

The New Papyrological Primer

Second Edition, Revised

by

P.W. PESTMAN

E.J. BRILL



THE NEW PAPYROLOGICAL PRIMER

M. DAVID—B. A. VAN GRONINGEN—P. W. PESTMAN

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E. J. BRILL
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- 1946 Second (English) edition, *Papyrological Primer*, by M. David and B. A. van Groningen.
- 1952 Third edition, by the same authors.
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Cover. A recently manufactured papyrus is reproduced on the cover, the *recto* being on the outside and the *verso* on the inside.

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PREFACE

The idea of the "Papyrological Primer" was in the late thirties conceived by the legal historian M. David (1898-1986) and the Greek philologist B.A. van Groningen (1894-1987). These scholars had in common a lively interest in the society of Graeco-Roman Egypt and they were both endowed with the gift to pass on their interest to many generations of students of classics and law, of egyptology, ancient history and theology. By experience gained from their seminars in Greek Papyrology, David and Van Groningen knew that an introduction to Papyrology should be made on the basis of texts, carefully selected and provided with concise commentaries, and in agreement with this conception they wrote their "Primer".

Fifty years have elapsed since the "Primer" was first published. The last edition being out of print, I was asked to prepare a new and modernized version. Papyrology being constantly on the move, an ~~entirely~~ entirely new primer is the result. I have tried to write it in the spirit of my teachers, intending to show how fascinating Greek Papyrology really is, and why.

Leiden, June 1990

P.W. Pestman

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NOTICE TO THE READER

1. The book contains texts which illustrate various aspects of life in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The texts are arranged in chronological order; documents dealing with the same subject can be found with the help of the list on p. XIII-XIV.
2. Readings of many texts were checked with photographs or by colleagues with the original papyri. Any resulting correction or new reading is incorporated in the "New Primer" and will be listed in *Berichtigungsliste* (see p. XVIII), vol. 8.
3. Each text is provided with a short commentary and some explanatory notes. These, together with the information given elsewhere in the "New Primer", will allow the student to understand the text and to put it in its social context.
4. The purpose of the glossary at the end of the book is firstly to help students who are less familiar with the language of Greek papyri and secondly to enable one to retrace an explanatory note on some particular problem or to find other texts in which a certain term is used, etc.
5. Common sense and a critical mind are the principal assets of a papyrologist. One has to learn to ask questions, to recognize problems and not to rely on the opinions of others. Every text is a challenge. One will soon discover that taking up this challenge is one of the most interesting aspects of papyrology. I have helped the reader, if only by means of a small hint, in some cases — but I have intentionally held my peace: in others the reader be warned.
6. The introduction gives some general background information and, more specifically, data which concern the texts printed in this book. More attention is given to rather neglected topics (like Egyptian proper names in Greek) than to well-known subjects which have already been thoroughly studied elsewhere (like Christianity).
7. In the genealogical trees women's names are printed in italics.

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12	Dispute about a mummy	<i>S.B.</i> 1 5216	101 or 68

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15	Horoscope	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 2 235	c. 19 A.D.
16	Letter of emperor Claudius about the Jews in Alexandria	<i>P. Lond.</i> 6 1912	41
17	Trial concerning exchanged babies .	<i>P. Oxy.</i> 1 37	49
* 18	Labour contract with a weaver . . .	<i>P.S.I.</i> 8 902	c.48-56
19	Loan on security	<i>P.S.I.</i> 8 911	c. 56
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70	Magic	<i>P.G.M.</i> no. IV	early 4th cent.
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	7 1954	4		28	22
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<i>P. Oxy.</i> 10 1274, 1-3	240	<i>S.E.G.</i> 28 1485	9
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 12 1466, 10		<i>P. Tebt.</i> 4 1128, 56-80	305
[<i>C.P.L.</i> 204]	241	<i>U.P.Z.</i> 1 147	58-59
<i>P. Oxy.</i> 12 1475, 10-13	245		

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1 PAPYROLOGY

Papyrology is the study of ancient texts from Egypt¹ written in ink² on papyrus as well as on pot-sherds, wooden tablets, leather, linen, etc.³

The dry sands of Egypt have preserved hundreds of thousands of these texts. Most of them were found south of Cairo, since the wet soil of the Delta⁴ and Alexandria (cf. p. 98, bottom) caused the loss of nearly all the perishable writing-material.

In ancient Egypt, from the beginning of the Pharaonic period to the first centuries of the Arab era, texts were written in many different languages and characters such as hieratic, demotic, Coptic, Greek, Aramaic, Latin and Arabic, each corresponding to a specific branch of papyrology based on specialised knowledge of the language and writing concerned. The most important branches are demotic papyrology, Coptic papyrology and, above all, Greek papyrology since most preserved papyri are Greek papyri.⁵

Greek papyrology

Because of the huge quantity of preserved Greek papyri which deal with every conceivable aspect of life in Egypt, from Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) till after the Arab conquest (A.D. 641), the Graeco-Roman society of Egypt is the best known of the ancient mediterranean world.

It is one of the fascinating aspects of papyrology that we are working on original texts. This fact allows us to read indiscretely a personal letter, to gain insight in a person's financial situation, to catch someone else at evading the law, etc.: reading papyri is like reading a diary. In this way we become acquainted with real persons and their worries:

1 Papyrology is limited to texts from Egypt because almost no papyri etc. have survived outside Egypt. In exceptional circumstances only, some material has been preserved, like the private library of papyrus rolls which was buried under the volcanic crust at Herculaneum; or the banker's archive of waxed tablets which was preserved by volcanic ash near Pompei; or the wooden tablets which were buried under a layer of clay in the floor of a Roman military building at Vindolanda near Hadrian's wall in Great Britain. See O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (1973) 26-29 and *Addenda* (1988) 539 and 540.

2 Although not written in ink, we also reckon to the territory of papyrology those texts which are incised onto waxed tablets.

3 Inscriptions on stone and coins, though belonging to the fields of epigraphists and numismatists, must also be taken into account by papyrologists; cf. no. 7.

4 See no. 49 for one of the very few papyri found in the Delta.

5 Relatively few Latin papyri have been preserved (cf. nos. 38 and 61) because most Romans speaking and writing Latin lived in Alexandria with the result that their writings have been lost.

Charta Borgiana
(A.D. 193)

- Κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν ἀπεργασαμένων
εἰς τὰ χωματικὰ ἔργα Τεπτύνεως·
λγ L, Μεχειρ ι̅ ἕως ιδ̅ Πτολεμαΐδ(ος) Ὀρμ(ου),
ἀνδ(ρῶν) ρ̅πα, ὧν τὸ κατ' ἄνδ(ρα)·
- 5 Σαραπίων Στοτοήτεω(ς) τ(οῦ) Χαιρήμ(ονος)
μη(τρὸς) Θεναπύγχεω(ς)
Πρωτᾶς ἀδελ(φὸς) μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς)
Σαραπίων ἄλλος ἀδελ(φὸς) μητ(ρὸς) τῆς αὐτ(ῆς)
Παῦειτῆς Ἡρακλέου μητ(ρὸς) Εἰρήνης
κ.τ.λ.

“List of the men who have accomplished the dyke work of Tebtynis; in year 33, Mecheir 10-14 for (the canal of) Ptolemaïs Hormou: 181 men, whose names are as follows:

- Sarapion, son of Stotoëtis, grandson of Chairemon, his mother is Thenapynchis;
 - Protas, his brother, of the same mother;
 - Sarapion, another brother, of the same mother;
 - Paweites, son of Herakles, his mother is Eirene;”
- etc.

The Charta Borgiana (= S.B. 1 5124) was the first Greek papyrus to become known in Europe. The document was acquired in Egypt in 1778 and donated to the Italian cardinal Stefano Borgia. The papyrus is at present housed in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.

The papyrus roll contains part of a long list (twelve columns are preserved) of persons forced to work on the dykes near Tebtynis.

- we are present when Lucia Macrina, having tried to escape one of the legal consequences of her forbidden marriage to a soldier, loses her case (no. 28);
- we notice that Tatehathyris is not as emancipated as an Egyptian woman is supposed to be, seeing that her land is being farmed out by her husband (see p. 52);
- we can read Menches' mind and understand why he cancels κριν in no. 8, 219 and μοι in no. 9, 14;
- we follow Apollonios' efforts to learn the Greek alphabet, seeing him carefully tracing letters in neat columns (but forgetting one column): see plate on p. 58;
- we look over Thermouthas' shoulder as she writes a letter to her mother (no. 40); though having learned to write she lacks experience and writes with difficulty: see plate on p. 170;
- we sympathise with Apion who leaves his family in Egypt to join the navy in far-away Italy where he eventually raises his own family (no. 39); etc.

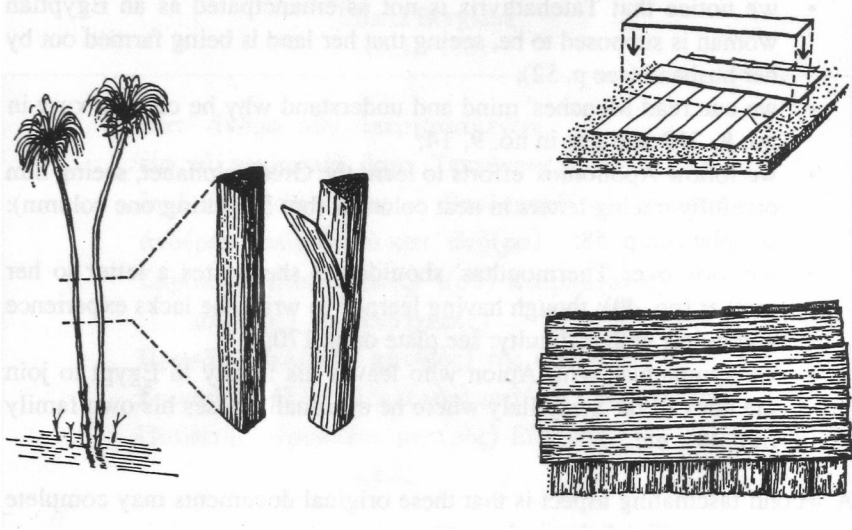
A second fascinating aspect is that these original documents may complete or even correct official classical sources.

- *The persecution of Christians.* Official information on this subject is by the nature of the situation one-sided, whereas papyri may show how the persecution actually affected the population. The letter no. 69 mentions a discriminatory measure which is aimed at preventing Christians from going to law. The letter demonstrates how easy it was to by-pass this obstacle. No wonder that the Christians in the countryside did not even know of this measure.
- *Literary texts.* Until the nineteenth century works of classical authors were known to us through medieval manuscripts and a few Arabic translations. Many lost works have been rediscovered on papyri: comedies by Menander, poems by Sappho and Bakchylides, Aristoteles' *Athenaion Politeia* (the principal source of our knowledge of Athens' institutions), etc. On the other hand, papyri have been found of works also known from medieval manuscripts; since the papyri were written many centuries earlier they give us the unique possibility of checking emendations, mistakes and variant readings of the medieval tradition; cf. the Leiden papyrus with parts of Plato's *Phaedo*, p. 65.

Papyrus and other writing-materials

Papyrus is an Egyptian invention. It was certainly being made in Egypt early in the third millennium B.C. In Antiquity papyrus was exported to all

the mediterranean countries where it was used as the most common writing-material.¹ The last surviving papyri are a Papal document of A.D. 1057 and an Arabic document of A.D. 1087.



The writing-material called *papyrus* was manufactured from the Egyptian aquatic papyrus plant. The stem was cut along the length into strips. These strips were laid crossways in two layers which were pressed together, thus forming a solid papyrus sheet, the adhesion of the layers being assured by the plant's own natural juices.²

The fibres of the plant run consequently horizontally on one side of such a sheet and vertically on the other. Twenty sheets (σελίδες) pasted together³ form a papyrus roll (τόμος).⁴ Sheets, and therefore rolls, of various sizes were manufactured, but in the Ptolemaic period a roll was usually c.

1 Papyrus was not only used as writing-material, but also for wrapping up things (see e.g. nos. 2 and 38, 19, with note) and for manufacturing cartonage (p. 5).

2 See E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, second edition (1987) plate 1. The sketches given above are adapted from T.C. Skeat, *La produzione libraria cristiana delle origini* (1976) 8. No Egyptian sources exist describing or depicting the manufacture of papyrus. Some information is given by Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 13, § 74-82. Recently I.H.M. Hendriks suggested (*Z.P.E.* 37, 1980, 121-136) that the stem was not cut into strips but that it was peeled. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 67 (1992) 312-313 points out why it is difficult to accept the theory of the "peeling method".

3 A join (running vertically on the recto) can be seen near the right-hand border of no. 40 (plate, p. 170).

4 Besides these manufactured rolls, other rolls have been found which have been made up (in the same way) from single documents into archives for the purpose of filing. Such a roll is called τόμος συγκολλησίμος and the single sheet κόλλημα; see nos. 49 (p. 197), 61 k and 63.

320 cm long and c. 32 cm high. The inner side of a roll is called *recto*; the fibres run horizontally here, and the surface of papyrus of good quality is very smooth; this side is meant to be written on.¹ The outer side of a roll is called the *verso*; here the fibres run vertically which allows the papyrus to be rolled up; the surface is often much coarser since this side is usually not meant to be written upon.²

Writing was originally done with brush-pens made of rush and, from the third century B.C. onwards, usually with pens made of reed cut to a point and split in two at the top to form a nib (κάλαμος). Ink was made of lampblack, gum and water.

Some other writing-materials found in Egypt are:

- *pot-sherds*, used for tax-receipts (no. 25), letters, ephemeral writing etc.; they are called ὄστρακα;
- *wooden tablets*, used for the same purposes and moreover, frequently in the second and third centuries A.D., as identification tags for mummies; they are called τάβλαι;
- *waxed tablets* (p. 204), used for school-exercises (plate, p. 206) and ephemeral writing; in the Roman period also for Roman legal documents (plate, p. 205).

Papyri and other writing-materials are to be found in all sorts of places, provided that these are not flooded by the Nile. Some papyri have been discovered, carefully stored in tombs, in private dwellings (no. 38) or in public archives (nos. 18 and 19, see p. 116). Others have been found in ancient rubbish-heaps (κοπρίαι) where they had been discarded. A huge amount of papyrus was needed for administrative purposes by the Egyptian bureaucracy; after some time officials would clear their files and in this way private persons had access to large quantities of papyrus rolls which bakers used for heating their ovens,³ embalmers for padding out mummies of sacred animals, manufacturers of cardboard (or mummy cartonnage)⁴ for making mummy casings, etc. And so it happens that the archive of a village scribe was found in the mummies of crocodiles (nos. 8 and 9, see p. 86) and that the archive of a *strategos* was extracted from mummy cartonnage (no. 6, see p. 80); even an Alexandrian archive was extracted from mummy cartonnage (nos. 13 and 14, see p. 98) which is of great importance because almost no papyri have been preserved in Alexandria itself.

1 In some modern editions of papyri the sign → is used to indicate that the writing runs parallel to the fibres, whereas ↓ means that the writing runs at right angles.

2 Sometimes the *verso* is used for secondary writing; see e.g. nos. 8, 23, 41, 42 and 60 as well as p. 198.

3 J. Jacquet, *Fouilles de Karnak-Nord*, in *BIFAO* 71 (1972) 154.

4 Papyrus cartonnage was manufactured by glueing layers of papyrus so as to form cardboard. Although mainly administrative papyri were used for this purpose, sometimes other papyri were. Thus a lost comedy of Menander was extracted from papyrus cartonnage; see *Rech. de Pap.* 3 (1964) 103-176, plates VI-XIII.

§ 2 CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

The beginning of a new era

B.C. 595 -589 *Psammetichos II.* Campaign against Nubia (593) with Greek mercenaries; earliest Greek text from Egypt (see next page).

First legal and administrative Egyptian documents written in demotic script (p. 21): this marks the beginning of a notary's practice and the development of standard formulas and a legal terminology.

570 -526 *Amasis.* Naukratis was the only trading port in Egypt, according to Herodotus (II 178-179), and Amasis allowed Greeks to settle here. Archaeological finds, however, point to earlier Greek settlements.

525 *Cambyses.* Conquest of Egypt by the Persian king Cambyses; first Persian period (525-405).

522-486 *Darius I.* Divides his realm into satrapies. The satrapy of Egypt includes Libya and Cyrene.

c. 460 HERODOTUS visits Egypt.

— A Jewish garrison is stationed in Elephantine to defend the southern border of Egypt; three archives of Aramaic papyri (Vth cent. B.C.) have been found.

332-323 *Alexander the Great* invades Egypt in 332; he founds Alexandria on the site of the Egyptian village Rakote.

323-305 Alexander is first succeeded by his half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus and then (316) by his son Alexander IV.

323 Ptolemy, son of Lagos, satrap of Egypt.

→

Greek inscription in Abu Simbel; 593 B.C.
(length of the lines is 2.12-2.80 m; height of the letters is 4-8 cm)

The beginning of a new era

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΣ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΑΝ ΨΑΜΜΑΤΙΧΟ
 ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΓΡΑΨΑΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΨΑΜΜΑΤΙΧΟΙ ΤΟΙ ΘΕΟΚΛΟΣ
 ΕΠΛΕΟΝ ΒΛΘΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΕΡΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΤΥΠΕΡΘΕ ΝΙΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ
 ΑΝΙΒΑΛΟΓΛΟΣ ΟΥΔΑΧΕ ΠΟΤΑΣΙΜΤΟ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΜΑΣΙΣ
 ΕΓΡΑΦΕ ΔΑΜΕ ΑΡΧΟΝ ΑΜΟΙΒΙΧΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΛΕΡΟΣ ΟΥΔΑΜΟ

O = o but also ou and ω [here
 transcribed o(v) and ō]

Βασιλέως ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαματίχο(υ)
 ταῦτα ἔγραψαν τοῖ σὺν Ψαμματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλ(ὺ)ς
 ἔπλεον, ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε, νῆς ὁ ποταμὸς
 ἀνίη· ἀλλογλῶσο(υ)ς δ' ἦχε Ποτασιμτῶ, Αἰγυπτί(ο)ς δὲ Ἀμασις·
 5 ἔγραφε δ' ἄμὲ Ἀρχὼν Ἀμοιβίχο(υ) καὶ Πέλερος Οὐδάμο(υ).

Translation

"When king Psammetichos came to Elephantine this was written by those who went on by boat with Psammetichos, son of Theocles; they went beyond Kerkis, up to where (νῆς = οἶ) the river allowed it; Potasimto was in command (ἦχε = εἶχε) of the foreigners (ἀλλογλώσσους) and Amasis of the Egyptians; Archon, son of Amoibichos and Pelekos, son of Eudamos wrote us (ἄμὲ = ἡμᾶς, i.e. these words)."

In the third year of Psammetichos II (593 B.C.) this visitors' inscription was left by Greek mercenaries on the leg of a statue of Ramses II in Abu Simbel. This is about 140 km south of Elephantine; Kerkis is at least 450 km further to the south.

Literature: S. Sauneron - J. Yoyotte, *La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique*, BIFAO 50 (1952) 157-207; J. Yoyotte, *Potasimto de Pharbaïthos*, Chron.d'Ég. 28 (1953) 101-106; A. Bernand - O. Masson, *Les inscriptions grecques d'Abou Simbel*, R.E.G. 70 (1957) 1-46, nr. 1 (replacing the text as printed in S.B. 8 10018) and S.E.G. 16 863.

Ptolemaic Period

- B.C. 305 Egypt an independent Hellenistic kingdom; the satrap assumes kingship as *Ptolemy I Soter* (305-282). He and his son, Ptolemy II, gain control of the Cyrenaica, parts of the coast between Pelusium and the northern end of the Lebanon, Cyprus and parts of the south coast of Asia Minor.
- 285-246 *Ptolemy II Philadelphos*, at first together with his father. Apollonios is his *dioiketes*. Development of the Fayum. Foundation of the library in Alexandria; the Egyptian priest Manetho writes an Egyptian history in Greek; Jewish scholars translate the Old Testament into Greek (the *Septuaginta*). The Zenon-archive (Zenon came from Kaunos, Asia Minor).
- 246-222 *Ptolemy III Euergetes I*. Synod of Egyptian priests in Kanopos (cf. p. 40).
- 222-205 *Ptolemy IV Philopator*. The king defeats the Seleucids near Raphia (217), but parts of his possessions outside Egypt are gradually lost.
- 204-180 *Ptolemy V Epiphanes*. Revolts in the Delta (p. 82). The Thebaïd an independent kingdom under the Egyptian Pharaohs Hur-gonaphor (for his name see p. 46) and Chaonnophris; defeated in 186; cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* 61 (1986) 294-302.
- 180-145 *Ptolemy VI Philometor*. Invasion by the Seleucids; civil war and revolts in the whole of Egypt. Ptolemy VI restored with Rome's help.
- 145-116 *Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II* marries first Ptolemy Philometor's widow Cleopatra II and then her daughter Cleopatra III. Civil war between Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II (131); *machimoi*, the Ptolemaic successors to the Pharaonic native soldiers, support the king.
- 116-101 *Cleopatra III* (at first with Ptolemy IX Soter, then with Ptolemy X Alexander). Growing influence of Rome. The senator Lucius Memmius is shown the sights in the Fayum (*P. Tebt.* 1 33).

Cleruchs and the history of Egypt

Like the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies used to grant land to their soldiers when they were not needed any more under arms but were still liable for mobilization. A military colonist is called κληροῦχος or κάτοικος and his holding κλῆρος κατοικικός. The size of a holding depended on the military standing of the recipient; length of tenure was originally limited.

From the archive of Menches (p. 86) we know that in the course of a century about 100 plots of land were granted to military colonists. The chronological account of these grants reflects the history of Egypt:

<i>Battle of Raphia</i> (217)	c. 217	2 grants of land
<i>Revolt of the Thebaïd</i>	c. 186	4 grants; settlers belong to the group (204-186) of 4000 men who went to war in the Thebaïd, τῶν ἀναζευξάντων εἰς τὴν Θηβαΐδα ἀπὸ τῶν Δ ἀνδρῶν
<i>Invasion by the Seleucids, revolts in Egypt</i>	151-147	17 grants
<i>Palace struggles</i>	137-133	15 grants
<i>Civil war</i> (131)	130-120	63 grants; for the first time the recipients were Egyptian soldiers.

Roman visitors

The first Roman to visit Philae was to his saying Gaius Acutius. He left on August 26th of 116 B.C. the following inscription on the temple walls:

[C.] Acu[ti]us [.] f(ilius) Ter(entina tribu)
 hoc venit primus
 a(nte) d(iem) V k(alendas) Septembris
 Q. Fabio, C. Licinio co(n)s(ulibus)
 Γάϊος Ἀκούτιος

S.E.G. 28 (1978) 1485; H. Devijver, *Chron. d'Ég.* 60 (1985) 96-101, *La plus ancienne mention d'une tribu romaine en Égypte*. New edition: A. Bernard, *De Thèbes à Syène* (1989) no. 321; cf. J. Bingen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 65 (1990) 150.

- B.C. c. 59 DIODORUS SICULUS in Egypt (see opposite).
- 51-30 *Cleopatra VII*, reigning in part jointly with her brothers Ptolemy XIII and XIV and her son Caesarion. Battle of Actium (31).
- Roman Period*
- 30 *Augustus*: 30 B.C. - A.D. 14; called Καῖσαρ and, after his death, θεὸς Σεβαστός (no. 16, 87). Egypt a Roman province under a Roman prefect. Calendar reform (introduction of leap years).
- 25/24 STRABO visits Egypt.
- 20 Confiscation of the domains of the Egyptian temples.
- A.D. 14-37 *Tiberius* [year 1 = 14 / 15]. The year beginning 29 August is his first regnal year, although his accession was 19 August (news from Rome normally reached Alexandria in about 20-25 days).
- 41-54 *Claudius* [year 1 = 40 / 41]. Letter to the Alexandrians (cf. no. 16).
- 54-68 *Nero* [year 1 = 54 / 55].
- 79-81 *Titus* [year 1 = 78 / 79].
- 81-96 *Domitian* [year 1 = 81 / 82].
- 98-117 *Trajan* [year 1 = 97 / 98]. Jewish revolt in Alexandria (115) and in Egypt (116-117).
- 117-138 *Hadrian* [year 1 = 116 / 117; cf. p. 41]. Accession 11 August (cf. no. 29). Foundation of Antinooupolis in 130 (p. 185).
- 138-161 *Antoninus Pius* [year 1 = 137 / 138].
- 161-180 *Marcus Aurelius* [year 1 = 160 / 161]; in part jointly with Lucius Verus (161-169) and Commodus (177-180).

A Roman delegation in Alexandria, c. 59 B.C.

Killing a sacred cat

8 Οὕτω δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὄχλων ψυχαῖς ἐντέτηκεν ἡ πρὸς τὰ ζῷα ταῦτα δεισιδαιμονία καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀμεταθέτως ἕκαστος διάκειται πρὸς τὴν τούτων τιμὴν, ὥστε καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕπω προσηγόρευτο φίλος, οἱ δ' ὄχλοι πᾶσαν εἰσεφέροντο σπουδὴν ἐκθεραπεύοντες τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ σπεύδοντες μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἐγκλήματος ἢ πολέμου δοῦναι διὰ τὸν φόβον, ἀποκτείναντος Ῥωμαίου τινὸς αἰλουρον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πράξαντος, οὐθ' οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τὴν παραίτησιν οὐθ' ὁ κοινὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης φόβος ἵσχυσεν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καίπερ ἀκουσίως τοῦτο πεπραχότα.

9 Καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἡμεῖς ἱστοροῦμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν γεγεννημένην ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἑορακότες.

"So deeply implanted also in the hearts of the common people is their superstitious regard for these animals and so unalterable are the emotions cherished by every man regarding the honour due to them that once, at the time when Ptolemy their king had not as yet been given by the Romans the appellation of 'friend' [59 B.C.] and the people were exercising all zeal in courting the favour of the embassy from Italy which was then visiting Egypt and, in their fear, were intent upon giving no cause for complaint or war, when one of the Romans killed a cat and the multitude rushed in a crowd to his house, neither the officials sent by the king to beg the man off nor the fear of Rome which all the people felt were enough to save the man from punishment, even though his act had been an accident. And this incident we relate, not from hearsay, but we saw it with our own eyes on the occasion of the visit we made to Egypt."

Diodorus I 83, 8-9 (Loeb. Class. Libr.)

- A.D. 180-192 *Commodus* [year 1 = 160/161 (!)].
- 193-211 *Septimius Severus* [year 1 = 192 / 193]; in part jointly with Caracalla and with Geta (*damnatio memoriae* in 212; cf. p. 36-37 and 218). Institution of town councils (βουλαί) in Alexandria and the *metropoleis*.
- 211-217 Aurelius Antoninus *Caracalla* [year 1 = 192 / 193 (!)]. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* (no. 56) extends Roman citizenship to nearly all the inhabitants of the Roman empire (c. 212). Roman law is, however, seldom applied. The new citizens adopt the name Αὐρήλιος.
- 249-251 *Decius* [year 1 = 249/250]. Persecution of Christians.

Byzantine Period

- 284-305 *Diocletian* [year 1 = 284 / 285]. Egypt loses its exceptional position and is divided into three independent provinces. Reorganization of the administration follows the same pattern as in the rest of the empire. Violent persecution of Christians (from 298 onwards).
- 313 Constantine's edict of tolerance puts an end to the persecution of Christendom.
- 395 Division of the Roman empire into a western and an eastern part. Egypt belongs to the latter. The prestige of the central government declines; growing power of the Alexandrian patriarchs and of the landlords.
- 527-565 *Justinian*.
- 619-629 Domination of Egypt by the Sassanids.

Arab Era

- 639-641 Conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. Egypt a province of the Caliphate.

Roman emperors visiting Egypt

(Germanicus)	A.D.	19
Vespasian		69-70
Titus		71
Hadrian (see p. 156)		130-131
Marcus Aurelius		175/176
Septimius Severus		199-200
Caracalla		215-216
Galerius (campaigning)		294
Diocletian (campaigning)		297/298
(visiting)		301/302

H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (1986).

Seven maxims

- (1) Since words and sentences are usually not separated in the original texts (*scriptio continua*), it is wise not always to rely on the separations introduced by the editor; see e.g.:

βοῶν ἄς → βοῶνας *P. Lugd. Bat. 21 147*

- (2) Even when letters are given as certain by the editor, one must bear in mind that different readings are possible; see e.g.:

δὴ μέλι → Δημέαι *P. Lugd. Bat. 21 143*
καλαίνων → καμίνων „

- (3) < > and { }: one must be cautious with regard to emendations and corrections suggested by the editor; for why should we know better than the ancient scribe?

Ἄρσινό<η>ι δι- → Ἄρσινοῖδι *P. Lugd. Bat. 21 151*

- (4) []: if the editor has to accept a mistake in a lacuna, there is almost certainly something wrong.

- (5) If in an uncertain context the editor makes suggestions, emendations or supplements but the resulting phrase sounds odd, one should not follow him.

- (6) []: corrections made by the scribe may help us in following the train of his thought.

- (7) α β γ : dots are a papyrologist's conscience.

§ 3 GREEK

An overwhelming amount of original documents written in Greek was found in Egypt. They show us how Greek characters were actually written and even, by means of spelling mistakes, how Greek sounds were pronounced. These texts allow us, moreover, to establish how, in the course of a millennium, pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar changed; in many respects the language reminds us of modern Greek, although the official language of the administration, the notaries and the church remains to a large extent modelled on classical Attic.

Transliteration of papyri

A printed text of a papyrus looks quite different from the way works of classical authors are usually edited. A papyrus edition is full of dots, dotted letters and, above all, various kinds of brackets:

(, {, [, [̄, < and >,]̄,], },)

With the help of these critical signs papyrologists indicate lacunas in the original papyrus, abbreviations, corrections by the scribe, uncertain letters and emendations. These signs are listed and explained on the inside back-cover of this book. The uniform system of critical signs was accepted in 1931 at a meeting of Papyrologists in Leiden; cf. B.A. van Groningen, *Projet d'unification des systèmes de signes critiques*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 7 (1932) 262-269. The system has been applied since 1931 in every papyrus edition.¹

Everyone who consults a papyrus transliteration has to realize that the transliteration is a papyrologist's subjective rendering of the original text. The editor warns his readers of this fact by placing critical signs, like "traffic signs", in his transliteration. Van Groningen used to say with regard to the rule that uncertain letters should be dotted: "the dot is a papyrologist's conscience".

Greek scribes frequently use abbreviations (see the examples given on p. 90), signs and symbols. Many of these are written out in full (within round brackets) in this book, but a few signs and symbols are printed in the text; they are listed on the last page.

The *iota subscriptum* and *adscriptum*. The text no. 20, 8-9 runs σὺν τραπεζίῃ καὶ κώπῃ, so that ηῖ is printed next to η. This is a consequence

¹ One must bear in mind that in earlier editions some critical signs may have had a different meaning.

of the convention which says that the *iota* is to be printed *adscriptum* when the scribe actually wrote the *iota* in the original text; whenever the scribe omitted the *iota*, this letter is to be printed *subscriptum*. Thus the original papyrus, no. 20, has $\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\zeta\eta\iota$ and $\kappa\omega\pi\eta$.

Palaeography

The Hellenistic period starts in the whole Greek world with a strong impetus to put all kinds of legal matters down in writing. This means a shift from carving texts in stone to writing on papyrus. In early Greek papyri from Egypt, the individual characters are still formed more like letters carved in stone than in flowing writing.

Literary texts are usually written by experienced scribes in a so-called *book-hand*. The letters are of uniform height and written without ligatures; for an example see plate, p. 65. Such writing is very impersonal and for that reason it is difficult to date a literary text by the handwriting alone.

Documentary texts show a great variety of handwriting. The hand of a professional scribe differs considerably from that of a person who seldom writes; an example of the writing of such a "slow writer" ($\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega\nu$) is to be found on p. 170 (no. 40).¹ And with regard to the professional scribes it makes a difference whether a text is written by a secretary of the chancery of the prefect (writing in a chancery style, p. 215) or by a simple administrative clerk; whether it is an official deed drawn up by a notary or the private letter of a scribe who professionally writes letters for illiterates.

Through the years the way of writing changes. This enables us quite often to date a documentary text by the hand alone. Three periods may be distinguished.

The Ptolemaic era. At first the characters are seldom connected to each other. As a rule they are broadly written, and the horizontal line predominates. The characters are arranged in such a way that they do not "stand" on the line, but "hang" on it (like laundry hung out on a clothesline). Writing is clear, regular and elegant; later on it becomes more flowing and strongly resembles a ribbon.

The Roman era. Scribes write rather loosely in the beginning. Characters have many forms, sometimes simplified in the extreme. As a rule hands are small and very rapid, but the second century leads to greater distinctness; cf. the upper portion of the text no. 31, reproduced p. 147. The third century shows a well-nigh complete anarchy. Characters stick out upwards and

¹ It goes without saying that grammar and orthography are often also far from perfect in such texts written by "slow writers".

downwards without any regularity; they have divergent sizes and different essential forms (square beside rectangular, circular beside oval, curved beside angular).

The Byzantine era. Scribes gradually develop, under the influence of the Latin cursive, a very particular kind of fluent, elegant, large hand with many flourishes. The vertical element predominates.

Language

Greek papyri are of immense value for our knowledge of the Greek language and its history. They put us in touch with everyday language as it was spoken in all circles of a population so richly variegated and they bring us in contact with various technical vocabularies (legal, administrative, religious, agricultural etc.).

The koine

The so-called κοινή (sc. διάλεκτος) is the "general" form of Greek which originated in the fourth cent. B.C. and gradually supplanted the older dialects. The κοινή was written and spoken in the whole Hellenistic world. The New Testament was written in κοινή, as were, of course, the Greek papyri from Egypt. Documents from other parts of the Hellenistic world show that there were practically no local differences. [The same holds true for writing.] Both the grammar and the pronunciation of the κοινή show many peculiarities which are precursors of the further development of Greek in Byzantine and modern times.

Grammar

The κοινή shows a progressing simplification of inflexion through the normalization of anomalies. The athematic aorist, the optative and, later, the dative disappear. See, for instance, the following verbs:

ἔλαβον	→	ἔλαβα	nos. 39, 9; 40, 2; 68, 15
ἦλθομεν	→	ἦλθαμεν	no. 69, 7
εἶδομεν	→	εἶδαμεν	no. 62, 18

and the substantives:

παραδρομίδα	→	-δρομίδαν	no. 19, 3
φροντίδα	→	φροντίδαν	no. 75, 8-9
χάριν	→	χάριτα	no. 75, 19

and see for the dative no. 20, 18.

Orthography

Errors resulting from pronunciation frequently occur. The second hand, for instance, of no. 31 writes ὕκου instead of οἴκου (line 23) but, inversely, instead of Τῶβι he writes Τοῖβι (line 26). We deduce that he pronounced οἰ and υ in the same way and since he was not experienced enough to remember how to spell these words correctly, he chose the wrong spelling in both cases.

The following vowels were often interchanged:

ει - ι - η	pronounced ē as in "meet" (<i>itacism</i>)
υ - οἰ	idem
ε - αἰ	pronounced ě as in "met"
ο - ω	

Other errors may result from "the slurring of unstressed syllables" showing "laxity of speech" (*P. Mich.* 5, p. 13):

συνακολουθῶν	→	-ακλουθῶν	no. 18, 14-15
δουλάριον	→	δουλάριν	no. 26, 29
γείτονες	→	γείτονος	no. 36, 19-20
πρεσβύτερος	→	προσβύτερος	no. 19, 4
ὁμώμοκα	→	ὁμώμεκα	no. 43, 33

Examples of *hypercorrection* are also to be found. Since the *iota* is not pronounced after a long vowel in the ending of a word, this letter is often omitted by scribes, but scrupulous scribes add the *iota* where it belongs and sometimes even, hypercorrectly, where it is inappropriate:

ὁμολογῶ	→	ὁμολογῶι	no. 18, 1
βεβαιώσω	→	βεβαιώσωι	no. 19, 8
ὀκτώ	→	ὀκτώι	no. 18, 13

Syntax, style

The structure of sentences and their style depend on three elements: the taste of the times, the author's education and the nature of the text.

Notarial deeds, for instance, and petitions are written in a legal style with many participles and substantival (or articular) infinitives. The scribes endeavour to summarize the whole of a question in one single sentence.

Chronologically speaking, we can contrast the Greek and Roman periods, characterized by a relatively simple style, to the Byzantine era. The latter shows a distinctly modified taste. The style becomes very artificial and everybody revels in senseless accumulation of synonyms. Thus the actual content of a page of Byzantine writing is often inversely proportional to its length, as it is padded out by the verbosity of longwinded sentences, formulas of etiquette and declarations of submissiveness.

§ 4 EGYPTIAN

The Egyptian language after Alexander the Great

With Alexander's conquest Greek became the official language of Egypt, but the Egyptians themselves continued speaking their own language, particularly in the villages and in the country. And in the long run their language even survived the Greek language which disappeared within two centuries after the Arab conquest. Egyptian (in the form of Coptic) continued in fact to be spoken for a millennium or even longer, albeit enriched with Greek loan words and expressions.

In the Ptolemaic period most Egyptian texts were written in *demotic* and, from the third century A.D. onwards, in *Coptic* (for these scripts see below). Demotic was regularly used in the Ptolemaic era by notaries for drawing up contracts, by private persons for writing letters and by the lower administration. During the first centuries of our era the number of extant demotic papyri decreases considerably. It seems as though only Egyptians such as priests and embalmers continued writing their own language. This decrease is certainly not caused by a decrease in the number of native speakers but by changes in their social conditions. In fact, the number of extant Egyptian (Coptic) texts increases enormously from the very moment the Egyptians embrace Christianity (third century A.D.) and emancipate themselves. The Christian Coptic church still flourishes to-day.

Egyptian writing after Alexander the Great

Three kinds of Egyptian writing were used in Egypt at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period: *hieroglyphs* were employed for official and religious inscriptions, *hieratic* for religious writings and *demotic* for ordinary texts.

Hieroglyphs (p. 23, cols. 1-2)

Hieroglyphs constitute the original form of Egyptian writing. They were employed for at least 3500 years, from the very beginning of Egyptian history till the Christianization of the country. The last dated hieroglyphic inscription was made on August 24th of the year A.D. 394 at Philae, which was the last stronghold of ancient Egyptian civilization. A century later, when Horapollo (see p. 276) wrote his handbook on hieroglyphics, all knowledge of hieroglyphic seems to have been lost. Horapollo himself was obviously not able to read hieroglyphic writing.

Hieroglyphs were used in two completely different ways:

- (1) as *ideograms* or sense-signs denoting the actual object depicted;
- (2) as *phonograms* or sound-signs denoting the consonants of the name of the actual object depicted.

In both cases vowels were ignored, and therefore hieroglyphs do not tell us how words sounded. Precious information as to the vocalization of the Egyptian language is given by the numerous Egyptian proper names to be found in Greek renderings in Greek papyri.

Hieratic (p. 23, cols. 3-4)

Hieroglyphs were often executed with elaborate detail when employed in inscriptions, but on papyrus they were written more rapidly. Such cursive writing is called hieratic. Hieratic was at first writing for everyday use until it was replaced as such by demotic in the sixth century B.C. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods it was still used, but mainly in religious texts.

Demotic (p. 23, cols. 5-6)

From 600 B.C. onwards legal and administrative documents, private letters, etc. were written in demotic. The signs, too, are hieroglyphs, but written so rapidly that they are often hardly recognizable. Demotic is still employed at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The last dated demotic texts at Philae were written on December 11th, A.D. 452.

Coptic

Demotic had already become virtually illegible in the Ptolemaic period and several attempts had been made to simplify the complicated demotic writing by using alphabetic signs. But it was only in the course of the third century A.D. that such an attempt proved successful as a result, doubtless, of the innovatory stimulus of Christianity. The Egyptians switched to writing their language alphabetically employing the Coptic alphabet, which is the Greek alphabet supplemented with seven demotic characters for rendering sounds unknown in Greek.

Egyptians wrote from right to left

Herodotus II 36 (cf. transl. Loeb Class. Library)

Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά.

"The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is 'rightwards' (i.e. 'dextrous') and the Greek way 'leftwards' (i.e. 'gauche')."

Meaning and use of the hieroglyphs given in col. 1

i	seated man	'determinative', used at the end of a word defining it as a man's personal name
ii	man with both arms raised	'determinative' defining words meaning "high", "joy"
iii	arm extended (cf. the upper part of ii)	phonetic sign <i>k</i>
iv	quail chick	phonetic sign <i>w</i>
v	owl	phonetic sign <i>m</i>
vi	stool of reed matting	phonetic sign <i>p</i>
vii	wick of twisted flax	phonetic sign <i>h</i>
viii	top: draught-board with draughtsmen bottom: ripple of water	phonetic sign <i>mn</i> composed of the signs <i>mn</i> (top) and <i>n</i> (bottom)

Column 6 shows how difficult it is to recognize the hieroglyphic value of a demotic sign. Examples vi and viii are even identical in demotic.

A sample of Egyptian signs
(from right to left)

6	5	4	3	2	1	
						i
						ii
						iii
						iv
						v
						vi
						vii
						viii

Incised hieroglyphs (1) compared with cursive hieratic (3-4)
and demotic (5-6) forms.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) incised hieroglyphs | (4) hieratic (13th cent.) |
| (2) written hieroglyphs (20th cent.) | (5) early demotic (6th cent.) |
| (3) hieratic (20th cent.) | (6) Ptolemaic demotic (3rd cent.) |

§ 5 ADMINISTRATION

Ptolemaic period

Under the Ptolemies the administration of Egypt remained in many respects as it was before. The country was divided into districts or νομοί (the capital of a nome is called μητρόπολις). The nomes were subdivided into τοπαρχίαι and these into villages (κῶμαι).¹ In each of these areas the civil administration was in the hands of a governor (-άρχης) and his secretary (γραμματεὺς) in conformity with the Pharaonic pattern.

	governors	administrators	overseers
νομός	νομάρχης στρατηγός	βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς	ἐπιστάτης τοῦ νομοῦ
τοπαρχία	τοπάρχης	τοπογραμματεὺς	
κῶμη	κωμάρχης	κωμογραμματεὺς	ἐπιστάτης τῆς κώμης

The στρατηγός, although originally a military commander, gained power in the civil administration, already in the 3rd century, at the expense of the νομάρχης.

The office of ἐπιστάτης was a creation of the Ptolemies. In the table above "overseers" are officials with law enforcement duties in nomes or in villages, but "overseers" were also appointed as controllers of, for instance, the Egyptian temples.

Three Greek "cities" (πόλεις) enjoyed a special position:

- *Naukratis*, an old Ionian factory from the 7th century B.C.;
- *Alexandria*, founded by Alexander the Great;
- *Ptolemaïs*, built by Ptolemy I.

These cities had their own magistrates and lawcourts, Ptolemaïs even had a "town council" (βουλή) and the citizens of these towns were divided into demes and tribes (no. 14, 4-5, note). Alexandria was distinguished from the rest of the country, called χώρα; this distinction is also made with the offici-

1 The Arsinoite nome consisted of three μερίδες (see p. 312-313); these administrative units fell between the nome and the toparchy.

al Latin designation *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*.

The highest financial official was the διοικητής whose department was the treasury in Alexandria. From the 2nd century B.C. onwards there was a "private" royal treasury (ὁ ἴδιος λόγος); its revenues consisted of fines and the proceeds of ownerless and confiscated properties, administered by an official called ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ.

There were two different kinds of bank, a τράπεζα under a τραπεζίτης dealing with money, and a θησαυρός under a σιτολόγος dealing with grain. Grain-taxes were collected directly by the state, but taxes in money fell under private persons called "tax-farmers" (τελώναι), because the right to collect taxes was farmed out to them.

Roman period

After the conquest of Egypt by Augustus the country became a Roman province with a singular position. It was directly dependent on the Emperor; senators were not allowed to enter the country without the Emperor's special permission. He was represented by the *praefectus Alexandreae et Aegypti*, originally always an *eques romanus*. The administration of the country continued more or less unchanged.

Egypt was divided into several large districts, namely the Δέλτα (with perhaps an eastern and a western district), the Ἐπτὰ Νομοὶ καὶ Ἄρσι-voίτης and the Θηβαίς. Each district was governed by an ἐπιστράτηγος who always was an *eques romanus*.

The division into nomes and toparchies remained. The metropolises formed the seat of the authorities of the nome under the supervision of the στρατηγός and the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς. The magistrates were chosen from among the privileged class of the Greeks; the most important ones were:

- γυμνασίαρχος, "leader of the gymnasium";
- ἐξηγητής, "administrator of the community of citizens";
- κοσμητής, "leader of the ephebi";
- ἀγορανόμος, "notary".

The inhabitants of the metropolises enjoyed to a certain extent a privileged position; many of them paid, for instance, a lower poll-tax (no. 33). The privileged classes were established under Augustus (see for the gymnasium, p. 163).

The three Greek πόλεις retained a special position. A fourth privileged town was founded in A.D. 130 by Hadrian in honour of his deceased friend Antinoos (p. 185).

Prefect of Egypt

- *Praefectus Aegypti* = ἑπαρχὸς Αἰγύπτου (see no. 61, par. a) or ἡγεμών;
- at first styled *egregius* = κράτιστος, then *clarissimus* = λαμπρότατος and finally *perfectissimus* = διασημώτατος;
- the prefecture was created in 30 B.C. and extended over all of Egypt until A.D. 298; the Thebaïd was separated from direct authority of the prefect in that year and the rest of Egypt soon followed; the title "prefect of Egypt" disappears c. 380.

List of prefects mentioned in this book
(see also p. 194)

L. Aemilius Rectus	no. 16, 1	A.D. 41/42
Gn. Vergilius Capito	no. 17, 34	48/49
M. Mettius Rufus	no. 57, 25	89/90
M. Rutilius Lupus	no. 28, 9	116/117
Q. Rammius Martialis	no. 29, 2	116/117
M. Petronius Mamertinus	no. 44, 3	132-135
C. Calvisius Statianus	no. 48, 4	170/171
	no. 49, 7	173/174
Q. Aemilius Saturninus	p. 241	198/199
Claudius Julianus	no. 54, 4	204/205
Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila	no. 57, 10	206/207
	no. 54, 1	209/210
Aurelius Appius Sabinus	no. 61, par. a, m	249/250
L. Mussius Aemilianus	no. 63, 3	260/261
Aurelius Theodotus	no. 65, 2	262/263

Lists of prefects: G. Bastianini, *Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30^a al 299^a*, in *Z.P.E.* 17 (1975) 263-328 and 38 (1980) 75-89.

The residence of the prefect was Alexandria. From here he made every year a round trip through the country (passing by Memphis in the spring; cf. no. 48) in order to hold a circuit court (the *conventus* or διαλογισμός) for administering justice to the local population and for supervising the administration.

The higher offices were held by Romans who belonged to the *ordo equester* or also by the Emperor's freedmen. All other officials, from the strategos downwards, were Greeks.

From the first century A.D. onwards ever more offices became *liturgies*. This fact implied that the cost involved was imposed upon the official in question and that he had to guarantee the proceeds, notably the taxes due to the state. Because of these obligations, only rich persons could be appointed as officials, and therefore lists were composed of the well-to-do, εὐποροὶ καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι. From these lists the officials were chosen. Everyone nominated was obliged to accept his appointment up to his seventieth year, unless he belonged to a privileged class or profession. In periods of economic recession, this system was a heavy burden upon the individual. No wonder people tried to withdraw from such appointments in a wide variety of ways (cf. no. 53), even by offering to hand over all their possessions or by resorting to flight. In such circumstances this system made the smooth running of the civil service an impossibility.

In A.D. 200 Septimius Severus, when visiting Egypt, instituted "town councils" or "senates" (βουλαί) in every metropole and, lastly, in Alexandria (this town had already asked Claudius for a βουλή but he had not agreed to their request). In this way Septimius Severus increased the number of dignitaries who were responsible for the administration of the metropolises and for the functioning of the liturgical system.

Taxes were as a rule no longer farmed out but collected by liturgical officials. The *poll-tax* (λαογραφία) holds a peculiar place. It was a money tax levied at a flat rate, without regard to income, on all those subject to it. The rural population was assessed for the full amount, but the inhabitants of the metropolises paid a reduced rate; and certain classes (Romans, citizens of the Greek cities and other privileged groups) were exempt from this tax altogether.

Because the poll-tax had to be paid from the ages of 14 to 60, a registration of the population took place every fourteen years. This was done on the basis of "returns of people living in every single house", κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί (no. 49 and p. 194). This census provided at the same time information for army recruiting, liturgies, etc.

Byzantine period

Diocletian put an end to the special position of Egypt and reorganized its administration. Further reorganizations followed throughout the Byzantine period which makes the situation rather confusing for us.

Under Diocletian the Roman empire was divided into large administrative units called *dioceses*, διοικήσεις under *praefecti praetorii*. Egypt was incorporated into the diocese *Oriens* and thus put under the *praefectus per Orientem* residing in Antioch.

Egypt was entrusted to the *praefectus Aegypti* (ἐπαρχος) who resided in Alexandria. He was a civil governor with juridical competence. The *dux* was responsible for military affairs.

The country was divided into three provinces, corresponding more or less to the former epistrategies, namely *Aegyptus Jovia* (the Delta), *Aegyptus Herculia* (the Heptonomia and the Fayum) and the *Thebaïd*. Each province was administered by a *praeses* (ἡγεμών or ἄρχων).

Through the years, however, several alterations were made. Towards the end of the fourth century, for instance, Egypt became an independent diocese under an *augustalis*, and in 538 Justinian abolished the unity of Egypt and placed the separate provinces immediately under the *praefectus Orientis*.

At the beginning of the fourth century the Roman municipal system was introduced into Egypt. This caused sweeping alterations to its internal administration:

- the former nomes became the territory of the cities, and were called *civitates*;
- the *civitates* were subdivided into *pagi*.

The *civitates* were governed by an administrative board, the *curia*, whose members were called *curiales* (πολιτευόμενοι). The στρατηγός was replaced by an *exactor civitatis* especially charged with the financial administration. Beside him we find as municipal officials a *curator* (λογιστής) and a *defensor civitatis* (ἑκδικος) who was charged with the juridical protection of the population and became in the long run the most important municipal official and president of the *curiales*.

The privilege by which the *civitates* were allowed to collect the taxes lasted less than a century. In the fifth century the now powerful landlords had the farmers of their large estates assigned to them as *coloni*; and the collection of the taxes due by these serfs was entrusted to the landlords.

In the sixth century the financial administration was to a large extent transferred to the so-called παγάρχαι. Papyri of this period give us an excellent idea of the power and the wealth of these *pagarchs*.

The total amount of the taxes due from a province was notified every year (*indictio*, ἐπινέμησις) by the imperial government. Fifteen of such notifications were united to an indiction-cycle (also used for dating documents, see p. 41).

§ 6 RELIGION

Egyptian

Every nome, town and village had its own gods, often venerated in groups of three. Thus the divine triad of the Pathyrite nome is formed by the goddess *Hathor*, the god *Sobek* and the young god *Harsemtheus*. The metropolis of this nome is called "The house of Hathor" = Παθῦρις (no. 11), and also Ἀφροδίτης πόλις, because the Egyptian goddess *Hathor* is equated with the goddess Ἀφροδίτη of the Greeks. The second most important town of the Pathyrite nome is called Κροκοδείλων πόλις (no. 10) after the crocodile-god *Sobek*, Σοῦχος. Parents used to give their children names which record local divinities and therefore, in the Pathyrite nome, theophoric names compounded with the names of *Hathor*, *Sobek* and above all the young god *Harsemtheus* were very popular.

Sacred animals

The cult of sacred animals occupies an important position. Each region worshipped its own animals. Fishes, cats, dogs, ibisses, etc. were venerated (see also p. 11) and fed (cf. the title ἱβιοβοσκός in no. 6, 1) and when they died

Plutarch on sacred dogs and fishes

Plutarch records the enmities which arose between the neighbouring towns Oxyrhynchos and Kynopolis because of their respective sacred animals:

Οἱ δ' Ὀξυρυγχῖται καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν Κυνοπολιτῶν τὸν ὀξύρυγχον ἰχθὺν ἐσθιόντων κύνα συλλαβόντες καὶ θύσαντες ὥς ἱερεῖον κατέφαγον. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καταστάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἀλλήλους τε διέθηκαν κακῶς καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κολαζόμενοι δι-ετέθησαν.

"Since the inhabitants of the 'Town of the Dogs' (Κυνῶν πόλις) eat oxyrhynchos-fish, the inhabitants of the 'Town of the oxyrhynchos-fishes' (Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις) seized in our time [1st cent. A.D.] a dog, slaughtered it and devoured it as a piglet. As a result they went to war and treated each other maliciously; and they were punished and separated later by the Romans."

Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 380B = 72

Strabo's visit to the sacred crocodile

Strabo, 17 1.38 (Loeb Class. Library):

Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ ταῦτα ἑφ' ἑκατὸν σταδίου πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀρσινόη, Κροκοδείλων δὲ πόλις ἑκαλεῖτο πρότερον· σφρόδρα γὰρ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ τιμῶσι τὸν κροκόδειλον, καὶ ἐστὶν ἱερὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν λίμνῃ καθ' αὐτὸν τρεφόμενος, χειροσῆθης τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. Καλεῖται δὲ Σούχος· τρέφεται δὲ σιτίοις καὶ κρέασι καὶ οἴνῳ, προσφερόντων αἰετῶν ξένων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἀφικνουμένων. Ὁ γοῦν ἡμέτερος ξένος, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐντίμων, αὐτόθι μυσταγωγῶν ἡμᾶς, συνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, κομίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου πλακουντάριον τι καὶ κρέας ὀπτὸν καὶ προχοῖδιόν τι μελικράτου. Εὗρομεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χεῖλει κείμενον τὸ θηρίον· προσιόντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς, οἱ μὲν διέστησαν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, ὃ δὲ ἐνέθηκε τὸ πέμμα, καὶ πάλιν τὸ κρέας, εἶτα τὸ μελικράτον κατήρασε. Καθαλόμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν λίμνην διῆξεν εἰς τὸ πέραν· ἐπελθόντος δὲ καὶ ἄλλου τῶν ξένων, κομίζοντος ὁμοίως ἀπαρχήν, λαβόντες περιῆλθον δρόμῳ καὶ καταλαβόντες προσήνεγκαν ὁμοίως τὰ προσενεχθέντα.

"Sailing along shore for a distance of one hundred stadia, one comes to the city Arsinoë, which in earlier times was called Crocodeilonpolis; for the people in this Nome hold in very great honour the crocodile, and there is a sacred one there which is kept and fed by itself in a lake, and is tame to the priests. It is called Suchus; and it is fed on grain and pieces of meat and on wine, which are always being fed to it by the foreigners who go to see it. At any rate, our host, one of the officials, who was introducing us into the mysteries there, went with us to the lake, carrying from the dinner a kind of cooky and some roasted meat and a pitcher of wine mixed with honey. We found the animal lying on the edge of the lake; and when the priests went up to it, some of them opened its mouth and another put in the cake, and again the meat, and then poured down the honey mixture. The animal then leaped into the lake and rushed across to the far side; but when another foreigner arrived, likewise carrying an offering of first-fruits, the priests took it, went around the lake in a run, took hold of the animal, and in the same manner fed it what had been brought."

they were respectfully embalmed and entombed. Large numbers of mummified crocodiles have been unearthed at Tebtynis (p. 86) and an enormous number of ibisses, for instance near Hermoupolis (the ibis being the sacred animal of Thot = Hermes). In some specific cases a specially selected animal was housed and kept in a holy place, like Strabo's crocodile who lived in a sacred lake in the Fayum (opposite), the Apis-bull in his temple in Memphis (no. 48, 4-5 notes), and the falcon in the temple of Horos (= Apollo) at Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu).

Greek

Hellenic gods were worshipped in the Greek towns Alexandria, Naukratis and Ptolemaïs and also elsewhere. But as a rule, the gods of the Greeks only survive in name beside the mighty members of the Egyptian pantheon; they were simply equated with native gods:

Ammon	Zeus
Bes	Herakles (see the double name, no. 19, 1 note)
Hathor	Aphrodite (see Pathyris, p. 29)
Horos	Apollo (see Apollonopolis, above)
Min	Pan
Ptah	Hephaistos
Thot	Hermes (see Hermoupolis, above)

Jewish

In the fifth century B.C. a colony of Jewish soldiers protected the interests of the Persian Empire on the island of Elephantine on the southern border of Egypt. The colony left behind three Aramaic archives. See B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine. The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (1968).

In the Graeco-Roman period there were important religious centres of the Jewish *diaspora* in Alexandria (no. 16) and in Leontonopolis (near Helioupolis). A large community of Jews lived at Apollonopolis (Edfu) until the Jewish revolt of 116-117 A.D. (no. 25) and synagogues (προσευχαί) have been found in many places.

Christian

We may assume with certainty that Christians already lived in Alexandria in the second half of the first century. The oldest Christian papyrus from Egypt is *P. Yale* 1 1 which is a fragment of *Genesis* 14 (5-8 and 12-15), dated to

Symbols of Christianity

Nomina sacra

A number of sacred Christian words are contracted by writing the first and the last letter, with a line above. For instance:

$\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ = θεός (gen. $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$, dat. $\overline{\theta\omega}$, acc. $\overline{\theta\nu}$)

$\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ = κύριος (gen. $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$, etc.)

$\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ = Ἰησοῦς (gen. $\overline{\iota\upsilon}$, etc.); also $\overline{\iota\eta}$ or $\overline{\iota\eta\varsigma}$

In no. 69, 5 κυρί(φ) is abbreviated in the normal way, whereas θεῶ is contracted as a *nomen sacrum* $\overline{\theta\omega}$.

Cryptography, symbols

Ϡ = ἀμήν (no. 69, 34): the total of the numerical value of the letters (α = 1, μ = 40, η = 8 and ν = 50) is Ϡ = 99

χμγ = perhaps Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννᾶ),
"Maria bears Christ"; see no. 77, 6 note

ἰχθῦς "fish" = Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστὸς) Θ(εοῦ) Ὑ(ιὸς) Σ(ωτήρ)

+ "cross"; see e.g. no. 77

✠ Christogram: Χρ(ιστός); see no. 79, 37

† Staurogram: σταυρός, "cross" (no. 79, 32).

about A.D. 90. But when St. Clement founded his school in Alexandria (about A.D. 185), there still seem to have been rather few Christians in the country.

Outside Alexandria, in Egypt, the native Egyptians were probably the first to embrace Christianity. The first person explicitly styled "Christian" in a dated papyrus was in fact an Egyptian, Πετεσορᾶπις Ὠρου χρησιανός (*P. Oxy.* 42 3035; A.D. 256).¹ The Greek-speaking classes seem to

¹ The term χρησιανός is found in a few early Christian papyri; later papyri have χρηστιανός or χριστιανός. O. Montevecchi, *Nomen christianum* in: *Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati* (1979) 485-500.

have held out longer and "Ἕλλην even becomes synonymous to "pagan".

The emperor Decius (A.D. 249-251) took severe measures against the religion which he considered dangerous to the state. Several certificates attesting that the nominee sacrificed to the gods have been preserved (no. 62). But by the time of the Diocletian persecution (A.D. 303; see p. 254) Christianity was well established in Egypt (no. 69), particularly among the Egyptians or Copts. The hermit (*anchorite*, ἀναχωρητής) is a typical phenomenon of Egyptian Christianity; monasticism originated in Egypt.

Hours

A day, from sunrise at about 6 a.m. till sunset at about 6 p.m., is divided into 12 hours. The letter *P. Lond.* 7 1973 arrived ὥρας ι, "at (the end of) the 10th hour", that is at 4 p.m. (*loc. cit.*, note line 12). The night is divided in the same way; the boy mentioned in no. 15 was born c. 10 p.m., ὥρα τετάρτη τῆς νυκτός.

Days

Egyptian calendar days begin at sunrise; see e.g. *P. Tebt.* 1 54, 7-9: τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς τὴν κῆ, "on the night leading to the 25th"; no. 15, 7: 10 p.m. falls in the night of the 11th Phaophi leading to the 12th, Φαῶφι ια εἰς [ιβ]. But a Macedonian day begins already at sunset. [Cf. p. 282].

The first day of an Egyptian month is called νεομηνία, the twentieth εἰκάς and the thirtieth τριακάς.

ἡμέραι ἐπαγομέναι, "supplementary days": five holy days at the end of the Egyptian year; in the Roman period every fourth year a sixth supplementary day was added (see p. 39-40).

The first day of a Roman month is called καλάνδαι = *calendae* (nos. 50, 28, 33 and 61, f), one of the days 5, 6 or 7 was called νῶναι = *nonae* (no. 71, 16) and one of the days 13, 14 or 15 εἰδοί = *idus* (no. 50, 40). See e.g. no. 50, 33 πρὸ θ' καλανδῶν Μαρτιῶν, "on the ninth day before the *calendae* of March"; this is 21 February (A.D. 194) according to the tables given by R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems*, 96-102.

Months

For names of months, see p. 317. An Egyptian month has 30 days.

Years

The Egyptian year consists of twelve thirty-day months and five additional days; the year begins on 1 Thoth, fixed at 29 August under Augustus (or 30 August in a leap year).

Regnal years coincide with Egyptian years; consular years begin on the first of January. For the indiction year, see p. 41.

§ 7 METHODS OF DATING, CALENDARS

Some papyri, especially literary texts and letters, bear no date. We can only date such texts on palaeographic grounds and by means of the contents. It is often impossible to date such documents within the limits of a given century. On the other hand there are many documents, particularly legal ones, which can be dated to a given day.

A. DATING FORMULAS

Ptolemaic and Roman periods

Dates of documents follow the Pharaonic pattern mentioning the regnal year of the reigning sovereign, the month and the day. An example of a Ptolemaic date gives no. **11**:

ἔτους ις . . . μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ ε

“in the sixteenth (ἑκκαίδεκάτου) year (of king Ptolemy X), the fifth (πέμπτη) day of the month Hathyr”.

And an example of a Roman date gives no. **28**:

Λ κ . . . Τραϊανου Τῦβι δεκάτῃ

“in the twentieth year (ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ) of Trajan, the tenth day of the month Tybi”.

One notices that the year (ἔτος) is in the genitive, the day (ἡμέρα) in the dative and the month (μήν) in the genitive. The names of the months Ἀθὺρ and Τῦβι are Egyptian names; they have no Greek endings and are undeclined. Sometimes Macedonian month names are given; see e.g. no. **20**:

μηνὸς Δαισίου κς, Φαρμουῖθι κς,

“on the 26th of the month Daisios = the 26th of the month Φαρμουῖθι”.

Here the Macedonian name Δαίσιος is declined whilst the Egyptian name Φαρμουῖθι is not. Egyptian and Macedonian month names are listed on p. 317.

The honorific titles of the Ptolemaic kings and the Roman emperors are sometimes given. Three emperors reigned in A.D. 211, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta; they are styled in no. **55** as follows (see plate p. 37):

- 23 . . . Λ κ (or [ι]β?) Αὐτοκρατόρων
 24 Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου
 25 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος
 26 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 27 Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 28 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν
 29 [[καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]]
 30 Καίσαρος Σ[εβ]αστοῦ, Φαῶφι λ̄.

“On the 30th Phaophi of the 20th year of the Imperatores Caesares (1) Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and (2) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, both Augusti, and (3) Publius Septimius Geta, Caesar Augustus.”

This document is dated 28 October, A.D. 211. [Cf. p. 282]. Four months later Geta was murdered by Caracalla. Soon afterwards Geta's name was removed from every record; see line 29 and plate opposite. On Geta's *damnatio memoriae* see p. 218 (29).

Byzantine period

After Diocletian, Roman consular datings replace regnal years in the official dating formulas; ὑπατος = *consul* and ὑπατεία = "consulship". See, for instance, no. 75:

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντί{ν}ου τὸ δ' ἑ
 καὶ Κώσταντος τὸ γ' ἑ Ἀγούστων, Ἐπειφ ε

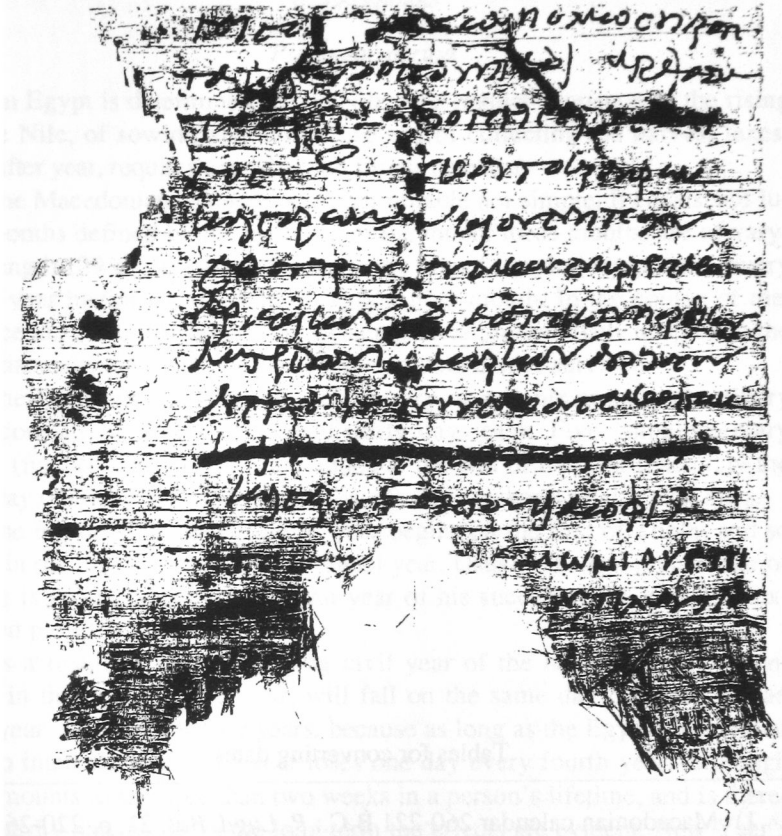
“in the consulship of our lords Constantius for the 4th time and Constans for the 3rd time, Augusti, 5 Epeiph” [= 29 June, A.D. 346]

Constantius was indeed consul for the fourth time and Constans for the third time, in A.D. 346 when the document no. 75 was drawn up. But the names of the acting consuls were not always known to the notaries, for instance just after the beginning of a consular year. In such cases scribes date their documents to the previous consuls; see, for instance, no. 73:

20

25

30



no. 55, lower portion showing the *damnatio memoriae* of Geta

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαυίου Λεοντίου καὶ Ἰουλίου
Σαλουστίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Μεχὶρ ζ΄.

“(the year) after the consulship of Flavius Leontius and Iulius
Sallustius the most illustrious ones, 7 Mecheir” [= 1 Febru-
ary, A.D. 345]

Justinian decreed in the year 537 that in each case the emperor’s regnal year¹
had to be mentioned as well; see no. 79:

βασιλείας . . . ἔτους ε	(regnal years)
ὑπατίας . . . ἔτους δ	(consulship)
ἰνδικτίονος ε	(see below, p. 41)

¹ The regnal years were to be reckoned from the *dies imperii* (the day of accession to the throne), not from the first of Thoth.

Tables for converting dates

- 1) Macedonian calendar 260-221 B.C.: *P. Lugd. Bat.* 21, p. 220-263;
- 2) Egyptian calendar in the Ptolemaic period: T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Münch. Beitr. no. 39);
- 3) The calendar during the reign of Augustus: T.C. Skeat, *The Reign of Augustus in Egypt*, 30 B.C. - 14 A.D. (Münch. Beitr. no. 84);
- 4) Egyptian calendar in the Roman period: P.W. Pestman, *Chronologie Égyptienne* (= *P. Lugd. Bat.* 15): days and months (table between p. 8 and 9) and years (p. 84-127);
- 5) Egyptian and Roman calendar in the Byzantine period: R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*.

B. CALENDARS

Ptolemaic period

Life in Egypt is determined by the Nile. The regular sequence of the rising of the Nile, of sowing and harvesting and of collecting the harvest taxes, year after year, requires a reliable and simple calendar.

The Macedonian calendar is neither reliable nor simple. It consists of lunar months defined by the visibility of the moon; these months are of varying length (29 or 30 days) and the years are of varying length too, every other year having an intercalary (ἐμβόλιμος) month. In the course of the third century B.C. the Macedonian calendar was progressively adapted to the Egyptian calendar. Only the Macedonian month names survived.

The Egyptian calendar, on the contrary, is reliable and simple. Every year consists of twelve months of thirty days each. Five "supplementary days" (ἡμέραι ἐπαγόμεναι) are added at the end of the year (each day the birthday of one of five gods is celebrated). This makes a total of 365 days.

The Egyptian so-called "civil" year begins on the first of Thoth, and so does, in the Egyptian system, the regnal year. Usually the last regnal year of a king is at the same time the first year of his successor (cf. no. 29 I, explained p. 41).

As a result of the unchanging civil year of the Egyptians, any event fixed in the astronomical year, will fall on the same day of the Egyptian civil year. At least, for four years, because as long as the Egyptian calendar has no intercalary day, the year loses one day every fourth year. Although this amounts to no more than two weeks in a person's lifetime, and is therefore hardly noticeable, in the long term the effects are evident. New Year's day, for instance, fell successively on 6 November (300 B.C.), 12 October (200 B.C.) and 17 September (100 B.C.). Thus after 1460 years a whole year disappeared.

For establishing the Julian equivalents of Egyptian dates in Ptolemaic documents, the tables given by Skeat (see opposite, no. 1) may be used. [N.B.: the table we give on p. 317 can only be used for later documents.]

Roman period

The Egyptian calendar continues to be used. Egyptian astronomers were of course aware of the fact that the actual length of the year was 365 1/4 days, and as early as 238 B.C. a synod of Egyptian priests decided to add every

fourth year a sixth supplementary day; see the priestly trilingual decree¹ of 238 B.C. (Kanopos); cf. *S.B.* 5 8858 = *O.G.I.S.* 56, 44-45:

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μίαν ἡμέραν . . . ἐπάγεσθαι διὰ
τεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς πέντε ταῖς ἐπαγομέναις πρὸ
τοῦ νέου ἔτους

“to add from now on every fourth year one day to the five
supplementary days, before the beginning of the New Year.”

As far as we know this decision was not carried out until the reform of the Egyptian calendar under Augustus, when the beginning of the Egyptian year, 1 Thoth, was fixed on 29 August.²

During Augustus' reign the leap year was introduced in the Egyptian calendar. It was effected in exactly the same way as proposed 300 years earlier by the Egyptian priests. A sixth supplementary day was inserted every fourth year; see e.g. the date of *P. Oxy.* 1 45:

Λ ιδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, μην(νὸς) Καισαρείου ἐπαγομ(ένων) ζ̄

"in the 14th year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus
Germanicus, on the sixth of the supplementary days of the
month Καισάρειος" (Mesore, 'August') [= 29 August, A.D.
95].

One notices that the Egyptian intercalary day was inserted in A.D. 95, i.e. in the year *preceding* the Julian leap year, A.D. 96.³

Regnal years

As in the Ptolemaic period, regnal years coincide with the Egyptian civil years; the last regnal year of an emperor is at the same time the first of his

1 On this class of texts, see no. 7, the decree of 196 B.C. (Rosetta).

2 The earlier Egyptian calendar, with no intercalary day, continued to be used e.g. in horoscopes (no. 15, 6: ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι) and in connection with religious festivals (no. 52, 7-8: κατ' ἀρχαίους). The first text shows that under Tiberius the difference between the old and the new calendars was already 10 days.

3 Consequently New Year's day, 1 Thoth, fell on 30 August, A.D. 95 (and not on the 29th as in normal years). From 1 Thoth = 30 August, A.D. 95 till 4 Phamenoth = 29 February, A.D. 96 the Egyptian calendar is one day ahead of the Julian one.

Julian leap years are A.D. 4, 8, 12, etc.; 100, 104, 108, etc.; 200, 204, 208, etc. The intercalary Egyptian day is therefore 29 August, A.D. 3, 7, 11, etc.

successor. An example may show this. The circular letter, no. **29 I**, which concerns the accession of Hadrian, is dated as follows:

Λ α' Μεσορὴ ἐπαγο(μένων) β̄

“in the first year, on the second of the supplementary days of Mesore” [= 25 August, A.D. 117]

The chronology of events is:

A.D.116-117	= year 20 of Trajan	(dies 8 August, 117)
	= year 1 of Hadrian	(proclaimed 11 August, 117)
		(no. 29 I : 25 August, 117)
A.D. 117-118	= year 2 of Hadrian	(beginning 29 August, 117)

Byzantine period

The Egyptian calendar continues to be used. But various methods of computing years occur: consular dating (remarkably cumbersome) which dates by the names of consuls, the era of Diocletian which for several centuries calculates years from year 1 = A.D. 284-285 (the first year of Diocletian), etc.

Indictions

The indiction-cycle is used frequently. This is a cycle of 15 years, counting from A.D. 312 onwards. Each cycle consists of 15 numbered indiction years [ἰνδικτίων = *indictio*]: no. **79** was written in the fifth indiction year of a cycle (line 6) and concerns a payment for the sixth one (line 34) and no. **80** was drawn up in the eighth year of a cycle. As these periods of 15 years are themselves not numbered, the cycles are of no help for the accurate dating of a document, unless other data enable us to fix the cycle. In the case of no. **80**, even though there are several other dated documents written by the same Ἰουῆτος, we cannot exclude the possibility that the text belongs to the previous or the following indiction-cycle.

§ 8 FORMS OF THE DOCUMENTS

Demotic

Notarial documents

From the sixth century B.C. onwards, professional Egyptian temple-scribes used to draw up demotic contracts. These scribes acted as public notaries and their deeds were legal instruments. Documents drawn up by demotic notaries may be described as formal reports of statements made by one of the contracting parties to the other like this:

“On date so-and-so, A has said to B ‘You have leased to me ...’.”

Such "reports" were signed by the notary and many witnesses. Once the document had been handed over to the other party, and he had accepted it, the document was binding.

Private documents

A different kind of legal document was occasionally used, under Greek influence probably, in the Ptolemaic period. It is a less formal document, which follows the pattern of a letter. It is called χειρόγραφον in Greek papyrology because one was supposed to write it in one's own hand, but usually demotic private documents were written by scribes with legal experience, at times even by notaries.

After 146 B.C. Greek abstracts had to be made of demotic notarial deeds to be inscribed in public registers; no registration seems to have existed of demotic private documents.

Greek

Six-witness documents

The earliest form of document employed by the Greeks in Egypt is the ἑξαμάρτυρος συγγραφή (no. 1), which is a document signed and sealed by six witnesses. It is characteristic of this class of documents that the text was written twice on a papyrus sheet; one text was sealed (the *scriptura interior*) in order to prevent the document from being falsified and the other text remained visible (the *scriptura exterior*). The document was usually deposited with one of the witnesses who was therefore called the συγγραφοφύλαξ, "keeper of the document". This class of private documents was gradually superseded by notarial deeds in the course of the Ptolemaic period. This development was probably stimulated by the example set by the Egyptian temple-scribes.

Notarial documents

Already in the third century B.C. the first documents appear which may be considered as Greek notarial instruments. This class of documents soon be-

came very popular. The Greek notarial documents resemble in many respects the demotic ones, the most important difference being that no witnesses were required. Greek notaries are called ἀγορανόμοι; this title is to be found until the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

In the Ptolemaic period the *agoranomoi* indicate their name and title in each deed drawn up by them (nos. 10 and 11); this is seldom done in the Roman period (no. 27). Notarial documents of that period usually only mention the town¹ where the deed was drawn up: ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ (no. 22), ἐν Καρνίδι (nos. 20 and 36) and ἐν Τεβτύνι (nos. 31 and 32), but in Oxyrhynchos² the *agoranomoi* add the words ἐν ἀγυῖ (no. 21, 6), to indicate, perhaps, that they did not have offices in e.g. a temple or a record office. We are particularly well informed about the γραφεῖον at Tebtynis in the first century A.D. This γραφεῖον was not only the notary's office of the town but also the record office; see p. 116 and nos. 18-19.

A new element was added to the form of the notarial deeds at the beginning of the first century A.D., namely the ὑπογραφή. One of the contracting parties, and sometimes both of them, write a personal statement at the bottom of the formal part of the deed — the statement is therefore called ὑπογραφή — in order to confirm the terms of the agreement; cf. p. 112, bottom.

Cheirographa

Less formal than the notarial deeds were the χειρόγραφα, private documents written in the form of a letter (ὁ δέινα τῷ δέινι χαίρειν); see nos. 45 and 73. This kind of document was regularly employed during the whole period in which Greek documents were drawn up in Egypt. Although the name χειρόγραφον suggests that such a document was written by the contracting party himself, it was usually actually done by a person with some more experience in legal matters.

Hypomnemata

The ὑπομνήματα constitute a special kind of document. They are private documents in which one person expresses to another person his wish to enter into an agreement. The characteristic verb is βούλομαι in these documents: βούλομαι παραλαβεῖν σε (no. 52), βουλόμεθα μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ (no. 58) and βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ (no. 67).

¹ Later documents no longer mention the name of the town: nos. 60, 71 and 72.

² The name of the town and the words ἐν ἀγυῖ are omitted in the later document no. 74.

§ 9 EGYPTIAN NAMES

Many proper names in Greek papyri are of Egyptian origin. These names show us how Egyptian words and phrases were pronounced (p. 21) and they tell us about Egyptian religion, popular belief and many other things.

The meaning of Egyptian names

Egyptian names always have a meaning. They sometimes even tell us a whole story, like the name Κομοῦπις: after the death of the sacred Apis bull at Memphis, the young Apis is born somewhere in the country. Priests have to go and find the animal, and once they succeed, parents may proudly call their newborn baby Κομοῦπις, "They have found the Apis". A second example is Τεεφῖβις: parents who give such a name to their child do so to thank a god (in this case the sacred ibis) whom they had consulted on questions such as, "Shall we have a child?" or "Will it be a boy?" Evidently the god had given the correct answer and thus the child is called Τεεφῖβις, "The face of the ibis has said it".

Double names

Some persons appear to have two names. For instance Θαῖισοῦς ἢ καὶ Λολλιανή (no. 65, 27) or Πανεχώτης ὁ καὶ Πανάρης (no. 45, 1). Although it is not always evident how in such cases the two names are interrelated, sometimes one is clearly the translation of the other: Πεσοῦρις also called Σῦρος (no. 17, 4 with note) bears a Greek name, Σῦρος, which is a translation of the Egyptian one, Πεσοῦρις "The Syrian". And the names of Ἡράκλειος also called Βῆσις (no. 19, 1 with note) show that the Egyptian god Bes was equated by the Greeks with Herakles.

Hypocoristic names

Pet forms are known of Greek names: Ἀσκλᾶς = Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀσκληπιᾶς and Λυσᾶς = Λυσίμαχος; cf. Ἀμμωνᾶς = Ἀμμώνιος (no. 43, 2 and 5). They also existed for Egyptian names: Πᾶσις (no. 6, 1) = Πετοσίρις and Πανᾶς = Πετεμενῶφις whereas Παράτης = Πετεαρποχράτης. Such pet names have no meaning of their own and cannot be translated.

Greek endings of Egyptian names

Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, which is very useful because it was edited with the assistance of the Egyptologist W. Spiegelberg, lists in col. 484 three variants of the name Psenamounis, "The son of Amon": Ψεναμοῦνις, Ψεναμοῦνιος and Ψεναμοῦν. These three variants are to be explained as follows.

Ψεναμοῦν, written with no Greek ending, is indeclinable in Greek; it is the actual Egyptian form of this name. Names without Greek endings are occasionally found in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri and, under the influence of Coptic, not unfrequently in Byzantine papyri. Egyptian names of months are usually uninflected (Θῶθ, Ἀθύρ, etc.; p. 317) as are quite a number of names of small villages and hamlets: Σινάρύ (no. 55, 10), Πισάϊ (no. 58, 5).

Ψεναμοῦνις; the Egyptian name Ψεναμοῦν is adapted to Greek use by means of the Greek ending -ις. The following Greek endings will be found in this Primer:

-ς	Ὅρσεϋ ς	(no. 19, 1)
-ις	Ψεναμοῦν ις	(no. 66, 2)
-ος	ῚΩρ ος	(no. 24, 1)
-ης	Ἀρυώτ ης	(no. 18, 5)

Greek diminutives are also attested:

-ιον	Θερμούτ ιον	(no. 26, 2-3)
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Ψεναμοῦνιος is the third variant of the name Psenamounis as given by Preisigke. In the course of the Roman period names ending in -ις are sometimes written with -ιος, see Θευστοτορή|ιος (no. 32, 5) and Παπνούθ|ιος (no. 76, 9).

Different spellings of Egyptian names

The fact that it must have been difficult to render Egyptian sounds using the Greek alphabet, accounts for inconsistent spellings of a number of names (see e.g. Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, 386: Σισόις, var. Τιτόις, Τζιτζόϊ, Τσοῖτσόϊ, etc.; or Τεῶς,¹ var. Σεῶς, Χεῶς); and, the other way round, the pronunciation of Greek vowels (p. 18) is responsible for other variant spellings (thus the month Τῦβι is written Τοῖβι in no. 31, 26). Two other important causes may be mentioned here.

Local dialects

Local dialects may influence the pronunciation and spelling of names. J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (1975) has pointed out that the name of the god "Shai" is spelled σαι in the Fayum and σοι in Middle Egypt. As a matter of fact, the person called Τεφορ|σάϊ|ς (no. 37, 5) lived in the Fayum, and the village Πι|σάϊ|ς (no. 58, 5) is also located there, whereas the woman Τνεφερ|σόϊ|ς (no. 33, 11) lived in Middle Egypt.

¹ In the alphabetic list of names on p. 305-306, Χεῶρις is classified with names beginning with a τ.

The prominence of a syllable

The name of the god *Hor* (= Horos) may be rendered as ἄρ, ἐρ, ὕρ, or ὠρ according to the following rules.

- *Hor* stressed in a prominent position is rendered as ὕρ or ὠρ:

ἴ Ωρ ος	—	proper name (no. 24, 1); god
Ἰ Αθ ύρ	—	month name; goddess
Ψ εν ύρ ις	—	village (p. 313)

- *Hor* in an unstressed position is reduced to ἄρ or ἐρ:

Ἰ Ερ παῖσις	—	49, 46
Ἰ Αρ φαῖσις	—	37, 8
Ἰ Αρ μιῦσις	—	18, 1
Τα αρ τῦσις	—	49, 38

The difference may be seen in Ἰ|Αθ|ύρ| Νουεμοντεσημα in contrast to Ἰ|Αθ|ερ|νεβενταῖς; and in Ἰ|Αρ|οννῶφρις in contrast to Ὑρ γοναφορ¹ (the same name).

A pattern of Egyptian names

Since the Egyptian masculine article is pronounced *p* and the feminine one *t*, proper names beginning with Π are often men's names and those beginning with Τ women's names.² The following prefixes of masculine and feminine names are very common [the names (b) - (e) are theophoric names]:

- | | | | |
|----|-------|-------|---|
| a) | Π– | Τ– | masculine and feminine articles |
| | Φ– | Θ– | |
| b) | Πα– | Τα– | "he (or she) of, who belongs to (god)" |
| | Φα– | Θα– | |
| c) | Πι– | Τι– | often variants of Pa-/Ta- |
| d) | Πετε– | Τετε– | "he (or she) who has been given by (god)" |
| e) | Ψεν– | Σεν– | "the son (or daughter) of (god)" |

Examples [with –νεφερῶς "crocodile", –ησις "Isis", –σαῖς "good fortune", –σουχος "Sobek", –αμουνις "Amon"]:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| a) | Π νεφερῶς (no. 36, 7) | — | Τ νεφερῶς |
| b) | Πα ῆσις (no. 76, 3) | — | Τα ῆσις (no. 40, 13) |
| | | | Θα ῆσις (no. 76, 3) |
| c) | Πι σαῖς (village; no. 58, 5) | — | Τι σαῖς |
| d) | Πετε σουχος (no. 20, 4) | — | |
| e) | Ψεν αμουνις (no. 66, 2) | — | Σεν αμουνις |
| | | — | Θσεν αμουνις (no. 49, 50) |
| | | — | Τζεν αμουνις (no. 6, 3) |

1 Name of the indigenous Pharaoh Hur-gonaphor (early 2nd cent. B.C.); see p. 82.

2 Thus the Greek Herakleides made a fundamental mistake in his petition, *P. Ent.* 79, when he thought that *Psenobastis* could be the name of a woman.

§ 10 MONEY

Money may be used for reckoning and for payment, but not necessarily for both at the same time. For instance, before the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Egyptians used money only to indicate the value of something, and not to pay its price. In fact, they had to import Athenian coins, or copy them, so as to be able to pay the Greek mercenaries.

Ptolemaic era

Coined money was introduced into Egypt by Alexander the Great. The standard coin was the silver tetradrachm (= στατήρ) weighing from the third century onwards c. 14 grammes. This coin usually contained 24 obols, but tetradrachms of more, or less, obols existed too. The standard adopted was approximately that of Athens.

τάλαντον	=	6,000 drachmas
μνᾶ	=	100 dr.
στατήρ	=	4 dr. (tetradrachm)
δραχμή		(c. 3.5 grammes)
ὀβολός	=	1/6 drachma or 1/24 stater
χαλκοῦς	=	1/8 obol or 1/48 drachma

The Ptolemies changed the ratio of silver and bronze money several times by increasing the face value of bronze coins. Hence prices and wages, given in bronze money, rose sharply but if we calculate them in silver money they appear to have remained surprisingly stable.

Roman era

No foreign coins were allowed to circulate in Egypt, which was monetarily and economically isolated from the other countries of the Roman empire. Tiberius introduced the *billon*¹ tetradrachm which was minted in Alexandria till A.D. 296 and called ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα "silver coinage of the emperor"; see no. 21, 7. This coin was sometimes called *denarius* but it contained a third less silver than the *denarius* which was in circulation outside Egypt.

Byzantine era

As a result of the currency reform of Diocletian, a uniform system of coinage was adopted for the whole Roman empire.

The standard coin was the gold *solidus* of 4 grammes = ὀλοκόττινος or νομισμάτιον, subdivided in 24 *carats* of 1/6 gramme of gold each = κεράτιον.

1 Alloy of silver in which base metal predominated.

Although tetradrachms were no longer minted after A.D. 296, the drachma continued in use, like the talent, as a unit of account for payments actually made in *denarii* and *myriads*:

(1/4 <i>denarius</i>)	=	drachma
<i>denarius</i>	=	tetradrachm (4 drachmas)
1,500 <i>denarii</i>	=	talent (6,000 drachmas)
10,000 <i>denarii</i>	=	μυριάς, <i>myriad</i> (6 2/3 talents)

On the inflation in the fourth century, see p. 253.

A Ptolemaic tetradrachm



Throughout the Ptolemaic period silver money was coined with the effigy of Ptolemy I, and with on the reverse the symbol of Ptolemaic Kings, viz. an eagle on a thunderbolt. Cf. no. 14, 10: ἀργύριον Πτολεμαϊκόν.

§ 11 MEASURES

Measures, in Egypt, were not unified. Local differences existed and measures even changed according to the purpose for which they were used, and the persons using them.

ἀρουρα: an area measure; used for measuring farmland (e.g. nos. **4** and **51**). The surface of an aroura is 100×100 πήχεις = c. 2756 m² (which is about half a soccer field). The standard unit is a πήχυς, usually one of 0.525 m, but cubits of other lengths are known.

A person could live on the net produce of 2 arouras.

ἀρτάβη: a dry measure of variable capacity; used for measuring wheat (no. **72**), beans (no. **71**), vegetable seed (no. **47**), etc. The capacity of an artaba is often 40 χοίνικες, that is approximately 40 litres, but smaller and larger artabas were also used. The standard unit is a χοϊνίξ (0.98 litre). In practice smaller measures (μέτρα) were used for measuring out, such as the μέτρον τετραχοϊνικόν (nos. **18**, 12; **58**, 14 and **71**, 11) or ἑξαχοϊνικόν (no. **36**, 10). [This "measure of six choinikes" is to be used for measuring out 1/6th artaba of wheat; apparently an artaba of 36 χοίνικες is meant in this case.]

A person could live on about 10 artabas of wheat a year.

κεράμιον: a liquid measure of unknown capacity; used for measuring wine in nos. **10** and **60**, 13. The standard unit is a χοῦς (2.9 litres).

μετρητής: a liquid measure of variable capacity; used for measuring oil in no. **34**, 20. The capacity of a metretes is often 12 χόες, that is probably c. 35 litres, but smaller and larger μετρηταί occur. The standard unit is a χοῦς (2.9 litres).

Examples of editions according to the modern trends

1 *Same subject*

- *documents dealing with Jews* (cf. no. 25): V.A. Tcherikover *et al.*, *Corpus papyrorum judaicarum* [1957-1964] = *C.P.Jud.*
- *Latin documents* (cf. no. 61): R. Cavenaile, *Corpus papyrorum latinarum* [1958] = *C.P.L.*
- *royal prostagmata* (cf. no. 8): M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées* [1964; second ed. 1980] = *C.Ord. Ptol.*
- *documents dealing with wet-nurses* (cf. nos. 13, 17 and 26): M.M. Masciardi e O. Montevecchi, *I contratti di baliatico* [1984] = *C.P. Gr. 1*
- *notifications of death* (cf. no. 43): L. Casarico, *Le denunce di morte* [1985] = *C.P.Gr. 2*
- *documents dealing with the Syrian war* (103-101 B.C.): E. Van 't Dack *et al.*, *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict. A Multilingual Dossier* [1989].

2 *Archives* (see also p. 53)

- the first dispersed archive to be brought together was that of Philsarapis (cf. nos. 31, 44 and 51): B.A. van Groningen, *A Family-archive from Tebtunis* [1950] = *P. Lugd. Bat. 6*
- the second one was Sarapion's archive: J. Schwartz, *Les archives de Sarapion et de ses fils. Une exploitation agricole aux environs d'Hermoupolis Magna de 90 à 133 P.C.* [1961] = *P. Sarap.*
- Abinnaeus' archive came next (cf. nos. 73 and 75): H.I. Bell *et al.*, *The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II* [1962] = *P. Abinn.*

3 *Bilingual papyrology*

- *Greek and demotic papyrology*: P.W. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenotes figlio di Horos. Testi demotici e greci relativi ad una famiglia di imbalsamatori del secondo sec. a. C.* [1981] = *P. Tor. Amenotes*
- *Greek and demotic papyrology*: E. Boswinkel et P.W. Pestman, *Les archives privées de Dionysios fils de Kephalas. Textes grecs et démotiques* [1982] = *P. Lugd. Bat. 22*

§ 12 MODERN TRENDS IN PAPYROLOGY

In the course of time papyrologists have gradually become aware of the fact that much more information is to be gained from texts studied in relation with other sources than from single texts taken separately. This is being undertaken in various ways.

(1) *Same subject*

Documents are collected and re-published which deal with a same subject. A new series was recently founded in Italy with the specific purpose of systematically publishing volumes dedicated to a same subject: *Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum* = *C.P.Gr.* (two volumes have appeared so far, see p. 50).

(2) *Archives*

Documents are collected which in Antiquity had been brought together, for some precise purpose, either in a public archive or in a family archive. Family archives, particularly in the Ptolemaic period, mainly consist of documents relative to the family estate: title deeds and other legal documents proving proprietary rights of members of the family (see the example given p. 52). Later family archives are usually kept by persons exercising some official duty and they often contain official documents too (see, for instance, the archive of the *strategos* Apollonios, p. 143). Unfortunately many archives have been dispersed in modern times with the result that papyri from one archive, and even sometimes portions of one papyrus (see p. 55-57), are now housed in different papyrus collections. They have to be brought together for publication.¹

(3) *Bilingual papyrology*

Greek papyri give a one-sided impression of the multilingual Graeco-Roman society. The picture has to be completed with evidence from the *demotic papyri* of the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods; from the *Latin papyri* of the Roman and early Byzantine periods; from the *Coptic papyri* of the Byzantine and early Arab periods; from the *Arabic papyri* of the early Arab era, etc. Completing the picture will be the main task of Greek, demotic, Coptic and other papyrologists, where possible in close cooperation.

¹ Sometimes data about a person or a family are collected from different sources or archives. Calling such a collection an archive leads to confusion. See for instance the so-called Aurelia Charite archive.

*Evidence from a family archive**Legal rights of Egyptian women in actual practice*

A great number of mainly hieratic and demotic legal papyri demonstrate that Egyptian women had equal rights to men. Unlike Greek women they could, according to Egyptian law, freely enter into agreements and no guardian (κύριος) was required to assist them; see no. 27, 8 with note.

However, although there is no doubt as to the legal rights which Egyptian women enjoyed, we must realize that our evidence is one-sided. In fact, the documents show those cases in which women decided to enter into agreements by themselves, but we cannot see if there were cases in which they preferred not to. It is precisely for this kind of information that family archives are of interest.

The archive of Totoes and Tatehathyrís, his wife, is the archive of an indigenous Egyptian family of the 2nd cent. B.C. It contains a number of agreements concerning a plot of land which Tatehathyrís had inherited from her father; cf. *P. Lugd. Bat.* 19, p. 197-199. Five times the land was farmed out; the leases were alternately made by Tatehathyrís herself or by Totoes, her husband. This was done in the following years:

110/109	by Tatehathyrís (before they married)
109/108	by Totoes (after their marriage)
108/107	by Tatehathyrís
104/103	by Totoes
101/100	by Totoes

This enables us to see that after their marriage it was usually Totoes who farmed out his wife's land.

The three leases made by Totoes not only hide the fact that he was really acting in his wife's name, but even call him the owner of the land: τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ γῆν.

Anyone wishing to understand the situation with regard to Tatehathyrís and her plot of land, has therefore to consider the five land leases as a group and within the context of the family archive, because the individual documents are downright misleading: the three leases made by the husband about "his" land invalidate statistics about the extent of women's ownership of land just as the two land leases made by Tatehathyrís herself give the wrong impression of the use actually made by Egyptian women of their legal rights.

Archives mentioned in the Primer

<i>Nos.*</i>	<i>Keepers of the archives</i>	<i>Texts</i>
Ptolemaic		
—	Anonymous (Elephantine)	1 and 2
no. 1	Zenon (Philadelphia)	4 and 5
no. 5	Diophanes, στρατηγός of the Arsinoïte nome [= P. Ent.]	6
no. 12	Ptolemaios (Memphis)	p. 58
no. 8**	Totoes (Memnoneia).....	opposite
no. 14(a)	Peteharsemtheus (Pathyris)	10 and 11
no. 17	Menches, κωμογραμματεὺς of Kerkeosiris	p. 9 and 305; nos. 8 and 9
Roman		
no. 19	Protarchos, president of a tribunal in Alexandria	13 and 14
no. 22	Tryphon (Oxyrhynchos)	15 and 17
—	Nemesion, tax-collector at Philadelphia	16
no. 24	Keepers of the γραφεῖον of Tebtynis	18 and 19
no. 32	Cl. Tiberianus (Karanis)	38
no. 34	Apollonios, στρατηγός of Heptakomia	29 II and 30
no. 40	Kronion (Tebtynis)	37
no. 42	The κωμογραμματεὺς of Theadelphia.....	p. 306; 41
no. 50	Philosarapis (Tebtynis) [= Van Groningen's <i>Family Archive</i>].....	31, 44 and 51
no. 51	Sarapion ~ Apollonianos (Oxyrhynchos)	53
no. 57	Heroninos (Theadelphia).....	60
Byzantine		
no. 65	Aur. Isidoros (Karanis)	71 and 72
no. 68	Theophanes (Hermoupolis)	68
—	An anonymous magician (Thebes).....	70
no. 73	Fl. Abinnaeus (Philadelphia).....	73 and 75
no. 87	Dioskoros (Aphrodito)	78
no. 89	Pachymios (Panopolis).....	p. 54

* Numbers according to O. Montevicchi, *La papirologia* (1973) 247-261; *Addenda* in the new edition (1988) 575-576; with extensive bibliography.

** Number according to the *Addenda*, 576-578.

Greek and Coptic contracts between the same persons
(bilingual archive of Pachymios)

The classical case of the employee who marries his employer's daughter.

A.D. 607 the πορφυροπώλης ("dealer in purple") Aur. Pachymios engages Aur. Dioskoros for two years: *S.B.* 1 4503 (Greek)

A.D. 610 Pahōm promises his daughter in marriage to Dioskoros: *C.P.R.* 4 23 (Coptic; no mention is made of the name Aurelius; see p. 221).

EXCURSUS

I. JOINING PARTS OF A PAPYRUS

A *P. Grenf.* 1 44 (2nd cent. B.C.) is a fragment of a papyrus in London, published in 1896. The text contains an incomplete list of attestations of witnesses. The lower part of this list runs as follows:

-
- 1 Ἐγραψεν Πατοῦς Ἐριέως Πέρσης ἱερεὺς
 2 [...]τοστολιστῆς τοῦ αὐτ* ἱεροῦ
 3 [...] μέ[σ]ος μελι* τετανὸς
 4 [...] οὐλ* μετώπῳ ἐξ αρ*
 5 [...] ὑπε.....[...]

* (2) αὐτ(οῦ); (3) μελί(χρως); (4) οὐλ(ή), ἀρ(ιστερῶν).

B *P. Bour.* 9 (2nd cent. B.C.) is a fragment of a papyrus in Paris, published in 1926. This text also contains an incomplete list of witnesses. The upper part of this list runs as follows:

- 2 πρω[- - -
 3 ὥς L v μέσ[ος - - -
 4 πλατυπρ* εὐθυρ* [- - -
 5 Ἐγραψεν Πατοῦς Ὠρου [...]της
 6 Παθύρεως Πέρσης τῶν πεζῶν
 κ.τ.λ.

* (4) πλατυπρ(όσωπος), εὐθύρ(ιν).

The texts were both written in the 2nd century B.C. and probably come from Pathyris.

In both cases the names of the witnesses are introduced with the verb ἔγραψεν. U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 8 (1927) 302-303 observes that this verb, used in this way, is only found in the two lists of witnesses A and B and that both texts are wills.

This makes one wonder whether the two fragmentary lists actually belong to different wills. In fact they join and belong to one and the same will (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 19 4; 126 B.C.):

A + B

-
- 1 Ἐγραψεν Πατοῦς Ἐριέως Πέρσης ἱερεὺς
 2 πρωτοστολιστῆς τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ἱεροῦ
 3 ὡς L v μέσος μελί(χρως) τετανὸς
 4 πλατυπρ(όσωπος) εὐθύρ(ιν) οὐλ(ή) μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν)
 5 Ἐγραψεν Πατοῦς Ὠρου ὑπεπιστάτης
 6 Παθύρεως Πέρσης τῶν πεζῶν
 κ.τ.λ.

For the personal descriptions see p. 93, note 3-4, and for the title "first stolistēs" (line 2), see p. 95, note 2.

Ἐγραψεν πατοῦς ἐριέως πέρσης ἱερεὺς
 πρωτοστολιστῆς τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) ἱεροῦ
 ὡς L v μέσος μελί(χρως) τετανὸς
 πλατυπρ(όσωπος) εὐθύρ(ιν) οὐλ(ή) μετώπῳ ἐξ ἀρ(ιστερῶν)
 Ἐγραψεν πατοῦς Ὠρου ὑπεπιστάτης

Reconstruction of lines 1-5

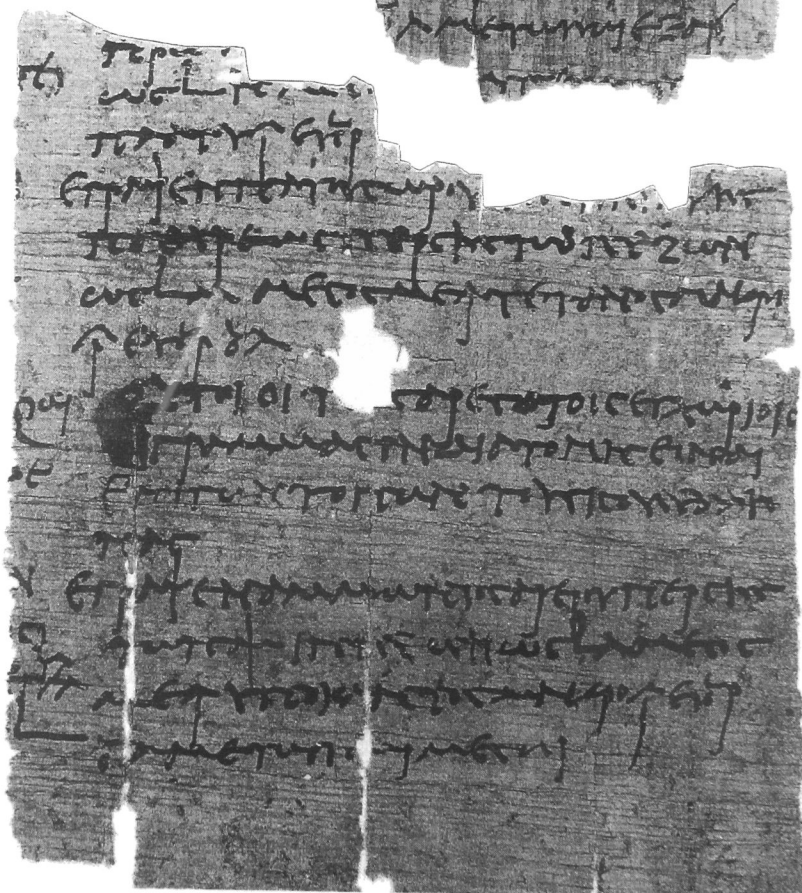
→
P. Lugd. Bat. 19 4

A

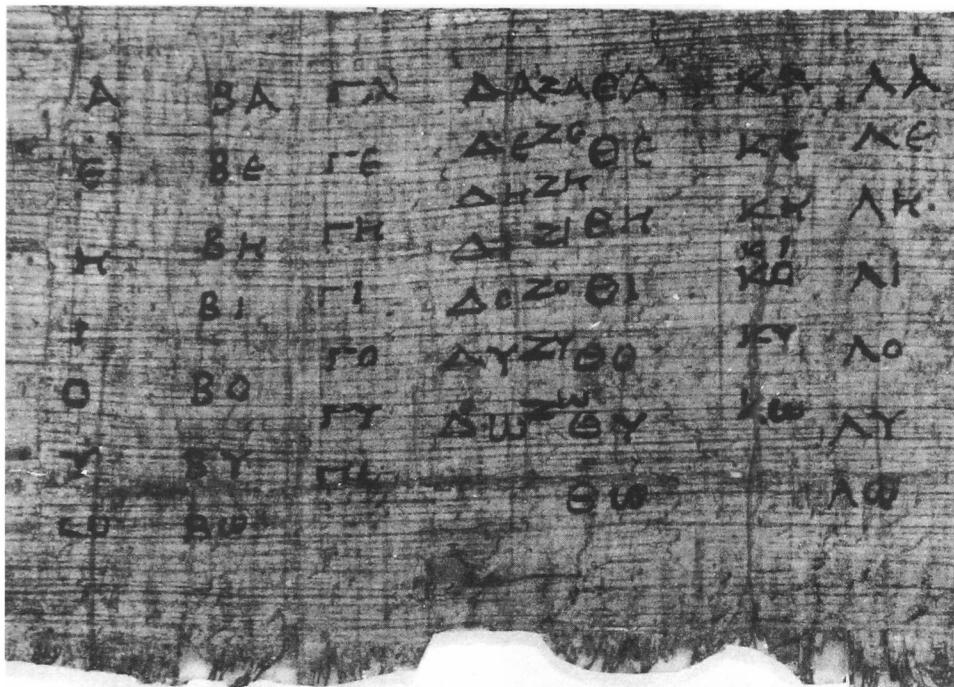


1
2
3
4

B



5
6



II. A WRITING-EXERCISE

The photos printed above and on the next page show the beginning and the end of a papyrus strip of 8.5 x 90 cm. The strip was used by Apollonios for practising the Greek alphabet. His elder brother Ptolemaios retained the exercise, cherishing it like a proud mother, and he kept the papyrus in his archive. This archive was found around 1820 near the Serapeum of Memphis.

The exercise consists of three steps:

1. the vowels of the Greek alphabet, in alphabetic order (col. 1);
2. two-letter combinations of the vowels with successively each of the consonants, also in alphabetic order (col. 2 ff.); — one notices that Apollonios had forgotten, and later added, not only the combination κι in the column of two-letter combinations starting with the κ, but also the entire column of combinations starting with the ζ;



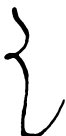
U.P.Z. 1 147 (c. 160 B.C.): Apollonios' writing-exercise

3. groups of four letters formed by adding ρ and σ to the two-letter combinations; thus βα becomes βαρσ and γα becomes γαρσ etc. Between the columns σαρσ and φαρσ (see plate above), Apollonios left out the column ταρσ.

III. PALAEOGRAPHY

The tables on the following pages give examples of letterforms in different years. The basic form of Greek characters is the capital letter.

117 B.C.	=	<i>U.P.Z.</i> 2 162	Thebes	<i>photographs</i>
A.D. 78-79	=	<i>P. Lond.</i> 1 131	Hermopolite nome	<i>plates:</i> 107-122
A.D. 212	=	<i>P. Lond.</i> 3 1164	Antinooupolis	<i>plates:</i> 46, 48
		(d) and (f)		
c. A.D. 346	=	<i>P. Abinn.</i> 4, 18, and 28-29	Arsinoïte nome	<i>plates:</i> <i>P. Lond.</i> 2 92-93, 97a and b
A.D. 585	=	<i>P. Monac.</i> 1 9	Syene	<i>plates:</i> XVII-XX

	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z
117 B.C.						
78-79 A.D.		 			 	
212 A.D.		  		 	 	
c. 346 A.D.	  				  	
585 A.D.	 			 		

H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M
κ	ϑ	ι	κ	λ	μ
κ	ϑ ϑ	ι	κ κ	λ	μ
κ	ϑ	ι	κ κ	λ	μ
κ	ϑ ϑ	ι	κ κ	λ λ	μ μ
κ κ	ϑ ϑ	ι	κ κ	λ λ	μ μ
κ κ	ϑ ϑ	ι	κ κ	λ λ	μ μ
κ κ	ϑ ϑ	ι	κ κ	λ λ	μ μ

	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ
117 B.C.	Ⲛ ⲛ	Ⲟ ⲟ Ⲡ	Ⲕ	ⲡ	ⲣ	Ⲥ ⲥ
78-79 A.D.	Ⲛ ⲛ	Ⲟ ⲟ	Ⲕ	ⲡ ⲡ Ⲣ	ⲣ	Ⲥ ⲥ
212 A.D.	Ⲛ	Ⲟ ⲟ	Ⲕ	ⲡ	ⲣ ⲣ	Ⲥ ⲥ
c. 346 A.D.	Ⲛ ⲛ ⲛ	Ⲟ	Ⲕ ⲕ	ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ	ⲣ	Ⲥ
585 A.D.	Ⲛ ⲛ	Ⲟ	Ⲕ	ⲡ ⲡ	ⲣ ⲣ	Ⲥ

T	Y	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω
τ	Υ ϣ	ϕ	χ	ψ ϣ	ω
τ r	Υ ϣ	ϕ ϕ	χ	ψ	ω
τ	Υ ϣ	ϕ ϕ	χ x	+	ω ω
τ τ Υ	Υ ϣ	ϕ	χ	ψ +	ω ω ω
τ Υ ν	Υ ϣ	ϕ	χ	ψ	ω

IV. A LITERARY TEXT

Plato, *Phaedo*

P. Leid. inv. 22 (1st cent. A.D.)

Col. I = *Phaedo* 65A 8 - C 5; Col. II = *Phaedo* 65E 3 - 66B 3. A revised edition of the papyrus is given by R. W. Daniel, *Z.P.E.* 66 (1986) p. 53-58 (unfortunately with no plate; the reproductions given by B. A. van Groningen, *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography*² (1955) pl. II and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Mnemosyne* 19, 1966, p. 231 f. are very dark and two fragments are out of place).

Col. II

- 1 -νοηθ[ῆν]αι περὶ οὐ σκοπεῖ, οὐτ[ο]ς δὲν [ἐγγύ]τατα [1]
- 2 ἔοι τοῦ γ[ν]ῶναι ἕκαστον; : Πάνυ μὲν οὐν. : [᾽Α]ρ' οὐν
- 3 ἐκεῖν[ο]ς δὲν τοῦτο ποιήσειεν καθαρότατα ὅστις
- 4 αὐτὸ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀντὶ τῇ διανόοιαι ἔοι ἐφ' ἕκαστον
κ.τ.λ.

The papyrus is a palimpsest, traces of earlier writing being still visible (for instance in the open space between col. I and col. II, lines 3 and 5). The text is written in a nice regular bookhand; a colon (:) marks the change of the speaker (e.g. twice in II, 2). A corrector cancelled the *iota* at the end of II, 1 and he wrote it again before line 2 (adding a *diaresis*, as he did elsewhere in the text; cf. p. 279).

On literary texts see p. 3 and 71. As usual there are several discrepancies between the papyrus text and the standard one, the most important difference being ἡ ὄψις (I, 6) against ὄψις (65B 2). The papyrus gives the best reading; ἡ ὄψις is the Alexandrian version and that is probably what Plato wrote.

Until 305 B.C. silver coins were minted in Egypt showing the head of Alexander the Great clad in an elephant's scalp and *aegis*. Obverse: Athena and an eagle. Cf. no. 1, 12: ἀργύριον Ἀλεξάνδρειον.



1

MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Elephantine

P. Eleph. 1

310 B.C.

This is the earliest dated Greek papyrus from Egypt. The contract concerns Herakleides' marriage with Demetria. He receives her in marriage from her father and mother; she brings with her a dowry to the value of 1000 drachmas. If one of the partners commits an offence against his or her conjugal duties, they shall submit the case to three arbiters. The latter can punish the husband by making him pay 1000 drachmas as a fine, and the wife by depriving her of her dowry.

The wording of the contract contains several reminders of the Greek origin of the scribe and the parties (e.g. ναυτικά, line 13; the legal fiction in line 14); persons from Cos, Temnos, Gela and Cyrene figure in the agreement.

The contract was drawn up in duplicate, the same text being written twice on the papyrus; one text was intended to remain visible (the *scriptura exterior*), whereas the other one was rolled up and sealed (the *scriptura interior*). We print here the text of the *scriptura interior* which was actually still sealed when the papyrus was found.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεύοντος ἔτει ἐβδόμῳ,

Πτολεμαίου σατραπεύοντος ἔτει τεσσ<α>ρε-

σκαϊδεκάτῳ, μηνὸς Δίου. Συγγραφή συνοικισίας Ἡρακλείδου
καὶ Δημητρίας. Λαμβάνει Ἡρακλείδης <Τημνίτης>

Δημητρίαν Κώϊαν γυναῖκα γνησίαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Λεπτίνου
Κώϊου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Φιλωτίδος ἐλεύθερος

ἐλευθέραν προσφερομένην εἰματισμὸν καὶ κόσμον † Ἀ, παρ-
εχέτω δὲ Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίαι

- 5 ὅσα προσήκει γυναικὶ ἐλευθέραι πάντα, εἶναι δὲ ἡμᾶς κατὰ
ταῦτ' ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ ἄριστον εἶναι βουλευομένοις κοινήν
βουλῇ Λεπτίνῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ. Εἰὰν δέ τι κακοτεχνούσα
ἀλίσκεται ἐπὶ αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἡρακλείδου Δημητρία,
στερέσθω ὧμ προσηγέκατο πάντων, ἐπιδειξάτω δὲ Ἡρακλεί-
δης ὅ τι ἂν ἐγκαλῇ Δημητρίαι ἐναντίον ἀνδρῶν τριῶν,

Read (4) ἱματισμόν; (6) ἐάν; (7) ὦν.

- οὓς ἂν δοκιμάζωσιν ἀμφοτέροι. Μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ Ἑρακλείδῃ
 γυναῖκα ἄλλην ἐπεισάγεσθαι ἐφ' ὕβρει Δημητρίας μηδὲ
 τεκνοποιεῖσθαι ἐξ ἄλλης γυναικὸς μηδὲ κακοτεχνεῖν μηδὲν
 παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ Ἑρακλείδῃ εἰς Δημητρίαν·
- 10 εἰὰν δέ τι ποῶν τούτων ἀλίσκηται Ἑρακλείδης καὶ ἐπιδείξει
 Δημητρία ἐναντίον ἀνδρῶν τριῶν, οὓς ἂν δοκιμάζωσιν
 ἀμφοτέροι, ἀποδότω Ἑρακλείδης Δημητρίαι τὴν φερνήν ἣν
 προσηνέγκατο τ' Ἀ, καὶ προσαποτεισάτω ἀργυρί-
 ου Ἀλεξανδρείου τ' Ἀ. Ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης
 κατὰ νόμον τέλος ἐχούσης Δημητρίαι καὶ τοῖς μετὰ
 Δημητρίας πράσσουσιν ἕκ τε αὐτοῦ Ἑρακλείδου καὶ <ἐκ> τῶν
 Ἑρακλείδου πάντων καὶ ἐγγαίων καὶ ναυτικῶν. Ἡ δὲ συγ-
 γραφή
- ἥδε κυρία ἔστω πάντῃ πάντως ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ συναλλάγματος
 γεγεννημένου, ὅπου ἂν ἐπεγέρῃ Ἑρακλείδης κατὰ
- 15 Δημητρίας ἢ Δημητρία τε καὶ τοὶ μετὰ Δημητρίας πράσσοντες
 ἐπεγέρωσιν κατὰ Ἑρακλείδου. Κύριοι δὲ ἔστωσαν
 Ἑρακλεί-
 δης <τε> καὶ Δημητρία καὶ τὰς συγγραφὰς αὐτοὶ τὰς αὐτῶν
 φυλάσσοντες καὶ ἐπεγέροντες κατ' ἀλλήλων. Μάρτερες·
 Κλέων Γελώιος, Ἀντικράτης Τημνίτης, Λύσις Τημνίτης, Διο-
 νύσιος Τημνίτης, Ἀριστόμαχος Κυρηναῖος, Ἀριστόδικος
 Κώιος.

Read (10) ἑάν, ποιῶν; (11) τήν; (12) ἐκ; (14, 15, 16) ἐπεκ- ; (16) μάρτυρες.

The text is reprinted as L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 283, P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 18 and A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1, no. 1; a photograph of the *scriptura interior* may be found e.g. in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, tab. 2; for references to other plates, see B. L. Konkordanz, p. 59-60.

The document was probably written in Elephantine where it was found in a jar together with some other Greek papyri; they were wrapped up in a sheet of papyrus bearing several literary texts (see no. 2).

1. Ptolemy I still considered himself a satrap of the Macedonian king in July/August 310 B.C. [Cf. p. 282].
2. **συννοικισία**, "cohabitation", "marriage": living together in the marital home means "being married" (cf. **συννοικεῖν**, no. 5, 10, 19), just as **εἰσάγεσθαι** (cf. line 8) "to lead a woman into the marital home" means "to marry", and just as **ἐκβάλλειν** (no. 14, 15) "to cast a woman out of the marital home" means "to repudiate".
 - **λαμβάνειν**, "to receive in marriage": in Greek law a woman was given in marriage (**ἐκδοσις**) by someone; this custom soon disappeared in Egypt.
3. **ἐλευθερός**: sc. **Ἡρακλείδης**.
4. **ἐλευθέραν**: sc. **Δημητρίαν**.
5. **ἡμᾶς**: intended is αὐτούς, "they (the partners) have to be ...".
 - **κατὰ ταυτό ὅπου**, "in the same place, where", "together in the place where".
 - **δοκῇ** with dative: **Λεπτίνῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ**.
8. Private arbitration very seldom occurs in contracts of the Ptolemaic period.
 - **ἐπ-εἰς-άγεσθαι**: to lead (**-άγεσθαι**) a woman in (**-εἰς-**) the marital home besides (**ἐπ-**) one's wife, i.e. marry (cf. line 2, note) a second wife. This clause forbids bigamy (even though this does not occur in Egypt).
12. **ἀργύριον Ἀλεξάνδρειον**: silver money showing the effigy of the head of Alexander the Great; see plate p. 66.
 - **πρᾶξις** and **πράσσειν** (lines 13 and 15): **πράσσειν** "to exact payment"; **πρᾶξις**, the right to exact payment from (**ἐκ**, line 13) the debtor and his possessions.
 - **καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης κατὰ νόμον τέλος ἐχούσης**: Demetria is entitled to exact the payment of the fine imposed by the private arbiters "as if in consequence of a lawsuit which has legally come to an end (i.e. wherein a decision is given by judges)." Thus the decision of the private arbiters will have the same legal force as a decision of an official court. The clause is not found with this wording in other contracts from Egypt (the expression **ἡ δίκη τέλος ἔχει** is typically Greek).

In later agreements a similar clause is to be found, **καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης**, "as if by virtue of a legal sentence", i.e. "also without a court decision"; it is hardly likely that this later clause is a shortened form of the earlier one.
13. **ἐκ τε αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδου**: by bringing pressure to bear on the debtor (there is no reason for supposing that debtors could be enslaved for insolvency).
 - **ἐγγαῖα καὶ ναυτικά**: possessions "on land and sea"; this expression which is typically Greek soon disappeared in Egypt.
14. **κύριος** (of a legal document), "effective", "valid"; cf. **ἀκύρωσις**, "rendering (a contract) ineffective", nos. 21, 16; 32, 20.
 - **πάντῃ πάντως**, "in every respect".
 - **ὥς** with part., "as if" (a legal fiction).
 - **ἐπεκφέρειν**, "to carry out", "to seek to enforce" a contract.
15. **τοί**: i.e. **οἱ**.
 - **κύριος** (of a person): **κύριος εἶναι** with part., "to be entitled to do".
16. Usually a document like this one (**ἡ ἐξαμάρτυρος συγγραφή**) is not kept by the parties themselves but entrusted to a **συγγραφοφύλαξ**, "keeper of contracts".

CONVIVIAL ELEGY

Elephantine

B.K.T. 5.2 62

c. 300 B.C.

At the beginning of a symposium the president of the drinking-party (ὁ ποταρχῶν) addresses his fellow-drinkers (συμπόται) telling them to enjoy themselves by joking and laughing. But seriousness must follow; they have to listen to the speakers and obey the president. For a description of the tasks of the president of a symposium, see Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* I 4 620A-622B.

- Χαίρετε, συμπόται ἄνδρες ὁμ[ήλικες· ἐ]ξ ἀγαθοῦ γὰρ
 ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον [ε]ἰς ἀγ[αθό]ν.
 Χρὴ δ', ὅταν εἰς τοιοῦτο συνέλθωμεν, φίλοι ἄνδρες,
 πρᾶγμα, γελᾶν παίζειν χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ,
 5 ἥδεσθαί τε συνόντας, ἐς ἀλλήλους τε φ[λ]υαρεῖν
 καὶ σκώπτειν τοιαῦτα οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν.
 Ἡ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέσθω, ἀκούωμέν [τε λ]εγόντων
 ἐμ μέρει· ἥδ' ἀρετὴ συμποσίου πέλεται.
 Τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος [[τος]] πειθώμεθα· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν
 10 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὐλογίαν τε φέρει{ν}.

This is one of the short literary texts written on a sheet of papyrus which was discarded and re-used for wrapping up no. 1 and three other contracts. Since these agreements were drawn up between 310 and 282 B.C., the discarded papyrus must date from approximately 300 B.C. (usually literary papyri have to be dated on palaeographic grounds alone; such datings are rather imprecise). The present text seems to be the earliest datable Greek literary papyrus from Egypt.

The epigram is reproduced in the *editio princeps* (pl. VIII) and in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, tab. 3. The text was printed in earlier editions of the *Papyrological Primer* (in the third edition as no. 87), but it was omitted from the last one. It is to be found in M.L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* II (1972) no. 27 and in D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (1981) no. CXXXV (see also *Select Papyri* 3, no. 103); the transcriptions given by Page — and even those made by West — are not entirely faithful; both authors transcribe for instance τοιαῦθ' (line 6) without mentioning that the papyrus actually has τοιαῦτα. Further literature: G. Giangrande, *Symptotic Literature and Epigram*, in *L'épigramme grecque* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt, XIV [1968] 93-174).

4. **χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ**: behaving properly, like a "fellow-drinker" should.
6. **τοιαῦτα** (*scriptio plena*): mistake for τοιαῦθ', which the meter requires.
- **φέρειν**: it is not necessary to correct the infinitive into φέρεῖ (Primer³, no. 87) in a clause starting with οἷα; see E. Schwyzer, *Gr. Grammatik* II, p. 678.2.
7. **ἐπέσθω**: *correptio epica* at the caesura (⋈/—); see A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Garland of Philip I* (1968) p. XXXIX-XL.
9. **[[τος]]**: dittography; not indicated by Page or West; *editio princeps*: [[της]].
10. **φέρει{v}**: mistake caused by φέρειν at the end of line 6.

The ten most popular Greek authors in Egypt — see the list in O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* (1973) 360-362 — were the following persons according to the number of their works of which fragments have been found:

1	Homer	652 copies*
2	Hesiod	94
3	Demosthenes	94
4	Euripides	85
5	Callimachus	54
6	Plato	49
7	Isocrates	46
8	Menander	39
9	Pindar	38
10	Thucydides	38

* Iliad, 498; Odyssey, 154

REGULATIONS CONCERNING WINE-TAX

Arsinoïte nome

P. Rev. Laws

259 B.C.

The papyrus contains a series of "Revenue Laws" concerning taxes and monopolies which were farmed out. The portion printed below regulates the supervision of the vintage and the collection of the wine-tax (ἀπόμοιρα).

Col. 24

[‘Υπ]ερ τ[ο]ῦ τρυγᾶν καὶ συνάγειν.

- 15 [Οἱ] δὲ γεωργοὶ τὰ γενήματα τρυγάτωσαν
 ὅταν ἡ ὥρα [ἡ] καί, ὅταν ἄρχωνται τρυγᾶν,
 ἐ[παγ]γελ[λέτ]ωσαν τῷ διοικοῦντι ἢ
- Col. 25 [τῷ ἔχοντι] τὴν ὥνην καὶ βουλομένου ἐπι-
 [δεῖν τοὺς ἀμπε]λῶνας ἐπιδεικνύτω[σαν].
 — — — c. 7 lines are lacking — — —
 [‘Ο]ταν δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ οἰνοποιεῖν βούλωνται],
- 5 παρακαλείτωσαν τὸν τὴν ὥνην διοικοῦντα]
 ἐναντίον τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ ἀν[τιγραφέως]
 ἢ τοῦ παρὰ τούτων καὶ παραγενομέν[ο]υ, οἰνο-
 ποιείτω ὁ γεωργὸς καὶ μετρεῖτω τοῖς μέ-
 τροις τοῖς ἐν ἐκάστωι τῶν τόπων ὑπάρ-
- 10 [χο]υσι[ν] ἐξητασμένοις καὶ ἐσφραγισμένοις
 [ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκονόμου καὶ τοῦ ἀντιγραφέω[ς],
 [καὶ ἐκ] τοῦ γενομένου μέτρου τὴν ἀπόμ[οιρ]α[ν]
 [ἀ]ποδιδότω.
- [‘Οσο]ν [δ’] ἂν τῶν προγεγραμ[μ]ένων μὴ ποιήσωσι οἱ
- 15 [γε]ωργοὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, [δι]πλὴν τὴν ἀπόμ[οι]ραν
 τοῖς ἔχουσι τῇ[ν ὥ]νην ἀπ[ο]τινέτωσαν.

A part of the text printed above is reproduced on pl. IV in the *editio princeps*. A new edition of the "Revenue Laws" was made by J. Bingen in 1952 (Sam-melbuch, Beiheft 1).

It is not known for which purpose this collection of "Revenue Laws" was made (Bingen, *loc. cit.*, p. 3). The third section, starting with col. 38, was revised and corrected as of 31 August 259, in the office of Apollonios the διοικητής, chief of the financial administration of Egypt. This is the same person as the *dioiketes* Apollonios of the Zenon archive (see p. 78).

Col. 24

14. This line is the heading of the regulations given in col. 24, 15 - col. 26, 17.
— **τρυγᾶν**, "to gather" grapes for wine-making.
15. **γένημα**, "produce".
17. **διοικεῖν**, "to manage", "to farm".

Col. 25

1. **ὥνή**: contract for the farming of taxes; ὁ διοικῶν τὴν ὥνῃν and ὁ ἔχων τὴν ὥνῃν are synonyms for τελώνης, "tax-farmer". The government used to farm out to "tax-farmers" the right to collect certain taxes. Cf. H.C. Youtie, *Publicans and Sinners*, Z.P.E. 1 (1967) 1-20.
— **βουλομένον**: sc. the tax-farmer.
— **ἐπιδεῖν** (ἐφορᾶν), "to see", "to inspect".
6. **οἰκονόμος**: financial officer responsible for the revenues of the crown.
— **ἀντιγραφεύς** (lit. "checking-clerk"), "controller".
7. **παραγενομένου**: sc. the tax-farmer.
10. **ἐξετάζειν**, "to approve".
— **σφραγίζειν**: to certify after examination by attaching a seal.
12. **μέτρον**, "quantity measured".
— **ἀπόμοιρα** (wine-tax, lit. "portion"): revenue assigned to the cult of the deceased queen Arsinoe Philadelphos; Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (1939) 171 ff.; J. Bingen, *Le Papyrus Revenue Laws: Tradition grecque et Adaptation hellénistique* (1978) 17 ff.

COMPLAINT ABOUT MISMANAGEMENT

Philadelphia

P. Lond. 7 1954

257 B.C.

When an estate of 10,000 arouras was granted by the king to the *dioiketes* Apollonios (no. 3) many workers were needed for the development of the new land. A field of 1,000 arouras was assigned to a group of cultivators who moved from the Heliopolite nome to Philadelphia. Within twenty days of their arrival a quarrel arose with the supervisor of the land-development who tried to take 200 arouras away from them by exerting pressure. They complained to the *dioiketes* Apollonios, seizing the opportunity to expose several other abuses. Their complaint was probably made in October/November 257 B.C.

Ἀπολλωνίῳ διοικητῇ χαίρειν οἱ γεωργοὶ οἱ ἐκ [τοῦ Ἡλ]ιο-
 πολίτου ἐκ κώμης τῆς Φιλαδέλφου τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου
 νομοῦ ἐκ τῶν σῶν μυρίων ἀρουρῶν. Σοῦ δόντος ἡμῖ[ν] ἀρ[ού-
 ρα]ς Ἄ ἐκ τῶν μυρίων, καὶ ταύτας κατεργασαμένων καὶ
 σπειράντων ἀφείλετο ἡμῶν Δάμις ἀρούρας σ. Ἡμ[ῶν δ'
 ἀ]ντιβλεπόντων ἀπήγαγεν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τρεῖς ἔως
 ἡνάγκασεν ἀποστασίου γράψασθαι. Καὶ βουλομ[ένων
 ἡμῶν ἀ]φ[ίς]τασθαι ἐκ τῶν χιλίων ἀρουρῶν καὶ ἀξιούντων
 5 αὐτὸν χορηγήσαι ἡμῖν ἕως κατεργασάμενοι σπείρωμ[εν], οὐδ'
 οὕτω ἡβούλετο, ἀλλὰ περιεῖδεν ἄσπορον γενομένην
 τὴν γῆν. Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλος γραμματεὺς Αἰγύπτιος [τῶ]ν
 πονηρῶν, ὃς οὐκ ἔαί τὴν πόλιν κατοικεῖν ἀλλ' ἀποδιώκει
 τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὄντας. Καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἀμαρτήματά ἐστιν ἐν
 [τ]αῖς μυρίαις ἀρούραις διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἄνθρωπον
 συνετὸν
 περὶ γεωργίαν. Δεόμεθα οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, εἰσκαλέ-
 <σα>σθαί τ[ιν]ας ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰσακοῦσαι περὶ ὧν βουλό-
 μεθά σοι ἀναγγεῖλαι.

Εἰκοσταῖοι γάρ ἔσμεν ἀφ' οὗ ἐνδημοῦμεν. Βουλ[ο]μ[. . .]
 αι οὐ δυνάμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἐξανηλώκαμεν εἴ τι
 εἴχομεν

10 ἐπιδημοῦντες.

[2nd hand]

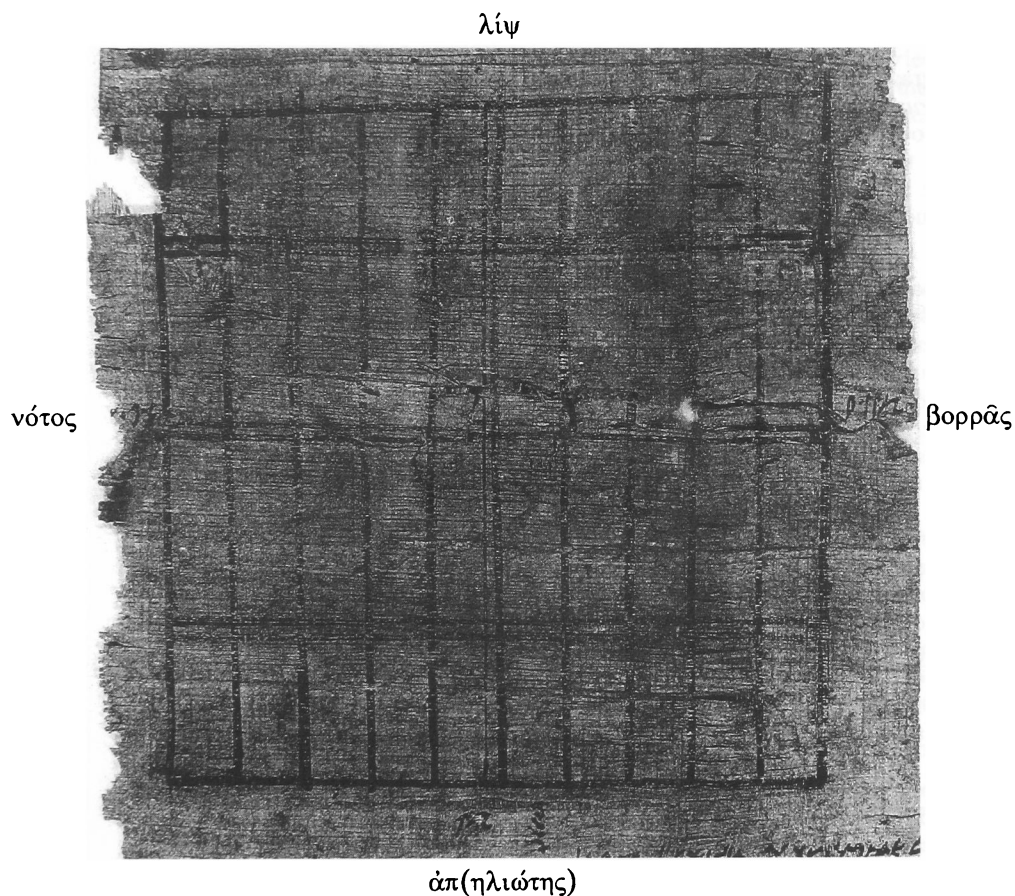
Εὐτύχει.

A photograph is to be found in T.S. Pattie and E.G. Turner, *The Written Word on Papyrus* (Catalogue of an exhibition in the British Museum, 1974), p. 31.

Although the complaint was addressed to the *dioiketes* Apollonios it was found in the archive of Zenon (see p. 78), together with another complaint about the same matter but addressed to a local official. Apparently Apollonios had instructed Zenon to settle the dispute.

1. **διοικητής**: the chief financial official in Egypt.
- **ἡ Φιλάδελφος**: title of queen Arsinoe (c. 316-270 B.C.), wife of Ptolemy II; the Arsinoïte nome was called after her, as was the new town Philadelphia.
2. **μύριαι ἄρουραι** (also in l. 7): Apollonios' δωρεά in the Arsinoïte nome; see p. 76.
- **κατεργάζεσθαι** (also in l. 5), "to cultivate": the cultivators started cultivating and sowing the land.
3. **Δῶμις** was entrusted in the summer of 257 with the development of Apollonios' land (*P. Lond.* 7, p. 43).
- **πρεσβύτεροι**, "elders", "prominent persons".
4. **ἀποστασίου** (sc. συγγραφῆν) **γράφεσθαι**, "to draw up a deed of renunciation".
- **ἀφίστασθαι ἔκ**, "to go away from"; the following words show that they did not abandon the land at once.
5. **χορηγεῖν**, "to furnish means (i.e. seed etc.)".
- **περιορᾶν**, "to allow".
6. Read **τῆν**.
- **τῶν πονηρῶν**, "one of an evil tribe".
- **οὐκ ἑαί**: scil. ἡμᾶς (or "anyone").
- **κατοικεῖν** (with acc.), "to settle in".
- **ἀποδιωκεῖν**, "to chase away".
7. **συνετός**, "wise", "experienced".
9. **εἰκοσταῖος**, "twenty days old": on the twentieth day since
- **ἀφ' οὗ**, "since".
- **ἐνδημεῖν**, "to stay (here)"; **ἐπιδημεῖν** (l. 10), "to come to stay (here)".
- **εἴ τι**, "whatever".

δωρεά: an estate granted by the king, a fief; usually poor or unreclaimed land on the margin of cultivation. Apollonios' estate near Philadelphia measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ km x $5\frac{1}{4}$ km (10,000 arouras). When the king gave it to him in 259 the land needed a good deal of labour to make it productive. A scheme of irrigation was drawn up and a sketch was made showing the canals which were to divide the estate into basins of 250 arouras each (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 20, Suppl. A):



5

LETTER OF A MOTHER ABOUT HER ABDUCTED DAUGHTER

Philadelphia

P. Lond. 7 1976

253 B.C.

An old woman, called Haynchis, asks Zenon for his help. She is under obligation to purchase daily a certain amount of beer from a beer wholesaler. She used to resell this with the assistance of her daughter. The latter has however been abducted and is now kept concealed; Haynchis asks Zenon to make her come back home. The docket on the verso was written by Zenon in March/April 253 B.C.

- Ἀὐγχις Ζήνωνι χαίρειν.
 Λαμβάνουσα ζῦτον ἐκ
 τοῦ μεγάλου ζυτοπω-
 λίου διατίθημι τὴν
 5 ἡμέραν ἡ δ, καὶ εὐτακτῶ.
 Δημήτρ[ι]ος δέ μου ὁ ἀμ-
 πελουργὸς ἀπατήσας
 τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξαγα-
 γὼν κρύπτει, φάμενος
 10 συνοικῆσ[ε]ιν αὐτῇ ἄνευ
 ἐμοῦ. Αὕτη δὲ συνένεμε
 τὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ ἐμὲ
 ἔτρεφεν πρεσβυτέραν οὐ-
 σαν. Νῦν οὖν ζημίαν ποι-
 15 ὦ ταύτης ἐξελθούσης, καὶ
 αὐτὴ δὲ τὰ δέοντα οὐκ ἔ-
 χω. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ γυναῖκα
 ἑτέραν καὶ παιδιά ὧδε
 ὥστε οὐ δύνανται συνοικεῖν
 20 ἥι ἠπάτησεν. Ἀξιῶ οὖν βο-
 ηθῆσαί μοι διὰ τὸ γῆρας
 καὶ παραδοῦναί μοι αὐτήν.
 Ἔρρωσο.

Verso

[2nd hand]

L λβ, Μεχείρ.

25

Ἀὐγχις.

Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (1939) 152-158: "La bière".

3. ζυτοπώλιον, "beer-shop"; apparently a business wholesaling beer.
- 4-5. διατιθέναι, "to distribute": Haynchis is under obligation to purchase every day beer to the value of 4 drachmas from the beer-shop.
5. εὐτακτεῖν, "to pay regularly".
6. Δημήτριος δέ μου: it is not known what was the precise connection between Demetrios and Haynchis.
7. ἀπατᾶν, "to deceive" (also in l. 20).
8. ἐξάγειν, "to carry off", "to abduct".
10. ἄνευ ἐμοῦ, "without my consent".
11. συννέμειν, "to assist in managing".
12. ἐργαστήριον, "store" (for selling beer).
14. ζημία, "loss".
18. ὅδε: probably reinforces the following ὥστε, "and so", "therefore".

Zenon

Zenon (nos. 4 and 5) was born in Kaunos (Asia Minor). He left his family and went to Alexandria where he was employed by Apollonios, the highest financial official in Egypt, whom he served in various places:

261-260	Alexandria;
260-258	Palestine;
258-256	Alexandria and the Delta;
256-248	Philadelphia; as manager of the δωρεά.

On his retirement:

247-227	near Philadelphia.
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His archive, which is perhaps the most important archive from Egypt, was discovered by peasants on the site of ancient Philadelphia in the winter of 1914-15 (*P. Mich. Zen.*, p. 1 and *P. Lond.* 7, p. 14). See for this archive C.C. Edgar, *P. Mich. Zen.*, p. 1-60; P.W. Pestman et al., *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (= *P. Lugd. Bat.* 21) and W. Clarysse et K. Vandorpe, *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des pyramides* (in the press; expected date of publication is 1994).

6

COMPLAINT ABOUT A FORGED CONTRACT

Arsinoïte nome

P. Ent. 50

221 B.C.

The complaint concerns a dispute between two Egyptians, Pasis and Horos, about an Egyptian contract. This contract apparently is an acknowledgement of a debt payable by Pasis to Horos' daughter, but Pasis denies having written such an acknowledgement, thus implying that the document was forged. He requests that Horos be punished.

The request is nominally addressed to the king but actually lodged with the *strategos* Diophanes who orders Sosibios, a local magistrate, to try and reconcile Pasis and Horos; if Sosibios does not succeed, he has to send them to him, the *strategos*, so as to have their case decided by the Egyptian court of justice.

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν Πᾶσις Ἀρεῦτος, ἰβιοβοσκός.
 Ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ὠρου τοῦ Ὠρου, τῶν
 ἐκ Φιλωτερίδος τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος. Φάσκων γάρ με
 συγγεγράφθαι τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ
 Τζεναμούνι συγγραφὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἡμετέραν, οὐ συγγεγραμμένου
 μου. Δέομαι οὖν σου,
 βασιλεῦ, προσταῆσαι Διοφάνει τῷ στρατηγῷ γράψαι Νεφε-
 ρῶτι τῷ ἀρχιφυλά-
 5 κίτηι τῆς κώμης ἀποστίλαι Ὠρον ἐπὶ Διοφάνην κριθησόμενόν
 μοι καί, ἂν
 φαίνωμαι μὴ συγγεγραμμένος τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἀποδοῦναί μοι·
 περὶ δὲ ὧν
 συντετέλεσται, τυχεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας· ἂν
 δὲ ἀρνήται,
 ὑπογραφὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐπὶ Διοφάνους, ἵνα διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ,
 τύχω τοῦ δικαίου.

Εὐτύχει.

[2nd hand]

10 Σωσιβίωι. Μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στει-
λον) ὅπ(ως) ἐπὶ τῶν λαοκριτῶν [δι]ακρ[ιθῶσιν].

└ α, Γορπιαίου λ, Τῦβι [ι]γ.

Verso

└ α, Γορπιαίου λ, Τῦβι τγ.

Πᾶσις ἰβιοβοσκὸς πρ(ὸς) Ὑρρον περὶ

ὧν ἀδικεῖται.

For a reproduction of the recto, see *P. Ent.*, pl. VI. The papyrus was extracted, together with a great number of similar texts, from mummy cartonnage found in Magdola. They are complaints which were lodged between 222 and 219 with the *strategos* in Krokodilonpolis.

The present request is an original copy. One of the secretaries of the *strategos* wrote in a second hand his decision at the foot of the document and a docket on the back. It was filed in the office of the *strategos* (on 12 and 13 Tybi, at least 43 complaints were dealt with thus). It is not known how long these documents were kept in the archive of the *strategos*; after 219 someone did away with them and they were re-used in Magdola for making mummy cartonnage.

1. **ἰβιοβοσκός**: an Egyptian priest engaged in keeping sacred ibises.
- **ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπό**, "I am being wronged by".
- **τῶν ἐκ**, "one of those from".
2. **Φιλωτερίς**: this is a different village from Φιλωτερίς in no. 53 which is in the district of Themistos of the same Arsinoïte nome.
- **φάσκων**, "saying", "asserting". The principal sentence is missing; the scribe was doing his best to write in a solemn style but became entangled in it.
3. **συγγραφή Αἰγυπτία**, "Egyptian contract", i.e. a contract written in demotic. The amount of 420 drachmas — a fictitious sum, corresponding to 21 Egyptian *debens* — is characteristic of a contract of maintenance, *συγγραφή τροφίτις*. In such a contract a man engages himself to provide a woman every month with food, money and clothing; she may be his wife (see *S.B.* 16 12687); often the woman's father plays a part in this kind of agreement; P.W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property* (1961) p. 43 ff.
4. **ἀρχιφυλακίτης**: chief of the village police; actually, however, the order was given to Sosibios (line 10) and not to Nephros.
5. **ἀποστέλλειν**, "to send" (read ἀποστεῖλαι).
- **κριθισόμενον**, "in order to be judged".
- **ἄν**: read ἑάν (also in l. 7).

7. συντελεῖσθαι, "to perpetrate".
- προσήκων, "fitting", "proper".
- τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν, "to receive punishment".
- ἀρνεῖσθαι, "to deny".
8. ὑπογραφὴν ποιήσασθαι, "to place a subscription (on the contract)": we assume that Horos had to affirm on oath that he had not forged the contract and that he had to acknowledge this in a subscription (ὑπογραφή) on the document itself.
10. Sosibios is ἐπιστάτης κώμης, "overseer of the village", a local magistrate.
- διαλύειν, "to reconcile", "to settle amicably".
- λαοκρίται: Egyptian judges; before 118 B.C. (no. 8) the Egyptian courts of justice dealt with lawsuits between Egyptians.
11. 27 February 221 B.C.

A REVOLT IN THE DELTA ACCORDING TO
THE ROSETTA STONE

Rosetta

S.B. 5 8299

196 B.C.

The Rosetta stone contains the text of a priestly decree promulgated in 196 B.C. by representatives of the Egyptian temples, assembled in Memphis for the celebration of the anniversary of the accession of Ptolemy V. In the first part of the decree the king's exploits are described; his benefactions towards the Egyptian temples receive particular praise. In the second part special marks of honour are established which the Egyptian temples confer on him in return for his benefactions.

During the reign of Ptolemy V many regions of Egypt revolted against their king, and at the time of this decree a large part of the country was even ruled by an indigenous Pharaoh; see K. Vandorpe, *The Chronology of the Reigns of Hurgonaphor and Chaonnophris*, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 61 (1986) 294-302. The lines printed below concern a local revolt of less importance. "Impious" rebels had entrenched themselves at Lyconpolis in the Delta and royal troops went to campaign against them, laying siege to the rebellious town in 197. When in the summer of that year the Nile started to rise and was about to inundate the land around Lyconpolis, thus threatening to drive the besiegers away, the king took appropriate measures so as to enable him to continue the siege and to take the town.

παραγινόμε-

22 νος δὲ καὶ εἰς Λύκων πόλιν τὴν ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ, ἣ ἦν
κατειλημμένη καὶ ὠχυρωμένη πρὸς πολιορκίαν ὅπλων τε
παραθέσει δαψιλεστέραι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ χορη<γί>αι πάσῃ
ὥς ἂν ἐκ πολλοῦ

23 χ<ρ>όνου συνεστηκυίας τῆς ἀλλοτριότητος τοῖς ἐπισυν-
αχθεῖσιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀσεβέσιν — οἱ ἦσαν εἰς τε τὰ ἱερὰ
καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικοῦντας πολλὰ κακὰ συντετε-
λεσμένοι — καὶ ἄν-

24 τικαθίσας χώμασιν τε καὶ τάφροις καὶ τείχεσιν αὐτὴν
ἀξιολόγοις περιέλαβεν· τοῦ τε Νείλου τὴν ἀνάβασιν μεγά-
λην ποιησαμένου ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ ἔτει καὶ εἰθισμένου κατα-
κλύζειν τὰ

- 25 πεδία κατέσχευεν ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων ὀχυρώσας τὰ στόματα τῶν
 ποταμῶν χορηγήσας εἰς αὐτὰ χρημάτων πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον
 καὶ καταστήσας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς πρὸς τῇ φυλακῇ
 26 αὐτῶν· ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὴν τε πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν καὶ
 τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβεῖς πάντας διέφθειρεν, καθάπερ
 [Ἑρμ]ῆς καὶ Ὡρος ὁ τῆς Ἰσίου καὶ Ὀσίριος υἱὸς ἐχειρώ-
 σαντο τοὺς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 27 τόποις ἀποστάντας πρότερον.

At the end of the decree it is said that the text must be engraved on stelae of hard stone τοῖς τε ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐγχωρίοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν, "in sacred characters (i.e. hieroglyphs), in native ones (i.e. demotic script) and in Greek ones". These stelae were to be set up in every Egyptian temple of any importance. Consequently many copies of this decree were made although only a few have come down to us. The Greek text of the stela found at Rosetta is nearly complete (*S.B.* 5 8299 = *O.G.I.S.* 90); fragments of other copies are *S.B.* 5 8232 and *S.B.* 8 9808.

Priestly decrees were promulgated in several other years too; important ones were made in 238 B.C. in Kanopus (cf. p. 40), in 217 in Memphis — on the occasion of the 'Battle of Raphia' — and in 186 B.C. in Alexandria when the king had finally put an end to the insurrection of southern Egypt.

Literature: see e.g. W. Spiegelberg, *Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis* (1922); H. Gauthier et H. Sottas, *Un décret bilingue [Raphia]* (1925); S. Quirke and C. Andrews, *The Rosetta Stone* (facsimile drawing with an introduction and translations) (1988).

21. παραγινόμενος: i.e. the king; the principal verb is περιέλαβεν in line 24.
22. καταλαμβάνειν, "to occupy".
 — παράθεσις, "storing up", "store".
 — δαυιλής, "abundant", "plentiful".
 — ὥς ἂν, "as if".
23. συνεστηκέναι, "to exist".
 — ἀλλοτριότης, "hostility".
 — ἐπισυνάγεσθαι, "to gather together".
 — εἰς αὐτήν: i.e. Lyconpolis.
 — ἦσαν is to be connected with συντετελεσμένοι.
 — συντελεῖσθαι, "to perpetrate".
 — ἀντικαθίσκειν, "to lay siege to".
24. αὐτήν is object of both ἀντικαθίσας and περιέλαβεν.
 — περιλαμβάνειν, "to surround".
 — ἀνάβασις, "rising" (of a river): since the Nile usually starts rising on the 17th of July, the siege of Lyconpolis took place in the summer of 197 B.C.
 — εἰθίξεσθαι, "to be used to".

- κατακλύζειν, "to inundate".
- 25. κατέχειν, "to hold back".
- ὀχυρώσας: according to the demotic and hieroglyphic versions, the canals were blocked up by dams.
- χρήματα, "money".
- 26. κατὰ κράτος, "by force".
- καθάπερ κ.τ.λ.: according to an Egyptian legend the gods Horos and Thot (whom the Greeks identified with Hermes; cf. p. 282) defeated Seth, god of evil, at Hermoupolis Parva, which is indeed not far from Lyconpolis.
- χειροῦσθαι, "to overpower".

Inundation of the Nile
(cf. p. 316)

The ἀνάβασις of the Nile is described by Herodotus (II 97) as follows:

Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μόναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα καὶ ἐμπερέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μόναι ὑπερέχουσι.

"When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean Sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water" (translation Loeb Class. Library).

8

DECREE CONCERNING THE COMPETENCE
OF GREEK AND EGYPTIAN TRIBUNALS

Kerkeosiris
(found in Tebtynis)

P. Tebt. 1 5

118 B.C.

The decree (lines 207-220) is one of a series of royal decrees promulgated in 118 B.C. to mark the end of a period of revolts and decline. It deals with the fields of jurisdiction of different kinds of courts of justice.

After the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great we find in Egypt a Greek tribunal for Greeks (its judges are called χρηματισταί), an Egyptian one for Egyptians (its judges are priests called λαοκρίται; cf. no. 6, 10) and a κοινοδίκιον for lawsuits between Greeks and Egyptians. The competence of these tribunals depends upon the nationality of the parties. (With regard to the κοινοδίκιον we may assume that it applied Greek or Egyptian law according to the language used in the contracts in question).

In the second century B.C. a strong mixing of the groups of the population has taken place and the royal decree given here is based upon this fact. Instead of the nationality of the parties it is the language of their contract which is now decisive, the Greek courts judging cases arising from Greek documents and the Egyptian ones the cases which arise from Egyptian contracts (the κοινοδίκιον disappeared). The decree contains a provision for a period of transition.

- 207 Προσ τετάχασι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κρινομένων Αἰγυπτίων
πρὸς Ἑλλήνας καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν [π]ρὸς τοὺς
Αἰγυπτίους ἢ Αἰγυπτίων) πρὸς < > Ἑλλήνας, γενῶν
πάντων, —
- 210 πλὴν τῶν γεω(ργούντων) βα(σιλικήν) γῆν καὶ τῶν ὑποτελῶν
καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιπεπλεγμένων ταῖς προσόδοις — τοὺς
μὲν καθ' Ἑλληνικὰ σύμβολα συνηλλαχότας
Ἑλλήσιν Αἰγυπτίους ὑπέχειν καὶ λαμβάνειν
τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν χρηματιστῶν. Ὅσοι δὲ Ἑλληνες
- 215 ὄντες συνγράφονται κατ' Αἰγύπτια συναλλάγματα
ὑπέχειν τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν λαοκριτῶν κατὰ τοὺς
τῆς χώρας νόμους.

- Τὰς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυ(πτίων) πρὸς τοὺς
 218 αὐτοὺς <Αἰ>γυ(πτίους) κρίσεις μὴ ἐπισπᾶσθαι τοὺς χρημα-
 (τιστάς),
 ἀλλ' ἔαν [κριν] διεξάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν λαοκριτῶν κατὰ τοὺς
 220 τῆς χώρας νόμους.

Reprinted as *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53 (cf. L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 1; P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, no. 75; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 210); plate in the *editio princeps*, *P. Tebt.* 1, pl. III; literature: P.W. Pestman, *B.A.S.P.* 22 (1985) p. 265 ff.; for a different interpretation of the text see J. Modrzejewski, *Hommages à Cl. Préaux* (1975) p. 699 ff.

The text belongs to the official archive of the village scribe of Kerkeosiris, called Menches (cf. p. 9 and 305; no. 9). It was written by him on the back of an administrative document (*P. Tebt.* 1 62); for similar cases, see e.g. p. 105 (no. 16) and 176 (no. 41). Papyri from his archive were later on re-used in Tebtynis for wrapping up and padding out mummified crocodiles. (Crocodiles were venerated as sacred animals in the Arsinoite nome; see p. 30, Strabo 17 1.38).

207. **προστάσσειν**, "to decree"; the subject is given in lines 1-2: βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνή, i.e. Ptolemy VIII with his sister (and former wife) Cleopatra II, and with his wife Cleopatra III (the latter was a daughter of Cleopatra II, born from an earlier marriage).
 — **κρίνεσθαι πρὸς**, "to bring action against" (lit. "to be decided against"); cf. κρίσις (line 218), "lawsuit".
 209. Read Αἰγυπτίους ἢ Αἰγυ(πτίων) πρὸς <Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς> Ἑλλήνας.
 210-211. The decree does not apply to "farmers of royal land", to "farmers of a royal monopoly (i.e. of the right to produce or sell certain goods)" (ὕποτελεῖς) or to others who are involved (ἐπιπεπλεγμένοι) with the revenues (πρόσοδοι) of the crown.
 212. **σύμβολον**, "document", "contract".
 — **συναλλάσσειν** with dative, "to enter into an agreement with"; cf. συνάλλαγμα (line 215), "contract".
 213. **ὑπέχειν** (τὸ δίκαιον), "to undergo" as a defendant; λαμβάνειν (τὸ δίκαιον), "to take" as a plaintiff.
 214. **χρηματιστής**: a member of a Greek court of justice.
 215. **συγγράφεσθαι**, "to make an agreement" (cf. συγγραφή, "contract", e.g. no. 6, 6).
 216. **λαοκρίτης**: a member of an Egyptian court of justice; cf. no. 6, 10.
 218. **ἐπισπᾶσθαι**, "to draw to oneself".
 219. **ἔαν**, "to allow". The difference in meaning between διεξάγεσθαι, "to be brought to an end", "to be finished" and κριν (i.e. κρίνεσθαι, "to be decided") is decisive for the interpretation of the whole phrase (cf. P. W. Pestman, *B.A.S.P.* 22, 1985, p. 269).

DRAFT OF A REPORT ABOUT A STRIKE

Kerkeosiris
(found in Tebtynis)

P. Tebt. 1 26

114 B.C.

On 8 November 114 the royal farmers of Kerkeosiris left their fields seeking sanctuary in a temple. When this happened, Menches the village scribe was in the capital of the nome to hand in some administrative documents, probably to his superior Horos. They were told about the strike and, back in Kerkeosiris, Menches confirmed the facts in an official report to the same Horos.

- 11 Ὡρωι χαίρειν. Ὅντι μοι ἐν
 {ἐν} Πτολεμαίδει Εὐ{γ}εργέτιδι πρὸς
 πῆι ἐπιδόσει τῶν ἐπαιτου-
 μένων λόγων, προσέπεσεν [[μοι] ἡμῖν/
 15 [[π]ερὶ τοῦ] ἄπε[ρ]ι τοῦ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς κόμης
 [β]ασιλικοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐγκαταλεί-
 [πο]ντας τὴν ἐπικειμένην
 ἀσχολίαν ἀνακ[ε]χωρηκέναι
 ἐπὶ τὸ [ἐν Ν]αρμοῦθι ἱερὸν
 20 τῇ ιθ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου
 μηνός. Καλῶς ἔχει[ν]
 ὑπέλαβον [[δι] προσανεν[έγκαι]
 [[ιν] ὅπως εἰδῆς.
 ————— Ἑρρωσο. L δ, Φάωφι κ.

The text was reprinted by U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 330.

The draft (*P. Tebt.* 1 26) printed above, was found in Menches' archive, for which see no. 8, together with a fair copy (*P. Tebt.* 4 1099), both written in Menches' hand.

11. The fair copy has the complete opening Μ[εγχῆ]ς κωμ{μ}ογραμματεὺς Κερκεοσί-
 ρεως τῆς Πολέμωνος μ[ε]ρίδος Ὡρωι χα[ι]ρ[ειν].
 — Horos is a βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς.
12. Read Πτολεμαίδι.
13. πῆι is a scribal error; read τῇι.

- **ἐπαιτεῖν**, "to demand" the delivery of Menches' accounts (λόγοι).
- 14. **προσπίπτειν**, "to come to one's ears", "to be told".
- Menches changed μοι into ἡμῖν and he also wrote ἡμῖν in his fair copy. Corrections in a text are of interest because they show us the scribe at work; they may give us a better understanding of the meaning of a text (see for instance no. 8, 219 note).
- 15. τοῦ: to be connected with ἀνακεχωρηκέναι in line 18.
- 16-18. **ἐγκαταλείποντας** (to leave) - - - **ἀσχολίαν** (occupation): omitted in the fair copy.
- 20-21. The date is not given in the fair copy.
- 21. **καλῶς ἔχει**, "it is appropriate".
- 22. **ὑπολαμβάνειν**, "to suppose", "to assume".
- 22-23. Menches was going to write διασαφήσαι 'ἵν' εἰδῆς (as he actually did in *P. Tebt.* 1 15, 17 for instance), but he changed his mind preferring προσαναφέρειν "to report" to διασαφεῖν "to make quite clear", "to send clear information".

On the same papyrus Menches wrote a προσάγγελμα τῆς βεβρεγμένης καὶ ἐσπαρμένης) ἕως Φαῶφι κ "report of the irrigated and sown (land) up to 20 Phaophi". He states that at that date the sowing had just begun; 44 arouras were completed but no less than 1018 1/4 arouras still had to be sown (*P. Tebt.* 1 71). The dispute with the royal farmers was obviously settled quickly, for they eventually did cultivate the land and pay the rents (*P. Tebt.* 4, p. 28).

A similar case is to be found in the Zenon archive (cf. p. 78). In a letter to Zenon the dyke-wardens (χωματοφύλακες) threaten to run away (ἀποδραμούμεθα) on the very moment that the canal is "full" (διῶρυξ πλήρης), *P.S.I.* 4 421.

10

LOAN OF WINE

Krokodilonpolis

P. Grenf. 2 24

105 B.C.

The document is a notarial deed of loan drawn up by Paniskos, notary at Krokodilonpolis in the southern part of the Pathyrite nome. The agreement is made between two inhabitants of Pathyris, a town nearby. The borrower having received a quantity of wine on the first of February, engages himself to return 6 jars of new wine after the wine-harvest in August/September. Moreover, since new wine has to be laid up for fermentation for three months, the borrower guarantees the quality of the wine as of 16 December.

Ἔτους ιβ τοῦ καὶ ἐνάτου Τῦβι ιζ
ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει ἐπὶ Πανίσκου
ἀγορανόμου τῆς ἄνω τοπ(αρχίας) τοῦ Παθυρίτου.

Ἐδάνεισεν Πετειαρσεμθεὺς

5 Πανεβχούνιος τῶν ἐκ Παθύρεως

Ψεμμενχῆι Νεχούθου τοῦ

Πβούκιος Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς

τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Παθύρεως

οἴνου κεράμια ἕξ ἄτοκα. Τὸ δὲ

10 δάνειον τοῦτο ἀποδότω Ψεμμεν-

χῆς Πετειαρσεμθεὶ ἕμ μηνὶ

Μεσορῇ τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) (ἔτους) ἡπαρὰ λη(νὸν) οἴνου

γλεύκου,

μέτρῳι τετραχόωι, καὶ παρε-

χέσθω <τὸν οἶνον> μόνιμον καὶ ἀρεστὸν

15 ἕως Ἀθὺρ λ τοῦ ιγ τοῦ καὶ δεκάτου L .

Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ ἢ μὴ ποιῇ

ἐν τῷ ὠρισμένῳ χρόνῳ καθότι

προγέγραπται, ἀποτεισάτω ἐν τῷ

ἐχομένῳ μηνὶ παραχρῆμα,

20 ἀντὶ τῶν προκειμένων

τοῦ οἴνου κε(ραμίων) ζ, οἴνου κεράμια

ἔννεα. Ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω
 Πετειαρσεμθεῖ ἐκ τοῦ δεδανεισ-
 μένου Ψεμμενχέους καὶ ἐκ τῶν
 25 τούτῳ ὑπαρχόντων πάντων,
 πράσσοντι καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.
 — Πάνισκος κεχρη(μάτικα).

Verso

[2nd hand] Ἐδᾶ(νεισεν) Πετειαρσ(εμθεὺς)
 Ψενμενχῆι οἴνου
 30 κερᾶμια ζ.

3. τοπ  12. προκ  and λη  21. κε 

The text is reproduced in F.G. Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, pl. III and in E.M. Thompson et al., *The New Palaeographical Society*, part 1 (of the first series), pl. 1, b. The lines on the verso were published by G. Messeri, *Lista degli agoranomi di età tolemaica* (in *Papyrologica Florentina* VII, 1980), p. 223 note 69.

This document and the next one (see also p. 55-57) belong to a group of more than 600 Greek and demotic papyri, ostraca and wooden labels which were found in Pathyris. They cover a period of about 60 years (c. 150-88 B.C.) when the town had some military importance. Most of the inhabitants were Egyptians.

Peteharsemtheus (see line 4 and the next text, line 7) and his family are mentioned in a great number of texts (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 14, p. 47-105). He must have been a rather wealthy man, who paid heavy taxes and was continuously busy with buying and selling land, with contracting loans, as creditor and as debtor, etc.

1. Year 12 of the reign of Cleopatra III is at the same time year 9 of the reign of her son Ptolemy X Alexander. The date is 1 February 105 B.C.
2. **Κροκοδίλων πόλις** is not the town of that name in the Arsinoïte nome; this one lies about 30 km south of Thebes, near Pathyris (see line 5).
- Paniskos: thirteen contracts are known which were drawn up by him between 108 and 98 B.C. He succeeded Sosos after having been first his clerk and then his associate. Cf. *P. Lugd. Bat.* 23, p. 12-13 and 16-17.
3. **ἀγορανόμος**: a public notary (originally a "clerk of the market" who regulated buying and selling).
5. **τῶν ἐκ**, "one of those from".
6. Psenmenches: two years later he is probably on active service and campaigning with fellow townsmen in Syria; see E. Van 't Dack et al., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C.* (1989) p. 55 (9-10).

7. **Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς**, lit. "Persian belonging to the ἐπιγονή (offspring of soldiers)"; fem. Περσίνη.

In the second century B.C. the terms Πέρσης and Περσίνη do not denote "Persians" but "hellenizing Egyptians"; the words τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (never used with regard to women) indicate persons of military descent who are not — or not yet, see the foregoing note — soldiers themselves.

In the course of the first century B.C. the designations Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς and Περσίνη lose their ethnic and military connotations and become synonymous with "debtor"; see in no. 19 the difference between Petesouchos as seller (line 1) and as borrower (line 11).

See for the changing meanings of these designations, *P. Lugd. Bat.* 22, p. 56-63; cf. *P. Lond.* 7, p. 42.7 ("hellenizing Egyptians") and no. 13, 4 note (less privileged position of debtors styled Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς). A different view is given by J.F. Oates, *The Status Designation Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* in *Yale Classical Studies* 18 (1963) 1-129, and by C. Vandersleyen, *Suggestions sur l'origine des Πέρσαι, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, in *Proceedings of the XVIII Intern. Congr. of Papyrology* (Athens, 1986), II p. 191-201.

9. **κεράμιον**: a jar of unknown capacity.
- **ἄτοκος**, "with no interest (to be added)"; the demotic parallels say, "the interest being included". For interest with loans in kind, see no. 72.
11. Paniskos writes ἐμ instead of ἐν; cf. Ψεμ-μενχῆς, instead of Ψεν- (as in line 29).
12. **ληνός**, "crushing-vat"; wine-vat in which grapes are crushed; M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1925) 281 ff. The grape bunches were crushed by foot, as was done in Pharaonic times; representations in tombs show that there was usually a framework over the vat, with ropes hanging down so that the men who were stamping could keep their balance in the slippery vat, while trying simultaneously to keep time to the rhythm of clapping singers or musicians. Grapes are pressed in August / September (Mesore); in a letter from the Zenon archive (cf. no. 4), someone asks Zenon on 24 September for a *keramion* of new wine εἴ ἔστιν ἤδη χρηστόν, "if it is already fit for use" (*P. Cairo Zen.* 3 59349, 7).
- **οἴνου γλεύκους** (read οἶνον in apposition with δάνειον), "new wine", "must": grape-juice before fermentation is complete.
14. **μόνιμος**: the wine is "laid up" in a storehouse for fermentation until 30 Hathyr (16 December 105 B.C.). [This interpretation of μόνιμος is not the current one — "wine which will keep until 30 Hathyr" — but it follows from demotic parallels, "wine which is placed in a storehouse until 30 Hathyr"].
- **ἀρεστός**: according to demotic parallels any "bad wine" has to be replaced by "good wine".
17. **ὀρίζειν**, "to determine", "to lay down".
26. In this period the end of an official text (like this one and the notarial deed no. 11) is marked with a short pen stroke below the beginning of the last line. This stroke is repeated when something is added to the text (see e.g. *U.P.Z.* 2 170 B).
- Read ἐκ.
27. **χρηματίζειν**, "to deal with (a contract)", i.e. either "to draw up" or "to register".

SALE OF A HOUSE

Pathyris

P. Köln 1 51

99 B.C.

Peteharsemtheus, the same person as in no. 10, buys a house two storeys high in the centre of Pathyris. The contract was probably intentionally left incomplete.

Βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ Βερενίκης τῆς ἀδελφῆς θεῶν Φ[ιλομητόρων]
ἔτους ις' ἐφ' ἱερέων καὶ ἱερειῶν καὶ κανηφόρου τῶν ὄντων
καὶ οὐσῶν, μηνὸς Ἀθὺρ ε, ἐν Παθύρει ἐφ' Ἑρμ[ίου τοῦ
παρὰ]

Πανίσκου ἀγορανόμου. Ἀπέδοτο Πελαίας Ψενθώτου Πέρσης
τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν μέσος μελίχρ[ως τετανὸς]
μακροπρόσω(πος) εὐθύριν, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ οἰκίαν ὥκο-
δομημένην καὶ ἐστεγασμένην, δίστε[γον καὶ τε]-

- 5 θυρωμένην, καὶ τῆς προσούσης αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν εἰσόδου καὶ
ἐξόδου τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ μέσῃ μερίδι Παθύρεω[ς],
ἧς γείτονες· νότου καὶ ἀπηλιώ(του) οἰκία Ἐριέως τοῦ Πατοῦ-
τος, βορρᾶ οἰκία Ἰμούθου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, λιβὸς οἰκία
Σιεπμοῦτος
καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἣ οἱ ἂν ὦσι γείτονες πάντοθεν. Ἐπρίατο
Πετεαρσεμθεὺς Πανοβχούνιος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ. Προπωλητῆς
καὶ βεβαιωτῆς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὥνῃν ταύτην πάντων Πελαίας ὁ
ἀποδόμενος, ὃν ἐδέξατο Πε[τε]αρσεμθεὺς
ὁ πριάμενος.

- 10 ——— Ἑρμίας ὁ παρ(ὰ) Πανίσκου κεχρη(μάτικα).

Verso

Ὦνῃ Πετεαρσε[μθέως]
πρὸς Πελαίαν Ψεν[θώτου].

A plate is to be found in the *editio princeps*, *P. Köln* 1, pl. II.

More than 50 agoranomic contracts of sale are at present known from Pathyris and Krokodilonpolis, all of them drawn up in a short period of some few decades. An agoranomic deed of sale, when complete, contains apart from the principal text a short abstract which was sealed (called the *scriptura interior*) and a statement proving payment of the sales tax. In this case both the abstract and the statement are missing; this shows that the sale was not completed as yet. For similar cases, see P.W. Pestman, *Ventes provisoires de biens pour sûreté de dettes* (ὥναί ἐν πίστει), *P. Lugd. Bat.* 23, p. 45-59.

1-2. Year 16 of the reign of the "motherloving gods", Ptolemy X Alexander and his wife (and niece) Kleopatra Berenike III. The date is 20 November 99 B.C.

2. **ιερέων καὶ ιερείων**: "priests and priestesses (of Alexander the Great and the deified Ptolemies)"; they officiate for a one-year term. Originally years were named after the officiating priests (as the Romans did with consuls), but in the time of the present text such names are no longer mentioned. W. Clarysse et al., *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 24).

— **κανηφόρος**: title of the priestess of Arsinoe, the deified spouse of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.

2-3. Hermias acts in Pathyris in the name of Paniskos who is notary at Krokodilonpolis (see no. 10, 2-3 with notes). About 45 contracts are known at present which were drawn up by Hermias between 109 and 98 B.C.; they all contain grammatical blunders, particularly when they do not concern routine matters. He belongs to an indigenous Egyptian family which produced a great number of ἀγορανόμοι.

3-4. A complete personal description describes someone's age, height, skin colour, hair (τετανός, "with straight hair"), face, nose and special features (such as οὐλαί, "scars"). J. Hasebroek, *Das Signalement in den Papyrusurkunden* (1921); G. Hübsch, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (1968).

4. **ῥκοδομημένην καὶ ἐστεγασμένην**, "built (i.e. the walls are standing, not in ruins) and roofed".

— **δίστεγος**, "of two storeys".

— **θυροῦν**, "to furnish with doors".

5. Read τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐλήν and τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ ἔξοδον and τὴν οὖσαν.

6. **γείτονες**, "neighbours", "bordering (houses)".

7. Read ἡ εἴσοδος.

— **ἢ οἱ ἄν ὅσι γείτονες**, "or whosoever be the neighbours".

— **ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ.**, "about 30 years old": actually Peteharsemtheus is now approximately 40 years old, for he was born around 139 B.C.; indications of ages in Ptolemaic contracts are often imprecise; cf. Hübsch, *loc. cit.*, p. 22 and P.W. Pestman, *Scritti Montecchi* (1981) 312-313.

7-8. **προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτής**, "previous seller and warrantor": a βεβαιωτής is anyone who guarantees the sale, whereas the "previous seller", προπωλητής, guarantees that the present vendor actually was the owner of the thing sold.

In this text Pelaias presents himself not only as vendor but also as προπωλητής and as βεβαιωτής: the buyer accepts this. E. Seidl, *Ptol. Rechtsgeschichte*², p. 126 and 162; F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, p. 439 ff.

12. **πρός**, "with".

DISPUTE ABOUT A MUMMY

Hawara

S.B. 1 5216

1st cent. B.C.

Athenagoras sends Nikias and Krokos from Alexandria to the Labyrinth near Hawara with a letter asking the local undertakers to release a corpse which they wrongfully buried in their necropolis and to convey it to Ptolemais, at the entrance to the Arsinoïte nome.

- Ἀθηναγόρας ὁ ἀρχιατρὸς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῶν
 ἐν τῷ[ι] Λαβυρίνθῳ στολιστῶν καὶ τοῖς
 στολ[ισ]ταῖς χαίρειν. Ἐπεὶ Ἡρακλείδης
 ὁ πα[ρ] ἑμοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων τετελεύτηκ(εν)
 5 καὶ ἔ[σ]τιν ἐν ταῖς παρ' ὑμῖν νεκρίαις,
 τού[τ]ου δὲ χάριν πέπομφα Νικίαν καὶ Κρόκ(ον),
 καλῶς ποιήσετε προέμενοι τὸ σω-
 μάτι[ο]ν μηθὲν πράξαντες καὶ συν-
 καταστήσατε αὐτοῖς ἕως Πτολεμαίδος·
 10 γέγρα[φ]αν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας
 στολι[σ]ταὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ. Ἐπιμέλεσθε δὲ
 ἑαυ[τῶ]ν, ἵν' ὑγιαίνητε.

[2nd hand]

Ἑρρωσ(θε). L ιδ, Ἀθὺρ κῆ.

Verso

- Τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῶν στολιστῶν
 15 καὶ τοῖς στολιστα[ῖς].

The text was published by G. Lefebvre, *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 14 (1912) 194-196, with pl. X and reprinted by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1, no. 104.

2. **Λαβύρινθος**; the mortuary temple of the pyramid of Pharaoh Amenemhet III (c. 1800 B.C.) at Hawara; this papyrus was found nearby. The temple was so extensive and complex that it was called the "labyrinth" by the Greeks; it attracted many

- sightseers, such as the Roman senator Lucius Memmius who visited the Arsinoïte nome in 112 B.C. (*P. Tebt.* 1 33).
- **στολιστής**: this title designates either an Egyptian priest whose task it is to dress statues of gods in a temple (cf. p. 56, line 2), or a "mummy-dresser", i.e. a person who wraps up embalmed corpses. Here both kinds of *stolistai* are meant.
 - 4. **ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ**, "one of my people": Herakleides consequently came from Alexandria too. This fact is important because no undertaker is entitled to bury someone from outside his district, unless he is explicitly authorized to do so.
 - **ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων**: in your district.
 - 5. **Ἑμεῖν** (also in line 10).
 - **νεκρία**, "cemetery".
 - 6. **καὶ Κρόκ(ον)**: these words are a later addition.
 - 7. **προίεσθαι**, "to give up", "to let go".
 - 8. **πράσσειν**, "to make someone pay". The fact that the embalmers were to release the corpse without receiving compensation shows that they were in the wrong.
 - **συγκαθιστάναι**: to help someone to bring something (to a place).
 - 10. **γέγραφαν** (i.e. γεγράφασι): the ending -αν for -ασι occurs from the 2nd cent. B.C. onwards.
 - 13. **Λ ιδ**: year 68 or, more probably, 101 B.C.
 - 14. The words ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ (line 2) are not mentioned in the address. Thus the letter was not dispatched to the Labyrinth but delivered by Nikias and Krokos themselves.

A partnership of a physician and an undertaker

A Hellenistic epigram

Ἰητρὸς Κρατέας καὶ Δάμων ἐνταφιαστής
 κοινὴν ἀλλήλοις θέντο συνωμοσίην.
 Καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν οὖς κλέπτεσκεν ἀπ' ἐνταφίων τελαμῶνας,
 εἰς ἐπιδεσμεύειν πέμπε φίλῳ Κρατέᾳ·
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος Κρατέας εἰς ἐνταφιάζειν
 πέμπεν ὅλους αὐτῷ τοὺς θεραπευομένους.

(H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca* XI, no. 125)

"Krateas, the physician (ἱατρός), and Damon, the undertaker, made a conspiracy in each other's interest. The latter sent the bandages he took away from the dead, to his friend Krateas, for binding up his patients; and Krateas, in return, sent every patient to him for burial."

13

ENGAGEMENT OF A WET-NURSE

Alexandria
(found in Bousiris)

B.G.U. 4 1107

13 B.C.

Isidora and the wet-nurse Didyme acknowledge having made an agreement about the nursing of a foundling. Isidora, having taken pity on an exposed baby entrusts it to Didyme for a term of 16 months. Didyme will receive each month 10 drachmas and about 1/2 litre of oil; she is obliged to take care of the child and its clothes etc.; in case of non-compliance she must indemnify Isidora.

The two women addressed their acknowledgement to Protarchos (line 2) asking him (line 29) to have it registered. See no. 14 for a similar text. Lines 30-36 were crossed out so as to invalidate the contract (see the text reproduced on p. 147).

Κολ()

Πρωτάρχ[ω]ι

παρὰ Ἰσιδώρας τῆς Κομ[....] μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
ἀ[δελφοῦ] Εὐτυχίδου]

[τοῦ] Κομ[....] καὶ παρ[ὰ] Διδ[ύ]μης [τῆς] Ἀπολλ[ωνίου]
Περ[σείνης] [μετὰ κυρίου]

5 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος τοῦ Ἀπολλων[ίου]. Περὶ τῶν
διεσταμένων συγχωρεῖ ἡ]

[Διδύ]μη τροφεύσειν καὶ θηλάσειν ἕξω [παρ] ἑα[υτῇ] κατὰ
πόλιν τῷ ιδίῳ]

αὐτῆς γάλακτι καθαρῷ καὶ ἀφθόρῳ ἐπὶ χρ[όνον] μῆ[νας]
[δεκαεξ] ἀπὸ Φαρ-

μουθι τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἑπτακαιδεκάτου ἔ. [Καίσαρος] ὃ
ἐγδ[έδοται] αὐτῇ ἡ Ἰσιδώρα]

δουλικὸν αὐτῆς παιδίον [ἀ]ναίρε[τον] ὑποτ[ίθιον] --- ὦ
ὄνομα ---]

10 λαμβάνουσα παρ' αὐτῆς Ἰσιδώρας μισθ[ὸν] τοῦ τε γάλακτος
καὶ τῆς τροφείας κατὰ]

- μήνα ἕκαστον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα καὶ ἐλαίου κοτύλας
 δ[ύ]ο· οἷς [εὐτα]–
 κτουμένην αὐτὴν ποιεῖσθαι τήν τε ἑατῆς καὶ τοῦ παιδίου
 ἐπιμέλῃαν
 μὴ φθείρουνσαν τὸ γάλα μηδ' ἀνδροκοιτοῦσαν μηδ'
 ἐπικυοῦσαν [μηδ' ἕτερον]
 παραθηλάζουσαν παιδίον· ἃ τε ἐὰν λάβῃ ἢ πιστευθῇ τῶν
 τούτου, ταῦτα ᾠδᾶ' συν–
 15 τηρήσειν καὶ ἀποδώσειν ὅταν ἀπαιτῇται ἢ ἐκτείσειν τὴν
 [ἐκάστου ἀξίαν πλὴν]
 συνφανοῦς ἀπωλείας, ἥς καὶ φανεράς γεννηθίσης
 [ἀπο]λελύσ[θω· αὐτόθεν]
 δ' ἀπέσχηκεν ἡ Διδύμη παρὰ τῆς Ἰσιδώρας διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ
 οἴκου ἔλαιον τῶν πρώτων
 μηνῶν τριῶν τοῦ τε Φαρμοῦθι καὶ Παχῶν ἠὲ Παῦνι· καὶ
 μὴ ἐγλείπειν τὴν τροφείαν ἐντὸς]
 τοῦ χρόνου· ἐὰν δέ τι παραβαίνει ἐκτίνιν αὐτὴν ἃ τε
 [εἴληφεν τροφεῖα καὶ]
 20 ἃ ἐὰν προσλάβῃ σὺν ἡμιολίαι καὶ τὰ βλάβῃ καὶ
 δα[παν]ήματα, [ἐκτί]σειν δ' ἔτι [†]
 πεντακοσίας καὶ τὸ ὠρισμένον [πρόστιμον, τῆς πράξεως
 γινομένης τῇ Ἰσιδώρᾳ]
 ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Διδύμης καὶ [ἐκ τῶν] ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῆς
 πάν(των) καθ[ά]περ ἐγ δίκ[ης],
 ἀκύρων οὐσῶν καὶ ὧν ἐὰν ἐπενένκη πίστεων πασῶν,
 σκέπης [πάσης].
 Ἔκαστα δὲ αὐτῆς ἐπιτελούσης καὶ τὴν Ἰσιδώραν
 [χο]ρηγήσειν αὐτῇ
 25 τὰ κατὰ μήνα τροφεῖα ὡς πρόκειται ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 [μήνας]

δεκατρεῖς καὶ μὴ ἀποσπάσειν τὸ παιδίον ἐντὸς τοῦ
 χρόνου [ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν]
 ἐκτίνιν τὸ ἴσον ἐπίτιμον. Παραβαλεῖ δὲ ἡ Διδύμη πρὸς
 [τὴν Ἰσιδώραν]
 κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον αἰὲ διὰ ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἄγουσα [καὶ
 τὸ παιδίον πρὸς τὸ]
 ἐπιθεωρεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Ἀξιού(μεν).

[2nd hand]

30 Ἰσιδώρα συνχωρῶ κατὰ τὰ προγε[γραμμένα].
 Εὐτυχίδης ἐπιγέγραμμαι κύριος τῆς ἀδελφ[ῆς] <καὶ
 γέγραφα>
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γρά(μματα) μὴ ἰδυίας.

[3rd hand]

Διδύμη συνχωρῶ κατὰ τὰ πρ[ογεγραμμένα].
 Ἰσχυρίων ἐπιγέγραμμαι [τῆς ἀδελφ]–
 35 ἥς μου κύριος καὶ γέγρα[φα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ]–
 ς γράμ<μ>ατα μὴ εἰδυίας.

[1st hand]

Ἰσιδώ(ρας). L ιζ
 Καῖσαρος

The text is reprinted as *C.P.Gr.* 1 (1984) no. 6, with plate on tav. VI (this volume collects all papyri dealing with wet-nurses); see also A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1, no. 16.

The document belongs to Protarchos' archive which contained texts written during the reign of Augustus (called Καῖσαρ in Greek papyri) between the years 25-24 and 5-4 B.C. These papyri were re-used for making cardboard (papyrus cartonnage) which was discovered in Bousiris, near the entrance of the Fayum. The dossier of Protarchos constitutes a precious source of information about Alexandria, since practically no papyri survived in Alexandria itself.

1. **κολ()**: this document, or a second copy, was to be glued together with others to form a composite roll for the archives of the registration office (see no. 49); read either **κόλ(λημα)**, "sheet (no. such-and-such)" or **κολ(λάσθω)**, "it must be pasted to".
2. The document is addressed to the president of a tribunal in Alexandria, Protarchos.
4. **Περσίνη**: a debtor (see no. 10, 7 note) having no right to use any **πίστις** "safeguard" or **σκέπη** "protection" (line 23).
5. **τὰ διεσταμένα**, "the things agreed on".
- **συγχωρεῖν**, "to acknowledge" (originally probably "to make a compromise", "to come to terms" before the tribunal).
6. **θηλάζειν**, "to suckle" (sc. **παιδίον**, l. 9).
- **ἔξω**: not in Isidora's house.
- **παρ' ἑατῇ** (read **ἐαυτῇ**), "at her own home".
7. **ἄφθορος**, "untainted", "not infected".
8. **ἐκδιδόναι**, "to hand over".
9. **δουλικὸν παιδίον**, "slave child".
- **ἀναίρετος**, "taken up", "foundling"; see no. 17, 6-7.
- **ὑποτίθιον**, "at the breast", "nursling".
10. **ἡ τροφεία**, "service as a wet-nurse" (also in l. 18); **τὰ τροφεῖα**, "wages of a wet-nurse" (lines 19 and 25).
- **κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον**, "every single month".
11. **ἔλαιον**, "olive-oil", used for anointing the baby and the wet-nurse.
- **κοτύλη**: measure for liquids, containing about 1/4 litre.
- 11-12. **οἷς εὐτακτουμένην αὐτήν**, "when she is regularly paid with this".
12. Read **ἐαυτῆς** and **ἐπιμέλειαν** ("care").
13. **ἀνδροκοιτεῖν**, "to sleep with a man".
- **ἐπικυεῖν**, "to become pregnant again".
14. **παρὰθηλάζειν**, "to suckle another child as well".
- Read **ἄν** (also in lines 20 and 23).
- **τῶν τούτου**, "of his (i.e. the child's) things".
15. Read **ἐκτίσειν**.
- **ἀξία**, "money-value".
16. **συμφανῆς ἀπάλεια**, "evident wear and tear".
- **φανερᾶς γενηθείσης**, "if it is made clear (or demonstrated) ..."
17. The scribe has forgotten to mention that money had been paid too: 30 drachmas for 3 months.
18. **ἐκλείπειν**, "to abandon".
19. Read **ἐκτίνειν** (also in l. 27).
20. **προσλαμβάνειν**, "to receive besides".
22. Read **ἐκ δίκης**.
28. **διά**, "during".
29. **ἐπιθεωρεῖν**, "to examine carefully", "to inspect".
- **ἀξιού(μεν)**, "we beg (to register the document)".
31. **ἐπιγράφειν**: to enter one's name in a register; **ἐπιγέγραμμαι κύριος τῆς ἀδελφῆς**, "my name is entered in the register as my sister's guardian" (also in l. 34).
32. Read **εἰδυίας**.

MARRIAGE CONTRACT

Alexandria
(found in Bousiris)

B.G.U. 4 1050

12-11 B.C.

Isidora and Dionysios acknowledge that they have contracted a marriage; for the terminology compare no. 1. The value of the dowry which Dionysios received is indicated. Should one of the parties misbehave him- or herself, a fine is to be paid, the husband paying half as much as the wife. They engage themselves to have a second document drawn up later, which is apparently their last will and testament.

The spouses addressed their acknowledgement to Protarchos (line 1) asking him (line 30) to have it registered. See no. 13 for a similar text.

Πρωτάρχῳ

παρὰ Ἰσιδώρας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου μετὰ
{μετὰ} κυρίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Βακχίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου
τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου Ἀλθαιέως καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ

5 Διονυσίου Ἰσιδείου. Συγχωροῦσιν Ἰσιδώρα καὶ
Διονύσιος συνελθυθέναι ἀλλήλοις πρὸς γάμο(ν)·
Διονύσιος δὲ καὶ εἰληφέναι παρὰ τῆς Ἰσιδώρας
διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου φερνὴν ἱμάτια γυναικεῖα ἐν ἀργυ-
(ρίου)

δραχμαῖς ἑκατόν, ἐνωτίων χρυ[σ]ῶν ζεύγος (τεταρτῶν)

10 δύο καὶ ἀργυρίου Πτολεμαϊκοῦ ἐπισήμου
δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα, <ἐφ' ᾧ> τὸν Διονύσιον ἀπεσχη-
κότα τὴν προκειμένην φερνὴν τρέφειν καὶ
ἱματίζειν τὴν Ἰσιδώραν ὡς γυναῖκα γα[μετὴν]
κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ μὴ κακουχεῖν αὐτὴν μηδ' ὑ-

15 βρίζειν μηδ' ἐγβάλλειν μηδ' ἄλλην γυναῖκα
ἐπεισάγειν ἢ ἐκτίνειν τὴν φερνὴν σὺν ἡμιο-
λῖα, τῆς πράξεως γινομένης ἐκ τε αὐτοῦ
Διονυσίου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων
καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης· καὶ τὴν δὲ Ἰσιδώραν μήτε ἀπό-

- 20 κοιτον μήτε ἀφήμερον γείνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς
 Διονυσίου οἰκίας ἄνευ τῆς Διονυσί[ου] γνώμης
 μηδὲ φθείρειν τὸν οἶκον μηδ' ἄλλω ἀνδρὶ
 συνεῖναι ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν τούτων τι διαπραξαμέ-
 νην κριθεῖσαν στέρεσθαι τῆς φερνῆς· θ<ήσ>εσθαι [δ]᾽
- 25 αὐτούς καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἱεροθυτῶν περὶ γάμου
 συγγραφὴν ἐν ἡμέραις χρηματιζούσαις πέντε
 ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ἀλλήλοις προείπωσιν, καθ' ἣν ἐνγραφῆσε-
 ται ἢ τε φερνὴ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐν ἔθει ὄντα καὶ
 τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁποτέρου τῶν γαμούντων τελευ-
 30 τῆς ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ κοινῶς κριθῇ. Ἀξ(ιοῦμεν).

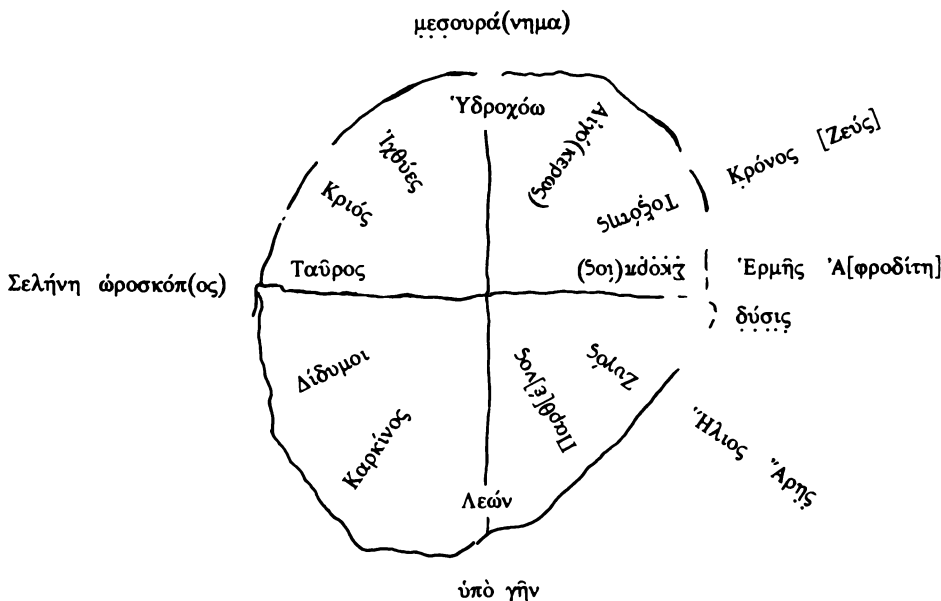
The text is reprinted as P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 19 (the best edition) and as L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 286; a plate is to be found in *New. Pal. Soc.* (1st ser.), Part 8, pl. 176 b.

1. The document is addressed to Protarchos, the president of a tribunal in Alexandria; see also no. 13, 2.
2. ὁ καί, "who (is) also (called)"; also in line 4.
- 4-5. Ἀλθαιεύς and Ἰσιδεῖος are demotics; they denote Alexandrian citizens "registered in the *deme* of Althaea" or "registered in the *deme* of Isis". The city area of Alexandria was divided in a great number of such *demes* which were called after Olympian deities or after persons in the family circle of Dionysos (*Althaea* being one of his wives), Egyptian deities (like *Isis*), a.s.o.
5. συγχωρεῖν, "to acknowledge" (originally probably "to make a compromise", "to come to terms" before the tribunal).
6. συνέρχεσθαι πρὸς γάμον, "to come together in marriage", "to marry".
7. λαμβάνειν παρὰ, "to receive from".
8. διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, "from hand to hand out of her house": by direct payment, cash (not by banker's order).
- ἐν, "at the value of", "worth".
9. ἐνώτιον, "ear-ring".
- ζεύγος, "pair", "couple".
- τετάρτη: the weight of the golden earrings is calculated in quarters (1.82 grammes) of the gold δίδραχμον.
10. ἀργύριον Πτολεμαϊκόν: silver money bearing an effigy of the head of Ptolemy I; see plate p. 48.
- ἐπίσημος, "having a mark on it", i.e. "coined".
11. ἐφ' ᾧ, "on condition that".
14. κατὰ δύναμιν, "according to (his) means".
15. Read ἐκβάλλειν (sc. ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας): to divorce her.
17. γινομένης: sc. τῇ Ἰσιδώρα.

19. καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, "as if in consequence of a lawsuit"; the document is an executorial one: execution can be effected as though sentence were passed (cf. no. 1, note 12). This clause applies to Isidora only; her husband always requires to obtain a legal sentence (see lines 23-24: κριθεῖσαν).
- ἀπόκοιτος, "sleeping away from (ἀπό)".
20. ἀπήμερος, "absent from (ἀπό) for a day".
- Read γίνεσθαι.
21. γνώμη, "assent", "approval".
- 23-24. κρίνεσθαι: to be declared guilty of having perpetrated (διαπράσσειν) something (cf. note 19).
24. τίθεσθαι - - - συγγραφὴν, "to draw up a contract".
25. ἱεροθύτης (literally "sacrificing priest"; also used as title of a magistrate): acts in Egypt as a kind of notary with regard to testamentary agreements and divorces (in the Greek towns Alexandria and Ptolemais only).
26. ἡμέρα χρηματίζουσα, "workday".
27. ἀφ' ἧς, "after the day on which ..."
- προλέγειν, "to announce".
28. τὰ ἐν ἔθει ὄντα, "the usual things".
30. καιρός, "(critical) time".
- κρίνεσθαι, "to be decided".
- ἀξ(ιωμέν), "we beg (to register this document)".
31. Traces of a date, which may be the date of the document: ιθ ἔτους - - -, i.e. 12/11 B.C.

→

Below the text of no. 15 the following diagram is drawn on the papyrus.



15

HOROSCOPE

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 2 235

c. A.D. 19

Horoscope made for one of Tryphon's children (see no. 17). The child was born in the evening of September 28, around 10 p.m. A unique feature of this horoscope is the diagram drawn on the papyrus; see opposite.

- Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμ[ενος] ...[....]γα...[.....]
 γένεσεις παρὰ σοῦ, Τρύφων ἀγαπητέ, ε[.....]
 πειράσομαι πρὸς τοὺς δοθέντας ἡ[μῖν ὑπὸ σοῦ]
 χρόνους. Τυν[χ]ά[ν]ουσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ [τὸ]
- 5 ἔτος Τιβερίου, μηνὶ Φαῶφι α̅ κατ[ὰ δὲ τοὺς]
 ἀρχαίους χρόνους Φαῶφι ια̅ εἰς [ιβ̅],
 ὥρα τετάρτη τῆς νυκτός. Τυνχάνει [Ἥλιος]
 ἐν Ζυγῷ, ζωδίῳ ἀρσενικῷ, οἶκῳ Ἀφ[ροδίτης].
 Σελήνη ἐν Ταύρῳ, ζωδίῳ θηλυκῷ, οἶκῳ [Ἀφροδί(της)].
- 10 Κρόνος Ζεὺς ἐν Τοξότη, [ζω]δίῳ ἀρσενικῷ, οἶκῳ
 Διός· Ἄρης ἐν Ζυγῷ, οἶκῳ Ἀφροδίτης· [Ἑρμῆς Ἀφρο]–
 δίτη ἐν Σκορπίῳ, ζωδίῳ ἀρσενικῷ, οἶκῳ Ἀρεως·
 ὠροσκοπεῖ Ταῦρος { ... } οἶκος Ἀφροδί(της)· μεσουρα(νεῖ)]
 Ὑδροχόω, ζώδιον ἀρσενικόν, οἰκητή[ριον Κρόνου].
- 15 δύνει Σκόρπιος, οἶκος Ἀρεως· ὑπὸ [γῆν Λέων],
 οἶκος Ἥλιου· οἰκοδεσποτεῖ Ἀφροδί(της).

The text was reprinted by O. Neugebauer and H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (1959) p. 18-19, no. 15/22, and by M.V. Biscottini, *L'archivio di Tryphon, tessitore di Oxyrhynchos*, *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) p. 78-79, no. 2. For Tryphon's archive, see no. 17.

2. Read γένεσις (your "descendant").
- Read ἀγαπητέ ("dear" Tryphon).
- *in fine*: perhaps ἐξηγεῖσθαι, "to explain".
3. πειρᾶσθαι, "to try".

- 4-5. **κατὰ [τὸ] ἔτος**: one of the years 2-9 of Tiberius' reign; ἔκτον fits best into the lacuna, i.e. 29 September, A.D. 19. The astronomical data in the text are unfortunately not correct enough to establish the precise year.
6. **ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι**: the old Egyptian year of 365 days with no leap year; cf. no. 52, 7 note.
8. **ζῳδιον**, "sign" of the Zodiac; six signs are "male" (ἀρσενικόν) and six are "female" (θηλυκόν).
 - **οἶκος** (var. οἰκητήριον in line 14), "house", domicile of a planet. Sun and moon have one "house", the planets two, i.e. a "day-house" and a "night-house".
13. **ᾠροσκοπεῖν**, "to rise": to mark by its rising the time of birth; ᾠροσκόπος, "the rising point", "the ascendant".
 - **μεσουρανεῖν**, "to be in midheaven"; μεσουράνημα = Zenith.
14. Read Ὑδροχόος (also in the diagram).
15. **δύνειν**, "to sink", "to set"; δύσις, "the setting point".
 - **ὑπὸ γῆν** = Nadir.
16. **οἰκοδεσποτεῖν**, "to be the house ruler", "to predominate"; the planet whose "house" was most often mentioned, was the "ruling" one.

16

LETTER OF EMPEROR CLAUDIUS
ABOUT THE JEWS IN ALEXANDRIA

Philadelphia

P. Lond. 6 1912

A.D. 41

In November A.D. 41, Claudius sends a letter to the inhabitants of the city of Alexandria. The prefect of Egypt has it publicly read first and then posts it up in the town (lines 1-13).

The letter deals with various subjects of interest. The part printed below (lines 73-104) concerns the feud between the Jews in Alexandria and other inhabitants of that town. The matter was brought before Claudius by an embassy from Alexandria (representing therefore, in theory, also the Alexandrian Jews) and things were discussed ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως, "in confrontation with", a separate embassy sent by the Alexandrian Jews. Claudius does not pronounce himself on what happened but wisely attempts to appease the parties for the future, saying that the Jews, not having Alexandrian citizenship, must not try to obtain any rights connected with this citizenship, and that the others have to respect the Jewish religion.

The letter probably was originally written in Latin and translated in Alexandria. A list of *epistulae* of Roman emperors is to be found in *Tyche* 2 (1987) 68-69.

Lines 85-109 (= col. 5 of the text) are reproduced in the *editio princeps*, pl. I. The papyrus belongs to an archive which must have been found in 1920/1921 in Philadelphia; this is the archive of Nemesion, tax-collector at that town and it covers the beginning of the first century A.D., from the reign of Tiberius to that of Nero. The letter of Claudius is written on the back of a tax-register, and by the same hand; for similar cases see p. 86. It is not known why the tax-collector of Philadelphia copied a letter addressed to the Alexandrians. A.E. Hanson, *Village Officials at Philadelphia*, in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci, *Egitto e Storia Antica* (1989) 429-440.

The text was reprinted by A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2 (1934) no. 212 and by V.A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* 2 (1960) [= *C.P.Jud.*] no. 153 (with an extensive commentary; see also vol. 1, p. 48 ff.). The 'Jewish question' in Alexandria has been frequently discussed (see *C.P.Jud.* and the literature quoted in *B. L. ad loc.*); most scholars regard Claudius' letter either as a "philo-Semitic" document or as an "anti-Semitic" one, but it seems more appropriate to take the letter as a wise attempt by the central government to compromise.

I

- Λούκιος Αἰμίλλιος Ῥήκτος λέγει·
 ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς ἱεροτάτης
 καὶ εὐεργετικωτάτης ἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐπιστολῆς πᾶσα ἡ πόλεις παρατυχεῖν
 5 οὐκ ἠδυνήθη{ν} διὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῆς,
 ἀνανκαῖον ἡγησάμην ἐκθεῖναι
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἵνα κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον
 ἀναγινώσκων αὐτὴν τὴν τε μεγαλιότητα
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Καίσαρος θαυμάσητε
 10 καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν [ὁμοίᾳ] εὐνοίᾳ
 χάριν ἔχητε. L β Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
 μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστο(ῦ) ἰδ̄.

1. L. Aemilius Rectus, prefect of Egypt in A.D. 41-42.
2. **ἀνάγνωσις**, "public reading".
 — Read ἱεροτάτης ("most sacred").
3. Read εἰς and πόλιν (and similarly πόλιν in line 4).
4. **παρατυγχάνειν** with dative, "to be present at".
6. Read ἀναγκαῖον.
 — **ἐκτιθέναι** = *proponere*, "to display publicly", "to post up".
7. **κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον**, "one by one", "individually".
8. Read ἀναγινώσκοντες (which is to be taken with θαυμάσητε, line 9) and μεγα-
 λειότητα ("the majesty").
9. **θεός**: like the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies (cf. no. 11, 1), Augustus and his
 successors are in Egypt regarded as gods (in their lifetime, cf. line 87 note), even
 though Claudius in this very same letter refuses to accept divine honours (lines
 48-51) saying "I deprecate, however, the appointment of a high-priest to me and
 the erection of temples", ἀρχιερέα δ' ἐμὸν καὶ ναῶν κατασκευὰς παρετοῦμε
 (read παραιτούμαι).
10. Read πόλιν.
 — **ὁμοίᾳ** ("the same") was cancelled.
11. **χάριν ἔχειν** with dative, "to feel gratitude for", "to be thankful for".

II

Τῆς δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ταραχῆς καὶ στάσεως — μᾶλλον δ' εἰ χρή τὸ ἀληθές
εἰπεῖν, τοῦ πολέμου — πότεροι μὲν αἴτιοι κατέστησαν, καί-
περ

- 75 ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως πολλὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβων
φιλοτειμηθέντων καὶ μάλιστα Διονυσίου τοῦ Θέων[ο]ς, ὅμως
οὐκ ἐβουλήθην ἀκριβῶς ἐξελένξαι, ταμιευόμενος ἑμαυτῷ
κατὰ τῶν πάλιν ἀρξαμένων ὀργὴν ἀμεταμέλτηον·
ἀπλῶς δὲ προσαγορεύωι ὅτι ἂν μὴ καταπαύσῃται τὴν ὀλέ-
80 θριον ὀργὴν ταύτην κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐθάδιον ἐγβιασθήσομαι
δεῖξαι ὅν ἐστιν ἡγεμὼν φιλόανθρωπος εἰς ὀργὴν δικαίαν
μεταβεβλη-
μένος. Διόπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμαρτύρομε εἶνα Ἀλεξανδρεῖς
μὲν
πραέως καὶ φιланθρώπως προσφέροντε Ἰουδαί<ο>ι τοῖς
τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων οἰκοῦσιν
85 καὶ μηδὲν τῶν πρὸς θρήσκείαν αὐτοῖς νενομισμένων
τοῦ θεοῦ λοιμένωννται, ἀλλὰ ἐώσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔθεσιν
χρῆσθαι ὅς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἅπερ καὶ ἐγὼ
διακούσας ἀμφοτέρων ἐβεβαίωσα· καὶ Ἰουδαίοις δὲ
ἀντικρὺς κελεύωι μηδὲν πλήωι ὧν πρότερον
90 ἔσχον περιεργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν δυσεὶ πόλεσιν κα-
τοικοῦντας δύο πρεσβείας ἐκπέμπειν τοῦ λοιποῦ,
ὧ μὴ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπράκθη, μηδὲ ἐπισπαίρειν

Read (76) φιλοτιμηθέντων; (77) ἐξελέγξαι; (78) πάλιν; (79) προσαγορεύω, κατα-
παύσητε; (81) δεῖξαι, οἶον, φιλόανθρωπος; (82) διαμαρτύρομαι, ἵνα; (83) φιλαν-
θρώπως, προσφέρωνται; (84) πόλιν, οἰκοῦσι; (86) λυμαίνωνται; (87) οἷς, ἐγώ; (88)
Ἰουδαίοις; (89) κελεύω, πλείω; (90) δυσί, πόλεσιν; (92) ὅ, ἐπράχθη, ἐπει-
παίειν.

- γυμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς ἀγῶσει,
καρπουμένους μὲν τὰ οἰκία, ἀπολάοντας δὲ
95 ἐν ἀλλοτριᾷ πόλει περιουσίας ἀπθόνων ἀγαθῶν,
μηδὲ ἐπάγεσθαι ἢ προσεῖεσθαι ἀπὸ Συρίας ἢ Αἰγύπτου
καταπλέοντας Ἰουδαίους, ἐξ οὗ μείζονας ὑπονοίας
ἀνανκασθήσομε λαμβάνειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντα
τρόπον αὐτοὺς ἐπεξελεύσομαι καθάπερ κοινήν
100 τείνα τῆς οἰκουμένης νόσον ἐξεγείροντας. Ἐὰν
τούτων ἀποστάντες ἀμφοτέροι μετὰ πραότητος
καὶ φιλανθρωπείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζῆν ἐθελήσητε,
καὶ ἐγὼ πρόνοιαν τῆς πόλεως ᾗ ποίησομαι τὴν ἀνατάτῳ
καθάπερ ἐκ προγόνων οἰκίας ὑμῖν ὑπαρχούσης.

Read (93) ἀγῶσι; (94) οἰκεῖα, ἀπολαύοντας; (95) ἀφθόνων; (96) προσεῖεσθαι; (98) ἀναγκασθήσομαι; (100) τίνα; (102) φιλανθρωπίας; (103) ἐγώ, ποιήσομαι; (104) οἰκίας.

75. **ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως**, "in confrontation with their opponents": both Greeks and Jews had put their arguments before Claudius.
— **ἡμετέρων** = ὑμετέρων; cf. line 104 (ὑμῖν = ἡμῖν) and no. 26, 19 note (ὑμῶν = ἡμῶν).
76. **Διονύσιος τοῦ Θεῶνος**: the protagonist of the Alexandrian case against the Jews; his full name is given in line 17 as Gaius Iulius Dionysius; see P.J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* (1976), p. 5.
78. **πάλιν ἀρξαμένων** refers to the past and not to the future (so *editio princeps*, p. viii): "against those who renewed the conflict"; Claudius diplomatically does not pronounce on the past.
80. **αὐθάδιον** = αὐθαδέϊαν, "stubbornness"; cf. *B. L.* 3, 99 (S.G. Kapsomenakis).
85. Attacks on the synagogues played a prominent part in the recent disturbances.
87. **θεός** = *divus*: a Roman emperor is called *divus* after his death. Very seldom an emperor is called θεός in his lifetime, see line 9; F. Dunand, *Culte royal et culte impérial en Égypte*, in *Das Römisch-Byzantin. Ägypten* (1983) 47-56 (edited by G. Grimm et al.).
89. Claudius probably refers here to the persistent efforts of the Jews to obtain Alexandrian citizenship.
91. **δύο πρεσβεῖαι**, "two embassies" belonging respectively to the Alexandrians and the Jews; Claudius wishes them to cooperate in the future. The editors of *C.P. Jud.* suppose however (vol. 2, p. 50-53) that this sentence was addressed to the Jews only and that there had been two Jewish embassies, thus behaving as if they were representing "two separate cities".

92. ἐπεισπαίρειν, "to harass", "to oppose"; see *BL* 8, 195 correcting ἐπισπαίρειν "to force their way into" (in e.g. *Select Papyri* 2, no. 212).
93. γυμnasiαρχικοῖς ἢ κοsmητικοῖς ἀγῶσι: games arranged by the civic magistrates called gymnasiarchs and *kosmetai*; since the Jews did not possess Alexandrian citizenship, they were not entitled to take part in such games.
96. Αἴγυπτος: Alexandria was not regarded as a part of Egypt.
97. καταπλεῖν, "to sail down" (*editio princeps*), "to come from" (*C.P.Jud.*, no. 153); the translation "to come down the river" (*Select Papyri* 2, no. 212) is not appropriate in the case of Syria.
100. νόσος (lit. "disease"), "disturbance", "revolution".
103. πρόνοιαν . . . τὴν ἀνατάτῳ (to be corrected into ἀνωτάτῳ), "the time-honoured solicitude".
104. ὑμῖν = ἡμῖν.

Lines 73-104 were translated in *Select Papyri* 2, no. 212, as follows:

"As for the question which party was responsible for the riots and feuds (or rather, if the truth must be told, the war) with the Jews, although ⁽⁷⁵⁾ in confrontation with their opponents your ambassadors, and particularly Dionysius son of Theon, contended with great zeal, nevertheless I was unwilling to make a strict inquiry, though guarding within me a store of immutable indignation against whichever party renews the conflict; and I tell you once for all that unless you put a stop ⁽⁸⁰⁾ to this ruinous and obstinate enmity against each other, I shall be driven to show what a benevolent prince can be when turned to righteous indignation."

"Wherefore once again I conjure you that on the one hand the Alexandrians show themselves forbearing and kindly towards the Jews who for many years have dwelt in the same city, ⁽⁸⁵⁾ and dishonour none of the rites observed by them in the worship of their god, but allow them to observe their customs as in the time of the deified Augustus, which customs I also, after hearing both sides, have sanctioned; and on the other hand I explicitly order the Jews not to agitate for more privileges than they formerly ⁽⁹⁰⁾ possessed, and not in future to send out a separate embassy as if they lived in a separate city, a thing unprecedented, and not to force their way into gymnasiarchic or cosmetic games, while enjoying their own privileges and sharing a great abundance of advantages ⁽⁹⁵⁾ in a city not their own, and not to bring in or admit Jews who come down the river from Syria or Egypt, a proceeding which will compel me to conceive serious suspicions; otherwise I will by all means take vengeance on them as fomenters of what is a general ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ plague infecting the whole world."

"If desisting from these courses you consent to live with mutual forbearance and kindness, I on my side will exercise a solicitude of very long standing for the city, as one which is bound to us by traditional friendship."

TRIAL CONCERNING EXCHANGED BABIES

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 1 37

A.D. 49

Dispute between Pesouris, a man who had taken in a foundling, and Saraeus [read: Sara-eus], the wet-nurse to whom the foundling was entrusted in A.D. 46/47. Saraeus had a child of her own, called Apion, who was probably born 3 January 46. Apparently one of these children died in the course of year 47/48 and the *strategos* has to decide which one survived. It appears from a later document in the same archive (P. Oxy. 1 38) that it was decided that the surviving child was Saraeus' son Apion.

Col. I Ἐξ ὑπομ[ν]ηματισμῶν Τι[βερίου]ν Κλαυδ[ίου]ν Πασίωνος
στρατη(γοῦ).

Λ ἐνάτ[ο]ν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ-
μανικοῦ

Αὐτοκ[ρά]τορος, Φαρμουθι γ, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος.

[Π]εσοῦρι[ς] πρὸς Σαραεῦν. Ἀριστοκλῆς ῥήτωρ

5 ὑπὲρ Πεσοῦριος· Πεσοῦρις, ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγωι, ζ Λ
Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου ἀνείλεν
ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀρρενικὸν σωματίον <ῥ> ὄνομα Ἡρα-
κ[λᾶς]. Τοῦτο ἐνεχείρισεν τῇ ἀντιδίκῳ· ἐγένε-
το ἐνθάδε ἡ τροφεῖτις εἰς υἱὸν τοῦ Πεσοῦριος.

10 Τοῦ πρώτου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀπέλαβεν τὰ τροφεῖα.
Ἐνέστη ἡ προθεσμία τοῦ δευτέρου ἐνιαυτοῦ,
κα[ὶ] πάλιν ἀπέλαβεν. Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆι λέγωι,
ἔστιν γράμματα αὐτῆς δι' ὧν ὁμολογεῖ εἶλη-
φέναι. Λειμανχομέν[ο]ν τοῦ σωματ[ίου] ἀπέ-

15 σπασεν ὁ Πεσοῦρις. Μετ[ὰ] ταῦτα καιρὸν εὐροῦσ[α]
εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου [ο]ϊκίαν
καὶ τὸ σωματίον ἀφήρπασεν, καὶ βούλεται ὄν[ό]-
ματι ἐλευθέρου τὸ σωματίον ἀπενέγκασ-
θαι. Ἐχω[ι] πρῶτον γράμμα τῆς τροφείδος,

Read (5) λέγω; (9) τροφεῖτις; (11) ἐνέστη; (12) ἀληθῆ, λέγω; (19) ἔχω, τροφείδος.

20 ἔχωι δεύτερο[ν] τῶν τροφείων τὴν [ἀ]ποχή[ν].
 Ἀξιῶι ταῦ[τα] φυλαχθῇ[ν]αι. Σα[ρα]εὺς·
 ἀπεγαλάκ[τισά] μου τὸ [π]αιδίον, κα[ὶ] τούτων
 σωματίον μοι ἐνεχειρίσθη. Ἐλαβ[ον] παρ' αὐ-
 τῶν τοῦ[ς] πάντας ὀκτώι στατήρας. Μετὰ
 25 ταῦτα [ἐτελεύ]τησεν τ[ὸ σ]ωμάτιο[ν . στα]-
 τήρων [μοι περ]ιόντων. Νῦν βούλογ[ται τὸ]
 Col. II ἴ[δι]όν μου τέκνον ἀποσπάσαι. Θέων·
 γράμματα τοῦ σωματίου ἔχομεν.
 Ὁ στρατηγός· ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως φαίνεται τῆς
 30 Σαραεῦτος εἶναι τὸ παιδίον, ἐὰν χιρογραφῇσι
 αὐτῇ τε καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐκείνο τὸ ἐνχει-
 ρισθὲν αὐτῇ σωματίον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πεσοῦριος
 τετελευτηκέναι, φαίνεται μοι κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόνος κριθέντα ἀποδοῦσαν
 35 αὐτὴν ὃ εἴληφεν ἀργύριον, ἔχειν τὸ [ἴδιο]ν
 τέκνον.

Read (20) ἔχω; (21) ἀξιῶ; (23) ἐνεχειρίσθη; (24) ὀκτώ; (31) αὐτή.

The text was reprinted by M.V. Biscottini in *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 233-236; see also *C.P.Gr.* 1 19, with plate on tav. XIX (this volume collects all papyri dealing with wet-nurses). For other re-editions see B.L. Konkordanz (1989) p. 134. This document, as well as no. 15, belongs to an archive which was collected and published by M.V. Biscottini, *L'archivio di Tryphon, tessitore di Oxyrhynchos*, in *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 60-90 and 186-292, plates I-VIII; *P. Oxy.* 2 289 and 34 2720 are to be added.

The archive is that of the weaver Tryphon and his family, and it contains two horoscopes (see no. 15) and several documents pertaining to his handicraft, ranging from A.D. 11 to 66. Saraeus was the wet-nurse of Tryphon's daughter around 35 A.D., when his first wife walked out on him, and later became his second wife.

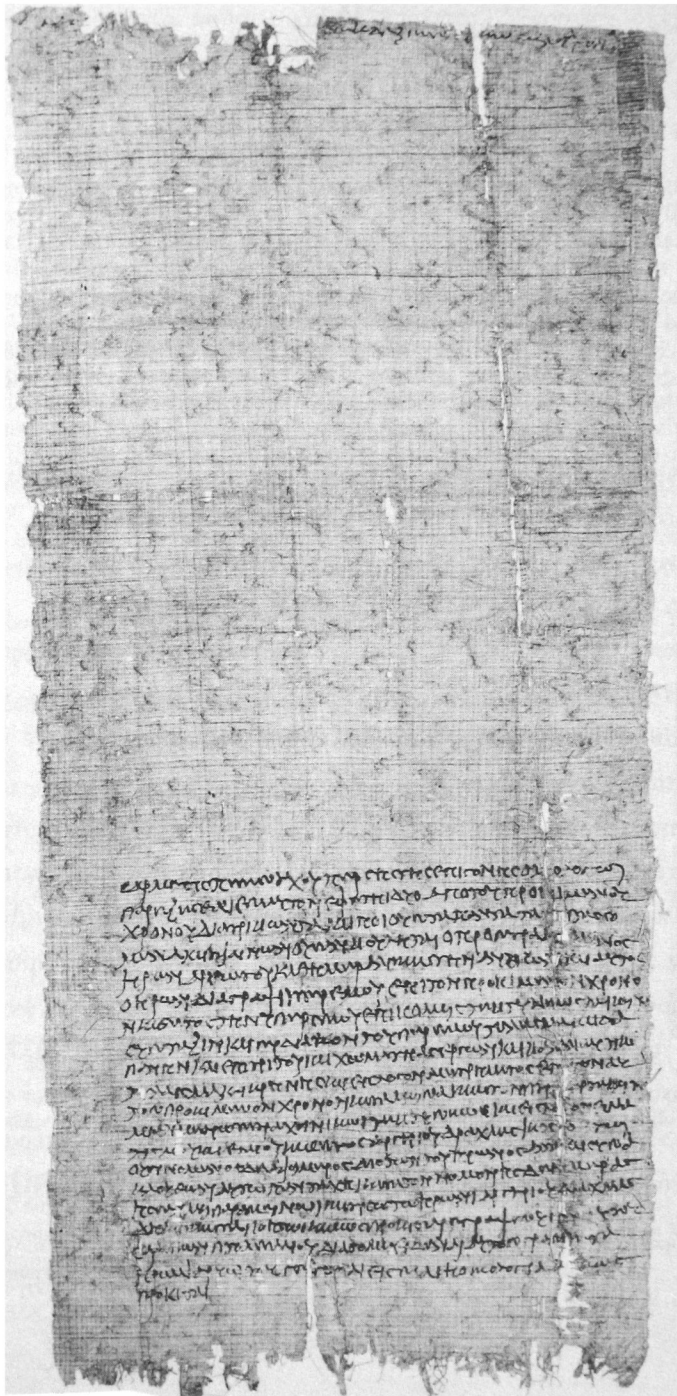
Orthography. A hypercorrect ι is written with final ω and η.

1. ὑπομνηματισμοί, "minutes", "official diary".
- στρατηγός: a *strategos* in Roman times has no jurisdiction in his own right but he may be delegated to try cases by the prefect; cf. lines 33-34.
3. βῆμα, "tribunal" (of a magistrate); ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, "at the court".
4. Πεσοῦρις is an Egyptian name meaning "The Syrian" (*P3-Išwr*); in *P. Oxy.* 1 38, 3 the same person is called Σῶρος.

6. ἀναιρεῖσθαι, "to take up" (an exposed child); cf. no. 41, § 41.
7. κοπρία, "rubbish-heap"; this is the place where children were customarily exposed.
- σωματίον, "slave child"; used in opposition with παιδίον "(free-born) child" in lines 22-23 and 30-32.
8. ἐγχειρίζειν, "to put into one's hands", "to entrust".
- ἀντίδικος, "opponent" (in a lawsuit).
9. ἐνθάδε, "thereupon".
- τροφίτις (also in line 19), an agreement with a wet-nurse.
- εἰς: the agreement was made "with" Pesouris' son, i.e. probably with Theon (line 27); see P. van Minnen, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 119.
10. τὰ τροφεῖα, "the wages of a wet-nurse".
11. προθεσμία, "fixed day", "pay-day".
12. ὅτι, "(to show) that".
14. λιμαγχεῖσθαι, "to be starved".
- ἀποσπᾶν, "to take away"; see no. 13, 26: μὴ ἀποσπάσειν τὸ παιδίον ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου.
16. εἰσπηδᾶν, "to burst into".
- ὁ ἡμέτερος: my client.
17. ἀφαρπάζειν, "to snatch away", "to carry off". Cf. no. 13, 26.
- ὀνόματι, "with the name of" (a free-born person), i.e. "pretending him to be a free-born person".
18. ἀποφέρεισθαι, "to take for oneself".
19. πρῶτον - - - δεύτερον, "firstly - - - , secondly".
22. ἀπογαλακτίζειν, "to no longer give milk", "to wean".
- τὸ παιδίον: the boy is called Ἀπίων according to *P. Oxy.* 1 38, 10; he is probably the child who was born on 3 January, A.D. 46 according to the horoscope *P. Oxy.* 2 307 (= *Aegyptus* 46, 229).
24. 8 staters (= 32 drachmas) is an extremely small sum as payment for two years; 10 drachmas a month are paid for nursing a slave child, according to no. 13, 11, and 20 drachmas for nursing a free-born child, according to no. 26, 11. Should one read <4>8 staters (corresponding to 8 drachmas a month)?
26. περιεῖναι, "to remain", "to be left"; as the child died before the end of the year, some of the wages paid in advance were not actually earned.
29. ὄψις, "aspect", "appearance": the child's looks.
- φαίνεται ἐκ with inf., "it appears from - - - that".
30. χειρογραφεῖν, "to swear an oath" (and put it in writing).
33. φαίνεται μοι (the principal verb), "I give judgement".
- κατὰ τὰ - - - κριθέντα: cf. *P. Oxy.* 1 38, 13-14, ἀκολούθως τοῖς προσ-τεταγμένοις.
34. Around A.D. 49, Gnaeus Vergilius Capito is the prefect of Egypt.

→

No. 18, subscription (ὑπογραφή) to an agreement. The upper portion of the papyrus, which was intended to receive the body of the contract, is still blank. The precise spot on the sheet where the scribe was to start writing the ὑπογραφή is marked by a thick dot (see also plates p. 117 and 147). Vestiges of details of the persons involved (cf. no. 19, 18-21) are visible near the upper border. The photograph is reduced; the height of the papyrus is 30 cm.



LABOUR CONTRACT WITH A WEAVER

Tebtynis

P.S.I. 8 902

c. A.D. 48-56

Harmiysis takes service with Heron engaging himself to work and more specifically to weave for him. Heron agrees to give him wages in money and in kind and moreover to pay on his behalf a series of taxes. Harmiysis promises to stay with Heron for a term of two years; for every day that he is absent, he has to pay a penalty. The document is not dated but the scribe mentioned in line 18 is known to have been active between 48 and 56 A.D.

Two copies exist of this text, one in Michigan (*P. Mich.* 5 355) and one in Cairo (published in Florence as *P.S.I.* 8 902), both written by the same hands. The text printed below is the Florentine one.

- Ἀρμιῦσις Πετεσούχου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὁμολογῶι
παρέξεσθαι ἑμαυτὸν ἐφ' ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ προκίμενου
χρόνου διατρίβωντα καὶ ποιῶντα πάντα τὰ [ἐπ]ιτασσό-
μενα καὶ ὑφαίνων οὗ ἂν βούληται ὁ προγεγραμμένος
- 5 Ἦρων Ἀρυάτου καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην· ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς
ὁ Ἦρων διαγράψι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν προκίμενον χρόνον
καθ' ἔτος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ κόμης Τεβτύνεως λαϊκὴν
σύνταξιν καὶ γερδιακὸν τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τέλοςμα καὶ δα-
πάνην καὶ ἐπιτρίτου καὶ χωματήας ἔργων καὶ βαλανευτικοῦ
- 10 τέλεισμα καὶ κρήνης, καὶ εἰς λόγον μετρήματος ἐπὶ τὸν αὐ-
τὸν προκίμενον χρόνον κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον πυροῦ ἀρτάβην
μίαν μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ Τεβτύνεως, καὶ εἰς λόγον εἰμα-
τισμοῦ καὶ ἐλαίου καθ' ἔτος ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκοσι ὀκτώι,
οὐ γινόμενος δὲ ἀφήμερος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἦρωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
συνα-
- 15 κ<ο>λουθὼν αὐτῷ πανταχῇ κατὰ τὸν νομόν· ἥς δὲ ἡμέρας
ἥς ἂν μὴ παραμείνῃ, ἐκτίσω τῷ Ἦρῳ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς

Read (1) ὁμολογῶ; (2) ἔτη, προκειμένου; (3) διατρίβοντα; (4) ὑφαίνοντα, ὅ; (6) διαγράψει, προκείμενον; (7) κόμης; (9) χωματείας; (10) τέλοςμα; (11) προκείμενον; (12) ἱματισμοῦ; (13) εἴκοσι ὀκτώ; (16) παραμείνῃ.

δύο καὶ ἕκαστα ποιήσωι καθὼς πρόκειται. Ἐγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
Σαραπίων Πτολεμαίου διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα.

[2nd hand]

Ἦρων Ἀρυώτου· γέγοναι εἷς μαι ἡ ὁμολογία καθὼς
20 πρόκειται.

Read (17) ποιήσω, πρόκειται; (19) γέγονε, με; (20) πρόκειται.

The text printed above is not the agreement itself but the ὑπογραφή, i.e. the subscription to the agreement wherein the debtor, or sometimes both contracting parties, formally acknowledge the agreement; see e.g. no. 20, 16 ff.

In the present case, and in the next one, no. 19, the document was not completed. See plate p. 113. The upper portion of the sheet, which was intended to receive the body of the contract, is still blank. The precise spot on the sheet where the scribe was to start writing the ὑπογραφή is marked by a thick dot. And it is here indeed that line 1 of the ὑπογραφή begins.

The body of the contract could be filled in later if necessary, with the help of the information contained in the subscription and the brief description of the persons concerned in the upper margin of the Florence copy.

Orthography. Apart from the hypercorrect ι, one finds frequently ει instead of ι or ι instead of ει (as in no. 19).

1. Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: the debtor; see no. 10, 7 note.
2. ἐφ' ἔτη: the ε of ἔτος is more often aspirated (by analogy with ἡμέρα); see also καθ' ἔτος in lines 7 and 13.
3. διατρίβειν, "to occupy oneself with something".
4. Read ὑφαίνοντα, as in the Michigan copy (line 3).
— οὐ: read ὅ (οὐ, "where" being less likely).
6. διαγράφειν, "to pay".
7. λαϊκὴ σύνταξις (lit. "assigned impost of the people") = λαογραφία, "poll tax"; see no. 25.
8. γερδιακὸν τέλεσμα, "weaver's taxes".
— (γερδιακὴ) δαπάνη, "weaver's expenses".
9. ἐπιτίτου (τέλεσμα): taxes connected with the tilling of land.
— χωματεία, "work on the dykes"; (τέλεσμα) ἔργων χωματείας = χωματικόν, "tax for maintenance of the dykes". In some cases one had to do this work in person; see e.g. the *Charta Borgiana* (p. 2).
— βαλανευτικοῦ τέλεσμα, "bath tax": tax for the upkeep of public bath-houses; usually paid in connection with the λαογραφία or χωματικόν.
10. κρήνης (τέλεσμα): tax for the upkeep of fountains.
— εἰς λόγον with gen., "as" (also in line 12).
— μέτρημα: payment in wheat and other measurable commodities, wages in kind.
12. μέτρον τετραχοίνικον, "measure holding 4 choinices".
14. οὐ γινόμενος: sc. Ἀρμυῖσις.

- τὰ τοῦ "Ἡρώνος, "Heron's premises".
- συνακολουθεῖν, "to accompany".
- 15. κατὰ τὸν νομόν, "all over the nome"; the variant κατ' Αἴγυπτον in *P. Mich.* 10 587, 16 shows that the earlier interpretation, κατὰ τὸν νόμον "in accordance with the customs", was wrong.
- ἡς, read τῆς: for every day that ...
- 16. παραμένειν, "to stay near".
- 18. Σαραπίων Πτολεμαίου was born around A.D. 12; see *P. Mich.* 5 333, 27 A.D. 52): (ὡς ἑτῶν) μ οὐλὴ τραχή(λω) ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, "about forty years old, with a scar on his neck on the left side". The same scribe wrote *P. Mich.* 5 332 in A.D. 48 and no. 19 around A.D. 56. In all these cases he wrote on behalf of illiterate persons.

The γραφεῖον of Tebtynis

This document and the next one, no. 19, belong to a large group of perfectly preserved papyri from the period A.D. 7 to 56. They come from the archive of the γραφεῖον in Tebtynis which was kept in these years by νομογράφοι ("scribes of legal documents"), viz. first Apion and then Kronion, his son. The *grapheion* has a double duty. It is in the first place a notary's office where Greek and demotic contracts were drawn up. Copies were made to be issued to the parties (ἐκδόσιμα) but many of these copies were not actually issued and remained in the archive (like nos. 18 and 19). In the second place the *grapheion* is a record office; this is clear from a number of rolls, some of them containing abstracts of the contracts registered and others an index to them (such a roll with abstracts is called an εἰρόμενον, "things strung together", a "dossier of documents"). For this archive of about 170 pieces, see *P. Mich.* vol. 2 and 5 as well as *P.S.I.* 8 nos. 901-918.

→

P. Lugd. Bat. 1 8 (A.D. 86). Detail of the document showing the last lines of the contract and the first ones of its ὑπογραφή (starting at the spot marked with a thick dot; see p. 112-113); it is clear that the ὑπογραφή was written first.

[The page contains dense, illegible handwriting, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]



LOAN ON SECURITY

Tebtynis

P.S.I. 8 911

c. A.D. 56

Petesouchos borrows 448 drachmas from Kronion. Repayment will take place in January/February, A.D. 57. As a security for this debt Petesouchos sells a house with appurtenances to Kronion.

The document contains the subscriptions to two agreements (which are missing, as with no. 18); the first one is the sale and the second one the loan. Two copies exist of this document, one in Michigan (*P. Mich.* 5 335) and one in Cairo (published in Florence as *P.S.I.* 8 911); both were written by the same hand.

Col. I

- Πετεσοῦχος Ἡρακλήου Βῆσις ὁμολογῶι πεπρακέναι Κρονί-
ωνι Ὅρσευτος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν δίστεγον καὶ
αὐλήν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἐξέδρα καὶνὴ δίστεγος,
καὶ παραδρομίδαν καὶ τῶν συνκυρόντων πάντων ἐν Τεβτύνει·
ὧν γίτονες πάντων· νότου Κρονίωνος
νεωτέρου Ζωείλου τόποι καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος Σιγήρις τοῦ Σιγή-
ρεως τόποι, βορρᾶ Κρονίωνος προσβυτέρου
- 5 Ζωείλου τόποι καὶ ἐπὶ τι μέρος Κρονίωνος τοῦ Διουνυσίου
τόποι, λιβὸς Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Κρονίωνος οἰκία καὶ
ἐπὶ τι μέρος τῆς παραδρομίδος ρύμη βασιλικὴ καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ
τι μέρος τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κρονίωνος
νεωτέρου Ζωείλου αἶθριον, ἀπηλιώτου ρύμη βασιλική· καὶ
ἀπέχω παρὰ τοῦ Κρονίωνος τὴν τιμὴν ἐκ πλή-
ρους διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, καὶ βεβαιώσω τὴν ὁμολογίαν
ταύτην πάση βεβαιώσει ἀπὸ δημοσίων καὶ εἰδιωτικῶν
καὶ πάσης ἐγποιήσεως ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. Ἐγραψεν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Σαραπίων Πτολεμαίου διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐ-
10 τὸν γράμματα.

Read (1) ὁμολογῶ; (3) τὰ συγκύροντα πάντα, γείτονες; (4) Ζωίλου, πρεσβυτέρου (see note); (5, 7) Ζωίλου; (8) βεβαιώσω, ὁμολογίαν, βεβαιώσσει, ιδιωτικῶν; (9) ἐμποιήσεως.

Col. II

- Πετεσοῦχος Ἡρακλήου Βήσις Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἔχει τὸ
δάνειον παρὰ
Κρονίωνος τοῦ Ὁρσεύτος τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου κεφα-
λαίου δραχμὰς
τετρακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα ὁκτῶι τόκου ὡς ἐκ δραχμῆς μιᾶς
τῇι
μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον, ἅς καὶ ἀποδώσῃ ἐν μηνεὶ Μεχρὶ τοῦ
τρί-
15 του ἔτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος καθὼς πρόκειται. Ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Σαρα-
πίων
Πτολεμαίου διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα.

Personal descriptions [*P. Mich.* 5 335, recto, upper left-hand margin]:

- Πετεσοῦχ(ος) L μς,
πήχι δεξι(ᾷ).
20 Κρονίω(ν) L ν,
ῥι(νὶ) ἐξ ἀρι(στερῶν).

Docket [*P. Mich.* 5 335, verso]:

ὑποθήκ(η) Πετεσοῦχ(ου) πρ(ὸς) Κρονί(ωνα)
(δραχμῶν) υμη.

Read (11) ἔχω; (13) ὁκτώ; (14) ἀποδώσω, μηνί; (16) πρόκειται; (19) πήχει.

The Florence copy is reproduced in M. Norsa, *Papiri greci delle collezioni italiane. Scritture documentarie* 2 (1933) tav. XIII.

For the terms used for describing this house, see G. Husson, *Οἰκία: le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (1983).

Orthography. Apart from the hypercorrect ι, one finds frequently ει instead of ι or ι instead of ει (as in no. 18).

1. Read Ἡρακλείου <τοῦ καὶ> Βήσιος (also in line 11). Petesouchos and his brother are members of the association of priests of Harpocrates, *P. Mich.* 5 246, 3 and 5.
2. δίστεγος, "of two storeys".
— ἐξέδρα, "outbuilding".
— καινός, "new".
3. παραδρομῖς, "portico"; παραδρομίδαν = παραδρομίδα; cf. F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* II, p. 45.
— τὰ συγκύροντα πάντα, "all appurtenances".

4. τόποι, "sites" (not built upon).
— ἐπί τι μέρος, "in part".
— Σιγήρις: read Σιγήρεως.
— προσβυτέρου (also in *P. Mich.* 5 335, 5): read πρεσβυτέρου; interchange of ο and ε is also found elsewhere in unstressed syllables, see no. 36, 19-20 (-voς = -ves) and F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I, p. 290-292.
7. αἶθριον, "(inner) court open to sky", "patio".
8. βεβαιούν, "to guarantee".
— βεβαίωσις - - - ἀπό: "confirmation" that a thing is "free from".
— δημόσια καὶ ἰδιωτικά, "public and private encumbrances".
9. ἐμποίησις, "claim".
— Σαραπίων Πτολεμαίου (also in line 16): see no. 18, 18 note.
11. Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: debtor (see no. 10, 7 note); one notes the difference with line 1.
13. ὥς ἐκ δραχμῆς μιᾶς τῇι μνᾷ, "at the rate of one drachma per mina"; a μνᾷ contains 100 drachmas. Cf. no. 36, 9.
22. πρός, "with".

Rates of interest

Interest on loans of money (per month):

2.5	per cent or more	late Pharaonic and early Ptolemaic eras;
2	per cent	from 249-246 B.C. onwards;
1	per cent	Roman era; see nos. 19, 13; 36, 9; 41 § 105 and cf. no. 31, 9 (ἔντοκος, "bearing interest")

Interest on loans in kind is always 50 per cent irrespective of the term of the loan; see no. 72, 6-7 and cf. no. 10, 9 (ἄτοκος, "interest being included").

Literature: P.W. Pestman, *Loans bearing no interest?*, in *J.J.P.* 16-17 (1971) 7-29.

20

SALE OF A HANDMILL

Karanis

P.S.A. Athen. 25

A.D. 61

Petesouchos sells a handmill. He acknowledges receipt of the complete purchase price. As is usual with sales of slaves, cattle and other movables, the seller answers for eviction but not for eventual defects of the thing sold.

The document contains first the body of the contract, then the subscriptions written on behalf of both the seller and the buyer, and finally a statement saying that the agreement has been registered.

- L {ἔτους} ἑβδόμου Νέρωνος Κ[λα]υδίου Καί[σαρος]
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, μηνὸς [ς]
 Δαισίου κς, Φαρμοῦθι κς, ἐν Καρανίδι τῆς [Ἑρακλ(είδου)]
 μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεῖ Πετεσοῦχος
 5 ὦρου ὡς L νη οὐλή μετώπῳ ἐγ δεξιῶν
 Πεκμήιτι Μεσοήρι(ος) ὡς L κθ οὐλή πήχει ἀρισ(τερῶ)
 πεπρακέναι αὐτῷ [τ]ὸν ὑπ[ά]ρχον[τα] αὐτ[ῷ]ι
 μύλον Θηβαϊκὸν [σὺ]ν τραπέζῃ κα[ὶ]
 κώπῃ, τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόριφ[ο]ν,
 10 καὶ ἀπέχειν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα παρὰ τοῦ
 Πεκμήιτος τὴν συνεχωρημένην
 τιμὴν ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου
 κα(ὶ) βεβαιώσιν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα πάσῃ
 βεβαιώσει. Ὑπογρ(αφεῖς) Κόραξ Ἀπολ(ωνίου) L λ οὐλ(ή) μῆλ(φ)
 δεξιῶ
 15 κα(ὶ) Πτολ(εμαῖος) Πτολ(εμαίου) L μ οὐλ(ή) ὀφρ(ύι) ἀριστερᾶ.
 [2nd hand]
- Πετεσοῦχος ὦρου ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι
 Πεκμήιτι Μεσομήριος τὴν ὑπάρχον μο[ι]
 μύλον Θηβαϊκὸν σὺν τραπέζῃ καὶ κώπῃ[ς],
 τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόριφον, καὶ ἀπέχω τὴν

- 20 τιμήν καὶ βεβαιῶ σοι πάση βεβαιώσῃ
καθὼς πρόκι(ται). Ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Κόραξ
Ἀπολ<λ>ων(ίου) διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέν(αι) αὐτὸν γράμμ(ατα).

[3rd hand]

Πεκ<μ>ῆις Μεσοήριος ἡγόρακα καθὼς προ(έ)κειται). Ἔγρ(α)ψεν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ

Πτολ(εμαῖος) Πτολεμ(αίου) μὴ εἰδότης) γράμμα(τα).

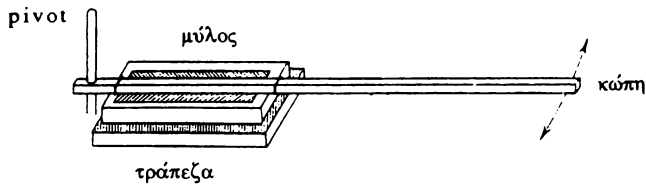
[4th hand] Ἐντέτακ(ται) εἰς ἀναγρα(φήν)

- 25 (διὰ τοῦ) ἐν Καρανίδ(ι) γρα(φείου) Φαρμοῦθ(ι) κς̄.

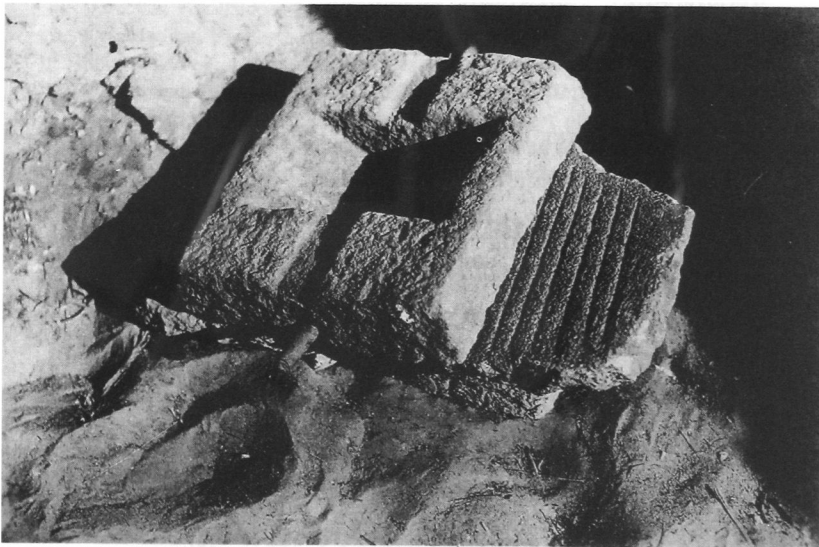
The text is reproduced in *P.S.A. Athen.* on πίναξ X.

4. Read Ἀρσινοΐτου.
5. μέτωπον, "forehead".
— ἐκ δεξιῶν, "on the right".
8. μύλος, "mill", probably made from granite found in the Thebaïd.
9. κόπη, "handle".
— οὕτως τοιοῦτος, "just as he is".
— ἀναπό(ρ)ριφος, "not liable to be rejected" [from ἀπο(ρ)ρίπτειν, "to reject"].
11. συγκεχωρημένος, "agreed upon".
13. Read βεβαιώσῃν (to guarantee one's title to something).
14. Read βεβαιώσῃ.
- ὑπογραφεύς: one who writes a subscription (ὑπογραφή) to a contract on behalf of another who is illiterate; he may be a relative, colleague, or professional scribe; H.C. Youtie, Ὑπογραφεύς: *the Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Z.P.E. 17 (1975) 201-221 = *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I, 179-199.
- μῆλον, "cheek".
17. τὴν ὑπάρχον: instead of τὸν ὑπάρχοντα (line 7).
18. σύν with a genitive occurs more often; see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri* II.2, p. 367-368; the dative is already disappearing in common speech.
21. Read πρόκειται.
23. ἀγοράζειν, "to buy".
24. ἐντάσσειν (sc. the contract), "to insert" (for registration, εἰς ἀναγραφὴν), "to register"; cf. no. 36, 31: ἀναγράφεται.

A "Theban mill" consists of a lower stone (τράπεζα), an upper stone (μύλος) and a handle or lever (κώπη). The lower stone is fixed. The upper stone can be moved horizontally by means of the lever which is attached to it; the lever itself moves like a hinge, one of its ends being attached to a pivot. The grain, which passes through a fissure in the upper stone, is ground between the two stones. See L.A. Moritz, *Grain-mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (1958) p. 42 ff.; the following diagram is adapted from fig. 4 on p. 45:



Many "Theban mills" have actually been found in Karanis; see e.g. E.M. Huselman, *Karanis. Topography and Architecture* [Excavations of the University of Michigan in Egypt, 1928-1935] (1979) pl. 89-90 and E.K. Gazda, *Karanis. An Egyptian Town in Roman Times* [Discoveries of the University of Michigan Expedition to Egypt, 1924-1935] (1983) p. 28, fig. 50:



REPAYMENT OF AN ANTICHRETIC LOAN

Oxyrhynchos

S.B. 8 9765

after September A.D. 81

Apollonios acknowledges to Sarapion the return of 430 drachmas. This is the sum which Sarapion had borrowed from him in 79 A.D. on the condition that he would give to his creditor the right to live in some properties in lieu of interest.

-
- ἐ[ν Ὀξυρύγγ(ων) πόλ(ει) τῆς Θηβ(αίδος). Ὁμολογεῖ Ἀπολ-
λῶνιος]
- Ἰσίω[νος - - - - -]
- τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύ[γγων] πόλεως Σαραπίωνι
Κάστορος τοῦ [Πο]λυδεύκους μητρὸς Ἰσαροῦ-
- 5 τος τῆς Σαρ[απί]ωνος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως, ἐν ἀ[γυι]ᾷ, ἀπέχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυ-
ρίου Σεβαστ[οῦ ν]ομίσματος δραχμὰς
τετρακοσί[α]ς τριά[κοντα] κεφαλαίου ἃς ἐδά-
νεισεν αὐτῷ [κα]τὰ συνγραφὴν γεγονυῖαν
- 10 διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξ[υρύγγ]ων πόλει μνημονεύου
τῷ δευτέρῳ [ἐ]τεῖ θεοῦ Τίτου μηνὶ Νέφ
Σεβαστῷ ἐν ἐ[νοι]κισμῷ τῶν δι' αὐτῆς δη-
λενθέντων [ν]τόπων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σημαν-
θέντα χρόν[ον] καὶ αὐτόθεν ἀναδεδωκέ-
- 15 ναι αὐτῷ τ[ὴν ἐπίφο]ρον τοῦ δανείου συν-
γραφὴν κε[χ]ιασμέ[νην] εἰς ἀκύρωσιν
καὶ μηδὲ[ν ἐνκαλ]εῖν μηδ' ἐνκαλέσειν
μηδ' ἐπελε[ύσεσθαι] Ἀπολλώνιον μηδ' ἄλ-
λον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῷ Σ[αραπίωνι] μηδὲ τ[οῖς]
- 20 παρ' αὐτοῦ [περὶ μηδ]ενὸς ἀπλῶς μέ[χρι τῆς]

ἐνεστῶ[σης ἡμέ]ρας, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ τ[ῆ]ν
 ἐσομένη[ν ἔφοδο]ν ἄκυρον εἶναι ἔ[τι κ]αὶ
 ἐκτίνειν [Ἀπολλών]ιον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ [αὐ]τοῦ
 ἐπελευσόμενον τῷ Σ[αραπίωνι ἢ τ[οῖς π]α-
 25 ρ' αὐτοῦ κα[θ' ἐκάστην] ἔφοδον τὸ [τε βλά]-
 βος καὶ ἐπί[τιμον ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ]
 δημόσιον [τὰς ἴσας, καὶ μὴθὲν ἦσσαν]
 [κυρία ἢ συνγραφὴ — — — — —]
 — — — — —

The contract was published by A.E. Samuel, *J.J.P.* 13 (1961), p. 33-38; the text itself was reprinted in the *Sammelbuch* (dots were omitted there under the last letter of ἀγυιᾶ, αὐτῷ and δευτέρῳ in lines 6, 9 and 11).

1. The top of the papyrus with the date is missing.
3. τῶν ἀπό, "one of those from" (also in line 5).
6. ἐν ἀγυιᾷ, "in the street", i.e. before a notary.
7. Σεβαστοῦ νόμισμα, "the emperor's coinage": the tetradrachms minted at Alexandria from Tiberius' reign onwards. Cf. E. Christiansen, *On Denarii and other Coin-terms in the Papyri*, in *Z.P.E.* 54 (1984) 271-299.
9. Read συγγραφὴ (also in lines 15 and 28).
— γίνεσθαι, "to be drawn up".
10. μνημονεῖον, "notary-office".
11. θεός = *divus*: a Roman emperor is called *divus* after his death; consequently this document was written after Titus died on 13 September 81.
12. ἐν ἐνοικισμῷ τόπων: against the right to inhabit places (dwellings).
— Instead of paying interest, the debtor had granted his creditor for a fixed period the right of residence; such a loan is called an "antichretic loan".
- 12-13. Read δηλωθέντων.
15. ἐπίφορος, "applicable", "relating to the matter at hand".
16. χιάζειν: to cancel a document; this was done by means of lines crossing like a χ (hence χι-άζειν); see plate p. 147.
— εἰς ἀκύρωσιν: "in order to make it invalid, of no effect".
17. Read ἐγκαλεῖν and ἐγκαλέσειν ("to make a claim").
18. ἐπέρχεσθαι with dative, "to proceed against" (also in line 24).
20. οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ, "those who come from him": his legal successors.
21. ἢ - - - (ἐκτίνειν Ἀπολλώνιον), "or else", "otherwise".
— χωρὶς τοῦ - - - εἶναι, "apart from being".
22. ἔφοδος, "claim" (also in line 25).
— ἄκυρος, "with no effect".
27. δημόσιον, "public (treasury)".

CONTRACT OF DEPOSIT

Theadelphia

P.S.A. Athen. 28

A.D. 86

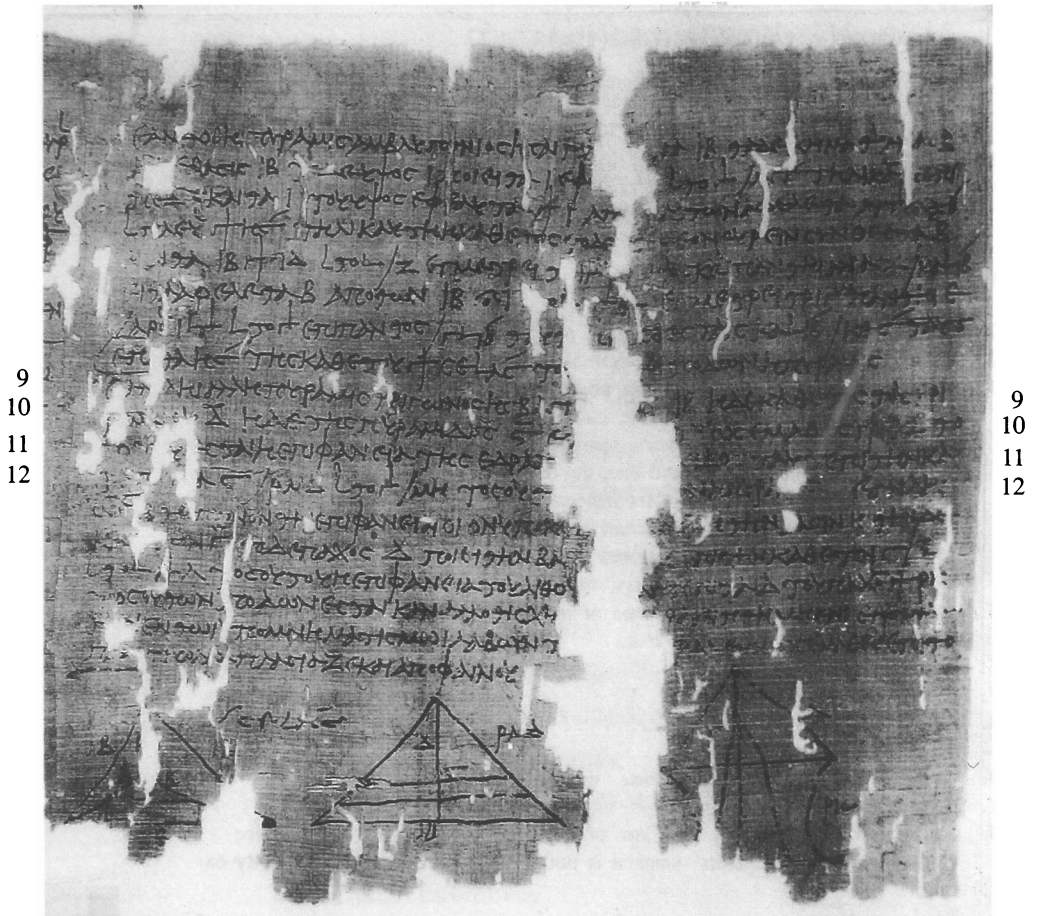
Didymos acknowledges that he has received as a deposit from Petermouthis the sum of 80 drachmas. A loan of money is probably meant, but it is worded in the form of a *depositum irregulare* which stresses the responsibility of the debtor.

- Ἔτους ἕκτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτι-
 ανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου
 ἔννεακα[ιδεκάτη], Φαῶφι ιθ,
 ἐν Θεαδελφείᾳ τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδ(ος)
 5 τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογ(εῖ)
 Δίδυμος Διδύμου Πέρσης
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς L τε<σσα>ράκοντ(α)
 δύο, οὐλὴ δακτύλῳ πρώτῳ
 χειρὸς ἀριστερᾶς, Πετερμούθι
 10 Ποσιδωνίου ὡς L τε<σσα>ράκοντ(α),
 οὐλὴ δακτύλῳ μικρῷ χιρὸς
 ἀριστερᾶς, ἔχιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυρί(υ)
 δραχμὰς ὀγδοήκοντα
 παραθήκην ἀκίνδυνον
 15 παντὸς κινδύνου, ἦν καὶ
 ἀποκαταστήσιν τὸν Δίδυμο(ν)
 τῷ Πετερμούθι ὀπηνίκα
 ἐὰν αἰρήται ὁ Πετερμούθις ἄνευ
 πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογ(ίας).
 20 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθ' ἃ <γ>έγρ(απται)
 ἀποτεισάτωι παραχρῆμα
 παραθήκην διπλὴν καὶ τὰ

- [β]λάβη ἀκολουθῶς τῶι τῶν
 παραθηκῶ[ν ν]όμῳ, γεινομέ(νης)
 25 τῶι Πετερμούθι τῆς πράξεως
 ἔκ τε τοῦ Διδύμου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπα[ρ]χ(όντων)
 αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκη[ς].
- — — — —

The text is reproduced in the edition, pl. XI.

- 6-7. Πέσης τῆς ἐπιγνῆς: the debtor (see no. 10, 7 note).
 11-12. Read χειρός and ἔχειν.
 14. παραθήκη (or παρακαταθήκη, see no. 28), "deposit". There are two kinds of deposit. According to the first one, called *depositum* by the Romans, the depository has to restore the very same things as were deposited with him, whereas according to the second one, the depository has to restore things of the same kind (usually money). This last one is the hellenistic kind of deposit, adopted by the Romans as *depositum irregulare*. It is essential with both kinds of deposit that the things be restored to the depositor whenever he wishes, "at his demand".
 14-15. ἀκίνδονον παντός κινδύνου, "free of all risk", risk-free for the depositor; Didymos is liable for the risk.
 16. Read ἀποκαταστήσειν.
 17. ὅπηνίκα, "whenever".
 18. Read ἄν.
 — αἰρεῖσθαι, "to choose".
 19. ὑπέρθεσις, "delay"; εὐρησιλογία, "excuse".
 21. Read ἀποτεισάτω.
 24. ὁ τῶν παραθηκῶν νόμος, "the law of deposits"; or perhaps "the practice with regard to the deposits" since it is not certain that such a law actually existed.
 — Read γεινομέ(νης).
 28-35. Remains of seven lines; cf. *B.L.* 3, p. 218.



Th.e. mathematical exercises (P. Vindob. inv. 19996 recto, col. VII; the photograph is reduced). A forked *paragraphos*  (between lines 8 and 9, 12 and 13, and under line 17) separates the exercises. Each exercise is illustrated by a drawing.

Lines 9-12 are transcribed in no. 23 (exercise no. 15). One notices that the relevant numbers $\iota\beta$, δ , ζ and $\rho\mu\delta$ are indicated in the drawing accompanying this exercise (the second drawing at the bottom of the column).

The symbols  and  (e.g. lines 5 and 12) which represent $\gammaίνεται$ and $\ὦν$ are of Egyptian origin.

23

STEREOMETRIC EXERCISE

Soknopaiou Nesos

P. Vindob. inv. 19996

1st cent. A.D.

This is exercise no. 15 of a schoolbook of mathematical exercises. The volume has to be calculated of a triangular pyramid, its base being a non equilateral triangle.

Col. VII

Ἐὰν δ(οθ)ῇ ἄλλη πυραμὶς τρίγωνος, ἥς βάσι[ς πο]δ(ῶν) ιβ, ἡ
 δὲ κάθετος τοῦ τρι-
 10 γώνου δ, ἡ δὲ τῆς πυραμίδος ζ· ἐγ[μέτρει τρι]γων(ον), ὡς
 ἔμαθες, γί(νεται) κδ· το-
 σούτ[ο]υ ἔσται ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τῆς ἔδρας [τῆς πυρα]μίδος. Ταῦτ'
 ἐπὶ τὴν κά-
 θετον, [τ]ὰ ζ, (γίνεται) ρμδ, (ῶν) τὸ (τρίτον) (γίνεται) μη.
 Τοσούτ[ων ποδῶ]ν ἡ πυρα[μί]ς.

The text printed here is a part of col. VII; see plate, opposite: three diagrams are drawn at the bottom of col. VII of the papyrus; the one in the middle belongs to the exercise treated here. The papyrus is 2.50 m in length and about 29 cm in height.

The schoolbook on the recto was published in H. Gerstinger et al., *Griechische Literarische Papyri I* (1932) p. 11-76. A schoolboy re-used a part of the verso for a series of additions, for which see H. Harrauer and P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem Antiken Unterricht* (1985) no. 151.

9. ἄλλη: the preceding exercise also concerns a triangular pyramid.
- βάσις: this is the "base-line" of the triangle which is the base of the pyramid.
- ἡ κάθετος (scil. γραμμή): the perpendicular line let down from the top to the base.
10. Read ἐγ[μέτρει], "calculate".
11. ἡ ἐπιφάνεια τῆς ἔδρας, "the superficies of the base".
- ἐπί: "(multiplied) by".
12. All the measurements are exact. If b is the base-line, h the height of the triangle, B its superficies, H the height of the pyramid and V its volume, we derive successively: $B = \frac{b \times h}{2}$ and $V = \frac{B \times H}{3}$.

LETTER CONCERNING MOUSE-CATCHING

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 2 299

late 1st cent. A.D.

Horos sends Apion a letter about two payments he made on his behalf, namely an advance payment to a mouse-catcher in one village and a loan to a προστάτης of another one.

ἽΩρος Ἀπίωνι τῷ τειμειωτάτῳ χαίρειν.

Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῇ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ διὰ σοῦ ἄρα—

βῶνα † η, ἵνα μυοθηρεύσει εντοκα. Καλῶς ποιήσεις,

πέμψεις μοι αὐτάς. Καὶ Διονυσίῳ προσ[τ]άτῃ Νεμερῶν

5 κέκρηκα † η, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ ἔπεμψε, ἵνα εἰδῇς.

Ἦερρωσ(ο). Παῦνι κδ̄.

The text is reprinted in B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit* (1925), no. 77; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1 (1932), no. 108; J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten* (1978), no. 107.

1. Read τιμειωτάτῳ.
2. μυοθηρευτής, "mouse-catcher"; see line 3 μυοθηρεύειν, "to catch mice".
— αὐτῷ repeats Λάμπωνι.
— διὰ σοῦ: mistake for ὑπὲρ σοῦ.
— ἄραβῶν (or ἄρραβῶν), "advance payment".
3. εντοκα: *editio princeps* ἔντοκα, "(mice) with young" (similarly Olsson, no. 77, and Hengstl, no. 107, "trächtig", "schwanger"), but *Select Papyri*, no. 108, ἐν Τόκα (similarly *Papyrological Primer*⁴, no. 77); cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinichite* (1981) 205-206.
— καλῶς ποιήσεις practically assumes the meaning of "please".
4. προστάτης, "chief" of the village Νεμέραι.
5. Read κέκρηκα.

Mice

Egypt has been from time immemorial infested by mice, which damaged not only crops but even papyri; thus Epharmostos writes to his brother Zenon (for whose archive see nos. 4-5), ἦν ἐγράψατε ἐπιστολὴν - - οἱ μῦες καταβεβρώκεισαν, "the letter you wrote has been eaten by mice" (*P. Lond.* 7 2033; similarly *P. Beatty Panop.* 1, 389-391).

25

RECEIPT FOR POLL TAX

Apollonospolis

S.B. 4 7400

A.D. 104

The receipt, written on a pot-sherd, records payment of 4 drachmas.

Σαμβαθίω(ν) ὁ καὶ Ἰησοῦς
 Παπίου λαο(γραφίας) ζ Λ
 Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου τ δ.
 Λ ζ, Παχὼν ζ̄.

Originally edited by G. Plaumann, *Archiv* 6 (1920) p. 220, no. 6; reprinted as *C.P.Jud.* 2, no. 321.

1. The names are Semitic. Σαμβαθίων is derived from the Hebrew *Shabbath*.
2. **λαογραφία**, "poll tax": male persons were subject to this tax from the age of fourteen onwards; it was collected annually until the age of exemption was reached (see ὑπερετής, no. 43, 9). The list of those who were liable for this tax was established on the basis of a census which was taken every fourteen years (cf. no. 49). Privileged groups paid a lower rate; in order to be recognized as a member of such a privileged group, it was necessary to undergo a scrutiny or ἐπίκρισις (cf. no. 33).
3. These 4 drachmas are only a part of the amount due every year.

Sambathion ~ Jesus

A large community of Jews existed in Edfu (Apollonospolis Magna) and Σαμβαθίων ὁ καὶ Ἰησοῦς was one of them. Seven ostraca are known at present which record tax payments made by him:

A.D.	C.P.Jud.	tax
96	298	poll tax
98	—	dyke tax; bath tax (S.B. 18 14010)
99	304	poll tax
101	311	dyke tax; bath tax
103	—	Jewish tax (S.B. 18 14009)
104	321	poll tax (no. 25)
110	220	Jewish tax.

For more information see *C.P.Jud.* 2, p. 108 ff.; our documentation on this community ends with the Jewish revolt in A.D. 116-117.

LETTER TO A WET-NURSE

Provenance unknown

P. Mich. 3 202

A.D. 105

Valeria has made a trip to the north to a place where, probably, Thermouthas has given birth to a child. Valeria now writes a letter to Thermoution asking her to come and fetch them. She tries to convince her of the advantages of becoming the baby's wet-nurse.

- Οὐαλερεία καὶ Θερμουθᾶς
 ἀμφοτέραι αἱ δύο Θερμουτεΐ-
 φ τῇ ἀδε[λ]φῇ χαίριν. Ὡς [ε]
 ἡρώτηκά σε καταπλέουσα
 5 περὶ τοῦ παιδίου Θερμου-
 θᾶτος ἵνα αὐτὸ ἄρης κ[α]ὶ
 τροφεύσης κα[ὶ] μακερεία
 ἐὰν ποίσης. Εἰς τὰς δύο
 οἰκίας μέλλεις εὐφραίνεισ-
 10 θαι καὶ ἐξαλλάσσεσθαι.
 Δέξαι πέντε στατήρες.
 Ἐὰν συνευδ[κ]οκῇ τρο-
 φεύειν, περισσότερον
 μέλλεις μισθάριν εὐ-
 15 ρίσκει<ν>, ὥς ἐλεύθερον,
 καὶ ἐξαλλαγὴν τὴν σὴν
 καὶ γονεῖς μέλλεις εὐρίσκειν
 ἐὰν ποιήσοι<ς>. Κατάπλευσον
 ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἵνα μεθ' ὑ-
 20 μῶν ἀναβῇς σὺν τῷ
 παιδίῳ. Κόμισαι δὲ παρὰ
 τῆς μητρός μου πέν-

- τε στατήρες ἄν καταβαί-
 νις ὡς ἀναβῶμεν {ἀνα-
 25 βῶμεν} ἢ τί ἄν θέλις
 λαβέ. Ἐρωτῶ σε κατα-
 πλεῦσε ἵνα εὐτυχήσης.
 Ἄλλο γὰρ ἐλεύθερον, ἄλλο
 δουλάριν.
 30 Ἐρρωσσο.
 L η Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου, Παχὼν ι.

Verso

Ἀπ[όδο]ς Θερμ[ο]υθε[ί]φ [] Χ Ἐσωεσὼ παρὰα Θεοδοῦτος
 παρὰ Οὐαλερείας.

For a reproduction of the recto, see *P. Mich.* 3 pl. VII. The text is reprinted in *C.P.Gr.* 1, p. 196-198 (*Contratti di balatico*). For wet-nurses see nos. 13 and 17.

1. Read Οὐαλερία here, and Οὐαλερίας in line 33. Although the letter bears the names of two senders in lines 1-2, Valeria actually is acting alone (see e.g. ἡρώ-τηκα, line 4).
2. Read Θερμουτίω here, and Θερμουθίω in line 32; the Egyptian name Θερμουτ (var. Θερμουθ) is provided with the Greek diminutive suffix -ιον.
3. ἀδελφή: Thermoution is not really Valeria's sister; the term is used to indicate affection.
- Read χαίρειν.
4. κατα-πλεῖν, "to sail downstream" (also in lines 18 and 26); cf. καταβαίνειν (line 23). See ἀνα-βαίνειν "to go upstream", in lines 20 and 24.
6. αἴρειν (lit. "to lift"), "to raise (a child)".
7. τροφεύειν, "to suckle", "to serve as a wet-nurse" (also in line 12).
- Read μακαρία, "happy" and supply ἔσει.
8. ποίσης = πο(ι)ήσης.
- εἰς: in the meaning of ἐν.
9. Read μέλλεις (also in lines 14 and 17).
- εὐφραίνεισθαι, "to enjoy oneself".
10. ἐξαλλάσσεσθαι, "to amuse oneself"; see line 16: ἐξαλλαγή, "amusement", "pleasure".

11. Read **στατήρας**. Five staters is the monthly payment for raising a free-born child (**ἐλευθέρον**, lines 15 and 28), the pay for raising a slave child being much lower (cf. lines 13-14 and 28-29).
12. **συνευδοκεῖν**, "to agree".
— **τροφεύειν**: sc. τὸ παιδίον.
- 13-14. **περισσότερον μισθάριν** (read **-άριον**, diminutive of **μισθός**), "more than the usual small wages".
- 14-15. **εὐρίσκει<ν>**: the omission of the **ν** with infinitives is well attested in modern Greek; see B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, § 752.
17. **γονεῖς**: perhaps "your own pleasure (**ἐξαλλαγή**) and that of your parents" is meant.
19. **ὑμῶν** as a mistake for **ἡμῶν** is not uncommon; cf. nos. 16, 75, 104; 40, 18. See E. Mayser und H. Schmoll, *Grammatik I 1*, Zweite Aufl. (1970), § 7.6 and F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri I*, p. 262: interchange of **υ** and **η**.
21. **κομίζειν**, "to take", "to receive" (cf. **λαβέ**, line 26).
23. Read **ἐὰν καταβαίνης** ("if you come downstream").
25. Read **θέλεις**.
26. Read **καταπλεῦσαι**.
28. **ἄλλο** - - - **ἄλλο** - - - : a free-born child is one thing, a slave child another.
29. Read **δουλάριον** (diminutive of **δοῦλος**).
30. **ἔρρωσσο**: read **ἔρρωσο**; for other examples of doubling of **σ**, see F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri I*, p. 159-160.
32. **ἀπόδος**, "deliver (this letter)": after having finished the letter the sender rolled the papyrus and wrote on the roll the directions for the carrier of the letter. Sometimes more detailed instructions (**σημασία**) are added, such as: "(go) to the north of the temple of the inhabitants of Hermonthis, opposite the ... shop (and) you have reached the alley"; see R.W. Daniel, *Z.P.E.* 54 (1984) 85-86.
- Before the cross, for which see p. 173, there is space for a preposition; perhaps [**εἰς**].
- **Ἐσωεσώ**: an unknown village or hamlet. According to *Berichtigungsliste* 3, 111 this name should be corrected in **Πωεσώ**, but one must always check statements reported in the *B.L.* In this particular case the new reading is suspect because no village of the name of **Πωεσώ** is known; and we do not accept it because its author did not verify his new reading with the original papyrus, whereas the editor with the text in his hands, explicitly states that the reading **Ἐσωεσώ** is certain.
- **παρὰ . . . ᾧ**: perhaps "at the house of ..."
- **Θευδοῦς** (fem.) is a variant of **Θεοδοῦς**.

MANDATE

Upper Egypt

S.B. 5 7573

A.D. 116

Three persons bearing Egyptian names are involved and two of them are priests of Egyptian gods. A woman, Taverseous, empowers Pachompe-tenephotes to sell her slave Narcissus on the condition that he shall hand over to her the purchase-money.

- Ἔτους [εἰκοστοῦ Αὐ]τοκράτ[ορος Καίσαρος]
 Τραϊαν[ο]ῦ Ἀρίστου [Σε]βαστοῦ Γ[ερμανικοῦ]
 Δακικοῦ Παρθικ[ο]ῦ, Χοίακ [ἱᾶ ἐν τῆς Θη]–
 βαΐδος ἐπὶ . . . ὑ [Ἀ]μμωνίο[ν καὶ – – – –]
 5 Γαΐου ἀγορανόμ[ων]. Ὅμο[λογεῖ Ταουερσηοῦς]
 Ὀννώφρεος μη[τ(ρὸς) Τ]ανεσε[– – – τῶν ἀπὸ]
 Ἐλεφαντίνης[ς ὡς L] μα, μ[– – – – –]
 μετὰ κ(υρίου) Παχομ[παονν]ώφρεος Φα[... ἱερέως Ἄμ]–
 μωνος θεοῦ μ[εγίσ]του Παχ[ομπετενεφώτης]
 10 Ὀννώφρεος μητ(ρὸς) Τισάτις ἱε[ρεῖ Ἰσιδος θ]ε–
 ᾶς μεγίστης ἐπίτροπον [συνεστακέσαι α(ὐτόν)] ἐπὶ
 τῷ πωλῆσαι τὸν ὑπάρχον[τα] αὐτῇ οἰ[κογεν]ῇ
 δοῦλον, ᾧ ὄνομα Νάρκισσ[ος], ὡς L η, οὐ[λὴ χειρ]ῇ
 δεξιᾷ, ἐκ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης [αὐ]τῇ καὶ με[τηλλαχ]υ–
 15 εῖης δούλης Ἀφροδείτης, [ἐ]φ' ᾧ πωλ[ήσῃ] ὁ
 Παχομπετενεφώτης τὸ[ν δο]ῦλον Νάρ[κισσον καὶ]
 ἀποκαταστήσ[ει τῇ]ν τούτου τειμὴν [τῇ ἑαυτοῦ]
 πίστει τῇ προγεγ[ραμ]μένη Ταουερσηοῦ[τι ἐκ πλή]–
 ρους, ἐξέσται δ[ὲ αὐ]τῷ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ τὸν
 20 δηλούμενον δ[οῦλο]ν, ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήτ[αι καὶ ἦ]ν
 ἐὰν ποιήσῃται περὶ τοῦτου ἀσφάλεια[ν κυρί]α
 εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἐ[αυτῆς] παρούσης.
- – – – –

The Greek part of this document [= Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, inv. no. P 13410] was published by E. Rabel, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933), p. 374 ff.; the demotic subscription is still unpublished.

2. ἀρίστος = *optimus*. The scribe of the demotic subscription did not translate this title; he just rendered the Greek sounds in demotic characters and since he knew the word only from dating formulas where it always occurs in the genitive, it is the Greek genitive which he rendered into demotic: 3rjstw (i.e. *aristu*) = ἀρίστου (line 30). Cf. *P. Lugd. Bat.* 24, p. 157 f. and note 2.
3. ἐν : the name of the village is lost.
- 4-5. A son of Ammonios and one of Gaios act together as ἀγορανόμος, "notary".
6. Read Ὀννώφρεως (also in line 10).
— τῶν ἀπὸ, "one of those from".
8. κύριος, "guardian (of a woman)". In the demotic subscription no mention is made of this guardian because guardianship of women is unknown in native Egyptian law, Egyptian women having the same legal capacity as Egyptian men (cf. p. 52).
— Read -ονν]ώφρεως.
11. ἐπίτροπος, "mandatary".
— συνιστάναι, "to appoint".
- 11-12. ἐπὶ τῷ (read τός) with infinitive, "for doing something".
12. Read οἰκογενῇ, "born in the house (of Taverseous)"; cf. no. 66, 14 note.
- 14-15. Read μετῆλλαχύης.
15. ἐφ' ᾧ, "on the condition that".
17. Read τιμὴν ("price").
- 17-18. [τῇ ἑαυτοῦ or ἰδιᾷ] πίστει, "acting on his own good faith".
19. οἰκονομεῖν περὶ, "to proceed with regard to".
20. Read ἄν (also in line 21).
— καί connects συνεστακέναι (line 11) with εἶναι (line 22).
21. ἀσφάλεια: literally "security", here "document", "contract" (providing legal security).
22. ὥς with part., "as if" (a legal fiction).
- 23-32. A demotic subscription written in the name of the woman T3-[wrs]-C3 (= Ταυερσηοῦς) daughter of Wn-nfr (= Ὀννώφρις).

DECISION OF THE PREFECT
ILLEGITIMATE DOWRY DISGUISED AS DEPOSIT

Provenance unknown Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 372 A.D. 117

Up to the third or fourth century A.D. soldiers were not allowed to marry for as long as they were serving in the Roman army. If they married nonetheless, their unions were invalid and their children illegitimate; their wives had no legal means to recover their dowries. This last difficulty could be resolved by disguising the dowry as a deposit. In the present case, the prefect suspects that such a forbidden union existed between Lucia Macrina and the deceased soldier Antonius Germanus, two Roman citizens. Roman law is applicable.

In this case, the prefect bases his decision, interestingly, on the intentions of the contracting parties, not on the wording of their contracts.

- 5 Λ ϰ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ, Τῦβι δεκάτῃ. Χ
 Λουκίας Μακρίνας διὰ Φανείου ῥ[ήτ]ορος εἰπούσης
 ἀπαιτεῖν παρακαταθήκην ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων
 Ἀντωνίου Γερμανοῦ στρατιώτου τετελευτηκό-
 τος, Λοῦπος εἶπεν· Νοοῦμεν ὅτι αἱ παρακα-
 10 ταθῆκαι προῖκές εἰσιν. Ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων αἰτιῶν
 κριτὴν οὐ δίδωμι. Οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν στρατιώτην
 γαμεῖν. Εἰ δὲ προῖκα ἀπαιτεῖς, κριτὴν διδοῦ[ς]
 δόξω πεπεῖσθαι νόμιμον εἶναι τὸν γάμον.

A part of the papyrus is in Berlin and the rest is in Alexandria. The complete text was edited by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Archiv* 3 (1906) p. 57 ff. and reprinted by L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, nos. 372 (recto) and 88 (verso). The recto is a collection of a series of decisions relating to soldiers' marriages. The texts were probably written shortly after A.D. 142. The decision printed above is one of those on the recto; for the various interpretations of this decision (based on the wrong reading δίδωμι in line 12), see R. Katzoff, *T.A.P.A.* 101 (1970) p. 241 ff.

5. θεός = *divus*; Roman emperors were not called *divus* until after their death. Consequently lines 5-13 were copied after Trajanus' death which occurred in the beginning of August 117. The decision itself was made on 5 January 117.
 — The cross is a space-filler.
 6. ῥήτωρ, "advocate".

7. παρακαταθήκη (or παραθήκη), "deposit" (= *depositum*).
9. M. Rutilius Lupus was prefect of Egypt from 112 / 113 till 117. Like the praetor in Rome the prefect acts as a jurisdictional magistrate who decides whether a plaintiff should be permitted to pursue his claim before a judge.
10. αἰτία = *causa*; ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων αἰτιῶν, "on such grounds", i.e. "for demanding back dowries".
11. κριτής (also in line 12), "judge", i.e. a *iudex* who determines the questions of fact.
12. διδοῦ[ς]: the earlier reading δίδωμ[ι] is not correct because there is certainly no ω.
13. δόξω πεπεῖσθαι, "I shall seem to consider ...": the prefect does not appoint a judge lest people think that he considers a soldier's marriage as valid.

Hereditary rights of soldiers' children

Two years later Hadrian somewhat mitigated the consequences of the prohibition to marry, by giving soldiers' children the right to inherit from their fathers. He decided to allow them to ask for the *bonorum possessio* (hereditary rights according to the praetorian law) on the basis of the article of the *edictum* which gave this right to the *cognati*:

κατ[ο]χῇ[ν] ὑ[πα]ρχόντων ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέ[ρ]ους τοῦ
 διατάγματος, οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς [γ]ένους συγγενέσι
 δίδοται, αἰτεῖσθαι δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κρε[ί]ν[ω].

(B.G.U. 1 140 = *Primer*⁴, no. 34, 24-28).

29

THE ACCESSION OF HADRIAN

I

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 55 3781

A.D. 117

In a circular letter the prefect of Egypt, Q. Rammius Martialis, announces the accession of Hadrian and instructs the *strategoi* to declare festivities in their nomes. Hadrian was proclaimed in Antioch on 11 August and the prefect wrote the announcement fourteen days later (cf. p. 41).

[[α.]]

Ῥάμμ(ιος) Μαρτ(ιᾶλις) στρ(ατηγοῖς) [[ζ]] τῶν [ύ]πο-
[γεγ]ρ(αμμένων) νομ(ῶν) χαίρειν).

Ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ σύνπαντ(ος)

ἀνθρώπων γένους ἵστε

5 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ τοῦ
θεοῦ πατρὸς διαδεδέχθ(αι)

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα

Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Ἀριστ(ον)

Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακι-

10 κὸν Παρθικόν. Εὐχόμε[νοι]
οὖν πᾶσι θεοῖς αἰώνιον

αὐτοῦ τὴν διαμονήν

ἡμεῖν φυλαχθῆναι

στεφανηφορήσομ(εν)

15 ἐφ' ἡμ(έρας) ἰ , ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς
ύφ' ἑαυτοὺς νομ[οῖ]ς

φανερὸν ποιήσητε.

└ α'', Μεσορῇ

ἐπαγο(μένων) β̄.

20 Λητο(πολίτου), Μεμφεί[τ(ου), Ἀρσι(νοίτου),
 Ἀφροδ(ιτοπολίτου), Ἡρακλ(εοπολίτου), Ὀξυρυγ(χίτου),
 Ὀάσεω(ς) ζ Νομ(ῶν), Κυνο(πολίτου),
 [Ἑρμ]ο(πολίτου)[- - - -]

1. Perhaps: ἀντίγραφον, "copy".
3. Read σύμπαντος.
4. εἰδέναι, "to know".
6. θεός = *divus*; see no. 28, 5.
12. διαμονή, "continuance", "permanence".
13. Read ἡμῖν.
14. στεφανηφορεῖν, "to wear garlands".
16. ἑαυτούς = ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.
20. Read Μεμφίτου.
22. Ἑπτὰ Νομοί: Heptanomia (Middle Egypt). Roman Egypt was divided into three administrative districts, Lower Egypt, the Heptanomia, and the Thebaïd. The nine districts mentioned in lines 20-23 formed together the Heptanomia.
23. Other nomes than those belonging to the Heptanomia must have been mentioned here (see the corrections in line 2).

II

Heptakomia
 (found in Hermoupolis)

P. Giss. 3

A.D. 117

Hadrian's accession is celebrated in Heptakomia with a dramatic performance. Phoebus-Apollo appears on the stage and announces the new ruler Hadrian. The people of Heptakomia answer thanking Apollonios, the *strategos*, for organizing the festivities in honour of Hadrian.

(Phoebus): Ἀρματι λευκοπάλωι ἄρτι Τραϊαν[ῶι]

συγνατείλας ἦκω σοι, ὦ Δῆμ[ε],

οὐκ ἄγνωστος Φοῖβος θεὸς ἄνα-

κτα καινὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἀγγελῶ[ν],

5 ὦι πάντα δοῦλα [δι'] ἀρετὴν κ[αί]

πατρὸς τύχην θεοῦ. (Demos): Χαίροντες

τοιγαροῦν θύοντες τὰς ἐστίας

ἀνάπτωμεν, γέλωσι καὶ μέ-

θαις ταῖς ἀπὸ κρήνης τὰς ψυχὰς

- 10 ἀνέντες γυμνασίων τε ἀλείμ-
 μασι· ὧν πάντων χορηγὸν τὸ
 πρὸς τὸν κύριον εὐσεβὲς τοῦ στρα-
 τηοῦ [καὶ] φιλότιμόν τε τὸ πρὸς
 [τήμῳς - - - -]

The text has been reprinted several times. See e.g. U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 491 and E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1961), no. XII. A plate is to be found in C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 15a. On this text see most recently W. den Boer, *Trajan's Deification and Hadrian's Succession*, in *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 203-212.

The papyrus belongs to the archive of Apollonios, the *strategos* of the Apollonopolite nome and it concerns the festivities in the metropolis of that nome, Heptakomia. For this archive see no. 30.

2. Δῆμος: the people of Heptakomia.
3. οὐκ ἄγνωστος: the Apollonopolite nome was dedicated to Apollo.
12. στρατηγός: presumably Apollonios paid for these festivities.

Translation (see P.J. Alexander, *Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian*, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* 49, 1938, 143-144):

Phoebus~Apollo:

"Having just mounted aloft with Trajan in my chariot of white horses, I come to you, oh people, I, Phoebus, by no means an unknown god, to proclaim the new ruler Hadrian, whom all things serve on account of his virtue and the genius of his divine father."

Demos answers:

"Let us make merry, let us kindle our hearths in sacrifice, let us surrender our souls to laughter, to the wine of the fountains and the unguents of the gymnasia; for all of which we are indebted to the reverence of our strategos for our lord and his zeal on our behalf."

TRANSPORT OF GOVERNMENT CORN

Heptakomia
(found in Hermoupolis)

P. Giss. 11

A.D. 118

Letter from Papiris to the *strategos* Apollonios about the transport of c. 84,000 artabas of, probably, government corn to Alexandria. Papiris sends men and ships to Apollonios' nome but he himself is detained in Alexandria.

- Παπείρεις Ἀπολλωνίῳ στρατη(γῷ)
Ἀπολλωνοπολείτου (Ἑπτα)κωμίας
τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν.
Γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ἐπεστά-
5 λην εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ σοὶ νομὸν μόνος
καὶ πλαιρείδιν ὡς {άρταβῶν} — Ὅ
ἐμοῦ αἰτησαμένου τὸν νομὸν
Βησαρίωνος εἶπαντος. Ἐπεσταλ-
μένος δὲ κατεσχέτην ὑπὸ τοῦ
10 ἐπιτρόπου ὥστε εἰερατεύειν
τοῦ χειρισμοῦ τῶν κυβερνητ(ῶν).
Καλῶς οὖν ποι[ήσ]ης, φίλτατε, σ[υ]ν-
λαβόμενος το[ῦ]ς ἐμούς, ἐπὶ ἐγὼ
οὐ πάρεμμι προσκυνῆσαι σὲ τὸν
15 τιμιώτατον καὶ σὺ μοι ἐπέιτρε-
πε ὡς δυναμένῳ σοι ἐργασίαν δῶ-
ναι· οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς ὅτι ἄλλας ὅκτὸ μυ-
ριάδες ἔχω πλοίων ὧν ἐξουσίαν ἔχω
ὥστε σαρωθῆναί σου τὸν νομόν.
20 Γίνωσ<κε> οὖν, κύριε, ὅτι ἡὰν εἰερα]-
τεύῃ τοῦ χειρ[ε]ισμοῦ τῶν κυβερνητ(ῶν)]
τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ σ[υ].].

Read (2) -πολίτου; (9) κατεσχέτην; (10) ἰερατεύειν; (11) χειρισμοῦ; (12) ποιήσεις; (13) ἐπεὶ; (14) πάρεμι; (15) ἐπίτρε-; (17) ὀκτώ; (18) -ριάδας; (20) ἐάν, ἱερα-.

Λ Β 'Αδριανοῦ Κ[αίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου],
 'Επε[ι]φ ιζ.

25 'Ερῶσθαί σε θ[έλω].

Verso

'Απόδ(ος) 'Απολλωνίωι στρατη(γῶι) Χ 'Επτακωμίας.

Reprinted by U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 444; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 423.

Orthography. One finds frequently ει instead of ι or vice versa.

4. ἐπιστέλλειν, "to commission someone to go".
6. πλαι-ρεί-διν: read πλοια-ρί-διον; this "small ship" has a loading capacity of 4,000 artabas, i.e. 4,000 x c. 25 kg = 100 (metric) tons of wheat.
8. At the end of the line there are some scrawled signs.
10. ἐπίτροπος = *procurator*, here the *procurator* of Neapolis is meant, the director of the harbour of Alexandria. Neapolis is a part of Alexandria adjoining the great harbour.
- ἱερατεύειν, "to be a priest".
11. χειρισμός, "guild", "corporation".
12. συλλαμβάνεσθαι, "to assist".
14. προσκυνεῖν, "to do reverence to".
16. ἐργασία, "service".
- δῶναι = δοῦναι.
18. ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, "to have disposal of". Apparently a tonnage of 84,000 artabas is needed for the transport of the government corn collected from Apollonios' nome. This amount, contributed as it is by a small nome, corroborates Aurelius Victor's statement that Rome received c. 6,000,000 artabas of corn from the whole country under Augustus. Cf. A.C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (1936) 481.
19. σαροῦν, "to sweep clean".
26. On the cross, see p. 173.

The present document belongs, like no. 29 II, to the archive of the *strategos* Apollonios, which was published in *P. Brem.* and *P. Giss.*; and see also *P. Alex.-Giss.* It is a mixed archive containing both administrative and private documents. The archive was probably found in Hermoupolis, which was Apollonios' place of residence. As *strategos* he spent several years in Apollonospolis Heptakomia, about 100 km south of Hermoupolis, since it was unusual in this period for a *strategos* to be nominated in his own nome; see also p. 211. The archive contains many letters sent to him by his family from Hermoupolis. The archive is famous for giving contemporaneous information on the Jewish revolt in Alexandria (A.D. 115) and in Egypt (A.D. 116-117); see *C.P.Jud.* 2, nos. 435-450. Apollonios himself was in the army for some time; perhaps the letter *P. Giss.* 19 (= *C.P.Jud.* 2 436) was written to him by his wife when he was called up.

LOAN OF MONEY

Tebtynis

P. Lugd. Bat. 6 22

A.D. 122

Herakleides, who is also called Valerios, acknowledges that he has received 212 drachmas as a loan for a period of 4 months and at the normal rate of interest.

- Ἔτους ἐβδόμου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ
 Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,
 μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ εἰκάδι, ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος
 τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεῖ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ
 Οὐαλέριος
 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Μάρωνος ἀναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφοδου
 Ταμείων
- 5 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσεράκοντα ἕξ, οὐλὴ
 γόνατι ἀρισ-
 τερῷ, Ταμύσθα Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Μυσθαρίωνος ὡς ἐτῶν
 τριάκον-
 τα πέντε ἀσήμεν μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Λυσιμάχου τοῦ
 Ἀπολλωνίου
 ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ὀκτώ, οὐλὴ ποδὶ δεξιῷ, ἔχειν παρ'
 αὐτῆς
- Ταμύσθας παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου χρήσιν ἔντοκον
 10 ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου κεφαλαίου δραχμὰς διακοσίας δέκα
 δύο καὶ ἐπ' ἀνάγκη τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἡρακλείδην τὸν καὶ
 Οὐαλέριον ἀποδώσιν τῇ Ταμύσθα τὰς τῆς χρήσεως
 ἀργυρίου
 κεφαλαίου δραχμὰς διακοσίας δέκα δύο καὶ τοὺς τόκους
 τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ Τῦβι μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐβδόμου ἔτους
 15 ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογείας. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 ἀπο-

δῶ καθ' ἃ γέγ<ρ>απται, ἀποτισάτω ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ
 Οὐαλέριος τῇ
 Ταμύσθᾳ τὸ μὲν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιολίας, τοὺς
 δὲ
 τόκους ἀπλοῦς, γεινομένης τῇ Ταμύσθᾳ τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε
 τοῦ
 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων(ν)
 αὐτῷ πάντων.

[2nd hand]

- 20 • Ἡρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Οὐαλέρις Ἡρακλείδου
 τοῦ Μάρωνος ἀπὸ Ταμείων ὁμολογῶ ἔ-
 χειν παρὰ Ταμύσθας τῆς Διδύμου το<υ> καὶ
 Μυσθαρίωνος διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ ὕκου χρησιν
 ἔντοκον ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου δραχμὰς
 25 διακοσίας δέκα δύο, ἅς καὶ ἐπάναγκον
 ἀποδώσω τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ Τοῖβι μηνὸς
 τ[ο]ῦ ἔνεστῶτος ἐβδόμου ἔτους ἀνυ-
 περθέτως, γεινομένης αὐτῇ τῆς
 πράξεως ἕκ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
 30 τῶν μοι πάντων καθὼς πρόκειται.

[3rd hand]

Ταμύσθα μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Λυσιμάχου·
 γέγονε εἷς με ἡ ὁμολογία καθὼς πρόκειται.

See plate, p. 147. The contract was invalidated by means of crosses; see no. 21, 16 note.

4. ταμεῖον, "store-house".
5. Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: the debtor; see no. 10, 7 note.
8. Read ὀκτώ.
9. παραχρήμα, "forthwith".
- διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, "from hand to hand out of your house": by direct payment, cash (not by banker's order).
- χρήσις ἐντοκος, "a loan bearing interest". The rate of interest on loans of money was 1 per cent a month in the Roman period; see p. 120.
11. ἐπάναγκον, "necessarily".
12. Read ἀποδώσειν.

15. ὑπέρθεσις, "delay" (cf. l. 27-28).
 — εὐρησιλογία, "excuse".
- 16-17. Read ἀποτεισάτω and προκείμενον.
17. μεθ' ἡμιολίας: increased by one half.
18. Read γινομένης.
- 20-30. Cf. lines 1-19. The second hand shows spelling mistakes in the following words: Οὐαλέρις (20), χιρός (23), ὕκου (23), Τοῖβι (26) and γεινομένης (28); ει interchanges with ι and οι with υ.
32. Tamystha acknowledges: γέγονε εἰς με ἡ ὁμολογία, "the agreement has been made with me".
- Read καθὼς πρόκειται.

The archive of Philosarapis

The document belongs to the same family archive as nos. 44 and 51; it is called the archive of Philosarapis after the last owner. It was discovered at the beginning of this century in Tebtynis and published in 1950 by B.A. van Groningen, *A Family-Archive from Tebtunis* (= *P. Lugd. Bat.*, vol. 6). This was the first time in the history of papyrology that documents of a dispersed archive were brought together for publication as a whole. The papyri, ranging in date from A.D. 89 to 224, pertain to a large family of persons from Tebtynis. They were important enough to acquire the citizenship of Antinooupolis (founded in A.D. 130; see p. 185), but remained attached to Tebtynis where their archive was found. The following persons were successively keepers of the archive (the Roman numerals refer to the genealogy in the *editio princeps*; cf. *Aegyptus* 71, 1991, 121 ff., nos. 257, 289, 386 and 457):

	Herakleides (i)	born: A.D. 40 died: A.D. 114
(no. 31)	Herakleides~Valerius (i)	born: 76 died: after 144 citizen of Antinooupolis in 133
(no. 44)	Lysimachos~Didymos (i)	born: 125/126
(no. 51)	Philosarapis (ii)	called M. Aurelius Ph. from 214 onwards in consequence of the <i>Constitutio Antoniniana</i> (p. 221)

→

No. 31 (A.D. 122) Loan of money, written in three hands. The contract is cancelled by cross-hatching. The beginning of the ὑπογραφή is marked by a dot (line 20); see p. 112-113.

[illegible]

DIVORCE

Tebtynis

P. Lips. 27

A.D. 123

This document records that the marriage between the young woman Thensto(to)etis and the freedman Lysas has been dissolved and that the woman is free to marry again. The dowry and *paraphernalia* were given to the woman's father.

- Ἔτους ἐβδόμου Αὐτοκρά[τορος Κ]αίσαρος
 Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβα[στοῦ, Φα]μενώθ
 κ̄α, ἐν Τεβτύνι τῆς Πολέμω[νος] μ[ερ]ίδος τοῦ Ἀρσι-
 νοεΐτου [νο]μοῦ. Ὁμολογοῦ[σιν] ἀλλήλοις
 5 Θενστοτοήτιος ὥ(ς) ἐτῶν δ[έ]κα ἕξ [ἄ]σσημος
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρωνος τοῦ Νείλου
 ὥ(ς) ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα τεσσάρων οὐλῇ
 δακτύλῳ μικρῷ χιρὸς ἀριστερᾶ[ς κ]αὶ αὐτὸς
 Ἡρων καὶ ὁ γενάμενος τῆς [Θ]ενστοτοήτιο[ς]
 10 ἀνὴρ Λ[υσ]ᾶς ἀπελεύθερος Ἡρακλείας τῆς
 Λυσιμ[άχου] ὥ(ς) ἐτῶν εἴκοσι δύο οὐλῇ γόνατ[ι]
 δεξιῷ καὶ Σωσᾶς Ἀρεώ[το]ν ὥ(ς) ἐτῶν πεντήκον-
 τα τεσσάρων οὐλῇ ἀντικνημῖω δεξιῷ,
 οἱ τέσσαρες, Θενστοτοήτιος μὲν καὶ Λυσᾶς
 15 συνῆρσθαι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους [συν]βίωσιν,
 ἥτις αὐτοῖς συνεστήκει ἀπὸ συγγραφῆς ὁμολ(ογίας)
 γάμου τελειωθ[ι]σαν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γραφίου τῷ
 πέμπ[τῳ] ἔτε[ι] Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,
 Ἀθ(ὺ)ρ [. , ἦν] καὶ ἀναδεδωκέν[α]ι ὁ[μολ(ογίαν)] εἰς
 20 ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν, Ἡρω[ν] δὲ ἀπέχιν

Read (4) -νοΐτου; (8) μικρῷ, χειρὸς; (15) συμβίωσιν; (16) συνειστήκει, συγγραφῆς;
 (17) τελειωθείσης, γραφείου; (20) ἀπέχειν.

- παρὰ τοῦ Σωσᾶ τὰς διὰ τ[ῆ]ς συγγραφῆς
 φερνῆς [ἀ]ρ[γ]υρίου δραχμὰς τρι[ακο]σίας κ[αὶ] τὰ πα]-
 ράφερ[ν]α πάντα καὶ ἐξῆναι ἑκατ[έ]ρῳ [αὐτῶν]
 τὰ καθ' [ἑαυτὸν] οἰκονομῖν {περὶ αὐτῶ[ν]} ὥς
 25 ἂν ἐρήται, τῇ δὲ Θε[νσ]τοτοῇ ἐξαυτίς [συν]-
 αρμόζ[εσθαι, φ] ἂν [βού]ληται ἀνδρεῖ, ἀσυ[κο]-
 φαντήτῳ [οὔση π]αρὰ Λ[υσ]ᾶ καὶ μὴ ἐπε-
 λεύσασθαι ἐ[π'] ἀλλήλους [περ]ὶ μ[η]τε[νὸ]ς τ[ῶν]
 τῇ συνβιώ[σι] ἀνηκ[ό]ν[των] μηδενὸς ἀπαξ-
 30 απλῶς [πρά]γματος μ[έ]χ[ρι] τῆ[ς] ἐνεστώσης
 ἡμέρας. [Ὶπογρα(φεὺς)] Μαρεψῆμις Πακῆβ[κ]ιος [ὠ(ς)]
 L $\overline{\mu\eta}$ ο(ὕλη) ῥινεῖ.

[2nd hand]

- Λυσᾶς ἀπελεύθερος Ἡρακλείας [καὶ] Σωσᾶς
 Ὶρεώτου [...]..α.δ() συνῆρσθαι τὴν προδ[ς]
 τὴν Θε[νσ]τουτῇ<v> συνβίω[σ]ι<v> κ[α]ὶ μὴ {επ}
 35 ἐπελεύσασθαι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἀπα[ξ]απ[λῶ]ς.
 Ὶγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [Μαρ]εψῆ[μις Π]ακ[ή]β[κ]ιο(ς)
 μὴ εἰδ[ό]τ(ων) γρ[άμμα]τ[α]. [3rd h.] [Θενστοτο]ῇτις με-
 τὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρ[ὸς] Ὶρω[νος] σ[υν]ῆρσμε
 τὴν συνβίωσι<v> καὶ ἀπέχω τὴν [φε]ρνῆν. Ὶρω[ν]
 40 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ[τ]ῆς διὰ [τὸ] μ[ὴ] εἰδ[έναι] γρ[άμ]-
 ματα)].

[4th hand]

Σεση(μείωμαι).

Read (21) συγγραφῆς; (23) ἐξῆναι; (24) οἰκονομεῖν; (25) ἂν, αἰρήται; (26) ἂν, ἀνδρεῖ; (28) -λεύσεσθαι, μηδενός; (29) συμβιώσει; (31) ῥινί; (34) συμβίωσιν; (35) ἐπελεύσεσθαι; (39) συμβίωσιν.

The text was reprinted by L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 293. A photograph is to be found in the *editio princeps*, facing p. 70. Parallel texts: *P. Kronion* 52 and *S.B.* 8 9740.

5. **Θενστοτοήτις** (written -ήτιος in lines 5 and 14): the name of this same woman is given by the second hand without the Egyptian fem. article - τ - as **Θεν-στουήτις**, line 24.
10. **ἀπελευθέρως**, "freedman".
12. For Sosas, see G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse* (1968) 135-136.
15. **συναίρεσθαι**, "to annul jointly with (another)". Read **συνήρθαι** here and in line 33 and read **συνήρμαι** in line 38, the basic verb not being αἰρέω but αἶρω; see Cl. Préaux, *Chron. d'Ég.* 37 (1962) 329.
- **συμβίωσις**, "living with", "cohabitation", "marriage".
16. **συνιστάσθαι**, "to come into existence".
- **ἀπὸ συγγράφης ὁμολογίας**, "on the strength of a 'written' (σύγγραφος?) agreement".
17. **τελειοῦν**, "to complete", "to draw up".
20. **εἰς ἀθέτησιν καὶ ἀκύρωσιν**, "in order to have it annulled and rendered ineffectual".
22. **τὰ παράφερνα**: goods which a bride brings over and above (παρά) her dowry (φερνή).
23. **ἐξεῖναι ἑκατέρω . . . , τῇ δὲ Θενστοτοήτι . . .**
24. **τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν**, "his own things".
- **οἰκονομεῖν**, "to dispose of".
25. **ἐξαυτίς**, "anew".
- **συναρμόζεσθαι** (with dat.), "to marry".
26. **ἀσυκοφάντητος**, "not open to accusation".
29. **ἀνήκειν**, "to be connected with".
- **ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς**, "in general".
31. Marepsemis, son of Pakebkis, figures in several other texts, see L.C. Youtie, *Z.P.E.* 19 (1975) 201 and cf. *Chron. d'Ég.* 63 (1988) 353-354.
41. **σημειοῦσθαι**, "to sign", "to certify (that the document is registered)".

EPIKRISIS CONCERNING POLL TAX

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 12 1452

A.D. 127/128

In nome-capitals privileged groups of persons and their offspring are allowed to pay a reduced poll tax. Before a boy becomes liable for tax at the age of 14, his father or guardian has to apply for an official verification (ἐπίκρισις) of his credentials in order to have his privilege recognized by a commission headed by the *strategos* and the secretary of the nome. In the present statement Diodoros (ii) points out why his nephew Sarapion (ii) is entitled to such a privilege.

- Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι στρα(τηγῷ) καὶ
 Ἰέρακι βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) καὶ οἷς
 ἄλ(λοις) καθήκ(ει)
 παρὰ Διοδώρου Πλουτίων(ος)
 τοῦ Διοδώρου μητρὸς(ς) Τατρείφιο(ς)
 5 Ἀμόϊτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.
 Κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) περὶ ἐ[πι]κρί(σεως) τῶν
 προσβ(εβηκότων) εἰς ιγ L, εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων)
 γονέων μητροπ(ολιτῶν) ιβ† εἰσίν,
 ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Κρητικοῦ
 10 ὁ τῶν ὁμοπατρῶν μου ἀδελ(φῶν)
 Σαραπίω(νος) καὶ Τνεφερσόϊτος
 μ[ητρὸς(ς)] Δωγύμεως υἱὸς
 Σαραπίων προσβ(εβηκῶς) εἰς ιγ L τῷ
 διελθ(όντι) ια L Τραϊανοῦ
 15 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.
 Ὅθεν παραγενόμε(νος) πρὸς τὴν
 τούτου ἐπίκρι(σιν), δηλῶ [ε]ῖ[να]ι
 αὐτὸν ιβ†, καὶ τὸν τ[ο]ύτου
 πατέρα ἐμοῦ δὲ ὁμοπά-
 20 τριον ἀδελ(φὸν) Σαραπίωνα τετελ(ευτηκέναι)

τὸ π(ρὶν) ὄντα ιβ† δι' ὁμολόγ(ου) λα[ο]γρα(φίας)

η Λ 'Αδριανοῦ [ἀμ]φόδ(ου) [Παμμέ(νους)]

Πα[ρ]αδείσου, καὶ τὸν π[ατ(έρα) τῶν ὁμο]–

πατρίων μου ἀδελφῶν τοῦ

25 δὲ ἀφήλ(ικος) πάππο(ν) Πλουτίω(να)

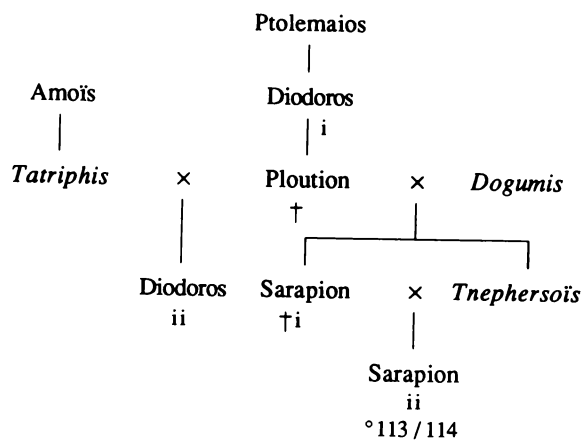
Διοδώ(ρου) τετελ(ευτηκέναι) τὸ π(ρὶν) ὄντα ιβ†

[δ]ν καὶ θ Λ Δ[ομιτιανο]ῦ

— — — — —

A papyrus sheet was found attached to the present one with an application for a second *epikrisis* for the same boy; this time the *epikrisis* concerned the boy's admission to the privileged gymnasium class; for the γυμνάσιον, see p. 163. In both cases it is uncle Diodoros (ii) who makes the application for his nephew Sarapion (ii).

2. οἷς καθήκει, "to whom it concerns": to the other appropriate officials.
4. Read Τατρίφιος.
5. 'Οξύρυνγαν πόλιν, "town of the sacred oxyrhynchos-fishes"; cf. p. 29: Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 380B = 72.
6. ἐπίκρισις, "verification" of the credentials of persons claiming a privilege.
7. προσβαίνειν εἰς, "to attain the age of"; one starts paying poll tax at the age of 14.
8. μητροπολίτης δωδεκαδραχμός: a citizen of the capital of a nome who by privilege paid only twelve drachmas as poll tax; the privileged tax-rate was 12 dr. in Oxyhynchos, but 8 dr. in Hermoupolis and Herakleouspolis and 20 dr. in Arsinoe. Cf. C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (1979).
9. τάσσειν, "to put in a list" (here the list of inhabitants of the Cretan quarter of Oxyrhynchos).
11. Marriages between full brothers and sisters did occur in the Roman period; see no. 37, 8 note.
16. παραγενόμενος, "coming forward".
21. τὸ πρὶν, "formerly", "before".
- ὁμόλογος, "official list" (*P. Oxy.* 36 2756, 13 note) of payments of "poll tax", λαογραφία (cf. no. 25).
22. The quarter was called after "the garden of Pammenes".
27. The information about Ploution was given in the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή (cf. no. 49) of A.D. 89/90.



PREPARATIONS FOR HADRIAN'S VISIT TO EGYPT

Oxyrhynchos

S.B. 6 9617

A.D. 129

A village scribe sends to the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome the list of provisions which he has stored in his villages with a view to the emperor's visit, which did in fact take place one year later (see the travel route, p. 156).

- Ἀσκληπιά<δ>ηι στρα(τηγῷ)
 παρὰ Ὠρίανος κωμογρα(μματέως) Θώλθεως καὶ
 Μουχίναρυὼ τῆς κάτω τοπ(αρχίας).
 Γραφὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέ-
- 5 χρι εἰκάδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς
 Χοΐακ ἡτοιμασμένων πρὸς παρου-
 σίαν τοῦ μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κωμ[ογ]ραμματείας·
- 10 κριθῆ[ς] (ἀρτάβαι) σ
 χόρτου [δε]σ(μαὶ) ᾿Γ
 χοιρίδ(ια) [] τοβ
 ξύ[λων]] . υν
 [] σ
- 15 [] σ
 [] ιε
 . α [] ιβ
 δέλ[φακες]] η
 πρόβ[α]τ(α) [] α . . () σ
- 20 ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου μετ(ρηταὶ) γ
 ἀχύρου σαργ(άναι) ζ
 ὀλοφάκου (ἀρτάβαι) γ

Ὁρίων κωμογραμμα(τεὺς) ἐπιδέδωκα

└ ιδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ

25 Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίακ κ̄γ.

The text [= Leiden Pap. Institute, inv. no. 172] was published by B.A. van Groningen in *Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* II (1957) 253-256, *Preparatives to Hadrian's Visit to Egypt*.

Whenever an official personage pays a visit (παρουσία) to a place, the local population has to provide for his food and entertainment. Thus a tax is levied in 129 and 130 for defraying the costs of Hadrian's visit; see the tax-receipts *O. Strasb.* 141 and 452, and perhaps *O. Leid.* 267 (= *S.B.* 10 10583) and *P. Lond.* 3 902 (= *Z.P.E.* 89 [1991] 89).

6. παρουσία, "visit (of an official personage)".
9. ἐπί is to be taken in the local sense.
- κωμογραμματεία: the district of a village scribe.
10. κριθή, "barley".
11. χόρτος (sc. ξηρός), "hay".
- δεσμή, "bundle".
12. χοιρίδιον, "sucking-pig".
18. δέλαξ, "pig".
19. πρόβατον, "sheep".
20. ἔλαιον ῥαφάνινον, "radish oil".
21. ἄχυρον, "chaff".
- σαργάνη, "basket".
22. δλόφακος, "unbruised lentils".

Hadrian in Egypt

Hadrian was a tireless traveller. On his visit to Egypt see H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (1986) 193 ff. and J.F. Gilliam, *Some Roman Elements in Roman Egypt*, in *Ill. Class. Stud.* 3 (1978) 123-126. The emperor arrived in Egypt from Syria in summer 130 A.D. Various sources inform us of his travel route in Egypt.

Pelusium

Hadrian ordered to restore the tomb of Pompeius (*Vita Hadriani*, 14.4; Dio Cassius, *Epitome*, 69.11): summer 130 A.D.

Alexandria

Coins record his arrival at the end of his 14th year: before 29 August

Antinoöpolis

Hadrian soon left for Thebes, travelling by boat. His friend Antinoos drowned in the Nile and near this spot Antinoöpolis was founded (see p. 185): 30 October

Thebes

Inscriptions on the "Colossus of Memnon" commemorate the visits of Hadrian and the empress to this statue on the west bank to hear it "singing" at sunrise (A. and E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, nos. 28-33) and cf. A. Théodoridès, *Pèlerinage au Colosse de Memnon* in *Chron. d'Ég.* 64 [1989] 267-282): 18-21 November

Tebtynis

On his way back to Alexandria he visited Tebtynis in the Arsinoïte nome according to a calendar of cult offerings (*P. Oslo* 3 77): 1 December

Alexandria

He came back in Alexandria before 15 December (*P. Oxy.* 31 2553, 11-13) and stayed there until spring 131: winter 130/131

NOTIFICATION TO THE KEEPERS OF PROPERTY REGISTERS

Theadelphia

P. Fay. 31

A.D. 125-130

This notification concerns a fifth part of a house and an apartment which the woman Apia wishes to sell to Sokrates, who is probably her sister's grandson. She asks the keepers of the property registers of the Arsinoïte nome to authorize the notary of Theadelphia to draw up the contract for her.

[2nd h.] [...]κρ[...] σεσ[η(μείωμαι) .] L, Μεσ[ο(ρή) .].

[1st h.] [Δ]ιονυσίωι καὶ Θέωνι γε[γυ(μνασιαρχηκόσι)]

βιβλ(ιοφύλαξι) ἐνκτησεω(ν) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου)

παρὰ Ἀπίας τῆς Ἡράτ[ος το]ῦ

5 Ἡρακλᾶτος ἀπὸ κώμης

Θεαδελφείας Θεμίστου μερίδος, μετὰ

κυρίου τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς Τανε-

φερῶτος υἱοῦ Τεῶτος τοῦ Σαμβᾶ.

Ἀφ' οὗ ἔχωι ἐν ἀπογραφῇ ἡμίτους

10 δεκάτου μέρους {μέρους} κοινοῦ καὶ

ἀδιαιρέτου οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς πρότερο(ν)

Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Σωκράτους τοῦ Ἡρωνο(ς)

καὶ ὅλου οἴκου ἔν συνοικ(ία) ἐν τῇ προκειμένη

κώμῃ Θεαδελφεία, βούλομαι ἐξοι-

15 κονομῆσαι πέμπτον μέρος ὅλης

τῆς οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ τοῦ ὅλου

οἴκου Σωκράτῃ Διδᾶ τοῦ Σαμβᾶ

ἀπὸ Βιθυνῶν Ἰσίωνος πρωταπογ(ραψομένω)

τιμῆς ἀργ(υρίου) ἡ διακοσίων. Διὸ προσ-

20 αγγέλλωι ὅπως ἐπισταλῇ τῷ <ἀσχολουμένῳ> τὸ

γραφεῖον Θεαδελφείας συνχρημα-

[τίζ]ειν μοι ὡς καθήκει.

The text was reprinted by L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 201.

In Roman Egypt every metropolis had its βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, "register of properties", which was kept by two "keepers" called βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων. Everyone who owned a house or a plot of land was listed in it, together with his immovable property. Changes of ownership, mortgages, etc. were also entered into it and recorded with the property concerned; the notification no. 37 deals with the registration of a kind of mortgage.

Whoever wished to alienate a house or a plot of land had to prove that he was entitled to do so. In the Ptolemaic period he could prove it by producing in the notary's office the title-deeds of the property concerned, whereas in the Roman era he needed an official statement of the βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων. In the present notification the owner applies for such a statement authorizing (ἐπιστέλλειν) the notary to draw up the contract of sale.

1. Signature of a clerk of the office of Dionysios and Theon to whom Apia had handed in this notification.
- The year-number ranges between θ and ιδ because the persons mentioned in line 2 officiated in those years; see *B.G.U.* 11 2093, 3 note.
3. βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων, "keeper of the register of properties".
9. Read ἔχω and connect ἀφ' οὗ with μέρους (10) and οἴκου (13).
- ἐν ἀπογραφῇ: registered in my name.
10. κοινὸς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος, "being common and undivided".
13. οἶκος ἐν συνοικίᾳ, "room in an apartment house", "apartment".
14. ἐξοικονομεῖν, "to alienate", "to dispose of".
18. ἀπὸ Βιθυνῶν Ἰσίωνος: a person "of" (i.e. inscribed in) the list of persons of the quarter of "the Bithynians of Ision".
- πρωταπογράφεσθαι, "to register property for the first time"; consequently Sokrates' name does not yet figure in the property registers.
20. Read -αγγέλλω.
- ἐπιστέλλειν, "to give instructions", "to authorize"; notaries were not allowed to draw up legal deeds with regard to immovables without authorization (ἐπίσταλ-μα) of the keepers of the property registers (cf. no. 41, § 101).
- ὁ ἀσχολούμενος τὸ γραφεῖον, "the official in charge of the notary's office".
21. συγγραματίζειν μοι: to co-operate with me, to draw up a deed together for me.

36

LOAN ON SECURITY

(ὑπαλλαγή)

Karanis

P.S.A. Athen. 21

A.D. 131

Thasos, a woman, acknowledges having received as a loan from Petheus 100 drachmas of silver money and 12 1/6 artabas of wheat, to be repaid within 10 months. The money bears interest of 1 per cent a month, but for the wheat Thasos probably had to pay the usual lump amount of 50 per cent (see no. 72). In order to guarantee repayment of her debt, Thasos engages not to dispose of her one-fifth share of a house.

Ἔτους ἑκαιδεκάτου Α[ὕ]το[κρ]άτορος Κ[αίς]αρος Τραϊανοῦ
 Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μην[ὸς] Σε[βας]τοῦ ἡ, ἐ[ν] Κα[ρ]ανίδι τῆς
 Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσι[ν]οΐτου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογῇ
 Θασῶς

Πεθέως τοῦ Πασοκνοπαίο[υ] ὥς ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα οὐλῇ
 5 χειρὶ ἀριστερᾷ μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Πετεσοῦχου τοῦ
 Πεταῦτος ὥς ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα οὐ[λῇ] ὀφρὺ ἀριστερᾷ, Πε-
 θεῖ Πνεφερωῦτος ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα οὐλῇ γόνατι ἀριστερῷ,
 ἔχειν παρ' [α]ὐτοῦ παραχρῆμα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργ(υρίου)
 † ἑκα-

[τὸν] χρῆ[σιν, τ]ό[κ]ου δραχμιαίου τῇ μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον,
 10 [ἔτι δ]ὲ καὶ π[υ]ροῦ ἀρ[τά]βας] δώδεκα ἕκτον μέτρῳ ἐξ<α-
 χ>οινίκῳ

ἐρμηνέως [Καρα]νίδος, ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ποιησάτω
 ἡ ὁμολογοῦσα τῷ Πεθεῖ ἐν μην[ὶ] Πα[ύ]νι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 ἑκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. Ἐὰν δὲ
 μὴ ἀποδῷ, ἀποτισάτω παραχρῆμα μεθ' ἡμιολίας ἑκαὶ τόκου,
 γινο-

15 μένης τῷ Πεθεῖ τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε τῆς ὁμολογούσης
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῆς πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης·
 μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τ[ῇ] Θασῶτι πωλὶν μηδὲ

- ὑποτίθεσται μηδὲ ἄλλως καταχρηματίσαι τὸ ὑπάρχον
αὐτῇ πέμπτον μέρος οἰκία[ς] καὶ α[ὕ]λης ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, οὗ γί-
20 τονος· νότου Μύσθου τοῦ Μελαγίνωνος οἰκία, βορρᾶ
Βεκενω.ψο οἰκία, λιβὸς εἴσοδος καὶ ἔξοδος, ἀπηλιώτ(ου)
[ρύμη] βασιλική. [2nd hand] Ὑπογραφεὺς Ἦρων Σατύρου.
[3rd hand]
[Θα]σῶς Πεθέω(ς) το(ῦ) Πασοκνοπ[αί]ου μετὰ κυρ(ίου)
[το]ῦ ἀνδρὸς Πετεσούχου Πεταῦτος ὁμολ(ογῶ) ἔχειν
25 [παρ]ὰ τοῦ Πεθέως Πνεφ(ερῶτος) ἀργ(υρίου) δραχμ(άς)
[.]. [κα]ὶ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δώδεκα ἔκτον,
[ᾶς ἀπ]οδῶ(σω) μη(νὶ) Π[αῦ]νι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἱς L καὶ
[.]. εχ[.]. τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι πέμπτον
[μέρ]ος οἰκ[ί]ας καὶ αὐλῆς ἐν τῇ αὐτ(ῇ) κώμ(ῃ).
30 [Ἔγρ(αψεν)] ὑπὲρ [αὐτ(ῆς)] Ἦρ[ω]ν Σατύρου μὴ εἰδ(υίας)
γρ(άμματα).
[2nd hand]
[Ἄναγ]έγρ(απται) διὰ τ[ο]ῦ ἐν Καρα(νίδι) γραφείου.

A plate is given in the *editio princeps*, πίναξ VI.

9. τόκος δραχμιαῖος τῇ μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον, "interest at the rate of one drachma per mina monthly", cf. no. 19, 13 τόκος ὡς ἐκ δραχμῆς μιᾶς κ.τ.λ., and see also no. 41, § 105.
10. μέτρον ἑξαχοίνικον, "measure containing six χοίνικες" i.e. about 1/6th artaba.
11. ἑρμηνεύς, "interpreter" [C.P.R. 13, p. 79-82], "broker": middleman in market trade; the measure of the ἑρμηνεύς of Karanis is used here as a standard measure.
16. ἐγ: read ἐκ.
17. μέχρις οὗ, "until".
- μὴ ἐξεῖναι, "it shall not be allowed"; such a prohibition may be recorded in the property registers; see no. 37, where this kind of mortgage is called ὑπαλλαγή.
- Read πωλεῖν.
18. Read ὑποτίθεσθαι.
- καταχρηματίζειν, "to dispose of".
19. Read γείτονες; on interchange of ο and ε (-νος = -νες), see no. 19, 4 note (προσ- = πρεσ-).
28. One expects here e.g. μὴ καταχρηματίσαι sc. ὁμολογῶ, "I promise not to dispose of".

NOTIFICATION TO THE KEEPERS OF PROPERTY REGISTERS

Tebtynis

P. Kronion 18

A.D. 144

A.D. 140 a woman called Tephorsaïs borrowed with her sister 372 drachmas from another woman, Didyme: *P. Kronion* 17. Although the debt was payable in September 141, the money had not yet been repaid in January 144 when Tephorsaïs decided to mortgage (ὑπαλλάσσειν) two arouras for this debt. She now informs the keepers of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων of this mortgage (ὑπαλλαγή), thus rendering it impossible for her to dispose of her mortgaged arouras until the debt is paid: *P. Kronion* 18.

[2nd hand]

Φλάο(υιος) Δίος σεση(μείωμαι). Λ ζ Ἀντω(νίνου) Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,
Τῷβ(ι) τῇ.

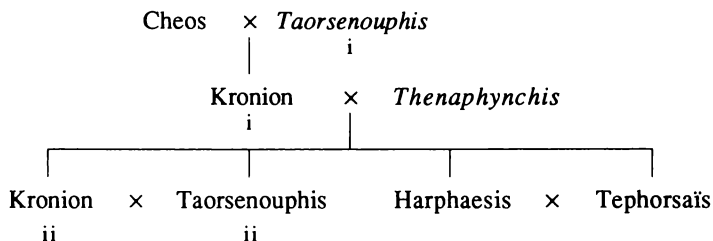
[1st hand]

- Φλανίωι Δομιττίωι καὶ Σαβείνωι τῷ καὶ
Θρακίδᾳ γεγυμ[μ]νασιαρχ(ηκόσι) βιβλιοφύλ(αξι) ἐνκτ[ή]σε(ων)
- 5 παρὰ Τεφορσαίτου τῆς Κρονίωνος τοῦ
Χεῶτος μητ(ρός) Θεναπύγχεως ἀπὸ κώ-
μης Τεπτύνεως μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀδελφο(ῦ)
Ἀρ[φ]ήσεως. Ἀφ' ὧν ἀπεγραψάμην, διὰ τῶν
προ[τ]έρων καὶ τῇ π[ρο]θε[σ]μίαν, περὶ κώ-
10 μην Τ[ε]πτύν[ι]ν κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἀρου-
ρῶν τεσσάρων καὶ ἐπιβολ(ῆς) κώμης ἀρού-
ρης τ[ε]τάρτου βούλομαι ἐκουσίως καὶ
αὐθε[ρ]έτως ὑπαλλάξαι κλήρου κατοικ(ικοῦ)
ἀρούρας δύο [ἐ]κ τοῦ πρὸς νότον μέρους
- 15 Διδύμη Ἡρωνος τοῦ Ἀμαίτου πρὸς ἃς ὀφείλω
αὐτῇ σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου Ταορσενοῦφει
κατὰ ἀσφάλειαν ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου
δραχμὰς τριακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα δύο
καὶ τοὺς τ[ό]κους, καθ' ὧν καὶ μὴ συνχρη-

20 ματίζεσθαί μοι μηδὲν ἀπλῶς οἰκονο-
 μούση, ἐπ' ἐξαλλοτριώσι ἢ ἐπὶ καταχρη-
 ματισμῶι, ἄχρι οὗ ἀποδῶ τὰ ὀφειλό-
 μενα καὶ ἀπενέγκω τὴν [κ]αθήκουσαν
 ἀποχὴν. Διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὴν ὑπαλλαγὴν.

The text was first published by G.R. Carrara and G. Flore in *J.J.P.* 15 (1965) 119-128 = *S.B.* 8 9880.

The notification, *P. Kronion* 18, and the earlier loan, *P. Kronion* 17, were found together, the one gummed to the other. Both have been crossed out (χιάζειν; cf. no. 21, 16 and p. 147, plate) in order to make them null and void. Apparently the two documents had originally been given to the creditor; after the debt was paid, the documents were cancelled and given back to the debtors, Tephorsaïs and her sister, in whose archive they were found.



The archive contains about 70 documents which were found in 1934, together with many other discarded papyri, in the cellar of a house in Tebtynis; see Cl. Gallazzi, *La "Cantina dei Papiri" di Tebtynis*, in *Z.P.E.* 80 (1990) 283-288. The archive was published in 1971 by D. Foraboschi, *L'archivio di Kronion*. The texts range from A.D. 107 to 153 and seem to deal with an indigenous Egyptian family living in rather modest circumstances.

1. Signature of a clerk of the office of Domittios and Sabinos to whom Tephorsaïs had handed in this notification.
3. Read Φλαουίωι.
4. βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων, "keeper of the register of properties"; see no. 35; for γεγυμνασιαρχηκότες see opposite.
8. Harphaësis was at the same time Tephorsaïs' husband; see *P. Kronion* 17, 5-9: Τεφορσαΐς - - - μετὰ κυρίου - - - τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὄντος τοῦ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀρφαήσεως. Marriages between brothers and sisters do not occur in Egypt, outside the royal family, before the Roman era. Such marriages are not uncommon in the first and second centuries A.D. (see e.g. nos. 33, 46 and 49); they were probably contracted for economic reasons, for instance in order to keep undivided the family

possessions. The practice is chiefly found with indigenous Egyptian families; it disappears as a result of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (no. 56). Cf. e.g. K. Hopkins, *Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt*, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980) 303-354; O. Montevecchi, *Endogamia e cittadinanza romana*, in *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 137-144.

- ἀφ' ὧν - - ἀρουρῶν τεσσάρων (10-11).
- 9. τῶν προτέρων: sc. βιβλιοφυλάκων.
- προθεσμίαν, read προθεσμία, "fixed time": apparently the land in consideration had been inherited by Tephorsais who states now that she had properly notified the βιβλιοφύλακες of this fact within the fixed time.
- 10. κλήρος κατοικικός: estate originally assigned to a military colonist (κάτοικος); cf. p. 9.
- 11. ἐπιβολή, "additional land": a piece of abandoned land which the government added to someone's estate compelling him to pay taxes upon it.
- 13. αὐθαίρετως, "by free choice".
- ὑπαλλάσσειν, "to give as security": this means that the debtor renounces voluntarily his right to dispose of his pledged property until (ἄχρι οὗ, line 22; μέχρις οὗ, no. 36, 17) the debt is settled. Cf. ὑπάλλαγμα, "pledged property" and ὑπαλλαγή, "pledging as security" (line 24).
- 14. τὸ πρὸς νότου μέρος, "the southern part (of a parcel)".
- 15. πρὸς ὧς ὀφείλω - - δραχμάς (line 18).
- 17. ἀσφάλεια, "deed", "contract"; the loan of money *P. Kronion* 17 is meant.
- 19. συγχρηματίζεσθαι is an imperatival infinitive.
- 21. "By means of alienation (ἐξαλλοτριώσεις) or any other legal act (καταχρηματισμός)".
- 23. ἀποφέρειν, "to obtain".
- ἡ καθήκουσα ἀποχή, "the appropriate receipt".

γυμνάσιον

The gymnasium in Egypt was a Greek establishment, an institution of Greek education. "Members of the gymnasium", οἱ ἐκ τοῦ (or ἀπὸ) γυμνασίου, constituted a privileged class. In 4/5 A.D. Augustus had lists drawn up of persons entitled to become a member with their descendants; thereafter parents had to apply for the admission of their children to the gymnasium class (see no. 33). The "director of a gymnasium", γυμνασίαρχος, was an influential person, at least up to the second cent. A.D., and former gymnasiarchs (called γεγυμνασιαρχηκῶς or γυμνασιαρχήσας) were often charged with important tasks like keeping archives as βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων.

Literature. B.A. van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (1924); see also R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-roman Egypt* (1955) 636 ff., C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (1979) and P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (1986).

LATIN LETTER SENT FROM ALEXANDRIA

Karanis

P. Mich. 8 468

early 2nd cent. A.D.

This is the beginning of one of the letters which Claudius Terentianus, a young officer attached to the fleet in Alexandria, sent to his father Claudius Tiberianus. He writes of an illness which he suffered on board ship. Nonetheless he has been able to dispatch to his father clothing, glassware, papyrus, ink, pens and Alexandrian bread; it is clear that shops in Alexandria provided things not to be found at Karanis. In return he asks for footwear.

Claudius Terentianus Claud[i]o Tiberi[ano pa]-

tri suo ed domino plur[i]mam sal[utem].

Ante omnia opto te bene [v]alere, que m[ihi ma]-

xime vota [su]nt. Scia[s me, p]ater, a[cccepisse]

5 res quas mi misisti perium Th. .[. . . .]

vetranum et per Numesianum: . [. . .] .

et palliolum. Et ago tibi gratias quod me dign[um]

habuisti ed securum fecisti. Misi t[i]bi, pater, per

Martialem imboluclum concosu[tu]m in quo

10 habes amicla par unu<m>, amictoria [pa]r unu<m>, saba-

na par unu<m>, saccos par unu<m>, `e[t]` str[a]glum lini[u<m>].

Emeram aute<m> illuc con culcitam et pulbin[u<m>],

et, me iacentem in liburna, sublata mi s[unt].

Et <h>abes in imboluclum amictorium singla-

15 re; hunc tibi mater mea misit. Et accipias

caveam gallinaria<m> in qua ha[bes] sunthe[ses]

vitriae et phialas quinaras p[ar u]nu<m> et ca-

(2) ed = et; (3) que = quae; (5) mi = mihi (but mihi in 24); (8) ed = et (but et in 6 and 7), securum = securum; (9) imboluclum = involuclum; (10) amicla = amicula; (11) straglum = stragulum, liniu = lineum; (12) aute = autem (but autem in 25), con = cum, pulbinum = pulvinum; (13) mi = mihi; (14) abes = habes (but habes in 10 and 16), imboluclum = involuclum, singlare = singulare; (17) vitriae = vitreae.

- lices paria sex et chartas sch[ola]reꝯ duas
 et in charta atramentum et calamos q[u]i[nq]ue
 20 et panes Alexandrinos viginti. Rogo te, [p]a[t]er,
 ud contentus sis ista. Modo si non iacu[i]sse<m>,
 speraba<m> me pluriam tibi missiturum eđ
 itarum spero, si vixero. Rogo te, pater, si ti-
 bi videbitur, ut mittas mihi inde caligas cori
 25 subtalare<s> ed udones par. Caligae autem nucl[e]a-
 tae nugae sunt; bis me im mensem calcio.

(21) *ud* = *ut*; (22) *ed* = *et*; (23) *itarum* = *iterum*; (25) *ed* = *et*; (26) *im* = *in*; *calcio* = *calceo*.

The letter is published again as *C.E.L.* 142 [= P. Cugusi, *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum*, I-II (1992), *Papyrologica Florentina* XXIII]. The text is reproduced in the *editio princeps*, plate I and in *C.E.L.*, plate XI.

We have marked in our text the lacunas and uncertain letters as indicated in the transcription given in the *editio princeps*; there are some discrepancies with the transcription in *C.E.L.* 142, because since the former was made, the papyrus "has suffered small losses along the edges of the numerous breaks" (*P. Mich.* 8, p. 25). *C.E.L.* 143 is a fragment of a copy of the same letter which Terentianus probably dispatched separately in order to insure delivery.

The papyrus belongs to the "Tiberianus archive" which was discovered under the stairway of a house in Karanis. The archive consists of six letters written in Latin and nine in Greek. Terentianus was a bilingual, who wrote to his father in both Latin and Greek. In his Latin there are some signs of Greek interference. Since, on the other hand, there is no Latin interference in his Greek, Greek must have been his usual language.

R.W. Davies, *The Enlistment of Claudius Terentianus*, in *B.A.S.P.* 10 (1973) 21-25; J.N. Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus* (1977).

Phonology. Initial *h* and final *m* are frequently omitted in vulgar Latin; we have added these letters within brackets <*h*>, <*m*> in the text above; a hypercorrect *m* is to be found in line 22.

4. *scias* has the connotation of *scito*; cf. *accipias* – *accipe* in line 15.
7. **palliolum**: a small ἱμάτιον.
9. **involucrum consutum**: a cloth bag (cf. l. 14) closed by stitching the ends together, so Martialis could not tamper with it; *concosutum* = *consutum* reinforced with *con*.
10. **amicula par unum** (= ζεῦχος α): the paratactic construction is characteristic of lists; an *amiculum* is a "mantle", "cloak".
- **amictorium**, "scarf" (also in line 14).
- **sabana**, "linen towels".

11. **stragulum**, "blanket", a covering for a bed or couch.
12. *illuc* for *illud*.
- **cum** is followed by an accusative; therefore we supply *pulbin*[*u<m>*] instead of *pulbin*[*o*] as the *editio princeps* did.
- **culcita**, "mattress".
- **pulvinus**, "pillow".
13. **iacentem**, "lying sick"; *me iacentem* is probably an *accusative absolute*.
- **liburna**: a light, fast-sailing warship.
14. **in** is followed by an accusative (also in line 26).
- **singulare**, "of single thickness", as opposed to *duplex*, διπλοῦς.
15. *hunc* for *hoc*.
16. **cavea gallinaria**, "bird case": a right-angled crate used in Egypt even today for dispatching fragile things.
- 16-17. **sunthe**[*ses*] **vitreae** (for *vitreas*) "a dinner-set of glassware"; συνθέσεις (plur.) is here rendered as *sunthe*[*ses*], but *sunthe*[*sis*] or *-[seis]* are other possibilities.
17. **phiala** = φιάλη, "bowl".
- **quinarius**: a measure of capacity.
18. **charta** = χάρτης, "papyrus" (also line 19).
19. **atramentum**: as it is wrapped in papyrus the ink must have been a solid product meant to be dissolved. For papyri used as wrappers, see e.g. no. 2 and *P. Lond.* 7 2120, 2133 and 2187.
- **calamus** = κάλαμος, "reed pen".
21. **ista**: these things.
- *modo si = si modo*.
22. **pluriam**: read *pluria = plura*.
- *missiturum = missurum*.
24. **caliga**, "soldier's boot" (also line 25).
- **cori**: genitive (of material) of *corium*, "leather".
25. **subtalaris**, "not reaching as high as the ankle": low leathern boots are meant.
- **udo**, "felt slipper".
- 25-26. the meaning of *nucleatus* is unknown, but *caligae nucleatae* are worthless.
26. **nugae**, "worthless stuff".
- **me calceo**, "I provide myself with footgear".

LETTER FROM A RECRUIT IN ITALY

Philadelphia

B.G.U. 2 423

2nd cent. A.D.

Apion writes his father in Philadelphia telling him that he has arrived safe and sound in Italy. He is assigned to the ship Athenonike at Misenum and has received the name of Antonius Maximus. The letter was first sent to the secretary of a cohort stationed at Alexandria and then forwarded to Philadelphia.

- Ἀπίων Ἐπιμάχῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ
 κυρίῳ πλείστα χαίρειν. Πρὸ μὲν πάν-
 των εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
 ἐρωμένον εὐτυχεῖν μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς
 5 μου καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
 μου. Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι,
 ὅτι μου κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν
 ἔσωσε εὐθέως. Ὅτε εἰσῆλθον εἰς Μη-
 σήνους, ἔλαβα βιατικὸν παρὰ Καίσαρος
 10 χρυσοῦς τρεῖς. Καὶ καλῶς μοί ἐστιν.
 Ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν, κύριέ μου πατήρ,
 γράψον μοι ἐπιστόλιον, πρῶτον
 μὲν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, δεύ-
 τερον περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου,
 15 τρ[ί]τον, ἵνα σου προσκυνήσω τὴν
 χέραν, ὅτι με ἐπαίδευσας καλῶς
 καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐλπίζω ταχὺ προκό-
 σαι τῶν θε[ῶ]ν θελόντων. Ἄσπασαι
 Καπίτων[α] πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς
 20 [μ]ου καὶ Σε[ρηνί]λλαν καὶ το[ὺς] φίλους μο[υ].
 Ἐπεμψά σο[ι εἰ]κόνην μ[ου] διὰ Εὐκτῆ-
 μονος.

Ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

[Later addition]

22a Ἐσ[τ]ι[ν] μου ὄνομα Ἀντωνίς Μά-

23a ξιμος.

24a Κεντυρί(α) Ἀθηνονίκη.

[Transversely on left margin]

25 Ἀσπάζεται σε Σερήνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δ[α]ίμονος [καὶ

. . . .]ς ὁ τοῦ [. . .]-

26 ρου καὶ Τούρβων ὁ τοῦ Γαλλωνίου καὶ Δ[. . .]νᾶς ὁ τ[οῦ

. . .]σεν[. . .]

27 [].

Verso

[First address]

28 Ἀπόδος εἰς χώρτην πρίμαν

29 λιβλαρίῳ ἀπὸ Ἀπίωνος ὧς

X

Ἀπαμνηῶν Ἰο[υλι]α[ν]οῦ Ἀν[. . .]

τε Ἐπιμάχῳ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.

[Second address]

30 Ε[ἰς] Φ[ιλ]αδελφίαν Ἐπιμ X ἀχῶ ἀπὸ Ἀπίωνος υἱοῦ.

The text has been reprinted several times; see e.g. U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 480; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1, no. 112; J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten*, no. 84. A plate is to be found e.g. in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, tab. 28. Parallel texts: *P. Mich.* 8 490 and 491.

B.G.U. 2 632 is a second letter from Apion = Antonius Maximus. He wrote it some time later, when he had married and got a son.

4. Read ἐρωμένον.

6. Serapis (or Sarapis) is here god of the sea.

7. εἰς θάλασσαν, "at sea".

8. σῶζειν, "to save".

— Μησηνοί = Misenum, a naval base near Naples, which is also mentioned in no. 50, 3; Apollinaris (see opposite) writes Μισηνοί.

9. ἔλαβα = ἔλαβον; cf. no. 40, 2, note.

— βιάτικον = *viaticum*, "travelling allowance".

10. Apion is satisfied with his place as a member of the fleet (καλῶς μοί ἐστιν), as Apollinaris (see opposite) was satisfied too, when he wrote to his mother: ἐγὼ γὰρ

- εἰς καλὸν τόπον ἦλθον, "for I have come into a fine place".
11. Read πάτερ.
14. τῆς: sc. σωτηρίας.
15. προσκυνεῖν, "to greet respectfully", "to kiss".
16. Read χεῖρα, "hand", "handwriting".
17. ἐκ τούτου, "thereby", "because of this education".
- προκόπτειν, "to make advancement"; read προκόψαι.
- 19-20. Probably Capito and Serenilla were Apion's brother and sister-in-law.
21. ἔπεμψα: the so-called epistolary aorist is used because the action so described will be past at the time the letter is read.
- εἰκόνιον, "personal description": his new Latin name and the name of his ship. Some scholars translate εἰκόνιον as "portrait".
- 22a-24a *postscript*.
- 22a Like every peregrine soldier who joined the fleet at Misenum, Apion acquired the *latinitas* and hence he received a Latin name, *Antonius Maximus*. In this period there were three classes: Roman citizens, *latini* and *peregrini* ("foreigners" such as Egyptians); the class of *latini* stood midway between the citizens and the *peregrini*.
- 24a κεντυρία = *centuria*, in the fleet identical with a ship (see also below, line 7).
- 28-30. The *editio princeps* prints the two addresses in different order; on the cross see p. 173.
28. χώρτη πρῖμα Ἀπαμηνῶν = *cohors I Apamenorum*.
- Read Ἰουλιανῶ.
29. λιβλάριος = *librarius*, "scribe", "secretary". [Cf. p. 282].
- ὥστε (with dat.), "for", "to be forwarded to".

Apollinaris

Apollinaris was another recruit from Egypt who was going to join the fleet in Misenum. In Rome he wrote a similar letter to his mother in Karanis, *P. Mich.* 8 491 [2nd cent. A.D.]:

- 4 Γεινώσκειν σε
- 5 θέλω, μήτηρ, ὅτι ἐρρωμένος ἐγενόμην εἰς Ῥώμην
- 6 Παχῶν μηνὶ κἔ καὶ ἐκληρώθην εἰς Μισσηνοῦς.
- 7 Οὐπω δὲ τὴν κε<v>τυρίαν μοι ἔγνων, οὐ γὰρ ἀπε-
- 8 ληλύτειν εἰς Μισσηνοῦς ὅτε σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην
- 9 ἔγραφον.

"I wish you to know, mother, that I arrived in Rome in good health on the 25th of the month Pachon and was assigned to Misenum. But I have not yet learned my century, for I had not yet gone to Misenum when I wrote you this letter" (translation by the editors of this text).

ΘΕΙΜΟΥΘΑΣΟΥΔΑΛΕΡΙΑΤΙΤΗΜΗΤΡΟΥ
ΤΑΧΕΡΙΝΚΕΔΑΛΙΑΝΤΕΣΥΤΕΝΙΝΕΛΑ
ΧΑΛΚΑΔΟΥΔΑΛΕΡΙΟΥΠΥΡΙΔΙΝΟΠΟΥΛΑ
ΑΓΙΑΖΕΥΤΗΘΙΚΟΣΙΚΕΚΟΛΛΟΥΡΙΑ
5 ΔΕΚΑΖΕΥΤΗΕΜΥΕΝΜΟΙΤΑΧΟ
ΣΙΚΑΤΗΤΙΜΗΣΚΕΑΡΙΔΙΑΚΑΛΑ
ΠΟΚΟΥΣΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣΔΟΣΣΕΙΔΥΤΑΟΥ
ΔΑΛΕΙΩΚΕΑΠΤΑΜΗΝΟΝΕΙΜΟΝ
ΔΕΤΗΕΑΣΠΑΖΟΜΕΑΓΤΕΜ'ΙΝΚΕ
10 ΝΙΚΑΡΟΥΝΤΗΜΙΚΡΑΝΚΕΟΥΛΕΙΝΤΟ
ΕΙΝΜΟΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΟΥΤΕΝΕΙΝΤΟ
ΝΟΚΕΔΙΕΝΥΣΙΑΝΚΕΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥ
ΝΠΟΛΛΑΚΕΤΑΝΣΙΝΤΗΝΩΚΡΑ
ΠΟΛΛΑΚΕΤΟΥΣΕΝΟΙΚΟΝΑΝΤΕΣ
15 ΚΕΠΟΣΕΧΙΜΟΥΟΠΑΤΗΡΠΕΜΥΙΟ
ΜΟΙΤΗΝΠΑΣΙΝΟΤΙΑΣΘΕΝΟΝΑ
ΤΗΘΕΑΠΕΜΟΥΑΣΠΑΖΟΜΕΜΑ
ΜΑΝΑΣΠΑΖΕΤΕΝΜΑΣΡΟΔΕ
ΑΓΙΑΚΑΛΥΤΗΝΕΙΣΤΗΝΤΕΧΝ
20 ΝΑΥΧΕΡΖΟΔΥΤΗΣΑΛΛΑΝΔΥΟΘΕ
ΧΟ ΜΩΠΗ

LETTER OF AN ILLITERATE WOMAN

Philadelphia

S.B. 5 7572

early 2nd cent. A.D.

Thermouthas sends a letter to her mother Valerias. This letter is interesting because of its orthography and the clumsy construction of sentences; the handwriting (see plate opposite) is that of an inexperienced scribe.

A
Original version

B
Corrected version

Θερμουθάς Ουαλεριᾶτι τῇ μητρὶ
πλῖς-
τα χέριν κὲ διὰ παντὲς ὑγένιν.
Ἔλα-
βα παρὰ Ουαλερίου ὅσ' πυρίδιον ὅπου
λα-
κάνια ζεύγη εἴκοσι κὲ κολλούρια
δέκα ζεύγη'. Πέμπεν μοι τὰ λο-
δίκια τῆς τιμῆς κὲ αἰρίδια καλὰ
πόκους τέσσαρες. Δὸς σὲ αὐτὰ Οὐ-
αλερίφ. Κὲ αἰπτὰ μηνὼν εἶμιν
ἄρτι. Κὲ ἀσπάζομε Ἄρτεμιν κὲ
Νικαροῦν τὴ μικρὰν κὲ Ουαλέριν
τὸ ν'
κύρην μου — ἐπιθυμῶ αὐτὲν εἶν τῷ
νῷ — κὲ Διενυσίαν κὲ Δημητροῦ-
ν πολλὰ κὲ Ταῆσιν τὴν μικρὰν
πολλὰ κὲ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες.

5

10

Θερμουθάς Ουαλεριᾶτι τῇ μητρὶ
πλεῖς-
τα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαί-
νειν. Ἔλα-
βα παρὰ Ουαλερίου σπυρίδιον ὅπου
λα-
γάνια ζεύγη εἴκοσι καὶ κολλούρια
δέκα ζεύγη. Πέμπων μοι τὰ λω-
δίκια τῆς τιμῆς καὶ ἐρίδια καλὰ
πόκους τέσσαρας. Δὸς σὺ αὐτὰ Οὐ-
αλερίφ. Καὶ ἑπτὰ μηνῶν ἤμην
ἄρτι. Καὶ ἀσπάζομαι Ἄρτεμιν καὶ
Νικαροῦν τὴν μικρὰν καὶ Ουαλέριον
τὸν
κύριόν μου — ἐπιθυμῶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ
νῷ — καὶ Διονυσίαν καὶ Δημητροῦ-
ν πολλὰ καὶ Ταῆσιν τὴν μικρὰν
πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.

←

No. 40. Letter written by an inexperienced hand; it contains many orthographic mistakes. The photograph is slightly reduced.

Κὲ πὼς ἔχει μου ὁ πατήρ; πέμψεις
 μοι τὴν πάσιν ὅτι ἀσθενὼν ἀ-
 πῆθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Ἀσπάζομε μά-
 μαν. Ἀσπάζετε ἡμᾶς Ῥοδίνη.
 Βέβληκα αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν τέχνη]-
 ν· αὖ χρήζο αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἡδύος ἔ-
 χο. Φαῶπι [η].

15

20

Καὶ πὼς ἔχει μου ὁ πατήρ; πέμψεις
 μοι τὴν φάσιν ὅτι ἀσθενῶν ἀ-
 πῆλθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Ἀσπάζομαι μά-
 μαν. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ῥοδίνη.
 Βέβληκα αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν τέχνη-
 ν· αὖ χρήζω αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἡδέως ἔ-
 χω. Φαῶφι ἡ.

Verso

Ἀπόδος εἰς Φίλα Χ δελ(φίαν) Οὐαλεριᾶτι τῇ μητρί.

The text [= University of Michigan Collection, inv. no. 188] was published by J.G. Winter in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 363-366: *An Illiterate Letter of the Second Century*.

2. **ἔλαβα** = ἔλαβον: endings of the first aorist are often used with λαμβάνειν; see B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, p. 152.
3. **σπυρίδιον**, "basket".
 — ὅπου = ἐν φ.
- **λαγάνιον**, "cake of wheat".
4. **κολλούριον**, "loaf of bread".
5. **λωδίκιον**, "blanket".
6. The price of the blankets was agreed upon by Thermouthas and Valerias.
 — **ἐρίδιον**, "wool".
7. **πόκος**, "fleece", "shearing".
8. ἡμην = ἦν; for pregnancy see O. Montevicchi, Πόσων μηνῶν ἔστιν, *Z.P.E.* 34 (1979) 113-117.
11. **ἐπιθυμεῖν**, "to long for".
16. **φάσις**, "tidings".
- 17-18. **μάμα**, "nurse", "nanny".
19. **τέχνη**, "handwork".
20. **αὐτῆς**: the genitive tends to replace the dative.

After having finished the letter the sender rolled it, wrote the address on the roll and folded this in two thus causing the fold α-α:

α



α

No. 40 verso (transversely and reduced)

The text of the address of this letter is divided into two halves by a group of four pen-strokes >< in printing rendered traditionally by a cross X; see also the letters nos. 26, 30, and 39, all of them written in the second century. Some scholars believe that this group replaces a seal, others that it marks the place for the string; anyhow, here it marks the fold α-α.

THE GNOMON OF THE IDIOS LOGOS

Theadelphia

B.G.U. 5 1210

after A.D. 149

The so-called *Gnomon* of the *Idios Logos* is a "guide" (γνώμων) for the financial officer who was responsible in Egypt for the "public treasury" called ἴδιος λόγος (lit. "private treasury" of a monarch). The official himself was also called ἴδιος λόγος.

The *Gnomon* contains regulations of Roman, Greek, and Egyptian law and lists cases in which fines were due to the "public treasury". The compilation was first made by Augustus and then enlarged and modernized. *P. Oxy.* 42 3014 is an early first-century version and *B.G.U.* 5 1210 a late second-century one.

A number is assigned in the papyrus to each of the regulations. They are separated, the one from the other, by a horizontal stroke. A few regulations are printed here.

§ 24

- 73 $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ Τὴν διδομένην προοῖκα ὑπὸ γυναικὸς Ῥωμαίας ὑπὲρ πεν-
 74 τήκοντα ἔτη γεγονυ[ί]ας ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντα
 75 ἐτῶν γεγονότι μετὰ θάνατον ὁ φύσκος ἀναλαμβάνει.

§ 25

- 76 $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ Ὅμοίως καὶ τὴν διδομένην ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἐντὸς ᾗ ἐτῶν
 77 οὔσης ἀνδρὶ ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότι ἀναλαμβάνεται.

§ 34

- 96 $\overline{\lambda\delta}$ Τοῖς ἐν στρατείᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας οὔσι συνκεχώρηται
 διατίθεσθα[ι]
 97 καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰς καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς διαθήκας καὶ χρῆσθαι
 οἷς βού-
 98 λωνται ὀνόμασι, ἕκαστον δὲ τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ καταλείπειν καὶ
 οἷς ἐξ[εσ]τιν.

§ 41

- 115 $\overline{\mu\alpha}$ Ἐὰν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ κοπρίας [ἀν]έλῃται παῖδα καὶ τοῦτον
 υἱοποιήσεται,
 116 μετὰ θάνατον τεταρτολο[γεῖ]ται.

§ 56

- 146 $\overline{\nu\zeta}$ Οἱ στρατευ[όμ]ενοι καὶ μὴ νομίμην [ἐ]χ[οντ]ες ἀπόλυσιν,
 ἐ[ὰν χ]ρ[η]–
 147 ματίσωσ[ι] ὥς Ῥωμαῖοι, τεταρτολο[γ]οῦνται.

§ 58

- 150 $\overline{\nu\eta}$ Οἱ μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένοι ταῖς [κατ'] οἰκίαν ἀπογ[ρα]φα[ῖς]
 ἐ]αυτούς
 151 τε κα[ῖ] οὕς [δ]εῖ, τεταρτολογοῦνται. [Κα]ὶ ἐὰν δυσὶν
 ἀπογρ[αφ]α[ῖς μ]ὴ
 152 ἀπογραφάμενοι εἰσδοθῶσιν, δ[ι]ς τέταρτ[ο]ν [[αναλ[α]]
 [κατακ]ρίνονται.

§ 101

- 227 [Ἐὰν τινες] χρηματισ[μ]οῦ ὑποθηκῶν ἢ [ο] ὠνῶ[ν]
 συνάλλ[αγμα γράψων]–
 228 [τ]αῖ χωρ[ῖς ἐ]πιστάλματος, κατακρίνονται † ν.

§ 105

- 235 Τῶν δανισάντων πλέον δ[ραχμ]ιαίου τόκ[ο]ν τὸ ἥμισ[υ]
 τῆς [ο]ὕς[ιας]
 236 ἀναλαμβάνεται καὶ τῶν δ[ανισα]μένων τὸ τέταρτον.

The complete text and parts of it were frequently reprinted; see B.L. Konkordanz, p. 35-36. Parallel text: P. Oxy. 42 3014 (first century A.D.).

The present copy of the Gnomon was probably written by the village scribe of Theadelphia. He used the back of an administrative document, *B.G.U.* 9 1893; for similar cases, see p. 86. On the recto tax payments are listed which were made in Βερενικὴς Αἰγιαλοῦ, a small village near Theadelphia, in the period June-August A.D. 149. This gives the *terminus post quem* for the text on the verso. *B.G.U.* 9 1892 (see p. 306) belongs to the same archive.

§§ 24-25 Marriage; the Augustan population policy

The sections 24 and 25 are a consequence of the *lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea*. According to this *lex* it was the duty of Roman men aged 25-60 and women aged 20-50 to be married; for Augustus' measures for stimulating population growth see also no. 65.

73. Read προῖκα.

75. **φίσκος** = *fiscus*: the Imperial Treasury.

— **ἀναλαμβάνειν**, "to confiscate"; -λαμβάνει is corrected form -λαμβάνεται.

77. Correct -λαμβάνεται in -λαμβάνει, sc. ὁ φίσκος.

§ 34 Testaments of soldiers

It is not necessary for soldiers and veterans to make their wills in Latin, using *certa et solemnia verba* or to do it in favour of those persons who were normally allowed to inherit.

96. **στρατεία**, "military service"; οἱ ἐν στρατείᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας ὄντες: soldiers in active service and after leaving service, i.e. veterans.

— **συγχωρεῖν**, "to allow".

— **διατίθεσθαι**, "to dispose of one's property", "to make a will (διαθήκη)".

98. **ὄνομα**, "word".

— **ὁμόφυλος**, "of the same stem", "fellow-national".

— **καταλείπειν**, "to bequeath".

— **καὶ οἷς ἔξεστιν**: not only to those to whom it is normally permissible.

§ 41 Adoption of foundlings

For unknown reasons the Romans tried to discourage the Egyptians from adopting foundlings.

115. For κοπρία and ἀναιρεῖσθαι, see no. 17, 6-7.

116. **τεταρτολογεῖν**: to confiscate one-fourth of a person's property.

§ 56 Soldiers who are not honourably discharged

Soldiers acquired Roman citizenship once they were honourably discharged.

146. **ἀπόλυσις**, "discharge".

— **χρηματίζειν**, "to call oneself".

Discharge of soldiers

- (οἱ) μὴ νομίμην ἔχοντες ἀπόλυσιν 41 § 56
- ἐντίμως ἀπολυθεῖς 50, 2
- οὐετρανδὸς τῶν ἐντίμως ἀπολελυμένων 71, 3–4

Missionum generales causae sunt tres: honesta, causaria, ignominiosa.

- *Honesta est, quae tempore militiae impleto, datur;*
- *causaria, cum quis vitio animi vel corporis minus idoneus, militiae renunciatur;*
- *ignominiosa causa est, cum quis, propter delictum, sacramento solvitur.*

"There are three general kinds of discharge: honorable, *causaria*, and dishonorable. Honorable is the discharge which is given upon completion of the term of military service; *causaria* when someone who is less fit because of a defect of mind or body is withdrawn from the military service; and dishonorable when someone is released from his military oath because of a delict."

Dig. 49. 16. 13. 3

§ 58 κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή

Every 14 years declarations have to be made "with regard to every house" of the persons living there; see no. 49.

- 150. ἀπογράφεσθαι, "to notify for registration".
- κατ' οἰκίαν, "house-to-house", "for each single house".
- ἀπογραφή, "declaration" (of persons liable to taxation living in a house).
- 152. εἰσδιδόναι, "to lay information against".

§ 101 ἐπίσταλμα

Notaries were not allowed to draw up a contract concerning immovables without the explicit "authorization" (ἐπίσταλμα) of the keepers of the property registers; see no. 35.

- 227. τινες: sc. συναλλαγματογράφοι (l. 221), "notaries".
- χρηματισμός, "agreement".
- συνάλλαγμα, "contract".

§ 105 Maximum interest on money loans

The Romans set the permissible maximum interest rate on money loans at one per cent a month; it had been two per cent and more in the Ptolemaic era (p. 120).

- 235. δανείζειν, "to lend" (to a person).
- δραχμιαίος: at the rate of one per cent a month; see no. 36, 9 note for the complete expression.
- 236. δανείζεσθαι, "to borrow" (from a person).

TRANSLATION OF AN EGYPTIAN LEGAL MANUAL

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 46 3285

after A.D. 149

Two sections of the legal manual are printed below which deal with neighbours' quarrels. The first quarrel concerns a gutter which channels rainwater onto the neighbours' house — rather unpleasant in a country where most houses are built of mud — and the second quarrel concerns a door which someone opens onto his neighbour's building-site.

- 32 [Ἐὰν] δέ τις καταβοήσῃ κατὰ τινος, φάμενος τὴν χολέ[τρ]αν τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἀντιδίκου καταρραίνειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαν τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ὕδατι· περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπισκ[οποῦ]σι οἱ]
- 35 δικασταὶ ἐνχέοντες ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν χολέτ[ρ]αν· ἂν τὸ ὕδωρ] ραίνει τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ καταβοήσαντος, ἀπ[οτέμ]νονσι]
- ἀπὸ τῆς χολέτρας ἕως ἂν μηκέτι ραίνει.
- [Ἐὰν] δέ τις καταβοήσῃ κατὰ τινος, φάμενος αὐ[τὸν τὴν θυ]-
ραν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἀνεφχέναι εἰς τ[ὸ αὐτοῦ οἰκό]πε]-
- 40 δον· ἂν μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ ἀ[νέφ]χεται
τὴν θύραν ἴδιον οἰκόπ[ε]δον ὑπάρχον τῷ {ν} ἀντ[ιδί]κῳ],
ἀναγκάζεται ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὴν θύραν ἣν ἀ[νέφ]χεται].

The text is reproduced in the *editio princeps*, pl. IV. It is a part of a much longer text which was written on the back of a roll made up of documents (τόμος συγκολλήσιμος); one of these documents dates from year 13 of Antoninus Pius (= A.D. 149/150) thus yielding a *terminus post quem* for the text on the back, the Greek translation of the *Legal Manual*.

The Legal Manual is a collection of cases of indigenous Egyptian law for use by notaries, judges, etc. It is not known when the collection was made, but a number of examples were certainly laid down long before Alexander the Great. An incomplete copy, written in demotic in the third century B.C., was found near Hermoupolis; the fragments of the Greek translation found at Oxyrhynchus show that the manual was still used in the Roman era, four centuries later.

For the text of the sections transmitted in both Greek and demotic, see *P. Lugd. Bat.* 23, p. 116-143.

32. καταβοᾶν, "to shout", "to raise an outcry against (κατά) someone": this is a literal translation of the demotic expression (used elsewhere) *ḥš m-s3* which actually means "to lodge a complaint against someone".
- χολέτρα, "gutter": a channel made of wood along which rainwater is carried from the roof and discharged well away from the wall.
33. καταρραίνειν, "to besprinkle ... with water (ὕδατι)"; clumsy translation of demotic "to throw water on to ..."
34. ἀπορρεῖν, "to flow off".
- ἐπισκοπεῖν, "to look at (the gutter)".
35. ἐγγεῖν, "to pour ... into".
36. ῥαίνειν, "to besprinkle".
- ἀποτέμνειν ἀπό, "to cut off (sections) from".
39. ἀνοίγειν (ἀνοιγύναι), "to open".
- αὐτοῦ: the plaintiff.
- οἰκόπεδον, "building-site".
42. ἀνοικοδομεῖν, "to wall up".

SWORN NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 9 1198

A.D. 150

A man from the village Teïs gives notice of the death of his father and his uncle requesting the village scribe that they be registered in the list of the deceased. An oath by (the Fortune of) the emperor Antoninus Pius is attached.

Σαραπάτι κωμογρα(μματεῖ)
παρὰ Ἀντεῖτος Ἀμμωνίου
τοῦ Ἀντεῖτος μητρὸς Ταπε-
ηῖτος τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Τῆε-
5 ως. Ὁ πατήρ μου Ἀμμωνᾶς
Ἀντεῖτος τοῦ Ἡρακλήου
μητρὸς Τανετβέως καὶ ὁ
τούτου ὁμογνήσιος ἀδελ-
φὸς Ἀντεῖς ὑπερετεῖς
10 ἄτεχνοι ἀναγραφόμε-
νοι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν Τῆειν
ἐτελεύτησαν τῷ διελθόν-
τι δωδεκάτῳ ἔτι Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μετὰ κα-
15 ταχωρισμὸν λόγων. Διὸ
ἀξιῶ τούτους ἀναγρα-
φῆναι <ἐν> τῇ τῶν τετελευ-
τηκότων τάξει διὰ τῶν
ὑπὸ σοῦ καταχωριζομέ-
20 νων δημοσίων λόγων,
καὶ ὁμνύο Αὐτοκράτορα
Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον

Read (13) ἔτει, Ἀντωνίνου; (21) ὁμνύω.

'Αδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον
 Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῇ ἀλεθῇ
 25 εἶναι [τὰ γ]εγ[ρ]αμμένα κα[ὶ]
 μηθὲν διεψεῦσθαι, ἧ ἔνε-
 χος εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ. Ἔτους
 τρισκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρα Τίτου Αἰλίου
 30 Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Τῷβι ᾠ.

[2nd hand]

Ἀντεῖς Ἀμμωνίου ἐπιδέδω-
 κα καὶ ὁμώμεκα τὸν ὅρκον.
 Θέων Ἀμμωνίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
 35 αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.

Read (23) Ἀντωνῖνον; (24) ἀληθῇ; (26) ἔνοχος; (29) Καίσαρος; (30) Ἀντωνίνου; (33) ὁμώμοκα.

The text is reprinted by L. Casarico, *Le denunce di morte*, as *C.P.Gr.* 2 (1985) no. 39, with plate XXXVII.

4. τῶν ἀπό, "one of those from".
- The village Τῆις is near Oxyrhynchos where the papyrus was found.
5. Ἀμμωνᾶς is a pet-form of the name Ἀμμώνιος (line 2).
9. ὑπερ-ετής, "beyond the years", i.e. older than 60 years and therefore not liable for poll-tax any more; see *S.B.* 4 7359, 7 (= *C.P.Gr.* 2, no. 25) ὑπερετῆς ἀπολελυμένος τῆς λαογραφίας.
10. ἀτεχνος: having no trade or profession.
- 14-15. καταχωρισμὸς λόγων, "handing over the registers"; cf. καταχωρίζειν (line 19): the κομογραμματεὺς hands over the registers to the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς.
16. τούτους: corrected from τοῦτον.
18. τάξις, "list".
26. διαψεύδασθαι, "to make a false statement", "to lie".
- ἔνοχος, "tied", "liable to".

APPLICATION FOR CHILD ALLOWANCE IN ANTINOUPOLIS

Antinooupolis
(found in Tebtynis)

P. Lugd. Bat. 6 33

A.D. 151

One of the privileges given by Hadrian to the Antinoïtes is the benefit of child allowances for those parents who registered their child within 30 days of its birth.

Wishing to qualify for child maintenance, Lysimachos registers his son Herakleides saying that he had this child by his wife Ninnarous and that it is 20 days old. He produces three persons who know about his marriage and the birth of his son.

- 1 [.....] νομάρχῃ Ἀν[τ]ινόου πόλεως
- 2 [παρὰ Λυσιμάχου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου] Ἡρακλείδου Ματιδείου
τοῦ] καὶ Καλλιτεκνείου οἰκοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐν τῷ α
- 3 [γράμματι πλιν]θείῳ ζ. Πε[τ]ρώνιος Μαμερτίνος ὁ ἡγεμονεύσας
φανερὰς ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
- 4 [Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ] καὶ [οἰκιστοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς
εὐεργεσίας καθ' ἃς ἐβουλήθη τρέφεσθαι τὰ τῶν Ἀντινοέων
- 5 [τέκνα τὰ] ἀπογραφόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν γονέων ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν
τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἐὰν γένηται, ἀπὸ τῶν προσερ-
- 6 [χομένω]ν εἰς τοῦτο συνχωρ[η]θέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρημάτων καὶ
ἄλλων προσόδων. Ἀπογράφομαι οὖν τὸν γεν-
- 7 [νηθέντα] μοι υἱὸν Ἡρακλεί[δη]ν τὸν καὶ Οὐαλέριον ἡμερῶν
εἴκοσι ἐκ τῆς συνούσης μοι γυναικὸς Νιννα-
- 8 [ροῦτος Ὀρσενο]ύφεως Ἀντ[ιν]οίδος, οὗ καὶ ἀπαρχὴν ἐτα-
ξάμην διὰ τῆς κρατίστης βουλῆς, παρεχόμενος
- 9 [γνωστῆρας τ]ρεῖς τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιείας·
[2nd hand]

Λυσανίαν Διδύμου Ματίδιον τὸν καὶ Πλωτίνιον,

Read (2) Ματιδίου, Καλλιτεκνίου; (3) πλινθείῳ; (5) ἄν; (9) παιδοποιείας.

- 10 [Δίδυμον] Δίδυμον Ματ[ί]διον τὸν καὶ Καλλιτέκνειον καὶ
Πτολεμαῖον Ἑρακλείδου Ὀσειραντίοον τὸν καὶ Κλει-
τόριον

[1st hand]

- 11 [καὶ ὁμνύω] τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τί[τ]ου Αἰλίου
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς τύχην
12 [καὶ θεὸν μέγιστον] Ὀσειραντί[ν]οον ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ
προγ[ε]γραμμένα ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ.
13 [L ιδ Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσα[ρ]ος Τίτου Αἰλί[ο]υ Ἀδριανοῦ
Ἀντωνίνου Σεβασ[τ]οῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Μεχεῖρ τε.

[2nd hand]

Λυσίμαχος

- 14 [ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος] Ἑρακλείδ[ου] ὁ προγεγραμμ[έν]ος ἐπιδέδω-
κα τὴν [π]ροκειμένην ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ γεννη-
15 [θέντος μοι υἱοῦ] Ἑρακλείδ[ου] τοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερ[ίου] ἡμερῶν
εἴκοσι ἐκ τῆς συνούσης μοι γυναικὸς Νινναροῦτος
16 [Ὀρσενούφως Ἀ]ντινοῖδος κ[α]ὶ ὧμα[σ]α τ[ὸ]ν προκείμενον
ὅρκ[ο]ν ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγε[γρα]μμένα ἢ ἐν[ο]-
17 [χος εἶην τῷ ὅρκῳ].

[3rd hand]

[Λυσανίας Διδύ]μου Ματίδιο[ς] ὁ καὶ Πλωτίνιος] οἱκῶν ἐ[ν]
τῷ (αὐτῷ) γράμ<μ>ατι πλινθίῳ (αὐτῷ) [ὁ]μ[ν]ύει τὸν
προκ(είμενον)

- 18 [ὅρκον γνωστεύειν τὸν προγεγ]ραμ<μ>ένον παῖδα Ἑ[ρακλεί-
δην τὸν καὶ] Οὐαλέριον ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι [ἐκ] γεννηθέντα
τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ
19 [τῷ καὶ Διδύμῳ] Ἀντινοεῖ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυν[αικὸς Νιννα-
ροῦτος] Ὀρσενούφως Ἀντινοῖδος ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῷ ὅρ-
κῳ.

Read (10) Δ. Διδύμου, Καλλιτέκνιον, Ὀσειραντινέειον; (12) Ὀσειραντίνοον; (16)
ὧμοσα; (17) πλινθείω, ὁμνύω.

The present document comes from the large family archive of Philsarapis, for which see no. 31. It concerns a family of "Greeks" of the Arsinoïte nome owning land near Tebtynis. In A.D. 133 Lysimachos' father was enrolled as a citizen of Antinooupolis, but the family continued to reside largely at Tebtynis; cf. no. 51.

1. **νομάρχης**: the "governor" of Antinooupolis.
2. Like the citizens of the Greek cities Alexandria (cf. no. 14, 4-5), Ptolemaïs and Naukratis, those of Antinooupolis were divided into *phyles*, and every *phyle* was subdivided into *demes*. Many of these were called after members of the imperial family; one *phyle* was called after the deified Antinoos (see line 10).
Ματίδιος ὁ καὶ Καλλιτέκνιος: Lysimachos is a "Matidian and also Kal-liteknian" which means that he belongs to the "*phyle* of Matidia" and the "*deme* of the woman with beautiful children"; Matidia is Hadrian's mother-in-law and her "beautiful child" is Sabina, Hadrian's wife.
3. **πλινθεῖον**, "block of houses": the town is divided into *quarters* which are subdivided into *blocks*; the quarters are called "letter ἄλφα", "letter βῆτα", etc., and the blocks are called "first πλινθεῖον", "second πλινθεῖον", etc.
- **ἡγεμονεύσας**, "ex-prefect"; M. Petronius Mamertinus was prefect of Egypt in A.D. 133-137. Thus the child allowance in question was not established when Antinooupolis was founded in A.D. 130, but several years later.
4. **οἰκιστής**, "founder".
- **Ἀντινοεύς**, "Antinoïte": citizen of Antinooupolis; fem. **Ἀντινοΐς** (line 8).
5. **ἀφ' ἧς**, "after the day on which ..."; **γίνεσθαι**, "to be born" (also lines 6, 14, 18).
- **τὰ προσερχόμενα**, "the revenues" of things (χρήματα) destined (συγχωρεῖν) by Hadrian to (εἰς) this purpose.
7. **συνεῖναι**, "to be married".
8. **ἀπαρχή**: originally "primal offering" brought by a new citizen to the gods of the city; hence "payment" to be made (τάσσεσθαι) when someone was enrolled as a new citizen. The certificate of enrolment was also called ἀπαρχή; the certificate in question is *P. Lugd. Bat.* 6 34.
- **βουλή**, "town council"; Hadrian had granted a βουλή to Antinooupolis after the example of the Greek cities Ptolemaïs and Naukratis. No other towns in Egypt had a βουλή, not even Alexandria, until A.D. 200, when Septimius Severus instituted town councils in every metropolis.
9. **γνωστήρ**, "one that knows"; cf. line 18 **γνωστεύειν**, "to testify knowing"; the names of these persons were added in lines 9-10 by the second hand, which is that of the child's father himself.
- **παιδοποιΐα**, "procreation of the child", "parentage".
- **Ματίδιος ὁ καὶ Πλωτίνιος** (cf. note line 2): the name of the *deme* refers to Trajan's wife Plotina.
10. **᾽Οσιραντινόειος ὁ καὶ Κλειτόριος**: Ptolemaios belongs to the *phyle* of ᾽Οσιραντινόος, "Osiris-Antinoos", i.e. "the deified Antinoos", the patron god of the town (cf. line 12); the name of the *deme* refers to the town Κλείτωρ in Arcadia because of Antinoos' origin.
11. **τύχη**, "fortune", "destiny".
12. **ἐνοχος**, "tied", "liable to".
16. **ὀμνύειν** with inf., "to swear that".

19. The following 8 lines contain similar statements of the other two γυναικες for the text see the *editio princeps*.

Antinooupolis

Antinooupolis was founded by Hadrian in A.D. 130 near the spot where his favourite Antinoos was drowned in the Nile; see no. 34 for Hadrian's visit to Egypt. The new city was to be definitely Greek in character, counterbalancing Ptolemais, Naukratis and Alexandria; and it was to be the administrative centre of central Egypt, the so-called Heptanomia. The new citizens of Antinooupolis were Greeks, mainly from Ptolemais and the Arsinoite nome; they were called Ἀντινοεῖς νέοι Ἕλληνες. See M. Zahra, *Antinooupolis in Ägypten: Die hadrianische Gründung und ihre Privilegien in der neueren Forschung*, in *A.N.R.W.* II, Prinzipat, 10.1 (1988) 669-706.

CONTRACT OF APPRENTICESHIP WITH A STENOGRAPHER

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 4 724

A.D. 155

Panechotes, acting through his friend Gemellus, places his slave Chairammon with the shorthand-writer Apollonios. For a period of two years Chairammon will be apprenticed to Apollonios, serving him and learning shorthand from him. The contract was probably drawn up by the stenographer.

Πα[ν]εχώτης ὁ καὶ Πανάρης τῶν κεκοσμητευκότων τῆς Ὁξυ-
ρυγγειτῶν

πόλεως διὰ Γεμέλλου φίλου Ἀπολλωνίῳ σημιογράφῳ χαίρειν.
Συνέστησά σοι

Χαιράμμωνα δοῦλον πρὸς μάθησιν σημείων, ὧν ἐπίσταται ὁ
υἱός σου

Δι[ο]νύσιος, ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς
Φαμενῶθ τοῦ

5 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου,
μισθοῦ τοῦ συμπεφω-

νημένου πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι
χωρὶς ἑορτι-

κῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἔσχες τὴν πρώτην δόσιν ἐν δραγμαῖς τεσσα-
ράκοντα, τὴν δὲ

δευτέραν λήψῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνειληφότος τὸ κομεντάρ[ι]ον ὅλον
ἐν δρα-

χ[μ]αῖς τ[εσσα]ράκοντα, τὴν δὲ τρίτην λήψομαι ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ
χρόνου τοῦ

10 παιδὸς ἐκ παντὸς λόγου πεζοῦ γράφοντος καὶ ἀναγει-
νώσ[κον]τος ἀμέμπτως

τάς {δὲ} λοιπὰς δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ
χ[ρ]όνου αὐτὸν

ἀπαρτίσης, οὐκ ἐκδέξομαι τὴν προκειμένην προθεσμ[ί]αν, οὐκ
 ἐξόντος
 μοι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τὸν παῖδα ἀποσπᾶν. Παραμενεῖ δέ σ[ο]ι
 μετὰ [τὸ]ν χρό[νον] ὅσας]
 ἐὰν ἀργήσῃ ἡμέρας ἢ μῆνας. L ιη Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ

15 Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, Φαμενὸθ ε.

The text is reprinted in U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 140; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1, no. 15; J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten* (1978) no. 100.

1. The town was traditionally called Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις, "town of the sacred oxyrhynchos-fishes", but starting with the present text of A.D. 155 it is usually called ἡ Ὀξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλις, "the town of the Oxyrhynchites (i.e. of the citizens of Oxyrhynchos)"; this new designation reflects a changing society (p. 314). Cf. D. Hagedorn, *Z.P.E.* 12 (1973) 277-292.
2. **σημειογράφος**, "shorthand-writer".
- **συνιστάναι** (with dat.), "to place someone with", "to apprentice someone to".
3. **μάθησις**, "learning".
- **σημεῖα**, "shorthand symbols".
- **ὅν ἐπίσταται**: there were various different systems of stenography.
- **σου**: corrected from μου; cf. note line 9.
6. **ἐορτικά**, "presents on festive days".
7. **δόσις**, "instalment", "term".
- **ἐν**, "to the amount of" (also line 8).
8. Read λήψει.
- **κομεντάριον** = *commentarium*, "textbook", a shorthand manual consisting of lists of words in shorthand, which pupils had to learn by heart; several "commentaries" are published and discussed in H.J.M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals* (1934); see also H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie* (1973).
9. The scribe wrote λήγομαι instead of λήψει; cf. μου, note line 3.
10. **ἐκ παντὸς λόγου πεζοῦ**, "from any text in a plain style", "from any kind of spoken word in ordinary language" (*P. Oxy.* 41 2988).
- Read ἀναγι(γ)νώσκοντος; it is notoriously more difficult to "read" shorthand than to "write" it.
12. **ἀπαρτίζειν**, "to make perfect", "to prepare".
- **ἐκδέχεσθαι**, "to wait for".
- **προθεσμία**, "fixed time".
14. **ἀργεῖν**, "to do nothing".

NOTIFICATION OF BIRTH

Arsinoë

P. Gen. 1 33

A.D. 155

A married couple gives notice to the secretaries of the metropolis of the birth (which occurred three years before) of a son in order to have him entered into the population register.

- Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ
 τῷ καὶ Δημητρίῳ γραμματεῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)
 παρὰ Κεφαλᾶτος τοῦ Ἡρωνος
 τοῦ Θέωνος καὶ τῆς το[ύτ]ου γυναι-
 5 κὸς οὔσης καὶ ὁμοπα[τρίου] καὶ ὁμομη(τρίου)
 ἀδελφῆς Διδύμης, ἀμφ[οτ]έρων
 ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως, ἀναγρα(φομένων)
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἰσίου Δρόμου, τῆς δὲ
 Διδύμης μετὰ κυρί[ου α]ὐτοῦ
 10 Κεφαλᾶ. Ἀπογραφόμε[θα] τὸν γεγονό-
 τα ἡμ[ῖν] υἱὸν Δίδυ[μο]ν γεννη-
 θέντα [τ]ῷ ις L Ἀντωνίνου) Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κυρίου καὶ ὄντα εἰς τὸ [ἐν]εστὸς
 ιθ L ἐτῶν τεσσάρω[ν]. Ἐπιδίδομεν
 15 τὸ τῆς ἐπιγεννήσε[ως] ὑπόμνημ(α).
 [2nd hand]
 Κατεχω(ρίσθη) γραμμ(ατεῦσι) μητροπ[όλ]εως), περὶ ἐπιγεννή-
 σε[ως] Διδύμου.
 L <ι>θ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Θὼθ ἐνδεκάτη.

U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 211 is an improved version of the *editio princeps*.

5. ὁμοπάτριος καὶ ὁμομήτριος, "with the same father and mother": Didyme is a full sister of her husband Kephalas. See no. 37, 8 (note).
8. Ἰσίου Δρόμος, "the avenue leading to the temple of Isis".

10. **Κεφαλᾶ** (gen.) is a variant of **Κεφαλᾶτος** in line 3.
 — **ἀπογράφεσθαι**, "to notify for registration".
 — **γίγνεσθαι**, "to be born".
14. **ἐτῶν τεσσάρων**: we would say "three years old" or "in his fourth year".
15. **ἐπιγέννησις**, "subsequent birth": the boy was born after the last census which concerned the situation of year 9 = A.D. 145/146. For census, see no. 49.
 — **ὑπόμνημα**, "notification".
16. **καταχωρίζειν** with dative, "to hand in to"; lines 16-18 were written in the office of the secretaries of the metropolis.

RECEIPT FOR CUSTOMS DUTY

Soknopaiou Nesos

P. Ryl. 2 197a

A.D. 162

Customs duties are levied at the frontiers of the Arsinoïte nome. Soknopaiou Nesos is at the beginning of the desert roads to the Delta and the oases.

Τετελ(ώνηται) διὰ πύλης Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσου ρ' ν'
 Σαραπίων ἐξάγ(ων) ἐπὶ καμήλ(ω) α' μιᾷ
 λαχανοσπέρμ(ου) ἀρτάβ(ας) ἕξ τελ(ῶν) † πέντε
 καὶ καμήλ(ω) ἐνὶ ὄνοις δυσὶ πυρο(ῦ) (ἀρτάβας) δε-
 5 καδύο τελ(ῶν) τρεῖς δραχμάς. † τρίτο(υ)
 Ἀντωνεῖνο(υ) καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίω(ν),
 Ἀθὺρ [. . . .] τετράδι.

Reprinted as A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 383. Cf. no. 231 in P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1987).

Donkeys had always been used as beasts of burden in Egypt, but camels only from the third century B.C. onwards. The camel was actually domesticated by the Arabs who introduced these animals into Egypt and bred them; this explains why so many camels were branded with Arabian characters (κεχαραγμένον ἀραβικῶχαράγματι).

1. **τελωνεῖσθαι**, "to pay customs duty".
- **διὰ πύλης**, "through (the officials of) the toll-gate" (see A on the plan, opposite).
- **ρ' ν'**: "1/100 + 1/50", i.e. 3 per cent.
3. **λαχανόσπερμον**, "vegetable seed"; oil could be extracted from this seed.
- **τελ(ῶν)**, "paying" (also in line 5).

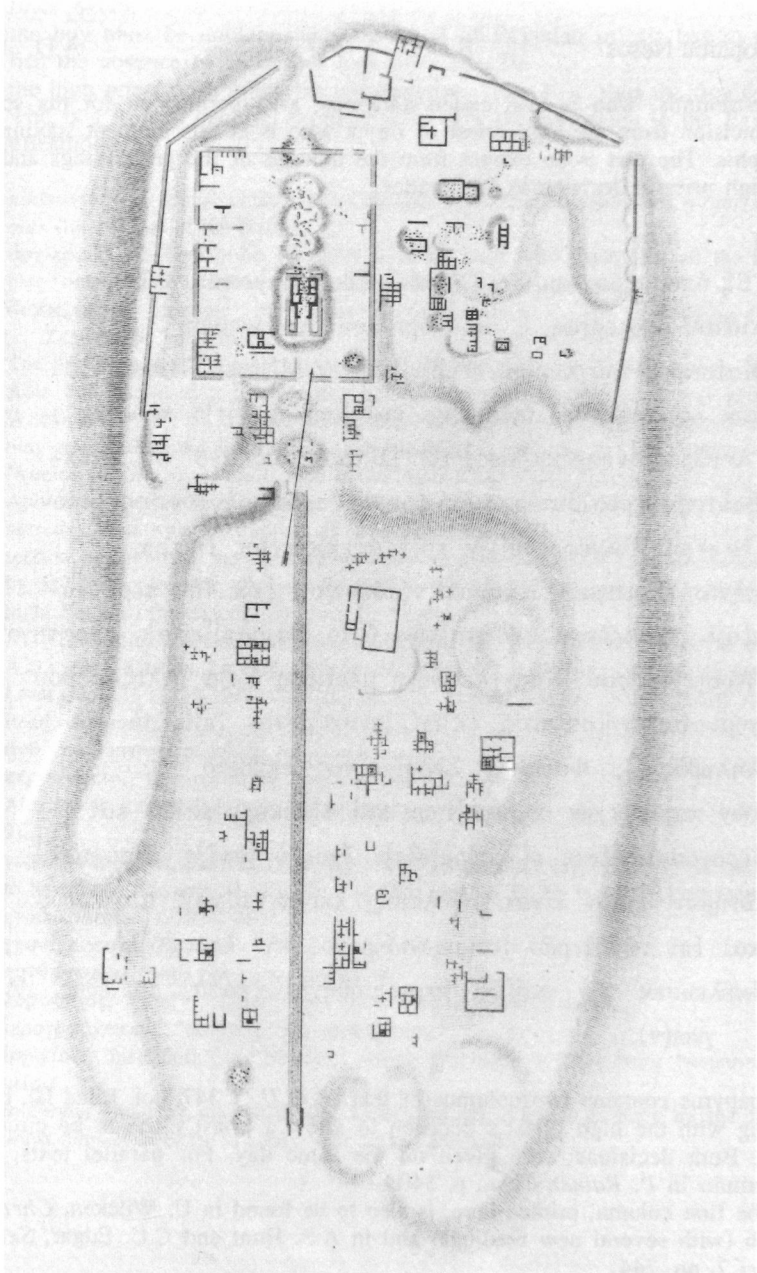
→

Soknopaiou Nesos
 (see p. 313, Map II, B 1)

- A. The gate mentioned in no. 47, 1 and the starting point of the desert road to the Delta.
- B. The avenue (δρόμος) leading to the temple of Soknopaios; the δρόμος is usually the market place of a village (cf. e.g. no. 58, 14) and the centre of many activities.

R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* 1 (1849) pl. 52

A



B

CIRCUMCISION OF A PRIEST'S CHILD

Soknopaiou Nesos

B.G.U. 1 347

A.D. 171

Panephremmis, who is also called Satabous, asks permission for his son's circumcision from the high priest of Egypt who is at this moment staying in Memphis. The text is an extract from the minutes of the proceedings and of the high priest's decision in this matter.

Col. I

- Ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμ[ῶν] Οὐλπίου [Σε]ρη[ν]ιανοῦ τοῦ κρα-
 τίστου ἀρχιερέως. Ἐὰν Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Τῦβ[ι] κῆ, ἐν Μέμφει. Ἡσπάσατο
 τὸν λαμπρότατον ἡγ[ε]μόνα καὶ μετὰ τα[ύτ]α πρὸς τῷ
 5 Ἀπείφ Πανεφρέμμ[εως] ἑὶ' [Σ]τοτοήτιος ἀνθ' οὗ Σατα-
 βούτος π[ρεσ]βυτέρο[υ] ἱε[ρ]έως πρ[ο]σαγαγόντ[ος] υἱὸν
 [ἐαυτ]οῦ Πανεφρέμμ[ι]ν κα[ὶ] ἀξι[ώ]σαντος ἐπιτρα-
 πῆναι περιτεμεῖν αὐτὸν ἀ[ν]αδόντ[ος] [τ]ε τὴν περὶ αὐ-
 τ[ο]ῦ γραφείσαν ἐπιστολὴν ὑ[πὸ] Σα[ρα]πί[ωνος] στρατηγοῦ
 10 Ἀρσ[ι]νοεῖτου Ἡρακ[λεί]δο[υ] μερίδος δι[ὰ] Ἀλεξάνδρου
 γυμνασιαρχή[σαντος], [κ]εχ[ρ]ονι[σ]μένην [ε]ἰς τὸ διε-
 ληλυθὸς ἰ. Ἐ. Φαῶφι ζ', Σερηνια[νὸς] ἐπύθετο
 τῶν παρόν[των] κορυφαί[ων] καὶ ὑ[πο]κορυφαίων καὶ
 ἱερογραμματέων, εἰ [σ]ημ[ε]ῖο[ν] ἔχει ὁ [παῖς]. Εἰπόντων
 15 ἁσσημον αὐτὸν εἶναι, [Οὐλπίος] Σερην[ι]αν[ὸς] ἀρχιερεὺς
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν [σημειωσά]μενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
 ἐκέλευσεν τὸν παῖ[δα] περιτ[μηθῆναι] [κατὰ] τὸ ἔθος. Ἀνέ-
 γνω(ν).

The papyrus contains two columns of text (B.G.U. 1 347, col. I and II), both dealing with the high priest's decision to allow a priest's son to be circumcised. Both decisions were given on the same day. For parallel texts, see M. Kaimio in *P. Rainer Cent.*, p. 340.

The first column, printed here, is also to be found in U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 76 (with several new readings) and in A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 244.

Circumcision of a priest's boy is a part of his initiation; requirements for becoming an Egyptian priest in the Roman era are:

- 1) the boy has to descend from priests; the *strategos* has to certify this (see lines 8-12);
- 2) the boy must be unblemished; a council of Egyptian priests has to establish the absence of blemishes (see lines 13-15);
- 3) the high priest must allow the circumcision (line 17); thus the ἀρχιερεύς, who is a Roman official, exerts control over the admission to the Egyptian priesthood.

1. κράτιστος = *egregius* is the title of the high priest and λαμπρότατος = *clarissimus* (line 4) that of the prefect.
2. ἀρχιερεύς: the high priest of Egypt is meant here, who supervises all the temples (line 16). He is a Roman official and his station is Alexandria.
3. ἀσπάζεσθαι, "to salute"; the phrase runs ἡσπάσατο (3) ... καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (4) ... Σερηνιανὸς ἐπύθετο (12) ...
4. The prefect was in Memphis because of the *conventus*, for which see p. 26. An Apis bull had died a few months before the session in question was held (U. Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 85); we do not know when the new bull was installed but we may assume that the ἀρχιερεύς was in Memphis because of this installation.
5. Ἀπείον (or Ἀπιεῖον): the temple of the sacred Apis bull. During its lifetime the Apis used to stay in this temple which contained a stable and a court where the sacred animal was worshipped. It is in this temple that the ἀρχιερεύς held his session, apparently in the court which according to Herodotus (II 153) was surrounded by an inner colonnade whereas the roof was supported by statues of twelve cubits high. See also the description given by Strabo 17 1.31.

The Apis seems to have been worshipped up to the end of the fourth century A.D.; see J. Toutain, *Le culte du taureau Apis à Memphis sous l'Empire Romain*, in *Le Muséon* 33 (1915-1916) 193-202; cf. E.G. Turner, *Studien Oertel* (1964) 32-33.

— Read -φρέμμιος.

— ἀνθ' οὗ, "instead of which (he is also called)".

8. περιτέμνειν, "to circumcise" (also in line 17).

10. Alexandros acts as deputy of the *strategos*, διαδεχόμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν (col. II, 9).

11. γυμνασιαρχήσας, "former *gymnasiarchos*"; five months later Alexandros appears to have been reappointed as *gymnasiarchos* (col. II, 9); cf. B.A. van Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque* (1924) § 28b.

— χρονίζειν, "to date".

12. πυνθάνεσθαι (with gen.), "to inquire of".

13. κορυφαῖος, "chief", "leader": here some kind of priest is meant.

14. ἱερογραμματεὺς, "scribe of the sacred books".

— σημείον, "birthmark", a "blemish" which precludes a child from becoming a priest.

17. ἀνέγνων, "read by me": this was written on the original minutes by the high priest himself in order to certify that he had checked them.

Census

Every fourteen years a census was organized in Egypt till at least A.D. 257/258. The year of the first census is unknown (the date of *P. Med.* 1 3 is uncertain), but it may have been year A.D. 5/6. In that year Augustus sent Quirinius to Syria to organize there the first census; see Fl. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 18.1.1 and the *New Testament* Lucas 2.1.

Census years

<i>A.D.</i>	<i>emperors</i>		<i>prefects</i>
(5/6)	Augustus	yr. 35	—
19/20	Tiberius	6	—
47/48	Claudius	8	—
61/62	Nero	8	—
75/76	Vespasian	8	—
89/90	Domitian	9	M. Mettius Rufus
103/104	Trajan	7	—
117/118	Hadrian	2	Q. Rammius Martialis
131/132	Hadrian	16	T. Flavius Titianus
145/146	Antoninus Pius	9	L. Valerius Proculus
159/160	Antoninus Pius	23	T. Furius Victorinus
173/174	Marcus Aurelius	14	C. Calvisius Statianus (no. 49)
187/188	Commodus	28	M. Aurelius Verianus
			Tineius Demetrius
20/202	Septimius Severus and Caracalla	10	Q. Maecius Laetus
215/216	Caracalla	24	Aurelius Antinous
			L. Valerius Datus
229/230	Severus Alexander	9	Claudius Masculinus
243/244	Gordian	7	
	Philippi	= 1	Aurelius Basileus
257/258	Valerian and Gallienus	8	—

The names of the organizing prefects, if mentioned in the returns themselves, are given above. In some cases two successive prefects are involved.

Frequently returns were not made in the census year itself, but in the next year.

CENSUS RETURN

Prosopite nome

P. Lugd. Bat. 5 10

A.D. 174

The κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή aims at "registering house-by-house" every person who is living in a town or village; cf. no. 41 § 58. Complying with the orders given by the prefect about the census of 173/174, Pantbeus reports here that his family owns a house in the village Θελβόνθον Σίφθα; in this house live four brothers with their wives and, in all, nine children. In another declaration (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 5 16 = *P. Brux.* 1 16) Pantbeus reports three other properties, in the same village, but nobody is living there.

It is worthwhile in such cases to draw up a genealogical tree of the family and to indicate in it the ages mentioned in the census-return; this can reveal consanguineous marriages as well as precocious ones, the composition of a family, the practice of calling children after their grandparents, etc.; see *P. Lugd. Bat.* 5 = M. Hombert et Cl. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (1952) and D.W. Hobson, *House and Household in Roman Egypt*, in *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985) 211-229; see also R.S. Bagnall, *Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations*, in *B.A.S.P.* 27 (1990) 1-14; 28 (1991) 13-32, 121-123; 29 (1992) 101-105.

[4th hand]

ϑθ

[1st hand]

Ἀπίωνι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Προσωπ(εῖτου)

[2nd hand]

παρὰ Παντβεῦτος Πετῶτο(ς)

καὶ Τιθοεννήσιος καὶ Ἀροννήσιο(ς)

5 καὶ Φαλακρήους τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Θελ-

βόνθον Σίφθα. Ἀπογρα(φόμεθα) κατὰ τὰ

ὑπὸ Καλουεῖσιου Στατιανοῦ

τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) ἡγεμόνος προσ-

τεταγμ(ένα) εἰς τὴν ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς

10 γεινομ(ένην) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρα(φὴν) τὰ ὑπάρ-

χοντα ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ·

οἰκ(ίαν) καὶ ψιλ(οὺς) τόπ(ους) Παντβεῦτος καὶ

Τιθοεννήσιος καὶ Φαλακρήους

Read (7) Καλουεῖσιους; (10) γινομένην.

- καὶ Ἀροννήσιος τῶν δ̄ Πετώτος
 15 Πνεφερ(ώτος), ἐν ᾗ·
- Παντβ(εῦς) Πετώτ(ος) Πνεφερ(ώτος)
 μητ(ρὸς) Θεαιήους Ψεναμούν(ιος)
 L μθ ἄσημ(ος),
 Θέρως Ἀμμωνίου Ἡφαιστίω(νος)
 20 μητ(ρὸς) Ταφιβίχιος ἡ γ(υνὴ) L κα,
 Πετώς Παντβ(εῦτος) μητ(ρὸς) Θαψᾶθις
 Πετώτ(ος) L ια μονόφθ(αλμος),
 Ἀμμώνιος ὁ ἀδελ(φὸς) μητ(ρὸς) Θέρωτος
 L ε ἄσημ(ος),
 25 Ταφιβίχις ἡ ἀδελ(φὴ) τῶν α(ὐτῶν) γονέων
 L δ,
 Θεαιῆς ἄλλη ἀδελ(φὴ) L β·
- Τιθοεννήσις Πετώτος μητ(ρὸς)
 Θεαιήους L <μ>δ ἄσημ(ος),
 30 Σεραθῆς ἡ ἀδελ(φὴ) καὶ γ(υνὴ) L μ,
 Θέρως ἡ ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων) θυγ(άτηρ)
 L ιβ,
 Θαψᾶθις ἡ ἀδελ(φὴ) τῶν α(ὐτῶν)
 γονέων L η·
- 35 Φαλακρῆς Πετώτος Πνεφ(ερῶτος)
 μητ(ρὸς) Θεαιήους Ψεναμούν(ιος)
 L λ ἄση(μος),
 Τααρτῦσις Σαίφιος Πνεφε–
 ροντιθ(οήους) μητ(ρὸς) Ἀχιλλεῖτ(ος)

Read (21) Θαψάθιος; (39) Ἀχιλλίδος.

40 ἡ γ(υνή) L λ,
 Νουᾶτις ἡ θυγ(άτηρ) μητ(ρὸς) Θερ-
 μούθ(ιος) Πνεφ(ερῶτος) L ε·

Ἄροννησις Πετῶτος
 Πνεφ(ερῶτος) μητ(ρὸς) Θαιήους
 45 Ψεναμούν(ιος) L κα ἄση(μος),
 Θανιβίχης Ἑρπαήσιος μητ(ρὸς)
 Θσεναμούν(ιος) ἡ γ(υνή) L ιθ,
 Ἑρπαήσις ἐξ ἀμφοτ(έρων) γονέων
 L β ἄση(μος),
 50 Θσεναμούνις ἡ ἀδελ(φῇ) τῶν α(ὐτῶν)
 γονέων L α.

L ιδ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίν[ου]
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ
 55 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 Γερμανιακοῦ Μεγίστου,
 Ἐπεὶφ κῆ.
 [3rd hand]
 Παντβ(εῦς) Πετῶ(τος) Πνε(φερῶτος) καὶ οἱ ἀδελ(φοὶ)
 ἐπιδεδώκαμ(εν) ὥς π(ρόκειται). Ἱερακίων
 60 Παντβ(εῦτος) ἔγρ(αψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῶν γρ(άμματα) μὴ ἰ(δόντων).
 [5th hand]
 Δι' Ἀρποκ(ρατίωνος), σε(λίδος) μβ.

Read (56) Γερμανικοῦ; (60) εἰδόντων.

The document is reprinted as *P. Brux.* 1 10. It is the original census return which Pantbeus handed in to the royal scribe of the nome. It was gummed together with other papyri of the same format so as to form a τόμος συγκολ-
 λήσιμος, "pasted papyrus-roll". In this case the τόμος was made up of census returns concerning the village Θελβόνθον Σίφθα; every census return was num-
 bered and Pantbeus' declaration received number 99 (line 1). The contents of

this τόμος συγκολλήσιμος were summarized on another papyrus-roll; the summary of Pantbeus' declaration is there to be found on σελὶς μβ "sheet 42" according to line 61.

Another τόμος συγκολλήσιμος was composed of census returns from the village Θερήσις of the same year. The versos of both rolls being blank, they were later joined together and re-used for an administrative document (*P. Brux.* 1 21).

The recto is reproduced in *P. Lugd. Bat.* 5, and details of recto and verso in *P. Brux.* 1.

5. **Φαλακρῆς**: written Παλακρῆς and Παλαχρῆς in *P. Lugd. Bat.* 5 16.
7. C. Calvisius Statianus is the prefect who organized the census of 173/174.
9. **ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς**, "for (our) blessing".
15. The words ἐν ᾧ introduce the list of persons who live in the house.
20. **ἡ γυνή**: sc. of Pantbeus (line 16); actually she is his second wife.
- 21-27. Four children of Pantbeus are listed here, one by his first and three by his second wife.
21. Thapsathis was Pantbeus' first wife and at the same time his sister; see nr. 37, 7 note.
22. The personal description is not certain, *B.A.S.P.* 28 (1991) 16-17.
23. **ὁ ἀδελφός**: sc. of Petos (line 21).
30. **ἡ ἀδελφή καὶ γυνή**: sc. of Tithoënnesis (line 28).
38. Tahartysis is Phalakres' second wife and Thermouthis (line 41) his first.
41. Thermouthis and Pantbeus (line 16) are cousins, their fathers Pnepheros and Petos being brothers according to *P. Lugd. Bat.* 5 16.
47. **Θσεναμοῦνις** is (like Τζεναμοῦνις in no. 6, 3) a local variant of the name Σεναμοῦνις = *T3-šr.t-n-Imn*, "The daughter of Amun".

GREEK TRANSLATION OF A ROMAN WILL AND CODICIL

Arsinoïte nome

B.G.U. 1 326

A.D. 194

The Roman veteran Gaius Longinus Castor made a *testamentum per aes et libram* in A.D. 189 and later a codicil; both texts were drawn up in Latin, and probably in Karanis. After the testator's death his will and his codicil were opened and read aloud on the Forum Augustum of Arsinoë in the office of death-duties. The following text is the record in Greek of the whole act of *apertura* with a translation of the original will and codicil; one may infer from line 46 that the copy was made for one of the beneficiaries.

[Col. I]

[Ἑρμηνί]α διαθ(ήκης).

[Γάϊος Λογγίνος Κάστωρ οὐ]ε]τρανὸς ἐντίμως ἀπολυθε[ί]ς

[ἐκ κλάσσης πραιτωρί]ας Μισσηνῶν [δια]θήκην ἐποί[η]σεν.

[Ἐλευθέρας εἶναι κελεύω] Μαρκέλλαν δού[λ]ην μ[ο]υ μίζονα
ἐ[τ]ῶν5 [τριάκοντα καὶ Κλεοπάτραν] δούλην μου μ[ί]ζονα] ἐτῶν τριά-
κ[οντ]α[.....]ομο[.] ἐξ ἴσου μ[έ]ρους] ἐμοῦ
κληρον[ό]μο]ι[ἔ]στωσαν. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ π[ά]ν[τε]ς ἀποκληρόνομοί [μοι]
ἔστωσαν. Προσε[ρ]χέσ-[θ]ωσάν τε τῇ κληρονομί[α] μου ἐκάστη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους
ὀπότ[α]ν[γνῶ καὶ δύνηται μα]ρ[τύ]ρασθαι ἑαυτὴν ἐμοῦ κλ[η]ρονόμον
εἶναι· μὴ ἐξί-10 [ναι δὲ] π[ι]π[ρά]σκιν μηδὲ ὑποτίθεσθαι. Ἄλλ' εἴ τι ἐὰν
ἀν[θ]ρώπιν[ο]ν π[ά]-

Read (1) ἑρμηνεία; (4,5) μείζονα; (9) ἐξεῖναι; (10) πιπράσκειν, ἐάν = ἄν.

- [θη] Μαρκέλλ[α] ἡ προγεγραμμένη, τότε τὸ μέρος τῆς κληρο-
νομίας ἑαυτῆς
[πρ]ὸς Σαραπίωνα καὶ Σωκράτην καὶ Λόγγον καταντῆσαι
θέλω. Ὅμοίως
[Κλε]οπάτραν τὸ μέρος αὐτῆς πρὸς Νεῖλον καταντῆσαι θέλω.
Ὅς ἐάν μου κλη-
[ρον]όμος γέ[νη]ται, ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω δῶναι ποιῆσαι παρα-
σχέσθαι ταῦ-
15 [τα] πάντα, [ἃ ἐ]ν ταύτῃ τ[ῇ] διαθήκῃ μου γεγραμμένα εἴη, τῇ
τε πίστι
[α]ὐτῆς παρακατατίθομαι.

- [Σαρ]απιάς δούλῃ μου, θυγάτηρ Κλεοπάτρας ἀπελευθέρας μου,
ἐλευθέρα ἔστω,
[ῆ] καὶ δίδωμι καταλίπω· ἀρούρας σιτικὰς πέντε, ἃς ἔχω περὶ
κώμην Κα-
[ρα]νίδα ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Στρουθῶ, ὁμοίως ἄρουραν μίαν
τέταρτον
20 [κο]ιλάδος, ὁμοίως τρίτον μέρος οἰκίας μου καὶ τρίτον μέρος
ἐκ τῆς αὐ-
[τ]ῆς οἰκίας, ὃ ἡγόρασα πρότερον παρὰ Πραπεθεῦτος μητρὸς
Θασεῦτος,
[ὁ]μοίως τρίτον μέρος φοινικῶνος, ὃν ἔχω ἔγγιστα τῆς
διώρυγος ὃ καλεῖται
[Col. II] Παλαι[ᾶ] Διῶρυξ. Ἐκκο[μι]σθῆναι περιστ[αλ]ῆναί τε ἑμαυ-
τὸ[v] θέλω τῇ φροντίδι καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ
τῶν [κ]ληρονόμων μου. Εἴ τι ἐὰν ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγραμμένον
καταλίπω τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ γεγραμμένον

Read (11) ἑαυτῆς = αὐτῆς; (13) ἐάν = ἄν; (14) δῶναι = δοῦναι; (15) πίστει; (16) -τίθεμαι; (18) -λείπω; (22) ἢ instead of ὅ; (24) ἐάν = ἄν, -λείπω.

- 25 οἶψ δὴ[π]οτε τρόπῳ βέβα[ιό]ν μοι εἶναι θέλω. Ταύτῃ τῇ
 διαθήκῃ δόλος πονηρὸς ἀπέστη. Οἰκετίαν χρή-
 ματά τ[ε] τῆς διαθήκης γενομένης ἐπρίατο Ἰούλιος Πετρωνί-
 ανὸς σηστερτίου νούμμου ἐνός, ζυ-
- [II, 5] γοστα[τοῦ]ντος Γαΐου Λουκρητίου Σατορνείλου· ἐπέγνοι. Ἄν-
 τεμαρτύρατο Μᾶρκον Σεμπρώνιον Ἑρα-
 κλία[νόν]· ἐπέγνοι. Ἡ δια[θή]κῃ ἐγένετο ἐν κ[ώ]μῃ Καρανίδι
 νομῷ Ἀρσινοείτῃ πρὸ τῆς Καλανδῶν Νο-
 εμβριῶν δυσι Σιλάνοις ὑ[πά]τοις, L λ' Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Μάρ[κο]υ Αὐρηλίου Κο[μ]όδου Ἀντω[ν]είνου
- 30 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενικοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 Σαρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Ἀθὺρ κᾶ. Εἰ δέ
 τι πε[ρ]ισσὰ γράμματα τῇ χειρὶ μου γεγραμμένα καταλίπω,
 βέβαια εἶναι θέλω.
- [II, 10] Ἡνύγῃ [κ]αὶ ἀνεγνώσθῃ Ἀρσινοείτῃ μητροπόλει ἐν τῇ
 Σεβαστῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῇ στατιῶνι τῆς εἰκοσ-
 τῆς τῶν κληρονομίων καὶ ἐλευθεριῶν πρὸ θ̄ Καλανδῶν
 Μαρτιῶν ὑπάτοις τοῖς οὖσι, L β̄
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου[ν] Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου Περτί-
 νακος Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχεῖρ κζ̄. Οἱ λοιποὶ σφρα[γισταί]·
- 35 Γάϊος Λογγίνος Ἀκύλας· ἐπέγνοι, Ἰούλιος Βολύσσιος, Μᾶρκος
 Ἀντίστιος Πετρωνιανός, Ἰούλιος
 Γεμέλλος οὐετρ[α]νός.
- [II, 15] Ἑρμηνία κωδικίλλων διπτύχων. Γάϊος Λογγίνος Κάστωρ
 οὐετρανὸς ἀπολυθεὶς ἐν-
 τίμως ἐκ κλάσσης πραιτωρίας Μισσηνῶν κωδικίλλους ἐποίησα.
 Μᾶρκον Σεμπρώνιον Ἑρα-

Read (25) ἀπέστω instead of ἀπέστη; (27, 28) ἐπέγνώ; (28, 32) Ἀρσινοείτῃ; (29) Κομμόδου, Ἀντωνίνου; (31) -λείπω; (32) ἡνοίγῃ; (34) Σεουήρου; (35) ἐπέγνω; (37) ἑρμηνεία.

- κλιανὸν φίλον καὶ ἀξιόλο[γ]ον ἐποίησα ἐπίτροπον τῇ ἰδίᾳ
 πίστι. Συνγενεῖ Ἰουλίῳ Σερήνῳ δίδωμι
 40 καταλίπω σθεστερίους νούμους Δ'. Πρὸς Ἱ Εἰδῶν Φεβραριῶν
 τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρὶ ἔγραψα. Ἐσφρά-
 γισαν Λογγίνος Ἀκύλας καὶ Οὐαλέριος Πρίσκος· σφραγισταὶ
 Γάϊος Λογγίνος Ἀκύλας· ἐπέγνοι, Ἰού-
 [II, 20] λιος Φιλόξενος, Γάϊος Λουκρήτιος Σατορνεῖλος· ἐπέγνοι,
 Γάϊος Λογγίνος Κάστωρ, Ἰούλιος Γεμέλλος οὐε-
 τρανός. Ἦνύγησαν καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ καὶ
 ἡ διαθήκη ἐλύθη.
 [2nd hand]
 Γάϊος Λουκ[κ]ῆιος Γεμινι[ανὸς] νομικὸς Ῥωμαϊκὸς ἡρμήνευσα
 τὸ προκείμενον ἀντίγραφον καὶ ἔστιν σύμφω-
 45 νον τῇ αὐθεντικῇ διαθήκῃ.

Verso

[Γαί[ου] Λογγείνου Κ[άσ]τορος.

Read (39) πίστει; (40) -λείπω; (41, 42) ἐπέγνω; (43) ἡνοίγησαν; (46) Λογγίνου.

The text was re-edited by P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 25; see also the editions listed in B. L. Konkordanz, p. 18 and add L.M. Zingale, *I testamenti romani* (1988) no. 12. Unfortunately the re-editions were made without consulting the original papyrus or a photograph of the text; see B. L., vol. 8, 23–24.

The text is written in two columns and consists of several paragraphs; the first line of each paragraph protrudes about two letters into the left-hand margin. A fragment of a second copy is mentioned in the *editio princeps*.

The will and codicil of Gaius Longinus Castor is one of the very few examples of pure Roman law found in Egypt.

1. ἐντίμως ἀπολυθείς, "honourably discharged" = *missus honesta missione*; cf. p. 177.
2. ἐκ κλάσσης πραιτωρίας Μισσηνῶν = *ex classe praetoria misenensi*; the fleet (*classis*) of Misenum (like that of Ravenna) was called *praetoria* (i.e. *imperatoria*) because it was under the special command of the emperor; for Misenum see also no. 39, 8 note.
3. μείζων ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, "older than 30 years": this is added with a view to the *lex Aelia Sentia*; see Gaius, *Institutiones*, I. 18.

6. ἐξ ἴσου μέρους = *aequis partibus*.
7. ἀποκληρονόμοι = *exheredes*.
- 7-8. προσέρχεσθαι τῇ κληρονομίᾳ = *adire hereditatem*.
9. μὴ ἐξεῖναι: it shall not be possible (for them) to ...
10. τι ἀνθρώπινον πάσχειν, "to suffer something human": euphemism for "to die".
12. καταντᾶν πρὸς, "to be due to", "to revert to" = *pervenire*.
14. ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω, "he shall be obliged to" = *damnas esto*: the way of expressing a *legatum per damnationem*.
- δοῦναι ποιῆσαι παρασχέσθαι = *dare facere praestare*.
- 15-16. τῇ πίστει παρακατατίθεμαι = *fidei committo*: in case the disposition by way of legacy is not valid, it will be in force as a *fideicommissum*, "I commit it to her (αὐτῆς) trust" [better "to *his* (αὐτοῦ) trust", i.e. to that of the κληρονόμος in question].
17. For Kleopatra, see line 5.
18. δίδωμι καταλείπω = *do lego* (also in 39-40).
20. κοιλάς, "depression", "wadi", "low-lying land".
22. ἔγγιστα, "close to".
23. ἐκκομίζειν, "to carry out (a corpse)", i.e. "to bury"; περιστέλλειν, "to wrap up", i.e. "to embalm".
24. τι μετὰ ταῦτα γεγραμμένον, "any later writing", i.e. a codicil; cf. line 31, περισσὰ γράμματα, "supplementary writings".
25. δόλος πονηρὸς ἀπέστω = *dolus malus abesto*.
- οἰκετίαν χρήματά τε = *familiam pecuniamque*, i.e. the whole estate.
26. σιστέρτιος νοῦμμος = *sestertius nummus* (also line 40).
- νούμμου ἑνός = *pro nummo uno*; Julius Petronianus is the *familiae emptor* who "bought" the estate for one sestertius and had to distribute it after the testator's death; the will is a *testamentum per aes et libram*, for which see Gaius, *Institutiones*, II. 103 ff.
- ζυγοστατεῖν, "to hold the balance" (when a legal act is performed *per aes et libram*), "to be the *libripens*".
27. ἐπέγνοι, read ἐπέγνω, "he acknowledged" = *agnovit* (also in lines 28 and 35; similarly with regard to the codicil in lines 41 and 42). This note is a part of the protocol of the opening of the will (and of the codicil) and did not occur in the text of the original will. The note records which witnesses were eventually present and acknowledged their seals when the testator's will was opened.
- ἀντεμαρτύρατο = *antestatus est*, "he (i.e. the testator) has called N.N. as a witness"; this is the first witness, called the *antestatus*.
28. The Roman dating in line 28 does not agree with the Greek one in line 30; Νοεμβριῶν has to be corrected in Δεκεμβριῶν (= 17 November, A.D. 189) or, more likely, Ἀθύρ in Φαῶφι (= 18 October).
32. ἡνοίγῃ καὶ ἀνεγνώσθῃ, "opened and read aloud (in public)" = *apertum et recitatum*; see also line 43.
- 32-33. στατιῶν τῆς εἰκοστῆς = *statio vicesimae*, "fiscal office dealing with the five per cent tax"; ἡ εἰκοστὴ τῶν κληρονομιῶν καὶ ἐλευθεριῶν = *vicesima hereditatum*, "five per cent inheritance tax" and *vicesima manumissionum*, the "manumission tax of five per cent (of the slave's value)".
33. ὑπάτοις τοῖς οὖσι, "in the consulship of the present consuls"; the names of these consuls are not indicated.

34. The date is 21 February, A.D. 194.
- **σφραγιστής**, "sealer": one who puts his seal on the cord which keeps the will closed. Three of the sealers were mentioned in lines 26-28: the *familiae emptor*, the *libripens* and the *antestatus*; four others (οἱ λοιποὶ) are given here in lines 34-36. Seven persons in all had sealed the will and three of them were present when it was opened; see ἐπέγνω, note line 27.
 - 37. **κωδικίλλοι** = *codicilli*, "a codicil" (also in line 38); **κωδικίλλοι δίπτυχοι**: a codicil written on two *tabulae ceratae*, forming together a *δίπτυχον*.
 - 39. **ἀξιόλογος** = *vir bonus*.
 - **ἐπίτροπος**: person appointed to execute the codicil, executor.
 - **τῇ ἰδίᾳ πίστει**: acting on his own good faith.
 - 40. **ἐσφράγισαν**: Longinus Aquila and Valerius Priscus "signed" the text of the codicil written on the inner pages of the diptychon.
 - 41. **σφραγισταί**: the testator and four other persons "sealed" the diptychon on the outside.
 - 43. **λύειν**, "to unfasten", "to open".
 - 44. **σύμφωνος**, "in agreement with".

Tabulae ceratae

Tabulae ceratae are wooden tablets covered with wax, "waxed tablets"; writing was done with a stylus. The tablets were usually joined together by pieces of cord or leather which passed through holes in one of the edges of the tablets; in this way a "booklet" was formed. The first and the last tablets were the booklet's "covers"; the outside of these was worked in a different way.

Texts on *tabulae ceratae* found in Egypt are usually either school-exercises (p. 206) or Roman legal documents (p. 205).

The original text of the codicil of Gaius Longinus Castor was written on *tabulae ceratae*. It is called **κωδικίλλοι δίπτυχοι** in line 37; this means that a *δίπτυχον* (*diptychum*) was used, which is a "booklet" made of two tablets.

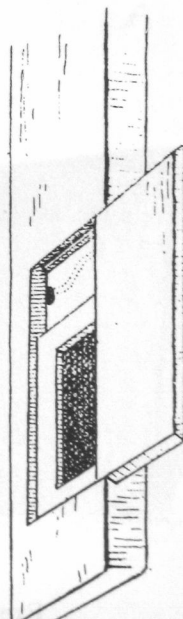
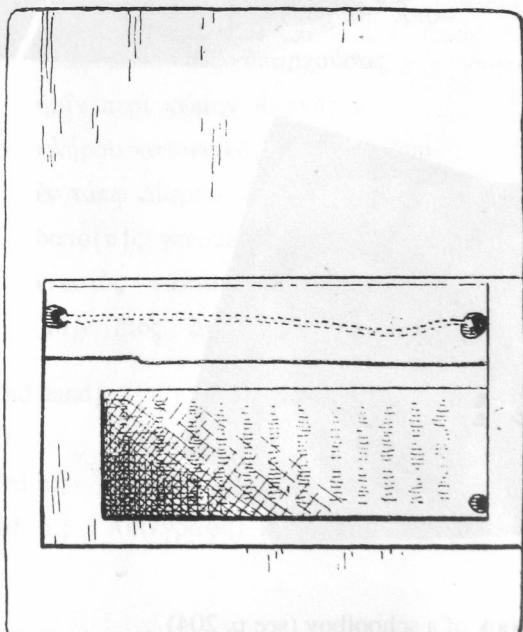
His will must have been written on *tabulae ceratae*, too. We may compare it with a similar will which was found undamaged, written on five waxed tablets: the *testamentum per aes et libram* of Antonius Silvanus (p. 205). It appears that first the principal text was written on the inner pages of the "booklet", then the "booklet" was tied up with a cord which passed through all pages and the covers, then the witnesses, acting as **σφραγισταί**, fixed their seals to the cord and at last they put their signatures next to their seals. The seals on this cord, and the signatures, were placed in a hollow space in the cover; they were protected as shown in the sketch opposite.

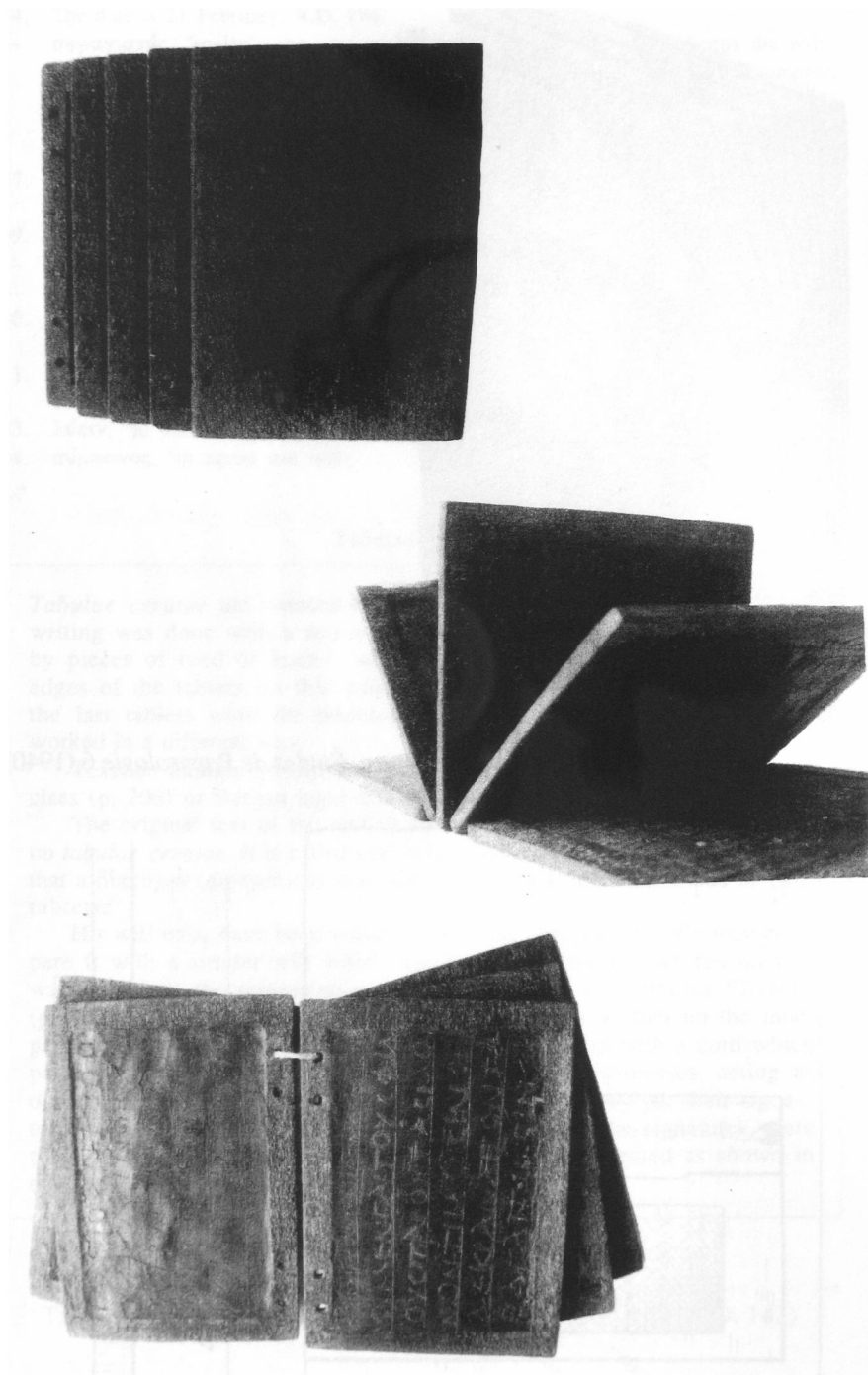
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The *testamentum per aes et libram* of Antonius Silvanus (A.D. 142)
back cover



Études de Papyrologie 6 (1940)





Exercise book of a schoolboy (see p. 204)
P. Lugd. Bat. 25, no. 15

NOTIFICATION OF INUNDATED LAND

Tebtynis

P. Lugd. Bat. 6 51

A.D. 206

Isidora and the guardian of her minor half-brother Julius inform the *strategos* and the royal scribe that two arouras of land are "under water". They probably make this statement in order to obtain a reduction of taxes. The village scribe has to check the claim that the land was inundated. See plate, p. 209.

Ἰέρακι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) Θεμίσ(του) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος)
μερίδων
καὶ Ἡρώδιανῶ βασι(λικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Πολέμ(ωνος)
μερίδος

- 5 καὶ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Τεπτύνεως καὶ Κερκήσ(εως)
παρὰ Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Τυ-
ραννίδος τελείας καὶ Ἰουλίου
τοῦ καὶ Ἡρώδου ἀφήλικος,
ἀμφοτέρων Φιλαντινόου
10 τοῦ καὶ Ἡρώδου Ἀντινοέων,
τοῦ δὲ ἀφήλικος δι' ἐπιτρόπου
Φιλοσαράπιδος Λυσιμάχου. Ἀπο-
γραφόμεθα τὰς ὑπαρχούσας
ἡμῖν περὶ κώμην Κερκήσιν
15 κλήρου κατοικικοῦ ἀρούρας δύο
ἐν τόπῳ Δίφρου λεγο(μένῳ) καθ' ὅ-
δατο{υ}ς γενομένους πρὸς τὸ
ἐνεστὸς τεσσαρεσκαίδέκα-
[το]ν ἔτος. Διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι.

[2nd hand]

20 Ἀπ(εγράφη) π(αρά) στρ(ατηγῶ) Φαμ(ενῶθ) ἥ.

[3rd h.] Ἀπ(εγράφη) π(αρά) βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Φα(μενῶθ) κζ̄.

[4th h.] Ἀπ(εγράφη) π(αρά) κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) ἄχρι ἐξετάσεως.

Parallel texts: *B.G.U.* 11 2101 I and II; for returns of uninundated and artificially irrigated land see also: G.M. Parássoglou, *Chron. d'Ég.* 62 (1987) p. 208 ff.

The document belongs to the same family archive from Tebtynis as nos. 31 (see there) and 44; it was deposited in this archive by Julius' guardian Philosarapis who was the last keeper of the family documents. He was appointed as Julius' guardian in A.D. 205 (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 6 49 and 50) and paid a monthly allowance for the boy's upkeep until September A.D. 218 (*P. Lugd. Bat.* 6 53).

1. 'Ιέρακι: written ἱερακι (see plate opposite); for the trema, see p. 279.
5. The name of the village scribe is omitted.
- 7-8. τέλειος, "adult"; ἀφῆλιξ, "minor".
9. Φιλαντίνοος: this is an appropriate name for a citizen of Antinooupolis, this town being founded in memory of Antinoos; see p. 185.
10. 'Αντινοεύς: citizen of Antinooupolis.
11. ἐπίτροπος, "guardian (of a minor)"; the document was deposited in the archive of the guardian Philosarapis.
12. ἀπογράφεσθαι, "to notify".
15. κλῆρος κατοικικός: estate originally assigned to a military colonist.
16. καθ' ὕδατος: apparently the land could not be drained in time to receive a crop.
19. Read ἐπιδίδομεν.
20. ἀπεγράφη παρά: notification received by.
22. ἄχρι ἐξετάσεως, "for examination".

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1871

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ΦΙΛΟΝΕΛΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

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444/1171071

Хорошо, что вы не забыли

24. 07. 1940

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[illegible]

25 Jan 1940

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57. 11. 1917.

[illegible]

ENGAGEMENT OF CASTANET DANCERS

Philadelphia

P. Cornell 9

A.D. 206

Artemisia asks the castanet dancer Isidora to come to Philadelphia with two other girls and to perform there during six days; she specifies the terms of the engagement.

- Ἰσιδώρα κροταλι[στ]ρίᾱ
 παρὰ Ἀρτ[ε]μι[σί]ης ἀπὸ κώ-
 μης Φιλαδελφείας. Βούλομαι
 παρ[α]λαβεῖν σε σὺν ἑτέραις κρο-
 5 ταλ[ισ]τρίαις β λιτουργῆ[σα]σαι
 παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ ἡμ[έρ]ας ἕξ ἀπὸ
 τῆς κδ τοῦ Παῦ[ν]ι μηνὸς κατ' ἄρ-
 χαίους, λαμβαν[ό]ντων ὑμῶν
 ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ καθ' [ἡμ]έραν ἐκάσ-
 10 την † λς καὶ ὑ[πὲρ] πασῶν τῶν
 ἡμε[ρ]ῶν κριθῆς [ο] δ καὶ ἄρ-
 των ζεύγη κ· ὅσ[α] δὲ ἐὰν κα-
 τενέγκηται ἱμά[τ]ια ἢ χρυσᾶ
 κόσμια, ταῦτα σ[φ]ᾶ παραφυ-
 15 λάξομεν· παρ[εξ]όμεθα δὲ
 ὑμῖν κατερχομέ[νο]ις ὄνους
 δύο καὶ ἀνερχο[μ]ένοις
 τοὺς ἴσους.
 [2nd hand]
 L ιδ' Λουκίου Σεπτι[μ]ίου Σεουήρου
 20 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος [καὶ] Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνί[νο]υ Εὐσεβοῦς
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Που[βλί]ου Σεπτιμίου
 Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβ[αστο]ῦ, Παῦνι ις.

A photograph of the text is to be found in the *editio princeps*, p. 57. The document is printed again by A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 1, no. 20; M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private*, no. 20; J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten*, no. 94.

1. **κροταλίστρια**, "castanet dancing-girl".
5. Read **λειτουργῆσαι**, "in order to perform".
7. **κατ' ἀρχαίους**, "according to the old calendar", in opposition to the new one which was introduced by Augustus, see p. 40. Although he had done this more than 200 years previously, the old calendar was still used in horoscopes and, in cases like the present one, when artists were engaged for festivals; the feast in consideration must have taken place in April.
8. **λαμβάνόντων**: the text has also the masculine participle instead of the feminine one in lines 16 and 17.
11. **κριθή**, "barley".
12. **ἄρτων ζεύγος**, "pair of loaves".
- **ὅσα δὲ ἄν**, "whatever".
13. Read **κατενέγκητε**; **καταφέρειν**, "to take hither"; cf. **κατέρχεσθαι**, "to come hither" (line 16) in opposition to **ἀνέρχεσθαι**, "to go back home" (line 17).
23. Geta received the title of **Καῖσαρ**, "successor to the throne", in A.D. 198; he was then nine years old.

no. 53 →

Sarapion ~ Apollonios

Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός is called **Αὐρήλιος Σαρ. ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλ.** from A.D. 214/215 onwards. He belongs to an upper-class family in Oxyrhynchus. The archive of this family was found in the "mound of Ali Gamman" at Oxyrhynchus; it contains not only private documents but also a number of official ones from the period that Sarapion served as *strategos*; a group of fifty literary texts belongs probably to this same archive. Mention is made of Sarapion in the following years:

207-210	<i>strategos</i> of two districts of the Arsinoïte nome; cf. no. 53, 1-2;
214/215	local service in Oxyrhynchus;
219-221	<i>strategos</i> of the Hermopolite nome;
226-235	local service again in Oxyrhynchus.

One notices the rule of the Roman administration that a man should not be *strategos* in a nome in which he himself held property (for a similar case, see Apollonios, p. 143).

Literature. E.G. Turner, *Roman Oxyrhynchus*, in *J.E.A.* 38 (1952) 86-89; G. Bastianini, *La carriera di Sarapion alias Apollonianus*, in *Aegyptus* 49 (1969) 149-182; M. Moïoli, *La famiglia di Sarapion alias Apollonianus*, in *Acme* (1987) 123-136.

PROTEST AGAINST AN APPOINTMENT

Arsinoïte nome
(found in Oxyrhynchos)

P.S.I. 12 1243

A.D. 208

Ptollas addresses a petition to the *strategos* asking him to be released from the obligation to serve as a superintendent in a village in the neighbourhood; he mentions a number of reasons why the *strategos* should release him.

- Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῷ στρα(τηγῷ)
 Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) Θε(μίστου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδων
 παρὰ Πτολλᾶτος Φιλαδέλφου ἀπὸ κώμης
 Διονυσιάδος, ὄντος καὶ πρεσβυτέρου
 5 τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης καὶ δημοσίου
 καὶ οὐσιακοῦ γεωργοῦ. Ἐπεὶ ὁ τῆς Φι-
 λωτερίδος κωμογραμματεὺς ἀνέ-
 δωκέν με νῦν εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν γε-
 νηματογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων
 10 τῆς προκειμένης κώμης Φιλωτερί-
 δος, ἄπορον παντελῶς ὄντα καὶ οὐ-
 δὲν κεκτημένον περὶ τὴν κώμην
 οὐδὲ γεωργοῦντά τι περὶ αὐτήν, ἀξιῶ,
 οὐ δυνάμενος ἀμφοτέρως τὰς χρεΐ-
 15 ας ἐκτελεῖν, καθ' ἃ καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις
 ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορσι ἔδοξεν μὴ ὑφ' ἑ-
 να καιρὸν δύο λειτουργίας τινὰ ἐκτε-
 λεῖν, δέομαι, ἄνθρωπος πένης μό-
 λης τὴν πρεσβυτερίαν καὶ τὴν γε-
 20 ωργίαν δυνάμενος ἐκτελέσαι βαρυ-
 τάτην οὖσαν, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς
 ἐπιτηρήσεως καὶ κελεῦσαι ἕτερον

- τῷ τῆς Φιλατερίδος κωμογραμμα-
 τεῖ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ εἰσδοῦναι, εἰς τὸ δυνη-
 25 θῆναί με ἀμέμπτως καὶ τὰ τῆς γε-
 ωργίας τελέσματα διευθῆναι.
 Ποτλλᾶς ὥς L νγ οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντικ(νημίῳ) ἀριστ(ερῷ).
 L ις Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς
 Περτίνακος καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντων(ίνου)
 30 Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβασ(τῶν) καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου
 Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβασ(τοῦ), Φαμενώθ $\overline{\text{ιβ}}$.

The petition printed above and a second copy were found in the private archive of the *strategos* Sarapion ~ Apollonianos, for whom see p. 211.

The petition concerns a nomination to the superintendency of sequestered properties, which is one of the many compulsory public services in Roman Egypt. See N. Lewis, *Leitourgia Papyri* (1963) and *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (1982).

4. **πρεσβύτερος**, "elder", "alderman"; cf. **πρεσβυτερεία**, "the office of πρεσβύτερος" (line 19). The term of service is one year (starting date 1 Thoth) or six months (in that case the starting date is here 1 Phamenoth). The πρεσβύτεροι are prominent members of the community; they represent the cultivators (as in no. 4, 3; 257 B.C.), collect taxes, assist the local police and they may act for village scribes as διαδεχόμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν κωμογραμματεῖαν.
6. **οὐσιακὸς γεωργός**, "cultivator of land of an (imperial) estate"; for emperors as personal owners of private property in Egypt, see G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (1978).
7. **ἀναδιδόναι**, "to nominate", "to appoint for (εἰς)".
- **ἐπιτήρησις**, "office of superintendent" (also line 22); various terms of service and starting dates occur.
- 7-8. **γεννηματογραφούμενα ὑπάρχοντα**, "sequestered property".
11. **ἄπορος**, "without means", "poor".
12. **κεκτήσθαι**, "to own".
14. **χρεία**, "public service", "public duty".
15. **ἐκτελεῖν**, "to accomplish".
- 16-17. **ὕφ' ἑνα καιρόν**, "at the same time".
17. **λειτουργία**, "(compulsory) public service".
18. **δέομαι** repeats ἀξιῶ (line 13).
- **πένης**, "poor".
21. **ἀπαλλάσσειν**, "to release from".
24. **εἰσδιδόναι**, "to nominate", "to appoint".
26. **διευθῆναι**, "to pay properly".

COMMUNICATION FROM THE PREFECT

Arsinoïte nome

S.B. 1 4639

A.D. 209

The prefect certifies that Nigeras has served his five-year sentence and that he has set him free.

Σουβατιανὸς Ἀκύλας Θέωνι στρατηγῶι

Ἀρσινοείτου χαίρειν.

Νιγερᾶν Παπειρίου καταδικασθέντα εἰς ἀλαβαστρῶ-
να ἐπὶ πενταετίαν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Ἰου-

5 λιανοῦ τοῦ διασημοτάτου πληρώσαντα

τὸν τῆς καταδίκης χρόνον ἀπέλυσα. [2nd h.] Ἐρρω-
σθαί σε βούλομαι.

[3rd h.] Μαυρικιανὸς Μήνιος ἀνέγνω[v].

[4th h.] L ιη' Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σε-
ουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ

10 Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Ἀντωνείνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν.

[3rd h.] Τῷβι νεομηνία.

The text [= Berl. inv. 11532] was first published by F. Zucker, *Urkunde aus der Kanzlei eines römischen Statthalters von Ägypten in Originalausfertigung*, in *Sitzungsber. Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin* (1910) 710 ff., pl. V. Photographs are also to be found in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, pl. 35; R. Seider, *Paläographie der Griech. Pap.* I, pl. 26; etc. (see B.L. Konkordanz, p. 190).

The document was written in the chancery of the prefect; see G. Cavallo, *La scrittura del P. Berol. 11532: contributo allo studio dello stile di cancelleria nei papiri greci di età romana*, in *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216-249, pl. 1-15.

The upper portion (lines 1-6) contains the communication itself, written with large characters in the so-called chancery style; the first line starts as follows:

At the end of this communication the prefect wrote in smaller characters his subscription (lines 6-7), with his own hand but in Greek. After a blank space the third and the fourth hands wrote lines 8-11 in rather small characters.

A strip of parchment is attached to the lefthand border of the papyrus.

1. Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila was prefect of Egypt from 205 till 210-212; Claudius Julianus (line 4) was his immediate predecessor.
- Theon is in fact *strategos* of the Ἡρακλείδου μερίς only, and Sarapion (no. 53, 1) of the two other μερίδες of the Arsinoïte nome.
3. καταδικάζειν, "to condemn"; καταδίκη (line 6) "sentence".
- ἀλαβαστρών, "alabaster quarry".
4. πενταετία, "period of five years".
5. διασημότατος = *perfectissimus*, title of the prefect.
8. Mauricianus Maenius is a minor official in the prefect's chancery. He certifies having read (ἀνέγνω), and consequently checked, this communication and he dates it (line 11).

PETITION FOR REGISTRATION OF A CHOSEN GUARDIAN

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 1 56

A.D. 211

A woman, called Tabesammon, wishing to enter into an agreement, asks that Amoïtas be registered as her guardian in this matter.

- Μαξίμω ἱερεῖ ἐνάρχω ἐξηγητῇ
 βουλευτῇ
 παρὰ Ταβησάμμωνος Ἀμμω-
 νίου τοῦ καὶ Κασσίου ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων
 5 πόλεως, μητρὸς Διοφαντίδος
 ἀστῆς. Δανειζομένη, εἰς ἀναγ-
 καίας μου χρείας, ἀργύριον ἔντο-
 κον ἐν δραγμαῖς ἑξακισχειλίαις
 ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντός μοι
 10 περὶ κώμην Σιναρὺ ἀμπελικοῦ
 κτήματος καὶ ἀνηκόντων αὐτῷ
 πάντων, αἰτοῦμαι διὰ σοῦ ἐπιστα-
 μένη γράμματα τῷ τὸν διαδεχό-
 μενον τὴν στρατηγίαν βασιλι-
 15 κὸν γραμματέα μὴ ἐνδημεῖν
 ἐπιγραφῆναί μου κύριον πρὸς
 μόνην ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν
 Ἀμοῖτᾶν Πλουτίωνος μητρὸς
 Δημητροῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμέ-
 20 νης Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως, παρόν-
 τα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα. Διέγραψα δὲ
 τὸ ὠρισμένον τῆς αἰτήσ[εω]ς τέ-
 λος. L κ Αὐτοκρατόρων
 Καισάρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου

25 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος
 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ Παρθικοῦ
 Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν
 [[καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]
 30 Καίσαρος Σ[εβ]αστοῦ, Φαῶφι ᾧ.

[2nd hand]

Ταβ[ησάμμων Ἀμ]μωνίου ἐπι-
 δέ[δωκα]. 3rd hand [Ἀμοῖτ]ᾶς Πλουτίω-
 νος ε[ὕδοκῶ].

A plate of the lower portion is given above, p. 37. The text is reprinted as L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 320 and as P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 15.

When Greek women (for Roman women see no. 63) need the assistance of a κύριος according to Graeco-Egyptian law, but have no father, brother, husband or son to assist them, they may choose another person to act as their κύριος. In her agreement a woman refers to such a person by saying, for instance, that she acts μετὰ κυρίου οὐ ἑκουσίως αἰροῦμαι, "with the assistance of ... whom I choose voluntarily" (*P.S.I.* 10 1104, 4).

Petitions are known from A.D. 139 to 212 of Greek women asking that the name be registered of a chosen guardian; these petitions are always made in respect of one specific transaction only, πρὸς μόνην ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν (lines 16-17). The formular of petitions of Roman women is totally different; see no. 63.

1. ἐξηγητής: a municipal magistrate dealing with the guardianship of women and minors; he belonged to the class of town councillors. Several persons used to be appointed, at the same time, for the term of a year; they serve in rotation; the one whose turn it is to serve is ἑναρχος, "in office".
2. βουλευτής, "town councillor", "member of the βουλή". Since A.D. 200 every metropolis has its βουλή, "town council". Councillors have to belong to the Greek "gymnasial class" (see p. 163) with a property qualification; they are co-opted for life.
6. ἀστός, "citizen" of one of the Greek towns, Alexandria, Naukratis, Ptolemais or Antinooupolis.
8. ἐν, "to the amount of".
 — Read —χιλίας.
9. ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ, "upon the security of".
10. ἀμπελικὸν κτῆμα, "wine-producing property", "vineyard".
11. ἀνήκειν (with dat.), "to appertain to".
- 12-16. Connect αἰτοῦμαι with ἐπιγραφῆναι (line 16) and διὰ σοῦ with τῷ ("because of the fact that") μὴ ἐνδημεῖν (lines 13 and 15).

12. ἐπισταμένη γράμματα: in other similar petitions, when the woman is not able to write herself, she explicitly states that her chosen guardian is able to do so.
13. ὁ διαδεχόμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν, "who temporarily performs the tasks of the *strategos*".
15. ἐνδημεῖν, "to be present".
16. ἐπιγράφεσθαι, "to be registered" as guardian (κύριος).
17. οἰκονομία, "legal act", "transaction".
21. διαγράφειν, "to write an order for", "to pay by banker's draft", here simply "to pay".
23. L κ: or, perhaps, L [ι]β (= A.D. 203)? [Cf. p. 282].
29. After Caracalla had had his brother Geta murdered by the end of February 212, the latter's name was removed from every record; see p. 36-37 and P. Mertens, *La damnatio memoriae de Géta dans les papyrus*, in *Latomus* 44 (1960) 541-552; P. Mich. 6, p. 97-98.
The *damnatio memoriae* was pronounced by the Roman senate and effectuated in Egypt by order of the prefect (*B.G.U.* 11 2056); this happened before 15 June A.D. 212, for on that day a document (*S.B.* 6 9234) was sealed with an intaglio stone or ring on which the portrait of Geta had been obliterated; cf. E.M. Husselman, *T.A.P.A.* 82 (1951) 166.
30. Καῖσαρ: successor to the throne.

Constitutio Antoniniana

→

Dio Cassius, LXXVIII 9, 5

Οὐδ' ἕνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προσίη διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν ἀπέδειξεν.

"This was the reason why he made all the people in his empire Roman citizens; nominally he was honouring them, but his real purpose was to increase his revenues by this means, inasmuch as aliens did not have to pay most of the taxes, which he had introduced or reorganized" (cf. F.M. Heichelheim in *J.E.A.* 26, 1940, 13).

THE CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA

Provenance unknown

P. Giss. 40

c. A.D. 212

In the spring of A.D. 212, Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to practically all the inhabitants of his empire. The text of his revolutionary measure is not to be found in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, but it was copied in Greek on a papyrus with two other edicts and an *epistula* issued by Caracalla between A.D. 212 and 215. The second of these texts is nearly completely lost; the fourth one is Caracalla's letter to the Alexandrians whereby he orders them to expel from Alexandria all Egyptians who have fled from other parts of Egypt, because they are disturbing the city.

The text of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is copied on the upper half of the first column, which is unfortunately much damaged. We print here that part of the text that seems rather certain, leaving out hypothetical supplements of lacunas.

Actually only lines 7-9 are clear, but fortunately they contain the quintessence of the *constitutio*: Roman citizenship is granted to inhabitants of the Roman empire, with the exception of the *dediticii*; although, therefore, Roman law applies from now on to everyone, local law remains in force.

- 1 [Μᾶ]ρκος Ἀυρήλι[ος Σεουήρου] Ἀντωνῖνου[ς] Σ[εβασ-
τὸς] λέγει·
- 2 []ῆ μᾶλλον αν[τὰς αἰτίας κ[α]ὶ το[ύς] λ[ογι]σ-
μού[ς].
- 3 [τοῖς θεοῖς τ[οῖς] ἀθ[αν]άτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι
τῇ[ς] τοιαύτῃ[ς]
- 4 []ν ἐμὲ συν[ετήρ]ησαν. Τοιγαροῦν νομίζω[ν ο]ύτω με-
- 5 []ως δύ[να]σθαι τῇ μεγαλει[ό]τητι αὐτῶν τὸ ἱκανὸν
ποι-
- 6 [εἶν ὅς]άκις ἐὰν ὑ[π]εισέλθ[ωσ]ιν εἰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀν-
[θρ]ώπους
- 7 [τῶ]ν θεῶν συνει[σ]ενέγ[κοι]μι. Δίδωμι τοῖ[ς] σ[υνά]-
πα-
- 8 [σιν τ]ῇν οἰκουμένην π[ολειτ]εῖαν Ῥωμαίων [μ]έγοντος
- 9 []ατων χωρ[ίς] τῶν [δε]δευτικίων. Ὁ[φ]εῖλει [γ]άρ τὸ
- 10 []. . . νειν πάντα, ἀ[λλ]ὰ ἤδη κ[α]ὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἐνπεριει-

- 11 [διάτ]αγμα ἐ[ξαπ]λώσει [τὴν] μεγαλειότητα [το]ῦ
 Ρωμα[ί]-
 12 [ων δῆμου.]ν περὶ τοὺς [ἄλλο]υς γεγενῆσθαι ἥπερ δὲ
 13 [κα]ταλειφ[θέντων]ων τῶ[ν ἐ]κάστης
 14 []ητω[]π[.]οσ[]
 15 []θη[]
 16 []ολω[]

After the text was published in 1910, an avalanche of discussion followed. Many scholars gave way to the temptation to try and re-establish the complete text. This seems nowadays all the more hazardous, as in a number of cases the same lacuna has been supplemented in several completely different ways; see the disconcerting list given with regard to the lacunas in lines 6, 8 and 9, in C. Sasse, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana* (1958) 12-14. See also H. Wolff, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana* (1976) and the literature mentioned in the *Berichtigungsliste* (see B.L. Konkordanz, p. 76). Plates of the text are given in the *editio princeps* and in the monographs of Sasse and Wolff.

With regard to the μένοντος clause in lines 8-9 mention has to be made of the *Tabula Banasitana* which is a bronze plaque that records individual grants of Roman citizenship to foreigners in A.D. 177; the *tabula* was found in Morocco. For this text, see e.g. A. Schiller, *The Diplomatics of the Tabula Banasitana*, in H. Hübner et al. (edd.), *Festschrift für Erwin Seidl* (1975) 143-160.

1. The beginning probably runs [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μᾶ]ρκος κ.τ.λ., "edict of the Emperor Caesar M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus", i.e. Caracalla. There is no date, but the third decree is dated July 10, A.D. 212 whereas the fourth text was probably written in A.D. 215; one may assume therefore, that the first one was the oldest decree and that it was promulgated in the spring of A.D. 212, that is after Geta was murdered and before July 10.
2. Caracalla starts with the statement that the main causes (αἰτίας) and reasons (λογισμούς) of events are to be attributed to the gods.
- 3-4. He himself has to be grateful (εὐχαριστεῖν) to the gods because they have protected him (συντηρεῖν) in a dangerous situation (τοιαύτης ...).
- 4-5. Therefore (τοιγαροῦν) he believes to be able (δύνασθαι) to do something equal (ἰκανόν) to their greatness.
- 6-7. (Uncertain).
- 7-8. δίδωμι τοῖς συνάπασιν - - - τὴν οἰκουμένην πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων, "I grant to everyone in the (Roman) world the Roman citizenship".
- 8-9. Perhaps μένοντος [παντὸς δικαίου τῶν πολιτευμ]άτων, "whereas local law remains valid", *salvo (omni) iure civitatum*.
9. χωρὶς τῶν δεδιτικών, "with the exception of the *dediticii* (i.e. immigrants probably)".
- 9-16. What remains does not warrant a reconstruction.

Names

Aurelius

One of the consequences of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* may be seen in the proper names. Soon after A.D. 212 the new citizens add to their names the name Αὐρηλία / Αὐρήλιος; see for instance:

- Αὐρήλιος Ζώσιμος πρὸ μὲν τῆς θίας δωρεᾶς καλούμενος Ζώσιμος (*B.G.U.* 2 655, 5-7; 16 August, 215; ἡ θεία δωρεά, "the divine gift" = the *Constitutio Antoniniana*);
- παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς καὶ Ἀρποκρατιαίνης --- τὸ πρὶν χρηματιζούσης Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς καὶ Ἀρποκρατιαίνης (*P. Oxy.* 34 2723, 2-4; early third century).

Sometimes an Egyptian who is styled Aurelius in Greek documents omits this name in demotic or Coptic ones; see the cases of Aurelios Pachymios (p. 54) and Aurelia Senenteris (*P. Recueil* 15).

Flavius

Later, from the fourth century onwards, another name appears, namely Φλαουία / Φλάβιος. This name is used as a status designation for prominent citizens (no. 73, 5), whereas the masses of the population remain Aurelii. Cf. J.G. Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, in *Z.P.E.* 11 (1973) 33-63 and 13 (1974) 283-304.

Roman law

In legal matters the influence of Roman law may be noticed in the field of family law — such as guardianship of women (nos. 63 and 65) and marriages between brothers and sisters (cf. no. 37, 8 note) — and in the field of the law of inheritance; testaments, for instance, had to be drawn up in Latin in the third century.

Stipulatio

In most contracts no other influence of Roman law is to be seen other than the insertion, from A.D. 220 onwards, in the Greek formular of the clause ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν, "and having been formally questioned he has asserted" = *interrogatus spopondit* (nos. 67, 22; 71, 14; 72, 10; 73, 13; 74, 32; 76, 23; 79, 31). This is a reference to the Roman *stipulatio*.

The classical Roman stipulation is an oral contract. The future creditor asks the future debtor whether he is prepared to make a certain promise (*spondere*); the latter thereupon immediately gives this promise — for instance: *Centum mihi dari spondes?* □ *Spondeo* —. The answer must correspond precisely to the question.

For the *stipulatio* in Egypt, see D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel* [= Münch. Beitr. 48] (1964). One may assume that actually no *stipulatio* was made; by inserting a *stipulatio* clause into a Greek contract the notary probably intended to bring it within the reach of Roman law of actions.

On the other hand, in no. 67, 22 ὡμολόγησεν is used to show that Panneus has accepted the application, whereas in no. 79, 12 ἐπερωτῶντος indicates that the οἰκέτης Menas has asked for a receipt of the payment.

LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO AND USUCAPIO

Hermoupolis

P. Strasb. 1 22

3rd cent. A.D.

The document contains three texts: an imperial rescript (A.D. 199/200) and two judgements of prefects (A.D. 207 and 90). The first two texts deal with the protection of long possession of land property in the Roman provinces and the third text deals with *usucapio* of movables.

The texts were collected and copied on one papyrus sheet after Caracalla's death (A.D. 217), probably to be used in a lawsuit.

I

- Θεοὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος Ἰου[λ]ιανῇ
 Σωσθένους διὰ Σωσθένους ἀνδρός.
 Μακρὰς νομῆς παρὰ γραφὴ τοῖς δικαί[αν]
 αἰτίαν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀμφισβ[η]–
 5 τήσεως ἐν τῇ νομῇ γενομένοις πρὸς μ[ἐ]ν
 τοὺς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει διατρεῖψαντας ἐτῶν εἴκοσι
 ἀριθμῷ β[ῶ]θη[ο]ύνται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 δέκα. Προετέθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]είᾳ
 η Λ, Φαρμούθι κδ.

II

- 10 Σουβατιανοῦ Ἀκύλα ἡγεμονεύσαντος
 Λ ιε'', Φαμενὼθ ιζ. Κληθέν[τ]ων Σαβείνου
 καὶ Μαξίμου Διονυσίου καὶ ὑπακο[υ]σάντων,
 μεθ' ἕτερα· Ἀκύλας εἶπεν· Τί ἀποκρίνη
 πρὸς τὸν χρόνον [τ]ῆς νο[μ]ῆς, ὥς φησι[ν], με–
 15 τὰ τὴν ὥνῃν τῆς Παυσοράπιος ἐτῶ[ν] σχε–
 δὸν δεκατεσσάρων, καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτῳ σιωπῇ;
 Ἀσκληπιάδης ῥήτωρ εἶπεν· Γέγονεν. Ἀκύ–
 λας εἶπεν· Διατάξεις εἰσὶν τῶν κυρίων περὶ

- τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἰκούντων· ἂν ἄλλα-
 20 χόσε νομὴ παρακολουθήσῃ ἔχοντός τινος
 ἀφορμὴν καὶ βραχεῖαν δικαίαν κατοχῆς,
 σιωπήσαντος τοῦ νομίζοντος αὐτῷ διαφέρειν
 καὶ ἀνασχομένου ὑπὲρ δεκαετίαν, ἔχειν τ[ὸ] βέ-
 βαιον τοὺς κατασχόντας.

III

- 25 Μεττίου 'Ρούφου ἡγεμονεύσαντος L ι'',
 'Αθὺρ κδ. Κληθέντος Σαλουστίου Καπί-
 τωνος πρὸς 'Ιουλίαν Πυθαροῦν καὶ εἰπόντο[ς]
 τὸ[ν ὕ]π[ο]μνηματογρ[ά]φον Μαικιανὸν ἀκηκοέναι περὶ τοῦ
 πρ[ά]γμ[α]τος, μεθ' ἕτερα· Μέττιος 'Ρούφος
 30 Καπίτωνι εἶπε[ν]· Οὐδεμίαν παρείσδυσιν ἔχεις,
 ἢ γὰρ γ[υν]ῆ ἐν τῇ νομῇ γέγονεν πολλῷ χρόνῳ. Παρ' ἡ-
 μεῖν δ[ὲ] ἰ[δ]οὺ ἢ [δ]ι' ἐνιαυτοῦ νομὴ αὐτάρκης
 ἐστὶν [εἰ]ς δε[σ]ποτίαν.

The three texts were re-edited in P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 54; see *B.L. Konkordanz*, p. 239 for other references. A plate is to be found in *P. Strasb.* 1, Tafel 5.

A second copy of the rescript (document I, lines 1-9) is *B.G.U.* 1 267, for which see A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 214; cf. *B.L. Konkordanz*, p. 17.

The texts printed above (*P. Strasb.* 1 22) were written on the back of an administrative document of the Hermopolite nome (*P. Strasb.* 1 23; 1st-2nd cent.).

I

Rescript (see note line 18) of Septimius Severus and Caracalla with regard to long possession of land property in the Roman provinces. The rescript grants the possessor of such land protection (by means of a *praescriptio*) against persons who contest his possession after ten (*inter praesentes*) or twenty years (*inter absentes*).

A second copy of the rescript, *B.G.U.* 1 267, was found in the Arsinoïte nome. This text is slightly different and it bears a different date, i.e. Τῷβι γ = A.D. 199, 29 December (and not Φαρμούθι κδ = A.D. 200, 19 April).

1. θεοί = *divi*, "deified"; Roman emperors are called *divus* after their death; consequently this copy was made after Caracalla died in A.D. 217. *B.G.U.* 1 267 was apparently written during the lifetime of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, i.e. before the former died A.D. 211, February.
2. Iouliane's father is called Σωσθενιανός in *B.G.U.* 1 267, 6.
3. νομή = *possessio*; νομή is a neologism, the traditional word for "possession" being κατοχή (line 21; see also the verb κατέχειν in line 24).
— μακρᾶς νομῆς παραγραφή = *longae possessionis praescriptio* (usually called *longi temporis praescriptio*): "protection in virtue of a long-dating possession against proprietary claims".
- 3-4. δικαία αἰτία = *iustum initium possessionis*, "a rightful beginning of the possession" (cf. note line 21): title and good faith were required.
4. ἀνευ τινὸς ἀμφισβητήσεως, "undisputed".
6. ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει, "in another town" (*inter absentes*); see l. 7: ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, "in the same one" (*inter praesentes*).
— διατρεῖναντας: read διατρεῖβοντας, as in *B.G.U.* 1 267, 11: "to live", "to sojourn".
7. β[σηθ]οῦνται: read βεβαιοῦται ("is established"), as in *B.G.U.* 1 267, 12.

II

Legal proceedings before the prefect Subatianus Aquila (A.D. 206-211) with regard to *longi temporis praescriptio* in the case of a possessor who bought the land property from another possessor. Plaintiff is Sabinos, the owner, represented by his advocate Asklepiades; Paüsorapis was the first possessor who sold the land property to the defendant Maximos Dionysios. The following text is an abstract from the minutes of the proceedings.

11. καλεῖν, "to call a person in court", "to summon" (also line 26).
12. ὑπακούειν, "to answer", "to appear in court".
13. μεθ' ἕτερα = *post alia*.
— The prefect puts the question to Asklepiades, the plaintiff's advocate; read ἀποκρίνη.
14. πρὸς, "with regard to".
— ὡς φησιν: sc. the defendant.
18. διάταξις = *rescript*: written answer given by the emperor to queries of officials or to petitions of private persons; see lines 1-9.
19. ἔθνη = *provinciae*, the Roman provinces.
- 19-20. ἐὰν ἀλλάχσεν νομή παρακολουθήσῃ, "if the possession has changed hands".
21. ἀφορμὴ δικαία κατοχῆς = *iustum initium possessionis* (cf. note lines 3-4).

- **κἄν βραχεῖαν**, "allbeit for a short time".
- 22. **νομίζειν**, "to believe that".
- **διαφέρειν** (with dat.), "to belong to".
- 23. **ἀνέχεσθαι**, "to bear with a thing", "to suffer".
- 23-24. **ἔχειν τὸ βέβαιον τοὺς κατασχόντας**, "the possessors shall have the right for good".

III

Legal proceedings before the prefect Mettius Rufus (A.D. 89-91) with regard to Roman *usucapio* of movables. Plaintiff is Salustius Capito, and the woman Iulia Pytharous is the defendant. They are apparently both Roman citizens. The following text is an abstract from the minutes of the proceedings.

- 27. **εἰπόντος**: sc. Mettius Rufus.
- 28. **ὑπομνηματογράφος**: leader of the chancery of the prefect.
- 30. **παρεῖσδυσις**, "possibility of worming your way into (the ownership of the movables)".
- 31. Read ἡμῖν.
- 32. **ἰδοῦ** = *vide*, "look".
- **αὐτάρκης**, "sufficient".
- 33. **δεσποτεία** = *dominium*, "ownership".

APPLICATION FOR LEASE OF LAND

Arsinoïte nome

S.B. 5 7665

A.D. 225

Three farmers ask Aurelia Phabia to farm out to them seven arouras of land she owns in the vicinity of Herakleia. They specify the terms of the proposed agreement.

- Αὐρηλία Φαβία ἀπάτορι μητ(ρὸς) Τρυφᾶτος ἀπὸ Βωναφίου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Παπειρίου Ἀροῦτος μητ(ρὸς) Ταορσενού-
 φεως ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἀβρόχου καὶ Πωλίωνος Ἐσπέρου
 ἀπὸ κώμης Βουβάστου καὶ Διονυσίου Σύρου μητρὸς
- 5 Διδύμης ἀπὸ ἐ[π]οικίου Πεισάει τῶν τριῶν. Βο[υλό]μεθα
 μισθῶσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης τὰς ὑπαρ-
 χούσας σοι περὶ κώ(μην) Ἡράκλειαν κλήρου κατοικικοῦ
 ἀρούρας ἑξ καὶ ἄλλην κλήρου κατοικικοῦ (ἄρουραν) α
 (ἡμίσειαν) εἰς ἔ-
- τη δύο ἀπὸ σπορᾶς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε Λ, ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς
- 10 κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τεσ[σ]άρων περὶ ὧν
 καὶ ἐπιτελέσομεν τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἔργα πάντα, ὅσα καθήκει, ἐ-
 [κ] τοῦ εἰδίου τοῖς δέο[υ]σι καιροῖς βλάβος μηδὲν ποιοῦντες
 [κα]ὶ τὸ κ[ατ'] ἔ[το]ς ἐκ[φ]όριον ἀποδώσομεν μηνὶ Παῦ-
 νι μέτρῳ [δρόμω]ν τετραχοινίκῳ, τῶν δημοσίων πάν-
- 15 των ὄντων πρ[ὸς] σὲ τὴν κτήτοραν, τῶν δὲ φολέτρων
 ὄντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μισθουμένους καὶ μετὰ χρόνον]
 παραδώσομεν ἀπὸ συνκομιδῆς, ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθ(ῶσαι).

Αὐρηλία Φαβία ὡς Λ κς οὐλ(ῆ) τραχήλῳ.

Λ εὐ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

- 20 [Σ]ευρή[ο]υ Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,
 Ἀθῦρ ις.

Editio princeps by E.P. Wegener, *Four Papyri of the Bodleian Library*, in *Mnemosyne* 3rd ser., vol. 3 (1936) 232-234. The text is written by one hand. It is plainly a copy made by, or in the name of, Aurelia Phabia and given to the farmers. Cf. A. Kränzlein, *Privatpacht-Hypomnemata*, in J. Modrzejewski und D. Liebs (ed.) *Symposion* 1977, p. 321-322.

1. ἀπάτωρ, "with no (legal) father": a child born of a woman who has not entered into a formal marriage, for instance because the father was a soldier who was not allowed to marry (no. 28, 10-11). H.C. Youtie, 'Ἀπάτορες: Law vs. Custom in Roman Egypt, in *Hommages à Claire Préaux* (1975) 723-740.
2. Read Παπυρίου.
5. Read Πισάϊ (undeclined).
6. ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης, "on mutual surety".
7. D. Hobson, *The Village of Heraklia in the Arsinoite Nome*, in *B.A.S.P.* 22 (1985) 101-115 and *The Inhabitants of Heraklia*, in *B.A.S.P.* 23 (1986) 99-123.
12. Read ιδίου.
- τοῖς δέουσι καιροῖς, "at the proper time".
14. μέτρον τετραχοίνικον, "measure holding four χοίνικες"; verified measures were used in markets on the δρόμοι (avenues leading to a temple).
- τὰ δημόσια, "public taxes".
15. ἡ κτήτωρ, "the owner" (fem.): κτήτορα = κτήτορα; for the acc. ending -αν instead of -α, see F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* II, p. 45-46.
- φόλετρον (read φόρετρον), "expenses of transport".
17. ἀπὸ συγκομιδῆς, "after the harvest".
- ἐὰν φαίνεται (sc. σοι): "if you decide to".
18. τράχηλος, "neck".

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO THE GEROUSIA

Oxyrhynchos

P. Ryl. 4 599

A.D. 226

Aurelios Klaudianos, citizen of Oxyrhynchos, belongs to the privileged class of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου. Wishing to obtain an old-age pension he presents his application and the evidence that he fulfils the requirements.

- Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ τῷ καὶ Διο-
 σκουρίδῃ ἐξηγητεύσαντι
 βουλ(ευτῇ) διέποντι καὶ τὰ στέμματ[α]
 τῆς Ὀξυρυγγειτῶν πόλεως
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Κλαυδιανοῦ Σαρᾶτος
 τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Ἀμμω-
 νοῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. Γε-
 γονῶς ἤδη πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστ(ὸς) ζ' (ἔτος) (ἔτη) ξη
 καὶ ὀφείλων ἐνταγῆναι τοῖς ἀπὸ
 10 τοῦ γερουσίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικί-
 αν βεβιωκόσιν ὥς τὸ μετέχειν
 τῶν τῆς γερουσίας τιμίων, ἐπι-
 δίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα παρα-
 τιθέμενος τῆς πρὸς τὸ κδ L [θε]οῦ
 15 Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου [κατ' οἰκ(ίαν)]
 ἀπογρ(αφῆς) τὸ ἀνῆκον μέρος ἐπ[ὶ]
 τὸ τὰ ἀκόλουθα γενέσθαι ὥς
 καθήκει. L ζ' Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
 20 Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι. Ἔστι δέ·
 ἔκλ(ημνις) ἐκ δημ(οσίας) βιβλ(ιοθήκης) ἐκ πεδιακ(οῦ)
 ἐπικ(ρίσεως)
-

Editio princeps by E.G. Turner, *The Gerousia of Oxyrhynchus*, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 12 (1937) 179-186. Parallel texts: *P.S.I.* 12 1240 (A.D. 225?), *P. Oxy.* 43 3099-3102 (A.D. 225) and perhaps *P. Wisc.* 2 56 (A.D. 209).

In the first quarter of the third century A.D. a company was founded at Oxyrhynchus, called the γερουσία, into which 200 members were to be enrolled. They were entitled to be maintained at public expense after reaching a certain age.

Admission to the γερουσία could only be obtained by Oxyrhynchite citizens who belonged to the privileged class of Hellenes. They were called οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου, "members of the *gerousiac* class", "persons eligible for the γερουσία". Applicants for admission therefore had to prove their inherited social status. Persons of various ages are known to have applied for admission to the γερουσία, but persons 68 years old apparently had precedence over younger ones.

2. ἐξηγητεύσας: ex-exegetes; cf. no. 55, 1 note.
3. διέπειν, "to manage", "to administrate".
- τὰ στέμματα, "the pedigrees, family trees"; this official has to maintain and revise the roll of citizens.
4. ἡ Ὀξυρυγγειτῶν πόλις, "the town of the citizens of Oxyrhynchus", but Ὀξυρύγγων πόλις "town of the (sacred) oxyrhynchus-fishes" in line 7; see p. 314.
9. ὀφείλω (with inf.), "I ought to".
- ἐντάσσειν, "to enroll".
- 9-10. οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γερουσίου, "members of the *gerousiac* class", i.e. persons eligible for the γερουσία.
10. ἡλικία, "time of life", "age".
11. ὥς, "with a view to".
12. τίμια (lit. "honours"): material advantages.
- 13-16. παρατιθέμενος - - τὸ ἀνήκον μέρος, "enclosing the relevant portion of ..."; for the κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή, see no. 49 and the survey given p. 194.
17. τὰ ἀκόλουθα, "the appropriate measures".
22. ἔκλημψις, "extract".
- πεδιακὸν ἐπικρίσεως [τῆς κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς], "terrier of the verified statements given by me in my census return"; the πεδιακόν is a complete list of the houses in a town.
23. Traces of letters; one expects here (see *P. Oxy.* 43 3099 II, 26-27) e.g.: τῆς πρὸς τὸ κδ L θεοῦ Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς, etc.

CONTRACT OF TRANSPORT BY BOAT

Arsinoe
(found in Theadelphia)

P. Lond. 3 948 (p. 220)

A.D. 236

Herakles, owner and captain of his ship, undertakes to transport vegetable seed to the harbour of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Apparently he is to receive there a return freight.

- Ἐναύλωσεν Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλῆς Διοσκόρου ἀπὸ Ἀνταίου πό-
 λεως κυβερνήτης
 ἰδίου πλοίου ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶν διακοσίων πεντήκοντα ἀσήμου
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀρείφ
 Ἡρακλείδου βουλευτῆ τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως πρὸς ἐμβολὴν
 λαχανοσπέρμου ἀρτα-
 βῶν διακοσίων πεντήκοντα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμβαλέσθαι ἀπὸ ὄρμου
 Ἄλσους μητροπόλεως
 5 μέχρι ὄρμου τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου, ναύλου τοῦ συμφωνηθέντος
 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν]
 ἑκατὸν καθαρῶν ἀπὸ πάντων, ἀφ' ὧν ἐντεῖθεν ἔσχεν ἀρ-
 γ(υρίου) δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα.
 Τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα ἀπολήμψεται ἅμα τῇ παρα-
 δόσει. Ἄπερ φορτία παρα-
 δώσει σφᾶ καὶ ἀκακούργητα ἀπὸ ναυτικ[ῆς] κακου[ρ]γίας
 λαμβάν[οντος αὐτ]οῦ πρὸς ἐμ-
 βολὴν ἡμέρας δύο ἀπὸ τῆς κῆ καὶ ὁμοίω[ς] προσανα[μέν]ειν
 αὐτ[ὸν] ἐν τῷ Ὁξυρυγχείτῃ
 10 ἡμέρας τέσσαρας· μεθ' ὧς ἐὰν παρακατασχεθῇ, λήμψεται ὁ
 κυβερνήτης ἡ[με]ρησίως
 [δ]ραχμὰς δεκαέξ, ἑαυτῷ παρεχόμενος ὁ κυβερνήτης τοὺς αὐ-
 τάρκεις ναύτας καὶ

τὴν τοῦ πλοίου πάσιν ἐπιχρεῖαν. Λήμψεται δὲ ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ
σπονδῆς ἐν τῷ Ὁξυρυγχεί-

τῇ οἴνου κεράμιον. Ἡ ναυλωτικὴ κυρία. [2nd hand] Αὐρήλιος
Ἡρακλῆς νενάυλωκα καὶ

[Ἔ]σχων ἐπὶ λόγου τὰς δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα ὡς πρόγκειται.

[1st hand]

15 L γ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξιμί-
νου Εὐσ[εβοῦς] Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

καὶ Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου Μαξίμου τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι κβ̄.

The text is re-edited by P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 43; see also L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 341 and V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani* 3, no. 155.

The agreement with the town councillor of Arsinoe was written on the recto of a papyrus. The verso (*P. Flor.* 2 185**) was used some 20 years later by Herakleides, perhaps a son of the town councillor on the recto, for writing a letter to Heroninos whose archive was found at Theadelphia. On this archive, see D. Rathbone, (The Heroninos archive and the Appianus estate): *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt* (1991).

1. ναυλοῦν, "to let out a ship for hire", "to enter into a 'freight-contract', ναυλωτικὴ (sc. συγγραφὴ, line 13)"; κυβερνήτης, "captain (of a boat)".
2. πλοίου - - - ἀσήμε; ἀγωγή, "carrying capacity", "tonnage".
3. ἐμβολή, "lading (of a cargo)", "shipment"; ἐμβαλλέσθαι, "to put on board ship", "to transport" (line 4).
4. ὄρμος, "anchorage", "harbour"; called after an ἄλσος, "(sacred) grove", "wood", in the vicinity.
5. ναῦλον, "fare of freight".
6. ἐντεῦθεν, "in advance".
7. φορτίον, "load, "the transported goods".
8. ἀκακούρητος ἀπὸ κακουργίας, "free from damage (incurred on board the boat, ναυτικῆς)".
9. προσαναμένειν, "to await besides"; the infinitive is conditioned by the notion ὁμολογεῖ conveyed by ἐνάυλωσεν in line 1.
10. παρακατέχειν, "to keep back", "to detain": if he is detained after these (μεθ' ἅς) four days
11. αὐτάρκης, "sufficient" (in quantity).
12. ἐπιχρεία, "equipment".
— σπονδή (lit. "drink-offering", "libation"): ὑπὲρ σπονδῆς, "as a gratuity".
13. ἡ ναυλωτικὴ (sc. συγγραφὴ) κυρία (sc. ἔστω).
14. Read ἔσχον and πρόκειται; ἐπὶ λόγου, "as advance money".

PETITION TO THE PREFECT
(*agnitio bonorum possessionis*)

Oxyrhynchos	A	<i>S.B.</i>	1	1010	
	B	<i>S.B.</i>	6	9298	A.D. 249

After his mother's death, Marcus Aurelius Didymus addresses a petition to the prefect with regard to his inheritance. He asks the prefect to grant him the "possession of her estate" (*bonorum possessio*).

Two copies of the petition were discovered. **A** is a copy of the original request and **B** is an authenticated translation.

A**B**

Ἀ(ντίγραφον)

[Au]relío Appío Sabino v(íro) p(er- fectissimo) praef(ecto) Aegypti	<i>a</i>	[Αὐρ]ηλίω Ἀππίω Σαβ[εῖνω] ἐπάρχῳ [Αἰγ]ύπτου
[a M.] A[u]relío Chaeremone q(ui) e(t) Didymo impub(ere)	<i>b</i>	[πα]ρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Διδύμου [τοῦ] καὶ Χαιρή- μονος ἀφήλικος
t(utore) a(uctore) patre [suo] M. Aurelio Chaeremone q(ui) e(t) Zoilo hieronica [An]tinoense.	<i>c</i>	[με]τὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς Μάρκου [Αὐ]ρηλίου Χαι- ρήμονος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ζωίλου ιερονίκου Ἀντινοέως.
Rogo, domine, des mihi bonorum possessi[o]nem matris meae Aureliae Hammonillae Heraclas [ob(itaē)] civitatis Oxyrynchi- tarum	<i>d</i>	Δέομαι, κύριε, δοῦναί μοι διακατοχὴν ὑπαρχόντων τῆς μητρός μου Αὐρηλίας Ἀμμονίλλης Ἡρακλᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀχυρυγγειτῶν πόλεως τετελευτηκυίας

ex ea parte edicti qua(e) [legi]timis heredib(us) b(onorum) p(osses- sionem) daturum te polliceris.	e	ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιφαλαίου τοῦ διατάγματος οὗ τοῖς νομίμοις κληρονόμοις δια- κατοχὴν ὑπαρχόντων διδό- ναι ὑπέσχη.
Dat(um) XVIII Kal(endas) [Octo- b(res)] Aemiliano II et Aquilino co(nsulibu)s	f	Ἐδόθη πρὸ δεκαοκτῶ [Κα- λ]ανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων Αἰμιλ- λιανῶ[ν] τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ἀκ]υλίνῳ ὑπάτοις,
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Χαι- [ρή]μων ἀφῆλιξ μετὰ κυρίου ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς Αὐρ(ηλίου) Χαιρήμο[νος τοῦ κ]αὶ Ζωίλου	g	
αἰτῶ τὴν διακατοχὴν τῶν τῆς μητρός μου.	h	
Λ ζ', Θῶθ ιη.	i	ἔτους ζ' Μάρκων Ἰουλίων, Θῶθ ιη.
Ex edicto. Recogn[o]vi.	j	
Κόλ(λημα) νᾶ τό(μου) β ⁻ .	k	Κόλ(λημα) νᾶ τό(μου) β ⁻ .
	l	Αὐρήλιος Αἴγυπτος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω νομικὸς Ῥωμαῖ- κὸς ἐρμήνευσα τὸ π[ρο- κ(είμενον) ἀντίγρ(αφον)]

Ἑρμηνεία·

[Αὐρ]ηλίωι Ἀππίωι [Σ]α-
βείνωι ἐπάρχωι Αἰγύπτου
[παρ]ὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Δι[δ]ύμου [. . .] τοῦ καὶ
Χαιρήμονος [ἀφ]ήλικο[ς
μ]ετὰ κ[υρί]ου το[ῦ π]ατρὸς
Μ[άρ]κου Αὐρηλίου [Χαιρ]ή-
μονος τοῦ κ[αὶ] Ζωί[λου
ἱ]ερο[ν]εῖκ[ου Ἀντι]νοέω[ς
— — — — —

m

καὶ ἔστειν σύμφω[νον τοῖς]
ἐν καταχωρισμῶ
[αὐθεντι]κοῖς καὶ δι' ἑμοῦ
τετ[ελεωμένοις].

Text A is republished with a photograph in A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, *Chartae Latinae* 11, no. 486; see also *C.P.L.* 216, P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 27 and V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani* 3, no. 61.

Parallel texts: *P. Oxy.* 9 1201 (= *Primer*⁴, no. 33), *P.S.I.* 10 1101 and perhaps *P. Ryl.* 4 610.

Bonorum possessio (= διακατοχὴ ὑπαρχόντων), "possession of the estate (*bona*) of the deceased": hereditary rights granted by the praetor (or, in Egypt, by the prefect) to individuals belonging to one of four classes, *liberi*, *legitimi*, *cognati* and *vir et uxor* (in that order) upon their application (*agnitio*).

In some special cases persons were permitted to apply for *bonorum possessio* although they did not belong to one of the four classes indicated in the edict (διάταγμα) of the praetor or prefect:

- when a soldier died intestate leaving children:
soldiers were not allowed to marry and since their children were illegitimate they could not inherit their father's estate until emperor Hadrian permitted them to apply for *bonorum possessio* laying down that they be considered as *cognati* (p. 138);
- when a woman died intestate leaving children:
children could not inherit their mother's estate until the *senatus consultum Orfitianum* (A.D. 178) permitted them to apply for *bonorum possessio* laying down that they be considered as *legitimi* (see section e).

- c. *ιερονίκης*, "conqueror in the games".
- *Ἀντινοεύς*, "citizen of Antinooupolis".
- d. Probably we have to supply here *obitae* <*intestatae*> and <ἀδιαθέτου> τετελευτηκυίας.
- e. *ἐκ*, "in accordance with".
- Read κεφαλαίου ("chapter", "section"); the text quoted p. 138 has τοῦ μέρους.
- *quae*: read *qua* = οὗ, "where".
- *ὑπέισχην*: read *ὑπίσχην*, "you undertake to".
- f. The date is 14 September according to the Roman dating, but 15 September according to the Greek one (i).
- g. μετὰ κυρίου ἑμοῦ τοῦ πατρός, "with me, his father, as guardian": apparently it is the father who wrote the subscription, although subject of αἰτῶ is of course Δίδυμος, the son.
- j. *ex edicto* (decision of the prefect): on the petitioner's request for something *ex edicto*, the prefect answers: *ex edicto*; hence this means "request granted".
- *recognovi* (signature of the prefect), "I have seen it".
- k. In the prefect's office requests of the same kind of subjects were gummed together so as to form a τόμος συγκολλησίμος, "pasted papyrus-roll", each sheet being a κόλλημα. The request in consideration was filed as "sheet no. 51 of the second papyrus-roll" (of requests for *bonorum possessio*).
- l. καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω, "and as I am further called", "and so forth" (omitting my other names).
- Read ἔστιν.
- σύμφωνος, "in agreement with".
- τὰ ἐν καταχωρισμῷ αὐθεντικά, "the original wording in the official document".

A *LIBELLUS* OF THE DECIAN PERSECUTION

Theadelphia

P. Mich. 3 157

A.D. 250

Sakis states that he has sacrificed to the gods and tasted the offerings in the presence of the commissioners, Serenos and Hermas, asking them to certify this by signing the request. This certificate, called a *libellus*, is a testimony of the persecution of the Christians under the emperor Decius who had issued a decree requiring every inhabitant of his empire to participate in the pagan sacrifices.

- Τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν
 ἡρημένοις
 π(αρά) Αὐρηλίου Σάκις ἀπὸ
 κώμης Θεοξενίδος
 5 ἅμα τοῖς τέκνοις Αἰῶνι
 καὶ Ἑρᾷ καταμένοντες
 ἐν κώμῃ Θεαδελφείᾳ.
 Ἄι θύοντες τοῖς θεοῖς
 διετελέσαμεν καὶ νῦν
 10 ἐπὶ παρόντων ὑμῶν
 κατὰ τὰ προσταχθέντα
 ἐθύσαμεν καὶ ἐσπείσαμεν
 καὶ τῶν ἱερείων ἐγευσά-
 μεθα καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς
 15 ὑποσημιώσασθαι. Διευ-
 τυχεῖτε.

[2nd hand]

Αὐρήλιοι Σερήνος καὶ
 Ἑρμᾶς εἶδαμεν ὑμᾶς
 θυσιάζοντος.

[1st hand]

20 Λ α' Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Γαίου [Μ]εσίου Κουίντου
 Τραϊαν[ο]ῦ Δεκίου Εὐσεβοῦς
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,
 Παῦνι κγ.

Plate: H.C. Youtie, *Textual Criticism*² (1974), pl. II. The forty-three *libelli* found in Egypt were written between 18 Payni and 20 Epeiph (12 June - 14 July 250). Most of these papyri originate from Theadelphia; they were found together. We reproduce one of them, similar to no. 62, on p. 239.

- 1-2. οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἡρημένοι, "those chosen to superintend the sacrifices" i.e. Serenos and Hermas (lines 17 and 18).
3. Read Σάκεω; we know from another papyrus, *P. Flor.* 1 9 (p. 28), that in January 255 he was a shepherd in Theoxenis (which is not far from Theadelphia).
5. Since Σάκις is about 30 years old (*P. Flor.* 1 9, 18) his children must have been small boys.
6. καταμένοντες, "staying"; the scribe used the plural nominative as in the following lines.
8. Read αεί.
9. διατέλεσθαι (with part.), "to continue".
12. σπένδειν, "make a drink-offering".
13. ἱερεῖον, "animal for sacrifice".
- γεύεσθαι (with genitive), "to eat some of".
15. ὑποσημειώσασθαι, "to undersign".
- 18-19. ὄραν with part. θυσιάζοντος (read -ζοντας).
- 19-20. Between lines 19 and 20 is an open space for the signature of Hermas; see line 17 of the *libellus* reproduced p. 239: Ἑρμ(ᾶς) σεσημ(είωμαι). His hand is in large clumsy uncials; this shows that he is not used to writing.



IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG

Pliny the Younger on Christians

Pliny, while staying in Bithynia and Pontus (Asia Minor) in A.D. 112 and 113 as the direct representative of the emperor Trajan, was faced with the problem of persons who were anonymously accused of being Christians. In his famous letter to the emperor on this subject, Pliny wrote:

Propositus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, cum praeunte me deos adpellarent et imagini tuae ... ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo, quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur qui sunt re vera Christiani, dimittendos putavi.

"An anonymous pamphlet has been circulated which contains the names of a number of accused persons. Among these I considered that I should dismiss any who denied that they were or ever had been Christians when they had repeated after me a formula of invocation to the gods and had made offerings of wine and incense to your statue ... and furthermore had reviled the name of Christ: none of which things, I understand, any genuine Christian can be induced to do."

(Pliny, *Epistulae* X, 96.5; transl. Loeb Class. Library)

→

S.B. 1 4436: *libellus* of Aurelia Ammonarion of the village Theadelphia, dated
 L α' . . . Παῦνι κ̄ = A.D. 250, 14 June.

PETITION TO THE PREFECT FOR A GUARDIAN

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 34 2710

A.D. 261

The text is the lower portion of a petition to the prefect like no. 61 A (see *k* and *m*). The woman Aurelia Heras asks the prefect to appoint Aurelios Chairemon as her guardian.

— — — — —
[κόλ(λημα)] . ' τόμ(ου) α'.

Ἑρμηνεία τῶν Ῥω[μαϊκ]ῶν.

Λουκίῳ Μουσσίῳ Αἰμιλιανῷ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἑρᾶτος Κάστορος μητρὸς Σύρας ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγ-
χων πόλεως.

5 Ἐρωτῶ, κύριε, δοῦναί μοι κύριον ἐπ[ι]γρα[φ]ησόμενον κατὰ
νόμον

Ἰούλιον Τίτιον καὶ δόγμα συνκλήτου Αὐρήλιον Χαιρήμονα υἱὸν
Διογένους ἀρχιερατεύσαντος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.

[Ἐδό]θη κυρίοις ἡμῶν αὐτοκ[ρ]άτο[ρ]σι Μακριανῷ τὸ β' καὶ
Κυήτῳ

[το β'] ὑπάτοις. L α'', αχ[ὼν] κβ'.

Lectional signs [p. 279]: (6) ἰουλιον, υἱον.

Parallel texts: *P. Oxy.* 12 1466 (A.D. 245); cf. *C.P.L.* 200-205.

In default of a guardian, Roman women in Egypt could petition the prefect asking him "to appoint" one, δοῦναί μοι κύριον τὸν δεῖνα. Consequently such a guardian is called an "appointed" guardian in agreements; see e.g. *P. Oxy.* 10 1274, 1-3 Αὐρηλία Ἀριστοῦς . . . μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου μοι κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Νεικοκλέους . . .

The procedure with regard to guardians of Greek women is different; see no. 55. They themselves "chose" their guardian and ask in their petition that he "be registered" ἐπιγραφῆναι; this is moreover always asked for one specific transaction only, whereas the Roman guardian is appointed forever.

1. See no. 61, *k* with note.
3. Lucius Mussius Aemilius, first acting prefect (257-258) and then prefect (259-261), proclaimed himself emperor but was defeated by Aurelius Theodotus (his successor as prefect of Egypt); he killed himself in 262.
5. ἐπιγραφησόμενον, "to be registered".
— κατὰ νόμον is to be connected with δοῦναι.
6. *Lex Iulia et Titia*: probably two laws, moved in the 1st cent. B.C., authorizing provincial governors to appoint guardians (*tutores mulieris* as well as *tutores impuberis*).
- δόγμα συγκλήτου, "decision of the senate" = *senatus consultum*; it probably extended the *lex Iulia et Titia* over to Egypt.

Appointment of guardians

The text printed above is incomplete and the decision of the prefect is missing. In *P. Oxy.* 12 1466, 10 = *C.P.L.* 204 (A.D. 245) he says:

εἰ μὴ ἔχεις ἑτέρου κυρίου δίκαιον,
ὃν αἰτεῖς κύριον δίδωμι].

"if you have not the right to another guardian, I appoint the guardian you ask for."

In *S.B.* 3 6223, 1-6 = *C.P.L.* 202 (A.D. 198) his decision runs:

Q. Aemilius Saturninus praef(ectus) Aeg(ypti),
postulante C. Terentio Sarapammone,
Meviae Dionusario,
e lege Iulia et Titia et ex s(enatus) c(onsulto),
M. Iulium Alexandrum,
quo ne ab iusto tutore tutela abeat,
tutorem dedit.

The Greek clause as well as the Latin words *quo ne ab iusto tutore tutela abeat* "on the understanding that no legitimate guardian loses his guardianship", show that the prefect does not look into whether the woman really has no legitimate guardian. Cf. no. 65, 22 (note): ἀποκρίτως.

DEPOSIT OF WHEAT INTO A GIRO ACCOUNT

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 17 2126

A.D. 261/262

Private individuals may keep their own grain in a public granary; it remains at their free disposal.

Μεμέτρη(κεν) εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) πυροῦ γενή(ματος) τοῦ
διελ[θ(όντος)] ἡ Λ

τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανῶν

καὶ Γαλ[λιη]νοῦ Σεβαστῶν δι(ὰ) θησ(αυροῦ) λιβὸς τοπ(αρχίας)
Σερύφεως τόπ(ων) Σπαρτιάτης ὁ καὶ Χαιρήμων γυ[μ(νασι-
αρχήσας)]

5 διὰ Ἀγάθου θέμα ἀρτάβ(ας) ἑκατόν.

Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σαραπίων δε(κά)π(ρωτος) σεσ(ημείωμαι) τὰς
(ἀρτάβας) ρ.

Fr. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten* (1910) p. 72 f. and p. 88.

1. μετρέῖν, "to measure out (grain)", "to deliver".
- δημόσιον, "public (granary)".
2. Οὐαλεριανῶν: Valerianus and his grandson Saloninus Valerianus.
3. θησαυρός, "granary".
4. τόποι, "district" of the village Seryphis (which is in the neighbourhood of Oxyrhynchos where the papyrus was found).
5. θέμα: a private deposit in a public granary.
6. δεκάπρωτος: between A.D. 242-246 and 302 *dekaprotai* supervise the public granaries.

APPLICATION FOR *IUS TRIUM LIBERORUM*

Oxyrynchos

P. Oxy. 12 1467

A.D. 263

Aurelia Thaïsous also called Lolliane applies to the prefect. She claims the right to act without a guardian because she has the required number of children. The entire document is written in the same hand.

- - - - -
- [- - - - - νόμοι]
 [πά]λα[ι γε]γέ[ν]ηντ[αι], δ[ιαση]-
 μότατε ἡγεμών, οὔτινες
 ἐξουσίαν διδόασιν ταῖς γυναι-
 ξὶν ταῖς τῶν τριῶν τέκνων
 5 δικαίῳ κεκοσμημένα[ι]ς ἑαυ-
 τῶν κυριεύειν καὶ χωρ[ίς] κυ-
 ρίου χρηματίζειν ἐν αἷς ποι-
 οῦν[ται] οἰκονομίαις, πο[λλ]ῶ
 δὲ πλεόν ταῖς γρά[μ]ματα
 10 ἐπισταμέναις. Καὶ αὐτὴ τοί-
 νυν τῶ μὲν κόσμῳ τῆς εὐ-
 παιδείας εὐτυχήσασα,
 ἐνγράμματος δὲ κα[ὶ ἐ]ς τὰ
 μάλιστα γράφειν εὐκόπως
 15 δυναμένη, ὑπὸ περισσῆς
 ἀσφαλείας διὰ τούτων μου
 τῶ[ν] βιβλιδίων προσφω<νῶ>
 τῶ σῶ μεγέθι πρὸς τὸ δύνά-
 σθαι ἀνεμποδίστως, ὥς ἐν-
 20 τεῦθεν ποιῶμαι οἰκ[ον]ομία[ς],
 διαπράσσεσθαι. Ἀξιῶ ἔχε[ιν]

αὐτὰ ἀπροκρίτως τοῖς δι]-
 καίοις μ[ο]υ ἐν τῇ σῇ τοῦ [δια]-
 σημοτάτου τ[ά]ξι, ἵν' ὦ β[ε]βο]-
 25 ηθ[η]μένῃ κ[α]ὶ εἰς] ἀεί σ[οι]
 χάριτας ὁμολογήσω. Διεντ[ύ]χ[ει].

Αὐρηλία Θαῖσ[ο]ῦς ἡ καὶ Λολλ[ι]-
 ανὴ διεπεμψάμην πρὸς ἐ-
 πίδοσιν. Ἔτους ι, Ἐπειφ κ[.].

30 Ἔσται σο[ῦ] τὰ βιβλία ἐν τῇ [τάξι].

Lectional signs [p. 279]: (15) ὑπο; (24) ἴν and (27) Θαῖσους.

The text is also to be found in P.M. Meyer, *Jur. Papyri*, no. 14; A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 305; and in V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani* 3, no. 27.

Women with three or more children could claim the Roman *ius (trium) liberorum* which authorized them to enter into agreements without the assistance of a guardian, χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματίζειν (lines 6-7). Cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, in *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 171-189 and 56 (1976) 44-46, and in *P. Mich.* 15 (1982) p. 158-171. This was one of Augustus' measures for stimulating population growth; see also no. 41 §§ 24-25.

2. ἡγεμών, "prefect": Aurelius Theodotus.
3. ἐξουσία, "authority".
- 4-5. τῶν τριῶν τέκνων δίκαιον = *ius trium liberorum*.
5. κοσμεῖν, "to honour"; κόσμος (line 11), "honour", "credit".
6. κυριεύειν ἑαυτῶν, "to be independent".
- 8-9. πολλῷ δὲ πλεόν, "all the more so".
9. ταῖς: sc. γυναιξίν (line 3).
- 11-12. κόσμῳ εὐπαιδείας εὐτυχήσασα, "blest with many children".
- 13-14. ἐγγράμματος, "being literate"; εἰς τὰ μάλιστα, "with a high degree"; εὐκόπως, "easily". Literacy is not really a requirement for obtaining the *ius trium liberorum*, but it is of practical importance in all those cases where parties to an agreement have to add a personal subscription to a contract; illiterate women drew little benefit from an authorization to act without a guardian if they were dependant on the help of someone else to write the subscription on their behalf.
- 15-16. ὑπὸ περισσῆς ἀσφαλείας, "fully assured", "confident".
17. τὰ βιβλία = τὰ βιβλία (line 30), "application", "petition".
- The reading προσφω<νῶ> is suspect.
18. Read μεγέθει.

19. ἀνεμποδίστως, "without hindrance".
 21-22. ἔχειν αὐτά: to keep the documents (τὰ βιβλίδια, line 17).
 22. ἀπροκρίτως (with dat.), "without verifying beforehand". In such cases (see also p. 241) the prefect does not investigate the claim beforehand, but he has the claim duly recorded. This is a very efficient procedure which avoids unnecessary work. If a dispute arises afterwards the recorded claim can still be investigated.
 24. Read τάξει (also in l. 30).
 25. εἰς αἰί, "for ever".
 26. χάριτας ὁμολογεῖν, "to acknowledge gratitude".
 28. διαπέμψεσθαι, "to send (the petition)".

Aurelia Thaïsous ~ Lolliane

The woman who addressed the application, no. 65, to the prefect in July, A.D. 263, is found again in November, A.D. 266 buying land, houses, an orchard and a well (*P. Oxy.* 12 1475). She explicitly states on this occasion that she is authorized to act without a guardian because of her *ius (trium) liberorum*, χωρίς κυρίου χρηματίζουσα τέκνων δικαίῳ (the words κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη are omitted in this case). The seller says (lines 10-13):

- 10 Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθ[εῖ]νος ὁ καὶ Ὀριγένης - - - ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγ-
 11 χων πόλε[ω]ς Αὐρηλία Θαῖσουτι τῇ καὶ Λολλιανῇ θυγατρὶ
 Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος ἀγορανομήσαν-
 12 τος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως μητρὸς Διονυσίας τῆς καὶ Διαίνης
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χωρίς κυρίου χρηματιζούση
 13 τέκνων δικαίῳ χαίρειν. Ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι κ.τ.λ.

"Aurelios Agathinos also called Origenes ... of Oxyrhynchos, to Aurelia Thaïsous also called Lolliane, daughter of Sarapion also called Agathos Daimon, ex-agoranomos (i.e. notary) of the said town, and of Dionysia also called Diaina, of the said town, *acting without a guardian by the ius liberorum*, greeting. I acknowledge that I have sold ..."

Sarapion	×	Dionysia
= Agathos Daimon		= Diaine
Aurelia Thaïsous		
= Lolliane		

EXTRACT FROM A WILL

Oxyrhynchos

P.S.I. 9 1040

3rd cent. A.D.
before 269

The text contains an extract from Psenamounis' will. The testator institutes his son Theodoros as his heir. The rest of the extract concerns the slave girl Dameïs. Psenamounis sets her free upon his death. He bequeaths her a part of a house with utensils and furniture. If she wishes to let out her part of the house she may only let it out to the deceased's brother.

Διαθήκη

Ψεναμούνιος Ἀρπο-

κράτος τοῦ Ἀρποκράτος

μη(τρὸς) Θατρήτος ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως).

5 γράμματα ἰδῶς.

Κληρονόμον ποιεῖ

τὸν υἱὸν Αὐρήλιον

Θεόδωρον ἐκ τῆς γενο(μένης)

καὶ μετῆλλαχυίης γυναι-

10 κὸς Διογενίδος ἀπὸ

τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως).

Δαμηΐδα δούλην

{αὐτοῦ ὥς L ιγ}

αὐτοῦ ἀγοραστ(ήν) ὥς L ιγ

15 παραυτίκα τῆς τελευτ(ῆς)

ἐλευθεροῖ καὶ ἀπολύει

τῶν πατρωνικῶν δικ(αίων)

σὺν πεκουλίῳ

παντί, ἥ καὶ διατάσσει

20 τέταρτον μέρος

- ἥς ἔχει ἐν τῇ αὐτ(ῇ)
 πόλ(ει) ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου) Πλατείας
 θεάτρου οἰκίας οἰκε-
 τικῆς αὐτοῦ σὺν χρη-
 25 στηρίοις πᾶσι κυριευ-
 τικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἅπαξ
 κράβακτον σὺν χαλα-
 δρίῳ ἐξεστρωμένον
 καί·
 30 ἐφ' ᾧ τε μὴ ἐξέστω
 μισθώσασθαι,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ μέρος
 ἐὰν βούλ(ηται) μισθοῖν
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

The document, *P.S.I.* 9 1040 (with addenda, p. XI), is also to be found in V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani* 3, no. 10 (with addenda, p. XXVI) and in L.M. Zingale, *I testamenti Romani nei papiri* (1988) no. 27. The original text is divided in sections as indicated above.

The text stands on the back of document *P.S.I.* 9 1039 which was probably drawn up in A.D. 216/217, less likely in 267/268.

4. From 266-269 onwards the town is called λαμπρά, "magnificent"; hence the *terminus ante quem* of the will is A.D. 269.
5. Read εἰδώς.
6. ποιεῖ: Psenamounis (line 2) is subject.
14. ἀγοραστός, "bought", as opposed to οἰκογενής, "born in the (owner's) house" (no. 27, 12).
15. παραντικά (with gen.), "immediately after".
17. πατρωνικός, "of a πάτρων = *patronus*"; the freed slave is released from the obligations of the patronate.
18. *peculium*: everything the slave possessed.
19. διατάσσειν, "to bequeath".
22. πλατεῖα, sc. ὁδός: "broadway"; πλατεῖα θεάτρου is the name of the quarter of the town where the house is located.
23. οἰκετικός, "of the servants".
24. τὰ χρηστήρια: household utensils and furniture.
26. πρὸς ἅπαξ, "at the same time".

- 27-28. κράβακτον σὺν χαλαδρίῳ ἐξεστρωμένον, "bed covered with a mattress".
 30. ἐφ' ᾧ, "on the condition that".
 31. μισθώσασθαι: sc. τὸ μέρος.
 32-33. ἀλλὰ - - ἐὰν βούληται, "except when she wishes".
 33. μισθοῖν: read μισθοῦν; see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* 2 (1981) p. 372-373 for other examples.
 34. Apparently the owner of the rest of the house and probably brother of Psenamounis.

→

No. 67 = *P. Strasb.* 1 30. The papyrus was folded twice, first according to the horizontal fold α – α and then vertically (fold β – β). This explains why the holes in the centre of lines 6 and 28 correspond with each other.

Corrections made by the scribe: (4) μ in Εὐημερίας corr. from ρ; (7) θ in ἀρεθμῶ corr. from ι or ρ; (26) L β: the scribe was going to write L α.

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1900-1901

[Faint handwritten notes, possibly "C. ..."]

APPLICATION FOR LEASE OF GOATS

Theadelphia

P. Strasb. 1 30

A.D. 276

Aurelios Pabous asks Aurelios Panneus to let out to him a flock of goats for a term of two years.

- Αὐρηλίῳ Π[αν]νεῦτι Σηπύγου
 ἀπὸ κώμη[ς] Θεοξενίδος
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου [Π]αβούτος Καλάμου
 ἀπὸ κώμης Εὐημερίας. Βούλο-
 5 μαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ αἴγας
 θηλείας τε[λ]είας ἀθανάτους
 ἄρεθμῷ πεντήκοντα ἔξ
 εἰς ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ {ἀπὸ τοῦ} ἐνεσ-
 τῶτος β []'' φόρου τοῦ παν-
 10 τὸς κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον αἴγας
 μικροὺς ἀπογεγαλακτισ-
 μένους δέκα {τε} τέσσαρες,
 ἄρρενικὰ ἐπτά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ
 θηλυκὰ· { / } τὴν δὲ ἀπόδοσιν
 15 τῶν αἰγῶν {τῶν αἰγῶν} ποιή-
 σομ[αί] σοι κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον μην[ι]
 Παῦνι {τοῦ ἰσιόντος ἔτους}.
 Καὶ [μ]ετ[ἀ] τ[ὸ]ν χρόν[ο]ν παραδώσ[ω]
 [σοι τὰς αἴγας ἀθαν]άτους
 20 ἐν τῇ ἀ[ύτῃ] {τη} διαθέσι, ὥς καὶ
 <ἐ>γὼ παρέλαβον, ἐὰν φαίνητ[α]ι
 μισθῶσαι. Καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς
 ὡμολόγησεν·

Παννεὺς ὥς L λα οὐλ(ή) δα-
 25 κτ<ύλ>φ πρώτφ χι(ρὸς) δεξ(ιᾶς).

[2nd hand]

L β'' τοῦ κυρίου
 {ιου} ἡμῶν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ,
 Θῶθ ι.

The document, *P. Strasb.* 1 30, is one of a group of twenty which was published and investigated by J. Schwartz, *Une famille de chepteliers au III^e S. p.C.*, in *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 49-96, pl. III-IV. For a new edition of the text under consideration, see *loc. cit.*, p. 69-70.

6. **θηλς**, "female".
- **ἀθάνατος**, "immortal": the hirer promises to return the same number of goats after the expiration of the hire; so he bears the risks.
7. Read ἀριθμῶ (56 "in number").
9. **φόρου**, "on payment of a rent of"; read αἰγῶν etc. in lines 10-14.
13. **ἀρρενικός**, "male".
14. **θηλυκός**, "female".
17. Read εἰσιόντος; perhaps the scribe intended τοῦ ἐνεστώτος καὶ τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους, "of this and the next year".
20. Read διαθέσει: in the same "condition" as.
21. **φαίνεται** (sc. σοι): "if you decide to".
22. The application ends with μισθῶσαι.
25. Read χειρός.

LETTER ABOUT AN IMMINENT DEVALUATION

Antinooupolis

P. Ryl. 4 607

before A.D. 301

Dionysios writes a letter, probably from Alexandria, to Apion in Antinooupolis, informing him that an Italian coin (called *aurelianus*) is being depreciated to the value of half a *nummus*. He orders Apion to convert his *aureliani* as soon as possible into goods.

Διονύσιος Ἀπίωνι

χαίρειν.

Προσέταξεν ἡ θεία τύχη τῶν

δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τὸ Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα

5 εἰς ἡμισυ νούμμου καταβιβασθῆναι. Σπού-

δασον οὖν πᾶν τὸ Ἰταλικὸν ἀργύριον

ὃ ἔχεις ἀναλῶσαι ἀγοράσας μοι εἶδη

παντοδαπὰ καὶ π[ο]ίας εὐρίσκεις τιμῆς.

Τούτου τε ἔνεκα ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σέ

10 ὄφφ(ικιάλιον). Προγίνωσκε δὲ ὡς εἰ βουλευθείης

κακουργία τινὲ χρήσασθαι οὐκ ἂν-

έξομαί σου. [2nd h.] Ἐρρῶσθαί σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις

εὖχομαι, ἀδελφέ.

Verso

[3rd hand]

Διονύσιος Ἀπίωνι Ἀντινοε(ῖ) βοηθ(ῶ) Διονύσιος.

[4th hand]

15 Φαρμοῦθι ἡ παρέλαβα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν π(αρά) τοῦ

ὄφφ(ικιαλίου).

Lectional sign [p. 279]: (4, 6) ἰταλικον.

We have interchanged the two lines of text on the verso. The document is reprinted by A. Moscadi in *Aegyptus* 50 (1970) 105-106; see J. Hengstl, *Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten*, no. 137. The papyrus presumably belongs to

the archive of Theophanes, for which see *P. Ryl.* 4, p. 104 ff. and e.g. A. Moscardi, *loc. cit.*, p. 88-154.

The text is discussed in R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* [= *B.A.S.P.*, Supplement no. 5] (1985) 13-15 and 23-25.

4. 'Ιταλικὸν νόμισμα or 'Ιταλικὸν ἀργύριον (line 6): the standard "coin" called *aurelianus* circulated in the entire empire, but in Egypt in small quantities only.
5. νοῦμμος = *nummus*: worth 25 *denarii* in late A.D. 301; at that time the value of an *aurelianus* probably was already 12.5 *denarii*.
- καταβιβάζειν, "to bring down", "to depreciate".
7. εἶδος, "goods", "wares".
8. ποίας - - τιμῆς, "at whatever price".
10. ὀφφικιᾶλιος = *officialis*: an "official" attending on a magistrate.
- προγινώσκειν, "to know beforehand", "to be warned".
11. ἀνέχεσθαι, "to tolerate".
14. Ἀντινοεύς, "citizen of Antinoopolis".
- βοηθός, a minor civil "servant" and probably Dionysios' steward.
15. For παρέλαβα instead of παρέλαβον, see B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, p. 152: "the post-Ptolemaic papyri employ regularly the endings of the first aorist".

Inflation

The rise in prices of goods in the fourth century may be seen from the following list of prices of wheat (6000 drachmas = 1500 *denarii* = 1 talent):

A.D.	305	0.20 talent
	314	0.22
	327	2.89
	335	14
	338	24
	353	334
	357/358	846
	359	1367

Actually, however, such increases of prices are principally a result of changes in the metallic content of the coins used. As a matter of fact, when calculated in gold *solidi* the price of wheat is strikingly stable during the entire Byzantine period.

R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*
[= *B.A.S.P.*, Supplement no. 5 (1985)].

The Great Persecution
under Diocletian

Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, writing about the First Edict (promulgated 23 February, A.D. 303) says (13.1 and 15.5, edited and translated by J.C. Creed):

... propositum est edictum quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore ac dignitate, ... non de iniuria, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatiis agere possent.

“an edict was posted in which warning was given that those who adhered to this religion would be deprived of all official position and status, ... and that they would be unable to bring actions for wrongs done to them, for adultery, or for theft.”

... et ne cui temere ius diceretur, arae in secretariis ac pro tribunali positae, ut litigatores prius sacrificarent atque ita causas suas dicerent, sic ergo ad iudices tamquam ad deos adiretur.

“and to stop justice being dispensed hastily against anyone, altars were set up in council-chambers and in front of tribunals, so that litigants could do sacrifice before pleading their cases; thus the judges would be approached in the same way as gods.”

LETTER OF A CHRISTIAN

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 31 2601

early 4th cent. A.D.

This letter, found in Oxyrhynchos, was probably sent from Alexandria during the Great Persecution. The sender Kopres was according to the editor of the text "a man of average education; a zealous but not very intelligent Christian".

Kopres informs his wife about the sacrificial test which is imposed on everyone who wishes to appear in court and he explains to her how he evaded it. He tells her to send him their daughter who suffers from leucoma. The text contains a *nomen sacrum* in line 5 and an example of Christian cryptography in line 34; see p. 32.

- Κοπρῆς Σαραπιάδι ἀδελ-
φῇ πλείστα χαίρειν.
Πρὸ μὲν πάντων
εὐχομε ὑμᾶς ὀλοκλη-
5 ρῖν παρὰ τῷ κυρί(ω) θ[ι(ε)φ̄].
Γινώσκιν σε θέλω
ὅτι τῇ ἱᾱ εἰσήλαμεν
καὶ ἐγνώσθη ἡμῖν
ὅτι οἱ προσερχόμενοι
10 ἀναγκάζονται θύ-
ειν καὶ ἀποσυσταῖ-
κὸν ἐποίησα τῷ ἀ-
δελφῷ μου καὶ μέ-
χρι τούτου οὐδὲν
15 ἐπράξαμεν. Ἐκατη-
χῆσαμεν δὲ ῥήτορα
τῇ ἱβ̄ ἵνα τῇ ἱδ̄ εἰ-
σαχθῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα

Read (4) εὐχομαι; (5) ὀλοκληρεῖν; (6) γινώσκειν.

- περὶ τῶν ἀρουρῶ(ν).
 20 Εἴ τι δὲ ἐὰν πράξω-
 μεν γράφω σοι. Οὐ-
 δὲν δέ σοι ἔπεμψα
 ἐπιδὴ εὖρον αὐτὸν
 Θεόδωρον ἐξερχόμε-
 25 νον. Ἀποστέλλω σοι
 δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ ἄλλου τα-
 χέως. Γράφε δὲ ἡμῖν
 περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας
 ὑμῶν πάντων καὶ
 30 πῶς ἔσχεν Μαξιμίνα
 31 καὶ Ἀσενά. Καὶ εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω μετὰ τῆς μητρός
 σου

Verso

- 32 ἵνα θεραπευθῇ τὸ λευκῶμάτιον, ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶδον ἄλλους
 33 θεραπευθέντας. Ἐρρώσθαί σε εὖχομαι. Ἀσπάζομαι πάντας
 τοὺς ἡμῶν κατ' ὄνομα.
 34 Ἀπ(όδος) τῇ ἀδελφῇ π(αρά) Κοπρήτ(ος) ᾠθ.

Read (20) ἄν; (23) ἐπειδή; (33) εὖχομαι.

Plates of the recto and a part of the verso are given in the edition, pl. V and IV (no. 2601). The text is complete and the papyrus is not broken in two parts, as plate V incorrectly suggests. The text is reprinted in M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (1968) no. 35.

Line 31 is written transversely on the left-hand margin (cf. no. 39) and the letter continues on the back (lines 32-33).

1. **Κοπρής**: this name and others connected with κόπρος, "dung" and κοπρία, "rubbish-heap" (the so-called *copronyms*) were used in order to protect the bearer from the evil eye. Copronyms do not have the connotation of "persons found on a rubbish-heap" (οἱ ἀπὸ κοπρίας), "foundlings". Cf. S.B. Pomeroy, *Copronyms and the Exposure of Infants in Egypt*, in R.S. Bagnall and W.V. Harris, *Studies in Roman Law in Memory*

- of A. Arthur Schiller (1986) 147-166 and D. Hobson, in *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32 (1988) 361.
4. **όλοκληρεῖν**, "to be in good health"; cf. **όλοκληρία** in line 28.
 7. **εἰσήλαμεν** ("to arrive", presumably in Alexandria): first aorist endings (**ἤλθαμεν** etc.) tend to replace endings of the second aorist (**ἤλθομεν** etc.); cf. no. 68, 15, note.
 9. **προσέρχεσθαι**, "to appear before a tribunal".
 11. **ἀποσυστατικόν**, "power-of-attorney".
 15. **κατηχεῖν**, "to instruct".
 18. **εἰσάγειν**, "to bring (a case) into court".
 26. **αὐτά**: this letter.
 - 30-31. Maximina and Asena are probably Kopres' daughter and son.
 31. **ἐρχέσθω**: subject is Maximina.
 32. **λευκωμάτιον** = leucoma: a white opacity of the cornea; this eye disease is very common in Egypt.
 33. **πάντας κατ' ὄνομα**, "each by name".

MAGIC

Thebes

P.G.M. no. IV

early 4th cent. A.D.

How to conjure up a demon and to compel him to comply with your wishes. Save half of your food for seven days, throw it out when the moon is full and the demon will appear. Hang up a dung-beetle over a fire and the demon will comply with your wishes, but do not set the beetle free too soon!

- 52 Προαγνεύσας ζ̄ ἡμέρας τοῦ τὴν σελήνην πα[ν]–
 σέληνον γενέσθαι ἐναίμων καὶ ἀνεψε[τῶν]
 ἀπεχόμενος, ἀφ' ὧν ἐσθίεις μέρος ἥμι[σ]υ κ[α]–
- 55 τὰ ἴσον καταλιμπάνων ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμέν[ας]
 ἡμέρας ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ καλλαίνῳ, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ σὺ ἐσ[θίεις],
 [ο]ἴνου ἀπεχόμενος, σελήνης δὲ πληρωθε[ίσης]
 [ἐ]λθὼν εἰς τὰ ἀπηλιωτικὰ μέρη τῆς πόλεως
 ἢ κώμης ἢ τῆς οἰκίας μόνη<ρης> ἐν ἀγροῖς ἀπόρ[ρι]–
- 60 ψον τὰ καταλειφθέντα μέρη καὶ οὕτως ὀξέως
 ἐπάνελθε ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον σου καὶ ἀπόκλεισον σεαυτ[όν],
 μή σε προλάβῃ· ἐὰν γὰρ προλημθῇς, ἀποκλείῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
 Πρὶν ἐκρίψης δὲ τὰ μερίδια, κάλαμον χωρικὸν ὡς πηχῶν
 δύο πῆξας ἐν τῇ γῇ ὀλίγον ἐπικεκλιμένον καὶ ἐξαρτή–
- 65 σας αὐτοῦ θριξὶ ἵππου ἄρσενος κάνθαρον τὸν ταυρόμορφον
 κατὰ τὸ μέσον δεδεμένον, ὑπόθες αὐτῷ ἐν λεκάνῃ καινῇ
 ὀστρακίνῃ λύχνον καινὸν ἐξημμένον, ὡς τὴν ἀτμίδα
 τοῦ λύχνου ἐφικέσθαι ὀλίγον τοῦ κανθάρου. Στήθι μετὰ τὸ ἐκ–
 ρῖψαι τὰ μέρη καὶ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀποκλείσαι ἀτάραχος.
 Ἐπιστή–
- 70 σεται γὰρ ὁ κληθεὶς καὶ ἀναγκάσει σε ἀπειλῶν ἔνοπλος ἀπο–
 λῦσαι τὸν κάνθαρον. Σὺ δὲ μὴ ταραχθῇς μηδὲ ἀπολύσης,
 ἔστ' ἂν χρηματίσῃ σοι, καὶ οὕτω ταχέως αὐτὸν ἀπόλυσον.

P.G.M., no. IV is a codex of 36 sheets (= 72 pages) housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and containing in all 3247 lines of Greek and an early form of Coptic writing. The text printed above stands on sheet no. 2 recto and verso (= pages 3 and 4), reproduced in *Zeitschrift für Ägypt. Sprache* 21 (1883) Taf. III (48-57) and IV (1-11).

Magical texts are to be found in *P.G.M.* = K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri* and in R.W. Daniel and F. Maltoni, *Supplementum Magicum.*, I-II (1992). Cf. H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (1986).

The text is one of a group of magical and alchemic papyri from Thebes. They are written in a mixture of Greek, demotic and early Coptic and appear to be manuals of a magician, unfortunately anonymous, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century or slightly earlier. On this archive, see Betz, *loc. cit.*, p. XLII and LV-LVIII; R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs I* (1981) p. 22-24 and K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (1933) 91-95.

52. προαγγεύειν (with gen.), "to keep oneself pure before ..."; to be connected with ἀπεχόμενος (54), καταλιμπάνων (55) and ἀπεχόμενος (57). The principal verb is ἀπόρριπον (59-60).
53. Read ἀνεψητῶν.
56. ἀγγεῖον καλαῖνον, "turquoise vessel": blue glazed.
— ἐφ' οὗ, "over which" (because nothing may fall on the earth).
59. μονήρης, "by yourself".
60. ὀξέως, "quickly".
62. προλάβῃ (sc. ὁ δαίμων): προλαμβάνειν, "to precede", "to get somewhere before someone".
63. κάλαμος, "reed".
— χωρικός, "indigenous".
64. ὀλίγον ἐπικεκλιμένον, "at a slight angle".
— ἐξαρτίζειν, "to suspend something from (αὐτοῦ)".
65. κάνθαρος, "dung-beetle", "scarab".
66. λεκάνη ὀστρακίνη, "earthenware dish".
67. ἐξάπτειν, "to light".
— ἀτμίς, "vapour".
69. ἀτάραχος, "calm"; cf. ταρασσεῖν (line 71) "to agitate", "to disturb".
70. ὁ κληθείς: sc. ὁ δαίμων.
— ἀναγκάσει: *de conatu*.
— ἀπειλεῖν, "to threaten".
72. ἕστε, "until".
— χρηματίζειν, "to give ear to", "to comply with one's wishes".

SALE OF BEANS FOR FUTURE DELIVERY

Karanis

P. Cairo Isidor. 91

A.D. 309

Aurelios Isidoros acknowledges receipt of the price of 150 artabas of beans at some time in the autumn of 309. The beans have to be delivered in June, 310.

- Ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος Πτολεμαίου
 [μ]ητρ[ὸς Ἡ]ρωίδος ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ̅ε
 [οὐλή] ἀντικνημίῳ δεξιῷ Αὐρηλίῳ Νείλῳ οὐετρ(ανῷ) τῶν
 ἐντίμως ἀπολελυμένων ἀπὸ (ἐκατοντάρ)χ(ων) ἔχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ
 5 ὁ ὁμολογῶν διὰ χειρὸς ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου τάλαντα
 [δ]εκαεπτὰ καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας οὐσας τιμὴν ἣν συν-
 [ε]φώνησαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς φασήλου ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸν
 πεντήκοντα, γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ρν, ὥσπερ τοῦ φασήλου
 ἀρτάβας
 ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐπάναγκον ἀποδώσει ὁ ὁμολογῶν
 10 [τ]ῶν Εἰδῶ<ν> μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς
 προκει-
 μένης κώμης μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ τὸ γένος νέον καθα-
 [ρ]ὸν ἄδολον εὐάρεστον ἀνυπερθέτως· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεως
 [γί]νεσθαι τῷ Νείλῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔκ τε τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος καὶ
 ἔκ
 [τ]ῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Καὶ
 ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὡμο(λόγησεν).
 15 [Ὑπατ]είας τῶν δεσπ[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
 Κωνσταντίνου
 υἱ[ιοῦ Σε]β[α]στῶ[ν], Νών[α]ις [.....] [2nd h.] Αὐρήλιος
 Εἰσίδωρο[ς]
 [ἔσχον τάλαντα δεκα]επτὰ δρ[α]χ[μὰς τρισχιλίας]
 - - - - -

This papyrus and the one following belong to the archive of the landowner Aurelios Isidoros; he was born c. 268 and died c. 324, about 56 years old. His public career started in 298. He was active in various capacities on behalf of his village in the following years and was *sitologos* in 309-310 (no. 72).

The archive was found at Karanis c. 1923. A part of it was published as *P. Cairo Isidor.* in 1960; other texts are listed *P. Col.* 7, pp. 1 and 3-4.

2. Ages are often given in multiples of five; Aurelios Isidoros was actually about 41 years old.
3. τῶν: one of those who ...
4. ἐκατόνταρχος = *centurio*: one of the former (ἀπό = *ex*) centurions.
6. Read τρισχιλίας.
7. φάσηλος, "beans".
10. [τ]ῶν Εἰδῶ<ν>: the reading is suspect; cf. *Berichtigungsliste* 5, 21.
12. ἀδόλος, "unadulterated".
15. The consuls are those of year 309; the year mentioned in line 10 is the Egyptian year 309/310.
16. Read υἱοῦ. Constantine is styled υἱοῦ Σεβαστῶν "son of the Augusti", because he is not yet Augustus himself.
- Read Ἰσίδωρος.

Sale according to Plato

Plato was the first scholar in history to devise a complete legal system. He described it in his work "The Laws" which is very interesting as a legal treatise.

With regard to sale Plato adheres to the principle of "cash sale", rejecting "sale on credit" and "contracts with deferred delivery" (like no. 71). Actually he does not forbid such a sale but, interestingly, he simply refuses to give an action, *denegat actionem*.

Leges VIII 849 e and XI 915 e (translation Loeb Class. Library):

... ἀλλάττεσθαι νόμισμά τε χρημάτων καὶ χρήματα νομίματος, μὴ προῖέμενον ἄλλον ἐτέρῳ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν· ὁ δὲ προέμενος ὡς πιστεύων ἐάν τε κομίσηται καὶ ἂν μή, στεργέτω ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὔσης τῶν τοιούτων περὶ συναλλάξεων.

"they shall exchange coins for goods and goods for coins, and no man shall give up his share to the other without receiving its equivalent; and if any does thus give it up, as it were on credit, he shall make the best of his bargain, whether or not he recovers what is due to him, since in such transactions he can no longer sue."

... μὴδ' ἐπὶ ἀναβολῇ πρᾶσιν μὴδὲ ὦνὴν ποιεῖσθαι μὴδενός.

"there shall be neither selling nor buying on credit."

LOAN OF WHEAT

Karanis

P. Cairo Isidor. 95

A.D. 310

January 310 Heras borrows from the keepers of the public granary six artabas of wheat, which are to be used as seed in the current year. Heras has to return half as much again in June of the same year.

- Ὅμ[ο]λογεῖ Αὐρήλ[ιος] Ἡρᾶς Μέλανος μητρὸς Ἀδωρᾶ
 ἀπ[ὸ] κώμης Καρα[ν]ίδος ἔχειν παρὰ τοῖς Αὐρηλίοις
 Ἰσι[δ]ώρου Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀντωνίου Ἀντωνίου
 καὶ Κασσιανὸς Σαπροῦ καὶ τῶν κοινονῶν πάντων
 5 σιτολόγων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Καρανίδος εἰς
 δάν[ι]ον τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἕξ, (ἀρτάβας) ς, καὶ ἡμι-
 ολίας τῶν αὐτῶν (ἀρτάβας) γ, γείνοντε σὺν ἡμιολίας
 ἀρτάβας ἑννέα. Καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ προθεσμίᾳ
 μηνὶ Παῦνι τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἑννέα ὥς
 10 πρόκειται. Καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολόγησεν.
 Ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποδῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ
 [Λι]κι[νν]ίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταν-
 τίνου
 υἱοῦ Σ[ε]βαστῶν, Τῦβι ιζ'. [2nd hand] Αὐρήλιος Ἡρᾶς ἔ<σ>χον
 τὰς
 [τοῦ πυ]ροῦ ἀρταβῶν ἕξ καὶ ἡμιολίας ἀρτάβας τρεῖς
 15 κ[αὶ ἀπο]δώσω ὡ<ς> πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Σεύθης ἔγραψα
 ὑ[π]ὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.
 ιη L καὶ ς L, Τῦβι ιζ'.

The scribe of this document often mixes up cases; read (2) τῶν Αὐρηλίων; (4) Κασσιανοῦ; (6) ἀρτάβας ἕξ; (7) σὺν ἡμιολίαις; (8) ἀρτάβαι; (9, 14) ἀρτάβας.

The acknowledgement was found in the archive of one of the *sitologoi*, Aurelios Isidoros, for whom see no. 71.

- 4-5. τῶν κοινωνῶν (read κοινωνῶν) πάντων σιτολόγων, "all the associate *sitologoi*", i.e. the keepers of the public granary.
6. Read δάνειον and supply εἰς σποράν σίτου, "for the sowing of grain" (cf. *P. Cairo Isidor.* 96, 6).
- 6-7. ἡμιολίας τῶν αὐτῶν, "as the additional one-half of these artabas" and σὺν ἡμιολίας (read ἡμιολίας), "together with the additional one-half" (the scribe used here twice exceptionally the plural ἡμιολίας; see also line 14): on loans in kind no interest is paid but a compensation, which is always 50 per cent of the amount borrowed irrespective of the duration of the loan. In Egypt this practice goes back to Pharaonic times; see the Egyptian text (early seventh century B.C.) published in *J.E.A.* 57 (1971) p. 127.
7. Read γίνονται.
8. Read ἀποδώσει.
- ἡ προθεσμία, "the fixed, appointed time".
10. καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες (read -θείς) ὁμολόγησεν, "and having been formally questioned, he has assented" = *interrogatus spondit*. This clause is adopted from the Roman *stipulatio*; see p. 221.
11. ὑπατίας (read ὑπατείας), "during the consulship of": although the text was written on 12 January 310 (line 17), the consuls Licinius and Constantine of year 309 (see no. 71, 15) are still mentioned; this happens more often in the first month of a new consular year. This fact is explicitly indicated, from A.D. 314 onwards, by the words μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, "after the consulship of"; see e.g. no. 73, 1.
- Read δεσποτῶν.
13. υἱοῦ Σεβαστῶν, "son of the Augusti": see no. 71, 16 note.
14. Read τρεῖς.
15. Read ἀποδώσω and πρόκειται.
17. The 18th year of Galerius is at the same time the 6th year of Maximinus.

MANDATE

Dionysias
(found in Philadelphia)

P. Abinn. 58

A.D. 345

Eulogios, son of Andreas, president of the town council of the Arsinoïte nome, knowing that Abinnaeus is about to depart for Constantinople, asks him to procure for him an *epistula exactoriae* from the imperial administration. Eulogios pledges himself to pay all the expenses reasonably (*bona fide*) made by Abinnaeus.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατί[α]ν Φλ(αουίου) Λεοντίου κ(αὶ) Ἰουλίου Σα-
λουστίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων,

Μεχὶρ ζ̄.

Αὐρήλιος Εὐλόγειος Ἀνδρέα ἑναρχος πρύτανις
προπολιτευόμεν[ος] τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως —

5 Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἀβενναίῳ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων εἴλης χαίριν.

Ἀπαντοῦντί σοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κοιτάτῳ ἐντέλλομαί σοι καὶ
ἐπιτρέπω κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἐντολὴν ὅπως ἐπιστολὴν
ἐξακτορίας ἐπ' ὀνόματός μου ἐνέγκῃς παρὰ τῆς θιότητος
τῶν δε<σ>ποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων, ἐμοῦ ἐπι-

10 γινώσκοντος εἴ τι ἐὰν ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀναλώσῃς εἰς τὴν

αὐτὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σῇ πίστι. Ἐξεδόμην σοι τοίνυν

τόδε τὸ ἐντολικὸν ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῆς μου, ὅπερ κύριον

ἔστω πανταχοῦ ἐπι[φερ]όμενον. Καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὡμολ(ό-
γησα).

[2nd hand]

Αὐρήλιος Εὐλόγιο[ς] πρύτανις ἐξεδόμην σοι

15 τὴν ἐντολή[ν] καὶ ἐμμενῶ πᾶσι ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).

Read (1) ὑπατεῖαν; (2) Μεχεῖρ; (3) Εὐλόγειος; (4) προπολιτευόμενος; (5) χαίρειν;
(6) ἀπαντῶντι; (8) θειότητος; (10) ἐάν = ἄν; (11) πίστει.

Lectional signs [p. 279]: (6) ἱερῷ; (8) ενεγ'κης.

This is one of the documents from the archive of Flavius Abinnaeus, collected and re-edited in 1962 by H.I. Bell e.a., *The Abinnaeus Archive. Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II*; see also no. 75.

As commander of the troops at Dionysias, Abinnaeus was engaged in surveillance, police-duties and administration of the whole Fayoum; he had special connections with the Imperial Court. In 344 his superior in Egypt dismissed him saying that he had reached the end of his term. Abinnaeus was then about 58 years old and presumably travelled to Constantinople early in 345 to contest his dismissal. By 1 May, 346 he is known to have been reinstated at Dionysias; he remained there till 351, when he reached the age of 65. After his retirement he went to stay in Philadelphia; it is there that his archive was probably found.

1. **μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν**, "after the consulship": Flavius Leontius and Iulius Salustius were the consuls of the preceding year 344; the names of the new ones were not yet known in the Arsinoite nome on 7 Mecheir = 1 February, 345.
3. **ἐναρχος**, "in office" (cf. no. 55, 1, note).
- 3-4. **πρύτανις** and **προπολιτευόμενος** both refer to the function of president of the town council, **πρύτανις** being the ancient title (3rd cent.) and **προπολιτευόμενος** the new one (4th cent.); the change in nomenclature reflects a new organization.
4. A long filling stroke at the end of the line.
5. **ἐπαρχος εἵλης** = *praefectus alae*, "commander of a military force": Abinnaeus was one of the former (**ἀπό** = *ex*) commanders.
6. **ἀπαντᾶν**, "to go to a place" (**ἐν** = *eis*).
- **ἱερὸς κομιτᾶτος** (= *comitatus*), "the imperial court".
- **ἐντέλλεσθαι**, "to enjoin", "to empower"; cf. **ἐντολή**, "authorization", "power of attorney" (lines 7 and 15) and **ἐντολικόν**, "document relative to an authorization" (line 12).
7. **ἐπιτρέπειν**, "to charge", "to commission".
- 7-8. **ἐπιστολὴ ἐξακτορίας**: certificate of nomination to the office of *exactor*; it is not known if Eulogios wished to be nominated *exactor* or if he tried to obtain the honorary title of *exactor*. (In the 4th century the *exactor* replaces the στρατηγός).
8. **φέρειν**, "to obtain", "to procure".
9. **ἐπιγινώσκειν**, "to undertake to discharge".
- **εἴ τι ἄν**, "whatever".
12. **ἐπί**, "provided with".

RENT OF A HOUSE

Oxyrhynchos

P. Harr. 1 82

A.D. 345

Aurelios Ammon leases out a house to the Aurelii Isidoros and Theon for a term of four years. The rent amounts to 90 talents a year and is paid in advance. Each lessee endorses in lines 34-36 the promises made in lines 26-33.

- Ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ἀμαντίου καὶ
 Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων).
 Ἐμίσθωσεν κατὰ μισθωαποχὴν
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμων Εὐλογίου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)
 5 καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως
 Αὐρηλίοις Ἰσιδώρου Διδύμου καὶ
 Θέωνι Διονυσίου, ἀμφοτέροις ἀπὸ
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ἐπεὶ χρόνον ἔ-
 τη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς
 10 Θῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μ Λ, κβ Λ, ιγ Λ, τὴν
 ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει
 ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Δρόμου Θοήριδος σὺν
 τῇ ἀπὸ νότου μικρᾷ ὑψηλῇ ὁλό-
 κληρον οἰκίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατάγιον, καὶ
 15 αὐλὰς μικρὰς δύο σὺν χρηστηρίοις[ς]
 πᾶσι, ἐνοικείου κατ' ἔτος ἀργυ-
 ρίου ταλάντων ἐνεθήκοντα.
 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὁμολογεῖ [ὁ] αὐτὸς Ἀμ-
 μων ἀπεσχηκ[έναι π]αρὰ τοῦ
 20 Ἰσιδώρου καὶ τοῦ Θέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ
 αἰνοῖκειον ἐνιαυτῶν τεσσάρων[ν]

Read (3) μισθαποχὴν; (5) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν; (6) Ἰσιδώρ; (8) ἐπὶ; (13) ὑψηλῇ; (14) οἰκίαν, κατάγιον; (16) ἐνοικίου; (21) ἐνοίκιον.

- πλήρης ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ[τ]οῦ μηνὸς
 Θῶθ, ἐπεὶ τῷ τοῦς αὐτοῦς Ἰσίδω-
 ρον καὶ Θέωνα χρήσασθαι τῇ
 25 οἰκείᾳ ἐπεὶ τὸν τετραετῇ χρόνον
 ἀκολύτως. Καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον
 ἀποδώσω τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκείαν <καθαράν>
 ἀπὸ κοπρίων καὶ δίσης πάσης,
 καὶ ἅς ἐὰν παραλάβω θύρας καὶ κλεῖς, [ἥ]
 30 {ἀποτισάτω} ἀντὶ οὗ ἐὰν μὴ παρα-
 δῶ[σι] ἐκτίσω τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν. Κυ-
 ρία ἢ μισθωποχὴ. Καὶ ἐπερω-
 τηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

[2nd hand]

- Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος μεμίσθωμαι
 35 ὥς πρόκε<ι>ται. [3rd h.] Αὐρήλιος Θέων μεμί-
 σθωμαι ὥς πρόκειται.

Read (23) ἐπί; (25) οἰκίᾳ, ἐπί; (26) ἀκολύτως; (27) οἰκίαν; (28) δέισης; (29) ἄν, κλεῖς = κλεῖδας; (30) ἄν; (32) μισθαποχή.

3. μισθαποχή, "receipt for rent (paid in advance)".
4. The citizens of Oxyrhynchos call their town λαμπρά καὶ λαμπροτάτη from A.D. 271 / 272 onwards.
10. μ L, κβ L, ιγ L: year 345 / 346 is the 22nd regnal year of Constantius II and at the same time the 13th of Constans. Year 40 refers to the so-called era of Constantine, which starts with his first regnal year (306 / 307); Constantine's years continued to be reckoned after his death (in year 31 = 336 / 337) for about two decades. Cf. R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978) 36-39.
13. ὑψηλή, "turret".
- ὁλόκληρος, "whole", "complete".
14. κατάγειον, "cellar".
15. χρηστήρια, "appurtenances".
16. ἐνοίκιον, "rent".
23. ἐπὶ τῷ (with inf.), "on the condition that", "so that".
26. ἀκολύτως, "unimpeded".
28. κόπριον, "refuse"; δέισα, "filth".
29. κλεῖς, "lock", "key".

COMPLAINT

Dionysias
(found in Philadelphia)

P. Abinn. 48

A.D. 346

Aurelios Aboul lodges a complaint with Abinnaeus (for whom see no. 73) against four persons for having secretly shorn by night eleven of his sheep. One of the culprits is the son of the local police officer.

- Φλαουίῳ Ἀβινναίῳ ἐπάρχῳ εἵλης στρατι-
 ωτῶν κάστρων Δ[ι]ονυσιάδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου
 νομοῦ παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀβοῦλ Διονυσίου ἀπὸ κώ-
 μης Ἑρμοῦ [πόλε]ως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. Ἐκέρ-
 5 θησάν μου π[ρό]βατα νυκτὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν
 ἔνδεκα ὑπὸ τινων κακούργων, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀνα-
 ζητοῦντος τὴν τ[ῶ]ν προβάτων κουρά<ν> ἤκουσα
 Παῦλον τὸν στρατιώτην τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν φρον-
 τίδαν, καὶ ὑπέβαλεν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κακωπράγμο-
 10 νας Πέτρον υἱὸν Σαραπίωνος καὶ τὸν τούτου
 ἀδελφὸν Μέλαν στρατιώτην καὶ Ἀπίωνα υἱὸν
 Ὠρίωνος εἰρηνάρχου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.
 Διὰ αὐτὸ τοῦτ[ο] ἀ[ξι]ῶ καὶ δέομαί σου [τῆς] φιλανθρω-
 πίας ὅ[π]ω[ς] τοῦτο[υ]ς συνλαβώμε[ν]ος {καὶ} [ἀ]νανκῆ-
 15 σης .[.]βιᾶ[.....] ὑπὸ τῶν κακωπραγμόνων
 τούτω[ν], εἴτα <τά> [γραφέ]ντα ὑπὲ ἐμοῦ εἰς γνώσιν
 τοῦ κυρίο[υ] μου δοικὸς ἀνανίκης· αὐτοῦ γ[ά]ρ ἐστιν
 <τοὺς> τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμοῦ]ντες ἐκδικεῖν. Καὶ τοῦτο τυχῶν

Read (9) κακοπράγμονας; (14) συλλαβόμενος, ἀναγκάσης; (15) κακοπραγμόνων; (16) ὑπό; (17) ἀνεγέρκης; (18) τολμώντας, ἐκδικεῖν, τούτου.

- χάρ[ι]τά [σ]οι ὁ[μο]λογήσω, κύριε. Διευτύχει.
 20 Αὐρήλιος [Ἀβ]οῦλ ἐπιδέδωκα.
 Ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ[οτ]ῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
 τὸ δ' ἔτι καὶ Κώσταντος τὸ γ' Ἀγούστων,
 Ἐπεὶ ε.
 Καὶ ἄλλοτε χοίρους μου ἀπήλασαν
 25 οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ὕ[οφο]ρβίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ζ.

Read (21) Κωνσταντίου; (22) Ἀγούστων = Αὐγούστων.

The document was first published as *P. Lond.* 2 242 (p. 275) with plate 88.

1. Since February, 345 (no. 73) Abinnaeus has been reinstated as ἑπαρχος εἰλης "commander of a military force".
2. **κάστρα** (plur.) = *castra* (= *qasr* in Arabic toponyms), "camp", "fortress".
4. **κεῖρειν**, "to shear"; **κουρά** (line 7) "shearing".
5. **πρόβατα**, "sheep".
6. **ἀναζητεῖν**, "to investigate".
8. **τῶν**, "one of those".
- **φροντίς**, "command"; φροντίδαν = φροντίδα, see no. 19, 3, note.
9. **ὑποβάλλειν**, "to name".
- **κακοπραγμών**, "evil-doer".
12. **εἰρηνάρχης**: police magistrate.
14. **συλλαμβάνειν**, "to arrest".
- **ἀναγκάζειν**, "to compel"; the aorist ἀναγκήσης is formed as if from a verb in -αω; B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, § 550.
16. **εἰς γνῶσιν ἀναφέρειν**, "to bring to the knowledge"; for the form ἀνανίκης see Mandilaras, *loc. cit.*, § 549 and 240.
17. **δούξ** = *dux*: the military commander of Egypt.
- **αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔστιν**, "for it is his function".
18. **ἐκδικεῖν**, "to punish".
19. **χάριτα ὁμολογεῖν**, "to acknowledge gratitude".
24. **ἄλλοτε**, "on another occasion".
- **χοῖρος**, "pig".
25. **ὕοφορβία**, "pigsty", "enclosure for pigs".

ADOPTION

Hermoupolis

P. Lips. 28

A.D. 381

Agreement between Teeus [read: Te-eus] and her son Silbanos on the adoption of her grandson Paësis; see the genealogy. Silbanos engages to raise the child, to feed him, to provide for his clothing and to administer his inheritance until his coming of age.

[Ῑπατ]είας Φλαυίων Εὐχερίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ Συναγρίου
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου

ἐπάρ[χ]ου, Τῦβι ἑ.

[Α]ὐρήλιοι Τεεὺς Παήσιος μητρ[ὸς] Θαήσιος ὡς L ξ, οὐλή
γόνατ[ι] ἀριστερῶ

[ἀπὸ] κώμης ᾽Αρεως τοῦ Ἑρμουπολείτου μετὰ συνεστῶτος οὖ
ἐκο[ῦσ]α ἐμαντῇ

5 παρήνεγκα τοῦ καὶ γράφοντος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μὴ εἰδυίης γράμματα
[Αὐ]ρηλίου

Προ[ο]ῦτος Κουλῶτος κωμάρχου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῇ[ς] κώμης
᾽Αρεω[ς] καὶ Σιλβαν[ὸς]

Πε[τή]σιος υἱὸς τῆς προκειμένης Τεεῦτος ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων
ἀποτακτικὸς

[ἀ]πὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ᾽Αρεως ἀλλήλοις χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ
μειζότερος

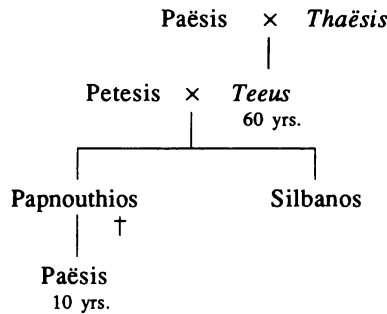
[υ]ἱ[ὸς] ἐμοῦ τῆς προκειμένης Τεεῦτος τελευτῶν Παπνούθιος
τὸ ὄνομα,

10 κ[α]τέλειψε[ν υ]ἱὸν Παῆσιν τὴν προσηγορίαν ὡς L ι πλείω
ἔλατ[το]ν, ἔδοξεν δὲ

[ᾧ]τ' ἐμὲ τὸν [ἀ]δελ[φ]ὸν αὐτοῦ Σιλβανὸν κατ' εὐσεβίαν
τοῦτον τὸν παῖ[δ]α ἔχειν

[καθ'] υἱοθεσίαν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀνατρέφεσθαι εὐγενῶς καὶ
 γνησίως, κατ[ὰ] τ[ο]ῦτο
 [ὁμο]λο[γοῦ]με[ν] ἐ[γὼ] μὲν ἡ Τεεὺς π[αρ]αδεδωκέναι σοὶ [τ]ῷ
 Σιλβανῷ τὸν μνημονευθέν-
 τα παῖδ[α] πρ[ὸς] υἱοθεσίαν μετ[ὰ] τῆ[ς] πατρῶας αὐτοῦ
 [κ]λη[ρον]ομίας καὶ μη[τ]ρῶ[ας] ἔν τε γηδί-
 15 οἰς καὶ οἰκοπέ[δο]ις καὶ ἐνδομενικοῖ[ς] διαφόροις εἶδεσι
 πρ[ὸς] τὸ εἶναι σοῦ υἱ[ὸ]ν γνήσιον καὶ πρω-
 τότοκον ὡς ἐξ ἰδίου αἵματος γεννηθέντα σοι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ Σιλ-
 βανὸς παρειληφέναι παρὰ

The persons involved in the adoption are members of one family:



In the agreement both parties are speaking: (3) Αὐρηλίῳι Τεεὺς ... (6) καὶ Σιλβανὸς ... (8) ἀλλήλοις χαίρειν; the central part of the contract (8-22) consequently runs: (8) ἐπειδὴ ... (10) κατέλειπεν ... ἔδοξεν δὲ ..., (13) ὁμο-λογοῦμεν ἐγὼ μὲν ἡ Τεεὺς..., (16) ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ Σιλβανὸς ...

The scribe has the typical Byzantine predilection for synonyms, using them in coordination (e.g. ὡς and πλείω ἔλαττον, line 10; cf. εὐδοκῶ καὶ πείθομαι, lines 24 and 28) as well as in alternation, such as

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| (9) τὸ ὄνομα | — | (10) τὴν προσηγορίαν |
| (15) εἶδεσι | — | (20) σκεύεσι |
| (17) τὸν προκείμενον | — | (13) τὸν μνημονευθέντα |

σοῦ τῆς μητρός μου Τεεῦτος τὸν προκείμενον υἱὸν Παπνούθιου
πρὸς υἰοθεσίαν ὄνπερ

θρέψω καὶ ἱματίζω εὐγενῶς καὶ γνησίως ὡς υἱὸν γνήσιον καὶ
φυσικὸν ὡς

ἐξ ἐ[μ]οῦ γενόμενον, παρειληφέναι δὲ καὶ τὰ πατρῶα αὐτοῦ
πράγματα καὶ μητρῶα ἔν τε

20 γη[δ]ίοις καὶ οἰκοπέδοις καὶ ἐνδομενικοῖς διαφόροις σκεύε-
σει ἐπὶ τῷ με ταῦτα αὐτῷ δια-

φυλάξαι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι αὐτῷ ἐνήλικι γενομένῳ μετὰ κα-
λῆς πίστεως, εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν

καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν πραγμάτων κληρονόμον υἰοθετηθέντα μοι ὡς
προεῖρηται. Ἡ υἰοθεσία κυ[ρία δ]ισσῇ

γραφῆ[ι]σα ὁμοτύπως πρὸς τὸ παρ' ἐκ[ά]στῳ ἡμῶν εἶναι μονα-
χὸν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. Κ[α]ὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὠμολογή(σα-
μεν).

[2nd hand]

Αὐρη[λ]ί[α Τ]εεὺς Παήσι[ο]ς ἡ προκειμένη ἐθέμην τὴν υἰοθε-
σί[α]ν καὶ εὐδοκῶ καὶ πί[θ]ομαι π[ᾶ]σι τοῖς

25 ἐγγ[ε]γραμμέν[ο]ις ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Προὐς Κουλῶ-
τ[ο]ς κωμάρχας ὁ προκείμε[νο]ς

συν[έ]στην αὐτῇ καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γράμματα μὴ εἰ-
δ(υῖης) [3rd hand] Αὐρήλιος Σιλβανὸς Πε[τ]ήσιος ὁ προκεί-

μεν[ος] ἀπ[ο]τ[α]κτικὸς ἐθέμην τὴν υἰοθεσίαν καὶ παρίληφα
τὴν πατρῶαν αὐτ[ο]ῦ κληρονομίαν

κα[ὶ μ]ητρῶαν καὶ εὐδοκῶ καὶ πίθομαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγγεγραμμέ-
νοις ὡς πρόκειται.

[1st hand]

Δι' ἐμοῦ Φιλοσαρά[πι]δος ἐγρά(φη).

The text is also to be found in L. Mitteis, *Chrest.*, no. 363 which is at the same time the best edition.

2. **ἐπαρχος** sc. τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτορίου: commander of the imperial praetorian guards, *praefectus praetorii*.
4. **μετὰ συνεστώτος**, "with N.N. assisting"; see line 26, **συνέστην αὐτῇ**, "I have assisted her"; although women were now allowed to act without the assistance of a κύριος, they sometimes needed someone to write for them; such a person is called συνεστώς.
5. **παραφέρειν**, "to bring in".
7. **ἐξῆς**, "next", "below".
- **ἀποτακτικός**, "hermit".
- 9-10. **τὸ ὄνομα** and **τὴν προσηγορίαν** ("name"): persons "called" so-and-so.
10. **πλείω ἔλαττον**, "more or less".
- **ἔδοξεν**, "it has been decided".
11. Read **κατ' εὐσέβειαν**, "because of reverence (towards my parents)".
12. **υἱοθεσία**, "adoption as a son"; **υἱοθετεῖν** (line 22), "to adopt as a son".
- **εὐγενῶς καὶ γνησίως**, "nobly", "decently".
- **κατὰ τοῦτο**, "consequently".
14. **γῆδιον**, "piece of land".
15. **οἰκόπεδον**, "building".
- **ἐνδομενικός**, "belonging to the inventory of a house".
- **διάφορος**, "various", "several".
- **εἶδος**, "goods", "things"; var. **σκεῦος** (line 20), "furniture", "equipment".
18. **θρέψω καὶ ἱματίζω** (read ἱματίσω): fut. of **τρέφειν** καὶ ἱματίζειν.
20. Read **σκεύεσι**.
- **ἐπὶ τῷ** (with inf.), "on the condition that".
- **διαφυλάσσειν**, "to take care of".
21. **ἐνῆλιξ**, "of age".
- **μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως** = *bonae fidei*.
22. **ὡς προεῖρηται** ("as said above"): var. of **ὡς πρόκειται**.
- **δισσός**, "twofold", "double".
23. **ὁμότυπος**, "identical".
- **μοναχός**, "a personal copy".
24. **εὐδοκῶ καὶ πίθομαι** (read πείθομαι), "I agree".
25. Read **κωμάρχης**.
27. Read **παρείληφα**.

QUESTION TO A CHRISTIAN ORACLE

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 16 1926

6th cent. A.D.

A person who hesitates whether or not to make an offer for leasing a banking-business of changing and weighing money, calls on God and St. Philoxenos for a decision.

- + Δέσποτά μου θεὲ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ἅγι(ε)
 Φιλόξενε πρόστατά μου, παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς
 διὰ τὸ μέγα ὄνομ(α) τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν οὐκ ἔστιν
 θέλημα ὑμῶν μὴ λαλήσαι με μηδὲ περὶ τραπεζ(ιτείας) μηδὲ
 5 περὶ ζυγοστασείας, παρα<καλῶ> κελεύσαι με μαθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ
 λαλήσω. +

Verso

+ χμγ + χμγ + χμγ +

Egyptians had been accustomed since Pharaonic times to consult their deities for advice in such matters; in each case two questions were asked, one positive and one negative, each written on a separate papyrus (or ostrakon). Here *P. Harr.* 1 54 is the positive question (ἐὰν θέλημα ὑμῶν ἔστιν) and no. 77 the negative one (ἐὰν οὐκ ἔστιν θέλημα ὑμῶν). The oracular god made his decision known by choosing one of the two questions; H.C. Youtie, *Z.P.E.* 18 (1975) p. 253 ff. with plate VIII.

2. **προστάτης**, "patron".
- **παρακαλεῖν**, "to beseech".
4. **μή** reinforces the preceding οὐκ.
- **λαλεῖν περὶ**, "to speak up for", i.e. "to make an offer for".
- **τραπεζιτεία**, "money-changing", "banking".
5. **ζυγοστασεία**, "weighing-office": this word refers to what takes place at the money-weigher's table.
6. **χμγ**: like the cross (lines 1, 5 and 6), a Christian symbol. Many suggestions have been made as to the meaning of these letters which is not given by the sources themselves. These letters may be an abbreviation of Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννᾶ), "Maria bears Christ" = *VDN* viz. *v(irgine) d(ominus) n(atus)*; see J.-O. Tjäder, *Eranos* 68 (1970) p. 148 ff. Sometimes, however, the letters ΧΜΓ seem to have served as the abbreviated form of an oath: Χ(ριστὸς) μ(αρτὺς) γ(ένηται), "Christ be (my) witness"; see G. Robinson, *Tyche* 1 (1986) p. 175 ff.

LETTER FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

Aphrodito

S.B. 4 7438

c. A.D. 551

In order to obtain support in a lawsuit, Dioskoros has gone to the emperor in Constantinople and comes back with a recommendation to someone in high authority in Egypt. The absence of any opening or closing formula is characteristic of sixth-century letters.

[+Διός]κ[ορο]ς ὁ θαυμασίος ὁ τήνδε μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
ἀποδιδούς

[τῇ ὑμ]ετέρᾳ ἐνδόξῳ ὑπεροχῇ ὥρμηται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαίων
χώρας,

[ἀδ]ι[κ]ηθεὶς δέ, ὥς φησιν, παρὰ τινων αὐτόθι, τὴν ἐντεῦθεν
βλάβην

ἀ[να]φέρων, εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν αὐτὴν παρεγένετο πόλιν ἰκέ-
της τε

5 γενόμενος τοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) δεσπότη, θείων ἔτυχεν συλλα-
βῶν πρὸς τὴν

ὑμετέραν φιланθρωπείαν. Μίαν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἀσφαλῆ
καλῶς ὑπολαβὼν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοσύνης ἐπικουρίαν,
αὐτῆς δεῖται τυχεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπὲρ
τούτων

ἤτησεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Οἶδα δέ, ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς αἰτήσεως χωρὶς
10 αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν τὰ δίκαια δίδωσιν ἢ ὑμετέρα
ὑπεροχή. Παρακαλῶ δὲ καὶ σπουδὴν τινα πλείω προστεθῆναι
Διοσκόρῳ

τῷ θαυμασίῳ, ὥστε κάμει χρήσιμον αὐτῷ φανῆναι καὶ ὑμᾶς
πολλῷ

πλείονα τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη θεοῦ μισθὸν ἀπολαβεῖν. +

Lectional signs [p. 279]: (7) ὑμετερας; (8) ὑμων, ὑπερ.

Vestiges of the address on the verso.

The text was published by V. Martin, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1929) 96-102 and reprinted by A.S. Hunt and C.C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2, no. 431. A photograph is given *New Palaeographical Society*, 2nd series, part 12-13, pl. 183; see also R. Seider, *Paläogr. der griechischen Papyri*, I.1, no. 55.

The document belongs to the Greek-Coptic archive of Dioskoros and his father, Apollos. Dioskoros lived from c. 520-585; between 567 and 573 he acted as notary at Antinooupolis. He possessed a large collection of classic works, Coptic-Greek glossaries and legal documents. Among his papers a copy was found of a letter of Horapollon (*P. Cairo Masp.* 3 67295; A.D. 491-493), author of the *Hieroglyphica*, which was the most important source of information on hieroglyphs until Champollion's decipherment of this script; cf. G. Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon* (Bollingen Series, no. 23); B. Van de Walle and J. Vergote, in *Chron. d'Ég.* 18 (1943) 39-89. On the archive, see L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and his World* (1988).

1. θαυμάσιος, "admirable": epithet of Dioskoros (also in line 12).
2. ἔνδοξος ὑπεροχή, "renowned eminence": epithet of a high official, probably the *dux* of the Thebais (= ἡ Θηβαίων χώρα).
4. βασιλὶς πόλις, "royal city".
5. συλλαβαί = *litterae*, "letter" (addressed to, πρὸς); cf. ἐπιστολή, line 8.
7. καλῶς ὑπολαβόν, "rightly understanding that" (supply εἶναι).
- ἐπικουρία, "support" (of, ἐκ).
11. σπουδὴν προστιθέναι, "to bestow attention".
12. κάμει = καὶ ἐμέ.

CONTRIBUTION TO A HOSPITAL

Oxyrhynchos

P. Oxy. 16 1898

A.D. 587

The Apions belonged to the most respectable families living at Oxyrhynchos in the 6th century. Apion II died about 578; his heirs, acting through their steward (Μηνᾶς οἰκέτης) obtain a receipt from the administrator of a hospital (Μηνᾶς οἰκονόμος and at the same time νοτάριος of the Apions) for having given a charitable contribution.

- + Βασιλεί[ας τοῦ θ]ειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου
 ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστος εὐεργέτης
 Φλ(αοῦ) Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρά(τορος) ἔτους ε, ὑπατίας
 5 τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης) ἔτους δ,
 Φαμενώθ ιζ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ε.
 Τοῖς ὑπερφυεστάτοις διαδόχοις τοῦ τῆς
 εὐκλεοῦς μηνῆς Ἀπίωνος γενομ(ένου)
 πρωτοπατρι{πατρι}κίου, γεουχοῦσιν
 10 καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχι(των)
 πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ
 ἐπωρωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος
 τοῖς ἰδίῳις δεσπόταις, τοῖς ἀγωγῇν
 πανευφήμοις προσώποις, τὴν ἀγωγῇν
 15 καὶ ἐνοχὴν, Μηνᾶς νοτάριος τῆς
 ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας, υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου
 Ἰωάννου, ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ἰδίᾳ
 χειρί, ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
 καὶ οἰκονόμος τοῦ ἁγίου νοσοκομίου
 20 ἀββᾶ Ἡλίας περὶ τὸν ἅγιον Νεῖλον.
 Ὁμολογῶ εἰληφέναι καὶ πεπληρωθ(αι)
 παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(υείας) τὴν ἀγίαν

- προσφορὰν τῆς σὺν θ(εῷ) ἔκτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως)
 τούτεστιν σιτοῦ καγκάλλω ἀρτάβ(ας)
- 25 τριακοσίας ἐβδομήκοντα μίαν,
 γί(νονται) σι(τοῦ) καγκέλ(λω) (ἀρτ.) τοα, τὰς καὶ δοθείσας μοι
 διὰ Ἰούστου τοῦ αἰδεσίμου χαρτουλαρ(ίου)
 τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας, καὶ πρὸς
 ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην
- 30 πεποίημαί τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἥτις
 κυρ(ία) οὔσα ἀπλ(ῇ) γραφ(εῖσα). Καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς)
 ὠμολόγησα. + [2nd hand] † Μηνᾶς νοτάριος
 τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρ(ίου) Ἰωάννου
 στοιχεῖ μοι ἡ παροῦσα ἀπόδειξις τῆς ς ἰν(δικτίονος)
- 35 τῶν ἀρτα(βῶν) τριακοσίων ἐβδομήκοντα μιᾶς
 ὡς πρόκειται. +
 [1st hand] ✠ *di em(u) Papnūtiu (eteliot)h̄.*

Verso

+ Ἀπόδειξ(ις) Μηνᾶ τοῦ εὐδοκιμ(ωτάτου) νοταρ(ίου) τοῦ
 ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου οἰκ(ονόμου) τοῦ νοσοκομίου
 ἀββᾶ Ἠλία σι(τοῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) κ(αγκέλλω) τοα.

Lectional signs [p. 279]: (4) ὑπατίας; (7) ὑπερ-; (17) ἰωαννου, ὑπο-; (27) ἰουστου; (33) υἱός, ἰωαννου.

1-6. See p. 37.

2. μέγιστος εὐεργέτης, "greatest benefactor".

4. Read ὑπατείας.

7. ὑπερφυής, "magnificent"; ὑπερφύεια, "magnificence" (lines 16, 22 and 28).

8. εὐκλεῆς μνήμη, "famous memory".

9. πατρίκιος = *patricius*; πρωτοπατρίκιος, "first patrician".

— γεῦχος, "landholder".

11. οἰκέτης, "steward".

12. Read ἐπερωτώντος; cf. line 31.

— προσπορίζειν: to acquire for someone the *actio* (ἀγωγή) and *obligatio* (ἐνοχή) of the transaction.

14. πανεύφημος, "all-praiseworthy".

— πρόσωπον, "person".

16. μακάριος, "blessed" (of a deceased person).
17. ἑξῆς, "next", "below".
19. νοσοκομεῖον, "hospital": the hospital of Abbot Elias lies in the vicinity of the church of St. Neilos.
20. ἀββᾶς, "father": title of saints and the higher clergy.
21. πληροῦν, "to pay in full".
23. προσφορά, "contribution" for the next (*deo volente*) year.
— ἐπινέμησις = *indictio*.
24. Read καγκέλλω (name of a measure of standard capacity).
27. αἰδέσιμος χαρτουλάριος, "venerable secretary".
- 28-29. πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς, "in proof of the reception (of the artabas of grain)".
30. ἀπόδειξις, "receipt".
31. ἀπλοῦς: only one copy was made of this receipt; cf. no. 76, 22, δισσή.
33. ἑνδοξος οἶκος, "glorious family".
34. στοιχεῖν, "to be satisfactory".
37. *di emu Papnuthiu etelioth* = δι' ἐμοῦ Παπνουθίου ἐτελειώθη (Greek written in Latin characters, the η being rendered *h*); Papnouthios has been active as a notary for at least 40 years, see J.M. Diethart und K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* (1986) 83-84.
38. εὐδόκιμος, "honoured".

Lectional signs

E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (1971) p. 12-13. Lectional signs found in nos. 51, 58, 63, 65, 68, 73, 78 and 79 from A.D. 206 onwards, are the *trema* or *dialysis* — *̃*, *̥* and (in no. 78) *̄* — and the *apostrophe*; see also the literary text, p. 64-65.

The *trema* is used

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| — to separate vowels, | e.g. υῖον, το ἱταλικον, τω ἱερῶ (nos. 63, 68 and 73) |
| — or to mark an initial vowel | e.g. ὕπο-, ὕμων (nos. 79 and 78). |

The *apostrophe* is used

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| — to separate syllables | ενεγ'κ (no. 73). |
|-------------------------|------------------|

RECEIPT

Arsinoe

Stud. Pal. 20 198

c. A.D. 635

The cook Gerontios acknowledges receipt of a part of his wages from the administrator of the church of St. Theodoros.

+ Ἐσχον ἐγὼ Γερόντιος μάγειρος υἱὸς Φιλοξένου ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Μοήρεως
 παρὰ σοῦ Ἰούστου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀγίας
 ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἀγίου Θεοδώρου ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μισθοῦ
 ἧς ποιῶμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ μαγείρου χρειᾶς, λέγω δὴ τοῦ
 παρόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀριθμουμένου ἀπὸ
 νεομηνίας τοῦ παρελθόντος μηνὸς Φαῶφι τῆς παρουσίας ὀγδόης
 ἰν(δικτίονος), χρυσίου νομ(ισμάτιον) ἐν ἡμισυ ῥυπαρ(όν),
 5 [χρ(υσίου) νο(μισμάτιον) α (ἡμισυ) ῥ(υπαρόν)]. Ἐγράφη μηνὶ
 Φαρμουῦθι τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἰν(δικτίονος). + Δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰο[ύσ]του[†]
 συμβολαιογρ(άφου) ἐσημειώθη.
 +

Verso

+ Ἀπόδειξις) Γεροντίου μαγείρ(ου) νο(μισματίου) α (ἡμίσεως).

The text is a re-edition of *Stud. Pal.* 3 164.

1. μάγειρος, "cook".
- ἀμφοδον Μοήρεως: originally Μοήρις was an independent village.
3. λέγω δὴ, "namely".
4. ὀγδὴ ἰνδικτίων: the eighth year of an indiction-cycle (of 15 years).
- χρυσίον, "gold money".
- ῥυπαρός (literally "filthy"): any extra charges are included in the amount stated, *O. Ashm. Shelton* 14, 3 note.
5. The receipt was probably written in April 635, less likely 15 years earlier (620) or later (650), viz. in the preceding or in the following indiction-cycle.
- Ἰούστος συμβολαιογράφος: for this notary, see *P. Rainer Cent.*, nos. 127-131 and Diethart und Worp, *Notarsunterschriften* (1986) p. 38-40.
- ἐσημειώθη is written in a crabbed hand.
6. ἀπόδειξις, "receipt".

POSTSCRIPT

Page 34. According to E. Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque* (1990), p. 135–155, the Egyptian day begins at dawn, at first light, and the Macedonian day about an hour later, at sunrise. I am not convinced by his arguments. Anyhow, his new theory does not explain more instances of double dates than the earlier theory of Koenen did.

Text no. 1. The date July / August 310 B.C. is calculated with the help of ‘Table II’ in Grzybek, *loc. cit.*, p. 182, but it appears from p. 179 that the table is not certain.

Text no. 7. The supplement [‘Ερμ]ῆς in line 26 seems correct because Hermes = Thot is expected here. The hieroglyphic and demotic texts read, however, *P3-R^c* = ὁ Ἥλιος or Πρῆς / Φρῆς; since the latter name is too short for being supplied instead of [‘Ερμ]ῆς, there must have been two different versions; the indigenous version is wrong whereas the Greek one is correct. This is surprising since the text deals here with a matter of the indigenous religion.

Text no. 39. The correction ἀντ[ι]λιβλαρίω in lines 28–29 suggested in *Select Papyri* 1, no. 112 (*B.L.* 8, 27), has not been adopted because the correction ἀν[.] → ἀντ[ι] was not made on the original papyrus *and* results in a title which is not known, see *B.L.* 8, index p. 579 and the Duke data bank.

Text no. 55. Line 23: *P. Oxy.* 47, p. 95–96 (*B.L.* 8, 231) suggests the reading $\perp \beta$ — or better $\perp [\iota] \beta$ — instead of $\perp \kappa$ (i.e. A.D. 203 instead of 211). See the photograph printed on p. 37 above: κ and β are indeed interchangeable and the flourish to the right of $\perp$ could be a ligature with a letter (although there is not much space for a letter in the lacuna).

GLOSSARY OF GREEK WORDS

- ἄββᾶς, "father" 79, 20 (note), 39
 ἅγιος, "holy" 79, 19, 22; 80, 2
 — St. Neilos 79, 20; St. Philoxenos 77, 1; St. Theodoros 80, 2
 ἀγνοεῖν, "to be ignorant" 30, 17
 ἀγορά, "market-place" 50, 32
 ἀγοράζειν, "to buy" 20, 23; 50, 21; 68, 7
 ἀγορανόμος, "notary" 10, 3 (note); 11, 3; 27, 5
 ἀγοραστός, "bought" 66, 14 (note)
 ἀγράμματος, "illiterate" 72, 16
 ἀγυιά, "street" — ἐν ἀγυίᾳ: before a notary (p. 43) 21, 6
 ἀδελφή, "sister"; ἀδελφός, "brother"; ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνή 49, 30 (cf. p. 162, note 8) — see however 11, 1 (niece); 26, 3 (wet-nurse); 68, 13 (subordinate); 69, 1, 34 (wife); 69, 12 (friend?);
 ἀδιαίρετος, "undivided" 35, 11
 ἀδικεῖσθαι, "to be wronged", "to be injured" 6, 1, 14; 78, 3
 ἀθάνατος, "immortal" 67, 6 (note), 19
 ἀθέτησις, "rendering (a contract) invalid" 32, 20
 αἶθριον, "patio" 19, 7
 αἷμα, "blood" 76, 16
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 6, 9; 48, 14; 57, 13, 17 (etc.);
 "to promise", "to assign" 30,
 8
 εἰρόμενον, "dossier" — roll con-
 taining abstracts of contracts (p.
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 and exit" 11, 5, 7; 36, 21
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 ἐκ — *of place*, "out of", "from";
 "at", "on"; — *of time*, "since";
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 exhibit publicly", "to display
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 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (with gen.), "to take care of" 12, 11

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 εὐεργεσία, "benefit", "good deed"
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 εὐτύχει, "may you prosper"
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 εὐχαριστεῖν, "to be thankful"
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 72, 2, 13; 80, 1
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 "as far as" 12, 9; etc.
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 14, 16, 23; 21, 21; 43, 26;
 44, 12, 16, 19; 74, 29
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ἱβιοβοσκός, "keeper of the sacred
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60, 2; 76, 16; 79, 13, 17 —
τὰ ἴδια, "one's own house,
premises" 44, 2 — ἐκ τοῦ
ἰδίου, "at one's own expense"
58, 12

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10; 48, 6; 55, 1

ἱερογραμματεὺς, "scribe of the
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ἱεροθύτης 14, 25 (note)

ἱερόν, "holy place", "temple" 9,
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ἱκέτης, "suppliant" 78, 4

ἱματίζειν, "to furnish with
clothing" 14, 13

ἱμάτιον, "a piece of dress", "gar-
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ἱματισμός, "clothing" 1, 4; 18,
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ἴσος, "the same" 13, 27; 21, 27;
50, 6

καθάπερ, "just as" 7, 26 — κα-
θάπερ ἐκ δίκης, "as if by
virtue of a legal sentence" i.e.
also without a court decision
10, 26; 13, 22; 14, 19; 22,
27; 36, 16; 71, 14 — καθάπερ
ἐκ δίκης κατὰ νόμον τέλος
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er" 33, 2; 35, 22; 37, 23; 58,
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tune moment" 14, 30; 17, 15;
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κακουργία, "villainy", "malprac-
tices" 68, 11

κακοῦργος, "malefactor", "crimi-
nal" 75, 6

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κάμηλος, "camel" 47, 2, 4

κανηφόρος: a priestess (κανηφο-
ρεῖν, "to carry the sacred basket
in a procession") 11, 2

κατα- "downwards"; frequently
"down the river", "downstream";
but 16, 97 note and 52, 13
note: "hither", "towards a place"

κατά (with gen.), "against", "con-
cerning"

— (with acc.), "in" (written in a
contract); "in accordance with",
"according to"; "for", "for the
purpose of" — *distributively*
κατ' ὄνομα, "individually";
κατ' οἰκίαν, "house-to-house";
καθ' ἡμέραν, "daily" or "for
every day"; κατ' ἔφοδον, "for
every claim"; etc.

καταβαίνειν, "to come down-
stream" 26, 23

κατακρίνειν, "to condemn to
something" 41, 152, 228

καταλείπειν, "to bequeath" 41,
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καταχρηματισμός, "legal act"
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30, 9 — οἱ κατασχόντες,
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κατοικεῖν, "to dwell" 7, 23; 16,
91 — "to settle in" 4, 6
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κατοχή, "possession" 57, 21
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= *bonorum possessio* (p. 138);
cf. διακατοχή
κάτω, "downwards": see τοπαρ-
χία
κελεύειν, "to order" 50, 4; 53,
22; "to allow" 48, 17; 77, 5
— κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα, "in
accordance with the orders" 33,
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(opp. interest) 19, 12; 21, 8;
31, 10, 13, 17, 24; 37, 17;
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κληρονομία, "inheritance" 50, 8,
11, 33; 76, 14, 27
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κλήρος κατοικικός (cf. p. 9):
estate originally assigned to a
military colonist (κάτοικος)
37, 10, 13; 51, 15; 58, 7, 8
κοινός, "common", "mutual" 1,
5; 35, 10 — κοινῶς, "together"
14, 30
κόλλημα: sheet of a τόμος συγ-
κολλησίμος 61, k; 63, 1; per-
haps 13, 1
κοπρία, "rubbish-heap" (where
children were exposed) 17, 7;
41, 115 — for copronymes, see
p. 256 (note 1)
κόπριον, "refuse" 74, 28
κοσμητεύειν, "to hold the office
of κοσμητής" 45, 1
κοσμητής: leader of the ephebes
κοσμητικός, "of a κοσμητής" 16,

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κόσμια, "ornaments" 52, 14
κόσμος, "ornaments" 1, 4;
"honour" 65, 11
κοτύλη: a liquid measure 13, 11
κράτιστος = *egregius*; of persons
48, 1; of the town council 44,
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κριθή, "barley" 34, 10; 52, 11
κρίνειν, "to judge", "to decide"
6, 5; 8, 207, 219; 14, 30; 17,
34 — "to declare guilty" 14, 24
κρίσις, "lawsuit" 8, 218
κριτής, "judge" 28, 11, 12
κρύπτειν, "to hide" 5, 9
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etary rights" 66, 25
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25, 3; etc.; the Prefect 17, 34;
61, d (= *dominus*); 63, 5; the
dux 75, 17; a military com-
mander 75, 19 — epithet of a
god 39, 6; of God 69, 5
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63, 5; μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεῖ-
νος "acting with so-and-so as
her guardian" 13, 3, 4, 31, 35;
14, 3; 27, 8 (note); 31, 7, 31;
32, 6, 38; 35, 7; 36, 5, 23;
37, 7; 46, 9 — χωρὶς κυρίου
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— "having power" — of persons
(with part.) "entitled" 1, 15 —
of contracts "valid", "having ef-
fect", "effective" 1, 14; 21, 28;
27, 21; 60, 13; 73, 12; 74,
31; 76, 22; 79, 31
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lage" 76, 6, 25
κώμη, "village" 9, 15; etc.
κωμογραμματεία: district of a
κωμογραμματεὺς 34, 9

κωμογραμματεὺς, "village scribe" 11 (note 11); 34, 2, 23; 42, 1; 51, 5, 22; 53, 7, 23
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λαμπρός, "illustrious"; λαμπρότατος = *clarissimus*; of persons: 48, 4 (note 1); 49, 8; 73, 1; 74, 2; 76, 1 (twice); 80, 2 — of the town Oxyrhynchos, λαμπρά καὶ λαμπροτάτη: 74, 4-5; λαμπρά 79, 10

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λίψ, "west" 4 (map); 64, 3 (τοπαρχία) — in descriptions of neighbours of a house or plot of land: λιβός (gen.), "to the west" 11, 6; 19, 5; 36, 21

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μακάριος, "happy" 26, 7 — "blessed" (deceased) 79, 16, 33

μακροπρόσωπος, "with a long face" 11, 4

μάλιστα, "most of all", "above all" 6, 10

μανθάνειν, "to learn" 77, 5

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μερίς, "part" — of a town 11, 5 — of the Arsinoïte nome; see Map II (p. 307): ἡ Ἡρακλείδου, ἡ Θεμιστου, ἡ Πολέμωνος μερίς

μέρος, "share", "portion", "part" 35, 10, 15; 36, 19, 29; 37, 14; 50, 8, 11 (etc.); 66, 20, 32 — ἐπὶ τι μέρος, "in part" 19, 4, 5, 6 (twice) — ἐξ ἴσου μέρους, "in equal portions" 50, 6

μέσος, "middle" — μέση μερίς, the "centre" of a town 11, 5 — "of middling size" 11, 3

μετά (with gen.), "with", "together with", μετὰ τοῦ (subst. inf.)

— (with acc.), "after"

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 ὑπάρχειν, "to be" 3, col. 25, 9;
 4, 7 — ὑπάρχειν (with dat.)
 "to belong to" 10, 25; 11, 4;
 19, 2; 20, 7, 17; 27, 12, 14;
 36, 18, 28; 42, 41; 51, 13;
 55, 9; 58, 6; 74, 11 — τὰ
 ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ, "his belong-
 ings", "his property" 14, 18;
 22, 26; 31, 19, 29; 49, 10;
 71, 14 — τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
 αὐτοῦ 13, 22; 36, 16 —
 ὑπάρχοντα 28, 7; 53, 9; 61,
 d, e
 ὑπατεία, "consulship" (p. 36) 71,
 15; 72, 11; 74, 1; 75, 21; 76,
 1; 79, 4 — μετὰ τὴν ὑπα-
 τείαν (p. 36-37) 73, 1 (note);
 cf. no. 72, 11 (note)
 ὑπατος, "consul" (p. 36) 50, 29,
 33; 61, f; 63, 9
 ὑπέρ (with gen.), "over"; "on
 behalf of", "instead of"; "for",
 "for the purpose of"; "concern-
 ing", ὑπὲρ τοῦ (subst. inf.) —
 to write "instead of" an illiterate
 person, ἀγράμματος (no. 72,
 16) not able to write, μὴ εἰδέ-
 ναι γράμματα (see εἰδέναι)
 — (with acc.) "exceeding", "be-

yond"
 ὑπερετής, "beyond the years"
 43, 10 (note)
 ὑπέρθεσις, "delay" — ἀνευ
 ὑπερθέσεως, "without delay"
 22, 19; 31, 15; cf. ἀνυπερ-
 θέτως
 ὑπό (with gen.) "by"; (with dat. or
 acc.) "under": under one's com-
 mand
 ὑπογράφειν, "to write under", "to
 subjoin" 76, 7; 79, 17
 ὑπογραφεύς: one who writes a
 subscription to a contract on
 behalf of another 20, 14; 32,
 31; 36, 22
 ὑπογραφή, "subscription" (p. 112
 and 115) 6, 8 (note); 73, 12
 ὑποθήκη, "pledge", "mortgage"
 19, 22; 41, 227
 ὑποκεῖσθαι, "to be mentioned
 below (in the text)" 9, 20 —
 (with dat.) "to be subject to"
 81, 12
 ὑπόμνημα, "application" 59, 13
 ὑπομνηματισμοί, "minutes", "of-
 ficial diary" 17, 1; 48, 1
 ὑποτελής: farmer of a royal
 monopoly 8, 210 (note)
 ὑποτίθεσθαι, "to mortgage"
 36, 18; 50, 10
 ὑφαίνειν, "to weave" 18, 4
 φαίνεσθαι, "to appear" 78, 12
 — (with part.) "to appear hav-
 ing" 6, 6; 81, 9 — φαίνεται
 (with inf.), "it appears that" 17,
 29 — φαίνεται μοι, "it seems
 good to me", "I decide" 17, 33;
 58, 17; 67, 21
 φανερός, "manifest" 13, 16
 (note) — φ. ποιεῖν, "to make
 something known" 29 I, 17;
 44, 3
 φάσκειν, "to say", "to assert" 6,
 2; 57, 14; 78, 3; φάμενος,
 "saying" 5, 9; 42, 32, 38
 φερνή, "dowry" 1, 11; 14, 8, 12,
 16, 24, 28; 32, 22, 39

φθείρειν, "to spoil", "to ruin" 13, 13; 14, 22
 φιλανθρωπία, "benevolence", "humanity" 75, 13
 φίλος, "friend" 39, 20; 45, 2; 50, 39; 78, 6
 φοινικῶν, "palm-grove" 50, 22
 φόρος, "rent" 67, 9
 φροντίς, "care" 50, 23; "command" 75, 8
 φυλάσσειν, "to keep" (documents) 1, 16; 17, 21; "to preserve" 29, I, 13
 φυσικός, "natural" 76, 8
 χαίρειν — in the opening formula of letters, reports, agreements, etc. χαίρειν (sc. λέγει) "greetings" 5, 1; 12, 3; etc.
 χάρις, "gratitude" 16, 11; 65, 26; 75, 19
 χεῖρ, "hand" 22, 9, 11; 27, 13; 32, 8; 36, 5; 67, 25
 — διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου, "from hand to hand, out of the debtor's house": by direct payment, cash (not by banker's order) 13, 17; 14, 8; 19, 8; 20, 12; 31, 9, 23; 36, 8 — διὰ χειρός, "from hand to hand" 71, 5
 — "handwriting" 39, 16; 50, 24, 31; τῇ ἰδίᾳ μου χειρί, "in my own hand" 50, 40; ἰδίᾳ χειρί 79, 18
 χειρογράφεῖν, "to report in writing" — to declare on oath and report this in writing: 17, 30
 χιάζειν, "to cross out", "to cancel" (a document) 21, 16 (note)
 χμγ: see no. 77, 6 (note)
 χορηγεῖν, "to supply", "to furnish" 7, 25; 13, 24 — "to furnish means" 4, 5
 χορηγία, "supplies" 7, 22
 χρᾶν, "to furnish", "to lend" 24, 5 — χρῆσθαι (with dat.), "to use" 41, 97; 68, 11; 74, 24
 χρεία, "need" 55, 6 — "service" 53, 15 (public service); 80, 3

(the cook's service)
 χρήμα — χρήματα, "money" 7, 25; 50, 25; "things" 44, 6
 χρηματίζειν, "to deal with" (a contract) i.e. either "to draw up" or "to register" 10, 27; 11, 10 — "to act" 65, 7 — ἡμέρα χρηματίζουσα, "workday" 14, 26 — "to be called", "to be styled" 41, 146; 61, 1
 χρηματισμός, "agreement" 41, 227
 χρηματιστής: Greek judge, member of a Greek court of justice 8, 214, 218
 χρήσιμος (with dat.), "useful to" 78, 12
 χρήσις, "loan" 31, 9, 12, 23; 36, 9
 χρόνος, "time" 10, 17; "date" 18, 3 — ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, "forever" 19, 2, 9 — πολλῶ χρόνῳ, "for a long time" 57, 31; πολλοῖς χρόνοις 68, 12 — ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι, "the old calendar": see ἀρχαῖος
 — "period" 54, 6; 57, 14 — ἐπὶ χρόνον, "for the period (of)" 13, 7; 18, 6, 11; 21, 14; 45, 4; 74, 8 — ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου, "at the end of the period" 45, 9 — ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, "before the end of the period" 13, 19, 26; 45, 11, 13 — μετὰ τὸν χρόνον, "after the fixed period" 45, 13; 58, 16; 67, 18; 74, 26
 χρυσοῖ, "gold pieces" 39, 10
 χώρα, "Egypt" 8, 217, 220
 χωρίς (with gen.), "apart from" 21, 21; 45, 6; χωρὶς τοῦ (subst. inf.) — "without" 41, 228; 78, 9; χωρὶς κυρίου, "without a guardian" 65, 6
 ὠνή, "purchase" 11, 8, 11; 41, 227; 57, 15 — contract for the farming of taxes 3, col. 25, 1, 5, 16

ὥρα, "hour" (p. 34) **15**, 7;
 "fitting time", "season" **3**, col.
 25, 16
 ὥς (with part.), "as if" (a legal
 fiction) **1**, 14; **27**, 22; **76**, 16,
 18 — ὥς ἄν "as if" (irrealis)

7, 22
 ὥς (with numerals), "about" **30**,
 6; ὥς (ἐτῶν) λ, "approximately
 30 years old" **11**, 7 (note); etc.

THE PRINCIPLE OF ALPHABETIZATION

In the preceding "Glossary" the words are arranged, of course, in alphabetic order. The usefulness of such a system is so obvious to us that it is difficult to understand how in Pharaonic Egypt the elaborate registers could be made and consulted without the help of an alphabetic order.

Alphabetization was first in history put to effective use in the third century B.C. At Alexandria scholars adopted the principle of alphabetization for cataloguing the enormous amount of material accumulated in the library.

The administration followed later. The earliest evidence is to be found in the archive of Menches, the *κωμογραμματεὺς* of Kerkeosiris, around 120–110 B.C. See p. 9 and nos. 8 and 9. However, the administrators of Graeco-Roman Egypt did only exceptionally use the alphabetic order, and then only according to the first or to the first two letters.

Lit.: L.W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* [Collection Latomus, Vol. XC, 1967].

I

P. Tebt. 4 1128, col. II–III; c. 115 B.C. An example from the first administrative archive showing the principle of alphabetization. A list of 52 taxpayers is arranged according to the *first letter* of their names: α, δ, ε, θ, κ, ν, ο, π, τ, φ, ω. The end of the list runs as follows.

Πετεσοκονοῦρις Κεφάλωνος		Τοθοῆς Φαγάτου
Παᾶπις Πετοσίριος	70	Φαῆσις Πετοσίριος
Ποτάμων Ἀμεννέως		Φαῆσις Πετεήσιος
Πανσίρις Πετοσίριος		Φμούεις Παθήβιος
60 Πνεφερῶς Πετεσούχου		Φαῆσις Ἀρυώτου
Πετεσοῦχος Σαραπίωνος		Φαγάτης Μικίωνος
Πορεγέβθις Ὡρου	75	Φατρῆς Πάσιτος
Πετεσοῦχος Χεύριος		Φαῆσις Ὡρου
Τεεφῖβις Χεύριος		[[Ὡρος Τιμ<ο>θείου]]
65 Χεῦρις Χεύριος		Ὡρος Πετεσούχου
[[Ταυρίσκος Ἀπολλωνίου]]		Ὡρος Πετῶτος
Τεῶς Θοτορταίου	80	Ὡρος Πετενεφειίου
Τοθοῆς Ἀγοννούφιος		

It should be noted that persons bearing the same name are not necessarily grouped together; see Φαῖσις. The name Χεῦρις presents an interesting case. It is listed with the names beginning with a τ, and this not only means that χε- is a variant of τε- (see Χεῶς — Τεῶς, p. 45) but also that the clerk considered the name as beginning with τε- even though he wrote χε-.

II

BGU 9 1892, col. II–III (A.D. 134); a list of 37 taxpayers. The text belongs to the same administrative archive as no. 41. The alphabetic order *extends to the second letter*: αἰ, ἀν, ἀπ, ἀρ, ἡρ, κρ, μα, ορ, πα, πε, πν, πρ, πτ, σα, τε, φο, ωρ. A part of the list is copied here.

- Ὀννῶ(φρις) Ὡρου
- 45 Παποντῶς ἀπ(άτωρ) μη(τρὸς) Θατρειο(ῦς)
 Παποντῶς Μίνεως
 Παπεῖς Πτολλᾶ
 Παπεῖς Παποντῶ(τος)
 Παθώτης Πεθῆῶ(ς)
- 50 Παούπης Λύκου
 Παννεφρέμμης Ἡρωνο(ς)
 Πεεναῦς Μεννέου
 Πεκῦσις Σούλεως
 Πνεφε(ρῶς) Ὀννώφρεω(ς)
- 55 Πνεφε(ρῶς) Μαρρείο(υς)
 Πνεφε(ρῶς) το(ῦ) Τεῶ(τος)
 Πνεφε(ρῶς) νεώ(τερος) Μαρρείο(υς)
 Πρόκλο(ς) Ποσιδῶ(νίου)
 Πρεῖμο(ς) Τεσέν(ούφεως)
- 60 Πτολ(εμαῖος) Διοδῶ(ρου)

One notices that in this system persons bearing the same name are grouped together; see e.g. Πνεφερῶς. Most persons are listed with their father's name, but Παποντῶς ἀπάτωρ (p. 227, note 1) with the name of his mother.

GEOGRAPHY*

- Ἀβρόχου ἐποίκιον "farmstead of Abrochos", a hamlet in the vicinity of
 *Herakleia [map II, B2] 58, 3.
- * Ἀγκυρῶν πόλις (*Hibeh*) [map III, B1] "town of the anchor-stones", in the nome of *Herakleouspolis [map I, B2].
- * Ἀλεξάνδρεια [map I, A1] 12, 10; 57, 8; cf. 13, 14, 16, 38, 39.
 Ἀλσους ὄρμος "harbour of the 'Sacred Grove' (ἄλσος)", harbour of *Arsinoe [map II, C2] in the Arsinoïte nome 60, 4.
- * Ἀνταίου πόλις [map I, B3] "town of (the Egyptian god) Antaios" 60, 1.
- * Ἀντινόου πόλις [map I, B3] "town of (the divinized) Antinoos" 44, 1; cf. 68, p. 146, 156 and 185.
 Ἀπολλωνοπολίτης Ἑπτακωμία, the nome of Apollonospolis *Heptakomia [map I, B3] 30, 2.
- * Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις [map I, B4] "town of Apollo (= the Egyptian god Horos)"; cf. 25.
 Ἀρεως κώμη "village of (the Greek god) Ares", in the nome of *Hermoupolis [map I, B3] 77, 4, 6, 8.
- * Ἀρσινόη [map II, C2] capital of the Arsinoïte nome; cf. 46 and 50, 32; ἡ Ἀρσινόιτῶν πόλις "town of the citizens of Arsinoe" 60, 3; 73, 4; 80, 1; called Κροκοδείλων πόλις ("town of the Sacred Crocodiles") and Πτολεμαῖς Εὐεργέτις in the Ptolemaic era;
 Ἀρσινόιτης (or -εῖτης) νομός [map II] 4, 1; 29, I, 20; 35, 3; 50, 28; 54, 2; 74, 2; cf. 3, 6; divided into three districts:
 * Ἡρακλείδου μερίς "division of Herakleides" 6, 2; 20, 3; 36, 3; 48, 10.
 * Θεμίστου μερίς "division of Themistos" 22, 4; 35, 6; 51, 1; 53, 2.
 * Πολέμωνος μερίς "division of Polemon" 31, 2; 32, 3; 51, 1, 2; 53, 2.
- * Ἀρταπάτου [map III, A2].
- * Ἀφροδίτης πόλις [map II, E2]: Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης νομός 29 I, 21.
- * Ἀφροδιτώ [map I, B3]; cf. 78.
- * Βακχιάς [map II, D1].
 Βούβαστος "house of (the Egyptian goddess) Bastet", in the *division of Herakleides of the Arsinoïte nome [map II] 58, 4.
 Βουσίρις "house of (the Egyptian god) Osiris"
 *(1) in the Delta [map I, B1]; Βουσιρίτης νομός, nome of Busiris 7, 22.
 *(2) in the Herakleopolite nome [map II, D2]; cf. 13, 14.
 Βωνάφιον, in the Arsinoïte nome [map II] 58, 1.
- * Διονυσιάς [map II, A2]; 53, 4; 75, 2; cf. 73.
 Δίφρου, in the vicinity of *Tebtynis [map II, C3]: τόπος Δίφρου λεγόμενος "place called Δίφρου" 51, 16.
- * Ἐλεφαντίνη [map I, B4] 27, 7; cf. 1 and 2.

* Names marked with an asterisk are to be found on maps I-III (p. 311-315).

- * Ἑπτακωμία, the nome of Apollonospolis *Heptakomia [map I B3] 30, 2, 26; cf. 29, II.
- * Ἑρμοῦ πόλις "town of Hermes (= the Egyptian god Thot)"
- (1) in the division of Themistos of the Arsinoïte nome [map II, B2] 75, 4;
- * (2) Hermoupolis Magna [map I, B3] 81, 4; cf. 29 II, 30 and 57; Ἑρμοπολίτης νομός, nome of Hermoupolis 29 I, 23 and 77, 4.
- * Ἑσωεσώ (Egyptian name with no Greek ending; uninflected) 26, 32.
- * Εὐημέρια (or -εῖα) [map II, A2] 67, 4.
- * Ἡλίου πόλις [map I, B2] "town of Helios (= the Egyptian god Re)"; Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός, the nome of Helioupolis 4, 1.
- * Ἡράκλεια [map II, B2] 58, 7.
- * Ἡρακλείδου μερίς [map II] "division of Herakleides": the northeastern part of the Arsinoïte nome.
- * Ἡρακλέους πόλις [map I, B2 = II, C3] "town of Herakles (= the Egyptian god Harsaphes)".
- * Ἡρακλεοπολίτης νομός, the nome of *Herakleouspolis [map I, B2] 29 I, 21.
- * Θεαδέλφεια [map II, B2] 22, 4; 35, 6, 14, 21; 62, 7; cf. 41.
- * Θελβόνθον Σίφθα, in the nome of *Nikiou [map I, B1] 49, 5.
- * Θεμίστου μερίς [map II] "division of Themistos": the western part of the Arsinoïte nome.
- * Θεοξενίς, in the vicinity of *Theadelphia [map II, B2] 62, 4; 67, 2.
- * Θερήσις, in the vicinity of Θελβόνθον Σίφθα in the nome of *Nikiou [map I, B1] p. 131.
- * Θηβαίς, Southern Egypt 21, 1; 27, 3; Θηβαίων χώρα 78, 2.
- * Θῶλθις [map III, B1] 34, 2.
- * Κάνωπος [map I, A1]; cf. p. 83.
- * Καρανίς [map II, C1] 20, 3, 25; 36, 2, 11, 31; 50, 18, 28; 71, 2; 72, 2, 5; cf. 38, p. 103.
- * Κερκεοσίρις [map II, B3] "endowment of (the Egyptian god) Osiris"; cf. 8 and 9.
- * Κερκή [map II, E1], harbour of *Philadelphia.
- * Κερκήσις (or Κερκεήσις) "endowment of (the Egyptian goddess) Isis", in the vicinity of *Tebtynis [map II, C3] 51, 5, 14.
- * Κροκοδίλων πόλις "town of the (sacred) crocodiles"
- (1) the capital of the Arsinoïte nome (= Arsinoe) [map II, C2]
- (2) in the nome of *Pathyris [map I, B4] 10, 2.
- * Κυνοπολίτης νομός, the nome of *Kynonpolis [map III, B3] 29 I, 22.
- * Κυνών πόλις [map III, B3] "town of the (sacred) dogs"; it is not certain that this town was on the West bank.
- * Λαβύρινθος [map II, C2] 12, 2.
- * Λητοπολίτης νομός, the nome of *Letouspolis [map I, B2] 29, I 20.
- * Λύκων πόλις [map I, B1] "town of the (sacred) jackals" (in the Delta), in the nome of Bousiris, 7, 22.

- * Μαγδῶλα [map II, B3] "fortress", p. 80.
- * Μέμφις [map I, B2] **48**, 3.
Μεμφίτης νομός, the nome of *Memphis [map I, B2] **29** I, 20.
- * Μοιθυμῖς [map II, E2].
Μουχίναρνώ, in the *κάτω τοπαρχία of the nome of Oxyrhynchos [map III, B1] **34**, 3.
- * Ναρμοῦθις [map II, B3] **9**, 19.
- * Ναύκρατις [map I, B1].
Νεμέραι, in the *μέση τοπαρχία of the nome of Oxyrhynchos [map III, A-B2] **24**, 4.
- * Νικίου [map I, B1], capital of the Prosopite nome.
- * Ὀασίς ᾿ζ νομ(ῶν) [map I, A2], the oasis of the Heptanomia (Bahriya) **29** I, 22.
Ὀξύρυγχίτης νομός, the nome of *Oxyrhynchos [map I, B2 = III, A3] **29** I, 21; **60**, 5, 9, 12 and **80**.
- * Ὀξύρυγχος [map I, B2 = III, A3] cf. **15**, **17**, **29** I, **42**, **65**.
Ὀξύρυγχων πόλις "town of (the sacred) oxyrhynchos-fishes" **21**, 1, 3, 10; **33**, 5; **55**, 4, 20; **59**, 7; **63**, 4; **66**, 4; ἢ Ὀξύρυγχιτῶν (or -ειτῶν) πόλις "the town of the citizens of Oxyrhynchos" **45**, 1 (and note); **59**, 4 (and note); **61**, d = *civitas oxyrynchitarum*; **74**, 5 and **79**, 10, 18.
- * Παθῦρις [map I, B4] "the house of (the Egyptian goddess) Hathor" **10**, 5, 8; **11**, 2, 5; Παθυρίτης νομός, the nome of Pathyris **10**, 3.
- * Πακέρκη [map III, B3].
- * Παλῶσις [map III, B2].
- * Πέλα [map III, A3].
- * Πέτνη [map III, B2].
- * Πηλούσιον [map I, B1]; cf. p. 156.
- * Πισαίς [map II, B2], an ἐποίκιον (farmstead, hamlet) in the vicinity of *Herakleia; the Egyptian name of this hamlet also occurs without a Greek ending: Πεισαι **58**, 5.
- * Πολέμωνος μερίς [map II] "division of Polemon": the southern part of the Arsinoite nome.
Προσωπίτης νομός, the nome of *Nikiou [map I, B1] **49**, 2.
Πτολεμαίς
 - *(1) in the Thebaïs [map I, B3];
 - (2) Πτολεμαίς Εὐεργέτις, capital of the Arsinoite nome; see *Ἀρσινόη [map II, C2] **9**, 12;
 - *(3) Πτολεμαίς Ὀρμου [map II, D2], in full Πτολεμαίς ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρμου "Ptolemais which is at the harbour" **12**, 9.
- * Ῥαφία [map I, C1] p. 83.

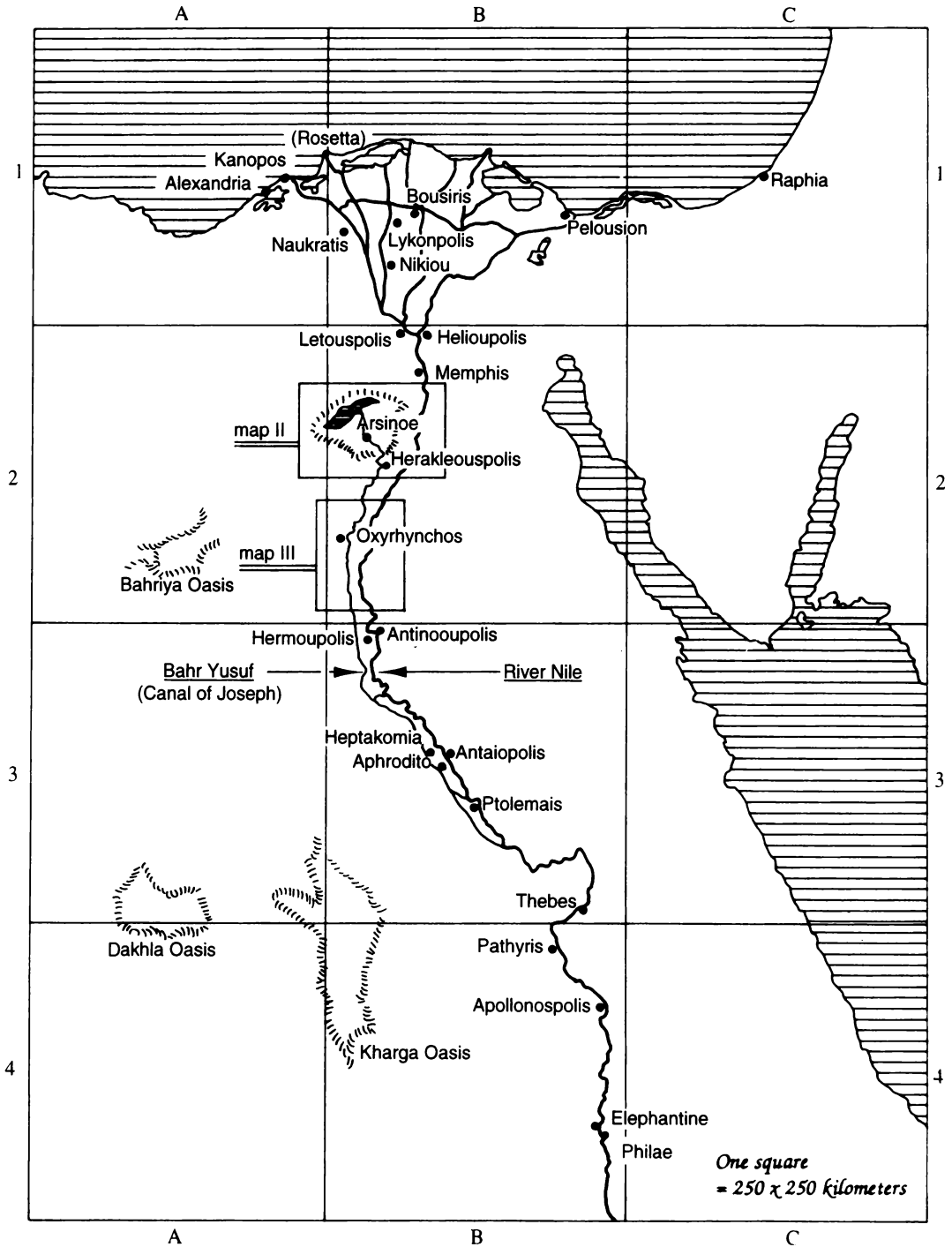
- * Σενεκελεύ [map III, A2].
- * Σενοκώμις [map III, A3].
- * Σερῦφις [map III, A3] 64, 4.
- * Σιναρύ [map III, B1] 55, 10.
- * Σοκνοπαίου Νῆσος [map II, B1] "island of (the Egyptian god) Soknopaios" 47, 1; cf. 23 and 48; plan of the town, p. 191.
- Στρουθός ("sparrow"), in the vicinity of *Karanis [map II, C1]: τόπος λεγομένου Στρουθός, "place called Strouthos" 50, 19.

- * Τααμπεμοῦ [map III, B3].
- * Τακόνα [map III, B1].
- * Ταλαώ [map III, B1].
- * Ταμπετί [map III, B2].
- * Τεβτῦνις (or Τεπ-) [map II, C3] 18, 7, 12; 19, 3; 31, 2; 32, 3; 37, 7, 10; 51, 5; cf. 8, 9, 44.
- * Τερῦθις [map III, B2].
- Τῆις, in the *Θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχία of the Oxyrhynchite nome [map III, A-B2] 43, 4, 11.
- Τόκα, in the *μέση τοπαρχία of the Oxyrhynchite nome [map III, A-B2] 24, 3.

- * Φθῶχις [map III, A3].
- * Φιλαδελφεία [map II, D1] 39, 30; 40, 22; 52, 3; cf. 5, 16; called κώμη τῆς Φιλαδέλφου "village of (queen Arsinoë II) Philadelphos" 4, 1.
- * Φίλαι [map I, B4].
- Φιλωτερίς
 - (1) in the *division of Herakleides of the Arsinoïte nome [map II] 6, 2;
 - *(2) [map II, A2], in the division of Themistos of the Arsinoïte nome, 53, 6, 10, 23.

- * Χῦσις [map III, A4].

- * Ψενῦρις [map II, C2] "the well of (the Egyptian god) Horos".
- * Ψῶβθις, in the Oxyrhynchite nome
 - (1) in the κάτω τοπαρχία [map III, B1];
 - (2) in the ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχία [map III, B3].



THE FAYUM

The Fayum is an oasis, surrounded by hills in the desert south-west of Memphis (the word *θασις* goes back to the Egyptian word *wh3.t*, "cauldron" which in fact was also used to designate oases because of the hollow shape of this kind of depressions in the desert).

One could gain access to the Fayum through the desert and from the Nile valley: through the desert for instance via *Soknopaiou Nesos* (B2; see no. 47) and from the Nile valley either across the hills between *Philadelphia* (D1) and *Kerke* (E1) which actually was the harbour of *Philadelphia*, or through the gorge in the south-east (C2-D3).

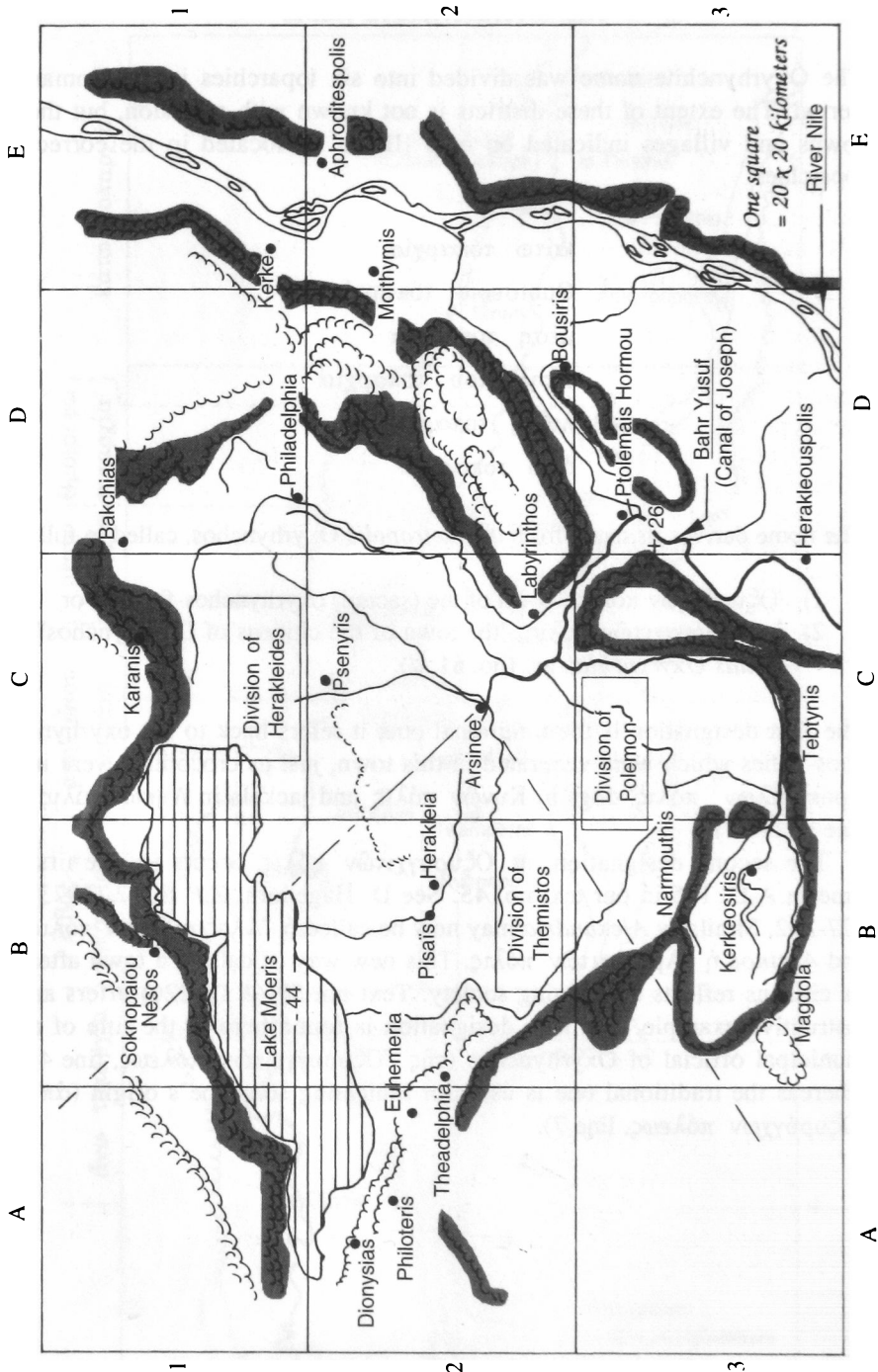
The bottom of this "cauldron" slopes from 26 meters near *Ptolemaïs Hormou* at the entrance, to 44 meters below sea level at Lake Moeris in the north-west. As the mean slope of the land from the gorge to the lake is 1.80 metres per kilometre, most of the canals are not navigable.

The Fayum receives water through the "canal of Joseph" (Bahr Yusuf), which is actually not a canal but a branch of the Nile (see Map I). The area abounded in water and crocodiles; the latter were venerated as sacred animals in the entire Fayum. By building sluices in the gorge the people had already regulated the watersupply in Pharaonic times, but it was Ptolemy II Philadelphos who actually undertook the development of the whole region. He dedicated it to his sister, queen Arsinoë, whose name was given to the entire nome. In her capacity of "sister" she also gave her name to a number of newly founded towns such as *Philadelphia* (D1) and *Theadelphia* (B2). Marshland was reclaimed and dry land was irrigated. This resulted in a very fertile area which was admired by Strabo (17 1.35).

Although Ptolemy II reduced the area of Lake Moeris, it was larger in his time than it is nowadays. The lake probably reached in the south-east the villages *Pisais*, *Herakleia* and *Psenyris*. The development of new land was achieved by granting parcels of land in "fief" to military colonists. For the same scope a large estate was temporarily assigned by Ptolemy II to his "prime minister" Apollonios near *Philadelphia* (D1; see no. 4).

In the course of the third century A.D. some of this reclaimed land had to be given up because it became silted or covered with sand; several border towns like *Soknopaiou Nesos* (B1) and *Theadelphia* (B2) were depopulated in the third and the fourth century.

The Arsinoïte nome was divided into three districts (μερίδες); they were called after the person who was actually in charge of the area in the third century B.C. when they were created: the districts of Πολέμων, Ἡρακλείδης and Θέμιστος (for the latter name see J. Bingen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 62, 1987, p. 234-239).



THE OXYRHYNCHITE NOME

The Oxyrhynchite nome was divided into six toparchies in the Roman period. The extent of these districts is not known with precision, but the towns and villages indicated on map III are all located in the correct toparchies:

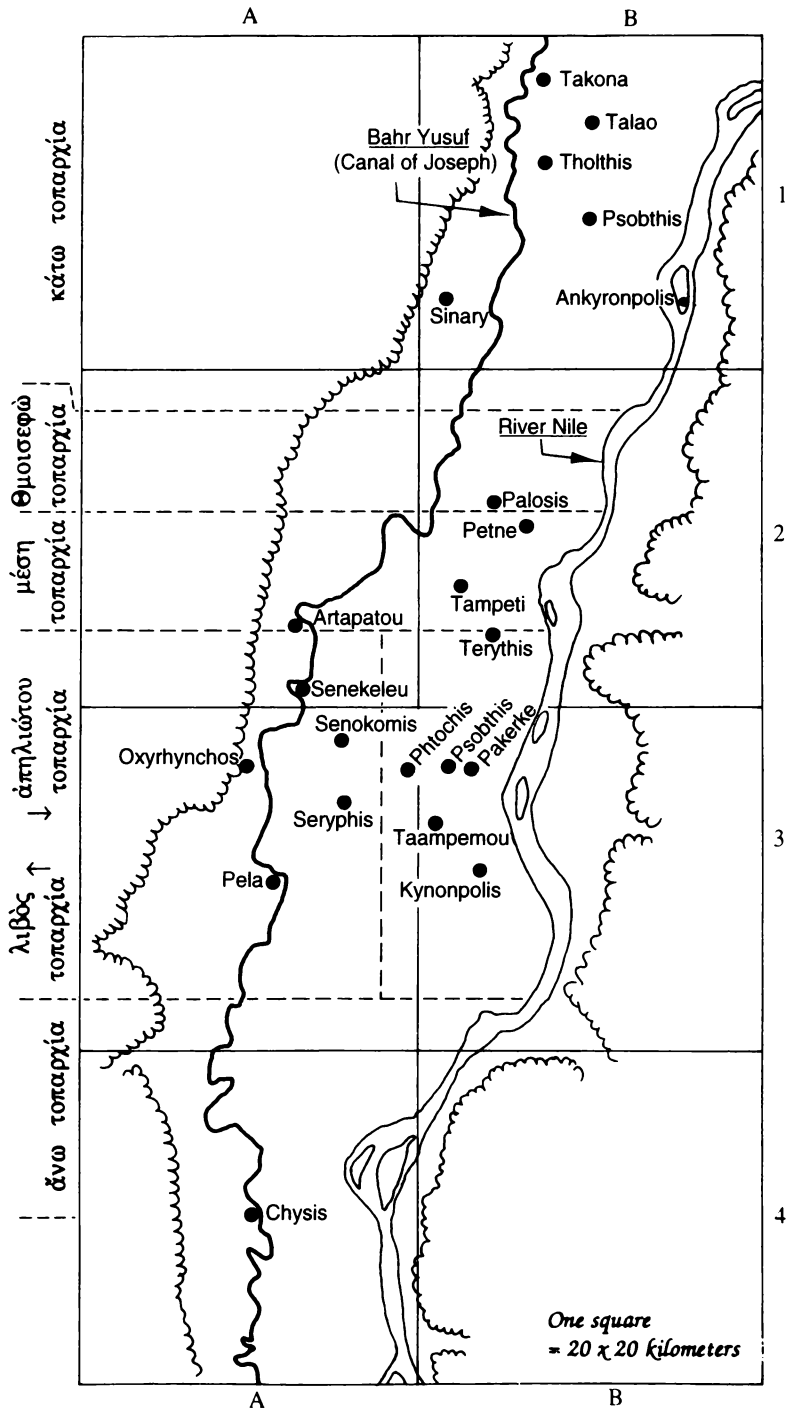
κάτω τοπαρχία
 Θμοισεφὸ τοπαρχία
 μέση τοπαρχία
 ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχία
 λιβὸς τοπαρχία
 ἄνω τοπαρχία

The nome derives its name from the *metropolis* Oxyrhynchos, called in full:

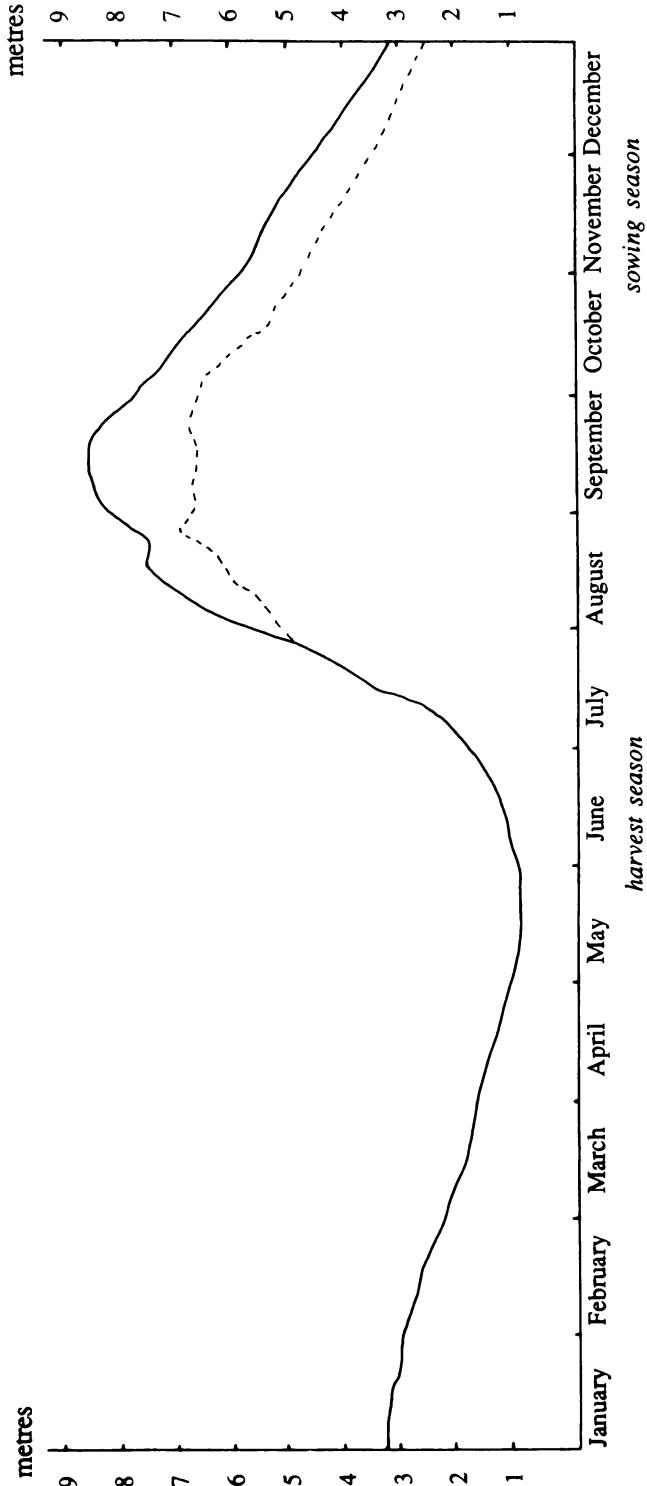
- 1) Ὁξύρυγχων πόλις, "town of the (sacred) oxyrhynchos-fishes"; or
- 2) ἡ Ὁξύρυγχιτῶν πόλις, "the town of the citizens of Oxyrhynchos", *civitas Oxyrynchitarum* (no. 61, d).

The first designation is the traditional one; it refers back to the oxyrhynchos-fishes which were venerated in this town, just as crocodiles were in Κροκοδίων πόλις, dogs in Κυνῶν πόλις and jackals in Λύκων πόλις (see p. 29-31).

The second designation, ἡ Ὁξύρυγχιτῶν πόλις, occurs for the first time in A.D. 155 in our text no. 45. See D. Hagedorn, *Z.P.E.* 12 (1973) 277-292. Similarly *Alexandria* may now be called ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις and *Arsinoe* ἡ Ἀρσινόιτων πόλις. This new way of calling a town after its citizens reflects a changing society. Text no. 59 (A.D. 226) offers an instructive example. The new designation is found here in the title of a municipal official of Oxyrhynchos (τῆς Ὁξύρυγχειτῶν πόλεως, line 4) whereas the traditional one is used for indicating someone's origin (ἀπ' Ὁξύρυγχων πόλεως, line 7).



LEVELS OF THE NILE IN THE COURSE OF A YEAR AT ELEPHANTINE



— Mean level of 10 years, 1874 to 1883
- - - Low level of 1877; famine in Egypt

W. Willcocks, *Egyptian Irrigation* (1889) pl. IV

NAMES OF MONTHS IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

	<i>Egyptian</i>	<i>Macedonian</i>	<i>Roman</i>
29 VIII - 27 IX	Θώθ	Διος	Σεβαστός (or Γερμανικός)
28 IX - 27 X	Φαώφι	Ἀπελλαῖος	—
28 X - 26 XI	Ἀθύρ	Αὐδναῖος	Νέος Σεβαστός (or Δομυτιανός)
27 XI - 26 XII	Χοϊακ	Περίτιος	Νερώνειος (or Ἀδριανός)
27 XII - 25 I	Τῷβι	Δύστηρος	—
26 I - 24 II	Μεχείρ	Ξανδικός	—
25 II - 26 III	Φαμενώθ	Ἀρτεμῖσιος	—
27 III - 25 IV	Φαρμοῦθι	Δαΐσιος	—
26 IV - 25 V	Παχών	Πάνεμος	Γερμανικεῖος
26 V - 24 VI	Παῦνι	Λαῖσιος	Σωτήριος
25 VI - 24 VII	Ἐπίφ	Γορπαῖος	—
25 VII - 23 VIII	Μεσορή	Ὑπέρβερεταῖος	Καϊσάρειος
24 VIII - 28 VIII	αἰ ἐπαγόμεναι	—	—

AGRICULTURAL YEAR

Sept.	The Nile flood peaks and begins to fall. The vintage is completed. Dates are picked.
Oct.	The Nile flood is past. Sowing of cereal crops begins. Olives are gathered. The harvest of dates is at its peak.
Nov.	Sowing of cereals continues, cultivation begins. Olives and some dates are gathered.
Dec.	Cultivation continues. Olives are gathered.
Jan.	The olive harvest ends. The new growing season of vines and olives begins.
Feb.	Preparations are begun for the grain harvest.
March	Preparations continue.
April	The grain harvest begins.
May	Harvesting continues, threshing begins.
June	Rise of the Nile begins. Harvesting of cereal crops ends, threshing continues.
July	The Nile, accelerating its rise, enters the flood stage. Threshing ends.
August	The Nile approaches full flood. The vintage begins.
August	

(N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 115-116)

SYMBOLS

L	ἔτος, ἔτους, etc.
∫	ἔτος, ἔτους, etc.
⊥	δραχμή, δραχμῆς, etc.
— ο	ἀρτάβη, ἀρτάβης, etc.

EGYPTIAN SIGNS USED IN GREEK PAPYRI

/	γίνεται, γίνονται
∟	ὦν, ἀφ' ὦν and similar

P. Lugd. Bat. 20, p. 76

CHRISTIAN SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

+	ⱦ	✠	χμγ	ϥθ
---	---	---	-----	----

(see p. 32)

OTHER SIGNS

X	space filler (no. 28, 5)
∴	in the address on the back of letters (p. 173)
—	paragraphos (p. 91, note 26; p. 174, intr.)
⏏	forked paragraphos (p. 128)
•	the beginning of the ὑπογραφή (p. 112)

CRITICAL SIGNS (p. 15)

[]	lacuna
< >	omission in the original
[]	deletion in the original
()	resolution of a symbol or abbreviation
{ }	cancelled by the editor of the text
\ /	interlinear addition
αβγδ	uncertain letters
.....	illegible letters

NUMBERS

α - 1	ι - 10	ρ - 100	'A - 1000
β - 2	κ - 20	σ - 200	'B - 2000
γ - 3	λ - 30	τ - 300	etc.
δ - 4	μ - 40	υ - 400	
ε - 5	ν - 50	φ - 500	
*ζ - 6	ξ - 60	χ - 600	
ζ - 7	ο - 70	ψ - 700	
η - 8	π - 80	ω - 800	
θ - 9	*ϙ - 90	*Ϡ - 900	

for example:

'Bφμα = 2541

*	6	στίγμα	ζ
	90	κόππα	ϙ
	900	σαμπῖ	Ϡ

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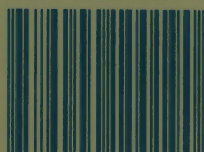
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