229 το[ι: τι V.

230 ου το: So MBVLPCO; τὸ A, Stobaeus (SM); μὲν τὸ Stobaeus (A). Cf. Biehl and Willink, ad loc. For the marginal sign see introd.

231 αὐτ[ισ]η: The corrector drew a line connecting ι and σ to make η. The codd. and Stobaeus have αὐθις. Keyes thought that the Ionic spelling αὐτις might have been unfamiliar to the corrector and characterized the change as perhaps "pure emendation." Alternatively, the variant may have resulted from a misreading of ΙΣ as Η in the corrector's exemplar.

μ: δ' Stobaeus.

232 δυσαρεστον . [: In the codd. this verse appears as δυσαρέστον οἱ νοσοῦντες ἀπορίας ὑπο. At the edge of the lacuna, however, there is a section of low horizontal bar which suggests η (κ is also palaeographically possible). The paragraphus below shows that this line, like the previous one, was assigned to Orestes as it is by V. MBV²(in ras.)PC however assign it to the Chorus, and ALO give it to Electra (as did originally C²).

233 η: Above, possible remains of an accent or breathing.

γαιας: γαίης MVAC: γαῖαν O.

236 κρεισσον: ει appears to have been corrected from ισ.

δε: Om. A; γάρ L.

238 εωσι σε ευ: ἐώσω εὖ MC; ἐώσω σ' εὖ A.

240 ει δε: δ' ἐς codd. See Willink, ad loc. Keyes noted that with the omission of the preposition in the papyrus, βλάβην becomes the direct object of λέξεις; he compared *Alc.* 257-258 and *Med.* 741 as examples of the papyrus' congruity with Euripidean usage.

242 Ναυπλια: Ναυπλίω B²VLP.

243 ηπας: Read ειπας. η seems to have been "corrected" from ει.

246 Ελευτην: Over the initial vowel, a possible rough breathing.

203. Plato, *Phaedrus* 266B and 266D

Inv. 492a	Fr. A: 3.1 x 6.0 cm.	Late II/Early III
Pl. 12	Fr. B: 3.1 x 10.9 cm.	Prov. unkn.

Published: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 260-262 (Pack² 1405)

These two scraps preserve the top right corner of one column of a well produced roll and the middle part of the left side of another section of column. If they come from adjacent columns, as seems probable, the pieces may well have been physically contiguous at some point.³² Whether the verso contained writing is uncertain, since the mounting makes it inaccessible. The Columbia fragments do not come from the same ancient book as any of the seven other known papyri of the *Phaedrus*, nor do they overlap textually with them. Like most of the approximately 70 papyri of Plato as a whole, all of the *Phaedrus* papyri date from the second and third centuries.³³

The narrow column proportions belong to a type often used for philosophy and oratory. The best parallels to the handsome, professional book hand are in fact several other Plato papyri.³⁴ Double dots (there is no surviving evidence for paragraphi), indicate speaker change; however, there is only a single high dot in B 13. Single high dots also serve to fill out short lines. The only accent visible, a circumflex, is in lighter ink than that of the text. *Iota* adscript is written in B 18 and 23 but omitted in A 1.

³² 36 lines of writing are probably missing between the end of Fr. A and the beginning of Fr. B. If the two fragments are from adjacent columns, the upper limit for the column height is 47 lines.

³³ For the *Phaedrus* papyri see Pack² 1400-1406 plus *P.Oxy.* LII 3677. On the dating of 1400, see L. Youtie in *ZPE* 21 (1976) 14. *P.Turner* 7 comes from the same roll as Pack² 1402; see G. Menci, *SCO* 32 (1982) 249-251. Note also the quotations in *P.Oxy.* L 3543.9-10 and *P.Tura* III 287.1-2. Since Pack², the largest group of new papyri of Plato as a whole consists of the 15 pieces published by H. Cockle in *P.Oxy.* LII.

³⁴ Very close but not identical is *P.Oxy.* XV 1808 (late II, assigned; *Resp.*). See also Seider, *Paläographie* II, no. 33 (III, assigned; *Leges*); *P.Oxy.* XIII 1624 (early III, assigned; *Prot.*); Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 20a = *P.Oxy.* VII 1016 (early III, assigned; *Phaedrus*). Cf. as well *P.Oxy.* LII 3659 (II/III, assigned), also philosophical.

The Columbia papyrus makes no striking contributions to our knowledge of textual history, although in two instances, B 13 and 17-18, it supports the readings of the medieval manuscripts against various modern attempts at emendation. Additionally, in A 7-8 it contains a previously unattested variant, although this is clearly due to confusion on the part of someone who was not thinking carefully about the rhetorical terminology involved. These same lines also illustrate the text's preference for the older Attic spelling ξυν-.³⁵

The text has been collated with the edition of J. Vollgraff, Leiden 1912.

Fragment A

	[τειναμε]ν[ο]ς επηνε	266b
	[σεν ως με]γιστων αι	
	[τιον ημιν] αγαθων:	
4	[αληθεστα]τα λεγεις:	
	[τουτων] δη εγωγε	
	[αυτος τε ε]ραστης ω	
	[Φαιδρε τω]ν ξυναιρε	
8	[σεων και] ξυναγω	
	[γων ινα οι]ος τε ω λε	
	[γειν τε και] φρονειν	
	[εαν τε τινα] αλλου	

Fragment B

	[του]τω[ν απολειφθεν]	266d
	ομως τε[χητι λαμβα]	
	νεται παυ[τως δ ου]	
4	κ ατιμαστε[ον αυτο]	
	σοι τε και ε[μοι λεκτε]	
	ον δε τι με[ντοι και]	
	εστι το λειπ[ομενον]	

³⁵ On the papyri and the text of Plato in general, see A. Carlini, *Studi sulla tradizione antica e medievale del Fedone* (Rome 1972) 68-73; S.R. Slings, "Remarks on Some Recent Papyri of the *Politeia*," *Mnem.* 40 (1987) 27-34.

- 8 της ρητορικης: και]
μαλα που συ[χνα ω]
[Σ]ωκρατες τ[α γ εν τοις]
[β]ιβλιοις τοις περι λο]
12 [γ]ων τεχνη[ς γεγραμ]
[μ]ενοις· και [καλωσ]
[γε] υπεμνη[σας προ]
[οιμ]ιον μεν [οιμαι]
16 [πρ]ωτον ως δ[ει του]
[λο]γου λεγεσθ[αι επ αρ]
[χη]ι ταυτα λεγ[εις η]
γαρ τα κομψα τ[ης τε]
20 χνης: ναι: δ[ευτε]
[ρ]ου δε δη δι[ηγησιω]
[τι]να μαρτυ[ριας τ]
[επ αυτ]ηι τ[ριτου]
- - - - -

Fr. A 3 B incorrectly omits the double dots indicating speaker change.

7-8 ξυναρε[σεων: διαίρέσεων B; the latter is preferable here. Perhaps the papyrus was influenced by the upcoming ξυναγωγ[γων], as M. Haslam suggests in his forthcoming remarks on the piece in the *Corpus dei papiri filosofici*. O. Vinzent, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den Phaidros-Papyri* (Diss. Saarbrücken 1961) 144 tries to justify ξυναρε[σεων by postulating that καὶ ξυναγωγών is an intrusive gloss which in turn gave rise to a contrastive διαίρέσεων.

8-9 ξυναγωγ[γων: συναγαγών B.

Fr. B 13 και [καλωσ]: Hirschig deleted και, and Vollgraff emended the whole to παγκαλῶς.

17-18 [επ αρχη]ι: So B; equally possible here is ἐν ἀρχῆι T. Schanz and Vollgraff deleted the phrase.

19-23 There may be some uncertainty as to the distribution of text by lines in this section.

23 αυτ]ηι: Double dots follow, incorrectly, this word in B.

204. Isocrates, *In Soph.* (Or. 13) 1-3Inv. 458
Pl. 13

12.5 x 12.1 cm.

Late II/Early III
Provenance unknownPublished: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 262-63 (Pack² 1278)

This tattered fragment in a well-formed book hand bears the upper part of the opening column of the speech followed, to the right, by the beginning of the second column.³⁶ The height of Column I was 31 lines. The upper margin is ample, and a broad but incomplete blank space precedes the opening column. The piece is unusual, however, in that the writer seems to have written only the first few words of Column II—breaking off, apparently, in mid-sentence. This does not look like a writing exercise, and we shall probably never know what occasioned the interruption. The verso bears a number of ink remains which appear to come from accounts and include four lines in a second hand.³⁷

The papyrus lacks accents and other lectional signs. Its only embellishment consists of wedge-shaped line fillers to assist in justifying the right margin. Textually, it offers two new variants, the added $\mu\epsilon\nu$ in I 1 and the more colorful οὐδεν[οτ] in place of the manuscripts' οὐκ in I 5. Both are acceptable, in fact attractive. In I 11 the papyrus supports L against UV in reading σοφίαν in place of φιλοσοφίαν .

Published papyri of Isocrates at present total 64.³⁸ Only one other papyrus of the *In Sophistas*, *P.Oxy.* IV 704 = Pack² 1279, a third-century roll from Oxyrhynchos representing a later part of the speech and unrelated to the Columbia fragment, has been published. It is obvious

³⁶Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² no. 62 (later II, assigned) and no. 72 (II, assigned) are similar on many points. The ω with shortened central upright suggests the date is at least approaching III.

³⁷Keyes states that the Isocrates text is on the verso.

³⁸In addition to Pack² 1241-1282 see the supplementary list by S. Stephens in *P. Yale* II 103 introd.; add *P.Köln* VI 253 and *P.Rain.Cent.* 22. W. Willis reports the recent discovery by a Royal Ontario Museum expedition to the Dakhleh Oasis of a nearly complete, early fourth century codex containing the three Cyprus orations. P. Mertens will publish shortly, in an upcoming volume in honor of B. van de Walle, the Isocrates installment of the Mertens-Pack³ catalogue (see remarks in "Note on Editorial Procedure"); we are grateful to him for providing us with a copy of it in advance of publication.

that the speech enjoyed nowhere near the same level of popularity as, for example, the *Ad Demonicum* (16 papyri) or the *Panegyricus* (13 papyri).

The text has been collated with the second edition of Blass (Leipzig 1910).³⁹

Col. I

	ει μεν [παντες] ηθε[λ]ον οι παιδευ	§ 1
	ειν ε[π]ι[χειρου]ντες αληθη λεγειν]	
	και μη [μειζου]ς ποιεισθαι τας υπο	
4	σχεσ[εις ων ε]μελλον [ε]πιτελειω	
	ουδεπ[ο]τ αυ κα[κ]ως ηκουον υπο	
	των ιδ[ιωτων νυν] δ οι τολμων	
	τες λι[α]ν [απερισκ]επτως αλα	
8	ζονε[υ]εσθαι πεπο]ηκασιν >	
	ωστε [δοκειν α]μ[εινο]ν βουλευ	
	εσθαι [τους ρα]θυ[μειν] αιρουμε	
	νους των [πε]ρι την σοφιαν δι	
12	ατριβον[τ]ω[ν τ]ις γαρ ουκ αυ >	
	μισησει[ε]ν α[μ]α και καταφρο >	
	νησειε[ν] πρ[ωτο]ν μεν των >	
	περι τας [ε]ριδ[ας] διατρειβον	
16	[των οι προ]ση[οιου]νται μεν	
	[την αλη]θεια[ν ζη]τειν ευθυς	
	[δ εν αρχη των επα]γγ[ε]λμα	
	[των ψευδη λεγειν επιχει]ρου	

Col. II

αδ[υ]νατ[ων εστιν ουτοι τοιων]	§ 2-3
εις του[το]	

I 1 ει μεν [παντες]: ει codd. Keyes cites Isocratean parallels for the reading of the papyrus.

5 ουδεπ[ο]τ: ουκ codd.

11 σοφιαν: So L; φιλοσοφίαν UV.

³⁹Thanks are due to B. Mandilaras for stimulating discussion of the papyrus during a visit to New York.

205. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.675-696, 724-744Inv. 437
Pl. 14

10.0 x 15.4 cm.

III
Provenance unknownPublished: C.W. Keyes, *AJP* 50 (1929) 263-65 (Pack² 112)

The papyrus preserves the upper right and upper left parts of two adjacent columns of writing in an informal though professional book hand. The broad intercolumnar space and upper margin point to an ample if not luxurious layout for the book.⁴⁰ The text was, however, written on the verso of a roll that must have already been used for documentary purposes, as is demonstrated by the remains of a list on the back of the fragment. Above Column II of the Apollonius is a large numeral labeling it column 16. Columns would have been about 29 cm. in height, and the addition of margins would bring the total height of the roll to 35 cm. or more, a rather large format. For the roll as a whole, columns would have averaged slightly more than 48 lines each.⁴¹

These portions of the text are not represented in any of the 32 other published papyri of the *Argonautica*.⁴² The Columbia fragment contains no points of unusual textual significance.⁴³ In 693 it seems to have a variant that is found nowhere else; but the change from the dual to the plural is unacceptable in this context and must have arisen at some time from a myopic tendency to replace the unfamiliar with the familiar. In 742 someone may have tried to insert ε in τισομενος (see comm.). Although this might be a purely itacistic bit of meticulousness, it could

⁴⁰ Compare on many points Mich. inv. 1443, *HarvStsClPhil* 82 (1978) 277 n. 1 with plate (late II/III, assigned).

⁴¹ Keyes noted that the numbering of the columns should have coincided with the beginning of Book IV and that the four books would have filled, respectively, 29, 27, 30, and 38 columns. On column numbers in general see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*² 18-19.

⁴² For a list of the papyri of Apollonius see Vian (below) lxxxviii-xc. Add P. Montserrat inv. 122, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 45, containing 2.1158-1162 (late II/early III, assigned), and an unpublished Oxyrhynchos papyrus mentioned at *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2694 as containing part of Book I. *P.Bodmer* XXIX (Dorotheos) cites 4.1774; cf. *ZPE* 60 (1985) 48.

⁴³ On the value of the papyri for the textual history of Apollonius see M.W. Haslam, "Apollonius Rhodius and the Papyri," *IllClassSts* 3 (1978) 47-73. Cf. also H. Fränkel, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios* (Göttingen 1964) 12-21.

also result from a touch of scholarly interest on the part of a user of the book.

The beginning of Circe's speech in 739 is set off by a paragraphos. Care is apparent in the supralinear correction of an itacistic error in 728 and in the addition of *iota* adscript above the line in 730. More importantly, the fragment contains a somewhat exceptional number of breathings, diaereses, long marks, stops, and accents of all types (see comm.). Some are probably by different pens or hands from the main text. Taken together, they suggest a greater than average interest in such minutiae.

The text has been collated with F. Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes, Les Argonautiques*, III (Paris 1981), where the papyrus is numbered Π³².

Col. I

- 676 [εκ σταθμων αλις εισιν οπηδευοντα ν]ομηϊ.
[τοιους και προτερης εξ ιλυος εβλαστη]εν
[χθων αυτη μικτοισιν αφηρεμενους] μελεεσσιω·
[ουπω διψαλεω μαλ υπ ηερι πιληθει]σα·
[ουδε πω αζαλεσιο βολαις τοσον ηελιο]ιο
680 [ικμαδας αιυμεινη τα δ επι στιχας] ηγαγεν αιων
[συγκρινας τωσ οι γε φυην αιδηλοι επο]ντο·
[ηρωας δ ελε θαμβος απειριτον αιψα] δ εκαστος
[Κιρκης εις τε φυην εις τ ομματα πασι]ταινοντες
684 [ρεια κασιγνητην φασαν εμμεναι Αι]ητασ·
[η δ οτε δη νυχων απο δειματα πεμφεν ο]νειρων.
[αυτικ επειτ αφορρον απεστιχε τους δ αμ ε]πεςθαι
[χειρι καταρρεξασα δολοφροσυνησιν αυ]γεν·
688 [ευθ ητοι πληθυσ μεν εφετμαις Αισονιδ]ασ
[μιμνεν απηλεγως ο δ ερυσσατο Κολχιδ]α κουρη·
[αμφω δ εσπεσθην αυτην οδον εστ αφικ]οντο
[Κιρκης ες μεγαρον τους δ ευ λιπαροισι κ]ελευεν
692 [ηγε θρονοισ εξεσθαι αμηχανεουσα κιον]των
[τω δ ανεω και αναυδοι εφ εστιη αιξαντε]ς
[ιζανον η τε δικη λυγροισ ικετησι τετυ]κται
[η μεν επ αμφοτεραις θεμεινη χειρεσσι μ]ετω[πα]
696 [αυταρ ο κωπηεν μεγα φασγανον εν χθον]ι πι[ξας]
-

Col. II

ἴς

- 724 μνήστις ἀεικελίη [δυνεν φρενας ορμαινουσαν]
 ἰετο δ' αὐ κούρης ἐμφ[υλιον ἰδμεναι ὀμφην]
 αὐτίχ' ὅπως ἐ[υο]ήσεν [απ ουδεος οσσε βαλουσαν]
 πασα γὰρ Ἡελίου γεν[ε]η ἀριδῆλος ἰδεσθαι]
- 728 ηεν· ἐπ' ε' ἰ βλεφαρων ἀ[πο]τηλοθι μαρμαρυγησιν]
 ὄιον τε χρυσέην αὐ[τω]πιον ἰεσαν αἰγλην]
 ἠ δ' ἀρα τῆ' ἰ' τ[α] ἐκαστα [διειρομενη κατελεξευ]
 Κολχίδα γῆρυν ἰεῖ[σα βαρυφρονος Αἰητασ]
- 732 κούρη μείλ[ι]χιως· ἤ[με]ν στολον ἠδε κελευθους]
 ἠρων· ὅσα τ' ἀμφι [θοοις ἐμογησαν ἀεθλοισ]
 ὡς τε κασιγνητης [πολυκηδεος ἠλιτε βουλαισ]
 ὡς τ' ἀπονοσφιν ἀλυ[ξε]ν υπερβια δειματα πατροσ]
- 736 συν παισι Φριξοιο· φο[νον] δ ἀλειειν ἐνισπειω]
 Αψυρτου· την δ ου τι ν[ω] λαθεν ἀλλα και ἐμπης]
 μῦρομενην ἐλεα[φ]ειν ἐπος δ ἐπι τοιον εειπε]
 σχετλη· ἦ ρα κακογ [και ἀεικεα μῆσαο νοστον]
- 740 ἐλπομαι οὐκ' ἐπι δῆ[ν] σε βαρυν χολον Αἰητασ]
 ἐκφυγειν· ταχα δ' ἐ[ισι] και Ἐλλαδος ἠθεα γαιης]
 τίσομενος φονογ [υιοσ ὅτ ἀσχετα ἐργα τελεσσασ]
 ἀλλ ἐπ[ε]ι οὐν ἰκε]τις κ[αι] ὀμογνιοσ ἐπλευ ἐμειο]
 744 [ἀλλο μὲν οὐτι] κακ[ον] μῆτισσομαι ἐνθαδ ἰουση]
-

I 678]σϱ: The remains of two diagonal strokes, one higher and one lower, cut across the loop of α.

679 To the right of the last letter, remains of vertical strokes which may be deliberate.

680 αων: Possibly a diaeresis over ι.

688 The large character like an I which appears in the photograph to the right of this line is on a stray scrap and apparently pertains to the recto text.

691 κ]ελευεν: So Ω; κέλευσεν SP^c(?)D.

693 αἰξᾶντε]ς: αἰξᾶντε Ω.

694 L places 694-723 after 753.

II 725 Initial ι carries a macron and a diaeresis in addition to the rough breathing.

729 $\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\nu$: An acute may have been written in the same movement as the breathing. This ink seems lighter than the text.

$\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu$: So Ω ; $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta\nu$ ESI.

731 $\iota\acute{\epsilon}\iota[\sigma\alpha$: Second ι carries a diaeresis in addition to the circumflex.

735 Vian's note in the app. crit. regarding the papyrus is puzzling.

736 $\pi\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$: So Ω ; $\pi\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ L.

737 $\tau\eta\nu \dots \nu[\omicron\omega$: $\tau\eta\varsigma \dots \nu\acute{\omicron}\omicron\nu$ Fränkel.

742 $\tau\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$: So codd. The extra ink between τ and ι , which was not mentioned by Keyes, may have been intended as an added ϵ . It may have been written by a different pen. $\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ Fränkel.

743 $\kappa\epsilon] \tau\iota\varsigma$: So LGE; $\iota\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ AS(?)d.

206. Grammatical Table (Participles)

Inv. 492c
Pl. 15

5.3 x 6.2 cm.

III/IV
Provenance unknown

This small fragment contains portions of two adjacent columns which consist of paradigms of participial verb forms interspersed with some discursive or descriptive comments. The tiny, not wholly unpractised, but sloppy book hand points to a non-professional writer who composed or copied the text for study purposes.⁴⁴ The paradigms proper were written with a maximum of about 15 letters per line, although the prose in II 16ff. (see comm.) might have been handled differently. Enormous *alpha*'s protruding into the margin to the left of Column II inject a note of pretension into the overall visual appearance. One of these letters distinguishes a line in ekthesis beginning a comments section. Ekthesis is also used earlier in the column to highlight a two-line heading specifying number and voice (see II 3-4, note). However, various ink smears from erasures, together with the presence of a mysterious $\tau\omicron\nu$ in II 3 and what seems to be an intrusive word (cancelled) in I 3, further the impression that this papyrus was very much a working copy. As is common in such texts, there are no accents or other lectional signs (see II

⁴⁴ Hands of this sort are notoriously difficult to parallel closely. Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 24a (late IV, assigned) is comparable in many ways, but the Columbia hand is more irregular and makes greater use of cursive letter forms.

5, note). It is appropriate that the verso bears, in a book hand which is much better formed than that of the recto, the word ῥήματα with, directly below it, the syllable ρη.⁴⁵

The recto text belongs to a general type of verb paradigm in which forms are written out and, by means of headings preceding each entry, labeled according to voice, mood, tense, and number. A very full example of such a paradigmatic table (utilizing τύπτω and τίθημι and including participles) has been transmitted in manuscript as a supplement, composed before the end of the fifth century on the basis of the *Εἰσαγωγικοὶ κανόνες περὶ κλίσεως ῥημάτων* of Theodosius, to the *Τέχνη γραμματικὴ* of Dionysius Thrax.⁴⁶ Seventeen comparable texts of verb paradigms attested on papyri, wood tablets, and a lone ostrakon cluster mainly in the Byzantine period. They are listed here with, where applicable, the numbers assigned to them by J. Debut in "Les documents scolaires," *ZPE* 63 (1986) 268-269:

1. *MPER N.S.* III 33B (later II) = Pack² 2167 = Debut 338 - τύπτω
2. *P. Strassb. inv.* 364 + 16, *Aeg.* 37 (1957) 77-88 (III) = Pack² 2163 = Debut 349 - φωνέω
3. *PSI inv.*, *Aeg.* 20 (1940) 8-11 (III) = Pack² 2162 = Debut 339 - γράφω
4. *P. Br. Mus. Add. MS.* 37516 verso, *JHS* 29 (1909) 30 (III) = Pack² 2711 = Debut 342 - νικάω (cf. *χρεία* on recto)
5. *Bodl. Libr. Gr. Inscr.* 3019, tablet 7a, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 145-146 (III) = Pack² 2732 = Debut 345 - ποιέω
6. *MPER N.S.* XV 136 (III) - βόπτω
7. *P. Ryl.* III 533 (IV) = Pack² 2166 = Debut 346 - ποιέω
8. *P. Ryl.* III 534 (IV) = Pack² 2164 = Debut 350 - πλέω
9. *P. Rein.* II 81 (IV) = Pack² 345 - τύπτω
10. *P. Chester Beatty Ac.* 1499, described in *Proc. XV Congr.* I 102-104 = Debut 354 - ποιέω, βοάω, χρυσόω, πλέκω
11. *MPER N.S.* XV 138 (IV/V) = Pack² 2161 = Debut 352 - βοάω, χρυσόω
12. *P. Rein.* II 86 (VI) = Pack² 2660 = Debut 348 - ποιέω
13. *MPER N.S.* XV 137 (VI) = Pack² 2735 = Debut 340 - γράφω

⁴⁵ Scattered bits of ink on the verso suggest that this side was also used for an account at some time.

⁴⁶ For the text of the table see *Gramm. Gr.* I.1, 125; cf. liii. For the *Κανόνες* see *Gramm. Gr.* IV.1, 43.

14. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67176, 67275; III 67350, 67351; *P.Alex.* 688
descriptum (VI) = Pack² 355 = Debut 344, 351, 353 - βοόω,
 ποιέω, χρυσόω⁴⁷
15. *P.Hamb.* II 166 (later VI) = Pack² 2165 (= 356) = Debut 347
 - ποιέω
16. *MPER N.S.* XV 139 (VII) - χρυσόω
17. O. Br. Mus. inv. 14222, H.R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts*
 (London 1905) 38, pl. 31 (VII/VIII) = Pack² 2698 = Debut
 341 - διδάσκω with Coptic equivalents

In quality of execution and intended purpose, these texts range from the professionally made book to the pupil's badly written copy. Clearly this type of table, usually based on a limited number of standard verb examples, had become a regular aid to grammatical study by at least the third century.

The section on participles in the table attached to Dionysius, which is ordered first by voice and tense, gives only nominative forms for all genders and numbers. Of the other texts from Egypt which provide evidence for the treatment of participles,⁴⁸ no. 4 (complete) is arranged first by voice and then by number and tense but gives only masculine nominatives. No. 11 (very fragmentary) may have followed a similar system but includes all three genders, presumably only in the nominative, under each tense. Nos. 8 and 14 (both fragmentary) order by gender and voice followed by tense and number but again appear to list only nominatives. Although the total extent of the paradigm which the Columbia papyrus represents cannot be determined, the preserved sections cover only middle-passives and are arranged by gender followed by number and tense. The ordering of tenses is the standard one: present, perfect, aorist passive, aorist middle, future passive, future middle.

Within a given tense, however, the coverage of case forms varies. In Column I, where feminine duals are being treated--forms of ποιέω are probably to be restored, although the use of a different verb here could

⁴⁷ On the identification of these papyri see A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt: Contributions to the Study of the Ars Grammatica in Antiquity* (Brussels 1979 = *Pap.Brux.* 18) 18 n. 17.

⁴⁸ No. 10 is stated to contain the complete passive conjugations of the four verbs; the full publication by A. Wouters (Louvain 1988) was not available during the preparation of this edition. The recto of no. 4 contains an extensive exercise in χρεία form which includes a drill in participles.

not be ruled out--both nominative/accusative and genitive/dative forms are listed. In II 3ff., where presumably neuter singulars (rather than masculines) are being treated, only the -ον form is given for each tense. Assuming that II 3-15 begin the neuter section as a whole, II 2 probably represents the conclusion of the feminine plural section. If all case forms of the feminines were written out in the plural as they are in the dual, 33 lines of forms and tense labels plus one or more lines of overall heading for the feminine plurals have been lost between I 7 and II 1.

But in addition to the apparent unevenness of treatment just described, the Columbia papyrus differs from the Dionysius table and from the other papyri in its inclusion, in II 16ff. (see comm.), of at least a sentence of prose. This seems to have contained practical hints or rules and could, of course, have been excerpted from a treatise comparable to the Theodosian *Κανόνες*. There is no evidence that the Columbia text contained as much discussion as the *Κανόνες*, much less a detailed treatment like Apollonius Dyscolus' or Choeroboscus' discussion of the participle.⁴⁹ It was, however, more than simply a table.

Column I

 [πεποιη]μ[εν]α.
 [πεποιη]μεναι
 [ca. 6][νομενο .]
 4 [αρισ]του
 [ποιηθ]εισα
 [ποιηθ]εισαι
 [μεσου αρισ]του

Column II

 . [.
 ποι . [

⁴⁹ See *Gramm.Gr.* II.3, 122-129; IV.2, 296-320. Cf. also the treatise on the formation of passive participles in *MPER* I 19 = Wouters (above, n. 47) 237 (I B.C./I A.D.).

	του ενικαι παθη
4	τικαι ενεστωτος ποιουμενον παρακιμενου πεποιημε[νον]
8	αοριστου ποιηθεν μεσου αορι[στου] ποιησαμεν[ον]
12	μελλοντο[ς] ποιηθησομ[ενου] μεσου μελ[λουτος] ποιησομενο[ν]
16	αι δε τουτων α[συμφωνως [τονται τα . . [αφσ[ε]νικω[ς] -----

I 1 Probably]μέ[ν]α, the genitive/dative form of the dual. To judge from the standard order observed in Col. II, this and the following line should give the present participial forms.

3 The last letter is obscured by the cancellation strokes; it could be ν, σ, or υ.

II 2 ποι . [: Cf. introd. Since this form comes at the end of a tense series, it should be a future middle.

3-4 The presence of του at the start of an otherwise easily comprehensible heading (sc. <μετοχαι> ενικαι παθητικαι <χρονου> ενεστωτος) is puzzling and may be just a mistake; ενικαι παθητικαι του ενεστωτος would, of course, work well. Since the section on neuters probably began here, we might also expect ουδετερου as part of the heading. Cf. introd.

παθητικαι: Taken by itself, the distorted κ resembles part of a ξ.

5 ποιουμενον: What might appear to be an accent over ου is likely to be ink from previous, imperfectly erased writing (see introd.).

16-19 The comment may first have made the point that the accusative forms for the neuter are identical to the nominative forms just cited: e.g. αι δε τουτων α[ιτιατικαι] συμφωνως [συντάτ]τονται, although the adjective would make 16 somewhat longer than any other verifiable

line ([τίκ]τονται seems a bit metaphorical for this environment; but cf. Choeroboscus, *Gramm. Gr.* IV.2 297, ll. 23-27).

τα . . . : First dotted letter most likely σ but could be ε; second one should be τ or π. Perhaps 16-19 formed a single sentence relating the formation of neuters to that of masculines: e.g. αἱ δὲ τούτων αἰτιατικαὶ συμφώνως [συντάτ]τονται τα<ί>ς π[. . .] (or τ[. . .]) ἄσ[ε]νικῶς κτλ.

19 If it was comparable in width to the huge examples in 8 and 16, initial α would easily have filled up all of the space between the edge of the papyrus and the left margin.

207. Shorthand Manual Containing the Commentary

Inv. 551 recto
Pl. 16

16 x 12.7 cm.

Early II
Oxyrhynchos

Published: L. Feinberg, *BASP* 9 (1972) 53-58 (Pack² 2768)

The back of the papyrus was reused to carry the text of a sale agreement concerning a slave which appears in this volume as 222 and which is dated 160/161.⁵⁰ That the shorthand manual was copied onto the front of the roll during the previous few decades is confirmed by the features of its large, rounded book hand.⁵¹ The scribe's practised writing and his ample use of space indicate a professionally produced book. The broad margin just to the right of Column II even served as a convenient place for one of the writers of the verso text to jot down a brief note concerning one of the parties to the agreement.

The shorthand text consists of a series of entries each of which begins with a "key" syllable or word written in ekthesis. This is followed, on the same and three subsequent lines of the entry, by four words constituting a tetrad. In the margin to the left of each tetrad is a large shorthand sign (see photograph) which denotes a "key" syllable, pair of syllables, or word. Around this principal sign are grouped four smaller signs denoting the final syllables of the four words making up the tetrad.

⁵⁰See the introduction there for discussion of the papyrus' physical condition.

⁵¹For parallels see Schubart, *Palaeographie* no. 36 (ca. 150); *BGU* IX 1893 (149); IX 1894 (157); *P. Amh.* II 66 (124); Roberts, *Literary Hands* no. 13b (first half of II, assigned).

This kind of shorthand manual belongs to a well known type which is attested in the papyri from the second to the seventh centuries of the Christian era and which is referred to in ancient sources as the Commentary (τὸ κομειντόριον). To judge from remarks in documentary papyri (see especially *P.Oxy.* IV 724, a reference to the Commentary from 155 A.D.) and in Byzantine literature, mastery of the material contained in this work was an important component of the lengthy studies required for the profession. Although the practice is not consistent, many of the tetrads consist of words grouped so as to form either a sentence which could be easily committed to memory (e.g. Entries 1, 4, 6, 8, 9 and probably 7 and 10 below) or a series of words that are related in some other way (e.g. Entry 3 below).⁵²

Most of the 31 fragments of the Commentary which are attested in the papyri date from the third through the fifth centuries. Of these, 21 belong to what seems to have become, by the fifth century, a "standard" version; many of these fragments were compiled by H.J.M. Milne to make up the composite edition contained in his *Greek Shorthand Manuals* (Oxford 1934 = "Milne"). The other ten come from one or more "deviant" varieties of the work in which both the makeup of tetrads and their arrangement differ considerably from the extensive remains of the "standard" version. Although lacunae in both it and Milne make certainty impossible, Entries 2-13 of the Columbia papyrus seems to correspond in most respects to Milne's Tetrads 82-85, 88-92, and 95-97 of the "standard" version. In several instances the papyrus supplements our knowledge of entries in Milne where they are imperfectly preserved in his text. Despite the close similarities, there are some specific differences of detail with Milne: In Entries 4 and 6 two alternate key words or syllables which appear in Milne are not present. Moreover, that Entry 1 (see comm.) corresponded at all in content to Tetrad 81, the entry in Milne which it should match according to the sequence, is questionable.

Our earliest fragments of the Commentary consists of nine papyri, including the Columbia piece, which date to the third century or before: *P.Harris* I 51 = Pack² 2771 (I?); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2752, *SIFC* 43 (1971) 169-

⁵²On the tetradic arrangement see most recently H. Boge, *Die Entzifferung griechischer Tachygraphie* = Kurzb. aus d. Giess. Papyrussammlungen, 36 (Giessen 1976) 10-16. On shorthand in general see his *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten* (Berlin 1973). For a lively and wide-ranging discussion of the career value associated with a knowledge of tachygraphy, see H. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores: An Inquiry into the Role and Significance of Shorthand Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire* (Amsterdam 1985), esp. 1-15.

172 = Pack² (II); *P.Ryl.* III 509, recently identified by M. Gronewald in *ZPE* 72 (1988) 52 (II); *P. Fay. inv.*, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 257-259 (II); *P. Yale* II 129 (II); *P. Laur.* IV 145 (II); *PSI inv.* 2020, *Anag.* 1 (1981) 31-34 (III); *P. Tebt.* II 685 verso, descriptum (III); A.S. Hunt, *Recueil Champollion* (Paris 1922) 713-720, cf. Milne 6-7 = Pack² 2757 (III). All except the Columbia fragment must be placed in the "deviant" category. As Gronewald hints at, the "standard" version does not seem to have become such until the third and fourth centuries.⁵³ The importance of the Columbia papyrus lies, therefore, in the fact that it provides our earliest evidence for the "standard" version. Furthermore, it shows that this version was already in use in Oxyrhynchos well before its triumph over other versions. Finally, the Columbia piece is one of only two papyri of the Commentary known to have come from Oxyrhynchos, the other being the "deviant" *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2752.⁵⁴

The Columbia papyrus contains the upper parts of two columns, which preserve a total of ten entries in their entirety or nearly so. The edge of three additional entries from an additional column is visible to the right. A comparison with Milne's edition of the "standard" version, with which the text has been collated, shows that the papyrus should have had seven entries per column. The original height of the roll would thus have been at least 19 cm. Assuming that the version of the Commentary used was the "standard" one throughout, Column I would be the thirteenth column of the whole work. If the complete work contained 810 entries, which is the number of tetrads in Milne's composite edition, the Commentary would have required 102 columns of writing or a length of roll of about 6.6 m.

⁵³ In fact this version did not completely supplant "deviant" versions until at least the fifth; cf. *P. Antin. inv.* 5, Milne p. 68 = Pack² 2756 (IV).

⁵⁴ Shorthand papyri are listed in Pack² as 2753-2779, but not all of these contain the Commentary. The following fragments belonging to the "standard" Commentary have been published since then (several references owed to G. Menci's list presented with her paper on the structure and evolution of shorthand manuals at the 19th Congress in Cairo): *P. Laur.* IV 146 (III/IV); *P. Köln inv.* 700, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 8 (III/IV); *P. Vindob. G.* 15561, *ibid.* 40 (1980) 111-118 (III/IV); *P. Vindob. G.* 36660, *ibid.* 101-103 (III/IV?); *P. Berol. inv.* 21298, *Anag.* 3 (1983) 176-177 (IV); *P. Berol. inv.* 21297, *ibid.* 171-175 (IV/V); *P. Bodl. inv. Mss. gr. class.* f100(P) fr. 2, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 287 (IV/V); *PSI inv.* 2014, *SIFC* 43 (1971) 169-172 (V; the verso of Pack² 2778); *P. Louv. inv. MND* 552, *SB XIV* 11416-11419, cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 127-130 (V/VI); *P. Bodl. inv. Mss. gr. class.* f100(P) fr. 3, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 288 (V/VI). A Byzantine papyrus codex containing the Commentary was mentioned by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 42 (1981) 128 n. 4. Note also the publication of *P. Ant.* III 208 and 209, parts of Pack² 2764 and 2764. For other shorthand texts not containing the Commentary see *PSIod.* 14 (incorporating another Columbia papyrus); *PSICongrXVII* 16; and G. Geraci, *Studi Bresciani* (Pisa 1985) 231-242.

No accents or breathings were written by the scribe. There are a few itacisms and other spelling deviations of the kind often found in documents. Entries are separated by paragraphi. Within each entry, the key syllable or word is normally separated from the first word of the tetrad proper by a stop, and stops often conclude each line of an entry.⁵⁵

Column I

	νεισ̄ πλαναται·	(Entry 1 = Milne Tetr. 81?)
	μεθοδευει·	
4	μηχαναται·	
	πειθ(ει)·	
	ων̄ σαυτον̄	(Entry 2 = Milne Tetr. 82)
	εμαυτον̄	
8	ποτερον̄	
	τινα	
	φ̄ αμαυρον̄	(Entry 3 = Milne Tetr. 83)
	πεζον̄	
12	βημα	
	ιχνος	
	μον̄ σκαφος̄	(Entry 4 = Milne Tetr. 84)
	ευβενει·	
16	ποταμον̄	
	διαβενει·	
	αφ̄ [α]ρκειται·	(Entry 5 = Milne Tetr. 85)

Transversely written from bottom to top in right margin, opposite 10-20: . πῖ Αγαθος Δ- (with a few additional traces)

Column II

μω̄ πασχι· (Entry 6 = Milne Tetr. 88)

⁵⁵High stops are printed, but the position actually varies from high to rather low.

	εκδοτος κολαζεται διαφθειρεται	
4	ωσ̄ παρασκευαζεται εμφανες δηλου δικνυι	(Entry 7 = Milne Tetr. 89)
8	ιστος̄ βαφευς εργαζεται πορφυραν̄ στυφει	(Entry 8 = Milne Tetr. 90)
12	τασ̄ ακρειβης ζωγραφος ζητει μειμεισθαι	(Entry 9 = Milne Tetr. 91)
16	εφη̄ πλαστης πωμα [1-2]ηρω [....]σεται	(Entry 10 = Milne Tetr. 92)
20		

Column III

	ω|τε	(Entry 11 = Milne Tetr. 95)
4	|	
	σ|ην	(Entry 12 = Milne Tetr. 96)
8	|	
	υ|σω	(Entry 13 = Milne Tetr. 97)

Col. I 4 πειθ ραρ. 14 ἐμβάινει 16 διαβαίνει
 Col. II 1 πάσχει 8 δεικνύει 16 μμείσθαι

Col. I 1-4 (Entry 1 = Milne Tetr. 81?): The sentence formed by the words of the tetrad, "he wanders, he employs cunning, he contrives, he persuades," could be descriptive of a character type (beggar? traveling salesman?), a mythological figure (Odysseus?), or something else. Hardy states that this entry corresponds to Tetrad 81 in Milne's edition of the standard Commentary. However, the principal sign opposite Milne's Tetrad 81 is completely different. Further, in Milne the key syllable or word is completely missing in a lacuna; and the four component words of the tetrad, while they may have corresponded wholly to those of the Columbia papyrus, were read by Milne in only a very fragmentary fashion. In the Columbia papyrus, only two of the four secondary signs that should have been grouped around the principal sign are visible.

5-8 (Entry 2 = Milne Tetr. 82): The entry appears on the whole to correspond to Milne Tetrad 82, but in Milne the key word or syllable is gone as are the first few letters of each word in the tetrad.

9-12 (Entry 3 = Milne Tetr. 83): Again, Milne's tetrad is fragmentary: The key word or syllable is missing and none of the words of the tetrad is readable in full. Milne printed the first two words of the tetrad as . . . υπον and ε . . . ου.

The tetrad forms no sentence, but the suitability of the adjective πεζόν with reference to βῆμα and ἴχνος, both meaning "footstep," is clear. Perhaps the appropriateness of ἀμαυρόν, "dim," rests on a proverbial or popular expression; cf. Eur. *HF* 124 and Xen. *Cyn.* 6.21, where ἀμαυρόν ἴχνος refers to the faint footsteps of an old man.

13-16 (Entry 4 = Milne Tetr. 84): "He enters a boat, he crosses a river." So Milne, but there the meaning of the principal sign, μου, is accompanied by an alternate, παρόν.

17 (Entry 5 = Milne Tetr. 85) αρ [α]ρκειται: So Milne.

Col. II 1-4 (Entry 6 = Milne Tetr. 88): "A betrayed man suffers, he is punished, he is killed." So Milne, but as in Tetrad 84 above an alternate meaning, πάρω, is included for the principal sign.

5-8 (Entry 7 = Milne Tetr. 89): So Milne. The nouns and verbs may be read as two simple, vaguely synonymous clauses with a-b-b-a alternation.

9-12 (Entry 8 = Milne Tetr. 90): The sentence of the tetrad--appropriately where the key word is concerned--reads "a dyer works, he

fixes purple cloth by means of a mordant." For the expression with *στύφω* cf. *P.Holm.* 15.18. In Milne the second word of the tetrad is fragmentary and the third and fourth are missing.

13-16 (Entry 9 = Milne Tetr. 91): "An artful painter seeks to imitate." In Milne only the key word and the principal sign are preserved. Perhaps *ζωγράφος ζητεῖ* was intended to be alliterative; cf. next entry.

17-20 (Entry 10 = Milne Tetr. 92): Once again, Milne preserves only the key word and the principal sign. The words of the tetrad probably formed a sentence. Perhaps it was *πλάστης πῶμα [π]ηρῶ [πλάσ]σεται*, "a sculptor fashions a cup for a lame man," with alliterative qualities for mnemonic value--although an active verb would seem preferable.

Col. III 1-9 The identification with Milne's tetrads 95-97, which are preserved there in complete form, is confirmed by the similarity of the principal signs for 95-96.

Documentary Texts

208. Correspondence about Dispatch of a Boat

Inv. 481
Pl. 17

17.6 x 16.5 cm.

187/163 B.C.
Provenance unknown

Back blank

Published: W.L. Westermann, *Archiv* 13 (1938) 1-12 (SB V 8257); cf. *BL* 3.202, 7.198

This official correspondence was published by Westermann for its contribution to our knowledge of the career of Komanos, a prominent figure in the reigns of Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI (for the documentation, see *ProsPtol I/VIII* 770). Since Westermann wrote, much has been added to the discussion of Komanos and his times. Following the important article of C. Bradford Welles, "The Problem of Comanus," *BASP* 2 (1964/5) 93-104, the most recent general treatments are L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* (Verhandl. Koninkl. Acad. Wetenschap., Kl. Lett., Jg. 37 no.78, Brussels 1975) 82-83 and *La hiérarchie du cour ptolémaïque* (Stud.Hell. 23, Louvain 1977) 82-84; cf. also Thomas, *Epistrategos* I 112 and on the family W. Clarysse's remarks in *Cd'E* 56 (1981) 347-49. H. Hauben, *AncSoc* 19 (1988) 207-11 shows that several members of Komanos' family owned grain barges and speculates that Komanos owned that involved here.

Because the text is broken on both sides, both the restorations and their distribution between lines are uncertain. We have adopted shorter restorations than Westermann and excised elements that seem to be doubtful (see the notes for discussion).

[ὁ δεῖνα τῶι δεῖνι χαίρ]ε[ι]ν· εἰ ἔρρωσαι, τὸ δέον ἂν [εἶη.]
[ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτός. τῆς ἐπιστ]ε[ο]λῆς πρὸς Πάω κ[

- 4 [- 9 - ὑποτέταχά σοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ὅπως εἰδῶ[ς παρα-]
[πέμψῃς τὸ πλοῖον ἀσφαλῶς ἕως] τοῦ ἐγδέξασθαι αὐτὸ
τ[οὺς]
[περὶ Ἀκῶριον τοῦ Ἑρμοπο]λίτου. ἐπιμέλου δὲ καὶ
[σεαυτοῦ.]
(2 H.) ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιη, Μ[εχειρ .(.)].
(1 H.) Πάιτι. τὸ ἀπειληφὸς πλοῖον τὰ πρὸς Κομανὸν
τῶν πρώτων [φίλων]
- 8 [ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσι]νοίτ[ου] ἀπεσταλμένα χρήματα, ἐφ' οὗ
ἐπιπλ[εύσει (?) ὁ δεῖνα]
[τῶν ἡγε]μόνων, καλῶς ποιήσεις παραπέμψας
ἀσφαλῶ[ς ἕως τοῦ]
[ἐγδέξασ]θαι αὐτὸ τοὺς περὶ Ἀκῶριον.

[X to Y,] greetings. If you are well, [it would be] as it ought. [I am well myself. I have appended for you the] copy of the letter to Pais the k[---], so that, knowing, [you may forward the boat safely as far] as its reception by [those at Akoris] of the Hermopolite. Take care also [of yourself.] (2 H.) Farewell. Year 18, Me[cheir--].

(1 H.) [To Pais.] Please forward safely the boat which took on the property dispatched to Komanos, of the first [friends, from the] Arsinoite, on which [Z, one of the] hegemones, will sail, [until its reception] by those at Akoris.

1 For the formula τὸ δέον ἂν εἶη, see Mayser, *Grammatik* II.3 89.28,39: *BGU* VI 1296 and *PSI* VI 606.

2 The reading ἐπιστολῆς was doubted by Welles (p.99); Westermann's supposed traces of sigma are, we think, part of tau, but we think the restoration is sound. For the omission of the article τῆς after ἐπιστολῆς, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II.2 161 ff., esp. 166-68.

2-3 Westermann restored κ[υβερνήτην], which Welles doubted. We see no reason that some other office beginning in kappa could not be restored (or something else altogether, for that matter). Hauben (208 n.8) prefers to retain κ[υβερνήτην].

5 With the restoration of σεαυτοῦ at the end of this line, Westermann's phrasing for the supposed line 6 (5-6: τοῦ σώματος, ἢ')

ὕγιαίνης) is unnecessary. Indeed, there is no evidence for such a line at all, and the farewell and date are placed close enough to line 5 that there could not have been extensive text at the left in line 6 without its having left some traces on the preserved papyrus.

6 For the restoration of Mecheir, we follow J.D. Thomas (*BL* 7.198)

7 The function of Pais, whatever it was, may have stood after his name here, but that is by no means certain. With Welles we take πλοῖον as the object of παραπέμψας in line 9 so that the message forms a single sentence and Westermann's τὸ πλοῖον at the end of line 9 becomes otiose. The hyperbaton is noteworthy.

7-8 Given the uncertainty about Komanos' function, we follow Thomas, *The Epistrategos* 112 n.200 in cancelling his title from Westermann's restoration καὶ στρατηγόν.

10 For Akoris, see Drew-Bear, *Nome Hermopolite* 291-96 and E. Bernard, *Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris* (Cairo 1988).

209. Petition to the Basilikos Grammateus

Inv. 6
Pl. 18

9.4 x 34 cm.

11.x.3
Theadelphia

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *CP* 23 (1928) 25-29 (*SB* IV 7376); cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 9 (1930) 245; 15 (1953) 119; S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 158-64; *BL* 5.100

This text belongs to a group of Theadelphian papyri of the first half of the first century of our era which has been dubbed the Archive of Harthotes (see G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 55 [1975] 70-158; 59 [1979] 112-18; S. Daris, *ZPE* 70 [1987] 108-09; add *P.Gen.* II 89). A version of the text, addressed to an official whose title is not given, named Korax, was published in two parts: the beginning as *P.Mert.* I 8 and the end as *P.Mil.* II 43; about seven lines are missing between the two pieces. The Merton editors, though citing the Columbia papyrus in the commentary to the very next papyrus, did not notice that theirs was a partial duplicate; this was pointed out by Daris. (Casanova, 74 n.3, describes the Columbia

piece as a copy of the other; they are, rather, two almost identical versions of the same text, addressed to different recipients. Cf. Daris, 162-63, who points out that the Columbia version is sloppier in execution.) The petition is written in a standard "To B from A" form, as described by Exler, *Ancient Greek Letter* 72-73.

The substance of the petition is a complaint by Marsisouchos son of Marres against Soterichos, the secretary of the komogrammateus of Theadelphia. Although the narrative is fairly straightforward, it is anything but easy to discern what is actually at issue. Marsisouchos says that Pnepheros son of Tithoes ceded 24 arouras of public land to him in the current year, and that after he had done all of the preliminary work of cultivation, Soterichos has interrupted his farming activities, so that the treasury runs the risk of losing the rent due on the land. Marsisouchos does not, however, make clear the offense with which Soterichos was charging him, nor why Soterichos sent the praktor and policeman to arrest him. He claims that he owes nothing, but Soterichos exacts security, lifting also Marsisouchos' cloak and his last six years' worth of receipts for poll-tax. It is not clear if the poll-tax has anything to do with the dispute or is an incidental matter, and it is absolutely impossible to tell if the dispute has anything to do with Marsisouchos' land. In fact, the vagueness of the account may lead one to suspect that it is unconnected to the land and the petition drags in the land only to try to persuade the government that it has some stake in Marsisouchos' unimpeded activity. As Keyes put it, "Evidently a δημόσιος γεωργός felt justified in claiming that his own personal welfare was of importance to the state."

'Ασκληπιάδῃ βασιλικῶι
 γραμματῖ
 4 παρὰ Μαρσισοῦχου τοῦ Μαρ-
 ρείου[ς] τῶν ἀπὸ Θεαδε <λ>φείας
 τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος δημο-
 σίου γεωργοῦ. ἐ<ν> τῶι ἐνεστῶ-
 8 τι λγ (ἔτει) Καίσαρος ἐκκεχώρη-
 μαί ὑπ[ὸ] Πνεφερώτος τοῦ
 Τιθυογήους δημοσίου γε-
 ωργοῦ τὰς ἐν τῶι ὀνόματι
 12 αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν κώμην δη-
 μοσίας γῆς ἀρούρ(ας) κδ, ὦν

- καὶ ἀντιλαβόμενος καὶ χω-
ματίσας καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους λιμ-
16 μνάσας ταύτας τῆς εἰς τὸ
αὐτὸ (ἔτος) κατασποράς, τινί
ποτε τῶν λόγων Σωτήριχο(ς)
γραμματεὺς τοῦ τῆς κώ-
20 μης κωμαγρα<μμα>τέως, δια-
πεμφάμενος τὸν πράκτο-
ρα καὶ τὸν φυλακίτην εἰς
τὰ ἐδάφη, ἀνέσπασάν με
καὶ παρέδωκαν εἰς τὸν —
24 τοῦ Σωτηρίχου λόγον, ἀ-
πλῶς μηδέν μου ὀφείλου-
τος, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπελύ-
θην ἢ μὴ μεθ' ἱκανοῦ. ὁ
28 δ' αὐτὸς Σωτήριχος ἀπη-
νέγκάτό μου ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐ-
νεπόδισέν με ἐν τοῖς κατὰ
τὴν κατασποράν ὧν <γ>εωρ-
32 γῶι δημο[σ]ίων ἐδαφῶν,
τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπίγοντος, ὥσ-
τε βλάβος μοι οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐ-
πακλουθῖν. ἐπὶ οὖν ὁ Σωτήρι-
36 χος ἔχει μου παρ' ἐαυτῶι σύμ-
βολον λαογραφείας ἐτῶν ἕξ,
ἀξιώι συντάξαι καταστήσαι
τὸν Σωτήριχον ἐπὶ σε, ὅπως
40 δ<ι>αστολὰς λάβῃ ἀπέχεσθαί
μου, ἐπαναγκασθῆι δὲ
ἀποδοῦναί μοι ἃ ἔχει μου,
ἵνα μηδέν τῶν δημοσί-
44 ων δ<ι>απέσηι.

εὐτύχει.

(ἔτους) λγ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι ιγ̄.

2 γραμματε[ι] ed.pr.; γραμματῖ Daris (BL 5.100); read γραμματεῖ
14-15 λιμνάσας 19 κωμ[ο]γρα(μμα)τέως ed.pr.; read
κωμογραμματέως 22 ἐδάφη 23 line filler 27 εἰ 31 κατασποράν,
σ ex τ 32 γεωργῶ 33 ἐπίγοντος 34-35 ἐπακολουθεῖν 35 ἐπεῖ
36 ἔχει, ἐαυτῶι 38 ἀξιώ 42 ἔχει

To Asklepiades, basilikos grammateus, from Marsisouchos son of Marres, a resident of Theadelphia of the Themistos Division, state farmer. In the present 33rd year of Caesar I have received by cession from Pnepheros son of Tithoues, a state farmer, the 24 arouras of public land in his name near the village; after I had undertaken work on them and diked them and partially irrigated them for the sowing of the same year, on some pretext or other Soterichos, a scribe of the komogrammateus of the village, sent the praktor and the policeman to the fields, and they arrested me and handed me over to the ... of Soterichos, even though I owed absolutely nothing, and I was not released until I had given security. And the same Soterichos took my cloak away and impeded me in the work connected with the sowing of the public fields which I farm, although the season was pressing, so as for no small harm to result for me. Accordingly, since Soterichos has with him my receipt for the poll-tax of six years, I ask you to give orders to cause Soterichos to appear before you, so that he may receive orders to leave me alone and be compelled to return to me what he has of mine, so that the public revenues may suffer no harm. Farewell. Year 33 of Caesar, Phaophi 13.

1 For the complex questions surrounding the man or men named Asklepiades who served as basilikos grammateus in the Arsinoite Nome in the early first century, see Bastianini-Whitehorne, *Strategi* 126.

3 Marsisouchos son of Marres is discussed (with references) by G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 88, 122, 145 no. 117; his hesitation (78 n.1) to identify him with the newly deceased Marsokis son of Marres in *P.Mert.* 9 of A.D. 12 (his no. 118) seems to us unjustified.

5 Themistos: cf. J. Bingen, *Cd'E* 62 (1987) 234-39.

5-6 The earliest attestation of βασιλικός γεωργός in the Roman period seems to be *P.Vindob.Worp* 2 of 21 B.C.; see the note there.

6 ε<ν> For omission of the nasal, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 111-12.

7-8 On ekchoresis, see H.-A. Rupprecht, "Parachoresis und Ekchoresis," *Symposion* 1982 (Valencia 1985) 187-93.

9 For the appearance of gamma in the spelling Τιθουγῆους cf. Gignac, *Grammar* I 72-75. The name is wrongly listed by Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, as Τιθουργῆς.

19 We do not think that the dotted alpha in κωμαγρα<μμα>τέως can be read as omicron.

20-21 Keyes took it that the praktor was the πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν, while Bell and Roberts suggested that he was the "Ptolemaic" praktor, the "Roman" one not being attested before Tiberius' reign. The context is not sufficient to determine the matter (cf. introduction). See *O.Leid.* 48 for the early history of praktores under Roman rule, and cf. R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 279-80 n.320.

21 For the phylakites, see the standard work of P. Kool, *De phylakieten in Grieks-Romeins Egypte* (Diss. Leiden 1954).

22 Taubenschlag, *Law*² 530 n.23, cites this papyrus as an instance of the application of the edict of Ti. Iulius Alexander (68p) concerning personal arrest, a misinterpretation facilitated by his mistake concerning the date (3rd century instead of A.D. 3).

24 On λόγος here, cf. Daris's remarks (163-64). One wonders if the writer may not have been thinking of λογιστήριον, "office", which would yield good sense here.

27 On bail in judicial proceedings in Roman Egypt, cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 542 n.31; *Op.Min.* II 717 n.40.

36-37 For σύμβολον in the papyri, cf. J. Herrmann, *Actes XV Congrès IV* 222-30 and P.A. Verdult, *P.Erasmiana II (Mededelingen van het juridisch Inst. Erasmus Univ. Rotterdam* 45, 1988), pp.99-106.

45 In *P.Mil.* II 43.12, the end of the line has been left unread (and mentioned only in the note). It seems to us to be a rapid writing of εὐτύχ(ει), as in this text. (This reading was suggested by Daris, 159, but not included in his published text.) For this closing formula, cf. Exler, *Ancient Greek Letter* 69.

210. Receipt for Money

Inv. 406

9.8 x 11.5 cm.

12.x.3

Pl. 19

Provenance unknown

Back blank

This appears to be a receipt for payments in installments. But we cannot identify the motive of the payment (line 4), nor the payer, nor the

provenance. The payments themselves, moreover, offer some difficulties. Substantial damage throughout and particularly the loss of the lower central and right parts of the papyrus make it difficult to interpret a piece for which we have found no good parallel.

4 Ἔτους λγ Καίσαρος Φαῶφ(ι) ἰδ
 διαγέγραφεν Πτόλλις
 Πραξίου πρεσβυτέρου
 ἀφ' οὗ ὀφίλ[ι] π . ρς ἐπὶ [λ(όγου)]
 ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμᾶς) ὀκτώι καὶ Ἄθῶρ [. . .]
 κ (δραχμᾶς), τῆ ἰδ [. . . , τῆ] . . ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμᾶς)
 ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) [. . .]. . .

1 φαμε first written, then με changed to ω, then φ added

4 ὀφείλει 5 Ἄθῶρ

Year 33 of Caesar, Phaophi 14. Ptollis son of Praxias the elder has paid from what he owes for ..., on account, eight drachmas of silver, and on Hathor [], 20 dr., on the 14th, ..., [on the] .., eight drachmas of silver, total, dr. [].

4 We cannot find any tax name suitable for the traces and space available. It is not quite excluded that one should read ὀφίλε[ι], with the epsilon represented by traces after the lacuna; but we cannot see any traces of the iota where one would then expect it. The pi, if that reading is right, resembles that in Πτόλλις in line 2.

5-6 We would expect an order of month name, day, (δραχμᾶς) κ, καὶ τῆ -- (δρ.) --, and so on, and we have considered reading the start of line 6 as κ(αὶ) τῆ. But this would suppose more to be lost at right in line 5 than seems likely, and we are not persuaded that κ(αὶ) is a good reading.

211. Letter to a Dioiketes

Inv. 9
Pl. 20

8.3 x 20.1 cm.

16.ii.10
Philadelphia

Back blank

Published: Chan-Hie Kim, *The Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 4, Missoula 1972) 205

This letter is a part of the little "Archive of Isidoros of Psophthis" published and discussed by Ann Ellis Hanson in *BASP* 21 (1984) 77-87. The dossier there published consists of four Michigan papyri from A.D. 9-10. Two of these are drafts of petitions from Isidoros to P. Ostorius Scapula, the prefect of Egypt, protesting "the illegal extraction by agents from the local strategos Tryphon . . . of a sworn declaration (*χειρογραφία*) in which he promises to cultivate five and one-half arourae on the estate of Livia at Philadelphia" (Hanson, p.77). The third text (P.Mich. inv. 1674) is an acephalous letter asking some official to write to Tryphon to request him to end the harassment of Isidoros. Hanson argues that the prefect is the author of this letter. A fourth papyrus, only described, is a letter of Lykarion to Tryphon, presumed by Hanson to be the letter requested in P.Mich. inv. 1674.

P.Col. 211 is written in the same hand as P.Mich. inv. 1674, dated to the same day, and directed to "Asklepiades the dioiketes." It concerns the same affair and similarly asks that Isidoros (whose name is here lost) be undisturbed. It is a reasonable supposition that the clean break at the left comes on an original central fold, in which case about half of the text would be lacking. Cf. the notes for the various indications of the probable length of restorations, all of which point to 15-17 letters and support the view that we have half the papyrus. Not all lines can be restored, but most of the sense can be recovered. Asklepiades is asked to cooperate with Isidoros so that he may be unmolested. The subscription in the writer's own hand (similar to that in the Michigan papyrus but not certainly identical) asks Asklepiades to act on Isidoros' behalf "on my account," giving as reason, "for I am concerned about him."

Such personal concern for a Memphite villager and his 5 1/2 aroura obligation is very striking if the author is the prefect. Similarly, P.Mich. inv. 1674 (with its colloquial close ἔρρωσο) sounds a note of personal concern: "Do everything, brother, so that he will quite soon come to an understanding with me." (It is conceivable that the subject "he" is Tryphon, but the only immediately preceding singular antecedents are all references to Isidoros.) In both cases, then, the writer seems not to have that exalted distance from the peasant that we would expect in the prefect. To this we may add that the phrase in P.Mich. inv. 1674, "and you too turn over to my office whatever matters you wish," points to a relationship of equality or near-equality, surely unlikely between the Roman governor and a Greek Egyptian occupying a rather low position (see 1n.). The need for letters to two people and the tone not of command but of bargaining in both letters do not point to the writer's having any superiority to his correspondents. We therefore do not think it likely that the prefect is the author of either letter.

	[ὁ δεῖνα	] 'Ασκληπιάδῃ τῷ διοικητῇ
	[	] χαίρειν·
	['Ισίδωρος ὁ ἀποιδιού]ς σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔστιν	
4	[	] ἔστιν δὲ ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώφθεως
	[τοῦ Μεμφίτου· ὑπὸ δ]ῆ τῶν παρὰ Τρύφωνος τοῦ	
	[στρατηγοῦ κατὰ κατ]οχὴν γενόμενος ἐχειρογρά-	
	[φησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατ]ασπῆραι περὶ κώμην Φιλαδέλ-	
8	[φειαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβίας] προσόδου ἀρούρας πέντε ἡμῖσι	
	[. ἐρωτῶ οὖν] σε ἐπισκεψάμενον εἰ περὶ	
	[- 15 -	] .ιται συνεργῆσαι αὐτῷ ὡσ-
	[τε ἀπαρενόχλητον εἶ]ναι ὑπὲρ ἧς προεῖται χειρογραφίας	
12	[- 15 - κ]αὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἔχειν τὸν ἄν-	
	[θρωπον - 10 -	] νον.
	[ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λθ] Καίσαρος Μεχειρ κβ̄.	
(2H.)	[	] εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν [κα]ταλογὴν ποιῆσαι
16	[	] μέλει γάρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ.

7]ασπραι ed. pr.; read κατ]ασπεῖραι 8 ημῖου ed.pr. 9 εἰ πεῖ ed.pr.
11]α ed.pr.; προεῖται, e ex i 15] .αι[.] . . [. .]υαλ[.]γην[?] ed.pr.

NN to Asklepiades the dioiketes, (hearty) greetings. Isidoros, who is delivering the letter to you, is . . ., and he is from the village of Psophthis

of the Memphite. When he was detained by the agents of Tryphon the strategos, he signed a sworn undertaking concerning the sowing of five and a half arouras near the village of Philadelphia from the revenue-estate of Livia . . . I ask you therefore to investigate if concerning . . . to cooperate with him so that he may be undisturbed in the matter concerning which he made the sworn statement . . . and for the future . . . Farewell.

Year 39 of Caesar, Mechier 22.

. . . do it on my account . . . for I am concerned about him.

1 For the office of the dioiketes, see D. Hagedorn, *YCS* 28 (1985) 167-210. Hagedorn shows (187-90) that the position of dioiketes in the central administration with procuratorial rank, and held by Roman citizens, is not attested before the second century. The first-century examples (cited 188 n.60) have Greek names and are of a level below that of the toparch. Such must be the case here also.

2 Some adverb perhaps stood in the lacuna with blank space on both sides of it, e.g. *πλεῖστα*.

4 The start of the line no doubt contained some information about the person's relationship to the writer (e.g. *ἐστίν μου ἀδελφός*). For villages named Psophthis, see the note to *CPR* V 13.3 (unknown to Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario geografico* V 178) and *ZPE* 47 (1982) 239. That this is the Memphite village is established by P.Mich. inv. 1440.3.

5 For Tryphon, see P.Mich. inv. 1440.5.

6-7 For the restoration, see P.Mich. inv. 1440.8-10, 1674.2-3. Possibly *κατοχή* also appears, damaged, in P.Mich. inv. 1440.7.

8 For Livia's estate, see *BASP* 21 (1984) 82-83.

9 For the spelling *ἐρωτῶ*, cf. P.Mich. inv. 1674.4.

10 *συνεργῆσαι* suggests that Asklepiades' help in cooperating with the bearer is requested, as we might expect. Cf. *χαρίζοι ἄν μοι συνεργῶν αὐτῶι* in *PSI* IV 376 and similar phrasings in *SB* XII 11078.10-11 and *P. Tebt.* III 709.12-13. We have not been able to formulate a satisfactory restoration; perhaps *περὶ | [τούτου ἔχει ὡς πρόκ]εῖται?*

11 Cf. P.Mich. inv. 1440.8 and 1674.1 for *προέσθαι χειρογραφίαν*.

12 For the request for Asklepiades to do something "in order that he [the bearer] be undisturbed for the future" cf. P.Mich. inv. 1674.6.

14 See P.Mich. inv. 1674.10, where the editor posits some blank space before *ἔρωσο*; the same is probably true here. For dated letters see the lists by H. Steen, *CIMed* 1 (1938) 172 ff., supplementing lists by M.

Calderini in *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* 2 (1916) 113-21. For letters from the early Roman period cf. in particular B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit* (Diss. Uppsala 1925).

15-16 For εἰς, cf. *P.Mert.* II 62.8 and *P.Oxy.* IV 787. A restoration here is needed on the lines of *P.Mert.* 62: καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐάν σοι προσέλθῃ, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καταλογὴν πώησον αὐτῶι ("and if he approaches you for anything, do it for him on my account").

212. Private Letter

Inv. 493
Pl. 21

10.2 x 17.0 cm.

11.ii.49
Provenance unknown

Published: C.W. Keyes, *CP* 30 (1935) 142-43 (*SB* V 7659); cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 12 (1937) 82-83

This "brief, peremptory, and formally dated note" (Keyes), written by a woman to her ἀδελφός, presumably her husband, gives orders to move a saqiya from one place to another, demolishing a wall in the process.

A list of women's letters was given by M. Mondini, "Lettere femminili nei papiri greco-egizi," *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* 2 (1916) 32-37.

Ἄπολλωνοῦς Κολύλει τῶι ἀδελ(φῶι)
πλεῖστ[α] χαίρειν·
εὐθέως δὲ κομισάμενος τὴν
4 ἐπιστολὴν πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸν τρο[χ]-
χὸν καὶ κατάρσασσον ὄλον τὸ τεῖ-
χος καὶ τὰς [μη]χανὰς μετὰθες
εἰς τ[ὸ]ν [.....]ον τόπον. τὰ ἄλλα
8 τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν ἐπιμέλου. (ἔτους) ἐνάτου
Τιβερ[ίου] [Κλαυδίου] Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Ἀ[ύτοκρ]άτορος, Μεχεῖρ
ιζ σεβαστῆ.

Verso: Traces of 5-6 letters

Apollonous to Kolulis her brother, many greetings. As soon as you receive the letter, go to the wheel and pull down the whole wall and move the machinery to the ... place. As for the rest, take care to keep well. Ninth year of Tiberius [Claudius] Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Mecheir 17th, *dies Augustus*.

1 For the name Κολούλις, cf. *P.Harr.* II 191.4n.

3 For δέ at the start of the document, not preceded by μέν, cf. Maysen, *Grammatik* II.3 179.14,23. The writer may well have had in mind a conventional opening formula like πρὸ μὲν πάντων ὑγιαίνειω σε εὐχομαι. Keyes cites (ed.pr.) a number of parallels to the abrupt opening instructions, including *P.Berl.Möller* 9 and *PSI VIII* 970.

4-6 On papyrological evidence for the saqiya, the compartmented waterwheel, see J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (*Phoenix Suppl.* 16, Toronto 1984) 132-33, where this text is listed as the third-oldest such evidence for wheels of this sort.

7 Keyes suggested [πρότερον].

7-8 Keyes pointed out that such formulas about the recipient's health disappear after the first century, citing Exler, *Ancient Greek Letter* 107-08. Wilcken noted the absence of ἔρρωσο at the end of the text and suggested that the scribe left room for it before the month date but that the letter was erroneously sealed up before Apollonous wrote it. As the plate shows, however, there is no such space, and we must suppose that Apollonous thought her "take care" phrase was sufficient.

11 The most recent full discussion of *dies augustus* in the papyri is W.F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 145-69, who treats our papyrus in his remarks on the 17th day of the month, on 164-67; a recent bibliography may be found in *BGU XV* 2551.4-5n. A list of attestations which have appeared since Snyder's article is given at the end of this note. The first name in the imperial titlature here, Tiberius, is extremely difficult to read, and palaeographically reading Nero's name is not much less attractive. But Snyder identifies the 17th as Britannicus' birthday, and all of the instances known so far occur in the reign of Claudius. We have therefore retained the text as printed.

(N.B.: Kaisareios = Mesore; Sebastos = Thoth)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Month/day</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Reference</i>
6/5a	Epeiph	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Yale</i> I 60 = <i>SB</i> VI 9289.8
6/5a or 5/4a 42p	Tybi Epeiph 20	Arsinoite Unknown	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2291.6 <i>P.Wisc.</i> I 25 fr.A i.12 (cf. fr.B i.4; ii.5) <i>SB</i> I 4342 ⁵⁶
44p	Phamenoth 20	Memnoneia	<i>P.Ups.Frid</i> 1.1
48p	Epeiph 30	Arsinoite	<i>P.Rainer Cent.</i> 57.9
49p	Phamenoth 8	Arsinoite	<i>SB</i> X 10243 (=
46-50p	Pharmouthi 17	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> II 308 descr.) ii.3 (47p)
49p	Mecheir 6	Herakleopolis?	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXI 2582.2
51p	Sebastos (10?)	Thebes/ Memnoneia	<i>O.Ont.Mus.</i> II 82.5 ⁵⁷
52p	Pharmouthi 29	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 39.4 ⁵⁸
41/54p	Kaisareios 8	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2720.1,11
59p	[?] 8	Oxyrhynchos	<i>SB</i> X 10249.2 ⁵⁹
64p	Kaisareios 8	Arsinoite	<i>P.Vindob.Tandem</i> 22.25
70p	Pharmouthi 21	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3508.37
88p	Tybi 8	Hermopolite	<i>P.Prag.</i> I 36.13
95p	Kaisareios	Arsinoite	<i>BGU</i> XV 2551.4-5
100p	Tybi 27	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLI 2960.38
Ip	[?] 20	Hermonthite	<i>O.Ont.Mus.</i> II 96.3 ⁶⁰
101p	Tybi 27	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.Hels.</i> 34.21
101p	Mecheir 8	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Turner</i> 19 = <i>Pap.Lugd.Bat.</i> XIII 24.1
103p	Sebastos 27	Oxyrhynchos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLI 2973.35

⁵⁶Rejecting Preisigke's correction.

⁵⁷Cf. *BL* 7.293; or read Σεβαστή?

⁵⁸Cf. *BL* 6.95.

⁵⁹Cf. *BL* 7.218.

⁶⁰On a photograph, we read the beginning of this line as κ̄ Σεβ(αστή) (δραχμῶς) η
κτλ.

213. Declaration of Land

Inv. 531
Pl. 22

7.6 x 18.5 cm.

ca 84-105
Arsinoe

Back blank

This declaration is of a standard form, of which a full discussion can be found in Wolff, *Das Recht* 222 ff., especially 227 n.23. See also *P.Heid.* IV 300 introd. with n.1. For declarations of immovables, cf. also *PSI XIII* p.143 n.1.

- [Σωκρά]τη γεγυμνασιαρχηκότει κ[αὶ Ἄντι-]
[πάτρῳ] βιβλιοφύλαξι ἐνκτήσεων Ἄρ[σινοῖτου]
(1 line blank)
- (2 H.)
4 [παρὰ Κ]ρονίωνος τοῦ Πολυδε[ύκου]ς τοῦ δεινός μη-
[τρὸς Δι]δυμαρείου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μη[τροπόλεως ἀνα-]
[γραφομ]ένου ἐπ' ἀμφόδου θαρα[πειίας· χωρὶς ὧν
ἀπεγρα-]
[ψάμην] δι' ὑμῶν προσαπογ[ρ]ά[φομαι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐνε-]
[στώσα]ν ἡμέραν τὰ ἐληλυθ[ό]τ[α μοι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ
προγε-]
- 8 [γραμμέν]ου πατρός [μο]υ Πολ[υ]δεύ[κου]ς τοῦ δεινός
[.....] τοῦ Πολυδεύκου[ς ἀπὸ κώ]μης Ἰβώνος Εἰκοσι-]
[πεν]ταρούρων {α} τελευτὴν ἀπὸ διαθήκης πε-]
[ρὶ τὴν π]ροκειμένην κώμην Ἰβῶνα
(εἰκοσιπεντ)ά[ρούρων]
- 12 [κατοικικῆς ἀρούρας τρεῖς ὄγδον ἐκκαιδ[έκατον]
[κα]ὶ γῆς ἀμπελείτι[δ]ος ἀρούρας δύο] ἡμισ[υ καὶ]
[ἀ]μπελῶνα ἀναδενδρατεικὸν ἡμισυ τ[έ-]
[ταρ]τον ἀρούρης, καὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ τρίτον [μέρος]
- 16 [οἰκίας καὶ μητρεϊκὴν παιδίσκην Δη[.....]
[..]αλμωους ὄντα καθαρὰ ἀπὸ ὀφιλῆ[ς καὶ ὑπο-]
[θή]κης καὶ παντὸς διεγ[γ]υήματος. ὅ τει δ' ἄ[ν τῶν]
[πρ]ογεγρα[μ]μένων ἐξοικονομῶι ἢ καὶ [προσ-]
20 [α]γοράζωι πρότερον πρ[ο]σανγελῶι.

1 -χηκότι 4 Διδυμαρίου 5 Θεραπείας 12 τρεῖς, ὄγδοον
13 ἀμπελίτιδος 14 -δρατικόν 16 μητρικήν 18 τι 20 προσαγγελῶ

To Sokrates, former gymnasiarch, and Antipatros, keepers of the registers of landed property for the Arsinoite, [from] Kronion son of Polydeukes, [grandson of N.N., his mother] Didymarion, of those from the metropolis, registered in the amphodon of Therapeia. [Besides what I registered] through you, I register in addition [and to the present] day the property which came to [me after the] intestate death of my aforesaid father Polydeukes [son of N.N.], grandson of Polydeukes, from the village of [Ibion] Eikosipentarouron...located near the aforesaid village of Ibion Eikosipentarouron: three, an eighth, a sixteenth arouras of katoikic (land), and two and a half arouras of vineyard land, and an anadendratric vineyard of a half, a quarter aroura, and in the village a third part of a house and a slave girl inherited from my mother...(the property) being free from debt and mortgage and all pledge as security. Whatever of the aforesaid property I may alienate or add to by purchase I will give notice of beforehand.

1 For Sokrates, cf. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques*, nos. 25-26 and *BGU XI* 2017 (A.D. 88). For Sokrates and Antipatros as bibliophylakes cf. the table in *Proc. IX Congr.* 244 and cf. *P.Heid.* IV 300 (96p); they are attested over a range of ca 84-106. (In *Mnemosyne* [1983] 361, Sijpesteijn dates *SPP XXII* 23, in which they occur, to the reign of Hadrian, thus 119p at the earliest; but in *Nouvelle liste* he dates it to 106, without reference to his other treatment. Extending the range of this pair, already long, by another thirteen years seems very unlikely, not least because another pair of bibliophylakes would intervene in 116 (*P.Wisc.* II 54). On a photograph kindly provided by H. Harrauer we think line 1 should be read [(.)] (ἔτους) Δομιτιανοῦ, while in line 22 the very effaced imperial name is probably Domitian's as well. We therefore date the text to ca 84-96.) Antipatros has the style γεγυμνασιαρχηκῶς only in *BGU II* 536, where it may simply be misplaced; elsewhere it is always only Sokrates who is so designated.

3 We have not identified Kronion and his family in other documents.

4 For μητροπόλεως here, cf. J.F. Oates, *BASP* 12 (1975) 113 ff., esp. 116. The first example cited by Oates for the expression τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως is from 90/91 (*SB VI* 9163).

5 For the amphodon Therapeias, cf. S. Daris in *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 146.

9 Since there seems to be sufficient space at the end of line 8 for the patronymic (which seems not to be more than ten letters, to judge from line 3), perhaps the start of line 9 contained υἱωνοῦ. For the village of Ibion Eikosipentarouron, cf. Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario geografico* III 10-11. It is often, as in line 11 here, written with the numeral κε rather than the word written out.

14 For ἀναδεδρατικός, see Preisigke, *WB* s.v. ἀναδεδράς and cf. *P.Soterichos* 1.8n.

16 For μητρικός, "inherited from my mother," cf. *P.Oxy.* I 97.12.

17 At the start one expects the end of some personal name, probably the name of the slave's mother (cf. Taubenschlag, *Op.Min.* II 227 n.25).

18-20 For an almost identical formula, cf. *BGU* I 112.23-25 (Arsinoite, ca A.D. 60).

214. Caption and Memorandum

Inv. 547c
Pls. 23-24

6.4 x 5.0 cm.

ca 86
Oxyrhynchite

The recto contains a date to year 5 of Domitian, Choiak, along with a phrase that we take to mean "summary account of Sinary" or something of that sort. The verso seems to be a brief memorandum with a list of activities--travel, so far as we can tell--on several days.

Recto

ε (ἔτους) Δομιτιανοῦ
Χοιάκ εἰρόμενον
Συναρύ

Verso

4 Φαρμ(ούθι) δ ἡμε(ρ--) φ.ο()
 ιδ· Παῦνι ἀπήλθεν
 [.....] `.....σαι` χρυσοχεῖ
 κ/ ἀπήλθ(εν) πρὸ(ς) τὸν
 8 φίλου

Recto: 5th year of Domitian, Choiak. Summary list for Sinary.
 Verso: Pharmouthi 4 ...; 14th Pauni, he went ... to the goldsmith;
 20th, he went to his friend.

1 Year 5 of Domitian is A.D. 85-86; Choiak is November-December. For εἰρόμενον, "list," see Preisigke, *WB* s.v. and *Fachwörter* s.v.

3 Sinary is in the Oxyrhynchite; see Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 178 f.

4 Pharmouthi 4 = 30.iii. We suppose that some form of ἡμέρα is intended, but our inability to decipher the end of the line prevents us from resolving the abbreviation fully.

5 Pauni 14 = 8.vi.

6 Pauni 20 (if it is still that month) = 14.vi. χρυσοχεύς is not previously attested; χρυσοχοῦς is the normal form. The reading, however, seems clear.

215. Private Letter

Inv. 318
 Pl. 25

16 x 23.2 cm.

ca 100
 Provenance unknown

Published: C.W. Keyes, *CP* 30 (1935) 143-47 (*SB* V 7660); cf. M. Hombert, *Cd'E* 10 (1935) 405; U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 12 (1937) 83

The largely nonstandard spelling and loose syntax of this letter seem to stamp it heavily with the personality of the writer; but we cannot exclude the possibility that she had it written by a relative. The concerns

are the usual matters of health and the dispatch of objects and commodities. There is a join at about 9 cm. from the left margin, crossed by the writing in an uphill direction; the writer evidently had a precut sheet which she oriented incorrectly when beginning to write.

- 'Απλονοῦς Θερ[μουθ]ᾶτι
 τῇ μητρὶ πλεῖσ[τ]α χαίρει·
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχόμεθά σε
 4 ὑγένειω σὺν 'Απλουαρίω. θέλω [σ]ε γι-
 νώσκω ὅτι ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν {ο}ή-
 κῶτων μοι ὅτι ἠσθένηςκος,
 8 ἐχάρην δὲ ἀκούσασ[α] ὅτι κωμ-
 σῶς ἔσχηκος. ἐρωτῶ σε μεγά-
 λως καὶ παρακαλῶ, ἐπιμέλου
 ἐατῆς ἅμα καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς ὡς
 παρέλθ[η]τε τὸν χιμόνα, εἶ-
 12 να εὐρομον ἡμᾶς ὑιένωντος.
 καὶ εἰμῖς γὰρ πάντος ὑγέ[ν]ωμον.
 καὶ περὶ τῆς Συρίας ἔ[ω]ς ἄρτι οὐδ[ὲ]ν
 16 κακόν. ἐρωτῶ σε ἐὰν ἀκρούσης πε-
 ρὶ [Τ]θερμουθατος πέμψον μοι φάσ[ι]ν.
 ἐρωτῶ σε, οὐ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ἐὰν
 τινα εὐρηται καταβαί[.]νωιντα,
 20 ἀποστῆτε ὑμῖν φάσιν περὶ τῆς
 ὑγείας ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς.
 ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ, ἡ δύ-
 νατόν ἐστιν, [.]εἰδὼν σε τὴν μικρὰν
 24 τρίς τὴν ἡμέραν, δόξον ἐμὲ εἶναι
 ἐχόμενά σου. ἦδε πέμψω σ[ο]ι
 τὸ ἐνύδιον. οὕπω γὰρ τὸ ἐμ[ὸ]ν γέγοναι.
 ἐὰν εὐρη<ς> σοι τιμὴν ησ[.]ς Θε[ρ]μου-
 28 θᾶτος πώλησον. ἅμα π[.....]βαλε
 παρ' ἡμᾶς κόμισε παρ' ἐ[μοῦ ἀλέ]κτο-
 ρος σαλω[.....]ες

On the right edge:

ἔστιν τὰριχοι δεκαδύω καὶ κοπταὶ εἰκοσιδύω τῇ μικρᾷ,
 καὶ διδὶ αὐτῇ ἀνά ἐν ἔν. ἐπισκοπίτε σε Γάιος μεγάλως

καὶ Θερμουθᾶς
 32 καὶ Εἰσίδωρος ἔ καὶ Διογενᾶς, καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα
 Ἄπλονάριον. ἐπισκοποῦ[α]μεθα
 Ἀμμίαν καὶ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς. ἐπισκοποῦντέ σε
 πάντος. [.] ἔρρωσ(ο).
 ἐπισκοποῦμε Ἡρῶν [.] καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς. Τῦβι γ̄.

Verso: ἀπόδο(ος) εἰς Φιλαδέλφειαν
 36 Θερμουθατί

1 Ἀπολλωνοῦς 3 ἀρα in margin, faintly (washed out?) 4 ὑγιαίνειν,
 Ἀπολλωναρίω 5-6 ἠκότων? 6 ἠσθένηκας 7-8 κομψῶς
 8 ἔσχηκας 10 ἑαυτῆς (for σεαυτῆς) 11 χειμῶνα; παρελε[υσε]τε
 ed.pr. 11-12 ἵνα εὐρωμεν ὑμᾶς ὑγιαίνοντας 13 ἡμεῖς, πάντες
 ὑγιαίνομεν; ἀβ[ασ]καντος (for παντός) ed.pr. 17 πῖραγμα pap.
 18 εὐρήτε, καταβαίνοντα 19 ἀποστεῖλαι ἡμῖν 20 ὑγείας, ὑμῶν,
 μικρὰς pap. 21 εἰ 22 ἰδεῖν 23 δόξαν; ἡμέραν, ex o 24 ἦδη
 25 το: τ ex corr.?: ἐνώτιον, γέγονε; ἐμ[ο]. ed.pr. 26 εὐρη,
 Ἠσ[.] ed.pr.; ἠσ[.] ἢ pap. 27 ἄλε (for βαλε) ed.pr.
 28 κομίσαι; παρα[.]κτο ed.pr. 28-29 ἀλέκτορας
 29 Σαμβ[.] ed.pr. 30 ταραχοὶ ed.pr. 31 δίδου, ἐπισκοπεῖται;
 μεγάλως, λ ex s 33 ἐπισκοποῦνται, πάντες; παντας ed.pr.
 34 ἐπισκοποῦμαι; ἐπισκοποῦμε(θα) ed.pr. Verso: Φιλαδέλφειαν

Apollonous to Thermouthas her mother, many greetings. Before all things we pray that you are in good health, along with Apollonarian. I want you to know that I heard from those who have come to me that you have been ill; but I was glad to hear that you have gotten better. I ask you earnestly and beg you, take care of yourself and also of the little girl, so that you may get through the winter, so that we may find you in good health. We are also all well. And concerning the Syrian woman, up to now nothing bad. I ask you if you hear about Thermouthas, send me word. I ask you, it isn't a problem, if you find anyone coming down, send me word concerning your health and the little girl's. I ask you and beg, if it is possible, for you to see the little girl three times a day, so that it seems that I am near you. I will send you the earring soon, for it has not yet become mine. If you find a price ... Thermouthas, sell. At the same time ... receive from me ... cocks.

There are twelve dried fish and twenty-two sesame cakes for the little girl, and give them to her one by one. Gaius send you his best regards, and Thermouthas, and Isidoros, and Diogenas, and we greet Apollonarian. We send regards to Ammia and her child. All send

regards to you. Farewell. I send regards to Hera and her children. Tybi 3.

Verso: Deliver to Philadelphia to Thermouthas.

1-2 These lines are written more heavily and a bit more clumsily than the rest of the letter, though the shapes are not much different; perhaps a different pen rather than a different hand.

5-6 Keyes thought (as we do) that the writer's final intention was ἠκότων, which required him to assume that the omicron was erroneously left undeleted. F.T. Gignac kindly informs us that he thinks Keyes' interpretation is correct, but that presence of omicron is explicable, pointing out that (1) perfect forms of ἦκω are common in the papyri already in the Ptolemaic period (cf. Maysen, *Graçmmatik* I.22 148), (2) omega/omicron interchange in this papyrus is very common, and (3) οἶχομαι is rare in this period. He suggests that the initial omicron may have been meant to begin the diphthong οι, phonetically equivalent to upsilon, which she in turn interchanges with eta in lines 19/20; she then wrote eta without deleting the omicron.

7-8 For κομφῶς see Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 200-01, 211 = *TAPA* 80 (1949) 220-21 (giving credit to Keyes for the emendation in *P.Stras.* 73; in *Scriptiunculae* II 809 Youtie claims it as his correction).

10 For the use of the third-person pronoun instead of second-person, see *P.Vindob.Worp* 13.13n.

14 For Syrians in the papyri see G. Vaggi, *Aegyptus* 17 (1937) 29-51. It is possible that this is a personal name here, but it is not otherwise attested as such and the article makes it rather unlikely.

20-21 There is a small blank space toward the right center of these lines, between τῆς and μικρῶς and in the middle of παρακαλῶ; probably there was a hole or bad spot in the papyrus when the letter was written.

23-24 Keyes interpreted δόξον as δόξασσῶν, agreeing with σε in line 22. This does not give good sense, and δοξον is an unlikely miswriting for δόξασσῶν. Kiessling, *WB* IV s.v. δοκέω, apparently takes this as an imperative, but this fits badly into the flow of the Greek and the writer's mode of expression. It is interesting that the same expression, δόξον ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμ[ι] ἐχόμε[ε]να [σου], is found in *P.Giss.* I 77.11, as corrected by Wilcken in his review of Keyes' ed.pr. of this papyrus. The expression with ἐχόμενα is discussed by Youtie in connection with its derivate form ἐχόνομα in *Scriptiunculae* II 805-09 = *CP* 32 (1937) 155-58. Neither

Wilcken nor Youtie, however, comments on the form δόξον. The editors of *P.Giss. I 77* treat it as an imperative, standing at the start of a sentence. The immediately preceding context in that papyrus, however, is badly damaged and does not help. We suggest that this is best seen as an accusative absolute (error for δόξω, one of the two aorist participles of impersonal verbs normally found in absolute constructions, cf. H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* [Cambridge, MA 1956] 461 sec. 2076; LSJ s.v. II.4.c).

24 There is a small mark after eta in ἦδε, shaped like a sigma but far smaller than any sigma in the rest of the letter. It may be without significance.

25 For the spelling ἐνύδω, see Gignac, *Grammar I* 294.

26-29 It is difficult to be certain how this damaged part of the text ran. In 26-27, we do not know which of the women named Thermouthas and mentioned in the text (lines 16 and 31) is meant, and supposing yet another person of that name is uneconomical. In 27, the full stop after πώλησον may of course be incorrect: "sell ... at the same time as you ..." We cannot find a suitable word in 29; *WB* s.v. lists σαλώτιον as a kind of fruit, but we do not see how that fits here with cocks. On the other hand, we cannot find any suitable restoration for]κτορος (assuming the usual error in ending) but the one we give.

31 For the form of δίδι, see Mandilaras, *The Verb*, par. 90.

32 The name could also be Ἀπολλωάρις, cf. 216.9.

216. Private Letter

Inv. 321
Pl. 26

16.8 x 16.7 cm.

ca 100
Alexandria

Published: C.W. Keyes, *CP* 30 (1935) 147-48 (*SB V* 7661); cf. M. Hombert, *Cd'E* 10 (1935) 405; U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 12 (1937) 83; *BL* 7.196

This letter was competently written by a professional scribe, with the writer's greeting in his own extremely painful hand at the end. Part of the clay seal and papyrus string were found attached to the sheet, according to Keyes.

- Σευηριανὸς Ἀμ[μ]ωνιανῶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν·
 πρὸ πά[ν]τ[ω]ν εὐχ[ομ]αί[ι] ὑμᾶς ὑγιαίνειν. τὸ προσκύνη-
 μά σου ποιούμε[ν] παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι. ἔκομισά-
 4 μ[ην π]αρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς <σ>ου καὶ ἠγόρασα τὰ ἔγραψάς
 μοι.
 [ὑμεῖς δὲ (?) ἀ]ναστίλατε τὸ ἀπόχυμα τοῦ πατρὸς σου
 [..... τὸ (?)] κατὰλο[ι]πον. ἀσπάζου τὴν μητέραυ σου
 [καί]ι .[.....]ιον τὸ[ν] ἀδελφόν σου καὶ πάντες τοὺς σοὺς.
 8 ἀσπάζεται σε Βίκ[τ]τωρ καὶ Ὀνοράτος καὶ Εὐνοϊχος καὶ
 Θε[.]ι[.]ης καὶ Ἀπολινάρις καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή αὐτοῦ καὶ
 [...]όδωρος καὶ Ἀούτις.
 (2 H.) ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

Verso (1 H.) ἀπὸ Σευηριανοῦ X Ἀ[μ]μ[ω]νια[ν]ῶ

2 ὑγιαίνειν 4 ἄ 5 ἀναστεύλατε 7 πάντας

Severianus to Ammonianus his brother, greetings. Before all I pray that you are healthy. We make your obeisance to the lord Sarapis. I received (the letter) from your father and bought what you wrote to me (to buy). Send the *apochyma* of your father ... Greet your mother and ... your brother and all your family. Victor and Honoratus and Eunoichos and Th... and Apollinaris and his sister and []odoros and Aoutis greet you. (2nd hand) I pray for your health.

Verso: From Severianus to Ammonianus (?).

2-3 Wilcken argued for Alexandria as the provenance on the basis of the proskynema to Sarapis here. For subsequent discussion of this thesis, see Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I 36-45 (= *ICS* 3 [1978] 90-99) (the negative view is revived again by F. Farid, *Actes XV Congr.* IV 141-47, which we do not find persuasive).

5 The use of ἀναστέλλω is no argument for a non-Alexandrian provenance, for it can mean to send up to town as well as to send upriver.

For ἀπόχυμα, there are two other attestations in papyri:⁶¹ *P.Mich.* XI 617.9, where it seems to have to do with runoff of water (see the editor's note); and *PSI Congr. XI* 12.14, where it is used as in the medical writers cited below. *WB I* s.v. cites Stephanus for its use to mean the wax mixed with pine resin when the latter is extracted from ships, or even as a term for the resin itself. *LSJ* cites it from Dioskourides (Stephanus' source) as pine resin; from Timaeus of Locris as more generally "that which is poured out;" and from Aetius 15.24 as a kind of medical plaster. A search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* shows that it actually occurs quite often in medical writers: four times in Galen, twice in pseudo-Galen, once in Archigenes, eight times in the late Paul the Aeginetan (partly reproducing pseudo-Galen), seven times in Aetius, seventeen times in the *Hippiatrica*, once in Alexander of Tralles, always meaning a resin or gum. It seems most plausible that its meaning in our letter is some sort of resin or gum, as in practically all of the literary sources.

6 We do not think that κατόλοιπον can be taken with what follows.

8 Eunoichos is a new name, perhaps a spelling error for Eunouchos.

217. Memorandum

Inv. 24
Pl. 27

19.1 x 10.2 cm.

I/II
Karanis ?

Back blank

Lines 2-7 of this memorandum give a list of seven men and how they were disposed of. Two signed a *cheirographon* and were released; four were arrested; and for one there is no indication. Line 1 should have indicated what the whole affair was about; we have not managed to read it entirely. The names suggest an Arsinoite provenance, and specifically Karanis, where all of these names, sometimes in conjunction, are found very commonly in the tax rolls in *P.Mich.* IV and *P.Cair.Mich.* 359. We

⁶¹The editors print it in *P.Fay.* 95.25 with the first alpha restored; Keyes interpreted this as "a byproduct of oil production." But P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 22 no.22 has corrected this to ἐπίχυμα.

believe, however, that the hand of our papyrus is earlier than the dates of the tax rolls by several decades at least.

4 ησινθι σὺν ἐμοὶ τοῦ λιμναὶ ἐπι α[.]σ[
 [ἐ]ν τῇ κώμῃ· Σαραπίων Μαρρήους καὶ Πεθεύς Σαρα-
 πίωνος· οἱ δύο ἐχειρογράφησας καὶ ἀπελύθησαν·
 καὶ Π....ρις [Ἄ]κ[ου]σιλάου· π[α]ρόδ[ω]σις·
 καὶ Πάτρων ἄ καὶ Σοκμῆν[ι]ς οἱ δύο Πεθεύτος·
 παράδοσις·
 καὶ Π....ς Μάρων[ο]ς· παράδοσις·
 κ' ἄ ἰ Πετεςούχος [Σ]ωκράτους· γίν(ονται) ἄνδρ(ες) ζ.

2 Μαρρήους 3 ἐχειρογράφησαν, ἀπελύθησαν corr. from ἀπελυθησας
 4,5 παράδοσις

(Lines 2 ff.) Sarapion son of Marres and Petheus son of Sarapion: the two men made an agreement and were released. And P....ris son of Akousilaos: handed over. And Patron and Sokmenis, the two sons of Petheus: handed over. And P....s son of Maron: handed over. And Petesouchos son of Sokrates: total, 7 men.

1 The theta in the first group might be taken as omicron if the stroke across it were not intentional, yielding ἦσιν οἱ σὺν ἐμοί. For the rest, we have considered τοῦ Λιμναίου πρ--, but we do not think that the epsilon can in fact be ου, nor the letter after pi be rho.

2 A Petheus son of Sarapion occurs in *P.Mich.* IV 223.1553, 1660; 224.1609, 3091. No Sarapion son of Marres is attested.

4 "Handing over" here indicates arrest.

5 We cannot tell if these two men were the sons of the Petheus mentioned in line 2 or not. A Sokmenis son of Petheus occurs in *P.Mich.* IV 223.263.

7 The disposition of Petesouchos seems not to be indicated. A Petesouchos alias Pnepheros son of Sokrates appears in *P.Mich.* IV.2 p.211 and instances appear at Theadelphia in *P.Col.* V 1 verso 2.10.146 and *BGU* IX 1900.110. There is no reason to connect any of them with the man mentioned here.

218. Request to the Royal Scribe

Inv. 539
Pl. 28

8.7 x 13.3 cm.

15.i.139
Tebtunis

Back blank

We can find no exact parallel for this request. Two sisters from Tebtunis submit it to the basilikos grammateus concerning land which they leased from the crown. The nearest parallel, *P.Tebt.* II 325 (about 145), involves a request to lease at reduced rent, but such a proposal is difficult to find here. The subscription by the basilikos grammateus (or his assistant), directed to the komogrammateus, orders that action be taken as appropriate, but at the risk of the komogrammateus. It is written in a rather clumsy hand, not that of a beginner but at all events not that of a practiced scribe either.

We cannot identify the parties with confidence, but as in the case of 222, they are very much reminiscent of the members of the family represented in the Kronion archive (cf. the stemma in *P.Kron.*, p.xxi). and in *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 73, part of the "archive of the descendants of Pakebkis", an undated complaint in which one Kronion the elder, son of Pakebkis, refers to his father's late wife (but not his mother), Taharmiusis. If we are to restore ἀνδρός in line 5, this would have to be a different husband in order for it to be the same woman. Again, if Kronion is the name to be restored at the start of line 3, one is reminded of the fact that both Kronion I and Kronion II had daughters named Tephorsais. To go beyond these observations would be overly speculative.

[Πτολε]μαίω βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἄρ(σινοῖτου)
 Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδος
 [παρὰ] Τααρμύσεως καὶ Τεφορσάιτος ἀμφοτέρων
 4 [...]νος τοῦ Ἄρμιύσεως ἀπὸ κώμης Τεβτύνεως
 ἀμφο]τέρων μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ τῆς Τααρμύσεως
 [...] Πακύσεως τοῦ Κρονίωνος· βουλόμεθα
 ἀφεῖ]ναι εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος β (ἔτους)]
 8 [Ἄντ]ωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου traces [
 [...]]. μεμισθωμένος κατὰ [μίσθωσιν τοῦ]
 [προδιεληλ]υθῆτος κα (ἔτους) θεοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ [ἧς ὁ

- χρόνος]
- [ἐπληρώ]θη εἰς τὸ διεληλυθὸς α (ἔτος) ἀρούρας [περὶ]
 [τὴν π]ροκειμένην κώμ(ην) α ἀρα
- 12 [. . .]. τω . . . βρουχως, ὧν γείτονες νότο[υ]
 [. . .] καὶ ἐτέρων γεωργ(), βορρᾶ Ἑρακλι[.]
 [. . .] . γεωργ(), λιβὸς χέρσο(ς), ἀπλιώτο(υ)
 [. . .] . . . ο() δι[ι]ὼ ἐπιδίδωμεν ὅπως τὸ ἀκό-
 16 [λουθο]ν γένηται ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων.
 (2 H.) [τῷ κω]μογρ(αμματεῖ)· εἰ τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτως ἔχει
 [ἐπιτέλ(ει)] ὡς καθ(ήκει), ὡς πρὸς σὲ τοῦ λό<γο>υ
 ἐσομένου
 [ἐάν τι] παρὰ [.] τὸ 'δέον' γένητ(αι). σεσημείωμαι.
- 20 [(ἔτους) β] Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 [vacat] Τύβι κ̄.

15 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμεν 19 σεσημείωμαι

To Ptolemaios, royal scribe of the Arsinoite, Polemon division, [from] Taharmiusis and Tephorsais, both daughters of [.....]n son of Harmiusis, from the village of Tebtunis, both with their guardian the [....] of Taharmiusis, Pakysis son of Kronion. We wish to release to the treasury from the present [2nd year] of Antoninus Caesar the lord the arouras leased in accordance with the lease of the antepenultimate 21st year of the god Hadrian [of which the term?] was completed in the past 1st year, located [around the] aforementioned village ..., of which the neighbors are, on the South [....] and other farmers; on the North, Herakli[....] farmers; on the West, waste land; on the East, Therefore we submit (this) to you so that the appropriate action may take place as in similar cases.

(2 H.) [To the] village scribe: If in reality it is so, [carry it out] as is fitting, with the risk being at your charge [if anything] contrary to what is proper occurs. I have signed. [Year 2] of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Tybi 20.

1 For Ptolemaios, see Bastianini-Whitehorne, *Strategi* 130. This text extends his known range (131-133) by six years, without yet running into the next known royal scribe in Polemon, Artemidoros alias Tourbon, who is attested in 144 (and could be the official in *P.Tebt.* II 325). A period of

office of eight years is long for this official, but Artemidoros, the royal scribe of Themistos in 138-149, lasted even longer.

3 Space is tight for [Κρονίω]νος, but given our other Tebtunis documentation of this period, it is nonetheless an attractive restoration.

5 [ἀνδρός] is the most obvious restoration; and since the women are sisters, it is less likely that Pakysis is the brother of only Taharmiusis. But one could also restore [υιοῦ].

6 The restoration of [ἀφεί]ναι is based on *P.Tebt.* II 325.5-6.

9 Year 21 of Hadrian, his last complete year, was 136/7.

9-10 Cf. *P.Tebt.* II 325.8-9.

11-12 One expects some topographical precision about the location of the plot; we have not been able to read it. The reading βρουχως suggested something like ἀβρόχως as a possible motive for this declaration, but we cannot read anything suitable. (For ἀβροχία declarations, see G.M. Parássoglou, *Cd'E* 62 (1987) 205-18.)

13 Both γεωργ(ῶν) and γεωργ(ία) seem possible.

14 By analogy, we should restore χ]έρσο(ς) in *P.Tebt.* II 325.11 (not F. Preisigke's Λ]έρσο(υ) in *BL* 1.427).

15-16 For the restoration, see *P.Tebt.* II 325.17-18.

17-19 For the restorations, see *P.Tebt.* II 325.19-23 and 374.22-24; *P.Petaus* 6.14-16; *P.Stras.* I 70.17; *SPP* XX 8.13 ff.; *BGU* I 79.19 ff. The handwriting (presumably of an assistant) is not skilled. The text as printed owes much to the suggestions of Dieter Hagedorn; it is the result of extensive correction in lines 17 and 19, but we cannot recover the original version. For royal scribes' subscriptions, cf. L. Casarico, *Il controllo della popolazione nell'Egitto romano I: Le denunce di morte* (Azzate 1985) 20.

219. Sale of a Slave

Inv. 512
Pl. 29

10.1 x 12.3 cm.

13.vii.140
Alexandria

Back blank

Published: J. F. Gilliam, *JJurPap* 16-17 (1971) 63-70 (*SB* XII 10894)

A woman who evidently holds Roman citizenship, acting with her citizen husband Sex. Pompeius, orders a banker to pay two hundred drachmas as the final part of a purchase price of a thousand drachmas for a slave girl, born in Alexandria, to an Alexandrian citizen whose brother, also an Alexandrian, functions as guarantor. The papyrus was found in Oxyrhynchos, but it was evidently written in Alexandria. As Gilliam pointed out, the fact that the crossed strokes with which the order is cancelled were, along with the text, still wet when the papyrus was folded suggests that the order was written, executed, and cancelled, all in one event.

For slave sales of the Roman period, see Biezuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage* II esp. 165-67 with prices paid (see also J. Straus, *ZPE* 11 [1973] 289-95). Since 1977 one may add *P.Amst.* I 46, *CPR* VIII 18, *P.Köln* IV 187, V 232, *P.Oxy.* XLII 3053, 3054, L 3593 (and 3594?), *P.Stras.* VII 670, *P.Turner* 40 and *P.Nepheros* 33; cf. also (from Pamphylia) *P.Turner* 22 and our 222.

The slave for whom this price was paid was conveyed (καταγεγραμμένης) in accordance with a "Greek diploma," δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικόν. Gilliam's commentary discusses the form of the document and the meaning of this term at length, coming to the conclusion that it means a double document written in Greek; he denies any connection with a Greek city as the place of writing. Since he wrote, references to such documents have now turned up in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3053 and 3054, both written outside Egypt; the editor, P.J. Parsons, concludes (3053.12n.), "We should not expect sales in diploma form in Egypt; whereas they are the norm e.g. in Dura Europos." For diplomas see also *P.Turner*, p.108. The institution of *katagraphe* is discussed in detail by Wolff, *Das Recht*, 197-221. Wolff (78 n.110) endorses Gilliam's view that Ἑλληνικόν refers to language in this context, and that the diploma was a private double document. It does appear, however, that all examples come from Greek cities, with users generally Roman citizens.

--- -- -- -- --
 [] traces []. [± 8 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
 δεδομένου μοι κ[ατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη]
 Σέξστου Πομπη[είου - - ± 15 - -]

- 4 Πτολεμαίου [τραπεζίτη χείρειν· χρη-]
μάτισον Κασ[...].υφ[.....] τῷ Κεφάλωνος
Σωσικοσμείῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθαιεὶ τειμῆν δούλης
8 Σαραπιάδος ἐνγενουὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖα τῆς
καταγεγραμμένης μοι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ δι-
πλωμα Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπλῶ χρήματι καὶ οὐ-
σης ἐκτὸς ἱερᾶς νόσου καὶ ἐπαφῆς ὥστε
12 ἀπέχεω αὐτὸν τὰς ὄλας τῆς τειμῆς ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς χειλίας, σὺν αἷς ἔχει διὰ χειρὸς ἑ
ἀργυρίου δραχμαῖς ὀκτακοσίαις τὰς λοιπὰς
ἀργυρίου δραχμ(ὰς) διακοσίας, βεβαιούντος
16 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰσιδώρου Σωσικοσ-
μείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) σ.
(ἔτους) γ
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ
Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἐπειφ ἰθ.
ca 1.2 cm. blank
(2 H.) Κασ. [. . .] traces

6 Σωσικοσμείῳ, τειμῆν 11 τειμῆς 12 χιλίας 15-16 Σωσικοσμείου

[So-and-so, with the kyrios] granted me [in accordance with Roman usage], Sextus Pompeius [..., to so-and-so] son of Ptolemaios, [banker, greeting.] Pay to Kas[... son of so-and-so, grandson] of Kephalon of the Sosikosmeian tribe and the Althaiian deme, as the price of a slave, Sarapias, born in Alexandria, who has been conveyed to me by him in accordance with a Greek double document, *simpliciter pecunia* and as being free from the sacred disease and *epaphe*, so that he may have the complete thousand silver drachmas of the price, when added to the eight hundred silver drachmas which he has through hand, the remaining two hundred silver drachmas = 200 drachmas, his brother Isidoros of the Sosikosmeian tribe and the Althaiian deme acting as guarantor. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Epeiph 19. (2nd hand) I, Kas...

2 For guardians of women, see P.W. Pestman, *Over Vrouwen en Voogden in het Oude Egypte* (Leiden 1969).

4 Gilliam noted that N.N. s. of Ptolemaios could not be identified with any banker in A. Calderini's list (*Aegyptus* 18 [1938] 244-78), and we

have not been able to identify him with any banker to appear since. If, however, he is a banker in Alexandria, this is hardly surprising.

5 As Gilliam noted, Kastor is the only likely name here; he hesitated to restore it, however, because he found tau difficult to read as the fourth letter in the subscription. That letter does look more like another sigma. A Kastor son of Antiphilos, Sosikosmeian/Althaiian, is known from *P.Fay.* 93, of 161p, but the slight traces of the patronymic in line 5 do not favor an identification with our seller.

9 On ἀπλῶ χρήματι see F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar 1950) 483-87 and Gilliam's comments in ed.pr.

10 There is no agreement on the sense of ἐπαφή in Egyptian slave sales; cf. *P.Turner* 22.5-21n. (D. Hagedorn), citing L. Dorner, *Zur Sachmängelhaftung beim gräko-ägyptischen Kauf* (Jur. Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1974) 118-29, who supports a medical defect (usually taken to be leprosy, cf. Gilliam's note in ed.pr.) against the meaning of "eviction" which seems to be found in some extra-Egyptian contracts (cf. Hagedorn's remarks); see also I. Biezuńska-Małowist, *StudClas* 3 (1961) 148-62 and *L'esclavage* II 153.

19 Kas... is a βραδέως γράφων, on whom see Youtie's classic article in *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239-61 = *Scriptiunculae* II 629-51.

220. Receipt for Poll Tax

Inv. 259

7.9 x 10.1 cm.

22.vii.141

Pl. 30

Memphis

Back blank

This papyrus offers a receipt for 8 drachmas paid as poll tax on *idiotai* at Memphis. The poll-tax receipts mentioning Memphis have recently been discussed in full by C.A. Nelson, "The Memphis Poll Tax Receipts," *Atti del XVII Congr. Int. di Papirologia* (Naples 1984) III 1041-44. He lists nine receipts in this category. Two principal problems have driven the discussion of this tax to date: Which Memphis? and What rate? The choice lies between the Arsinoite village of Memphis and the great city of Memphis. Worp (*P.Vindob.Worp* 7) offered a criterion for distinction: receipts mentioning numbered amphoda referred to the city,

those not mentioning them to the village. On that basis, he allocated the receipts as follows:

Memphis (city): *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 10, *BGU* II 434, *P.Stras.* 195

Memphis (village): *P.Vindob.Worp* 7, *P.Lond.* III 1216 (p.34),
P.Lond. III 845b (p.34), *P.Flor.* I 12

Since he wrote, two more texts have appeared, *P.Mich.inv.* 3244 (*ZPE* 38 [1980] 287-88 = *SB* XVI 12645), which does not have an amphodon and was assigned on Worp's criterion by the editor, H.C. Youtie, to the Arsinoite village; and *BGU* XV 2530, which does have an amphodon and was assigned by the editor to the city (the word Memphis actually does not appear in it). The Columbia receipt is addressed to the same collector as the Michigan one, is written by the same hand, and is dated on the same day. The taxpayer, Ammonios s. of Akousilaos, gs. of Horos, is no doubt the brother of Mystes s. of Akousilaos, gs. of Horos, in the Michigan receipt.⁶²

Two factors serve to make Worp's criterion less decisive. First, the rate. Of the four texts known to Worp which did not include an amphodon, three (as Nelson has shown) contained a payment of 8 drachmas; so also do the two new texts without amphodon, and so do three of the four with an amphodon (the fourth has a payment of 400 dr. for multiple households and is thus no use for this point). Obviously it is possible to argue that any given payment is a partial one, and two tetradrachms make an easy and well-attested amount for such partial tax payments. On the other hand, the virtual unanimity of the texts, if not decisive for an 8-drachma annual rate, begins to "point strongly to that conclusion," as Nelson put it.⁶³ Secondly, there is a peculiarity which crosses the lines of the categories. Two of the texts with amphoda are for λαογραφία χρυσοχόων (*BGU* 434 and 2530); two of those without (the

⁶²Both papyri were acquired through H.I. Bell's consortium in 1925.

⁶³Nelson leaves open whether this rate was a "privileged" rate, i.e. a metropolitan rate lower than that for the population of the countryside, as was the case in the Arsinoite. Youtie's comment (*ZPE* 38 [1980] 288 = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II 598) that the taxpayer "was an Egyptian and presumably a man of relatively low status. As such he would be subject to the tax at its highest rate...and his payment of 8 drachmas was surely only an instalment" is unjustified. Ethnic origin was not decisive; status as a metropolitan resident was, and we do not know enough about Roman Memphis to say who made up its defined body of metropolitans. (Youtie, to be sure, thought the text came from Arsinoite Memphis.) It is to be noted that some of the taxpayers in the receipts mentioning amphoda have Egyptian names, so they clearly are treated the same way as those with Greek names. In any case, many taxpayers have one Greek name and one Egyptian.

Michigan and Columbia texts) are for λαογραφία ιδιωτῶν. The other texts are simply for laographia without such modifiers. Youtie and Nelson have both drawn attention to this parallelism, without either drawing the conclusion that the combination of this parallelism and the rate of 8 drachmas in all four texts points to a common provenance. But this seems the most economical conclusion. In other words, on this view one must modify Worp's criterion: the presence of amphoda may guarantee a Memphite origin, but the absence of an amphodon does not preclude it. If this is correct, we may probably attribute to Memphis the city both the Michigan and Columbia texts.

Beyond this, however, it is not easy to go. *P.Lond.* III 845b not only seems to have an amount of 20 dr., but it adds a receipt issued by the collectors of Soknopaiou Nesos. The payer is different, but arguing for a Memphite provenance certainly involves special pleading. In *P.Lond.* III 1216 and *P.Flor.* I 12 we find receipts (three in the Florentine text, for 186/7, 187/8, and 188/9; one in the London text, for 191/2) for 8 drachmas for poll tax and 3 dr. 2 ob. or 5 ob. for phylaktron, all issued to the same payer. We know from *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 10 that phylaktron was paid along with laographia in the city of Memphis, but that is a somewhat slender basis for attribution; even the 8 dr. rate for laographia in these two texts does not quite clinch the case. On balance, however, it seems more likely that these receipts (and perhaps also *P.Vindob.Worp* 7) belong to the city, with *P.Lond.* III 845b belonging to the village.

4 Ἔτους τετάρτου Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἐφείπ
 κῆ. διέγρα(ψεν) Ἀρτεμ() πράκτ(ορι) ἀργ(υρικῶν)
 Μέμφ(εως) Ἀμμώνιος
 Ἀκουσίλαου ὄνρου λα(ογραφίας)
 ἰδι(ωτῶν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ῥυπ(αράς) (δραχμᾶς) ὀκτώ,
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) η.

2 Ἐπειφ

Fourth year of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, Epeiph 28. Ammonios son of Akousilaos, grandson of Horos, has paid to Artem(), collector of money taxes of Memphis, for poll-tax of private persons for the same year eight drachmas gross, total, 8 dr.

6 See Youtie's remarks (*loc.cit.*) on *ιδιώτης*, which he interprets as "unskilled worker" in contradistinction to specific trade names, and see, confirming and expanding Youtie's view, A.E. Hanson, *BASP* 19 (1982) 47-59.

221. Receipt for a Soldier's Deposita

Inv. 325
Pl. 31

26 x 25.5 cm.

29.xii.143
Ophicion (Thebes)

Published: J. F. Gilliam, *Bonner Jb* 167 (1967) 233-43 = *Roman Army Papers* 317-27 (SB X 10530)

The first edition by Gilliam was accompanied by a very full discussion of the document type and military context, to which the reader is referred. Some later comments by Gilliam may be found in his discussion of *P.Wisc.* I 14, in *Roman Army Papers* 329-34 (= *BASP* 5 [1968] 93-98).

Scriptio Interior

Across the fibers

Ἐπὶ τῶν παρόντων καὶ σφραγισάντων μαρτύρων τὸ
δίπλωμα τοῦτο, Σευφασίης Βούχεως τῶν ἀπὸ
Θμονεβοῦ τοῦ Ὑψηλ(εῖτου)
νομοῦ, μήτηρ καὶ κληρονόμος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου
στρ(ατιώτου) μετηλλαχότος ἐκ σπεῖρ(ας) β
θρακ(ῶν) (ἐκατονταρχίας) Κλαυδίου, μετὰ
κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱ[ο]ῦ Ψευσοσεῖρις Νουμερίου,
ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι παρὰ Ἰουλίου Σιλουανοῦ
ὄπτ(ίωνος) (ἐκατονταρχίας) Κλαυδίου
ἐπιτρόπου κατὰ διαθήκ(ην)
4 τοῦ μετηλλαχότος Ἀμμωνίου τὰ συνλεγέμεντα ἐκ τῶν
πρωκιπίων, ὧν ἔστιν τὸ κατ' εἶδος· δηποσίτου

- μὲν [δ]ηνάρια
 ἑκατὸν καὶ ἰν ἄρμις δηνάρια εἴκοσι ἕν ὀβολοὺς κζ (ἥμισυ)
 καὶ παπυλιῶνος (δηνάρια) εἴκοσι καὶ
 ληων .[.] . . .[.] . ρ . . [.] . μένων
 δηνάρια ἐνενήκοντα τρία ὀβολο(ὺς) δεκαπέντε, (γίνεται)
 τὰ συλλαγέντα δηνάρια διακόσια τριάκοντα πέντε
 ὀβολο[ι] δεκατέσ-
 σαρες ἥμισυ, ἐξ ᾧν ἐξεκρούσθη ληγάτα αὐτῷ Σιλουανῷ
 δηνάρια δεκαπέντε ὁμο(ίως) Φλαουίῳ Μηουιανῷ
 β ἐπιτρόπῳ
 8 δηνάρια δέκα. λοιπ(ὰ) περιελείφθη δηνάρ[ι]α
 διακόσια δι[έ]κα [ὀ]βολο(ι) δεκατέσσαρες
 ἥμισυ, ἃ ὠμολόγησεν παρεληφέναι
 ἡ Σεμφασίης παρὰ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Σιλουανοῦ καὶ
 εἴ τι ἕτερον κατέλιπεν ὁ Ἀμμώνιος παρ' ἑαυτῆ
 ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν
 ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς δηλουμένοις ἐπιτρόποις περὶ μηδενὸς
 ἀπλῶς ἀγράφου ἐνγράφου ἀπὸ τοῦ προόντος
 χρόνου ἄχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἢ μήτε αὐτὴν μήτε
 ἕτερον τι[να] περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ
 ἐγκαλέσαντα ἐκστή[σιν] τοῖς ἰδίῳις θασαπήμα[σιν].
 ἐπράχθη ἐν τῷ Οὐ-
 12 φείῳ πρὸς τῆ παρεμβολῆ διὰ Μάρκου λιβραρίου. (ἔτους)
 ζ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
 Εὐσεβοῦς Τύβι β.

Scriptio Exterior (2 H.)

- Ἐπὶ τῶν παρόντων καὶ σφραγισάντων[ιν] μαρτύρων τὸ
 δίπ[λ]ωμα τοῦτο, Σεμφασίης Βούχεως [τ]ῶν [ἀ]πὸ
 Θμογεβοῦ τοῦ Ὑψηλείτου νομοῦ, μήτηρ καὶ κληρονόμος
 Ἀμμωνί[ου] τοῦ [Ἀ]μμωνίου στρατιώτου
 16 μετηλλαχότος ἐκ σπείρ(ας) β Θρακ(ῶν) (ἐκατονταρχίας)
 Κλαυδίου, μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱοῦ Ψεγοσεῖρις
 Νουμερ[ίου], ὁμο-
 [λογεῖ παρεληφέν]αι παρὰ Ἰουλίου Σιλουανοῦ

- ὀπτιῶ(νος) [(ἐκατονταρχίας) τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἐπιτροπῆς] κατὰ διαθήκην τοῦ
 [μετηλλαχότος Ἀμμωνίου τὰ συλλεγόμενα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν
 πρὶν κειμένων, ὧν ἐστὶν τὸ κατ' εἶδος· δηπο-
 [σίτου μὲν δηνάρια ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐν ἄρμιν δηνάρια εἴκοσι
 ἐν ὀβολοῦς κζ (ἥμισυ) καὶ . . .].].
 20 [- - 20 - - -]. [- - - 30 - - - δηνάρια ἐνευήκοντα
 τρία
 [ὀβολο(ὺς) δεκαπέντε, (γίνεται) τὰ συλλεγόμενα δηνάρια
 διακόσια τριάκοντα] πέντε ὀβολοὶ δεκάτεσσαρες
 ἥμισυ, ἐξ ὧν ἐξεκρούσθη ληγάτα αὐτῶ Σιλουανῶ
 δηνάρια δεκαπέντε ὁμοίως Φλαουίῳ Μησσηνῶ
 [β ἐπιτρόπῳ δηνάρια δέκα. λοιπὰ περιλείφθη δηνάρια
 δεκάκατα δέκα ὀβολοὶ δεκάτεσσαρες
 24 ἥμισυ, ἃ ὧμολόγησεν παρεληφέναι ἡ Σεμφασίης] παρὰ
 τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Σιλίου καὶ
 εἴ τι ἕτερον]
 [κατέλιπεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀμμώνιος παρ' ἑαυτῆ ἔχειν καὶ
 μηδὲν ἐνκαλεῖν μήτε ἐγκαλέσειν τοῖς
 δηλο-
 [μένοις ἐπιτρόποις περὶ μηδενὸς ὧπλως ἀγράφου
 ἐνγράφου ἀπὸ τοῦ προόντος χρόνου [μέχρι] τῆς
 [ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας μήτε αὐτῆν μήτε ἕτερόν τινα περὶ
 αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ ἐπελευσόμενον] ἢ ἐκκαλέ-
 28 [σαντα ἐκστήσειν τοῖς ἰδίοις δασαπήμασι.]
 ἐπράχθη ἐν τῷ Οὐφείῳ πρὸς τῆ παρεμβολῆ διὰ
 [Μάρκου λιβραρίου.] (ἔτους) ζ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ]
 [Εὐσεβοῦς Τύβι β. (3 Η.) Σεμφασίης Βούχως μετὰ
 κυρίου ἐμοῦ τοῦ νεοῦ Ψευσοεῖρις Νουμερίου]
 [ἀπέχω πάντα τὰ] ἐμοῦ νεοῦ Ἀμμωνίου δηπῶσιτα
 μετὰ τὰ ἐκκροσθέντα ληγάτα δηνάρια εἴκοσι
 32 [πέντε (γίνεται) δηνάρια διακόσια δέκα ὀβολοὺς
 δεκάτεσσαρες ἥμισυ, (γίνεται) (δηνάρια) σὶ
 ὀβολο(ι) ἰδ (ἥμισυ).]
 [. Ψευσοεῖρις Νουμερίου υἱὸς τῆς προκειμένης
 Σεμφασίως ἔγραφα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς]
 [μου ἧς καὶ ἐπεγράφη κύριος καὶ ἐσφράκισα.

Verso (rotated 90 degrees)

Across the fibers

- 36 (4 H.) Σουλπίκι[ιος
(έκατονταρχίας) Ἄντων[υ] έσφράγιση
(5 H.) Αύρήλιος Μ[
τούρμης Α. . . [έσφράγιση
40 (6 H.) Λούκιος Ἀκύλας σημαιοφό[ρος]
(έκατονταρχίας) Κλαυδίου έσφράγιση
(7 H.) Iul(ius) Apollonius eques t[urma]
. li signavi
(8 H.) [
44 τούρ(μης) . . [. . .] . [
. . . [.] . [. .] [
. . . :
48 (3 H.) Ψενοςί[ρις] Ν[ο]υ[με]ρίου
. [.] . . [.] . [.] . [.] .

1 τῶν, ν εκ π 4, 6 συλλεγέντα 6 δεκάπεντε, δε εκ λ
8 λοιπ[ογρ]αφί(α) έλείφθη ed.pr. 11 έκστήσειν 11,28 έγκαλέσοντα
34 έσφράγιση 37 Αύρήλιος

Upper Text: Before the witnesses who are present and who affixed their seals to this diploma, Senphasies daughter of Bouchis, of Thmonebou in the Hypselite Nome, mother and heiress of Ammonios son of Ammonios, a deceased soldier of the cohorts II Thracum century of Claudius, having with her as guardian her son Psenosiris son of Numerius, acknowledges that she has received from Iulius Silvanus optio in the century of Claudius, procurator by will of the deceased Ammonios, his property collected from the principia, as follows: depositum 100 denarii, in armis 21 denarii and 27 1/2 obols, papilio 20 denarii, ... 93 denarii and 15 obols, the total collected being 235 denarii and 14 1/2 obols. From this there have been deducted as legacies for Silvanus 15 denarii and for Flavius Mevianus, second procurator, 10 denarii. A balance remained of 210 denarii and 14 1/2 obols which Semphasies acknowledged that she had received from the above mentioned Silvanus, and if Ammonios left

anything else, she has it in her possession and has no claim against the above named procuratores about any matter whatever unwritten or written from time past up to the present day, neither herself nor anyone about her and will repel anyone bringing proceedings or making claims at her own expense. Done in the Oupheion near the camp through Marcus, librarius. Year 7 of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Tybi 2.

Lower Text (lines 30-34): I, Senphasies daughter of Bouchis having with me as guardian my son Psenosiris son of Numerius have received all of the deposita of my son Ammonios, after the deduction of legacies of 25 denarii, 210 denarii and 14 1/2 obols, total, 210 den. 14 1/2 ob. I, Psenosiris son of Numerius, son of the above Senphasies, as her guardian wrote on her behalf since she is illiterate and affixed my seal.

Signatures on verso:

I, Sulpici[us ...], century of Anto[---, sealed].

I, Aurelius M[---], turma of A[---, sealed.]

I, Lucius Aquila, signifer, century of Claudius, sealed.

I, Iul(ius) Apollonius, eques, turma of . . li, sealed.

[---] turma [---.]

(Unread)

I, Psenosiris son of Numerius, [--- sealed.]

1 For Bouchis, see W. Clarysse, *Grammata Demotika* 25.

11 For O(u)phieion, cf. Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario geografico* V 182, with references.

19-20 From line 5 one expects πατυλίωνος δηνάρια εἴκοσι καὶ . . ., but we cannot read that.

33-34 --- Σεμφασιοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀγραμμάτου|| [ἔγραψα τὴν γραφὴν κύριος κτλ. ed.pr.; the present restoration was suggested by D. Hagedorn.

222. Sale of a Slave

Inv. 551 verso
Pl. 32

12.7 x 16 cm.

160/1
Oxyrhynchos

Published: W. L. Westermann, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 229-37 (SB V 7533); cf. U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 11 (1935) 134; H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 326-30 = *TAPA* 91 (1960) 244-48; *BL* 4.80, 6.137, 7.195.

This contract stands on the verso of the papyrus (for the recto, see 207). The whole apparently underwent a process of silking at an unknown date; see R. Ibscher, *Actes X Congr. Int. Pap.* 254 and M. Fackelmann, *Restaurierung von Papyrus und anderen Schriftträgern aus Aegypten* (Stud.Amst. 24, Zutphen 1985) 21. The silk was later removed, but its pattern remains visible on the papyrus. The provenance is shown by the formula and the way the price is stated (see below).

The restorations by Westermann relied principally on other published examples of agoranomic oaths (*P.Oxy.* I 100 and IV 263). The family relationships were significantly clarified by Youtie in his discussion of the papyrus, correcting some of Westermann's misunderstandings.

For bibliography on sales of slaves, see the introduction to 219. The present text has the interesting peculiarity of stating the price both in silver and in bronze currency. It is one of a group of such texts, all Oxyrhynchite, which yield what were for long taken as equivalences from which ratios of the two currencies could be deduced. This use of the data was called into question by Michael Crawford in the commentary to *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2843 (p.50). The pertinent documents may be summarized as follows:

Reference	Date	Silver	Bronze
SB XVI 12220 ⁶⁴	85/6	700+ /900+	10 T. 3000 dr.
P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2843 ⁶⁵	86	800 dr.	10 T. 3000 dr.
P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2856	91/2	900 dr.	10 T. 2000 dr.
P.Oxy. III 581 ⁶⁶	99	?	10 T. 3000 dr.
P.Oxy. I 49/50	100	600 dr.	2 T. 600 dr.
P.Col. VIII 222	160/1	1300 dr.	10 T. 3000 dr.

Now it will be noted that four of these involve amounts of 10 T. 3000 dr., and one more an amount of 10 T. 2000 dr. (an error?); the last involves an amount which is exactly a fifth of 10 T. 3000 dr. The silver amounts, however, range from 600 to over 900 dr., even to 1300 dr. in 222. Apart from the Columbia piece, there is only a 15-year time span involved, hardly enough that such a fluctuation in currency ratios could be credible. The bronze amounts must in some sense be fossilized figures, since no currency in χαλκός was in use at this time for such payments (cf. *P.Vindob.Worp*, pp.92-93). The phenomenon described by Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II 532 is different.

Column I

	[τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις]
	[Ὁξ(υρύγχων) παρὰ Σαραπίωνος]
	[Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος. ὄμ-]
4	[νύω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα]
	Τῆ[τον Αἰλίου] [Ἀ]δρια[νόν]
	Ἀυτωνῖνον Σεβαστὸν
	Εὐσεβῆ πεπρακέ[ν]αι
8	Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμονι ἀπελευ-
	θέρῳ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Σαρα-
	πίωνος τοῦ καὶ Δωρίωνος

⁶⁴*P.Oxy.* 336 descr., published by J. Straus in *AC* 50 (1981) 753-58. The silver price is mostly in lacuna; Straus argues for 720 or 920 as likely amounts. A printing error caused Straus's text to give a capital iota for the number of talents, followed by the capital gamma for drachmas, making it appear that the sum was 13 talents. *Sammelbuch* unfortunately reproduced this error.

⁶⁵*P.Oxy.* I 48, the order for freedom directed to the agoranomoi for the same transaction, gives only the copper amount along with the 10 dr. propratikon.

⁶⁶That this description probably is a slave sale is pointed out in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2856.15-18n.

- 12 ἀμφοτέρων Σαραπίωνος
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
τὸν ὑπάρχοντά μ[ο]ι κα-
τηνηκότα εἰς με ἀπὸ
16 κληρουνομίας τοῦ τ[ο]ῦ
πατρός μου πρὸς πατρός
θείου καὶ θέσει πατρός
μετηλλαχότος
20 Ζωίλου οικογενῆ δοῦ-
[λον Δ]ίδυμον τοῦτον
[τοι]οῦτον ἀναπόριφον
πλὴν ἱερᾶς νόσου
24 καὶ ἐπαφῆς, εἴναί τε
ἐμοῦ καὶ μήτε ὑ[π]ο-
κεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐτέροις
ἐξηλλοτριῶσθαι κ[ατὰ]
28 μ[η]δένα τρόπον, [ἀπέ-]
χειν δέ με τὰς τῆ[ς τι-]
μῆς ἀργυρί[ου δραχμᾶς]
[χειλίας τριακοσίας]
[καὶ βεβαιούν. εὐορκούν-]
32 [τι μὲν μοι εὖ εἶη, ἐπι-]
[ορκούντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.]
[ὁ δεῖνα ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ]
[αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος]
36 [γράμματα. (ἔτους)]
[τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ]
[Αὐτοκράτορος Καί-]
[σαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου]
40 [Ἄδριανοῦ Ἄντωνίνου]
[Month and day]

Column II

[(ἔτους) τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Τίτου Αἰλίου]
[Ἄδριανοῦ Ἄντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς month, day,
ἐν Ὁξ(υρύγγων πόλει).]

- 44 [ἐπρίατο Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος μητρὸς
 ---]
 [Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι ἀπελευθέρῳ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ
 Σαραπίωνος]
 ἐν ἀγυῖ[α] τὸν ὑπ[άρχοντα αὐ]τῷ κατηντηκότα εἰς αὐτὸν
 ἀπὸ]
 κληρου[ομίας τ]οῦ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς πατρὸς θείου καὶ
 θέσει πατρὸς]
- 48 (2 H.) μετηλλαχότος (1 H.) Ζωίλου Ζωίλου τοῦ
 Ἀπίωνος μητρὸς Σιωθο-
 ώνιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως] οἴκο[γενῆ] δούλου
 Δίδυμον ὡς (ἐτών) κε ἄσημον οὐ [ἀρρ]α-
 βῶνος ἔσχεν ὁ Σαραπίων παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος
 ἔτι ἀπὸ δευτέ-
 ρας ἐπαγομένων τοῦ διελθόντος τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ
 ἔτους δακτύλιον
- 52 χρυσοῦν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐτάξατο ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τὰ εἰς
 τὸ ἐνκύκλιον τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ δούλου τέλη ταῖς αὐταῖς <έ>παγομέναις, ὄνπερ
 δούλον Δίδυ-
 μον αὐτόθι παρείληφεν ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων παρὰ τοῦ
 Σαραπί-
 ωνος τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόρριφον πλὴν ἱερᾶς νόσου
 καὶ ἐ-
 παφῆς, τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημένας ὑπὲρ τειμῆς τοῦ [αὐτοῦ]
 δούλου ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμᾶς χειλίας
 τριακοσίας αὐτόθι ἀπέσχεν ὁ Σαραπίων παρὰ τοῦ
 Ἀγαθοῦ Δα[ί-]
 μονος ἐκ πλήρους χαλκοῦ ταλάντων ἕσχη. . ἑξήκοντα
 τρισχειλ[ίας, καὶ]
- 60 πωλεῖ καὶ βεβαιοῖ Σαραπίων τὸν αὐτὸν δούλον Δίδυμον
 ὃς καὶ αὐτόθι ἀπέδωκεν τῷ Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι δυ
 ἔσχεν ὡς
 πρόκειται εἰς λόγον ἀραβῶνος δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν ἐν ἀ-
 γυῖᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ. (3 H.) Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ἀπελευθέρ[ο]ς
- 64 Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ
 Δωρίωνος ἀμφοτέρων Σαραπίωνος
 ἐπρειάμην ὡς πρόκειται. Σαρα-
 πίων Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος πέ-

68 πρακα τῷ Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι τὸν δο[ύλον]
 [.]. [. . .]. του [

21 ἀναπόρριφον 51 ρας, α ex corr.? 56 ὑπερ παρ.; τμηῆς 57 χιλίας
 59 τρισχιλίας 66 ἐπριάμην

[To the agoranomoi of Oxyrhynchos from Sarapion son of Apollonios, grandson of Apion. I swear by the Emperor Caesar] Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius that I have sold to Agathos Daimon, freedman of Herakleides and Sarapion alias Dorion, both sons of Sarapion, from the same city, the house-born slave belonging to me, which came to me from inheritance from my father's paternal uncle and adoptive father, the deceased Zoilos, (namely) Didymos, as is and not subject to rejection except for the sacred disease and *epaphe*, and that he is mine and neither mortgaged to others nor alienated in any fashion, and that I have received the [thousand three hundred drachmas] of silver of the price, [and that I confirm the sale. May it be well to me if I have sworn truly, but the reverse if I am forsworn. I, so-and-so, wrote on behalf of him because he was illiterate. Year twenty-fourth of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus, (month and day)].

[Year twenty-fourth of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, (month, day, in Oxyrhynchos). Sarapion son of Apollonios and ---, grandson of Apion, sold to Agathos Daimon, freedman of Herakleides and Sarapion] in the street, the house-born slave belonging to him, [which came to him from] inheritance from his father's paternal uncle and [adoptive father], the deceased Zoilos son of Zoilos and Sinthoonis, grandson of Apion, (namely) Didymos, aged 25, without scar, for whom Sarapion received a golden finger-ring as arrabon from Agathos Daimon already on the second epagomenal day of the past twenty-third year, from which also Agathos Daimon paid the taxes for the sales-tax of the same slave on the same epagomenal days, which slave Didymos Agathos Daimon has received herewith from Sarapion, as is and not subject to rejection except for the sacred disease and *epaphe*, and Sarapion has received the agreed-upon one thousand three hundred drachmas of imperial silver currency for the price of the [same] slave from Agathos Daimon in full, in the form of ten talents three thousand (drachmas) of copper, [and] Sarapion, who also returned to Agathos Daimon herewith the golden finger-ring which he had on account of

arrabon in the same street, sells and confirms the same slave Didymos as stated above.

Agathos Daimon, freedman of Herakleides and Sarapion alias Dorion, both sons of Sarapion, bought as aforesaid. I, Sarapion son of Apollonios, grandson of Apion, sold the slave to Agathos Daimon ...

1-2 From line 12 it appears that the city had already been mentioned; therefore we restore 'Οξ() at the start of line 2. For the agoranomoi in Oxyrhynchos see *BASP* 13 (1976) 20-26.

2-3 and 44 Restored on the basis of 66 f.

23/55-56 For ἐπαφή, see 219.10n. and cf. 219.

59 Cf. above, introduction, for the significance of these bronze talents. The interlinear `ἐσχ..' may signify no more than that Sarapion indeed received the price; but it is tautologic after ἀπέσχευ (58).

223. Receipt for Inspection Tax

Inv. 547b
Pl. 33

11.1 x 7.2 cm.

138-161
Tebtunis (?)

Back blank

A few parallels to this receipt are known (cf. generally *ZPE* 38 [1980] 273 ff. and *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3482.6n. and add now *ZPE* 75 [1988] 141-45), but none of them mention officials called καταλοχισταί. In *SB* XVI 12641 and 12643 and *SPP* XXII 50 (cf. Wallace, *Taxation* 482 n.165), the collector is a δημοσιῶνης τέλους καταλοχισμῶν Ἀρσινοΐτου καὶ ἄλλων νομῶν (the same official is encountered in the Oxyrhynchite in *SB* XVI 12642), while in *BGU* VII 1588 (222p), the collectors are βουλευταὶ αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν καταλοχισμῶν εἰσπράξεως. The earlier *P.Fay.* 65 (second century) does not preserve the titles of the collectors. The fragmentary title in *P.Laur.* IV 153.1 (probably also Antonine in date), κα]ταλοχ() 'Οξ(υρυγχίτου) καὶ ἄλ(λων) νομ(ῶν) was resolved by the editor as κα]ταλοχ(ισμῶν), supposing δημοσιῶνης in the lacuna. But it seems to us entirely possible that one should restore κα]ταλοχ(ισται) as in our papyrus, and other possibilities can be thought of as well.

- 4 ἀντ[ίγρ](αφου) χ[ειρογρ]άφου. Κλαύδιος Καλλί-
 νικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καταλοχισταὶ
 [Ἄρ]σι[ν]οεῖ[τ]ου καὶ ἄλλων νομῶν Τυράννω
 [χ]αίρε[ι]ν· διέγραφας εἰς λόγον ὧν ὀφείλες
 8 τελῶν γνωστείας τῶν τοῦ τελευτή-
 [σαν]τός σου πατρός Τυράννου Σωτη-
 [ρί]χου τοῦ Νεῖλ[ο]υ διὰ Κρονίωνος
 [..] Πετεσοῦχου τ[οῦ ..].. ἐπὶ λόγου ἀρ-
 [γυρ]εῖου δραχμὰς [τ]ρ[ι]άκοντα ἕξ,
 γ(ίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) λ[ς].
 [(ἔτους) .(.)] Ἄ[ν]των[ί]νου Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κυρίου Με-
 traces
 12 [.....].αχ[

3 Ἄρσινοῖτου 4 ὀφείλεις 8-9 ἀργυρίου

Copy of an acknowledgement. Claudius Kallinikos and his colleagues, katalochistai of the Arsinoite and other nomes, to Tyrannos greetings. You have paid on account of the dues on inspection, owed by you, of the property belonging to your deceased father Tyrannos son of Soterichos, grandson of Neilos, through Kronion [...], son of Petesouchos, grandson of [...], on account thirty six silver drachmas, total, 36 dr. Year .. of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Me---

3 For these multi-nome areas of competence connected with the registration of katoikic property, cf. *P.Princ.* III 131 introduction, adding *P.Laur.* IV 153 (quoted above).

5 For the tax, see Wallace, *Taxation* 232, 313.

6-8 We have not identified these people elsewhere, but this collocation of names is found in *P.Kron.* 50, where a Soterichos son of Eutyches, Kronion son of Tyrannos and Tyrannos son of Kronion turn up among the witnesses to a property division to take effect after death, from Tebtunis dated 138p. A Kronion son of Petesouchos appears in *P.Ups.Frid* 2, also from Tebtunis but dated 59/60. It seems likely enough that the nomenclature points to Tebtunis as the provenance of our papyrus.

8 At the start, perhaps πρ(εσβυτέρου) or νέ(ωτέρου), which are more likely than υιοῦ or τοῦ.

224. Complaint

Inv. 407a
Pl. 34

7.3 x 9.0 cm.

171-176
Philadelphia

Back blank

Orsenouphis addresses to the strategos a complaint about some action of one Pasion; the papyrus breaks off just before the description of the offending act would have been found. Pasion may have broken into his house or damaged his crops (a possibility particularly appropriate to Orsenouphis' self-identification as a state farmer) or something else. For such complaints, see e.g. *BGU* XI 2068 and XIII 2239-2240.

Ποτάμων[ι] στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἄρ[σ(ωοίτου) Ἡρακλ(είδου)
μερ(ίδος)
παρὰ Ὀρσενούφω[ς]
δημοσίου [γ]εωργοῦ κ[... ἀπὸ]
4 κώμης Φ[ιλ]αδελφείας· νυκτὶ τῆ[ι]
φερούση [εἰς τὴν σήμερον ἤτις]
ἐστὶν κε [τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς]
Πασίων Θ[.....]
8 traces

To Potamon, strategos of [the Herakleides Division] of the Arsinoite Nome, from Orsenouphis [son of N.N.], state farmer [... from] the village of Philadelphia. On the night leading to today, which is the 25th [of the present month ...], Pasion son of Th[...]

1 Potamon is attested as strategos of the Herakleides Division of the Arsinoite between 171 and 176; cf. Bastianini-Whitehorne, *Strategi* 31 and *BGU XV* 2461.1.

3 One expects something like δημοσίου [γ]εωργοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλαδελφείας, but that was not written. Space does not allow the kappa to introduce κ[αὶ followed by a title, nor yet κ[αταμένουτος ἐπὶ] (which in any case presupposes a prior mention of his domicile).

225. Private Letter

Inv. 320
Pl. 35

10.2 x 21.7 cm.

Late II
Alexandria

Back blank

Published: C.W. Keyes, *CP* 30 (1935) 148-50 (*SB V* 7662); cf. M. Hombert, *Cd'E* 10 (1935) 405; U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 12 (1937) 83-84; *BL* 7.196

It is noteworthy that the writer, evidently in Alexandria, seems to have a large number of family members; his father (or "father"), the addressee, who was perhaps located in Philadelphia, seems to be alone. Wilcken pointed out the high concentration of Roman names in the circle of the writer as a sign of his presence in Alexandria (along with the reference to the proskynema to Sarapis). The spelling of the letter is very phonetic.

4 Ἀμμωνιανὸς Ἀπολιναρίῳ
τῷ πατρὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν· πρὸ μὲν
πάντων εὐχομαί σ[ε] ὑ]γαίνειν καὶ
τὸ προσκύνημά σ[ο]υ π[οι]ῶ παρὰ τῆ κυ-
ρίῳ Σεράπιδι κατ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν.
ἐδήλοσά σου καὶ δι' Ἀντᾶτος ὅτι ἐὰν

- 8 θέλης ἵνα μίνομεν ὄδε τὸν χιμόν-
 ναυ, δήλωσεν ἡμῖν ἐν τάχει εἶνα ἴδο-
 μεν τί θέλεις καὶ οὗτος πράξομεν.
 αἴπεινά σου δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ σφυρίδιον μικρὸν
 ὅπου τάριχοι ι καὶ σολίο ζεύγη δ
 12 καὶ κενομάτ(ων) κοίκιον δ καὶ τὴν
 συστατικὴν καὶ τ[ῆ]ν προφαστίονα
 Ἐρευνίου. γινώσκειν δέ σε θέλο
 ὅτι Μάρις ὁ βενεφικιάρης ἔλα-
 16 βεν σου τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα καὶ
 λέγει ὅτι προσέρχες μοι καὶ εὐρή-
 ση με εἰς δ ἐὰν θέλι. οὗτος γὰρ Ἰου-
 λιανὸς αἰνετίλοτο αὐτὸ πολλὰ πε-
 20 ρὶ σοῦ. φίλος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν λίαν.
 ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς πάντες ἡ μήτηρ
 μου καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Κυρ<ι>λλου καὶ Κυρία
 καὶ Ἰγνάτιος καὶ Παυλῖνος καὶ {ι} Ἰσία-
 24 κος. ἀσπάζω πολλὰ τὸν πατέραυ
 μου Διογενᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἔκῳ
 πάντες κατ' ὄνομα. ἐρῶσθε σε εὐχομα[ι].

Verso ..X. . ἀπόδο(ος) Ἀπολιναρί Χ φ ἀπ' Ἀμμωνιανοῦ
 υἱεῖοῦ

4-5 τῷ κυρίῳ 5 καθ' 6 ἐδήλωσά σοι 7 μείνωμεν ὄδε, χειμῶνα;
 ἵνα, οὐδέ pap. 8 δήλωσον, τάχει ἵνα ἴδωμεν 9 θέλεις,
 οὕτως πράξωμεν 10 ἐπέμψά σοι, σφυρίδιον 11 σολίω(ν); ἰ pap.
 12 κενώματων κοίκια (?); βεικίον ed.pr. 13 προφασσίωνα
 14 γινώσκειν, θέλω 15 βενεφικιάρης 16 σημεῖα 17 λέγει,
 προσερχέσθω (?) 18 εἰς, θέλει, οὕτως; ἰου pap.
 19 ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ 21 ἀσπάζεται, πάντας 22 Κύριλλος
 23 Παυλῖνος; υ ex corr.? False start on Ἰσίακος 24 ἀσπάζου, πατέρα
 25 οἴκῳ 26 πάντας, ἐρῶσθαι Verso υἱοῦ

Ammonianos to Apollinarios his father, many greetings. Before everything I pray that you are in good health, and I make obeisance for you every day before the lord Sarapis. I informed you also through Antas that if you want us to stay here through the winter, you should let us know quickly so that we may know what you wish and act accordingly. I sent to you through him a small basket containing 10 dried fish and 4 pairs of sandals and 4 baskets of empty jars and the letter of introduction and the

professio of Herennius. I want you to know that Marius the beneficiarius took your name and description and says, "Let him come to me and he will find me ready for whatever he wants." For such are the instructions that Iulianus gave him repeatedly concerning you. For he is a very great friend of his. My mother greets all of you, and Iulianus and Kyrillos and Kyria and Ignatius and Paulinus and Isiakos. Greet warmly my father Diogenes and all those in the house by name. I pray for your health.

Verso: . . . Deliver to Apollinarios from Ammonianos his son.

4 For the *proskynema* formula, see above, 216.2-3n.

10 The normal word order would be $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha \delta\acute{\epsilon} \sigma\omicron\iota$.

11 This instance of $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ (= *solea*) is registered by Daris, *Lessico latino* 106.

12 The syntax of $\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\tau() \kappa\acute{\omicron}\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ is difficult. $\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \kappa\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ would mean literally "empty jars of baskets," which is difficult to give any sense, unless $\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ means "empties" more generally, with the phrase meaning "empty baskets." We have assumed in our apparatus and translation that the writer mistook the case of the second word, and that baskets of empty jars are meant.

13 On *professio* here, see Wilcken's remarks. He rejects Keyes' notion that it refers to a birth certificate, suggesting that a census return or some other document may be meant. On letters of introduction, cf. Chan-Hie Kim, *The Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation* (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 4, Missoula 1972) (bibliography on pp.241-44) and cf. Montevicchi, *La papirologia* 243.

14-20 This passage is discussed by Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 972-73 = *ZPE* 6 (1970) 114-15 with particular reference to the use of $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ here, and the translation given here is essentially Youtie's.

19 For $\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\omicron$ see Gignac, *Grammar* I 287, 1b.

21 For $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ cf. line 24 and Gignac, *Grammar* I 123, 3.

22 It looks as if the iota was omitted from Κύριλλος originally, then perhaps added erroneously between the lambdas.

24 For "father" as a title of respect, cf. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II 529 = *ZPE* 34 (1979) 87 and the literature cited there. Ammonianos' father was Apollinarios, cf. the verso and line 1.

flute, together with my entire company, in the aforesaid village for 8 days from the 24th of the next month Epeiph, for a wage for each day of ... drachmas of silver...

1 Why "Hermopolite" rather than "from Hermopolis," we do not know; this style of self-identification appears particularly commonly at Hermopolis (cf. Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* II 163), but it is by no means unique to that town. After the municipalization of the metropoleis it is of course unremarkable. So far as we know, the phenomenon has never been studied. Resolving *πραγμα(τικοῦ)* seems excluded; that term bears various official rather than private senses, cf. *P.Vindob.Worp* 18.1; *P.Mich.* IX 529.7; *P.Wisc.* II 86.9,27, while the present document appears entirely private in character.

3 For Alabastrine, see Drew-Bear, *Nome Hermopolite* 56-59.

227. Marriage Contract

Inv. 251
Pl. 37

10.6 x 34 cm.

Late II/Early III
Provenance unknown

Marriage contracts are not rare in the papyri; a list was given in *Aegyptus* 16 (1936) 4-6, supplemented in Montevicchi, *La papirologia* 203 ff. See now also *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3491, *P.Hamb.* III 220 introd., *SB* XIV 11846 and XVI 12334, H. Metzger and H. Harrauer in *ZPE* 60 (1985) 243-45, and the general study of marriage in the Greek world by J. Modrzejewski in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi* (Bologna 1981) 231-68. It is striking, however, that they are far less standardized in structure and language than most other types of contracts; this is true even after allowing for the differences in the worldly goods that the two parties brought to marriage. Most surviving examples are from Middle Egypt, the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite Nomes. Neither internal nor external evidence gives us a provenance for the present example, and no other surviving contract seems to parallel its phraseology to any significant extent. We have thought that the combined evidence of lines 5, 8, 9, and 11 was sufficient to make a loss at the right of about 15 letters highly probable, and our limited other restorations have used that basis. But it is not impossible that the loss was somewhat greater. At 14-15 letters, it would amount to about a third of the original column. Under

the circumstances, we have mostly avoided restoration.

The column was not, however, the whole of the contract. It preserves none of the names and origins of the parties and none of the closing phraseology that one would expect. Since, however, the column is complete at top and bottom, it follows that at least one column must have preceded it and one followed it. This is a strikingly unusual format for a contract (but cf. *P.Panop.* 20, where the editors show that the same thing must have been true). The large theta standing over the text as preserved has no clear function. It might suggest that this was part of a document forming itself part of a *tomos synkollesimos*, but in that case we would expect the numeral to occur over the first column of the document. On the other hand, we know of no parallel for multicolumn contracts with each column numbered, let alone their inclusion in such *tomoi*. *P.Lond.* III 908 (p.132) does show this phenomenon in a long petition.

What is preserved establishes the couple's names as Chrysermos and Dionysia. Chrysermos is a rare name in Roman Egypt and certainly is not found except in a propertied milieu. One of the mothers, probably Dionysia's, was named Kyrilla. A Hermias occurs in line 24, but we cannot say if he was one of the fathers or an already existing child of one of the parties. The phrasing of the contract is unusual in the detailed attention paid to the effects on the property relationship of the existence, age, and survival of eventual children of the couple; most contracts say hardly anything about this subject.

The verso contains a short account (14 lines) concerning land and money.

Θ

- [δο]θῆναι [ὑ]πὸ τῆς μητρὸς Κυρίλλης ἀργ(υρίου)
 (δραχμᾶς) 'Α [.....]
 προσέσται τῇ συγγραφῇ εἰς δουλείαν ἀμφ[οτέρων ἐπὶ τὸν
 σὺν]
 4 [ἀλ]λ' ἡ'λοις χρόνον, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχεν ἐντεῦθεν [διὰ χειρὸς
 ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) τλβ]
 [τ]ὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀποδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς Κ[υρίλλης]
 [ἐ]πάναγκον ἕως Μεσορῆ λ' τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος .. (ἔτους) --]
 [το]ῦ κυρίου ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) χξη. τοῦ δὲ
 Χρυσέρμου α[.....]
 8 [.] δούλης ἧς ἔσχεν ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμᾶς) τλβ τὰ
 δεό[ντα καὶ τὸν ἱματισ-]

- [μὸ]ν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξῆς παρεχέτω ὁ Χρῦσερμ[ος τῆ
 Διουυσία ἐκ]
 [τῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω αὐ[τῶ] ἄλλην
 γυναῖκα ἐπ-]
 [ει]σάγειν ἐπ' αὐτὴν μήτε ὑβρίζειν αὐτὴν
 τρόπῳ]
 12 [μη]δενεῖ. ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων ἐπιδιχθῆ ποιῶν ὁ
 Χρῦσερμος ἦ]
 [ἐκ]βάλλη τὴν Διουυσίαν, ἀποδότην αὐτῇ [.
 . . .]
 [. .]ν καὶ ξενίων ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) 'Αωξ καὶ τὰς τοῦ
 ἀπο[. ἀρούρας]
 [κα]θαρὰς ἀπὸ τελεσμάτων δημοσίων ὧν [.
]
 16 Scattered traces
 [. .]δ.ν. . οἷς ἐὰν γενήσῃ τέκνοις [.
]
 [ἀπ]α ` λ ` λάσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χρυσέρμου ἀποδότη[ω
]
 [πρό]κιτα[ι] ἔξω μόνων τῶν τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς [.
]
 20 [ἀμ]φοτέρους η . θ . . μεν ἢ Διου[σ]ία
]
 [. .]των ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἔσται πάντα τὰ προκ[ε]ίμενα
]
 [. .] ς καὶ ουχει ἢ Διουυσία ἐξ ἐτέρου α[.
]
 [ἐξ ἴ]σου μέρος. ἐὰν δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀλλήλων τέκ[να
 τελευτήσῃ]
 24 [πρ]ιν ἢ γένηται τῆς ἐννόμου ἡλικίας . . [.
]
 [ἐὰν] δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμίας προτερήσῃ ὁμοίως ε[.
]
 [. .] ἐὰν `δὲ` οἱ πάν[τ]ε[ς] .οι .[.
]
 [τῆ]ς ἐν[ν]όμου ἡλικίας εἶναι τὰ πάντα [.
 ἐὰν δὲ]
 28 [ἡ] Διου[σ]ία [ἄτεκνος] `καὶ` ἀδιάθετος τελευτήσῃ [.
]

[..... μηδ]έν ἕτερον τῶν τῆς Δι[ουσίας
]
 [τὰ διὰ τῆσδε τῆς συγγ]ραφῆς δηλούμενα καθ[....
]

4 χρόνον: ρ ex o 5 ὑπο παρ. 11 ἐπ αὐτην, i written over u
 12 μηδενί, ἐπιδειχθῆ 13 ἀποδοτω 17 γεννήση 18 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι
 19 πρόκειται 20, 22, 24 η παρ. 27 ἡλικίας, second i ex corr.

... to have received from (her?) mother Kyrilla 1000 dr. of silver ... to the contract for the dominion of both parties [for the] time they are with each other, out of which henceforth [by hand] he has received [332 dr. of silver], and the remaining 668 dr. of silver to be delivered by Kyrilla (?) ... of necessity by Mesore 30 of the present [..] year [of - - -] the lord. When Chrysermos ... the 332 drachmas which he has received, Chrysermos is to furnish [to Dionysia] her necessities and clothing and the other things in turn, from his property. And he is not to be allowed to introduce [another wife] in addition to her, - - - nor to outrage her in any [way]. If [Chrysermos] is shown to be doing any of these things [or] expels Dionysia, he shall give her ... and 1,860 dr. of silver of gifts ... and the ... [arouras] free of public taxes ... to the children whom she may bear ... to separate from Chrysermos, let him give back ... as aforesaid, except only those of the epigraphé ... from one another, all of the aforementioned shall be ... Dionysia from another ... on an equal basis. But if their children from one another [die] before they reach legal age ... but [if] Hermias precedes, likewise ... but if all ... of legal age, everything is to ... [But if] Dionysia dies [childless] and intestate ... nothing else of the property of Dionysia ... [the things] written [through this] contract ...

5 The lacuna may have contained nothing more than τῆς μητρός.

7-9 Perhaps a genitive absolute with the same subject as the main verb, cf. Kühner-Gerth II 110-11 (reference courtesy of A. Rijksbaron).

14 We suppose that more information on these *xenia* was given in the lost first column.

15 Presumably this is a mention of land included in Dionysia's dowry.

21 We do not know what this line concerns; the start of line 22 suggests some financial matter in which the partners are to share equally.

22 Perhaps, as Hagedorn suggests, οὐ <ἐ>χει ἡ Διονυσία ἐξ ἐτέρου ἀνδρός. The context, dealing with children and succession, is appropriate.

23-28 We cannot restore the phrasing, but clearly the section deals with the disposition of property; perhaps (as a reader suggests) if Dionysia and Chrysermos' children die before coming of age, Hermias (Dionysia's child by an earlier marriage, cf. 22?) gets the property; if Hermias dies first (cf. 25n.), the children of this marriage get it; if all die before legal age, some other provision is made.

24 For the lawful age, cf. Taubenschlag, *Op.Min.* II 347-51.

25 What προτερῶ means in this context, we cannot say with confidence; it is not found in other marriage contracts and is indeed hardly used in the papyri at all. "To predecease" seems the most likely.

228. Receipt for Transportation Dues on Alum

Inv. 457
Pl. 38

8.0 x 5.4 cm.

205/6
Oxyrhynchite

Back blank

A comprehensive treatment of customs and related receipts is given by P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Stud.Amst. 17, Zutphen 1987).

ἰδ (ἔτους) Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
καὶ Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ. διέ-
γρα(ψεν) Θέωνι τῷ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ
4 τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηρηταῖς
στυπ(τηρίας) τῆς ἀπὸ Ἰάσεως μεταφερο-
μένης καὶ ὑποκειμένων καμήλ(ων)
καὶ ὄνων Ἡλιάμμων Λαμύρου
8 καμήλ(ων) γ, ὄνο(ν) γ, δραχ(μᾶς) τριάκοντα
ὀκτῶ τετρώβολ(ον), γί(νονται) (δραχμαὶ) λη .
(2 Η.) Θέων
ὁ καὶ Δημήτριος σεσημίομαι.

5 Ὀάσεως 8 ὄνων 10 σεσημείωμαι

14th year of Severus and Antoninus and Geta Caesar Augustus, Heliammon son of Lamyros has paid to Theon alias Demetrios and his partners, overseers of alum transported from the Oasis and of the *hypokeimena* on camels and donkeys, for three camels (and) three donkeys, thirty-eight drachmas four obols, that is, 38 dr. 4 ob. (2 H.) I, Theon alias Demetrios, have signed.

1-2 This titulature is not listed in Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 98-99; Bureth lists other phrases with the singular Σεβαστοῦ, but these mostly have Σεβαστῶν earlier referring to the two other emperors. It is curious that, unlike other customs receipts, this one lacks month and day issued.

3 Men named Theon alias Demetrios appear also in *P.Mich.* XI 604 (father's name; Oxyrhynchos, 223p), conceivably this man's son (cf. the note to line 5 for the possible provenance of this papyrus); but also in two fourth-century Panopolite texts (*P.Berl.Bork.* and *P.Panop.* 14). The names are of course common.

4-7 For the dues on alum, see Wallace, *Taxation* 189; 434 n.30; 461 n.21. For a partial parallel, see *W.Chrest.* 321, and cf. also *P.Oxy.* XII 1429. ὑποκείμενα are usually identified as paid for specific officials, see Thomas, *Epistrategos* II 219-21, but cf. 220 n.14 for some cases where they are not. There is no parallel known to us for the usage here.

5 For this, the Small Oasis, cf. Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario geografico* III 378-79 and G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs. (Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques)* (Cairo 1987 = Bibliothèque d'Étude 100) 134-37, 146-50, 197-208, and for alum 306-09. The Oxyrhynchite was the normal point of connection to the valley and is presumably the provenance of this papyrus.

7 Lamyros is a rare name in Egypt; the only citation in Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, is from *SB* V 7701 (a mummy label of the II/IIIp), dubiously read. A form Λαμύριος appears in *P.Haun.* II 22.8,10. The meaning of the word ("gluttonous, wanton, impudent") may have discouraged some parents. There are, however, 21 examples at Rome in Solin's *Griechische Personennamen* (II 779-80), and another 18 of Lamyra.

229. Disclaimer of Ownership under Oath

Inv. 254
Pl. 39

16 x 13.3 cm.

200-211
Arsinoite

Back blank

Didymos swears to the elders of Philadelphia that a flock of 100 sheep, on account of which they want to charge him a fee or tax for weighing, is not his; he identifies the owner as Mysthes the exegetes (presumably of Arsinoe). If he is caught selling wool (and thus shown to own sheep) he is to be liable for the oath.

Δίδυμος Λογγίνου, Ἀμάθις Σωκμήνεως
καὶ Πεκύσις Ἡρωνος καὶ τοῖς λοιπ(οῖς) πρεσβυτέροις
κώμης Φιλαδελφίας ὁμνύω τὴν < τῶν > κυρίων
4 Αὐτοκρατῶρων Σε[ουή]ρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
καὶ Γέτα τύχην ἐμ[οῦ] μὴ εἶναι τὰ πρόβατα
ταῦτα ρ, ἀλλὰ Μύσθου τ[ο]ῦ ἐξηγητοῦ,
8 περὶ ὧν {μοι} θέλετέ μοι ἀπαίτησιν ὑπὲρ
λόγου ζυγοστασίου. εἰάν δὲ φανῶ εἶρια
πιπρά[σ]κω, ἔνοχος εἶη τῷ ὄρκῳ. Νεῖλος υἱὸς
[.....] ἐξηγητεύσαυτος τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν
[πόλεως] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ Διδύμου ὄλων τὸ σῶμα.

1 Ἀμάθιτι 2 Πεκύσει 4 Αὐτοκρατόρων 7 ἀπαίτησιν, σιν εκ σαι?
8 ἔρια 9 πιπράσκων, εἶην 11 ὄλον

Didymos son of Longinos to Amathis son of Sokmenis and Pekysis son of Heron and the other elders of the village of Philadelphia. I swear by the fortune of the lords emperors Severus and Antoninus and Geta that these 100 sheep are not mine, but belong to Mysthes the exegetes, those concerning which you want a collection from me on account of weighing. If I appear selling wool, may I be liable for my oath. I, Nilos son of [.....] the former exegetes of the [city] of the Arsinoites, wrote the entire text on behalf of Didymos.

1 Amathis son of Sokmenis is probably to be identified with the Amatios son of Sokmenis from Philadelphia who appears as a lessee in 214, *SB VI* 9562. We have not found Didymos son of Longinus elsewhere.

2 On the presbyteroi of the village, see A. Tomsin, *Etude sur les πρεσβύτεροι dans les villages de la χώρα égyptienne* (Bull. de la Classe des Lettres, Acad. Royale de Belgique, 5 ser. 38 [1952] 95-130, 467-532). We have not identified Pekysis son of Heron elsewhere.

3 For Philadelphia in this period, see J.F. Oates, *Atti del XI Congr. int. di Pap.* 451-74. The imperial formula here can be found, with the addition of Καίσαρες Σεβαστοί, in Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 101; cf. also *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3344.6-8, the same formula as here but with Καίσαρος after Geta's name. It does not appear in E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht I* (Münch.Beitr. 17, Munich 1933) 14.

6 This line was written as an afterthought squeezed in between lines 5 and 7. The original line of thought thus ran "...that the sheep concerning which you want a collection from me are not mine"; on second thought, the writer explained just which sheep were involved (these 100) and whose they actually were. The duplication of μοί and its inappropriate case may be a result of the scribe's change of plan in the midst of writing.

9-11 For the formula, see Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I* 179-99 = *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201-21. It is not stated that Didymos is illiterate.

230. List of Nominees for Sitologos

Inv. 752
Pl. 40

23.7 x 25.8 cm.

Early III (?)
Karanis

Back blank

This list finds its interpretation by comparison with *P.Petaus* 59, which is very similar but better preserved (*P.Petaus* 60 is also similar but deals with *praktores*; cf. also *P.Petaus* 61-65). That is a (file copy of a) report sent by Petaus to the strategos, in response to the latter's request,

listing names εἰς κλήρον σιτολ(ογίας) for the 25th year of Commodus (184/5). Names are given for Ptolemais Hormou, Syron Kome, and Kerkesoucha Orous, each with his *poros*, which is in every case either 700 or 800 drachmas. These names are to be sent to the epistrategos for selection by lot. For Ptolemais Hormou there are 20 names, for Syron Kome 34, for Kerkesoucha Orous 12. If nothing is lost between the end of Column I and the start of Column II (and the latter refers to Karanis), Karanis probably had 42 names (31+11). There may have been a few more. It is suggested by the editors that these figures stand in a 2:1 relationship to the number to be selected, which varied considerably (cf. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 47, 87). That would indicate a rather high number of sitologoi, of whom the documents normally seem to indicate smaller numbers; but in fact the use of phrases like καὶ μέτοχοι, καὶ κοινῶνοί and so forth make it in most instances impossible to tell how many there were. In *P.Stras.* VI 526 it is explicitly stated that Euhemeria had 15 sitologoi in 156-57; presumably then there is no objection to supposing that we also are dealing with a 2:1 ratio in our text.

Our papyrus is complete at top and probably at the right, but it is broken at the bottom and the abrupt beginning suggests that other columns may have been lost to the left. Column I contains 31 names for Karanis before it breaks off. The upper part of Column II, with its 11 names, may pertain to Karanis or to another village; then comes the harbor of Kerke, and 21 names before it breaks off. On the other hand, it is possible that our text is only a preliminary draft, like those used but not published in full in *P.Petaus*, which also omit the introductory letter to the strategos (*P.Petaus*, p.230).

No date is preserved in this papyrus, and dating it has offered some difficulties. Lewis notes (*Compulsory Public Services* 88) that instances of selection by lot range from A.D. 131 to 229/30; "in no extant nomination after the latter date does the number of nominees exceed the number to be appointed." It is, however, true that if one consults the table of nominations (Lewis, p.116) one finds virtually no nominations to any of the offices for which kleros was used during the three-quarters of a century after 230, and none for sitologos until about 313 or later. We cannot therefore regard the terminus of 229/30 as absolute. It is, however, true that no nomination after 230 gives more than one candidate per slot to be filled. There is thus a presumption that our list is not later than the first third of the third century.⁶⁸

⁶⁸Some rough confirmation occurs in the fact that the sitologoi disappear after about 241-242 (*CPR* VIII 14, fall 241, is the last secure instance; perhaps *CPR* VIII 16, fall 242), replaced by the dekaprotoi, who are first attested in 244-47 (cf. J.D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19

Our text lists the *poros* for each man; we observe the curious fact that men with 700 dr. and those with 800 dr. alternate with absolute strictness. It is enough to make one wonder if these figures were assigned by the nominator in arbitrary fashion. These are the same figures which appear in *P.Petaus* 59 and 60 (not in strict alternation there, however). No datable papyrus after 265 in Lewis' list includes the *poros* (*P.Flor.* I 2; "third century" is *P.Ryl.* II 90, but the editors assign it to the early third). The habit of giving the amount of the *poros* in drachmas may thus have gone out of use around this time, for what reason we do not know. The use of the same amounts as in the Petaus texts would incline us to date our papyrus in approximately the same period, but of course we have no way of knowing if the amounts were left unaltered for long periods.

On the other hand, the appearance of *διάκονες* in lines 18 and 47 opens the question whether the persons involved belong to the Christian diaconate, in which case the appearance of the designation in an official document would be unlikely before about 313. Since, however, there are examples over a wide chronological span (as early as the third century B.C. in *P.Lond.* VII 2052, as late as the later second century A.D. in *P.Stras.* V 333) with a non-Christian meaning of "servant", it is hardly possible to base a date on the assumption that the term is Christian here, in the absence of any other Christian titles. The overall impression of the handwriting seems to us consistent with a fourth-century date, but by no means to exclude an earlier one. Attempts to find sufficient prosopographical links to date the list have not been successful; specific coincidences of names are listed in the line notes, but none is sufficiently secure to help a great deal. The best is probably Iulius son of Eudas (line 39), who is attested in 197-207. On balance, we conclude that an early third-century date is most likely.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this document is the linkage of Karanis with Kerke. In the Petaus texts, the villages grouped in a *komogrammateia* are all near one another, but Kerke is located outside the Fayum proper, on the Nile. Through most of its history it was administratively in the Memphite Nome, though it had very close ties with Philadelphia, the nearest Arsinoite village.⁶⁹ In the fourth century it was Memphite (*P.Cair.Isid.* 50.23, A.D. 310), though it received grain

[1975] 111-12).

⁶⁹See W. Clarysse in *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Stud.Hellenistica 24, 1980) 96-97 for Kerke's ties to Philadelphia.

deliveries from the Arsinoite regularly. There is, however, evidence that sitologoi from Philadelphia operated in Kerke in connection with these grain deliveries (see Wilcken, *Archiv* 11 [1935] 131-32; A.D. 154), and in *P.Petaus* 69 (late IIp), Kerke appears in a list which the editors suggest may be one of liturgical harbor guards. Moreover, a mummy label dated palaeographically to the third century (*SB* VI 9126) identifies Kerke as Arsinoite. It seems therefore probable that in the late second and early third centuries Kerke was administratively part of the Arsinoite Nome. It is nonetheless rather surprising to find it grouped with Karanis, rather than the much nearer Philadelphia.

Column I

- Καρα[νί]δος·
σιτολόγ[οι ἐ]πὶ τόπων·
- 4 / Ἄρπα[λος] Πτολεμαίου ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
'Ιούλιος Πτολεμαίου [ατισ] Τασιεύτος
ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
/ Συρίων Ἀβούτος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
/ Σαραπίων Ἀμμωνᾶτος τοῦ Πτολεμ(αίου)
ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
- 8 Μῶρ[ος] [Σε]μπρωνίου ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
/ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ Ἴσθρευτος
ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
Πεθ[εὺς ἐ]ργ(άτης) Διοσκόρου ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
/ Σαραπί[. . . .] . Ἴσχυρᾶ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
/ Σεύθης .ρίωνος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 12 Λεωνίδης[ς] Σαραπίωνος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
/ Δημήτριος Φαντω() ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
Σαβεῖνος[ς] Ἴσχυρᾶ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
Σαπρὸς μη(τρὸς) Κοπρίλλης ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 16 / Συρίων δη() ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
Τούρβων[ς] Ἡλεῖ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
/ Ἀγχιώφ[ις] διάκων ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
'Ουνώφ[ρις] Κμήειτος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 20 / Νεῖλος[ς] ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
'Ατρῆς [. . .] κηπουρὸς ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
'Ὀρος [. . .] .ς πλακιατ' ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ

- 24 /Μιεϋς [Ἐπο]λλωνίου ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Πανούφης Κμηίτος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πετρεσο[ύχος] Πετρεσοῦχου ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Ἴσιων Ἄ[φ]ροδεισί[ο]υ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πτολε(μαίος) Ἄμμωνος τῆς Νικόει(τος)
 ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 28 /Π...[...].απα μη(τρὸς) Ταμύσθα ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 / Ἀγχῶφης Ἐοριεῦσις Ἐπεθέως μη(τρὸς) Τάλεω(ς)
 ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Ἐσοῦρις Ἄντωνίου ποι(μῆν) ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Ἀπολλῶς Φασεῖ Πουτεῖ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 32 Πεθεῦς Κμηίτος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 / Ἀβούς [Σῶ]του Ψ[ε]νάσειω ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Traces
- --- --- --- --- --- ---

Column II

- 36 Πακῦσις Ψεναμούνεωσ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Ἄβους Σώτου [ὄμ(οίως)] (δραχμῶν) ω
 Πτολεμαῖος Κόρακος [ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν)] ψ
 / Ἀπολινάριος ἐργ(άτης) Ὠρίων[ος] ὄμ(οίως)]
 (δραχμῶν) ω
- 40 / Ἰούλιος Εὐδάς ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Καλάελπις Πεθέωσ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Πτολεμαῖος Χαϊρή(μονος) χωλὸς ὄμ(οίως)
 (δραχμῶν) ψ
- 44 / Σωκράτης Θεμέωσ βουκόλ(ος) ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Κέρδων Ρούφου ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Παήσεις Πτολεμαίου κουρεῦς ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Ἐχελ ἐλαιουργὸς ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
- Ἄορμου Κερκή·
- 48 / Σανσνεῦς διάκων ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 / Κάστωρ Πεθέωσ βουλοῦ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 / Διόσκορος Κιαμοῦλ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 / Πτολεμ(αῖος) Ἰάσωνος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Ἄμμώνιος Το[υ]αμσαῖθις ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 52 Κελῶλις βουκόλος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πετερμούθις Σωτρεῖ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω

- 56 / Ὀρίωνος Βακχίωνος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πλήν βουκόλος ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 / Πετερμούθις Καμήτ[ιω]ς ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 / Ὀρος Πλ . . () ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 / Σαραπίων Σαταβούτος Στρουθ(οῦ) ὄμ(οίως)
 (δραχμῶν) ψ
- 60 Αὐνής Σαβὲλ ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 Πωλίων Παναμ(έως) ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πτολεμαῖος Π.εως ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 / Πακῦσις . . . [. . .] . . . ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πανεῖλος Κελῶλις ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
- 64 Ὀριγένης μη(τρὸς) Κυρίλλης ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Παβούς Κ[...]() κερμα(τιστῆς) ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ω
 / Σαρ[ά]ς . . . ανο . . . ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν) ψ
 Πᾶσ[ι]ς πραγ(ματευτῆς) Ἀρητίωνος ὄμ(οίως)
 (δραχμῶν) ω
- 68 traces [ὄμ(οίως) (δραχμῶν)] ψ
 --- --- --- --- --- --- ---

8 ἰσθρευτος pap. 10 ἰσχυρα pap. 24 κμηῖτος pap.
 28 Ταμύσθας 51 Τουαμσαίθιος

4 Τασιεὺς is not listed in Preisigke or Foraboschi, but Τασεὺς is well attested. The iota is our interpretation of a long descending stroke from the sigma which seems to us too long to be merely part of sigma. The correction may have been caused by the scribe's starting to write the name Atisis instead of Tasiēus; but the upsilon of Πτολεμαίου seems to be written over the alpha and tau. It is interesting that μητρός is not indicated here; and in line 27 a grandmother's name seems to be given without specific identification as such.

8 This line was corrected at least once. It looks as if μισο was written first, but an iota then written across the mu, followed by other changes which we cannot identify. Ἰσθρευτος, an otherwise unknown name the reading of which seems clear, has a diaeresis over iota.

11 Another letter might have been lost between Seuthes and the patronymic, which could possibly be Syrion but is more likely Horion.

13 The NB lists Φαυτῶ, of which this may be a variant.

14 A Sabinus son of Ischyras appears in *O.Mich.* I 126 (219/220 or 223/4?) and 323 (early IIIp).

16 We do not know if this is an abbreviated name or δη(μόσιος).

17 For 'Ηλεῖς, see e.g. *P.Petaus* 66.15, where the short genitive also appears.

19 The mu of Κμήτιος/Κμήειτος throughout (cf. lines 24 and 32) has a slight extra upstroke, but we cannot persuade ourselves that this is an intended alpha, yielding the common name Kametis. For Κμήις, cf. *O.Lund* 20 ii.6.

22 LSJ cite Aetius 7.117.46 for πλακιακόν, "eye-salve". We suppose that we might have a new noun, πλακιακότης (or -τῶς or -τοποιός), "maker of eye-salves." What such a specialist would be doing in a village, however, is hard to see. Perhaps more likely is a bungled writing of πλακουκτῶς, a hypocoristic form of the more common πλακουκτοποιός, "cake baker", found in *P.Berl.Bork.* 6.5. One could also read πλακιακπ', but we cannot see what that would be.

27 Though there is a mark of abbreviation, it is possible that we should instead read the short genitive Νικόει.

29 Τῶλις appears as a toponym in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1746.7, and cf. Πιτῶλις in *CPR* VII 7.14.

31 We have not found Πουτεῖς elsewhere.

39 A Iulius son of Eudas appears in *P.Mich.* VI 398 (207p) and 422-424 (197p; see the introduction to 422 for discussion).

40 Καλάεπις seems to be new.

41 The names are very common; a person of this name does appear in *P.Col.* VII 136.35 (and cf. note) in 295-298; cf. also *O.Mich.* I 603, 650, III 992, 1040.

44 A Paesis son of Ptolemaios appears in *O.Mich.* I 100 (late III/early IV), but the names are extremely common.

45 'Εχέλ seems to be new.

48 Perhaps βουλου is an error for βουκόλου, which appears elsewhere in the list.

51 For names with τουαμ, the Egyptian feminine article and verb to eat, see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 1038 = *Proc. XII Congr. Pap.* 548. Other examples occur now in *P.Berl.Bork.* 10.4 and *P.Petaus* 67.14, 92 r.42, 93 r.30, and 118. The -σαιθις element, however, we cannot identify with any confidence. G.M. Browne suggests, with great reserve, that it might be the Egyptian word *st*, woman; he cites Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 479b for Τουαμρωμε, "man-eater" as a parallel.

57 The third letter seems most like epsilon, the fourth like kappa, but we cannot find any name which suits the traces.

58 For Strouthos, see *ZPE* 65 (1986) 187-90.

62 The second name seems to end in ηλις or ων, but we have not succeeded in reading it.

65 There seems no alternative to expanding to κερματιστής, money-changer, found in *EvJo.* 2.14, passages in patristic authors quoting John, and in Clemens Romanus, *Recognitiones* 9.24.

231. Registration of a Child

Inv. 34

7.2 x 9.2 cm.

249-269

Pl. 41

Oxyrhynchos

Back blank

This type of document is discussed by Mertens, *Les services de l'état*, 48-65. Subsequent examples are listed in *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3295 introd. and (a complete list of Oxyrhynchite examples) in *P.Ups.Frid* 6 introd. The loss of the body of the present example prevents it from helping to resolve any of the outstanding questions which Frid raises.

Λουκίω Ούαλερίω Ούαλεριαν[ῶ]
 φυλ(ἀρχη) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος α (ἔτους)
 4 παρὰ Αὐρηλίω Πάαντος τ[οῦ]
 Μύρου μητρὸς Ἀθηναροῦτος
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχων πόλεως
 καὶ τῆς τούτου γυναικὸς
 Ἀθηναροῦτος Πεκύσιος ἀ[πὸ]
 8 τῆ[ς αὐ]τῆς πόλεως· βο[υλό]-
 [μεθ]α πρώτως ἀπὸ τοῦ
 [νῦν ἀ]αγραφῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς [ύ-]
 [παρχού]σης ἡμεῖν οἰκίας [ἐπ']
 12 [ἀμφό]δου Ἰππέων
 [Παρεμβολῆς -----]
 --- -- -- -- --

5 οξυρυγ'χων παρ. 11 ἡμῖν

To Lucius Valerius Valerianus, phylarch of the present 1st year, from Aurelii Paas son of Moros, his mother Athenarous, from the city of Oxyrhynchos and his wife Athenarous daughter of Pekysis, from the same city. We wish to have registered for the first time from now on in the house which belongs to us in the amphodon of Hippeon [Parembole] . . .

1 We have not identified L. Valerius Valerianus elsewhere.

2 For the phylarch, see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 52; the office functioned between 245/8 and 285/7, but the absence of any epithet for Oxyrhynchos makes a date after 269 unlikely (although perhaps not quite excluded: cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 [1973] 281-84, 288). Years numbered 1 occurred in this period in 249/50, (250)/1, (252)/3, 253/4, 260/1, and 268/9; cf. D. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 112-20.

3 We have not found the name Paas elsewhere.

10 For the restorations, cf. the discussion at *P.Ups.Frid* 6.5n. The tip of the alpha guarantees that ἀναγραφήναι (and not ἀπογραφήναι) was written, as in virtually all of the parallel documents.

232. Lease of a Date-palm Orchard

Inv. 475b
Pl. 42

8.8 x 11.3 cm.

III
Oxyrhynchos

Back blank

This fragmentary lease of a date-palm orchard shows some characteristic Oxyrhynchite terminology; a discussion with extensive literature is given by M. Hombert in *Hommages Cl. Préaux* 601-08. The closest parallel we know is *P.Ross.Georg.* II 19, but other texts such as *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3354 are also helpful in reconstructing it. For date-palm orchard leases in general, the fundamental discussion is that of N. Hohlwein, *EtPap* 5 (1939) 39-67.

-]ος ...[
 δη]μοσίων θερι[
 4 φοί]νικος πατητού ἀ]ρταβ-
]ου ἀρτάβης ἡμ[ισυ
]κουστομικω[
]ου τὸ ἡμισυ καὶ ὁμοίως καρποῦ[σ]θ[αι
 8 Θῶθ] ἀ̄ ἐπαγο(μένων) ε̄ ὡς ἐξενίαυτα κατ' ἔτος
 ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) . .[
 ἐ]στὶν σφυρίδιον ἔχον βοτρυδιον σταφυλ(ῶν)
 ἐκλέ(κτων) [
]κόντα, σῦκα τριάκοντα, φοίνικος χλωροῦ . . . [
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν] ἐνότων κολοκυντίων καὶ σικυηράτ[ων].
 12 μέχ]ρι δεκάτης Τῦβι τῶν σῶν παρεχόν[των] . . .[
 ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δ]έκα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ποτισμοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ [
] . . μισθοῦ ἐπὶ ἡμέρ(ας) δύο ἐκ τη. . .[
 π]ρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνοικοδομήν τῆς νοτίνη[ς
 16] . κην πλιθ() () σοῦ παρέχοντο[ς
] ἡμῶν ποιούντων τὴν ὑπουργί]αν
 ἀκί]νδυνα πάντα παντὸς κινδύνου. βεβ[βαιουμένης δὲ
 τῆς . . .
]ου πωμαρίου ἔργα πάντα καὶ [
] ἀποφερομένους τὸ ἐκβησόμενον [γένημα
 20 μ]ηγὶ Φαῶφι, τὰ δὲ .[. . .].υ. . . .[
] . . .[

3 For πατητός (juicy) dates, cf. *P.Mich.* XII 657.7-8, citing N. Hohlwein, *EtPap* 5 (1939) 18 ff. and *BGU* XI 2105.4n.

6 This line may point to the common practice of equal division of the crop between lessee and lessor, cf. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 5-6, 27.

7 For the term ἐξενίαυτα, see Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 356-59 = *TAPA* 92 (1961) 550-53. It is particularly common in orchard leases, because it refers to the fact that the crop grown in one regnal year (or, in later centuries, indiction) is harvested in the following one: thus, "after the end of the current year." We cannot, however, tell precisely what its

application was in the present passage. Since it appears that a term of Thoth 1 to Epagomenai 5 is stated immediately before, it may refer to the payment of rent after the end of the year of the lease.

8-10 An enumeration of the σπονδαί, specified "gifts" from the lessee to the lessor. For σταφυλή, see C. Ricci, *La coltura della vite* 56 ff. For φοίνικος χλωροῦ cf. *P.Heid.* IV 329.18-24n. For the restoration at the start of line 10, cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* II 19.14.

12 For the phrasing see *P.Ross.Georg.* II 19.21.

15 The unread letters look at first glance like γεωργ(), but a close examination of the original persuades us that this reading is not correct.

17 Cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* II 19.16-17, 36. At the end, presumably μισθώσεως or ἐπίδοχῆς.

18 This line evidently includes a promise to do some work on the pomarion.

19 Or read and restore τὸν ἐκβησόμενον [καρπόν].

233. Lease of City Property

Inv. 499
Pl. 43

7.6 x 8.1 cm.

III
Oxyrhynchite

Back blank

This papyrus breaks off just where it starts to describe the property leased; it was presumably some sort of built urban property, such as a house or part of one. For such leases, see H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur MISΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Rechte der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985 = Erlanger juristische Abh. 33); *CPR VIII* 69 introduction.

Ἐμισθωσεν Αὐρηλίᾳ Τγε-
φεροσίς Μενεκλέως ἀπ' Ὀξυ(ρύχων)
πόλεως μετὰ συνεστῶτος
4 (2 H.) Αὐρηλίου Πετεροῦ Κο-
πρέως vacat
(1 H.) Αὐρηλίῳ Ἐρμίῳ Ἀπόλλωνος

8 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως εἰς ἕτ[η]
 πέντη ἀπὸ νεωμηνίας
 τοῦ ἑξῆς μηνὸς Φαμενώθ
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἰα (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῆ[ς]
 [ὑπαρ]χούσης αὐτῇ ἐπ' ἀμφ(όδου)

8 πέντε, νεωμηνίας 10 ἰα, α ex corr. (S)

Aurelia Tnephersois daughter of Menekles, from the city of Oxyrhynchos, with Aurelius Petcharpes son of Kopreus present, has leased to Aurelius Herminus son of Apollon from the same city, for five years from the first day of the next month Phamenoth of the present 11th year, from the ... belonging to her in the amphodon...

2 Menekles appears to be attested previously only in Ptolemaic texts.

4-5 On Kopreus and related names, cf. Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Copronyms and the Exposure of Infants in Egypt," *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller* (CSCT 13, Leiden 1986) 147-62.

10 The date is manifestly after 212 (Aurelii), so year 11 must be either 231/2 or 263/4; the first seems somewhat more likely.

234. Petition to the Strategos

Inv. 123a

8.4 x 7.1 cm.

2nd half III

Pl. 44

Arsinoite

Back blank

The principal point of interest of this fragmentary text is the appearance of an otherwise unattested acting strategos of the Arsinoite Nome, Aur. Horion alias Paulinus.⁷⁰ His title is given as διαδεχομένω

⁷⁰We are indebted to G. Bastianini for advice on this text.

στρ(). We have resolved the latter word as στρατηγία, on the basis of *P.Oxy.* I 62 verso and LI 3610, where it is written out in full; the other possibility, διαδεχόμενος στρατηγός, is unattested.⁷¹ That he is strategos of the entire nome rather than only of a division indicates a date after approximately the reign of Gallienus, and we cannot exclude the first years of the fourth century.

The sheet number (221) at the head of the papyrus indicates that the papyrus was pasted into a *tomos synkollesimos*.

(2 H.) σκα
 (1 H.) [A]ύρηλιώ 'Ορίωνι τῷ καὶ Παυλίῳ [
 διαδεχομένῳ στρ(ατηγία) 'Αρσινοΐτου [
 4 [π]αρά Αὐ[ρ]ηλίας Διδύμης ματρῶνας [στ]ολ[ά]τας]
 [καὶ] ὡς χρ(ηματίζει)· κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπουσίαν ἐν [ἀλ-]
 [λο]δοατῇ οὔσης μου ἅμα τῷ συνόντι μοι ἀν[δρ]ι
 [.]ῖω Φ[α]υστίνῳ ἐπάρχῳ 'Απρι[αν]ῆς]
 8 [.]νο[μ]ένη ὁμοῦ ἔνθα ἐν τῷ [.]
 traces

 2 αρσινοΐτου pap. 5 εμη, η ex corr.?

To Aurelius Horion alias Paulinus, vice-strategos of the Arsinoite, from Aurelia Didyme, *matrona stolata*, and however she styles herself. During my absence while I was abroad together with my husband, who was with me, ...ius Faustinus, prefect...

3 For acting strategoi see M. Eliassen-De Kat in *Actes XV Congr. Int.* III (1978) 116-23. Bastianini points out that acting strategoi before the middle of the third century are often also basilikos grammateus, but that this office disappears around mid-century; cf. J.D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 119 n.44. For this man, see Bastianini-Whitehorne, *Strategi* 57.

4 For matronae stolatae, see *ZPE* 38 (1980) 127-34; 55 (1984) 208 n. to line 3. Didyme is not previously attested.

5 It is not quite clear how χρ(ηματίζει) was abbreviated; the traces are more than a stroke through the rho.

⁷¹See Bastianini-Whitehorne, *Strategi* 103 and 105 for further examples of the terminology left abbreviated, as in our papyrus.

7 For the Ala Apriana see ZPE 1 (1967) 139, *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 310 and 59 (1979) 256. -ius Faustinus, the prefect of this unit, is not listed in H. Devijver, *De Aegypto et exercitu Romano sive Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae ab Augusto ad Gallienum seu statione seu origine ad Aegyptum pertinebant* (Stud.Hell. 22, Leuven 1975), nor in PLRE I, nor have we found him elsewhere.

235. Report of Proceedings

Inv. 413a
Pl. 45

33.0 x 12.2 cm.

22.iv.312 ?
Antaiopolis

Back blank

Both columns of the text are very much mutilated, and reconstruction is a matter of conjecture. From the surviving text it is clear that the subject is money and grain taxes of the village of Aphrodite in the Antaiopolite Nome, and that the villagers have been summoned before the procurator Theophanes for interrogation. Column II may be complete at the bottom, given the amount of blank space surviving with no letter traces, in which case it is probably the end of the text. The standard work on texts of this kind is Coles, *Reports of Proceedings*. Here we appear to have an abridged transcript, as μετ' ἄλ(λα) (line 14) indicates.

The dating of the papyrus is problematic. The handwriting appears to belong to the later third or early fourth century. A date to year 8 for this period limits choices severely, for there was no year 8 recognized in Egypt between that of Alexander Severus (228/9) and that of Maximinus (311/2), except for the first few days of Gallienus' year 8.⁷² The former seems to us too early on palaeographic grounds. The latter encounters the difficulty that dates of the year are generally given to year 8-6-4, the regnal years respectively of Maximinus, Constantine, and Licinius (cf. *RFBE* 35-36). All of the known instances of "8th year" by itself occur in tax rolls: in the daybook of chaff collections by Aurelius Isidoros

⁷²Year 8 of Gallienus, 260/1, is thus excluded by the date to Pharmouthi. See D. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 117-18 for the evidence and discussion.

(*P.Cair.Isid.* 10.3, of 2.xii.311), and in a report of sitologoi of Theadelphia in which twice we get τοῦ αὐτοῦ η (ἔτους) after an earlier reference to year 8-6-4 (*P.Sakaon* 5.20,54, cf. line 3). Now we have no evidence from the fall and winter of 311-312 to indicate that years 6 and 4 were actually in use, and "year 8" in *P.Cair.Isid.* 10 could be correct contemporary usage. By 4 March 312, however, year 8-6-4 was in use in the Arsinoite (*P.Princ.Roll* 16, cf. *Archiv* 30 [1984] 60, *RFBE* 35), and it would not have taken longer than from 4.iii to 22.iv for information to reach upriver to Antaioupolis. If the date is indeed 312, then, we are faced with an official document failing to use the complete correct dating formula. But it is difficult to see what other choice we have.

Be this as it may, this papyrus is probably the earliest dated attestation of the village of Aphrodite that we know of.⁷³ The earliest dated document otherwise was *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67100, almost two centuries later (506p). We may mention also *O.Ont.Mus.* II 223, a perhaps third-century receipt mentioning Ἀφροδίτης κ(ώμης), which may come from the Antaioupolite, though it is part of a mostly Theban collection.

Column I

- [Ἔ]τους η´ Φαρμούθι κζ ἐν Ἀνταιουπόλ(ει) πρὸ βήματος·
 Θεοφάνης ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀφροδίτης·
 κληθέντων καὶ Βησα[ρ]ίωνος Βησαρίωνος καὶ Βησα-
 4 ρίωνος Ὄρο[υ καὶ . . .]ωνος Σαρατίωνος καὶ Βησαρί-
 ωνος τοῦ [καὶ? ± 16] καὶ Βησι.[± 16]
 Βάσσου καὶ Δι.[± 10]ους καὶ Σαρατ[ίωνος ± 10]κος
 καὶ Βησαρίωνος . . . [. . . τοῦ] καὶ Ἰσιδώ[ρου
 ὑπακουσάντ]ων,
 8 Θεοφάνης ἐπίτροπο[ς] αὐτοῖς εἶπ(εν) . . . [. ὁ]
 λαμπρό-
 τatos ἡμῶν ἤγε[μῶ]ν τῶν ἀπ[ὸ τ]ῆ[ς] μητροπόλεως
 [. . .]ων traces [± 20]ην.[. . .]μιν
 traces

⁷³Calderini, *Dizionario geografico* I.2, 303, cites *P.Iand.* 34.3 of 190p; but this refers to a temple of Hermes and Aphrodite in the village of Tem[in the Polemon division of the Arsinoite! (Is this perhaps Temounous kome, mentioned in *PSI* V 539.2 [mistakenly listed as Τεμουνοῦς by Calderini-Daris, IV 388]?) The error has been noted by W. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte* 209 and by L.S.B. MacCoull, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 54.

Column II

- 12 Θεοφάνης τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἶπ(εν)· τί λέγετ[ε];
 Βησαρίων
 εἶπ(εν)· τὰ ἀργυρικὰ οὐδὲν ἀμελ[.]ς ἐνεγκεῖν ὡς
 τὰ σιτικά
 ὅρον ἔλαβε· καὶ ταῦτα λαβέτω· μετ' ἄλ(λα) Θεοφάνης
 τοῖς κωμῆταις εἶπ(εν)· ἤρησεν μὲν ἐν κ[ρ]ο[μ]ῶ ὡς
- 16 [.] ὑμᾶς ἀρτά[βας] τῆς ἀρ[τάβης] καὶ τὰ
 ἀργυρικὰ
 [.]. ὑποστη.α[.][.] ἄλλα πρὸς
 [.]ν ὑπομ[.][.] μετ' ἄλλα
 [Θεοφάνης εἶπ(εν)· ἐντὸς]ας τὰ ἀργυρικὰ]
- 20 [Θεοφάνης ἐπίτροπος εἶπ(εν)· [.]κα τὸ ἡμιορτά-
 βιον κα[ί] τὰ ἀργυρικὰ εἰσ[ε]νέγκητε [.] καὶ τὰ ἐξ[ῆς]
- ἔξετ()

15 ἤρησεν 17 ὑποστη. pap.

(Column I) Year 8, Pharmouthi 27 in Antaioupolis before the bema. Theophanes summoned those from the village of Aphrodite. When Besarion son of Besarion and Besarion son of Horos and ...on son of Sarapion and Besarion alias ... son of ... and Besi... [son of ... and ...] son of Bassos and Di[... son of ...] and Sarapion [son of ...] and Besarion son of [...] alias Isidoros had been summoned and responded, Theophanes the procurator said to them: "Our most illustrious prefect . . . those of the metropolis . . ."

(Column II) Theophanes said to those from Aphrodite: "What do you say?" Besarion said, "He received a verdict while not neglecting to deliver the taxes in silver as those in wheat. And let him receive these." After other remarks, Theophanes said to the villagers, "It satisfied in common...Theophanes said, "Within...the money taxes." Theophanes the procurator said, "...half-artaba tax and deliver the money taxes..." and so on.

1 Cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Some Remarks Concerning βήματα and δικαστήρια in Roman Egypt," *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra* II (Milan

1971) 327-31, who notes that βῆμα is largely replaced by δικαστήριον from the reign of Diocletian on with reference to officials' courts. But βῆμα still occurs close to the date of our text in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2187.32 (304).

2 Theophanes is given no title at his first appearance; it occurs in 8, is absent in 12, 14, and 19, then present again in 20. Despite this inconsistency, it seems impossible to suppose that two people are involved. For such vacillation in the use of official titles, see Coles 39. Theophanes, a procurator, is perhaps ἐπίτροπος τῆς κάτω Θηβαίδος; he is not previously attested; see Lallemand, *L'administration civile* 44 n.3, 78 n.2, 90 f., 261 f. and *P.Beatty Panop.* p.xix.

2-7 The formula with κληθέντος καὶ ὑπακούσαντος and the name(s) of the persons involved as defendants is paralleled in e.g. *W.Chr.* 393.4. Here we have some nine persons summoned: Besarion s. of Besarion; Besarion s. of Horos; ...on s. of Sarapion; Besarion alias ..., s. of ...; Besi... s. of ...; N.N. s. of Bassos; Di... s. of ...; Sarapion s. of ...; Besarion s. of ..., alias Isidoros. (Or perhaps, as P.J. Sijpesteijn suggests, in 5-6 we have Besi... alias N.N. s. of Bassos, and so eight.) The names of five of the men and one of their fathers are compounded on Bes. The use of ἐκέλευσεν in line 2, however, with no complementary infinitive, is puzzling, and we wonder if this verb is used by confusion with καλέω.

8 In all likelihood, the end of this line and line 9 quote a decision of the prefect.

13 Restoring ἀμελ[ήσα]ς seems almost inescapable, but the lacuna is a bit small for three letters, and the sigma after the lacuna is remarkably large.

14 For μετ' ἄλ(λα), see Coles 48-49 n.3.

17 Perhaps ὑποστήνα[ι], but the nu is very difficult.

21 The word in the margin may be a notation concerning further inquiry (ἐξέτασις); at any rate it is not part of the main text.

236. Receipt for Wheat

Inv. 434b
Pl. 46

10.8 x 12.1 cm.

vi-vii.313
Philoteris

The formula of this fragmentary piece does not fit that known to us from the other receipts of the period. It seems to be a receipt from the apodektai to the sitologoi of Philoteris, presumably discharging the responsibility of the latter for wheat, barley, and transportation charges paid to them. See the notes for the difficulties of the formula.

The back contains various faint notes in different hands, at least 5 lines with one of them deleted.

 4 π[αρά τῶν ἀπο]δεκτῶν .[
 σιτ[ολογ...] Φιλωτερίδος [
 πρ[.....]θαι Ἐφροδάς π[
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ σ[ὺ]ν (ἐκατοσταῖς) ἰ ἀρτ[άβας]
 καὶ τὸ δηνάριον τοῦ μοδίου.
 (ἔτους) θS καὶ ζS καὶ εS Ἐπειφ .[.]
 καὶ κριθῆς ὁμοίως τῆς αὐτῆς κώ[μης (ἀρτάβας) ..]
 8 γ(ίνονται) κρι(θῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) [.]ζ μ.[
 traces ?

5 δηνάριον

From [the] apodektai [of the 9th pagus?] to the sitologoi of Philoteris. [We acknowledge ?] that we have [received?] from Aphrodas ... [] artabas of clean wheat including the 10 percent and the denarius per modius. Year 9 and 7 and 5, Epeiph .., and of barley likewise for the same village, [art.], that is, [.]7 art. of barley.

1 According to Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 15 and 51, apodektes was in use up to 329, hypodektes from 319 on, so that they had

a decade of overlap. Apodektai, however, still appear in *P.Col.* VII 148, 149 (340), 154 (343) and 152.31 (receipt from 23.ix.345); cf. *P.Nepheros* 43.1n. Given the date, we suppose apodektai are to be restored. At the end of line 1 is a part of a large letter which looks most to us like theta. We have no other evidence for Philoteris after the introduction of the pagi in 308 to indicate to which pagus it belonged, but as Theadelphia nearby belonged to the eighth, the ninth seems a good bet, and we suppose the first two lines to have read π[ορὰ τῶν ἁπο]δεκτῶν θ [πάγου] | σιτ[ολόγοις] Φιλωτερίδος. (For pagus circumscription for the apodektai [not mentioned by Lewis], see *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.39n.) But we do not know if this was the start of the text. If it was, we anticipate a first-person verb of receiving next, but the remains suggest a middle-passive infinitive. Unless an aberrant formula without main verb was used, then, it seems likely that a main verb must have been written before the first surviving line or in the lacuna at the end of line 2 (ὁμολογοῦμεν?).

2 This appears to be the latest attestation of the village of Philoteris; *P.Ryl.* IV 656 shows it existing in A.D. 300.

3 One might also divide Ἀφροδᾶ σπ[ι]. The verb at the start might have been πρ[οσδεδέχ]θαι, but we have not found another instance of its use in such a context.

4 For the phrasing ἑκατοσταὶ δέκα, cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.35 n.

5 For the denarius per modius see *Archiv* 30 (1984) 79.206 n. and P. Herz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung. Die Lebensmittelversorgung* (*Historia Einzelschr.* 55, Stuttgart 1988) 225-34.

6 For the date see *RFBE* 36. Probably nothing was lost at the end in this line except the numeral for the day.

237. Receipt for Share of Inheritance

Inv. 42
Pl. 47

11.5 x 37.0 cm.

5.vi.395 ?
Theadelphia

Aur. Herodes acknowledges to Aur. Agathos receipt of one solidus on account of his share of their inheritance from a relative named Asaucis. The body of the document is written in a neat, undistinctive

hand which we would assign to the fourth or early fifth century; the consular date at the start is written in a very fast cursive; the recapitulation is written in a semi-cursive hand different from the body of the text; and the notarial signature is a number of scrawls.

The date of the document is something of a puzzle. Herodes and Agathos come from Theadelphia, which is not attested in any document dated later than 343 (*P.Sakaon* 48). That is not decisive, for the village had evidently undergone some fluctuations in the first part of the century (cf. Bagnall, *BSAC* 24 [1982] 35-57). Nor do some other elements help much: notarial signatures are found in the Arsinoite already in 307 (*P.Sakaon* 64), and χρυσῶς as a term for the solidus is found at least from 359 (see Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation*, 16). A boundary on the other end may be provided by the lack of any indiction date in the heading. The last Arsinoite document published so far which lacks an indiction is *P.Got.* 39 (417p; cf. Worp, *Archiv* 33 [1987] 91-96), and a date after the 430's would be difficult.

All this uncertainty is caused by the difficulty of reading the consulate. It is clear that we have only one consul mentioned (denoted τοῦ λαμπροτάτου), and that his name ends (in the genitive) in ρίου. We think that our reading Ὀλυβρίου is the best interpretation of the remains, but there is no sole consul who fits until Olybrius cos. 491, which is really too late for the document otherwise. In fact, it bears a striking overall visual and diplomatic resemblance to *P.Grenf.* I 54, of which we have seen a photocopy: similar (and similarly placed) notarial subscription, similar distinction between hand of the body and that of recapitulation, absence of indiction after the consular date, even similar shape of the piece of papyrus. The Grenfell papyrus dates to 378 and comes from the Arsinoite. We believe that the Columbia piece must come from the last quarter of the fourth century.

What then of the consulate? The choices are (a) to keep our reading and assign it to Olybrius cos. 395 (second consul, Probinus, omitted); (b) to reject our reading of the letters before -ρίου and to read another *consul prior* of the period and similarly assume omission of the second consul (choices: Eucharius, 381 and Caesarius, 397); or (c) similarly to read the name of one of the second consuls of the period and assume the scribe has incompetently omitted the *consul prior* (choices: Syagrius, 381 and 382; Neoterius, 390). We think (c) is unlikely on grounds of the general improbability of omitting the *consul prior*; but it does seem just possible to read Syagrius' name. With (b), reading

Eucherius seems impossible and Caesarius very difficult. We conclude, with considerable reluctance (we know of no other example of such an omission in this period), that (a) is preferable to (c).

For the type of transaction, see Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*.

The papyrus sheet was cut vertically through a kollesis at the right. The contract was folded several times vertically, with the fold now second from left evidently the original center. There is thus a strip about 2 cm. wide lost at the left.

Ἰπατείας Φ[λ(αουίου) Ὀ]λυπρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
Παῦνι θ

- (2 H.)
4 [A]ύρηλιος Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης
[Θ]εαδελφί[α]ς τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίου
[Ἄ]γάθῳ ἄτιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης χέριν·
[έδ]εξάμην παρὰ σοῦ εἰς πάντα λόγων
8 [το]ῦ φθάνοντός μο[υ] μέρους τῆς κληρονομίας --
[τῆ]ς προ[ση]κούση<ς ἡ>μῶν Ἀσαύει λέγω δὴ --
[χρ]ύσιων ἓνα καὶ πρὸς ἀμεριμνίαν σὴν
[κ]αὶ πρ[ὸ]ς τῶ ἀπεντεύθειν μηδένα λόγον
[ἔ]χιν ἐ[μ]ὲ πρὸς σοὶ περὶ μηδενὸς πράγματος
12 [τὸ] σύνολον οὔτε περὶ κληρονομίας οὔτε
[έ]γγραφου οὔτε [ε]ν ἀγράφου {καὶ} ἐξεδώμην
[σο]ὶ τήν[δε τὴν ἀσ]φάλιον κυρί' αὐ' οὔσαν
[κ]αὶ ἐπε[ρω]τηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
- (3 H.)
16 Αὐρήλιος Ἡρώδης ὁ προκείμενος ἔσχον
παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ Ἀγάθου χρύσιων ἓνα
εἰς λόγον τοῦ φθάνοντός μου μέρος τῆς
κληρο[νο]μίας κα[ὶ] ἀπεντεύθειν μηδένα
20 λόγον ἔχιν πρὸς <σέ> περὶ τούτου ὡς πρόκειται.
Αὐρήλιος Ἡρώδης Ζακάωνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοί-
τῶν πόλεως ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.
- (4 H.)
+ di emu etel(cioth)

Verso (2 H.):

δεξιὰ Ἡρόδου πρὸς Ἀγαθον.

5 χαίρειν 6 λόγον 7 φθάνοντος 7,18 μοι 10 τὸ 11 ἔχειν, σὲ
 13 ἐξεδόμην 14 ἀσφάλειαν 16 προκείμενος 17 χρύσιον
 18 μέρους 20 ἔχειν, read ἔχω, πρόκειται 21 Ζακάωνος, first
 α ex corr.

In the consulate of Fl. Olybrius v.c., Pauni 9. (2 H.) Aurelius Herodes son of Antoninus from the village of Theadelphia of the Arsinoite Nome to Aurelius Agathos son of Atin from the same village, greeting. I have received from you for the entire account of the portion falling to me of the inheritance of our relative Asaucis, that is, one gold solidus, and for your security and for my having from now on no claim against you on any matter, either generally or concerning the inheritance, neither written nor unwritten, I have issued to you this document which is decisive, and in answer to the formal question, I have given my assent.

(3 H.) I, Aurelius Herodes, the aforesaid, have received from you, Agathos, one solidus on account of the portion falling to me of the inheritance and from this point on I have no claim against you concerning this as aforesaid. Aurelius Heron son of Sakaon, from the city of the Arsinoites, wrote on behalf of him because he is illiterate. (4 H.) Through me ...

(Verso) (2 H.) Deed of Herodes to Agathos.

2 Herodes is not previously known, nor is Agathos (line 5).

8 The expression λέγω δὴ is often found in Byzantine texts; cf. *WB* s.v. λέγω, 11. προ[σγε]νοῦς, suggested by Hagedorn, eliminates the haplography and fits the space well, but we cannot persuade ourselves that the traces are compatible with a nu after the lacuna.

19-20 Herodes changes structure here: ἔχω is needed, but he writes ἔχω (ἔχειν) as if he had a preceding ὁμολογῶ.

23 A Chrismon before a signature is surprising at this date; cf. the tables in Diethart-Worp, *ByzNot*. It could instead be a false start on *di emu*.

238. Account

Inv. 108b +
Princeton GD 7890A⁷⁴
Pls. 56-57

30.5 x 20.5 cm.

IV
Oxyrhynchite

The upper part of this papyrus was published as *P.Princ.* III 136. With the two parts reunited (for the photograph) the text is nearly complete, with only minor losses at the edges and here and there in the middle of the papyrus. The Columbia piece includes part of line 11 and all of lines 12-19 of the front, and lines 31-35 of the back. The text offers great similarities to *P.Bon.* 39, reedited by Bagnall and Worp in *ZPE* 52 (1983) 247-54.⁷⁵ The Bologna papyrus, which is not complete at both top and bottom in any of the leaves, is nowhere more than about 19 cm. high, but it could originally have been of the format of the Columbia-Princeton papyrus. Its hand (visible on Plate VIII of the article cited) is similar to that of our piece but not, we think, identical. On the whole, the hand of the present papyrus seems to us somewhat later, thus from the second half of the fourth century. We present here the text of the combined fragments.

Johnson and Goodrich did not offer any suggestion on the provenance of their text, but it clearly is Oxyrhynchite. The village of Netneou and the toponym Melanthiou⁷⁶ are known (see Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 119, 112).

The Columbia-Princeton papyrus, like the Bologna one, contains an account of parcels of land, arranged by cultivator, and applying various rates in different crops to them. In our introduction to the Bologna papyrus, we set out our reasons for believing that we were dealing with a private account listing rents, rather than a public account listing taxes (as the Princeton editors claimed their text to represent). These seem to us still correct; they may be restated as follows:

(1) The organization of the account does not resemble that of any of the public land registers we know, such as *P.Herm.Landl.*, nor is it

⁷⁴Misreported in ed. pr. as '7980A'.

⁷⁵Another similar text is published by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp in *ZPE* 70 (1987) 128-32.

⁷⁶It is, of course, not impossible that the ἔδαφος Melanthiou and the ἐποίκιον Melanthiou are to be differentiated.

arranged as one would expect a public land and tax register to be, by locality; rather, the organization is by farmer.

(2) Each piece of land pays dues for a particular crop sown on it and only on one crop; where a given farmer pays multiple amounts in different crops, the plots on which each amount is paid are clearly differentiated. The presence of wheat, barley, flax, and hay (paid in money) in one account excludes the possibility that this account belongs to any tax official, since tax collectors' responsibilities were limited to particular taxes.

(3) The division of parcels into two or more parts, with one paying in wheat, another in hay (and others in barley and flax) is reminiscent of lease provisions for the alternation of crops and payments, but not of the taxation procedures of the fourth century, where land was in general taxed in wheat and barley at fixed rates regardless of crop sown.

(4) The terminology (particularly the use of γεωργέω, the technical term for being the lessee) is characteristic of the world of private leases.

To these may be added the rates, which at 7 art. of wheat or barley per aroura are of the level of lease rents, not those of taxes, which were far lower in this period (see R.S. Bagnall, *TAPA* 115 [1985] 289-308).

We are, therefore, dealing with the accounts of a large landowner, no doubt resident in Oxyrhynchos, and owning land in the hamlets of Netneou, Melanthiou, and other places. The table below shows the amounts of land and rents owed. Wheat and barley were subject to a 10% surcharge, flax to a 5% surcharge. Amounts in restoration are not indicated in the table by bracketing.

Line	Gross Estate	Net Lease	Amounts in Crop	Rate of Rent	Amount Owed
1	25	1 13/16	1 13/16 hay	5/8 sol.	1 1/8 sol.
2	4	1 23/64	29/64 wheat	7 art.	3 1/2 art.
2-3	"	"	29/64 barley	7 art.	3 1/2 art.
3	"	"	29/64 flax	14 bund.	6 5/8 bund.

Totals: wheat, 10 3/4 art.; barley, 12 1/4 art.;
flax, 33 1/6 bund.; for hay, 1 1/8 sol.

6	20+	1 3/4	9/16 wheat	7 art.	4.5 art. 4 ch.
6-7	"	"	9/16 barley	7 art.	4.5 art. 4 ch.

7-8	"	"	9/16 flax	14 bund.	8 1/4 bund.
8-9	22 1/8	1 1/2	3/4 flax	17 bund.	13 1/2 bund.
9	"	"	3/4 hay	2 art. barl.	1 1/2 a. 6 ch.
10-11	4	1 11/32	15/32 wheat	7 art.	3 5/8 art.
11	"	"	15/32 barley	7 art.	3 5/8 art.
11-12	"	"	13/32 flax	14 bund.	6 1/6 bund.
12-13	8	1	1 barley	7 art.	7 1/2 a. 8 ch.
14	6 3/8	2 1/8	2 1/8 (hay)	5/8 sol.	1 1/3 sol.

Totals: wheat, X+1/4 art.; barley, 17 1/2 art., 4 ch.;
flax, 28 bund.; for hay, 1 1/3 sol.

17-18	?	41/64	41/64 barley	6 art.	3 3/4 a. 4 ch.
18-19	?	1 11/16	1 11/16 (hay)	5/8 sol.	1 1/8 sol.

Totals: barley, 3 3/4 art. 4 ch.; for hay, 1 1/8 sol.

21	20 9/16	2 3/4	7/8 wheat	7 art.	7 1/4 art.
21-22	"	"	7/8 hay	7 art.	7 1/4 art.
22-23	"	"	7/8 flax	14 bund.	13 bund.
23-24	22 1/8	1 5/8	13/16 flax	17 bund.	14 5/8 bund.
24-25	"	"	13/16 hay	2 art. barley	1 3/4 a. 2 ch.
25-26	3	1	1 barley	7 art.	7 1/2 a. 8 ch.
26-27	6 1/4	3 1/8	1 barley	7 art.	7 1/2 a. 8 ch.
27-28	"	"	1 1/8 flax	14 bund.	16 1/2 bund.
28	"	"	1 hay	5/8 sol.	5/8 sol.
28-29	37 1/2	5	2 3/4 barley	6 art.	18 art., 6 ch.
29-30	"	"	2 1/4 flax	12 bund.	27 1/4 bund.
30-31	"	1 1/4	1 1/4 flax	12 bund.	16 1/4 bund.

Totals: wheat 7 1/4 art.; barley 42 1/2 art. 4 choin.;
flax, 89 2/3 bund.; value of hay, 5/8 sol.

34	(5)	5	2 1/2 wheat	7 art.	19 1/4 art.
35	"	"	2 1/2 hay	7 art. barley	19 1/4 art.

Totals: wheat 19 1/4 art., barley 19 1/4 art.

Note: The apparatus does not list the numerous divergences of our text from the ed. pr. of the Princeton portion of it.

Front

- ἀπό (ἀρουρῶν) κε' χόρ(τῶ) (ἀρουραι) α θ ἰο τῆ
 (ἀρούρη) α νο(μισματίου) L η νο(μισμάτια)
 α ἦ· καὶ ἀπό ἐδάφ(ους) (τετραρούρου) Πα[νεχώτου]
- 2 (ἀρουραι) α d ἰο λῶ ξο ῶν (πυρῶ) (ἀρούρης) d ἦ
 ἰο ξο ἀν(ὰ) (ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς)
 (ἀρτάβας) γ L· κρ(ιθῆ) (ἀρούρης) d
 ἦ ἰο ξο ἀνὰ (ἀρτάβας) ζ
- 3 σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας) γ L· λί(νω)
 (ἀρούρης) d ἦ ἰο ξο ἀνὰ στ[ιπ]π(ίου) δέσμ(ας)
 ἰδ σὺν (εἰκοστῆ) δέσμ(ας) ς L ἦ,
- 4 (γίνονται) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτάβαι) ι θ κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβαι)
 ἰβ d λί(νου) δέσμ(αι) λγ ς' τιμ(ῆς) χόρ(του)
 νο(μισμάτια) α ἦ.
- 5 Ἑλίως Μαρίας ἀπό τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ἐποικ(ίου) τελ(εῖ) καὶ
 αὐ(τὸς) ὑπὲρ ῶν ἐγεώρ(γει) ἀπό τοῦ
 προκ(ειμένου) ἐδάφ(ους) Ναμ[]
- 6 ἀπό (ἀρουρῶν) κ.. (ἀρουρῶν) αθ, (πυρῶ) (ἀρούρης) L
 ἰο ἀν(ὰ) (ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας) δ
 L χο(ίνικας) δ· [κρ(ιθῆ) (ἀρουρῶν) L ἰο]
- 7 ἀνὰ κρ(ιθῆς) [(ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς)] (ἀρτάβας) δ
 L χο(ίνικας) δ· λί(νω) (ἀρούρης) L ἰο ἀνὰ
 στιππ(ίου) δέσμ(ας) ἰδ σὺν (εἰκοστῆ)]
- 8 δέσ(μας) [η d] καὶ ἀπό ἐδάφ(ους) Μελαυθί(ου) ἀπ'
 (ἀρουρῶν) κβ ἦ (ἀρουρῶν) α L ῶν λί(νω)
 (ἀρούρης) θ [ἀνὰ]
- 9 στιππ(ίου) δέσμ(ας) [ιζ σὺν] (εἰκοστῆ) δέσμ(ας) ιγ L·
 χόρ(τῶ) προβ(ατικῶ) (ἀρούρης) θ ἀν(ὰ)
 (ἀρτάβας) β σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας)
 [α L χο(ίνικας) ς]
- 10 καὶ ἀπ' ἐδάφ(ους) (τετραρούρου) Πανεχώτου
 ἀπ' (ἀρουρῶν) δ (ἀρουρῶν) α d ἰο λῶ οὔ
 (πυρῶ) (ἀρούρης) d ἦ ἰο λῶ ἀνὰ
- 11 [(ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας) γ L ἦ·] κρ(ιθῆ)
 [(ἀρούρης)] d ἦ [ἰ]ο λ[ῶ] ἀ]νὰ κρ(ιθῆς) [(ἀρτάβας)]
 ζ σὺν [(ἐκατοσταῖς)] (ἀρτάβας) γ [L ἦ· λί(νω)]

- (άρούρης) d ἡ λ̄ο]
- 12 ἀνά στιππι(ίου) [δέσμ]μ(ας) ιδ['] σ[ὺ]ν (εἰκοστῇ) δέσμ(ας)
ς ς'· και ἀπὸ ἐδάφ(ους) (ὀκταπόρου) ἐκ βορρ(ᾶ)
ἐ[ποικ(ίου)]
- 13 Νετιήου, λιβ(ός) δὲ τοῦ χώμ(ατος) ἐν λιμμναῖς
(άρούρης) α κρ(ιθῆς) ἀν(ὰ) (ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν
(ἐκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας) ζ [L χο(ίνικας) η]
- 14 και ἀπὸ ἐδ[ά]φ(ους) Φανέους [ἀ]π' (άρουρῶν) ς d ἡ
(άρουρῶν) β ἡ τῆ (άρούρη) α νο(μισματίου) L ἡ,
νο(μισμάτια) α γ'· [vacat]
- 15 (γίνονται) [σ]ίτου (ἀρτάβαι) . d/, κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβαι)
ιζ L χο(ίνικες) δ, δέσμ(αι) κη, ἀρ(γυρίου)
νο(μισμάτια) α γ'· .
- 16 τὸ κω(όν) τ[ῶν γ]ε[ω]ργῶν ἐποικ(ίου) Νε[τ]υ[ῆ]ου
τελ(εῖ) και ἀύ(τὸ) ὑπὲρ φόρ(ων) ὦν
ἐγεώρ(γει) ἀπ[ὸ]
- 17 ἐδάφ(ους) περὶ . . .[.]. ἐκ βορρ(ᾶ) ἐποικ(ίου) Νετιήου
λιβ(ός) δὲ τοῦ χώμ(ατος) ἐν λιμμναῖς (άρούρης)]
- 18 [L ἡ] ξ[ὸ] κρ(ιθῆς) [ἀ]νὰ (ἀρτάβας) ς (γίνονται) κρ(ιθῆς)
(ἀρτάβαι) γθ χο(ίνικες) δ, και ἀπὸ ἐδάφ(ους)
Μεγάλ() λιβ(ικῆς) σφραγίδ(ος)
- 19 (άρουρῶν) [α L ἡ] ἰὼ τ[ῆ] (άρούρη) α νο(μισματίου)
L ἡ, νο(μισμάτια) α ἡ, (γίνονται)
κρ(ιθῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) γθ χο(ίνικες) δ, ἀρ(γυρίου)
νο(μισμάτια) α ἡ.

Back

- 20 Ἄτολᾶς Παύλου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ἐποικ(ίου) τελ(εῖ) ὑπὲρ
ὦν ἐγεώρ(γει) ἐδάφ(ους) Νιτεχωχε
- 21 ἀπὸ (άρουρῶν) κ L ἰὼ (άρουρῶν) β θ σί(του) (άρούρης)
θ [ἡ] ἀν(ὰ) (ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς)
(ἀρτάβας) ζ d/· χόρ(τω) (άρούρης) θ ἡ
- 22 ἀν(ὰ) (ἀρτάβας) ζ σὺν (ἐκατοσταῖς) (ἀρτάβας) ζ d/·
λί(νω) (άρούρης) θ ἡ ἀνά στιππι(ίου) δέσμ(ας) ιδ
σὺν (εἰκοστῇ)
- 23 δέσμ(ας) ιγ· και ἀπὸ ἐδάφ(ους) Μελαυθί(ου)
ἀπ' (άρουρῶν) κβ ἡ (άρουρῶν) α L ἡ ὦν λίν(ω)

(Front)

From the 29 ar., $1\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{16}$ ar. of hay at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ sol. per ar., $1\frac{1}{8}$ sol. And from the estate of 4 ar. of Panechotes, $1\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}\frac{1}{64}$ ar., of which $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{64}$ in wheat at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. In barley, $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{64}$ ar. at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $3\frac{1}{2}$ art. In flax, $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{64}$ ar. at a rate of 14 bundles of tow, including the twentieth, $6\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ bundles. Total, $10\frac{3}{4}$ art. wheat, $12\frac{1}{4}$ art. barley, $33\frac{1}{6}$ bundles of flax, $1\frac{1}{8}$ solidi as value of hay.

(5) Elias son of Maria from the same hamlet is paying himself also on what he farmed from the aforesaid estate of Nam[], from 2[.] ar., $1\frac{3}{4}$ ar.: in wheat, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$ ar. at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $4\frac{1}{2}$ art., 4 choinikes; [in barley, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$ ar.] at a rate of [7 art. of barley, including the hundredths], $4\frac{1}{2}$ art., 4 choinikes of barley; in flax, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}$ ar. at a rate of 14 bundles of tow, including [the twentieth, $8\frac{1}{4}$] bundles; and from the estate of Melanthios, out of $22\frac{1}{8}$ ar., $1\frac{1}{2}$ ar., of which $\frac{3}{4}$ ar. in flax at [17] bundles, including the twentieth, $13\frac{1}{2}$ bundles; and in fodder hay, $\frac{3}{4}$ ar. at a rate of 2 art., including the hundredths, [$1\frac{1}{2}$ art., 6 choin.]. And from the estate of 4 ar. of Panechotes, out of 4 ar., $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ ar., of which in wheat $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$, at a rate of [7 art., including the hundredths, $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ art.]; in barley, $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{32}$ ar. at a rate of 7 art. of barley, including the [hundredths], $3\frac{1}{2}$ [$\frac{1}{8}$ art.] of barley; [in flax, $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{32}$ ar.] at a rate of 14 bundles of tow, including the twentieth, $6\frac{1}{6}$ bundles. And from the estate of 8 ar. on the north of the hamlet of Netneou, but on the south of the dike in the marshlands, one aroura of barley at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $7\frac{1}{2}$ art. 8 choin.]

(14) And from the estate of Phanes, from $6\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ ar., $2\frac{1}{8}$ ar. at a rate of $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ sol. per aroura, $1\frac{1}{3}$ sol. Total, .. $\frac{1}{4}$ art. wheat, $17\frac{1}{2}$ art. 4 choin. of barley, 28 bundles, $1\frac{1}{3}$ sol. of money.

(16) The union of the farmers of the hamlet of Netneou are paying themselves also for what they farmed from the estate at ... on the north of the hamlet of Netneou but on the south of the dike, in the marshlands, [$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$] $\frac{1}{64}$ [ar.] of barley at a rate of 6 art., $3\frac{3}{4}$ art. 4 choin. of barley; and from the estate of Megal(), of the south parcel, [$1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$] $\frac{1}{16}$ ar. at a rate of $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ sol. per aroura, $1\frac{1}{8}$ sol.; total, $3\frac{3}{4}$ art., 6 choin. of barley, $1\frac{1}{8}$ sol. of money.

(Back)

(20) Atolas son of Paulos from the same hamlet pays for what he farmed in the estate of Nitechoche from the $20 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{16}$ arouras, $2 \frac{3}{4}$ arouras: of wheat, $\frac{3}{4} [\frac{1}{8}]$ aroura at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $7 \frac{1}{4}$ art. In hay, $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ aroura at a rate of 7 art., with the hundredths, $7 \frac{1}{4}$ art. In flax, $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ aroura at a rate of 14 bundles, including the twentieth, 13 bundles. And from the estate of Melanthios out of $22 \frac{1}{8}$ ar., $1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ ar., of which in flax, $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ ar., at a rate of 17 bundles, with the twentieth, $14 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ bundles. In fodder hay, $\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{16}$ ar. at a rate of 2 art. of barley, including the hundredths, $1 \frac{3}{4}$ art. 2 choin. And from the estate of Pekysios from 3 ar., 1 ar. in barley, at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $7 \frac{1}{2}$ art., 8 choin. And from the estate of Megal(), from the eastern parcel, out of $6 \frac{1}{4}$ ar., $3 \frac{1}{8}$ ar., of which 1 art. in barley at a rate of 7 art., with the hundredths, $7 \frac{1}{2}$ art. 8 choin. In flax, $1 \frac{1}{8}$ ar. at a rate of 14 bundles of tow, with the twentieth, $16 \frac{1}{2}$ bundles. In hay, 1 ar. at a rate of $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ solidus. And from the estate of Zenon, out of $37 \frac{1}{2}$ ar., 5 ar., of which $2 \frac{3}{4}$ ar. in barley at a rate of 6 art., with the hundredths, 18 art. 6 choin. In flax, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ ar. at a rate of 12 bundles of tow, with the twentieth, $27 \frac{1}{4}$ bundles. And from the field of Apollonios ... of the same estate of Zenon, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ ar. in flax, at a rate of 12 bundles of tow, with the [twentieth], $16 \frac{1}{4}$ bundles. Total, $7 \frac{1}{4}$ art. of wheat, $42 \frac{1}{2}$ art., 4 choin. of barley, $89 \frac{2}{3}$ bundles of tow, value of hay, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ sol.

(33) Apollos son of Germanos, surnamed Ptaxouar, from the village of Nesmin's, paying on behalf of what he farmed in the estate of Brickworkers (?), 5 ar., of which $2 \frac{1}{2}$ ar. in wheat at a rate of 7 art., including the hundredths, $19 \frac{1}{4}$ art. In hay, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ ar. at a rate of 7 art. of barley, including the hundredths, $19 \frac{1}{4}$ art., total $19 \frac{1}{4}$ art. of wheat, $19 \frac{1}{4}$ art. of barley.

Passim The Princeton editors through their text rendered a single sign, which resembles an alpha with a horizontal line projecting to the right, with a dot under the line, sometimes as (πυρού ἀρτάβαι) and sometimes as (ἀρτάβαι). It is clearly the same sign whether after wheat or after barley, and we have rendered it as the sign for artabas. The scribe uses σίτος for wheat, but he abbreviates it with the well-known sign for πυρός, a backward S-curve with a line through it. Cf. H. Cadell, *Cd'E* 48 (1973) 329-38.

1 The result of the calculation ($1 \frac{1}{8}$ sol.) ignores a remainder of $\frac{1}{128}$ sol.

2-3 The half artaba in the results is an approximation of $\frac{313}{640}$. For the ἑκατοσταί, normally a 10 percent charge, cf. 236.4n.

3 The amount is approximate, ignoring $\frac{23}{640}$, or less than $\frac{1}{32}$ of a bundle.

4 The total includes amounts on a previous page and thus cannot be verified.

6-7 The computations for wheat yield too high a result: the correct amount is $4 \frac{1}{4}$ art., $3 \frac{1}{4}$ ch. Since the four-choenix measure was in common use, the rounding of $3 \frac{1}{4}$ ch. to 4 ch. is not surprising, but the writer seems to have made a computation or copying error both for wheat and for barley, giving $\frac{1}{2}$ where $\frac{1}{4}$ was correct.

7-8 The total for flax is $\frac{3}{160}$ bundle under the computable amount. For the toponym Melanthiou, cf. Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 102.

8-9 $13 \frac{1}{2}$ bundles are $\frac{9}{80}$ over the correct amount.

9 The apparent levying of rent in barley rather than money for a hayfield is noteworthy; see also lines 24 and 35 (and cf. 21-22).

10-11 The wheat and barley rents are $\frac{1}{64}$ art. over the computable amount.

12 The sixth added to the 6 bundles seems superfluous, since 6 bundles comes to $\frac{9}{320}$ bundle over the computable amount.

13 For Netneou, cf. Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 119.

14 The fraction $\frac{21}{64}$ has been rounded to $\frac{1}{3}$ to get the answer.

15 If the wheat amounts as given are added up, they come to 8 art., 9 ch., which was perhaps rounded to $8 \frac{1}{4}$ art. (up one ch.); but the numeral before $\frac{1}{4}$ here looks more like zeta than eta. On the other hand, if one uses the correct $4 \frac{1}{4}$ in line 6, the total comes to one choinix short of 8 artabas, which also cannot be read. Barley is given as $17 \frac{1}{2}$ art., 4 ch., one choinix too high. The total for flax is $\frac{1}{12}$ higher than the true total of $27 \frac{11}{12}$. The cash amount is right. The phrase ἀργυρίου νομισμάτιον, however, is remarkable; ἀργύριον must mean "money" in general, since solidi were made of gold. Cf. line 19 also.

18 The amount in barley is approximated: 4 ch. represents $\frac{6}{64}$ art., which is a bit under 4 ch. There is no 10% extra charge on this payment. For the various localities starting with Μεγαλ(), see Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 101-02; cf. also below 245 verso, n.

19 This is an overcharge, since $\frac{7}{128}$ is less than half of $\frac{1}{8}$ sol.

21-22 These two calculations are wrong. $\frac{7}{8}$ ar. at 7 art. and a 10% surcharge comes to $6 \frac{59}{80}$, or $6 \frac{3}{4}$. One would have to suppose a little

less than a 20% surcharge to reach $7 \frac{1}{4}$, but we have no evidence other than the faulty arithmetic of these lines to point in the direction of such a rate, so we prefer to view this figure as a simple error.

22-23 The correct figure would be $\frac{11}{80}$, or about $\frac{1}{8}$, bundle less than 13.

23-24 Once again the farmer is overcharged. The correct amount is $14 \frac{161}{320}$, or almost exactly $14 \frac{1}{2}$.

24-25 Another rounding up: the 2 choinikes are actually $1 \frac{1}{2}$.

25-27 In these two calculations the arithmetic comes out exactly and the farmer pays the correct amount.

27-28 For once the rounding is down (from $\frac{43}{80}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$).

28-29 The arithmetic is exact.

29-30 An error in the farmer's favor by $1 \frac{1}{10}$ bundles. The rent is 27 bundles before the 5% surcharge, $28 \frac{7}{20}$ after.

30-31 Here, however, an error against the farmer. The correct answer is $15 \frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ less than is charged. The lacuna should have contained either a location (like the $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in 26) or a direction (like 12).

32 The totals for wheat and the value of hay are correct. That for barley is correct assuming that the amount in lines 21-22 paid as rent on land in hay is paid in barley (the cereal is not indicated in the text, cf. line 9), as is stated to be the case in line 35 (with the same amount per aroura). That for bundles of flax comes to $87 \frac{5}{8}$, or short by $2 \frac{1}{24}$ of that stated. It does not seem likely that the missing amount occurred in the small lacuna in line 30, but it is conceivable.

33 Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 118, lists a village $\text{Νεσμ\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma}$; we do not know if Nesminis here is identical with it.

239. Account of Wine

Inv. 143
Pl. 48

7.6 x 7.3 cm.

IV
Phna (Oxy.)

Back blank

This papyrus⁷⁷ contains an account of the vintage of wine from the Oxyrhynchite *chorion* Phna, previously known as an *epoikion* in the sixth-seventh centuries (Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 215). In contents it resembles *P.Oxy.* XIV 1735, in which the yield is also listed by vat. Here two entries for yield, totalling 440 keramia, are followed by three small entries apparently representing expenditures.

ρύσις χωρίου Φνᾶ

4 α' λην(οῦ) μερίδ(ος) Ἀχιλλᾶ κ(εράμια) σογ'
 β' λην(οῦ) μερίδ(ος) Κοριτηλ(ίου) κ(εράμια) ρξζ
 [...]λο() Ὥρου κ(εράμια) γ
 ἀπαγγισμ(οῦ) σπαθ(ίων) ᾱ κ(εράμια) ε
 καθαρίω σπαθ(ίου) ᾱ κ(εράμια) β

Yield from the locality of Phna:

1st vat: from the meris of Achilles, 273 keramia.

2nd vat: from the meris of Cornelius, 167 keramia.

[...] of Horos, 3 keramia.

For decanting of 3 spathia, 5 keramia.

To the capsarius, for 1 spathion, 2 keramia.

2 Knidion would also be possible, but one would expect κν in that event to avoid confusion. On the sense of meris as an accounting unit, see Gascou, *Les grandes domaines* 40-47.

⁷⁷We have benefited from a preliminary edition of this text by Henry J. Watkin in Bagnall's papyrology class in 1978.

4 There is a diagonal stroke, apparently meaningless, over the rho of "Ῥου.

5 ἀπαγγισμός is apparently a new word, formed on analogy with the well-attested καταγγισμός, bottling. It seems likely that it means pouring out, or decanting.

6 *Capsarius* is a term for a personal attendant; cf. *ZPE* 54 (1984) 98-99 for a discussion. Cf. also Lukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics*, 70-72.

240. Business Letter

Inv. 474
Pl. 49

17.5 x 27.5 cm.

IV/V
Provenance unknown

The writing on the front side (transcribed here) runs across the fibers; then the sheet was flipped over and the letter was continued (with the lines written with the fibers) on the back; that part is very poorly preserved and not transcribed here.

Despite its fragmentary character, this letter has considerable interest for the rare words it includes. The writer, addressing a superior of relatively high rank (lines 1, 16), seems principally concerned with one or more ἐργαστήρια, workshops. A variety of objects mentioned seems to be part of the furnishings of the workshop(s): fore-ends of poles, crossbeams, weights, pots, a cup.

4

] δεσπότη
] traces ± 7 [traces ± 5] σουουκα
]ως traces ± 5 [..]υρεα
]ου νο(μισμάτια) γL" οτ[..]θοικιεν
] εμου νο(μισμάτια) γL" και αναεαν

-] ἔστιν [...] το.σηνας καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
]κιν[...]του φρότισεν ἐμοῦ τοῦ
 8]ωσας [...] ἐργαστήριόν μου Κύρω τῷ
]. .στ. .ιστικόν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα
][τὸ μέλλακά μου] ἔβαλλεν ἔσω
 ?ἐμ]βρύμια καὶ στρωτήρες καὶ μωνα
 12 κ]αὶ σήκωμα καὶ σφ[υ]ρά καὶ κοίθρας
]. καὶ στακτὴν καὶ κεντροφάνια παυ-
] ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ οἰκοῦσιν ἔσω τότε
]ς δύο // μ(υριάδες) ρ" καὶ τὸ τῶν ποτήρων //
 κ(εράτια) α S//
 16 ἦ] σὴ λαμπρότης ὅτι ἀπόλεσεν. ἔχω
 ἐμ]ισθωσάμην τὸ ἐργ[α]στήριον παρὰ τῆς ε-
]ν κατὰ τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν [
].ν// ἦδε ἐσκόπον ὅτι τῆ αὐτῆ σ[
 20] τῶν εἰδικῶν ἐνοικολόγουν σου οἱ π[
] ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ οὐδὲς ἀποστατο[
].. καθὼς ἐ` σ` κοποῦμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν [
].ει ἀίσθανόμεθα ἐργαστήριον πλη[
 24]ν

5 αναεαν: ε ex corr. 7 φρόντισον 9 ἐπεὶ, πρᾶγμα
 10 τόν 11 στρωτήρας 12 χύτρας 14 ἐργαστηριω, σ ex corr.
 16 ἀπώλεσεν 19 ἐσκόπουν 20 ἰδικῶν, ἐνφικολόγουν 21 οὐδεὶς
 23 at start ι of εἰ written over α; read αίσθανόμεθα

8 Perhaps we should restore μισθ]ώσας [τὸ] ἐργαστήριόν μου.

9 πιστικόν is possible, but we cannot arrive at a satisfactory reading of what precedes so as to be certain that it can make syntactic sense. The letter after tau could also be alpha or eta.

10 μέλλαξ means "youth."

11 For ἐμβρύμια, "pillows," (suggested by Hagedorn) cf. *ZPE* 55 (1984) 154 and G. Husson, *ZPE* 63 (1988) 331-40. στρωτήρες are crossbeams.

12 σήκωμα (weight) and χύτρας (pots) are appropriate to the context, but σφυρά, ankles, are surprising. Perhaps the orthographic interchange of σπυρίδιον and σφυρίδιον has led to the use of σφυρόν where σπυρίς, basket, was meant.

13 στακτὴ is oil of myrrh; for κεντροφάνια cf. Preisigke's entry in *WB* I 786 for κεντροφω(), "Sinn unklar," cited from *SPP* X [not XX as

WB] 251a.8 (VIIp; editor's VIp must be wrong, since this dates from the Persian period).

15 ποτήρ is a drinking cup.

241. Order for Payment

Inv. 427a

8.3 x 11.7 cm.

432/433

Pl. 50

Oxyrhynchite

Back blank

The interest of this piece, in its present state, is mainly the Oxyrhynchite era year. Not much else can be said except that the payment or delivery (we cannot tell if in money or in kind valued in money) was for new plantings. The first three lines have been lost since transcription and before the photograph was taken.

4 θέων [
 παρασχοῦ .[
 εἰς τὰ νεόφ[υτα
 ηρ() γ[
 χρυσοῦ νομισματι[
 (ἔτους) ρθ ση Τῦβι [

1 We do not find a Theon in any of the similar short orders for payment dated by Oxyrhynchite era years in the decade on either side of this one, but the name is of course common.

6 The only other attestation of year 109-78 so far is *P.Rein.* II 105.4, cf. *CSBE* 40. Tybi is 27.xii.432-25.i.433.

242. Letter

Inv. 101
Pl. 51

30.4 x 12.2 cm.

V
Arsinoite

Back blank

This difficult fifth-century letter mentions Karanis, a rare attestation of the continued existence of Karanis in this period. For the one dated fifth-century text from Karanis, a Copenhagen papyrus of 439 concerning water rights there (now *P.Haun.* III 58), see D. Bonneau, "Un règlement de l'usage de l'eau au V^e siècle de notre ère," *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* II (Cairo 1979) 3-23. Our text does not communicate much about the state of the village except its continued existence.

Because of the large number of phonetic and other aberrant spellings, we offer a full normalized text rather than an apparatus.⁷⁸ These spellings at first reading conceal a writer who had a notable vocabulary with which to express his lively message.

π(αρά)

- κὲ πρίν με γράψε οὐκ ἀγνοεῖσαι εἰ θαυμασιότης ὅς ὄτι
οὐκ ἤ[τ]ήθη ἀπὸ Καρανίδος πρὸς τὸ οἰκίσε
αὐτὸν τὴν κόμιν οὔτε μὴν .[. .].εσε τῷ Βασηλῆ κὲ γ[ὰ]ρ
ἐ[ν τῇ ἐχ]θὲς ρίφθῃς μοι η.[.].[
4 παρὰ τῷ κεφαλεωτῆ πρὸς μεθοδῖαν φανεροῦ κέρματος
τοῦ[υ]τον ζητήσ[ας] μεθο[δεύσαι] περιερό `ν`-
χασεν μοι κὲ ἐβουλ[ήθη] μοι ἐπελθῶν
δ. . τὸν ἐρ[ί]ν[α]ρχο[ν] καὶ τὸν ἄλλο `ν`
λιτουργῶ[ν] τοῦτον ἐδυνίθην μεθοδεύσε τ[ο]ῦ
κυδαδιτινος ἔνεκεν. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκίνος
συναξας αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαφέρροντας κάθισμα ἐποίησεν το
εἰρινάρχῳ τοῦτον μέλον
8 ἀελὴν πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο γ[.]ιγνομένου τοῦ λυποῦ μίτε
μερισμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι ἀπόκρη-
σιω αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν· κὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σήμερον οὔτ' εἰρινάρχος
οὔτε ἄλλος τις εἶλθε πρὸς με δι' ὃ ἐπά-

⁷⁸We have had the use of a preliminary transcription by Ralph Keen made in a papyrology class directed by Bagnall.

θαμεν τῆ ἐχθὲς ἀλλὰ ἀπλος οὔτο καθ[ιζ]όμεθα μιδὲν
 πόλεμον ποιο[ῦ]ντες.

Normalized Text

- π(αρά)
 καὶ πρίν με γράψαι οὐκ ἀγνοήσει ἢ <σῆ> θαυμασιότης
 ὡς ὅτι οὐκ ἦ[τ]ήθη ἀπὸ Καρανίδος πρὸς τὸ οἰκίσαι
 αὐτὸν τὴν κώμην οὔτε μὴν [...].εσαι τῷ Βασιλεῖ. καὶ γ[ὰρ]
 4 ἐ[ν] τῆ ἐχθὲς ῥήθεις μοι ἡ [.]
 παρὰ τῷ κεφαλαιωτῆ πρὸς μεθοδίαν φανεροῦ κέρματος
 το[ῦ]τον ζητήσ[ας] μεθο[δεύσαι] περιερρύ-
 χασεν μοι καὶ ἐβουλήθη μοι ἐπελθεῖν
 . . δ . . τὸν εἰρ[ήν]αρχο[ν] καὶ τὸν ἄλλο ἄν-
 8 λειτουργ[ὸν] τοῦτον ἐδυνήθη μεθοδεῦσαι τ[ο]ῦ
 κυδαδιτινος ἔνεκεν. ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος
 συνάξας αὐτοῦ τοὺς διαφέροντας κάθισμα ἐποίησεν τῷ
 εἰρηναρχῷ τοῦτον μέλλων
 ἀνελεῖν πρὸς τὸ τούτου γ[.]ιγνομένου τοῦ λοιποῦ μήτε
 μερισμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι ἀπόκρι-
 σιν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῆ σήμερον οὐτ'
 εἰρηναρχος οὔτε ἄλλος τις ἦλθε πρὸς με δι' ὃ ἐπά-
 8 θομεν τῆ ἐχθὲς ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς οὔτω καθ[ιζ]όμεθα μηδὲν
 πόλεμον ποιο[ῦ]ντες.

Even before my writing, your wondrousness will not be unaware that there was no request from Karanis for the purpose of his settling the village, nor indeed ... to Basilios. For yesterday, having been cast out . . . to the kephalaites for collecting a certain sum of money, seeking to go after him, he mocked me and wished to attack me ... I was able to go after the eirenarch and the other liturgist, on account of the . . . The very same man, gathering the members of his household, laid siege to the eirenarch, intending to kill him so that if this occurred they would from then on pay neither merismos nor any other payment. For today neither an eirenarch nor anyone else has come to me because of what we experienced yesterday, but so we just sit here not making war at all.

4 For φανερός meaning τις, cf. Preisigke, *WB* s.v. 3. For περιπρογιάζω, to mock or ridicule, LSJ cites Scholion to Aristophanes, *Eq.* 694. A search of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae turned up no other attestation. The construction seems to be an anacolouthon caused by the writer's strong emotion.

6 For αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος see R. Janko, *CQ* 35 (1985) 20-30, who points out (28) that the idiom has a strongly colloquial flavor. He notes (26) that uses with the article, as here, are rare and normally proleptic. Here, however, it seems to refer to the man mentioned in the previous sentence who tried to attack the writer.

7 We have not found a parallel for this use of the rather rare word κάθισμα, but the verb καθίζω, both active and middle, often means to take a seat or place; we suppose that the noun embodies this meaning here, in the sense of taking up a position or camping outside the house of the eirenarch. For eirenarchs, see *P. Turner* 42 introd.; Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 23-24; these were presumably village officials.

10 The idiom ἀπλῶς οὕτω with the force of diminishing something is well known; cf. LSJ s.v. οὕτως IV. It is common in argumentative authors like philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Iamblichus, Philoponus, Porphyry, Simplicius), rhetorical writers (Demosthenes, Libanius, Aelius Aristides, Dio Chrysostom), and theologians (Clement, Eustathius, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil), but hardly found at all elsewhere.

243. Acknowledgement of Loan of Money

Inv. 456
Pl. 52

9.0 x 13.3 cm.

V/VI
Provenance unknown

Back blank

This is the end of a receipt for 30(+) solidi as a loan to sitologoi; it has been crossed out, indicating repayment. What is preserved is only part of the recapitulation, the main body of terms being entirely lost.

The most striking feature of the text is the fact that the borrowers are sitologoi. The latest appearance of these officials listed by Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* 47, is 368 (in *SB XIV* 11972); but he omits not only *P.Lips.* 85, of 372 or 373, but *PSI XIII* 1342 and *P.Flor.* I 78, which

are certainly fifth century and probably from after the middle of that century.⁷⁹ There is also a fragmentary mention of a sitologos in the undated *SB I 4929* ("Byzantine"). Palaeographically, our papyrus can hardly be earlier than the middle of the fifth century. The sitologoi as lenders appear in *P.Cair.Isid.* 95; here they are borrowers. We suppose they may have found themselves short of cash to remit the taxes to the central authorities; otherwise their official title would be pointless.

The writing is across the fibers.

 'Ωριγένους καὶ Κ.[
 Πασιίου ζετηρ[
 4 'Ωρίτος σιτολόγοι οἱ [. προγεγραμ-]
 μένοι ὀφίλομεν καὶ χρεωστούμεν --- νο-]
 μισμάτια τριάκον[τα ᾶ]
 καὶ ἀποδώσομεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης]
 8 καθὼς καὶ ἀνωτέρῳ [(e.g.) γέγραπται]
 ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐρήλ[ιος
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [

1 At the end, *λω* is also possible.

1-3 We suppose that we have the patronymic of one sitologos, the start of the name and the patronymic (*Paesios*) of a second, along with some occupational designation (see below), and the patronymic of a third. Whether there were more names in the missing part, we cannot say; a numeral will have stood in line 3. What *ζετηρ* represents, is hard to say. The third letter could also be gamma or upsilon, but none of these combinations makes a recognizable word. This may be a misspelling of *ζετάριος* = *διατάριος*, cf. *BL V 109* on *SB VI 9152*, but we cannot feel any confidence in this suggestion.

3 A genitive *'Ωρίτους* occurs in *BGU XI 2119.8*, a doubtful dative *'Ωρίτῃ* in *P.Vindob.Tandem 4.12*. Nominative or genitive here?

⁷⁹Despite the assertions of M. Manfredi (introd. to *PSI XIII 1342 [BL 3.56]*) and F. Zucker (*BL 4.91*) that these texts belong to the fourth century, and to its first half, both handwriting and currency indicate otherwise, as C. Préaux (*BL 4.91*) argued; cf. also Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 11. Myriads of talents certainly cannot antedate 350, and *χμγ ρθ* is hardly to be expected before the middle of the fifth century.

4 Restore σοί or ὑμῶν, depending on whether the unknown lender(s) were singular or plural.

7-8 The succession of phrases seems at first sight redundant, but probably the καθὼς καὶ ἀνωτέρω [γέγραπται (δεδήλωται, εἴρηται) phrase refers only to the modality of repayment, while the ὡς πρόκειται phrase refers to the entire body of the main part of the agreement above.

244. Sale of Land

Inv. 553 verso
Pl. 53

30.5 x 51.0 cm.

VI
Arsinoe

Published: E.R. Hardy, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1944) 127-40 (SB VI 9525)

This document, of which only the lower half is preserved, is written across the fibers, in rotulus fashion, on the other side of the papyrus which contains a fragment of the Abbot Isaias (192). It contains the guarantees and witnesses' signatures to a sale of land; for Byzantine sales of land see in general West-Johnson, *Byzantine Egypt* 74-79 (and Montevicchi, *La papirologia* 210 for a supplementary list of documents).

The phraseology of this papyrus is distinctive in the security given by the seller to the buyer for the full implementation of the contract of sale even after any possible fines and damages. A. Berger, *JJurPap* 1 (1946) 33-40 comments in detail on the legal clauses and in particular the penalty clauses; cf. also his *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig 1911) 50 n.1, especially *P.Paris* 21 bis.28-29. Some of Berger's remarks, however, are made otiose by the removal of incorrect readings by Hardy on which Berger commented.

We have not noted the numerous (often minor) divergences from Hardy's text.

- καὶ ἀ[ύ]τὰ πάντα διπλᾶ πρὸς τῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τούτων
 πάντων καταβολὴν πάλιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ ἀσφάλευστον
 εἶναι τήνδε τὴν [κ]αταγρ[α]φήν ἀπλήν γραφείσαν
 4 καὶ ὑπέθετο ὁ πεπρακὸς Φοιβάμμων τῷ πριαμένῳ
 Παύλῳ εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ προγεγρ[αμ]μένα ἅσαστα ἑαυτοῦ
 τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς
 8 ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης
 καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁ ἀποδόμενος Φοιβάμμ(ων)
 ὑπὸ τῷ πριαμένῳ Παύλῳ εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν
 προγεγραμμ(ένων)
 κατὰ πρόσωπον ὠμολόγησα. (2 H.) + Αὐρήλιος
 Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Πουσι μη-
 τρὸς Κυρᾶς ὁ προκείμενος πέπρακα τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μου
 ἐν πεδίῳ κόμης
 12 Ψυνήρεως ἐν τόπῳ κλήρου καλουμένου Πιᾶ Ἀντρίου
 ἀρούρας τέσσαρες πλέων
 ἐλάτων καὶ ἐπληρόθην τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμὴν χρυσοῦ
 νομισμάτια
 εἴκοσι τέσερα πλήρης δοθ(έν)τα μου εἰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ
 παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἐξῆς ὑπο-
 γραφόντων μαρτύρων καὶ ἀναγνοῦς καὶ υπογράψας χειρὶ
 ἐμῇ ἀπέλυσα.
 16 (3 H.) Φλ(άουιος) Ἄπα Ὀλ υἱὸς Νείλου ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως μαρτυροῦ τῆδε <τῆ> πράσι,
 παρήμ <ην> δὲ
 καὶ τῆ ἴδουσι τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅς πρόκειται. (4 H.) +
 Φοιβάμμων ἀναγνοστής ἀγίας καθολικῆς
 ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς
 εὐλαβοῦς μηνίμης Πουσι μαρτυροῦ
 τῆδε τῆ πράσι, παρήμην δὲ καὶ τῆ ἴδουσι τοῦ χρυσοῦ
 ὅς πρόκειται. (5 H.) + Αὐρήλιος
 20 Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς Ἀβρααμίου τελωνάρχης ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως μαρτυροῦ τῆδε τῆ
 πράσι, παρήμην δὲ καὶ τῆ ἴδουσι τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅς
 πρόκειται. + (6 H.) Αὐρήλιος Φοιβάμμων

- υἱὸς τοῦ μακαροῦ <ί>ου
 Μητῆ πρεσβυτέρου ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως
 μαρτυρῶ τῆδε τῆ πράσι καὶ τῆ δόσι τοῦ χρυσοῦ
 ὡς πρόκειται. (7 H.) + Λεόντιος διάκονος τῆς
 24 υἱὸς Πέτρου μαρτυρῶ τῆδε τῆ πράσι, παρήμην δὲ καὶ
 τῆ δόσι τοῦ χρυσοῦ τῆς τιμῆς ὅς πρόκειται +
 7 cm. vacat

(1 H.) di emu Apa Ol Eripaniu δι' ἔμο(ῦ) Ἄπα Ὀλ

1 τό 2 ἀσάλευτον 4 πεπρακώς; ὑπεθετο, Φοιβάμμων rap.
 6 ὑπαρχοντα rap. 9 τοῦ πριαμένου Παύλου; ὑπο rap. 10 Φοιβάμμων
 11 κώμης; ὑπαρχουσας rap. 12 Ψινύρεως, τόπω, τέσσαρας
 13 ἐλάττων, ἐπληρώθην; ὑπερ rap. 14 τέσσαρα πλήρη, μοι;
 ὑπο- rap. 15 γραφόντων μαρτύρων; ἀναγνους, 2nd alpha corrected?
 ὑπογραφας rap. 16 Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως μαρτυρῶ, πράσει
 17 δόσει, ὡς πρόκειται, ἀναγνωστῆς; ending of πρόκίτε written
 twice? 18 ἐκκλησίας, Ἀρσινοειτῶν, μαρτυρῶ; υἱος rap.
 19 πράσει, δόσει, ὡς 20 ἀμ' μωνιος, υἱος rap. 21 πράσει, δόσει,
 ὡς, Φοιβάμμων 22 Ἀρσινοειτῶν, πράσει, δόσει 23 πρόκειται,
 αρσινοειτων rap. 24 πράσει, δόσει, ὡς; υἱος rap.

... and all these in two copies toward the renewed force and unshakeability of this deed, which is written in one copy, even after the payment of all of these (sums); and Phoibammon, the seller, has hypothecated to the buyer Paulos, for all of the above-written terms, all of his own present and future property, specifically and generally, on account of pledge and by right of mortgage just as from a legal judgment, and in addition I, the seller Phoibammon, being questioned by the buyer Paulos to my face with respect to each of the above-written terms have agreed.

(2 H.) I, Aurelius Phoibammon, son of Pousi and Kyra, the aforesaid, have sold the four arouras, more or less, which belong to me in the field of the village of Psinyris, in the locality of the kleros called Pia Antriou, and I have received in full the price for them, twenty-four solidi of gold, paid to me in full into my hands in the presence of the witnesses who subscribe below, and having read and subscribed with my hand I have released this.

(3 H.) I, Fl. Apa Hol, son of Neilos, from the city of the Arsinoites, witness to this sale, and I was present also at the delivery of the gold as aforesaid.

(4 H.) I, Phoibammon, reader of the holy catholic church of the city of the Arsinoites, son of Pousi of revered memory, witness to this sale, and I was present also at the delivery of the gold as aforesaid.

(5 H.) I, Aurelius Ammonios son of Abraham, customs officer from the city of the Arsinoites, witness to this sale, and I was present also at the delivery of the gold as aforesaid.

(6 H.) I, Aurelius Phoibammon son of the blessed Menas, priest from the city of the Arsinoites, witness to this sale and to the delivery of the gold as aforesaid.

(7 H.) I, Leontios, deacon of the catholic church of the city of the Arsinoites, son of Petros, witness to this sale, and I was present also at the delivery of the gold for the price as aforesaid.

Through me, Apa Hol son of Epiphanius. Through me, Apa Hol.

1 For καὶ αὐτὰ πάντα διπλᾶ, see A. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig 1911) 28 n.2, citing in particular *SB* I 4661.14.

3 In Byzantine papyri καταγραφή means simply "contract of sale," cf. *P.Paris* 21 bis.6; for the term in Roman papyri, cf. G. Husson in *CRIPPEL* 8 (1986) 78-79, with relevant literature.

6-7 For the dicola in these lines cf. H. Zilliacus, *Zur Abundanz der spätgriechischen Gebrauchssprache* (Soc.Scient.Fenn., Comm.Hum.Litt. 41.2, Helsinki 1967) 48 ff.

8 For ἐπὶ τούτοις cf. A. Berger, *JJurPap* 1 (1946) 35.

9 Paulos is *Pros.Ars.* I 4273.

10 For κατὰ πρόσωπον see Taubenschlag, *Law*² 397; a recently published example is *SB* XVI 12516.2-3 (with εἰς πρόσωπον). Aurelius Phoibammon s. of Pousi and Kyra is *Pros.Ars.* I 1143; his mother, 3130; his father, 4622.

12 Perhaps read Πια Ἀνδρέου (field of Andreas). For Psinyris cf. *P.Tebt.* II App. II, sec. 5, 410-11. For kleros-names see F. Zucker, *Studien Oertel* (Bonn 1964) 101-06.

12-13 For πλέων ἐλάττων see H.H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden* (Diss. Köln 1966), passim.

14 The price amounts to 6 solidi per aroura.

14-15 There are five witnesses to the contract, more than is usual, cf. H.J. Wolff, *RIDA* 3 ser. 8 (1961) 126 ff.; but examples of five or more witnesses turn up also in the Syene papyri of *P.Lond.* V and *P.Monac.* I.

15 See Berger, *JJurPap* 1 (1946) 37 for a discussion of ἀπέλυσος; cf. also M. Amelotti and G. Costamagna, *Alle origini del notariato italiano* (Rome 1975) 35 f.

16 Fl. Apa Hol s. of Neilos is *Pros.Ars.* I 5421, his father, 3926 (but with the father's name given according to ed.pr.'s incorrect Νέχο).

17 Phoibammon is *Pros.Ars.* I 5525. The article is missing before ἀγίας, presumably through haplography. For the meaning of καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία cf. Bagnall, *Scritti in onore di O. Montevicchi* (Bologna 1981) 13 and *P.Stras.* 470-500 introd., pp.205-06.

18 This Pousi is *Pros.Ars.* I 4623. For εὐλαβής see J. O'Callaghan, *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V* (Barcelona 1963) 44 and O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyriurkunden* (Diss. Giessen 1930) 13-14; it is usually associated with members of the clergy, and our reader's father may thus have held a church office as his son does.

20 For the persons cf. *Pros.Ars.* I 953 and 83. For the telonarches, a customs officer, cf. *P.Lond.* V 1754.1, where the word was apparently not recognized by the editor (resolve τελωνχυχ to τελων(άρ)χ(α)).

21-22 For the persons cf. *Pros.Ars.* I 1144 and 3508. In all likelihood πρεσβυτέρου is a mistake for the nominative: the office was probably that of Phoibammon, not the deceased Menas.

23-24 For the persons cf. *Pros.Ars.* I 3231, 4436.

25 For the notary, see Diethart-Worp, *ByzNot* 34 no.1.2.1-4, where the reading in the ed.pr. of this papyrus has already been corrected. There is no instance of the verb "ptusso" or πτύσσω in such subscriptions, now that all supposed attestations have been corrected (Diethart-Worp *ByzNot* 36 no.5.2.1,2). Between the "Latin" and Greek parts of the notarial subscription one finds the writer's personal paraph (cf. on this J.M. Diethart, *P.Rainer Cent.* pp.435 ff.), while after the Greek part another sign (tachygraphy?) has been added.

245. Loan of Money with Repayment in Kind

Inv. 51
Pl. 54

7.1 x 17.4 cm.

VI
Oxyrhynchos

For a general discussion of this type of document, see the article of Bagnall cited in the note to line 8. See also H. Harrauer in *Misc.Pap.* 109-26, *P.Hamb.* III 221 and *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 134 for more recent lists of examples.

traces

- 4 ὀ[μολο]γῶ ἐσχηκέναι [πα]ρά σοῦ
 ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη [χ]ρυσοῦ
 νομισμ(άτια) δέκα τρίτον ἰδι(ωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ)
 γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) ι γ// ἰδ(ωτικῶ)
 [ζ]υγ(ῶ) καὶ
 ταῦτα ὁμολογῶ παρασχ(εῖν) σοι
 ἐν οἴκῳ οὕτως· ἑπτὰ μὲν
 8 νομισμ(άτια) πρὸ καρ[ο]ῦ τρυγ(ῆς)
 κατὰ ἑκατὸν σηκῶμ(ατα) πενταξ(εστιαῖα)
 τοῦ ἐνὸς νομισμ(ατίου), τ[ὰ δὲ]
 ἄλλα τρία τρίτον κ[ατὰ τὴν]
 12 φαισσομ(ένην) τιμὴν [ἐν τῇ]
 τρύγῃ τοῦ Μεσορῆ [μηνός]
 τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτ[ης]
 16 ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἴνου ρύσεως τῆ[ς]
 δεκάτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως) ἀνυπερθ(έτως)
 σοῦ παρέχοντος τὰ
 κοῦφα ἐνεχόμενος καὶ
 εἰς τὴν καλλοιῆν τοῦ
 20 οἴνου μέχρι τέλ(ους) τοῦ Τῦβι
 μηνός, δώσω δὲ καὶ
 ὑπὲρ ἀναλώμ(ατος) τῆς τρύγῃ[ς]
 traces

Verso:

]νου ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) [Μ]εγάλ(ης) Ταρουθίνου χρ(υσοῦ)
 νο(μισματίων) ι γ// ἰδ(ωτικῶ) ζ[υγ(ῶ)]

7 ἑπτὰ superlined 10 ἐνὸς superlined 11 τρία superlined

- - - I acknowledge that I have received from you now immediately ten and a third solidi of gold by your private weight standard, total, 10 1/3

sol. of gold by private weight standard, and I acknowledge that I will repay these to you in your house as follows: seven solidi before the vintage at the rate of a hundred five-sextarius sekomata per one solidus, the other three and a third at the then known price at the vintage of Mesore of the present ninth indiction, from wine of the pressing of the tenth indiction without delay, with you furnishing the empty containers and me being responsible for the quality of wine until the end of Tybi; I will pay also on behalf of the expense of the harvest...

Verso: ... from the hamlet of Megale of Tarouthinas, 10 1/3 sol. of gold, by private weight standard.

1-2 For the formula, cf. e.g. *P.Mich.* XV 743.11, 748.6.

8 On loans of money to be repaid in kind, see Bagnall in *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85-96 (cf. the correction of *SB* VI 9280 by Worp in *ZPE* 58 [1985] 87, where τρίτου has been omitted after 'line 14'). The price here seems low, i.e. the interest high: see Johnson-West, *Byzantine Egypt* 178 ff., especially 179 where prices of 1 solidus for 33 1/3 and 1 solidus for 45 sekomata are cited.

18 For guarantees of quality of wine, cf. H. Harrauer in *Misc.Pap.* 125.

20 For Tybi as a terminus, cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 283, note to lines 24-25.

Verso On the place, see Pruneti, *Centri abitati* 199; *P.Mich.* XV 743.9-10n. It is written in full in *P.Oxy.* I 135, whence the resolution here and elsewhere. Why the feminine μεγάλη, we do not know, since it cannot modify either ἐποίκιον or Ταρουθίνας; this is the only toponym in Pruneti with either μεγάλη or μικρά followed by a clearly masculine (or neuter) form.

246. Account of Money Taxes

Inv. 108a recto
Pl. 55

9.2 x 13.5 cm.

VI
Oxyrhynchos

The verso contains 5 lines of an account or list.

The recto makes it clear that this papyrus is connected to the archives of the Apions in Oxyrhynchos. For these archives see E.R. Hardy, *Large Estates* and Gascou, "Grands domaines." Our papyrus is something of a puzzle. The beginning suggests a list like *P.Oxy. XVI 2027*, but after one line (3) that fits this beginning, it launches into what sounds like the beginning of an invocation, only to switch then into the dative (perhaps error for genitive) for a full mention of someone (but with name of father omitted) as if in a contract, then a second person (introduced with σοί) in the dative. And the text seems complete at bottom. Can it have been a writing exercise of some kind?

 // |
 + λόγ(ος) ὑποδοχ(ῆς) χρυσικῶν ς ἰνδ(ικτίουος) ο(ὔτως)·
 4 δ(ιὰ) Παπχωρε νο(μισμάτια) α π(αρά) ε L d//
 + ἐξ ὀνό(ματος) τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπό(του)
 Αὐρηλίω Ἄπα Νακείω υἱῷ
 τοῦ μακαρίου ἀπὸ τῆς
 8 Ὀξυρυγχι(τῶν) πόλεως σοι
 Σερήνου νομικαρίω
 τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Ἀπίω-
 νος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 πόλεως ἐξ ὀνό(ματος) δ(ιὰ) Φίβ

2 ὑποδοχ, ἰνδ// pap. 3 L ex d 5 ὕω pap. 7 πολεως' pap.
 8 Σερήνω 10 νος' pap.

Account of receipt of taxes in gold for the 6th indiction, as follows:

Through Papchore 1 solidus minus 5 1/2 1/4 (keratia)

From the account of the lord and master.

To Aurelius Apa Nakios son of the blessed [blank] from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to you, Serenus, nomikarios of the glorious house of Apion from the same city; from the account through Phib.

3 We find the same name spelled Παπχωλε in *P.Oxy. XVI 2056.13* (early VIIp).

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1870

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

REPORT OF THE PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

FOR THE YEAR 1870

BY

JOHN W. GIBBS

AND

WILLIAM G. BAKER

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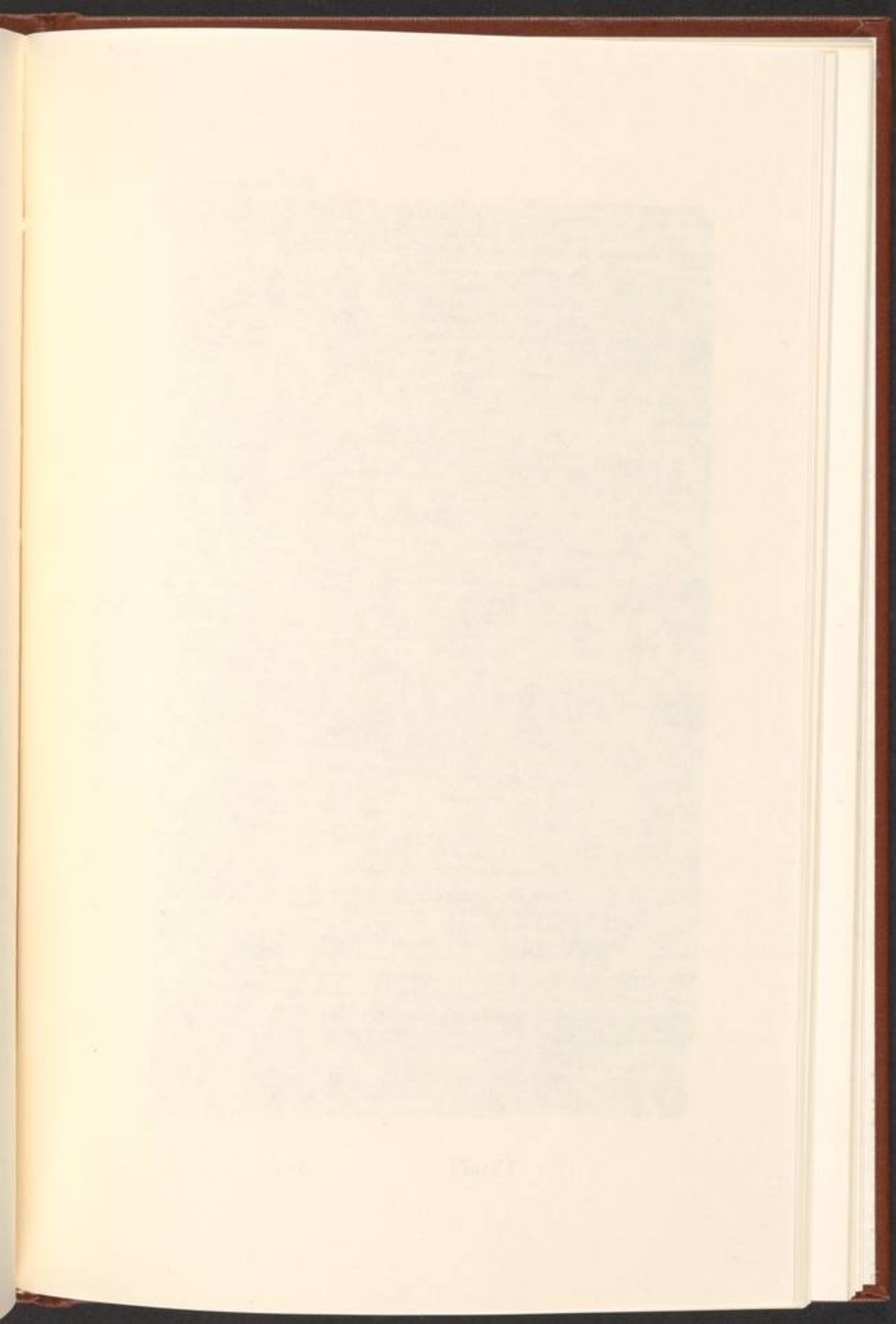
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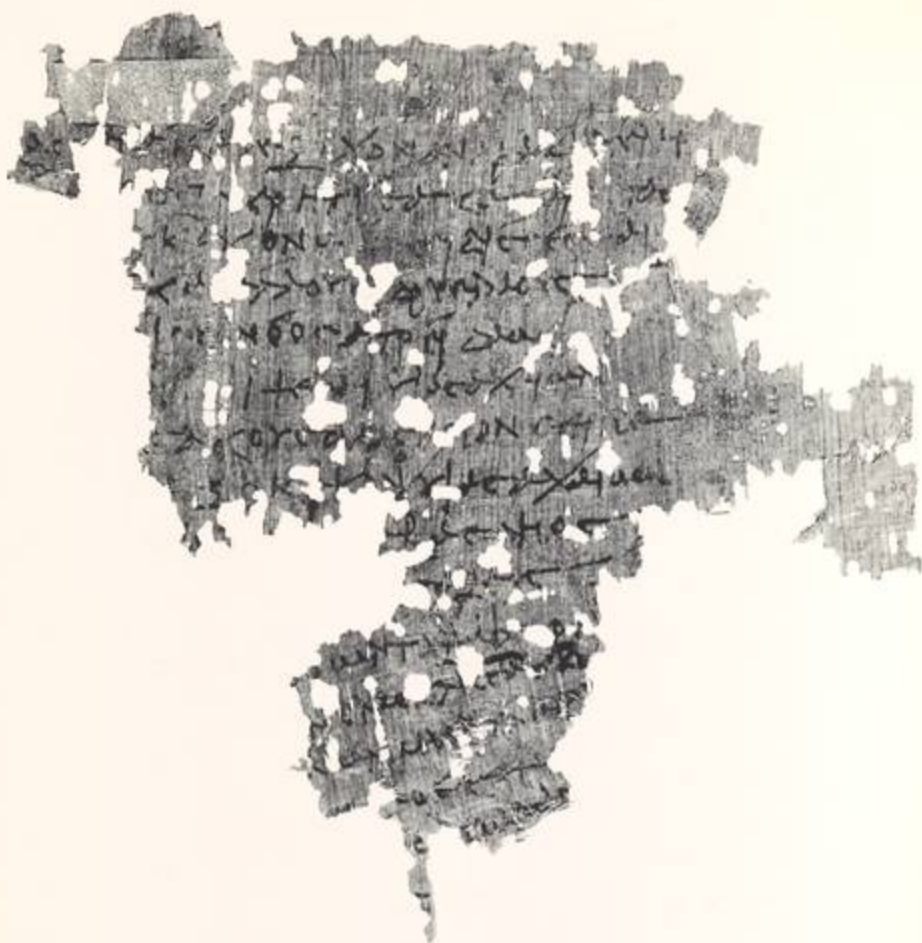
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MENT
ΠΙΘΕΤΩ
ΑΡΤΟΥ
ΑΓΙΝΩΝ
ΠΡΩΤΟΙ
ΠΡΟΙΡΑ
ΙΕΧΤΕ
ΠΡΟΙΡΑ
ΠΡΟΙΡΑ
ΠΟΝΟΡ
ΛΕΝΤΟΙ
ΣΕΝΕΣ
ΑΧΟΛΗΝ
ΣΙΝΥΝΒ
ΕΝΥΕΥΒ
ΙΣΕΝΟ
ΠΟΥΤΟΝ
ΠΟΥΤΟΝ
ΠΟΥΤΟΝ
ΣΙΝΕΤΤ



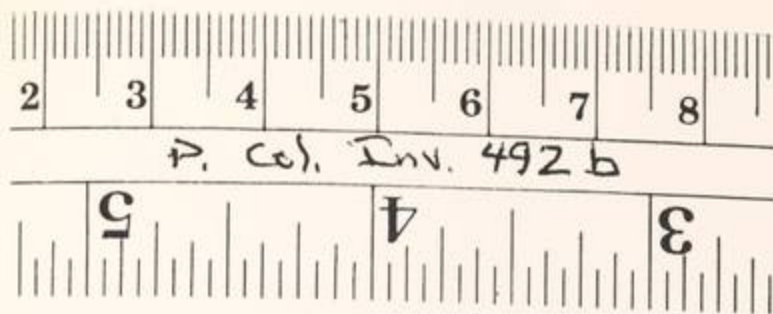


195

Plate 4







ΣΙΒΕΝΗΚΕΚΟΛΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΡ
ΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΕΙΚΕΝΟΦΑΛΛΟΙ
ΥΝΕΜΕΝΑ ^{ΔΑΝΑΟΙ} ΠΑΛΛΗΧΟΙ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΦΩΛΕΘΑΤΑΝΤΕΣ
ΕΝ ΤΩ ΗΔΕ ΜΕΡΙΣΤΑ
ΠΑΝΑΙΘΗΣΙΝ ΚΟΡΥΘΕΣΣΙ
ΚΡΟΝΕΓΧΕΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ
ΜΑΛΕΤΙΦΗΜΑ
ΝΙΣΙΝ ΠΑΠΕΡΜΑΝ





200

Plate 9



Fragment of ancient papyrus with Greek text, showing several lines of script. The text is partially obscured by holes and damage. The visible text includes:

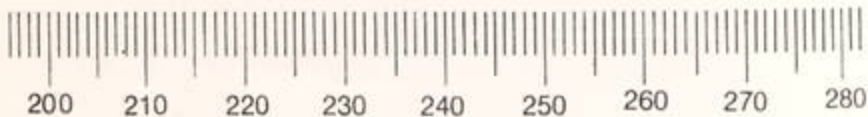
ΑΔΑ
ΝΗCΤΗΜ
ΕΡΕΝΗ
ΕΓΕΥΕΝ
ΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΔΟΥ
ΟΠΕΝΝΑΙΕΚΙ
ΑΔΟΥ
ΕΔΟΥ
ΕΝΟΥ
ΕΚΛΕΟCΑCΠΡ
ΟΝΙΤΟΡΚΑ
ΕΓΧΑ
ΑΡΕΩΝΑ
ΕΤΑCΕΠΕΙΧΕC
ΚΕΧΡΗCΙΝΩΔΙΑΝ
ΕΒΟCΓΗCΤΟΝ
ΕΓΕΒΑΠΤΕΡΟΝ
ΕΝΕΔΙΑCΙΤ
ΕΑCΤΟΙΧΟΜΕΝ
ΕΡΙCΟΜΕΝΕΝΙΑ
ΕΝΟCΤΕCΟCΓΟΝ
ΕΚΕΧΡΗCΙΝΩΔΙΑΝ
ΕΡΕΩΝΕΝΝΙΑ

Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The fragment is dark and shows signs of wear and tear, particularly along the left edge. The script is a form of early cursive, possibly from the Hellenistic or Roman periods. The text is difficult to decipher due to the fragmentary nature and the cursive style, but some words and characters are visible.



ΕΡΤΙΗΝΕ
 ΤΙΤΩΝΗ
 ΔΥΛΩΝΗ:
 ΙΛΛΕΓΕΙΡ:
 ΗΡΓΩΡΕ
 ΑΣΤΗΣΩ
 ΙΣΥΝΑΡΕ
 ΥΝΑΓΩ
 ΟΥΡΩΛΕ
 ΡΟΝΙΕΙΗ

ΟΥΤΩΕΤΕ
 ΝΟΥΤΑΝΓΙΑ
 ΚΑΤΙΜΑΤΕ
 ΔΕΙΤΕΚΑΝΕ
 ΟΝΔΕΤΤΙΜΕ
 ΕΕΤΙΤΟΛΕΙΣ
 ΤΙΡΗΤΟΡΙ
 ΙΑΛΛΑΠΟΥΡ
 ΩΡΕΡΑΤΕΣΤ
 ΙΚΝΟΙΕΤΟΙ
 ΟΝΤΕΧΜΕ
 ΕΡΕΚΑ
 ΚΑΤΕΜΗΝΩ
 ΟΝΗΙΕ
 ΟΥΡΩΝ
 ΤΟΥΛΕΓΕΣΕ
 ΙΤΑΥΤΑΛΕΙ
 ΝΤΑΚ'ΜΤΑ
 ΝΗ:ΝΝΙ:
 Ν:ΝΔΙΝ
 ΟΝ:ΑΥΤΥ
 ΤΙΤ



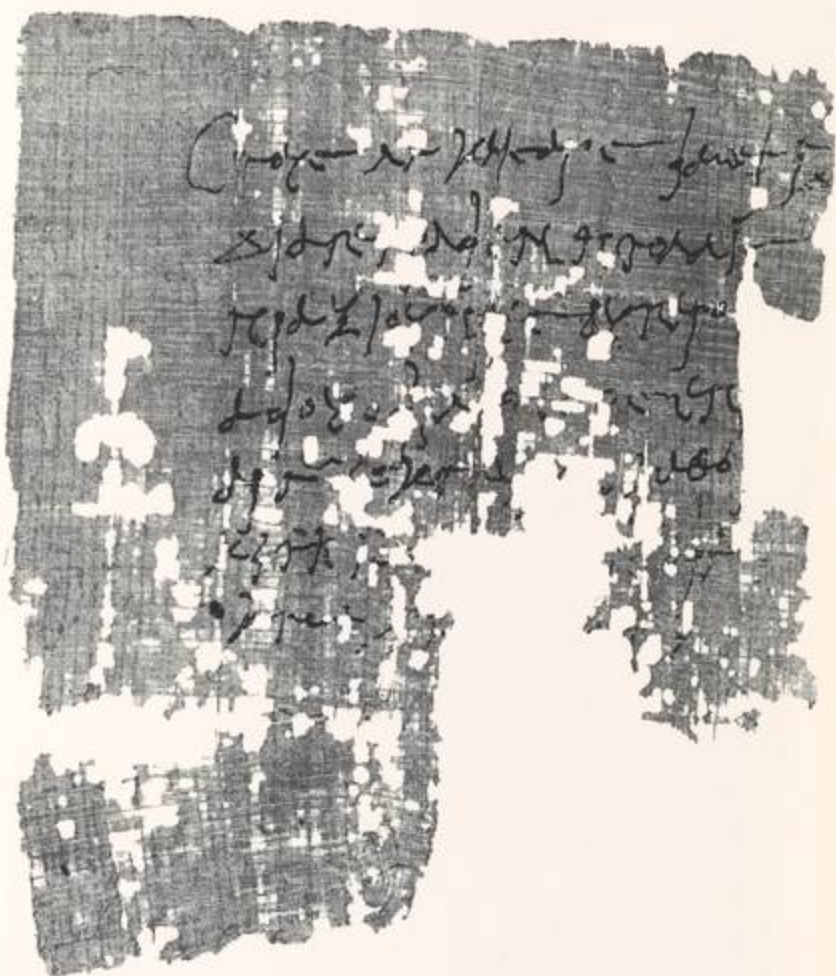


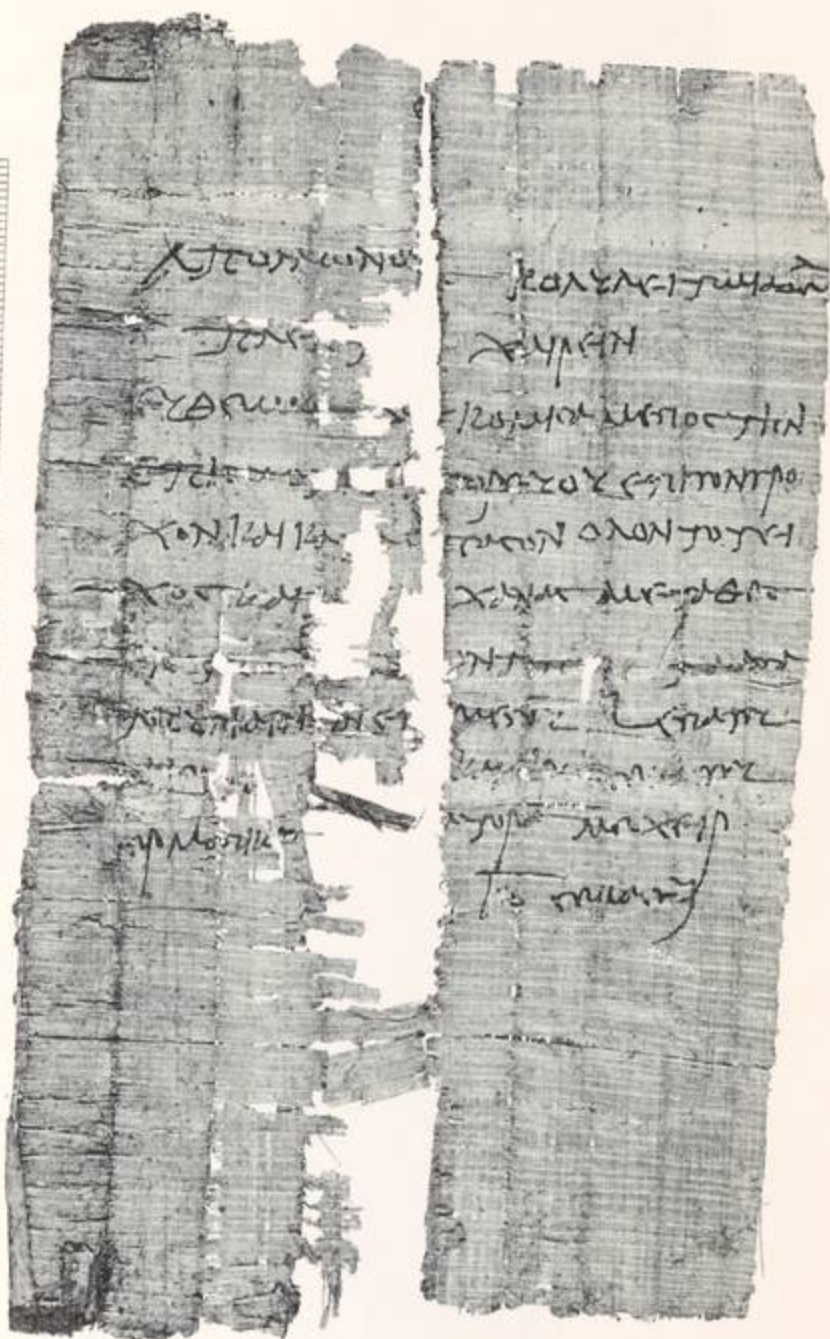


ει
εθρρωα ι το δε οδλη
... το σερ. ατολη &
... οτου σε ια
... αερα εε εουη λυση η
... ι το ε στω ε λυσε κη

ερωτησιν
... ος πλο. οσ ερικ. αλλοι ο ανωτερον
... αμερικανων εφο ετα ετα
... τελε τελε ετα ετα
... ος ετα ετα κωρικ

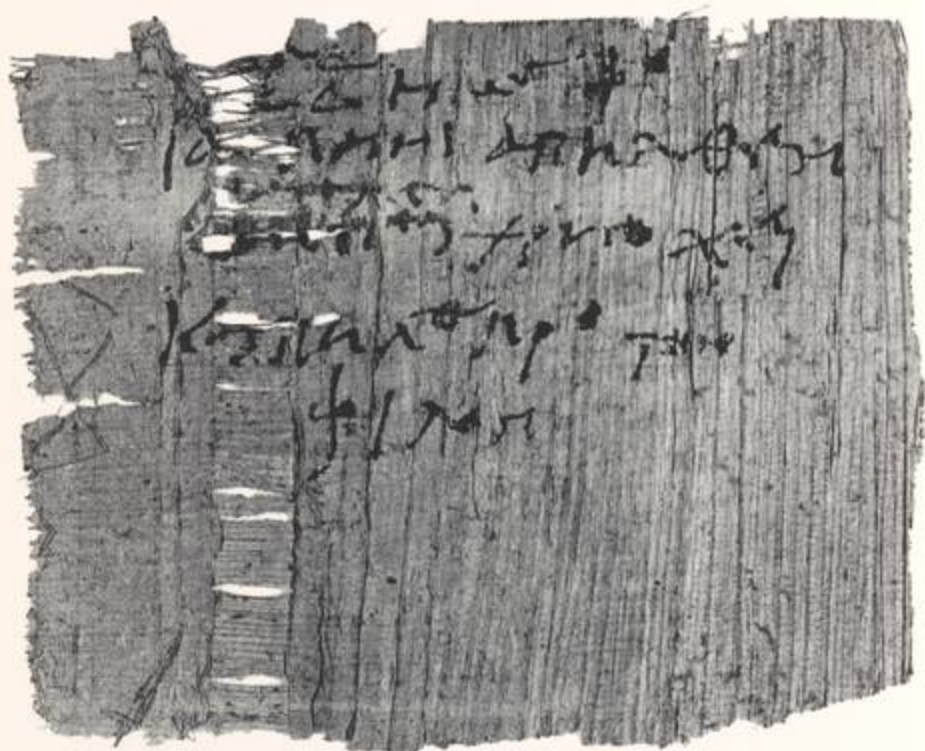






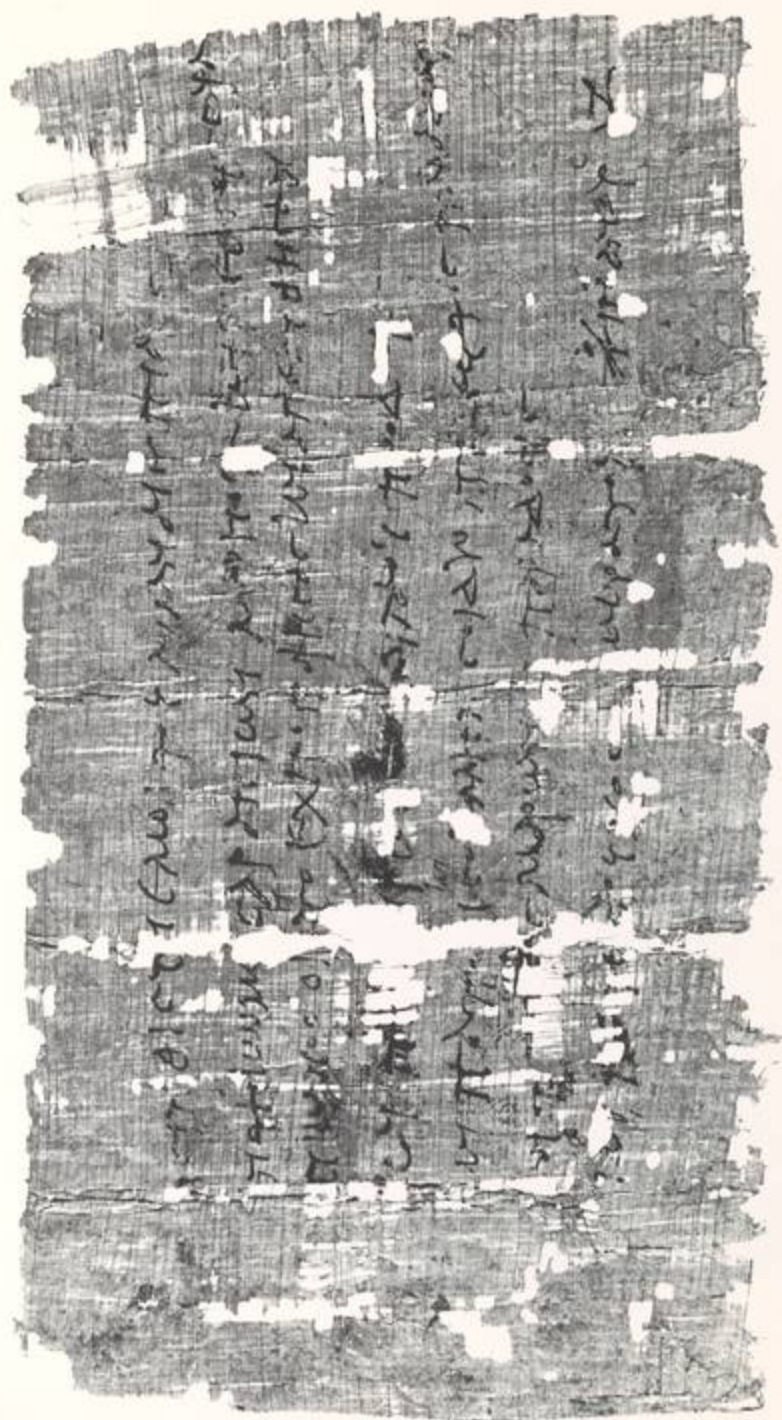


INV. 531



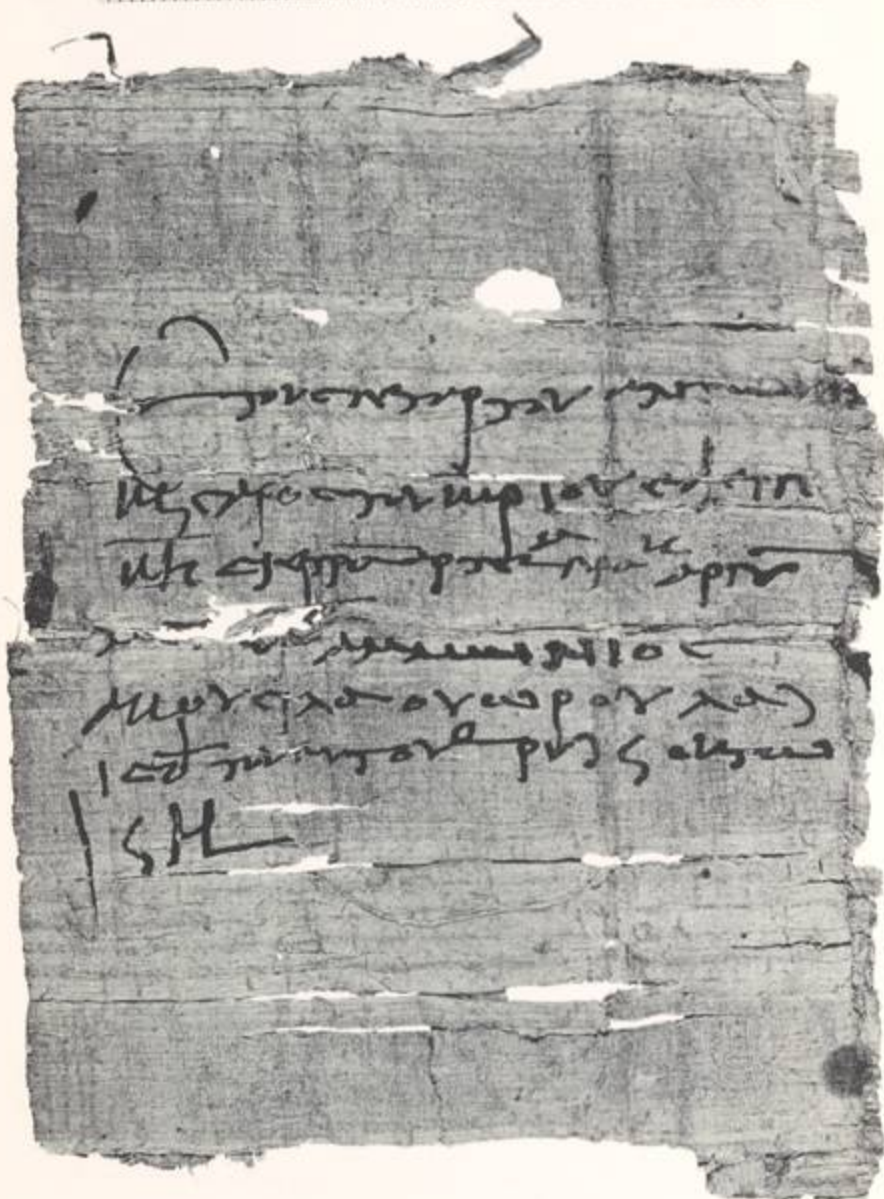
214v

Plate 24



Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing several lines of writing in a cursive hand. The fragment is heavily damaged and irregularly shaped. The text is written in dark ink on a light-colored, fibrous material. The fragment is positioned vertically on the page, with a ruler to its right for scale.







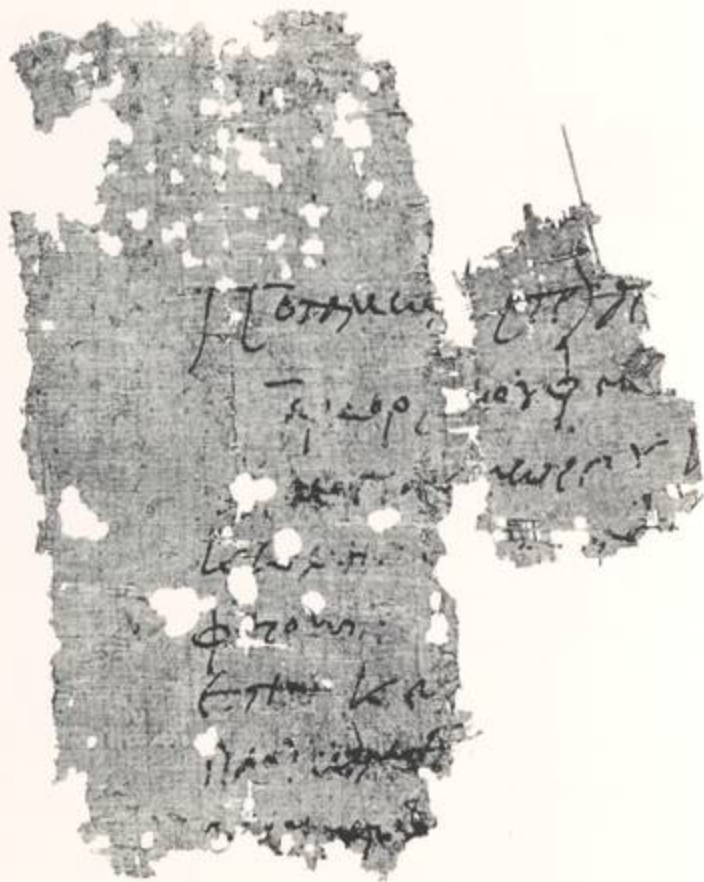
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is dark and shows signs of wear and tear.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is dark and shows signs of wear and tear.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is dark and shows signs of wear and tear.





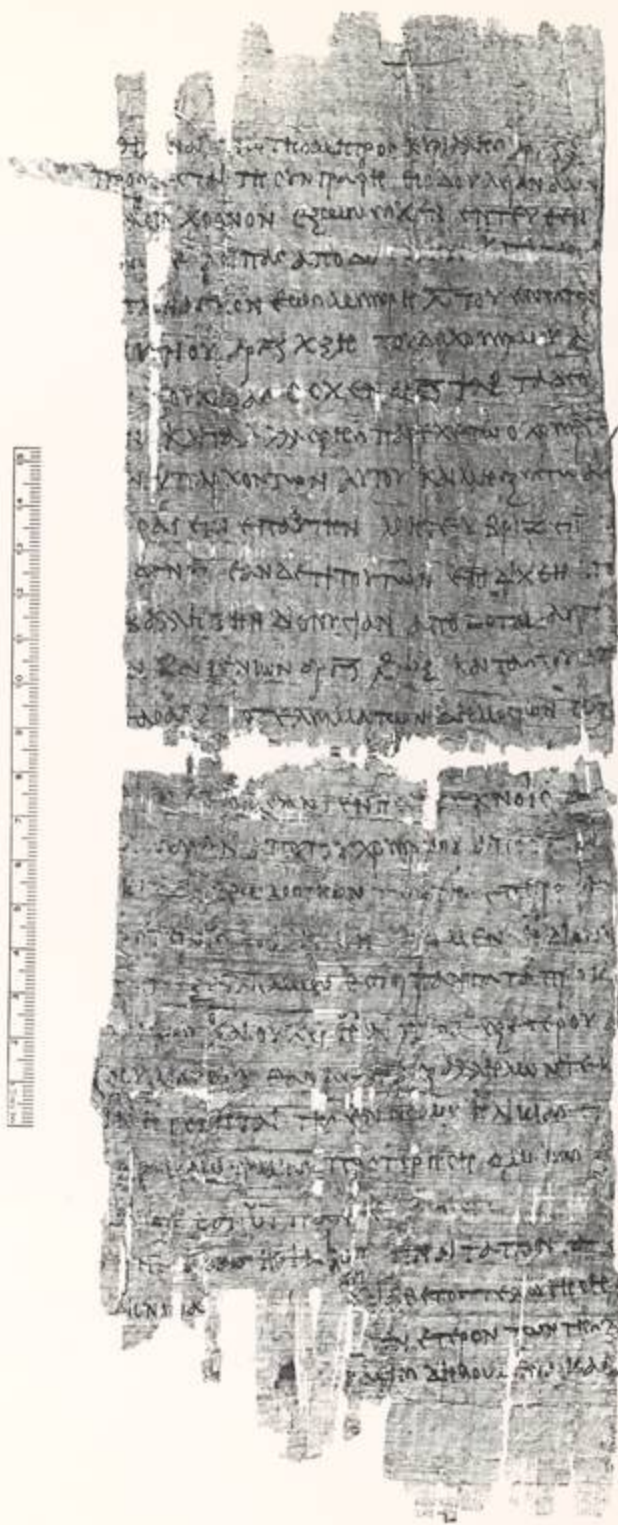


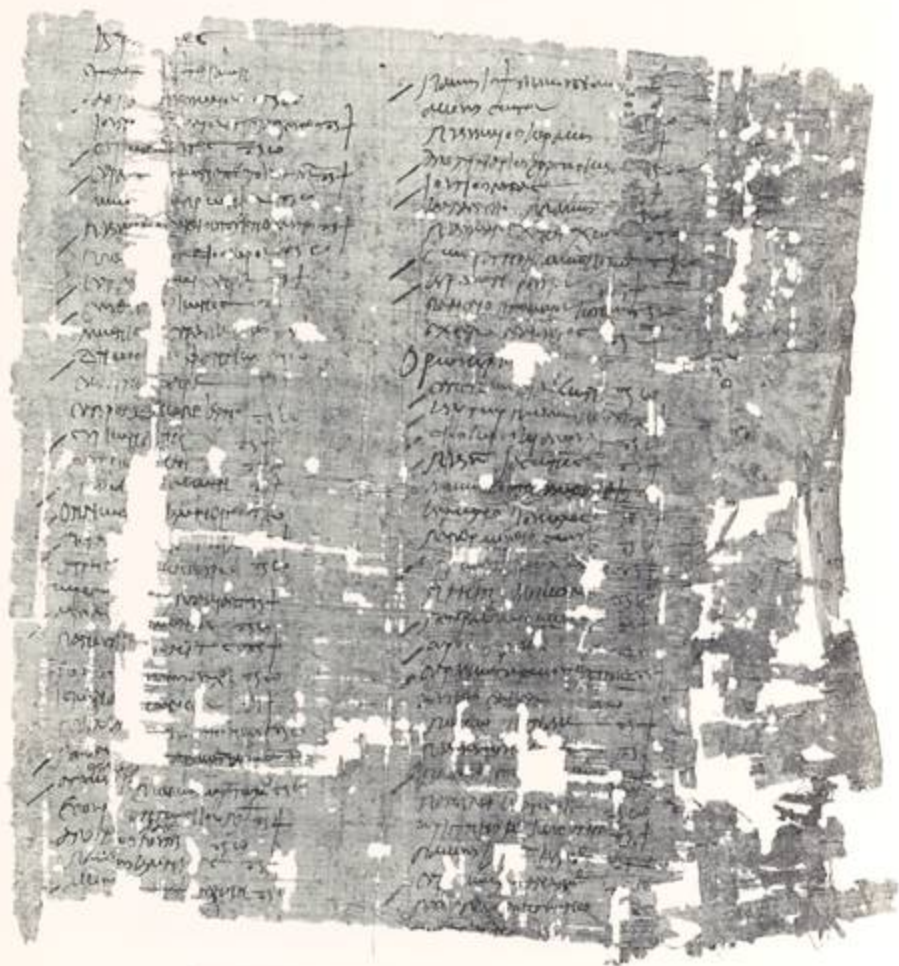
224

Plate 34

ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΟΜΕΝΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ
ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ
ΟΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ
ΝΗΡΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ
ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ
ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ
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ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ







Only word for word
 οὐ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ
 πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ
 τῆς σαρκὸς ἀλλὰ
 ἀποκαθάρσιν ἡμῶν
 ἀπὸ πάντων ἀδικημάτων
 καὶ τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας
 τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς
 ψυχῆς ἵνα ἡμεῖς
 ἀπαύξωμεν τὴν
 ἀγάπην τὴν ἀληθινὴν
 ἣν ἔχουμεν πρὸς
 τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν
 υἱόν ἵνα ἡμεῖς
 ἀγαπᾶμεν τὸν
 πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν
 ὡς ἠγάπησεν ὁ
 πατὴρ τὸν υἱόν ὡς
 ἠγάπησεν ὁ υἱὸς
 τὸν πατέρα ἵνα ἡμεῖς
 ἀγαπᾶμεν ἑαυτοὺς
 ὡς ἠγάπησεν ὁ
 υἱὸς τὸν πατέρα ἵνα
 ἡμεῖς ἀγαπᾶμεν
 ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἠγάπησεν
 ὁ υἱὸς τὸν πατέρα

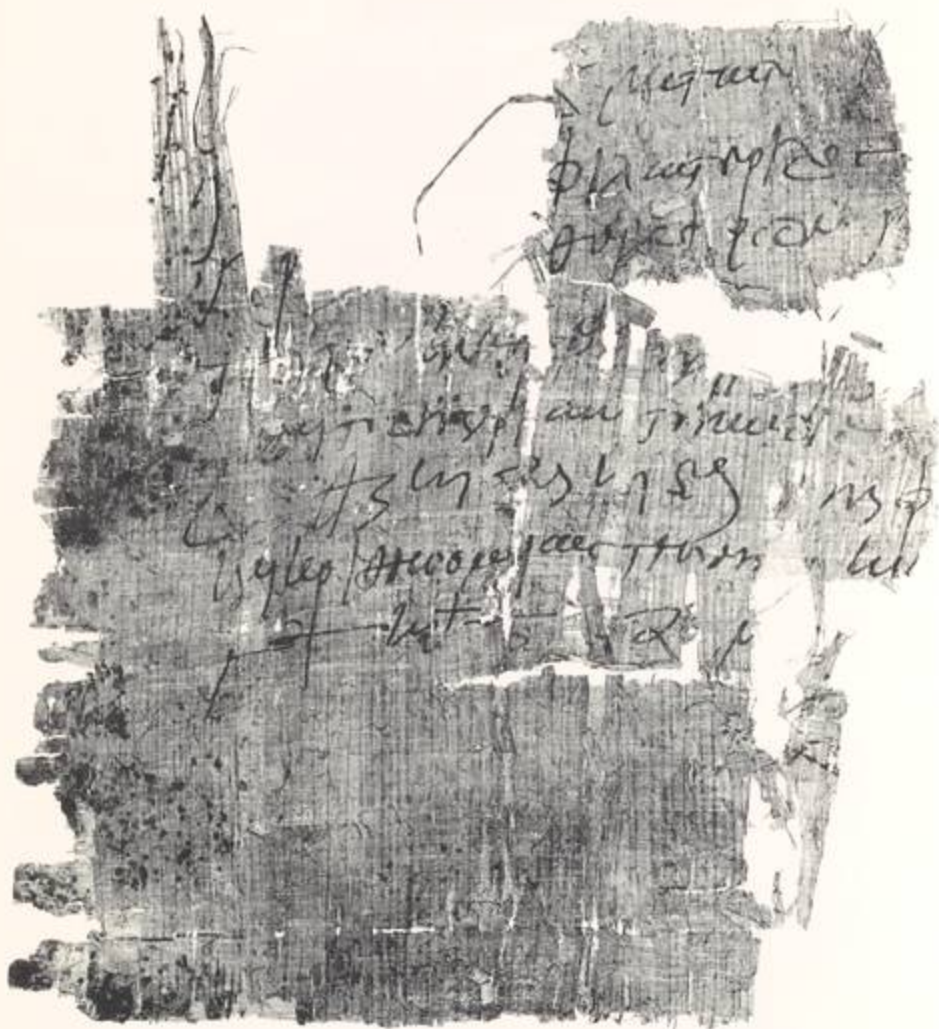


Fragment of a papyrus scroll with approximately 20 lines of ancient Greek text. The script is a cursive hand, likely from the Hellenistic or Roman period. The fragment is irregularly shaped with some missing sections on the right side.



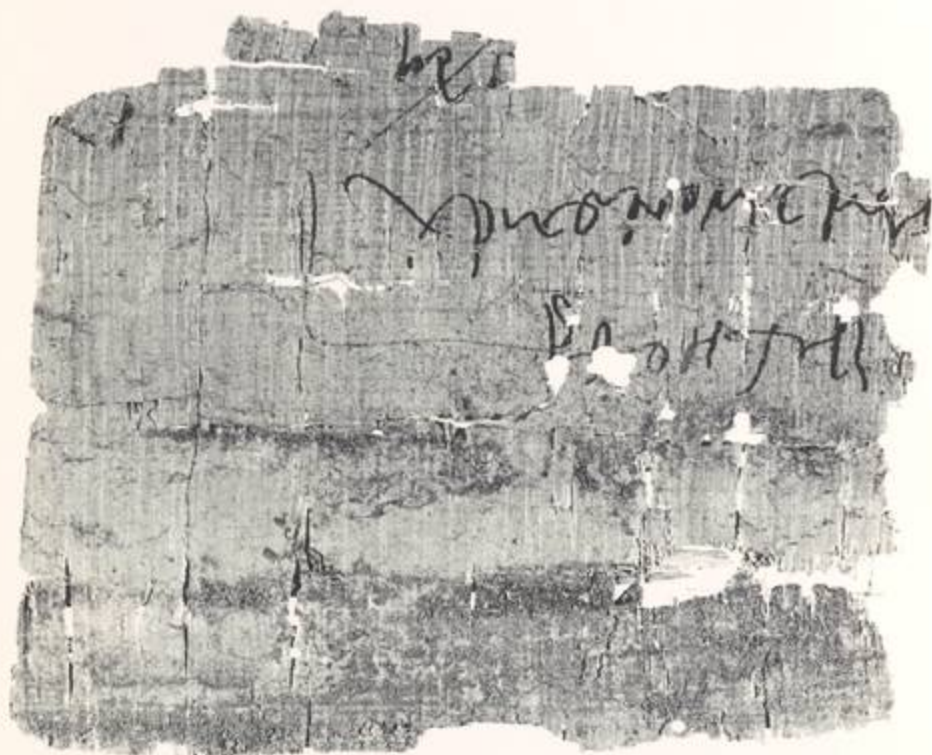


Inv. 413A



Handwritten text on a fragment of ancient papyrus, likely in Demotic script. The text is arranged in several lines, though the fragment is irregular and partially obscured by a tear. The characters are dark and somewhat faded, but some distinct forms are visible, including what appears to be a large initial character at the start of the first line.





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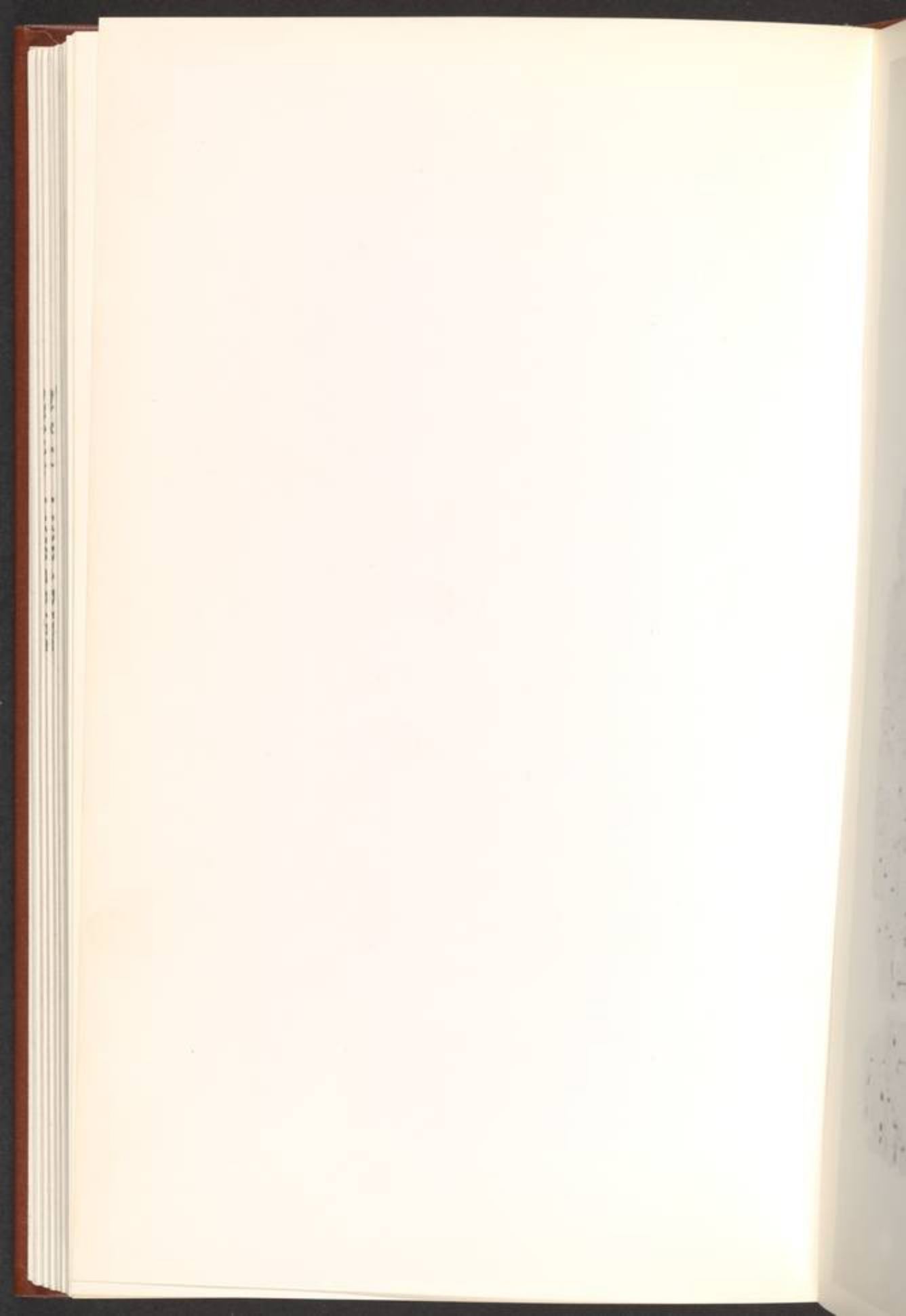
Plate 50



Fragment of ancient Greek papyrus with handwritten text in a cursive script. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, though many characters are obscured by numerous holes and tears in the material. The script appears to be a form of early cursive, possibly from the Hellenistic or Roman periods. The fragment is positioned to the right of a metric ruler for scale.

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of ancient Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage and ink bleed-through from the reverse side. The fragment is roughly rectangular with irregular, torn edges. The ink is dark and the papyrus is a light, fibrous color.







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<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>
<p> </p>	<p> </p>	<p> </p>
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