

**XVII. Notes on Papyri**

HERBERT C. YOUTIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1. *StudPal.* 3.164 = 20.198<sup>1</sup>

This text consists of five rather long lines written across the fibres of a narrow strip of papyrus, in a script which points to the sixth century A.D. It contains an acknowledgment from a cook named Gerontius to Justus, steward of the Church of St. Theodore in Arsinoë (Fayûm). Gerontius states that he has received  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gold solidi as wages for a period which began on Sept. 28 of an eighth indiction. The receipt is dated to April 8 in the same indiction.

Gerontius describes the payment that he has accepted from Justus in the following words (2-3):

ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μισθοῦ ἧς μενοῦμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ μαγείρου χρείας.

The editor has provided neither translation nor commentary for this text, and so we cannot know precisely what view he took of it. There is no doubt, however, that he saw in *μενοῦμαι* the future indicative middle of *μένω*. It is entered under this verb in his indexes. But the appearance of this form in a Greek text is nevertheless astonishing because middle forms of *μένω* are not attested elsewhere. The suspicion that it may not be genuine even here arises when an attempt is made to establish a satisfactory semantic relation between the verb and its context. If the relative clause could refer to the service "in which I shall remain," it might be difficult to sustain an objection on the ground of form alone. The clause as constructed, however, will not tolerate the prepositional notion, and Gerontius is in fact

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by M. David and B. A. Van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer*<sup>3</sup>, (Leyden 1952) No. 69.

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represented as receiving pay for service "which I shall expect (to undertake at some future date)." <sup>2</sup> The contradiction thus introduced into the text is obvious. Gerontius has already been in service with Justus for at least six months and is now acknowledging receipt of wages for the time that has passed since Sept. 28. The future verb is clearly inappropriate.

In my attempt to resolve the problem raised by *μενοῦμαι*, I enlisted the cooperation of Dr. Herbert Hunger, who sent me photographs of the papyrus and himself undertook a meticulous examination of the writing on two separate occasions. His comment on the condition of the papyrus permits the inference that Wessely's text at the crucial point corresponds to a rapid impression, <sup>3</sup> not to a conscientious reading: "The beginning of line 3 is hard to read. The letters *ησ* and *υμαι* are clearly recognizable, but in the space between them the papyrus is damaged and many of the vertical fibers are lost, so that only traces of ink are now visible." The papyrus accordingly lends very little support to Wessely's *μενο*, and *mu* is definitely not a good reading: "... enough can be seen of the first doubtful letter so that it might be taken for *nu*; but not for *mu*." <sup>4</sup>

Subsequently, Dr. Hunger tested the papyrus for *ποιοῦμαι*, and this he found to be closer to the visible remnants of ink: "The remains of the first letter could belong to initial *pi* as well as to *nu*, especially when compared with *pi* in *poleōs* (line 1)." <sup>5</sup> After the initial letter, the traces are too vague to justify more than a conjectural reading, but they can easily be reconciled with *οιο*. Apart from its palaeographic superiority, *ποιοῦμαι* has also the advantage of forming a thoroughly idiomatic expression with *ἡς* ... *χρείας*. <sup>6</sup> It has indeed a close parallel in *POxy.* 1.138

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri* 2, pt. 3 (Berlin-Leipzig 1934) 98 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is certainly so at the beginning of line 1, where the photographs justify *ἔσχατον* against Wessely's *ἔχων*. At the beginning of line 5 the surface of the papyrus has been almost entirely removed by abrasion and tears; it provides practically no evidence for a reading of any kind. Either Wessely's *χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α(ἡμισυ) ῥ(υπαρόν)* belongs in square brackets, or the papyrus has undergone considerable deterioration since his day. Further along in the same line, Wessely's second edition has *†δε' ἐμοῦ [Ἰούσ]τον*, but there is not sufficient space for the supplement. There is indeed no lacuna; the papyrus has *†δε' ἐμοῦ †τον* (cf. *Stud. Pal.* 3.116).

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Oct. 1, 1958. I cite Dr. Hunger's valuable communications in my own English version.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Dec. 5, 1958.

<sup>6</sup> Mayser, *Grammatik* 2, pt. 1 (Berlin-Leipzig 1926) 123, 126 ff.

(610/611 A.D.), which is an agreement to take charge of a stable: *πάσαν χρείαν τοῦ εἰρημένου στάβλου ποιεῖν* (28 f.).<sup>7</sup>

By way of concluding this brief discussion of *StudPal.* 3.164 = 20.198, I propose that Wessely's text of lines 2–3 be modified to read as follows:

ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μισθοῦ ἧς προῖομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ μαγείρου χρείας.

The meaning of the Greek is now plain. Gerontius has served Justus as cook since Sept. 28. On April 8, while continuing to work for Justus, he receives 1½ solidi “as my wage for the cook's service that I render you.”

## 2. *PBon.* 42

This papyrus was first published by G. Coppola in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 664 f. His text was reprinted in *Sammelbuch* 5.7614 and again in *Aegyptus* 27 (1947) 161. It is once more Coppola's text which is given with minor variations in *PBon.* 42.

The papyrus has a brief communication of five lines sent by someone named Sarapion to a certain Apollonius, whose relation to Sarapion is not specified. The editors have taken the text to be an unfinished letter because it lacks the final salutation. Since it also lacks *χαίρειν* in the prescript, it is probably not a letter at all in the formal sense, but merely a note of instruction, or more simply a memorandum or reminder.

Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίῳ.  
μνήσθητι τῶν τρητῶν.  
ἐὰν μὲν<sup>8</sup> εὐρησ τετελεσ-  
μένα, ἀγόρασον<sup>9</sup> ἐὰν μὴ,  
5 δύο ὀνηλάτα .....<sup>10</sup>

Coppola's translation: “Sarapion saluta Apollonius. Ricordati degli alveari; se li trovi belli e fatti comprali, se no, due asinai . . .”

<sup>7</sup> On the use of the active verb in place of the middle, see Mayser, *Grammatik* 2, pt. 1, 128.

<sup>8</sup> In *PBon.* 42 *μή* is a typographical error for *μὲν*, which was correctly read by Coppola.

<sup>9</sup> So Coppola, who also admits *σε* and *ζε* as possible readings of the doubtful letters; *ἀγόρασον* *PBon.* 42.

<sup>10</sup> Coppola left a blank space after *ὀνηλάτα* and commented: “Dopo *ὀνηλάτα* si leggono nella stessa linea otto lettere (certamente *εξη*) ma <non> si capisce che vogliano dire.” *PBon.* 42 substitutes 8 dots.

Coppola thus defines *τρητῶν* as “beehives,” seemingly an inference from Pindar’s metaphor for a honeycomb in *Pyth.* 6.54: *μελισσᾶν . . . τρητόν πόνον*.<sup>11</sup> If this were a true inference, the papyrus would have a hitherto unprecedented use of *τρητόν*. And in line 5 Coppola has seen no escape from the dual *ὀνηλάτα*, although nothing is less likely in *koinḗ* than a dual.<sup>12</sup> These observations of Coppola’s are repeated in *PBon.* 42.

Professor Carlo Del Grande was kind enough to send me an enlarged photograph of this papyrus. Since it has made possible a reading of the last eight letters of line 5, I give a revised text with a few critical remarks of my own.

Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίῳ.  
μνήσθητι τῶν τρητῶν.  
ἐὰν μὲν εὖρης τετελεσ-  
μένα, ἀγόρασεν<sup>13</sup> ἐὰν μὴ,  
5 δύο ονηλατα ἐξ πηχῶν.<sup>14</sup>

Since the *ονηλατα* are to be six cubits in length, they are of course not donkey drivers, as Coppola supposed. I suggest that the papyrus has a vulgar spelling of *ἐνήλατα*,<sup>15</sup> because bed rails might well be ordered by length. The linear cubit is equivalent to .46251 m.,<sup>16</sup> and six cubits accordingly to 2.77506 m., i.e. roughly 9 ft. With two rails approximately 9 ft. long, we may assume that Sarapion’s intention was to divide each of them into lengths of about 6 ft. and 3 ft. The longer ones would serve for the sides of the bed, the shorter for the head and the foot.

The *ἐνήλατα* are to be purchased only as an alternative to *τρητά*, which Sarapion prefers if they can be found *τετελεσμένα*, “finished, ready-made.” If they are not available ready-made, then two rails of six cubits will do for the purpose. The *τρητά* must therefore be thought of as rails cut to size and processed in some way for immediate use.

<sup>11</sup> Coppola’s reference to Plat. *Pol.* 279E, which is repeated in *PBon.* 42, is not pertinent. See *LSJ*, s.v.

<sup>12</sup> Mayser, *Grammatik* 1, pt. 2<sup>3</sup> (1938) 1: “Weder beim Nomen noch beim Verbum kommen Dualformen vor.” A. Debrunner, *Gesch. d. griech. Sprache* 2 (*Samml. Göschen* 114) 115: “. . . die Papyri kennen sie [i.e. die Dualformen] nicht mehr.”

<sup>13</sup> For *ἀγόρασον*; cf. footnote 9. Interchange of *ον* and *εν* in the final syllable of a verb is also illustrated in *PMich.* 5.228.16: *ἐπετέλεσον* for *ἐπετέλεσεν*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. footnote 10.

<sup>15</sup> For interchange of *ε* and *ο*, see Mayser, *Grammatik* 1 (1906) 94 f.; cf. footnote 13.

<sup>16</sup> A. Segrè, *Metrologia e circolazione monetaria* (Bologna 1928) 45.

This papyrus appears then to have the only occurrence since Homer of *τρητός* in connection with a bed.<sup>17</sup> His *τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν*<sup>18</sup> continues to be explained in various ways. *LSJ*, s.v. *τρητός*, lists three traditional explanations: "prob. of *inlaid* bedsteads (cf. *τορευτός*) . . . ; others expl(aine)d it of the *holes* through which the cords that supported the bedding were drawn, or of the *holes* in the bedposts which received the framework (*ἐνήλατα*), *EM* 765.3."<sup>19</sup>

The interpretation that I have proposed for *τρητά* as it occurs on the papyrus, suggests that the first of the explanations offered by *EM*, although not preferred by *LSJ*, was nevertheless the definition given to the word in the language of the first century B.C. It was applied to bed rails which had already been "carpentered,"<sup>20</sup> i.e. provided with the holes through which the rope or

<sup>17</sup> On old and poetical words which were rejected in literary Attic only to reappear in Plato, Aristotle, and at last the *koiné*, see A. Thumb, *Die griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (Strassburg 1901) 220 ff.; L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* (Philological Society Publications 13, London 1946) 5 f. That such words were part of the colloquial language, particularly Ionic, and survived at that level, is the view sponsored by Thumb and accepted by Debrunner (see footnote 12) 70 f. For Hellenistic words whose only earlier occurrence is in the Mycenaean-Cretan tablets, see C. Préaux, *ChronÉg.* 67 (1959) 80.

<sup>18</sup> *Il.* 24.720; cf. 3.448, *Od.* 1.440, 3.399, 7.345, 10.12.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. L. Doederlein, *Homer. Gloss.* 2 (Erlangen 1853) 147: "glatt und sauber polirt, eigentlich abgerieben, und dadurch von Unebenheiten, Staub etc. befreit, wie *tersus*." Doederlein compares *διωτοῖς λεχέεσσιν* (*Il.* 3.391), "fein gedrechselt." E. Buchholz, *Privatleben d. Griech. im heroischen Zeitalter* (= *Die homer. Realien* 2, pt. 2 [Leipzig 1883]) 152: "wohl auf das zierlich geschnitzte und mit durchbrochener Arbeit ausgestattete Bettgestell zu beziehen ist, obgleich es auch auf die Löcher in den Bettpfosten gehen könnte, durch welche Gurte gezogen waren." H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig 1871-85), s.v.: "de lectis ad institas inserendas aptis vel sculpendi arte exornatis." W. Leaf, *The Iliad*<sup>2</sup> (London 1900) note to 3.448: "'pierced with holes through which straps were passed to support the bedding,' or still better 'pierced with holes by which to rivet on the ornamental plates or disks.'" T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (New York 1914) 204: "The holes made for the passage of the straps in the bars at the ends and sides of the beds, gave rise to the epithet *perforated*, which is applied to the bedstead six times." R. J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London 1924), s.v.: "Of bedsteads, prob., pierced with holes, either for fixing on ornamentation . . . or to receive straps passed through to support the bedding." *Etymologicum Magnum* has the following: *τρητόν λέχος παρὰ τὸ τετρήσθαι κατὰ τὰ ἐνήλατα, εἰς ᾧ ἐμβάλλεται ἡ σπάρτος· ἢ παρὰ τὸ τετρήσθαι τοὺς πόδας, εἰς οὓς ἐμβάλλεται τὰ ἐνήλατα.* Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, s.v.: "Hom. multis in l(ocis) *τρητά λέχη* dicit, i.e. *τετρημένα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σχοινίων δέσιν*: solent enim foramina in spondis terebrari, et per ea τόνοι τραϊci, qui sustineant ipsum lectisternium."

<sup>20</sup> Eustath. ad *Od.* 1.440: *τρητά δὲ λέχη πρὸς διαστολήν τῶν σιβάδων, τὰ τεκτονηθέντα.*

thongs were passed to make a support for the mattress.<sup>21</sup> They had thus been made ready for use (τετελεσμένα). When *τρητά* (sc. *ἐνήλατα*) were contrasted with simple *ἐνήλατα*, the latter designated rails not yet prepared in this way and purchased in such lengths as were desired.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. *PCol. Inv.* 551 verso

This papyrus was first published by W. L. Westermann in *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 229 ff. Its text was subsequently reprinted in full in *Sammelbuch* 5.7533, and of its two columns the second appears as No. 41 in David and Van Groningen's *Papyrological Primer*<sup>3</sup> (Leyden 1952). The legal significance of the document has been elucidated by F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale* (Weimar 1950) 384 ff.<sup>23</sup>

Col. 2, which presumably was placed on the sheet before Col. 1,<sup>24</sup> is a contract of sale drawn in 160/161 A.D. by which a certain Sarapion transferred to the freedman Agathodaemon the ownership of a slave named Didymus. Col. 1 contains the oath with which Sarapion certified the sale to the agoranomi. Since both columns are damaged at the top and approximately four lines are lost at the beginning of each column, the name of the seller is preserved neither in the sale nor in the oath. In his subscription at the bottom of Col. 2, he calls himself Sarapion, son of *Apollonius* and grandson of Apion.<sup>25</sup> Westermann has nevertheless restored his name in the lost lines at the top of the papyrus as Sarapion, son of *Zoilus* and grandson of Apion. This

<sup>21</sup> For this practice see C. L. Ransom, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans* (Chicago 1905) 64 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Bruno Snell (letter of Feb. 3, 1960): "Das nächstliegende ist doch wohl anzunehmen, dass unter den *trêta* Betten mit Löchern zu verstehen sind, durch die die Riemen hindurchgezogen werden können und die *enêlata* die Bettrahmen sind."

<sup>23</sup> Pringsheim (384, note 6) says of the papyrus that it "still needs further elucidation." In my own study of the text I have had the advantage of a photograph which I obtained from the Columbia University Library through the generous intervention of Prof. John Day. It was also by virtue of his kindness that I was able to examine the papyrus in New York at the end of October, 1959. The recto of the papyrus is occupied by a fragment of a shorthand manual.

<sup>24</sup> Westermann, 235 f.

<sup>25</sup> W. held that the subscriptions of purchaser and seller were written by the same hand. From my inspection of the photograph and later of the papyrus I concluded that they were produced by different hands. This is also the opinion of Dr. E. M. Husselman, who saw the photograph.

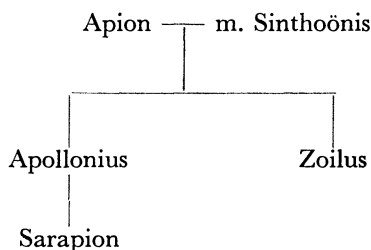
he has done in dependence on the language used to describe Zoilus both in the oath and in the sale.<sup>26</sup>

Col. 1. 10–15: ἀπὸ κληρονομίας<sup>27</sup> τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) πατρός μου πρὸς πατρός θείου καὶ θέσει πατρός μετελλαχότος Ζωίλου.

Westermann understood these words to mean “by inheritance from my aforesaid father, (who was) my paternal uncle and adoptive father, the deceased Zoilus.”<sup>28</sup>

Col. 2. 1–4: ἀπὸ κληρον[ομίας τοῦ] αὐτοῦ πατρός πρὸς πατρός θείου κα[ὶ θέσει πατρός] μετελλαχότος<sup>29</sup> Ζωίλου {Ζωίλου} τοῦ Ἀπίωνος μητρός Σινθοώνιος, “by inheritance from his aforesaid father, (who was) his paternal uncle and adoptive father, the deceased Zoilus, son of Apion and Sinthoōnis.”

The genealogy that Westermann has assigned to Sarapion includes not more than three generations:



This scheme rests on the exclusion of the second *Zoilos* as a ditto-graphy, and its exclusion is necessitated by Westermann's reading of αὐτοῦ in Col. 2. 2. If the first *Zoilos* designates Sarapion's paternal uncle and adoptive father, he must be a brother of Sarapion's natural father Apollonius, and Apion must be the father of them both. There is thus no place for the second *Zoilos*.

<sup>26</sup> I cite the papyrus by W.'s line numbers. Although he restored the lost lines at the top of each column, he did not include them in his numbering. Pringsheim reprints Col. 2 with W.'s numbers. The *Sammelbuch* gives separate numbering of the lost lines of Col. 1, but numbers continuously thereafter. David and Van Groningen follow the *Sammelbuch* for Col. 2.

<sup>27</sup> W.'s κληρονομίας is of course a typographical error. It has been tacitly corrected in *Sammelbuch* 5.7533 and by Pringsheim, 385.

<sup>28</sup> W. did not translate his text, but his commentary leaves no doubt that he understood the lines in this way.

<sup>29</sup> This word was written by a hand different from that which wrote the rest of the contract. The significance of this fact for the procedure adopted by Sarapion in effecting transfer of the slave to Agathodaemon's ownership is discussed by Westermann, 235.

The reading  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  has in fact had momentous consequences. It inspired the parallel reading  $\alpha\upsilon(\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  in Col. 1. 11, as it led also to the restoration of *Zoilos* as the name of Sarapion's father in the lost portions of both columns and to the excision of the second *Zoilos* in Col. 2. 3. And even if we accept the readings and their justification as presented by Westermann, we must still face the disturbing incongruity which allows Zoilus alone to figure as Sarapion's father in the early lines of Cols. 1 and 2 while he disappears entirely from Sarapion's subscription at the bottom of Col. 2, where he is replaced by Sarapion's natural father Apollonius.<sup>30</sup>

It is therefore of considerable interest that in Col. 2. 2  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  is by no means so sure a reading of the papyrus as it appears to be in the published text. The first two letters have faded and become exceedingly vague at the top. There is in fact a choice to be made between  $\alpha\upsilon$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$ , and the close spacing of the letters as well as their *ductus* strongly favor  $\omicron\upsilon$  over  $\alpha\upsilon$ . I accordingly feel that we must prefer  $\tau[\omicron]\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon$  to Westermann's  $\tau\omicron\upsilon] \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ .<sup>31</sup> In the corresponding passage of Col. 1, the published text has  $\alpha\upsilon(\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ . Here the papyrus is less ambiguous in spite of abrasion and damage to individual letters. The editor was too optimistic about *alpha* and too pessimistic about *upsilon*. The superiority of *tau* over *alpha* as a reading of the papyrus is undeniable, and  $\tau[\omicron]\upsilon$  would be a suitably conservative transcription. With these changes the phrases cited above become smoothly idiomatic.

Col. 1. 10–15: ἀπὸ κληρονομίας τοῦ  $\tau[\omicron]\upsilon$  πατρός μου πρὸς πατρός θείου καὶ θέσει πατρός μετηλλαχότος Ζωίλου, “by inheritance from my father's paternal uncle and adoptive father, the deceased Zoilus.”

Col. 2. 1–4: ἀπὸ κληρον[ομίας  $\tau[\omicron]\upsilon$ ]<sup>32</sup> τοῦ πατρός πρὸς πατρός θείου καὶ θέσει πατρός] μετηλλαχότος Ζωίλου Ζωίλου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος μητρός Σινθοώνιος, “by inheritance from his father's paternal uncle and adoptive father, the deceased Zoilus, son of Zoilus and Sinthoönis, grandson of Apion.”

These passages, taken together with Sarapion's own description

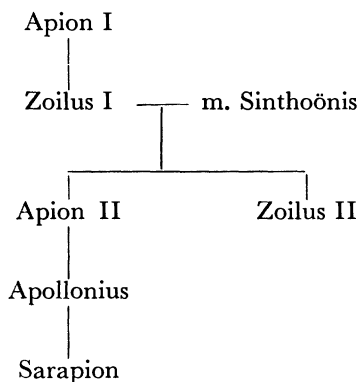
<sup>30</sup> Elsewhere the name of the natural father is followed by θέσει with the name of the adoptive father. E.g. *POxy.* 14.1719.4–5: Διδύμῳ Θέωνος θέσει Διδύμῳ.

<sup>31</sup> For  $\omicron\upsilon$  read in place of  $\alpha\upsilon$  see Youtie, *TAPA* 89 (1958) 400, note 9.

<sup>32</sup> The lacuna now has 6 letters instead of 8, but the corresponding lacuna in the preceding line, which is of equal length on the papyrus, also has 6.



in Col. 2. 21 f., permit us to construct a line of descent rather different from the one suggested by Westermann.



We know now that when Apion II died, his son Apollonius was adopted by Zoilus II. It is from the latter, his father's uncle and adoptive father, his own great-uncle, that Sarapion inherited the slave whom he now sells to Agathodaemon. We may therefore expunge the name of Zoilus from the restored lines at the top of Cols. 1 and 2 and substitute the name of Sarapion's father Apollonius. We may also remove the braces from *Zώϊλου* in Col. 2. 3 and so retain the name of Sarapion's great-grandfather.

The text of the papyrus can be further clarified. Col. 2. 4-7 refers to a gold ring Agathodaemon deposited with Sarapion as an *arrabon* in anticipation of the sale. This act took place, according to the published text, ἐν(τεῦθεν) ἀπὸ δεύτερος ἐπαγομένων τοῦ διελθόντος . . . ἔτους, i.e. in the last days of the preceding year, and specifically on the second intercalary day. Concerning *deuteros* Westermann wrote (233, note 6): "The scribe seems to have written δευτε- in line 5, to have then written β [i.e. the ordinal numeral] at the beginning of line 6, and then to have decided to complete the written word, but in his confusion to have written it in the nominative form." The supposed β, however, is in reality an illusion created by looking in a certain way at a writing of ρα in which *alpha* has been rubbed down almost to a straight line. An entirely satisfactory reading of the papyrus is δευτέρως, which is precisely what conventional grammar requires. It designates correctly the second of the intercalary days.

Westermann expanded ἐν(τεῦθεν) from εὔ, but Pringsheim hesitates to accept this interpretation,<sup>33</sup> doubtless because the word thus introduced into the text is regularly used in papyri to describe an action contemporary with the agreement in which it occurs, not with an earlier agreement. It refers to the present, not to the past.<sup>34</sup> What is expected here is ἔτι in its characteristic combination with ἀπό,<sup>35</sup> and this would not be the first time that ἔτι ἀπό has been taken for ἐν ἀπό.<sup>36</sup> The ink is badly rubbed through the second half of the line, and the remains are as easily reconstructed to ἐτι as to εὔ. In this situation, Greek idiom makes ἔτι ἀπό a mandatory reading. Sarapion received the ring from Agathodaemon "as far back as the second of the intercalary days" of the preceding year.

The buyer's subscription (Col. 2. 18–21) concludes with the words ἐπραξάμην ὡς πρόκειται. Occurring as it does in a subscription, this phrase can only mean "I have done as aforesaid," and it is not the customary language of subscriptions, which tend to avoid verbs of generalized meaning in favor of verbs specifically applicable to the transaction in hand. The Columbia papyrus follows this practice in the seller's subscription, which has πέπρακα (23 f.). Pringsheim (384, note 6) suggests that "if possible . . . ἐπριάμην should be read" in place of ἐπραξάμην, and he compares *POxy.* 9.1209.31 f.: ἐπριάμην τὴν δούλην [ὡς πρόκ(είται)]. The papyrus does in fact have ἐπρειάμην = ἐπριάμην. The shape of ει compares very favorably with the form of the same letters in 'Ηρακλείδου (19). The hand is large, sprawling, awkward, and fast. It lends itself readily to confusion of ει and αἷ.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Pringsheim (387, note 1): "The editor's resolving of εν [εὔ acc. to W.] into ἐν(τεῦθεν), based on a text from the 6th cent. which does not contain ἐν( ), but the full ἐντεῦθεν, is not conclusive. I am not able to make a better proposal." The clue, however, to a correct interpretation is not in the use of the abbreviation, but in the fact that it precedes ἀπό.

<sup>34</sup> F. Preisigke and E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch d. griech. Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin-Marburg 1925–58) s.v.

<sup>35</sup> Wilcken, *PBrem.* 39.3, note: "Die häufige Verbindung ἔτι ἀπό pflegt eine Zeitbestimmung einzuleiten."

<sup>36</sup> Youtie, *Eos* 48, fasc. 1 (1956) 373 ff.

<sup>37</sup> The reader may welcome a few minor observations. In Col. 1. 24 f., τὰς [τῆς τι]μῆς fits the space rather better than W.'s τῇ[ς τι]μῆς. In Col. 2. 14 there are indeed two very small, very black points of ink above *epsilon*, but they are not to be taken seriously as writing and they do not justify W.'s diaeresis over *epsilon*. In Col. 2. 18 the papyrus has 'Αγαθὸς Δέμων, and not 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων, which is of course the correct spelling of the name.

4. *PMilan*. Inv. 107

This papyrus was published with a photograph in *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 44–46. Its text is a receipt issued in the 45th year of Ptolemy Euergetes II (126/125 B.C.) by a certain Achilles to the royal banker of the Lycopolite nome. The writer used a large awkward hand, had trouble keeping his lines straight, and was not above an occasional error in spelling.

The papyrus is badly damaged at the top, and most of the prescript has been lost.<sup>38</sup> The body of the receipt, however, is fairly well preserved, and its text is susceptible of improvement. I present a revised transcription of lines 3–12 (= 3–13 *ed. pr.*) with a minimum of critical discussion.

- ἔχ[ω ἡμ]εῖν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ὀν Λύκων πόλ[ει] τραπέ-  
 5 ζης δι' Ἰέρακος τοῦ πατρὸς σου  
 εἰς τὸ καθήγον ὀψώνιον τοῦ  
 με (ἔτους), μ[οι Ἀ]χιλλεῖ μὲν χαλκοῦ  
 [τ]άλαντα{ντα} ὀκτὼ δισχιλίας, (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) η' Β,  
 [1-2]ωτει δὲ τάλαντα ἑξ' Ε', (γίνονται) (τάλαντα) ς' Ε',  
 10 [τ]ὰ πάντα χαλκοῦ τάλαντα δεκα-  
 [πέ]ντε δραχμὰς χιλίας, (γίνονται) [(τάλαντα)] ι[ε] (δραχμαὶ)] Ἀ.  
 (ἔτει) με .[

3. ἔχ[ω ἡμ]εῖν: ἔχ[ . . ]εῖν *ed.*, who suggests ἔχ[ω ἔχ]εῖν, but this he grants is without parallel; it is also obscure. It is tempting to compare *PCairIsidor.* 128.7 ἔχομεν ἡμῖν, but the editors have there corrected the pronoun to ἡμεῖς, and the contextual situation is in fact not the same. The frequency of ἡμεῖν as a spelling of ἡμῖν makes it commonplace. The plural pronoun is explained by lines 7–9, which assign part of the sum received “to me, Achilles” and the rest to a second person whose name is damaged.

4. ὀν: written for ἐν; δὴ *ed.*, who nevertheless acknowledges that his *delta* closely resembles *omicron* as written in the preceding ἀπό and that his *eta* has all the characteristics of *nu*. Elsewhere in this text *delta* has its familiar triangular shape. With εῖν > ον cf. footnotes 13 and 15.

πόλ[ει]: πόλ(εως) *ed.* The letters εἰ are lost in the tear which extends from the top of the papyrus into line 6.

5. πατρὸς σου: Τ[ . . ]λασου *ed.*, who takes this to be the father of Hierax.

6. εἰς: [ε]ἰς *ed.* The tongue of *epsilon* is still visible.

τό: ται seemingly corrected from *zeta*.

καθήγον: καθήκον *ed.* The latter is of course the correct spelling.

<sup>38</sup> The editor estimates the loss at two lines. The photograph is not adequate for verifying the three letters deciphered in the first partially preserved line. I am especially sceptical of *theta*.

7. The *ed. pr.* has *με* as line 7 and the rest as line 8. The photograph shows how the scribe came to give one line the appearance of two. After writing the number of the year, he made an outsize year-sign which brought his pen considerably below the level of the numeral. He continued with *mu* at the lower level, then tried to regain the upper level but finished the line about half-way between them.

*με* (ἐτους): the date is confirmed by line 12.

*μ[οῖ Ἀ]χιλλεῖ: μ[Ἀ]χιλλεῖ* *ed.*, who rightly finds this to be “una indicazione di natura meno chiara.” The papyrus has a rather large hole between *mu* and *chi*. The lacuna can accommodate three letters because it is precisely here that the scribe attempted to regain the level at which he had begun the line. Writing obliquely upward instead of horizontally, he was able to make more of the available space than if he had written straight across the sheet.

8. *[τ]άλαντα{ντα}: [τ]άλαντα ὄντα* *ed.* The first *nu* is inserted above the line. The dotted letters are concealed by large blots, of which the first has the size and shape suitable for covering *lambda*, and the second for *alpha* or *omicron* but not for both. Furthermore, *ὄντα* is not at all usual between *τάλαντα* and its numeral. The photograph creates the impression that the blots were not accidental but intended to cancel the letters that they conceal. The cancellation was nevertheless as misguided as the repetition of *ντα*. The scribe's struggle with *τάλαντα* took on truly titanic proportions.

*δισχιλίας: δισχιλι[α]ς* *ed.*

9. *[1-2]ωτει δέ: [... ]λυτερδε* *ed.* A possible reconstruction of the name is *[Πα]ώτει*; cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922) s.n. *Παῶτις*. His reference to *PPetrie* 2.28, Col. 5. 8 must be supplemented with *PPetrie* 3.66a. *Ἐ*: *om. ed.*

10. *[τ]ὰ πάντα: [... ] πάντα* *ed.* For the use of *τὰ πάντα* to mark a total see Preisigke-Kießling, *Wörterbuch* 2, s.v. *πᾶς* (273.58).

11. *[πέ]ντε: [καὶ πέ]ντε* *ed.*, but the left margin as reconstructed in the preceding lines will not tolerate *καί*.

*χιλίας κτλ.: χιλίας . . [ed.]*

### Translation

“I have received for us from the bank in Lycopolis through Hierax, your agent, as the due wage for the 45th year: for me, Achilles, in copper, eight talents two thousand drachmas = 8 tal. 2000 dr.; for [ ]otis, six talents 5000 drachmas = 6 tal. 5000 dr.; total, in copper, fifteen talents one thousand drachmas = 15 tal. 1000 dr. Year 45 .[ . . .”

### 5. *PMilan*. Inv. 105 and *PRyl*. 4.681

The Milan text is written across the fibers of a long narrow strip of papyrus in a hand characteristic of the early sixth century A.D. A transcription has been published with a photograph in *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 58–63, under the title “ordine di comparizione,” which is somewhat more accurate, as the editor rightly observes,

than the usual English description of such documents as "orders for arrest."<sup>39</sup> I repeat here the *editio princeps* for the reader's convenience.

φιλ(τάτω) ἐμῷ συμμάχῳ.

Ἀμαίειον τὸν γεωργὸν αἰτιάται τοὺς περισυνούς ἀγροφύλακας ὡς  
παρ[ὰ τ]ὴν ἀμέλειαν

αὐτὴν βλάβην ὑπομεμενηκῶς μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων τῇ[s αὐ]τοῦ μη-  
χανῆς [. . .

τοίνυν ἔκπεμψον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἔρρ(ωσθαι).

2. Read Ἀμαίειος ὁ γεωργός, περσινούς. 3. αὐτὴν: read αὐτῶν. μηχανικῶν: accidentally omitted by the editor. See his note *ad loc.* αὐ]τοῦ: difficult to verify on the photograph, but probably correct. For αὐτοῦ in the attributive position see W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus* 2 (Stuttgart 1889) 48 f., 3 (1893) 66. 4. ἔρρ(ωσθαι): so resolved inadvertently for ἔρρ(ωσθε), or better ἔρρ(ωσο).

Editor's translation: "Al mio carissimo collaboratore.<sup>40</sup> Il contadino Amaeus accusa le guardie campestri dell' anno precedente, avendo patito danno, per la loro trascuratezza, alle macchine dell' irrigazione del suo fondo.<sup>41</sup> Dunque mandalo in città. Sta bene."

What immediately attracts attention in this text is the wording of the prescript. Such words as ἐμῷ and φιλτάτω, i.e. terms expressing a personal relationship of affection or esteem, are not found in other texts of this type. Coming as they do from the office of the strategus,<sup>42</sup> or other civil and military officials of somewhat comparable authority,<sup>43</sup> and addressed to village officials, they are couched in purely formal and neutral terms. Typical of most of them is *PTebt.* 2.594: εὐσχήμοσι καὶ ἀρχεφόδω κάμης Τεπτύνεως.

Concerning φιλ(τάτω) the editor writes: "La lettura delle ultime lettere [i.e. *iota* and *lambda*] non è sicura per la presenza di una serie di buchi nel papiro; la parola termina certamente con un segno abbreviativo che si allunga sino ad attraversare la riga

<sup>39</sup> *Aegyptus* 38 (1958) 59. To the list of these orders given in *PLund* 6, No. 2, introd. (= Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse 1951-52, 121 f.), add *PCairIsidor.* 129-31.

<sup>40</sup> Although the editor gives this neutral and colorless translation for *symmachos*, he is fully aware that a *symmachos* may be a "funzionario locale di bassissimo rango." See his note *ad loc.*, and *PCairIsidor.* 80.4, note. This fact has, as we shall see, a certain importance for the reading of the prescript.

<sup>41</sup> For the twofold meaning of *μηχανή* see Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch* s.v.

<sup>42</sup> J. Nicole, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 3 (1906) 228 ff.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. centurio *PGissUnivBibl.* 1.15, decurio *POxy.* 1.64, beneficiarius *POxy.* 1.65, irenarch *PCairIsidor.* 130, praepositus *PCairIsidor.* 131.

sottostante.” In spite of the holes, *iota* is an obvious and probable reading, and *lambda* closely resembles the same letter in line 3, where its right leg is extended horizontally to meet the start of the following *alpha*. The *lambda* in line 1 has been treated in the same way. Its right leg flows out smoothly to make contact with the top of a small arc, which looks like the upper portion of an *omicron*. Both *iota* and *lambda* are acceptable, but  $\epsilon\mu\omega$  is clearly an incorrect reading. The middle letter has totally the shape of *nu* and cannot be *mu*. This short text has many examples of both.

If we put this information together, the result is  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron.\epsilon\nu\omega$ , which ought of course to be  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ . The “segno abbreviativo” is indeed *xi*, as becomes evident if one attempts to trace the letter in its downward course. The prescript may be securely read as  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$   $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omega$ . Even the use of the personal name is somewhat startling in a text of this kind,<sup>44</sup> but it does at least have the support of the papyrus.

The accusative  $\text{Ἀμαίειον τὸν γεωργόν}$  in line 2 is a blunder for the nominative since it is the subject of  $\alphaἰτιᾶται$ . The editor, perhaps overlooking the possibilities inherent in the lacuna at the end of line 3, assigns a double function to the accusative: “É il soggetto del successivo verbo  $\alphaἰτιᾶται$  et l’oggetto al quale si riferisce il verbo  $\epsilon\kappa\pi\epsilon\mu\psi\omicron\nu$  che per primo si affaccia alla mente di chi scrive l’ordine, poi in seguito dimenticato per chiarire il motivo della citazione.”<sup>45</sup> It suffices, however, to read the other texts of this class to see that the person or persons whom the local official is ordered to send to the city are always the accused. Since Amaeius is the accuser and the field guards are the accused, they and not Amaeius are to be escorted to the city. We must therefore consider whether the scattered traces above and below the tear at the end of line 3 may not be identified as  $\alpha\upsilon\tau[ο\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma]$ . The dotted letters are just barely possible, and the word might be thought to crowd the edge of the sheet. But an accusative is needed to complete the sentence, and of  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma, \tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau[ο\upsilon\varsigma]$ , and  $\alpha\upsilon\tau[ο\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma]$ , only the last seems at all possible if account is taken both of syntax and of palaeography. Taking full advantage of the photograph as well as the foregoing discussion, I propose that the text be read as follows:

<sup>44</sup> For  $\text{Προσώπων}$  in *POslo*. 2.20.1,  $\text{προ}\langle\epsilon\rangle\text{στώπων}$  has been suggested. See *POslo*. 3, p. 275.

<sup>45</sup> See also his translation cited above.

Φιλοξένω συμμαχῶ.

Ἀμαίειον τὸν γεωργὸν αἰτιᾶται τοὺς περισυνοὺς ἀγροφύλακας ὡς  
παρὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν  
αὐτὴν βλάβην ὑπομεμενηκὼς μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων τῇ[ς αὐ]τοῦ μηχανῆς.  
αὐτ[οὺς]  
τοῖνν ἔκπεμψον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἔρρ(ωσο).<sup>46</sup>

Translation: "To Philoxenus, *symmachos*. Amaeius the cultivator accuses last year's field guards because as a result of their negligence he sustained damage to the irrigation works on his land. Accordingly, send them to the city. Farewell."

*PRyl.* 4.681 is another order to effect an arrest, but it belongs to the much earlier time of the second century. As presented in the edition, it exhibits a number of surprising features.

Τακοκκείλεως  
τὸν Πεῦνις Ὁρου τοῦ Ἀνγάτος  
μητρὸς Ταωνώφριος κατὰγι(ν)  
εἰ<ς> τὸν ἀρχέφοδον.

1. Read Πεῦνιν. 3. Read κατὰγειν.

Line 1 has the name of a village in the Oxyrhynchite nome, and the name is in the genitive case. If the line followed the pattern set by the parallel texts, the village name must have been preceded by the title of the official or officials to whom the order was addressed. A typical example is *BGU.* 2.634: *κωμάρχαις κώμης Θρασώ*. Rather puzzling is the infinitive at the end of line 3. All other texts of this kind have an imperative, as a rule *ἀνάπεμψον* (-ατε), *ἔκπεμψον* (-ατε), *παράδοτε*.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps most astonishing is line 4, which directs that Peunis be delivered "to the archepodus." We have heretofore assumed, and rightly, that barring contrary indications<sup>48</sup> all such orders came from the strategus<sup>49</sup> and that the persons taken into custody were to be produced at his office in the nome capital. In this situation not only is *εἰ<ς>* highly suspect, but the infinitive also becomes a source of real embarrassment because a compound verb formed with *κατά* might be used for movement from the city to a village but hardly from a village to the city.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The critical apparatus appended to the editor's text above is also applicable to the revised text.

<sup>47</sup> Exceptional are *ἐνέγκατε* (*PMerton* 1. 29), *μετάπεμψον* (*POxy.* 6.969).

<sup>48</sup> See footnote 43.

<sup>49</sup> See footnote 42.

<sup>50</sup> Youtie, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 41 (1948) 15, note 36.

There is still another way in which the Rylands papyrus differs from others of the same class. It measures 10 cm. in width and 6.5 cm. in height, appearing almost like a square in contrast to the Milan papyrus, which measures  $29.5 \times 5.9$  cm. The Rylands papyrus is not even twice as wide as it is high, whereas the width of the Milan papyrus is five times its height. The latter conforms to the general although not universal pattern.<sup>51</sup> Other orders of this kind which are completely or almost completely preserved range from 15 to 25.1 cm. in length. With two exceptions, their height varies between 4.5 and 10 cm.<sup>52</sup>

If we allow some weight to these considerations, they suggest that a portion of the Rylands papyrus has been lost from the left side. A photograph of the papyrus, which the Librarian of the John Rylands Library was kind enough to send me, seems at first sight to disappoint any such expectation. While it proves the text to be complete on the right side, it appears also to present a margin of 1–2 cm. on the left. It was doubtless for this reason, and because of the seeming continuity of the text from line 2 into line 3, that the editors presented their transcription as complete. But there is reason to think that the supposed margin is an illusion created by scouring and abrasion. The papyrus as we now have it is damaged along a fold running vertically down the middle, so that the two panels formed by the fold have almost but not quite parted. The right half of the papyrus is much darker than the left, and the ink has resisted attack more successfully on the right side than on the left. And since an official title is lacking before the village name in line 1, and one of the usual verbs is expected before the name of the accused in line 2,<sup>53</sup> it is not unreasonable to think of the slightly irregular left edge of the papyrus as another fold along which one or possibly two more panels were broken off, perhaps disintegrated by the action of wind and sand. If this is true, the papyrus was originally 15 or 20 cm. long, and its format was comparable to most other orders for arrest.

It may be helpful to present a revision of the text in the light

<sup>51</sup> Exceptions are *POxy.* 6.969 ( $12.4 \times 8.8$  cm.), which is properly an order to summon, not to arrest; *PMerton* 1.29 ( $11.9 \times 6.5$  cm.), the text of which departs from the usual style.

<sup>52</sup> The exceptions are *PCairPreisigke* 5 ( $23 \times 13$  cm.), *PCairIsidor.* 131 ( $24 \times 17$  cm.).

<sup>53</sup> The verb immediately precedes the name of the accused in most of the texts preserved from the first three centuries.



of these observations. I shall assume for convenience' sake that only one panel has been lost on the left side. The restorations can be only illustrative even though account is taken of them in the notes appended to the text.

[πρεσβ(υτέροις) κώμης] Τακολκείλεως.  
[ἐξαυτῆς ἀναπέμψα]τε Πεῦνις Ὠροῦ τοῦ Ἀνγάτος  
[καὶ ca. 8 υἱὸν] μητρὸς Ταοννώφριος καταγι(νομένους)  
[ἐν κώμῃ ca. 9] ἣ τὸν ἀρχέφοδον.

1. For *presbyteroi* as recipients of such orders see *PGen. Inv.* 102 (*Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 3 [1906] 226), *BGU.* 1.148. Cf. A. Tomsin, *Étude sur les presbyteroi* (Extr. du *Bull. Acad. Roy. Belg.* 38 [1952]) 43 ff., 70 ff. 2. For the initial position of *exautēs* see *BGU.* 2.374, *POxy.* 1.64. ἀναπέμψα]τε: I cannot justify either the editors' τόν or my own ]τε on the photograph. Neither reading carries conviction. There is some slight justification for *tau* but the rest is a vague and indecisive scattering of ink. Nevertheless, the space is perhaps a little better for 2 letters than for 3, and the verb ought to come just before the name with no article intervening. See footnote 53. Read Πεῦνις; cf. Πάυνιος *OStrassb.* 521.1. 3. καταγι(νομένους): for the same abbreviation of the participle see *POxy.* 14.1692.3. 4. *PAberd.* 60 has ἣ τὸν ἀρχέφοδα (for -δον). Cf. *POslo.* 2.20.4, *POxy.* 1.64.5.

## 6. *PStrassb.* 30

This papyrus, first published by Preisigke in 1906, has been a favorite with anthologists.<sup>54</sup> Its text is an offer made by Aurelius Pabous of Euhemeria<sup>55</sup> to Aurelius Panneus of Theoxenis for the lease of fifty-six full grown she-goats for two years from Thoth 10 of the second year of Probus, i.e. Sept. 7, 276 A.D.<sup>56</sup> The annual rent will be fourteen<sup>57</sup> kids that have been weaned:

ἀρρενικά ἐπτά, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ  
θηλυκά 14 τὴν δὲ ἀπόδοσιν

<sup>54</sup> Mitteis, *Chrest.* 364; Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 40; David and Van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer* 45.

<sup>55</sup> All the editions have *Εὐημρίας*, which they correct to *Εὐημερίας*. A microfilm which Professor J. Schwartz most generously sent to me shows very clearly that the papyrus itself has *Εὐημερίας*. Other minor corrections may be noted here. In line 23 Preisigke has *ὠμολόγηκα*, the papyrus *ὠμολόγησεν*. The text requires *ὠμολόγησα*, and Preisigke's hand-drawing shows how gravely an editor's expectations can distort his vision. In the drawing the top of *nu* has undergone a severe contraction, so that the letter is brought closer to the shape of *alpha*. Preisigke's *δακτ(ύλ)φ* in 24-25 may now be altered to *δακτ<ύλ>φ*. Cf. H. I. Bell, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* 2 (St. Louis 1953) 425.

<sup>56</sup> For a summary statement with bibliography on the leasing of animals, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Warsaw 1955) 368-70.

<sup>57</sup> The papyrus has -ες where the editions have -ας. For *τέσσαρες* as a characteristic *koinē* accusative, see J. H. Moulton, *GramNTGreek* 1<sup>3</sup> (1908) 36.

15 τῶν αἰγῶν {τῶν αἰγῶν} ποιή-  
 σιμ[αί] σοι κατ' ἔτος ἑκάστον μηνί  
 Παῦνι τοῦ ἐσιόντος<sup>58</sup> ἔτους.

Seven of the kids are to be male, the rest female. The curious, rather angular sign in line 14 separates the statement of the rent from the promise to deliver it at the stipulated time. Preisigke called it a *Satzzeichen*, a period. This identification was rejected by Wilcken, who saw the sign as the well known symbol for ὧν and suggested (ὧν) τήν {δέ} ἀπόδοσιν κτλ.<sup>59</sup> His reading has been accepted by all subsequent editors,<sup>60</sup> but we naturally feel some surprise that the resolution of the symbol should result in the excision of δέ, which is written out in full and is in its proper place in the clause. Furthermore, the supposed symbol has none of the amplitude which we associate with (ὧν). In comparison with other examples it is excessively small.<sup>61</sup>

Professor Schwartz has examined the papyrus at my request, and he has proposed an explanation which I have tested and confirmed on the microfilm that he was kind enough to send me: “. . . ne serait-ce pas le début d'un *epsilon* (pour un ἐπτά que le scribe a renoncé d'écrire)? Vous avez remarqué que le scribe se répète (l. 8: ἀπό τοῦ: 2 fois—l. 15: τῶν αἰγῶν: 2 fois); peut-être a-t-il évité, in extremis, une dittologie, puisque δεκατέσσαρες<sup>62</sup> et ἐπτά (ll. 12 et 13) étaient suffisamment explicites.”<sup>63</sup>

Professor Schwartz's observation relieves us of any need to take the “symbol” seriously. We may dismiss it as an uncompleted *epsilon*. An editor might enter it in his text as [ⵈ], i.e. an *epsilon* cancelled by being left unfinished. In any case, the text which follows it remains as written on the papyrus: τήν δέ ἀπόδοσιν κτλ.

Preisigke's text of lines 16–17 has also been kept intact in all the editions. He translates the sentence as follows: “Die Ablieferung dieser Zicklein an Dich werde ich für jedes Jahr im Monat Pauni des kommenden Jahres bewirken,” and we are to understand the translation in the light of the paraphrase given in his introduction: “. . . die Miete soll nach Z. 16 f. im Pauni, also im dritt-

<sup>58</sup> A very frequent spelling of ἐσιόντος.

<sup>59</sup> *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 5 (1<sup>tes</sup> u. 2<sup>tes</sup> [Doppel-]Heft, 1909) 259.

<sup>60</sup> See footnote 54.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Facsimiles 2* (London 1898) Pl. 45 (last line of 2nd col. = *PLond.* 2.267 [p. 140] 300).

<sup>62</sup> See footnote 57.

<sup>63</sup> Letter of Oct. 26, 1959.

letzten Monat, des Jahres 3 (ἰσιόντος ἔτους) für die beiden Jahre zusammen abgeliefert werden." The same interpretation is offered by Meyer (*Jur. Pap.* 40, introd.): "Als Jahres-mietzins (hier φόρος) hat er 14 junge . . . Zicklein . . . zu entrichten, und zwar für beide Jahre (2 und 3) zusammen im Monate Pauni des 3 Jahres (May/June 278)." And since the other editors use Preisigke's text without comment, we may assume that like Meyer they accept his interpretation.

A few examples of κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον as used in leases to describe the payment of rents will suffice to show that the amounts are not only established "for each year" but also paid "in each year."<sup>64</sup> The following are extracted from leases of three and four years' duration: *PMich.* 5.315.24–30: παραδώσουσι . . . τὰ ἐκφόρια καθ' ἔ[τος]<sup>65</sup> μηνὶ Παῦνι; *BGU.* 2.538.18–19: τὰ δὲ ἐκφόρ[ια ἐπιτελείτωσ]αν οἱ μεμισθωμένοι κατ' ἔτος ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι; 3.920.17–19: ὅνπερ φόρον διορθώσομαι σοι ἐνενιάυτα<sup>66</sup> κατ' ἔτος ἐφ' ἄλων τῷ Παῦνι μηνί; *PMerton* 1.10.18–19: τὰ καθ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια ἀποδιδότω<sup>67</sup> . . . ἀεὶ ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι; *PMich.* 3.184.15–16: τὰ δὲ κατ' ἔτος ἐκφόρια ἀποδώσω ἐν μηνὶ Παῦνι. The language of these statements leaves no doubt that the rents are to be paid in the month of Pauni in each year of the lease. And even when rents are postponed to the following year, the payment is still annual. *PAmh.* 2.86 is a lease contracted in Phamenoth of the 10th year of Vespasian for a period of five years. The rents will be paid in Phaophi of the 11th year, and so on (11–12): ἂς καὶ ἀπ[οδ]ώσω κατ' ἔτος ἐξενιάυτα<sup>68</sup> ἐν μηνὶ Φαῶφι. Phamenoth and Phaophi fall within different calendar years, but they are within the same year of the lease.<sup>69</sup>

In *PStrassb.* 30 the position of κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον gives it an adverbial function, and if it is retained along with τοῦ ἰσιόντος ἔτους the phrases are in contradiction. We must therefore correct the text in either of two ways:

<sup>64</sup> Oddly enough, *PPrinceton* 3.151.11, 13 uses κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον even though it is a lease of two cows (cf. *Berichtigungsl.* 3.152) for one year only.

<sup>65</sup> A familiar writing of κατ' ἔτος.

<sup>66</sup> For discussion of αὐτενιάυτα (= ἐνενιάυτα) and ἐξενιάυτα see *PCol.* 5, pp. 217 f.

<sup>67</sup> See footnote 65. Read ἀποδιδότω.

<sup>68</sup> See footnote 66.

<sup>69</sup> *Sammelbuch* 5.8086, a five-year lease of sheep and goats, states that the annual (κατ' ἔτος) rent is to be paid in two instalments in each year of the lease, half in Phamenoth, half in Thoth.

κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ <ἐνεστῶτος καὶ τοῦ> ἰσιόντος  
 ἔτους  
 κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον μηνὶ Παῦνι {τοῦ ἰσιόντος ἔτους}

The first of these alternatives is unobjectionable for sense but tautological. The second follows the parallels cited above and raises no difficulty either of sense or of style.<sup>70</sup>

### 7. *PRyl.* 2.174

This papyrus, first published in 1915, was republished in 1932 by Hunt and Edgar in their *Select Papyri* 1.74. Its text acknowledges the repayment of a loan on Phaophi 26 in the 16th year of Trajan, i.e. Oct. 23, 112 A.D., at Ptolemais Euergetis (Arsinoë, Fayûm). This transaction is said to be based "on the evidence of a deed of loan executed through this same record-office<sup>71</sup> and of a draft of the bank of Sarapion in the 11th year of Trajanus Caesar the lord . . . the month Caesareus" (11-13):<sup>72</sup>

12 [τελειω]θέν διὰ τοῦ αὐτ[ο]ῦ γραφείου καὶ διεγβολῆν<sup>73</sup> κατὰ δάνειον  
 πίωνος τραπέζ(ης)  
 [τῷ δεκ]άτῳ πρώ[τ]ῳ<sup>74</sup> ἔτει Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μηνὶ  
 Καισαρείῳ.

The reference to Sarapion's bank is here made in the simplest terms: ἡ Σαραπίωνος τράπεζα. The editors of *PRyl.* 2 have the following comment: "a bank called ἡ Σαρ. τρ. Πλατείας occurs in *PHawara* 303.2-3 (A.D. 109), another ἡ Σαρ. τρ. Ταμείων . . . in *CPR.* 14.5-6 (A.D. 166), but for a τράπεζα Σαραπίωνος without further qualification there is no parallel yet published." When Calderini published his list of banks in 1938, he gave additional references for Sarapion's bank in the Treasuries quarter (Ταμείων) and for the other in Gymnasium Street (variously called Πλατείας

<sup>70</sup> If τοῦ ἰσιόντος ἔτους were retained and κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον cancelled, the sentence might have the meaning assigned to it by Preisigke and Meyer, but the statement is poorly phrased for this purpose. In a lease produced only ten days after the beginning of the year, "the incoming year" might well be ambiguous.

<sup>71</sup> Presumably the agoranomeion of Ptolemais Euergetis. Cf. page 267.

<sup>72</sup> The translation is borrowed from *Select Papyri* 1.74.

<sup>73</sup> A normal variant of διεκβολή.

<sup>74</sup> πρώ[τ]ῳ *Select Papyri*, πρώ[τ]ῳ *PRyl.* Only a minute remnant of the last letter is preserved, but the identification is secure.

Γυμνασίου, Γυμνασίου, Πλατείας).<sup>75</sup> With the latter he associated also two references to a bank of Sarapion of which the precise location is obscure in the one instance and lost in the other.<sup>76</sup> The bank mentioned in the Rylands papyrus is recorded by Calderini among banks situated in the Treasuries quarter, seemingly with no sure intention of assigning it to that *amphodon* but because the same papyrus mentions twice (10, 27) the Ἀρποχρατίωνος τράπεζα Ταμείων. It is still true that “for a τράπεζα Σαραπίωνος without further qualification there is no parallel yet published.”

Since topographical description is a normal feature of references to Sarapion's bank and is frequent in all references to banks, we must have a closer look at the beginning of line 13, which has the date [τῷ δεκ]άτῳ πρώ[τ]ῳ ἔτει. The combination δέκατος πρώτος for “eleventh” is strange. It is not recorded in the lexicons or grammars, which have only ἐνδέκατος. Even modern Greek, which is accustomed to δέκατος τρίτος, δέκατος τέταρτος etc., knows nothing of δέκατος πρώτος.<sup>77</sup> If it were genuine in the Rylands papyrus, it would be an *unicum*; but even there it has been obtained by restoration. It might nevertheless be justified if *alpha* were as securely read as it appears to be in the edition.

Fortunately, the papyrus has been reproduced on Plate 12 at the end of the volume. Where the editors read *alpha*, the photograph has only minute remnants from the top and bottom of a letter at the extreme left edge of the available space. These are mere points of ink, neither so distinctive nor so critically placed that they must be associated with *alpha* and no other letter. It seems advisable therefore to separate off τῷ πρώ[τ]ῳ ἔτει as the date, and attempt to relate the earlier portion of this line to the end of the preceding line. Line 12 concludes with τῆς Σαραπίωνος τραπέζης, and we expect line 13 to begin with either of the *amphodon* names regularly associated with Sarapion's bank,

<sup>75</sup> *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 253–55. The districts so named are *amphoda*, of which a list is provided by C. Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoë* (*Sitz. Akad. Wiss. Wien* 145 [1902] Abh. 4) 19 ff. Cf. Preisigke-Kießling, *Wörterbuch* 3, Absch. 22.

<sup>76</sup> *PFay.* 96 (Wilck. *Chrest.* 313) 3–4: διὰ τῆς Σαραπίωνος τραπέζης Πτερούτης [οἰ]κου. *CPR.* 139.3: διὰ τῆς Σαραπίωνος τραπέζης, followed by writing which is illegible.

<sup>77</sup> See e.g. H. Pernot, *Grammaire du grec moderne*<sup>4</sup>, pt. 1 (Paris 1921) 103 ff. D. J. Georgacas (letter of July 8, 1960): “Modern Greek never uses or used in the past the expression δέκατος πρώτος for ἐνδέκατος.”

specifically [*ΙΙλατεί*]α[s] or [*Ταμείω*]ν.<sup>78</sup> Such ink as remains is properly placed for *nu* as well as *alpha*, and although there is no way of making a sure choice between these alternatives, to my eye the latter is the more likely. At any rate, since the editors' *alpha* is not necessarily a complete reading and certainly not a compulsory reading, we may be reasonably sure that τῆς Σαραπίωνος τραπέζης(ης) was followed in the usual way by one or the other of these *amphoda*, and this topographical description by τῷ πρώ[τ]ῳ ἔτει Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ.

The loan was accordingly made in July/August, 98 A.D., and repaid on October 23, 112 A.D. The loan thus remained in force over a period of 14 years and 2 months, not "some four years," as the editors supposed. The new date, however, for the inception of the loan helps as little as the palaeography of the hand in fixing the location of the bank, because 98 A.D. is almost midway between the earliest known dates for the two banks of Sarapion at Arsinoë: 92 A.D., *Tameiôn*, *PGrenf.* 2.43.1–3 (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 3 [1906] 122); 109 A.D., *Plateias*, *PHawara* 303.2–3.<sup>79</sup>

#### 8. *PHamb.* 1.1

This papyrus has a copy of a bank document (ἀντίγραφον διαγραφῆς). It is a notification<sup>80</sup> issued on Sebastos 24 of the 4th year of Nero, i.e. Sept. 21, 57 A.D., by the exchange bank of Apollophanes at Alexandria, to the effect that Lucius Vettius Diogenes, a veteran of the cavalry, has repaid to Marcus Antonius Dionysius, who is presently serving in the *ala Augusta*, the second and final instalment of a loan of 1200 drachmas negotiated at some earlier date through the same bank. The first instalment had been a cash payment of 700 drachmas; the remainder of 500 drachmas is now repaid in accordance with the terms of a release established by the court which had supervised the original agreement.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> I am indebted to my former pupil, Mr. Peter Parsons, for a palaeographical analysis of this passage. Editors have not always found it easy to distinguish *nu* from *alpha-sigma* in cursive hands. Cf. Youtie, *Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*, Institute of Classical Studies, London. Bulletin Suppl. 6 (1958) 69.

<sup>79</sup> Other but distinctly minor corrections are: κς̄ and κ[ς̄] for κς and κς (2 and 38 respectively). The papyrus has τοῦ before Ἀρσινωείτου (3).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *POxy.* 3.513 (= *Select Papyri* 1.77) 36 ff.: ὁμολογῶ [κ]ατὰ προσφώνησιν Ἐπιμάχου ἀσχολουμένου ὡνὴν τῆς [ἐπ]ὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγῃων πόλει Σαραπίου τραπέζης ἀπεσ[χηκ]έναι με παρὰ σοῦ, κτλ.

<sup>81</sup> *PHamb.* 1.1, introd.

The statements of loan and repayment in the Hamburg papyrus have the following form in Meyer's edition (9–15):

ᾶς ἐδανείσατ(ο) . . . ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) Ἄσ, ὥστ' ἀπέχ(ειν)  
ταύτας τε καὶ τοὺς τόκους αὐτῶν συναχ(ομένους), ἐσχ(ηκέναι) διὰ  
χι(ρὸς)<sup>82</sup> ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς) ψ-, τὰς λοιπ(ὰς) . . . [ᾶ]ργ(υρίου)  
(δραχμάς) φ.

Translation: "the 1200 drachmas in silver that [Diogenes] borrowed . . . , so that [Dionysius] has received both this amount and the interest thereon in full: he has received in cash 700 dr. in silver, [and] the remaining 500 dr. in silver . . ."

Meyer's text certainly follows the intention of the scribe, and its meaning is precisely what the scribe had in mind. It would be difficult therefore, and perhaps impossible, to impugn Meyer's readings if no parallel texts were available. These do now exist, and we may use them as a check on his reading and arrangement of the Hamburg text.

*PEitrem* 5 was published with a photograph in *Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlingar* 1916, No. 2, by S. Eitrem. His text was republished in a much improved form by F. Preisigke in *Sitz. Heid. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1916, Abh. 3, and Preisigke's text was subsequently reprinted in *Sammelbuch* 3.6016. Like *PHamb.* 1.1 it is a *diagraphê* issued by an exchange bank at Alexandria. Unlike the Hamburg *diagraphê* it appears to be a preliminary draft, somewhat corrected, for the most part legible, but still obscure in a few spots.<sup>83</sup> Its basic form, however, has been clarified by Preisigke's revision. I cite the pertinent portions of lines 13a–34:

ἐχ(ρηματίσαμεν)<sup>84</sup> . . . Εὐδαίμο<νί>δι . . . ὥστε ἀπέχιν<sup>85</sup> αὐτῇν τὰς  
ὄλας τῆς τιμῆς (δραχμάς) Ἄν' σὺν αἰς ἔχι διὰ χιρὸς<sup>86</sup> (δραχμαῖς) Ἄρ,  
τὰς λοιπὰς . . . τ.

<sup>82</sup> Read χειρός.

<sup>83</sup> Suggestions for the end of 12 and for 34a have been offered by P. Viereck, *Woch. kl. Phil.* 33 (1916) 918; L. Amundsen, *Chron.Ég.* 13–14 (1932) 328, note 3.

<sup>84</sup> So in 13a for Preisigke's ἐχ(ειν), which has no structural relation to the context. The abbreviated verb stands alone in the center of 13a and is flanked by long horizontal lines. Line 14 begins with a meaningless repetition of the date given at the beginning of 13, then continues with Εὐδαίμο<νί>δι. Cf. *TAPA* 87 (1956) 76 f., where I also proposed ἐχ(ρηματίσαμεν) in place of ε χ(αλκοῦς) for *PFamTebt.* 8.9. [I do not understand the suggestion made by the late Dr. Wegener in *Berichtigungsl.* 3.103: (ᾶς) ἐχ(ώρησεν).] Strong confirmatory evidence is provided by *PColZen.* 1.573 ff., which has λῆμμα and χρημάτισον in the same relation as λῆμμα and ἐχ(ρηματίσαμεν) in *PFamTebt.* 8.

<sup>85</sup> Read ἀπέχειν.

<sup>86</sup> Read ἔχει διὰ χειρός.

Translation: "we have paid to Eudaemonis . . . so that she has received the full 1400 drachmas of the price: including the 1100 drachmas that she has received in cash, the remaining . . . 300."

*PGrVindob.* 19792<sup>87</sup> is another *diagraphē* issued by the well known bank of Marcus Claudius Sabinus at Arsinoë<sup>88</sup> in the reign of Antoninus Pius. It reports the terms of a maritime loan made by two men possessed of Roman citizenship to four shipowners from Ascalon.<sup>89</sup> It also has an analysis of payments such as we have seen in *PEitrem* 5:

ὡς ἐπέστειλαν ὑμῶν<sup>90</sup> . . . δ[ά]ν[ει]ον ναυτικ(όν) . . . ὥστε ἔχ(ειν)  
ὑμᾶς τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀργυρίου (τάλαντα) ζ (δραχμάς) Ἐρξ· σὺν οἷς  
ἔχετε [δὲ] ἀ χειρὸς (ταλάντοις) ζ, (δραχμαῖς) [Ἐρ]ξ [τ]ὰς λοιπὰς, κτλ.

Translation: "the amount that they have ordered to be paid to you . . . as a maritime loan . . . so that the four of you have received 7 talents 5160 drachmas in silver: including the 7 talents that you have received in cash, the remaining 5160 drachmas . . ."

A somewhat different formula is used in *PFamTebt.* 8:

λῆμ(μα) (δραχμῶν) Ἀψ, (ὧν) ἐχ(ρηματίσαμεν)<sup>91</sup> Πτολεμαίῳ . . .  
μεθ' ὧς ἔσχη[κε πρότερον δι]ὰ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζ(ης)<sup>92</sup> [ ]ν  
ἀργυρίου δραχ(μάς) [ ] τὰς λοιπὰς<sup>93</sup> ἀργυρίου [(δραχμάς) χιλίας  
ἐπτακοσί]ας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀψ.

Translation: "receipt of 1700 drachmas, of which we have paid to Ptolemaeus . . . in addition to the x drachmas in silver that he previously received through the public bank of . . . , the remaining thousand seven hundred drachmas in silver = 1700 dr." The

<sup>87</sup> L. Casson, *Eos* 48, pt. 2 (1957) 90. I am indebted to Dr. Herbert Hunger for a photograph of this papyrus. The text needs a new edition made directly from the papyrus, and a good legal commentary. Meanwhile, the photograph permits a few improvements. 4. Χάρης ἄς (E. G. Turner): Χαρῆσας ed. 5. ὑμῶν: ὑμῖν ed. 6-7. Σώζων ἀλ-|ληλεγγύοις: Σώζ(ων) . . . . . | ἀλλήλεγγύοις ed. 7. κατὰ ναυτικὴν συγγραφὴν (E. G. Turner, H. Hunger): κατὰ συγγραφὴν ed. 7-8. ἐν-|χειος: ἐγ-|χειος ed. 9. ξ: (ἐνενήκοντα) ed. 10. (ταλάντοις) ζ: (τάλαντα ἐπτά) ed. [Ἐρ]ξ: . . . (ἑξήκοντα) ed. [τ]ὰς λοιπὰς: [τ]ὰς λοιπὰς (δραχμάς) ed.

<sup>88</sup> *PBerlFrisk*, page 9; *PCol.* 2, pages 99 f. For the *tria nomina* see also *Sammelbuch* 3.6291.7.

<sup>89</sup> A more sophisticated interpretation of this document as an *actio exercitoria* has been proposed by E. Seidl, *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 24 (1958) 439.

<sup>90</sup> Read ὑμῶν.

<sup>91</sup> See footnote 84.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *PLond.* 2.317 (p. 209 = Wilck. *Chrest.* 31) 9-11.

<sup>93</sup> Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 76, note 75; Wegener, *Berichtigungsl.* 3.103.



total amount received was paid over to Ptolemaeus as the second and final instalment on the price of certain properties.

We have now seen enough to enable us to correct Meyer's text of *PHamb.* 1.1. Where Meyer read *συναγ(ομένων) ἐσχ(ηκέναι)*, the papyri cited above have a much smoother text: *PEitrem* 5 *σὺν αἰς ἔχι (= ἔχει)*; *PGrVindob.* 19792 *σὺν οἰς ἔχῃ*; *PFamTeht.* 8 *μεθ' αἰς ἔσχη[κε]*. *PHamb.* 1.1 is therefore to be read and punctuated as follows:

αἰς ἐδανείσατ(ο) . . . ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) Ἀσ, ὥστ' ἀπέχ(ειν)  
ταύτας τε καὶ τοὺς τόκους αὐτῶν σὺν αἰς<sup>94</sup> ἔσχ(ηκε) διὰ χι(ρὸς)  
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαῖς) ψ-, τὰς λοιπ(ὰς) . . . [ἄ]ργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς)  
φ.

Translation: "the 1200 drachmas in silver that [Diogenes] borrowed . . . so that [Dionysius] has received both this amount and the interest thereon: including the 700 drachmas in silver that he has received in cash, the remaining 500 drachmas in silver . . ."

### 9. *POxy.* 1.103

This papyrus contains an offer made in 316 A.D. by two Oxyrhynchites to a third resident of the same city: they desire to lease from him for one year a single arura of land, which will be sown with flax. The crop will be divided equally between the landlord and his tenants. This is a normal condition of *Teilpacht*.<sup>95</sup> It is expressed as follows in Grenfell and Hunt's edition of the Oxyrhynchus lease (9–13):

. . . ἀντὶ φόρου παρασχῶ<sup>96</sup> σοι τῷ γεούχῳ ἡμῶσι<sup>97</sup> μέρος  
10 τῆς π[ερι]γινόμενης λινοκαλάμης ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἡμᾶς  
τοὺς μεμ[ισ]θωμένους ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς ποιούμεθα γεωργείας<sup>98</sup> καὶ  
ὧν παρέχομ[εν] σπερμάτων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων πάντων τὸ  
λοιπὸν ἡμῶσι<sup>99</sup> μέρος καὶ ὁλό[κλη]ρον τὸ λινόσπερμον.

<sup>94</sup> For editorial confusion of *gamma* and *iota-sigma* see Youtie, *Textual Criticism* (above, note 78) 69.

<sup>95</sup> J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenpacht* (= *Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrussf.* 41 [1958]) 206.

<sup>96</sup> Read *παρασχεῖν*.

<sup>97</sup> Read *ἡμῶσι*.

<sup>98</sup> Read *γεωργίας*.

<sup>99</sup> See footnote 97.

Translation: "(We undertake) to provide you, the landlord, in place of rent, with a half share of the flax harvested from the land, and we the lessees, by reason of the cultivation that we perform and all the seed and costs that we provide, (shall have) the remaining half share and all the linseed."

There is no difficulty about obtaining a straightforward sense from this text. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that ἀπ[ὸ] ἡς not only has one doubtful and one restored letter but would also be much smoother as ἀφ' ἡς. It will therefore be profitable to compare it with the corresponding phrase in parallel texts. *POxy.* 6.913 is a lease of nine aruras obtained by two lessees in 442 A.D. on similar conditions (12–16):

ἐφ' ὧτε ἡμᾶς παρασχεῖν σοι τῇ γεούχω [τὸ ἡμισυ μέρ]ος ἀντὶ  
 φόρου τῶν περιγυγνομένων καρπῶν . . . ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς  
 μεμισθωμένους ἀνθ' ὧν ποιούμε[εθα] καμάτων τῆς γεωργίας  
 15 καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν καταβαλλομένων παρ' ἡμῶ[ν σ]περμάτων τῇ γῇ  
 ἔχειν τὸ ἄλλο ἡμισυ μέρος.

Translation: "on condition that we provide you, the landholder, with a half share of the harvested crops in place of rent . . . and we the lessees, in return for the labors that we devote to cultivation and the seed sown by us in the land, shall have the other half share."

*PFlor.* 1.17 is a lease of five aruras of hay drawn up at Hermopolis Magna in 341 A.D.<sup>100</sup> The pertinent passage runs from line 9 to line 14:

εἰς κατάθεσιν [μα] χόρτου μακροφνοῦς <σοῦ ὄντος> κατὰ τὸ ἡμισυ καὶ  
 ἐμοῦ τοῦ μισθωτοῦ <κατὰ> τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμισυ μέρος—τῆς δὲ ἡμισίας σου  
 χόρτου ἐν ἀγκάλαις<sup>101</sup>—ἀνθ' ὧν ποιούμεαι ἀναλωμάτων.

Translation: ". . . for planting with tall grass for hay, half of it to go to you, the other half share to me as lessee—your half of the hay to be delivered in sheaves—in return for the expenditures that I make."

The function performed in *POxy.* 1.103 by ἀπ[ὸ] ἡς . . . καὶ ὧν is identical with that served by ἀνθ' ὧν . . . καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν in *POxy.*

<sup>100</sup> I have used Wilcken's corrections as recorded in *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 4 (1908) 429 (= *Berichtigungs.* 1.136) and Vitelli's interpretation as presented in his note to lines 10 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Sc. παρενεχθομένης aut sim. (Vitelli, *ibid.*). The editor also notes the displacement of this phrase. It interrupts the continuity of meaning which links ἀνθ' ὧν κτλ. το μέρος.

6.913 and by  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta'$   $\acute{\omega}\nu$  in *PFlor.* 1.17. We may conclude therefore that  $\acute{\alpha}\nu[\theta']$   $\eta\varsigma$  should be substituted for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi[\delta]$   $\eta\varsigma$  in *POxy.* 1.103.<sup>102</sup>

#### 10. *PPrinceton* 2.66

This papyrus has only eight lines from the middle portion of a private letter, written probably in the first century, and lines 1 and 8 are damaged. The tops of several letters have been lost in line 1, and only the tops of most of the letters remain in line 8. The writer's spelling habits are thoroughly vulgar, but his deviations from the norm are largely those usually found in papyri.

Line 1 continues a sentence which was begun in the lines lost above it. What remains of the sentence has the following form in the edition (1-4):  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\varsigma \pi\upsilon\iota\nu \tau\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon} \pi\lambda\eta\nu \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\epsilon \tau\acute{o} \acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron \mu\omicron\nu$ . If these words are rewritten with standard spellings, they take on a more familiar look:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu \tau\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon} \pi\lambda\eta\nu \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota \tau\acute{o} \acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega \mu\omicron\nu$ . But even when this has been done, the sentence is not immediately intelligible. Nor are we much enlightened by the editor's statement that lines 1-4 convey "urgent instructions to pass on a certain order, in case the flood does not get beyond the writer." To anyone who has the Nile flood in mind, this interpretation is likely to be puzzling, but not more so than the Greek from which it is taken.

If we turn to the photograph of the papyrus reproduced on Plate 2 at the end of the volume, we find ourselves able to make a new start. The reading  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\varsigma$ , which the editor has equated with  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  and described as "worthy of note," is not sustained by the papyrus. The two letters given as doubtful are broken at the top. The third letter, read as *kappa*, has lost its initial vertical stroke; it should also have been marked with a dot. As seen on the photograph, the first of these remnants is the lower half of an oval, which is readily assimilated to an *omicron* and sharply distinguished from *alpha* by reason of its size and direction, in short its *ductus*. In identifying the two remnants that follow it as  $\gamma\kappa$ , the editor has attributed to the writer a *gamma* which has only half the breadth of the *gamma* in line 3. This treatment of the letter is not

<sup>102</sup> For editorial confusion of *nu* and *pi* see Youtie, *Textual Criticism* (above, note 78) 69. *POxy.* 6.913 proves also that  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  has been omitted in 1.103 just before  $\tau\acute{o} \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{o}\nu$ . For other corrections to No. 103 previously proposed by Wilcken and Preisigke see *Berichtigungs.* 1.315.

in harmony with the generous spacing used throughout the text. It is much more satisfactory to reconstruct the remains on the pattern of *mu* as written in *πέμψε* (line 5). The width of the letter is then almost precisely the same in both places.

These considerations justify the substitution of *ὁ μέλλεις* for *ἀγκέλλεις*. And if we correct the writer's spelling and allow *ποίησον* to stand for whatever expression he used to introduce the sentence, we obtain a smooth and intelligible sequence of words: [*ποίησον*] *ἐντάχιον ὁ μέλλεις ποιεῖν*, i.e. "[Do] as quickly as possible what you intend to do."<sup>103</sup> On this view of the Greek, *ταχύ* becomes an urgent repetition of *ἐντάχιον* and should be taken closely with the following clause, which brings the sentence to an end. The clause begins with *πλήν* and continues with a verb in the aorist subjunctive. This construction controverts normal usage, as the editor has especially noted, and even if we try to save the text by expanding *πλήν* to *πλήν <ἐάν>*, we shall not find it easy to say what meaning the writer wanted to convey. On the other hand, if we rely on *PTebt.* 2.417.8 and 23, where Kapsomenakis has detected *πρίν* under the guise of *πλήν*,<sup>104</sup> and accept *πλήν* in the Princeton papyrus as an Egyptian, and possibly Fayûmic writing of *πρίν*, the sentence immediately takes on simplicity and coherence: "[Do] as quickly as possible what you intend to do—quickly, before the flood is upon me."<sup>105</sup>

# 11. *PRyl.* 4.588

This document was drawn up in Ptolemais Euergetis, metropolis of the Arsinoite nome, in 78 B.C. It records the repayment of a loan made in 84 B.C. by Sochotes, son of Sesongosis,<sup>106</sup> to

<sup>103</sup> The things to be done are doubtless concerned with expediting farm operations. This is a natural inference from the mention of the flood in lines 3-4 and of oxen in line 7. With the form of the sentence compare *NT Jo.* 13.27: *ὁ ποιεῖς ποίησον τάχιστα*.

<sup>104</sup> *Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusf.* 28 (1938) 45 f. The subjunctive after *πρίν* is of course commonplace.

<sup>105</sup> With the force of *ἐπάνω* cf. Preisigke-Kießling, *Wörterbuch* s.v., 4. In line 5 the editor equates *πέμψε μν* with *πέμψαι μοι*, thus introducing into the text an aorist middle imperative of the verb. But middle forms of the simple verb are scarce (Veitch, *Greek Verbs* s.v.; Mayser, *Grammatik* 1, pt. 2<sup>2</sup> [1938] 191), and *PMich.* 8.511.12 f., which has *πέμψεν μοι = πέμψον μοι*, suggests another explanation: *πέμψον μοι > πέμψεν μοι > πέμψεν μοι*. Asyndeton may be avoided in line 7 by changing the editor's *ἐπιδέδοκα* to *ἐπὶ δέδοκα* (= *ἐπεὶ δέδοκα*).

<sup>106</sup> Taken from the photograph on Plate 1 at the end of the volume. 6. *Σεσ[ο]γ-γώσιος*: *Σεσάνωσιος* ed. 35. *Ξεσ[ο]γγώσιος*: *Ξε[σ]νώνσιος* ed. Of *Sesnōsis* the editor

three brothers, sons of Protarchus. In his subscription appended to the formal acknowledgment, Sochotes makes the following statement, as given in the edition (39–41):

ἀνενή-  
40 νοχα τήν συγγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ[ρχεῖον τῶν] δε-  
δανημένων

The editor corrects the last word to *δεδανεισμένων* and renders the clause accordingly: "I have registered the contract at the record office of the borrowers." There appears to be no comparable description of a record office in other texts of this kind, whether loans or repayments of loans.

The contract of loan which was the basis of the present transaction is described in line 15 as *ἀνεν[εχθεῖσαν]*<sup>107</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρχεῖον, i.e. "registered at the same record office." Since no such office is specifically named in the preceding lines, we must suppose that the loan was registered with the same bureau that produced the Rylands papyrus six and a half years later. This bureau was located "in Ptolemais Euergetis" (4–5), the metropolis of the nome, and was doubtless the office of the *agoranomos* or the *mnēmōn*.<sup>108</sup>

Another contract written at Ptolemais Euergetis<sup>109</sup> between 107 and 101 B.C. mentions an ἀρχεῖον τῶν μνημόνων,<sup>110</sup> and even a merely visual comparison of the phrases suggests that the Rylands papyrus ought to be inspected again at this point:

τὸ ἀ[ρχεῖον τῶν] δεδανημένων  
τὸ ἀρχεῖον τῶν μνημόνων

remarks: "not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, but a natural by-form of *Sansnōs*." For *Sesongōsis* Preisigke cites only *Sammelbuch* 1.1726.7 (1st cent. A.D.), but it is doubtless the same name as *Σεσσηγῶσις*, for which see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch d. griech. Eigennamen*<sup>9</sup> (1911) s.v.; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, 2<sup>te</sup> Reihe, Vol. 2, 1855 [Kees].

<sup>107</sup> Corrected from *ἀν<αγ>εργ[αμμένην]* by N. Lewis, *Chron.Ég.* 58 (1954) 296.

<sup>108</sup> P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (Paris 1911) 327 ff. In a document of 177 A.D., also from Ptolemais Euergetis, published by H. I. Bell, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 6 (1920) 104 ff., the office is called τὸ ἀγορανομίον τὸ καὶ μνημονίον. Cf. *PRyl.* 2.118.13 (16–15 B.C.); *BGU* 1.177.6 (46/47 A.D.); *POxy.* 22.2349.17 (70 A.D.), 3.483.19 f. (108 A.D.). In the Ptolemaic period the *agorameion* and the *mnēmoneion* may not yet have been merged into one. See G. A. Gerhard, *Philologus* 63 (1904) 503 ff.; F. Preisigke, *Griewesen im griech. Ägypten* (Strassburg 1910) 273 f.; Mitteis, *Grundz.* 58 ff.

<sup>109</sup> *PTebt.* 1.166, of which the protocol is given on page 182. The text has Ptolemais Euergetou, but this is an alternative name of Ptolemais Euergetis (*PTebt.* 2, page 398).

<sup>110</sup> The papyrus has ἀρχήων.

Fortunately, a photograph of the papyrus has been reproduced on Plate 1 at the end of the volume, and we now have no difficulty in seeing *μνημόνων* at the beginning of line 41, where the published text has *δανημενων*.<sup>111</sup> We are therefore free to reduce the end of line 40 to *ἐ[ρχεῖον τῶ]ν*, a matter of ten letters, precisely the number written in the corresponding space in line 39. Sochotes thus states that he has registered his acknowledgment *ἐπὶ τὸ ἐ[ρχεῖον τῶ]ν μνημόνων*, i.e. "at the office of the recorders."<sup>112</sup>

## 12. *PMerton* 2.62

This papyrus has a letter of introduction written in 6 A.D. Consisting of fourteen lines, it presents for the most part the phraseology which is normal for this type of document. Only in line 12 is there a puzzling deviation.<sup>113</sup> I therefore repeat the editor's text of this line and its immediate context (10–13):

καὶ σὺ δὲ  
περὶ ὧν ἔαν αἰρήῃ σήμανον, καὶ  
12 ἀνόκνως ποήσωι<sup>114</sup> πρὸς αὐτῶν ὅμοια.  
ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης). ἔρρωσο.

The editor has rendered these lines as follows: "And signify anything you choose, and I will recompense you without hesitation. Look after your health. Farewell." But a more literal translation will bring us closer to the Greek: "And do you also inform (me) concerning what (things) you choose, and I will unhesitatingly do (things) like to them. Take care of yourself so that you may be in good health. Farewell."

This is rather an odd thing for a man to say when he wishes to express in advance his gratitude for a favor not yet granted. The writer invites his correspondent to ask for a favor in return, but his offer is made subject to a curious reservation. Whatever

<sup>111</sup> For editorial confusion of *μ* and *δα*, *ο* and *ε*, see Youtie, *Textual Criticism* (above, note 78) 69.

<sup>112</sup> On the registration of legal documents before and after 146 B.C., see C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939) 317 ff.—A few further textual suggestions may not be out of place here. 19. *μ[ήτε α]ὐτοὺς <μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν>*: *μ[ήτε α]ὐτοὺς* ed. 20–21. *κα[θώς]*[[τὸ αὐτὸ περι]έχει: *κυ[ρω-]]*[[θέντος ὁ ἀπ]έχει ed. 23. *[πάντων μὴδὲ: [5 μὴδὲ* ed. 27. *τιμῶς: τιμᾶ* ed.

<sup>113</sup> Editor's note to line 12: "this is the only clause in the letter which cannot be more or less paralleled in other letters of this type . . ."

<sup>114</sup> Read *ποήσω* (= *ποιήσω*).

his friend may wish him to do, he will do without hesitation things "like to them." This is hardly enough to effect the *captatio benevolentiae* which is the primary aim of the sentence.

Apart from this phrase, the writer has used a conventional expression which occurs frequently in private letters. It is subject to numerous variations, but they are all consistent with its purpose. If the phrase were omitted, the language of the letter would follow the usual pattern. And, as the editor remarks, no similar text has anything remotely resembling *πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁμοία*.<sup>115</sup> I accordingly suggest that the phrase has no connection with this formula. But if we detach it from lines 10–12, it is left floating because it would be utterly meaningless with the *formula valetudinis* in line 13. And quite aside from the special problem of the Merton papyrus, it is a most dubious expression in relation to *koiné* usage. The construction *πρὸς c. gen.* has an extremely limited range in *koiné*.<sup>116</sup> We have every reason therefore to suspect a false reading, and there may be profit in a comparison with other examples of the formula exemplified in line 13.<sup>117</sup> The following will serve as well as any: *POxy.* 2.294.30–31 *πρ[ὸ] μὲν πάντων σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμέλου εἶν'*<sup>118</sup> *ὑ[γιαίνης]*; *PIand.* 104.11 [*πρὸ μὲν*] *πάντω[ν] ἐ[πιμέλου] σε[αυτ]οῦ ἔν' ὑγι[αί]νης*; *PBad.* 35 (= Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe* 51) 27 *πρὸ πάντων σατοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵνα ὑ[γιαί]νης*.

It is easy enough to see that the first three letters of *πρὸ μὲν πάντων* are identical with the first three of *πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁμοία*. But there is more. The photograph, which has been made available on Plate 10 opposite the text, permits us to fix definitely the

<sup>115</sup> See footnote 113. For discussion and numerous examples of the formula see H. Koskenniemi, *Stud. z. Idee u. Phraseologie d. griech. Briefes* (Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn. B.102.2) 68; H. A. Steen, *Clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques* (Class. et Med. 1 [1938]) 129 f.; S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Ereunai eis tēn glōssan tōn hellēnikōn papurōn* (Aristoteleion Panepistēmion Thessalonikēs, *Epistēmōnikē Epetērīs Philosphikēs Scholēs* 7 [1957]) 365 f.

<sup>116</sup> Mayser, *Grammatik* 2, pt. 2, 493: "Lebendig ist *πρὸς τινος* längst nicht mehr gewesen."

<sup>117</sup> Koskenniemi, *op. cit.* (above, note 115) 133 f.: "... finden wir sehr häufig am Briefende, vor der Schlussklausel, eine kurze Ermahnung, der Empfänger möchte doch für seine Gesundheit sorgen. In der Konstruktion gibt es einige Varianten. *σεαυτοῦ* (oder *τοῦ σώματος*) *ἐπιμέλου*, *ἔν' ὑγιαίνης* ist der am weitesten verbreitete Typ." For lists of examples see F. Ziemann, *De epist. Graec. formulis* (Diss. Hal. 18 [1911]) 314 ff.; F. X. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Diss. Catholic Univ. [1923]) 113 f.; Steen, *op. cit.* (above, note 115) 155 f.

<sup>118</sup> Read *ἔν'*.

position of *rho* in the complex of dotted letters. *Rho* itself can hardly be regarded as doubtful, even though the upper part of the letter is somewhat faded. Between *rho* and the editor's *αὐτῶν* there is only one letter, which may safely be taken as *omicron*. The photograph has no *sigma* between *πρὸ* and what follows it. There is thus the possibility that the phrase began with *πρό*. At the end of the line, the editor's *alpha* does not account for the rather long, almost vertical stroke with which the line closes. If this is joined to the supposed *alpha*, the whole resembles *nu* as written at the end of line 7. The phrase probably began with *πρό* and certainly closed with *nu*, but the resemblance to *πρὸ μὲν πάντων* can be pushed no further.

Luckily these considerations do not exhaust our resources. In another formula *valetudinis* *πρὸ μὲν πάντων* is found to alternate with *πρὸ τῶν ὄλων*.<sup>119</sup> This usage is illustrated in the following passages: *PMich.* 3.206.3 *πρὸ τῶν ὄλων ἐρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι*,<sup>120</sup> 8.466.3 *πρὸ τῶν ὄλ[ων εὐχομ]αί σε ἐρρώσθαι*; *POxy.* 10.1293.3 *πρὸ τῶν ὄ[λων] εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν*, 14.1757.3 *πρὸ τῶν [ὄ]λων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν*. If we again examine the photograph with *πρὸ τῶν ὄλων* in mind, the passage resolves itself with little or no delay into *πρὸ δὲ τῶν ὄλων*. The letters *δε* were mistaken for *αυ* because they precede *τῶν*. In another hand they might very well have been *αυ*; but in this hand, although the two groups of letters have a certain resemblance, comparison of *δέ* in line 9 with *αὐτόν* at the end of line 6 shows how different they really are.

In view of all the foregoing considerations I propose the following text for lines 10–13.

καὶ σὺ δὲ  
περὶ ὧν ἐὰν αἰρήῃ<sup>121</sup> σήμανον, καὶ  
12 ἀνόκνωσ ποήσωι. πρὸ δὲ τῶν ὄλων  
ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν' ὑγι(αίνης). ἔρρωσο.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Koskenniemi, *op. cit.* (above, note 115) 134 f.; Steen, *op. cit.* (above, note 115) 155. For numerous examples of *πρὸ τῶν ὄλων* see Exler, *op. cit.* (above, note 117) 107 ff.

<sup>120</sup> Read *ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι*.

<sup>121</sup> I retain substantially the editor's reading of this verb, but I cannot conceal grave doubts of its correctness. These are inspired by the photograph, which appears to have a letter between *eta* and the following imperative. In its present state it looks like *gamma*, and if it is in fact writing, it is likely in this position to have been *sigma*. The letters read as *ιρ* are almost entirely lost in a tear, and the meager remnants visible on the photograph lend no real support to the printed text. The letter read as *alpha* does not have the sharp definition characteristic of other *alpha*'s on the sheet;



Translation: "And do you also inform me concerning what you wish, and I will do it without delay. But before all else take care of yourself so that you may enjoy good health. Farewell."

it has much more the proportions and *ductus* of the cursive *theta* which has become familiar from papyri of the 1st cent. (E. M. Thompson, *Introd. to Greek and Latin Palaeography* [Oxford 1912] 192; cf. the forms of *theta* and *alpha* in *PMich.* 5.266 [Pl. 3] 23 *θυγατέρα*). Another possible example of the same form may be seen in line 6. If the photograph faithfully reflects the writing on the papyrus, *θέλης* would deserve serious consideration. The papyrus ought to be reexamined at this point.