

PAPYROLOGICA BRUXELLENSIA
— 21 —

P. J. SIJPESTEIJN — Ph. A. VERDULT

PAPYRI IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE ERASMUS UNIVERSITY
(ROTTERDAM)
(P. Erasm. I)

BRUXELLES
FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH
1986

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1986

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P. ERASM. I

FONDATION ÉGYPTOLOGIQUE REINE ÉLISABETH

PAPYROLOGICA BRUXELLENSIA

Études de papyrologie et éditions de sources

publiées sous la direction de
Jean BINGEN

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PREFACE

The twenty-two texts which we publish in this book belong to the papyrus collection of ERASMUS UNIVERSITY (Rotterdam), which a few years ago acquired from an antiquities-dealer two small collections of Ptolemaic papyri. All papyri were retrieved from mummy-cartonnage, as one can tell from the plaster that still adheres to parts of some of the papyri and from the fact that on several papyri the ink has run together.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 and 19 of the present publication have previously been published in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 119-129 while text no. 18 has appeared in *CdE* LVIII, 1983, 206-207. A large number of texts dealing with transportation of grain from the Fayum (which is the provenance of all *Papyri Erasmianae*) to Alexandria will be published by Ph. A. VERDULT in his forthcoming PhD-dissertation in which he will continue the numeration of this publication. The remaining small or badly mutilated fragments in the collection of the ERASMUS UNIVERSITY do not warrant publication (text no. 22 in the present publication is one of the better examples of the remaining fragments).

Internal evidence, palaeographical considerations and the fact that some persons mentioned in the *Papyri Erasmianae* may be identified with persons known from other dated papyri lead us to surmise that these papyri are all to be dated around the middle of the second century B.C.

To what extent the *Papyri Erasmianae* are all part of one or more archives is a question which will be dealt with by Ph. A. VERDULT in his PhD-dissertation. Only when it comes to prosopographical identifications do we encroach upon this terrain in the present publication.

We wish to thank Dr R. L. SCHUURSMA, librarian of the library of the ERASMUS UNIVERSITY (Rotterdam), for his kind permission to publish these texts here.

We are also indebted to Mr. P. SNIJDER of the said library who provided us with excellent photographs and helped us in many other ways.

Dr R. W. DANIEL (Leiden) corrected our English and discussed several problems with us. We want to thank him once more.

Dr W. CLARYSSE (University of Leuven) checked several of our transcriptions against the photographs and — needless to say — gave us sound advice and the solution of many a problem.

Last but not least we want to thank the editors of *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* for accepting our manuscript in their series.

October 1984
Amsterdam
Rotterdam

P. J. Sijpesteijn
Ph. A. Verdult

CONTENTS

Preface	5
Contents	7
Table of Papyri	8
Table of Plates	8
Texts	9
Indexes	56
I Kings	56
II Months and Days	56
III Personal Names	56
IV Geography	57
V Religion	57
VI Official and Military Titles	57
VII Professions, Trades and Occupations	57
VIII Measures	57
a. Weights and Measures	57
b. Money	57
IX Taxes	58
X General Index of Words	58

TABLE OF PAPYRI

1	Enteuxis	148/7 B.C.
2	Petition to the Strategus	after 30.9.152 B.C.
*3	Complaint to the Strategus	5./15.5.166 B.C.(?)
*4	Petition to the Epistates	Mid-second century B.C.
*5	Complaint to an Unknown Official	Mid-second century B.C.
6	Request from an Unmentioned Person	Mid-second century B.C.
*7	Permission to Harvest	Mid-second century B.C.
8	Order to Load	153/2 B.C.(?)
9	Order Concerning Grain	22.7.-25.8.151 B.C.(?)
*10	Order for Payment	Mid-second century B.C.
11	Order from the Chrematistai to Apollonios	Mid-second century B.C.
12	Prochresis	152 B.C.
13	Prochresis	152 B.C.(?)
14	Prochresis	Mid-second century B.C.
15	Prochresis	152 B.C.(?)
16	Letter of Sarapion to Dionysios	22.8.152 B.C.(?)
17	Letter of Sarapion to Sarapion	Mid-second century B.C.
*18	Letter of Eponymos to his Mother	Mid-second century B.C.
*19	Survey of Wine	Mid-second century B.C.
20	List of Payments	Mid-second century B.C.
21	End(?) of a Document	Mid-second century B.C.
22	Part of a List of Payments of Tetrachoa	Mid-second century B.C.

N.B.: Texts marked with an asterisk have been published previously.

TABLE OF PLATES

I. P. Erasm. 2	V. P. Erasm. 13
II. P. Erasm. 6	VI. P. Erasm. 14
III. P. Erasm. 11	VII. P. Erasm. 16
IV. P. Erasm. 12	VIII. P. Erasm. 17

ENTEUXIS

Oxyrhyncha

23 × 13 cm.

148/7 B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.1. A light-brown papyrus regularly cut off at the bottom and both sides. At the top the papyrus is irregularly cut off. Free margins are preserved at the left side (1.5 cm.), at the bottom (2.5 cm.) and partly at the top (2 cm.). The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank.

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεοπάτραι
τῆι ἀδελφῆι θεοῖς Φιλομήτορσι χαίρειν Ἀρενδώτης
Πτετεύριος ὑμέτερος γεωργὸς τῶν κατοικούντων
ἐν Ὁξυρύγχοις τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ

- 5 Ἀρσινοίτου. τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) μισθωσαμένου μου
παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου φυλακίτου (δεκαρούρου)
τῶν ἀποτεταγμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πτολεμ[α]ί[δ]ι [κατα-]
μεμετρημένους (ἀρούρας) [] γῆς σιτοφόρου ὑπὲρ ὧν
λόγους πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ποιουμένου μου
- 10 ἠξίωσεν προδοῦναι αὐτῶι [τὴν γεγενημένην] τὰ γινόμενα αὐτῶι
ἐκφόρια τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους εἰς τὴν ἀνάλυσιν τοῦ κατ' ἔμοῦ .κου
[... χρη]ματισμοῦ καὶ ἔτους' --- traces ---
μ --- c. 18 letters --- φορῶ[v] --- c. 20 letters ---

- μεταβολὴν ἔχειν τοῦ ἀπενέγκασθαι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
- 15 προδεδοκῶς αὐτῶι καὶ ἀνηλωκῶς κατὰ χειμῶνα τὰ ἐκφόρια
ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ ἀθετήσας τὴν
ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχουσαν πίστιν καὶ []
προσλαβόμενός τε σύνεργον Ὠρίωνα τὸν ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύ(γχων)
ἀρχιφυ(λακίτην) ἐκώλυσάν με καὶ ὃν πρότερον εἶασάν με
- 20 ἀπενέγκασθαι εἰ μὴ ὁ Ὠρίων ἠνάγκασέ με σύ(μβολα) τῶι
Ἡρακλείδῃ προέσθαι αὐτῶι ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τοῦ θῆσειν τὰ ἐκφόρια
ἐν παραθέσει. ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν βουλομένου μου τὸν προσ-
ήκοντα λόγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι ὁ αὐτός

Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ὀρίων ἐπιπορευόμενοι ἐπὶ τῆ[ν]
 25 οἰκίαν μου ἐνεχυρασίας ποιοῦνται πράσσοντες ἐμέ
 ἐγ δευτέρας τὰ ἐκφόρια. οὐ καθῆκον ἀργοῦνται
 περί συμβολαίων διακούειν ἅ τε ἐν χρηματισμῶι
 διεξάγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο κατ'ἐμέ ποιήσαντες τὰς
 ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων κα. . . . ονας τέρπειν δι' ὧν ἐπάν(αγκον)
 30 τὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καταφυγὴν πεποιημένος δέομαι
 ὑμῶν ἀποστεῖλαί μου τὴν ἔντευ(ξιν) ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ
 κρίνοντας χρηματιστὰς ὧν εἰσαγωγεὺς Ἄρμόδιος
 ὅπως διαλέξαντες αὐτὴν εἰς κατάστασιν καὶ ἀνακαλεσά-
 μενοι τόν τε Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ὀρίωνα δι[ὰ Θ]εοδώρου τοῦ τῆς
 35 κώμης ἐπιστάτου προστάξωσιν [α]ὐτοῖς μὴ περισπᾶν
 με ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ κλοπῶν ἄρχειν μηδ' εἰσβιάζεσθαι εἰς τὴν
 οἰκίαν μου καὶ τὸ ἐνεχυράζειν τρόπῳι μηδέγι ἀνται-
 --- traces --- ν τὰς ἐντεύξεις τυχεῖν τοῦ . . α
 --- traces ---
 Εὐτυχεῖτε.

Translation:

To king Ptolemy and queen Kleopatra, his sister, the mother-loving gods, Harendotes, son of Peteuris, your farmer of the settlers in Oxyrhyncha of the Polemon division of the Arsinoite nome, greetings. In year 34 I leased from Herakleides, son of Herakleides, guard with a 10-aroura allotment, one of the people in charge of the persons who have had measured out to them land in Ptolemais, x arouras of corn-producing land. When I was talking to Herakleides about these he asked me to give him the rents due to him for the same year to dissolve a ----- instrument regarding me ----- although I had already given and paid him the rent in the winter. Herakleides came suddenly against me and put aside all faith and [] which exist among people and having taken Horion, the archiphylakites of Oxyrhyncha, as collaborator they prevented me to take away even what they before allowed me (to take away) unless Horion forced me to give back to Herakleides the receipts and to him a letter regarding the placing of the rent in parathesis. When I wanted to discuss the matter decently with them the same Herakleides and Horion came to my house and took pledges, since they wanted to extract the rent a second time. Not rightly they refuse to listen to me about receipts and to do what is (written) in the instrument and having done this to me ----- . Therefore, I necessarily take my refuge with you and ask you to send my enteuxis to the chrematistai who judge cases with regard to the private individual whose clerk is Harmodios in order that they having read it (arrange?) a trial and call Herakleides and Horion before them through Theodoros, the epistates of the

village and order them not to disturb me by starting with thefts and not to force their way into my house and in no way to take pledges — — — —. Farewell.

Several holes and tears in the upper part of the present papyrus and the fact that in the lower part the ink ran or even totally disappeared at several places rob us of a complete understanding of this enteuxis (cf. A. DI BITONTO, "Le petizioni al re", *Aegyptus* 47, 1967, 5 ff.; J. L. WHITE, *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition*, SBL Dissertation Series 5, Missoula 1972).

Harendotes, son of Peteuris, leased an unknown number of arouras from Herakleides, son of Herakleides. Although he had paid his rent to Herakleides, the latter again asks payment of the rent from Harendotes. With the assistance of Horion, archiphylakites of Oxyrhyncha, Herakleides prevents Harendotes from taking his harvest away unless he makes certain concessions. Although Harendotes wants to discuss the matter, Herakleides and Horion enter Harendotes' house violently and take pledges with the intention to exact the already paid rent a second time. Harendotes now asks the rulers to order the relevant authorities to look into the matter and to forbid Herakleides and Horion to harass Harendotes further.

That the text is a draft is shown by the several supra-linear additions to the text and by the fact that below the text there is no order to act in response to the petition.

The persons mentioned in the presented text are not listed in the *PP*.

3) ὑμέτερος γεωργός: to our knowledge this expression is unique; it would naturally seem to mean βασιλικός γεωργός.

6) φυλακίτου: cf. P. KOOL, *De phylakieten in Grieks-Romeins Egypte*, Diss. Leiden 1954. Cf. *ibidem* for the ἀρχιφυ(λακίτην) mentioned in line 19.

7-8) τῶν ἀποτεταγμένων — — [κατα]μεμετρημένους: καταμετρέω seems to be a *terminus technicus* for allotting land to cleruchs (cf. W. CLARYSSE, "A Royal Visit to Memphis and the End of the Second Syrian War", in "Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis", *Studia Hellenistica* 24, Lovanii 1980, 87 f.; *PLBat.* XX General Index, s.v. καταμετρέω). Herakleides is appointed over the cleruchs who received a certain number of arouras in the village Ptolemais. May-be we are dealing with a recent settlement of cleruchs in this village (cf. D. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971 [cf. J. BINGEN, "Kerkéosiris et ses Grecs au II^e siècle avant notre ère", *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie IV, Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 19, Bruxelles 1979, 87 ff.]; W. CLARYSSE, *loc. cit.*).

12-13) These lines are too mutilated to warrant any transcription although traces of many letters are still visible. In line 13 perhaps τῶν ἀναφορῶν.

14) εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν: the reading is very uncertain. A reading εἰς χειμῶνα is not to be excluded.

17) πίστιν καὶ []: a word on the same level as πίστις (e.g. εὐνοία, ἀσφάλεια) has to be supplemented in the lacuna. For πίστις, cf. W. SCHMITZ, *Ἡ πίστις in den Papyri*, Diss. Köln 1964.

20-21) εἰ μὴ --- ἐπιστολὴν: possibly we are dealing with a contamination. Either: --- σύμβολα τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ προέσθαι or: --- προέσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴν is meant. Instead of εἰ μὴ one expects πρὶν. Another possibility, which we adopt in the translation, is to assume that καὶ fell out before αὐτῷ in line 21. In that case Harendotes had to hand back to Herakleides the σύμβολα (which he received from him when he paid his rent) and to write a letter to Horion promising to put the rent "due" ἐν παραθέσει.

21-22) The rent still due according to Herakleides (and Horion) had to be put ἐν παραθέσει (cf. F. PREISIGKE, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten*, Strassburg 1910, 454 ff.).

25) πράσσοντες: this may stand for πράζοντες. For ξ > σ, cf. E. MAYSER - H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik* I.1², Berlin 1970, 184.

28-29) Due to mutilation the meaning of these lines escapes us. In line 29 after ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων one wants to read a form of χρηματισταὶ but we are unable to do so.

31-32) Cf. for the chrematistai, E. SEIDL, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte. Ägyptische Forschungen*, Heft 22, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1962, 74 ff.; H. J. WOLFF, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer*, München 1962, passim. Cf. also J. MODRZEJEWSKI, "Chrématisistes et Laocrites", *Symposion* 1974 (Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 2, Köln 1979) 375 ff. Cf. P. Merton II 59: Action before the Chrematistae.

32) εἰσαγωγεὺς: cf. E. SEIDL, *op. cit.*, 77.

33) εἰς κατάστασιν: a verb has been left out after κατάστασιν. The meaning must be that the chrematistai, after having read Harendotes' enteuxis (and after having decided that he tells the truth), proceed to bring Herakleides and Horion to court. Cf. text no. 11.

35) ἐπιστάτου: cf. E. LAVIGNE, *De epistates van het dorp in Ptolemaeisch Egypte*, *Studia Hellenistica* 3, Lovanii 1945.

36) κλοπῶν: we prefer this reading to καθῆκον, though the latter should not completely be ruled out.

36-37) Cf. W. DAHLMANN, *Ἡ βία im Recht der Papyri*, Diss. Köln 1968.

37-39) In these very mutilated lines we have to look for one of the usual closing formulas of enteuxeis (cf. A. DI BITONTO, *loc. cit.*, 50 ff.): if the rulers pay attention to the request of the person who submits an enteuxis that person will have received succour/will have obtained justice.

2

PETITION TO THE STRATEGUS

Oxyrhyncha 31 × 16.5 cm. (Plate I) after 30.9.152 B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.18. A light-brown papyrus consisting of 11 partly joining fragments. The papyrus is irregularly broken or cut off at all sides. Free margins are partly preserved at the top (1.5 cm.), bottom (2.2 cm.) and left side (3.5 cm.). The text runs across the fibers. The other side is blank.

Ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνήματος τὸ ἐπιδέδωκα

τῷ στρατηγῷ.

Μελαγκόμαι ἀρχισωματοφύλακι καὶ στρατηγῷ]

- [π]αρά Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρ[ακ]λείδου τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 5 πόλεως, σιτολογοῦν[το]ς δὲ τὸ περὶ Ὀξ[ύ]ρυγχα
 [ἐ]ργα(στήριον). τῆι λ̄ τοῦ Μεσ[ορ]ῆ τοῦ κθ (ἔτους)
 [τῶν δ]ὲ Νοός καὶ Ὁρου τῶ[ν] παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπ[ε]ρχομέ-
 [νων] ἐκ Κροκοδίλων [π]όλεως εἰς Ὀξ[ύ]ρυγχα
 πε[ρ]ὶ [ῶ]ρα]ν ἧ περιπεσόντες τι[ν]ές]
 10 ληστ[αί] ἀνά μέσον Ἡ[λ]ευσίνοσ καὶ
 Ὀξυρύ[γ]χων τόν τε [κ]ιθῶνα ἐξέδυσαν
 καὶ π[α]ρη[.]ησαν ε[.]χον μου πα[ρ]
 ἄρσεν[ικὰ] διεσπασμένα ἐφ' ὧν η[λ]
 καὶ μ...α β. ὁ δὲ Νοῦσ καὶ ὁ Ὁρος ἀπ[ῆ]λθον]
 15 εἰς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαντες. τῆι δὲ ᾠ [τοῦ Θῶθ]
 παραγενόμενος .. ἐπὶ ---- *traces* ---- [ὁ στρα-]
 τηγὸς τῆς μερίδος ἐπὶ πλεῖον εγ[
 [..]τους ἐν τε ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ οὐ.σδ[
 [..]ειν τοῦ καὶ ἕτερα διαπεπραχό[τ]τος
 20 [..].θέντων [..].. ε[... βε]βηκέναι [
 [Ὀξ]υρυγγ[.] ἀλλὰ τοὺς περ[ὶ]
 εὐ..οδι.ιαν ὑπο..[]νγ ---- *traces* ----
 κατα.ο...ετροπ[.]κομισ... πα[ρ]ὰ
 πεπτωκότος οὐθέ μ[ε] εὔρόντος [
 25 πρὸς τῆι Ὀξυρύγχων Σαραπιείωι [
 [...].ε πεπικότες κ...[
 [...]. ὑμῶν πορεῖα ..[.]δρ.α[

Translation (lines 1-11):

Copy of a petition which I presented to the strategus. To Melankomas, archisomatophylax and strategus, from Dionysios, son of Herakleides from the people of the metropolis and sitologos of the corn-store at Oxyrhyncha. On the 30th of Mesore of the 29th year ----- while my servants, Nus and Horos, were travelling from Crocodilopolis to Oxyrhyncha, some robbers attacked them around the 9th hour between Eleusis and Oxyrhyncha and robbed them of their tunic and

Because of the large and small holes, the faded state of the ink and the numerous offsets, a complete transcription is not possible, and hence our understanding of this petition must remain imperfect.

The subject of the petition is assault and robbery against two servants of Dionysios, son of Herakleides, who lived in Crocodilopolis and was at the same time sitologos of Oxyrhyncha. Complaints about attacks and robbery are not an uncommon feature in Ptolemaic Egypt (cf. R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*², Warsawa 1955, 435 ff.; B. BALDWIN, "Crime and Criminals in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *Aegyptus* 42, 1963, 256 ff. Cf. in general R. MACMULLEN, *Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*, New Haven-London 1974, 1 f., 4, 11, 32, 98, 199).

Cf. for this kind of text, A. DI BITONTO, "Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico", *Aegyptus* 48, 1968, 53 ff.; *eadem*, "Frammenti di petizioni del periodo tolemaico", *Aegyptus* 56, 1976, 109 ff.

We do not know whether the copy was made by or for Dionysios himself or was intended to be sent to someone else. It is not absolutely certain that line 27 is the last line of the petition or whether it continued in a second column (the closing formula εὐτύχει or the like, if it was written, may have been lost at the right below line 27).

The present papyrus contains the fourth mention of the archisomatophylax and strategus, Melankomas. The others are *P. Köln* III 144, *P. Tebt.* III 771, a papyrus published in *Arctos* 13, 1979, 43 ff. (cf. D. HAGEDORN, "Ein dritter Zeuge für Melankomas", *ZPE* 38, 1980, 190). It is not known exactly how long Melankomas was strategus of the Arsinoite nome (cf. L. MOOREN, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque*, *Studia Hellenistica* 13, Lovanii 1977, 98).

1-2) These lines start about two letters further to the right than the other lines.

1) ὑπομνήμα[α]τος: cf. H. J. WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaer und des Prinzipats* II, München 1978, 114 ff.

τό: the use of the article instead of the relative pronoun is seldom attested in Ptolemaic texts; cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.1, Leipzig und Berlin 1926, 58 ff.

To the right a piece of papyrus of unknown width is missing. Obviously this piece of papyrus contained several letters in several lines, but it is not certain that all lines continued after the break at the right side. It seems hardly likely that at the end of the present line Μελανκόματ is lost, since the space available is not sufficient and Melankomas would in this case only be called "strategus".

4) Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρ[ακ]λείδου: it is hardly possible that this person is identical with the Dionysios mentioned in *P. Tebt.* III 778 = *P. Tebt.* III 895 = *PP* I no. 1352, since that text dates from 176/5 B.C. (cf. J. D. THOMAS, *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. I: The Ptolemaic epistrategos*, Opladen 1975, 87 ff.). Both the Dionysios mentioned in *O. Tait* 22 (= *PP* I no. 1353) and the one who appears in *P. Hib.* II 245 (= *PP* VIII no. 1351a) are to far removed in time from the Dionysios in our papyrus for them to be identical with him.

4-5) τῶν ἐ[κ τῆς] | πόλεως: rather than τῶν ἐ[πὶ τῆς] | πόλεως (for which function see *PP* I nos. 154-157, VIII nos. 154a-157a).

5) πόλεως: for its often attested meaning of μητροπόλεως, cf. F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch* II s.v.

6) τῆι λ̄ τοῦ Μεσ[ορ]ῆ τοῦ λθ (ἔτους) = 24.9.152 B.C.

7) Νοός: cf. line 14. The proper name Νοῦς is attested in *P. Tebt.* III 892, 15, 35, 39.

9) περιπεσόντες: περιπίπτω is normally constructed with the dative. In our papyrus, however, the writer started with a genitive absolute construction and only used the verb περιπίπτω later in his story.

10) Ἡ[λ]ευσῖνος: for this village, cf. A. CALDERINI-S. DARIS, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* II, Milano 1975, 138. The writing with eta instead of epsilon is noteworthy (cf. E. MAYSER-H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik* I.1², Berlin 1970, 39 ff.; S. T. TEODORSON, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine*, Lund 1977, 109 ff.). We assume that nothing is missing at the end of this line and that the robbery occurred between Eleusis and Oxyrhyncha. Eleusis, therefore, lay on the road from Crocodilopolis to Oxyrhyncha.

12) καὶ π[αρ]η[.]ησαν: after καὶ followed probably another 3rd pers. plural of an aorist which referred to something the robbers did. After the verb followed perhaps a little space and a new thought or ε[.]χον μου as object of the verb at the beginning of the line.

E.g., π[α]ντα τ[α].

13-14) ἐφ' ὧν ἦ[] | καὶ μ. . . α β: are we to suppose that here is expressed what was upon the ἀρσεν[ικά]? E.g., ἐφ' ὧν ἦ[v unknown object(s)] | καὶ μ. . . α β?

14) καὶ μ. . . α β: the beta is clearly separated from the preceding alpha and we, therefore, take it to be a numeral. In lines 12-14 we could have a list of the stolen objects.

15) τῆι ᾱ [τοῦ Θῶθ] = 30.9.152 B.C. In principle a supplement τῆι ᾱ [τῶν ἐπ(αγομένων)] is not to be excluded.

16) One expects παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων/ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, but we are unable to read what we expect.

16-17) As far as we know a στρατηγός τῆς μερίδος is not yet attested for this period. E. VAN 'T DACK, whom we consulted on this matter, writes (letter dated 30.4.1984) that he is not very much astonished by the appearance of a strategus of a meris (cf. E. VAN 'T DACK, "Notes sur les circonscriptions d'origine grecque en Égypte ptolémaïque", *Studia Hellenistica* 7, Louvain-Leiden 1951, 39 ff., especially pp. 46 ff.: les fonctionnaires de la mēris; cf. also *P. Köln* III 140 introduction). It should be noted, however, that the reading is far from certain.

17) ἐπὶ πλειονεξ[ίαν] does not seem a possible reading.

20) Or [.] θεν τῶν.

21) Or [.] τυχη[

25) Σαραπιεῖωι: the existence of a Sarapeum at Oxyrhyncha was already known (cf. A. CALDERINI-S. DARIS, *op. cit.* III, Milano 1983, 393; W. J. R. RÜBSAM, *Götter und Kulte in Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit*, Bonn 1974, 132; G. RONCHI, *Lexicon theonymon* IV, Milano 1976, 945 ff.). We do not know with what the article τῆι has to be connected.

3

COMPLAINT TO THE STRATEGOS

Oxyrhyncha

13.7 × 12.5 cm.

5./15.5.166 B.C.(?)

P. Erasm. inv. no. II.10. A light-brown papyrus regularly cut off at the right and left sides, but irregularly broken off at the top and bottom. The text runs parallel to the fibers. On the other side scanty remains of what probably was the address also run parallel to the fibers. At the left side there is a free margin of about 1.5 cm. In the originally free margin of 5 cm. at the top, three lines have been written by a different hand.

The text has previously been published in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 120-123 with plate VIb.

(2nd H)

] Ἀπολλωνίωι

]. ἀποστειλῆι

] - - - traces - - - δ

(1st H)

Δημ[ῶ]νακτι τῶμ φίλων καὶ στρα-

5 τηγῶι παρὰ Ὡρου τοῦ Θεοδώρου

βαλανέως τῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων τῆς

Πολέ[μ]ωνος μερίδος. ἀδικούμενος

ὑπὸ Διφίλου Ἀσιαγενοῦς τῶν ἐκ τῆς

αὐτῆς κῶμης ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν καταφυ-

10 γὴν πεποιήμαι ὅπως τύχω ἀντι-

λήμψεως. τοῦ γὰρ δ (ἔτους) τοῦ καὶ

ιε (ἔτους) συμπορευομένου μοι

]μένου καὶ γεμισαν-

].ια πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ι ἐκ τοῦ

15

- - - traces - - -

4 τῶν 10-11 ἀντιλήμψεως: vt ex corr.(?) 12 συμπορευομένου

Translation (lines 4 ff.):

(1st H) To Demonax, (one) of the friends (of the king) and strategus, from Horos, son of Theodoros, bath-man at Oxyrhyncha in the division of Polemon. Having been wronged by Diphilos, a person of Asian birth, of the same village, I have taken refuge with you so that I may gain succour. For in the 4th year which is also the 15th year, the above-stated (?) went with me and loaded 10 artabas of wheat from the ergasterion at Oxyrhyncha into the boats (?) - - -

As only the introductory formula has been preserved and the lower part of the papyrus has broken away we are unable to get a clear idea what the matter was about. It appears that something happened during or in connection with the loading of grain into ships.

The first three lines, written by a different hand, probably contain the instruction given by the strategus to a subaltern (possibly the epistates Apollonios to whom text no. 4 was addressed) to send the person(s) involved to him. These instructions are normally added underneath the petition (cf., however, *BGU VIII* 1831) but reasons of space may have necessitated the use of the large upper margin (cf. *P. Enteux*. I pp. XLVII ff.).

3) The month could be Φαρμοῦθι. Instead of δ̄ one might possibly read ιδ̄. If the complaint was directed to Demonax in year 4 = year 15 (lines 11-12) the date of this text would be 5.5.166 or 15.5.166 B.C. The year-number could have stood in the lacuna at the beginning of line 3.

4) Δημόνακτι: the *PP* does not mention a strategus whose name starts with Δημ-. Cf. *P. Heid. N. F.* III 228,1 and verso for this proper name.

τῶμ φίλων: cf. L. MOOREN, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren XXXVII, 1975, no. 78, Brussel 1975; *idem*, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque*, *Studia Hellenistica* 23, Lovanii 1977. Since 176-175 B.C. at the latest the strategus belongs to the class of the ἀρχισωματοφύλακες (cf. L. MOOREN, *Prosopography* no. 67 and *Hiérarchie*, 97). It is curious to note that Demonax in 166 B.C. still has the lower rank of τῶν φίλων. This is contradictory to MOOREN's theory that a successor should not have a lower rank than his predecessor in a function, although there are a very few exceptions to this rule (cf. M. KAIMIO in *Arctos* 13, 1979, 43 ff.). If *P. Tebt.* III 781 indeed has to be dated to "about 164 B.C.", it is more probable that in the lacuna at the beginning of line 1 Δημόνακτι rather than Πτολεμαίωι has to be supplemented.

6) βαλανέως: cf. for baths in Ptolemaic Egypt, Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939. Cf. also *P. Theon* 16, introduction. The bath-man Horos, son of Theodoros, was not previously known. The connection between the occupation of Horos and the reason for the complaint escapes us.

8) Ἀσιαγενούς: the same qualification occurs in *P. Tebt.* III 853, introduction; 1001,14 and *P. Oxy.* XII 1463,10 (a slave; 215 A.D.). It possibly is used in this case to disqualify Diphilos (unknown from elsewhere) even further. We did not find Ἀσιαγενής as a proper name. Cf. for other persons from Asia Minor and attested in Egypt, F. HEICHELHEIM, *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich*, *Klio*, Beiheft 18 (Leipzig 1925) and additions in *Archiv* 9, 1930, 47 ff. and 12, 1939, 54 ff.; W. PEREMANS, *Vreemdelingen en Egyptenaren in Vroeg-Ptolemaïsch Egypte*, Leuven 1937; *P. Tebt.* III 793 VI 15n.

10) πεποιήμαι: the iota and the eta are obscured by a blotch of ink.

11-12) τοῦ γὰρ δ (ἔτους) τοῦ καὶ ιε (ἔτους): in his 15th year (167-166 B.C.) Ptolemy VI Philometor is associated on the throne with both his younger brother Ptolemy (afterwards Euergetes II) as well as his sister and wife, and his 15th year is also counted as year 4. Cf. T. C. SKEAT, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, München 1969.

12) συνοπορευομένου: the exact meaning of this verb ("travel, accompany") is not clear.

due to the mutilation of this text. This verb has occurred up till now only in papyri of the Ptolemaic period.

14) It might be possible to supplement and read: *πλ]οῖα*, and there could be a connection with *γεμισαν* in line 13. A possible reconstruction of lines 13-15 is:

[τοῦ προγεγραμ]μένου καὶ γεμισαν-
[τος εἰς τὰ πλ]οῖα πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ἰ ἐκ τοῦ
[περὶ Ὁξύρυγχα ἐργαστηρίου

The *ἐργαστήριον* at Oxyrhyncha is often mentioned in the *Papyri Erasmianae*.

4

PETITION TO THE EPISTATES

Oxyrhyncha 17.5 × 8.2 cm. Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. II.26. A light-brown papyrus irregularly broken off at all sides. At the top there is a free margin of 2.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. Above line 1 at the left side, some ink-traces (probably offsets) are visible.

The text has previously been published in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 119-120 with plate VIa.

- Ἀπολλωνίωι ἐπιστά-
τηι Ὁξύρυγγων παρά
Πετῶτος τοῦ Πετεσοῦχου
βασιλικῶ γεωργοῦ τῶν
5 [ἐκ τ]ῆς αὐτῆς. τῆι εἰς τὴν
ἠ τοῦ Φαμενώθ τοῦ
[. . (ἔτους)] φερούσηι νυκτὶ
ὑπερβάντες τινές
εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
10 μοι αὐτόθι αὐλήν καὶ
διακόψαντες τὸν τοῖ-
χον φέροντα ἐκτὸς
τῆς αὐλῆς [περιήλα-
σάν μου ὄγους δύο
15 --- traces ---

- 5 ἀποτ]είσει ἐπίτιμον (δραχμάς) ᾽ς. Ἐργεῦς δὲ
] παρὰ τῆι μὴ αὐτῶν ἰμάτια καὶ
].[. .]ερα καὶ τ. . . χεν διορθω[. .]σα .ε.
] Ἐργέως οἰκίαν ἐπεδείξαμέν σοι
]ς τὸν παρὰ τὸ διασαφούμενον
- 10].[. . . ἰμ]ατίων καὶ προσαποτείσας τὰς ᾽ς (δραχμάς)
].[. . . .] ἀξιούμέν σε τὸ τε διάσμα
]. .δα[. .].[. . . ἐπιμελητὴν ἵνα διαλημφθῆι περὶ αὐ-
 [τοῦ.] εὐτύχει. (ἔτους) κα Τῦβι β̄.

The mutilated state of the present papyrus makes a translation impossible. A fairly large piece must be lost at the left side, since in line 1 one expects the name of an official to whom this complaint was directed (and probably his function as well) and the name of the person who handed this complaint in.

If the 21st year mentioned in line 13 (and probably also in line 2) is 161-160 B.C., the date of this papyrus is 31.1.160 B.C.. Since the script resembles that of text no. 4, year 185-184 seems less likely, but if this is the correct year, the date of this papyrus is 6.2.184 B.C.

Despite its mutilated state, this papyrus is interesting, because it gives us some additional information about the tax on weaving (cf. Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 93 ff. Cf. also P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, "Three Ptolemaic Receipts for Delivery of Wool/a Woollen Garment", forthcoming in *YCIS*). Several persons, contractors for the tax on cloths, complain to an unknown official that a certain Hergeus (man or woman, cf. note to line 5) dodges the regulations concerning this tax. It seems to follow from the above text that weavers who regularly paid their taxes got a kind of seal on their finished products which proved that they had paid. Whoever tries to sell unsealed textiles had to pay a fine of 6,000 drachmae (a piece?). The contractors seem to have discovered that a certain Hergeus did not keep to the rules. They have pointed out where he lives, and they now request that he be forced to pay the established fine and that measures be taken against him so that he stops with his illegal activities (cf. *P. Tebt.* III 709 and *SB VI* 9629).

1) ἰμ(ατιοπωλικήν): = the tax on clothiers. S. L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt*, Princeton 1938, 202 lists a tax called ἰματιοπωλικόν from *P. Leipzig* 5,7 (C. WESSELY, "Die griechischen Papyri Sachsens", *Ber. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1885, p. 245 [cf. *BL II* p. 98]), a list of miscellaneous taxes at Memphis dated to the IIIrd century A.D. In the light of the present papyrus there can be no doubt that also in the Leipzig papyrus, although it has only ἰματιοπωλικ, ἰματιοπωλικ(ῆς) has to be resolved.

2) τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄνῃς διαγράμματος: cf. for the use of ἐπί, E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1933, 473. For διάγραμμα, see M. Th. LENGIER, *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées (C.Ord.Ptol.)*, Acad.Roy.Belg.Cl.d.Lettr. Mém., II^e sér. Tome LVII, fasc. 5, Bruxelles 1964, XX f. (and additional literature in "compléments à la bibliographie" in the 2nd edition, Bruxelles 1980 [Tome LXIV, fasc. 2 of the same series of the Royal Belgian Academy]).

4)]ειν: perhaps ἀποτίν]ειν.

5/10) There is no doubt in our minds that the number of drachmae in these lines is 6,000, although one wonders why the scribe did not write (τάλαντον) α. According to A. BLANCHARD, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs: recherches de paléographie*, BICS 30, London 1974, 5 such a sign could be 5,000 drachmae.

5) Or (δραχμῶν) depending on ἐπίτιμον.

*Εργεῦς: this can be the name of a man as well as of a woman. It is tempting to supplement in line 7 διορθώ[σα]σα but the context is not clear and προσποτείας in line 10 seems to point in the direction of a man. A supplement αὐ[τῆς] in lines 12-13 is, however, not to be totally excluded.

11) διάσμα: a seldom attested word in texts from the Roman period (*WO* 1155, 1156; *O. Tait* 1988 [for these permissions of an ἰστιωνάρχης, cf. Cl. PRÉAUX, *O. Wilbour* 75]; *SB* VI 9237,41, 9307,11, 12). The opposite of διάσμα = warp is κρόκη = woof.

12) At the beginning of this line possibly a proper name.

13) εὐτύχει: from the number it becomes clear that this complaint was directed to only one official.

6

REQUEST FROM AN UNMENTIONED PERSON

Arsinoite nome 22.5 × 16.5 cm. (Plate II) Mid second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.4. A medium-brown papyrus consisting of two joined fragments. It is regularly cut off at all sides. At the top, bottom and left side are free margins of 2 cm. The text runs along the fibers. On the other side are very vague and undecipherable remains of one column of an account written across the fibers.

Δωρίων

οὐ δεδυνημένοι σοὶ συμπεσεῖν διὰ τὸν

περιέχοντα σὲ στόμφον καὶ φόβον,

ἃ καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εὐχόμεν πᾶσι

5 τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα σὲ προβῆναι,

προῆγμα δι' ἀναφορᾶς σοὶ προσ-

ανενέγκαι, ἵν', ἐὰν φαίγηται,

4 ἠύχόμεν

- συντάξις γράψαι Πτολεμαίωι
 τῶι γραμματεῖ τῶν γεωργῶν
 10 λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀντὶ πυροῦ κ(ριθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) κε
 διὰ [τῆ]ν περιέχουσάν με ἐν τῶι
 ἔτει θλίψιν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔσηι
 κεχαρισμένος θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις.

(2nd H) Πτολεμαίωι. ὡς ἂν ἡ χρήσις συμπληρωθῆ.

- 15 προνοήθητι ὡς παραδεχόμεθα).

(ἔτους) λδ Ἐπειφ δ.

15 παραδεχόμεθα

Translation:

Dorion, since we could not get in touch with you because of the bombast and fear which surround you — from the start I have prayed to all gods that in these respects you may progress further — I have been brought to the point to propose to you in writing that, if it seems good to you, you order that it be written to Ptolemaios, the scribe of the farmers, that instead of grain he accepts 25 art(abas) of barley from me because of the pressure which surrounds me this year. If you act accordingly you will be pleasing to both gods and men.

(2nd H) To Ptolemaios. When the loan is fulfilled take care that we acknowledge it. Year 34, Epeiph 4.

The writer of this request, who is not named (no trace of an address is visible on the other side), is unable to repay a certain amount of grain and asks Dorion to allow him to pay instead 25 artabas of barley. In spite of the fact that the writer must pay something to the recipient of this request and cannot pay it in wheat and must pay it in barley, he is not necessarily the social or professional inferior of the recipient. Comparison of the hands (one is reminded of the contrast of hand of Apollonios, the *dioiketes*, with that of Zenon, the efficient agent) suggests the opposite (in any case the writer is the more literate). The peremptory, not to say sarcastic tone points in the same direction, as do the literary echoes. The absence of *χαίρειν* and the closing formula could be intentional (the writer obviously wants to be rude). Cf. Theophrastes, *Characters* XXIV 13 (and the note on p. 209 of R. G. USSHER, *The Characters of Theophrastes*, London 1960).

The recipient is supposed to direct this request to Ptolemaios, scribe of the farmers, and this is carried out by the recipient apparently in that he forwarded the letter to Ptolemaios with his own instructions in the last three lines. The 25 artabas of barley probably were more than the number of artabas of wheat which had to be

paid and which the writer might have received as a loan. Dorion is, therefore, in a position to give orders to a γραμματεὺς τῶν γεωργῶν. His exact position cannot be established anymore, but he may have been a προεστὼς τῶν γεωργῶν or a σιτολόγος. Another function, e.g. κομάρχης (cf. H. E. L. MISSLER, *Der Komarch*, Diss. Marburg 1970, 62 ff.) or κωμογραμματεὺς (cf. L. CRIUSCULO, "Ricerche sul komogrammateus nell' Egitto tolemaico", *Aegyptus* 58, 1978, 3 ff.), cannot be excluded. Cf., e.g., *P. Vindob. Tandem* 9.

We cannot say what reason the writer had for this request. He may have been unable to deliver the wheat because of an insufficient inundation (cf. D. BONNEAU, *Le fisc et le Nil*, Paris 1971, 227 ff.), but also internal or external troubles may have forced him to ask for the change.

The first hand writes large carefully written letters. It is not unlike *P. Lond.* I 24 (163 B.C. = Tafel 6 in R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* I, Stuttgart 1967). The date of the papyrus, therefore, is more probably July 29, 147 B.C. than July 26, 136 B.C. The second hand is an uncharacteristical cursive but the hand of a practised scribe.

1) Δωρίων: we suppose that this is the person to whom this request is directed and who writes his own instructions to Ptolemaios in the last three lines. The name stands isolated in the first line. We are, therefore, dealing with a nominative instead of a vocative (cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.1, Berlin und Leipzig 1926, 55 f.). The *PP* does not help to identify this person. The sender of this request remains unknown (since there is no address on the other side, the request was prodelivered). It is not totally to be excluded that Dorion is the writer of the request (this supposition implies one has to assume ellipsis of a dative + χαίρειν). If the recipient received the wheat as a loan of seed he may have been a βασιλικὸς γεωργός or a cleruch, since βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ and cleruchs are very often and almost exclusively the borrowers of σπέρμα (cf. H. A. RUPPRECHT, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, München 1967, 157 ff.).

3) στόμφον: the substantive στόμφος = "lofty phrases" occurs only in Longinus, *Περὶ ὕψους* III 1 and XXXII 7. The adjective στομφός is more often attested. Cf. *Thes.Ling. Graecae* s.v. στόμβος.

φόβον: the fear which Dorion inspires. In lines 11-12 a similar construction is used. One can picture a nasty, self important official who is always busy talking only to important people and whom you had better not disturb if you know what is good for you.

4-5) According to us this sentence is sarcastic. The exact meaning of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ("Since I first met you" or "Since you got a given office") escapes us.

4) εὐχόμεν: cf. B. G. MANDILARAS, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, § 266.

6-7) προσανενέγκαι: inf. aor. II of προσαναφέρω with the ending of the first aorist (cf. B. G. MANDILARAS, *op. cit.*, § 317; E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* I.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1939, 135 ff.).

7) εἰν φαίνηται: for this stereotype expression, see J. L. WHITE, *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition*, SBL Diss. Series 5, Columbia 1972, 48 ff.; A. DI BITONTO, "Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico", *Aegyptus* 48, 1968, 70, 80, 82, 86, 95 (where also parallels for συντάξις γράψαι, as in line 8, can be found).

8-9) A Ptolemaios, γραμματεὺς τῶν γεωργῶν, is not attested in the *PP*. For organisations of farmers, see M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* I², München 1972, 157 ff.; N. HOHLWEIN, "Le blé d'Égypte", *Étud.d.Pap.* 4, 1938, 42 ff. A. TOMSIN, *Étude sur les πρεσβύτεροι dans les villages de la χώρα égyptienne*, Acad. Roy. Belg. Bull. Cl. d. Lettr., sér. V^e, Tome XXXVIII, Bruxelles 1952, 122 assumes that the γραμματεὺς τῶν γεωργῶν was a royal official.

10) λαβεῖν: it is not to be excluded that this is part of a compound and that at the end of line 9 a prepositional prefix has to be supplemented.

ἀντί πυροῦ κ(ριθῆς) (ἀρτάβας) κε: in *WO* 1529 the ratio of grain to barley is 1:2. In the *Apocalypse* of John 6,6 the ratio is 2:3. In *P. Lond.* VII 1994 and 1995 we find 5 artabas of barley equal 3 artabas of grain. Cf. T. REEKMANS, *La sitométrie dans les Archives de Zénon*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 3, Bruxelles 1966, 25, 27, 37, 63 n. 2.

11-12) ἐν τῷ ἔτει: the meaning seems to be "in this year" but one expects this to be expressed by ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔτει. At the top of the iota of τῷ there is an ank-trace which could be interpreted as a small delta. If, however, the scribe wanted to correct to τῷδε he did not carry out his intention.

12) θλίψιτ: cf. G. H. R. HORSLEY, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* I, Marquarie University 1981, 84.

πότησας: cf. E. MAYSER - H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik* I.1², Berlin 1970, 87 ff.; F. T. GIGNAC, *Grammar* I, Milano 1976, 199 ff.

12-13) Cf., e.g., *P. Zen. Col.* I 7,3-4: τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν χαρίζοι ἂν καὶ μοι καὶ τῷ θεῷ. Here the writer is also sarcastic.

ἔσθι κεχαρισμένος: cf. B. G. MANDILARAS, *op. cit.*, § 525.

14) ὡς ἂν: = ὅτ' ἂν (cf. F. M. ABEL, *Grammaire du grec biblique*, Paris 1927, 297). For ὡς ἂν + conj. aor. followed by an imperative in the apodosis, cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.1, Berlin und Leipzig 1926, 271 ff.

7

PERMISSION TO HARVEST

Arsinoite nome 16.7 × 9.6 cm. Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. II.15. A medium-brown papyrus irregularly broken off at all sides. At the top there is a free margin of 4 cm. The free margin at the left side varies from 2.5 to 1.5 cm. On both sides the text runs along the fibers. On the verso there are traces of several lines of writing. Some of the ink-traces may be offsets. The only readable word (8 cm. from the top and 3 cm. from the left side [seen from the side with the main text]) is Διονυσίου. The connection, if any, of this person with the text on the other side remains unclear.

The text has previously been published in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 124-126 with plate VIIb.

Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ ἐξεληφὼς
τὴν ἀπόμοιραν τῶν ἀκροδρύ(ων)

- καὶ τῶν μετεώρων καρπῶν
 τοῦ νομοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ . . . (ἔτος)
 5 Ἑλένηι Ἀπολλοδώρου χαίρειν·
 ἐπικεχώρησαι τρυγᾶν
 καὶ ἀποφέρεσθαι τοὺς
 καρποὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι
 φοινικίων καρπῶν περὶ
 10 Ἄρεως κόμηγ τῆς Πολέμωνος
 μερίδος τε(ταγμένη) (ἔτους) κγ ἐπὶ τῆγ
 βα[σιλι]κῆν τράπεζαν
 --- traces of two more lines ---

Translation:

Apollonios, contractor for the apomoira on fruit-trees and on unharvested fruits of the nome for the . . . year to Helene, daughter of Apollodoros, greetings. You have been given permission to harvest and carry away the fruits of the date-palms which belong to you in the neighbourhood of the village of Ares in the division of Polemon having paid to the royal bank for the 23rd year ---

Apollonios, who has contracted to collect the apomoira due on fruit-trees throughout the whole nome for an unknown year (cf. note to line 4), gives a certain Helene, daughter of Apollodoros (neither person is known from elsewhere) permission to harvest and carry away her dates. The permission was only given after Helene had paid the normal ἔκτη for ἀπόμοιρα. As far as we are aware, this is the first text explicitly giving permission to an owner of produce to carry away his harvest.

Apollonios' title, which occurs here for the first time, teaches us not only that the apomoira was collected by nome, but also that it was collected by species. The collector was one year in function. Cf. for the apomoira, Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 53 ff.; J. BINGEN, "Les Papyrus Revenue Laws. Tradition grecque et adaptation hellénistique", *Rhein-Westfäl. Akad. d. Wiss.* [Vorträge 23], 1978, 17 f.; *P. Moen* inv. no. 16 (= SB XIV 11893) published in *CdE* 53, 1978, 307 ff.

Although mostly called ἀπόμοιρα ἀμπελιτικῆς γῆς καὶ παραδείσων, the apomoira, as has long been recognised, was not only paid on ἀμπελῶνες but on φοινικῶνες (which fell under παραδείσων) and ἀκρόδρυα as well (cf. U. WILCKEN, *Griechische Ostraka* I, Leipzig und Berlin 1899, 157, 2n.; *P. Hib.* I 109). Apollonios

has to collect the apomoira on fruit-trees, more specifically on the fruits still hanging on these trees. We assume that καί in line 3 is explicative (cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.3, Berlin und Leipzig 1934, 141).

3) μετεώρων: for the meaning "not yet harvested", cf. *CdE* 53, 1978, 310 (cf. φοινικας ἐκπίπτοντας in *BGU* XV 2484, 2n.). The same meaning for this adjective may apply to its use in *P. Ross. Georg.* II 28,24. Cf., however, *P. Köln* V pp. 166 f.

4) ἐπὶ τῷ . . (ἔτος): cf. for the meaning of ἐπὶ, E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1934, 479. As Apollonios gives Helene permission to carry away her dates after she paid the apomoira for the 23rd year, one expects Apollonios to have contracted the collection of the apomoira for the 23rd year. We are, however, unable to read κγ in this line. A possible reading is κδ. The harvest of dates happens during the last three months of the year (cf. M. SCHNEBEL, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München 1925, 298). It is, therefore, possible that taxes for a crop which grew in the 23rd year were paid in the 24th year. Apollonios may have been collector in the year 158/7 B.C.

7-9) τοὺς καρπούς — — — φοινικίνων καρπῶν: a slight contamination between τοὺς καρπούς — — — φοινίκων and τοὺς ὑπάρχοντάς σοι φοινικίνους καρπούς.

10) Ἄρεφς κόμηγ: cf. A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* I.2, Madrid 1966, 198 ff.

13) It is not to be excluded that at the end of this line (γίνονται) (δραχμαί) + an unreadable number has to be read. If this suggestion is correct the lacuna at the beginning of this line can be supplemented with δραχμάς + a number written in full.

8

ORDER TO LOAD

Arsinoite nome

19 × 6 cm.

153/2 B.C.(?)

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.10. A light-brown papyrus consisting of two joined fragments. Only at the left side is the papyrus regularly cut off. At the left is a free margin of 1 cm., at the top one of 3.5 to 4 cm. and at the bottom one of about 2 cm. The text runs along the fibers. On the other side are traces of ink which, however, are not letters.

Ἀπολλώνιος

Διονυσίωι χαίρε[IV]

καὶ ἐρρῶ[σ]θαί·

καλῶς ποιή[σεις]

5 προεμβαλῶ[ν]

Χεσερταίωι τῶ[ι]

λεσῶνι τὸ ἐνιαύ-

σιον τοῦ κθ (ἔτους)
 καὶ τὸ θέμα
 10 τὸ παρὰ τῶν
 χειριστῶν καθῶς
 ὑπολελόγη[ται]
 ἡμῖν καὶ μὴ
 κατάσχης
 15 αὐτόν.

9 τό ex corr. 12 ὑπολελόγηται

Translation:

Apollonios to Dionysios, greetings and well-being. Please, load now already for Chesertaios, the lesonis-priest, the yearly allowance (?) for year 29 and the deposit of the cheiristai as it has been calculated by us and do not delay him.

Apollonios whom we cannot identify, but who probably was an official at the nome (less likely village) level, asks a certain Dionysios (cf. text no. 12,5n.) to load (προεμβalῶν points in the direction of grain) in advance some cargoes. It is not absolutely certain that Dionysios (cf. also text no. 9) has to load both the ἐνιαύσιον and the θέμα on behalf of Chesertaios, who may be the recipient of only the ἐνιαύσιον.

For the date of this text, see text no. 12,5n.

2-3) χαίρε[iv] καὶ ἐρρῶ[σ]θαί: cf. F. X. EXLER, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*, Diss. Washington 1923, 106 ff.; text no. 18,2n.

4) καλῶς ποιή[σεις]: cf. F. X. EXLER, *op. cit.*, 118 and text no. 18,2n.

5) προεμβalῶ[v]: the verb προεμβάλλω occurred in the papyri only in *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59637,6 till now. We do not know why the goods for Chesertaios were loaded before the moment due.

6-7) Χεσερταῖω τῶ[ι] λεσῶνι: this person was not attested before. The name Χεσερταῖος although listed by D. FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* 341a from *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59611,2 (= *PP* II no. 4741) has not been attested before, since Χεσερ[ταῖος] in the Cairo text is changed to Χεσερ[ταῖς] in *PLBat.* 21, p. 440. The name Χεσερταῖς is also attested in *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59114,2 (cf. also text no. 9,1). Cf., however, the name Χεσορταῖος. For the λεσῶνις-priest, see *P. Vindob. Tandem* 21 introduction and *P. Tor. Amenotnes* 11,20 and p. 101 note j.

7-8) τὸ ἐνιαύσιον: although the papyrus is very difficult to read at this point, our reading seems to agree with the preserved traces. It is not certain what this ἐνιαύσιον means. We assume that the allowance paid by the government to, among others, priests (cf. text no. 17,5-6n.), i.e. the σύνταξις is meant. The syntaxis could be paid in kind (cf. S.L.

WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt*, Princeton 1938, 239). If our assumption is right the syntaxis would be paid once a year.

9) τὸ θέμα: cf. F. PREISIGKE, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten*, Strassburg 1910, 72, 185, 247; D. HAGEDORN, "ΘΕΜΑ", *ZPE* 25, 1978, 197f. If the θέμα of the χειρισται has also to be loaded on behalf of Chesertaios we do not know what the relationship between the priest and the cheirstai was. May-be he was their representative.

13) ἡμῖν: the use of the plural is noteworthy. Are we dealing with a *pluralis sociativus* and are Apollonios and Dionysios meant, c.q. Apollonios and his associates? For the use of the dative with passive verb-forms, cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1933, 273.

13-15) καὶ μὴ κατάσχης αὐτόν: cf., e.g., *P. Lille* 18, 8-9 (and note).

9

ORDER CONCERNING GRAIN

Oxyrhyncha

32 × 7 cm.

22.7.-25.8.151 B.C.(?)

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.29. A light-brown papyrus consisting of five joined fragments. With the exception of the bottom, all sides are regularly cut off. At the left side there is a margin of 1 cm., at the top one of 3 cm. and at the bottom one of 5.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank.

Χεσερταῖς

Διονυσίωι χαίρειν·

τάς ιγ (ἀρτάβας) τοῦ πυροῦ

ὧν ἔχεις ἐν τῷ κθ (ἔτει)

5 εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοδ-

ώρου τοῦ . . . ρ[

τῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων,

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου

10 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ι, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κγ,

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ

λ (ἔτει) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) κγ,

(γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) μς.

καλῶς ποιήσεις

15 ἀπάγωγ τὰς ἐξ καὶ

τριακ[οντ]α ἀρτάβας

εἰς τὸν λόγον

τοῦ ιχου
 τοῦ Θεοδώρου,
 20 (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λ[ς
 ταύτας --- traces ---
 --- traces ---
 καθὼς --- traces ---
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λ' Ἐπειφ . .

Translation:

Chesertais to Dionysios, greetings. The 13 arta(bas) of wheat which you have in the 29th year on account of Theodoros, son of N.N., of the people of Oxyrhyncha, and likewise also the 10 art. of wheat for the ergasterion, total 23 art. of wheat, and likewise also the 23 art. of wheat in the 30th year, total 46 art. of wheat ---. Please transport the thirty six artabas to the account of N.N., son of Theodoros ---. Farewell. Year 30, Epeiph . .

The above papyrus is not totally clear to us due to the mutilation of the lower part and because a verb reigning lines 1-13 seems to be lacking.

Chesertais requests Dionysios who probably is the same person as the one mentioned in text no. 8 (cf. also text no. 12,5n.) to do something with 46 artabas of wheat (23 of year 29 and 23 of year 30) which as a sitologos(?) he keeps in a θησαυρός(?). The connection between Chesertais and Dionysios cannot be established with certainty. Neither do we know why this transaction was performed and what its exact character was.

For the date of this text, see text no. 12,5n.

4-6) The distance between these lines is smaller than between the other lines. It is, however, hardly likely that line 5 was added afterwards.

5-6) Θεοδῶρου τοῦ . . . ρ[: we realize that we have here a strange word-division in the proper name which we read, but it seems warranted by the preserved traces. In line 6 after τοῦ we expect the name of Theodoros' father.

8) At the end of this line something seems to be washed away.

14) Theoretically it would be possible to see in καλῶς ποιήσεις the main verb reigning all that precedes: "Concerning the 13 art. of wheat ---, please, transport the thirty six artabas ---."

15-20) It seems that the 36 artabas of wheat have to be booked on the account of the son of Theodoros. It could be that we are dealing with the 13 artabas mentioned in line 3 together with the 23 artabas from line 12. What happened to the 10 artabas received on behalf of the ergasterion (lines 9-10) remains unknown.

18) Although many traces have been preserved, we are unable to read the expected name of the son of Theodoros (line 19). The end of the line is very doubtfully read and a reading -- ιχον may be more convincing.

19) The photograph does not permit to exclude the reading υιοῦ, but more convincing to us is to assume that the right part of the tau curved far down.

23) After καθώς, we expect something like προγέγραπται. The traces are, however, so vague that we cannot confirm what we expect.

10

ORDER FOR PAYMENT

Arsinoite nome 15.4 × 15.5 cm. Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. II.16. A light-brown papyrus regularly cut off at the top and left side, but irregularly broken off at the two other sides. Two vertical folds are still visible. At the top there is a free margin of about 5.5 cm. and at the left side one of about 3.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers. On the other side is the address, which also runs along the fibers, and ink-traces, some of which are certainly offsets, which run along and across the fibers.

The text has previously been published in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 126-127 with plate VIIIa.

Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Νί[κ]ανδρος
 χρηματοφύλακες τ[οῦ] κροκοδίου
 Διονυσίωι χαίρειν· ἀπ[ό]δος]
 . . οὔτι ὧν ἔχεις τιμὴν
 5 ἀπὸ συναγορασμοῦ τῶν τοῦ
 κροκ[οδίου] χρημάτων
 πυροῦ [ἀρτάβας ἑκατό]ν, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) ρ
 ὑπὲρ ὧ[v --- c. 10 letters ---] τῆς ἀποχῆς
 [--- c. 15 letters --- ἑκατ]ὸν ἀρταβῶν

Verso: -----

10 Διονυ[σίωι]

Translation:

Apollonios and Nikandros, treasurers of the crocodile, to Dionysios, greetings. Give N.N. from what you have as price from what was bought up with the money of the crocodile one hundred artabas of wheat, total 100 (artabas of) wheat for which one hundred artabas of wheat you will also receive a copy of the receipt (?) ---

This curious document is not totally understandable. So much seems certain: two persons give a third person an order to pay a price, probably 100 artabas wheat.

The reason for this payment could be that the person who receives payment bought something up for Apollonios and Nikandros (in that case ἀπό states the reason, cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1934, 379). It is also possible that the 100 artabas of wheat are paid out of what was bought up (in this case the wheat). Apollonios and Nikandros (neither man is known from elsewhere) seem to urge Dionysios (this name is too common to venture an identification of the person) to get a receipt from the man he delivers the wheat to.

Apollonios and Nikandros (both persons have a Greek name. Cf. W. PEREMANS, "Égyptiens et étrangers dans le clergé, le notariat et les tribunaux dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque", *Anc. Soc.* 4, 1973, 59 ff.) are styled χρηματοφύλακες τοῦ κροκόδου. With the crocodile (also in line 6) a god venerated in the form of a crocodile is undoubtedly meant. G. RONCHI (*Lexicon theonymon* III, Milano 1975, s.v. κροκόδειλος θεός) refers to the gods Πετεσοῦχος, Πνεφερώς, Σόξις, Σοῦχος, Φεμβροῆρις and Ψονσαῦς, all of which were more or less widely venerated in the Fayum (cf. W.J.R. RÜBSAM, *Götter und Kulte in Faiyum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit*, Bonn 1974; *Lex. d. Ägyptol.* III Spalte 7951 ff.). To the best of our knowledge none of these gods is ever referred to as κροκόδειλος alone. In theory any one of the above mentioned gods could be meant, but in view of the widespread and intensive cult of Suchos (cf. W.J.R. RÜBSAM, *op. cit.*, 12 ff.; G. RONCHI, *op. cit.* V, Milano 1977, 1011 ff. and the literature cited on pp. 1019 ff.), it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Suchos is the god referred to here.

Apollonios and Nikandros are called "treasurers of the crocodile". The word χρηματοφύλαξ occurred up till now only in *P. RyI.* IV 586 of about 99 B.C. (τοῦ κοινοῦ χρηματοφύλαξ; cf. the introduction to the Rylands text). The two persons mentioned guard the funds of the god. It is a well-known fact that the Egyptian temples had several forms of revenue and were often quite rich (cf. J. A. S. EVANS, "A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in the Greco-Roman Period", *YCIS* 17, 1971, 207 ff.).

4) ..οὔτι: a possible reading is Παιοὔτι. It is, however, impossible to identify this person with one of the bearers of this name listed in the *PP*.

7) (πυροῦ): for the symbol Ϟ , see A. BLANCHARD, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs: recherches de paléographie*, *BICS* 30, London 1974, 44, 18n. and 22n.

8 ff.) A possible reconstruction of the last lines of this text could be:

ὑπὲρ ᾧ[ν καὶ ἀντίγραφον] τῆς ἀποχῆς
[τῶν τοῦ πυροῦ ἑκατ]ὸν ἄρταβῶν
[λήμψεις

11

ORDER FROM THE CHREMATISTAI TO APOLLONIOS

Crocodilopolis 17.3 × 11.2 cm. (Plate III) Mid-second century B.C.
 P. Erasm. inv. no. I.27. A light-brown papyrus which is regularly cut off at the top, bottom and right side. At the left it is regularly broken off. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. At the bottom there is a free margin of about 3 cm. There is a κόλλησις about 4.5 cm. from the top.

(2nd H) [(ἔτους) λα Φαρμουῦθι] ἰῆ ἔγρ(αψα) παρηγγελ(κέναι) Πετειαρψενήσει
 [καί] τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιμέσι.

(1st H) [N.N. καὶ N.N. χρηματισται τῶν] τὰς βασιλικὰς οἱ ἐν Κροκοδίλων
 πόλει τοῦ

[Ἀρσινοίτου κρίναντες ὧν εἰσαγωγεὺς] Ἄσκληπιάδης Ἀπολλωνίῳ
 χαίρειν· λαβὼν

[ἀντίγρ(αφον) ἐντεύξ(εως) τῆς ἐπιδοθεί(σης) ὑπὸ]ρμούθου
 δὸς τοῖς ἐγκεκλήμενοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

5 [N.N. καὶ N.N. καὶ Πετειαρ]ψενήσει καὶ παράγγειλον παραγίνεσθαι
 [ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον ἐν ἡμέραις ἔ]χοντας καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 κατάστασιν

[δικαιώματα καὶ, ὃν ἂν τρόπον παραγγείλ]ης, ἀντίγραψον.
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λα Φαρμουῦθι ιζ.

Translation:

(2nd H) On the 18th of Pharmuthi of the 31st year I wrote that I have summoned Peteharpsenesis and the other shepherds. (1st H) N.N. and N.N., chrematistai who hear appeals to the king, judges in Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoite nome whose clerk is Asklepiades, to Apollonios, greetings. Having received a copy of the enteuxis delivered by — — rmuthes, give it to the persons accused by him, N.N. and N.N. and Peteharpsenesis, and summon them to be present in court within x days and to bring the documents for the pleading, and write back how you served the summons. Farewell. Year 31, Pharmuthi 16.

[— —]rmuthes has handed in an enteuxis. On the 16th of Pharmuthi the chrematistai, in whose resort the complaint had to be dealt with, order Apollonios to deliver a copy of this enteuxis to the accused and to summon them to appear in court within a certain number of days, prepared to plead their cause. Apollonios has to inform the chrematistai how he proceeded to summon the defendants. On the

18th of Pharmuthi Apollonios wrote on the order which he had received from the chrematistai that he had summoned the defendants and the second hand which added this information above the main text is the handwriting of Apollonios himself.

This kind of documents has been thoroughly dealt with by P. M. MEYER, *Juristische Papyri* 78 (= *BGU VI* 1248) introduction. The Berlin text is the report of the head of the village, in which the defendants reside, to the clerk of the chrematistai. The head of the village tells how he proceeded to summon the defendants or at least one of them (cf. line 7 of the present papyrus). It seems that the fact that he served the summons was more important than how he did it. *P. Mich. Zen.* 39 is, like the present papyrus, a letter from the chrematistai to a person (viz. Zenon) with the request to deliver an indictment and to order the defendants to appear in court.

1) If nothing more stood in the lacuna at the beginning of this line than we supplemented, the line was indented.

ἔγρ(αψα): we are dealing with a case of "inclusion" of the rho (cf. A. BLANCHARD, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs: recherches de paléographie*, BICS 30, London 1974, 4 with note 25).

What we read at the end of this line is given with much hesitation. Read perhaps: ποιμέσι[v].

2) χρηματισται τῶν τὰς βασιλικᾶς: cf. E. SEIDL, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, Ägyptische Forschungen, Heft 22, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1962, 75 and text no. 1,31-32n.

2-3) Crocodilopolis was the main seat of the chrematistai in question; from here they covered the area appointed to them (cf. E. SEIDL, *op. cit.*, 75f.). Instead of κρίναντες we could supplement δικάσταί (cf. *BGU VI* 1249,5-6).

3) εἰσαγωγεύς]: cf. text no. 1,32n.

The *PP* does not list an εἰσαγωγεύς called Ἀσκληπιάδης. It is impossible to say whether the same person is mentioned in a still unpublished Dublin text (cf. *PP IX* no. 7966a). He certainly is not identical with the Asklepiades mentioned in line 1 of *BGU VI* 1248. Since the epistates played an important role in the legal system (cf. E. LAVIGNE, *De epistates van het dorp in Ptolemaïsch Egypte*, *Studia Hellenistica* 3, Lovanii 1945), it is very probable that the Apollonios mentioned in this text is the same person as the Apollonios, epistates, to whom text no. 4 was addressed and who may be also mentioned in text no. 3.

4) We do not expect abbreviations in a letter written across the fibers in a very careful official hand but reasons of space force us to assume them nevertheless. We think it improbable to omit ἀντίγραφον.

]ρμούθου: there are several proper names ending in -ρμούθης. Here one of the shorter ones (e.g., Ἑρμούθης) is preferable, since only about 30 letters are missing in the lacuna to the left.

5) It is more likely that we have to supply two proper names in the lacuna at the beginning of this line rather than ἄλλοις ποιμέσιν. The latter restoration would be rather short, and we would then expect Peteharpsenesis to be mentioned in the first position. It is in any case strange that Peteharpsenesis is the only one mentioned by name in line 1 while in this line he certainly is not mentioned first. It is possible that *all* the names of the ἄλλοι ποιμένες were

unknown and that in this line only those persons were named whose names were known. In the complaints of the Apollonios archive (UPZ) one also finds such variation and inconsistency in who is being accused. May we deduce from the difference between lines 1 and 5 that Apollonios served the summons only to Peteharsenesis?

6) In *BGU VI* 1248 the defendants have to appear in court within five days; in *P. Tebt.* I 14 within three days.

7) Cf. *P. Meyer* 78,5 ff. Another, perhaps better supplement may be: *καὶ ὡς ἂν αὐτοὺς παραγγείλῃς, ἀντίγραφον*: "and inform us that you summoned them", which was exactly what Apollonios did (see line 1).

8) If we suppose that year 31 is the 31st year of the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, the date mentioned in this line would be 13.5.150 B.C. It took Apollonios only two days to serve the summons (15.5.150 B.C. in line 1).

12

PROCHRESIS

Kaine

21 × 11.5 cm. (Plate IV)

152 B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.3. A medium-brown papyrus incomplete at the bottom. The left side and the top are completely preserved. The right side shows some mutilations in the lower part. To the left of the text is a free margin of about 2.5 cm., and above the text is a free margin of 3.5 cm. The text runs along the fibers on the recto; on the verso it runs across the fibers.

Πεταρμώτης Ὀρου

ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῖς ἐν τῇ

Καινῇ νωτοφόροις καὶ οἱ

ἄλλοι πρυσβύτεροι

5 Διονυσίωι τῶι σιτολογοῦν-

τι τὸ περὶ Ὀξύρυγχα ἔργα(στήριον)

χαίρειν· ὁμολογοῦμεν

ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ

τῶν γενημάτων

10 τοῦ κθ (ἔτους) ὑπὲρ φο-

ρέτρου ἐν προχρήσει

πυρῶν ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι,

(γίνονται) πυρῶν ἀ(ρτάβαι) κ μέτρωι

4 πρυσβύτεροι 13 πυρῶν παρ.

τῶι πρὸς τ[ὸ] χαλκοῦν
 15 καὶ οὐ μὴ ἄψωμαι φορέτρο[υ]
 ἐὰν μὴ κουφίσωμαι αὐ[τάς]
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιβαλλομ[έ]ν[ων]
 μοι φορέτρον. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 ἀποτείσωμ[ε]ν, μετ[ρ]ήσομεν
 20 [πυρῶν ἀ(ρτάβας) μ.]

Verso:

(2nd H) τῶι σιτολο(γοῦντι) πα-
 ρὰ τοῖς νωτοφ(όροις).

18 φορέτρον 19 ἀποτείσωμεν 21 τ of τῶι smudged 22 τῶν νωτοφ(όρων)

Translation:

Peteharmotes, son of Horos, president of the carriers in Kaine and the other elders to Dionysios, sitologos of the ergasterion around Oxyrhyncha, greetings. We acknowledge that we have received from you as a loan of the harvest of the 29th year for transport-expenses twenty artabas of wheat, total 20 art. of wheat, with the measure on the bronze standard and I shall not touch the transport-expenses if I shall not subtract them from the transport-expenses which fall to me. If we shall not repay in full we shall measure 40 art. of wheat.

Verso: (2nd H) To the sitologos from the carriers.

The carriers in Kaine who undoubtedly are involved in the transportation of grain to Alexandria are entitled to a φόρετρον. Through their president and the other elders they acknowledge that they have received an advance of 20 artabas of wheat from the sitologos Dionysios. They will repay him when the φόρετρον due to them has been paid out. If they do not repay the advance they will measure to Dionysios the double amount.

For πρόχρησις, see H. KÜHNERT, *Zum Kreditgeschäft in den hellenistischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian*, Diss. Erlangen 1965; H. A. RUPPRECHT, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, München 1967; *P. Oxy.* L 3589, 13-17n.

For the date of this text, see note to line 5.

1) A Peteharmotes, son of Horos, ἡγούμενος τοῖς ἐν Καινῇ νωτοφόροις is not attested in the *PP*. It is hardly possible that the person mentioned in our text is identical with the komarches of Oxyrhyncha mentioned in *P. Tebt.* III 888,7: [...].τ...ης "Ωρου (= *PP* I no. 778; first half of the second century B.C.). For the name Πετεαρμώτης, see W. CLARYSSE, "Philadelphia and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive", in "Studies in Ptolemaic Mem-

phis", *Studia Hellenistica* 24, Lovanii 1980, 118 f. It is not astonishing that the president of the carriers is an Egyptian to judge by the name (cf. W. PEREMANS, "Notes sur l'administration civile et financière de l'Égypte sous les Lagides", *Anc. Soc.* 10, 1979, 139 ff.). The organization of *νοτοφόροι* over which he presides and the board of *πρεσβύτεροι* were Egyptian institutions (cf. A. TOMSIN, *Étude sur les πρεσβύτεροι dans les villages de la χώρα égyptienne*, Acad. Roy. Belg. Bull. Cl. d. Lettr., sér. V^e, Tome XXXVIII, Bruxelles 1952, 98 ff. and 122 ff. Cf. also A. E. SAMUEL, "The Greek Element in the Ptolemaic Bureaucracy", *Proc. of the Twelfth Intern. Congr. of Pap.* = ASP 7, Toronto 1970, 443 ff.). The same Peteharmotes also in text no. 15.

2-3) ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Καινῇ νοτοφόροις: ἡγούμενοι of different kinds of organisations are known (cf. F. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch III*, Abschn. 8 s.v. and see the literature cited by R. W. DANIEL, "Notes on the Guilds and Army in Roman Egypt", *BASP* 16, 1979, 41 note 8). ἡγούμενος is normally followed by a substantive in the genitive. In our text ἡγούμενος followed by the dative is still nearer the participle: ἡγέομαι + dative = to lead, to command. According to M. SAN NICOLÒ, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer II*², München 1972, 53 ff., one person headed and represented the organisation. In the present papyrus the carriers direct themselves to the *sitologos* (cf. the text on the verso and the use of the plural in lines 7 and 19), but they are represented by their ἡγούμενος (cf. the singular in lines 15 and 16).

τῇ Καινῇ: for this village, see A. CALDERINI-S. DARIS, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano III*, Milano 1978, 48, sub 3.

νοτοφόροις: not mentioned in M. SAN NICOLÒ, *op. cit.*, as an organisation. We are dealing with persons who transport burdens upon their backs (cf. plates 174 and 191 in L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanhip in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971). *νοτοφόρος* occurs in the papyri mostly as an adjective and mostly in the Ptolemaic period, but we find the word as a substantive and in the Roman period as well (e.g., *P. Goth.* 16).

4) *πρυσβύτεροι* = *πρεσβύτεροι* (cf. E. MAYSER-H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik I*², Berlin 1970, 46). The board of *πρεσβύτεροι* which we encounter most in the Ptolemaic period is the board of the *πρεσβύτεροι τῶν βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν* (cf. M. SAN NICOLÒ, *op. cit.* II 54,1n. and I 162 ff.). *πρεσβύτεροι* were freely chosen representatives of an organisation, and they led the organisation, headed by a president = ἡγούμενος, as in the present papyrus. From this papyrus it follows that the *νοτοφόροι* were organised in the same way.

5) *Διονυσίωι*: the *sitologos* Dionysios also occurs in text no. 13. He is not listed in the *PP*. The mention of Dionysios *σιτολογῶν τὸ περὶ Ὁξύρυγχα ἐργαστήριον*, to whom the above text is addressed, enables us to date it more exactly and thus also texts nos. 13, 15 and 16 and in all probability also texts nos. 8 and 9.

A *sitologos* Dionysios whose area of responsibility is τὸ περὶ Ὁξύρυγχα ἐργαστήριον plays a major role in many of the *Papyri Erasmianae* which are still unpublished (cf. Preface). On one hand, he is the addressee of most of the orders of loading among the papyri of the Rotterdam collection; on the other hand, he is the *sitologos* from whom the grain comes which ναύκληροι were going to transport to Alexandria and for which they had to give *σύμβολα*, many of which are preserved among the *Papyri Erasmianae*.

Since the sender of the orders of loading states that the grain had to be loaded "in accordance with the *χρηματισμός* of Chairemon, the *epimeletes*" and since this *epimeletes* Chairemon can be exactly dated (cf. *PP I* no. 958 and text no. 17 introduction of the present publication), it is possible to date these orders of loading and the Rotterdam *naukleros*-receipts to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.).

Assuming that the Dionysios mentioned in the present text is the same person as the Dionysios in these orders of loading and naukleros-receipts, the present text also falls in the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor. Year 29 mentioned in line 10 is, then, 153-152 B.C. (the handwriting of text no. 12 may be compared with that of UPZ I 114 = Tavola 21 in O. MONTEVECCHI, *La Papirologia*, Torino 1973). Since there is a question of a πρόχρησις of twenty artabas of wheat from the harvest of year 29 (= 153/2 B.C.) and since the grain-harvest fell in the months April-May (cf. M. SCHNEBEL, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München 1925, 162 ff.), the date of this papyrus is in all probability 152 B.C. (less likely 151 B.C.). The same holds true for texts nos. 13 and 15.

Although the year of the harvest is not mentioned it is very probable that text no. 13 has also to be dated to 153/2 B.C. It is directed to the same Dionysios, and in text no. 16 (dated to year 29) reference is in all probability made to this text in combination with text no. 12.

If it is correct to restore τοῦ κῆ (ἔτους) in line 2 of text no. 15 (as far as preserved, its structure is identical with texts nos. 12 and 13), it too has to be dated to 153/2 B.C., since there is very probably a question of the same Peteharmotes who plays a part in text no. 12.

In text no. 16, a written document from the νοτοφόροι and χειρισταί in connection with an advance payment of grain (lines 2-4) is mentioned. We assume that with this document texts nos. 12 and 13 are meant. We also assume that Dionysios, to whom text no. 16 is addressed, is the sitologos mentioned in texts nos. 12 and 13. We therefore, date text no. 16 to 22.8.152 B.C. (cf. line 13).

Texts nos. 8 and 9 are addressed to a certain Dionysios. The contents of these texts make it probable that Dionysios is a sitologos. The fact that both papyri belong to the papyrus collection of the Erasmus University (Rotterdam) and that in text no. 8 a year 29 and in text no. 9 a year 29 and a year 30 are mentioned induces us to date text no. 8 to 153/2 B.C. and text no. 9 to July-August 151 B.C.

6) τὸ περὶ Ὀξύρυχα ἔργα(στήριον): this ἐργαστήριον (cf. *P. Tebt.* III 722, 7n.) plays an important role in the *Papyri Erasmianae*. The alpha of ἔργα(στήριον) is raised above the gamma. For Oxyrhyncha, cf. A. CALDERINI-S. DARIS, *op. cit.* III, Milano 1983, 392 f.

7) ὁμολογοῦμεν: the statement of the carriers is cast into the form of a subjective homology (cf. H. J. WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* II, München 1978, 140 f.).

10-11) For φόρετρον, cf. *P. Berliner Leihgabe* I pp. 55 ff.

11) πρόχρησις can have the meaning "loan" or "advance" (cf. H. A. RUPPRECHT, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, München 1967, 5 and notes 20 and 21). In the present papyrus the meaning undoubtedly is "advance (of the salary due to the carriers)."

13-14) μέτροι τῶι πρὸς τ[ὸ] χαλκοῦν: a brachylogic expression (also to be found in, e.g., SB XIV 11887, 11-12) for the fuller form μέτρον δοχικῶ τῷ συμβεβλημένῳ πρὸς τὸ χαλκὸν καὶ σκυτάλη δικαίᾳ (cf., e.g., SB XIV 11962, 14 ff.). Cf. A. J. M. MEYER-TERMEER, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (Studia Amstelodamensia XIII, Zutphen 1978) 243 f.; Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 146.

15 ff.) The carriers promise that they will not touch the advanced part of the φόρετρον unless they deduct it from the salary due to them. If they do not deduct the advanced part from their salary they will pay double the amount they now receive as an advance. Also in texts nos. 13, 14 and 15, the same amounts (20 and 40 artabas) seem to be involved.

21-22) The text on the verso which stands upside-down in relation to the text on the recto is written by a different hand. After receiving the document from Peteharmotes *cum suis*,

a clerk in the office of the sitologos noted down for whom the document was destined and from whom it came. The same person also wrote the notes on the versos of texts nos. 13 and 15. Also on these papyri the texts on the versos stand upside-down in relation to the texts on the rectos.

Noteworthy is the use of παρά + dative instead of παρά + genitive (also in texts nos. 13 and 15). Cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1934, 370.

22) The scribe wanted to abbreviate after $\nu\omega$ and raised the omega above the line. Then he thought better of it and added τοφο with a raised omikron (cf., e.g., P. J. SUPESTEIJN, "Einige Papyri aus der Giessener Papyrussammlung III", *Aegyptus* 52, 1972, 144f.).

13

PROCHRESIS

Kaine

20 × 7 cm. (Plate V)

152 B.C.(?)

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.21. A medium-brown papyrus consisting of two joined fragments. The upper free margin of 3 cm. misses a horizontal strip of about 1.5 cm. The lower margin is 1.5 cm. and the partly preserved left margin 2.5 cm. On all sides the papyrus is fairly regularly broken or cut off. The text runs along the fibers on the recto; on the verso the text stands upside-down in relation to the text on the other side and it runs across the fibers.

Σαραπίων Βελλήους

ὄρμοφύλακος τῆς Καινῆ(ς)

ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῖς ἐν

τῇ Καινῇ χειρισταῖς

5 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προσβύτεροι

[Δ]ιονυσίωι τῶι σιτο-

[λο]γοῦντι τὸ περὶ Ὀξύρυ(γχα)

[ἐρ]γαστήριον χαίρειν·

[ὁ]μολογοῦ<με>ν ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ

10 [π]υρῶν ἀρτάβας εἴκουσι,

[(γίνονται)] πυρῶν ἀ(ρτάβαι) κ, φόρετρον

κ ἀ(ρταβῶν), καὶ οὐ μὴ ἄψωμεν

[φ]όρετρον ἐὰν μὴ κουφί-

[σ]ῶμεν αὐτάς μέτρῳι

5 πρεσβύτεροι

10 εἴκοσι

11 πυρῶν pap.

13 φορέτρον

15 τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν.
 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποτείσω-
 μεν, μετρήσομεν
 πυρῶν ἄ(ρτάβας) μ.

Verso:

(2nd H) τῶι σιτολογοῦν(τι)
 20 παρὰ τοῖς χει(ρισταῖς).
 17 μετρήσομεν 20 τῶν χει(ριστῶν)

Translation:

Sarapion, son of Belles, harbour-master, president of the administrators in Kaine, and the other elders to Dionysios, sitologos of the ergasterion around Oxyrhyncha, greetings. We acknowledge that we have received from you twenty artabas of wheat, total 20 art. of wheat, as transport-expenses 20 art., and we shall not touch the transport-expenses if we shall not subtract them with the measure on the bronze standard. If we shall not repay in full we shall measure 40 art. of wheat.

Verso: (2nd H) To the sitologos from the administrators.

The formula used in this text is generally the same as that of the preceding papyrus, though here several words are omitted and some expressions occur at different places. Although the word *πρόχρησις* is not used in the present text, we are again dealing with an advance as becomes clear from lines 12 ff. No year is mentioned but, since it is directed to the same Dionysios mentioned in text no. 12, it must fall in the same period, i.e. in the second half of the second century B.C. and more specifically in 152/1 B.C. (cf. text no. 12, 5n.).

1) The *PP* does not mention a Sarapion, son of Belles.

Βελλήρου: for this form of the genitive of the proper name Βελλῆς, see H. C. YOUTIE, *Scriptiunculae* II, Amsterdam 1973, 928, 6n.

2) ὄρμοφύλακος: the father of Sarapion is a harbour-master. The words ὄρμοφύλαξ/ὄρμοφυλακία are not listed for the Ptolemaic period in the papyrological dictionaries (cf. for *SB* V 8754, 34-35, *BL* III 208 where παρὰ [τῶν ὄρμο?]φυλάκων is replaced by παρὰ [τῶν ἐκεῖ] | φυλάκων). In the Roman period the words occur relatively frequent and the function is a liturgy (cf. N. LEWIS, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* = *Papyrologica Florentina* XI, Florence 1982, 41; F. OERTEL, *Die Liturgie*, Leipzig 1917, 269 f.).

4) χειρισταῖς: a χειριστής is a financial administrator who is often connected with transportation of grain (cf. M. ROSTOVITZ, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.*, Madison 1922, 125, 94n.; Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 146, 1n.).

5) προσβύτεροι: cf. for the writing with omikron, E. MAYSER - H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik* I², Berlin 1970, 45.

14-15) Only in the promise that they will subtract the advance (from the transport-expenses due to them) is it stated that the wheat has to be repaid with the measure on the bronze standard. It is, therefore, probable that—as is stated in texts nos. 12 and 15—the advance was paid out according to the same standard. In text no. 14 the wording was probably the same as in this text.

19-20) Cf. text no. 12,21-22n.

14

PROCHRESIS

Arsinoite nome 16 × 8.5 cm. (Plate VI) Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.24. A light-brown papyrus consisting of two joined fragments. Where they are preserved, the boarders are for the most part regularly cut off. At the top the papyrus is broken off. There are free margins of 2.5 cm. to the left and 4.5 cm. below it. 1.5 cm. have been left free between lines 8 and 9. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. 0.8 cm. from the right side (measured in line 1) is a κόλλησις.

[φ]ορέτρον ἔαν μὴ
[κο]υφίσωμεν αὐ-
[τάς] μέτρῳ τῷ
πρὸς τὸ χα(λκοῦν). ἔαν

5 δὲ μὴ ἀποτείσω,
μετρήσω εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικόν)
πυρῶν ἀ(ρτάβας) μ.

ἔγραψεν Ἀρχῦψις
Σαραπίωνος ὑπὲρ
10 αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φάσκει-
ν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐπί-
στασθαι γράμματα.

1 φορέτρον 5 ἀποτείσω 6 μετρήσω 7 πυρῶν pap.

Translation:

— — — the transport-expenses if we shall not subtract them with the measure on the bronze standard. If I do not repay in full I shall measure to the royal treasury 40 art. of wheat.

Harchypsis, son of Sarapion, wrote it for them because they said that they did not know letters.

The above text is broken off at the top, but the part preserved shows that we are dealing with the same kind of text as the preceding two and the following one. Presumably this text is also directed to Dionysios, though this is not certain and there is no way of telling who directed to him on behalf of whom.

It is very probable that a note identical to the ones on the versos of texts nos. 12, 13 and 15 stood on the verso of this text as well (cf. text. no. 12,21-22n.). If this assumption is right it stood on the part of the text lost above line 1 and probably also upside-down in relation to the text on the recto.

With this text lies a small fragment (6.2 × 0.5 cm.) which though it has the same colour as the other two fragments does not belong to them. We can still read:
]. . . . σοι μετρη[

6) εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικόν): only in this text it is said that if the advance is not subtracted from the transport-expenses due to the writers of this text, the fine (viz. double the advance) has to be paid "to the royal treasury". It is very probable that although this is not expressly stated also in texts nos. 12, 13 and 15, there too payment has to be made εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. This is not astonishing, since we are dealing with the collection and transportation of state-owned wheat.

7) A longer and a shorter stroke underneath this line separate the body of the text from the subscription. The simple paragraphus is sometimes used for the same purpose. See E. G. TURNER, *GMAW*, Oxford 1971, 10; *ZPE* 55, 1984, 211, note to lines 5-6.

8-9) A Harchypsis, son of Sarapion, is not listed in the *PP*. Texts nos. 12, 13 and 15 are in all probability written by one and the same scribe who, however, in our opinion is not identical with Harchypsis. Because the top of the papyrus is missing we are unable to say precisely for whom Harchypsis wrote this text, but in light of texts nos. 12 and 13 we may assume that it was for a president and the other elders of a corporation who were unable to write (cf. H. C. YOUTIE, "Pétaus, fils de Pétaus, ou le scribe qui ne savait pas écrire", *Scriptiunculae* II, Amsterdam 1973, 677 ff.).

10-11) Note the curious word-division: φάσκει|v.

15

PROCHRESIS

Arsinoite nome	20 × 10.5 cm.	152 B.C.(?)
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P. Erasm. inv. no. I.26. A light-brown papyrus consisting of two joining fragments.

The left and lower sides are for the most part regularly broken off, and the upper side is irregularly broken off. At the left there is a free margin of 2 cm. and at the bottom one of 10 cm. The script runs along the fibers on the recto; on the verso the writing is upside-down in relation to the text on the recto, and it runs across the fibers. In this case furthermore the writing is at an about 40 degree angle to the horizontal axis.

[όμο-]

λογοῦμεν [ἔχειν παρ']
 ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τοῦ κθ (ἔτους)]
 ὑπὲρ φορέτρο[υ ἐν προ-]
 χρήσει πυρῶ[ν ἀρτάβας]
 5 εἴκοσι, (γίνονται) [πυρῶν ἀ(ρτάβαι) κ μέ-]
 τρωι τῶι [πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν]
 καὶ οὐ μὴ ἄψ[ωμαι]
 φορέτρον ἐὰν μὴ [κουφί-]
 σαι αὐτάς ἀπὸ [τῶν ἐπι-]
 10 βαλλομένων μο[ι φορέτρων.]
 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [ἀ]π[ο]τείσω[ι]
 / μετρήσωι [πυρῶν ἀ(ρτάβας) μ.]

(2nd H) *P³-dj-Hr-mtn.*

Verso:

(3rd H) τοῖς σιτολογοῦ[σι]
 15 παρά τοῖς νωτ[οφ(όροις).]
 5 εἴκοσι 8-9 κουφίσω 12 μετρήσω 15 τῶν νωτ[οφ(όρων)]

Translation:

— — — We acknowledge that we have received from you as a loan from the harvest of the 29th year for transport-expenses twenty artabas of wheat, total 20 art. of wheat, with the measure on the bronze standard, and I shall not touch the transport-expenses if I shall not subtract them from the transport-expenses which fall to me. If I shall not repay in full I shall measure 40 art. of wheat.

(2nd H) Peteharmotes.

Verso: (3rd H) To the sitologoi from the carriers.

The text, of which about a quarter is missing at the top, is signed by Peteharmotes (son of Horos) in his own hand. The same person is also mentioned in

text no. 12,1. In the latter text he is the ἡγούμενος of the carriers in Kaine. In this text he is either the president of another corporation, or the advance is given for another than the 29th year (supplemented in line 2), or the carriers of Kaine received in year 29 a second advance.

The supplements are made on the basis of texts nos. 12 and 13.

In lines 1-3 there is a question that the advance is received παρ' ὑμῶν. More than only one sitologos is involved in this text as becomes also clear from the text on the verso. We assume that one of the sitologoi was Dionysios, who is also mentioned in texts 12, 13 and 16(?).

Peteharmotes, son of HOROS, signs in his own hand in Demotic (we thank Prof. Mr P. W. PESTMAN, Leiden, for the decipherment of the Demotic). The body of the text is separated from the subscription by a paragraphus under line 12 (cf. text no. 14,7n.). Like text no. 12, this one was probably written for Peteharmotes because he could not write Greek (cf. H. C. YOUTIE, "Because They Do Not Know Letters", *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, Bonn 1981, 255ff. Cf. also W. PEREMANS, "Le bilinguisme dans les relations gréco-égyptiennes sous les Lagides", in "Egypt and the Hellenistic World", *Studia Hellenistica* 27, Lovanii 1983, 253ff.). Text no. 15 is the only one of the four prochreseis here published (texts nos. 12-15) in which the person who commissioned the writing of these texts signs in his own hand. The fact that Peteharmotes cannot write Greek and signs in Demotic throws additional light on what appear to be native Egyptians playing a role in the Greek speaking administration of the country.

For the date of this text, see text no. 12,5n.

5) εἴκοσι = εἴκοσι (also text no. 13,10). See E. MAYSER - H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik* I.1², Berlin 1970, 74.

13) PESTMAN prefers the reading *P3-dj-Hr-mnt* = Πετεαρμώτης to the reading *P3-dj-Hr-mtn (s3) Hr* = Πετεαρμώτης Ὡρου, since in the latter case the sign for "son of" (*s3*) would have been left out and at the end *Hr* looks unusual. In the reading preferred in the text the sign looking like *Hr* is an extra personal determinative accompanying the name Peteharmotes.

14-15) Cf. for the text written on the verso, text no. 12,21-22n.

16

LETTER OF SARAPION TO DIONYSIOS

Arsinoite nome 14.5 × 11 cm. (Plate VII) 22.8.152 B.C. (?)

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.27. A light-brown papyrus consisting of four joined fragments. Rather regularly cut off at the bottom and left and right sides. At the top some horizontal fibers are missing. There are free margins of 1.5 cm. at the left, of 1.5 cm.

at the bottom and of about 2 cm. at the top. The text runs along the fibers on the recto; on the verso it runs across the fibers. On the verso several ink-traces are still visible which are offsets.

Σαραπίων Διονυσίωι χαίρειν·
 ὡς γὰρ ὅτι γέγραφάν σοι χέρα
 οἱ νωτοφόροι καὶ οἱ χειρισταὶ
 πρὸς ἐμέ ε. . . . ἀπο(σ)κουφί-
 5 σαι τὸν πυρρόν. καλῶς οὖν
 ποιήσεις συντάξας παρα-
 δοῦναί μοι τὰς μ ἀ(ρτάβας) ὑπὲρ
 ὧν σοι γεγράφηκαν χέρα {σοι}
 ὡς ὅτι ἤ[δη ἤ]μεῖν δίδονται.
 10 εἰ μὴ δέ[δε]χμαι αὐτὰ συν-
 ἐμειξά σοι. καὐτὸς δὲ ὧν ἐὰν
 διασάφησόν μοι.
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κθ Ἐπεῖφ κζ.

Verso: Διο[ν]υσίωι.

2 γέγραφάν: the first γ written through ο 9 ἡμῖν 10 αὐτὰ συν ex corr.

Translation:

Sarapion to Dionysios, greetings. You wrote(?) to me that the carriers and the administrators sent an instrument to you concerning the subtraction of wheat. Please, give order that the 40 artabas about which they have written to you an instrument that they have already been given to us be handed out to me. "If I had not received them I would have communicated with you." And tell me yourself what you think (?) about these matters. Farewell. Year 29, Epeiph 27.

Verso: To Dionysios.

There can hardly be any doubt that this text is connected with the four preceding ones which concern advance payments of 20 artabas and the promise to pay back 40 artabas, if the receivers of the advances do not subtract the advances from the payments due to them. Year 29 (line 13), therefore, is probably 153/2 B.C. (cf. text no. 12,5n.).

The Dionysios mentioned in the present text is doubtless identical with the Dionysios σιτολογῶν τὸ περὶ Ἐξύρυχα ἐργαστήριον of texts nos. 12 and 13. From line 1, where Sarapion is mentioned first, it seems that he is superior to

Dionysios. Sarapion may be identical with the person of the same name mentioned in text no. 13,1 also in the first position.

The text is difficult to read, because the ink ran and several fibers are missing or mutilated.

Sarapion requests Dionysios to order that 40 artabas of wheat now be sent to him, since rumor falsely has it that Sarapion (rather than Dionysios) had already received them. Sarapion asks for 40 artabas of wheat, because the carriers (cf. text no. 12) and the administrators (cf. text no. 13) have sent a written document to Dionysios. In our opinion they asked in this document for an advance payment of 20 artabas of wheat each which they would subtract from the salary they were to receive; Dionysios had given permission for the transaction proposed, and Sarapion now asks that the 40 artabas of wheat to be paid out as an advance (20 artabas to the carriers and 20 artabas to the administrators) be sent to him.

2) ὡς γὰρ ὅτι: cf. line 9. Cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.3, Berlin und Leipzig 1934, 167; F. BLASS-A. DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*¹¹, Göttingen 1961, § 396 (with further literature).

γέγραψάν: in line 8 the scribe writes γεγράφηκαν. Cf. B. G. MANDILARAS, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, § 448(1) and § 435(1) where the form γεγράφηκαν is, however, not listed.

χέρα: cf. line 8. Cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* I.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, 42 f.

4) ε.: at this place we expect the main verb. The papyrus is very damaged and we are unable to read what was written here. We thought of ἔφηθα or ἔφης (cf. B. G. MANDILARAS, *op. cit.*, § 143) but are not satisfied by it also in view of the construction (ὡς γὰρ ὅτι would depend on φημί). We think a reading ἔγραψας not totally excluded (for γράφω πρὸς τινα, cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1934, 359). ἀπο(σ)κουφίσαι τὸν πυρὸν was added as an afterthought.

4-5) ἀπο(σ)κουφίσαι: the verb ἀποκουφίζω (in texts nos. 12-14 the verb used is κουφίζω) is rarely attested in the papyri: *P. Brem.* 11,23 (II A.D.); *P. Herm. Rees* 67,4 (= *SB* XIV 12133,4; VI A.D.); *P. Oxy.* XVI 1887,5 (VI A.D.) and *P. Würz.* 19,6 (VII A.D.). We wonder whether the scribe started to write another verb (e.g. ἀποστείλαι?) and then changed his mind. Perhaps we should print: {απο}κουφίσαι.

9) ἡ]μεῖν: theoretically it is also possible to supplement and read: ὑ]μεῖν, viz. Dionysios. ὑμεῖν could be *dativus auctoris* (cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.2, Berlin und Leipzig 1933, 273), or the meaning may be that the 40 artabas of wheat had already been given to Dionysios. In view of our interpretation of lines 10-11 the latter possibility seems to be excluded. The change from the singular to the plural is noteworthy (cf. text no. 8). If ἡ]μεῖν is the correct supplement, Sarapion may also be speaking for Peteharmotes, son of Horos, who in text no. 12 is the president of the carriers. The lacuna might, however, be too small to have contained three letters. Perhaps, in fact, we should print only ἡ[]μεῖν and assume in the lacuna either a mistake or a blank space due to mutilation.

10-11) The reading of line 10 is very doubtful. At the end of this line a correction has been made. Did the scribe intend to write εἰ μὴ δέδεγμαί αὐτάς συνήμεῖξά σοι = "if I had not

received them (viz. the 40 artabas of wheat) I would have written to you" and does he cite what the carriers and administrators said to him? (we adopt this solution in the translation). The omission of *ἄν* in the apodosis need not surprise us (cf. F. BLASS - A. DEBRUNNER, *op. cit.*, § 360), but *δέδεγμαι* in the protasis is disturbing to say the least.

11-12) καὐτός --- μοι: the meaning is rather: "Let me know what you think about these matters" (--- περί τούτων *ἄ* ---), than a general expression, "Let me know in your turn anything you want" (--- περί ὧν. Cf., e.g., *P. Tebt.* I 12,25-26: καὶ σὺ περί ὧν ἔάν | [βούλ]η διασάφησον). In any case περί (or something similar) has been left out before ὧν. The traces at the beginning of line 12 are so vague that a certain reading is impossible. Something like βούλη, αἰρή, προσδέη (less likely φαίνηται) is expected.

17

LETTER OF SARAPION TO SARAPION

Arsinoite nome 16.5 × 11 cm. (Plate VIII) Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.11. A light-brown papyrus consisting of five joined fragments. At the left and right sides, it is regularly cut off; it is broken away in the center at the top and irregularly along the bottom. At the top there is a margin of 3.5 cm., at the left side one of 3 cm. The text runs along the fibers. On the other side there are ink-traces which, however, are not letters.

Σαραπίω[ν Σ]αραπίωνι χαίρειν·
 γίνωσκε τὰς ἐμβεβλη-
 μένας εἰς τ[ὸ]ν ἀχάρακτον κέ(ρκουρον)
 πυροῦ ἀ(ρτάβας) ἼΓ μετατεθει-
 5 μένας εἰς [τῆ]ν τῆς βασιλίσσης
 σύνταξιγ. ὁμοίως δὲ
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δ[ί]ου προσαγ-
 γέλματ[ο]ς μετατέ-
 θεικεν Δίδυμος ὁ παρὰ
 10 Χαιρήμο[ν]ος γραμματεῦς.
 γέγραφα οὖν σοὶ ὅπως
 εἰδῆς καὶ συμμε[ρ]ῆς]
 καὶ μ[] .σ[] .ε.[
] . .[

12 συμμε[ρ]ῆς]

Translation:

Sarapion to Sarapion, greetings. Know that the 3,000 artabas of wheat which have been loaded into the kerkuros without a figurehead have been transferred to the subvention of the queen. Likewise Didymos, the secretary of Chairemon, has in accordance with a report from Dios transferred them. I have written to you so you may know and check ---

Sarapion informs another person with the same name that a certain amount of wheat, which has been put on board a ship probably to be transported as taxes downstream to Alexandria (see A. J. M. MEIJER - TERMEER, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht*, *Studia Amstelodamensia* 13, Zutphen 1978, 3 ff. and the literature there cited), has been transferred to the σύνταξις of the queen. It is probable that the addressee of this text was a sitologos of an unknown village. The function of the writer cannot be established with certainty: he might be either the agent or the antigrapheus of the royal scribe or the agent of the oikonomos (cf. P. J. SIJPESTEIJN, "Three New Ptolemaic Documents on Transportation of Grain" [= *SB XIV 11887-11889*], *CdE* 53, 1978, 107 ff. and the literature cited there [cf. also *CdE* 56, 1981, 347 ff.]).

There is no possibility to establish the function of Dios (line 7). He may have been the higher official who initiated the whole transfer.

A secretary of a Chairemon with the name Didymos is, as far as we see, not attested.

Chairemon himself may have been an ἐπιμελητής. This official had some connection with the collection of grain due as taxes (cf. E. BÖRNER, *Der staatliche Korntransport im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, Diss. Hamburg 1939, 23; N. HOHLWEIN, *Le stratège du nome*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 9, Bruxelles 1969, 92 ff.). He could be identical with the epimeletes Chairemon attested in *PP I* no. 958 (cf. also *PP VIII* s.n.). In the still unpublished *P. Erasm.* inv. no. II.17 also from the mid-second century B.C. an epimeletes Chairemon occurs (cf. text no. 12,5n.). The hand is not unlike the ones of texts nos. 8 and 9.

2-5) γίνωσκε --- μετατεθειμένας: for γίνωσκε followed by a participial construction, cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II.3, Berlin and Leipzig 1934, 47; B. G. MANDILARAS, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, § 709(4).

3) ἀχάρακτον: cf. *P. Lille* 22, 6n.

κέ(ρκουρον): cf. L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, 163 ff.

5-6) εις --- σύνταξι: cf. for σύνταξις, F. PREISIGKE, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens*, Göttingen 1915, s.v. This institution is mainly known in connection with priests (cf. Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 49). We do not know of a special σύνταξις of the queen. The βασιλική σύνταξις mentioned in Athenaeus XI 493 f is a stipend given by Ptolemaios II Philadelphos.

1) Ἐπώνυμος: although well attested in Greek this name has not yet appeared in the papyrological onomastica.

χαίρειν καὶ ἔρρωσθαι: cf. H. KOSKENNIEMI, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.*, Helsinki 1956, 130 ff.

2) καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐρωτήσασα: cf. H. A. STEEN, "Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques", *Classica et Mediaevalia* I, 1913, 138 f.

Θερμοῦθιν: six bearers of this name are listed in the *PP*. An identification is not possible.

3) The reason why the writer changed the verb from aorist to perfect escapes us. Cf. B. G. MANDILARAS, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, Athens 1973, §460.

4) ἄρτων καθαρῶν: cf. T. REEKMANS, *La sitométrie dans les Archives de Zénon*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 3, Bruxelles 1966, 11 n. 1 and 50 n. 1.

19

ACCOUNT OF WINE

Arsinoite nome

12.5 × 17.8 cm.

Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. II.11. A light-brown papyrus only at the top regularly broken off. At the top there is a free margin of about 2.5 cm. and at the left side one of about 5 cm. The distance between the lines is about 1 cm. The text runs along the fibers. On the other side across the fibers are the remains of what once seems to have been an account.

The text has previously been published in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 127-129 with plate VIIIb.

Ἔτους γλ' Ἐπειφ. ἔστιν ἡ γεγενημένη ρύσ(ις) ὅς πα. [

ιβ̄

Ἰκαδῖ^{οῦ} Ἰκατίδου εἰς τὴν Ἰκα() λη(νὸν) ᾱ λη(νοῦ) (ἔξά)χ(οα)
σβ (τρί)χ(οα) κα οἷ ι L'ε[

ιγ̄

5 ὁ αὐτὸς ὁμοίως β̄ ληνοῦ ἐν βα(σιλικῆι) γῆι (ἔξά)χ(οα) ριε[

ιδ̄

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζήνωνος καὶ Νῦσα Δημη[
Διοκλει[ο]ῦς ο. . λη. . . εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλε[λη(νὸν)
(ἔξά)χ(οα) μα . κλ[]τητριος αδς οἷ αL. [

10

Ἰκατίδης Ἰ[κ]ατίδου ἐν βα(σιλικῆι) γῆι ᾱ λη(νοῦ) [.β̄ [λ]η(νοῦ) []φανου[

--- traces ---

Due to mutilation, this text is not totally clear. It seems that for certain days of the month Epeiph quantities of wine delivered by certain persons are listed. Harvest of grapes is attested for the month Epeiph in the Fayum (cf. M. SCHNEBEL, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München 1925, 275 ff.).

A Hiketidas, son of Hiketidas (cf. line 9) is listed as a landholder at Magdola in the late second century B.C. in *P. Tebt.* I 80,31 (= *PP IV* no. 11454). The other persons mentioned are not known from elsewhere.

The mutilation of the text makes a translation impossible.

1) Ἐτους γλ: in several texts of the Zenon-archive we also find numeral-letters written in reverse order (cf. *PLBat.* 21, Chapter 7 and H. C. YOUTIE, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, Bonn 1981, 264). Cf. also *P. Gen.* II 86,6n.

ὄς: we do not know which word this is to be connected with in view of the preceding feminine ῥύσις. It could be a mistake for ὄς followed by a verb.

3) Ἰκαδιῶϊ: all the other names are in the nominative. The dative is corrected by writing ος above ωι without deleting the latter letters. An Ikadios (not listed in the papyrological onomastica) is listed in *PP VI* no. 14923 = no. 15878 from a Cretan inscription of 264/3 B.C. He, therefore, is certainly not the same person as the one mentioned in this papyrus.

Ἰκα(): Ἰκα(δίου) or Ἰκα(τίδου)?

(ἐξά)χ(οα): the papyrus has χ . Cf. *P. Tebt.* I 118,2n. for the resolution. Accordingly we resolve χ as (τρι)χ(οα), although this word has not been previously attested. Cf. also text no. 22.

οἱ ι L: the editors of *P. Tebt.* III 888,3n. assume that in their text 11 jars containing 6 choes each, 3 jars containing 5 choes each make $2\frac{1}{2}$ metretai. For οἱ instead of the expected $\bar{\alpha}$ they refer to *PSI IV* 549,6. The same could be the case in the present papyrus. However, the possibility is not to be excluded that 21 τριχοα make $10\frac{1}{2}$ ἐξάχοα. If the latter suggestion is right, the masculine article may indicate that the right resolution is ἐξάχοες and τριχοες.

ε[: do we have to supplement ἐ[ν κερ(αμίοις) x? Cf. *P. Tebt.* III 888,12.

6) Νύσα: not listed in the papyrological onomastica, but cf. W. PAPE-G. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1911.

7) Διοκλει[ο]ύς: this name is unattested. It may be that the scribe wrongly wrote a genitive instead of a nominative and that we are dealing with the well-known proper name Διοκλήης (cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik I.2*, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, 40).

8) .κλ[: the trace before the kappa could be no more than a blotch of ink. Do we have here a form of κληρονόμος followed by a proper name in the genitive? A reading καί is not totally to be excluded.

We do not understand the computation at the end of this line. Before ας the name of a measure is missing. Have $1\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{6}$ been rounded up?

9) Above α⁻ λη(νοῦ) traces of ink. Probably offsets.

10) .β⁻ [λη(νοῦ)]: the letter before the beta could be a delta. These letters are fainter than in the other lines.

11)]φανου[: possibly the genitive of a proper name.

(similar texts are, e.g., *P. Moen* inv. nos. 5 and 6 published in *CdE* 54, 1979, 273 ff. Cf. in general, L. BANDI, "I conti privati nei papiri dell'Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 17, 1937, 349 ff.).

The use of the copper standard proves that the text was written after 210 B.C. (cf. T. REEKMANS, "Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri", *Studia Hellenistica* 5, Lovanii 1948, 15 ff.). The handwriting may be compared with that of *P. Merton* I 5 written between 149 and 135 B.C. (= no. 13 = Tafel 8 in R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* I, Stuttgart 1967). Like most papyri from the collection of the Erasmus University (Rotterdam) this text will also have been written around the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

Although no place of origin is mentioned, the text will have come from the Arsinoite nome like the other *Papyri Erasmianae*.

Different forms of sigma are used for letter and number-letter (cf. P. GORISSEN, "Litterae Lunatae", *Anc. Soc.* 9, 1978, 159 f.).

5) The traces at the beginning of the line resemble neither a ς nor ζ , although a day-number between 5 and 8 is expected.

6) Φρίυτος; cf. lines 10 and 21. This name is not yet listed in the papyrological onomastica.

18) In this line a total is given. The letter after the 'Δ may be either a φ or ψ.

26) The horizontal fibers are broken away below this line.

30) ήπητη]: either nominative or dative.

35) May be ἔχω λόγ[ον.

21

END(?) OF A DOCUMENT

Arsinoite nome

18 × 8.5 cm.

Mid-second century B.C.

P. Erasm. inv. no. I.28. A light-brown papyrus for the most part regularly cut or broken off at all sides. Free margins are preserved at the top (2 cm.), bottom (about 3.5 cm.) and at the right (3 cm. after line 1, about 15.5 cm. after line 2, about 6.5 cm. after line 3 and about 9 cm. after line 4). The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank.

(1st H)] . . . ὁμολογῶ ὁμωμοκέσαι τὸν προγεγραμμένον
[βασιλικὸν ὄρ]κον.

(2nd H)]ς ὥς (ἐτῶν) κη μελί(χρως) μέσ(ος) ἔνσ(ιμος) ἡσυ(χη)
οὐλ(ή) με(τώπω) μέσ(ω) ὑπὸ τρίχ(α).

] ὥς (ἐτῶν) με μέσ(ος) μελί(χρως) ἀναφα() οὐ(λη)
με(τώπω) μέσ(ω).

Translation:

(1st H) — — — I acknowledge that I have sworn the above written royal oath.

(2nd H) N.N. about 28 years, honey-coloured, middling size, somewhat snub-nosed, with a scar on the middle of his forehead underneath his hairs. N.N. about 35 years, middling size, honey-coloured, forehead-bald, with a scar on the middle of his forehead.

In this papyrus there is mentioned τὸν προγεγραμμένον βασιλικὸν ὄρκον, but no oath is preserved. Although there is a free margin of 2 cm. at the top, it is more than probable that we have here only the lower part of a document and that the oath sworn was to be read in the part lost above the piece transcribed here. It is impossible to say what kind of document this papyrus was part of (cf., however, *P. bibl. univ. Giss. inv. nos. 202 and 201* [= *SB XIV 11966*] published in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles 1975, 587f.).

For the royal oath, see E. SEIDL, *Der Eid im ptolemäischen Recht*, München 1929 and the extensive note by O. GUÉRAUD, *P. Ent.* 26, 5-6 (pp. 73f.).

For the descriptions of the two persons involved, see J. HASEBROEK, *Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden*, Papyrusinstitut Heidelberg, Schrift 3, Berlin und Leipzig 1921; G. HÜBSCH, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*, Berlin 1968 (with further literature).

Abbreviation is mostly indicated by raising the last letter(s) written. Cf. for ζ ε = με(τώπω), A. BLANCHARD, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires grecs: recherches de paléographie*, BICS 30, London 1974.

1) It is not to be excluded that the traces before ὁμολογῶ represent καί. In this case another verb (e.g., ἐπιδέδωκα) will have stood in the lacuna at the beginning of this line. Since we also expect a proper name in this lacuna, either this proper name was very short or the lacuna is larger than suggested by the supplement in line 2.

3) It is curious that the description here starts with the colour of the person and not with his size as is usual (cf. line 4). The middle bar of the raised epsilon wavers a little bit (in line 4 more than in line 3) and is then prolonged into an iota. We suppose that the writer intended ^{ελα}μ. For the meaning of μελίχρως, see C.G. BROUZAS, "Melichrous and Melichloros", *Philological Studies* 3, 1939, 72 ff.

οὐλ(ή): in line 4 an omikron with an ypsilon above it stands for οὐ(λή). In this line the writer seems to have tried to represent the lambda too.

4) ἀναφα(): ἀναφά(λανθος) or its synonym ἀναφά(λακρος).

INDEXES

I KINGS

PTOLEMAIOS VI PHILOMETOR AND KLEOPATRA II
 βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπά-
 τρα ἡ ἀδελφὴ θεοὶ Φιλομήτορες 1,1-2
 ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ II (?)
 βασίλισσα 17,5

II MONTHS AND DAYS

Ἐπίφ 6,16(4); 9,24; 16,13(27); 19,1
 Θῶθ 2,[15](1)
 Μεσορῆ 2,6(30)
 Μεχειρ 22,3(16)
 Τῦβι 5,13(2); 22,1(28)
 Φαμενώθ 4,6(8)
 Φαρμούθι 11,[1](18), 8(16)

III PERSONAL NAMES

(d. = daughter; f. = father; s. = son)

Ἀπολλόδωρος, f. of Ἐλένη 7,5
 Ἀπολλώνιος 3,1; 4,1; 7,1; 8,1; 10,1; 11,3
 Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Ζήνων 19,6
 Ἀρενδότης, s. of Πετεύρις 1,2
 Ἀρμόδιος 1,32
 Ἀρχῦψις, s. of Σαραπίων 14,8
 Ἀσκληπιάδης 11,3
 Βελλῆς, f. of Σαραπίων 13,1
 Δημη[], f. of Νῦσα 19,6
 Δημόναξ 3,[1]n., 4
 Δίδυμος 17,9
 Διοκλειοῦς 19,7
 Διοκλῆς 19,7n.
 Διονύσιος 7desc.; 8,2; 9,2; 10,3; 12,5; 13,6;
 16,1,14
 Διονύσιος, s. of Ἡρακλείδης 2,4
 Δίος 17,7

Δίφιλος 3,8

Δωρίων 6,1

Ἐλένη, d. of Ἀπολλώνιος 7,5

Ἐπώνυμος 18,1

Ἐργεῦς 5,5,8

Ἐσοῆρις 22,6

Ζήνων 20,20

Ζήνων, s. of Ἀπολλώνιος 19,6

Ζωίς 20,2

Ἡρακλεῖ 19,7

Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Διονύσιος 2,4

Ἡρακλείδης, f. of Ἡρακλείδης 1,6

Ἡρακλείδης, s. of Ἡρακλείδης 1,6,9,16,21,
 24,34

Θεόδωρος 1,34

Θεόδωρος, f. of N.N. 9,19

Θεόδωρος, s. of Ὠρος 3,5

Θεόδωρος, s. of N.N. 9,5-6

Θερμούθις 18,2

Ἰκα() 19,3

Ἰκάδιος, s. of Ἰκατίδας 19,3

Ἰκατίδας, f. of Ἰκάδιος 19,3

Ἰκατίδας, f. of Ἰκατίδας 19,9

Ἰκατίδας, s. of Ἰκατίδας 19,9

Μελαγκόμας 2,3

Νικάνδρος 10,1

Νοῦς 2,7,14

Νῦσα, d. of Δημη[] 19,6

Ὀνῶφρις 20,4,9

Παοῦς 10,4n.

Πεταρμώτης, s. of Ὠρος 12,1; 15,13

Πεταρψενήσις 11,1,5

Πετσεούχος 22,4,5

Πετσεούχος, f. of Πετώς 4,3

Πετεύρις, f. of Ἀρενδότης 1,3

Πετώς, s. of Πετεσοῦχος 4,3

Πτολεμαῖος 6,8,14

Σαραπίων 16,1; 17,1(bis)

Σαραπίων, f. of Ἀρχῦψις 14,9

Σαραπίων, s. of Βελλῆς 13,1

Φίλων 20,5,7,8

Φρύς 20,6,10,21

Χαιρήμων 17,10

Χεσερταῖος 8,6

Χεσερταῖς 9,1

Ὠρίων 1,18,20,24,34

Ὠρος 2,7,14

Ὠρος, f. of Πετειαρμώτης 12,1

Ὠρος, s. of Θεόδωρος 3,5

[–]ρμούθης 11,4

IV GEOGRAPHY

Ἄρεως κόμη 7,10

Ἄσιαγενής 3,8

Ἄρσινοίτης (νομός) 1,4-5; 11,[3]

Ἡλευσίς 2,10

Καινή 12,3; 13,2,4

Κροκοδίλων πόλις 2,8; 11,2

Ὀξύρυγχα 1,4,18; 2,5,8,11,21,25; 3,6,[15]n.;
4,2; 9,7; 12,6; 13,7

Πολέμωνος μερίς 1,4; 3,6-7; 7,10-11

Πτολεμαῖς 1,7

V RELIGION

θεός 6,5,13

θεοὶ Φιλομήτορες 1,2

ὁ κροκόδιλος 10,2,6

λεσῶνις 8,7

Σαραπιεῖον 2,25

χρηματοφύλαξ τοῦ κροκοδίου 10,2

VI OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TITLES

ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ καὶ στρατηγός 2,3

ἀρχιφυλακίτης 1,19

βασιλεύς 1,1

βασιλίσα 1,1; 17,5

γραμματεὺς τῶν γεωργῶν 6,9

δικαστής 11,[3]n.

εἰσαγωγεὺς 1,32; 11,[3]

ὁ ἐξειληφὸς τὴν ἱματιοπωλικὴν 5,1

ἐπιμελητής 5,12

ἐπιστάτης τῆς κόμης 1,34-35

ἐπιστάτης Ὀξύρυγγων 4,1-2

ἠγούμενος τοῖς νοτοφόροις 12,2-3

ἠγούμενος τοῖς χειρισταῖς 13,3-4

πρεσβύτερος 12,4; 13,5

σιτολογῶν 2,5; 12,5-6,21; 13,6-7,19; 15,14

στρατηγός 2,2,16-17

τῶν φίλων καὶ στρατηγός 3,4-5

φυλακίτης (δεκάουρος) 1,6

χρηματιστής 1,32; 11,[2]

VII PROFESSIONS, TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

βαλανεὺς 3,6

(βασιλικός) γεωργός 1,3; 4,4; 6,9; 20,19; 22,
4,5

γραμματεὺς 17,10

νοτοφόρος 12,13,22; 15,14; 16,3

ὄρμοφύλαξ 13,2

χειριστής 8,11; 13,4,20; 16,3

VIII MEASURES, MONEY

a) *Weights and measures*

ἄρουρα 1,(8)

ἀρτάβη 9,16; 10,9; 13,12; 16,7; 20,(1)

ἀρτάβη κριθῆς 6,(10)

ἀρτάβη πυροῦ 3,(14); 9,(3),(10)(bis),(12),(13),
(20); 10,[7]; 12,12,13,[20]; 13,10,11,18; 14,7;
15,[4],[5],[12]; 17,4

ἐξαχοῦς 19,3,5,8

κεράμιον 19,[3]n.

μέτρον 12,13; 13,14; 14,3; 15,5-6

τετραχοῦς 22,1,3,4,6,[7]n.

τριχοῦς 19,4

χαλκοῦς 12,14; 13,15; 14,4; 15,[6]

b) *Money*

δραχμή 5,(5),(10); 18,[(4)]

IX TAXES

- ἀπόμοιρα 7,2
 ἰματιοπωλική 5,1
 σύνταξις τῆς βασιλείσσης 17,5-6

X GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

- ἀδελφή 1,2
 ἀδικέω 3,7
 ἀθετέω 1,16
 αἰρέω 16,11-12n.
 ἀκρόδρυον 7,2
 ἀλλά 2,21
 ἄλλος 11,1; 12,4; 13,5
 ἀμελέω 17,13n
 ἄν 6,14; 11,[7]
 ἀνά 2,10
 ἀναγκάζω 1,20
 ἀναιρέω 1,15
 ἀνακαλέω 1,33-34
 ἀνάλυσις 1,11
 ἀναφάλακρος 21,4n.
 ἀναφάλανθος 21,4n.
 ἀναφέρω 1,20
 ἀναφορά 6,6
 ἄνθρωπος 1,17; 6,13
 ἀντί 6,10
 ἀντιγραφέω 11,7
 ἀντίγραφον 2,1; 11,[4]
 ἀντίληψις 3,10-11
 ἀξιόω 1,10; 5,11
 ἀπάγω 9,15
 ἀπέρχομαι 2,14
 ἀπό 1,18; 6,4; 10,5; 12,8,17; 15,2,9; 20,1,26
 ἀποδίδωμι 10,3
 ἀποκουφίζω 16,4-5
 ἀπόμοιρα vide index IX
 ἀποστέλλω 1,31; 3,2
 ἀποτάττω 1,7
 ἀποτινώ 5,5; 12,19; 13,16-17; 14,5; 15,11
 ἀποφέρω 1,14; 7,7
 ἀποχή 10,8
 ἄπτομαι 12,15; 13,12; 15,7
 ἄρνέομαι 1,26
 ἄρουρα vide index VIII
 ἀρσενικός 2,13
 ἀρτάβη vide index VIII
 ἄρτος 18,4
 ἀρχή 6,4
 ἄρχω 1,36
 ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ vide index VI
 ἀρχιφυλακίτης vide index VI
 Ἀσιαγενής vide index IV
 ἀσφράγιστος 5,4
 αὐλή 4,10,13
 αὐτόθι 4,10
 αὐτός 1,10(bis),11,15,21,23(bis),33,35; 3,9; 4,5;
 5,6,12-13; 8,15; 11,4; 12,16; 13,14; 14,2-
 3,10,11; 15,9; 16,10,11; 18,3; 19,5
 ἀχάρακτος 17,3
 βαίνω 2,20
 βαλανεύς vide index VII
 βασιλεύς vide index VI
 βασιλικόν (τό) 14,6
 βασιλικός 4,4; 7,12; 11,2; 19,5,9; 21,[2]
 βασιλίсса vide index VI
 βούλομαι 1,22; 16,11-12n.
 γάρ 3,11; 16,2
 γεμίζω 3,13-14n.
 γένημα 12,9; 15,2
 γεωργός vide index VII
 γῆ 1,8; 19,5,9
 γίγνομαι 1,[10],10; 9,(10),(13),(20); 10,(7); 12,
 (13); 13,[(11)]; 15,(5); 19,1; 20,(18);
 22,(2),7n.
 γινώσκω 17,2
 γράμμα 14,12
 γραμματεὺς vide index VI
 γράφω 6,8; 11,1; 14,8; 16,2,4n.,8; 17,11
 δέ 2,5,7,14,15; 5,4,5; 6,12; 9,8,11; 12,18; 13,
 16; 14,5; 15,11; 16,11; 17,6
 δεκάρουρος 1,(6)
 δέομαι 1,30
 δεύτερος 1,26
 δέχομαι 16,10
 διά 1,34; 6,2,6,11; 14,10
 διάγραμμα 5,2
 διακόπτω 4,11
 διακούω 1,27
 διαλαμβάνω 5,12
 διαλέγω 1,33
 διαπράττω 2,19

- διασαφέω 5,9; 16,12
 διάσμα 5,11
 διασπάω 2,13
 διδῶμι 11,4; 16,9
 διεξάγω 1,28
 δικαίωμα 11,[7]
 δικαστής *vide index VI*
 διορθόω 5,7n.
 δραχμή *vide index VIII*
 δύναμαι 6,2
 δύο 4,14

 εἶν 5,4; 6,7; 12,16,18; 13,13,16; 14,1,4; 15,8,
 11; 16,11
 εἶω 1,19
 ἐγκαλέω 11,4
 ἐνεχυράζω 1,37
 ἐνεχυρασία 1,25
 ἐγώ 1,9,11,19(bis),20,22,25(bis),28,31,36,37; 2,
 7,12,24; 3,12; 4,10,14; 6,10,11; 12,18; 15,10;
 16,4,7,12; 18,3
 εἶ 1,20; 16,10; 18,3
 εἴκοσι 12,12; 13,10; 15,5
 εἰμί 6,12; 19,1
 εἰς 1,11,14,33,36; 2,8,15; 3,[14]n.; 4,5,9; 9,5,
 17; 14,6; 17,3,5; 19,3,7; 20,17
 εἰσαγωγεὺς *vide index VI*
 εἰσβιάζομαι 1,36
 ἐκ 1,26; 2,4,8; 3,6,8,14; 4,[5]; 9,7; 17,7
 ἑκατόν 10,7,9
 ἐκδύω 2,11
 ἐκλαμβάνω 5,1; 7,1
 ἐκτός 4,12
 ἐκφόριον 1,11,15,21,26
 ἐμβάλλω 17,2-3
 ἐν 1,4,7,17,22,27; 2,18; 6,11; 9,4,11; 12,2,11;
 13,3; 15,[3]; 19,3n.,5,9
 ἐνιαύσιον 8,7-8
 ἔνσημος 21,3
 ἔντευξις 1,31,38; 11,[4]
 ἔξ 9,15
 ἐξαχούς *vide index VIII*
 ἐπάγω 2,[15]n.
 ἐπάναγκες 1,29
 ἐπέρχομαι 1,16; 2,7-8
 ἐπί 1,7,24,29,30,31,36; 2,13,16(?),17; 3,9; 5,2;
 6,5; 7,4,11; 11,[6]
 ἐπιβάλλω 12,17; 15,9-10

 ἐπιδείκνυμι 5,8
 ἐπιδίδωμι 2,1; 11,[4]
 ἐπιμελητής *vide index VI*
 ἐπιπορεύομαι 1,24
 ἐπίσταμαι 14,11-12
 ἐπιστάτης 1,35; 4,1
 ἐπιστολή 1,21
 ἐπίτιμον 5,5
 ἐπιχωρέω 7,6
 ἐργαστήριον 2,6; 3,[15]n.; 9,9; 12,6; 13,8
 ἐρωτάω 18,2
 ἕτερος 2,19
 ἔτος 1,(5),11,12; 2,(6); 3,(11),(12); 4,(7);
 5,(2),(13); 6,12,(16); 7,(4),(11); 8,(8); 9,(4),
 (12),(24); 11,(1),(8); 12,(10); 15,(2); 16,
 (13); 19,1; 21,(3),(4)
 εὕρισκω 2,24; 18,4
 εὐτυχέω 1,40; 5,13
 εὐχομαι 6,4
 ἔχω 1,14; 9,4; 10,4; 11,6; 12,8; 13,9; 15,[1];
 20,35n.

 ἦ 18,4
 ἠγοούμενος 12,2; 13,3
 ἦδη 16,9
 ἡμεῖς 8,13; 16,9
 ἡμέρα 11,[6]; 18,5
 ἦσυχῆ 21,3

 θέμα 8,9
 θεός 1,2; 6,5,13
 θλίψις 6,12
 θρίξ 21,3

 ἰδιωτικός 1,31
 ἰμάτιον 5,6,10
 ἰματιοπολικός 5,1
 ἵνα 5,12; 6,7

 καθαρός 18,4
 καθήκω 1,26,36n.
 καθώς 8,11; 9,23
 καλός 8,4; 9,14; 16,5; 18,2
 καρπός 7,3,8,9
 κατά 1,11,15; 2,23(?)
 καταμετρέω 1,7-8
 κατάσταση 1,33; 11,6
 καταφυγή 1,30; 3,9-10
 κατέχω 8,14

- κατοικέω 1,3
 κεράμιον *vide index VIII*
 κέρκουρος 17,3
 κληρονόμος 19,8n.
 κλοπή 1,36
 κουφίζω 12,16; 13,13-14; 14,2; 15,8-9; 16,4-5n.
 κράμβη 20,29
 κριθή 6,10
 κρίνω 1,32; 11,[3]
 κριτήριον 11,[6]
 κροκόδιλος 2,8; 10,2,6; 11,2
 κωλύω 1,19
 κόμη 1,35; 3,9; 7,10
- λαμβάνω 6,10; 11,3
 λεσώνις *vide index V*
 ληνός 19,3(bis),5,[7],9,10
 ληστής 2,10
 λόγος 1,9,23; 9,5,17; 20,35n.
- μέγας 6,5
 μελίχρως 21,3,4
 μέν 1,22
 μερίς 1,4; 2,17; 3,7; 7,11
 μέσος 2,10; 21,3(bis),4(bis)
 μεταβολή 1,14
 μετατίθημι 17,4-5,8-9
 μετέωρος 7,3
 μέτοχος 5,1
 μετρέω 12,19; 13,17; 14,6; 15,12
 μέτρον *vide index VIII*
 μέτωπον 21,3,4
 μή 1,20,35,36; 5,6; 8,13; 12,15,16,18; 13,12,
 13,16; 14,1,5,11; 15,7,8,11; 16,10
 μηδέ 1,36
 μηδεῖς 1,37
 μήτηρ 18,1
 μισθόω 1,5
- νομός 7,4
 νύξ 4,7
 νωτοφόρος *vide index VII*
- ξηρός(?) 20,33
- ὄδος 2,18
 οἶδα 17,12
 οἰκία 1,14,25,37; 5,8
 ὄνυμι 21,1
 ὁμοίως 9,8,11; 17,6; 19,5
 ὁμολογέω 12,7; 13,9; 15,1; 21,1
- ὄνος 4,14
 ὄπως 1,33; 3,10; 17,11
 ὄρμᾶω 2,15
 ὄρμοφύλαξ *vide index VII*
 ὄρκος 21,2
 ὅς 1,19,22,27,29,32; 2,13; 6,4; 9,4; 10,4,8; 11,
 [7]; 16,8,11; 19,1
 ὅτι 16,2,9
 οὐ 1,26; 6,2; 12,15; 13,12; 15,7
 οὐλή 21,3,4
 οὖν 16,5; 17,11
 οὔτε 2,24
 οὗτός 1,28; 6,12; 9,21
- παρά 1,6; 2,4,7,23; 3,5; 4,2; 5,[1],6,9; 6,10;
 8,10; 12,8,21-22; 13,9,20; 15,[1],14; 17,9;
 18,4; 20,2-13,15,[19],20-22
- παραγγέλλω 11,1,5,7
 παραγίνομαι 2,16; 11,5
 παραδέχομαι 6,15
 παραδίδωμι 16,6-7
 παράθεσις 1,22
 πᾶς 6,4
 πατήρ 20,3
 πείθω 2,26
 περί 1,21,27; 2,5,9,21; 3,[15]n.; 5,12; 7,9; 12,6;
 13,7
 περιελαύνω 4,13-14
 περιέχω 6,3,11
 περιπίπτω 2,9
 περισπάω 1,35
 πίπτω 2,24
 πίστις 1,17
 πλοῖον 3,14n.
 ποιέω 1,9,23,25,28,30; 3,10; 6,12; 8,4; 9,14;
 16,6; 18,2
 ποιμήν 11,1
 πόλις 2,5,8; 11,2
 πολὺς 2,17
 πορεία 2,27
 πράττω 1,25
 πρεσβύτερος *vide index VI*
 προάγω 6,6
 προβαίνω 6,5
 προγράφω 3,13n.; 9,23n.; 21,1
 προδίδωμι 1,10,15
 προεμβάλλω 8,5
 προίημι 1,21
 προνοέω 6,15

- πρὸς 1,9,23; 2,25; 11,6; 12,14; 13,15; 14,4;
 15,[6]; 16,4
 προσάγγελμα 17,7-8
 προσαναφέρω 6,6-7
 προσαποτίνω 5,10
 προσδέομαι 16,11-12n.
 προσήκω 1,22-23
 προσλαμβάνω 1,18
 προστάττω 1,35
 προσφέρω 5,3
 πρότερος 1,19
 πρόχρησις 12,11; 15,3-4
 πυρός 3,14; 6,10; 9,3,(10)(bis),(12),(13),(20);
 10,7,(7); 12,12,13,[20]; 13,10,11,18; 14,7;
 15,4,[5],[12]; 16,5; 17,4

 ράφανος 20,31
 ρύσις 19,1
 ρώννυμι 8,3; 9,24; 11,8; 16,13; 18,1

 σεῦτλον 20,32
 σιτολογῶν vide index VI
 σιτοφόρος 1,8
 στόμφορ 6,3
 στρατηγός vide index VI
 σύ 3,9; 5,8,11; 6,2,3,5,6; 7,8; 12,8; 13,9; 16,
 2,8,[8],11; 17,11; 18,4
 σῦκον 20,28
 συμβόλαιον 1,27
 σύμβολον 1,20
 συμμείγνυμι 16,10-11
 συμμετρέω 17,12
 συμπίπτω 6,2
 συμπληρώω 6,14
 συμπορεύομαι 3,12
 συναγορασμός 10,5
 σύνεργος 1,18
 συντάττω 6,8; 16,6
 σύνταξις 17,6

 τάττω 7,11
 τε 1,18,27,34; 2,11,18; 5,11; 6,13
 τέλος 5,4
 τέρω 1,29
 τετραχοῦς vide index VIII
 τίθημι 1,21
 τιμή 10,4; 20,1,26
 τις 2,9; 4,8; 5,4
 τοῖχος 4,11-12
 τόπος 1,29

 τράπεζα 7,12
 τριάκοντα 9,16
 τριχοῦς vide index VIII
 τρόπος 1,37; 11,[7]
 τρυγᾶω 7,6
 τυγχάνω 1,38; 3,10

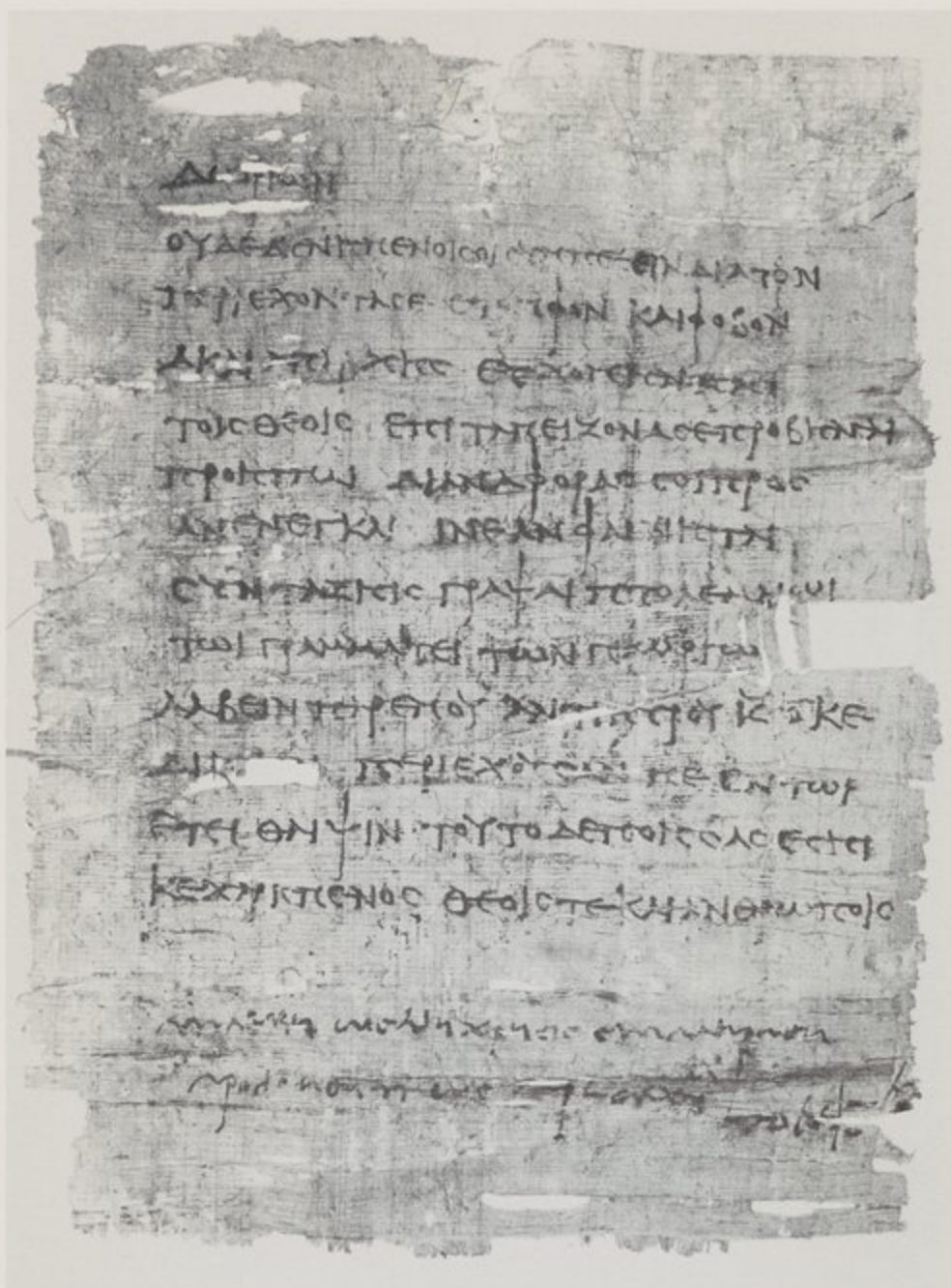
 ὅμεις 1,30,31; 2,27;15,2
 ὁμέτερος 1,3
 ὁπάρχω 1,17; 4,9; 7,8
 ὁπέρ 1,8,22; 9,9; 10,8; 12,10; 14,9; 15,3; 16,7;
 18,3; 22,8
 ὁπερβαίνω 4,8
 ὁπό 2,22; 3,8; 11,[4],4; 21,3
 ὁπολογέω 8,12
 ὁπόμνημα 2,1

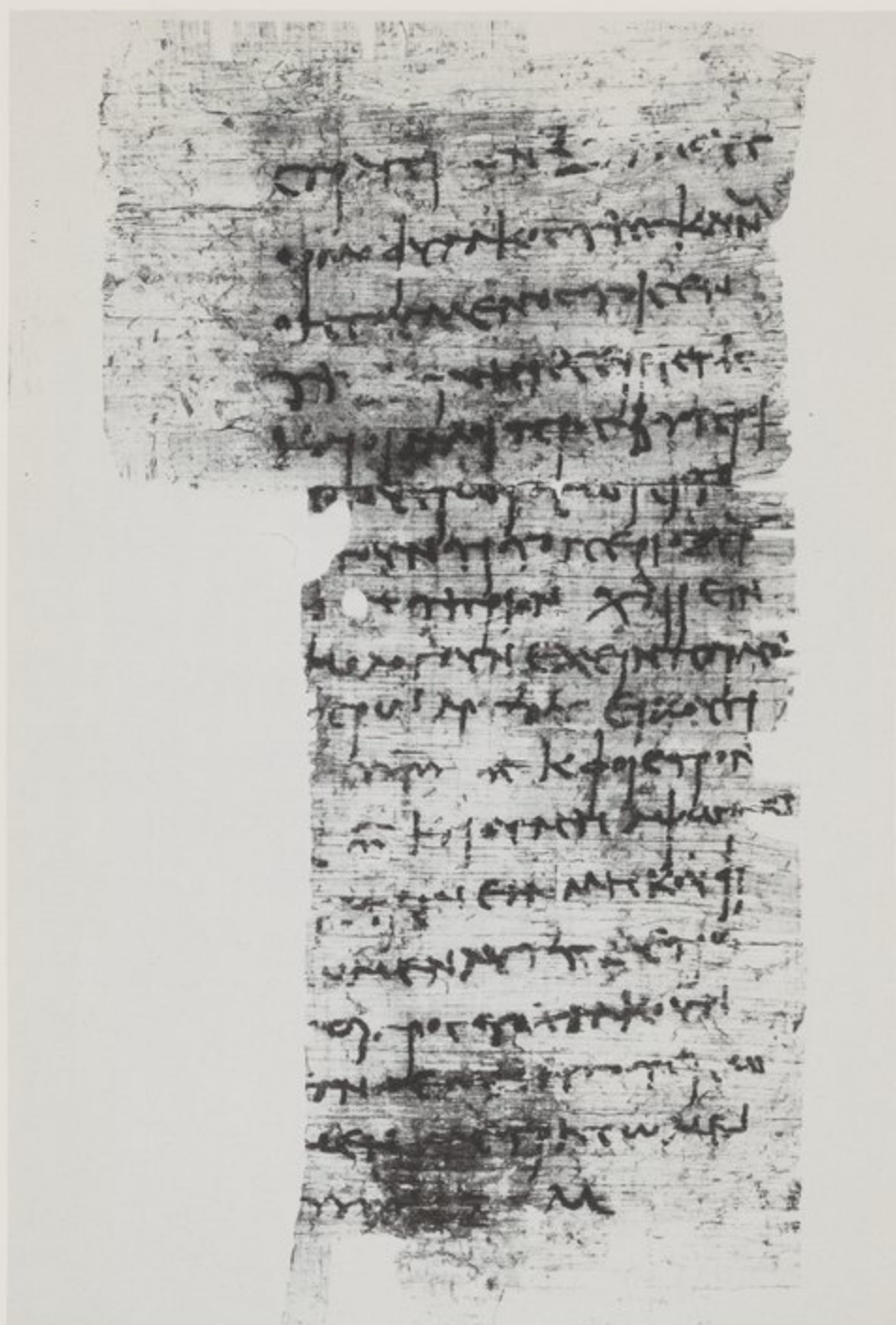
 φαίνω 6,7
 φακός 20,36
 φάσκω 14,10-11
 φέρω 4,7,12; 18,3
 φημί 16,4n.
 φίλος 3,4
 φόβος 6,3
 φοινίκινος 7,9
 φόρετρον 12,10-11,15,18; 13,11,13; 14,1; 15,
 3,8,[10]
 φόρος 1,13
 φυγή 2,15
 φυλακίτης vide index VI

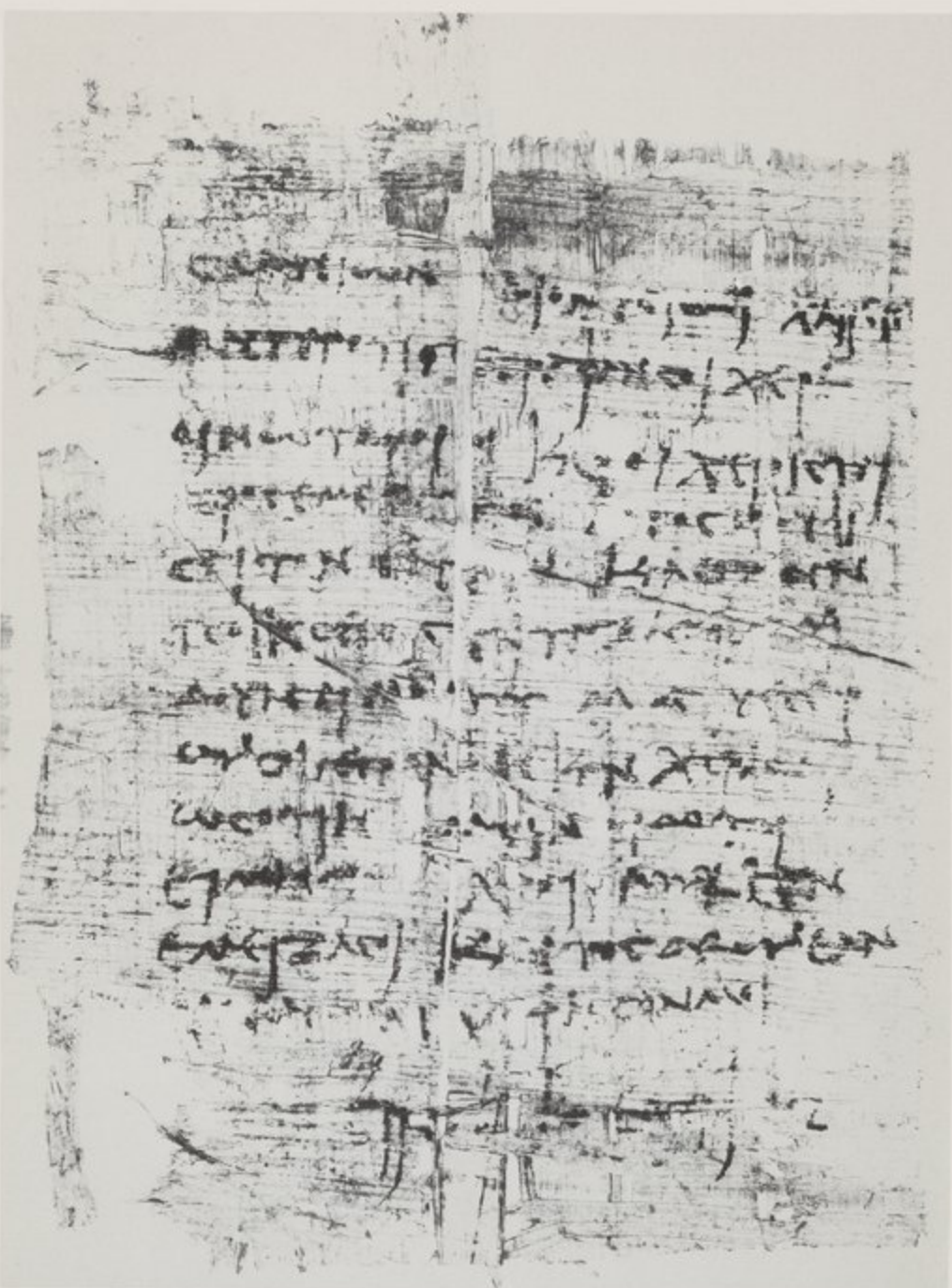
 χαίρω 1,2; 7,5; 8,2; 9,2; 10,3; 11,3; 12,7; 13,8;
 16,1; 17,1; 18,1
 χαλκός 18,4
 χαλκοῦς vide index VIII
 χαρίζομαι 6,13
 χειμών 1,14n., 15
 χεῖρ 16,2,8
 χειριστής vide index VII
 χιτών 2,11
 χρῆμα 10,6
 χρηματισμός 1,12,27
 χρηματίστης vide index VI
 χρηματοφύλαξ vide index V
 χρήσις 6,14

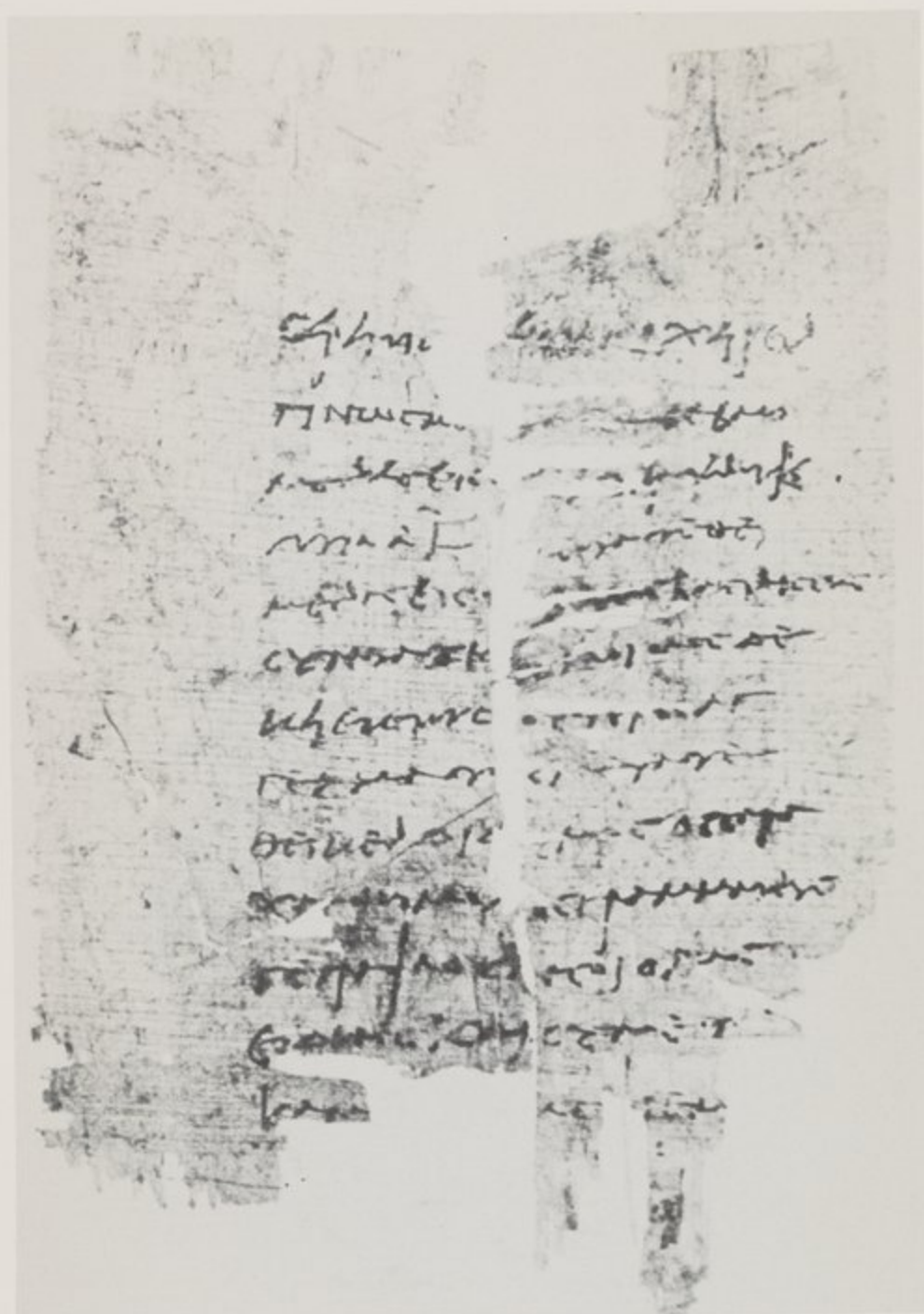
 ὄνη 5,2
 ὄρα 2,9
 ὥς 6,14,15; 16,2,9; 21,3,4

PLATES









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