

NOTES ON PAPYRI

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1. *PMich.* v, 338 and 354

No. 354 is a guarantee of immunity given in 52 A.D. by Ptolemaios the younger, son of Akousilaos, to Kronion, a nomographos who was also director of the grapheion of Tebtunis,¹ in return for his cooperation in preparing the documents for the sale of a half share of a house. The property had previously belonged to the sons of Tisenxis, who disappeared from the village because they were very heavily indebted to the fiscus. Ptolemaios, like Kronion and the sons of Tisenxis, was a local man,² and his position with reference to the sale remains obscure.³ "We do not know in what capacity Ptolemaios acted, whether as an agent of the state or as one who had private claims to the property in question or as a representative of the runaways."⁴ We may suppose that when Ptolemaios produced a buyer in the person of Pausis, son of Peteuris, the record office (*βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*) was unable to clear the title in the absence of the former owners.⁵ There was then a certain risk for Kronion in making the facilities of his bureau available to Ptolemaios for completing the transaction, and a clear risk to Pausis, who might later find himself threatened with eviction by a legitimate

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¹ See *PMich.* v, p. 1.

² Cf. *PMich.* v, 246.22 note; 259 introd.

³ Official sales of confiscated house property are still scarce (cf. *PAmh.* II, 97). *PPetaus* (in press) contains four pertinent texts: Nos. 13–16. For an account of the Petaus archive see Youtie, *ChronÉg.* 81 (1966) 127 ff.

⁴ *PMich.* v, 354 introd. (p. 366).

⁵ For the procedure, with bibliography, see *PMich.* v, 353 introd.

owner. In the present document Ptolemaios assumes total responsibility for any untoward developments to which the situation might give rise.

In stating his reason for issuing the guarantee to Kronion, Ptolemaios uses these words, according to the edition (lines 21-24):

διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοῦ Τεισένξεως⁶ υἱοὺς ἀφανεῖς εἶναι, εἴσους αὐτῶι κο<ι>γωνοὺς, ὠφειλόντων αὐτῶν πλῖστα δημῶσεια.⁷

The editor's translation: "since the sons of Tisenxis are missing, who were equal partners in this property and likewise heavily indebted to the state."

Although the translation is not adequate at every point and the Greek text would profit from a transposition of ἀφανεῖς εἶναι and εἴσους αὐτῶι κο<ι>γωνοὺς, this is a detail hardly likely to rouse suspicion. Nor does the slight correction in κο<ι>γωνοὺς give any hint of a troubled text. Nevertheless, a new inspection of the papyrus has eliminated the second of these phrases, for which it has substituted altogether different words:

διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοῦ Τεισένξεως υἱοὺς ἀφανεῖς εἶναι εἰς οὓς ἀγνωῶι τῶπους⁸ ὠφειλόντων αὐτῶν πλῖστα δημῶσεια.

Translation: "since the sons of Tisenxis have disappeared, where I do not know, because they were very heavily indebted to the fiscus." This is the language of anachoresis, the socio-economic withdrawal from official pressures so much practiced in Egypt. It has long since become familiar to papyrologists from an abundant documentation.⁹

⁶ Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, lists Σισένξις from *PTebt.* II, 401.34, but has no example of Τισένξις. *PMich.* II (see Index III), also from Tebtunis, has Σισένξις several times, and once Τιθένξις].

⁷ ἴσους, ὀφειλόντων, πλεῖστα δημῶσεια.

⁸ It is curiously interesting that the editor, commenting on his reading κο<ι>γωνοὺς, writes "ν corrected from τ." I have no exact parallel for εἰς οὓς ἀγνωῶ τῶπους, but a number of papyri have an equivalent expression: εἰς ἀγνωοιμένους τόπους (*PRyl.* IV, 595.57-58; *POxy.* XII, 1438.14-15; *PStrasb.* III [= Publ. Bibl. Nat. Univ. Strasb. I] 210.11).

⁹ N. Lewis, "Μερισμὸς ἀνακεχωρηκότων," *JEA* 23 (1937) 63-75; R. Rémondon, "Ἀπορικόν et μερισμὸς ἀπόρων," *Ann. Serv. Ant. Ég.* 51 (1951) 221-45; H. Henne, "Documents et travaux sur l'anachôresis," *Akt. VIII Intern. Kongr. Pap.* 1955 (Wien 1956) 59-66; D. Bonneau, "Utilisation des documents papyrologiques . . . pour la détermination de la qualité de la crue du Nil," *Atti XI Congr. intern. Pap.* (Milano 1966) 393. Most instructive is a recently published Cologne dissertation (1966): W. Schmidt, *Einfluss der Anachoresis im Rechtsleben zur Ptolemäerzeit*, esp. pp. 85-90.

Immediately following the sentence discussed above is another no less conventional (lines 24–28):

καὶ ἐάν τις ἐνκαλέσει ἢ <ἐ>πέλθῃ¹⁰ παρὲν τούτων α<ὐ>τῶι αὐτὸς ἐκδικήσωι τοῖς εἰδίοις δαπανήμασι καὶ ἀναλώμασι.¹¹

The editor's translation: "And if anyone shall summon you¹² or proceed against you in respect to these things, I myself will oppose his claim at my personal expense and cost."

The editor saw ατωι on the papyrus and corrected this to α<ὐ>τῶι, which should find its antecedent in τις. The syntax, however, creates some uneasiness. The object of ἐκδικέω, when expressed, is elsewhere always an accusative,¹³ and in consequence the dative pronoun is an embarrassment. The papyrus has in fact αγωι, not ατωι, and the standard combination ἐγὼ αὐτός suggests that we have here ἀγῶι αὐτός, written for ἐγὼ αὐτός.¹⁴ With this correction the Greek text falls into a normal pattern.

A like guarantee against hostile claims is also found in *PMich.* v, 338,¹⁵ where lines 12–15 are printed with the following text:

καὶ ἐὰν τὲ τί<ς> συ ἐνκαλέσῃ περὶ τῶν καταλοχισμῶν ἐγὼ αὐτοὺς ἐκδικήσω.¹⁶

The editor's translation: "and if anyone shall accuse you¹⁷ about the register [of catoecic allotments],¹⁸ I shall contest their claim."

If we take a strict view of the Greek, τις is of course not an adequate

¹⁰ The scribe wrote ε, wrote η over it, then forgot to repeat ε before continuing with the rest of the verb.

¹¹ ἐγκαλέσει, περί, ἐκδικήσω, ἰδίοις δαπανήμασι, ἀναλώμασι.

¹² Better: "make an accusation against, enter a claim against."

¹³ E.g. *PAmh.* II, 134.9–10; *PAbinn.* 28.19. Cf. R. Helbing, *Kasussyntax der Verba bei den LXX* (Göttingen 1928) p. 37.

¹⁴ Otiose *iota* adscript is again seen in the verb which follows immediately after αὐτός: ἐκδικήσωι. Other examples of the interchange of α and ε are to be found in the same text: Πάυσει (5–6), Πεύσειος (16); ἀπαρνοχλήτους (20, for ἀπαρεν-).

¹⁵ The editor has called this document a "Receipt for a Deed," but it is in effect, like No. 354, a guarantee of immunity for the nomographos Kronion, whose office issued to the guarantor Ptolemaios a deed of cession of catoecic land with no other authority than Ptolemaios' registration in the catoecic rolls. See the editor's introduction.

¹⁶ δέ, σοι ἐγκαλέσῃ.

¹⁷ The editor adds: "in any way," a phrase which doubtless reflects an earlier stage of transcription before τι was corrected to τι<ς>.

¹⁸ See footnote 15.

antecedent for αὐτούς. But here again, when the papyrus is studied anew, it is found to have ἐγὼ αὐτός, the same phrase that we read in No. 354.¹⁹

2. *PMich.* v, 231

This text is a complaint sent to Apollonios, a strategos of the Arsinoite nome, probably in 47/48 A.D. It was directed against a local informer, who appears to have carried his activities to unseemly lengths.²⁰ Several of his victims are said to have filed complaints²¹ against him, but for a certain Kronion the machinations devised for his ruin by the informer Orses had a disastrous issue. The persecution to which he was subjected resulted in his impoverishment, and he came to a lamentable end. The affair is summarized in lines 9–16 of the edition:

ἔτι καὶ ἐτόλμησεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐγκαλούμενος τῇ περὶ ἑαυτὸν αὐθαδία
χρόμενος ἐκδιῶξε ἕτερον τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Κρονίωνα
Πετεσούχου τοῦ καὶ Χαλήους βουλόμενος καὶ τοῦτον ζημίαις περι-
τρέψαι ὥστε διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν Κρονίωνα ἔνδειαν ἑαυτὸν τὰς χεῖρας
προσαγαγόντα διαφωνῆσαι.²²

The editor's translation: "Even then the same fellow, although he is

¹⁹ I append a few minor corrections. Line 1. *Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου: Πτολέμις Πτολεμίου* ed. 2. *Κρονίων<ι>: Κρ<ο>νίων<ι>* ed. 3. *χέρι(ν) = χαίρειν: χάριν* ed. The letters α and ε are sometimes hard to distinguish in this hand. 9. The editor has taken *καταλελογίσθα<ι>* to be the perfect of *καταλογίζομαι*. It is in reality the only occurrence of *καταλογίζω* in the papyri. 10. *καταλοχισμῶν: καταλοχισμὸν* ed. 13. *σοι: σὺ* ed.

²⁰ The system of informers was maintained with official encouragement, but the exuberance of these gentlemen, who were otherwise so useful to the fiscus, had from time to time to be brought within some reasonable limit. A notable illustration is the section of an edict issued by Tiberius Julius Alexander and devoted to measures aimed at more effective control of informers. See G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* (Lausanne 1964) p. 30, lines 40–45; p. 38, lines 40–45; pp. 197–205. An English translation is available in N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, *Roman Civilization* 2 (1955) 378. In the same connection, compare the sentiments expressed in *PPrinceton* III, 119.3–5, 52–55 (4th cent.).

²¹ Lines 8–9 and 19–20 have *προέλευσιν*, line 28 *προελευσομένους*. The editor observes that the ordinary meanings of *προέλευσις* "do not apply here." It is true that the noun has not previously had the meaning proper to *προσέλευσις*, but the verb has long been known as a synonym of *προσέρχομαι* (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *προέρχομαι* [2]).

²² *ἐγκαλούμενος, χρόμενος ἐκδιῶξει, βουλόμενος, χεῖρας.*

being accused,²³ with his customary daring attacked another of the residents of the same village, Kronion, son of Petesouchos, who is also called Chales, wishing to hound²⁴ him by penalties, so that, after having handed in the charges, Kronion perished because of his poverty."

In rendering the last clause of this account, the editor allowed himself to be guided by the statement in lines 8-9 that "each of the injured parties entered a complaint." He accordingly takes the participial phrase, *ἑαυτὸν τὰς χείρας προσαγαγόντα*, in the same sense: "having [himself] handed in the charges." He thus gives to *χείρ* the well attested sense of "document," here specifically a document or petition containing charges against an informer. But this interpretation has not survived a collation of the edition with the papyrus, which proved to have *ἑαυτῶι* instead of *ἑαυτόν*. The dative pronoun restores the plural *χείρας* to its literal meaning: "so that, because of Kronion's needy condition, he laid hands on himself²⁵ and perished."²⁶ The informer's relentless persecution of this poor man was terminated only by suicide.²⁷

3. POxy. XVIII, 2183

The text of this papyrus is a letter sent toward the end of December, 181 A.D., by Nemesianos, strategos of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the

²³ Better: "was under accusation," i.e. in the complaints that had already been made. Also possible is the substantival use of the participle: "the same accused," i.e. the person who is herein accused. Cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *ἐγκαλέω*.

²⁴ Better: "ruin." The construction has a parallel in BGU VIII, 1844.18-19: *μὴ μόνον βλάβαις ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτίαις περιτραπῶμεν*. The editor's "hound" would have done nicely for *ἐκδιῶξαι* in the preceding portion of the text.

²⁵ I have not found this expression elsewhere in papyri. The closest verbal parallel is Aristoph. *Lys.* 893, *μὴ πρόσαγε τὴν χεῖρά μοι*, where the meaning however is very different. But the same construction is used with a number of other verbs to express hostile action (cf. LSJ, s.v. *χείρ* II.5.d.; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* II, col. 726). Since the phrase combines *ἑαυτῶι* and *τὰς χείρας*, it invites comparison with the classical *αὐτόχειρ* for a suicide (cf. *PBiblUnivGiss.* v, col. 2.10, with ed.'s note).

²⁶ I have not seen elsewhere in papyri, apart from one possible exception (*PPetr.* II, 13.3, 4), the use of *διαφωνέω* with persons in the meaning "perish, die," but it is soundly attested in LXX and other late sources. See J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v.; E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, s.v.

²⁷ I add two minor corrections, which have been obtained from the papyrus. Line 20. *ῶι*: *ῶν* ed. The editor's correction of *ῶν* to *οἷς* fails to take account of the singular noun with which the clause ends. 21. *Τιβεριῶ*: *Τιβεριῶι* ed. For the end of line 6 and the beginning of line 7, H. I. Bell has proposed, with every chance of being right, *αὐτοῖς* (CR 59 [1945] 75; JRS 35 [1945] 139).

heirs of Philiskos, who had been strategos of the Menelaite nome two years before, in 179/180 A.D.²⁸ Nemesianos states that he has had a letter from the present strategos of the Menelaite nome asking him to collect from them the sum of 212 dr. 5 ob., which is still charged against Philiskos. Although it had been duly paid in during his term of office as interest on the sale price of confiscated property,²⁹ it had not been transferred, as it should have been, to the government account. Nemesianos is very polite throughout, as was fitting when he addressed the heirs, probably the children, of a fellow administrator who had died only recently, and he is careful not to mention Philiskos' failure to exercise adequate supervision over the accounts of the nome.³⁰ At the same time, he gently but urgently instructs the heirs to repair Philiskos' neglect without delay.

The prescript and the body of the letter, written in a fine square hand but with cursive features which identify it as a documentary and not a book hand, occupy lines 1-9 and the beginning of 10. A second hand, upright but fully cursive, has filled the rest of line 10 with a friendly greeting from Nemesianos, and the same hand has added immediately below, in line 11, a remark which proved particularly troublesome to the editor both for transcription and for meaning. A third hand, equally skilful but more angular and with a slight inclination to the right, has provided the date of the document in lines 12-14.³¹

I repeat here the greeting sent by the strategos and the words which follow it in the edition:

10 ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχ(ομαι), φίλ(τατοι).
11 δι(α)διδότωι³² α(ὐτοῖς).

On line 11 the editor has this comment: "These words are written so

²⁸ Philiskos, like his heirs, was a resident of the Oxyrhynchite nome. See the editor's introduction for the view rightly maintained by Tait, "that strategi were not normally eligible for office in their own nomes."

²⁹ For other examples of τόκος τιμῆς ὑπαρχόντων see *PMich.* IV, 224.4857 and 5958, where it is seen to be collected by πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν.

³⁰ Illuminating in this connection is the relation established in the editor's introduction between this text and *Sammelbuch* III, 7173.

³¹ The change of hand is not noted in the edition. My own assignment of the hands rests on an enlarged photograph of exceptional quality which I owe to the kind intervention of Prof. E. G. Turner and the generosity of Dr. Revel Coles. The photograph reproduces the whole of line 11 and adjacent portions of 9-10 and 12-13.

³² Read διαδότω.

very cursively that we cannot read them certainly." It may be supposed that the last four letters of the verb were dotted because they were thought to be especially unsatisfactory. The editor may have been disturbed also by the use of an internal abbreviation in handwriting of the second century. It rouses a vague uneasiness, precisely because it is possible and yet unlikely.³³ Even the grammatical form of the verb proved to be a stumbling block. The text has a 3rd pers. sing. imperative; the translation resorts to the 2nd pers.: "Hand it over to them."³⁴

Now, if we omit the dotted letters, the text which results is meaningless but, as we shall see, not useless:

δι(α)διδ . . . α()

When we put beside this other examples of signatures or greetings appended to documents by strategoi or basilikoi grammateis, we find that the preposition *διὰ* plays a considerable role in their structure. They are in fact written by an authorized assistant. Typical are the following:

PRyl. II, 283 (described). Declaration on oath. 174 A.D.:

'Απολλώ(νιος) στρα(τηγός) διὰ 'Απολλωνίου βοηθ(οῦ) σεσημ(ει-
ωμαι).

PFay. 33. Return of *abrochos*. 163 A.D. Lines 20-22:

(2nd hd.) Φωκίων στρα(τηγός) διὰ 'Αλεξάνδ(ρου) βοη(θοῦ) ἐση-
(μειωσάμην). 'Επείφ ις. (3rd hd.) Λεωνίδης βασιλ(ικός) γρ(αμ-
ματεὺς) δι[ὰ] 'Αρποκ(ρατίωνος) βοη(θοῦ) σεσημ(είωμαι).³⁵

PPetaus (in press) has seven examples of such signatures in official correspondence dealing with the sale of confiscated property, all of them dated to the years 184 and 185.³⁶ Six of these are of the type illustrated above; they employ the verb *σεσημείωμαι*. Only one takes the form of a greeting, PPetaus 18.7-8: ἐρρῶ(σθαί) σε εὖχο(μαι) δι' 'Αουϊολᾶ τοῦ καὶ Διονυσσοδ(ώρου) βοηθ(οῦ).

³³ Cf. H. I. Bell, "Abbreviation in Documentary Papyri," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* 2 (St. Louis 1953) 425-26.

³⁴ There are strong precedents for the 2nd pers. Cf. ἀπόδος as an official instruction appended to petitions and as a constituent element in the address of private letters. See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. (2).

³⁵ For further examples see the references in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* III, Abschn. 8, s.v. βοηθός.

³⁶ See above, note 3.

Thanks to this passage from the Petaus archive, and to the visual advantage given by an enlarged photograph of *POxy.* 2183, every obstacle to a successful reading of the line in question has been removed. The letters are now identifiable without exception. The new text runs as follows:

10 ἔρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς εὖχ(ομαι), φίλ(τατοι),
11 δι(ὰ) Διδύ(μου) βοηθ(οῦ).³⁷

4. *PMed.* I, 76

This papyrus was previously published in *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 299–300. The text was reprinted in *Sammelbuch* VI, 9001, and is now repeated in the new edition substantially as first published.³⁸ It is a personal letter written by a man to his father, at some time in the second or third century of our era. Its content is of the simplest. The writer asks his father to send bread, a linen chiton, and a third object which is now represented by only two letters.³⁹ There follow salutations to numerous members of the family (8–16), the usual close, in this instance most respectfully phrased (17–18), then Phaophi 30 as the date of the letter (19).

Having thus come to the end of what he thought he wanted to say, the writer had second thoughts and added two sentences below the date. One of these (22–23) merely lengthens the list of salutations, but the other (20–22) conveys a piece of information which the writer judged his father might need. It has the same form in all the printings of the text.

20 ἔχεις δ[ὲ] τοὺς καλᾶμου[ς]
ἐν τῷ κλ.σσ.κολ.
σου.

Although the writing is not well preserved,⁴⁰ the meaning is in general

³⁷ The editor's α(ὑποῖς) has become the θ of βοηθ(οῦ). Alpha and open theta are often confused by editors. See Youtie, *Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri* (= *BICS* Suppl. 6, 1958) 51, 69.

³⁸ With two minor exceptions. Line 16: ἔρρωσω replaces ἔρρωσο. 19: λ replaces ᾱ.

³⁹ Line 7: κα[. . .]

⁴⁰ The first editor: "... nelle ultime 4 righe aggiunte, dove il papiro, essendo raschiato, è quasi illeggibile. . . . Altre incombenze sono contenute nelle 4 righe aggiunte ma, date le condizioni del papiro, non risultano chiare."

clear. According to the writer, his father keeps the *kalamoi* in something that belongs to him, a container of some sort. The partial reading made by the editors is illuminated by a passage in one of the magical rolls at Leyden (*PGM* XIII, 1009): βάλε αὐτὸ εἰς κλοσόκομον καθαρόν.⁴¹ The next to last word is a misspelling of γλωσσόκομον, which is a commonly used variant of γλωσσοκομείον. This compound arose as a name for a case or box in which the “tongues” or mouth-pieces of flutes were stored, but it was later applied to boxes of all kinds, sometimes quite large ones.⁴² We may therefore safely propose that the editors’ reading in line 21 be completed as κλωσσοκόμ[ω]=γλωσσοκόμω.⁴³

The writer of the letter added lines 20–22 because he was fearful that his father might not recall where he had put the *kalamoi*. And this mention of them, preceded by the article, points directly back to lines 4–7:

καλ[ῶ[ς] ποιήσεις εἰ πέμψεις [μοι] ἄρτους κα[ὶ τ]ὸ λιν[οῦν] κιτόνιο[ν⁴⁴
καὶ κα[. . .]

But this is not the view taken by the editors, who decided that line 7 did not provide sufficient space for *καλάμους*, and so line 7 could not be brought into relation with line 20. This conclusion, however, overlooks the significance of the article in line 20, the abbreviations which close lines 10 and 13, and the striking if partial coincidence set up by κα[in line 7 and καλάμου[ς] in line 20. Either κα[λάμους] or, if the space available at the end of line 7 is not enough to accommodate the full word, κα[λάμο(ς)] is obligatory.

⁴¹ Rendered by Leemans: “jace in arculam puram;” Preisendanz: “tu es in ein reines Futteral.”

⁴² See Phrynichus (ed. I. de Borries, Teubner, 1911) p. 58.8: γλωττοκομείον· ἐπὶ μόνου τοῦ τῶν αὐλητικῶν γλωττῶν ἀγγείου. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς ἑτέραν χρῆσιν κατεσκευάζετο, βιβλίων ἢ ἱματίων ἢ ἀργύρου ἢ ὀπνοῦν ἄλλου. καλοῦσι δ’ αὐτὸ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς γλωσσόκομον. Cf. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* s.v. The articles in Stephanus’ *Thesaurus* on the word in both spellings are still highly instructive. To the papyrus references listed by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv., we may add *BGU* VI, 1300.9 and *Sammelbuch* VIII, 9834b.46 (γολοσόσκμον!).

⁴³ Dr. Sergio Daris has been kind enough to examine the papyrus for this conjecture. His comment (letter of 30 Sept. 1967) is more than encouraging: “. . . per quanto le tracce siano molto deboli la lettura proposta κλωσσοκόμ[ω] si può ritenere certissima e deve essere accolta senza esitazione.”

⁴⁴ Read χιτώνιον.

One other point calls for comment. The word *γλωσσοκομείον* began its career as a designation for a case in which the "tongues" of flutes were placed for safekeeping, and *κάλαμος* is an old word for a reed-pipe or flute. The occurrence of both words in a single sentence might suggest that the original sense of *γλωσσοκομείον* had not been lost even as late as the second or third century. Moulton and Milligan were of a different opinion, which they based on such evidence as we have: "its original meaning, as 'receptacle' (*κομίζω*) for the 'tongues' or mouthpieces of flutes, had been long forgotten, and influenced it only by stamping on it generally the sense of small size and portability."⁴⁵ It is therefore preferable to stay within the semantic range of these words in the Roman period and to think of reed-pens kept in a small box which may also have held ink and other writing materials.⁴⁶

5. *PSarapion* 96

This papyrus was first published by Grenfell and Hunt as *PAmh.* II, 135. It is now republished in *PSarapion* with a number of significant improvements, and the facsimile reproduced on Plate IX at the end of that volume makes the papyrus generally available.⁴⁷

The text is a letter written probably on the last day of the year 129 by Eutychides, son of Sarapion, to his brother Anoubion. Eutychides, who is a landowner at Thallou in the Hermopolite nome, has gone to the prefect's *conventus*, presumably held at Memphis, on legal business.⁴⁸ Like all litigants in his position, he expects delay, and so he reports with pleasure that he has at last been given a date by the prefect for pleading his cause. This information occupies lines 11-14. Although the new

⁴⁵ See above, note 42. Cf. E. M. Husselman, "Pawnbrokers' Accounts from Roman Egypt," *TAPA* 92 (1961) 263, note 46: "In the papyri the word is generally used of a small casket for valuables, money and jewelry, although in *PTebt.* 2.414.21 τὸ γλωσσοκομείον is listed."

⁴⁶ Cf. V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Palaeographie*² I (Leipzig 1911) 194.

⁴⁷ I am very grateful to Ann E. Hanson for a new and meticulous revision of the papyrus, which is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Her notes have been a constant guide to me in my own study of the text. For accounts of the Sarapion archive see J. Schwartz, *Bull. Fac. Lettres Strasb.* 28, no. 4 (Feb. 1950) pp. 153-57; *ChronÉg.* 68 (1959) 342-56.

⁴⁸ See the editor's introduction. For a masterly discussion of the *conventus* see U. Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 4 (1908) 366-422.

text differs only little from the first edition, the new editor has grasped its meaning with a fullness denied to Grenfell and Hunt in their time. I therefore repeat his text and his translation.

- 11 μέντοι γε⁴⁹ ὁ κύριος
 12 τῇ γ̄ προέγραψεν⁵⁰ ἡμᾶς με-
 13 τὰ τῶν Κοουσιτῶν⁵¹ εἰς 15 ἡ⁵²
 14 καὶ [πρὸς αὐτ̄]⁵³ ἐν ποτέρῳ⁵⁴ ἀκου<σ>θησόμεθα! ἄν⁵⁵ αὐτῶ δόξῃ.

The editor's translation: "Certes, le préfet,⁵⁶ en date du 3, nous a affichés avec les gens de Cusae pour le 16, jour auquel nous serons entendus dans l'une ou l'autre (?) affaire s'il le veut bien."

The words ἐν ποτέρῳ, an admittedly doubtful reading, are vague. Nothing in the preceding portion of the text prepares us for the alternatives which the phrase appears to present. And as we have seen, the editor queries his own explanation. There has been no controversy mentioned to this point except Eutychides' dispute with the Koussites, and the prefect has already set a date for hearing arguments in that case.

Grenfell and Hunt were not satisfied with the reading as they gave it; they marked four letters as doubtful, and omitted the phrase from their translation. The present editor has retained three of the dots. If we examine the papyrus as reproduced on Plate ix of *PSarapion*, we easily see how ποτ might pass as a possible reading, but we also become aware that the letter read as *pi* is surprisingly similar in form to the letter read as *tau*.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ The editor: "cette place [i.e. initial position in the sentence] n'est pas normale." While this is true of classical usage, it does not apply to *koine*. See *LSJ* s.v. μέν, B.Π.4.c: "in later Greek μέντοιγε stands first in the sentence."

⁵⁰ Grenfell and Hunt do not use the dots. The reading is correct.

⁵¹ People from Koussai, also in the Hermopolite nome.

⁵² ἡ Grenfell and Hunt.

⁵³ The reading is explained in the editor's note to line 14. Grenfell and Hunt have [πρὸς ερχ̄].

⁵⁴ ποτέρῳ Grenfell and Hunt.

⁵⁵ The dot under *nu* reflects the very poor condition of the ink at this point, but there is no real alternative. Grenfell and Hunt do not use the dot.

⁵⁶ ὁ κύριος = "the prefect" is justified by the reconstruction of the circumstances in which the letter was written. See above, note 48.

⁵⁷ Open *tau* is used frequently in this text. See e.g. lines 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 17, 20. Cf. A. Bataille, *La dynamique de l'écriture grecque* = *Recherches de Papyrologie* 2 (1962) 18 and Pl. iv.

The writing is in fact easier to explain as *ἐντοτέρω* than as *ἐνποτέρω*, and, quite apart from the palaeographic indications, it is surely more than coincidence that *ἐντοτέρω* is an obvious variant of *ἐνδοτέρω*, the comparative of *ἐνδον*. The context is concerned with dates, the 3rd and the 16th of Tybi, and *ἐνδοτέρω* is known to have had a temporal sense: "sooner."⁵⁸

If we substitute *ἐντοτέρω* (= *ἐνδοτέρω*) in line 14 for *ἐν ποτέρω* and return to Grenfell and Hunt's *ἦ* in place of *ἦ̄* at the end of line 13, the result is a smooth text with a clear meaning. Leaving aside the cancelled letters, we have the following:

μέντοι γε ὁ κύριος τῇ γ̄ προέγραψεν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν Κουσιτῶν εἰς ἰς̄,
ἦ καὶ ἐντοτέρω ἀκου<σ>θησόμεθα ἂν αὐτῷ δόξῃ.

Translation: "However, the lord [prefect], on the 3rd, posted us together with the Koussites for the 16th, or we shall be heard even sooner if he so decides." The hearing has been scheduled for the 16th, but the prefect may wish to deal with the case before the 16th. Eutychides writes in this vein in order to encourage Anoubion, who carries a double load of responsibility during his brother's absence.⁵⁹

6. *PLugdBat.* XI, 18

This text is a memorandum extracted from a list which recorded deliveries of wheat to a harbor for the *embolê*.⁶⁰ It may be assigned by

⁵⁸ Although *ἐνδον* is relatively frequent in papyri, there is no other instance of *ἐνδοτέρω*. *LSJ* cites it with the meaning required here from only one source: Hippocrates, *Fract.* (περὶ ἀγμῶν) 33. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, s.v., cites a pertinent example from Tatian (2nd cent. A.D.).

⁵⁹ A few words ought to be said about lines 8–9. Presumably because he understands *μυριάδας δύο* to be "two units of 10,000 each" and realizes that units of 10,000 would present serious problems of transportation, the editor suggests that *μυριάς* as used here and in similar texts is *μοιριάς*, a conflation of *μοιρίς* and *μοιράς*, and so signifies a "part" or "portion." No previous editor has doubted that *μυριάς* as applied to reeds means 10,000, and *μυριάδες δύο* 20,000. Reeds were required for vineyards in very large quantities (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* [München 1925] 255–61). In *PColZen.* II, 76.6 the number rises to 65,000. The total number of reeds ordered or used for a vineyard is invariably given in fractions or multiples of 10,000 and has no direct relation to the unit of transport. The latter is the *δεσμός* or *φορτίον*, fixed by *PMilVogl.* II, 69, A 140–73, B 52–53 (see Mariangela Vandoni's notes *ad loc.*) at 50 reeds.

⁶⁰ On the technical significance of the word *embolê* see M. Rostowzew, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* 3 (1906) 220–21; Wilcken, *Grundz.* 370.

in the editor's view that it is also the customary sign for the artaba. The combination of a horizontal line with a dot (⋈) provides the symbol which is usual.⁶⁶

These considerations reinforce the larger hesitations to which the editor has given frank expression. I have therefore sought to find a new approach to the text with the help of a photograph of the papyrus.⁶⁷ Leaving aside for the moment line 4, which needs separate treatment, we are able immediately to establish two minor corrections. The "nome-harbor" of line 1 is transformed into the "city-harbor": ὄρμου πόλεως, the harbor of *Arsinoitōn polis*, which is the metropolis of the nome.⁶⁸ The letters *πο* are comparable in form to the same letters in the first word of line 2. *Lambda* has its familiar shape, and *sigma* is of a late type which is used again at the end of line 3. The letters *εω* have suffered some compression, and they could be mistaken for *ω* alone. The last word of line 5 is not ὄρ(μου), but the personal name "Ολ, which is well attested for the Fayum in the late period.⁶⁹ The *lambda* is high and broad; it has an awkward, top-heavy look which is duplicated in other examples of this letter from the fourth and fifth centuries.⁷⁰

Line 4 as printed in the edition raises so many questions that it will be wise to start anew with a diplomatic transcription obtained from the photograph:

ωριων προδεδι, § ηλειας πδ α— β

Two personal names can be recognized, both in the nominative case: 'Ωρίων and 'Ηλείας (= 'Ηλίας). In reading the latter as κλ(ηρονομ)-ίας, the editor was misled by the abrasion of the ink, which has

⁶⁶ Bilabel, *RE* 2A (1923) 2305-6, s.v. *Siglae*.

⁶⁷ Reproduced on Plate 1. I owe my possession of the photograph to the kindness of Dr. Helene Loebenstein, Leiterin der Papyrussammlung Wien.

⁶⁸ With ὄρμος πόλεως (*PThead.* 31.13-14; *Stud. Pal.* x 139 and 140), cf. ὄρμος μητροπόλεως (e.g. *PThead.* 32.13-14), ὄρμος Ἀλσους μητροπόλεως (e.g. *PTebt.* II, 370.5-6).

⁶⁹ See the examples recorded by Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. Especially helpful are Leiv Amundsen's remarks in *OOslo.*, p. 68. Amundsen observes that "'Ολ is a common name in Philadelphia at the time, cf. *BGU* 1628 (4th cent.)." It is also well attested for Karanis: *OMich.* I, Index 4; *PCairIsidor.*, Index 4; *Sammelbuch* VI, 9436a.3; d.2; g.3; r.4.

⁷⁰ Cf. the forms exhibited by E. M. Thompson, *Introd. to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912) 193; V. Gardthausen, *Griech. Palaeographie*² 2 (Leipzig 1913) Taf. 4b, Kol. 8.

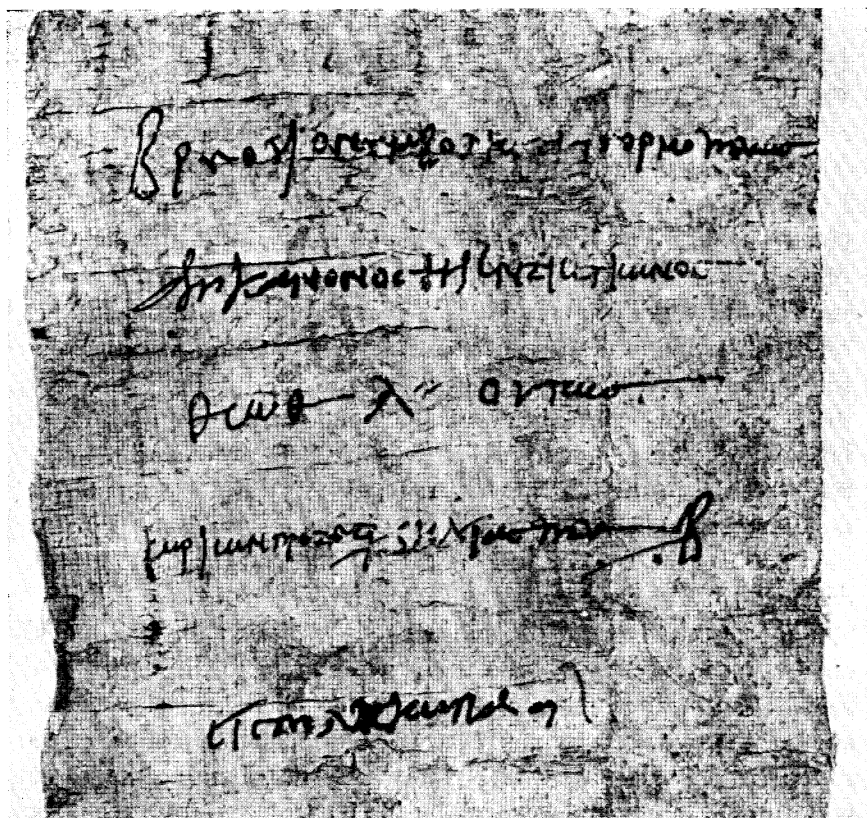


PLATE I. PLugdBat. XI, 18

resulted in a deceptive likeness of *eta* to *kappa*. And what he took to be an oblique mark of abbreviation after *lambda*, is in fact the characteristic upper jutting stroke of *epsilon*.

For the series of letters after the name of Horion the editor's basic reading was precisely what is shown by the diplomatic transcription. In dividing the letters between two words—a verb and a numeral—he was disregarding the impression given by the papyrus that *προεδι*() was written to be read as a unit. There is no sign of abbreviation over or after *epsilon*, nor is the letter perceptibly raised above the line. Although unmarked abbreviations are frequent in Greek cursive writing, they are not as a rule deliberately joined to the next word. Our scribe passed directly from the final stroke of *epsilon* to the top of *delta* without raising his pen.

Nevertheless, a solution of the difficulty is not obtained simply by granting that the writing on the papyrus calls for a single word only. Our lexicons exhibit no compound of suitable meaning to match the abbreviation. We do know, however, that a verb is wanted here. This inference follows from the reduplication and suggests that the letters $\pi\delta$ after the name of Elias also represent a verb. Since the text concerns a delivery of wheat to ships in the harbor, $\pi(\alpha\rho\alpha)\delta(\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\nu)$ offers itself as a more or less obvious candidate.⁷¹ The word is widely used for deliveries of many kinds. Even though, as Rémondon has observed, its use in the Byzantine period in connection with *embolê* is still limited and it becomes the usual verb for this purpose only after the Arab conquest, the text to which Rémondon attaches this comment links the verb directly with *embolê* in 589 A.D.⁷² Almost three centuries earlier, in the year 312, *PCairIsidor.* 11.35 and 55, applies the same verb to a delivery of wheat by *sitologoi* to *apodektai*. Toward the middle of the fourth century, *Stud. Pal.* xx, 95.23 employs it for a delivery of barley by a *gnôster* to an *epimelêtês*.

If these considerations provide a likely resolution for the double abbreviation, it was Elias who brought the grain to the ships. We should suppose, then, that Horion also made a significant contribution, and one that would be properly paired with the delivery of the cargo to the harbor. There was, as we know, an indispensable action to be performed when the grain was about to be transferred from the dock to the ship, or perhaps on the ship itself when the transfer was completed and before the ship left port. A sizable sample of the grain was collected and deposited in an earthen jar or other suitable receptacle, the jar was sealed, and the pilot, sometimes assisted by an *epiploos*, wrote his name together with a few details of the transaction on the container, which was also to be delivered at Alexandria.⁷³ In short, the *deigma* went along with the cargo.⁷⁴

⁷¹ On double abbreviation in compound words, see H. I. Bell (above, note 33) 425, 431.

⁷² R. Rémondon, "Reçu de versement pour l'embolê," *Bull. Inst. fr. arch. or. Caire* 50 (1952) 65-68. The text is *PFuad Inv.* 247 = *Sammelbuch* vi, 9144. Line 3 has $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa(\alpha)\tau(\epsilon)\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \delta\iota(\acute{\alpha})\ \text{Μερ}()\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\ .\ .\ ()\ (\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho)\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\lambda(\acute{\eta}\varsigma)$. See Rémondon's note *ad loc.*

⁷³ See the masterly discussion by O. Guéraud (*JJP* 4 [1950] 107-15) of the *deigma* and the container in which it was transported.

⁷⁴ Cf. *PHib.* II, 275.3-4 (1st cent. A.D.): $\tau\acute{o}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\eta$ (for - $\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$) $\delta\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \tau\eta$

I venture to suggest that in this instance it was Horion who prepared the *deigma*, and since δειγμα is commonly written δῖγμα from the Roman period on,⁷⁵ the verb προδεδι(γμάτικε) would suitably describe the action performed by Horion. Although the compound is not attested elsewhere,⁷⁶ the simple verb is known in the required sense of making up a sample of grain from a papyrus of the third century B.C. and another of the reign of Augustus.⁷⁷ The compound verb could imply that Horion selected the materials for the sample before the wheat was put on board the ships. The alternative to this suggestion is προδέ(δωκε) δῖ(γμα), i.e. Horion "handed over the *deigma* before the lading." The meaning remains very much the same, but, as we have already said of the editor's text, the division into two words runs counter to the impression of unity left by the writing.

Assuming that our reconstruction to this point is at least formally correct, even if the choice of specific words should happen not to be the best, we have on each side of the double curve (f) a personal name followed by a verb. We may therefore safely resolve the symbol as καί, which is one of its common equivalences.⁷⁸ There now remains to be understood only the symbol before the numeral at the end of the line. The editor equated it with γίνεται, and it is not hard to see why; but it is in reality an *alpha* with an extended horizontal tail, which is a known symbol for the artaba.⁷⁹

I conclude with a new text of the papyrus constructed in the light of all that has been said above.

1 βρέουϊον ἐμβολῆς σίτο(υ) ὄρμο(υ) πόλεως

2 ἀπὸ κανόνος ης ἰνδικτίωνος

3 Θῶθ λ' οὔτως·

ἐμβολῆ. For Ptolemaic examples see *PHib.* I, 98.17 σὺν δείγματι; *Sammelbuch* v, 8754.13, 32; vi, 9367, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 17; 9580.2-4.

⁷⁵ Out of 19 usable instances of δειγμ- listed by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, for the Roman period, 11 have δειγμ-, 8 διγμ-. Of examples published subsequently, 2 have δειγμ-, 6 διγμ-.

⁷⁶ Dr. Gerald M. Browne has called my attention in this connection to Stephanus' *Thesaurus*, which records an isolated occurrence of πρόδειγμα in Andreas Cretensis as a typological term: πρόδειγμα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος.

⁷⁷ *PColZen.* II, 89.9-11: Θρασυμήδης οὖν καθαίρει καὶ διγμαδίζει (= δειγματίζει) αὐτό; *PTebt.* II, 576: σπόρος διγματισ(θεῖς?). Cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

⁷⁸ See above, note 65.

⁷⁹ Cf. Bilabel (above, note 66) 2306; *PLond.* v, Index 7.

- 4 Ὠρίων προδεδι(γμάτικε?) (καὶ) Ἡλείας π(αρα)δ(έδωκεν)
 (ἀρτάβας) β
 5 εἰς πολύκωπα Ὁλ.

Translation: "Register of lading of wheat at the city-harbor in accordance with the tax-schedule of the 8th indiction. Thoth 30, as follows: Horion prepared the sample and Elias made the delivery of 2000 art. to the galleys belonging to Hol."