

Notes on Papyri

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1. *PLugdBat.* 11.1

This papyrus has two receipts given by shipmasters to Aurelius Adelphius, collector of charcoal in the Hermopolite nome,¹ on Dec. 24, 338 A.D.² Each receipt occupies one column of writing, and both receipts are intelligible in spite of much vulgar spelling and some confusion of cases.³ In Col. i Aurelius Besas, who is said to come from Panopolis, acknowledges on oath that he and his brother Morus have taken on board 150 cwt. of charcoal plus 10%.⁴ He promises to make delivery at Alexandria in accordance with instructions to be received from Eudaemon, a centurion attached to the office of the *procurator rei privatae*, and to transmit to Adelphius a receipt covering the delivery. The customary *stipulatio*⁵ is followed by a statement which is not im-

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¹ A docket written on the verso of the papyrus characterizes the content of the recto as ἀποχή. For a recent list of shipmasters' receipts see C. H. Brecht, *Zur Haftung der Schiffer* (Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusf. u. antik. Rechtsgesch. 45 [1962]) 16–21. The only other receipt for a cargo of charcoal is *PAmh.* 2.138 = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 342.

² The edition has Dec. 23, but the texts are dated Choiak 28 (Col. i.21, ii.20).

³ J. Bingen, *Chron.Ég.* 75 (1963) 166: "document à l'orthographe la plus erratique."

⁴ For this charge levied also on wheat and barley in the early 4th cent. A.D. see *PCairIsidor.* 45.7 note.

⁵ On the significance of the *stipulatio* in Greek documents see, for recent and divergent views, F. deVisscher, *La pseudo-stipulation ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα* (*Eos* 48 [1956] fasc. 2, 161–69); D. Simon, *Stud. z. Praxis d. Stipulationsklausel* (Münch. Beitr. 48, 1964).

mediately comprehensible as it is transcribed in the edition (line 19):

οὕτω· ἐκ ψιάτιων ἑνὸς κενδ(ηνάριον), (γίνεται) α.⁶

Then comes the date of the document, and the text concludes with a subscription written for Besas and Morus by Aurelius Pagenes, a physician,⁷ who also wrote the whole of Col. ii.

The receipt in Col. ii exhibits the same pattern. Aurelius Anubion, whose *origo* is Muchis in the Lycopolite nome, acknowledges that he has taken charge of 200 cwt. of charcoal, to which again 10% was added. He also accepts the obligations already noted for Besas and Morus, but the statement that follows the *stipulatio* and precedes the date here takes a slightly different form (lines 17–18):

οὕτω· ἐκ ψιάτιον ἑνα κενδ(ηνάριον), (γίνεται) ᾱ.

In spite of inconsistencies of spelling and seemingly of syntax, the two statements were obviously intended to be identical. In his critical apparatus and commentary the editor reduces them to a common base with this result:

οὕτω· ἐκψιάδιον ἑν κεντηνάριον, γίνεται α.

Of this reconstruction he offers two translations which come to much the same thing:

1. "So (geschieht der Transport):⁸ sechs Körbe enthalten einen Zentner, insgesamt 1 Zentner." (page 3)
2. "So (ist die Ladung verstaut?): Ein Zentner fasst sechs Körbe." (page 8)

The receipts thus include further description of the cargoes. Besas, for example, has received 150 cwt. of charcoal plus 10%, i.e. 165 cwt. These are packed in reed baskets, with six baskets containing one hundredweight. He has therefore taken on 990 baskets = 165 cwt. and must deliver that number and weight to Alexandria.

There is of course no incontrovertible reason why a hundredweight of charcoal should not be distributed over six baskets even

⁶ Pap. κενδ/α. The papyrus is reproduced on Pl. 1 of the edition.

⁷ See the editor's note to Col. ii.24.

⁸ With the role of οὕτω in this phrase, cf. *PLugdBat.* 11.15.15–19, as revised in § 4 of this paper.

though the baskets must be thought to be exceptionally small for the purpose.⁹ More serious perhaps is the use of the hitherto unattested compound *ἐκψιάδιον* to designate "six baskets." Compounds that bring *kappa* immediately before *psi* are scarce in Greek.¹⁰

A recent review of *PLugdBat.* 11 proposes a different interpretation, which depends largely on substituting a smooth for a rough breathing:

- i. 19 οὕτω ἐκψιάτιων¹¹ ἐνὸς κενδ(ηναρίου), (γίνεται) α
- ii. 17-18 οὕτω ἐκψιάτιον ἔνα¹¹ κενδ(ηναριον), (γίνεται) ᾱ

Here again we must reckon with a new compound—*ἐκψιάδιον*, which is said to mark the loss of content "from the baskets" in the course of their transfer from land to ship.¹² In the first receipt the phrase would establish a loss of 1 cwt. on 165 cwt.; in the second receipt, the same loss on 220 cwt. One hundred-weight would therefore appear to be routinely reckoned as the average loss on a cargo of *ca.* 200 cwt. of charcoal, and yet the disappearance of a full 100 lbs. from each shipment, even those of 16,500 and 22,000 lbs., hardly seems a matter for complacency. There is no mention of a loss due to this or any other cause in Mitteis, *Chrest.* 342, which is also a shipmaster's receipt for 200 cwt. of charcoal.

There is another way of approaching the Greek text which permits us to avoid new words, provided we keep in mind that the scribes tend to employ vulgar spellings and to be indifferent in their handling of cases. The use of an oblique stroke to abbreviate *κενδ(ηνάριον)* in Col. ii. 11 and 22, where there can be no question of (*γίνεται*), suggests that this word has also been abbreviated with an oblique stroke in i. 19 and ii. 18. What was thought by the editor to be a conventional symbol for *γίνεται* is

⁹ Cf. Bingen (note 3, above): "ceci mettrait le ψιάτιον [i.e. ψιάδιον] à cinq kilos, bien petite unité de transport pour un charbonnier."

¹⁰ *LSJ* has only three words beginning ἐκψ-; Preisigke-Kießling, *Wörterbuch d. griech. Papyrusurkunden*, has none. Cf. Bingen (note 3, above): "je ne crois ni en l'ἐκψιάτιον du texte, ni dans l'ἐκψιάτιον de l'apparat critique et du commentaire . . ."

¹¹ Read ἐκψιάτιον = ἐκψιάδιον, ἔν.

¹² *Chron.Ég.* 75 (1963) 167: "perte au coltinage(?), un centenarion, total 1 centenarion. Ceci situe le coulage à environ ½%, et nous fournirait un *addendum lexicis* sans devoir corriger le contexte." But see footnote 11. It will be found that on any view corrections will have to be made if normal spelling and syntax are desired.

then seen to be only a mark of abbreviation. If we change the text accordingly and replace the editor's $\epsilon\kappa$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - and the reviewer's $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - with the preposition $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$, we have a different arrangement of words and a different syntactical pattern.

- i. 19 οὕτω· $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ψιατίων ἐνὸς κενδ(ηναρίου) α
- ii. 18 οὕτω· $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ψιάτιον ἕνα κενδ(ηναρίου) ᾱ

Both of these statements are vulgar formulations of a construction which uses $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ to express measure, content, or equivalence.¹³ The following examples are pertinent.

UPZ 112.iv.5–6 τῆς χειμερινῆς ἑξαμήνου λογιζομένου τοῦ μηνὸς ἑξ ἡμερῶν ᾗ, “the month being reckoned at 35 days in the winter semester.”

PMich. 3.145.iii.5 ὡς τοῦ στατήρο(ς) $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ χ(αλκοῦ) Ἄσ, “with the stater reckoned at 1200 copper drachmas.”

POxy. 1.43 recto iii.27 f. ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ κοφίνους δεκαδύο $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ λιτρῶν τεσ<σ>αράκοντα, “I have received from you twelve baskets, each holding forty pounds.” The total of 480 lbs. is given in line 24.

More frequently found are the related uses of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ to designate prices and rates of interest,¹⁴ e.g.

PTebt. 2.394.14–16 ὡς τῆς ἀρτάβης $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ δραχμῶν ἑπτά, “with the artaba at seven drachmas.”

PLond. 2.277.9 (p. 217; cf. *BL* 1.264) τέκου (=τόκου) ὡς $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ δραχμῇ<ς> μιᾷ τῇ μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον, “with interest at one drachma on the mina for each month.”

In the light of these examples, the passages with which we are now concerned may be corrected to read as follows:

οὕτω· $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ ψιαθίου ἐνὸς κεντηναρίου α.

The reason for inserting this statement in both receipts is sufficiently clear. Besas for his part acknowledges that he and his brother have received a cargo of 150 cwt. plus 10%, or 165 cwt., “with 1 cwt. to one basket,” hence 165 baskets. They are therefore under obligation to deliver at Alexandria 165 cwt. of charcoal

¹³ E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri* 2, pt. 2 (Berlin-Leipzig 1933) 347. Cf. W. Kuhring, *de praep. graec. . . . usu quaest. sel.* (Bonn 1906) 22.

¹⁴ Mayser (above, note 13). Cf. Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch s.v. ἕκ* (1); Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Grand Rapids 1949) s.v. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ (page 190).

packed in 165 baskets. Similarly, Anubion has taken on as cargo 200 cwt. plus 10% = 220 cwt. = 220 baskets.¹⁵

2. *PLugdBat.* 11.3

This papyrus preserves the text of a guarantee submitted to Besodorus *alias* Armenius, strategus of Hermopolis Magna in 325 A.D.,¹⁶ by a certain Aurelius Macarius, who was a resident of the same city in the quarter called Citadel West. The address to Besodorus (1–3), as it is given in the edition, presents a curious feature which makes it worth a second look:¹⁷

[τ]ῷ αὐτῷ Βησοδώρῳ τῷ κ[αί]¹⁸ Ἀρμενίῳ
 γυμνα[σι]άρχῳ βουλευτ[ῇ] ἐ[ν]νάρχῳ στρατηγῷ
 Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς λαμπρο[τάτης].

If the opening words—τῷ αὐτῷ—are taken seriously, as of course they must be if they are correctly read, they imply that this document was appended to another which we do not have. The phrase τῷ αὐτῷ would be explanatory, marking the continuation of a series of documents, all addressed to the same strategus. The function of τῷ αὐτῷ would be clarified if a high point were placed immediately after it.^{18a} The address to the strategus would then begin with the name Βησοδώρῳ.

A number of considerations, however, militate against an easy acceptance of the reading. In the first place, there is no visible indication that another column of writing preceded the one preserved. The left margin is of normal breadth, and it contains no

¹⁵ *PBeattyPanop.* 1.160–66 further illustrates the use of *psiathia* for loading charcoal. The reader may welcome a few minor corrections. i.2. Ἐρμοπολίτου ed., Ἐρμοπολίτου pap. 17. παραδέψεως ed., παραδέσεως pap. (for παραδόσεως, as noted by ed.). ii.7–8. ἐνβεβλήσθαι ed., ἐμβεβλήσθαι pap. 11. σ̄ ed. (cf. note *ad loc.*), σ̄ pap. 14. ἡύτοϋ [ὑπό] ed. I am uneasy about the pertinence of ἡύτοϋ = αὐτοῦ in this context, and the photograph is not reassuring, but I can suggest nothing better. I should expect the papyrus to have only ὑπό, as in i.15.

¹⁶ Not previously attested, hence missing from the lists of 4th cent. *strategoï* and *exactores* compiled by J. D. Thomas, *Chron.Ég.* 67 (1959) 139 f.; 69–70 (1960) 269 f.

¹⁷ My study of the text owes much to a very fine print sent to me from the *Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek* through the kindness of Dr. Helene Loebenstein, director of the *Papyrus-Sammlung*. I omit all dots used by the editor to mark broken rather than doubtful letters.

¹⁸ The photograph shows the papyrus as broken after *omega*. The *kappa* doubtless stood on a small projection which was lost after the transcription was made.

^{18a} An example of this usage may be seen in *PBeattyPanop.* 1.80.

trace of ink that might be a remnant of the missing document. Furthermore, the text that we have begins at the top of the sheet and runs to the bottom, filling it nicely, with the usual margins at top and bottom. But perhaps of more consequence is a detail of protocol. Both Macarius and the person whom he sponsors, a certain Syrus, are given their proper and honorable designation as *Aurelii*, but Besodorus is introduced without this touch of courtesy although his status as strategus surely demanded it.

Now, since a well-trained scribe could hardly remain unaware of the respect due to a strategus, we may conjecture that the *nomen* to which Besodorus was entitled stands on the papyrus where the edition now has τῷ αὐτῷ. And this rational inference has in fact been confirmed on a photograph of the papyrus, which shows that the writing lends itself easily to the following text of line 1:

Γαυτίῳ Βησοδώρῳ τῷ κ[αὶ] Ἀρμενίῳ.

We thus recover another example of Latin *Gavius*, a name rare in papyri.¹⁹ It has previously occurred in *PMich.* Inv. 2930.24, where a bibliophylax has the name Γαούιος Καλλίμαχος.²⁰

Macarius undertakes on oath to stand surety for Syrus, who has assumed a municipal liturgy assigned in the first instance to his son. The acknowledgment begins in line 6 with the usual ὁμολογῶ, continues with the oath as far as line 9, then states the nature of the obligation:

ἐγγεγυῆσθαι Αὐρή-
 10 λιον Σύρον Μαρίνου ἐκτελοῦντα
 τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν τῷ νιῷ αὐ[τ]οῦ δη-
 μοτικὴν λειτουργί[αν ἀμέμπ]τως ἐπὶ τοὺς
 ἀμφ(οδάρχας)²¹ ἐμ μηδενὶ λειποτακτοῦντα.²²

This is the text of the edition, and it may be rendered as follows:
 "I acknowledge . . . that I have pledged myself as surety for

¹⁹ Not listed in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922), nor in B. Meinersmann, *Latin. Wörter u. Namen in griech. Papyri* (Leipzig 1927). W. Pape, *Wörterbuch d. griech. Eigennamen*³ (Braunschweig 1911) has no example of the name in Greek transcription.

²⁰ A. E. R. Boak, *Annales du Service* 29 (1929) 61 = *Sammelbuch* 4.7362 = *Select Papyri* 2.315. All of these have Ἀούιος, subsequently corrected to Γαούιος by Boak, *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 239 = *Berichtigungsliste* 3 (1958) 184.

²¹ The abbreviation ἀμφ/ is an interlinear addition entered above the beginning of line 13.

²² Read ἐν μηδενὶ λειποτακτοῦντα.

Aurelius Syrus, son of Marinus, who will perform blamelessly the municipal liturgy assigned to his son and will in no wise abandon his duty toward the amphodarchs.”²³

Although the Greek is trite and obvious, the article *τοῦς* in line 12 does not have the support of the papyrus. What is written at the end of the line is not *sigma*, but the large double curve which serves multiple purposes in the papyri. Often only a mark of abbreviation, in various contexts it represents *δραχμή*, *ἔτος*, *ἡμισυ*, or *καί*.²⁴ On the Vienna papyrus with which we are now concerned, it is accompanied by a characteristic slanting stroke placed above and slightly to the right of the symbol. This it frequently has when used for *αὐτός*.²⁵ We may therefore correct the text to read

ἐπὶ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ἀμφ(όδου).

With these words Macarius localizes the duties incumbent on Syrus “in the said quarter” of Hermopolis. The liturgy is attached to the service of Citadel West, which has been mentioned in lines 5–6 as the place of residence of Macarius.

The acknowledgment continues with the customary assurance by Macarius that if Syrus fails in his duty he himself will assume responsibility or be subject to the consequences of his oath (13–17). The date of the declaration is then entered in lines 18–19:

ὑπατείας Παυλίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ
τῶν λα[μ]προτάτων Θῶθ α (ἔτους) κ.

Paulinus and Julianus were consuls in the year 325, and August 29 (Thoth 1) 325 was the beginning of Constantine’s 20th regnal year by Egyptian reckoning. But the addition of the regnal year to the ordinary sequence of consulship, month, and day is de-

²³ I have followed the editor’s translation: “Ich bescheinige . . . dafür zu bürgen, dass Aurelius Syros, Sohn des Marinos, die seinem Sohn von Staats (*sic*) wegen auferlegte Liturgie tadellos erfüllen wird und sich in Bezug auf die Amphodarchen seiner Aufgabe in keinerlei Hinsicht entziehen wird.” If the Greek text were genuine, there would be reason to consider further the possibility that ἀμέμπτως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμφοδάρχας is a syntactical unit.

²⁴ Youtie, *Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri* (Inst. Class Stud., London, *Bull. Suppl.* 6 [1958]) 58.

²⁵ This symbol is twice used in *PLugdBat.* 11.11.12 (Pl. 3). Described by P. Bureth in a comment on *PStrasb.* 325 (*Bull. Fac. Lettres Strasb.* 42, No. 7 [April 1964] page 457) as a “sinusoïde verticale surmontée d’un arc de cercle.” Cf. H. I. Bell, *Abbreviations in Documentary Papyri* (*D. M. Robinson Studies* 2 [1953]) 430.

cidedly odd,²⁶ and a close inspection of the photograph has eliminated this anomaly. Where the edition has *alpha* as the day of the month, the papyrus has a ligature, certainly reminiscent of *alpha*, but used by the scribe only to avoid raising his pen as he progressed to the right for the start of *kappa*. It is the left side of *kappa* that the editor has mistaken for the year-sign. When this has been recognized there is no difficulty in reading the month and the day as

Θὼθ $\overline{\kappa\delta}$.

The document was written not on August 29, but on September 21, 325.²⁷

3. *PLugdBat.* 11.11

This document preserves a lease of property²⁸ situated near the village of Monoï in the Hermopolite nome. The lease was drawn up on 17 February, 453 A.D., in the name of five men of Monoï who have taken up residence on the property that they undertake to lease.²⁹ The clause covering payment of rental takes the following form in the edition:

16 ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς παρασχ(εῖν) ἐν λ-
[όγ]ω ἐνοικείου κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑξακισχ[ε]λ-
[ι]α[ς] ἐκάστου οἰκεία, γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) (ἑξακισχίλια), ὥς
εἶραι θ' ἑτάλλαγα

19 [εἰ]κάδας τρεῖς, γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) κγ"

²⁶ See editor's note *ad loc.*

²⁷ I add a few minor corrections. 3. λαμπρο[τάτ]ης: λαμπρο[τάτη]s ed. 4-5. ὑπογράφο(ν) | τος: ὑπογράφον | τος ed. *Omicron* has a horizontal bar above it, clearly not *nu*. 5-6. Φρου | ρίου: Φρού | ριον ed. 17. ἐπερωτηθ(εις) ὡμολόγ(ησα): ἐπερωτηθ(εις) ὡμολόγησα ed.

²⁸ Line 15: τὸ ὑπάρχον σοι κτῆμα τόπον καλουμένον Ἀρανοῦτος, for τ. ὕ. σ. κ. τόπων καλουμένων Ἀ., "your estate in the *topoi* named for A." This was a common way of naming *topoi* (Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch* 3, Abschn. 23). The editor interprets differently: κτῆμα "wird näher erläutert durch τόπος = 'Hausgrundstück.'"

²⁹ Lines 9-12: ἐν τῶν κτήματι τόπον καλούμενον Ἀρανοῦτος ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου τῆς διώρυγος περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνοικείου περὶ πρακτορίας τῆς (αὐτῆς) κώμης Μονοῦ. The editor renders the last phrase thus: "mit Rücksicht auf die Erhebung von Steuern desselben Dorfes Monoï," and concludes that the lessees are a firm of tax-collectors (introd. *ad fin.*; cf. note to line 11). A simpler interpretation of this text is obtained by regularizing the writer's syntax: ἐν τῷ κ. τόπων καλουμένων Ἀ. ἐξ ἀ. τ. δ. π. τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίκιον π. πρακτορίαν κτλ. The men are residents of Monoï, now residing "on the estate in the *topoi* named for A., east of the canal in the said *epoikion* (=τόποι), in the *praktoria* of the said village of Monoï." The *praktoria* is the village and its *epoikia*, as a taxing unit (cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 228.10; *PCorn.* 20a.8; *StudPal.* 5.120 Recto iii.1, 2, 8; Verso i.18, ii.5; *PHermRees* 22.11 note). For *topoi* = *epoikion* see Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v. *τόπος* 3.

This is not an easy piece of Greek, nor does the editor's translation entirely clarify it: "...dass wir jährlich sechstausend Silbertalente, die uns eigen sind, Miete bezahlen, im ganzen 6000 Talente, so dass 9 Talente dreiundzwanzig Talenten gleich sind, im ganzen 23 Talenten." By *eigen* the editor intends to designate a private coinage, such as proprietors of the great estates are known to have issued at this time,³⁰ and he takes lines 18–19 to mean that 9 talents in this coinage are worth 23 talents of the official coinage. At this ratio, the 6000 talents to be paid as yearly rent have the value of 15,333 tal. 2000 dr. in the ordinary coinage. The private talent, therefore, is seen to have the very high value of 15,333 $\frac{1}{3}$ dr., or as the editor puts it, 2 $\frac{5}{9}$ tal. of the kind in general circulation.

The passage as printed in the edition solicits a number of curious observations. The division of the words begun at the ends of lines 16 and 17 and continued in lines 17 and 18 is irregular, although this happens nowhere else in the text. Scribes do at times, and especially in deeply vulgar texts, violate the rules of division by syllables, but the division effected in lines 16 and 17 has surprising consequences. Line 16 is allowed to end in doubtful *lambda*, while the rest of the word is represented at the beginning of line 17 by two restored letters and another doubtful letter. This might still be felt as a minor difficulty, and perhaps no difficulty at all, where *λόγω* is so eminently fitted to carry the meaning desired by the writer, were it not that the text turns out to have *ἐν λόγω*, and this phrase departs from the usual idiom. What is expected is *λόγω ἐνοικείου* (= *ἐνοικίου*).³¹ Line 17 also ends with *lambda*, and between it and the preceding *chi* the editor posits the loss of *iota*, the narrowest letter of the alphabet. Then, in order to complete the word in line 18 and still preserve the gender required by the context, another *iota* is supplied, this is followed by a doubtful *alpha*, and the final *sigma* is eliminated. The editor is thus in the position of rescuing a restored and doubtful reading by correcting it.

If we now move on to the end of line 18, we see no reason for

³⁰ See his note to lines 18–19.

³¹ Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch* s.v. *λόγος*, esp. 17. The editor also gives this reference, nevertheless characterizes *ἐν λόγω* as a "typisch byzantinischer Gebrauch." It is *λόγω* that is so described in the *Wörterbuch*, which cites not a single example of *ἐν λόγω*.

the two oblique strokes under *theta* = 9; and at the beginning of line 19 we are astonished by *εἰκάδας* used synonymously with *εἴκοσι*. The editor notes that “*εἰκάς* kommt in der Bedeutung *εἴκοσι* selten vor,” and refers to *Thes. Ling. Gr.* Stephanus does indeed gloss *εἰκάς* with *vicenarius numerus, viginti*, but none of his examples sustains the definition. The word *εἰκάς* is the standard term for the 20th day of the month, and in the plural it designates the last ten days of the month. Furthermore, the word is feminine, as *τρίς* (= *τρεις*) may be feminine, whereas *τάλαντα* demands numerals that are neuter.

These considerations have suggested that the text might profit from a fresh inspection of the papyrus. Since the papyrus is in Vienna, I am grateful to Dr. Helene Loebenstein, director of the *Papyrus-Sammlung*, for the chance to work with a remarkably good photograph supplied at my request.³² With its help, I am able to present a new text of these lines, which I trust conforms more closely to the writing so far as it is preserved.

16

ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς παρασχεῖν

[λόγ]ου ἐνοικείου κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑξακισχί-
[λια] ὥς ἐκάστου οἰκεῖα, γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) (ἑξακισχίλια),
ὥς εἶναι (ὁμοῦ) ταλάντων

19

[μυρ]ιάδας τρίς, γί(νονται) (μυριάδες) γ''

17. [λόγ]ου ἐνοικείου: for λόγῳ ἐνοικίου.

18. οἰκεῖα: 6000 tal. is the “personal” or “individual” share, or contribution to the rent, of each of the five lessees. Cf. *PLips.* 33.ii.15 (= Mitteis, *Chrest.* 55 = Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 88): π[ρ]ὸς τὸ ὑ[μᾶς] εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀποκρεῖναισθαι μέρος; rendered by Meyer: “damit Ihr für Euren Teil Euch verantwortet,” i.e. “so that you may be responsible for your own share.” In such contexts the word is synonymous with ἴδιος (cf. *LSJ* s.v. οἰκεῖος III.2).

(ὁμοῦ): the symbol as written here is a large *omicron*, with an oblique stroke running upward to the right through its center and another stroke drawn parallel to the first through the bottom of the letter. The sign can be seen on Pl. 3 of the volume. For further illustration see Bilabel in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 2 (2te Reihe, 1923) 2303; *PLond.* 4, page vi, Add. to page 160; 5,

³² The papyrus is reproduced on Pl. 3 of the volume, but the scale is much too small for practical use.

Index 7a (page 322); *PCairMasp.* 1, Index 9 (page 233); *PRoss-Georg.* 5, Index 8 (page 247, Col. 2).

19. $\tau\rho\hat{\iota}s = \tau\rho\epsilon\hat{\iota}s$. ($\mu\nu\rho\hat{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon s$): the form of the symbol can be discerned without difficulty on Pl. 3. See also *PLond.* 5, Index 7a (page 322); *PRossGeorg.* 5, Index 8 (page 247, Col. 1).

Translation: "... on condition that we pay annually on account of rent, as the personal share of each lessee, six thousand talents in silver = 6000 tal., in all thirty thousand talents = 30,000." Since there are five lessees, the calculation is of the simplest: $5 \times 6000 = 30,000$.³³

4. *PLugdBat.* 11.15

This papyrus served as a deed of loan. Aurelius Paris, councilor of Hermopolis, acknowledges to Aurelius Eutychides, resident in the same place, a debt of sixty artabas of barley plus five artabas to cover "expense," or sixty-five artabas in all. These he promises to repay in three instalments. The legal basis of the debt is stated in lines 5–6, but as given in the edition they are not easy to understand.

- 5 ὁμολογῶ ὀφείλειν³⁴ σ[οι] πὸ λόγου
 (τῆς) ἀποχῆς β" ἰνδικ(τίωνος) τῆς ἐμῆς
 κτήσεως κριθῶν ἀρτά-
 βας ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὕπ(ερ) ἀνα-
 λώματος πέντε, γί(νεται) κριθῶν
 10 (ἀρτάβας)³⁵ ξε

The editor holds quite rightly that the ἀποχή mentioned in line 6 cannot be a "Quittung," i.e. a receipt in the ordinary sense of a document attesting the repayment of a loan. He suggests that it is rather an "Empfangsschein," the very deed of loan in fact that we have before us on this papyrus.³⁶ If this is true, the passage

³³ I add two further corrections without comment. 2. ἀπὸ τῆς: αὐτῆς ed. 25. ἀπὸ ξίου: Αὐρηλίου ed.

³⁴ Read ὀφείλειν.

³⁵ Better γί(νονται) κριθῶν (ἀρτάβαι).

³⁶ Cf. editor's addendum to Papyrus 15 (pages ix–x): "Es hat ganz und gar keinen Zweck zu versuchen ἀποχή hier durch 'Quittung/Nota' zu übersetzen, weil man ja eben durch eine Quittung jemanden der Verpflichtung zur Zahlung von etwas enthebt und schwerlich behauptet werden kann, dass man jemandem etwas schuldet auf Grund einer Quittung. Übersetzt man aber ἀποχή durch 'Empfangsschein,' dann bekommt man einen Sinn, womit man besser auskommt."

runs quite simply in translation, as follows: "I acknowledge that I owe you by reason of this deed of loan of the 2nd indiction sixty artabas of barley from my estate, plus five for expense, in all 65 artabas of barley."

P. M. Meyer adopted the same definition for ἀποχή in *PHamb.* 1.88 as long ago as 1924, but he did so most unwillingly because he knew that the word had this meaning nowhere else.³⁷ A recent revision of the papyrus has resulted in a number of changes in the context and has eliminated the need that Meyer felt to take the word in so exceptional a sense. The new text of the Hamburg papyrus allows ἀποχή to retain its usual meaning of a receipt acknowledging repayment of a debt.³⁸

If the editor of *PLugdBat.* 11 were right about his text, it would provide the only example of ἀποχή in the meaning that he assigns to it. In these circumstances, we are justified in requiring that the reading be impeccable, and we may well hesitate to acquiesce in a new definition of ἀποχή when three letters are marked as doubtful on the papyrus. Furthermore, the word is said to follow a symbol for (τῆς) although we have no previous experience of such a symbol in papyri.³⁹

A photograph in my possession⁴⁰ shows that the writing has indeed suffered severely at the beginning of line 6. All the letters

³⁷ Meyer's note to lines 9-15: "Der Passus ist schwer verständlich; statt ἀποχάς 'Quittungen' wird vielmehr 'Schuldscheine' erwartet. In dieser Bedeutung wird aber das Wort niemals gebraucht." Meyer referred to A. B. Schwarz, *Die öffentl. u. private Urkunde im röm. Ägypten* (*Abh. Sächs. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 31, No. 3) 145, note 4: "... werden Schuldscheine, die eine Empfangsbestätigung der Schuldvaluta enthalten, in den Papyri ebensowenig wie heute als Quittungen bezeichnet."

³⁸ *TAPA* 92 (1961) 558-61.

³⁹ *PSarapion* 26 (= *PWürz.* 13) 7-8 appears to be an exception: ἐκ (τῶν) Δικαίων καὶ Μενίππου κλ(ήρων). Wilcken printed τῶν and described the word as written "mit Verschleifung." Schwartz sees it as a "sigle analogue à celui de (τοῦ) employé parfois dans des reçus de corvée de digues"; he refers for the latter to *PStrasb.* 158.6; 159.7; 165.6; 167.6; 168.6, in all of which the printed texts have (τοῦ). *PSarapion* 26 is illustrated on Pl. 1 of that volume. If we look there for ἐκ τῶν, what we see is ἐκ το(ῦ). The article consists of a completely "open" tau ending at the upper right in a small omicron. It is a quick way of writing the gen. sing. of the article and is frequently seen in 2nd century cursive. Cf. e.g. *PMich.* 4, Pt. 1, Pl. 1, lines 1264, 1269, 1275, 1278. *PSarapion* 26.7-8 should therefore be revised to read as follows: ἐκ το(ῦ) Δικαίων καὶ Μενίππου κλ(ήρων). It is not uncommon to find a klēros named after two persons; many examples are listed in *Wörterbuch* s.v. Since the editor of *PSarapion* 26 sees a resemblance to the writing of the article in the *Strasb.* dike receipts, these doubtless also have το(ῦ).

⁴⁰ I am indebted to Dr. Helene Loebeinstein, director of the Vienna papyrus collection, for her kindness in having the photograph prepared for my use.

before -ης have become difficult to identify, and a few might be thought to be hopeless, partly by reason of damage to the fabric of the papyrus, partly through abrasion of the ink. Nevertheless, it seemed possible to reconstruct δ[ι]αστολῆς out of the battered remains visible on the photograph. With the feeling, however, that a photograph does not suffice as support for a reading so liberally sprinkled with dots, I applied to Prof. Hunger for a critical evaluation based on the papyrus itself. With his usual courtesy he sent me a detailed analysis of the writing, and I am grateful to be able to quote his reply in support of my suggestion:

Der Angang von Z. 6 ist, wie Sie ja am Photo sehen, stark zerstört. Von einer Kürzung von τῆς kann ich nichts erkennen, wohl aber die deutlichen Teile eines etwas unter die Zeile gerutschten Delta. Iota ist durch Beschädigung des Papyrus ausgefallen, Alpha und Sigma gerade noch kenntlich. Tau, das mit Sigma ligiert war, ist ebenfalls ausgefallen, ein Teil des Omikron noch sichtbar, ebenso ein Teil von Lambda und sicheres -ης am Schluss. Ich stimme also Ihrer Vermutung διαστολῆς zu.⁴¹

In dependence on the photograph, and even more on the indications given by Prof. Hunger from the papyrus, I now submit a new text of lines 5–10:

5	ὁμολογῶ ὀφίλειν σ[οι] ἀπὸ λόγου δ[ι]ασ[τ]ολῆς β' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) τῆς ἐμῆς κτῆσεως κριθῶν ἀρτά- βας ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὑπ(έρ) ἀνα- λώματος πέντε, γί(νονται) κριθῶν
10	(ἀρτάβαι) ξε

An adequate translation would be: "I acknowledge that I owe you, by reason of a tax payment for the 2nd indiction⁴² on my

⁴¹ Letter of 17 Febr. 1964.

⁴² The reference to a 2nd ind. has persuaded Bingen (*ChronÉg.* 75 [1963] 167) to attribute the text definitely to the 4th cent., and not to the 3rd or 4th, as the editor has done. Whether we follow Bingen or the editor on this point will depend on how we evaluate recent research on the beginning of the indiction cycles. Amundsen (*OstrOslo.*, page 65) adopted Seeck's contention that the 15 yr. indiction cycles were initiated by Diocletian in 297. More recently, Kase (*PPrinceton Papyrus Roll*, page 29) argued for retaining 312, the date preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*, while making Diocletian responsible for introducing the 5 yr. indiction cycle "at least as early as 297." This is the view presented by V. Grumel, *Chronologie (Traité d'études byz. 1* [1958] 192): "C'est à Dioclétien qu'on attribue cette institution, et c'est en Égypte d'abord qu'on la voit en vigueur. Les plus anciens témoignages permettent

estate, sixty artabas of barley plus five for expense, in all 65 art. of barley." The term διαστολή fits very well here. It is somewhat broader in scope than "tax payment," properly rather a "taxing list,"⁴³ which may record the names and payments of individual taxpayers⁴⁴ or may be a summary of payments with no reference to individuals.⁴⁵

This interpretation of the critical passage—δ[ι]α[σ]τ[ο]λ[η]ς β" ἰνδικ(τίωνος) τῆς ἐμῆς κτήσεως—draws support from tax receipts, where like elements occur frequently in the same order: name of tax, date, place. Two examples will suffice.⁴⁶

143 A.D. *PMich. Inv. 6833a.7* χω(ματικοῦ) ἔκτου (ἔτους) Καρα-
(νίδος)

4th cent. *PMich. Inv. 4982.1-2* σίτου ὀγδόης ἰν(δικτίωνος)
Καρανίδος.

And if the debt rests on a payment of taxes by Eutychides on behalf of Paris, there is nothing surprising in the mention of five artabas as contributed ὑπ(ἐρ) ἀναλώματος (8-9). As the editor observes in his note to line 8, a small charge for "expense" is often attached to taxes from the fourth century on.⁴⁷

Aurelius Paris, who composed the entire document,⁴⁸ continued his acknowledgment in line 10 as follows:

d'en placer le début en 297-298. On est d'accord actuellement pour reconnaître que l'indiction de Dioclétien était une période de 5 ans seulement, et c'est à Constantin que, conformément à l'indication du *Chronicon paschale*, l'on fait remonter la série des indictions de 15 ans. La première de ces périodes a son point de départ en septembre 312." Numbered indictions, however, from the period before 312, and specifically Ind. 1=297-8 and Ind. 2=298-9, are found in our texts. Cf. J. Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus et l'épigraphé* (*ChronÉg.* 75 [1963]) 154; T. C. Skeat, *PBeatty-Panop.* 2.148, note.

⁴³ Defined by Preisigke, *Fachwörter* s.v.: "Einzelübersicht, Liste, welche die Dinge in Gattungen oder Unterarten zeigt." T. Kalén, *PBerlLeihg.* 1R.ii.18 note: "Übersicht der Einnahmen, nach Zahlungstiteln geordnet (ohne Bezugnahme auf den Stand des Zahlers noch auf die verschiedenen Flurorte)." S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton 1938) 484, note 230, gives a list of "monthly summaries (usually called διαστολαί)." Cf. *PTebt.* 2.363.1 δ. μετρήματος Τετρίωνος; *BGU* 2.652.5 δ. εισπράξεως; *StudPal.* 10.115.1 δ. ἐμβολῆς.

⁴⁴ As in *PTebt.* 2.363.

⁴⁵ As in *BGU* 2.652.5 or *PBerlLeihg.* 1R.ii.18.

⁴⁶ Both examples are taken from O. M. Pearl, *Short Texts from Karamis* (*Aegyptus* 33 [1953]) No. 2 (page 5), 19 (page 19).

⁴⁷ He refers for a summary of evidence to A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 295, 300.

⁴⁸ As stated in his 2nd subscription (20-22).

10

ἐφ' ὅτε με ἀπακατα-
σῆσω σεῖ⁴⁹ ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀν-
υπερθέτως

Paris then wrote a subscription (12–14) before becoming aware that lines 10–12 were incomplete without the dates agreed on for repayment of the loan. In order to repair this omission he appended lines 15–19 as a postscript, and to this he added a second subscription (20–22). I repeat the postscript as transcribed in the edition as well as the translation given there, because the ends of lines 16 and 17 present extraordinary difficulties.

15

οὔτως τελῶ· ἐν Φαῶφι
μηνὶ τριακάδι (ἀρτάβας) κ τῷ δι-,
Ἀθύρ τριακάδι (ἀρτάβας) κ τῷ δ ζ,
Χοιάκ τῇ λ πρόλ[ο]ιπα (ἀρτάβας) κ

19

ἀμαφιβόλως.⁵⁰

Editor's translation: "Ich werde folgendermassen bezahlen: am dreissigsten des Monats Phaophi 20 Artaben mit $2\frac{1}{2}$, am dreissigsten des Monats Hathyr 20 Artaben mit $2\frac{1}{2}$ und am 30. des Monats Choiak die übrigen 20 Artaben tadellos."⁵¹

The editor explains in considerable detail why he has taken the ends of lines 16 and 17 to mean "plus $2\frac{1}{2}$." If this is not done, the program of payments will lack the five artabas entered in lines 8–9 as "expense." The argument assumes an arrangement of fractions admittedly almost unique in Egyptian practice: $\delta\iota^- = \frac{1}{4} \times 10 = 2\frac{1}{2}$; $\delta\zeta = 4\frac{1}{2}$, written by mistake for $2\frac{1}{2}$. What is left unexplained is the use of *delta* for $\frac{1}{4}$ in one instance and 4 in the other. The signs for these numerical values are regularly distinguished in papyri: $\Delta = 4$, $d = \frac{1}{4}$. Equally puzzling is the syntax of the article—dative, singular, masculine or neuter. It is in fact in no known syntactical relation to the sentence.

There is another possible approach to this problem. The

⁴⁹ Read ἀποκαταστήσειν σοι. With respect to the doubtful *epsilon*, for which I suggested *omicron*, Prof. Hunger wrote: "Zwischen Sigma und Iota ist nur ein kleiner Tintenrest, der sich nicht sicher deuten lässt."

⁵⁰ Read ἀναμφιβόλως.

⁵¹ "Tadellos," although adequate for ἀμέμπτως (11), is perhaps not the best equivalent for ἀναμφιβόλως, which may more suitably be rendered "without possibility of dispute, without discussion." One is reminded of the expression "no two ways about it."

article and the *delta* that follows it in each of the lines are securely read.⁵² If we take them seriously, as of course we must, the obvious suggestion is $\tau\hat{\omega}$ δέ, and since this will now immediately precede a month name in each instance, the construction will parallel the dative $\Phi\alpha\hat{\omega}\phi\iota$ μηνί in lines 15–16. And the suggestion has another advantage; it provides a means of testing the doubtful reading $\tau\epsilon\lambda\hat{\omega}$ ἐν in line 15. The photograph shows much abrasion at this point, and decipherment is difficult. Nevertheless, if the true reading were $\tau\hat{\omega}$ μέν in 15 and $\tau\hat{\omega}$ δέ in 16 and 17, we should regain the smooth quality of ordinary Greek.

The editor describes what he saw at the end of line 16, after *delta*, as an *iota* drawn through a symbol having the form of a *sigma*. He compares the latter to the symbol used for $\frac{1}{2}$ obol in *PLond.* 3.1200 (page 2) 10, 12, a symbol familiar to readers of papyri and indeed resembling the lunar *sigma* of early Ptolemaic texts. But there is more on the papyrus than merely a curved line. The photograph shows a more or less horizontal, slightly concave extension running off to the right from the topmost point of the curve. The corresponding character at the end of line 17, although larger, has much the same shape. Although the one (16) is obscured by a seemingly pointless correction,⁵³ and the other (17) has been redrawn,⁵⁴ there is no reasonable way to avoid identifying them as *epsilon* in a context which may be said, without special pleading, to require δέ.

In the light of all these considerations, and with full awareness of the writing as it is seen on the photograph, I propose the following text for lines 15–19:⁵⁵

⁵² So also the editor (page 83): “In beiden Zeilen steht unwiderleglich ein δ als erster Bestandteil der Zahl.”

⁵³ The editor, who has seen the papyrus itself, speaks (page 83) of *iota* as drawn through the “Symbol.” The photograph seems to me not to permit a decision on this point. If the “Symbol” is, as I think, an *epsilon*, then the scribe’s correction, which looks like a large *gamma* and has been transcribed by the editor as ϵ^- , was misconceived. Or were the vertical and horizontal lines meant to cancel *epsilon* before the following *alpha*?

⁵⁴ Prof. Hunger: “Am Ende von Z. 16 und 17 hat sich der Schreiber beide Male verschrieben und unschön ausgebessert. [Der Herausg.] hat das, was jetzt zu sehen ist, im Druck ungefähr wiedergegeben.”

⁵⁵ Although I use dots under the crucial letters in lines 15–17 because they have all suffered distortion in some way, either from abrasion of the ink or from the scribe’s inexpert attentions, I regard them as very little short of certain. I cannot say as much for the dotted letters in line 18.

- 15 οὕτως· τῷ μὲν Φαῶφι
 μηνὶ τριακάδι (ἀρτάβας) κ, τῷ δὲ
 Ἀθὺρ τριακάδι (ἀρτάβας) κ, τῷ δὲ
 Χοιάκ τῇ λ πρόλ[ο]ιπα (ἀρτάβας) κ,
 19 ἀνα<μ>φιβόλως.

The word in line 19 completes a trio of adverbs, of which two have already been given in lines 11 and 12. The amount of barley registered in the schedule of payments is 60 artabas, not 65, as recorded in line 10. In adding his postscript, Paris forgot the five artabas described in lines 8–9 as ἀνάλωμα. The omission is only another indication of the careless drafting which is characteristic of the document as a whole.

5. *POxy.* 22.2340

This papyrus preserves the record of a hearing conducted by an official named Julianus, but not otherwise identified, on the 13th of March, 192 A.D. The text is written across the fibers of the papyrus in two columns. These have suffered extensive losses at the bottom, but they have for the most part been skillfully reconstructed by the editor.

The plaintiff is a certain Isidorus, who is pictured by his advocate as a much abused weaver. He complains that Epimachus, assistant strategus of the Delta district of Alexandria,⁵⁶ has nominated Isidorus as his own replacement even though Isidorus is a foreman of a weaver's shop.⁵⁷ Such persons, he argues, are exempt from liturgical service because their work is advantageous to the fiscus,⁵⁸ and he urges that Epimachus be ordered to nominate someone else. He concludes his plea with a remark about the reading of a document, but its nature is obscured for us by the almost total destruction of line 13. The papyrus is entirely torn away below this point, and the editor's punctuation suggests that one or more lines may be lost.

The second column begins with the end of a perfect participle, and the editor has supplied the first part of the word in an unnumbered line above the column. The implication of this

⁵⁶ So the editor rightly (page 120). The papyrus has only δέλτα γράμματος (line 5).

⁵⁷ Pap. ἐργαστηριάρχην ὄντα λινούφων (6–7). The editor corrects to λινούφον, following the scribal correction of λινούφων to λινούφος in line 21 of the papyrus.

⁵⁸ On exemption of weavers see J. Scherer, *PPhilad.* pages 17 f.

device is that the beginning of the participle occupied the end of the first column when this was still complete. What has so far passed unnoticed is the partial resemblance, sufficiently intriguing once it has been recognized, between the end of line 13 and the unnumbered line. In order that the reader may see this for himself, I reproduce the pertinent section of the text.

12		κ]αὶ ἀναγν[ω-]
13	[σθ.....]	αυ]κο[.....]υ κο[...]
		[κεχρο-]
(ii) 14	νισμένον	εἰς τὸ κβ Φαρμου-
15	θι.	

The last word in line 13 begins with *kappa*, as does the supplement in the unnumbered line. The letter after *kappa* in line 13 is *omicron*, and the second letter of the supplement is *epsilon*. *Omicron* and *epsilon* are both characterized by curved strokes. What can be seen on a photograph of the papyrus adds greatly to the interest of these observations.⁵⁹ The *omicron* is not completely preserved. Only the left side of the letter is visible at the edge of the broken papyrus, and this suits equally well the curved back of *epsilon*. I suggest therefore that *κεχρο* was written at the end of line 13 and that this forms a single word with *νισμένον* at the beginning of line 14. On this view, the first column consisted of 13 lines, not more.

The photograph tolerates this conjecture, and with its help we can proceed to a likely reconstruction of lines 12-15.

12		κ]αὶ ἀναγν[ώ-]
13	[σομαι ὑπό]	μνημ[α ⁶⁰ Μακρίν]ου κε[χρο-]
(ii) 14	νισμένον	εἰς τὸ κβ (ἔτος) Φαρμου-
15	θι.	

Translation: "and I shall read a minute of Macrinus dated to the 22nd year, Pharmuthi."⁶¹ The minute, accordingly, was

⁵⁹ I am very grateful to Prof. E. G. Turner and the Rev. Dr. J. W. B. Barns for their kindness in procuring for me unusually clear photographs of both sides of the papyrus. The relation of the unnumbered line to line 13 was first noted by Louise C. Youtie in her study of the photograph of No. 2340.

⁶⁰ Of the 1st *mu* only the final, almost but not quite horizontal stroke survives. Its right end meets *nu* just slightly below the top of the left vertical of that letter. The juncture of *mu* and *eta* in 16 is approximately the same. The 2nd *mu*, although not complete, is comparable to *mu* in 17. *Nu* and *eta* raise no doubts of any kind.

⁶¹ For ὑπόμνημα = ὑπομνηματισμός see Preisigke-Kießling, *Wörterbuch* s.v. (2.d = Col. 668.52). For κεχροτισμένον = "dated" see *Wörterbuch*, s.v. χρονίζω.

taken from records compiled ten years before, in March/April 182 A.D., when Veturius Macrinus was prefect of Egypt.⁶²

The text continues with remarks by Hippias, advocate for Epimachus, who reports his client's contention that Isidorus is not a weaver but a perfumer and a wealthy man. Julianus then interposes his decision that if Isidorus is in fact a foreman-weaver⁶³ he is entitled to request that someone else be nominated in his place.⁶⁴

6. *PHeid.* 3.19

This text, written in the late second or third century A.D., is an account of expenses incurred for funeral preparations.⁶⁵ The papyrus has broken away at the top and bottom and along much of the right side. An exceptionally clear photograph of the

⁶² A. Stein, *Präfecten von Ägypten* (Diss. Bern. 1, 1950) 99 f.; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* 8 (2te Reihe, 1955-58) 1900 f. [Stiglitz].

⁶³ The correction of *λινούφων* to *λινούφος* in line 21 emphasizes the point made by Scherer (*PPhilad.*, page 17) in dependence on *Digest* 50.6.6: exemption was available only to artisans practising their trade, *nec omnibus promiscue qui adsumpti sunt in his collegiis immunitas datur, sed artificibus dumtaxat*.

⁶⁴ I here follow a suggestion received from Prof. N. Lewis (letter of 22 April, 1964): "Were the decision to say what [the editor] has restored it to say, we would indeed be presented with an important and unprecedented piece of information. But I see that I had penciled in the margin of my copy my dissatisfaction with these restorations. I think those lines [23-24] should have the following text, which will be in keeping with normal procedure as we understand it: *κα[ὶ ἀξιούν ἀ]ντ' ἀπτο[ῦ] ἕτερον ἀν[αδο-θῆναι]*." Cf. Lewis, *Leitourgia Papyri* (Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. 53, pt. 9 [1963]) 5.24 f.: *ἕτερον ἀ[ν]τ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν χ[ρ]εῖαν κατασταθῆναι*.

I append a few further observations. 3-4. Parallel texts indicate that the full stop placed by the editor at the end of line 2 should be transferred to the middle of line 3, after *ἐντυχόντος*. Cf. *POxy.* 1.40.3-4. The scribe has himself marked the pause by leaving a space, as he has left similar spaces at the ends of sentences in lines 8, 15, 18. 9-10. *χρησίμ[ου]s* ed., *χρήσιμο[ν]* pap. The space is not sufficient for *χρησίμ[ου]s*. 11. *[δία]κελεύσαι* ed., *[δὲ] κελεύσαι* E. G. Turner (by letter). 24. The text is closed with a long *paragraphos* under this line. 25. This line is the docket for the text on the recto. See Youtie, *TAPA* 89 (1958) 401-3.

⁶⁵ Editor: "Ausgaben." That the edition offers no further interpretation, is doubtless a consequence of the editor's premature death in an aeroplane disaster over Turkey in 1961. Both his text and his discussion would certainly have undergone some change if he had survived to give them his imprimatur. My note may therefore be regarded as an extension of his remarks. [My suggestions for lines 2, 3, 8, and 17 have now been anticipated by J. Bingen, *ChronÉg.* 77-78 (1964) 203. But the space does not suffice for his *[ματίων]* in line 2, even if this word were abbreviated as it is in 8 and 9; and the word is not needed. Furthermore he says nothing about line 7, the reading of which I have also corrected. I have therefore left this section of my paper intact, in the hope that readers may find something either useful or interesting in my remarks on the text.]

ν[: ν[ed. The editor's reading is unobjectionable, although only the left side of the letter remains on the edge of the break. The lively activity attested for Egypt in the transportation of corpses provides good background for ν[αύταις or ν[αυτικοῖς, as well as ν[εκροτάφοις (cf. lines 6 and 16). An unpublished letter at Köln shows a ναυτικός being used for forwarding the body of a

legionary to his home village (Inv. 318). It was of course not uncommon that persons who died away from home should be returned to their villages (cf. *PGrenf.* 2.77); others who died at home were taken for burial to a necropolis of special sanctity, like Abydos, Memnonia, or Memphis.⁶⁶ Instructive in this regard is the receipt issued by a shipmaster for a mummy to be delivered to the harbor of Kerke in the Memphite nome (*PHamb.* 1.74 = *Select Papyri* 1.78; cf. *Berichtigungsl.* 2.ii.75); as are the mummy labels, which frequently mention the destination to which the corpse was consigned (e.g. *Sammelbuch* 4.7437). Of interest also is an ostrakon which has a letter stressing the urgency of moving twelve bodies from Coptus (*Sammelbuch* 3.6011), and a wood tablet on which a father expresses anxiety for the safe delivery of his son's body (*Sammelbuch* 1.3939: "Mumienbegleitbrief"). W. Crönert (*Raccolta Lumbroso* [Milan 1925] 521-28) has assembled a rich collection of material from papyri pertinent to the transportation of the dead.

2. $\tau(\mu\eta\varsigma)$: $\tau\mu(\eta\varsigma)$ ed., throughout the account. Involved here is only a technical difference in palaeographic evaluation.

$\varphi\theta\iota\nu\alpha\rho(\acute{\iota}\omega\nu)$: $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\alpha\rho()$, "unbekanntes Wort oder Korruptel?" ed. The editor's reading is sound, and it is inevitable that we relate $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ to $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\alpha$, a word known only from Hesychius, who defines it as "a kind of olive." Other items of food are listed in lines 7-12, 15. The form $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\alpha$ may be a popular shortening of $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\omicron\pi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, which Suidas, s.v. $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\mu\omicron\nu$, makes synonymous with $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, "olive pickled in brine." Cf. Callimachus (ed. Pfeiffer), Fr. 248. Both $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\alpha$ and $\varphi\theta\iota\nu\omicron\pi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ are listed from these sources in *LSJ*.

$\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$: $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\nu$ ed. The last two letters are not easily seen on Plate 6, where the last letter looks more like a mark of abbreviation. The papyrus has, however, been examined once again at my request by Dr. Jutta Seyfarth, who has sent me her own hand-drawing and a detailed description (letter of Feb. 2, 1965):

Die Frage lässt sich ganz eindeutig beantworten. Das, was am Ende von Linie 2 auf der Photographie aussieht wie 'a mark of abbreviation,' ist in Wirklichkeit ein einzelnes Stückchen Papyrusfaser, das sich schräg auf den Papyrus gelegt hat und dort

⁶⁶ A. Erman, *Religion d. Ägypter* (Berlin-Leipzig 1934) 269; U. Wilcken, *UPZ* 2.177.13 note; A. Bataille, *Memnonia* (Inst. fr. arch. orient., *Recherches d'arch., de phil. et d'hist.* 23 [1952]) 229.

bestimmt nicht hingehört. In der Mitte dieser Faser ist eine Spur Tinte sichtbar, aber nur auf der Faser, nicht auf dem Papyrus; diese Tintenspur gehört also überhaupt nicht zu dem Buchstaben ... Ebenso stimmt etwas mit den Fasern an der 2. Stelle nicht ... Der Längsstrich zieht sich nicht so hoch hinauf, wie es auf der Photographie den Anschein hat. Die dort sichtbare Tintenspur gehört wahrscheinlich, wenn die Faser herumgeklappt ist, in die obere Zeile.

For λεπτόν = "jar" see *LSJ* s.v. λεπτός III.3; cf. *POxy.* 8.1153.4 note.

κ:].[ed. The remnant is easily adapted to a *kappa* of the shape represented in a number of the lines below, e.g. 3, 4, 6. Furthermore, *kappa* is required to complete the calculation: $20 \times 8 = 160$.

3. εκ (δραχμῶν) η: εκ() η ed. The editor mistook the drachma-sign for a mark of abbreviation, and this it might well have been in some other context.⁶⁷ It is identical in shape with the drachma-signs on the right side of the account. Its form is accurately described by P. Bureth in a comment on *PStrasb.* 325 (above, note 25) page 458: "Le sigle de la drachme (l. 8 et 15) est réduit à la partie inférieure de la sinusoïde habituelle."

ρξ: ρξ ed. The editor's reading is indisputable even though both numerals are somewhat damaged.

4. ὑπ(έρ): ὑ(πέ)ρ ed., but seemingly only a typographical error for ὑ(πέρ), as given in 5 and 6. The difference of punctuation between the editor's reading and mine is purely technical.

θεραπ(είας): θεραπ() ed. The editor proposes θεραπ(όντων), which is a real possibility; but the payments to a perfumer (4–5) precede a relatively long list of payments to *nekrotaphoi* (6–17), and this suggests that the perfumer was hired to do his share in preparing a corpse for burial. The word *θεραπεία* is perfectly suited to describe his professional duties. Diodorus Siculus (1.91.3) refers to embalmers as οἱ τὰ σώματα θεραπεύοντες and to their activity as ἡ θεραπεία τοῦ σώματος. *PSI* 7.857 (ed. C. C. Edgar, *Archiv. f. Papyrusf.* 13 [1939] 76 f.) uses *θεραπεία* for "mummification," as *UPZ* 2.162.ii.22 and Horapollo 1.39 (cf. T. C. Skeat, *JEA* 25 [1939] 78; *LSJ*, *Add. et Corr.* s.v.) use *θεραπύω* for "embalm." The perfumer produced appropriate

⁶⁷ See note 24, above.

unguents, and these he applied to the body in ways calculated to promote its preservation.⁶⁸

7. *σελιγνίων*: *σελιννίων* ed., who associates it with *σέλινον*, "celery." From Latin *siligo* are derived a number of late Greek words attested in papyri, among them *σελίγνια*, or *σιλίγνια*, "loaves or cakes made of extra-fine flour."⁶⁹

8-10. The *mation* is $\frac{1}{12}$ artaba (Wilcken, *Gr.Ostr.*, pages 751 f.).

8. (*τριώβολον*): (*τετρώβολον*) ed.

11. *τοκάδ(ων)*: for this word applied to pigs, geese, chickens, see Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch* s.v.

13. *στροβίλ(ων)*: pine-cones used for their aroma, like the incense in line 14. These articles were doubtless desired wherever *nekrotaphoi* set up shop. See Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch* s.v., and especially *BGU* 2.362.vii.12: *στροβείλων* [κ]αὶ ἀρωμάτων.

16. δ̄: δ[ed. The new reading of line 17 shows that line 16 is complete. An expenditure for wine, among other things, is listed in *P. Fay* 103. 4-5, under the heading λ[όγος] ἀναλώματος τοῦ νεκροῦ.

17. ἐκ (*δράχμῶν*) ις: εκ() ις ed. See my note to line 3.

[*(δρ.) ξδ*]: this supplement, necessarily absent from the *ed. pr.*, is justified by the calculation, $4 \times 16 = 64$.

TRANSLATION

Minor expenses, to the same. . . . Cost of 20 jars of olives, at 8 dr. each, 160 dr. Wages, to the perfumer, for service, 24 dr. To the same, for wages, 8 dr. To the undertakers, for laying out the body: cost of loaves, 16 dr.; cost of 3 *matia* of dates, 15 dr. 3 ob.; cost of 2 *matia* of lupine, 5 dr. 5 ob.; cost of 1 *mation* of beans . . . ; cost of 8 breeders . . . ; cost of 4 fowls . . . ; cost of 4 pine-cones . . . ; cost of incense . . . ; cost of eggs. . . . To the same undertakers, 4 *cnidia* of wine, at 16 dr. each, 64 dr.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴ (London 1962) 312 f.

⁶⁹ *LSJ* s.vv. *σελιγν-*, *σιλιγν-*; S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nella lingua greca d'Egitto* (*Aegyptus* 40 [1960]) 282; D. S. Crawford, *PMichael*. page 143; *PStrasb.* (= *Publ. Bibl. Nat. et Univ. Strasb.* 1 [1963]) 299 verso, 4.

⁷⁰ It is a pleasure for me to recall here a long afternoon's talk about this text with my colleague, Dr. H. D. Cameron. He said much that forced me to a closer scrutiny of the individual items of the account.

7. *PAbinn.* 43

The text of this papyrus is a dunning letter of twenty-two lines from Abinnaeus to a group of friends, of whom three are named while the others appear only as πάντας τοὺς φίλους. The document is accordingly not a personal letter⁷¹ but rather a general notice to all the persons concerned that certain debts seemingly overdue should now be paid without delay to the brothers and son of Abinnaeus. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the larger part of the letter (9–22) is devoted to a statement of the account. The items for which payment is requested are dates, barley, fodder,⁷² and *erga*. The amounts specified as owing under these heads are the following:

(9–13) dates	675 talents	[= 101 $\frac{1}{4}$ myriads of denarii] ⁷³
(13–16) barley	90 „	[= 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ „ „ „]
(16–17) fodder	128 „	[= 19 $\frac{1}{5}$ „ „ „]
(17–19) <i>erga</i>	140	„ „ „
(20–22) TOTAL	259	„ „ „

In presenting this account, I have converted talents to denarii at the customary rate of 1:1500.⁷⁴ The result obtained in this way, however, seems to be incorrect because the actual sum of the items is 273 $\frac{19}{20}$ myr., and this exceeds the sum recorded on the papyrus by 14 $\frac{19}{20}$ myr. The editors have therefore conjectured that the 128 tal. for fodder may also have been included in the 140 myr. for *erga*. This means in turn that the rather vague

⁷¹ The editors: "It is not properly described as a letter, for there is no closing greeting, while there are several addressees, three being mentioned by name, followed by an 'omnibus.'" Although letters are occasionally without the closing formula (cf. *PMich.* 8.474 and 518), the point is well taken. The addressees were possibly members of a *pittakion*, an agricultural firm, and for this reason could all be reached by a single communication. (On the organization of *pittakia* see the basically similar but still divergent views of Preisigke, *PStrassb.* 45 introd. [cf. *Wörterbuch und Fachwörter* s.v.] and Kalén, *PBerlLeihg.* 22 introd. Cf. Youtie, *TAPA* 73 [1942] 75–78; *Class. Phil.* 37 [1942] 142 f.; *PCairIsidor.* 24 and 89.)

⁷² Line 16: τρώξι<μ>α ed., with "fodder(?)" in the translation. The reading is worrisome because, as the plate shows (*PLondFacs.* 2.108), *rho* and *iota* are truly doubtful while *xi* is possible but not obvious. We thus have a word obtained by correcting an insecure reading. Nevertheless, I have not been able to arrive at any other reading.

⁷³ Line 13: χροε. Space is available before *chi* for the symbol that marks talents, and perhaps even some vague remains of the symbol are still visible. The plate justifies at least [(τράλαντρα)] χροε.

Cf. *POxy.* 12.1431.3 note.

an arrangement, and there is no obvious reason to suspect the genuineness of the text. Nevertheless, a former pupil of mine, Ann E. Hanson, collating the edition with *PLondFacs.* 2.108, felt that the space assigned to the doubtful *gamma* of ἐργων was too narrow for that letter and better suited to *iota*, hence she proposed ἐρίων. This possibility was submitted to Prof. E. G. Turner, who with his usual kindness studied the papyrus once again. I quote from his reply (letter of 12 June, 1964):

The text is badly rubbed and the surface often stripped, and I can't settle the matter by eye definitely; but [Mrs. Hanson's] suggestion of ἐρίων makes such an admirable subject to be measured in lbs. that I think it must be right.⁷⁸ I think there is enough space for *gamma*, but there is no definite proof in continuity of ink that the letter is *gamma*. After the *rho* there is a tiny up-stroke on a level with the top of the loop of *rho*, then the vertical, and apparently after it a descending oblique. I don't think *iota* unlikely. *Epsilon*, with which I also toyed (less likely in itself) couldn't be ruled out entirely; but the scribe usually makes *epsilon* with a tall upward curve (cf. line 3), and the upward curve is missing here.

Prof. Turner generously made a handdrawing of the ink strokes as he saw them on the papyrus, and this as well as his description strongly favor ἐρίων, i.e. ἐρίων, which the scribe has adorned with a false diaeresis. The new reading not only takes closer account of the writing but has also the further advantage of simplifying the syntax of lines 17-19: "and on account of . . ."⁷⁹ forty pounds of wool, one hundred and forty myriads."

8. *PStrasb.* 221⁸⁰

This is a short text of four lines written in the second century A.D., probably at Socnopaei Nesus (Dime).⁸¹ It is described in the edition as a "billet," a note written in haste to give information about a quarrel that has broken out between herdsmen.⁸²

⁷⁸ For wool measured in lbs. see *OMich.* 1.255; cf. *Wörterbuch*, Abschn. 19, s.v. λίτρα.

⁷⁹ Editors: "There is not room for [ἐκατόν] after λιτρῶν." This statement is supported by the facsimile, and yet the text solicits the numeral.

⁸⁰ See above, note 69.

⁸¹ The editor: "il a dû être trouvé en même temps que les p. gr. 1109a et 1112 (inédits) qui sont de la région de Socnopéonèse."

⁸² The editor: "Ce billet griffonné à la hâte, dans un domaine à la campagne, concerne une querelle de bouviers."

κύριε Ἀμμῶνε οἱ βο-
κόλοι τῆς κώ(μης) ἡδίκη-
σαν τρυῆς βοῦς τοῦ Περσίφου.⁸³
τοῦτο δός.

The last line is said to be an instruction to the bearer of the note.⁸⁴

This text permits observations which make for some uneasiness. The vocative Ἀμμῶνε does not follow Greek patterns, which tend rather to suggest correction to Ἀμμων or Ἀμμώνιε. It is true that Preisigke's *Namenbuch* lists one occurrence of Ἀμμῶνε from *Sammelbuch* 1.148,⁸⁵ but this is a Coptic graffito from Achmim, and *Ammōne* is a common variant of *Ammōnios* in Coptic.⁸⁶ Furthermore, τοῦτο δός is not ordinary language for directing a messenger to deliver a note or letter. The verb used for this purpose is almost always ἀπόδος, which is regularly written on the verso of the papyrus together with the name of the addressee so that it may be visible after the letter has been folded and sealed.⁸⁷

The phrase τοῦτο δός, coming as it does at the end of the text, points in quite another direction. In the form τοῦτό μοι δός it is found a number of times after questions directed to oracles.⁸⁸ I reproduce here two of them which are especially pertinent because they also come from Socnopaei Nesus, are addressed to Socnopaeus and Ammon,⁸⁹ and like the Strasbourg papyrus are products of the second century.

⁸³ The editor: "Les deux noms propres pourraient se lire aussi Ἀμμενε et Περσίφ(νος)." The names are entered in Index B.1 as Ἀμμῶνε (voc.) and Περσί . . .

⁸⁴ The editor: "L'ordre s'adresse sans doute au porteur du billet. Il n'y a rien au verso."

⁸⁵ Reprinted from U. Bouriant, *Notes de Voyage (Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égypt. et assyr.* 11 [1889]) 148.

⁸⁶ G. Heuser, *Prosopographie von Ägypten 4: die Kopten (Quellen u. Stud., ed. Bilabel u. Grohmann, C.2 [Heidelberg 1938])* 19 f.

⁸⁷ F. Ziemann, *de epist. graec. formulis sollemn.* (Diss. Hal. 17, 1907) 278. Not to be confused with the administrative use of ἀπόδος as a direction to return a petition after judgment to the petitioner (Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.).

⁸⁸ W. Schubart, *Orakelfragen (Zeit. ägypt. Sprache* 67 [1931]) 110 ff.; K. Preisendanz *PGM* 2, pages 156 f.; A. Wilhelm, *Orakelfragen u. Orakelantworten (Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 15 [1953]) 71 ff. For the Pharaonic period see J. Cerny, *Questions adressées aux oracles (Bull. Inst. fr. arch. orient.* 35 [1935] 41-58); *Nouvelle série de questions adressées aux oracles (Bull.* 41 [1942] 13-24).

⁸⁹ For other evidence of Ammon in the temple of Socnopaeus see Wilcken, *Chrest.* 91.12-13, which mentions a miniature silver altar dedicated to Ammon-Apis.

PGM 2.30e κυρίῳ Σοκνοπαίῳ θεῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνι, θεοῖς
μεγίστοις. ἀξιοῖ Σώτας· εἰ οὐ μέλλι⁹⁰ ὁ νομάρχης ἐναντοῦ
ἀγανακτῇ ἢ ἐξετάζει⁹¹ τὰ κατ' ἐμέ ὅτι τὰ πιττάκια Οὐαλερίου
ἐγὼ γράφω. τοῦτῳ⁹² μοι δός.

Translation: "To my lord Socnopaeus, great god, and my lord Ammon, very great gods. Sotas asks: Will not the nomarch be vexed with me if he looks into my affairs, because it is I who write the chits for Valerius? Tell me this."⁹³

PGM 2.30f κυρίῳ Σοκνοπ(αίῳ) καὶ Ἀμμωνι θεοῖς μεγάλοις.
ξηρημάτισον Ζωιλᾶτι εἰ μεθίστατε⁹⁴ ὁ κωμογρ(αμματεὺς)
τῆς Βουβασα⁹⁵ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς. τοῦτό μοι δός.

Translation: "To my lord Socnopaeus and my lord Ammon, great gods. Reveal to Zoilas whether the village clerk will abandon Boubasa because of the letter. Tell me this."⁹⁶

With these texts as models, we can now restore to the Strasbourg papyrus the form and meaning that are proper to it. It also is addressed to Ammon, although not to Socnopaeus, and it also ends with the formula familiar from the questions put to oracles. It differs from the texts quoted above in beginning with a vocative, but other examples of this practice may be seen in PGM 2.31a (κύριοι Διόσκουροι), 31b (κύριέ μου Σάραπι Ἥλιε εὐεργέτα).

⁹⁰ Read μέλλει.

⁹¹ Read ἐναντοῦ ἀγανακτεῖν εἰ ἐξετάζει. On η=εἰ rather than ἦ, and ἀγανακτεῖν c. gen., see Wilhelm (above, footnote 88) 72. The spelling ἐναντον is an advance on Schubart's earlier reading εἰναντον (*Einführung in die Papyruskunde* [Berlin 1918] 368; *Zeit. ägypt. Sprache* 67 [1931] 111, No. 7). We are permitted to hope that a new inspection of the papyrus will reveal not *nu*, but a *nu*-like *mu*.

⁹² Read τοῦτο.

⁹³ Schubart: "Das gib mir an." Preisendanz: "Das lass mich wissen."

⁹⁴ Read μεθίσταται.

⁹⁵ Preisendanz: "βουβασα Dorfname? Schub. Od. Frauenn." Boubasa is not known from any source. Schubart's earlier readings were βοῦ καὶ φῖ (*Einführung* 368) and Βουκαῖα (*Zeit. ägypt. Sprache* 67 [1931] 111, No. 8). The first of these is meaningless, but the second has possibilities, e.g. Βου(κόλων) καὶ ἄ(λλον). The jurisdiction of village clerks not infrequently extended over more than one village (P. M. Meyer, *PHamb.* 1.7.2 note). Boubasa, however, recalls Boubastos, of which Grenfell and Hunt remark (*PTebt.* 2, page 373) that it is frequently mentioned in papyri from Socnopaei Nesus. The Βουβάστον διῶρυξ ran between Socnopaei Nesus and Caranis (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *PLugdBat.* 12, pages 79 f.). If Boubasa is a woman's name, as Preisendanz suggests, it is without parallel. We need the reassurance that a new examination of the papyrus might give.

⁹⁶ The translation follows Preisendanz, but see note 95.

⁹⁸ For information on the persons and places I refer the reader to the editor's notes.

effect three paragraphs: the first is the address to the strategus, the second names a village clerk as the originator of the document, the third begins with *ἀντί* and is the main body of the communication. This is precisely what we find in Wilcken, *Chrest.* 399 and 400, both of the second century A.D. No. 399 is a proposal made to a strategus by a village clerk for replacing three liturgists who have almost completed their term and two others who have died. In No. 400 a similar proposal is made by a group of village presbyters who are discharging the functions of a village clerk.⁹⁹

By way of giving visual illustration to these remarks on the pertinence of liturgical procedure to the Strasbourg papyrus, I submit a new and unpublished text from a transcription made by Drs. Dieter and Ursula Hagedorn.

PKöln Inv. 329

- [᾽Α]ππιανῶ στρ(ατηγῶ) ᾽Αρσι(νοῖτου) ᾽Ηρακλ(είδου) μερίδο(ς)
 παρὰ Πεταῦτος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Κερ-
 κεσούχων Ὀρους καὶ ἄλλω[ν]
 κωμῶν.
 5 ἀντὶ Ὡρου ἀπάτορος μητρὸ[s]
 [Τα]μούνεως ἐπικαλουμέ-
 νου Μώρου ἐπιτηρητ[οῦ]
 οὐσιακῶν κτημάτων
 μισθώσεως Πτολεμαίου[ν]
 10 Κρονίου κτήματος Εὐ[σε-]
 βοῦς λεγομένου περὶ κώμη[ν]
 Κερκεσοῦχα πεπληρωκό-
 τος τὸν ὠρισμέν[ον] χρό-
 νον δίδωμι τὸν ὑπογεγραμ-
 15 μένον ὄντα εὐπορον καὶ
 ἐπιτήδειον. ἔστι δέ
 Πάσεις Φανήσεως μη(τρὸς)
 Ταοννώφρεως ἐπικαλ(ούμενος)
 Πιάς ἔχων πόρ(ον) (δραχμῶν) χ.
 20 (ἔτους) κδ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνείνου[ν]
 Σεβαστοῦ Φαμενώθ κῆ .

⁹⁹ For further illustration of *ἀντί* in nominations to liturgies see *PLeit.* (above, note 64) 1 and 11.

Translation: "To Appianus, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, Heraclides division, from Petaus, village clerk of Cercesoucha Orous and other villages. In place of Horus, of unknown father, his mother being Tamounis, surnamed Morus, overseer of usiac estates for the leasing of the so-called Eusebes' estate of Ptolemaeus, son of Cronius, at the village of Cercesoucha,¹⁰⁰ who has completed the appointed term, I propose the person listed below as possessed of sufficient means and suitable for the post, to wit: Paseis, son of Phanesis and Taonnophris, surnamed Pias, with property to the value of 600 dr. Year 24 of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, Phamenoth 28."¹⁰¹

Comparison of this document with the Strasbourg papyrus leaves no doubt that the latter is also a nomination to a liturgy.¹⁰² Both were addressed to a strategus, both were submitted by a village clerk, both use the *ἀντί* phrase and continue with *δίδωμι*. The Strasbourg text came into existence when a replacement was needed for Zosimus, the nature of whose service is obscured by the lamentable condition of lines 8–9.¹⁰³

10. *PStrasb.* 299 verso

This text of only twenty lines is one of a group of papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome.¹⁰⁴ It is a record of expenditures made on two successive days, the 21st and 22nd of Mechir (February), in an unspecified year of the second century A.D. The items entered are those of an ordinary diet—meat, bread, vegetables, olive oil, radish oil, and fish, in addition to small sums for ferry transport. Although the sums as listed employ the usual obol-

¹⁰⁰ For the confiscated property of Ptolemaeus, son of Cronius, see *BGU* 2.619.22 (cf. *Berichtigungsl.* 1.57); *PLeit.* 11; M. Rostowzew, *Stud. z. Gesch. d. röm. Kolonates* (Leipzig-Berlin 1910) 136.

¹⁰¹ 24 March 184 A.D.

¹⁰² *PStrasb.* 1.55 is another nomination sent to Phantias, the strategus to whom No. 232 is addressed.

¹⁰³ Since line 8 must have had the description of the liturgy, it seems probable that only Zosimus was to be replaced. We may suppose the end of line 6 to have held τοῦ and the illegible writing in line 7 the word μητρός followed by the mother's name. Now that the character of the text has been established, there may be profit in scrutinizing again such writing as is preserved in line 8.

¹⁰⁴ The editor: "Ce papyrus opisthographie, par son numéro d'inventaire, fait partie d'un groupe provenant du nome Oxyrhynchite."

signs, from 1 to 5, the editor has rightly determined from the calculation that the value of the drachma used in the account is not six, but seven obols.¹⁰⁵

Of special interest in this kind of bookkeeping is the means adopted to express six obols. In *PMich.* 4, for example, where payments are generally stated in terms of the tetradrachm valued at 29 obols, all intermediate amounts from 1 to 28 obols are represented by combining the basic obol-sign with the appropriate numeral. In this system six obols appear as —ς. The Strasbourg papyrus, however, does not resort to so obvious a device. The editor describes the sign as he sees it but refrains from transcribing it. The pertinent lines are 12 and 13.

κοράξων¹⁰⁶ ᾱ ἐκ (δραχμῆς) α (τετρώβολον) (δραχμαὶ) δ (πεντώβολον)
 ἄλλων¹⁰⁷ β̄ ἐκ (δραχμῆς) α . (δραχμαὶ) γ (πεντώβολον)

The calculation presents no difficulty:

$$\begin{aligned} 3 \times 1 \text{ dr. } 4 \text{ ob.} &= 3 \text{ dr. } 12 \text{ ob.} = 3 \text{ dr. } 7 \text{ ob.} + 5 \text{ ob.} = 4 \text{ dr. } 5 \text{ ob.} \\ 2 \times 1 \text{ dr. } 6 \text{ ob.} &= 2 \text{ dr. } 12 \text{ ob.} = 2 \text{ dr. } 7 \text{ ob.} + 5 \text{ ob.} = 3 \text{ dr. } 5 \text{ ob.} \end{aligned}$$

The sign that stands for six obols in line 13 is analyzed by the editor as a *chi*, such as is commonly used to designate a *chalkous*, with a mark that resembles the symbol for $\frac{1}{2}$ above and to the right of *chi*. What the editor has seen on the papyrus is therefore the letter *chi* followed by a mark of abbreviation, and the word thus abbreviated can be recovered by attending to the Oxyrhynchus metrological fragment (*POxy.* 1.9 verso [page 77]), which has two statements that are pertinent to the language of the Strasbourg papyrus.

Line 1 ἔχι χαλκείνη¹⁰⁸ ὀβολοῦς ῥ
 Lines 2-3 ἔχει δραχμὴ ὀβολοῦς ἑπτὰ

¹⁰⁵ Cf. L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 47.

¹⁰⁶ Read *κοράκων*. The *korax* is a kind of fish. *LSJ* s.v. *iii* compares *korakinos*, which has been found in papyri as the name of a Nile fish. See D. W. Thompson, *JEA* 14 (1928) 25.

¹⁰⁷ The editor: "Un trait supérieur horizontal inexplicable après ἄλλων." The horizontal stroke is placed after and above the word as if it were a mark of abbreviation. It is accidental and meaningless.

¹⁰⁸ Read ἔχει χαλκείνη.

When *chalkinê* is contrasted with the *drachmê*, the one is worth six obols, the other seven.¹⁰⁹ With this clue to guide us, line 13 of the Strasbourg text may now be read as follows:

ἄλλων β⁻ ἐκ (δραχμῆς) α χ(αλκίνης) (δραχμαὶ) γ (πεντώβολον)

The distinction between the two kinds of drachma is here clearly drawn.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ West and Johnson (above, note 105) 20 and note 23.

¹¹⁰ I append a few minor comments. Lines 2 and 10: The text has (ῥῖμου)/, on which the editor remarks: "Après (ῥῖμου), une diagonale." This may easily give a false impression since both forms of the symbol, with and without the oblique, are well attested. See *PMich.* 3, page 53; *PLeit.* (above, note 64) 1.14 note. Line 6: ἐρεβίνθ(), typographical error for ἐρεβίνθ(ου). The word is properly entered in the index, page 230. Line 9: The editor corrects μολοχίου to μαλαχίου, but the spelling of the papyrus is correctly retained in the index, page 239. These are of course alternative spellings; cf. *LSJ* s.vv. *μαλάχη*, *μολόχη*. Lines 14–15: The last item under day 21 is 4 ob. for passage on a ferry-boat: *προθμίου* (= *πορθμείου*) 'Ηρακλεοπ(όλεως). The first item under day 22 is 1 dr. 1 ob., or twice 4 ob. (on the standard 1 dr. = 7 ob.), for *προμίων* β⁻. The editor's comment is "Lire: *φορμίων*(?), nattes, corbeilles ou fagots à 4 ob. l'unité." I suggest rather *προ<θ>μίων*, "two fares on the ferry-boat." One man crossed over into the Heracleopolite on the 21st; two men returned on the 22nd. Surprising, however, is the low fare of 1 ob. for the same service in line 19. Line 17: [. .] . του κτήσι ed., whose note proposes [. .] ντου(?); the index identifies the second word as *κτήσις*. A likely suggestion is [χό]βτου κτήσι; the second word is thus the late dat. of *κτήνη* (*LSJ* s.v.).