

IX.—Parerga Papyrologica

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This paper consists of five palaeographic and philological notes on papyri and ostraca: (1) *O. Mich.* 1.253, of which a new and complete text is provided; (2) Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed., 171, 20, in which a new reading of the third line permits a reconstruction of some sociological interest; (3) *P. Gen.* 46, an acknowledgment of debt from the Abinnaeus archive, in which *ητιδανδης* and *σενε* are explained for the first time; (4) *P. Oxy.* 12.1488, which is shown to have the verb *πατίζω*, attested only twice elsewhere in papyri; (5) *P. Iand.* Inv. 501, of which a new interpretation is offered on the basis of parallel documents.

1. *O. Mich.* 1.253

This ostrakon bears a brief receipt of eight short lines, written on May 22, 302 A.D. A slanting break has damaged the first five lines, removing from one to eight letters along the left side.¹ The problem of reconstruction is complicated by the writer's use of a rapid and uneven script, especially on the upper half of the ostrakon. As if these difficulties were not sufficient, his command of orthography proves to be most uncertain.² In the face of a three-fold obstacle of this magnitude within the space of five lines, the editor's chance of success is seriously reduced. Nevertheless, Amundsen's reading is almost letter-perfect, so far as it goes, and as such it becomes the indispensable basis of any revision.³ His text may be repeated here with profit.

.....]τορας
].αγνηοδο
]ενουθη...
 ..]γανιδας
 δ]ύο, γ(ίνονται) β. 'Ηρακλεί-
 δης σηση(μείωμαι).
 (ἔτους) ιη' και ιζ' και ις'
 Παχών κζ.

¹ This follows Amundsen's calculation of the losses, which my reconstruction shows to be sound.

² This fact is implicit in Amundsen's transcription of the second line, which is essentially correct, and I have taken full advantage of the situation in my restoration of that line as well as of line 3.

³ For readers who are interested in critical method and its operation in the study of papyri, the dependence of my reconstruction on Amundsen's transcript will be a guarantee of its worth. Cf. my remarks in *TAPhA* 73 (1942) 65 and n. 5.

The date is preserved in the last two lines of the text. The regnal year embraces the two Augusti and the two Caesars: year 18 of Diocletian = year 17 of Maximian = year 10 of Constantius and Galerius. This is preceded by the signature of the collector, a certain Heraklides, and the words immediately before his name provide the information that the receipt covers two γανίδες. This word occurs only here and in *O. Mich.* 1.254, and Amundsen rightly refers to the related forms — γᾶν and γάνδιον — in Hesychius. The lexicographer defines γᾶν as an ἀγγεῖον σκύφω παραπλήσιον and γάνδιον as a κιβώτιον.⁴ All three words, then, designate containers or measures of some kind.⁵ Neither 253 nor 254 tells us what the containers held, if anything.

Above this point the text becomes meaningless. Amundsen has recognized that the remnant in line 1 is part of a personal name,⁶ and he suggests that some such verb as παρέδωκε has been lost at the beginning of the line. Beyond that he does not go, except to imply that No. 253 ought to follow, more closely than it seems to, the pattern of its companion text, No. 254. This is a reasonable expectation, but in the event it finds only disappointment.

Fortunately, an excellent photograph of the ostrakon, which we owe to the skill of the late Mr. G. R. Swain,⁷ yields a clue to the meaning of the ostrakon. At the end of line 2, the photograph has either δρ or διο; a very thin line of ink runs downward from the right side of δ. With |ενου in the following line, the choice between δρ and διο is not hard to make. As a working hypothesis we are entitled to accept Διο[κλητι]ενοῦ = Διοκλητιανοῦ. And there is more. The ο before δ is seen to run off into a mark of abbreviation that loses itself in the upper part of δ. The three letters left unread by Amundsen at the end of line 3 are more sharply delineated on the photograph than they would be on the ostrakon.⁸ The ink that

⁴ For these definitions reference may now be made also to *LSJ*, where they are quoted from Hesychius.

⁵ *LSJ, Addenda et Corrigenda*, cites only *O. Mich.* 1.254 for γανίς, "an Egyptian measure."

⁶ It is listed in his index of personal names, p. 208.

⁷ The study of the Michigan ostraca will always be under a debt to Mr. Swain; his death has meant an incalculable loss in the material resources available to papyrology in Ann Arbor. Cf. my remarks in *TAPhA* 73 (1942) 65; *CPh* 39 (1944) 28, no. 1.

⁸ The majority of the ostraca edited by Amundsen in *O. Mich.* 1 are not now available for study in this country; they were returned some time ago to the Egyptian Museum at Cairo (*ibid.*).

formed the first of these letters has almost entirely vanished, leaving only an outline, and the other two consequently are not easy to recognize although they are well preserved. They can, however, be identified from the photograph, without reservation, as *λεν*. If we now combine these various observations with the results already obtained by Amundsen, a new and more secure text emerges.

[παρέδ(ωκε) Κασ]τοράς
 [ὑπέρ το(ῦ)] ταμυή(ο) Διο-
 [κλητι]ενοῦ θη(σαυροῦ) Λευ-
 [κογ(ίου)] γανίδας
 [δ]ύο, γ(ινονται) β. Ἡρακλεί-
 δης σεση(μείωμαι).
 (ἔτους) ιη καὶ ιζ καὶ ις'
 Παχών κζ.

1. [παρέδ(ωκε)]: for this abbreviation see *O. Mich.* 1.273, 284, 287–290. Amundsen suggested this verb, *exempli gratia*; it is most frequently used in the Karanis *corvée* receipts,⁹ but also twice in other types (1.57, delivery of empty jars; 258, of doors). If like the empty jars in No. 57 the γανίδες were collected for their own sake, παρέδωκε is an apt word for the purpose. If they were regarded as measures containing grain or chaff, more likely expressions are μεμέτρηκε¹⁰ and παρήνεγκε.¹¹ Mention of the granary of Leukogion (lines 3–4) suggests delivery from Karanis to the harbor of Leukogion, as in *O. Mich.* 1.524–526, 532, 541, 545, where μετέβαλε is the verb and the harbor of Leukogion the destination.¹² Nevertheless, No. 254, in which the ἐπιμελητής θησαυρῶν Λευκογίου acknowledges receipt of one γανίς, uses παρέλαβον, and this corresponds nicely to παρέδωκε.

Κασ]τοράς: this restoration takes advantage of Amundsen's text, but is only illustrative; γ in place of τ cannot be excluded from consideration. Such old Greek names as Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, and Protagoras are found in the larger towns as late as the third and fourth centuries A.D.¹³ They are not known at Karanis, and this fact naturally has weight in the choice of a reading. Kastor, on the other hand, was a favorite name at Karanis.¹⁴

2. ταμυή(ο) = ταμείον, "fiscus." The τ is only partly preserved

⁹ *O. Mich.* 1.272–293; 2.809–817, 819–825, 828.

¹⁰ Regularly used of grain; for references see index of words in *O. Mich.* 1 and 2, s.v. μετρέω.

¹¹ Regularly used of chaff; *ibid.* s.v. παραφέρω.

¹² Cf. Amundsen, *O. Oslo*. pp. 53 f. Other receipts which use μετέβαλε have the harbor of Kerke as destination: *O. Mich.* 1.506, 515, 521, 522, 527, 528.

¹³ E.g., *P. Lips.* 101.22; *P. Flor.* 1.64.64; *P. Giss.* 100.9.

¹⁴ See the indexes to *O. Mich.* 1, *P. Mich.* 4 and 6. So far as I know, Kastoras is not attested for Karanis. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922), lists one example from the Fayyum (*BGU* 2.285.ii.1) and another from a place unknown (*P. Lond.* 2.266 [p. 234] 21).

but is guaranteed by the context. With the spelling compare *ταμιῆον* on a Ptolemaic ostrakon.¹⁵

2-3. *Διο[κλητι]ενοῦ* = *Διοκλητιανοῦ*. The *ε*, which I mark as doubtful, is awkwardly made and was perhaps intended for *α*. The restoration consists of five letters instead of the four indicated by Amundsen, but the difference is not significant since one of them is *ι*. 3. *θη(σαυροῦ)*: a frequent abbreviation. See, e.g., *O. Mich.* 1, p. 125.

3-4. *Λευ[κογ(ιον)]*: for this abbreviation see, e.g., *O. Mich.* 1.524, 525, 545. Leukogion, in the Heracleopolite nome, served as a southern harbor on the Nile for the Fayyum, just as Kerke, in the Memphite nome, was its northern Nile port.¹⁶

4. *γανίδας*: the identification of *γ* is guaranteed by *γανίδα* in the companion text, *O. Mich.* 1.254. The more familiar word *σανίδα* is not there a satisfactory reading.

7. *η*: the symbol printed by Amundsen after the numeral is not on the ostrakon.

2. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed., 171, 20

In the autumn of 1904 Ulrich Wilcken transcribed the text of a badly broken ostrakon in Deissmann's collection at Heidelberg, and in the early part of 1908 he had the opportunity of revising his readings. In the form that he then gave to it, the little text of five lines was published with a facsimile by Deissmann in his classic work, *Licht vom Osten*.¹⁷ A few years later it was reprinted, with a minor change, by Preisigke;¹⁸ then it was studied afresh on the ostrakon and republished by Meyer.¹⁹ When Deissmann issued the fourth edition of his *Licht vom Osten* in 1923, he retained the text of the ostrakon, this time accepting Preisigke's correction and adding one of his own, in a group of twenty-six documents assembled to represent the non-literary writing of antiquity.²⁰ The ostrakon bears a very brief letter of no discernible importance, but this lack of significance weighed heavily in favor of its selection. For Deissmann's purpose it was necessary to expose the trivial as well as the more impressive remains of ancient epistolography.²¹

¹⁵ *APF* 6 (1920) 218, No. 1.

¹⁶ See Amundsen, *O. Oslo*. p. 51. On Kerke and Ptolemais Hormou see E. Wikén, "Zur Topographie des Fayûm," *Corolla Archaeologica = Skrifter Sven. Instit. Rom*, 2 (Lund, 1932) 270-276.

¹⁷ A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 2nd-3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1908), 140, No. 15: "entziffert von U. Wilcken."

¹⁸ *SB* 1.4254.

¹⁹ *O. Mey.* 64.

²⁰ See footnote 17. In the 4th ed. the ostrakon is No. 20 on p. 171.

²¹ *Ibid.* 119: "Wir würden ein falsches Bild geben, wenn wir bloss die Kabinettstücke ausgewählt hätten; wir bringen deshalb absichtlich auch einige triviale Durchschnitsbriefe."

Wilcken's transcript of Deissmann's ostrakon has also another interest for the student of Greek texts. For forty years the letter has been exhibited in its various editions as a humble example of the vulgar language of the third century of our era. It is certainly all of that; in vocabulary, in grammar, and in style, it belongs entirely to the popular *koinê*. The text as it was left by Wilcken in 1908 and published by Deissmann in the same year runs as follows.

Πακῦσις Πατσέβθιο(ς)²² τῷ νιῶ μου χ(αίρειν).²³
 μὴ ἀντιλογήσης. μετὰ στρατιώτου
 [ὦι?]κῆσατε <ἐ>κέι.²⁴ μ[ηδ]ῆ²⁵ παραδε-
 [ξη αὐτό]ν,²⁶ ἕως ἔλθω πρὸς ἡμᾶς²⁷
 [. ἔρρωσο.²⁸

²² Preisigke, *Berichtigungsl.*, 2.i.15, No. 64: "wohl für Dativ verschrieben." [Πατσέβθιο(ς), as the name is printed in *Berichtigungsl.*, is a typographical error.] Fathers' names are seldom used in the prescript of genuinely private letters.

²³ χα(ίρειν) Meyer, but this departure from Wilcken's text is not justified by the facsimile.

²⁴ [ὦι?]κῆσατ' ἐκεῖ Preisigke, Meyer, Deissmann (4th ed.). The last unnecessarily retains the dot under η; Wilcken's identification is entirely secure. All three have erred in transferring ε from the first word to the second. The tongue of ε is considerably extended to the right, as it would be only at the end of a line or at the end of a word.

²⁵ μ[ηδ]ῆ Preisigke, Meyer, Deissmann (4th ed.). The change from bars to dots, if it was intentional, does not do justice to Wilcken's reading. For the distinctive meanings of the horizontal bar and the dot placed under a letter see Wilcken, *APF* 10 (1932) 212, n. 1. Hunt rejected the horizontal bar as an editorial device, but very few will be able to share his serene indifference to the degrees of truth: "Letters are either certain or doubtful" (*Chr. d'Ég.* 13-14 [1932] 273).

²⁶ ἀντή]ν Deissmann (4th ed.), following a suggestion of G. Brönsted: "Nur so wird das *Ihr* und das *Euch* klar." The objection is not real, because the private letters show a strong tendency to shift without change of meaning from singular to plural (E. Mayser, *Grammatik griech. Papyri* 2.i [Berlin-Leipzig, 1926] 40-43; for difficulties that arise in connection with official letters see P. Collomp, "La lettre à plusieurs destinataires," *Atti IV Congr. Intern. Papyr.* [Milan, 1936] 199-207). "*Sie*," continues D., "braucht nicht mit Namen genannt zu werden, da Sohn und Vater genau wissen, wer gemeint ist." For my part, I distrust a pronoun without a visible antecedent. The change of gender is gratuitous and introduces confusion into an already vague context.

²⁷ I cannot trace out the whole clause on the facsimile. The surface of the ostrakon is badly abraded, and there is not much to see. Meyer, who also saw the ostrakon, retains Wilcken's text, with some editorial punctuation: ξ[λθ]ω and ἡμᾶς. Since Wilcken and Meyer studied the ostrakon its surface has deteriorated. Deissmann: "Jetzt ist nicht mehr alles 1904 noch Sichtbare zu lesen." ἡμᾶς = ὑμᾶς, as often in papyri; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 1 (Leipzig, 1906) 86.

²⁸ Meyer retains the reading, but places dots under all the letters. The facsimile is not a serious help at this point.

With Deissmann, Preisigke, and Meyer, we may translate: "Pakysis to Patsebthis, my son, greetings. Do not argue (with me). You lived there with a soldier. Do not take him in (again) until I come to you. . . . Farewell."

There is nothing unreasonable in this message, even if it is somewhat vague, and as might be expected in a text studied by Wilcken, it is above criticism on the score of language and almost so in the matter of palaeography. It is open to challenge on one small detail only, a purely technical consideration, which nevertheless raises again the problem of meaning. The flow of thought from *μετά* to *αὐτόν* depends entirely on restoration, and consequently the reconstruction ceases to be satisfactory when the restorations compel a correction of *κεῖ* to *<ἐ>κεῖ*. A restoration, since it comes from the editor, must support the legible remains, which alone represent the original text. What actually stands on a papyrus or an ostrakon²⁹ must not be tampered with to support a restoration. It seems clear that Wilcken introduced obvious supplements in lines 3 and 4 and allowed these to determine the meaning of *κεῖ*. If he had begun in the same way with *κεῖμ[. .]ε*, the result might have been much different. A number of attempts to repeat Wilcken's experience using other supplements have convinced me that *κεῖμ[. .]ε* is the necessary starting point; to start anywhere else is to run into trouble with *κεῖ*. The problem presented by this complex must be resolved before a coherent and unobjectionable text can be obtained.

When the facsimile published by Deissmann in the 1908 and 1923 editions of his *Licht vom Osten* is carefully examined, it suffices to show that a solution would have been difficult, if not impossible, on the basis of Wilcken's indications alone, since he underestimated the extent of the lacuna by one letter. The space directly above *μ[. .]ε* in lines 1 and 2 contains five letters. To anyone without experience of Wilcken's extraordinary precision the difference will seem trivial, but only an amateur would restore with a light conscience three letters where Wilcken had indicated two. This time, however, the facsimile decides the issue and makes it plain that he did not have a photograph of the ostrakon at his disposal. Although we may be sure that Wilcken's lacuna is a faithful representation of the ostrakon as he saw it, the astonishing fact is that there is no lacuna on the photograph. In the facsimile the letters

²⁹ The writing material is of course indifferent. The principle is sound for all textual work.

between mu and epsilon are legible on close inspection in a favorable light even though they are badly faded.³⁰ What Wilcken read on the ostrakon as $\kappa\epsilon\mu[\dots]\epsilon$ is seen on the facsimile to be $\kappa\epsilon\gamma\mu\omega\delta\epsilon$.

The new reading affects the meaning of the entire text, and discussion will be facilitated by presenting at this point a new reconstruction which embodies all my suggestions. Apart from line 3, the revision presents no substantial departure from Wilcken's text.

Πακῦσις Πατσέβθιο(ς) τῷ νῖῶ μου χ(αίρειν).
 μὴ ἀντιλογίῃς. μετὰ στρατιώτ(ου)
 [ῶ]κήσατε, κ' ἔγ μου δὲ παραδέ-
 [ξη οὐδέ]ν ἕως ἔλθω πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 [.] ἔρρωσο.

1. Πατσέβθιο(ς) for Πατσέβθει; see footnote 22. The confusion of gen. and dat. in late Greek is a step toward the ultimate disappearance of the dat.³¹

2. στρατιώτ(ου): στρατιώτου Wilcken et al. So far as I can see, tau stands at the end of the line with a small shallow curve above it to the right. This is a common form of abbreviation when the omitted letters begin with omicron. The difference is, of course, inconsequential.

3. [ῶ]κήσατε: [ῶι?]κήσατε Wilcken et al., but a writer who does not employ iota adscript in the prescript, the part of the private letter which, together with the address placed on the verso of a papyrus, longest retained the formal dignity of the iota adscript, is not likely to have used it elsewhere. Omega, as it occurs twice in line 1, is broad although shallow, with an extra half-loop at the end serving as a partial ligature with the next letter. At the beginning of a line it would naturally be somewhat larger and broader. The omission of iota adscript does not alter the essential accuracy of Wilcken's restoration. κ' ἔγ μου = καὶ ἔκ μου. The elision of αι before ε is easy to understand in view of their phonetic identity,³² and the substitution of gamma for kappa before mu

³⁰ From Meyer's 1916 edition (*O. Mey.* 64) we may conclude that he made no use of the facsimile. His text is borrowed from Wilcken, although he confirmed it on the ostrakon. For the usefulness of good photographs in the decipherment of ostraca see my remarks in *TAPhA* 71 (1940) 624; 73 (1942) 65; *CPh* 39 (1944) 28. The proper exploitation of lighting facilities, whether applied to the ostraca or to the photographs, is almost equally important. When writing is much faded, glaring or excessively strong light tends to obscure it further. Even the degree of light necessary for comfortable reading may be disadvantageous in such a case. The hand may then be used to create a shaded area wherever it is desired. Moving the ostrakon about so as to view it from several angles is also helpful.

³¹ J. Humbert, *Disparition du datif en grec* (Paris, 1930) 161 ff.

³² For a very early example (late 4th cent. B.C.) see the Curse of Artemisia, *UPZ* 1.6, κ' ἔγ γὰρ κ' ἐν θαλάσσει; for an example of the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., *P. Princeton* 3.153.5, κ' ἔσται. Cf. *TAPhA* 71 (1940) 648 f., with the authorities there cited; Kapsomenakis, *Vorunters. Gramm. Pap. nachchristl. Zeit* (München, 1938) 100.

is well attested.³³ The combination ἐξ ἐμοῦ is normally preferred to ἐκ μου. In the meaning required by the ostrakon text it is found in a characteristic Byzantine *politesse*: Παρακαλῶ οὖν αὐτὴν πρὸ πάντων καταφιλήσαι τοὺς τιμίους αὐτοῦ πόδας ἐξ ἐμοῦ.³⁴ The usage is quite old, as shown, e.g., by Soph. *Ph.* 1370: χοῦτω διπλὴν μὲν ἐξ ἐμοῦ κτήση χάριν, διπλὴν δὲ πατρός.

4. ἡμᾶς = ὑμᾶς. See footnote 27.

The revised text of the ostrakon is smooth and coherent, and easy to translate: "Pakysis to Patsebthis, my son, greeting. Don't argue. You lived with a soldier, and you will receive nothing from me until I come to you . . . Farewell." A letter so brief and laconic does not bring into sharp focus the situation to which it was a response, but another letter sent by another father to his son in the late third or early fourth century suggests a very likely interpretation. Although the letter has not been recovered, the son's reply is preserved in full,³⁵ and he repeats his father's charge, only to ridicule it. The words are different, but the construction is identical with that used on the Heidelberg ostrakon: *κάθη ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ*³⁶ *μετὰ τοῦ μυχο[ῦ]*³⁷ *σου*, "you are living in Alexandria with your paramour."³⁸ For the last phrase we need only substitute *μετὰ στρατιώτου* in order to understand Pakysis' perturbation. He did not intend to finance an amour of that kind. Such liaisons have never warmed a father's heart, either then or now.³⁹

³³ Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.227.

³⁴ *SB* 1.4323.5.

³⁵ *P. Oxy.* 8.1160.

³⁶ For Ἀλεξανδρεία. Cf. Humbert, *op. cit.* 45.

³⁷ For *μοιχοῦ*.

³⁸ The masculine gender must not be overlooked. *Στρατιώτου* is the corresponding word on the ostrakon. *LSJ* records the use of *οἰκεῖν μετὰ* for *συνοικεῖν* in Soph. *OT* 990: *Μερόπης, γεραιέ, Πόλυβος ἧς ᾤκει μέτα*. Cf. *συνοικεῖν* used of Zeus and Ganymede, Ach. *Tat.* 2.36.4; *συνεῖναι* of a tutor and his charge (*μειράκιον*), Luc. *Symp.* 26. The terminology of marriage (H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages* . . . [Lancaster, 1939] 18, 43 f.) was not unnaturally transferred to a less reputable relationship.

³⁹ The prevalence of these habits in the Graeco-Roman world at all levels of society is too well known to need detailed substantiation (cf. F. Wilhelm, "Zu Achilles Tatius," *RhM* 57 [1902] 55 ff.). As may be gathered from the interminable literary debate on the relative virtues of women and boys, pagan antiquity was far from according general approval to such conduct. The charge that Pakysis makes against his son could become a powerful political weapon when directed against a prefect, once he was at the mercy of his enemies (*P. Oxy.* 3.471; cf. Wilcken, *APF* 4 [1908] 381). Popular sympathy with the accusers could be assumed. For an earlier period the same estimate of popular feeling is made by Wilamowitz, *Platon* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1920) 1.47 f.; cf. Jaeger, *Paideia* (trans. by Highet, Oxford, 1939-44) 1.131 f., 193 f.; 2.180 ff.; 3.222. The devastation of Attica after the Peloponnesian War turned sentiment strongly against indulgences that had nothing to contribute to the reconstruction of the State (Robinson and Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names* = *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Arch.* 23 [1937] 43 f.).

3. *P. Gen.* 46

This papyrus contains an agreement in the form of a letter,⁴⁰ written on February 2, 345 A.D., by a veteran of the Roman army, who bears the Egyptian name Plas, to Abinnaeus,⁴¹ a retired commander of the camp at Dionysias in the Fayyum.⁴² There is a notation on the verso which describes the document as a *γραμμάτιον*.⁴³ The handwriting presents serious difficulties,⁴⁴ and the grammar no less than the spelling reveals ignorance of the accepted canons. Nicole's *editio princeps* was carefully studied by Wilcken,⁴⁵ and the present state of the text can be determined only by combining the useful parts of Nicole's edition with Wilcken's revision and Preisigke's tacit correction of line 7.⁴⁶ Only then is it possible to see in context what remains to be explained.⁴⁷

Αὐρήλιος Πλάς οὐετρανὸς
 κα ἐν κ[ώ]μῃ
 Διον[υσία]δι [το]ῦ [Ἄρ]σινο[ίτ]ου νομοῦ
 Φλα[ο]υίω Ἀβ[ι]ννέ[ω] ἀπὸ πρε-
 5 πο[σίτ]ων χεῖρειν.
 ὠμολογῶ δ[ιὰ] τοῦδε τοῦ γραμ-
 ματίου ἐπάνει[.]κες

⁴⁰ The technical term is *χειρόγραφον*. The type is described by L. Mitteis-U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie d. Papyruskunde* 2.i (Leipzig-Berlin) 55-57.

⁴¹ The name is spelled in a variety of ways. Kenyon regarded Abinnaeus as the correct form; Nicole preferred Abinnius. Martin settled the point with a new reading of the Latin document on which Nicole relied. The name is properly Abinnaeus. The Abinnaeus archive is discussed by Nicole, *RPh* 20 (1896) 43 ff., *P. Gen.* pp. 60 ff.; Kenyon, *P. Lond.* 2, pp. 267 ff.; V. Martin, *Chr. d'Ég.* 12 (1931) 345 ff. A new edition of the entire archive was projected jointly by Bell and Martin but has not yet been realized (Preisigke, *Berichtigungsl.* 1.266; S. De Ricci, *JEA* 14 [1928] 320; Martin, *loc. cit.*).

⁴² He was relieved of his duties in 344 in accordance with instructions issued to him in *P. Gen.* 45; by 346 he had been reassigned to his old post (*P. Gen.* p. 61; *P. Lond.* p. 269).

⁴³ The same term, equivalent here to *γραμματεῖον*, is used in lines 6-7. These are general designations of contractual deeds (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.vv.; *LSJ* s.vv. *γράμμα* [of which *γραμμάτιον* is a diminutive] III.2, *γραμματεῖον* I.2.4. They would, of course, include chirographs (see footnote 40). A similar notation on the verso of Mitteis, *Chrest.* 142 (120 A.D.) reads *χιρό[γ]ραφον Οὐα[λ]ερ[λου] Δόν[γο]υ*.

⁴⁴ Nicole, *P. Gen.* Index 13, p. 39: "Écriture généralement peu distincte."

⁴⁵ *APF* 3 (1906) 398. Wilcken's corrections were reprinted, with slight changes, by Nicole, *loc. cit.*, and subsequently by Preisigke, *Berichtigungsl.*

⁴⁶ Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. *ἐπάναγκες*.

⁴⁷ In the parts due to Nicole I have retained only so much of his editorial punctuation as is obviously necessary.

- ἐπὶ Πλάτος τοῦ ἡμετέρου
 υἱοῦ διὰ π[ρ]ομαντίωναν
 10 δεκαταρχ. κάστρων
 Διον[υσιάδος] εἴλης πέμπτης
 πραιλήκτων ητιδανδης
 εἰς λόγων τῆς αὐτῆς πρω-
 μοτίωνος επ. (?) [σ]ὺν θεῷ
 15 ὥς ἂν δυνήσομε τὸν
 Πλᾶς ἀποκαταστήσω σοι
 μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως
 ἐκ πλήρους.

- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαοίου
 20 Λεοντίου καὶ Φλαοίου
 Σαλουτίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων
 ἐπάρχων Μεχεῖρ ἡ'.

- Αὐρήλιος Πλᾶς
 συννευδοκῶ πᾶ[σ]ει
 25 τοῖς ἐγγεγαρμέν[οις]
 σενε εὐδοκῶ. Σύρος
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

Verso

γραμμάτιον Πλᾶς οὐετρανοῦ

1. I.e., Aurelius Plas veteranus.

2. For the mutilated word, *κατοικῶν* is suggested in a note by Nicole and is almost certainly correct, but neither he nor Wilcken was able to read anything on the papyrus. *κατοικῶν ἐν κόμῃ* is normal Greek and is frequently used; see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *κατοικέω*.

4-5. I.e., Flavio Abinnaeo ex praeposito. 5. *χίρειν* for *χαίρειν*.

6. *ὠμολογῶ* = *ὁμολογῶ*. 7. The omission of *ὅτι* after *ὁμολογῶ* is discussed by H. Ljungvik, *Beitr. z. Syntax d. spätgriech. Volkssprache* (*Skrifter Uppsala* 27.3 [1932]) 93. *ἐπάνευ[.]κες* is correctly listed by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *ἐπάναγκες*; the "lacuna" is probably in reality a too effective cancellation. The adverb must be construed with *ἀποκαταστήσω* (line 16).

9. π[ρ]ομαντίωναν = *Lat.* promotionem; so read by Wilcken and verified by Nicole (Index 13), although lines 13-14 have a more accurate spelling of the same word.

10. δεκαταρχ. Wilcken; δεκατάρχ[η] Nicole (*ibid.*). For this spelling of δεκαδάρχης, *Lat.* decurio, see *LSJ*. The construction requires the genitive. *κάστρων* = *Lat.* castrorum. Translate: "in the matter of my

son Plas, by promotion a decurion of the camp at Dionysias," i.e. recently advanced to the rank of decurion.

11-12. εἴλης πέμπτης πραιλήκτων = *Lat.* alae quintae praelectorum, the name of the cavalry unit encamped at Dionysias (*P. Lond.* 2, p. 269).

13. εἰς λόγων = *eis* λόγον. 13-14. πρωμοτίωνος = *Lat.* promotionis; so Wilcken, πρωμοτίωνος Nicole (Index 13).

15-16. δυνήσομε τὸν Πλᾶς = δυνήσομαι ὁ Πλᾶς. For the late confusion of fut. ind. and aor. subj. see Kapsomenakis, *op. cit.* (above, note 32) 127.

19-22. Σαλουτίου = *Lat.* Saluti; ἐπάρχον = ἐπάρχων. In *P. Gen.* 45, written in 344 A.D., the date runs: Fl(avio) Leontio prae(ecto) praet(orio) et Fl(avio) Sallustio mag(istro) ped(itum) vv. cc. coss. For Salutius and Sallustius as variants, cf. Saturninius Secundus, the friend of Julian, who bore also the name Salutius or Sallustius (*RE* s.v. Salutius [Seeck]).

24. συνευδοκῶ πᾶ[σ]ει = συνευδοκῶ πᾶσι. 25. ἐγγεγαρμέν[οις] = ἐγγεγραμμένοις. Verso. Πλᾶς for Πλᾶτος.

A careful study of this chirograph, written by Syrus for the elder Plas, shows that Nicole, Wilcken, and Preisigke have left the papyrus without adequate explanation in only three places — ητιδανδης (line 12), επ. (14), and σενε (26), but one or all of these may be important for the meaning of the text. While Wilcken threw much light on the underlying situation, he also recognized that much remains obscure.⁴⁸ It is not difficult to see why he was dissatisfied in spite of his brilliant revision of Nicole's edition. The elder Plas and Abinnaeus are both living at Dionysias,⁴⁹ and the younger Plas is a soldier in the cavalry division stationed there; but Abinnaeus is not at this time commander of the camp and has no official concern with the promotion which is made the occasion of this acknowledgment.⁵⁰ Plas undertakes to return something to Abinnaeus when he is able. This seems to be a very loose arrangement, and what he is to return, the text as it now stands does not tell us. Both the motivation and the object of the agreement need clarification.

Of the three words to be considered, ητιδανδης is the longest and so the most likely to conceal beneath a barbarous exterior the object of the loan. Wilcken has left it without comment, but Nicole suggests that it may be an additional, hitherto unknown

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.* (footnote 45): "Auch hiernach bleibt noch vieles dunkel. Nur so viel sehe ich, dass Πλᾶς senior für seinen Sohn Πλᾶς iunior anlässlich dessen Beförderung (promotio) zum Decurio eintritt und Verpflichtungen übernimmt."

⁴⁹ For Plas we have his own statement in *P. Gen.* 46, 2-3; for Abinnaeus see *P. Gen.* p. 61.

⁵⁰ See footnote 42.

name of the ala quinta praelectorum.⁵¹ If this were true, it would mean that Plas nowhere states what he has received from Abinnaeus, for the mysterious *σενε* in the subscription holds little promise of such a revelation and *επ.* in line 14 is altogether too short for the purpose. What is required of *ητιδανδης* is that it fall apart into a noun phrase or a substantive clause. I have found no way to resolve it into a noun phrase, but *ἥ τι δάν δῆς* = *εἰ τι δάν δοῖς*, "whatever you may give," looks like an ideal solution. Toward the middle of the fourth century, the substitution of *η* for *ει* in the one case and for *οι* in the other offers no difficulty.⁵² The combination *εἰ τις*, *εἰ τι* becomes commonplace for the indefinite relative,⁵³ and *δάν*, which is in origin the second half of *ἐπειδάν*, frequently supplants *ἄν* (*ἑάν*) in the phrase *εἰ τι(ς) ἄν* (*ἑάν*).⁵⁴ The intrusion of the forms *δοῖς*, *δοῖ* into the subjunctive system of *δίδωμι* is sufficiently illustrated in the private letters on papyri.⁵⁵

With this correction Plas is made to say (lines 6–18): "I acknowledge with this deed that I shall be under obligation in the matter of my son Plas, by promotion a decurion of the camp at Dionysias of the ala quinta praelectorum, to restore to you in full, with God's help, whenever I am able, in good faith, whatever you may give on account of the said promotion." The arrangement is kept flexible because this is something more than a business deal. The elder Plas was formerly a soldier, perhaps even stationed at the camp

⁵¹ As Nicole puts it, with undue confidence, in his note: "évidemment le surnom ou la devise, inconnue jusqu'ici."

⁵² Interchange of *ει* and *η* is already firmly established in the Hellenistic *koinê* (Mayser, *Grammatik* 1.74–79). For another 4th cent. example of *ἥ τι* = *εἰ τι* see *P. Oxy.* 9.1222.5 (cf. Ljungvik, *Skrifter Uppsala* 27.3.11: "ἥ ist natürlich als εἰ aufzufassen"). For *ἥ* = *ει* in private letters see A. H. Salonijs, *Zur Sprache d. griech. Papyrusbr.* = *Comment. Hum. Litt.* 2.3 (Helsingfors, 1927) 18, 24, 25, 35; in questions to oracles, W. Schubart, "Orakelfragen," *AegZ* 67 (1931) 112. Interchange of *η* and *οι* is mediated by the relation of both of these to *υ* (Mayser, *op. cit.* 85 f., 110 f.). For *δῆ* = *δοῖ* = *δῶ* see *P. Oxy.* 8.1158.13–14: *εἰδὸν οὖν ἔγραψα Ἀριτίωνι εἶνα σοι δῆ τὰ τέσσαρα τάλαντα*. For *δῶ* = *δοῖ* = *δῶ* see footnote 55. Cf. G. Ghedini, "Note di sintassi greca," *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 237. Very noticeable in papyri is the constant interchange of *ἡμεῖς* and *ὕμεῖς* (cf. footnote 27 *ad fin.*). For a quick survey of the chronological development of these vowels see the table given by N. Bachtin, *Introd. to the Study of M. Gr.* (Cambridge, 1935) 28.

⁵³ Ljungvik, *op. cit.* 9 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

⁵⁵ For early examples (1st–2nd cent.) see *P. Mich.* 3.203.28, *δὺς* = *δοῖς*; Salonijs, *Comment. Hum. Litt.* 2.3.29, *ἀποδῶ* = *ἀποδοῖ*. Cf. F.-M. Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique*, 89. It is a curious coincidence that in his note on this line Nicole proposed *δης* = *Lat. des*.

in Dionysias, where he now lives; he may, indeed, have served for a time under Abinnaeus, who until recently has been commander of the camp and now also lives in retirement at Dionysias. If the papyrus preserves the record of a favor done by a locally important military personage to an old soldier, every obscurity is dispelled and a situation is revealed which does honor to both men. The younger Plas has been promoted, possibly on a recommendation from Abinnaeus, since the latter's retirement dates only from the preceding year.⁵⁶ A promotion brings, among other things, the need of new equipment, and for the moment its value cannot be definitely fixed. The father of the young officer is naturally interested in marking in a fitting way the start of a successful military career; he bestows on his son a gift suitable to the occasion.⁵⁷ Without ready cash, he turns to Abinnaeus, who undertakes to cover the cost of the equipment, generously leaving the elder Plas free to reimburse him when he is able. This reconstruction allows us to feel the force of *μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως*⁵⁸ and to appreciate fully the fact that interest on the loan is not mentioned.

Now that the main body of the chirograph can be translated continuously, it may provide the means of understanding the short word *επ.* in line 14. Nicole and Wilcken found it illegible, as they did also the incomplete word in line 2. For the latter, nevertheless, Nicole made an entirely plausible suggestion,⁵⁹ and it ought to be possible to elicit from the context the identity of a three-letter word beginning with epsilon. Since the immediately following words are *σὺν θεῷ ὡς ἂν δυνήσομαι ἀποκαταστήσω*, the preposition *ἐπὶ* can be eliminated without discussion. Whatever it was, the word did not contribute materially to the meaning,⁶⁰ inasmuch as a smooth translation can be given without it. The range of choice is thus closely

⁵⁶ See footnote 42.

⁵⁷ It may indeed have been customary for families to reward their young soldiers in just this way. We know how liberal they were in sending them *ἐπιμήνια* (cf. *P. Mich.* 203.3, note).

⁵⁸ In *P. Lips.* 28 (381 A.D.) a man adopts his dead brother's son, at the same time takes over his brother's estate and promises *ἀποκαταστήσαι αὐτῷ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γεναμένῳ μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως*; in *P. Tebt.* 2.418 (3rd cent. A.D.) one man writes to another concerning his own wife, *[οὐ]τινος ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχη κέρ[μ]ατος δώσεις αὐτῇ ἕως εἰσέλθης [καὶ] ἀπολάβης παρ' ἐμοῦ καλῇ πίστει*. These situations make large demands on "good faith."

⁵⁹ See the note in the text above on line 2.

⁶⁰ Although the readings of the *ed. pr.* were wide of the mark, Nicole understood that a three-letter word before *σὺν θεῷ κτλ.* could not be significant, and he ventured a doubtful *καί*. Wilcken's *επ.*, which is clearly a better reading, nevertheless permits no solution.

limited. The word must begin with an epsilon, consist of three letters, and add nothing to the sense that is not already there. In this context only one word, so far as I know, will satisfy these conditions — the pronoun ἐγώ. A reader with experience of cursive hands will see that gamma followed by the first curve of omega produces the illusion of pi if the rest of omega is blurred or lost. Inspection of the papyrus would, in all probability, neither confirm nor disprove this conjecture, for no one else is likely to find what Wilcken did not find. As a conjecture, however, it has very much the same appeal as Nicole's solution of the difficulty in line 2: they are both neutral complements of the existing text.⁶¹

The problem raised by σενε in the subscription (line 26) can be handled with greater assurance. Wilcken has proposed, with considerable hesitation, that it may be an abbreviated Greek transcription of the Latin "senior" and so refer to the elder Plas. In textual terms this leads to σενέ(ωρ) or σενε(ίωρ) εὐδοκῶ, "I, (Plas the) elder, approve." As it happens, Latin words of this kind are not used elsewhere on the papyrus. Apart from personal names, all the Latin words belong to the military vocabulary.⁶² And if I interpret Wilcken correctly, the Aurelius Plas of line 23 is the son, who as a third, interested party gives his consent to the agreement between his father and Abinnaeus in the usual way with συνευδοκῶ, whereas Plas the father, himself a party to the contract, employs εὐδοκῶ.⁶³ But the compound verb is found also in other subscriptions to chirographs where there is no third party. These are holographs written by a scribe, just like *P. Gen.* 46, and the subscriptions are in the name of the person making the acknowledgment in the chirograph.⁶⁴ On the analogy of these documents, the Aurelius

⁶¹ The negative principle of criticism implied in this discussion rests on the peculiar linguistic character of non-literary materials. See my brief statement in *TAPhA* 76 (1945) 148, n. 52.

⁶² On the general question of the use of Latin and Greek in the Roman army in Egypt see Arthur Stein, *Gesch. u. Verwalt. Ägyptens unter roem. Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, 1915) 173–181.

⁶³ Although Wilcken makes no such statement, I cannot otherwise account for the introduction of "senior" into the text at this point. συνευδοκῶ is normally used to express the consent given to the terms of an agreement by someone who is not directly a party to the contract but whose interests are involved. Two property-returns of the 3rd cent., based on sales, use the compound verb to mark the concurrence of the vendor (*P. Lond.* 3.942.5; *P. Lips.* 3.ii.5), but here the consent bears on the filing of a return, not on the sale.

⁶⁴ Cf. two chirographs of the 3rd and 4th cent.: Wilcken, *Chrest.* 373.21; *BGU* 2.405.21.

Plas for whom the subscription is written (line 23) is identical with the veteran, Aurelius Plas (line 1). His son makes no declaration of any kind. When *συνευδοκῶ* (line 26) is placed beside *συνευδοκῶ* (line 24), it is seen to be a careless repetition of the verb. Both spellings represent *συνευδοκῶ*.

4. *P. Oxy.* 12.1488

This papyrus bears a letter written in the second century A.D. by a certain Sarapammon to his sister, Thaësis. The body of the letter falls into three well defined sections, and for the most part it is simple and straightforward. In lines 3–13 Sarapammon informs Thaësis that he has sent to her in care of a sailor a keramion of wine and gives directions how to lay hands on it if it has not already been delivered. In lines 13–19 he asks her to ascertain whether a large mortar has been safely stored. In the third section (lines 19–25) he turns to matters of personal concern and, in the text as it now stands, shows himself unduly curious regarding an erotic individual whose name is Isas. The lines are few and may be repeated here.

καὶ πῶς ἔχεις
 20 γράψον μοι. ἔμελ-
 λον γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν, καὶ
 ὑπερεθέμην ἔστ' ἂν
 μάθω πότερον ἐρᾷ
 Ἰσᾶς ἢ οὐ, καὶ εἰ χρεία
 25 ἐστὶ τοῦ με ἀνελθεῖν.

Sarapammon asks after his sister's health. He intended to make the trip up-river to see her, but had delayed until he might "learn whether Isas is in love or not, and if there is need for me to go up."

The reason given for delaying his return is odd and unexpected. With *ερα* at the end of one line and *ισας* at the beginning of the next, nothing is more natural than ἐρᾷ Ἰσᾶς, but the result is a vague text quite unlike the lines that precede it. The clue to Sarapammon's meaning is in the γάρ of line 21. He has just asked Thaësis how she is getting on, and now he gives the reason for asking. It is only necessary to transform ἐρᾷ Ἰσᾶς into ἐράϊσας in order to obtain a simple, coherent text fit to stand with the rest of the letter: "Write me how you are. For I intended to return home,

but I delayed until I might learn whether you were feeling better or not, and if there is need for me to return.”⁶⁵

In 1916, when *P. Oxy.* 1488 was published, only a single papyrus example of *ραῖζω* was known, from a text published in Germany in 1913,⁶⁶ and because of the war that broke out soon afterward, this may not have been seen in England even by 1916. The only other instance of the verb cited by Preisigke in his *Wörterbuch* was not put into print until 1920.⁶⁷ The example now recovered from the Oxyrhynchus papyrus brings the total number to three.⁶⁸

5. *P. Iand.* Inv. 501

In a brief note entitled *Doryphorians in Theadelphia*, Gundel⁶⁹ infers from a fragment of an application for a lease that a group of soldiers, who had served in the auxiliary forces and were called Doryphorians from their customary weapon, were the proprietors of an estate at Theadelphia in the Fayyum in the second century A.D.⁷⁰ Gundel thinks of the word Doryphorians as soldiers' slang. For the reader's convenience the text is repeated here.

Χαιρήμονι Θεογίτονος μ. . . τοτηι τῶν πρότερον
 δορυφοριανῶν περὶ κώμ[η]ν Θεαδέλφειαν διὰ Εὐδαίμο-
 νος ἀδελφοῦ
 παρὰ Πετερμούθewς . ψ . . . iος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 κώμης. βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ ἤν προεῖχον
]γους τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας

In this application a certain Petermouthis, who lives in Theadelphia and has previously held in lease a parcel of land⁷¹ belonging to the

⁶⁵ *LSJ* cites Hesychius' definition: *ραῖσαι τρισυνλάβως Ἀττικοὶ τὸ ἐκ νόσου ἀναλαβεῖν.*

⁶⁶ *P. Hamb.* 27 (3rd cent. B.C.).

⁶⁷ C. C. Edgar, *Annales du service*, 19 (Cairo, 1920) 95 f., No. 44 = *SB* 3.6750 = *P. Cair. Zen.* 2.59263.3.

⁶⁸ So far as I can determine from the indexes of papyrus and ostrakon editions, these are to date the only occurrences of the word in Egypt. *LSJ* repeats for papyri the two examples recorded by Preisigke. One would judge from the literary references that the verb was little used, in writing at least, except in medical authors.

⁶⁹ H. G. Gundel, "Weitere kleine Beiträge z. röm. Heerwesen," *Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 157-59.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*: "Mann muss also an irgendeine mit Speeren bewaffnete Truppe denken, zumal die auxilia ihre nationale Ausrüstung und Bewaffnung führten."

⁷¹ If ἤν is correctly read in line 5, Petermouthis appears to hold a lease of only one aoura.

estate,⁷² now seeks a renewal of his lease from Chairemon, whose description is partly illegible.

A similar application for a lease submitted in 224–225 A.D. by two Aurelii of the Hermopolite nome is addressed to Syron, a veteran and landholder, further described as ὑπομισθωτῇ Μεσαλ[ινιανῆς] οὐσίας, “sub-lessee of the estate of Messalina.”⁷³ It is clear that Chairemon has a title of the same kind in the Janda papyrus: μισθοτῇ.⁷⁴ τῶν πρότερον Δορυφοριανῶν.⁷⁵ There is no question here of a military settlement at Theadelphia. The estate of Doryphorus here corresponds to the estate of Messalina in the later text. In 56–57 A.D. an application for a lease was addressed by a resident of Heraklia to the manager τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοείτῃ [Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου Δορυφόρου πρότερον Ναρκισσιανῆς οὐσία[s],⁷⁶ and in another application of the third century from the Hermopolite nome οὐσίας μὲν (πρότερον) Δορυφόρου[υ] stands beside (πρότερον) δὲ Σενέκα.⁷⁷ A receipt for seed written in 158–159 A.D. shows that a branch of the estate was to be found also at Karanis,⁷⁸ and we find it called Δορυφοριανῆ οὐσία in 71 A.D.⁷⁹ The tax rolls from Karanis record tax payments by lessees of the estate in 171–173 A.D.⁸⁰

The land that had been bestowed by Claudius on his notorious freedman and favorite, Narcissus, came as a gift from Nero into the possession of his equally disreputable favorite, Tiberius Claudius Doryphorus.⁸¹ This estate, like that granted to Seneca, was confiscated by Titus, and so arose the description used in the Janda papyrus, τῶν πρότερον Δορυφοριανῶν.⁸² Chairemon, who appears here in the rôle of μισθωτῆς, is not an ordinary lessee; his situation is comparable rather to that of a tax-farmer, who also is sometimes

⁷² As indicated in line 6: τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας.

⁷³ CPR 243 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 367. Corrections by Preisigke, Vitelli, and Zereteli are recorded in *Berichtigungsl.* 1.124.

⁷⁴ Read μισθωτῇ.

⁷⁵ Sc. ἐδαφῶν; cf. *P. Flor.* 1.40.8 (*Berichtigungsl.*), Μεσσαλινιανὰ ἐδάφη.

⁷⁶ *P. Ryl.* 2.171.1–2; cf. introd.

⁷⁷ *P. Ryl.* 2.99.4.

⁷⁸ *P. Chic.* 52.

⁷⁹ *P. Oslo.* 2.21.5; cf. note *ad loc.*

⁸⁰ *P. Mich.* 4, Index 4.

⁸¹ Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft im röm. Kaiserreich* (Leipzig, 1931) 25, 295.

⁸² *P. Bour.* 42.118: οὐσιακῶν Τίτου, Δορυφό(ρου) οὐσ(ας) . . . Σενέκ(ου) οὐσ(ας) . . . γίνοντ(αι) οὐσ(ιῶν) Τίτου. . . Cf. *P. Bour.*, pp. 160–163; Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 298 f.

called a *μισθωτής* as well as a *τελώνης*.⁸³ He takes over a large block of usiac land through a government auction, with full responsibility to the treasury.⁸⁴ When the management of the tract is taken over by a *ὑπομισθωτής*, as on the estate of Messalina in the Hermopolite nome,⁸⁵ the latter acquires his rights and obligations by the same process directly from the government. The actual cultivators of the estate were sub-lessees in the usual sense, holding smaller plots and paying fixed rents. They were properly called *οὔσιακοὶ γεωργοί*, but also *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*, and even *μισθωταὶ οὔσιακοί*.⁸⁶

⁸³ Cf. Wilcken, *Griech. Ostr.* Index 2.C.2.2 (p. 458); S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton, 1938) Index, s.v. (p. 505).

⁸⁴ M. Rostowzew, *Stud. z. Gesch. d. röm. Kolonates* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1910) 190.

⁸⁵ See footnote 73.

⁸⁶ Rostowzew, *op. cit.* 185; Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 299 f. Cf. the definitions of *μισθωτής* and *ὑπομισθωτής* in Preisigke, *Fachwörter*.