

Tarek Rashad Hafez Aly<sup>(●)</sup>

## ***SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS***

### **PREFACE**

**BY**

**ALIA HANAFI**

With great grieve I introduce the work (i.e. thesis of MA) of one of my best students in papyrology, the late Mr. Tarek Rashad Hafez Aly (b. 1971) for whom I had the greatest admiration and regard. Mr. Tarek Rashad was an assistant lecturer in Suhāj' University, Faculty of Arts, department of Classical Studies, Suhāj', Egypt. He passed away on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2007. He was a gifted young man, a creative and suggestive. His breadth of knowledge was vast and widespread. Moreover, he was decent, and very

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- (●) After great thanks to Allah, I'd like to thank Prof. Dr. Alia Hanafi Hassanein, Department of Ancient European Civilization, Faculty of Arts, Ain Shams University, for her guidance, support, encouragement, and tremendous effort, which she generously offered me throughout her supervision to complete this work and for preparation of the thesis to its final form. She gave me a lot of here valuable time and her long experience in Papyrology, Supplied me with the required references and useful discussion to solve all problems to finish the thesis. I hope that I have put her advice in good use. My thanks and appreciation are extended to Prof. Dr. Said Mohammed Omar, Prof. Dr. Ahmed Etman, and Dr. Saleh Ramadan, I owe a debt of gratitude to all professors of the Institute of Papyrology in Florence, especially Prof. Dr. Manfredo Manfredi, Prof. Dr. Guido Bastianini, Prof. Dr. Isabella Andorlini, Prof. Dr. Simona Russo, Prof. Dr. Paola Prunetti, Prof. Dr. Rosario Pintaudi and Dr. Giovanna Menci for their sincere help and for their constructive and significant remarks and suggestions. They gave me a lot of efforts in solving the problems in concise time to finish the required aim of this thesis. Finally, I'm indebted to my parents and my wife for their moral support and continuous encouragement throughout the study.

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sociable and open-minded. No wonder that his colleagues have shown him a lot of esteem and appreciation.

Actually, during many years of my supervision, I noticed that he distinguished himself among his colleagues and students. He was a valued member of our new team of young papyrologists. I was proud of his contributions in papyrology. His friends and colleagues remember him with respect and admiration and he will be missed by all.

So, on behalf of me and his colleagues, I wish to convey our deepest sympathy to his family, and I extend my condolences to all his colleagues and family by publishing his MA's dissertation that has accomplished under my supervision, hoping that it will draw some measure of comfort to his family and other colleagues who care and share in his loss.

### I

#### *LIST OF NAMES*

**P. Cairo Mus. C. G. 10305 Inv. S. R. 1283      Prov. Unknown**  
**23.8 x 6.9 cm.      III cent. BC**

Fragment of a papyrus sheet of moderate quality consists of two columns, cut off on all sides except at the top margin, where a large piece of blank space of (ca. 2.5 cm.), is partly preserved. The papyrus is long and narrow. In the *recto* runs along the fibers. The *verso* is blank.






There is a sheet join (*kollêsis*) which runs across the endings of the words in col. I. Col. I contains 16 lines still readable; traces of three or more lines after line 16, separated by a blank space due to the detachment of the upper part of the *kollêsis*, are still visible at the bottom. There is a blank space between line 2 and 3 is ca. 2 cm., between line 12 and 13 ca. 1 cm. and between line 12 and 13 ca. 1.5 cm. The top of col. II is broken off at the right edge and the beginnings of 16 lines are partly preserved. The left part of col. I and the right part of col. II are lost. The space between the two columns is ca. 1 cm.

According to the information of the *Catalogue General* of the Egyptian Museum, the papyrus might belong to the group extracted from mummy

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cartonnage obtained by Grenfell & Hunt in Egypt and said to be from Gurob (see P. Gurob, *Preface*). Most of them are dated in the third century BC.

The writing is a small-sized, sloping, rapid and cursive. Letters are often compressed and difficult to be deciphered. The hand writing suggests a date to the end of the third century (or the beginning of the second century) BC. The writing is comparable to that of *P. Gurob* (Plate II) and of *P. Med. 22* (see the description given by R. Seider, "*Paläographie der Griechischen Papyri*", Band III. 1, Stuttgart, 1990, p. 320); cf. also the plates in CPR XIII, Tafel 22-28 (III BC).

Regarding the forms of individual letters, the most characteristic are *nu*, *alpha*, *tau*, *ypsilon*, and *omega*. *Nu* is one of the third century BC. patterns, with the last stroke rising above the line (  ). *Alpha* is of the minuscule type and the loop is sometimes represented by a mere straight line (  ). *Tau* is almost always without the right-hand portion of its crossbar, being written with single stroke of the pen (  ); the first half of the cross bar and the down-stroke are formed together. *Ypsilon* generally has a large loop, carried further to the left than the right (  ). *Omega* habitually has its second loop represented by an almost or quite straight line (  ).

The papyrus has two consecutive columns of a text, which is not quite easy to be classified. Both columns consist of list of names. They are all of Egyptian origin (see P. W. Pestman, "*The New Papyrological Primer*", Leiden, 1994, p. 44-46).

The common feature is that each entry has a proper name (in *nominative* case) and a father name *patronymic* (in *genitive* case). Sometimes the first name is simply followed by υἱός. Some names are repeated and other are listed in alphabetic order (cf. col. II lines 11-16).

In two cases the list is headed (cf. col. II lines 1 and 7). The lines are projected slightly (*ekthesis*) and indicate new entries with a particular meaning. The opening words (ἐν τῷ) are followed by a proper name (in *genitive* case) and presumably by another word to be restored as *dative* in the lacuna.

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Possibly the distribution mode was of house property (ἐν τῷι ... οἴκῳι?) "In the house of", or parcels of land (ἐν τῷι ... κλήρῳι?) "In the allotment of", or geographical place (ἐν τῷι ... ἐποικίῳι?) "In the farmstead of". Perhaps ἐποικίῳι is the intended unwritten word here, that in col. I. line 14 we can read in doubtfully ἐποικίῳι (cf. col. I, line 14 and its note). This clause gives us a possibility that our document may be a list of taxes, which are collected from the persons who live in the farmstead of the person whose name is cut off. This suggestion could be supported by occurrence of names beginning with the letter Π- (line 11 to 16) except two names (lines 8 and 10). The purpose of the text remains obscure, because neither figure nor amount is preserved.

It is possible that the list was drawn up for taxation purposes but the nature of tax is not mentioned in the surviving document.

The mention of persons named by υἱός (col. I lines 2, 3, 6, 7 and col. II lines 14 and 16) refer to the family composition, and this suggests that the names listed could be members of a household subject to taxation. Such lists seem to be of the type of memoranda put together to be used as a census registration in one of the local office. The pattern of our papyrus is familiar from such texts as *P. Tebt. III 1. 814*, col. II (where recurs υἱός followed by a proper name); *CPR. XIII. 27-28* (and generally the texts 1-31 published there).

The census served as a basis for the collection of personal taxes and principally the poll-tax *συντάξιμον* (that will be the *pro capite* under the Roman rule). The institution of the census and the pool-tax goes back to the reign of *Philopator* (222-205 BC). Such taxation was collected from every Egyptian or Greek male between the ages of fourteen and sixty-two. Exemption was granted to a restricted numbers of persons. The Ptolemaic declarations (called in Greek *ἀπογραφάι*) are documents for the execution on property (see S. L. Wallace, "*Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*", Princeton, 1938, p. 96).

For a comprehensive treatment of the census procedure, with some references to the Ptolemaic period, (see M. Hombert - Cl. Préaux,

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"Recherches sur le Recensement dans l' Egypte Romaine", Leiden, 1952, pp. 44-47(= *Pap. Lugd. Bat. V*); S. L. Wallace, "*op. cit.*", p. 96 ff.).

**RECTO**

<i>Col. I</i>	→	Ἀρ]μιῦσις Παοῦτος
		]οῦς υἱός
		Vac.
		]τις υἱός
		].ς Ὀρσεοῦς
	5	].ς Νεχθεγίβιος
		].ς υἱός
		Π]ετοσίρις υἱός
		].ς Κοσμίθου
		].ς Ὀρους Κοσμίθιος
	10	].ις Ἀρμ<ι>ύσιος
		]Πετήσιος
		]ις Πετήσιος
		]ιν/ Ἀηρα (?)
		Vac.
		]Πόάπιος ἐποικίωι(?)
	15	Πε]τήσιος [tracks for wiped letters]
		]ο Ὀρου[ ]
<i>Col. II</i>	→	ἐν τῷ Πα[
		Ὀρος Π.[
		Ὀρο[ς ± 2 ] . . [
		Θοτρῶις Θ[
	5	Ἀρπεῦσις[
		Ὀννώφρις[
		ἐν τῷ Θοτέ[ως
		Στοτορήτ[ις

10            Παικοπ[  
              ' Εριεϋς Πε[  
              Πεσοϋρι[ς  
              Παοϋ<ς> Π . [  
              Πᾶσις υἱ[ός  
              Πετεϋ[ρις  
15            Π]αῶς υἱ[ός  
              Π]εχϋ[σις

**TRANSLATION**

**Col. I**

1            Ha]rmiusis (son of) Paous  
              ]ous son of  
              ]tis son of  
              ].s (son of) Orseus  
5            ]s (son of) Nechthenibis  
              ]s son of  
              P]etosiris son of  
              ].s (son of) Kosmithos  
              ]Horous (son of) Kosmithis  
10            ]sis (son of) Harmiusis  
              ] (son of) Petesis  
              ]is (son of) Petesis  
              ]in( ) Lera (?)  
              In] the farmstead (?) of Poapis ?  
15            ](son of) Petesis  
              ]o (son of) Horos

**Col. II**

1            In the farmstead (?) of Pa[  
              Horos (son of) P.[

- |    |                                  |
|----|----------------------------------|
|    | Horos (son of)[                  |
|    | Thotrois (son of) Th[            |
| 5  | Harpeusis (son of)[              |
|    | Onnophris (son of)[              |
|    | In the farmstead (?) of Thoteus[ |
|    | Stotoetis (son of)[              |
|    | Paikop[                          |
| 10 | Hereus (son of) Pe[              |
|    | Pesouris(son of)[                |
|    | Paous (son of) P.[               |
|    | Pasis' son[                      |
|    | Peteuris (son of)[               |
| 15 | Paous' son [                     |
|    | Pechysis (son of)[               |

## COMMENTARY

### Col. I

1- ' Ap]μῑϑσις It seems likely that we should extend [ ]μῑϑσις to the name ' Ap]μῑϑσις. This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "Hr-m<sup>3</sup>j-ḥs". It is a surname given to the god "Horus". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "Horus-furious- lion" or "Horus the fierce-eyed lion" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "Demotisches Namenbuch", Würzburg, 1979, band I, lief. 11, p. 815; D. J. Crawford, "Kerkeosiris an Egyptian village in the Ptolemaic Period", Cambridge, 1971, p. 192; cf. also W. Spiegelberg, "Ägyptische und Griechische Eigennamen aus Mumientiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit", Leipzig, 1901; G. Mattha, "Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo", Index vii, Cairo, 1945).

"Hr" is Horus, the Egyptian falcon god who vindicated and avenged the god Osiris after his murder by the wicked god Seth. In fact, every nome, town and village in Egypt had its own gods, often venerated in-groups of three. In some specific cases a specially selected animal was housed and kept in a holy place, like Strabo's description of the crocodile that lived in a

sacred lake in Fayum, the Apis-bull in his temple in Memphis, and the falcon in the temple of Horus (= Apollo) at the Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu). The Hellenic gods were worshipped in the Greek towns: Alexandria, Naukratis and Ptolemaïs and also elsewhere. But as a rule, the gods of the Greeks only survive in name besides the mighty members of the Egyptian pantheon. They were simply equated with native gods as: Ammon (Zeus), Bes (Herakles), Hathor (Aphrodite), Horos (Apollo), Min (Pan), Ptah (Hephaistos), and Thot (Hermes) (see P. W. Pestman, "*op. cit.*", p. 29, 30).

The name of the god *Hor* (= Horos) may be rendered as ἄρ, ἐρ, ὕρ, or ὥρ (cf. P. W. Pestman, "*ibid.*", p. 46), according to the following rules.

(1) *Hor* stressed in a prominent position is rendered as ὕρ, or ὥρ:

| ὤρ|ος, Proper name; god.

Ἄθ|ύρ|, Month name; goddess.

Ψεν|ύρ|ις, Village.

(2) *Hor* in an unstressed position is reduced to ἄρ, or ἐρ:

| Ἐρ|παῖσις, Proper name.

| Ἀρ|φαῖσις, Proper name.

| Ἀρ|μιῦσις, Proper name.

The name Ἀρμιῦσις was very common in the papyrus documents, registers, lists and letters of Ptolemaic period as we can see from the W. Peremans – E. Van't Dack, "*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*", vol. II, no. 2723; vol. IV, nos. 8088, 8089, 8924. It occurs elsewhere in the papyri and ostraca, see e.g. *P. Hib. I.* 53. 7 (Hib. 246 BC); *P. Lille. I.* 33. 4 (Ghoran; 246-222 BC); *P. Zen. Pestm.* 001. 17. 2 (?; III BC); *P. Hels. I.* 12. 2 (Herakleopolite; 163 BC), παρὰ Ἀρμιύσιος τοῦ Πααβούτος.

- Παοῦτος (Genitive form of the name Παοῦς) This is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "*Pa-ḥw*". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "*He of the male or Thoth name*" (cf. D. J. Crawford, "*op. cit.*", p. 194; I. Debeuckelaere, "*Egyptische Persoonsnamen in de Griekse en Demotische Papyri van het Hellenistisch Tijdperk*", Doctoral thesis, Leuven, 1952). There is another rendering of this name, it is "*Pa-ḥr*", its



meaning is "He of the horizons" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "op. cit.", band I, lief. 6, p. 1401).

The name Παούς was common in the documents of the Ptolemaic period, as we can see in (W. Peremans – E. Van 't Dack, "*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*", vol. II, no. 2977; vol. IV, no. 10883). For the occurrences in papyri and ostraka, see e.g. *P. Cair. Zen. I.* 59128. 2, 5 (Phil.; 3<sup>rd</sup>. March, 256 BC), *Πᾶσεις Παούτος*; *P. Ryl. IV.* 663. col. ii. 8 (?; last quarter of the third cent. BC), *Μαρρής Παούτος* ἰδ', *O. Cair. 001.* 39. 4 (Thebaid.; II BC), *Παούς καὶ Τοτοῆς*.

4-].ς 'Ορσεούς There are two possibilities for this name: On the one hand it may be a genitive form of the name 'Ορσεύς, which is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "Wrše", which means "Watchman" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "op. cit.", band I, lief. 2, p. 121; H. Ranke, "*Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*", II, Glückstadt, 1949-1952, p. 83-6). F. Preisigke in *Namenbuch*, does not mention this type of genitive, he refers to another forms as 'Ορσέως, 'Ορσεύς, and 'Ορσεύτος (cf. F. Preisigke, "*Namenbuch*", p. 244), but in *P. Mich. V.* 311 (Karanis; AD 34). We can see this name in both Genitive (line 25), ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ μεμισθωκότος 'Ορσεοῦς Παποντῶτος ὡς(εἰτῶν) κβ; and nominative (line 40), ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ 'Ορσεύς Παποντῶτος διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμματα. The name 'Ορσεύς was very common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Sorb. I.* 21. 6 (Ars. Polis; 251 BC), παρὰ 'Αρχιβίου καὶ 'Ορσέους [κ]αὶ Φαμήνιος; *P. Tebt. III.* 829. Fr. ii. *Verso* 37 (Tebt.; 180-179 BC), 'Ωρος 'Ορ[σέο]υς.

On the other hand it may be a wrong genitive for the name 'Ορσῆς, genitive 'Ορσήους by interchanging between η and ε (cf. F. Preisigke, "*Namenbuch*", p. 244). This form is the Greek rendering of an Egyptian name, which means "The Guardian" (cf. D. J. Crawford, "op. cit.", p. 194). The interchanging between η and ε was frequent in the papyri of the Ptolemaic Period from early third century BC, in Greek words and also proper names (cf. E. Mayser, "*Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der*

*Ptolemäerzeit*", Berlin, 1970, p. 46-53). In *P. Tebt. I.* 61. 123 (118-17 BC) the genitive 'Ορσείους is used instead of 'Ορσήους: Π[α]σῶς 'Ορσεί[ο]υς and in the same document we can see the name 'Ορσής, in nominative in (line 125): 'Ορσής 'Αρον [νήσιος]. The name 'Ορσής occurs elsewhere in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Heid. VI.* 374. 53 (Ars.; II BC), 'Ορσής 'Ορσήους.

I prefer the first possibility, because we found the same name in the same document in genitive case.

5- ]ς Νεχθενίβιος (genitive form of Νεχθενίβις) This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "ngT -nb -f". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "May lord be strong" (cf. J. Vergote, "Les Noms Propres du P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7616. Essai d'Interprétation", *Pap. Lugd. Pat. VII*, 1954, p. 10; H. Ranke, "Die Ägyptischen Personennamen", I, Glückstadt, 1935, p. 210-223; D. J. Crawford, "op. cit.", p. 193; ). In the language of Greek papyri, it occurs in different transcriptions. The word "nb" was expressed by νῆβ, νῖβ or νεῖβ as: Νεχτενῆβις, Νεκτενῖβις, Νεχθνῖβις, Νεχθενεῖβις, and Νικχθ- νῖβις, or expressed by νῆφ as: Νεκτνῆφις, Νεστνῆφις, and Νεσθνῆφις. The letter "g" = (χ) in deaf yod, is kept in mention in Akhmim, and it was expressed by χ or κ or κχ. During the Hellenistic period, it has been transformed into (š) and this one was expressed by σ as the last two examples (see J. Vergote, "op. cit.", p. 10). The name Νεχθενίβις was common in the documents of Ptolemaic and Roman periods. For the occurrences of this name in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period see, e.g. *P. Cair. Zen. II.* 59182. 6 (Phil; 255 BC); *P. Lond. VII.* 2170. 4 (Phil; III cent. BC); *P. Mich. I.* 103. 1, 5 (Phil; III cent. BC); *P. Oxy. X.* 1287. 23 (Oxy; III cent. BC). This name was common in the documents of Gurob in the third century BC, see e.g. *P. Petr. II.* 39 (Gurob; 226 BC); *III.* 58; 59; 87 (Gurob; III cent. BC).

7- Π]ετοσίρις It seems likely that we should extend []ετοσίρις to Π]ετοσίρις, cf. also *P. Hib. I.* 131. ? (Hib.; 254 BC), Π]ετ[ο]σίριος τοῦ 'Αρυ[ώτ]ου; *P. Mich. I.* 118. 4 (Oxy.; III BC), Π]ετοσίρι 'Αρμόιος. The name Πετοσίρις is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian

name "*P<sup>3</sup>-tj-ws i<sup>1</sup>*". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "*Gift of Osiris*" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "*op. cit.*", band I, lief. 5, p. 298; F. Griffith, "*Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester III*", Manchester, 1909). In fact the *pet* forms were known in Greek names. They are also existed in Egyptian names (see P. W. Pestman, "*op. cit.*", p. 44).

The name Πετοσίρις was very common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman period. For the occurrences of this name in the documents of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Lille. I. 55. 4* (Ghoran; III BC); *P. Lond. VII. 2130. 1* (Phil; 255 BC); *P. Petr. II. 28. 14; 39. 19; III. 58. E1, 14; 100. B1, 13; 117. G1, 18; 132.3; 133. 3;* (Gurob; III cent. BC).

8- J.ς Κοσμίθου The name Κοσμίθος is not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If the reading is correct, we have here a new name.

9- J.ς Ώρους It should be another genitive case of the name Ώρος, because there is a name that precedes it ends in -ς. It is noticeable that this genitive appears only in the Roman period, cf. e.g. *P. Grenf. I. 47. 11* (Ars.; AD148), ὑπ[ὸ] Ώρους Στοτουητίδος καὶ Σατύρου Χαίρημονος καὶ Σώτου ἀδελφοῦ.

- Κοσμίθιος This name is not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If the reading is correct, we have here a new name. But in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 388, we can see the name Σμίθις, which occurs in some papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Enteux. 001. 7. 1* (Magdola; 221 BC); *P. Petr. III. 132. 13* (Gurob; III BC); *SB. XII. 10860. Fr. 3. 60* (Ghoran; III BC). I suggest that the name Κοσμίθις is composed of Κο- and Σμίθις, or of Κόσμος and Σμίθις and it may has a meaning I can not explain it.

10- Ἄρμυσις (l. Ἄρμ<ι>ύσις), The name Ἄρμιϋσις appears, three times, without ι before υ in the papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see *P. Tebt. III-2. 892. 25* (Tebt.; 151-140 BC), Ἄρμ<ι>ύσις ποτηρίου; *PIFAO. I. 17. 3* (?; AD

54), τοῦ Ἀρμ<ι>ύσι(ος); *P. Vars. 001. 16. 18* (?; II /III AD), Σαρῶς Ἀρμ<ι>ύσιο(ς) μητ(ρὸς) Ἑρμο[ ].

11- Πετήσιος The name Πετήσις (cf. *P/N*, 318), in the language of Greek papyri, occurs also in different spellings as: Πετεήσις (cf. *P/N*, 312), Πατεήσις, Πετεήσε, Πετεήσιος, Πετεήσης (cf. *P/N*, 286), and Πατήσις (cf. *P/N*, 287). This name is the Greek rendering of the theophoric Egyptian name “*p<sup>3</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>-<sup>3</sup>s. t*”, which means “*He who has been given by the goddess Isis*”. This name is composed of Πετε-, which means “*He who has been given by*” and -ήσις, which is the Egyptian goddess *Isis* (cf. J. Vergote, “*op. cit.*”, p. 15; H. Ranke, “*op. cit.*”, II, p. 121; Pestman, “*op. cit.*”, p. 46).

For the occurrences of the name Πετήσις in the documents of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Bon. 001. 11. Fr. q. 11* (?; III BC); *P. Cair. Zen. II. 59176. 102* (Phil; 255 BC); *P. Gur. 001. 5. 1* (Gurob; 215 BC); *P. Hib. I. 35. 3* (Hibeh; 250 BC); *P. Petr. II. 28. 30; II. 43. B1. 2; III. 46. 21* (Gurob; III BC); *PSI. VI. 626. 7* (Phil; III BC); *P. Wisc. II. 77. 37* (Phil; 254 BC); *P. Yale. I. 46. 12* (?; 246-221 BC).

13- This line is very difficult to be read. Perhaps it begins with a doubtful word ending in -ιν/ and it is abbreviated with an oblique element cutting the final letter of the word. After that there is another illegible word. It may be read as Ἀηρᾶ. In fact I cannot explain this line.

14- Πιοάπιος This name is not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If the reading is correct, we have here a new name. There is another possibility that the scribe has written it as a mistake instead of the name Πιάπις, which was common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, cf. e.g. *P. Cair. Zen. II. 59176. 69* (Phil; 255 BC); *P. Petr. III. 58. E1. 15* (Gurob; III BC).

At the end of this line, the writing is difficult to be read. I can read doubtfully ἐποικίω. The term τὸ ἐποίκιον was used frequently from the Ptolemaic to the Arab period, it means “farmstead”. The phrase ἐν ἐποικίῳ, was used in few documents from the Ptolemaic and Roman

periods. It appears in a Letter from Stotoetis to Zenon reporting that he purchased some ἄρακος "wild chickling" and sent a sample of it to him, see *P. Col. III. 51. 7-8* (Phil.; 251/250 BC), ἐν τῷ Μάρωνος ἐποικίῳ μ. (γίνονται) ρλϵ: "40 on the farmstead of Maron, total 135 artabai". On the first half of the first century it appears in a list of payments for the poll-tax (συντάξιμον), pig tax, and dike tax, see *P. Mich. XII. 640. 71-74* (Phil.; I AD), ἐν ἐποικί(ῳ) Βασιλίδο(ς) δι(α) Σωτηρίχ(ου) Ἀγχορίμφισ Ἰσχ( ) (δραχμαὶ) με (ὀβολοὶ) β.

On the third century it appears in an Account of an Estate, see *P. Mich. XI. 620. iii. 1* (Thead?; AD 239-40), καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἐποικίῳ ἐργαστήριον ὑπὸ Σιριτιαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα γερδίου μισθωτάς. In the Byzantine period it is used to give the meaning "hamlet", in a Receipt for Iron, see *P. Mich. XIV. 682. 1* (Oxy?; AD 496), εἰς χρεῖαν τοῦ ὄκνου λάκκου τοῦ παρὰ ποταμὸν ἐποι(κίῳ) Τίλλωνος ἐ[πὶ τῇ]ς δ' ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος).

I suggest that perhaps this line begins with ἐν τῷ]. This means that this line may contain ἐν τῷ Ποάπιος ἐποικίῳ "in the farmstead of Poapis" (cf. col. ii. lines 1 and 7). If this suggestion is right, perhaps the distribution mode of our document was a geographical place.

15- ΠΕ]τησίος [tracks for wiped letters] For the reconstruction of this name (cf. lines 11, 12).

16- ]ο' Ωρου This line begins with a letter seems to be an O, followed by the name "Ωρου. For the commentary of this name, see col. II, note 18.

## Col. II

1- ἐν τῷ Πά[ This item is of the same kind as that in line 7. Both of them are in *ekthesis*; the beginning of the line falls in the margin space between the two columns.

It is possible that with τῷ (cf. col. 2 line 7) is intended some unwritten words, like ἐποικίῳ (cf. col. 1 line 14 and note), whose meaning could be

"In the farmstead of Pa..." This clause may give us a possibility that our document maybe a list of taxes, which are collected from the persons who live in the farmstead of the person whose name is cut off. This suggestion could be supported by the occurrence of names beginning with the letter Π- (line 11 to 16) except two names (lines 8 and 10).

2- Ὡρος There are various forms for this divine name like, Ὡρ, Ὡρο, Ὡρρος, Ὡρος, Ὡρος, Ὡρ (cf. *P/N & F/O*). This is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "Hr (.w)", which means "Horus". H. Ranke showed that the divine name Horos (the god) was already borne by persons in previous epochs (cf. H. Ranke, "*op. cit.*", II, Glückstadt, 1949-1952, p. 245; J. Vergote, "*op. Cit.*", p. 20). The name Ὡρος was very common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *BGU. X.* 1988. Fr.a. 11 (?; III BC); *CPR. XIII.* 6. 113 (Arsnome; III BC); *P. Cair. Zen. II.* 59182. 4 (Phil.; 255 BC).

After the name Ὡρος, we can read Π and a part of a lost letter; they would be a beginning of Horus' father's name. There are many various names begin with Π, mentioned as a father of Horos, in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, cf. e.g. the documents of *P. Petr. II. III* (Gurob; III BC).

3- In this line we can read Ὡρο before a lacuna [± 3 letters], and then two illegible letters. I suggest that the name Ὡρος is suitable here (cf. line 18).

4- Θοτρῶις The fourth letter of this name seems to be read ρ or ι. I prefer to read it ρ, because names begin with Θοτι- don't agree with our reading to the remainder letters of our name, because after this letter we can read (-ωις). In *P. Par. 001.* 9. 13 (Thebes; 107-104 BC), we can see the name Θοτρῶις (= Θοτρῶσις), which is very rare, Τενού- χει διὰ Θοτρῶισιος. Thereby, we have here two possibilities:

On the one hand the name Θοτρῶις perhaps is the same name Θοτρῶις, but without the ending -ις, by reason of Egyptian names without Greek endings, which were occasionally found in Ptolemaic and Roman papyri and, under the influence of Coptic, not frequently in

Byzantine papyri (cf. Pestman, "*op. cit.*", p. 45). On the other hand we may have here a new name.

5- 'Αρπεϋσις This name doesn't occur in the papyri, but we find the name 'Αρπεκϋσις (cf. *P/N & F/O*). If the reading is correct, we have here a new name.

6- 'Οννῶφρις This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "*Wn-nfr*". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "*He-who-is continually-happy*" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "*op. cit.*", band I, lief. 2, p. 118; D. J. Crawford, "*op. cit.*", p. 193). This is a surname given to the resurrected Osiris. Osiris was the Egyptian god whom Horus vindicated and avenged after his murder by the wicked god Seth. He is the major deity of the Egyptian gods associated with death and resurrection. He came to be regarded as the ruler of the netherworld.

The name 'Οννῶφρις was very common in the papyrus documents, registers and lists of the Ptolemaic period as we can see in (W. Peremans – E. Van 't Dack, "*op. cit.*", vol. IV, no. 10335). In the language of Greek papyri, it occurs often also with the spelling 'Οννόφριος, 'Οννόφρις, 'Οννώφρεις, 'Ονώφριος, 'Ονώφριος, 'Ονώφρις, 'Ονόβερ, 'Ονόφρι, 'Εννόφρι, and Γννώφρις.

For the occurrences of this name in papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Cair. Zen. II*. 59186. 1 (Phil.; 255 BC); *P. Grad. 001*. 8. 3 (?; 223-222 BC); *P. Gur. 001*. 22. 9 (Gurob.; III BC).

7- ἐν τῷ Θοτέ[ως] The name Θοτέως is genitive of Θοτεϋς. It is used in genitive because with the article τῷ, there are some intended unwritten words like ἐποικίω, whose meaning could be "*in the farmstead of Thoteus*" (cf. line 1 and note).

The name Θοτεϋς is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "*twt (w)*", which means "*Thoth has come*" (cf. D. J. Crawford, "*op. cit.*", p. 196; H. Ranke, "*op. cit.*", I). Thoth is the Egyptian god, who is the Greek god Hermes. Greek names begin with such a prefix are called *theonyme*. For the occurrences of this name in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see *CPR*.

XIII. 14. 29 (Arsnome; III BC); *P. Brook.* 001. 32. 4 (255 BC); *P. Petr.* III. 58. E3. 26; III. 90. 12, 15 (Gurob III BC).

8- Στοτοῦτις (masc. & fem.) In the language of the Greek papyri, the name Στοτοῦτις, occurs in many different spellings (cf. *P/N*, p. 396). According to W. Erichsen, the name Στοτοῦτις is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “*šd.tj. w- t.t-wt*”, whose translation is not given (cf. W. Erichsen, “*Demotische Lesestücke*”, II. Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, 2. Heft, Glossar, Leipzig, 1940, p. 227). The verb “*šd.tj-*” means, “*withdraw*”; “*wt*” means, “*to pay cash*”. In another view this name contains wish “*would the payment (punishment) not to come*” (cf. J. Vergote, “*op. cit.*”, p. 16). H. Ranke, transcribed another rendering to this name “*šd.tj. w- t.t-wf.t*”, the meaning of “*wf.t*” is “*the remaining debt*”, transposed to the moral property (cf. H. Ranke, “*op. cit.*”, II, p. 323). There is another more accepted translation to this name, it is “*the seed of conception has withdrawn*” (cf. G. Mattha, “*Demotic Ostraka, Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie. Textes et Documents*”, VI, Le Caire, 1945, p. 209, 216; F. L. Griffith (*P. Ryl. Dem.*, III, p. 459 and p. 344)).

The name Στοτοῦτις was very common in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, for the occurrences of this name in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Enteux.* 001. 80. 1 (Ghoran; 224 BC); *P. Rain. Cent.* 001. 44. 1 (III/II BC); *P. Petr.* II. 10. 4 (Gurob; III BC); II. 25. Fr1. 8 (Gurob; 225 BC); III. 87. Fr.A. 22 (Gurob; III BC).

9- Παῖκοπ[ Either Παῖκοπ[ or Παῖτκοπ[ is possible here, and both of them are not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If the reading is correct, we have here a new name.

10- Εριεύς This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “*hrj=w*”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “*Horos has come*” (cf. E. Lüddeckens, “*op. cit.*”, band I, lief. 10, p. 746; H. Ranke, “*op. cit.*”, I, p. 230; D. J. Crawford, “*op. cit.*”, p. 192; G. Mattha, “*Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford*”, VI, p. 84). In the language of the Greek papyri, the name Εριεύς occurs also in different spellings (cf. *P/N*, p. 103; 45; 47).



The name 'Εριεϋς was very common in the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods, for the occurrences of this name in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Cair. Zen. II.* 59171. 7 (Phil; 256-255 BC); *P. Col. III.* 22. 1,4 (Phil; 256 BC); *O. Bodl. I.* 10. 3 (Thebes; 251 BC); *P. Petr. II* 5. 24 (Gurob; 255 BC).

11- Πεςοῦρις This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “*p3-ḫcwr*”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “*The Syrian*” (cf. E. Lüddeckens, “*op. cit.*”, band I, lief. 3, p. 158; D. J. Crawford, “*op. cit.*”, p. 194; F. Griffith, “*Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*”, p. 441). The Egyptian name Πεςοῦρις bears the Greek name, Σῦρος, which is the translation of the Egyptian one. The name Πεςοῦρις occurs in *P. Oxy. I.* 37. 4 (Oxy; AD 49), and in *P. Oxy. I.* 38. 3 (Oxy; AD 49-50), the same person is called Σῦρος.

Although the name Πεςοῦρις was common in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, it occurs very rarely in the papyri and ostraca of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *P. Tebt. I.* 62. 254 (Tebt.; 119-118 BC); *IV.* 1116. Fr.c. 80 (Tebt.; 134-121 BC); *O. Ont. Mus. II.* 75. 6 (Thebes; 123 BC).

12- Παοῦ<ς> For the name Paous (cf. note 1).

13- Πᾶσις (= Πάσεις, Φᾶσις, Φάσεις) This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “*pa-sj*”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “*He of Osiris*” (cf. E. Lüddeckens, “*Demotisches Namenbuch*”, band I, lief. 6, p. 412; D. J. Crawford, “*op. cit.*”, p. 194).

The name Πᾶσις was common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine period, for the occurrences in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see e.g. *CPR. XIII.* 6. 103 (Arsnome; III BC); *P. Cair. Zen. II.* 59261. 5 (Phil; 251 BC); *P. Enteux. 001.* 50. 1 (Magdola; 221 BC); *P. Zen. Pestm. 001.* 6. 3 (Phil.; 257).

- ὑί[ός] For the reconstruction (cf. lines 2, 3, 6, 7).

14- Πετεῦ[ρις] This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “*p3-tj-Hr*”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “*Gift of Horos*”. (Cf. E.

Lüddeckens, "*op. cit.*", band I, lief. 5, p. 323; D. J. Crawford, "*op. cit.*", p. 195).

For the occurrences of the name Πετεῦρις in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see *e.g.* CPR. XIII. 13. 20 (Arsnome; III BC); P. Petr. II. 28. col. iv. 2 (Gurob; III BC); III. 58. E3. 9 (Gurob; III BC).

15- Π]αῶς (= Παοῦς, Φαῶς, Πεῶς, Φεῶς) Cf. the name Παοῦς in line 1. The name Παῶς was also common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see *e.g.* CPR. XIII. 6. 6 (Arsnome; III BC); P. Cair. Zen. III. 59492. 1 (Phil; III. BC); P. Petr. III. 46. 20 (Gurob; III BC).

- υ]ῶς For the reconstruction (cf. lines 2, 3, 6, 7).

16- Π]εχῶ[σις At the beginning of this line there is a lacuna including the first letter and a part of the second. The first letter would be Π, because the last five lines are listed in alphabetic order (cf. col. ii lines 11-15). The second letter maybe an ε, for we can see a part of it. After the letter χ, we can see a part of an υ. This means that we have here a name begins with Πεχυ-, so there are two possibilities here:

(a) The first possibility is the name Πεχῦσις (= Πακῦσις). It is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "*p<sup>3</sup>-j-sj*". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "*The Ethiopian*" (cf. D. J. Crawford, "*op. cit.*", p. 194; I. Debeuckelaere, "*op. cit.*", 1952). This name was common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, see *e.g.* P. Lond VII. 2002. 54 (Phil; 249 BC); P. Petr. III. 70. Fr. A2. 6 ; III. 87. Fr. B. 5 v. 2; III. 90. Fr. A 2. 6 (Gurob; III BC).

(b) The second possibility is the name Πεχῦτις (= Παχοίτης, Πεχοίτης, Παχύτης, Πεχῦτης, Παχῶτ). It is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "*p<sup>3</sup>-jT*", which means "*The Demon*" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "*op. cit.*", band I, lief. 3, p. 209; H. Ranke, "*op. cit.*", II, p. 108, 19).

I prefer the first possibility because the name Πεχῦσις was more common in the papyri of the third century BC, especially in Gurob and Philadelphia, in which most of the names of our document were common. On the contrary the name Πεχῦτις began to appear rarely in the papyri of

the second century BC, cf. e.g. *P. Amh. II. 52. 2* (Thebes; 150 BC); *SB. XIV. 12153. 2* (Thebes; II/I BC); *P. Tor. Choach. 001. 11. 8* (Thebes; 119 BC).

## II

### BUSINESS LETTER

***PSI. Inv. No. 272.***

***6 x 17 cm.***

***Prov. unknown***

***ury AD.***

A light brown papyrus has been preserved in almost perfect condition; regularly cut off at all sides. It has margins on all four sides. There is a margin of approximately 1 cm. at the left hand side, and one of approximately less than 5 mm. at the right hand side. The top and the bottom have two margins of approximately 2.5 cm. The writing on the *recto* runs along the fibers. The address is on the *verso*.

The papyrus preserves twelve complete lines. It suffers from some wormholes, yet they do not impede the reading, except for the two vertical lacunae, that are approximately in the middle of the papyrus. They however make some losses: the first one is from the middle of line 4 to 6. The other one is from the middle of line 9 to 11, but the text can be recovered everywhere except line 10 after the word οἶδα. The papyrus has been folded horizontally from the upper part, that we can see seven folds.

The text is written in a bold, good-sized, and cursive. On palaeography grounds, the hand writing suggests a date to the first century AD. The writing is comparable to that of *P. Metron. I. 12* (29 Aug. AD 58).

The provenance of the papyrus is unknown.

The document is a letter from Ischyrras to Apollonius. It contains the formula "*to his dearest friend, greetings*" (see line 2), the polite circumlocution of request "*You will do well by*" (see lines 3-4), and in the closing it has the formula "*pay serious attention*" (see line 11) and the formula "*good bye*" (see line 12).

The subject of the letter is a request from Ischyrras to Apollonius to collect his little corn σιτάριον from the debtors, whereas Ischyrras himself

## SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

is owing to the treasury. The relationship between the sender and the recipient is difficult to be ascertained. But perhaps the recipient is the supervisor of the land of the sender. The reason of the indebtedness of the debtors to Ischyras, and Ischyras to the treasury is unknown (see n. 7-9).

The scribe used to write the *Iota* adscript consistently to every final  $\omega$  whether etymologically correct or not (cf. lines *recto* 4, 5 and 8; *verso* 1).

There are some abbreviations on the document. The scribe has written them either by writing the final letter above the line as: 'Απολλ<sup>ω</sup> (for 'Απολλωνίωι)(line 1) and ερρ<sup>ω</sup> (for ἔρρωσο) (line 12), or without any sign of abbreviation as: φιλτα (for φιλτάτω) (line 2; v. 1), and χρ (for χάρειν) (line 2).

### **RECTO**

- 'Ισχυράς 'Απολλ<sup>ω</sup> (νίωι)  
τῶι φιλτά(τωι) χ(αί)ρ(ειν)  
εὖ ποιήσεις συν-  
λαβόμε[ν]ος τῶι  
5 ἐμῶι π[ρὸ]ς τοὺς  
ὀφειλο[ν]τάς μοι  
σιτάριον ἐπεὶ  
κα(ὶ) ἐγώ{ι} ὀφείλω{ι}  
εἰς τὸ δημόσιον  
10 σίδα[ς σ]ὺ οὖν  
σπούδ[ασο]ν  
ἔρρ<sup>ω</sup> (σο)

**VERSO** ↓ 'Απολλωνίωι τῶι φιλτά(τωι)

### **CORRECTIONS:**

Line 3-4 r. *l.* συλλαβόμενος

Line 8 r. *l.* καὶ ἐγὼ ὀφείλω

**TRANSLATION:**

**RECTO**

"Ischyra to his dearest friend Apollonius, greeting. You will do well by assisting me (my case) against those who owe me a little corn, whereas I am also owing the treasury. Therefore, I know that you will pay serious attention. Good bye."

**VERSO**

"To my dearest friend Apollonius."

**COMMENTARY:**

**RECTO**

1- 'Ισχυρᾶς This name seems to begin to appear, in the papyri and ostraca, in the Roman period, cf. *P. Alex. Giss.* 001. 7. 6 (Ars.; AD 96); *P. Athen.* 001. 48. 12 (Thead.; II AD); *P. Amst. I.* 72. 23 (?; III AD).

- 'Απολλ' ω' (νίωι) (l. 'Απολλω(νίω)) The scribe has written 'Απολλ<sup>ω</sup>, which is abbreviated by writing the letter ω above the line (for this kind of abbreviation see, E. M. Thompson, "*An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*", Oxford 1912. p. 78). This abbreviation, which was very common in the papyri and ostraca of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, refers to the very common name 'Απολλώ(νιος) cf. e.g. *O. Deiss.* 001. 71. 2 (?; II BC), 'Απολλώ(νιος) Δορκίν[ου]; *P. Tebt. I.* 105. 1 (Tebt.; 103 BC), Πετεσοῦχος 'Απολλω(νίου); *P. Athen.* 001. 41. 8 (?; I AD), 'Απολλώ(νιος) Φρόντ(ωνος); *P. Fuad I Univ.* 001. 33. 1 (?; II / III AD), 'Αθηγόδωρος 'Απολλω(νίου).

2- τῶι φιλτᾶ (τωι) (l. τῶ φιλτᾶ(τω)) We note that the scribe has written the *iota adscript* in τῶι as he used to write it in the rest of the letter (cf. lines 4, 5 and 8). Although the scribe has written φιλτᾶ without any sign of abbreviation, it must be an abbreviation to φιλτᾶ(τω), which was used very frequent in the Roman Period (see examples below).

In the classical Greek literature φίλος indicates a close relationship and in φίλτατος the expressive nuance is instantly recognizable (see M. Landfester "*Das Griechische Nomen "Philos" und seine Ableitungen*", (Subdasmata 11), 1966, p. 75 ff.). In the papyrus letters from the Roman period in Egypt the context of the using of φίλτατος is noticeably different, that the adjective does not indicate a family or other relationship, but ordinary occurs in business or official corresponds (see G. Tibiletti, "*Le lettere Private nei Papiri Greci del III e IV secolo d.c. Tra Paganesimo e Cristianesimo*", Milano, 1979, p. 43 f.; C. Spicq, "*Lexique de L'Amour dans les Papyrus et dans Quelques Inscriptions de L'époque Hellénistique*", in *Mnemosyne*, s.v. IV, 8, 1955, p. 27 f.).

χ(αί)ρ(ειν) The scribe has written χρ abbreviated with a horizontal stroke. Using of χρ as an abbreviation to χ(αί)ρ(ειν) was used in the papyri of the Byzantine period, but in the Roman period we almost find only one example in *SB. V. 7741. 2* (Herakleopolite; II AD), Φλόουιος Τιτιανός Χαιρήμονι στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἡρακλεοπολ (ιτου) χ(αί)ρ(ειν).

The phrase ὁ δεινὰ τῷ δεινὶ τῷ φίλτάτῳ χαίρειν, as the phrases τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ, τῷ κυρίῳ and τῷ ἰδίῳ, came into use when the Roman republic changed into an empire. From this time on, and especially in the third century, these opening formulas become explicit, and even pompous, enumerating the various titles of offices held formerly or at the time (see Francis X. J. Exler, "*The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*". A Study in Greek Epistolography, Washington, 1923, pp. 63-4). For the occurrences of this formula in the papyri of the Roman period see e.g. *P. Ryl. II. 229* (Ars.; AD 38); *P. Lips. 001. 106* (Ars.; AD 98); *P. Leid. Inst. 001. 31* (Ptolemais; I-II AD); *P. Giss. 001. 26* (Herm.; AD 113-19); *P. Alex. Giss. 001. 49* (Tanyathis; AD 117-138); *P. IFAO. II. 17* (?; III AD); *P. Prag. I. 105* (Thead.; AD 254-65).

3- εὖ ποιήσεις "you will do well or you will do me a favor by" This expression, which is the polite circumlocution with request, is formulated to courtesy and familiarity especially in the Roman period. With a closer

inspection in using this expression, we find that καλῶς is substituted by εὖ. Normally it was followed by a participle and sometimes by an indicative future or by an imperative. The using of the infinitive is less frequent (see Exler, *op. cit.* p. 106; H. A. Steen, "*Les Clichés Épistolaires dans les Papyrus Grecs*", in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 1, 1928, p. 131, 140). The using of εὖ ποιήσεις is less frequent than καλῶς ποιήσεις. For the occurrences of this expression in the papyrus letters see e.g. *P. Oxy. X.* 1292. 3 (Oxy.; AD 30), εὖ ποιήσεις ἐμβαλόμενος μοι κενώματα διακ[ό]σια ἤ; *P. Mil. Vogl. IV.* 217. 3 (AD 125), εὖ ποιήσεις πέμπων; *P. Oslo. II.* 56. 3 (?; II AD), εὖ ποιήσεις ἀγοράσ<ας>.

3-4- συλλαβόμε[ν]ος (l. συλλαβόμενος) The Aor. Part. Mid. συλλαβόμε[ν]ος is used here after the expression εὖ ποιήσεις "you will do well to assist or you will do me a favor by assisting". The letter ν is more frequently assimilated in composition than between words. But here also, it tends to be left unassimilated in writing in papyri of the first four centuries. This occurs before consonants of all types: velar, labial, nasal, sibilant and, as in our case, liquid. There are some occurrences for the verb συλλαμβάνω in the papyri as: συλλαβεῖν in *P. Mich. VI.* 421. 22 (Karanis; AD 41-54); συλλαβών in *P. Ryl. II.* 145. 10 (Euhemeria; AD 38); συλλαβέσθαι in *P. Giss. 001.* 75. 3 (Apollonopolis Heptakomias; ca. AD 117); συλλαμβανόμενος in *P. Giss. 001.* 25. 4 (Apollonopolite Heptakomias; ca. AD 117) (see F. T. Gignac, "*A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*", vol. I, Phonology, Milano, 1975, p. 168-170). συλλαβόμενος itself occurs four times in the papyri cf. *P. Giss. 001.* 11. r. 13 (Apollonopolis Heptakomias; AD 118); *P. Oxy. XX.* 2265. v. ctr. 7 (Oxy; AD 119); *P. Sakaon. 001.* 47. 13 (Thead; AD 342); *P. Abinn. 001.* 57. 23 (Ars.; AD 342-351).

3-5- εὖ ποιήσεις συλλαβόμε[ν]ος τῷ ἐμῷ The scribe wrote the definite article and the possessive pronoun in dative case after συλλαβόμενος. Verb συλλαμβάνω is used with the dative personal pronoun to give the meaning: "to take part with another, to assist one in a

thing”; and also in mid. voice to mean: “to help, to take hold of things; to assist”. Therefore I think that the translation may read as follows: “*You will do well by assisting me (my case)*”.

5-7- π[ρò]ς τοὺς ὀφείλω[ν]τας μοι σιτάριον Indeed I am doubtful of this context. There is a lacuna bearing about two letters of a word. They seem to be a part of a preposition. It may be π[ρό]ς. Then the letters του have been written before a small lacuna, which may bear the letter ς, that we can read a part of it, to be the masc. plur. acc. article τοὺς. That should be agreed with the following word ὀφείλω[ν]τας. If the reading is correct, the translation must be “*against those who owe me a little corn*”.

7- σιτάριον A diminutive of σῖτος, which means “*a little corn or bread, a bit of corn or breadstuff*” (see L/S s. v. σιτάριον). Indeed I do not know on what basis the debtors were owing to our scribe by this corn. The corn may be a part of lease of land, that the rent was paid in kind or in kind and cash. Or perhaps it is just a loan and now it is the time to pay. It is so difficult to decide that, since there is no similar letter has this request.

8- καεγωι (l. κα<ι> ἐγώ ?) The reading is certain, but the word καεγωι has no translation.

On the one hand, I think that the word is κα<ι> ἐγώ, that the scribe had forgotten to write the -ι of καί. Then he has written ἐγώ with an addition to erroneously ι, this is because the scribe wrote the following word with an addition erroneously -ι for ὀφείλω (see the note of ὀφείλω below). If we suggest that the word is καεγω, then the reading may be κα<ι> ἐγώ with omission of the ι of καί.

On the other hand it may be the case, which was known by crasis in the Koine. It is generally restricted to a few familiar combination but not similar with our shape, that we find the combination of καὶ and a pronoun as κάγω especially with ἐγώ, which was used from the second century, cf. e.g. *P. Mich. VIII. 476. 19* (Karanis; II AD); *P. Mil. Vogl. II. 60. 10* (Tebt.; II AD). For more examples (see, Gignac, *op. cit.* p. 221-2).



- ὀφείλωι (*l.* ὀφείλω) The addition of ι to ω in the final position was frequent especially in the first and second centuries (see Gignac, *op. cit.* p. 185): ἔχωι for (ἔχω) *O. Mich. I.* 119. 2 (Karanis; 11 BC); *P. Mich. IX.* 523. 9 (Karanis; AD 66); ἄξιωι for (ἄξιῶ) *SB. IV.* 7376 = *P. Col. VIII.* 209. 38 (Thead.; AD 3); *P. Oxy. XXII.* 2342. 37 (Oxy.; AD 102). See further, with -ι added consistently to every final η and ω whether etymologically correct or not, cf. *P. Oxy. I.* 37 = *C. Pap. Gr. I.* 19 (Oxy.; AD 223)

7- 9- ἐπεὶ κα<ι> ἐγὼ ὀφείλω εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Here is the reason of the request of the sender to the recipient. The sender wants the addressee to assist him against the persons whom owe the sender a little corn because he is owing to the treasury. Indeed it is very difficult to know the reason for which that the scribe is owing to the treasury. There is no indication to tell us why he is owing to the treasury. If we suppose that the diminutive (σιτάριον) of σῖτος (line 7) was used here to refer to the quantity of the wheat not to the wheat itself (*i.e.* the scribe intends to recover his debt of the little quantity of wheat from the debtors). If we suppose that, we may suggest that the scribe was owing to the treasury by wheat. Now, therefore, perhaps the scribe intends a tax, which may be paid in kind. There are many taxes paid in kind, especially on grain, but we cannot specify one (for those taxes, see S. L. Wallace, "*Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*", Princeton, 1938).

10- οἶδα [σ]ϣ (?) οὖν In the beginning of this line we can read clearly οἶδα then there is a lacuna bearing about ± two letters, afterthat we can read a part of υ, afterwards we can read οὖν. I think that σ]ϣ may fill the lacuna, to give the meaning "*Therefore, I know that you*".

11- σπούδ[ασο]ν Aorist imperative active, second person singular of verb σπουδάζω. This formula which gravitates to the close of the body of the letter, means "*pay serious attention*". This phrase was used in the papyrus letters, in Ptolemaic period, and especially in Roman and Byzantine periods, where the sender attempts to urge the recipient into attending to something which he has requested or commanded (see Steen, "*op. cit.*", p.

166). For its occurrences in the papyri cf. e.g. *S.B. VI. 9160 = P. Mil. Vogl. III. 201. 8* (?; II AD); *P. Mich. VIII. 516. 5* (Karanis; III AD).

12- ἔpp' ω' (σο) The scribe has abbreviated the verb by writing the final ω above the line. This abbreviation was used in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods especially in the first two centuries of the Roman period, c.f. e.g. *P. Amst. I. 89. 11* (?; AD 3); *P. Iand. VI. 104. 13* (?; AD 14-37); *SB. I. 5807 = P. Corn. 001. 50. 13* (Ars.; I AD); *P. Harr. II. 223. 13* (?; I AD); *O. Wadi. Hamm. 001. 26. 9* (Wadi Hammamat; I AD).

In the epistolary papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods we find that certain letters regularly have for their closing formula the expression ἔppωσο (ἔppωσθε), or its modifications. Others end with the verb εὐτύχει, later changed into δευτύχει. Business communications ordinary end with the phrase ἔppωσο, or its modifications. Both phrases, ἔppωσο as well as εὐτύχει, are found in the earliest extant epistolary papyri. Both were still in use at the end of the Roman period. During the last century of the Roman period, this form was being supplanted by its modification ἔppῶσθαι σε

εὐχομαι. Using of the closing formula ἔppωσο or one of its modifications was not limited to the business and official communications, but also in many familiar letters of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (see, Exler, *op. cit.* p. 69-77). For more information about this formula see, F. Ziemann, "De Epistularum Graecarum Formulis Sollemnibus Quaestiones Selectae", In *Diss. Phil. Halle* 18, 1910, p. 335-9; H. Koskenniemi, "Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des Griechischen Briefs bis 400 n. Chr.", Helsinki, 1956, p.151-4; G. Tibiletti, *op. Cit.*, p. 62-6).

## VERSO

1- ' Απολλωνίωι τῶι φιλ.τῶ(τωι) ? The beginning of the line bears the name ' Απολλωνίωι. After that the rest of the line is much effaced. There are about eight illegible letters. I think that those letters may be τῶι φιλ.τῶ(τωι), which appears in the initial of the letter, this is because a number of letters from the first century or slightly later bear addresses of

general type τῷ δεῖνι τῷ φιλτάτῳ, cf. e. g. *P. Oxy. X.* 1292. v. 17 (Oxy.; AD 30), τῷ φιλτάτῳ Ἰσχυρᾷτι; *P. Ryl. II.* 230. v. 14 (Arsnome; AD 40), Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ φι[λ]τ(άτῳ); *P. Oslo III.* 149. v. 6 (?; AD 61), Λιμναίῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ; *P. Herm. 001.* 1. v. 11 (?; I AD), Μουσαίῳ τῷ φιλτ[άτῳ].

### III

#### PRIVATE LETTER

*PSI. Inv. 389*

*Prov. Hermoupolis*

*Fr. A: 12.5 x 8; Fr. B: 8.8 x 8.4 cm.*

*Late I cent. AD.*

Two fragments of a light-brown papyrus sheet of good quality. It has only few wormholes, which don't impede the reading.

The first fragment is 12.5 x 8 cm., regularly cut off at the left-hand side and at the right-hand side. The fragment has been broken off at the bottom. There is a margin of approximately 1.2 cm. at the left, and one of approximately 1 cm. at the top. It contains seven lines. The first six lines are completed. The last one contains only traces.

The second fragment is 8.8 x 8.4 cm., broken off at all sides except at the left-hand side. There is a margin of approximately 1.5 cm. at the left-hand side. Between the first fragment and the second one some lines are lost. The writing on the *recto* runs along the fibers. The *verso* is blank.

The text is written in a bold, good-sized, and semi cursive script that resembles *P. Merton, II.* 62 (AD 6). In general the writing bears a close resemblance to that in Ptolemaic documents. But our document can not be earlier than the first two centuries AD in Roman Egypt, since the popularity of *Sarapis* cult was spread in these two centuries, and our document bears the initial formula *proskynema* (cf. Z. Aly, "The Popularity of *Sarapis Cult*", *Etudes de Papyrologie*, IX, 1971, p. 180).

Our papyrus was found at Hermopolis (Ashmunein), presumably the place where the recipient of the letter (Eudaimon) was living. The place of origin of the writer is not indicated.

### SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

The papyrus is a private letter written by Hermaeus to his father Eudaimon. It contains the initial greeting. It is difficult to explain the subject of the letter, because some lines have been lost between the first fragment and the second one, as well as the end of the lines of the second fragment.

The sentence that occupies lines 2 and 3 consists of two conventional expressions: *πρὸ μὲν πάντων* and *ἀσπάζομαι* (lines 3-4), which are often joined in private letters. We note in our papyrus the using of the different clause (*καθ' ὧραν*) instead of the more common one (*καθ' ἡμέραν*) (lines 4-5). This expression was a rhetorical exaggeration.

The letter has an example of the *proskynema* formula directed to Sarapis (lines 4-6). The word *proskynema* in private communications has the function of formal although valued complements. The meaning of the formula is "*I make your obeisance every day before lord Sarapis*".

Modern scholars have held that the *proskynema* to Sarapis was especially fitting in Alexandria, where the god had his famous temple and his most sacred image. It is true that the gods mentioned in epistolary were usually those characteristic of the place where the sender found himself.

However it is also cautious, not to extend the Alexandrian origin attested for approximately one-third of the letters which have the *proskynema* to Sarapis also to others which yield no topographical clues (cf. Z. Aly, *ibid.* pp. 169-219). Z. Aly attempts to revive Schubart's view that there is no necessary connection between the *Sarapis-Proskynema* formula and Alexandria (see, W. Schubart, "*Griechische Papyri*", Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1927, p. 54).

F. Farid gives a review of the evidence from the point of view that the *Sarapis-Proskynema* is not evidence for Alexandrian origin (cf. F. Farid, "*Sarapis-Proskynema in the Light of SB. III. 6263*", *Actes XV Congres* (= *PaP. Brux. XIX*), 1980, p. 141-147).

However, it is probably that Hermaeus' letter have been written elsewhere and has been sent to Hermopolis.

**RECTO**

Fr. A → 'Ερμαῖος Εὐδα[ῖμο]νι τῷ κυρ[ίῳ]  
πατρὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν.  
πρὸ μὲν πάντων σε ἀσπάζο-  
μαι καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου κα-  
5 θ' ἐκάστην ὥραν' ποιῶ π[α]ρὰ τῷ κυ-  
ρίῳ Σαράπιδι δέομε σου καὶ πα-  
...[± 4] . [± 2] ... [± 3] δα . .σπα

Fr. B → [ ± 21 Εὐ-]  
δαίμονος ἀμεριμ[± 9]  
ἀδελφοῦ ἀντοῦ . . [± 8]  
ἀντοῖς εὐχαρ[ιστῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ε- (?)]  
ἴσ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον[± 9]  
σε οὐ[ν] πα[± 5 letters] εα[± 8]  
μεν . [± 19]

**CORRECTIONS:**

Fr. A line 6- l. δεομαί σου

**TRANSLATION:**

**Fr. A**

"Hermæus to his master father Eudaimon, many greetings. Before all else, I salute you and I make your obeisance every hour before the lord Sarapis. I beg you and ["

**Fr. B**

"... of Eu]daimon...I am care free about his brother.... [I thank them from now on] to the end of my life.... Therefore...."

**COMMENTARY:**

**FRAGMENT "A"**

1- 'Ερμαῖος Εὐδα[ίμο]νι τῷ κυρ[ίῳ] πατρί The name Hermaeus as (son of) Eudaimon occurs in *P. Flor. III. 386. 14* and *passim* (Herm. Magna; AD 83), 'Ερμαῖο(ς) Εὐδ(αίμονος) ὑπ(ἐρ) Δημητρί(ας) 'Ερμαίου (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) τριάκο (ντα)δύο (γινονται) πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) λβ. The document is an extract from registers of σιτολόγοι, it looks like, in the interest of 'Ερμαῖος Εὐδαίμονος the tax collector for some *toparchies* of the Hermopolites (see *P. Flor. III. 386-8. Introduction*).

The document above is from Hermoupolis Magna, the same location of our document. It is from the same period, which we suggested. Though the place where our document was written is still unknown. Perhaps 'Ερμαῖος was out of Hermoupolis Magna at that time and he sent this letter to his father.

The name 'Ερμαῖος was in use from the Ptolemaic period, but very rarely. It was very common in the documents of the Roman period. For its occurrences in the papyri and ostraca, see *e.g. P. Lond. III. 604B. 139* (?; AD 47); *P. Oxy. I. 45 = Chr. Mitt. 001. 222. 1* (Oxy.; AD 95); *O. Comb. 001. 77. 1* (Memnoneia; AD 119); *P. Brem. 001. 13. 1* (Herm. Magna; II AD); *P. Princ. II. 30. 5-6* (Herm. Magna; 264 AD).

The name Εὐδαίμων was also very common in the documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods. It occurs frequently in the papyri and ostraca, see *e.g. PSI. I. 30. 1-2* (Herm.; AD 82); *P. Bon. 001. 43 = SB. V. 7615. 1-2* (Oxy.; I AD); *P. Sarap. 001. 24. 1* (Herm.; AD 123); *P. Hamb. I. 39 = C. Mil. Rec. 001. 76. iv. 45* (Letopolite; AD 179); *O. Lund. 001. 19. 11* (Ars.; III/IV AD).

- κυρ[ίῳ] Although the end of this line is badly mutilated, we can see κυρ, and then we should extend it to κυρ[ίῳ].

Regarding the family terms, the designations of superiority, "master, lord" and "lady", are often used by the writer in addressing his father and mother, respectively. The use of these, and other deferential terms, seem both to arise and to increase during the Roman rule of Egypt (see John L. White, *"The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition Third Century BC to Third Century AD"*, Semeia, An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism, XXII, "Studies in Ancient Letter writing", Chicago, 1981, p. 93,94). I think that it is preferable to translate it as master, that lord was used with gods as Lord Sarapis, and in Christianity as Lord Christ.

2- The basic type of the opening phrase in the Greek letter is expressed by the formula: "A – to B – χαίρειν" (ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν). "A" stands for the sender or *addressant* and "B" for the recipient or *addressee*. Almost every possible variation of this type occurs, the principal variant being "To B – from A –", usually without the addition of the salutation. It will be observed that the formula: "A – to B – χαίρειν", occurs quite frequently in familiar letters, business letters, and official communications. The formula: "To B – from A –", usually employed in petitions, complaints, and applications.

The prescript (ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν) was written on the *recto* of the papyrus at the top of the letter. This is the earliest form of address in private letters (from the third century BC), and continued to be used after the first century AD, but more rarely. The name of the writer proceeded that the recipient in the prescript of private letters till the second century AD.

The familiar relationship existing between the writer and his correspondent was frequently expressed by the addition of appropriate words to the opening formula as "πολλὰ χαίρειν". The prescript's use of χαίρειν had the function of the greeting in the familiar letter. Ziemann had to state concerning the occurrence of the phrase: "πολλὰ χαίρειν" many times in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, from the second century BC, (cf. e.g. *P. Tebt. I. 12. 1, 15* (Tebt; 118 BC), till the third century AD (see F. Ziemann, *"De Epistularum Graecarum Formulis Sollemnibus Quaestiones Selectae"*, In Diss. Phil. Halle 18, 1910). But Regarding *P. Abinn. 001. 37. 2* (Arsnome; 342-351 AD), *P. Oxy. X. 1299. 2* (Oxy; IV

AD), and *PSI. III. 236. 1,2* (Oxy; III/IV AD), they showed it to have been in use till the fourth century AD. So Regarding *P. Wash. Univ. I. 40. 2* (Oxy; V/VI cent. AD), it showed it to have been in use till the fifth-sixth century AD. This practice is not confined to familiar letters, but is observed also in official letters, though less frequently (see Francis X. J. Exler, "*The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*". A Study in Greek Epistolography, Washington, 1923, p. 23 ff.).

For the occurrences of the phrase (τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ χαίρειν) in the papyri, see e.g. *SB. X. 10277. 2* (Herm.; AD 116), 'Ἡρώς' Ἐπαφροδίτῳ τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ χαίρειν; *P. Oslo. III. 152. 2* (?; I/II AD), Διονύσιος Φιλονίκῳ τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ χαίρειν; *P. Oxy. XIV. 1762. 2* (Oxy.; I/II AD), Χαϊρέας Διονυσίῳ τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ χαίρειν.

3-4 πρὸ μὲν πάντων σε ἀσπάζομαι This sentence which means, "before all else I salute you", consists of two conventional expressions, which are often joined in private letters:

(a) πρὸ μὲν πάντων is an adverbial phrase, which is, in the Roman period, frequently accompanied and enhanced by the opening and closing wish for health. For this formula in the papyri, see (Ziemann, "*op. cit.*" p. 321-3; Exler, "*op. cit.*", pp. 107-11; H. Koskenniemi, "*Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des Griechischen Briefs bis 400 n. Chr.*", Helsinki, 1956, p.134-5; G. Tibiletti, "*Le lettere Private nei Papiri Greci del III e IV secolo d.c. Tra Paganesimo e Cristianesimo*", Milano, 1979, p. 74-52). For examples of adverbial modifiers of intensity, see (Henry A. Steen, "*Les Clichés Epistolaires dans les Lettres sur Papyrus Grecques*", *Classica et Mediaevalia*, I, 1938, p. 158-168; see also John L. White, "*Epistolary Formulas and Clichés in Greek Papyrus Letters*", SBL, 1978, Seminar Paper, II, p. 310-311).

(b) ἀσπάζομαι In addition to the closing wish for health, the ἀσπάζεσθαι phrase is mainly employed. It began to be used during the Roman period, especially from the beginning of the reign of Augustus and following to express secondary greetings to family members and friends. It is not unusual to see an accumulation of these secondary greetings and, by



the second century AD; the same convention began to be used in the letter opening (John L. White, *ibid.*, p. 299 and n. 34).

The ἀσπάσασθαι phrase is used very frequently in familiar letters. The briefest form consists of the verb only and the name of the person saluted. Frequently the writer commissions the recipient of the letter to convey his greetings to others mentioned.

The ἀσπάσασθαι wish occurs sometimes instead of the ὑγιαίνειν wish, at the beginning of the letter. This salutation, in varying forms, has thought that it is a form that has been transposed from the end of the letter to the beginning; and the view is quite probable.

As the other wishes, this formula also is very flexible, admitting various minor changes. It appears in its simple form as: πρὸ μὲν πάντων (or πρὸ μὲν ὅλων) ἀσπάζομαι, cf. *P. Brem. 001. 57. 1-2* (Herm.; II AD), Ἄρσις Κορνᾶτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολλὰ χαίρειν. πρὸ πάντων σε ἀσπάζομαι; *P. Brook. 001. 17. 2* (Thebaid; III AD), πρὸ μὲν πάντων σε ἀσπ[ά]ζομαι; *P. Haun. II. 29. 1-4* (?; III AD, Νερόφυτος Ἀστῶι τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἀσπάζομαι σε.

It is the first time that we see the ἀσπάσασθαι wish in connection with the *proskynema* to Sarapis (see lines 4-6). This is because in this case the ὑγιαίνειν wish frequently appears in connection with the proscynesis, cf. *P. Mich. VIII. 489, 3-5* (Karanis; II AD), πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομ[α]ί σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ προσκυνημά

σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρ[ί]ῳ Σαράπιδι (see Exler, *ibid.*, p. 111 ff.). But we found the ἀσπάσασθαι wish in connection with the *proskynema* to Hermes, cf. *P. Brem. 001. 61. 45-49* (Herm. Magna; II AD), Δισκᾶς Ἀπολωνί[ῳ τ]ῷ κυρί[ῳ] πολλὰ χαί(ρειν). πρὸ μ[ὲν] π[ρὸ] ἀ[ν]τ[ω]ν ἀσπάζομαί σε καὶ τὸ [π]ροσκύνημά σου ποιῶ καθ' ὥραν π[ρὸ] ρ[α] τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ. In another case we found the *proskynema* to Sarapis without the ἀσπάσασθαι wish or the

ὑγιᾶειν wish, cf. *SB. XVIII. 13864. 1-8* (?; II AD), τὸ προσκύνημα σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι ἀσπάζομαί τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου.

4-6 προσκύνημα The word προσκύνημα itself is a Greek compound, derived etymologically from the prefix πρὸς and κυνέω (ἔκυσσα aorist). It means "to kiss or worship and make adoration or obeisance". But the origin of this proskynema as a rite is not Greek. It goes back to Tell El Amarna letters and figures there, extensively as a Pharaonic rite. The eastern princes and potentates in corresponding with the Pharaoh used to greet him by advancing such words of obeisance and adoration to the extent of showing their willingness to kiss his feet (Z. Aly, *ibid.*, p. 194).

The *proskynema to Sarapis*, the act of prostrating oneself in front of the god, made its appearance in the initial greeting of the private letters by the beginning of the Roman period. It was a benevolent religious act from the part of the sender performed for the sake of the addressee. The formula is usually τὸ προσκύνημα σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι. Though we read many *proskynemata* to various gods, that to *Sarapis* is found in almost half of the letters with *proskynemata*. A fact, which reflects the incomparable popularity, this Greco-Egyptian god had enjoyed (F. Farid, *ibid.*, p. 141).

The religion of *Sarapis* occupied a commanding position during the first four centuries of our era. The god is a composite figure created in the last years of the fourth century BC by the first Ptolemy, for the purpose of binding together the divergent ethnic elements of Egypt. He was the Greek *Pluto*, imposed on *Apis*, the Egyptian bull-god of Memphis who became at death another *Osiris*, and specifically *Osiris-Apis*. From the Ptolemaic period on, his cult became the official state-cult, with its center in the *Great Serapeum* of Alexandria (see H. I. Bell, "*Cults and Creeds in Greco-Roman Egypt*", Liverpool, 1953, p. 20; E. Kiessling, "*La Genèse du culte de Sarapis à Alexandrie*", *Chronique d'Egypte*, 48, 1949, pp.317-323).

The name *Sarapis* of the Ptolemaic period is usually mentioned in the documents of the Roman as *Serapis* (see U. Wilcken, *U.P.Z. I*, p. 86). For the cult of Sarapis and its fame (see Z. Aly, *ibid.*, pp. 174-176).

Wilcken and modern scholars have considered that the cult of the god *Sarapis* was attached to the city of Alexandria. They advocated a *Sarapis-proskynema* in a letter as a virtual proof that the letter was written in Alexandria and sent from it. This is because this formula occurred only in letters sent from Alexandria (see L. Mitteis & U. Wilcken, "*Grundzuge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*", Leipzig-Berlin, 1912, p. 122, 123 n. 1). H. C. Youtie has pointed that Wilcken's hypothesis still has a good chance of proving to be true until we can produce a letter, whose origin can definitively be shown to be a place other than Alexandria. He argues that there is still no evidence against the theory and upholds it (H. C. Youtie, "*Institute of Classical Studies*", III, London, 1978, p. 98). There is a widely accepted view that the formula points to an act of worship at the great temple of Sarapis in Alexandria (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Linguistic Notes on Papyrus Text*", Eos 48, 1956 (= *Scriptiunculae* II, p. 909)).

This view was defended and repeated by almost all scholars interested in the subject or editing private letters with a *Sarapis-proskynema*.

Thomas and Bowman have made a case for the non-Alexandrian origin of P. Ryl. I. inv. 97 (late second/early third century AD). A private letter containing a *proskynema to Sarapis*. They cannot make so conclusive a claim for their letter, but they believe that the reference to the *nomarch* is the strongest indication of non-Alexandria origin, which has yet occurred in a letter with the *Sarapis* formula (cf. J. D. Thomas & A. K. Bowman, "*Some Additional Greek Papyri*" Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 61, no. 2, 1979, p. 299).

H. Koskenniemi takes us to the fact that the *Great Serapeum* of Alexandria was not the only one in Egypt. There were many *Serapeia* in several parts of Egypt. Then the writer of a letter with the *Sarapis-proskynema* might have not been in Alexandria, but in any other place where the god had a temple (H. Koskenniemi, *ibid.*, p. 140 and n. 2).

The case of P. Bremen, 001. 49 (dated to 117-138 because of the mention of the *gymnasiarch* Aelius Apollonius) is to compare. The text is a letter from a young man named Hermaeus to the *gymnasiarch*. In P. Bremen 49, "the god" is the great god *Sarapis*, who had a temple in the Gymnasium of Hermoupolis.

### SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

G. Geraci, who gives a useful list of all kinds of *proskynemata*, epigraphical and epistolary, mentioned in papyri, is inclined to accept the view of Koskenniemi. He tries hard to give it a convincing support by searching for a letter with a *Sarapis-proskynema*, the content of which reveals the fact that it was decisively not sent from Alexandria. But his attempt has not yielded any positive conclusion, because all the letters he examines either were actually sent from Alexandria, or their content does not disclose the site of their writing and dispatch. In other words, he has not found any letters with a *Sarapis-proskynema* from the content of which we can infer that it was not sent from Alexandria (see G. Geraci, "*Ricerche sul Proskynema*", *Aegyptus* LI, 1971, pp. 172-179).

The introductory formulae of greetings bearing initial wishes (χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι). Then followed by ὑγιαίνειν or ἀσπάζεσθαι wishes and often coupled with proskynemata. The names of the senders and the addressees were written without any patronymics or stylations. Besides the rather lavish way of using such empty epithets after the initial greeting render in either of the following familiar phrases: πλεῖστα χαίρειν and less frequently πολλὰ χαίρειν. In styling the addressee as: φίλτατος, γλυκύτατος or τιμιώτατος and sometimes coupled with: κύριος, πατήρ, μήτηρ, υἱός, φράτηρ or θυγάτηρ etc ... (cf. Z. Aly, *ibid.*, p. 183, 203).

For the occurrences of Sarapis-proskynema in the papyri from the first to the fourth century, see e.g.:

<i>SB. XII. 11022. 1-3</i>	Oxy.	I AD
<i>SB. XII. 7661=P. Col. VII. 216. 2-3</i>	?	AD 100
<i>P. Oslo III. 151. 17-19</i>	Alex.	I/II AD
<i>BGU. II. 845. 4-6</i>	?	II AD
<i>BGU. II. 601. 4-6; III. 714. 3-5</i>	Arsnome	II AD
<i>CPR. VII. 54. 3-4</i>	Arsinoite	II AD
<i>P. Aberd. 001. 188. 6-8</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Bad. II. 33. 3-5</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Bon. 001. 44. 2</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Heid. VII. 400. 4-6</i>	?	II AD

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<i>P. Mert. I. 22. 11-12</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Mich. III. 208. 2-3</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Mich. VIII. 475. 6-8; 477. 4-5</i>	Karanis	II AD
<i>P. Münch. III-1. 120. 5-7</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Princ. III. 190. 5-7</i>	?	II AD
<i>SB. XII. 10876. 4-6; XIV. 12589. 2-3; XVIII. 13864. 3-4</i>	?	II AD
<i>P. Amh. II. 136. 6-8</i>	Oxy.	AD 196-8
<i>P. Fay. 001. 127. 4-5</i>	Bacchias	II/III AD
<i>P. Princ. II. 70. 3-4</i>	?	II/III AD
<i>P. Strass. V. 304. 3-5</i>	?	II/III AD
<i>SB. XIV. 11851. 2-3</i>	?	II/III AD
<i>P. Athen. 001. 66. 1-3</i>	Alex.	III AD
<i>P. Harr. I. 152. 3-5</i>	?	III AD
<i>PSI. V. 308. 5-7; XIV. 1418. 5-6; 1420. 2-4</i>	Oxy.	III AD
<i>P. Tebt. II. 418. 5-6</i>	Tebt.	III AD
<i>P. Warr. 001. 18. 3-4</i>	?	III AD
<i>SB. XVI. 10446 = P. Mil. II. 80. 4-5</i>	Panopolis	III AD
<i>SB. VI. 9194. 4-5</i>	Alex.	III AD
<i>P. Oxy. XVI. 1670. 4-6</i>	Oxy.	III/IV AD
<i>Chr. Wilk. 001. 489. 2-3</i>	Alex.	III/IV AD
<i>SB. XVI. 12571. 4</i>	Arsinoite	IV AD

4-5 καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν This expression is a rhetorical exaggeration. It is used here instead of the more common one καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. The only appearance of καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν with *Sarapis-proskynema* in the papyri is in *P. Mich. VIII. 492. 2,3* (Karanis or Alex; II AD), Ν[·]νάς Θαισαρί[ω] πλεῖστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὥραν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι.

6- δέομε σου If the reading is correct, perhaps δέομε is a mistake for the verb δέομαι (deponent of verb δέω). It means "to be in want or need, require; beg". The interchanging between αι and ε is the most frequent interchange in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods from early

first century, in Greek words and also in Latin names and loanwords (see Gignac, *ibid.*, p. 192-3).

The verb δέομαι was used more frequently in petitions and less in letters of commendation, followed by genitive. The anticipated effect of the petition is expressed by a purpose clause, or by a conditional clause, with the protasis expressed by a genitive absolute. The purpose clause in these final phrases continues in use during the entire period under discussion, though during the latter part an infinitive construction practically replaces it. The conditional clause is found only during the Ptolemaic period (see John L. White, *ibid.*, p. 96-97; Exler, *ibid.*, p. 122-123, 136).

For the occurrence of verb δέομαι in familiar letters, cf. *e.g.* *SB. XVIII. 13946. 12, 20* (Herm.; III/IV AD), δέομαι δέ σου καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ τὰ δέοντα ὁμιλῆσαι τοῦτου ἔ[ν]εκεν.

6-7 πα[ρακαλῶ At the end of line six we can read καὶ and then πα[. Although two-third of line seven are lost, we can see the top of three letters at the beginning. The first letter seems to be a head of ρ (cf. line 7). So, perhaps we could extend πα[ at the end of line six to πα[ρακαλῶ, because verb δέομαι was used, in a few cases, with verb παρακαλῶ. But it is noticeable that they are used together only from the third to the sixth century, cf. *P. Flor. III. 373. 11* (Ars.; III AD), παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι; *P. Sakaon. 001. 41. 10-11* (Thead.; 322 AD), δέομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ; *PSI. VII. 769. 4* (?; IV AD), δέο]μαι κα[ὶ] παρακαλῶ; 843.9 (Oxy.; V/VI AD), παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι.

### FRAGMENT "B"

1-2- Εὐ]δαίμονος Although line one is lost, we could extend δαίμονος to the name Εὐδαίμονος (*i.e.* the end of line one could bear Εὐ-). For the occurrence of the name Εὐδαίμων in papyri, see (note 1). I think that this man is not Eudaimon, the father of Hermaeus, who occurs in line one in the first fragment. This is because there is no need for Hermaeus to repeat his father's name, especially in genitive case. I suggest that

Hermæus talks with his father about this man, that for the occurrence of ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (cf. line 3). I think that he talks about the brother of this man, Eudaimon.

2- ἀμεριμ[ ] There are four possibilities for this word: the verb ἀμεριμ[νῶ] (= *to be care free*), the noun ἡ ἀμεριμ[νία] (= *freedom from care*), the proper name Ἀμέριμ[νος], the adjective ἀμέριμ[νος, ον] (= *free from care, concerned*), the adverb ἀμερίμ[νωσ] (= *easily attained*), and the comparative adverb ἀμεριμ[νότερον] (= *more easily attained*).

I prefer to set aside all of these possibilities except two. This is because the positions of these possibilities in the documents in which they have been occurred don't agree with the position of the word of our document. The two possibilities, which I prefer, are:

- (1) Verb ἀμεριμνῶ, which means "*I am care free*". This verb occurs very rarely in the papyri. It is used also in a private letter in Hermopolis, cf. e.g. *P. Sarap. 001. 103. 1-2* (Hermopolis; II AD) .Σαραπίων Φιβᾶ τῷ υἱῷ χ(αίριν). ἀμεριμνῶ νομίζων σε καλῶς τὰ ἔργα ποι εἶν.
- (2) The gen. Case of the name Ἀμερίμ[νου] could be suit here. This name occurs very rarely in the papyri of the Roman period only, cf. *P. Mich. XII. 628. 3* (Thead; AD 183), παρὰ Ὀνησίμου Ἀμερίμνου τ[ο]ῦ Ἀλκίμου; *P. Oxy. XII. 1463. 5* (Oxy; AD 215), Μάρκου Ἀῤρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀμερίμνου Σωσικοσμείου; *Chr. Mitt. 001. 93. 4* (Hermopolis; AD 250), Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ἀμέριμνος; *Chr. Mitt. 001. 211. 7* (Hermopolis; AD 233) Ἐρμίου τοῦ καὶ [Ἀμ]ερίμνου Ἀνουβίνος.

I prefer that verb ἀμεριμνῶ may be suit here.

3- ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Perhaps the scribe intends by, "his brother", the brother of Eudaimon (cf. line 2).

4- αὐτοῖς εὐχαρ[ιστῶ] We could extend the word εὐχαρ[ ] to the verb εὐχαρ[ιστῶ], cf. *BGU. II. 423 = Chr. Wilck. 001. 480. 6* (?; II AD), εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι; *P. Mich. VIII. 492. 16* (Karanis; II AD),  
εὐχαριστῶ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς Εὐρήμονος, δ  
ι' αὐτὸν πάντα γέγονε.

For various forms for εὐχαρ[ ], see (*P/N & F/O*).

4-5- εὐχαρ[ιστῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ε-]ισ τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον[± 9]

At the beginning of line five we can read 'ισ τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον [± 9]. At the end of line four after εὐχαρ[ ] there are about [± 14 letters] are lost. After we suggested that we could extend the word εὐχαρ[ ] to the verb εὐχαρ[ιστῶ], we have about [± 14 letters] are lost. Therefore, since line five begins with -'ις τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, then ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ε- could be suit at the end of line four, cf. *PSI. VIII. 875. 8* (Kerkeosiris; I/II AD), τῇ Ἀμμωνίλλῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόν[ο]ν.

The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον (or ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον), which means: "from now to hereafter forever", was used frequently in the Roman period, see e.g. *P. Oxy. II. 273. 14* (Oxy.; AD 95); *P. Oslo II. 31. 8* (?; AD 138-161); *P. Leid. Inst. 001. 54. 4* (Oxy.; AD 271); *P. Laur. III. 74. 5* (Oxy.; III AD).

#### IV

#### PRIVATE LETTER

*PSI. inv. No. 1598*  
*12.3 x 13.9 cm.*

*Prov. Unknown*  
*I/II cent. AD*




Fragment of a light brown papyrus broken off at the bottom and regularly cut off at three sides. It has margins on three sides. There is a margin of approximately 3 cm. at the top, and one of approximately less than 5 mm. to 1.5 cm. at the right hand side. At the left hand side there is a



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margin of approximately 2 cm. The writing on the *recto* runs along the fibers. The address is on the *verso*.

The papyrus preserves thirteen complete lines. At the left margin there are three incomplete lines run from the beginning of line 4. It suffers from few wormholes. They do not impede the reading. The papyrus has been folded vertically from the left part, that we can see five folds.

The text is written in a bold, good-sized, and cursive. On palaeography grounds, the hand writing suggests a date to late first or early second century AD. Regarding the forms of individual letters, the most characteristic are: *epsilon*, *ypsilon* and *nu*. *Epsilon*: the cross-bar of which is very commonly attached to its upper curve (  ); and this formation may be taken as an almost conclusive proof of a Roman date. *Ypsilon*: is very noticeable for the deep curve of its upper part and rather prominent development of its tail (  ); this formation is in early Roman documents, on either side of the beginning of the Christian era. *Nu*: the cross-bar of *nu* becomes a curve uniting the tops of the two upright strokes (  ).

The formula *εὐχόμενος τὰ κάλλιστα* appears in the papyri documents as early as the first century AD (cf. P. Harr. I. 102). It occurs also in the second and third centuries AD. This suggests a date to the first or the second century AD.

The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, but the formula *εὐχόμενος τὰ κάλλιστα* appears five times in Oxyrhynchus, one in Tebtunis and three in unknown provenances. Thereby we can conclude that our document may be written in Oxyrhynchus (?).

The document is a letter from Hracleides to a person his name seems to be peeled, perhaps his name is Hermodoros. It contains some formulae and expressions of greetings. It is difficult to explain the subject of the letter. This is because some lines have been lost after line 13, as well as the end of the lines, which are written sideways in the left margin. The name Apollonous (sister) appears two times in the letter. She is either the sister of the sender or the addressee. There is a request from Apollonous to the addressee, but we can't understand its purpose, because the papyrus is broken off.

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The letter contains: the initial formula “*to his brother, greeting*” (see line 2). The oath formula “*I wish by the Gods*” (see line 3). The expression “*in person*”, which is fairly common in similar contexts in private letters (see lines 3, 4). The rhetorical exaggeration “*every day*” (see line 4). The secondary greeting to family members and friends “*I salute*” (see lines 5, 9). The unusual formula “*praying what is best in your behalf*” (see lines 9-10). It contains also recent expressions occurring in private letters as: “*it is not easy to me to do*” (see line 6), “*because of the distance between us I salute you through this small letter*” (see lines 7-9).

### **RECTO**

- ‘ Ηρακλείδης ‘ Ερ[μο]δῶρῳι (?)  
                    ἀδελφῶι                    χαίρειν  
θέλω, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔτι κατ’ ὁ-  
ψιν ἐκάστης ἡμ[έρας] ὁρῶ σε  
5 καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τοῦτο δ’ ἐπει  
οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐστὶ μοι ποιεῖν  
διὰ τὸ μεταξὺ [ἡμ]ῶν διάστη-  
μα διὰ τοῦ ἐπ[ι]στολιδίου  
σε ἀσπάζομαι εὐχόμενος  
10 περί σου τὰ κάλλιστα  
‘ Απολλωνοῦς ἡ ἀδελφή τινί  
ποτε ἐνθυμ[εῖσθαι] ἡθέλη-  
[σε ? ± 19 letters]

### **SIDEWAYS IN THE LEFT MARGIN**

‘ Ερωτᾷ σε ‘ Απολλωνοῦς ἀγ.[  
ὅτι ἐνδέα τοῦ ὑπηρετήσαντος[  
.. εἰνα ἡ μέχρι τούτου οὔτε τ[

**VERSO**

↓

]ωι Πολλῶν . . . ροφ . . . .

**CORRECTIONS:**

Line 4- *l.* ὄραν Line 5- *l.* ἀσπάζεσθαι Line 8- *l.* ἐπιστολιδίου

**TRANSLATION:**

“Herakleides to his brother Hermodoros(?) greeting. By the gods, I still wish everyday, to see you in person again and salute you. Since moreover it is not easy for me to do (that), owing to the distance between us, I greet you through this small letter, praying the best for you. Apollonous your (my) sister wanted (you) [to have a scruple] about something (someone)... Apollonous asks you [to bring] .... that the tackle of the rower .... up to now neither [.... nor....]”.

**COMMENTARY:**

1- *Ἡρακλείδης* This name was very common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods see *e.g.* *P. Eleph.* 001. 1. 2 (Eleph.; 311-300 BC); *P. Graux.* II. 9. 2 (Phil.; AD 33); *P. Bacch.* 001. 1. 1 (Bacchias; AD 116); *P. Freib.* II. 9. 2 (Sokn. Nesos; AD 138-161); *P. Leeds. Mus.* 001. 8. 7 (Arsnoite; II cent. AD); *P. P. Bas.* 001. 16. 8 v. (?; AD 200-250); *P. Parg. Varcl.* II. 18. 1 (Thead.; AD 254-68).

- *Ἐρ . . δω . ωι* The rest of this line, which bears the name of the recipient of the letter, seems to be peeled. The name begins with **E** and doubtful **p** or **ι**. After that there is a peeled space bears ± 2 letters, followed by **λω** or **δω**. Thereafter another peeled space bears about one letter. Then the ending **-ωι**.

Regarding F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, in my opinion, the nearest similar name may be *Ἐρμόδαρος*, which occurs elsewhere in the papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods, see *e.g.* *P. Rein.* II. 125. 7 (Hermonthis; 148-137 BC); *P. Tor. Choach.* 001. 10. 16 (Thebes; 126 BC); *P. Oxy.* VI. 898. 1 (Oxy.; 128 AD); *P. Brook.* 001. 55.

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1 (Eleph.; 178-81 AD); *O. Ashm. 001. 33. 1* (Thebes; AD 131); *O. Ont. Mus. II. 98. 1* (Thebes; AD 103).

2- ἀδελφῶι Regarding the family terms “brother” and “sister”, they are often employed to express the friendship and equality of the correspondents, whether or not they are actually family members. (See John L. White, “*The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition Third Century BC to Third Century AD*”, Semeia, An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism, XXII, “Studies in Ancient Letter writing”, Chicago, 1981, p. 93).

1-2 For the commentary of the basic type of the opening phrase in the Greek letter, which is expressed by the formula: ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν, see *Pap. III. p. 52*.

In familiar letters there was a tendency of giving expression to the friendship existing between the writer and his correspondent by addition of appropriate words to the salutation. The same tendency may be noticed in the letters of officials who were apparently on familiar terms. Thus the simple formula: A - to B - χαίρειν was not infrequently expanded in the following manner:

#### *A – to B –*

τῷ πατρὶ (μητρὶ κτλ.) χαίρειν.	III BC – III AD
πολλὰ χαίρειν.	II BC – III AD
πλεῖστα χαίρειν	I BC – III AD
τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.	I AD – III AD
τῷ φιλτάτῳ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.	I AD – III AD
τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν.	I AD – III AD
τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.	I AD – III AD
τῷ ἰδίῳ χαίρειν.	I AD – III AD
τῷ κυρίῳ χαίρειν.	I AD – III AD

Note that all these forms do not occur with the same frequency (see F. X. J. Exler, “*The form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri*”, A study in Greek Epistolography, Diss. Cath. Univ. of America, Washington 1923, p. 23 ff.).

3- θέλω, νῆ τοὺς θεοῦς, "by the gods" The expression νῆ τοὺς θεοῦς is an oath formula. It is often used in the familiar language to underline a relationship of deference displayed by the writer towards the recipient of the letter (see M. Naldini, "*Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere Private nei Papiri dei Secoli II-IV*", Firenze, 1968, p.259, n. 20; H. Koskeniemi, "*Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des Griechischen Briefs bis 400 n. Chr.*", Helsinki, 1956, p.130). In this case the fact that it stands immediately after the greeting may suggest a general exclamatory formula void of an expressed concern for the recipient's welfare. It is closer to other oath formulae like: νῆ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, cf. *SB. XVIII. 13946. 3* (Herm. III/IV AD). Or νῆ τὴν σὴν ὑγίαν (*l. ὑγιείαν*), cf. *SB X 10278. 8-9* (Apollono- polite Heptakomias; AD 98- 138). Or νῆ τὴν σὴν τύχην, cf. *P. Oxy. I. 33. col. iv. 13* (II cent. AD). For other examples see (G. Ghedini, "*Lettere Cristiane dai Papiri Greci del III e IV Secolo*", Milano, 1923, p. 233-4; W. Döllstädt, "*Griechische Papyrusprivatbriefe in Gebildeter Sparke aus den Ersten vier Jahrhunderten nach Christus*", Borna-Leibzig, 1934, p. 66). None of these examples, however, is at the beginning of the letter.

The oath formula νῆ τοὺς θεοῦς was used less frequently in the papyri and ostraka from the second century BC to the third century AD, cf. e.g. *UPZ I. 62. 29* (Memphis; 161 BC?), ἐγὼ γὰρ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀγωνίω; *O.Bodl. I. 273. 3* (Theb; 150 - 139 BC), νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλῆ καὶ τοὺς συννάους θεοὺς; *BGU. III. 884. 3, 11* (Arsnome; AD 76), νῆ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς; *P. Lond. III. 897. ii. 11* (Alex; AD 84), κέκρικα γὰρ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπιμένειν; *P. Mert. I. 28. 17* (?; III AD), νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας ἠθελὸν σοὶ τι πέμψαι.

3-4- κατ' ὄψιν This expression, which means "in person", is fairly common in similar contexts in private letters, cf. e.g. *P. Wisc. II. 73. 15* (Oxy. nome; II AD), περὶ τούτου οὐδὲν τετέλεσται. τὴν γὰρ ἀτιμίαν Θέων σοι κατ' ὄψιν λαλήσει. With regard to the private letters, we can see the usage of this expression with the ἀσπάσασθαι wish, in the initial greeting, cf. e.g. *P. Wisc. II. 71. 10.*

(Karanis; II AD), ἐδύνου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀ[ναβῆναι] πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖ[ς.....] λογήσομεν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχ[ει ἡδέως] κατ' ὄψιν σε ἀσπάσασθαι.

4- ἐκάστης ἡμ[έρας] Although the traces are very weak, the restoration is possible. The expression ἐκάστης ἡμέρας may be a rhetorical exaggeration. It is used here instead of the more common one καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, which was used more frequently in the private letters. It is used here in genitive within which without the preposition κατὰ, but it gives the same meaning. The expression ἐκάστης ἡμέρας without the preposition κατὰ occurs elsewhere in the private letters, cf. e.g. *P. Oxy. LV. 3809. 6-7* (Oxy.; II/III AD), καὶ [τὸ] προσκ[ύ]νημά σου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶ.

- ὁρῶ This form would be a mistake for the infinitive form ὁρᾶν, depending on verb θέλω. Although this verb was used more frequently in the papyri, it is the first time that we meet this interchange between the present tense and the infinitive mood.

5- καὶ ἀσπάζομαι The conjunction καὶ shows that the form ἀσπάζομαι should be a mistake for the infinitive form ἀσπάζεσθαι as well as the verb ὁρῶ (cf. line 4 and its note). In fact the infinitive mood of this verb was used very rarely in the papyri. For this reason, perhaps the scribe falls in this mistake. For the occurrences of the infinitive mood of this verb in the papyri, see e.g. *P. Brem. 001. 62. 5* (Herm. Magna; II AD), κύριε [μο]υ, ἀσπάζεσθαι σε; *P. Mich. III. 214. 16* (Phil.; AD 296), εὐχεται καθ' ἡμέραν βουλομένη σε ἀσπάζε[σ]θαι μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς σου.

For the commentary of the ἀσπάσασθαι wish, see *Pap. III. pp. 30-1*.

- τοῦτο δ' ἐπεὶ This structure does not appear in the papyri. We find the more famous one ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο, cf. e.g. *P. Giss. 001. 66. 7* (Hept; AD 113-119), ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐ[μοὶ] ἐποίησεν; *P. Fay. 001. 21. 15*

(Thead; AD 134), ἐπ<ε>ὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτό τινες ἐμέμψαντο ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ βιβλία προσφέροντες οἱ]ς ὀφείλουσιν.

6- οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἐστὶ μοι ποιεῖν This expression does not appear in the papyri before. The adverb εὐχερῶς was used infrequently in the papyri. It is noticeable that we find this adverb used with an infinitive verb and the negative article μή cf. *Chr. Mitt.* 001. 18. 24 (Pathyris; 116-111 BC), μή εὐχερῶς δύνασθαι ἐπιβαλεῖν. We find also only one example join between the negative article οὐ, verb to be and the neuter adjective εὐχερὲς, cf. *P. Mich.* XV. 752. 33-34 (Ars. nome?; II AD), οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχερὲς παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τ[ὰ ἀρεσ] τὰ δοῦνα δι-  
α τὸν σκυλμόν. We are here about a new expression occurs in the private letters, which means (it is not easy for me to do).

7- [ἡμ]ῶν Although the traces are very weak and wiped, we can restore [ἡμ]ῶν here, because of the mention of μεταξὺ. This is because the phrase μεταξὺ ἡμῶν occurs elsewhere in the papyri. It is noticeable that the clause μεταξὺ ἡμῶν was used plenty in the Byzantine period from the fourth century till the seventh century AD. There is no appearance for this clause in the Roman period, especially in the second century AD, except in *P. Oxy.* II. 237. iv. 6 (AD 186); *VIII.* 1117. 3 (AD 178); *SB.* VIII. 9905. 11 (AD 171).

- διάστημα This word occurs somewhat in the papyri of the Roman period, see e.g. *P. Brem.* 001. 15. 30 (Herm; II AD), δύο γὰρ

ἡμερῶν ἔστι τὸ διάστημα; *P. Giss.* 001. 40. ii. 5 (Hept; AD 215), τὸ τοῦ χρ[ό]νου διάστημα.

7-8- διὰ τὸ μεταξὺ [ἡμ]ῶν διάστημα. "because of the distance between us" Over again we have here another recent expression occurs in the private letters.

The preposition διὰ is used here with accusative (τὸ διάστημα) to express cause. The word μεταξὺ is used here as a preposition with genitive

(ἡμῶν). The only appearance for διάστημα and μεταξύ was in Epicurus *Ep. II*. P. 37, διάστημα μεταξύ κόσμων (cf. *L/S*).

8- ἐπ[ι]στολιδίου (*l. ἐπιστολιδίου*) The form ἐπιστολείδιον occurs in some documents of the Roman period, see e.g. *P. Oxy. XXXIII*. 2681. 3 (Oxy; III AD), τὸ ἐπιστολείδιον (*l. ἐπιστολίδιον*) δι' Ἐλευθέρου ἔπεμψα.

The word ἐπιστολίδιον is equal to ἐπιστόλιον, which means (note or a small letter). It is a diminutive of the more common ἐπιστολή. It was used in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods from the first century BC, cf. e.g. *SB. VI*. 9564. 4 (I BC); *P. Bad. IV*. 83. ii. 17 (Hibeh; AD 200); *P. Oxy. XIV*. 1656. 4 (Oxy. III AD). The confusion of εἰ and ι, found already in some classical dialects, is paralleled throughout Koine Greek. There is no need to attribute the frequent representation of etymologically short ι by εἰ at this period to bilingual interference, as Mayser did for the second century BC. With the loss of quantitative distinction, there was no longer any question of short or long (*i*) in pronunciation, but only of an (*i*) sound indifferent in length (cf. F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods", vol. 1, Phonology, Milano, 1975, p. 191). For more about this interchange, see C. D. Buck, "The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary", Chicago, London, 1955, p. 28-29; A. Thumb, "Die Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der KOINH", Strassburg, 1901, p. 138).

8-9- διὰ τοῦ ἐπ[ι]στολιδίου σε ἀσπάζομαι "through (this) small letter, I salute you". This is another recent expression occurs in the private letters.

9-10- εὐχόμενος περὶ σου τὰ κάλλιστα "praying for what is best in your behalf". This formula occurs previously in *P. Mich. III*. 212. 5 (?; II/III AD), καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά [σο]υ [π]ριῶ παρὰ τοῖς πατράοις ἡμῶν θεοῖς εὐχόμενος περὶ σου τὰ κάλλιστα.



For the unusual formula εὐχόμενος κτλ...: cf. *P. Oxy. XII. 1586. 7* (Oxy; early III AD), εὐχόμενός σοι τὰ κάλλιστα; cf. also *PSI. XIII. 1332. 6; XIV. 1415. 9 v.; 1437. 6* (Oxy. II/III AD); *P. Bas. 001. 16. 3 v.* (?; AD 200-250); *P. Oxy. Hels. 001. 50. 3* (Oxy. III AD); *P. Tebt. II. 418. 6* (Tebt; III AD), εὐχόμενός σοι τὰ ἐν βίῳ κάλ-

λιστα ὑπαρχθήσεσθαι; and cf. *P. Harr. I. 102. 5* (?; I AD ?), εὐχομενός σου τῇ συμβίῳ κάλλιστα.

From the previous examples we can say that the formula εὐχόμενος τὰ κάλλιστα occurs as early as the first century AD (cf. *P. Harr. I. 102*) and it occurs also in the second and third centuries AD. This suggests that our papyrus may be written in the first or the second century AD. Since the formula occurs about five times in Oxyrhynchus, one in Tebtunis and three in unknown provenance, thereby we can conclude that our document may be written in Oxyrhynchus (?).

11- 'Απολλωνοῦς (= 'Απλουνοῦς, 'Απλωνοῦς, genitive 'Απολλωνοῦτος, cf. *P/N. 42*). The name 'Απολλωνοῦς (feminine) begins to appear in the papyri in the beginning of the Roman period, cf. e.g. *P. Col. VIII. 212. 1* (?; AD 49); *P. Oxy. Hels. 001. 29. 1, 6, 20, 23, 35, 46* (Oxy. AD 54); *P. Mich. VIII. 464. 1* (Karanis; AD 99); *PSI. VII. 772. 1* (Oxy; I/II AD).

- ἡ ἀδελφή The article ἡ represents a demonstrative or personal pronoun (see W. W. Goodwin, "*Greek Grammar*", London, 1977, p. 204-5). So, this line may bear the name of the sister of the sender "*Apollonous my sister*" or the sister of the addressee "*Apollonous your sister*", who may be the wife of the sender at the same time.

11-12 τινί ποτε At the beginning of line 12 we can see a head of π and ο. Then we can read τε. So the word should be ποτε. This is because the end of line 11 bears the word τινί, cf. e.g. *P. Col. VIII. 209. 12-17* (Thead.; 3 AD), εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (ἔτος) κατασπορᾶς, τινί ποτε τῶν λόγων.

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12-13- ἐνθυμ[εῖσθαι] ἠθέλη[σε After ποτέ we can read ἐνθυμ-. Then there is a lacuna bears  $\pm 6$  letters. After that there is a word begins with ἠθέλη. Thereafter the papyrus is cut off.

I think that the last word in this line may be the Aorist verb ἠθέλη[σε, which agrees with Ἀπολλωνοῦς the subject of the sentence (line 11). The ending of this verb may be lost at the beginning of line 13, which also bears  $\pm 19$  letters. Thereby the infinitive ἐνθυμ[εῖσθαι] could suit the lacuna after verb ἠθέλη[σε.

The infinitive verb ἐνθυμεῖσθαι is derived from verb ἐνθυμίζομαι. It is a later form of verb ἐνθυμέω, which means “*desire, covet*”. The infinitive form ἐνθυμεῖσθαι means “*to take to heart or to have a scruple of a thing or a person*”. This verb requires dative (cf. τινί line 11).

So lines 11-13 may run as follows: Ἀπολλωνοῦς ἡ ἀδελφή τινί ποτε ἐνθυμ[εῖσθαι] ἠθέλη[σε  $\pm 19$  letters].

### **SIDEWAYS IN THE LEFT MARGIN**

1-3- It very difficult to explain these three lines, since the papyrus is cut off and we can not guess how many letters are lost.

1- Ἐρωτᾷ σε Ἀπολλωνοῦς ἀγ.[ This line bears a request of Apollonous to the addressee. The purpose of the request is not understood, because the papyrus is cut off and it bears the rest of the verb, which begins with α and doubtful π or γ and then an illegible letter. Perhaps the verb is ἀγγέλλειν in infinitive mood, that means “Apollonous asks you to bring ...”.

2- ὅτι ἐνδέα τοῦ ὑπηρετήσαντος[ The reading of this line is very clear. The reason of the request appears here by ὅτι. The word ἐνδέα is difficult to be understood, because there is no meaning for this word. There are two possibilities for this word:

(a) Perhaps the scribe intends the word ἐνδεία, which means “*lack, need*”. This is by the interchanging between εἰ and ι. For this interchanging,

which was very frequent throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods (see F. T. Gignac, *"A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods"*, vol. 1, Phonology, Milano, 1975, pp. 189-191).

(b) He may intend the word ἔντεα, τᾶ, which means "tackle". This is by the very frequent interchanging between δ and τ throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods in all phonetic conditions, including initially and medially, before and after vowels and consonants alike (see F. T. Gignac, *"op. cit."*, pp. 80-83).

I prefer the second possibility with regard to the following word τοῦ ὑπηρετήσαντος. This is because τοῦ ὑπηρετήσαντος means "do service on board ship as a rower". So the meaning of this line may run as follows: "because the tackle of the rower".

- τοῦ ὑπηρετήσαντος This Aorist Participle Active derives from verb ὑπηρετέω, which means "do service on board ship as a rower". The noun of this verb is ὑπηρέτης, which derives from the rower and from his activity. So, without doubt, the etymology of the word confirms this hypothesis. Richardson believes that the word ὑπηρέτης came into use as soon as the number of ἐρέται reached a point when it became necessary to have on board a controller, in other words a *κελευστής*. All the oarsmen now became "under-rowers" in respect of this coxswain, taking their time, orders, etc., without question from him. There would be no difference in rank among the oarsmen themselves: an ἐρέτης only became ὑπηρέτης when he is considered in his relation to the *κελευστής*. Thus there came into being two words for the same person or functionary, ἐρέτης and ὑπηρέτης. The existence of synonyms is notoriously a state of unstable equilibrium in language. The next step is not hard to infer: ὑπηρέτης began to acquire a figurative sense, to symbolize immediate and inevitable response to orders. We do not know the social aspect of these matters. It is probably varied from time to time (see L. J. D. Richardson, "ὑπηρέτης", «C1. Qu.» 37, 1943, pp. 55- 61; cf. p. 58). For the origin of this word, see E. Schwyzer, *"Griechische Grammatik"*, vol. II, München, 1950, p. 524, s.v. ὑπηρέτης. For more information about the term ὑπηρέτης, especially

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in the Roman period, see Silvia Strassi, “*Le Funzione degli ὑπηρεταί nell’Egitto Greco e Romano*”, Heidelberg, 1996. p. 16 ff.; H. Kupiszewski & J. Modrzejewski, “*ὑπηρεταί*”, JJP. 11-12, (1957-8), pp. 141-166.

3- The beginning of this line is effaced. There are traces to  $\pm 3$  letters. Then we can read εἰα. After that we read η. Perhaps this line begins with a word ending in εἰα, or all of these letters are a rest of a word from the previous line and the letter η is an article to another word in a lost part.

- μέχρι τούτου “*up to now or up to this time*”. This expression was used very frequent in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The early attestation of this expression was in *S.B. I. 5761. 8* (Ars.; AD 91-6), and from this time it began to appear frequently, see *e.g. P. Mich. IX. 534. 2* (Karanis; AD 156), μηδέπω παραγενομένου μέχρι τούτου ἴν’ ᾧ ὑπὸ σοῦ εὐεργετημένος. διευτύχει; 527. 15 (Karanis; 186-8), ἐπ[ειδ]ὴ μ[έ]χρι τούτου οὐ[δέ]π[ω] [π]αρέστη; *P. Tebt. II. 333. 10* (Tebt.; AD 216),

ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς γ’ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς πρὸς κυνη γίαν λαγοῶν μέχρι τούτ[ο]υ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθον.

- οὔτε τε [ At the end of this line we can read οὐτετ and then the papyrus is cut off. I think that οὔτε is right here. οὔτε is an compound adverb (οὐ + τε), joins negative clauses, as τε joins positive, but rare in the simple sense *and not*. It is mostly repeated, οὔτε ... οὔτε ..., *neither...nor...*, Latin *neque...neque...*. It is used to divide up a general negation into two or more parts (see *L/S*).

I think that there is another οὔτε in the lost part of the papyrus. This is because it is used repeated frequently in the papyri documents throughout Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, cf. *e.g. P. Col. III. 56. 2* (Phil.; 250 BC), οὔτ[ε] σι]τομετρίαν οὔτε ὀψώνιον: “Neither food payment nor wages”; *P. Mich. VIII. 465. 10* (Karanis; AD 108),

ὁσάκι γὰρ ἐὰν μνησ[θῶ ὑμῶν] οὔτε ἐσθίω οὔτε πίνω

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ἀλλὰ κλαίω: “For each time whenever I remind myself [of you], neither do I eat, nor do I drink, but I cry”. Within one of the two clauses distinguished by οὔτε a subordinate part may be introduced by οὔδε (see *L/S*), cf. e.g. *P. Tebt. III/1. 816. 27* (Memphis; 192 BC), καὶ μὴ ἐπέλθ[ω] ἐπ’ αὐτήν [ἡ] ἀγχιστεύουσα οὔτε ἐφ’ οὐ ὑμᾶς οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγορακότας [ο]ὔδ’ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παρευρέσει ἡτινιοῦν.

V

ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS OF WHEAT



P. Cairo Mus. C. G. 10649 Inv. S. R. 1624  
8 x 8 cm.

Prov. Unknown  
II/III AD

Fragment of a light brown papyrus sheet of moderate quality consists of one column. There are some traces of letters in the right hand side at the end of lines 8 to 10, which may guide us that there is another column. The upper part is missing, it bears the title of the document. At the left and bottom there are margins of approximately 1 cm. The writing on the *recto* runs along the fibers. The *verso* is blank.

The text is written in a bold, small-sized, sloping and cursive. Letters are often compressed and difficult to be deciphered. There are few wormholes which, do not impede the reading. On palaeography grounds the hand writing suggests a date to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century AD. The writing is comparable to that of *P. Warren. 001. 5* (AD 154) = *SB. V. 7534* (cf. E. Boswinkel & P. J. Sijpesteijn "*Greek Papyri, Ostraka and Mummy Labels*", Amsterdam, 1968, p. 21).

The provenance of our papyrus is unknown. But the appearance of Διόσκορος κωμογρ(αμματεύς?) (line 7) in Karanis "*Kôm Ushîm*", and Δεῖλος Ἰσίωνος (line 11) in Theadelphia "*Harîl*" may suggest that a village in Fayûm, or near it, is a possible place where the document was written.

The papyrus contains 12 lines of a list of names of persons paying certain amounts of wheat as we may deduce from the appearance of the sign , which read as (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι). The acronym of the *artaba* appears under the shape  since the first century BC. cf. e.g. *P. Merton. I. 6. 1* (77 BC) and no satisfactory explanation has been given to our information till now (see A. Blanchard, "*Sigles et Abbreviations dans les Papyrus Documentaires Grecs*", *Recherches de Paleographie*, (BICS, suppl. 30), London, 1974, p. 34-38 and 44).







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The *artaba* is a unit of measure. It is used for grains and other produces. The ἀρτάβαι of different capacities are attested, ranging from 24 to 42 *choinikes*. The standard ἀρτάβα of tax collection appears to have contained 40 *choinikes*, as a quantity equal to some 43 litres. The standard *artaba* of Roman Egypt was probably 38.8 litres. An *artaba* of milled wheat weights approximately 30.2 kilograms. Some scholars believe that the standard Ptolemaic *artaba* was about 30 per cent larger (see Naphtali Lewis, "Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule", Oxford, 1983, p. 210; Alan Bowman, "Egypt after the Pharaohs", 332 BC – AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, London, 1986, p.237; D. W. Rathbone, "The Weights and Measurements of Egyptian Grains", ZPE, 53, (1983), p. 265-275).

The common features are that each entry has: a proper name, in the *nominative* case, followed by: his occupation (cf. lines 4, 5, 7), or father's name (*patronymic*), in the *genitive* case (cf. lines 10, 11), or the wife (cf. line 6). In two cases the list has the entry "the same man through *Hracleides*" (cf. lines 3, 9). All of them are closed with an amount of πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι.

The purpose of this list can no longer be ascertained. It is possible that the list was drawn up for taxation purposes, but the nature of tax is not said in the surviving document.

The scribe has used the following signs, numerical signs, and abbreviations in the document:

 for (πυροῦ),  for (ἀρτάβαι), κζγκδ / for (27 1/3 1/24),  for (one half),  for (one quarter), 9 for (90). For the abbreviations: the scribe wrote most of them with a horizontal stroke as:  for πρύτ(ανις) (line 4), λινοπλυτ for λινοπλυτ(ης) (line 5),  for αὐ(τός), γυ for γυ(νή) (line 6), ἀρχι (uncertain) (lines 8, 12). There is an abbreviation by writing the last letter above the line as, κω<sup>μ</sup> (uncertain) (line 7).

**RECTO**

→	[            ] α . [   ] ...	
	[±2]ωκο(ς) πραγ(ματευτής ?) Λουσίου	ⲧ [
	ὁ]αὐτὸς διὰ Ἑρακλείδου	. [ ] /
	N]εμεισιανὸς πρύτ(ανις)	ⲧ κζγ / κδ / ?
5	Πλουτάμμων λινοπλυτ(ής)	λ ς /
	Σαβεῖνος αὐ(τὸς) καὶ γυνή	ⲧ ρξε ς
	Διέσκορος ὁ καὶ Σύρος κωμ(?)	. κβ ς
	Σύρος ἀρχι(?)	ⲧ μη
	ὁ αὐτὸς διὰ Ἑρακλείδου	ⲧ ιβ ς
10	Δ]ωσᾶς Πασίωνος	ⲧ μη ς
	Δεῖος Ἰσίωνος	ⲧ 4 δγ / ?
	Αφροδίσιος ἀρχι(?)	ⲧ 4 αδ /

**CORRECTIONS:**

Line 7- / Διέσκορος

**TRANSLATION:**

**RECTO**

1	[ ] a [ ] ...	[ ] artabas of wheat
	[ ]okos the agent (?) of Lousius	[. artabas of wheat]
	The same person through Hraclides	27 1/3 1/24 art. of wheat
	Nemesianus the president	
5	Ploutammon the flax-washer	30 1/2 art. of wheat
	Sabinus himself and his wife	165 1/2 art. of wheat
	Dioskoros also called Syrus com(?)	22 1/2 art. of wheat
	Syrus archi(?)	48 art. of wheat
	The same person through Hraclides	12 1/2 art. of wheat



10	Dosas (son of) Pasion	48 ½ art. of wheat
	Dius (son of) Ision	94 1/3 art. of wheat
	Aphrodisios archi(?)	91 ¼ art. of wheat

### COMMENTARY:

1- The beginning of this line is cut off. The rest of the line is very mutilated and very difficult to be read. There are traces for some letters [ $\pm$  7 letters] we can read only  $\alpha$ . In fact I cannot explain this line.

2- [ $\pm$ 2]  $\omega\kappa\omicron(\varsigma \text{ ?})$   $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma \text{ ?})$  Λουσίου The beginning of this line is cut off. It bears [ $\pm$  2 letters]. Then hardly we can read  $\omega\kappa\omicron$ . It may be  $-\omega\kappa\omicron(\varsigma)$ . Names ending in  $-\omega\kappa\omicron(\varsigma)$  are very rare, such as: Κώκος, Σώκος and Φώκος. There are other names as: Σάδωκος, Ἰωσάδωκος and Εὐέδωκος (cf. F. Dornseiff & B. Hansen, "Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen", Berlin, 1957. s.v.  $-\omega\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ). I think that the lacuna does not bear more than two letters. Therefore one of the first three examples could suit the traces.

After that we can read  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma( )$ , which is abbreviated with a horizontal stroke above the letter  $\gamma$ . It is followed by a name in genitive case. The abbreviated word  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma( )$  may refer to many important words (see *L/S*, s.v.  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma-$ ). We can guess here the word  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$ , which means "agent, business representative" (= Lat. *actor*). The abbreviation  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma( )$  for  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$  was used frequently in the papyri of the Roman period, cf. e.g. *SB. XVI. 12643 = P. Diog. 001. 37. 2* (Ars.; AD 202-3),  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$  Τρύφωνο[ $\varsigma$   $\pi\rho\alpha$ ]  $\gamma(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  Ἀμμωναρίω; *P. Oxy. XII. 1514. 1* (Oxy.; AD 274-80),  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$  Νεμεσάμμωνος Μαξίμω  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma(\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\grave{\eta})$  χα(ίρειν).

If our suggestion is correct, the beginning of this line bears the name of the agent of Lousius, cf. *P. Wisc. II. 80. 7-11* (Bacchias; AD 114),  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$  τὸν γνώμονα ἐπακολουθοῦντος Κολλούθου)  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  Κλαυδίου Ηρακλείδου) λιμ<ε>νάρχου).

- Λουσίου The name Λούσιος (fem. Λουσία) appears very rarely in the papyri and ostraca of the Roman and Byzantine periods cf. *P. Grenf. II.* 46a. 1 (Arsinoite; AD 139), Λούσιος Σπάρσος; *SB. XII.* 11204. 2 (II/ III AD), Πετετρίφου Λουσί(ου); *O. Bodl. II.* 1808. 2 (Thebes; II/ III AD), Λούσιος καὶ Ὀριώνος Ἀράχθιος.

Regarding our document, the names of persons are followed by their employments or patronymics, but in this case, if our suggestion is correct, there is a name of an agent precedes a person whose name is Lousius.

3- ὁ] αὐτός διὰ Ἡρακλείδου “*the same (person) through Hraclides*”. Although the beginning of this line is cut off [ $\pm 2$ ], it seems likely that we should extend ὁ] αὐτός. This is because the expression (ὁ αὐτός διὰ someone) was used frequently in accounts of payments and receipts of the Roman period, cf. e.g. *SB. X.* 10247. 5-6 (Oxy.; AD 55), ὁ αὐτός διὰ Ἀπολ(λωνίου) (δραχμάς) ἕξ; *P. Mich. VI.* 398. 14 (Karanis; AD 207), ἰα ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτός διὰ Ἰουλίου Εὐδᾶπυροῦ (ἀρτάβην) μίαν, (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) α̅. It was used to indicate that “*the same man (pays) through (someone)*”, i.e. it refers to that the preceded person (pays) through this man. Indeed there is no information in our document about this person, who occurs again in line 9.

For the occurrences of the name Ἡρακλείδης in the papyri, see *Pap. IV.* p. 75.

4- Ν]εμεσιανός Although the beginning of this line is cut off [ $\pm 1$  letter], it seems likely that we should extend Ν]εμεσιανός, cf. *PSI. VIII.* 882. 12-13 (Oxy ?; AD 330), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ν]εμεσιανός Σαραπάμ[μωνος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ γράμ(ματα) μὴ εἰδότης).

The Roman name Νεμεσιανός (= Νεμαισιανός) was common in the documents of the second and third centuries in the Roman period, see e.g. *BGU. XIII.* 2244rp, 11 (Alex; AD 186); *P. Oxy. XII.* 1469. v. 23 (Oxy; AD 298); *StudPal. V.* 119. r. Fr4. 1 (Herm. Magna; AD 266-7).

- πρύτ(ανις) The word πρύτ- must be an abbreviation to πρύτ(ανις) cf. *P. Oxy. LIV. 3758. v. 28* (Oxy.; AD 325), Λευκάδιος πρύτ(ανις).

The *Prytanis* (president of the town council) represents the Council of the cities in relations with the central administration. He was sometimes one of the complementary epithets (see, N. Hohlwein, "*L' Égypte Romaine*", Bruxelles, 1912, p. 382).

The term of his service was one year or less, starts in *Thoth 1*. The area of his responsibility was in the *Boulê*, as a presiding and executive officer. Although not technically either a λειτουργία or an ἀρχή, this office frequently had to be filled by compulsion (see, N. Lewis, "*the Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt*", *Papyrologica Florentina*, XXVIII, Firenze, 1997, p. 44).

Both the πρύτανις and προπολιτευόμενος refer to the function of the president of the town council. The πρύτανις is being the ancient title (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.). The προπολιτευόμενος is the new one (4<sup>th</sup> cent.). The change in nomenclature reflects a new organization (see P. W. Pestman, "*The New Papyrological Primer*", Leiden, 1994, p. 265 n. 3-4).

- κζγ / κδ / The last numerical sign of the amount seems to be ϙ or δ. I think that it is difficult to be ο because it will be 1/70 of the artab. Therefore it may be δ = 1/24 of the artab. Then the amount is 27 1/3 1/24.

5- Πλουτάμμων This name, if I am right, began to appear in the papyri from the second century, cf. *P. Harr. I. 66. 3* (Oxy.; AD 155), [παρὰ Αὐρ]ηλίων 'Ηρα[κλείδου καὶ] Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Πλουτάμμωνος; *P. Köln. II. 85. 11* (?; AD 175), 'Ερμεῖνος ὁ καὶ Πλουτάμμων. It appears elsewhere in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, see e.g. *P. Ups. Frid. 001. 6. 20* (Oxy.; AD 273), Αὐρήλιος Πλουτάμμων; *P. Sakaon. 001. 59. 17* (Thead.; AD 305), Αὐρήλιος Πλουτάμμων 'Ωρίωνος; *P. Mil. II. 61. 1* (?; IV AD), Πάσι-τος Πλουτάμ[μω]νος.

- λινοπλυτής (=λινοπλυστής, λινοπλοιστής) this word is a compound of (λίνο and πλύνω). Among the published papyri, we find the term λινοπλυτής (*Flax-washer, Flax-soaker*) only in three documents, dated in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. These documents don't tell us anything about the work accomplished by these craftsmen, cf. *P. Ryl. IV. 606. 13-14* (?; III AD); *640. 8* (Herm. Magna; IV AD); and *P. Vind. Tandem. 19. 15* (Herakleopolite; V/VI AD).

The term λινοπλυτής did not appear in the documents of the previous periods. But the documents of the Ptolemaic period and of the early Roman period carry the name of λινεψός (*Flax-boiler, Flax-cleaner*), cf. *SB. VI. 9220. 5* (Philadelphia; 254-3 BC); *P. Cair. Zenon. III. 59304. 7* (Philadelphia; 250 BC); *P. Hamb. II. 175. 2* (Oxy.; 241 BC); *P. RainCent. 001. 51. 2* (Phthemphouth; I AD). It seems to be that the two terms are equivalent. This means that the term λινεψός was used in the Ptolemaic Period and λινοπλυτής in the Roman period. The composition of the term (λίνο and πλύνω) according to the sources, which are dated in the Pharaonic and Roman periods, give us the exceptional slowness of the technical evolution in the field of the work of the flax. These sources can be used as a basis to our reasoning (see, E. Wipszycka, "*L'Industrie Textile dans l'Égypte Romaine*", Wrocław-Warszawa-Krakow, 1965, p. 23).


The λινοπλυτής is one of the craftsmen who boil the flax, in large metal or clay vessels, in water added with oil and niter, which is form a kind of soapy substance. Then, they rinse the flax in the current water to make the chemical substance traces disappear. Finally, they wring the washed flax by rolling up its skeins around posts. Then they expose them in the sun, which analyzes the stains and the greasy substances. Probably, their work stops there. It is doubtful that they deal with the following steps of the transformation of the flax (see, E. Wipszycka, "*ibid.*", p. 23).

It is not excluded that another operation is existing; a Coptic monk letter tells us about another operation with a phase much more advanced. The operation by which one gives back white spun, which is already made; (cf. H. E. Winlock, W. E. Crum, "*The Monastery of Epiphanius*", I. New York. 1926, p. 68).

The Roman writer Pliny gives us circumstantial description for the λιβοπλυτής, who rets the flax by soaking it in the water for some days to draw its fibers out. Pliny mentioned that he ties the sticks of the flax in small bundles after the harvest. Then he suspends them, the roots are raised up, in the sun for one day to become dry. Afterthat for five days, the roots are facing each other, so that the seeds fall into the middle. He drowns the sticks of the flax in the water after the harvest season. Thereafter he leaves them in the hotness of the sun and puts a heavy thing upon them so as to not to float on the surface, because they are floating quickly. Once the external peel is separated, it means that the operation of soaking is completed. Then he dries again the sticks in the sun, their tips are lower as they were before. After the sticks dry well, he crushes them on a stone by the hammer of fibers (see, Pliny, "*Natural History*", Translated by H. Rackham & Others, The Loeb Classical Library, London 1938-1962. XIX. P. 16-18).

Sonnini also gives us an interesting description for this operation, which was exercised at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: One arranges the skeins of the thread in a large boiler, assembled in masonry: over which, one puts a layer of natron; then one pours cold water in enough big quantity to wash the thread. Thus he lets them for three days. From whose tip one withdraws the thread, and one suspends it with posts placed above the boiler. When it drains one lights fire under the boiler, then he boils the water, in which the thread remains with the natron, following the process of adding the lime to it. One soaks the thread and washes it repeatedly while agitating it in this hot detergent without letting it. Then he carries it on a field in the Nile, in which one washes it and one beats it. Then one spreads it to make it dry. When the skeins are well dry, one washes them again in the little milk which is ensued of cheeses, and that in Arabic is named mesch (see, Ch. Sonnini, "*Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypt*", vol. I. Paris. 1799, p. 358 ff.).

It is not excluded that, in spite of the big chronological gap, this description is in its large is also valid to the flax for the period which interests us.

- The sign , a sinous curve, is equivalent to (ἥμισυ) (= "one half") (see A. Blanchard, *op. cit.*, p. 54").

6- Σαβεῖνος (fem. Σαβεῖνα) This Roman name was very common in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods see e.g. *P. Amh. II.* 121. 2 (Ars.; AD 159-60/182-3); *P. Dubl. 001.* 11. Fr. 1. 9 (Ars.; AD 161-92); *P. Graux. II.* 12. 3 (Ars.; II/III AD); *P. Cair. Isid.* 97. 17 (Karanis; AD 308).

- αὐ(τός) καὶ γυ(νή) The scribe had written αὐ abbreviated with a horizontal stroke. It would be an abbreviation to αὐ(τός), which means "himself". After that he has written καὶ. Then we can read γυ, which is also abbreviated with a horizontal stroke, it might be an abbreviation to γυ(νή) cf. *P. Tebt. III* 2. 880. fr.1. 14 (Tebt.; 181-0/157-6 BC), Μύστ[τα γυ(νή)]: "the wife Musta"; *P. Ryl. II.* 188. 7 Ars.; II AD): 'Ονησοῦς 'Ονησίμου γυ(νή) Λουκ(ίου).

7- Διέσκορος (l. Διόσκορος) This form occurs elsewhere in *P. Abbin 001.* 86 = *P. Lond. II.* 427. v. 2 (?; AD 259), λόγος Διεσκόρου. The interchanging of ο with ε before ς or ν, is found elsewhere in Greek but not as frequently as in the papyri see F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods", vol. 1, Phonology, Milano, 1975, pp. 289-92.

The name Διόσκορος seems to be very common in the papyri of the Roman period see e.g. *P. OxyHels. 001.* 12. 11 (Oxy.; 99 AD), 'Απολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Εὐπορος καὶ Διόσκορος; *P. AlexGiss. 001.* 14. 4 (Tanyaithis; AD 118-9), παρὰ 'Αρπ[ο]κρατίωνος Διοσκόρου; *Stud Pal. XX.* 55. 2-3 (Heraklropolite; AD 251), διὰ Αὐρηλίου 'Ιππίου Διοσκόρου.

- Σύρος This Greek name is the translation of the Egyptian name Πεσοῦρις, which is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "p<sup>3</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>cwr". The meaning of the Egyptian name is "The Syrian" (cf. E. Lüddeckens, "Demotisches Namenbuch", band I, lief. 3, p. 158; D. J. Crawford, "Kerkeosiris an Egyptian village in the Ptolemaic Period", p. 194; F. Griffith, "Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri", p. 441). The name Σύρος was common in the papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine

periods see e.g. *P. Princ. II.* 46. 13 (Oxy.; II AD), Σύρος Διοδ(ώρου) μη(τρὸς) Διονυ(σίας); *P. Rein. II.* 112. 1 (Thead.; III AD), Σύρος Ἡρωνεῖνω τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίρειν.

- Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Σύρος The phenomenon that one person is referred to by two names is attested in Egypt from the old Kingdom until the Roman period. The nature of the relationship between the two names of the same person does not have one form. In one case we find a person has two names with the same meaning, where one is clearly the translation for the other as Πεσοῦρις also called Σύρος, where the two of them are “the Syrian” (see Pestman, *op. cit.* p. 44).

In fact we did not find in the papyri the name Dioskorus (called) also Syrus. We find in *SB. XVI.* 12989. 2 (Memphis; AD 214), [Διόσ]κορος ὁ καὶ Ξένων; and in *P. Flor. III.* 383. 36 (Antioopolis; AD 232), [Α]ὐρήλ(ιος) Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἀρίθας.

- Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Σύρος κω<sup>μ</sup> ( ) The scribe wrote κω<sup>μ</sup>, which is abbreviated by writing the letter μ above the line (for this kind of abbreviation see, E. M. Thompson, “*An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*”, Oxford 1912. p. 78). Actually it is very difficult to explain this abbreviation, because it may indicate, especially, two very famous employments, that are very common and used frequently in the papyri of the second and third centuries. They are: κωμ(άρχης) and κωμ(ογραμματοῦς). By searching in the published papyri we find two documents bear a person called Διόσκορος κωμογρ(αμματοῦς). Both of them are dated to the late second century, which is probably the date of our document. One of them is a nomination to a Liturgy. It is presented to the *strategus* of Arabia by Dioscorus the *comogrammateus* of Eleira and other villages forming part of the *toparchy* above the city of the *Phacusites*, cf. *P. Oxy. LX.* 4064. 2, 27 (Oxy; AD 15 /2 /183), Ἀμμωνί[ω]ι στρ(ατηγῷ) Ἀραβ(ίας) παρὰ Δ[ιο]σκόρου κωμογραμματοῦς Ἡλείρων καὶ ἄλ(λων) κωμῶν μέρους το(παρχίας) ὑ(πὲρ) Φακ[ου]σειτῶν πόλ(ιν). The other is a Report addressed by *Dioskoros*, village secretary of *Psenyris ano*, to the *strategos*

Apollonios, submitting to him names of persons qualified to assist the *praktōres argyrikon* (perhaps because of the massive preparations needed for an impending visit of the *prefect Longaeus Rufus* ?), cf. *P. Mich. IX. 536. 2* (Karanis up Psenyris; AD 185), 'Απολλωνίῳ στρα(τηγῶ) 'Αρσι(νοίτου) 'Ηρακλ(είδου) μερίδος παρὰ Διοσκόρου κωμογρ(αμματέως) Ψενύρεως ἄνω.

In our case, unfortunately there is no evidence about the place, in which the papyrus was written, to choose one of the two *comogrammates* in the documents above is the one who mentioned in our document. But regarding "Dios Isionos" (cf. line 11), who occurs in Theadelphia, we may guess that the second example is more accepted.

Therefore, we came back to our doubt about the abbreviation κωμ( ). Even in the papyri the abbreviation κωμ( ) was approximately equal between the κωμ(άρχης) and the κωμ(ογραμματεύς). But in the second and third centuries we note that the term κωμ(ογραμμα- τεύς) is mentioned more than κωμ(άρχης), which occurs only in *P. Oslo. III. 93. 4* (Oasis Minor; AD 212), δοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς Λευκ( ) κωμ(άρχου). For the occurrences of κωμ(ογραμματεύς) in the papyri of the second and third centuries see, *P. OxyHels. 001. 20. 8* (Oxy.; AD 138); *StudPal. XXII. 37. 14* (Soknopaiou Nesos; 184 AD); *P. Prag. II. 129. 12* (Ars.; II AD); *P. Oxy. XLIII. 3133. 20* (Oxy.; AD 239).

However the κωμάρχαι are attested in every century from the third century BC (see, H. E. L. Missler, "Der Komarch: Ein Beitrag zur Dorfverwaltung im Ptolmäischen, Römischen und Byzantinischen Ägypten", Marburg, 1970, p. 17-18). The office survives from the Ptolemaic period for a few years cf. *O. Fay. 001. 8* (Euhemeria; AD 5); then vanishes until the third century. The office of *Komarch* did not exist continuously from Ptolemaic through Roman times. The earliest attestation of the κωμάρχης in the Roman period occurs in: *P. Lond. III. 1220* (Arsinoite), which has been corrected by J. Thomas, who revised the reading and eliminates the document date (AD 202-7) and dates it to (AD 206-10). The editors read the title of the official in the first line κωμάρ<sup>χ</sup>, but from the consultation of the



original Thomas has no doubt that the correct reading is κωμογρα(μματεύς) (see J. Thomas, "The Introduction of Dekaprotōi and Comarchs into Egypt in the Third Century AD", ZPE. XIX. 1975, p. 111-119).

In the middle of the third century AD, when it apparently was reintroduced coincidentally with the abolition of village secretaries throughout Egypt. The attestation of this official dates to AD 247-248: *P. Oxy. XVII. 2123. 5*; cf. *P. Oxy. XLIV. 3178. 4-5* (Oxy.; AD 248); *SB. VI. 9408 = P. PragVarcl. NS. 3. 9* (Thead.; AD 253-256) (see D. Delia and E. Haley, "Agreement Concerning Succession to a Komarchy" *BASP. XX. 1983*, p. 39-40 and n. 3, 4).

The office of the κωμάρχης was compulsory in AD 248 based in *P. Oxy. XLIV. 3178*. His *Poros* was 1000 and 2000 dr. literacy not required cf. *P. Oxy. XLIV. 3178* (Oxy.; AD 248); *P. Got. 001. 6* (Panopolite; AD 322). The area of his responsibility is in a village. The term of his service was one-year starts in various dates cf. *P. Oxy. XXXIV. 2714* (Oxy.; AD 256); *P. Flor. I. 2* (Aphrodito; AD 297). Usually two κωμάρχει per village, but occasionally only one appears, and the fourth century provides instances of more than two. The title of κωμάρχης existed in the Ptolemaic Egypt, disappeared under the Romans, and was revived in the third century in supplantation of the office of the κωμογραμματεύς in most places (see, N. Lewis, "the Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt", *Papyrologica Florentina*, XXVIII, Firenze, 1997. s.v. κωμάρχης p. 34-35).

The κωμογραμματεύς is the most important civil servant of the village, where he plays the role of the control agent, that of representative of the central administration. This post is commonly occupied by a native and a strong probably by an inhabitant of the same village where he used to practice himself the function. He manages not only his village, but also the plains, which depend on it cf. *BGU. I. 20. 1* (Ars.; AD 141-2), παρὰ Η....[.]ου κωμογρα[μ]ματέως Φιλαγρίδ[ος] [κα]ὶ πεδίου Μελεαγρ[ί]δος μερισμός.

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One sometimes sees two villages are being under the jurisdiction of only one *κωμογραμματεύς* cf. e. g. *P. Fay.* 001. 40. 1 (Thead.; AD 162-3), παρὰ Μυσθαρίωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Θεοξενίδος [καὶ] Ἀνδρομαχίδος, and *BGU.* II. 484. 1 (Ars.; AD 201-2), παρὰ Πρωτᾶ κωμογρ(αμματέως) Θεογονίδος καὶ Κερκευσίρ εως. But it is impossible to distinguish if this situation is temporary or definitive.

The character of the *κωμογραμματεύς* is absolutely distinct from that of the other local functions. He is delegated of the imperial chancellery, represented above him, in the *τοπαρχία*, by the *τοπογραμματεύς* and, in the *νομή*, by the *βασιλικογραμματεύς*.

To the Roman period, the administration appropriated a tax ὑπὲρ φιλανθρώπου κωμογραμματεῖ: "because of the courtesy to the secretary", whose product was pouring like a tip to the *κωμογραμματεύς*, see e.g. *BGU.* II. 652. 15 (AD 207), φιλανθ(ρώπου) κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) (δραχμᾶς) (see N. Hohlwein, "L'administration des Villages Égyptiens" (*Musée belge*, X, 1906, pp 41-58); P. Jouguet, "La Vie Municipale dans l'Égypte romaine", Paris, 1911, pp. 213-258, 391-395).

At any rate, the earliest evidence, in the documents, of the *κωμογραμματεύς* as a compulsory service was ca. AD 136-137, cf. *SB.* VIII. 10203 = *P. Leit.* 001. 11. His *Poros* was 3000 dr. cf. *P. Petaus.* 001. 10 (AD 184); 11 (AD 185). Age 30-50, but *P. RossGeorg.* II. 11 (AD 20), has a minor serving as *κωμογραμματεύς*, but the office is not likely to have been liturgical so early in the Roman period. Literacy not required. The area of his responsibility is one or more villages. The term of his service was three years starts in *Mecheir* 1. In *P. Srasb.* I. 57 (AD 207) and in the *Petaus* archive it is clear that the *κωμογραμματεύς* serves in a village other than that in which he himself normally resides. That evidence, limited as it is, does not allow us to affirm that it was the regular practice to assign a *κωμογραμματεύς* outside his *idia*, but it seems likely that such was the case (see, N. Lewis, *op. cit.* p. 35).

Now after we gave some information about both of the *κωμάρχης* and *κωμογραμματεὺς*, as we have said previously, it is very difficult to confirm which one is intended in our document. But I think that the superiority of using the term *κωμ(ο)γραμματεὺς* in this period may lead us that the abbreviation *κωμ( )* perhaps refers to *κωμ (ο)γραμματεὺς*, who seems to invade the functions of the *κωμάρχης*, who has been rarely mentioned in the first centuries of the Roman domination (see N. Hohlwein, *op. cit.* p. 301-2).

8- Σύρος ἀρχι( ) A quick glance at Wörterbuch III, Abschnitt 8, p. 95-96, might suggest that the abbreviation ἀρχι( ) may refer, after setting the Ptolemaic and Byzantine periods aside, to many functions were used in the documents of the Roman period for example: ἀρχιγεωργός “chief cultivator”, ἀρχιγγραμματεὺς “chief clerk”, ἀρχιδικαστής “chief judge”, ἀρχιερεὺς “chief priest”, ἀρχιπρύτανις “chief president”, ἀρχιτέκτων “director of works”, ἀρχιφύλαξ “commandant of guards”....etc. Indeed I am not able to know which one of those, whom the scribe intends.

With regard to the rest of our document (cf. lines 10, 11, 12), we can see that the scribe assumes the form of the names of persons followed by their functions to names followed by their patronymic. Then I think that the abbreviation may refer to a name not a function. By a quick glance at Namenbuch, p. 58-9, one finds many names begin with ἀρχι- such as Ἀρχίας, Ἀρχίβειος, Ἀρχίβις, Ἀρχίς...etc.

10- Δ]ωϝᾶς At the beginning of this line there is a lacuna bears the first letter. After that we can read ω and δ or σ, then the ending -ας. The name Δ]ωϝᾶς is possible here. This name occurs rarely in the papyri, it occurs only in: BGU. VI. 1282. 1 (Ars.?, II/I BC); PSI. XIV. 1413. 6 (?; II-III AD), Δωσᾶς ὁ τοῦ Μᾶ[·]κωτος.

Δωσᾶς Πεσούριος appears in *O. Edfou. I.* 80, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93 (AD 107-114); *II.* 275 (AD 103), 276 (AD 109) location is Apollonopolis Magna; and Δωσᾶς Πεταῦτο(ς) appears in *O. Edfou. I.*

119. 1 (Apollonopolis Magna; AD 71). One may think that this name was used in Upper Egypt.

- Πασίωνος The name Πασίων was very common in the documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods, see *e. g.* *SB. I.* 5662. 11, 13 (Ars.; II AD); *ChrWilck. 001.* 398. 29 (?; AD 169); *P. Amh. II.* 98. 8 (Herm. Magna; II/III AD).

11- Δεῖλος 'Ισίωνος (= Δίος 'Ισίωνος) The name Δίος 'Ισίωνος "Dios (son of) Ision" occurs only in *P. Col. II.* 1. recto 5. 4. 8 From *Theadelphia* "Harît" (AD 136-150), Δῖος 'Ισίων(ος) ὄνο(ι) β̄. The document is list of donkey drivers with the number of donkeys supplied by each man as he transported state grain; the names of the drivers are arranged by groups according to village.

Although Δεῖλος in our document contains εἰ not ι as the person who occurs in the above document, one may think that they are the same. On the one hand Δεῖλος and Δίος were used equidistance in the papyri, cf. *e. g.* *P. Flor. I.* 22. 25 (Soknopaiou Nesos; AD 177), Διδὸς Δ[ι]οῦ; *CPR. I.* 28. 6 (Ars.; AD 110), 'Ορ]σενοῦφ[ι]ς καὶ Δεῖλος καὶ Ταορσεν[οῦ]φ[ι]ς. On the other hand it may be because of the interchanging between εἰ and ι, which was very frequent throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods (see Gignac, "*op. cit.*", p. 189-191).

The date of that document seems to be near to the date of ours. But regarding line 7 (cf. note 7), we find two documents bearing a person called Διδόσκορος κωμογρ(αμ ματεύς), one of them, is from Karanis, *P. Mich. IX.* 536. 2. Also regarding *P. Col. II.* 1. recto 5. 4. 8, which bears Δίος 'Ισίωνος, we find that it is from Theadelphia. Both of Karanis and Theadelphia are in Fayûm, then one may think that our document is from Fayûm. But the distance between the date of *P. Col.* (AD 136-150) and *P. Mich.* (AD 185), about at least 35 years, make us somewhat doubtful. Perhaps Δίος 'Ισίωνος was still young in *P. Col.* (AD 136-50) and Διδόσκορος κωμογραμματεύς was also young in *P. Mich.* (AD 185) and all of them meet together in our document at the end of the second century in another village of Fayûm. Indeed one could not decide that.

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However by connecting between *P. Col.* (AD 136-50) and *P. Mich.* (AD 185), one may say that our document may be dated in the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century, in a village in Fayûm.

12- ' Αφροδίσιος (l. ' Αφροδείσιος) This name was common in the Roman period. It is noticeable that throughout the Ptolemaic period the inhabitants of Alexandria only were carrying the names ' Αφροδίσιος and ' Αφροδισία, drifted of names of the goddess. Aphrodite was identified to Isis (cf. C. Elizabeth Visser, "*Götter und Kulte im Ptolemäischen Alexandrien*", Amsterdam, 1938, p. 78 ff.).

- ἄρχι(?) cf. line 8.

VI

*RECEIPT FOR ADAERATIO*

P. Cairo Mus.C.G. 10464 Inv. S. R. 1439  
13.3 x 13.6 cm.

Prov. Magdola  
4 Feb. 316 AD.

Fragmentary papyrus sheet of moderate quality. It is regularly cut off at the top and partly at the right-hand side. There is a margin of ca. 2 cm. at the top and of ca. 3 cm. at the bottom, but it suffers much damage. The text at the left-hand side in the upper part has been broken away. It has few wormholes. Three vertical folds are still visible run from the left-hand edge. The writing on the *recto* runs along the fibers. The *verso* is blank.

The handwriting is medium-sized cursive. The text survives, approximately complete, in 10 lines. The beginning of lines 1-6 [ $\pm$  6 letters] as well as the ends of lines 3 and 9 [ $\pm$  3 letters] have been lost.






The provenance of our papyrus is "Hermoupolis". The mention of "κώμης Μαγδώλων Βουκόλων" (*the village of Magdola of the herdsmen*) (cf. line 1), and the name Δημητρία ἡ καὶ Αμμωνία (cf. lines 4, 5), which occurs many times in the village of Magdola in Hermopolis, suggests Hermoupolis Magna (Ashmunein) as the place where the document was written.

The papyrus dates back to the consulship of Caicinius (Caecina) Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus (cf. lines 7, 8) who were in charge in 316 AD, at the tenth of "Μεχέρ" (fourth of February).

The document is a receipt for an account of conversion of payment in kind (*adaeratio*), into money payment of twenty talents. It is paid by a woman, her name is Demetria also called Ammonia, from the village of Magdola of the herdsmen for the patrimony as exchange of taxes of the third indiction, that is for two years before (314/5 AD). The document has the names of Hermes (son of) Phibion and Bion (son of) Pasion, who perhaps are the tax collectors of the patrimony.

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The receipt has been written by the inspector (γνωστήρ), whose name is lost, but we have his *praenomen* (Aurelius), which was assigned as a hereditary forename to the provincials who acquired Roman citizenship through Caracalla's universal grant of AD 212 (cf. lines 8-9).

There are some several signs and abbreviations in the document, e.g.  for (τρίτος, η, ον) (line 3),  for γι(νέται),  (τάλαντα) (line 5),  for (αὐτῆς),  for ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) (line 6).

### RECTO

→ [ἀπὸ τῆς] κώμης Μαγδώλων Βουκόλων  
[πατρι]μουναλίων Ἑρμοῦ Φιβίωνος καὶ Βίων-  
[ος Π]ασιώνος λόγου ἐξαργυρισμοῦ γ̄ ἰνδικτίων-  
[ος διέγ(ραψε)?] πατριμουναλίων Δημητρίαῆ καὶ Ἀμ-  
5 [μωνί]α τάλαντα εἴκοσι γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) κ̄. τὰ λοι[πα?]  
[διέγ(ραψε?) εἰς] τ[ὸ]ν αὐτὸν ἐξαργυρισμὸν τῆς (αὐτῆς)  
γ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)  
Μεχεῖρ τ̄ ὑπατείας Κεκίνα Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐ[ετ-]  
τίου ῥουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων Αὐρή[λιος]  
[ῥ] Ασ[άμων(?)] γνωστήρ ἔγραψα [τ]ὸ σύμβολον [το]ῦ[το?]  
10 ὑπ[ὲρ] αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδό[των]

### CORRECTIONS:

Lines 2 and 4 l. πατριμουναλίων. Line 7 l. Καικίνα; Σαβείνου

### TRANSLATION:

"Demetria also called Ammonia, from the village of Magdola of the herdsmen, [has paid] for the patrimony twenty talents, total 20 tal. For the account of the exchange of taxes (Adaeratio) of the third indiction for Hermes (son of) Phibion and Bion (son of) Pasion (the tax collectors ?) of

the patrimony. [She has paid] the rest (?) into the same exchange of taxes (Adaeratio) of the same third indiction. 10<sup>th</sup> of Mecheir in the consulship of Caecina Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, the most illustrious. I Aurelius [Asamon ?], the inspector wrote this receipt on behalf of them as they were illiterate”.

**COMMENTARY:**

1- [ἀπὸ τῆς] May suit to the lacuna, cf. *P. Lips.* 001. 85. 15, 16 (Magdola mire; AD 373), οἱ προ[κεί]μενοι ἀπὸ [κώμης Μαγδῶλων], “The precedents men from the village of Magdola”; *P. Hamb.* III. 222. 8, 9 (?; VI/VII AD), ἀπὸ κώμης Μαγδῶλων Μιρῆ τοῦ Ἑρμ(ο)π(ολίτου)νομοῦ.

- Μαγ' δωλων We find a sign ( ' ) (ἡ ἀπόστροφος) *apostrophe*, which separates the two consonants (γ and δ). This sign was often used between two consonants, especially double mutes or double liquids. It is put high like a modern apostrophe. In the first decade of the third century AD, this practice suddenly becomes extremely common and then persists. Much material has been collected by W. Crönert, who records an isolated example in (AD 101), ' Αγ' χορίμφης, in *BGU.* III. 715. 5, and then nothing till the third century AD (cf. W. Crönert, “*Memoria graeca Herculanensis, cum Titulorum Aegypti Papyrorum Codicum Denique Testimonies Comparatam Proposuit*”, Leipzig, 1903. p. 18). At the very end of the second century AD, one may add *P. Petaus.* 001. 86. 11 (Ptolemais Hormou; AD 184-5), ἀν' γήων (l. ἀγγείων) (see E. G. Turner, “*Manuscripts of The Ancient World*”, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, p.13 and n. 3).

- The village Μαγδῶλα Βουκόλων is situated in Hermopolite nome (see *SB.* V. 7758. 6-7 (AD 479), [κ]ώμης Μαγδῶλων Β[ου]κόλων τοῦ Ἑρμουπολίτου νομοῦ).

It is attested in the papyri from the second century AD till the Arab era as follow:



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<i>P. Ryl. II. 419. v. 3</i>	Herm. Magna	II AD
<i>P. Strasb. V. 308. 2</i>	Herm. Nome	AD 230
<i>BGU. XII. 2132. 3-4</i>	Herm. Nome	AD 242/3
<i>Stud. Pal. XX. 74. 3, 10</i>	Herm. Nome	AD 276
<i>P. Strasb. V. 325. 2</i>	?	AD 321
<i>Stud. Pal. II. 33. 3,4</i>	Herm. Magna	AD 328
<i>P. Vindob. Bosw. 001. 8+9 =SB. XIV. 11711. 4, 9</i>	Herm. Magna	AD 332
<i>CPR. VII. 18. 10-11</i>	Herm. Magna	AD 379
<i>P. Strasb. VII. 692. 5</i>	Herm. Nome	IV AD
<i>P. Strasb. V. 360. 5</i>	?	IV/V AD
<i>SB. V. 7758. r. 6, 36; v. 41</i>	Herm. Nome	AD 479
<i>CPR. X. 59. 1</i>	Herm. Nome	VI AD
<i>P. Bad. IV. 93. 12</i>	Herm. Nome	VII AD
<i>CPR. XIII. 13. 4</i>	Herm. Nome	VII AD
<i>P. Sorb. II. 69. (100A 1). 2</i>	Herm. Magna	VII AD

Μαγδῶλα Βουκόλων appears as a village, in all likelihood, in *Stud. Pal. II. 33. 4* (328 AD.); *P. Strasb. 308. 2* (1<sup>st</sup>. half of IV AD), and in *P. Vindob. Bosw. 8+9. 4,9* (332 AD), in the same epoch, where the document is addressed to Aurelia Demetria and Ammonia.

However the village is constantly well known as a chief-place to tax collectors' office at least in the third century AD, till the Arab era. The toponym Μαγδῶλα Βουκόλων means "the tower of the herdsmen", (see A. Calderini & S. Daris, "Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell' Egitto Greco-Romano", III, Milano, 1978-1982, p. 219; M. Drew-Bear, "Le nome Hermopolite", American studies in papyrology, XXI, 1979, p. 159-160).

The Hermoupolis Magna (Ashmunein) is derived from the name of the god *Hermes*. It goes back to the Egyptian practice in joining the Egyptian gods with the Greek gods. The great divinity worshipped in Hermoupolis was *Thoth*, the god of learning and patron of scribes, who was identified with *Hermes* by the Greeks; accordingly they called it (city of the god *Hermes*), and there was a temple for Ammon in the city (Zebida M. At "The

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*Nome of Mineya in Byzantine period in the lights of papyri*", Cairo. 1982 Arabic edition).

The Hermoupolite Nome was a station of transit tolls on the goods, which come to Thebes. It enjoyed an excellent commercial position throughout the Greco-Roman periods. The commercial importance of Hermoupolis has been acquired from the customhouse and station, which were laid on the border of the province and dealing with goods which down to the Nile. This office and station have been raised because of the trade of Sudan which came to Egypt through the Nile or the desert road, as well as the trade between Upper and Lower Egypt (see, J.G. Milne, "*A History of Egypt under the Roman Rule*", London 1898. P. 123-4).

2- πατριμ]ουνλίων (l. πατριμωναλίων): for the reconstruction (cf. Line 4).

The πατριμωνάγια are the properties belonging to the imperial "*Patrimonium*", which in Egypt in the Roman period, were usually called τὰ οὐσιακὰ (the Greek translation). The occurrence of the term "*Patrimonalia*" in the fourth century is noticeable. The πατριμωνάγια (the fourth century term for the οὐσιακὰ) were a part of the *res privata* (see L. Mitteis & U. Wilcken, "*Grundzuge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*", Leipzig-Berlin, 1912, p. 163); see also *P. Oxy. VI. 900. 5*, (Oxy.; AD 321) 5 n., *P. Col. X. 268. 7*, (Pela; 24 April 317 AD); *P. Charite, 001*, pp.14-47); *P. Stras. IV. 325. ii, 5* (Herm.; AD 325); *P. Ryl. IV. 655. v. 11* (?; IV AD).

When Octavian gained control of Egypt in 30 BC, he used the spoils taken from his adversaries, which included property recently confiscated by Cleopatra from temples and prominent individuals, to pay his troops, repay loans, and reward loyal senators and equites. Shortly afterwards, close relatives and friends of Augustus, including his wife Livia, are found in possession of Egyptian estates (οὐσίαι), although Augustus himself is attested very rarely as the owner of land in Egypt, cf. *SB. XIV. 11933 = PSI. Corr. I. 1150. 6* (Teht.; 27 BC). Later Julio-Claudian emperors, as well as their families, and freedmen, are known to have held Egyptian estates (see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners & Tenants in Roman Egypt, 30 BC - AD 300* ",

Oxford. D. Phil. thesis, 1983, p. 55; A. K. Bowman, "Landholding in the Hermopolite Nome in the Fourth Century AD", *JRS*, 75, pp. 137-63).

The οὐσίαι were long understood as closely parallel to the Ptolemaic δωρεαί, revocable gifts from the emperor to his favorites (cf. M. Rostovtzeff, "Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und Verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 1. Leipzig-Berlin. 1910. p. 119ff., esp. 128).

There was a fundamental difference between the οὐσίαι and the Ptolemaic δωρεαί. The δωρεαί were temporary grants, held at the pleasure of the king. There are no firm grounds for supposing that the οὐσίαι were anything other than the private property of their holders. The individual holders of the οὐσίαι purchased them, rather than receiving them by gift (see G. M. Parassoglou, "Imperial Estates In Roman Egypt. American Studies in Papyrology, 18, Amsterdam 1978, p. 5 ff.).

Consequently, the properties of the Julio-Claudians in Egypt, like any other property, were normally referred to as οὐσίαι. This, indeed, became such a standard practice that, when they were combined and incorporated into a single administrative whole, what was known in the rest of the empire as *ratio patrimonii principis* was called in Egypt οὐσιακὸς λόγος, and its departmental head was known as *patrimonio* or as *procurator rationis patrimonii*, but as οὐσιακὸς ἐπίτροπος or as *procurator usiacus*. As for the properties or estates that made up the οὐσιακὸς λόγος, they continued to be called οὐσίαι and to carry the name of their original Roman owner (note that the only instance where *patrimonialis* and οὐσιακὸς are used together is in *P. Ryl. IV. 658. 6,7* (early IV AD), τῆς πατρίμου[νάλιας οὐ]σιακῆς <γῆς>. This, of course, reflects the wider use of Latin terms in the early Byzantine era. But while this new ratio was made out of οὐσίαι, not all οὐσίαι in Egypt belonged to or were administered by it. This is an extremely important point to bear in mind. For just as the Latin-speaking part of the world continued to employ the term *patrimonium* when referring to all kinds of property and did not apply it exclusively to imperial property, so in Egypt, both before and after the

creation of the οὐσιακὸς λόγος, the term οὐσία meant, and continued to mean, "property" and "estate", not "imperial property" or "privileged estate". It could be, for example, and was, applied to privately owned estates totally unconnected with the imperial *patrimonium*. Or it could be, and was, applied to properties which, for a variety of reasons, had been confiscated by the state (and not by the emperor) through the agency of the department of the *idios logos*. (see Parassoglou, *op. cit.* P. 10-11).

- 'Ερμού The name 'Ερμῆς was very common in the Roman and Byzantine periods. It occurs frequently in the documents of these periods, see e.g. *P. Corn.* 001. 38. 6 (III AD); *P. Giss.* 001. 117 = *P. Herm. Landl.* 001. 1. 21 (Herm. Magna; IV AD). We did not meet the name 'Ερμῆς as a son of Φιβίων. But we met Φιβίων as a son of 'Ερμῆς in *CPR. XVII A.* 7 = *P. Vind. Worp.* 001. 8. 22 (Herm. Magna; AD 317), Αὐρήλιος Φιβίων 'Ερμού ναύκληρ(ος) ἀπὸ 'Ερμού πόλεως. But I think that there is no relationship between them.

- Φιβίωνος The name Φιβίων was common in the Roman and Byzantine periods, it is attested elsewhere in the papyri and ostraca, see e.g. *BGU. III.* 715. ii. 6 (Ars.; AD. 101-2); *P. Amh. II.* 98. 11 (Herm. Magna; II-III AD); *P. Herm.* 001. 22. 3 (Herm. Magna; AD 394); *O. Wakfa* 001. 45. 3 (Ain Wakfa; IV AD); *O. Douch. II.* 173. 2 (Kysis; IV AD).

2-3- Βίων[ος] I think that the ending -ος of this name is lost in the beginning of line 3. This name occurs in the documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, see e.g. *SB. III.* 6767 = *P. Cair. Zen. III.* 59366. 1 (Aphrodito; 241 B.C.); *P. Oxy. XXII.* 2471. 3 (Oxy.; AD 50); *P. Petr. III.* 121. 7 (Gurob; III AD); *P. Muench. III.* 139. 20 (Herm. IV AD); *P. Russ. Georg. V.* 7. 1 (?; IV AD).

3- Π[α]σίωνος Could be restored. The name Πασίων was very common. It occurs very frequently in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but it is not frequent in Byzantine, see e.g. *P. Kar. Goods.* 001. 45. 2; and 67. 4 (Karanis; AD 158-9); *P. Athen.* 001. 54 ii. 21 (?; 30 BC-AD 323); *P. Herm. Landl.* 001. 1. 144 (Herm. Magna; IV AD); *P. Princ. III.* 138. v. ii. 9 (?; AD 491-512).

- λόγου εξαργυρισμοῦ (Latin *adaeratio*). It is an account of conversion of payment in kind into money payment. The term *adaeratio* of taxes in kind is generally equivalent to the more common τιμή (cf. *P. Col. VII. 141a*. introduction).

The term λογός εξαργυρισμοῦ was used in connection with the term πατριμωνάλια in the documents of the fourth century, see e.g. *P. Charite 001. 15. 4-5* (Herm; AD 329), καὶ προσθήκης εξαργυρ(ισμοῦ) πατρι(μουνίου) τῆς (αὐτῆς) ἰδ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος), and *P. Stras. V. 325. col. ii. 4-5* (Herm. AD 321), εξαργυρισμοῦ (vac.) φ[·]·[·]· (vac.) ὄν(όματος) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) τιμ(ῆς) σίτου πατριμουν[α]λ[ι]ο[υ]. It is worth mentioning, that the village Μαγδῶλα Βουκόλων occurs also in this document in *col. i. line 2-3*, Μαγδ]ῶλων Βουκόλων Βησόδωρος (vac.) [το]ῦ Πασίωνος λόγου ἐξ(αργυρισμοῦ). It is noticeable that this document is too fragmentary.

- γ' ἰνδικτίων[ος] (The third indiction 314/315 AD) The symbol (γ) refers to the ordinal number third. The origin and meaning of the fifteen-year cycle are uncertain. There is practically no doubt now that it was an official adoption in the empire, or at least in the eastern portion of it. The word ἰνδικτίων under the Roman Empire meant a governmental order for the requisition or compulsory purchase of goods for the use of the country or army.

Early in the development of papyrology, documents began to appear from the Byzantine period (the period from Diocletian on), which showed a system of referring to crops, taxes and years by numbered indictions. A system of indictions occurring in fifteen-years cycles and related to taxation was already known from literary and legal sources and was discussed in the sixteenth century (see R. S. Bagnall & K. A. Worp, "*The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*", Zutphen, 1978, p. 1-6; S. P. Goodrich, "*The Indiction Cycle*", Princeton, 1937, pp. 1-2).

Before 312, the ἰνδικτίων had meant a declaration of tax liability. Likewise it was not used in general as means of dating documents. Consular years were the favored means of reference in the first half of the fourth

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century (as later), the replacing of traditional regnal years almost entirely by 320. The equation of regnal years and indications suggest very strongly that the indiction year at this time ran from *Thoth* 1 to *Epagomenai* 5 (6), just, as did the Egyptian civil year (see, *ibid.* p. 7)

In 312, began the regular use of fifteen-years cycle (312-327) for numbered indictions was first introduced in early 314, but based on 312/3 as indiction 1. The indiction year began at a variable time in early to mid summer. It is declared each year by the government after the harvest. The corps just harvested were nevertheless counted as those of the indiction beginning after the harvest, perhaps because the taxes were collected in the new indiction (see *ibid.* pp. 1-6).

In Hermoupolite, the scribes were using a system of reckoning whereby indiction 15=1, 16=2 and 17=3. The dual numbering in the Hermoupolite persisted until 6=20. In Arsinoite Nome indiction 15 seems to have been prolonged beyond the end of *Mesore*, 327, and 16 probably began only in early summer of 328. These two methods of expressing dates are compatible if one assumes that the Arsinoite 15 is the same as the Hermoupolite 15=1, and 16=2, etc (see, *ibid.* p. 13).

The indiction was timed to follow the harvest, at the point of the beginning of the Nile-flood. It is logical to suppose that it was common in *Oxyrhynchus* to date documents by an indiction year starting on 1 *Thoth* (or 1 September). All classes of documents from the *Thebaid* regularly use an indication year beginning in *Pachon* whether *Pachon* 1 or 1 May was used. There is virtually no evidence for any other means of reckoning in this area, and the use of ἀρχῇ in documents to indicate that the new indiction had begun with *Pachon* 5 (see, *ibid.* p. 25).

However, the indiction, at any rate, gives us a general idea about the date by which the documents are dated.

4- [διέγ(ραψε)?] The beginning of the line is cut off, bears ± 5 letters. I think that the abbreviated verb διέγ(ραψε) could suit the traces, whereas we need the verb here to express the operation of payment. Verb διέγ(ραψε) occurs in another receipt for *adaeratio*, cf. *P. Col. VII.* 142. 2-3 (Karanis; AD 336), διέγ(ραψε) Κοπρῆς ἑξαργυρισμοῦ ὁ[γδόη]ς

[ιν]δικτ[ίονο]ς. It is noticeable that this verb is used frequently abbreviated in this form in the papyri and ostraca of the Roman period and rarely in Byzantine, cf. e.g. *P. Bon. 001. 30. 3* (Tebt.; AD 42-3); *P. Flor. I. 12. 2* (Memphis; 186-9); *O. Tebt. Pad. 001. 5. 1* (Tebt.; AD 200-1); *P. Oxy. XLIV. 3180. 3* (Oxy.; AD 250); *O. Bodl. II. 2062. 1* (Thebes; AD 303); *SB. III. 7269. 1* (?; IV/V AD).

4-5- Δημητρία ἢ καὶ Ἀμ[μω]νία The name Δημητρία is related to the Greek goddess of wheat and Ἀμμώνιος or Ἀμμωνία is the Hellenic form for the Egyptian Ammon. Both Ἀμμώνιος and Ἀμμωνία occur very frequently in the papyri and ostraca of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods. This is because the Egyptian god “*Amûn Rē*”, who is Zeus for the Greeks, has a very popular worship, especially in Upper Egypt. It is clear that *Ammon* and *Sarapis* became more and more identified in chiefly, in the later years of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, developing into *Zeus Ammon Helios Sarapis* (see. Milne J. Grafton, “*Arsinoe and Ammon*”, London. 1932).

For the phenomenon that one person is referred by two names, which is attested in Egypt from the old Kingdom till the Byzantine period (see *Pap. V. p. 104*). Here the person is a woman, and bears a divine name (Greek and Egyptian). The persons with Egyptian and Greek names are known well in the Greek papyri, but they also occur in Demotic and Hieroglyphic documents (cf. J. H. Johnson, 9 “*Life in a Multi-cultural Society, Egypt from Cambyeses to Constantine and beyond*”, studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization No. 1).

Demetria also called Ammonia occurs definitely in the papyri of the first half of the fourth century (ca. 300 to ca. 350) in Hermoupolis. She is Aurelia Demetria the daughter of the deceased Πολυδεύκης, who was the γυμνασιαρχήσας of Hermoupolis (Ashmunein), cf. *Stud. Pal. II. pg. 33. 1-2* (AD 328), and she is the mother of Aurelia Χαρίτη (see the introduction of *P. Charite 001. 31* and 38). It is noticeable that Δημητρία ἢ καὶ Ἀμμωνία occurs with Χαρίτη in two documents: *P. Chrite 001. 29. 2, 5, 9* (AD 343) and *31. 2, 10, 11* (AD 320-50), but the

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nature of their relationship is not clear. In *P. Charite. 001. 38* (AD 300-350) we see Δημητρία as a mother of Χαρίτη.

Δημητρία ἡ καὶ Ἀμ[μω]γία is attested in the papyri of the first half of the fourth century as follows:

In *SB. XVI. 12673. 3* (dated to AD 324), we find her in a loan of money, but it is not clear that she had given to someone or took from him.

In *Stud. Pal. II. pg. 33. 1-2* (dated to AD 328), we find a contract that Ἀυρήλιος Πασίων, who is from the same village, wants to rent the land of Δημητρία to cultivate it, on the condition that she has to pay the taxes to the government.


In *SB. XIV. 11886. 2* (dated to the seventh indiction AD 330), we find her in a receipt of clothes (short mantle), edited by the steward Horion Ὠρίων ὑποδέκ(της).


In *SB. XIV. 11711. 1* (dated to AD 332), she leases her land to a person his name is Ἀυρήλιος Σαρπίων, the land was cultivated with olive and palm.

In *P. Charite 001. 29. 2, 5, 9* (dated to the second indiction AD 343) Δημητρία with another women, her name is Χαρίτη have to deliver the produce of meat?


- τάλαντα The *talent* is: (1) a weight, equivalent to some 44 kilograms; (2) a unit of monetary reckoning, equal to 6,000 drachmas (see Naphtali Lewis, "*Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule*", Oxford, 1983, p.212). Money, in Egypt, maybe used for reckoning and for payment, but not necessarily for both at the same time. For instance, before the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Egyptians used money only to indicate the value of something, and not to pay its price. In fact, they had to import Athenian coins, or to copy them, so as to be able to pay the Greek mercenaries (see P.W. Pestman, "*The New Papyrological Primer*", Leiden, 1994, p.47; Alan Bowman, "*Egypt after the Pharaohs*", 332 BC – AD 642 from Alexander to the Arab Conquest, London, 1986, p. 237).



- γί(νεται) For the using of the abbreviation () in the Byzantine period, (cf. A. Blanchard, "Sigles et Abreviations dans les Papyrus Documentaires Grecs", *Recherches de Paleographie*, (BICS, suppl. 30), London, 1974, p. 14).

- The symbol  refers to (τάλαντον), cf. e.g. *P. Stras. V. 325. 2* (? AD 321); *P. Cair. Mas. II. 67163. 22* (Antinoopolis; AD 569).

5-6- τὰ λοι[πὰ ?] [διέγ(ραψε) ?] The end of line 5 as well as the beginning of line 6 is cut off. At the end of line 5, τὰ λοι[πὰ?] could suit the traces, cf. *P. Col. X. 286. 3-4* (Pela; AD 317), ἐξ(αργυρισμοῦ) κγ̄ (ἔτους) [(δραχμαὶ) ρα, τ]ὰ λοιπὰ (δραχμάς) βθ̄, but in our case there is no mark to the remaining sum. At the beginning of line six διέγ(ραψε) could suit the traces, that gives the meaning, "she paid the rest for the same adaeratio".

- τῆς (αὐτῆς) γ̄'ιγδ̄/ Although the end of this line is very mutilated, after τῆς, one may read the symbol , the angular alpha, which is more used frequently in the papyri, it normally gives the meaning (αὐτός) or (αὐτῆς) (see, Blanchard, *op. cit.* p. 34 and 48 n. 39). After that, three doubtful letters could be 'ιγδ̄, I think that it is an abbreviation to 'ιγδ̄(ικτίωνος), cf. *P. Charit. 001. 14. 9-10* (Herm.; AD 326-7), ἐξαργυρ(ισμοῦ) πατρι(μουνίου) τῆς (αὐτῆς) ιδ̄'ινδικ(τίωνος).

7- Μεχέρ ι The Egyptian month *Mecheir* (from 26 January to 24 February). Tenth of Mecheir means that the day, which our document has been written, was 4 February.

- Κεκίνα (l. Κακίνα) The interchanging of αἰ and εἰ is the most frequent interchange in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods from early first century, in Greek words and also in Latin names and loanwords (see F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods", vol. 1, Phonology, Milano, 1975, p. 192/3). The papyri support "Caecinius" to his middle name over the "Caecina".

Καικίνα, occurs elsewhere in the papyri, see e.g. *CPR. XVIIA. 5adupl. 11* (Herm. Magna; AD 316); *P. Bad. II. 27 recto. 13* (?; AD 316). Καικινίου occurs also elsewhere, see e.g. *P. Laur. IV. 176. 20* (Oxy. Nome ?; AD 316); *SB. XIV. 11278 = P. Mil. Congr. XIV. pg. 61. 14* (Oxy.; AD 316).

- Σαβίνου (*l. Σαβείνου*) There is a very frequent interchange of ει and ι in the Phonetic environments throughout the Roman and Byzantine Periods. This indicates the identification of the classical Greek (ei) diphthong with the simple vowel (i) (see F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods", vol. 1, Phonology, Milano, 1975, p. 189). Σαβίνου, occurs elsewhere in the papyri, see e.g. *P. Oxy. XIX. 2232. 19* (Oxy; AD 316). Σαβείνου, occurs also elsewhere in the papyri, see e.g. *P. Stras. IV. 278. 1* (Arsnome; AD 316); *P. Oxy. XVII. 2124. 19* (Oxy; AD 316).

- Οὐ[εττίου] The end of line 8 is cut off [ $\pm 3$  letters have been lost], so as the beginning of line 9 is badly mutilated. At the end of line 8 we can read ου, and at the beginning of line 9 we can read τίου. Therefore, we should extend the missing letters in the lacuna to Οὐ[ετ]τίου the second consul with Caecina Sabinus in AD 316. For the reconstruction cf. *P. Oxy. IXX. 2232. 16-17* (Oxy; AD 316), ὑπατείας Καικινίου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐε[ττίου] ' Πουφίνου.

The two consuls, Antonius Caecinius (Caecina) Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus, were in charge in 316 AD, and they appear frequently in the papyri. For appearances of them in the papyri (see: Roger S. Bagnall & K.A.Worp, "op. cit.", p. 107).

From the early fourth century until the seventh century, scribes in Egypt used consular dating with great frequency. Until the fourth century, consular dates in the papyri are rather rare, and they tend to come from military or high official contexts, usually involving Roman citizens or Roman law. From the time of Diocletian (precisely, from 293, the year of the establishment of the Tetrarchy), however, the consulate is used very frequently; only the indiction is used more commonly (after the middle of

the fourth century). Consuls are a remarkably cumbersome from the dating; new names must be learned every year; the names must be disseminated from the imperial court to every village; and the scribe must remember when 1 January falls in his own calendar (see, "*ibid*", p. 50).

- λαμπροτάτων (*Latin clarissimus*) is frequently used in the papyri of the late third till the sixth century AD. It is used as an abstract title for very important persons, especially for the prefect of Egypt (cf. H. Zilliacus, "*Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen*", Helsingfors. 1949. p. 46). This epithet attached to consular names from 295 AD in Tebtunis (cf. *P. Lips. I. 29. 19*), ὑπα[τ]ε[ί]ας Νουμμίου Τούσκο[υ] καὶ Ἀννίου

Ἀνυλλεῖ[ν]ου τῶν λαμπροτά(των). It continued to be used till 564 AD in Oxyrhynchus, (cf. *P. Got. I. 9. 1*), μετ[ὰ] τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου [Βασιλίου] [τ]οῦ λαμπροτά(του). For epithets attached to consular names, (see, *ibid.* p. 132)

- Ἀύρη[λιος] Praenomen Aurelius, the family name of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180). The name was adopted, as a warrant of legitimate succession, by several of the emperors after him, including Caracalla. It was assigned as a hereditary forename to the provincials who acquired Roman citizenship through Caracalla's universal grant of AD 212, to all the free inhabitants of the empire by the *Constitutio Romana* of the emperor Caracalla, and from ca. 214-5 there are a big number of Aurelii turn up in the papyri, ostraca and inscriptions (see, H. I. Bell, "*Roman Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*", *Chronique d'Egypte*, 26, 1938, p. 360; Alan Bowman, "*op. cit*", p. 210; B. Welles, "Another Look at P. Giss." 40 I. A Review Article, *Et. Pap. IX*, 1962, IFAO, Cairo; A. H. Jones, "*The Dediticii and the Constitutio Antoniana*", *Studies in Roman Government and Law*, Oxford, 1960).

The Aurelii of later Roman Egypt were civilians in the strict sense, craftsmen, merchants, laborers, and farmers. Smith, for example, including ordinary smith and craftsmen more specifically identified as ironsmith, goldsmith or lead workers, are known to have been Aurelii. All these instances serve to illustrate the manifold trades and jobs filled by Aurelii in

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life in the later Roman Egypt (G. Keenan, "The names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt", ZPE. Band XI. Heft I, 1973. pp. 283-304).

9- The beginning of this line is very mutilated, traces of a name ending in -ων, this is the name of the γνωστήρ who wrote the document. The name could be (± 5 letters). Before the ending -ων, parts of αμ could be read. If the reading is correct, the name could be ended with -αμων. So before these letters, perhaps one or two letters are lost, then the name ' Ασ]αμων may suit the traces, cf. *P. Lips. 001. 100. iii. 18* (Herm. Magna; IV AD). Also Τ]αμων, cf. *P. Vind. Tandem. 15. 63* (Arsinoite; I/II AD), or Φάμων could be suit here, cf. *P. Lond. III. 1159. 82* (Herm. Magna; AD 145-7). Although the first and third suggestions occur in Hermoupolis Magna, I prefer the first suggestion that the name ' Ασάμων occurs in the fourth century.

- γνωστήρ The range of attested dates for the γνωστήρες are second century to Roman period. The *gnoster* of person was a witness of his or her identity, cf. *P. Oxy. III. 496. I6* (Oxy.; AD 127). As a surety, cf *BGU. IV. 1032. 11* (Arssinoite; AD173). For γνωστήρ as a witness could probably be called if necessary, as in examination for entrance of youth into the gymnasium (see S. L. Wallace, "Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian", Princeton, 1938, p. 84); cf. also *PSI. V. 457. 17* (Oxy.; AD 269).

8-9- Αὐρη[λῖος] [ ' Ασ]αμων (?) γνωστήρ Since the fourth century, the term γνωστήρ appears in the papyri as an inspector of the village, cf. e.g. *P. Lond. III. 1248. 28, 29* (Herm.; AD 345), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Βησαρίων γνωστήρ [ἔγραψα ὑ]πὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδὼ (των): "I Aurelius Besarion, the inspector wrote on behalf of them as they were illiterate".

- σύμβολον The σύμβολον is a receipt, sometimes made out in duplicate, cf. *UPZ. I. 25. 25* (Memph.; 162 BC), or a fee for making out a receipt, cf. *P. Ryl. II. 192. 10* (Herm. Magna; AD 152). For the using of

σύμβολον as a fee in the papyri, (see S. L. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ff.). The σύμβολον was used more frequently in the documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but rarely in Byzantine, especially, in the documents of banks or taxes. For the using of σύμβολον in banks, (see, Raymond Bogaert, "*Recueil de Recherches sur la Banque en Egypte Greco-Romaine*", *Papyrologica Florentina*, XXV, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca*. Firenze. 1994. p. 254 ff.).

- [το]ϣ[το ?] The end of this line is very mutilated, but we could extend [το]ϣ[το] to the lacuna, cf. *P. Mil. Vogl. II*. 110. 8-9 (Tebt.; II AD), τὸ σύμβολον τ[οῦτο].

9-10- ἔγραψα ... γράμματα μὴ εἶδο[των] The illiteracy formula curiously reflects on the ability of the common people to practice the art of writing. The papyri, which are discovered in Egypt, have shown that the art of writing was more widely, and more popularly, though there was the employment of professional scribes, which maybe for the correctness of expression and orthography. In official communications, however, and in contractual and business letters, such a declaration seems to have been required. As a consequence there are documents, drawn up in epistolary style, containing this declaration. In some instances this declaration is drawn up in the third person. More frequently, however, after giving his name, the scribe added in the first person the statement that he had written the document because of the unfamiliarity with, or the total ignorance of, writing on the part of the person for whom he wrote (see F. X. J. Exler, "*The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter*". A Study in Greek Epistolography. Washington, 1923, p.124 ff.).

The earlier forms use a prepositional infinitive construction: διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι (ἐπίστασθαι) αὐτὸν γράμματα: "because he is illiterate". This formula remained in use as late as the second century AD, cf. *e.g.* *P. Ryl. II*. 73, 17-20 (Arsinoite; 33-30 BC); *P. Hamb. 001*. 4. 14-15 (Arsinoite; AD 87); *P. Fay. 001*. 36. 24 (Theadelphia; AD 149). From the beginning of the Christian era the participle construction became far more common: ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα, cf. *e. g.* *P. Flor. I*. 85. 20 (Herm.; AD 91); *P. Oxy. XIV*. 1636. 45-46 (Oxy.; AD 249);

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1627. 27-28 (Oxy.; AD 342). During the second and the third centuries there occurred also the formula: ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγράμματον: "wrote for him, since he is illiterate" (see R. Calderini, "*Gli' Aggrámmatoi nell'Egitto Greco-Romano*", *Aegyptus*, XXX, (1950), 14 ff.; Exler, "*op. cit.*", p.127).

## VII

### *INSTRUCTIONS FROM APA ASKLAS*

P. Cairo Mus.C.G. 10046 Inv. S. R. 1869  
14.1 x 31.9 cm.

Prov. unknown  
VI Cent. AD.

A light brown papyrus sheet of moderate quality regularly cut off all sides. Free margins are preserved at the top (ca. 1.2 cm.), and at the left (ca. 3.3 cm.). The text runs against the fibres on the *recto*. Five vertical folds are still visible run from the left-hand edge. The address was written in the *verso*.

The distance between line 1, 2 and line 3, 4 are longer than that between any lines of text. The ink is faded in some places, and few wormholes make the reading difficult in the beginning of the seventh line.

The handwriting is Byzantine very cursive, with large letters, and it is comparable to that of *P. Sta. Xyla.* = *P. Athen. Xyla. I.* 6 (plate 6), of sixth century.

The provenance of our document is unknown. But the mention of Elias the scribe (line 4), who appears as the scribe of Tanis in *Stud. Pal. III.* 7. 1 (Arsinoiton Polis; VI AD), suggests that  $\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  (line 3) is an error for  $\tau\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ . Therefore we can suggest that the provenance of our document maybe near Tanis.

The text is a letter, conserved integrally in 10 lines, containing some instructions, concerning a payment of forty-six *nomismata*. Both the sender and the recipient of this are unknown, but from the *verso* it is gained that the sender is Apa Asklas. The scribe at the beginning of the document has written "concerning the 46 solidi". The calculation of this sum is: 20 *nomismata* by tale ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\mu\iota\alpha$ ) from Elias the scribe, and another 20 *nomismata* from the same man. Then at the end of the document he writes, "to be 40 solidi", i.e.  $20 + 20 = 40$ . Therefore there are 6 solidi, I think that they are the price of the grain which are 8 (*nomismata*); each one is equivalent to one *aureus* less 5 carats in the public standard





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(δημοσίῳ ζυγῷ). By calculating that, the price of grain is six solidi and 8 carats. Thus there is an error of 8 carats (one third solidus).

In the *verso* the address is much effaced, and the name of the recipient is illegible, but he seems to be someone who has a relationship with Elias the scribe.

The letter contains the Christian convention σὺν θεῷ (cf. line 4), and the Christian epithet ἅπα (cf. line 2 v.).

The papyrus begins and ends, as the address begins, with the cross sign, with final hooks, which was common in the Christian Byzantine documents and letters (cf. M. Naldini, "*Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere Private nei Papiri dei Secoli II-IV*", Firenze, 1968, pp. 23-27).

There are some signs and abbreviations in the document; most of them marked by a long oblique stroke, e.g.  for (παρὰ) (line 1),  for γρ(αμματεύς) (lines 4 & 8),  for κερ(άτια) (line 9),  for νο(μισμάτια) (line 10), and ἐπιδ/ for ἐπίδ(ος) (line 1 v.).

The letter has ligatures and odd orthographical mistakes, especially the interchanging between ο and ω, and some interchanging between vowels and consonants, in addition to the omission of some letters, that in many cases make the interpretation doubtful. So we shall show the letter as it is and then we shall show it after our corrections:

### **BEFORE CORRECTIONS**

#### **RECTO**

→ π(α)ρα)  
† Θελησων παυσων τοῦ μέτρου Πτολεμαῖ ἐκλησων τω  
μέτρο μὴ ἀμελησης  
και υπερ τεσαρακωταεξ νομισματων θελησων απελθ-  
ειν Τεως δεξατε παρα Ηλεια γρ(αμματεως) εις νησων  
νομισματι εικωσι αρριμι και συν θεου



- 5 επικαταλαβανων εις την νησων υις τριων υμερρων και  
μαθανων παλιν τι εχιν κεννεθε θελησων θελησων ουν  
δια[[κ]] βαλων εις τας  
... μ .... ρανων τοις νησων εως του καταλαβου δεξατε  
ουν νομισματι εικωσι παρα Ηλεια γραμματεως) και  
αν[[α]]ερρ... ς κατα ωκτω του χρυσινου  
παρα κερ(ατια) πεντε δεμωσιου ζυκου υπερ τι(μης)  
σιτου θελησων δεξατε νομισμ(ατια)  
10 εικωσ[ι] ως εινη νο(μισματια) μ μη αμελησης υπερ  
τουτων †

**VERSO**

- ↓ † 'Επιδ(ος) τω ..... (δια) ία γραμματέως  
π(αρά) άπα' Ασκλάς

**AFTER CORRECTIONS**

**RECTO**

- π(αρά)  
† Θέλησον παύσον τοῦ μέτρου Πτολεμαῖ ἐκλήσον τοῦ  
μέτρο μὴ ἀμελήσης  
καὶ ὑπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ νομισμάτων θέλησον  
ἀπελθεῖ Τ<άν>εως(?)  
δέξασθαι παρὰ Ἡλία γραμματέως) εἰς νῆσον νομισμά-  
τι<α εἴκοσι ἄ{ρ}ρί<θ>μι<α> καὶ σὺν θεῶ  
ἐπικαταλα<μ>βάνω εἰς τὴν νῆσον {εἰς}τριῶν ἡμερ{ρ}ῶν  
καὶ μα<ν>θάνω  
παλὶν τι ἔχειν γενέσθαι θέλησον {θέλησον} οὖν διαβαλ-  
ῶν εἰς τὰς  
... μ..... ρανων τοῖς νησων ἕως {τ}οῦ καταλάβω δέξασθαι

οὖν  
νομισμάτια εἴκοσι παρὰ Ἡλία γραμματέως καὶ ανειρ  
ς κατὰ ὀκτὼ τοῦ χρυσίνου  
παρὰ κερ(άτια) πέντε δημοσίῳ συγῶ ὑπὲρ τι(μῆς) σίτου  
θέλησον δέξασθαι νομισ(μάτια)  
εἴκοσ[ι] ὥς εἶναι νο(μισμάτια) μ. μὴ ἀμελήσης ὑπὲρ  
τούτων †

**VERSO**

↓ † Ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ ----- (διὰ) Ἡλ]ίᾳ γραμματέως  
π(αρά) ἅπα Ἀσκληᾶς

**TRANSLATION:**

**RECTO**

“ † Please, cease to use the metron of Ptolemas, get rid of that metron; take care! And concerning the forty-six nomismata, please go out of Tanis (?) to the island to receive twenty nomismata by tale, from Elias the clerk (scribe), and with god's help, I overtake (you) to the island through three days, and again I shall know what is going on ... So, please passover to the ... on the island, until I arrive. Therefore receive twenty nomismata from Elias the clerk (scribe) and for the price of grain inquire that each (one) of the eight (nomismata) is equivalent to one aureus less five carats in the public standard. Please receive twenty nomismata so to be forty nomismata. Take care about all these things! † ”

**VERSO**

(Addressed) † Deliver to . . . . . E]lias the scribe.  
From apa Asclas.

COMMENTARY:

*RECTO*

1-  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$  The meaning of this  $\pi$  with a dash through it, which is not uncommon at the top of letters of this period, is obscure. It is written like the abbreviation of  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ , but  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$  without a following name is meaningless. Possibly, however, the custom of commencing  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$  τοῦ δειῖνα, e.g. *P. Oxy. VI. 904. 1* (V AD), led the scribe to write  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$  even there was no real intention of adding the name (cf. *P. Oxy. VI. 941. n. 1*).

On this use of  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$  without a following name at the head of Byzantine letters (see *P. Giess. I. 57*, int.; and *P. Iand. II. 23. I, n.*). It is now agreed upon that the preposition is meant. Doubtless its use is a relic of a time when the name of the writer preceded by  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$  was prefixed to the letter, as in *P. Brit. Mus. 1800-2, 1804* (orders for payment, 5th. – 6th. cent.; 1845, of the 6th. – 7th. cent., is doubtful) and it would naturally be expected to occur in the earlier letters but not in the later. In *P. Cairo Masp. III. 67322*, which is certainly dated from the middle of the sixth century, the  $\pi/$  occurs, as in *P. Cairo Masp. III. 67323*, which is of the second quarter of the sixth century. Letters having  $\pi/$  which are dated fairly late on paleographical grounds only are *P. Iand. II. 23* (6th. – 7th. cent.: from the facsimile 6th. seems the more probable), cf. *P. Giess. I. 57*, and *P. Oxy. XVI. 1865, 1868* (all 6th. – 7th. cent.). On the whole, we may say that the practice is commoner in the earlier Letters (up to the middle of the sixth century) than in the later, though isolated instances occur till the seventh century. The place of  $\pi/$  is frequently taken by a cross, occasionally by  $\chi\mu\gamma$ .

2-  $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\omega\nu$  (*l. θέλησον*) An imperative expression used frequently in the papyri. For the interchanging between  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$ , which occurs very frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods (see F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods", vol. I, Phonology, Milan, 1977", p. 277). The confusion of  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$  indicates that the sounds originally represented by

these symbols became identified in  $\circ$  after the loss of a quantitative distinction. This identification came about elsewhere in the Koine by the beginning of the Roman period. The exchange between  $\circ$  and  $\omega$  in particular in θέλησον occurred elsewhere in the papyri, see *P. Amst. I. 55. 1* (?; V/ VI AD), θελήσων (*l. θέλησον*) δοῦναι Ἀνδρέα ὑἱ[ $\omega$ ]ι Ἀ[β]ραμίου; and *PSI. XIV. 1426. 7* (?; V/ VI AD), θελησων (*l. θέλησον*) ἀποστεῖλαί μοι.

- The reading seems to be incomprehensible παύσων (*l. παύσον*), but ἐάσων (*l. ἔασον*) is not excluded.

On the one hand, the imperative of ἐάω is often used in the papyri to mean: “let things go their own ways, stay, don’t take, don’t carry” things or persons, which sometimes recurs also in connection with forms of θέλω, see e.g. *P. Lond. V. 1789. 3, 4* (?; VI AD), θέλησον δέξασθαι αὐτὸ καὶ εἰμὲν δέδωκας τ[ $\alpha$ ] εὖ καὶ καλῶς· εἰ δὲ μήγε ἔασον αὐτα.

On the other hand, the imperative παύσον, which means “cease to use, stop to use”, was not used in the papyri. But with regard to the word τῷ μέτρου (*l. τοῦ μέτρου*), which suits to Πτολεμῶς (see the note below), here the verb is a result to this word. We can see, however, the verb attributed to products and goods of various kinds did not exclude the agricultural products, expresses also in measure, a private measure. The measure of Ptolemaeus did not specify the contained products, but we can deduce it, perhaps, in line 9, where the occurrence of σῖτος, cf. *P. Strassb. I. 40. 46* (Antin.; AD 569), σίτου ἀρτάβας δέκα μικρῷ μέτρῳ δοχικῷ.

- τῷ μέτρου (*l. τοῦ μέτρου*) See the note below. The article τῷ is repeated twice in the same line. It seems to be a grammatical error (dative instead of genitive). But the fluctuation between -ω and -ου in the gen. and dat. cannot be considered significant for morphology. It is caused partly by the confusion of ω and ου in the speech of some writers and partly by a syntactic confusion of the gen. and dat. cases (cf. F. T. Gignac, “A

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*Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*", vol. II, Morphology, Milan, 1977", p. 22). For the interchange of ω and ου which was frequent especially in the final position, see F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar", I, p. 208.

- Πτολεμᾶ (genitive of Πτολεμαῖς, feminine name) This name occurs elsewhere in the papyri of the Roman period, see e.g. *P. Matr. I. 2.* 27-28 (AD 181/182), ἀπέσχον ἐν[τ]εῦθεν παρὰ τῆς Πτολεμα.

There are other cases of measures associated with names of women, for example μέτρῳ Διδύμης in *P. Tebt. II.* 534. 19 (AD 170, ed. in *PASP.* XV, 1978, pp. 212-216) and μέτρῳ τῆς Πετρωνίλλης in *P. Flor. III.* 316. 14-15 (Philadelphia; II AD). Cf. D. Hennig, "Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im Ptolemäisch-Römischen Ägypten", Dissertation, München, 1967, p. 16.

- ἐκλήσων (l. ἐκλήσον) An imperative aorist of ἐκληθάνω, causative shape of ἐκλανθάνω, so its meaning would be "forget utterly, get rid", which requires genitive. The object of forgetting seems to be again the measure τῷ μέτρῳ (l. τοῦ μέτρου), which this time must be in genitive.

- μὴ ἀμελήσης Note that the writer did not write the *iota* neither subscript nor adscript. This formula, which gravitates to the close of the body of letter, was used very frequently in the letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods, especially the Christian. It indicates the meaning of: "take care or don't neglect the execution" of the tasks, orders or favors requests, through which the writer attempts to coerce the recipient into attending to something which he has requested (cf. John L. White, "The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition Third Century BC to Third Century AD", Semeia, An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism, XXII, "Studies in Ancient Letter writing", Chicago, 1981, p. 99; J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, "The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-literary Sources", London, 1957).

For the occurrence of  $\mu\eta$  ἀμελήσης in the papyri, see e.g. *P. Mich. III. 221. 12* (Alex.; AD 296-7), καὶ γράψον μοι πόσον

κέρμα ἔλαβες παρὰ Κουπινήρι καὶ  $\mu\eta$  ἀμελήσης; *P. Col. VII. 190. 7* (Karanis 340 AD), ἀλλὰ  $\mu\eta$  ἀμελήσης.

3- ὑπέρ Regarding the introductory conventions, the writer introduces the body of the letter by acknowledging receipt of information by ὑπέρ or περί, which means “concerning, regarding”. ὑπέρ is more often used subsequently in the body (see White, *op. cit.*, p. 98), cf. e.g. *P. Harr. I. 63. 3* (?; AD 161), φιλτάτοις χαίρειν. [ὑπέρ τ]ῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων φίλων.

- τεσσαράκωτα (l. τεσσαράκοντα) According to the surviving tracks; the graphic mistake is not only the result of τεσ- τεσσ-, that the contiguous identical consonants were very frequently represented by a single letter through the Roman and Byzantine periods especially in this word, as in *P. Mich. IX. 568. 20* (Karanis; AD 90). Also ω in place of ο as in *P. Stras. IV. 298. 8, 10* (Ars.; AD 65). Moreover the fall of ν before the dental stop τ, was a frequent error (cf. F. T. Gignac, I, *op. Cit.*, pp.158, 277, 116).

- νομισμάτων Note that the scribe used also the diminutive form νομισμάτιον in this document (cf. lines 4, 8, 9 and 10).

As a result of the currency reform of Diocletian, a uniform system of coinage was adopted for the whole Roman Empire. The standard coin was the *solidus*, which is called νομισμάτιον or νόμισμα, by a word of Coptic origin, ὀλοκόττινος, of four grams = νομισμάτιον, subdivided in twenty-four *carats* of 1/6 gram of gold each = κεράτιον (cf. L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, “*Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*”, Princeton, 1944, pp. 129, 137; A. Segrè, “*Metrologia e Circolazione Monetaria degli Antichi*”, Bologna. 1928. p. 433). In AD 306, according to the attestation of *P. Oxy. XIV. 1635*, the solid still had the middle value of 4 5/6 grs. of gold.

In the Byzantine period the gold *solidus* seems normally to have been capable of purchasing ten artabs of wheat and a soldiers's rations in the mid-fifth century were worth approximately four *solidi* (see A. H. M. Jones, "The Later Roman Empire, 284-602", 1964. p. 445-8). A contract for an indentured domestic worker in the sixth century specifies allowance in wheat, barely, wine and oil which represents a value of about two and a quarter *solidi* per annum, cf. *P. Stras. I.* 40. 46-49 (Antinoopolis; AD 569). The payments in gold *solidi* are sometimes converted into weights in accounts of the sixth century (cf. *P. Oxy. XVI.* 1918). Where such conversions are made, the *solidus* is uniformly four grams. Apparently the weight of the *solidus* was more carefully guarded than in the fourth century. Under Justinian and his successors some mints issued gold coins of poor standard. Payments during this period in *solidi* less so many carats probably imply deductions for other reasons than for under-weight coins (cf. L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "op. cit.", p. 138).

- θελήσων (read θέλησον cf. line 2).

- ἀπελθεῖν The second aorist infinitive comes depending on θέλησον, of the compound verb ἀπέρχομαι.

3- 4- θέλησον ἀπελθεῖν τέως δέξασθαι παρὰ Ἡλεία  
γρ(αμματέως).

- τέως There are two possibilities for this word:

(a) It may be the adverb of time τέως, that means "up to now, for the moment, in the meantime, first of all" (see L/S, s.v. τέως. Cf. *P. Oxy. XLIII.* 3147. 3 (IV/V AD), and see D. Tabachovitz, "Études sur le grec de la basse époque", Uppsala, 1943, pp. 70-73).

(b) With regard to the omission of some letters in our document, and because of the appearance of Ἡλεία γρ(αμματέως) (lines 4 and 8), who appears in *Stud. Pal. III.* 7. 1 (Arsinoiton Polis; VI AD), as a scribe of Tanis. So, we may correct the word τέως to become Τάνεως, cf. *Stud. Pal. III.* 7. 1, ἔσχον καὶ ἐπληρώθη] ἐγ[ὼ Μ]η[νᾶς] σύμ<μ>αχ(ος) παρὰ σοῦ Ἡλεία γραμμ(ατέως) Τάνεως [ ]: "I

Menas the assistant, have received the payment in full from you Elias, the scribe of Tanis". This suggestion may be supported by existence of the verb ἀπελθεῖν, which requires genitive and it means, "Go out of... to...". So the scribe may intent "go out of Tanis to...". I think that the second possibility may be suitable here.

Tanis is a small village (later χωρίον) a few miles south of Philadelphia, it is situated in Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινού τοῦ νομοῦ. This village is probably identical to the ruins of the ancient village called *Manâshinshâna* (necropolis of Tanis) about five milles south of *Rubayyât* (necropolis of Philadelphia). Its cemetery is located at *Fagg el Gamûs*, where a desert road crosses over the Nile valley. *Manâshinshâna* (necropolis of Tanis) is excavated by Grenfell and Hunt in 1900-1 and 1900-2 (see A. Calderini & S. Daris, "*Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell' Egitto Greco-Romano*", IV, Milano, 1978-1982, p. 353-4; P. Tebt. II. pp. 354, 357, 403).

It is attested in the papyri from the early Ptolemaic period till the seventh century, see e.g. *P. Cair. Zen. I.* 59072. 5 (257 BC); *BGU. VII.* 1521. 10 (III BC); *P. Tebt. I.* 24. 83 (117 BC); *III.* 1082. 28 (II BC); *SB. XIV.* 11930. v. 14, 45 (AD 55/60); *P. Strass. V.* 388. ii. 5 (II AD); *P. Hamb. III.* 212. 4 (III AD); *P. Mich. XII.* 643. 11 and passim (AD 303); *P. Col. VII.* 180. 21 (IV AD); *Stud. Pal. III.* 7. 1 (VI AD); *X.* 251. v. 6 (VI AD); *SB. VI.* 9583. fra. 2. 6 (VII AD); *Stud. Pal. X.* 15. 5; 239 = *XX.* 229. 22 (VII/VIII AD).

- δέξαστε (l. δέξασθαι) Depending on θέλησον, it is an infinitive of the verb δέχομαι, that by the interchange of τ and θ, and of αι and ε. θ occasionally interchanges unconditionally with τ. This indicates the identification of the aspirated stops with their corresponding voiceless stops in the speech of individual writers. This interchange is found in initial position, before front and back vowels and liquids, and intervocalically before or after the accent. In our case the interchanging is in the intervocalically (see Gignac, "*op. cit.*", pp. 90-92). For the interchange of αι and ε, which is the most frequent interchange in the papyri next to the interchange of ει and ε (see Gignac, "*op. cit.*", pp. 192). The infinitive sometimes recurs also in connection with θέλησον, cf. e.g. *P. Ness. III.*



47. 2 (Nessana; AD 605),  
θέλῃσων (l. θέλησον) δέξασθ[αι παρ]ᾶ [το]ῦ γραμματηφόρου.

- 'Ηλεία (= 'Ηλία cf. *P. Lond. II. 387. 22* (VI /VII AD)),  
'Ηλείας ζυγοστάτης: "Eleias the public weigher". The Christian name  
'Ηλίας was very common in the Byzantine period, see e.g. *P. Princ. III. 136* = *P. Col. VIII. 238. 5* (Oxy. Nome; IV AD),  
'Ηλίας Μαρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ἐποικ(ίου); *P. Mich. XV. 736. 12*  
(?; VI AD), Φοιβ(άμμων)' Ηλία.

- γρ(αμματέως) the scribe wrote γρ/ marked by a long oblique stroke.  
It is not difficult to conclude that γρ is an abbreviation to γρ(αμματέως)  
since it was frequently used in the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine  
periods, cf. e.g. *P. col. IV. 90.* (Phil.; 243-2 BC), μετὰ  
τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γρ(αμματέως) καὶ τοῦ κωμογρ(αμματέως); *P. Mich. III. 178. 29* (Bacchias; AD 119), κατακεχώρ(ικα) Αὐ(νῆς)  
Αὐνεί(ους) λ[αο]γρ(άφος) διὰ 'Επιμάχο(υ) γρ(αμματέως); *Stud. Pal. VIII. 864. 2* (?; VI AD), δ(ιὰ) 'Ιωά(ννου) γρ(αμματέως).

For the γραμματεὺς, who is an employee of the communal office,  
person in charge, between the other collection of the tax (cf. G. Rouillard,  
"*L' Administration Civile de l' Égypte Byzantine*", Paris, 1928, pp. 64, 71,  
146).

- 'Ηλεία γρ(αμματέως) This name occurs in about four papyri of the  
sixth and seventh century, all of them are from Arsinoite, cf. *P. Stud. Pal. III. 7. 1* (VI AD) (see above); *57. 3* (VI AD), ἐγράφη μηνὶ  
Πα[χών] πέμπτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ(ι) ἐμ[οῦ ± 19 letters] εὗς υἱοῦ  
'Ηλίας γραμμ(ατέως); *VIII. 858. v. 1* (VI AD), ἐγρ[άφη] μηνὸς  
'Αθ[ὺ] ρ [ ] τῆ[ς] τετάρτῃ[ς] ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ(ι)  
ἐμο[ῦ] 'Ηλία γρ(αμματέως); *P. Aberd. I. 34. 1* (VII AD), 'Ηλία  
γραμμ(ατεῖ) ἐποικ(ίου) Κιεράτου Θεόδωρος σὺν θεῶ  
ὑποδέ(κτης).

*From the examples above we can note that:*

- (a) The first three examples support that our document was written in the sixth century.
- (b) The first example supports our suggestion that the word  $\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  in line two, may be an error for  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ .
- (c) The last one, which is dated to the seventh century, may suggests that our document was written in late sixth century, or that there is a mistake in dating the document, or the person mentioned there is not the same of our document.

-  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \nu\eta\sigma\omega\nu$  (l.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$ ) Certainly  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \nu\eta\sigma\omega\nu$  is a mistake to  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$  (cf. line 5,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$ ), which came with the definite article  $\tau\eta\nu$ . For the interchanging of  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$ , which is repeated many times in our papyrus (cf. Gignac, "*op. cit.*", p. 277).

With regard to Elias the scribe of Tanis, who is mentioned in this line, the word  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$  may refer to an island near Tanis or at least in Arsinoite nome. A. Calderini & S. Daris have sited some islands, were mentioned in the papyri, one of them is a region ( $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ ) at a village near Socnopaei Nesus (Nilopolis), situated in the Arsinoite nome, Herakleidou meris, it is  $\text{Νῆσος Ἀμμωνος}$  (cf. A. Calderini & S. Daris, "*op. cit.*", III; P. Tebt. II. p. 391).

-  $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  (l.  $\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota<\alpha>$ ) There is no sign referring to an abbreviation. There is no argument that the word is accusative plural, whereas the following word is  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$ . So it is very clear that the scribe did not write the ending  $-\alpha$  as a mistake. For the commentary (see line 2 and its note).

-  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\sigma\iota$  (l.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$ ) For the interchanging between  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$  (see note 2). This mistake between  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\sigma\iota$  and  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$  was common in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine period, see e.g. P. Korn. 001. 9. 26 (Tebt.; AD 11),  $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}[\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}]\beta\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\sigma\iota$  (l.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$ ); PIFAO. I. 28. 4 (?;

II AD), ἑκατὸν εἴκωσι (l. εἴκοσι); *O. Douch. II. 69. 3* (Kysis; IV AD), εἴκωσι (l. εἴκοσι) τ[ρεῖς]; *P. Lond. III. 1035. 4* (?; VI AD), κερῶτια) εἴκωσι (l. εἴκοσι).

- αῤῥιμι (l. ἀρίθμι<α>) There are three errors in this word. Double ρ for ρ (Gignac, *op. cit.*, p. 157). μ for θμ, an aspirated is sometimes omitted, apparently through scribble error or reflecting a explosive pronunciation (*loc. cit.* p. 98). The omission of the ending -α as in νομίσματι<α> for νομισμάτια (see the note above).

The use of ἀρίθμια νομίσματᾱ is rare in private documents. A fragmentary text from Oxyrhynchus (cf. *P. Oxy. XVI. 1971* (V/VI AD)) records a loan of 7 ἀρίθ(μια) νο(μί)σματᾱ), which are said to be equivalent to 6 solidi (1 ounce of gold) and 1 ¼ carat on the public Standard of the lender. This is probably a loan with a deduction in advance of 3¼ carats per solidus for interest (see L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "*op. cit.*", pp. 120-1).

In *P. Oxy. XVI. 1915. 22* (AD 560), it means "in current coin", the actual value of which is only about ¾ of the nominal. In *P. Oxy. LVIII. 3958. 30* (AD 614), it refers to the basic number of solidi on which any charges are calculated.

The term ἀρίθμια (νομίσματᾱ), in the tax records of Oxyrhynchus, is used to denote payments that are subject to certain fees. In some cases ἀρίθμια is used as a bookkeeping term to designate the number of solidi on which the various charges of the tax collector's office were calculated. Such is the case *P. Oxy. XVI. 1916. 17* (VI AD) where 10 ¼ solidi are equated with ἀρίθμια 12 solidi less 42 carats (see L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "*op. cit.*", p. 120).

I think that in our document the scribe intends to express by using the term ἀρίθμια: "in current coin, cash, or by tale", i.e. "receive 20 solidi by tale".

- σὺν θεοῦ (l. σὺν θεῶ) This time the phonetic interchange is inverse, -ου for -ω (cf. line 1, τῶ for τοῦ). This formula, which means "with the

aid of god, *D. V. (deo volente)*”, was used frequently in the epistolary correspondence. Ghedini found that it is used only in the documents of Christian correspondence (cf. G. Ghedini, “*Paganesimo e Cristianesimo nelle Lettere Papiracce Greche dei Primi Secoli d. Cristo*”, in *Atti IV Congr. Pap.*, p. 340, n. 5). But now we can cite at least three pagan letters containing the monotheistic formula *σὺν θεῷ*: *P. Mich. VIII. 489. 12* (Karanis; II AD), *ἐγκλείσεις οὖν ὅλον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου ἵνα σὺν θεῷ παραγε[νό]μενος εὕρω αὐτὰ ὑφ’ ἐν;* *P. Strasb. IV. 233. 7* (Oxy.; III AD), *σὺν θεῷ γὰρ ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Φαῶφι;* and *PSI. XIII. 1335. 25* (?; III AD), *σὺν θεῷ ἀκριβέστερόν σοι διασαφήσω.*

Consequently we may deduct that this formula is not determinant to a religious attestation. Worth mentioning that the pagan testimonies became more and more rare until disappearing, but in any case, it may not to apart itself from syncretistic phenomenon and, therefore, from the expressive interference between various currents religious of Egypt. Even if there is no doubt that the influence of the gradually prevailing Christianity becomes famous in the life, and consequently, to the epistolary correspondence (cf. M. Naldini, *op. cit.* pp. 9-13).

For the occurrences of *σὺν θεῷ* in the papyri of the Byzantine period, which gives the meaning “*D. V. (deo volente)*”, see e.g. *P. Mich. XI. 612. 9* (Oxy. Polis; AD 514), *τῆς σὺν Θεῷ ὀγδόης ἐπινεμήσεως ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ ὑμῶν ἀρετῇ*: “The D.V. eighth indiction, of the property which belongs to your excellency”.

5- *ἐπικαταλαβάνων* (*l. ἐπικαταλαμβάνω* cf. *Modern Greek καταταλαβαίνω*) The occasional omission of medial nasal before consonant is found in the Attic inscriptions, the Ptolemaic papyri, and elsewhere in postclassical Greek. However it is not widely paralleled in Greek, and the nasals are preserved in this position in Modern Greek (Gignac, *op. cit.* p. 117). For the omission of *μ* before *β* in the papyri, cf. *λαβανόντων* For *λαμβανόντων* in *SB. VI. 9498 = P. Mil. II. 86. 4* (?; V AD). In the papyri it is found constructed also with the simple accusative, as

in *P. Iand. VI. 102. 13* (?; VI AD): ἐπικαταλαμβάνω τὴν πόλιν: "I overtake the city". In *P. Oxy. LVIII. 3932. 4* (Oxy; VI AD), like this case in our papyrus, it is accompanied by σὺν θεῷ, which is constructed with the present, to express a hope for the future:

καὶ σὺν θεῷ ἐν ταύταις ἐπικαταλαμβάνομεν τὴν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου: "and with god's help in these, we overtake the Oxyrynchus (city) with my master".

- εἰς τὴν νήσων (*l. εἰς τὴν νῆσον*) (cf. line 4 and its note).

- {εἰς} τριῶν ὑμερῶν (*l. τριῶν ἡμερῶν*) The errors render this expression little clear. Although it is easy to think that ὑμερῶν for ἡμερῶν, by double quantity ρρ for ρ and by υ for η (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 & 264). The preposition εἰς makes it difficult, this is because the preposition takes only accusative. There are two possibilities for this expression:

- (a) Perhaps the scribe intends the duration of time by using εἰς, which is used to determine a period (cf. *L/S*), *i.e.* "throughout three days", then the genitive τριῶν ἡμερῶν may be an error to τρεῖς ἡμέρας, *i.e.* genitive for accusative.
- (b) He may intend a genitive of indefinite time *i.e.* "during three days", and then there is no need to use the preposition εἰς.

I think that the second suggestion is suitable here.

- μαθανων (*l. μανθάνω* cf. *Modern Greek μαθαίνω*) The omission of ν before θ does not occur in Gignac, but we can see the omission of ν before τ (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* p. 116). Perhaps it is a mistake for the interchanging between τ and θ (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* p. 87), or perhaps it is a normal mistake of the scribe as all the mistakes that are in our text. For the addition of a final nasal ν, it may be added before the following word (πάλιν), which begins with the stop π (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* p. 113).

6- καὶ μανθάνω πάλιν τι ἔχει{ν} For the reconstruction, cf. *P. Oxy. XIV. 1680. 15* (Oxy.; III/ IV AD), καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἀκούω ὅτι σφόδρα Ἡράκλειος ὁ νῦν ἐπίτροπος ζητεῖ σε, καὶ ὑπονοοῦμαι ὅτι πάντως πάλιν τί ποτε ἔχει πρὸς σε : “And now I hear that Herclius, the present overseer, is vigorously searching for you, and I suspect that he must have some further claim against you”. There is another using for the clause πάλιν τι ἔχει, it is used as ὅτι- clause, that by using verb ἔχει as verb ἐστὶ to give the meaning “*what is going on*” (see B.G. Mandilaras, “*The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*”, Athens 1973. pp. 794, 801).

- κεννεθε It may be a mistake for γενέσθαι with four errors: γ is replaced by κ (cf. F. T. Gignac, “*The Pronunciation of Greek Stops in the Papyri*”, American Philological Association Transactions Proceedings, 101, 1970, p. 191). Double ν for ν in medial position (cf. Gignac, “*The Grammar*”, p. 158). Omission of σ before the dental stop θ (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.*, p. 131). Interchanging of ε and αι (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.*, p. 192). It maybe infinitive depending on (θέλησον).

- θελή{α}σων {θελήσων} οὔν (l. θέλησον οὔν cf. lines 2, 3) Indeed we did not find this repetition of θέλησον in the papyri before. I think that the scribe has forgotten and repeated the word.

6-7- διαβαλὼν εἰς τὰς ... μ..... ρανων <ἐν> τοῖς νήσων Note that the scribe has written β above κ in διαβαλὼν of verb διαβάλλω, which means more frequently “*pass over, cross*”. It is used depending on θέλησον (cf. lines 2, 3). In fact I can not explain this part of the text, that line 6 ends in διαβαλὼν εἰς τὰς and the beginning of line 7 is very difficult to be read. It begins with illegible three letters and then a doubtful μ. After that there are other illegible letters (± 5). Thus we can read ρανων τοῖς νήσων. The word τοῖς νήσων may be an error to τῇ νήσῳ, so we have to add <ἐν> to express a dative of place: “on the island”.

- ἕως {τ}οῦ καταλάβου (l. ἕως οὐ καταλάβω): "until I arrive". {τ}ου The scribe wrote τ as superfluous. For the interchanging of -ω and -ου (cf. line 4, θεοῦ for θεῶ). ἕως is a relative particle expressing the point of time up to which an action goes, with reference to the end of action, *until*, *till*. It is used with an indicative to express a fact in past time, and with ἄν or κε with subjunctive, mostly of aorist, to express an event at an uncertain future time. ἄν is sometimes omitted in the language of tragic writers, and frequently in later Greek. Sometimes οὐ is used with ἕως to give the same meaning. As in our document ἕως οὐ is used with 2<sup>nd</sup>. Aorist subjunctive (καταλάβω) and ἄν is omitted (see L/S, s.v. ἕως), cf. *Mich. VIII. 477. 13* (Karanis; II AD), καὶ <ε>λεγέ [μοι] ἄφες σ[ὺ ἕως οὐ αὐτ]ῷ ἔαν ἦν δυν[α]τὸν καταβῆναι: "and he said [to me], "Let it go [until] he is able to come down"; *P. Oxy. XVI. 1853. 7* (Oxy.; VI/VII AD), ἔπεμψεν γὰρ καὶ ὁ δεσποτικός τινα τὸν ὀφείλοντα παρενέγκαι τοὺς μείζονας Θμοινεψώβθεως ἕως οὐ ζητηθῇ τὸ ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα: "For the imperial official also sent a man charged to bring the headmen of Thmoinepsbthis, until the whole affairs is investigated".

7- 8- δέξασθε οὖν νομίσματι εἴκωσι (l. δέξασθαι οὖν νομισμάτια εἴκοσι) (cf. line 4 and its note).

- Ἡλεία (l. Ἡλία, cf. line 4).

- ανειρυ.ς (?) in fact this word is too difficult to be understood, it begins with αν then a letter ε or two letters εα followed by ιρ or ρρ, and then υ maybe read. At the end we can read ς. This word maybe derived from the verb ἀνειρύω (= ἀνείρω) "draw back, fasten to or on", or ἀνειρόμαι "inquire", cf. *P. Brem. I. 47. 17* (Herm. Magna; AD 117), ἀνειρήμεθα τὰς (προκειμένους) ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμάς)

ἐξήκ[ον]τα τέσσαρας: "We inquire the aforesaid sixty four drachmas of silver".

One may read ἀναέρ{ρ}ησ<ον> (l. ἀναίρησον) of the verb ἀναιρέω. In the papyri this verb occurs with the meaning of "take or receive payment, remove" (see L/S, s.v. ἀναιρέω), I think that the scribe perhaps intends the meaning of "take", i.e. "take eight nomismata".

In fact, it is difficult to confirm any of the two suggestions, but the first maybe right here.

- ὠκτώ (l. ὀκτώ) For the interchanging between ω and ο, which occurs very frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, see Gignac, *op. cit.* P. 277. For the occurrence of ωκτώ for ὠκτώ in the ostraca and papyri, see e.g. *O. Petr. I.* 220. 7 (6 BC), κριθῆς ἀρτάβας ὠκτώ (l. ὀκτώ); *O. Tebt. Pad. I.* 45. 4 (Berenike; AD 200-1), δραχμάς ὠκτώ (l. ὀκτώ); *P. Col. VII.* 176. 21 (Karanis; AD 325), Αὐρηλία Ταμάλεις ἔσχον τὰ[ς το]ῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τριάκκ-οντα ὠκτώ (l. ὀκτώ) ἥμισυ; *P. Mich. VI.* 414. 5 (? V AD), Ἀτήσιος Παθιο( ) σὺν εἰκοστῆς ἀρτάβας ὠκτώ (l. ὀκτώ) ἥμισυ, (ἀρτάβας) ἡ| μόνας.

- κατὰ ὀκτὼ τοῦ χρυσίνου παρὰ κερ(άτια) πέντε δημοσίῳ ζυγῷ I think that the scribe intends here that the price of grain is eight *nomismata*, and each one of them is equivalent to one *aureus* less five *carats* by the public standard. Thus conversion from the private standard to the public standard is to deduct 5 carats per solidus, i.e. each goldpiece is equal to 19 carats, so the price of grain is 6 solidi and 8 carats.

Although the universal rule in converting from the private standard to the public standard is to deduct 2 carats per solidus from the former (see L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "*op. cit.*", p. 140), the scribe deduct here 5 carats per solidus. Perhaps it is for the local standard of the community, Fayum, or whatever city it may be.



9- κερ(άτια) The word κερ/ abbreviated and marked with long oblique stroke was frequently used in the Byzantine period, cf. *P. Mich.* XI. 607. 16 (Antinoopolis; AD 569), καὶ ἀναγκαΐας χρείας χρυσοῦ κεφαλαίου νομισμάτιον ἐν παρὰ κερ(άτια) ἔξ ζυγ(ῶ) δημο(σίῳ) Ἀντινόου; XIII. 666. 25 (Aphrod.; VI AD), καὶ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον ἐν παρὰ κεράτιον

ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) κώμης Ἀφροδ(ίτης).

The *carat* is twenty-fourth of νομισμάτιον or ὀλοκόττινος, 1/6 gram of gold = κεράτιον. In the sixth century, the smallest fraction of the *solidus* is 1/96<sup>th</sup>, or a fourth of a *carat*. The earliest dateable use of the *carat* with *solidi* is in *P. Oxy.* XVI. 1966. 17 (Oxy.; AD 505) (cf. L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "*op. cit.*", p. 129).

- δεμωσίῳ (l. δημοσίῳ) In this word there are two orthographical mistakes, which are frequent throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods: ε for standard η (cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* P. 242), ω for ο (cf. line 8, ὠκτώ for ὀκτώ), and one grammatical mistake; genitive for dative (cf. line 4, θεοῦ for θεῶ).

- ζυκου (l. ζυγῶ) One orthographical and one grammatical mistakes: κ for γ (cf. line 6) and genitive for dative (cf. line 4). The word ζυγόν has the meaning of "*standard* or *exchange*", it is used in the papyri joining with either ἰδιωτικός "*private*" or δημόσιος "*public*", see e.g. *P. Princ.* II. 83. (?; V AD), νομίματα τέ]σσαρα παρὰ κεράτια τς ἰδιωτικῶ [ζυγῶ Ὀξυρύγχων; *P. Col.* VIII. 245. 3 (Oxy.; VI AD), ὁ[μολο]γῶ ἐσχηκέναι [πα]ρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη [χ]ρυσοῦ νομισμ(άτια) δέκα τρίτον ἰδι(ωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ); *P. Mich.* XIII. 659. 68 (Aphrod.; AD 527-538), καὶ οὕτως ἕτερα νομίματα δεκατέσσαρα παρὰ κεράτια τέσσαρα ἕκαστον ζυγῶ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ τιμήματο -ς κατὰ προσθήκην προσενεχθῆναι Ψαιῶτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεπραμ-

ένου κτήματος; *P. Stras. V.* 317. 10 (Antinoopolis; AD 529); χρυσοῦ νομίσματα[α] τρία παρ[ὰ κεράτια] δέκα ἐπτ[ὰ] δημοσίῳ ζυγῶ.

- δημοσίῳ ζυγῶ (The public standard) In tax-records of the sixth and seventh centuries, the appearance of private, public, and Alexandrian standards with constantly varying ratios even in the same document has caused much confusion in studying the currency of the period. Considering the fineness of the Byzantine issues, and their exactness in weight, it would seem strange for so many different standards to prevail in a single city. The confusion in standards would be a decided barrier to commerce, and, if such variations existed in Egypt, they must have existed elsewhere as well. The universal rule in converting from the private standard to the public standard is to deduct 2 carats per solid from the former. In all cases where the value of the *solidus* can be determined, the coin of full weight contained 24 carats, no matter what the standard was. When taxes were paid in the private standard, the record of this fact means that a deduction of two carats per *solidus* is made by the collector (see L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "*op. cit.*", pp. 140-1).

The public standard is used in tax-registers to indicate taxes on which the fee for collection has already been deducted. Like the private standard, the public standard has 24 full carats in the gold solidus and does not indicate a difference in weight (see *ibid.* p. 155).

In private documents, as the case of our document, the public standard means the standard kept by the local weighing office, which is official for the nome and the same for the whole Roman Empire (see *ibid.* p. 155).

- ὑπὲρ τιμῆς σίτου, Note that τι/ is abbreviated with a horizontal stroke. Similar examples for this clause in: *P. Princ. III.* 156. 2 (?; AD 302), ὑπὲρ τιμῆς σίτου ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς χιλίας

ἑκατόν; *P. Sorb. I.* 61. 10-11 (?; V AD), ὑπ(ὲρ) τιμῆ(ς) σίτου καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) τιμῆ(ς) τῶν κριθῆς (ἀρταβῶν); *P. Prag. II.* 140. 1 (Herm.; VI AD), ὑπ(ὲρ) τιμῆς σίτου νομίσματα) ια̅.

- θελήσων (*l.* θέλησον, cf. lines 2, 3 and 6).

## SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

- δέξασθε (l. δέξασθαι, cf. lines 4, 7).
- νομισ(μάτια) (cf. lines 4, 8).
- 10- εἴκωσι (l. εἴκοσι cf. line 4).
- εἶνι (l. εἶναι) For the interchanging between ε and αι (cf. Gignac, "op. cit.", p. 192).

### VERSO

1- ἐπίδ(ος) The use of the imperative ἐπίδος of ἐπιδίδωμι in place of the earlier ἀπόδος, which is a technical verb of the address formula, continued to be used sporadically in later letters (see F. Ziemann, "De Epistularum Graecarum Formulis Sollemnibus Quaestiones Selectae", In Diss. Phil. Halle XVIII, 4, Halis Saxonum 1910, P. 278 ff. and cf. G. Ghedini, "Lettere Cristiane dai Papiri Greci del III e del IV secolo", Milano 1923, p. 98). In *P. Oxy. XVI. 1834* (V / VI AD)) it seems to have come into fairly general use in the fifth century and to be specially a characteristic of that century and the beginning of the sixth century. Later examples are *P. Cairo Masp. I. 67074* and *67082*, which are certainly of the sixth century, and (dated only by the hand), *P. Oxy. VI. 941*; *XVI. 1838* and *1935* (all-sixth cent.), *P. Oxy. VI. 942* and *P. Stud. Pal. XX. 212* (VI/ VII cent.). At this later period it was, however, more usual to omit the verb altogether (cf. *P. Oxy. XVI. 1831*, n. 14).

- τω [.....]αρ[. The name of the recipient is effaced, just two letters maybe read uncertainly αρ.

- ' Η]λῖα γραμματέως At the end of this line, we read γραμματέως (gen. case), and before it we can read the last three letters (λῖα) of his name, and there is a part of η before them. I don't know if this name has a connection with ' Η]λῖα, who is mentioned on the recto of our papyrus, or it is another name that has a relationship with apa Asclas the sender of this letter.

2- π(αρὰ) ἄπα Ἀσκλᾶς Here we recognize the name of the sender of our letter. Although the name Ἀσκλᾶς was very common in the papyri, we don't meet the epithet ἄπα closed to it. Note that the same π(αρὰ) is repeated again in the verso.

- ἄπα Each editor or reader of the papyri of the Byzantine period must pose a question to know how it is necessary to hear the titles Ἀββᾶς and ἄπα, which appears very frequently, as well as the title παπάς (very rare). The answer is not easy to be found, because, if the certificate of the terms *abba* and *apa* are extremely numerous, the rules, which determined its use, are formulated in any text. This difficulty seems to have discouraged the researchers.

In any case, the epithet ἄπα denotes reference (from the Coptic ⲁⲡⲁ) and corresponds to Ἀββᾶς. The meaning is similar to that of the Greek πατήρ (cf. W. E. Crum, "*Coptic. Dictionary*", 1939, p. 13a).

The Coptic term *apa* is interchangeable with the Arabic *abba*, which occurs in Semitic languages, including Syriac, Aramaic, and even Hebrew, all mean "father". This is a title of reverence usually preceding names of persons in the church hierarchy. Historically the title is extended to the names of secular martyrs as well. It is also inspired by the opening of the Lord's Prayer, and its Latin equivalent of *pater* appears in Latin Vulgate, originally in the Coptic (ⲁⲡⲁⲧⲏⲣ) or (ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲣ). Sometimes it is also cited in Coptic as (ⲁ ⲃⲁ) or (ⲁⲙⲡⲁ), which is generally used in modern Arabic with the names of bishops, archbishops and patriarchs, such as *Anba Shinudah* (cf. Aziz S. Atia, "*The Coptic Encyclopedia*", 1991, s.v. *apa*; G. Lefebvre, "*Dictionnaire d' Archéologie et de Liturgie Chrétienne*", 1924, s.v. *apa*).

The epithet *abba* is apparently more ceremonious than *apa* (cf. W. E. Crum, "*Coptic. Ostraca*", 1902, p. 49). *Apa* is used for the Christian priests from almost the middle of the fourth century (cf. M. Naldini, *op. cit.* P. 221).

At last these titles are titles of respect accorded to monks in general, especially to prominent ascetics, monks and abbots of monasteries. Title of

respect is given to priests and bishops as spiritual fathers (cf. P. Barison, "Ricerche sui Monasteri dell' Egitto Bizantino ed Arabo Secondo i documenti dei Papiri Greci", *Aegyptus*, XVIII (1938), p. 45; N. Turner, "Christian Words", Edinburgh, 1980, p. 1; W. Spiegelberg, "Koptische Miszellen", *Zeitschrift für die Ägyptische Sprache*, 62, 1927, p. 47-48; G. Tibiletti, "Le lettere Private nei Papiri Greci del III e IV secolo d.c. Tra Paganesimo e Cristianesimo", Milano, 1979, p. 180; G. W. H. Lampe, "Greek Patristic Lexicon", 1961, s.v. ἀββας).

- ' Ασκλᾶς (l. ' Ασκλᾶ nominative instead of genitive) Names in -ᾶς, originally hypocoristics and not necessarily foreign to Attic-Ionic, fluctuate between the α- stem declension and a mixed α- and dental stem type. Many Egyptian names follow the same patterns. The nominative is regularly -ᾶς, but spellings in -ᾶ appears rarely, probably representing the loss final ζ. The genitive fluctuates between -ᾶ and -ᾶτος (see, F. T. Gignac, "A Grammar", II, p. 16).

The name ' Ασκλᾶς was very common in the Roman period but rare in Byzantine, see e.g. *P. Heid. III. 262. 1* (Thebes; AD 140), Ὠρος καὶ ' Ασκλᾶς; *Chr. Wilk. 001. 497 = P. Grenf. II. 67. 2* (Ars. Polis; AD 237), [πα]ρὰ Ἀβρηλίου ' Ασκλᾶ; *P. Mich XV. 727. 1* (Oxy. nome; IV/V AD), Φιλέας Διονυσίῳ χει(ριστῇ) ' Α]σκλᾶ προνο(ητοῦ) χ(αίρειν).

## VIII

### LIST OF ARREARS OF WHEAT

*P. Cairo Mus.C.G. 10692 Inv. S. R. 1667*  
*30.4 x 8.9 cm.*

*Prov. unknown*  
*VI / VII AD*

Fragmentary papyrus sheet is broken off at the right hand-side. The format is a narrow strip. Free margins are preserved at the top and the left hand-side of approximately 1.5 cm. At the bottom ca. 1 cm. blank space is preserved. Four vertical folds are still visible. The writing on the *recto* runs along the fibers. The *verso* is blank.

The text may be complete. The ends of lines 3, 4 and 11-13, as well as 26-29 have been lost with all the given amounts.

The handwriting is rapid. It is of medium sized and a practiced upright Byzantine cursive. The writing, somewhat similar to P.Lugd. Bat. XVI. 11 (VII AD) and it maybe assigned to the sixth century or later (see R. Seider, *Palaographie der Griechischen Papyri*, I, pap. 59 page 107 (AD 525))


The points of interest of this text are:

The heading ἔχθεσις (see lines 1 and 16) refers to arrears due from different people.


- There are two crosses at the *incipit* of lines 1 and 16 indicating the beginning of two different lists. The first cross spreads to line 2, and the second one spreads from line 16 to line 21. The cross sign, with final hooks, is a common one in Byzantine documents and letters (cf. M. Naldini, "*Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere Private nei Papiri dei Secoli II-IV*", Firenze, 1968, pp. 23-27): this shape has a horizontal stroke cut by a long upright descender with the foot turning to the right, like a rho.

- There is a horizontal continuous line has been drawn to divide the two parts of the document.

- Each person in the two lists is associated with grain amounts (lines 3-14) measured in σίτου artabas and with money amounts (lines 15-29)

specified in *κεράτια*. The symbol  is common for κ(εράτιον), a κέρατιον, "Carat", is a weight of gold bullion equal to 1/24 of a *solidus* (νόμισμα) (see L. C. West & A. C. Johnson, "Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt", Princeton, 1944, p. 129). It is used as a term of account and would normally imply payment in the subsidiary base metal coinage. The equivalence is 1 *solidus* = 24 *keratia*.

The figures of the amounts of wheat (presumably lines 3-13) are in any case lost.

- The sign which is at the end of line 9 read as , it is the symbol for ἀρτάβαι, σί(του) (ἀρτάβαι). The artaba is a unit of measure, used for grains and other produce. ἀρτάβαι of different capacities are attested, ranging from 24 to 42 *choinikes*. The standard ἀρτάβα of tax collection appears to have contained 40 *choinikes*, as a quantity equal to some 43 litres (see Naphtali Lewis, "Life in Egypt Under Roman Rule", Oxford, 1983, p. 210; D. W. Rathbone, "The Weights and Measurements of Egyptian Grains", ZPE, 53, (1983), p. 265-275). For the most recent discussion of the complex evidence see, J. C. Shelton, "Two Notes on the Artab", ZPE, 42, (1981), p. 101 ff.

Each entry begins with a personal name and is closed with an amount. The names of the persons were not listed alphabetically. In few cases, two persons occur in a line (see line 19). All the surviving names are masculine; the men are further identified by a patronymic (see lines 3, 4, 9, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25) (cf. *P. Oxy. LXIII. 4372* "Account of grain"; *P. Oxy. LV. 3785*); or by their profession (see lines 13, 28, 29). Only one name is identified by patronymic and his mother's name, but the name of his mother is wiped (line 12).

Four names of the first list (see lines 3-6) and one of the second list (see line 24) have been deleted by the scribe. Perhaps they have already paid their arrears.

The document has some names that did not appear before in the papyri and ostraca as: Πελλάκης (line 6), Πτόξις (line 7), Πατροῦς (line 21), Δακάφελος (line 22), Πατήκη or Πατήβη (line 24).

# SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

A parallel document is preserved by *BGU. II. 539. 1* (Arsinoite; AD 342), ἔχθεσις σίτου.

The provenance of our papyrus is unknown but the name Ψιμανώβετ (line 4) that was common in Aphroditopolis suggests that Aphroditopolis is a possible place where the document was written (see *P. Flor. III*; *P. Cairo Masp. I – III*).

There are some abbreviations on the documents, the scribe has written them either by writing the final letter above the line as: το<sup>υ</sup> σίτο<sup>υ</sup> (for τοῦ σίτου) (line 1), Σιμάρο<sup>υ</sup> (for Σιμάρου) (line 9); or with an oblique element cutting the final letter of the word as: δ/ (for διὰ) (line 10); or without any sign as: μητρ/ (for μητρός) (line 12). As well as personal names as: Θεόφ/ (for Θεόφιλος) (lines 9); or with a horizontal stroke above the line as: 'Αβράμι (for 'Αβράμιος) (line 14) Μῃη(uncertain) (line 18).

## RECTO

### Col. 1

→	†	ἔχθεσις το(ῦ) σίτο(υ)	[
		Φάτο καὶ τοῖς	[
		[[ 'Αμμῶνις Κυριακοῦ]]	[
		[[ 'Ανο`ὕ'π Ψιμαν[ώβετ]]	[
5		[[Κελήλης]]	ἰ [
		[[Πελλάκης]]	ἰ [
		Πτόξις	ἰ [
		Καθῖλ(?)	ἰ [
		Θεόφ(ιλος) Σιμάρο`υ`	ἰ [
10		δ(ιὰ) Σατρ<ι>ου [ ]	ἰ [
		'Αβράμιος Κιανῶς	.. [
		'Αμόει "Ωσβεις μητρ(ός)	.. [



[ ]

'Ιωάννης εἰρηνάρχ[ης

'Αβράμι(ος) 'Αγο ` υ' θ[ί]ου

ς [

**RECTO**

Col, 2

15

χμγ

†

ἐχθ[ε]σις [τοῦ σίτου

Φλαβιανός (?)

ἦε[

'Απόλλων Μνη()

ἦκ[

Παννούφιος (καὶ) ὁ υἱός Παλικοῦ ὕ'

ἦη[

20

'Ιωάννης Πελοῦ ὕ' Φάν

.. [ ] ἦ

Πατροῦς

.. [

Προῦα Δακαφέλου

α. [

'Αἰόν

ἦε [

[ Πρωοῦς Πατήβη ]

.. [

25

Μακάρις Φαλοῦτη(ς)

ἦι, [

Πάνγου 'Αφοῦ Φῖβ

[

Ψάμex

[

'Αντήους οἰκωδόμ[ος

'Ανοῦπ 'Αστράκως πρ[εσβύτερος

**CORRECTIONS:**

Line 1- *l.* ἐκθεσις

Line 2- *l.* Φάτω

Line 3- *l.* 'Αμμώνιος

Line 8- *l.* Καθῦλ(?)

Line 23- *l.* 'Αἰών

SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

Line 25- *l.* Μακάριος  
Line 27- *l.* Ψάμις  
Line 28- *l.* οἰκοδόμος  
Line 29- *l.* Ἀστάκου ?

**TRASLATION**

*The First List:*

→ +	List of arrears of wheat [ Phatos and the (?) [[Ammonis (son of) [
	Kyriakos]]
	[[Anoup (son of) [
	Psimanobet]]
5	[[Keleles] (artab(s) of wheat) [ [[Pellakes] (artab(s) of wheat) ½ [ Ptoxis (artabs of wheat) 90 [ Kathyl (artab(s) of wheat) . [ Theophilos (son of) Simaros (artabs of wheat) 90 [ 10 Through Satrios (artab(s) of wheat) [ Abramios (son of) Kianos .. [ Amoei (son of) Osbeis his .. [ mother... .. [ Ioannes, the irenarch [ Abramios (son of) ½ [ Anouthios

*The Second List:*

15	(Maria bears Christ)	
+	List of arrears of [wheat] ?	
	Flavianos (?)	(carats) 5 [

# SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

	Apollon (son of) Mne( )	(carats) 20 [
	Pannouphios and his son Palikos	(carats) 8[
20	Ioannes (son of) Pelos Phan	(carats) [
	Patrous	.. [
	Proua Dakaphelos	1 . [
	Aion	(carats) 5 [
	Proous (son of) Patebe	.. [
25	Makarios (son of) Phaloutes	(carats) 10 ½ [
	Pannos (son of) Aphos Phib	[
	Psamis	[
	Anteous, the builder [	
	Anoup (son of) Astakos the elder [	

## **COMMENTARY:**

1- ἔχθεσις (*l.* ἐκθεσις) Note that ἔχθεσις appears more frequently than ἐκθεσις throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods: ἔχθεσις (for ἐκθεσις), *P. Iand. III. 32. 1* (?; II AD); *P. Cair. Isid. 17. 1* (Karanis; AD 314); *P. Got. 001. 55. 1* (?; VII AD); ἐχθέσθαι (for ἐκθέσθαι), *P. Oxy. VI. 899 = Chr. Wilk. 001. 361. 4* (Oxy.; AD 200); *PSI. VIII. 872. 6* (VI AD) (see F. T. Gignac, “*A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*”, vol. 1, Phonology, Milano, 1975, p. 89).

In the *bureaucratic* language the term ἐκθεσις means “*arrears, list of arrears*”. Usually, as in our text, the kind of tax is specified: for ἔχθεσις σίτο(υ) *exempli gratia*, see *P. Oxy. LXIII. 4372. 3* and *passim* (Oxy.; AD 341-99). Payments of the wheat due were made in *artabas*.

Here the suggested sense is that we should expect σίτο(υ). By this late date σίτος usually means “wheat”, rather than grain in general. (cf. H. Cadell. *Akten d. XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, Marburg-Lahn, 1971, pp. 61- 68 (especially 64-65).

2- Φάτο καὶ τοῖς (*l.* Φάτω ?) For the interchanging between ο and ω, which occurs very frequently in all phonetic conditions throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods (see, Gignac, “*op. cit*”, p. 277). With regard

to the documents, which belonged to ἔχθεσις σίτου, we did not find ἔχθεσις σίτου followed by a proper name and a dative definite article (τοῖς) without noun, but we find it followed by the persons in the nominative case as in *P. Abbin. 001. 76. 1-2* (Ars.; IV AD), ἔκθεσις σίτου Ἀννεῦς (ἀρτάβαι) λθ.

Indeed there are three possibilities for this line:

- (a) Φάτω is a possible name in nominative case. This is because the following names are declined in nominative, and there is no sign of abbreviation since the scribe always shows the abbreviation of the names (cf. lines 4, 9, 10). If we accept this suggestion, we have here a new proper name.
- (b) Perhaps the scribe intends here Φάτω in dative case as he writes the following article καὶ τοῖς in dative plural. Perhaps the arrears of wheat belong to this person, i.e. the following persons pay to him and the others. Indeed I cannot explain why did the scribe write this article in dative or in genitive, since he wrote the following names in nominative.
- (c) Although there is no sign of abbreviation, it seems likely to be extended to Φάτο(υ) in genitive as we find this name only in *P.Lond. IV. 1443, col. v, 32* (Aphrodito; AD VIII), Πεκ(υσίου) Φάτο(υ) νο(μίσματα) ζ, and then the scribe writes the dative definite article (τοῖς) as a wrong form to the genitive definite article (τῶν) to refer to the following names.

- καὶ τοῖς With regard to the first suggestion above, since the followed names are declined in nominative, perhaps the scribe intends καὶ οἱ. Undoubtedly dative is wrong here and it is better that the article being in genitive because these arrears belong to the persons.

3-10- Opposite each name is an amount of grain in *artabas* (for which the symbol ⲙ is used).

3- 'Αμμῶνις (= 'Αμμώνιος) On this new type of declension, see (F.T. Gignac, "A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods", vol. II, Morphology, Milano, 1977, pp. 25-29). A late Greek declension in -ις is found considerably more frequently in papyri of all periods than elsewhere in Koine. In the Roman and Byzantine papyri, forms in -ις is found in names, forms of address, titles, occupational designations, and diminutives. The name 'Αμμῶνις was very common in the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods. For the occurrences of this name in the papyri, see e.g. *P. Hib. II.* 218. 25 (Hibeh; I/II cent. AD); *BGU. II.* 630. iii. 15 (Soknop. Nesos; 200 AD); *P. Oxy. I.* 64 = *Chr. Wilck. 001.* 475. 4 (Oxy.; III / early IV AD).

- Κυριακοῦ The name "Kyriakos" was very common in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and especially in the Byzantine period, it occurs many times in the papyri and ostraca see, e.g. *P. Ant. I.* 42. 30 (Antinoopolis; AD 542); *BGU. II.* 367. 7, 23 (Ars.; AD 642); 669. 7 (AD 638); 672. 4 (Hermionthis; AD 642); *P. Apoll. 001.* 83. v. 14 (Apollonopolis Magna; AD 712-13); *O. Petr. 001.* 447. 4 (?; 323-642); *O. Sarga. 001.* 123. (Wadi Sarga; VI/VII AD).


4- 'Ανοῦπ (= 'Ανοῦβ) Egyptian names without Greek endings are occasionally found in the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri and, under the influence of Coptic, is frequently in the Byzantine papyri (see P. W. Pestman, "The New Papyrological Primer", Leiden, 1994, p. 44-45). This name seems to be a quite common in papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods see e.g. *P. Giss. 001.* 121. 7 (?; AD 535); *P. Ath. Xyla. 001.* 12. 6 (Herm.; AD); *P. Erl. 001.* 68. 1 (Herakleopolis; AD); *P. Heid. V.* 350. 8 (Arsinoiton Polis; 612 AD); *T. Varie. 001.* 10. 2 (Oxy.; VII AD). 'Ανοῦπ occurs otherwise as 'Ανοῦβ in *P. Anag. 001.* 194 = *SB. XVI.* 12283. 1 (Magdola; IV AD), Νινῶϣτ' Ανοῦβ κώμ(αρ-χος).

- Ψιμαν[ώβετ] The Papyrus here is peeled, bearing the rest of the name. So it seems likely that we should extend Ψιμαν[ ] to Ψιμαν[ώβετ] as in *P. Flor. III.* 297. v. 15 (Antinoopolis; AD 525-6), κλ(ηρονόμοι) Ψαίου Ψενθ( ) καὶ 'Ιερα[κ( ) Ψ]ιμαν( ) δ(ιὰ)

Ἰωσηφίου); and *passim*. This personal name occurs in documents from Aphroditopolis (VI century AD) published as *P. Cairo Masp. I-III*. This name occurs elsewhere in the papyri see, e.g. *P. Ross. Georg. III*. 36. 4 (Arsinoite; AD 537); *SB. XIII*. 13320 = *P. Mich. XIII*. 665. 7 (Aphroditopolis; AD 613-41).

5- The proper name Κελήλης is a possible reading. Also Κελήτης may be read. I prefer to read this name as Κελήλης. This name occurred only in List of Payments to *symmachoi* in *P. Oxy. XVI*. 2045, 4 (Oxy; AD 612), [... ]ασκας Κελήλου.

6. Πελλάκης The reading is certain. The name Πελλάκης did not appear before in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. We have here a new name.

- The sign , a sinuous curve, may be equivalent to (ἥμισυ) (= "one half") (see A. Blanchard, "*Sigles et Abreviations dans les Papyrus Documentaires Grecs*", *Recherches de Paleographie*, (BICS, suppl. 30), London, 1974, p. 54").

7. Πτόξις The reading is very plausible, but this name did not occur elsewhere in the papyri (cf. see P/N & F/O). If the reading is correct, we have here a new name.

8- Καθίλ For the interchanging between υ and ι in accented syllables (Καθι- pap. for Καθυ -) (see F. T. Gignac, "*Grammar*", 1, p. 268). The name Καθύλις is very rare in the papyri. It occurs in *P. Thmouis. I*. 1. 110. ctr. 22 (Thmouis; AD 170-1), Ἀμουννέως Καθύλιος. Many Egyptian names are used indeclinably especially in the Byzantine papyri, but most have alternate formations which fit into Greek declensional types (see Gignac, II, Morphology, p. 103).

9- Θεόφιλος There are various forms for this name as (Θεόφιλε, Θεοφίλη, Θεώφιλος, Θεύφιλος, Τεύφιλος), (see P/N & F/O). For the occurrences of this name, which was used frequently in the

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papyri see e.g. *CPR. VII. 26. 39* (Hermoupolis Magna; VI AD); *P. Bad. IV. 93. 13* (Hermopolite; VII AD); *P. Genova. I. 41. 10* (?; VII/VIII AD).

- Σιμόροϛ This name occurs only in *P. Lond. III. 1170. 14, 566* (Arsinoite; 144 AD), Σιμόρου ἀνθ' (οὔ) Νείλου Ἀγχορ[ίμ]-φεως (δραχμαὶ) λδ.

10- δ(ιό) the scribe wrote δ/ abbreviated by an oblique element cutting the letter. This abbreviation is used very frequent in the papyri, see e. g. *P. Flor. III. 297. v. 7* (Aphrodito; AD 525-6); *P. Mert. I. 47. 8* (?; VI/VII AD); *P. Laur. IV. 185. 1* and passim (?; VII AD).

The rest of this line is very much faded. Doubtfully, Σατρου is possible reading. Σάτρ<ι>ου may be restored, cf. *P. Oxy. XXXIII. 2665. 15* (Oxy.; AD 305-6).

11- Ἀβράμιος This name was very common in Byzantine and Arab periods see *P. Herm. 001. 30. 25* (?; VI AD); *P. Alex. 001. inv. 239. 2* (?; VI / VII AD); *Stud. Pal. X. 74. r. ii. 3* (Arsinoite; VII/VIII AD).

- Κιάνωϛ May be read. It may be genitive of the proper name Κιανός, or perhaps a wrong genitive for Κιάνου, which does not appear in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, but it occurs very rare in the Ptolemaic Period, cf. e.g. *P. Col. IV. 77. v. 4* (Philadelphia; 248-245 BC), Κιάνωι παιδί (ὀβολοὶ) γ. Indeed the distance between this date and that of our document is very long, perhaps the name was being used in the Ptolemaic period and disappeared for a time, and then became to appear in the Byzantine period.

12- Ἀμόει Ὡσβεις(?) μητρ(ός) [ ] At the beginning of this line, which is written very cursive, one may read Ἀμόει, this indeclinable name occurs two times only in the papyri of the Byzantine period, see *P. Stud. Pal. X. 297. v. 5* (Herm. Magna; V/VI AD), Ἀμόει Παύλ(ου); 299. 4 (?; VII/VIII AD), Ἀνδρέας Ἀμοει.

The name of his father was written more cursive, it may be read doubtful Ὡσβεις(?), which occurs only in *SB. I. 4206. 82. 82* (I AD).

At the end of the line, we can read μητρ/ abbreviated by an oblique element cutting the final letter ρ, which should be an abbreviation to μητρ(ός). It was used to write the abbreviation in the form μη( ), without the letters "τρ"; but it is not unique case, there are some examples for the abbreviation μητρ( ) in the papyri and ostraca of the Roman and Byzantine periods see e.g. *P. Fouad. 001. 61. 7* (Tebt.; AD 157); *O. Wilb. 001. 26. 3* (Elephantine; AD 144-5); *O. Berl. 001. 40. 4* (Elephantine; AD 145); *CPR. I. 154. 13* (Arsinoite; III AD); *P. Lips. 001. 65. 17* (Herm. Magna; AD 390); *P. Muench. III-1. 102. 4* (Hermopolite; AD 455); *P. Lond. V. 1661. 8* (Aphrodito; AD 553); *PSI. I. 61. 11* (AD 609); *Stud. Pal. X. 54. 7* (Arsinoite; VIII AD). The texts of the first century AD most commonly use μητρός to introduce the name of mother, and is much used in the Byzantine period (see, C. Rossberg, "*De Praepositionum Graecarum in Chartis Aegyptiis Ptolemaeorum Aetatis Usu.*", Diss. Philologica. Jena, 1909, p. 24 ff.). The end of the line is wiped takes the name of his mother.

13-' Ιωάννης There are various forms of this name such as Εἰωάννης, 'Ιοάνης, 'Ιωάνης, 'Ιωάνις, 'Ιωάννι, 'Ιαύνη. The name 'Ιωάννης was very common in the Byzantine and Arab periods, it occurs many times in the papyri, see e.g. *P. Erl. 001. 67. 21* (Herakleopolis; AD 590); *P. Amh. II. 150. 11* (Oxy.; AD 592); *P. Grenf. I. 63. 1* (Apollonopolis Magna; VI/VII AD); *P. Iand. II. 19. 1* (Oxy.; VI/VII AD).

- εἰρηνάρχ[ης] The *irenarchs* are village officials. They are *riparii* like the village-irenarch of *P. Amh. II. 146* and *PSI. I. 47* (Oxy.; V and VI AD respectively). The range of attested dates for the εἰρηνάρχης are fourth century to Byzantine period. Officials with similar titles suggest police or peacekeeping functions and duties. For εἰρηνάρχει as recipients of orders to arrest, see *P. Turner. 001. 46* (Hermoupolis Magna; IV AD). The evidence of *P. Oxy. XXXI. 2568* (from Oxy.) shows another aspect of the "*irenarchs*" powers: requisitioning (of a boat in that case) was part of their office (cf. N. Lewis, "*the Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt*", *Papyrologica Florentina*, XXVIII, Firenze, 1997, pp. 23-24).



14- 'Αβράμι(ος) 'Αγοῦς θ[ι]ου With regard to CPR. IX. 56. 21 (Hermopolite; V / VI AD), we find 'Ανουθίου 'Αβρα[μίου] "Anouthios (son of) Abramios". According to that the son sometimes takes the name of his grandfather, and the date of our document maybe the sixth or seventh century AD, perhaps Abramios of our papyrus, is a grandson of Abramios of the CPR document, or one of this family.

For the occurrences of 'Ανουθίς in the papyri, see e.g. SB. XVIII. 13920. 1 (?; V/VI AD); P. Iand. III. 48. 12 (Oxy.; 582 AD); P. Oxy. XVI. 1910. 10 (Oxy.; VI/VII AD).

15- The reading of the letters in line 15 is by no means certain. The sign at the beginning resembles a *chi* and an oblique rising from bottom to top right cuts the last letter. The remains might be interpreted as χμγ/ (perhaps the first list begins also with χμγ, but it is lost?).

The two main approaches have been:

- (a) To look for 643, as a numeral.
- (b) To understand Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννᾷ or some grammatical variant of the same phrase, but the use of simply initial letters does not correspond with any system of abbreviating sacred names or ordinary words that we find elsewhere.

The signification of this common Christian symbol remains uncertain. (See G.H.R. Horsley, "New Documents Illustration Early Christianity", II, 1982, pp. 177 – 180 (with bibliography). There are many studies concerning the Christian symbol *XMI*, which is very common in both papyri and inscription from the fourth century on-wards. We seem, however, still to be far from the decisive solution of the meaning of these letters. Tomasz Derda and many scholars tried to discuss that symbol, and many scholars started from the assumption that the symbol *XMI* has to have had only one meaning X(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννᾷ) or some variant grammatical forms of the same phrase as: X(ριστὸς) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννα), X(ριστὸς) Μ(αρίας) Γ(έννα), X(ριστοῦ) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννα) or X(ριστὲ) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννα). For more about this symbol see (Tomasz Derda, "Some Remarks on the Christian Symbol *XMI*", The Journal of Juristic

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Papyrology, XXII, 1992, pp. 21-27; M. Naldini, *op. cit.* pp. 28-30; J. O. Tjäder, "Christ our Lord, Born of the Virgin Mary", *Eranos*, 67, 1970, pp. 148-190).

16- ἔχθεσις [τοῦ σίτο] ὕ Could suit the traces (cf. line 1). This is means that it is the beginning of another list of arrears in the same document.

17- Φλα....ός The letters are very much faded. Φλαβιανός could suit the traces. The name Φλαβιανός, which occurs not frequently, did not appear in the papyri before the Byzantine period that the first attestation of it was in the end of the third century, cf. *Chr. Wilk.* 001. 474. v. 5. 10 (Oxy; AD 295). It occurs elsewhere in the Byzantine period, see e.g. *SB. I.* 4779. 3 (?; AD 323-642); *P. Princ. II.* 105. 1 (Oxy; VI AD); *Stud. Pal. XX.* 254. 1 (?; VI AD).

18. Ἀπόλλων A very common name in the papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, see e.g. *P. Lille. I.* 9. 2, 3 (Ghoran; III cent. BC); *O. Stras.* 001. 451. 1 (?; IV AD); *P. Lips.* 001. 49. 3 (Hypselis; 372 AD); *P. Oxy. I.* 131. 16 (Oxy; VI/VII AD).

- Μνη( ) The last letter was corrected by writing η over a previous sign. There are various forms of names beginning with Μνη-. we may suggest Μνη( ) as an abbreviation of Μνη(σιθέου)? The name Μνησίθεος occurs not frequently in the Roman period cf. *P. Brem.* 001. 46. 1 (Hermoupolis; AD 110), Μνησίθεος Μ[ν]ησιθέου; *SB. XVI.* 12235. ii. 6 (Oxy.; III AD), Σαραπίων Μνησιθέου. Another suggestion is Μνη(σάρχου) cf. *P. Eleph.* 001. 18. 6 (Elephantine; 223-222 BC). I prefer Μνησίθεος, because this name occurs elsewhere in the papyri of the Roman Period, more than Μνήσαρχος, which occurs only in the Ptolemaic period.

19. Πανούφιος (= Πανούβιος) Note that this name cited only as masculine in *P/N*). This Egyptian name occurs elsewhere in the papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods. For the occurrences

in the papyri of Byzantine documents, see. e.g. *P. Flor.* III. 297. v. 8 (Aphrodito; AD 525/6), Πανυχάβ Πανουφ[ί]ου δ(ιὰ) Φοιβάμμων(ος) ν(όμισμα) ᾱ; *P. Lond.* V. 1765. 9 (Hermoupolis Magna; AD 554), Ἰωάννου Πανουφίο(υ).

- Παλικοῦ Ὑ This name occurs only in *Stud. Pal.* VIII. 797. 7 (Arsinoiton Polis; AD VII), δ(ι) ἐμοῦ Ἰούστου Παλικοῦ; and III. 191. 8 (Arsinoiton Polis; VIII AD), δ(ι) ἐμοῦ Παλικ(οῦ).

20 - Πελοῦ Ὑ For various forms of this name see *P/N* (Πελοῦ, Πελοῦς, Πελως, Πελῦς, Πελοῦσις). The name Πελοῦ is attested in *BGU.* II. 364. 18 (Arsinoite; AD 553), Ἀυρήλιος Νεῖλος Πελοῦ; and *SB.* XVI. 12301. 25 (?; VIII AD), Θεων(ᾱ) Πελοῦ.

- Φάγ This Egyptian name is attested only twice. One in the papyri of the Roman period, and other in Byzantine, cf. *P. Lond.* III. 1170. 446 (Arsinoite; AD 144), Φαντίου Φάγ; and *CPR.* X. 89. v. 3 (Arsinoite; VI AD), Φάν Κιαμούλ Μακα[ρίου].

21- The beginning of this line bears the name Πατροῦς, and the rest of the line is wiped. The name Πατροῦς did not occur in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The reading is certain, and then we have here a new name.

22. Προῦα The last letters of the name are faded, but Προῦα could suit the traces. For various forms see (*P/N & F/O*).

- Δακαφέλου This name does not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If the reading is correct, we have here a new name.

23- Ἰόν (l. Ἰών) For various form of this name see *P/N* (Ἰαῖων, Ἰαῖωνις, Αἰῶνις, Αἰῶνος). The name Ἰαῖων is probably intended here. This name was very common in the Byzantine period especially in the fourth century, but it is very rare in the fifth, sixth and

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seventh centuries, see e.g. *PNYU. I. 19. 2* (Karanis; AD 330-40); *P. Stras. IX. 858. v. 10* (Karanis; IV AD); *P. Lond. I. 113. 6A. 6* (AD 612-43).

24- Πρωοῦς This name seems to be attested in the Roman period, cf. *P. Amh. II. 126* = *P. Sarap. 001. 34* (Hermopolite; AD 128), Πρωοῦτι Σαλατ(ᾱτος).

- Πατήκη or Πατήβη are possible here, and both of them are not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If the reading is correct, we have here a new name.

25- Μακάρις (l. Μακάριος) For the ending -ις instead of -ιος, see (note 3). For the occurrences of Μακάρις in the papyri see e.g. *SB. I. 5354. 17* (?; V AD); *Stud. Pal. III. 516. 2* (Arsinoite; VI cent. AD); *P. Merton. 001. 99. 2* (Kerkesouchon; VII cent. AD).

- Φαλοῦτη(ς) Perhaps a wrong genitive of (Φαλοῦς, -οῦτος), which occurs rarely in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see e.g. *SB. VI. 9319. 22* (Thebes; AD 116), νεώ(τερος) Φαλοῦτ[ο]ς.

26-29- In the following lines the figures by the right hand margin are lost.

26- Πάννου For various form of this name see *P/N* (Πάνου, Πέννου). The name Πάννος occurs elsewhere in the papyri and ostraca of the Roman period and the beginning of the Byzantine, see e.g. *P. Oxy. XII. 1584. 9; 32* (Oxy.; II cent. AD); *P. Leipz. 001. 26. v. 5* (Memphis; III cent. AD); *O. Mich. II. 921. 2* (Karanis; 301 AD).

- ' Αφοῦ For various forms of this name (see *P/N*, ' Αφοῦ, ' Αφουᾱς). The name ' Αφοῦ occurs in the papyri of the fifth and sixth century see e.g. *P. Genova I. 27. 1-2* (?; V AD); *P. Ross. Georg. V. 62. 11* (Aphrodito; VI AD); *Stud. Pal. III. 541. 4* (Arsinoite; VI/VII AD).

- Φῖβ For various form of this name (see *P/N*, Φῖβιος, Φῖβις). The name Φῖβ was very common in the Roman and Byzantine periods, see e.g. *P. Col. VIII. 246. 11* (Oxy.; VI AD); *P. Alex. 001. 35. 6* (Arsinoite polis; AD 618); *Stud. Pal. X. 74. 8* (Arsinoite; VII/VIII AD).

27- Ψάμεξ (l. Ψάμιξ ) The name Ψάμιξ occurs not frequently in the Roman period only, see e.g. *P. Corn. 001. 21. 94* (Philadelphia; 25 AD); *P. Harr. I. 72. 4* (?; I/II AD). The form Ψάμεξ occurs in *P. Lond. III. 964. 6* (?; II/III AD).

28- 'Αντηοῦξ (genitive, 'Αντηοῦτος) This name is rare in the Byzantine period. It occurs not frequently in the papyri of the Roman period, see e.g. *BGU. IX. 1900. 65* (Theadelphia; AD 196), Πάπου καὶ 'Αγτηοῦξ Σώτου; *P. Wisc. II. 41. 4* (Arsinoiton polis; AD 189), το(ῦ) 'Αντηο(ῦτος) μητρὸς) Θαή(σιος).

- οἰκωδόμ[ος] (l. οἰκοδόμος) For the interchanging between ο and ω (see F. T. Gignac, "grammar", I, p. 277). It is the first indication to the craft of one of the persons in the document. The word "οἰκοδόμος" identifies the profession of the builder, who was building by using the different materials of building, and also he was supervising of the operations of burning the bricks (see Awad Shaaban, "Industrial Crafts in Egypt in the Roman Era", PHD Thesis, Alex. Univ. 1988. p. 161 Arabic edition).

29- 'Αστᾶκωξ (l. 'Αστᾶκου?) Perhaps it is wrong genitive for 'Αστᾶκου. This name occurs only in *BGU. II. 571. 18* (Arsinoite; II AD), 'Αστακος Σοξ[μήνεω]ς [τοῦ Σ]οκμήνε[ως].

- πρ[(εσβύτερος) It means "the elder". Preisigke affirmed notable difficulty to verify if πρεσβύτερος in the Christian age is given to a priest or simply to more elderly (see Preisigke, *WB. II. s.v.*). Also on the religious value of the term πρεσβύτερος it is borrowed by the profane language and entered properly in ecclesiastical terminology. They subsist, at least for the documents of the first four centuries (M. Naldini, *op. cit.* p. 21).

οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κώμης are liturgical civil servants of villages. They are chosen among the richest inhabitants. Their income was from 400 or 500 to 1,200 drachmas. We can see in Soknopaïou Nesos, their income rises to 800 drams cf. *P. Lond. II. 199. p. 158* (AD 200-1). The πρεσβύτεροι were constituted in college cf. *BGU. I. 85 = Chr. Wilk. 001. 345* (AD 138-61) and divided probably in sections that were service tour to tour. This is

because the *πρεσβύτεροι* are mentioned with the indication of β κλήρος "second share", cf. *BGU. III. 700* (II AD), during one year of loads in *BGU. I. 195. 30* (147-8), τοὺς κατ' ἔτος πρεσβυτέρους; during the fourth year in *P. Gen. I. 42. 24* (224-5). The eleventh year in *P. Fay. 001. 304 = SB. XVIII. 13143. 5* (II AD); the fifteenth year in *BGU. I. 345. 12* (AD 207), and the twentieth year in *P. Lond. II. 255 = Chr. Wilk. 001. 272. 7-8* (AD 136).

Their numbers varied, presumably with size of village or probably varied with the importance of the borough, e.g. two to four in Panopolite villages, thirty at Philadelphia (cf. *P. Achm. 001. 7*, *P. Gen. I. 42*). Different numbers also occur for the same village at different times, e.g. four and five at Soknopaiou Nesos (cf. *P. Ryl. I. 89*, *Stud. Pal. XXII. 52*). But in this connection it must be remembered that the number of the *πρεσβύτεροι* appearing in the document is frequently less than the total number, one or more acting for the whole group.

Most of the time, they were recruited among landowners (γεούχοντες) or among people having already filled some important financial loads. We find in *P. Fay. 304*, a *πρυσβύτερος* had clothed previously the load of the ἐπιτήρησις τῶν γεννηματογραφουμένων "Inspection of properties confiscated by the state".

They are charged in the perception of certain taxes, as the tax on sheep, beer, dams, etc. These taxes are appropriated either directly as of real conductors, or indirectly by the mediator of delegates (cf. *P. Lond. II. 255. p. 117*).

For more about the *πρεσβύτεροι* (See N. Lewis, *op. cit.* p. 43; A. Tomsin, "Etude sur les *πρεσβύτεροι* des Villages de la Egyptienne", in Acad. Royal de Belgique, de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, V série, XXXVIII (1952), pp. 95-130, 467-532).