AN EDITION, WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY, OF UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS TEXTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D in the University of London by

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University College London
ABSTRACT

This thesis takes the form of an *editio princeps*, with transcriptions, translations and commentaries, of thirty previously unedited papyrus texts, dating from between the first and seventh centuries of our era. The papyri have no unifying theme other than their discovery at the site of Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt during the excavations of B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt at the beginning of this century. All are written in Greek, the *lingua franca* of the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

An eclectic collection of material is represented. On the literary side, there are four Homeric papyri which increase our knowledge of the text of the second book of the Odyssey, and a new sub-literary prose work, unfortunately very fragmentary. The documentary papyri which constitute the bulk of the thesis range from formulaic texts of well-represented types, such as receipts and leases of land, to items such as personal letters, dinner invitations and inventories, which as well as illuminating private life in provincial Egypt at the time of the Roman hegemony have provided us with some hitherto unattested words and technical terms.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasant duty finally to be able to show my gratitude to the many people without whom this thesis would never have reached completion. At University College London, I must thank my supervisor, Professor Herwig Maehler, who guided my first steps in research and had faith that I would produce a doctoral thesis when I held no such belief myself. Dr.Walter Cockle's encyclopaedic knowledge of papyrological works provided many invaluable references, and he gave much practical assistance by mounting and conserving the actual texts. Dr.Helen Cockle and Dr.Jane Rowlandson generously granted me time from their busy schedules, and allowed their brains to be picked in the kindest possible way: I am especially grateful for their help with nos.9-12. Dr.John Rea and Dr.Revel Coles of the Papyrology Rooms at the Ashmolean Museum have been unfailingly helpful, and I thank them for finding papyri of the types which interested me.

Among my student comrades, special thanks go to Joseph Spooner, who apart from making the papyrological donkey-work bearable by his levitas contributed an enormous amount of practical help, particularly the preliminary transcription of no.10; and also to Richard Alston, for his constructive suggestions on nos.29 and 30. Most of all, Laurence Winkworth is to be thanked for his nice (in the Miltonian sense) blend of humour and insight, which helped me to keep this strange waste-paper world in proper perspective.

To my family, I owe more than I could possibly express: but my parents Angela and James know the extent of my indebtedness. Finally, I should like to thank my technocratic sister Ms A.M.S.Smith and George Smith, who were immensely patient and understanding about the use of their word processor: without them, the genesis of this thesis would have been infinitely more painful and protracted.
CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i. Table of Photographs 6

ii. Works Frequently Cited 7

I. Known Literary Texts

1. Homer, Odyssey β, 22-46 i 13
2. Homer, Odyssey β, 37-57 ii 19
3. Homer, Odyssey β, 127-172 iii/iv 25
4. Homer, Odyssey β, 424-434 iv 31

II. New Sub-literary Text

5. Medical Prose iv 37

III. Documentary Texts

(a) Documents relating to the capitation-tax

6. Declaration of Death 74 44
7. Declaration of Death 311 50
8. Application for Epicrisis c.189 59
9. Application for Epicrisis 195/6 (?) 68

(b) Land-leasing Documents

10. Lease of Land 203 77
11. Lease of Land 296 89
12. Undertaking to Lease Land 341 99
(c) **Miscellaneous Official Documents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tax Receipt</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sitologus Receipt</td>
<td>178/9</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Formula for Παραγγέλια</td>
<td>200-03</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Twin Orders to Arrest</td>
<td>ii/iii</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) **Correspondence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Letter to Claudius Diogenes</td>
<td>mid-ii</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Letter to Andronicus &amp; Theon</td>
<td>late iii</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Letter to Silvanus</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Letter to Horion</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) **Miscellaneous Private Documents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>Invitations to Dinner</td>
<td>late iii</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Question to an Oracle</td>
<td>iii (?)</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>List of Clothing and Linens</td>
<td>vi/vii</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Receipt for Animal Equipment</td>
<td>mid-ii</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-30</td>
<td>Lists of Harness</td>
<td>ii/iii</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ALL DATES ARE AD**
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photographs</th>
<th>Tables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Papyrus</strong></td>
<td>Table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1___________14</td>
<td>1. Rental provisions in Oxyrhynchite land leases 173 - c.225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2___________20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3___________26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4___________32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5___________38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6___________44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7___________50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8___________60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9___________68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10____77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11____90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12____100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13____111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14____118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15____123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16____129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17____135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17a*____138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18____143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a*____145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19____153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19a*____156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20____164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a*____166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21____174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22____174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23____174</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24____187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25____187</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26____195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>27____202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28____211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29____218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30____218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Photographs of the address side of papyrus letters
WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

Bureth

P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d’Égypte* (Brussels 1964)

Calderini

A. Calderini & others, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell’Egitto Greco-Romano* (Cairo, 1935–)

CGL

*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, a G. Loewe incohatum, ed. G. Goetz* (7 vols., 1888-1923, repr. Amsterdam 1965)

Dornseiff/Hansen


ESAR ii


Foraboschi


Gignac i + ii


GMAW


Hennig

D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (Diss. Munich, 1967)

Herrmann

J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Munich, 1958)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kretschmer/Locker</td>
<td>P.Kretschmer &amp; E.Locker, Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache (Göttingen, 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSJ</td>
<td>Lexikon der Ägyptologie, herausgegeben von W.Helck &amp; E.Otto Wiesbaden, (1975-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandilaras</td>
<td>B.Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri (Athens, 1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mertens</td>
<td>P.Mertens, Les services de l'état civile et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au troisième siècle de notre ère (Brussels, 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norsa ii</td>
<td>M.Norsa, Papiri greci delle collezioni Italiane: Scritture documentarie (Rome, 1929-45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preisigke NB</td>
<td>F.Preisigke, Namenbuch (Heidelberg, 1922)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preisigke WB</td>
<td>idem., Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden (Berlin, 1925) + Supplements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranke</td>
<td>H.Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen (3 volumes, Glückstadt, 1935-77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rink</td>
<td>H.Rink, Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus (Diss. Giessen, 1924)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronchi</td>
<td>G.Ronchi, Lexicon Theonymon Rerumque Sacrarum et Divinarum (Milan, 1974-77)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Papyrological works referred to in the text are designated by the standard abbreviations, as listed in *A Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (BASP Supplement 1, 1978), pp.1-38, to which I note the following additions:

**O.Cairo**

**P.Oxy.Hels.**
*Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 63: Fifty Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki, 1976)

**PSI Od.**
*Papiri dell’Odissea: Seminario Papirologico 1977/78, a cura di M.Manfredi* (Florence, 1980)

**PSI XVII Cong.**
*Trenta testi greci da papiri letterari e documentari editi in occasione del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Napoli, 19-26 Maggio 1983* (Florence, 1985)
P. Turner


The only exception to the BASP checklist is that papyri published in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri series are here referred to by volume and publication number, in bold type, thus: xlv 3160.

I have used the following abbreviations to designate the Proceedings of the various papyrological Congresses:

Akten des XIII Kong. Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg, 1971


Actes du XVe Congrès Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie, Quatrième Partie: Papyrologie Documentaire, Brussels, 1977

References to periodicals are in accordance with the standard abbreviations in L'Année Philologique, with the following exception:

BAR(IS) British Archaeological Reports International Series (Oxford, 1974-
Introduction to Homer Fragments

The four fragments of Homer here published all come from rolls of the second book of the Odyssey, and date from the first to the fourth centuries of our era. They increase the number of edited fragments of this particular book to thirteen: see P.Mertens, Vingt années de papyrologie odyséenne, CE 119(1985), pp.194-5, thus making it among the better-represented books of the Odyssey in the papyri without achieving the popularity of books nine and ten. Although one cannot prove a school origin for any of our texts, this book was undoubtedly popular in the schoolroom, as Pack\(^2\) 1030 and the jejune hypotheseis and glossaries to \(\beta\) at x\text{lv} 3160 and P.Antin.ii 69 demonstrate.

These papyrus fragments do not add very much to our knowledge of the textual transmission of this book. Most of the variants are vulgate and well-attested: an unattested and unmetrical variant must be ascribed to scribal error.\(^1\) Fragment 4 gives us the first evidence in the papyri for the omission of a line which has long been suspected as a post-Aristarchean interpolation.\(^2\)

The fragments were collated with the Oxford Classical Text of T.W. Allen (Oxford, 1912), with additional information from the apparatuses of Ludwich (1891) and Von der Mühl (1962). All sigla are Allen's. I shall also list here all the papyri which coincide with any parts of these fragments:

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\(^{1}\) No.1 line 35

\(^{2}\) line 429
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fragment 1</th>
<th>Pack 2 1027 (27-47, 53-73)³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pack 2 1029 = P.Lit.Lond.29 (34, 39 - 41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Berol.Inv.16995 (38-43)⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment 2</td>
<td>Pack 2 1027, Pack 2 1029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment 3</td>
<td>Pack 2 1030⁵ (127-40, 152-66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment 4</td>
<td>Pack 2 1033 = P.Merton ii 52 (428-431)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ In Arch.Bibliograph. 1 (1926), pp.91-92 [non vidi]
⁴ In Archiv 24 (1976) p.205
⁵ In Studi Classici e Orientali xxii (1973), pp.41-43.
I. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

1. HOMER, ODYSSEY β, 22-46
31 B.91 /F (1-2) a

HOMER, ODYSSEY β, 22-46
A mid-brown papyrus which presents us with twenty-five substantially complete lines of Odyssey \( \beta \), 22-46. The lower margin of the roll is preserved and measures 3 cm. With the upper margin absent, it is difficult to be sure about the format and dimensions of the original roll. The most likely possibilities are that we have the second column of a comparatively small roll containing about twenty-five lines per column, (similar to the contemporary xxxiii 2654 and PSI Od.5), or alternatively the first column of a fairly large roll with forty-six lines per column, like P.Ryl.iii 541 and P.Lit.Lond.6, which are of similar dimensions to this text. The latter reconstruction is perhaps more probable. If we assume the former, then the first column would only have had twenty-one lines, and thus would have been considerably shorter than the second unless there were at least four plus-verses, which is improbable. Variations in the numbers of lines contained in a column are, of course, not unusual, but a four line discrepancy is unlikely in what was obviously a good quality text. Therefore I would guess that the roll probably contained Odyssey \( \beta \) written in ten columns.

It is also feasible that we have here a fragment of a roll containing the first two books. The preceding column would have preserved the end of \( \alpha \), followed probably by some indication that the end of the book had been reached, such as a coronis or end-title. The opening lines of \( \beta \) would have followed immediately after: exactly how many we cannot determine, since the upper margin of our fragment is lost. However, this arrangement would be rather unusual, (see W.Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie Homérique* p.10) and the first example of it I can find is from the third century AD (P.Mich.Inv.5760d, Odyssey \( \xi \) 528-533 with end-title, followed immediately by the first five lines of \( \omega \), published as no.37 in N.E.Priest, *Homerian Papyri in the Michigan Collection*, Michigan PhD, 1975). It is much more usual for a blank space to follow the end-title and the next book to start with a new column.

The hand is of some interest. It is very similar to that of the first scribe in xxxiii 2654 (i AD) who wrote formal round capitals of medium size, rather narrow in relation to their height, with serifs at the feet and
heads of many strokes. A particular point of similarity is the epsilon, where the cross bar is detached from the loop. Our scribe does display some cursive features, such as μ in three strokes, and occasional ligatures between letters. A useful parallel for dating purposes is ii 246, an official letter dated to 66 written in a comparable hand. I would therefore assign this text to the second half of the first century AD. The calligraphic hand of the scribe of the fragment of Iliad E, which I discovered in the Institute of Classical Studies in 1989, offers an even closer parallel: I hope to publish this text at some point.

There are no traces of any lectional signs. Iota adscript is written correctly when it occurs (lines 27, 35 and 37). The three minor variants are all vulgate, and are discussed in the notes.

The back is blank.
22 [Ε]υρυν[ο]μο[ς]

23 [α]λλ' ουδ' ος το[υ λ]ηθεν οδυρομενος και αχ[ευων

24 τοις ο γε δακρυ χεων αγορησατο και μετεειπε

25 κεκλυτε δη νυν μεν ιθακησιοι σττι κεν ει[πω

26 ουτε ποθ' ημε[τε]ρη αγορη γενετ' ουτε θοωκο[ς

27 [ε]ς συ οδυσσευς διος εβη κουλης εν[ι ν]ησι[ι

28 νυν δε τις οδ' ηνειρε τινα χρ[ειω το[ςον ι]κει

29 ηε νεων ανδρων η οι προγενεστεροι εισι

30 ηε τιν' αγγελην στρατου εκλυον ερχομενο[ιο

31 ην χ' [η]μι[ν] σαφα ειποι οτε προτερος γε πυθοιτο

32 ηε τι [δημι]ουν αλλο πιθαυσκεται ηδ' αγορευει

33 εσθλ[ος μ] οι δοκει ειν[αι ο]νημενος ειθε οι α[υτω

34 ζεως αγαθων τελεσειν ο τι φρεσιν ησι με[νοινα

35 ως φαιτο χαρε δε φημη οδυσσης φιλος υιος

36 ουδ' αρ ετι δην ηστο μενοινησεν δ αγορευε[ιν

37 στη δε μεση αγορηι σκηπτρον δε οι εμβαλε[ χειρι

38 κηρυξ πεισηνωρ πεπνυμενα μηδεα ειδο[ς

39 πρωτον επειτα γεροντα καθαπτομενος προς[ειπεν

40 ω γερον ουχ εκας ουτος ανηρ μαλα δ' εισει α[υτος

41 ος λαον ηγειρα μαλιστα δε μ' αλγος ικανει
ουτε τιν αγγελιην στρατου εκλυν ερχομ[ενοι]

ην χ υμιν σαφα ειποι οτε προτερος γ[ε]πυ[θο[μεν]

ουτε τι δημιουν αλλο πιφοςκομαι ο νι θαρρεω

αλλ εμ[ον αυτου χρειος ο μοι] κακον εμπιε[σεν οικω]

dοια [το μεν πατερ εσθλον α]πωλεσα ος ποτ[εν υμιν

(Foot of the column)

24: τοις του αiloq

Commentary

24. τοις is a common vulgate reading instead of του, found in five manuscripts of Allen's edition. It is glossed as τινες, τους ο γε in the H-Scholia: see Dindorf, Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam Scholia I, p.77.

35. χαρε: read χαίρε. Scribal error.

40. μάλα: most manuscripts have τάχα, though fragment 2 below supports τάχα as the vulgate reading. μάλα also appears as a variant for τάχα in Odyssey 537, but not in the same group of MSS which gives μάλα here. Perhaps this is an instance of the influence of glossography: τάχα is not a prose word and could conceivably be glossed as μάλα, though none of the scholia minora on either Iliad or Odyssey, including the so-called Didymus scholia, ever actually does this.

43. The variant ειποι for the usual ειπω is not previously attested and is presumably mere scribal confusion with line 31, which is virtually identical. True, the subjunctive ειπω is grammatically anomalous here (see H.Munro, Homeric Dialect, p.258 section 282), but the optative ειπομι would not fit the metre unless the line were further altered.
2. HOMER, ODYSSEY β, 37-57
HOMER: ODYSSEY II 37-59
Oxyrhynchus Parcel 4. Box 1B. 61/H (d)+(f)
These four very rubbed and mutilated fragments roughly join together to give us the ends of twenty lines from the second column of a roll of Odyssey β. The upper margin of approximately 3 cm. is preserved. The book was written in twelve columns, probably with eleven columns of 36 lines and a slightly shorter final column. The scribe wrote a neat, upright capital of medium size, comparable with Χ 1249 and ΧVIII 2161, which are rather more carefully written than our papyrus; here the ε is frequently ligatured (e.g. to ι in 41 and to ν in 46). The smaller omicron and the higher cross-bar of ε would incline me to place this papyrus later in the second century than ΧVIII 2161. ρ and ν descend below the line, but otherwise the script is bilinear, although none of the letters that frequently descend, such as ψ and φ, has been preserved. The general effect is of a pleasing, rounded hand, fairly formal though stopping short of being calligraphic, and the whole roll must have been a well-produced one, as the wide upper margin and generous intercolumnium witness.

As far as the exiguous scraps extend, there are few textual novelties. The papyrus supports the previous text in the vulgate reading of μῆλον instead of τάχα in line 40, a variant already well-known from the manuscript tradition. There are frequent lectional marks in the form of accents, circumflex, smooth breathings and tremata to indicate word beginnings, all seemingly added by the original scribe. Accentual practice is consistent and correct as far as the scraps extend. Iota adscript is not written. Punctuation is by the high and middle stop (41, 49 and 53).

The very damaged state of the papyrus seems to render a dual transcript advisable, and dotted letters should be regarded as more than usually dubious. The back is blank.
37 ἰηπτρονδείκνυμιν
38 νυμέναμηδι
39 ἴκνανπηραθείσαναυκ
40 νηρμαλαδησεαναυκ
41 δεμ'αλγοσίκανει
42 ατοδέκλυνε.χομενοι[...
43 [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] πνευμήν[
44 [. . .] [. . .] [. . .] γορε[. ] ο[...
45 [. . .] ον...εσενοί...
46 [. . .] ποτ'ενύ.[.
47 ηρ'δ/ο[.].τιοσήνεν
48 δεταχαίο...άπαντ[. .
49 [. . .] ἃσσει
50 [. . .] θελούση
51 [. . .] αδ[.].[.
52 [. . .] γασ[.].[. .
53 [. . .] ὠσαίτοθύ[.].
54 [. . .] εχαρισμένοσθε...ο[.
55 [. . .] με[.].μα ...[.].[.
56 [. . .] ιπόγασα...α[. .
57 [. . .] παίοι[.].ον
37 στηδεμεσηαγορησεκηπτρονδεοιεμβαλεχειρι
38 κηπρυζεισηνωρπεπνυμεναιμηδεαειδος
39 πρωτονεπειταγεροντακαθαπτ[μανμερπασεοεπεν
40 ογερονουχεκαζουςαιανηρμαλαδεισεικατος
41 οσκαινησιραμαλισταδεμαλγοζικανει
42 ουτετιναγελιηνστρατουκλυονερχομενοιο
43 ηνχυμινασαειπωστεπρ[τεροςεπτυθομην
44 ουτετιδημιοναλλοπαυσκομαξιοναηορευ[υ]
45 αλλεμοναναχρεοαμοιακανεμπεσενικω
46 δοιατομενπατερεψθολατπωλεσαοςποτ'ενυμιν
47 τοισδεςεινβασιλευεπατηρδ/ω[ς]λπιοζην
48 νυνδακαπολυμενονοδηταχαοικοναπαντα
49 παρχυϊδαπαισεβιοτονδαποπαμπονον]
50 μετεριμιομηντηρηζεπεχραονουκεθελοση
51 τανδανδραφιλοτευνεοεινθαδεγειεσιναριστοι
52 ουπατρομενεσοικοναπερριγασινεςθαια
53 ικαριουκαυτοςεεδυόσαιτοθυγατρα
54 δοινδωκεθελοικαιοικεχαρισμενοτελθοι
55 οιδεσημετερονπαλευμενοιματαπεντα
Commentary


40. This line was apparently not placed in ecthesis. μάλα instead of τάχα appears in four manuscripts cited by von der Mühl and Allen: see note on line 40 of the previous text. One of the fragments of β which coincides with this, the unpublished P.Berol.Inv.16995 (see Archiv 24 (1976) p.205) preserves parts of 38-43 and 76-81, with "schwache Reste von Scholien hinter 40 und 41," which could relate to this textual variant. However, when I examined this papyrus in Berlin in March 1990, the remains of the scholia completely eluded transcription.

43. The entire top surface lost by fibre-stripping; only the first accent of πρότερος remains.

45. οίκω - the scribe wrote the soft breathing but seems to have omitted the accent.

49. Of the ε in ὀλέσσει, only the stroke ligatured to the first σ has survived, but the accent remains.

55. The accent on πωλεύμενοι has survived.
3. HOMER, ODYSSEY β, 127-42 + 159-69
This fragment of good quality papyrus contains the remains of two columns preserving the ends of lines 127-142 and the beginnings of lines 159-169 of Odyssey β; line 172 is represented by one damaged letter. The upper margin measured at least 2.7 cm. and the intercolumnium at least 2 cm. The edges of the papyrus are very sharp, apart from the bottom right corner which has suffered some worm damage, and one wonders whether the text was cut up deliberately, perhaps for use as scrap paper. It is written in a typical formal mixed hand of the severe type, showing some 'sloping oval' characteristics, such as the narrow epsilon, theta and sigma, and the tiny high omicron. Comparable in these respects, though more exaggeratedly written, is xi 1365 which the original editor dated to the third century. Perhaps closer parallels are P.Chester Beatty xi 964 (= Seider ii, no.57), assigned by Kenyon to the iii-iv century, and i 23, datable from a document on the back to sometime before 295. The back is blank.

Our fragment probably represents the fifth and sixth columns in book two from a roll bearing the first two books of the Odyssey. Each column contained about 31 lines, and therefore β would have been written in fourteen columns. An attempt to reconstruct the approximate length of the entire roll gives us about 180 cm., if we assume a columnar width of 11 cm. and an average intercolumnium of 2 cm. If the roll originally contained the first two books, then the total length would be about 360 cm., more or less the standard length of a papyrus roll as posited by T.C.Skeat in ZPE 45 (1982) p.170.

No textual surprises are sprung. There seems to be a minor vulgate variant in line 160: see the note ad loc. The scribe has a tendency to itacize (see Gignac i, pp.190-191) in lines 132 and 135: ἀποτείνειν for ἀποτίνειν and ἕρινῆς for ἕρινῦς. The high stop is used for punctuation (lines 128, 129, 133, 137, 140). Elision is marked the only time it occurs (132). Iota adscript is correctly written in 127, though it seems to have been added later: it is omitted in 128. There is no evidence of critical marks or paragraphus to indicate a speech. The text is correctly accentuated, probably by the original
scribe, with the marks concentrated in places where the reader might find difficulty with the *scriptio plena*, such as enclitics (line 127) and ambiguous sequences of letters, particularly at word boundaries (128 and 135).
column v

column vi

127 παρος γ ἵμεν οὔτε πτι αλλη

159 ορν[θας

128 Αχαιων ἦν κ'εθελησει •

160 ος οφιν

129 τετυμαινο[ς αντιον ἕδα •

161 κε[κλυτε

130 αεκους]αν απώσαι

162 μν[ησηρσιν

131 εμο]ς ἄλλοτι γαις

163 τοις[ιν

132 δε με] πολλ'αποτείνειν

164 δὴ[ν

133 μη]τερα πεμψω •

165 εγγ[υς

134 αλλα ] δε δαιμων

166 πα[ντεσιν

135 αρης]τε'ετεινθς

167 οιν[εμομεσθιακην

136 μοι εξ ανθρωπων

168 φρα[ζωμεσθας

137 μυθο[ν ενίψω •

169 π[αμεσθων

138 νεμεσιζε]ται αυ[τ]ιων

170 [ ]

139 αλεγου]νετε δα[η]τας

171 [ ]

140 αμειβομεν]οι κατα οικους •

172 ώ[ς

141 κ]α αμειγνον

142 ολ]έ[σθ]αι

160: ος Μ3 : post correcturam Pal, Mon
Commentary

127. oútē - presumably accentuated thus to indicate enclitic πη, which is regularly regarded as such in post-Herodianic papyri: see B. Laum, *Das alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem*, p.247.

139. All that remains of the ν of ἀλεγύνετε are specks of ink from the right hasta on two horizontal fibres.

142. There are 16 lines missing from the bottom of the column.

160. Apparently ὁς σ[φιν] not ὁ σφ[ιν] was written: the letter before the lacuna is unlike the φ in line 168. ὁς was probably the vulgate reading, though Allen omitted this variant from the apparatus of his Oxford Classical Text. According to Ludwich's apparatus, Aristarchus read ὁ σφιν, which the scholia justify by the explanation: τὸ ὁ προκαταρτικόν ἔστιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑποτακτικοῦ.
4. HOMER, ODYSSEY β, 424-434
HOMER: ODYSSEY II 423-428: 430-434

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 8188
This tattered, dark brown papyrus preserves the remains of the final ten lines of Odyssey β. Whether this fragment was part of a roll or a codex is an interesting question. The back is blank, but this need not necessarily indicate that it came from a roll, since we could be dealing with the final leaf of a codex. Also, there are examples of papyrus codices written on only one side of the leaf, such as P.Lit.Lond.5.

The handwriting suggests a date in the early fourth century, a time when the codex format was gaining in popularity. Among texts dated to the iii-iv century, codices and rolls occur with almost equal frequency, while for the fourth century codices outnumber rolls by about three to one: see T.Skeat and C.Roberts, *The Birth of the Codex*, p.37. Their samples are fairly small, however: 54 texts for the third/fourth century, and 36 for the fourth.

The evidence afforded by the proportions of the fragment is similarly equivocal. Our papyrus is broken on three sides, with three or four letters missing from the beginnings of the lines. At the top, the margin of 3.2cm is preserved, and the blank space after the last line was at least 11 cm. These measurements could suggest a codex within the dimensions of group 6 as defined by E.G.Turner in *The typology of the early codex*, pp.18-19. Other Homeric papyrus codices within this group are P.Antin.iii 158 and the fragments published by J.Schwartz in BIFAO 61 (1962) p.151, both of the same date as this fragment, and to which we shall have reference later.

On the other hand iv 773, an early fourth century papyrus roll of Odyssey β, was reconstructed by W.Lameere in *Aperçus de Paléographie Homérique* p.114 as originally comprising eighteen columns, seventeen with 23-25 lines, and a slightly shorter final column. It is possible that we are dealing here with the eighteenth column of a roll. The blank space at the bottom of this fragment would accommodate at least thirteen lines of text, which could give us a hypothetical eighteen column reconstruction very similar to Lameere's. The general dimensions of 773 are also comparable, with the upper margin 2.5 cm., each column averaging 16 cm., and the lower margin 5.5 cm. Lameere posits a total roll length of
about 3.5 m., very close to the length of a standard twenty sheet papyrus roll as calculated by Skeat in ZPE 45, op.cit. If this scrap was part of a roll, it might well have been written on just such a standard length papyrus. Assuming an eighteen column text with average columnar width of about 13 cm. and intercolumnar margins of about 7 cm as in 773, we arrive at the sum 18 x 13 plus 18 x 7 = 360 cm., a figure on the larger side of Skeat's calculation.

The most unusual feature of this fragment's arrangement is the apparent absence of any indication that the end of the book has been reached. In Ptolemaic times, texts of Homer were usually written continuously, with the first line of the next book following directly the last line of the previous one, eg P.Heid.Lit.2. An examination of 58 post-Ptolemaic fragments, both rolls and codices, which preserve the ends of books of Homer revealed only three examples of texts which definitely had no coronis, colophon, or end-title. Interestingly enough, two of these exceptions are papyrus codices of similar date and leaf size to our text: P.Antin.iii and the Iliad fragments in BIFAO, op.cit. It is unlikely that the end-title would have been written at the bottom edge of the papyrus: colophons and end-titles always follow the last line of text in both rolls and codices. It is possible that the end of the book was marked merely by a coronis, as in PSI xi 1185. This would have been written in the left-hand margin, which has not survived on our papyrus. The coronis begins to become less frequent in literary texts in the fourth century: see G.Stephen, *The Coronis*, Scriptorium 13 (1959), pp.9-10.

On balance, I think it is slightly more likely that this fragment originated from a roll. If each column did contain twenty-five lines per column like iv 733, it would be on the small side for an early codex, which tend to have larger line capacities: Turner, op.cit., p.95. P.Antin.iii 158 had between 33-44 lines per leaf, P.Lit.Lond.5 between 48-54, and the BIFAO fragments probably 45. The parallels between Lameere's reconstruction of 773 and this fragment should not be ignored.

The hands of this fragment and 773 are also very similar. Both are written in large, well-formed hands typical of the 'biblical majuscule' style in the early fourth century. The script is bilinear except for ρ and φ which both have long verticals descending below the line. φ has a flattened circle, a characteristic feature of the style at this date: see F. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period AD 300 - 800*, p.34. Points of difference between 773 and this fragment are a smaller o
and ς, the more rounded circle of φ and the angular μ. Another closely analogous hand is xxii 2334, particularly in the formation of α (three strokes with the middle bar rising left to right) and the horizontal extension of μ and ω. F.Cavallo, in Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica p.50 note 4 ascribes this to the iv, Turner in GMAW to the iii/iv centuries. Also very similar is iv 661, which Turner re-assigned to the fourth century.

Collated with Allen's edition, with additional information from the apparatuses of Ludwich and La Roche, the fragment shows no variants apart from the omission of line 429. Although no mention of its dubious status was made in Eustathius or the scholiasts, this line has long been suspected as a post-Aristarchean interpolation, and Bolling correctly predicted its omission in vulgate texts of Homer in 1916: see The latest expansions of the Odyssey AJP xxxvii, p.453. This text is the first papyrus to support his theory, though the line is omitted in six manuscripts cited by Allen. β 427-429 = A 481-3, and the interpolation of the line here illustrates the late tendency to pad out the text by assimilating parallel verses. For the relation of the vulgate to the text of Aristarchus see S.West, The Ptolemaic papyri of Homer, pp.15-17. There are no lectional marks on the scraps that remain. Iota adscript is correctly written on the single occasion it appears in line 428.
οπλαναπτεσθαι ιτο[τιοι]
ιοτονδειλατινον
στησαναειραντες
ελκονδιστια[
εμπρησενδανειμος
στειρημποφυρεον
δησαμενοιδαραοπλαθον
στησαντοικρητηηραεπιστρεφας
λειβονδαθανατοισθεοις
εκπαντωνδεμαλισταδιος
παννυχιμενρηγε καιηω

429: om. λ4λ6μ2παλ.ρ5τ: post 430 pon.ν1
II. NEW SUB-LITERARY TEXT

5. MEDICAL PROSE
Inventory Number Unknown

MEDICAL PROSE
Here we have two adjoining fragments from the left hand side of a column: the margin as preserved measures 1 cm. The scribe had a pleasing hand, writing fairly heavy capitals displaying some characteristics of the mixed style of sloping oval type (such as the narrow θ and σ and 'floating' ο), and some of the 'Biblical majuscule' style. To the latter belong the α in three strokes, μ with a curved bow, and square η. Script is strongly bilinear, with only ϕ and ψ descending below the line. Very similar is xxxiv 2699, which one might attribute to the same scribe: idiosyncratic features paralleled are the small, high, rounded ω, the angular bow of ϕ, and ligatured υ and τ. The original editor assigned xxxiv 2699 to the early iii, Eric Turner in GMAW p.88 to the iv century. xvii 2098, which the first editor of xxxiv 2699 cited as palaeographical parallel, has a far more exaggerated contrast between broad and narrow letters and no 'Biblical majuscule' traits. Accordingly I would agree with Turner's reassessment of the date of xxxiv 2699 and place our text with it early in the fourth century of our era.

The content of this fragment is interesting. So little of the text is preserved that it is difficult to say exactly what the subject matter was, but the vocabulary would certainly seem to point to a medical origin, particularly σχινων (line 6), ταρτοι (line 7) and possibly θολουμένα (line 9). However, I have been unable to identify this fragment in any writer of the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum. Perhaps the text was originally a sort of materia medica giving the properties of various plants. The most analogous papyrus would then be P.Ross.Georg. i, 19, a treatise on the distillation and application of different sorts of resins.

As is often the case with papyri, a pleasing external aspect is no guarantee of textual quality. The scribe itacized (lines 6, 10) and lines 9 and 11 as preserved make very little sense unless we emend in some way. My

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1 This fragment, along with numbers 15, 20 and 26 of this thesis, were found by J.Spooner and me in the Library of the Institute of Classical Studies in October 1989. They bore dockets in the handwriting of Sir Eric Turner, who had apparently left them there sometime in the 1970's.
guess is that considerably less than half the original column width remains. Sub-literary prose papyri of this type often have wider columns than would be normal in literary rolls. Among medical texts, P.Ryl.iv 631 has at least 30 letters per line and sometimes more than 40; viii 1088 has 30+, as do the fragments of medical treatises published by J. Barns in CQ 43 (1949), pp.4 ff.

Medical texts on papyrus have been collected and analyzed fully by M.-H. Marganne in *Inventaire Analytique des papyrus grecs de medicine* (Geneva, 1981), and its update in ZPE 65 (1986), pp.175-86. Other possibly congeneric papyri since published are P.Coll.Youtie i, 4, P.Prag.i 88 and liii 3701 (both *materia medica*): P.Turner 14 and lii 3650 (types of medical catechism).

The incomplete state and ambiguous nature of the text makes a dual transcript advisable. In the first, the established conventions for diplomatic transcriptions have been followed. The second is informed, as far as possible, by analogy to medical writers, but much still remains suppositious. The back is blank.
1 [...........] ΜΕ[  
2 [...........] ΨΕ[  
3 [...........] ΜΕΤΟ[  
4 [...........] ΤΗΣ[  
5 ΧΟΝ [...........] ΜΕΝΟ[  
6 Ν [...........] ΣΧΕΙΝΩΝ[  
7 ΟΥΝΔΙΑΤΡΟΙΠΟΛ[  
8 ΦΩΣ [ΔΕΔΗ [...........] ΥΤΑ[  
9 ΘΟΛΟΥΜΕΝΑΝΤ[  
10 ΘΟΥ [ΤΥΧΕΤΕΚΑ[  
11 ΝΑΤΟΝΧ [...........] ΑΤΩ[  
12 [...........] ΑΥΤΗΣ [...........] ΑΤΩ[  
13 [...........] ΚΑΤΑΡ[  
14 [...........] ΟΙΣΕΝΤΟ[  
15 [...........] ΕΙΑΣ[  
16 [...........] ΑΥΤ[  
17 [...........] ΟΝΕ[  
18 [...........] Α[  
19 [...........] ΝΑ[
Commentary

3. σχίνος, *Pistacia Lentiscus*, the mastic-tree, is well-represented in the Greek pharmacopoeia, though probably not in Pharaonic medicine: for the latter, see A.Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* ed.J.R.Harris p.321, and R.Germer in *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, p.173. Galen, in *de simpl.med.* xi, 135 gave a resumé of the wide-ranging properties of the shrub, particularly its value as an astringent and in treating internal problems. Medical papyri which mention it are PSI x 1180; P.Antin. iii 125, fr.3 and xi 1384, where it is used as a purgative. The noun is rare in the plural, and then usually in compound forms, eg Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum* I, 131, 35, σχινώνθον, so perhaps we should imagine χιλόν τιμίνι σχίνων or something similar here. Not surprisingly, there is a frequent confusion between σχίνος and σχοίνος 'rush' in medical papyri; see L.C.Youtie in ZPE 27 (1977) p.146. For the differentiation between σχίνος, σχίνινος and μαστίχη, see H.Harrauer and P.Sijpsteijn, *Medizinische Rezepte und Verwandtes* 10, notes 6 and 7.

7. The paragraphus is very common in medical papyri of all kinds, particularly in *materia medica* (eg ii 238, viii 1088 and P.Ryl. i 29) and didactic texts in dialogue form. If we assume a word such as νόν missing from in front of οὔν, the paragraphus would confirm the implied change of subject matter. Occasionally textual divisions are marked by a diple in medical writings, eg P.Mil.Vogl. i 15.

8. φως is more likely to be the end of an adverb like σφός than the noun. See Gignac i, pp.239-40 for δη = δεῖ.

9. θολόω is another common medical word, usually used of cloudiness in the urine, eg Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum* v, 34, 1. No medical writer
uses σχίνος in connection with any complaint involving cloudiness or turpidity of blood or urine. P.Ross.Georg.i19, 21-25 gives an account of the general properties of resins including σχίνος and recommends their use as diuretics, purgatives and laxatives. σχίνος is said to be the second most efficacious type of resin after terebinth, another plant of the same family. Perhaps our text discussed the use of σχίνος—resin as a diuretic. On the other hand, line 9 as it remains might be divided as καὶ θόλου μὲν ἄντι...

10. The reading ἐπιχείτε seems certain. τοιχόνω with the genitive meaning 'to be ill' is common late Greek but the second person plural is puzzling and would only be suitable for a medical questionnaire or catechism. Perhaps the text could be more convincingly divided as ὑπὲρ ἐπιχεί τῇ καὶ, assuming that -θου is the end of the object of ἐπιχεί, in which case a suitable medical noun such as σχινάνθον could be supplied.

11. I find this line impossible to construe without making some emendation. Palaeographically, the ω is certain and the next letter must either be ν, μ or ρ. There are a number of solutions, none entirely convincing. χῶμα for χυμα is unlikely, since metathesis of u>ω is very uncommon: see Gignac i, p.294, where only one example is cited. -naton must surely be the end of an adjective, unless we assume a double scribal error and read something like [να το<ν> χωμα το[ν]. The minimum emendation would be to assume interchange of κ > χ (Gignac i, p.64). This opens the way for several possibilities. We could then read κῶμα or κῶνα, an alternative name for πίσσα, 'pitch' (see Dioscorides Pedianus, de materia medica I, 72, I) who relates its properties. Alternatively, one might even read something like χωρατον = καὶ ὄρατον (I am indebted to Professor Maehler for this interesting suggestion).

12. I think that the remains of a second paragraphus are visible.

13. The commonest words beginning thus in medical texts are καταρρέω and its derivatives, and καταρροφέω 'to swallow down a medication.'

14. Probably τοῖς ἐντοῖς, unless what I have taken as the horizontal top-stroke of τ is another paragraphus.
III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

(a) DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CAPITATION TAX

6. DECLARATION OF DEATH
DECLARATION OF DEATH
A.D. 74
Oxyrhynchus Parcel 72/71 (a)
6. Declaration of Death

(21.2 x 7 cm)

On this long, narrow papyrus, substantially complete apart from some holes and fibre-stripping, Nicius declares the death of his father Theon. The adjective ὑπερετής is not applied to him, so presumably he was under sixty years old when he died. His ἴδια in the Temgenouthis quarter is given, but there is no mention of his occupation or cause of death. The text then continues in the format standard for the Oxyrhynchite nome (see Mertens, pp.68-9) with the request that Theon be removed from the tax lists, the oath by the declarant, and the subscription by one of the two scribes to whom the notice was addressed.

This document closely parallels xlii 3510 (originally published by R.Hübner in ZPE 30 (1978) pp.198-200), which was addressed to the same two officials and was also countersigned by Diogenes, the γραμματεὺς μετροπόλεως, but is probably four years later than our text. Unfortunately, the better-preserved subscription to this document does not help us to reconstruct the damaged end of xlii 3510 which contains the exact date. There are a few minor differences of phraseology, for instance xlii 3510 employs the more usual phrase ἐν τῇ τάξει τετελευτηκότων instead of ἐν τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι, but there are no surprising features. The text forms a useful comparison with the following one, and indicates how many unusual elements the latter contains.

The first hand is a fluent, rounded cursive: θ is almond-shaped and often unusually large (lines 3 and 6): τ has a dip in the middle of the horizontal stroke and often looks more like a cursive υ. PSI v 459 (=Norsa ii, Tav.xv) of 72 is very similar, though less idiosyncratic. The left hand margin is 2 cm. wide and the blank space at the bottom 5.5cm. The back was originally blank, though at some point recently the figures 3029 were written in black ink.
Διογένει καὶ Ἀπολλοφ(άνει) γραμματεύσι τῆς Ὁξυρύχων.

πόλεως (vac)

παρὰ Νικίου τοῦ Θεόν τῶν

ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύχων πόλεως.

ὁ σημαίνομενος μου πατήρ

Θεόν Νικίων ἀπογραφά

φῶμεν ἐπὶ άμφοτερὸν θεματικά.

γενούθεως ἐτελεύτησεν εἰς τὸ διεληλυθότα ἔτη. Διὸ

ἀξιῶ ἀναγράψασθαι.

tοῦτον ἐν τοῖς τετελευταί.

λειτουργεῖ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν

ὀμοίων καὶ ὀμνύων

Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἐρίκσαρα

Οὐσπασιανὸν Σεβαστὸν

ἀληθὴ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα.

(m.2) Διογένης σεσπεί(μείωμα) ἐτέους ἐβδόμου.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρος

Οὐσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Translation

To Diogenes and Apollophonas, scribes of the city of Oxyrhynchus, from Nicias son of Theon, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. My aforementioned father Theon son of Nician, registered for the poll-tax in the Temgenouthis quarter, died in the past (year). Therefore I request that he be inscribed among the dead, as in similar cases, and I swear by the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus that the above declaration is true.

(2nd hand) I, Diogenes, have countersigned in the seventh year of Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Choiak 19.

Commentary

1. Diogenes' and Apollophonas' long tenure of office is discussed in Hübner's editio princeps of xlix 3510 in ZPE, op.cit. Here one should note that Hübner dated year 11 of Vespasian to 79/80, whereas in fact it was 78/79; see Bureth, p.37.

2. γραμματεύσει μητροπόλεως would be more usual, though xlix 3510 uses the same title. The difference does not seem to be very significant; see N.Lewis, Inventory of Compulsory Services, p.19.

5. σημαίνομενος only occurs twice in declarations of death: once in the Oxyrhynchite nome (i 79) and once from Ptolemais Euergetis: see BASP 14 (1977), p.2. When a child declares the death of the father, the most usual phrase is simply ὁ πατήρ μου (eg xii 1550, ix 1198) or ὁ προγεγραμμένος μου πατήρ (eg P.Ryl.ii 105).

6. Νικίωνος seems to have been corrected from Μικίωνος, both rare names at this date.
7-8. Other death notifications from this quarter are ii 262, xli 2957 and P.Merton ii 84. The name occurs in several forms: Τεμενονύτις, Τευμενονύθις, Τευμενονύτις. Rink, p.35, observed that the use of the district name was similar to that of districts bearing theophoric names, eg ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ, ἐν τῷ Ἰσείῳ and added: "das sind alles entweder Tempel oder grössere öffentliche Bauten. Temgenouthis wird also etwas Ähnliches sein." If the name Temgenouthis is a Hellenization of t3-wm(t)-n-ntr "the gateway (or wall) of the god," Rink's theory would be corroborated.

9. ἕτει: μὴν is equally possible.

10. ἀναγράψασθαι used in this sense is apparently unique to Oxyrhynchus and is very common in death notifications: xlix 3510 uses the future, but I have restored the aorist here, since the more common aorist passive cannot be read. For the exchange of aorist with future, see Gignac ii, pp.332-333.
7. DECLARATION OF DEATH
In this document Aurelia Eirene, acting without kurios, informs the systates of the death of her husband Isidorus son of Hierax. This notification - the latest dated example to have so far reached publication - has a number of interesting features unparalleled in this class of text, not all of which may be explained by its late date.

Notifications of death have received considerable attention from scholars. Most recently they have been exhaustively treated by L.Casarico in volume ii of the Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum series. She gives a full edition of all the texts and an excellent general introduction, with a second volume of plates. Her work supersedes most of the earlier work on the subject, which is cited by G.Browne in P.Mich.x p.7, note 7. Three more death notices, none from the Oxyrhynchite nome, were published by R.Duttenhöfer in ZPE 79 (1989) pp.227 ff.

These documents were an important instrument of social control, helping administrators to keep up to date the census and the records of those eligible for poll-tax. In the metropoleis, additions to these lists could be made easily by υπομνήματα ἐπιγενήσεως, epicrisis and census declarations. If a taxpayer left his legally registered address (ἰδία) or died, an emendation of this list was required: hence these declarations, which were very probably obligatory (see note on line 14 below).

The most usual addressee of the Oxyrhynchite examples was the grammateus, comogrammateus or the collector of a tax. Hitherto, the latest examples of death notices (which display the greatest numbers of parallels to this text) are xliii 3141 and xii 1551. Like our papyrus, both of these are addressed to the systates, an official attested from 287 who took over some duties of the phylarch, though a novel responsibility of his was to collect the ἐπικεφαλαιον πόλεως, a new form of city poll-tax: see Mertens, pp.39-41 and xxxi 2578-9. Presumably this is the reason why fourth-century death notices are addressed to him. Apart from several peculiarities of phraseology, which I shall discuss in the notes, a significant
departure from the standard format is the omission of the oath, always included at the very end of the text just before the date. The omission is certainly intentional, since no mention of the declarant having sworn an oath is made in the subscription, as was customary when one had been sworn (cf lli 3689, 25 and vii 1030, 23). Whether the exclusion of the oath represents a whole new formula for this class of text is impossible to say, since xliii 3141 contains the oath (though much less fully expressed than previously) and the end of xii 1551 is too damaged to reach a conclusion. We shall have to wait to see whether any death notices later than 311 come to light. Other divergences are that the tax-status and legal residence of the deceased are not mentioned, though this is probably because Isidorus had been working away from his idia.

I am inclined to regard this papyrus as somewhat transitional within the corpus of death notices. From the two fourth century Oxyrhynchite examples that we possess, it seems possible that the more rigid formulae of the third and second century were relaxed slightly, especially in the reason for submitting the document.

Also noteworthy here are the unusually full subscriptions of the declarant and witnesses, which are frequently not included in this class of document (see Browne, op.cit., p.7) and thus show that this is the actual memorandum sent to the systates, not a copy like vii 1030, P.Bouriant 26 and SB i 5136. Female declarants are not particularly unusual (six out of twenty-three Oxyrhynchite examples), though only two of them act without a κύριος: xliii 3141, where Tineus declares the death of her son-in-law, and lli 3689 where Ammonarous declares the death of her brother. In all examples of similar kinds of hypomnemata for ἐπιγέννησις and ἐπίκρισις given by R.Taubenschlag in La compétence du κύριος (Opera Minora ii 370) the women have guardians, though for κατ' οίκιαν ἀπογραφοί, there are women with and without kurioi.

The general proportions of this complete document are comparable with those of other notifications, eg vii 1030 and BGU xi 2021. The first hand is generally rapid, angular and cursive, sloping to the right and showing frequent itacisms. A generally analogous hand is xliii 3120 (310), though our scribe is less χαρακτεριστικ. There is a small amount of worm damage along the foldlines in the top half of the document: their pattern suggests that the document was folded up tightly into a small parcel. The back is blank.
'Υπατείς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου

Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ἦ- καὶ Γαύον

Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ β–

Αὐρηλίῳ (m.2) Βησάμμων Χαιρήμονος

(m.1) συστάσεις τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὄξι(υργχιτων)

πόλεως (vac.)

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Εἱρήνης Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ τῆς

αὕτης πόλεως. ὁ ἡμέτερος ἄνὴρ Ἰσίδωρος

'Ἱερακος χριστῆς τῆν τέχνην γενόμε–

νος ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἄλεξανδρία ὑποστάς

νόσου συστάσεις τὸν βίον μετῆλλαξεν

καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐν τῇ [τά]ξ[ε]ι

τ<α>γὴνα διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου ἑπιδιδομένων

βι{λ}βίων τοῦ ἐπικεφαλίου. τάδε τὰ βιβλία

ἐπιδίδομι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἁγνοιαν ὑποτι–

μήσασθαι. (vac.)

(m.3) Υπατείας τῆς προκιμένης Φομενὼθ β

Αὐρηλία Ιρήνη ἐπίδεδωκα. Αὐρήλιος

Εὐδαίμονος Δίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς

γράμματα μὴ ἱδυής
In the consulship of our lords Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus, consul for the seventh time, and Gaius Valerius Maximinus Augustus, consul for the second time. To Aurelius Besammon son of Chaeremon, systates of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Eirene daughter of Ammonius, from the same city. My husband Isidorus son of Hierax, formerly a tax-collector by profession in the most illustrious city of Alexandria, departed this life after succumbing to an attack of illness, and because of this that his name be entered in the list by you when the poll-tax records are presented. I present this memorandum accordingly, so that I may not be wrongly assessed (through) ignorance.

(3rd hand) In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 2 (?). Aurelia Eirene presented this. Aurelius Eudaimon son of Dius wrote on her behalf because she is illiterate.

(4th hand) Deletion from the tax-records of Isidorus son of Hierax, tax collector, . . . .

Commentary

4. A blank was left for the name of the current systates to be filled in.

6. One would expect the name of the amphodon over which Besammon had jurisdiction to be inserted here: cf xliii 3141, which has a gap in exactly the same place.

9. χειριστής: the tax status of the deceased and his idia is the usual information given here. The profession is normally mentioned only
when relevant, for instance if the death notification is being presented to
the collector of a trade tax, as in ii 262 and xli 2957.

The *cheiristes* was an assistant to the practor in the collection of poll-tax
and other taxes: see Wallace, p.310. One of their particular functions was
the collection of taxes from individuals living outside their ἴδια (see
P.Princ.8, introd.). SB v 7461 and vi 9237 both indicate the difficulties local
officials had in exacting taxes from non-residents. Isidorus was probably
employed in getting tax payments from Oxyrhynchites resident in
Alexandria, although an Oxyrhynchite himself.

10. This is the only instance of a cause of death being specified. An
exception is xliii 3104, a report of accidental death, which Casarico, op.cit,
treats as anomalous. The inclusion of the phrase is puzzling. Perhaps it
represents a new format for death notifications or perhaps, as in xliii 3104,
the circumstances of the death were sufficiently unusual for them to be
noted. However, the description of the cause of death is so loosely termed
that the latter argument is more convincing. νόσος is a very general word
indicating any kind of disease, and an adjective is usually added where
more precision is required, eg SB i 4312, P.Strasb.73. I should like to
interpret this phrase as a bureaucratic cliché on the lines of τὸν βίον
μετῆλλαξεν, but have not been able to parallel it elsewhere. For the
meaning of νόσος in the papyri, see G.Casanova, *Epidemie e fame
nell’Egitto*, Aegyptus 64 (1985), p.168. υφίσταμαι in the sense of ‘endure,
succumb to’ is found in medical texts (see LSJ sv), though the use is fairly
unusual.

12. τὸν βίον μετῆλλαξεν is found only in the two death notices of the
fourth century, xii 1551 and xliii 3141, though P.Sijpesteijn in his re-
edition of iv 826 in ZPE 57 (1984) p.121 suggests we read this phrase at the
beginning of a damaged declaration datable to AD 2, the earliest extant
example of this kind of ὑπόμνημα.

13. The usual phrase in Oxyrhynchite death notices is ὅξιω ταχιναί αὐτὸν ἐν
τῇ τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάξις, this preceded by the clause about the
presentation of the memorandum. An example of a τάξις τετελευτηκότων
may be found in P.Lond.ii 259 (pp.39-42), and possibly in the Hawara
papyrus published by Milne in Archiv 5 (1913) p.395. However, his
identification of this papyrus as a list of the dead rests on resolving the
abbreviation τελ( ) as τελ(ευτήσαντες): there is nothing to prevent one expanding it as τελ(ούντες) and interpreting the text as a list of living taxpayers.

dià τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ: τοῦ is equally possible, but I regard σοῦ as more likely in the light of the analogous phrase διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ καταχωριζομένων in PSI vi 691, i 173 and ix 1198, all death notices.

14. βιβλία is more usual at this date than βιβλίδια: cf xliii 3140 and Milne in Archiv 5 (1913) p.262, though Casarico restores βιβλίδια in her re-edition of xii 1551.

The question of whether death notices were obligatory or not has provoked some debate. Wilcken Chrest. i, p.196 thought that they were not, on the assumption that the taxpayer's survivors would be naturally anxious to report the death, in order to avoid having to pay the taxes. More recent scholars, notably O.Montevecchi (Aegyptus 26 (1946) p.119), P.Mertens and G.Browne, op.cit., have all questioned this on the grounds that the notifications were used for purposes other than removing the dead from the tax lists, and that such an important administrative tool would not have been left to chance. Casarico agrees with them, citing P.Mich.Michael 18-19, which ends the phrase ἵν' ἀναίτιος καθάπερ καὶ εἶμι, i.e., that the purpose of filing the obligation is so that the declarant will not incur a penalty for failing to do so. Our text provides a new means of expressing the reason for submitting the declaration without contributing anything to the question of obligation.

17. β seems the most desirable reading for the day of the month. A descender and what resembles the remnants of the upper bow of ρ are present. One could perhaps read 1β or 1θ which although less convincing palaeographically might make more sense. If 2 Phamenoth is read, it would mean that the declaration would have been made on the day after Isidorus' death presumably occurred, which would seem extraordinarily prompt. Long delays between the death and its notification to the authorities are common, and this is corroborated by the high preponderance of death notices submitted in Mecheir, the end of the tax half-year, when neglectful relatives hurried to report the deaths of taxpayers: see W.Brashear in BASP 14 (1977), p.7. The fact that Isidorus had been a tax collector sheds an interesting side-light on this: perhaps his wife informed the systates of his death with particular promptness because she
was more familiar with the bureaucracy. Unfortunately the text does not
tell us the exact date of Isidorus' death, but he probably died early in
Phamenoth and his heirs were thus liable for his half-years tax obligation.

21. ἐλλάσσοσις: the only other occurrence of this word in this sense is also in
a fourth century death-certificate, xliii 3141, where it seems to be the name
of the specific type of ὑπόμνημα. Compare also PSI vi 691, where the verb
ἐλασσοῦν is used to mean 'strike out from the tax records.' On the
phonology of ἐλασσοῦν and its compounds in the papyri, see Gignac i,
pp.147-8. In general, nouns tend to be spelled with a double sigma by this
date unless specifically Attic, although the spelling in xliii 3141 is with
double tau.

22. For this abbreviation of χειριστής, see A.Blanchard, Sigles et
abréviations dans les papyrus documentaires, p.6.

ἀθαξα - This is puzzling. There are traces of another letter before the
α, so that Ἄθω(ρ) κα cannot be read, but there is no room for [δς]
καθήκε(ν), and ἀθακα for ἐθήκα would not make sense. One could
perhaps read [κ]αθαρε as an abbreviation of καθαρει, from καθαρίω,
though there does not seem to be any sense of the verb that would be
suitable here.
8. APPLICATION FOR EPICRISIS
8. Application for Epicrisis

This papyrus is complete and the areas of damage do not seriously hinder our reading of the text. The autograph subscription of the presenter shows that this is the original document, not a copy. There is a blank space at the bottom of 13 cm., and the back is likewise blank.

The text preserves the application for epicrisis into the metropolitan class of Harpocration, also called Ischyrion. The circumstances of the application are novel. Harpocration's father, whose name is now illegible, was deceased and the application was presented by one Thonis: his relationship to the boy is not stated, but he was evidently not a blood relative, being the son of a freedman who does not appear in the genealogy of either side of Harpocration's family. Possibly the boy's mother was also dead and Thonis was his guardian, in the absence of any close male relatives. The three other Oxyrhynchite epicrisis declarations for orphans are all made by their uncles. For what were probably similar family histories, one might compare PSI x 1109, a declaration by the legal guardian of a boy that his ward's dead parents had both been of the metropolitan twelve-drachma class, and xxxviii 2855 (291), an application by Aurelius Cornelius to register the son of his deceased friend into the gymnasiastic class.

Apart from this variation, the document is a conventional application for admission to the metropolitan class: see C. Nelson, Status Declarations in Roman Egypt, pp. 11 and 16-19, for a full list of examples, analysis of their format and bibliography. On the epicrisis in general, see O. Montevecchi, l'epicrisis dei Greco-Egizi, Proc. XIV Congress, pp. 227-232.

Harpocration's maternal ancestors are listed at least as far back as his great-grandfather, and down to the sixth generation on his father's side, that is, about 150 years. Therefore the earliest paternal ancestor mentioned, Sibus, may have been included in the original list of privileged metropolites, apparently drawn up in the 34th year of Augustus, or at the

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1 xii 1452 (127/28); iii 478 (132); PSI v 457 (176). One wonders whether the boy in vi 926 who was the host at his own epicrisis-feast was also an orphan.
time of the first 14-year census, probably in 33-34. In epicrisis declarations, paternal ancestors are regularly enumerated as far back as the original list, particularly in applications to the gymnasial class: see Nelson, op.cit., p.28. The information given in the document allows us to reconstruct the following family tree, where females are indicated by italics.

```
Sibus
  |   [ name illegible ]
  |   |   |   |
  Sibus Sarapion
  |   |   |
  [L]amprous = Ischyron Sarapion
  |   |
  Phi[...] = [...] apias
(examined c.157 ?)

Ischyron also called Harpocrateion
(examined 188-189)
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1 Παρὰ Θόνιος τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου ἀπε—

2 λευθέρου Ἀρθύνιος αἰπ' Οξυρύγχων

3 πόλεως. κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα πε—

4 ρὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβ(αινόντων) εἰς
   (τρισκαίδεκατείς) εἰ

5 ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μη—

6 τροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδραχμῶν) εἰς ἵνα ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἁμ—

7 φ[ό]δου Τεμγενοῦθεως ὁ τοῦ με—

8 τηλλαχότος Φι . . . . [. ]ου Ἰσχυρί—

9 ὁνος Σίβου τοῦ . . . . [. ] . . . τοῦ Ἰσχυ—

10 ῥίωνος τοῦ Σίβου μητρ[ὸς Λ]αμπρο—

11 [τ]ος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως υἱὸς Ἀρπο—

12 κρατίων ὁ καὶ Ἰσχυρίων μητρὸς [. . . ]α—

13 πιάδος Σαραπῖωνος προσβε(βηκέναι) εἰς
   (τρισκαίδεκατείς)

14 τῷ διελθόντι κη (ἔτει). ὅθεν παραγε—

15 νόμ[ε]νος πρὸς τὴν τοῦτού ἐπίκρι—

16 σιν δ[η]λὼ ἀυτὸν εἶναι [(δωδεκαδραχμὸν) καὶ]τὸν

17 πα[τ]έρα α[ῦ]του Ἰσχυρίων[ο]ς τετε—

18 λευτηκέναι [. . . . . . . . . .]
[δὲν]τα (δωδεκάδραχμον) διὰ λαογρα(φίας) [τοῦ] εἰκοστοῦ

[(έτους) Τ] ἵπτον Ἀιλίου Ἀντωνίνου ἀμφό-

[δ]εῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς

[αὖτ]οῦ . . [. . . .] μενον πατέρα Σαρα-

πῶνα [Σα]ραπίων(ος) . . . . [. . .]

ἰσεντο ἀναγρα[φ]ῶν[ό]μενον [. . . .] διὰ λα(ο-

γρα(φίας) ἀμφόδ(ου) Ἀναμφοδάρχων κ[αϊ]

ὅμινω τὴν Αὐτοκράτ(ορος) Κομ[ιδου]

Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρ[ίου]

τύχην μη ἐ[ψεῦθα]τ. [(Ετος) κθ Αὐτοκ(ράτορος)

Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὔρη[λιου]

Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσ[εβοῦς] Ε[ὐτυχοῦς]

Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενικοῦ Μηδ[ικοῦ]

Παρθικοῦ Σαρματικοῦ Γερμ[ανικοῦ]


(μ.2) [Θ]ῶνις [Ἰσι]δάρου . . .

[ἐπ]ιδεδωκα καὶ ὃμωμο[κα]

τὸν ὄρκον.
From Thonis son of Isidorus, freedman of Harthonis, from the city of Oxyrhynchus. In accordance with the orders concerning the scrutiny of those entering the class of thirteen-year olds to discover if they are born of parents both of the metropolite twelve-drachma class, Harpocration also known as Ischyrion, son of the deceased Ph.... son of Ischyrion son of Sibus son of [... ] son of Ischyrion son of Sibus, paternal grandmother Lamprous, from the same city, his mother being [...]pias daughter of Sarapion, was registered in the Temgenouthis quarter as having entered the class of thirteen-year olds in the past 28th year. Therefore I have presented myself for his scrutiny, and I declare that he is rated at twelve drachmae and the father of the same Ischyrion, who died [in the Xth. year] was rated at twelve drachma in the poll-tax list of the twentieth year of Titus Aelius Antoninus in the same district, and the [aforementioned ?] father of the same boy’s mother Sarapion [son of ?] was registered for the poll-tax in the Anamphodarchon district, and I swear by the genius of the Emperor Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord that I have not lied. Year 29 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius [Felix] Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, Mecheir [...] 

I, Thonis son of Isidorus [ ] presented this and swore the oath.
Commentary

1. The name of the addressee is omitted, as is frequently the case. For the officials to whom these documents were directed at Oxyrhynchus, see Nelson, op. cit., p.16.

8. The traces of the father's name are too scanty to suggest any very plausible restoration. The letter after Φ could be a rather stumpy i. The next letters could be a ρ ligatured to another letter, so that it does not descend below the line (cf. the ρ of λαογρ(αφίας) in line 25). If this is correct, the only possibility in Preisigke NB or Foraboschi would be Φίρμ[ου], which would just fit the traces.

9. Sibus is a new Egyptian name. The only derivation I can suggest is s3-b3 'son of the ram,' though this name does not appear in Ranke. It could be a contraction of a name such as s3-b3-nb-dd.t (cf. Ranke, p.281, no.18). Another related name is Σιβόγχις (SB xvi 12702, 16, 27), which must be s3-b3-'nh 'the son of the ram lives.' The names reflect the cult of the ram-god Mendes (b3-nb-dd), whose great centre of worship was in the Delta: his cult is only previously attested at Oxyrhynchus from I 3592, a lease of land where the lessor is a priest of Mendes.

The name of his father is illegible: the first letter resembles θ ligatured to ερ or υρ: the next letter is almost certainly χ. The name seems to have been abbreviated, as there is a supralinear letter after the lacuna.

12-13. [Σαρ]απίάδος is the most likely contender for the mother's name.

18. After τετελευτηκέναι are the exiguous traces of about 14 letters, which probably contained the date of the father's death in the form τῶ διελθόντι x ἔτει: cf. xii1452 col i.

20. Titus Aelius Antoninus, although names of Hadrian, are so far only attested in the titulature of Antoninus Pius: see Bureth, p.66, though what I have read as the second τ of Τίτου looks much more like ε or σ. [ἔτο]υς <του Αἵλιου Ἀντωνίνου might be a possible alternative. If the reading εἰκοστοῦ is correct, Ischyron's father must have been born in about 144 and examined in about 157.
22. An adjective is required here: perhaps σημαίνομενον?

23 -24. The damaged letter either represents τ[οù], or the start of Sarapion senior's patronym, though the name of the maternal great-great-grandfather is not regularly listed.

The phrase used for the fiscal status of the maternal grandfather varies: in P.Wsci 17, xii 1452 i 21 and iii 478 he is δωδεκαδράχμον δτ'ομολογού λαογραφίας; in ii 258, 20 he is άναγραφόμενος; in viii 1109, 16 merely δωδεκάδραχμος.

24. I cannot explain the beginning of this line: ισεντο, with supralinear ν to indicate abbreviation, seems likely - perhaps the name of one of Sarapion's ancestors? The gap could have contained the year of the paternal grandfather's epicrisis: whether it was left blank to be filled in later or has been lost through fibre-stripping is impossible to tell.

29-33. This very full titulary is used by Commodus towards the end of his reign, from about 184 onwards: see Bureth p.91. The scribe has left out Κομηδόου between Αδρηλίου and Αντωνίου.

Μεχτίρ is read with some hesitance: the M is clear, but what I have taken for χ is very faint and might be fibre rather than ink. However, I do not believe that Μεσορη can be read.

34. For the gap after 'Ισιδόρου, perhaps 'απελ for 'απελ(ευθέρου)?
9. APPLICATION FOR EPICRISIS
9. Application for Epicrisis

(8.5 x 18.1 cm.)

This papyrus has suffered some damage: a strip roughly 3 x 8 cm., constituting about a seventh of the text, has been lost from the upper right-hand side, and most of the top half, containing the names and patronyms of the declarants, is very abraded and difficult to read. The document was originally folded over horizontally and then in three vertically: the papyrus is damaged along the fold-lines. Fibre distortion has resulted in the left-hand third of the upper part of the text curling away at an angle. The bottom of the document, containing most of the oath by the Emperor, the date, and the subscriptions of the parties involved, has also disappeared. The back is blank.

The date of the document is difficult to establish with certainty: all we know is that it was written in the fourth year of an Emperor, since the boy is said to have reached the age of thirteen 'in the past third year' (line 17). Palaeographically, the most attractive date would be the mid-third century AD: other examples of rapid sloping hands like this one are I 3597 (260) and P.Lond. ii 214 (270-275). If this date is correct, I find it surprising that not one of the parties is given the gentilicum Aurelius so long after the Constitutio Antoniniana. It would also be surprising to find a metropolite declaration so late in the third century. It seems that declarations for the metropolites, and indeed the term μητροπολίτης itself, stopped being used during the early part of the third century AD, though the reasons for this are still unclear: see Nelson, op.cit., pp.24-5: Mertens, p.112.

The damaged name of the strategus in line 1 perhaps affords a clue to a solution: we may read Διο followed by the traces of 1-2 letters. The following lacuna has a space for 1-2 letters. A survey of Oxyrhynchite strategi in G.Bastianini and J.Whitehorne, The Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt, yields only one strategus with a 7-8 letter name beginning with Διο- in office during the fourth year of an emperor: this is Dionysus, attested for the fourth year of Marcus Aurelius (164-5). However, the traces of the letter after ο are incompatible with v. Dius also called Pertinax, known from the fourth year of Philip (247-248) is also unsuitable: apart from the disappearance of the metropolitan epicrisis by this date, the name
is too short for the lacuna and again does not fit the traces. The only fourth year of an Emperor between 150 and 258 for which we do not have a known strategus for the Oxyrhynchite nome is the fourth year of Septimius Severus (195-6). However, one Diophanes is attested as strategus between 197 and 200. The traces of the letter after the o of Διο in line 1 are not inconsistent with φ. This may be merely coincidence, but it is conceivable that Diophanes' tenure started in 195 or 196, during the fourth year of Severus. It is also possible that the same Diophanes held the office of strategus between 185 and 186. On the circumstantial evidence, it seems probable to me that Diophanes was the recipient of this application: accordingly I restore Διοφα[νεί] and date the document to 195-6, with the caveat that the hand seems to be much later to me. The earliest dated examples of hands of similar type that I have been able to find are CPR i 32 = Seider i, pl.43 of 218 and xxxviii 2848 of 225.

The text itself is an application in standard format for the epicrisis of Peteyris, a slave boy, made by two men representing a number of people who own the slave jointly: compare Wilcken *Chrest.* 1, ii 217 (pp.251-252), an application for the epicrisis of a slave owned by a brother and sister. The situation is slightly different here, though exactly what is going on is obscured by damage in lines 12-14 and the absence of any precise parallel. Though the declarant calls Peteyris δούλον μου in line 10, line 12 mentions a two-thirds share in the slave belonging to (or having been sold by?) a number of individuals whose names in the genitive follow. Oddly, the declaration proper (lines 17-20) does not mention the applicant as being of the privileged tax status, merely his brother and another man, presumably one of the part-owners.

On the epicrisis of slaves in general, see P.Mich xv 708 (apparently a declaration that an applicant for slave epicrisis had submitted all the necessary documents) and the literature cited there, particularly I.Biezunska-Malowist, *l'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, p.77.

I should like to extend my thanks to Dr. Helen Cockle for her invaluable help and encouragement with this difficult text.

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1 PSI xiii 1357, 1 (AD 197-199/200); vi 899 verso i (b).1, 4 (August 200).
Διοφέ[νει] στρ(απτηγό)ς[υρνηχίτου) (vac.)

παρὰ ...[.] ανους ...[.] ... τοῦ...

Διογέν[ους] μητρός Ζωί[δος'ατ'Οξυ–]

ρύχχ[ων π]όλεως ...[ + c. 12 letters]

καὶ ...[c. 6 letters] ... τοὺς ... [ἀπὸ τῆς]

αὐτῆς π[ό]λεως, κατὰ τ[ὰ κελευθεῖν]

περὶ ε[πικ]ρίσεως τῶν [προσβαίνοντων]

eἰς (τρισκαίδεκατείς) [εἶ] εἰσὶ μητροπολίται

(δωδεκάδραχμω) δηλώ[]

Πετεύρ[η]ν δούλον μου κ[αὶ τοῦ ὁμοπατρίου]

μου ἀδ[ε]λφοῦ Θώνιος κ[αὶ Ἀνδρ[. ωνιος,]

δ[ιμοιρ[ον μέρ]ος τῶν ἀδελφ[ῶν].[ .] μου ...[.]]

τρίου καὶ Πετεύριος καὶ Ζω[ί]δος καὶ [ Ιο]ύλ[ίου]

ἐπὶ τὸν [ο]ικογενῆ διὰ ... . σθμι [,]

ἀπογραφόμενον ἐπιθ'μφοδοῦ Δρόμου

Θούριδος προσβέβηκε[ναί εἰς τοὺς (τρισκαίδεκατείς)

tῶ διελθόντι(1) Γ (ἐτει), καὶ τὸν ὁμοπάτριον

μου ἀδελφὸν καὶ Ἀνδρ[.] ωνιν ἱερο[ς]

κόπον Θούριδος καὶ Ἰσίδος καὶ Σαρά[πιδος]

καὶ τῶν συννα[ῶν θεῶν (δωδεκάδραχμῶν) ἀπ[.]γ[α]–
Translation

(No.29. . . .?) To Diophanes (?), strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from . . . , grandfather Diogenes, mother Zois, from Oxyrhynchus, and . . . , from the same city. According to the orders concerning the examination of boys who have entered the class of 13-year-olds, to (discover) whether they are of the metropolitan 12-drachma class, I declare that the slave Peteyris belonging to me and my brother on my father's side Thonis and Andronis, a two-thirds share in the house-born slave belonging to the brothers ....trius and Peteyris and Zois and Julius (?), registered by ...sthmi...(? in the temple of Thoeris district, entered the class of 13-year-olds in the past third year, and that my brother on my father's side and Andronis, diviner of Thoeris and Isis and Sarapis and the co-templar gods (are) of the 12-drachma class registered in the same district, and I swear by the Emperor Caesar...

Commentary

1. The first line, written in rather greyer ink and with a blunter pen than the body of the text, is probably a docket, perhaps recording its entry in a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος. There seem to be the traces of about five letters: perhaps restore a numeral (κθ?) + the name of an amphodon as in lxvi 3276 (though Δρομος Θοήριδος, where all the parties are registered, does not suit the traces), or maybe παρ[αθήκη] or παρ[ετέθη]: cf. Wilcken Chrest. 217.

2. Other metropolitan declarations addressed to the strategus are vii 1028, iv 714, xii 1452 col.1. Other subordinate officials who were also members of the epicrisis committee, such as the basilicogrammateus, are also addressed here.
4-5. The name of the declarant and his father are lost in fibre-stripping: only the bottom of the letters remains. The most likely supplement for the end of line 5 is \[\tau \eta \varsigma \ \Theta \eta \beta \alpha \iota \delta \omicron \zeta\], which is the right length. The next illegible line probably contained the name of the other declarants, but I cannot reconcile the exiguous traces with any of the names preserved in lines 11 and 13.

9. \'ει ἐσι μητροπολίτων is the usual phrase in the applications for the epicrisis of slaves: cf PSI vii 732, 6-7; W.Chrest.217, 7-8; PSI xii 1230, 2. This section is missing in the other example of a slave epicrisis, iv 714.

10. Peteyris is either the Egyptian \(\textit{p3-di-} \text{-Hr} \) 'he who was given by Horus,' or \(\textit{p3-di-} \text{-wr(t)} \), 'he who was given by the great god/dess,' theophoric names bestowed at birth. Egyptian names beginning with \(\textit{p3-di} \) and followed by the name of a divinity are common: see Ranke, pp.121-126. Although \( \textit{t3-wr} \) or \( \textit{t3-wrt} \) can indicate almost any god, in the context of the family's connection with the cult of Thoeris (see lines 18-19) 'the great goddess' could well be Thoeris herself.

11. All that is left of the name of the other declarant is a long descender, suitable for \(\rho \), on a small detached fragment which fibre-joins suggest belongs here. For the name, see note on line 18 below.

12-14. These lines seem to be a parenthetic clause describing the ownership of Peteyris. Perhaps the applicant and his brother had owned the slave jointly and recently bought the two-thirds share owned by the others. The damaged end of line 14 may have contained the name of the person who registered the original owners: possibilities might be \[\text{[Aρ]}\sigma \dot{\theta} \mu \iota \varsigma \) or \[\text{[Μεσθα]}\sigma \dot{\theta} \mu \iota \varsigma \), though neither fits the traces well.

The communal ownership of slaves is not uncommon: cf iv 716 (186) where a slave is owned between three members of a family in the proportions one-sixth + one half + one third.

\(\epsilon \pi \tau \delta \omicron \ \text{oikoyennWN} \), on the other hand, is odd. Perhaps it expresses having a share \textit{in} the slave ( cf. Didymus, \textit{De trinitate}, 3,37: \(\tau \delta \omicron \ \tau \delta \omicron \tau \omicron \ \theta \epsilon \sigma \omicron \ \kappa \alpha \ \delta \omicron \ \epsilon \pi \ \tau \delta \omicron \ \nu \lambda \omicron \), \(\omicron \delta \epsilon \nu \ \kappa \alpha \ \tau \omicron \ \nu \omicron \omicron \)), though I have been unable to find another instance of this usage in the papyri. The simple genitive to express the ownership of the slave would be much more usual.
13 -τριον is more probably the end of another proper name like Δημητρίον than δομοπατρίον.

15, 16. Space-filling flourishes extending the tails of υ and the ἐτοὺς abbreviation show that the full width of the papyrus is preserved here.

18-19. The name is puzzling. Αὐδρό- seems quite clear, as does —ωνιν at the end. Αὔρηλί(ος) certainly cannot be read. The intervening space has what looks like a θ ligatured to the ω of ωνιν, with a letter perhaps lost in the small hole before (though there may be a slight space between δρ and the next letter group: cf the gap between δρ and ομου, line 15). Whatever the name may be, it is unattested. Palaeographically, the most likely possibilities seem to be Ἀνδρεῶν (formed from Ἀνδρῶν on analogy with Ἄμμων>Ἀμμώνις, plus a supplementary vowel ?) or Ἀνδροθώνις, though a compound like Ἀνδροθώνις seems very strange. For names in the late Greek declension terminating in —ις, see Gignac ii, p.25.

The occupation of this man is equally surprising. ἱεροσκόπος is the only possibility in Kretschmer/Locker that accords with the traces. These were diviners who inspect animal entrails, a method of divination common in Greece, Rome and throughout parts of the Near East, but not attested in Pharaonic Egypt or in the papyri. Diodorus describes the Pharaoh's priests performing sacrifices and examining the entrails of the beasts at i, 70, 9: μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἱεροσκοπησαμένου μόσχῳ καὶ καλλίερήσαντος..., and more interestingly at i, 73, 4, where he mentions the prowess of the Egyptian priests at divining and goes on to give the correct circumstantial information that the priestly caste was hereditary in Egypt, and subject to lower rates of tax. In the latter the word seems to have a rather vague meaning, as 'diviner,' which is perhaps what is meant here. Alternatively, it could be interpreted literally. Egyptians had a great capacity "to adapt and perfect foreign ideas until it seemed that Egypt was their true home."² New priestly offices unattested in the Pharaonic period appear in the papyri, and it is conceivable that this is another example of such religious syncretism. The practice is possibly referred to in P.Antin.ii 65, 11, a magical text of the fifth century.

To the attestations of the temple of Thoeris, Isis, Sarapis and the co-templar gods given in Ronchi, fasc.iii, should be added P.Congr.xv.16,4; P.Merton ii 73, 2; P.Turner 19, 3.

20. έιναι needs to be understood after δωδεκαδρόχων.

22. For the full titulature of the fourth year of Septimius, see eg BCU iv 1022, 26 ff and Bureth, pp.93-4.
III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

(b) LAND LEASING DOCUMENTS

10. LEASE OF LAND
Here we have a copy of a two-year lease of land near Seryphs in the Western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The private protocol format in which this contract is made is standard for land-leasing at Oxyrhynchus in the second and third centuries: see Wolff, 122-27; Herrmann, p.22. The tables in Hennig, pp.257-261 and 291-2 specify the format of the Oxyrhynchite land leases, whether private protocol, hypomnema or cheirographon. An area of severe damage has obliterated the names of all but one of the κληροι from which the land was leased, but the one which has survived is not previously attested as a holding near Seryphs. Land was leased from at least one other κληρος: see notes on lines 9 and 10.

The lease itself is conventional, with the usual provisions for crop-rotation, fixing the rental in cash on the fodder-crop and in kind on the wheat-crop, and the ᾧβροχως clause to protect the lessees in the event of a bad inundation: on this stipulation, see Herrmann, p.161, and the introductions to nos. 11 and12 below. Points of interest are the identity of the lessors, who appear in a census return of the same year, and the damnatio memoriae of Geta in the date formula.

The hand is the fast, practiced cursive of a commercial scribe: with its low alphas and large φ, χ and ι, the second hand of P.Oxy.Hels 36, or P.Oxy.Hels 41 (223) are comparable. The back is blank.

A full list of Oxyrhynchite land leasing documents up to the fourth century is given at 1 3589, to which should be added the texts cited at Iv 3802, and the two fragmentary land-leases in Heidelberg published by J.Cowey in ZPE 75(1988), pp.167-72.

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1 Incidentally, the scribe of P.Oxy.Hels.41 also wrote 1 3591, a lease of land from 219.
'Εμίσθωσεν Πλουτίων Πλογ-

tίωνος καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοι πάν—

tες ἀπ' Οξυρύγχων πόλεως

'Απολιναρίῳ Πλουτογένους

καὶ Γαίῳ Παίσιος ἀμφιτέρους

ἅπα τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως εἰς ἔτη

δ[ύ]ο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ϊ]τος ἰα (ἔτους)

ἀ[πὸ] τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ

[πε]ρὶ Σερόφιν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμ[μ]οναρ( )

[κλήρου ἅρ]ουραν μίαν . . . ]

[καὶ ἀλλή]ν ἅρ[ο]υρ[αν μίαν ἐκ ]

[.]πο . [ c.17 letters ]

. . [ c. 19 letters ]

κ[ c. 10 letters] . . [ . . ὦστε ]

τοὺς μεμ[ισθ]ομένους τ[ῷ μὲν]

ἐνεστ[ό]τ[ι] ἰα (ἐτεί) ἡγαλαμβήσαι]

χλωροῖς [φοί]ρου ἀποτάκ[του]

ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἐξήκονν—

τα τεσσάρ[ω]ν, τῶ δὲ ἵπποντι

ιβ (ἐτεί) σπείρα[λ] πρῶ ἐκφορίου
21 'αποτάκτου πυροῦ ἄρταβδῶν [[οκ]]
22 ὅκτω ἀκινθύνα πάντα
23 παντὸς κινδύνουτών τῆς
24 γῆς κατ' ἐτος δημοσίων ὁν—
25 τῶν πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωκό—
26 τας οὗς καὶ κυριεύσωσι τῶν
27 καρπῶν ἐως τὰ κατὰ τὰ
28 ὁφειλόμενα κομίσωνται
29 εἴαν δὲ τις τῷ ἵσιοντι ἔτει
30 ἄβροχος γένηται παραδε—
31 χησετα τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις.
32 [βε]βαιομένης δὲ τῆς μι—
33 σθώσας ἀποδότωσαν οἱ μεμι—
34 σθωμένοι τοῖς μεμισθωκόσι
35 τὰ κατ' ἐτος ὁφ[ε]ιλόμενα μη—
36 νὶ Παῦνι . . . . . . ν τοῦ ἱσιόν—
37 τος ἵβ (ἐτοὺς) ἐφ' ἀλω Σερῳφως
38 πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἁδο—
39 λον ἁβωλον ἀκ[ρ]θον κεκοσκα—
40 νευμένον ὡς εἰς δημόσιον
41 μετρ[ούμ]ενον μέτρη τετρα—
42 χοινίζω παραλημμένι—
43 κω Καππαράτος τῶν παρὰ
tῶν μεμισθωκῶν εὖ—
tοῖς μετρουόντων καὶ ἡ πρᾶ—
εἰς ἔστω ἐκ τῆς τῶν μεμισθω—
μένων ἄλληλα γιόν—
tῶν εἰς ἐκτεισιν καὶ ἐξ ἐνός
cαὶ ἐξ δὲν ἂν αὐτῶν αἰσχρῶν
cαὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς
pάντων. κυρία ἡ μύσθωσις.
(ἐτοὺς) εἰα Αὐτοκρατόρων Καίσαρων
Δουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσέβους
Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ
Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
'Αντωνίνου Εὐσέβους Σεβαστῶν
[[καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ]] Φαώφι κ.
Απολιναρί<ο>ς Πλουτογένους
καὶ Γαί<ο>ς Παύσιος μεμισθῶ—
μεθα τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἄλληληγ—
Ploution son of Ploution and his brothers, all from the city of Oxyrhynchus, have leased for the period of two years from the present eleventh year to Apolinaris son of Ploutogenes and Gaius son of Paesis, both men from the same city, one aroura from the allotment of Ammonar( ), from his possessions in the area of Seryphis, [and another one aroura from the allotment of X ] for the lessees to sow with green crops in the present 11th year at a rent of sixty-four silver drachmas, and to sow with corn in the forthcoming 12th year, at a fixed rent of eight artabas of wheat, all guaranteed free from any risk. The annual public dues on the land are the responsibility of the lessors, who will own the crops until they receive what they are owed. If the land is uninundated in the forthcoming year, allowance will be made to the lessees. If this lease is granted, the lessees will give the lessors what is owed to them annually in the month of Payni, (on the first day ?) in the forthcoming 12th year, on the threshing-floor of Seryphis, in new, pure, unadulterated wheat, free from clods of earth, unadulterated with barley, sieved as though into the public granary, measured in the four-choinix measure used for calculating dues of Capparas, the said measuring to be done by the lessors, and the right of execution is against the lessees who guarantee each other mutually for repayment, against one of them or any one of them they might choose, and against all their property. This lease is valid. Year 11 of the Imperatores Caesares Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adaiabenicus Parthicus maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Phaophi 20.
We, Apolinaris son of Ploutogenes and Gaius Paesis, have leased the land in mutual security as set out above. Pasion, son of Paesis also known as Isidorus, wrote on their behalf since they are illiterate.

[Commentary begins on page 86]
### TABLE 1

**RENTAL PROVISIONS IN OXYRHYNCHITE LAND LEASES, 173-C.225 AD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Papyrus</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Artabas of wheat per aroura</th>
<th>Drachmas per aroura</th>
<th>Plot Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 .iii 593</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 .SB viii 9918</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 .xiv 1687</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>lost (barley)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.5 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 . iii 501</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 P.Fouad 43</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>plot a) 2.5 + 3.5 barley plot b) 1 art.barley</td>
<td>plot a) 3 plot b) 60</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. vi 910</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. PSI i 73</td>
<td>early ii</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. SB x 10263</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>14 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 1 3591</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>10 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Iv 3800</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. BGU xi 2126</td>
<td>222/3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2.5 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. P.Oxy.Hels.41</td>
<td>223/4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>22 ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. BGU xiii 2340</td>
<td>early iii</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. BGU iv 1017</td>
<td>post 212</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. P.Köln iii 149</td>
<td>post 212</td>
<td>2 of wheat 2.5 of barley</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Commentary

1. The chief lessor is probably to be identified with the Ploution son of Ploution in xii 1548, a census document of 202/3, (which incidentally also contains a damnatio memoriae of Geta): he was aged 48, his mother's name was Tapsois, his grandfather's also Ploution, and he was registered in the North Quay quarter. As well as the land near Seryphis, xii 1548 tells us that Ploution owned two female slaves in common with his brothers, none of which is named. The name Ploution, however, is very common at Oxyrhynchus. There is another Ploution son of Ploution son of Ploution from Oxyrhynchus in P.Med.inv.42 (see Aegyptus 21 (1941), pp.297-8).

5. ἁμφοτέροις - the word is very cramped to fit it in to the end of the line.

9. Ἄμμωναρ - The first three letters could feasibly be read as Αλε: PSI ix 1097, 4 attests a κληρος [Αλε]ζάνδρου near Seryphis, but the traces towards the end of the line here are quite irreconcilable with -ανδρ. Ἄμμωναρ seems the most plausible reading, with ρ raised to indicate an abbreviation of Ἄμμωναρ(ίου) or a similar name. At all events, no κληρος of either name is attested in the Seryphis area: see P.Pruniti, Aegyptus 55 (1975), p.219, though xiv 1743, 5 descr. (221) has Ἄμμωναρ' as the name of an allotment in an unknown part of the Oxyrhynchite nome. This could well be an abbreviation for Ἄμμωναρ(ρίου) or Ἄμμωνα(ρίωνος), but there is nothing in 1743 to link it with Seryphis, or even the Western toparchy.

10-15. How much land was being leased other than the single aroura already mentioned? Comparison of the annual rent of 64 silver drachmas and 8 artabas of wheat (lines 18-22) with other leases from approximately the same period2 suggests an entire holding of either two or four arouras here, probably from two rather than three different allotments, though the lacuna has enough space to accommodate descriptions of three. If the holding totalled four arouras, then the rent of only 2 artabas of wheat per aroura on the wheat crop would be very low for the early third century, though not unparalleled: see table opposite, no.9. The average rate is about five to six artabas an aroura: see ESAR ii p.81. Rents on the fodder crop have a considerable range, reflecting the productivity of the individual

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2 See table 1 opposite
plot: the extremes are demonstrated by no. 5 but we can see that 30-32 drachmas per aroura is a common rental figure at this period (nos. 2, 6, 14 and 16), whereas 16 drachmas would be on the low side, though again not unparalleled (no.1). Accordingly I suggest that it is slightly more likely that the entire small holding totalled two arouras in two κλήροι. In this case line 12 and the beginning of 13 would have given some information about the location of the allotment, 13-14 might have had something on the lines of

|δμοίως ἐν δυσί
κλήρος ἀρούρας [β-ώστε]

16, 20. σκιρωτικη is the term regularly used of sowing grain crops, while ζυλαμίησι is generally confined, as here, to fodder cultivation: see M.Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten, pp.133ff.

22-23. The phrase Δύνυνος οφόρος παντός κινδύνου and its variants are very common in leasing documents, to insure the lessor against loss. See U.Wollenin, ο κινδύνος in den Papyri, (Diss. Köln, 1961) p.61 and Herrmann, pp.143-45, on its use in leases.

26. οὐς: read ὅι.


36. The reading is very awkward. The scribe started to write το, presumably anticipating τοῦ ἴσιοντος at the end of the line, but corrected it to what resembles v. The next three letters are confused: ϵ or γ are possible, followed perhaps by o or σ, followed by an odd loop in the curve of the previous letter: conceivably the deep bow of μ? The next configuration is perhaps ϵ ligatured to τ, or a large η? The final letter is clearly v: νεομηνισι for νεομηνισι is just about possible.

43. Καππαρδίς – the name is new, though compare P.Mich.iv.2, 359 F 2, Πετώλου Καππαρίς.

45-50. ἡ πράξεις κτλ. How this clause was enforced practically is illustrated by BGU i 106 and BGU iv 1047 ΙΙΙ 10 - IV 18, both of which deal with the
seizure of the private property of lessees of land who had defaulted on payments. In the former case, the debt was on ousiac land and the property was apparently sequestrated rather than confiscated until the debt had been paid off: see ESAR ii p.128 (no.61).

51. On the 'validity' clause, see M. Hässler, Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden, especially pp. 28 ff, and Wolff, pp. 145-6 and idem. in SZ (RA) 90 (1973), p. 373, where he discusses possible English translations.

57. For the damnatio memoriae of Geta, see P. Mertens, La damnatio memoriae de Geta dans les papyrus, Hommages à Léon Herrmann, Latomus 44 (1960), pp. 541-552, and BGU xi 2056, apparently an edict promulgated soon after the murder of Geta in February 212 ordering the expunging of his name.

63. Ἰσιδώρου – the gap is rather large for three letters, but Dornseiff-Hansen has no other suitable name. There is a Παὴς ὁ καὶ ὶσιδωρὸς in P. Oslo iii 114 (late second century).
11. LEASE OF LAND
Here we have another two-year lease of land near the village of Seryphis in the private protocol form, but dating from the very end of the third century when the economic climate was different in Egypt, though nothing of this is discernible from the text. Other examples of leases concerning the same village are PSI ix 1029 (52), PSI vii 739 (163) and P.Harris i 137 (ii AD): other land leases from the same year are PSI ix 1071 (month uncertain) and P.Michael 23 (Thoth). The only surprising features here are that the rent on the fodder crop is apparently to be paid in kind, (though there seems to be some scribal confusion over the exact provisions for the payment of rent), and the lack of any contingency plan in the event of flood failure (the ἀβρακος clause). This may have been left out because the particular parcel of land was not subject to extreme flood variations.

The document is complete, although there is some worm damage to the bottom third of the text. The repeating pattern of worm holes suggests that the document was folded in four, beginning at the right hand edge, and was stored in a small flat parcel measuring about 4 x 7 cm., with the blank area of papyrus at the bottom outside. Other leases seem to have been stored in small rolls rather than parcels: see 13560 and 3592 introd.

The hand is a small, practiced cursive which shows some affinities with the so-called Kanzleischrift: see G.Cavallo, La scrittura del P.Berol.11532, Aegyptus 45 (1965), pp.216-50. Very similar indeed is the hand of P.Heid.Inv.G 923, published by J.Cowey in ZPE 75 (1988), pp.168-9 and Tafel VI b: the scribe of that text wrote slightly more cursively (compare the typical open β and the cursive ν), but otherwise the two hands are closely analogous, though I would stop short of making any identification between the scribes. In this article, I do not find Cowey's palaeographical parallels for earlier examples of the Chancery- influenced hand entirely convincing: much the closest parallels to the Heidelberg lease are this papyrus from 296 and xxxi 2558, datable between 303 and 306, whereas Cowey dates the papyrus to between 220 and 260. I would find a date between 260 and 310 much more plausible.
Although obviously the work of a professional scribe, the text is
carelessly written in places: there are some omissions and grammatical
confusions, which are discussed in the commentary. The back is blank.
'Ἐπὶ ὅπατων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ

Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ἁ. καὶ Κωνσταντίου Καίσαρος τὸ β.-

ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλία Ἑμμανύλλα Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυ-

σίου γυμνασιαρχῆς[α]ντος γενομένου βουλευτοῦ τῆς

λαμ.[πράς] καὶ λαμ[πρώτης] Ὀξυρυγχεί[τ]ῶν πόλεως

Αὐρηλίῳ

Παῦσι Ἡρακλάτος μη[τρὸς] Τασμότος ἀπὸ κόμης Κερ-

κεθύρεας ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνεστάτος

γ— καὶ ἑ— καὶ [ε (ἔτους)] τ[ᾶς] ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῆς περὶ

Σεροῦν

tὰς προγεαργουμένας ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἄρούρας εξ ὁδόν

όζοτε σπίραι καὶ ἕμαμήσαι κατ’ ἐτος πυρῷ χορτῷ εξ

ἡμισίας ἐκφορίων κατ’ ἐτος ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρτα-

βῶν εἴκοσι ἀκινδύνων παντὸς κινδύνου τῶν

tῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὴν γεούχων ἡν καὶ

κυρι—

eὔειν τῶν καρπῶν ἑως τὰ ὀφιλόμενα ἀπολάβητε. βε—

βαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως ἀπόδοτος ὁ μεμι—

στωμένος τὸ κατ’ ἐτος ἀπότακτον φόρον τῷ Παῦνι

μηνι ἐφύλαξ τῆς κάμης πυρῶν νέον καθαρὸν

ἀδ[o]λον ἰτῆδαλον ἀκριθὸν κεκοσκινεμένον μέ—

τρφ παραλημπτικῷ σοῦ τῆς γεούχου προσιμετρου—
20 μένων ἕκαστῇ ἀρτάβῃ χοινίκων δύο. γεινομένης
21 τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τοῦ μεμισθωμένου ὡς καθήκη.κυ-
22 ρία ἡ μίσθωσις περὶ ἡς ἀλλήλους ἐπερωτήσαντες
23 [εἰς]υτοῖς ὀμολογήσαν. (Έτους) ἴγ- καὶ 1β- τῶν κυρίων
24 ἡμῶν [Διοκλητί]ανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ[αστ]ῶν
Σ[ε]βαστῶν
27 Φαώφι κθ.(m.2.) Αὐρ[ὴ]ς[λ]ιος Παῖς μεμίσθωμαι τῇ(n)
28 γῆν καὶ ἀποδώσω τῶν φορον καὶ τά [ἐ]φορίαι ὡς
29 πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθής ὀμολογήσα.] Αὐρ(ήλ]ιος
Σαραπάμ–
30 μὸν ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδοτο(ς) γράμματα.

5. λως pap. 6. μη pap. 8. ὑπαρχουσας pap.
29. ι. ἐπερωτηθεῖς 30. υ- pap. ειδοτο pap.

Translation

In the consulship of our lords Diocletian Augustus, consul for the sixth time, and Constantine Caesar, consul for the second time. Aurelia Ammonilla, daughter of Dionysius, grand-daughter of Dionysius, former gymnasiarch and councilor of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Paesis son of Heraclas, mother Taamois, from the village of Cercethyris, for the period of two years from the present thirteenth, twelfth and fifth years, the six and one-eighth arouras
belonging to her near Seryphis from the land formerly being cultivated by me (sic), to sow and plant each year with wheat and fodder crops half-and-half for a fixed rent in kind per year of twenty artabas of wheat, free from all risk, while the taxes on the land are paid by you the landowner, who remains in possession of the crops until she receives the annual dues. If the lease is confirmed, the lessee will pay the rent in the month of Payni at the threshing-floor of the village in new, pure, unadulterated wheat, uncontaminated by earth or barley, sieved in the receiving measure which belongs to you the landowner, with two choinikes as a supplementary payment per artaba. The right of execution rests against the lessee, as is proper. This lease is valid, concerning which the parties were asked the formal question and gave assent. Years thirteen and twelve of our Lords Diocletian and Maximianus Augusti, and fifth of our lords Constantine and Maximianus, the most noble Caesares Augusti, Phaophi 29.

I, Aurelius Paesis, have leased the land and will pay the cash rent and the rent in kind as stipulated above, and when asked the formal question I gave assent. Aurelius Sarapammon wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.

Commentary

3. Ammonilla is rather uncommon at Oxyrhyncus: cf SB vi 9298 (249) xxii 2346 (late iii), xiv 1714 descr. (285-304), none of whom can be identified with the lessor here.

When the sex of the landowner can be ascertained, less than one fifth of Oxyrhynchite land lessors are women. This is perhaps surprising when we consider that women may well have owned about a third of real estate: see, for instance, D.Hobson in TAPA 113 (1983) pp.315 and 319. Her surmise is borne out by analysis of women's representation in other documents concerning land and property or its inheritance, where the proportion of women is consistently one third or higher: see O.Montevecchi in Aegyptus 21 (1941) p.144, where she lists 133 women as opposed to 196 men as contracting partners in house sales.

Dionysius son of Dionysius cannot be identified in P.Sijpesteijn, Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine. Gymnasiarchs of Oxyrhynchus called Dionysius are surprisingly
uncommon. There is a bouleutes of this name attested at xlv 3171, 9 (mid iii): see A. Bowman, The Town Councils of Roman Egypt, p.143.

8. Seryphis is better attested in the papyri than Cercethyris (cf. Pruneti, pp.79 and 171). The relative sizes of these two villages at the end of the third century is an interesting question. P.Mich.Inv.412 recto 19-20 (assigned by H.Youtie in ZPE 24 (1977) p.133 to the late third or early fourth century) shows that Cercethyris was assessed for 24.5 schoinia of work on a canal, whereas the apparently larger Seryphis was only assessed for 20 schoinia. The principle governing the division of canal labour among the villages is set out in xii 1469, 11-13 (298): public surveyors, knowledgeable of the area, allocated dike work to the villages in proportion to their size. This would seem to point to Cercethyris being bigger than Seryphis in 298. On the other hand x 1285, a list of village payments, shows that at some time in the late third century Seryphis paid out 1940 dr. for an unspecified tax, far more than any other village in this document, only three of which had assessments for over 1000 drachmas: Cercethyris paid out only 441 drachmas. Perhaps x 1285 is not really a reliable indicator of the relative populations of these two villages. Alternatively, xii 1469 could be taken to mean that the allocation of dike corvée was made on extent of canal frontage rather than population, size or area.

Seryphis is probably to be identified with the modern village of Eshrubah, four miles east of Oxyrhynchus: see note on xii 1421, 3.

9. The word προεκορυμένας indicates that this lease is a renewal. For possible reasons for renewing a contract, see Rowlandson, op.cit., p.289, and n.1, where she lists other renewals (add P.Harris ii 224).

13. The relative pronoun is omitted in the same clause in P.Mert.i 17, 29, a lease from Oxyrhynchus of 158, also apparently written by a careless scribe "given to the omission of letters" (P.Mert.i 17 introd.).

14-15. For the characteristically Oxyrhynchite βεβαιώσις clause, see H.Wolff in JJP 1 (1946), pp.64-7, and Herrmann, pp.153-60.

16. τὸ<ν> κατ' ἑτος ἀπότακτον φόρον is presumably a mistake for ἐκφόριον, since no mention of any money for cash-rent is made in the text. The phrase ἀπότακτος φόρος is sometimes used to mean rent in kind: in
SB viii 9919 of the third century, a rent of four choinikes of barley per aoroura is called a φόρος, and in SB xii 11081 (261) the ἀπότακτος φόρος is eight artabas of wheat. However, the whole phrase is somewhat surprising since rent on the green fodder crop is normally paid in cash (see 1 3589 n.5b). However, the rate of 20 artabas for six and an eighth aorouras of land seems feasible - compare P.Coll.Youtie ii 70 (278/9), where the rent on six aoruras is 24 artabas of wheat.

19. μέτρον παραλημμέτρικον: there had been considerable local variation in weights and measures in Egypt since Dynastic times: see ESAR ii, pp.466-468. Consequently, in many Greek contracts involving payment in kind, the particular measure to be used is specified. This may echo Pharaonic practice: see TGH James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom documents, p.65, where the lessor uses his own measure to receive payments in kind.

In P.Mich.iii 184 the παραλημμέτρικον μέτρον was the measure in which the original loan of seed had been measured out, but this is not possible here. This favours the view of the editors of xii 1474, who suggested in their note on line 16 that the measure is that used by the paralemptes officials.

For προσμετρουμένα in private leases, see V.Schuman, Taxes in Kind in Roman Egypt in Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni ii, pp.303-304.

22-23. ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὁμολόγησα - on this phrase, equivalent to the Latin stipulatus spopondit, see D.Simon, Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel, pp.3-16: on its use in leases, ibid., pp.61-66.

24-26. This dating formula is a variant of type 4b as classified by R. Bagnall and K.Worp in Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt, BASP Supplement 2 (1979), pp.10-11. I have not been able to parallel it exactly anywhere, but the nearest is xliiv 3184 a, 24-27, which has Σεβαπτοῦ at the end, as here, but Αὐτοκρατόρων before Διοικήτιανοῦ.

27. Φασώθ κθ and a sublinear dash is more probable than the initially attractive Φαμενωθ [...]. Most leases are made at the beginning of the sowing season in Thoth, Phaophi or Hathyr, and take effect immediately. An exception is xlvii 3352, which was apparently made in Phamenoth.
Unfortunately the beginning of this document is missing and it is impossible to say whether the lease was made prospectively or not. See J. Rowlandson, op. cit., p. 286, n. 3.

28. τὸν φόρον καὶ τὰ ἐκφορία is the usual phrase in subscriptions to leases where the rent was to be paid in cash and kind. Presumably this is another example of carelessness on the part of the scribe, who wrote out a standard subscription without referring to the actual provisions of the text, and maybe was misled further by the first scribe having written φόρος mistakenly in line 16 and then mentioned ἐκφορίων in line 11.
12. UNDERTAKING TO LEASE
This copy of a lease of land is couched in the terms of an *epidoche*, or undertaking, a form of the subjectively worded *hypomnema* especially associated with the Oxyrhynchite nome: see Herrmann, pp.12 and 25ff and J.Rea in ZPE 9 (1972) p.1, n.1. Although conventionally phrased (cf lv 3802, i 103 etc.), the lease interestingly illustrates the prevailing social and economic conditions of the mid-fourth century.

Written tenancy agreements of this kind become increasingly uncommon as the fourth century progresses and the Oxyrhynchite nome is divided up into large estates. Many other leases from Oxyrhynchus of this date seem to be responses to specific exigencies, such as the need to hire specialized labour on vine land or flax plantations. The decline of written tenancy contracts probably reflects the widening disparity in the social status of land-owner and land-worker: when the contracting parties were on a closer social level, a document like a μίσθωσις or ἐπιδοχή makes sense to assure the rights and responsibilities of both parties, but when the gap between their positions was so wide, "such guarantees become ineffective from the tenant's point of view, and inappropriate from the landlord's. If the extent of the Apion estates in the sixth century was sufficient almost to obliterate record of written tenancy contracts in favour of the dependant labour of the ἐγγαραῖοι γεωργοὶ, the increasing polarization of landed wealth had already progressed far enough... to have an impact on the prevalence of written tenancies."2

From our papyrus, one might imply many of the circumstances Rowlandson describes. The land to be cultivated comes from two separate allotments near the village of Cercemounis.3 The likelihood is that the

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1 Cf. xiv 1631 (280), a contract for specialized labour in a vineyard, and xiv 1632 (353), a lease of a date palm grove.
3 This area had been in the Upper toparchy of the nome, but by 341 would probably have been in the first or second pagus. Sadalou, Nigrou and Sincepha, all villages known to have been in the Upper toparchy near Cercemounis, were in the second pagus (xii 1426, 6-7). Pangulis, an ἐποχάιον owned by Gaius Julius Leucadius in P.Mert.36, which may have been part of the same estate as the land leased here, was in the first pagus: see the correction by J.Bingen quoted by M.Leuillon-Blume in *Problèmes de la terre au IVe siècle après J-C*,
land is part of a large estate: the lessees act through a clerk or steward of the owner, Gaius Julius Leucadius, who comes from the urban élite. The wheat for the rent is to be measured in an estate measure, and the lessees come from an ἐποίκιον, a kind of small settlement which, by the time of this document, can mean an estate village where labourers lived in what amounted to tied cottages. Gaius Julius Leucadius is previously known from P.Mert. i 36, a 'concealed lease' or 'acknowledgement of indebtedness' from 360, a text which has several parallels with our papyrus: Leucadius again acts through an administrator (this time his προνοιτής), the lessees come from an ἐποίκιον which Leucadius owns, and the rent of 2.5 artabas of wheat is to be measured μέτρῳ δεκάτῳ τῆς οὐσίας. An interesting difference, however, is that P.Mert.i 36 is stated not to have been written in duplicate (I.17-18: κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον ἁπλούν γραφέν), whereas our text is a copy, text and subscriptions being in a single hand. This suggests that our lessees had a copy of the document, which perhaps has interesting implications for the relationship between Leucadius and these particular tenants: perhaps they were somehow in a better position vis-a-vis their landlord than Aurelius Pecysis, the lessee in P.Mert.i 36.

There is no clue in the text as to whether the lessees are estate workers and whether the ἐποίκιον where they live is part of the estate. My guess would be that they probably were estate workers. The landlists from Hermopolis published in P.Herm. Landlisten probably offer a close parallel to the structure of land tenure in the Oxyrhynchite nome at this period, and might be especially applicable when discussing land in the former Upper toparchy, near the Hermopolite border. They demonstrate that landholding sizes had polarized, greatly reducing the percentage of metropolitans with moderate holdings, and increasing the proportion who had little or no land. Previously, the landless could have subsisted on cultivating public land and leasing private land from metropolitites, but

Actes du XVe Congrès, p.184, n.4. On the first pagus and its relationship to the Upper toparchy, see xii 1425 n.4. The replacement of toparchies by pagi at the beginning of the fourth century is discussed by J.Lallemand in L'Administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382), Académie Royale de Belgique Mémoires, tome 57 (1967), fasc.ii, pp.97 ff.

4 For small plots constituting parts of estates, see eg xlii 3047 (a total area of more than 1700 arouras, where the smallest plot is 0.5 aroura) and P.Coll.Youtie i 65, the sale of an estate in variously sized plots.

5 See M.Lewuillon-Blume, op.cit, pp.177-185.

6 M.Lewuillon-Blume, op.cit., p.181, discusses Pecysis' position in this lease.
now they were driven more and more to dependence on the landowner of a large estate. It is even possible that our lessees had come newly to the estate from elsewhere, as was the situation in P.Sakaon 44, where tax fugitives from Theadelphia fled to the ἐποίκιον of Eulogius' estate.

Another feature of this lease which is typical of this period is the short duration of the tenancy, one year: cf i 102, i 103 (306 and 316) and PSI v 469 (334), which could be seen as reflecting disturbed economic conditions, though one-year leases are the norm at other times. 7 The omission of the α'βροχος clause in the event of a low flood is also standard in one year leases, presumably because flood conditions were already known by the time the lease was drawn up in late October: see ESAR ii p.82.

The hand is an ugly though practised cursive, sometimes very difficult to read and with quite a variety of letter-forms, and comparable with the first hand of P.Mert. i 36. The final letter of the line is usually furnished with a flourish which fills up the space to the edge of the papyrus. The marks of folding, along which the papyrus has split in the upper half, are clearly visible and show that the document was folded up for storage in the usual way: see the introduction to no.11 below. The surface of the papyrus shows signs of having been treated with cedar-oil as a preservative: see W.Cockle, BICS 30 (1983) p.251. The back is blank.

7 J.Rowlandson, op.cit., p.286.
'Υπατείας [Ἄντ]ωνίνου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου

Προβίνου [τῶν λαμπροτάτων Φαώφι κβ.

Γαϊώνυλίῳ Δευκάδῳ ύψω Ηρακλειανοῦ διά

Φλαουίνου .. [ .. ] .. οὐ απολογιστ[ου] .. διμερος

παρὰ Αδ[ρηλίῳ]υ Ἄρην Πανεχώτου καὶ Παποῦ-

θέως [ .. .]ιος ἀμφότερον ἀπὸ ἑποικίαν τῶν

[Ἀ]λεξανδρ[έων]. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα μισθώσα-

οθαι πρὸς μ[ό]νον τὸ ἐνεστὸς η καὶ θ ἔτους ἀπὸ

tῶν ὑπαρχ[όν]των σοὶ περὶ Κερκεμοῦνιν ἐκ τοῦ

Φίλωνος κα[θρου] ἀρουρας τέσσαρες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Σπλ.

Ἰνος

κλήρου ξζ [ c. 12 letters ] ἐλλας ἀρουρας τεσσαρες

ἡμισι διμο[ρας]. ὡστε [ σπειραι κ]ν πυρῳ χορτω

ξε ημισιας καὶ τελεσιν σοι ὑπερ φορον της ἐν πυρῳ καὶ

φασηλοις ο[ρτ]ιβας τεσσε[ρακοντα] τεσσαρες καὶ της

ἐν χορτω [ημισιας] ἐκαστ[ου κληρου]υ ἀνὰ κριθης ἄρτα-

βας δυο καὶ την] των αἰρούνητας ναυβιων ἀναβο-

λὴν ποιήσω. ἀκινδυνος ὁ φορος παντὸς κινδυ-

νου των τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ τὸν γε-

οὐχον κυριεύοντα τῶν καρπῶν ἐως <τ>ὸν φόρον ἀπο-
In the consulship of the most illustrious Antoninus Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, Phaophi 22. To Gaius Julius Leucadius, son of Heraclianus, through Flavius [...] book-keeper of the [...] division (?), from Aurelius Horus son of Panechotes and Papontus son of [...], both from the farmstead of the Alexandrians. We willingly undertake to lease for only the present eighteenth and ninth years, from your possessions in the area of Cercemounis, four arouras from the holding of Philon and
another four and a half aouras from the holding of Spl.on having the same boundary, to sow half and half with wheat and fodder-crops, and to pay to you as rent on the half (sc. of each allotment cultivated) in wheat and in kidney-beans forty-four artabas (sc. of wheat) and two artabas of barley for the half of each allotment (sc. cultivated) in the fodder-crop, and I (sic) will perform the maintenance of the existing dikes. The rent in kind is free from all risk. The public dues on the land are the responsibility of the landlord, who keeps possession of the crops until he has received the rent in kind. This undertaking is guaranteed by me, and I will pay the rent from the new harvest in both wheat unadulterated with barley, and in barley sifted in the tenth measure of the estate, with the extra dues on each artaba in the four-choinix measure, in the month of Epiph. The right of action against us is with you, as is proper. This undertaking is valid and when asked the formal question, he assented. I, Aurelius Horus, son of Panechotes, have leased the land, and I will pay what is owed as set out above. Aurelius Fronto wrote on their behalf, as he claims to be illiterate.

Commentary

1-2. For the consulship of Antoninus Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, see R. Bagnall and K. Worp, The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, p.111.

3. The damaged name of Gaius Julius Leucadius' father in P.Mert.i 36, 1.3 may now be restored as [Ἡρ]ακλειανοῦ rather than [.]μαλανου, as the original editors read. In the Merton papyrus, Leucadius is styled as 'former prytanis, former gymnasiarch and senator of the city of Oxyrhynchus,' showing how his official career had developed in the nineteen years which separate the two documents.

4. ἀπολογιστ[. . .]: more probably ἀπολογιστου, 'book-keeper, accountant' than ἀπὸ λογιστ[ῶν], which would be followed by Ὀξυρυχτῶν πόλεως. This is only the second mention of the απολογισται, apart from i 34 I, 8, where they are clerks employed in local archives making lists of contracts and their abstracts. His function here would be made clearer if we could read with any certainty the five or six letters before μέρος at the end of the line: the last two rather resemble the δι-configuration as it is written
elsewhere in the papyrus, eg line 3. Could the word be an abbreviated toponym and μερος a mistake for μερο<υ>ς, in which case the *apologistes* might have been the manager or administrator for a specific division of the estate? Estates were sometimes divided up into sections to facilitate administration: cf xvi 2031, an account of money payments to stewards of estates, which are classified under two districts (διοικησεις), each having a *comes* in charge.

The name of this man is almost completely lost: all that remains is the curved upper part of the first letter (probably ε, but conceivably σ, or possibly even part of δ), and part of a descender.

4-5. For the social significance of the names Flavius and Aurelius in the fourth century, see J.Keenan, *The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations*, part I, ZPE 11 (1973) p.36. In the second part of this article, ZPE 13 (1974) p.283, Keenan discusses the relative positions of Flavii and Aurelii in leases, particularly Aurelii as lessees.

5. Πανεχώτης is the Egyptian *p3-n-njt* 'he of the strong one': see Ranke, p.109, no.7.

5-6. Παπονθέως – 1. Παποντέως. For the intervocalic exchange of dentals, see Gignac i, p.92.

7. The *epoecium* of the Alexandrians is only known previously from xvi 2025, a list of villages in various parts of the Oxyrhynchite nome, many of them associated with the Apion family.


10. The κλήρος of Philon is known from PSI iv 320, 10 and that of Spl.on from P.Wisc. i 9, 8-9. As P.Prunti points out in Aegyptus 55 (1975) p.200, the reading of the name Σπλ[ηδ]ωνος in that papyrus is dubious. The photograph in the original publication is of too poor a quality to be of much assistance, and our document comes no nearer to offering a solution since the middle of the word is obliterated by a hole. However, there does not seem to be sufficient room for three letters in the lacuna.
11. As a supplement for the gap, I suggest \( \varepsilon [\sigma \rho \omega \rho \omega \nu] \) giving the total area of the allotment, or perhaps some phrase descriptive of the location of the plot, eg \( \varepsilon [\alpha \pi \nu \lambda \iota \omega (\sigma u) \tau \omicron \omicron \omicron \].

12. There is a dash, perhaps indicating an abbreviation, after the sigma of \( \omicron \omega \alpha \nu \alpha \zeta \) which I find difficult to explain. \( \omicron \mu \omega [\omicron \alpha \nu] \eta \) – (total 8.5 (arouras)) cannot be read.
\( \omicron \sigma \tau \eta [\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha \iota \nu] \): or possibly \( \omicron \sigma \tau \eta [\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \alpha \iota \nu] \), which is less usual.

13-14. The rent of about 10 artabas of wheat per aroura (we do not know which \( \kappa \lambda \iota \rho \omicron \) was planted with the wheat and beans) is rather high for the period: see the tables in A. Johnson and L. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, pp. 90 ff, and ibid., p. 77, where average rents in the fourth century are discussed. The mean seems to be about four artabas of wheat per aroura on corn land.

14. \( \phi \alpha \sigma \nu \lambda \omicron \) 'calavance' are rarely mentioned as a crop in the Oxyrhynchite nome, but are well-attested in Hermopolite land-leases, where they sometimes form part of the \( \phi \omicron \rho \omicron \zeta \): see BGU xii 2149 (470), 2164 (494) and 2172 (498 ?). Maybe the joint cultivation of wheat and beans was a characteristically Hermopolite practice which had spread to these holdings on the border of the two nomes. For the cultivation of beans in Egypt see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, p. 193, and A. Johnson and L. West, op. cit., p. 43 n. 12a for the meaning of the term \( \phi \alpha \sigma \nu \lambda \omicron \).

16. Maintenance of the dike works is also incumbent on the lessees in PSI ix 1078 (356) and I 3589: see the note there on line 10-11 for other examples of provisions regarding the irrigation of the land under lease.

25. Payni is more usual than Epiph as the month for receiving the rent (see Herrmann, p. 107), though payments are sometimes split between both months.
30. On this indeclinible use of πληρηζ, common in subscriptions, see G. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculaneensis*, p.179 n.2, who gives further examples in papyri and literature.
III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

(c) MISCELLANEOUS OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

13. TAX RECEIPT
[47] 5B.45/F (1-3)b

TAX RECEIPT

15.viii.149
This papyrus bears a receipt for the pig-tax. The square dimensions of the slip and the blank space at the bottom are characteristic of this kind of document: presumably scribes had a stack of small scraps of papyrus already prepared when they anticipated writing considerable numbers of receipts. The hand is the typical crabbed cursive of a scribe writing many identical documents, with the already very cursive letter forms rendered even more difficult to read by the scribe avoiding lifting his pen from the papyrus for greater speed. As is usual, the text is much abbreviated, though the abbreviations are standard. As a palaeographical parallel, one might compare the first hand of P.Mert.ii 69, a receipt for dike corvée written in May 147. The back is blank.

Starting as a property tax in the Ptolemaic period, the pig tax becomes primarily a supplementary capitation tax under the heading of μερισμοίς in the Roman period. Whether or not the tax actually related to pig ownership or rearing is a moot question. P.Mich.xii 628, an application for the right to sell and pickle meat, is addressed to the 'superintendents of the pig-tax' (ἐπιτηρηταὶ γίγκης), so evidently the tax may have been somehow related to pig-ownership, at least in the Fayyum. Many analyses of the nature of the pig-tax have been led astray by the assumption that native Egyptians never ate pork, following Herodotus ii 47, although pig-bones with marks of butchery are common finds at dynastic sites like Deir el Medina and Amarna. It has even been suggested that the tax acted as an incentive to Egyptian peasant farmers to raise pigs to provide Greek and Roman temples with sacrificial animals.

At Oxyrhynchus the pig-tax was collected, as here, by the χειρισταῖ in their capacity as assistants to the πράκτορες ἀργυρίκων (iv 734, P.Köln iii 138) or the πράκτορες λαογραφίας (xii 1520). It is usually collected along

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1 cf. P.Col.I r.1 a-b iv, 5, where νυχὶ is among the taxes covered by the phrase διουκήσις λαογραφίας καὶ ἀλλῶν μερισμῶν.
2 eg Wallace, p. 143: 'to the native Egyptians, as to the Jews, the pig was anathema': ESAR ii p.229 'the pig was regarded as unclean by the native Egyptians.'
4 N.Lewis, Life in Egypt under Roman Rule, p.171. See further Wallace, p.145.
with other taxes, generally the poll-tax and dike-tax (e.g. SB xii 10997, P.Köln iii 138) and sometimes δεσμοψυλακία (iii 574 and P.Ryl.ii 193 from the Hermopolite nome). The rate of pig-tax varies somewhat at Oxyrhynchus, as Table 2 on page 114 demonstrates.

Our papyrus agrees with three papyri in placing the rate at one drachma five and a half obols, which, as iii 574 indicates, may have included one obol for προσδιαγραφόμενα. Whether the four first century papyri which fix the rate at one drachma four and a half obols also included the supplementary charge, we do not know. Further information about προσδιαγραφόμενα on the pig-tax is given by J. Shelton, *The Extra Charges on Poll-Tax*, CE 51 (1976), p. 179 and by Wallace, p.328, with his note on xii 1436 on pp.488-9. In Table 2, I have adopted his emendation of 481 to 581 dr. in line 25 of this papyrus, since this would then accord with a rate of one drachma four and a half obols, with supplementary charge of one obol, paid by 332 individuals.

Receipts for υίκια are often dated in the summer months as people discharged their last payments towards the end of the tax year. Our receipt, dated Mesore 22, is in the last fortnight of the fiscal year. P.Mich.x 594, an account of poll-, pig-, and dike-tax arrears of 45-51, shows that while the number of poll-tax defaulters dropped from about 635 to 70, people seemed less anxious to pay off their pig-tax debts: defaulters numbered about 581 in 46-7, only dropped by about 70 the next year, and were still probably over 200 in 48-9.

All pig-tax receipts from Oxyrhynchus so far published are given in Table 2: the closest parallel to ours is iv 733. Those from other nomes are listed in Wallace, p.422, note 43. To these should be added BGU xv 2533 and 2535, both from the Arsinoite nome at a rate of 1 dr.1 obol plus 4 chalki for προσδιαγραφόμενα, and possibly BGU xv 2537.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Rate Annually Per Adult</th>
<th>Supplement</th>
<th>Payment Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii 311&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>22/3</td>
<td>2 dr. 1.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 288</td>
<td>22/5</td>
<td>2 dr. 1.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>June-July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 313&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 dr. 4.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 308&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1 dr. 4.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii 289</td>
<td>65-83</td>
<td>1 dr. 4.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xlix 3465v&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 dr. 4.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Nov-Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Oxy. Hels 12</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>1 dr. 4.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii 1520 102</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 dr. 4 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv 733</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>1 dr. 5.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii 1436 153-6</td>
<td>1 dr. 4.5 obols (?)</td>
<td>1 obol (?)</td>
<td>Dec-Feb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii 1518 133-54</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Köl 138</td>
<td>163-5</td>
<td>1 dr. 5.5 obols</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Dec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii 574 ii</td>
<td>1 dr. 5.5 obols</td>
<td>1 obol</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii 1516 ii/iii</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv 2414 ii/iii</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xliii 3107 238</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>5</sup> ii 311 = SB x 10223; ii 313 = SB x 10242; ii 308 = SB x 10243
12th year of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, Mesore 22. Apol( ) son of Apollodorus has paid through the agency of Eudaimonides (?), through the tax-collector Hierax on account of pig-tax for the 12th year in the street of Hieracion, 1 drachma 5 and one-half obols, total 1 drachma 5 and one-half obols.

Commentary

2. διέγρα(ψε): for the resolution of this abbreviation with the aorist, see C.Preaux, L'emploi du temps de διαγραφω, CE 30 (1955), p.381, where she noted that πράκτορες and their assistants always used διέγραψε when issuing receipts, whereas bank-issued receipts always employ the perfect. The difference between receipts issued by banks and those by cheiristai is discussed by V.Schuman in Issuance of Tax Receipts in Roman Egypt, CE 38 (1963), pp.306-14.
3. ἰῦμ(ης) Ἰερακί(ου): the superscript μ is written at a 45° angle with its final descender carried down straight and ligatured to the i. The scribe did not raise his pen and joined the iota to the large cursive epsilon, so that the resultant configuration is shaped rather like a large W.

This street was previously only known from i 55, 10 (283). Rink, p.24, is perhaps right to suggest that it refers to a hawk-shrine rather than a personal name.

4. Ἀπολ( ) Ἀπολλοδώρ(ου): the reading of this group is complicated by the long iota of ὑκῆς, which extends a considerable way below the line and seems to curve to the left at the bottom, like the superscript i of Ἰερακί-in line 3, thus making what I have taken as the first λ resemble a δ. The scribe then lifted up his pen to write the next λ, perhaps to take account of the long i, but gave the letter a much longer descender which has also partly merged with the extended i, so that the whole letter group looks more like a large capital M.

Tax payments were often made by third parties: compare, for example, P.Mert.ii 61, a final tax payment in Mesore on behalf of another person to complete their tax contributions for the year. The name of the intermediary is either an oblique case of the female name Eudaimonis (in which case this would be an unusual example of a woman acting as go-between), or more probably the rare man's name Eudamonides.

5. The tip of the diagonal γνῆται abbreviation, running left to right, is just visible. The scribe must have written it very large, or there was something else between the abbreviations for γνῆται and δραχμή: perhaps αργ for ἀργ(υρίου)?
14. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT
[44] 5B. 61 (1-4) a

SITOLOGUS RECEIPT
179 AD
A receipt for a payment through the sitologi of fifty artabas of wheat, following the format standard in the Oxyrhynchite nome: for bibliography and discussion, see xxxi 2588-91 introd., noting in particular iii 518, 614, 615 and 618, all from the same year as this example. Another receipt since published is SB xii 11025 of 201. A more detailed analysis of these documents may be found in Preisigke's *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten*, pp.110 and 119. The sitologi of Talao are attested at P.Köln iii 137 (88) and probably at iii 514 (190/191). Other documents concerning payments in wheat from this village in the Roman period are P.Mich.Inv.69 in ZPE 28 (1978) pp.255-58 (31/32); xii1529, xvii 2140 and xxii 2346 (all iii AD).

The first hand is a rather flat cursive, betraying no unusual features and characteristic of the period: cf. iii 613, dated to the same year. The hand of the second scribe is less fluid and more angular, without ligatures.

The document was folded in half horizontally and then into three vertically. It is complete, though somewhat damaged along the fold lines, and the back is blank.
1. Μεμέτρηται ἐλέω τὸ δημό[σιον] [...] πυροῦ
2. γενήματος τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τ]ος ἐννεα–
3. καὶ δεκάτου ἔτους(ς) Ἀὐρη[λίῳ] Ἄντωνινοι
4. καὶ Λουκίου Ἀὐρηλίου Κομμ[ή]δο[ν] [τῶ]ν [κυρίων
5. διὰ σιτ[ολόγων] κάτω το[παρχίας] Ταλαώ Τ[.....]ς Ἄδυ–
6. λυος Διογένης πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεν–
7. τῇ κοντα γί(νονται) πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεντή–
9. πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεντήκοντα γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ν.
10. (m.2)Ω[.....]τος [σε]σημειώματι [τ]ὰς τοῦ πυροῦ
11. ἄ[ρταβας] πεντήκοντα γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ν

4-5. Ἰουλιος ἱπ.  

Translation

T.Iulius Diogenes has had measured to him into the public granary from the wheat crop of the present nineteenth year of Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus the lords, through the sitologi of Talao in the Lower toparchy, fifty artabas of wheat, totalling 50 artabas. I, Philadelphus, have certified the fifty artabas of wheat, totalling 50 artabas.

(Second hand) I, Ho. . . . . os [ ], have certified the fifty artabas of wheat, totalling 50 artabas.
1. There is apparently a small erasure before the π of πυροῦ which does not seem to be the right shape for the ν of δημόσιον.

3. The -νου of Ἀντωνίνου is very compressed into a small space at the end of the line.

5. Τ[ιβέριο]ς is the most obvious restoration, and there seems to be just sufficient room for it. Tiberii Iulii are not uncommon at the end of the second century: see P.J. Sijpesteijn, The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones, p.6: Foraboschi, p.317. The use of the tria nomina does not necessarily indicate full Roman citizenship at this date: see I. Biezunśka-Malowist, La propriété foncière dans l'Égypte romaine in Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne, ed. M.I. Finley, pp.254-255.

The nominative is unusual, though not incorrect if T.Iulius Diogenes is taken as the subject of the middle perfect μεμέτρηται. From the parallels one expects the name in the dative, perhaps followed by θέματος or ἐν θέματι. A more usual pattern for these receipts is demonstrated by iii 517, 9-13: first the name of the recipient in the dative, then ἀπὸ θέματος with the names of the donors in the genitive.

8. There is a gap which would accommodate about three letters after the final sigma of Φιλάδελφος and the initial sigma of the next word. Possibly σιτ(ολόγος) or some more schematic abbreviation should be supplied.

10. I have been unable to find any name of sufficient length beginning with omega and ending in -γος or -τος to suggest a suitable restoration here. There is just adequate space for Ὄ[ρος σιτολόγος, or perhaps Ὄρος and an appropriate patronym such as Ἀμβοτός would fit.
15. FORMULA FOR AN UNDERTAKING
15. **Formula for an undertaking**

(9.5 x 6.4 cm.)

This little papyrus bears a formula for an undertaking to be present in court, or *vadimonium*. The text is very abbreviated, with the names of the parties, the reason for the litigation and the date formula merely being indicated by 't' for τις, i.e., 'fill in the relevant information.' The name of the praefect, however, is included and provides a useful means of dating the text fairly accurately. The fluent, cursive hand perhaps shows that this chit emanated from the office of the strategus: a member of his staff could have prepared this formula to show the correct format to the person undertaking to appear, who would then have filled in the details on a fair copy.

These *vadimonia* represent an intermediate stage in proceedings, after the delivery of the *παραγγέλια* or *litis denuntiatio* to the strategus, requiring him to serve a summons, and before the actual appearance of the parties in the praefectorial court. On the receipt of the initial summons, the litigants would sometimes send a *vadimonium* to the strategus. An interesting light is shed on the reality of these proceedings by xxxi 2597, a letter to Heraclas from Cephalion, who was representing Heraclas' interests at the praefect's court while awaiting a decision on his own case. It vividly describes the ceaseless cross-petitioning between the litigants and the frustrations of waiting around the praefect's office for one's case to be called: οὐ κἀμὲνε δὲ σου ὁ ἀντίδικος ἑντυνχάνον, σὺνδ' ἵνα ὑποτυνχάνων, ὥστε ἀκούσαι μὲ προσκαρτέρει τῇ τάξει, καὶ ὅταν ἀναγορευθῆς, ὑποτεύξε" (ll. 7-10). A full discussion of all the legal processes concerned with summonses to the praefect's court is given in Taubenschlag\(^2\) pp.499-501. Examples of *vadimonia* on papyrus other than those cited in Taubenschlag's note 23, p.500, are x 1258 (45); P.Mich.ix 533 (137); P.Lips. 52-53; xii 1456 (284-6). Other formulae for different types of legal document may be found at xxxiii 2677, xlii 3075, xlix 3478 and SB vi 9226.
Translation

To X. With reference to the petition which X presented to you, concerning my appearance at the trial taking place in front of the most illustrious praefect Maecius Laetus, I swear by Emperors X and Y to be present and attend in court until the most excellent praefect makes judgement, or I shall be liable to the penalties of the oath.
Commentary

1. τ' must be expanded to τ(ις). We should normally expect the names of the strategus to whom the document was addressed and of the appellant in the form τινι παρὰ τίνος, as in P.Mich.ix 533.

The occurrence of rough breathings in documentary papyri is discussed by F.Hoogendijk and P.van Minnen in Drei Kaiserbriefe Gordians III, Tyche 2 (1987), pp.51-2, who list only 20 papyri with instances of them.

2. The term διάγνωσις probably refers to the conventus of the praefect: see the note on xxxi 2597, l.11 ff. It took the form of a preliminary juridical investigation by the praefect or a subordinate officer appointed by him, as in ix 1195.

3. Q.Maecius Laetus - see ZPE 17 (1975) p.304 and the additions to this list at li 3601 for the attestations of this praefect. He was in office between approximately May 200 and February 203.

As J.Rea points out in xlvii 3340 1.10 n., the praefect was often honorifically called λομπρότατος in Egypt, though strictly speaking his title was διασημότατος (=perfectissimus) which appears correctly in lines 5-6 of this text. This is an early datable instance of the use of this title, which had not come into common usage by the beginning of the third century. The only other examples of διασημότατος as a praefectorial title which definitely antedate 200-203 are ii 237, 34 of 186 and P.Harris ii 197, 15, probably from 169 but in any case definitely before the end of the second century. On this title in general, see O.Hornickel, Ehren und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden, (Diss. Giessen, 1930), pp.10 and 23.

4. The joint Emperors during the praefecture of Maecius Laetus were Septimius Severus with Caracalla and Geta. This might explain the duplication of the τις abbreviation, to indicate that a double titulary needed to be inserted at this point. Other resolutions of the abbreviation ττ' here, such as (την) τ(υχην) τ(ων), are unlikely. See viii 1113 of 203 for an example of the kind of titles that might have been inserted in the actual document for which this was the formula.
5. For the formula παρέσεσθαι καὶ προσκαρτερήσειν, see P.Fouad 22,2, 12, also an undertaking to be present, and compare P.Mil.Vogl.i 25, 19-22. προσκαρτερήσωσι τῷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμιόνος βήματι (cf.xxxviii 2852, 34) or the like is more usual at this point.
16. TWIN ORDERS TO ARREST
On the same strip of papyrus, two orders to arrest named individuals at villages in the Lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Other than obvious grammatical errors, the orders show no departures from the usual Oxyrhynchite formula - see Ursula Hagedorn's study Das Formular der Überstellungsbefehle im römischen Ägypten, BASP 16 (1979), p.63. However, it is very unusual to find two orders written on one piece of papyrus. The only other published example of this is P.Harris ii 196 a + b, which the editor considers to be draught orders, since one is incomplete and both show many corrections. I am inclined to think that the papyrus here presents us with two de facto orders. It seems likely that such chits were often written in pairs on odd scraps of papyrus lying around in the strategus' office: cf xxxi 2574, where the tails of three final letters from another document (perhaps a similar order) can be seen at the left hand margin. Thus our text could be a complete example of this administrative practice, where for some reason the two orders were not separated. Perhaps they were copies, which never left the office of the strategus in Oxyrhynchus, since ix 1212 suggests that once despatched, the orders to arrest remained in the files of the local archephodus rather than being sent back with the prisoner. On the other hand, at the time of writing it may not have been intended to separate the orders at all. The villages of Tychinphagon and Tacona were probably contiguous (cf.xiv 1659, 109-110, 114-115: x 1285, 129-130) and therefore could conceivably have shared the same archephodus. xliii 3130, where the archephodus of Taampetei is ordered to arrest two individuals from Sepho, suggests that the jurisdiction of the archephodus extended to smaller places within a reasonable distance of his base. It is also worth noting that Paneuei and Syron, the two places where the miscreants in P.Harris ii 196 are to be arrested, were also probably very near each other (x 1285, 74-75; xxiv 2422, 8-9), and Paneuei is described as an ἐποίκιον, or smaller settlement, which could have shared an archephodus with a nearby κωμή. However, P.Mich. vi 421 indicates that in the Arsinoite nome, the archephodus' power to arrest people was restricted once he left a certain area.
For discussions of orders to arrest, see P.Mich. x 589-591 introd., and Ursula Hagedorn's study, op.cit. An up-to-date list is given by Adam Bülow-Jacobsen in ZPE 66 (1986) pp.95-98, to which should be added P.Prag.i 12-13, P.Lond.iii 174 descr.(see ZPE 72 (1988) p.73) and the three Oxyrhynchite examples edited by T.Gagos (P.Oxy., forthcoming). Currently, P.Pruneti is preparing a corpus of these orders in the Corpora Papyrorum Graecarum series.

Although this class of document does tend to have more or less defined dimensions (see H.C.Youtie in TAPA 91 (1960) p.254), size considerations seem less relevant here since two orders are written on one strip of papyrus. However, it should be noted that if it was originally intended to separate the two orders by cutting the document in half, the individual orders would have been within the standard size range.

The writing goes across the fibres, as is the normal practice in the Oxyrhynchite nome (see P.Mich.x 589 introd.) - it was probably a precaution against false additions, like the rows of crosses often found at the bottom of orders to arrest. On the back, with the writing going along the fibres, are twenty-one lines of a register (?) written in two hands datable to the mid-second century. They are too rubbed and damaged to transcribe and only one complete word, κωμογραμματεύς, can be read. The archephodus is attested from 190 in the Oxyrhynchite nome, so the interval between the writing of the first document and its reuse probably would have been in the region of 25-50 years, within the parameters suggested by E.G.Turner in Recto and Verso, JEA 40 (1954), p.106. The scribe of the orders had a clumsy, irregular hand, datable to the late second or early third century AD, and bearing a strong similarity to xliii 3130.
Translation

a. To the archephodus of Takona. Send Cephalus, donkey-driver, on the petition of Sarapion, the current exegetes.

b. To the archephodus of Tychinphagon. Send Celaus and Hermes* on the petition of Sarapion, the current exegetes.

Commentary

1a. Another order to arrest sent to the archephodus of Takona is PIFAO I,4 = SB xiv 12313. The archephodus is attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome from 190 onwards (see xxxi 2572-2576 introd) and ceases to be the recipient of orders to arrest during the reign of Philippus Arabs (see xlii 3035 of 256, where the recipient is the comarch), probably as part of that emperor's reforms in the police machinery.

1b. Τυχινφάγων: ν seems more likely than γ, which is also possible palaeographically. Neither spelling for the name of this village is previously attested, the most usual spelling being Τυχινψάγων. There are three other villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome whose names start with the Τυχιν- element: Τυχινκτώου, Τυχιννεκώτις and Τυχινψαλβό. It is tempting to relate this to the Egyptian t3- 'nḥt-n 'the necropolis of...' followed by a proper name. Tychinphagon could be accommodated in this theory as meaning 'the necropolis of Pagonis' (t3- 'nḥt-n-p3-ωn: cf P.Ryl.iii 445 and Ranke, p.106, no.7). However, it is difficult to see after whom the other necropoleis might be named, and it is surprising to find
necropoleis named after individuals rather than deities or topographical features.

2b.Celaus or Celaion are not to be found in Preisigke NB or Foraboschi. O.Mich.335 (iii AD) has Celas. The genitive is puzzling, especially when the scribe used the correct accusative in the other order. I can think of no other explanation for its presence here other than scribal confusion, since the scribe evidently has some difficulty with Greek case endings: see note on line 3 below.

It is not unusual for two or more persons to be named on orders to arrest: P.Mich. x 590 has six.

4a, 3-4b. Σαραπίωνι ἐνάρχου ἡξηγητῇ: apparently another instance of this scribe's lack of familiarity with Greek, I have only been able to find this meaning of ἔντυχόντος with the genitive, so we should read Σαραπίωνος ἐνάρχου ἡξηγητοῦ in both orders. Exegetai with this name are attested (eg at xvii 2142, xlvi 3289), but the name is so common that it is impossible to make any identification.

3b. Ἐρμήτος is a fairly usual variant genitive form for Ἐρμοῦ, attested all over Egypt from the first century AD (xxxvi 2786) to the seventh (P.Ness.iii 90, recto I, 33), though it is surprising to find both forms of the genitive used at the same time.

It seems that the profession of the accuser is only mentioned on these orders if he held some kind of public office: cf i 65: P.Fay.37, 2 (bouleutes): PSI xv fasc.ii 1537 (probably a basilicogrammateus) and xxxi 2575 (perhaps the collector of the dyers'-tax).
III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

(d) CORRESPONDENCE

17. LETTER TO A STRATEGUS
LETTER OF HERACLEIDES
TO CLAUDIUS DIOGENES
Oxyrhynchus Parcel 47, Box 57.43/E1-3a
17. Letter to a Strategus

This papyrus, virtually complete apart from the right edge which has lost 2-4 letters per line, is written in a pleasing semi-literate hand, rather rounded and with some ligatures: iii 466 and PSI v 446 (= Norsa ii, Tav.xv), both quasi-bookhands of the mid-second century AD, may be validly compared. On the left margin a kollesis is clearly visible.

The back carries the address.

The content is interesting. Heraclides, a subordinate official, writes to the previously unknown strategus Claudius Diogenes about a problem in the shipping of corn: the letter is dated Payni 16, early June, when the harvest was at its height and all resources were being mobilized towards collecting the grain, transporting it from granary to harbour, and loading it onto the boats bound for Alexandria. The harvest was a trying time for officials. xviii 2182 and P.Tebt.ii 703, 70-871 evoke the febrile activity that must have gone on in rural areas and docks every harvest time. BGU iv 802 shows that 267,897 artabas of wheat were shipped from Ptolemais Hormos during Payni and the first three weeks of Epeiph, not to mention large quantities of barley and beans. Perhaps the concomitant stress of this season on the responsible officials underlies the deferential yet anxious tone of this letter. Here, Heraclides was apparently unable to transport as much as anticipated. The barge of one captain did not arrive, and another barge was loaded with only 742 artabas of a 6362-artaba cargo.

There are other letters to strategi from subordinate officials informing them of problems at various stages of the corn-transporting operations, such as i 62 + 63, P.Giess.11 and P.Grenf.ii 46 a. These ad hoc letters in response to specific hitches must be considered apart from official receipts for freight charges and the receipts made out by captains acknowledging that specific amounts of corn had been laded. These receipts were made out in triplicate, two going to the sitologi and one to the strategus. Heraclides, the writer of this letter, is more likely to be a sitologus than a

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1 A Ptolemaic circular from a dioecetes to the local oeconomi
2 eg PSI ix 1048, xxiv 2415
3 eg x 1259-1260 and xvii 2125.
harbour official or nauderus. xxxvi 2769, 16-17 tells us that sitologi had to submit regular reports of their activities to the strategus, and these may have been as frequent as daily during the harvest season. P.Fouad 223 in JJP 4 (1950) p.289 is an example of a formal report. The only official who would have had any reason to tell the strategus about delays or shortfalls in the amount of corn shipped would be a sitologus, who would want to protect himself against accusations of fraud. As we know from several papyri, the sitologi were personally responsible for any deficiency or adulteration of the grain whose lading they had supplied. The tone of this letter and in particular the unusual apostrophe (see note on line 2 below) point to a subordinate addressing a superior on a matter of some urgency. Finally, mention should be made of P.Grenf.ii 46a, a letter to a strategus from a procurator of Neapolis (?), which could well be a reply to a letter explaining a similar hitch in operations.

A list of literature on the matter of corn-transportation is given by A.Swiderek in Eos Iviii, cited below, to which one should add J.Frösén's article Le transport du blé et le rôle des ἐπίπλοι (Arctos xii (1978), pp.5-17). A useful survey is given by A.Meyer-Termeer in Die Haftung der Schiffer in griechischer und römischer Zeit, and her list of papyri on pp.269-77 covers most of the documents relevant to the corn supply and ἐμβολη.

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4 see P.Flor.317, 6 and introd, but cf.A.Calderini, ΘΕΣΑΥΡΟΙ, p.7.
Photograph of address side of P.Oxy.Inv.47.5B 43/F (1-3)a unavailable at time of binding
1. Ἡρακλείδης Διογένει]
2. [τῇ δεσπότῃ χαίρειν.
3. τὸ πλοῖον Πάτου Νικοστράτῳ[ν]
4. ἀπέσχεν τὸν γόμον (ἀρτάβας) Ἡπ.
5. καὶ τὸ Ἀλεξάτος Θεοφίλῳ[ν]
6. ἀγωγῆς (ἀρτάβων) Ζτξβ, ἡδη ἐνε-
7. βάλετο (ἀρτάβας) Ψμβ. τὰ[ς]
8. λοιπὰς ἀπὸ τῆς {τῆς}
9. βάθρας τεθείκαμεν.
10. εἰς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλοῖ[ν]
11. Ἄλεξάνδρου Ἄλεξάνδρῳ[ν]
12. ἐνεβάλοντο ἀπὸ τ[ῆς]
13. ἐκθές (ἀρτάβας) Λσ. τῶι δὲ
14. Σαμβάθωι τὸ ἐνε<σ>τ[ς]
15. ἤρται εἰς θησαυρὸν.
16. ἔρρόσθαι σε εὐχομ[αί]
17. Παῦλι ις

Address: [Κλαμάδωι Διογέν[ε]ι στρατηγ[δ]}
Translation

Heracleides to his master Diogenes, greetings. The boat of Papus son of Nicostratus received the cargo of 8080 artabas, and they have already loaded that of Alexas son of Theophilus with 742 artabas of a cargo of 6362 artabas: we have stored the remainder on the quay. Into the other ship of Alexander son of Alexander was loaded 1200 artabas, since yesterday: the present (amount pending) for Sambathos has been lifted up into the granary. I pray for your health. Payni 16.

Address: To the strategus Claudius Diogenes

Commentary

2. I have been unable to find any other instance of a strategus being addressed as δεσπότης. Naturally, any subordinate can call his superior this: the term is fairly common in later private business letters- cf P.Mich xi 624, P.Abbineus passim. At this date, it is also the standard form of address from slave to master (iii 472). The most usual way of addressing the strategus is merely to use the name in the dative, though from time to time variations such as τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ (vi 931) or κυρίῳ μου στρατηγῷ (P.Mich xi 622) are employed. As an epistolary apostrophe to officials, the only time that δεσπότης is regularly used is at the beginning of petitions to the praefect. Here, the use of the term must imply considerable deference: see xlv 3243, note 5, and one should also note ii 244 where a slave, perhaps the most likely person of all to address the strategus as δεσπότης, does not use the term when petitioning him. Perhaps Heracleides was particularly anxious to keep on good terms with Diogenes because of the hiatus in lading operations. Another explanation could be that Heracleides writes to Diogenes with regard to private business, which would make the term easier to understand, but the large amounts of corn shipped and the use of the verb ἐμβάλλειν (see note on line 6) make this improbable.

The amounts of grain are large, but not unparalleled: cf xxxiii 2670 (6193 artabas in one ship) P.Warren 5 and P.Princ.ii 26. In P.Giess.11, there seem to be 8 boats each with a capacity of 10,000 artabas.

6. ἐνεβάλετο – ἐμβάλλειν is the usual term for the official transportation of grain up-country to Alexandria: see Meyer-Termeer, op.cit., pp.77-78.
7-8. τὰς λοιπὰς - the 5,620 artabas which were not loaded aboard Alexas' barge, perhaps because it was already overburdened. xxiv 2415, 50-59 shows that the boats carrying corn-shipments were frequently significantly overloaded.

τῆς {της} - dittography.

9. βάθραξ is a rare word which appears to be completely new anywhere in this sense. LSJ sv βάθραξ gives it as equivalent to ὅ βαθμὸς in its sense of 'stairs, steps' but I have not been able to find any parallel for the meaning of 'stepped area, quay' which it seems to mean in this context.

12. ἐνεβάλοντο (aorist middle) may be right: 'they loaded for themselves 1200 artabas:' but the passive makes better sense.

13. ἐκθέες = ἐχθεῖς. For the interchange of aspirated stops and examples of ἐκθέες for ἐχθεῖς, see Gignac i, p.88.

14. τὸ ἐνε<σ>τὸς seems the only possible supplement since we seem to require a noun in apposition to ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκθέες. The situation seems to be that Sambathus' boat did not arrive and the cargo awaiting him was stored in a granary because there was no other boat to transport it.

15. ἠρτωι - the verb implies moving the cargo up from the quay to the granary: cf Menander fr.273 ed.Edmonds τραπέζιας αἴρετε meaning 'to clear a table,' i.e to lift up and remove the dishes.

18. LETTER OF OPHIS TO ANDRONICUS AND THEON
LETTER OF OPHIS TO ANDRONICUS AND THEON

Oxyrhynchus Parch. 29 Box 4 B. 56/5 (1-3)
A somewhat reproachful business letter, written in bad Greek, concerning the non-arrival of some uncertain item and the dilatoriness of the recipients in replying. Ophis had been making enquiries about the price of a slave girl on behalf of Andronicus and Theon, but they had apparently ignored his letters and not despatched the thing they had promised, for which Ophis had been waiting three months. The syntax is confused in several passages, but the general purpose of the letter is clear enough.

The hand is a fluent, rounded cursive, datable to the late third century. PSI v 472 of 295 is comparable, though it is generally a little tighter and written with a blunter pen. A date for this letter at around this period might be corroborated by the oil prices in the final sentence. The letter is complete, filling the entire sheet of papyrus; the final salutation was written in the left-hand margin, apparently by the same scribe. The back bears the address. The name of the recipient is separated in the middle by a blank stretch of papyrus, indicating that the letter must have been folded up into a small package before the address was written.
LETTER OF OPHIS TO ANDRONICUS AND THEON
'Ανδρονίκω καὶ Θέωνι

'Ωφις πολλὰ χαίρειν...

ἀπέστηλα ἐτερὰ γρ[άμ]-

ματὰ διὰ τοῦ οἴοῦ ά-

λα ἐνεκέν τῆς τ[ι]-

μῆς τῆς θρεπτῆς

παρῆν καὶ Ἀππ[ι]νός

'Αμωνίνος έχει [μ]ί-

αν τῆς ἡλικίας [η]-

εἶπατε. ἐλ[ε]γεν εἳ

μῆ δέκα οὐ δίδω-

μῆ ὅ βουλε[σ]τε ἐ-

πιστύλατέ/μοι διὰ

tάχους. γράφ[ε]ις

ὅτι πέμπω σοι σκα-

ίδιον. τὰ μεχρὶ τοῦ-

tου οὐδὲν μοι ἕ-

πεμψας. σοὶ παρὰ

πάντας ὧκ εἰςχοι-

σας. ὡς [[η]] σήμηρον
Translation

Ophis to Andronicus and Theon, many greetings. I have sent other letters through Ala’s son concerning the price of the slave girl, and (that) Appianus was after her. (?) Ammoninus has one of the age which you mention. He said, ‘If you do not (give me) ten (talents), then I don’t sell.’ If you want (her), write to me quickly. You wrote saying ‘I am sending you a sun-hat (?)’ Up to now, you have sent me nothing. As for you, compared to everyone else, you’re incapable! Up to today, it has already been three months. If you want to buy anything from me from the list (?), write. The oil has gone up in price: 420 drachmae for a capsacium and 2800 drachmae for a cadus. Greet all our friends by name. Farewell. Hathyr 24.

Address: Deliver to Andronicus.
Commentary

4. Ala is an unusual name, but nonetheless it has a long chronological span in the papyri, from SB iv 6796 (iii BC) to xvi 1883 (504).

7. παρήν or παρ' ἦν? The latter might be a colloquialism, though I have not been able to parallel it elsewhere.

10-12. I have assumed that the object of the entire sentence, the slave girl, has been omitted throughout.

Ten talents would perhaps be on the low side for an adult slave towards the end of the third century: see P.Lips.5 of 293 where 15 silver talents were paid for a 20-year-old slave girl, and ix 1205 of 291 where a 40-year-old slave and her two young sons were manumitted for 14 talents. Because of its primary meaning of foster-child, θεπτὴ may connote a child or pre-adolescent slave (eg ii 298, xlviii 3421), though the θεπτός of Abinnesus in P.Abinn.53 (342) is certainly an adult, and the diminutive θεπτόριον is found (P.Lond. v 1708, 248 and ii 248). In his review of the term θεπτός in inscriptions from Asia Minor (Anatolian Studies presented to W.H.Buckler, p.52), A.Cameron suggested that θεπτός in Asia Minor meant more or less the same as οἰκογενής in Egypt. The fact that Andronicus and Theon had specified an age for the slave would also point to her being young; maybe they intended to train her in a craft such as weaving and sell her for profit, or use her as breeding stock to produce more θεπτοῖ. In The Age at Time of Sale of Female Slaves (Arethusa 11 (1977) pp.243 ff), K.Bradley saw a correlation between the ages at time of sale and the highest period of expected female fecundity, and went on to theorize that reproduction was one of the prime motivations behind the purchase of female slaves.

Ammoninus is more likely to have been a private individual speculating than a commercial slave trader: see T.Westermann, Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, p.98. xxxviii 2860 and i 188 are private letters referring to the purchase of slaves by individuals.

15-16. σκοίδιον. The reading is uncertain. Sigma and kappa are clear, but the next letter could be alpha or omicron, though the ligature more resembles the-κα of δέκα in line 11. The first letters of line 16 are doubtful:
the first stroke is rather shorter than the scribe's usual formation of iota, but compare the stumpy \( \tau \) of \( \tau \rho \mu \nu \omicron \zeta \) in line 21. The next two letters could be \( \delta \), but do not really look like other examples of the configuration elsewhere in the text. The scribe seems to have recently dipped his pen in the inkwell around the middle of line 14, which make the letters at the beginning of 16 rather thick and dark. I tentatively suggest the reading \( \sigma \kappa \delta \iota \omicron \nu \) for \( \sigma \kappa \delta \epsilon \omicron \nu \), which can mean either a broad-brimmed conical sun-hat like a petasus (see Hesychius sv \( \theta \omicron \lambda \omicron \alpha \)), or a parasol. In fact, Hesychius in another entry glosses \( \sigma \kappa \delta \iota \omicron \nu \) as \( \sigma \kappa \delta (\epsilon) \omicron \nu \), which suggests that a variant of the word existed much as Ophis wrote it. Both items are represented on the famous Nilotic mosaic at Palestrina: see H. Whitehouse, *The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic* (BAR Supplementary Series 12), pp.55 and 62.

18-20. I can only make sense of this by assuming that it is a colloquial expression, perhaps proverbial. \( \iota \sigma \chi \omicron \omicron \omega \) (if this is what \( \epsilon \iota \chi \sigma \omicron \omicron \alpha \omicron \zeta \) is from) has a wide range of meanings in the papyri, from 'valid' in a legal sense, to little more than 'to be able to.' Here I understand it in its most basic sense, "to have power, be successful" (LSJ s.v). \( \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \) + accusative is used of comparison, but it generally implies superiority. Perhaps the phrase means something like "compared with everyone else, you're useless!" which might fit in with Ophis' reproachful tone over Andronicus and Theon's shortcomings in replying.

21-24. \( \acute {\alpha} \nu \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \acute {\eta} \) is commonly used to mean 'taxation lists', but an anagraphe can be nothing more than an inventory or any kind of list: cf P.Ryli. 627, 1 \( \acute {\alpha} \nu \alpha \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \) \( \varsigma \kappa e \nu \nu \omicron \), in this case probably a packing list for somebody travelling abroad. Perhaps Ophis had sent Andronicus and Theon a list of items he had for sale: cf. x 1289, a list of various commodities with prices. However, it could merely mean 'at the listed price,' i.e., that the oil was an exception to the rest of Ophis' list because its price had increased.

26-27. In content, this passage closely resembles xx 2273, 6 ff: \( \delta \iota \epsilon \pi \epsilon \mu \epsilon \gamma \acute {\mu \eta} \nu \) \( \dot \omicron \mu e i n \) \( \kappa \alpha \zeta \acute {\alpha} \kappa i o n \) \( \epsilon \lambda \acute {\epsilon} \omicron \) \( \acute {\gamma} \gamma \omicron \rho \alpha \kappa i k w \acute {\omega} \) \( \delta \rho \alpha \chi \mu \omicron \omicron \acute {\omicron} \) \( \acute {\epsilon} \xi \alpha k o s i o n \) \( \acute {\omicron} \kappa \xi \kappa o a \) \( \gamma \dot \alpha r \) \( \dot \omicron \varsigma \) \( \pi \omicron \lambda \lambda \omicron \) \( \acute {\omicron} \epsilon \omicron \) \( \pi a r \) \( \dot \omicron \omicron \mu i \) \( \acute {\omicron} \) \( \tau \omicron \) \( \epsilon \acute {\omicron} \omicron \nu \). This is the only other mention of a \( \kappa \alpha \zeta \acute {\alpha} \kappa i k w \), apart from a very doubtful instance in BGU ii 387 II, 19. The first editor of xx 2273 translated it as 'cruse' on analogy with the Authorized
Version of the Bible's rendition of Sept., 3 Reg.xvii 16 (δ καψάκης τοῦ ἐλαίου) as 'a cruse of oil.'

The interesting information that this papyrus offers about oil prices is difficult to interpret, partly because we do not know the quality of the oil, and partly because of the considerable local variations that existed in both standard measures and commodity prices: a localized price rise is implied in the letter quoted above, 'I heard that oil has become very expensive where you are.' The two most specific references to the capacities of ἠμικάδια oil jars are conflicting. P.Wisc.ii 80, 1.86 and 94, an account of customs charges, shows that ἠμικάδια of oil are charged at the rate of 2 dr. 3 obols, which is half the rate for a metretes, and would thus have contained 6 choes, or about 17.5 litres. However xviii 2190, 58-60 says: ἐκομισάμεθα τὸν κοῖκα...οὖν τῶν ἠμικαδίων ἐν οἶς εὑρομεν ἵνα χοῖνι τὴ κβ: the maximum capacity of a κάδιον would then have been 44 choes. Unfortunately, the writer does not mention whether a liquid or dry commodity was in the jar: later on he mentions half-cadus jars of lentils. The chous was of variable capacity, but if we accept the metrology of i 9 v.i (iii-iv AD), 144 cotylae = 12 choes = 1 metretes. Papyri can be found with oil prices to substantiate the kadion having a capacity of either 12 choes or 44 choes. If we take the latter capacity, we get a price of about 63 dr. per chous, which could be compared with P.Baden 26 of 293, where a superior quality oil cost 56 dr. per chous. If the κάδιον contained 12 choes, we would get a price of 233 dr. per chous, which would compare with the price of the cheapest oil in Diocletian's Price Edict, which is equivalent to 179 dr. per chous. All in all, I cannot see how one could choose between either capacity: but both seem to suggest a date for the letter during the inflation of the last decade of the third century.

All this is further complicated by the fact that when κάδια are mentioned in the papyri, they seem usually to be small bronze items, sometimes even small enough to contain eye ointment. Although CGL v 568, 22 explains hemicadium as vas olearium, which usage is supported by the papyri, κάδιον must have had a much wider range of meanings. Α καψάκιον must have exactly six and two thirds the size of a κάδιον. It would therefore have contained either 6.60 or 1.81 choes, both fairly

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1 H.Cockle, in Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt, JRS 71 (1981) pp.95-6 clearly demonstrates the variable capacity of the cotyle vis-a-vis the chous.
2 eg P.Ross.Georg. ii 25, 9; SB v 7987, 3; SB vi 9372, 21; P.Mich vii 434, 12 (trousseau list).
substantial jars, which would not seem to merit the translation 'a cruse of oil,' which implies a small measure.

Margin: Hathyr 24 = about November 20/21.

Address. Ἐνδρονίγω - for the insertion of nasals before stops, see Gignaci, p.118.
19. LETTER OF PAUSANIAS TO SILVANUS
LETTER OF PAUSANIAS TO SILVANUS
Oxyrhynchus Parcel 29. Box 45, 42/1 (1-3)
19. Letter of Pausanias to Silvanus

This largely complete papyrus preserves a letter from Pausanias, who may have been a camel-driver (line 14), to his 'father' Silvanus. It is written in a good-sized, rather inexperienced, uncial hand with quite a thick pen. The absence of many cursive features makes it a rather debased example of the 'ecclesiastical' type of script like P.Herm.Rees 5 (= GMAW 70), without, I think, demonstrating any characteristics of the Coptic uncial: cf GMAW 47, 48. It is difficult to date precisely. P.Mert.ii 93 (iv AD) is comparable, though of much more 'literary' appearance: a slightly clumsier version is the Christian amulet published by F.Maltomini in ZPE 48 (1982), p.149 and Tafel II c, dated by G.Cavallo to the v/vi AD. All in all, a date in the fourth century seems most plausible.

In spite of its good state of preservation, the real import of Pausanias' letter eludes us, mainly because his Greek is so erratic. The formulaic passages (1-6 and 20-37) are more or less correctly written, but the central portion of the letter with the message contains so many mistakes and ambiguities that it is difficult to work out what he was trying to express. There seems to have been some confusion in communications between Pausanias and Silvanus, perhaps because Pausanias was mistaken about Silvanus' whereabouts (8-13, 10-11, 18). Silvanus' anonymous 'brother' also figures largely as the subject of some unspecified crisis (7-8 and 19-20) which Pausanias presumably did not want to make known to the public letter-writer, but was known to Silvanus. Perhaps the brother was ἀνακεχωρηκώς, a fugitive from justice or the tax collector, which would explain why it was inadvisable for him to be seen 'at home, near the people' (19-20), and why the nature of the news about him in line 7 is so eliptically expressed.

The meaning of the entire letter would be easier to grasp if we could be certain of the exact meaning of the recurring phrase ὅσε ἔσω μενεῖν, especially with regard to the location of the letter's protagonists. The proskynema formula and the possible mention of the village of Niciou may indicate that Pausanias was in Alexandria: see note on lines 3-4 below.
The letter was folded in two horizontally, which has resulted in some damage and fibre distortion in line 19, and then in half vertically. The back of the papyrus bears an inked design on either side of the address, which runs along the fibres.
Παυσανίας] τῶν κυρίων μου παρεῖ Σιλβανῆο πλείστα χέρειν.

πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομε σαι

ὁλοκληρεῖν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα

σου ποῦ καθ' ἐκάστη ἡμέραν

παρὰ τῶν κυρίων Σαράπιδ. ὁτε

ηκουσά τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

ηκουσά τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ

σου ἔγραψα σοι καὶ ἄλλοτε

ὅτι μένω δὲ ἔσω ἀχρεὶ ἐλθε

μοι. ἡκουσα ὅτι εἴησθε εἰς Νι—

κίου χυλωσας δωδε ἔσω σ<ε> ἐν—

μένων μετὰ τὸ λαβίν με

tὰ γράμματα ἐπὶ πέντε[ε νύμφη]

ῥας. παρεὶδ/ωκα τοὺς καμήλους

ἀπὸ τῆς Ιγ καὶ ἔλαβα μου τὰ

γράμματα ἐπεὶ ἐμενον ὥδε

ἔσω διὰ σε ὅτε ἡκουσέν ὁ ἀδελ—

φός σου ὅτι ἀνεγαμίσεις εἰς ὅκον

σου. ἀ' ποι ὥδε ἔσω ἐγγὺς τῶν

ἀνθρωπῶν; ἀσπάζου τὴν

γλυκυτάτην μου μητέραν
Ἀπίας τῇ οὖν κυρίᾳ μου μὴ—

τὴν μὴ ἀμελήσῃς [[μὴ δουναι]]

μὴ δουναι τὸ κλεῖδιον ὁ

παραθέμην παρὰ σοι. ἀσπά—

ζου πολλὰ τὴν θυγατέραν σου

Ἀλλοῦν· ἀσπάζου τὴν θυγα—

tέραν τῆς θυγατρός σου. ἀσπ[ά]—

ζου τὴν κυρίαν μου πολ—

λὰ Ἀγία ἀσπάζου τὸν αδελ—

φὸν μου Καρπούνιον καὶ Ζο—

νίσιν καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν

μου Ἀσυν καὶ Ἐπάγαθον

καὶ Θεχώσιν σὺν τοῖς τέ—

κνις αὐτῆς. ἔρωστε ὑ—

μᾶς εὔχομε πολλοῖς χρό—

νοις εὐτυχοῦντας διὰ βιών.

Address:

X X X

X X X

X ἀπι[ό]δος Σιλβανῷ πατρεὶ X πα(ρὰ) Παυσανίου ὕγιοῦ— X

X X X

X X X

X X X
Translation

Pausanias to my lord father Silvanus, very many greetings. Before everything I pray that you flourish and I make obeisance for you every day before our lord Sarapis. When I heard the news about your brother, I wrote to you again 'I am staying here at home until he comes to me.' I heard that you were at Niciou (?), being lame, (while I was ?) staying here at home for a period of five days after I had received the letter. I brought the camels (?) on the thirteenth, and I received my letter (from you) since I stayed here at home because of you, when your brother heard that you had returned to your house. What is he doing here inside near the people?

Greet my dearest mother Apias: my lady mother, do not forget to give me the little key which I left with you. Send my best wishes to your daughter Allous, and greet your daughter’s daughter. Send my very best wishes to my lady Hagia, greet my brother Carpounius and Dionysius and my sister Asys and Epagathus and Techosis (?) and her children. I pray for your good health for many years and good fortune throughout your life.

Address: Deliver to my father Silvanus from his son Pausanias.

Commentary

3-4. For the geographical significance of the *proskynema* to Sarapis, see H.Youtie, *Grenfell’s Gift to Lumbroso*, ICS iii (1978) p.90 = Scriptiunculae i, pp.36 ff. He gives a full review of previous literature on pp.96-97, and concludes that Wilcken's theory that letters bearing this *proskynema* were written at Alexandria still had to be disproved. However, F.Farid in *Sarapis-Proskynema in the light of SB iii 6263* (Actes du XVe Congrès, pp.142-143), lists three letters with Sarapis-proskynemata which seem


definitely not to have come from Alexandria. J. Thomas and A. Bowman have also made out a case for the non-Alexandrian origin of some proskynemata to Sarapis in Some Additional Greek Papyri, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 61 (1979), p.299.

I find it very difficult to believe that all letters with Sarapis-proskynemata were written and sent from Alexandria. As Farid, op.cit., points out, the Serapeum at Alexandria was not the only one, and people staying in other places with their own shrines to Sarapis could still have made obeisance to him or his local forms as genius loci. Starting letters with an invocation to the gods reflects Pharaonic epistolary practice. Many begin with a prayer to the 'supreme' god Amun (or Ptaḥ in Memphite letters), followed by invocations to the local gods - cf. P.Leiden I 370, 2-3 (= J. Černý, Late Ramesside Letters no.5), sent from Middle Egypt to Western Thebes, where the formula is: 'in the favour of Amun-Re King of the Gods, I every day tell Amun-Re Harakhty, Arsaphes the Great God, Thoth Lord of Hermopolis and every god and goddess by whom I pass to give you life, prosperity and health' [My translation]. Maybe prayers to Sarapis in Roman period letters should be seen as parallels to this Pharaonic practice of invoking a national deity irrespective of where the letter was written and sent from: on this generally, see A. Bakir, Egyptian Epistolography from the 18th to the 21st Dynasty, p.61.

4. ὀλοκληρεῖν is less usual than ἄναψε in this salutation formula; see F. X. Exler, The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter, pp.107-9.

9. μένω ὅδε ἔσω. This phrase is repeated three more times, in lines 11-12, 16-17 and 19. It must have a stronger meaning than merely 'staying here inside,' since Pausanias repeats it so insistently. ὅδε has the implication of 'here at home, in one's own country' at Ev.Marc., 6, 3. ἔσω μένειν has occurred elsewhere in private letters, at P.Oslo iii 161, 18-19 and xiv 1668, 22-23, where it seems to refer to a very similar situation: the praefect had granted an amnesty, and the recipient of the letter was urged: οὔκ ἔτει φόβος οὐδὲ ἔτει ἐν. ἔν τιν τῆλει, ὡσεί οὕλη καταφρονών, ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὔκ ἔτει δυνόμεθα ἔσω μένειν (lines 19-23).

Pausanias had evidently been waiting for the arrival of Silvanus' brother, perhaps to offer him refuge, but he had not come, and had in fact stayed at home, which Pausanias seems to think foolish (line 19-20). Silvanus had been away from his own home in the meantime (lines 10,
18), but had written to Pausanias about his brother, telling him to expect him. The whole situation is confused, but it seems possible that Silvanus' brother should have absconded, but did not.

A letter of 308\(^1\) shows that all strangers found in villages away from their *idia* had to be turned over to the fiscus by the praepositus, and a reward of 20 drachmas was paid. At this period of economic crisis, running away was a common enough solution for ones' problems for it to be included twice in the series of standard questions in the Oracle Book of Astrampsychus: see xii 1477, questions 73, 86 and 89, and the re-edition of this papyrus by G.M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*.

10-11. *Nīkíou*: either sc. *oikíōn*, or it could be that this is a toponym. Niciou is a village west of Alexandria (see Calderini iii sv *Nīkíou* 2). If this is the same place, then this could be an instance of a letter with a Sarapis-proskynema being written at Alexandria.

14. *καμῆλοι* seems possible. After the sigma of τοῦς, there are the traces of a vertical descender and a diagonal cross-stroke which would fit the writers almost X-shaped κ quite well. The next letter is all but lost in fibre distortion. μ could be represented by traces of its bow: as elsewhere, it is written rather low in the line. This is followed by traces of ink which could suit the uprights of η and λ.

19-20. *ἐγγὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Perhaps an idiom 'in front of everybody'? This sentence eludes me completely.

For *ἀσπάζω* as the present imperative, see Mandilaras, section 724.

Several individuals with the same names as Pausanias' friends appear in xxiv 2421, an account of payments in kind from the early fourth century. Dionysius, Silvanus and Allous are all common names, but 2421 is the only previous attestation of the name Hagia. It is impossible to tell whether Pausanias was actually related to any of the people he greets as relations. The loose employment of the terms of family relationship to express respect or affection is a common feature of private letters: see eg Ivi 3859 introd.

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24. κλείδιον: the diminutive is perhaps not so surprising when one considers that at this period a key could be a very substantial piece of wood or metal, even capable of use as a weapon: III 3644 tells the story of Syra, who was attacked with a large exedra-key. Both large and small keys from Egypt at this period are illustrated in W. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, plates lxxv and lxxvi, with text on pp. 59-60: P. Fay. pl. xvi no. 6 shows a small wooden lock.

31. Carpounius starts off as a deformation of Calpurnius, with a typically Egyptian confusion of l>r, but becomes a name in its own right: see Foraboschi sv.

Ζονίσιν = Διονύσιον: for the phonetic changes here, see Gignac i, pp. 75-6 (interchange of sibilant σ and ζ at the beginning of words) and pp. 267-8 (interchange between υ and ι).

33. Epagathus is generally, though not invariably, a slave-name at Oxyrhynchus: cf vii 1020, 7; vii 1035, 4; xxxvi 2777; xliii 3107; xliiv 3197; PSI v 447, 7. Asys is fairly unusual, especially as a woman's name.

34. This woman's name is either Θεχάοῖν, variant of Τέχαοῖς, or Θεχασίν, with γ corrected from ρ: it is unattested in this form, but cf P. Lond. iii 889 (p. 22), Θεχαςίς. The latter name presumably derives from Egyptian 'h.s 'she lives!', a theophoric name. Interestingly, the Onchasis in the London papyrus is given the alias Zois.

Back: νυκοῦ: the insertion of γ to represent the vowel glide [j] before a front vowel anticipates Modern Greek pronunciation: SB v 7600, 13 has an example of the same phenomenon with υίός.

For the inked design surrounding the address, see J. Rea's note on xlviii 3396, 32. The practice seems to be referred to in a private letter, xliii 3057, 3, though see note *ad loc.*
20. LETTER OF THAIS TO HORION
20 Letter of Thais to Horion

(9 x 34 cm.)

The hand of this papyrus letter offers a close palaeographical parallel to xlvi 3314, and one may date it with confidence to the fourth century AD. Other examples of this derivative of the chancery hand are P.Ant. i 36, which is slightly more formal, and PIFAO inv.30, published by F.Boyaval in ZPE 6 (1970), Tafel Ic. The name of the scribe who wrote on behalf of Thais is partially preserved in line 35. Although somewhat damaged at the bottom, the letter is formulaic enough to be reconstructed and the sense is never seriously obscured.

There are some features of interest. The proskynema to Horus, the first Greek example to this deity, may indicate that the letter was written at Edfu, the great cult-centre of the god, and sent down-country to Oxyrhynchus. Probably Horion and his wife were Apollonopolites staying in Oxyrhynchus temporarily, since Thais states that she is waiting for them to come back to her at some point (lines 21-23). The large number of friends and relatives who send their greetings to Horion from the letter's place of origin, whether Edfu or not, suggests that Horion was a stranger in the metropolis. I have been unable to locate another instance of a letter sent to Oxyrhynchus from the Apollonopolite nome: iii 488, x 1294 and xxxi 2559 all refer to the Apollonopolite Heptacomia, now Kom Esfat south of Asyut, and thus considerably nearer Oxyrhynchus.

Also of interest is the mention of dedicating a calf to Isis, perhaps as a sacrifice for the festival mentioned in lines 25-26. Other than this, the letter is largely composed of epistolary cliches.

The letter was first folded in half lengthways and then in half again, making a small parcel about 4.5 x 8 cm. The back bears the address.
1 Θαίς Ωρίωνι τώι υἱῶ μου
2 πλείστα χαίρειν.
3 πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἀσπάζομαι
4 ζωμαί σου[[οί]] καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ
5 κυρίῳ Ἡρῷ καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα τῆς γυναικὸς
6 σου. ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς
7 ο πατὴρ σου Ἰσχαρίων καὶ Αμαθαῖος
8 καὶ Δημαρ[ό]ῶς καὶ Λάκου
9 παῖς καὶ Τανετβέ/ους ἢ [γυ]—νῆ Σαμβαθάῖτος καὶ
10 Τανετβεό[ου]ς τὴν μικρότερον καὶ
11 κὴν καὶ Ἀμαθαῖος
12 καὶ Ὄννὼφριος. [[τ]]ουτ[[ους]]
13 πάντας ὑμᾶς ἀσπάζομαι
14 ἔχουν μοῦ τε—
15 τοκεν μόσχον καὶ προσκύνησα αὐτοῦν τῇ
21 ἵσειτι ἐν πετρέα. παραγενόμενώ δὲ ἐώς μοι ἐλθεῖν.
22 θησαυροὺς καὶ καθέξιον—
23 ζητεῖ [σοι] ὁ νιώσας σου[πιστεύω]—
24 κυρίων καὶ καθέξιον—
25 τὴν ἄρτον φέρω παρρησία—
26 Μοί, ἐὰν ὑπὸ μηδενί καὶ ἐφυλάσσω—
27 κοῦ μετὰ τὴν συνκροτήσω—
28 μιῆν πέμψω πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν—
29 συμβατοῖς Ἀ[τράκτε]—
30 καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς—
31 ζαχόμενος Πατρότικες—
32 Σαφαντοσ ὁ γραφείος—
33 τὴν ἐκπομπὴν—
34 ἐργασθῆναι σε εὐχαρίστησι—
35 τιμιώτατα με[ν] υἱεῖ.
Thais to my son Horion, very many greetings. Before everything I send you my best wishes and I say a prayer for you before the Lord Horus, and a prayer for your wife. Your father Ischyron sends you his best wishes, and Horion and Sambataios and Demarous and the child of Lacus and Tanetbeus the wife of Sambathais and Tanetbeus junior and Ammonis and Onnophris. They all send you their best wishes. My cow calved and I dedicated it to Isis of Petrea (?). I am waiting until you come to me, with any luck. Your son Ischyron sends you his best wishes, and I am bringing bread with me for the festival. If nothing bad (happens) after the harvest, I shall send your brother Sambataios to you. Thaesis his wife and her children send you their best wishes, and I too, Papontos son of Saraeus, who wrote this letter, send you my best wishes. I pray for your health, my most honoured son.

Address: Deliver to Horion from his mother Thais.

Commentary

4. The scribe wrote σοϊ, and drew a large ε over the last two letters, so that a φ-shaped letter resulted: presumably he added the ε over the line to prevent any confusion.

4-5. I have not been able to find any other example of a Greek epistolary or epigraphic proskynema to Horus: see G.Geraci, Ricerche sul proskynema, Aegyptus 51 (1971) pp.172ff. P.Turin 2026, 2-3 (= J.Cerny, Late Ramesside Letters, no.50) an Egyptian letter of Dynasty XX sent from Nubia to Thebes, starts with a prayer to Horus of Kuban. SB xiv 12081 and P.Ross. Georg. iii, 4 (= SB i 4650) both contain instances of proskynemata to Apollo, with whom Horus was identified in Egypt: cf Plutarch, de Iside et Osiride 61.
The provenance of both letters is unknown (though SB xiv 12081 was probably sent to Alexandria) and there is no internal evidence in either letter which would necessarily point to an origin in the Apollonopolite nome. Although the major cult centre of Horus was at Edfu, his cult is well-attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome: see the references at P.Turner 17, 2,¹ to which should be added 1 3589 (see note on line 4 ad loc.) and probably xviii 2207, which mentions a village called Ὀφθαντις, referring to a cult-title of Horus. There was an oracle to Thonis, a form of Horus, at Oxyrhynchus: see further no.26, footnote 11, and the note on line 13 below.

¹² The papyrus referred to there by inventory number 45 58.54/G (5-8)a has now been published as xlix 3473.

12, 14. Tanetbous and Tanetbeous are probably feminine forms of the name Panedbeous (eg P.Michaelid.28), derived from the Egyptian p3-n3-thb3w, meaning 'he of the repayer gods.' Petbe (p3-db3 or p3-tb) is an obscure vengeful deity, attested from the Late Period onwards, but without any particular geographical associations. See Lexikon IV, p.994 s.v. Petbe. The female name Tanetbeous is fairly uncommon² though the masculine form is well attested in the Koite toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome.

13. The name Sambathaios and its cognates were very common among Jews at Edfu in the second century AD: see CPJ ii section XI and CPJ iii section XII, where the significance of the name within the Egyptian cultural amalgam is discussed. The name loses its Semitic connotations and eventually becomes a regular name of Egyptians all over Egypt, though I suppose it could have remained more popular at Edfu in the light of the Jewish connection.

The Sambataios mentioned in line 31, whose wife may have been Thaesis, is different from the one here who is married to Tanetbeous. The names Horion and perhaps Ischyrion could reflect cult titles of Horus like tnr(tl) 'the strong' but one would expect it to be Hellenized as Thonis rather than translated as Ischyrion. For the cult-titles of Horus in the Oxyrynchite nome, see P.Köln iv p.220 and J.Yoyotte, MDAIK 16 (1958), pp.423-30.

¹ The papyrus referred to there by inventory number 45 58.54/G (5-8)a has now been published as xlix 3473.
² SB v 7607; P.Congr.xv 14, 3; P.Mich.x 578; ix 1198; xlvii 3333; li 3638; P.Princ. 3, i23; SB xvi 12515.
18ff. Thais had dedicated her calf to the temple of Isis, presumably as a sacrifice. i 46 mentions calves being sacrificed to Isis, Thoeris, Sarapis and the associated gods, previously having been passed as ritually pure by a μοσχοσφοραγιστής. For this process see Chaeremon, fr.10 (ed P.van der Horst, *Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain*, tome 101) and BGU i 250 (122/3), a declaration by a μοσχοσφοραγιστής that a specific calf had been passed as καθαρός and sacrificed at the appointed time. Fragments of a priestly treatise from Oxyrhynchus on the ritual slaughter of calves were published by R.Merkelbach in ZPE 2 (1968) pp.8-9. Other references to the sacrifice of calves in the papyri are xii 1483 and xliii 3090.

19-20. This sense of προσφωνεῖν seems to be unparalleled in the papyri. When used of dedications, it generally is said of literary works from author to patron: see eg Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 8.6: καὶ τετιμημένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσφωνήσει γραμμάτων φιλοσόφων.

The scribe wrote αὐτην or αὐτεν, and corrected his mistake by writing the o over the wrong letter: the resulting configuration looks like Θ.

21. It is difficult to know whether πετρεα is an unattested place name or merely means 'on the rocks,' ie a temple on the desert edge, at the end of the cultivation. There is a place in the vicinity of Edfu called Πετλαρης, mentioned twice in the Elephantine papyri (23, 2, 14; 20, 41). I suppose it is possible that the Petlares of the third century BC could have been transmuted to Petrea by the fourth century AD: confusion between λ and ρ is common, as is the omission of the final sigma, regardless of what sound follows in the sentence (Gignac i, pp.124-5). The ρ could then have been assimilated in the η. It would certainly be less surprising to find an unattested place name in the Apollonopolite rather than the Oxyrhynchite nome.

35. Πατοντῶς seems the most likely reading. Although the upper parts of the letters have been lost by fibre-stripping, most of the π remains apart from the horizontal top bar: we then have the lower half of omicron, the bottom of the hastae of nu and a dot of ink probably representing the vertical descender of tau.
36. γράφων or γράψας are both possible; all that remains is the long vertical descender of a letter which equally well be φ or ψ.

It is unusual for a scribe to identify himself when writing a private letter on behalf of somebody else: see Ivi 3860, 42 for another instance of the same thing. Presumably he was known personally to Horion.

39. According to H.Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n.Chr*, p.102, the use of τυμιώτατος in private letters is very rare. The valediction occurs in the same place in another private letter, P.Haun.ii 22, 14.
III. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

(e) MISCELLANEOUS PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

21. INVITATION TO THE ΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΙΣΙΔΟΣ
22. INVITATION TO THE ΚΛΙΝΗ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ
23. INVITATION TO AN EPICRISIS FEAST
INVITATION TO AN ISIS FEAST

INVITATION TO A SERAPIS MEAL

INVITATION TO AN EPICRISIS FEAST
Invitations to Dinner

The five dinner invitations published here form an interesting addition to the corpus. As well as three invitations to dine at previously attested occasions - an epicrisis, a Sarapis banquet and the θερωμα Ἄσιδος - there are two invitations to a previously unknown festival for females, the θεραπευνήμα. The invitations show few divergences from the usual format, with the name of the host stated but that of the guest omitted, followed by the reason for the dinner, the venue and the date (usually the next day or the same day), expressed as a numeral. The time in all our documents is the standard one, the ninth hour, or between two and three in the afternoon. Each invitation will be discussed separately in the introductions, but I shall start with a review of the scholarly thinking on this puzzling genre of text.

Of all invitation types, those to dine at the κλίνη Σαράπιδος are the most numerous (fifteen to date) and have attracted the most attention. Opinions as to the significance of the banquet have ranged from seeing it as a purely secular event, a sort of dining society (J. Milne in JEA 11 (1925), pp.6-9) to L. Koenen's idea that its religious character was paramount and that the dates of extant κλίνη Σαράπιδος invitations could be related to specific Isis festivals (ZPE 1 (1967), pp.121 ff). In fact, the four most recently published invitations to the κλίνη do not fit the pattern Koenen suggested. Perhaps the most reasonable view was that of the editors of P. Oslo iii 157, who thought that all Sarapis meals would have had some religious connotation, but they had a more avowedly religious character when held in temples or temple dining-rooms than in private houses. This was echoed by H. Youtie in HThR 41 (1948) pp.9ff (= Scriptiunculae i, pp.184 ff.). All invitations are expressed formulaically, but the reasons for the invitation being sent and the venue for the celebration vary considerably. Invitations fall into two categories: those festivals of a definite religious nature, sometimes including the κλίνη,\(^1\) and those to private celebrations for important 'liminal' events in the lives of individuals, such as weddings and comings-of-age like the obscure mellokouria in xii 1484. Obviously an occasion like a coming-of-age, regarded as a rite de passage, would be an important social event worth of being marked. Although I would not agree with Milne, op.cit., that the

\(^{1}\) eg SB x 10496, xxxi 2592, lli 3694 (an Amun festival with a rhodophoreia) and P. Fouad.I Univ. 76 (an Isis festival)
kline of Sarapis was purely secular, he was probably right to emphasize their social significance. Therefore it is possible that the function of the banquet varied from occasion to occasion. Probably some of the invitations are for cult dinners at specific Sarapis festivals like the one in P.Mich.viii 511, the preparations for which began two months in advance and was primarily religious. On the other hand, the fact that the coming-of-age in xii 1484 can be marked by a kline suggests that it was a 'thanksgiving' meal, but one where the emphasis lay on the social nature of the feast rather than honouring the god. Religion reached further into the corners of ancient peoples' lives than we can imagine, and although an event like the formal integration of a young adult within the social system was mainly secular, there would still have been a religious element to it. It is also possible that some of our invitations to the kline are actually for other festivities, though the reason for the celebration was not expressed on the invitation itself.

These invitations have to be seen within a context of social etiquette very different from our own. The practice of oral invitation is known from the New Testament, Petronius, and Apuleius, and versions of it are still current in many societies. For important occasions in Tibet, for example, there was a dual invitation system: messengers delivered an elaborate invitation bearing the family seal, which were kept as status symbols (rather like the ivory consular diptychs of the Byzantine empire, which sometimes contained lettres de faire part), but also passed on an oral invitation which might contain entirely different information. This system had an empirical basis in helping to stop bandits attacking a house which was ill-defended during a feast. Interestingly, the oral version was always taken as the correct one. In countries as culturally diverse as Italy and Syria, an engaged couple will visit in person the prospective wedding guests, often several months in advance, to tell them of the wedding plans. In Syria, a small gift is circulated to all guests shortly before the actual wedding day to serve as a reminder. It is probable that our papyrus invitations served just such a function, whether or not they accompanied a gift. These papyri are ephemeral things, and I do not agree with T.Skeat

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2 Matthew 22, verse 2 (parable of the marriage feast)
3 Satyricon 26: Unus servus Agamennonis interpellavit trepidantes et “quid vos” inquit, "nescitis hodie apud quem fiat?"
4 eg Met. ii, 18: forte quadam die de me magno opere Byrrhaena contendit apud eam cenaculae ut interessem et cum impendio excusarem, negavit veniam.
5 Another Dinner Invitation from Oxyrhynchus, JEA 61 (1975), p.254
that "the possession of a number of these small scraps of papyrus might have formed a kind of status symbol in the upper classes at Oxyrhynchus."

These texts are not formal and calligraphic: they are much-abbreviated, mass-produced on tiny pieces of papyrus by scribes writing stacks of identical ones (see P.Coll.Youtie i 52, introd.). They are a purely functional item with, as Skeat points out before he contradicts himself, "an average useful life of about 48 hours." This is illustrated by lli 3694, an invitation to a strategus to dine at the Rhodophoreia of Amun at Seryphis. It is an altogether much more formal and official invitation than usual, which is reflected in its large size, calligraphic script, and unusually detailed information about the dining arrangements. The day and month are specified, which suggests "a longer interval than usual between the sending of the invitation and the event."6 Another formal invitation is x 1214, rather later in date than most of our other examples (fifth century). As in lli 3694, the greater formality is reflected by the size and more specific information about the venue and time.

If we bear in mind the practice of oral invitation, many of the things that have puzzled previous editors of dinner invitations, in particular their small size and lack of address, are explained. Another problem about them is the social stratum in which they circulated. Wilcken7 was probably right to say that these "Billette wohl als etwas gesellschaftlich 'Feines' gegolten haben," but perhaps not for the reasons he meant. Some of the venues and types of celebration to which the guests are invited certainly imply a prosperous origin, such as the feast following an epicrisis: boys subject to the epicrisis belonged to the privileged classes at Oxyrhynchus, the gymnasiyal or metropolitan elite. Naturally, birthday parties and weddings were celebrated at all social levels, but it may have been more of a status symbol to have your wedding reception in a temple dining-room (xxxiii 2678), which would have involved greater expense, than in one's own home.

Dinner invitations from Oxyrhynchus are listed by Skeat, op.cit., p.253 note 2, to which should be added i 181 descr., the texts listed by H.Cockle in lli 3693 intro., and the invitation to the kline of Sarapis in ZPE 72 (1985) p.95.

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6 lli 3694, 5, H.Cockle's note ad loc. Instances of formal invitations issued by official bodies may be found in Libanius, Or.33, 26, 15.
7 Wilcken Chrest.1, i, p.419: he also mooted the possibility of oral invitation, but thought that the invitations themselves were sent between boards as a compliment to those who would not be satisfied with a mere oral invitation.
21. Invitation to Dinner
(8.6 x 3.5 cm.)

An invitation to the ἱερωμα of Isis in almost perfect condition. It is written in a neat upright hand, with a large ε: ρ has along descender and is frequently unligatured. I 3568, of 273/4, may be usefully compared.

The format of this invitation parallels exactly that of P.Fouad.Univ.I 76, so far our only other invitation to, or indeed mention of, this festival of Isis. The only divergences are the venue (a private house in the Fouad text, in ours the Iseum), and the dates, respectively the 29th and the 8th. Unfortunately these dates cannot be assigned to particular Isis festivals with any certainty. The 29th might suggest Choiak 29, the date of the Cicellia in the Canopus inscription, although this festival was as much Osiriac as Isiac in character (see R.Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Daten und Riten*, pp.37-8). I have been unable to find any specific feast of Isis for the 8th. The great Πλοιαφέσια or *Navigium Isidis* began on Phamenoth 9 (= 5 March: cf. P.Rainer 183, 79 and Merkelbach, op.cit., p.39). The Πλοιαφέσια was an important Isiac observance and it is conceivable that devotees could have met the day before for a ritual meal. iv 731 mentions regular monthly festivals, which also commenced on the 9th and lasted two days. Protracted Isis-festivals followed by sacred meals are mentioned in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* xi, 24.¹

The vague term ἱερωμα is similarly unhelpful in trying to determine the nature of the feast. It is usually employed in the plural to mean sacred cult objects (eg Josephus, *Antiq.*Jud., I, 119, 2). Perhaps this festival was one where the symbols of the Isiac cult, like the sistra, were displayed aloft in procession. Representations of such Isiac processions are not uncommon: see R.Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis*, pl.xiii: T.T.Tinh, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompei*, pl.xxiii. Probably these formed part of the regular worship of the goddess at her temple, and inscriptions and reliefs show that the hierophors or hagiophors were often women.² The ἱερωμα might have been a generic term for minor Isiac festivals, which as


iv 731 and P.Rainer.183 indicate were frequent and probably local in character. Major festivals of Isis were usually designated by name, as H.Youtie suggests in his re-edition of the Heidelberg Festival Papyrus in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History presented to A.C.Johnson*, (ed. P.R.Coleman-Norton), pp.194-5.

A further point of interest is that the host of the banquet is a woman, as is Sarapous in the parallel invitation. It is probably not particularly significant in this context that both women bear Egyptian theophoric names, since Egyptian names are commoner among females. I would also hesitate before attributing much importance to the fact that we find women presiding over what are apparently religious banquets. As F.Gilliam noted in his introduction to P.Coll.Youtie i 52, the only case of a woman acting as host at a Sarapis meal, it probably confirms the private and social character of the banquet, since women were unlikely to be the officers of a mixed thiasus. It is more conceivable, however, that a woman could be the head of an all-female society of Isis-devotees. We have too little evidence to reach any conclusion, but I would note that women are often the hosts at the weddings of their daughters or in consanguineous unions: see i 111, xii 1579.

The back of this papyrus was originally blank, but an inventory number has since been added.

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3 For the participation of women in the Isiac laity, and as heads of mixed cult associations in particular, see Heyob, op.cit., pp.105 ff.
Translation

Tauris invites you to dine at the feast-day of the Lady Isis, in the Iseum, on the eighth, at the ninth hour.
On this very worm-eaten and abraded strip of papyrus is an invitation to dine at the kline of Sarapis in the usual format. A full list of these invitations is given by M.Totti in Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Reigion, pp.125-127. This invitation is probably to be classed with xiv 1755 and P.Coll.Youtie i 52 as taking place in the oikos of the Serapeum, though the very damaged state of the papyrus at this point makes this restoration unsure.

Some interest is afforded by the name of the host, which seems to be the previously unknown Dionysalexandrus. Compound theophoric names beginning with Dionys-, such as Dionysammon, Dionysitheon and even Dionysantinous, are not uncommon at Oxyrhynchus, but the combination certainly seems surprising at this late date: Dionysus was important for the Ptolemaic dynastic mythology as an ancestor of the house of Lagus. A second century hypothesis of Cratinus' comedy Dionysalexandrus was found at Oxyrhynchus (iv 663 = Pack² 252), so presumably the name was not unknown to the metropolites of this period. An interesting discussion of the identification of Alexander the Great with Dionysus is in J.Lindsay, Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt, pp.346-348.

The date of this banquet, the eighth, could be connected with xxxi 2592 (the tenth) and P.Coll.Youtie 52 (the eleventh). Maybe this banquet was part of a long festival of Sarapis around the beginning of the month. The birthday of Aion-Sarapis, for example, was celebrated at Alexandria on Tybi 10-11, but it seems fairly certain that this festival began on the night of the tenth. Thus I can find no evidence for a specific Sarapis festival between the eighth and eleventh of any month: see Merkelbach, op.cit., pp.33ff.

The papyrus' poor state of preservation and the featurelessness of the hand make it rather difficult to date, but I would assign it to the third century rather than the second. This might be confirmed by the fact that the other four invitations, all attributable to the late third century palaeographically, bear very similar inventory numbers, and thus might have come from the same layer of excavation. The back is blank.
Translation

Dionysalexandrus invites you to dine at the table of the Lord Sarapis in the dining-room (?) of the Serapeum, tomorrow, that is the eighth, at the ninth hour.

Commentary

3. Perhaps ἐν τῷ [οἴκ]ῳ on analogy with xiv 1755 and P.Coll.Youtie i 52: the editor of the latter gives useful references for the oikos as a temple dining room, though it can be any sacred or profane temple room, like the corresponding Demotic term ἑ. For attestations of the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus, see Ronchi, fascicle iii. The actual building seems to have completely vanished: when Petrie excavated at Oxyrhynchus in 1920, he found no trace of it.
This invitation to a feast following an epicrisis is written with a rather blunt pen, presumably by a professional copyist preparing a set of identical invitations. The hand is a cursive of common type, comparable with Norsa ii, Tav.xix b, of 295. The gymnasial epicrisis continues long after the Constitutio Antoniniana: P.Mich.xiv 676 (272) and P.Turner 38 (after 274) are the latest dated examples, so this contemporary invitation might shed an interesting sidelight on its social function as a rite de passage long after its primary legal and fiscal meaning had changed. In Greece, the exemplar for many social institutions of Roman Egypt, rituals at puberty for boys centred around formal admission to their fathers' kin group, (usually the phratry), and then around a period in the ephebate prior to assuming full citizen rights. One might regard the epicrisis as fusing together both these elements of status declaration and enrolment into the paternal tribe. Also worth considering in connection with rituals of transition for boys is xii 1484, the invitation to the obscure μελλοκούρια. In an interesting note on this papyrus in Aegyptus 7 (1926), pp.111-12, B.Olsson made a connection between the -Koúria element of the word and the κονεφότις, the third day of the Apatouria, the principal coming-of-age ritual for citizen boys at Athens. On this day, offerings of the shorn hair of adolescents were made to Artemis. The μελλ- element might imply some kind of transition, and one wonders whether it was either a sort of ritual for boys about to be ephebes, a parallel to the epicrisis for boys of different social standing. Alternatively, it could be an Egyptian festival.

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2 See S.G.Cole, The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation, ZPE 55(1984), p.234, notes 8 and 9. To my knowledge, there is no evidence for any ritual surrounding the cutting off of the youth-lock in the Pharaonic period. Mentions in Old Kingdom tomb autobiographies of 'the tying on of the fillet' (ts mdh) at puberty may be connected with this: see Battiscombe Gunn on the phrase in JEA 25 (1939) p.219. A barber with a razor stands next to a king's son wearing the lock in a relief from Bubastis (Lexikon i, p.619 sv Barbier), but it would be unwise to infer too much from this.
festival where the 'lock of youth' was ritually shorn off: but it would be impossible to prove this. 3

Other invitations to celebratory banquets following the epicrisis are vi 926, xxxvi 2792 and xlix 3501. Maybe the στέφνις to which guests were invited in xvii 2147 is also connected with the epicrisis or induction into the ephebate, since ephebes were often ritually garlanded, 4 though it could refer to 'crowning' as the culmination of a ceremony of induction into public office, (cf.P.Paris 69 ii, 6ff, where a strategus officially 'crowns' a gymnasiarch). Our invitation, although more abbreviated than usual, shows no departures from the formula of the other three, though this is the first where the junketings are to take place in a public building. Maybe the Capitolium at Oxyrhynchus, where this feast took place, was equipped with a dining room, but the guests could have gone to a public place in the Capitolium area, such as the tavern that xvii 2109 tells us existed in the eastern colonnade of the building.

3 See xlix 3463 n.6, where an ephebe has his hair (or a lock of it) shorn off and dedicated to the city of Alexandria in the Serapeum. For the age of ephebes in Egypt, see C.Nelson, Status Declarations in Roman Egypt, pp.56-7.

The cutting of hair is a very common symbol of transition from one state to another, particularly at puberty and marriage: see A.van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (trans. M.Vizedom and G.Caffee, London, 1960), pp.166ff. There are frequent examples in Pausanias, eg i.43.4, a description of the dedications of hair left at the tomb of Iphinoë at Megara by maidens prior to marriage.

4 See eg Heliodorus, Aethiopica i.x.1: Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἄχουμένων, ὅτε τῆν ναῦν Ἀθηναίων διὰ γῆς τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ πέμποντα, ἔτυγχανον μὲν ἐφηβεύον, ἔσπερ δὲ τὸν εἰσαθανεία παῖδαν τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὰ γενειακὸν προτομαντός, ὃς εἶχον στόλης, αὕτη χαλμύδα καὶ αὕτης στεφάνοις ἔρχομαι οὐκάδε ὡς ἐμαυτόν.

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1 Ἐρωτᾶ σε διπνήσε Σαραπίων
2 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλ(ειν) εἰς ἐπίκ(ρισιν) τοῦ
3 νῦν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) θ–

Translation

Sarapion invites you to dine in the Capitolium on the occasion of the epicrisis of his son, at the ninth hour.

Commentary

2. For references to the Capitolium at Oxyrhynchus, see liv 3758, r.78

3. No indication of the day is given: cf P.Fay.132. Maybe this invitation was sent round the day before the epicrisis: most dinner invitations are for the next afternoon.
24-25. TWO INVITATIONS TO A FESTIVAL FOR GIRLS
100/73 (b)
INVITATION TO A ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ

100/77 (a)
INVITATION TO A ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ
24-25. Invitations to a Festival for girls

These two unrelated invitations are both written across the fibres in cursive hands of the late third century, using fairly fine pens: that of the first is akin to P.Flor.120 of 254 (= Norsa ii, tav.xix), though our text is rather less neat. The second is a cursive of common type, very like xxxviii 2872 of 283. The backs of both were originally blank, but have had inventory numbers added since.

The occasion of the feast is the therapeuteria, a word which has hitherto only appeared in the papyri at P.Oxy.Hels.50,17 in a context which suggests feasting:

περὶ δὲ τῶν οἴναρίων, ὑπερεθέμεθα τὰ θεραπευτήρια εἰς τὸ μέλλον.

Probably P.Lond.inv.3078, published by T.Skeat in JEA 61 (1975) p.251 is also an invitation to a therapeuteria, though he restored the damaged text on analogy with xii 1484 as [μελλοκο]ριο. More information on this is given in my article P.Lond.Inv.3078 reappraised, JEA 76 (1990), an offprint of which is appended on page 232 below. Unfortunately, the latter papyrus and the letter in Helsinki do not help much to elucidate the nature and social function of the therapeuteria. The word suggests a derivation from θεραπεύω or θεραπεύω, which have a wide range of meanings at this date, from 'to do service, pay attention to' (sometimes in a ritual context) to merely 'cure.' The adjective θεραπευτήριος 'convalesced' is also attested. Stephanus defined θεραπευτήριον as 'cultus, observantia,' while the Suda has an interesting entry under θεραπευτήριον: οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν προίστάμενοι, θεραπευταὶ 'ησίδος παρ' Αιγυπτίως. In a corrupt passage at θ 370, Hesychius has the puzzling θερτήρια; ἐορτή τις, which Meineke restored as <Αν>θετήρια or Σπεττήρια. θερ[απε]τήρια might be a better suggestion.

Whatever the etymology, the papyrological evidence implies two things: i) that the θεραπευτήρια did not designate an ad hoc occasion, but was a well-known term for a specific festivity or ritual, and ii) that the girls who have a θεραπευτήρια must be unmarried since their fathers are the hosts at the feasts. In the social milieu of the third century Oxyrhynchite bourgeoisie, the number of reasons that a father might have had for holding a banquet in honour of an unwed daughter would be limited. I
can think of no reason that is unconnected with a rite de passage in the anthropological sense, whether at birth, menarche or marriage.

The first birthdays of females were feted at Oxyrhynchus (xxxvi 2791), and one must also remember the τετρακοστα festival of the child in P.Fay.113,14, which was celebrated with 12 drachmas worth of fish.\(^1\) However, it is difficult to see how a word derived from any of the θερακτ–roots could be connected with this. More convincing is the idea that the therapeuteria was somehow connected with puberty. The Athenians had rituals for integrating transitional females into the social system of the πόλις, though how structured they were is a matter for debate.\(^2\) Greek ideas about female maturation centred around 'taming' the wild παρθένος\(^3\) into the 'controlled, reproductive γυνή',\(^4\) who had to be successfully integrated into the πόλις in order to be able to reproduce it. Conversely, there are no Pharaonic precedents for maturation rites for girls, though circumcision prior to marriage is known from the Ptolemaic period.\(^5\) Its sudden appearance in Egypt is striking, especially since authors who subsequently refer to the practice imply that it was a long-standing Egyptian tradition.\(^6\) In fact, it probably started during the Persian period and became assimilated into Egyptian social structures. I do not believe that the θεραπευτηρία was a thanksgiving feast for the recovery of the girl from a genital operation, however appealing that might seem etymologically and anthropologically. It could well be connected with menarche, the onset of which was important in Greek society. Perhaps it was a feast following some kind of post-menarchic rite, whereby the maturity of the adolescent girl was exhibited — maybe with a view to finding suitors. The other possibility is to consider some kind of temple ritual, on analogy with the definitions given by Stephanus and the Suda. Perhaps the girl had to perform ritualized temple service at menarche as a

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1 The editors suggested '400 day festival' as a translation. This may be connected with the belief, still current in Greece, that the child was still 'marginal' until its fortieth day of life: the 'four hundred day festival' would then have been celebrated more or less one year after its fortieth day.


3 see eg Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 7.10 (horse-breaking as a metaphor for taming a young wife). For the *parthenos* as a filly, see Ar. *Lysist*.1308 and Eur.*Hipp.*546-7.


5 A Deir-el Medina worker excuses himself from work because of 'the festival of his daughter' (p3y.f hb 13y.f srt.f) in O. Cairo 25521 r.11, but nothing is said about the nature of the festival. For female circumcision in the Ptolemaic period, see P.Lond.i 24 (163 BC). It is to take place prior to marriage, perhaps in the Serapeum.

6 Strabc, xvii, 2.5; Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum* xvii: Περὶ Νυμφοτομίας
preliminary to marriage. There seem to be plenty of instances from ancient Greece of adolescents of both sexes tending shrines while in their 'liminal' pubescent or pre-pubescent state. The most famous is the ἀρκτεία at Brauron, where the girls were said, rather vaguely, to 'look after the shrine' in a ritual period before they were married. An inscription from Brauron suggests that the girls undergoing the ἀρκτεία were housed in a building called the άμφιπολείον, or servants' quarters. Other instances are documented in Pausanias at the shrines of Athene Polias in Athens, Aphrodite at Sicyon, Artemis Tricleria at Patrae, and of Artemis again at Aegeria in Arcadia. At another shrine, that of Athena Crania at Elateia in Phocis, a pre-pubescent boy is said to tend the shrine, and the verb used is θεραπεύειν. I do not see why one of these temple rituals for adolescent girls could not have been transplanted to Egypt and still been celebrated as a rite de passage during the Roman period: the evidence in Pausanias is clear that they were going on at other places in the Greek world during the principate, although by this late date their original meanings as vital social initiations had probably become diluted. Possible evidence for something similar going on in Egypt at the same time may be found in Xenophon, Ephesiaca iii, 11 - faced with the attentions of Prince Psammis, Anthea tries to deter him by saying: ἦτι αὐτὴν ὁ πατήρ γεννωμένην ἀναθείτι τῇ Ἰσίῳ μέχρις ὧρας γάμων καὶ ἐλευθερώθη τό τῶν χρόνων ἐν τῇ θεοῦ, μηνίσει μὲν ἐκείνῃ, χαλεπῇ δὴ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ. The therapeuteria could then be the festival marking the end of the girl's ritual seclusion as a temple servant, in which case it should not surprise us that the festivities take place in private homes rather than temple dining rooms.

All this speculation brings us no nearer a convincing interpretation of the word, so in all conscience I have to be non-committal and merely

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7 Scholiast on Aristophanes, Lysist.645: η ἔτι Ἀρτέμις ῥμαθείσα ἐκέλευσε παρθένον μάσαν μυθησάσθαι τόν ἄρκτον πρὸ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ περεύειν τό ἱέρον κροκότων μέλαν φοροῦσαν.
9 The references in Pausanias are respectively i.27, 2-3; ii.10, 4; vii.19, 2; vii.26, 5.
10 Pausanias x.34, 8: ἐνθάς οἰκουμένῃ οἷς τήν θεὸν θεραπεύειν καθεστάτηκε, καὶ ἐλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ ἱερωμένῳ, τόν δὲ ζητά ἐκ πάθους αἱροῦντα τοῖς ἄγαμοις, πρόνοιαν ποιοῦντοι προτερον τής ἱερωσύνης ἔξηγαν εἰς τὸν χρόνον πρὸν ἡ ἀρχήν. See also J. Bremmer, The Role of the Temple in Greek Initiatory Ritual, Actes du VII Congrèes des Associations d'Études Classiques I, (Budapest, 1983) pp.121-124.
11 Dowden, op. cit., interprets the procession in Xenophon of Ephesus i.2, 2-7 as a closing rite following a period of temple service by adolescents.
leave it transcribed, in the hope that some papyrus yet to be published will give us the answer.

In the second invitation here, the time and / or venue of the feast has been changed: one is reminded of the postponed *therapeuteria* in P.Oxy.Hels.50. The papyrus is considerably larger than usual, and has generous margins: the blank space at the bottom is 3.1 cm, the left hand margin about 1.5 cm., but this is probably not significant, since this invitation is certainly not of the 'formal' type as exemplified by ix 1214, lii 3694 and the later P.Apoll.72.
Severus invites you to dine in his house on the occasion of the therapeuteria of his daughter, today, that is the tenth (X-teenth?) at the ninth hour.

Commentary

6. There is a small erasure after the numeral indicating the date: it is impossible to say whether the second letter was erased completely, making the date of the celebration the tenth, or another was written over the original one.

Ischys (?) invites you to the therapeuteria of his daughter (today?), the seventeenth, in the house opposite his, at the ninth hour.
Commentary

1. Ἰσχύς — the reading of the final sigma is doubtful. If the reading is correct, the name is unattested in papyri. One could perhaps read Ἰσχυρό as an abbreviation for Ἰσχυρίων. xxxiv 2725 has Ἰσχαά, which the editor suggests could be related to Ischyrian and Ischyras in the same way that Saras are to Sarapas and Sarapion.

No mention is made of dining, as in some other invitations (xii1487, vi 927, iv 747). Καλεῖ, although much less usual than ἐρωτᾶ, is still formulaic: cf. xvii 2147, xii1486.

2. The scribe erased 'tomorrow, in the house of...' and substituted 'in the house opposite his' (taking αὐτοῦ with ἀντικρὺς) and the numeral ζ in the line below.
QUESTION TO AN ORACLE
82 b (?)  
ORACULAR QUESTION
This small piece of papyrus, written along the fibres, preserves a question to an oracle about travel. Its most curious feature is that although the papyrus seems to be complete, there is no invocation to the oracular deity. The address to the god which precedes the body of the question can be as brief as κυριε, or fairly extensive and name several divinities, but there is no other complete oracular question in Greek which has no invocation at all. Two Demotic oracle questions, P.Carlsberg 17 and 18, have no apostrophe and are identical in format to this text: see W. Erichsen, *Demotische Orakelfragen*, D.Kgl.Danske Vidensk.Selsk., Hist.-filol.Medd.XXVIII 3.

This omission is not easily explained, especially since there is no reason to regard the papyrus as incomplete. The margins are fairly generous, the gap between the upper edge of the papyrus and the beginning of the text averaging 1 cm., while the interlinear spaces in the text are about 0.5 cm. The edges of the papyrus are sharp, showing where it was cut from the sheet, and the vertical fold marks are clearly visible. The back is blank.

These questions to oracles were written in pairs, one phrased positively and one negatively, and were submitted to the oracle so that the god could choose between them. Examples of questions written on one piece of papyrus and then divided may be found in P.Harris i 54 and xvi 1926 and numbers 1 and 2 in E.Bresciani, *L’archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos*. Perhaps the scribe of our papyrus wrote out the question in very irregularly spaced lines, and inadvertently cut off the first lines with the invocation along with the negatively-phrased alternative question. Here one thinks of A.Aly’s example 4, op.cit, which is written in

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1 See I 3799 and A.Aly, ZPE 68 (1987), p.100: she regarded this question as incomplete, with the beginning missing, but the photograph does not convince me that she is correct. xii 1567 is probably to be regarded as an oracle question, rather than 'a short order connected with the finding of an animal,' as Grenfell & Hunt thought. The text runs: 

εἰ Θεὸς εἴρεν τούτῳ τὸ 

τετραπόδων ἐνεργήτω 

τούτῳ μοι ἔξω.

This text lacks any invocation to a deity, but since the papyrus seems to have disappeared and no photograph exists, it is impossible to tell whether or not the papyrus is complete.

2 See PSI XVII Congr. 14, a question addressed to Thoeris, Thonis, Harpabekis and Harpocrates.

very unevenly spaced lines, and only has κόριε as an apostrophe. It is possible that the address to the god or gods was written on the first chit, and that our text (and the two Demotic papyri without invocations) are the second halves of pairs.

A different explanation for the absence might be based on palaeographical grounds. In her unpublished doctoral thesis *Priests and Oracles in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London, 1986), A. Aly made the following interesting observation: "both the Greek and Demotic (oracle) questions were written, without exception, by practised hands: there is not a single instance of a question drawn up in crude uncials of the type which so frequently occurs in subscriptions to private documents...moreover, they all follow the same pattern. This remarkable degree of uniformity in both the standard of the script and the phrasing is explicable only if it is assumed that all the questions known on papyrus were drawn up by professional scribes familiar with the required pattern. In this context, these people can only have been the scribes of the temple: therefore it seems reasonable that the questions to the oracles were written by the temple scribe on behalf of the petitioners, who might be illiterate." Our text, though not quite written in the crude uncials of the βροδέως γράφων, is certainly no practised hand. The letters are irregularly formed, and the only ligature that occurs, between o and i in line 3, is botched. The β of Tōbt, however, is a typical cursive example, like a square with an open top. This makes one wonder whether the question was written by the petitioner himself, ignorant of the proper format, rather than by the temple scribe; the unparalleled form δώσεις (δός being more usual), might also hint at this: see note on line 3 below. However, I doubt that it would have been easy for an individual to circumvent temple bureaucracy and write out his petition himself, and it is quite likely that a temple scribe might have a crude hand, especially if he were more accustomed to writing in Egyptian, as indeed the form of the question implies.

The process of oracular questioning in Egypt was concisely dealt with by Černý in *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes*, chapter 6. He was of the opinion that a radical change took place in methods of divination between the end of the Saite period and the beginning of the Graeco-Roman period. Formerly, the god was consulted publicly and oracular decisions were sought during a ritual procession of the god's cult image on the divine barque, borne by the priests. The answer was given by the image nodding, approaching or retreating from the petitioner whose question, written on
an ostracon, was placed face down on the ground. This process is described by Strabo⁴ and Diodorus⁵ in their accounts of Alexander's visit to the oracle of Jupiter-Ammon at Siwa. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, however, we have an apparent volte-face to a system of private oracular consultation, with responses chosen by the priests on the god's behalf. This conventional wisdom may need to be reappraised in the light of P.Yale inv.299 (= P.Coll.Youtie i 30), re-edited by J.Rea in ZPE 27 (1977), pp.151-156. This most interesting document is an edict of a praefect of 198/9, probably Q.Aemilius Saturninus, instructing nome strategi to suppress the practice of divination. The text starts with the pronouncement that so many people have been deceived by the practices of divination that it was necessary to take some action towards banning it. Of particular interest are lines 5-7:

μη τ' ων διά χρη[σμών]ν ἦτοι ενναγράφων διά γραφῶν ως ἐπὶ τοῦ θεῶν
didομένων μήτε διὰ κομασίας ἀγαλμάτων ἢ τοιαύτης μαγασείας τὰ ὑπὲρ
ἀνθρώπων τις ἐδέναι[1].

This seems to suggest that both methods of oracle giving were in use at the same period, the 'written documents supposedly granted under divine influence' and 'the parade of images.' The first seems to refer to the familiar system of paired questions, the second to the traditional Pharaonic system. Interesting corroboration for more than one system being used at once is given by Herodotus:⁶

μαντική δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσοι διακέεται. ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἢ
tέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροις. καὶ γὰρ Ἦρακλεός μαντήμαν αὐτόθι 'εστὶ...
oὐ μέντοι αἳ γε μαντήματι σφι κατὰ τῶν ἔσται ὁλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσι.

The questions to the oracle of Hermes Trismegistus-Thoth at Saqqara, written on ostraca in Greek and apparently produced in a wholly Egyptian milieu, demonstrate that the practice was still in operation at least in 170-164 BC.⁷ Whatever the continuity in Egyptian oracular systems, the praefectorial ban had little effect, since paired questions on papyrus survive the onset of Christianity and go on well into the Coptic period.

Other than the inconsistencies already mentioned, our text does not diverge from the usual pattern. The size is within the normal range for such texts. Vertical marks where the papyrus was rubbed along its folded

⁴ xvii I, 43-44
⁵ xvii 50, 6-7 (derived from Callisthenes' history of Alexander)
⁶ ii 83
edges are not uncommon. U.Kaplony-Heckel published four Demotic oracle questions from Hermopolis\textsuperscript{8} which had been rolled up, folded and tied with string, so that the god could choose blindly between the closed petitions. An experiment with a photocopy of our papyrus showed that it was folded over four times into a tiny parcel about 1.5 cm. wide. The fact that it remained rolled up for a sufficient time for its edges to become abraded may suggest that it was the question rejected by the god: it was thus kept back by the priests and eventually discarded, still in its sealed state.

Travel matters were a frequent preoccupation, to judge from extant oracle questions: fourteen\textsuperscript{9} out of about eighty-two Greek and Demotic questions refer to it in some way. How an oracular pronouncement about travel practically affected the lives of individuals is illustrated by P.Tebt. ii 284, 2-7: επικέκριται μοι μή καταβήναι ἐως τῆς κε, καὶ ὃς θέλει ὁ Σωκνεβτύνις ὁ κύριος θεὸς καταβήσομαι ἔλευθερος.

In the absence of any invocation, we can only speculate to whose oracle the question was submitted. Most of the questions from Oxyrhynchus are to the various avatars of Helius-Sarapis\textsuperscript{10} or to Thonis, a form of Horus.\textsuperscript{11} Isis may also be a possibility,\textsuperscript{12} or Thoeris and her associates.\textsuperscript{13}

Greek oracle questions from Egypt were recently listed by M.Totti in \textit{Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis -Religion}, 130-43, where she gives 39 examples. To these should be added lv 3799, which has a recent bibliography providing addenda to that in Totti, and probably xii 1567.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{8} \textit{Neue Demotische Orakelfragen}, FuB 14 (1972), 86 ff.
\textsuperscript{9} Greek: vi 925; P.Fay.137, 138; P.Strasb.352-4. Demotic: Bresciani, op.cit., nos.6,7,9,10,11; Kaplony-Heckel, op.cit., D; Coptic: De Nie in Ex Oriente Lux II 8 (1942), pp.615-618 (2 examples).
\textsuperscript{10} prob. vi 923; viii 1148 -1149; ix 1213; prob. xxxi 2613; xlii 3078 (Zeus-Helius Nicephorus)
\textsuperscript{11} P.Köln iv 202; l 3590. For Christian examples, see vi 925, viii1150 and Youtie, op.cit., footnote 3 above.
\textsuperscript{12} see A.Henrichs, ZPE 11 (1971), p.117.
\textsuperscript{13} see lv 3799 introd.
\textsuperscript{14} see footnote 1 above.
Translation

If he will come to me in the month of Tybi, bring out this (slip) to me.

Commentary

3. The μοι here does not resemble the same letter group in line 2: the ο, instead of being small and floating, is little more than a mis-shaped squiggle ligatured to the bottom of the descender of μ.

δώσεις; the form is unparalled in oracle questions. Most usual is the form δός, though P.Köln iv 202 and SB x 10569 have δώς; there are also variations like τοῦτο μοι ἔξενεγκον (see ZPE 57 (1984), p.91) and χρηματίσατε τοῦτο (P.Monac. iii 117). The verb-form could be seen as an example of the future indicative as imperative in the apodosis (Mandilaras, section 408). Demotic questions usually use an imperative.
LIST OF CLOTHING AND LINENS
This list is written in brown ink in a large, upright cursive that is most likely to belong to the first half of the seventh century. The general character of the hand recalls P.Amherst ii 157 of 612 and the first hand of P.Vindob. G 39736\(^1\) of 643: note particularly the exaggerated κ and the writing of μ with a long tail. There is an interesting mixture of forms: note, for example, the difference between the large beta in line 8, and the cursive examples elsewhere, which are very difficult to distinguish from κ. The back is blank.

The document is laid out in the format standard for such lists at this period, with the abbreviation of the articles indicated by doubling the final letter, e.g. ιμμ— for ιάματίων. As one often finds in this type of list, there are some unusual words, and it is sometimes difficult to interpret some of the entries as garments or soft furnishings: see notes on lines 11 and 13. It is not unusual to find lists of mixed commodities marked, for example, γνώσις σκέψων (cf. P.Antin.iii 204), though it would be surprising to find extraneous items here since the list is specified as being of garments. It is perhaps worth noting that when clothes are listed along with household utensils or furniture, the clothing and soft furnishings are listed first, not interspersed with the other goods: cf vi 921, i 109, P.Michael.18.

The papyrus offers no clue to its purpose. The numbers of items are small, which probably points to a private origin. Many similar papyri are inventories of the effects of deceased persons (P.Tebt. ii 406, P.Mich.xiv 684), preliminary lists of trousseaux, or are concerned with goods deposited in pawn shops: see TAPA 92 (1961), pp.253 ff., though I would not necessarily attribute either of these origins to our text. Perhaps it is a checklist of items sent for laundry or fulling, or an inventory of the contents of a traveller's luggage, like P.Ryl.iv 627.

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\(^1\) Respectively, plates 43a and 43c in G.Cavallo and H.Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period AD 300-800.*
+ 

+ γνῶ(σις) ἰμ(ατίων)

2  ὅ(τως)

3  ῥάχν(αι)  B

4  σαγή(α) ῥούσσια  B

5  ἀκκουβίτ( )  B

6  σινδ(όνες) μεσοτριβια(κάι)  Γ

7  ὰμ(οίως) σινδ(όνες) καινουργικ(αί)  Δ

8  σαβον( )  A

9  προσκεφάλ(αιον)  A

10  ὰμ(οίως) προσκεφάλ(αια)  B

11  βιβλί(α)  A

12  σαγίτ(ια)  Γ

13  κασίδ(ια)  B

14  ὰθόν(ιον)τῇ ( ) μικρ( ) μαυρ[ ]  A

1. γνω ἰμυν par.  2. ὅ par  3. ῥαχν par.
4. ἀκκουβιττ- par.  5. σινδδ par.  6. ὀμο σινδδ par.
7. καινουργικ par.  8.1 σαβον( ), σαβονΣ par.
9. προσκεφαλ- par.  10. ὀμο προσκεφαλ- par.
11. βιβλι- par.  12. l. σαγίδια, σαγίτ- par.
Translation

+List of clothing, as follows: cloaks, 2; russet-coloured blankets, 2; bed-clothes (?), 2; sheets, half-worn out, 3; other sheets, brand-new, 4; face-cloth, 1; cushion, 1; other cushions, 2; papyrus-cloth cover (?), 1; small blankets, 2; wrappers, 2; piece of linen offor young Maura (?), 1.

Commentary

1. For the heading γνώσις ἰματίων, see xvi 2054, SPP xx 245.

3. ἰάχνη (αι) - the gender of this noun is somewhat in doubt. In both LSJ and WB, it is listed as neuter under τὸ ἰάχνος. However, the word is clearly feminine in P.Oslo iii 161, 5, P.Gen.80, 7, CPR viii 65, 6-7, 11-14, and in P.Oxy.Inv.68.6B.23/J(1), edited by H.Ioannidou (P.Oxy.ivii, forthcoming). Accordingly I resolve the abbreviation as though the noun were feminine.

5. ἀκκουβιτ(α) or ἀκκουβιτ(άλλα)? Beds are frequently included among lists of clothes and soft furnishings: see Wilcken Chrest. 1, ii, 244, 3 (p.288) and 5, P.Dura 33, 11 and probably P.Antin.iii 204. On the other hand, see H.Cadell in CE 42 (1967) p.202 who corrects P.Berl.Zill.13, 4 to ἀκκουβιτάλλα.

6. μεσοτριβα(κάς) - expanded on analogy with xiv 1645 9-10 (iv AD): τριβακά στρωμάτια δῶ [ . . . . . . ] ἰδίοχρωμονμεσοτριβακόν. Hesychius also has μεσοτριβής sv θύσινον. The adjective Ἰματριβής is frequently applied to clothes in the papyri: see line 14. The τ here more resembles a γ or υ, but the former reading would not make sense and any connection with μεσοφυκά, 'ships' ropes' is difficult to see. For textile terminology in lists of this kind, see J.Blinzler, Θόδνια und andere Stoffbezeichnungen im <<Wäschekatalog>> des Ägypters Theophanes und im Neuen Testament, Philologus 99 (1955) pp.158 ff, particularly for the relationship between θόδνια and σινδόνες.

7. καινουργίκ(α) - apparently addendum lexicis, from καινουργός, 'brand-new.'
8. σάβαν(ον), σαβάν(ιον) or σαβαν(φακιάριον)? Cf. vi 921, P.Ryl.iv 627, though P.Gen.80 has σαβάνιον.

σινδώνες (or σινδώνα) and σάβανα are frequently associated in lists of this sort: cf P.Coll.Youtie ii 95, 7-8 and note ad.loc., vi 921, 12, 15; xvi 1843, 19; xvi 2054; P.Princ.ii 82 r.30; P.Ryl.iv 627 r.12. As the latter papyrus suggests, they may have been related items for bath use.

11. βιβλ(α): it is difficult to fit this entry into a list of garments unless we assume that it refers to some kind of cloth woven from papyrus. Herodotus ii 96 mentions sails made of papyrus, and this is repeated by Pliny (Natural History, xiii 72) and Theophrastus Enquiry into Plants iv.8.4, both of whom go on to allude to the use of papyrus for clothing. Strabo mentions κοίκινα, textiles woven from the fibre of the coix-palm.¹

Unfortunately, these references are rather vague as to the type of garment that was produced. The allusions to sails and coverlets being woven from it might suggest some fairly large, coarse item like a cloak, though a poem from the Anacreontea shows that papyrus could be used for things as small as ribbons.² Other types of cloth woven from similar plant fibres in different cultures, such as the kuba cloth woven from raphia palm fibre in West Africa, are put to a wide variety of applications. Accordingly I translate βιβλ(α) here rather vaguely on the assumption that a large item is intended, as the ancient sources seem to suggest.

I have not been able to find any references to weaving clothes from papyrus fibre in the documents themselves, but would note in this connection xxxiii 2679, 5-11: ἐπεμψά σοι πρὸ τούτων διὰ Ὀσοράπιος ἵερεως τὴν σύγκις τῆς περφυρᾶς καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ διὰ Πολυδυκεούς βιβλία. The editor suggested that the purple and the βιβλία were related and that the former referred to purple-stained wrappers from books or σύλλυβοι, but could one interpret it better as a reference to dye for papyrus-cloth?

---

¹ Pliny: ex ipso quidem papyro navigia texunt et e libro vela tegetesque, nec non et vestem etiam strangula ac fuses.

² Theophrastus: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ πάπυρος πρὸς πλείστα χρήσιμος: καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα ποιοῦσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς βιβλού ἵστα τε πλέκοντε καὶ νιώθους καὶ ἐσθῆτα τινα καὶ στρωμάτας καὶ ἔτερα ἐκ πλεία.

Strabo xvii.2.5: καὶ τὰ κοίκια δὲ πλέγματα Ἀγριππιακά ἔστι, φυτοῦ τινος, ὑμοιά τοῖς σχοινίοις ἢ φοινίκινοις.

² Anacreontea 32, 4-5: ὁ δέρως χιτῶνα δῆσας ὑπὲρ αὐχένος παπύρω.
12. σαγιτ ( ) - apparently another new word, probably a diminutive of σάγος, from Latin sagum, a large cloak or blanket (cf. vii 1051, 20). For the sagum (frequently a piece of animal equipment in the papyri), see sv in Daris, Il lessico latino nel Greco d'Egitto. This further illustrates that everyday words in koine Greek borrowed from Latin often appear as diminutives in the papyri, as R. Cavanaile pointed out in Quelques aspects de l'apport linguistique du grec au Latin de l'Égypte, Aegyptus 32 (1952), pp. 191-203.

The numeral is very doubtfully read: it looks most like ν, which would be an improbably large number, especially if they were substantial items: perhaps it is γ without its final flourish.

13. κασσίδιων is a new diminutive of the rare word κάσσον, glossed by Hesychius as ἴμψτιον; παχὺ καὶ τραχὺ περιβόλαιον. I have not been able to find it elsewhere in the papyri, but cf. κάσσης in P. Tebt. i 38, 22 and P. Lond. ii 402, p. 11 - both of these instances seem to mean a cloth or skin used as a horse-blanket. It should not be confused with κασσίδιον in SB iv 7247, which is a borrowing of Latin cassus: see sv in Daris, op. cit. The numeral is either κ or β, which are often difficult to differentiate in this hand: cf the β of οκκουβίτης (ἀλα) and the κ of προσκεφάλα (αίώ).

14. Expand either as τὴ(ζ) μικρ(ής) μαύρ[ας], or τῇ μικρ(ῆς) μαύρ[α]: the article indicates that μαύρ[α] is more likely to be the Byzantine female name Maura than the adjective, meaning dark-coloured. For the meaning of δόνια in the papyri see S. Bartina, Ὀθόνια ex papyrorum testimoniis, Studia Papyrologica 4 (1965), pp. 27-38, who concluded that it was a generic term which could embrace items as diverse as σινδόνες and δερματικά.
APPENDIX 1

CORPUS OF GARMENT LISTS ON PAPYRI, i-viii AD

This list usually includes only garment lists that were specifically written as such: it does not cover lists of garments that are parts of other documents, such as bridal trousseaux in marriage contracts, requests for clothes in private letters, or accounts of *vestis militaris*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii-iii</td>
<td>x 1310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xxiv 2424 ii</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SB vi 9568</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SPP xx 41 v.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SPP xx 46 r.</td>
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<td>iii</td>
<td>vi 921</td>
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<td>vii 1051</td>
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<td></td>
<td>xliv 3201</td>
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<td></td>
<td>P.Dura 33</td>
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<td>P.Fam.Tebt.49 fr.b</td>
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<td>P.Mert. ii 71</td>
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<td></td>
<td>P.Michael.18</td>
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<td>P.Tebt.ii 405</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SB viii 9834</td>
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<td>SB xvi 12291</td>
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<td>iii-iv</td>
<td>SB viii 9835</td>
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<td></td>
<td>i 109</td>
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<td>P.Bon.38</td>
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<td>iv</td>
<td>xiv 1741</td>
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<td>li 3626</td>
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<td>liv 3776</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Abbin.81 r.</td>
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<td>P.Gen.80</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P.Ryl.iv 627</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
iv-v

P. Sorbonne inv.2142 in A. Bataille,
*Un inventaire des vêtements inédit*, Eos 48
(1956) fasc.2, pp.83-8

v

vii 1026
P. Rain. Cent. 77 r.
P. Vindob. G. 40422 in P. Sijpesteijn, *Vierzehn*
P. Vindob. G. 27679 in Sijpesteijn, op. cit., pp.85-6
SB xvi 12249
P. Wash. Univ. i 58

vi

xvi 1978
xvi 2058
P. Antin. iii 204
P. Berol. inv. 25017 (ed. H. Maehler in BCU xvi,
P. Coll. Youtie ii 85
CPR viii 65
P. Mich. xiv 684
P. Prag. i 93
P. Rain. Cent. 156 and 157
SB iii 6024
SB xvi 12250 and 12251
SPP xx 245
SPP xx 275

vii

xvi 2054
P. Apoll. 104
SB viii 9754

vii-viii

SB vi 9594
RECEIPT FOR ANIMAL EQUIPMENT
Receipt for Harness

P.Oxy.Inv.33 4B.84/H (1-4) c
28. Receipt for Animal Equipment

(7.5 x 8.7 cm.)

This list of various pieces of tack and stable equipment is written in a neat cursive hand which presents few difficulties of transcription. P.Heid.74 (=Seider i, no.34) of 138 may be compared, as may P.Heid.75b (= Seider i no.35) of 147, which has some very similar letter forms though written with a rather sharper pen. The back is blank. The text starts near the upper edge of the papyrus. There is a blank space at the bottom of about 2.5 cm.

The small number of items received probably points to a private origin. Some of the items of equipment are specifically for pack- or working animals (lines 1, 7), so perhaps it came from the accounts of a farm or estate. Other entries, such as the grooming instrument and bucket, could fit into any context. I do not exclude some of the items having quite 'luxury' connotations: the trappings with which Thiasus furnishes the ass Lucius when he wishes to pamper him show some similarities with some of the items here, though there is the continual problem of reconciling Latin terminology with Greek:

me phaleris aureis et fucatis ephippis et purpureis tapetis et frenis argenteis et pictilibus balteis et tintinnabulis perargutis exornatum.1

As is usual in commodity lists, some of the entries are difficult to identify exactly, particularly when the item is stated with a minimum of description. The entries are listed in a mixture of accusative and nominative forms, often with singular for plural - again a common phenomenon of this genre of text.

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1 Apuleius, Met. x, 18.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ἐσχον  εὐλοφοβεῖαν εξηρτισμένη</td>
<td>I have received wooden halters, fully equipped, 3;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ἐσχον καὶ ἄλλα</td>
<td>I have received two more, fully-equipped with blankets (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>σάγια εξηρτισμένη</td>
<td>fully-equipped saddle-cloths, 3;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ἐκθέτης τρίχ&lt;ν&gt;ον</td>
<td>a worn pack saddle(?) 1; another pack-saddle (?) of straight wood, 1;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ἄλλο ἐκθέτης ὅρθοξυλον</td>
<td>another pack-saddle (?) 1; another pack-saddle (?) 1; another pack-saddle (?) 1;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ἄλλο ἐκθέτης τριχακόν</td>
<td>in use, 1; a soft saddle, 1; harness with bells, 2; two others, small;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ἀστράβην</td>
<td>curry-comb, 1; an old bucket, 1; bit, 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>κωδώνια</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ἄλλα δύο μεικρά</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ψήκ&lt;τ&gt;ρα</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>κάδος παλέος</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>χαλινός</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

I have received wooden halters, fully equipped, 3; I have received two more, fully-equipped with blankets (?) ; fully-equipped saddle-cloths, 3; a worn pack saddle(?) 1; another pack-saddle (?) of straight wood, 1; another pack-saddle (?), in use, 1; a soft saddle, 1; harness with bells, 2; two others, small; curry-comb, 1; an old bucket, 1; bit, 1.
1. ξυλοφορβεία - addendum lexicis. It must have been a piece of equipment for a pack animal. ξυρτσιμένη presumably means 'fully equipped with straps': the halters mentioned in no 29, line 3, are fitted with three straps each. A large wooden collar, with holes cut in for the straps, is exhibited outside room 34 in the Cairo Museum, though the object is apparently undated, unprovenanced and without inventory number.

2. βουλεικα as it stands is difficult to interpret. I suggest reading βου<κο>λεικά for βουκολικά, which occurs in BGU xiv 2427 among a list of different cloths subject to duty. The editor thought that the abbreviation βυο( in P.Hibeh i 67 and 68, letters regarding the payment of weavers, should be expanded as βου(κολικά), and continued: "in beiden Listen müsste das Wort einen Stoffartikel bezeichnen." A boucolicon may have been some kind of coarse blanket used as a horsecloth: all the other cloths in P.Hibeh 67 are large items. I find this more convincing than the interpretation of the BGU editor, who referred to the βουκόλος (a minor temple official in UPZ i 57,7) and suggested "demnach wären boukolika irgendwelche Bekleidungsstücke oder zeremonielle Tücher, die dieser boukolika bei einem Ritual benutzte."

3. σάηα ξυρτσιμένα - cf SB xvi 12245, 5, where the same phrase occurs in a list of items of equipment received by a donkey-driver.1 σαη is explained in Hesychius as η άλη πανοπλία; η περιβόλαιον, σκέπασμα, so it was probably some kind of saddle-cloth like the previous entry, rather than an actual saddle, which the word can also mean at this date: see LSJ sv σαη, σάηα. ξυρτσιμένος is usually applied to very large things such as ships (P.Oxy.Hels.37, 5) or irrigation machinery (ix 1208, 14; xxxiv 2723). Here it perhaps means fully equipped with the necessary fastenings, or perhaps with decorative fringes or tassels. A relief on Trajan's Column shows a mule wearing a stratum or fringed saddle-cloth underneath a pack saddle loaded with Dacian plunder (see P.Vigneron, Le Cheval dans l'Antiquité, pl.56c), and horses from the third century tombs at Qustul in Nubia were found caparisoned with two saddle cloths, one fringed and tasseled

1 The phrase was incorrectly translated by the original editor in Aegyptus 61 (1981) p.81 as 'fertiggestellte Mäntel.'
beneath the saddle, the other an overlying sheepskin: see W. Emery, *Nubian Treasure: An Account of the Discoveries at Ballana and Qustul*, p.47 and plate 26.

4-6. I can offer no very convincing solution for the term ἐκθέτης. The most usual meanings are a balcony or the eaves of a house, both of which suggest something which projects. I suppose some kind of pack-saddle could be meant. Crude pack-saddles made of wood and palm-fibre, which would have required cloths underneath to prevent chafing the animal's back, were discovered at ḫaranis and are on display in the Cairo Museum (CG 49873): they consist of thick pieces of wood strung together with four lengths of stout palm-fibre rope, with supports for the cushion on the inside. On an animal's back, they would have projected over the flanks like a balcony. A very similar kind of pack-saddle appears on a relief of Trajan's Column: it has a rigid wooden framework and a saddle-cloth beneath, the load being fastened on by straps (Vigneron, op.cit., pl.56b). Alternatively, we could look for a derivation from other meanings of ἐκτίθημι, such as 'set out, arrange:' see LSJ sv ἐκτίθημι, ἐκθέτειν. It could then have been some sort of brush or piece of grooming equipment, though Xenophon, *Eq*. v.6, makes no mention of brushes, and states that the horse's head should never be touched with wood or iron.

For τρίχινος 'worn, used,' see Hesychius sv θόστινον.

7. ἀστράβη - previously in the papyri at P.Cair.Zen. iv 59659, an account of donkey-equipment stolen from an employee of Zenon while travelling, and perhaps P.Tebt.ii 414, 15. It was a padded saddle specifically for mules and pack-animals, perhaps as opposed to the ἐκθέτης which could have had a rigid wooden structure. See Hesychius sv ἀστράβη: τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ξύλων, ὁ κρατοῦσιν οἱ καθεξόμενοι: τίθεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβατικῶν ὄνων, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλείστον μὲν τὴν σωματηγὸν ἡμίονον οὕτως ἔλεγον. ἐνίοτε δὲ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ σωματηγόντα, ὑποζύγια.

8. κωδώνια - Only in the papyri before at BGU i 162, 10, a list of temple accoutrements. It does not refer to trumpets, but to the piece of horse-equipment described in Pollux, *Onomasticon x*, 55-6; ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐλωτοὶ φιμοὶ διὰ τὸ κώδωνας ἔχειν προσηρτιμένους οἳς ἐγχρεμετέξοντες οἱ ὑποὶ ἥχον ἐποίον προσόμοιον αὐλὸ - a sort of strap equipped with bells, like the *tintinnabula* on Apuleius' ass, which are still
seen today in Egypt. Dogs, horses and camels with bell-hung trappings were found at Ballana and Qustul\textsuperscript{2}: see Emery, op.cit., pp.49 and 55 and Strabo\textsuperscript{3} mentions beasts of burden having bells hung round their necks to frighten off wild beasts while crossing the desert.

10. The only other mention of the ψήκτρα in the papyri is iv 741,7. Pollux, x 56, mentions both the ψήκτρα and the σωρακίς as grooming instruments: the latter was used for smoothing down the coat to give a sheen, while the ψήκτρα was of iron and saw-toothed, for smoothing out knots in the hair, more like a modern curry-comb: compare Anth.Pal.vi 246, 5: καὶ ψήκτρην ἵππων ἐρυσίτριχα.

12. χαλινός is only previously attested in the papyri at P.Cair.Zen. iv 59659, op.cit, and iv 59782.

\textsuperscript{2} These may be seen in the Cairo Museum (CG 70539-70558).
\textsuperscript{3} xvi,4, 17: δδοιποροῦσι δὲ νυκτὸρ ἐκ τῶν δρενών θρημάτων κύδωνας εξάψαντες ὦστ' ἐξίστασθαι τὰ θηρία τῷ τροφῷ.
TWO LISTS OF HARNESS
These two inventories of different items of animal equipment are closely related: they are written in the same hand, which is of a fairly common late second or early third century semi-uncial type, comparable with P.Mert.i 27 (iii AD), and P.Laur.i 11, an account from the Heroninus archive of 248-58: compare particularly the angular final sigma with its characteristic flourish, and the ligatured writing of ἀλλα. Other comparable hands from the Heroninus archive are P.Flor.ii 213 of 255 and the first hand of P.Flor.ii 234 of 264. I do not think that the hand shows any signs of familiarity with Latin cursive, apart from possibly the non-cursive beta with the base-line (29, 3) which recalls, for example, P.Dura 54 of 223-227. On the left hand side of 30 is a collesis. The backs of both papyri are blank.

The entries on the first list are mostly different kinds of strap, including girths for pack-animals, cheek-straps and leading-reins. Also included are some small skins, presumably raw material for strap manufacture. The second list is similar in content and contains many of the same items, though entered in a different order.

Both lists seem to be the accounts of a supplier of leather goods, seemingly of items manufactured from a quantity of hides given to the craftsman by the customer, which would explain the appearance of unworked surplus leather at the ends of both lists. Whom was the manufacturer supplying? A large private estate, the army or a caravan organizer seem the most attractive candidates. The actual equipment, where it can be definitely identified, could be equally suitable for horses, camels or beasts of burden. 30 is headed 'list of ass equipment;' 29 is untitled, but has an entry 'straps for the girths of the working donkeys,' which might imply that the other items on the list were destined for some other kind of animal. Perhaps the lists cover two separate commissions to the leatherworker from different customers. In this case, the ass equipment in the second list, where the number of items is fairly high (eg 25 muzzles) may well have been commissioned by the organizer of a caravan to the Little Oasis, 200km. west of Oxyrhynchus, where asses were
regularly used for transporting goods: see G.Wagner, *Les Oases d'Égypte*, pp.313-4 and the papyri cited there. Asses were also used for transport by the military, as the frequent depictions on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius demonstrate. The second list is less easy to place in context. Many of the items are the same as in the other list, though the numbers are smaller, 15 girth- straps being the largest quantity listed. It is just possible that this equipment was manufactured by an independent civilian manufacturer of leather equipment for the army. After the mid-second century, military footwear seems to have been supplied by civilians¹ but as far as I know there is no evidence for whether other leather items were manufactured in camp, or by civilians working under contract. PSI v 465 is a requisition of 106 hides from the city of Oxyrhynchus to the *cornicularius* of the Legio II Traiana Galliana Fortis for the purpose of making weapons (ἐις κατασκευὴν ὀπλῶν), but no mention is made of who will manufacture the arms. Other papyri indicate that military supplies were routinely requisitioned from local manufacturers² and paid for from the public treasury.³ However, the only item on this list which might have specifically military connotations is the entry in line 5, which is rather difficult to interpret: see the note ad loc. All the other pieces of equipment could come from almost any context where animals were kept. Further, the letter-forms do not suggest that the scribe often wrote Latin: one might expect more Latin cursive influences to have crept into the script if the text had a military origin. It is quite possible that 29 also includes equipment for pack-animals in caravans: one thinks of the bell-hung harness in line 8, and Strabo's reference to its use on the harness of pack-animals crossing the desert: see above, 28, footnote 3 on line 8. However, I would not expect a contract system, where a manufacturer was supplied with raw materials by a customer, to lead to such close accounting of surplus and scrap as we see in these lists: the closest parallel in the papyri would be weavers' records, which do not specify left-over quantities of yarn or production losses. Accordingly, I think that the most likely origin for these two lists is the office of a large estate where leather would have been a by-product of large-scale animal

² M.Speidel, *The Prefect's horse guards and the supply of weapons to the Roman army*, Roman Army Studies I, p.331.
rearing. The skins or hides would then have been distributed to dependent estate labour for making-up: see further no.30, lines 10-12 note.

What kind of leather is being used to manufacture this tack? Goat skin is the most probable, and often occurs when reference is made to manufacturing military equipment: see P.Abinn.4, 6 and 8-9, P.Grenf.ii 51 and probably P.Mich ix 576,4 though the skins requisitioned in PSI v 465 are those of sheep.

These papyri are of considerable technical and lexical interest, though the usual difficulties of interpreting lists of commodities with many new words are exacerbated here by the problem of reconciling the terms with depictions and extant harness. Greek harness terminology is often very unspecific: κημύς, for instance, can mean a muzzle, a nose-bag or a halter, and χαλινώς is attested as a bit, a thong, reins or the whole bridle. Much of our evidence for harness at this period comes from military contexts in the West: van Driel-Murray, op.cit., p.43, points out the problems of analysing it. Evidence of harness in the East is more scarce. There were apparently finds of leather at Dura Europos, which were never included in the final excavation report, and substantial amounts await publication from the desert site of Mons Claudianus. van Driel-Murray, op.cit., p.44, plausibly suggests that "the use of oiled and alum-tawed leather may be responsible for the otherwise unaccountable lack of horse-harness, straps, belts and sheaths on Roman sites." Some pieces of straps with incised and punched decoration, excavated by Petrie at Hawara and now in the Petrie Museum (UC 28331-28334) are probably fragments of harness straps, since they are too large to be pieces of sandals. One of the pieces (UC 28334) preserves the junction of two lengths of strap, covered with a decorative rosette in finer leather. The grain side shows the pock-marking often observed in hides treated with salt or alum prior to tanning: see van Driel-Murray, op.cit., p.61.

References to harness are rather infrequent in the papyri. Other lists of animal equipment and tack, from various contexts, may be found at P.Cair.Zen.iv 59659, 59781 v., and 59782 (iii BC); P.Hibeh ii 211 (c.250 BC); P.Tebt.iii.2, 886 (probably 182 BC); P.Lond.ii 402 v (152 or 141 BC); P.Tebt. i 38 (ii BC); SB xvi 11017 (AD 12); ii 326 =SB x 10241 (i AD); iv 741 (ii/iii AD) : P.Mich xv 717, P.Mich.ix 576, xxxi 2598 (charioteer's equipment) (iii AD):

4 In this papyrus, I suggest that σκουτάλιν in line 6 be interpreted as a contracted form of σκούταλων, with a typically Fayyumic substitution of λ for ρ. This makes better sense in context than the editor's σκουτέλλιον. The papyrus may then be seen as a list of military equipment.
lvi 3869, 11ff (vi/vii AD). Although there were apparently guilds of strap-makers, which implies that the craft was quite technical, specific references to harness manufacturers are scarcer: one of the men performing dike work at Ptolemais Hormou was described as χαλινο(υργός) (SB i 5124, 684), a term which is glossed as lorarius in CGL. SB vi 9410 v 64, one of the Heroninus archive accounts, has an entry 'for the cost of harness ordered in town' among other entries of expenditure on working animals, mostly donkeys. SB iii 7181 b is probably also an account from a leather worker's factory, which produced saddlebags, two different types of padded cushion or mattress, and shoes. The ϕορβειοπώλης who worked in the Street of the Cobblers at Oxyrhynchus (vii 1037, 4) may be a seller of fodder rather than a tack-shop owner, though it is tempting to see some connection between his profession and the location of his shop.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Greek Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>λώροι φατνικῶν</td>
<td>Straps for the nose-bags, 5; halter, 1; others, of plaited leather (?), 2;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>φορβειά</td>
<td>leading-reins, 2;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ἄλλαι σειρωταί</td>
<td>straps for the labtaria (?), 4; other cheek straps, 4; head-piece (?), 1;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ἀγογείς</td>
<td>straps for the harness hung with bells, 3; pair of collars (?), 1;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>εἰς λαβτάριοι λώροι</td>
<td>straps for the girths of the working donkeys, 15; chin-straps (?), 2;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ἄλλοι λῶροι εἰς τρίβολον</td>
<td>and left over, a skin of half-cubit width and four-cubit length.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>περιώτιν</td>
<td>11. ύποχέλια (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>εἰς κωδόνια λῶροι</td>
<td>2.1. φορβειά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>σφαιρωμάτων ξεύγ(ος)</td>
<td>11. ύποχέλια (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>εἰς ζώνας ὁνος ἔργατι κοῖς λῶροι</td>
<td>2.1. φορβειά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ύποχέλια</td>
<td>11. ύποχέλια (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>καὶ ὑπελίπτη δέρμα</td>
<td>2.1. φορβειά</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>πλάτους ἡμύτπηχυν</td>
<td>11. ύποχέλια (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>μῆκους</td>
<td>2.1. φορβειά</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation**

Straps for the nose-bags, 5; halter, 1; others, of plaited leather (?), 2; leading-reins, 2; straps for the labtaria (?), 4; other cheek straps, 4; head-piece (?), 1; straps for the harness hung with bells, 3; pair of collars (?), 1; straps for the girths of the working donkeys, 15; chin-straps (?), 2; and left over, a skin of half-cubit width and four-cubit length.
Commentary

1. φατνικός – apparently *addendum lexicis*, derived from φατνεύω, 'to feed at a manger,' though modern Greek has the adjective φατνιακός, defined by D.Dimitriadou as δ ἄνηκόν ἡ αναφέρομενος εἰς τὰ φατνία. Here, in the context of leather-working, it must mean a nose-bag, though the usual word for this is χιλιωτήρ: cf P.Grenf.ii 38, P.Lond.ii 402. See also no.30 below, line 8. A pack-animal about to have a nose-bag attached to its harness with a strap appears on a mosaic from Istanbul, published by D.Talbot Rice in *The Great Palace of The Byzantine Emperors*, Report 1 (1947), pl.30.

3. άλλατι (sc. φορβεά) σειρωταί: Perhaps 'bound (with leather thongs)' or '(made out of) plaited (leather) ?

5. λαβτάριον - I can offer no very convincing solution for this. A derivation from λαμβάνω seems improbable. A Latin loan-word is likelier, though matters are confused by the ambiguity of the letter following β, which certainly resembles λ, but could just as easily be τ with an exaggeratedly dipped horizontal stroke to join on to the α. I suggest reading λαβ<α>ταριον as a transcription of the plural of Latin labatorium, a kind of metal ornament worn by women, which in this context could mean some kind of pendent decoration like a horse-brass or phalera. It is interesting that monilia, the item before labatoria in Cassiodorus' list of booty, is also well-attested as an ornamented horse-collar.

Asses as well as horses wore pendants on their breastbands, as is shown by Apuleius Met. x 18 (quoted in no.28 introd.). The sacrificed horses and asses from Ballana and Qustul had silver trappings attached to leather breast-strap and breechings: see W.Emery, *Nubian Treasure: An Account of the Discoveries at Ballana and Qustul*, plate 26. Bronze pendants from harness are very common finds at military sites in the West. Their types are classified by M.Bishop, *Cavalry Equipment of the Roman Army in the First Century AD*, BAR(IS) 394, pp.142-156. V.Maxfield discusses phalera

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6 Only known from Cassiodorus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* X, 20, 3: milites...praedam circa mulierum ornamenta faciebant zonas aureas, dextralia, monilia, labatoria, anulos, diademata. For some reason the ed.pr. of Jacob-Hanelik (CSEL 71) has lavatoria here, in preference to labatoria of the consensus codd.

7 see e.g Verg.Aen.7.278: aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent: Ovid, Met.10, 112-113: demissaque in armis/ pendebant tereti gemmata monilia collo.
generally in *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, pp.91-95, and gives useful diagrams of the means of their attachment to leather strapping on pp.93-4.

A perhaps less plausible idea is to assume dittography and read λαβοτοι, as an unattested diminutive of λαβοτον, Latin *labarum*, a military standard or ensign, usually of a cavalry *ala*. The word appears in Eusebius, and is glossed in CGL v 655, 42 as *labara forte signa sunt et vexilla* and CGL v 427, 48: *vexilla et labarum idem sunt*. I suppose it is conceivable that a military standard, consisting of a piece of cloth suspended from a cross-shaped piece atop a pole, could have utilised leather thongs.

6. Literally, 'other straps for the bits.' τρίβολος originally meant the spiked rollers in the mouthpiece of the bit, but later came to signify the entire bit. It has previously only occurred in the papyri at P.Col.Zen. iv 59782 a, 9, in the first sense of the word: the bits being made by an ironmonger are equipped with two τρίβολοι. For illustrations of such bits, see J.Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, pl.34 a-d. Extant bits of the third century AD from Egypt are not equipped with spiked rollers: see M.Littauer and J.Crouwel, *A New Type of Bit from Iran?* Iranica Antiqua xxiii (1988), p.324. However, if this papyrus comes from a military context it is possible that such a bit might have been used: see M.Bishop, op.cit., p.108. References to them are common in Latin literature, eg Horace, *Carm*. i.8, 6:

- *cur neque militaris*
- *inter aequales equitet, Gallica nec lupatis*
- *temperet ora frenis?*

7. Accusative of περιωτίς, or perhaps περιώτην. Here for the first time in the papyri, the word is glossed in the Etymologicum Magnum as being the same as διμφωτίς, a sort of ear-covering worn by boxers to prevent them getting cauliflower ears: cf Plutarch, *Moralia* 706 C and 69,38 B, who mentions 'Xenocrates' ear-protectors' as though they were proverbial. An actual ear-protector seems unlikely here: I fail to see how an individual piece could have been attached to the ear. Leather chamfrons

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8 Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, I, 31, l:'Εκφρασις σταυροειδος σημείου, ὁπερ νῦν πιθείσαν
9 Ρομαίοι λαβορον καλούσαν.
8 Quaestiones Conviviales (Συμποσιακών προβλημάτων)
10 De recta ratione audendi (Περί τοῦ ακοιδέου)
(προμετωπίδια) have an ear-covering, but as an integral part of the whole head-piece: see J.Curle, A Roman Frontier Fort and its People, pl. xxi for an illustration. More probably the περωπτίς was the head-piece part of the bridle which went over the crest behind the ears, which Xenophon (Eq.vi, 7) calls the κορυφαῖον.

8. κοδώνια - see above, no.28, line 8 n.

9. σφαιρώματα - cf. P.Cair.Zen. iv 59659, 12 and 17, P.Col.Zen. ii 115b. The former papyrus apparently differentiated two types of this piece of tack, an ὀγκυτιακὸν σφαιρώμα and a regular sort (P.Lugd.Bat.xxi A, p.117). Edgar, editing 59659, suggested that this item might have been a collar, on analogy with σφαιρωτήρ, or a round chest pectoral. The item of equipment abbreviated as σφαιρ- in P.Lond ii 402 (p.11) is probably the same thing. For information on the collars of draught-animals in the Roman world, see J.Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art, p.187 and the Oxford History of Technology, op.cit, i, p.720 and ii, p.552.

Another possibility would be some kind of breeching-strap, assuming a derivation from the late meaning of σφαιρώμα as rump: see Sophocles, Lexicon, and Lampe, Patristic Greek Lexicon, sv.

10. The term ἐργατικός may be used to distinguish a working girth from a saddle girth. Harnessed draught animals had a broad girth band, which took part of the weight of the vehicle, while a saddle girth would have been narrower (and required less leather).

11. ὑποχέλλια - or perhaps read ὑποχέμια. Whatever the reading, the word is addendum lexicis. If it is ὑποχέλλια, it could be derived from χειλιὰ 'lips' and thus be some kind of chin strap attached to each end of the bit: compare Pollux, x 56, who mentions ὑποστόμια as parts of bridles, and Xenophon, Eq. vii, 1, where a strap called the ὑποχαλνύδια is attached to either side of the bit. If it was a chin strap, its use would depend on the kid of bit to which it was fastened. If the bit had no branches, no leverage would come from pulling on it, so it would merely be there to keep the bit in place and the mouthpiece from slipping.

Alternatively, ὑποχέμια could be a mis-spelling for ὑπολέμια = ὑπολαζόμια 'straps under the throat, throtlatches' - see note on no.30 line 5 below.
13-14. The piece of leather would have been about 22 cm. wide and two metres long.
1. αναγρράφημα
2. κύριο
3. ηλεκτρονικές
4. χαλκόπλακα
5. υπολογιστή
6. σφαιρόματα (λόφροι ΙΒ-) ζεύγη
7. άλλοι λόφοι
8. συγόνια φατνικών
9. ρυγχιστήρες
10. δέρμα μέγα Α- άλλα μεκρά
11. άλλα ἀποκόμματα
12. καταβολαία

1. αναγρράφημα
5. 1. υπολογιστή
7. 1. άλλα λόφοι
10. 1. μικρά

Translation

List of ass equipment. Muzzles, 25: halters, 3 (12 straps); leading-reins, 7 (14 straps); throtlatches (?), 12; pairs of collars, 6 (12 straps); other small (?) straps, 4; pouches for the nose-bags, 4; hackamores, (?), 3. Offcuts: large skin, 1; other ones, small, 3; other offcuts, 6. Rejected skins, 4.
Commentary

2. This entry is the only one on either list which has a check-mark beside it. For leather σφυκτήρες, cf Anth.Pal. vi 233, 1-2:

γομφιόδουπα χαλινά, καὶ ἀμφίτρητον υπεικτάν
κημᾶν, καὶ γενύον σφύκτορ'ἐγγραφέα.

Compare also St. Basil of Caesarea, De renuntiatione saeculi, 8 (=Migne, Patrologia Graeca 31, p.644) σφύγγε τὸ στόμα σου. The term occurs here for the first time in papyri. Muzzles made of leather straps were apparently used on equids in the ancient Near East (see M. Littauer, Bits and Pieces, Antiquity xliii (1969), pp.296-7), though the Roman fiscella seems often to have been of basketwork: cf Varro, Rerum Rusticarum II. ii, 14: fiscellas e iunco aliave qua re quod alligant ad natura. For the use of muzzles on mules and pack-animals, see Ps.-Lucian, Lucius, or the Ass, 17: έπὶ τούτῳ ἡμέρα τῇ ἡδι ἡν, καὶ ἡμέις ὁρη πολλὰ ἀναβεβήκειμεν, καὶ στόματα δὲ ἡμῶν δεσμῶ ἐπείξητο, ὡς μὴ περισσοκόμοι τὴν ἄδον ἐς τὸ ἄριστον ἀναλίσκομεν. As well as preventing browsing and biting, muzzles could be used to control the beast, as described in Xenophon, Eq. v, 3.

3. The typical cursive β contrasts with the formal shape of the β in 29, and is repeated in the next line and line 6.

4. Xenophon, Eq., vii, 1 seems to refer to a similar strap attached to the bridle but distinct from the reins, presumably to be used for leading as well as mounting:

πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὸν ὀμφαγωγέα χρῆ ἐκ τῆς
ὑποχαλινιδίδας ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ψαλίου ἤρτημένον εὕτρεπι εἰς τὴν ἄριστην χεῖρα
λαβεῖν.

Horses on leading-reins consisting of two sets of straps may be seen on many gravestones of Roman cavalrymen, particularly from the Rhineland: see M. Bishop, Cavalry Equipment of the Roman Army in the first century AD, BAR(IS) 394, figs. 5, 6 and 10.

5. Is this the same piece of equipment as in 29, 11? The traces of the fourth and fifth letters certainly seem unsuitable for υποχέλλια. Maybe two different pieces of tack were entered, υποχέλλια (chinstraps) and υπολαίμια (throtlatches), which could easily be confused.

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11 I am indebted to Mr Mark Hassall for this reference.
6. σφαιρώματα - see above, no.29, line 6 n.

7. The interlinear 10 presumably alters λόριοι in the line below into the diminutive λόριον, in which case ἄλλα λόρια should be read. A λόριον can be any kind of small strap or thong, such as a shoe lace, though the meaning 'reins' is attested (Johannes Malalas, Chronographia iv, 89).

8. σαγόνια φατνικῶν - perhaps read σαγ(ο)νια? σαγόνια, if the correct reading, is apparently addendum lexicis, or maybe a mistake for σαμια, plural of σάμια - see LSJ sv), which generally means a pack-saddle or horse-cloth in the papyri: see note on no.28, line 3. However, if φατνικός means a nosebag, it is difficult to see how σαγή could have its usual meaning here. Accordingly I suggest that this word is derived from the original meaning of σαγή as a bag or pouch: see LSJ and Hesychius sv. The latter has σάγην: τῶν θῦλακον: ἄλλαι δὲ σάκταν λέγουσιν ὀδοιπορικῶν θῦλακον, which fits in well with the sense here.

9. ῥυγχιστήρες - also apparently new. CGL v 467, 32 has nasator glossed as runcissator, ronchastis: the Greek index interprets the latter as ῥυγχιστής, but ῥυγχιστήρ now seems more probable as the original Greek word. The meaning is probably either noseband or, if straps were attached, hackamores, a sort of halter with nose-piece. Pack-animals are still controlled by low nosebands today in Egypt and many parts of the Middle East; used with or without a bit, they restrain the animal by putting pressure on the soft tissue at the end of the nasal bones: see M.Littauer, op.cit., p.293 and plate xli d. Leather hackamores have not been identified, but the metal examples from military contexts were studied by A. Taylor/Lawson in Römische Hackamoren und Kappzüme aus Metall, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 22. ii, p.106, and its update, Studien zum römischen Pferdegeschirr, JRGZ 25 (1978), pp.141 and 144. Otherwise, nosebands can be fastened to the cheekstraps merely to keep the bit in place.

10-12. As in the previous list, these lines seem to refer to raw materials, perhaps surplus leather which still had to be accounted for. αποκόμματα are probably offcuts: cf P.Holm.1, 40 ἀπόκομμα τῶν τοῦ χαλκοῦ πετάλων.
καταβολαία or καταβολάτα are presumably 'rejects,' i.e. skins of insufficiently good quality to be worked.

Such punctilious accounting is to be expected of a large institution, like an army camp or big estate, operating in a closed economic system where raw materials are distributed to dependent manufacturers without intervention of markets or wage labour. Very similar accounts are found in Mesopotamian temple archives, which have careful listings of surplus raw material and manufacturing losses, and New Kingdom bakery accounts, where sub-standard flour and even weight loss during baking are duly recorded. One would expect similar findings in analogous economic papyri of the Roman period, such as the records of weavers (who were usually supplied with raw materials by the customer), though I have not been able to find any instance of the recording of surplus.

The listing of left-overs would be especially interesting if these accounts are of military origin, since it would provide an official accounting procedure to explain the carefully-retained bundles of leather offcuts which occur at military sites such as Castleford, Vindonissa and Vindolanda. Old leather was also kept for recycling. At some point, these stores of scrap surplus materials would be reviewed and the excess discarded. Extant examples of offcuts from these sources show that they could be quite substantial pieces of leather, which explains why it was necessary to account for them accurately: see M. Rhodes, *Inscriptions on Leather Waste from Roman London*, Britannia 18 (1987) pp.173, 179 and pl.xix b for some sizeable leather offcuts from a shoemaker's shop.

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12 For the bakery accounts of Seti I's palace at Memphis, see B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, p.223.
13 See E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, p.75.
14 See e.g. BGU vii 1564, an account of *vestis militaris*. Similarly, contracts for the manufacture of garments to the customer's specifications never mention the returning of surplus yarn or cloth (see Wipszycka, op. cit. p.75 notes 43 and 44), but maybe the practice was so common that it went unmentioned.
APPENDIX 2

PROOF OF P.LOND.IV.3078 REAPPRAISED from JEA 76 (1990)

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

P. Lond. Inv. 3078 reappraised

It is suggested that P.Lond.Inv.3078, line 2, should be restored as a reference to a θεραπευτηρία, a festival for girls, rather than to a μελλοκούρια, as suggested by Skeat, JEA 61 (1975), 251-4.

In volume 61 (1975), 251-4 of this journal, the papyrologist T. C. Skeat published a fragment of a second century AD dinner invitation which had come from the excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie at Oxyrhynchus. His restoration of the scanty fragments must now be reappraised in the light of two more papyri of this genre, P.Oxy.Inv. 100-73(b) and 100-77(a), which have since come to light.1

My transcription

Skeat's restoration

ερωτά σε 'A.[
δειπνήσα·]
μη τῆς θ'[ ]
ἐν οἰκίᾳ [ ]
ἀπό[ ]

ερωτά σε 'A[ ]
δειπνήσα·[ι εἰς μελλοκούν·]
μη τῆς θ' [υγατρός ἑαυτόν]
ἐν οἰκίᾳ [ ]
ἀπό[ ὄρας ]

Palaeographical details which Skeat omitted are the line at a 45° angle below the second alpha in line 1 (probably a blot or offset rather than an accent) and a small detached fragment preserving the curve of a descender ligatured to an upright ascendant (cf. pl. XXVIII, 2). The writing of this scrap runs along the fibres and it fits neatly next to the second alpha in line 1. This would corroborate Skeat's surmise that the name was originally Απολλώνιος or something similar.

The two Oxyrhynchus inedita lead me to disagree with Skeat in one important instance. He thought that the solution to the lacuna at the end of line 2 was to be found in P.Oxy. 1484, another dinner invitation where Apollonius invited an unnamed individual to dine in the temple of Thoeris on the occasion of the Μελλοκούρια of two persons whose names and genders are lost. The Mellokouria is an elusive festival which was probably, as Skeat suggested,2 some kind of puberty ritual. His restoration of P.Lond.Inv. 3078 on analogy with P.Oxy. 1484 is suspect because (a) there is no evidence that the Mellokouria was a festival for girls (in fact, there is fairly strong evidence that it was not)3 and (b) there is no evidence that the Mellokouria could take place in a private home, as line 4 of the present text indicates was the case here.

The two unpublished papyri 100-73(a) and 100-77(b) are both invitations to dine in private homes at the θεραπευτηρία of the daughters of two Oxyrhynchites. The Therapeuteria is a mysterious festival, so far only alluded to once in the papyri,4 and elsewhere only in a very general sense.5 I will not attempt to discuss here the possible significance of the word, but would note in this connection that many of the Oxyrhynchite dinner invitations are for 'rites de passage' of various kinds, such as comings of age,6 weddings,7 and initiations to public office.8 Maybe the

1 The two texts are quoted here by permission of the E.E.S. in advance of their publication in a volume of the Oxyrhynchus papyri.
2 Skeat, op. cit. 252. See also Grenfell and Hunt's note on P.Oxy. 1484, and Bror Olsson's note on this papyrus in Aegyptus 7 (1926), 111-12.
3 See S. G. Coles, ZPE 55 (1980), 233 ff. She gives a detailed discussion of the koureotis ceremony, and whether it applied to girls.
4 At P.Oxy.Hels. 50, 16-17: περὶ δὲ τῶν/ οἰνωρίων ὑπερθεώμεθα τα θεραπευτηρία εἰς τὸ μελλόν. Presumably the festival for the Therapeuteria was postponed because the wine supplies had not arrived on time.
5 The only other instance is inNicetus, Historiae, 551 (van Dijen's edition).
6 P.Oxy. 926, 2792 and 3501 (the epicrisis for boys) and perhaps P.Oxy. 1484 (n. 2 above).
7 A list of wedding invitations is given by M. Vandoni, in Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci (Milan, 1964), 125-7. Add P.Oxy. 2678, the only example of an invitation to a son's wedding: the others are for daughters (2), sisters (2) or consanguineous marriages (2).
8 P.Oxy. 2147 and 3202 (to official investitures); P.Fouad Univ. 1.76 (= Vandoni, op. cit. no. 141), perhaps a temple initiation. Coles, op. cit. 234, discusses festivals of age-transition.
The Thera­peuteria was definitely a festival for girls and could take place in a private home, whereas there is no evidence that either was true of the Μελλοκούριο.

DOMINIC MONTSERRAT