Tarek Rashad Hafez Aly(*)

SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS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 11th 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

(●) 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 Piantaudi 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.
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 (kollēsis) 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 kollēsis, 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, epsilon, and omega. Nu is one of the third century BC. patterns, with the last stroke rising above the line (ʃ). Alpha is of the minuscule type and the loop is sometimes represented by a mere straight line (α). Tau is almost always without the right-hand portion of its crossbar, being written with single stroke of the pen (τ); the first half of the cross bar and the down-stroke are formed together. Epsilon generally has a large loop, carried further to the left than the right (ε). Omega habitually has its second loop represented by an almost or quite straight line (ω).

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 Ṿiōς. 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.

9
Possibly the distribution mode was of house property 
(ἐν τῷ ... ὀικῷ?) “In the house of”, or parcels of land 
(ἐν τῷ ... κλήρῳ?) “In the allotment of”, or geographical place 
(ἐν τῷ ... ἐποικίῳ?) “In the farmstead of”. Perhaps ἐποικίῳ is the 
intended unwritten word here, that in col. I, line 14 we can read in 
doubtfully ἐποικίῳ (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 ὑτός (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 ὑτός 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 poll-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 ἀπογραφῇ) 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,

**RECTO**

Col. I → 'Αρμύστις Πολύτος

| ιός | γύος
| --- | ---
| Vac. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>τίς</th>
<th>υός</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἴς Ορσεύς</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 | ἵς Νεξθεκίσιος |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἵς υός</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Π]ετοσίρις υός |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ἵς Κοσμίθου</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἵς Ὀμους Κοσμίθιος</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 | ἵς Ἄμωθίσιος |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Πετήσιος</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἵς Πετήσιος</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ἵς/ Άηρα (?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Vac. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Πολύτιος ἐποίκιζωι (?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

15 | Πε]τήσιος [tracks for wiped letters |

| Ὀμου[ |

Col. II → ἐν τοῖς Πο[ |

| Ὀμος Π[ |

| Ὀμό[ς ± 2 ] .. [ |

| Θετράις Θ[ |

5 | Ἀρτεύσις[ |

| Ὀννώφρις[ |

| ἐν τοῖς Θετέρως |

| Στοτήτ[ις |

11
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\begin{align*}
\text{Παίκοπ[} \\
10 \text{ Εριεύς Πε[} \\
\text{Πεσούρις} \\
\text{Παού<ς> Π[} \\
\text{Πάσις υ[ός} \\
\text{Πετεύ[ρις} \\
15 \text{Π]αώς υ[ός} \\
\text{Π]εχύ[ς[ις}
\end{align*}

$\textit{TRANSLATION}$

\textit{Col. I}

\begin{align*}
1 \text{ Ha} \text{rmiusis (son of) Paous} \\
\phantom{1} \text{ous son of} \\
\phantom{1} \text{tis son of} \\
\phantom{1} \text{s (son of) Orseus} \\
5 \text{ s (son of) Nechthenibis} \\
\phantom{5} \text{s son of} \\
\text{P]etosiris son of} \\
\phantom{10} \text{s (son of) Kosmithos} \\
\phantom{10} \text{Horous (son of) Kosmithis} \\
10 \text{sis (son of) Harmiusis} \\
\phantom{10} \text{(son of) Petesis} \\
\phantom{10} \text{is (son of) Petesis} \\
\phantom{10} \text{in( ) Lera (?)} \\
\text{In] the farmstead (?) of Poapis ?} \\
15 \text{](son of) Petesis} \\
\phantom{15} \text{o (son of) Horos}
\end{align*}

$\textit{Col. II}$

\begin{align*}
1 \text{ In the farmstead (?) of Pa[} \\
\text{Horos (son of) P[}
\end{align*}
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Horos (son of)
Thothrioi (son of) Th
5 Harpeusis (son of)
Onnohpri (son of)
In the farmstead (?) of Thoteus
Statoeis (son of)
Paikop
10 Hereus (son of) Pe
Pesouris (son of)
Paous (son of) P.
Pasis’ son
Petouris (son of)
15 Paous’ son
Pechysis (son of)

COMMENTARY

Col. I

1- Ἄρμυδος It seems likely that we should extend [ ]μυδος to the name Ἄρμυδος. This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “Ḥr-mꜣḏ 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. Lüdeckens, “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 Mummientiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit”, Leipzig, 1901; G. Mattha, “Demotic Ostraka from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo”, Index vii, Cairo, 1945).

“Ḥr” 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 Ptolemais 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 (Herkles), 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 ἀρ or ἱρ, ἰρ, or ὄρ (cf. P. W. Pestman, “ibid.”, p. 46), according to the following rules.

(1) Hor stressed in a prominent position is rendered as ὄρ, or ὄρ:
   | ὄρ|ος, Proper name; god.
   | Αὐρ, Month name; goddess.
   | Ψεν|ορις, Village.

(2) Hor in an unstressed position is reduced to ἀρ, or ἱρ:
   | ἱρ|οης, Proper name.
   | ἱρ|οης, Proper name.
   | ἱρ|ους, Proper name.

The name Ἀρμύσις 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), παρόνιος του Παρυσίους.

- Παουτως (Genitive form of the name Παους) This is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “Pa-Σw”. 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 Demostische Papyri van het Hellenistisch Tijdperk”, Doctoral thesis, Leuven, 1952). There is another rendering of this name, it is “Pa- хр”, its
meaning is “*He of the horizons*” (cf. E. Lüdeckens, “*op. cit.*”, band I, lief. 6, p. 1401).

The name Πασάς 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.; 3rd. March, 256 BC), Πάσες Πασάς, *P. Ryl. IV*. 663. col. ii. 8 (?; last quarter of the third cent. BC), Μαρρής Πασάς ἰδ, *O. Cair. 001*. 39. 4 (Thebaid.; II BC), Πασάς καὶ Τοτός.

4-ς *Ορσεύς* 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. Lüdeckens, “*op. cit.*”, band I, lief. 2, p. 121; H. Ranke, “*Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*”, II, Glücksstadt, 1949-1952, p. 83-6). F. Preisigke in *Namenbuch*, does not mention this type of genitive, he refers to another forms as *Ορσέως, Ορσέυς, and Ορσεύς* (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), ὑπογραφέος τοῦ μεμισθωκότος, *Ορσεύς Παπουτώτος ὡς(κτῶν) καθ; and nominative (line 40), ἐγραφὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, *Ορσεύς Παπουτώτος διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτόν 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 Ἀρχιβίον καὶ Ορσέους καὶ Φαμήνιος; *P. Tebt. III*. 829. Fr. ii. *Verso 37* (Tebt.; 180-179 BC), *Oros* Ὠρός Ὠρος του Ορσέους.

On the other hand it may be a wrong genitive for the name *Ορσής*, 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*
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Ptolemäerzeit”, Berlin, 1970, p. 46-53). In P. Tebt. I. 61. 123 (118-17 BC) the genitive Ορσής is used instead of Ορσής [α]σως 'Ορσής [ο]νς and in the same document we can see the name Ορσής, in nominative in (line 125): Ορσής Αρου [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 Ορσής.

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

5- Ἰς Νεχθενίβις (genitive form of Νεχθενίβις) This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “nhT – 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, νῆβ or νεῖβ as: Νεχθενήβις, Νεκτενίβις, Νεχθνίβις, Νεχθενείβις, and Νικχθ- νῆβις, or expressed by νῆφ as: Νεκτνήφις, Νεστνήφις, and Νεσθνήφις. 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 (ς) 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]ετοσήρις It seems likely that we should extend [Π]ετοσήρις to Π]ετοσήρις, cf. also P. Hib. I. 131. ? (Hib.; 254 BC), Π]ετ[ο]σήρις τοῦ 'Αρμών; P. Mich. I. 118. 4 (Oxy.; III BC), Π]ετοσήρι 'Αρμών. The name Πετοσήρις is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian
name “P3-tj-ws tε”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “Gift of Osiris” (cf. E. Lüdeckens, “op. cit.”, band I, l.f. 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 Πετοσφίρις 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- Ἐ.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- Ἐ. Ωρούς It should be another genitive case of the name Ὄρος, 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), Ἰπ[δ] Ὄρους Στοτονήτιδος καὶ Σατύρου Χαιρήμονος καὶ Σώτου ἄδελφου.

- 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- Ἀρμυστός (l. Ἀρμ<χ>ύστος), The name Ἀρμύστος appears, three times, without υ before υ in the papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see P. Tebt. III-2. 892. 25 (Tebt.; 151-140 BC), Ἀρμ<χ>ύστος ποτηρίου; PIFAO. I. 17. 3 (?; AD
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54), τοῦ Ἁμρ<τ> ύσιν(ας); P. Vars. 001. 16. 18 (?; II /III AD), Σορᾶς  Αρ μ<τ> ύσιο(ς) μησ(ρος) Ἐρμο.[1].

11- Πετήσις The name Πετήσις (cf. P/N, 318), in the language of Greek papyri, occurs also in different spellings as: Πετέησις (cf. P/N, 312), Πατέησις, Πετέηςε, Πετέησιος, Πετέησθης (cf. P/N, 286), and Πατήσις (cf. P/N, 287). This name is the Greek rendering of the theophoric Egyptian name “p²- d₁ - jₚs. 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 -Ψ/ 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 Δηρα. In fact I cannot explain this line.

14- ἸΠΟΙΤΙΟΣ 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 Παϊτίς, 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. El. 15 (Gurob; III BC).

At the end of this line, the writing is difficult to be read. I can read doubtfully ἐποικίων. The term τὸ ἐποικίον was used frequently from the Ptolemaic to the Arab period, it means “farmstead”. The phrase ἐν ἐποικίων, was used in few documents from the Ptolemaic and Roman
periods. It appears in a Letter from Stotoitis to Zenon reporting that he purchased some ἀράκος “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) ἑξε: “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 (σωντάξιον), pig tax, and dike tax, see P. Mich. XII. 640. 71-74 (Phil.; I AD), ἐν ἐποικίῳ(ω) Βασιλίδο(ζ) δ(ιὰ) Σωτηρίχ(ον) Ἀγχορίμψις Ἰσχ( ) (δραχμαί) με (δρομοί) B.

On the third century it appears in an Account of an Estate, see P. Mich. XI. 620. iii. 1 (Tead?; AD 239-40), καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐποικίῳ ἑργασιτήριον ὑπὸ Σιριτισιασίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα γερδίους 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 χρείαν τοῦ δικνοῦ λάκκου τοῦ παρὰ ποταμοῦν ἐποικί(κιῳ) Τίλλωνος ἐπὶ τῆς δ’ ἱνδ(ικ)κ(τίων).

I suggest that perhaps this line begins with ἐν τῷ. This means that this line may contain ἐν τῷ Ποσάπτως 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]τησίως [tracks for wiped letters] For the reconstruction of this name (cf. lines 11, 12).

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

Col. II

1- ἐν τῷ Πο[ 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

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“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- Ὀρος There are various forms for this divine name
like, Ὀρ, Ὀρος, Ὀρρος, Ὀρος, Ὀρος, Ὀρ (cf. P/N & F/O). This is
the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “Hr (.w)”, which means “Horos”.
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 Ὀρος 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 Ὀρος, 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 Ὀρφ before a lacuna [± 3 letters], and then
two illegible letters. I suggest that the name Ὀρος is suitable here (cf. line
18).

4- Ὡτρωίς The fourth letter of this name seems to be read ρ or τ. I
prefer to read it ρ, because names begin with Ὡττ- don’t agree with our
reading to the remainder letters of our name, because after this letter we can
read (-ωτς). In P. Par. 001. 9. 13 (Thebes; 107-104 BC), we can see the
name Ὡτρωἰς (= Ὡτρωψις), which is very rare, Ἔννο- χει ἔτοι Ὡτρωἰς. Thereby, we have here two possibilities:

On the one hand the name Ὡτρωίς perhaps is the same name
Ὡτρωἰς, but without the ending -τς, 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
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Byzantine papyri (cf. Pestman, “op. cit.”, p. 45). On the other hand we may have here a new name.

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

6- Όννόφρις 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 Όννόφρις 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, 'Οννόφρης, 'Οννόφριος, 'Οννόφριος,

'Οννόφρις, Όννόβερ', Όννόφρι, Εννόφρι, and Γυνόφρις.

For the occurrences of this name in papyrus 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- εν τω Θοτέ[ως The name Θοτέως is genitive of Θοτεῦς. It is used in genitive because with the article τῶ, there are some intended unwritten words like ἐποικισμοῦ, whose meaning could be “in the farmstead of Thoteus” (cf. line 1 and note).

The name Θοτεῦς 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.”, 1). 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.

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8- Στοτοῆτης (masc. & fem.) In the language of the Greek papyri, the name Στοτοῆτης, occurs in many different spellings (cf. P/N, p. 396). According to W. Erichsen, the name Στοτοῆτης is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “ṣḏ.tj. w- ỉ Đảng.wt”, whose translation is not given (cf. W. Erichsen, “Demotische Lesestücke”, II. Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, 2. Heft, Glossar, Leipzig, 1940, p. 227). The verb “ṣḏ.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 “ṣḏ.tj. ỉ Đảng.wf ḫ.t”, the meaning of “wf ḫ.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 Στοτοῆτης 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- Παίκου[ Either Παίκου[ or Παίκου[ 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- Ἔρευς This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “ḥrj=w”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “Horos has come” (cf. E. Lüddekeens, “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 Colections at Oxford”, VI, p. 84). In the language of the Greek papyri, the name Ἔρευς occurs also in different spellings (cf. P/N, p. 103; 45; 47).
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The name Ερπενις 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- Πεσσόνις This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “p2w-3lw”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “The Syrian” (cf. E. Lüdekevens, “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 Πεσσόνις bears the Greek name, Σύρος, which is the translation of the Egyptian one. The name Πεσσόνις 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 Σύρος.

Although the name Πεσσόνις 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- Παούς For the name Paous (cf. note 1).

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

The name Πάσις 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).

- νίτ(ός For the reconstruction (cf. lines 2, 3, 6, 7).

14- Πετενίς This form is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “p2w-tj-Hr”. The meaning of the Egyptian name is “Gift of Horos”. (Cf. E.
Lüdeckens, "op. cit.", band I, l. 5, p. 323; D. J. Crawford, "op. cit.", p. 195).

For the occurrences of the name Πετεύρις 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]ξως (= Παςός, Φωςός, Πεςός, Φεςός) Cf. the name Παςός in line 1. The name Παςός 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[ς For the reconstruction (cf. lines 2, 3, 6, 7).

16- Π]εχυςίς 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 Πεχυσίς (= Παχύσίς). It is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "pέ-ς-ςj". 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 Πεχύτις (= Παχύτις, Πεχύτης, Παχύτης, Πεχύτης, Παχύτη). It is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name "pέ-ς-jT", which means "The Demon" (cf. E. Lüdeckens, "op. cit.", band I, l. 3, p. 209; H. Ranke, "op. cit.", II, p. 108, 19).

I prefer the first possibility because the name Πεχύσίς 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 Πεχύτις 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. Prov. unknown
6 x 17 cm. 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 ὧν ὄντα. 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 Ischyras 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 Ischyras to Apollonius to collect his little corn στάριον from the debtors, whereas Ischyras himself
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 ω 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: Ἄπολλ'ω (for Ἀπολλωνίωι)(line 1) and ἔρρω (for ἔρρωςο)(line 12), or without any sign of abbreviation as: φιλτα for φιλτατω (line 2; v. 1), and χρ for χαίρειν (line 2).

**RECTO**

→ ὶσχυράς Ἄπολλ'ω (νίωι) τῷ φιλτά(τωι) χ(αί)ρ(ειν)

εὗ ποιήσεις συν-
λαβόμε[ν]ος τῶι

5 ἐμοὶ π[ρό]ς τοὺς
δοφείλο[ν]τάς μοι
σιτάριον ἐπει
κα(ι) ἐγὼ{ι} δοφείλω{ι}

ἐῖς τὸ δημόσιον

10 σίδα[ς σ]ῷ σον
σπούδ[ασο]ν

ἔρρ' ω (σο)

**VERSO ↓** Ἀπολλωνίωι τῷ φιλτά(τωι)

**CORRECTIONS:**

Line 3-4 r. l. συλλαβόμενος Line 8 r. l. καὶ ἐγὼ δοφείλω
TRANSLATION:

RECTO

"Ischyras 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- Ἰσχυρᾶς 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).

- Ἀπολλάω (ψιω) (l. Ἀπολλάω(ψιω)) The scribe has written Ἀπολλάω, 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 Ἀπολλάω(ψιος) cf. e.g. O. Deiss. 001. 71. 2 (?; II BC), Ἀπολλάω(ψιος) Δαρκίνιου; P. Tebt. I. 105. 1 (Tebt.; 103 BC), Πετεσσοῦχος Ἀπολλάω(ψιον); P. Athen. 001. 41. 8 (?; I AD), Ἀπολλάω(ψιος) Φρύνις(ψιος); P. Fuad I Univ. 001. 33. 1 (?; II/III AD), Ἀθηναίων Ἀπολλάω(ψιον).

2- τῶι φιλτὰς (τωι) (l. τῶι φιλτὰς(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 φιλτὰς without any sign of abbreviation, it must be an abbreviation to φιλτὰς(τω), which was used very frequent in the Roman Period (see examples below).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

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 dose 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(αλ)ρ(ευ) The scribe has written χρ abbreviated with a horizontal stroke. Using of χρ as an abbreviation to χ(αλ)ρ(ευ) 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), Φλάουνος Τιτσιανός Χαιρήμονι στρ(ατηγο) Ἡρακλεοπολ (υσυ) χ(αλ)ρ(ευ).

The phrase ὁ δείνα τῷ δεῖνι τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν, as the phrases τῷ τιμιωτότῳ, τῷ κυρίῳ and τῷ ἕδω, 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 (Tanyaithis; AD 117-138); P. IFAO. II. 17 (?; III AD); P. Prag. I. 105 (Thead.; AD 254-65).

3- εὖ ποιῆσεις “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 Καλώς is substituted by εὕ. Normally it was followed by a participle and sometimes by an indicative future or by an imperative. The use 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 use of εὕ 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), εὕ ποιήσεις ἐμβαλόμενος μοι κενώματα διακ[ό]σια η; P. Mil. Vogl. IV. 217. 3 (AD 125), εὕ ποιήσεις πέμπου; P. Oslo. II. 56. 3 (?; II AD), εὕ ποιήσεις ἀγοράς<ας>.

3-4- συνλαβόμενον (l. συνλαβόμενος) The Aor. Part. Mid. συνλαβόμενον is used here after the expression εὕ 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 συνλαμβάνω in the papyri as: συνλαβεῖν in P. Mich. VI. 421. 22 (Karanis; AD 41-54); συνλαβών in P. Ryl. II. 145. 10 (Euhemeria; AD 38); συνλαβέσθαι in P. Giss. 001. 75. 3(Apollonopolis Heptakomias; ca. AD 117); συνλαμβανόμενον 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). συνλαβόμενος 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- εὕ ποιήσεις συνλαβόμενον τῷ ἐμωί The scribe wrote the definite article and the possessive pronoun in dative case after συνλαβόμενος. Verb συνλαβάνω is used with the dative personal pronoun to give the meaning: “to take part with another, to assist one in a
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thing”; and also in mid. voice to mean: “to help, to take hold of things; to assist”. Therefore I think that the translation may run as follows: “You will do well by assisting me (my case).

5-7- π[ρό]ς τοὺς δϕείλω[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 τοῦ 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 τοῦς. That should be agreed with the following word δϕείλω[ν]τας. If the reading is correct, the translation must be “against those who owe me a little corn”.

7- σιταριον A diminutive of σῖτος, which means “a little corn or bread, a bit of corn or breadstuff” (see L/S s. v. σιταριον). 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- καεγω (l. κα<ι> ἐγώ ?) The reading is certain, but the word καεγω 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 δϕείλω (see the note of δϕείλω 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 καί and a pronoun as κάγῳ 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).
- ὀφείλω (I. ὀφείλω) The addition of τι to ο in the final position was frequent especially in the first and second centuries (see Gignac, op. cit. p. 185): ἔχω for (ἔχω) O. Mich. I. 119. 2 (Karanis; 11 BC); P. Mich. IX. 523. 9 (Karanis; AD 66); ἁξίωτι for (ἁξίωτι) SB. IV. 7376 = P. Col. VIII. 209. 38 (Thead.; AD 3); P. Oxy. XXII. 2342. 37 (Oxy.; AD 102). See further, with -τι added consistently to every final η and ο whether etymologically correct or not, cf. P. Oxy. I. 37 = C. Pap. Gr. I. 19 (Oxy.; AD 223)

7- 9- ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡγὼ 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 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 σίτος (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- ἕδασ [σ'] ὑ In the beginning of this line we can read clearly ἕδασ then there is a lacuna bearing about ± two letters, afterthat we can read a part of ὑ, afterwards we can read ὑ. I think that σ'] ὑ may fill the lacuna, to give the meaning “Therefore, I know that you”.

11- σπουδάζονται 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.
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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- ἔρρω (σο) The scribe has abbreviated the verb by writing the final ὦ 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. Iland. 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 ἔρρωσο (ἔρρωσθε), or its modifications. Others end with the verb εὐτύχει, later changed into δευτύχει. Business communications ordinary end with the phrase ἔρρωσο, or its modifications. Both phrases, ἔρρωσο 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 ἔρρωσθαι σε

εὐχομαι. Using of the closing formula ἔρρωσο 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 Selactae”, 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- Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι Φιλτάχ(τωι) ? The beginning of the line bears the name Ἀπολλωνίωι. After that the rest of the line is much effaced. There are about eight illegible letters. I think that those letters may be τῶι Φιλτάχ(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
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general type τῶν δεινί τῶ φιλτάτω, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. X. 1292. v. 17 (Oxy.; AD 30), τῶν ριλτάτων Ἰσχυράτι; P. Ryl. II. 230. v. 14 (Arsnome; AD 40), Ἀφροδισίων τῶν φιλτάτων; P. Oslo III. 149. v. 6 (?; AD 61), Αμυναίων τῶν φιλτάτων; P. Herm. 001. 1. v. 11 (?; I AD), Μουσών τῶν φιλτάτων.

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.
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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 ἀστάσομαι (lines 3-4), which are often joined in private letters. We note in our papyrus the using of the different clause (καθ' ἀρχαῖν) instead of the more common one (καθ' ἠμέραν) (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.
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RECTO

Fr. A → 'Ερμαίος Ευδα[μο]νι τῷ κυρ[ίῳ]
πατρί πολλά χαίρειν.
πρό μὲν πάντων σε ἀσπάζο-
μαι καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου κα-
5 θ' ἐκάστην ἵνα ὁρᾷν πρὶν ἐπ[α]ρδὲ τῷ κυ-
ρίῳ Σαράπιδι δέχομε σου καὶ πα-

Fr. B → [ ± 21 Ευ-
δαίμονος ἀμερὶς[± 9]
ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ . . [± 8]
αὐτοῖς εὐχαρι[στοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ε- (?)]
ὑπὸ τὸν ἄγιον χρῖσμον[± 9]
μεν . [± 19]

CORRECTIONS:

Fr. A line 6- l. δέχομαι σου

TRANSLATION:

Fr. A

"Hermaeus 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- Ἐρμοῖος Εὐδαίμον τῷ κυρ[ιω] πατρί The name Hermaeus as (son of) Eudaimon occurs in P. Flor. III. 386. 14 and passim (Herm. Magna; AD 83), Ἐρμοῖος(ς) Εὐδ(αίμονος) ὕπ(ἐρ) Δημητρί(ος) Ἐρμοῖον (πυρὸς ἀρτάβας) τριάκο(ντα)δύο (γινονται) πυρὸς ἀρτάβας) λβ. The document is an extract from registers of στολόγοι, it looks like, in the interest of Ἐρμοῖος Εὐδαίμονος the tax collector for some toparchies of the Hermopolites (see P. Flor. III. 386-8. Introduction).

The document above is from Hermopolis 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 Ἐρμοῖος was out of Hermopolis Magna at that time and he sent this letter to his father.

The name Ἐρμοῖος 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 (Memnonea; 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.; 1 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[ιω] Although the end of this line is badly mutilated, we can see κυρ, and then we should extend it to κυρ[ιω].
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: "Α – to B – χαίρειν" (ὁ δείνα τῷ δείνι χαίρειν). "Α" stands for the sender or addressant and "Β" 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: "Α – 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 δείνα τῷ δείνι 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 "πολλαχίως 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: "πολλαχίως 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 Selactae", In Diss. Phil. Halle 18, 1910). But Regarding P. Abinn. 001. 37. 2 (Arsonome; 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), ἴηρᾶς 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), Χαίρεας 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:


(b) ἀσπάζομαι In addition to the closing wish for health, the ἀσπάσασθαι 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) ἄσπαζο μοι, cf. P. Brem. 001. 57. 1-2 (Herm.; II AD), Ἄρσις Κορνάτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολλά χαῖρειν. πρὸ πάντων σε ἀσπάζομαι; P. Brook. 001. 17. 2 (Thebaid; III AD), πρὸ μὲν πάντων σε ἄσπαζομαι; P. Haun. II. 29. 1-4 (?; III AD, Νεφρυτός Ἀστώι τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαῖρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἄσπαζομαι 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 εὐχομαι σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ προσκυνημα.

σοῦ ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ 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), Διοκάζεις Ἀπολώνιῳ τῷ κυρίῳ πολλά χαῖρειν. πρὸ μὲν ἐν πάντων ἄσπαζομαι σε καὶ τὸ προσκυνημα σοῦ ποιῶ καθ' ὅραν πάντων ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμή. In another case we found the proskynema to Sarapis without the ἀσπάσασθαι wish or the
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ὑγιάειν wish, cf. SB. XVIII. 13864. 1-8 (?; II AD), τὸ προσκύνημα σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι ἀσπάζομαι τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν μου.

4-6 προσκύνημα. The word προσκύνημα itself is a Greek compound, derived etymologically from the prefix πρὸς and κυνέω (ἐκκυνέω 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 great 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 prostarting 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 Aphis, the Egyptian bull-god of Memphis who became at death another Osiris, and specifically Osiris- Aphis. 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).
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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, "Grundzüge 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 (= Scriptiunculæ 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 Hermæus to the gymnasiarch. In P. Bremen 49, "the god" is the great god Sarapis, who had a temple in the Gymnasion of Hermoupolis.
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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 ἔρρωσθαι). Then followed by ὑγιαίνειν or ἀσπάσασθαι 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: πλείστα χαίρειν and less frequently πολλά χαίρειν. In styling the addressee as: φιλτατος, 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.:

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

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

4-5 καθ’ ἐκάστην ὄραν This expression is a rhetorical exaggeration. It is used here instead of the more common one καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. The only appearance of καθ’ ἐκάστην ὄραν with Sarapis-proskynema in the papyri is in P. Mich. VIII. 492. 2,3 (Karanis or Alex; II AD), Ν[ε]νάς Θασσορί[ω] πλείστα χαίρειν πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἐξόμοι σὲ γιναίνειν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα σου ποιῶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ὄραν 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, \textit{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, \textit{ibid.}, p. 96-97; Exler, \textit{ibid.}, p. 122-123, 136).

For the occurrence of verb δέομαι in familiar letters, cf. e.g. \textit{SB. XVIII.} 13946. 12, 20 (Herm.; III/IV AD), δέομαι δέ σου καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ τα δέοντα ὁμιλήσαι τοῦτον ἤνεκεν.

6-7 παρακαλῶ 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[παρακαλῶ, 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. \textit{P. Flor. III.} 373. 11 (Ars.; III AD), παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι; \textit{P. Sakaoi.} 001. 41. 10-11 (Thead.; 322 AD), δέομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ; \textit{PSI. VII.} 769. 4 (?;IV AD), δέομαι καὶ[1] παρακαλῶ; 843.9 (Oxy.; V/VIAI), παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι.

\textbf{FRAGMENT “B”}

1-2- Ἐὐδαιμονος Although line one is lost, we could extend δαιμονος to the name Ἐὐδαιμονος (i.e. the end of line one could bear Ἐὐ-). For the occurrence of the name Ἐὐδαιμων 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
Hermaeus talks with his father about this man, that for the occurrence of ἀδέλφοι αὐτοῦ (cf. line 3). I think that he talks about the brother of this man, Eudaimon.

2- ἀμερίμνῳ There are four possibilities for this word: the verb ἀμερίμνιν (= to be care free), the noun ἡ ἀμερίμνιν (freedom from care), the proper name Ἀμέριμνος, the adjective ἀμερίμνιν (= free from care, concerned), the adverb ἀμερίμνῳ (= easily attained), and the comparative adverb ἀμερίμνῳ (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 ἀμερίμνιν, 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 Φιβάτωι υἱῷ χαῖρεν, ἀμερίμνιν νομίζων σε καλῶς τὰ ἐργα ποιεῖν.

(2) The gen. Case of the name Ἀμερίμνου 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), παρά Θυηθίμου Ἀμερίμνου τῷ Ἀλκίμου; P. Oxy. XII. 1463. 5 (Oxy; AD 215), Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμωνίου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀμερίμνου Σωσικοσμείου; Chr. Mitt. 001. 93. 4 (Hermopolis; AD 250), Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ἀμερίμνου; Chr. Mitt. 001. 211. 7 (Hermopolis; AD 233) Ερμίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀμερίμνου Ανουβίνος.

I prefer that verb ἀμερίμνῳ may be suit here.

3- ἀδέλφοι 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[ιστῶ] to the verb εὐχαριστῶ, 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 θυ γατρός Εὐρήμονος, δὲ τι' αὐτὸν πάντα γέγονε.

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

4-5- εὐχαριστῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ε-]ις τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον[± 9]

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

The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον (or ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπαντά τοῦ 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.

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 (ECTOR); 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 (ETER); 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 (NETER).

The formula ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ 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 ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ 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

→ 'Ἡρακλείδης Ἐρ[μο]δήρωι (?)

αδελφῷ χαίρειν
θέλω, νὴ τοὺς Θεοὺς, ἔτι κατ᾽ ὅ-
ψιν ἐκάστης ἡμ[έρας] ὤρῳ σὲ
καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τούτο δ᾽ ἔπει
οὐκ εὐχερῶς ἔστι μοι ποιεῖν
διὰ τὸ μεταξὺ [ἡμῶν] διάστη-
μα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολείδιου
σὲ ἀσπάζομαι εὐχόμενος

10 περὶ σου τὰ κάλλιστα

Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἡ ἀδελφή τινὶ
ποτὲ ἐνθυμ[ε]ίσθαι ἡθελή-
[σε ? ± 19 letters]

SIDeways IN THE LEFT MARGIN

'Ἐρωτᾷ σὲ' Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀγ[.

ὅτι ἐνδεία τοῦ ὑπηρετήσαντος[.

.. ἔγα ἡ μέχρι τούτου οὕτε τ[.

48
VERSOS

_LINE 4- \( \delta \)\( \rho \varepsilon \alpha \nu \)_ Line 5- \( \alpha \\sigma \pi \alpha \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \)_ Line 8- \( \varepsilon \pi \iota \sigma \tau \omicron \omicron \delta \iota \iota \omicron \)

CORRECTIONS:

Line 4- \( \delta \)\( \rho \varepsilon \alpha \nu \)_ Line 5- \( \alpha \\sigma \pi \alpha \varepsilon \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \)_ Line 8- \( \varepsilon \pi \iota \sigma \tau \omicron \omicron \delta \iota \iota \omicron \)

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- '\( \mathrm{H} \rho \alpha \kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota \delta \eta \mathrm{s} \)' 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).

- '\( \varepsilon \rho \) .. \( \delta \omega \) .. \( \omega \iota \)' The rest of this line, which bears the name of the recipient of the letter, seems to be peeled. The name begins with \( \varepsilon \) and doubtful \( \rho \) or \( \iota \). After that there is a peeled space bears ± 2 letters, followed by \( \lambda \omega \) or \( \delta \omega \). Thereafter another peeled space bears about one letter. Then the ending -\( \omega \iota \).

Regarding F. Preisigke, _Namenbuch_, and D. Foraboschi, _Onomasticon_, in my opinion, the nearest similar name may be ' \( \varepsilon \mu \omicron \delta \omega \rho \omicron \sigma \)', 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 χαῖρειν, 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:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|}
\hline
\text{τῷ πατρὶ (μητρὶ κτ.Ι. χαίρειν.} & \text{III BC – III AD} \\
\text{πολλὰ χαίρειν.} & \text{II BC – III AD} \\
\text{πλείστα χαίρειν} & \text{I BC – III AD} \\
\text{τῷ φιλτάτωι χαίρειν.} & \text{I AD – III AD} \\
\text{τῷ φιλτάτωι πλείστα χαίρειν.} & \text{I AD – III AD} \\
\text{τῷ τιμωτάτωι χαίρειν.} & \text{I AD – III AD} \\
\text{τῷ τιμωτάτωι πλείστα χαίρειν.} & \text{I AD – III AD} \\
\text{τῷ ἰδίωι χαίρειν.} & \text{I AD – III AD} \\
\text{τῷ κυρίωι χαίρειν.} & \text{I AD – III AD} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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, νη τούς θεούς, “by the gods” The expression νη τούς θεούς 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. Koskenniemi, “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: νη την σην σωτηρίαν, cf. SB. XVIII. 13946. 3 (Herm. III/IV AD). Or νη την σην ὑγίαν (l. ὑγιείαν), cf. SB X 10278. 8-9(Apollono-polite Heptakomias; AD 98-138). Or νη την σην 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 Papyrushandbriefe 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 νη τούς θεούς 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 νη τούς θεούς ἀγωνιζομαι; O.Bodl. I. 273. 3 (Theb; 150 - 139 BC), νη τὸν Ἡρακλῆ καὶ τοὺς συννάρων καὶ θεοῦς; BGU. III. 884. 3, 11 (Arsnome; AD 76), νη γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς; P. Lond. III. 897. ii. 11 (Alex; AD 84), κέκρικα γὰρ νη τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν’ Ἀλεξάνδρεία ἐπιμένειν; P. Mert. I. 28. 17 (?; III AD), νη τούς θεοὺς πάντας ἤθελόν σοί τι πέμψαι.

3-4- κατ’ ὑψιν 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 τοῦτον οὐδὲν τετέλεστοι. την γὰρ ἀτιμίαν Θέουν σοι κατ’ ὑψιν 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), ἐδούνοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἄ[ναθημα]πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἃνα καὶ ἡμεῖς[ς....] λογήσωμεν. τούτῳ γὰρ ἔχει[σιν ἤδεως] καὶ ἰδιῶν 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 κατά, but it gives the same meaning. The expression ἐκάστης ἡμέρας without the preposition κατά occurs elsewhere in the private letters, cf. e.g. P. Oxy. LV. 3809. 6-7 (Oxy.; II/III AD), καὶ [τὸ] προσκύνημα σου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ποιῶ.

- ὄρῳ This form would be a mistake for the infinitive form ὄραν, 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 ὄρῳ (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 [μοί]ν, ἀσπάζεσθαι σε; P. Mich. III. 214. 16 (Phil.; AD 296), εὐχετάτα καθ’ ἡμέραν βουλομένη σε ἀσπάζει[σθαί] μετά τῆς μητρὸς σου.

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

- τούτῳ δ’ ἔπει This structure dose not appear in the papyri. We find the more famous one ἔπει δὲ τούτῳ, cf. e.g. P. Giss. 001. 66. 7 (Hept; AD 113-119), ἔπει δὲ τούτῳ ἐ[μοί] ἔποιησεν; P. Fay. 001. 21. 15
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(Thead; AD 134), ἐπ<ε>ι δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τινες ἐμέμψαντο ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ βιβλία προσφέροντες ὁ[ὁς] 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 μὴ cf. Chr. Mitt. 001. 18. 24 (Pathyris; 116-111 BC), μὴ εὐχερῶς δύνασθαι ἐπιβαλεῖν. We find also only one example join between the negative article οὐ, verb to be and the neuter adjective εὐχερῆς, cf. P. Mich. XV. 752. 33-34 (Ars. nome?; II AD), οὐκ ἔστιν εὐχερῆς παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν ἁρεσ[ι] τὰ δοῦνα δια- ἀ τὸν σκυλυμφὸν. We are here about a new expression occurs in the private letters, which means (it is not easy for me to do).

7- [ημ]ών Although the traces are very weak and wiped, we can restore [ημ]ών 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 ἐστι τὸ διάστημα; P. Giss. 001. 40. ii. 5 (Hept; AD 215), τὸ τοῦ χρ[ό]νον διάστημα.

7-8- διὰ τὸ μεταξὺ [ημ]ών 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

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

8- ἐπιστολίδιον (l. ἐπιστολίδιον) The from ἐπιστολίδιον occurs in some documents of the Roman period, see e.g. P. Oxy. XXXIII. 2681. 3 (Oxy. III AD), τὸ ἐπιστολίδιον (l. ἐπιστολίδιον) δι’ Ἐλευθέρου ἐπεμψα.

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 (1 BC); P. Bad. IV. 83. ii. 17 (Hibeh; AD 200); P. Oxy. XIV. 1656. 4 (Oxy. III AD). The confusion of ει and τ, found already in some classical dialects, is paralleled throughout Koine Greek. There is no need to attribute the frequent representation of etymologically short τ by ει 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 Sparmische im Zeitalter des Hellinismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der KOINH”, Strassburg, 1901, p. 138).

8-9- διὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολίδιον 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 προσκύνημα [σο][ν] παρὰ τοῖς πατρῴοις ἱμῶν θεοῖς εὐχόμενος περὶ σου τὰ κάλλιστα.

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For the unusual formula εὐχόμενος κτλ...: cf. P. Oxy. XII. 1586. 7 (Oxy; early III AD), εὐχόμενος 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), εὐχόμενος σοι τὰ ἐν βίῳ κάλλιστα.

λίστα ὑπαρχῆσαι; and cf. P. Harr. I. 102. 5 (?; I AD ?), εὐχόμενος σοι 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 (= 'Απλούνοῦς, '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 ἄδελφη 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 τινὶ προτε At the beginning of line 12 we can see a head of τι and ο. Then we can read τε. So the word should be προτε. This is because the end of line 11 bears the word τινὶ, cf. e.g. P. Col. VIII. 209. 12-17 (Thead.; 3 AD), εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (ἐτος) κατασπορᾶς, τινὶ προτε τῶν λόγων.
12-13- ἐνθυμ[εἰσθαί] ἡθέλη[σε] After ποτὲ we can read ἐνθυμ-. Then there is a lacuna bears ± 6 letters. After that there is a word begins with ἡθέλη. Thereafter the papyrus is cut off.

I think that the last word in this line may be the Aorist verb ἡθέλη[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 ± 19 letters. Thereby the infinitive ἐνθυμ[εἰσθαί] could suit the lacuna after verb ἡθέλη[σε].

The infinitive verb ἐνθυμεἰσθαί is derived from verb ἐνθυμίζομαι. It is a later form of verb ἐνθυμέω, which means “desire, covet”. The infinitive form ἐνθυμεἰσθαί 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 ἢ ἀδελφή τινί ποτε ἐνθυμ[εἰσθαί] ἡθέλη[σε] ± 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- Ἔρωτι σε Ἀπολλωνοῦς ἁγ.[ 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 ὑπηρετῆσαντος[ 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 εί and τ. 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 ἔντεκα, τὰ, which means “tackle”. This is by the very frequent interchangeing 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”, «Cl. Qu.» 37, 1943, pp. 55-61; cf. p. 58). For the origin of this word, see E. Schwytzer, “Griechische Grammatik”, vol. II, München, 1950, p. 524, s.v. ὑπηρέτης. For more information about the term ὑπηρέτης, especially

3- The beginning of this line is effaced. There are traces to ± 3 letters. Then we can read εψα. After that we read η. Perhaps this line begins with a word ending in εψα, 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), μηδεπω παραγενομένω μέχρι τούτου ἤν’ ὄντο σοῦ εὐεργετημένος. διευτύχει; 527. 15(Karanis; 186-8), ἐπ[εἰδή]η μέχρι τούτου οὐ[δέπ]ω [π]αρέστη; P. Tebt. II. 333. 10 (Tebt.; AD 216),

ἐτι ἀπὸ τῆς γ τοῦ ὅντος μηνὸς πρὸς κυνη γιαν λαγὸν μέχρι τούτο[ν] κύκεπανήθην.

- οὔτε τι At the end of this line we can read οὔτετ 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), οὔτε[ε σι]τομετρίον οὔτε ὑψώνιον: “Neither food payment nor wages”; P. Mich. VIII. 465. 10 (Karanis; AD 108),

ὅσακι γὰρ ἐὰν μηνὸς[θω ἵμων] οὔτε ἐσθίω οὔτε πίνω
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

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 οὐδὲ (see L/S), cf. e.g. P. Tebt. III/1. 816. 27 (Memphis; 192 BC), καὶ μὴ ἐπελθὼν ἤν [η] ἄγχοστεύουσα οὔτε ἑφ'[ο] ὡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱγορακότας [ο]ὐδ' ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παρευρέσει ἦτινιον.
V

ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS OF WHEAT

P. Cairo Mus. C. G. 10649 Inv. S. R. 1624  Prov. Unknown
8 x 8 cm.  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 Διόσκουρος κωμογρ(αμμοτεύς?) (line 7) in Karanis “Kôt MUSHIM”, and Δέιος’ Ισίωνος (line 11) in Theadelphia “Harit” 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 signΜ, which read as (πυροῦ ἄρταβατ). The acronym of the artaba appears under the shapeΜ 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 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 Hrakleides” (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:

- $\text{ζ}$ for (πυροῦ), $\text{χε}$ for (ἀρτάβαι), $\text{κ}$ for 27 1/3 1/24, $\text{ς}$ for (one half), $\text{j}$ for (one quarter), $\text{ι}$ for (90). For the abbreviations: the scribe wrote most of them with a horizontal stroke as: $\text{α} \text{β} \text{γ} \text{δ} \text{ε} \text{ζ} \text{η} \text{θ} \text{i}$ for προτ(ανις) (line 4), λυσπλυτ for λυσπλυτ(ης) (line 5), $\text{ο} \text{τ} \text{δ} \text{ζ}$ for αυ(τος), $\text{γυ}$ for γυ(νή) (line 6), $\text{αρχι}$ (uncertain) (lines 8, 12). There is an abbreviation by writing the last letter above the line as, $\text{κω}$ (uncertain) (line 7).
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RECTO

→ [ ] α. [ ] ... 
[±2]ωκο(ς) πραγ(ματευτής ?) Λουσίου
δ]αύτός διὰ Ἡρακλείδου
Ν]ὲμεσιανὸς πρύτ(ανις)
5 Πλούταμμων λινοπλυτ(ής)
Σαβεῖνος αύ(τός) καί γυν(ή)
Διέσκορος δ) καὶ Σύρος κωμ(?)
Σύρος ἀρχι(?)
δ) αὐτός διὰ Ἡρακλείδου
10 Δ]ωσάς Πασίωνος
Δέιος Ἰσίωνος
Αφροδίσιος ἀρχι(?)

CORRECTIONS:
Line 7-1. Διέσκορος

TRANSLATION:

RECTO

1 [ ] a [ ] ... 
[ ] okos the agent (?) of Lousius 
The same person through Hraclides 
Nemesianus the president 
27 1/3 1/24 art. of wheat
5 Ploutammon the flax-washer 
Sabinus himself and his wife 
Dioskeros also called Syrus com(?) 
Syrus archi(?) 
The same person through Hraclides 
30 ½ art. of wheat
165 ½ art. of wheat
22 ½ art. of wheat
48 art. of wheat
12 ½ art. of wheat

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### SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dosas (son of) Pasion</td>
<td>48 ½ art. of wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dius (son of) Ision</td>
<td>94 1/3 art. of wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aphrodisios archi(?)</td>
<td>91 ¼ art. of wheat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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 $[±7$ letters] we can read only α. In fact I cannot explain this line.

2- $[±2]ωκό(ζ ?) πραγ(ματευτής ?) Λουσίγρ. The beginning of this line is cut off. It bears $[±2$ letters]. Then hardly we can read ωκό. It may be -ωκό(ζ). Names ending in- ωκό(ζ) are very rare, such as: Κόκκος, Σώκος and Φώκος. There are other names as: Σάδωκος, Ιωσάδωκος and Εύδωκος (cf. F. Dornseiff & B. Hansen, “Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen”, Berlin, 1957. s.v. -ωκός). 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 πραγ( ), which is abbreviated with a horizontal stroke above the letter γ. It is followed by a name in genitive case. The abbreviated word πραγ( ) may refer to many important words (see L/S, s.v. πραγ-). We can guess here the word πραγ(ματευτής), which means “agent, business representative” (= Lat. actor). The abbreviation πραγ( ) for πραγ(ματευτής) 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), δω Θήφωνος[ς πραγ.]γ(ματευτοῦ) Ἀμμωναρίῳ; P. Oxy. XII. 1514. 1 (Oxy.; AD 274-80), π(αρά) Νεμεσάμμωγος Μαξίμῳ πραγ (ματευτή) χα(ινειν).

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), κατὰ τὸν γνώμονα ἑπακολουθοῦντος Κολλοῦθ(ου) πραγμα- ματευτοῦ Κλαυδίου Ἡρακλείδ(ου) λιμ<ε>υρχ(ου).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

- Λουσίος The name Λουσίος (fem. Λουσίω) appears very rarely in the papyri and ostraca of the Roman and Byzantine periods cf. P. Grenf. II. 46a. 1 (Arsinoite; AD 139), Λουσίος Σπάρρος; SB. XII. 11204. 2 (III AD), Πετετρίφου Λουσίου; O. Bodl. II. 1808. 2 (Thebes; II/ III AD), Λουσίος καὶ Ὡμιώνος 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- ὃ ἀντός διὰ τὴν Ἑρακλείδου “the same (person) through Hraclides”. Although the beginning of this line is cut off [± 2], it seems likely that we should extend ὃ ἀντός. This is because the expression (ὁ ἀντός 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 ἄντος διὰ Ἁπολλονίου (δραχμάς) ἐξ; P. Mich. VI. 398. 14 (Karanis; AD 207), τῷ ὡμίως ὁ ἀντός διὰ Ἰουλίου Εὐδαμπυροῦ (ἀρτάβης) μίαν, (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) Ἰ. It was used to indicate that “the same man (pays) through (someone)”, i.e. it refers to that the precended 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 Ἑρακλείδης in the papyri, see Pap. IV. p. 75.

4- Ἕμεσιανός Although the beginning of this line is cut off [± 1 letter], it seems likely that we should extend Ἕμεσιανός, cf. PSI. VIII. 882. 12-13 (Oxy. ?; AD 330), Αὐρήλιος Ἕμεσιανός Σαρακάμ[μα]νος ἐγραψα ὑπὲρ ἀντοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.

The Roman name Ἕμεσιανός ( = 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).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

- 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 λειτουργός 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 προστατευόμενος refer to the function of the president of the town council. The πρύτανις is being the ancient title (3rd cent.). The προστατευόμενος is the new one (4th 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 φ 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 Αὐτήλιον Κλείδου καὶ] Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Πλουτάμμων; P. Köln. II. 85. 11 (?) AD 175), Ἐρμεῖνος 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), Αὐτῆλιος Πλουτάμμων; P. Sakaon. 001. 59. 17 (Thead.; AD 305), Αὐτῆλιος Πλουτάμμων Ὀρίωνος; P. Mil. II. 61. 1 (?) IV AD), Πάσιτος Πλουτάμ[μω]νος.
- λινοπλυτής (=λινοπλυστής, λινοπλοιστής) this word is a compound of (λίνο and πλύσω). 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 λινεψις (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 λινεψις was used in the Ptolemaic Period and λινοπλυτής in the Roman period. The composition of the term (λίνο and πλύσω) 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”, Wroclaw-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).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

The Roman writer Pliny gives us circumstantial description for the λινοπλατῆς, 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. After that 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 18th 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 $\int$, a sinus curve, is equivalent to ($\frac{1}{2}$) ("one half") (see A. Blanchard, op. cit, p. 54”).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

6- Σαβείνος (fem. Σαβείνω) 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), Μύσ[τα γυ(νή)]: “the wife Musta”; P. Ryl. II. 188. 7 Ars.; II AD): 'Ονησιοῦς 'Ονησίμου γυ(νή) Λουκίου.

7- Διάσκορος (l. Διάσκορος) This form occurs elsewhere in P. Abbin 001. 86 = P. Lond. II. 427. v. 2 (?; AD 259), λόγος Διασκόρου. The interchanging of o with ε before ζ 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 Διάσκορος seems to be very common in the papyri of the Roman period see e.g. P. OxyHels. 001. 12. 11 (Oxy.; 99 AD), 'Απολλώνιος δ καὶ Εύπορος καὶ Διάσκορος; P. AlexGiss. 001. 14. 4 (Tanyaithis; AD 118-9), πορδ 'Αρπ[ο]κρατίωνος Διουσκόρου; Stud Pal. XX. 55. 2-3 (Heraklopolite; AD 251), διὰ Αφρηλίου 'Ιππίου Διουσκόρου.

- Σύρος This Greek name is the translation of the Egyptian name Πεσσούρις, which is the Greek rendering of the Egyptian name “p33-ıwr”. 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 
Διόδ(όρου) μη(τρός) Διονυ(σίας); P. Rein. II. 112. 1 (Thead.; III 
AD), Σύρος ’Ηρωνείνο τῷ φιλ(τάτο) 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 Πεσσούρις 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 Dioskoros (called) also 
Syrus. We find in SB. XVI. 12989. 2 (Memphis; AD 214), 
[Διόσκ]ορος ὁ καὶ Ξένων; and in P. Flor. III. 383. 36 (Antioopolis; AD 
232), [Δ]ιρῆλ(ιος) Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Αρίθας.

- Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Σύρος κω’ μ’ The scribe wrote κωμ, 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(όρχης) and 
κωμ(σγραμματεύς). By searching in the published papyri we find two 
documents bear a person called Διόσκορος κωμογρ(αμματεύς). 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 Phacites, 
cf. P. Oxy. LX. 4064. 2, 27 (Oxy; AD 15 /2 /183), 
’Αμμοψ[ιω]ίστρ(ατηγώ)’ Ἀραβ(ιας) παρά Δ[ιο]ςκόρου 
κωμογραμματέως’ Ἡλείρων καὶ ἅλ(λων) κωμ[ών] μέρους 
το(παρχίας) ὑ(πέρ) Φακ[ουσ]τπτων πόλ(ιν. The other is a Report 
addressed by Dioskoros, village secretary of Psenrys ano, to the strategos
Apollonios, submitting to him names of persons qualified to assist the praktores 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 Psenys; AD 185), 'Απολλωνίω στρατο(τηγώ) 'Αρσι(νοίτου) 'Ηρακλ(είδου) μερίδος παρά Διοσκόρου κωμογρ (αμμιστέως) Ψελύρεως ἄνω.

In our case, unfortunately there is no evidence about the place, in which the papyrus was written, to choose one of the two comogrammati 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(ἀρχου). 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 κωμάρχατ are attested in every century from the third century BC (see, H. E. L. Missler, “Der Komarch: Ein Beitrag zur Dorfverwaltung im Ptolemäischen, 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 κωμάρχατ, but from the consultation of the
original Thomas has no doubt that the correct reading is κωμογρα(μματεύς) (see J. Thomas, “The Introduction of Dekaprotoi 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 (Aphroditio; AD 297). Usually two κωμάρχαι 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 Ἡ...[,]οὐ κωμογρα[μ]ματέως Φιλαγρίδ[ος] [κα]ὶ θείων Μέλεαγρ[ί]δος μερισμός.
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), παρά Μυσθαρίωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Θεοξενίδος [καὶ] Ἄνδρομαχίδος, and BGU. II. 484. 1 (Ars.; AD 201-2), παρά Πρωτά κωμογρ(αμματέως) Θεογονίδος καὶ Κερκενσίρ εὸς. 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 to 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 κωμογραμματεί: “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(αμματεί) (δραχμάς) (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).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

Now after we gave some information about both of the κωμάρχης and κωμογραμματέυς, 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(ογραμματεύς) in this period may lead us that the abbreviation κωμ( ) perhaps refers to κωμ (ογραμματεύς), 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: ἀρχιγεωργὸς “chief cultivator”, ἀρχιγραμματέυς “chief clerk”, ἀρχιδικαστής “chief judge”, ἀρχιερεύς “chief priest”, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος “chief bishop”, 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, Ἀρχίβιος, Ἀρχῖς...etc.

10- Δἰωσὰς 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 Δἰωσὰς is possible here. This name occurs rarely in the papyri, it occurs only in: BGU. VI. 1282. 1 (Ars.); PSI. XIV. 1413. 6 (?; II-III AD), Δωσάς ὁ τοῦ Μξ[···]κωτος.

Δωσάς Πεσσύριος 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 Δωσάς Πεταύτος(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); *Chwilck. 001*. 398. 29 (?; AD 169); *P. Amh. II*. 98. 8 (Herm. Magna; II/III AD).

11- Δείος' Ισίωνος (= Δίος' Ισίωνος) The name Δίος' Ισίωνος “Dios (son of) Ision” occurs only in *P. Col. II*. 1. recto 5. 4. 8 From *Theadelphia “Harit”* (AD 136-150), Δίος’Ισίων(ος) ὄνοι(υ) Β. 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 Δείος in our document contains ει not ι as the person who occurs in the above document, one may think that they are the same. On the one hand Δείος and Δίος were used equidistance in the papyri, cf. e.g. *P. Flor. I*. 22. 25 (Soknopaiou Nesos; AD 177), Δίος Δ[ι.]όβ; *CPR. I*. 28. 6 (Ars.; AD 110), Ὑπ[σενου]β[ι]ς καὶ Δεῖος καὶ Ταρσεν[οῦ]φις. On the other hand it may be because of the interchanging between ει 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 Διόσκορος 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 Διόσκορος 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.
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

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- Ἀφροδίσιος (l. Ἀφροδείσιος) 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 Ἀφροδίσιος and Ἀφροδίσια, 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.).

- ἀρχά(?) cf. line 8.
VI

RECEIPT FOR ADAERATIO

P. Cairo Mus.C.G. 10464 Inv. S. R. 1439  Prov. Magdola
13.3 x 13.6 cm.  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 [± 6 letters] as well as the ends of lines 3 and 9 [± 3 letters] have been lost.

The provenance of our papyrus is “Hermopolis”. The mention of “κώμης Μογδώλων 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 Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunein) as the place where the document was written.

The papyrus dates back to the consulship of Caecinius (Caecina) Sabinus and Vettius Rufinus (cf. lines 7, 8) who were in charge in 316 AD, at the tenth of “Μεξετρ” (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. \(\overline{F}\) for (τρίτος, η, ον) (line 3), \(\overline{H}\) for γι(μέτοι), \(\overline{λ}\) (τάλαντα) (line 5), \(\overline{S}\) for (αύτής), \(\overline{Α\Delta}\) for ινδ(ικτίωνς) (line 6).

RECTO

\[\overline{\text{\small [απὸ τής κόμης Μαγδόλων Βουκόλων}}\]
[\(\overline{\text{πατρι}}\)μουναλίων’ Ερμού \(\overline{\text{Φιβίωνος καὶ Βίων-}}\)
[\(\overline{\text{ος Π]]}}\)σίωνος λόγου \(\overline{\text{εξαργυρισμοῦ γ’ ινδικτίων-}}\)
[\(\overline{\text{ος διέγ(ραψε)}\)]\) πατριμοναλίων \(\overline{\text{Δημητρίας καὶ’ Αμ-}}\)
\[\overline{\text{μωνί}]}}\) τάλαντα εἰκοσι γι(νεται) (τάλαντα) κ. τά λοι[πα?]
\[\overline{\text{διέγ(ραψε) εἰς]}}\) τ[ό]γρ αύτῶν \(\overline{\text{εξαργυρισμόν τῆς (αύτής)}}\)
\[\overline{\gamma’ ιμβι(ικτίωνος)}\]

Μεξείρ \(\overline{\text{Τ’ υπατείας Κεκίνα Σαβίνου καὶ \(\overline{\text{Φι[et-}}\)
\[\overline{\text{τιογ’ Ρουφίνου τῶν λαμπρωτάτων Αιρή[λιος]}\]
[\(\overline{\text{’ Ασ]}}\)μων(?)] \(\overline{\text{γνωστήρ έγραψα [τ]φ σύμβολον [το]ψ[το?]}\]
\[\overline{\text{υσ[ε]ρ αύτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδό[των]}\]

CORRECTIONS:
Lines 2 and 4 l. \(\overline{\text{πατριμωναλίων}}\). Line 7 l. Κατίνα; Σαβέινου

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

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the patrimony. [She has paid] the rest (?) into the same exchange of taxes (Adaeratio) of the same third indiction. 10th 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]ς May suit to the lacuna, cf. *P. Lips. 001. 85. 15, 16* (Magdola mire; AD 373), ιτι προ[κε]μενου ἀπὸ [κόμις Μαγδάλων], “The precedents men from the village of Magdola”; *P. Hamb. III. 222. 8, 9 (?) VI/VII AD, ἀπὸ κόμις Μαγδάλων Μιρη τοῦ Ἐρμ(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 ´χορίμψις, in *BGU. III. 715. 5*, and then nothing till the third century AD (cf. W. Crönert, “Memoria graeca Herculanensis, cum Titulatum 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 (ὁ ἀγγείων) (see E. G. Turner, “Manuscripts of The Ancient World”, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, p.13 and n. 3).

- The village Μαγδάλα Βουκόλων is situated in Hermopolite nome (see *SB. V. 7758. 6-7* (AD 479), [κ]όμις Μαγδάλων Β[ου]κόλων τοῦ Ἐρμουπολίτου νομοῦ).

It is attested in the papyri from the second century AD till the Arab era as follow:
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<td>Herm. Nome</td>
<td>VII AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Sorb. II. 69. (100A 1). 2</td>
<td>Herm. Magna</td>
<td>VII AD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Μαγδώλα Βουκόλωων appears as a village, in all likelihood, in Stud. Pal. II. 33. 4 (328 AD); P. Strasb. 308. 2 (1st. 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.


The Hermopolis 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 Hermopolis 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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The Hermopolite 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 Hermopolis 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- πατριμυσφιλαιω (l. πατριμωναλιων): for the reconstruction (cf. Line 4).

The πατριμωναλια are the properties belonging to the imperial “Patrimonium”, which in Egypt in the Roman period, were usually called τα κύροιαι (the Greek translation). The occurrence of the term “Patrimonialia” in the fourth century is noticeable. The πατριμωναλια (the fourth century term for the κύροιαι) were a part of the res privata (see L. Mitteis & U. Wilcken, “Grundzüge und Christomathie der Papyrusskunde”, 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 (ὀσιται), although Augustus himself is attested very rarely as the owner of land in Egypt, cf, SB. XIV. 11933 = PSI. Corr. I. 1150. 6 (Tebt.; 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 “,
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There was a fundamental difference between the ὀσσίατι 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 ὀσσίατι were anything other than the private property of their holders. The individual holders of the ὀσσίατι 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 ὀσσίατι. 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 οὐσιωκὸς λόγος, and its departmental head was known as patrimonio or as procurator rationis patrimonii, but as οὐσιωκὸς ἐπίτροπος or as procurator usiacus. As for the properties or estates that made up the οὐσιωκὸς λόγος, they continued to be called ὀσσίατι and to carry the name of their original Roman owner (note that the only instance where patrimonialis and οὐσιωκὸς are used together is in P. Ryl. IV. 658. 6,7 (early IV AD), τῆς πατριμού[νάλιος οὐ]σιωκῆς <γῆ>. This, of course, reflects the wider use of Latin terms in the early Byzantine era. But while this new ratio was made out of ὀσσίατι, not all ὀσσίατι 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 σύσιακός λόγος, the term σύσια 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 'Ερμής 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 'Ερμής as a
son of Φιβίων. But we met Φιβίων as a son of 'Ερμής in CPR. XVII A.
7 = P. Vind. Worp. 001. 8. 22 (Herm. Magna; AD 317),
Αυρήλιος Φιβίων 'Ερμού νούκλημα(ος) ἀπὸ Ερμού τόλεως. 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- Βίωνος 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- Ποσίωνος Could be restored. The name Ποσίων 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 ἐξαργυρισμοῦ (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 λόγος ἐξαργυρισμοῦ 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 ἐξαργυρισμοῦ πατρι(μονίου) τῆς (αύτῆς) ἤ ἵππικ(τίωνος), and *P. Stras. V*. 325. col. ii. 4-5 (Herm. AD 321), ἐξαργυρισμοῦ (vac.) φ[·]·[·]·(vac.) ὅν(όματος) τοῦ (αύτοῦ) τιμῆς σίτου πατριμονίων[λ.]ιο[ν]. It is worth mentioning, that the village Μαγδώλα Βουκάλων occurs also in this document in *col. i. line 2-3, Μαγδ]ώλων Βουκάλων Βησόδωρος (vac.) το] πασίωνος λόγου ἐξ(αργυρισμοῦ). It is noticeable that this document is too fragmentary.

- ὗ[νικτίωνιος] (The third indication 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 ἵππικ(τίων) 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 indications. A system of indications 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 ἵππικ(τίων) 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 indications 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 ἄρχη 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(ραψη)?] The beginning of the line is cut off, bears ± 5 letters. I
think that the abbreviated verb διέγ(ραψη) could suit the traces, whereas
we need the verb here to express the operation of payment. Verb
διέγ(ραψη) occurs in another receipt for adaeratio, cf. P. Col. VII. 142. 2-
3 (Karanis; AD 336), διέγ(ραψη) Κοπρῆς ξεκαργυρισμοῦ ὁ[γ]δόν]ις

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[...] 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 η καὶ 'Αμμωνία. The name Δημητρία is related to the Greek goddess of wheat and 'Αμμωνίας or 'Αμμωνίας is the Hellenic form for the Egyptian Ammon. Both 'Αμμωνίας and 'Αμμωνίας occur very frequently in the papyri and ostraca of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods. This is because the Egyptian god "Amôn Rê", 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, 9th Life in a Multi-cultural Society, Egypt from Cambyses 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 Hermopolis. She is Aurelia Demetria the daughter of the deceased Πολυδεύκης, who was the γυναῖκας and Χρυσός of Hermopolis (Ashmunein), cf. Stud. Pal. II. pg. 33. 1-2 (AD 328), and she is the mother of Aurelia Χαρίτιν (see the introduction of P. Charite 001. 31 and 38). It is noticeable that Δημητρία η καὶ 'Αμμωνία occurs with Χαρίτιν in two documents: P. Charite 001. 29. 2, 5, 9 (AD 343) and 31. 2, 10, 11 (AD 320-50), but the
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]νία 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 induction AD 330), we find her in a receipt of clothes (short mantle), edited by the steward Horion Ὄμηρον 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 induction 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).

- 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- τά λοι[πό?] [διέγ(ραψε) ?] The end of line 5 as well as the beginning of line 6 is cut off. At the end of line 5, τά λοι[πό?] could suit the traces, cf. P. Col. X. 286. 3-4 (Pela; AD 317), ἐξ(αργυρισμοῦ) κυ (ἐτούς) [(δραχμαί) ῥα, τά λοιπά (δραχμάς) ἑω, 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 adaequatia”.

- τῆς (αὐτῆς) γινθ/ 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 γ, I think that it is an abbreviation to γ(ικτίωνος), cf. P. Charit. 001. 14. 9-10 (Herm.; AD 326-7), ἐξαργυρου(ισμοῦ) πατρι(μονιου) τῆς (αὐτῆς) ἓν ἱνδικ(τίωνος).

7- Μεχείρ τ 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 α 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 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”.

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Καίκινα, occurs elsewhere in the papyri, see e.g. CPR. XVIIA. 5adupl. 11 (Herm. Magna; AD 316); P. Bad. II. 27 recto. 13 (?; AD 316). Καίκινου 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 ei 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).

- Ου[ετιρ]οῼ The end of line 8 is cut off [± 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 τιο. Therefore, we should extend the missing letters in the lacuna to Ου[ετιρ]οῼ the second consul with Caecina Sabinus in AD 316. For the reconstruction cf. P. Oxy. IXX. 2232. 16-17 (Oxy; AD 316), ὑπατείως Καίκινου Σαβίνου και Ου[ετιρ]οῼ 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 indication is used more commonly (after the middle of

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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).

- άεμπροτάτων (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 Hohlichkeitstiteln im Griechischen", Helsingfors. 1949. p. 46). This epithet attached to consular names from 295 AD in Tebtunis (cf. P. Lips. I. 29. 19), ὑπα[t]ε[ί]ος Νουμιμίου Τούσκο[ν] καὶ Άννίου


- Άνδρη[λως] 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

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 αμι could be read. If the reading is correct, the name could be ended with -αμιων. So before these letters, perhaps one or two letters are lost, then the name ‘Ασιάμιων may suit the traces, cf. P. Lips. 001. 100. iii. 18 (Herm. Magna; IV AD). Also Τιάμιων, cf. P. Vind. Tandem. 15. 63 (Arsinoite; I/II AD), or Φαιμιων could be suit here, cf. P. Lond. III. 1159. 82 (Herm. Magna; AD 145-7). Although the first and third suggestions occur in Hermopolis Magna, I prefer the first suggestion that the name ‘Ασίάμιων occurs in the fourth century.

- γνωστήρ The range of attested dates for the γνωστήρες are second century to Roman period. The gnostic person was a witness of his or her identity, cf. P. Oxy. III. 496. 16 (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- Αυρηλιος [‘Ασιάμιων (?) 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), Αυρηλιος Βισσαρίων γνωστήρ [έγραψα τι]πέρ αυτών γράμματα μη ειδο (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[το ?] The end of this line is very mutilated, but we could extend το[το] to the lacuna, cf. P. Mil. Vogl. II. 110. 8-9 (Tebt.; II AD), το σύμβολον τ[ουτο].

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 εἶδόνα (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 εἶδοτος γράμματα, cf. e. g. P. Flor. I. 85. 20 (Herm.; AD 91); P. Oxy. XIV. 1636. 45-46 (Oxy.; AD 249);
1627. 27-28 (Oxy.; AD 342). During the second and the third centuries there occurred also the formula: ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου: “wrote for him, since he is illiterate” (see R. Calderini, “Gli Αγράμματοι nell’Egitto Greco-Romano”, Aegytus, XXX, (1950), 14 ff.; Exler, “op. cit.”, p.127).
VII

INSTRUCTIONS FROM APA ASKLAS

P. Cairo Mus.C.G. 10046 Inv. S. R. 1869 Prov. unknown
14.1 x 31.9 cm. 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
(Arsinoitou Polis; VI AD), suggests that τεως (line 3) is an error for
Τάνεως. 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 nomisma. 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
nomisma by tale (ἀριθμοῖς) from Elias the scribe, and another 20
nomisma 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 (nomisma); each one is
equivalent to one aureus less 5 carats in the public standard

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(δημοσιῶ Ἰωγᾶ). 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 δπά (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 Papiiri 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. Α for (παρά) (line 1), Μ for γρ(αμματεύς) (lines 4 & 8), Κ for κερ(άτικα) (line 9), Ν for θ(ισματικά) (line 10), and ΕΠΙΔ/ for ΕΠΙΔ(θος) (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(αρα)

† Θελήσων παυσών τοῦ μέτρου Πτολεμᾶ ἐξάλησόν τω μέτρο μη ἀμελήσῃς καὶ ὑπὲρ τεσσαρακονταεξ νομισματῶν θελήσων απελθει ἐν Τεως δεξαίτε παρὰ Ηλεία γρ(αμματεώς) εἰς ηῆσων νομισματι εἰκώσι αρρίμη καὶ σὺν θεοῦ
επικαταλαβανόντων εἰς τὴν ῥησον μιᾷ τριῶν ὑμερρῶν καὶ
μαθηματών παλίν τι εἶχιν κεννεθεὶ τὸ θέλησιν θέλησιν οὐν
diα[k] βαλὼν εἰς τὰς
...
... μ.... ρανὼν τοῖς ρησον εἰς τὸ καταλάβου δεξατε
στὰς ὑπὸ σημαστείον ἑικωσὶ παρὰ Ἡλεία γρ(αμματεως) καὶ
αι[α]μερ..., γ τοῦ ὑμερροῦν
παρὰ κερ(ατια) πεντε δεμωσίου ζυκοῦ υπὲρ τι(μης)
στὸν θέλησιν δεξατε νομισμ(ατια)
eικωσ[ι] ως εἰν νο(μισματια) μ μῆ αμελησθη υπὲρ
τοὐτῶν †

VERSOS
† † 'Επιδ(ος) τω ........ (δια) ἵα γραμματέως
π(αρά) ἀπα' Ἀσκληπι

AFTER CORRECTIONS

RECTO

† Θέλησον παῦσον τοῦ μέτρου Πτολεμαῖ ξκλησον τοῦ
μέτρου μὴ ἀμελήσῃς
καὶ υπὲρ τεσσαράκοντα ἐξ νομισμάτων θέλησον
ἀπελθεὶ τ<άν>εως(?)

δέξασθαι παρὰ Ἡλία γρ(αμματεως) εἰς νῆσον νομισμά-
τι<α> εἰκοσι ἄρπι<θ>μι<α> καὶ σὺν θεῷ
ἐπικατάλαβ<μ>βάνω εἰς τὴν νῆσον {εἰς} τριῶν ἡμερ(ρ)ῶν
καὶ μα<ν>θάνω

παλίν τι εἴχετι γενέσθαι θέλησον (θέλησον) οὐν διαβαλ-
ὼν εἰς τὰς
...
... μ...... ρανὼν τοῖς ρησον ἑως {τ}οῦ καταλάβω δέξασθαι

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οὖν

νομισμάτια εἰκοσὶ παρὰ Ἡλία γρ(αμματέως) καὶ ανειρυ.

ζ κατὰ δικτῷ τοῦ χρυσίνου

παρὰ κερ(άτια) πέντε δημοσίῳ ζυγῷ ύπὲρ τι(μῆς) σίτου

θέλησον δέξασθαι νομισ(μάτια)

εἰκοσ[ι] ὡς εἶναι νο(μισμάτια) μ. μή ὀμελήσῃς ύπὲρ

tοῦτων †

VERSO

↓ † 'Επίδ(ος) τω ----- (διά) Ἡλ.] ία γραμματέως

π(αρά) ἀπά'. Ἀσκλάς

TRANSLATION:

RECTO

“† Please, cease to use the metron of Ptolemais, 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.

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COMMENTARY:

RECTO

1- \(\pi(\alpha\rho\alpha)\) 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 \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\), but \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\) without a following name is meaningless. Possibly, however, the custom of commencing \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\nu\alpha\), e.g. P. Oxy. VI. 904. 1 (V AD), led the scribe to write \(\pi(\alpha\rho\alpha)\) even there was no real intention of adding the name (cf. P. Oxy. VI. 941. n. 1).

On this use of \(\pi(\alpha\rho\alpha)\) 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 \(\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\) 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. Giss. 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. \(\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\sigma\nu\)) An imperative expression used frequently in the papyri. For the interchanging between \(\sigma\) 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 \(\sigma\) and \(\omega\) indicates that the sounds originally represented by
these symbols became identified in ω 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 o and ω in particular in θέλησον occurred elsewhere in the papyri, see P. Amst. I. 55. 1 (?; V/ VI AD), θέλησον (I. θέλησον) δούναι Ἀνδρέας ψ[ω]ς Ἀ[β]ραμίου; and PSI. XIV. 1426. 7 (?; VI AD), θέλησον (I. θέλησον) ἀποστεῖλαί μοι.

- The reading seems to be incomprehensible παύσων (I. παύσον), but ξάσων (I. ξάσον) is not excluded.

On the one hand, the imperative of εἶλω 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 δεξιώσθαι αὐτό καὶ εἰμὲν δέδωκας τ[α]’ εὖ καὶ καλώς· εἰ δὲ μήγε εάσον αὐτά.

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 τῶ ἐμέτρου (I. τοῦ ἐμέτρου), which suits to Πτολεμάς (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 Ptolemaus 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), σῖτον ἀρτὰβας δέκα μικρὸ χμέτρῳ δοχίκῳ.

- τῶ ἐμέτρου (I. τοῦ ἐμέτρου) See the note below. The article τῶ 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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- Πτολεμᾶ (genitive of Πτολεμᾶς, 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), ἀπέσχου ἐγ[τ]εύθεν παρά τῆς Πτολεμᾶ.


- ἕκλησου (l. ἕκλησον) An imperative aorist of ἕκληθάνω, causative shape of ἕκλονθάνω, so its meaning would be "forget utterly, get rid", which requires genitive. The object of forgetting seems to be again the measure τῶ μέτρου (l. τοῦ μέτρου), which this time must be in genitive.

- μὴ ὀμελήσῃς 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).

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For the occurrence of μη ἀμελήσης in the papyri, see e.g. P. Mich. III. 221. 12 (Alex.; AD 296-7), καὶ γράψων μοι πόσου
κέρμα ἐλαβες παρὰ Κουτινήρι καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσης; P. Col. VII. 190. 7 (Karanis 340 AD), ἀλλὰ μὴ 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), φιλτάτωις χαίρειν. ὑπέρ τ]ὼν ὑπογεγραμμένων φίλων.

- τεσσαράκωτα (l. τεσσαράκωντα) According to the surviving tracks; the graphic mistake is not only the result of τεσ- τεσ-, 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, δλοκόττυνος, 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’ 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).

- ἰθήσων (read ἰθήσον cf. line 2).

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

3- 4- ἰθήσον ἀπελθεῖν τέως δέξασθαι παρά Ἡλία 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 Ἡλία 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 ἐπληρώθην] ἐγ[ω Μ]η[νάκς] σύμ<μ>αχ(ος) παρά σοῦ Ἡλία 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 Ἀρσινοί τοῦ νομοῦ. This village is probably identical to the ruins of the ancient village called Manâshinhâna (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. Manâshinhâna (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 α 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 intervocally before or after the accent. In our case the interchanging is in the intervocally (see Gignac, “op. cit.”, pp. 90-92). For the interchange of α 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.

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47. 2 (Nessana; AD 605), θέλεσων (I. θέλησων) δεξασθ[αι παρ]ά [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 γραμματέως καὶ τοῦ κωμογρ(αμματέως); P. Mich. III. 178. 29 (Bacchias; AD 119), κατακεχόρ(ικα) Ἀυ(νῆς) Αὐνεί(σος) λ[αο]γρ(άφος) διὰ 'Επιμᾶχο(υ) γρ(αμματέως); Stud. Pal. VIII. 864. 2 (?; VI AD), δ(ια) Ιωά(ννου) γρ(αμματέως).

For the γραμματεύς, 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 μην Πσ[χων] πέμπτης ὑνδ(ικτίωνος) δ(ι) ἐμ[σοῦ + 19 letters] εως ύποῦ 'Ηλία γραμμ(ατέως); VIII. 858. ν. 1 (VI AD), ἐγρ[άφη] μη[νός] Ἀθ[οῦ ]ρ λ[ ] τῆ[ς]τετάρτη[ς] ὑνδ(ικτίουνος) δ(ι) ἐμο[ῦ] 'Ηλία γρ(αμματέως); P. Aberd. I. 34. 1 (VII AD), 'Ηλία γραμμ(ατεί) ἐποικ(ίου) κιεράτου Θεόδωρος σύν θ(εώ) 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 τεως in line two, may be an error for Τάνεως.

(c) The last one, which is dated to the seventh century, may suggest 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.

- εἰς νῆσων (l. εἰς νῆσουν) Certainly εἰς νῆσων is a mistake to εἰς νῆσου (cf. line 5, εἰς τὴν νῆσον), which came with the definite article τὴν. For the interchangeing of ο and ω, 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 νῆσον 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 (τόπος) at a village near Socnopaei Nesus (Nilopolis), situated in the Arsinoite nome, Herakleidou meris, it is Νῆσος "Αμμωνος (cf. A. Calderini & S. Daris, “op. cit.”, III; P. Tebt. II. p. 391).

- νομίσματι (l. νομισμάτι<ο>) There is no sign referring to an abbreviation. There is no argument that the word is accusative plural, whereas the following word is ήκοσι. So it is very clear that the scribe did not write the ending -α as a mistake. For the commentary (see line 2 and its note).

- ήκωσι (l. ήκοσι) For the interchangeing between ο and ω (see note 2). This mistake between ήκωσι and ήκοσι was common in the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine period, see e.g. P. Korn. 001. 9. 26 (Tebt.; AD 11), καὶ κριθη[η]ς ἀ[ρτά]βας ήκωσι (l. ήκοσι); PIFAO. I. 28. 4 (?;
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II AD), ἐκατὸν εἶκοσι (I. εἴκοσι);  O. Douch. II. 69. 3 (Kysis; IV AD), εἴκοσι (l. εἴκοσι) τ[ρεῖς];  P. Lond. III. 1035. 4 (?; VI AD), κεφάλια) εἴκοσι (l. εἴκοσι).

- αρριμ (l. ἀρίθμιμ<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 an 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 νομίσματα is rare in private documents. A fragmentary text from Oxyrhynchus (cf. P. Oxy. XVI. 1971 (V/VI AD)) records a loan of 7 ἀρίθμιοι νομίσματα, 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 3 ¼ 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 ¼ 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 (νομίσματα), 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”.

- σῦν θεοῦ (l. σῦν θεώ) This time the phonetic interchange is inverse, -συ for -ω (cf. line 1, τοῦ 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 Papiraccio 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 σύν θεῷ: P. Mich. VIII. 489. 12 (Karanis; II AD), ἐγκλείσεις οὖν ὅλον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου ἵνα σύν θεῷ παραγε[νόμενος] εὗρω αὐτὰ ὑψ’ ἐν; P. Strab. IV. 233. 7 (Oxy.; III AD), σύν θεῷ γὰρ ἔρχομαι πρὸς τὴν κατηγίαν τοῦ Φαώφι; and PSI. XIII. 1335. 25 (?; III AD), σύν θεῷ ἀκριβεστέρον 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 occurences of σύν 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 σύν Θεῷ ὑγίος ἐπιμελεῖσας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ ἴμων ἄρετη: “The D.V. eighth indiction, of the property which belongs to your excellency”.

5 - ἐπικαταλαβάνω (l. ἐπικαταλαμβάνω cf. Modern Greek καταλαμβάνω) 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. λαβούντων For λαμβούντων 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): ἔπικαταλαμβάνω 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 ταύτῃ ταῖς ἔπικαταλαμβάνομεν τὴν Ὀξυρυνχήτων μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου: "and with god’s help in these, we overtake the Oxyrunchus (city) with my master”.

- εἰς τὴν νῆσον (l. εἰς τὴν νῆσον) (cf. line 4 and its note).
- {εἰς} τριῶν ἡμερῶν (l. τρίων ἡμερῶν) The errors render this expression little clear. Although it is easy to think that ἡμερῶν for ἡμερῶν, by double quantity PP (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.

- μαθαῖων (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).
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6- καὶ μανθάνω πάλιν τι ἔχει(ν) For the reconstruction, cf. P. Oxy. XIV. 1680. 15 (Oxy.; III/ IV AD), καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἀκοῦω ὅτι σφόδρα Ἦρακλειος ὃ νῦν ἐπίτροπος ζητεῖ σε, καὶ ὑπονοοῦμαι ὅτι πάντως πάλιν τι 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 δὴ- clause, that by using verb ἔχει as verb ἔστι 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).


- θελή[σσα]σσον {θελήσσου} οὖν (l. θέλησον οὖν cf. lines 2, 3) Indeed we did not find this repetition of θέλησσον in the papyri before. I think that the scribe has forgotten and repeated the word.

6-7- διαβαλών εἰς τὰς ... μ......ρανῶν <ἐν> τοῖς νῆσων

Note that the scribe has written β above κ in διαβαλών 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 διαβαλών 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 ρανῶν τοῖς νῆσοιν. The word τοῖς νῆσων may be an error to τῇ νῆσῳ, so we have to add <ἐν> to express a dative of place: "on the island".

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- ἔως {τ}οῦ καταλάβου (l. ἔως οὖ καταλάβω): “until I arrive”. {τ}οῦ The scribe wrote τ as superfluous. For the interchange of –ω and –ου (cf. line 4, θεώδ for θεόδ). ἔως 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 ἀν or κε with subjunctive, mostly of aorist, to express an event at an uncertain future time. ἀν is sometimes omitted in the language of tragic writers, and frequently in later Greek. Sometimes οὖ is used with ἔως to give the same meaning. As in our document ἔως οὖ is used with 2nd. Aorist subjunctive (καταλάβω) and ἀν is omitted (see L/S, s.v. ἔως), cf. Mich. VIII. 477. (Karanis; II AD), καὶ <ἐ>λεγέ [μοι] ἄφες σὺ ἔως οὖ αὐτῷ ἔδειν ἦν δὴ[ν]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), ἐπεμψεν γὰρ καὶ ὁ δεσποτικὸς τινα τὸν ὄφειλοντα παρενέγκαι τοὺς μείζονας Θομίνεψάθεως ἔως οὖ ζητήθη τὸ ὀλον τὸ πρόγαιμα; “For the imperial official also sent a man charged to bring the headmen of Thmoinepsbthis, until the whole affairs is investigated”.

7- 8- δέξαστε οὖν νομίζματι εἰκοσι (l. δέξασθαι οὖν νομισματία εἰκοσι) (cf. line 4 and its note).

- Ἡλεία (l. Ἡλία, cf. line 4).

- ἀνειρυ.ζ (?) in fact this word is too difficult to be understood, it begins with αν then a letter ε or two letters εα followed by τρ or ττ, and then ι maybe read. At the end we can read ζ. This word maybe derived from the verb ἀνειρύω (= ἀνεύρω) “draw back, fasten to or on”, or ἀνειρόμαι “inquire”, cf. P. Brem. I. 47. 17 (Herm. Magna; AD 117), ἀνειρήμεθα τὰς π(ροκειμένας) ἁργ(υρίων) (δραχμάς)
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ἐξήκ[ον]τα τέσσαρας: “We inquire the aforesaid sixty four drachmas of silver”.

One may read ἀναέρ[π]ησ<ου> (l. ἀναιρησου) 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 may be right here.

- ὀκτώ (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 ὀκτώ for ὀκτώ in the ostraca and papyri, see e.g. O. Petr. I. 220. 7 (6 BC), κριθής ἄρταβας ὀκτώ (l. ὀκτώ); O. Tebt. Pad. I. 45. 4 (Berenike; AD 200-1), δροχμάς ὀκτώ (l. ὀκτώ); P. Col. VII. 176. 21 (Karanis; AD 325), Αὐρηλία Τομάλεις ἔσκον τά[ζ το]ῦ πυροῦ ἄρταβας τριάκ-οντα ὀκτώ (l. ὀκτώ) ἡμίσιυ; P. Mich. VI. 414. 5 (? V AD), Ἀτησιὸς Παδίο( ) οὖν εἰκοστῆς ἄρταβας ὀκτώ (l. ὀκτώ) ἡμίσιυ, (ἄρταβας) ἡ | μόνας.

- κατὰ ὀκτώ τοῦ χρυσίνου παρὰ κερ(ἀτια) πέντε δημοσίω ζυγώ 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.

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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 ἀναγκαῖας χρείας χρυσοῦ κεφαλαίου νομισμάτιον ἐν παρὰ κερ(άτια) ἡξ ζυγ(ῶ) δημο(σίω) ᾿Αντινόου; XIII. 666. 25 (Aphrod.; VI AD), καὶ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον ἐν παρὰ κεράτιον ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ᾿Αφροδίτης.

The carat is twenty-fourth of νομισμάτιον or δολοκόττιος, 1/6 gram of gold = κεράτιον. In the sixth century, the smallest fraction of the solidus is 1/96th, 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).

- δεμοσίου (l. δημοσίω) 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, ὀκτὼ for ὀκτώ), and one grammatical mistake; genitive for dative (cf. line 4, θεου for θεω).

- ζυγου (l. ζυγώ) 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), νομίσματα τέ]σσαρα παρὰ κεράτια ἑι ἰδιωτικῷ [ζυγῷ ᾿Οξυρύγχων; P. Col. VIII. 245. 3 (Oxy.; VI AD), δ[μολο]γῷ ἐσχηκέναι [πα.]ρά σοι ἐντεύθεν Ἧδη [χ]ρυσοῦ νομί- σματικοῦ) δέκα τρίτον ἰδι(ωτικῷ) ζυγ(ῶ); P. Mich. XIII. 659. 68 (Aphrod; AD 527-538), καὶ ὀὐτως ἐτερα νομίσματα δεκατέσσαρα para ke ratia tesisara ekastosin zygō δημοσίω λόγω τιμήματο -ς κατα προσθήκην προσενενεχθῆναι Ψαιώτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεπραμ-
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ευοι κτήματος; P. Stras. V. 317. 10 (Antinoopolis; AD 529); χρυσοῦ νομίσματας τρία παρά κεράτια δέκα ἐπτά δημοσίως ζυγῶ.

- δημοσίως 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 solidus 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 τιμή is abbreviated with a horizontal stroke. Similar examples for this clause in: P. Princ. III. 156. 2 (?; AD 302), ὑπὲρ τιμῆς σίτου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χίλιας

ἐκατόν; P. Sorb. I. 61. 10-11 (?; V AD), ὑπὲρ τιμῆς σίτου καὶ ἄπερ τιμῆς τῶν κρίθης (ἀρτοβῶν); P. Prag. II. 140. 1 (Herm.; VI AD), ὑπὲρ τιμῆς σίτου νο(μίσματος) ἔνα.

- θελήσων (l. θέλησον, cf. lines 2, 3 and 6).
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- δέξαστε (l. δέξασθαι, cf. lines 4, 7).
- νομισ(μάτια) (cf. lines 4, 8).
10- εἰκοσθ(ι. εἰκοστι cf. line 4).
- εἴνα (l. εἴναι) For the interchanging between ἐ and οῖ (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 Epistolariam Graecarum Formulis Sollemnibus Quaestiones Selactae", 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).

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

- Ἡ[λ]ι[α] γραμματέως At the end of this line, we read γραμματέως (gen. case), and before it we can read the last three letters (λια) of his name, and there is a part of η before them. I don’t know if this name has a connection with Ἡ[λ]ι[α], 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.

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2. \(\pi(\alpha\rho\alpha)\) \(\alpha\pi\alpha\) 'Ασκλαζ. Here we recognize the name of the sender of our letter. Although the name 'Ασκλαζ was very common in the papyri, we don't meet the epithet \(\alpha\pi\alpha\) closed to it. Note that the same \(\pi(\alpha\rho\alpha)\) is repeated again in the verso.

- \(\alpha\pi\alpha\). 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 'Αββαζ and \(\alpha\pi\alpha\), which appears very frequently, as well as the title \(\pi\alpha\pi\xi\) (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 \(\alpha\pi\alpha\) denotes reference (from the Coptic \(\alpha\pi\alpha\)) and corresponds to 'Αββαζ. The meaning is similar to that of the Greek \(\pi\alpha\tau\tau\rho\) (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 (\(\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\tau\rho\)) or (\(\alpha\pi\alpha\) \(\pi\alpha\tau\tau\rho\)). Sometimes it is also cited in Coptic as (\(\alpha\) \(\beta\alpha\)) or (\(\alpha\lambda\pi\alpha\)), 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
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᾿Ασκλᾶς (i. Ἀσκλᾶ nominative instead of genitive) Names in -ᾶς, originally hypocoristies 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 Ἀσκλᾶς was very common in the Roman period but rare in Byzantine, see e.g. P. Heid. III. 262. 1 (Thebes; AD 140), Ὀρος κοι Ἀσκλᾶς; Chr. Wilk. 001. 497 = P. Grenf. II. 67. 2 (Ars. Polis; AD 237), [πα]ρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀσκλᾶς; P. Mich XV. 727. 1 (Oxy. nome; IV/V AD), Φιλέας Διονυσίω χεῖ(ριστῇ) Ἀσκλᾶ προνο(ητοῦ) χ(αίρειν).
LIST OF ARREARS OF WHEAT

*P. Cairo Mus.C.G. 10692 Inv. S. R. 1667*  
*Prov. unknown*  
*30.4 x 8.9 cm.*  
*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 drown to divide the two parts of the document.

- Each person in the two lists is associated with grain amounts (lines 3-14) measured in στροὰ artabas and with money amounts (lines 15-29)
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specified in κεράτια. The symbol ι is common for κ(εράτιον), a κεράτιον, “Carat”, is a weight of gold bullion equal to 1/24 of a solidus (ψύμισμα) (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.


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), Ποτρούς (line 21), Δακάφελος (line 22), Πατήκη or Πατήβη (line 24).
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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 Ψιμανάβετ (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: τοῦ σίτου (for τοῦ σίτου) (line 1), Σιμάρου (for Σιμάρου) (line 9); or with an oblique element cutting the final letter of the word as: δ/ (for διά) (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: Ἄβραμι (for Ἄβραμος) (line 14) Μη(uncertain) (line 18).

RECTO

Col. 1

→  †  ἔχθεσις τοῦ σίτου
   Φάτο καὶ τοῖς
   [ʼ Ἀμμώνις Κυριακῷ]
   [ʼ Ἀνοῦ π Ψιμαγ[ῶβετ]
5  [Κελήλης]
   [Πελλάκης]
   Πτοξίς
   Καβιλ(?)
   Θεόφ(ίλος) Σιμάρο ὑ'
10  δὶ[ά] Σατρ<ί>ου [ ]
    Ἄβραμος Κιαρὼς
    Ἀμφί [Ωσθείς μητρ(ός)]
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

[ ]
'Iωάννης ε'ιρηνάρχης
'Αβράμις(ος) 'Αγόρας 'θ[ε]ρ[υ]

RECTO
Col, 2

15
ΧΩΓ
†
ἐχθέσις [τοῦ σίτου
Φλαβιανάς (?)
'Απόλλων Μην(ς)
Παυσύφος (καὶ) δ' υἱὸς Παλικώδος'

20
'Iωάννης Πελοπονήσιος
Πατρόφος
Προφήτης Δακαφειάς
'Αιών
[[ Πρωτός Πατήρ ]

25
Μακάρις Φαλαρίτης(ς)
Πάνηπο 'Αφοῦ Φίβ
Ψάμες
'Αντήρους ὀικοδομ[ος]
'Ανόηπ 'Αστάκως πρ[εσβύτερος

CORRECTIONS:
Line 1- l. ἔχθεσις
Line 2- l. Φάτω
Line 3- l. Αμμώνιος
Line 8- l. Καθύλ(?)
Line 23- l. Αἰών
Line 25- l. Μακάριος
Line 27- l. Ψάμις
Line 28- l. οίκοδόμος
Line 29- l. Άστάκος؟

TRANSLATION

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) 
Anouthios

The Second List:

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

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### SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apollon (son of) Mne( )</th>
<th>(carats) 20 [</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pannophios and his son Palikos</td>
<td>(carats) 8[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Ioannes (son of) Pelos Phan</td>
<td>(carats) [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrous</td>
<td>.. [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proua Dakaphelos</td>
<td>1 . [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aion</td>
<td>(carats) 5 [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prouos (son of) Patebe</td>
<td>.. [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Makarios (son of) Phaloutes</td>
<td>(carats) 10 ½ [</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pannos (son of) Aphos Phib</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psamis</td>
<td>[</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anteous, the builder [</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anoup (son of) Astakos the elder [</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### COMMENTARY:

1- ἔχθεσις (l. ἔκθεσις) Note that ἔχθεσις appears more frequently than ἔκθεσις throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods: ἔχθεσις (for ἔκθεσις), *P. Iand. III. 32. 1 (?; II AD); P. Cair. Isid. 17. 1 (Karanis; AD 314); P. Got. 001. 55. 1 (?; VII AD); ἔκθεσις (for ἔκθεσις), *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 ἔκθεσις means “arrears, list of arrears”. Usually, as in our text, the kind of tax is specified: for ἔχθεσις σῖτο(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 σῖτο(υ). By this late date σῖτος 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- Φάτω 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), ἔχθεσις σίτου Ἀγγελίς (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 Φάτως in genitive as we find this name only in P.Lond. IV. 1443, col. v, 32 (Aphroditos; AD VIII), Πεκ(υσίου) Φάτως νο(μίσματα) ἗, 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 ὅτι. 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 ☐ is used).
3- 'Αμμώνις (= '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 -τις is found considerably more frequently in papyri of all periods than elsewhere in Koine. In the Roman and Byzantine papyri, forms in -τις is found in names, forms of address, titles, occupational designations, and diminutives. The name 'Αμμώνις 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).

- Κυριακόδ 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 (Hermonthis; 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- 'Ανουτάπ π (= 'Ανουτάβ) 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 (Arsinoit Polis; 612 AD); T. Varie. 001. 10. 2 (Oxy.; VII AD). 'Ανουτάβ occurs otherwise as 'Ανουτάβ in P. Anag. 001. 194 = SB. XVI. 12283. 1 (Magdola; IV AD), Νυφότε'Ανουτάβ κώμ(αρ- χος).

- Ψιλαζ[δόμε] The Papyrus here is peeled, bearing the rest of the name. So it seems likely that we should extend Ψιλαζ[ ] to Ψιλαζ[δόμε] as in P. Flor. III. 297. v. 15 (Antinoopolis; AD 525-6), κλ(ηρονόμου) Ψιλού Ψενθ( ) κατ 'Ιερα[κ( ) Ψ]ιλαζ( ) δ(ια)
'Ιωσηφίου); 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), [⋯]αοκας Κελήλου.

6. Πελλάκτης The reading is certain. The name Πελλάκτης 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 (ξιμος) (= "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- Κασθυλ For the interchanging between ν and τ in accented syllables (Κασθι- pap. for Κασθυ -) (see F. T. Gignac, “Grammar”, 1, p. 268). The name Κασθυλις is very rare in the papyri. It occurs in P. Thmouis. I. 1. 110. ctr. 22 (Thmouis; AD 170-1), Αμοννέως Κασθυλις. 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- Θεόφ(ιλος) There are various forms for this name as (Θεόφιλε, Θεόφιλη, Θεώφιλος, Θευφίλος, Τεύφιλος), (see P/N & F/O). For the occurrences of this name, which was used frequently in the
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).

- Σιμάροι'ν' This name occurs only in *P. Lond. III*. 1170. 14, 566 (Arsinoite; 144 AD), Σιμάροι άνθ' (οὗ) Νεάλον 'Αγγερίμ-φεως (δραχμα) λΔ.

10- δ(τό) 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, Σαρπογ is possible reading. Σάρπ<ι>ρογ may be restored, cf. *P. Oxy. XXXIII*. 2665. 15 (Oxy.; AD 305-6).

11- Αβράμιος 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).

- Κιάψος May be read. It may be genitive of the proper name Κιάνος, 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), Κιάνων παίδι (δεμωλότ) Υ. 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- Αμόετί' Ωσβείς(?) μητρ(ός) [ ] At the beginning of this line, which is written very cursive, one may read Αμόετ, 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), Αμόετ Παύλ(όυ); 299. 4 (?; VII/VIII AD), 'Ανδρέας Άμοετ.

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

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At the end of the line, we can read μητricula 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 μητricula 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 (Aphroditio; 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, Ιώαννης, Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννης. 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 (Heracleopolis; 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).

- εἰρηνάρχης 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 εἰρηνάρχης 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).
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14- 'Ἀβράμι(ος) Αὐγοῦς θύρων With regard to CPR. IX. 56. 21 (Hermopolite; V / VI AD), we find' Αὐσοθίου' Ἀβρα[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 Αὐσοθίς 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 Χριστόν Μαρία γενναδί 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 XMF, 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 XMF has to have had only one meaning Χ(ριστόν) Μ(αρία) Γ(ενναδί) or some variant grammatical forms of the same phrase as: Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννα), Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) Γ(εννα) or Χ(ριστά) Μ(αρία) Γ(εννα). For more about this symbol see (Tomasz Derda, “Some Remarks on the Christian Symbol XMF”, The Journal of Juristic
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16- ἐχθεσις [τοῦ σίτο]ν 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).

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

19. Πανούφιος (= Πανούφιος) 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 (Aphroditeto; AD 525/6), Παλικοβ Πανουφιου δι(ια) δοξάμμων(ες) υ(μμε)μμα ο(ου); P. Lond.V. 1765. 9 (Hermoupolis Magna; AD 554), Ἰωάννου Πανουφίου.

- Παλικοβ' ο' This name occurs only in Stud. Pal. VIII. 797. 7 (Arsinoiton Polis; AD VII), δι(ε) ημων' Ἰωάντου Παλικοβ; and III. 191. 8 (Arsinoiton Polis; VIII AD), δι(ε)μου Παλικοβού.

20 - Πελιου' ο' For various forms of this name see P/N (Πελού, Πελούς, Πελώς, Πελούς, Πελούςις). The name Πελού is attested in BGU. II. 364. 18 (Arsinoite; AD 553), Ἀφρήλτος Ἡνίλος Πελού; and SB. XVI. 12301. 25 (?; VIII AD), Ἐφεσ(ε) Πελού.

- Φάνυ 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), Φαντο Φάνυ; and CPR. X. 89. v. 3 (Arsinoite; VI AD), Φάνυ Κιαμουλ Μακαρίου.

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

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

- Δακκαφέλου 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- 'Αϊών (I. 'Αϊών) For various form of this name see P/N ('Αειών, 'Αειώνις, Αϊώνις, Αϊώνος). The name 'Αϊών 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
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- Πρωσυζ This name seems to be attested in the Roman period, cf. *P. Amh. II. 126 = P. Sarap. 001. 34* (Hermopolite; AD 128), Πρωσυζ Σαλατ(ατος).

- Πατηκη or Πατηβη 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 -ος, 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).

- Φαλούτης Perhaps a wrong genitive of (Φαλούς, -οτος), which occurs rarely in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see e.g. *SB.VI. 9319. 22* (Thebes; AD 116), νεω(τερος) Φαλούτερος.

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

26- Πάνυνος For various form of this name see *P/N* (Πάνυνος, Πέννος). The name Πάνυνος 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, 'Αφφου, 'Αφουάς). 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).

- Φιβ For various form of this name (see *P/N, Φιβιος, Φιβις*). The name Φιβ 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* (Arsinoiton polis; AD 618); *Stud. Pal. X. 74. 8* (Arsinoite; VII/VIII AD).
SOME UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS DOCUMENTS

27- Ψάμης (l. Ψάμις) The name Ψάμις 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 Ψάμης occurs in P. Lond. III. 964. 6 (?; II/III AD).

28- 'Αντηροῦς (genitive, 'Αντηροῦτος) 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 καλ 'Αντηροῦς Σώτου; P. Wisc. II. 41. 4 (Arsinoiton polis; AD 189), το(δ) 'Αντηρο(ῦτος) μητρός Θεά(σιος).

- οἰκωδόμος (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 “οἰκωδόμος” 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- 'Αστάκως (l. 'Αστάκου?) Perhaps it is wrong genitive for 'Αστάκου. This name occurs only in BGU. II. 571. 18 (Arsinoite; II AD), 'Αστάκος Σορξ[μήνεως]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).

οὶ 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 Sknopaiou 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 δὲ κλῆρος “second share”, cf. BGU. III. 700 (II AD), during one year of loads in BGU. I. 195. 30 (147-8), τοὺς κατ’ ἐτος 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 (γεωργοντες) or among people having already filled some important financial loads. We find in P. Fay. 304, a προσβυτερος had clothed previously the load of the ἐπιτήρησις τῶν γενηματογραφομένων “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).