

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE TEBTUNIS PAPYRI



Fund  
EGYPT EXPLORATION (SOCIETY)  
" Græco-Roman Memoirs

# THE TEBTUNIS PAPYRI

VOLUME III  
PART I

EDITED BY

ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.LITT.

PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AND FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE  
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

AND

J. GILBART SMYLY, LITT.D.

SENIOR FELLOW AND LIBRARIAN OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

WITH ASSISTANCE FROM

B. P. GRENFELL, E. LOBEL, M. ROSTOVITZ

WITH SEVEN COLLOTYPE PLATES

LONDON

HUMPHREY MILFORD

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1933

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS

GRAECO-ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY, VOLUME III

THE  
TEBTUNIS PAPYRI

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## P R E F A C E

To the long interval which has occurred between the appearance of this fresh instalment of the Tebtunis papyri and that of its predecessor various causes have contributed, chiefly the protracted illness and sad death of Professor Grenfell. In my absence from Oxford he had spent much time towards the end of the war on the texts of these papyri, which had been obtained from the cartonnage of mummies discovered at *Ûmm el Baragât*, and he was looking forward to their early publication. When in 1920 his health failed, the work was laid aside in the hope that he might eventually be able to return to it. On the final extinction of that hope in 1926 the question of publication was revived, and in order to facilitate this it was decided, with the kind concurrence of the authorities concerned, to repeat the arrangement made in the case of the first Tebtunis volume, which was a joint production of the University of California and of the Egypt Exploration Society (hence copies supplied to the latter's subscribers have, as before, a pair of title-pages). The decision was also reached to divide the volume into two, partly on account of its probable bulk, partly in order to render some important material the sooner accessible. But the preparation of the present first Part proved more onerous than was anticipated. Examination of the MS. left by Grenfell showed not only that the commentary (except that on no. 703: see below) was unwritten, but also that the texts in many cases needed much further study, while some still remained uncopied. In these circumstances it has seemed to us unwarrantable to assign to him on the title-page editorial responsibility for this book, though we desire to emphasize the importance of his preliminary work. We are also much indebted to Professor M. Rostovtzeff both for having drafted the full commentary on no. 703 and for many helpful suggestions elsewhere, and to Mr. E. Lobel, who worked on a number of the texts at an early stage, both at Dublin and at Oxford, and has

given assistance with the new literary pieces. Mr. C. C. Edgar has been good enough to look over the proof-sheets of the non-literary section and to contribute some valuable comments and corrections.

Part 2, which will include the remaining texts and the index to the whole volume, is in course of preparation and will follow with as little delay as possible.

ARTHUR S. HUNT.

OXFORD,

MARCH, 1933.

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## CLASSIFICATION OF PAPYRI ACCORDING TO MUMMIES

The following is a list of the papyri arranged according to the mummies from which they came. This evidence is often valuable for purposes of dating and sometimes in less obvious ways.

### MUMMY

1. 797.
- 1 (a). 698.
- 2 and 3. 700.
6. 694, 820.
7. 759.
8. 703, 705, 760-1, 770, 773, 814, 821.
9. 708, 719, 744, 749, 762, 794.
11. 695, 724, 752, 755, 757-8, 774, 778, 796, 813, 823.
12. 742.
13. 710, 726, 731, 765, 781-2, 784, 807, 809.
14. 779.
15. 692, 783.
16. 721, 727, 764, 812, 824.
18. 704.
19. 717, 804.
26. 732-4, 736, 743, 801, 806.
27. 793.
29. 706, 714, 780, 818.
30. 735.
31. 740.
38. 723, 810.
39. 768, 792.
- 39 (a). 701 (a), 707, 712, 791, 805.
41. 728, 793.

### MUMMY

44. 729, 811.
48. 722, 741, 751, 753-4, 775, 777, 795, 825.
49. 763, 798, 816.
53. 741, 750, 753, 756, 776, 817.
55. 767.
56. 737-9, 785-6.
57. 713, 787-9, 803.
58. 739, 786.
59. 715, 766.
60. 711.
61. 790.
68. 802.
77. 697.
80. 716, 725, 730, 771, 800, 808.
84. 701.
85. 819.
87. 699.
89. 822.
90. 799.
97. 745-8.
104. 691, 693, 720, 769, 772.
107. 815.
110. 702.
123. 709.
126. 690, 696.



## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Most of the literary texts contained in the following pages are printed as they stand in the originals, except for division of words, addition of capital initials in proper names, and supplements of lacunae. In two cases, 692 and 694, an exact transcription and a reconstruction in modern form stand side by side. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a second hand in thick type.

Non-literary texts are printed in modern style with resolution of abbreviations and symbols, accentuation and punctuation. Additions and corrections have been incorporated in the text wherever this could be conveniently done, and their occurrence is recorded in the critical notes; where alterations in the original have been reproduced, later hands are distinguished as usual by thick type. Faults of orthography, &c., are corrected in the apparatus where they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript is printed where written and also used in expanding abbreviated words and supplementing lacunae. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters. Dots within brackets represent approximately the number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are to be regarded as uncertain.

Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the Tebtunis papyri in the present and the two previous volumes; ordinary arabic numerals to lines; small Roman numerals to columns. The numbers to the left below the titles of the texts are those of the mummies from whose cartonnage they were extracted; a table of the mummies and the texts they produced is given on p. xv.

The abbreviations used in citing papyrological publications are substantially those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz.:—

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den st. Museen zu Berlin, griech. Urkunden.

(M.) = L. Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*.

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

P. Bouriant = Les Papyrus Bouriant, by P. Collart.

- P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I–V, by Sir F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell (many in Vol. I re-edited in U.P.Z.).
- P. Cairo Preisigke = Griech. Urkunden des aeg. Museums zu Cairo, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Cairo Zen. = Catalogue des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri, Vols. I–IV, by C. C. Edgar.
- P. Edgar = Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon (*Ann. du Service des Antiq. de l'Ég.* xviii–xxiv), by C. C. Edgar.
- P. Eleph. = Elephantine-Papyri (B. G. U. Sonderheft), by O. Rubensohn.
- P. Enteux. = ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ (*Publications de la Soc. ég. de Papyrologie* I), by O. Guéraud.
- P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.
- P. Flor. = Papiiri Fiorentini, Vols. I and III, by G. Vitelli; Vol. II, by D. Comparetti.
- P. Frankf. = Griech. Papyri der Universität Frankfurt (*Sitzungsb. Heidelb. Akad.*, 1920), by H. Lewald.
- P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.
- P. Giessen = Griech. Papyri zu Giessen, Vol. I, by E. Kornemann, O. Eger, and P. M. Meyer.
- P. Giessen Bibl. = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek I, by H. Kling.
- P. Gnom. = B. G. U. Vol. V. 1, Der Gnomon des Idios Logos, by W. Schubart.
- P. Gradenwitz = Griech. Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz (*Sitzungsb. Heidelb. Akad.*, 1914), by G. Plaumann.
- P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I and II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Gurob = Greek Papyri from Gurob (Roy. Irish Acad., *Cunningham Mem.* xii), by J. G. Smyly.
- P. Hal. = Dikaionmata, &c., by the Graeca Halensis.
- P. Hamb. = Griech. Papyrusurkunden der Hamburgischen Stadtbibliothek, by P. M. Meyer.
- P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Leyden = Papyri Graeci Musei antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans. Re-edited in U.P.Z.
- P. Lille = Papyrus grecs de Lille, tome I, by P. Jouguet, P. Collart and others.
- P. Magd. = Papyrus grecs de Lille, tome II, 2–4, by P. Jouguet, P. Collart and others (republished in P. Enteux.).
- P. Mich. Zen. = Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, by C. C. Edgar.

- P. Oslo = Papyri Osloenses, Fasc. II, by S. Eitrem and P. Amundsen.
- P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-XVII, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.
- P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre (*Notices et Extraits*, xviii. 2), by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger (Nos. 10-13, 22-64, re-edited in U.P.Z.).
- P. Petrie = The Flinders Petrie Papyri, Parts I-III, by J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly.
- P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by T. Reinach and others.
- P. Ryl. = Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library, Vol. II, by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, and A. S. Hunt.
- P. S. I. = Papiri della Società Italiana, Vols. I-X, by G. Vitelli and others.
- P. Strassb. = Griech. Papyrus der Universitätsbibl. zu Strassburg, Vols. I and II, by F. Preisigke.
- P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Parts I and II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, and E. J. Goodspeed.
- P. Thead. = Papyrus de Théadelphie, by P. Jouguet.
- P. Tor. = Papyri Graeci Regii Taurinensis Musei Aegyptii, by A. Peyron.
- P. Uppsala = Berliner Leihgabe griech. Papyri, by T. Kalén and others.
- P. Zois = Papiri greco-egizi di Zoide (*Mem. della R. Accad. di Torino*, xxxiii), by A. Peyron. Re-edited U.P.Z. 114.
- Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell.
- SB. = Sammelbuch griech. Urkunden aus Aegypten, by F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel.
- Theb. Bank = Aktenstücke aus d. k. Bank zu Theben (*Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1886), by U. Wilcken.
- Theb. Ostr. = Theban Ostraca, Part III (*Univ. of Toronto Studies*), by J. G. Milne.
- U.P.Z. = Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, Vol. I, by U. Wilcken.
- Vol. I, Vol. II = P. Tebt., Parts I and II.
- (W.) = U. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*.





# I. NEW LITERARY FRAGMENTS

## 690. HESIOD, *Catalogue?*

126.

Fr. 1 8.6 × 12 cm.

Second century B.C.

The recto of this papyrus, which consists of three fragments, contains some remains of the first book of the *Odyssey* (696). On the verso of the first two of these fragments (= 696. i) is part of a column of non-Homeric hexameters, written in a rather irregular hand distinct from that of the recto though not dissimilar in style. Further columns may have preceded and followed, for though no writing is apparent on the verso of the third fragment, this is accounted for by the fact that, the direction of the columns being the same on both sides of the papyrus, the verso of Fr. 3 fell lower than the last line of the column on Frs. 1-2, which has below it a considerable margin. The question of the extent of the loss between Frs. 1 and 2 is discussed in the introduction to 696.

Unfortunately these new verses are much mutilated, and of the fourteen represented none is complete and the majority are obscure. So much, however, is evident, that the passage relates to Minos, whose love for some woman is described and the birth to them of a child, apparently the Minotaur. Presumably the mother was Pasiphaë, who may be named in l. 2; but if the reference in ll. 14-17 is to the Minotaur, which can hardly be doubted, this was an unfamiliar version of the story. It would be natural, irrespective of the characteristic phrase ἡ δ' ὑποκνυσαμένη (l. 15), to suggest that the fragment comes from the Hesiodic *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν*, a work popular in Egypt. The adventures of Sarpedon, another of Europa's sons, are known to have been recounted in the third book (P. Oxy. 1358), and possibly those of Minos were dealt with there also.

πεμπε δ αρ εις Ειδαν νυμφαι . [  
δεξαμεναι Δι πασ[.] . α[  
πεμφαν δ εις . . [  
και τε . [  
? 3 lines lost

- [. . . . .]στὶ . . κέφο . [  
 [. . . . .]κ . ρσ . . . . . [. . .] . [  
 10 [. . . . .] . Μεινωὶ πατ . . . [  
 [. . . . .]α πάντες ἐπει κα[  
 [. . . . .] . . ος καὶ ε . . μμετ[  
 τῆς δ ἀρ [εν ο]φθαλμοισιν ἰδων ἠρασ[σατο  
 ταυρωὶ . [. . .]ριμένης καὶ μείμιδαο τ . [  
 15 ἡ δὲ πο . [. . .]μένη Μεινωὶ τεκε κα[  
 θαυμα ἰ[δῆιν] . . ἀμὲν γὰρ ἐπε . μο . [  
 εἰς ποδα . . . . . αἰ . . . . . ρθῆ καὶ ἐν . ]

1. *ἰδων* is presumably for *ἰδην*, and *νυμφαί* δ[ε] looks probable, but the final vestige is unrecognizable.

2. Possibly *Πασ[ι]φά[η]*, but the φ is questionable and e.g. ρ would be easier; *πατρι*, however, is not satisfactory.

12. Not *ἐνμ μεγαροισι* apparently; the doubtful *ι* may be φ.

13. Perhaps *Μινως* or *νυμφῆς* stood at the end of the line.

14. This line should be capable of restoration. In the word after *καὶ*, a mark like a small *ο* seems to have been added to the right of the top of the doubtful *ι*; possibly the intention was to convert the *ι* to ρ, but this too is unintelligible. The following letter is more like μ than ν.

15. 1. ἡ δ *υποκ[υσα]μένη*, with e.g. *καρτερον υιον* at the end of the verse.

16. Perhaps ] . ρα μὲν, but κ]απα is unsuitable.

17. This line looks like a later addition and may well be by a different hand. It was begun rather farther to the right than the lines above, and the ink is of a lighter colour.

### 691. LYRIC EXTRACT.

104.

11.5 × 24.6 cm.

Late third century B.C.

These few lines, extracted perhaps from some lyrical composition (cf. e.g. 1), were written with a coarse pen in a somewhat ungainly hand. There is a broad margin below l. 6, with which the column evidently ended: a narrow space above l. 1 is inconclusive, and other lines may have preceded. How much is lost at the beginnings of the lines is not clear; their length would suggest that the lacuna is not large, but restoration does not seem at all easy.

. . . . .  
 ]  
 ] . ἀχρῆ . ὦν μὲν εἰ ἀνρας ἐπιγλαεισμενον [. . .]σιδ . οἰς

]ιος τρεφει φιλ ανθεμα γαπαν                    ως δωματας[?  
 ] . ερευγματι κουφηρει θεα νυμφαν θαλαμους επιπεπτ[?  
 ] . ν αλλοτριους δ ου μιγνυται μουσαν αρουραις μασ  
 5 ] . ασ . . . . και ληγετε μουσαν ακοαισι παρασχειν Φημιε  
 ]τανε

1. 1. *ἐπηγλαϊσμένον*. The fourth letter from the end of the line is smudged and may have been corrected; possibly ]σιαν was meant.

2. Perhaps ]πος. There is a wide interval between γαπαν and ως κτλ., which might well be taken for an interlineation above l. 3. The papyrus shows a clean vertical edge to the right, and ll. 1, 4, and 5 appear to be complete at the end, especially ll. 1 and 4, the final sigmas being followed by an appreciable blank space; no further letters would therefore be expected at the ends of ll. 2-3.

3. Neither *ερευγματι κουφηρει* nor *ευγματι κ.* is an attractive combination, and *κουφήρησ* is apparently not elsewhere attested; *επι* should perhaps be written separately and connected with *θαλαμους*.

4. This might be taken to mean 'He does not mix with strangers on the Muses' fields'; but perhaps *αλλοτριους* is for *-αις*: 'he does not allow his muse to trespass on another's ground'.

5. *Φημιε*: is this an allusion to the Ithacan bard? There is no external indication that this word and the three last letters of l. 4 are not an integral part of the text; it is hardly credible that they are an extraneous addition to be combined as *βλασφημιε*.

## 692. SOPHOCLES, *Inachus*.

15. Fr. 1 8.5 × 21 cm. Second century B.C.  
Plate I (Fr. 1, Cols. ii-iii).

That the drama of which some exiguous remnants survive in this papyrus is to be recognized as the *Inachus* of Sophocles is at once suggested by the occurrence of that name in Col. iv, l. 23. Of the construction of the *Inachus* there is not much to be gleaned from the few surviving fragments, which are all quite short (Pearson, Nos. 270-95). Argus watched like a herdsman over Io (Fr. 281), whose transformation into a cow seems to have been effected in the course of the action (Fr. 279). Hermes, sent as the agent of Zeus to rescue Io, and perhaps Iris as the messenger of Hera (Fr. 272), were introduced, and presumably Argus was eventually slain by Hermes, according to the ordinary story. What part was taken by the river-god Inachus, the father of Io, is unknown. The commonly accepted view that this was a satyric drama has been disputed by Bergk (*Gr. Litteraturgesch.* iii. 441) and Wilamowitz (*Einl. in d. gr. Trag.* 88<sup>53</sup>), but is cogently upheld by Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles*, i. 198.

Into these data the new fragments, so far as they go, fit very well. Unfortunately no specification of the *dramatis personae* occurs, but there are references suggestive of Argus (cf. i. 7, n.), and one of the characters is certainly Hermes, who is described as 'the messenger of the love of Zeus' (ii. 6-7) and comes into conflict with the Chorus (iii. 4 sqq.). Moreover, Hermes wore the cap of Hades, which would be a natural means of eluding the vigilance of Argus. This interesting detail happens to supply a link with a well-known vase-painting at Naples discussed by J. Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmyth.* i. 480 sqq., and illustrated in his *Atlas*, vii. 16. Hermes, wearing the Hades-cap and armed with a sword, is there depicted as about to attack Argus, who appears to be unconscious of his presence. Io, represented as a maiden with the horns and ears of a cow, sits by equally unperturbed, and the only figure displaying any loss of equanimity is one of two satyrs whom the onset of Hermes has overthrown; the other on the opposite side of the picture unconcernedly amuses himself with a hare. According to Overbeck (following Grimaldi-Gargallo) the artist was here emphasizing the effectiveness of Hermes' disguise, and he suggested that the use of the cap of Hades, a trait nowhere mentioned in connexion with the myth of Io, was derived from some lost literary work. The postulated literary source is now forthcoming; and what more likely allusion for the painting could be found than to the celebrated play of Sophocles? In the papyrus, certainly, Hermes has been recognized, notwithstanding the cap of invisibility; but we do not know from what part of the play the passage comes, and the drawing perhaps represents a rather earlier stage in the action. A further point of connexion is the introduction of the satyrs,<sup>1</sup> for though there is no direct proof, there can be little doubt from the style of the new fragment, which recalls that of the *Ichneutae*, that they belong to a satyric drama. The tendency to colloquialism, of which instances may be recognized in ii. 1 πολυιδρίδας, 8 αὐτὸν . . . πόδα, 9 πρὶν μύσαι, iv. 22 εἶπον . . . αἰάξαι, seems to have been stronger here than there, as might be expected from the probably later date of the *Inachus*. The lyric metres that occur, as in the *Ichneutae*, are of a simple kind, and, as there also, a dialogue is conducted partly by means of short lyrical passages. A considerable use is made of trochaic tetrameters (Cols. ii-iii).

Of the three surviving fragments the largest contains the tops of three successive columns, and the ends of 27 lines from the upper part of another column are preserved in a second piece. That this is to be placed after the former is indicated by a comparison of l. 22 with iii. 4, and it may well have been the next column. Fr. 3, not improbably the top of another column, is

<sup>1</sup> In another vase-painting, referred to by Pearson, *op. cit.* p. 199, satyrs hold back Hermes, who is attempting to kill Argus.

insignificant. The small upright hand is to be referred to the second century B.C., to which the documents obtained from the same mummy belong, e.g. 783. Small oblique finials frequently attached to the bottoms of upright strokes ( $\rho$ ,  $\tau$ , &c.) give a rather ornate appearance. Owing partly to the running of the ink and partly to damage to the surface of the papyrus, decipherment is in some parts difficult and uncertain. Paragraphi are employed, as usual, to mark a change of speaker; in one place (iii. 2) an arrow-head apparently performs the same function. A marginal sign of doubtful meaning occurs at iii. 1. Some insertions have been made by one or more secondary hands.

We are indebted to Professor A. C. Pearson for valuable suggestions on this text.

Col. i (Fr. 1).

3 short lines lost

]αν  
 5 ]σαπαξ  
 ]  
 ]συριγγ . [.]δεκλυω  
 ]ταθμου[. .] . [.] . . [.] . . . σ  
 ] . . . την[. .]σινβοα[  
 10 ] .

2 (?) lines lost

]μποδιζεται  
 ]ερω  
 15 ]ν  
 . . . . .

Col. ii (Fr. 1). Plate I.

πολυπολυιδριδας  
 οτισοδεπροτερων  
 ονομευσεθροει  
 τοναιδοκυνεας  
 5 σκοτοναροτονυπαι  
 τονδιοσμενουερωτων[. .]ελονμεγαντροχιν  
 ει[.]ασαιπαρεστινερμηνη[. .]στασαψοφηματα  
 αυτονοντασαντογοσμουδευρανεστρεψενποδα  
 δευτερουσπονουσεοικασπρινμυσαικενουσελαν  
 10 ωνεσοραις  
 ειστοκαταποδεχειν  
 μανιαταδεκλυειν  
 συγαρουνζελογων  
 κακοσειπιστεωσ[ ]  
 15 διαχηθεοβλ . . [ ]  
 [ . . . . . ]σουβο[ . . . . . ]ηπορπαφορος  
 . . . . .

## Col. i.

]αν  
 5 ]σάπαξ  
 ]  
 ] σύριγγο[s] δὲ κλύω  
 σ]ταθμου[. .] . [.] . . [.] . . . s  
 ] . . . τὴν [? βά]σιν βοῶ[ν  
 10 ] .  
 2 (?) lines lost  
 ἐ]μποδίζεται  
 ]ερω  
 15 ]ν  
 . . . . .

## Col. ii.

πολὺ πολυιδρίδας  
 ὅτις ὄδε προτέρων  
 ὄνομ' εὖ σε θροεῖ  
 τὸν Ἰδοκυνέας  
 5 σκότον ἄροτον ὕπαι.  
 τὸν Διὸς μὲν οὖν ἐρώτων ἄ[γγ]ελον, μέγαν τρόχιν.  
 εἰ[κ]άσαι πάρεστιν Ἑρμῆν πρ[ὸ]ς τὰ σὰ ψοφήματα  
 αὐτὸν ὄντα σ', αὐτὸν ὅς μου δεῦρ' ἀνέστρεψεν πόδα.  
 δευτέρους πόνους ἕοικας πρὶν μύσαι κενοὺς ἐλᾶν.  
 10 ὦν ἐσορᾶς  
 εἰς τὸ κατὰ πόδ' ἔχειν  
 μανία τάδε κλύειν.  
 σὺ γὰρ οὖν, Ζεῦ, λόγων  
 κακὸς εἶ πίστεως  
 15 δι' ἄχη θεοβλαβ[ῆ]. ]  
 [. . . . .]σουβο[. . . . .]η πορπαφόρος  
 . . . . .

## Col. iii (Fr. 1). Plate I.

3̄ ψιτυρανμαλαιολα[.]  
 πανταμηχαναιτοδιονωσ[  
 < ηραταχαδιοσαν  
 διοσαραλατρισοδε  
 5 επιμεποδανεμει  
 εχημεποδανεμει  
 εμεχερακομει  
 μεγαδεοσαραβει  
 τωνεναγτωντοταρβ[  
 10 τωνκατωδιοσφαλαγγ[  
 δωματωνγειμηαπελαι[  
 πουδεχρηποδαστατιζε[  
 προσ . . . ωσφονονβλεπ[  
 μητ . . . . . φακαγωνο[  
 15 μηλεγα . . [.]εκκορυνη . [  
 οιζομαιλα . . . . . ο . ριμ[  
 . . [.] . . . [ . . . . . ] . [

## Col. iv (Fr. 2).

] . . ταιποδι  
 ] . . . ωι . . ρωι  
 ]νοιποστ[  
 ] . . . δετουσρ . . .  
 5 ] . υ . . . . . τεπι . ατης  
 ] . [ . . ] . . . . . ο . [ .  
 ] . . . τα . [ .  
 ] . . . [ . ] νυνπετ[  
 ]  
 10 ]  
 ]  
 ]αριστε[  
 ] . . . . .  
 ]αρισ[ . ] αδου



## Col. iii.

ψιθυρᾶν μάλ' αἰολᾶ[ν].  
 πάντα μηχανᾶ τὸ Δίον ὅσ[  
   ἦ ρα τάχα Διὸς αὐ̄;  
 Διὸς ἄρα λάτρις ὄδε.  
 5 ἐπ' ἐμὲ πόδα νέμει.  
   ἔχε με· πόδα νέμει.  
   ἐμὲ χέρα κομιεῖ.  
       μέγα δέος ἀραβεῖ.  
 τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ τάρβ[ος  
 10 τῶν κάτω Διὸς φαλάγγ[ων  
   δωμάτων γ' εἰ μὴ 'πελαῖ[ς  
   ποῦ δὲ χρῆ πόδα στατίζε[ιν  
   προσ . . . ὡς φόνον βλέπ[  
   μὴ τ . . . . . ὠκ' ἀγῶνο[ς  
 15 μὴ λέγ' α . . . [.] ἐκ κορύνης [   
   οἴζομαι λα . . . . . ο . ριμ[  
   . . . [.] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [   
   . . . . .

## Col. iv.

] . . . ται ποδῖ  
 ] . . . φ . . . ρφ  
                   ]νοι ποτ[  
 ] . . . δετους ρ . . .  
 5 ] . υ . . . . . τεπι . ατησ  
                   ] . [ . . ] . . . . ο . [   
                                   ] . . . τα . [   
                   ] . . . [ . ] νῦν πετ[  
                                   ]  
 10                                    ]  
                                   ]  
                                   ] ἀριστε[  
 ] . . . . .  
 ] ἀρισ[τ]α δ' οὔ.

15 ] . ἐξ̄ευρω̄ωμο̄τητᾱτ[  
 ]π̄ησο̄μ . . . . κ . . . τ . [  
 ]ον̄δον̄τ̄α . ε̄υσ̄ο̄μ̄εν̄θ̄ο̄[  
 ] . αῑχρη̄σε̄ . . ζ̄ε̄σ . . . κ . [  
 ]ᾱρε̄νν̄ . . η̄φ̄υσᾱσᾱγη  
 20 ]ον̄τῑπῑθε̄σθαῑκᾱλω̄σ  
 ]τᾱυτᾱμη̄λε̄ξῑσπ̄λω̄  
 ]πον̄ζ̄η̄νο̄σαῑᾱξ̄αῑλᾱτρῑ[  
 ]πᾱρε̄στ̄ιν̄ῑνᾱχ̄ω̄ῑλο̄γ[  
 ]ολ̄ῑγον̄ισ̄χῡεῑσο̄μ[  
 25 ] . . . δ̄υν̄το̄στ̄[  
 ] . ε̄σαν̄δρ̄[  
 ]το̄ . . [

## Fr. 3.

] . . . [ . . ] . . . τ̄ᾱσ  
 ] . . . . λ̄ᾱτρῑν  
 ] . . . . σ̄κᾱλω̄σ  
 ] . . . [ . ] .

i. 5. Either εἰ|σάπαξ or ]ς ἀπαξ.

7. The second γ appears to have two cross-bars; perhaps the cross-bar was originally placed too low and so rewritten higher. An *a* is possible as the next letter, but σύριγγα δέ does not fill the space. The metre in either case is obscure. The mention of a pipe here, with σταθμου[ and βοῶ[ν in ll. 8-9, well suits the *Inachus*; cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 574 κηρόπλαστος ὀτοβεί δόναξ and schol. Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰνάχῳ καὶ ἄδοντα αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Ἄργον) εἰσάγει, schol. Ar. *Eccl.* 80 βουκολεῖν δὲ ὡς τὴν Ἰῶ ὁ Ἄργος ἐν Ἰνάχῳ Σοφοκλέους.

ii. 1-15. (Chorus) 'Wisest of the wise is he, whoever he be of the men of old, who meetly calls thee by the name of the infernal darkness of the Hades-cap.

(Hermes) Nay, rather the mighty courier of Zeus, his love's messenger.

(Ch.) Having regard to your bombast one may guess that you are indeed Hermes, who has brought me footing it back here.

(H.) Methinks that in the twinkling of an eye you will set out on another useless task.

(Ch.) For keeping on the track of a quarry in sight it is madness to listen to these words. For thou, O Zeus, art indeed a perverter of true speech, because of this heaven-inflicted trouble.'

1-5. Unless the form 00-00- is admissible in dochmiacs, it seems best to regard these lines as anapaestic monometers, with resolution in the first anapaest four times.

- 15 ] . ἔξευρον ὀμότητά τ[ε  
 ]πησομ . . . . κ . . . τ . [  
 ]ον δ' ὄντ' ἀλεύσομεν θο[  
 ] . αι χρή σε . . ζεσ . . . κ . [  
 ]αρευν . . ἡ φύσσασα γῆ  
 20 ]οντι πείθεσθαι καλῶς  
 ] ταῦτα μὴ λέξης πλέω  
 εἶ]πον Ζηνὸς αἰάξαι λάτρ[ιν  
 ] πάρεστιν Ἰνάχῳ λόγ[ος  
 ] ὀλίγον ἰσχύεις ὄμ[ως  
 25 ] . . . . δύντος τ[  
 ] . εσανδρ[  
 ]το . . [  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 3.

- ] . . [ . . ] . . . τας  
 ] . . . . . λάτρην  
 ] . . . . . s καλῶς  
 ] . . . [ . ] .  
 . . . . .

πολυδρίδας as nom. sing. is thus commended by metre as well as sense; for though synapheia is broken in the same metre in iii. 4-7, that may there have been excused by a change of speaker. There would then be no connexion between the present passage and Etym. M., p. 42. 41 (Soph. Fr. 953, Nauck) ἀμάρτημα τὸ παρὰ τῆ Σαπφοῖ πολυδριδι, καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἴδριδα (πολυδριδα, Etym. Flor. Milleri); cf. Schol. A on Homer Γ 219 ὁ γὰρ Σοφ. ἴδριδα ἔφη τὴν αἰτιατικὴν. For some analogous comic patronymics cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 595-7.

ὄδε may be supposed to mean Argus, who apparently had somehow been made aware of the Hades-cap and had addressed its wearer in the terms of ll. 4-5. ἄροτον ὑπαι at the end of the latter line is taken as an adjectival attribute of σκότον, equivalent to ὑπόγειον. For Ἄιδουκνεάς cf. e.g. Homer Ε 844-5 Ἄθῆμη δὲν Ἄιδος κνέην, μὴ μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης, but the compound is new. προτέρων seems to imply that Argus was regarded by the Chorus as belonging to an older generation. It would be simpler to read σ' ἐθροεί, with no reference to Argus, but ὄδε then becomes awkward, unless it was explained by something which preceded.

6. This line is evidently to be assigned to Hermes, in spite of the absence of a paragraph below l. 5; cf. iii. 8.

7. ψοφήματα: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1116-17 τοῦ δὲ σοῦ ψόφου οὐκ ἂν στραφεῖην. Or should the word be understood to imply that Hermes was still invisible and only audible?

8. αὐτὸν . . . πόδα: a colloquialism for which cf. αὐτοποδητί, αὐτοποδία.

10-15. There is considerable obscurity here, and the translation offered above is no more than tentative. The metre of ll. 11-15,  $\underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \cup$ -, which recurs in iii. 1 (if the first syllable of αἰολᾶ[ν] is shortened), is unusual; Eur. *El.* 726 = 737 is a parallel.

16. πορπαφόρος is novel.

iii. 1. ψιτυραν seems to have been written for ψιθ-. Perhaps the marginal sign, which consists of a short curved stroke with a dot to the right of the top, was connected with the mistake.

2-8. (Hermes?) 'Zeus devises all means [to accomplish his will].

(Chor.) Is it then perchance again from Zeus? So this is the servant of Zeus! He is coming against me. Hold me, he is coming. He will carry off my hand. My teeth chatter with a great fear.'

2. E.g. ὡσ[θ' ἃ βούλεται τελεῖν (Pearson).

3 sqq. A series of disjointed sentences, which were perhaps spoken by different members of the Chorus; this supposition, as remarked in the note on ii. 1-5, would account for the neglect of synapheia.

5. For πόδα νέμει (or νεμεί?) cf. Pindar *Nem.* vi. 15 ἔόν πόδα νέμων.

6. This line was dropped owing presumably to the homoeoteleuton. It is hardly to be regarded as a variant of l. 5, for which the insertion of the two letters χε above πι would have sufficed. The χ is probable; επ εμε was apparently not written.

7. On the analogy of such phrases as Soph. *Phil.* 1301 μέθες με . . . χεῖρα this should mean 'he will drag my hand away with him'. The supposed μ of κομει is unsatisfactory; it would naturally be taken for a ν, but κονίει, if it gave a good sense, would be excluded by the metre.

8. For the translation suggested cf. Homer κ 375-6 βαμβαινῶν, ἄραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίγνεται ὀδόντων, χλωρὸς ὑπαὶ δαίους.

9. A change of speaker seems probable here, though it is more likely than not that the paragraphus was omitted, as at ii. 5-6; the paragraphus may have been placed by mistake below l. 7. Who the interlocutors are in the following dialogue is not clear. Perhaps they are Silenus and Hermes.

16. οἴζομαι, if right, is apart from Apollonius Dyscolus (*Anecd. Bek.* 538) the only instance of the verb, which elsewhere is used in composition with δυσ-; for the middle cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 805 μηδὲν δυσοίζου. χ seems to be excluded as the third letter, though not ξ; ἔρξομαι, however, is unsatisfactory.

iv. 5. ἐπιστάτης looks likely, but the space is insufficient except on the supposition of a slight displacement of some upper fibres; there was a junction of two sheets at this point. But δυης could be read in place of ατης.

12. This line and l. 14 are in a larger and less well-formed hand, apparently different from that of the inserted line iii. 6.

17. ἀλεύσομεν(?): the λ is suitable, and with this reading what seems to be a short oblique dash above the line between the τ and α is accounted for; but ἀλεύω in the tragedians has hitherto been confined to lyric passages. δ' ὄντ' may of course be δόντ'.

18. The doubtful ζ may be ξ, preceded perhaps by ε.

19. γ]αρ εἶ νιν suggests itself, but the ι is very questionable.

22. Cf. iii. 4. εἶ]πον αἰάξαι is a variant of οἰμώζειν λέγειν. Perhaps λάτρι, dative.

Fr. 3. Line 1 of this small fragment was either the first or second of a column, unless the preceding lines were appreciably shorter; but the breadth of the blank space to the right indicates that they were themselves short lines, or at any rate not tetrameters.

## 693. EXTRACT FROM A COMEDY.

104.

Height 36·7 cm.

Late third century B.C.

The verso of the sheet containing 769 is inscribed with remains of two columns, the first of which, forming the third of 769, mentions the 11th and 12th years, more probably of Euergetes I than of Philopator. At the top of the second column stands another similar but much mutilated draft ; and below this are the following 28 trochaic tetrameters, written with a coarse pen and difficult to decipher owing partly to the cursiveness of the hand, partly too to the discolouration of the papyrus and other damage. Since, moreover, the ends of the verses are lost throughout, the text is in a very unsatisfactory state, and much remains at present unintelligible. Apparently the lines are an extract from the concluding scene of a comedy. A marriage is about to be celebrated (l. 1), and the speaker, presumably the father of the bride, specifies certain gifts, including a piece of land (l. 6), which it is natural to suppose formed her dowry. Further on, after a very defective and obscure passage, mention is made of various viands (ll. 19-22), which may well be connected with the wedding festivity. The last line is preceded by a paragraphus marking a change of speaker: whether the extract ended here or was continued in another column is unknown.

[α]λλ επει δοκει περαινειν τους γαμου[s]  
 [ε]π αγαθαις ηδη τυχαισιγ προς σε . [  
 [. .] . πολειτων σων εγω γαρ ουπολαβ[ων  
 . . σ . . και εμον διδωμι των εμων [  
 5 [. .] . . . α σοι και διδωμι . . ν . . . . ν . [  
 [. . .] α δ επιδιδωμι τον αγρον ου [  
 . [. .] . . . . ς μοι προς σε κ[α]ι προς τον Βιωη[α  
 τ[. .] . . . . ν εξ αρχης προ παντος ιεται [  
 π[. .] . . . . . ν πατρωιον ουθεν ουκ εγ [  
 10 α . . . . . δικαιον με . . . ουπολαβω[ν  
 σ . . . . . ιν τροποις εχαιρον ευπορ[ι  
 ταις ενεστι διατριβαισιν . . . ε . [  
 ε . . ος ου νομων γραφαισιν ου[. . .][  
 των ομοιων γαρ ε . . θ[. .] α δικαια . [  
 15 επι . . . . . ν . . . . . περι κ . . να[

- ερον ετ . . ν . . . . . κοινος κουχ . [  
 (χ . . σιν εισ . . . . υνησ . . . σθενων[  
 το παρον ευπ[.]νεπαρο . . ιχομην δι . . [.] . [  
 α . . ονωσ σκ . . . δεσι . . . ν σκορδον αβ . [.]λαν . [  
 20 π[ι]κριδιον κ[[.]χλιον επιξηεν βολβος επιχορευ . [  
 φα . . σιον μικρου γενομενου σκολυμος εισε[  
 σευτλιον ρυθμον τιν ιχεν σιτινησα . . οσ παρ . [  
 ταυτα και τοσαυτα επειδη παρεφαναη καλο[  
 αγαθος δαιμων αλη . . ς και το του βαλλαντ[ιου  
 25 ανδρες ων ο χρηστος ευ θεουσ επεκαλουμεν  
 . . . τε του πατροσ φιλοσ τις καταγελαστασ[  
 προτερον ουν ουκ αν παθου την σκιαν εφ[  
 [.] . απρ . . . θυοσ προσ[.]ου χαιρε πολλα πα[

6. Perhaps [ταντ]α.

10. The fifth letter from the initial α seems to be an alteration of ε to ι or vice versa.

14. The letter before the supposed θ looks like ω or η.

17. Round brackets like that prefixed to this verse are commonly employed for the purpose of cancellation.

18. ι seems more probable than ρ before χ: perhaps *ειχομην* or *ωιχομην*.

19-22. Cf. Aristoph. Fr. 180. 1 βολβός, τευτλίον, Mnesim. *Hippotrophē*. (Meineke, *Com. Gr. Fr.* iii. 569), βολβός, έλάα, σκόροδον, Theocr. 14. 17, βολβός τις, κοχλίās. In l. 20 the correction is uncertain; the second letter of *κοχλιον* is blotted, but what has been taken for an interlinear ο is possibly the tail of a letter in the previous verse. *επιχορεύειν* is apparently used as in Diph. *Pel.* (Meineke, *op. cit.* iv. 406), *εις τὸ μέσον επεχόρευσε σαπέρδης μέγας*. The doubtful φ at the beginning of l. 21 may be a κ altered from something else. In the latter part of l. 22 *σιτινη* or *-ης* and *παρ* or *-ρη*ν look likely, but a suitable intervening word remains to be found. The α is followed by a long vertical stroke like a φ, above which there is an appearance of a ξ in lighter ink, though perhaps this is deceptive, and *αφρος* or *αρτος* might be read; if ξ is adopted, *αξιος* becomes inevitable, but would not combine with *σιτινησ*. In the latter the doubtful τ may perhaps be σ, which, however, is not helpful.

24. 1. *άγαθος . . . άληθώς*? The letters after *αλη* look like *ρος*, and if *θωσ* was intended the writer was more careless than usual. *βαλλαν* (or *-λον*) seems to have been corrected from *βαλαν*: the first letter is hardly θ, though this at first sight is suggested.

26. τ of *τις* is apparently written through ο. The last letter of the line may be δ.

27. *την σκιαν* is unmetrical.

## 694. TREATISE ON MUSIC.

6.

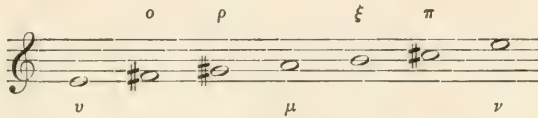
Fr. I 18.5 × 20.6 cm.

3rd cent. B.C. Plate I  
(Fr. I, Cols. ii-iii).

These fragments from a treatise on music, though unfortunately small, have a value as emanating, apparently, from a school not represented in the extant works on the subject. An indication of the writer's affinity is afforded by the occurrence of the technical terms δι' ὄξειῶν and συλλαβή in place of διὰ πέντε and διὰ τεσσάρων, a use attributed to οἱ παλαιότατοι, the oldest theorists, by Nicomachus, *Enchir.* 9, who quotes a passage from Philolaus:—ἁρμονίας (i.e. octave, διὰ πασῶν) δὲ μέγεθος συλλαβὰ καὶ δι' ὄξειᾶν. τὸ δὲ δι' ὄξειᾶν μείζον τῆς συλλαβᾶς ἐπογδόφ' ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ ὑπάτας εἰς μέσαν συλλαβὰ, ἀπὸ δὲ μέσας πότι νεάταν δι' ὄξειᾶν κτλ. The intervals there described are the three consonant intervals which the Greeks recognized, namely the octave (διὰ πασῶν), and its two components, the fifth (δι' ὄξειῶν, commonly διὰ πέντε) and the fourth (συλλαβή, commonly διὰ τεσσάρων). Cf. ll. 12-17 of the papyrus, where the principal notes of the octave, ὑπάτη, the lowest, νήτη, the highest, and μέση, an intermediate note a fourth above the ὑπάτη and a fifth below the νήτη, are represented by their initial letters ν, ν, μ.

The writer subsequently proceeds to subtract 'by concord' (διὰ συμφωνίας) two tones from the συλλαβή or interval of a fourth, leaving an interval less than a tone (ll. 24 sqq.). Since the difference between the intervals of the fourth and the fifth was a tone, such subtraction could easily be effected by constructing the interval of a fifth above the lower note and then descending a fourth from the note so obtained. By applying this process to the interval of a fourth, two whole tones may be removed, leaving a smaller interval (λείμμα, δίσεις, later, inaccurately, ἡμιτόνιον). Similarly, three tones can be subtracted from the interval of a fifth, and the same λείμμα remains. Thus the octave, being the sum of a fourth and a fifth, consists of 5 tones and 2 equal λείμματα. If the remainders were half tones, the octave would contain 6 tones in all. Aristoxenus held that they were true half tones, but he receives no support from other Greek writers on music, who energetically maintain the contrary view; which it is natural to suppose would be shared by an authority who employs the technical language of Pythagoras and Philolaus. A statement to that effect may actually occur in Fr. 5. Probably then the present passage was part of his proof that two so-called semitones were not equivalent to a tone. He cannot merely be giving a construction of the diatonic scale of the octave, since he divides the tetrachord upwards with the semitone at the top, whereas in a properly divided tetrachord

the semitone is the lowest of the intervals (cf. P. Oxy. 667, *imit.*). The steps specified in ll. 24 sqq. may be expressed in modern notation thus:—



The script is a good example of the early bookhand, similar in type to the Petrie *Phaedo*, though less compact. As in that papyrus, the square E sometimes appears side by side with the rounded form; an archaic ζ (I) is also noticeable in l. 50. There is a good deal of variation in the length of the lines. A coronis in the margin at l. 25 recalls the bird-like shape seen in the Timotheus papyrus, forming a link between that symbol and, e.g., the coronis at the end of P. Brit. Mus. 134 and the analogous developments of the Roman age. Letters representing musical notes are commonly enclosed between double dots, but the second pair is not infrequently omitted, and sometimes both pairs are dispensed with. The earliest dated document accompanying 694 was 821 of the fourth year of Epiphanes, but 694 seems likely to be older than this by half a century at least. On the verso is some much damaged cursive writing, in more than one column, perhaps a copy of official correspondence, written in a hand suggesting a date not very late in the third century.

Fr. 1. Col. i.

	]. εται		]. εται
	]φαιρουμενον		ά]φαιρουμένου
	]τι		]τι
	]τοι		]τοι
5	]προσθεν	5	έμ]προσθεν
	]		]
	]ονδει . [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ]σσουντι		[ . . . . ]ον δει . [ . . . ] . . [ ? έλα ]σσόν τι
	]ωσδεδιασυμ[ . . ]ιασ		[ . . . . . ]ιωσ δέ δια συμ[φων]ίας
	]φαιρουμενον		[ . . . . . ά]φαιρούμενον
10	]εσταιτοδε	10	[ . . . . . ] εσται, τὸ δέ
	]φωνιασλεγ[ . ] . [ . . .		[δια συμ]φωνίας λεγ[όμ]ε[νον] ?
	]διαπασων.υ.προσ.[		[εστω δὴ] δια πασῶν υ προς [ν,]



	]ωνδε:μ:προσν	[δι' ὄξει]ῶν δὲ μ πρὸς ν,
	]διοξειωναποτου	[του δὲ] δι' ὄξειῶν ἀπὸ του
15	]ωναφ[.]ιρεθεντροσ	15 [διὰ πασ]ῶν ἀφ[α]ιρεθέντος

## Fr. 2 + Fr. 1, Col. ii. Plate I.

	]λαβητοτησ:μ:	[λείπεται συλ]λαβὴ τὸ τῆς μ
	]ημακαιπαλιν	[πρὸς υ διάστ]ημα. καὶ πάλιν
	]νσυλλαβην	[ἀπὸ δι' ὄξειῶ]ν συλλαβὴν
	]αναφελω	[. . . . .] ἔ]αν ἀφέλω-
20	]αλινδη	20 [μεν, ἔ]σται τόνος?. π]άλιν δὴ
	[. . . . .]νκαισυλλαβ[. . .]	[διὰ πασῶ]ν καὶ συλλαβ[ῆ]
	[. . . . .]ιοξειωνφα[.]ερον[. .]	[καὶ τὸ δι' ὄξειῶν, φα[ν]ερὸν [δὴ]
	οτιδιασυμφωνιασλαμβανομενος	ὅτι διὰ συμφωνίας λαμβανόμενος
	αφηρηταιτονδετ[.]νον	ἀφῆρηται. τὸν δὲ τ[ό]νον
25	αποτησσυλλαβησαφε[. . . .]	25 ἀπὸ τῆς συλλαβῆς ἀφέλωμεν
	διασυμφωνιασαχρισουα[. . .]	διὰ συμφωνίας ἄχρι ὅσου ἀ]ν
	ελασσαντουλιπηιδε	ἐλάσσω αὐτοῦ λιπήι, ᾧδε·
	εστωδιοξειων:[ν:] προσ:ξ	ἔστω δι' ὄξειῶν [ν] προς ξ.
	[. . .] ηνπροσ:ξ:διατεσσαρων	[ἀρ]χὴν πρὸς ξ διὰ τεσσάρων
30	ειληφθω:ο:δηλονδηοτι	30 εἰλήφθω ἢ ο· δῆλον δὴ ὅτι
	εισμεντονοσοτησ:υ:προσ:ο:	εἰς μὲν τόνος ὁ τῆς υ πρὸς ο
	αφηρηταιπαλινδηεστωπροσ	ἀφῆρηται. πάλιν δὴ ἔστω πρὸς
	την:οδιοξειωνη:[[ο]]δηλονδηοτι	τὴν ο δι' ὄξειῶν ἢ π καὶ πρ[ὸς] [ρ]
	παλιναλλοστονοσ:οπροσ:ρ	διὰ [τε]σσάρων(?)· δῆλον δὴ ὅτι
35	αφηρηταιουκουναποτησσυλλαβησ	35 πάλιν ἄλλος τόνος ο πρὸς ρ
	[.]υτονοιαφηρη[. . . .][. . .]οισωστε	ἀφῆρηται. οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς συλλαβῆς
	[. . . . .]νοντο[.]π[. . . .]	[δ]ύο τόνοι ἀφῆρη[νται]. [.]οις ὥστε
	[. . . . .]σημειηαδηλοσα[.]	[. . . . .]νοντο[.]π[. . . .]
	[.]τροποσεστινωσδ[.]ασυμφων[.]ασ	[. . . . .]ση εἴη ἄν. δῆλος ἄ[ρα]
40	α[.]αφαιρεσειελαμβανοντο	40 [ὁ] τρόπος ἐστιν ὡς δ[ι]ὰ συμφων[ί]ας
		α[ί] ἀφαιρέσεις ἐλαμβάνοντο.

## Fr. 1. Col. iii. Plate I.

	[.] . ιο . [		[.] . ιο . [
	[.]στω[		[ἐ]στω [
43	]προσ:ο[	43	πρὸς ο [
	5 lines lost ?		5 lines lost ?
	καιπροσ[		καὶ πρὸς [
50	[.]ην:ζῆ[	50	[τ]ῆν ζ ῆ[
	γινεται[		γίνεται [
	εἰλημμ[		εἰλημμ[εν
	ἐξπασ[		ἐξ πασ[
	. [		. [
55	[.]κτωκαι . [	55	[ὁ]κτὼ καὶ . [
	ενεκαστ[		ἐν ἐκάστ[ωι δι' ὀξειῶν εἰσι
	τρειστονο[		τρεῖς τόνο[ι καὶ
	εανδηλ[		ἐὰν δηλ[
	διασυμφ[		διὰ συμφ[ωνίας
60	συλλαβα[	60	συλλαβα[
	εκκαιδ[		ἐκκαίδ[εκα
	αφηρημ[		ἀφηρημ[εν
	ταεπομ[		τὰ ἐπόμ[ενα ?
	συλλαβα[		συλλαβα[
65	καιτοτ[	65	καὶ τὸ τ[
	3 lines lost		3 lines lost

## Fr. 3.

]εμπιπτουσιν[	] ἐμπίπτουσιν [
] . νεστινδιαστημ[	] . ν ἐστιν διάστημ[α
] . . . [	] . . . [
] . ιτα . . τ[	] . ιτα . . τ[

## Fr. 4.

]οἴστιν [	]ο ἐστίν. [
-----------	-------------

δ  
 ]ινεστινδιασυμφων[  
 ]ξειωναποτουδιαπασω[  
 ] . . [.]υλλαβησυλ[[λαβη[ ]]

πάλ]ιν δ' ἔστιν διὰ συμφων[ίας τὸ  
 δι' ὀ]ξειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ πασῶ]ν  
 ] . . [σ]υλλαβῆ συλ[

## Fr. 5.

. . .  
 ]ησα . [ .  
 ]ταιδιο[ .  
 ]ωναποτησ[ .  
 ] . s ελασ[. .]νλειπ[ .  
 5 ]νιου[ .

. . .  
 ? συλλαβ]ῆς ἀπ[ὸ τοῦ διὰ πασῶν ?  
 λείπε]ται δι' ὀ]ξειῶν  
 ? δύο τό]νων ἀπὸ τῆς [συλλαβῆς  
 ] . s ἔλασ[σο]ν λείπ[εται  
 ? ἡμιτο]νίου [ .

## Fr. 6.

. . .  
 ] . . [ .  
 ] . τούτου[ .  
 ] τουνελασσ[ .

. . .  
 ] . . [ .  
 ] . τούτου τοῦ [ .  
 ] τόνου ἔλασσ[ον

## Fr. 7.

## Col. i.

. . .  
 ]φθεις . . [ .  
 ] . . ἐντωιλειφθεντι .  
 ]τιτονγαρ

## Col. i.

. . .  
 ]φθεις . . [ .  
 ] . . ἐν τῷ λειφθέντι  
 ]τι, τὸν γὰρ

## Col. ii.

. . .  
 συλλαβη . . [ .  
 δε . . ἀπολε[ .

## Col. ii.

. . .  
 συλλαβη . . [ .  
 δε . . ἀπολε[ .

## Fr. 8.

Col. i.

· · · · ·  
 ταμενεμπροσθαφηρημενα  
 . . . τοδιοξειωναποτου

Col. i.

· · · · ·  
 τὰ μὲν ἔμπροσθ' ἀφηρημένα  
 . . . τὸ δι' ὀξειῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 [διὰ πασῶν

Col. ii.

· ·  
 καιπρο[

Col. ii.

· ·  
 καὶ προ[

## Fr. 9.

· ·  
 ουτωσα[

· ·  
 οὕτως α[

## Fr. 10.

· ·  
 τοεπομ[

· · · · ·  
 τὸ ἐπόμ[ενον ?

## Fr. 11.

· · · · ·  
 ]ονωγαρ . [

· · · · ·  
 τ]όνων αρ . [

## Fr. 12.

· · · · ·  
 ] . [·] . [· . .]τησ  
 ] . . α . . . ω

· · · · ·  
 ] . [·] . [· . .]τησ  
 ] . . α . . . ω

Fr. 13. Col. i, slight vestiges of 2 lines.

## Col. ii.

δ[	δ[
τ[	τ[
α[	α[
α[	α[

1. Perhaps *λείπεται*.

7. For [ελα]σσον cf. l. 27 and Frs. 5. 4, 6. 3.

10. This is a short line, and possibly a few letters after *τοδε* have disappeared.

12-36. 'Let  $\nu$  to  $\nu$  be an octave, and  $\mu$  to  $\nu$  be a fifth; if the fifth be taken from the octave there remains a fourth, the interval  $\mu$  to  $\nu$ . Again, if we subtract from the fifth a fourth, the remainder will be a tone. [A tone may thus be subtracted from any interval by rising a fifth and then falling a fourth; and] since the octave and the fourth and the fifth [are concords], it is evident that it (the tone) has been taken and subtracted by concords. Let us then subtract a tone from the fourth by concords until an interval less than a tone is left, in this way: Let  $\nu$  to  $\xi$  be a fifth; then first let  $\sigma$  be taken at a fourth to  $\xi$ : it is clear that one tone, that of  $\nu$  to  $\sigma$ , has been subtracted. Again, let  $\pi$  to  $\sigma$  be a fifth and  $\pi$  to  $\rho$  a fourth: it is clear that again another tone,  $\sigma$  to  $\rho$ , has been subtracted. Therefore two tones have been subtracted from the fourth . . .'

16 sqq. The position of Fr. 2 at the top of Fr. 1. ii. is clearly indicated by the sense. How many lines are missing between l. 20 and the first line of Fr. 1. ii. is uncertain, but probably there were not less than 7; the lines immediately below l. 20 were shorter than those preceding. On the right-hand edge of the papyrus opposite l. 20 there is a curved mark referring in some way to the next column; it is different from the coronis at l. 25.

20. *λείπεται τόνος* is too long for the lacuna unless the supplements of the preceding lines are correspondingly lengthened, e.g. by writing *την ν* and *του δε' οξειων* in ll. 17, 18.

21. Something like *επει συμφωνίαι εισι το δια πασων* is to be restored.

33. Apparently  $\pi$  was written instead of  $\rho$  in the interlinear insertion, just as the second  $\sigma$  below was originally written in place of  $\pi$ . There is some indication that the incorrect  $\pi$  was crossed through, and a  $\rho$ , which was presumably substituted, may have disappeared above it. *τεσσαρων* is required after *δια*, but the blurred marks at the end of the line cannot be said to suggest those letters.

41-3. A strip containing the remains of these three lines has at some time been joined to the main fragment by means of adhesive paper. It is of course quite possible that there were originally decisive indications of its position here, but this now looks very questionable, since there is a blank space below l. 43, although the surface is apparently intact. What is left of ll. 41-3 would therefore be more suitable as ends than as beginnings of lines. The verso is inconclusive.

50.  $\zeta$  being preceded by double dots should be a musical note, but the reference is obscure.

53.  $\xi\xi$ : the writer was presumably referring to the number of tones in the octave, six according to Aristoxenus, but less in reality; cf. introd.

55. Perhaps *δκτωκαιδεκα*: cf. l. 61. The slight vestiges of the letter after  $\iota$  do not suggest a  $\delta$  but are not inconsistent with it.

57. *καί* should be followed by whichever of the words for semitone, *λείμμα*, *δίεσις*, *ἡμιτόνιον*, was employed by the writer. If *ἡμιτο*]ρίου is right in Fr. 5, one of the other two would rather be expected here.

63. Both here and in Fr. 10 the letter after *ο* was apparently *μ* or *ν*, not *γ*, otherwise *ἐπόγ*[δοον, 9 : 8, i.e. a tone, would be an obvious word in this context.

Fr. 4. 2-4. This passage is practically a repetition of Fr. 1, 14-16. The interlinear *δ* at l. 2 was very possibly inserted by a different hand. In l. 4 on the left-hand edge of the papyrus some ink somewhat above the line may represent another interlinear insertion. Further on, the word *συλλαβή* seems to have been mistakenly repeated; a line was apparently drawn through the later letters, but that it was carried to the left of the second *λ* is not clear.

Fr. 5. The process described in the first two lines of this fragment appears to have been the converse of that in Fr. 4, *ἀφαιρεθείσης* being supplied before *συλλαβ]*ῆς. What follows suggests *ἀφαιρεθέντων δὲ δύο τόνων κτλ.*, but this would be a longer supplement than is expected; *ἀφαιρεθέντων* can certainly not be read in front of *ἔλασ*[σο]ν in l. 4.

Fr. 10. Cf. Fr. 1, 63, n.

### 695. LIST OF TRAGEDIANS.

II.

Fr. 1 5.6 × 7.3 cm.

Late third century B.C.

Parts of two columns from a list of tragic poets, carefully written in a clear semi-cursive hand. Dated documents accompanying these fragments were not prior to the reign of Epiphanes, but they may themselves be somewhat earlier. At any rate they certainly afford more ancient testimony to the currency of such products of Alexandrian erudition than the papyrus giving lists of artists, engineers, &c., which was published by Diels in 1904 (*Literculi Alexandrini* in *Abh. Berl. Akad.*). The present list was also a more scientific compilation than those, being both thorough and comprehensive. It gives, besides the names of the poets, their birthplaces and the number of the tragedies which they composed; and, what is especially remarkable, of the three whose names are preserved, Amymon, Democrates, Moschus, none was previously known as a tragedian. Its arrangement, however, seems not to have been very methodical, for the names were not in alphabetical order, and though two Sicyonian poets occur together they are followed by a native of Lampsacus. Whether merit was a factor in the disposition cannot be determined. Perhaps the *index tragicorum* mentioned in Cicero's *Hortensius* (cf. Quintil. x. i. 57) was something of this kind.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
 ουτος ε]ποιησε  
 [τραγωιδίας . . . . .] επτα

Αττικός] εκ Θορι  
[κου ουτος εποιησε τραγωιδιας

. . . . .

Col. ii.

. . . . .

5 Αμυμων Σικνω[νιος ουτος εποιησε  
τραγωιδιας [  
Δημοκρατης Σικ[ωνιος ουτος εποιησε  
τραγωιδιας εικοσιν [ ]  
Μοσχος Λαμψακηνος ουτ[ος εποι]ησε  
10 τραγωιδιας τριακοντ[α  
[. .] . . . . . [  
. . . . .

9. The letters ]ησε are on a small detached fragment (Fr. 2), which may be placed here with probability.

## II. HOMERIC FRAGMENTS

### 696. HOMER, *Odyssey* i.

126.

Fr. I 8.6 × 12 cm.

Second century B.C.

A welcome accession to the early Ptolemaic evidence for the *Odyssey* is found in the following fragments and the more substantial remains of δ-ε in 697. The present papyrus consists of three pieces which do not join, the first two forming Col. i, of which Fr. 2 gives part of the last three lines, and the third containing what is left of Col. ii. If the normal text was followed in ll. 93-6, only one verse is lost between Frs. 1 and 2; but the height of the column would then have been unusually small, the inscribed surface not exceeding about 11.5 cm., or approximately the breadth of ll. 81-2, and since some MSS. insert two additional lines after l. 93 it seems quite possible that a lengthier passage stood here in the papyrus. On the other hand a column of about 20

lines is a most suitable divisor for the 80 verses preceding Col. i, unless serious additions occurred there also. A date fairly early in the second century B.C. is indicated by the slightly sloping and not very regular script. Col. i is much discoloured and the appearance of the surface in both columns rather suggests previous use; some smaller writing has perhaps been washed off.

To judge from this specimen the text was not very accurate; a new verse after l. 92 is the principal feature of interest. In collating 696-7 we have utilized T. W. Allen's edition, but the MSS. are cited according to the lettering of Ludwig.

The verso contains 690.

Col. i (Frs. 1-2).

- α 81 ω πατερ ημετερε [Κρονηδη υπ]ατε κρειοντω[ν  
 ει μεν δη νυν τουτ[ο φιλον] μακαρεσσι θεοισι [  
 νοστησαι Οδυσηα [πο]λυ[φ]ρονα ονδε δο[μονδε  
 Ερμειαμ [με]ν επειτα διακτορον αρ[γειφοντην  
 85 νησον ες Ωλυγιην οτρυνομεν οττι τα[χιστα  
 νυμφη ευ[πλοκ]αμωι ειπηι νημερτεα β[ουλην  
 νοστον Ο[δυση]ος ταλασιφρονος ως κε ν[ε]ηται  
 αυταρ εγ[ων] Ι[θακη]νδ εσελευσομαι ο[φρα] οι υιον  
 μαλλον [επ]οτρυνω και οι μενος εμ φ[ι]ρεσι θειω  
 90 [εις αγορην καλε]σαντα κερη κομων[τας Α]χαιους  
 [πασι μνηστ]ηρεσσιν απεπειν οι τ[ε] οι αιει  
 [μηλ αδινα σφ]αζουσι και ειλιποδ[ας ελικας βους  
 92 α [μητρος εης μ]νηστηρες αγ[α]κ[ιλ]ειτ[ης βασιλειης  
 93 [πεμφω δ ες Σπαρ]την τε κ[αι] ες Πυλον ημαθοεντα  
 [νοστον πευσομενο]ν π[ατρος] φιλου ην που ακουση  
 95 [  
 ο[ς] ειπουσ υπο ποσσιν εδησατο καλα πεδιλα  
 αμβροσ[ια χ]ρ[υσεια] τα μιν φερον ημεν εφ υγρην  
 ηδ επ απειρονα γαια[ν] αμα πνοιηις ανεμοιο

Col. ii (Fr. 3).

- [ειλετο] δ αλκιμον εγχος ακαχ[μενον] οξει χαλκωι  
 100 [βριθυ] μεγα στιβαρον τωι δαμνη[σι στιχας] ανδρον



ηρωων τ[ο]ισιν τε κοτεσσατο οβριμοπ[ατη]  
 [βη δε κα]τ Ουλυμποιο καρηνων αιξ[ασα  
 . . . . .

83. [πο]λυ[φ]ρονα: so FPH, &c.; δαίφρονα others.

85. οπτι: ὄφρα MSS.

88. Ἰθακηνδ εσελευσομαι: so most MSS., but Ἰθάκην without δ' (so Allen) and ἐπ. for ἐσ. are also attested.

91. l. απειπειν: ἀπειπέμεν MSS. Cf. 697 ε 99.

92 a. A new line, for the first part of which cf. a 368, δ 321 μητρὸς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, and for the conclusion e.g. ρ 370.

94. Only slight vestiges of the tops of letters remain, and it would be equally possible to read [κειθεν δ ες Κρητη]ν τ[ε κτλ, the first of the two additional verses inserted here in some MSS. But a longer addition may be suspected: cf. introd.

97-102. These verses were athetized by Aristarchus.

101. κοτεσσατο: κοτέσσεται rightly MSS.

### 697. HOMER, *Odyssey* iv, v.

77.

Col. i 9.3 × 8 cm.

Second century B.C. Plate II  
 (Cols. iii-v, vii).

Of nine successive columns only one is unrepresented in these fragments from a roll containing Homer δ, ε. They show an unusual amount of variation in handwriting. A good literary type, upright and regular, is seen in Cols. iii-iv (cf. Plate II). Col. i is generally similar, though with a tendency to cursive forms; and this tendency becomes accentuated in the last eight lines of Col. v. From this point the cursive style is continued to the lower part of Col. ix, where between ll. 240 and 248 there was a return to a formal script like that of Cols. iii-iv, but larger. Perhaps a second scribe should be recognized in Cols. v-ix, but it seems questionable. The variation of hand makes responsibility for the occasional interlinear additions more than usually difficult to assign, but a few may well be secondary. To the same cause may be attributed some differences in the length of columns, for whereas Cols. iii-v consist of 38 or 39 lines, Col. ix, where the writing becomes larger, has 36. But it hardly accounts for the high average of 43 in Cols. vi-vii, where the lines are not more closely spaced than in the preceding columns; possibly some omissions occurred here.

The evidence of this manuscript, as of 696, was utilized by Mr. T. W. Allen in his second edition of Homer in the Oxford Classical Texts, but at that time it had not been sufficiently studied, and several of the readings which are there attributed to it are untenable; cf. nn. on ε 29, 52, 104 a, 236, 254-5. The text

is decidedly of the 'eccentric' kind commonly seen in the Homeric papyri of the earlier Ptolemaic period, although an exception has lately appeared in the fragments of the *Odyssey* recently edited by O. Guéraud (*Rev. de l'Ég. anc. i. 88 sqq.*), which approximate to the vulgate. In that example the percentage of new verses is no more than 1·5, whereas in the present papyrus, though of later date, there are 16 in 162 lines, which is almost as high a percentage as in P. Hibeh 23. On the other hand only one line, ε 30, is definitely known to have been left out; but, as mentioned above, a comparison of the length of the columns points to some omissions between ε 116 and 184. ε 21 is entirely transformed, and other more or less considerable variants which have not elsewhere been recorded are not infrequent; cf. nn. on ε 8, 13, 52, 60, 100, 106, 108, 112, 135, 139, 215, 226, 233, 252, 254-5, 260. As usual, they are seldom of much value; at ε 8 a conjecture of Nauck is supported, and the order given to ε 254-5 and the avoidance in the former verse of the repetition of ποιείν are not unattractive. In a few places, δ 806, ε 50, 232, the ordinary reading has been superscribed above a novelty; the reverse process is seen in δ 800. Some of the variations, e.g. those in ε 99, 111, 134, and perhaps 260, are attributable to inaccurate copying; cf. the evident errors in δ 809, ε 14, 17, 23, 98, 102, 229, 258.

## Col. i.

- δ 796 [ειδωλον ποιησε δεμας δ] ηικτο γ[υ]ν[αι]κι [ . . . . . ]  
 [Ιφθιμη κυρηι μ]εγαλ[ητορ]οσ Ικαριοιο  
 [την Ενμηλοσ] οπυιε Φ[ερηισ ε]νι ο[ι]κια ναιων  
 [πεμπε δε μι]γ προς δ[ωμ]ατ Οδυσσειοσ θειοιο  
 κατα θυμον
- 800 [ηοσ Πηνελοπ]ειαν οδυρ[ομ]ενην γοαωσαν  
 [παυσειεν] κλαυθ[μ]οιο γ[ο]οιο τε [δ]ακρνοεντοσ  
 [εσ θαλαμον δ ει]σηλθε παρα κλη[ι]δοσ ιμαντα  
 [στη δ αρ υπερ κ]εφαλησ και μιν προς μυθον ειπ[εν]  
 [ευδεισ Πηνε]λοπεια φιλον τετιημενη ητορ
- 805 [ου μεν σ ουδε ε]ωσι θεοι ρεια ζωντεσ  
 οστιμοσ  
 [κλαιειν ουδ ακα]χησθαι επει ρ ετι νηπ[ιο]σ εστ[ι]γ  
 [σοσ παισ ου με]ν γαρ [ε]τι θεοισ αλιτ[ημε]νοσ [εσ]τι [ . . . ]  
 [την δ ημει]βετ] επειτα περι[ι]φρων Πηνελοπει[α]  
 [ηδυ μαλα κυ]ωσσοουσ[α] εν [ο]νηρη[ι]σι πυληισ[ι]
- 810 [τιπτε κασιγν]ητη δευρ ηλυθεσ ου τι παροσ γε

[πωλει επει μα]λα πολλον α[ποπροθ]ι δ[ωματ]α ναιεις  
[και με κελει πα]υσασθαι [οιζυος ηδ οδυναων  
. . . . .

Col. ii lost.

Col. iii. Plate II.

- ε 6 [μνησαμενη μ]ελε γαρ οι εων εν δωμασι νυμφης  
[Ζευ πατερ ηδ α]λλοι μακαρες θεοι αιεν εοντες  
[μη τις ετι προ]φρων αγανος μηδ ηπιος ειη  
[σκηπτουχος βασ]ιλευς μηδε φρεσιν αισιμα ειδως  
10 [αλλ αιει χαλεπος τ] ειη και αισυλα ρεζοι  
[ως ου τις μεμν]ηται Οδυσσειος θειοιο  
[λαων οισιν ανασσ]ε πατηρ δ ως ηπιος ηεν  
[αλλ ο μεν εν νη]σωι μιμνει κρατερ αλγεα πασχων  
[νυμφης εν με]γαροισι Καλυψους ον μιν αναγκη  
15 [ισχει ο δ ου δυνατ]αι ην πατριδα γαιαν ικεσθαι  
[ου γαρ οι παρα νη]εσ επηρετμοι και εταιροι  
[οι κεν μιν πεμπ]οιεν απ ευρεα νωτα [θ]αλασσης  
[νυν αυ παιδ αγαπ]ητον αποκτειναι μεμαασι[ν  
[οικαδε νισομενο]ν ο δ εβη μετα πατ[ρ]οσ α[κουην  
20 [εσ Πυλον ηγαθ]ηην ηδ ε[ς Λακεδαιμονα διαν  
[την δ ημειβετ] ε[πειτα [π]α[τηρ αν]δρω[ν τε θεων τε  
[τεκνον εμον ποιο]ν σε επος φυγεν ερκο[ς οδ]ο[ντων  
[ου γαρ δη τουτον] μεν[ εβουλευσας νοον αυτη  
[ως η τοι κεινου]σ[ Οδυσσευ]σ αποτεισεται ελ[θων  
24 α [οισιν ενι μεγαρ]οις η αμφαδον η[ε κρ]υφ[η]δ[ιον  
25 [Τηλεμαχον δε συ] πεμψον επισ[ταμενω]σ δυνασαι γαρ  
26 [ως κε] μαλ ασκηθ[η]σ η[ν πατριδα γαιαν] ικηται  
27 [μνησ]τηρες δ εν ν[η]ι παλιμπετες απονεωνται  
27 α [. . . .] . . προ[  
28 [η ρα κ]αι Ερμ[ειαν υιον φιλον αυτιον] ηυδα  
29 [. . . .] . Ερμει[α  
31 [νοστον] Ο[δυσσειο]σ τ[αλα]σιφρονοσ ωσ κε νεηται  
32 ? [ ? ουτε θε]ω[ν ? π]ομ[πηι . . .] πεθε[

- 32 a [. . . . .] . . σεμ[. . .]υδε . [  
 32 b [. . . . .] τε θεοισι φιλ[  
 33 [αλλ ο γ επι σ]χεδιης πολυδ[εσμου πηματα πασχων  
 34 [ηματι εικοστωι] Σ[χ]εριην [εριβωλον ικοιτο  
 35 [Φαιηκων ες γαιαν ο]ι αγ[χιθειοι γεγαασιν  
 . . . . .

## Col. iv. Plate II.

- 40 a ου [γαρ οι τηιδ αισα φιλ]ων απο τηλε λασθα<sup>λη</sup>ι  
 41 αλ[ι] ετι οι μοιρ εστι φιλο]υς τε ιδειν και ικεσ[θαι  
 [οικον ες υψοροφον και] εην εις πατριδα γαια]ν  
 [ως εφατ ουδ απιθησε] διακτορος α[ργε]ιφ[οντης  
 [αυτικ επειθ υπο ποσσι]ν εδη[σα]το καλ[α πεδιλα  
 45 αμ[βροσια] χ[ρυσεια τα μιν] φερον η[μεν εφ υγρην  
 ηδ επ απειρον]α γαιαν αμ]α πνοιηις α[νεμοιο  
 ειλε[τ]ο δε ραβδ[ον τηι τ] ανδρων ομμ[ατα θελγει  
 ων [ε]θεληι του[ς δ αυτε και υπν]ω[ντας εγειρει  
 την [με]τα χερσιν [εχων πετετο κ]ρατ[υς αργειφοντης  
 50 Πειεριης δ επιβ[α]ς εξ αιθερος εμ]πεσε [ποντωι  
 σευατ επειτ επι κυμα λαρ[ωι ορ]νιθ[ι] εοικωσ  
 ος τ ενι κολπο[ισιν] π[ο]λιης α[λος] ατρυγε[τοιο  
 ιχθ[υας] α[γ]ρωσ[ων] π[υκινα] π[τερα] δευετα[ι] αλμηι  
 [ται ικελος πολεεσσιν οχησατο] κυμα[σιν Ε]ρμησ  
 55 [αλλ οτε δη την νησον] αφικετο [τ]ηλοθ[ι] [εουσαν  
 [ενθ εκ ποντου βα]ς ιοειδ[ε]ος ηπει[ρο]νδε  
 [ηιεν οφρα μεγα σπεος ικετο τωι εν]ι υ[υμφη  
 [ναιεν ευπλοκαμο]ς την [δ ενδοθι τετμεν εουσαν  
 [πυρ μεν επ εσχ]αροφιν μεγα δ[αιετ]ο τηλοθι [δ οδμη  
 60 [κεδρον τ εκ]αυτοιο θυωγ [τ ανα] νησον ορω[ρει  
 [δαιομενων η δ ενδον αιιδι]αουσ οπι καληι [  
 [ιστον εποιχομενη χρυ]σειηι κερκιδ υφαινε[ν  
 [υλη δε σπεος αμφι πεφυ]κει τηλεθ[ω]σα  
 [κληθρη τ αιγειρος τε και εν]ωδης κ[υπαρισσους  
 . . . . .

## Col. v. Plate II.

- [ου γαρ τ αγνωτες θεοι αλληλοισ]ι π[ε]λ[ο]ν[ι]ται  
 80 [αθανατοι ουδ ει τις αποπροθι δω]μ[α]τα ναιει  
 [ουδ αρ Οδυσσηα μεγαλητορα ενδον ετε]τμεν  
 . . . . .  
 95 a? [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 95 b? [ . . . . . ] π[ι]δ[ . . . . . ]  
 95 c? [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ]  
 95 d? [ . . . . . ] ηδ[ε] [ . . . . . ]  
 96 [και τοτε δη μιν επεσσιν αμειβο]μ[ε]ν[ο]ς προσειπεν [ . . . . . ]  
 [ειρωταις μ ελθοντα θεα θε]ον αυταρ εγω τοι  
 [νημερτεωσ τον μυθον ενισπησω κ[ε]λαα]ι γαρ  
 [Ζευσ εμεγ ηνωγ]ει δευρ ελθειν ουκ εθελοντ[α] [ . . . . . ]  
 100 [τις δ αν εκων] τοσσουτ[ο] διαδραμοι αλμυρον υ[δ]ωρ  
 [ασπετον ο]υδε τις αγχι βροτων π[ο]λις οι] τε θεο[ι]σιν  
 [ιερα τε ρεζουσι και] εξαετους εκα[το]μβας  
 [αλλα μαλ ου π]ως εστι Διος ροον [αιγιοχοιο  
 104 [ουτε παρε]ξελθειν αλλον θεον ου[θ] αλιωσαι  
 104 a [ος νυν με πρ]οξηκε τειν ταδε [μυθησασθαι  
 105 [φησι τοι ανδρα πα]ρ[ε]ιναι οιζυρωτ[α]τον αλλων  
 [ανδρων οι περι α]στυ μεγα Πριαμ[ο]ιο μαχοντο  
 [ειναετες δεκατ]ωι δε πολιν πε[ρ]σαντες εβησαν  
 [οικαδ αταρ ανιο]ντες Αθηναιη[ν] αλιτοντο  
 [η σφιν επωρσ] α]νεμον τε κακον [και κυματα μακρα  
 110 [ενθ αλλοι μεν] παντ[ε]ς απεφθιθον [εσθλοι εταιροι  
 111 [τον δ αρα δευρ] ανεμος τε κακος και [κυμα πελασσε

## Col. vi.

- 111 a [ . . . . . ]ως μετ[α] κ]υμασι νυκτος [αμολγωι] ?  
 112 [τον νυν σ ην]ωγει α[πο]πεμπεμεν αψ [Ιθακηνδε] ?  
 [ου γαρ οι τη]ιδ αισα φιλων α[πο] ροσφιν ολξ[ε]σθαι  
 [αλλ ετι οι μοιρ] εστι φιλους] τε [ι]δξειν κα[ι] ικεσθαι

- 115 [οικον ες υψοροφον και εην ες πατ]ριδα γ[αιαν  
 [ως φατο ριγησεν δε Καλυψω δια θεα]ων [ . α . υ . . ]  
 . . . . .
- 132 [Ζευσ ελσας εκε]α[σσε μεσσωι ενι οינוπι ποντωι  
 [ενθ αλλοι μεν] παγτες απε[φθιθον εσθλοι εταιροι  
 [τον δ αρα δευρ] ανεμος τε κ[ακος και κυμα πελασσε
- 135 [τον μεν εγω]ν εφιλε[ο]ν τε κ[αι ετρεφον ηδε εφασκον  
 [θησειν αθαν]ατον και αγηρ[ων ηματα παντα  
 [αλλ επει ου π]ως εστ[ι] Διος [νοον αιγιοχοιο  
 [ουτε παρεξελθ]ε[ι]ν αλλον θ[εον ουθ αλιωσαι  
 [ερρετω ει μιν κ]ειν[ο]ς επω[τρυνεν και ανωγει
- 140 [ποντον επ ατρυγ]ετον πεμψω [δε μιν ου πη εγω γε  
 [ου γαρ μοι παρα νηes επηρ]ετ[μοι και εταιροι  
 . . . . .

## Col. vii. Plate II.

- 171 [ως φατο ριγησεν δε πολυτλας διος Οδυ]σευσ  
 [και μιν φωνησας επεα πτεροεντα] προσηυδα
- 173 [αλλο τι δη συ θεα τοδε μηδεια ου]δε τι πο[μ]πη[ν  
 . . . . .
- 183 a θαρσει μηδε τι παγχυ μετα φρεσι δειδιθι λιην
- 183 b εκ γ εμεθε[ν
- 184 ιστω νυν [τοδε γαια και ουρανος ευρυς υπερθε
- 185 και το κατ[ειβομενον Στυγος υδωρ ος τε μεγαistos  
 ορκ[ος] δε[ινοτατος τε πελει μακαρεσσι θεοισι  
 μη τι τοι [αυτωι πημα κακον βουλευσεμεν αλλο  
 αλλα τα μεν [νοεω και φρασσομαι ασσ αν εμοι περ  
 αυτη μ]η[δοιμην οτε με χρειω τοσον ικοι
- 190 και γαρ ε[μοι νοος εστιν εναισιμος ουδε μοι αυτη  
 θυμω]ς [ενι στηθεσσι σιδηρεος αλλ ελεημων  
 [ως α]ρ[α φωνησασ ηγησατο δια θεαων  
 κ[αρπαλιμω]ς ο δ επειτα μετ ιχνια βαινε θεοιο

## Col. viii.

- [ενθαδε κ αυθι με]ν[ων συν εμοι τοδε δωμα φυλασσοις  
 [αθανατος τ ειη]ς με[ιρομενος περ ιδεσ]θαι  
 210 σ[ην αλοχον τ]ης τε α[ιεν εελδεαι ηματα] παντα  
 ο[υ μεν θην κει]νης γε [χερειων ευχο]μ[αι] ειναι  
 ου [δεμας ου]δε φυνη ε[πει ου πως ου]δε εοικεν  
 θνητας α[θαν]ατησι [δεμας και ειδος] εριζειν  
 την δ απ[αμε]μβομενο[ς προσεφη πολυ]μητι[ς Οδυσσευς  
 215 [ποτνα θεα μη] ταυτα . [ . . . . οίδα και] αυτος [   
 [παντα μαλ ουνεκα] σειο περει[φρων Πηνελοπεια  
 [ειδος ακιδνοτ]ερη [μ]εγεθ[ος τ εισαντα ιδεσθαι  
 . . . . .  
 223 [ηδη γαρ μα]λα πολλ [επαθον και πολλ εμογησα  
 [κυμασι και πολ]ε[μ]ωι με[τα] [και τοδε τοισι γενεσθω  
 225 [ως εφат ηελιος δ α]ρ εδυ κα[ι] ε[πι κνεφας ηλθεν  
 [ελθοντες δ αρα τ]ρι γε μυχωι σ[πειους γλαφυροιο  
 [τερπεσθην φι]λοτητι παρ αλληλ[οισι μενοντες  
 [ημος δ ηριγεν]ει εφανη ροδοδακτ[υλος Ηως  
 [αυτιχ ο μεν φα]ρος τε κιτω[να τε εννυτ Οδυσσευς  
 230 [αυτη δ αργυφεο]ν φα[ρ]ος μεγ[α εννυτο νυμφη  
 [λεπτον και χαρι]εν π[ερ]ι δε [ζωινην βαλετ ιξι

## Col. ix.

- 232 [καλ]ην χρυσειην κεφαληι δ ε[ν]ε[θη]κε καλυπτην  
 232 a κρ[ηδε]μνωι δ εφυπερθε καλυ[ψατο δια θεων  
 232 b κα[λ]ωι νηγ[ατεωι] το ρα οι τεθ[ω]μενον ηεν  
 233 αυ[ταρ] Οδυ[σσηι μ]εγαλητορι μη[δετο πομπην  
 δω[κε μεν οι πελεκυ]ν με[γα]ν α[ρ]μενον εν παλαμησι  
 235 χαλκ[εον αμφοτ]ερωθεν ακαχμ[ε]νον αυταρ εν αυτωι  
 στει[λειον περι]καλες ελαινον εν ε[ναρ]ηρος  
 [δωκε δ επει]τα σκεπαρνον ευ[ξοον ηρχε δ οδοιο  
 [νησου επ ε]σχατης οθι δενδ[ρα μακρα πεφυκει

- [κληθηρη τ αιχειρος τ ελατ]η τ η[ν ουρανομηκης  
 240 ? [ 20 letters ]εϛ[  
 241 ? [ ” ” ] . . [
- . . . . .
- [γομφοισιν] δ̄ ἀρα τῆ[ν γε και αρμονηισιν αρασσεν  
 [οσσον τις τ] εδαφος ν[ηος τονωσεται ανηρ  
 250 [φορτιδος ε]νρειης ε[υ ειδως τεκτοσυναων  
 [τοσσον] εῖπ ευρεια[ν σχεδιην ποιησατ Οδυσσευς  
 [. . . . .].]ν αυτην α[ρρων θαμεσι σταμινεσσι  
 253 π[οι]ει αταρ μακρησι[ν επηγκενιδεσσι τελευτα  
 256 φραξε δε μιν ριπ[ε]σσι [διαμπερες οισυνηισι  
 257 [κ]υμασ[ι]ν<sup>τος</sup> ιλαρ εμεν [πολλην δ επεχευατο υλην  
 254 [ε]ν δ ιστ[ον] τε τιθει κα[ι επικριον αρμενον αυται  
 255 [εν] δ αρα πηδαλιον π[οιησατο οφρ ιθυνοι  
 258 [τ]οφρα δε φαρη ενεικ[ε Καλυψω δια θεαων  
 259 [ιστ]ια ποιησασθαι ο δ [εν τεχνησατο και τα  
 259 a [π]ρος δ αρα ικριοφιν . [
- 260 [εν] δ υπερ[α]ς τξ ποδας [τε καλους τ ενεδησεν εν αυτη  
 [μο]χλοισ[ιν δ α]ρα την γε [κατειρυσεν εις αλα διαν  
 [τε]τρατο[ν] ημαρ εν [και τωι τετελεστο απαντα  
 [τω]ι δ αρ[α πε]μπτ[ωι πεμπ απο νησου δια Καλυψω  
 ε[ιμα τ αμ]φιεσασα [θυωδεα και λουσασα

## Unidentified.

. . . . .  
 ]η . [  
 ] . [  
 ]λο[  
 ]τιδ[  
 ] . μ . [  
 ]δομ[  
 ]νυμφ[  
 . . . . .



δ 799. Ὀδυσσεῖος: Ὀδυσσῆος vulg.; so, too, ε 11.

800. The initial supplement is of full length, so that εἰ πως or οππως in place of ηος would be unsuitable. For the new v.l. *κατα θυμον* cf. ν 379 *νόστον ὀδυρομένη κ. θ.* The non-assimilated form *γαῶσαν* is like *ναετώσα* (B 648, &c.); *γούωσαν* MSS.

801. [*πανσεῖν*] even with the superfluous ν is short for the space, which would accommodate two or three more letters. The second ο of [δ]ακρουεντος was corrected from α, and perhaps the α of *κλαυθμοιο* has also been altered.

806. For the original ending *νηπ[ω]ς*, which is not elsewhere recorded, cf. l. 818 and the recurrent *ἔτι νήπιος ἦα*, e.g. β 313, σ 229, τ 19, &c.

807. The accidental omission of the line was presumably caused by the homoeoteleuton.

809. l. [ο]νιρέ[ι]ησι.

ε 8. μηδ . . . εἷη: καὶ . . . ἔστω MSS., both here and in β 230. μηδ' had been conjectured by Nauck.

11. Ὀδυσσεῖος: cf. δ 799, η.

13. μῦναι: κείται MSS.

14. ον: l. ἦ.

17. απ: l. ἐπ'.

21 = Λ 544. The ordinary text has *τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς*.

23. l. Ὀδυσσεύς.

24 a. A new line formed by a combination of α 269 and ξ 330 (= τ 299).

27 a. This line is not in the vulgate. The slight remnant of the first letter would suit e.g. ι, ρ, ν, and of the second e.g. η, ν.

29. Ἑρμεία· σὺ γὰρ αὐτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελός ἐσσι· is the ordinary version of this line. In the papyrus *Ερμει[α]* was preceded by about five letters, but the reading [*υιε φι*]λ reported by Allen in his second Oxford edition does not seem possible. The remains before *Ερμ.* suggest ε more than anything else; the same effect, however, might be produced if the scribe made a false start and then cancelled the superfluous letters by a horizontal stroke drawn through the middle of them. But in view of the wide divergence of the papyrus from the MSS. in this passage, such a mistake seems less likely than a genuine variant.

31-32 b. Line 30, *νύμφη ἔυπλοκάμφειπὲν νημερτέα βουλῆν*, is absent, and l. 31 is by no means certainly identified. In l. 32 an ω occurs in the right position for [*ουτε θε*]ω[ν, and π]ομ[πη] is sufficiently suitable, but something other than *οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* succeeded. ]πε is probable but ]ηε is not excluded. In l. 32 a ]υδε is followed by a vertical stroke, and ]υδει .[ or, e.g., ]υδεν[ can be read, but *ασ(τ)εμ[φ. υ]υδει*, proposed by Allen, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.* is very unconvincing. *θεοισι* in l. 32 b, if not altogether satisfactory, appears possible; cf. x 41 *θεοῖσι φίλος*, H. Ven. 195 *φίλος ἐσσι θεοῖσι*.

34. Whether the papyrus omitted or inserted κ (or γ) before *εικοστωι* cannot be determined.

40 a-41. These verses are identical with ε 113-14, with the substitution of *απο τηλε κτλ.* for *ἀπονόσφιν ἀλέσθαι*, ε 114 coinciding with ε 41 except for *ἀλλ' ἔτι* in place of *ὡς γάρ*. At the end of l. 40 a l. *τῆλ' ἀλάγησθαι*, for which cf. γ 313 *δάμων ἄπο τῆλ' ἀλάγησο*: possibly *δομ]ων* not *φίλ]ων* preceded *απο* in the present passage.

42. εην: so most MSS.; ἦν F and some others.

εἰς: ἐς MSS.

48. [ε]θελι: so BM; cf. schol. Ω 344 *αἱ κοινὰ διὰ τοῦ ἦ ἐθέλη*, where Aristarchus read *ἐθέλει*, the common lection here.

50. Πειερης, the original reading, is not otherwise recorded.

52. *ος τ εἰ κολπο[ισων] π[ο]λης* (not *δει]νης* as in Allen, *op. cit.*): *ὄς τε κατὰ δεινούς κόλλουσ* vulg. *ἐνὶ κόλλοισιν* does not occur elsewhere in Homer.

53.  $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$  seems probable on account of the space, but cannot be regarded as certain  $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$  MSS.

59.  $\delta[\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau]\circ$  rather than  $\kappa[\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau]\circ$  is suggested by a vestige of the top of the initial letter; the MSS. are divided.

$\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\theta\iota$ : so FU and others, Eustath.;  $\tau\eta\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon$  most MSS.

60.  $\epsilon\kappa[\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\omicron]$  (so apparently)  $\theta\upsilon\omega\nu$ :  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\upsilon\omega\nu$  MSS.  $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  occurs in Photius 430. 24.

$\omicron\rho\omega[\rho\epsilon\iota]$ : so FU &c.;  $\delta\delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\iota$  others.

95  $a-d$ ? Line 96 was preceded by at least three lines not included in the ordinary text. If the passage consisted of four verses, and ll. 82-95 were as in the vulgate, the column would be of the same length as Col. 1. Allen has suggested that the new lines contained a repetition of the question in ll. 87 sqq., and in 95  $b$  conjectures  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\rho\alpha[\pi\iota\delta[\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu]$ , as in H. 29. 8, but the three letters are a slender basis, and the  $\pi$  is hardly secure. In 95  $d$  the second letter may be  $\lambda$  (?  $\tau[\eta\lambda\epsilon]$ ).

97.  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \tau\omicron\iota$ : so most MSS.;  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$  F.

98. 1.  $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\alpha[\iota]$ .

99.  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ :  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$  MSS. Cf. 695  $a$  91.

100.  $\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron$ :  $\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon$  MSS.

102.  $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  is a mistake for  $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ .

104  $a = \delta$  829, with the necessary change in the gender of the relative pronoun. The reading reported by Allen, *op. cit.*, was erroneous.

106. The ordinary text here is  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\omicron\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$   $\Pi\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$ . For the papyrus version cf. e.g. II 448  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$   $\Pi\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ,  $\gamma$  107  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$   $\Pi\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$ ,  $\delta$  171-2  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$   $\text{'}\text{A}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ ,  $\omicron$  510  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\eta\nu$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ .

108. The papyrus had a participle in place of the vulgate  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , and  $\alpha\nu\iota\omega[\nu]\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  (cf.  $\kappa$  332  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\text{Τ}\rho\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omega\nu\tau\alpha$ ) perhaps suits the space rather better than  $\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega[\nu]\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ .

110.  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\phi\theta\iota\theta\omicron\nu$ : so P.S.I. 8 (? 2nd cent.) and many MSS.;  $-\theta\epsilon\nu$  Aristarchus.

111.  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  MSS.  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  was no doubt brought in from l. 109. Cf. l. 134.

111  $a$ . Another new line. For  $[\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda\gamma\omega\iota]$  cf. X 28 and 317  $\mu\epsilon\tau'$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$   $\nu\kappa\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu$ .

112.  $\eta\nu[\omega\gamma\epsilon\iota]$ : so the bulk of the MSS.;  $\acute{\eta}\nu\acute{\omega}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  Aristarchus. The following letter is broken, but there is enough to exclude a  $\nu$ .

$\alpha\psi$  [ $\text{I}\theta\alpha\kappa\eta\nu\delta\epsilon$ ? (or  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\delta\epsilon$ ?)]:  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\tau\iota$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$  MSS.

114.  $[\upsilon\varsigma]$  might be read instead of  $\tau\epsilon$ , but considerations of space make it probable that the papyrus agreed with the MSS. in the insertion of  $\tau\epsilon$  here.

116. Above the end of this line there is an interlineation (apparently by the first hand), the explanation of which is not evident. The remains are not inconsistent with  $\text{Κ}\alpha\lambda\upsilon\psi\omega$ , which, however, would require some variation in the middle of the line; it is unlikely that  $\theta\epsilon\alpha\omega\nu$  and  $\text{Κ}\alpha\lambda\upsilon\psi\omega$  merely changed places. But the vestiges of the letters which have been taken to belong to l. 116 are so slight and ambiguous that the identification of that verse is extremely doubtful. To suppose that the line was originally omitted and subsequently added, like  $\delta$  807, is not satisfactory, since the name  $\text{Κ}\alpha\lambda\upsilon\psi\omega$  would then be expected to have stood further to the left.

134.  $\kappa[\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma]$ :  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  MSS.; cf. l. 111,  $\nu$ .

135.  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\nu$  MSS.

139.  $\epsilon\pi\omega[\tau\rho\nu\nu\epsilon\nu]$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\nu}\nu\epsilon\iota$  MSS.

183  $a-b$ . Line 183  $a = \delta$  825, and was coupled with another verse apparently analogous to H. Ven. 194  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\tau\omicron\iota$   $\tau\iota$   $\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$   $\gamma\epsilon$ ; which follows  $\theta\acute{\iota}\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota$   $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\sigma\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota$   $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\theta\iota$   $\lambda\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\nu$ . It is of course possible that in the papyrus, as in that passage,  $\sigma\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota$  replaced  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\nu$ .

184. Some ink in the margin opposite this line may be an impression from another sheet of the cartonnage.

187. *τοι*: so MSS. generally; *σοι*, which is preferred by Allen, with Wolf and Bekker, occurs as a secondary reading in DH.

210. *τε*: so many MSS., om. FU; but the reading is by no means certain.

215. The ordinary reading here is *μή μοι τόδε χάεο*. *ταῖ[ε]* instead of *τόδε* would be suitable, but the preceding remains are hardly to be reconciled with *μοι*, and suggest another τ after the lacuna. If *ταῦτα* is right, there must have been a further divergence, e.g. *τ. γε χάεο*.

223. Some five or six more letters are required to fill the initial lacuna. Perhaps there was a flaw in the papyrus, or the scribe may have made a mistake, e.g. by originally writing *πολλα* in front of *μαλα*.

226. *τ[οι]*: *τώ* MSS. Possibly *τωι* was written, but the *ο* seems preferable.

228. *ἡριγένεια φάνη* MSS.

229. *φαῖρος* is a repetition from l. 230; *χλαῖναν* MSS. The spelling *κιτών* (regarded by G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* 382, as the original form) is found in the Bankes papyrus at Ω 225, 231; cf. e.g. P. Reinach 17. 19, 21.

232. *ενεθηκε*, a new variant, was apparently first written and π superscribed, by which hand is uncertain. *επέθηκε* is the reading of most MSS., but KM and others have *εφύπερθε*, with Aristarchus. The supposed ν might well be μ, but *μεθηκε* seems improbable.

232 a-δ. *κρ[ηδε]μνωι . . . νη[ατεωι]* = Ξ 184-5, the rest of 232 δ coinciding with the latter part of Ξ 172.

233. *αὔ[ταρ]*: *καὶ τότ'* MSS.

236. The spelling *περικαλεῖς* is found also in DH. The rest of the line is very doubtfully deciphered, but the reading given by Allen, *ορ. cit.* *χ]ιλεπον μά[λα τιμιον κτλ.* appears to be mistaken. *χ]αλεπον* would not fill the space, and the π is improbable.

238. *ε]χαριης*: the MSS. are divided between this and *-ήν*.

240? The remains of this line are inconsistent with the ordinary version of l. 240 *αἶα πάλαι, περικηλα, τά οἱ πλώοιεν ἐλαφρῶς*. A θ is a possible alternative for the first letter and τ for the second.

241? Perhaps *δεν]δρ[εα]*, as in the ordinary text, but the vestiges are inconclusive, and the variation in the preceding verse adds to the uncertainty.

252. *ἴκρια δὲ στήσας, ἀραρών* MSS. Part of a vertical stroke before *αυτην* suits a ν but might equally well belong to e.g. an ι. Allen has proposed [*και καλη*]ν.

254-5. The position given to these two lines, below l. 257, seems more logical than that in the vulgate. They also show two new variants, in l. 254 *τε τιθει* for *ποιεῖ*, and most probably in l. 255 [*ε*]ν (hardly [*κ*]αδ as reported by Allen, *ορ. cit.*) for *πρός*, for which there is not room.

257. The superscribed reading *κυματος* is that of the MSS.

258. *φαρη*: l. *φάρε'*.

259 a. Unknown. The vestiges of the letter after *ικριοφω* rather suggest a β.

260. *ποδας [τε καλους: κάλους τε πόδας* MSS.

264. The repetition of *τα* caused a lipography which was afterwards corrected. This insertion is more cursively written than that in l. 257, but is not necessarily by a different hand. Several MSS. similarly have *εἶματ'* instead of *εἶματά τ'*.

**Unplaced Fragment.** This small piece, in a hand similar to that of Cols. v (end)-viii and ix (upper part), appears to belong to the present roll. In the last line *νύμφη* in some form is suggested, but no line in which that word occurs suits the rest of the fragment, and the φ is not at all secure.

## III. ROYAL ORDINANCES.

## 698. DECREE OF ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES.

I a.

5·4 × 18·3 cm.

170-169 B.C. Plate VII

This exiguous fragment, notwithstanding its size, has a certain historical importance, for it bears directly on the vexed question of the relations of Ptolemy Philometor and Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria after the latter's invasion of Egypt in 170 B.C. According to Porphyry (*F. H. G.* iii. 720), Antiochus deprived Philometor of the throne, and Jerome, *In Dan.* xi. 26, says that he was himself formally crowned at Memphis. Coins of Antiochus, struck apparently in Egypt, lend some support to such statements. Mr. Bevan suggests (*The Ptol. Dynasty*, p. 284; cf. *Camb. Anc. Hist.* viii. 505, Kolbe, *Beitr. z. syr. und jud. Gesch.* p. 34) that it would be in accordance with the king's character to amuse himself by going through the coronation ceremony at Memphis without attaching any real significance to it. Bouché-Leclercq somewhat similarly regards the coins as proving no more than that Antiochus wished to affirm a right to exercise the royal authority, which, however, he did not assume, contenting himself with the official role of protector of the kingdom by Philometor's consent (*Hist. des Lagides*, ii. 16). Yet in 698 we find Antiochus, with no qualification of the royal title or recognition of the existence of a protégé, but in the ordinary form of the kings of Egypt, issuing a decree to the cleruchs of the Arsinoïte nome. It certainly looks as if the ancient authorities who speak of a temporary dethronement of Philometor were not misrepresenting the facts.

Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου προστάξαντος·  
 ταῖς ἐν τῷ Κροκοδιλοπολίτῃ κληρού-  
 ]χοις 21 letters ]εα

‘By decree of King Antiochus :—To the cleruchs in the Crocodilopolite nome . . .’

2. Κροκοδιλοπολίτῃ: this seems to be the only instance of the designation of the Arsinoïte nome by the adjectival derivative of Κροκοδίων πόλις, and may be explained as due to the unfamiliarity of Antiochus with the usual nomenclature. At this date ὁ Ἄρσινοίτης was the established name of the Fayûm, the earlier appellation of which was ἡ λίμνη or ὁ λιμνίτης (*Rev. Laws xxxi.* 12, n.). Wilcken's statement in *Grundz.* p. 104 is rather misleading.

## 699. DECREES OF EUERGETES II.

87.

Fr. 2 11.3 × 13.8 cm.

135-134 B.C.

Decrees of indulgence, *φιλόανθρωπα*, were promulgated by Euergetes II soon after his return on the death of Philometor (P. Tor. I. ix. 21) and also on several occasions towards the end of his life (5, 124, P. Tor. I. vii. 13 sqq.). 699 now acquaints us with another series of decrees of a more or less similar kind issued in one of the intermediate years, the 36th of Euergetes' reign. Unfortunately they have survived only in a few small fragments, of which two, giving parts of the concluding column, are printed below. That Fr. 1 was the top of the column of which Fr. 2 formed the end is indicated by a junction of two sheets of papyrus occurring in both, and also by the verso, which is inscribed with official accounts of payments of corn by various persons. When the two pieces are adjusted according to this junction the fracture to the right follows an approximately vertical line, and suitable restorations are obtainable on the supposition that the loss here averaged 15 letters. Of the decrees in this column all but the last are expressly concerned with the temples and their belongings, and the same subject is prominent in the minor fragments (see below). Perhaps then the whole series related to the temples, just as what remains of 124 apparently refers to cleruchs. It is remarkable that two of the ordinances were incorporated with but slight modification in the more comprehensive series of decrees issued in 118 B.C. and preserved in 5; see nn. on ll. 1-2 and 15-17.

Fr. 2 has a few letters from the ends of some lines of the preceding column, to which the verso suggests that the largest of the fragments (Fr. 3) not here printed is to be assigned. This is much damaged, but a few words are here and there legible. Two references to the 25th year occur, l. 4 ] ὅσα καὶ ἐν [τ]ῶι κε (ἔτει) [ and l. 15 ] ἕως τοῦ κε (ἔτους). The 25th year, 146-5 B.C., was the year of the death of Philometor and the return of Euergetes to power, and hence was a natural *terminus a quo* or *ad quem* in new ordinances of the latter. In l. 7 ]ων ἱερῶν ζώων [ recalls 5. 78-9, but the context was different. Fr. 4, from the top of a column, and Fr. 5 are connected by the similarity of their versos, but no satisfactory combination has been found; Fr. 5. 6-7 reads ] τοῖς γενεθλοῖς α[ and τ]ῶν εἰθισμ[ένων. Fr. 6, giving the beginnings of a few lines, has γερῶν [ as the first of them; but the verso indicates that this is not to be placed at Fr. 1. 7. Two further pieces and some tiny scraps are too much defaced or too slight to yield anything of value.

[τὰς ἡγορασμέν]α<sup>s</sup> προφητείας καὶ γέρα κ[αὶ γραμματείας ὦν τὰς  
[τιμὰς τεταγμ]ῆνοι εἰσὶν τοῖς κυρίοις [μένειν

[. . . . .]ει τὰ χρήματα ἐκ τῶν εἷ  
 [. . . . .].. μὴ δαπανᾶν, ἐξί[  
 5 [. . . . .]. τελείσθαι καὶ εἰς τ[  
 [προσ τετάχασι δὲ . . . . .] τῶν ἀπράτων  
 [ 21 letters ] τὰς πράσε[is  
 [. . . . .] ὑπάρ]χοντα ἔν τισιν ἱεροῖ[s  
 [. . . . .] δὲ τοὺς κεκυρ[ωμένους  
 10 [. . . . .] ἐ]κέκ[τ]ηνητο [   
 [. . . . .]τ]οις καὶ το[   
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 τὸς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν [. . . . .] τ]ὰ καθήκον[τα  
προσ τετάχασι δε μ[η]. . .]. [λα]μβάνειν ἐκ τ[  
 κατὰ μ[η]θένα τρόπ[ο]ν μ[η]δ' ἐνεχυράζειν [μηδὲ τῶν καθηκόντων?  
 15 εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπολογεῖν μ[η]θέν. προσ[τετάχασι] δὲ καὶ  
μ[η]θένα ἐξάγειν μ[η]δ' ἀποβιάζεσθαι παρ' οἷ[s τόποις ἀσυλίας  
ὑπῆρχον.  
προσ τετάχασι δὲ μ[η]θένα κακοτεχνεῖν [μηδέ τι παρὰ τὰ  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς διηγορευμένα πράσσειν [   
 20 μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ πραγμάτων τετ[α]γμ[έ]νους  
[. . . . .] σθατ[ω]ι ζημιουσθαι.

(ἔτους) λς [

] . [

2. Second ι of κυριοις corr. from s.

1-2. '(They have decreed that) those posts as prophet and honourable offices and secretaryships of which they have paid the prices shall be secured to their owners'.

These lines evidently corresponded closely to 5. 80-3 τὰς ἡγορασμένας προφητείας καὶ γέρα καὶ γραμματαίᾳ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν προσόδων [δ]ν τ[ᾶ]ς τιμὰς τεταγμένοι (l. -νοι) εἰσὶ μένειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κυρίως, ταύτας δὲ [μ]ῆ ἐξ[εῖ]ναι [τοῖ]ς ἱερεῦσι παραχωρεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. As observed in the n. *ad loc.*, the subject of τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ is the priests, who were not, however, mentioned in the preceding sentence of 5, though they may have been in the present place. The next words μένειν . . . κυρίως suggest that κυριοις (-οις altered from -ος) in l. 2 may be a mistake for ἱεροῖς κυρίως; cf. too 5. 51, where the phrase τοῖς ἱερ. μέν. [κυρι]ῶς is again used.

3. The remains suggest ]ει rather than ]αι, but [προσ τετάχασι δὲ κ]αῖ is possible.

4. ἐξί is preceded by a short blank space, so that a pause in the sense is likely; perhaps ἐξ[εῖ]ναι δέ.

6-11. This seems to be a single section relating to priestly offices which remained unsold; in l. 9 κεκυρ[ωμένους] fits in well with what has gone before, and προσ τετάχασι would

hardly be of sufficient length before δέ. For ὑπάρ]χοντα in l. 8 cf. e.g. 5. 9 [τὰ] ἔτι ὑπάρ-  
[χοντα] ἄπρατα, P. Ryl. 217. 11 ἀπράτων ὑπαρχόντων, but the supposed χ is very uncertain and  
might be e.g. π or σ.

13-15. The sense of this paragraph is not very clear. ὑπολογεῖν in l. 15 apparently  
applies to temple revenues, and ἐνεχυράζειν may well refer to the sources of such revenues.  
Or do ll. 13-14 prohibit the removal or pledging of valuable objects belonging to the  
temples (e.g. μη[θέν]α [λα]μβάνειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μηθέν)? μη[θέν]α, however, is not a very satis-  
factory reading, the α being represented by a horizontal stroke which might more suitably  
belong to, e.g., a σ. The similarity of Dem. *In Meid.* 10 μὴ ἐξείναι μήτε ἐνεχυράσαι μήτε  
λαμβάνειν ἕτερον ἑτέρου was pointed out by Prof. A. M. Harmon.

15-17. 'And they have decreed that no one shall be removed or forcibly ejected at  
those temples where rights of asylum subsisted.'

This ordinance is a parallel to 5. 83-4 πρ[ο]στετάχσιν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀσύλων  
τόπων μ[η]θένα [ἐκσπᾶν] μήτε ἀποβιάζεσθαι παρενρέσει μηδεμᾶ, where ἐξάγειν should be substituted  
for the restoration ἐκσπᾶν on the analogy of the present passage. The use of the imperfect  
is rather strange but may be due to something that preceded; cf. the reference to the 25th  
year in a fragment mentioned in the introd. The right of asylum has been discussed at  
length by F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Aegyptens*.

18-21. These lines will admit of two interpretations. (1) They are a general injunction,  
suitable in a concluding clause, for law-abiding behaviour, πράσσειν having the sense of 'to  
act' and τοὺς . . . τετ[α]γμ[ένους] being the object of some other such verb as ὑβρίζειν. (2) They  
are directed to officials, τοὺς . . . τετ[α]γμ[ένους] being part of the subject and πράσσειν prob-  
ably meaning 'to exact'. A satisfactory restoration is easier on the latter view, which would  
make the ordinance similar in form to 5. 138 sqq. μηθένα δὲ λογεύειν . . . μηδὲ τ[ο]ῖς στρατηγούσ  
μηδὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρεῶν τετα(γ)μ[ένους] κτλ. In either case the letters before ζημιούσθαι in  
l. 21 are difficult to deal with unless what appears to be θαται may be regarded as a mis-  
take for θανάτωι. The whole sentence may then have run somewhat as follows:

προσ τετάχσιν δὲ μηθένα κακοτεχνεῖν [μηδὲ τί παρὰ τὰ  
ἐν αὐτοῖς διηγορευμένα πράσσειν, [μηδὲ τοὺς στρατηγούσ  
μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ πραγμάτων τετ[α]γμ[ένους, τοὺς δὲ τοιαῦτα  
[ποσ]ῦντας θαν(ά)τωι ζημιούσθαι.

'And they have decreed that no one shall devise knavery or make exactions contrary to  
orders issued to them, neither the strategi nor the holders of official positions, and that  
those who do such things shall be punished with death.' For the supplement μηδὲ τοὺς  
στρατηγούσ, cf., besides 5. 144, 162 μηδὲ τοὺς στρ. μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ χρεῶν τεταγμένους, 255 μηδὲ τοὺς  
στρ. μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλο(ν)ς τοὺς πρὸς χρεῖαις, and for the concluding words 5. 92 τοὺς δὲ παρὰ  
ταῦτα ποιούντας θαν[άτωι] ζημιούσθαι, 700. 49. The slight remains at the beginning of l. 21  
are not inconsistent with [ποσ]ῦντας. ἐσχάτωι is unobtainable.

## 700. DECREE OF EUERGETES II CONCERNING ASSOCIATIONS, AND PURCHASE OF PROPERTY.

2 and 3.

Height 24 cm.

124 B.C.

In form this papyrus is akin to P. Zois 1-2, Amh. 31. It gives a series of  
documents recording two purchases, made by a certain Ammonius, of land which

had been put up to auction by the government, and the payment of the price together with the appropriate taxes to the bank. As often, the chronological order is reversed. First stand the banker's receipts (l. 1-4, 80-3), then come copies of the official letters authorizing him to receive the payments (ll. 5-8, 85-7) and of the *διαγραφαί* or statements of the details and circumstances of the purchases (l. 9 sqq., 88 sqq.), incorporating a royal decree concerning the property of various associations (ll. 22-55; cf. l. 100). Part certainly of the land now bought by Ammonius (l. 11), and presumably all of it, had belonged to such an association; hence the relevance of the decree. Unfortunately this, the most important component of the document, is very imperfectly preserved. It begins with a lengthy preamble (ll. 22-36) giving the grounds for the enactment. They cannot be clearly followed, but it seems that the ownership of property by the bodies concerned had given rise to difficulties or abuses which called for correction. Gymnasia and other associations at Alexandria were therefore now to alienate the property specified (ll. 37-9). Reference is made to a previous decree bearing on the subject (ll. 40-2), and holders of property belonging to such associations in the Arsinoïte nome were ordered to declare it within a given time (ll. 42-5). Other obligations were laid upon gymnasiarchs and various financial officials of the nome (ll. 45-8). Disobedience was to be punishable by death, and rewards were offered for information leading to its detection (ll. 49-52). Finally, purchasers of property sold in accordance with the decree were promised the ordinary rights of ownership (ll. 52-5).

On the verso of Col. i are remains of some lines in demotic, and on that of Col. iv is a fragmentary money account in Greek.

## Col. i.

[Ἔτους μς . . . . . πέπτωκεν ἐ]πὶ τὴν ἐν Κρ[οκοδίων πόλει τρά(πεξαν)  
[Διονυσίωι τρα(πεζίτηι) ὥστε βασιλεῖ εἰς τὸν κε]χωρισμένον λόγον τῶν λημ-  
[μάτων παρ' Ἀμμωνίου κατὰ τὴν ὑ]ποκειμένην [διαγραφὴν χα(λκοῦ) πρὸς  
[ἀργ(ύριον) τά(λαντα) ε, ] τέ(λος) Ἰ, (ἔξηκοστῆς) φ, (χιλιοστῆς?) λ.]

5 [Θέων Διονυσίωι χαίρειν. δεξ]άμενος π[αρ' Ἀμμωνίου συνυπο-  
[γράφοντος Ἰσχυρίωνος] τοῦ βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) χα(λκοῦ) πρ(ὸς)  
[ἀργ(ύριον) τά(λ.) ε καὶ τὴν  
[(δεκάτην) καὶ τὰλλα τὰ καθήκο]ντα ἀνένεγκ' εἰς τ[ὸ βασιλικὸν κατὰ τὴν  
[ὑποκειμένην δια]γραφὴν. ἔρρωσο . (ἔτους) μς . . . . .

[βασιλεῖ καὶ βασιλίσσηι Ἀμμ]ώνιος Ταυρίνου τ[ῶν κατοικούντων



- 10 [ἐν Ὁξυρύνχοις τῆς] Πολέμωνος μερίδ[ος εἰς τιμὴν . . . . .  
 [. . . . .]. συνόδου ἐν ἱερᾷ γ[ῆι τῆς οὔσης περὶ τὴν  
 [αὐτὴν κωμὴν ἐμβρ]όχου ἐν δυσι σφραγίσι [ἀρ(ο)υ(ρῶν) κη, γείτονες τῆς μὲν  
 (πρώτης)  
 [νότου . . . . ., ἀπ]ηλιώτου τῆς ὀρεινῆς δι[ιάρυγος  
 [. . . . . καὶ τῶν μ]ετόχων φοινικῶν, [βορρά  
 15 [. . . . . λι]βὸς ὀρεινῆ διῶρυξ [   
 [. . τῆς δὲ δευτέρας] γείτονες νότου . [ βορρά  
 [. . . . . ἀπ]ηλιώτου Ἰσιεῖον κ[αὶ λιβὸς  
 [. . . . .]. ἐλάβομεν ἐκ . εκ[. . . . . διὰ Φιλί-  
 [νου τῶν (πρώτων) φίλ(ων) καὶ στρα(τηγου)] καὶ γραμμα[τέως τοῦ . . . . .  
 20 [. . . . . λογιστηρί]ου ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑ[ποκειμένου προστάγματος  
 [τοῦ ἐκκειμένου] ἐν Κροκοδίλων [πόλει τῆι β τοῦ Θωὺθ τοῦ μς? (ἔτους).

[βασιλέων προστα]ξάντων. θε[  
 [ 15 letters ἐ]πὶ τῶν ἰδίων . [  
 [ ]. . . . . [

## Col. ii.

- |      |             |  |
|------|-------------|--|
| 25 [ | 36 letters  | ο]υς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ          |
| [    | 35 "        | ] . ους τὰ ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου καὶ διὰ        |
| [    | " "         | ]επι συνλελεγμένα οὓς ἴδια ἐξαργυρι-         |
| [    | 36 "        | ]ταμένους τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ζῆν                 |
| [    | χρόνον 29 " | ]ηρίων ἐλαττωμένους διὰ τὴν                  |
| 30 [ | 33 "        | σπο]υδὴν τῶν ἡγουμένων καὶ τῶν               |
| [    | 36 "        | ]των ὥστ' ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου μηδεπότῃ           |
| [    | " "         | ]ιτυγχάνειν, πάντων δὲ τὰ ἴδια               |
| [    | 35 "        | ]ρομένας παραγγελίας καὶ συνλόγους           |
| [    | 36 "        | ]ούμενοι εἰς εὐδίαν πάντας ἀπο . . .         |
| 35 [ | " "         | ]ς περαιορθέντων πρὸς τὸ καὶ τῆς             |
| [    | 35 "        | ]μένης ἀπερισπάστους γενηθέν[τα]ς            |
| [    | 29 "        | προστετά]χαμεν τὰ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γυμνάσια    |
| [    | καὶ 21 "    | καὶ πολιτεύμα]τα καὶ συνόδους ἐκδιοικεῖν ἀγα |
| [    | 35 "        | ] . γεσθαι πλὴν τοῦ προτέρου πολιτικοῦ       |

- 40 [ 32 „ και ] κατὰ τὴν χώραν γενηθῆναι ὅσα μὲν  
 [ 25 „ προστετάχα]μεν διὰ τοῦ προεκκειμένου ἐν τῷ  
 [. (ἔτει)? προστάγματος 20 l. τ]οὺς ἔχοντάς τι τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ  
 [νομῶι γυμνασίων και . . . . . και συνόδ]ων και πολιτευμάτων ἀπογρά-  
 φεσθαι  
 [ 18 l. ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα?] ἀφ' ἧς ἀν ἡμέρας τὸ πρόσταγμα  
 45 [έκτηθῆι και 26 l. ]ν ἐν ἄλλαις πέντε, τοὺς δὲ γυμνα-  
 [σιάρχους και 25 l. ] και ἐγλογ[ι]στὰς και [ο]ἰκ[ον]όμους και  
 [. . . . . και τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς ἔχοντ]άς τι τῶν τοιούτων . . [.] . . . . γαι  
 [ 23 l. ἐν ἄλλαις? ἡμέρα]ις πέντε και ἀναφέρειν ἐν ταῖς  
 [ 13 l. τὸν δὲ μὴ οὔτω ποιήσαντα? θαν]άται ἐνοχον εἶναι. μηνύειν δὲ  
 50 [τὸν βουλόμ]ε[νον 22 l. ]εῖου ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος λήψεται  
 [τῆς τ]οῦ ἐνσχεθησομένου οὐσίας τὸ τρίτον μέρος, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐλεύθερος  
 ἔσται και  
 [προσ]λήψεται τὸ ἕκτον. τοῖς δὲ προσελευσομένοις πρὸς τοὺς [ἀγορασμοὺς

## Col. iii.

- τῶν προκειμένων αἱ δ[ια]γραφαὶ ἐγδοθήσονται ἐκ τ]οῦ  
 βασιλικοῦ, και ἔξεσται α[ὐ]τοῖς χρῆσθαί τε και οἰκον]-  
 55 μεῖν ἀνυπευθύνους οὐ[σιν]. ]  
 πρὸς ἃ και Ἰσχυρίωνος τ]οῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέω]ς  
 ἐπιδόντος τὰς γραφὰς ᾧ]ς . . . . . ἀνενηνοχέσαι]  
 τοὺς κωμογραμματέ]ας διὰ τῶν . . . . .]ων  
 ὑπάρχειν τοῖς προκει]μένοις τὰς προκειμένας]  
 60 ἐμβρόχου ἀρ(ο)ύ(ρας) κη ᾧ]ν . . . . . εἶναι τὴν]  
 ἀξί(αν) τά(λ.) β ω και ἄλλω]ν . . . . . τά(λ.) β Ἐσ, / τά(λ.) ε,]  
 καθὰ και προτεθῆναι εἰ]ς πρᾶσιν . . . . . πωλουμένων ]  
 ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις διὰ τοῦ π[αρ' ἡμῶν ἐν Κροκο- ]  
 δίλων πόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ δρό]μου συμ- ]  
 65 παρόντων Ἀμβροσίου π[ ]  
 ἐν τοῖς (πρώτοις) φίλ(οις), Εὐβίου τ]οῦ πρὸς τῆι στρατηγία ]  
 τεταγμένου και ἐπὶ τῶ]ν προσόδων τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου? ]  
 Πτολεμαίου Ἀσκληπι]άδου ]  
 ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις [ ]

- 70 τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου ]  
 Θηραμένου Ἀπτίνου τ[ ]  
 Ἰσχυρίωνος τοῦ βασιλικῆς γραμματέως καὶ ἄλλων ]  
 πλείωνων διὰ κήρυκ[ος ]  
 ὑποστήναι πρὸ Ἀνδρονίκου ]  
 75 ἀκολούθως, τούτου δὲ μὴ παραγενομένου? ἐκυρώθη ]  
 Ἀμμώνιος ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐφ' ὧι παραλαβόντα ]  
 διαγραφὴν ἀκολούθως τ[οῖς διὰ τοῦ προστάγματος ]  
 διασαφουμένοις τάξασθαι ]  
 . . . . [.] . . . α γῆς τιμὴν [ ]

62. η of προτεθῆναι corr. from ε.

## Col. iv.

- 80 Ἔτους μς Παχὼν δ. πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τῆ[ν ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει τράπεζαν  
 Διονυσίῳ τραπεζίτῃ ὥστε βασιλεῖ εἰς τῶ[ν κεχωρισμένον λόγον τῶν λημ-  
 μάτων παρ' Ἀμμωνίου κατὰ τὴν ὑποκειμέ[νην διαγραφὴν χα(λκοῦ) πρ(ὸς  
 ἀργύριον) τᾶ(λ.) ζ,  
 τέλος Ἄσ, (ἐξηκοστῆς) ψ, (χιλιοστῆς) μβ. ]  
 Θεὸν Διονυσίῳ χαίρειν. δεξάμε[νος παρ' Ἀμμωνίου συνυπογράφοντος  
 85 Ἰσχυρίωνος τοῦ βασιλικῆς γραμματέως χα(λκοῦ) [πρ(ὸς) ἀργύριον) τᾶ(λ.) ζ  
 καὶ τὴν (δεκάτην) καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ κα-  
 θήκοντ' εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν κατὰ τὴν ὑποκειμ[ένην διαγραφὴν ἀνένεγκε.  
 [ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) μς . . . . .

- βασιλεῖ καὶ βασιλίσση Ἀμμώνιος [Ταυρίνου τῶν κατοικούντων  
 ἐν Ὀξυρύχοις τῆς Πολέμων[ος μερίδος εἰς τιμὴν . . . . .  
 90 τοῦ ὄντος περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν [κώμην ἀρ(ο)υ(ρῶν)? . . . . ., γείτονες νότου  
 Σαράπιδος θεοῦ ἱερὰ γῆ[ι}, βορρᾶ [ 20 l. , ἀπηλιώ-  
 τοῦ Πετοσίριος καὶ Τιμοῦς χέρ[ισος, λιβὸς . . . . ., καὶ τῆς οὔσης  
 περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆι [χέρ[ισος ἀρ(ο)υ(ρ.) ι, ἧς γείτονες νότου  
 Ἀματόκου (ἑκατοντάρουρος) κλ[ῆρος), βορρᾶ διῶρυξ, ἀπη[λιώτου 17 l.  
 95 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου παράδεισος ἕρημ[ος, λιβὸς  
 ἀνὰ μέσον ὄντος ἐξαγωγῶν, καθ[ὰ καὶ προετέθησαν εἰς πρᾶσιν διὰ  
 Φιλίνου τῶν (πρώτων) φίλ(ων) καὶ στρα(τηγοῦ) καὶ γραμ[ματέως τοῦ 14 l.  
 λογιστηρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκειμένου προ[στάγματος . . . . . ἐν Κροκο-

δίλων πόλει τῆι β τοῦ Θωῶθ τοῦ μ[ς? ἔτους.

100 ὑπέκειτο καὶ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ προστάγμα[τος.

πρὸς ὃ καὶ Ἴσχυριῶνος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γρ[αμματέως ἐπιδόντος τὰς γραφὰς ἐδήλου ἀνενηνοχέαι τοὺς κωμογραμ[ματέας διὰ τῶν . . . . ὧν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς προκειμένοις τὸν προκειμένον [. . . . . οὗ εἶναι τὴν ἀξί(αν) τά(λ.) δ' Ἰ καὶ τῆς χέρσου ἀρ(ο)υ(ρ.) ι τά(λ.) β Ἰ, — [τά(λ.) ζ, 22 l.

105 πωλουμένων ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις διὰ [τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν

1-8. 'The 46th year . . . Paid in to the bank at Crocodilopolis to Dionysius, banker, to the king's credit for the separate account of receipts, from Ammonius in accordance with the appended statement, 5 talents of copper on the silver standard, tax 3,000 drachmae, for the sixtieth 500 dr., for the thousandth 30 dr.

Theon to Dionysius, greeting. Receive from Ammonius, Ischyriion the basilicogrammateus countersigning, 5 talents of copper on the silver standard and the tenth (?) and other proper taxes, and pay over to the royal treasury, in accordance with the appended statement. The 46th year . . .'

1 sqq. The fracture on the right-hand side, though ragged, follows a more or less vertical line, except at ll. 19-20, where it recedes; the loss on this side seems to amount generally to some 15 letters, to which a small addition is permissible in the two lines specified.

2. Cf. l. 82, which gives the termination -μάτων; λογευμάτων is a possible alternative. This special revenue account appears not to have occurred previously. The name recalls the *κεχωρισμένη πρόσδοσις* (cf. Vol. I, 570), but the non-recurring character of the payment is more suggestive of the *ἴδιος λόγος*, to which the dues recorded in P. Amh. 31, B.G.U. 992 (W. 161-2), documents analogous to 700, were paid.

4. *τά(λαντα) ε* is obtained from the amount of the *τέ(λος)*, this doubtless being the tax on sales, which at this period was at the rate of 10 per cent.; cf. 350 introd. For the *έξηκοστή*, the nature of which is uncertain, cf. P. Eleph. 14. 12 (W. 340), where it is coupled, as here, with the *χιλιοστή*, P. Zois 1. (= U.P.Z. 114. i) 4, 7. &c.; perhaps it was the *γραφείον*, as suggested by Westermann, *Upon slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*, p. 19. The  $\frac{1}{1000}$ , as P. Eleph. 14 shows, was the *κηρύκειον*; how the very different rate of 1 per cent. (*έκατοστή*) found in P. Columbia 480 (Westermann, *op. cit.*), *Ostr. Bodl.* i. 41, and probably in P. Zois (cf. Wilcken, U.P.Z. 114. i. 4, n.) is to be explained is not apparent; the easy appeal to chronology is now obstructed by 700. The total may have followed, but in l. 83 there was apparently no total, and cf. e.g. P. Amh. 31. 3.

6-7. For the suggested supplement cf. P. Amh. 31. 25, Zois 1. 7, B.G.U. 992. ii. 11; or perhaps there was no specific mention of the *έγκύκλιον*, e.g. *καὶ τὰ | τούτων τέλη τὰ καθ.* In the corresponding passage at l. 85 the verb *ἀνένεγκε* had a different position.

9. *Βασιλίσση*: cf. l. 88. These *διαγραφαί* therefore, which cannot be much anterior to the date in l. 80, preceded the reconciliation with Cleopatra II; cf. Strack, *Dyn.* 40-1.

10-11. *εἰς τιμὴν* is restored on the analogy of P. Zois, and a statement of the *σύνδοσις* to which the land previously belonged followed; cf. l. 59. The letter preceding *σύν.* may be ι or ν.

18. *ἐλάβομεν* (or *-ελάβομεν*) evidently belongs to a relative sentence corresponding to *καθ[ὰ κτλ.* in l. 96; the following word was apparently neither *έκκεισ[θαι* nor *έκκειμ[εν* . . .

18-19. For Philinus cf. l. 97. Eubius in l. 66, if the restoration there is right, is to be regarded as an assistant, like the *ὑποσάττηγοι* in U.P.Z. 124. 33 (P. Leid. A), Theb. Bank 8. 9; cf. Guéraud, *Ἐντεύξεις*, pp. lxxxvi sqq., where other evidence for the existence of assistant strategi is collected and discussed.

21. The date should be the same as in l. 99.

22. Perhaps *θε[ωρησάμενοι]*.

27. *ἴδια*: or *ἰδία*, both here and in l. 32, since it is clear from ll. 37 and 93 that the scribe was apt to omit the iota adscript.

29. *ἐπὶ τῶν κριτ[η]ρίων* may be suggested.

34. Cf. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 90. 11 *τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς εὐδίαν ἀγαγεῖν*.

35. *τῆς*: *οἱ τὰς*.

38. Names of two more associations are likely to be lost in the lacuna; perhaps *αἰρέσεις* was one of them (cf. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 176, 178 (W. 141-2), Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 139) and *θάσους* (cf. P. Enteux. 20-1) the other. In l. 43 a shorter supplement is required. For *ἐκδαιοκτείν* in the sense of 'alienate' cf. Theb. Bank 1. i. 9 *ἐγδοικησίμοις*; as Wilcken has pointed out, the same meaning is to be recognized in 27. 27, 57 (W. 331).

47. Not *ἐπ[ι]δοῦναι* apparently; the first letter may be *α*.

48-9. *ἐν ταῖς* | [*ἀναφοραῖς*? Cf. e.g. Theb. Bank 1. i. 5-6.

50-2. Cf. P. Hibeh 29. 5-6, B.G.U. 1730. 11-15 (= *Archiv* viii. 214-5). Some such phrase as *ἐπὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος ἀρχ[ε]ίου* perhaps preceded *ἐφ' ὧν*.

53. Cf. Theb. Bank 1. ii. 6 *ἐγδοθείσης αὐτῶν [τῆς ἐγ] βασιλικῆς διαγραφῆς* (so too 1. i. 4; 2. 5-6, &c.). This column seems to have been appreciably narrower than the other three.

57. In l. 102 *ἀνενηροχέται* is preceded by *ἐδήλου*, which does not suit *ὡ[ς]*; possibly *ὡ[ς] δηλούσας* was here written.

58. E.g. *τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς βιβλ[ί]ων*: cf. Theb. Bank 4. ii. 13-14 *εὐρίσκομεν διὰ τῶν [φιλασσο]μένων ἡμῖν [βι]βλ.* In l. 102 a shorter expression was used.

60-1. Numerals followed *δ[ι]ν* and *ἀλλῶ[ν]*, the latter being easier of interpretation if *ἀξι( )* be taken to represent the noun rather than the adjective; cf. e.g. Theb. Bank 2. 10, 3. 8. The rate, *ἀνὰ (δρ.) . . .*, may also have been stated.

62. Cf. B.G.U. 992. 7-8 (W. 162) *προτεθέντων εἰς πρᾶσιν καὶ προκηρυχθέντων. πωλουμένων*, which is supplied from l. 105, was possibly preceded by *ὧν* or *ὧνπερ*.

63 sqq. Cf. Theb. Bank 1. i. 8-13 [*ἐξ[έθεν]το*] . . . *εἰς πρᾶσιν . . . [ἐπὶ] τοῦ δρόμου τοῦ μεγ[ί]στου θεοῦ Ἀμμῶνος . . . [προκηρυ]χθέντων δ' Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν . . . , συνπαρόντων Ἡρακλείδου οἰκονόμου . . . καὶ ἄλλων πλείονων, διὰ κήρυκος Η . . . , 2. 8 sqq., P. Zois 1. 25 sqq., B.G.U. 992. 7 sqq.* In the present passage *πωλουμένων* in l. 62 corresponds to [*προκηρυ*]-*χθέντων*, so that *τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν* followed by a personal name looks very probable. *ἐν τοῖς (πρώτοις) φίλοις*, which recurs in l. 69, is an unusual variation of the common *τῶν πρώτων φίλων*, which is used in l. 97; there can hardly have been any real distinction. For *Εὐβίου κτλ.* cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 21 (*g*) 7 *τοῦ πρὸς τῇ στρ. τοῦ Ἀρσιν. [νομοῦ τετ]ραγμένου*, and n. on l. 19.

74 sqq. A tentative restoration of ll. 75-8 is given *exempli gratia*; but *πρὸ Ἀνδρον[ί]κου* remains obscure and on this account it is unsafe to assume that *ὑποστῆται* was preceded by *μηθένα* as in P. Zois 1. 27.

85-6. Cf. ll. 6-7, n.

93. *ἐν ἱερᾷ γῆνι*: cf. l. 11; as there, the land had probably belonged to a *σύνοδος*.

98. Was *ἐκκειμένον* a mistake for *ἵποκ*? Cf. l. 100, and l. 20, where *ἵποκ*, seems to have been written; but the gap after *προ[σταγμα]τος* was apparently smaller than there.

102. Cf. l. 58, n. Perhaps only *διὰ τῶν βιβλίων* stood here; or *ἀναφορῶν* (cf. ll. 48-9) may be thought of.

## IV. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

## 701. REGISTER OF OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

84.

Height 40·4 cm.

235 B.C.

This papyrus, which is of unusual height and is inscribed on both sides, has been cut into several pieces together making two main portions, one of which contains on the recto two columns, the other three more, but of the last of these the remains are too slight to be worth reproducing. On the verso there are again five columns in all, but of the first, which corresponded to the last of the recto, only the extreme ends of lines are preserved and it may conveniently be omitted. Which of the two main fragments should be placed first is questionable. The recto of what we have called Fr. 1 relates to the month Hathur (l. 85), and two mentions of Phaophi in Fr. 2 (ll. 144, 152) at first sight suggest that the latter preceded, a supposition which would accord with the fact that the hand of Fr. 1 is more cursive than that of Fr. 2. But names of other months, Mecheir, Phamenoth, and Pharmouthi (ll. 154-5) also occur, and there is no difficulty in supposing e.g. that the fishermen's wages for Phaophi were not paid till the following month. The recto thus seems inconclusive and the arrangement adopted gives a more natural sequence for the verso, where (the position of the fragments becoming reversed) the account for the six months Mecheir-Epeiph in Fr. 2 is followed by references to Tubi and Pharmouthi in Fr. 1 (ll. 316, 321). In any case the question is of no particular importance. Between Fr. 1 ii and Fr. 2 i of the recto one column at least is missing, but very likely no more, if the marginal figures in Fr. 2 refer to the same month as those in Fr. 1. If the fragments were placed in the reverse order the assumption of a gap between them, though probable enough, would not be necessary.

The entire text is a record, arranged under the days of the month, of official business, principally documentary, though notes occur of other matters, e.g. at l. 85 of the arrival of a certain official, at ll. 248 sqq. of proceedings at a session of nomarchs. The character of the transactions referred to is varied. Orders for the issue of seed-corn predominate on the recto (1 sqq.). Another prominent subject, which recurs on the verso, is the fishing industry (cargoes of fish, ll. 26, 38, freight charges, 29, 220, purchase, 228-9; payments to fishermen for nets and wages, 86, 150, 223), concerning which an interesting account of profit and expense on sales is given in ll. 194 sqq., following upon a half-yearly statement

of amounts collected in respect of various imports (ll. 182 sqq.). Other entries relate to the disposal of some sheep (l. 145), the sale of Crown land (l. 174), costs of building (l. 224), barley for a beer-shop (l. 246), payments to guards (ll. 250, 265), and a petition presented to the nomarchs, of which a copy is given in ll. 339 sqq. The names of the writers of letters are often omitted. Sometimes more than one writer is mentioned (e.g. ll. 86, 149); in one place (l. 31) two recipients are similarly associated, and it is frequently stated that a duplicate had been sent to a second person. Titles are regrettably seldom added. It is natural to identify Architimus, to whom much of the correspondence is addressed, with the antigraphheus of that name who occurs in l. 274, a supposition which seems to suit the variety of his activities (issue of corn *passim*, embarkation of fish, e.g. ll. 26, 38, disbursements of money, e.g. ll. 87, 229). He is commonly asked to give orders (*σύνταξον*) for things to be done, but the phraseology is often more direct,—*ἐμβάλου, δός, διάγραφον* (e.g. ll. 38, 87, 235). The official source of these instructions is not stated, and it remains uncertain in whose bureau the register was drawn up. A fairly wide competence is indicated by the account in 182 sqq., which relates to the nome (ll. 195, 211), and by the entries referring to the nomarchs (ll. 273 sqq., 330 sqq.). The known villages mentioned, *Ἀλαβανθίς, Μνήρις, Πόαν, Σύρων κόμη, Ταμανίς, Τέπυς*, belonged to the division of Heracleides, except *Τέπυς*, which seems from P. Petrie III. 46 (5) 10 to have been in Polemon, even if it was not the same as Tebtunis; a district in proximity to the lake suits the frequent references to the fishing industry; cf. also l. 322, n. Possibly the department concerned was that of the oeconomus. At any rate, this document is a valuable specimen of the day-books kept in government offices. Texts of a similar class and of about the same period are 702, P. Ashmol. (= SB. 4369 b), Petrie III. 87, Cairo Zen. 59011, 59023. The 12th year, in which ll. 183 sqq. are dated, is perhaps to be referred to the reign of Euergetes I rather than that of his predecessor; 847, from the same mummy, is of the 30th year of Philadelphus.

Recto, Col. i. (Fr. 1. i.)

[*Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον*] μετρήσαι Σοκόνωι  
 [*Πάσιτος εἰς τὸ περί]χωμα τὸ περὶ Ἀλα-*  
 [*βανθίδα πυ(ροῦ) . , ὥστε ἀπ]οδοῦναι ἐγ νέωι*  
 [*ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον,*] τάξεται δὲ ἐκφόρια  
 5 [*πυρὸν κατὰ λόγον το]ῦ σπέρματος.*

]

[*Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον μ]ετρήσαι Σοκόνωι Πάσιτος*

[. . . . . εἰς τὴν ἐν Σύρ]ων κώμη γῆν  
 [ 16 letters ] πυ(ροῦ) μ, ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι  
 10 [ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδ]υνον, τάξεται δὲ  
 [ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κατὰ λόγ]οι τοῦ σπέρματος.

[Ἀρχι]τίμωι. σύν]ταξον μετρήσαι Παιούμι Στροτοήτιος  
 [εἰς τὴν πε]ρὶ Μυῆριν ὀλ(ύρας) ι, ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι  
 15 [ἐγ νέων] ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον. Σώσαι τὸ αὐτό.  
 διὰ Δωρίωνος.

[Ἀρχι]τίμωι. σύν]ταξον μετρήσαι Καλλίπ-  
 [π]ωι εἰς τὴν ἐν Τεναὸ τῆν ἀμπελῶνι κρ(ιθῆς) ι,  
 ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον.  
 20 Σώσαι τὸ αὐτό.

Ἀρχι]τίμωι. σύν]ταξον μετρήσαι Διοφάντωι  
 Διοφάντου εἰς τὴν ἐμ Παλιθ γῆν πυ(ροῦ) εὔ,  
 ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον,  
 τάξεται δὲ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σπέρ-  
 25 ματος. Σώσαι τὸ αὐτό.

[Ἀρχι]τίμωι. [σύν]ταξον ἐμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν Ἀθ[ρ] ἐ]ν τῇ βάρι  
 [ 12 letters ] . . . σ . . . . θρισσῶν τᾶ(λ.). (δρ.?) ἸΒ,  
 [. . . . .]ται εἰς τὴν ι.

[. . . . . σ]ύνταξον δοθῆναι τοῖς ἀναγαγοῦσιν  
 30 [. . . . .]ν εἰς ναῦλον τὸ γεινόμενον ἐπ . . . . .  
 [. . . . .]φάνει, Θέωνι. δότε Πετεσεμ . . . τι εἰς . . . . . ου  
 [. . .] . ες τρεῖς, / γ. καὶ θρι[σ]σῶ]ν . . . εἰς ο [τῶν] κ [(δρ.)] . . . . .

[Ἀρχι]τίμωι. σύν]ταξον μετρήσαι . . . . .  
 [εἰς] τὴν ἐν Τανεσῶτι γῆν πυ(ροῦ) ἀρτ(άβην) α, ὧ[στ]ε ἀποδοῦ-  
 35 [ν]αι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον, τάξεται δὲ τὰ  
 [ἐ]κφόρια πυρὸν κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σπέρματος.  
 Σώσαι τὸ αὐτό.

[π]αρὰ Δωρίωνος Ἀρχι]τίμωι. ἐμβαλοῦ Ἀλε-  
 ξάνδρωι θρίσσας μ(υρίας) εἰς ο τῶν κ (δραχμῶν), ι  
 40 (πρώτης) τὰ δύο μέρη, δευτέρας τὸ τρίτον, καὶ  
 ἀλάβητας ἸΖ εἰς ο τῶν κ (δρ.), τὴν δὲ



τιμὴν λάβε καὶ τὸ δοκιμαστικόν.

- 45 Ἀρχιτίμωι χαίρειν. πεπράκαμεν Θόλι τὸν κεστρέα  
τὸν ἐν ταμείωι τὸν αἴτην καὶ ἄρσενα ἴσον πρὸς  
ἴσον ἀν(ὰ) (πεντώβολον), τὸν δὲ ὑπερπίπτοντα ἄρσενα ἀν(ὰ) (τετρώ-  
βολον).  
ἐμβαλοῦ οὖν αὐτῶι, τὴν τιμὴν κομισάμενος  
[κα]ἰ τὸ δοκιμαστικόν, καὶ θρισσῶν ζ(ύγη?) ὙΓ εἰς ο τῶν κ (δρ.).  
[. . .]ωι χαίρειν. ἐμβαλοῦ Πανᾶι Ταῶτῳθ θρισσῶν (πρώτης) καὶ  
(δευτέρας) (δρ.) χ  
[εἰς ο] των κ (δρ.), ὦν (πρώτης) τὰ δύο μέρη, (δευτέρας) τὸ τρίτον.

18. 1. τὴν . . . γῆν. 26. [αρχιτ]μωι inserted above the line. 40. α. 48-9. α, β; α in  
l. 49 inserted above the line.

Col. ii. (Fr. 1. ii.)

- 50 η. Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύντα[ξον μετρήσαι  
εἰς τὴν ἐν τῶι περιχ[ώματι γῆν πυ(ροῦ) ., ὥστε  
ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων ἡ[μιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον, τάξε-  
ται δὲ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν [κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σπέρματος.  
Σώσωι τὸ αὐτό. ]
- 55 Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον μ[ετρήσαι . . . . . εἰς τὴν  
ἐμ Παλιτ γῆν πυ(ροῦ) ε, [ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων  
ἡμιόλιον ἀκίν[δυνον, τάξεται δὲ ἐκφόρια  
πυρὸν κατὰ λό[γον τοῦ σπέρματος.  
Σώσωι τὸ αὐτό.
- 60 Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύντ[αξον ἐμβαλέσθαι Θόλι τὸν  
κεστρέα τὸν ὑ[πάρχοντα ἐν ταμείωι κατὰ  
τὸ ἐπεσταλμένον σο[ι . . . . .  
ὑπολογῆς, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν [λάβε.  
Θέωι. πεπράκαμεν Θόλι τὸν κ[εστρέα τὸν  
ὑπάρχοντα ἐν ταμείωι αἴ[την καὶ ἄρσενα  
ἴσον πρὸς ἴσον ἀν(ὰ) (πεντώβ.), καὶ τὸν ὑπ[ερπίπτοντα  
ἄρσενα ἀν(ὰ) (τετρώβ.). ἐμβαλοῦ οὖν αὐτ[ῶι διὰ? τοῦ  
ἀπ[ο]λελεγμένου.
- 65 <sup>Ζωπυρίων Δημόφωντι.</sup>  
θ. [[Ἀρχιτίμωι. μέτρησον]] Ὀνωφρι θυρουρωῶ[ι εἰς τὴν

70 *σιτομετρίαν τοῦ Ἀθῦρ πυ(ροῦ) ἀρτ(άβην) αζ και . . . . .*  
*ὀνηλάτη ὀλ(ύρας) γλδ' και εἰς τὸ ὑποζ[ύγιον τὸ*  
*βαδιστικὸν ὀλ(ύρας) γ.*

*Δωρίων Ἀρχιτίμωι. δεῖ σπέρμα δο[θῆναι*  
*τοῖς λαοῖς τοῖς ἐν Σύρων κώμηι εἰς [τὴν σκω-*  
 75 *[λ]ηκ[ό]βρωτον γῆν. σύνταξον οὖν τὸ [γινόμενον*  
*μετρῆσαι ἐκάστωι οὗ ἢ γῆ ἐστι [διὰ τῶν*  
*παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπηρετῶν, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ὅσον ἀν*  
*δοθῆι ὑστερόν σοι γράψομεν χρηματι[σμών.*  
*διὰ Κόμωνος.*

80 *Μένωνι. μέτρησον τοῖς λαοῖς τοῖς ἐ[ν] Σύρ[ω]ν*  
*κώμηι εἰς τὴν σκωληκόβρωτον γῆν*  
*σπέρμα τὸ γινόμενον ἐκάστωι, ἐπισκεψ[ά-*  
*μενος ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς ἧς ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν.*  
*καὶ Σώσωι ὡσαύτως.*

85 *παρέγενετο Κόμων [ . . . ] Ἀθῦρ ια.*

ια. *[Κόμων] Ἀντισθένης Νίκανδρος Ἀρχιτίμωι.*  
*δὸς τοῖς ἐκ Τέπτως ἀλιεῦσι Πασῦτι*  
*Παῶτος καὶ Πασῦτι Πάιτος εἰς δίκτυα*  
*στᾶτὰ (δραχμὰς) ν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀποδώσουσιν ἐκ τοῦ*  
 90 *αἰ[ύ]τῶν μέρους θρισσῶν εἰς σ τῶν κ (δρ.).*

*Κόμων τὴν αὐτήν.*

*ὑπόμνημα Ζωπυρίωνι. ἔχουσι οἱ αἰ[ύ]τοι ἀλ[ι]εῖς παρ[ὰ*  
*Τοθοῆτος Τέμβρυος σεκβῶλια (δρ.) ρν.*

69. *αρχιτιμωι μετρησον* crossed through, the latter word inadvertently. 80. Immediately above this line another, *αρχιτιμωι συνταξον . . . ν . . .* [, has been expunged. 91. *κομων* over an expunction.

## Col. iii. (Fr. 2. i.)

[τὸ περὶ Ἀλα]βανθίδα πυ(ροῦ) ιε, ὥστε ἀπ[ο]δοῦ-  
 95 [ναι ἐγ νέων] ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον, τάξ[εται]  
 [δὲ τὰ ἐκφόρια] πυρὸν κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σπέ[ρμ]ατος.  
 [ ? Μένωνι τ]ὸ αὐτό.  
 [τῶν ἐν ἐργαστ]ηρίωι πάντων καθ' ἡμᾶ[ς] ὄντων?  
 [Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύ]νταξον μετρῆσαι Πανσα[νίαι] ?]

- 100 [σπέρμα εἰς] τὴν περὶ Ταμαῦν γῆν [πυ(ροῦ)] κβ,  
 [ᾧστε ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον [ἀκίν-]  
 [δυνον, τά]ξεται δὲ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κατ[ὰ λόγ]ον  
 [τοῦ σπέρμ]ατος. Μένωνι τὸ αὐτ[ό].
- [Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύν]ταξον μέτρησον Φανῆσι "Ω[ρου]  
 105 [καὶ . . . . . σ]πέρμα εἰς τὸ περὶ Ἀλαβανθ[ίδα] πυ(ροῦ) κ,  
 [ᾧστε ἀποδοῦ]ναι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιο[ν ἀκίνδν-]  
 [νον, τάξονται] δὲ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν [κατὰ λόγ]ον  
 [τοῦ σπέρματος . . .]ων . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] θη τὰ κατ' ἀσφ[ά]λ[ειαν]  
 110 [ . . . . . ] (δρ.) Ἀ, λήψονται δὲ εἰς παρα- [ ]  
 [ . . . . . ] (δρ.) σμ, ἐγγύους δὲ πάντ[ων] . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] ολης.  
 [περὶ τῶν . . . . . ]ν ἀλιείων ἐπεχωρήθη τὰ ὑπά[ρ-]  
 [χοντα δίκτυα] γ, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπίχυσιν  
 115 [ . . . . . ἀπ]οδοῦναι τοῖς νυνὶ ἵνα ἐργά-  
 [ζωνται τὴν? χε]ιμερινήν, ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ  
 [ . . . . . δίκ]τυα.  
 [Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύν]ταξον μετρήσαι Διονυσοδώρωι  
 [ . . . . . κα]ὶ Ἀπολλοδότωι σπέρμα  
 120 [εἰς τὴν περὶ] Πόαμ γῆν ἐκ πέντε καὶ τε-  
 [ . . . . . ] κρ(ιθῆς) ε, ᾧστε ἀποδοῦναι  
 [ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιο]ν ἀκίνδνον.  
 [? Μένωνι τὸ αὐ]τό.
- [Ἀρχιτίμωι. μέ]τρησον εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶι  
 125 [ . . . . . ἦν ἔ]χει Φανῆσις "Ωρου πυ(ροῦ) ς,  
 [ᾧστε ἀποδοῦ]ναι ἐγ νέω]ν ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδνον,  
 [τάξεται δὲ τ]ὰ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κατὰ λόγον  
 [τοῦ σπέρματος. Μ]ένωνι τὸ αὐτό.
- [Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύν]ταξον μετρήσαι Μαρρήι  
 130 [ . . . . . καὶ Πε]τεσούχωι Ἰμούθου καὶ  
 [ 15 l. ] . ωι καὶ Στοτοήτι  
 [ 12 l. ] . [ . . ο]ῦσιν δ  
 [ . . . . . εἰς] τὸ περὶ Κατὰ πόλιν πυ(ροῦ) ν,

135 [ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι ἐ]γ νέων [ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυ-  
 [νον. τάξονται δὲ τ]ὰ ἐκφόρια πυρ[ὸν κατὰ  
 [λόγον τοῦ σπέρ]ματ[ο]ς.  
 [Ἀρχιτίμωι σύνταξ]ον μετρήσαι Π[. . .] . [ . . . .  
 [ 15 l. ] . . [ 15 l.

129. σ of μετρησαι corr. from ι.

Col. iv. (Fr. 2. ii.)

140 ἀποδώσει δ' ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυ]νον,  
 τάξεται δὲ τὰ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κατὰ λό]γον  
 τοῦ σπέρματος. Μένωνι τ[ὸ αὐτό].  
 ὠμολόγησεν Νεχθενίβις Σοχώτ[ου κ]ατα-  
 βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὑπὲρ μ[. . .]σου  
 εἰς (δρ.) ρλθ, l Φαῶφι κα ξς, κε [ογ. ]  
 145 περὶ Ἀμμωνίου. ἐπειδὴ τετελευτή[κασι ὁ] ποιμῆν  
 καὶ εἰς παρ' οὗ ἔλαβεν τὰ πρόβατ[α,] τοὺς  
 ἀγγ[ι]στεύοντας αὐτοῦ μεταγ[αγέσ]θαι  
 καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι περὶ τῶν προβάτω[ν εἴ τι]ς ὁμολογοῖ, [  
 καταβαλλέτω.  
 150 Νικάνδρος Ἀντισθένης Ἀρχιτίμωι [χαίρει]ν.  
 δὸς Νεχθαμβῆι Σοκέως ἀλιεῖ ὀψ[ώνια] τοῖς  
 ἐπὶ σχεδίαι ἀλιεῦσι τοῦ Φαῶφι.  
 ἔδωκεν Νεχθενίβις Σοχώτου σιτ[ολό]γος  
 ὃ ἐλ[αβ]εν Μεχῖρ κη ἀρτ(άβας) β, Φαμεν[ῶθ . .] ἀρτ(άβ.) β,  
 155 Φαρμουῖθι κδ γ, / ἀρτ(άβαι) ζ, κα . [ . . . . ]  
 Μαρρέως κάπηλος Φαμενῶθ κς [ . . . . ]  
 οἱ δὲ φέρουσιν ε.  
 Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον μετρήσαι Διο[. . . .]  
 Διοτίμου εἰς τὴν ἐμ Παλίτ γῆν πυ(ροῦ) [ . . . ]  
 160 ὥστε ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιο[ν ]  
 ἀκίνδυνον, τάξεται δὲ τοῦ πυροῦ [τὰ]  
 ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σπέρ[ματος].  
 Μένωνι τὸ αὐτό.  
 Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον μετρήσαι Διοφά[ντωι]

- 165 εἰς τὴν ἐμ Παλιτ γῆν πυ(ροῦ) ε κρ(ιθῆς) ι, ᾧ[στε]  
ἀποδοῦναι ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον,  
τάξεται δὲ τοῦ πυροῦ κατὰ λόγον τ[οῦ σπέρ-]  
ματος. Μένωνι τὸ αὐτό.  
Ἄρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον μετρήσαι Ἀρω[. . .]
- 170 βουκόλωι σπέρμα εἰς τὸ περίχωμα [τὸ περι]  
Ἄλαβανθίδα πυ(ροῦ) κ κρ(ιθῆς) λ, ὥστε ἀποδοῦν[αι]  
ἐγ νέων ἡμιόλιον ἀκίνδυνον εἰ . . . α[. . . .]  
τάξεται δὲ τὰ ἐκφόρια πυρὸν κ[α]τὰ λογον  
τοῦ σπέρματος. Μένωνι τὸ αὐτό.
- 175 [ἐ]πρίατο Ἀπολλώνιος Θεών Διονύσιος Το[θης?]  
τὸν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον ἀν(ὰ) πυ(ροῦ) ἀρτ(άβας) δια[κοσίας].  
[Νι]κανδρος Μένωνι. δὸς Ὀνωφρι εἰς τὸ ὑ[ποξύ(γιον)]  
τὸ [β]αδιστικὸν ὀλ(ύρας) β.  
περὶ τῶν πθ τοκάδων τῶν ἐμμ[. . .]
- 180 εἰς τ[ά]ς τ τοκάδας ἐφαίνετο σο[. . . .]  
τρ[. . .]ν κβ, κα[ὶ Τ]οθόης ὁ ἐπὶ τρ[. . . .]  
ιε. κ[β], / μδ, λ(οιπαί) με ἐν τοῖς δεκα[. . . .]

155. κ of κδ corr. from ι?

156. l. Μαρρέυς or καπήλῶν.

159. ου of διοτιμου re-

Col. v. Σωπά[τρωι occurs as an addressee, and in the margin near the end of the column the day of the month κβ.

Verso, Col. ii. (Fr. 2. ii.)

- Τοῦ ιβ (ἔτους) ἀναφέρει Πολέμων [τὰ]  
ἀπὸ Μεχίρ ἕως Ἐπίειφ λελογευμ[ένα]
- 185 ἀπὸ ὠνῶν τά(λ.) δ . [.]κ,  
ἐπικεφαλίου τά(λ.) α [ ]  
ἱερῶν φόρον ρπξ [ ]  
ἐνοικίων ξ [ ]  
ἀμπέλου ρξβ [ ]
- 190 προβάτων φόρου Βχλ [ ]  
πρακτορείας υοδ [ ]  
ἀλλῶς σγ (ὀβ.) [ ]

ἀπὸ κηλωνείων λα[ ]

    / τά(λ.) ς 'Βωλα (πεντώβ.).

195

ἰχθύος τιμή, ἃ ἔχει Πολέμω[ν]

ἐν τῷ νομῶι ἐπράθη τά(λ.) δ [ ]

ἐν Μέμφει τά(λ.) γ [ . . ] (ἡμιωβ. ?),

ἐν τῇ χώραι 'Δ, [ ]

ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι τά(λ.) η 'Βροδ (πεντώβ.),

200

    / (τάλ.) ιζ' Ἀψνε (πεντώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.).

ἀπὸ τούτου ἀνήλωται εἰς τὸν [πλ]οῦν

ἐν Μέμφει τέλος τά(λ.) α 'Βφ,

τοῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν ψγ . (ὀβ. ?),

τοῦ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἀποστα-

205

    λέντος ἀνήλωμα φέρει 'Γυ[ . , ]

τοῦ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν ταρίχου[ν]

τέλος τά(λ.) γ 'Βφπδ (τριώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.),

    / τά(λ.) ς χνγ (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.).

λο(ιπὰ) ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ταρίχου π[ά]ρ-

210

    εστιν τά(λ.) ια 'Α[ρ]β (ὀβ.).

καὶ ἄλλα ἀνηλώματα φέρει ἀνηλ[ω]κῶς

εἰς τὸν νομὸν

    εἰς τὰ χρώματα καὶ [έτε]ρα τά(λ.) [ζ] 'Δρξδ (ὀβ.),

    καὶ εἰς τὸν ἰχθὺν ἐπιπλοῖς κ[αί] πα . . οἰς

215

    ὀψώνια καὶ ἄλλ' ἀνηλώματα (τάλ.) β 'Ακς (δυόβ.),

    τὸ πᾶν ἀνήλωμα εἰς τὸν νομὸ[ν] (τάλ.) θ 'Ετργ (τριώβ. ?),

λοῖπὰ ἃ φέρει καθαρὰ ἔχων ἀπὸ ἰχ[θ]ύος καὶ τοῦ

    νομοῦ ἕως 'Επειφ μηνὸς (τάλ.) α 'Α[ρ]ια (τετρώβ.).

    τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς κγ. Ἀρχιτίμ[ωι] δὸς ?

220

    εἰς τὸ Δωρίωνος λβ ὥστε εἰς το . [

    ἄλλο· δὸς Ἀπολλωνίωι εἰς τὸ ναῦλον τ[ ] εἰς Ἀλε

    ξάνδρειαν τὸν τάρικον 'Γ [

    ἄλλο· δὸς Τοθοῆι καὶ Σοχ[ώ]τῃ —

    εἰς τοὺς ἐπὶ σχεδίαι τὸ ὀψώνιο[ν]

Col. iii (Fr. 2. iii).

- 225 Ἀντισθένης Νίκανδρος [Ἀρχιτίμωι ?  
 δὸς Σίμωνι εἰς τὰ . [ οἰ-  
 κοδομούμενα ἐ[ν τοῖς  
 ὀρίοις (δρ.) τ[
- Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξ[ον δοῦναι  
 230 τιμῆς θρισσῶν (δρ.) σ εἰς ο [τῶν κ (δρ.).  
 Ἐργοχάρει τὸ αὐτ[ό.  
 Ἀρχιτίμωι. δὸς Διοφάντα[ι  
 εἰς Σῆμον οὐ λόγον δά[σει  
 Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξ[ον  
 235 ὑπὲρ Ἀντισθένους [
- Ἀρχιτίμωι. διάγραψ[ον  
 εἰς τὰ κατὰ Μέμφιν  
 ἐὰν δέ τι πλεῖον δοθῆι, προσθ[ῖ  
 καὶ ἐκ φυλακτικ[ικοῦ  
 240 ἢ καταχθείσα θρίσσα [
- ἐτιμήθη ἐν Μέμφει  
 (δευτέρας) εἰς ο.  
 / Ἄτλγ (δυοβ.).
- Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξ[ον μετρήσαι  
 245 εἰς τὴν ἐν τῶι δρυμῶ[ι  
 σησάμου ἀρτ(άβ.) γ ἄ  
 Μένωνι Φανή[σιος
- Ἀρχιτίμωι σύνταξον μετρ[ῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἐν — ?  
 ζυτοπῶλιον κρ(ιθῆς) ρ. [
- 250 κβ. Ἀρχιτίμωι. σύνταξον [
- <sup>εἰς φρούριον</sup>  
<sup>δὲ κε</sup> τουσ[.]ατησ . . [
- (τάλαντα) κς β ρκβ [
- καὶ τ[ῶι] Ἀσκληπιά[δ]ηι  
 γ, / (τάλ.) κθ . [ . . .
- 255 Ἐργοχ[ά]ρει τὸ αὐ[τό].  
 [[Ἀπ[ολλ]οδώρω[ι τὸ αὐτό?]]  
 κγ. εἰσεῖδῶθη αγ. . . . . εσ . . . [

ὁ ἕτερος [. . . .] . . . . . [  
 κδ. Ἀρχιτίμ[ωι.] σύνταξον . [ἐμβαλέσθαι εἰς ?  
 260 βαιοι[ε]λνπ[ί]ου . [.] . . . [ εἰς Ἄλε-  
 ξάν[δ]ρε[ι]αν . [.] . . . [  
 καὶ ε . . . . . ιου [  
 εἰς οχα . . . . . [  
 Ἀντισθένη . . . . . [  
 265 ἄλλο. σύνταξον . . . [ τοῖς  
 ἐν φυλ[α]κῆι . . . . . [  
 Remains of 7 more lines.

230. τιμης added above the line. 242. β̄. 251. κ̄ε. Initial τ corr. (from εἰς ?). 252. β̄.

## Col. iv (Fr. 1. i).

[. . .]α, συνεδρευόντων τῶν νομαρχῶν  
 275 [κα]ὶ Ἀρχ[ι]τίμου τοῦ ἀντιγραφέος  
 [κα]τέστη Σισοῦχος Καλασίρις  
 [φ]άμενος δεδωκέναι τιμὴν σησάμου ἀρτ(άβ.) ληή, l [  
 [[κ]αί]] Πόκωι σιτομέτρῃ Διονυσοδώρου καὶ Μένωνος  
 [κ]αὶ Ὀρου Ἰμούθου συνταξάντων [[καί]]  
 280 [[τ]ῶν λ[ο]ιπῶν]] [[τιμὴν σησάμου]]  
 [τῆν] τιμὴν ἀρτ(άβ.) καλδ', l  
 ιδ] ἀν(ὰ) ζ̄ (δρ.) qη,  
 ζ̄λδ' ἀν(ὰ) η ξ̄β,  
 [. . .]τι Ἰναρῶτος τῶι Διονυσοδώρῳ,  
 285 Καλασίρει ἀρτ(άβ.) ιελ ἀν(ὰ) (δρ.) η (δρ.) ρκδ,  
 καὶ αὐτῶι Διονυσοδώρῳ ἀρτ(άβ.)  
 σησά(μου) . λδ'ή (δρ.) ς, / (δρ.) σq.  
 ἔφερον δὲ καὶ Ψενῆσις παστοφόρος  
 δεδωκῶς ἀρτ(άβ.) λεδ', l  
 290 Σοκόνωι χηνοβόσκωι ἀντὶ παιδαρίου ἀρτ(άβ.) εδ',  
 καὶ Διονυσοδώρῳ ἀντὶ βοδὸς καὶ  
 μοσχαρίου καθαροῦ γλ.  
 τῶν δὲ κςλ ἀρτ(άβ.) ἔφη δεδωκέναι  
 τὴν τιμὴν Διονυσοδώρῳ καὶ



- 295 *Μένωνι καὶ Ὠρωί Ἰμούθου καὶ . . . δ[.]φι*  
*Φανήσιος σιτομέτρῃ ἐξ ἡ (δρ.) (δρ.) σπβ.*  
*καὶ τῶν ἔθνων ἀρτ(ἀβ.) ιγλ*  
*δεδοσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμὴν ἐξ ἡ (δρ.),*  
*καὶ Ψενίθου Ποκάτος ἀρτ(ἀβ.) κ ρμ.*  
 300 *παρόντες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ περὶ τούτων*  
*ἀνακρινόμενοι οὐχ ὠμολόγουν.*

277. τιμην . . . *ι* above *διονυσόδωρωι*, which is bracketed.  
*διονυσόδωρου* added above the line.

278. [κ]αι bracketed and  
 293. After *δε* a blank space.

## Col. v (Fr. 1. ii).

12 lines lost.

- ἄλλο· δὲς Πάιτι . [*  
 315 *χάλικι τουση[*  
*τοῦ Τῦβι (δρ.) λδ [*  
*ἵνα μὴ κωλύηται ἢ χ[άλιξ?*  
*πρὸς τὴν σχεδίαν [*  
*ἐποιήσατο Ἰκαδίων σύμβολο[ν*  
 320 *δανείου πυρ(ῶν) ἀρτ(ἀβ.) λζλ [*  
*τοῦ Φαρμουῦθι μηνός. [*  
*ὑπόμνημα παρὰ τῶν Μικρολιμ[ναίων?*  
*ἀντίγραφα συγγραφῆς τ . [*  
*παρὰ Πανάκτι ἐν τῶι με[.]. [*  
 325 *κύρια ἀξιόσαντος Σίμων[ο]ς [*  
*αὐτὸν συγγράψασθαι ε[*  
*τοὺς ἐμ φυλακῇ ὄντας [*  
*καὶ το . [*  
*ἀργυρίου [*  
 330 *παρ' αὐτῶν [*  


---

*ἔγραψαν δὲ καὶ ἔντευξι[ν ὡς ὑπόκειται?*  
*τοῖς νομάρχαις οἱ Μικ[ρολιμναῖοι? χαί(ρειν).*  
*ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀφ' οὗ κα[τεχόμεθα . . . -*  
*μηνος καὶ οὐ δυνάμ[εθα τῶν δικαίων*  
 335 *τυχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς κωμ[άρχας?, ἀλλὰ*

ἐξερημώκασιν ἡμῶ[ν τὴν κώμην  
 καὶ ἔστιν νῦν ἔρημος. ἐν[ευχόμεθα  
 οὖν ὑμῖν τὸν δαίμονα τοῦ [βασιλέως  
 340 μὴ περιδεῖν ἡμῶν τῆ[ν κώμην οὖσαν  
 ἔρημον. βουλόμεθα γὰρ [ἀπολυθέντες?  
 τὰ δίκαια ποεῖν αὐτοῖς, κα[ὶ μενεῖ ἐπὶ  
 τούτοις ἡ κώμη ἐπὶ χά[ρας, ὅπως  
 καὶ μῆθεν διαπίπτῃ τῶ[ι βασιλεῖ.  
 εἰ οὖν καὶ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ μὴ περι[ιδεῖν  
 345 οὕτως ἡμᾶς τε κατεχομ[ένους  
 καὶ τὴν κώμην ἔρημον, ἐ[σ]θ[έ]μεθα  
 τῶι βασιλεῖ χρήσιμοι.

336. η of ἐξερημώκασιν corr. from ο.

1-5. 'To Architimus. Give orders for the measurement to Sokonus son of Pasis, for the dyke-area at Alabanthis, of . . . artabae of wheat, to be returned from the new crop with an increase of one half, all risks excluded, and he shall pay rent in wheat proportionate to the seed.'

1-5. Cf. ll. 7-11, 21-5, 50-9, 94 sqq., P. Lille 39-51. Since *Σοκόνος* is an uncommon name (not in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*), the borrower was probably the same as in l. 7. In what relation the rent stood to the seed is not stated. It is noticeable that the clause specifying the rent is omitted where the loan did not consist of wheat.

13. Παούμι: or Παθύμι, for which cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59173. 37.

14. The abbreviation, which recurs in ll. 71-2, consists of a small ο adjoining the λ on the left side of the top; cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 99. 19, 101. 14.

18. Τεναώ is an unknown local name. τῆν for γῆν is clearly written.

22. Παλίθ, in ll. 56, 159, and 165 spelled Παλίτ, is not otherwise known. The name was cited from this papyrus in P. Tebt. II. p. 393. Παλίτ as a personal name occurs in P. Amh. 142. 6.

27. θρισσῶν: cf. ll. 32, 39, 47-8, 90, the genitive occurring in all these places except l. 39, where the accusative with a numeral is used. In the present case θρισσῶν is followed by what may be the abbreviation of *τάλαντον*, which is supported by l. 48, where the governing word is clearly (*δραχμαί*); but *ἄ*, i.e. *πρώτης*, as in l. 40 (see below), could also be read. In l. 47 a different abbreviation is used, having the form of a tall narrow Z with a horizontal stroke on the right, Z, which we suggest may stand for *ζεύγη*. *θρίσαι* are mentioned also in P. Mich. Zen. 2. 11, 72. 6, Cairo Zen. 59040 and 59261 (*θρισσέμποροι* 59261. 3). In the latter papyrus, which is dated 251 B.C., they were sold at 2 dr. for 5, whereas in 701 the normal value is 2 dr. for 7; the cheaper rate specified in l. 90 was due to the special circumstances. In ll. 40 and 48-9 the fish are distinguished as *πρώτης* and *δευτέρας*, but there is no difference in price, which would rather be expected if they were graded according to size.

28. Perhaps [ὦν τιμὴν τάξε]ται: cf. e.g. l. 42. εἰς τὴν ι = on the 10th.

30. [ἰχθύ]ν?

32. καὶ θρισ[σῶ]ν κτλ., written very small and rather above the line, was apparently an afterthought.

34. Ταεσῶτι: another otherwise unknown place, but included in the list in P. Tebt. II (p. 403).

38-47. 'From Dorion to Architimus. Embark for Alexander 10,000 *thrissae* at 70 for 20 dr., of which two-thirds are of the first grade and one-third of the second, and 7,000 *alabetes*, at 70 for 20 dr., and take the value and the assessor's charge.

To Architimus, greeting. We have sold to Tholis the *cestreus* in the magazine, the non-male and male in equal numbers, at 5 obols each, and the males in excess at 4 ob. Accordingly embark it for him, having received the value and the assessor's charge. Also 3,000 pairs of *thrissae* at 70 for 20 dr.'

41. The price of the ἀλάβητες is the same as that of the θρίσσαι. The former was a fish of considerable size, as seen in P. Oxy. 1857, where 5 ἀλάβητες weighed 70 pounds. It is mentioned along with θρίσσαι also in P. Mich. Zen. 72. 5.

42. δοκιμαστικόν: apparently a charge made for the maintenance of δοκιμασταί, who were associated with τραπέζιται; cf. P. Hibeh 106 introd., 110. 30, n., and l. 47 below.

43-5. Cf. ll. 64 sqq., where a similar letter, addressed to a different person but evidently concerning the same transaction, is registered. The κεστρέυς resembled the θρίσσα in being found both in the sea and in the Nile; cf. Strabo 824 φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόβουλος ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης μηδὲν ἀνατρέχειν ὄψον εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον πλὴν κεστρέως καὶ θρίσσης καὶ δελφίνος. κεστρέα in l. 43 is of course a collective singular. The use of the word αἴτης as opposed to ἄρσσην is strange, as is the lower value set on a male when not balanced by an αἴτης; perhaps they were to be used for stocking purposes, or the roe may have been regarded as a delicacy.

47. καὶ θρισσῶν κτλ., in smaller and lighter lettering, seems to have been an afterthought; cf. l. 32, and for the doubtful abbreviation, l. 27, n.

62. τὸ ἐπεσταλμένον: i.e. presumably the letter entered above, ll. 43 sqq. Something like γράψας ἡμῖν ἐάν τι may have stood at the end of the line.

71-2. Cf. the similar entry in ll. 177-8. ὑπο[ύγιον] naturally suggests itself, and is confirmed by P. Cairo Zen. 59659. 7-9; in l. 177 the word seems to have been abbreviated, or perhaps a shorter synonym was used.

73-84. 'Dorion to Architimus. Seed should be given to the people in the village Syron for the worm-eaten land. Give orders therefore for the quota to be measured to each owner through our subordinates, and we will afterwards write you a statement of the amount given. Through Comon.'

'To Menon. Measure out to the people in the village Syron for the worm-eaten land each man's quota of seed, ascertaining it from the list which you have from us.'

These two letters are evidently complementary, like those in ll. 43-7 and 60 sqq.

74. σκωλ]ηκ[ό]θρωτον is assured by l. 81. Cf. P.S.I. 490. 14, where on the present analogy γῆν has a better claim to be supplied than Grenfell's κριθήν, which has been too readily accepted, P. Cairo Zen. 59433. 14-15, where, as Rostovtzeff observes, [σ]κ[ω]ληκοβρώτου καὶ κα[κῆς γῆς] (ἀρ.) ιε is a more likely restoration than κα[κοῦ σίτου] κτλ., P. Mich. Zen. 96. 4, Oslo 26. 14; but no doubt it was the crop on the land that was in fact worm-eaten.

86-90. 'Antisthenes and Nicandrus to Architimus. Give to the fishermen from Teptus, Patus son of Paos and Patus son of Pais, for fixed (?) nets 50 drachmae. This they shall repay out of their share of *thrissae* at the rate of 200 for 20 dr.'

This passage, together with some others in the present papyrus, brings welcome evidence concerning the fishing industry, confirming the view maintained in Vol. I, p. 49 that that industry was a government monopoly; cf. especially ll. 113-17, 150-2, 214-15. What is here said leaves no longer room for doubt that the fishermen worked for the State as owner of the fishing rights, receiving a share of the fish (τὸ αὐτῶν μέρος, ll. 89-90) as well as a wage (ὀψώνια, l. 151). The State provided loans for the purchase of gear (ll. 88-9), which was subject to occasional inspection (ll. 116-17), and guards (ἐπίπλοι, l. 214, n.) were also active. There is no mention of contractors, and the fishermen seem to have been under the direct control of the administration.

87. Τέππος: cf. introd. and P. Petrie III. 46 (5) 10 ἐν Τέππυ. The present passage shows that the nominative is Τέππος or -τυ, not -τύς, which was adopted in the index of P. Petrie and in P. Tebt. II, p. 404.

88. στατά: ἐπτά is apparently not to be read.

93. σεκβώλια is enigmatical; the letter after β is more like ω than α.

94. For the initial supplement cf. e.g. l. 105. Line 98 suggests that perhaps ἐργαστήριον rather than περίχωμα (ll. 2, 170) is here to be supplied; cf. 89. 12 τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι τὸ περὶ αὐτήν, 111. 2-3 τοῖς σιτολ. τὸ περὶ Θεογονίδα ἐργαστήριον, and other parallels collected in the n. on the former passage, 774. 11, &c.

98. This seems to be a postscript to the foregoing entry. If the initial supplement is right, the beginning of the line must have projected slightly beyond ll. 94-6.

104-5. Ὠ[ρον] is restored from l. 125, and καί on account of the plural in l. 110, though it is hardly certain that an independent entry does not begin at l. 109. For τὸ περὶ ἄλ. cf. l. 94, n.

110. E.g. παρά-[δαισον].

113-17. This entry is apparently concerned, like ll. 86 sqq., with fishing-nets. For περὶ at the beginning cf. e.g. ll. 145, 179; but περὶ τῶν preceded by a name in the dative is of course also possible. If τήν χ[ι]μερινήν in l. 116 is right, some such word as ἄγραν may be understood.

120. Πόαμ = Πόαν, for which P. Petrie, III. 82. 17 is presumably to be added to the references given in P. Tebt. II. p. 396. (In the preceding line of that text, σε. ε. μαι seems likely to be Σεθρεμπάι or Σεθθυπάι). At the end of this line τε[τάρτου] looks likely, but the meaning is obscure.

124. τωι should perhaps be written with a capital letter, though no such locality is known: a mistake for τό is improbable.

133. Κατὰ πόλιν, if the previous words are rightly read, designates an area and may be compared with the Hermopolite Περὶ πόλιν. Either an ἐργαστήριον or a περίχωμα may be meant; cf. l. 94, n.

142-152. 'Nechthenibis son of Sochotes agreed to pay to the bank on account of . . . the amount of 139 drachmae, of which 66 were due on Phaophi 21, 73 on the 25th.

Concerning Ammonius. Since the shepherd and a person from whom he received the sheep are dead, let his relatives be summoned and questioned about the sheep; if any one agrees (to take them? or to having taken them?), let him make payment.

Nicandrus and Antisthenes to Architimus, greeting. Give to Nechthambes son of Sokeus, fisherman, the wages for Phaophi for the fishermen on the raft.'

142-4. Cf. l. 153, which shows that Nechthenibis was a sitologus. Apparently the amounts in l. 144 had been paid, if the current month was Hathur; cf. p. 46.

145 sqq. Owing to the ambiguity of ὁμολογοί, the meaning of this paragraph is not very clear. Was the problem to trace sheep which had disappeared, or merely to replace

the shepherd? The mention of the person from whom the shepherd had received them seems to be in favour of the latter supposition.

151-2. Cf. l. 224 *εἰς τοὺς ἐπὶ σχ. τὸ ὄψωνιον* [ν, l. 318 *πρὸς τὴν σχ.* In the note on P. Hibeh 110. 25 it was proposed to substitute *Σχεδίας* for *σχ.* in P. Fay. 104. 21, but, though adopted by Preisigke, *Berichtigungsst.*, that is by no means a certain correction; cf. P. Lille 25. 4, Flor. 335. 11. At any rate, the place near Alexandria is not meant in 701.

155-6. The absence of a horizontal dash above the letters following the figure ζ shows that they are not another date. Perhaps they are *καὶ* . . . , but the bad grammar of the next line makes restoration difficult. β should of course be supplied in the lacuna of l. 156, if ε in the next line formed part of the ζ.

175-6. For *βασιλικὸν παράδεισον* cf. 703. 211-14, n. Either this was a superfluous piece of land or, more probably, the produce and not the garden itself is meant.

177-8. Cf. ll. 71-2, n.

179. Some ink marks after the numeral are probably blottings.

180-1. Perhaps Σα[ . . . ] τρ[έφω]ν . . . τό[πων].

182. *ιε* in front of this line is apparently a misplaced day of the month. Perhaps δεκα[νοῖς] at the end.

183-218 sqq. This account seems to be in a hand different from that of the recto; it becomes smaller and more cursive as it proceeds.

183-94. 'In the 12th year Polemon reports the amounts collected from Mecheir to Epeiph: from sales 4 talents . . . dr., for capitation 1 tal., temple-dues 187 dr., for rent 60 dr., for vineland 162 dr., for sheep-dues 263[.] dr., collectors' receipts 474 dr., for salt 290 dr. 1 obol, from water-wheels 31 dr.: total 6 tal. 2831 dr. 5 ob.'

184. ἀπὸ Μεχίρ ἕως Επείφ: i.e. the first half of the financial year; cf. P. Hibeh, p. 360, Smyly, *Hermath.* xiv. 106 sqq., Lesquier, *Rev. Égypt.* ii. 22 sqq., Ernst Meyer, *Untersuch. z. Chron.* pp. 57-9.

186. This is the earliest mention of ἐπικεφάλιον, which is to be distinguished from ἐπικεφάλαιον; cf. P. Oxy. 1438. 14, n.

187. *ιερῶν φόρος* does not seem to have occurred previously. *ιερῶν* may mean the temples or temple property, such as sheep; but in P. Cairo Zen. 59394 the *ιερὰ πρόβατα* paid no tax.

188. From P. Petrie III. 42. n. 2 it appears that a tax of 5 per cent. was levied on house-rent, and possibly that is what is here referred to. But direct payments for the use of government property, possibly the βασιλικαὶ οἰκίσεις of 703. 212, may be meant; cf. the later ἐνοίκιον θησαυροῦ (e.g. 520).

189. ἀμπέλον: elsewhere ἀρπελικά (P. Petrie II. 13 (17) 3, III. 100 (b)), and ἀμπελώνων φόρος (ibid. II. 43 (a), P. Elephant. 14. 2-3). On the mode of levying the dues on vineyards see Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 100-1.

190. προβάτων φόρος: cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59433. 23-4. Other early instances of the tax are P.S.I. 626. 18 sqq., where an ἀπογραφὴ τῶν ἐμ Φιλαδελφείαι προβάτων is accompanied by a list of the amounts paid, P. Cairo Zen. 59394.

191. πρακτορείας: in 91 and 93, accounts concerning Crown land, there are several entries for *πρα*( ), which have been supposed to be payments for the benefit of πράκτορες, but being made in kind, they are hardly to be brought into connexion with πρακτορείας here. The term is better taken in a wide sense meaning amounts collected by πράκτορες, as e.g. P. Amh. 31. 7 ἐπὶ τῆς συσταθείσης πρακτορείας (τῶν ὀφειλομένων πρὸς τε τὴν σιτικὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀργυρικὴν πρόσδοσιν).

192. The salt tax is frequently mentioned in the third century B.C., usually by the

name ἀλική, e.g. P. Hibeh 112. 3, Petrie III. 109; it is called ἀλικά in P. Cairo Zen. 59206 and ἀλὸς τέλος in P. Hal. 1. 264. This impost reappears in the Roman age, but there seems to be no reference to it in the later Ptolemaic period.

193. κηλώνειον is the modern *shaduf*. Cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59155. 3-4 πότισον τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ χερός, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δυνατὸν ᾖ, κηλώνεια ἐπιστήσας πλείονα οὕτω πότιζε. From the present passage it appears that at this period a tax was levied on such instruments.

195-218. 'Proceeds of fish, in the hands of Polemon: sale in the nome, 4 talents [? . . . dr.], at Memphis 3 tal. . . . dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob., in the country 4,000 dr., at Alexandria 8 tal. 2,174 dr. 5 ob. Total 17 tal. 1,755 dr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ob. Less cost of transport, namely tax at Memphis 1 tal. 2,500 dr., on the consignment to the country 79[.] dr. 1 ob., on that sent to Alexandria he reports expenses amounting to 34[00] dr., tax on salt fish to Alexandria 3 tal. 2,584 dr.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ob. Total 6 tal. 653 dr.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ob. Remainder in hand from proceeds of salt fish 11 tal. 1,102 dr. 1 ob. He further reports other expenses for the nome, namely, for the dykes, &c.; 7 tal. 4,964 dr. 1 ob., and on the fish, for wages to escort and . . . and other expenses 2 tal. 1,026 dr. 2 ob.: total of expenses for the nome 9 tal. 5,990 dr. 3 ob. Remainder, which he reports as net in hand from fish and the nome up to the month Epeiph, 1 tal., 1,111 dr., 4 ob.'

202-8. The tax here, which is at the high rate of about 40 per cent., though paid on τάριχος (l. 206), cannot be the τετάρτη τάριχου or -χηρών (cf. P. Petrie III. 58 (c), 117 (h), Cairo Zen. 59206), which was not only less heavy but was levied on the manufacturer, not collected at the place of sale. On the other hand the percentage seems excessive for an import duty. With regard to these figures there is a considerable discrepancy between the sum of the items as given and the total of l. 208, and some error or omission has occurred; the doubtful  $\nu$  in l. 205 is possibly  $\chi$ , but that will not mend the arithmetic.

213. There is perhaps just room for [έτε]ρα, but two letters would fill the space and  $\circ$  could be read in place of  $\rho$ .

214. ἐπίπλοοι are known in the Ptolemaic period from B.G.U. 1742. 17, 1743. 13 (= *Archiv* viii. 188-9); cf. the ἐπιπλώων in P. Cairo Zen. 59389. They may have accompanied cargoes of fish, or have kept a more general check on the fishermen's work. κ[αι] παιδίους would be admissible, but the letter after  $\pi$  may be  $\lambda$ .

216. The number of the talents would more naturally be read as  $\epsilon$ , but that does not suit the arithmetic, since an  $\epsilon$  is impossible in l. 218. At the end of the line,  $\eta$  (τριώβ.) are still more a matter of inference, the scanty vestiges being really unrecognizable.

219 sqq. This supplementary paragraph was entered in a hand smaller than that of the rest of the column, probably by a different person. It is evidently the continuation of ll. 257-8, which were a later insertion in their column. At the end of l. 219 a name is missing, and in l. 221 something like τ[ῶν ἀγόντων εἰς] is wanted. The amount in l. 222 might be read as (τετρῶβολου), but that seems impossibly small. Tothoēs in the next line may be the same person as in l. 92.

238. This line was inserted after l. 239 had been written.  $\tau$ ι πλείων refers to the amount which Architimus was directed to pay.

242. (δευτέρας) . . .  $\circ$  was apparently an afterthought. For (δευτέρας) cf. ll. 48-9 and n. on l. 27.

248-9. Inserted later.

255. Ἐργοχ[ίμ]ει . . . was inserted to replace Ἄπ[ολλ]οδώρω[ι], which was enclosed in brackets. τὸ αὐ[τό] is doubtfully read, but suits the short entry; and cf. l. 231.

257-8. Inserted in a smaller hand, and continued at the foot of the preceding column, ll. 219 sqq.

260. Βαισιέ[λυπ]ίον: cf. P. Petrie III. 129 (a) 11, (b) i. 12, ii. 1, Lille 25. 43; some kind of

boat is apparently meant. *εἰς βαιοιελυπίου* possibly recurred after *καί* in l. 262, but the letters are too indistinct for recognition.

266. For *ἐν φυλ[α]κή* cf. l. 327; but the following word is not *οἶσιν*.

274-301. 'On [. . .] 1st, at a session of the nomarchs and Architimus the antigrapheus, Sisouchus son of Kalasiris attended and said that he had given the value of  $38\frac{3}{8}$  artabae of sesame, namely, to Pokus, corn-measurer, on the valuation of Dionysodorus and Menon and Horus son of Imouthes,  $21\frac{3}{4}$  art., of which 14 were at 7 dr., making 98, and  $7\frac{3}{4}$  at 8, making 62; to . . . son of Inaros, Dionysodorus, and Kalasiris  $15\frac{1}{2}$  art. at 8 dr., making 124 dr.; and to Dionysodorus himself  $\frac{7}{8}$  art. of sesame worth 6 dr.; total 290 dr. Psenesis, pastophorus, also reported having given  $35\frac{1}{4}$  art., namely to Sokonus, gooseherd, for a slave  $5\frac{1}{4}$  art., and to Dionysodorus for a cow and unblemished calf  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; and of the (remaining)  $26\frac{1}{2}$  art. he said that he had given the value to Dionysodorus and Menon and Horus son of Imouthes and . . . son of Phanesis, corn-measurer, at 8 dr., making 282 dr.; and that of the  $13\frac{1}{2}$  art. of the associations the value had been given them at the rate of 8 dr., and of the 20 art. of Psenithus son of Pokas 140 dr. They themselves, however, being present and being asked about this did not agree.'

287. *ἀν(ὰ) (δρ.) ζ* was perhaps inadvertently omitted after *σησά(μου)*.

290-2. *ἀντί* = for the services of? The amounts are too small to be prices.

296. The number *σπβ* is suspect as being a multiple of neither  $26\frac{1}{2}$  nor 8, and a mistake for *σιβ* seems likely.

297. Whether these *ἔθνη* were priestly classes or other associations is not clear.

301. This line is followed by a considerable blank space.

314. The figure *δ* denoting the 4th of the month stood against one of the lines lost in the upper part of this column.

322. *Μικρολιμναίων*: the uncertain letter before the lacuna is more like *μ* than *π*; the *κ* is confirmed by l. 332, where the same people apparently occur. *Μικρολιμναίοι* (or *-λιμνήται*?) lacks authority, but the *μικρὰ λίμνη* is known as a minor division of the Arsinoïte nome in the early Ptolemaic period; cf. P. Tebt. II, p. 350. It was probably in the north-east of the nome, the district with which 701 is chiefly concerned; and it is not heard of after the third century B.C., during the course of which it was presumably absorbed in the division of Heracleides. Of the reason for its disappearance we are uninformed, but the complaint of the petitioners in ll. 331 sqq. that their village was in process of decay may be significant, if the name in l. 332 is rightly restored.

331-47. 'They further wrote a petition as follows: The dwellers by the Small Lake to the nomarchs, greeting. It is now a period of . . . months that we have been under restraint (?), and we are unable to obtain our rights against the comarchs (?); they have laid waste our village and it is now deserted. We beg you therefore by the genius of the king not to suffer the deserted state of our village. For we wish [if we are released,] to deal fairly by them, and on these terms the village will remain as it was before, in order that there may be no loss to the king. If, therefore, you think fit not to suffer us to be thus put under restraint and the village to be deserted, we shall serve the king's interests'.

333. *κα[τεχόμεθα]* is obtained from l. 345; cf. l. 327, which implies that some at least of the villagers had been actually imprisoned. Perhaps they were fishermen who had been guilty or accused of some irregularity.

335. *ἀλλά*: or e.g. *οὔτε*.

337-8. Cf. 785. 10, P.S.I. 361. 6 *ὀμνύω δέ σοι τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα*, P. Cairo Zen. 49462. 9, Mich. Zen. 107. 20-1, B.G.U. 1257. 10. For *ἐν[ε]ύχομεθα* cf. e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59421. 1, 59482. 2.

## 701 (a). REGISTER OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

39 (a).

17 x 10.5 cm.

About 131 B.C.

This fragment, probably from the end of a column, seems to be similar in character to the preceding papyrus. Its short paragraphs, which are separated by slight intervals, look like copies of the integral parts of official communications on various subjects. The lines, written in a rather small cursive, were apparently of considerable length, but to judge from l. 9, where there is an appreciable blank space after the last word, the loss at the ends is slight. Lines 1-5 relate to the tax on beer (cf. 40. 4, P. Hibeh 106. 7, &c.), 6-8 to illicit sale of some monopolized product (beer again?), 9-10 to crops, 12-13 to some property which had become *αἰγιαλοφόρητος*, i.e. presumably swept away by an encroachment of the lake. The 39th year mentioned in l. 5 refers to the reign of Euergetes II.

μ]ενοι τὴν ζυτηρὰν προσρεῖπτειν ἔτι ἡμῖν [  
 ] ἔάνπερ μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκουσίως προσελθόντες  
 τῆ]ν τιμὴν καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ σ[  
 ] . τὴν ἀλλὰ ἤγαγεν εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐθὲν συντελείσθ[αι  
 5 ] τοῦ λθ (ἔτους).

] . ετοῖς ἐπιτίμοις ἡμᾶς περιβάλλειν μα[  
 ] ἔὰν ἀγοράζωμεν βασιλικῶν πρατηρίων ἔα[  
 ] μέγους ἢ παραπωλοῦντας.

]μων τοῦ σπύρου) καὶ τὰς ὑποθη(κὰς) κατὰ τὰς [  
 10 ]ου πυροῦ καθότι καὶ πρότερον.

] ἐπακολουθεῖν.

]κου καὶ αἰγιαλοφορήτου γινομένου [  
 ]ς ἀνάφερεξ καθάπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. [  
 ]

9. κ of κατα corr.

1. Perhaps *πραγματεύομ]ενοι*. Instead of *προσρεῖπτειν ἔτι*, *-ρεπτεῖτέ τι* might possibly be read. This verb recurs in 759. 6 (cf. P. Oxy. 1678-9); in the present passage the sense seems to be like that of *ἐπιρίπτειν* in 5. 183-5, 790. 9, and antithetical to *ἐκουσίως προσελθόντες* in the next line.



5. λθ seems preferable to λβ.

6-8. Cf. the conjunction of ἐπίτιμον and παραπωλεῖν in 38. 4-7. βασιλικὰ πρατήρια seem not to have occurred previously in the papyri. The ν of ]μένους is unsatisfactory.

11. ]ἐπακολουθεῖν : κ]ατακ. or π]αρακ. are possible alternatives.

12. αἰγιαλοφορήτων : cf. ποταμοφόρητος, to which, however, λιμνοφόρητος would be a more logical parallel than αἰγιαλοφ.

## 702. REGISTER OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

110.

Height 19 cm.

About 260 B.C.

Both the recto and verso of this papyrus, of which there are two or three fragments, were utilized for copies of official letters, written in short columns. It is, however, in wretched condition, and only the following letter, which is one of those on the verso, seems worth reproducing. Though the text of this is in places uncertain, its gist is clear. The writer complains of long delay in getting in a debt from certain byssus-workers, and implores his correspondent to take steps to exact payment from them. Another letter addressed to the same person followed. An early date is indicated by the hand ; other papyri from the same mummy are of the 22nd year (of Philadelphus), and this document may be referred to about the same period. Cf. 701.

### Verso, Col. i.

8 lines, concluding . . . ὥστε προεξήχθαι <sup>7</sup>[τ]ὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι  
ἡμᾶς καὶ <sup>8</sup>[ἐν] τούτῳ τῷ μέρει.

. [.]. αἰοι. πλεονάκεις σοι καὶ ἐντέταλμαι  
10 × καὶ γέγραφα τὸ ἐν τοῖς βυσσοουργοῖς  
[δ]ὲν ὀφείλημα εἰσανάγειν, καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν  
οὐ δύναται πέρας λαβεῖν. πρὸς Διὸς οὖν  
[κ]αὶ θεῶν, εἴπερ τινὰ σαντοῦ

### Col. ii.

[λόγ]ον ἔχεις καὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦ[ς]  
15 ἀνθρώπων[ος] [.]. . . . ν δῖχα [μισ-  
θῶν ἀνάγκασον παραδοῦναι αὐτῶ]ν  
τὰ σώματα. οὐ γὰρ ἐτι προφάσε[ις  
ἔχουσιν φάμενοι τοὺς ἰδίους [

μελλους ὑφαίνειν· συντετε-

- 20 λεσμένοι γάρ εἰσιν. [σ]ὺ οὖν <sup>καὶ εἰ . .</sup> ἰδο . [ . .  
 ποιήσεις δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸς πρα[ξ] . . .  
 τὸ ἀργύριον, [[ . . . . . ]] ἐπιδείξ[ας  
 τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν παρὰ Διοτίμου] . [ . .  
 ὧν ἀπεστείλαμέν σοι καθὰ σ[υν-  
 25 τάσσει πράσσειν αὐτόν.  
 2 lines, beginning ἄλλη.

10. For the *βυσσοιργοί* cf. 5. 239 sqq., and on the linen industry generally 703. 87 sqq. and nn. For the cross in the left margin cf. 730, introd.; there is a similar cross opposite the second line of the following letter, l. 27.

18-19. *μελλους* is a difficulty. The first λ may be α, and possibly an ι was inserted between that letter and ε, but that is not helpful, for *κα|μελλους* is incredible; *μαλλούς* cannot be read. Perhaps then *φάμενοι* (ὄτι) . . . *μέλλουσι* (ι) was meant: a short substantive may have stood at the end of l. 18, if *ιδίους* (or possibly *ιέρους*) is right.

20-1. Perhaps *σὺ οὖν εἰ* . . ., the apodosis then beginning at *δικαίως*; but ἄν may be for *εἰάν* and *δικαίως* be connected with *ποιήσεις*.

23. *τῶν* seems to be required by ὧν in l. 24, though *τόν* would be an easier reading. *ἀντίγραφον* is too long after *Διοτίμου* unless abbreviated, and abbreviations do not otherwise occur; moreover the remains before the lacuna do not suggest α. Since the byssus-manufacture was carried on in the temples (5. 245-6), the mention of the *ἀρχιερεύς* is natural.

### 703. INSTRUCTIONS OF A DIOECETES TO A SUBORDINATE.

8. Height 32.5 cm. Late 3rd century B.C. Plate III  
 (recto, Col. iv).

This important papyrus contains a copy of a long memorandum (*ὑπόμνημα*) giving detailed instructions on the management of various departments of the royal revenues; for a survey of the contents see p. 73. Owing to the mutilation of the covering letter which was prefixed, the identity of neither the writer nor the addressee is certainly known. If the name Zenodorus (Zenothemis is an alternative) is rightly read in l. 1, it may be supposed that the author was so called; and internal evidence strongly suggests that he was the dioecetes at Alexandria (see below, p. 67). Not only does his memorandum deal almost exclusively with royal revenues, but he it was who had sent the addressee to a province and probably appointed him (ll. 258-9). Moreover, there are similar instructions, or mentions of them, in other documents which emanate from the dioecetes. As for the person addressed, of the officials representing in the nome the department of finance, the oeconomus seems the most likely: the

subjects of the memorandum coincide with matters dealt with by the oeconomus in the third century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Especially instructive are a comparison with P. Petrie III. 32 (a)-(g), a series of petitions to the oeconomus of the Arsinoïte nome, and a study of the duties of the oeconomus as revealed by Zenon's correspondence; cf. *Rev. Belge de phil. et hist.* iv. p. 652. It is clear from that correspondence (e.g. P.S.I. 330, P. Cairo Zen. 59041, 59073, 59096-7, 59109), and from P. Hibeh 133, how close were the relations between the oeconomus and the dioecetes in the third century B.C. Later, with the transfer of most of the duties of the oeconomus to the strategus and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων (see 27 and U.P.Z. 110), the situation was changed.

This leads to the question of date, another point on which the papyrus is not explicit. There can, however, be little doubt that the script is of the third century B.C., and it may, we think, be as early as the reign of Euergetes I, to which some other papyri from the same cartonnage may be referred. Moreover, both in style and contents the memorandum is closely related to third-century texts, especially those of the second and third Ptolemies, while on the other hand it differs from the similar documents of the second century, e.g. 27 and U.P.Z. 110. The clearly-formulated directions are put in short, pointed sentences, which are introduced by a few formulae many times repeated, with no attempt at rhetorical refinements. Good parallels to this plain style may be seen in the Zenon correspondence; cf. e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59251. 7 sqq. καὶ τὰ ζηνγάρια δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τοὺς χήνας [κ]αὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἂν ἐκποιήῃ (703. 48), πειρῶ (703. 41) ἐπισκοπεῖν (703. 47, 183) οὕτως γὰρ ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἔσται τὰ δέοντα (703. 255). καὶ τὰ γενημάτια δὲ ἵνα τρόπων τινὶ συνκομισθῆι ἐπιμελές σοι ἔστω (703. 70, &c.). This presents the strongest contrast to the semi-literary style of e.g. U.P.Z. 110 (cf. Wilcken's introduction), with its long and involved periods, its careful avoidance of hiatus, and its artificial pathos and outbursts of rhetorical indignation. Stylistic conditions alone would almost justify the ascription of 703 to the third century B.C. Perhaps then Zenodorus (?) in l. 1 was the high official of that name, not improbably the dioecetes, known from P. Cairo Zen. 59368, &c., early in the reign of Euergetes.

No direct mentions of definite historical events occur, but there are hints at such events in ll. 215-22, ἵνα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαχίμους οἰκο[ν]ομηθῆται κατὰ τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὃ συντ[ε]θείκαμεν τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκό[ν]των σωμάτων ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀπ[ο] . [ . ] . ων ναυτῶν κτλ. This paragraph is followed (l. 229) by a general admonition containing a reference to bad conditions in the past and confused conditions in the present. The fact that μάχιμοι (and ναῦται?) had run away, and that special instructions had been sent out for their capture and dispatch to

<sup>1</sup> A good modern treatment of the office of the oeconomus is still a desideratum; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 148.

Alexandria, points to a time immediately before or after an important war (cf. n. *ad loc.*). If the papyrus is rightly assigned to the reign of Euergetes I, the period of unrest may well be the time after the Syrian war, from which there is a tradition that Euergetes was recalled by a rising in the Delta (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lag.* i. 253, W. W. Tarn, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* vi. 306, Bevan, *Ptol. Dynasty*, pp. 196-7). To the same period may be traced a hope among Egyptian nationalists that the capital would be transferred back to Memphis (Struve, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, p. 280, Reitzenstein and Schaefer, *Zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 38, Gressman, *J. Theol. St.* xxviii. 241). But a date near the battle of Raphia in the next reign would also be suitable.

In several passages 703 is described as a *ὑπόμνημα* (ll. 2, 136, 235, 240, 260), a word of frequent occurrence among the terms applied to documents emanating from or addressed to the king and his officials. The evidence concerning it has been recently collected by P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, p. 18; cf. Bickermann, *Archiv* viii. 218, ix. 164, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* xiii. 53-6, Guéraud, *Ἐντεύξεις*, pp. xxii sqq. Collomp failed, however, to notice that *ὑπόμνημα* in the official language of the Ptolemies has not only the meaning of petition addressed to an official (while the petitions to the king are called *ἐντεύξεις*), but also various other meanings. *Ὑπόμνημα* is in fact what the word implies, a memorandum. It may be a memorandum for private use, a reminder of either some business to be carried out in the future (e.g. P.S.I. 429, 430) or dealt with in the past (e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59218, 59297).<sup>1</sup> Or it may be a memorandum addressed to another person in order to remind him of something or to ask him to remind somebody else; to this class, of which many instances occur in Zenon's correspondence, belong the various official and private reports and petitions or complaints.

But there are also hypomnemata written, not to a man of higher standing by an inferior or to an official by a private person, but emanating from men of higher or equal position, and containing memoranda which are in fact requests, orders, or instructions to a colleague or subordinate. Such documents are common in Zenon's correspondence, e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59048, 59054, P.S.I. 425, and are exemplified also in the detailed instructions given by Apollonius to the managers of his estate; cf. e.g. P.S.I. 500, 502. 17 sqq., P. Cairo Zen. 59292. 420, and 59155, which was based on an order to Apollonius from the king. Of the same kind is the elaborate memorandum on viticulture, of which fragments survive in P.S.I. 624, and which was probably compiled by Zenon for use in Apollonius' vineyards. Similar instructions were given by higher officials to their subordinates, and no doubt by the king to his ministers and generals.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *ὑπομνηματισμοί* or *ἐφημερίδες* of the kings and higher officials.

Before the discovery of 703 we had but little information respecting *ὑπομνήματα* of this type. P. Hibeh 77 was perhaps such an instruction sent by the dioecetes (?) to officials of the Heracleopolite nome. SB. 5675 (B.C. 184-3) contains a fragment of a judicial instruction which came directly from the king, since it is accompanied by a royal letter. Again 27 (B.C. 113) includes a long letter written by the dioecetes to ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων concerning the management of *χλωρά* and *ἐπίσπορα* and the appointment of reliable *γεννηματοφύλακες*. This letter had been preceded by a detailed instruction on the same subject (l. 59). Still more instructive is U.P.Z. 110. In 164 B.C., probably after some internal disturbances which followed the dynastic strife in Alexandria, the king was anxious to have all the royal land under cultivation, and issued a *πρόσταγμα* *περὶ τῆς γεωργίας* (ll. 26-7) ordering the land to be cultivated, if necessary, by those who were not used to it (compulsory lease). The dioecetes thereupon called up his subordinates and imparted to them detailed orders (*διαστολαί*) both orally and in written form (ll. 35-6). He also sent out a long instruction (*ὑπόμνημα*, l. 50) and a letter regarding the publication of the royal decree (l. 62).

The existence of *ὑπομνήματα* embodying official instructions was accordingly known; nevertheless 703 is a real revelation. For the first time we have not quotations from or mentions of an instruction, but the instruction itself; and for the first time we meet an instruction of a general, not a special, character. In fact, this document is a kind of vade-mecum for the oeconomus, who in the closing sentence is advised *ἔχειν τὰ ὑπομνήματα διὰ χερός, καὶ περὶ ἐκάστων ἐπιστέλλε[ιν] καθὰ συντέτακται*. It is, so to say, his appointment-charter. Wilcken has lately suggested (*Z.Sav.-St.* xlii. 132<sup>2</sup>, U.P.Z. p. 457) that such charters were called *ἐντολαί*, but this appears to be mistaken. The *ἐντολή* was a circular order addressed to a group of officials, and Wilcken postulates a form of it which included directions for the management of an office, the original being handed to the newly appointed official, while copies were sent to those interested. Such letters of appointment no doubt existed; P. Petrie II. 42 (a) is an example. But it seems unlikely that they included more than a general definition of the office, such as, in fact, is there given. Instructions for the conduct of the office, if added—and they were probably usual—, were rather in the form of *ὑπομνήματα* and *χρηματισμοί*, not *ἐντολαί*.

If written instructions were handed to every newly appointed official, or at least to those of superior rank, it may be assumed that there was in the bureaux of the higher officials and of the king a set of standard *ὑπομνήματα*. In that case there must have been a special bureau for writing them and for amending them in accordance with new orders and new circumstances. Such a bureau was no doubt the *ὑπομνηματογραφεῖον*, which, along with the *ἐπιστολογραφεῖον*, played an

important part in the life of the king and his principal subordinates. Hypomnematographi at the courts of the Hellenistic kings are well attested (P. Collomp, *op. cit.* p. 72, gives a list of them). To the dioecetes, too, both a hypomnematographus and an epistolographus were attached; cf. U.P.Z. 14. 127-45, P. Cornell I. 127, 150, 156 (ἐπιστολογραφείου; the ὑπομνηματογραφείον is perhaps meant in ll. 10, 128). The same is true of the epimeletes (P. Strassb. II. 105. 3, Wilcken, *Archiv* vii. 91); and there were bureaux (private or public?) similarly named even in villages (58. 12, 33, 112. 87). But while the business of the epistolographus was easily understood, the office of the hypomnematographus remained a puzzle. Collomp's suggestion that he was responsible for the hypomnematismoi or daily registers of official business and for the subscriptions on petitions may be correct, but those duties would hardly account for the prominence of the bureau and its chief. If, however, he also compiled and kept up to date the instructions given to the higher officials, his importance in the bureaucratic life of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt is more readily comprehended.

We have said that 703 is unique in its kind, but this is true only for the Ptolemaic period. A similar document of the Roman age is extant in the well-known Gnomon idiu logu (B.G.U. V. 1), a memorandum originally issued by Augustus to the idiologus, and kept up to date by means of the addition of various orders and decisions of the emperors, the senate, the prefects of Egypt, and the idiologi themselves.<sup>1</sup> It has survived in an abridgement made for the use of local officials, and as it now is has a form quite different from 703. While the latter is a set of orders given directly by one official to another, with very few quotations of other documents (ll. 57, 83, 97, 99, 132-3, 187, 216), the Gnomon consists of concise statements coupled with quotations of various imperial Constitutions and other sources, and is neither personal in reference nor colloquial in phraseology. Of its original form, however, we are ignorant, as well as of the extent to which this may have depended on a Ptolemaic document of a similar nature; and possibly as first drawn up by Augustus it was more akin to 703.

The study of these two texts suggests another question. 703 cannot be said to include all the branches of financial administration likely to have been under the control of the oeconomus; and the treatment of those which appear is unequal, some being dealt with more fully, others in a very superficial way. The same is true of the Gnomon; see G. Plaumann, *Abh. Berl. Ak. Phil.-hist.*

<sup>1</sup> Th. Reinach, *Un code fiscal &c.* in *Nouv. Rev. hist. de droit fr. et étr.*, 1920-1, P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Pap.* pp. 315-45, H. Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy*, O. Lenel and J. Partsch, *Sitzungsb. Heid. Ak.*, 1920-1, G. Glotz, *J. d. Sav.* xx. 215, J. Carcopino, *Rev. d. Ét. anc.* xxiv. 101, 211, Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Archiv* ix. 183.

*Kl.* 1918, p. 23). Is it to be inferred that 703 is not the original *ὑπόμνημα* but an extract from it? Certain peculiarities seem to support this conclusion. Usually a single person is addressed (ll. 41, 50, 52, 53, &c.), but sometimes, especially at the end of the document, the plural is used (ll. 157, 168, 236, 241, 254, 256, 264). Similarly the nome is commonly the field of activity (ll. 58, 93, 115, 139, 258), but once 'nomes' in the plural occurs (l. 71). Again, in many places there is confusion or awkwardness of construction which may be due to abbreviation or to the incorporation of additional matter. Nevertheless, the memorandum seems to be more than a mere arbitrary abridgement; it is rather an adaptation of a standard document on which the instructions given to officials of a certain class were based. But in spite of its personal and colloquial character it was hardly written expressly for the use of an oeconomus of the Arsinoïte nome. No mention is made of any particular locality, or of measures designed for any special circumstances; on the contrary, the instructions are of general application, and even the most personal remark (l. 258), ἃ δὲ καὶ ἀποστέλλων σε εἰς τὸν νομὸν προσδιελέχ[θ]ην, might refer to any oeconomus, since there is no difficulty in supposing that each one on appointment had an audience with the dioecetes before leaving Alexandria for his province.

In our view, then, 703 is one of the many copies of the standard instruction of the dioecetes to the oeconomi. Like the Gnomon of the idilogus, these instructions were modified from time to time, possibly, as the edicts of the praetors and of the governors of the Roman provinces were, by every new dioecetes; and the same will be true of instructions given by the king and other higher officials of the Ptolemaic administration. Similar instructions were doubtless issued by the dioecetes to other subordinates and by the king to the dioecetes himself. It seems likely that certain parts of these instructions were common to all of them, especially those of general character, which represented, so to say, the philosophy of the bureaucracy. The language of these passages may well be often reflected in other official documents, and it would be interesting to collect such expressions and to compare them with other moral precepts of the same kind, e.g. the Odes of Horace and the rules formulated by Epictetus and M. Aurelius for those in the service of the government. As a literary analogue of the end of 703 may be cited a Strasburg fragment of an Alexandrian (?) comedy (Crönert, *Gött. gel. Nachr.* 1922, p. 31; cf. A. Körte, *Archiv* vii. 257), ἀγαπᾶτε τὰτα πάντες, ὅσ' ἔχει τὰγαθὰ | ἅπαντ' ἐν αὐτῶν χρηστός, εὐγενής, ἀπλοῦς, φιλοβασιλεύς, ἀνδρείος, ἐμπίσται μέγας, | σὴ φρων, φιλέλλην, πρᾶύς, εὐπροσήγορος, | τὰ πανούργα μισῶν, τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν σέβων.

What was the origin of these written instructions to subordinates? E. Bickermann (*Archiv* viii. 218) regards the hypomnema as non-Greek, but the

word is used extensively in the classical period in the sense 'memorandum' or 'minutes'. The use of official 'instructions', however, appears to be alien from the administrative system of the Greek city state. On the other hand a parallel to 703 is forthcoming from Pharaonic Egypt in the instructions given by a king of the XVIIIth Dynasty to his vizier Rekhmerē (cf. P. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara*, A. H. Gardiner, *Rec. d. tr.* xxvi. 1, *Z. f. äg. Spr.* ix. 62, Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* ii. 663, K. Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers unter der XVIII Dyn.* (Unters. v. 2)). The first part of this text contains instructions of a general character not unlike that of the last part of 703, e.g. ll. 5 sqq. (Sethe's translation): 'Siehe wenn ein Bittsteller kommt aus Ober- [oder Unter-] Ägypten, aus dem ganzen Lande versehen [mit]... so mögest du das zusehen, dass alles getan wird, wie es dem Gesetze entspricht, dass alles getan wird nach seiner Ordnung, in dem [man jedem Manne] zu seinem Recht [verhilft].' The second part—a kind of Appendix—which was reproduced on the walls of the tombs of Voser and Amenemotep (Thuthmose III and Amenhotep II), contains more specific directions of a practical kind, and had probably been repeated in the instructions of the king to the vizier from time immemorial (Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 675). Many of them deal with the same subjects as 703; see e.g. Breasted, p. 697, 'Felling timber. It is he who dispatches to cut down trees according to the decision of the king's house'; p. 698, 'Water supply. It is he who dispatches the official staff to attend to the water supply in the whole land'; p. 699, 'Annual plowing. It is he who dispatches the mayor and village sheikhs to plow for harvest time'; p. 700, 'Overseers of labour. It is he who [appoints] the overseers of hundreds in the hall of the king's house'; 710, 'Administration of navy. It is he who exacts the ships for every requisition made upon him.' The literary type of instructions (*sboyet*) given by more experienced men to juniors, especially by fathers to sons, is very old in Egypt. The instruction of the vizier Ptahotep goes back to the Vth dynasty, and three others date from the Middle Kingdom; for a translation of one of these see Gardiner, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* i. 20.

The influence of the Ptolemaic *ὑπόμνημα* is probably to be recognized outside the Roman administration of Egypt. As observed above, in the Gnomon of the idilogus Augustus evidently adopted an existing institution, and it seems most likely that in introducing the use of *mandata principis* into Roman administrative practice<sup>1</sup> he was equally following the example of the Ptolemies. The *mandata* show the closest affinity not to the Ptolemaic *ἐντολαί* (cf. above, p. 69) but to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Cuq, *Le conseil des empereurs*, p. 460, Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.* iii. 2, 1570, *Manuel des Inst. jurid. des Romains*, p. 28, Stroux and Wenger, *Abh. Bayer. Akad.* xxxiv. 69 sqq., C.I.L. iii. 7086 *κεφάλαιον ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐντολῶν*. Cicero's admonitions in *Ad Q. fr.* 1-2 are somewhat analogous; cf. M. Schneidewin, *Eine antike Instruktion*, O. Plasberg, *Cicero*, p. 18, Zucker, *Philol.* lxxxiv. 208.



ὑπομνήματα. The same style, the same expressions characterize them. The following verbal citation by Ulpian of one of the *mandata* will serve as an illustration (Dig. 47, 11, 6): *Ulpianus libro octavo de officio proconsulis. Annonam adtemptare et vexare vel maxime dardanarii solent: quorum avaritiae obviam itum est tam mandatis quam constitutionibus. Mandatis denique ita cavetur: 'praeterea debebis custodire, ne dardanarii ullius mercis sint, ne aut ab his qui coemptas merces supprimunt, aut a locupletioribus, qui fructus suos aequis pretiis vendere nollent, dum minus uberes proventus expectant, annona oneretur.'*

A table of contents of 703 is appended:—

I. AGRICULTURE:

1. Canals, ll. 29-40.
2. Protection of crown-cultivators against the village officials, ll. 40-9.
3. Inspection of crops, ll. 49-57.
4. Sowing of prescribed kinds of crops, ll. 57-63.
5. Registration of agricultural cattle, ll. 63-70.

II. TRANSPORT: Dispatch of corn by land and water, ll. 70-87.

III. ROYAL REVENUES AND MONOPOLIES:

1. Ὀθονηρά, ll. 87-117.
2. Διαλογισμὸς προσόδων in general, ll. 117-34.
3. Ἐλαική, ll. 134-64.
4. Ἐννόμιον, ll. 165-74.
5. Ὠνία, ll. 174-83.
6. Μοσχοτροφεῖα, ll. 183-91.
7. Ξύλα, ll. 191-211.
8. Βασιλικαὶ οἰκῆσεις καὶ παράδεισοι, ll. 211-14.

IV. TREATMENT OF DESERTING μάχημοι AND ναῦται, ll. 215-34.

V. RULES CONCERNING OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, ll. 234-57.

VI. INSTRUCTIONS OF GENERAL CHARACTER ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF OFFICIALS, ll. 257-80.

The last four columns of the text are on the verso of the papyrus, Col. i of the verso being on the back of Col. v of the recto, and the writing proceeding in the opposite direction. A few corrections by a different hand occur.

Recto, Col. i.

1 [ τοῦ ] ὑπομνήματος ὑπὸ Ζηνοδ[ώρου? 2 — ἀντίγραφον  
 ὑπόκειτ]αι. (blank space) 3 — τ]οῦτο ποιεῖν μὴ πα- 4 ἔπαρ-

τ[<sup>{α}</sup>αισ]μοὺς καὶ τὴν <sup>5</sup> —]. α[.]·των ἔστω <sup>6</sup> —]αῖς ἦς φυ-  
<sup>7</sup> —]. ουσ . . α . ασ A few letters from the ends of 5 more  
 lines, and about 16 more lines lost.

2. At the end of the line a short dash.

## Col. ii.

γ[. . . . .]μα, τοὺς τε διὰ τ[ῶν πε]ρίων  
 30 ἡγμέν[ους ὑδρ]αγωγούς, εἰ τὰ συν[τ]αχ[θ]έ[ν]τα  
 βάθη ἔχου[σιν] αἱ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐπιρύσεις τοῦ ὕδα-  
 τος καὶ ἐκ[ποιού]σα ὑποδοχὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρ-  
 χει ἀφ' ὧν εἰ[sάγει]ν εἰώθασιν οἱ γεωργοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 εἰς ἣν γῆν εἰ[κα]στος κατασπείρει· ὁμοίως  
 35 δὲ καὶ τὰς [δηλ]οιμένας διώρυγας ἀφ' ὧν  
 εἰς τοὺς προγεγραμμένους ὑδραγωγούς  
 αἱ ἐπιρρύσεις γίνονται, εἰ αὐταὶ τε ὠχύρων-  
 ται καὶ εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αἱ ἐμβολαὶ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμ[οῦ καθ]αριῶνται (καὶ) εἰ ἄλλως  
 40 πῶς ἐν ἀσφαλεία[ι εἰσί]ν. ἄμα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐφο-  
 δεύειν πειρῶ πε[ριερχ]όμενος ἕκαστον  
 παρακαλεῖν καὶ εὐθαρσέστερους παρα-  
 σκευάζειν, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ μόνον λόγῳ  
 γίνεσθαι ἀλλὰ καί, ἐάν τινες αὐτῶν  
 45 τοῖς κωμογραμματεῦσι ἢ κωμάρχαις  
 ἐγκαλῶσι περὶ τίνος τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωρ-  
 γίαν ἀνηκόντων, ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ὅ-  
 σον ἂν ἐκποῆι εἰς ἐπίστασ[ε]ιν τὰ τοιαῦ-  
 τα ἀγέσθω. ὅταν δὲ διεξακθῆ ὁ σπόρος,  
 50 οὐ χεῖρον ἂν γίνοιτο εἰ ἐπιμελῶς ἐφοδεύ-  
 οῖς· οὕτως γὰρ τὴν [τ] ἀνατολὴν ἀκριβῶς  
 ἐπόψει, καὶ τὰ μὴ καλῶς ἐσπαρμένα  
 ἢ τὸ ὅλον ἄσπορα ραιδίως κατανοή-  
 σεις, καὶ τοὺς ὠλιωρηκότας εἰ[σει] ἐκ  
 55 τούτου καὶ σοῖ γνώριμον ἔσται [·] [εἴ τινες

τοῖς σπέρμασι εἰς ἄλλα κατα[κ]έ-  
 χρηνται. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τ[οῖ]ς κατὰ τὴν δια-  
 γραφὴν τοῦ σπόρου γένεσιν ὁ νομὸς  
 κατασπεύρηται κείσθω σοι ἐν τοῖς  
 60 ἀναγκαιοτάτοις· καὶ ἂν τινες ὧσι  
 κατατεταμένο[ι] τοῖς ἐκφορίοις ἢ  
 καὶ παντ[ε]λῶς ἀ]γριμένοι, μὴ ἀ-  
 νεπίσκεπτ[ον] ἐά]σθω. ἀναγραφὴν δὲ

34. l. ὁμοίως.

48. εκποη apparently corr. from -ει (η above line).

49. l. διεξαχθῆ

## Col. iii.

ποίησαι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ ὑπαρ-  
 65 χόντων βασιλι[κῶν] τε καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν  
 κτηνῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέ-  
 λειαν ποίησαι ὅπως ἢ ἐκ τῶν βασιλι-  
 κῶν ἐπ[ι]γ[ο]νή, ὅταν εἰς τὸ χορτ[ο]φαγεῖν  
 ἔλθῃ, π[α]ρ[α]δίδωτ[αι] εἰς τὰ μ[ο]σχο]τρο-  
 70 φῖα. ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]λῆς δέ σοι γινέσθω καὶ ὅπως [[καὶ]]  
 ὁ ὑπάρχων σίτος ἐν τοῖς νομοῖς πλὴν  
 τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τ[ό]ποις δαπανω-  
 μέν[ου] εἰς τὰ σ[π]έρ[μ]ατ[α] [κ]αὶ τοῦ ἀπλώ-  
 του . . . [ . . . . . ]ς κατὰ γηται· οὕτω δὲ  
 75 ἐμβ[α]λ[εῖν] εἰς τὰ πρῶτα παριστά-  
 μενα [πλοῖα ράιδιο]ν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοι-  
 οῦτον [μήποτε] παρ[έ]ργως σαυτὸν δί-  
 δου. εἴ[ . . . γ]ὰρ οἱ ναύκληροι τὰς ιδί-  
 ας ολ . [ . . . . . ]οις ἐφ' ἐκάστων τῶν  
 80 τόπων . . . δ[ι]ατριβόντων. ἐπιμελῆς  
 δέ σοι ἔστω καὶ ἵνα αἱ διαγεγραμμέ-  
 ναι ἀγοραὶ κατὰ γ[ων]τ[αι] εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρειαν ὧν σοι καὶ [τ]ὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστέλ-  
 λομε[ν] ἀπ[ο]στέλλων κα[ὶ] κατὰ τοὺς  
 5 καιροὺς, μὴ μ[ό]νον ἀριθμὸν ἔχουσαι  
 ἀλλὰ κα[ὶ] δ[ι]ε[δο]κιμασμένα καὶ ἐπι-

τήδε(ι)οι πρὸς τὰς χρείας. ἐπιπορεύ-  
 ου δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὑφαντεῖα ἐν οἷς τὰ ὀ-  
 θόνια ὑφαίνετα[ι] καὶ τὴν πλείστην  
 90 σπουδὴν ποιῶν ἴν[α] πλείστ[α] τῶν ἰσ-  
 τέων ἐνεργὰ ἦι, συντελούντων  
 κ[α]ὶ τῶν ὑφαντῶν τὴν διαγεγραμ-  
 μένην τῶι νομῶι ποικιλίαν. ἐὰν δέ  
 τινες πρὸς τὰς συντεταγμένας  
 95 ἔκτομας ὀφείλωσι, πρᾶσσέσθωσαν  
 καθ' ἕκαστον γένος τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δια-

70. και inserted above the line. 72. ω of δαπανω above ου, which is crossed through

## Col. iv. Plate III.

γράμμα[τ]ος τιμάς. ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὀθόνια  
 χρησὰ ἦι κ[α]ὶ τ[α]ς ἀ[ρ]πεδόνας ἔχουσι κατὰ τὸ  
 διάγραμμα [μὴ πα]ρέργως φρό[ντι]ζε. ἐ[πι]πο-  
 100 ρεύου δὲ καὶ [τὰ ἐψη]τήρια ἐν οἷς τ[ὰ] ὀμόλ[ινα]  
 ἔψ[ε]ται καὶ τ[ο]ὺς [. . .] . μους καὶ [τ]ὸν χα . . . ον  
 [κ]α[ὶ] ἀναγραφὴν π[οί]ησαι, καὶ ὅπ[ω]ς κίκι τε  
 καὶ νί[τρον] εἰς τὴν ἐ[ψ]ησιν ὑπάρχ[η]ι μετὰφε-  
 ρε. ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν τῶν προσόδ[ων] λόγ[ω]ν ἦ  
 105 εἰς τὸν τῆς ὀθον[η]ρ[α]ς τ[ὸ] .]γδ[. . .] . ον χ[. . .]  
 . . . . δε αἰετὴν κατὰ μῆνα ἐκ[το]μὴν [. . . .  
 α . . . εν ἐν αὐτῶ[ι] τῶι μηνί, κα[ὶ] . . . . . [. . .  
 . [. . . .] . ἐσθω π[α]λιν ἐν τῶι ἐχομένωι  
 110 τὸ [γ]ινόμενον, ἐὰν δὲ περιγένηται τι  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ μετενεχθέντος ἐν τῶι πρώ-  
 τωι μηνί, προ[σα]νεγεχθήτω ἐν τῶι  
 ἐχομένωι τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπιμήνιον  
 ἔκτομήν. ὅσα δὲ τῶν ἰστέων μὴ ἔστιν ἐ-  
 νεργά, μετενεγεχθήτω πάντα εἰς τὴν  
 115 μητρόπολιν τοῦ νομοῦ καὶ συντε-  
 θέντα ἐν τοῖς [τ]αμείοις παρασφρα-

γ[ι]σθήτω. δ[ι]αλογίζου δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 προσόδους, ἔὰμ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον  
 ἦι καὶ κατὰ κώμην, δοκεῖ δὲ [ο]ύκ ἀ-  
 120 δύνατον εἶν[αι] ὑμῶν προθύμως  
 ἑαυτοὺς εἰς [τ]ὰ πράγματα ἐπιδι-  
 δόντων, εἰ δὲ [μ]ή γε, κατὰ τοπαρχί-  
 αν, παραδεχόμενοι ἐν τοῖς διαλογισ-  
 μοῖς τῶν μὲν ἀργυρικῶν φόρων  
 125 μῆθ' ἐν ἄλλο ἢ τὰ ἐπὶ [τ]ράπεζαν  
 πίπτοντα, τῶν δὲ σιτικῶν καὶ  
 ἔλαικῶν φορτίων τὰ π[α]ραμεμε-  
 τρημένα τοῖς σιτολόγ[οις.] ἔὰν δέ

97. A β above the first α of γραμμα[τ]ος has no evident meaning.

## Col. v.

τι ἀπολείπει ἐν τούτο[ι]ς, συνανάγκ[α]ζε  
 130 τοὺς τοπάρχας καὶ τοὺς τὰς προσόδ[ο]υ[ς]  
 ἐξιληφώτας καταβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὰς τράπ[ε]-  
 ζας τῶν μὲν σιτικῶν ὀφειλημάτων τὰς ἐκ [τοῦ  
 διαγράμματος τιμάς, τῶν δὲ ἔλαικῶν  
 φορτίων ἐξ ὑγροῦ καθ' ἕκαστον γένος. προ[σ]-  
 135 ἤκει δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ πάντων π[ρο]-  
 ξ[ι]σθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὑπ[ο]μ[ν]ήματ[ι] γεγραμμ[ε]-  
 νων, ἐμ πρώτοις δὲ π[ε]ρ[ι] τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐλα[ι]-  
 [ο]υργία. τηρούμενα γὰρ κατὰ τρόπον τὴν [ἐν  
 τῷ νομῷ διάθεσιν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν [εἰς  
 140 {δ'} ἐπίδοσιν ἄξεις καὶ τὰ διακλεπτόμε-  
 να ἐπισταθήσεται. γίνοιτο δ' ἂν τὸ τοιοῦτο  
 εἰ παρ' ἕκαστον καιρὸν ἐξετάζοις τὰ ἐν τῷ  
 τόπῳ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰ ταμ[εῖ]α τῶν [φορτίων  
 145 τῶν τε ξηρῶν κ[α]ὶ ὑγρῶν καὶ] π[α]ρα-  
 σφραγισμὸν ἔχοις. καὶ τὰ πα[ρ]αμ[ε]τρ[ο]ύ-  
 μενα τοῖς ἐλαιουρ[γ]οῖς μὴ πλεῖ[ο]να ἢ τῶν  
 μελλόντων κατεργάζεσθα[ι] διὰ τῶν ὑ-

παρχόντων ὄλμω[ν] ἐν τοῖς ἐργ[α]στηρίοις.  
 ἐπιμελὲς δέ σοι γιν[έσθ]ω καὶ ὅπως μάλι- [  
 150 στα μὲν ἅπαντες οἱ ὄλ]μοι ἐνεργοὶ ᾧσιν, εἰ  
 δὲ μή γ[ε], πλειῖστοι, τῶ]ν δὲ λοιπῶν τὴν [  
 ἐνδεχομένην τήρησιν ποιείσθαι· καὶ γάρ [  
 ἐστὶ τῆς . . . ξ[. . .] . ας καὶ καλάμης σά-  
 ξαντες ε . α . [ . . ] . [ . . . ] . χαρακτήρα ἐπιβα  
 155 λείν, τὰ δ' ὑπεράρ[ιθμ]α ἐργαλέα [τ]ῶν μὴ  
 τὴν χρεῖαν παρεχομένων ὄλμων ἐπὶ τ[αὐ]-  
 τὸ συναγάγοντες παρασφραγ[ι]σθήτω εἶν  
 ταῖς ἀπ[ο]θήκαις· καὶ ἐὰν ἐν τουτ[. . . . .] . .  
 160 στάσησι τάργότερα . [ . . ]ονομα[. . .] ἀκρι-  
 βῶς, γίνωσχ' ὅτι χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τ[. . . . .]  
 . ι διαφόρων καὶ εἰς οὐ τὴν τυχοῦ[σ]αν κατα-  
 φρόνησιν ἤξει, ἣν ραιδίως ἀνα[ι]ρεῖν οὐ  
 δυνήσκει. τὸ γὰρ γένος καταμε[. . . . .]

129. l. ἀπολείπει.

132. μεν inserted.

138. l. τηρουμένων, or else ἄξει in l. 140.

## Verso, Col. i.

καὶ τὴν τιμῆν<sup>ων</sup> . . . ν ἐν οὐθενὶ λόγω[ι] ἐπιθέμενον.  
 165 οὔσης δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τ[δ] ἐννόμιον προσόδου  
 ἐν ταῖς πρώταις, μάλι[σ]τ' ἂν εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἐλθ[ο]ι  
 εἰ τὴν ἀγαγραφὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου [ποιή-  
 σα(ι)σθε. εὐφνέστατος δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐστὶν τῶι πε-  
 170 τῶ[ι] τ[αὐ]τ' ὄντι περὶ τὸμ Μεσορῆ μῆνα· ἐγ γὰρ τού-  
 τω[ι] τῆ[ς] πάσης] χώρας ἐπεχομένης ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ὑδάτω[ν] σ[υ]μβαίνει τοὺς κτηνοτρόφ[ο]υς εἰς  
 τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους τόπους ἀποστειλ[αι] τὴν]  
 λε[ί]αν, οὐκ ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν εἰς ἀλλ[λους] τό-  
 175 πους διαρίπτειν. μελέτω δέ σοι καὶ [ἔ]γα τὰ [ῶ-  
 νια μὴ πλείονος πωλῆται τῶν διαγεγραμ-  
 [μ]ένων τιμῶν· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἦι τιμὰς οὐχ ἔστη-  
 [κ]νίας ἔχοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις  
 [έ]σ[τι]ν τ[ά]σσειν ἄς ἂν βο[ύ]λωνται, ἐξεταζέσ-

- [θ]ω καὶ τοῦτο μὴ παρέργως, καὶ τὸ σύμ-  
 180 μετρον ἐπιγένημα [[τα]] τάξας τῶν πω-  
 [λ]ουμένων φορτίων συνανάγκα[[ι]]ξέ τῶς  
 . [.] . . κοῦ[.] . . ῥ τὰς διαθέσεις ποιείσθα[ι.]  
 ἐπιμέλου δ]ἔ ἐπισκοπ[εῖ]ν καὶ τὰ μωσχοτρο-  
 φ[ί]α, καὶ τῆ[ν] πλείστην σπουδὴν ποιῶ ὅ-  
 185 πως ὅ τε σίτος ἐν αὐτοῖς παρε[σχη]μένος  
 ἦ[ι] μέχρι τῶν χλωρῶ[ν,] καὶ εἰς [τ]οὺς μόσχοϋς  
 ἀναλίσκῃται ὁ διαγ[ε]γραμμένος καθ' ἡ-  
 [μ]έραν, καὶ τ[ὸ] . . . .]ρο[.] εὐτάκτως ἀποδί-  
 [δ]ωται, τό τ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τόπων καὶ, ἐὰν  
 190 [π]ροσδέωνται τοῦ προσανακομιζομ[έ]νον,  
 [κ]αὶ ἐξ ἄλλων κωμῶν. ἐπιμελές τῆ σοι  
 ἔστω κ[αὶ] ἴγα ἡ φυτεία [τ]ῶν ἐπιχωρίων ξύ-  
 λων κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρέποντα καιρὸν  
 τῶν τὴν ὥραν ἐχόντων ξύλων γέν[η]-  
 195 ται ἰτέαις τε καὶ συκαμείνοις, περὶ δὲ  
 τὸν Χοίαχ ἀκάνθησ καὶ μυρύκης,

173. ο of εχοντων repeated above the line; what was originally written is not clear.  
 178. as (? H. 2) above α, which is crossed through. 192. ι of φυτεια above the line.  
 195. σ of ιτεαις above ες, which is crossed through. 196. λ. μυρικής.

## Col. ii.

- τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπ[ί] τῶν βασιλικῶν  
 χ[ω]μάτων φυτευέσθαι κ[αὶ] τὰ φυτ]ᾶ [εἰς] πρασι-  
 ᾶ[ς] καταβληθῆ[τω] ἴνα τῆς εἰ[ν]δ[ε]χ[ο]μένης  
 200 ἐ[πι]μελείας κατ[ὰ] καιρὸν ποτισ[μο]ῦ τυχαί-  
 ν[η]ι, ὡς τ' ἂν δέη[ι] καὶ γέ[νη]ται ὄ[ρα] τῆς φυ-  
 [τεί]ας, τότε μετ[.] . .]σ . . [.]αν τασσέτωσαν  
 [ἐπὶ ?] τῶν βασιλικῶ[ν] [χ]ωμάτων, τὴν δὲ τῆ-  
 [ρ]η[σι]ν αὐτῶν π[οι]εί[σ]θωσαν οἱ π[ρ]ὸς τὴν ἔγλη-  
 205 ψιν [π]ροσε[λ]ηλυθ[ό]τες, ὅπως μ[ή]θ' ὑπὸ τῶν  
 προβάτων μ[ή]θ' ὑ[π'] ἄλλου μ[η]θ[ε]νός παροινέσ-  
 θαι συμβαίνει τῆ[ν] φυτείαν. ἅμα δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ

ἐφοδεῖται παρεπ[ισκ]όπει κα[ί] εἴ τ[ιν]α κροκομμέ-  
 να ὑπάρχει ἐπὶ τῶν χωμ[ά]τ[ων] ἢ καὶ ἐν  
 210 τοῖς πεδίοις, καὶ τὴν ἀναγρα[φ]ῆν ποιησά-  
 μενος. ποιήσα[ι δὲ] ἀναγραφὴν κα[ί] τῶν  
 βασιλικῶν οἰκή[σ]εων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ταύ-  
 ταις παραδείσων καὶ ἧς ἕκαστος [ἐ]πιμε-  
 λήσας προσδεῖται, [κ]αὶ διασάφησον ἡμῖν.  
 215 ἐπιμελὲς δέ σοι ἔστω καὶ ἵνα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς  
 μαχίμους οἰκο[ν]ομῆται κατὰ τὸ ὑπό-  
 μνημα ὃ συντ[εθ]εῖκαμεν τὸ περὶ τῶν  
 ἀνακεχωρηκῶ[ν] σωμάτων ἐκ τῶν  
 220 ἔργων καὶ ἀπ . [ . ] . ὦν ναυτῶν ὄπω[σ] εἰς  
 . γ . . ρ . . ατομ[τ] . ] . ντα τὰ ἐμπ[ι]πτογ-  
 τα συνέχεται [μέ]χρι τῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρειαν ἀποστο[λ]ῆς. ἵνα δὲ μήτ[ε] παρα-  
 λογία μηδεμ[ία] γείνηται μήτ' ἄλλο  
 225 μηθὲν ἀδίκημα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν π[ο]ι-  
 οῦ μὴ [π]αρέργως. σαφῶς γὰρ εἰδέναι δεῖ  
 ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ κατοικούν-  
 τ[ων] καὶ πεπιστευκέναι διότι πᾶν τὸ  
 [το]ιοῦτον εἰ[ς] ἐπίστασιν ἦκται καὶ  
 [τ]ῆς πρότερον κ[α]κεξίας ἀπολέλυ-

207. εἰαν above εαν, which is crossed through. 216. s of μαχίμους corr.  
 from o, and a of -ται corr. from ε. 221. τ of συνεχεται above ετ, which is crossed through.  
 223. γεια above γισμ, which is crossed through. 227. διοτι corr. from παητ.

## Col. iii.

230 μένοι εἰσίν, οὐ[θεν]δὸς ἔ]χοντ[ο]ς ἐξουσίαν ὃ βούλε-  
 ται ποιεῖν, ἀλλ[ὰ] πάντων οἰκονομουμένων  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου. κα[ί] τῇ χώρῃ τὴν ἀ[σ]φά-  
 [λε]μαν ποιήσῃτ[ε] καὶ τὰς προσόδους οὐ παρὰ  
 235 μικρὸν ε . . . [ . ] . ἀδο . . [ . . ] πάντα μὲν οὖν  
 περιλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ ὑ[πο]μνημάτων  
 παραδοῦναι ἡμῖν οὐ ράδιον δεῖ[α] τὰς ποικίλας περιστάσε[ι]ς τῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἀκρολούθως τοῖς



- περιέχουσι και- {τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκολου-  
 θως τοῖ[s] περιέχουσιν και-} ροῖς. ἴν[τ]α δὲ μη-  
 θὲν εἰς τὸ δυνατ[δ]ν π[αραλείπ]η[τα]ι, περὶ [τ]ε  
 240 τῶν ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι κατατεταγμέ-  
 νων ἐπιμελ[ῶς] . . . δ[. . .] . ετε, καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχ[όντος πι]πτόντων ὁμοίως  
 διασαφεῖτε [ό]πως εκ[. . .] . . . ε . ἀνη . . . α  
 χρηματίζηι ο[. . . . .] . . . ιεξόδοι. ἐπεὶ  
 245 γὰρ ἀναγκαι[ῶ]ν ἐστὶ πάντ[α] δ[ι'] ἐπιστολ[ῶ]ν  
 οἰκονομεισθ[α]ι . . . [ . . . ]ων ἡμῖν ἐπ[ί] τε  
 π . . γμένοις μακροτέραν τοὺς χω . . . ε  
 π . . . . . [.] οὐθέν, οὕτω παρασκευαστ[έ]-  
 250 ον ἐστὶν αὐτοὺς ὡ[σ]τε περὶ ἐκάστου τῶ[ν]  
 ἐπιστ[τ]ελλομένων [ . . . . . ] . . γράφειν, μά-  
 λιστα μὲν κα[.] . . . [ . . . ]ντας, εἰ δὲ μή, δ[ι]-  
 ασα[φο]ῦντας τὰ αἷτια, ἴν' ε . θε . . ἀλη . [ . . ]  
 κασ . . λαμβάνη καὶ μηθὲν τῶν δη[λου]-  
 μέγων παραλείπηται. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν  
 255 ποιούντων καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν τὸ δέον τε-  
 λέεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν ἢ πᾶσ' ἀσφάλεια ὑπάρ-  
 ξει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἰκανῶς ἐχέτω  
 ἂ δὲ καὶ ἀποστέλλων σε εἰς τὸν νομὸν  
 προσδιελέχ[θ]ην, ταῦτα καὶ δ[ι]ὰ τοῦ  
 260 ὑπομνήματος καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλα-  
 βον γ[ρ]άψαι σοι. ὥμην γὰρ δεῖν τὸ μὲν  
 [ἡ]γεμονικώπατον ἰδίῳ καὶ καθα-

236. υμιν . . . των above the line. 243. ] . . . ε corr.? 249. ε of ὡ[σ]τε above  
 ο, which is crossed through, and υ of εκαστου apparently corr. 251. α of ]ντας corr. from  
 ε? 255. 1. τελέεσθε οἱ -λεσθήσεται. 262. 1. [ἡ]γεμονικώπατον.

Col. iv.

- [ρῶς κ]αὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστ[ου] ποιούντας?  
 ὑμᾶς προσπορεύεσθαι φ[. . . . .]  
 265 ἐνδοθησομένης συνγ[. . . . .]σο . [.]

G

- τα δίκαια προσεστ[.] . . . α . [ . . . ] ἐλαχιστ .  
 λόγον προσδεξομένων, τ[αὐτ]α γὰρ καὶ  
 τούτοις παραπλήσια κ[.] . . . ] . εἰς πα-  
 ρεσχ[ε] . . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] καιπερ . . . [ . . . ] πλ[ε]ϊόνων  
 270 εὐ μεμαρτυρημένης τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 ἀναστροφῆς καὶ ἀγωνίας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦ-  
 τα [[εὐ]] εὐτακτ[εῖν] καὶ ἀκαμπτεῖν ἐν τοῖς  
 τόποις, μὴ συμ[πλέ]ξεσθαι φαύλοις ὀμι-  
 λίαις, φεύγειν [ἄπα]γτα συνδυασμὸν  
 275 τὸν ἐπὶ κακία[ι] γενόμενον, νομίζειν  
 ἔαν ἐν τούτοις ἀνέγκλητοι γένησ-  
 θε μειζόνων ἀξιοθήσεσθαι, ἔχειν  
 τὰ ὑπομνήματα διὰ χερσός, καὶ πε-  
 ρὶ ἐκάστων ἐπιστέλλε[ι]ν] καθαῖα συν-  
 280 τέτακται.

274. Second *v* of συνδυασμον corr. from *i*?

#### Unplaced Fragments.

1.		2.		3.	
recto	verso	recto	verso	recto	verso
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
]αισ[.]	] . η[.]	]νοικ[.]	] . [ .	] . ξο[.]	blank
] . . . [ .	]αστ[.]	. . . .	]α . μ[.]	] . . . . [ .	
. . . .	. . . .		] . τ[.] [ .	. . . .	
			. . . .		
4.		5.		6.	
recto	verso	recto	verso	recto	verso
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
]στ[.]	]ιν[.]	]τα[.]	] . [ .	]δ[.]	]ε[.]
. . . .	] [ .	] [ .	] . η[.] [ .	. . . .	. . . .
	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .		

1. In the lacuna after a name or names something like τοῦ γραφέντος or πεμφθέντος μοι is to be restored; cf. e.g. 704. 1.

4. ἐπαρισμός is unattested and may be an error for ἀπ., which was apparently not written. The corrector's intention is obscure.

6. ἦς φν- : possibly πεφν-. These letters are preceded by a short blank space, which, however, does not necessarily imply a pause.

29-40. '[You must inspect] . . . and the water-conduits which run through the fields and from which the peasants are accustomed to lead water on the land cultivated by each of them, and see whether the water-intakes into them have the prescribed depth and whether there is sufficient room in them; and similarly the said cuttings from which the intakes pass into the above-mentioned conduits, whether they have been made strong and the entries into them from the river are thoroughly cleaned and whether in general they are in a sound state.'

The lost beginning of this section, which is concerned with the supervision of the water-supply, not improbably dealt with the embankments; cf. 13, 706, P. Cairo Zen. 59296. i. 15, Lille I (χώματα *passim*, ὑδραγωγοί R. 13, διώρυγες V. 7, 20, 22), P.S.I. 344. 10 τὰ χ[ώματα καὶ [τοὺς] ὑδραγωγούς καὶ τὰς διώρυγας καὶ τὰ[ς ἀφέσεις (?)]. The accusatives in ll. 30 and 35 depend on some verb like ἐφοδεύειν (ll. 40-1). That this was the first paragraph of the detailed instructions is uncertain, but likely enough, the forwarding letter in Col. i. being perhaps followed by a few sentences of a general character.

While the construction of new canals and embankments was in the hands of technically trained men, the so-called architects (Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. d. Lag.* iii. 314, Oertel, *Liturgie*, 11, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 38; cf. 727), the general supervision of the irrigation-system was, at least in the third century B.C., one of the most important duties of the regular administration of the nome, especially of the oeconomus; cf. P. Petrie II. 42 (a), Cairo Zen. 59109, 59220, 59256. The oeconomus presided over a commission whose duty it was to let out to contractors the various works connected with the irrigation-system; cf. P. Petrie III. 42 F, 43. 2, Fitzler, *Steinbrüche*, 73, Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 53, 60 sqq. In P.S.I. 488. 9 the contractor's offer is sent direct to the dioecetes, probably as the owner of the δωρεά; cf. l. 16 (χώματα) ἀρεστὰ τῶι οἰκονόμ[ωι] καὶ τῶι ἀρχιτέκτονι. What other duties may have fallen to the oeconomus in connexion with the water supply is unknown. Many documents contain orders to open or to shut sluices, e.g. P. Petrie II. 37, III. 44 (3) 3, but except those referring to Apollonius' estate, where the orders were given by Zenon, their source is uncertain. On the distinction, here clearly brought out, between the main canal (ποταμός), the διώρυγες, and the ὑδραγωγοί, cf. Schnebel, *op. cit.* 29.

30-1. τὰ συν[τ]αχθέντα βάθη: these prescribed depths may have varied locally. In letting out the cleaning of canals from sand the commission in charge usually stated the depth as well as the width and the length of the part to be cleaned; cf. P. Petrie II. 36, III. 43. 2 verso ii. 19-20, iv. 3, and for the Roman period P. Giessen 42 introd., Oxy. 1409. 15 ὥστε ἐπενεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ τεταγμένον ὕψος τε καὶ πλάτος τὰ χώματα: the height and the width of the dykes corresponded no doubt to the depth of the canals; cf. Westermann, *Aegyptus* vi. 121.

31. ἐπίρψεις: cf. l. 37, and P. Oxy. 1409. 17-18 ἕ[α] ἐ[ν]μαρῶς [τῆν] ἐσομένην τῶν ὑδάτων εἰσροίαν ὑποδέχουτο πρὸς ἄρδειαν τῶν ἐδαφῶν.

35. [δηλ]οιμένας: [καλ]οιμένας might also serve, but διώρυξ seems too ordinary a term or such a qualification.

37. ἀχύρονται: cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59296. ii. 19, Schnebel, *op. cit.*, 38.

38. ἐμβολαί: the usual word at this period for intakes from the ποταμός to the διώρυγες is ἀφέσεις, at which sluices or locks (θύραι) were built; cf. 706. 11, P. Mich. Zen. 103. 6, and the papyrus of 25 A.D. published by Boak, *Racc. Lumbroso*, 45 (in ll. 18-19 l. ἐκ[χ]ρηγῆς = ἐκρήγματος: with the following words ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ὑπεύθυνοι κτλ. cf. Dig. I. 47. 11. 10 *com-mata et diacopi qui in aggeribus fiunt plecti efficiunt eos qui admiserint*). ἐμβολή (cf. Plut.

*Ant.* 41) seems to be equivalent to ἔμβλημα, which was a technical term of the Roman period (cf. Schnebel, *op. cit.* 36) but occurs in a papyrus of 151 B.C. in *Aegyptus* v. 129 (SB. 7188. 17) apparently with the same meaning.

39. καθ'αρίωνται seems to be an early instance of the dropping of reduplication, as in 61. (b) 373 θεωρησθαι, but it is rare in the Ptolemaic period except in compounds; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 341. Of the verb καθαρῶ, which is not in Stephanus, apparently the only example known was *Lament.* iv. 7 ἐκαθαρίωθησαν. The cleaning (ἀνακάθαρσις) of water-intakes is often referred to in the papyri of the third century B.C.; cf. n. on ll. 30-1 and add to the references there given P. Petrie II. 23 (1) 5-6 (στόμα τῆς ἐγβατηρίας), III. 56 (c) 19 (ἀφέσεις, γέφυραι), Lille 3. i. 17, Schnebel, *op. cit.* 60, Westermann, *Aegyptus* vi. 121, Boak, *Aegyptus* vii. 215.

40. ἐν ἀσφαλείαι: cf. 13. 20, 706. 3.

40-9. 'In your tours of inspection try in going from place to place to cheer everybody up and to put them in better heart; and not only should you do this by words but also, if any of them complain of the village-scribes or the comarchs about any matter touching agricultural work, you should make inquiry and put a stop to such doings as far as possible.'

The duty of the oeconomus as stated in this paragraph was to protect the agricultural population of the nome and to act as a kind of judge between them and the village administration. Though they are not actually mentioned there can be no doubt that the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, from whom complaints to the oeconomus among others occur, were the cultivators primarily meant. On the jurisdiction of the oeconomi see Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolonat*, 67-8, Semeka, *Ptol. Prozessrecht* i. 14-17, Zucker, *Gerichtsorganisation*, 74 sqq., and cf. P.S.I. 380. 8-9, 399. In the late Ptolemaic period the same functions belonged to the strategus, and in some cases to the village-scribes acting as his substitutes; cf. Rostowzew, *op. cit.*, 68, Taubenschlag, *Strafrecht*, 55<sup>5</sup>, Kunkel, *Archiv* viii. 178, 789. 14-17. Illustrations of the injustice, real or alleged, on the part of local officials towards the γεωργοί are often found e.g. 787-9, 791-2, 28, P. Amh. 35 (W. 68), Oxy. 1465. That the intervention of the oeconomus, though sometimes sufficient, was not always effective is clear from ll. 47-8.

40-1. ἐφοδεύειν is a frequently recurring term, e.g. 13. 3, 730. 1, 789. 15, P. Petrie II. 38 (a) 25; cf. ἐφόδια 'travelling expenses', e.g. 121. 31, &c., P. Cairo Zen. 59016. 2, 59052. 4, P.S.I. 363. 17-19. περᾶσθαι, too, is common in official instructions of the third century B.C., e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59251. 8 ὡς ἂν ἐκποιῆ (cf. ll. 47-8 below) περῶ ἐπισκοπεῖν.

41. π[ε]ριερχ]όμενος is perhaps not too long for the lacuna.

49-57. 'When the sowing has been completed it would be no bad thing if you were to make a careful round of inspection; for thus you will get an accurate view of the sprouting of the crops and will easily notice the lands which are badly sown or are not sown at all, and you will thus know those who have neglected their duty and will become aware if any have used the seed for other purposes.'

One of the most important duties of the oeconomus was the inspection of crops; for his activity in this cf. e.g. Rev. Laws xli. 1 sqq. Rev. Laws xviii. 5 sqq. show that in the case of oil the peasants were obliged to sow a prescribed amount of seed, an obligation acknowledged by them in special χειρογραφίαι confirmed by oaths; cf. *ibid.* xlii. 15-17, Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, 213. In some of the extant oaths of the early Roman period the clause concerning the seed and the sowing of land is still found, e.g. P. Brit. Mus. 256 R. 4 sqq. (W. 344), Oxy. 1031 (W. 343), B.G.U. 85 (W. 345); cf. P. Hamb. 19. The

oeconomi and nomarchs were assisted by guards, possibly the *σποροφύλακες* of 862. vi. 92, but in any case more probably, it seems, special guards with duties similar to those of the *λιμνασταί* and *κατασπορείς* of the Roman period than the well known *γενηματοφύλακες* or *χωματοφύλακες*. The oath of one of these guards is perhaps to be recognized in P. Petrie III. 56 (c) (cf. (b)), the first lines of which may be restored somewhat as follows: [*πραγματεύεσθαι περί τοῦ τὰ σπέρματα καταθέσθαι*] *εἰς τὴν γῆν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ | οὔτε αὐτῶν νοσφίσεσθαι* (= *νοσφίσεσθαι*) [*οὐδὲ ἄλλω ἐπιτρέψειν | ἀλλ' εἴν τινα αἰσθῶμαι κακο[ποιούντα] περὶ | τὰ σπέρματα ἀποστελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σέ | μετὰ φυλακῆς κτλ.*]. In the later Ptolemaic period the duty of inspecting the crops devolved upon the strategus; cf. 61. (b) 369 sqq., U.P.Z. 110. 8 sqq. Both the oeconomi and the strategoi used for their inspections the reports of the village-scribes on the areas sown, e.g. 71.

The absence of any reference in this section to the distribution of seed-corn is noticeable. For the crops of oil-producing plants the distribution of seed was carried out by the oeconomus and his subordinates the nomarch and toparch through the comarchs and village-scribes (cf. Rev. Laws xli. 14 sqq., xliii. 3 sqq., P. Hibeh 48, Petrie III. 89, Cairo Zen. 59105), and a similar method for corn crops is suggested by e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59113-4, where the intermediaries are agents of a nomarch, P. Gradenwitz 7, where seed-corn is delivered by a sitologus in the presence of an agent of the oeconomus, P.S.I. 356, where the oeconomus figures as a purchaser of grass-seed. Some other Zenon papyri show seed-corn being distributed by Zenon or his agents (e.g. P.S.I. 432, 490, 603), which is natural on the estate of Apollonius.

51. *ἀνατολήν*: an unpublished Zenon papyrus in the British Museum (Inv. No. 2097) has *τὸν σπόρον τοῦ σπιδάμου ἐφώδευσα . . . καὶ ἐνὴν ἀ(να)τολή ἀραιά* ('poor sprouting'); cf. the text edited by Collart-Jouguet in *Aegyptus* v. 129 (= SB. 7188), where *καθαρόν ἀπό τε ἀνατολῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δέσης* can well mean 'free from young weeds . . .'. The noun is used also of growing teeth (Arist. *H.A.* 2. 4) and the verb is not uncommon in a similar sense, e.g. Diodor. iii. 8. 6 *καρπὸν, ὃς αὐτοφυῆς ἀνατέλλει*.

57-60. 'You must regard it as one of your most indispensable duties to see that the nome be sown with the kinds of crops prescribed by the sowing-schedule.'

That the government at this period carefully regulated the cultivation of the *γῆ βασιλική* and prescribed each year the crops to be sown upon it was well known; cf. *inter alia* Plin. *N.H.* xix. 79, P. Tebt. I, p. 52, Rostowzew in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* vii. 134, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 127. The fact that the instruction appears to speak exclusively of royal land and royal cultivators and does not mention the *γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει* suggests that the control of the government over this latter was less strict, and supports the view taken in P. Tebt. *l. c.* that the holders of such land were free in the choice of crops, except, of course, those of which the produce was monopolized by the State, i.e. oil-producing plants and flax.

The *διαγραφὴ τοῦ σπόρου* (ll. 57-8), the document which regulated the sowing of crops in the nome, is mentioned in many papyri of the Ptolemaic period; cf. 810. 27, 824. 14, P. Lille 26. 4-5, U.P.Z. 110. 42. It seems likely that P. Ashmol. recto (SB. 4369 a) represents a supplement to the original *διαγραφὴ σπόρου* and illustrates the various activities of either an oeconomus or his chief the hypodioecetes. The *διαγραφὴ σπόρου* is in no way identical with the reports on the land actually sown (71 *προσαγγέλιμα τῆς βεβρεγμένης καὶ ἐσπαρμένης*), nor with the *κατὰ φύλλον ἐπικεφαλαίου σπόρου* compiled for the purpose of calculating the *ἐκφόριον* (e.g. 66-70) and for the use of officials in their inspections (cf. 78. 2 sqq.). Nor must it be confounded with the *διαγραφαὶ σιτικαί* (cf. 72, 616, Rostowzew, *Archiv* iii. 202-3) or the *διάγραμμα περὶ τῶν σιτικῶν*, on which see n. on ll. 131-3.

60-3. 'And if there be any who are hard pressed by their rents or are completely exhausted you must not leave it unexamined.'

It must not be inferred from this passage that the *oeconomus* had the right to class a piece of land as unproductive or to reduce the rent; it was his business to inquire into cases of hardship and to report on them to his chiefs.

61. *κατατεταμένοι*: cf. 61. (δ) 197 *κατατείνειν τοὺς γεωργούς*, U.P.Z. 110. 49 μηδ[ε]νός . . . *κατ[α]ταθέντος*, Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, 48.

62. *ἀνειμένοι* indicates a still worse plight than *κατατεταμένοι*, when tension has gone too far and exhaustion follows. There is, of course, no connexion between this use and *γῆ ἀνειμένη*.

63-70. 'Make a list of the cattle employed in cultivation, both the royal and the private, and take the utmost possible care that the progeny of the royal cattle, when old enough to eat hay, be consigned to the calf-byres.'

63-6. The *ἀναγραφὴ κτηνῶν* here prescribed is distinct from the *ἀπογραφαί* of cattle for the purpose of taxation, e.g. P. Petrie III. 72 (W. 242), Hibeh 35 (W. 243). It is concerned exclusively with the draught cattle, oxen and perhaps donkeys, used for cultivation, and is comparable with the private *ἀναγραφὴ* which Apollonius ordered to be carried out on his estate (P. Cairo Zen. 59166).<sup>1</sup> Remains of such a list are possibly to be recognized in P. Lille 10 (for the division into *ἀρσενικά*, *θηλυκά*, and *λαικά* cf. P. Strassb. 93. 3-5, where draught cattle are divided into *λαικά* and *ἄλωτικά ὑποζύγια*). In any case, the figures resulting from such a census of cattle were incorporated into the lists of *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί*, where along with the names of the cultivators, the size of their plots, the kinds of crops, and the rents paid, there is also a statement of their draught cattle (*βόες* and *ἄνοι*); cf. P. Petrie III. 94 (δ), (ε), 98, 101. Whether the designation 'private' means exclusively cattle belonging to the owners of the *γῆ ἐν ἀφῆσει* or includes also those owned by the crown cultivators is uncertain. From the conditions which prevailed on the estate of Apollonius Rostovtzeff has concluded (*Journ. Eg. Arch.* vi. 174 5) that most of the cattle used on the *γῆ βασιλική* were owned by the king and distributed among the farmers according to their needs. This view is criticized by Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 317. But in any case there is no reason to deny that *ἰδιωτικὰ κτήνη* as opposed to *βασιλικά* means private cattle in general including any owned by the crown cultivators. On the *βασιλικά κτήνη* cf. P. Petrie III. 62 (ε).

The first object of the registration was the careful distribution of the royal cattle among the peasants during the season of agricultural work, and their efficient use for the transport of corn and other commodities. A good illustration of the first point is furnished by U.P.Z. 110 (P. Par. 63). The conditions which prevailed in Egypt in 164 B.C. were of course exceptional, and called for exceptional measures. Not only were members of the privileged classes obliged to take part in the cultivation of the royal land, but all the cattle of the country were mobilized for the work (ll. 173 sqq.). Without a registration of the draught cattle as prescribed in 703, such a mobilization would have been impossible. On the use of private and royal cattle for transport cf. ll. 70-80, n. Another object of the registration was the control of the *βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί* and other land-holders as regards their expenditure of green fodder and corn for feeding the draught cattle, both those received from the king and those owned by themselves; cf. 27. 54 sqq., 70 sqq. The cattle themselves were regarded as security for the payment to the State for the consumed green fodder (27,

<sup>1</sup> The registration of *πῶλοι* in Numidia reported by Strabo xvii. 3. 19 was perhaps an imitation of Egyptian practice; cf. S. Gsell, *Hist. de l'Afrique* v. 153, 181.

P. Lille 8, Hamb. 27). The corn used for feeding was probably given certain privileges as regards taxation (cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 198).

66-70. Some further directions on the *μοσχοτροφεία* are given in ll. 183 sqq.; it will be convenient to take these passages together. As soon as they were old enough the calves from the royal herds were set apart in byres, of which special care was taken by the dioecetes and the oeconomi. These measures were probably due to the fact that many calves were needed for private and public sacrifices; cf. 5. 183, P.S.I. 409, P. Cairo Zen. 59326. 6, Mich. Zen. 12. The royal byres supplied the king and perhaps some of the temples; they might also be used for privately owned animals (Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 108-9). Perhaps Apollonius and other high officials and holders of *κλήροι* and *δωρεαί* were exceptional in this respect, but in P. Hibeh 47. 25 sqq. certain private people are apparently represented as keeping their calves at the disposal of the administration of the nome. Is it to be supposed that all calves were kept for a time in *μοσχοτροφεία* and the State had the right to make use of them, paying a certain remuneration to the owner? Cf. P.S.I. 438. 23, 701. 291-2. There is no connexion between the *μοσχοτροφεία* and the taxes *δεκάτη μύσχω* (P. Hibeh 115. ii. 1) and *τέλος μύσχου θυομένου* (307 introd., P. Ryl. 213, 465).

The calves in the byres were fed at the expense of the State, regular supplies of corn and green food being delivered according to a special *διάγραμμα* (ll. 183 sqq.). Ovens (*κάμνοι*) for cooking the food formed part of the equipment; cf. P. Petrie III. 46, 4, 62 (c), Cairo Zen. 59273. From time to time calves were sent to Alexandria, and the State provided food for them during the journey (P.S.I. 409. 30-4, and an entry in an official account to be published in Part 2, *εἰς τροφήν μύσχω* . . . *πεμπομένων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*). The keepers of the calves were called *μοσχοτρόφοι*, whose position seems to have been similar to that of the *ύφορβοί* and *χρηνοβοσκοί*, i.e. they were *ύποτελείς* (cf. 5. 171-2). The *ίπποτρόφοι* or keepers of royal horses (842, P. Petrie III. 62 (b), (c), Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 167, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 331) were an analogous class.

It is remarkable that, while the *μοσχοτροφεία* is here so prominent, other branches of stock-breeding which were equally under the supervision of the oeconomi—those concerned with horses, pigs, and geese (see above and cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 328, 339)—are not mentioned at all. This prominence of State calf-breeding, together with the fact that mentions of it are found exclusively in documents of the early Ptolemaic period, suggests that it was a creation of the first Ptolemies which did not last long. The *ίπποτροφεία* also was apparently short-lived. On the other hand the attention here paid to calf-breeding and the neglect of analogous branches of industry show that the instruction as we have it did not aim at exhaustiveness and treated those subjects only which seemed for the time being the most urgent; cf. introd., pp. 70-1.

70-87. 'Take care that the corn in the nomes, with the exception of that expended on the spot for seed and of that which cannot be transported by water, be brought down . . . It will thus be easy to load the corn on the first ships presenting themselves; and devote yourself to such business in no cursory fashion . . . Take care also that the prescribed supplies of corn, of which I send you a list, are brought down to Alexandria punctually, not only correct in amount but also tested and fit for use.'

On the operations connected with the transport of corn to Alexandria see Rostowzew, *Archiv* iii. 201, Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. d. Lagides* iv. 64, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 376, Schubart, *Einf.* 431, W. Kunkel, *Archiv* viii. 183. Other texts in this volume dealing with the transport of grain are 704, 750, 753, 823-5; cf. P. Lille 53, Strassb. 93-5, Hamb. 17, introd.

71. ἐν τοῖς νομοῖς: the plural suggests that the original memorandum was intended for a man whose sphere of activity was not one nome but the whole of Egypt, possibly the dioecetes himself; cf. introd., p. 71.

73. ἀπλώτου, if correctly read, means probably the corn which for topographical or other reasons was unsuited for transport by water; cf. 823. 11, 92. 1-3 *Κερκεοσίρειως τῆς μὴ φρουρουμένης μηδ' οὔσης ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλου πλωτοῦ*, and P. Petrie II. 20. ii (W. 166), where the epimeletes is warned how much more the transport of corn would cost if carried out by land, not by water.

74. ἐπὶ οἱ εἰς τοὺς ὄρμους καταγ. would be a natural restoration (cf. e.g. P. Strassb. 93. 3-4, Lille 53. 9, 15), but the space is narrow for this, though the letter after *του* might well be ε, and π[ι or perhaps [ι] could follow. The obvious destination, however, was not necessarily expressed, and possibly an adverb like *εὐκαίρως* preceded *κατάγηται*. *κατάγειν* and *κατακομίζειν* are the regular terms for transport of goods to points of embarkation.

74-7. The gist of these lines is sufficiently plain, but the supplements adopted are no more than tentative. What the dioecetes desired evidently was to speed up the loading of the corn in the harbours. *ἐπισπουδασμός τοῦ πυροῦ* was a standing preoccupation of the government. Delays might be caused either by the slow forwarding of the corn to the harbours (P. Strassb. 93-5), or after arrival by the slow loading of ships (cf. P. Lille 3). For *παριστάμενα*, a verb often used with reference to transport and transport-animals, cf. B. G. U. 1741. 13 (= *Archiv* viii. 187), *παρεστάκαμεν εἰς ἃ ἀναδεδέγμεθα . . . κατάξεν*, Petrie II. 20. iv, Strassb. 93. 3, 94. 3, 5. 196, &c.

78-80. We have not found a satisfactory restoration of these lines. Unless the grammar has gone hopelessly astray, *διατριβόντων* is imperative, and the problem is to determine the reference in *τὰς ἰδίας* and the nature of the governing verb. With regard to the reading, the letter before the lacuna in l. 78 is represented by a vertical stroke which, if not ι, is consistent with γ, ν, π. In l. 79 *ἀλ[ι]γ[ ]* could well be read, but *ἀλκ[ ]* is possible. *ἀλκάς*, however, does not occur in papyri, and with *ἀλκ[ ]άδας* the sentence becomes difficult to complete; moreover, why should this word be brought in when the natural *πλοία* has just preceded? *ἀλκάξει* is in Hesychius, but is glossed *ἔλκει, χαλιναγωγέι*, so that there is no authority for the sense *γεμίζειν*, and γ]άρ . . . *τὰς ἰδίας* (sc. ναῦς) *ἀλκ[ ]άζουσι, τ]οῖς . . . μὴ διατριβ.* is objectionable, apart from the change to the feminine and the absence of a preposition with τ]οῖς. Perhaps then *ἰδία* here has its common meaning 'home' and *ἀλ[ ]ίγ[ ]ον* follows; but e.g. *εἰ[ ]δον γ]άρ . . . τὰς ἰδ., ἀλ[ ]ίγ[ ]ον δὲ τ]οῖς . . . ἐνδ]ιατριβ.* is unattractive. Some dislocation may be suspected.

80-7. A *διάγραμμα* stating the quantity of corn to be sent from each nome to Alexandria is here first heard of. Was it identical with the *διάγραμμα* mentioned in l. 133 and with the *σιτολογικὸν διάγραμμα οἱ τὸ διάγραμμα τὸ περὶ τῶν σιτικῶν* of P. Columbia 270. i. 14, iii. 8 (*Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* vi. 147)? It seems unnecessary to suppose that there was more than one *διάγραμμα* for the *σιτικά*, which was similar to the *διαγράμματα* appended to the various *νόμοι τελωνικοί*; cf. ll. 94-5, n., Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptol. Eg.*, pp. 31-3. The *γραφὴ ἀγορῶν*, which no doubt was based on the *διάγραμμα* but was more specific, is also new. In accordance therewith the transport was organized, i.e. various loads were assigned to various *ναύκληροι* (who contracted not with the oeconomus but with the dioecetes; cf. B. G. U. 1741 cited ll. 74-7, n.). The times to be observed may have been stated in the *ἐπιστολαί* (not to be confounded with the *ἀπόστολοι*, Kunkel, *Archiv* viii. 186) which were handed to the captains probably by the strategus but were written in Alexandria. For the regulation of the amounts of the cargoes cf. P. Lille II. 11. 2, and for the testing of the grain P. Hibeh 8. 17 (W. 441), Cairo Zen. 59177, Wilcken, *Chrest.* 432 introd., S. Protassowa, *Klio* xi. 510, Oertel, *Liturgie*, 259. The examination of the corn was



probably carried out by a special official, analogous to the *δοκιμαστής* who is known to have assisted the *τραπέζιται*; cf. P. Hibeh 106, introd.

84. ἀ]ποστέλλων is out of construction and should be either altered to ἀ]ποστέλλουτε or omitted. ἀ]ποστέλλων . . . καιρο]ύς was perhaps a later addition inserted as if ἐπιμελοῦ and not ἐπιμελές ἔστω had preceded; but this is of course a common form of anacoluthon.

87-117. 'Visit also the weaving-houses in which the linen is woven, and do your utmost to have the largest possible number of looms in operation, the weavers supplying the full amount of embroidered stuffs prescribed for the nome. If any of them are in arrears with the pieces ordered, let the prices fixed by the ordinance for each kind be exacted from them. Take especial care, too, that the linen is good and has the prescribed number of weft-threads. . . . Visit also the washing-houses where the flax is washed and make a list, and report so that there may be a supply of castor-oil and natron for washing. [Book?] always the monthly quantity of pieces of linen in the actual month and the quantity of the next month in the next, in order that the corresponding amounts may be apportioned (?) to the accounts of the treasury and the contractors. If there is any surplus over what is booked in the first month, let the surplus be booked in the next month as part of the monthly quantity. Let all the looms which are idle be transported to the metropolis of the nome, deposited in the store-house, and sealed up.'

Here begins a set of instructions concerning certain branches of industry which were managed wholly or partly by the government. The linen industry comes first, its position indicating its importance; cf. 769. 5. Unfortunately the middle part of the section is badly preserved, but the general purport is nevertheless sufficiently clear. It is laid down (1) that the maximum number of looms be operative; (2) that the prescribed kinds of linen be woven; (3) that the prescribed quantities be delivered, otherwise cash be paid for the arrears; (4) that the linen be of good quality. Detailed instructions are also given as to how record was to be kept of the product, which had to be divided according to its value between the State and the contractors. Finally, all idle looms were to be confiscated and kept under seal in special store-houses. Though the chapter is not comprehensive and only aims at instructing the *oeconomus* on the most important and probably the most controversial points with which he had to deal daily, it gives for the first time a more or less connected account of the organization of the linen industry in Ptolemaic Egypt, the few other documents which we possess being either fragmentary (Rev. Laws lxxxvii sqq.) or concerned with special points. It supplies also some information not to be found in the few modern treatments of the subject (Reil, *Beitr. z. Kenntnis des Gewerbes*, 107, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 247 and U.P.Z., p. 378, Chwostow, *Organization of industry and trade in Greco-Roman Egypt*, A. Persson, *Staat u. Manufactur*. The new data bear on the following points: (1) The strict control exercised by the State over the linen industry, all the looms and weavers being registered. Whether the weavers worked exclusively for the State is not yet ascertained. Possibly they worked on their own account after the delivery of the prescribed amount of linen to the Crown; but the fact that all idle looms were placed under seal speaks rather for a full monopoly. Home-work seems equally excluded by this treatment of weaving, for if it had been allowed, the State could hardly have prevented the product from being sold. (2) The *διάγραμμα ὀθονηρᾶς*, a schedule by which the work was distributed among the weavers, the prices of the varieties fixed, and the quality of the linen described; cf. n. on l. 94. (3) Payment of arrears in cash. (4) The special contractors. (5) Rules for accounting (cf. Rev. Laws, xvi).

88. ὕφαντίων seems to have previously occurred only in the compounded form *λινοφανετίων*, e.g. 5. 238.

89 sqq. It is probable that the weavers had special contracts with the government and the contractors of the *ὄθουηρά*, based on the νόμος τελωνικός and the διάγραμμα (l. 94), and similar to those made with the producers of wine, &c., as laid down in Rev. Laws. The weavers, however, were not forced to work like the *ἐλαιουργοί*, and the looms were their private property, though saleable only to professional workers (5. 237, P. Enteux. 5 (W. 305)).

90. *ιστέων* here and in l. 113 is for *-ίων* or *-είων*; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59176. 323 *ιστείων δύο*, Ryl. 70. 25.

92. It is tempting to place κ[α]ι after *ὑφαντῶν* and to suppose that in addition to plain linen the weavers had to deliver some embroidered stuffs. On *ποικιλία* see Blümner, *Technol.* I<sup>2</sup>. 218.

94-5. *συντεταγμένας ἔκτομάς*: cf. ll. 92, 96, 99, Rev. Laws ciii. 3 *δι'αγράμματι τ[ῶ]ι ἐκκειμένωι ἐπὶ τῆ[ι] δ[ὲ]θ[ο]ι[υ]ηρῶι*. Fragments of the linen-*διάγραμμα* are probably to be recognized in Rev. Laws xciv sqq. (list of different kinds of linen; cf. l. 96, P. Hibeh 67, 68 (W. 306), Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 40). The state paid for the woven linen in cash, the unit being a *ιστός*; the amount given for a certain quantity of *ιστοί* was subsequently distributed among the weavers. For *ἔκτομαί* cf. ll. 106, 113, P.S.I. 599. 14 (*ἐκτέμνεσθαι*), Blümner, *Technol.* I<sup>2</sup>. 164. 3. We would suggest that this word rather than *συντελείας* (Wilcken) should be supplied in P. Enteux. 5. 4 *τὰς ἐπιγεγραμμένας [ἡμῖν ἔκτομάς δι]δόναι εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν*.

95-7: cf. the Rosetta inscription (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 90), 29 sqq. *ὡσαύ[τως δὲ] καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν μὴ συντετελεσμένων εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν βυσσίνων δ[ε]φ[ο]ν[ι]ῶν καὶ τῶν συντετελεσμένων τὰ πρὸς τὸν δειγματισμὸν διάφορα ἕως τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων*, 5. 62-4, P. Eleph. 27 a and b. 11-14, Hal. 13, Cairo Zen. 59594. 3. It should be noted that in the temples the persons responsible for the arrears were not, as here, the weavers, but the priests in charge; how far the contractors of the *ὄθουηρά* were also responsible is not known. No doubt the temples occupied a special place in the linen-monopoly, but the details are obscure. An *ὄθουηρά* is mentioned in U.P.Z. 109. 12. A brisk trade in garments, table-linen, &c., was carried on by Ptolemy, the *κάτοχος* in the Serapeum at Memphis, and the twins, but whether they were dealing in new or worn linen, and whether their business was connected or not with the temple-management, is unknown. It is also uncertain whether the temples had any autonomy in the manufacture and disposal of linen, especially byssos; cf. 6. 23 and *Archiv* iv. 569, Rostovtzeff, *Journ. of Econ. and Busin. Hist.* iii. A certain independence in the fabrication of textiles was no doubt enjoyed by the *δωρεαί*. Documents dealing with textile factories abound in the correspondence of Zenon, and Apollonius himself shows a lively interest in such matters (Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 115-16, and *Journ. of Econ. and Busin. Hist.* iii, P. Mich. Zen. p. 37; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59080 (linen), 59087 (*βύσσωνα*), 59176. 322, 59241, 59295 (wool)). But the exact relations between Apollonius and the State in this regard are still dark.

96. *καθ' ἑκ. γένος*: cf. n. on ll. 94-5.

98. *ἀ[ρ]πεδόνας*: cf. Blümner, *Technol.* I<sup>2</sup>. 128. 3.

99-104. These lines have proved difficult. The hardly dubitable occurrence of *κίκιτε* [καὶ νίτρον] in ll. 102-3 indicates that the passage relates to workshops where linen was washed; cf. P.S.I. 349, where there is a question of the supply of *κίκι* to *λιεψοί*, P. Cairo Zen. 59304. 7 *μηδὲ οἱ λιεψοὶ ἀργῶσιν οὐκ ἔχοντες νίτρον*, Wilcken, *Ost.* ii. 329 and 1497 *νιτρικὴ πλύνου*, 406. 21-2 *χαλκίου . . . εἰς ἐψησιν λιῶν*. Since both *κίκι* and *νίτρον*, which were probably mixed to form a kind of soap for the washing operation, were monopolized, the oeconomus might well be required to check the amounts used of those substances. In l. 100 *ἐργασ]τήρια* is clearly too long; *ἐψη]τήρια*, which we have provisionally adopted, or

λοῦ]τήρια will, however, serve. In l. 101 [ὁ]λμοῦς is unsatisfactory since, although the remains well suit a λ, the preceding lacuna is insufficiently filled by ο; perhaps [ψν]γμοῦς. At the end of this line χαλκόν seems admissible, though the vestiges rather suggest ε or θ before ον; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59630 (χαλκίον at a βαφείον). ὄπ[ω]ς . . . ὑπάρχ[η] in l. 102-3 appears preferable to ὄπ[ο]ν . . . ὑπάρχ[ει]: ὄπ[όσο]ν is over long. An ink-mark above ὑπάρχ[ ] is probably not a letter. For εἰς τῆν εἴψησιν cf. 406. 22 cited above and P. Cairo Zen. 59304. 4, 7.

104-13. This section, which deals with accounting, is comparable with Rev. Laws xvi (W. 258) [δια]λογιζέσθω δὲ ὁ οἰκονόμος καὶ [ὁ] ἀ[ν]τιγραφεὺς πρὸς τοὺς τὰς ἀνάς ἔχοντα[ς καθ' ἑκά]στ[ον μῆν]α πρὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἰσ[τα]μένου περὶ τῶν γ[ε]ν[ε]νημέ[ω]ν ἐν τῶι ἐπάνω χρόνῳ . . . τὰ δ' ἐν τῶι ἐνε[στώ]τι μηνὶ γεγενημέ[να μὴ προσκατα]χωριζέτωσαν εἰς τῆν εἴ[π]ίνω ἀναφορὰν μηδὲ [μεταφε]-ρ[έτωσαν] ἐξ ἑτέρων εἰς ἕτερα μηδ' εἴ τις τῶν λογευτῶν ἢ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς π[ροσόδου] τῆς αὐ[τῶν] λαβῶν τι διορθοῦται, μη[δαμῶς το]ῦτο εἰ[ς] τὰ ἴδιον καταχωριζέσθω. ὅταν δὲ τὸν ἐχόμενον δι[αλο]γισμὸν πο[ιῶ]ντα[ι,] καὶ τὸ περιὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπ[ί]νω διαλογ[ισμοῦ] πρὸς τὴν πρόσδοον προσλ[αμβανέτω]σαν διαδηλοῦντες ὅσον ἦν τὸ π[ε]ριὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπάνω χρόνου: cf. U.P.Z. 112, iv. 13 ὁ δὲ διαλογισμὸς τῆς ἐγλήμψεως συσταθήσεται πρὸς αὐτοῖς κατὰ μῆνα ἐκ τῶν πιπτόντων ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν. The paragraph apparently prescribes that a fair reckoning should be held between the treasury and the contractor; that the monthly products should be separately booked to the months concerned, and if the first month yielded a surplus, this should be booked to the credit of the next month. For ἐκτομαί cf. l. 95, n. There are no directions as regards arrears and deficits, perhaps because the first were dealt with in ll. 93 sqq. and the second did not concern the oeconomus. We are, however, inclined to regard the omission as a further indication that 703 is an abbreviation of the original standard instruction.

But while the general sense of the passage is fairly clear, the wording in several places remains in doubt. ὅπως in l. 104 might introduce an independent jussive clause (cf. Mayser, *Gram.* ii. 231) concluding e.g. τ[ὸ] διδ[όμε]νον χ[ωρ]ῆ, which is palaeographically possible if not otherwise very satisfying. In l. 106, however, ὅπως δέ is apparently not to be read: the second letter may well be α, δ, or λ. The remnants of the first two letters after κα[ί] in the next line are on a small fragment which is not placed with certainty. At the beginning of l. 108 μ or π is admissible and e.g. σσ, ζ, ξ before εσθω: λογιζέσθω, κα[τα]χωριζέσθω, μεταφερέσθω do not suit.

113-17. Cf. ll. 155-7 on the oil-factories, and Rev. Laws xvii. 4 μηδὲ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις τὸν ἀργὸν τοῦ χρόνου ἀσφράγιστα ἀπολειπέτωσαν, xlvi. 8. At the oil-factories the sealing took place at idle times during the season of oil-making. For weaving there was probably no special season, but the looms were sealed when the weavers were not at work. The order for the removal of the looms from the metropolis and keeping them in special store-houses is new.

117-34. 'Audit the revenue accounts, if possible, village by village—and we think it not to be impossible, if you devote yourself zealously to the business—, if not, by toparchies, passing in the audit nothing but payments to the bank in the case of money taxes, and in the case of corn dues or oil-bearing produce, only deliveries to the sitologi. If there be any deficit in these, compel the toparchs and the tax-farmers to pay into the banks, for the arrears in corn the values assigned in the ordinance, for those in oil-bearing produce according to the liquid product for each kind.'

117-28. These instructions about the general audit of taxation accounts follow those on the linen-industry and precede those on the oil-factories. Is this their original position, or did the secretary of the dioecetes place this section after that on the linen-industry because he found at the end of the latter some directions for the special διαλογισμὸς with

the contractors there concerned? However that may be, we here learn that in the third century B.C. it was the *oeconomus* who audited the accounts of the local tax-collectors and reported on them to the *dioecetes*. The details of the procedure are also novel, practically nothing being known on this subject for the Ptolemaic period except with regard to the *διαλογισμός* connected with some of the farmed revenues (cf. n. on ll. 104-113). Wilcken accordingly confined his discussion to the Roman period (*Ost.* i. 499, *Grundz.* 33, *Archiv* iv. 369). Wilhelm, *Jahresh. des Öst. Inst.* xvii. 38, analyses the meagre data on the *διαλογισμός* outside Egypt.

The new information now obtained may be summarized as follows: (1) The *oeconomus* audited the accounts of payments to the State both in money and in kind. (2) The audit was based on the account-books of the banks and of the *sitologi*, no payments being passed which were not there entered. (3) The local unit, so far as possible, was the village; if the auditing of accounts by villages proved too difficult, the next unit was the toparchy. (4) The persons responsible for arrears were not the bankers and the *sitologi*, but the tax-farmers for those revenues which were farmed out and the toparchs for those which were not. This does not mean that the bankers and the *sitologi* escaped responsibility: their responsibility probably did not concern the *oeconomus*. (5) Arrears in corn were paid in cash according to a special tariff, arrears for oil-bearing produce were paid *ἐξ ἕγρου*, i.e. in cash according to the value of the estimated liquid content of the various produce concerned.

A few illustrations of these regulations may be seen in the papyri. P. Hibeh 69 contains an order given by the *oeconomus* Asclepiades to the banker of the *Καίτης τόπος* to come bringing with him his accounts and cash balance for the previous month. Evidently Asclepiades verified the accounts of his nome by toparchies, not by villages; and the audit was carried out monthly (cf. Rev. Laws xvi. 2). A monthly audit is also implied in P. Hibeh 42, a letter from Callicles, perhaps an *oeconomus*, to a toparch, which also exemplifies the proviso in 703 that only payments made to and booked by the *sitologi* were to be passed: *τὸν σίτον ὃν ἔφησ μεταβαλείσθα[ι] τοῖς παρὰ τῶν σιτολόγων* (probably *λογεῖται*: cf. e.g. P. Gradenwitz 3-5) *ὅσοι μὲν ἀνεηρόχασι* (cf. *μεταφέρειν* in ll. 103, 110 above) *ἔως Φαῶφι λ παραδεξόμεθα* (cf. l. 123 and U.P.Z. 113. iv. 13), *τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν, ἐὰν μὴ μεταβάλῃς ἕως Ἄθῃς ἢ, δώσομεν Δευκίῳ ἐν ὀφειλήματι*. Cf. P. Lille 3. 70 sqq., which shows that an analogous position with regard to the audit was occupied by the *topogrammateus*. The toparch, however, was the chief agent of the government in the collection of taxes; cf. Engers, *De Aeg. κωμῶν adm.* 58, Oertel, *Liturg.* 48, Pietrowicz, *Eos* xix. 134. He stood in close relation with the *sitologi* and bankers (cf. P. Hibeh 40), and also with the village officials, whose declarations concerning tax-collecting were addressed to the toparch (cf. 48. 5-9).

The *oeconomus* no doubt reported to the *dioecetes* on the results of his audit. An illustration of this may be found in P.S.I. 330, if the Zoilus who there writes to Apollonius was the *oeconomus*; though whether the report to be presented was of a general or special character is not clear. More explicit information is available for the official who from the second century is found discharging various functions formerly pertaining to the *oeconomus*, the *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων*, whose account to the *dioecetes* is referred to in 27. 35. *Διαλογισμός* is often mentioned in the correspondence of Zenon, who in his capacity as the manager of Apollonius' estate no doubt audited the accounts of his subordinates in much the same manner as the *oeconomus*. It is not easy to discriminate in this activity of Zenon between his private and his public functions; cf. P.S.I. 343, 360, 425, 439, P. Cairo Zen. 59291. 7, 59330. 3, 59362 verso 2, 59455. 4, 59516. 6, Mich. Zen. 31. 1, 21.

120-2. Cf. U.P.Z. 110. 159-60 and note *ad loc.*

128-34. This paragraph deals with arrears, a subject on which other evidence in the papyri is scanty. Arrears of various kinds are dealt with in several passages of 5 (ll. 10-21,

49, 62-6, 188-99; cf. 27), but they are concerned exclusively with the responsibility of tax-payers, not that of officials and tax-farmers. Toparchs, however, appear as collectors of arrears in P. Hibeh 41-2, Gurob 21-2; cf. 734; and there is no doubt that in the third century B.C. that function devolved principally on the toparch with his agents. So it remained in the later Ptolemaic and early Roman periods (cf. P. Amh. 31 (W. 161), 289 (W. 271)), with the difference that the parts of the *oeconomus* and *diocetes* were played ultimately by the *strategus* and *prefect*. In 289 the *strategus* threatens to send the toparch to the *prefect* at Alexandria, and probably enough in the Ptolemaic period dishonest toparchs were similarly treated by the *oeconomi*.

131-3. For the practice of *adaeratio* cf. 708 and P. Hibeh 45-7, 63-5. In the last of these a rate of 4 dr. per artaba occurs and was no doubt fixed in the *διάγραμμα* cited here in l. 133. This *διάγραμμα* is certainly identical with one or both of those mentioned in P. Columbia 270 (Westermann, *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* vi. 147) i. 13 ἀπομετρείωσαν τὸν σίτον εἰς τὸ ἐκφόριον ἐν τῷ ἐμ Φιλαδελφείαι θησαυρῷ κατὰ τὸ σιτολογικὸν διάγραμμα ἐμ μηνὶ Δαυσίῳ, and iii, 8 δεῖ . . . τὴν τιμὴν παντὸς ὑποθεῖναι κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα τὸ περὶ τῶν σιτικῶν ἐκκείμενον. The second of them, which fixed the price of the various kinds of corn, is no doubt the same as that mentioned in l. 133; the first recalls the *διάγραμμα* referred to in ll. 81-2 (cf. l. 187). Since the two are given different names, it would be permissible to discriminate between them and to assume that the first dealt with the payment of taxes in kind and the distribution of the corn in the *θησαυροί*, while the second contained a tariff for the *adaeratio* and was concerned chiefly with arrears. But since, so far as is known, any given νόμος *τελωνικός* had appended to it only one *διάγραμμα*, which apparently did not consist merely of a tariff of prices, it is safer to suppose that there was equally only one for the collection and distribution of *σιτικά*, with the general title of *διάγραμμα περὶ τῶν σιτικῶν*, of which one part dealt with the collection of normal taxes and another with that of arrears.

On *διαγράμματα* in general cf. Wilcken, P. Hal. pp. 36, 42, U.P.Z. 112. i. 6-8, n., *Zeitschr. Sav.-St.* xlii. 129, Semeka, *Ptol. Prozessrecht* i. 156<sup>4</sup>, Collomp, *Recherches sur la Chancellerie des Lagides*, 2, Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptol. Eg.* pp. 31-3.

133-4. Cf. ll. 127, 144. *φορτία* usually means exclusively oil-bearing produce, not the oil itself (so e.g. Rev. Laws xliii. 14, P. Petrie III. 43 (2), i. 4, 5. 195, 105. 24); but in l. 144 the word exceptionally seems to include both oil and material. According to l. 127 the *φορτία* were paid as dues to the *σιτολόγ* by the growers. Strangely such payments are never mentioned in the Rev. Laws, either in the chapters dealing with the gathering of crops by the cultivators and with the payments of the *ἀτελείς* (xlii-iii) or in those relating to the *διαλογισμός* (liv. 20-lv. 16).

ἐξ ὑγροῦ does not mean that the arrears were paid in oil, for since the payments were made to the bank they were evidently effected in money. The amount due was calculated not according to the price of the *φορτία* but of the oil which it was estimated they would produce, the prices being no doubt fixed in the *διάγραμμα τῆς ἐλακῆς*. This might be either profitable or detrimental to the tax-farmers, because the quantity of oil in the *φορτία* was subject to variation (cf. Rev. Laws, p. 128). For ὑγρὸν cf. P. Gnom. 103, where Th. Reinach (*Nouv. Rev. hist. du droit* xlv) rightly interpreted ὑγρά as oil and wine.

134-64. 'It behoves you to bestow care on all the points mentioned in the memorandum, but primarily those which refer to the oil-factories. For if you duly give heed to them you will increase not a little the sale in the nome, and the thefts will be stopped. This you would achieve by scrutinizing on each occasion the local factories and the store-houses for the produce both dry and liquid, and by sealing them. Be sure that the amounts delivered to the oil-makers do not exceed what is about to be used in the presses which

exist in the factories. Take pains to let all the oil-presses be in operation if possible; or if not, most of them, and keep as close a watch as you can on the rest. . . . The super-numerary implements of those presses which are not in operation must be collected and sealed up in the store-houses. If you are neglectful(?) in this . . . be sure that besides the payments . . . you will fall into no ordinary contempt, which you will not be able easily to remove. If you neglect your duty as regards this, [your honour will in no way increase].'

This paragraph deals with the oil-monopoly, a subject on which our information is unusually good, chiefly of course through Rev. Laws, in which the νόμος ἐλακῆς of Ptolemy Philadelphus is almost completely preserved. Some further data on the workmen in the oil-factories occur in 5. 172-3; texts in the Zenon correspondence throw light on the importation of olive-oil from abroad (P. Cairo Zen. 59012, 59015), and some other details (cf. e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59375, 59412); and a few scattered documents (e.g. Wilcken, *Christ.* 300-4) refer to the sale of oil and the abuses connected with it. Cf. Reil, *Beiträge z. Kenntn. d. Gewerbes*, 136, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 271, P. Edgar 75, introd., and 728.

Nevertheless the present passage is by no means without value, owing to the fact that the dioecetes lays emphasis, not on points exhaustively treated in Rev. Laws or on the relations between the State and the workmen, but on methods of increasing output and preventing illicit fabrication and sale. Its place here is hardly logical, being occasioned by the mention of ἐλακὰ φορτία in the last line of the paragraph on the διαλογισμός, just as that was placed not improbably after the section on the linen industry because it ended by speaking of the operations of διαλογισμός in connexion with that industry; cf. n. on ll. 117-28. The dioecetes, however, was at pains to impress upon the oeconomus the importance of the subject thus introduced. No doubt the Ptolemaic oil-monopoly was subject to the abuses to which every monopoly is liable. The orders here given are: (1) to inspect the oil-factories and store-houses and to seal them up (ll. 141-5); (2) to keep under strict control the quantities of raw material delivered to the factories (ll. 145-8; cf. 728); (3) to keep the maximum number of oil-presses at work (ll. 149-52); (4) to seal up inoperative presses (ll. 152-5); (5) to keep in a safe place all the instruments belonging to such idle presses (ll. 152-7).

139. διάθεσις: cf. 38. 10, n., 709. 1, 728. 1, &c., P. Lille 3. iii. 58, and e.g. Plut. *Mor.* p. 297 f, Strabo xi, p. 496. διάθεσις seems to be the technical term for the sale of products effected by contractors with the Crown.

140. ἐπίδοσις: cf. l. 166. There seem not to be other examples in the papyri of ἐπίδοσις in the sense of increase, which in literary texts is common.

διακλεπτόμενα: cf. P. Hibeh 59. 7, n. (W. 302). The frequent smuggling and illicit sale of oil led to searches in private houses and to confiscations of the property of the smugglers, and infringements of the Crown monopolies might involve severer punishments, e.g. crucifixion (ἀποτυμpanισμός: cf. Wilcken U.P.Z. 119. 37 n., Κεραμόπουλλος, Ὁ ἀποτυμpanισμός) or cutting off of hands (P.S.I. 442. 9).

141. ἐπισταθήσεται: cf. P. Petrie II (20) ii. 6 ἵνα οὖν μὴ ἡ ἐξαγωγή τοῦ σίτου ἐπισταθῆι.

142. παρ' ἑκαστον καιρόν: i.e. on the occasion of each visit.

142-5. ἐξετασμός and παρασφραγισμός are associated operations; cf. e.g. Rev. Laws xxv. 9, xl. 19, I.G. II<sup>1</sup>. 476, Viedebandt, *Hermes* li. 120 sqq. The dioecetes does not state when or for how long the factories and store-houses had to be under seal or the reasons for sealing them, and perhaps the sentence was an addition, or an abbreviation of something more explicit. Fortunately it can be amplified from Rev. Laws, which show that παρασφραγισμός was applied both to State factories (xliv, xlvi-vii) and temple factories (l. 20); the same procedure was used for the wine-presses (xxvi). The sealing up of the store-

houses is mentioned in liv. 18 sqq.; cf. lvii. 23. All the factories were registered by the oeconomus, and except during their rather short season of work were kept under seal. The delivery of raw material to the factories took place during the season only and under the control of the oeconomus (Rev. Laws liv. 19). On the sealing up of presses during the season, see n. on ll. 151-8.

145-8. Cf. Rev. Laws xlv. 5-7, xlv. 13-18, xlvi, P. Hibeh 43. 2, Cairo Zen. 59565, P.S.I. 358. It is noticeable that in the present passage anxiety is shown to prevent too much material from being delivered to the factories rather than too little. Probably the government was frequently cheated through collusion between the officials and the contractors as to the delivery of material and the registration of mortars.

There is a short blank space between *ἐχοις* and *καί*, and *καί . . . ἦ* is best regarded as an independent prohibitive sentence similar to P. Par. 5. xv. 3 *μη' ἐξῆμι αὐτῶι*; cf. Maysen, *Gram.* ii. 147. But possibly something like *φρόντιζε ὅπως* has dropped out.

149-51 correspond to ll. 89-91, which gave the same instructions as regards the linen-industry. Some factories possessed many mortars; cf. Rev. Laws l. 23-5.

151-8. Cf. the similar prescriptions in ll. 113-16 about the implements used in weaving. Since, however, the mortars were too heavy to be removed, instructions are here added as to how to put them out of action by stuffing them with reeds and some other substance before sealing; cf. Rev. Laws xlv. 1 *καὶ χαρ[ά]ξαν[τες] ἐπισημανόσθωσαν*. The νόμος *ἐλακῆς* of Rev. Laws contains no detailed prescriptions on this subject, but speaks in a general way of sealing up inactive presses (*ἄργαλα*) both during the working season and in the period between seasons; the working season is probably meant in xlvii. 1 sqq.

The construction in ll. 153-4 seems faulty; in the latter *ἐπ' αὐ[το]ί[ς] κα* hardly suits the space. For the spelling *ἐργαλέα* for *-εῖα* cf. l. 90 *ιστέων* and Maysen, *Gram.* i. 67. In l. 157 there is another anacoluthon; *συναγόντες* not *συναγ.* was apparently written.

158-64. The purport of ll. 158-9 seems to be 'If you are unable accurately to identify the inactive implements', but the wording remains in doubt. *καί* at the beginning of the sentence is very uncertain; *ὅτι* is not impossible. At the end of the line only slight vestiges remain and it is not clear whether *τούτοις* or *τούτῳ* was written. In l. 159 *στασις* is more suitable than *σταθῆς*. Perhaps *διστάσις* or *νοστάσις* might be restored, followed by *τάργ. μ[ὴ] ἐξ[ο]νομά[σας]*. In case of failure the oeconomus not only had to pay the *διάφορα* but would forfeit his good reputation. *διαφόρων* may mean the difference, i.e. the loss to the *ὠνή* (cf. e.g. Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 90. 30), or simply, as often, money (cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 4 (3) 9, U.P.Z. 3. 7, 4. 12). The choice will depend partly on the preceding word, which could perhaps be *τῆι διαθείσει*; but the letter before the *ι* may be *α* or *ω*. The moral blame attaching to an official in case of dishonesty is often referred to, e.g. P.S.I. 330. 6-7, where *ἀτιμία* and *διάφορον* are associated, as here; cf. 27. 75, U.P.Z. 110. 127. In ll. 163-4 the construction and sense are obscure. *καταμίμψεται σε* would perhaps be tolerable, *γένος* meaning either family or brother-officials. *ι* of *οὐθενί* was apparently a subsequent insertion, due not unlikely to the writer of the superscribed . . . *ων*. After *τιμῆν, τῶν* is possible and . . . *ων* should follow, but the corrector ought then to have placed these letters further to the right.

165-74. 'Since the revenue from the pasturage dues, too, is one of the most important, it will most readily be increased if you carry out the registration (of cattle) in the best possible way. The most favourable season for one so engaged is about the month of Mesore; for the whole country in this month being covered with water, it happens that cattle-breeders send their flocks to the highest places, being unable to scatter them on other places.'

The dues for pasturage, which are here said to have been among the chief revenues of the Crown, are treated immediately after the most important monopolized industries, probably because all the natural pasture-land was owned by the State. Our information on the *ἐννόμιον* in Ptolemaic times is poor; see Wilcken, *Ost.* i. 265, Lesquier, *Inst. mil. sous les Lagides*, 215, P. Hibeh 32 introd., Ryl. 314, Gradenwitz 8 introd., Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 199, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* vi. 175, note 4. The pasture lands were of various kinds (Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 211, 342),—natural uncultivated meadows (*νομαὶ ἐκτὸς μισθώσεως*), fields cultivated for producing grass (*χορτονομαὶ*), arable land sown with grass in the years of rest or after the harvest and producing *χλωρά* and *ἐπίσπορα* (cf. 714). Was the *ἐννόμιον* a tax paid for the actual use of the *νομαὶ* owned by the State or was it a general tax paid by owners of cattle regardless of whether they used the *νομαὶ* or not? Documents like B.G.U. 1223, probably contracts between cattle-owners and the State for the use of public pasture lands, and P.S.I. 351, 361, 368, P. Cairo Zen. 59206, rather suggest that the tax was paid for all cattle privately owned and that for the use of special *νομαὶ* special arrangements were required. The fact that a special registration of cattle for the purpose of levying the tax is prescribed by the dioecetes points to the same conclusion. This registration in the month of Mesore is not identical with the *ἀναγραφή* of *γεωργικὰ κτήνη* mentioned in ll. 63 sqq. above, nor with the general *ἀπογραφαὶ* of persons, cattle, &c.; its purpose was to check at a given moment the existing registers. The basic documents for levying the *ἐννόμιον* were no doubt the declarations handed in by the cattle-owners; cf. P. Hibeh 33. 2 sqq. (W. 243), Petrie III. 72 (b) 3 (W. 292), Ryl. II, pp. 314–15. The amount of money paid for the *ἐννόμιον* is mentioned in P. Petrie III. 109 (b).

168–9. *περιπ[ ]* could also be read, but not *περιπ[λ]έοντι*. The reading adopted is not altogether satisfactory.

174–82. ‘See to it, too, that the goods for sale be not sold at prices higher than those prescribed. Make also a careful investigation of those goods which have no fixed prices and on which the dealers may put what prices they like; and after having put a fair surplus on the wares being sold, make the . . . dispose of them.’

If [ᾶ]νια, which seems to suit the context better than the name of any particular product, is rightly restored, this paragraph gives general prescriptions on the sale of goods produced, with special reference to the duties of the oeconomus. Since the subject of sale has not previously been treated, some mention of it here is natural enough.

174–6. The dioecetes divides the goods into two classes, those which were sold according to a special tariff, i.e. the goods produced by the fully nationalized branches of industry, and those for which there were no fixed prices and sold *τοῦ εὐρίσκοντος*. To the first class belonged the wares subject to the *νόμος ἐλαικῆς*, the tariff of prices appended to which is extant in Rev. Laws xl. (cf. lv. 1–3); see also P. Lille 3. iii. 55–61 (W. 301), Petrie II. 38 (b) (W. 300). That a corresponding tariff existed for linen seems probable from Rev. Laws xci. 2–5, xciv–v, xcvi, and Wilcken, *Chrest.* 308, but the evidence is not decisive. For how many branches of industry the sale was organized on the same lines we do not know. It may be presumed for the *μιτρική* (cf. P. Hibeh 116, recto and introd.), and perhaps for the *ἀλική* (Wilcken, *Grundz.* 279) and *χαρτηρά* (709, cf. Zucker, *Philol.* xxiv. 89 sqq., xxviii. 184 sqq.). The *ἀρωματική* and the sale of metals are likely to have been handled similarly; cf. Wilcken, *Schmoller's Jahrb.* xlv. 98.

176–8. *ῥα δ' ἂν κτλ.*: this is the second class. *ἑστηκυῖαι τιμαὶ* means fixed price, while *ἐνεστώσαι τιμαὶ* is used for current price, e.g. B.G.U. 1220. 27, though sometimes the current price if enforced by the government became equivalent to fixed price; cf. e.g. Dittenberger,



*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 799. 20-1 ὅπως . . . μηδὲ εἰς τῶν πιπρασκόντων τι κατὰ μηδὲνα τρόπον πλείονος ἐπιβάλληται πιπράσκειν τῆς ἐνεστώσης τιμῆς. In the absence of ἐστηκεῖα τιμαί it was left to the ἐργαζόμενοι to fix them. The word ἐργάζεσθαι has a wider sense than to do the work of a craftsman, and means to engage in any kind of profitable work, such as agriculture (e.g. P.S.I. 432), handicraft (e.g. P. Petrie III. 36 (d). 4, 8, &c., Dittenberger. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 873), and trade (e.g. *Inscr. Gr. ad r. R.* p. iv. 789, 791, 841, &c.; cf. Robert, *Rev. ét. gr.* xlii. 33). In the present passage the word probably designates the business men who bought the right (mostly exclusive) to exercise a certain trade and to sell the products; cf. e.g. P. Fay. 93. 5 sqq. (W. 317, 161 A.D.) βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρά σου τὴν μυροπωλ[α]τικὴν καὶ ἀρωματικὴν ἐργασίαν κτλ., a sub-lease without the right of selling the goods in the town markets but including the right of selling during the fairs, Brit. Mus. 183. 9 γραφικῆ, 906. 6 (W. 318) χρυσο-χ[οι]κὴν ἐργασίαν, Fay. 36. 6 (W. 316) πλινθοποιίας καὶ πλινθοπωλικῆς, Bouriant 13 ὄρβισπωλία, Ryl. ined. ap. Rostovtzeff, *Large Éstate*, p. 121 μαγειρικῆ, 6. 25 ἐμπορία καὶ ἐργασία, *Rev. Belge* iv. 652, *Archiv* viii. 79. Most branches of the productive activity of the population were organized in such a way that the right of engaging in them and selling the produce was let by the government to contractors. Sometimes the right of sale only was leased; cf. e.g. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-1, P. Cairo Zen. 59176. Most of these contractors no doubt fixed the prices of their goods according to the conditions of the market, not a prescribed tariff.

178-82. τ[ά]σσειν: 'to fix' (so too l. 180). In papyri τιμὴν τ. more commonly = to pay. The terms used here and in the preceding lines are remarkably similar to those of a letter of the thirty-ninth year of Philadelphus published in *Racc. Lombroso*, 119, ἀποστειλάντων ἡμῶν . . . φορτία λιβανωτικά εἰς τὴν αὐτόθι διάθεσιν ἀπήγγελλεν ὁ παρακομίσις κεκαλωκέναι σε προφερόμενόν σοι δὲν τὴν τιμὴν τάσσεισθαι . . . οὐ μὴν γε ἀπεστάλακαμεν Ἀσκληπιύιδην καὶ Σεμβία διαθησομένους καὶ συναναγκάσσοντας τοὺς συντεταγμένους τὴν τετάρτην τῶν [μ]ύρων τ[ά]σσεισθ[αι]. Asclepiades and Semtheus there play the part of the oeconomus in our passage. οἱ συντεταγμένοι were probably the retail traders who had entered into an agreement with the government and received therefore permission to sell the goods (cf. P. Giessen Bibl. 2. 16, ἄν)εν συντάξωσ κ[αί] τῆς εἰθισμένης [συνχ]ωρήσεως, Lille 59, Cairo Zen. 59199, and Mich. Zen. 36. It is tempting in l. 182 to restore συντεταγμένους, but this does not suit the slight remains.

ἐπιγένημα has in *Rev. Laws* two senses. It usually means the surplus divided between the contractor and his companions and representing the gain from their operations. The second meaning was defined *op. cit.* p. 131 as follows: 'τὸ ἐπιγένημα τοῦ ἐλαίου is the whole difference between the cost price and the selling price of sesame-oil, not merely the share of this surplus which the contractors received as pay for their trouble in superintending the manufacture.' Similarly here the oeconomus was to add to the cost a proportional surplus, the whole constituting the selling price. After deduction of the sums paid to the government (they varied according to the product), the remainder represented the net gain of the contractor. It is evident that even in those branches of trade for which no fixed prices were officially dictated trade was by no means free, since the prices were thus subject to control.

183-91. 'Take care to inspect the calf-byres also, and do your best to ensure that the corn be supplied in them till the time of the green food, and the quantity prescribed daily be used for the calves, and that the . . . be delivered regularly in full, both that from the locality and, if they need in addition an imported supply, from other villages as well.'

See n. on 66-70. In l. 185 a vestige after παρ suits a vertical stroke, but ε is not excluded. μέχρι in the next line is apparently to be taken in a temporal sense, the reference being to the age of the calves rather than the season of the year; cf. l. 68. In

l. 188 ἄχϣ[ρ]ο[ν] suggests itself, but is not satisfactory, since the lacuna after τ[ό] is inadequately filled while the final letter would be cramped. An alternative, however, is not obvious.

191-211. 'Take care also that of the local trees the planting of the mature ones be done at the right season, namely for willows and mulberry-trees, and that of acacia-trees and tamarisk about the month of Choiak. Of these the rest must be planted on the royal embankments, but the young ones must be planted in beds in order to have all possible attention during the time of watering, and when it is the proper time for planting, then let them . . . set them on the royal embankments. The guarding of them must be done by the contractors in order that the plants suffer no damage from sheep or any other cause. In your further tours of inspection notice also whether any cut trees are left on the embankments or in the fields and make a list of them.'

The construction here becomes clumsy. In l. 194 τῶν τὴν ὥραν ἐχόντων ξύλων looks like a later addition to the text, and the combination of dative and genitive in ll. 195-6 is awkward. τὰ δέ would be preferable to κ[αὶ] τὰ in l. 198, but τὰ is not to be read.

The information contained in this paragraph is almost entirely new. It appears that upon the oeconomi devolved a general control over the planting, guarding, and cutting of trees and bushes. That the felling of trees, even on private property, was strictly regulated was known from 5. 205-6 (cf. P. Enteux. 37. 5-6), but there was not much elsewhere in papyri of the Ptolemaic period concerning arboriculture; cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 292 sqq. For the Roman period the evidence, though scanty enough, was rather fuller; cf. P. Oxy. 53, 1112, 1188, 1421, and other documents collected and discussed by Plaumann, *Abh. Berl. Ak. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1918, 27 sqq. Then, as in modern times, the trees in Egypt were commonly planted on embankments. Those on public embankments were naturally regarded as property of the State and were under the supervision of the idiologus; Plaumann's view that the idiologus was responsible only for dead trees and branches does not seem at all probable. The cutting of these trees was carefully organized. After an inspection (P. Oxy. 53 and 1188) the right to fell the trees or to lop branches was assigned by auction (P. Oxy. 1112 and 1188). How far trees growing on private ground were the property of the landowners is uncertain.

703 usefully supplements the information supplied by the Zenon papyri concerning the organization of tree culture and the lumber trade. Timber in the Arsinoïte nome was scarce, and supplies for the domain of Apollonius were bought in other parts of the country (P. Cairo Zen. 59106, 59112, 59449, P.S.I. 429. 12; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 123). It was needed for cooking and sacrifices (P. Cairo Zen. 59154, 59176. 195, 59244), wagons and agricultural implements (ibid. 59176. 44), houses (ibid. 59193, P. Mich. Zen. 41, 84, P.S.I. 496. 2-4), and ships (P. Cairo Zen. 59270, 59648-9, P.S.I. 382, 545). Hence the planting of trees at Philadelphia was one of the preoccupations of Zenon; cf. e.g. 59157. 4-5 ἀξιόλογον γὰρ ὕψην παρέχεται τὸ δένδρον (fir) καὶ εἰς χρεῖαν ὑπάρξει τῷ βασιλεῖ. The government would naturally desire to be as little dependent as possible on imported wood, which is seldom mentioned in Zenon's correspondence (e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59755. 8). Its care for the home supply is seen in this passage of 703, which shows how the trees were planted in nurseries and when old enough transplanted to the embankments, where special contractors were responsible for them, i.e. the ξυλική represented an ὄνη like the ἐλακὴ, ὄθονηρά, &c. Felled trees both on the embankments and in the fields were from time to time inspected and catalogued by the oeconomus. In the light of these provisions it appears that a paragraph of 5 has been hitherto misunderstood. Lines 200 sqq. run: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς βα(σιλικούς) γεω(ργούς) καὶ τοῦ[ς] ἱερείς] καὶ τοὺς (ἄλλους) τοὺς τὴν ἐν ἀφέσει γῆν ἔχ[οντας καὶ] μὴ καταπεφ(υ)ευκότας τὰς καθη[κ(ούσας) φυ(τείας)?] ἕως τοῦ να (ἔτους)

τῶν ἐξακολουθούντων προστίμων, τὴν δὲ φυτεῖαν ποιέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους). καὶ τοὺς κεκοφύτας τῶν ἰδίων ξύλα παρὰ (τὰ) ἐκ(κ)είμενα προστάγματα. Here *φυτεῖα* has generally been taken to mean the cultivation of cereals. But why should this be inserted between a paragraph about the embankments and another about cutting trees? If the passage deals with compulsory planting of trees on the State embankments, the sequence is much more natural, and the omission of the dioecetes in 703 to say who were the persons that planted the trees is made good: it was the duty of all landholders to plant them. The planting of a certain number on the embankments was probably incumbent upon each individual, who in case of neglect was fined without being relieved of his obligation. Fines were also imposed on those who disregarded the special orders concerning trees which grew on private land. Whether the fragmentary decree SB. 4626 forbidding the felling or mutilation of trees refers to those grown on private ground or on royal embankments is uncertain.

192. ἐπιχωρίων: trees of local growth as opposed to *ξενικὰ ξύλα* (P. Giessen 67. 9).

193-6. *πρέποντα καιρὸν* . . . *Χοιαχ*: trees were planted in Egypt from about December to February; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59125, 59156-7, 59159, 59222, 59736, P.S.I. 499.

195-6. *ιτέαις*: cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* iii. 1, 13. 7, iv. 10. 6, v. 9. 5, SB. 5807 *ιτέαινα* (willow growth in a vineyard). For *σुकάμνος*, *ἀκάνθη*, and *μυρική* cf. Reil, *Geogr.* 72-3.

197-8. τῶν βασιλικῶν χ[ω]μάτων: cf. l. 203. The epithet *βασιλ.* appears to imply the existence of private embankments; cf. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 38.

198-203. On planting trees in nurseries cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* iv. 4. 3 *σπείρεται* (μῆλον Μηδικὸν ἢ Περσικόν) δὲ τοῦ ἥρου εἰς πρασιάς ἐξαιρεθέν τὸ σπέρμα διειργασμένας ἐπιμελῶς, εἶτα ἀρδεύεται διὰ τετάρτης ἢ πέμπτης ἡμέρας. ὅταν δὲ ἄδρὸν ἢ διαφυτεύεται πάλιν τοῦ ἔαρος εἰς χωρίον μαλακὸν καὶ ἔφνυρον καὶ οὐ λιαν λεπτόν, *Geogr.* xi. 5 κυπαρίσσου τὸ σπέρμα συλλέγεται μὲν μετὰ καλάνδας Σεπεμβρίας, σπείρεται δὲ εἰς πρασιάς ἀπὸ τῆς θ καλανδῶν Νοεμβρίων ἕως χειμῶνος . . . καὶ μεταφυτεύουσιν, x. 86 καὶ ἀρδεύουσι καθ' ἡμέραν ἕως ἂν βλουστήσῃ καὶ ἐπειδὴν γένηται διετῆς ἢ τριετῆς μετακομίζουσι σὺν ταῖς ῥίζαις, Plato, *Theaet.* 149 E, and on transplantation after attainment of a certain age, Theophr. *Hist. pl.* ii. 17, Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 4, *Geogr.* xi. 18. 14. In l. 202 the participle of a word like *μεταφυτεύω*, *μετακομίζω*, or *μεταφέρω* seems desirable, but these are too long for the lacuna.

203-7. The part of the contractors in the *ξυλική* was probably similar to that which they played in the management of other *ὠναί*. They cut the trees which were mature and sold the wood, with the concurrence of the oeconomus (ll. 207-10). Animals and especially sheep are detrimental to young trees (cf. P. Ryl. 138. 7, 152. 10, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 305), and no doubt, as in modern Egypt, they were often on the embankments.

210: τοῖς πεδίοις: cf. l. 29, above; whether private or State land is meant is not clear.

211-14. 'Make also a list of the royal houses and the gardens belonging to them, stating what attention each one of these requires, and report to us.'

Cf. 701. 176, P. Cairo Zen. 59633. 1-2 (*βασιλείως κατάλυμα*), 59664. 1, and 59758. 7 (*βασιλεια*), and the *βασιλικὸς κήπος* near Memphis in P.S.I. 488. 12. The reference may be to villas like those represented on the walls of the Pharaohs' and magnates' tombs or to gardens with buildings attached which yielded a certain revenue to the king; cf. the description of an estate which formerly belonged to the king in the Sardis inscription published in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1912, p. 78, i. 14 sqq. καὶ ἐξω τῆς αἰλῆς εἰσὶν οἰκίαι τῶν λαῶν καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ παράδεισοι δύο σπόρον ἀρταβῶν δεκάπεντε, and the editor's note on the royal *παράδεισοι* in Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia. An *οἰκῆσις στρατηγική* occurs in P. Par. 66. 67 (W. 385).

215-22. 'Take care, too, that the matter of the native soldiers be arranged according to the memorandum which we compiled on the men who absconded from their work and

the . . . sailors, in order that . . . (all?) those men who fall into your hands may be kept together until they are sent to Alexandria.'

This paragraph deals with the native soldiers and the sailors, of whom a number had apparently absconded. The restoration of ll. 219-20 is difficult, but it seems most probable that καὶ . . . ἀποστο[λ]ῆς is to be constructed with what precedes and is not an independent sentence. If so, both the soldiers and the sailors were regarded as ἀνακεχωρηκότα σώματα, and the sentence which begins with ὅπως, prescribing that they should be caught, kept together for a while, and sent to Alexandria, refers to the two groups alike.

The μάχιμοι here referred to can hardly be the native soldiers engaged on various police duties (Oertel, *Liturgie*, 23, Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* 177-8). Apparently there were at the time of the memorandum a number of native soldiers who had deserted from the army and were treated in the same way as people who fled from their work and lived in hiding (cf. 725, 731, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 27, Rostovtzeff, *Studien*, 74, *Large Estate*, 76, &c.). Other instances of such desertion are P. Cairo Zen. 59590 + Mich. Zen. 82 and the Rosetta decree (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. Inscr.* 90), ll. 19-20 προ(σ)πέταξεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς καταπορευομένους ἕκ τε τῶν μαχίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλότρια φρονησάντων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ταραχὴν καιροῖς κατελθόντας μῆνεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων κτήσεων. That decree was intended to liquidate the civil war which broke out soon after the battle of Raphia (B.C. 217), in which a prominent part was played by the native troops organized by Philopator (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. d. Lag.* i. 315, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 20, Tarn, *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* vii. 728 sqq.). A similar attitude towards rebels was shown by Euergetes II in 5. 6 προστετά[χα]σι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνακεχωρηκότας διὰ τὸ ἐνέχεσθαι λ[η]ΐαις καὶ ἐτέρα(ι)ς αἰτίας καταπορευομένους εἰς [τὰς ἰδίας ἐργ]άσεσθαι π[ρ]ὸς αἰς καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐργασί-α[ι]ς; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 27, U.P.Z. 111, introd., Preisigke, *Archiv* v. 301, and the situation in Egypt at the time of U.P.Z. 110 (164 B.C.). Presumably the present paragraph was prompted by conditions resembling those which occasioned the decrees of Epiphanes and Euergetes II,—a revolt of the native population connected with a foreign war or with dynastic troubles. We have suggested (p. 68) the period following the Syrian war of Euergetes I as a probable date for 703. An alternative which would suit the present passage well enough is the period of the battle of Raphia, when a new departure was made by the admission of a large number of natives to the army in addition to the existing μάχιμοι; cf. Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* 5-8.

The desertion of the sailors may have been connected with the same historical events as that of the μάχιμοι, but is quite capable of explanation without reference to any special circumstances. The work of a sailor, and especially of an oarsman, was one of the heaviest and most hated kinds of service both in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt; cf. the Rosetta inscription (Dittenberger, *Or. gr. Inscr.* 90) 68 προσέταξεν δὲ καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν εἰς τὴν ναυτείαν μὴ ποιῆσθαι, P. Par. 66 (W. 385), where οἱ εἰς τὸ ναυτικὸν κατακεχωρισμένοι are among those exempted from the compulsory work on the embankments, P.S.I. 502. 24, P. Gnom. 55, Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* 251 sqq., Oertel, *Liturgie*, 24, Kunkel, *Archiv* viii. 190 sqq.

217. τό: a mark which might be meant for an ι just above the line between ο and π remains unexplained; σοι, however, is inadmissible and ποι meaningless here.

219. απ. [. . .] ων: the second letter is probably π, μ being less suitable. ων is preceded by a vertical stroke; ]των is possible, but there is barely room for ἀπο[στα]τῶν.

220. There seems to have been a correction at the beginning of this line. The first few letters are blurred and may have been intentionally effaced, and the two or three preceding τον look like a second hand. π[άν]τα τὰ ἐμπ. suggests itself, but a partial restoration is unsatisfactory. For ἐμπ. (sc. τὰ σώματα) cf. e.g. 39. 20, Hdn. *Hist.* iii. 9. 10 θρέμματά τε τὰ ἐμπίπτοντα ἀπελαύνον . . . καὶ κώμας ἐμπιπρὰς τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας.

221. συνέχεται: a military term, to hold together, keep from dispersing.

222-34. 'Take particular care that no peculation or any other wrong take place. For every one resident in the country must clearly understand and believe that all acts of this kind have been stopped and that they are freed from the bad conditions of the past, no one having a right to do what he likes, but everything being managed in the best way; you will (thus) make the countryside secure and [will increase] the revenue in no small measure.'

This paragraph, which recalls ll. 40 sqq. above, seems to point to disturbances in the near past. For παραλογία cf. P. Amh. 33, 34, Giessen 61, 10, n.

230. There does not seem to be room in the lacuna for δ' after οὐ[θενός].

234. A word or phrase meaning 'you will benefit' or 'will increase' is required, but we have failed to find a satisfactory restoration. The problem is complicated by the fact that it is not clear whether some remains after the supposed ε belong to the original text or an interlineation. αδο might be λαο. εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἄξεις, as in ll. 139-40, is unsuitable.

234-57. 'Now to comprise everything and to deliver it to you in memoranda is not easy, owing to the variety of circumstances in consequence of the present situation. Be careful to see that nothing of what I have ordered in my memorandum is neglected, so far as possible, and likewise inform me concerning contingencies, in order that . . . For since all our business is necessarily conducted by correspondence . . . you should arrange for them to write about each of the injunctions sent, if possible . . . otherwise certifying the reasons, in order that . . . and that nothing of what has been specified be neglected. . . . If you act thus, you will fulfil your official duty and your own safety will be assured.'

The paragraph apparently gives general instructions how to act in unforeseen cases of an urgent character (ll. 241-4) and how to communicate with the dioecetes by letter (ll. 244-54). The introductory sentence again refers to the difficult times prevailing (ll. 236-7). It is noticeable that in this last part of the document the dioecetes speaks both of himself and of the addressee in the plural; cf. p. 71.

235-8. Cf. e.g. P. Tor. 1. 25 ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν καιρῶν περιστάσει, Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 194. 6 ὑπὸ χαλεπῶν] καὶ ποικίλων περιστάσεων κατεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν, Polyb. ii. 55. 8, Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 8. 6; times of war or revolution are referred to in all these passages.

The corrector seems to have forgotten to cancel the dittography in ll. 237-8.

241. Not φρο[ντί]ζετε.

243. In the latter part of the line ε. αν was perhaps preceded by λλ, but there seems to have been an alteration, perhaps by the second hand, and it is not easy to see what was meant.

244. Possibly χρηματίζεις [, followed by something like εἴ τι δέεται διεξόδου.

246-7. The penultimate letter of l. 246 seems to be τ, not π. ἐπ[ί] τ' ἐπειγμένοις, for ἦπ., could be read, but the termination may be -ως. τοὺς χω . . . are presumably the persons to whom αὐτοὺς in l. 249 refers: χωρ is possible, though unconvincing.

248. For the spelling παρασκευαστ[έ]ον cf. P. Petrie II. 13 (10) 5 σκεοφύλακα, and κατασκευαστέον in an Attic *defixio* cited by Schwyzer, *N. Jahrb. f. kl. All.* v. 252.

252-3. Perhaps εἰθέως, but the next word remains a difficulty. αλ or λλ is apparently to be read, not μ. In l. 253 κασι would be suitable, but the next letter does not look like ν. ξικαστα is a possibility.

253. δη[λου]μένων is very uncertain, neither the η nor the μ being at all convincing. There may be two letters before ε at the beginning of l. 254, but the second is not θ, and there would not be room for -[των in the lacuna. διαι[τεταγ]μένων is too long.

255. *τελέσσειν* looks like an early instance of the confusion of *ε* and *αι* (cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 107), but the construction is not very good, and perhaps *τελεσθήσεται* was intended.

257-80. 'But enough now on this subject. I thought it well to write down for you in this memorandum what I told you in sending you to the nome. I considered that your prime duty is to act with peculiar care, honestly, and in the best possible way . . . ; and your next duty is to behave well and be upright in your district, to keep clear of bad company, to avoid all base collusion, to believe that, if you are without reproach in this, you will be held deserving of higher functions, to keep the instructions in your hand, and to report on everything as has been ordered.'

261-71. A concluding paragraph emphasizing the more important principles of conduct. Lines 264-9 remain obscure. At the end of l. 265 the doubtful *σ* may be *π*. In l. 266 either *ελάχιστα* or *-τον* is possible, and in l. 268 the letter before *εις* can be *μ*, *π* or *σ*. In l. 269 the uncertainty of the context leaves open the choice between *καίπερ* and *καί περί*: the letters after *ρ* have perhaps been altered.

262. *ἡγεμονικός* is a word with philosophical associations (Plato, Aristotle, Zeno).

270. *εὐ μ*. seems preferable to *έκμ*.

272. *ἀκαμπτείν* is apparently not otherwise attested.

273. *φαύλοις*: so e.g. Thucyd. vi. 21 *φαύλου στρατιᾶς*.

280. In the space below this line some writing appears to have been effaced.

#### 704. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING CORN-TRANSPORT.

18.

Fr. 3 18.6 × 29 cm.

B.C. 208.

The principal component of this text is a letter of reprimand from a dioecetes to an official named Artemon, perhaps the oeconomus of the nome, complaining of delay in the transport of arrears of corn-dues, whereby an increase in the freight-charges was involved. Artemon is warned that the additional expense would fall upon himself, and is urged to expedite the transport, for which all beasts of burden in the nome were to be utilized except those engaged in ploughing. On the subject of the corn-transport see 703. 70-87 and the accompanying commentary. A copy of the letter of the dioecetes (ll. 12-25) was forwarded by Artemon to a subordinate who was directed to communicate its instructions to the sitologi (ll. 7-11), and to them, together with Artemon's covering letter, it was duly circulated (ll. 1-6 and 26-8, n.). The fifteenth year in which the correspondence is dated may refer to the reign of Philopator.

The papyrus is in three fragments. Some much effaced writing on the verso appears to be a demotic account.

Κτ[ησ . . . . .] . ουει καὶ Βίλωι χαίρειν. τῆ[ς] πεμ[φθείσης μοι  
ἐπιστολῆς] παρ' Ἀρτέμωνος [. . .] ἡσκο . . [. . .] παρὰ [. . . . . ρου τοῦ

- διοικητοῦ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. . . . ρτω . [ . . . . . ]  
 πε[ . . . . . ἀντίγραφον ὅπως ἐπιδόντες . . . . κ . [ . . . . . ]  
 5 τ[ . . . . . ] . . [ . ] . . καθότι [ ι ] . [ . ] . ε . . . . ατα [ ]  
 [ ] [ ἔρρωσ]θη. (ἔτους) ιε Χοίαχ δ.  
 Ἄρ[τ]έμω[ν Κτησ . . . χαίρειν. τῆς παρὰ .] . . . . ρου τοῦ διοικητοῦ ἐπι-  
 σ[τολῆς  
 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ἀντίγραφο[ν. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συντάξας ἐπι-  
 στείλα[ι  
 [πρὸς το]ύς σιτολόγους ἵνα . [ . ] τ . . κ . . . . . η διὰ τῶν πορείων τῆν [ ]  
 10 [ἐξαγωγή]ν τοῦ σίτου ἀκολ[ο]ύθως τοῖς διασαφουμένοις.  
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιε Χοίαχ .  
 [ . . . . ρο]ς Ἄρτέμων[ι] χ[αίρειν.] τὸν [λο]ιπογραφοῦμενον σίτον ἐν ταῖς  
 ν[ο]-  
 [μαρχίαι]ς καθήκομ (μ)ὲν καὶ ε . [ . . . . ] . ρο . [ . . . . ] . . θαι ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 Κροκοδίλων πόλει  
 [ . . . . ἐ]γ δὲ τούτων ἐξῆχθ[αι διὰ τῶν ἐ]ν τῶι ὑποδοχίωι προσαγω-  
 γίδων  
 15 [ 27 1. ] . [ . . ]τῆν π[οτ]αμόν, τούτου δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν [οὔ  
 [γεγεννημ]ένου, νῦν δὲ τ[οῦ σίτου . . . . . μένου κ]αὶ ἐξαγομένου, συμβέβηκεν  
 ἀντὶ [ ]  
 [τῶν . . . . .]ων ναύλων [ . ] . α . [ . . . . . ] . . καὶ (φο)ρέτρων τῶν ρ  
 (ἀρταβῶν) βδ'  
 [ . ] . . . . . φόρετρον τῶν [ . . . . . ]ν τριπλοῦν παρὰ τὸ ἐστα-  
 μέν[ον  
 [ . . ] . [ . ] . [ τ ] δὲ διάφορον π . [ 15 1. ] π[ρα]χθήσει, εἰ δὲ μὴ βού-  
 λει, καὶ [ ]  
 20 [μ]εῖζοσ[ι] ζ[η]μίαις περιπ[εσεῖ. ἐπιμέλου δ' ὅπως] πάντα τὰ ἐν τῶι νομῶι  
 πορέ[ια  
 [χω]ρὶς τῶν π[ρὸς τῆ] ἀροτ[ριάσει . . . . . δια]τεταγμένων ἐπισυναχθέν-  
 [τ]α γίνητ[αι] πρὸς τῆι ἐξ[αγωγῆ]ι τοῦ σίτου, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς  
 [ . . ] . . η . . . . . [ . . . . . σίτος κατα]χθεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρμους ἐμβ[λ]ηθῆι εἰς τὰ  
 [ . . ] . [ . . ] . . [ 35 1. ] ]να καθη[ . .  
 25 [ ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιε ] . ]

On the verso

σιτολόγοις Θ[.] . . [	]θυτη
καὶ Παχύσει [	]
ἐν τῷ Ἐπίων[ος] [	] Βίλωι

4. *τες* of *ἐπιδόντες* added above the line in a more cursive hand.

1. Cf. ll. 26–8, where Βίλωι recurs, but the associated name is different or differently spelled. *τη* could be read in place of *νει*, and the preceding letter is possibly *θ*.

4. Perhaps *πέμψαι*, but the sentence is obscure. Whether *ἐπιδόντες* was altered otherwise than by the insertion of the final syllable (cf. crit. n.) is uncertain.

5. *καθότι*[: or *καθὼς σ*. [?

7. *ωρον* could be read, but a longer name than *ᾠρον* is required, and the vestiges of the preceding letter do not suggest *δ*; perhaps *-γρον* or *-τρον*.

8. *ὑπόκειται σοι τὸ ἀντ.* or similar was of course the sense, but the letters are difficult to identify.

9. Apparently not *ἦδη* before *διά*. *η* or *ει* is suggested by the remains, not *σι*.

13. Both the general sense and the infinitive ] . . *θαι* appear to point to *καθῆκον*, and we therefore regard *καθηκομεν*, which is the natural reading, as a case of lipography, of which there is another example in l. 17. It is indeed not impossible that *καθηκον* not *-κομ* was intended, but the following letters are then not easily interpreted (*ἐν καιρῷ* is not to be read). If the emendation adopted is right, something like *καὶ ἐκκαιρότερον* (too long) *κατήχθαι* would be expected.

14. Perhaps *νεώρια* is the missing word, though strange to papyri. For *προσαγωγίδες* at the *ὄρμος* of Crocodilopolis cf. P. Petrie III. 107 (*d*) 1–3.

15. ]*την* is very doubtful, but *μέγαν* is apparently not to be read.

16. The first verb after *σίτου* was presumably the same as that lost in l. 3. From this point the writing becomes more regular.

17. It seems clear that the first syllable of *φορέτρων* was inadvertently dropped. Either *αι*, *λι*, or *ν* preceded the *ρ*.

19. E.g. [τούτων ο]β[ν τ]ὸ δ. or . . . δ[ν τ]ὸ δ.

22. ἐξ[αγωγῆι: cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 20. ii. 6.

24. *παριστάμενα πλοῖα* is a likely supplement at the beginning of the line, but the vestiges are ambiguous; cf. 703. 75–6.

26–8. Evidently there are here two sets of addressees, (*a*) ]*θυτη* [*καί*?] Βίλωι (cf. l. 1, n.), whose names were written in large letters, and (*b*) *σιτολόγοις Θ . . . καὶ Παχύσει ἐν τῷ Ἐ.*, which is in smaller letters and more closely set lines, though not necessarily by a different hand. Probably the whole forms a single endorsement, ‘*Το . . . and Bilus, for the sitologi*’, &c.; alternatively (*a*) was the original address, (*b*) being added by Bilus and his associate when forwarding the document.

## 705. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

8.

13 × 15.8 cm.

B.C. 209.

Letter from Theogenes to Apollonius enclosing for the latter's information a copy of a letter which Theogenes had written to the basilicogrammateus Tothoës. Of this enclosure only parts of the first few lines remain; they relate



to an injunction to Tothoës apparently directing him not to accept a declaration (*ἀπογραφή*, but the word is doubtfully restored) from holders of certain classes of land. The main point of interest lies in the definition of the land (ll. 6–7) as *ἐν συντάξει* ?] καὶ δωρεᾷ καὶ ἀφέσει. This is the earliest mention of land *ἐν ἀφέσει*, and is somewhat disconcerting, since according to the current explanation, which is based on various papyri in Vol. I (cf. e.g. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 271), all land that was not βασιλική was *ἐν ἀφέσει*, ‘concessional’, and land *ἐν συντάξει* and that *ἐν δωρεᾷ* were therefore subdivisions of land *ἐν ἀφέσει*, not categories independent of and parallel to it, as they here appear to be. It is remarkable that in what was previously the earliest instance of the phrase, P. Par. 63. 177 (B.C. 164), temple and cleruchic land are similarly placed side by side with γῆ *ἐν ἀφέσει*. That difficulty, which was pointed out in 5. 36–7, n., has been surmounted by supposing that the language there was loose, but to have recourse to the same explanation for a second and earlier passage is unsatisfactory. Perhaps *ἐν ἀφέσει* had not yet acquired the wide application that it seems to have had in the later Ptolemaic period.

The letter of Theogenes is dated in the fourteenth year, which more probably refers to the reign of Philopator than that of Epiphanes. Neither the writer’s rank nor that of his correspondent is stated, but it may be suggested that, especially if ἀ[πογ]ραφήν is rightly read in l. 8, Apollonius was the ἐπιμελητής of that name to whom some property-returns at Cairo, also dated in the fourteenth year and from the division of Polemon, were addressed (*Archiv* ii. 82–4). In that case Theogenes was possibly oconomus, since such returns were made also to that official in conjunction with the basilicogrammateus.

The text is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto being almost entirely blank.

[Θ]εογένης Ἀπολλωνίω χαίρειν. τῆς πα[ρ]’ ἡμῶν ἐπιστολῆς  
πρὸς Τοθοῆν τὸν βασιλικὸν γραμ[ματέα] ὃν παρὰ σοὶ ?  
ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι ἐπεμψά σοι τᾶ[ν]τίγραφον ὅπως  
ἐπακολουθῆις. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιδ’ Ἀ[θῶν]

5 Θεογένης Τοθοῆι χαίρειν. πρὸς τὴν [ἐπιστολὴν ἡμῶν  
ἐν ἣι ἐγράψαμέν σοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχόν[των ἐν συντάξει] ?  
καὶ δωρεᾷ καὶ ἀφέσει γῆ[ν] καὶ ἄλλα . [  
μὴ δέχεσθαι μήτε ἀ[πογ]ραφήν μήτε  
ἀντέγραφας ἡμῖν ὅτι οἱ . . .] κατοικοῦντες

10 εἰ . . . ιαὶς τὴν δεδομέν[η]ν τισὶν ε[

. . . . .

2-3. There is a short lacuna between  $\iota$  and  $\lambda$  of βασιλικόν and a longer one between the second  $\iota$  and  $\kappa$ , and similarly in ἔπεμψα below, where the reading is more doubtful, there is a lacuna large enough for two letters at least between  $\mu$  and  $\psi$ . These irregularities are attributable to a defect in the surface of the papyrus, since in ll. 1 and 3-5 the upper fibres at the corresponding place had disappeared before the letter was written. Cf. nn. on ll. 8 and 9.

6-7. Cf. Rev. Laws xlili. 11-12 [ῥσ]οι . . . ἐν δ[ωρεᾶ]ι [ῆ] ἐν συντάξει ἔχουσι κώμας καὶ γῆν. ἄλλα could refer to buildings, &c., as implied in κώμας.

8. ἀ[πογ]ραφήν: this seems to be the most likely word, though the initial  $\alpha$  is extremely uncertain and there would be room for another letter in the lacuna (cf. ll. 2-3, n.). ἐ[πιγ]ραφήν is hardly suitable, for although a remission of that impost is made for γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει in 5. 111-13, payments of it to the basilicogrammateus would not be expected.

9. No word need be lost between οἶ and κατ.; cf. ll. 2-3, n.

10. Perhaps ἐν . . . αἰς, a local name.

### 706. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING EMBANKMENTS.

29.

32.7 × 14 cm.

B.C. 171?

Measures for the security of the embankments are the subject of this text, but it is too fragmentary to be clearly understood. A regulation (διάταξις, l. 10) had been made by a superior official, who sent a copy (ll. 23 sqq.) with a covering letter of some length to one Ammonius (ll. 10-22), and he in turn forwarded copies of both documents to a subordinate with a note putting in more concise form the instructions which he had himself received (ll. 2-9). Of the διάταξις only the first three lines are partially preserved at the foot of the column, the reference there being to the division of Heracleides, but other districts of the nome perhaps figured in the sequel. The letters to and from Ammonius emphasize the need for continual vigilance on the part of guards who were to be appointed; in the case of the discovery of neglect by the inspectors the toparchs and comarchs were to be invoked. χωματοφύλακες or dyke-watchmen are mentioned in several early Ptolemaic papyri (P. Petrie II. 6. 3, III. 44 (4) 4, Cairo Zen. 59296. 15, 28, P.S.I. 421. 1; cf. P. Par. 66. 21-2), but that title does not occur in the present text, which speaks of φυλακίται (ll. 5-6 (?), 15), and φρουροί (l. 24). The part taken by local peasants (ll. 21, 25) is obscure.

Apparently not much is missing at the ends of the lines, but there are large initial lacunae, the extent of which has been roughly gauged on the basis of the supplements adopted in ll. 3 and 21; if in the latter place the plural is substituted for the singular, a corresponding increase should be made in the number of letters to be supplied elsewhere.

(Ἔτους) ι Ἐπ]είφ ιε ὑπ(ο)τάκται(?) τοῖς [ἐπ(ισ)τάταις].

[ 22 l. ] Πτολεμαίωι χαίρει[ν].

[ἐπέμψαμέν σοι τὴν ὑποκει]μένην ἐπι[στ]ολήν. κ[α-  
 [λῶς οὖν . . . . . ποήσει]ς ἐὰν φαίνηται συντάξι[αι  
 5 [ 15 l. τοῖς] ἐπιστάταις τῶν δηλουμ[έ-  
 [νων φυλακितῶν ἐὰν τινα εὐ]ρίσκωσιν ἀφιστάμενο[ν  
 [. . . . . τοὺς τοπάρχας καὶ κ]ωμάρχας ἀπ[. .] . οἴτοι[.].  
 [. . . . . διὰ νυκτ]ὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τήρη[σιν  
 [τῶν χωμάτων . . . . .]φ[. .]ς ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

10 [ Ἀμμωνίω ἥς πεπο]ήμεθα διατάξεως [. .  
 [ 22 l. ]τε τῶν ἀφέσεων καὶ τ[ῶν  
 [Χωμάτων? 19 l. ]γραφ[. .]σιου [. .  
 [ 16 l. ὁ στρατ]ηγὸς μεταλαβὼν πα[. .  
 [ 20 l. ἐ]ν τῇ ὑποδεικνυμέ[νῃ  
 15 [κώμῃ? 12 l. ἀ]ποτάξας φυλακίτας συνοπ[τ. .  
 [ 14 l. ]ησι. οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ἔσται ἐπισκοπ[εῖν  
 [ 14 l. ]σε δι' ἔτους διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέ[ρας  
 [ 9 l. καὶ ἐ]ὰν τινες ἀφίστῶνται, διασημα[ιν . .  
 [ 13 l. ] τοῖς τοπάρχαις δὲ καὶ κωμάρχα[ις  
 20 [ 13 l. ] διὰ τούτων ἐκπληρωθῆναι. [   
 [ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Φο]μῶτι διασαφῆσαι σοι τῶν γεωργῶ[ν  
 [τὰ ὀνόματα. ]  
 [ 11 l. τῆς] Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.  
 [ 14 l. ]της Ἐρμοίου διὰ τῶν φρουρῶ[ν  
 25 [ 13 l. ] . αἶα τῶν ἐκ Σύρων κώμης [

## On the verso

. . .]ς (ἔτους) ἢ Ἐπειφ ιε. Πτ[ολ]εμαῖος ε. μ( )  
 ] ἀν(τί)γρ(αφον) τῆς πρὸς Ἀμμ[ώνιον] ἐπιστ[ολ]ῆς Αἰ . . . [ . . ] . .  
 ] περὶ τῆς τῶν χω(μάτων) ἀσφαλείας.

19. l. τε for δε?

1. ὑπ(οτέακται?): cf. e.g. 41. 20 ὅπως ὑποτάξῃς οἷς καθήκει; a similar abbreviation in 732. 20 where an accus. follows may be resolved ὑπ(έταξα), but with a different sense. Or perhaps ὑπ(ετέθη), as in P. Petrie II. 9 (5) 11.

6. φυλακितῶν: cf. l. 15; but perhaps κωμῶν should be restored.

7. At the end of the line οστ is awkward (though cf. l. 15), but vs is hardly to be read in place of π; the letter after το may be ν, and ἀπ[ could be ἀγ[ or ἀμ[.

10. διάταξις is commonly used in the Roman period in reference to Imperial decrees,

but there seems to be no instance of the word in Ptolemaic papyri, and *διάταγμα* is a quite doubtful restoration in 5. 9. The sense in the present passage is perhaps rather 'disposition' than 'ordinance'.

11-12. For τῶν χωμάτων cf. P. Petrie II. 42 (a) 6-7 πρὸς τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν χωμάτων καὶ ταῖς ἀφίσεσι: or perhaps τῶν γεφυρῶν, as in P. Petrie III. 56 (c) 10. Further on ἵγραφο. [ is possibly ἀντίγραφον, but the following word must first be identified.

13. If ἵγρος is right, στρατῆγός seems probable, but the doubtful γ may be τ.

15. σύνοπτος occurs in papyri only in P. Fay. 20. 23 ἀντίγραφα . . . σύνοπτα τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν, of public notices, and the sense may be similar here.

24. For the name Ἐρμούτου cf. the Ἐρμούθου διῶρυξ at Tebtunis in 649-54.

25. The position of Σύρων κόμη in the division of Heracleides is confirmed; cf. 701. 8, Vol. II. p. 402. At the beginning of the line neither *διά* nor apparently *στα* can be read.

26-9. This endorsement, which is at right angles to the lines of the recto and starts from near the top of the papyrus, is in a hand different from that of l. 1. In l. 26 nothing seems to be wanted in front of the date, and possibly there was some mistake; there would not nearly be room for τοῖς ἐπιστάταις. At the end of this line ἐπιμ(ελητής) suggests itself, but is not a satisfactory reading. Αἰ . . [ . . ] . . to the right of l. 27, is in larger letters and may be in the hand of the main text; Ἀμμωνίωι, which would be expected, was apparently not written.

### 707. CIRCULAR AND PROCLAMATION.

39 (a).

Height 22.5 cm.

B.C. 118.

A short letter addressed to the epistatae in the division of Polemon enclosing a copy of an official announcement which had been published in Crocodilopolis and the neighbourhood and was evidently to be made known locally; an endorsement at the foot indicates that this was duly done. Apollonius, the source of the letter, may be identical with the writer of 35, also addressed to the epistatae of the same division, and including a proclamation; that papyrus, however, is dated seven years later than 707, and the name was a common one. In the present case the announcement (ll. 6-14) was occasioned by the reported departure of a number of crown cultivators from their homes owing to oppressive judicial action, with the result that irrigation and other agricultural work were being neglected. In the clause in 5. 207 sqq. defining the spheres of the Greek and the native judges, the crown cultivators are expressly excluded from its operation, and the statement that they were now being brought before wrong tribunals 'contrary to decree' (l. 9 below) is perhaps a reference to that ordinance, which is earlier than 707 by little more than four months at most. It is, moreover, noteworthy that the next paragraphs of 5 (ll. 221 sqq.) exempt the persons and a certain part of the property of crown cultivators from the action of the *ξενικῶν πράκτορες*, and that the present text, as l. 18 shows, was submitted to one of those officials for his attention.

The papyrus is in bad condition, having been broken into two pieces, while damage to the surface makes decipherment difficult. The extent of the interior lacunae, though determinable with probability, is not certainly fixed.

Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πολέμωνος μερίδι ἐπιστάταις ] χαίρειν.  
 ἔκκεται ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει καὶ τοῖς προσκυροῦσι? τόποις προγράμμα-  
 τα διὰ τῶν προσεντεταγμένων ἐπιστ[ατῶν . . . . .]ρι . τα . . . . . ται  
 τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἀπροφασίστως τουτο[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]

5

ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) νβ Μεσορή κβ.

πρόγραμμα·

Ἐπεὶ πλέονες τῶν βασιλικῶν γεωργ[ῶν προσηγγελέ]μοι εἰσὶν ἐκ τῆς  
 [ἰ]δίας ἐκκεχωρηκέναι χάριν τοῦ οὐκ [ἀγομένους ἐφ'] οὗς δεῖ εἰς ἕτερα  
 [κ]ριτήρια περισπᾶσθαι πρὸς ἰδιωτικὰ [χρ]ῆα παρὰ τὰ περὶ ἑαυτῶν προσ-  
 10 [τ]εταγμένα, διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην [ . . . ] . . αι τοῦ ποτισμοῦ καὶ τῶν λοι-  
 πῶν ἔργων, ὅπως δ' ἂν ὑφορῆται ἐντ[ . . . . . ] . ιαν μηθένα παραδώσειν  
 τῶν τοιούτων ποιείσθαι μηδὲ ε . . [ . . . . . π]αραδέχασθαι μέχρι  
 τοῦ κ[α]ίρου τοῦ ποτισμοῦ καὶ τῆς . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . ντων παραβαίνειν  
 τ . . . ο

[ . . . ] . . περιβληθισομένων τ . . [ . . . . . ] μέρους χρηματισμῶν.

15 2nd hand [κε]χρημάτισται τῷ [ . ] . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . ἔκκεται ἐν τοῖς  
 [φανερω]τάτοις τόποις [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ δ]εῖκνύμενα  
 [οἰκο]νομηθήσεται [ ]  
 [Ἀπολ]λωνίω ξενικῶν πράκτορι [ ]

4. τουτο[ : or -τω[.

7-8. The βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ were one of the classes whose freedom of movement was most rigorously restricted; cf. e.g. 210 (W. 327), Wilcken, *Grundz.* pp. 27, 275.

9. χρ[ῆα] here is commended by the reference to the ξενικῶν πράκτωρ in l. 18 in comparison with 5. 221 sqq.; cf. introd.

10. ]. αι: possibly ].ων, and a genitive absolute would be apposite if a participle adapted to the space were forthcoming; ἐωμένων is too long.

11. Apparently not ἐξου]σίαν: the remains of the letter before ε indicate a broad-based letter such as δ, μ, ξ.

14. Not ἐπιβλ. (l. 4). ἐγ or ἐπί may have preceded ] μέρους.

15. Another date perhaps followed τῷ, but the remains hardly suggest it.

16. [φανερω]τάτοις (cf. P. Oxy. 1100. 3) suits the space better than [ἐπισημο]τάτοις.

## 708. OFFICIAL CIRCULAR.

9.

11.4 x 8.6 cm.

Late third century B.C.

Copy of notification addressed to various officials of four nomes, adjacent to but not including the Arsinoïte, that they were about to be visited by a person sent out to collect certain sums which were owing on account of corn-dues. Its author must have occupied a high position, not improbably that of dioecetes; and the officials were no doubt instructed to give the emissary proper assistance, but at this point the text becomes fragmentary and the end is lost. The copy was made in a small cursive script, which in places is very faint, on the back of 744, the beginning corresponding with the end of that document. Since 744 is incomplete (cf. ll. 10-11), it is likely that other matter preceded 708, as is also indicated by the fact that only the month (of receipt?), not the year, is stated in l. 1.

Τῦβ[ι . . . . .] . . νεικ . . . ἱ . . . . .  
 τοῖς ν[ομάρχαις καὶ] τοῖς οἰκ[ο]νόμοις καὶ τοῖς  
 βασιλι[κοῖς γρα]μματεῦσιν τ[ο]ῦ Ἀφροδιτο-  
 πολίτου καὶ Ἡρακλε[οπο]λίτου καὶ Ὀξ[υ-  
 5 ρυγχ[ίτου καὶ Κ]υρροπολίτου καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιφυ[λακίταις]  
 καὶ φυ[λακίταις] [χαίρειν. ἐπ]έστ[ε]λ[τ]αι Λυσίμαχο[ς]  
 . [.] . . [.] . . . . . τὰ προσοφειλόμενα . [.]  
 τ[.] . . . . . as τιμὰς τῶν πυρῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ὑμετ[έροις] τόποις. καλῶς οὖν ποιή-  
 10 σετε κλ[ηθέντ]ων ὑμῶν ἰς ταῦτα . . [.]  
 ἀνα[.]χ . . [.] . . . . . ἰλαμ[β]ανόμενοι  
 καὶ τ[.] . . . . . εαυτ . . . . . [.]

Slight vestiges of three more lines.

‘Tubi . . . to the nomarchs and oeconomi and basilicogrammateis of the Aphroditopolite and Heracleopolite and Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes and to the archiphylacitae and phylacitae, greeting. Lysimachus has been sent [to collect] the amounts which are further owing . . . for the value of wheat in your districts. You will therefore do well on being summoned for this purpose . . .’

1. Perhaps . . . νεικος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ could be read.

2-3. Precedence over the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς is similarly given to the οἰκονόμος in P. Lille 4. 29. Cf. 793. ii. 32, n.

6. ἐπ[έ]στελ[τ]αι: the interchange of *a* and *ε* may be considered sufficiently common to justify this restoration; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 57. The termination is either *αι* or *η*.

7-8. At the beginning of l. 7 something like ἵνα λογεύσῃ is required, but ἵνα is hardly reconcilable with the remains, and still less ὅπως. Further on neither εἰς | τ[. . . . . καὶ] τᾶς nor τ[αῖς | τ[ραπέζαις εἰς] τᾶς is satisfactory; πρ[ὸς | τ[ᾶς could be read, but not . . . μέ]νας.

10. κα[ταστάντ]ων would overload the lacuna; εἰς seems to suit the remains better than ἐπί.

11. Not ἀνα[σ]χο- nor ἀναγκ-.

### 709. LETTER OF A MONOPOLY-SUPERINTENDENT.

123.

31·4 × 33 cm.

B.C. 159.

In this letter the police and other officials of the village of Tali are informed of the name of the sub-contractor for the sale of papyrus at their village, and are asked to give him proper assistance in the event of any infringement of the monopoly being detected. Both the papyrus and the shops at which it was retailed are designated as 'royal'; and attention is drawn to the fact that the contractor could demand affidavits from notaries (*μονογράφοι*, l. 8, n.) that they would abstain from the use of illicit supplies. This text is a valuable addition to the evidence, hitherto but scanty, for the monopoly of papyrus; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 255, Reil, *Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. Gewerbes*, p. 7.

Σοκωνῶπις ὁ πρὸς τῇ διαθέσει τῶν βασιλικῶν χαρ[τῶν  
τ[. . . . .] μι[α] . ου εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος) τῷ ἐν Ταλὶ ἐπ[ι]στάτ[η] καὶ ἀρχι-  
φυλακίτῃ κα[ὶ] φυλακέταις καὶ ἐρημοφύλαξι καὶ κωμάρχη  
καὶ κωμογραμματε[[υστ]]ί χαίρειν. Πιετων ὁ ἐπίδι[. . . .

5 ἡμῖν ἐξείληφεν πα[ρ'] ἡμῶν τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν  
βασιλικῶν χαρτῶν Ταλὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (ἔτος), ἔν[ε]στι? δὲ  
αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν χιρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ παρὰ τῶν  
μονογράφων περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρῆσθαι ἰδιωτικοῖς φορτίοις  
τῶν τῇ ὄνῃ συνκυρόντων μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν διμα-

10 κολπιτεούντων συναγορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν βα[σ]ιλικῶν  
πρατηρίων. ἐν οἷς ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν χρεῖαν ἔχη τῶν πρὸς  
ταῦτα ἀνηκόντων, καλῶς ποιήσετε ἀντιλαμ-  
βανόμενοι προθύμως, καὶ ἐάν τις ὑμῖν παραδί-  
δωι ἀντιπωλοῦντάς τι ἢ διακολπιτεύοντας,

15 τ[οὺς] τοιοῦτους παραλαμβάνοντες σὺν οἷς ἐὰν  
ἔ[χ]ωσι φορ[τί]οις ἀποκαθείστατε ἐπὶ Ζώπυρον

τ[ον ἐπιμ]ελητήν, ὅπως εἰσπραχθῶσιν τὰ κα-  
[θήκοντα] ἐπίτιμα. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κγ Θουθ κς.

3. Second *a* of φυλακειταις corr.

4. I. Πετωῦς.

11. *υ* of υμων corr. from η.

12. *πο* of ποιησετε corr.

‘Sokonopis, superintendent of the distribution of State papyrus at . . . for the 23rd year to the epistates at Tali and the archiphylacites and the phylacitae and desert-guards and the comarch and the comogrammateus, greeting. Petoüs who . . . has contracted with us for the distribution of the State papyrus at Tali for the said year, and it is within his competence to take declarations on oath by the king from the notaries that they will not use private material of what appertains to the contract nor purchase from smugglers but only from the royal shops. You will therefore do well to support him zealously in any matter connected herewith in which he needs your help, and if he hands over to you any persons who are competing with him as sellers or are smuggling, take them, together with any supplies that they may have, and bring them before Zopyrus the epimeletes, in order that they may be mulcted in the due penalties.’

1-2. Papyrus sheets of a special quality were called βασιλικοί (cf. Dziatzko, *Buchwesen*, p. 78), but they are not here meant to the exclusion of other kinds which were doubtless made in the State factories; cf. ll. 10-11 and e.g. the βασιλικά ελαιουργία in Rev. Laws xlix. 16. In l. 2 the vestige after the initial τ is consistent with *a* (*inter alia*), but Τα[λί] καὶ . . . cannot be read; there has perhaps been a correction immediately after the small lacuna. Line 1 is sufficiently filled by χαρ[τῶν], but two or three more letters could be added. Ταλί (or -λεί) is the spelling found also in the Roman period; Ταλίθις in P. Petrie II. 28 is supposed to be identical (cf. Vol. II, pp. 402-3). It seems clear that the ἐπιστάτης here was a police official, and the passage favours the view that ἐπ. κάμης commonly = ἐπ. φυλακῶν κ.; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 412.

4. ἐπιδικ[ωνῶν] is unsuitable; the final vestiges do not support *a* or δ, rather e.g. η, κ, ν, π. Perhaps ἐπιδικ[νύων] was used as e.g. in 26. 8, 27. 88, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν being understood and ἡμῖν a mistake for ὑμῖν; cf. l. 11, crit. n.

8. The term μονογράφος must here be used in a quite general sense; cf. P. Magd. 12. 4-5 (M. 130) συνέβη . . . τεθῆναι αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν συγγραφὴν) παρὰ Ζωπύρωι τῷ μονογράφωι and the editor's note, Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lag.* iv. 133<sup>1</sup>.

ιδιωτικοῖς φορτίοις: as B.G.U. 1121 shows, there were papyrus marshes in private ownership in the time of Augustus (cf. P. Milanesi I, p. 27<sup>2</sup>), and these ιδιωτικὰ φορτία may be referred to a similar source.

9. δ[ια]κολπιτενόντων: cf. l. 14. This verb, found only here, is hardly to be connected, like Κολπιτικόν (ἔλαιον) in 38. 12. and 125, with Κολπίτης (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Φοινίκη), and it seems preferable to postulate a word διακολπίτης meaning a person who conceals things in the folds of his garment. The question may then be raised whether in 38 and 125 the adjective Κολπιτικόν should not be written with a small κ and be similarly interpreted.

## 710. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING CROWN LAND.

13.

16.3 x 18 cm.

B.C. 156.

The subject of this fragmentary correspondence is a piece of land, evidently Crown property, about which a petition (ὑπόμνημα) had been submitted to the



writer, whose name and official position are unknown. In view of that application a report upon the land in question had been made by Peteharpsenesis, perhaps a comogrammateus, estimating what a fair rent would be for a period of five years. The official to whom the application had been sent thereupon wrote to a subordinate, Pyrrhus (ll. 4 sqq.), directing him to make a public offer of the land, and if no better terms were obtainable, to assign it, apparently, to the applicant at the rate stated; he also wrote to Peteharpsenesis, the author of the report, enclosing for his information a copy of the letter to Pyrrhus.

It is sufficiently clear, from the character of the correspondence and the instructions which were given, that this transaction was no part of the ordinary procedure of the *διαμίσθωσις* or general renewal of the leases of Crown land. Probably owing to the deterioration of the land concerned the rent was being reduced to an economic level (*ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας*: cf. l. 9 and e.g. 61. (b) 88-100). In such cases first periods of five or ten years were common; cf. 737, 807. 23, Rostowzew, *Kolonat*, pp. 30 sqq., Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 276.

[ . . . . . Πετεαρ]ψενήσει χαίρειν. τῆς πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν  
 [. . . . . ἐπιστο]λῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτετάχαμεν ὅπως  
 [εἰδῆ]ις. ] ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) κε Παῦνι .  
 [Πύρρωι. τοῦ δοθέντος] ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματος παρ' Ὠρ[ο]υ τοῦ  
 5 [. . . . . καὶ ἧς πεποιῆται πρὸς τοῦτο ἀναφορᾶς Πετεαρψε[ν]ῆσις  
 [ 15 l. ] . τὰ ἀντίγραφα ὑποτετάχαμεν. ἐπ[ι]-  
 [κ]ήρ[υ]ξ[ο]ν οὖν ἐ[ν] τῶι φανερωῖ τὴν δηλουμένην γῆν μετὰ τῆς  
 [τῶ]ν εἰθισμένων γνώμης, καὶ ἐὰν μηθεὶς πλεῖον ὑφίστηται  
 [τῆς ἀ]νενη(νε)γμένης ἀξίας ἐπ' ἔτη πέντε ἀνὰ πυροῦ γ  
 10 [. . . . .] . [. . ἀ]πολαμ[βάν]ων τῶι σημαινομένωι  
 [. . . .]νομ[. . . .]σ . [. . . . .]λη . [

On the verso

]ε

' . . . To Peteharpsenesis, greeting. We append for your information a copy of our letter to Pyrrhus the . . . Goodbye. 25th year, Pauni . . .

To Pyrrhus. We append copies of the petition presented to us by Horus . . . and of the report made thereon by Peteharpsenesis. Put up therefore publicly at auction, with the concurrence of the usual individuals, the land concerned, and if no one makes a higher offer than the reported value at the rate of 3 artabae of wheat for five years, [assign it] to the stated [Horus (?)] . . .'

4. The name at the end of the line is very doubtful.

10. There seems to have been a short blank space early in this line. Further on ἀ]πολαμ[βάν]ων is highly uncertain.

12. A remnant of a date?

### 711. LETTER CONCERNING A DEFAULTING COMARCH.

60.

30.1 x 16.5

About 125 B.C.

Letter from a superior to the guards and cultivators of the village of Oxyrhyncha, stating that according to reports received the village comarch was failing to meet his liabilities, and in particular was in arrears with payments in kind which were due from him according to the terms of his appointment. Certain steps were in consequence to be taken, but the nature of the orders given is obscured by the mutilation of the lower half of the letter; from the fact, however, that in the address on the verso the guards are defined more precisely as 'harvest-guards' (γενηματοφύλακες), it may be inferred that any produce that the comarch might possess was to be impounded. For the payments commonly made by officials in return for their appointment cf. 9-10 and 5. 186, n.

Θέων τοῖς ἐν Ὀξ[υρύγ]χοις φύλα[ξι  
 καὶ [το]ῖς γεωργο[ῖς] χ[αί]ρ[ει]ν. κατ[έ]λαβον  
 διὰ π[λ]ειόνων Πετωῦν το . . . . [ . . .  
 κωμάρχην τῆς κώμης λειποτελῆ [ὄντα  
 5 καὶ ἀτοποῦντα, μεγάλως δὲ καθυστηρηκότα ἐν [τῷ  
 διεσταμένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν κεφαλαίῳ οὖ [δεῖ  
 δοθῆναι ἀπὸ προχειρισμοῦ σίτ[ο]υ . . [ . . .  
 καὶ διειλκυκότα ἕως τῆς κ τοῦ . . .  
 ἀπολ[ε]λοιπένας πλείω τοῦ ἡμίσεως. ὅθ[ε]ν  
 10 ἀναδραμόντες ταῖ[  
 γενέσθαι ἐν τούτοις [  
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον [  
 τὰ τῆς χρείας ἐκπλη[ρ] ἵνα  
 μηθὲν ἐλάσσωμα [ τῷ  
 15 προγεγραμμένῳ γέ[νηται  
 [γ]ενόμενοι ἐπιδ . . . [  
 εἰς τὸ μὲ [(ἔτος)?] μόνον τὰ δ[  
 παραδοῦναι ἐπακ[ολουθ]

δειξάμε[ν . . .] τυγχανει[  
 20 ἔ[ρρωσθε. (ἔτους) μδ? . . .

On the verso

τοῖς ἐν Ὁξύρηνχοις  
 γεννηματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς.

5. αποποντα above the line. 1. καθυστερηκ.

‘Theon to the guards and cultivators at Oxyrhyncha, greeting. I learn from several persons that Petoüs, . . . comarch of the village, is defaulting and misconducting himself, and that he is greatly in arrears with the amount agreed on with him and due for his appointment, . . . [artabae] of corn, and has deferred it up to the 20th of . . ., being in debt for more than half. Hasten therefore . . . (Addressed) To the harvest-guards and cultivators at Oxyrhyncha.’

3. Perhaps τὸν . . . (hardly τὸν γενόμενον); or Το . . . as a patronymic.

4. λιποτελείν occurs in a Locrian inscription (Roehl, *Inscr. Gr.* 321. 14), and λιποτελήσαντα is possible here, but a present participle seems preferable.

9. ἀπολείπειν in the sense of ‘to leave in arrear’ is apparently unexampled, and probably the writer changed his construction and the verb is intransitive.

17. μδ is more likely than μα. There is no stroke above the supposed figures, but the reading adopted is otherwise very suitable. εἰς ἡμ[α]ς cannot be read. Perhaps δ[έοντα] at the end of the line.

## 712. LETTER TO CULTIVATORS OF CROWN LAND.

39 (a).

16.9 × 18.2 cm.

Late second century B.C.

Heracleides, a local official, had been induced by the elders of the cultivators (cf. 713. 3 and e.g. 13. 5, 40. 17, Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 275) at the village of Ares to defer some contemplated step in regard to a certain Petesokonouris, and now writes complaining that he has waited ten days beyond the stipulated time and urging them, if they had any proposal to make, to come and bring Petesokonouris forthwith. Owing to the writer's allusive style and to some uncertainties of reading the meaning is not always clear, and the nature of the action which he had in view remains uncertain; a coercive measure or penalty of some kind is rather suggested.

17 καὶ αὐτῶι δὲ τῷ Πετεςοκονούρει γέγραφα  
 18 τὴν συνεσφραγισμένην ἐπιστολήν . . . . .  
 1 Ἑρακλείδης Ὠρωὶ καὶ Πετενούρει καὶ [τοῖς  
 πρεσβυτέροις τῶν γεωργῶν χαίρειν.

- καθὼς παρητήσασθ με μηθὲν προβῆναι  
 ἕως τῆς κε μέχρι ᾧ συμπεσεῖν τῶι  
 5 Πετεσοκονούρει, ἐπιμενηκῶς νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς  
 κε ἕως ε τοῦ Μεχει καὶ μηθενὸς ὑμῶν ἐπὶ  
 εδ. αν ἀγειοχότων μᾶς καὶ οὔτως βαρυ-  
 θυμήσαντες κεκαρτέκαμεν καὶ γεγρά-  
 φαμεν ὑμῖν ἔτι καινῶν, εἴ τι ὑμῖν διέ-  
 10 γνωσται περὶ ᾧν ἐσάκην προίησαι τῶι  
 Πετεσοκονούρει, παργίνεσθε ἀγοίητες  
 καὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ᾧ ὅς ἐάν αἰρῆσθε ἄλλα ποιῆσαι  
 καὶ μήτε αὐτὸν καίτην χρεῖαν ἐγκατα-  
 λίπητε οὔτως καὶ παν ἄλλων λαμβάνη-  
 15 τε. εἰ δ' ἄλλως διόγνωσται, καὶ μοι δῆλασα-  
 φήσατε. ἴρρωσθε.

On the verso

- τοῖς ἐξ Ἄρεως κάμυ  
 20 γεωργοῖς.

‘Heracleides to Horus and Petenous and the elders of the cultivators, greeting. In accordance with your request that I should do nothing further up to the 25th until I met Petesokonouris, having now waited (until) of the 25th till the 5th of Meecheit without any of you having brought me to . . . , even now, notwithstanding my annoyance I have had patience and written to you: even now you have made any decision about what I had determined to do to Petesokonouris, come and bring him, on the understanding that I take such other steps as you prefer; and do not leave him and the office thus in the lurch and make trial of other measures. If amicable solution has been made, acquaint me. Goodbye. (P.S.) I have written also to Petesokonouris himself the letter sealed up with this . . . (Addressed) To the cultivators at the vilke of Ares.’

1. [τοῖς: there is no trace of ink after the καί, but letters have similarly disappeared in one or two other places in this papyrus.]

5. ἐπιμενηκῶς seems preferable palaeographically to -μένηκα, and νῦν to οὖν.

7. ἔδραν suggests itself, and the absence of any sign of the tail of ρ is perhaps not a fatal objection, but the phrase does not occur.

10. This is apparently the first instance of the pluperfect ἐπέησε in Ptolemaic papyri, though ἐφειστάκει occurs in Polyb. x. 20 the participle and infin. are found, e.g. 5. 196 παρεστακότας, P. Tor. i. v. 33 καβεστακίαι.

13-14. If rightly read, these lines are awkwardly constructed. ἴσα seems to be excluded at the beginning of l. 13. ἐγχεσάκητε could well be ἐγχεσάκητε: but (ἴσα) μή should then follow, and this, though οὔτως is extremely doubtful, is not obtainable. πᾶσαν ἄλλων λαμβ. is perhaps a veiled threat; for the present tense cf. Mayser, *Gram.* ii. 147.

18. The remains at the end of the text are difficult to reconcile with a date.

## 713. LETTER TO CULTIVATORS OF CROWN LAND.

57.

14 × 7 cm.

Late second century B.C.

This letter, like 712, is addressed to the elders of the cultivators at the village of Ares (l. 11), who are directed by a agent of the epimeletes to meet him immediately at Oxyrhyncha, another village in the division of Polemon. The letter breaks off before the purpose of the meeting has been stated, but since the agent was *πρὸς τῆι εἰκασίαι τοῦ σησίμου*—a novel designation which is the chief point of interest in the papyrus—it can be inferred that some question concerning the sesame harvest was concerned. *εἰκασία* was the term applied to the official inspection and calculation of the gathered crop when the settlement between the government and cultivators took place: cf. 72. 374–8 (= 61. (b) 372–5) *τοὺς γεωργοῦ[s] προτρέψαντ(ο)s θερίσαι κα μετενέγκαι ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλω(s) τεθεωρηῆσθαι ἐκ τῆς γεγενημένης εἰκασίας μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἐγεγραμμένα τῆι γῆι μὴ δύνασθαι συμπληρωθῆναι*, 67. 16, &c., SB. 7188. 46 τ[ὴν] ἐστέρην εἰκασίαν ἐκ [τοῦ βασι]λικοῦ.<sup>1</sup> After the claims of the government had been met, the release (*ἄφεσις*) of the crop or the residue was given; cf. 714–15. The writing is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto having been used for an account, which is almost entirely obliterated.

Ἄρσιῆσις ὁ ἀπεσ[τ]αλμος παρὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ  
 πρὸς τῆι εἰ[κ]ασίαι τοῦ σησάμου .[.] . . . ιει  
 καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέρο[ι]στῶν γεωργῶν χαίρειν.  
 ὡς ἂν ἀναγῶτε τὴν ἐστο[λήν] μου, μη-  
 5 θὲν στραγ(γ)ευσάμενοι παραγένεσ[θε] ἐν τάχει ?  
 εἰς Ὁξύρυχα . . . . . ?δυνη-  
 θῶμεν περὶ ᾧ[ν] . . . . . καὶ Πτο-  
 λεμαῖον πέπομ[φα]  
 ἀποδεδωκότα . [  
 10 [.] . εἰνυ[

On the verso

Ἄρεως κώ(μης) [

‘Harsiesis, the emissary of the epimeletes for the estimate of sesame, to . . . ies and the elders of the cultivators, greeting. As soon as you read my letter, repair quickly with no

<sup>1</sup> The names of the *lessors* at the beginning of this line were probably in some other case than the nominative.

delay to Oxyrhyncha in order that we may . . . ; and I have sent Ptolemaeus . . . (Addressed) [To the cultivators] of the village of Ares.'

5. *στραγγ(γ)ευσάμενοι*: the same spelling of this rather rare word is found in Eustath. *Od.* p. 1441. 59, Hesychius, and the Ravenna MS. of Aristophanes at *Ach.* 126, *Nub.* 131.

6. A final conjunction is required somewhere in this line.

#### 714. RELEASE OF CROPS:

29.

16.5 x 10 cm.

Second century B.C.

A note, written in a large, coarse hand, from a comogrammateus to Callicrates, presumably a *γενηματοφύλαξ* (cf. 715), ordering him to allow Theon, most probably a Crown cultivator, to take his greenstuff to his village, since he had given security for the dues upon his land; cf. n. on ll. 6-10 and 715. The twenty-fourth year (l. 11) may refer to the reign either of Eiphanes or of Philometor.

Τεῶς κ[ωμογραμματεὺς  
 Καλλικράτει χαίριν.  
 ἔασον Θέωνα ἀνα-  
 κομίσαι τὸν χόρτον  
 5 αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κώμην  
 εἰς σύνθεσιν τῷ βασι-  
 λῆ, ἔχομεν γὰρ παρ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν  
 τῶν ἐκφορίων καὶ  
 10 [τ]ῶν σπερμάτων.  
 (ἔτους) κδ Φαρμουῦθι β.

'Teos, comogrammateus, to Callicrates, greeting. Permit Theon to convey his greenstuff to the village in order to make up accounts with the Crown, for we have received from him security for the rent and seed. The 24th year, Pharmouthi 2.'

1. This Teos is probably identical with the Teos, comogrammateus of Berenicis Thesmophori, who occurs in a text to be published in Part 2.

6-10. Cf. 27. 71, where it is stated that notices were put up in the villages *δηλοῦντα μηδένα ἐπαφίεμαι κτήνη εἰς τὴν ἐσπαρμένην χόρτωι καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις γενήμασι μηδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισπύρων ἐφάπτεσθαι ἄνευ τοῦ δοῦναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καθότι πρόκειται*, P. Petrie III. 32 (g) verso 10-12 *συντάξας τοῖς . . . φυλακίταις . . . ἀνείπει περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν . . . ἀρου(ρῶν) κ, ἔχομεν γὰρ παρ[ὰ] τούτων ἀσφάλειαν τῶν εἰς τὸ ζ (ἔτος) ἐκφορίων*, and 715. 2-3. In the present case Theon had given the security (*ἀσφάλεια*) for the payment of his rent and the return of the seed lent to him and was accordingly to be permitted to remove his crop from the fields and convey it

to the village. When it arrived there, we suppose, the amount of his rent and seed would be paid to the king's account and his security returned to him.

The meaning of the word *σύνθεσιν* is not very clear. Perhaps *λόγων* is to be understood; cf. P. Stud. Pal. IV. 70. 391 *μετὰ σύνθεσιν τῶν λόγων*, P. Hibeh 48. 15 *λόγον συνθέναι*. For the spelling *ἀσφάλειαν* cf. e.g. 58. 55, 703. 155, 793. ii. 28, Mayser, *Gram.* i. 67.

## 715. LETTER CONCERNING RELEASE OF CROPS.

59.

10.5 × 30.3 cm.

Second century B.C.

This papyrus is very similar in character to 714. It is a letter from a comogrammateus to the local guards of crops, concerning a crop which the owners had removed without giving security for the payment of the rent; cf. 714. 6-10, n. Steps to ensure that the security should be forthcoming were therefore to be taken, but the mutilation of the ends of the lines leaves it uncertain what precisely they were. No doubt the guards would prevent the owners from realizing the crop until they had fulfilled their obligations.

Πετοσίρις κωμογραμματεὺς Ὀξύρυγχων Παραμ[ό]νοι καὶ τοῖς γενηματο-  
φύλαξι χ[αίρειν.

μεταλαβὼν περὶ τοῦ μεταφέρεισθαι τὸν περὶ τὴν κώμην κάλαμον Ἑλλη-  
νικὸν εἰς εἰ[. . . . .

πρὸ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἐκφορίων  
κ[. . . . .] ἀφεῖ[. . . . .

πλεοναζούση[ς] τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἅμα τῷ λα[β]εῖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν κατα-  
στήσαντες τὴν [. . .] εἰ[. . .] τῆ[ς] κώμ[ης] . . . . .

5 μέχρι τοῦ λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν [κ]υρίων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους)  
. . . Παχῶ[ν] κδ.

ὡς παρὰ Δημάτος . . . ητος καὶ Κεφαλᾶ Πετώυτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

3. 1. καθήκ. 4. πλεοναζουση[ς] της επιγραφης added above the line.

‘Petosiris, comogrammateus of Oxyrhyncha, to Paramonus and the harvest-guards, greeting. I have heard about the removal of the Greek reeds to . . . before we have received the proper security for the rent . . . the epigraphic being excessive. As soon as you receive this letter [set a watch on?] the village until security is received from the proprietors. Good-bye. The . . . year, Pachon 24. For instance, from Demas son of . . . es and Cephalas son of Petous and the rest.’

2-3. If *μεταλαβὼν* is to be depended upon, a verb in the 1st person sing. must have followed at the end of l. 3, but the writer may have changed his construction.

For *κάλαμος Ἑλληνικός* cf. 81. 31, &c., 792. 12, P. Brit. Mus. 195. 5-6, 30 (II, p. 127,

P. Ryl. II, p. 255), B.G.U. 619. i. 18, Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 256-8. A place-name is probable after εἰς, e.g. Ἐλευσίνα, though that village has not occurred before the Roman period.

4. The meaning of the insertion πλ. τῆς ἐπιγρ. is not very clear. For ἐπιγραφὴ cf. 739. 17, 5. 59, n., B.G.U. 1813. 12.

6. This line was an afterthought.

### 716. LETTER.

80.

15.7 × 9.8

B.C. 158.

A letter instructing a subordinate to meet the writer and give assistance in the matter of certain property remaining unsold. The twenty-fourth year may well refer to the reign of Philometor.

. . . . .  
 διο . [ . . . ] . [ . . ] . [ . . . ]  
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
 σύμμεισγε εἰς  
 Πυρρείαν, ἄγε δὲ  
 5 μετὰ σαντοῦ καὶ τὸν  
 ἐκ Κερκεσήφως,  
 προσπαρακαλέσας αὐτὸν  
 καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν. κοινο-  
 λογή[σ]εις γὰρ ω . . . . .  
 10 κ . . . . . περὶ τῶν α . [ . . . ]  
 ἀπράτων. παραχρῆμα  
 ἀπολύσομεν.  
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κδ Θᾶ(θ) ιε.

‘. . . On receiving this letter join us at Pyrrheia, and bring with you the man from Kerkesephis, exhorting him on my behalf. For you will confer . . . about the unsold . . . We shall release (you?) immediately. Good-bye. The 24th year, Thoth 15.’

1. The extent of the loss is uncertain. If διο . . . is a personal name, e.g. Διογ[ένει], nothing at all or at most one line need be supposed to have preceded; but διο is equally possible, and this would of course imply a larger lacuna.

4. Since Πυρρεία was in the division of Themistes, and Kerkesephis (l. 6) in that of Polemon, neither village is likely to have been far from the boundary. That Kerkesephis was in the northern part of the μερίς was suggested in Vol. II, p. 384; and Πυρρεία is shown by P. Thead. 53. 3 to have been close to Ναρμουῖθις, which was in Polemon.

9-10. The letters at the ends of these two lines are almost effaced.



## 717. LETTER CONCERNING A LIST OF PRODUCE.

19.

19.6 × 12.6 cm.

Late second century B.C.

The writer of this short undated letter asks that steps should be taken to get from a comogrammateus a list of certain produce, in accordance with instructions received from the dioecetes.

Δι' Ὀρίωνος (?).  
 ἐπεὶ δεήσει ἐπιλαβεῖν  
 παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυ(ρύγχοις) κωμογρ(αμματέως)  
 γραφὴν τοῦ συνηγμένου  
 5 σκόρδου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀσπρίων  
 ἀκολούθως οἷς ὁ διοικητῆς  
 ἐπέσταλκεν, σύνταξον  
 Θέωνι μὴ ἀποστῆναι  
 μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαβεῖν.  
 10 Δωρίωνι ὡς τ . . . . τα,  
 σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς . . ἰστ . . .  
 ἐπιλάμβανε.

'Through Horion (?). Since it will be necessary to obtain from the comogrammateus at Oxyrhyncha a statement of the collected garlic and the rest of the pulse in accordance with the message of the dioecetes, order Theon not to leave until he obtains it. To Dorion . . ., for do you obtain . . .'

1. A correction has been made in this line, and what was intended is not clear. δι . . . . s was originally written; the letters between δι and s were then nearly effaced and ὠριων was written over and partially through them. Perhaps the name Ὀρίων has simply replaced another beginning with Δι (? Διογένης), but in that case it is strange that those two letters were not more effectively cancelled. That Δωρίων was meant seems less likely, although that name occurs in l. 10; at any rate Δωρίωνι cannot be read here.

2-4. Cf. 27. 47-8 παρὰ τῶ[ν κωμογραμ]ματέων ἐπιλαβῶν τὴν γραφὴν.

10-12. These three lines are in the same hand as the rest. At the end of l. 10 τάχιστα is not suitable, nor is ταχύτατα satisfactory. In l. 11 the word after αὐτός is possibly ἐπιστολὴν.

## 718. DUES FROM CROWN CULTIVATORS.

57.

19.2 × 12.5 cm.

About 140 B.C.

This letter, though perhaps nearly complete, is at present not very intelligible. It refers to a money-payment from the cultivators of Oxyrhyncha, and directs

the two officials addressed, in case of further arrears, to obtain from the γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν (cf. e.g. 236, P. Fay. 18 (a)) a list of the holdings and (to complete?) the account. The purpose for which the payments were made is not clear. The 29th year mentioned in l. 7 is likely to be that of Euergetes II.

. ε . ρε̄ <sup>σ</sup> πο . . .  
 Πτολεμαῖος Μάρωνι καὶ  
 Πια . . . ωι χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ  
 διαγέγραπται παρὰ τῶν ἐξ Ὁξύρου(γῶν)  
 5 βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν εἰς τὴν κει( )  
 ὥστε τοῖς . . . . . ι . εϋσι  
 ε . . . . . τῶν κθ̄ (ἔτους)  
 χαλκοῦ (τάλαντα) δ' Βφ, / (τάλ.) δ' Βφ,  
 εἰ δ' ἐπιλοιπογραφεῖται,  
 10 λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν γεω(ργῶν) τὸ κα-  
 τ' ἄνδρα τῶν ἐν μισθῶσι . ε . . .  
 [.] . . σθε τῶν λόγου ὡς καθήκει.  
 . . . . .

1. This line may have been added by another hand. Μεσορε[ί] is a possible reading, but there is no stroke over the  $\sigma$  above the line. The final letter is something like a large  $\alpha$ ; or perhaps  $\lambda\omicron( )$  or  $\omicron\lambda( )$  was meant.

6. Possibly . . . σιλευσι, but βασιλεῦσι is apparently not to be read, nor would τοῖς βασ. sufficiently account for the remains. The letter before εϋσι is more like  $\mu$  than  $\lambda$ .

9. Not εἰ δέ τι λ., unless the  $\tau$  is much misformed; this, however, seems to be the only instance of ἐπιλοιπογραφεῖν.

## 719. LICENCE FOR THE VINTAGE.

9.

13.7 × 12.1 cm.

B.C. 150.

A short statement issued probably by a tax-farmer that he had accompanied a person to two villages for the purpose of gathering the latter's grapes. Cultivators were required to notify their intention to begin the vintage to the tax-farmers, who had a right of inspection (Rev. Laws xxiv. 14 sqq., P. Petrie II. 40 (b)), and 719 seems to be a sort of certificate which could be produced in case any question should be raised, e.g. by the γενηματοφύλακες, about the removal of the crops.

The text is on the verso of the papyrus, on the recto of which is part of a

document written in a small hand across the fibres and much effaced. That the 32nd year refers to the reign of Philometor is indicated by palaeographical considerations.

[. . . . .] . [.]σ . . . . . ς  
 Πνεφερω̄τι χαίρειν. παρι-  
 λήφαμεν σε εἰς Κ[ε]ρκεοσίριν  
 καὶ Ἄρεως κώμην τῆι  
 5 κς̄ ὄπως τρυγῆ[ση]ς  
 τοὺς σ[ο]ῦς ἀμπελῶνας μέχρι τοῦ  
 σταθῆναι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦς.  
 (ἔτους) λβ Φαῶφι κς̄.

' . . . to Pnepheros, greeting. We have taken you to Kerkeosiris and the village of Ares on the 27th in order that you may gather your vineyards pending the settlement in regard to them. The 32nd year, Phaophi 27.'

1. There were perhaps two names in this line, though that hardly follows from the plural in l. 2.

## 720. PAYMENT THROUGH A BANK.

104.

12.5 × 7.4 cm.

Before 238 B.C.

This fragment relates to an item of expenditure on agricultural implements required for a vineyard at Hephaestias, in the north of the nome, belonging to 'Berenice, the king's daughter'. Whether this princess was the daughter of Philadelphus who was married to Antiochus II in 251 B.C., or the youthful daughter of Euergetes who died in 238 B.C., is not certain; the handwriting points rather to the later date. In any case, this is an interesting early parallel to the γῆ ἐν προσόδοι τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως (i.e. probably Epiphanes) in P. Petrie III. 97. 10; cf. the note *ad loc.*, and Wilcken, *Grundz.* p. 147.

Since the beginning of the document is lost, the source of the payment is indeterminate, but in view of its purpose it seems more likely to have been made from than to the bank. The formula would then be analogous to that of the receipts in P. Petrie II. 26, where subsidiaries of the same bank are most probably concerned; cf. n. on ll. 2-4.

τ[  
 [. . . . . Πύθ]ωνος

τρ[απε]ζίτου ἐν Κρο-  
 κοδίλων πόλει εἰς κατα-  
 5 σκευὴν δικελλῶν κ  
 τῶν εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀμπε-  
 λῶνος τοῦ Βερενίκης  
 τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 θυγατρὸς τοῦ περὶ  
 10 Ἐφαιστιάδα τῆς Τι-  
 μοθέου νο(μαρχίας) ἐκ δραχμῶν  
 τεσσαράρων δραχμῶν  
 ὀγδοήκ[ον]τα.

‘. . . acknowledges that he has received from?] Python, banker at Crocodilopolis, for the provision of 20 mattocks for the work of the vineyard of Berenice, the king’s daughter at Hephaestias in the nomarchy of Timotheus, at 4 drachmae each, 80 drachmae.’

2-4. The name of the banker Python, who is well known at this period, may be restored with confidence; cf. P. Petrie II. 26, P.S.I. 386. 7, 16, 512. 16, and Hal. 15. 2-3, which agrees with the present passage in showing that he was in charge of the central bank at the metropolis.

10-11. This nomarch has occurred in P. Cairo Zen. 59272. 1, 59326 bis. 10, 59395. 3.

## 721. ORDER FOR PAYMENT.

16.

14.7 × 9.2 cm.

B.C. 193?

An order for a customary transfer from fishermen to a priest of the payments of a certain day in Phaophi. Owing to the mutilation of l. 3 the occasion of this transaction is obscure; and the nature of the payments also remains uncertain. The reign may be that of Epiphanes.

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀχιλλεῖ  
 χαίρειν. τὴν γινομένην  
 ἡμέραν τῶν η . . . . τοῦ  
 Φαῶφι ὑπολογίσης τῶν  
 5 ἀλιείων τὰς δόσεις ἀπόδος  
 Ὀννώφρει τῶι ἱερεῖ καθότι

εἴθισται καὶ σύμβολον  
 ποιήσατε. καὶ περὶ . [.] . . . των  
 ὡς ἐὰν οἰκονομήσητε  
 10 καὶ ἡμῖν διασαφεῖτε.  
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιγ Φαῶφι κα.

On the verso

Α[χιλλεῖ.

‘Apollonius to Achilles, greeting. Deduct from the fishermen the regular day of . . . in Phaophi and give the payments to Onnophris the priest, as usual, and make out a receipt. And notify to us also whatever disposition you make about . . . Good-bye. The 13th year, Phaophi 21.’

3. τῶν not τῆν was apparently written, but on the other hand if -ων preceded the highly probable τοῦ, a more definite trace of the flourished ν used by the writer would be expected.

5. For the form ἀλειών, which Preisigke in his *Wörterbuch* mistakenly refers to ἀλειεία, cf. P. Amh. 30. 29, Louvre 10632 (W. 167), Wilcken, *Ost.* 1348. 2, and e.g. 787. 7 βραδείως, 814. 16 β]ραχείως, Mayser, *Gram.* i. 72.

8. The remains do not well suit τούτων, nor does it seem very likely that after so precise an order the writer would contemplate a different mode of action.

## 722. ORDER FOR PAYMENT TO SOLDIERS.

48.

15 × 9 cm.

Second century B.C.

Both this and the next papyrus are concerned with the pay and rations of troops on service, a subject on which further evidence is welcome. 722 is an order to an antigrapheus (a controlling official attached to sitologi; cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 189 int.) to issue from the granaries at Bubastus to an agent of the scribe attached to a body of Macedonian infantry a quantity of wheat for the use of soldiers from that unit who were encamped in the nome. A similar order of a somewhat later date, from a basilicogrammateus to the antigrapheus of a granary, was published by Kunkel in *Archiv* viii. 201-2 (B.G.U. 1748). Lesquier, *Inst. mil. sous les Lagides*, p. 102, followed Wilcken, *Aktenstücke d. k. Bank zu Theben*, p. 50, in stating that the royal bank at Thebes delivered to the military intendants both cash and corn, but the ground for this rather surprising assertion is not evident. Wheat no doubt figures in Theb. Bank 5-7, but it was with the wheat of which the value was paid in money that the bank was concerned. Thus in Theb. Bank 6, for instance, the 13 artabae which were not subject to an

*adaeratio* (l. 17) are not included in the order to the banker; presumably a corresponding requisition for these was sent, directly or indirectly, to a sitologus.

The position of Samius, the writer of 722, is not stated, but the Berlin parallel cited above (cf. also P. Berlin 13959 in *Archiv* viii. 197) leaves little room for doubt that he was the basilicogrammateus whose subordinates the *antigrapheis* were (cf. Wilcken, *Chrest.* l. c.). And it is natural to suppose that Theb. Bank 5-7 also were issued by a basilicogrammateus, notwithstanding Wilcken's preference for the *γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων* (*op. cit.* p. 51).

The papyrus, of which the regnal year, if given, is lost, may be attributed to the reign of Philometor.

Σάμιος Ἡρακλείδει  
χαίρειν. ἐὰν οἱ παρὰ  
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ σιτο-  
λόγου μετρῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν  
5 ἐπακολουθούντων, [δὸς  
ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Βούβαστ[ον  
ἐργαστηρίου Ἐστιεῖω  
τῶι παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου  
γραμματέως ὥστε  
10 τοῖς ἐν τῶι νομῶι πεζοῖς  
ὑπαίθροις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ  
Μακεδονικοῦ ἀφ' οὗ γράφει  
πλήθους π[υρο]ῦ ἀρτάβας  
[. . . .]τα τ[ρεῖ]ς.  
15 [ἔρρωσο. ἔτους - - -

On the verso

ἀντιγρ(αφεί) τοῦ  
περὶ Βούβαστον Ἡρακλείδει.

'Samius to Heracleides, greeting. If the agents of Apollonius the sitologus are measuring corn in presence of the assessors, give from the store at Bubastus to Hestieus the agent of Apollodorus, scribe, for the infantry, encamped in the nome, belonging to the Macedonian corps from which he writes (?), [.]3 artabae of wheat. Good-bye. [Date.]'

2-5. For the proviso cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 87. 14, 21.

7. For *ἐργαστήριον* in the sense of a local *θησαυρός* with its branches cf. 774, 823. 10, &c., P. Ryl. 72. 82, n. Hestieus was probably a *ὑπηρέτης*; cf. Theb. Bank 5. 8, 7. 6. 12-13. Perhaps a comma should be inserted before ἀφ', 'of the amount he mentions'.

12. γράφει: sc. Apollodorus, who may be supposed to have sent a requisition (αἴτησις), as was done by the γραμματεῖς in Theb. Bank 5-7.

14. Either [τριάκον]τα or [ἑξήκον]τα would suit the space.

## 723. ORDER FOR PAYMENT TO SOLDIERS.

38.

22.3 × 14 cm.

B.C. 137.

This papyrus, which, like 722, relates to the pay and provisions of soldiers, is deprived of much of its value by the loss of the ends of the lines, which renders details obscure. It contains an authorization, presumably addressed to a banker, to make the monthly payment due to certain mercenaries, and encloses a copy of the requisition which the writer (a basilicogrammateus? cf. 722 int.) had received; cf. Theb. Bank 5-7, where a similar procedure is followed, and P. Bad. 47. The papyrus is written in a good second-century hand, and the 33rd year mentioned is doubtless that of Euergetes II, the documents accompanying 723 ranging from the 31st year to the 36th. One of them at least (812) came from the Heracleopolite nome.

How many letters are missing at the ends of the lines is very uncertain, and the number may well be larger than what is suggested in our transcript. The supplement printed in l. 2, which has been taken as a basis, gives the minimum; but if e.g. χρηματίσας be there substituted for δούς, a proportionate increase in the lacunae of the succeeding lines should of course be made.

. . . . .  
 σν . [ . . . . . ] . . . [ . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 τὸ ἀν[τίγραφ]ον. καλῶς οὐδὲν ποιήσεις δούς?  
 ἃ γράφ[ει] καθήκειν τοῖς μισθοφόροις  
 εἰς Τῦβι τοῦ λγ (ἔτους) ὀψώ[νια καὶ σιτώνια]?  
 5 κα . . μ . . . πῦρου χαλκ[οῦ] τάλαντα?  
 ἑξακόσ[ι]α ἑβδομήκον[τα] . . . . . (τάλ.)  
 ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα [ . . . . . ]  
 γίνεται χαλκοῦ [(τάλ.) . . . . . ]  
 κριθῆς (ἄρταβ.) ξς [ . . . . . ἐν τοῖς  
 10 καθήκουσι χρόνοις [ . . . . . ]  
 καὶ εἴ τι προδέδοτ[αι] . . . . . ]  
 ὑπολόγησαι καὶ σ[ύμβολον] πόησαι  
 . [ . . . . . ο]ύτως [ 15 l.

- [ ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λγ . . . . .
- 15 *Εὐφράνορι κ . .* [ 16 l.  
*παρ' Ἀριστολάου .* [ 16 l.  
*τὸ συναγόμενον* [ὄψώνιον τοῖς ἐν . . .  
*μισθοφόροις εἰς Τ[ὺβι τοῦ λγ (ἔτους) . . . . .*  
*τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)* [ 17 l.
- 20 *ἀνι( ) χ[αλκο]ῦ (ταλ.)* [ 17 l.  
*ἀλλα( ) ἀρχα( ) χθ* [ 17 l.  
*(ἀρτ.) φος* (ταλ.) [ 18 l.  
*εἰς τοὺς ἴππους . .* [ 18 l.  
*ἐκ(άστῳ) ς ξ[* 18 l.
- 25 *κριθῆς* ξ[ς? 17 l.  
 [

4. ὄψ[ω]ν[ια καὶ σιτώνια: cf. Theb. Bank 6. 3, 7. 3. The word *σιτώνιον* should then occur somewhere in the lacunae of ll. 20 sqq.

5. *κατὰ μῆνα* suggests itself, but is not a convincing reading of the scanty remains, and *πυροῦ χαλκ[οῦ]* is an awkward collocation. It *πυροῦ* is right, the meaning must be that money was paid in lieu of wheat, as with the *σιτώνια* in Theb. Bank 6. 9, 17; but the amounts there asked for under the headings of *ὄψώνιον* and *σιτώνια* are 2785 drachmae and 3833 dr. 2 ob. respectively, a very different ratio from that shown by the figures in ll. 6-7 here. Those preserved in ll. 20-4 are not helpful.

9. *κριθῆς*: cf. l. 25, which is perhaps the same item, and n. ad loc. Barley does not occur in Theb. Bank 5-7, but there is a probable mention of *φακός* in 7. 15.

11-12. Cf. Theb. Bank 7. 8 *εἰ δέ τι προδέδο(ται), ὑπολόγησον, καὶ σύμβο(λον) πόησαι ὡς καθή(κει).*

14. That *ἔρρωσο* and the date formed a separate line and not the end of l. 13 is not certain.

15-16. *καί* [ is possible, but a patronymic *κ . .* [ seems more likely. In l. 16 what is left of the last letter would suit *γ, μ, ν* and perhaps *γ[ραμματέως χαίρειν]* should be restored, with *τῶ* at the end of the preceding line.

20. *ἀνι( )*: not *ἀνά* apparently; a long vertical line is drawn through the *ν*. But *ανι( )* here is puzzling. At any rate no connexion is likely with the unexplained minor item *ἀνν( )* in Theb. Bank 6. 10, 18.

21. A probable explanation of the abbreviations remains to be found. *αρχα( )*, if right (*ε* could well be read in place of the initial *α*), should be *ἀρχαῖος* in some form. The use of the adjective as a qualification of both *πεζοί* and *ἵππεις* (cf. Wilcken, *Aktenst.* p. 64) is hardly apposite here. Was an *ἀλλαγὴ* on *ἀρχαῖον ἀργύριον* meant? It is noticeable that what might be taken for *αλ( )* is prefixed to amounts which are added to larger sums<sup>1</sup> in Theb. Bank 6. 10, 16, 18 (probably not in l. 9, where the sign for *πυροῦ* or *ἀπράβη*, if any-

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon in P. Brit. Mus. I, p. 56 followed Wilcken, *Aktenst.* p. 54 in saying that the abbreviation seems to be otiose. Apparently they did not observe that what in l. 16 was divided into two items was purposely given as one (*συναγόμενον*) in l. 8. The proportion of the amount described as *αλ( )* to the larger amount which precedes is nearly the same in l. 16 as in l. 18.



thing, is expected). It seems, however, very questionable whether that abbreviation is to be brought into connexion with ἀλλα( ) ἀρχα( ) in the present passage.

23-5. ἵππους is unconvincing, but cf. the two Berlin papyri in *Archiv* viii. 200-2, where barley is specified for cavalry horses. The figures here (cf. l. 9) suggest that the horses were eleven in number. In l. 24 a faint mark above κ may indicate abbreviation, so that ἐκ(ἀστω) is preferable to ἐκ; cf. *Archiv* viii. 204-5, ll. 13 and 7.

## 724. SUPPLY OF WINE TO SOLDIERS.

II.

33.3 × 22 cm.

B.C. 175 or 164?

Draft of a letter reporting a difficulty which had arisen about the supply of wine by retailers to some cavalrymen, and had caused one of the parties, probably the retailers, to retire to a temple. The writer had taken steps to deal with the situation, but owing to the mutilation of the papyrus the latter part of the letter is not very clear. It seems to belong at earliest to the reign of Philometor. On the verso ll. 3-6 τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων-οἴνον, as amended, but with εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τόπους instead of πρὸς ἡμᾶς, have been written out again in the rapid cursive of the recto, and below this ll. 2-8 Τεεφραίωι-κατα (with αὐτῶι for -τοῖς) are repeated in an upright formal hand.

(Ἔτους) 5 Παῦνι 5.

Τεεφραίωι.

τῶν ὑπ[ολελ]ειμμένων ἀπὸ τῶν  
 τῶν ἐπικραστιζόντων [[ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ[ι]]]  
 ἵππέων παραγενομένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 [[καὶ τ]]  
 5 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι χορηγεῖσθαι  
 αὐτοῖς οἶνον διὰ τῶν καπήλων  
 [[ἀλλ]] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [[τῶν καπήλων]]  
 φυγόντων  
 καταπεφευγότων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν,  
 παρεγενόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, [[. . . . . ν]]  
 10 καὶ τῶν πλειόνων τ[. . . . .]  
 λήμψονται ἀπὸ τοῦ περιόντος [. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] γενή(ματος) κε(ράμια) σ[. . . . .]  
 [. . .] . ν ε . . . . . σαι κ . . . . . ν . . . . . [. . . . .] . . . . . ἐν ἀγρῶι σι  
 [ἡ]ναγκάσθημεν οὐθὲνδὸς διαφόρου ἐν αὐτοῖς

15 ἀναφερομένου ιη δοῦναι καὶ τὴν ἐπι(στολήν) πέμψαι  
πρὸς σὲ ἵν' ὅσηι φαίνεται . . . . . ι.

8. γ of καταπεφευγῶν corr.

'The 6th year, Pauni 6. To Tephraeus. The remainder of the cavalrymen who are pasturing their horses having come to me because wine is no longer supplied to them by the retailers, who (?) have on this account taken refuge in the temple, we went to them, and the majority . . . (on condition of?) receiving from the surplus . . . of the produce 200 (?) jars . . . we were compelled, since no debit against them (?) is reported, to give 18 and to send you this letter in order that as much as is approved . . .'

3. ἐπικρατίζειν is unknown to the lexica. P. Grenf. I. 42. 11 (W. 447) shows that ἡ κράσις τῶν ἵππων was among the regular allowances of the cavalry.

8. According to the first draft it was the κάπηλοι who fled, and presumably this was the meaning of the writer, who in deleting τῶν κ. in l. 7 perhaps intended to insert τῶν after those words in l. 6.

10. A conditional conjunction like εἰ, ἐφ' ᾧ, εἰ μὴ is required at the end of the line.

15. ἀναφ. is followed by what appears to be the number ιη with a horizontal stroke above.

16. Some distance below this line there are two short lines containing figures, apparently unconnected with the foregoing letter.

## 725. COMMUNICATION FROM AN ENGINEER.

80.

Fr. 1 14.5 × 18.3 cm.

Early second century B.C.

This text is so imperfect that consecutive sense is unobtainable, and whether it should be classed as a report or a petition is uncertain. The writer was an engineer who, apparently addressing the diocetes, enlarges on the loss to the revenue in consequence of the neglect of engineering requirements. A reference in l. 14 to the original settlement of the nome would suit a date in the third century, but both palaeographical considerations and the date of the papyri which accompanied this one point rather to a later period. Besides the two pieces printed, coming respectively from the top and the bottom of a column, there are several small fragments which are not worth reproducing; one of them at the beginning of the line has the name Θεοδ[, which but for the probable date of the papyrus might be taken for a reference to the ἀρχιτέκτων Theodorus of P. Petrie III. 43, &c. Fr. 1 shows a junction of two sheets on the right-hand edge, Fr. 2 on the left; if therefore the two fragments came from the same column, Fr. 2 is most probably to be placed below the extreme right-hand portion of Fr. 1. On the verso of the latter is 730; the verso of Fr. 2 is blank.

διοικ]ητή[ι] παρὰ Τεσενούφιου τ[οῦ] Σισούχου, ἀρχιτέκτωνος τῶν ἐκ Π[  
]ίας καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπικαρπίας οὐκ ἀπ' ἄλλου [

ἀρχιτεκτονίας περισχομένης ταύτην γε ιδιότητ' ε[  
 ] . μους, κατημελημένης δὲ κούχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπ[  
 5 ] καὶ μεγάλων βλαβερῶν ἐπιγεγενημένων τῆι α[  
 σιτικῆι φορολογίαι, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταύτη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν [  
 ] . ἔλαικην καὶ καθόλου ἐν τοῖς ὄλοις ἡλαττωμ[έν . .  
 τ]ῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐνοφθαλμισθήσεται σα[ι] ἐν α[  
 μ]άλιστα ἐπιβάλλοντος, τῆς τούτων συντηρήσεως  
 10 ] ἔργως τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὀτιοῦν συμφέρουσι εἰς τὸ β[ασιλικὸν ?  
 ] σοι πολυωρομένους ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκ προγ[ράμματος ?  
 ] τοῖς ἀποσ[τ]ελλομένοις εἰς τὸν νομὸν ἀρχιτέ[κτοσι  
 ] ἐκάστων τῶν διασεσαφ[ημέ]νων ὑπερεχοντ[  
 ] πρῶτον μὲν ἀφ' οὗ ἐκτίσ[θη ὁ] νομὸς τοῦ πατ[ρὸς  
 15 ] αἰς καὶ συντελουμέ[ναις ἐν τ]ῶι νομῶι διώρυσ[ι  
 ] κοῖς τε καὶ λατόμ[οις . . . . .] καὶ αἰεὶ ποτε ἔλυσ[  
 ] . [ . . . . . ] τὸν ποτισμὸν α[  
 ] γ[τ]

## Fr. 2.

	]	. . τῶν τῶ . . [		] ἀντιλήψεω[ς
20	]	. ης τοῦ νομοῦ ἔξε[		] ἐναντιομέ[
	μετὰ τὴν ἐκ]εῖνου τελευτὴν ε[			] . ι ἀνακτη[σ
	]	ς διαδεδεγμέν[	30	] ται διὰ τὰ βι . [
		]ων ἀλ . [		] αὐτα ποτισ[
	]	. (ἔτους) Θωὸθ ις ἐν δι . [		] πλείστα μέρη τοῦ . [
25	ἀρ]χιτέκτονος μετ[			] ]
	]	γ παντελῶ[ς		] ἐκάστων.

1. ἀρχιτεκτονος written small in a space left blank or cleared by deletion. 5. μ of μεγάλων corr. from βλα.

5. Perhaps ἀ[ργυρικῆι προσάδωι; cf. e.g. P. Amh. 31. 6 τὴν σιτικὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀργ. πρ., and 5. 11; but it may be doubted whether ἀ]ργ. πρ. καὶ τῆι would fill the lacuna.

8. The rare verb ἐνοφθαλμίσειν is used by Theophrastus in the sense of budding or grafting trees. Its meaning in the present place is not clear.

14. Not πατ[ρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως προστάξαντος, if the papyrus is as late as we have supposed; cf. introd.

16. καὶ αἰεὶ: this seems a likelier division here than ] καιαι εἰ. For the spelling αἰεὶ cf. 27. 80.

## 726. IRREGULAR GRANT OF LAND.

13.

13.5 × 23 cm.

Second century B.C.

A notification to a basilicogrammateus that a phylacites had received a grant from land that was not available for that purpose, i.e. was already arable. The violation of the principle that arable Crown land was not given to cleruchs was a frequent source of trouble; cf. Vol. I, pp. 551-5. This letter, which is incomplete, is on the verso of the papyrus, and is probably only a draft or copy; the recto is blank except for one line which has no relation to the text on the verso.

Col. i.

(Ἔτους) ( ) Μεσορῆ κη.

Ἰμούθῃ βα(σιλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ).

Λέψις τῶν κατοικούντων

ἐν Κροκοδίλων πό(λει) φυ(λακτικῶν) καταμε-

5 μετρημένου παρὰ τὸ κα-

θῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς μὴ κα-

θηκούσης γῆς περὶ κώ-

μην Πτολεμαῖδα Νέαν

. . . . .

Col. ii.

περὶ τούτων λόγον

10 ποιήσασθαι.

3. ψ of λειψις corr. from π.

'The        year, Mesore 28. To Imouthes, basilicogrammateus. Since Lepsis, one of the phylacitae resident in Crocodilopolis, has wrongly received a piece of the land which it is wrong to grant in the area of the village of New Ptolemais . . ., [I request you (?)] to take account of this.'

1. The number of the year was inadvertently omitted: the reign may be that of Philometor.

3. Λέψις = Λέψιος, like e.g. Πετοσίρις in 731. 2-3; cf. 768. 7, Mayser, *Gram.* i. 148.

## 727. COMPLAINT OF A SITOLOGUS.

16.

31 × 8.5 cm.

B.C. 184?

A draft of a letter, unaddressed, composed apparently by a sitologus, who complains of violence and theft on the part of several persons. The text is on

the verso, the recto containing a demotic document. Damage to the surface in places renders the cursive writing difficult to read.

- α τοῦ Παῦνι
- Τῆι κα τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 τος μηνὸς παρα . . . . .  
 σεν . ρ . . . . . ος με . . . . . ιος  
 τοῦ Παῆτος καὶ Τεσενοῦ-
- 5 φίος [[καὶ]] . . . . . ις . . . . . ος  
 δὲ ἐμοῦ ἀρθῆ  
 [[ 181. ]]
- ὁ κεκαθαρμένος αὐτῶν  
 σῖτος ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἄλων  
 εἰς τὸν βα(σιλικὸν) θη(σαυρόν), καὶ ἐμοῦ κατα-
- 10 βάντος ἐπὶ τόπους καὶ  
 μετρήσαντος τὸν σῖτον  
 ἀνὰ (ἀρουρῶν ?) ια (ἀρτάβας) ληλ καὶ τὰ . .  
 συναποστείλαντος αὐτοῖς Νεχθνί-  
 βιν τὸν υἱὸν μου καταστῆ
- 15 σαι εἰς τὸν θη(σαυρόν) ἀπεβιάσαντο  
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπήνεγκαν  
 αὐ[τ]οῦ τ . γ νο( ) (πυροῦ ?) (ἀρτάβας) κδλ.  
 οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσι  
 τῆι θ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς
- 20 ἠρκότες ἀνευ ἐμοῦ  
 μίαν ἀλωνιείαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔγραψά  
 σοι ἐπιστόλιον τ . . . . . φρ . .  
 Πνεφερῶτι ι . . . . . ρ . . . . .  
 καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχ[ο]υσαν  
 ἀλωνιείαν
- 25 [[ . . . . . ν ] ἀπασαν . . . . . .  
 ἀναληφθ . . . . . ε . . . . .  
 ἐξελίκμωσεν ὁ Σοκ[ο]-  
 νοῦπις ὁ κω(μ ) α . . . . . ο . [ . . . .  
 διδὸ ἀγνωεῖν με τὸν
- 30 ἐκ ταύτης γεγε-

νημένον πυρόν.  
(ἔτους) κα Παῦνι κ .

13. αυτοῖς inserted above the line. 21. ιεῖαν of ἀλωιειαν inserted above the line; cf. l. 25. 24. υπαρ corr. 25. The deleted word was perhaps σῖτον. σ of ἀπασαν corr. from ν?

‘On the 21st of the present month . . . came with (?) . . . son of Paes and Tesenouphis son of . . . (in order that) their cleansed corn on his floors might be moved by me to the royal granary; and after I had gone to the spot and measured the corn at 38½ artabae from 11 arurae (?), and had sent my son Nechthnibis with them to take it to the granary, they overpowered him and carried off . . . 24½ artabae of wheat. And on the 9th of the same month it happened that the same persons took away in my absence one floorful, about which I wrote you a letter . . . and a whole floorful was threshed by Sokonouphis the village . . . , and in consequence I do not know the amount of wheat produced from it. The 21st year, Pauni 2[.].’

1. α above the line was apparently a mistake for κα; a day subsequent to the 9th is indicated by l. 19.

2-3. The construction here is uncertain. In l. 3 πρὸς με can be read, preceded by γρ, which might represent γραμματεὺς, though no abbreviation is indicated; but this does not well accord with the following names, nor does παρα with a finite verb. Perhaps the letters should be divided παραγενομένου (παραγεν . . . is quite suitable) Σε . . . ος, possibly followed by μετά.

6. All this line has apparently been crossed through, but ἀρθῆ above implies a final conjunction which was or should have been retained.

8. For ἀτός = αὐτός cf. e.g. 121. 92, 812. 9.

10. The supposed ν of τόπους has a stroke too much, but τοῦ in l. 19 seems to have been similarly written.

12. At the end of the line τότε is unsatisfactory.

17. The abbreviation consists of an ν surmounted by a small ο, and is more naturally taken for νο( ) than ον( ); but neither τῆν νο(μήν) nor τῶν νο(μῶν) is at all convincing here. The following symbol is a waved upright line, 2, without the curved stroke usually drawn through it to represent πν(ρός).

23. There is a horizontal stroke over ι and the following letter (β?); perhaps therefore a date is indicated and (τῆι) should be inserted.

26. ἀναληφθείσαν is rather expected, and the apparent interlineation might be so interpreted, but there is no indication of deletion and the letters below are not -θέντα.

28. Not κώ(μης) ἀλωνοφύλαξ: the remains suggest αγι.

30. The latter part of the line is blotted and there was perhaps some alteration.

## 728. REPORT CONCERNING THE OIL MONOPOLY.

41.

10.4 × 30 cm.

Second century B.C.

Part of a letter reporting to an unnamed official deficiencies in the raw material due to be manufactured into oil during the last two months of a year and also in the foreign oil sold. Contracts for the monopoly commonly ran for

a year, at the end of which a final reckoning was made. According to Rev. Laws xlv. 13-17, prescribed amounts of the various kinds of oil-bearing produce had to be used by the presses daily; cf. 703. 145-7, P. Hibeh 43. The deficiency in the sale of foreign oil is more recondite (cf. n. on l. 8); a payment of 100 copper talents expected from the contractors is also unexplained.

Having been written out in a large careful script, the letter received a number of alterations in small cursive which, though very different in style, need not imply a different writer. At l. 7 the corrector made an interlinear insertion, cancelled it, repeated the same words above those deleted, and then gave another version in the margin.

Slight vestiges of 1 line.

ἐτ[ο]λίμως ἔχ[ουσι] τῆ[ν] τε κ[α]τεργασίαν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν  
τοὺς σταθεῖσιν [[ὑπὸ σοῦ]] πρὸς τ[ὸν] Διονύσιον ἐπὶ  
 ἐκ πλήρους παραδιδόναι ἀκολουθῶς [[οἷς συγγέγραπται [ὀ]]

Πτολεμαίου τῶν φίλων καὶ ἀρχιερέτρον

[[Διονύσιος]] καὶ προσέτι καθιστῶν τὰ καθήκοντα διεγγυήματα

5 κα[ὶ] διαγράφειν τὰ ρ τά(λαντα) τοῦ χαλκοῦ, εὐρίσκοντε[ς]

πρὸς μὲν <sup>τῆ[ν]</sup> [[τ[ῆ]ν] ἕως Μεσορῆ]] κατεργασίαν ἀπολελοιπυ[ίας]

ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ σοῦ σταθέντων ]

ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
Πτ[ο]λεμ[αίου]  
σταθέντων

σησάμου ἀ[ρτ(άβας)] Βπηλδ' κνήκου ἀρτ(άβ.) ψκς κρότωνος ἀρτ(άβ.)

χ[. . .]

πρὸς δὲ τῆ[ν] δ[ι]άθεσιν ξενικοῦ με(τρητὰς) μς χ(όας) γ κο(τύλας) η [καλῶς ἔχειν ἐκρίν[αμ]εν ἀνευγκεῖν ἴν' ἐμβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸ

10 δι[αλ]άβησις [ὡς ἀ]ν φαί[ν]ηται καὶ ἡμῖν συντάξῃσι προσφωνήσαι.

3-4. οὐς . . . Διονύσιος and υπο σου above the line crossed through. 6. τ[ῆν] . . . Μεσορῆ bracketed. 7. ἐκ . . . σταθέντων repeated above ἐκ των ἐπὶ σοῦ [σ]ταθέντων, which was crossed through.

‘[. . . having been informed that (?) they are ready to hand over in full the manufacture and distribution in accordance with the agreement made with Dionysius in the presence of Ptolemaeus, one of the friends of the king and chief cupbearer, and also to deliver the proper sureties and to pay the 100 talents of copper, finding that for the manufacture in Epeiph and Mesore there is a deficiency of 2088 $\frac{3}{4}$  artabae of sesame, 726 art. of cneus, 6 . . . art. of croton, and for the distribution 47 metretae 3 choes 8 cotylae of foreign oil, we judged it right to report this in order that you may look into it and decide as you think best and may order a report to be made to us.’

3. ἀρχεδαύτρον: cf. 778. 12, *Archiv* viii. 277, Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 169. 4 and n. The title ἐδάτρον occurs in P. Cairo Zen. 59031. 18.

καθιστᾶν . . . διεγγυήματα: cf. Rev. Laws lvi. 14-15 οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι τὴν [ὠ]νὴν ἐγγύους καταστήσουσι τῶ[ν] ἐφεικοστῶν. Here, however, sureties seem to be required from outgoing contractors; was their contract perhaps being renewed for another term? The 100 talents in l. 5 might then be an earnest of the purchase price. For the form καθιστᾶν cf. P. Par. 23. 11, 51. 15.

8. Rev. Laws lii. 7 sqq. prohibits the sale of foreign oil in the χώρα, but the present passage confirms other evidence that the prohibition was subsequently removed. The deficiency here reported may mean that sales had fallen short of the stock in hand.

## 729. REPORT CONCERNING SEIZURE OF LIVESTOCK.

44.

13.4 × 39.5 cm.

Second century B.C.

This papyrus includes remains of three columns, the first consisting only of ends of lines which are too much obliterated to be decipherable. Col. ii, which is much damaged, gives part of a list of owners of *μηχαναί*, e.g. Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Πεπεσούχου *μηχαν(ν)ή* α; in two at least of the entries *θύ(ρα)* α also occurs. The third column contains the latter part of the draft of a letter followed by a couple of lines relating to *ζυτηρά*. The letter, of which the text is given below, is interesting, though somewhat enigmatical. It reports the high-handed proceedings of an individual who seems to have been in command of troops (ll. 1-3) and had impounded the sheep and cattle of the writer's neighbourhood. An obscure reference occurs to priests, who were somehow involved (l. 13). No date occurs, but the time suggested both by the handwriting and the accompanying texts is about the middle of the second century, and the episode described perhaps occurred during the troubled earlier part of Philometor's reign.

τ[.] προεφέρετο δεινα . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . [ . . . . . ]

ε . ο . σ[τρα-

τιώταις εἰς τὰς σιταρχίας καὶ τ . . . . . ἐπι . ε . . [ . . ] . . . .

[ . . οὐκ

ἔφη συνεμβήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μὴ εἰς] διετίαν ἀπαρτες ἐπιτε[λέ]-  
σωσιν ἡμὴ τὴν τιμὴν συναγάγωσι ἐν τάχει. τοιούτων γενομένων  
ἀνέλυσεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον.

5 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσκαλούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆι ἐχομένῃ ὅπως εἰδῆ  
τί ἐπι-

τελοῦσιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς αὐτοὺς στήσῃ οὐκέτι ὤφθησαν. διὸ καὶ



εὐθὺς περιελθὼν τὰ πέδια τὰς τε βόας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συνπερι-  
ελάσας ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν κώμην, ἃ καὶ παρέδωκεν τοῖς  
φυλακίταις), ὧν ἐστὶν τὸ κατ' εἶδος πρόβατα) σὺν ἄρ(νασι) φπ,  
βόες σὺν ταύροις καὶ

- 10 δαμάλεσιν ξξ, καὶ ταῦτα συνέκλεισεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν,  
αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὰς περιόικους κώμας ἐπέδραμεν ὑπολιπόμενος  
Διονύσιον τὸν διαδεχόμενον αὐτόν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπέστ[ρ]εψεν,  
τοῦ δὲ τρα(πεζίτου) παραγενομένου τῆι ἡ διεγράφη ὁ δηλούμενος χα(λκός) Ποσειδωνίωι τῶι  
παρὰ Δ[ι]ο[ν]υ(σίου) τοῦ τρα(πεζίτου)  
μέχρι δὲ τοῦ γράφειν ἔτι ἐστὶν ἐν τῆι κώ(μῃ). οἱ δ' ἀγνέυσαντες  
οὐδὲ γῆς  
ἡμμένοι εἰσίν. [[οὐδὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν εἰσφορὰν τελοῦμένων. διὸ γέ-  
γραφέ σοι ὕπως εἰδήης.]] αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπον  
15 ἐπιμένων πειρᾶται συμπεῖσαι αὐτούς. διὸ γέγραφέ σοι ὕπως εἰδήης.

τὸ ἐφ' ἐ-  
κάστου  
ὀνόματος  
διασαφού-  
μενον  
πλήθος

1. After *δειν* a correction. 4. *η* . . . *συναγαγωσι* and *ως* above the line. *εν* corr. *αν* of *ανελευσεν* corr. from *εγ*. *ε* of *-μενον* corr. 5. *τη* *εχομενη* above the line. 6. *προς* *αυτους* above the line. 8. *η* of *ανηγαγεν* corr. from *α*. Between *δω* and *κεν* a space. 10. *ξξ* above *οε*. *εν* of *συνεκλεισεν* corr. from *θη*, and *ον* of *ιερον* corr. 13. *τι* of *εστιν* corr. 15. *ουδε* . . . *τελουμενων* and *διο* . . . *ειδηης* crossed through, the former being above the line. 16. *επιμενων* above the line. *ται* of *πειραται* corr. *αυτους* above the line.

‘. . . to the soldiers for their pay . . . he said that he would not embark with them unless (the others) all contributed for two years or collected the value quickly. Thereupon he returned towards the stated position. After this on being summoned by him on the following day in order that he might know what they would contribute and agree the amount with them, they were no longer to be seen. Accordingly he immediately went about the fields and, rounding up the cattle and sheep, brought them to the village and handed them over to the guards, their numbers severally being 580 sheep and lambs, 67 cows, bulls, and heifers; these he shut up in the temple, and hastened himself to the neighbouring villages, leaving Dionysius as his deputy. After this he returned, and up to the time of writing is still in the village. The banker having arrived on the 8th, the copper money aforesaid was paid to Poseidonius, agent of the banker Dionysius (marginal note: the amount stated against each name). The priests who were purified for service have not touched any land (deletion: nor what was paid for the contribution. I have therefore written for your information). He stays and is using every means to persuade them. I have therefore written for your information.’

1. A possible reading instead of *προεφερε-* is *πρὸς ἱερά:* cf. ll. 10, 13. A correction has been made after *δειν* (*δεῖν, δενά, δ' εἶναι?*), and it is doubtful whether what looks like *a* was intended to stand or not.

2. For *σιταρχίας* cf. P. Hal. 1, 159, n. In P. Lille 3, 66 both Wilcken, *Archiv* v. 222, and Preisigke, *Wörterb. s.v. σιταρχία*, seem to have overlooked the fact that a payment in kind is concerned, so that if *σι* is read instead of *συ*, *σι[τομετριαν]* not *σι[ταρχίαν]* should be

restored.—Further on ἐπιτελεῖν in some form (cf. ll. 3 and 5) suggests itself, but a τ is not very suitable.

3. *συνεμβήσασθαι*: cf. P. Louvre 10593. 9 in *Archiv* ii. 515, where the punctuation needs correction (l. ὡς . . . *συνεξορμήσητε, ἐὰν δὲ . . . , συνεμβήσητε*).

διετίαν is not altogether satisfactory; -επιαν would be a more natural reading. λύσαντες might be substituted for ἅπαντες.

13-14. The marginal note apparently refers to the long insertion above l. 13. οὐδὲ γῆς ἡμένοι is unconvincing, both as a reading and otherwise, but οὐδέπω is no more satisfactory, and the genitive is supported by the deleted οὐδὲ τῶν κτλ. The supposed η of ἡμένοι is more like an ω (ὠμένοι εἰσ[ί] P. Petrie II 5 (a) 6), but οὐδὲν προωμ. cannot be read. For ἀγρεύσαντες cf. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, i. 25 and for the εἰσφορά, Vol. I, p. 431.

### 730. POLICE REPORT.

80.

14.5 × 18.3 cm.

B.C. 178 or 167.

A report, sent in duplicate by an unnamed police-officer to the basilicogrammateus Osoroëris and the topogrammateus, of a supposed murder. The text is on the verso of 724, Fr. 1, and seems to be a draft of entries to be made in a register of letters, large crosses placed in the left margin opposite ll. 2-3 and 7-8 perhaps indicating that the entries as amended had been duly copied out; cf. 702, 732. Osoroëris may well be identical with the basilicogrammateus of that name mentioned in 61. (b) 195, 72. 113, and the 4th year (l. 1) may refer either to the reign of Philometor alone or to his joint reign with Euergetes; cf. n. on ll. 1-2.

(Ἔτους) δ' Ἄθου ς.

'Osoroëri βα(σιλικῶι) γραμματεῖ). τῆι ε τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς  
ἐφοδεύων [

× τὰ περὶ τὴν κώ(μην) πέδια εὔρον [[αἵματος]] ἔκχυσιν αἷμα[τος  
[[σῶμα δὲ μὴ ὄν]], πυνθάνομαι δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμη[ς

5 Θεόδοτον Δωσιθέου ἐξελθόντα ὡς ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
μηκέτ' ἐπιστρέψαι. ἀναφέρω.

Δυκόφρονι τοπογραμματεῖ) ἢ αὐτῆ. προσετέθη δὲ γέγρα(φα) [

× δὲ καὶ 'Ο[σοροήρει τ]ῶι βα(σιλικῶι) γραμματεῖ) περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν.

3. First αἵματος crossed through. 4. σωμα . . . ον enclosed in round brackets.  
5. ωs above the line.

4th year, Hathur 6.

To Osoroëris, basilicogrammateus. On the fifth of the present month when patrolling the fields near the village I found an effusion of blood (deleted: but no body), and I

learn from the villagers that Theodotus son of Dositheus, having set out in that direction, has not yet returned. I make this report.

The same letter was sent to Lycophron, topogrammateus, with the addition, 'I have also written to Osoroëris the basilicogrammateus on the same subject.'

1-2. Cf. 72. 110-15 τῆς ἐν τῶι [κγ (ἔτει) ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο]λειπουσῶν παρὰ τὰς ὑποσ[τάσεις] τ[ῶν] 1β τ[οῦ καὶ] α (ἔτους) ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπολογίζεται ὁ κωμογραμματεὺς εἰνα[ι]τὴν προσεξευρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Ὀσοροή- ριος τοῦ γεν[ομ]ένου βασιλικῶν γραμματέως ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις κατατείνειν τοῖς γεωργοῦς. The date of the Osoroëris of that passage depends on whether ἐν τοῖς ἔμπρ. χρ. is constructed with κατατείνειν or with γενομένου. With the former alternative, which was adopted when 61 (ὅ) and 72 were edited, Osoroëris will have been in office in the first year of the joint reign of Philometor and Euergetes, to which the 4th year in the present passage, on the assumption of his identity with Osoroëris here, would also refer; with the latter, which better suits the tense of κατατείνειν, he was basilicogrammateus at some period preceding the joint reign, i.e. about ten years earlier, if the fourth year was that of Philometor alone, and if the same Osoroëris is meant.

6. μηκέτ': cf. P. Gen. 17. 11 οὐκέ[τι] ἐπανήλθεν, in a rather similar context.

ἀναφέρω: cf. 740. 37 and e.g. 30. 28, where a full stop should be placed before ἀναφέ- ρομεν.

7. That γέγρα(φα) was abbreviated is not certain.

### 731. REPORT CONCERNING WATCHMEN.

13.

14.8 × 23.7 cm.

B.C. 153-2 OR 142-1.

A letter from a chief (ἡγούμενος, l. 1, n.) of village police notifying the fact that one of that body who had been detailed with three others for the duty of guarding crops (cf. 27. 29 sqq., 53-4, and 714) had failed to appear, and suggesting that information of the delinquency should be sent to the epimeletes. The position of the official immediately addressed is not stated; it seems strange that the matter was not referred to the archiplylacites, by whom the defaulter had been appointed.

Ἀπολ[λ]ῶμιος ὁ ἡγούμενος τῶν ἐν Ἰβιδῶνι (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) φυλακιδῶν

Μεστ[ασύ]τμει χαίρειν. Διο-?

τίμον Ε . . υπιμίον καὶ Πετοσίρις τοῦ Ψενήσιος πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Π[ετο-  
σίριος νεωτέρου

καὶ Πετοσίρις τοῦ Ὠρου τῶν ἐκ Τεβτύνεως φυλακιδῶν προχειρισθέντων  
ὑπὸ

Πτολεμαίου τοῦ τῆς μερίδος ἀρχιφυλακίτου τῶν καὶ χειρογρα[φ]ησάντων  
βασιλικὸν

5 ὄρκον ἔσσεσθαι πρὸς τῇ γεννηματοφυλακία τοῦ κθ (ἔτους) τοῦ προκ[ει-  
μένου Ἰβιδῶνος

καὶ Ξυλίτιδος οὐκ ἀπήνητηκεν Πετοσίρις Ψενήσιος νεώτερος ἐπὶ τὴν τήρησιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν προ[ο]ρωμέθεα μήποτε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐγλίπωσιν τὴν τήρησιν μηδεμιᾶς

ἐπιστροφῆς γινομένης, ὧμέθεα δεῖν γράψαι ἴν', ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἀνενέγκης πρὸς . . . . .

τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπι{ε}μελητὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λόγος τῶν [. . . . .

. . . . .

10 πρὸς αὐτὸν γένηται.

ἔρω[σο. (ἔτους) καθ . . . . .

On the verso

Μεστασύμει.

8. ι of γραψαι corr. from γ.

‘Apollonius, chief of the phylacitae at Ibion of the Twenty-five-arurae-holders, to Mestastutmis, greeting. Diotimus son of . . . pimus, and Petosiris the elder, son of Psenesis, and Petosiris the younger, and Petosiris son of Horus, of the guards from Tebtunis, having been selected by Ptolemaeus, the archiphylacites of the division, and having taken in writing the oath by the king that they would devote themselves to the guarding of the crops of the aforesaid Ibion and of Xylitis for the 29th year, Petosiris the younger, son of Psenesis, did not present himself to guard. Since, therefore, we have forebodings that the rest may also perhaps abandon the guarding if no notice is taken, we thought it necessary to write, in order that, if you think fit, you may report him to . . ., one of the diadochi and epimeletes, and he may answer for [his conduct?]. Good-bye. The 29th year, . . . (Addressed) to Mestastutmis.’

1. ἡγούμενος . . . φυλακιδῶν: this seems to be a new title, perhaps an alternative to δεκανός (27. 31, 251).

Μεστ[ασύ]μει: not improbably the same as in 733. 6, in which case 731 should be assigned to the reign of Euergetes II.

2. τοῦ is expected after -τίμου. Πετοσίρις here and in l. 3 exemplifies the common dropping of ο after ι in terminations; cf. 726. 3, n.

4. τοῦ τῆς μερίδος ἀρχιφυλακίτου: the archiphylacites might therefore be much more than a village official in the second century B.C. no less than previously; cf. P. Hibeh 34. 1, n. The ἀρχιφυλακτεία of the μερίς can now be understood in the case of Theodotus, 27. 29.

χειρογρα[φισάντων κτλ.: cf. 27. 32-4, 53-4.

6. Ξυλίτιδος: cf. 345. 19, 25, where Ξυλί(δος) was read on the analogy of B.G.U. 1046. i. 3, but it now appears that Ξυλίδος there should be Ξυλί(τι)δος, and the name in Vol. II, p. 392 is to be amended accordingly. The place must have been in close proximity to Ἰβιδῶν Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων.

8. The epimeletes was Chaeremon, if the reign was that of Philometor; cf. 61. (δ) 70, 782, introd. In the twenty-ninth year of Euergetes II the epimeletes was Apollonius, for whom cf. 732. 4, n.

9. Some word like διαπεπραγμένων or τετολημμένων may be supplied.

## 732. REPORT CONCERNING THE SALT MONOPOLY.

26.

7 × 19.5 cm.

About 142 B.C.

This and the two following texts (733–4) are closely connected, being draft reports on various subjects to superior officials, hastily written in the same rather coarse hand on the backs of other documents. The position of their author is unknown; he was of higher rank than a comogrammateus (734)—possibly a basilicogrammateus. 732 gives the first few lines of a letter addressed to a diocetes (perhaps the local official of that title; cf. *Archiv* vi. 31) on some question arising out of the auctioning of a contract for the sale of salt; the approximate date is given by the mention of the epimeletes Apollonius (l. 4, n.). A large cross was placed in the margin opposite ll. 2–3; cf. 730 introd., 734, 738. On the recto are parts of a few lines running at right angles to those on the verso and mentioning *σιτομετρῶν* and τὸ γένημα τοῦ κ[. (έτους).

Σαραπίωνι διοικη(τῆ). τῆι δ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶτος  
 × μνηὸς τῆς διαθέσεω[s] τ[ο]ῦ ἐν τ[ῶ]ι νομῶι ?  
 δαπανωμένου ἀλὸς ἐπικεκηρυγμ[ένης  
 δι' Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐπ(ι)μ(ε)λητοῦ) ἐκ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ [ἐπιστα-  
 5 λέντων ἐν τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ δρόμου θῆ[σανρῶι  
 Slight vestiges of 1 line.

· · · · ·  
 'To Sarapion, diocetes. On the 4th of the present month, the retail of the salt expended in the nome having been put up for auction by Apollonius the epimeletes, in accordance with the orders sent by you, at the storehouse at the dromos . . .'

4. Ἀπολλωνίου: cf. 733. 1, 734. 2, 735. 1, and 61. (b) 51.  
 5. If the supplement suggested in l. 2 is right, the locality of the δρόμος was stated in l. 6.

## 733. REPORT OF THEFT.

26.

28.8 × 24.2 cm.

B.C. 143–2.

Draft of a letter to Apollonius, epimeletes (cf. 732. 4, n.), reporting to him details of a theft of which information had been received by the writer from the retailer of some monopolized commodity who was affected; cf. 732, introd. The letter is on the verso of a petition which will be described later; it was continued in a second column, which has not survived.

- Ἀπολλ[ωνίου ἐπι(ι)μ(ελητῆ)].  
 πε . [  
 αμ . [  
 τοῦ [ἐ]ξειληφότος τῆ[ν δ]ιὰ[θε]σιν τοῦ . ρ[. . . τῆς  
 5 αὐτ[ῆ]ς εἰς τὸ κη (ἔτος) καθ' [δ] δηλοῖ τ[ῆ]ι ις  
 τοῦ Ἀθὺρ Μεστασῦτμιν [τὸ]ν εἰα[το]ῦ  
 π[ρό]γονον ἐφοδεύοντα τ[ὰ] περὶ τ[ῆ]ν  
 [κώμ]ην ὑποδοχῆα χάριν τῶν παρὰ ταῦ[τα] ?  
 [. . .]των σὺν Εὐδαίμονι φυλ[α]κίτη[ι  
 10 καταλαβεῖν Δημήτριόν τινα  
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπο(λίτου) ἀπαγαγόντα  
 ἱμάτια δύο καὶ χιτῶνα, ἃ καὶ ἐγβιασάμενον  
 οἴχ[ε]σθαι ἔχοντα αὐτῶν παρόντων  
 Διοφά[ν]του τε τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Ὀρσενούφιος  
 15 κα[ὶ] Ἀπολλωνίου φυ(λακίτου). ἐπεὶ οὖν διὰ τὰς ἐνίων  
 α[. . .]. κα . τιας συμβαίνει τοὺς  
 ἐ[γλ]ήπτορας τῶν ὠνῶν ἐν ἐγδεΐαις

6. -ν [το]ν above -ο[ς] του, which is crossed through.

‘To Apollonius, epimeletes. [. . . I have received a complaint from . . .] the contractor for the distribution of . . . at the said village for the 28th year, in which he states that on Hathur 16 Mestastutmis his stepson, when visiting the receptacles at the village on account of the . . . near them with Eudaemon the guard, found that a certain Demetrius from the Heracleopolite nome had stolen two cloaks and a tunic, which he forcibly carried off with him in the presence of Diophantus the agent of Orsenouphis and Apollonius, guard. Since, therefore, owing to the . . . of certain people, it happens that the contractors are in arrears . . .’

4. The last visible letter is represented by a long stroke, curving at the base, which well suits ρ and seems over-exaggerated for λ. ἐρ[ί]ον would be suitable, but διάθεσις ἐρίον does not occur elsewhere.

5. The space is short for καθ' [ῆ]ν (cf. 734. 6).

16. δεκαετίας could be read but is out of place in this context.

### 734. REPORTS TO EPIMELETAI.

26.

Fr. I 29.3 × 13.9 cm.

B.C. 141-139.

This papyrus consists of two fragments, both inscribed on the verso with drafts of letters to epimeletae; cf. 732 introd. That on Fr. 1, addressed to

Apollonius (cf. 732. 4, n.) in the 29th year of Euergetes II, accompanied a copy of a letter from a comogrammateus reporting that certain βασιλικοὶ γεωργοὶ had been persuaded to undertake the cultivation of some additional land to which they had objected. Fr. 2 contains the beginning of a letter to Ptolemaeus, who had become epimeletes by the 31st year (61. (b) 57 and n. on l. 46), concerning a report from the same comogrammateus relating to the cultivation of land held by some members of the royal guard. As in 732, a large cross was placed in the left margin at the top of both letters. On the recto is an account.

## Fr. 1.

- ἀν(είληπται?) (ἔτους) κθ Παχ(ών) η.  
 × Ἀπολλωνίω ἐπ(ι)μ(ελητῆ). Φανήσιος  
 κωμογρ(αμματέως) Κοιτῶν πεπομ-  
 φότος μοι τὴν ὑπο  
 5 τεταγμένην ἐπισ(τολὴν)  
 καθ' ἣν ἀποφαίνει τοὺς  
 ἐκ τῆς Δίννου βα(σιλικούς) γεω(ργούς)  
 ἀντιλέγοντας τῆι  
 προσαγομένηι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 10 γῆι ἐξ ὁμολ[ό]γου  
 συμπεπεικέναι  
 προσδέξασθαι  
 [[τὰ ἐκφο]] τὴν ἀντιλεγο-  
 μένην, ἀναγκαῖον  
 15 ἡγησάμεθ' εἶναι  
 προσανεγκεῖν  
 ἴν', ἐὰν φαίνη(ται), συντάξις  
 προνοηθῆναί τῆς τῶν  
 ἐκφορίων εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικὸν) παραδόσεως.  
 20 ὑπ(έταξα) τὴν ἐπ(ιστολὴν).

<sup>10</sup>  
 5. ε2. 10. ὁμολ[ο]γου above εὐδοκουντων, which is crossed through. 17. συνταξις  
 above διαλαβ, which is crossed through. 13. τα εκφο crossed through.

## Fr. 2.

- × Πτολεμαίω ἐπ(ι)μ(ελητῆ). Φ[ανῆσ]ι[ς] κωμογρ(αμματεὺς)  
 Κοιτῶν προσενήκεται δι' ἧ[ς] πεπομ]φεν

ἡμῖν ἐπιστολῆς) τινὰς τῶν ἐξ Ἀρσινοῆ[ς ]  
 ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων γεωργοῦντα[ς ]  
 25 τοὺς περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς [[κ.] κώμα[ς ]  
 [[.].ε.] τῶν [[περὶ αὐλ]] περὶ αὐλῆ[ν κ]α-  
 [τοίκων . . .] . υσ . . εἰς τὸ βα(σιλικὸν) δυσ . [. . . ]τας

25-6. The bracketed letters crossed through.

1-20. 'Entered (?) 29th year, Pachon 8.

To Apollonius, epimeletes. Phanesis, comogrammateus of Coetae, having sent me the appended letter in which he declares that he has persuaded the Crown cultivators of Dinnys, who were objecting to the land added by him, to accept on agreed terms the land they objected to, we thought it necessary to report to you in order that, if you think fit, you may give orders that arrangements be made for the delivery of the rent to the Treasury.

I appended the letter.<sup>2</sup>

3. Κοιτῶν: cf. l. 22. The statement in Vol. II, p. 385 that 'Κοῖται alone (i.e. without Ὀννιτῶν) is not found after the third century B.C.' now requires modification. This village, like Δίννυς (l. 7), which was no doubt near, was in the division of Heracleides.

9-10. προσαγομένῃ . . . γῆι: cf. e.g. 61. (b) 49 τῶν προσηγμένων [τ]ῶ[σπ]ῶραι, 65 τῶν προσαγομένων . . . τῶι σπόρωι. σπόρος in that context means the crop-bearing area rather than, as taken in the note *ad loc.*, the revenue derived therefrom.

21-7. 'To Ptolemaeus, epimeletes. Phanesis, comogrammateus of Coetae, has reported in the letter sent to us that some of the more considerable inhabitants of Arsinoë who are cultivating plots at the said villages belonging to catœci at the court . . .'

26-7. τῶν περὶ αὐλῆ[ν κ]α[τοίκων(?): cf. B.G.U. 1216. 68-9 κατοίκων τῶν περὶ αὐλῆν . . ., and Lesquier, *Insf. mil.* p. 23.

] . υσ: or ] . [υ]σ, but hardly κλή[ρ]ο[υ]ς; perhaps that word followed κ[α]τοίκων in an abbreviated form, κλή(ρους).

### 735. REPORT CONCERNING COLLECTION OF ARREARS.

30.

24.5 × 17.7 cm.

About 140 B.C.

Owing to its bad state of preservation and the obscure construction of the first few lines this text is difficult to interpret. It is apparently a draft of a statement intended for the same epimeletes who is addressed in 733-4, and relates to arrears which were to be collected from residents in the village of Ares, details of the amounts being set out in l. 9 sqq. The papyrus had been previously used, and there are traces here and there of the earlier writing which was washed off.

[Ἀπο]λ[λ]ωνίωι ἐπι(μ)ελητηί.

συνεχομένον . . . . . ικρατ . [.]σξου πρὸς τῇ



- πρακτορείαί τῶν ἐφελκομένων ἐν Ἄρεως κώ(μη)  
 ὀφειλημάτων μετειληφέναι ἐπιβαλόντα
- 5 Πτολεμ[αῖο]ν τὸν τοπα[ρ]χο[ῦ]ν[τ]α τοὺς τόπους  
 ἐγκ[.] . . . ἡ γενομεν[.] τῶν [γε]ωργῶν λαβέσθαι  
 εἰς τ[ὰ]ς ἐκπεπτωκυίας εἰς ὀφείλημα τῆς αὐτῶ[ν]  
 πλεονεξίας χάριν παρὰ τῶ[ν] γεω[ρ]γῶν διὰ  
 Πετοσίρι[ος] κωμάρχου . . . . . καὶ τ . . .
- 10 ἀργυ(ρίου) (δραχμ.) κη, προσδεθ[.] . . . . .]ν ἀδελφὸν  
 Πᾶσιν περιήψασ[θ]α[ι] . . . . .]ν . . . . .]ν . . . . .]ς  
 καὶ χαλκοῦ (δρ.) Ἄ με[.] . . . . .]ων π[.] . . . . .]ν  
 Σοκνάχειος τοῦ π . . . . .]ε[.] . . . . .] . . . . .]  
 ἀδελφὸν Πετ[.]τος τ . . . . .] . . . . .] καὶ σ . . . . .]στ . . . . .]
- 15 εὔρεῖν ἐν τινι οἰ[κ]οπέδω[ι] . . . . .]δα[.] . . . . .]  
 σῖτον εἰς πυ(ροῦ) ρ, Διονυσίου τ . . . . .] . . . . .] . . . . .]αι  
 τὸ ὀφείλημα τῆς κώ[μ]ης . . . . .] . . . . .]ων ὀφειλόντ[.]  
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοσαύ[τ]ην . . . . .] . . . . .] παραδόντα  
 . . . . .] πρόβατα . . . . .] . . . . .] παρὰ [[υτου]] τοῦ
- 20 [Σ]οκνάχειος (δρ.) Β . . . . .] , παρὰ Πετῶ[υ]το[ς]  
 ἀργυ(ρίου) (δρ.) η, παρὰ Αὐ . . . . .] ἀργυ(ρ.) (δρ.) δ, παρὰ Θεοτέως  
 ἀργυ(ρ.) δ, τὸν τε σπύρογ κ[α]ῖ . . . . .]εσθαι εἶναι . .  
 [.] . ιασε . ικε ἀργυ(ρ.) (δρ.) ξ χα[λ]κοῦ . . . . .] . σ . . . . .]η.

2 sqq. Both subject and main verb appear to be lacking ; the writer is perhaps giving no more than the substance of a report.

6. ἐγκρατῆ γενόμενο[ν] is unobtainable.

14. Πετ[ῶ]τος? Cf. l. 20, where Πετῶ[το]ς is equally possible.

22-3. εἶναι δὲ [κ]αὶ ἄς ἔνικε would be satisfactory palaeographically, but the form ἔνικε for ἤνεγκε is not probable. If η is right at the end of the line, it is probably part of a number.

### 736. REPORT CONCERNING GUARDS.

26.

Fr. 2 29 × 10.8 cm.

B.C. 143.

This was a document of some length, the two fragments which remain giving parts of two consecutive columns, which must have been preceded by one further column at least. In Fr. 1 only half-lines or rather less are preserved, and the writing in places is moreover very faint. Fr. 2 is in better case, but here too the

ends of the lines are missing, and the purport of the whole remains somewhat obscure. It was a report narrating events in which some mercenary soldiers (ll. 10-11), a number of police officials (ll. 29-31), and a contingent of Arabs (l. 33) had taken part. Apparently the aim was the control of certain approaches to the nome which had become insecure; cf. ll. 4-6, 35, 40-2, 47. Since the labyrinth was used as a base (l. 36) the scene of these activities was presumably the desert east of the Bahr Selâ. A request is made at the end for the strengthening of the guard, and an endorsement below directs that any decision taken in the matter should be reported to the strategus. As with other papyri from the same mummy (e.g. 732-4), the reign is that of Euergetes II, who had been brought back from Cyrene to succeed Philometor about two years before the date of this document. Perhaps some early symptoms may here be seen of the unrest which was to develop later.

## Fr. 1.

2 lines lost.

[ παρε-]  
 δρεύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ] ὄρους καὶ τὴν  
 5 τήρησιν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν εἰσοδῶν  
 καὶ ἔξοδῶν ποιουμένων  
 τα κατὰ τὴν τ[  
 Πετεμπαίου. καὶ [  
 τὴν τοπογραμμάτια  
 10 συνέβη παραγγεῖναι μετὰ . . . .  
 μισθοφόρων, καὶ  
 τοὺς διοδεύοντας  
 κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον  
 καθηκόντων . . . .  
 15 . . . . οἱ Πτολεμαῖοι

ματ' ὀφθαλμῶν .[  
 τοὺς ὄμους οὐ ἦν π[  
 ε . . κτα . . ἰ ἐπιτ[  
 λαβόντος τὰ ἀν[  
 20 συνεδρίῳ συσ[  
 ἄλλοι ἄσημον ε[  
 ἐν τῷ νομῷ [  
 ἔχοντες προε[  
 ἐγ διαδοχῆς ἰ .[  
 25 οὐ καὶ γενομένου  
 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς τ . [  
 τοῦ τοιοῦτου π[  
 ἐ-  
 λπίζεσθαι τοὺς [  
 τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἐπιστατείαν

## Fr. 2.

30 τῶν φυλακτικῶν καὶ Τιμοθέου ιδιώτου] καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐπιστατῶν τῶν φυλακτικῶν  
 μεταλαβόντων, μετεπέψαντο δὲ τοὺς  
 ἐκ Πτολεμαΐδος Ἀράβων Ἀραβεῖς οἱ καὶ

συνηνεγκάσθησαν παρεδρ[εύειν

35 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν τήρησιν ἀ[γουντες?

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἀύλιξι[εσθαι

καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποσπᾶ[σθαι

ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων πρὸς οὓς κ[. . . . .

τῶν λειῶν ἐγίνετο προσαντ[. . . .

40 ἵν' ἐπεὶ οἱ τόποι οὗτοι μάλιστα [κακῶς?

ἔχουσιν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τ[οὺς ἐν τῶι

νομῶι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς δ[. . . . .

τῆς χώρας διὰ τούτου εἰς τ[. . . . .

ποιούμενοι, ἐὰν μὴ ἄλλως δ[όξῃ,

45 συνταγήσεται, ἐὰν κριθῆ[ι χ[. . . . τὰ

εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν περιγινόμενα ἐν

φορολογίαις ἀπὸ τῶν εἰσαγομένων, ἀποτάξει ἀπὸ μὲν [τῶν

κατοίκων ἰππέων ι καὶ τοῦ[ς ἐκ

Πτολεμαΐδος Ἀράβων Ἀραβες κ[αὶ ἀπὸ

50 τῶν ἰππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἄλλ[οις ι?

ὑποδεχομένων συντηρηθῆ[ναι . . .

[.]. τῆς ὁδοῦ.

(ἔτους) κη Αθ[ύρ . .

2nd hand γρ(άψον) Πτολεμαίωι τῶι σιρα(τηγῶι) δι' ἀναφορᾶς πρ[οσφω-  
νήσας τὰ

55 συνταγέντα.

(ἔτους) κη Αθ[ύρ) κδ.

30. ιδιω[του above the line.

33. l. "Αραβας: so too l. 49; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i.

59. 34. l. συναγακ.

39. εγινετο CORR. from γενεσθαι.

47. απο των εισαγομενων

added above the line.

3-5. Cf. ll. 34-5.

7. τα: or possibly στα, e.g. μάλι|στα.

15-17. This passage seems to describe some personal injury.

33. Πτολεμαῖος Ἀράβων has occurred in the Ptolemaic period in P. Enteux. 3. 1. 47. 1. It was probably not far distant from the labyrinth (l. 36; cf. 33. 14), perhaps to the north on the Bahr Selâ or the Bahr Wardân. For the association of Ἀραβες with φυλακῖται cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59296. 8.

38 sqq. Construction and sense here become obscure. If, as seems most likely, *ν* at the beginning of l. 40 is the conjunction ἵνα, *συνταγήσεται* in l. 45 may be supposed to have been written as if ὅπως, not ἵνα, had been used; but how the final clause is connected with what precedes and to what *ἔτι δὲ . . . ποιούμενοι* refers is not evident.

40-1. Conditions in the vicinity of the labyrinth seem to have been not dissimilar from those in the neighbourhood of the Serapeum at Memphis, where, according to U.P.Z.

71. 7, 122. 10, λησταί were active.

45. The letter after κριθῆ was almost certainly χ; perhaps χ[ωρίσαι].

54. Πτολεμαίωι: the same as in 788?

### 737. APPLICATION OF PRIESTS FOR LAND.

56.

18 x 16.6 cm.

About 136 B.C.

This text and the next (738, on the verso of 737) relate to infertile land which the members of a local priesthood wished to cultivate; cf. e.g. 42, P. Amh. 35. The chief point of interest lies in the description of the priests, who were associated not only with the dynastic cult but also with two unfamiliar local deities, Peteseeph and Teietis (apparently), on whom see the note on l. 3 below.

The first column of 737 gives the remains of the document in which the priests, after declaring that their service has been duly performed, make their proposal. This is followed in Col. ii by a report from the scribes in the department concerned upon the land which was the subject of the application; cf. e.g. 30. 15 sqq. and 22 sqq. Since the first line or two of Col. i are missing, it must have originally been preceded by another column, the upper part of which was no doubt filled with official correspondence concerning the affair, as in 30.

#### Col. i.

[Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος καὶ θεῶν

[Φιλομητόρων καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν] Ἀρχιβίωι χαίρειν.

[ 17 l. Πετεσῆφ καὶ Τηγήτει θεοῖς

[μεγίστοις 21 l. ] κ[α]ὶ Ἀφροδίτην

5 [ 24 l. τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

[ 18 l. οὐδενὸς οὐδ'εμίαν ἔχοντος

[αἰτίαν (?) 16 l. ἀλλὰ τὰς τελουμένας

[θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα χορηγή-

[σαντες 22 l. ] .αι ἀξιούμέν σε

10 [ 1. 26 ]ς διακείμενος

[συντάξαι γράψαι . . . . . ἐπιμελητῆι καὶ

[ 14 l. συγχωρῆσαι ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς

[ὄλυραν καὶ χαλκὸν . . . . .] . . γ εἰς ἔτη κ

[ 29 l. ] . ἐφ' ὧι κατερ-  
 15 [γαζόμενοι . . . . . τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ] χέρσου καὶ τοῦ  
 [ἄλλου ὑπολόγου 16 l. ] εἰς ἄλλα δὲ  
 [κ ἔτη  
 . . . . .

## Col. ii.

παρὰ τῶν γραμματέων. ἐν[. . . . .  
 εὐρίσκομεν τῶν ἱερέων τῶν προκειμένων  
 20 ἀδράστων θεῶν μεγίστων [προφερομένων  
 ἐν τῶι λγ (ἔτει) μισθωθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ἀφορο[λ]ογήτου χέρσου ἀρούρας [πεντακοσίας ?  
 ἐφ' ὧι ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη ε τελέσου[σι τῆς ἀρούρας  
 ὀλ[ύρας] (ἀρτάβης) δ', εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρ[όνον] . . . . .  
 25 κ[. . . ]αι πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀνενεχ[θ] . . ὑπομνήματα τὰ ?  
 καὶ παρεπιγραφέντα συνχ[ωρηθῆναι τὴν γῆν  
 ἐφ' ὧι ἀφορὴ ἔξουσιν ἐπ' ἔτη [δέκα(?) μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα τελέσουσι τῆς (ἀρούρας) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) [. . . . .  
 ἐπ' ἄλλα δὲ ἔτη ι τῆς ἀρούρας [(πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) . . . . .  
 30 τοιούτων ὄντων δ' ἄλλων ἱερέων [. . . . .  
 συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφορολογήτου  
 χέρσου καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὑπολόγου κα . [. . . . . πρὸς  
 ὄλυραν καὶ χαλκὸν μισθουμένω[ν] . . . . .  
 τὰς φ (ἀρούρας) ἐπ' ἔτη κ ἐφ' ὧι κατερ[γαζόμενοι  
 35 τ . [. . . ]ς τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ χέρσου καὶ τ[οῦ] ἄλλου  
 [ὑπολόγου]ν ἔξουσι ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη [ι  
 [. . . . .] . . ετα[  
 . . . . .

1. θεων apparently corr. from -ου.

1. Two lines at least must have preceded this one at the foot of the lost column. They may be restored Οἱ ἐν 15 l. ἱερεῖς θεῶν | Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν: cf. e.g. 6. 17-19, where θεῶν Φιλομητόρων was incorrectly written, as here, instead of θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος (see crit. n.).

2. Ἀρχιβίωι: presumably the same Archibius who was dioecetes in the forty-seventh

year (cf. 61. (δ) 4, &c.) and now occupied some less exalted position, though superior, as l. 11 shows, to that of epimeletes. Perhaps he was a hypodioecetes; cf. 738. 5, n.

3. Cf. 738. 7, where Πε]τεσήφ is a probable restoration. According to Chaeremon ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* 1. 32 Peteseφ was the Egyptian name of Joseph, and Prof. Griffith informs us that this and Ὀσσαρσίφ, which is also in Josephus (*op. cit.* 1. 26), are supposed to contain the name of Sp' or Seph, an ancient god occasionally found in late texts and symbolized by the myriapod animal; cf. *Z. f. aeg. Spr.* lviii. 89. Other derivative appellations found in the papyri are Σήφ, Σήφης, Ἀσήφ (P. Oxy. 2085. 44), Πετεσηήφης or -σίφης. Τηήτης is regarded by Prof. Griffith as a woman's name meaning 'Tei hath arrived', Tei being for T'yt, the goddess of weaving. These two local deities would thus be deified persons.

The datives may depend on some such participle as *ίεροποιούντες*, followed in l. 4 by another, e.g. *θηρσκειόντες*, governing the accusative.

7-8. Cf. e.g. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Insc.* 90. 48 *συντελείν ἐν αὐτοῖς θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα*, Wilcken, *Chrest.* 70. 9-10.

10. E.g. [ἴσους αὐτὸς εἰσεβῶς οἱ ὃς εὐφρόνως πρὸς ἡμᾶς τυγχάνει]s.

13. For the supplement cf. ll. 32-3. The *καί* does not necessarily mean that both ἔλυρα and χαλκός were paid in respect of the same kind of land. Olyra at Kerkeosiris at any rate was a minor crop (Vol. I, p. 563), and χαλκός was there paid in respect of νομαί. The land here concerned was partly unirrigated, partly unproductive for some other reason (ll. 15-16, 31-2), and the terms contemplated were analogous to those e.g. in 61. (δ) 52-3, 59-63; cf. 710.

15. τὴν γῆν was perhaps preceded by the same word as in l. 35.

18. ἐν: ἐπι[ισκοποῦντες (30. 25) is unsuitable.

20. ἀδράστων is a remarkable epithet; cf. the name Ἀδράστεια, the derivation of which from ἀ and διδράσκειν was favoured by Arist., *De Mundo* 7. 5, among others.

22. ἀφορο[λ]ογήτου: this is a new term in the papyri, where ἄφορος is the usual word, e.g. 60. 7 ὑπόλογον ἄφ. It occurs in C.I.G. 3045. 20, Polyb. iv. 25. 7, &c.

27. ἀφορί: cf. P. Flor. 384. 54, where l. ἀφορεῖ (Bell ap. Vitelli, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* 1928, p. 293).

30. δ' appears to be misplaced.

32. A very slight vestige of the final letter is consistent with e.g. *καί* or *κατ[ά* (? *κατ[ά* τὸ ἔθος).

37. Perhaps *μετ[ά] δὲ τα[ύτα]* as in ll. 27-8.

## 738. LETTER CONCERNING LAND ASSIGNED TO PRIESTS.

56.

18 x 16.6 cm.

B.C. 136.

The verso of 737 contains the beginning of a draft of a letter relating to the same matter. It was addressed to a person of uncertain position, and informed him of a letter received by the writer from the basilicogrammateus and containing instructions from Archibius (737. 2, n.) about the land which was the subject of the priests' petition in 737. An oblique dash in the margin below l. 1 is probably a remnant of a cross like those noticed e.g. in 730 and 732.

(Ἔτους) λς Χοία[κ . . .]  
 Στοποήτει [. . . .]. εψ . ( ) . μ( ) . καθότι  
 γράφει Πῆξε . [. . . .] . ις ό βα(σιλικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) ἐκ τῶν [  
 [[επεε]] <sup>σε . . . . . [ . . . . . ] ?</sup> διὰ σοῦ [. . . . .] . . ε . . . αὐτῶι  
 5 παρ' Ἀρχιβίου τοῦ [. . . . .] . . . . .  
 περὶ τῶν ἐπι[μεμε]τρημένων  
 ἐ[δ]αφ[ῶ]ν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι Π[ε]τρ[ε]σῆφ καὶ  
 Τη[ι]ήτιος θε(ῶν) μ[ε]γίστων] ἐ[κ] τῆς ἐπι-  
 κ[ε]χωρημέ(νης) χέ(ρσου) [καὶ] ὑπολόγου εν . . .  
 10 . [ . . . . ] υ[ . ] . ν . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . ν  
 . . . . .

3. γραφει above γεγραφε, which is crossed through.

2. Apparently there were two abbreviated words; the letter after ε looks more like ψ than φ.

4. ἐπεσταλμένων is the word expected after σοῦ, especially as this was probably what the writer began before διὰ, but it can with difficulty be reconciled with the remains. The interlineation was perhaps intended to replace σοῦ.

5. Possibly τοῦ [ὑποδίο]κ[η]τοῦ, but if so, the κ was less cursively formed than elsewhere; [παρὰ τοῦ] διο[ε]κτη[οῦ] is unsatisfactory.

8. There is room in the lacuna between the two etas for two letters, so that perhaps Τη[ε]ητ. was written; but the spacing is irregular. For ἐπικ[ε]χωρημέ(νης) cf. e.g. 65. 21, 72. 182.

### 739. REPORT CONCERNING INCRIMINATED OFFICIALS.

56 and 58.

Height 30.2 cm.

B.C. 163 or 145?

Copy of a report on a complaint made by an official of the Heracleopolite nome against a certain Exacon, who had been appointed to conduct the admission of some catoeci, accusing him, with his secretary and an oconomus, of peculation. The position of Asclepiades, the writer of the report, is unknown, but the fact that the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes, who was the brother of Exacon, had come forward on his behalf suggests that both Asclepiades and his unnamed correspondent were persons of consequence. Owing to the mutilation of the second column some of the details given of the results of the investigation are obscure; it seems clear, however, that Exacon and his secretary, at any rate, were exonerated (ll. 29-30). The document,

which is carefully written in a good-sized upright hand, belongs, like others from the same cartonnage, to the middle or latter part of the second century. A more precise indication of date is given by the statement in ll. 14 sqq. that Exacon had presented a petition in his own defence to 'the brother of the king', and the reference in ll. 40-1 to *φιλιάνθρωπα* newly issued by the king and queen, whence it follows that there had recently been a dynastic change accompanied by an edict of indulgence. Was Philometor the brother and Euergetes II the king or *vice versa*? If Philometor was king, his 18th year, when he is known to have issued a decree of indulgence after his short expulsion (P. Par. 63, xiii; cf. n. on ll. 43-5 below) would be appropriate; but an equally appropriate occasion would be the year after Philometor's death, the 26th of Euergetes, which also was marked by the issue of a decree of the same nature (P. Tor. 1, ix, 21). A small detached fragment which may be part of the date of 730 is unfortunately indecisive.

## Col. i.

Ἀσκληπιάδης.

Καλλιάνακτος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ [Ἡρ]ακλεοπολίτου πραγματικῶν προσ-  
αγγείλαντος δι' ἐντεύξε[ως] ἕτερα τε καὶ Ἐξακῶνα τὸν ταγέντα  
πρὸς τῇ προσλήψει τῶν [εἰς τ]ῆν ἐν τῷ νομῷ κατοικίαν ἀνδρῶν

5 ἐπὶ τῇ μερισθείσῃ [γῆι] παραλελογεκ[έναι . . . . .

ἀρούρας (δραχμ) α ἀργυρ[ί]ον [. . .]β (δυοβόλους), Ἀρχίνον δὲ τὸν γραμμα-  
τεύσαντα

[αὐ]τῷ ὡς τῶν λ (ἀρουρῶν) ἀργυρίου (δρ.) δ καὶ χαλκοῦ (δρ.) φ, καὶ  
Αἴσωπον

[τὸ]ν οἰκονόμον ὁμοίως (δρ.) τ, βουλόμενοι δὲ μηθὲν ἀνε-

[πί]σκεπτον ἔασαι τοῖς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἐξακῶνος παρηγγέλη

10 [πα]ραγίνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν π[ε]ρὶ τούτων διεξαγωγὴν ἕνεκα τοῦ

[πρ]οσπίπτειν τὸν Ἐξακῶνα . . . . . [ . . . . . ,

[Ἀ]πολλοφάνου δὲ τοῦ στρα[τη]γοῦντος τὸν Ὄξυρυχίτην καὶ

[Κ]υνοπολίτην ἀδελφ[ο]ῦ δὲ τοῦ Ἐξακῶνος συμμείξαντος

[καὶ] παραθεμένου ἀντίγραφον ἐντεύξεως ἧς ἔφη τὸν

15 [Ἐ]ξακῶνα ἐπιδεδωκέναι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, δι' ἧς

[ἐ]δήλου τὴν μὲν δρα[χ]μὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου τῇ ἀρούραι μὴ

[π]αραλελογεκέναι [μηδὲ] ἐπιγραφὴν μηδεμίαν πεποι-

[ῆ]σθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἐν [τῇ] προσλήψει ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς



πεφιλανθρωπηκέ[αι] καθ' ὃ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν προηρείτο,  
 20 [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ληφθεῖσι κατακεχρησθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τε  
 τὰ δαπανήματα τῶ[ν] καταπλων καὶ ἀνάπλων καὶ εἰς διάφορα  
 τοῦ ἀποδοκιμασθέν[το]ς ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸς τῇ γάζῃ χρυσίου

8. A space before βουλομενοι.

Col. ii.

οὔ ἔφησαν [εἰ]ναὶ Φωκαίδος καὶ ἀηναί[. . . . .] καίπερ? ἀγο-  
 ρασθέντος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκ πλείον[ων] τιμῶν ἢ κατὰ τὰς?  
 25 οὔσας ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ ὧν διεπ[ 16 l.  
 περὶ δὲ το[ύ]των καὶ σὲ ἀκηκόεσαι τ[ 16 l.  
 καὶ μετὰ [ταῦ]τα δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καταπ[ 16 l.  
 [. . . . .]εις τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔχο[ 16 l.  
 ἐμπεφα[νισ]μένων εὔρον τὰ ἀπολελ[ογημένα] ἀληθῆ ὄντα ὑπὸ  
 30 μηδενός τ[ε] ἐνεκλήσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ γραμμα-  
 τεύσαντα αὐτῶι Ἀρχῖνον ὁμοίως . [ 16 l.  
 δεδόσθαι αὐ[τῶι] τόν τε σημαίν[ο]μενον . . . . .  
 οἰκέτην . [. . . . .]του κεχειρικ[ 21 l.  
 προστ[. . . . .] . τον τὰ διάφορα [ 20 l.  
 35 [. . . . .] καὶ τὰ γινόμενα [ 20 l.  
 δι[. . . . .]ν ἡξίου προσταγ[. . . . .] [ 20 l.  
 Ἀρχινο[. . . . .]ν οἰκέτην Αἰσ[ωπ] ? . . . . . τῶν ἐμπε-  
 φανισμέ[νων] ἐνκλημάτων [ 20 l.  
 ὑφ' ἡμιολ[ι . . . . .] . εἰτο ὑπογεγραφ[ 20 l.  
 40 ὁμοίως δ[ὲ] μ[έ]ρος τῶν νῦν πε[φιλανθρωπημένων] ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 βασιλ[έως] καὶ τ[ῆ]ς βασιλίσσης τῶ[ 19 l.  
 [. . . . .] τῆ]ς ἐντεύξεως ην[ 19 l.  
 [. . . . .]ετο ἀπολελύσθαι ἀγνοημάτων καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων  
 [καὶ ἐγκλημ]άτων καὶ καταγνω[σμάτων] καὶ . . . . . καὶ  
 45 αἰτ[ῶν] πασῶ]ν αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ [τέκνα] ?  
 [ ] [ ]

Unplaced fragment.

]η Παχώ[ν]

Lines 1-25. 'From Asclepiades. Callianax one of the officials of the Heracleopolite nome having reported in a petition among other things that Exacon who had been appointed to supervise the admission of men to the body of catocci in the nome had wrongly collected upon the land apportioned . . . 2 drachmae 2 obols, and Archinus who was his secretary 4 drachmae of silver and 500 dr. of copper on every 30 arurae, and Aesopus the oeconomus similarly 300 dr., as we wished to leave nothing uninvestigated, instructions were sent to Exacon and his staff to present themselves for the inquiry concerning this, because of a rumour(?) that Exacon . . . But Apollophanes the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes and brother of Exacon arrived and submitted a copy of a petition which he said Exacon had presented to the king's brother, in which he declared that he had not wrongly collected the drachma of silver upon the arura nor had made any imposition on the men during their admission but had conferred benefits upon them in accordance with the preference of each, and had used the receipts from them for the expenses of the voyages up and down and for the deficit on the gold rejected by the treasure-keepers, which they said was of the district of Phocaea . . ., although bought in the city at higher prices than those current locally . . .'

2. *πραγματικῶν*: cf. 58. 18, n.

3-4. *ταγέτα* . . . *προσλήψει*: this title appears to be novel, though cf. e.g. 61. (a) 2 *προσληφθέντων εἰς τὴν κατοικίαν διὰ Κρίτωνος*, Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* 188, 192 sqq. Its holder in the present case was the brother of a strategus (ll. 12-13) and had a *γραμματεὺς* (l. 6) and perhaps others (l. 9) attached to him.

5-6. This passage may be taken in two ways: (1) the drachma per arura was an authorized charge, [. ]β (δυσβ.) representing the rate of the supposed extortion; (2) the drachma was illicit, [. ]β (δυσβ.) being the sum obtained by its imposition. (1) requires something like *ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς | ἀούρας (δραχμῆς) . . . [δραχμῆς] β (δυσβ.) ἢ πρὸς τῆι . . . (δραχμῆ) κτλ.*; (2) requires e.g. *ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης ἀρ. (δραχμῆν) . . . [δρ. ]β (δυσβ.)*. The latter explanation is at first sight supported by ll. 16-17, but on the other hand the odd two obols in l. 6 are more easily accounted for by the former, and that some charge had been made was admitted (l. 20). If (1) is adopted, the two infinitives in l. 17 may be taken as a hendiadys.

8. *ὁμοίως* (δρ.) τ: i.e. probably 300 copper dr. per 30 arurae rather than a lump sum of 300 silver dr.

8-9. The construction is anacoluthic; *παρηγγελάμεν* is expected.

11. Vestiges from the tops of a few letters in the latter part of the line are too slight for recognition.

12-13. The single strategus for the two nomes is noteworthy.

17. *ἐπιγραφὴν*: cf. 715. 4 and n.

22. Why a payment of gold was made by Exacon is not clear, but perhaps this too was on account of expenses incurred. *γάστρι* is an unexpected word here. A *γαζοφύλαξ* at Halicarnassus in B.C. 257 is mentioned in P. Cairo Zen. 59036. 4. Edgar suggested that he was attached to the royal forces, and in the present passage too there is a military association; cf. Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 54. 22, 225. 16.

23. This mention of Phocaeon gold pieces (staters?) is interesting. What follows is obscure. Of the doubtful letters ι is possibly ρ and the two alphas may be lambdas; the η is almost certain as against another ν.

29. *ἀπολε[ο]γημένα*: for the passive use cf. Plato, *Rep.* 607 B.

30. Or perhaps *αὐτὸν ἢ τόν*.

33. The *οἰκέτης* recurs in l. 37, but the reference is obscure.

36. γ is followed by a vertical stroke, e.g. ι, μ, ν.

39. The letter before *ει* may be e.g. *γ, υ, υ*.

40. Or possibly δ[έ τι μ]έρος. Cf. the next note.

43-5. These lines evidently give a quotation from the *φιλόπρωπα* referred to in l. 40.

Cf. 5. 2-4 [ἀ]φιάσει . . . π[άντας ἀ]γνοημάτων ἀμαρτημ[άτ]ων [ἐ]ν[κ]λημάτων (καταγνωσμάτων) αἰτ[ι]ῶν πασῶν, 124. 21-2 ἀπολύ(ουσι) . . . ἐνκ[λημ]άτ(ων) ἀγνοημά(των) ἀ(μαρτ)ημά(των) καταγνω(σμάτων) αἰτιῶν πασῶν, P. Par. 63. xiii. 2-4 ἀπολελυκότες πάντας τοὺς ἐνεσχημένους ἐν τισιν ἀγνοήμασιν ἢ ἀμαρτήμασιν κτλ. In l. 44 there seems to have been a further substantive, e.g. καὶ ἀδικημάτων, not found in the above parallels.

Unplaced fragment. This small piece might be assigned to the end of l. 45 or to a forty-sixth line, but (ἔτους) εἴη will not suit Philometor's *φιλόπρωπα* (cf. introd.), which were later than Pachon, and though ] . 5 can well be read instead of ]η, (ἔτους) κς, which would be expected if the year refers to Euergetes II, is not really satisfactory. Perhaps therefore the fragment came from the end of one of the earlier lines of the column.

## 740. REPORT CONCERNING SALE OF LAND.

31.

Height 19.8 cm.

B.C. 113.

This papyrus contains parts of two columns of which the first, consisting only of the extreme ends of lines, is not worth reproduction. Col. ii, in the same hand and very likely part of the same document, is the conclusion of a report relating to some land purchased from a woman who had inherited it from her husband. The fourth year, in which the report is dated, may well refer to the reign of Soter II.

On the verso are parts of 23 lines from the bottom of a column containing a draft or copy of a petition to the sovereigns, as shown by ll. 19-21 ὅθεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τ[οὺς πάντων κοινὸς σωτῆρα]ς τῆν | καταφυγῆ[ν ποιησάμενοι] δεόμεθ' ὑμῶν τῶ[ν | μεγίστ[ων θεῶν] . . . A καταμέτρησης of land was concerned, but the text is too fragmentary to be intelligible.

Col. i.

Ends of 19 lines.

Col. ii.

Vestiges of 1 line.

[ . . . . . παρέσ]χεν ὁ Τιμόθεος ὡς ἦν ἡγορακῶ[ς]  
 25 [διὰ τοῦ ἐν Κροκ]οδίλων πόλει ἀγορανομίου ἐν τ[ῶι  
 [ . . . . . μηνὶ το]ῦ δ (ἔτους) παρὰ Ἰοῦς τῆς Διοτίμο[υ]  
 [τῆς πρότερον οὐ]σης τοῦ Πρεπελάου γυναικὸς τ[ῆς

[καὶ κεκληρονο]μηκίας τὰ τοῦ Πρεπελάου  
 [ὑπάρχοντα? ἀρ(ο)ύ(ρας) .,] ὧν ἐκάστης ἀρ(ο)ύ(ρας) ἐκφόριον πυρ[οῦ  
 30 [ἀρτάβαι . . . . . ἀ]φ' ὧν ἀποδιέσταλκε ., τιμῆς  
 [ 15 l. ]ρ' ὧν γείτονες β[ο]ρρᾶ ε . . . . [  
 [ 15 l.] . α[.]ον, λιβδὸς ὁδὸς βασιλικ[ῆ]  
 [ 20 l. κα]ὶ διῶρ[υ]ξ ἔ]ρημος  
 [. . . . ., ἀπη]λιώτου διῶρ[υ]ξ κ[α]ὶ . .] . . . . . [  
 35 θ[ε]. . . . .]ου [κ]λήρος ἀνειλημμέν[ος] καὶ  
 Ἄν . [. . . . .] (ἐβδομηκοντ)αρ(ο)ύ(ρου) κλήρος καὶ γῆ βασιλική,  
 νότ[ου] . . . . .] . η γῆ αὐτοῦ Τιμοθέου. ἀναφέρω [  
 ἐπὶ σ[ε] ἴν' εἰ]δῆς.

(ἔτους) δ Μεσορῆ ἐπαγο(μένων) β.

32. Between οδος and βασ. a blank space.

30. The meaning of the relative clause is not clear. ἀποδιαστέλλειν is not in Preisigke's *Wörterb.*, but occurs at any rate in P. Ryl. 65. 5-6 τὸν . . . ἀντιποιησόμεν[ο]ν τῶν ἀποδιεσταλμένων ἐκάστῳ ἀποτείσει κτλ., of an agreed apportionment of shares. If a similar sense may be presumed here, ὧν seems likely to refer back to the arurae in l. 29 and καί is to be restored before ἀ]φ'. In any case a numeral is apparently required after ἀποδιέσταλκε.

37. Perhaps ἐχομέ]νη.

#### 741. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING A SITOLOGUS.

48 and 53.

31 x 21.5 cm.

B.C. 187-6.

Letter from Alexander, an epimeletes, to Philon, archiphylacites (l. 25; cf. 796. 1), enclosing copies of a letter sent by Alexander to Anicetus, another official, whose position is not stated, and of a memorandum received by him from the sitologus of Bubastus, which was the occasion of the letters. In these the epimeletes directs his two correspondents to let the matter concerned stand over until he himself arrived and could look into it. It related, as the remains of the memorandum show, to an amount of corn which was owing, but the details are lost.

Ἀλέξανδρος Φίλωνι χαίρειν. τῆς πρὸς Ἀνί[κ]ητον  
 τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολῆς ὑπόκειται σοι τὸ ἀν[τί]γραφον.  
 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ σὺ συντάξας μὴ περι[ισπᾶν]  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιβα[λό]ν[τ]ι[α]ς ἡμ[ᾶ]ς ποιήσασθαι

5 τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ἐ[πι]στροφὴν [ὑ]πὲρ ὧν δη[λουσιν].

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιθ Φ[α . . . . .

Ἀνικήτηι. [τ]οῦ δεδομένου ἡμῖν ὑπομνήμα[τος

παρ' Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ σιτολογοῦντος Βουβάστον τῆς

Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται. δοθήτωσαν

10 τοῖς διασαφουμέν[ο]ις αἱ πίστεις καὶ γινέσθωσαν πρὸς τῇ

ἐγκεχειρισμένην χρεῖαν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιβαλόντος [ἡμᾶς

ἐπὶ [το]ύς τόπους τῆ[ν] προσήκουσαν ἐπι[στροφὴν

ποήσ[α]σθαι ὑπὲρ ὧν διασαφοῦσι. [

[Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπιμελητῇ παρ' Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ

15 [σιτολογοῦντο]ς Βουβά[στο]ν τῆς Ἡρακλείδου [μερίδος.

2 lines lost.

[. . . . .]ντος οἱ[

[. . . . .] . ἠν τὴν εἰσδεδεγμένου πλήθους π .[. . . . .

20 [ἐπέδω]κ[ε]ν ὑπόμνημα Βάκχωνι τῷ διοικη[τῇ]

[ἐπαγγ]έλλων ἑαυτὸν προσοφειλικότα πρὸς τὸν [. . . . .

[. . . . .] . ἔτους τὰς Βφ (ἀρτάβας) τῶν πυρῶν δι' οἷ διεσάφει

[. . . . .]ν ἀπό τε κενῶν εἰσδοχῶν καὶ ἄλλων συκοφαν-

[τιῶν] πυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) Ἐ, οἰόμενος ἀπολυθήσεσθαι τοῦ ὀφειλή-

On the verso

25 ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη)

Φίλωνι.

Ἀρεσόνο( )

'Alexander to Philon, greeting. Below is a copy of a letter to my agent Anicetus. You will accordingly do well to issue orders yourself that the persons are not to be molested before I arrive and give their statements proper attention. Goodbye. The 19th year, Pha . . .

To Anicetus. Below is a copy of the memorandum presented to me by Ammonius, sitologus of Bubastus in the division of Heracleides. Let safe-conducts be given to the persons specified and let them remain at the duty assigned to them until I arrive on the spot and give due attention to their assertions.

To Alexander, epimeletes, from Ammonius, sitologus of Bubastus in the division of Heracleides. . . . presented a memorandum to Bacchon the dioecetes in which he declared that he owed [the account?] of the . . . year a further amount of 2500 artabae of wheat and [would pay?] through a stated agent (?) 5000 art. of wheat, free from unsubstantial receipts or other impostures, believing that he would be cleared of the debt . . .'

1-2. A division of the name Ἀν[ικη]-τον would leave l. 1 short in comparison with the following lines.

4-5. The final supplement in l. 4 is rather long, and the verb may have been abbreviated. For *ποίησασθαι* . . . ἐ[πι]στροφῆν cf. ll. 12-13 and e.g. P. Petrie II. 4. 6. 14; the phrase was misunderstood by Preisigke, *Wörterb.*

8. For Ammonius cf. 774, int.

10. *πίστεις*: cf. e.g. 41. 12, P. Leyden A 29 *δοῦναι μοι ἔγγραπτον πίστιν*, and v. Woess, *Asylwesen*, 185 sqq.

21-2. Perhaps τὸν [λόγον | τοῦ αὐτοῦ] ἔτ. It seems preferable to suppose that οὐδ is masculine rather than that it refers back to *ὑπόμνημα* in l. 20 with a change from the participial construction.

23. An infinitive such as [δῶσει]ν is apparently required, ἀπό then being equivalent to *καθαρὸς ἀπό*, but this use is not elsewhere attested for the Ptolemaic period.

24. *ὀφειλή- [ματος]*.

25-7. The personal name is in large letters, the other two lines being at the edge of the papyrus to the left, with a broad space between them. Possibly another short line stood in this space but has become effaced. If nothing intervened, *Ἀρεσονο*( ) should be a local name.

## 742. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING DEFAULTERS.

12.

46.5 × 20.1 cm.

About 157 B.C.?

On the recto of this papyrus is a list of payments. The verso of the main fragment contains parts of three consecutive columns from some lengthy correspondence relating to owners of property of different kinds, but, owing to the defective state of the first and third columns and the involved construction of the better-preserved middle one, the gist is not very clear. In Col. i several persons bearing Egyptian names are mentioned, and a statement of their belongings is apparently asked for. Col. ii refers to owners of vineyards, and here the names are Greek and one at least of the individuals was a *κάτοικος*, whose military unit is stated. An official inquiry had been held (l. 22; cf. l. 31), and instructions given for the handing over of the produce of the vineyards to guards (ll. 24-7). A short statement in reply follows from some subordinate department that the individuals concerned held no property in the district. Mention is also made (ll. 20-22) of a list of inculpated Crown cultivators. Further names, both Greek and Egyptian, occur in Col. iii with specifications of property, including sheep. Probably the whole document relates to persons against whom the government had claims.

### Col. i.

1 line lost: slight remains of a second.

] . γεγονέναι Πετρο . . . . . ε . . . . . τος ἐργάτην  
καὶ ] λον ἀδ(ελφόν) καὶ Χενθεσο . . . . . καὶ Πᾶσιν μητρὸς

5 ] . ου καὶ Πισίον Φρεμείος καὶ Παχνοῦβιν Φατρείους  
 ]ρείους. ἀναγραφάμενοι οὖν αὐτῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα  
 στ]αθέντας καὶ τασ[.] . . . ισ . . . . . δα . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 ]άνομεν προσαγεῖν . . . . . τοῦ Ἐπειφ  
 ] . αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν . . . . .  
 10 ] Ζωπύρου τοῦ . . . . . ε . των ἦτοι  
 ] καὶ ἄλλωι τρόπ[ωι .] . . . . . τη . . . . . ζ . [ . . ] .  
 ]εγρ(αφ ) (ἔτους) κδ Παῦνι ι . [ . . ] . . . . . υ . . . . .  
 ] πέμψαι τὴν γραφὴ[ν] . . . . . ριω . . με . . . της  
 ]  
 ] . ι τοιοῦτο μετελληφ[ . . . ] . ι . . . . . α ἐπισκεψάμενοι  
 ]

5. 2nd ι of πισοῖν above the line.

Col. ii.

15 . [ . . ] α Ἰβιῶνος τῶν (Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων) ὧι ὑπάρχειν ἀμπελῶνα . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Σατύρου τοῦ Μοσχίωνος ὧι ὑπάρχειν περὶ 151.  
 καὶ ἀμπελῶνα, Εὐβουλίδου καὶ Ξενοκράτου καὶ . . . . . Καλλι-  
 [[κρατου]]  
 μάχου οἷς ὑπάρχειν κοινῇ ἀμπελῶνα, Μελεάγρου . . . . . ου  
 τῶν Πολυκράτου τῆς η (ἑκατοντ ) τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ ὧι ὑπάρχειν  
 20 οἰκίαν καὶ ἀμπελῶνα, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης τὰς πα . . . ς τῶν ἐκ  
 Πυρρέας βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν ἐνεσχημένων λείαις καὶ ἄλλαις  
 αἰτίαις ἐπὶ τῆς γενηθείσης ἀνακρίσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Μελεάγρου  
 τῇ κη τοῦ Παχῶν, ὧι ὑπάρχειν οἰκίαν καὶ ἀμπελῶνα . . . α . .  
 καὶ γενήματα ἐξ ὧν γεωργεῖ (ἀρουρῶν) 5Λ· ἐξ ὧν γεγραφέναι (ἔτους) κδ  
 25 Παῦνι ιη ἐπιτελέσαντας ἕκαστ' ἀκολούθως καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν  
 χωρίων συναχθησόμενα γενήματα παραδόντας τοῖς φυ(λακίταις) σημήναι  
 ἡμῖν.

οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει ἐν τοῖς τόποις. τυγχάνο-  
 μεν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐντολὴν ὁμοίως ἀπολε-  
 λογισμένοι.

30

[. . . . . ἐπὶ τῶν γ]ενηθεισῶν ἀκακρίσεων ἐπὶ [τοῦ] ἀ[ύτου  
 [ 16 l. ἐν]έσχηνται τινες λείαις κ[αὶ] ἄλλαις αἰτίαις  
 [ 14 l. ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ?] ὑπόκειται [. . . . .  
 [ 27 l. π]αρακειμ[εν

22. l. Μελεάγρου.

Col. iii.

<p>35 Ἀρμιῦσις Ω[  καὶ Φολῆ[μις  ἀμφότερο[ι  ἐν Ψύα[ι  Ἀρπαῆσις [</p> <p>40 τῶν ἐκ Ψ[ύας  Ἀρβελλῆς Φα[  φριν Ὀννώ[φριος  Λεανίδην [</p> <p>45 μένοις εἰ[</p>	<p>Μαρρῆς Πεμίο[υ  καὶ Πάις Ἀκο[  πρόβατα ελ[  καὶ Ἀρμιῦσις [</p> <p>50 ὑπάρχειν αὐτ[ῶι  Πετεσοῦχος . [</p> <p>ερουσιν Θεο[  Ἐρμίας Ἀμύν[του ?  . . . ὦν Κεφάλω[νος</p> <p>55 [. . . ]α τουτ . [</p>	<p>Ὀννώ-</p>
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43. First ν of λεανίδην corr. from δ: l. Λεανίδην.

ll. 3 sqq. To judge from Col. ii, about 10 letters are lost at the beginnings of the lines.

8-9. On the analogy of ll. 28-30, τυγχ[άνομεν] προσανενηνοχότες τῆι . τοῦ 'Ε. . . οὐδέ]ν αὐτ. ὑπ. ἐν τοῖς τόποις looks not unlikely here, but the unread letters are hardly distinguishable. L. 9 was apparently shorter than usual.

12. Perhaps ἐξ ὧν γ]εγρ(αφέναι), as in l. 24.

14. μετείληφ[ότες κ]αί ?

18-19. This passage was cited from a provisional copy of the papyrus in Lesquier's *Inst. mil. sous les Lagides*, p. 80; cf. p. 96. It was there not unnaturally assumed that the abbreviation after the ordinal η represents *ἐκατονταρχία*, but this becomes questionable in view of several occurrences in 815 of what appears to be a similar numeral followed by (*ἐκατοντάρουρος*); see n. on Fr. 2 verso 32 of that text. Since, however, in the present place the surface of the papyrus above the ρ is rubbed, some difference between this abbreviation and that in 815 is not excluded, and the possibility remains that *ἐκατονταρχία* was here meant.

The name of the catococcus seems to be the same as that in l. 22, where Μελεάγρου was apparently intended. For Πολυκράτου cf. l. 17 and Maysen, *Gram.* i. 278.

21. For Πυρρέα or -ρέια cf. 716. 4, n. Though in a different μερίς, it was most probably not far from the Ibibon of l. 15. Ψύα on the other hand, which occurs in Col. iii, was in another district.



ἐνεσχημένων λείαις: cf. l. 32 and 5. 6-7.

22. αἰτίαις is followed by a short space, in which there is a low dot, but that this was intended as a stop is doubtful. Similar spaces occur after τῆι and τοῦ in l. 23, after γενήματα in l. 24, ἐν in l. 38, and -μένους in l. 45. For ἀνακρίσεως cf. l. 31 and P.S.I. 392. 2.

52. ἐρούσων seems an unlikely word here, and some unfamiliar personal name may be suspected. The first letter can be θ.

### 743. REPORT FROM A COMOGRAMMATEUS.

26.

25.4 × 16.7 cm.

Mid second century B.C.

Part of a report from the comogrammateus of Ptolemais Nea upon a memorandum presented to the strategus by Petesouchus, a cultivator of Crown land. Petesouchus and another person had been accused by one of the villagers of having seized a large amount of property, including a quantity of wheat and other assets of a certain Harpaësis, who had 'fallen' (fighting, presumably) and left no children. The relationship of the accuser to Harpaësis is not stated, but no doubt they were connected in some way. It may be assumed that the memorandum had been passed on to the comogrammateus because his village was concerned, but owing to the loss of the lower portion of the document the nature of his remarks is unknown. The papyrus is in bad condition, the writing being very faint in places. On the verso are parts of a few lines, also ill-preserved, in a different hand.

Παρά Τεῶτος κωμογραμματέως Πτολεμαΐδος Νέας.

2nd hand [. . . τὸ] προκείμενον ὑπόμνημα ἐπιδομένον . . . Σαραπίωνι  
 τῶι ἀρχισωματοφύλακι καὶ στρατηγῶι ὑπὸ Πετεσοῦχου τοῦ Σεμβέως  
 βασιλικῶ γεωργῶ περι ὧν ἐπ . . . . . κατὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐρμίου  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου  
 5 Μεστασῦτμις τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης δι . . . . . ὁ Σαραπίωνι τῶι  
 συγγενεῖ  
 καὶ διοικητῆι α . . . . . ἔχει ἐντεῦξεως ἐπιδομένης τῶι  
 βασιλεῖ  
 καὶ τῆι βασιλίσσηι δι' ἧς ἐσήμηνεν κατέσχηκέναι αὐτοὺς Ἀρ-  
 παήσ[ιος τ]οῦ  
 Θεόεως πεπτωκότος ἀτέκνου πυρῶν ἀρ(τάβας) ., ὧν τιμὴ ἀνὰ ψ  
 (τάλαντα) ργα Β,  
 καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου (δραχμὰς) χ καὶ χαλκοῦ (τάλ.) ζ καὶ οἰκίαν  
 ἐν τῆι κώμηι ἀξίαν (ταλ.) ιε

10 καὶ ἦν ἐγεώργει γῆν ἀρρο(υρῶν) νε ἐκθερίσαντας ἀπενηνέχθαι εἰς  
 πυρῶν ἀρ(τάβας) Ἄω  
 καὶ ἕτερα ἀπ . . . . . καὶ Θεοτέως μικροῦ καταχθέντ . . . . . ἔργα  
 καὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἀπενηνέχθαι ἄλλας πυροῦ ἀρ(τ.) χ, ὦν τιμὴ ἀνὰ ψ (τάλ.) ρ, . . . .  
 [. . . .] . μισ[.] . . . κ . [.] . . . καὶ ἦς ἐγεώργει γῆς κατα  
 . . . . . [ . . .  
 ἐκθερίσαντας . . . . . [  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς . . . ια . . στρ . . . ουκ . . . . . [  
 . . . . .

4. υ of του above a cancelled (?) letter.  
 ο after (ταλ.) corr.

12. ων . . . κ.[.] . . . above the line.

From Teos, comogrammateus of Ptolemais Nea. [I have received?] the above memorandum which has been presented to Sarapion, one of the chief body-guard and strategus, by Petesouchus son of Semtheus, Crown cultivator, concerning the charges brought against him and Hermias son of Heracleides by Mestasutmis, an inhabitant of the village, who forwarded to Sarapion, the king's cousin and dioecetes, a . . . of the petition which he has and which was presented to the king and queen, wherein he declared that they had seized property of Harpaesis son of Thoteus, who had fallen childless, namely [1640] artabae of wheat, of which the value at 700 drachmae was 191 talents 2000 dr., and 600 dr. of coined silver and 7 tal. of copper and a house in the village worth 15 tal., and that they reaped the land which he cultivated consisting of 55 arourae and carried off as much as 1800 artabae of wheat, and other . . .

2. Perhaps [ἔχω . . . A letter or two between ἐπιδ. and Σαραπίωνι are unexplained. A compound of that name is hardly likely, and perhaps there was a mistake. προκείμενον, if not an inadvertence or unless the document was only a draft, implies a previous column; the margin to the left is narrow but apparently intact.

4. A verb such as ἐπηνέγκατο is required and possibly this was written, but the letters are not really recognizable.

5-6. Something like διαπέμψας . . . ἀντίγραφον ἦς ἔχει is expected, but ἀντίγραφον seems to be irreconcilable with the remains.

8. The arithmetic requires ἀρτ. Ἄχμ, which apparently cannot be read even if what we have taken for ἀρ(τ.) is meant for 'A.

11. καταχθέντος εἰς ἔργα is a possible reading, but αὐτῶν suggests that another name (not Ἀρπαήσιος, though perhaps ending in -ιος) preceded καὶ Θεοτέως; this, however, is rather discounted by ἐγεώργει in the next line, and perhaps αὐτῶν means Thoteus and his workmen.

#### 744. LETTER OF PATRON.

9.

11.4 × 8.6 cm.

B.C. 245.

This and the five succeeding texts are letters written by or to Patron early in the reign of, probably, the third Ptolemy. The official position of Patron is

not stated, but he was a person of some consequence, having a competence extending over a district (748. 10-11) and the power both to appoint a village guard (745) and to dispatch guards on a mission to another nome (749). Perhaps he was an ἀρχιφυλακίτης. It is clear from 749. 2 that he and his correspondents held posts outside the Arsinoite nome, and the reference to the village of Takona in 745 shows that the nome concerned was the Oxyrhynchite, which is one of those mentioned on the verso of the present papyrus.

744, which is the only letter of the group written by Patron, relates apparently to a private matter. On the verso is 708.

[ ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) β

Tῦβι λ.

Πάτρων [. . .]ἴππῳ χαίρειν. ὄν

τρόπον [συνετα]ξάμεθά σοι περὶ τῶν ν (δραχμῶν)

5 ὥστ'ε ἀλ[λο(?) γίν]εσθαι δάνειον ἕως τοῦ ἀ-

ναπλε[ἴν ἡμᾶς,?] Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ξ[μ-

πόρου [. . . .]σιδορῶν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ

γέγρα[φεν. ἀ]πόδος ὄν τὴν ἐπιστο-

λὴν ἀ[ὐτῷ, μ]ὴ ἀποτύχῃς. ὑπογέ-

10 γραφα δ[ὲ καὶ τ]ῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς γέγρα-

φεν ἡμ[ἴν τὸ ἀ]ντίγραφον καὶ τῶν γρά-

φει τῷ [πατρὶ] αὐτοῦ. κομίζει σοι

λωτ[ῶν . .]ε . . σάτους.

[ ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Tῦβι λ.

‘Patron to . . . ippus, greeting. Ptolemaeus, the merchant’s son, has written to . . . his father of the way in which we instructed you about the 50 drachmae so as to make another loan(?) until our boat starts. Give him therefore my letter lest you lose the chance. I have written for you a copy of his letter to me and of what he writes to his father. He brings you some . . . lotus-fruit. Goodbye. The second year, Tubi 30.’

1-2. It is natural to suppose that these two lines are the conclusion of a preceding letter in which that of Patron was enclosed. On the other hand, though the sheet is incomplete at the top, the beginnings of a foregoing line or two should be visible at the left corner if they ranged, as expected, with ll. 3 sqq. Perhaps therefore ll. 1-2 belonged to the letter referred to in ll. 9-11; cf. 712. 17-18, 750. 22-5.

11. τῶν γράφει is a good instance of the use of the article as a relative at this period; cf. 120. 58 ἀπὸ τῶ(ν) ἀνεμή(νοχεν) Ἐρμίας, which Mayser, *Gram.* i. 311, is mistaken in saying can be equally well explained as a demonstrative use.

13. The letter after ]ε can well be π or μ, but λ]επτοτάτους is unsatisfactory.

## 745. LETTER CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF A GUARD.

97.

11.6 × 7 cm.

B.C. 245.

The four following letters were addressed to Patron by Agathon. On the position of the former see 744 introd. Agathon, who in the present text makes a request, was the official superior of Patron, as is made clear by 747-9, but what post he occupied is not stated; 749 suggests that it was at the metropolis. Perhaps they were both police-officials; 746. 4 sqq. seems consistent with that view.

[Ἀγ]άθων Πάτρωνι  
 χαίρειν. ἐνέτυχέν μοι  
 Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τῆς  
 κώμης Τακόνα ὅπως  
 5 καταστήσῃς αὐτὸν φυ-  
 [λακ]ίτην. καλῶς οὖν  
 [ποιήσ]ει[ς ἀ]ποδοῦς [[ᾠς]]  
 [. . . . . ἔ]ρρωσο. (ἔτους) β  
 ] Μεχείρ ιγ.

On the verso

5 Πάτρωνι.

‘Agathon to Patron, greeting. Apollonius has applied to me about the village of Takona, that you should appoint him as guard. You would therefore do well to hand (the post?) over to him. Goodbye. The second year, Mecheir 13. (Addressed) To Patron.’

7. ἀποδοῦς: sc. τὴν χρεῖαν, with αὐτῶι in the next line?

## 746. CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING CLERUCHIC DUES.

97.

34.4 × 15.3 cm.

B.C. 243.

The chief component of the following correspondence is a letter (ll. 13-37) written by Menodorus, a superior official, to Theophilus, a *λογευτής* in an (Oxyrhynchite) toparchy (l. 5), giving instructions about the collection of dues upon the holdings of cavalry-soldiers. The two halves of an individual holding were to be treated differently in this respect, and the surprising fact emerges that the state and the cleruch exercised a kind of divided ownership, the state

reserving over one half of the κλήρος and its produce rights which passed to the cleruch over the other half; cf. note on ll. 20-1. A copy of this letter was enclosed by Menodorus in another to Agathon (745 introd.) asking him to instruct his agents to release only a sufficient quantity of corn to satisfy the claims of the sitologi. Agathon in turn passed on both letters, with a short covering note, to Patron (cf. 744 introd.).

Ἀγάθων Πάτρωνι χαίρειν. τῆς παρὰ Μηνοδώ[ρου]  
ἐπιστολῆς ὑπογέγραφέ σοι τάντίγραφα ὅπως  
εἶδησι. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ Φαρμουῦθι η.

Μηνόδωρος Ἀγάθωνι χαίρειν. ἥς γεγράφαμεν ἐπιστο-  
5 λῆς τοῖς κατ[ὰ] τοπαρχίαν λογευταῖς ὑπογεγράφα-  
μέν σοι τάντίγραφα ὅπως εἰδῶς ἐπιστείλῃς τοῖς  
παρὰ σοῦ κατὰ τόπον τεταγμένοις προίεσθαι ἀπὸ  
τῶν γενημάτων τὰ παραμετρούμενα τοῖς  
σιτολόγοις εἰς τὰ παραγεγραμμένα ἐν αὐτοῖς  
10 ὀφειλήματα, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν σῖτον συν[ί]σ[χ]ειν καθότι σοι  
καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἐπιστολαῖς γεγράφαμε[ν].  
(ἔτους) δ Φαρμουῦθι ς.

Θεοφίλωι. ἐπειδὴ ἡ εἰσδοχὴ ἐνέστηκεν τῶν βασιλικῶν  
κλήρων καὶ ὑμῖν συνεσταμένοι εἰσὶν οἱ σιτολόγοι,  
15 καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπέλαβον γράψαι σοι ὅπως τῶν  
ἵππικῶν κλήρων ὑπολιπόμενος τὸν ἱκανὸν σῖτον  
[εἰς τὰ] ὀφειλ[ό]μενα ἀργυρικὰ ὀφειλήματα τῶν ἐπάνω  
χρόν[ων] καὶ εἰς τῆ]ν ἀργυρικὴν πρόσοδον [. . . . .  
ἔω[ς] τοῦ ἡμᾶς (?) ἀνευ]εγκεῖν ἐπὶ Φανίαν περὶ τούτων  
20 ἀπὸ [. . . . .]νομένων ἐκ τῶν καθη[κόντων]  
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἡ[μ]ικληρίων ἀπομετρή[ι]ς τοῖ]ς σιτολό-  
γοις τὰ παραγεγραμμένα ἐν αὐτοῖς σιτικά ὀφειλήματα,  
ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὰ τελοῦμ[ε]να,] τό τε ἰατρικὸν  
καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δεχημέρου καὶ ἐξ ὅλου τοῦ  
25 κλήρου καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν κλήρων. ἐὰν δέ τι  
περιγίνηται ἐκ τῶν ἡμικληρίων τούτων, ἐπιμελῆς

ὑμῖν γενέσθω ὅπως διατηρηθῆι τοῦτό τε καὶ τὸ  
 καθῆκον τῶι ἱππέϊ ἡμικλήριον ἕως ἀριθμῆ[σεως  
 καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς γράψαι ὑμῖν ὡς δεῖ ποιεῖν,  
 30 τὸν [δὲ] ἀγοραστ[ὸ]ν οὗ τιμὴν προέχουσιν ἐπιστ[. . . .  
 δ[. . . .]πρ[. . . .] . ναι καθότι ὑμῖν πρότερον [  
 ἐ[πεσ]τάλκ[αμ]εν. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ἱππέων  
 [κεχει]ρογρα[φή]κασιν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις περὶ τοῦ  
 γενήματος, ἐπίσχεσ τὸ καθῆκον τοῦ στεφάνου  
 35 [τοῦ] δ (ἔτους) τοῦ ἀπολείποντος πλήθους  
 [ἕως τοῦ] κα[. . . .]ν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ Φανίαν.  
 ] ἔρρωσο.  
 [ῆ] αὐτῇ Ἀ[ρ]πάλωι Ἀντιφάνει Ἀργαίωι.

On the verso

2nd hand	(ἔτους) δ Φαρμουῦθι ἡ περὶ	
40	τῶν ἡμικληρίων ἀπομετρεῖν	(1st h.) Πάτρωνι.
	. . . . . ων καὶ . . . . . ων	

‘Agathon to Patron, greeting. I have written below for your information a copy of the letter from Menodorus. Goodbye. The 4th year, Pharmouthi 8.

Menodorus to Agathon, greeting. We have written below for you a copy of the letter which we have written to the collectors in the several toparchies in order that you may be informed and send instructions to your local agents to release out of the produce the amounts measured out to the sitologi for the dues entered on their books, and to retain the rest of the corn, as we have written to you in previous letters.

To Theophilus. Since the time for receipts from the royal holdings has arrived and the sitologi are met together with you, I think it well to write to you in order that, as regards the cavalry holdings, having left enough corn for the money dues owing on account of the past and for the money revenue until we refer to Phantias about this, you may measure to the sitologi from the surplus produce (?) from the half-holdings pertaining to the State the corn dues entered on their books, and similarly the taxes, both the medical tax and the crown-tax for the ten-day period, and also from the whole holding the guard-tax upon the holdings. If anything remains from these half-holdings, let it be your care that both it and the half-holding pertaining to the cavalryman be kept until the reckoning and until we write to you what should be done. The purchased corn of which they have received the value beforehand . . . , as we have instructed you previously. If any of the cavalrymen have given the epistatae affidavits about the produce, hold back the proper amount for the crown-tax for the 4th year to make up the deficiency, until we have referred . . . to Phantias. Goodbye. The same letter was sent to Harpalus, Antiphanes, and Argaeus.

(Addressed) To Patron. (Endorsed) 4th year, Pharmouthi 8. Concerning the half-holdings, instructions for measuring dues, . . .’

18. Though there would have been room for several more letters the line is perhaps

complete, being of about the same length as l. 35 and only about two letters shorter than l. 15.

19. Cf. l. 36, where something longer intervened between τοῦ and ἀνευγ. In Phantias is no doubt to be recognized the γραμματεὺς τῶν ἰππέων of that name who figures in several contemporary documents; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59254 introd., 59502, Mich. Zen. 57, P.S.I. 344. 3 (l. φ[α]νίας), Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 121, and n. on ll. 30-1 below. The dues from the ἰππεῖς to the State were his particular concern.

20. The analogy of ll. 7-8 suggests that γενημάτων stood in the lacuna, but ἀπὸ [γεν. γενομένων] is not elegant and the article is expected. Perhaps [ἐκφορίων τῶν γιν. : τῶν περιγε]νομένων is too short.

20-1. τῶν καθήκοντων . . . ἡ[μ]ικληρίων: cf. ll. 27-8 τὸ καθήκον τῶ ἰππεῖ ἡμικλ. The word ἡμικλήριον has previously occurred in P. Petrie III. 100. iii. 21, in a mutilated account, and P. Magd. 1 (= Enteux. 55), a petition of a military cleruch whose ἡμικλήριον had been temporarily leased by the State in his absence, and is to be recognized also in P. Ryl. 71. 19 (cf. l. 25), where ἡμικλ(ηρίων) (ἐκατονταρούρων) should no doubt be read in a list of payments to a granary. 746 throws a new and unexpected light on the relation of cleruchs to the State at this period. What precisely is implied by καθήκειν is not apparent, but evidently the government retained rights in one half of a cleruch's holding which were made over to him as regards the other half. This explains why, in the case described in P. Magd. 1, the State leased only half the absentee's holding (its omission to do so in the second year of his absence remains unaccountable). It appears from ll. 23-5 below that there was a difference in the treatment of the two halves in the matter of taxation, and from 815 Fr. 6. 17 that they were definite entities. In l. 28 ἡμικλ. means the produce rather than the land.

23-5. If τελούμ[ενα] is right, the last few letters were rather cramped. For the ἱατρικόν, which elsewhere, as here, is paid by military settlers, cf. P. Hibeh 102, introd., and 103, where too it is coupled with the φυλακτικόν. For the latter tax cf. P. Hibeh 105 introd., and for στέφανος, 61. (b) 254, n.

30-1. This seems to be a new sentence, in which case something like ἐπίστ[ειλον] | δ[εῦρο] πρ[οσδο]ῦναι may be thought of; but the letter before ναι may also have been ε or η or possibly ι. The mention of σίτος ἀγοραστός here supports the supposition that in P.S.I. 609. 5 εἰς τὸν ἀγοραστὸν καθὼς Φανίας συντέταχε the γραμματεὺς τῶν ἰππέων is meant; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, pp. 90, 121<sup>91</sup>.

33. These χειρογραφίαι were perhaps analogous to the ἀσφάλεια given by βυσιλικὸὶ γεωργοί; cf. 714. 6-10, n.

38. The other three recipients were λογευταί like Theophilus; cf. l. 5. Apparently there were only four Oxyrhynchite toparchies at this period.

41. The first word was perhaps καί and the last may be meant for ὀφειλημάτων.

## 747. LETTER OF REPRIMAND.

97.

31.2 x 9 cm.

B.C. 243.

In this letter Patron is taken severely to task by Agathon for neglect of his orders. On the position of these two officials see 744-5, introd.

[Α]γάθων Πάτρωνι  
χαίρειν. μωνώτατος

σὺ περὶ ὧν ἄν σοι ἐντελ-  
 λώμεθα καὶ σπευδώ-  
 5 μεθ[α] ἐν τούτοις μά-  
 [λιστα ὁ]λίγωρος εἶ. ἡμῶγ  
 [γὰ]ρ [γ]ραψάντων σοι  
 περὶ τῶν ξύλων καὶ ἐν-  
 τειλαμένων οὐδένα  
 10 λόγον ἐποίησω, ἀλλὰ  
 ὑπομεμένηκας ἕως  
 κ[αί] Ἀμμώνιον βαρέως  
 ἐνεγκεῖ[ν] καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 συναγοράσαντας  
 15 ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτῶι.  
 ἔγραψα οὖν σοι ἵνα εἰ-  
 δῆις τὴν σαυτοῦ  
 ἀμέλειαν.  
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ Παῦνι ια.

On the verso

20 Πάτρωνι.

13. κ of *καί* written through σ. From this point the remainder of the letter was apparently inscribed over an expunction of about the same number of lines.

‘Agathon to Patron, greeting. You are the one and only person who entirely neglects our pressing commands. For though we have written to you and given you orders concerning the timber, you have paid no heed, but have delayed until Ammonius is annoyed and we have been forced to buy timber to send to him. I have written therefore to you in order that you may realize your own carelessness. Goodbye. The 4th year, Pauni 11. (Addressed) To Patron.’

4. σπευδώμεθ[α]: the θ is only partially preserved, but -μεν is plainly excluded. Agathon uses the active form in 748. 7, and the middle here was perhaps influenced by the preceding verb, but it occurs in Homer and Aeschylus; cf. also Hesych. σπεύσαιτο, Eunapius p. 119. 2 σπενσάμενος.

12. Ἀμμώνιον: cf. 748. 3-5, whence it appears that his head-quarters were at the metropolis.

19. ια: the two figures are very close together, and possibly the second was intended to replace the first.



## 748. LETTER CONCERNING DRAUGHT-ANIMALS.

97.

20 × 8.4 cm.

About 243 B.C.

A further letter of Agathon to Patron, passing on to him instructions for procuring some animals for transport (cf. 749–50), the provision of which is described as a matter of royal concern. No doubt therefore they were to be requisitioned; cf. 5. 181–2.

Ἀγάθων Πάτρ[ωνι  
 χαίρειν. γέγραφεν  
 ἡμῖν Ἀμμώνιος ἀπο-  
 στεῖλαι αὐτῶι εἰς  
 5 τὴν πόλιν ὑποζύ-  
 για ἀμαξικά, ὡς τοῦ  
 βασιλέως σπεύδον-  
 τος περὶ αὐτῶν. ὡς  
 ἂν οὖν λάβῃς τὰ γράμ-  
 10 ματα, περιελθὼν τοὺς  
 κατὰ σὲ τόπους με-  
 τὰ Ζηνοδώρου ὅσα  
 ἂν εὐρίσκησις πέμ-  
 [ψον εἰ]ς πόλιν ἵνα τι  
 15 [. . . . .]. θέντα ἀπο-  
 [σταλήι,] μελέτω δὲ  
 [. . . . .]. θεν παρα  
 [. . . . .]μας δε  
 [. . . . . Ζηνόδ]ωρον  
 20 [. . . . .]ν κ. [  
 . . . . .

On the verso

2nd hand [(ἔτους) ] κδ

[περὶ ὑ]ποζυγίων.

(1st h.) Πάτρωνι.

‘Agathon to Patron, greeting. Ammonius has written to us to send him at the city beasts of burden for wagons, as the king is solicitous about them. Therefore on receipt

of this letter go round your neighbourhood with Zenodorus and send to the city any that you find . . . (Addressed) To Patron. (Endorsed) Year . [month] 24. About draught-animals.'

3. Ἀμμώνιος: no doubt the same as in 747. 12.

14-15. Either ]ηθέντα or ].σθέντα can be read, but τι-[μηι ἀγορ]ασθέντα is unsatisfactory; perhaps τι-[νι ἐμβλ]ηθέντα (Edgar). The πόλις here and in 749. 5 was Oxyrhynchus.

### 749. LETTER CONCERNING PROVISION OF DONKEYS.

9.

10.1 × 15.4 cm.

About 243 B.C.

The subject of this short letter, the last of the series from Agathon to Patron, is similar to that of 748.

[Ἀγάθων Πά]τρωνι χαίρειν. ὡς ἂν λάβη[ις ἡμῶν τὰ  
 [γράμματ]α, ἀπόστειλον εἰς τὸν Ἀρσινοῖτην  
 φυλακίτη[ν] ὄνους λαβεῖν ἡμῖν ὡς βελ[τίστους,  
 τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τάχε[ι] ποίησον καὶ ἀπόστειλον  
 5 ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν π[ό]λιν.  
 ἔρρωσ[ο]. (ἔτους) . . . . .

On the verso

Πάτρωνι.

'Agathon to Patron, greeting. On receipt of my letter send a guard to the Arsinoïte nome to get for us the best donkeys possible; do this quickly and send them to us at the city. Goodbye.' Date. (Addressed) 'To Patron.'

### 750. LETTER OF ADAMAS TO DIONYSIUS.

53.

30.5 × 17 cm.

B.C. 187?

Another small group is formed by the following five letters, the central figure in which is Adamas, who was their writer (750-1; cf. 756) or their recipient (752-4). The correspondence is personal in character, three of the letters being to or from members of his own family; strictly these belong to the next section (V). Corn and its transport are prominent topics (750, 753; cf. 703. 70-87, n.), and a fragmentary letter on the verso of 776 shows that Adamas was a sitologus.

Ἀδάμας Διονυσίωι χαίρειν.  
 οὐ μετρί[ως] προσενήνεκταί μοι

Πτολεμ[α]ίος ὑπὲρ τῆς λ[ο]γίας  
 ὁμόσα[ς] Ψενεμμοῦτι καὶ Διονύσῳ  
 5 καὶ Ἀρισ[τά]νδρῳ τοῖς κεχειρογραφη-  
 κόσι παραστήσειν πορεία ρ,  
 εὐθύνογτες δ[ἐ . . .] . [ . . . ] . [ . ] .  
 τῆ χειρογραφίαι καὶ κινδυ-  
 [ν . . . . .] . . . [ . . . ] . . [ . ] . . . ι  
 10 [ . . . . . ] ἔχοντες εἰς  
 [ . . . ] οσ[ . . . . . ] ἄτωσαν τὴν  
 καταγωγὴν. εἰ μὲν ἔτι  
 οἱ θεοὶ εἴλωσ αὐτοῖς ἐστιν,  
 παραστησάτωσαν καὶ ἐξαρά-  
 15 τωσαν τὰ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ  
 σιτάρια, μόλις γὰρ ἐξιλάσονται  
 [τ]ὸν ἄνθρωπον. Πιετοσί[ρι?]ν δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ εἰ οἴονται  
 ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰππάλου σκέπη[ν  
 20 [ὄντας . . . . .] πορεία, μωρὰ  
 [? φρονο]ῦσιν. ἐπιγνώτωσαν ὅτι

In the upper margin

[Πτ]ολεμαῖος Ἐρμοκράτους ἐπιμένει ἔως  
 [ἀν] ἀποδόμενος αὐτῶν τ[ι]μῆν ἔχη  
 [τὰ π]ορεία. ἔρωσο. (ἔτους) ἡ Ἐπειφ [ . ]

In the right-hand margin, opposite ll. 7-13

<sup>25</sup> γέγραφα <sup>26</sup> δὲ δοῦ- <sup>27</sup> ναι τῷ <sup>28</sup> [ . ] ε[ . . . ] <sup>29</sup> (πυροῦ) κ <sup>30</sup> καὶ τῆι  
<sup>31</sup> ὑπηρεσίαι <sup>32</sup> (πυροῦ) α, <sup>33</sup> / κα.

On the verso, along the fibres and in the same hand, 4 further lines, much effaced, in which the name Πτολεμαῖος occurs (cf. l. 3), and at right angles a short illegible account in a different hand.

13. σ of ἐστιν corr. from ι rather than *vice versa*.  
 16. 1. ἐξιλάσονται or -σαντο.

1. ἔλεφ . . . εἰσιν or ὁ θεὸς ἔλεως.

‘Adamas to Dionysius, greeting. Ptolemaeus has shown me no moderation about the collection, having sworn to Psenemmous and Dionysus and Aristandrus, who have engaged to provide 100 transport animals . . . If the gods are still propitious to them, let them

provide them and carry away the corn in the store, for they will hardly appease the fellow. But if they suppose that Petosiris and his brother, who are under the protection of Hippalus, will provide animals, they think foolishly. Let them know too that Ptolemaeus son of Hermocrates is waiting until, having paid their price, he has the animals. Goodbye. The 18th year, Epeiph . . . I have sent a written order to give to . . . 20 artabae of wheat and 1 artaba of wheat to his servants, total 21.'

4. ὁμόσα[ς]: or ὁμοσο[ν], which palaeographically would really be preferable.

6. It seems better on account of ll. 12 sqq. to connect παραστήσειν with κειρογραφ. than with ὁμόσα[ς].

11. ποιησ]άτωσαν?

13. The change from plural to singular is strange. ἐστίν not εἰσιν was apparently intended to stand; cf. crit. n. Another elementary error occurs in l. 16.

17. [τ]ὸν ἄνθρωπον: sc. Ptolemaeus presumably.

19. ὑπὸ . . . σκέπη: cf. e.g. 34. 12, 758. 20, v. Woess, *Asylwesen*, p. 190.

20. E.g. παρέξειν τὰ] π.

### 751. LETTER FROM ADAMAS TO HIS FATHER.

48.

15.3 × 12 cm.

Early second century B.C.

In this fragmentary letter, the first few lines of which are much effaced, Adamas refers to the danger in which he stood of the displeasure of the dioecetes in connexion with a large quantity of corn at another village. Cf. 750 introd.

Ἀδάμας τῶι πατρὶ χαίρειν.

ἔπε . . . . . ὀφέλημα

θ . . . . . εἰ . . . . . σ[. . .

ι . . . . . ντ . . . ις τῶι θη(σαυρῶ)

5 . . . . . ιν καὶ . . . ρν καὶ

ἐν . . . . . Ἄρν, καὶ <sup>τοῦ ἐπὶ</sup> τοῦ-  
τοῦ

ὡς ἐν τῶι μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ

ἐσμὲν περὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος

κριθοπυ(ροῦ) ἐν Πόαν εἰς πυ(ροῦ) ἀρτ(άβας) 'B

10 ἕως τοῦ ἐφιδῆσαι τὴν τοῦ

διοικητοῦ ὀρμῆν, μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον

διαλάβη καὶ ἄλλως πως ἡμῖν

[. . . . .] . τ[. . . . .]σσερχέ[. . . . .

On the verso

τῶι πατρί.

‘Adamas to his father, greeting. . . and that we are in the greatest danger with regard to the mixed wheat and barley at Poan amounting to 2,000 artabae of wheat, until we see what line the dioecetes takes, lest he make an unfavourable decision . . . (Addressed) To my father.’

5. An abbreviation perhaps preceded  $\rho\nu$ ; the last letter has a long tail.

10.  $\epsilon\phi\iota\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ : for the vulgar aspiration cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 23 (2) 3  $\epsilon\phi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , and for the sigmatic infinitival form 800. 36  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\beta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ , P. Par. 36. 12  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ ; that  $-ιδησαι$  here =  $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$  ( $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha$ ), for which cf. 762. 20, n., is a less probable alternative.

## 752. LETTER TO ADAMAS FROM HIS FATHER.

II.

15.5 × 7 cm.

Early second century B.C.

The beginning of a letter asking for news, the correspondents being the same as in 751.

‘Ο πατήρ Ἀδάμα[ι  
 χαίρειν. μὴ ὀκνήσης  
 τοῦ εἰς οἶκον ἀποστεί-  
 λαι ὡς ἔσχε τὰ κα-  
 5 θ’ αὐτούς, ποῖά τινα  
 ἔστιν, καὶ π[ε]ρὶ τοῦ  
 ἐμφανίσαι τὸ φρόνιμον,  
 ἵνα μὴ ἀναβαίνω περὶ  
 τῶν αὐτῶν. ὁ γὰρ  
 10 Ἀνίκητος ὁ παρ’ Εὐβίου  
 τοῦ [ἀρ]χι[φ]υ[λ]α[κ]ί[τ]του

Remains of two more lines.

On the verso

[[Ἀδάμαι]] Ἀδάμαι.

‘His father to Adamas, greeting. Do not omit to send home news how things go with you, what they are like, and to exhibit prudence so that I shall not have to come up about this same affair. For Anicetus the agent of Eubius the archiphylacites . . . (Addressed) To Adamas.’

4-5. The use of the relative in place of the interrogative is common in indirect questions; cf. e.g. 27. 77, Mayser, *Gram.* i. 79. For αὐτούς in the sense of  $\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  αὐτ. cf. Mayser, *op. cit.* p. 303.

## 753. LETTER TO ADAMAS.

48 and 53.

31 x 7 cm.

B.C. 197 or 173?

A letter reporting the movements of the writer, who had been assisting in the transport of corn (cf. 750) and now asks that someone should be sent to take his place. The villages mentioned were all in the division of Polemon. Whether the 9th year (l. 30) refers to the reign of Philometor or his predecessor is open to question; in either case, if the figures are rightly read, there was a considerable interval between this letter and 750.

<p>Ἡρόδωρος Ἀδάμα χαίρειν. ἐμοῦ συν- αποδεδημηκότος Ἀμμωνίῳ εἰληφό- 5 τες τὰ ἐξ Ὀξυρύγ- χων πορεῖ[ι]α ὡς κα- τάξαντες τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰβιῶνος πυρὸν [. . . . .] . . [.] . 10 [ ] γέφυραν πεπτω- κυῖαν ἐπεστρέψα- μεν εἰς Ὀξύρυχα ἀργούντες. οὐκ ἦ- 15 δυνάμην δὲ ἀποσχισ-</p>	<p>θῆναι ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν πορεύσεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐ[ίς] Κ[α]μείνους παρα 20 [. . . . .] ἐραι . . . γ . . . οὐ εἴσλα- βε ἀρτάβας κριθῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐξαπό- στεilon τὸν ἐσόμενον 25 ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως καὶ αὐ- τὸς πλεύσας εἰς τοὺς περὶ Θεογονίδα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας φροντίσω ὑπὲρ [το]ῦ κλήρου. 30 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) θ Θωὸθ ιβ.</p>
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On the verso  
Ἀδάμαι.

17. του αναβηναι above the line.

‘Herodorus to Adamas, greeting. After I had set out with Ammonius, having taken the animals from Oxyrhyncha, when we had carried down the wheat from Ibion and . . . , [finding] the bridge fallen we returned to Oxyrhyncha with nothing to do. I was unable to separate from Heracleides so as to go up because he said that we would proceed to Camini . . . ; . . . and send even now a man to be here in order that I myself may sail to the people at Theogonis and the other villages and see to my holding. Good-bye. The 9th year, Thoth 12. (Addressed) To Adamas.’

6. Was κατάξοντες intended?

10. That only one line is missing is likely but not certain. Something like εὔροντες τῆν | γέφ. is evidently required.

17. For τοῦ ἀναβῆναι cf. 776. 23 and e.g. P.S.I. 340. 18 Ἠγήμονα πείσαι τοῦ γράψαι.

19. Κ[α]μείνους is only moderately satisfactory, since besides the irregular spelling the κ must be supposed to have been written rather large.

21. Not ἀντι πυροῦ, it seems.

27-8. τὰς ἄλλας: sc. κόμας. τοὺς -ους is apparently not to be read.

### 754. LETTER TO ADAMAS FROM HIS BROTHER.

48.

16 × 20.6 cm.

Early second century B.C.

A fragmentary private letter. On the verso are the upper parts of two columns of an account written in short lines.

Ἡλιόδω[ρος] Ἀ]δάμαι τὰδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ  
 ἔρρωσθαι. συνεσχημένου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς κη πρὸς ἃ μετεδεδώκην σοι  
 τὰ ἐν τ[ῆ]ι πόλ[ι]ει καὶ τοῦ Ἀργείου πεποι-  
 5 ημένου [τῆ]ν ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτῶν τῆι  
 κθ κοῦ[δὲ]ν εὐρηκότος ἔκρινα  
 διασαφῆσ[αί σοι . . . . . περὶ] αὐτῶν,  
 εἰδὼς ὅτ[ι  
 γραφε[

‘Heliodorus to Adamas his brother, greeting and good health. Our brother having been detained from the 28th for the business at the metropolis which I imparted to you, and Argeius having made an investigation into it on the 29th and found nothing, I decided to report . . . to you about it, knowing that . . .’

7. E.g. ἐν τάχει οἱ εὐθὺς περὶ.

### 755. LETTER OF HELIODORUS.

11.

15.4 × 8.8 cm.

Early second century B.C.

Upper part of a letter asking for an interview. Perhaps this too should be placed among the private correspondence. The hand differs from that of 754.

Ἡλιόδωρος Ἐπιδώρωι  
 χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι

καὶ τὰλλὰ σοι κατὰ λόγον  
 ἀπαντᾷ, εὖ {ἄν} ἐστίν,  
 5 καὺτὸς δὲ μετρίως  
 ἐπανάγω. καὶ πρότερον  
 τυγχάνω σοι γεγρα-  
 φηκῶς ὅπως σοι  
 συναλήσω πρὸ τοῦ  
 10 με καταπλεῦσαι,  
 καὶ νῦν, ἐάνπερ φαίνη-  
 ται, καλῶς ποιήσεις  
 συνμίξας μοι  
 μάλιστα μὲν τῆι κ  
 15 [. . . . .] . [. . .] .  
 . . . . .

On the verso

σιτολόγωι Ἐπιδώρωι.

‘Heliodorus to Epidorus, greeting. If you are in health and all else goes as you wish, it is well: I, too, am getting on pretty well. I have written to you before in order to have a talk with you before I sail down, and now, if you see fit, I shall be obliged if you will meet me, preferably on the 20th . . . (Addressed) To Epidorus, sitologus.’

4. εὖ ἄν ἔχοι or εἴη is the usual formula, but neither is possible here. We have supposed that the writer mixed two constructions.

5-6. Cf. U.P.Z. 110 (= P. Par. 63) 6 καίτοι (l. καὺτ.) δ' ἰ{ι}κανῶς ἐπανήγομεν. This use of ἐπανάγειν is omitted in Preisigke's *Wörterb.*

### 756. LETTER OF ADAMAS (?).

53.

15 × 7.7 cm.

About 174 B.C.?

Conclusion of a letter complaining of an unjust exaction which was being made from another person; the hand is that of 750.

[ῆ]θέτησεν

χωρὶς τοῦ αὐτῶ



μὴ δοῦναι,  
 [ἔτι δ]ἔ παραγέγρα-  
 5 φεν αὐτὸν ὀφείλοντα  
 πρὸς τὸ ζ (ἔτος) πυ(ροῦ) αΛ.  
 ὀμνύω σοι ἀπλῶς  
 τὸν Σοκνεβτῦνιν  
 ὃ ἂν αὐτὸν πράξει  
 10 παρὰ φύσιν πράξειν  
 αὐτόν· καὶ τῶι Μεγχιῆ-  
 τι μετὰδος τὰ αὐτά,  
 ὅτι ἐξ οὗ δεῖ εἶναι  
 τὴν πράξιν.  
 15 ἕ[ρρωσο.

On the verso

μηθὲν ἀντι . . . εἶτε Διοφάντῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν [     καὶ  
 γράψον μοι ἐντὸς γ πόσων ὑπερῆσπραχθέντων

9. 1. πράξει.

11. 1-15. ' . . he cancelled it besides not giving to him, and also has entered him as owing for the 7th year  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artabae. I simply (?) swear to you by Soknebtunis, whatever he exacts from him he will exact from him unnaturally; and let Menches know the same thing, from whom the exaction should be made. Good-bye . . .'

13. εἶπον might be for ἐκ σοῦ, but cf. 752. 4-5, n., and for ὅτι, 764. 29.

16. The very slight vestiges do not commend ἀντιλέγετε.

17. Part of a stroke above γ suggests that this means the 3rd of the month.

## 757. LETTER TO HERACLEIDES.

II.

17.8 × 11.7 cm.

B.C. 186-5 or 162-1.

Heracleides, who was perhaps a sitologus (cf. ll. 8-10), and possibly identical with his homonym in 753. 16, is here informed of a letter which his correspondent had received relating to the collection of some arrears with which Heracleides was concerned. Some obscurities in detail are caused by lacunae.

[. . .] . . Ἡρακλείδει χαίρειν.

[ἔγραψ]εν ἡμῖν Ἐρμόδοτος ὁ

[γραμμ]ατεὺς τῶν λογευτικῶν  
 [ἀπεστ]αλκέναι αὐτῶι τοὺς κατὰ  
 5 [τόπου]ς λογε[υ]τὰς τοὺς ὀφείλοντας  
 [τῶν . . .] . εἰς βουλομένους ἀπ. [. .  
 [. . . .]ιν τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκτιθέμενα,  
 [καὶ μὴ εἰ]ρίσκεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν θη-  
 [σανρῶ]ν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῇ ἐμβολῇι  
 10 ὄντας, καὶ προφερομένους δια  
 [ 16 l. ] . ὑ[. .] . εἰς . .  
 ἡμῖν διασ[. . . . .] . . . . .  
 ἔρρ[ω]σο. (ἔτους) κ [

‘. . . to Heracleides, greeting. Hermodotus, clerk of the collecting department, has written to me that the local collectors have despatched to him those of the . . . who are in arrears, wishing to . . . the amounts declared due from them, and that you were not to be found at the granaries but were occupied with the lading, and alleging . . . Good-bye. The 20th year . . .’

3. [γραμμ]ατεὺς τῶν λογευτικῶν: cf. 99 introd., where λογευ(τικῶν) rather than λογευ(τῶν) should now be read on the analogy of the present text.

6. ω in ]εων is slurred, but there is a stroke too many for εἰν, and though there is ample room for a following letter before β it seems probable that none was written, so that e.g. [τὰ γινώ]μενα βουλ. is a less satisfactory alternative. ]ε]ρέων is not to be read.

7. Cf. e.g. P.S.I. 510. 7 τὰ χλωρὰ τὰ ἐκτιθέμενα ἐν ὑμῖν.

12-13. The beginning of l. 12, and l. 13, are on a detached fragment which is suitable in this position but is not certainly part of the same letter. ἡμῖν may well have been followed by διασ[αφείν in some form.

## V. PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

### 758. LETTER OF REPROOF.

II.

10·1 × 32 cm.

Early second century B.C.

A severe rebuke addressed to some minor official.

1 Διονυσίωι. ἔδει σε  
 ἐν τῶι σῶι τραχήλωι

12 θαι. γνῶθι διότι  
 οὐ τελωνίας προέσ-

ἐμπαίξειν, καὶ μὴ ἐν	τηκας ἀλλὰ χειρισ-
τῶι ἐμῶι. φαίνῃ εἰς	15 μου ἀβαστάκτο[υ,
5 μανίαν ἐμπεπτω-	ὥστε πρὸς ταῦτα
κέν[α]ι, διὸ λόγον σαν-	ἐχῶν κατάλ[ηγε. (?) εἰ
τοῦ οὐ ποιεῖς κα[ὶ]	ἡδύ ἐστιν τ[ὸ κω-
ὑπ[ο]μεμένηκας,	θωνίζεσθαι κα[ὶ] ἐν
ᾧ[στ]ε μεθ' ὧν συμ-	20 σκέπηι εἶναι, οὐκ ἐ-
10 [παίξει]ς ὑπὸ τού-	πιλογερίζει τὴν αὐ-
[τ]ων μυκτηρίζεσ-	ριον.

On the verso

Διονυσί[ωι.]

'To Dionysius. You should play the fool at the risk of your own neck, and not of mine. You seem to have gone mad, for you pay no regard to yourself; and have persisted in doing so, so that you are sneered at by those with whom you play the fool. Bear in mind that you are not in charge of tax-farming, but merely of an insufferable department, so attend to that and go no further. If it is pleasant to be drunk and to be under protection, you do not take into account the morrow. (Addressed) To Dionysius.'

1. Was this the Dionysius addressed in 750?

2-3. The use of ἐν here is somewhat similar to that with a person responsible for a payment, e.g. 27. 99 τὸ ἐν αὐτῶι ὀφειλόμενον, 72. 332, &c.

11. μυκτηρίζεσθαι: Ep. Galat. vi. 7 seems to be the only other instance of the passive.

15. ἀβάστακτος, an uncommon word, ordinarily meaning 'unbearable', is apparently used in a slighting sense.

19-20. ἐν] σκέπηι: cf. 750. 19, n.

## 759. LETTER OF REPROOF.

7.

15.2 × 27 cm.

B.C. 226.

In this letter, the beginning of which is lost, the writer censured his correspondent for his incompetence, which had caused the death of some calves. It is written in the large well-formed hand characteristic of the third century B.C., and may be referred with probability to the reign of Euergetes I.

[14 letters] . ν Νικίου προσέγραψε[ν  
 [. . .] λωι προφερ[ό]μ[ε]νον μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὰ  
 [παρέ]χειν ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν. φαίνομαι οὖν

τ[ὰ] δέοντα καὶ τεθνηκότα ζητήσῃεν  
 5 διὰ τὴν σὴν ὀλιγορ[ε]ίαν. [ἦ] γὰρ οὕτως ἐπιτέτροφας  
 ὥστε τὰ μοσχάρια προσε[ρ]ρίφθαι τῷ κυάμωι,  
 καὶ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀπέστ[ει]λας ν[. . .] ἦτοι πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα  
 ἦ . . . σ[. . .]ον; οὐχ ὀρῶ πῶ[ς] δυνήσῃ προίστασθαι  
 τῶν ἰδ[ί]ων. διὸ καὶ σκόπει μήποτε ἀντ[ί] γνώσεως εἰς  
 10 διαφορ[ά]ν σοι ἔρχωμαι.

ἔρρ[ωσο.] (ἔτους?) καὶ Ἐπεὶφ κς.

5. ωρ of ολιγορ[ε]ίαν corr. 9. ποτε above the line.

‘. . . alleging inability to produce them because of their death. It appears, then, that owing to your indifference I shall have to look for the animals that are required but are dead. Has your way of feeding them been to throw the young calves upon the beans, and did you neglect to send . . . to Agathon or . . .? I do not see how you will be able to look after your own affairs. So take care that I don’t come to quarrel with you instead of being on good terms. Good-bye. The 21st year, Epeiph 26.’

5-8. The remains of the η of μὴ are slight but suitable, and μοι is not to be read. If μὴ is right, it seems necessary to restore [ἦ] not [εἶ] in l. 5 and to suppose that the whole sentence is interrogative, μὴ οὐ being used as e.g. in Plato, *Prot.* 312 a ἀλλ’ ἄρα μὴ οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνεις . . . ; The word before ἦτοι was perhaps ν[αῖν]. In the next line ἦ τοὺς[αὐτ]οῦ is inadmissible. For μοσχάρια cf. 703. 66-70, n.; they were perhaps too young for such food.

## 760. PRIVATE LETTER.

8.

23.5 × 8 cm.

B.C. 215-4?

The names of the correspondents are lost with the beginning of this letter, which is concerned with family affairs. A date within the third century is probable.

·	·	·	·
των οἰδας	ἔ[τ]ι οὐ	τίν σοι γράφειν	
δύνομα[ι γ]ρ[ά]φειν		ὄν τρόπον στενωῶς	
τῇ μητρὶ οὔτε		20 διάκειμαι. ἀκού-	
τῷ πατρὶ. ἔγραψάς		σας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν	
5 μοι περὶ τῆς λείας·		Πτολεμαῖον ἔλυ-	
τὸν καιρὸν τηρῶ.		πήθην σφόδρα.	
τὰς δὲ ψμ ἄς ἔδω-		σὺ οὖν ἐπιμέλου	
κας Ἐργεῖ οὐθ’ ἀπαξ		25 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ	

ἔδωκεν οἷς ὀφείλω  
 10 οὔτε ἐμοί, γέγραφα  
 οὐδ' σοι ὅπως εἰδήεις.  
 δέδωκα Ἄρπεχείμι  
 κίρκους γ' ὥστε σοὶ  
 δοῦναι καὶ Τοτοῆτι  
 15 ῥάβδον ὥστε τῶι  
 πατρί. περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 κατ' ἐμὲ πολλά ἐσ-

τῆς μη[τρὸς . . .  
 τας σοι κί . [ . . ] . [ . . .  
 ἀνεγκλητ[ . . . . .

On the verso

καὶ εἰσὶ . . . [ . . . . ] τῶι [υἱ- ?  
 30 ᾧ σου . . . [ . ] . [ . . ] . λῆ[ . . .  
 το . . . . κλιβάνιον.  
 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) η  
 . . . . .

' . . you know that I am unable to write to my mother or my father. You wrote to me about the plunder: I am watching for an opportunity. The 740 (drachmae) which you gave Herieus he never gave either to my creditors or to me, so I write to tell you. I have given to Harpeheimis three rings (?) to give you and to Totoës a stick for my father. As for my own affairs I have a great deal to write to you about my straitened condition. I was deeply grieved to hear about the case of Ptolemaeus. So do you look after father and mother . . .'

13. κίρκους: 'rings' seem more likely than 'hawks'.

27. τας may be τος, but the third letter is almost certainly *s* not *v*, so that e.g. πρὸς τοὺς οἰκίους . . . ἀνεγκλητ[ος ᾧν would be unsatisfactory.

### 761. LETTER OF ASCLEPIADES.

8.

16 × 12.9 cm.

Late third century B.C.

A fragmentary letter relating to private affairs, including the recovery of some property which had been pledged with a *τοκίστρια*.

Ἄσκληπιάδης Π[ε] . . . χαίρειν.  
 ἐμοῦ ἀναπλεύσαντ[ος οἱ . . . . .  
 οὐ προείπαντες [ . . . . ., ὥστε  
 μὴ δύνασθαί με [κατελθεῖν.  
 5 σὺ οὐν καλῶς ποιή[σεις ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 βελτίστου ἀντι[διοικεῖν] τὰ  
 πράγματα κ[αὶ ἐπιμέλ]εσθαι  
 τῶν ἐν οἴκῳ κα[ὶ τοῦ] μικροῦ.  
 [[κομισάμ[ενος δὲ . . ] . . οἰ . . . .]]

10 διελθῶν δὲ μετ[ὰ . . .] . . . . πρὸς  
 τὴν τοκίστρια[ν κό]μισαι τὸ  
 κάθεμα καὶ τῆ[ν σινδ]όνα πρὸς  
 (δραχμὰς) Ἄσ, καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἀπὸ  
 Μεχεῖρ ἕως τοῦ [νῦν δός, καὶ  
 15 τὴν σινδόνα [  
 . . νοῦτ . . [  
 . . . . . . . . .

2. *σαν* over *ον*, which is crossed through.

‘Asclepiades to Pe . . . , greeting. After I had sailed up, the . . . without warning me . . . so that I am unable to return. Kindly therefore manage things for me as best you can, and take care of the household and the little one. Make your way with . . . to the money-lending woman and get the necklet and the muslin at 1,200 drachmae and pay [the interest from Mecheir to date, and . . . the muslin . . .’

2-3. E.g. [οἱ ναῦται] οὐ π. [ἀπῆλθον.

11. *τοκίστρια*[ν]: the only previous instance of this word seems to be Ephr. Syrus iii. 160 D. *τοκιστής* occurs in P. Enteux. 33. 2.

12. *κάθεμα*, which Hesych. defines as ὁ κατὰ στήθους ὄρμος, is another rare word, occurring in Is. 3. 18, Ezek. 16. 11, and P. Oslo 46. 11.

## 762. PRIVATE LETTER.

9.

15.5 × 10.1 cm.

Late third century B.C.

Owing to the loss of the beginning the names of the correspondents concerned in this letter, which relates to personal matters, are unknown; it may be as early as the reign of Euergetes I. Lines 4-6 are appreciably shorter than those which follow.

. . . . .  
 καὶ ἡ ἀδ[ελφή]

γὰρ αὐτῶ[ ]

ὁ σ[τ]έφανος [. ]ε[ ]

πέπεισμαι δὲ κα[ ] ὅτι τοῦ]

5 θεοῦ θέλοντος ξ[ ]ε[ ] τὴν

σωτηρίαν, πλὴν ὅτε ἔσται

[οὐκ] οἶδαμεν διὰ τὸ ἐγκεκλείσθαι.

ἐὰν οὖν σοι μελήσῃ, ἔσται διέξοδος.

ἐν ἀρχῇ μου γράψαντος περὶ αν[. . .

10 ου, ἵνα ἔχωμεν [ἐγώ τ]ε καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή, [οὗ  
[μοι] ἀντέγραψα[s· φ]ρ[ό]ντισον οὖν περὶ οὗ  
σοι γέγρα[α]φα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐάν τινα ἔχῃς ἀπ[οσ-  
τ[ε]ί[λαι] πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ τ[. . .

[. . . . ἵνα ἐπι]σκέψηται πῶς ἔχου[σι καὶ

15 [οἱ περὶ τὸν(?)] Ζήνωνα καὶ τὰ παιδάρι[α,  
[ἵνα καὶ περ]ὶ πάντων μοι γράψῃ[s κα]ὶ [ ]  
[μὴ λίαν ἀγ]ωνιώ πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ αὐτοῖ τε εἰδ[ῶσι] τὰ [ ]  
[καθ' ἡμ]ᾶς ὅτι ἔστιν τοιαῦτα. καὶ περὶ  
[. . . . τ]οῦ μικροῦ ἐπίσκεψαι, ἤκουσα γ[ὰρ

20 [συμβῆν]αί τι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰδήσας γράψ[ον μοι  
[ἀκριβ]ῶς. ἔρρωσ[ο].

4. An addition above the line expunged. 12. ὁμοίως δε above the line. 17. προς  
τοῖς λοιποῖς above the line.

' . . . I am persuaded that, if heaven will, he (?) will attain safety, though when it will be we know not because we are in confinement. If, then, you make it your care, a way out will be found. Though I wrote at first to you about . . . for the use of myself and my sister, you have not replied; so give heed to what I have written, and also, if you have any one to send to my mother and . . ., that he may see how they are and Zenon's household and the children, so that you may write to me about them all and I may not be over-anxious about this in addition to the other things, and they too may know of our affairs, that they are like this. See too about the little . . . for I hear that something happened to them, and when you know, write to me exactly. Good-bye.'

9. Perhaps ἀν[τι]ου; cf. P. Oxy. 264. 4. ἀντλίου, ἀν(ν)ηθίου (cf. P. Oxy. 1923. 13), ἀνθρακίου are other possibilities.

20. εἰδήσας: cf. P. Petrie II. 15 (1) 10 and P.S.I. 430. 12 εἰδῆσαι, Cairo Zen. 59036. 2 εἶδησον, Maysen, *Gram.* i. 370.

21. [ἀκριβ]ῶς suits the space better than [εἰθέ]ως, which is barely long enough.

### 763. LETTER OF PTOLEMAEUS.

49.

15.5 × 4.7 cm.

Early second century B.C.

Ptollis is here directed to send, in certain circumstances, a precise statement about some silver plate, but the situation is not very clear.

Πτολεμαῖος

Πτόλλει χαίρειν.

τὰς περὶ τῶν κατὰ  
 Δίφιλον ἐπιστολὰς  
 5 παρακατέσχηκα  
 μή ποτε ἠξίωσαι,  
 εἰ δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μηδέ-  
 πω ἠξίωσαι, ἀκρι-  
 βῶς μαθὼν ποῦ  
 10 λέγει εὐρηκέναι  
 αὐτὰς τὰ ἀργυρώ-  
 ματα εὐσήμως  
 γράψον, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν  
 γράφειν ἐπιψελλῶς  
 15 περὶ τοιούτου εἶδους.  
 ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

Πτόλλει.

‘Ptolemaeus to Ptollis, greeting. I have detained the letters about the affair of Diphilus in case an application may have been made to you, but if an application has still not been made, find out exactly where he says that he found them and state the silver vessels in clear writing, for one should not write incoherently about that kind of thing. Good-bye. (Addressed) To Ptollis.’

6. The writer seems to have been apprehensive on the point, and the μή-clause to have been used as if a verb of fearing had preceded.

9-11. Or perhaps ‘where he says that the women have found the silver vessels’.

14. ἐπιψελλῶς: the compound adjective seems to be otherwise unexampled, though ἐπιψελλίζειν occurs in Arrian, *Epictet.* iii. 24. 88.

#### 764. CORRESPONDENCE OF PHILON AND PEMSAS.

16.

30.8 x 6.6 cm.

B.C. 185 or 161.

Three short letters have been inscribed on this tall, narrow sheet, (1) a message from Philon to Pemsas or Pemsas referring to a deposit of seed to be made by a cultivator named Horus, (2) a reply from Pemsas announcing that the cattle of Horus had been impounded, and (3) some unaddressed lines scribbled at the top which are evidently Philon's response to (2).

Φίλων

(2nd h.) Πεμσᾶς Φίλωνι

Πεμψᾶτι

15 χαίριν. γίνωσκε



χαίρειν.  
 ἐαθήτω  
 5 Ὡρος ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν  
 γεωργὸς  
 παραθέσθαι  
 τὰ καθήκοντα . .  
 [. .]. σπέρματα  
 10 [. .]ρι . ὠλιαῖ  
 [. . .] . .

ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κ Παῦνι ι.

On the verso

Πεμψᾶτι.

In the upper margin (ll. 28-32), between ll. 1 and 2 (l. 33), and in the left margin, opposite ll. 2-6 (ll. 34-40).

(1st h.) ἔγγρ(αψα) Πτολεμαίωι  
 ὅτι μὴ παραλογί-  
 30 ζου, ἀλλὰ τὰ νῦν  
 τὰ Ὡρου κτήνη  
 παράδος αὐτῶι.  
 εἰ δέ τις πλείω  
 σπέρ-

τὰ Ὡρου κτήνη  
 [κα]τηνεχυρασ-  
 [μέ]γα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 [Πτολε]μαίου φυ-  
 20 λακίτου. καλῶς  
 οὖν ποήσις, ἐάν σοι φαί-  
 ν(ητ)αι, διασαφήσας  
 τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ  
 τινὰ τὴν οἰκονο-  
 25 μίαν ποήσασθαι.  
 ἔρρωσο.

On the verso

Φίλωνι.

35 ματα  
 παρά(θηται),  
 πό(ει?)  
 αὐτῶν  
 τῆν  
 40 ἀπόλυ(σιν).

21. *v* of *ουν* and *η* of *ποησις* above the line, the *σ* corr. from *ε*. 24. Third *ο* of *οικονομιαν* corr. from *υ*?

‘Philon to Pempsas, greeting. Let Horus, the cultivator in our employ, be allowed to deposit the proper seed . . . Good-bye. The 20th year, Pauni 10. (Addressed) To Pempsas.’

‘Pempsas to Philon, greeting. You must know that the animals of Horus have been taken in pledge by the guard of Ptolemaeus. You will therefore do well, if you think fit, to certify Ptolemaeus that some one will make an arrangement. (Addressed) To Philon.’

‘I have written to Ptolemaeus, “Do not be unfair, but hand over now the animals of Horus to him. If any one deposits more seed, effect their release.”’

8. ἡ-[μῶ]ν is an unconvincing possibility.

10-11. Πτολεμαίωι (cf. ll. 19, 23, 28) is apparently excluded, though *-αιωι* could be read. The vestiges of the supposed l. 11 are very slight and perhaps deceptive.

16-17. Cf. 768. 10. [κα]τ- is very uncertain.

25. πρήσασθαι: the aorist seems to be used with a future sense as e.g. P. Hibeh 65.  
 8-9 ὄρκον συγγέγραμμαι μετρή[σ]αι, SB. 4638. 16 ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι.  
 37-40. The reading of these lines is somewhat speculative.

## 765. LETTER CONCERNING AN ASSAULT.

13.

28.3 × 17.5 cm.

B.C. 153?

Though this fragmentary draft, written on the verso of an account, is in places, owing to illegibility and alterations, difficult to follow, the general sense is fairly clear. The writer complains of having been violently prevented from sending a couch and a mattress to a temple, perhaps for some festal occasion, but proposed to leave the matter to be dealt with by his correspondent, who is urged to hasten his arrival.

## Col. i.

καὶ βουλόμενος [ἀ]προστέλλαι εἰς τὸ  
 ἱερόν κλείνην καὶ τύλην  
 ἐκωλύθην ὑπὸ Τεχώσιος προσ  
 ταψ . . . κ . . .  
 λοιδορ[η]θεῖς [δ]ὲ πλληγὰς ἀπρεπεῖς  
 Πτολεμαῖον τὸν γρ(αμματεῖα)  
 5 [. . .] ν[ . . . ] ουσα[ . . . ] ννομεν ἀντὶ παιδαρί[ . . . ]  
 [. . .] δ[ . . . ] ἴσ[τ]ασθα[ι] καὶ εἰς χέρας ἐλθεῖν  
 ἐπέ[σ]χον κ[ . . . ] . . . μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι  
 μέχρι τοῦ σέ [π]αραγενέσθαι  
 ὅπως διὰ σοῦ ἕκαστα διεξαχθῆ.  
 καὶ ἔτι τὸν δαίμονα τοῦ [β]ασιλ(έως),  
 10 ὀμνύ(ω) δὲ θεοὺς πάντας, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τάχει  
 ἀναβῆς συσκευασάμενος, οὐ μὴ με  
 εἶδης ἐν Κροκ[ο]δ[ε]ί[λ]ων. λύει γὰρ καλῶς  
 Πτολεμαῖ[ο]ν ἀπὸ τῶν ξ ἀνδραποδιστῶν ἀγεσθαι,  
 ὥστε μὴ μείνης. [[ . . . ] δὲ καινῶς πάλιν οἱ θεοὶ ε . . . ]

2. λ of τυλην corr. 10. I. δαίμονα. 12. εἶδ. is for ἴδ.

## Col. ii.

15 [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]

μ[. . .] . οὐ[. .] εἰδέναι  
 εἰ παρ . . . [ . .] ἡσυχίαν ἐμπεσεῖν  
 θεὸς τυχ[. .]

ἔρρω[σο.] (ἔτους) κη Παῦνι ιη.

18. θ of θεος corr. from τ.

3. προσ may be connected either with λοιδ. or with the interlinear letters.

5. ἀ[μ]ύνομεν suggests itself, but the space is somewhat wide and the construction quite obscure.

6. Or perhaps ἀ[νθ]ίσ[τα]σθαι. The ν of ἐλθεῖν was presumably rewritten for the sake of clearness.

7-8. Cf. 768. 13-14.

10. Cf. 701. 337-8 and n., where some other references to the royal δαίμων are collected.

12-13. Κροκ[ο]δ[έ]ιλων: sc. πόλει. The following sentence seems to be sarcastic, λύει having the sense of λυσιτελεῖ, a surprising use in a letter. ἀπὸ τῶν ξ is enigmatical and the appearance of ξ may be due to an alteration; ὑπ' αὐτῶν is unsuitable. ἀνδραποδιστί, though novel, is, we think, preferable to τ[ε]ραπ.

14. ἐπεὶ δέ?

16-18. Possibly οἱ[κ] εἰδέναι εἰ παρὰ τὸ εἰς] ἡσ., but l. 18 is then intractable if τυχ is right; τύχη[ν] (δώσει) would be a violent remedy.

## 766. LETTER TO A BANKER.

59.

30 x 12.6 cm.

B.C. 136?

A request, written in a rather large, coarse hand, to a banker to advance the amount of the tax due on a vineyard, which would otherwise have to be sold. In the upper margin and between the first few lines of the text there are remains of other writing, more or less effaced, in a smaller cursive.

Διονύσιος Πολέμων[νι] χαίρειν.

ε . . . ψ . . . ε . . . ρ . . . . .

κα ε . . εἰσ . . . . . ἐλήλυθα

ἡξίωσα δὲ διαγράψαι

5 ὑπὲρ Εὐτέρπησ Διονυ(σίου)

τῆσ ἀδελφῆσ μου καὶ

γυναικὸσ εἰσ τὴν

ἀπόμο(ι)ραν τοῦ ἐν Ὁξυ(ρύγχοισ) ἀμπελω(νοσ)

μετρη(τοῦ) αλ ἀνὰ Ἀφ Ἐσν,

10 ἀνη(λωμάτων) σν, / 'Βφ, καθότι  
 {καθοτι} κάγὸ ἀνέγκλη-  
 τός σοι γέγονα· εἰ δὲ  
 μή, πραθήσεται τὸ  
 χωρίον. κάγὸ ἀποστελῶ  
 15 σοι τῆι λ. τοῦτο δὲ ποι-  
 ῆσας ἔσση μοι κεχαρισ-  
 μένος.  
 ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους) λε Θωὺθ  
 κα.

On the verso

20 τρα(πεζίτη) Πολέμωνι.

‘Dionysius to Polemon, greeting. . . I asked you to pay on behalf of Euterpe daughter of Dionysius, my sister and wife, for the apomoira on the vineyard at Oxyrhyncha, for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metretes at 1,500 dr., 2,250, for expenses 250, total 2,500, even as I have been irreproachable as regards you; otherwise the plot will be sold. I will send it to you on the 30th. By so doing you will confer on me a kindness. Good-bye. The 35th year, Thoth 21. (Addressed) To the banker Polemon.’

1. The first word was possibly ἔπεμψα, but the second ε is unsatisfactory and the doubtful ψ may equally be φ.

8. On the ἀπόμοιρα cf. 5. 51, n.

9. Similar prices for wine at about this time occur in Revillout, *Mél.* pp. 333-5 (1404 and 1300 dr. the κεράμιον). Higher figures are found somewhat later in the Ptolemaic period, e.g. 118. 2; cf. the tables in A. Segrè, *Circolaz. monet.* p. 136, Heichelheim, *Wirtsch. Schwankungen*, pp. 111-12.

### 767. LETTER OF APOLLONIUS.

55.

FR. 2 10 × 14.7 cm.

Second century B.C.

This letter is in two fragments, between which a line or more may be lost, though it is quite possible that l. 3, below which the break occurs, and l. 4 were successive. The writer, who was on military service, asks his brother to make a money payment on behalf of himself and his companions. A date about the middle of the second century or rather later is suggested by the rather large, heavy script.

[Ἀπολλ]ώνιος καὶ οἱ συνστρατ[ευό-  
 [μενοι] Διονυσίω τῶι ἀδε[λφῶι



Πτολεμ[α]ῖος Ἀρψάλεις προσεδέξατο πλ[η]ν  
 ἢ (ἀρτάβας?) κε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰληφέναι σε σύμβολον, τὰ  
 γὰρ πάντα ἐν παρέργωι τίθης. καὶ βουλομέ-  
 10 νων αὐτῶν κτήνη ἐνεχυράσαι οὐχ ὑ-  
 πεμείναμεν τὴν βίαν αὐτῶι δοῦναι  
 μετὰ τὸ προσαγγοχέναι ἑαυτῶι ἱκανούς,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἠβουλήθη ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι το[ῦ] ὑ-  
 γιαίνοντά σε παραγενθῆναι. κατὰ τύχην  
 15 δὲ Δημητρίου παραγενομ[έ]νου εἰς τὴν κ[ώ]-  
 μην οὐδ' οὕτως ἀνέλυσαν, ἀλλὰ πεῖθετ[α]ι  
 τὸ παραχρῆμα συσχεθῆναι, ἐκπλέξ[α]ν-  
 [τ]ος δέ μου τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἀνέλυσαν εἰς  
 [ἄ]λλας κώμας. γείνωσκε δὲ μὴ δεδωκέναι με  
 20 τ[ῆ]ν βίαν μέχρι τοῦ σὲ παραγενέσθαι τὴν  
 ταχίστην. περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλεο-  
 πολείτην ἃ ἐνετείλατέ μοι τετέλεκα ἐγ[ὼ] καὶ  
 Πτολεμαῖος. ἐπισκοποῦνται δέ σε οἱ ἐν οἴκ[ω]ι  
 πάντες καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου καὶ Παραιβάτης [καὶ  
 25 Φιλ[έ]α]ς καὶ Δημ[η]τρία ἢ νεωτέρα. περὶ δὲ τ[οῦ]  
 κλήρου ὑγιαίν[ε]ι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄμβρου. ἐπιμέλου δὲ  
 καὶ σαυτοῦ ἵν' ὑγιαίνοντά σε τὴν ταχίστην  
 ἀσπασώμεθα. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) β Χοίαχ κε.  
 διοκ . . ὑλιοναδι . . . τ . . . εως (δραχμ ) φ.

## 4. μ of -κηνεν corr.?

' . . the collectors of the association artabae, and that Artemidorus the hated of heaven has embezzled as much as 25 association artabae of wheat out of what we had measured for the last half-artaba tax. Ptolemaeus son of Harpsalis, too, has credited nothing to our account for the last half-artaba tax except only 25 art. because you have not had a receipt, for you treat everything as by the way. When they wanted to take animals in pledge we refrained from using force against him, after I (?) had collected a number of men, and he would not wait till you arrived in health. When Demetrius arrived by chance at the village, they still did not depart, but he was persuaded to restrain himself (?) for the moment; and after I had extricated what was pledged they departed to other villages. You must know that I did not use force pending your speedy arrival. As for the business in the Heracleopolite nome, I with Ptolemaeus have performed your orders. You are kept in remembrance by the whole household and your sister and Parabates and Phileas and Demetria the younger. About the holding, it has recovered from the wet. Take care of

yourself, in order that we may greet you in health as soon as possible. Good-bye. The second year, Choiach 25. . . .

1. τὰς κοινωνικὰς: cf. ll. 4-5. In 5. 59 and 119. 11-12 an impost called κοινωνικά is coupled with ἀρταβεία and στέφανος, whereas in the present text the κοινωνικαὶ ἀρτάβαι were paid in respect of the ἡμιαρτάβιον. It seems, however, very unlikely that these κοινωνικαὶ ἀρτ. were something different from the κοινωνικά of 5 and 119, and the reason why they are there distinguished from the ἀρταβεία may perhaps be that the rate varied where κοινωνία were concerned. At any rate the κοινωνικά were probably not, as suggested in the note on 5. 59, a tax on associations in general, but applied to land in which a κοινωνία had been established. In 100. 4 sqq. 35 art. are paid for the κοινωνικά of a year on 68 arourae.

2. θεοῖσιν ἐκθρόν looks like a poetical reminiscence; cf. e.g. Aristoph. *Clouds* 581 τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐκθρόν βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα. For the spelling ἐκθρ. cf. e.g. 5. 259.

4. ἡμιαρταβίον: cf. P. Reinach 9 bis 9, Oxy. 1259. 16, &c. This form rather than (ἡμισυ ἀρτάβης) should be adopted as the expansion of the abbreviation  $\frac{\Lambda}{\circ}$  in 36. 9 and elsewhere; the forms ἡμιαρταβεία (Theb. Ostr. 11, &c.) and -βία (Preisigke, *Wörterb.*) at present lack authority.

7. Ἀρψάλει is for -λειος; cf. 726. 3, n. προσεδέξατο is used as e.g. in P. Hibeh 58. 8, P.S.I. 372. 9.

8. ἡ (ἀρτ.) κε: on the whole a more satisfactory reading than ἡκε.

9. The supposed s of τίθης is represented only by a rather high dot which may be accidental, and the disappearance of other traces of the letter is strange. Perhaps, therefore, τίθη for τίθει should be read, though the imperative gives a less satisfactory sense; or may τίθη = τίθεσαι?

10-12. Cf. ll. 19-20. If τὴν β. δοῦναι here = β. προσάγειν, the sense seems to be improved by supposing that ἐαυτῶι = ἐμαντῶι (cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 304). The expression is, however, unusual, and a more natural meaning would be 'to grant him the use of force'; but this appears out of harmony with the context. For ικανούς cf. 41. 13 ικανῶν ἡμῶν . . . ἐχόντων.

18. τὸ ὑποκείμενον: presumably the κτήνη mentioned in l. 10.

26. ὄμβρου: cf. e.g. 74. 38 ἐμβρόχου διὰ τὸν ὄ. τῶν παρακειμένων ὑδάτων.

## VI. PETITIONS

### 769. PETITION TO THE KING.

104.

36.7 × 30.4 cm.

B.C. 237-6 OR 212-11.

This is a draft of a long petition addressed to the king by a man whose identity is unknown; for though three broad columns are represented, two on the recto and one on the verso of the papyrus, the beginning of the document is missing and another column which contained it must be postulated. Besides this defect, the lines in the three remaining columns of the petition are all more or less incomplete, so that, though the drift is for the most part fairly evident, much of the detail is lost. The writer had been taking an active part in the

cultivation of flax, a product which, as he emphasizes more than once (ll. 5, 72-3), was of much importance to the government, and was strictly controlled; cf. 703. 87-117, n., Wilcken, *Grundz.* 245. He recounts at length his proceedings in this connexion during several seasons, and gives some interesting details of the amounts grown and the prices realized. But for some reason his activities had been cut short by an official who had placed him under arrest (ll. 51, 85). The period of sowing having come round, he was anxious to be allowed to resume his occupation, and begs that his case should be investigated by the strategus, representing that would-be cultivators of flax were being deterred by the treatment accorded himself and that the production in the nome would fall off. Appended to the last column is a short account of flax-stalks sold on five successive days, presumably on behalf of the writer of the petition. The king addressed was either Euergetes I or Philopator (l. 67, n.). Col. ii of the verso includes 693. Above that text are remains of 17 lines in the same hand as the petition and possibly relating to the same matter; the 8th year is mentioned and the word *κατεφθαρμένος* (cf. 769. 25, 85) is noticeable.

## Col. i.

] . τῶν ἐξαρτηθήσεται . [ . ] . κα  
 } . . ἡ ὑμᾶς αἰτία . . . . . [ . . . . . ]

[ . . . . . ἐ]πιστολῶν προσπεσουσῶν αὐτοῖ[ς]

τῆς χρείας

[ . . . . . ]σαντος τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ πράγματος

ἡ?

5 [ὅ τῶν ἀναγκαιωτάτων ἐστὶν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμ[έλ]ειαν

[ . . . . . ] . . . ἡ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν μέρος ἐπιδεδοκῶς

[τοῦ τὰ δίκαια ποιῶντος πάντα τὰ δε[.]τατα

[ . . . . . ] ἐκ τοῦ [β]ασιλικῆς πρόδομα εἰς χορηγίαν

[ . . . . . ] δανισάμενος παρ' ἄλλων ἐν τῶι αὐχμῶι

10 [ . . . . . ] τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν φορτίων εἰ . [ . ] . λαῶσ

[ . . . . . ] τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς χρείας ἔσπε[ι]ρα ἄσ

τῆς] δι' ε . . . . . ον γεωργουμένης γῆς

[? εἶχον ἀρο]ύ(ρας) ρξ καὶ ἐκ τούτων συναγαγῶ[ν]

[λίνου δέσ]μας Μ'Δ καὶ λίνου σπ[έ]ρ[ματο]ς ἀρ(τάβας) Ἀρογλ

[ . . . . . ]α τῆς μὲν λινοκαλάμης τά(λαντα) β' Βω[λ]γ (δυοβόλους)

15 [τοῦ δὲ σπέρ]ματος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροῦ[ς] τά(λ.) δ] Ἄωιζ,

[ / τά(λ.) ἡ Ἄχιν (δυοβ.), ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀξιώσαντος [ . . . . . ] . [ . ]την



- [. . . . . ὅ]πως δύνωμαι ἀποδιαγράψ[αι . . . .] [. . .]  
 [. . . . .]ς χορηγίας καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆ[ς γ]ῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν (δρ.) ἸΓσ,  
 [ἄπερ(?) τε]λῶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν, ὁμοίως δὲ [καὶ] τοῖς ἰδιώται[ς  
 20 [. . . . .] ν εἰς τὸν σπόρον ὑπολιμπανόμενος το .[. .]ε . . . νπ . . . . [.  
 [. . . . .] τοῦ θ (ἔτους) οὐ προσέσχον .[. . . . . . . . . . .] . σ  
 [. . . ἐπισ]κόπου ἐπιστεῖλαντος . . . . [. . . .] . . ν . κ . .  
 [. . . . . . . .] . . οἱ τῶν φορτίων ἀγορασταὶ [[. . .]] οἱ ἐκ τῶν  
 [. . . . . . . .] ι καὶ ὅπως διάθωμαι μετὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν  
 25 [. . . ? παρή]κουσαν βουλόμενοι καταφθαρῆναι ὁμοίως  
 [. . . .] τὰ ἐπιγενήματ[ε]α. ὅπερ καὶ πεποιήκασιν.  
 [. . . .] γὰρ τοῦ διοικητοῦ ἐπιστεῖλαντος μετὰ  
 [πάση]ς σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας κατασπείραι εἰς τὸ θ (ἔτος)  
 [ἄλλ]ας ἀρ(ο)ύ(ρας) Ἄφν καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς, ἐὰμ μὴ ὑπάρχη  
 30 [αὐτοῖ]ς σπέρματα, διαλύειν τὰς ἐνεστῶσας τιμὰς,

5. πασαν above the line ; so too l. 10 των, l. 20 εις τον σπορον, l. 30 τα of σπερματα.

## Col. ii.

- καὶ τὸ ὄλον ἀντιλαμ[βάνε]σθαι  
 μισθωσάμενος παρὰ μ[  
 ὑπῆ]ρχεν τὸ ἐκφόριον [  
 εἰς τὸ θ ἔτος ἀρ(τ.) ἸΓ ἐφ ὧι χορηγήσ[ειν  
 λαβὼν τὸ σιτικὸν σπ[έρμα  
 35 τοῦ ὑπάρξαντός μοι  
 ἀρ(ο)ύ(ρ.) γ ἀρ(τ.) Γ, ὧν τιμὴν οὐ προσ[  
 ἦν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνους το[ύς καιροὺς ἢ τιμὴ τῆς ἀρ(τ.) (δρ.) κβ,  
 ὥστε γίνεσθαι τά(λ.) γ Ἄω[  
 εἰς τὰ ἔργα τῆς γῆς κα[  
 40 ὧν τὸ καθ' ἐν ὧς συνεδ[ ἐν τῶι  
 δοθέντι αὐτῶι παρ' [ἐμοῦ  
 τα(λ.) α ἸΒρν, ὥστ' εἶναι τ[ὸ πᾶν  
 παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κ[αιροῖς  
 προσεπηγγε[λλ]όμην [  
 45 τῶν ὀθονίων ἀπὸ τῆς [  
 λινοφόρου τιμὴν τὴν [  
 λινοκαλάμης δέσμας [ εἰς τὸν

- σπόρον τοῦ ι (ἔτους) λίνου [σπέρματος ἀρ(τ.) . . . . .  
καὶ ἐμοῦ παραλαβόντος [ . . . . . καὶ τὴν γῆν
- 50 κατεργασμένου <sup>α.1</sup> [[μου]] [ ἀπέθετο εἰς τὴν φυλακ[κὴν  
σπέρμα ἀπέδοτο τοῖς [ 15 l. ἄνευ τῆς  
ἐμῆς γνώμης, καὶ ἦ[ν 15 l. ἡ τιμῆ  
τῆς ἀρ(τ.) (δρ.) κβ, προσαπο[
- 55 ἔχειν διὰ τῶν λόγων τ[  
καὶ Ἀριστάρχωι τῶι ἀρ[  
τῶν λόγων [[μεν . . . τ[  
ὑποτέθεται τοῖς ἀλ[  
Ἀμμωνίου ἀπηνεγα[
- 60 τοῦ πλήθους ἀρ(τ.) ναλ [ γενομένων μοι ἀρ(τ.) Ἄρογλ [  
τα(λ.) β Βπβ. [[ἦν δὲ κατ' ἐκείν[ους τοὺς καιροὺς ἡ τιμῆ τῆς ἀρ(τ.)  
(δρ.) κβ]] ὅπως δὲ εἰδῆς, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι ἐκ προ[ τῆς  
ὑπαρχούσης μοι πρὸς τ[
- 65 ἱμάτια ἀλλὰ καὶ παραγεμ[

34. εἰς . . . ετος in the margin.  
62. ην δε κτλ. bracketed.

52. First ο of απεδото above ε, which is crossed  
63. βασιλεῦ above the line.

## Col. iii (= verso Col. i.)

- [ ]υς]] δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν φαίνηται,  
[ἀποσταλῆναί μου τὴν ἐν]τευξίν ἐπ' Ἀριστόμαχον τὸν στρατηγόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
[ ] ἐνέστηκεν ὁ σπόρος τῆς λινοκαλάμης,  
[ὅπως γράψῃ Ἀσκληπι]άδῃ τῶι ἀντιγραφῆ μὴ κωλύειν με  
70 [κατεργάζεσθαι τὴν] ὑπάρχουσάν μοι λινοκαλάμην  
[ 12 l. ὅπως δύ]νωμαι συνστήσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸν σπόρον  
[ ] καὶ μὴ ἡ τηλικαύτη χρεῖα, ἣ ἔστιν  
τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ] ἦς [[καί]] σύ, βασιλεῦ, διατελεῖς τὴν πᾶσαν  
σπουδὴν

[ποιούμενος, οὐκέτι σ]τέγηι ἐν τῶι νομῶι διὰ τὰς προ-  
 75 [κειμένας αἰτίας. ἐπε]ῖ γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν γεωργῶν προνοήσας  
 [φοβεῖται τὰ γεγονότ]α μοι, οὐδείς αὐτῶν προσελήλυθεν πρὸς  
 [ταύτην τὴν γεωργίαν] τὸ παρα . . . ἀλλὰ λέλυται ἐν τῶι νομῶι  
 [ . . . ] καὶ . . . κατασπερῶ εἰς τὸ ια (ἔτος) λινο-  
 φόρου τὴν δι[α]  
 [ ἐ]κ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐκ τοῦ διαγράμματος  
 80 [ . . . ] δέομαι εἰς τὸν σπ[ό]ρον τοῦ ιβ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ  
 σπέρ-  
 [ματος 15 l. . . . . ] . . . ι πληθος . . . . .  
 π . . . . ν . . . . [ . . . α . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . κασ . . . εἰς το-  
 [δέομαι οὖν σου μετὰ πάσ]ης δεήσεως προστάξαι Ἀριστομάχου  
 [τῶι στρατηγῶι ]ατα . . ν μ . . . . . α . διακοῦσαί μοι περι  
 [τῶν ἐν ταύτη τῆι ἐν]τεύξει γεγραμμένων ὄλων ε . [ . . . ] . . ν  
 85 [ . . . . . ] ὅπως μὴ καταφθειρόμεν[ος] τὸν πάντα χρόνον  
 [ . . . . . ]ς γὰρ ἀπὸ τ[οῦ] η (ἔτους) ἕως τοῦ νῦν  
 [ . . . . . ] . . ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ σέ,  
 [βασιλεῦ, καταφυγὼν τὸν πάντων κοινὸν σωτήρα . . . . . κα[.]. α . στα.  
 εὐτύχει.

90 λινοκαλάμης τῆς πραθείσης  
 διὰ Τιμοθέου Μεσορεῖ ιγ δέ(σμαι) λγ (δρ.)  
 ς (δυοβ.),  
 ιδ η (δρ.) α (τριωβ.), ιε ια (δρ.) β  
 (ἡμιωβ.) (τεταρτ.), ις δ (τετρωβ.), ιζ θ  
 α (τετρωβ.).

]αs

]σ . . . . τος

66. ]us bracketed, and βασιλεῦ . . . φαινεται above μετὰ πάσης δεήσεως, which is crossed through. 69. με above two illegible letters, which are crossed through. 71. σθα of συνστησασθαι above the line; so too l. 73 [[και]]. 80. ἀπο above εἰς, which is crossed through.

1-2. The relation of these two lines, which are apparently in the same hand as the rest, to what follows is obscure.

- 3 sqq. The extent of the initial lacunae has been estimated on the basis of ll. 28–30.
4. ]*σαντος* refers to the author of the *ἐπιστολαί*, e.g. [ἐμφανί]*σαντος*; but the doubtful *σ* may be *ξ*.
5. Cf. l. 72. *ἦ* would of course be required by *τῆς χρείας*. Another relative, either *ὡ* or *ἦ*, might be read instead of *καί* after *ἔστιν*.
6. *καί* is likely to have been preceded by another participle corresponding to *ἐπιδεδωκώς*.
7. δέ[*ου*]*τα* suggests itself, but the following *τα* is then a difficulty.
9. *ἀνχμῶι*: this word, which seems not to have occurred previously in papyri, should imply something abnormal; a serious failure in the inundation had probably occurred.
12. Not *δι' ἔμαντοῦ* apparently.
- 13–14. An abbreviation of *λινοκαλάμης*, which is expected before *δέσμας*, is hardly likely, and more probably *λίνο* was written here, as in P. Cairo Zen. 59782. 68, 100. With regard to the following number, the prices given in ll. 89–91 per bundle of *λινοκαλάμη* range from  $1\frac{3}{8}$  to 1 obol; the figure above M is imperfectly preserved but had a rounded base, which suits *ς*, and with 64,000 the price works out only  $\frac{1}{64}$  higher than  $1\frac{3}{8}$  ob. At the beginning of the next line [*ἀπέιληφ*]*α* might serve, but an aorist would be preferable.
15. Cf. ll. 36–7, 54, which show that the current price of an artaba was 22 drachmae; 4 tal. 1,817 dr. is the correct sum on that basis.
21. οὐ οἱ οὐδ'?
24. Cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59470. 4 *ἔρωτώμενοι δὲ οἱ κήληλοι εἰ δύνανται διατεθῆναι δέξμαι* (sc. *λινοκαλάμης*) M̄.
27. *ἐγώ* will hardly fill the initial lacuna.
30. *διαλύειν*: 'to pay', as in P.S.I. 400. 9, 13.
- 31 sqq. The line of fracture on the right is practically vertical, and a reliable indication of the extent of the loss is given by l. 37 (cf. ll. 54 and 62).
32. *παρὰ μ[ ]*: or possibly *παρ' ἄλλ[ων]*, as in l. 9.
36. *προσ[έσχον]*? Cf. l. 21.
52. Perhaps [*γεωργοῖς*], but this does not fill the space.
53. *κατ' ἐκείους τοὺς καιροῦς*, as in ll. 37 and 62, overloads the line, while *ὡς προείρηται* is hardly long enough.
56. ἀρ[*χιφυλακίτη*]
- 61–5. The writing becomes smaller in these five lines, so that rather longer supplements are admissible. In l. 61 the number of artabae coincides with that in l. 13, but the money figures in the next line differ from those in l. 14. The amount 2 tal. 2,082 dr. =  $1,173\frac{1}{2} \times 12$ , so that perhaps the writer's complaint here was that he had been paid at the rate of 12 dr. instead of 22.
- 66 sqq. An initial lacuna of approximately eighteen letters is indicated by ll. 67 and 87; in ll. 79–84, owing to the loss of some upper fibres, the space is slightly larger. The supplements printed are often no more than *exempli gratia*.
67. *ἀποσταλῆναι*: the passive is usual in this formula in the third century; cf. P. Enteux. 40. 5, n.
- Ἀριστόμαχον*: cf. P. Petrie III 21 (g) 7, Gurob 2. 7, Mich. Zen. 71. 2, Enteux. p. lxxxviii.
73. For the restoration cf. l. 5.
77. Not *παράπαν*: *παραντικ'* also seems unsatisfactory.
82. Cf. l. 66, cr. n.
85. *καταφθειρόμεν[ος]*: this verb is often used in connexion with confinement in prison; cf. e.g. 777. 11, 793. (a) 19, 31, P. Petrie II. 19. 1 (b) 2, 2. 9, and P. Enteux, 27. 7–8, n.
87. The last word could be read as ἄρ[*ι*]*στα*.
93. Possibly ] *σπέρματος*.

## 770. PETITION TO THE KING.

8.

33.1 × 14.5 cm.

B.C. 210?

In this petition Asclepiades, who was the plaintiff in a lawsuit, being himself prevented from making the necessary journey, requests that the appointment of the person whom he had chosen to represent him should be officially confirmed. This procedure is the same as in P. Par. 36 (U.P.Z. 6) 32 sqq. and Leyden B (U.P.Z. 20) 41 sqq.; cf. P. Brit. Mus. 17 c (U.P.Z. 26) 12, &c. τῶι συνεσταμένῳ . . . διὰ τῆς ἐντεύξεως, Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, pp. 141-2. Apparently the royal assent to a nomination of a representative in a legal action was at this time commonly, if not normally, asked.<sup>1</sup> In the Roman period, on the other hand, such nominations were merely a matter of formal contract between the parties, as in P. Oxy. 261 (A.D. 55), 726 (A.D. 135).

A short statement is given in ll. 4-8 of the preliminaries to the present application, but owing to the mutilation of the papyrus, which has lost the beginnings of lines throughout, it is not very clear. The dispute related to a sum of 1,500 drachmae, and seems to have been at first referred to the chrematistae and then to a tribunal at Alexandria. If, as suggested in the note on l. 8, the title of the Apollonius associated therewith was ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταλογείου, this tribunal would naturally be identified with that of the ἀρχιδικαστής, references to whom during the Ptolemaic régime have been rare (P. Hal. 10. 1, Lille 29. i. 17 (?); cf. Schubart, *Archiv* v. 66). At any rate, the papyrus provides what is apparently the earliest reference to the καταλογείου, which under the Romans was the name of the archidicastes' bureau.

Since the text shows no change of hand (ll. 21-3, n.) though including signature and subscriptions, it is a copy of the original.

[Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ] χαίρειν Ἀσκληπ[ι]άδης Ἀρθώτου Ἀρσινόϊ-  
 [της τῶν κατοικο]ύντων ἐγ Κροκοδίων πό(λει) τοῦ Ἀρ(σινόϊτου) νο(μοῦ),  
 ἀπέσταλκα,  
 [βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἐπι]δώσοντά σοι ἐντευξίν Ἀπολλώνιον πρατῆρ[α]  
 [ 14 l. ]. ν τὴν κρίσιν ἣν συνεστησάμην εἰς Θερωῶν  
 5 [Νεχταθύμος ? ὁμολο]γίας (δραχμῶν) Ἀφ, καὶ ἀπεστάλημεν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 [. . . . . εἰς]άγεσθαι πάλ[ι]ν [ἐ]πὶ τῶν χρ(ηματιστῶν), τῆς δὲ ἐν-  
 [τεύξεως . . . ἀποσ]ταλείσης ἐπ[ὶ] Ἀπ[ολλώνιον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The appointment of Apollonius in P. Brit. Mus. 21 and 35 (U.P.Z. 24, 53), as Wilcken points out (U.P.Z. 1. p. 184), was of a different character.

- [ 14 l. ] α . . οἷ ἡξίου. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐνοχλεῖ-  
 [σθαι οὐ δύναμαι κ]αταπλευσαι, βούλομαι δὲ συνστήσαι  
 10 [ἀντὶ ἐμαντοῦ τὸν] λεγόμενον Ἀπολλώνιον Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 [ 14 l. ] . ης. δέομαι οὖν σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, προστάξει  
 [ 24 l. ] . ντα παρα . . . . φων συν-  
 [. . . . . ἐπὶ Ἀπο]λλών[ιον . . . . . τοῦ] καταλογεῖου  
 [ὅπως προσδέξεται] τὸν Ἀπ[ολλώνιον] διεξαγαγ[όν]τα (τὰ) κατὰ  
 15 [τὴν σύστασιν ? . . . . .] . . . . [ . . . ] ἀποσταλῆναι. τούτου γὰρ  
 [γενομένου τεύ]ξομαι [τῆ]ς παρὰ σοῦ φιλανθρωπίας τετελεσ-  
 [μένης. ] εὐτύχει.  
 [Ἀσκληπιάδης συνέσ]τακα. (ἔτους) ιβ, ὡς αἱ πρόσοδοι (ἔτους) ιγ,  
 [. . . . .] Παχῶν κα. ἀπέδωκεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
 20 [ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τ]ῆι κς το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ μηνός.  
 [. . . . .] ἐπισκεψάμενος εἴ τι[να] ἀναφέρεται γῆν ἢ  
 [ἄλλα ἔχων, διασάφ]ησον ἡμ[ῖν].  
 [. . . . .] εἰ ἀναφ[έρετ]αι μι[σθωσάμενος ?] ιεδ'.

1-2. We have assumed that l. 1 (cf. l. 18) projected slightly to the left; otherwise another two or three letters should be accorded to the initial lacunae below. The final syllable of Ἀρσινοΐτης was perhaps included in the first line, with some other descriptive term (abbreviated?) at the beginning of l. 2.

3. πρατήρ[α] is very uncertain, and the line may have been slightly longer, though it is not clear that some further vestiges of ink represent letters. Possibly πρωτο . . .; a patronymic is excluded by l. 10.

5. Νεχθαθύμιος is derived from 815, a papyrus obtained from the same mummy as 770; Θερωδῆς is moreover a rare name. But κρίσιν . . . ὁμολο[γίας] is not convincing, and perhaps the patronymic was omitted and something like [περὶ τῶν διὰ ὁμολο]γίας (if that is the right word) should be supplied.

7. For the initial supplement cf. the passage from P. Leyden B quoted in the note on l. 12.

8. If Ἀπο]λλών[ιον is rightly read in l. 13, it becomes tempting to restore καταλογεῖου at the beginning of this line and τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ] κ. there. This title, however, is unknown, though it would be comparable with ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου in B.G.U. 1050-3, &c.; κριτηρίου might be alternatively adopted in the present passage. The καταλογεῖον, well attested by the first century A.D. as the bureau of the archidicastes, seems not to have previously occurred in the Ptolemaic period. No significance is to be attached to ἡξίου in connexion with the use of the term ἀξιούμεν at the end of the Roman συγχωρήσεις submitted to that official (cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 66). With regard to the preceding word, the letter after ]α is rounded, but has perhaps been corrected.

12. Perhaps [ἀποστεῖλαι (μου) τὴν ἔντευξιν, but a restoration of the following words is not obvious. Cf. l. 7 and U.P.Z. (P. Leyden B) 20. 41 sqq. δεόμεθα . . . ἀποστεῖλαι ἡμῶν τὴν ἔντευξιν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον . . . στρατηγόν, ὅπως, ἐπεὶ ἔστιν τὰ ἀξιούμενα πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν Δημήτριον προσδέξασθαι ἐπιτελούντα . . ., τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐντεύξεως ἐπιχωρηθῆι.

15. τὴν σύστασιν: so P. Oxy. 726. 21, but of course other supplements are equally possible, e.g. τὴν κρίσιν or τὸ πρᾶγμα.

18. The evidence of this passage was utilized in P. Hibeh, Appendix II, pp. 358 sqq.

19. The day of the month according to the Macedonian calendar probably stood in the lacuna.

21-3. These three lines are rather more cursively written than the rest, but the hand seems to be identical. A name or official title in the dative case preceded ἐπισκεψ. In l. 23 ἀναφ[έρετ]αι looks likely, as a vestige of ink on the edge of the papyrus suits the top of the φ. ]ει is perhaps a local name rather than εἰ again. If μι(σθωσάμενος) is right, ιεδ' refer to arourae; the reading, however, is conjectural (especially the ι) and the characters might be taken for γψ, but the sign after the figure is unlike any fraction and τριώβολον would be intractable here. Why an inquiry into the means of the petitioner was ordered is not clear.

### 771. PETITION TO THE KING AND QUEEN.

80.

30·7 × 11·7 cm.

Mid second century B.C.

A petition from a villager complaining that he was being disturbed in the possession of his house, which had descended to him from his father, by a woman who was wrongfully laying claim to it. The king addressed was probably either Philometor or Euergetes II.

Owing to the papyrus having been cut vertically near the middle, the ends of lines are missing throughout, but the loss is partially made good by a second copy (B) in a different hand, coming from the same piece of cartonnage and similarly cut. Supplements derived from the duplicate are underlined in the text below.

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω[ι καὶ βασιλίσσηι Κλεο-  
πάτραι τῆι ἀδελφῆι θ[εοῖς Χαίρειν  
Πετεσοῦχος Πετ[ῶ]το[ς] βασιλικὸς γεωργὸς  
τῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων τῆ[ς] Πολέμωνος μερίδος  
<sup>ιη</sup> 5 τοῦ Ἀρσινόεϊτου νο[ο]μοῦ. [κατοικῶ μὲν ἐν Κερ-  
κευσίρει τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο[ο]μοῦ, ὑπαρχούσης δέ μοι  
πατρικῆς οἰκίας ἐν τῆι [προγεγραμμένηι κώμηι  
Ὀξυρύγχου καὶ ταύτης τ[οῦ] πατρὸς κεκρατη-  
κότος ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον περ[ι]ῆμι καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν  
 10 ἐκείνου τελευτήν ἕω[ς] τοῦ νῦν οὐδεμίαν  
διαμφιζβητήσεως γινομένης, Στρατονίκη  
δὲ Πτολεμαίου τῶν κα[τοικούντων] ἐν Κροκοδί-  
λων πόλει τοῦ προδεδη[λωμένου] νομοῦ,  
κακοσχολοῦσα καὶ διασίξιεν με βουλομένη,

- 15 ἐπιπορευομένη [[ἐπιπ[ορευομένη]] μετ' ἄλ-  
λων ἐπὶ τὴν διασαφουμένην οἰκίαν εἰσβιάξε-  
ται πρὸ κρίσεως καὶ ἐκ[  
ἐν τῇ κόμῃ περὶ τοῦ τ[  
θαι τὴν οἰκίαν προσπορευομένη καὶ ἀντιποιου-  
20 μένη αὐτῆς παρὰ τὸ καθ[ῆκον. δέομαι ὑμῶν  
τῶν μεγίστων θεῶν, εἰ [ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, ἀποστεί-  
λαι μου τὴν ἔντευξιν ἐπὶ Μενεκράτη τὸν  
ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ στρατηγόν, ὅπως  
ἐπιτρέπη τῇ Στρατονίκῃ μὴ εἰσβιάζεσθαι εἰς  
25 τὴν οἰκίαν, εἰ δέ τι οἴεται ἀδίκεισθαι, λαμβάνει παρ' ἐμοῦ  
τὸ δίκαιον ὡς καθήκει. τοῦ[του δὲ γενομένου  
ἔσομαι βεβοηθημένος. [   
[εὐτυχεῖτε.

1 sqq. In B the first three lines project to the left slightly. 5. Ἀρσιου[ου B, which omits the marginal insertion. 15. ἐπιπορευομένη B, with no repetition of that word.

‘To King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, his sister, gods . . ., greeting from Petesouchus son of Petos, Crown cultivator from the village of Oxyrhyncha in the division of Polemon in the Arsinoïte nome. I live in Kerkeosiris in the said nome, and there belongs to me in the aforesaid village of Oxyrhyncha a house inherited from my father, possessed by him for the period of his lifetime and by myself after his decease up to the present time with no dispute. But Stratonice daughter of Ptolemaeus, an inhabitant of Crocodilopolis in the aforementioned nome, mischievously wishing to practise extortion on me, coming with other persons against the aforesaid house, forces her way in before any judgement has been given and . . . in the village about . . . the house, coming in and laying claim to it wrongfully. I therefore pray you, mighty gods, if you see fit, to send my petition to Menecrates, archisomatophylax and strategus, so that he may order Stratonice not to force her way into the house, but, if she thinks she has a grievance, to get redress from me in the proper manner. If this is done, I shall have received succour. Farewell.’

5. For the marginal note cf. e.g. 19. 1. Mayser’s *Gram.* gives no instance of the perfect λέλημμαι, which is used by Aristophanes and others as well as by the tragedians.

9. περιῆι is for περιῆν, as e.g. 35. 7 τούτῳ χάριν, 73. 3 προσαγγέλλωι for -λων; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 194. κάγώ is anacoluthic, κάμου being expected.

11. διαμφιζήτη.: so P. Tor. I. 8. 6 ἀμφιζήτησιν, 9. 7.

14. Cf. 785. 16-17.

17-18. The doubtful κ is represented only by a tall vertical stroke which might also belong e.g. to φ, but there is no sign of a tail. The sense may have been something like ἐκ[άστῳ διαλέγεται τῶν (cf. 776. 16-18) . . . περὶ τοῦ τ[ὸν πατέρα κεκτησθαι or ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἐωνῆσθαι.

25. The supplement is long in comparison with the other lines, and perhaps παρ' ἐμοῦ was omitted or interlineated.



## 772. PETITION OF A TAX-FARMER.

104.

16.7 × 32.7 cm.

B.C. 236.

An application from a contractor for the collection of the *ἀπόμοιρα* (cf. 5. 51, n.), who states that owing to the damage caused by locusts, the owners of vineyards had refused to pay their dues, which had led to his arrest (l. 3, n.). He therefore asks the nomarch, to whom, probably, he here writes, to hold an inquiry into the case along with some other officials, and meanwhile to order an embargo to be placed upon the produce of one vineyard.

Rather strangely, this is apparently the first reference in Greek papyri to locusts, which in modern times are not infrequently a source of anxiety to agriculturists in Egypt and were familiar there in the days of Moses.

Ἀσκληπιάδει νομάρχῃ παρὰ Νεχεμβέους. ἐγλαβόντος μου τὴν (ἕκτην) τῆς  
 Φιλαδέλφου  
 τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος εἰς τὸ ι (ἔτος) ἢ ἀκρις ἐμπεσοῦσα κατέφθειρεν  
 πάντα, ὅσα δὲ  
 διεσώθη οἱ κύριοι ἀπηνέγκαντο τὴν (ἕκτην) οὐ ταξάμενοι. ἀπήγμαι οὖν  
 πρὸς τοῦτο  
 ἀδίκως, καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, συνεδρεύσας Ἀσκληπιάδει  
 καὶ τῷ  
 5 ἀντιγραφεῖ καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ ὅπως διακριθῶ τοῖς κυρίοις τῶν κτημάτων  
 ἕως τοῦ Θεόδωρον παραγενέσθαι, ἔστι γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἀργυρίου οὐκ  
 ὀλίον, ὅπως  
 μηθὲν διαφωνήσῃ τούτων καὶ σὺ δὲ συντάξῃς καὶ Θεοκλῆι τῷ παρὰ σοῦ  
 συσχεῖν τὰ γενήματα τοῦ Δίωνος ἀμπελῶνος ὃν ἔχει Τεισικράτης περὶ  
 Τάνιν. τοῦτον γὰρ  
 καὶ πρότερον κατέστησα ἐπὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ἔγγραπτα γέγονεν παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ  
 10 ἔγραψεν δὲ συσχεῖν τὰ γενήματα τοῦ κτήματος τούτου πάντα, καὶ  
 συνέσχηται  
 ἕως τοῦ νῦν. ἀξιῶ οὖν σε, εἴ σοι φαίνεται, γράψαι συσχεῖν . . . . .  
 ἵνα μηθὲν διαπίπτῃ  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ.

ἔρρω[σο.] (ἔτους) ια Παῦνι ε.

On the verso

Ἀσκληπιάδει.

6. εως corr. ?      8. περι τανιν added above the line.

'To Asclepiades, nomarch, from Nechembes. After I had contracted for the tax of the sixth for Arsinoë Philadelphus in the division of Heracleides for the 10th year, there was an incursion of locusts which destroyed everything, what was saved being carried off by the owners without payment of the sixth. I have consequently been wrongfully arrested for this. You will therefore do well, if it please you, to join in session Asclepiades and the antigraphus and the strategus so that my case against the owners of the vineyards may be heard pending the arrival of Theodorus, for the sum of money is no small one, in order that nothing of this may be lost and that you may also instruct your agent Theocles to impound the crops of the vineyard of Dion which is held by Tisicrates at Tanis. For I have previously taken this man before the strategus, and written instructions were issued by him: he wrote that all the produce of this vineyard was to be impounded, and it has been impounded up to now. I beg you, therefore, if it please you, to send written orders to impound the . . . in order that the king may incur no loss. Good-bye. The 10th year, Pauni 5. (Addressed) To Asclepiades.'

1. νομάρχη is a very uncertain reading of the faint traces, but seems best to suit the space and the general probabilities of the case. Νεχεμβέους was perhaps a slip for Νεχθεμβ.

3. ἀπήγμαι: cf. e.g. 5. 257, 34. 6. There was perhaps some special circumstance which had led to the arrest of the tax-farmer, whose liability to the government would in the ordinary course be covered by sureties.

4. Ἀσκληπιάδει: Perhaps the oconomus addressed in P. Lille 9. Theodorus in l. 6 was possibly the basilicogrammateus.

11. Apparently something other than τὰ γενήματα here followed συσχέιν, perhaps καὶ τὰ . . . or τὰς . . .; the difficulty of decipherment is increased by the fact that ἴνα μηθέν is in smaller and more cursive characters similar to those of the insertion in l. 8, and the change of script may have preceded the word ἴνα. Not improbably the end of the line was altered; the appearance of some vestiges beyond διαπίπτει also points to that conclusion.

### 773. PETITION OF A CULTIVATOR.

8.

FR. 1 28.3 × 16.5 cm.

Late third century B.C.

Though this petition was evidently written in long lines of which more is lost than preserved, the purport is sufficiently clear. It was addressed to a person having the unusual title πρὸς τῆι δωρεᾷι (l. 1, n.) by a cultivator of a vineyard who complained that, notwithstanding a recent general admonition, the collector of the ἀπόμοιρα (cf. 772) had interfered with his vintage so that his crop was spoiled and loss incurred; cf. 714-15. He therefore demands redress, including the cost of his useless wine-jars.

The text is written at the foot of an imperfectly preserved demotic document

of 18 lines. On the verso, at right angles to the writing on the recto, are nine more lines of demotic, the first eight being probably almost complete.

Νουμηνίωι τῶι πρὸς τῆι δωρεάι παρὰ Πετειμούθου [ τῶν ἐκ Σεβεννύτου.  
 παραγενομένου Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀρχισωματ[οφύλακος καὶ στρατηγοῦ(?)  
 καὶ συντάξαντος περὶ τῶν  
 γεωργῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀδικῶνται μηδὲ παραλ[ογεύωνται ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ὀν-  
 νῶφριος τοῦ ἐγλαβόντος  
 τὴν ἔκτην τῆς Σεβεννύτου. εἶπας γάρ μοι ἀ[  
 5 τρυγησαι ὥστε καὶ τὴν ὀπώραν ἀποξήρ[ανθῆναι  
 διαστεῖλαι τὴν (ἔκτην) ἕως τοῦ πράξαι με ἄλλ[  
 ἀξιώ οὖν σε μεταπεμφάμενον τὸν Ὀννῶφριν ε[  
 καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κεράμου. εὐτύχ[ει.

1. Cf. 780. 7-8 Δημητρίου τοῦ γινομένου πρὸς τῆι δ. Demetrius and Numenius may be supposed to have occupied a position like that of Zenon, the manager of the *δωρεά* of Apollonius, who at Philadelphia discharged the functions of the regular village officials; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, 50-3. The territory of Sebennytus would then at this time have been similarly included in an extensive *δωρεά*. Since no owner is specified, this land had perhaps reverted to the Crown.

2. *στρατηγοῦ*: or perhaps *διοικητοῦ* as e.g. in P. Grenf. II. 14 (b) 2. In any case this Ptolemaeus was apparently not the strategus addressed in 779-80; cf. rather P.S.I. 542.

3. For *παραλ[ογεύωνται* cf. 786. 27, P. Petrie II. 38 (b) 6 εἰν . . . παραλογεύωνται οἱ γεωργοί. Ὀννῶφριος is given by l. 7, and τοῦ ἐγλ. (772. 1) or ἐξεῖδηφότος is an obvious restoration.

4. That *εἶπας* is the participle (sc. Ὀννῶφρις) can hardly be doubted; for the form cf. e.g. 42. 8, P. Par. 49. 20. At the end of the line something like οὐκ εἶα or ὑπερέθετο τό is wanted.

6. *ἄλλ[*: in addition to the amount ordinarily due?

## 774. STATEMENT OF A SITOLOGUS.

II.

33 × 16.6 cm.

About 187 B.C.

This document is unaddressed, but since it concludes after the manner of a petition with [εὐ]τύχει it was evidently intended for some particular official, and the form here taken may be attributed to its being either a partial copy or, perhaps more probably, a draft; cf. nn. on ll. 23-4. Ammonius, the writer, has already figured in 741. He was a Crown cultivator who had had a lengthy official career under three kings, beginning as the *ἀντιγραφεύς* of a corn-store and subsequently becoming a sitologus, in which capacity he had served at different villages in the Arsinoïte nome, perhaps elsewhere (l. 18, n.). During that period

he seems to have incurred heavy liabilities (n. on l. 21), which had apparently caused him to take sanctuary in the temple of Sarapis at Memphis, where presumably the present *ὑπόμνημα* was drawn up. The identity of the reigning Ptolemy, whose 18th year had elapsed (l. 23), is uncertain. If, as is probable, both on palaeographical and other grounds, the king was Epiphanes, the official activities of Ammonius covered a period of at least 35 years.

- Ἀμμώνιος Διονυσίου, βασιλικὸς  
γεωργὸς καὶ ἔπεργος, κατοικῶν  
Κροκοδίλων πόλιν τοῦ Ἀρσινότου  
νομοῦ, ἀντιγέγραμμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ  
5 πάππου τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ σιτικ[ὸν  
ἐργαστήριον τῶν περὶ Φιλωτερί[δα  
τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τὸ κε (ἔτος)  
καὶ συνσειτολόγηκα μεθ' Ἡρακλεί-  
δου τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐπὶ τοῦ  
10 [π]ατρὸς εἰς τὸ β (ἔτος) καὶ μετὰ Θέω[νος  
τ[ο]ῦ Διονυσίου τὸ περὶ Πηλούσι[ον  
ἐργαστήριον καὶ Ἀπιάδα τῆς Θεμ[ίστου  
μερίδ[ο]ς] ὡσαύτως τὸ ιδ (ἔτος), καὶ ἐπὶ [τοῦ  
β[ασ]ιλέως ε . . [ . . ] . . τ . . τοῦς π[ε]ρὶ  
15 Καμίνο[υ]ς τ[ό]πο[υ]ς τῆς Π[ο]λέμ[ωνος  
[με]ρίδος τὸ γ (ἔτος) καὶ τοὺς περὶ Μ[έ]μφιν  
[ὡ]σαύτως τὸ δ καὶ ε (ἔτος), καὶ τ[ὸ] . (ἔτος) τὸ  
[ἐ]ργαστήριον τοῦ Ἀρσινόης χά[μα]τος τ[ο]π . ισ[  
καὶ σειτολόγηκα μετὰ Ἰσιδώρου  
20 τὸ περὶ Βουβάστον ἐργαστήριον τὸ [ . . (ἔτος)  
καὶ ἐκτίθεμαι πυρῶν ἀρ(τ.) Ἄφ, καὶ με[τ]ὰ  
Ἡλιοδώρου τὸ αὐτὸ ἐργαστήριον τὸ ις [(ἔτος) καὶ  
ἐκτίθεμαι πυρῶν ἀρ(τ.)] τ, (2nd h.) καὶ τὸ ιη (ἔτ.) . [ . .  
μόνος Βουβάστον αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτήν,  
25 καὶ κατ[ὰ] γνόσιν χρημ[ατ]ῶν περὶ ὧν ἠΐτησεν [  
Ἡλιοδώρου χα(λκοῦ) τάλαντον] α ψ. περὶ δὲ τούτω[ν] πάντων ἠγα[ . .  
ἀν . . . [ . . . ] εἰς τὸ ἐμ [Μέ]μφι μέγα Σεραπιῶν.  
1st h. [εὐ]τύχει.

'I, Ammonius son of Dionysius, Crown cultivator and employee, inhabitant of Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoïte nome, in the reign of the king's grandfather was checking-clerk of the corn-store for the neighbourhood of Philoteris in the division of Themistes for the 25th year, and in the reign of his father I was associated with Heracleides as sitologus of the corn-store for the 2nd year, and with Theon son of Dionysius as sitologus of the corn-stores at Pelusium and Apias in the division of Themistes likewise for the 14th year, and in the present reign I . . . the district of Camini in the division of Polemon for the 3rd year and that of Memphis likewise for the 4th and 5th years, and for the . . . year the corn-store of Arsinoë's Dyke . . ., and I have been sitologus with Isidorus of the corn-store at Bubastus for the . . . year, and I am posted (?) for 1500 art. of wheat, and with Heliodorus of the same store for the 17th year, and I am posted (?) for 300 art. of wheat, and for the 18th year I was sole sitologus of Bubastus by itself. and (I have to pay?) by sentence of the chrematistae in respect of the demands of Heliodorus 1 talent 700 dr. of copper. With regard to all these matters . . . to the great temple of Serapis in Memphis. Farewell.'

2. ἔπεργος: cf. 814. 6-7 and 815 Fr. 7. 2 Πέρσ. τῶν ἐπέργων, P. Gradenwitz 4. 3 Ἡρα[κλε]ιοπολίτης τῶν ἐπ., Columbia 270. 24, 27 (*Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* vi) Κυρηναῖος τῶν ἐπ., B.G.U. 1229. 2 Να[υκρ]ατίτης τῶν ἐπ. (?) What precisely is implied is not clear.

4-6. ἀντιγέγραμμαι . . . ἐργαστήριον: cf. P. Brit. Mus. 19. 3 ἀντιγραφόμενος τὰ κατὰ Μέμφιν, 825. 7 and introd., and for ἐργ. e.g. 722. 7.

14. εσστ| could be read, but neither ἐσιτολόγησα nor σεσιτολόγηκα is suitable; the letter after ε may be π. Further on, after the probable τ, there may be only one letter, possibly ω (|χρω? |κατω?).

18. In some ways Ἀρσινοίτ[ο] would be an easier reading than Ἀρσινώης χώ(ματος), but the mark taken to represent the interlinear ω would then remain unaccounted for, and the name of the μερίς rather than of the nome is expected, even if Με[μφιν means the great Memphis (cf. l. 27) and not the village. At the end of the line τόπους is inadmissible and τόποις unsatisfactory; τὸ περὶ Σ| is possible, but the name would have to be short.

21. ἐκτίθειμαι: cf. l. 23. The sense might perhaps be something like that in Meyer, *Gr. Texte* I. 13 τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐκτεθειμένων ἡμῶν, 'I have to explain', i.e. 'account for'; but it seems more likely here that the verb is passive and the meaning 'to publish', (ἀρταβῶν?) Ἄφ, &c. being the amounts for which Ammonius was responsible, though no exact parallel for this use is forthcoming. ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐκτίθενται ἀρτάβαι Ἄφ (cf. e.g. 757. 7) would have been normal.

23. Perhaps εἶγώ at the end of the line, with σεσιτολόγηκα understood; or a shorter, less specific, verb (ἐλάβον, εἶχον?) may have been used. A change to a more upright and smaller script begins at καί, and apparently the latter part of this line and ll. 24-7 were a subsequent addition.

24. After αὐτήν there is a space which would hold some six or seven letters, but if any writing stood here, it has been effectively effaced. The following sentence lacks a verb, e.g. (ἀφείλω δέ) καὶ κτλ.

26-7. ἀναχώρειν in some form naturally suggests itself at the beginning of l. 27 (cf. e.g. 26. 18, P. Par. 23. 17 ἀνεχορή(σα)μεν εἰς τὸ Σαραπιεῖν), but we have not found a really satisfactory combination; the supposition of an abbreviation of ἡνά[γκασμαι] | ἀναχω[ρήσαι] is hardly convincing, and neither ἡνοχ[ληθ(εις)] | ἀνεχώ[ρησα] nor ἦνω ἀναχω[ρήσας] is acceptable.

## 775. PETITION OF A CLERUCH.

48.

18 x 14 cm.

Early second century B.C.

Of this much-corrected draft of a petition only the conclusion is preserved, and many factors in the case remain unknown. The writer was a cleruch upon whose holding an aggression of some kind had previously occurred. He now complains that in spite of assurances that this would not be repeated, in consequence of which he had agreed to lease some land on easy terms, cultivators in the employ of the official addressed had made a fresh incursion, expelling his labourers and sowing his land themselves.

Slight remains of 2 lines.

- [. . . . .] . ι ἡγεμόνι τότε ὄντι ἐπὶ τῶν  
 [τόπων .] . φα . . . . νι προσκαλεσάμενοί με  
 5 [διὰ] ἄγνοιαν γεγεν[[ῆσθαι]]έναι, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν  
 [μὴ ἐπ]ελεύσεσθαι [[ἀλλὰ]] τῶι κλ(ήρωι), ὅθεν συνχωρήσαι με  
 [ἤδη?] ὅσου ἡβούλοντο ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν  
 [. . .]εξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους). τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος) σπόρου [[ἀπί-  
 παντος]]  
 [περ]ιχωματίσαντός μου καὶ [[ε]]ποτίσαντος [[καὶ]] δαπανήσας  
 10 [χαλκοῦ] (δραχμὰς) Ἄχ καταβάντες οἱ παρὰ σοῦ γεωργοὶ  
 [ἐλάσ]αντες τοὺς παρ' ἐμοῦ [[καὶ]] κατέσπειραν σίτωι.  
 [ὅθεν . .] . [ . .] . ἀσθεῖς παρὰ σοῦ ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαί-  
 [νητ]αί, τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐπίσκεψιν ποιήσασθαι,  
 [εἰ δ' ἀλ]ηθῆ γράφω .[[. . . . .]] ἐπιτρέπε[ι]ν ἐπιβαίνειν  
 . . . . .  
 15 [ἐπὶ] τὸν μεμετρημένον μοι κληρὸν παρὰ . . . .  
 . . . . . τῆς χρείας  
 [. . . . .] τούτου γὰρ γενομ[έ]νον ἔσομαι  
 [τετευχ]ῶς τῆς παρὰ σοῦ φιλανθρωπίας.  
 εὐτύχει.

5. εἶναι above ἡσθαι, which is bracketed; 1. γεγονέναι. 6. τῶι κλ(ήρωι) ὅθεν above ἀλλα, which is bracketed. 8. αὐτον . . . (ετους) above the line: ἀπειπαντος bracketed. 9. ν of περιχωματισαντος altered from σ, the three last letters and μου καὶ added above the line. ε after καὶ crossed through. ν of ποτισαντος inserted and τος added above the line. καὶ crossed through. 11. τες of [ἐλασ]αντες above the line, i.e. ἤλασαν was first written.

4. The letter before  $\nu$  is probably  $\sigma$  or  $\omega$ . 'Ἡφαιστίῳ agreeing with ἡγεμόνι in l. 3 is a possible reading.
9. Owing to the alterations (cf. crit. n.) *δαπανήσας* is left with no construction.
12. The remains do not suggest *ἀναγκασθείς*.
14. The letters before *ἐπιτρέπειν* are blurred like those cancelled in l. 9; they seem hardly to be reconciled with the obvious *μηδενί*. The long interlineation was perhaps continued above the next line.
15. [ἐπι] is a somewhat short supplement.

## 776. PETITION CONCERNING A DOWRY.

53.

31.8 x 10.9 cm.

Early second century B.C.

The applicant in this interesting petition was a woman whose conjugal relations were regulated by a demotic contract of aliment (*συγγραφή τροφίτις*) 'in conformity with national law'. By the terms of the contract her dowry and maintenance were secured upon the whole of her husband's property, which included a house. After unsuccessful attempts to sell this house, he was now proposing to assign it as surety for a tax-farmer. The wife therefore appealed to the oeconomus, one of whose chief concerns was the farming of taxes, to prevent such a misuse of property already hypothecated.

Acknowledgement by the husband of the receipt of a capital sum and the mortgaging of his property for the wife's maintenance by means of a fixed annual revenue are regular provisions in the demotic alimentary contracts of this period; cf. e.g. G. Möller, *Zwei ägypt. Eheverträge in Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1918. A parallel in Greek is provided by P. Tor. 13 (U.P.Z. 118) 9-12; the absence of the provision for mortgage in the analogous documents of the early Roman age published by Boak (P. Mich. 622 recto in *Journ. Eg. Arch.* xii. 100 = SB. 7260) is probably due to compression. That the alimentary contract was the accompaniment of a looser relation than the formal *ἔγγραφος γάμος*, as commonly supposed, has lately been disputed by H. Junker, *Sitzungsb. Wiener Akad.* cxcvii. 2, whose view finds some support in the Michigan abstracts (cf. Boak, *op. cit.* p. 109),<sup>1</sup> and is advocated also by W. F. Edgerton, *Notes on Eg. marriage (Studies in Anc. Orient. Civ.* i. 1, Chicago, 1931); cf. Seidl, *Z. Sav.* lii. 425.

The lower part of 776 is written over a nearly obliterated text in a small hand extending for six lines below l. 38 and ending (*ἔτους*)  $\xi$  (or  $\alpha$ ) Παῦνι ιδ̄. On the verso is a badly preserved letter from the addressee of 776 to Adamas, sitologus, who was presumably the Adamas of 750-4.

<sup>1</sup> In No. 1 of the abstracts, no less than the others, the parties were married, as l. 11 shows.

Πτολεμαίωι οἰκονόμωι  
 παρὰ Σενήσεως τῆς Μενε-  
 λάου τῶν κατ[οι]κουσῶν ἐν Ὁξυ-  
 ρύχουσι τῆ[ς] Πολέμωνος μερίδος.  
 5 συνούσης μ[ο]ν Διδύμου  
 Πετειμ[ο]ύθου τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 κόμης [κα]τὰ συγγραφὴν Αἰγυ-  
 πτίαν τ[ροφ]ῆτιν ἀργυρίου  
 χρυσῶν [.]α κατὰ τοὺς τῆς  
 10 χάρας νό[μο]υς, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα  
 καὶ τῆ[ν] τροφὴν μου ὑπο-  
 κειμ[ένω]ν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 αὐτ[ῶ]ι πά[ν]των, ἐν οἷς καὶ οἰκίας  
 ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ κόμῃ,  
 15 ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος βουλόμενός με  
 ἀποστερέσαι ἕως μὲν προσ-  
 πορευόμενος ἐνὶ καὶ ἐκάστωι  
 τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης  
 ἠβούλετο αὐτὴν ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι,  
 20 τούτων δὲ οὐχ ὑπομενόντων

ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ συνεπικελεύ-  
 εῖν ἐμέ, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξείργασται  
 τοῦ δοῦναι ἐν διεγγυήματι  
 ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείδου τελῶνον  
 25 εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο  
 οἶεται ἐκκλ[.] εἶέν με τῶν δικαίων.  
 διὸ ἀξιώ σε δεομένη γυνὴ οὔσα  
 καὶ ἀβοήθητον μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν με  
 ἀποστερηθεῖσαν τῶν ὑποκειμένων  
 30 πρὸς τὴν φερνὴν διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 ἐγκαλουμένου ραδιουργίαν ἀλλ',  
 ἔαν  
 φαίνηται, συντάξαι γράψαι Πτολε-  
 μαίωι τῶι ἐπιμελητῆι μὴ π[ροσ]-  
 δέχασθαι τὴν Διδύμου τοῦ [δη]-  
 35 λουμένου οἰκίαν ἐν διεγγυή[ματι].  
 τούτου δὲ γενομέ[νου] τεύξο[μαι] τῆς  
 παρὰ σοῦ βοήθειας.  
 [εὐτύχει.

## 28. 1. ἀβοήθητος.

'To Ptolemaeus, oconomus, from Senesis daughter of Menelaus, inhabitant of Oxyrhyncha in the division of Polemon. I lived with Didymus son of Peteimouthes, an inhabitant of the said village, on the terms of an Egyptian alimentary silver contract for [.] gold pieces in accordance with the laws of the country, and for this sum and for my maintenance all his property, including a house in the aforesaid village, was pledged. Wishing to deprive me of this the accused, approaching the inhabitants of the said village one by one, for a time desired to alienate it; but as they did not venture because I did not concur, he has subsequently contrived so as to give it to the treasury in surety for Heracleides, tax-farmer, and thus thinks to exclude me from my rights. I therefore, being a defenceless woman, beg and request you not to suffer me to be deprived of what is pledged for my dowry through the misbehaviour of the accused, but, if it be your pleasure, to order a letter to be written to Ptolemaeus the epimeletes forbidding him to accept in surety the house of the said Didymus. If this is done, I shall receive your succour. Farewell.'

1. In the margin above this line, in fainter ink, there is an ε and then slightly below and to the right ετ . . . [ ]. Whether this has anything to do with the petition is not clear; it seems not to be a docket of the same kind as that at 771. 5.

5-8. Cf. 51. 5-8, where the same formula is used.



7-8. As observed by Wilcken, U.P.Z. I. 612, ἀργυρίου in this collocation is probably to be connected with συγγραφὴν, reflecting the demotic parlance.

9. χρυσῶν [.]α: the lost figure was doubtless ι or κ, as regularly in the abstracts in P. Mich. 622 recto (cf. introd.), e.g. No. 1 (Col. ii b) συγγρ(αφῆς) τροφίτιδο(ς) ἀργ(υρίου) χρυσῶν κα, and also in P. Mich. 624 (Boak, *op. cit.* p. 107). Evidently 11 or 21 χρυσοῖ were a conventional sum, the χρυσοῖ corresponding, as Boak observes, to the demotic *deben*, of which 21 are similarly specified in P. dem. Cairo 30607-9, 30616, Bibl. Nat. 224-5.

20-2. Since the house was mortgaged for the husband's liabilities to his wife, prospective buyers would naturally be deterred by her refusal to concur in the sale. For *συνεπικελεύειν* cf. B.G.U. 998. 5, P. Grenf. II. 26. 24. ἐπικελεύει is similarly used in 201. 2 as well as in P. Petrie III. 133. 2.

23. τοῦ δοῦναι: cf. 753. 17, n.

30. φερνῆ: it is natural to suppose that the sum mentioned in l. 9 is meant, in which case the eventuality visualized by Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 207, would be realized. But possibly there was a genuine φερνῆ besides the χρυσῶ, as in the Michigan abstracts cited above.

32-3. This can hardly be the Ptolemaeus addressed in 734. 21.

### 777. PETITION OF A PRISONER.

48.

18.1 × 13.8 cm.

Early second century B.C.

The names of the writer of this fragmentary petition and of the official addressed are lost with the upper portion of it, and the date, if there was one, has also disappeared at the foot. The petitioner, who, like the writer of 772, was in the tax-farming business (l. 15), had already been some time in prison (cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 19); he complains that, though instructions had, apparently, been given that he should be set at liberty on producing sureties, the warder of the prison, having accepted the sureties, still refused him release, which he begs should now be granted. The document is a draft written on the verso of an account.

· · · · ·  
 κοτ . . . . . ρατων τῶν [.] . [.] . . .  
 γενομένου ὡν παρ . . νει . . . σ[ τῶι  
 ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ ἐπι . . . στῶ .  
 διεγγυήσαντά με Σοκομήνι  
 5 τῶι δεσμοφύ(λακι) ἀφείναι με πρὸς τοῖς  
 πράγμασι εἶναι. Σοκομήνις δὲ  
 εἰληφῶς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐγγύους δῦο  
 ἀποχρηστεύεται. ἀξιῶ σε,  
 ἐάν σοι φα(ίνηται), καθότι διατελεῖς συν-

- 10 αντιλαμβανόμενος, μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν  
 με κατεφθαρμένον ἐν τῇ φυ(λακῆι) μῆνας η  
 καὶ καταπεφρονημένον ὑπὸ τῶν  
 [. . .]. ὦν οὐκ εὐτακτοῦντες τὰ ἐν  
 [αὐτοῖς] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ ἐμβλέ-  
 15 [ψαντ]α εἰς τὸ συμφέρον τῇ ὠνῆι  
 [. . . . .] καὶ ἐὰν φα(ίνηται) καθεστακῶς . . .  
 [. . . . . τῶ]ν ἐγγύων τα . πο( ) διέσθαι με  
 [. . . . ὅπως] δύνωμαι πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασιν  
 [εἶναι [[. . . . .]]]  
 . . . . .

13. 1. εὐτακτούντων. 15. ο(?) of το above α.

1-3. It is not clear how far ll. 2-3 extended. Some vestiges near the edge of the papyrus opposite ll. 2-5 seem to belong to a different text. In l. 2 there is no trace of ink between the doubtful σ and the point, some little distance off, where this apparently different writing begins, but τῶι is required and the surface hereabouts has suffered. In l. 1 *πρωτων* is possible.

4. με, if right, is redundant. τε would hardly be an improvement.

6. For the exegetical infin. cf. 779. 10 and e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 79753. 71; the addition of τοῦ here (cf. 776. 23) would have been ambiguous.

8. ἀποχρηστεύεται: this compound is not elsewhere attested, nor does the adj. ἀπόχρηστος occur. The uncompound verb appears to be confined to Christian writers.

11. κατεφθαρμένον: cf. 769. 85, π.

13-14. [γεωρ]γῶν is not a satisfactory reading, ι or ρ being rather suggested before the ω. Perhaps [κυρ]ίων, as in 772. 3, 5, would serve, though the supplement is slightly short. For τὰ ἐν [αὐτοῖς] cf. 757. 7 and e.g. 27. 99.

17. The abbreviation consists of a semi-circular stroke, which may represent μ or π, surmounted by a small ο.

18. [τῆς φυ(λακῆς)]? Cf. P. Petrie II. 19. 1 a. 8, διέσθαι [με ἀπὸ τῆς] φυ[λα]κῆς.

## 778. APPLICATION TO AN ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΕΓΟΣ.

II.

14.3 × 22 cm.

B.C. 178-7.

The interest of this fragmentary text, presumably a petition, is largely centred on the official addressed. It was directed to an epistrategus by the comogrammateus of the Arsinoite village Berenicis Thesmophori, who states that when at Crocodilopolis he happened to hear that the strategus of the nome had issued a notification to him to go and meet (before the

epistrategus? cf. l. 7, n.) some charge of official injustice. The sequel is lost, but these few initial lines reopen an old controversy. Formerly the Ptolemaic epistrategi, who first occur in the second century B.C., were assumed to have been three in number, like the epistrategi of the Roman period, with similar administrative districts (so e.g. Peyron, P. Turin, p. 73, P. M. Meyer, *Heerwesen*, p. 65, Dittenberger, Or. Gr. Inscr. 103<sup>4</sup>), but that supposition is now discredited, and it is commonly held that epistrategi were not appointed by the Ptolemies outside the Thebaid, the earliest occurrence of such an epistrategus hitherto being in B.G.U. 1138 (B.C. 19-18); cf. V. Martin, *Les épistratèges*, 13 sqq., Wilcken, *Grundz.* 10. Can the evidence of the present papyrus be reconciled with the current view? There is nothing to connect the complainant with the Thebaid, and it is difficult to find any other reason why an epistrategus of the Thebaid should here be approached; see moreover l. 7, n. If, on the other hand, there was an epistrategus for Middle Egypt, an appeal to him from an official of an Arsinoïte village against the local strategus would of course be natural. That no definite indication should have occurred hitherto of the existence of such an epistrategus (86 verso is ambiguous) is no doubt very strange, but negative evidence is apt to be treacherous. If the obvious construction may be placed on this new document, the earlier theory of the epistrategi is substantially vindicated. To suppose that their competence, having originally extended over Middle Egypt, was at some date later than that of 778 restricted to the Thebaid is a less likely alternative.

. . . . . ιω[. .] ἀρχισωματοφύλακ[ι καὶ] ἐπιστρατήγῳ  
 παρ' Ὠρου κωμογραμματέως Βερενικίδος Θεσμοφόρου τοῦ  
 Ἀρσινοΐτου νομοῦ. τοῦ δ' (ἔτους) ὄντος μου ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει  
 προσέπεσε . . . . . παρὰ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ κόμῃ γεγρα-  
 5 φέναι Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα καὶ στρατηγὸν  
 Μικίωνι τῷ[ι τ]ῆς κόμης ἐπιστάτει παραγγεῖλαι μοι  
 κ[ατ]απλῆν [ἐ]πὶ σὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐντετευχέναι Διονύσιον  
 [. . . . . προ]φερόμενον παραγεγραφέναι με αὐτὸν τ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]. ου γενομένου ἐπιμελητοῦ ἐξεννηοχ[. . . . .]  
 10 [. . . . . ἐκ τῶν βασι]λικῶν θησαυρῶν, οὐ δηλώσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ [ . . . . .]  
 . . [. . . . .]ε[. . . . .] ἐπὶ τῇ γεγ[ο]μένῃ ἐπ[ισ]κέψει διὰ [ . . . . .]  
 [ 19 l. ] ἀρχεδεάτ[ρου]  
 ,, ] . . ε . να . . . [ . . . . .]  
 . . . . .

On the verso (2nd hand)

Ἦρος Ἄδα . [

15 Ἀχαιὸς . . [

6. Second ε of *πισταται* corr. from η.      9. ο of *εξηνοχ.* corr.

1. The first letter of the name is perhaps Η; hardly *Πτολεμαίω*ι.

2. This Horus recurs in 793, and the epistates Micion (l. 6), who was already known from P. Magd. 39. 9, also figures in that papyrus (iii. 19, &c.).

4. ἡμεῖν after *προσέπεσε* is unsuitable.

5. *Πτολεμαίων* . . . *στρατηγόν*: cf. 779, introd.

7. [ε]πὶ σέ is speculative, for, though the π is probable, the other letters are extremely uncertain. κ[ατ]απλεῖν, if right, points in the opposite direction to the Thebaid; cf. introd.

12. ἀρχεδεάτ[ρου]: cf. 728. 3, η.

14-15. There may be no connexion between these two lines and the document on the recto. Some further slight remains occur lower down near the broken edge of the papyrus. Either Ἄδα[ῖου] or Ἄδάμ[α (-μ[αυτος]) can be read.

### 779. PETITION TO PTOLEMAEUS, STRATEGUS.

14.

13 × 20.5 cm.

About 175 B.C.

This petition and the next were addressed to the strategus Ptolemaeus, who has already been met with in 778. 5. That papyrus referred to an event in the fourth year (of Philometor), and 780 shows that Ptolemaeus was still in office six years later. He is therefore doubtless to be identified with the Ptolemaeus, ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ and strategus, in B.G.U. 1012. 19 (11th year, Epeiph), which was rightly assigned by Schubart to the reign of Philometor, and presumably also with the Ptolemaeus, strategus, in 793. iii. 21, &c. (22nd year of Epiphanes). Whether his name should be restored in 781. 1 is more problematical.

The applicants in the present case were three brothers, who complain of an encroachment on a piece of land belonging to them; cf. 780, where the grievance is similar, and P. Magd. 27 (Enteux. 69). A preceding column, an account of some kind, of which the ends of a few lines remain, seems to have been expunged.

Πτολεμ[αίω]ι ἀρ]χισωματοφύλακι καὶ στρατηγῶι

παρὰ Δ[ι]ο[δ]ότου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀργαίου Θραικῶν

τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν Βερενικίδι Θεσμοφόρου.

ἐπεδώκα[μ]έν σοι ὑπόμνημα τοῦ 5 (ἔτους) κατὰ [. . .

5 ὑπὲρ τοῦ βιαζόμενον αὐτὸν οἶσθαι κατο[κ]οδομεῖν

τὸν καταλειμμένον ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ] πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ  
οἰκῆσει τόπον ψειλὸν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην, ὃ  
οὐ περὶ τὸν Διδότοτον αἰσθόμενοι ἐπέστειλαν  
χρηματισμὸν πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν  
10 τόπων τεταγμένον παραγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ παρεῖναι  
ἐπὶ σέ. ἐ[π]ελθὼν νυκτὸς μετὰ π[. . . . .  
καὶ οἰκοδόμους ἀγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐπωικοδό-  
μησε τεῖχος τῷ πύργῳ ἡμῶν [. . . . .  
φε . . [.]ων εἰς τὸν τόπον ἀπέφραξε [  
. . . . .

9. η of ἀριστοδημ[ον] corr.?

‘To Ptolemaeus, a chief of the body-guard and strategus, from Diodotus and Hesiodus and Argaeus, Thracians, inhabiting Berenicis Thesmophori. We presented to you a petition in the sixth year against . . . because of his design perforce to build over the unoccupied plot at the said village bequeathed by our father for us to inhabit; this the people of Diodotus observed and sent a notification to Aristodemus, who was posted on the spot, so that he might order the accused to present himself before you. He came by night with . . . and brought builders to the plot and built a wall against our tower . . .’

10. παραγγεῖλαι: cf. 777. 6, n.

11. E.g. π[λεόνων] or π[ολλῶν] ἄλλων. Cf. P. Magd. 27. 4 βιάζεται με πλίνθον προσάγων καὶ θεμέλιον σκάπτων ὥστε οἰκοδομῆν. Perhaps πλίνθον was coupled with οἰκοδόμους here.

14. The first letter seems to be φ or ψ rather than ν.

## 780. PETITION TO PTOLEMAEUS, STRATEGUS.

29.

30.9 × 13.7 cm.

B.C. 171.

End of a roll which contained very cursively written copies of petitions. The column preserved gives a petition, addressed to the same strategus to whom 779 was sent, from a Crown cultivator, complaining that some land inherited from his father had been encroached on by a woman who was now dead, and that her ostensible heirs had assumed wrongful possession of it. An interesting reference is made in ll. 12–14 to an ordinance (διάγραμμα) dealing with such encroachments. The strategus in a short subscription ordered the parties to be brought before him.

Of the preceding column the ends of several lines are preserved and suffice to show that it contained a similar complaint of violence:—1. 1 ἀρχισωματοφύλακ] καὶ στρα(τηγῷ), 3 ἀδικούμεθα, 6 ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος, 7 ἐν Ψιντεῷ (cf. 780. 3), 9 ἀνὰ

μέσον τοίχων, 11 τῆι βίαι. On the verso, on the edge opposite this first column, are the ends of a few lines in a hand not unlike that of the recto.

- Πτολεμαίωι [ἀ]ρχισωματοφύλακι [καὶ στρα(τηγῶ)  
 παρὰ Ἐριέωσ τοῦ Ἀρφαήσιος βα(σιλικοῦ) γε(ωργοῦ)  
 τῶν ἐκ Ψιντεῶ. ἐπεὶ τοῦ πατρός μου  
 μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον ἔτι νεωτέρου  
 5 μου ὄντος Θαραεὺς τις Θηβαία  
 βιασαμένη με, συνεργοὺς προσλαβομένη  
 Διότιμον τὸν παρὰ Δημητρίου τοῦ  
 γινομένου πρὸς τῆι δω(ρεᾶι) καὶ Ἡλιόδωρον  
 τ[ὸν] . . . . . [ . . . ]νε . . . , ὠικοδόμησαν  
 10 ἐν τῶι ἐμῶι πατρικῶι ψιλῶι τόπωι  
 πυργίον (δεκάπ(η)χυ) παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον,  
 τὸ δὲ διάγραμμα διαγορεύει  
 ἕάν τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίωι χωρίωι οἰκοδομήσῃ,  
 στερέσθω τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος.  
 15 ἀξιῶ σ', ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν Θαραεὺς  
 τετελεύτηκεν Πετεσοῦχος  
 δέ τις καὶ ἡ τούτου ἀδελφῆ  
 Καμοῦς ἀντιποιοῦνται τῶν ταύτης,  
 προσκαλεσάμενον αὐτοὺς ἐπι(σκέψασθαι)  
 20 περὶ τούτων, κὰν ἦι οἶα γράφω,  
 συναναγκάσαι ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τοῦ  
 τόπου. τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τεύξομαι  
 διὰ σὲ βοηθείας.  
 Ἀπολλωνίωι καταστήσαι.  
 25 (ἔτους) ι Φαρμουῦθι κθ.

16. πετ corr. from . . ν.

‘To Ptolemaeus, a chief of the body-guard and strategus, from Herieus son of Harphaësis, a cultivator of Crown land, living at Psinteo. My father having died when I was still young, Thareus, a woman of Thebes, doing violence to me, and taking as her assistants Diotimus, agent of Demetrius the superintendent of the presentation land, and Heliodorus the . . . , in defiance of all right built a tower ten cubits high on the unoccupied plot which came to me from my father. But the ordinance declares ‘If any person build upon the land of another, let him be deprived of the building.’ And whereas Thareus

has since died and a certain Petesouchus and his sister Kamous lay claim to her property, I request you to summon them and to inquire into this matter, and, if it be as I say, to compel them to leave the plot. If this is done, I shall receive relief by your means.

To Apollonius: Bring them up. The 10th year, Pharmouthi 29.'

8. Cf. 773. 1, n.

11. The height of buildings was strictly regulated. Cf. 5. 147-50, where permission is given to owners of houses which had been destroyed to rebuild them *ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα μέτρα*; in l. 153 ten cubits is specially mentioned as the height of private houses and temples.

12. This provision resembles the regulations about building in P. Hal. 1. 79 sqq. The latter, however, are said to come *ἐκ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ νόμου*, not, as here, from a special ordinance of the Crown.

24. Apollonius was probably an epistates; cf. e.g. 13. 17, 778. 6, P. Amh. 35. 40, Magd. 27. 5.

### 781. PETITION OF A PRIEST.

13.

18.2 x 18.3 cm.

About 164 B.C.

References to recent events in political history give a special interest to this fragment, an application of some kind to the strategus from the overseer of a large temple probably in the immediate neighbourhood of Crocodilopolis (ll. 2-3, n.). The writer prefaced his request, which has not been reached when the papyrus breaks off, with an account of the vicissitudes through which the temple had lately passed. Damage done by the soldiers of Antiochus in the second year of Euergetes II (B.C. 169-8) had been repaired, but destruction on a larger scale had been resumed by 'the Egyptian rebels', i.e. the followers of Dionysius, whose revolt occurred between that date and B.C. 164 and was already known from P. Amh. 30 (W. 9) to have extended to the Arsinoite nome. Why these Egyptian supporters of Dionysius singled out a temple for so vicious an attack is left to conjecture. Can there be any significance in the coincidence that in P. Amh. 30 the victim of their violence was an Egyptian priest? Or was the purpose of the raid merely to obtain a supply of wood and stone? The presence of a Syrian detachment in the Arsinoite nome is here first attested; Antiochus, who had established himself at Memphis (cf. 698, introd.), evidently thought it worth while to secure Crocodilopolis among other places.

[. . . . . ἀ]ρχισωματοφύλακι καὶ στρατηγῶι  
[παρὰ . . . . .]ς τοῦ προστάντος τοῦ ἐμ Μοῆρει  
[Ἀμμωνιείου τ]ῶν (τεσσαρακονταπενταρούρων). τοῦ ἐν τῶι διασαφουμένῳ  
ἱερῶι

- [ἀδύτου? . . . . .]γτος ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' Ἀντιόχου ἐν τῶι  
 5 [. . . . .] τοῦ β (ἔτους), ὕστερον δὲ τῶν διαπέδων κατα-  
 κρατηθῆ[ν]των, ἀποκατεστάθη τὸ ἱερόν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν  
 [σύστασιν.] μετὰ δ[ὲ] ταῦτα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀποστατῶν  
 [ἐπιβαλόντων κ[αὶ] μὴ μόνον μέρη τινὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατα-  
 [ρι]πτόντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τε λίθινα ἔργα τοῦ ἀδύτου  
 10 [δι]α[σ]χι[σ]ά[ν]των καὶ τὰ θυρώματα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς  
 [θ]ύρας οὐσας ὑπέ[ρ] τὰς ρι διαφορησάντων καὶ ἔτι  
 [δο]κῶσεις τινὰς κα[τα]σπασάντων ἐγὼ μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ  
 [. . . . .] εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐ[λ]θῶν [ἔ]φραξα πάσας  
 [τὰ]ς πύλας [καὶ τὰ] [δ]ιακόμματα [τοῦ] τὴν λοιπὴν  
 15 [σ]τύλωσιν συνα[ρ]τῆθῆναι. νῦν δὲ τρημα . [  
 [. . . . .]φραγ[. . .] . . . ριν . [ . . .]ιαν ἀ[ν]εωγμένον  
 [ . . . . .] 32 l. . . . . ] . σδ[. . .  
 [ . . . . .] , , . . . . . ]κως  
 [ . . . . .] , , . . . . . ]ν με

‘To . . . , a chief of the body-guard and strategus, from . . . , overseer of the temple of Ammon at Moëris of the forty-five-arurae-holders. The shrine in the said temple having been (destroyed) by the men of Antiochus in . . . of the 2nd year, and the ground having later been regained (?), the temple was restored to its ancient state. Afterwards when the Egyptian rebels had attacked it and not only thrown down parts of the temple but split the stone-work of the shrine and carried off the door-fixtures and other doors to the number of more than 110 and also torn down some of the boarding, after some time . . . I came forward and stopped up all the gates and breaches in order that the remaining colonnades might be held together. But now . . .’

1. Πτολεμαίωι would conveniently fill the lacuna, and it is possible, if not very probable, that the Ptolemaeus of 778–80 and 793 was still in office.

2–3. Cf. P. Petrie III. 84. 3 τὸ ἐν Μνήρει Ἀμμωνίειον. The probable identity of the Ptolemaic villages Μνήρις and Μεῦρις and what in the Roman period was the ἄμφοδον Μοίρειως of the metropolis was pointed out in Vol. II, p. 389, and the identification may be regarded as confirmed by the occurrence of the later spelling in the present passage. τῶν τεσσαρακονταπενταρούρων is a novel addition; cf. Ἰβίων Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων.

4. Perhaps καθέντος, if ἀδύτου (cf. l. 9) is right; πεσόντος would be rather short.

5. Φαμενώθ or Φαρμοῖθι would best fill the space and would be suitable chronologically. The campaign of Antiochus began *primo vere* (Livy 45. 11) and ended apparently in July. The same 2nd year is probably meant in U.P.Z. 59 and 60; cf. 730. 1–2, n. διαπέδων is not very satisfactory; σδ or τδ πεζῶν could well be read.

7. Cf. P. Amh. 30. 33–4 (W. 9) ἡναγκάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγ. ἀποστατῶν, U.P.Z. 7. 13 οὔσης ἀποστάσεως.



13. ε[λω]ν: the first letter may be σ; the supposed ν is represented only by a small vestige above the line.

15. Perhaps τρηματ[.: not τρήσας.

## 782. PETITION TO AN ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ.

13.

FR. I 19.8 × 20.4 cm.

About 153 B.C.

Chaeremon, the epimeletes here addressed, was probably the person referred to in 61. (δ) 70 and 72. 48 as having been epimeletes in the 29th year of Philometor; cf. 731. 8, n. The petitioner was a cultivator of Crown land, who complains that a malevolent accusation was being brought against him. The papyrus is in two fragments which perhaps join immediately; at any rate the gap, if any, was no doubt slight, since, if the pieces are placed contiguously, the sheet is already 32.6 cm. in height.

Χαιρήμονι τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἐπιμελητῆ  
 παρ' Ἡλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν ἐκ Κροκο-  
 δείλων πόλεως. γεωργούντός μου βασιλικῆς  
 γῆς π[ερὶ] Βουβάστον (ἀρούρας) νελδ', ὧν ἐκφόριον  
 5 ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος ἀνὰ δλίβ' (ἀρτάβαι) σνδλγίβ',  
 καὶ γενομένου μου διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας  
 περὶ τὸν [τ]ούτων ποτισμὸν χάριν τοῦ γεγονότος  
 περὶ τὴν κώμην ἐκρήγματος πρὸς τὸ μὴ  
 ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ, Ζήνωνος δέ τινος  
 10 κακοσχολοῦντος [. . . . .] παρεπιδημοῦντος  
 δ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ μοι Κροκοδίλων πόλει δόν[τος]  
 κατ' ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων κρίνουσιν τ[ά  
 [τε βασιλικὰ] καὶ ἰδιω[τικὰ  
 . . . . .  
 ω . ε . . . . . φ]  
 15 βουλόμενος [  
 μενου ἐν φύλακῇ? . . . . . διὸ ἀξιῶ  
 συντάξαι γράψαι  
 τυ . . . [  
 τούτου δὲ γεγ[ομένου] οὐθὲν τῶν τῶι βασιλεῖ

- 20  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  π[αραλειφθήσεται.  
 [ εὐτύχει. (ἔτους)  
 (2nd h.) Ἐριεμούνει. ἀν(αζήτησον ?) [εἰ - - -  
 καὶ ταῦτά ἐστι ἀληθ[ῆ].  
 Θώώνει. κατὰ σ[τησον].
- 25  $\Sigma\omicron\kappa\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\iota.$  Θ[οω]ν[ ]

On the verso

ἐπ(ιστάτη ?)

Θο[ώνει].

16. εν corr.?

'To Chaeremon, one of the diadochi and epimeletes, from Heliodorus son of Apollonius, of Crocodilopolis. I am the cultivator of  $55\frac{3}{4}$  arurae of Crown land at Bubastus, of which the rent falling due from me at the rate of  $4\frac{7}{12}$  is  $254\frac{1}{2}$  artabae, and I have busied myself night and day with the irrigation of these owing to the breach of the dyke at Bubastus, in order not to miss the right season. But a certain Zenon, who temporarily is living, like myself, at Crocodilopolis, mischievously presented a petition against me to the local judges of Crown and private cases . . .'

5. The arithmetic is not quite correct; the rent should be  $255\frac{2}{5}$ .

12-13. Cf. P. Amh. 33. 9-10 τῶν . . . τὰ βασιλικὰ καὶ προσοδικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ κρυ[όν]των χρηματ[ισ]τῶν, U.P.Z. 118. 6, where the same three categories occur. In the present passage προσοδικὰ was either omitted or placed out of the natural order, and χρηματισταῖς perhaps stood at the end of l. 13, with ἔντευξιν following in a line now lost; cf. introd.

19-20. For the restoration cf. P. Hibeh 82. 21-2.

23. ἐστι is very uncertain, but ταῦτα τὸ ἀληθ[ές] does not account for all the vestiges.

25. E.g. Θώων[ ] εἰ παράστηθι.

### 783. CLAIM FOR COSTS OF MAINTENANCE.

15. . . . . 18.5 x 20.5 cm. Mid second century B.C.

Conclusion of a petition, the rest of which was contained in another column not preserved. The applicant, who was seeking to recover the expenses of the maintenance of some children, asks that his case shall be sent for trial by the chrematistae; perhaps, as in P. Fay. 11 (cf. n. on ll. 1-2), where the same request is made, the king was addressed.

The text was carefully written in a clear upright hand. In the space below the last line there is a much-damaged account in two columns; the entry παιδαρίωι (cf. l. 3 of the petition) occurs twice in the second of them, which ends / (τάλ.) θ φμ νπ( ) (or πν(ροϋ ?) or μν( ) ) μ. In the upper margin there are remains of two more similar lines, and another account in a different hand occupies the

verso. The latter refers to the 28th–34th years, no doubt either of Philometor or Euergetes II; παιδ[ occurs once.

[χρηματιστάς, ὦν] εἰσαγωγεὺς Χαιρήμων, ὅπως διαλέξαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενοι  
 [τὸν . . . . .] κρίνωσιν ἐκτεῖσαί μοι αὐτὸν τὰ συναγόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλασσον τῆς τροφῆ[ς  
 [καὶ ἄλλων δεδ]ῶτων εἰς τὰ παιδία ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαινομένου χρόνου δεδα-  
 πανημένα χαλκοῦ  
 [τάλαντα τριάκοντα ὀκτώ, (τάλ. ?) λη· τὸ δὲ καθ' ἐν ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα συνά-  
 γεται ἐπὶ τῆς  
 5 [καταστάσεως] παραθήσομαι. περὶ μὲν τῶν ὄντων μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιή-  
 σομαι τὸν προσ-  
 [ήκοντα λόγον,] τούτων δὲ γενομένων τεύξομαι [τῆ]ς σῆς ? βοη]θείας.

‘. . . (I beg you to send my petition to the local) chrematistae, whose clerk is Chaeremon, in order that they, having selected it and summoned . . ., may give judgement that he pay me the minimum amount of the expense of maintenance and other necessaries for the children from the aforesaid date, thirty-eight talents of copper, tal. 38; and I will supply the details of which this amount is made up at the trial. With regard to my claims against him I will give proper account; and if this is done, I shall obtain your succour.’

1–2. Cf. P. Fay. 11. 24–8 δ[έ]ομαι ἀπο[σ]τεῖλαι μοι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἐπὶ τ[ο]ῦς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων χρηματιστάς, ὦν [εἰσα]γωγεὺς Δω[σ]θεός, ὅπως διαλέξαντες αὐτὴν εἰς κ[α]τ[ί]στασιν καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενοι κτλ., Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48. 7–8 χρηματισταὶ . . . οἱ τὰς ἐντεύξεις διαλέξαντες, Wilcken, *Archiv* iv. 372–3. For the translation adopted of ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλασσον cf. e.g. B.G.U. 1158. 9 ὅσαι ἐὰν ᾧσιν ἐπὶ τὸ [πλ]έο(ν) ἢ ἔλαττο(ν). If the meaning were ‘the amount of the deficiency’, τοῦ ἐλάσσονος would rather be expected.

### 784. COMPLAINT OF THEFT.

13.

16 × 9 cm.

Early second century B.C.

Conclusion of a petition relating to an alleged theft of a garment; cf. e.g. P. Magd. 35 and 42. The official addressed, who was asked to deal with the offender in his *συνέδριον* (l. 6; cf. P. Par. 15. 22, SB. 4512. 56, 798. 26–7, n.), was probably the strategus.

β[α]λ[α]νεῖον μετ[ὰ] ἄλλων  
 ἰκανῶν ᾧχητ[α] ἔχων

τὸ ἱμάτιον. διὸ ἀξιῶ, εἰ ἂν φαίνη-  
 ται, συντάξαι γρά(ψαι) ὧ[ι καθήκει?  
 5 μετα[πέ]μψασθ[αι αὐτὸν  
 ἐπὶ σὲ ὅπως ἐν [τῶι συν-  
 εδρίῳι ἐπιπλη[χθῆι  
 περὶ τούτων, ἀ[πὸ δὲ τῆς  
 ἐπιπλήξεως κ[ωλύσης  
 10 ἐτέρους τὸ ὅμοιο[ν ἐπιτη-  
 δεῦσαι. τούτο[ν δὲ γενο-  
 μένου ἔσομαι τ[ετευχῶς  
 τῆς παρὰ σοῦ ὀξ[είας ἀν-  
 τιλήψεως.  
 15 εὐ[τύ]χαι.

3. το added after *ματιον* was written.

‘. . . (Having entered) the bath with a number of other persons he went off with my outer garment. I therefore ask you, if you see fit, to order a letter to be sent to the proper official to summon him before you, in order that he may be punished for this at the tribunal and by this punishment you may deter others from like courses. If this is done, I shall have found energetic succour at your hands. Farewell.’

5. The first letter of the line has all the appearance of a  $\pi$ , and though  $\pi$  and  $\mu$  are at this period often hardly distinguishable, in this text the other examples of  $\mu$  are quite distinctive. *πετα*], however, which would apparently have to be a proper name, is very intractable at this point, and it seems preferable to suppose either that a  $\mu$  was here differently formed from the rest or that  $\pi$  was written by mistake owing to confusion with the  $\pi$  following.

10. *ἐπιτη*]δεῦσαι: cf. B.G.U. 1253. 11.

## 785. PETITION TO PHANIAS, STRATEGUS.

56.

29.4 × 11.7 cm.

About 138 B.C.

Phanias, the strategus to whom 785-6 and perhaps also 787 were addressed, was most probably the Phanias of 61. (*b*) 46, 362, &c., who was still in office in the 34th year (137-6).<sup>1</sup> His petitioner in the present case was a cultivator of Crown land, who complains of an aggression on the part of the wife of his deceased brother and former partner.

<sup>1</sup> The dates given in Vol. I, p. 612 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl. s.v.* Strategos, are wrong.

- Φανίαι τῶν πρώτων φίλων  
καὶ στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων  
παρ' Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Πετεμούνιος βασι-  
λικοῦ γεωργοῦ τῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων.
- 5 *συνγεωργοῦντός μου Μεστασύτμει*  
τῶι καὶ Πατήτι Πετεμούνιος τῶι  
ἀδελφῶι μου βασιλικῆς γῆς (ἀρούρας) ιβ  
περὶ τὴν κόμην, ἐν δὲ τῶι λβ (ἔτει)  
Ἐπειφ τοῦ διασαφουμένου μου ἀδελφοῦ
- 10 *μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον οὔτε σπέρμα*  
οὔτ' ἄλλο οὔθεν ἀπλῶς ἀπολιπόντος,  
ὄθεν ἠνάγκασμαι ἀπάσαν τὴν γῆν  
ἐπανελέσθαι, κάμοῦ πρὸς τῶι ποτισμῶι  
καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις γινομένου, ἢ τοῦ
- 15 *Μεστασύτμιος γενομένη γυνή*  
Ἀύγχις, κακοσχολοῦσα καὶ διασεῖσαι  
με βουλομένη παρὰ τὴν σὴν πρ[ο]αίρεσιν  
καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον, ἐπιδέδωκεν  
κατ' ἐμοῦ ὑπομνήματα ὡς ἀπενη-
- 20 *νεγμένου ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Μεστασύτμιος*  
πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) ι καὶ τήλεως (ἀρτάβας) ι,  
οὔθενος τοιοῦτου ὄντος, καὶ δι' ὃν πε-  
πότηται παραλογισμὸν συμβέβη-  
κεν περισπᾶσθαί με ἀλόγως ἀπὸ
- 25 *τῆς βασιλικῆς γῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ*  
ἐπελθοῦσα κατεσφράγισται μου οἶκον  
ἐν ᾧ τήλεως εἰς (ἀρτάβας) β. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν  
τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγὴν πεπονημένος  
ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαίνεται, συντάξει
- 30 *γράψαι Σαραπίωνι τῶι ἐπιστάτει*  
ἐξαποστεῖλαι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ σέ, ἵν' ἐγὼ  
μὲν τύχω τοῦ δικαίου αὐτῆ δ' ἐπι-  
πληχθῆι. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἔσομαι  
βεβοηθημένος.

35

εὐτύχει.

'To Phantias, one of the first friends and strategus and superintendent of revenues, from Onnophris son of Petemounis, one of the cultivators of Crown land of Oxyrhyncha. I was engaged in company with my brother Mestasutmis also called Pates, son of Petemounis, in the cultivation of 12 arourae of Crown land at the village; and in the 32nd year, in Epeiph, my above-mentioned brother passed away, leaving neither seed-corn nor anything else at all, and so I was forced to take over all the land. While I was engaged in irrigation and work the former wife of Mestasutmis, Aunchis, mischievously wishing to practise extortion on me contrary to your intentions and the right, submitted memoranda against me, pretending I had carried off out of Mestasutmis' property 10 artabae of wheat and 10 of fenugreek, though nothing of the sort had occurred, and through her false statement it came about that I was unreasonably disturbed from the Crown land, and further she went and sealed up my house, in which was as much as 2 artabae of fenugreek. For this reason I take refuge with you and beg you, if you think fit, to have a letter written to Sarapion the epistates, ordering him to send her before you in order that I may obtain justice and she be punished. If this is done, I shall have received succour. Farewell.'

13. *ἐπανελεύσθαι*: the agreement of the brothers to cultivate the land in common was plainly private and the government expected payment on the parcel of land as a whole. For the verb cf. 787. 17. A somewhat similar use is found later in divisions of property, e.g. B.G.U. 444. 8.

### 786. PETITION TO PHANTIAS, STRATEGUS.

56 and 58.

34 × 16·1 cm.

About 138 B.C.

Draft of a petition to the strategus Phantias (cf. 785 introd.) from the Crown cultivators of Oxyrhyncha asking for his protection against possible oppression. Cf. 787-9, 803.

Φανί[αι τῶν] πρώτων φίλων  
καὶ στρα[τηγ]ῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων  
παρὰ [τ]ῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων βασιλικῶν  
γεωργῶν. ἠνδραγαθηκότων  
5 ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς σὰς παρακλήσεις  
καὶ κατεσπαρκότων ἦν γεωργοῦμεν  
βασιλικὴν γῆν δανεισαμένων τε  
οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα εἰς τὸ μηθὲν  
ὑστέρημα γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ  
10 ἐκ τῆς γῆς γενήματα ἀνακε-  
κομικότων ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν  
ἄλλω καὶ παρεστακότων [[ταῦτα]]  
παραδοῖ . . . εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν, προορωμένων

- δὲ τὰς γινομένας παραλογέας ὑπ' ἐνίων τῶν μὴ ἀπὸ  
 15 τοῦ βελτίστου ἀναστρεφόμενων  
 καὶ παραβαινόντων τὰ περὶ τῶν  
 γεωργῶν ὑπάρχοντα προστάγματα  
 καὶ τὰς παρὰ σοῦ προσπεπτωκί-  
 20 ας περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς ἐπιστάταις ἐντολάς,  
 ἀξιούμέν σε, ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἀντι-  
 λαβόμενον ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν  
 βασιλικῶν συντάξει γράψαι  
 Δημητρίῳ καὶ Στεφάνῳ τοῖς  
 ἐπιστάταις κα[τα]κολουθή-  
 25 σαντας τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις  
 μηθενὶ καθ' ὄντινοῦ[ν] τρῶ[π]ον  
 ἐπιτρέπειν παραλογεῦειν ἡμᾶς μηδ' [εἰ]σ-  
 βιάζεσθαι εἰς τὰς ἄλλως  
 ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐκπέμπειν  
 30 ἐπὶ σὲ κατὰ μηθὲν συναπ-  
 ενεχθέντας, ὅπως διαλάβῃ[ις]  
 περὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸ φανερόν.  
 τούτου δὲ γενομένου [[ν .]] δυ[νη]-  
 σόμεθα τὰ ἐκφόρια ἐκ πλήρ[ο]υς  
 35 παραδοῦναι τυχόντες τῆς  
 σῆς ἀντιλήμψεως, κούθ' ἐν  
 διάπτωμα [τῶι] βασιλ[εῖ] γενήσ[εται].  
 [εὐτύχει.

9. A short blank space after *γενεσθαι*: so too l. 12 after *αλω* and l. 13 after *βασιλικον*.  
 13. *παραδο* . . . above the line. 14. *γιομενας παραλογεας* (or *-λογε[ι]ας*) above the line.  
 19. *τοις επισταταις* above the line. 25. Final *s* of *-σαντας* above the line. 27. *επιτρεπειν*  
 above the line.

‘To Phantias, one of the first friends and strategus and superintendent of revenues, from the cultivators of Crown land of Oxyrhyncha. Since we have done our best at your bidding and sown the Crown land we farm and borrowed no small sum of money to avoid any deficiency and conveyed the produce of the land to the royal threshing-floor and delivered it to the royal store, guarding against the extortions practised by certain officials whose conduct is not of the best and who transgress the regulations dealing with the position of cultivators of Crown land and the injunctions that have proceeded from you to the epistatae

about such matters, we beg you, if it seem good, to come to our aid and that of the Crown revenues, and order a letter to be written to Demetrius and Stephanus, epistatae, that in accordance with the above they should permit no one in any way to tax us unfairly or force his way on to the threshing-floors, but send all such before you with no removal of any kind on their part, so that you may pass judgement publicly on them. If this is done, we shall be enabled to pay our rents in full, thanks to the help obtained from you, and the Crown will suffer no loss. Farewell.'

5. Cf. 61. (b) 372 παρακαλέσαντ(ο)ς (sc. Φανίου) τοὺς γεωργούς.

13. Why παραδο . . . was inserted is not clear, the sentence running well enough without it. Possibly παράδοσιν is to be read; cf. P. Oxy. 2120. 8 τὴν πρῶξιν παραστήσω.

14-15. Cf. P. Fay. 12. 6-7.

17. Cf. e.g. 5. 138 sqq.

18-19. Cf. 788. 20.

### 787. PETITION TO PHANIAS (?), STRATEGUS.

57.

33·2 × 12·2 cm.

About 138 B.C.

The name of the strategus here addressed is lost, but it may well have been Phantias, as in the two preceding petitions; at any rate, the hand of 787 is very similar to that of 785 and of 786, especially the former, and it is quite likely that the three documents were penned by the same scribe. Apparently the petitioners, too, are the same as in 786, but the occasion was different and perhaps earlier in date. They complain that Apollonius, an official whose position is uncertain (ll. 21-2, n.), had imposed additional cultivation upon them which owing to a deficient water supply they could not perform, and that they had consequently felt obliged to take sanctuary in a neighbouring temple. Owing to the loss of the beginnings of lines throughout some of the details are obscure, but the document provides a good illustration of the difficulties with which the villagers might have to contend; cf. 703. 40-9, n.

[Φανίαι τῶν πρώτων φίλων] καὶ στρατηγῶι

[παρὰ τῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύχων τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος

[βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν.] τῆς προγεγραμμένης

[κώμης οὔσης] ἐν τῇ παρωρείῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

5 [συμβάντος μ]ῆ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ θέρει τὸ ἱκανὸν

[ὔδωρ ἑαυτοῖς] τε καὶ τοῖς κτήνεσι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν

[πηγῶν ὑδρε]ῦόμεθα ἕως Ἐπίφ λ, καὶ ἐν τῇ

[ἀναβάσει τοῦ ὕ]δατος βραδείως ἀφικνεῖσθαι

[ἐπὶ ἡμέτερα] πεδία ἃ ἰς μηδεμίαν ἀρετὴν

10 [. . . . .]. [. . .]. αἴτων καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων ὥσει



- [. . . . . ἑτῶν δεκαεσσάρων ἐπισπᾶσθαι καθ' ἔτος  
 [. . . . . ἐπὶ [τ]ῆν καταλειμμένην γῆν  
 [τὴν περὶ τὴν κώ]μην καὶ ἐν ἐγδείαι γίνεται  
 [ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς προγεγραμμένης αἰτίας, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 15 [. . . (ἔτει) ἐλπίδα] ἔχοντες τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήψεως  
 [. . . . . μ]εν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν κακοπαθίαν  
 [ἀνεχόμενοι] ἐπανειλόμεθα τὴν γῆν καὶ κατε-  
 [σπεύραμεν ἐ]ν τοῖς δεοῦσιν καιροῖς. τῆς δὲ συν-  
 [κομιδῆς τ]ῶν γενημάτων ἐνεστηκυίας
- 20 [καὶ ἡμῶν πε]ρὶ ταύτην γινομένων εἰς τὸ δεξόν-  
 [τως ἀπομετρήσαι] τὰ ἐκφόρια εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν, Ἀπολλῶν[ιο]ς  
 [ὁ 14 l. ] . os παραγενηθεὶς καὶ ἐπι-  
 [σκεψάμενος? . . . . .] . . . ἀγνοοῦμεν . . νικ . . αυ  
 [. . . . .] τ[οὺς προ]εσβυτέρους ἡμῶν χ . [. . .
- 25 [. . . . .]ε κατασπερεῖν ἄρουρας δύο, ἀξ καὶ [. . .  
 [. . . . .] ποτιεῖν δι' ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἡμῶν καθὰ  
 [προγεγράφ]αμεν μὴ ἐχόντων ὕδωρ περὶ τὴν  
 [κώμην, ἀλλὰ] ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὑδρευόμεθα·  
 [ὥστε προορ]ώμενοι μήποτε τοῦ σπέρματος
- 30 [? διὰ ἀβροχί]αν μὴ φυέντος δόξωμεν παρεωρα-  
 [κέναι τι τῶν καλ]ῶς ἐχόντων τοῖς πράγμασιν  
 [καὶ . . . . .]ντες τῆι κατασπορᾷ διὰ τὸ  
 [μὴ οἶς ἔδει γένεσ]ιν ἐσπάρθαι ἠναγκάσμεθα  
 [φόβωι τοῦ ἀπαραι]τήτου Ἀπολλωνίου καταφυ-
- 35 [γεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἰβιῶ]νι τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν. ἀξιουμέν σε,  
 [ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἀντιλ]αβόμενον ἡμῶν συντάξαι  
 [γράψαι . . . . .] περὶ τῆς κατασπορᾶς τ . .  
 [. . . . .]τος ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἂ περιεστῇ τοῖς  
 [. . . . .] τῶν γενημάτων [. . .]
- 40 [. . . . . τούτου δὲ γεν]ομένου δυνησ[ό]με-  
 [θα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ καθ]ήκοντα συντελ[εῖν κ]αὶ  
 [τευξόμεθα τῆς παρὰ σοῦ] βοηθείας.  
 εὐτύχει.

21. τα εκφορια above the line.

Q

4. *παρωρείωι*, as is clear from the context, here means a district adjoining the mountain or desert, and the same sense is likely in P. Flor. 50. 9. 86. The spelling with an *ω*, which is regular in the substantive *παρώρεια*, is found also in MSS. of Strabo and others.

5-7. Cf. ll. 26-8.

8. *βραδείως*: cf. 721. 5, n.

9. For *is ἀρετήν*, sc. e.g. *ἀγεται, ἥκει*, cf. 5. 165 *τὴν ἐν ἀρετῇ κειμένην βα(σιλικὴν) γῆν*.

10-11. The construction remains obscure: ]. *ατων* (not *ἰδάτων*) may be connected either with what precedes or with *ἐπισπᾶσθαι*, for which cf. e.g. 27. 4 *ἐπισπασθησομ[ένων] εἰς τὰς γενημ[α]τοφυλακίας*.

12. *καταλειμμένην*: cf. B.G.U. 1245. 10 [*τῆς κα*]ταλειμμένης ἀχρείας γῆς.

13. The supplement suggested is a little long. *ἐν ἐγδείαι* probably means 'in arrears', as in B.G.U. 1245. 5; cf. 733. 17.

16. E.g. [*ἐθαρσύναμ*]εν.

17. *ἐπανειλόμεθα*: cf. 785. 13, n.

20. *δέ[όντως]* is very uncertain; the first letter may equally be *a*.

21-2. Apollonius was apparently a person of considerable authority, perhaps oeconomus. An Apollonius is known from 61. (b) 51 to have been epimeletes in the 29th year of this reign, but there is no good reason to identify him with the Apollonius here; in any case an epimeletes would not subsequently become an oeconomus.

23. *μετ' ἄλλω]ν οὐς ἀγν.* is a just possible reading. Further on the letter before *ν* looks like *a*, *κ*, or *λ*, and *ε* or *σ* may precede *αν* (or *δν*).

25-6. Something like *ἡνάγκασ]ε κατασπερέιν . . . ἄς καὶ [ἐκέ]λευσε οἱ ἔλε]γε δεῖν ἡμᾶς] ποτιεῖν* would give the apparent sense; for the future infin. cf. Mayser, *Gram.* ii. 219.

29. *προορ]ώμενοι*: cf. e.g. 786. 13, and 43. 22, where *προορώμενοι* seems very probable.

34-5. Cf. 26. 15 sqq., 61. (b) 357, and other instances in v. Woess, *Asylwesen*, pp. 17-25. If *Ἰβιῶν* is rightly restored, *Ἰβιῶν Εἰκοσιπενταρούρων* was presumably meant, and that village and Oxyrhyncha were accordingly not far apart. At the beginning of l. 34 *φάβωι* appears preferable to *ὑπό*.

37. Perhaps *Ἀπολλωνίωι*, but a slightly shorter supplement is desirable.

### 788. PETITION OF CROWN CULTIVATORS.

57.

21.7 × 16.5 cm.

Mid second century B.C.

The person addressed in this incomplete petition was a superior official who is stated to have been sent to the nome by the sovereigns to rectify certain abuses, and accordingly to have made a round of inspection and to have appointed trustworthy epistatae, to whom orders were given forbidding extortion. This language is consistent with a new appointment to one of the regular offices, and the addressee clearly was the strategus of B.G.U. 1250; cf. also 736. 54, 801. 13. As in 786-7, the petitioners were the Crown cultivators of Oxyrhyncha, with whom the comarch, as often elsewhere (e.g. 13. 4-5, 22, 48), is associated; the text breaks off before the subject of their grievance is reached.

Πτολεμαίωι Πύρρον τῶν πρώτων φί[λων καὶ στρατηγῶι  
παρὰ Ἀρβίχιος τοῦ Ὠρου κωμάρχου Ὁξυ[ρύχων καὶ

- Ἀρσιήσιος τοῦ Πάσιτος καὶ Πετῶτος τοῦ Πο[. . . . . καὶ  
 Πετῶτος τοῦ Ἀρ[β]εσχίνιος καὶ Μετᾶτριος [. . . . .  
 5 τοῦ Νεχθενίβιος καὶ [. . .] . . . . [.] τοῦ Παιμορι[ καὶ τοῦ  
 Πάσιτος καὶ Σεμθῶτος τοῦ Πασῶτος καὶ Θεώ[νιος τοῦ . . . .  
 καὶ Ὀννάφριος τοῦ Πετεσοῦχου καὶ Τοθοε[ίους τοῦ . . . .  
 καὶ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ψενεθῶτου καὶ Φιβίω[νος τοῦ . . . . .  
 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν γεωργῶν καὶ τ[ῶν λοιπῶν  
 10 τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης. τῶν ε[. . . . .  
 μένων ὑπ' ἐνίων καὶ ἐτέρων παραπλησί[ων γεγονότων  
 ἀπεστάλης εἰς τὸν νομὸν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῦρ μηνί[ τοῦ . . (ἔτους)  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης κατ[ακωλύσω  
 τοιοῦτον γίνεσθαι. ὧν καὶ δόντων σο[ι]. [. . . . .  
 15 ἀκολούθως πρῶτον μὲν ἐφόδευσας τοῖς τόποις  
 πάντας καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀδικουμένων τὴν [ἀντίληψιν  
 ἐποιήσω, ἐπιστάτας δὲ τοὺς ἀξίους τῆς [χρείας ταύτης  
 κατέστησας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν [τῆς τῶν καρπῶν  
 συναγωγῆς φροντίσας ὅπως μηθεὶς . [. .] . . . . .  
 20 διασειήται ἐπεμψας ἐντολὰς τοῖς ἐπιστ[άταις μηθεὶ  
 ἐπιτρέπειν μήτε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς γε[ωργοὺς μήτε  
 ἄλλους διασειεῖν μήτε ἀρχικὰ μήτ' ἄ[.]. [. . . . .  
 ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ παρακλήσεων ἐν εὐθηνία γεν[ο]μ[εν

A few vestiges of 1 more line.

8. ων of φιβιων[ος above the line. 10. A blank space after κομης.

'To Ptolemaeus son of Pyrrhus, one of the first friends and strategus, from Harbichis son of Horus, comarch of Oxyrhyncha, and Harsiësis son of Pasis,' etc. 'elders of the cultivators, and from the rest of the inhabitants of the said village. In consequence of . . . by certain people and other similar events you were sent to the nome in the month of Hathur of the . . year by the king and queen to put a stop to such occurrences. In accordance with the instructions which they gave you, having visited all the districts you afforded succour to the oppressed, and appointed epistatae who were worthy of that office, and likewise at the time of the gathering of the crops taking care that no one . . . should have extortion practised upon him you sent orders to the epistatae to allow no one to make extortions from the Crown cultivators or others . . .'

4. There seems to be hardly room for both the father of Metatris (?) and the son of Nechthenibis, so perhaps these two were son and father, the former having a double name, [τοῦ καὶ . . . . .; there would then be twelve elders.

10. E.g. τῶν ἐ[νθάδε ἡδικη- or διασεσεισ-.

14. Perhaps τ[ὴν ἐντολήν or ὑπόμνημα; cf. 703 introd. (pp. 68-9). The following passage recalls 703. 40 sqq.

15. ἐφοδεύσας is not impossible, but the sentence runs better if ἐφώδ. be taken as = ἐφώδ.; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 336.

22. ἀ[.]: the remains of the third letter would suit α, δ, λ, χ, and ἀ[λ]λ[a might be restored, but how the line ended is not obvious; ἀρχικός is novel in papyri.

23. Cf. 786. 5 and n.

### 789. PETITION OF CULTIVATORS.

57.

26.5 × 15.9 cm.

About 140 B.C.

The applicants in the following much-damaged petition were again local cultivators, and since it was obtained from the same cartonnage as the two preceding documents, it not improbably proceeded, as before, from the village of Oxyrhyncha to the strategus. The usual complaint is made of official oppression, which included not only the seizure of a quantity of corn but resort to torture (l. 15, n.). Perhaps these were among the abuses which preceded the appointment of Ptolemaeus described in 788.

. . . . .

Slight remains of 2 lines.

]ον ἔτι ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδ[  
] ἀφέσεις ὅπως ἕκαστα[  
5 ]ολης, τοῦ δὲ κη (ἔτους) [  
]ς εἰς τὴν κώμην πε[  
] Πτολεμαῖος ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς μερίδ[ος  
] . λιον σοῦ τὸν οὐκ ὄντα ὁμόλογον ἀλλὰ [  
]ας δεδομένων κενῶν ὀνομάτων τω[  
10 ] κακοτρόπως ἔχοντες τὰ πρὸς ἡμ[ᾶς  
αὐ]τοῦ δεδομέ[νας] διαστολὰς τὸν μὲν κωμάρ[χην  
] . σ ἡμῶν ἀπέθεντο εἰς τὴν ἐν τῇ κ[ώμῃ] ἄλω?  
τὸν θησαυρὸν ἀπόντων ἡμῶν ἐξέ[λ]σβον  
γενή]ματα τοῦ κθ (ἔτους) πυρῶν (ἀρτάβας) κ[  
15 ]τέρους δὲ ταῖς στρέβλαις κ[  
κιν]δυνεῦσαι διαφωνῆσαι, μηθὲν ἡμῶν ὀφ[ε]ιλόντων  
]τ . . χευ[ . . . ] . . . ἐξ[ . . ]θαι τῆς γεωργίας π . [

] ὑπάρχοντα ἀλλὰ τὰ κτήνη διηρηπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τ<sup>εϋ</sup>·[  
 ]·μάτων. συμβέβηκεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν·[  
 20 ] καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀσπορεῖν εἰς τὸ κθ ἔτος. αὐτοὶ δ[ἐ  
 τ]ῶν σπερμάτων συκοφαντηθῶμ[εν  
 ]κέμαι ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν καταφυγὴν προσημέθε[α ἵνα  
 ἐ]πὶ σὲ τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον [·  
 καὶ] περὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο . . . . λα . [ . . . . . ] ἀξίως ἥς ἐχο[  
 25 ] . . τῶν σπερμάτων πυροῦ [(άρταβ.)  
 ] . . ς τὸν καιρὸν τῆς κατασπορᾶς ἐνστάντα [·  
 ] καὶ πολὺ ἔτι πρότερον [ἵ]να μὴ τῆς [·]φ[  
 τῶι βα]σιλεῖ γενηθέντων διὰ τούτων [·  
 εὐτύχει.

7. τῆς μερίδ[ος]: cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 18. 1.

8. σου τόν is preferable as a reading to σίτον. The preceding word may end in ],αιον.

15. στρέβλαις: this appears to be the first direct mention of torture of free men in Ptolemaic papyri, and tends to confirm our view that *πειθανάγη* in 5. 58 and P. Amh. 31. 11 was a euphemism for torture (cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* 22) against that of Wilcken (*Archiv* ii. 119; cf. Preisigke, *Wörterb.*). (B.G.U. 1847. 16 now adds fresh evidence.)

20-23. The sense was something like αὐτοὶ δ[ἐ προοράμενοι μὴ ἐνδεόντων τ]ῶν σπ. συκοφαντηθῶμ[εν διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν ἡσπορη]κέμαι ἐπὶ σὲ . . . ἵνα ἀπεσταλμένους ἐ]πὶ σὲ κτλ.; cf. 43. 22-7 and 787. 29, η.

## 790. PETITION OF PRIESTS.

61.

20.6 × 13.2 cm.

Second century B.C.

This petition, which though broken at the foot is evidently nearly complete, was addressed to the strategus by the guardians of a *temenos* of Arsinoë Philadelphus at Oxyrhyncha some time in the reign of Euergetes II. They state that in consequence of various acts of aggression they had obtained a royal order for their protection which, however, had hitherto been neglected. They accordingly asked that it should in future be observed and that it should also be inscribed *verbatim* upon the outer gate of the precinct.

Ἀρκάδι τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ ἀρχιθυρῶρων  
 διεξάγοντι τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν παρὰ  
 Πετοσίρι[ο]ς τ[ο]ῦ Σπάγιτος καὶ τῶν μετόχων

- τῶν προεστηκότων τοῦ ἐν Ὁξύρυγχοις  
 5 τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τεμένους  
 Ἀρσινόης. τινῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης  
 ὑποτελῶν καὶ ἄλλων εἰσβιαζομένων  
 εἰς τὸ δηλούμενον τέμενος οὐ μόνον  
 αὐτῶι ἐπιρίπτουσι ἀλλὰ καὶ διασείουσι  
 10 καὶ ἐνεχυράζονται παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον  
 καὶ τοῦτο μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ σκυλμοῦ συν . . . ὕ  
 . . . [ . . . ]ν καταπλεύσαντες εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
 ἐπ[ε]δ[ω]καμεν ἐν[τ]ε[ν]ξιν τῶι βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆ  
 β[ασιλίσσ]ηι ἐν ἧ παραπλήσια τοῖς προειρη-  
 15 μ[ένοι]ς ἐξηριθμησάμεθα, [τ]αύτης δὲ  
 ἀπο[σ]ταλείσης ἐπὶ . . ολλίδην τὸν στρατη-  
 γήσαντα ἐχούσης τὸ προστεταγμένον  
 . . ολλ[.]δ[.] . . [.] . . . . ται ὡς οὔτε τὸ τέμενος  
 οὔτε οἱ [προεστ]ῶ[τ]ε[ι]ς σκυλήσονται ἀλλ' ἐ-  
 20 αθήσονται ἀνευ[ό]χ[ι]λοι καθότι ἀξιοῦσιν,  
 καὶ τῶν . . . . . ολλι . . . γραψάντων  
 τῶι τῆς κόμης ἐπιστάτει ἀκολουθῶς,  
 ὁμο[ί]ως δὲ] καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπι-  
 δόν[των] σοι πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα, πρὸς ἃ  
 25 ἔγρα[ψ]ας Π[τ]ο[λ]εμ[α]ίωι τῶι τῆς κόμης  
 ἐπιστάτει μ[η]θενὶ ἐπιτρέπειν παρὰ τὸ  
 δέον τι πράσσειν, τοὺς δὲ σημαιομένους  
 καταστήσαι, καὶ μηδ' ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἐπιστροφῆς  
 γεγο[ν]υ[ί]ας πρ[ο]σδέόμεθα δὲ τοῦ ἐνθένδε  
 30 ὑπάρχειν τῶι τεμένει τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως  
 καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης προστεταγμένον κ[α]ὶ  
 τούτου τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐπὶ [τοῦ]  
 ἔξω προπύλου τοῦ [τεμένου]ς ὑπὸ τὴν [ὑ-  
 πάρχουσαν πλάκα [ἴ]να μηθεὶς [κ]ατ' αὐ[τὸ]  
 35 εἰσβιάζηται. ἀξ[ιο]ῦμέν σε, ἐὰν φ[α]ίνεται,  
 συχωρῆσαι ἡμῖν ἐπιτελέσαι τὸ προστε-  
 [ταγμένον . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . .

To Arcas, one of the first friends and chief chamberlains, who is performing the duties of strategus, from Petosiris son of Spagis and his fellow superintendents of the precinct of Arsinoë at Oxyrhyncha in the division of Polemon. Some of the taxpayers from the village, and others, forcing their way into the aforesaid precinct not only impose burdens upon it but also make exactions and take security wrongfully and that with insolence and injury . . . We therefore having sailed down to Alexandria presented a petition to the king and queen in which we set forth a statement similar to the above; this was sent on to . . . lides, who was strategus, having the command attached . . . that neither the precinct nor the superintendents should be injured but should be left undisturbed in accordance with their request. The [superintendents] also . . . wrote accordingly to the epistates of the village, and likewise presented many memoranda to you on the same subject, in response to which you wrote to Ptolemaeus, the epistates of the village, to allow no one to do anything improper and to produce the persons named. Up to the present, however, no notice has been taken. We beg that henceforth the command of the king and queen should be applied to the precinct and that a copy of this should be engraved upon the outer gate of the precinct below the existing tablet in order that no one may force their way in by it, and request you, if you think fit, to allow us to carry out the command . . .'

1. ἀρχιθυράρων: this title was known only from a mutilated dedicatory inscription at Alexandria (SB. 327, Breccia, *Inscr. gr. e lat.* No. 140), perhaps of the Ptolemaic age.

2. The phrase διεξάγειν τὰ κατὰ, here first combined with στρατηγία, seems not to have occurred outside the later Ptolemaic papyri from Tebtunis. Apparently it does not imply a temporary or subordinate position; cf. 15. 7, n. There is no evidence of a plurality of strategi at this time as in the previous century; cf. Guéraud, *Ἐντεύξεις*, pp. lxxxvii sqq., 700. 18-19, n.

7. ὑποτελών: cf. 5. 156, n., Wilcken, *Archiv* iii. 516. The high-handed action here attributed to them is somewhat surprising, but, though the vestiges of the first three letters are extremely slight, no other reading appears likely.

9. ἐπίρριπτοι: cf. 5. 183, n. The interpretation given in Preisigke's *Wörterb.* is untenable.

10. There is room for a couple of letters between καὶ and ἐνεχ., but no suitable compound of the verb occurs.

11-12. It is not clear whether punctuation should precede or follow συν . . . υ . . . [ . . . ]ν. In the former case οὐ]ν is probable; in the latter συν . . . υ . . . [ . . . σι]ν would be another verb governing τοῦτο, the next sentence having no connecting particle.

12-14. καταπλεύσαντες κτλ.: this explicit statement that the deputation went to Alexandria to present the petition is noteworthy; cf. Guéraud, *Ἐντεύξεις*, pp. xxxv-vi.

16. Hardly Πολλίδην.

18. The first word looks rather like the name of the strategus of l. 16 again, and it may recur in l. 21.

21. If ll. 23-4 are sound, γραφάντων refers to the προσεστῶτες; perhaps τῶν αὐτῶν was written, but a partial restoration is unsatisfactory. The following word was not πολλάκις.

33-4. ὑπὸ τῆν . . . πλάκα: i.e. probably the dedicatory inscription, as in Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 129 ἀντὶ τῆς προανακειμένης περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆς προσευχῆς πλακὸς ἢ ὑπογεγραμμένη ἐπιγραφῆτω Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Εὐεργέτης τὴν προσευχὴν ἄσυλον. Similar requests that grants of ἀσουλία might be publicly recorded occur in inscriptions, e.g. Lefebvre *Ann. du service des antiq. de l'Ég.* xix, D 19-22 προθεῖναι στήλας λιθίνας . . . ἐχούσας ἐπιγραφὰς ἐνδοξῶς "οἶ μὴ πράγμα, μὴ εἰσι(έ)ναι" ('no admittance except on business': cf. Wilcken, *Christ.* 70. 1), F 27-9, G 31-3 (reprinted by v. Woess, *Asylwesen* 246 sqq.).

## 791. APPLICATION TO A STRATEGUS.

39 a.

13·4 × 11·5 cm.

About 116 B.C.

Beginning of a document addressed to a strategus by the Crown cultivators of Oxyrhyncha (cf. 786-8), who in their corporate capacity had become responsible for the oil-contract at their village; cf. n. on l. 10. They state that an oeconomus was pressing them for payment of a sum, part of which had been received by the previous contractor; presumably they wanted relief of some kind, but the text breaks off before its gist becomes clear. On the verso in a different hand are seven short lines, incomplete and partially effaced.

Εἰρηναίωι συγγένει καὶ ἐπιστάτει  
καὶ γραμματεῖ κατοίκων ἰππέων  
καὶ στρατηγῶι  
παρὰ τῶν ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων τῆς  
5 Πολέμωνος μερίδος γεωργῶν  
[βα]σιλικῶν. Ἀθηνίωνος  
τοῦ οἰκονόμου τῶν ἀργυρικῶν  
τ[ῶ]ν τόπων πρᾶσσοντος  
ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐγκεχει-  
10 ρισμένης εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλαικῆς  
τῆς κώμης ἀπὸ Παῦνι τοῦ νδ  
[τοῦ] καὶ α (ἔτους) χα(λκοῦ) τά(λαντα) ρα,  
[. . .]κον τά(λ.) . ξ, ὦν { . } προεῖχεν  
[Ἀμμ]ώνιος ὁ προὼν πρὸς  
15 [τ]ῆι ὠνῆι ὡς τοῦ τα(λ.) ᾿Δμ,  
[τὰ σ]υναγόμενα τά(λ.) π ᾿Βω,  
[το]ῖς δεσμοφύλαξι ὁμοίως  
[ . . . . . ] . . . . ον . [

1-3. Εἰρηναίωι . . . στρατηγῶι: this is the Eirenaeus who in Phamenoth of the 3rd year had become dioecetes; cf. 7. 7-9, 72. 241-3. For the tenure by an ἐπιστάτης of the γραμματεία κατοίκων ἰππέων cf. e.g. 32. 15; the combination of those offices with that of στρατηγός is, however, unusual.

10. ἐλαικῆς: sc. ὠνῆς; cf. l. 15 and e.g. P. Hibeh 113. 12. The position of the



γεωργοί here seems to have been similar to that of the ἐξελιφότες τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐλαίου in 38. 10, 39. 2-3; cf. e.g. P. Grenf. II. 37. 4-5, where the πρεσβύτεροι τῶν γεωργῶν are included among οἱ τὰ βασιλικά πραγματευόμενοι. Perhaps the individual mentioned in l. 14 as the previous contractor had died or defaulted and his duties had consequently been assumed by the γεωργοί.

12 sqq. The figures in this passage are obscure. In l. 12 the ο is almost certain, and the α very probable; in l. 13 the first figure looks more like σ than anything else, but δ is possible; in l. 15 Δ is much more suitable than Α, but the μ is very faint and insecure; and in l. 16 the doubtful π may be μ. If οα and π Βω are right, each of the 71 talents was increased somehow by 800 dr.

The writer seems to have blundered over the π of προείχεν in l. 13.

### 792. PETITION TO A REVENUE-INSPECTOR.

39.

15.6 × 11.2 cm.

About 113 B.C.

Asclepiades, the overseer of revenues to whom the following incomplete petition was sent, was no doubt the official with the same name and titles addressed in 254; cf. 27. 18, 98, whence an approximate date for both 254 and 792 is obtained. The applicants are again the comarch and Crown cultivators of Oxyrhyncha, who complain that an order which Asclepiades had given about them was being disregarded by another official.

Besides the piece printed, there are two small fragments from the lower part of the papyrus, one containing the concluding word εὐτύχει.

Ἀσκληπιάδει τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς  
 συγγεν[έσι καὶ] ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων  
 παρὰ [Πε]τεσοῦχου τοῦ Πετώτος  
 κωμάρχου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ  
 5 βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν τῶν  
 ἐξ Ὀξυρύγχων τῆς Πολέμονος  
 μερίδος. ἔπεδώκαμέν σοι  
 ἕτερον ὑπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ  
 γράψαι Ἀσκληπιάδει τῶι  
 10 τῶν τόπων ἀρχισιτολόγῳ  
 προσδέξασθαι ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ  
 ὀφειλήματα καλάμου Ἑλλη-  
 νικοῦ (ἀρτάβας) σ. οὐ καὶ γεγενημένον  
 ταύτας τε καὶ τὰ ἕτερα δάνεια

15 [εἰ]ς τὰ σπέρμ[α]τα τῆς βασιλικῆς  
 γῆς προσέταξας πέμ[ψ]αι εἰς  
 τὴν γῆν. νῦν δὲ ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης  
 π[α]ρ[ὶ] τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπεστ[αλ]μένα

. . . . .

‘ To Asclepiades, one of those equal in rank to the king’s cousins and overseer of revenues, from Petesouchus son of Petos, comarch, and the Crown cultivators associated with him, from Oxyrhyncha in the division of Polemon. We presented to you another petition about writing to Asclepiades the local sitologus-in-chief to accept for our dues 200 artabae of Greek reeds. This having been done you gave orders to send these and the other loans for the seed of the domain land to the land. But now Asclepiades contrary to your instructions . . .’

10. ἀρχισιτολόγῳ: this title has occurred previously only in SB. 6800. 3, of the third century B.C.

12-13. Φοι καλάμου Ἑλληνικοῦ cf. 715. 2-3, n. (ἀράβας) is strange; δε(σμάς) cannot be read.

14. τὰ is very doubtful; it is hardly certain that any letters intervened between καὶ and ἕτερα.

### 793. REGISTER OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

41 and 27.

Fr. 2 31.2 × 19.7 cm.

B.C. 183.

Of this papyrus, besides a few negligible small pieces, there are two main fragments, which are inscribed on both sides with copies of correspondence, the writing on the verso proceeding in the opposite direction to that on the recto. Fr. 1 contains on the recto parts of four consecutive columns, on the verso parts of five; and two columns are represented on each side of Fr. 2. If, as is presumable from the similarity of their contents, the two fragments formed part of the same roll, Fr. 1, which relates to the month Tubi of the 22nd year (of Epiphanes), preceded Fr. 2, which is concerned with Phamenoth. On the other hand it is strange that on the verso of Fr. 2, Col. ii the month is Epeiph, whereas in Fr. 1, ii it is Pauni; however, since Mesore follows in Fr. 1, iii the assumption may be made that Epeiph for some reason was dealt with out of the proper sequence. There is a considerable diversity of script. On the recto of Fr. 1 three hands may be distinguished, and two others on the recto of Fr. 2. The texts on the versos are perhaps to be assigned to a single scribe, though the writing in Fr. 1 is more cursive and generally coarser than in Fr. 2.

Most of the correspondence here collected consists of or relates to *προσαγγελία* or *προσαγγέλματα*, i.e. applications made to officials who were responsible for

order in the nomes and commonly reporting cases of theft, injury, and the like ; cf. 794-805, Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 21. Hence the document has been placed among the petitions. Matter of a different kind is, however, sometimes included, e.g. Cols. x. 17-21, xii. 5-21. Several of the applications were sent in the first instance to Horus the comogrammateus of the village Berenicis Thesmophori (i. 22, vi. 18, xi. 11, and no doubt others ; cf. 778. 2), in whose bureau the register seems to have been compiled—at least it is difficult to account otherwise for the alterations in Col. xi. 3-10, a passage which has all the appearance of a draft prepared in Horus' office ; cf. iii. 12-15. Those documents in which other officials were primarily concerned (the comogrammateus of Ibion Argaei (?) ii. 14 sqq., Micion the epistates iii. 19 sqq.) would then have been passed to Horus for information.

The papyrus is badly preserved, especially Fr. 1, and not worth reproducing *in extenso* ; but we print the more material portions notwithstanding their sometimes battered condition.

## Col. i (Fr. 1, recto i).

18 lines, mostly very defective, the last ending with the date (ἔτους) κβ Τῦβι κ .

- [τοῦ δοθ]έντος ἡμῖν προσαγγέλλματος  
 20 [παρὰ] Ἀδύμου τοῦ Ἀδύμου (ὀγδοηκονταρούρου) ἀντίγρα(φον)  
 [ὑποτέ]ταχα ὅπως εἰδῆις. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κβ Τῦβι . .  
 [Ἔρωι] κω(μο)γρα(μματεῖ) Βερενικίδος Θεσμοφόρου παρὰ  
 [Ἀδ]ύ[μο]ν Μακεδόνος (ὀγδοηκονταρούρου). ἐπελθόντες τινὲς  
 [τῆι νυ]κτὶ τῆι φερούσηι εἰς τὴν β  
 25 [τοῦ Τῦ]βι ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπάρχον[τ]ά μοι σ(τ)αθμὸν  
 [ἦνοιξ]αν τὸ ἐν τῆι αὐλῆ οἴκημα καὶ ὄχινον  
 [ἔκλεψα]ν μυλαῖον ὃν τιμῶμαι (δρ.) φ καὶ ἐκ  
 [τῆς α]ύλης προβάτια γ ἄξια (δρ.) χ.  
 [προσαγγ]έλλω σοι οὖν ὅπως ποιῆς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 30 [αὐτῶν ἐξέτ]ασιν. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κβ [Τῦβι . . ?]

## Col. ii (Fr. 1, recto ii).

About 13 lines lost.

- 2nd hand ἀπο . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] Τιμάνωρ ὑβρ[ . . ] . [ . . ] . . γ  
 15 ἐπιλογ . . ντος οὐ καθηκόντως αὐτῶι Καλυβ . . . ου

τοῦ Δημητρίου οὗ σοι ὑπόκειται τὸ ὄνομα ὅτι  
 ἔδει ἀναληφθῆναι τὰ γενήματα ταύτης τῆς γῆς  
 τὰ ἐκ τ[ο]ῦ κ (ἔτους ?) καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ κ[α] (ἔτους ?) ἐν πυρῶν (ἀρτάβαις)  
 Π, ἂ καὶ  
 ἐγμεμέτρηκε εἰς τὸ κβ (ἔτος) Φ[. . . .]ωνι {Ἰουδαίωι}  
 20 καὶ Σωσιβίωι οἱ δύο Ἰουδαῖοι δώδεκα ἀρτάβαις,  
 ὧν κα[ι] ἀπεδόθη Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ προκωμογραμματεῖ  
 Ἰβιῶνος Ἀργαίου ἐν τῷ κ (ἔτει) ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς ταύτης  
 . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . εν συν . . . [ . . . ] . . . υμελ . . . . .  
 [ἀ κ]αὶ μετηνέχθη εἰς Ἰβιῶνα Ἀργαίου καὶ παρεδό-  
 25 [θη τῷ π]αρ' Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ κωμογραμματέως  
 καὶ Ἐρ . . τι κωμάρχῃ καὶ Θεοφάνῃ καὶ Ψενοβάστι  
 [φυλακ]ίταις. ἐκείνου δὲ ἀρθέντος ἐσκεπάσθη τὰ  
 [γενήμα]τα, σοῦ δὲ παραλαβόντος τὴν κωμογραμματέαν  
 [ἐπεδώ]καμέν σοι ὅπως εἶδῃς. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις  
 30 συντάξας περὶ τούτων ἵνα τῷ βασι[λι]λίῃ μηθὲν δια-  
 πέση. κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ δοθήσεται τῷ βασιλικῷ  
 γραμματεῖ καὶ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ καὶ Ἀργείῳ τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ.  
 ἐπιδεδώκαμεν δὲ καὶ Ἀρμάει τῷ τοπογραμματεῖ  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν.  
 35 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ται Ἀρμάει τῇ ιδ τοῦ Τῦβι τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) .  
 [            ] . . . . . ε . . . . .

17. s of της above the line.  
 30. ι of τωι inserted?

20. l. τοῖς . . . Ἰουδαίοις.

21. κωμο above the line.

Col. iii (Fr. I, recto iii).

About 11 lines lost.

1st hand τῷ Ἀλεξάν[δρωι

τὸν Σέλευκον τ . . [

[[ὄν ἐν βα(σιλικῷ) ὡς]] [[ἐπιστεία . [

[[ὅπως εἰδ[[ήι]]]] [[προσφωνη[σα

15 ὑπὲρ τούτων [[έν]] ἐν τάχει τὸ κ . . . . [ . . . . .

καὶ δυνωμ[ . . . . . ]της ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν

κατα[. .] . . . . [ . . . . . ]ην.

Ἀρμάι τὸ αὐτό.

Μικίωνι ἐπιστάτῃ παρὰ τῶν (ὀγδοηκονταρούρων) τῶν περὶ τὸν  
20 Ἀργαίου Ἰβιῶνα τῆς Πο(λέμωνος) με(ρίδος). ἐπεὶ γέγραφέν σοι Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρος

ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ στρα(τηγός) ἐπελθόντα  
ἐπὶ τοὺς κλήρους ἡμῶν μετὰ τοῦ κωμογρ(αμματέως)

ποίησασθαι τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν, προσκλη[θέντων

ἡμῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ κ . . . . . [

Vestiges of 1 line.

14. ηι of εἶδη and προσφῶνη[ crossed through. οπως εἶδη together with the inter-  
lineations enclosed in round brackets.

Col. iv (Fr. 1, recto iv).

[ἀ]ξιούμέν σε ἐπισχεῖν καὶ υ . . . . . [ . . . . .

[γρ]άψαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ πρὸς [τῇ συντάξει ἀπο-

[στ]εῖλαι ἡμῖν Σέλευκον τὸν ἐπ(ιστάτην) τῶν [φυλακितῶν

[ἴν'] ἐκείνου παρόντος . [.] ε . . . . . [ . . . . ἀνα-

5 [μ]ετρήση. τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τρυ[ξό]μεθα

τῶν παρὰ σοῦ εὐγνωμόνων. εὐτύχει. [

[Μι]κίων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χαίρειν. τοῦ δοθέντος μοι

[ὑ]πομνήματος παρὰ [τῶν (ὀγδοηκονταρούρων)] τῶν περὶ τὸν [

[Ἀρ]γαίου Ἰβιῶνα ἀ[ντί]γρ[αφον ? προτετά]χαμέν σοι . .

10 [τῇ]ν ἀδικίαν . . . γράψας το . . . . : [ . . . . ] . κφι παρα . [ .

[ . . ]ς ὅ τι ἀξιούσιν.

. . . ] τοῦ δοθέντος μοι προσαγγέ[λματος παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Φιλωτ(ερίδος) ἐφόδ(ων)

[ἀντί]γραφον ὑποτετάχαμεν ὅπ[ως] εἰδῆις. [

[ . . ] . [κ]ωμογραμματεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Φιλωτ(ερίδος) ἐφόδ(ων)

15 [ . . ]δομ . . . . . ον πορείων . . . . . εμοντα . [ . .

ὑπὸ τοῦ τελώνου καὶ τῶν ε . . . . . φ[υλ]ακितῶν . . [ . .

ἐξαγαγόντας τοὺς ὄνους νῦν . [ . . ] . . τῆ . . ες καὶ [? ἐξ-

ιχνιάζοντας παρὰ Τεῶτι . . . . . αιτη[ . . . . .

σαν παραδοῦναι ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 20 ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίων τὸν στρα(τηγὸν) καθ . . . φωνταφ . [ . . . . .  
 α . [ . ] . η . . . [ . ] ντες καταστῆσαι ε . . . . . [ . . . . .  
 . . τούς τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν συνστρατιωτῶν . . πε . [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . [ . . . ] (ἔτους) κβ Φαμενώθ . [ . . . . .

Parts of 3 lines.

2. π of προς corr.

Col. v (Fr. 2, recto i).

3rd hand. Ends of 20 lines, about 5 more being entirely lost. Some of the lines gave a list of articles as in Col. vi, including κόλυβον χα(λκοῦν) α (cf. 794).

Col. vi (Fr. 2, recto ii).

καὶ ἐν ἄλλ(λ)η καινὸν ὀθόνιον, [ . . . . .  
 ἐν ἄλλῃ ὁμοίως ὀθόνια δύο [ . . . . .  
 κλίνη σπαρτότονος μυρική[η] . . . . .  
 κελλίβας καὶ ἄβαξ α, κρέαγρα [ καὶ  
 5 ἐπὶ τοῦ δώ(ματος) ἐλαῶν κ(εράμια) β, [ . . . . .  
 ταινίας ζ, πο( ) μυρικήνα . [ . . . . .  
 ἐλαίνας ζ, πο( ) ὁμοίως [ . . . . .  
 τριπόδιον α, καὶ ἐν σιρῶι τ[ . . . . .  
 δ, πο( ) γ ἀχάρακτα ἕκαστα ἄξια [ . . . . .  
 10 τὸ ταμιεῖον παρεδώ[κ]αμεν Διογέ[ν]ει  
 φυλακίτη τῶι προγεγραμμέν[ω]ι.

4th hand Φαμ[εν]ὸθ κγ.

Ἀρμαί τοπογρ(αμματεῖ). τ[ῶν] δεδ[ο]μένων [μ]οι προ[ο]σαγγελ-  
 μάτων τῆι κ[. τοῦ] ἐ[ν]ρεστῶτος μη(νὸς) [παρὰ  
 15 Τίμωνος ἡγε[μ]όνου] τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 καὶ Φανήσιος [ὀνηλ]άτου τὰ ἀντίγραφα ὑπο-  
 τέταχα ὅπω[ς] εἰ[δ]ῶς ποιήσῃ τὴν προ[ο]σήκουσαν  
 ἐπιστροφῆν.

<sup>α</sup> Ὡρωι κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) π[α]ρὰ Τίμωνος ἡγεμόνος τ[ῶν] ἀπὸ τῆς  
 20 Ἀσίας. νυκτὸς [τ]ῆι φερούσῃ εἰς τὴν κ[. τοῦ]  
 Φαμενώθ το[ῦ] ἐ[ν] τῶι κβ (ἔτει) ὑπερβάν[τες] τινὲς

εἰς τὴν Φανή[σι]ος τοῦ ὀνηλάτου ἐξ[ή]λασαν  
 ὄνον μέλανα [δ]ν ἐμεμισθώ[κειν Φανή]σει καὶ  
 τῶι τοῦ Φανή[σ]ιος υἱῶι, ὃν κ[α]ὶ ἐτιμησάμην  
 25 Φανή[σ]ει κ[α]ὶ τ[ῶ]ι υἱῶι τα[λάν]του) α. [ἀξίῳ σε  
 κατατάξαι μ[ο]ν τὸ προσάγγ[ε]λμα ἐν χρη[ματισμῶ]ι).

1. First ο of *οθονιον* corr. from *υ*.      20. 1. *νυκτί* or [τ]ῆς -σης.

Col. vii (Fr. 2, verso i).

Ends of 22 lines (some others lost), with a blank space in the middle of the column.

Col. viii (Fr. 2, verso ii).

Σατύρου προσκεφάλαια δύο, ἀνά[β]αθρον καινὸν [. . . . .  
 Εὐκλείους θηρατικὰ ἀκόντια τρία, Ἀμενν[έ]ως . . . . .  
 Τάσιτος ὀρμίσκος, Σεντάιος χιτῶν α καινο [. . . . .  
 ἄλλο παρὰ Ἑρακλείδου. τῆι φερούση εἰς τὴν . .  
 5 τοῦ Ἐπειφ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) ὑπερβάντες [τινὲς ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Πτολεμαίου οἰκίας ἐν ἡι οἰκῶ, ὑπαρχόντων μοι  
 πορείων δύο, τοῦ κρατίστου αὐτῶν ε . . [. . . . .  
 φ . . . . φ . . εἰω . . ἐνυτον ὃ τιμῶμαι χα(λκοῦ) τα(λαντ) [. τοῖς δὲ  
 φυλακ[ί]ταις ἐπιδέδωκα προσαγγελίαν. [  
 10 ἄλλο παρὰ Στρατονίκης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἐνστησαμέν[ης] μου ἐν τῆι  
 λεγομένῃ Φιλονίκου οἰκίαι ἐφ' οἷ ἦν δεδιγμ . . . . .  
 ὀνίου ἐφ' ἧς ἦσαν προῦφασμένοι πήχει[s] . [ ἄξιοι  
 δραχμῶν χιλίων, ἐπε[λθόν]τες τινὲς ε . . [. . . . . εἰς  
 τὴν [οἰκίαν] τῆι νυκτὶ τῆι φερούση εἰς τὴν κα [τοῦ Ἐπειφ  
 15 ἔκλεψαν(?). π[ρο]σαγγέλ[λ]ω οὖν σοι ὅπως οἴσις μου τὸ προσάγγελα  
 ἐν χρηματισμῶι.

(ἔτους) κβ Ἐπειφ κγ.

ἄλλ[ο] παρὰ Πνεφερώτος τοῦ Ἀρκοίφιος βασιλικῶ γ[ε]ωργῶ  
 τῶν ἐκ Βερ[ε]νικίδος Θεομοφόρου. ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Πτολ[ε]μαίου τοῦ  
 Σα[σ]ιπάρου (ἐκατοταρούρου). τοῦ γὰρ κβ (ἔτους) Ἐπειφ κδ ἐμοῦ ἀπο[σ]-  
 στείλαντος

20 τὸν [έμαν]τοῦ υἱὸν Πινεφερῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῷ Τεσμ[. . . . .  
 αλα[. . .]ξ. . . τ . ν]] ἔχοντα ζεύγεα γ καὶ τοῦ[του  
 βουλομ[ένο]υ παρελθεῖν τὴν γέφυραν τῆς ὁδοῦ [. . . . . ὁ  
 προειρ[ημ]ένος Πτολεμαῖος τῇ βίαι χρώμενος ἀφελ[ῶν τὴν  
 ράβδον [πα]ρὰ τοῦ παιδαρίου ἤλασεν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τῇ[ν διώρυγα  
 25 καὶ συ[έβ]η μίαν ἀπὸ τῶν γ βοῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κροκοδ[ίλου θανεῖν  
 ἀξί[αν] (δρ.) 'B. ἀξιῶ, ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, συντάξαι γρ[άψαι  
 ὦι κ[α]θήκει ἐπαναγκάσαι ἀποτεῖσαί μοι ὅπω[ς δύνωμαι  
 γεω[ρ]γεῖ[ν] εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος). (ἔτους) κβ 'Eπ[είφ κ .  
 ἄλλ[ο πα]ρὰ 'Ορσενούφιος κωμο[γρ(αμματέως)] 'Ιβιῶνος (Εἰκοσιπεντα-  
 / ρούρων). [  
 30 πυ[θ]ανο[μέν]ου μου ὑπὲρ τῶ[ν] ἐπιβαλλόντων [  
 10. της αλεξανδρου above the line. 15. το προσαγγεγμα above the line. 21. The  
 letters preceding εχοντα expunged. 30. ν of υπερ corr.

Col. ix (Fr. 1, verso i). Ends of 22 lines in a small hand (others entirely lost).

Col. x (Fr. 1, verso ii). Remains of 15 lines, below which is the date

(ἔτους) κβ Παῦνι ιγ.

17 τὰς σπαρείσας εἰς τὸ κβ (ἔτος) ἐν τῷ . . . νωι (ἐβδομηκονταρούρω)  
 ἀνειλημμένου κλη(ήρωι)  
 (ἀρούρας) λ, ταύτας Ἄμενεῖς . ε . [ . ] . . . s κωμάρχης ὁ γεωργῶν  
 τὸν κληρον εκτιν . . [ . ] ἀπενήνεκται ἀνευ τῆς  
 20 ἡμετέρας γνώμης α[ . . ] . αν εἰς ἀρτ(άβας) με. γέγρ(αφα) οὖν ὅπως  
 (εἰδήις).

(ἔτους) κβ Παῦνι ις.

17. 1. ἀνειλημμένοι.

Col. xi (Fr. 1, verso iii).

Slight remains of 2 lines, semi-effaced.

[τῇ β τοῦ προκειμένου] μηνὸς πρὸς ὄψὲ τῆς ὥρας παραγενόμενος  
 [Δωρίων ὁ ἐρημο]φύ(λαξ) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ πλατεῖαι οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπάναντι  
 τοῦ Βουβαστίου [[αὐτοῦ]] κατέλαβεν



- 5 [Ἡσιόδου Διδύμ[ο]ν (ἑκατοντάρουρον) ὄντα πρὸς τῆι θύραι, καὶ ἀηδίας  
 γενομένης  
 πρὸς ασυ . [.] . . . . . ετο ὁ Δωρίων τῆς Ἡσιόδου τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ρίνος  
 εμ . . . . . ρα . . . . . ναι αὐτοῦ τὸν μυκτῆρα [about 18 letters]  
 καὶ τοῦ χείλο(υ)ς ε . . . . . εν about 40 letters partially effaced.  
 καὶ ὁ Ἡσιόδος [ . . . . . υ ] τὸν Δωρίωνος δεξιὸν ὄτα εἰς τέλος  
 . . [.] . . συνάγειν ὁ Πετῆς εἰς ὃν οἶμαι [ . . . . . ]  
 ἐξέτεμεν. καὶ τὸ {ν} παρὰ Ἡσιόδου δεδομένον ἡμῖν προσάγγελμα περὶ  
 τούτων
- 10 ὑποτετάχαμεν. γέγραφα οὖν σοι ὅπως εἰδήης. (ἔτους) κβ Μεσορῆ δ.

Ἔρωι κωμογραμματεῖ Βερενικίδος Θε(σμοφόρου) παρὰ Ἡσιόδου Θραικὸς  
 (ἑκατονταρούρου) τῆς εἰς ἰπ(παρχίας).

τῆι β τοῦ Μεσορῆ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) ἀναλύοντος μου ὀψίτερον τῆς ὥρας  
 πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν

καὶ γενομένου μου κατὰ τὸ Πατσώντιος Βουβαστίων ἐπέθετό μοι Δωρίων  
 Διονυσίου τῶν ἐρημοφυλάκων μετ' ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ κατήνεγκέν μου πληγὰς

- 15 [πλείον]αξ ἦ[ι εἶ]χεν μαχαίραι, ὥστε καὶ τραύματα πλείονα γενέσθαι  
 [καὶ . . . . . ] . γαι μου τὸν μυκτῆρα. ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς  
 φυλακίταις

4. αυτου—βουβαστιου above the line; 1. ἀπέναντι.  
 ε . . . . . εν deleted in front of και.

8. και ο ησ. over a deletion and

Col. xii (Fr. 1, verso iv).

] . . . ου καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης  
 ] . . . . κω ε[ι]ς φυγὴν ὥρμησεν [  
 ] . . . κινδυνεύω τῶι βίωι  
 ] (ἔτους) κ[β] Μεσορῆ δ.

A blank space, after which slight remains of 4 lines.

- [ . ς φήσαντ[ο]ς εἶναι Πισούριος τῶ[ν] ἐκ  
 10 Φιλαγρίδος κ[τ]ηνοτρόφων, κατηγίταθεις ὑπὸ Δαβρέου  
 καὶ Ἐπικ . . [.] ξα συμπαρόντος Ἐπιμάχου τοῦ παρὰ σοῦ  
 καὶ . . . [.] . τοῦ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ)  
 καὶ Μικίων[ο]ς ἐπ[ι]στάτου, ἐπεστήσατο Φαλοῦς

τῶν ἐκ Β[ουβ]ἄστου πρόβα(τον?) (δραχμῶν) ρ, ἃ καὶ παρέδωκεν  
 15 Φαλοῦτι . . . γρ(αμματεῖ). γέγρ(αφα) οὖν ὅπως εἰδήης.  
 (ἔτους) κβ Μεσορῆ ζ.

ὁμοίως π[αρά] Ἀλεξάνδρου.  
 τὰ Ἐλπίνου τοῦ Ἐ[λ]πίνου οἰνικά γενήματα τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) κε(ράμια)  
 (ἑξά)χ(οα) ιβ,  
 (ὀκτά)χ(ου) α, (πεντά)χ(οα) η, / (ἑξά)χ(οα) κ, ἀπέδοτο πρὸς τὰ ἐν αὐτῶ  
 ὀφειλήματα Πετοσίρει Σοκονώπιος τῶν  
 20 ἐγ Βερενικίδος [. . .] αἰω(ν) ἀνὰ (δρ.?) σ[ο]ε, ὃ γίνεται Ἐφ.  
 γέγρ(αφα) οὖν ὅπως εἰδήης.  
 ἐμοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῆ[ι] . . . . . ιε . . . ληι  
 τῆι β τοῦ ἐνεστηκ[ό]το[ς] μ[η]νὸς ἐπελθὼν Μικίων Μικίωνος τῶν  
 ἐγ Βερενικίδος γεωργῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι οἰκίαν ἐν ἧι καὶ  
 25 καταλύεις ε[ι]σβιασάμενος ἀνοίξας τὸν ἐν τῆι προστάδι οἶκον  
 ἐσφραγισμένον [ὑπὸ] Ἀρμάιος τοῦ τοπογραμματέως ἐν ἧι ἐνῆι αὐτοῦ τε  
 18. προς . . . οφειλήματα above the line. 26. η of ηι corr. from φ

Col. xiii (Fr. 1, verso v).

Parts of 27 lines.

i. 19–30. ‘I have appended for your information a copy of the notice delivered to me by Adymus son of Adymus, eighty-arurae-holder. Good-bye. The 22nd year, Tubi . . .’  
 ‘To Horus, comogrammateus of Berenice Thesmophori, from Adymus, Macedonian, holder of eighty arurae. On the night preceding the 2nd of Tubi certain persons having made an incursion into the quarters belonging to me opened the room in the courtyard and stole a . . . mill which I value at 500 drachmae and from the courtyard three young sheep worth 600 dr. I therefore send notice to you in order that you may make inquiry into the same. Good-bye. The 22nd year, Tubi . . .’

19. This line is separated from the preceding one by a blank space, in the initial lacuna of which the name of the addressee, e.g. Ἀρμά(ε)ι (cf. ii. 33, iii. 18, vi. 12), may have stood.

26. ὄχινος is novel and the meaning uncertain. A perversion of ὀνικός (cf. Mark ix. 42) is hardly credible.

ii. 18. ϧ is in the form of a square π with ρ drawn through it; not Ṁ apparently.

21. προκωμογραμματεῖ: cf. ll. 27–8. The insertion of -κωμο- may have been secondary. Neither προγραμματεῖς nor προκωμογρ. is otherwise attested, but cf. e.g. 112. 116 προχειρογρ(άφωι).

27. ἐκείνου refers to Asclepiades, whose ‘removal’ was perhaps caused by death; cf. e.g. Matt. 24. 39 ὁ κατακλυσμός . . . ἤρην ἅπαντας. What exactly is implied by ἐσκεπάσθη is not clear.

32. Is this an ascending order? Cf. 708. 2–3, n. (Wilcken, Chr. 167 is later).

iii. 12-13. Alexander and Seleucus were respectively *πρὸς τῇ συντάξει* and *ἐπιστάτης φυλακιδῶν*; cf. ll. 20-1, iv. 2-3.

16. ]ης: or γῆς, e.g. *δυνάμ[εθα τῆς] γῆς*.

18. Ἄρμάι: the topogrammateus of ii. 33, &c.

19. Micion has previously occurred in 778. 6.

21. For the strategus Ptolemaeus cf. 779, introd.

iv. 5-6. Cf. P. Enteux. 15. 11 ἵνα . . . τῶν εὐγν. τύχῳ.

7-11. This letter apparently refers to what has preceded and we therefore restore *προετά[χ]αμεν* in l. 9 instead of the usual *ὑποετά[χ]*.

12. The name of the addressee possibly projected somewhat into the margin. For the latter part of the line cf. l. 14. If this Philoteris was the one in the division of Themistes, it would not in fact be far distant from the other villages mentioned in the papyrus, which, however, are all in the division of Polemon.

22. *συνστρατιωτῶν*: the use of this word, for which cf. B.G.U. 1824. 20, 1830. 1, brings out the military character of the police organization; cf. Wilcken, *Grundz.* 412, Oertel, *Liturgie*, 51.

vi. 1-9. No doubt a list of stolen property; cf. e.g. 796.

3. *κλινη* might be read as *κωνή*, but *σπαρτόνοος*, which is a new word, seems a suitable epithet of a bed; cf. *βυρσότονος*.

4. This passage confirms *κελλίβα(ν)τος* in P. Ryl. 136. 10. B.G.U. 1127. 11 follows the ordinary spelling *κιλλ*.

6. *πο( )*: the abbreviation, which recurs in ll. 7 and 9, is written  $\rho$  and might also be interpreted *οπ( )*, *ομ( )*, or *μο( )*. Line 7 shows that it cannot be *ὀμ(οίως)* and l. 9 that it is neuter. Perhaps *πο(τήρια)* is the most likely expansion; this would well suit *ἀχάρακτα* (cf. P. Brit. Mus. 193 verso *χαρακ(τὸν?) σκάφιν*), and *μυρίκινα*, though less apt, does not exclude it.

12-26. 'Phamenoth 23. To Harmais, topogrammateus. I have subjoined copies of the notices delivered to me on the 2[.] of the present month from Timon, leader of the men from Asia, and Phanesis, donkey-driver, in order that you may be informed and give proper heed.'

'To Horus, comogrammateus, from Timon, leader of the men from Asia. On the night preceding the 2[.] of Phamenoth in the 22nd year certain persons got over into the house of Phanesis the donkey-driver and drove off a black donkey which I had hired out to Phanesis and the son of Phanesis and valued to Phanesis and his son at 1 talent. I beg you to set my notice on the list.'

15. Cf. ll. 19-20, P. Petrie III. 104. 3 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς [A]σίας αἰχμαλ[ώ]των, Enteux. 54. 2 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατιωτῶν. Guéraud suggests that these Asiatic *στρατιῶται* may have been the descendants of the *αἰχμάλωτοι*.

17-18. *ποιήση . . . ἐπιστροφῆν*: cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 4. 6. 14, 19. 2. 2. The phrase is misinterpreted by Preisigke, *Wörterb.*, s.v.

26. For *ἐν χρη(ματισμῶι)* cf. vii. 15, 806. 14, 44. 25-6, Wenger, *Archiv* ii. 509.

viii. 3. In SB. 4238 the gen. of *Σενταίς* is *-αίτος*, but it seems easier to suppose a different mode of inflexion here than to read *πειταίος* as an epithet of *ὄρμισκος*.

4-9. 'Another from Heracleides. On the night preceding the . . . of Epeiph of the 22nd year certain persons got over on to the house of Ptolemaeus in which I live and (possessed themselves?) of the best of two beasts of burden belonging to me, which I value at . . . talents of copper. I have delivered a notice to the guards.'

4. The oblique dash placed against this line recurs at ll. 10, 17, and 29; cf. the crosses similarly used in 702. 10, &c.

7-8. The animal must have been either stolen or seriously damaged.

11. ἐφ' οὗ ἦν: or possibly εἰς τήν, which, however, seems more difficult. οὗ, if right, refers to Φιλονίκου, 'before whom'.

15. Cf. vi. 26, n.

17-28. 'Another from Pnepheros son of Harkoiphis, Crown cultivator from Berenice Thesmophori. I am wronged by Ptolemaeus son of Sosipatrus, hundred-arurae-holder. On the 24th of Epeiph of the 22nd year I sent my son Pnepheros to . . . with 3 pairs of oxen, and when he wished to cross the bridge in the road the aforesaid Ptolemaeus violently seizing the boy's stick drove them into the canal and one of the 3 cows, worth 2,000 drachmae, happened to be killed by a crocodile. I beg you, if you think fit, to order a letter to be written to the proper official to compel restitution to be made so that I may be able to cultivate my land for the 23rd year. The 22nd year, Epeiph 2[.]'

21. ζεύγαι: a male and a female; cf. l. 25. The uncontracted form is noticeable.

25. τοῦ κροκοδ[ίλου]: cf. e.g. P. Cairo Zen. 59379. 5, 59443. 4.

26. Owing to the projection of the ends of lines from the previous column the scribe had to begin this and the following lines further to the right, and he also made an irregular stroke of the pen to separate the two columns.

xx. 19. Perhaps ἐκτινάξ[ας], τὰς . . . (ἀρούρας) then having been used loosely for the crops on the land; but α[. . .]. αν in l. 20 remains a difficulty. A coarse curved stroke placed at the beginning and end of these two lines may be meant to separate them from the preceding and following columns; cf. viii. 26, n.

xxi. 3-xxii. 4. ' . . . On the 2nd of the aforesaid month at a late hour Dorion the desert guard arriving at his house in the street opposite the shrine of Bubastis came upon Hesiodus son of Didymus, hundred-arurae-holder, at the door, and unpleasantness having arisen, Dorion . . . the nose of the aforesaid Hesiodus [slitting?] the nostril and cut (?) his lip . . . ; and Hesiodus cut the right ear of Dorion clean off. . . . We have appended for your information the notice delivered to us by Hesiodus. The 22nd year, Mesore 4.

To Horus, comogrammateus of Berenice Thesmophori, from Hesiodus, Thracian, 100-arurae-holder of the 5th hipparchy. On the 2nd of Mesore of the 22nd year, as I was returning home at a late hour and had arrived at the Bubastis-shrine of Patsontis, Dorion son of Dionysius, of the desert guards, attacked me along with certain others and gave me many blows with the sword he had, so that I received many wounds and my nostril [was slit?]. Wherefore [I have sent notice] both to you and to the guards . . . An outcry being raised . . . he took to flight . . . my life is in danger. The 22nd year, Mesore 4.'

xxi. 4. τῶν ἐρημο]φν(λάκων) (l. 14) would be long for the lacuna.

7. Perhaps ἔταμεν. In the interlineation, with which cf. l. 16, -ραθῆναι is possible (not -ραγῆναι).

8-9. Hesiodus apparently omitted this detail in his complaint to Horus. It looks as if the aim of the combatants was disfigurement rather than more serious injury. Dorion's loss of his right ear recalls that of Malchus in Gethsemane. τὸν ὄτα seems to be unexampled. The insertion above l. 9 is obscure. Possibly εἰσιῶν should be read; εἰς ὄνομα is unsatisfactory.

13. Πασιώντιος Βουβασιτίον: cf. e.g. 5. 73, 14. 17-18, P. Enteux. 6. 2 and introd.

xii. 9 sqq. The references to Berenice in ll. 20 and 24 suggest that the addressee is again Horus, as in the preceding *προσίγγελμα*. In that case, and if β[ουβ]ίστου is rightly read in l. 14, this papyrus would give some support to the view that there was a village of that name in the south of the nome as well as in the division of Heracleides; cf. Vol. II, pp. 373-4.

13. Μικίωνος: probably the same as in iii. 19, iv. 7.

14. πρόβα(τον): since in i. 28 three προβάτια are valued at 600 dr. it is not likely that 100 dr. here represent more than one animal; but ᾶ should then be ὄ.

17-21. 'Likewise from Alexander. The produce in wine of Elpines son of Elpines for the 22nd year, 12 6-chous jars, 1 8-chous, 8 5-chous, total 20 six-chous jars, he has sold to meet his debts to Petosiris son of Sokonopis, a . . . from Berenice, at 275 dr. each, which makes 5,500. I have therefore written for your information.'

17. Ἀλεξάνδρου: identical with the Alexander of iii. 12, 20, &c.? Lines 22 sqq. were apparently also from him.

18-19. Cf. P. Petrie III 70 (a) 6-9, where κέραμια of 5, 7, and 8 choes are similarly converted to metretae of 6 choes. Segrè, *Metrol.*, p. 24, draws the natural inference that the μετρητής ἐξάχους (cf. 118. 2) was the official measure for wine at this period. The price of a metretre here, 275 dr., is little more than half that in B.G.U. 1537, dating probably from the previous reign. The much higher rate in 766 and elsewhere is to be accounted for by the depreciation of copper; cf. Heichelheim, *Wirtsch. Schwankungen*, p. 111.

23-6. These lines are separated from the opposite ones of the next column by a wavy line; cf. viii. 26, n.

25. προστάδι: cf. e.g. 796. 5, &c., 804. 14, Luckhard, *Privathaus*, 62-3.

26. For Ἀρμάως cf. ii. 33, &c., and for the spelling ἐνή, 771. 9, n.

### 794. NOTICE OF LOSS.

9.

FR. I 7.6 × 14.2 cm.

Late third century B.C.

Notification of loss, addressed to a phylacites and written in a well-formed hand of early appearance; cf. 793 introd., 795, &c. The papyrus is in three fragments, the second of which followed the first at an indeterminate but probably no large interval; Fr. 3 perhaps came from near the beginning of Fr. 1. 5-9. At the foot of Fr. 2, on a different κόλλημα, are remains of five more lines apparently unconnected with the foregoing text.

Frs. 1 and 2.

(Ἔτους) προσαγ[γέλλει] Πετοσίρις καὶ Ὀρος Θεῶτος ἀρχιερεὺς ἐκ Τα-  
[λί? Π]άτρωος φυλακίτηι νυκτὸς ἀπολωλέκεναι

[ [ ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . Πάτρωος φυλακίτηι. νυκτὶ τῆι ] ]

] δ ἀν(ὰ) ιβ (δρ.) ξδ, ἄλλα τρία ἀν(ὰ) ιβ (δρ.) λς, ἄλλα φοιν[ικᾶ?

5 [μηλ. [ . . . ] ἄλλα εἰς ταφὰς ὀ[θό]ναι κε ἂ ἦν ἄξι[α

κόν]δν (δρ.) σ, ἀλλ[ο (δρ.)]. δ, Πετοσίρι[ος  
 κό]νδν μικρὸν α (δρ.) ι[. ], ἀλλα κό]νδνα  
 ] τῆς ληνου (δρ. ?) . . , [. . . .]α[  
 ] μέλιτος γό(μους ?) ς, [

10 λυ]χνίας σιδηρᾶ (δρ.) ε, . [  
 χαλ]κοῦ νομίζματος (δρ.) λ (τριώβ.), / . . [  
 ἀπολω]λεκέναι ὀθόνια β (δρ.) κδ, κόνδνα [  
 ξυ]λοκοπικὰ β (δρ.) β, ἀξινίδιον α (δρ. ?) [  
 ]ιν α (δυόβ.) Σισόιτος τοῦ Πετεώρου κόνδν κ . [  
 15 ] (δρ.) τλβ (τριώβ.)

1. και ωρος above the line.

5. 1. ὀ[θή]νια : cf. l. 12.

10. 1. either λυχνία or σιδηρᾶς ?

Fr. 3.

. . . . .  
 ] . [  
 ]ν μέγα (δρ.) [  
 ] (δρ.) γ, χόρτου [  
 ]μισον α (δρ.) ε [  
 5 ] . . . . [ . ] . . [

**Frs. 1 and 2.** 1-3. Lines 1-2, especially the latter, are in a smaller and more compact script than ll. 4 sqq., and were doubtless written after l. 3 had been expunged. ἀρχιερεὺς in l. 1 refers to Πετοσίρις; cf. crit. n. For τα[λί(?) cf. 709. 2.

4. The first ιβ must be a mistake for ις. φοιν[ικᾶ (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 79069. 12) seems more apposite here than φοίν[ικος.

5. Perhaps μῆλα, but a fabric would be expected before ἄλλα . . . ὀ[θή]νια.

11. νομίζματος : cf. e.g. P. Grenf. ii. 14 (a) 17 ἀζμένως, 771. 11, Mayser, Gram. i. 204.

795. NOTICE TO CHIEF OF POLICE.

48.

13.7 × 14.7 cm.

Early second century B.C.

Beginning of a complaint similar to the preceding, from a woman whose house had been entered in her absence.

[("Ετους). Θ]ωὸθ β. προσάγγελμα Διο[σ]κου-  
 [ρίδ]ξι ἀρχιφυλακίτηι Κροκοδίλων πόλεως

καὶ τῶν μεμερισμένων τόπων παρὰ  
 Ἀθηνოდώρας τῆς Ἑστιοδώρου. τῆι β τοῦ  
 5 προγεγραμμένου μηνὸς κλεισάσης μου  
 τὴν θύραν τοῦ τε ἀνδρῶνος καὶ τῆς κλί-  
 [μακος] καὶ τῆς αὐλείας θύρας τῆς οἰκίας  
 [τῆς ἐμῆς] ἢ ἔστιν ἐν τῆι αὐτῆι πόλει  
 [πρὸς τῶι] λεγομένωι λαοκρισίωι καὶ ἐξελ-  
 10 [θούσης] ἐ[ί]ς βαλανεῖον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 [ 25 ll. ]άσης

On the verso

(ἔτους). Θ]ωὺθ δ. Ἀθηνოდώρα  
 οἰκ]ίας  
 τῆς] πρὸς τῶι λαοκρισίωι.  
 7. l. καὶ τὰς?

'The . . . year, Thoth 2. Notification to Dioscurides, chief of the guard of Crocodilopolis and the associated districts, from Athenodora daughter of Hestiodorus. On the 2nd of the above month, after I had shut the door of the men's apartments and the staircase and the yard-doors of my house, which is in the said city near the so-called courthouse of the laocritae, and had gone out to the bath . . .'

3. μεμερισμένων τόπων: cf. B.G.U. 1248. 1-2 τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πανοπολίτου καὶ τοῖς μεμ. τόποις (sic) δικασταῖς.

8. ἡμῶν would not fill the initial lacuna. The η in τῆι and αὐτῆι might well be ω, but the scribe is hardly to be credited with such a blunder.

9. The λαοκρίσιον is new.

12-13. Perhaps Ἀθηνოდώρα[ς]; the omission of περί in such dockets is common.

## 796. NOTIFICATION OF THEFT.

II.

30.5 × 13.7 cm.

B.C. 185.

A notice sent to an archiphylacites by two cleruchs and a third person (l. 2, n.) stating that their house had been entered and property stolen; cf. 795 int.

\*Ἐτους κα Φαῶφι ια. Φίλ[ω]νι ἀρχιφυλακίτη  
 παρὰ Διονυσίου καὶ Ἀδάμου (τριακονταρούρων) καὶ Ποσειδωνίου. ὑπερβάν-  
 τες τινὲς τῆι νυκτὶ τῆς ι εἰς τὴν ια τοῦ προγε-

- γραμμένον μηνὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλθόντες  
 5 εἰς τὴν προστάδα, καθευδόντω[ν] τῶν παρ' ἡ-  
 μῶν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν θυρῶν κεκλειμένων, οἴχονται [ἔ-]  
 χοντες ἐν τῇ προστάδι σφυρίδα σίτων ἐν ἡὶ ἐνῆν  
 κρη(ιθῆς) ἡμιαρτάβιον, ἧς τιμὴ (δραχμαὶ) 4 καὶ τῆς σφυρί-  
 δος (δρ.) κ, καὶ ὀθονίων β ἐσχισμένων ὄντων ἐν  
 10 σφυρίδι ἄξια (δρ.) χ, καὶ σάκκον τρίχινον αἰγὸς  
 ἄξιον (δρ.) τ, ἰδρωῖα β ἄξια (δρ.) ρκ, τετραχοίνικον (δρ.) ν, ὥστε εἶναι  
 τῆς λέας χαλκοῦ (δρ.) χιλίας ἑκατ[ὸ]ν ὀγδοήκοντα,  
 / (δρ.) Ἄρπ. ἐπεὶ οὖν τυγχάνομεν ἐπιδεδωκέναι περὶ τούτων  
 τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέραι Ὡρωὶ κωμάρχη τῆς Σατύ-  
 15 ρου λαύρας, ἀξιοῦμ[ε]ν, ἑά[ν] σοι φαίνηται, συντά-  
 ξαι[ι] γρη[ά]ψαι[ι] οἶ[ς] καθήκ[ει] . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 δια . . [ . . ] ρου ἀντίγρη(αφον) [ἴ]να κατ . [ . . ] [ . . ] παρὰ σοι  
 ὅπως ὑπάρχη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ὡρον δικαιολογίαι.  
 εὐτύχει.

2. (τριακονταούρων) above the line; similarly 11 τετρ. (δρ.) ν and 13 / (δρ.) Ἄρπ.  
 9. 1. ὀθῶνια κτλ.

‘The 21st year, Phaophi 11. To Philon, chief of the guard, from Dionysius and Adamas, thirty-arourae-holders, and Poseidonius. On the night between the 10th and 11th of the aforesaid month certain persons climbed into our house, and coming into the vestibule, while our people were asleep in their chambers with the doors shut, went away with a corn-basket in the vestibule containing a half-artaba of barley worth 90 dr., the value of the basket being 20 dr., 2 torn linen cloths, which were in the basket, worth 600 dr., a cloth made of goats’ hair, worth 300 dr., 2 sweaters worth 120 dr., a four-choenix measure, 50 dr., so that the value of the stolen goods amounts to one thousand one hundred and eighty drachmae, total 1,180 dr. Having handed in on the same day a report of these things to Horus the comarch of Satyrus’ street, we accordingly ask you, if you please, to order a letter to be written to the proper officials to . . . a copy in order that it may be (retained?) by you so as to be available for us in the legal inquiry before Horus. Farewell.’

1. Φιλ[ω]νι; cf. 741. 1.

2. Ποσειδωνίου: perhaps the sitologus addressed in 813, from the same cartonnage; the absence of any description or patronymic suggests that he was well known.

2-4. ὑπερβάντες . . . τὴν οἰκίαν: ὑπερβ. εἰς τὴν οἰκ. is the usual phrase (e.g. 793. vi. 21-2), but ὑπερβ. δόμους is used by Euripides in the sense of ‘enter’.

5. προστάδα: cf. 793. xii. 25, n.

8. ἡμιαρτάβιον was preceded by about a couple of letters which are almost effaced. An abbreviation of a word to which ἧς could refer is wanted, and κρη(ιθῆς) is a not unsuitable reading; 90 copper drachmae for half an artaba will accord sufficiently well with other values known at this period; cf. Heichelheim, *Wirtsch. Schwankungen*, p. 121.



11. *ιδρωια*: cf. e.g. P.S.I. 527. 3, P. Cairo Zen. 59659. 13, 59720. 4, and 116. 34, where *ιδρωια* is much more likely to represent *ιδρωίων* than *υδρίων*, which has been proposed by Crönert and adopted by Preisigke, *Berichtigungsbl.*; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 137.

14-15. *Σατύρου λαύρας* (?): unknown.

16-18. The papyrus is broken between ll. 16 and 17, but a gap is unlikely. The formula of lines 17, 18 is unfamiliar.

### 797. NOTIFICATION OF ROBBERY WITH VIOLENCE.

I.

19.7 × 12.3 cm.

Second century B.C.

A notice, similar to the preceding, to the chief of police at Berenicis Thesmophori by a priest complaining that while engaged in his religious duties he had been molested and robbed. In the upper half of the papyrus only the beginnings of the lines are preserved, but the general sense is clear and approximate restorations can often be made. On the verso is a much mutilated account.

- [. . . .]ησει ἀρχιφυ[λακίτη Βερενικίδος  
 Θεσμοφόρου καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φυλακί-  
 ταις παρὰ Πορευέ[βθιος τοῦ . . . . παστο-  
 φόρου καὶ ἰσιονόμου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 5 κώμης. τῆι ιε τοῦ [ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς  
 θυσιάζοντος ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐνθάδε (?) Ἴσιεί-  
 ωι ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασι-  
 λίσσης καὶ τῶν [τούτων τέκνων καὶ  
 προγόνων, οὐδέμιᾶς οὔσης πρὸς ἐμὲ  
 10 μεμψεως, ἐπ[ 18 ll.  
 Περῦτις Περῦτιος 14 ll. ἐ-  
 μαστίγου καὶ τ[ 18 ll.  
 ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆ[ν 17 ll.  
 ἐμοῦ δὲ βοήσαντος . . . . . ὁ . . . . .  
 15 μου Παποντῶς, [οἱ δὲ 14 ll.  
 ἐξέσπασαν ἐκ τ[.] . . [ . . . . καὶ πληγὰς  
 μοι πλείους ἐνέκοψαν κ[α]ὶ τὸ ἀ[ντικνή-  
 μιον μ[ο]ν ἐτραυμάτισαν καὶ [τὴν  
 ὄψιν ἔτ[υπτ]ον καὶ ἄχοντο ἔχοντες  
 20 τὸ μέλι [τε κα]ὶ τὸ ὀθόμιον ἄξιον (δραχμῶν) Β,

καὶ μάρσ[ιππ]ον ἐν ᾧ ἐνήν χαλκοῦ (δρ.) σκη,  
καὶ τὸν βωμὸν χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ κόνδου  
ἀ τῆι 15 ἐκομισάμην παρὰ τῶν  
ἰσιονόμων. ἐπιδίδωμί σοι ὅπως  
25 ἐξαποστείλῃς τοὺς τε διαπεπρα-  
γμένους ἐπὶ Μελέαγρον τὸν ἐπιστά-  
την τῶν φυλακτικῶν ὅπως γενομέ-  
νης τῆ[ς πρὸς] αὐτοὺς ἐπ[ισ]κ[έ]ψεω[ς]  
τύχωσ[ι τῆς] ἀρμοζούση[ς ἐπιπλή-  
30 ξεως, [ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνα]κομίσω[μαι τὰ δεδη-  
λῶ[μένα. τούτ]ου γὰρ γε[νομένου  
. . . [

22. 1. τὸν χαλκ.

4. ἰσιονόμ[ου]: cf. l. 24 below, P. Enteux. 6. 1, 80. 1, Petrie III. 82. 5, 100 (b) ii. 31, B.G.U. 993. 10. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel* ii. 73<sup>4</sup>, 175<sup>2</sup>, has maintained that the ἰσιονόμος was not really a priest, but in the present case at any rate he was also a pastophorus and performed sacrifice on behalf of the royal family (ll. 6-9), and similarly no doubt performance of sacrifice by the ἰσιονόμος is implied by P. Enteux. 80. 13 (? l. θ]ύοντος καὶ συντελοῦντος).

10. Something like ἐπελθὼν μοι σὺν ἄλλοις (cf. l. 25, n.) is wanted, but ἐπε[ ] is unsuitable; possibly επα[ ].

12. τ[ὸ] ὀθόνιον μου is suggested by l. 20, or perhaps τ[ὸ] μέλι καὶ τὸ ὄθ., if μέλι is rightly read there.

14. E.g. ἐβοήθει ὁ ἀδελφός or παρεγένετο ὁ υἱός.

16. The vestiges after ἐκ are very slight; they would be consistent with, e.g., τ[ὸ] ἰ[σ] [είου or τ[ὸ] π[ου].

20. μέλι is unexpected, but seems unavoidable; perhaps it was used in the sacrificial rite.

21. (δρ.) σκη: a multiple of 5 would be normal, but η not ε was apparently written.

23. 15: the outrage occurred on the 15th (l. 5). Unless therefore the 16th of the preceding month is here meant or the figures are mistaken, ἐκομισάμην should mean 'recovered', and τὰ δεδη]λῶ[μένα in l. 30 would not include this particular article; possibly Perutis had some connexion with the ἰσιονόμοι.

25. The plural appears to point to a phrase like σὺν ἄλλοις at l. 10. τε is superfluous; the writer may have intended to add καὶ ἐμέ.

## 798. COMPLAINT OF ASSAULT.

49.

32 x 12.1 cm.

Second century B.C.

Petition to the comogrammateus of Oxyrhyncha from a sitologus reporting that an attack had been made upon him by certain attendants at the local baths,

and had left him in a critical condition—which perhaps accounts for the erratic grammar of the narrative.

- Πετοσίρει κωμογραμματεῖ Ὀξυρύγχων  
 παρ' Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ σιτολογούντος τὸν  
 ἵππικὸν τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος. τῆι . .  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λουομέ[ι]νου μ[ο]υ  
 5 ἐν τῷ ἐναυτόθι βαλανείῳ, ἀρρωστοῦν-  
 τός μου βαρέως, κάμου ἀναβάντος  
 ἐγ βαλα[ν]είου ἐγλελυμένου, διὰ τὸ ἀργυ(ρίου)  
 (δραχμὰς) ἰε ἔχειν Πᾶσις Ἀρετίωνος καὶ [ ]  
 καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 10 βαλανείου παραχυτῶν ἐπιλάβονται  
 τοῦ παιδαρίου μου βουλομέ[ι]νου με  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπικιμένων α . [ . . . . .  
 κάμου ἐ[μ]βλέψαντος . [ . . . . ]φ . . . .  
 οἱ δὲ ἀστοχήσαντες τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος  
 15 καὶ διαραπίσαντές με καὶ λακτίσαντες  
 εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν ὤιοντο ἐκ[φ]εύ-  
 ξει[ν]. τ[ὸ] δ[ὲ] περὶ ἐμὲ παιδάριον  
 βοήσαντες τὸν βασιλέα παρεγενή-  
 θη[σα]ν πλ[ε]ί[σ]τοι, Πετεσοῦχου δὲ τοῦ  
 20 Ἀρποκρατίου ἐνὸς τῶν βαλανευτῶν  
 παραγενομένου τῆι βία χρησάμενος  
 ἀπέλυσεν τοὺς προγεγραμμένους  
 αἰτίους. ἐπεὶ οὖν κινδυνεύω τοῦ  
 βίου οἷς πέπληγα πληγαῖς, ἀξιῶ οὖν  
 25 ἐὰν φαίνεται ἀσφαλίσάμενος τοὺς  
 αἰτίους μέχρι τοῦ εἰς κοινὸν συν-  
 ἔδριον ἐλθεῖν. ἐπιδέδωκα δὲ  
 καὶ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τὸ ἀντίγρα-  
 φον. εὐτύχει.

17-18. 1. τ[ὸ] δ[ὲ] . . . παιδαρίου βοήσαντος. 24. 1. αἰς. 25. 1. ἀσφαλίσασθαι.

‘To Petosiris, comogrammateus of Oxyrhyncha, from Asclepiades, sitologus for cavalry dues in the division of Polemon. On the . . of the present month, when I was

bathing in the bath here, being seriously ill, after I had come out of the bath in an exhausted condition, Pasis son of Aretion and                      and                      , attendants at the said bath, because he had 15 drachmae of silver seized my servant, who wished to [keep me away] from those who were pressing on me, and when I looked at them . . . , with no regard for decency having beaten me and kicked me in the stomach they fancied they would escape ; but the servant with me having shouted for help in the king's name, several persons arrived, but Petesouchus son of Harpocratius, one of the bath-men, came up and by the use of force rescued the aforesaid culprits. As, therefore, my life is in danger owing to the blows I received, I beg you, if you think fit, to secure the culprits until we come to the general session. I have presented a copy also to the usual officials. Farewell.'

2-3. *σιτολογοῦντος τὸν ἱππικόν*: the phrase seems to be novel. *τόν*, which was apparently written, may refer to *σίτον*. For *ἱππικόν* cf. 466, a second-century v.c. account concerning corn-revenues, where *ἱππικόν* is found together with *φορικόν* (i.e. revenues from Crown land) and dues from *πεζοὶ κληροῦχοι*.

5. *ἐναντόθι* is unexampled but may be defended on the analogy of *καταντόθι, παρ' αὐτόθι*.

8-9. Blanks were left for two more names.

12. E.g. ἀπ[ολύειν.

18. *βοήσαντες τὸν βασιλέα*; cf. B.G.U. 1762. 3-4 *ἐπεβοῶντο τὰς βασιλίσσας καὶ δυνάμεις. βοᾶν ἀνθρώπους* is found in a similar context in 804. 16 and elsewhere. For *-es* instead of *-os* cf. e.g. 38. 13 *προσαγγελέντες*, 159 *Μαρρείου γεννηματοφύλακες*.

26-7. *εἰς κοινὸν συνέδριον ἐλθεῖν*: the implication is not very clear. In 27. 30-1 the *κοινὸν συνέδριον* was a specially summoned meeting of police-officials, but in the present passage some sort of tribunal seems to be meant; for *συνέδρ.* in the latter sense cf. 784. 6, P. Par. 15. 22, SB. 4512. 56, and *συνεδρία* is similarly used e.g. in 43. 30.

## 799. COMPLAINT OF AGGRESSION.

90.

Breadth 8.5 cm.

B.C. 155-4 OR 144-3.

Fragment of a notification from the son of a cleruch that during his father's absence on public service a conduit dug by him had been filled up. The clear upright script is to be referred at earliest to the reign of Philometor.

. . . . .

Vestiges of 1 line.

[. . . . . τ]οῦ πατρικοῦ

[. . . κ]λήρου. τοῦ διασαφου-

[μέν]ου μου πατρὸς

5 ὄντος ἐν παραγγέλ-

ματι κατὰ βασιλικὴν

χρείαν τοῦ κς (ἔτους)

Ἐπεὶφ κδ ἐπελθὼν

Ἡρακλέων μετ' ἄλ-  
 10 λων ὧν ἀγνοῶ τὰ ὀνό-  
 ματα ἐφ' ὃν ὀρωρύχει  
 μου ὁ πατήρ μετὰ  
 πολλῶν διαφόρων  
 ἐν τῷ Μενελάου  
 15 (τριακονταρούραι) κλήρωι ὑδραγω-  
 γὸν ἔχωσεν παρὰ  
 τὸ καθήκον. ἐπιδί-  
 δ[ω]μ[ι ο]ῦν σοι τὸ προσ-  
 [ἀγγελημα καὶ ἀξιῶ  
 . . . . .

16. Between γον and ε a letter expunged?

' . . . After my said father had been summoned on the king's business, on the 24th of Epeiph in the 27th year Heracleon with others, of whose names I am ignorant, came to the water channel, which my father had constructed at great expense in the thirty-arura holding of Menelaus, and improperly blocked it up. Accordingly I present to you this notice and beg you . . .'

3. Since the applicant's father was still alive, μου is unlikely before κλήρου and e.g. (. . . αρούρου), as in l. 15, would be more suitable.

### 800. COMPLAINT OF ASSAULT.

80.

Fr. 2 (ll. 21-41) 15.5 × 8.5 cm.

B.C. 142.

Petition from a Jew whose pregnant wife had been attacked and injured by another woman. The latter's name shows that she belonged to the same race, and hence it is highly probable that the scene was the village of Samaria, which was concerned in another piece from the same cartonnage. The papyrus, which is in two fragments, is very defective, few words being recognizable between ll. 6 and 25, which portion we accordingly omit. Whether there is any gap between the two fragments is not clear.

[. . . . . κωμογ]ραμματεῖ  
 [Σαμαρείας πα]ρὰ Σαββαταίου  
 [. . . . . 'Ιου]δαίου τῶν

[. . . . .] . μισθαρι-  
 5 [ν . . . . . τῆς αὐτῆ]ς κώμης  
 [. . . . .] τῆι κ ὄντος  
 [μου . . .

remains of 17 lines.

25 . . . ὑπὸ [  
 τῶν πληγῶ[ν] καὶ τ[ο]ῦ πτώμα-  
 τος δεινῶς κακοπ[α]θεῖν  
 καὶ κλινοπ[ετοῦς γεγο]νυίας  
 κινδυνεύει [δ] ἔχει ἐγ γ[α]στρῖ  
 30 παιδίον ἕκ[τ]ρωμα γί[νεσ]θα[ι  
 μεταλλάξαν τ[δ]ν βίον. ἐπι-  
 δίδωμί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως  
 ἐπελθὼν εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ εἰ .  
 δ . . . πην . [. . . ]ο . . . ρ διάκειται  
 35 ἀσφαλισθῆι ἢ Ἰωάννα μέχρι τοῦ  
 τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀποβῆσαι καὶ μὴ  
 συμβῆι ἀτόπ[ου] τινὸς πράγματος  
 γενομένου διαφυγεῖν τὴν  
 Ἰωάνναν ἀθώϊαν.  
 40 (ἔτους) κη Π[α]ῦνι κα.

2nd hand ἐχω(ρίσθη) Παῦ(νι) κε.

'To . . ., comogrammateus of Samaria, from Sabbataeus son of . . ., a Jew and one of the . . . of the said village . . . On the 20th when I was . . . in consequence of the blows and the fall she is suffering severely and having had to take to her bed her unborn child is in danger of dying and being miscarried. I present to you this petition in order that, when you have visited the spot and observed her (?) condition, Joanna may be secured until the result is apparent and that it may not happen that Joanna in case of any untoward event goes scot-free. The 28th year, Pauni 21. (Endorsed) Registered (?) Pauni 25.'

33-4. The subject of *διάκειται* was no doubt the injured wife, whose name may have stood earlier in the line and to whom *αὐτήν* in l. 36 refers. At the end of l. 33 *εἰ ἢ* is possible, or perhaps *ἐφιδῶν* (cf. 751. 10, B.G.U. 1253. 13) *αὐτήν* . . . ὅπως could be read, the participles then being out of construction.

36. *ἀποβῆσαι* : cf. *Archiv* ii. 516 *συνεμβήσητε* and 751. 10, n.

37-9. Cf. 44. 26-8, P. Enteux. 81. 21-2.

41. *ἐχω(ρίσθη)* must here have the sense of the later *κατεχωρ*.

## 801. REPORT CONCERNING A THEFT.

26.

23·8 x 9·9 cm.

B.C. 142-1?

This document is to be classed with the official reports rather than with petitions, though it relates to a loss not dissimilar to those dealt with in 793-7, &c. The names of the addressee and the writer are alike missing, but the latter seems to be informing a colleague of a case which had been referred to himself. It was concerned with the disappearance of, apparently, a number of hides from a store, and the writer wished investigations to be made and the persons involved (one of whom was a desert guard, l. 30) to be sent before the strategus, if the vanished articles proved to have been transported elsewhere. The papyrus adds something to the scanty evidence that the tanning of hides was a government monopoly; cf. n. on l. 7.

	. . . . .	
	vestiges of I line	
	τας ἐπὶ τοῦ βυρσίου	τεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον
	καὶ εὐρηκεῖναι	[ὅπως] πραχθῶσι τοὺς
	διαπεφωνηκότα	[. . . . .]·[ο]υς . . . . . μων
5	μα . . . δέρματα	20 [ . . . . . σ]ὺν προστίμοις
	[ἀπὸ τ]ῶν ὑπαρχόντων	[καὶ?] μηκέτι μηδε . εἰν . .
	ἐν τῷ ἀποδοχίῳ	[. . .]· αριᾶ ἐπ . . . . .
	ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ (ἔτους?) κθ	. . [·]σηρ . τωξε . . ου οὖν . .
	ἐγλήψεως κεφα( ) ρλ,	[. . . . .]·  ἀπενηνεγμέν-
10	καὶ προσεξέθηκα, ἥν	25 [α παρ' Ἀπο]λλώνιον σκυτέα
	εὐρίσκηται εἰς ἄλλους τόπους	[τῶν] ἀπὸ Μέσφεως τὸν καὶ
	μετακεκομισμένα, δεῖν	[. . .]μοκιλμαν καλούμενον
	γραφῆναι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου	[ὄνπερ?] καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους μετα-
	τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ στρατηγοῦ	[κεκομ]ικέναι αὐτὰ ἀπάτη
15	τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παρα-	30 [. . . . .]ια τοῦ ἐρημοφ[ύλακος
	σφραγίσασθαι καὶ ἐξαποσ-	[. . . . .]ελον εἰληφέναι
		[. . . . .]φοῦν τῷ περι
		[. . . . .] . . . . .
		[ἀν]αφέρω οὖν.

8. (ἔτους) corr.?

7. ἀποδοχίαι: cf. P. Petrie II. 32 (1) 5 βασιλικὸν ταμιεῖον δερ[μά]των. The mention of an ἐγληψις in l. 9 points to a monopolized industry.

9. κεφα( ) (?) is obscure; there has perhaps been some alteration. The number ρλ should refer to δέσματα, if that word has been rightly read in l. 5.

10. ἡάν: cf. P. Par. 58. 11, Mayser, *Gram.* i. 77.

13. For Ptolemaeus cf. 736. 54, 788. 1.

15. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους as the object of παρασφραγίσσασθαι is unexpected, but seems to be confirmed by what follows.

21-3. These three lines are very obscure. In l. 22 αεπ may be λεγο, but οἱ λεγο is inadmissible unless it be supposed that the ο was joined on to a vertical stroke. The infinitival construction is resumed in ll. 28 sqq.

24. There is no trace of the final α of ἀπευνηγεμένα, though there is room for it. Some ink-marks above the beginning of the word may represent an interlineation.

26. Μέμφεως was not written though perhaps meant.

30. ]α is presumably part of a personal name, e.g. [Ἐρμε]ία.

32. ἀ]φ' or ἰ]φ' οὐ?

## 802. COMPLAINT OF A SHIP'S GUARD.

68.

20.6 × 15.2 cm.

B.C. 135.

Notification to an epistates from the custodian of the state-barge of the strategus reporting that the occupants of a boat after damaging the tackle of his vessel had made an assault upon himself,—in the absence, evidently, of the strategus.

(Ἔτους) λς Ἀθῦ[ρ ? ι]α.

[Δημη]ητρίῳ τ[ῶ]ν διαδόχων καὶ ἰπάρχη

ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπιστάτει [

παρὰ Πασαλ[ᾶ]τος τοῦ Ἀρμάιος τοῦ [

5 ναυφυλακοῦντος τῆ[ν] Ἀπολλωνίου

τῶν (πρώτων) φίλων καὶ στρα(τηγοῦ) καὶ ἐ[πὶ τῶν

προσόδων θαλαμηγόν. τῆι [λ ? το]ῦ

Φαῶφι τοῦ λς (ἔτους) τῆς δε[δε]λαμμένης

θαλαμηγοῦ οὔσης ἐφόρμ[ου] ἐπελθόντες

10 τινὲς ἐν τῷ ἐαυτῶν πλοίῳ[ι]

ἐκτὸς α . [ . . . ] προσόρμισαν καὶ τινα

τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄπλω[ν] ἐξέκλασαν,

οἷς καὶ ἐπιτιμήσαντός μου ὅπως

διαχωρισθῶσι, οἱ δ' ἐμπεδήσαντες

15 φωνὰς ἀπρεπεῖς προείεγντο κάμοι

πληγὰς καὶ πλείους ἔδωκαν,



ὡστ' ἂν ἐν τῇ ἀψιμαχίαι ἀπολέσαι με  
 ἰμάτιον ἄξιον χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμῶν) 'Γ[ ] χω[ρ]ῖς τῶν  
 ἐκκλασθέντων ὄπ[λων ἀ ἧ]ν  
 20 ἄξια ὁμοίως χα(λκοῦ) (δραχμῶν) 'Γ. [ἀξιῶ οὖν  
 συ[ντά]ξι καὶ ἀπ[. . . . .  
 . . . [ . . . ]ους δ . [ . . . . .  
 [ . . . ] . [εὐτύχει.

7. θαλαμηγον corr. from -ωι. 14. οι corr.

'The 36th year, Hathur 11. To Demetrius, one of the diadochi, hipparch over men and epistates, from Paalas son of Harmais, ship's-guard of the barge of Apollonius, one of the first friends and strategus and superintendent of revenues. On the (30th?) of Phaophi of the 36th year, the said barge being at anchor, certain persons approaching in their own boat came to anchor outside it (?) and broke away some of our gear, and when I rebuked them so that they might keep clear, they leapt on board with unseemly shouts and gave me many blows, with the result that in the tussle I lost a cloak worth 3,000 drachmae of copper as well as the broken gear, which was worth likewise 3,000 dr. of copper. I beg you therefore to give orders . . . Farewell.'

3. For the phrase ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν cf. 54. 2, n., Lesquier, *Inst. mil. sous les Lagides*, pp. 84 sqq. An oblique ink-mark near the edge of the papyrus at the end of the line seems to have been accidental: *not* χ[αίρειν. A local name, if anything, would be expected.

5. ναυφυλακοῦντος: only in Eustath. *Od.* p. 1562. 36.

5-6. Ἀπολλωνί[ου] . . . στρα(τηγοῦ): cf. P. Amh. 35. 1-2, of B.C. 132.

11. Perhaps αὐ[τῆ]ς, sc. τῆς θαλαμηγοῦ.

17. ὡστ' ἂν: so e.g. 39. 33, 50. 14; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* ii. 300.

### 803. PETITION OF CROWN CULTIVATORS.

57.

6.5 × 9.3 cm.

Late second century B.C.

Fragment of a petition from the Crown cultivators of Oxyrhyncha (cf. 786-9), who give interesting figures of the great reduction in their numbers caused, they say, by various acts of injustice. The document was probably written, like others from the same cartonnage, in the reign of Euergetes II. Cf., at a later period, P. Graux 2 (SB. 7462), Thead. 17.

Ἀμεινίαι τῶν διαδόχων καὶ ἱππάρχῃ  
 καὶ ἐ[ι]πιστάτῃ 'Οξυρύγχων παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν.  
 ἐπεὶ ἦμεν τὸ πρότερον ἄνδρες ρμ  
 5 ἕνεκα δὲ τῶν συντετελεσμένων εἰς

ἡμᾶς ἀδικημάτων ἅπαντές ἐσμεν μ,  
καίπερ εἰ μισθ[. . . . .] . . . . τῶν ᾧ

. . . . .

4. η of ἡμεν corr. from ε.

‘To Ameinias, one of the diadochi, hipparch, and epistates of Oxyrhyncha, from the Crown cultivators of the said village. Whereas we were formerly 140 men but because of the injustices done to us are 40 in all, although . . .’

#### 804. NOTIFICATION OF BURGLARY.

19.

16 × 8.1 cm.

B.C. 112?

Beginning of a notice sent to an epistates that a house had been broken into. The fifth year mentioned in l. 9 seems more likely to refer to the reign of Soter II than to the joint reign of Philometor and Euergetes II. On the verso are some illegible remains.

Ποσειδωνίῳ ἐπισ-  
τάτει Τ[εβτύνεως ?  
παρὰ Πά[. . .] . . . . .  
τοῦ Πάσιτος γεω[ργοῦ  
5 τῶν ἐκ τῆς α[ύτης  
κώμης. [τῆι νυκτὶ  
τῆι φερο[ύση]ι εἰς Τ[ῆν  
ε τοῦ Φαμενῶθ  
τοῦ ε (ἔτους) ἐβιάσαντό  
10 τινες εἰς τὴν  
ὑπάρχουσάν μοι  
οἰκίαν καὶ ὑπορύξαν-  
τες τὸ σταθμὸν εἰς-  
ἦλθον εἰς τὴν προσ-  
15 τάδα, ἐμοῦ δὲ διεγερ-  
θέντος καὶ βοήσαν-  
τος ἀνθρώπου  
[. . .] . . . . .] . νᾶλα  
. . . . .

17. π of ἀνθρώπου rewritten.

‘To Poseidonius, epistates of Tebtunis, from Pa . . . son of Pasis, cultivator from the said village. On the night preceding the 5th of Phamenoth of the 5th year certain persons forced their way into my house and having undermined the doorpost entered the vestibule. I woke up and shouted for help . . .’

9. *ἐβιάσαντο* is based on the apparent *β*, but is unsatisfactory, the first *α* being more suggestive of *ε*. *ὑπερέβησαν* (cf. e.g. 798. 2), though giving the *ε*, is hardly obtainable.

13. *σταθμόν* not *-μόιον* was probably written. The neuter is common in the plural but for the singular the only authority seems to be a gloss cited by Stephanus.

16. *βοήσαντος ἀνθρώπου*: cf. P. Enteux. 80. 11, 81. 9, and 798. 18, n.

### 805. COMPLAINT OF BREACH OF CONTRACT.

39 (a).

15 × 11.2 cm.

B.C. 113.

In this incomplete petition to the comarch of Oxyrhyncha a cultivator of Crown land ventilated some grievance against a fellow-villager to whom he had sub-let part of his holding. The terms of their agreement are stated, but the text breaks off before the ground of complaint is explained.

Πετεσούχωι κωμάρχηι Ὁξυρύγχων  
 παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πα . . . εἰτου βασιλι-  
 κοῦ γεωργοῦ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς. μισ-  
 θώσαντός μου Πετεσούχωι Τεῶτος  
 5 τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἀφ' ἧς  
 γεωργῶ περὶ τὴν κώμην βασιλικῆς  
 γῆς (ἀρούρας) γδ' ἢ εἰς τὸ δ (ἔτος) ἐκφορίου τὴν  
 ἄρουραν ἐκάστην χα(λκοῦ) τα(λάντων) ε ἐφ' ὧι σπερεῖ  
 σκόρδωι κατὰ συγγραφὴν μισθώσεως  
 10 Αἰγυπτίαν, διαστησαμένο[υ μο]υ [πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὧι ἀποδώσειν μοι ἕ[ως τῆς λ ?  
 τοῦ Φαμενώθ τοῦ δ (ἔτους) ἢ ἀπομετρή-  
 σειν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν εἰς  
 τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς τοῦ ὑπολειφθη-  
 15 σομένου χα(λκοῦ) πυρὸν ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης  
 χαλκοῦ (δραχμῶν ?) ψ, τοῦ δ' ἐγκαλουμένου  
 Πετεσούχου Τεῶτος [. . . . .] . . .

On the verso

Πετεςούχῳι κωμάρχῃι Ὀξυρύγχ[ων.

‘To Petesouchus, comarch of Oxyrhyncha, from Ptolemaeus son of P . . . , Crown cultivator from the said village. I leased to Petesouchus son of Teos, an inhabitant of the said village, out of the Crown land which I cultivate at the village  $3\frac{2}{3}$  arurae for the 4th year at a rent per arura of 5 talents of copper, on condition that he should sow it with garlic, by an Egyptian contract of lease, having agreed with him that he should pay before the 30th (?) of Phamenoth of the 4th year or else should measure to the royal granary towards the rent of the land on my behalf, for the residue of the copper, wheat at the rate of 700 copper drachmae per artaba. The accused Petesouchus son of Teos . . . (Addressed) To Petesouchus, comarch of Oxyrhyncha.’

14-16. Any balance of the 5 talents was to be converted to wheat at the rate of one artaba for 700 dr. and so paid over on the lessor's behalf to the government. The somewhat low valuation (720 dr. in 224 was the lowest price in Vol. I; cf. p. 584, Heichelheim, *Wirtsch. Schwank.* pp. 121-2) told of course in favour of the lessor.

## VII. DECLARATIONS AND APPLICATIONS.

### 806. PROPERTY-RETURN.

26.

28.8 x 6 cm.

B.C. 139.

Returns of property have been conspicuous by their absence in the later Ptolemaic period and it is unfortunate that in the following brief declaration, made by a cavalry-soldier to a basilicogrammateus, the nature of the property is obscure; cf. n. on l. 11. The document, which is written in a large rude hand, no doubt belongs, like others from the same mummy, to the reign of Euergetes II. On the verso are the beginnings of 17 lines of cursive writing, probably a draft, the first line being Ἀπολλ[ωνίωι.

2nd hand? [ ]ζ.

1st hand [ . . . ]νι βασιλικῶ  
[γραμ]ματεῖ παρ' Εὐ-  
[τύχο]ν τοῦ Εὐτύ-  
5 [χου] Ἀκαρνᾶν{ν}ος  
[τῶν] Δημητρίου  
[καὶ] τῶν υἱῶν

[ . . . ] . ιτον παρωι-

[ . . . ]α. ταγήτω οὖν

[μοι] ἢ ἀπογραφῆ

[έν χ]ρηματισμῶ

15 [ὄπω]s μὴ ἐξ ὑστέ-

[ρου σ]υκοφαντηθῶ.

εὐτύχι.

[τῆς] δ ἵπ(παρχίας) (έκατον- [[(έτους) λα] Μεσορῆ κα.  
ταρούρων). ἀπο-  
[γράφο]μαι τῆν. 2nd hand ] . . . γρ( )  
10 [ὑπά]ρχουσαν 20 ((έτους) λα Μεσ(ορῆ) κγ.

10. σ corr.

2-18. 'To . . . unis, basilicogrammateus, from Eutychnus son of Eutychnus, Acarnanian of the 100-arurae-holders of Demetrius and his sons in the 4th hipparchy. I return the . . . belonging to me. Let this return be placed on record for me, in order that I may not subsequently be calumniated. Farewell. The 31st year, Mesore 21.'

7. τῶν νιῶν: cf. e.g. P. Grenf. II. 15. 14, Magd. 1. 1-2.

11. Unless the grammar has gone astray, -ον should be an adjective of two terminations and παρω[. . .]α a fem. substantive in -is, but a suitable restoration is not obvious. With regard to the letters before ον, ιτ may perhaps be γγ or π, and a preceding vestige is consistent with α, κ, λ, μ, η, σ, χ.

14. Cf. 793. vi. 26, η.

19. The official subscription may well be connected with the request of ll. 12 sqq., but κ]αταγράφ(οσῆ)τω is not a satisfactory reading.

## 807. APPLICATION FOR LEASE OF CROWN LAND.

13.

12·5 × 8·5 cm.

B.C. 152-1.

Fragment of an offer to lease Crown land at the village of Persea, in the division of Heracleides; the rent, it appears, was now to be increased (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat*, 33-5). On the verso is part of an official note or draft of a report concerning the land in question.

Recto

Περσέας γεωργούντος  
[πε]ρὶ τὴν αὐτὴν γῆς  
ἀρ(ούρας) νβ ὧν ἐκφόριον ἀρ(τάβαι) ροβ  
ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος  
5 ἐκ τῆς γενομένης  
ὑπὸ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ  
γενομένου ὑποδιοι-  
κητοῦ μισθώσεως  
ἀνὰ δ ἀρ(ταβῶν) ση, ὧν ὕφισ-

10 [τ]ἀμέθα γεωργήσειν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ λ (ἔτους) σπόρου  
 ὡς κ . . . [ . . . ] παρὰ τοῦ

. . . . .  
 3. ν of νβ corr.? 9. ω of ων corr. 1. ἄς?

## Verso

2nd hand

. . . . .  
 τοπαρ . [ . . ] . . . [ . . . . . . . . . . ]  
 ἐπισκο[πῶ]ν εὐρίσ[κω τὸν  
 15 δηλοῦ[με]νον γεωργ[οῦν]τα  
 γῆς ἀρ(ούρας) . [ . ] ἴς' λ' β' ἀρ(ταβῶν) ρο[β],  
 καὶ εἶναι [τ]ῆν ἀξίαν . [ . . . . . ]  
 ἀνὰ δ ση, τὸ πλεῖ[στον] λς,  
 ὃ καὶ ἔσ[τι]ν ἀπὸ τοῦ γ[ενομένου]  
 20 κουφισ[μο]ῦ ὑπὸ Σαραπ[ίωνος]  
 τοῦ ὑπο[διο]ικητοῦ ἐν τ[ῶ]ι ? κ (ἔτει)  
 συνχ[ωρ]ῶν τοῖς γε[ωργοῖς]  
 εἰς ἔτ[η] ι τοῦ χροῦ[ου]  
 τῆς [μι]σθώσεως . [ . . . . . ]  
 25 μετ[ρησ]ῆσθω . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 ἀπὸ [τῶν] ι (ἐτῶν) ἀρ(τάβας) μ[ . . . . . ]  
 α . . . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . . .

22. 1. συνχ[ωρ]οῦντος.

6-8. Cf. ll. 20-3. This Sarapion was most probably the ὑποδιοικήτης so prominent in the Serapeum papyri, who is known from P. Brit. Mus. 20. 14-15 (= U.P.Z. 22) to have visited the Arsinoïte nome just 10 years earlier than the date of 807.

13. The remains of the letter after ρ do not suggest χ.

16. The number was no doubt approximately the same as in l. 3, but whether greater or less cannot be determined.

20-1. Cf. 72. 443-6 προ[ο]σαγγελέντος . . . ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ διοικ[η]τήσαντος [δ]πότε ἐπέβαλε ἐπὶ τοῖς τόπους κεκουφίσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκφορίων κτλ. For κ (ἔτει) see n. on ll. 6-8.

23. ἔτ[η]ι: cf. l. 26 and 710, introd.

25. οἶν is apparently not to be read after μετ[ρ.] ; perhaps ἀν . [ . ]

26. μ rather than λς is suggested.

27. This was a short line and perhaps the note ended here.

## 808. APPLICATION FOR TRANSFER OF LAND.

80.

16.2 x 8.4 cm.

B.C. 140?

Concluding portion of an application from a holder of three arurae that his land should be transferred in the official lists to the name of another person, who had paid him his dues. That the land was βασιλική is most likely in itself and is made the more probable by the fact that the land concerned in another still more fragmentary application apparently of the same sort and from the same mummy certainly belonged to that category. The signature of the applicant is written in rude capitals at the foot.

. . . . .

· [ κλη]ρ[ος  
 ἀ]νειλημ]μένος δὲ εἰς τ[ὸ] βασιλικόν,  
 β[ορρ]ᾶ Θεο[δώ]ρου φυλακτικὸς κλη]ρος,  
 λ[ι]βὸς γῆ [βα]σιλικῆ ἣν γεωργεῖ  
 5 · [·] . . . ισ[·] . . . μαιος, ἀπηλιώτου  
 Φ[·] . . . [·] . . . αἰο[·] . . . εσύμιος, καὶ ἀπέχω  
 π[α]ρ' [αὐτοῦ] τὸ κάτεργον τῆς γῆς  
 [καὶ τὰ ἀ]νηλώματα. ἐπιδίδωμι  
 [οὔ]ν σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως  
 10 [με]ταθῆς [τ]ὰς γ ἀρ(ούρας) εἰς τὸ τοῦ  
 [Π]τολεμαίου ὄνομα ἐν τῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ (ἔτους)  
 [δια]γραφῇ τοῦ σπόρου καὶ τῇ  
 [κα]τὰ φύλλ[ο]ν γεωμετρίαι διὰ τῶν  
 ἐ[ί]θισμένων, ὡς καθήκει.  
 15 [ ] [(ἔτους)] λ Χοί[α]χ ιθ.  
 2nd hand [Μ]ύσθης παρα-  
 [χ]ωρήσωι τὰς τρεῖς  
 [ἀρο]ύρας τῆς γῆς  
 ὡς πρόκειται.

. . . . .

14. καθη corr.

16. Second ω of [χ]ωρησωι corr.

‘... [The boundaries are on the south] the holding of ... which has been confiscated, on the north the guard’s holding of Theodorus, on the west the Crown land cultivated

by . . . son of . . . ais, on the east the land of Ph . . . son of . . . is, and I have received from him the wages for the land and the expenses. I therefore present to you the memorandum in order that you may transfer the 3 arurae to the name of Ptolemaeus in the sowing-list of the said year and in the survey according to crops through the usual officials, as is right. 30th year, Choiak 19. (Signed) I, Musthes, will hand over the 3 arurae of land as aforesaid.'

7. *κάτεργον*: cf. e.g. P. Hibeh 119. 4 and n.

12-13. For the *διαγραφὴ τοῦ σπάρου* cf. 703. 57-60, n., and for the *κατὰ φ. γεωμετρία* e.g.

38. 3, 75. 5.

15. This line was possibly added by another hand. *εἰτύχει* seems not to have preceded (*ἔτους*).

### 809. DECLARATION CONCERNING A DIVORCE.

13.

19.6 × 15.2 cm.

B.C. 156. Plate IV

The loss of the beginning of this document, which seems to have been the preliminary of a divorce, is unfortunate. It is in the form of a letter, and the few lines remaining mention sums of gold and silver, which presumably formed the wife's dowry (cf. l. 2, n.), and make the stipulation that the contract of cohabitation should be annulled. An oath by the sovereigns to carry out the foregoing undertaking is appended. Since the person who was to annul the contract is referred to in the third person, the letter was probably addressed not to the wife herself but to a parent or other responsible member of her family; cf. n. on ll. 4-6.

. . . ρδ . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . ς  
 φξ . . . [ . . . ] ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) τριάκοντα  
 ἕξ, / ἀργυ(ρ.) (δρ.) λς, χρυσίου τετάρτας  
 τέσσαρας, / χρυ(σ.) δ' δ, ἐφ' ᾧ συν-  
 5 ἀρεῖται μοι ἦν ἔχει ἡμῶν συν-  
 οικεσίου συγγραφὴν.  
 ἔρρ(ωσο). (ἔτους) κε Τῦβι κα.  
 ὀμνύω βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ  
 βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τ[ὴν  
 10 ἀδελφὴν καὶ τοὺς τούτων  
 προγόνους ποιήσειν ἀκολούθως.



‘ . . . thirty-six drachmae of silver, total 36 dr. silver, and four quarters of gold, total 4 qrs. gold, on condition that she (?) annuls with me our contract of cohabitation. Good-bye. The 25th year, Tubi 21.

I swear by King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra his sister and their ancestors that I will act accordingly.’

2. φερν[ῆς] looks likely here and is a possible reading, though somewhat short for the space.

4-6. It is natural to suppose that the subject of *συναρείται* was the wife; cf. P. Oxy. 266. 11 sqq. *συγγραφὴν συνοικεσίου . . . ἧς τὴν ἐπίφορον αὐτόθεν ἀναδεωκέειν αὐτῷ* [κεχρισμένην εἶς ἀκύρωσιν ἐνεκα τοῦ ἀναζυγῆν τοῦ γάμου γενέσθαι. For *συναρείται* cf. B.G.U. 975. 15 *συνῆρ[σ]θαι τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήρου* (l. ἀλλήλ.) *συμβίωσιν*, P. Leizp. 27. 15 (M. 293), C.P.R. 23. 17 (M. 294), and P. Reinach 8. 7-8 *συναλλαγ[μάτων αὐτῶ] συνηρμένων ἅμα τῆ σ[υ]γγραφῆ ταύ[τη] ἀναφερομένη, 31. 8-9 συναλλάγματος δαν[είου οὐ συνῆρται αὐτῷ ἅμα τῆ σ[υ]γγρ. ταύτ. ἀναφερομένη*. In the two last passages the verb was mistranslated by Reinach ‘conclue(s) avec lui’; since the *συναλλάγματα* were being replaced by new contracts, they were naturally cancelled when the new ones were formally presented. Mitteis in reprinting P. Leizp. 27 in *Chrest.* 293, following a suggestion of Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* I. 5, stated that *συνῆρσθαι* is a contracted form of *συνηρῆσθαι*, an explanation sufficiently improbable in itself and now definitely put out of court by the occurrence of the future *συναρείται* in the present passage. The erroneous translation and derivation were both adopted in Preisigke’s *Wörterb.*

### 810. DECLARATION ON OATH.

38.

16 × 13.8 cm.

B.C. 134.

An affidavit by a ship’s captain, the purport of which, owing to the mutilation of the papyrus, remains in doubt; the prescript, however, which records some new names of holders of the eponymous priesthoods, is of interest. For the oath formula cf. 811 and e.g. P. Eleph. 23, SB. 5680, and on ὄρκοι βασιλικοί in general E. Seidl, *Der Eid im ptol. Recht*, P. Enteux. 26. 5-6, n.<sup>1</sup>

[Βασιλευόντων Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν]  
 [Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλίσ]σης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ [β]α[σι]λί[σ]σ[η]ς  
 [Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς] ἔτους ἕκτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἐφ’ ἱερέως  
 [Πτολεμαίου τοῦ γενομένου] ἐγ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης  
 5 [Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς? π]ρεσβυτάτου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν  
 [Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν] καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλο-  
 [πατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶ]ν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος καὶ θεοῦ Φιλομήτορος  
 [καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος Ἰσιδώρας  
 [τῆς . . . ., κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Φιλυλλιοῦς τῆς Φιλώτου,  
 10 [ἱερέας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτο]ρος Τιμοῦς τῆς Θ[ε] . . . . .υκου μνη[ρ]ος Α[ρ]ύδ-

<sup>1</sup> In l. 8 of that papyrus ἀπο[τίσει]ν μοι αὐτὴν (δραχμαὶς) φ ἡ seems a likely restoration.

[ναίου ἐβδόμηι, Ἐπειφ ἐβδόμηι, ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλει τῆι ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν.  
 ὄρκος ὃν ᾤμοσεν ὑφ' ὃν] καὶ ἐχειρογράφησεν Πτολεμάρχῳ  
 [. . . . .] καὶ στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων  
 [. . . . .] Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀθηναῖος κυβερνήτης  
 15 [. . . . .] κοντ]ωτοῦ. ὀμνύω βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ  
 [βασιλίσσαν Κλεοπάτραν τ]ῆν ἀδελφὴν καὶ βασιλίσσαν Κλεοπάτραν  
 [τὴν γυναῖκα θεοῦς Εὐ]εργέτας καὶ θ[εὸν] Φιλομήτορα καὶ θεὸν  
 [Εὐπάτορα καὶ θεοῦς Ἐπι]φανεῖς καὶ θεοῦς Φιλοπάτορας καὶ θεοῦς  
 [Εὐεργέτας καὶ θεοῦς Ἀ]δελφούς καὶ θεοῦς Σωτήρας καὶ τὸν Σάραπιν  
 20 [καὶ τὴν Ἴσιω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλ]ους θεοῦς πάντας καὶ πάσας εἰ μὴν  
 [. . . . .] διοικητοῦ α . . ἀγω . . ἐπιστατείας ἐπα  
 [. . . . .] χρηματισμοῖς εἰ . . λ . [.] . . ορου τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ  
 [. . . . .] μοι . . . ν . ε . περι τῶν . . . . . ἀρ . [.] .  
 [. . . . .] δρα]χμῶν πεντακισχιλίων . . . . κα . . . [

some remains of six more lines

12. πολεμαρχῳ over an expunction?

5. In comparison with l. 3 the supplement is somewhat long, though not unduly so, since the scribe is irregular. As both queens have been named, and 'the sister' as well as 'the wife' may have had more than one son by the king, it would apparently be necessary to specify which was meant. It is known from other sources that Soter II held the priesthood of Alexander for several years between B.C. 115 and 106 (cf. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* i. 182-3), and there is no difficulty in supposing that he began to do so at an earlier date. The exact year of his birth is doubtful, but he may well have been seven or eight years of age when this papyrus was written. Or if ἀδελφῆς be substituted for γυναῖκός, Ptolemy Memphites may be supposed to be meant.

10. Not Σε[λ]εύκου apparently.

11. For the supplement (again a trifle long, perhaps; see l. 5, n.) cf. the inscription published by Wilcken in *Archiv* v. 410-16, which shows that the first assimilation of the calendars lasted till Gorpiaeus-Phamenoth 29 of the 35th year at least, i.e. little more than a year and three months earlier than the date of 810.

12. ὑφ' ὃν: cf. 811. 11. χειρογραφεῖν and ὑποχειρογραφεῖν ὄρκον are also used; cf. 815. Fr. I verso iv. 20 and e.g. Rev. Laws xxvii. 5-6, P. Petrie III. 25. 28-9; Kunkel, *Z. Sav.* li. 265-9.

13. Perhaps ἀρχισωματοφύλακι, or another of the court titles, at the beginning of the line.

14. [τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου is a not unlikely supplement.

15. Ἐ.ḡ. [πλοῖον βασιλικού, but κοντῶτον (if that word is rightly read) may have been used without πλοῖον, as in P. Hibeh 39. 4.

20. εἰ μὴν: so e.g. 22. 13, 78. 15, 282. 3.

## 811. DECLARATION ON OATH.

44.

11 x 17.5 cm.

B.C. 165. Plate IV

Upper part of an affidavit, similar to 810. The text breaks off before the nature of the declaration, which was made to a contractor for the tax on sales, is made clear, but there is reason to think that it was concerned with a manumission; cf. n. on l. 21. It is written in a careful upright hand, pauses in the sense being marked by blank spaces in ll. 11 and 14.

[Βασιλευόντων Πτ]ολεμαίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 [καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελ]φ[ῆς] τ[ῶν Πτ]ο[λ]εμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας  
 [θε]ῶν 'Ε[πι]φανῶν ἔ[τ]ρους πέμπτου ἐφ' ἱερέως Μελλικομάνου  
 [τοῦ . . . . . Ἀλεξ]άνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν  
 5 [κ]αὶ θεῶν Ε[ὐ]εργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπι-  
 [φανῶν] κ[αὶ θε]ῶν Φιλομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος  
 [. . . . . τῆς] Νουμηνίου, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου  
 [. . . . . τῆς] Εὐμήλου, ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος  
 Κλεαινέτης τῆ[ς] Νουμηνίου, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ἔννεακαι-  
 10 δεκάτη Παῦνι ἔννεακαιδεκάτη, ἐν Κροκοδίω[ν πόλει  
 τοῦ Ἀρσινόϊτου νομοῦ. ὄρκος δὲν ὤμοσεν ὑφ' ὃν καὶ ὑπεχειρο-  
 γράφησεν Διογένηι τῷ ἐξειληφότι τὴν τοῦ ἐγκυκλίου ὠνήν  
 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος Ἀδραστὸς Ἀδράστου Ἐστιεὺς [τ]ῶ[ν παρὰ] ?  
 Νουμηνίου δεκανικός. ὀμνύω βασιλέ[α Πτολεμαίον  
 15 καὶ βασιλέα Πτολεμαίον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ βασιλίσσαν  
 Κλεοπάτραν τ[ὴν ἀδελ]φ[ὴν] τοὺς ἐγ βασιλέω[ς Πτολεμαίου  
 καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλ]εοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν θεοὺς  
 Φιλομήτορας καὶ θεοὺς Ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ θεοὺς Φιλοπάτορας  
 καὶ θεοὺς Εὐεργέ[τας] καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφούς καὶ θεοὺς Σωτήρας  
 20 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους [θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας . . . . . ἐ-  
 λευθερῶ παιδῶ[ν]  
 τεταγμένους τὰ  
 Ἐπιφάνους βασιλικῶ γραμματέως ?  
 . . . . .

9-10. The evidence of this double date was utilized by Smyly, *Hermathena*, 1905, pp. 393-8; cf. P. Hibeh, p. 352.

14. δεκανικός: cf. 815. Fr. 7. 28 and P. Hibeh 30. 13, n.

21. The remains support *παῖδα* or *·δα[ς* against *-δι*, and this in conjunction with the absence of the iota adscript, which the scribe writes elsewhere (ll. 10, 12), makes it probable that *ἐλευθερῶ* is a verb, not an adjective. This view will suit the fact that the oath was made to the farmer of the tax on sales, and the occurrence of *τεταγμένος* in l. 22; cf. P. Oxy. 48-9 (M. 359), where freedom was obtained by purchase and officially recognized after notification from, probably, the farmers of the *ἐγκύκλιον*. The procedure there exemplified would thus have descended from the Ptolemaic period; cf. P. Hibeh 29. 6-7, Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptol. Egypt*, 61: the *ἐγκύκλιον* is discussed *ibid.* pp. 42-5.

23. Ἐπιφάνους: cf. e.g. 114. 6.

## 812. OFFER FOR POST WITH TAX-FARMERS.

16.

25.2 x 18.7 cm.

B.C. 192-1?

In this interesting text an offer was made to pay to the farmers of the tax on sales of a given year 500 drachmae per month, making one talent for the year, for the *μυσταγωγία* of the tax, some duties in connexion with it being briefly specified. *μυσταγωγία* is not a word that has previously occurred in papyri and it appears here, somewhat unexpectedly, in what must be the rarely found metaphorical sense (cf. l. 5, n.). The applicant wished to learn the business of the tax on sales and for this 'initiation' was prepared to pay a premium analogous to that of a modern apprentice in a trade or of an articulated clerk in a learned profession. Can the procedure exemplified in this papyrus have been usual? If so, the tax-farmers may be supposed to have formed a sort of association, entry into which was accompanied by a fee; cf. San Nicolò, *Vereinswesen* i. 129 sqq., ii. 27. It would, of course, have been to the advantage of the tax-farmers to obviate competition so far as possible.

On the verso are some remains of an account.

[. . .]πφ[ι,] Ἀνικήται, Πτολεμαίωι,  
 Ἰσιδώρω[ι,] τοῖς ἐξειληφόσιν  
 τὸ ἐγκύκλιον εἰς τὸ ἰδ (ἔτος),  
 παρ' Ἀπ[ολλ]ωνίου τοῦ Ἐρμογένους.  
 5 ὑφίσταμαι τῆς μυσταγωγίας  
 τοῦ ἐγκυκλίου, ἐφ' ὧι λαμβάνων  
 τὰ καθήκοντ[α] σύμβολα  
 πρὸς τε τὸν τραπεζίτην καὶ  
 τὸν ἀγο[ρα]νόμον)] μετ' ἀπάνπραγματεύ-

[. . .] . . . τως  
 10 σομαι μ[. . .] τὰ τ[ῶ]ν ιδιωτῶν  
 [ὄπω]ς ἂν μὴ [τι δ]ιαπέσει τῆι  
 ᾧ[ν]ῆι, τοῦ μηνὸς (δραχμὰς) φ, ὃ γίγνε-  
 [ται] τοῦ ἕτ[ρο]υς τάλαντον) α. συμπραγμα-  
 [τε]ύσεται δὲ μετ' ἐμοῦ  
 15 [. . .] ἰλοῖς . [. . .] . . . χων ἄνευ  
 [. . .] φ[. . .] (ἔτους) ιδ . . . .] ιε. [

‘ Το . . . pus, Anicetus, Ptolemaeus, and Isidorus, contractors for the tax on sales for the 14th year, from Apollonius son of Hermogenes. I undertake to pay for the initiation of the tax on sales, on condition that, taking the proper receipts as regards the banker and agoranomus, I [rightly?] conduct with them the business of the individuals so that the contract incurs no loss, 500 drachmae a month, which makes 1 talent for the year. . . . will act with me . . . The 14th year, Thoth(?) 15.’

5. Cf. e.g. P. Eleph. 21. 16 ἰπιστάμεθα [τῶν] λ (ἀρουρῶν) (δραχμὰς) . . . The use of *μισταγωγία* is somewhat similar to that of the verb in Strabo xvii, p. 812 ὁ γούν ἡμέτερος ξένος . . . αὐτόθι μισταγωγῶν ἡμᾶς συνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην κτλ.; cf. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 59.

8. *πρός* may be constructed with *καθήκοντα*, or τὰ γινόμενα may be understood; *σύμβολον ποιείσθαι πρὸς τινα* is the regular phrase.

9. The abbreviation of *ἀγορανόμον*, though not very satisfactory, seems unavoidable. For *ἀτῶν* cf. 727. 8, n.

10-11. Some of the readings adopted are very insecure, but probably do not misrepresent the general sense. In l. 10 the inserted word could be [ἐν]ἀρέτως, ἀρεστῶς, or just possibly [δ]εόντως, and perhaps μ[άλα] would serve below; an μ is more suitable than η (e.g. ἦ[δη]). In l. 11 the letters μη, though broken, are nearly certain and the preceding ν very probable, αι or λι being the alternatives.

15-16. Possibly [Δί]φιλος or [Ζ]ώϊλος, not [Ν]εῖλος. Further on *εχων* looks likely, but there is then the appearance of another ε preceding; *Πετρεχῶν* is inadmissible. At the beginning of l. 16 [γρα]φ[ῆς] suggests itself.

### 813. DECLARATION OF A COMOGRAMMATEUS.

II.

31.3 × 9 cm.

B.C. 186.

A formal undertaking by the comogrammateus of the village Bubastus to deliver to the local sitologi 350 artabae of wheat within fifteen days. This delivery had been specified in a report as due, but for what reason is not stated. Possibly it was connected with the appointment of the comogrammateus to office, though the amount is large in comparison with that paid by Menches at Kerkeosiris (10).

Φερόυς κωμογραμματεὺς  
 Βουβάστου Βακχίωι καὶ

Ποσειδωνίωι σειτολόγοις  
 χαίρειν. τὰς ἀνενη-  
 5 γμένας ὑπέρ μου  
 ἐν προσαγγέλματι  
 ἐν τῷ Ἄθῦρ μηνὶ  
 πυρῶν ἀρτ(άβας) τριακ[ο]σίας  
 πεντήκοντα, / τν,  
 10 ἀπομετρήσω ὑμῖν  
 [εἰ]ς τὸν ἐν Βουβάστωι  
 θησαυρὸν ἕως ιε  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός,  
 ἢ ἀποτείσω ἡμιόλιον  
 15 τ[ὸ] προγεγραμμέν[ο]ν  
 πλήθος.  
 ἔρρωσθε. (ἔτους) κ Ἄθῦρ α.

4. 1. ἀνηγεμένας. 12. εως corr.?

‘Pherotis, comogrammateus of Bubastus, to Bacchius and Poseidonius, sitologi, greeting. The three hundred and fifty, total 350, artabae of wheat returned for me in a report in the month of Hathur I will pay to you at the storehouse at Bubastus by the 15th of the said month, or I will forfeit one and a half times the aforesaid amount. Good-bye. The 20th year, Hathur 1.’

2-3. Bacchius may be identical with the sitologus of that name who, a year later, was at Hieria Nesus, as shown by **824**. For Poseidonius cf. **796. 2**.

## VIII. RECORDS AND ABSTRACTS.

### 814. RECORDS OF SALE OF FORFEITED PROPERTY.

8.

FR. I 31.2 × 15.4 cm.

B.C. 239 and 227.

The papyrus of which two columns, apparently not consecutive, are printed below is not quite easy to classify. Col. i consists of a series of extracts from documents relating to the official disposal to a woman of certain property on which she had a right of execution. The second column, which is narrower

and seems to have been the last of the roll, contains a short list, given twice over, of the members of a household subject to the salt-tax, followed by a copy of a record of payment of the tax on renewal of mortgage by one of the persons figuring in the previous list. These rather miscellaneous contents have the common feature that they are all concerned with taxation; they seem to be of the nature of memoranda put together in the office of one of the local officials. A small fragment giving the beginnings of a few lines of another column, in which the words ἀ δεῖ παραθῆναι occur twice, is not helpful. For the procedure at this period in executions on property the evidence hitherto has been scanty (cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* 19-20), and the information of Col. i is of considerable interest. The documents cited, placed in what we take to be their chronological order (see below), are as follows. (1) Lines 36-44, an ἐνεχυρασία or sequestration. A parallel to this exists in P. Hibeh 32, the text of which can now be improved (cf. n. on l. 4), but in the present case a fuller statement is made. The claimant, a woman named Theroüs acting with her guardian, having been given a right of execution by a judgement of the court of chrematistae against a certain Petesouchus, designated (παρέδειξεν) to an agent of the πράκτωρ (ξενικῶν, cf. l. 2, n.), comparable roughly to a sheriff, a vineyard belonging to the defaulter. (2) Lines 29-35, a καταβολή or acknowledgement of payment. This is a banker's receipt for the payment by Theroüs of the tax on a house. The explanation of this tax will be seen immediately. That the house was other property of Petesouchus is not stated, but appears likely. (3) Lines 1-9, a προσβολή, or assignment, showing that after an auction (διὰ κήρυκος, l. 1) the agent of the πράκτωρ assigned the vineyard which had been designated by Theroüs. (4) Two contracts of sale, dated the same day, by one of which (ll. 10-19) Theroüs, in accordance with assignments, purchased the house, by the other (ll. 20-8) the vineyard, from the agent of the πράκτωρ. The nature of the tax recorded in (2) is now evident: it was doubtless the tax on sales. But here the difficulty arises that this tax must have been paid on the sale of the vineyard as well as on that of the house. It is also noticeable, on the other hand, that the ἐνεχυρασία refers only to the vineyard. Possibly a second καταβολή and a second ἐνεχυρασία were cited in the next column, but if so they were out of their proper order, since not only should the two καταβολαί have stood together, but the ἐνεχυρασία of the house should, on the analogy of the contracts of sale and the assignments, have preceded that of the vineyard. The plural 'assignments' is used advisedly, for both purchases are stated to have been κατὰ προσβολήν (ll. 18, 28) and therefore the assignment of the house may safely be inferred to have been dealt with before that of the vineyard. Nothing seems to be gained, and a further complication is involved, by supposing the house not to have belonged to

Petesouchus, for why then should the paragraphs referring to it have been inserted among those dealing with the vineyard?

These, however, are minor obscurities which do not affect the main steps here disclosed in the procedure. The property of the defaulter designated in the *ἐνεχυρασία* was taken over by the government, put up to auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder, the sale being subsequently embodied in a formal contract between the government agent and the purchaser. That recourse was had to auction in such cases had already been inferred from the ordinance in 5. 231-5 τῶν βα(σιλικῶν) γεω(ργῶν) μὴ πωλεῖν ἕως οἰκίας μιᾶς κτλ. (cf. B. Schwarz, *Hypothek u. Hypallagma*, 99-100), but an actual example was lacking. In the present instance the purchaser happened to be the person to whom satisfaction was due. If someone else had made a higher offer, the creditor's claim would naturally have been met out of the price. If the sum bid, whether by the claimant or another, exceeded the amount of the claim, the excess presumably was handed back to the defaulter, after deduction of the expenses. More of a novelty is the contract of sale made with the agent of the *πράκτωρ*. This may throw a new light on the much-discussed passage in P. Flor. 56. ii (A.D. 234), καταγέγρα(μμαι) κατὰ τὰ προ[ο]τετ[αγμένα ἐξ<sup>1</sup> ἐ]νεχυρασί[α]ς καὶ προσβολ[ή]ς κατὰ συνχώρη]σιν τελειωθείσαν κτλ.; cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 106 sqq. Here, at any rate, are the same three factors, *ἐνεχυρασία*, *προσβολή*, and something of the nature of an agreement constituting ownership. That the tax was apparently paid before the contract of sale was drawn up, instead of, as with private sales, afterwards, causes no difficulty, since the contract was virtually concluded by the *προσβολή*.

This leads to a consideration of the dates occurring in the different documents quoted. The sale of the vineyard is dated the 8th year, Gorpiaeus 2, Phaophi 1 (l. 21), that of the house on the same day of the month in a year of which the number is missing (l. 10); but, apart from the improbability of the two sales having taken place on the same day in successive years, it is quite incredible that at this period the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars should in two such years show the same correspondence. The dates of the two sales were therefore identical. The receipt for the tax on the sale of the house is dated in the same 8th year, Mesore 25 (l. 30). If the year began on Thoth 1 there would thus have been between the sale and the payment of the tax an interval of nearly eleven months, which a comparison with other cases (e.g. P. Grenf. II. 15, 32, 35, Brit. Mus. 882, 1204) shows to be much too lengthy. Most probably, then, the year did not begin with Thoth but at some point between Phaophi and Mesore, which would suit either the financial year beginning on Mecheir 1 or in

<sup>1</sup> So probably to be restored in the light of P. Uppsala 10. 17; cf. Ljungvik's note *ad loc.*



this reign (probably that of Euergetes I) a regnal year beginning on Dios 25 (Choiak 6) the date of the king's accession. The payment of the tax accordingly preceded the contract of sale by approximately one month. In the *ἐνεχυρασία*, which obviously was the earliest of the documents cited, the number of the year is again lost (l. 37), but the month was Daisius, corresponding roughly to Epeiph. But Epeiph in a year beginning either in Mecheir or Choiak precedes Phaophi; hence the number of the year in the *ἐνεχυρασία* may also be 8, and in that case the interval between this and the payment of the tax was again about a month. Of the date of the *προσβολή* (ll. 1-3) nothing is preserved.

The contents of the last column of the papyrus are of minor importance. The list of names for the salt-tax is analogous to P. Lille 27 (addenda, p. 278); cf. P. Frankf. 5, P.S.I. 493, B.G.U. 1319-35 and introd. Its repetition may be due to the fact that the original declaration on which it was based was in duplicate, as e.g. P. Hibeh 3, Frankf. 5; or perhaps two years are referred to (l. 53, n.). For the tax on 'renewal' (*ἀνανέωσις*) of mortgage, cf. P. Oxy. 1105. 21, n., Schwarz, *op. cit.* 118. *ἀνανέωσις* has lately been rediscussed at length in Rostovtzeff-Welles, *A parchment contract of loan from Dura-Europus*, pp. 24-32, unfortunately without the complete text of P. Magd. 31 which is now available in P. Enteux. 15. Cf. also P. Enteux. 14. 4 and n. on 817. 19-20, Wenger, *Archiv* x. 134.

## Col. i.

[Ἀρσινοῖτου νομοῦ διὰ κήρυκος Ἀ[νδ]ρονίκου πρ[ο]σέβαλεν  
[Βοῖσκο]ς ὑπηρέτης Ἀλεξάνδρου πράκτορος ἀμπελῶν[α]  
ἐν ὧι ληνός.

- [ἄ]λλο μέρος τῆς α[ὐτ]ῆς προσ[βο]λῆς· τὰ παραδειχθέν-  
5 τα ὑπὸ Θερώτο[ς τῆ]ς Νεκταθύμιος Ἀρσινοῖτιδος  
μετὰ κυρίου Ἡρα[κλ]εΐδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσου  
τῶν ἐπέργων. ἄλλο μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς προσβολῆς·  
[Θερώτος δὲ ?] παραδειξά[σης] μετὰ κυρίου  
[Ἡρακλείδου τ]οῦ αὐτοῦ.  
10 [ὠνῆς μέρους ἀ]ντίγραφον· [(έτους) η Γορ]π[ι]αίου β Φαῶφι α  
[ἐν Κροκοδίλων π]όλει τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου νομ[οῦ], ἀγορα-  
[νομῶντος Νικ]ολάου. ἐπ[ρί]ατο Θερώτος Νεκ-  
[ταθύμιος Ἀρσινοῖτι]ς ὡς (έτων) ν με[ε]λίχρως στρογγυλο-  
[πρόσωπος βρα]χεῖα εὐ[θύρρι]ν, οὐλή] ὄφρ[ύ]ι δεξιῖαι,  
15 [μετὰ κυρίου Ἡρα]κλείδου [τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσου  
τῶν ἐπέργων ὡς] (έτων) με με[ε]λίχροος β]ραχεῖος

- [σκαμβοῦ σπα]νοπώγωνος.  
 [ἄλλο μέρος] τῆς αὐτῆς ὠνή[ς· κα]τὰ προσβολῆν  
 [οἰκία]ν καὶ πυλῶνα καὶ λουτρῶνα.
- 20 [ἄλ]λης ὠνῆς μέρους ἀντίγραφον· (ἔτους) ἡ Γορπιαίου β  
 [Φ]αῶφι α ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει τοῦ Ἄρσινοῖτου  
 [νο]μοῦ ἀγορανομοῦντος Νικολάου. ἐπρίατο  
 [Θερ]ῶς Νεκταθύμιος Ἄρσινοῖτις ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν μελίχρως  
 [στ]ρογγυλοπρόσωπος βραχεῖα εὐθύρριν, οὐλλή ὄφρῦι
- 25 [δε]ξιᾶι, μετὰ κυρίου Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου  
 [Π]έρσου τῶν ἐπέργων ὡς (ἐτῶν) με μελίχροος βραχεῖος  
 [σ]καμβοῦ σπανοπώγωνος παρὰ Βοῖσκου ὑπηρέτου  
 [Ἄ]λεξάνδρου πράκτορος κατὰ προσβολῆν ἀμπελῶνα.  
 [ἀντί]γραφον μέρ[ο]υς καταβολῆς·
- 30 [(ἔτους)] ἡ Μεσορῆ κε. ὁμολογῆ Σωκράτης διαγε-  
 [γρα]φέναι ἐπὶ τῆς Πύθωνος τραπέζης τῆς  
 [ἐν Κ]ροκοδίλων πόλει βασιλεῖ Θερῶς Νεκτα-  
 [θύ]μιος Ἄρσινοῖτις μετὰ κυρίου Ἡρακλείδου  
 [το]ῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσου τῶν ἐπέργων τέλος
- 35 [οἰκί]ας καὶ πυλῶνος καὶ λουτρῶνος.  
 [ἐνε]χυρασί[σ]ας μέρους ἀντίγραφον·  
 [(ἔτους) ἡ] Δαισιῦν η. παρέδειξεν Θερῶς Νεχθαθύμιος  
 [Ἄ]ρσινοῖτις μετὰ κυρίου Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ  
 [Ἄ]πολλωνίου Π[έρ]σου τῶν ἐπέργων Βοῖσκωι
- 40 [ὑ]πηρέτη Ἀλεξάνδρου πράκτορος [[ἐν ὧι]]  
 [ἀ]μπελῶνα ἐν ὧι καὶ ληγὸς τὸν ἔ[ν]τα κατὰ Σύρον κώμην  
 [ὑ]πάρχον Πετεσοῦχου τοῦ Ψενίθου Συραιγυπτί[ου]  
 [εἰς] τὴν ὑπάρχου[σαν παρ'] αὐτοῦ πράξιν κατὰ τ[.]  
 [χρη]ματιστῶν [. . . . .]κλέους Εὐθηγί[ου] . . . .

32. 1. Θερῶν.  
 λωνίου corr.?

35. The letters ι πυ over an expunction.  
 41. εν . . . ληγος above the line.

39. First λ of απολ-

## Col. ii.

- 45 [ἀπογ]ραφή ἀλικῶν εἰς τὸ . . (ἔτος ?)  
 [διὰ ?] Ἀτερῶντος·

- [Ἀτερ]ῶνυς Φανήσιος παντόπωλις,  
 [Θασίς] Σεμθ[έ]ωυς θυγάτηρ, / θηλυκὰ [β.  
 [ ὀμ(οίωυ) ? Ἡρακλε]ίδηυ ἀ[πο]λλωνίου,  
 50 [Ἀπο]λλ[ώνιου] υἱόυ,  
 [Διον]υσόδωρ[ο]υ υἱόυ,  
 [Ἀμ]μώνιου υἱόυ, / δ.  
 [Ἀ]τερῶνυς Φαν[ή]σιου πα[ν]τόπωλις  
 [Θα]σ[ί]υς Σεμθ[έ]ωυς θυγάτηρ,  
 55 ὀ[μ(οίωυ)] Ἡρακλε[ί]δηυ ἀπολλωνίου,  
 Ἀπολλώνιου υἱόυ,  
 Διονυσόδωρου υἱόυ,  
 Ἀμμώνιου υἱόυ. [ ]  
 ἀντίγραφον διαγραφῆυ·  
 60 (ἔτου) κ Τῦβι κθ. πέπτωκεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν  
 τῆι πόλει λογευτήριον  
 Δαμασίαι τῶι παρὰ Θεοξένου  
 βασιλεῖ παρὰ Θασίτου τῆυ  
 [Σ]εμθέωυ τέλο[υ] ἀνα[ε]ώσεωυ  
 65 [οἰκί]αυ καὶ τῶν σ[υγκυρό]ντων  
 [τῶν] ὄντων ἐν Κρο[κ]οδίλω[ν] πόλει ἃ [  
 [ἔφη ?] ὑποθεῖν[α]ι α[. . .]ουβεστορια [ ]  
 [χαλκο]ῦ (δραχμῶν) υπ καὶ τ[όκο]ν τοῦ προσ-  
 [γενομ]ένου ἕωυ Χοία[χ τοῦ] ιθ (ἔτου) (δρ.) ρη,  
 70 [τόκο]υ ἕωυ Χ[οί]αχ τοῦ κ (ἔτου) (δρ.) ρη,  
 [/ χq]τ, χαλκοῦ π[ρὸ]δ ἀργύριον (δρ.) ιγ (πεντωβ. ?) (ἡμωβ. ?).
- . . . . .

[Copy of part of an assignment: 8th year . . ., at Crocodilopolis] in the Arsinoïte nome, by the agency of the auctioneer Andronicus, Boïscus, the subordinate of Alexander, collector, assigned a vineyard with a press in it.

Another part of the same assignment: the property designated by Theroüs daughter of Nectathumis, Arsinoïte, along with her guardian Heracleides son of Apollonius, Persian under employ. Another part of the same assignment: Theroüs having made a designation along with the same Heracleides.

Copy of part of a sale: 8th year, Gorpiaeus 2, Phaophi 1, at Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoïte nome, Nicolaus being agoranomus. Theroüs daughter of Nectathumis, Arsinoïte, about 50 years of age, light-skinned, round-faced, short, straight-nosed, with a scar on the

right eyebrow, with her guardian Heracleides son of Apollonius, Persian under employ, about 45 years of age, light-skinned, short, bow-legged, thin-bearded, bought.

Another part of the same sale : by an assignment a house and gatehouse and bath-house.

Copy of part of another sale : 8th year, Gorpiaeus 2, Phaophi 1, at Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoïte nome, Nicolaus being agoranomus. Theroüs daughter of Nectathumis, Arsinoïte, about 50 years of age, light-skinned, round-faced, short, straight-nosed, with a scar on the right eyebrow, with her guardian Heracleides son of Apollonius, Persian under employ, about 45 years of age, light-skinned, short, bow-legged, thin-bearded, bought by an assignment from Boiscus, the subordinate of Alexander, collector, a vineyard.

Copy of part of record of payment : 8th year, Mesore 25. Socrates acknowledges that Theroüs daughter of Nectathumis, Arsinoïte, with her guardian Heracleides son of Apollonius, Persian under employ, has paid to the Crown at the bank of Python at Crocodilopolis the tax on a house and gatehouse and bath-house.

Copy of part of the certificate of sequestration : [8?]th year, Daisius 8. Theroüs daughter of Nectathumis, Arsinoïte, with her guardian Heracleides son of Apollonius, Persian under employ, designated to Boiscus, subordinate of Alexander, collector, a vineyard, in which is a press, by the Syrians' village, the property of Petesouchus son of Psenithes, Syro-Egyptian, for the execution upon him devolving upon her in accordance with a sentence of the *chrematistae* . . .

Lines 45-52. 'Return for salt-tax for the . . . year through Ateroüs : Ateroüs daughter of Phanesis, general dealer, Thasis daughter of Semtheus, her daughter ; total, 2 females. Likewise Heracleides son of Apollonius, Apollonius his son, Dionysodorus his son, Ammonius his son ; total 4.'

Lines 59-71. 'Copy of a bank-receipt. 20th year, Tubi 29. Paid to the collecting-office in the city to Damasias agent of Theoxenus, for the Crown, by Thasis daughter of Semtheus the renewal-tax on a house and appurtenances at Crocodilopolis which she stated that she pledged to . . . for 480 drachmae of copper, and an additional sum (?) up to Choiak of the 19th year of 108 dr., . . . up to the Choiak of the 20th year 108 dr., total 696, namely 13 dr.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ob. of copper equated to silver.'

1. *πρ[ο]σβαλεν* : cf. l. 4, &c., *προσ[βο]λῆς*, P. Eleph. 25. 4 (to a *πράκτωρ ἱερῶν*) *ἐάν μοι προσβάλλῃς τὴν Πτόμφιος . . . οἰκίαν, τάξομαι κτλ.*, Schwarz, *Hypothek* 102 sqq. Schwarz notes (104<sup>1</sup>) that though *προσβολή* was an auctioneering term, there was nothing to connect the *προσβολή* in executions for debt with auction. 814 removes this deficiency, and is now joined by P. Eleph. 23 ; cf. n. on l. 29. The word recurs in P. Enteux. 61. 5.

2. *πράκτορος* : the *πράκτωρ* is similarly undefined in e.g. P. Hibeh 30. 18, 92. 21. Presumably the *πράκτωρ ξενικῶν* is meant ; cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.* 96, 130, and especially 5. 221, 231 sqq.

4. *παραδειχθέντα* : cf. ll. 8 and 37, Schwarz, *op. cit.* 97. It is now clear that in P. Hibeh 32. 4 (M. 37) neither *παρεδέξατο*, as suggested by us, nor *παρεδέξαμην*, which Mitteis adopted, is to be restored, but *παρέδειξεν*, as in l. 37 below. The word often means 'to hand over', e.g. 79. 54, 58, 105. 25, 106. 25, but in connexion with *ἐνεχυρασία* 'describe', 'designate' is more appropriate.

7. *τῶν ἐπέργων* : cf. 774. 2, n.

10. *Φαῶφι α* : or perhaps λ. The same doubt arises in l. 21, where *α* looks much more probable, though this is possibly due to an extraneous mark similar to those obscuring [ν]οῦ, l. 22 ; see n. there. This double date was cited as (6*α*) in P. Hibeh, p. 341, where the figure after *Φαῶφι* was incorrectly given as ζ, an error which reappears in

Edgar's article 'A Chronological Problem' in *Recueil Champollion*, p. 128. But whether *a* or *λ* be read, there will still be a difference of about 15 days from Edgar's table there, and the date fits in no better with the revised table in P. Mich. Zen. p. 57.

16. For the spelling *βραχείος*, which recurs in l. 26, cf. P. Par. 63. ix. 42 ἀπό βραχείων and 721. 5, n.

22. At first sight [νο]μοῦ appears to have been crossed out, but such a deletion would be quite pointless and the marks were doubtless accidental.

29. καταβολῆς: cf. P. Eleph. 23. 8 sqq. ὁμνύω . . . τὴν γῆν . . . ἣν προκηρύσσεις ὡς οὖσαν Ψεντεῖτος . . . μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἰ[μετέρ]αν κα[ὶ ἐ]χεν με ταύτης προσβολὴν καὶ κατ[α]βολήν, ἃ καὶ ἐπιδέδειχά σοι. It is clear from ἐπιδέδειχα that the προσβολή and καταβολή were documents just as here and in ll. 4 and 7; through some mistake property that had already been disposed of was being again put up to auction. The passage was misunderstood by Preisigke, *Wörterb.*

Can this use of καταβολή help to explain the obscure term ἐπικαταβολή, which was among the technicalities of the realization of mortgages? Cf. 817. 19-20, n.

42. Συραγιόπτιος seems to be novel. The compound Συραττικός occurs as a nick-name in Athen. ix. 368 c.

43-4. The space seems too short for [πρὸς] τήν. Perhaps τ[ὸ] | χρῆμ. . . κρίμα or σύγκριμα, the names of the chrematistae intervening.

45. A date is clearly required and the slight vestiges suit εἰς τό better than τοῦ. The genitive ἀλικῶν is more concise than εἰς τὰ ἀλικά, the phrase used in P. Lille 27. 1, Frankf. 5. 18, which is likely to have stood in the original here summarized; cf. B.G.U. 1236. 3, where ἀπογραφῶν ἀλικῶν is probably to be read.

48. Θασίς is restored from ll. 54 and 63.

49. For ὄμ(οίως) cf. l. 55, where there seems to be an *o* above which the papyrus is damaged, so that an overwritten *μ* may be lost. Was this Heracleides the κύριος of l. 6, &c.?

53. If the line projected slightly as at 59-60, the year could have preceded the name.

58. Possibly / δ, as in l. 52, stood in the small lacuna, but more probably was omitted;

cf. ll. 48 and 54.

67. For the active ὑποθεῖ[α] cf. P. Petrie III. 57 (a) 4, 11, P.S.I. 424. 13. A proper name seems to have followed.

68-9. The rate (9 dr. per month, or 22½ per cent.) is not unduly high (cf. e.g. B.G.U. 1056. 9 &c. τόκ. διδράχμων, 24 per cent., in the first century B.C.).

71. 13 dr. 5½ ob. on 696 dr. is almost exactly 2 per cent., the usual tax on mortgages.

## 815. LIST OF ABSTRACTS OF CONTRACTS.

107.

B.C. 228-221. Plate V (Fr. 5).

From Tebtunis there has lately come a fine example, dating from early Roman times, of the collections of abstracts of contracts regularly compiled at the local record offices (P. Mich. 121, recto; cf. Boak, *Journal Eg. Arch.* ix. 164-7, Segrè, *Aegyptus* vi. 97-107). At that period, at any rate, as is now generally agreed, such compilations, exemplified also in P. Brit. Mus. 1179 + Flor. 51, Cairo Preisigke 31, Bouriant 15, &c., were known as εἰρόμενα. The present text offers a specimen of such abstracts which goes back to the third century B.C.; cf. B.G.U. 1258. It is composed of numerous fragments, both large and small, the

relative position of which is often uncertain ; very likely more rolls than one are represented. The difficulty of establishing the proper sequence is greatly increased by the bad condition of the papyrus and the cursiveness of the script, which on the more rubbed and discoloured portions of the surface has become practically indecipherable. We give here only a selection of the better-preserved pieces, but those that are printed or described below will sufficiently illustrate the character and scope of the document. In the order adopted chronological indications, where forthcoming, have chiefly been followed. Most of the fragments seem to refer to the 25th-26th years of Euergetes I, the principal exception being Fr. 2, recto i, where the 20th year occurs, for the 9th year in Fr. 1, verso iv is probably retrospective ; and even in Fr. 2 the 26th year is not improbably named on the verso. In several places equations are stated between the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars ; the following is a list of the passages concerned, those that show the same correspondence being grouped together :—

- (a) Fr. 2, verso 4-5, Dystrus = Pachon ; Fr. 8. 13, Artemisius = Epeiph ? (25th year).
- (b) Fr. 3, recto 2, Gorpiaeus = Choiak, 11-12 Xandicus = Epeiph (25th year) ; Fr. 4, recto 1, Panemus 12 = Phaophi 1 (?) ; Fr. 12, Artemisius = Mesore.
- (c) Fr. 3, verso 33, Peritius = Pauni (26th year ?) ; Fr. 5, recto 1, Panemus = Hathur, 31 and Fr. 6. 1-2, Xandicus = Mesore ; Fr. 6. 29 and Fr. 7. 4, Dystrus = Epeiph (26th year ?).

Several of these equations were cited and discussed in Appendix 1 of the Hibeh Papyri, pp. 342-5, but the data there given and the conclusions suggested need modification in the light not only of the revised texts as now published, but also of the more copious and explicit evidence of the Magdola papyri ; see Guéraud, *Ἐντεῦξεις*, pp. 251-2. It should also be noted that the double dates of 815 are often anticipatory and therefore to be regarded as approximations only.

In form, this series of abstracts is very similar to P. Mich. 121 recto and other later examples of *εἰρόμενα*. The various extracts are arranged chronologically under the days of the month, note being made of blank days (e.g. Fr. 2, recto 23). Where the month is stated according to both calendars, the Macedonian name, as usual, precedes in two places (Fr. 3, verso 33, Fr. 5, recto 1), the Egyptian once (Fr. 4, recto 1) ; but it is pretty clear that the Macedonian calendar was the one followed. As commonly in the Michigan papyrus, the abstracts regularly begin with a verb which often suffices to indicate the nature of the contract, *ἐμίσθωσεν*, *ἐδάνεισεν*, *ἀπέδοτο*, &c. ; the neutral *ὁμολογῆι* is also frequent.

Then come the names and status of the contracting parties, the terms, in greater or less detail, of the agreement, and the name of the person to whom it was committed for safe custody (the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*). Wilcken's suggestion in U.P.Z. p. 613 that the method of excerpting according to which the particulars of the contract preceded the names of the parties (introduced by *ἦν πεποιήνται*) was that usual in the Ptolemaic period is thus not substantiated. Much diversity is shown in the compass of the abstracts; often these are reduced to a minimum, but sometimes they incorporate a good deal of the original, which in one case (Fr. 6, ll. 32 sqq.) seems to have been copied out practically *in extenso*. The occurrence in Fr. 3 of a complete contract including the date is to be discounted as being due to the use of a sheet the recto of which was already inscribed; the series of abstracts was there written on the verso. On what grounds the compiler made some of the abstracts fuller than others is not clear; a similar irregularity is observable in the *εἰρόμενα* of the Roman age. Below each abstract there is an entry of a small sum for *μισθός* (usually abbreviated *μισ*, but written out in Fr. 11 verso), varying from three or four obols to about 1 drachma 4 obols. These payments stand in no relation to the length of the abstracts, and would therefore appear to have been made in respect of the original contracts, presumably to the bureau; at any rate it is evident from the short accounts occasionally entered on the back (e.g. Fr. 2, verso 41 sqq.) that they represent an emolument; cf. B.G.U. 1214. 21-2, P. Mich. Zen. 59753. 38.

In Fr. 3, as mentioned above, the series of abstracts appears on the verso of the papyrus, and this has occurred also in a few other fragments, not here printed, which may have come from the vicinity of Fr. 3. Elsewhere the series is on the recto; but the verso contains a good deal of more or less cognate matter. Besides the accounts just referred to, there have been entered here and there personal descriptions of the parties to some of the agreements recorded on the recto; see e.g. Frs. 4, 7, 8. There are also occasional abstracts of contracts in the style of those on the recto (e.g. Fr. 2). Perhaps these are drafts, as obviously are a fragmentary petition to the king and the adjacent *βασιλικὸς ὄρκος* on the verso of Fr. 1; the letter on the back of Fr. 5 must also be a draft or copy. The question may indeed be raised whether the contents of the recto should not be regarded as a rough copy rather than the finished product; that hypothesis would at any rate well accord with the somewhat makeshift character of the roll, and the extreme negligence of the writing.

Numerous leases of cleruchic land are included in the abstracts; cf. e.g. 105-6, 819, P. Hibeh 90, Oxy. 1628, Frankf. 1, Enteux. 59, B.G.U. 1262-71. The village of Kerkeosiris is mentioned in them once or twice, but most of the holdings specified were at villages in the division of Themistes. In the descrip-

tions of the lessors and lessees there is an interesting variety of places of origin; the following geographical epithets occur (cf. Heichelheim, *Auswärtige Bevölkerung Aegyptens*):—'Αθηναίος (Fr.) 1. ii. 1, 3 recto 3, 7. 34, 41. Αἴγιος 2 recto 9. 'Αλεξανδρεὺς 1. ii. 2, 5. 35, 6. 32. 'Αμφιπολίτης 8. 4. 'Αντιοχεὺς 8. 24. 'Αραψ 2 recto 2, 64. 'Αριμεναίος 2 verso 2, 33 (?). 'Αρκάς 11. 'Αχαιός 3 recto 4. Βοιώτιος 2 recto 31, 63, 4 recto 30. 'Ερμοπολίτης 9. 27, 28. 'Ηρακλεώτης 7. 28. Θεσσαλός 2 verso 31. Θηβαίος 6. 14, 8. 5. Θραξ 1. ii. 36, 2 recto 25, 3. 25, 4 recto 23, 5. 13, 28, 37, 6. 34. 'Ιάπυξ 11. 'Ιδουμαίος 5. 29. 'Ιουδαίος 2 recto 17, 18. Κρής 2 recto 50, 5. 37, 38, 9. 37. Κυζικηνός 1. ii. 27. Κυρηναίος 1. ii. 29, 2 introd., recto 1, 10, verso 38, 4 recto 3, 47, 5. 3, 6. 7, 13, 7. 1, 29. Μακεδών, Μάκετα 1. ii. 26, 2 recto 24, 53, 3 verso i. 13, 22, 25, 37, 4 recto 18, 24, 5. 2. Μῆδος 2 recto 54. Παφλαγών 8. 3. Πέρσης 1. ii. 28, 37, 2 recto 26, 3 verso i. 20, ii. 22, 5. 11, 7. 2, 8. 25, 9. 26, 43. Πισίδης 13. Πριηνεύς 2 recto 32, 4 recto 32, 38. Σαλαμίσιος 4 recto 2. Σάμιος 4 recto 46. Σολεὺς 7. 35. Φάριος 3 verso ii. 21. Χίος 10. i. 2.

Fr. 1.

32.2 × 26.4 cm.

On the recto,—one column nearly complete but discoloured and in places nearly effaced, with ends of some lines of the preceding column and beginnings of lines of the next one. Col. ii, which is given below, contains abstracts of two leases, of an agreement of service (cf. Fr. 2, recto 9 sqq.), and of a sublease (*μετάδοσις*). In Col. iii the first three abstracts are of a lease of cleruchic land at a total rent of 200 art. of wheat, of a loan of copper drachmae, and of a lease from a woman of a *παράδεισος*, the rest being indistinguishable; the days of the month in this column ran from the 9th to the 13th.

On the verso miscellaneous accounts in three columns, some of the lines proceeding in opposite directions; we print a short specimen from Col. ii. Col. iv contains beginnings of nineteen lines, much corrected, of a draft of a petition to the king, followed by a βασιλικὸς ὄρκος (also a draft), of which the text is printed, and a few further lines, also considerably altered.

Recto, Col. ii.

η. ἐμίσθωσεν . . . . [ . . . . ] . . νεμμεως Ἀθηναίος τῶν Ἀνδρίσ-  
κου καὶ τῆς δ' ἱππ[αρχί]ας Νουμηνίου Διονυσίου Ἀλ[ε]-  
ξανδρεὶ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τῶν οὐπω ἐπηγμένων γῆν ἔρημον . . . .  
τὸν αὐτοῦ κλήρον γῆς ἀρούρας οε, ὧν ὄρια ἀπὸ λιβὸς α .



- 5 [.] . . . . α κατ . . . ν σχοινία βασιλική γῆ, ἀπὸ ἀπη[λι]ώ[του]  
 [.] αργυρ το . . ι . . . . κλ(ῆρος), ἀπὸ νότου ἢ διῶρυξ, ἀπὸ βορρᾶ Εὐ-  
 [.] οῦ κλ(ῆρος), ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην (ἄρου.) πυρ.) ἀρ(τ.) γλ. ἄνευ σπέρ-  
 [μα]τος ἀκίνδυνον [καὶ ἀ]νυπόλογον παντὸς ὑπολόγου εἰς . . .  
 [.] τρον ἔχει τὸ μὲν δάνειον προ . . . . . ων (δρ.) ι .  
 10 [.] . εἰς τιμὴν - - -

3 more partially effaced lines, followed (1) by the amount for μισ(θός), 1 dr.  
 4(?) ob., and the name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ, (2) by another μίσθωσις, still  
 more effaced, in 8 lines, the συγγραφοφύλαξ being Ἀλεξίδημος (ἐκατοντάρουρος).

- 25 [.] . ἐδεσ . [.] . αφ . ντο . ρων . . . . . κων . . . Μύστα  
 . αμικ[.] . Μακ[έ]τα μετὰ κυρίου Πυθοδώρου τοῦ  
 Αἰσχί[ου] Κυζικηνοῦ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ  
 [Ἀ]ρίστων Φιλ[ο]γέ[ν]ους Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 Ἀρίστωνα Μενείου Κυρηναίου . . . . . παρὰ Μύσταῖ ἀλλὰ (ἔτη?) β  
 30 ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου μηνὸς ἐχόμενον καὶ τελοῦν-  
 τα μόρον πάντα τὰ συντασσόμενα, λαμβάνοντα  
 κατὰ μῆνα χαλκοῦ (δρ.) α (τετράβ.) καὶ εἰς ε[.] . . . .  
 . ον χαλκοῦ (δρ.) ιβ, τὰ δὲ δέοντα τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν  
 ἔξει μετὰ Μύστας ὅσα ἂν καὶ Μύστα . . . εἰ . . .  
 35 (δρ.) α (ὀβολ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ Αἰσχιρίων.  
 ὁμολογεῖ Νίκων Δημητρίου Θραῖξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 Ποσειδωνίω Ἑρακλείδου Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 μεταδεδωκέναι ἀπὸ τῶν . . . [.] . νδρ . . . . . γ  
 των μισθοφόρων ἱππέων οὓς μεμίσθωνται κοινή  
 40 κατὰ συγγραφὴν μισθώσεως τὴν κειμένην κυρίαν  
 παρὰ συγγραφοφύλακι Πιθία κληροῦχαι τοῦ  
 αὐτῶι ἐπιβάλλοντος μέρους γῆς ἀρουρῶν ἐκατὸν  
 τοῦ(του) τὸ ἡμισυ, ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην ἀρουραν πυρῶν  
 ἀρταβῶν δλ. ἄνευ σπέρματος . . . . . [.] . . . .] . . . . .  
 45 συγγραφοφύλαξ  
 (δρ.) α. Π(τ)ολεμαῖος . . . . .

4. σε corr. 7. γ of γλ corr.? 32. εις corr. 44. δ of δλ corr. 45-6. These  
 lines over an expunction.

## Verso, Col. ii

α ισι . . αις  
 ἐπαγομέναις  
 συγγρα(φαί) κ,  
 μισ(θός) (δρ.) κ,  
 5 ὑπογρα(φεί?) (δρ.) γ,

...

5. γ corr.

## Col. iv.

20 Ὁ[ρ]κος ὃν ᾤμοσεν καὶ ὑπεχ[ειρογράφησεν] 28 l.  
 Ἀνδρομάχῳ Κι . . . . . ρ . [ ὀμνύω βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐγ βασι-  
 λέως Πτολεμαίου  
 καὶ βασίλισσαν Βερενίκη[η]ν τῆν τ[οῦ] βασιλέως ἀδελ[φὴν καὶ γυναιῖκα  
 καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφοῦς  
 καὶ θεοὺς Σωτῆρας τοὺς τούτων γονεῖς καὶ τὸν Σ[άραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἴσιν  
 καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας ἧ μὴν ἀφε[ ] 22 l.  
 25 τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλ(ήρου) τοῦ θ (έτους) κατὰ συγγραφὰς τὰς κειμέ[νας παρὰ  
 . . . . . ἀπὸ ?  
 πυρ(ῶν) ἀρ(τ.) Ἦν ἀφεικέναι ἄφεσιν τῆς φθορᾶς πυρῶν ἀρ(τάβας) σ ῶν  
 [ 23 l.  
 εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὔ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ τ[ὰ ἐναντία.

25. συγγραφας above συγγραφ, which is crossed through. 26. αφεσιν . . . φθορας above the line; ων corr. or deleted?

Recto I. Ἀνδρίσκου: cf. Frs. 2 verso 39, 6. 13, 7. 34 &c., and P. Petrie *passim*.

3. ἐπηγμένων, sc. εἰς δῆμον (cf. e.g. Fr. 5, 35-6). The slight remains at the end of the line do not suggest οὔσαν, which, however, is hardly excluded.

5. ν before σχωρία(?) is not the numeral.

8. δέ is expected at the end of the line after εἰς and possibly was written.

9. Perhaps [ἄρο]τρον. At the end of the line two or three more letters may have been effaced.

25. Neither [.] . εδέξαντο nor [έ]ξέδετο is suitable, and the letters between κων and Μύστα are apparently not καί.

29. μένοντα before παρά would fit the context but is difficult to obtain.

31. μόνον is not very satisfactory and πόνον or ποιῶν could well be read, but πόνον . . . τὸν συντασσόμενον, ἀπολαμβ. is still less plausible than the reading adopted.

32. Possibly εἰματισμόν or εἰορτῶν λόγον.

35. (δρ.) α (δβδολ.): the word μισ(θός) usually precedes such figures, but is sometimes omitted, as again at l. 46 and twice in the next column.

38. μεταδεδοκέναι: cf. Fr. 3 verso i. 13, ii. 21. We have not found other examples of μεταδιδόναι in connexion with land on lease, and it is not clear why the verb was used instead of μισθοῦν in these three cases.

In the latter part of the line the word κλήρων would be expected if οὗς in l. 39 is right; τῶν [(αρούρων) κλ(ήρων) τῶν δ . . .], however, is by no means convincing, and in some ways τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείαι looks a likelier reading though producing a more difficult construction.

Verso Col. ii. With this account cf. Frs. 2 verso 23-9, 41-5, 11 verso, 15 verso. Line 1 is puzzling. The initial letter (α rather than δ) is separated from the next by a short empty space, but possibly something has disappeared. ταῖς may be read but not [εἰσίν or ἐσὶ ταῖς: γναις or γυναις seems to have been written. For ὑπογρα(φεί?) in l. 5 cf. P. Strassb. 105. 5; but -γρα(φής) is also possible.

Col. iv. 20 sqq. Other contemporary affidavits are P. Eleph. 23, SB. 5680; cf. also 810-11. For ὑπεχειρογράφησεν cf. 810. 12, n.

22. ἀδελ[φὴν καὶ γυναῖκα: so P. Eleph. 23; the supplement is somewhat longer than that in the next line, but some irregularity is likely enough.

24. ἀφε[: cf. l. 26, where possibly ἀφεικέναι is a repetition of ἀφε[ικέναι here. At the end of the line μίσθωσις in some form may be restored.

26. φθορᾶς: cf. the common stipulation for payment of rent ἀνπόλογον or ἀκίνδονον πάσης φθορᾶς, e.g. 105. 18 and Fr. 5. 5 below.

#### Fr. 2.

41 × 31.6 cm.

The recto contains remains of four columns, of which the two central ones are fairly well preserved and are printed (Col. iii partially). Col. i has the ends of lines of three leases, a loan of 50 drachmae of χαλκὸς ἰσόνομος without interest, and another transaction relating to money. The first lease apparently ran (l. 4) εἰς Ξανδικὸν τοῦ κ(έτους), and the συγγραφοφύλαξ was Ἀμεινόβιος Ἀμεινοβίου (cf. Fr. 4 recto 47). In the loan and also in the third lease the συγγραφοφύλαξ was Λεονυῆτος Βαλάκρου. The lessor in the latter was (l. 34) ] Κυρηναῖος τῶν Ἀνδρίσκου καὶ ὁ (ἐκατοντάρουρος); cf. verso 32, n. He was perhaps either Philiscus (Fr. 6. 13, &c.) or Aristocles (verso 38). Cols. ii-iii cover a period of 11 days of an unknown month, 4 of the days (18th-20th, 23rd) being blank. Col. ii records two leases, an agreement for agricultural work, and a receipt for 20 drachmae in settlement of claims (cf. Fr. 10. i); in Col. iii, so far as the sense can be followed, the contracts recorded are leases. Of the fourth column there are only beginnings of lines in rather bad condition. On the verso three columns give abstracts of three loans, besides some short accounts.

Recto, Col. ii.

ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀριστίων Κυρηναῖος δεκανικὸς τῶν Με . . . . .  
 Πετεμούτι Ἀρμύσιος Ἄραβι γεωργῶι καὶ Ταύρωι  
 Πτολεμαίου Θρ(α)κικὴ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὸν αὐτοῦ κλη(ῆ)ρον  
 ὃν ἔχει ἐκ βασιλικοῦ περὶ κ(ώ)μην(?) Ἀρριμ[ό]ην γῆς (ἀρουρῶν) λϚ  
 ἐκφορί[ου]

5 ἐκάστην (ἄρου.) ηλ ἄνευ σπέρματος,  
 τούτου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ καταστῆι μηνὶ Δύστρωι τὰ ἐκφόρια.  
 μισ(θὸς) (δρ.) α. συγγραφοφύλαξ  
 Κλεώνυμος.

15. ὁμολογεῖ Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίου Αἴνιος  
 10 Ἀπολλωνίω Διονυσίου Κυρηναῖω τῆς ἐπιγονῆς)  
 προσδεδέχθαι τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι  
 καὶ προσκαθαρ . . . . . τὰτ . . . . . τοῦ παραδείσ[ου]  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ἐπὶ ἀριστερᾶς, καὶ τὸ πρόδομα  
 ἀπέχει παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τὰς (δρ.) ι.  
 15 μισ(θ.) (τετρώβ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ

16. ἐδάνεισεν Μουσαῖος Σίμωνος Ἰουδαῖος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς)  
 Δασαίτηι Ιζι . . . ιος Ἰουδ[α]ί[ω]ι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου (δρ.) ρη τόκου (δρ.) β κατὰ μῆνα . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 20 Δασαίτης . . . . . οισ 19 l. ωτουμ . ν . ε . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ιδ . . . ιωι. συγγραφοφύλαξ Δωσίθε[ος]  
 μισ(θ.) (τετρώβ. ?) . . . . . ε[ . . . . . ]  
 ιη, ιθ· οὐθέν. κ· οὐθέν. . . . . [ . . . . . ]

κα. ὁμολ[ο]γεῖ Νικαῖα Ἀμύντου Μακέτα μετὰ κ[υρίου] . . . . .  
 25 τοῦ Βιζῶνους Θραϊκὸς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Στρουθῶι . [ . . . . . ]  
 καὶ Φιλαστερίωι Εὐκράτους Πέρση . . [ . . . . . ]  
 παρὰ τοῦ Στρ[ου]θου {πάντων} περὶ ὧν πάντω[ν] ἐπέδωκεν?  
 ἐντεύξεις (δρ.) κ ἕως μηνὸς Πανήμου τ[οῦ] . . (ἔτους)  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. συγγραφοφύλαξ Μένανδρος. [ . . . . . ]

30 κβ.  
 ἐμίσθωσεν Τροχινίδης Βοιώτιος τοῦ ἀγ[ή]ματος καὶ τῆς δ (ἐκατοντ-  
 άρουρος)

Πτολεμαίωι Δημητρίου Πριηνεὶ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ κλη(ήρου) οὐ (ἔχει) περὶ κώ(μην) Λαγίδα γῆς (ἀρούρας) ! [ἐκφορίου  
 35 εἰς (ἔτη ?) γ· ἐπιγεωργεῖτω τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκφορίου . . . [  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. συγγραφοφύλαξ . . . [  
 κ, κγ· οὐθέν. . . ( )]

Col. iii.

10 much-damaged lines.

ὁ ὑπολογῆσει ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν. ἔγ-  
 γ[υ]ο[ς] τῶν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν εἰς ἔκτεισιν  
 50 Πτολεμαῖος Δωρίωνος Κρής τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.  
 μισ(θ.) δ (πεντώβ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ Π(τ)ολεμαῖος κλη(ηρούχος).  
 κδ. ἐμίσθωσεν Καλλισθένης Πολέμωνος  
 Μακεδὼν Παρ[μ]έροντι Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 Μήδωι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμίδου κλη(ήρου)  
 55 οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς μεμίσθωται κατὰ συγγραφὴν μισ-  
 θώσεως τὴν κειμένην κυρίαν παρὰ συγγραφο-  
 φύλακι Φανίαι κλη(ηρούχωι) γῆς (ἀρού.) ξ τεσσάρων περ[ι] [ἰ]  
 κώ(μην) Ἀπολλωνιάδα ἐκφορίου π[υ]ρ. π, ἂς καὶ  
 ἀπέχει, {ἦν} καὶ δώσει αὐτὴν κατεσ-  
 60 παρμένην. συγγραφοφύλαξ  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. Θευδόσιος Ἀλεξάνδρου.

κε.

[ἐμίσθωσεν] Τροχινίδης Βοιώτιος  
 [ . . . . . ] . . [ . . ] Ἄραβι β . . . αραι  
 65 [τὸν παράδεισον] τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 [κλήρωι] ὃν ἔχει ἐκ β[α]σιλικῆς περὶ κώ(μην) Λαγίδα  
 [φόρου τοῦ παντ]ῶς χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου (δρ.) ξ,  
 [δώσει δὲ κ]αταβολαῖς γ ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἐπειφ  
 [τοῦ . . (ἔτους) κατὰ μῆν]α ἕκαστον (δρ.) κ, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ  
 70 [βασιλικὸν] . . . τῆν (ἔκτην) αὐτὸς τάξεται,  
 [παραδώσει] δὲ ἐξαιρέτων ἐλαιῶν χ(οίνικα) α  
 [ . . . . . ] καὶ φοίνικα ἐξαίρετον ὃν ἂν

Ends of 13 more lines, l. 74 mentioning a *χαράδριον*; a new agreement began in the last line but one.

53. After *παρ* a blank space.

Verso, Col. i.

- ἐδάνεισεν Ἀντιφάνης  
 Δωρίωνι Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀριμεναίῳ  
 χαλκοῦ ὀφθαλμοφάνους (δρ.) ρ  
 ἕως μηνὸς Δύστρου  
 5 Αἴγυπτίων Παχῶς  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ. τάξον-  
 ται καταβολαῖς γ,  
 τοῦ μὲν Ἀθῦρ (δρ.) μ,  
 καὶ τοῦ Τῦβι (δρ.) λ,  
 10 καὶ τοῦ Παχῶς (δρ.) λ.  
 ἔγγυοι τῶν κατὰ μῆνα  
 Εὔτυχος Ἀπολλωνίου,  
 Σοντοφοῆς Νειλέως, <sup>Λεωνίδα</sup><sub>κ . . ρσ . . .</sub>  
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ προγ[εργ(αμμένου)].  
 15 ἐδάνεισεν Ἀντιφάνης Δωρίωνι  
 Ἀπολλωνίου πυ(ρ.) ἀρ(τ.) . . . [.] . [.]  
 ους. τόδ' ἐστὶν ὃ δάνειον προσ-  
 ωφείλησεν Δωρίων πρὸς τὰ ἐκφόρια  
 τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους κλήρου ὀρφανοῦ ἐν τῷ ς[?] (ἔτει .  
 20 ἀπόδοσις Δαισίου ἢ ὅταν ἢ ἄφεςις  
 παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφεθῆι.  
 ἔγγυοι οἱ αὐτοί.  
 κς.  
 μισ(θὸς) (δρ.) α,  
 25 κίλι . . (δρ.) α (δυόβ.),  
 γα . [.] (δρ.) β,  
 κενὸν (δρ.) α (ὀβολ.),

Πρωτάρ(χαι) (τριώβ.),  
 "Ωρραι (δύόβ.) . [[ . . . ]]

4. δ of δυστρον corr.    5. Παχώς is for -ώνς; so in l. 10.    13. ς of συντοφης corr.?

Col. ii.

30 ἐγράφη Πανήμου ζ.

ἐδάνεισεν Νίκανδρος [Θεσ]σ[α]λὸς τῶν . . . .  
 καὶ τῆς δ (ἐκατοντάρουρος?) Ἡρακλείδῃ νε(ωτέρωι?)  
 Ἀρε . . ναιου α . . . . ρ χαλ(κοῦ) (δρ.) ρ  
 εἰς μῆνας ι ἀπὸ [μ]ηνὸς Δαισίου  
 35 κξ ἕως μηνὸς Δύστρου ἐσχά-  
 του λ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι, ἔγ-  
 γ[υ]ο]ς τῶν ρ (δρ.) εἰς ἔκτεισιν  
 Ἀριστοκλῆς Κυρηναῖος τῶν  
 Ἀνδρίσκου καὶ δ (ἐκατοντάρουρος?). συγγρα-  
 40 φοφύλαξ Πασίων Πυθοδώρου.

ι. συ(γραφαὶ) ιβ,  
 μισ(θός) (δρ.) ιδ (τριώβ.),  
 ἀνη(λώματος) (δρ.) η (τριώβ.?),  
 ἐλαίου (δρ.) α,  
 45 λ(οιπαὶ) (δρ.) ε.

45. ε corr. from ζ?

Col. iii, an account in 7 lines, much effaced.

ll. 1-37. 'Aristion, Cyrenaean, decurion of the troop of Me . . . , has leased to Petemous son of Harmiusis, Arabian, cultivator, and to Taurus son of Ptolemaeus, Thracian of the Epigone, his holding which he has from the government near the village of Arsinoë, consisting of 36 arurae, at a rent of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  (artabae) per arura, without seed, namely half this holding; and he shall deliver the rent in the month Dystrus. Charge 1 drachma. Keeper of the contract, Cleonymus.

16th. Apollonides son of Apollonius, from Aenus, acknowledges to Apollonius son of Dionysius, Cyrenaean of the Epigone, that he has undertaken the work allotted him and

will clear . . . the garden of Heracleides on the left, and he has received from Apollonius the prepayment of 10 dr. Charge 4 obols. Keeper of the contract . . .

17th. Musaeus son of Simon, Jew of the Epigone, has lent to Lasaites son of Iz . . . is, Jew of the Epigone, 108 dr. of copper at par, with interest at 2 dr. per month . . . Keeper of the contract, Dositheus. Charge 4 ob.

18th, 19th: Nothing. 20th: Nothing.

21st. Nicaea daughter of Amyntas, Macedonian, with her guardian . . . son of Bizones, Thracian of the Epigone, acknowledges to Struthus son of . . . and Philasterius son of Eucrates, Persian, that she has received from Struthus in respect of all the matters about which she presented petitions 20 dr. up to Panemus of the . . . th year. Charge 1 dr. Keeper of the contract, Menandrus.

22nd. Trochinides, Boeotian, of the guard and 4th (hipparchy?), holder of 100 arurae, has leased to Ptolemaeus son of Demetrius, Prienian of the Epigone, from his holding which he has near the village of Lagis 10 arurae of land at a rent of 2 artabae of wheat for each arura, without seed, subject to no risk of loss, for 3 years; and he shall continue to cultivate them . . . Charge 1 dr. Keeper of the contract . . . 20th, 23rd: Nothing.'

9. *Αἴνιος*: or *Ἄρνιος*; not *Αἰνίας* (P. Petrie II. 47. 30).

12. Perhaps *πρὸς καθάρσει* (*ἔσται* or sim.); *καθαίρω*, *καθαρεύω*, *-ρίζω* and *-ροποῖω* all occur in papyri, but none of them in combination with *πρὸς*.

13. *πρόδομα*: cf. 42. 15, P. Frankf. I. 31, B.G.U. 1262. 17, &c.

17. The fact that Musaeus was a Jew and the occurrence in the papyri of such forms as *Μουσηῆς*, *Μωσαῖος*, make it not unlikely that *Μουσαῖος* here = *Μωσῆς*.

21. A *δ* is more suitable than *μ*, otherwise *Μουσαῖωι* might be read: possibly *δανείωι* or *Δαισίωι*, but not *μηρί* *Δ*. The illegible entry in small characters below *Δωσίθε[ος]* was perhaps descriptive of him; cf. l. 37.

23. *οὐθέν* here and in l. 37 &c. is written in large widely spaced letters.

25. *Βιζώνους*: cf. the similarly named Thracian town *Βιζώνη*.

26. *Φιλαστερίωι*: the deme name *Φιλωτερίωι* naturally suggests itself, but an *ω* seems insufficient between the *λ* and *τ*, and the use of *ὁ* *καί* to link tribal and deme names seems not to occur before the Roman period; moreover, if *Φιλωτερίωι* (?) referred to *Στρουθῶι*, his patronymic should precede. After *Πέρσηι*, *τή[ς ἐπιγονῆς]* is possible, followed by an infinitive like *ἀπέχειν*.

27. *πάντων* seems to have been repeated in error. The verb at the end of the line, if not *ἐπέδωκεν*, may have been *ἀνήνεγκεν* as in Fr. 10. 5.

31. For the restoration cf. Fr. 4 recto 30, where the same lessee is concerned. Trochinides reappears in l. 63 and Fr. 4 recto 22.

34. For the supplement, which suits the space better than *καὶ ἀνυπόλογον*, cf. e.g. Fr. 5. 5.

35. The sign taken to represent *ἔτος* approximates in form to the minuscule *η*; it is similarly written in Fr. 9 and elsewhere where the interpretation is not in doubt. If *εἰς* (*ἔτη*) *γ* is right, this seems better connected with what precedes than with *ἐπιγεωργεῖται*: cf. e.g. Fr. 6. 10, 21.

36. The name of the *συγγραφοφύλαξ* does not seem to have been Antiphanes as in Fr. 4 recto 37.

37. *κ*: this day had already been entered in l. 23.

56 sqq. In the left margin opposite these lines are six illegible short lines (below which the papyrus is defective) evidently written before ll. 56 sqq., because these latter are begun further to the right than they would normally be. The fifth line is . . . *εἰς* (*ἔτος*) *α*. This



marginal entry begins opposite l. 17 of Col. ii, but there is no evident connexion with that abstract.

57. κλ(ηρούχαι) (cf. e.g. l. 51) seems more likely than ἐλ(αἰώνα). τεσσάρων, if rightly read, should be τέσσαρας, but the combination of this with the numeral ξ is unsatisfactory; cf., however, n. on l. 67.

58. The numeral is very uncertain but seems more likely than η, which would be a surprisingly low rate; or possibly (ἀρτ.) μ should be read instead of π ἄς.

67. At the end of the line ξ is followed by the letters εκσ, which may belong to the following column; or should they be taken as the numeral ξξ on the analogy of τεσσάρων in l. 57?

68. κ]αταβολαῖς γ: cf. verso i. 7, which justifies the restoration here of letters not really recognizable.

70. Perhaps εἰς τὴν ἔκτ. There is no room for καθήγοντα, as e.g. in Fr. 5. 40.

71-2. Cf. Fr. 6. 42-5. ὄν ἄν was no doubt followed by βουλήγται, as in Fr. 3 verso i. 1; cf. Fr. 6. 44.

Verso 1-22. 'Antiphanes has lent to Dorion son of Apollonius (and) to Ariminaeus (?) 100 drachmae of copper produced to view until the month Dystrus, or Pachon by the Egyptian calendar, of the said year. They shall pay in three instalments, in Hathur 40 dr., in Tubi 30 dr., and in Pachon 30 dr. Sureties for the monthly payments Eutyclus son of Apollonius, Leonidas son of K . . ., Sontophoë's daughter of Neileus with her guardian the aforesaid.

Antiphanes has lent to Dorion son of Apollonius . . . artabae of wheat. This is the further loan due from Dorion for the rent of the orphan's holding of Antiphanes in the [ ]6th year. Repayment in Daisius or whenever the release of crops is given by the king. The same sureties.'

2. Ἀριμναῖοι: cf. l. 33, where perhaps the same name is meant; Ἀριμναῖος occurs in Diodor. xxxi. 28. At any rate a second person rather than an epithet of Δωρίωνι seems indicated by the plural τάξονται in l. 6; the asyndeton is not a decisive objection in an abstract of this kind.

4-5. This date was discussed in P. Hibeh, pp. 342-4, where however the evidence was not quite accurately stated. Unfortunately the year is omitted in l. 6 and is incompletely preserved in l. 19, where there is a choice between the 6th (unlikely), 16th, and 26th. Of these the second would cause least difficulty, but the 20th year has already occurred on the recto of this fragment (see introd.), and cf. Fr. 8. 13, where Epeiph is perhaps equated to Artemisius in the 25th year, inconsistently with other evidence.

13-14. μετὰ κυρίου shows that one of the three sureties was a woman, and Σου- is therefore probably a variant of the common feminine prefix Σε-, the inserted names being intended to follow Ἀπολλωνίου. The φ seems clear and neither Σουτοθοῆς nor -τοτοῆς is suitable.

17-18. Cf. e.g. 818. 16.

19. κλ(ήρου) ὀρφανού: cf. Fr. 14, P. Petrie II. 39 (ε), III. 110 (α), Enteux. 68. 1, B.G.U. 1261. 3, 1266. 10, Lesquier, *Inst. mil. sous les Lagides*, p. 36. In P. Petrie II. 39 (ε) 7 it may be suggested that ὁ κλ(ήρος) ἴδι(ος) is a note inserted after ὀρφανός, which is in larger letters, had been written; cf. the note added in the margin of the following column.

23-9. Short accounts similar to this occur at the foot of Col. ii, in Fr. 11 verso, and elsewhere on the verso of this papyrus. They commonly begin with a date. κενόν in l. 27 is possibly -νών, but cf. Fr. 15, where twice the amount here is entered for κενά. What is meant is not clear.

32. τῆς δ (ἐκατοντάρουρος): the abbreviation expanded ἐκατοντάρουρος, incomplete here and in l. 39, is no doubt the same as in e.g. recto i. 34 and Fr. 7. 29, where it is well preserved. It consists of ρ surmounted by a shallow v-shaped or rounded mark which might naturally be taken for υ, and recurs without a numeral or prefix in Fr. 4 recto 29, &c. That it stands for ἐκατοντάρουρος is shown by Fr. 6. 14, where that word occurs unabbreviated in a passage similar to the present. What then is δ or, as written also in Frs. 4. 30, 8. 25, ἦ δ? That the δ (or possibly, in one or two places, α), which sometimes has a horizontal stroke above it (so Frs. 6. 7, 14, 8. 25), is a numeral seems likely, in which case some subdivision of infantry such as ἐκατονταρχία may be meant: cf. 742. 19, n. But a more natural supposition is that the reference is to hipparchies, and the fact that in one instance (Fr. 4 recto 30) a member of the ἄγημα is concerned no longer constitutes an obstacle; cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59347. 1 τοῦ ἀρχ[α]ίου ἀγήματος ἱππάρχης. These passages of 815 recall the crux in P. Grenf. II. 42. 3 (A.D. 86) τῆς β τῶν (ἐκατονταρῶρων), where Lesquier's suggestion (*op. cit.* 270<sup>1</sup>) that β = ἡμισείας, though adopted by Preisigke, *Berichtigungsl.*, is clearly untenable.

33. Cf. i. 2, n. The ρ before χαλ(κοῦ) is clear and, as there is no sign of abbreviation, is presumably a figure.

34-6. From Daisius 27 to Dystrus 30 would be only 9 months and 3 days unless an intercalary month was allowed for, which is perhaps to be inferred. For Dystrus 30 cf. P. Hibeh, p. 334.

41. συ(γραφαί): cf. Fr. 1 verso ii. 3, and Fr. 11, where the word is written out.

### Fr. 3.

Height 31 cm.

On the recto, parallel with the fibres, ends of lines much effaced, and in the reverse direction an account, also much effaced, in a larger hand. To the right of these and across the fibres, beginning near the upper edge of the papyrus, the following lease, dated in the 25th year, has been written out at length; cf. P. Hibeh 90, which is of the same year, as was established by the aid of the present papyrus. The small cursive writing is in parts nearly effaced and decipherment is consequently difficult. The verso contains abstracts similar to those on the recto of other fragments of the papyrus.

Recto, Col. ii.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν  
 ἔτους πέμπτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέως Δωσιθέου τοῦ Δριμύλου  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν  
 Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Βερε-  
 νείκης τῆς Πυθαγγέλου, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Χοίαχ  
 μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι, ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ τῇ ἐπὶ τῆσϋ  
 χόματος τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ἐμίσθωσεν

- Πρώταρχος Σώτου Ἀθηναῖος τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἐτεωνέως ἑκατοντ-  
 ἄρουρος Ἀρείω Θέωνος τῶν . . . . . [ .  
 . . . . . οὐ Ἀχαιῶι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τὸν αὐτοῦ κλῆρον ὃν ἔχει ἐκ  
 βασιλικοῦ περὶ κώμην Κερκεοσεῖριν εἰς τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος  
 ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς ἀρταβῶν  
 5 . . . . . ὦν . . . . . ὦν ἀρταβῶν . . . [ . ] . [ . . . ] . . ἄν[ε]ν σπέρματος  
 ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἀνυπόλογον πάσης φθ[ο]ρᾶς εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα, ἐξέστω  
 δὲ . . . . τῶσε . . . . . ὦι . . [ .  
 16 l. γ . . . . . [ . ] . . . . παραγ(γ)έλληται . . . . . τοῖς ἰδίους  
 ἀνηλώμασιν, κόψει δὲ καὶ τ . . . . . οὐ καὶ 15 l.  
 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ . . [ .  
 . . . [ . ] 22 l. γ Ἀρείος . . . . . ἔτω αὐτῶι 18 l. καὶ ἀποτείσει . . . . .  
 . . . . τὴν τιμὴν τ . . . . . ἐκ τῶν ἐκφορίων  
 20 l. τ[ὸ] δὲ ἐκφόριον καταστήσει [τ]ῶν πέντε ἀρουρῶν [ [ . . . . . ] ]  
 ἐκάστης ἀρούρας πυρῶν ἀρτάβας τέσσαρας, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ καταστήσῃ  
 . . . . ἐκά[σ]τῃς ἀρούρας τοῦ χόρτου . . . . . κατα 20 l. γ  
 ἐκάστης ἀρούρας τοῦ . . . . οὐ καὶ προσκαταστήσεται χαλκοῦ νομί-  
 ματο[s]  
 10 δραχμὰς . . . . , ἐξέστω δὲ Ἀρείωι σπείρειν ὁσάκις ἀν βούληται σπέρμασιν οἷς  
 ἀν θέλῃ καὶ σησαμεύειν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκφορίου ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι ἔτει, ἄρξει δὲ  
 τῆς μισθώσεως . . . . . ι μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπειφ τοῦ  
 ἕκτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους. ἀποδῶτω δὲ Ἀρείος Πρωτάρχει τὸ ἐκφόριον ἐν  
 μηνὶ Ξαν-  
 δικῶι Αἰγ[υπ]τιῶν δὲ Ἐπειφ ἢ ὅταν ἢ ἄφεις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφεθῆι τῶν  
 ἐκφορίων . . τ . . . . δ . . . . ὦι, καὶ . . . . τῆσεται πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον  
 τὸν γενόμενον  
 ἐν τῆι γῆι . . . . [ . ] - ι . [ . ] . . . . . ν πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν μετρήσει καὶ  
 σκυτάληι δικαίαι καὶ καταστησάτω Ἀρείος πρὸς Πρώταρχον εἰς τὴν  
 σηματομένην κώμην Ἀρσινόην τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 ἀνηλώμασιν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀποτεισάτω Ἀρείος  
 Πρωτάρχει τιμὴν ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης τῶν πυρῶν . . . . .  
 . . . [ . ] . . . ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 15 χμὰς τέσσαρας. τῶν δὲ . . . . . ν[ . ] . . . καὶ τῶν γεννημάτων κυριευέτω  
 Πρώταρχος ἕως [ἀν] τὰ . . . [ . . . . ] . [ . ] . [ . . . . ] . . . . [ 20 l. Πρώ-  
 ταρχος about 60 l. [

Slight remains of several more lines, partially effaced, below which there is other writing in the opposite direction, and also at right angles.

7. The next 2 or 3 letters after *αρειος* corr. ?

Verso, Col. i.

- φοίνικα ὃν ἂν βούληται [  
σταφυλῆς μνᾶς ις [  
τῆς σταφυλῆς (δρ.) β του[  
παραδώσει δὲ καὶ τὰ δ . . . . [  
5 προιόντος ὕδατος ἐν τῷι . [ τὰ δὲ τείχη παρέξεται ?  
ἐχυρὰ καθὸ καὶ παρέλαβεν [  
ἔγγυος τῶν ὄλων εἰς ἕκτ[εισιν  
δονοὺς κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμ[μένα. ἢ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω ἐξ αὐτοῦ ?]  
καὶ ἐκ πάντων. συγγ[ραφοφύλαξ ]  
10 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (τριώβ.).  
κη.  
/ ὁμολογεῖ Φαιδρίας Φαι[δρίου ] . . . . . ωνι  
Μέγητος Μακεδόνι τῆς ἐπιγ[ονῆς μεταδε]δωκέναι ἀπὸ τῆς  
γῆς ἧς γεωργεῖ ἐκ β[ασιλικο]ῦ οὔσης περὶ κ(ώμην) . . . ην  
15 γῆς ἀρου(ρ.) ις ἐκφορίου κατὰ [τὸ ἔθος ?] τῆς κ(ώμης) . . . . .  
. . . . ν . . .  
ἐκ . . . ης διαγραφῆς τῆς . [ . . . . ] εἰ πρόστιμον (δρ. ?) ρ.  
μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. [συγγ]ραφοφύλαξ Ἀπολλώνιος.  
κθ.  
/ ἐδάνεισεν Φιλωτέρα Νουμνί[ου . . . ] . ατ . . . ρουστὰ μετὰ κυρίου  
20 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Διουυσίου τοῦ Ἀντι[ . . . ] Πέρσου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς παρ . . ν . . .  
χαλκοῦ νομίσ(ματος) (δρ.) ρν ἄτοκον [ . . . ] . . . . . ζην Καλισθένους  
Μακεδόνι τῶν οὔτω ὑπ . . . [ . εἰκ]οσιπενταρούρωι . .  
μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. [συγγ]ραφοφύλαξ Διόσκορος Ἀμμωνίου.  
. . . . . (ἡμιωβέλιον).  
25 λ. ἐμίσθωσεν Καλᾶς Φιλί[σκου] Μακεδὼν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
Χόλμει Παῆτος Ἐρμοπολε[ίτη]ι γεωργῶι τὴν ἱερὰν γῆν  
{γῆν} ἣν ἔχει ἐκ βασιλικοῦ πε[ρὶ κώ]μην Δαγίδα γῆς ἀρου[ρας] ις

ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην (ἄρου.) πυ(ρ.) (ἀρτ.) . [ἀνευ] σπέρματος ἀκίνδυνον  
καὶ ἀνευ-

πόλογον πάσης φθορᾶς εἰς τὸ ξ[κ (ἔτος) .] . . . . ν, ἐξέστω [δ]ξ  
αὐτῶι [σπεῖρε]ιν ὁσάκις ἀν

30 βούληται σπέρμασιν οἷς ἀν θέλ[ηι . .]τ . . . ελη . . . ἄρξει τ[ῆς] μισθῶσεως  
ἀπὸ μηνὸς Παῦνι τοῦ ξκ (ἔτους) τῶι[ . . . . .] . . . . . ωι. συγγραφοφύλαξ  
μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (ὀβολ.) . Δίβυς Τροχίνδου.

Περειπίου Παῦν[ι

α. . ν . . . γενημα[

35 ]κ . . .

β. ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος Α[

Δικαίω Μακεδόν[ι] τῶν οὐ[π]ω ὑπ ἀπὸ  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλ(ήρου) ὃν ἔχει ἐκ βασιλ[ικ]οῦ περὶ κά(μην) ἐκφορίου  
τοῦ παντὸς πυ(ρ.) ἀρ(τ.) π ἀνευ σπέρ[μα]τος

40 καὶ . . . . ἰσει τὸ ἐκφόριον ἐν [μην]ι συγγραφοφύλαξ  
μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. [

ἐμίσθωσεν Τρύφων Ἀντιπ[ά]τ[ρου]

4. ι of και rewritten. 14. γης corr. from βασιλ. 17. φυλαξ απολλωνιος over an  
expunction.

Col. ii, which is much damaged, includes a lease from Philotera (l. 8 sqq.; cf. i. 19), which is followed by another beginning <sup>21</sup>μετέδωκεν (cf. Fr. 1. ii. 38, n.) Δημήτριος Ποιάνου (or Παράνου?) Φάριος <sup>22</sup>Ἡρακλείδῃ Θεωδώρου Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς <sup>23</sup>ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς γῆς - - - The stipulation is made <sup>29</sup>εἰςμετρήσει εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐν μηνί Φαμενῶθ <sup>30</sup>τοῦ ξκ (ἔτους) - - -

Recto 2-3. Γορπιαίου . . . Χοίαχ: cf. ll. 11-12, where Xandicus-Epeiph is the same equation. It was discussed in P. Hibeh, pp. 343 and 345, where Fr. 3 was called (c).

Ἄρσωνή . . . χώματος: cf. Vol. II, p. 369, where the present passage was referred to, P. Enteux. 25. 10-11, 80. 2.

3. τῶν . . . Ἐτεωνέως: cf. e.g. P. Petrie III. 77. 5-6, Lille 14. 5.

5. A vertical stroke through the ξ of ἐξέστω and some other adjacent marks are apparently fortuitous.

8. [τ]ῶν πέντε: the relation of these five arurae to the rest is obscure; they were presumably specified somewhere in the illegible portions of ll. 5-8.

9. The first word seems not to be ὑπέρ.

10. σησαμεύειν: cf. Fr. 7. 6, 44, P.S.I. 432. 3; in Fr. 5. 25 sesame is excluded.

10-11. Cf. P. Magd. 3. 3 (= Enteux. 59) ἄρξι τῆς μισθώσεως ὁ σπόρος ὁ ἐν τῶι εκ (ἔτει) εἰς τὸ 5κ (ἔτος), Frankf. I. 10 ἄρ[ξ]ει δὲ ὁ σπόρος τῆς μισθ[ώσ]εως ἐν τῶι δεκάτ[ω]ι ἔτ[ε]ι. Something like ὁ σπόρος ὁ τοῦ μηνός is wanted after μισθώσεως, but is hardly to be recognized in the scanty remains; cf. verso 30-1.

12. ἐν τῶι κλήρωι (e.g. Fr. 5. 32) does not suit, and neither καταστήσεται nor παραστήσεται appears possible after καί: the first letter looks like α or ε. For ἄφεις cf. also Fr. 6. 30, 27. 62, P. Amh. 43. 9, Petrie II. 2 (1) 10, B.G.U. 1271. 4.

13. μέτρωι συμβεβλημένοι would be expected on the analogy of e.g. 823. 14, P. Lille 21. 23, but there seems to be no doubt that the letter before πρὸς was ν; possibly συμβεβλη- μένον was written.

15. No doubt τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίσηται or something similar; cf. e.g. Fr. 6. 25-6, 105. 47.

Verso 1-10. This is evidently the conclusion of a lease of a παράδεισος; cf. Frs. 2. 63 sqq., 5. 35 sqq.

5-6. Cf. Fr. 6. 48, where apparently the same adjective is used; if it is rightly read, Mayser's remark in *Gram.* i. 96 no longer holds good.

9. πάντων: sc. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

13. μεταδε]δωκέναι: cf. Fr. 1 recto ii. 38, and n.

14. κ(ώμην) Καινήν is possible, though this village does not seem to have previously occurred earlier than the first century B.C., unless it is to be recognized in P. Cairo Zen. 59590. 15.

20. The end of the line is difficult. The name of the borrower, which would be expected, comes later.

22. Cf. l. 37. ὑπ' (for ὑφ') ἡγεμόνα (cf. P. Hamb. 26. 13) is hardly reconcilable with the remains, still less ὑπ' ἱπάρχην (e.g. Fr. 5. 2). At the end of the line some marks which look like a broad α or λ have no obvious meaning.

30-1. Cf. recto 10-11, n. σπόρος is unobtainable before ἄρξι.

32. Τροχίνδου: cf. Τροχινίδης in Fr. 2 recto 30, &c.; but the reading here is very uncertain. Neither name occurs elsewhere, apparently.

34. No entry similar to this seems to occur in the papyrus elsewhere.

37. Cf. l. 22, n.

40. Possibly μετρήσει is the word intended, but the letter before σει appears to be ι, not η.

Fr. 4.

32.7 × 20.4 cm.

This fragment has on the recto a nearly complete column, with a few letters from the beginnings of lines of the next one (omitted). On the left-hand side there is a good margin with no sign of writing, and the edge of the sheet here follows a straight line rather suggesting the beginning of a roll. The contracts summarized in Col. i are an acknowledgement of a sum of money as the dowry of a woman with whom the recipient engaged to make a regular contract of marriage (ll. 2-11), a short agreement of uncertain character, two loans of money (ll. 18-29), and three leases (ll. 30 sqq.). The acknowledgement of receipt of a dowry with provision for a future marriage-contract affords an interesting parallel to P. Par. 13 (cited in the note on ll. 1-2) and B.G.U. 1101; cf.

Mitteis, *Grundz.* p. 201. A time limit for the completion of the prospective contract is not mentioned, but may have been stated in the original agreement. Presumably cohabitation took place in the meantime. An equation of Phaophi to Panemus at the top of the column corresponds with that in Fr. 3 recto. On the verso a short narrow column gives personal descriptions of the bride and bridegroom who figure on the recto.

## Recto, Col. 1.

Φαῶφι [[Φα]] Πανήμου ιβ.

- α. διομολογεί Πτολεμαῖος Στεφάνου Σαλαμείνιος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 ἔχειν παρὰ Θευτείμης τῆς Ἑρακλείδου Κυρηνη(α)ίας με-  
 τὰ κυρίου φερνήν τῆς αὐτῆς θυ(γατρὸς)
- 5 Θευξένας χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου (δρ.) ψ ἐφ' ᾧ πῶησειν συγ-  
 γραφὰς συνοικεσίου, ἐὰν δὲ . . . . . πατρὸς αὐτῆς Ἑρα-  
 κλεῖ[δου] . . . . . ηι Θευτείμη ἢ Θευξένα τῆν  
 [φερνήν ἀποδότη?] παραδεχόμενος αὐτῶι τὰ ἀναλώματα  
 πάντα [. . .]. κατ . . . . . παρέχει Στέφανος ἀπὸ τῆς φερ(νῆς)
- 10 (δρ.) σ. συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἀγήνωρ Σισσίνου.  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) [. ]
- 6 very defective lines, the last giving the name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ,  
 Ἰσοκράτης Μειδίου. No day of the month is visible in front of the  
 first line.
- ἐδάνεισεν Κράτης . . . . . ου Μακεδῶν τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Θεμιστω  
 Ὀλυμ[π.] . . . [.] . . . [.] χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου ὀφθαλμοφάνους (δρ.) κ ἄτοκον
- 20 εἰς μῆνας [[. . . . .]] [δ]ώδεκα ἀπὸ Ὑπερβερεταίου ι. ἐὰν δὲ  
 μὴ ἀποδῶι ἐν τῶι εἰρημένωι χρόνωι καθὰ συγγέγραπται  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ Τροχινίδης.
- ἐδάνεισεν Ἄνδ . ρ . . νοσ[.] .] Θραῖξ τῶν Μενελάου πρώτων ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμο-  
 πολεί-
- του καὶ τῆς τετάρτης ἰπ[παρχ]ίας Εὐτυχίδι Ταρρίου Μακέται μετὰ κυρίου
- 25 Σύρου τοῦ Ζηνοδ[ό]του . . . [.] . . ο]υ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου δοκίμου  
 ὀφθαλμοφάνους [δραχμὰς] μη εἰς μῆνας ιβ ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου  
 μηνὸς τόκου ὡς ἐκ [δ]ύο δραχμῶν τῆι μναὶ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον.  
 ἔγγυος τῶν μη (δραχμῶν) εἰς ἔκτεισιν Σύρος ὁ καὶ κύριος αὐτῆς ἐπιγεγραμ-  
 μένος. μ[ι]σ(θ.) (δρ.) α [ ] συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἀντιφάνης (ἐκατοντάρουρος).

30 ἐμίσθωσεν Τρ[ο]χινίδης Βοιώτιος τοῦ ἀγήματος καὶ τῆς δ [(έκατοντάρουρος)  
Πτολεμαίωι Δημητρίου Πριηνεῖ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀπὸ τ[οῦ  
αὐτοῦ κλ(ήρου) οὗ ἔχει ἐκ βασιλικοῦ περὶ κώ(μην) Λαγίδα γῆς (ἀρού.) ι,  
ὧν ὄρι[α

ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ο . . . . ἀπο . . . . . εἰς . . . . . ιος, ἀπὸ νότον . . . . . εἰς . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . about 24 l. [ . . . ]

35 [ . . . ] . . . . . μα ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην ἄρουραν χαλκοῦ (δρ.) ι (δυοβ. ?) [ ἀπὸ . . . (ἔτους) εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν [ἔνα ?]. συ[γ]γραφοφύλαξ [μισ(θ.)] (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.) Ἄντιφάνης (έκατοντάρουρος).

[ἐμίσθωσεν] Πτολεμαῖος Δημητρίου Πριηνεὺς τῆς ἐπιγονῆς [ . . . . . ] περὶ Ἀρμαίωι Ἀρσινοίτῃ γεωργῶι ἀπὸ τοῦ Τροχινίδου κλ(ήρου) 40 [οὗ ἔχει] ἐκ βασιλικοῦ περὶ κώ(μην) Λαγίδα γῆς ἀρούρας ι . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . [ἐκφορί[ο]ν ἐκάστη[ν] ἄρου]ραν χαλκοῦ (δρ.) ια (τετρωβ.) (ἡμιωβ.) ἀκίνδυνον

καὶ ἀνυπόλογον καθὰ καὶ αὐτὸς μεμίσθωται κατὰ συγγραφὴν μισθώσεως τὴν κειμένην κυρίαν παρὰ συγγραφοφύλακι Ἄντιφάνῃ. (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.) συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἄντιφάνης [(έκατοντ)](άρ ?).

45 ιδ· οὐθέν.

ἐμίσθωσ{ωσ}εν Κλ . . . . . θεοῦ Σάμιος τῶν Μενελάου πρώτων [ καὶ δ ἱππαρχίας (έκατοντάρ.) Ἀμεινοβίωι Ἀμεινοβίου Κυρηναίωι τῆς ἐπιγ[ον]ῆς τὸν αὐτοῦ κλ(ήρου) ὃν ἔχει ἐκ βα(σιλικοῦ) περὶ κώ(μην) Φιλαγρίδα ἐκφορίου τοῦ [παντὸς

ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου α πυρῶν (ἀρτ.) τ ἄνευ σπέρματος ἀκίνδυνον καὶ ἀνυπόλογον εἰς (ἔτ ?) [ . . ἀπὸ . . [ . . ] κ' ἐφ' ὧι ε . . . . . τὸν πρῶτον σπόρον τὸν ε . . τ . [ . . . . . σπερ[ . . , ἀ]ναπαυσάτω δὲ . . . . . ἢ χόρτωι ἢ ἀράκωι ἢ . . τωι ἢ [ ὧι ἂν [βούληται ?], ἐὰν δὲ μὴ . . . [ . ] σηι καθὰ συγγέγραπται, ἀπο[τει]σάτω [χωρὶς ? τοῦ] ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην (ἄρου.) ἀνὰ χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου (δρ.) ι. μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.) συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἄντιφάνης (έκατοντάρ.)

Verso.

Πτολεμαῖος (έτων) λ  
μέσος μεγέθει μελίχρωξ



κλαστόριξ σπανώγων.

Θευξί[έ]να ὡς (ἐτώων) κ μέση

5 μεγέθει [λε]υκόχρως οὐλή

τῆι σιαγ[όνι τ]ῆι δεξιᾷ.

Slight remains of several more lines, and at the foot some amounts in drachmae and obols.

3. λα corr. from ασ?

Recto ll. 1-11. 'Phaophi 1, Panemus 12. Ptolemaeus son of Stephanus, Salaminian of the Epigone, acknowledges that he has received from Theutime daughter of Heracleides, of Cyrene, with her guardian as the dowry of her daughter Theuxena, 700 drachmae of copper at par on condition that he shall make a contract of cohabitation, and if (with the concurrence?) of her father Heracleides Theutime or Theuxena (demand back?) the dowry, he shall repay it with deduction of all expenses; and for . . . Stephanus provides 200 dr. out of the dowry. Keeper of the contract, Agenor son of Sisines. Charge [.] dr.'

1-2. It is natural to suppose that the α, which like l. 1 is written large, is to be connected with Φαῶφι, so that Phaophi 1 at this time corresponded with Panemus 12. This correspondence differs by one day from that expected for the 25th year according to P. Enteux. 65. 14-15, in the absence of intercalation. But that date being accepted, other Magdola papyri show that an intercalation of 28 days must have occurred in the Macedonian year before Loius 26 of the 25th year; cf. Guéraud's note *ad loc.* If therefore the correspondence in the present passage is really the same as that implied by P. Enteux. 65, the intercalation took place in the short interval between Panemus 12 and Loius 26. On the other hand, the date in P. Petrie II. 2 (2), (3), 25th year, Apellaeus 11 = Pharmouthi 6, is inconsistent with intercalation between Apellaeus and Loius and points to its having occurred where it would be expected, after the preceding Hyperberetaeus. Probably therefore there is something wrong with this date in 815. The β in ιβ is faint, but no other figure seems obtainable, and the α below Φαῶφι can certainly not be read as λ, which is unfortunate, because Panemus 12 = Phaophi 30 would be correct according to the correspondence so well attested by the Magdola papyri, Loius 26 = Choiak 13. At l. 45, however, ιδ is not very satisfactory, especially the ι. If the figures there are right, the dating was continued according to the Macedonian calendar.

διομολογεί; cf. 104. 12 τὴν διομολογημένην αὐτῶι φερνήν, and especially P. Par. 13. 4 sqq. (M. 280) συνούσης Ἰσιδώροι καθ' ἣν ἔθετο αὐτῆι συγγραφὴν ὁμολογίας δι' ἧς διομολογείται . . . ἔχειν παρ' αὐτῆς ἣν προσενήνεκτο φερνήν . . . καὶ περὶ τοῦ θήσεσθαι αὐτῆι ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι συνοικισίου (sc. συγγραφῆν, as suggested in P. Oxy. II, p. 245 and proved by ll. 5-6 below as well as by B.G.U. 1101. 19-20). Elsewhere διομολογείν is mostly found in the phrase τὰ διομολογημένα εἶναι (μένειν) κύρια.

4. A blank space was left for the name of the κύριος.

6-7. The sense seems to require something like ἐὰν δὲ διὰ . . . οἱ μετὰ γνώμης . . . ἀπαιτήσῃ, but the half-obliterated remains are hardly identifiable.

10. Σισίνου: the name is ordinarily spelled Σισίνης.

21. The sentence was left unfinished.

22. Τροχινίδης: presumably the same as in ll. 30 and 39.

23. πρώτων: cf. l. 46, Fr. 5. 36, Fr. 6. 33, and 819. 9-10, n. This passage was referred to in the n. on P. Hibeh 110. 72. The two parallels cited from the Petrie papyri by Lesquier, *Inst. Mil.* 347 had not been quite correctly read: in I. 19. 2-3 l. 'Ιάσων Ἀχαιὸς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρ[μο]-πολίτου πρώτων and in III. 12. 7 l. [Μενελάου] τῶ[ν] ἐ[κ] τ[οῦ] Ἐρ[μο]πολίτου πρώτων ὡς κτλ.

29. (ἐκατοντάρουρος): cf. ll. 37, 54 and Fr. 2 verso 32, n.

30-1. Cf. Fr. 2 recto 31-2, and verso 32, n.; [ἰπ(παρχίας)] is a possible alternative at the end of l. 30.

33-4. These two lines giving the boundaries of the land were added after l. 35 was written, and the small partially-effaced writing is very illegible.

35. ιζ [ could be read in place of ι (δυοβ.), but is less likely in view of the figures in l. 41, which refer to the same piece of land.

38-44. A sub-lease of the land let in ll. 30-7.

50. The remains do not suggest ἀπὸ (ἔτους).

51. Cf. 106. 22 ἀναπαύσάτω κατ' ἔτος τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς γῆς χόρτωι ἢ ἀράκωι ἢ τήλει, and

105. 23-4 ἀναπαύσει . . . κατ' ἔτος . . . τὸ ἡμισυ γένεσιν οἵ[ς] ἐ[ἴ]α]ν αἰρήτ[αι] πλὴν ἐλαικῶν φορτίων.

52. Not μὴ ποιήση, which is too short; perhaps μὴ ἀναπα[ύ]σηι.

## Fr. 5.

31.1 × 21.5 cm.

Plate V

A comparatively well-preserved column on the recto gives abstracts of three leases and of a sale of the produce of garden-land, both grapes and fruit. There is a broad margin to the right, and a few letters which occur at the foot close to the ends of ll. 36 sqq. perhaps represent a marginal entry rather than the beginnings of lines of the next column. As in Fr. 4, a cleanly cut vertical edge on the opposite side of the sheet is suggestive of the beginning of a roll, and it is noticeable that, as there, the date given in the heading of the column is the first day of an Egyptian month. The correspondence between the Egyptian and Macedonian calendars is here (cf. l. 31) the same as in Fr. 3 verso and Frs. 6-7. On the verso are two partially effaced documents, one a draft or copy of a letter in 13 lines to Dioscurides from Horus, the other consisting of 12 lines written in the reverse direction, perhaps also a letter.

Πανήμου Ἀθ[ύρ] α.

ἔμισθωσεν Παρμένων Μακεδὼν τῶν οὔπω ὑπὸ ἰππάρχηι (ἐκατοντάρουρος?)

Ἀνδρονίκωι Βασιλείδωι Κυρην(αί)ωι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου) οὗ ἔχει  
περὶ κώ(μην) Φιλοπάτορα τὸ ἡμισυ, ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην

5

πυ(ροῦ) γ' ἀνευ σπέρματος ἀκίνδυνον πάσης φθορᾶς, τῶν . . . ὦν

An illegible line, and two more apparently inserted after συγγραφοφύλαξ

(l. 8) was written, the second, a short line, ending just below συγγρ.,

and the first (l. 7) including the words καρπῶν κυριεύσεται Παρμένων (cf. Fr. 6. 25-6).

## συγγραφοφύλαξ

(δρ.) α.

Ἀγάθων (έκατοντάρουρος).

- 10 ἐμίσθωσεν Τρύφων Ἀγαξιμένους Α . . . . . τῆς ἐπιγον[ῆς] ?  
Σίμωνι Ἀντιπάτρου Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
καὶ Ζηνοδότῳ Χαριδήμου Θραικὶ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
ἀπὸ τοῦ κλ(ήρου) ἑκατοῦταρούρου οὗ ἔχει περὶ κώ(μην) Κερκεοσειρίν γῆς ἀρούρας κς ὀπίσαι ἂν γένονται
- 15 ἐκ γεωμετρίας, ὧν ὄρια ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ρ . . ρος, ἀπὸ λιβδὸς  
τὸ . ρ . . μα τοῦ . . . . . του κλ(ήρου), ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου  
. . . . ., ἀπὸ νότου τὸ χέρσον τοῦ κλήρου,  
καθὰ εσ . . . . . ι Τρύφων τῶν . . . . . ὧν παρα . . . . .  
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν . . . . . σεται (δρ.) ι, ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην (ἄρουραν)
- 20 πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν ελ ἄνευ σπέρματος,  
κόψουσιν [δ]ῆ τὸν πυρρὸν καὶ δώσουσιν καθ' ὥραν καθ' ἣν  
συντάσσει Τρύφων τοῦ ςκ (ἔτους) καὶ καταστήσουσιν  
πρὸς θησαυρὸν εἰς Ἀλεξάν(δρειαν), ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κόψωσιν ε . . . . . ν  
εξ . . . . . [.] . . . . . ις (δρ.) ι, ὁσάκις ἂν βούλωνται,  
25 σπέρμασιν οἷς ἂν θέλωσι χωρὶς σησάμου.  
τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων εἰς Κερκεοσειρίν ἐπίτιμον (δρ.) λ.  
μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (ὀβολ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἀγάθων (έκατοντάρ.).
5. ἐμίσθωσεν Νικόσ{σ}τρατος Μονίμου Θραῖξ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
30 Βαρ . . . . . Ἀμμωνίου Ἰδαυμαίῳ σικυῶνα ὃν ἔχει . . . . . σι  
πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν η χαλκοῦ νομίσματος [[(δρ. ?) . . .]]  
(δρ.) β, ἂς ἀποδώσει ἐν Ξανδικῶι Αἰγυπτίῳ δὲ Μεσορῇ  
ἢ ὅταν ἢ ἀφesis παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφεθῆι ἐν τῷ κλ(ήρῳ) κ . .  
μισ(θ.) (πεντάβολον). συγγραφοφύλαξ

## Πλάτων Τιμαγένης.

- 35 ζ. ἀπέδοτο Νικάνωρ Μένωνος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῶν οὐπῶ ἐπηγγέμενον  
εἰς δῆμον Ἀμμωνιῆα τῶν Μενελάου πρώτων ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρμοπολείτου  
καὶ (έκατοντάρουρος)  
Ἀπολλοδώρῳ Νεοπτολέμου Θραῖξ, Δωρίωνι Θήρωνος Κρητὶ τῆς  
ἐπιγονῆς,

καὶ Πτολεμαίω Δωρίωνος Κρητὶ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν  
 ἀκροδρύων πάν(των)  
 καὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου πάσης τῆς τοῦ παραδείσου ὄντος περὶ κώ(μην)  
 Ἀρσινόην φόρου  
 40 τοῦ παντὸς χαλκοῦ (δρ.) ., ἐφ' ᾧ τάξονται τὰ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν  
 καθήκοντα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ παραδεί[σου]. πᾶν ἀποδώσωσιν ἐν μηνὶ Θῶτ ἔσχα-  
 τ. ν . . . . . [ ]  
 5 (ἔτους?), παραδώσωσιν δὲ καὶ ἐξαιρέτα παρὲκ τοῦ φόρου φοι-  
 κῶνος καρπῶν.

3. First ε of εχει rewritten. 11. ηι of περσηι corr. from ου. 14. l. ὀπόσαι.  
 20. εΖ corr. from ζΖ. 25. After ται a considerable blank space. 29. l. Ἰδουμ.: the  
 third letter is more like a than o. 31. After (δρ.) β a blank space. 37. θ of θραιξ  
 corr.; l. Θραικί. 39. του corr.

15. Not τὸ ὄρος.

24-5. ἐξέστω δὲ αὐτοῖς σπείρειν, as e.g. in Fr. 6. 21-2, is to be supplied.

26. The sense seems to be that 30 additional dr. were to be paid if delivery was made at Kerkeosiris instead of at Alexandria, as provided in l. 23.

29. If *περὶ* followed *ἔχει*, as usual, the local name was represented by only two or three letters. *ἐν μισθῶσι* is not possible; the penultimate letter may well be ν, not σ. The letters in the latter part of this and of the next two lines are smudged, and some other writing seems to have been expunged.

32. The letters after κλ(ήρωι) might be interpreted as *κου(ῶς)*, but this is an unexpected addition to the formula.

35-42. 7th. Nicanor son of Menon, Alexandrian not yet admitted to the deme Ammonieus, one of the first class from the Hermopolite nome of the troop of Menelaus and holder of 100 arurae, has sold to Apollodorus son of Neoptolemus, Thracian, Dorion son of Theron, Cretan of the Epigone, and Ptolemaeus son of Dorion, Cretan of the Epigone, the produce of all the fruit-trees and all the vines of the garden at the village of Arsinoë at a total rent of . . dr. of copper, on condition that they shall pay the dues to the Treasury from the produce of the garden. They shall pay everything in the month Thoth . . ., and shall deliver as extras fruit from the date-plantation.'

35. Nicanor recurs in Fr. 6. 32.

36. For the spelling Ἀμμωνία cf. Maysers, *Gram.* i. 76, and for πρώτων, Fr. 4. 23, n. (ἑκατοντάρουπος) is here written as a ρ having no mark above it and preceded by what appears to be meant for an abbreviation of ἄρουρα.

41-2. πᾶν seems preferable to (καρ)πῶν. The end of l. 41 is particularly illegible. For ἔσχατ . . cf. Fr. 2 verso 35; here the termination may be either -την or -των, and what immediately follows has the appearance of a letter with a horizontal stroke close above it, but hardly λ; perhaps it is ι, i.e. ἐσχάτην (δεκάδα). At the beginning of l. 42 5 seems to be followed by the h-shaped sign for ἔτος (cf. Fr. 2 recto 35, n.) and a mistake for 5κ (ἔτους) is suggested; it is difficult to extract a reference to the ἔκτη as in Fr. 2 recto 70.

Fr. 6.

30 x about 30.5 cm.

On the recto most of two columns, preceded by the ends of lines from the lower part of another; these protrude further to the right as the column proceeds, necessitating a corresponding advance towards the right in the beginnings of lines of the succeeding column. A similar irregularity, though less marked than here, is noticeable in some other places in this papyrus. Cols. ii. and iii contain abstracts of leases, one of them, which began at the foot of Col. ii and occupies most of Col. iii, being a lease of a vineyard, which is reported at much greater length than usual, details being given of the arrangements for cultivation and upkeep. Unfortunately the text is in places difficult to establish. The verso contains abstracts of two more leases, but they are not sufficiently well preserved for continuous decipherment.

## Col. ii.

- [τ]ῶν ρ ἀρουρῶν ἀποδότ[ω ἐν] μηνί Ξανδικῶι Αἰ-  
 [γ]υπτίῳ δὲ Μεσορῇ εἰς Κε. [. . .] . γ, τὸ δὲ χωματικὸν  
 καὶ τὸ φυλακειτικὸν καὶ τὸ γραμματικὸν  
 εἰς τὴν κώ(μην) παρὰ τὸ . (ἀρουρ?). [συ]γγραφοφύλαξ  
 5 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) β. Ζώϊλος κλ(ηρούχος).  
 ] ἐμίσθωσεν Τιμοκλῆς [. . .] . . . τῶν Ἀνδρίσκου  
 καὶ δ (ἑκατοντάρουρος) Ἀμεινοβίῳ . . [. . .] . Κυρηναίῳ τῆς ἐπιγοῦνης  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλ(ήρου) γῆς (ἀρού.) [. . .] αἶ εἰσιν ἀνὰ βῆμμα  
 ἀπὸ λιβὸς τοῦ κλ(ήρου), ἀπηλιώτ[ου] . . . . . , βορρᾶ . .  
 10 [. . .] (δρ.?) ε εἰς τὸ εκ (ἔτος) (ἀρταβῶν?) λ. ἡ μέτρησις δὲ  
 εἰς βασιλικόν. μαρτύρων. [συ]γγραφοφύλαξ  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (ὀβολ.). Λεοννάτος.  
 [ι]ε. ἐμίσθωσεν Φίλισκὸς Κ[υρ]ηναῖος τῶν Ἀνδρίσκου  
 δ ἑκατοντάρουρος Πετεχ[ῶντ]ι Θηβαί[ωι]  
 15 γεωργῶι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλ(ήρου) [δν] ἔχει ἐκ βασιλικῶ περι  
 κώ(μην) Δαγίδα γῆς ἀρούρα[ς . .] αἶ εἰσιν ἀπὸ ἀπη-  
 λιώτου τοῦ ἡμικληρίου, ἀπὸ νότου βασιλικῆ,  
 ἀπὸ λιβὸς τὰ χῶματα Ἐριγέ[ως] φόρου πρὸς χαλκὸν  
 [[ἐκάστην ἀρουρ]] τοῦ παντὸς [χ]αλκοῦ νομίσματος  
 20 (δρ.) πη ἀκίνδυνον κα[ι] ἀνυπόλογον πάσης

φθορᾶς εἰς τὸ 5κ (ἔτος). [ἐ]ξέστω δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 σπείρειν ὁσάκις ἂν βούληται σπέρμασιν οἷς  
 ἂν θέλῃμι τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἐ]κφορίου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 ἔτει, ὧν δ' ἂν ἐκ Φιλίσκ[ου] . . . . . ν . . . . . τοῦ  
 25 . . ιανου ἀποδι . . . . . [κ]υριεύσει δὲ τῶν φόρων  
 ἕως ἂν τὰ αὐτοῦ κομίση[τα]ι . . τ . ν . . . . , ἐὰν  
 δὲ μή, ἐξ ἀνάγκης . [ . ] . . . . . [[ . . . . ]]  
 ἐκ τῶν πάντων . [ . ] . . . . . , καὶ ἀποδότω  
 τὸν φόρον ἐν μηνὶ Δύ[στ]ρωι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπειφ  
 30 ἢ ὅταν ἢ ἄφεις τῶν βασι[λέως ἀ]φ᾽ ἑθῆι. συγγραφοφύλαξ  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. < >  
 ιζ. ἐμίσθωσεν Νικάνωρ [Ἀλε]ξανδρεὺς τῶν οὐπῶ ἐπηγμένων  
 εἰς δῆμον Ἀμμωνί[έα] . . τῶν Μενελάου πρώτων καὶ (ἑκατοντάρ.)  
 Ἀπολλωνίω Ἐπι[.] . . κῶν Θραικὶ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 Remains of 6 more lines.

14. εκ of εκατονταρουρος corr. from και.

21. 1. αὐτῷ.

Col. iii.

[εἰ]ς τὸ βασιλικ[ὸ]ν [καθήκοντα ?  
 δώσει καὶ ἕξει ἐξα[ί]ρ[ετα ?  
 σταφυλῆς μνᾶς μ[ φούνικα  
 δὲ ξηρὸν ὃν βούλ[ετα]ι . . ]π . . [  
 45 καρπῶν χοίνικας ιβ, ἐλαιῶν (ἄρταβ. ?) [ 19 l.  
 τῶν γενομένων πάντων τὸ ἥμισυ, τῆς δὲ . . [ 15 l.  
 καλάμους δισχιλίους. ἔστω δὲ καὶ ε . κ . . νοσο . [ 14 l.  
 τὰ δὲ τείχη παρέξεται ἐχυρὰ καθ' ἕκαστον καθότι α . . [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . αι ἐπισ[ο]κευάζετω ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου, οὗ δ' ἂν ἐπισκοπῶν . . [ . . . . .  
 50 . . . . . σεται δὲ πᾶ . . οἰς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἀποδοχίου κᾶ . . [ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ρος φυτευσάτω δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἃ ἂν α . . . . . ι φυτὰ [ . . .  
 συντάξεται ζωοφυτοῦντα καὶ τὰ χόματα ἀναβαλεῖ καθὰ . [ . . . . .  
 τ . . . . . ει καὶ τὸ κτῆμα ἐπισκάψει καὶ παραδείξει καθαρὸν ἀπὸ θρύου [ . . . . .  
 καὶ καλάμου καὶ πάσης βᾶτου δε[.] . . [ . . . . . ν,  
 55 ἕξει δὲ τῶν φυτῶν <τῶν> ἐνκάρπων (δρ.) μ, τοῦ δὲ νομοῦ (δρ.) κ,

- τῶν δὲ νεοφύτων (δρ.) ι, τοῦ δὲ ἀφόρου (δρ.) δ, ἀναστήσει δὲ αὐτῶι  
 τοὺς περιπάτους καθ' ἕκαστον θρύον καὶ κάλαμον καὶ βάτον,  
 τὰ δὲ στύματα παρέξει Νικάνωρ. ἔαν δὲ μὴ παρέχηι ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἄλλος τινὰ αὐτῶι παρέχης, ὑπολογήσει εἰς τὸν φόρον οὐ ἂν τοὺς  
 60 [. .] . [.] . . s σχῆμι τιμὴν ἐκάστου στύματος καθ' ὃ ἂν ἀγοράσηι,  
 ὃ ὑπολογήσει. ἕξει καὶ κηλῶν(η)α δύο ἃ παραδείξει διελθόντος,  
 ἔαν δὲ μὴ, ἀποτείσει ἐκάστου κηλῶν(η)ου (δρ.) δ, ἔαν δέ τι συντριβῆι, δώ-  
 σει Νικάνωρ ξύλον. ἔαν δέ τι τοῦ τείχους τοῦ κηλῶν(η)ου πέσηι,  
 αὐτὸς . . [ .  
 . . . . . εταδ . . καὶ τὸ ἀποδόχιον καὶ τὸν (δεκά)χουν. ἔαν δέ τι  
 65 . . . . δε . . . ον καταβάλληι τ . . . . ἀποτείσει καθ' ὃ ἂν συν  
 κ . . ν . . παραλαμβάνηι Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὅταν τοῦ ὕδατος  
 συνπαραλάβηι[ται  
 Νικάνωρ, ἔαν δὲ μὴ συνπαραλάβηιται Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ μεταλάβηι  
 τινὰς αὐτῶι,  
 ἀποτεισάτω (δρ.) κ, καὶ ἔαν . . . . . . . . s ἔργασ . . ἔχει δὲ  
 καὶ σκαφήα β, τρίποδα, δικέλλας β, δ . . δονα . [ . .] δρέπανον,  
 ἄμαξ[αν,  
 70 [ . . . . .] ἀξίνην, [ἀ πάντ]α παραδείξει διελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου, (ῆ ?)  
 ἀποτείσει  
 [τιμ]ῆν τῆν ἐν τῆι ἀγοραῖι οὔσαν . . . ι, ἔαν δ' ἀπολίπηι, ἀποτεισάτ[ω . . ,  
 ὅταν δὲ . . . . ν καταλίπηι (δρ.) Α καὶ ὃ ἂν ἀπ . . . . . . . . τῆς  
 ἀναμισθ[ώσεως  
 βεβαιου . . . . κ. μισ(θ.) (δρ. ?) α (τετρώβολον ?). [ συγγρα]φο-  
 φύλαξ  
 . . . μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.) [ . . .  
 75 . . . (δρ.) δ.  
 Remains of 6 or 7 more lines, below which the papyrus breaks off,  
 of another lease.

20. l. ἀκινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπολόγου.  
 from v. 71. τ of την corr. ?

59. l. παρέχηι.  
 73. (δρ.) corr. ?

60. Final s of στυματος corr.

4. τὸν κλ(ηροῦχον) could be read in place of τῆν κώ(μην). παρὰ τὸ (?) . . . is obscure. What looks rather like the abbreviation of ἄρουρα is preceded by a half circle open on the right, within which are two dots, the effect being more or less that of a large ε. (πεντάρουρον) or (ἑξάρουρον) would be intelligible, but these do not seem very probable.

7. δ (έκατοντάροπος): cf. l. 14 and Fr. 2 verso 32, n.; the δ, which has a stroke above it, might here be taken for α. It is natural to suppose that Ameinobius of Cyrene is identical with the Ameinobius of Fr. 4 recto 47, the name being an uncommon one; but the father's name should then be 'Αμεινοβίου, which would apparently be hardly consistent with the size of the lacuna even if it were strongly suggested by the remains.

11. μαρτύρων (sc. ὀνόματα?) is unexpected, as witnesses would be a matter of course and there is no reference to them elsewhere in these abstracts; we can, however, find no other satisfactory reading of the characters.

13. This Philiscus recurs in Fr. 7. 1, 21, 29.

14. For δ έκατοντ. cf. Fr. 2 verso 32, n. A blank was left for the patronymic; cf. l. 31 and Fr. 4 recto 4.

17. τοῦ ἡμικληρίου: cf. 746. 20-1, n.

31. The name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ was not filled in; cf. Fr. 7. 33, 39.

32-3. Cf. Fr. 5. 35-6. Nothing is wanted between 'Αμμων[έα] and τῶν, and there was perhaps a correction or deletion.

41-5. Cf. Fr. 2 recto 69-72, Fr. 3 verso 1-3.

48. έχυρά: cf. Fr. 3 verso 6, n.

51. προσφντ. does not look a very likely reading.

54. βάτου suits the sense, but is adopted with much hesitation; the remains rather suggest λ or μ for the first letter and ο or ω for the second. The word was evidently repeated in l. 57, but there it is still more indistinct. Lines 54 and 55 and also l. 65 are appreciably shorter than their neighbours.

58. στύματα: cf. l. 60. The only doubtful letter is the μ which could be λ or π, and σπέρματα is plainly excluded. What was meant is not evident.

61. διελθόντος: sc. τοῦ χρόνου. διὰ παντός could alternatively be read, but cf. l. 70.

64. Possibly μεταδότω was intended before καὶ τὸ ἀπ. The blank space after ἀποδόχιον may indicate an omission; cf. l. 68, where there is a similar interval and the sense is evidently incomplete. We have supposed that ι χουν stands for δεκάχουν rather than δέκατον χουν, though a μετρήτης δεκάχους is unusual; there is no stroke above the ι.

68. τῆς έργασίας? A correction seems to have been made in the preceding word and adds to the difficulty of decipherment.

70. [εί δέ μ]ή is unsuitable.

71. τιμήν is clearly required either before τήν or after οδσαν, and it is hardly obtainable in the latter position, though no other likely alternative has suggested itself.

72-3. In B.G.U. 1116. 33, 1119. 41, &c. in the event of a premature termination of the lease the landlord is permitted to exact τὸ ἐσόμενον ἀφεύρεμα (or βλάβος) παρὰ τὴν ἀναμίσθωσιν, and some analogous provision is looked for in the present passage. In l. 72 (middle) either ὁ ἄν or ὅταν is possible. If κ is right in l. 73, (δρ.) most probably preceded, and perhaps βεβαιουμένης (δρ.) κ should be read, but the writing is here very faint. The κ is followed by a short blank space, after which there seems to have been an anticipation of l. 74.

74-5. Whether the few letters at the beginnings of these lines relate to what precedes is doubtful. The name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ may have stood in the final lacuna.

#### Fr. 7.

31 × 16 cm.

The recto contains one column, which is fairly complete, though much of it is in poor condition. It gives short abstracts of six leases, of which we print most of the first and the three last. No year is mentioned apparently in the



fourth of them, but the others were all for the 26th year except the last, which was for the (prospective) 27th. The same correspondence occurs between the Egyptian and Macedonian calendars as in Frs. 5-6. On the verso are lines giving the personal descriptions of Nicanor and Apollonius (cf. Fr. 6. 32-4) analogous to those on the verso of Frs. 4 and 8.

δ. ἐμίσθωσεν Φίλισκος Κυρηναῖος τῶν Ἀνδρίσκοῦ δ (ἐκατοντάρουρος)  
 Θέωνι Θέωνος Πέρση τῶν ἐπέργων ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου) περὶ  
 κώμην) Λαγίδα γῆς (ἀρού.) 15 φόρου πρὸς χαλκὸν . . . . .  
 εἰς 5κ (ἔτος) ἀπὸ μηνὸς Δύστρου Αἰγυπτίων Ἐπειφ, κ[αὶ  
 5 ἐξέστω αὐτῶι σπείρειν ὀσάκισ ἀν βούληται σπέρμασιν οἷς ἀν [θέλη  
 καὶ σησαμε[ύ]ειν ἐν μὲν τῶι 5κ (ἔτει?) ἀρούρας πέντε ἐν δὲ [τῶι  
 εκ (ἔτει?) ἀρούρας πέντε - - -

3 more partially effaced lines, followed by the amount for μισθός,  
 1 dr. 3 ob., and the name (?) of the συγγραφοφύλαξ. Lines 13-27,  
 also partly effaced, record two further leases, both for the 26th year,  
 the lessor in the second being the same person as in l. 1.

[ἐμίσ]θωσεν Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλεώτης δεκα(νικὸς) κληροῦχος)

[Φιλί]σκωι Κυρηναίωι τῶν Ἀνδρίσκου δ (ἐκατονταρούροι)

30 [ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου) γῆς (ἀρού.) 15 ἐκφορίου πυ(ροῦ) ἀγὰ

[. . . ? κα]ὶ χόρτου ἀρούρας β κόψει τ . . ἀναγε . . οντ . σ

[. . . . .] . . . ον τ . . α (δρ.) μ, ἀρεστὰ ἀχύρου . . . . . 5.

μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (ὀβολ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ ( )

[ἐμίσ]θωσεν Ἀρίστων Ἀθηναῖος τῶν Ἀνδρίσκου (ἐκατοντάρουρος)

35 [. . . .] . ωι Σολεῖ τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ναυτᾶ γ ἱπ[αρχίας)

[ἀπὸ] τοῦ [αὐτοῦ κλήρου) γῆς ρ ἐκφορίου ἐκάστην (ἀρου.) [π]υ(ροῦ)

[. . . .] καὶ χόρτου τ . . . . χωρὶς τοῦ ἐκφορίου

καὶ καταστήσει ἢ ἀποτεί(σει) (δρ.) μ, καὶ ἀχύ(ρου) γ

ἢ ἀποτείσει (δρ.) κ, εἰς 5κ (ἔτος). συγγραφοφύλαξ

40 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (τριώβ.). ( )

ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀρίστων Ἀθηναῖος τῶν Ἀνδρίσκου

Πτολεμαίωι τῶν . . . [.]γ[. . . .]χοῦ γ ἱπ[αρχίας)

ἀπὸ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ κλήρου) γῆς ρ ἐκφορίου πυ(ρ.) λδ ἄνευ (σπέρματος)

εἰς 5κ (ἔτος).

ἐξέστω σπείρειν καὶ σησαμεύειν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκφορί[ου.]

45 <sup>κα Ἀ</sup> <sub>ση</sub> μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α (τριώβ.). συγγραφοφύλαξ ( ) .

1. Cf. Fr. 6. 13.

2. ἐπέργων: cf. 774. 2, n.

3. The line probably ended τοῦ παντός (δρ.). (cf. Fr. 6. 18-19), but the letters are indistinguishable.

28. δεκα(μικός): cf. 811. 14, n.

31. It is not clear whether ἀρούρας is governed by κόψει or goes with what precedes. χόρτος recurs in l. 37.

32. At the beginning of the line the letter before ο may be ι or ρ and that after ο seems to be either ι or υ, hardly σ, otherwise πρὸς τὰ ὅλα might perhaps be read.

37. The vestiges after χόρτου do not suggest ἄρουραν or -ρας (cf. l. 31).

38. There is a short blank space between αχv and γ, and possibly the final syllable was written but has disappeared.

42. ]χου: ] και is a less likely reading.

43. ζκ (ἔτος): the lease was of course drawn up before the death of Euergetes, which took place during his 26th year.

45. The marginal entry is obscure.

## Fr. 8.

23.9 × 19.2 cm.

On the recto part of one column, with ends and beginnings of lines of the adjacent columns. We print the central column, which contains abstracts of two leases and a loan, the last very imperfect. On the verso two columns, of which the second is printed, give personal descriptions as in Frs. 4 and 7, verso.

## Recto, Col. ii.

] ἐμίσθωσεν Δα[. . . . .]. εγ . . [ . . ] . ισ[. . .

μα . . δ . . . . ρωι . . . . . [ . . . . . ] Α]ν[τ]ιπ[ά]τρ[ο]υ

Παφλαγόνος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς [? Πέρ]σηι [Α]ντιγόνου

Ἀμφιπολείτηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς μετὰ ᾧν Δ . [ . . ]τος

5 Θηβαίος γεωργὸς βασιλικῶς . . ] ἀπ[δ] ρ (ἀρου.)

ᾧν ἔχει παρὰ τοῦ π . . . . ρου . . . . [ . . ] . [ . . . ] τοῦ αὐ-

τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ ὄντος περὶ κώ(μην) . [ . . . . . ] (ἀρού.) . ] αἶ εἰσιν

ἀπὸ [[νότου τῆς]] τῆς κεφαλῆς τ[. . . . .] . . [ . . ] ἐκφορίου

ἐκάστην (ἀρου.) πυ(ρ.) (ἀρτ.) β ἄν[ευ] σπέρμ[ατος ἀκί]νδνον καὶ (ἀνυπόλογον),

10 ἐξέστω δὲ αὐτοῖς . . . . . ]ι σπείρειν

ὀσά[κισ] β[ού]λονται ἕως [ . . . . . ] . τοῦ εκ (ἔτους?)

ἐφ' ᾧ ἐργῶνται κοινῇ [ . . . . τῆς] μισ[σ] θάσσεως

ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἐπιφ τοῦ εκ (ἔτους?) κα[. . . ] . [ . . ] . (δρ. ?) . ]

<sup>Ἄρτεμίσιον τὸ πρὸς . . . . [ . . . . . ]</sup>

μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. συγγραφο[φύλαξ . . ]βα . . . [ . . ] (ἐκατοντάρουρος).

- 15 ἐδάνεισεν Ἀρειῶς [. . . . . τ]ῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 Ἀντιγόνῳ Ἀντιπάτρου . [. . . . . χ]αλκοῦ (δρ.) ἰδ  
 τόκου ὡς β (δρ.) τῆι μνᾷ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκ[αστ]ῶν, ἅς  
 ἀποδότη τούς μὲν τόκους κατ[ὰ μῆνα ἕκ]αστον  
 τὰς δὲ ἰδ ἐν μηνὶ . [. . . . .] τοῦ (ἔτους) ζκ.  
 20 μισ(θ.) (τετράβ.). συγγραφοφύ[λαξ]  
 [. . . . . Ἀν]δρονίκου.  
 γ, [δ,] ε, ζ· οὐ[θ]έν.  
 ζ. ἐδάνεισεν . . [. . . . .]ς Ἀφροδεισίῳ  
 [ Ἀν]τιοχεὺς τ[ῆς ἐπιγ]ονῆς Καλλικράτη  
 25 Πέρσηι τῶν Πτολεμαίου τ . [. . . . .] καὶ τῆς δ (ἑκατονταρούρι) χαλκοῦ  
 νομίσματος (δρ.) ρ ἄτοκον - - -  
 Some remains of 4 more lines, below which the papyrus breaks off.

8. της κεφαλῆς above the line.

Verso.

In Col. i apparently 3 persons were described, the second and third being Themistus (apparently) and Apollonius; the latter was ἔνσειμος.

Col. ii.

β  
 Φιλ . . . . [. . .] ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν  
 εὐμεγέθης μελίχρως  
 μῆλα μείζονα οὐλή πα-  
 5 ρὰ κροτάφω δεξιῶι.  
 Ἐρμίας ὡς (ἐτῶν) με  
 μέσος μεγέθει μελάνχρως  
 κλασ{σ}τόθριξ οὐλή παρὰ  
 κροτάφω δεξιῶι.  
 10 Ἀντίγονος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ  
 μέσος μεγέθει μελίχρως  
 {μελίχρως} ἀναφάλαντος  
 [φα]κ[δ]ς ἐπὶ . . . βον ἀριστεροῦ.  
 Ποσειδώνιος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ

15 μέσος μεγέθει μελίχρως  
 φα[κός] ἐν μέσῳ προσώπωι  
 ἀναφάλακρος.

Recto 3. Παφλαγόνος, if rightly adopted, is likely to be an error for -νι. But the termination may be -νοῖς, with which some other reading of the preceding letters would become desirable.

6. The word after τοῦ is puzzling, though the characters are sufficiently well preserved. The first letter may be λ, μ, π, and the next two look more like ιτ than anything else. -ρουρου is possible but neither πενταρούρου nor μετεώρου . . . is satisfactory. προτέρου is excluded.

8. κεφαλῆς: cf. e.g. P, Petrie II. 38 (a) 19-21 ἐν . . . κλήρωι πρὸς τῆι ἀπὸ ἀπηλιώτου κεφαλῆι, Oxy. 273. 18.

12. ἐργῶνται: cf. 10. 2 κατεργᾶται, Maysen, Gram. i. 357.

13. The interlinear addition remains obscure but appears to imply the incredible equation of Epeiph to Artemisius in the 25th year; cf. Fr. 2 verso 4-5, n. At the end of the line what we have taken for (δρ.) ι may be meant for the symbol for (ἔτος).

24. The scribe apparently began this line under ἐδάμεισεν, between which word and the day of the month he had left a wide space. Line 25 reverts to the previous alinement.

Verso 1. β may well be a numeral, but it is not certain that no other letter followed it.

## Fr. 9.

31.5 × 12.3 cm.

A fragmentary column, with a few letters projecting into the left-hand margin near the top and at the bottom from the column preceding. We print the lower part of the second column, containing abstracts of two leases. The upper portion, which is much more defective, records two agreements, apparently alike in character and concerned with nursing, the second including the lines<sup>18</sup> τροφεύειν μηδ' ἐνκαλέσειν πρ . . . [<sup>19</sup> μηθὲν ἐὰν παραγένηται εἰς Ὀξύρυγχα τ. [<sup>20</sup> [. . . ρ . . . ρ . . . σει δὲ καὶ ἄλλας ἡμέρας (ἐὰν παραγένηται occurs in the previous agreement also).

## Col. ii.

21 incomplete lines and 3 missing.

25 ιδ.

ἐμίσθωσεν Καλλικράτης Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρση[ς τῆς ἐπιγ(ονῆς)?

Παῶτι Ὠρου Ἐρμπολείτη καὶ Λεων[. . . . .

Ἐρμπολείτη φυλακείτη ἀπὸ τοῦ κλ(ήρου) [. . . . .

. . . τος οὐ ἔχει ἐκ βασιλικοῦ περὶ κώ(μην) [. . . . .

30 γῆς (ἀρού.) ιε, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς μεμίσθωτ[αι κατὰ

[συγγραφήν μισθώσ]εως τῆν κειμένην παρ[ὰ . . . . .

- εἰς (ἔτη) β, τοῦ μ[ἐν ς]κ (ἔτους) ἐκφορίου ἐκ[άστην (ἄρου.)  
 πν(ρ.) ἀρ(τ.) αλ, τοῦ ζκ (ἔτους) ἐκφορίου ἐκάστη[ν (ἄρου.) πν(ρ.) ἀρ(τ.)  
 ἄνευ σπέρματος. συγγραφοφύλαξ [  
 35 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. Εὐστ . . [  
 ιε· οὐθέν. ις· [οὐθέν.  
 [ι]ζ. ἐμίσθωσεν Ὀνήτωρ Κρής τ[ῆς ἐπιγονῆς ?  
 Καλλικράτηι Ἀπολλωνίου  
 τὸν αὐ(τοῦ) κλ(ῆρον) περὶ κώ(μην) καθ' ἐκασ[τ  
 40 <sup>διπρ( )</sup> (δρ.?) δύο ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντός . [  
 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α. συγγραφοφύλαξ . . [  
 ιη· οὐθέν. ιθ. ὁμολογεῖ Α[  
 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγ[ονῆς  
 39. καθ εκασ[ corr.

26. Καλλικράτης: perhaps the same as in Fr. 8. 24.

27. In the margin in front of this line there are some ink marks which look rather like the symbol for ἔτος followed by κ, but their significance is obscure. Cf. l. 40, n.

29-31. Κρητός is a possible reading at the beginning of l. 29, but the dates preclude the supposition that ll. 37 sqq. record the lease to Callicrates referred to in the present passage, unless that agreement was a renewal of a previous lease, of which there is no indication.

39. There was a correction after κώ(μην) with perhaps an interlineation, so that the name of the village may have been inserted.

40. For the marginal note, which is again obscure, cf. Fr. 6. 74-5, Fr. 7. 45. The first letter, which is either α or δ, has a stroke above it.

## Fr. 10.

24 × 18.8 cm.

The two columns on this fragment are narrower than usual, especially the second, which occupied only the upper part of the sheet and was apparently the conclusion of a roll. Col. 1, which is fairly well preserved at the top but much mutilated lower down, has one nearly complete agreement, analogous to that in Fr. 2 recto 24-8, for a settlement of a claim about which a petition had been presented. The second column gives the conclusion of a lease of a vineyard.

## Col. i.

1 line ending συγγραφοφύλαξ

ὁμολογεῖ Κτήσαρχος Τιμοφάνους Χίος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
 [. . .] . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . ὠρωι τῶι Στρουθῶν τῶι περι

- [.]ναρ . . . . . εκλε . . . . . α . . . . . ἐντεύξεως  
 5 [ἦ]ν ἀνένεγκει εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα Ἀφθῶ-  
 [ν]ήτωι τῶι στρατηγῶι καὶ Ζήνωνι τῶι πρὸς τῶι  
 [σ]υντάγματι τεταγμένοι τῶν . . . . . κα (πεντωβ.)  
 [π]αρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀγαθοκλέας μηδὲν ἔτι  
 [ἐ]γκαλεῖν. συγγραφοφύλαξ Μένανδρος κλ(ηροῦχος).  
 10 μισ(θ.) (δρ.) α.  
 .] . οὐθέν.

Part of 1 line, followed after a lacuna by ends of more.

## Col. ii.

- καθαρὸν ἕως τοῦ νεοφύτου, τῶι  
 δὲ τρίτωι τὸν [ . . ε . . ] τρίτον  
 πλινθίσονται πλὴν ὅσου ἂν  
 ἦι αὐτῶι καθαρόν, καὶ τὸ νεόφυ-  
 5 τον παρέξονται καθαρὸν ἀπὸ θρύσ[ν]  
 (δρ.) ρ, καὶ ἔξουσι ὡς δά[ν]ειον (δρ.) ι,  
 τεμοῦσιν δὲ καὶ εἰς ξύλον τὴν  
 ἡμίση, τὴν δὲ ἡμίση εἰς καρπὸν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ εἰς τὰ δέξο[ι]τα,  
 10 ἔαν δὲ μή, ἔξουσι ἂν . [ . . . . . ]  
 ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ σκαφεῖν ἀπὸ του . . . . ,  
 τὴν δὲ παλαιὰν ἄμπελον αὐτ . . . ου  
 [ . . . ] . [ . ] . . . κάειν . . δ . και . . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ] πλέους τοὺς ὑπαρ . . [ . . . . .  
 15 [ . . . . . ] αὐτοῖς σ . . ταστ . . [ . . . . .  
 [ ] συγγραφοφύλαξ  
 Μένανδρος Ἀΰτιδος κλ(ηροῦχος).  
 μισ(θ.) δρ. α (τριώβ.).

3. *av* corr. 4. *a* of *αὐτωι* corr. from *κ*.

i. 4. The construction is obscure; ἐντεύξεως was apparently not preceded by the article.

6-7. τῶι . . . τεταγμένοι: cf. P. Strassb. 105. 5, where Preisigke restores τῶι πρὸς τοῖς [σ]υντάγμα[σιν]. In P. Petrie III, 12. 15-16, 14. 17, &c. Lesquier, *Insl. mil.* p. 366, would expand the ungrammatical σύνταγμα to συνταγμα(τάρχης), but that is open to grave doubt.

The reading in the present passage is fairly secure, though the letters  $\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  are cramped and might be taken for  $\mu\omega\iota$ , if that form occurred.

ii. 2.  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\iota$ : sc.  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota$  probably.

3.  $\pi\lambda\omega\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\omega$  is unknown and the last three letters look more like  $\iota\omega\nu$  than  $\tau\alpha\iota$ , but  $\pi\lambda\omega\theta\iota\varsigma$  'Ονίου is very unattractive.

8.  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$  fem. accus. is remarkable and unrecorded in Mayser, *Gram.*

11.  $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$  must be for  $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu$ , like e.g.  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\eta\nu$  for  $-\eta\omega\nu$  in 120. 82.

## Fr. 11.

21.2 × 6.6 cm.

On the recto parts of thirty-one lines recording three agreements of which the first was a lease. One of the parties to the second agreement was Ζήνων Ἰᾶπυξ τῶν Ἀνδρίσκο[ν, and one of those to the third was Ἐρμήσανδρος Ἀρκάς. The verso contains beginnings of eight lines, giving apparently an abstract of an agreement, in which the principal party was Μυρτῶ Φίλωνος, relating to a house of hers, the areas adjacent to which are stated. This is followed by beginnings of a few lines giving a personal description of Πετσεῖρις and probably another person; and above the abstract, at right angles, there is an entry, of which four lines remain, similar to those on the verso of Fr. 2:—(ἔτους) σκ Φαρμουῦθι α [ <sup>2</sup> συγγραφᾶ [ <sup>3</sup> μισ{σ}θός (δρ.) [ <sup>4</sup> κενὰ (δρ.) . [

## Fr. 12.

19.4 × 17.8 cm.

Ends and beginnings of some lines from two columns. In l. 6 of Col. 1 occurs the equation  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  Ἀρτ]εμισίου Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Μεσορή, corresponding to those in Frs. 3 recto and 4, and ll. 8–9 have the clause  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$  δὲ μ]ῆ χρῆσηται τῆμῃ κοινῆ  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ [σόδ?]ωι | [καὶ ἐξόδωι?, ἀποτείσει] ἐπίτιμον (δρ.) ρ, a fresh abstract beginning in the next line. There are several smaller pieces which probably came from the immediate vicinity of this fragment.

## Fr. 13.

6 × 8.7 cm.

A small fragment including part of a lease beginning  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$  Θεουκλῆς Πισίδης εἰλάρχη[ς.

## Fr. 14.

16 × 10.7 cm.

Fragment from the top of a rather narrow column (cf. Fr. 10) beginning with an abstract in seven lines of a lease of (or of part of) α κλ(ηρ.) ὄρφανού (ἑκατονταρούρου?) at the village of Lagis for the 26th year; cf. Fr. 2 verso 19. On the verso two short accounts, including the item  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$  (δρ.) δ.

Fr. 15.

Height 32.6 cm.

The recto contains two columns, the lines complete but much effaced. On the verso an account of the same kind as those on the verso of Fr. 2, &c. The text is: <sup>1</sup> κα. συγγραφαὶ ἰθ. <sup>2</sup> μισ(θός) (δρ.) κ (δύόβ.), <sup>3</sup> κενὸ (δρ.) β (δύόβ.) (ἡμιωβ.), <sup>4</sup> ἀνάλωμα (δρ.) β (πειτώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.) τέ(ταρτ.), <sup>5</sup> πυρῶν (δρ.) β, <sup>6</sup> [/ δρ.] κζ (δύόβ.) τέ(ταρτ.). <sup>7</sup> . . . . . ὦν ἀπέχει . . . . . and remains of two more lines. The total in l. 6 is too small by two obols.

## 816. COPIES OF DOCUMENTS.

49.

23 x 29.5 cm.

B.C. 192.

This papyrus, of which parts of three columns are preserved, contains copies of documents of various kinds. What remains of Col. i consists of declarations on the part of two men that they were personally acquainted with the rightful heir to certain property, followed by a statement of the ages and distinguishing marks of both the heir and the witnesses. A declaration of the heir himself had apparently preceded (cf. ll. 6 and 12). In Col. ii there are (a) the conclusion of a letter in which the addressee seems to have been guaranteed against aggression from any third party, (b) a declaration, also in the form of a letter, by a woman to three persons, that they were at liberty to sell a mortgaged house which had been assigned to them and to which she abandons all claim, (c) the beginning of a contract attested by six witnesses. The contract was continued in the third column, of which only the first few letters of 19 lines remain, and was followed after a short interval by another text of uncertain character, probably concerned with a sale (last line ἐπρ[ί]ατο). For what purpose these copies were made is not clear. They were carefully written, apparently purporting to have been taken verbatim, not hasty summaries like those of 815. On the other hand there is no indication that they related to the same property, though perhaps members of the same family may have been concerned in the different transactions. The name Demacnetus, which is not common, provides a connecting link between the two columns; and it is, at any rate, possible that Ptolemaeus the son of Amyntas in ii. 44 was identical with the Ptolemaeus of ii. 23.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
[Ἀντίοχος . . . . . ?τῶ]ν Α . . . [ . . . .

[ . . . . . τακτόμι]σθος γν[ω]στ[ε]ύω Δημα[ί]ετον



- [τὸν προγεγραμμέ]νον κληρονόμ[ον τῶν τῆς  
 [μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μυρ]τάλης τῆς Διδύμ[ου Πε]ρ[σίνης·  
 5 [τούτωι καθή]κει ἡ κληρονομία, ἄλλωι δὲ οὐ[θενί  
 [κα]θότι προ[γέ]γραπται.  
 [Δη]μέας Πρωτάρχου Ἀπιεύς τῶν Ἀριστοτ[έ]λ[ους  
 [τ]ακτόμισθος γνωστεύω Δημαίνετον τὸν π[ρο-  
 [γε]γραμμένον κληρονόμον τῶν τῆς ἡμητρ[ῶς  
 10 [αὐ]τοῦ Μυρτάλης τῆς Διδύμου Περσίνης· [  
 [τού]τωι καθήκει ἡ κληρονομία, ἄλλωι δὲ οὐθενί,  
 [κα]θ[ό]τι προγέγραπται.  
 [ἔ]στι δὲ ὁ Δημαίνετος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λξ μελίχρως κλαστὸς  
 [μακ]ροπρόσωπος ὑποχάροψ .[. . . .]ς οὐ(λή) παρ' ὧς ἀριστερόν,  
 15 [Αν]τίοχος δὲ ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ, βραχὺς μελίχρως τετανὸς μακρο-  
 [πρ]όσωπος φακὸς παρ' ὀφρὺν δεξιάν,  
 [Δη]μέας δὲ ὡς (ἐτῶν) με, μέσος μελίχρως τετανὸς ἀναφά-  
 [λα]νθος μακρο(πρόσωπος) ὑπόσχιφος οὐλή [ὀ]φρὺ ἀριστεραῖ.

## Col. ii.

- . . . . . Π]αῦνι τοῦ ι[ ἔτους  
 20 [ 181. ] καὶ ἐάν σοι ἐπιπορεύηται  
 [ , ] δὸν ἅπαντα τόπον  
 [ ] ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) ιγ Παῦνι κδ.  
 [. . .] . α Δημαινέτω καὶ Ὑλλωι καὶ Πτολεμαίωι  
 [χα]ίρειν. τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡμῖν οἰκίας ἐν Ἡρακλέους  
 25 [π]όλει τῆι ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πίστει κυρωθ[έ]ισ[η]ς ὑμῖν  
 [π]ωλεῖν ὡς ἂν βούλησθε, κού μὴ ἐπέλθ[ω] ἐπ' αὐτήν  
 [ἡ] ἀγχιστεύουσα οὔτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡγορακότας  
 [ο]ὐδ' ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παρευρέσει ἡτινιοῦν.  
 [ἐ]ὰν δέ τι τῶν προγεγραμμένων (ποιήσω) ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ  
 30 [ἐ]μοῦ, ἔνοχος ἔσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ ὁ ἐπελθὼν ὑπὲρ μου,  
 [καὶ] προσαποτίσω ἱερὰς ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) χιλίας.  
 [ἔ]στω δὲ ταῦτα κύρια οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιφέρητε  
 [ἡ] οἱ συνλέγοντες κυρίως.

ἔρ[ρωσθε.] ἔτους τρεισκαιδεκάτου Μεχεῖρ κδ.

35 (ἔξα)μαρτύρ[ου ἀ]ντίγραφον.

Βασιλεύ[ο]ντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου [  
καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων (ἔτους) ιγ ἐφ' ἰερέως [. . . .  
τοῦ Εὐμήλου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θ[εῶ]ν Ἀδ[ελφῶν  
καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν

40 Ἐπιφανῶν, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος Ἀρ[τε]μιδώρας  
τῆς Διογένους, κληφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀπολλωνίας

τῆς Ἀθηνόδωρου, ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος Εἰρήνης  
τῆς Πτολεμαίου, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ἐνάτη ἐπ' εἰκάδι, ἐν Ἡρα-  
κλέους πόλει. ὁμολογῆ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀμύντου Μακεδῶν

45 τῶ[ν] Ἐκαταίου πεζῶν τακτόμισθος Μεσοῆσει Ἀλεξάνδρου

27. ουτε inserted above the line. 32. Final ε of ἐπιφερητε above αι, which is crossed through. 35. ε' μαρτ.

ll. 1-18. 'I, Antiochus . . . tactomisthus, am acquainted with Demaenetus the heir aforesaid of the property of his mother Myrtale daughter of Didymus, a Persian woman; to him belongs the inheritance and to none other, as aforesaid.

I, Demeas son of Protarchus, Apian of the troop of Aristoteles, tactomisthus, am acquainted with Demaenetus the heir aforesaid of the property of his mother Myrtale daughter of Didymus, a Persian woman; to him belongs the inheritance and to none other, as aforesaid.

Demaenetus is aged about 35 years, fair, curly-haired, having a long face and rather bright eyes, . . . , with a scar along his left ear; Antiochus is aged about 40 years, short, fair, straight-haired, having a long face and a mole by his right eyebrow; and Demeas is aged about 45 years, of middle height, fair, straight-haired, bald on the forehead, long-faced, short-sighted, with a scar on the left eyebrow.

ll. 23-34. ' . . . to Demaenetus and Hyllus and Ptolemaeus, greeting. Since the house belonging to us at Heracleopolis above Memphis has been knocked down to you in pledge, sell it as you please and I who am the next of kin will not proceed against it nor you nor the purchasers nor shall another do so on my behalf on any pretext whatever. If I do any of the things above written or another on my behalf, I or the person who proceeds on my behalf will be liable to you and will further forfeit as a sacred offering 1,000 drachmae of silver. Let this be valid wherever produced either by you or those in valid accord with you. Good-bye. The 13th year, Mecheir 24.

2. τακτόμ[ισθος]: cf. l. 8, 818. 12, 820. 7, Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* 99.

7. Ἀπιεύς: cf. P.S.I. 389. 4; from Apis in Lower Egypt, or Apia in Phrygia?

13. An adjective referring to stature is expected after the age; possibly the omission was made good in the next line, where {ἔμμεγέθη} would do for the mutilated word.

14. With ὑποχάροφ cf. *Archiv* iv. 143, where ἐπιχάροφ is attested; χαροπός is the un-compounded form.

18. ὑπόσχιφος is for ὑπόσκν.; cf. Mayer, *Gram.* i. 171.

25-6. The house had, no doubt, been the security for a loan, and *κυρωθε[ισ]ης*, if correct, implies that an auction had taken place; cf. B.G.U. 992. 7-10, SB. 4512. 9. There is no need to assume the loss of a finite verb governing [*π*]ωλλείν, which can be jussive.

## IX. AGREEMENTS.

### 817. LOAN ON MORTGAGE.

53.

24.2 × 18.9 cm.

B.C. 182. Plate VI

This text is notable as the first complete example of a private contract of loan upon mortgage of the Ptolemaic period. P. Hamburg 28 and Freiburg 37, loans of approximately the same date upon the security of a slave and a house respectively, are analogous, but very imperfectly preserved. In the present case the property hypothecated consisted of a house and appurtenances, and the loan was granted without interest. The formula shows a striking similarity to that of P. Flor. 1 (M. 243) and Strassb. 52, Hermopolite loans on mortgage of the middle of the second century A.D. Both the contracting parties were Jews of the Epigone; cf. 818, where not only the principals but also the six witnesses and another (l. 19) were of that nationality, three of them being in the army, 815 Fr. 2 recto 17-18 (two Ἰουδ. τῆς ἐπιγ.), and 793. ii. 20, 800, 820. These instances illustrate the considerable Jewish element in the population and among the military settlers; cf. Bevan, *Ptolemaic Dyn.* 112, where some other evidence is collected,<sup>1</sup> 206, Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* 46, 118, Willrich, *Archiv* i. 51-6.

The contract was written in a small neat hand by a scribe who adds his signature at the foot in a much more cursive script. Below are the names and descriptions of the parties, in a larger formal lettering, for which, however, the same scribe was very likely responsible. To the left, on a different κόλλημα, are the ends of lines of another agreement in which a βασιλικὸς ὄρκος was prescribed near the close. The hand is rather similar to that of the loan, and there is the same contrast between it and the larger script in which the names of the parties were given at the end. A small detached fragment is preserved from the bottom of a third contract showing analogous characteristics and evidently belonging to the same series.

<sup>1</sup> The reference to P. Hibeh 96, given also by Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides* iv. 24c<sup>3</sup>, for Jews in the Ptolemaic army, is questionable.

## Col. ii.

Βασιλείουτος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν  
 Φιλοπατόρων ἔτους τετάρτου καὶ εἰκοστού ἐφ' ἱερέως τοῦ ὄντος  
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐερ-  
 γετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν, ἀθλοφόρου  
 5 Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, κανηφόρου  
 Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης  
 Φιλοπάτ[ο]ρος τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, μηνὸς Δύστρου ὀγδόῃ  
 καὶ εἰκάδι Θωὺθ ὀγδόῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει τοῦ Ἀρσινόϊ-  
 του νομοῦ. ἐδάνεισεν Ἀπολλώνιος Πρωτογένου Ἰουδαῖος τῆς ἐπι-  
 10 γ[ο]νῆς Σωστράτῳ Νεοπτολέμου Ἰουδαίῳ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς χαλκοῦ  
 νομίσματος τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας ἄτοκα εἰς  
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου χρόνου ἐπὶ ὑποθήκῃ τῇ  
 ὑπαρχούσῃ αὐτῷ οἰκίαι καὶ αὐλῇ καὶ τοῖς συγκυροῦσι πᾶσι τοῖς [   
 οὔσιν ἐν Ἀπιάδι τῆς Θεμίστου μερίδος, ὧν μέτρα νότου ἐπὶ βορρᾶν  
 15 πήχεις εἴκοσι, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην πήχεις εἴκοσι, γείτονες δ[ὲ]   
 [ν]ότου Σωπάτρας οἰκία, βορρᾶ καὶ ἀπηλιώτου ῥύμαι, λιβὸς Ἀρπάλο[υ]   
 [κ]αὶ Σωστράτου οἰκία, ( ) αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ χρόνῳ. τὸ δὲ [   
 [δ]άνειον τοῦτο ἀποδότω Σώστρατος Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ,   
 [ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθὰ γέγραπται, ἐξέστω Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐπικα- [   
 20 [τ]αβολὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς ὑποθήκης ἀκολούθως τῷ διαγράμματι.   
 βεβαιούτω δὲ Σώστρατος Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὴν ὑποθήκην ταύτην   
 καὶ παρεχέσθω αὐτὴν ἀνέπαφον καὶ ἀνενεχύραστον καὶ ἀνεπι-   
 δάνειστον ἄλλου δανείου καὶ καθαρὰν ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ   
 βεβαιοῖ ἢ μὴ παρέχῃται καθὰ γέγραπται ἢ κίνδυνός τις γένη-   
 25 ται περὶ τὴν ὑποθήκην ταύτην ἤτοι περὶ πᾶσαν ἢ μέρος   
 αὐτῆς τρόπῳ ὠιποτοῦν, ἀποδότω Σώστρατος Ἀπολλωνίῳ   
 τὸ δάνειον τοῦτο ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ παραχρῆμα. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπο-   
 δῶι καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀποτεισάτω Σώστρατος Ἀπολλωνίῳ   
 παραχρῆμα τὸ δάνειον ἡμίδιον καὶ τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος   
 30 χρόνου τόκον ὡς ἐγὼ δύο δραχμῶν τῇ μναὶ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστ[ον].   
 ἡ συγγραφὴ ἦδε κυρία ἔστω πανταχοῦ.

διὰ Βουβάκου τοῦ καὶ Σθενέου καλουμένου. [

Ἀπολλώνιος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε εὐμεγ(έθης) μελίχρ(ως)  
 ὑποχάρο(ψ) ᾧτ' ἀφες(τηκότα).

35 Σώστρατος ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε μέσ(ος) μελίχρ(ως) επ[ . . . ( )  
 [ οὔ]λ[ῆ] ὑ]πὲρ ὀφρὺν δεξιάν.

On the verso, in a large coarse hand

Πε]τροσίρις Πεκύσιος  
 ] καὶ Πεβρίχι.

and below at right angles (1st hand?)

δ.

'In the reign of Ptolemy', &c. 'Apollonius son of Protogenes, Jew of the Epigone, has lent to Sostratus son of Neoptolemus, Jew of the Epigone, two talents three thousand drachmae of copper money without interest for one year from the date above written on the security of the house belonging to him and court and all appurtenances situated at Apias in the division of Themistes, of which the measurements are, from south to north twenty cubits, from west to east twenty cubits, and the adjacent areas, on the south the house of Sopatra, on the north and east streets, on the west the house of Harpalus and Sostratus (belonging?) to them at the date above written. Sostratus shall repay this loan to Apollonius within the year, and if he does not repay it as stated, Apollonius shall have the right to lay claim to the security in accordance with the edict. Sostratus shall guarantee to Apollonius this security and shall produce it unencumbered, unpledged, unliable for another debt, and free from royalties. If he does not guarantee it or produce it as stated or if any risk occurs with regard to this security in whole or part in any way, Sostratus shall repay this debt to Apollonius forthwith within the year; and if he does not repay it as stated, Sostratus shall forthwith forfeit to Apollonius the loan increased by one half and for the overtime interest at the rate of two drachmae per mina per month. This contract shall be valid everywhere. Through Bubakes also called Stheneus.

Apollonius, aged about 35, tall, fair, with rather bright eyes and protruding ears. Sostratus, aged about 35, of middle height, fair, . . ., with a scar over his right eyebrow.'

17. Some words have evidently dropped out before αὐτοῖς. Sense can be restored by the insertion of αἱ ὑπάρχουσαι or αἱ ὑπάρχουσιν, referring to the οἰκία; such a qualification of the γέιτρονες, though unusual, is intelligible enough.

19-20. Cf. P. Flor. 1. 6-7 (M. 243) εἰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδοῖ, . . . ἐξέστω . . . ἐπικαταβολὴν ποιήσα[σθ]αι τοῦ ὑποθεθειμένου . . . βείκου, Enteux. 15. 9 ἐπικαταβολὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀμπελώνος, Oxy. 274. 22 (M. 193) τέλος ἐπικαταβολ(ῆς) τῆς ὑποθήκης, Mitteis, *Grundz.* 163-5, Schwarz, *Hypothek u. Hypallagma*, 119 sqq., Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* p. 205, Schönbauer, *Beitr. z. Gesch. des Liegenschaftsrechts*, 94. The διάγραμμα is similarly referred to in P. Enteux. 14, where we suggest in l. 4 [ἀντ]ὶ τοῦ [ταύτην (sc. τὴν ὑποθήκην)] ἀναν[εώσ]ασθαι, ἐπικαταβολὴν εἰ[ποιήσατο κα]τὰ τὸ διάγραμμα.

34. ὑποχάρο(ψ): cf. 816. 14; but the form -χαιο(πός) is also possible.

35. Possibly ἐπιχάρο(ψ), for which cf. 816. 14, n.

## 818. RENEWAL OF A LOAN.

29.

19.2 x 16.5 cm.

B.C. 174.

An agreement for a loan of 2 talents 500 drachmae of copper for one year at the common rate of interest of 2 dr. per mina monthly, i.e. 24 per cent. As in 817, the contracting parties were Jews, and the loan was the balance of a sum of 5 talents advanced by the lender as capital for a business in which apparently the two were partners.

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας]  
 [θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν ἔτους ἐβδόμου, ἐφ' ἱερέως Φιλοστράτου]  
 [τοῦ . . . . . Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σω]τήρων καὶ θεῶν  
 [Ἀδε]λφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐερ]γε[τ]ῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ  
 5 θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν κ[αὶ θεῶν Φι]λομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐερ-  
 γέτιδος Ἀσπασίας τῆς Χρυσέρμου, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφ[ου  
 Ἰσιδώρας τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου, ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος Εἰρήνης  
 τῆς Πτολεμαίου, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου τρεῖσκαϊδεκάτη Φαμενώθ  
 τρεῖσκαϊδεκάτη, ἐν Τρικωμίαι τῆς Θεμιστου μερίδος τοῦ  
 10 Ἀρσινόϊτου νομοῦ. ἐδάνεισεν Ἰούδας Ἰωσήφου Ἰουδαῖος τῆς  
 ἐπιγονῆς Ἀγαθοκλεῖ Πτολεμαίου Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν Μολοσσ{σ}οῦ  
 ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτῃ τεταγμένων πεζῶν τακτομισθῶ[ι,  
 χαλκοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς πεντακο-  
 σίας εἰς μῆνας δεκάδου ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου χρόνου τόκου  
 15 ὡς ἐγ δύο δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν ἐκάστην τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον.  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ δάνειον ὃ προσωφείλησεν Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἰουδα[ι  
 ἀπὸ τῶν πέντε τάλαντων ὧν εἰλήφη παρὰ τοῦ Ἰούδου εἰς προ-  
 βολὴν κοινῆς ἐργασίας μεταβολικῆς κατὰ συγγραφὴν ὁμο-  
 λογίας ἐφ' ἧς συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἀνανίας Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαῖος  
 20 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. ἀποδότω δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἰούδαι τὸ διασε-  
 σαφημένον δάνειον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἐμ μηνὶ Μεχεῖρ τοῦ  
 ὀγδόου ἔτους, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀποτει-  
 σάτω ἡμίλιον. ἡ συγγραφὴ κυρία. μάρτυρες Δεινίας Αἰνέου,  
 Θερασέας Σωσιβίου, Θήβων Φανοκλέους, Σαμᾶηλος Ἰωάνου, οἱ τέσ-  
 25 σαρες Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου ὃς καὶ Σαμᾶηλος  
 καλεῖται, Νικάνωρ Ἰάσονος, οἱ δύο Ἰουδαῖοι τῶν διὰ Δωσιθέου



## 819. LEASE OF LAND.

85.

32.3 x 10 cm.

B.C. 171. Plate VII

Agreement for a one year's lease of some cleruchic land at a money rent. The latter parts of the lines are lost throughout, but, thanks to the fact that, in accordance with the common practice, the text was written out twice, much of it is recoverable. There is a sharp contrast in style between the two copies, the hand of the lower being well formed and of a good size while that of the upper one is small and very cursive. Nevertheless a single scribe may well have been responsible for both; cf. 821. For some other examples of leases of this class see 815, introd.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπι-  
 φ[ανῶν ἔτους δεκάτου ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν  
 Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν  
 καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ  
 θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος Πτολε-  
 μαίδος τῆς  
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐβούλου, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Κλεινέτης  
 τῆς, ἱερείας Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπάτορος Εἰρήνης τῆς Πτολεμαίου,  
 μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου  
 πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Παῦνι πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι, ἐν Ὁξύγχοι{ο}ς  
 τοῦ Ἀρσινόϊτου. ἐμίσθωσεν Πυλάδης Μακεδῶν? τῶν 14 l.  
 5 τῆς τρίτης ἱππαρχίας ὀδοηκοντάρουρος Φιλάμμωνι Δε... [. . . . .  
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν αὐτῶι ἐν τῶι Ὀλύμπου  
 τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου ἑκατονταρούρου {τῶι} κλήρωι τῶι ὄντι περὶ τὴν π[ροδε-  
 δηλωμένην κώμην ἀρουρῶν 18 l. ἀρούρας πέντε ὥστε σπείρειν  
 σκόρδωι. ἡ μὲμ μίσθωσις ἦδε εἰς τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος ἐκφορίῳ τοῦ παντὸς  
 χαλκοῦ νομίσματος δραχμῶν ἑπτακοσίων, τὸ δὲ προγεγραμμένον  
 ἐκφόριον ἀποδότω Φιλάμμων Πυλάδει ἐμ μηνσὶν Μεχέειρ καὶ Φαμενῶθ  
 15 l. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι, ἀποτεισάτω ἡμίολιον, τῶν δὲ  
 σκόρδων κυριευέτω Πυλάδης ἕως ἂν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίσῃται. [βεβαιούτω  
 δὲ Ὀλυμπος Ἀντιπάτρου Μυσοῦ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κυνοπολίτου καὶ  
 Ἡρακλε-



- 10 *οπολιτῶν πρώτων Φιλάμμωνι καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴμ μίσθωσ[ιν καὶ τὸ*  
 19 l. *σκόρδον ἕως ἄν κοψαντες α . . . . . ,*  
*ὅσα δὲ Ὀλυμπος μὴ β[εβαι]οῖ καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποτεισάτω Φιλάμμωνι*  
*Πυλάδης ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα δύο*  
*καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσον ἢ [συγγρ]αφῆ ἣδε κυρία ἔστω. ἐὰν δέ τι εἰς τ[ὸ*  
*βασιλικὸν πραχθῆι ὑπὲρ τῆς μισθώσεως ταύτης ἢ τοῦ κλήρου,*  
*ἐπενέγκας σύμβολον*  
*ὀμό(λο)γον ὑπολογεῖτω Πυλάδει εἰς τὸ ἐκφόριον. ἢ συγγραφῆ κ[υρία.*  
*μάρτυρες - - -*  
*σ . τοχε . . σ . . . . ερως . . . . . ε . . . . . νε . . . . εξ . τ . . . φ . [*  
 15 *. . . . σ . . . . . [ συγγραφοφύλαξ Ὀλυμπος.*

*Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶν Ἐπι-*  
*φανῶν ἔτους δεκάτου ἐφ' ἰερέως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*  
*καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλο-*  
*πατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν [καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου*  
*Βερενίκης*

- 20 *Εὐεργέτιδος Πτολεμαῖδος τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐβούλου,*  
*κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Κλεινέτης τῆς . . . . , ἰερέας Ἀρσι-*  
*νόης Φιλοπάτορος Εἰρήνης τῆς Πτολεμαίου, μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου πέμπτη*  
*καὶ εἰκάδι Παῦνι πέμπτη [καὶ εἰκάδι, ἐν Ὀξυρύγχοις τοῦ Ἀρσινοῖτου.*  
*ἐμίσθωσεν Πυλάδης Μακ[εδων] τῶν . . . . . τῆς τρίτης*  
 25 *ἰππαρχίας ὀγδοηκοντάρουρος Φιλάμμωνι Δε . . . . . τῆς ἐπι-*  
*γονῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν αὐτῶι ?*  
*ἐν τῶι Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Ἀντιπ[άτρου] ἑκατονταρούρου κλήρωι τῶι ὄντι*  
*περὶ τὴν προδεδηλωμέν[ην] κώμην ἀρουρῶν 18 l.*  
*ἀρούρας πέντε ὥστε σπεῖρ[ειν] σκόρδωι. ἢ μὲμ μίσθωσις ἦδε εἰς*  
 30 *τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος ἐκφορί[ου] τοῦ παντὸς χαλκοῦ νομίσματος δραχμῶν*  
*ἑπτακοσίων, τὸ δὲ προγε[γραμμένον] ἐκφόριον ἀποδότω Φιλάμμων*  
*Πυλάδει ἓμ μηνὸν Μεχ[εῖρ] καὶ Φαμενώθ 15 l. ἐὰν δὲ*  
*μὴ ἀποδῶι, ἀποτεισάτω ἡ[μιόλιον], τῶν δὲ σκόρδων κυριεύτω Πυλάδης*  
*ἕως ἄν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίση[ται]. βεβαιούτω δὲ Ὀλυμπος Ἀντιπάτρου*  
 35 *Μυσὸς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κυνοπ[ολίτου] καὶ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου πρώτων*  
*Φιλάμμωνι*

καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴμ μ[ίσθωσιν καὶ τὸ 18 l.

σκόρδον ἕως ἂν κόψαντες α[. . . . .], ὅσα δὲ Ὀλυμπος μὴ  
βεβαιοῖ

καθὰ γέγραπται ἀποτεισάτ[ω Φιλάμμωνι Πυλάδης ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ  
νομίσματος τάλαντα δύ[ο, καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσον ἢ συγγραφὴ ἦδε

40 κυρία ἔστω. εἰὰν δέ τι εἰς τ[ὸ βασιλικὸν πραχθῆι ὑπὲρ τῆς μισθώσεως  
ταύτης ἢ τοῦ κλήρου, ἐπ[ενέγκας σύμβολον ὁμόλογον ὑπολογείτω

Πυλάδῃ εἰς τὸ ἐκφόριον. ἢ [συγγραφὴ κυρία. μάρτυρες . . . . .  
μγαῖος Ἐργεῦτος, Μενοίτι[ος

οἱ πέντε Μακεδόνες ἐκ[ ] τῆς

45 πέμπτης ἰππαρχίας ἐ[ ] συγγραφοφύλαξ Ὀλυμπος.

[

(2nd h.) Πυλάδης μεμίσθωκα [καθὰ πρόκειται καὶ τέθειμαι  
τὴν συγγραφὴν κυρίαν π[αρά Ὀλύμπωι.

(3rd h.) Ὀλυμπος βεβαιώσω καθὰ πρόκειται καὶ ἔχω  
50 τὴν συγγραφὴν κυρίαν. [

#### On the verso

]μ . . . ος

]π . . . ρων

7. η of ηδε corr. from δ.

8. στω corr. ?

10. l. -οπολίτου.

‘In the reign of Ptolemy’, &c. ‘Pylades, Macedonian of the troop of . . . and the third hipparchy, holder of 80 arurae, has leased to Philammon . . . of the Epigone, from the . . . arurae belonging to him in the holding of Olympus son of Antipater, holder of 100 arurae, near the aforesaid village, 5 arurae to be sown with garlic. This lease is for the eleventh year at a total rent of 700 drachmae of copper money. Philammon shall pay to Pylades the rent above written in the months of Mecheir and Phamenoth, and if he fail to do so shall forfeit the amount increased by one half; and Pylades shall be owner of the garlic until he has received his dues. Olympus son of Antipater, Mysian, of the first detachment from the Cynopolite and Heracleopolite nomes, shall guarantee to Philammon and his agents the lease and the . . . garlic until they have cut and . . ., and for whatever he does not guarantee as aforesaid, Pylades shall forfeit to Philammon a fine of 2 talents of copper money, and this contract shall be none the less valid. If any exaction for the Treasury is made upon him in respect of this lease or the holding, on production of the corresponding receipt he shall deduct it from Pylades’ rent. The contract is valid. The witnesses are . . . all five Macedonians, and . . . of the fifth hipparchy. The keeper of the contract is Olympus. (Signed) I, Pylades, have leased the land as aforesaid and have placed the con-

tract, which is valid, with Olympus. I, Olympus, will guarantee as aforesaid, and have received the contract, which is valid.'

5. *ὑπαρχουσῶν* should imply that Pylades was not merely a tenant. Something may have dropped out after *αὐτῶι*; cf. l. 26, n.

9-10. Cf. 815, Fr. 4. 23, n., where other instances are collected. It is noticeable that these *πρῶτοι*, who have been overlooked in Preisigke's *Wörterb.*, are commonly described as 'from' some nome, and that *δῦτεροι* &c. do not occur. The verb at the end of line 10 might be e.g. *ἀπενέγκωνται*, but *κόψαντες* though suitable to standing crops (cf. 815, Fr. 5. 21) is inapposite to *σκόρδα* unless the reference is to the breaking up of the soil.

11. *ἐὰν δέ*, which would be expected, cannot be read.

12-13. Cf. 105. 49, where either *ἐπ[ενέγ]κας* or *ἐπ[ιδεί]ξας* should doubtless be restored, B.G.U. 1271. 10, P.S.I. 1098. 31.

14. The names given in l. 43 do not seem to occur, but the writing is very illegible.

26. Cf. l. 5, where there seems to have been nothing between *αὐτῶι* and *ἐν τῶι*, but the like supposition at this point would make the line much too short. Perhaps there was an omission there or a deletion here.

44-5. Perhaps *ἐκ[ατοντάρουροι]* and *ἐ[βδομηκοντάρουρος]*.

51-2. The names of some of the witnesses should stand here, but neither *-μναιος* nor apparently *Μενότιος* (cf. l. 43) is to be read in l. 51, and *Πάτρων* is unsatisfactory in l. 52.

## 820. CESSION OF QUARTERS.

6.

29.5 × 15.3 cm.

B.C. 201.

Agreement for the cession of a military *σταθμός* from a tactomisthus to four Crown cultivators. No mention is made of any consideration for the transfer of the property, which is described as that of the ceder's father. The deed was drawn up at the village of Samaria, and the six witnesses were all Jews; cf. 817, introd., 818. An interesting double date occurs (ll. 5, 22) from which it is perhaps to be inferred that the first assimilation of the Macedonian to the Egyptian calendar had already taken place in the fourth year of Epiphanes; cf. P. Hibeh pp. 348-50, where the evidence of this papyrus was utilized. As usual in *συγγραφοφύλαξ*-deeds of this period the text is written out twice; the script of the first copy is smaller and rather more cursive than that of the second, but both were evidently penned by the same person.

*Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων ἔτους*

*τετάρτου ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀδαίου τοῦ Γοργίου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν*

*Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος Φίλτης τῆς Ἀντικλέους, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρσι-*

- 5 νόης τῆς Σόλωνος, μηνὸς Αὐδναίου Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπεῖφ πεντεκαιδεκάτη, ἐν Σαμαρείαι τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογῆι Θεόδωτος Κασσάνδρου Παίων τῶν Φυλέως τακτόμισθος Ἀρωῶτη Ἀρσεύτος καὶ Ὀρσενούφει Α. φ. σ. ιος καὶ Κατύτει Πετ . . . . καὶ ἄλλωι Κατύτει Π . . . . ὕμιος, τοῖς τέσσαρσι]ν Ἀρσινοΐταις βασιλικ[ο]ῖς γεωργοῖς, παρακεχωρηκένοι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα στ[α]θμὸν τῶι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Κερκεσήφει το αὐτο καὶ μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μήτε αὐ-
- 10 τὸς μήτε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ μηθεὶς μηδὲ ἄλλον ὑποκαθήσειν παρευρέσει ἡτινιοῦν.  
ἐὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τις <sup>ἐκ . . . [ ]</sup> ἀπ[ο]τεισάτω Θεόδωτος Ἀρωῶτη καὶ Ὀρσενούφει καὶ Κατύτει καὶ τῶι ἄλλωι Κατύτει ἐπίτιμον χαλκοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς δισχιλίας, καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶι [ἄκ]υρος ἔστω. ἡ συγγραφὴ ἦδε κυρία
- ἔστ[ω]. μάρτυρες Θεόδωτος Ἰάσονος, Διόφαντος Θεοδότου, Ἱεροῦς Τιμοθέου,  
15 [Μίλων] Ζωσίμου, Δημοκράτης 20 l. ος Κ . . . . . ου, οἱ ἐξ Ἰ[ο]υδαί[ο]ι.  
συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἱεροῦς Τιμοθέου.

- Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Π[τολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων ἔτους τετάρτου ἐφ' [ιέρως Ἀδαίου τοῦ Γοργίου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφ[ῶν καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ
- 20 θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερένικης Εὐεργέτιδος Φίλτης τῆς Ἀντικλέους, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φι[λαδέλφου Ἀρσινόης τῆς Σόλωνος, μηνὸς Αὐδναίου Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Ἐπεῖφ πεντεκαιδεκάτη, ἐν Σαμαρείαι τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου νομοῦ. ὁμολογῆι Θεόδωτος Κασσάνδρου Παίων τῶν Φυλέως τακτόμισθος Ἀρ[ω]ῶτη Ἀρσεύτος
- 25 [καὶ Ὀρσ]ενούφει Α. εφε . . ιος κα[ὶ] Κ[α]τύτει Πετ[ρ] . . . . καὶ ἄλλωι Κατύτει Π . . . . ὕμιος τοῖς τέσσαρσι]ν Ἀρσινοΐταις βασιλικοῖς γεωργοῖς παρακεχωρηκένοι τὸν ὑπάρχοντα σταθμὸν τῶι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Κερκεσήφει 17 l.  
καὶ μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μήτε αὐτὸς μήτε τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ μη-
- 30 [θε]ῖς μηδὲ ἄλλον ὑποκαθήσειν παρευρέσει ἡτινιοῦν. [ἐὰ]ν δὲ [ἐ]πέλθῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τις, ἀποτεισάτω Θεόδωτος Ἀρωῶ-

[τ]ηι καὶ Ὀρσει[ο]ύφει καὶ Κατύτει κ[αὶ τῶι] ἄλλωι Κατύτει ἐπίτιμον  
 [χαλ]κοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς δισχιλίας, κ[α]ὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶι ἄκυ-  
 [ρος ἔσ]τω. ἡ συγγραφὴ ἦδε κυρία. μάρτυρες Θεόδωτος Ἰάσωνος,  
 35 [Διόφαντος Θεοδότου, Ἱεροοῦς Τιμο]θέου, Μίλων Ζω[σ]ίμου, Δημοκράτης  
 [ 20 l. ος Κ . . . . . ] . ον, οἱ ἐξ Ἰουδαίου.  
 [συγγραφοφύλαξ Ἱεροοῦς Τιμοθέου.]

On the verso some much-effaced remains in a small cursive hand (the names Θεοδότου and Διοφ[άντου] are recognizable), and to the right in a larger clear hand

Δημ[οκράτους] ?  
 Σαββ[αταίου] ?

8. τοῖς . . . γεωργοῖς added above the line.

‘In the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, gods Philopatores, in the 4th year, Adaeus son of Gorgias being priest of Alexander and the gods Soteris and the gods Adelphi and the gods Euergetae and the gods Philopatores, Philte daughter of Anticles being athlophorus of Berenice Euergetis, Arsinoë daughter of Solon being canephorus of Arsinoë Philadelphus, on the 15th of Audnaeus, which is Epeiph in the Egyptian calendar, at Samaria in the Arsinoë nome. Theodotus son of Cassander, a Paeonian of Phyleus’ troop, tactomisthus, acknowledges to Haruotes son of Harseus and to Orsenouphis son of . . . and to Katutis son of Pet . . . and to another Katutis son of P . . . . . umis, all four Arsinoites and farmers of Crown land, that he has ceded the quarters belonging to his father in Kerkesephis . . . and that he will not proceed against them himself or by any agent of his nor will suborn any other person to do so on any pretext. And if he himself or any agent of his proceeds against them . . . Theodotus shall forfeit to Haruotes and Orsenouphis and Katutis and the other Katutis a fine of 2,000 drachmae in copper coin, and his claim shall be invalid. This contract shall be valid.’ The names of six witnesses follow, the third of them being the keeper of the contract.

9. τὸ αὐτό is meaningless here, and the other copy evidently had about ten letters more at this point. Possibly τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ should be restored, though the supplement is somewhat short. Another small discrepancy occurs in l. 11.

11. It seems likely that the purpose of the interlinear insertion was to substitute ἐκτ- for ἀποτεισάτω, but the latter stands in l. 31.

15. The name Σαββαταῖος (?) presumably occurred in this line (cf. the verso), but the letters are too much effaced for recognition.

## 821. WITHDRAWAL OF CLAIMS.

8.

24.5 × 10.2 cm.

B.C. 209 ?

A declaration, made in epistolary form (cf. 816, ii) by one woman to another, of satisfaction in respect of some act of aggression (ὑβρις, l. 13) about which a

formal charge had been lodged with an official. Apparently the case was settled out of court and the purpose of this document was to obviate interference on the part of the magistrate to whom complaint had been made. Cf. the very similar letter P. Petrie III. 56 (*d*),<sup>1</sup> and P. Hibeh 96, Tor. 4, B.G.U. 1249, which are analogous settlements in the form of *ὁμολογίαι*.

The heavy ill-formed hand is not likely to be of later date than the reign of Philopator.

Ἰστιεία Ἰστιήου Μακέτα  
 Ταούθει Μαρρείους  
 χαίρειν. περὶ ὧν σοι  
 ἐνκέκληκα ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 5 Ἀριστοβούλου ἀρ-  
 χήου συνλύομαι  
 σοι κούθέν σοι ἐγκα-  
 λῶ περὶ ὧν σοι ἐνκέ-  
 κληκα καὶ περὶ ὧν  
 10 σοι οἱ κοινοὶ σου κατέ-  
 γνωσαν, ἃν δέ σοι  
 ἐπέλθω ὑπὲρ τῆς

ὑβρε[ως ἢ τι]νες  
 τῶν παρ' ἐμ[ο]ῦ, ἀπο-  
 15 τίσω σοι δραχμὰ-  
 ς τρισχιλίας.  
 ἔρρωσο.  
 (ἔτους) ιγ Παχῶν ζ.  
 ἔγραψε Μενεκλῆς  
 20 ὑπὲρ Ἰστιείας διὰ  
 τὸ φάσκειν αὐ-  
 τὴν μὴ ἐπίστε-  
 [σθ]αί γρά[μμ]ατα.  
 . . . . .

2. First ρ of μαρρείους corr.  
 22. 1. ἐπίστα[σθ]αι.

7. 1. σοι, so too ll. 10, 11, 15.

10. 1. οἱ κοινοί.

‘Histieia daughter of Histiaeus, Macedonian, to Taouthes daughter of Marres, greet- ing. In regard to the accusation which I have made against you before the tribunal of Aristobulus, I am reconciled to you and make no accusation in regard to the matters whereon I have accused you and your assessors decided against you. And if I proceed against you for the outrage, or any agent of mine, I will forfeit to you 3,000 drachmae. Good-bye. The 13th year, Pachon 7. Meneclēs wrote this on behalf of Histieia, since she affirmed that she was illiterate.’

1. Ἰστιεία: in l. 20 spelled -εία, which is probably more correct; for ε in place of ει cf. Maysen, *Gram.* i. 67. Ἰστιήου shows another common vowel-interchange; cf. l. 5 ἀρχήου.

5. For ἀρχείου in a judicial sense cf. 5. 263.

10. A personal dative with καταγιγνώσκειν is a solecism. For κοινοί, which there is no need to alter to κοιωνοί, cf. P. Enteux. 59. 6 παραλαβόντα(ς) Δημήτριον καὶ ἄλλους κοινοὺς ἄνδρας γ, B.G.U. 1818. 9 But ἡμῶν rather than σου would be expected, and possibly σου is to be constructed with κατέγνωσαν, and σοι at the beginning of the line eliminated.

<sup>1</sup> In lines 1-7 of that papyrus 1. περὶ ὧν ἐπι[κέκληκά σοι] ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τοῦ [ὄ]ρμ[ο]ν διαλύομαι [πρὸ]ς σέ περὶ πάντων κ[αὶ ο]ὐθέν σοι μὴ ἐπι[καλ]έσω οὔτε ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλ[λ]ος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

## 822. PRESCRIPT OF CLEOPATRA I AND PHILOMETOR.

89.

10.3 × 8.5 cm.

B.C. 179.

With the publication of P. Freiburg 12-33, establishing the date-formula for the beginning of the reign of Philometor when his mother was regent, this papyrus, which belongs to the same period, has lost much of its interest. The only small point of difference between the Freiburg prescripts and 822 is that the holders of the eponymous priesthoods are here not named. Of the agreement to which the date was prefixed so little remains that the purport is problematical. A daughter of one of the parties was concerned and a contract of cohabitation, which was probably hers, is mentioned.

Βασιλευ[ό]ντων Κλεοπάτρας τῆς μητρὸς θεᾶς Ἐπιφάνους καὶ Πτολεμαίου  
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ

Ἐπιφάν[ο]υς ἔτους τρίτου ἐφ' ἰε[ρέ]ως τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι Ἀλεξάν-  
δρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν

καὶ θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν καὶ [θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ  
βασιλέως

Πτολεμα[ίου] Φι[λομή]τορος, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος τῆς οὔσης  
ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι,

5 κληροφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλ[αδέλ]φου τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι, ἱερέας  
Ἀρσινόης Φιλοπά-

τορος τῆς οὔσης ἐν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείαι, μηνὸς 30 l. ἐν Κροκο-  
δίλων [πό]λει τοῦ Ἀρσινο[ί]του νομοῦ.

Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῶν . . . [

τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τη . ε . [

10 τῆς θ[υ]γατρὸς αὐτοῦ Π . . . [

συγγ[ρα]φὴν συνοικισ[ίου]

καὶ σ[ . . . . . ] μ ε . [

καὶ . [

εν . [

. . . . .

2. It seems clear from a comparison of the length of the other supplements that the gods Soteris were omitted, as in P. Freiburg 12, 22, 24, 29.

3. This line is rather shorter than 1-2 and 4-5.

8. Possibly οὔπ[ω ἐπηγμένων, but the remains are ambiguous.

## 823. RECEIPT OF A SHIP'S CAPTAIN.

II.

26.5 x 14 cm.

B.C. 185.

The following text and 824-5 are acknowledgements by captains of cargo-boats that they had received certain quantities of grain for transport to the government stores at Alexandria; cf. P. Hibeh 98, in connexion with which reference was made to these papyri, Petrie II. 48, Lille 21-4. The captain concerned in 823, being illiterate, employed an amanuensis who himself was not much of a scholar.

Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου  
καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατέρων (ἔτους) κα  
Ἄθῦρ β. ὁμολογῆ Ἀμμώνιος ναύκληρος  
[τοῦ] Πολυκράτου κερκούρου ἀγωγῆς  
5 [ . . . ἐμβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ]  
Κερκῆς ὄρμου ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρεαν  
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων  
τοῦ κ (ἔτους) διὰ Βα(κ)χίου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου  
τῶν σιτολογού(ν)των τὸ(ν) περὶ Ἰγερὰ(ν) Νῆσον  
10 ἐργαστήριον μετὰ τῶν ἐπακο(υ)λουθού-  
των ὀλύρας φορικῆς ἧς πλοῦ(ς) διὰ τῆς  
ἐπιλέ(λ)κτου ἀρτάβας πεντακισχιλίας  
πε(ν)τακοσίας πενήκοντα ἕξ,  
/(ἀρτάβαι) Ἐφνης, μέτρῳ τῷ συνβεβλημένῳ  
15 πρὸς τὸ χαλκο(ῦ)ν καὶ σκυτάλη δικαίᾳ  
ἀτόλῳ καθαρὰς κεκοσκινημένου,  
καὶ οὐθὲν ἐνκαλῶ.

ἔγραψεν Στο(το)ῆτις Γεμούθου Μενφίτης  
Ἄμμωνος συντάξαντος διὰ (τὸ) αὐτὸν  
20 μὴ ἐπέισθαι γράμ(μ)ατα.

2. l. Φιλοπατόρων. 14. l. συνβεβλ. 16. l. ἀδόλῳ . . . κεκοσκινευμένας. 19. l. συντά-  
ξαντος. 20. l. ἐπίστασθαι.

‘In the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, gods Philopatores, the 21st year, Hathur 2. Ammonius, captain of the transport of Polycrates, of . . . artabae burthen,



acknowledges embarkation at the harbour of Kerke for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the 20th year, through Bacchius and Ammonius, sitologi of the store at Hieria Nesus, with the controllers, of five thousand five hundred and fifty-six artabae of olyra paid as rent and for transport by the supplementary vessel, total 5556 art., by measure tested with the bronze measure, and with fair and just smoothing-rod, clean and sifted; and I make no complaint. Stotoëtis son of Gemouthes, Memphite, wrote at the bidding of Ammon(ius), since he is illiterate.'

3. Hathur at this period approximately corresponded with December, so that corn from the preceding harvest is presumably referred to. Since this belonged to a different year (l. 8) the financial year beginning in Mecheir cannot be here meant; cf. 825. (a)-(c) and P. Petrie II. 48, which are similar in this respect.

4. Πολυκράτου: probably the same as in P. Petrie II. 48. 3, which is dated three years earlier than 823.

6. Κερκῆς: in the Memphite nome (cf. e.g. SB. 1214), no doubt on the Nile and probably, as suggested *ap.* P.S.I. 537. 4, at or near the modern Riqqa. It is frequently mentioned in Zenon's correspondence.

9. For the spelling *ἰερά(ν)* cf. Mayser, *Gram.* i. 168.

10. ἐργαστήριον: cf. 824. 6, 825. (a) 10, &c., and n. on 722. 7.

ἐπακολουθούντων: cf. 825 introd.

11-12. ἦς . . . ἐπιλέκτου is a rather enigmatical phrase. The ἐπίλεκτοι are well known as a class of native troops (cf. 5. 44, n.), but if τῆς is right, the natural word to supply is νέως. The writer's orthographical blunders hardly justify the alteration of τῆς to τοῦ. Perhaps, then, there was a class of supernumerary ships which served as a supplement to those in regular use. For ἦς πλοῦ(ς) cf. 703. 73 ἀπλώτου.

14-15. Cf. P. Amb. 43. 9-10, Lille 21. 23-6, &c., and 5. 86.

18. Γεμούθου: for Ἰμούθου? Cf. 61. (δ) 233, where γίστην seems to have been written for ἴστην, B.G.U. 1242. 8 Γονῶφ[ρις].

19. Ἀμμωνος: so apparently; the name is given as Ἀμμώνιος in l. 3.

## 824. RECEIPT OF A SHIP'S CAPTAIN.

16.

Width 7·8 cm

B.C. 171?

A receipt of the same kind as 823, mutilated but containing an unusual phrase which can now be recognized elsewhere; cf. n. on l. 13.

[('Ετους) ι(?) 'Ε]πειφ ιθ. ὁμολογεῖ

[. . .]ρος ναύκληρος [τοῦ

[. . .]μωνος κερ(κούρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) 'Γ . [ἐμ-

[βεβλησ]θαι παρὰ Πετε-

5 [. . . . .]τοῦ σιτολογοῦντο[ς

τὸ περὶ [Κερκεσοῦ]χα ἐρ[γασ-

[τ]ήριον ἐπὶ τοῦ . [. . . . .

[ 13 l. ] . . [ . . . . .

]. α Ἀπολλωνίδου τ[οῦ  
 [φυλα]κίτου ἀπὸ τῶν γε[νημάτων  
 10 [τοῦ] θ (ἔτους) ὥστ' εἰς Ἄλ[εξάν-  
 δρειαν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν  
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ κεκ[οσκι]νευμένον  
 πρὸς τὸ ἐπεικοστ[ὸν] ἀρτάβας  
 τρ[ι]ακοσίας τριάκοντα  
 15 δύο ἡμισυ, / ἀρτ(άβαι) [τλβλ,  
 [μέ]τρῳι δικαίωι κ[αὶ] σκυ-  
 [τά]ληι δικαίαι

. . . . .

3. ἀγ(ωγης): the abbreviation here and in **825**. (a) 4 &c. might also be taken for ἀρ(ταβῶν), but cf. P. Petrie III 129. (a) 11, where ἀγ(ωγης) can be read with some confidence, **823**. 4, and P. Enteux. 27. 2 [κ]ερκούρου ἀγω[γης] M.

6. [Κερκεσοῦ]χα has been preferred to [Ὀξύρυγ]χα chiefly because the former is concerned in another papyrus from the cartonnage which produced **824**.

7-8. E.g. κ[ατὰ] Πτολε[μαί]δα ὄρμον, as in **825**, &c. The papyrus is broken below l. 8 and the loss of a line or two is possible.

9. Perhaps δ[ι]ὰ Ἀπολλωνίδου, but the passage is too defective for satisfactory restoration.

13. πρὸς τὸ ἐπεικοστ[ὸν]: cf. P. Petrie II. 48. 8-9 and 18, where πρὸς τὸ ἐπ[εικοστ]όν and πρὸς τὸ ἐπεικ. should evidently be restored on the analogy of the present text. Apparently the phrase describes a standard of purity and may be understood to mean that the corn had been reduced by sifting in the proportion of 21 : 20. ἐπεικοστόν should accordingly be removed from the section of taxes in Preisigke's *Wörterb.*

## 825. RECEIPTS OF A SHIP'S CAPTAIN.

48.

B.C. 176?

The three texts here grouped together are acknowledgements of embarkation of corn similar to **823-4**. They were issued by the same ναύκληρος on the same day and for identical amounts which were drawn from a single granary; only the official through (διὰ) whom the grain is stated to have been drawn differs in each case. These intermediaries are the antigrapheus of the basilicogrammateus (cf. **774**. 4, P. Hibeh 98. 15, Lille 21-3), an agent of the oeconomus, and the sitologus (with, apparently, the antigrapheus again). Since these three documents clearly refer to a single transaction, it must be concluded that ναύκληροι issued receipts for the grain which they undertook to transport not only to the sitologus concerned but also to the ἐπακολουθοῦντες (**823**. 10), the officials who checked and verified his proceedings.

As in 823, though the writing is fairly good, there are frequent lapses in spelling.

(a) 21.5 × 7.3 cm.

(᾽Ετους) ε Ἄθυρι ιγ. ὁμολογεῖ  
 Ἀμμώνιος ναύκληρος  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Δωρί-  
 ωνος κερ(κούρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) ἸΑ ἐμβη-  
 5 λῆθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ  
 Πτολεμαείδος ὄρμον  
 διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἀντι-  
 γραφομένου παρὰ βασιλι-  
 κοῦ γραμ(μ)ατέως ἐκ τοῦ  
 10 περὶ Βουβάστον ἐργαστηρίου  
 ἀπὸ τῶν γηνη[μάτω]ν  
 τοῦ ε (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τοῦ [δι]ὰ  
 ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδ[ρειαν] <sup>εἰς τὸ βασι-</sup>  
<sup>λικόν</sup>  
 Θεοφραίου ἀγοραστοῦ  
 πυροῦ ἀρτάβα(ς) ἐκσα-  
 15 κοσίας εἴκοσι, / χκ,  
 πρὸς κριθὰς  
 ἐκξήκοντα πέντε,  
 / ξε, καὶ οὐθὲν  
 ἐνκαλῶι.

2. l. ναύκληρος. 4. l. ἐμβεβλήσθαι: so (b) 4, (c) 4. 6. l. Πτολεμαίδα ὄρμον: so (b) 6. 10. ου of ἐργαστηριον above the line? 11. l. γηνη[μάτω]ν: so (b) 10, (c) 13.

(b) 17 × 9.2 cm.

(᾽Ετους) ε Ἄθυρι ιγ. [ὁμολογεῖ  
 [Ἀμμώ]νιος ναύκληρος  
 [τοῦ] Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Δωρί-  
 [ων]ος κερ(κούρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) ἸΑ ἐμβη-  
 5 [λ]ῆθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ  
 Πτολεμαείδος ὄρμον

- διὰ Ἑρακλίτου τοῦ παρὰ  
οἰκονόμου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Βουβά-  
[σ]τον ἐργαστήριον ἀπὸ τῶν  
10 γηνημάτων τοῦ ε (ἔτους)  
ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τὸ βα-  
σιλικὸν  
ἀπ[ὸ] τ[ο]ῦ διὰ Τεφραίου  
ἀ[γορ]αστοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας  
εἴκοσι, εἴκοσι, / χκ,  
[ / χ]κ, πρὸς κριθὰς  
15 [ἐκξή]κον[τα πέν]τε, / ξε,  
[καὶ οὐθέν ἐνκαλῶ. ]

9. l. ἐργαστηρίου.  
dental.

14. Some ink in the margin just before the lacuna may be acci-

(c) 30.7 × 8.3 cm.

- (Ἐτους) 5 Ἀθυρὶ ιγ. [ὀ]μωλογεῖ  
Ἀμμώνιος ναύκληρος  
τοῦ Ἑρακλείδου τοῦ Δωρίωνος  
κερ(κούρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) ΜΑ ἐμβηλῆθαι  
5 ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Πτολεμαεΐδα  
ὄρμου διὰ Λυσιμάχου  
τοῦ σιτολογοῦ(ν)τος τὸ περὶ  
Βουβάστον ἐργαστήριον  
καὶ τοῦ πα[ρὰ] . . . . . ου  
10 βασιλικῶν γραμ(μ)ατέως  
ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν  
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀρτάβας  
ἀπὸ τῶν γηνημάτων ε (ἔτους)  
ἐκσακοσίας εἴκοσι, / χκ,  
15 πρὸς κριθὰς ἐξήκ[οντα]  
πέντε, / ξε, καὶ  
οὐθέν ἐν[καλῶ].

1. l. [ὀ]μολογεῖ.      1. 13 inserted.

(a) 'The 6th year, Hathur 13. Ammonius, captain of the transport of Heraclides son of Dorion, of 11,000 artabae burthen, acknowledges that he has embarked at the harbour of Ptolemais through Apollonius the antigrapheus of the basilicogrammateus, from the store at Bubastus, out of the produce of the 5th year, of the wheat purchased through Theophræus, six hundred and twenty artabae, total 620; and commuted to (?) barley sixty-five, total 65: and I make no complaint.'

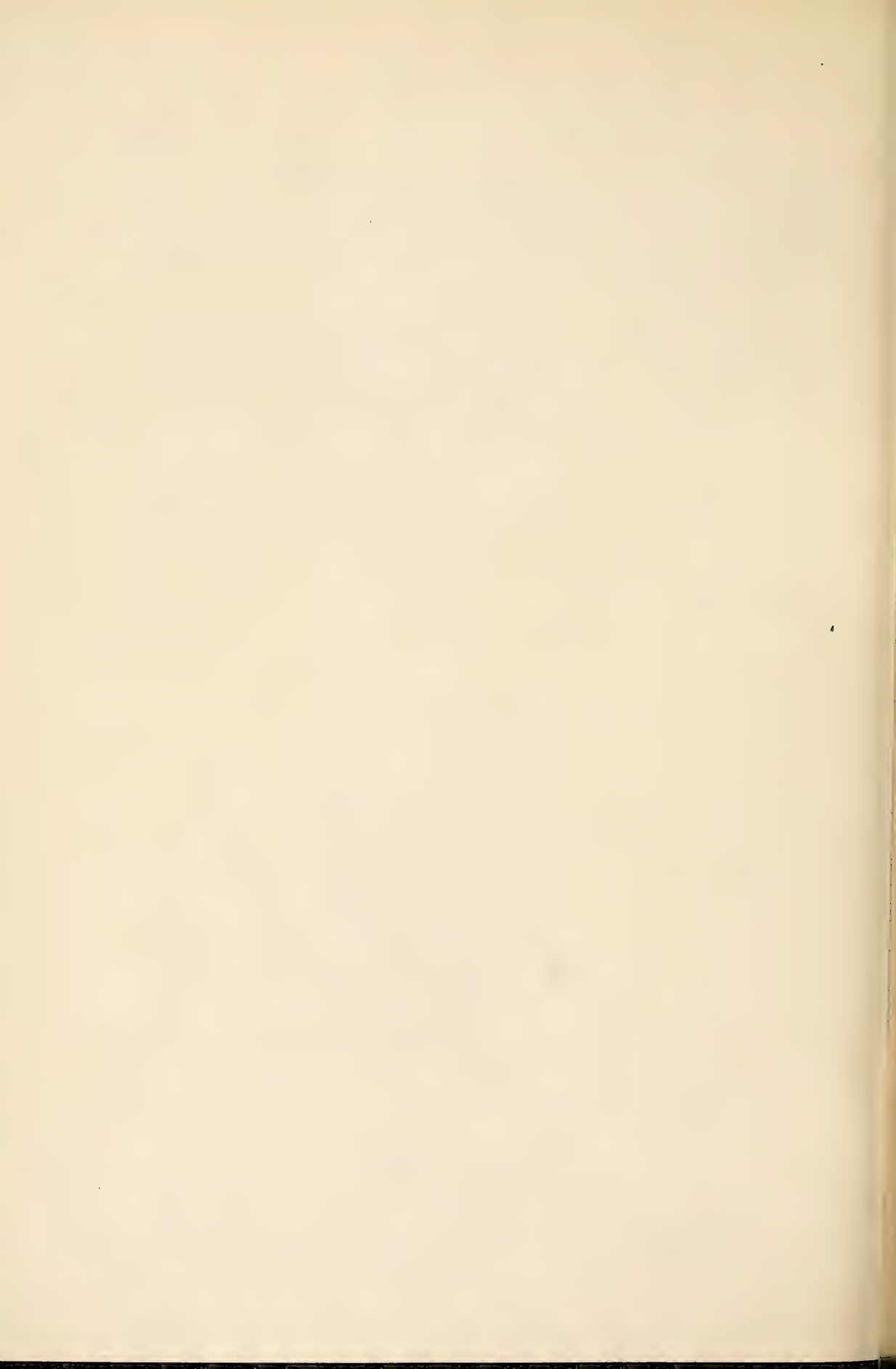
1. 'Αθυρί: so the other copies and P. Grenf. I. 33. 27, SB. 4116. 10.

12-13. Cf. (b) 11, where the same expression is used, though the name is spelled *Τεφραΐον*; it does not occur in (c). The preposition in both places is extremely doubtful, but either *ἀπό* or *ἐκ* seems to be required before *τοῦ* and the former on the whole is the more suitable; Theophræus was then the person through whom the corn had been purchased. For *ἀγοραστός* as opposed to *φορικός* (823. 11) cf. e.g. P. Petrie II. 20. ii. 8-9 *ἀπό τε τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ καὶ τοῦ φορικοῦ*, Wilcken, *Grundz.* 357, Rostovtzeff, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* vi. 175.

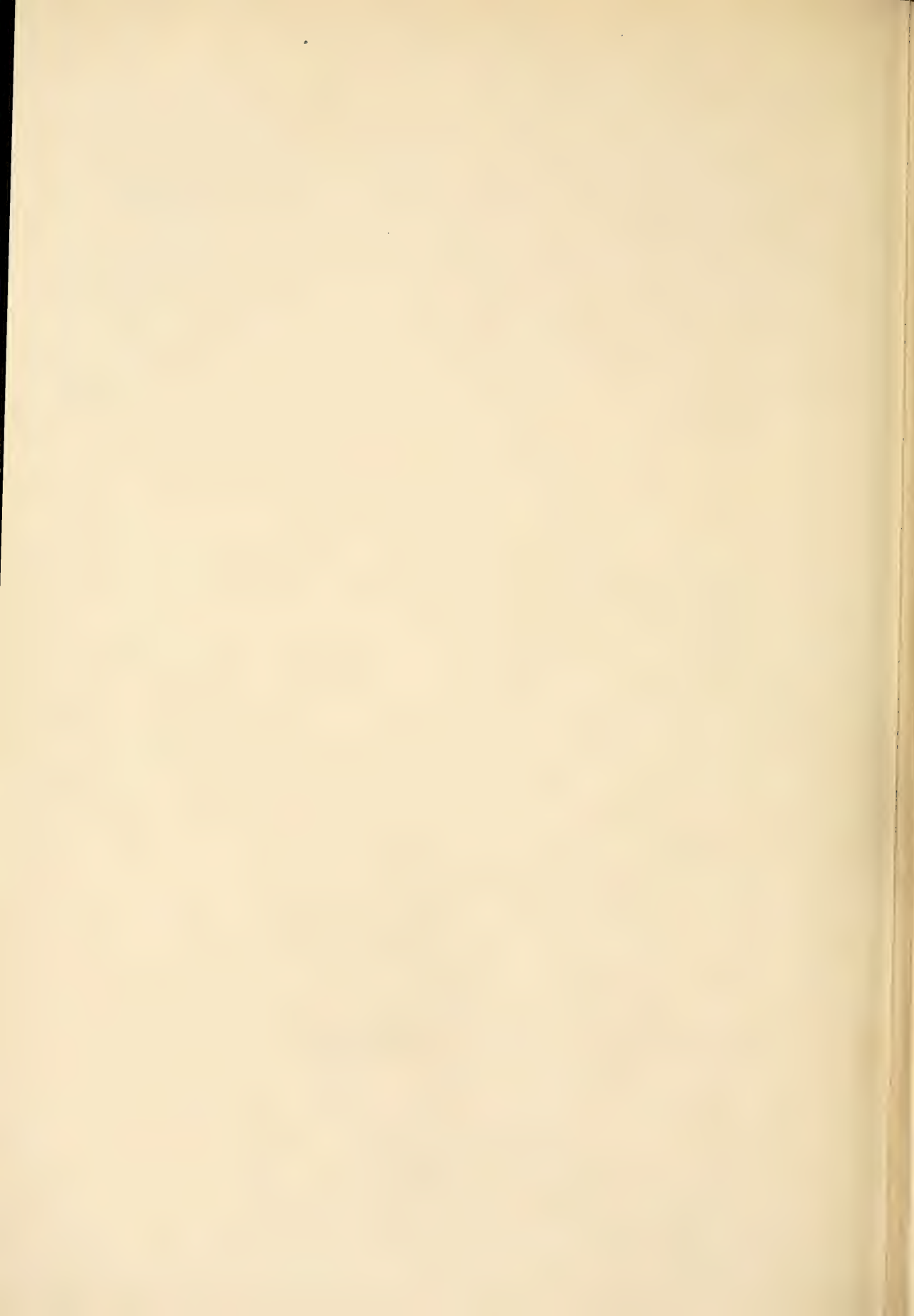
14. *έκσακοσίας*: the same singular spelling occurs in (c) 14 and is indicated by the spacing in (b) 13. In l. 17, on the other hand, *έκξήκοντα* was written (so too probably (b) 15, but *έξήκ.* (c) 15), for which cf. e.g. Wilcken, *Ost.* 336. 3 *έκξαμήνου*, Mayser, *Gram.* i. 210.

16. *πρός*: this might be taken for an early instance of the adverbial use found later not infrequently in the phrase *καὶ πρὸς*, e.g. P. Oxy. 68. 24, but *πρὸς κριθάς* is preferably interpreted, as Mr. Edgar suggests, on the analogy of e.g. P.S.I. 356. 4 *πωλεῖ πρὸς σῖτον*, though whether this implies an exchange of *x* art. of barley to 65 of wheat or 65 of barley to *x* of barley is not very clear.

(b) The writing is across the fibres of, probably, the verso, the other side being blank.

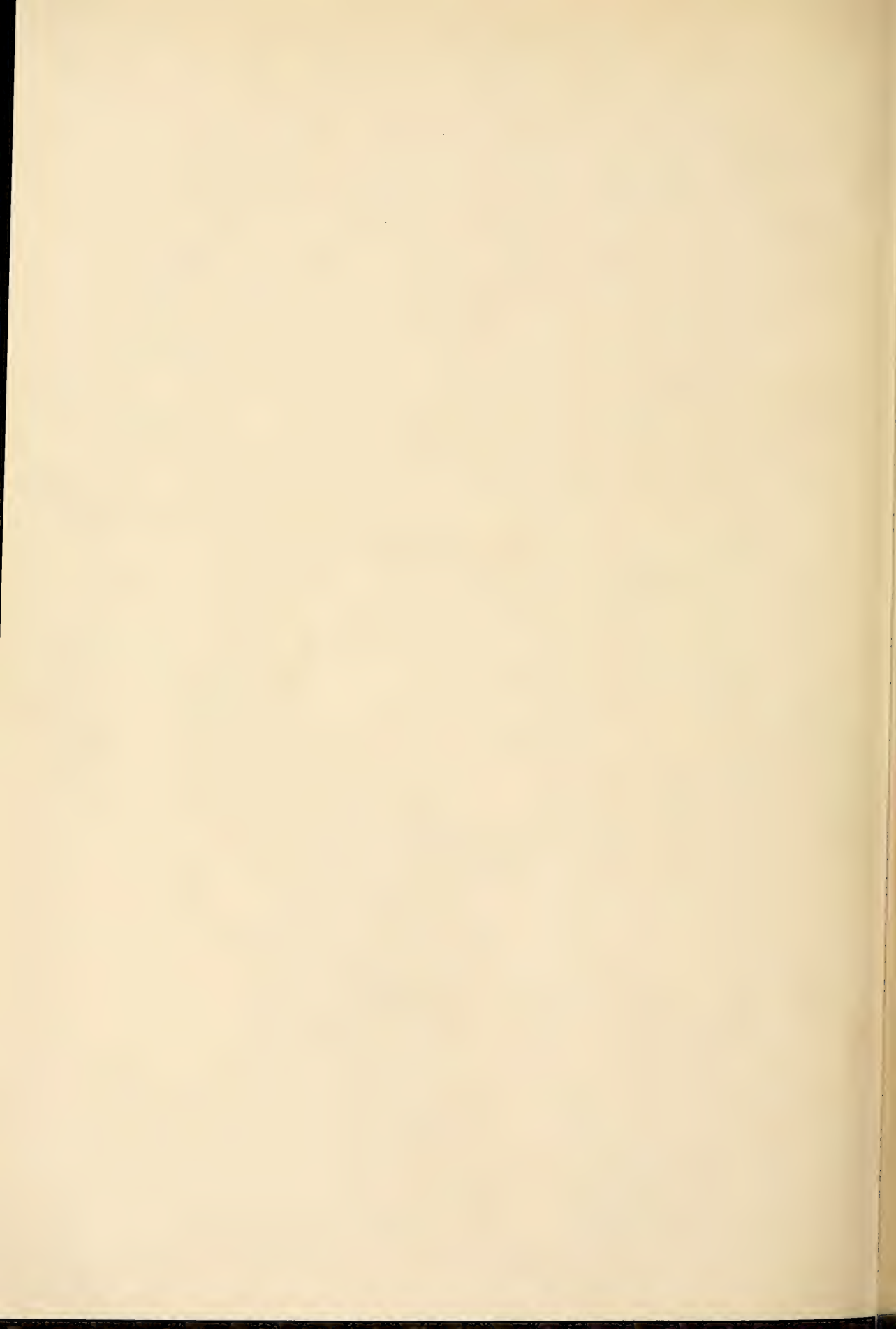




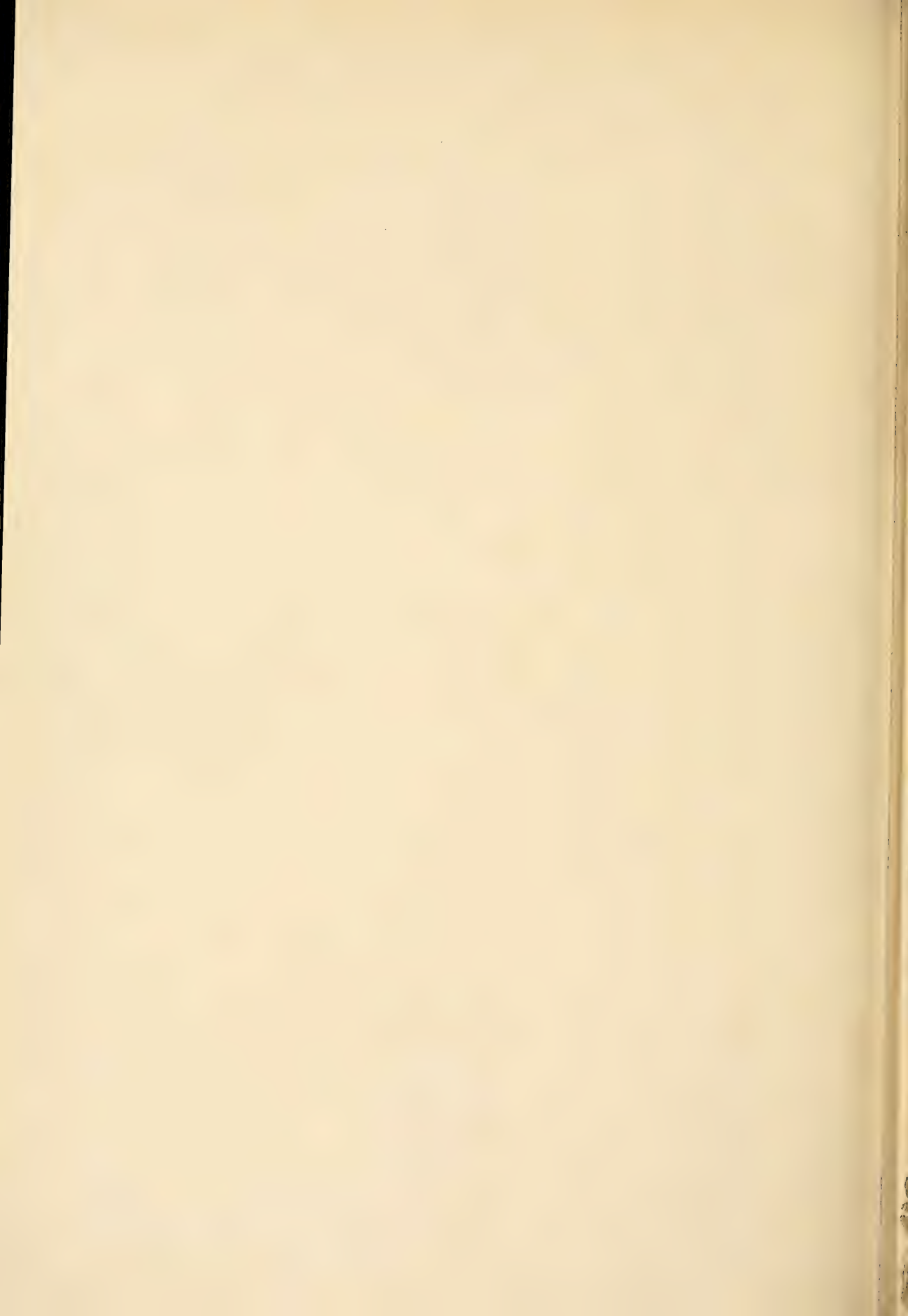










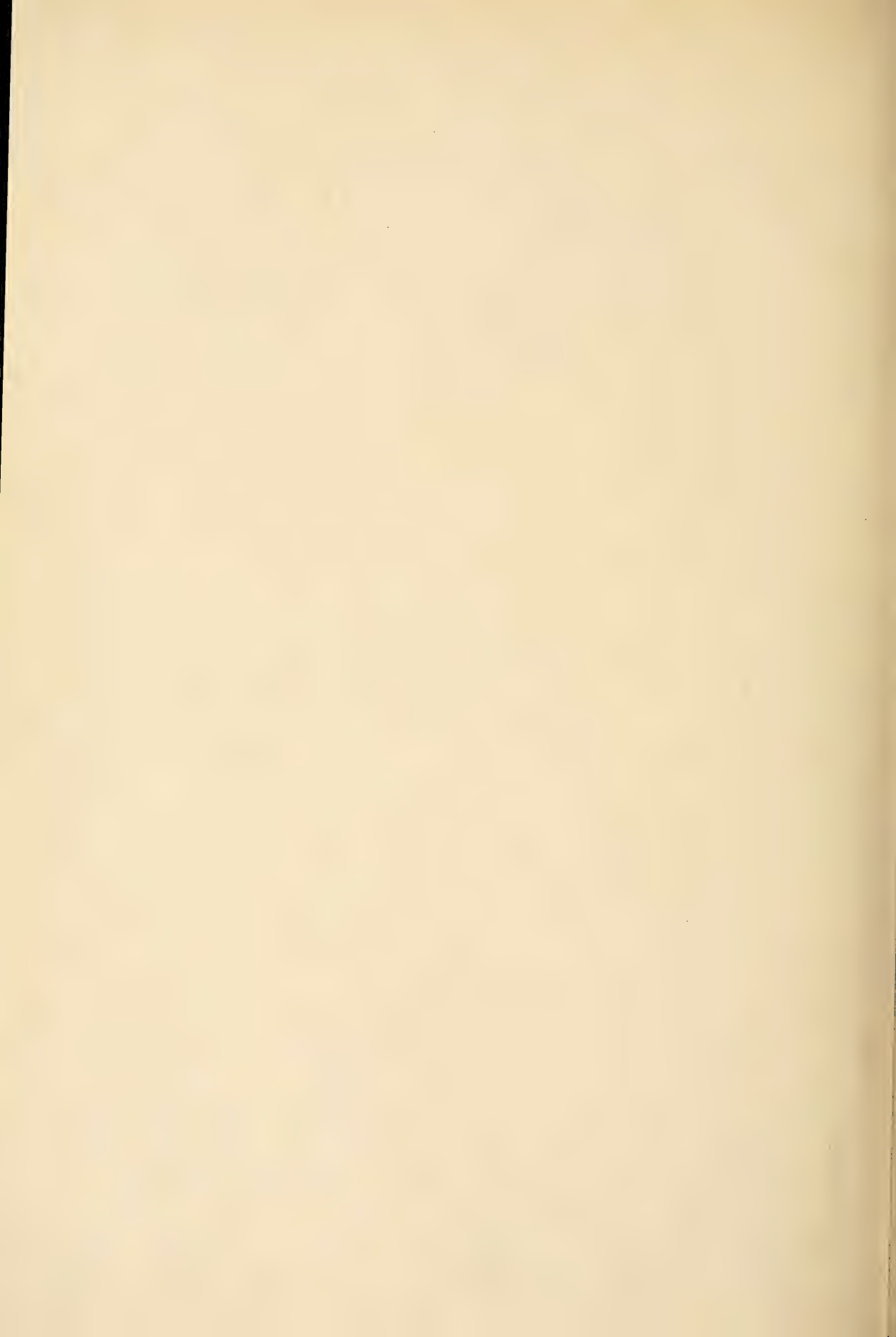


...αὐτὸν ἀποσταλέντων  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου

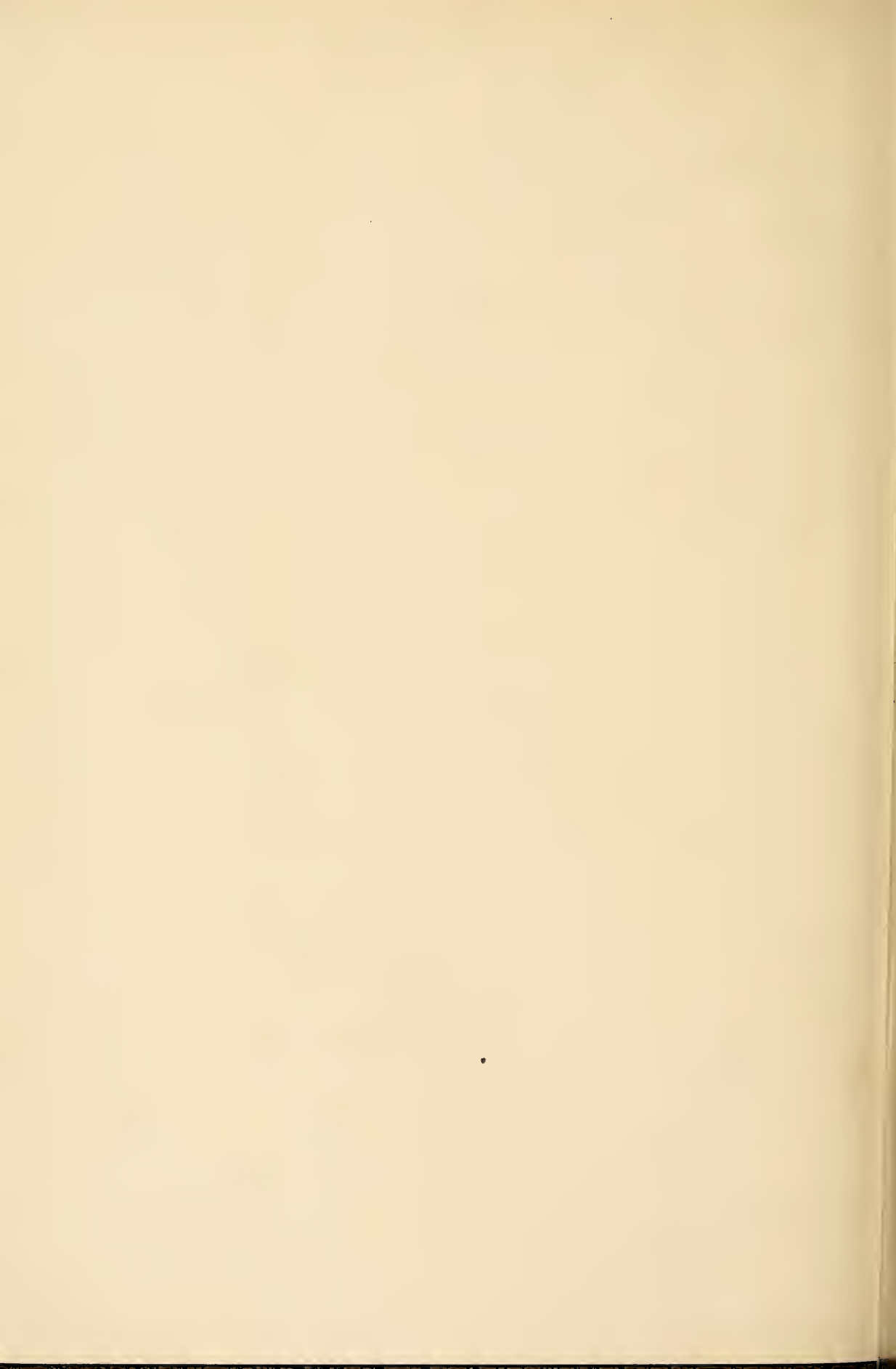
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
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...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου  
...ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
...τοῦ ἐπιπέδου

No. 811

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with vertical columns of Greek text, showing significant wear and damage. The text is arranged in approximately 12 vertical columns. The characters are dark and somewhat faded, with some ink bleed-through visible from the reverse side of the scroll.



[The page contains approximately 30 lines of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic text, arranged in a single column. The script is highly stylized and densely packed. The text is significantly obscured by a large, irregular stain in the lower half of the page, particularly on the right side. The visible portions of the text include various signs and symbols characteristic of the hieroglyphic system.]



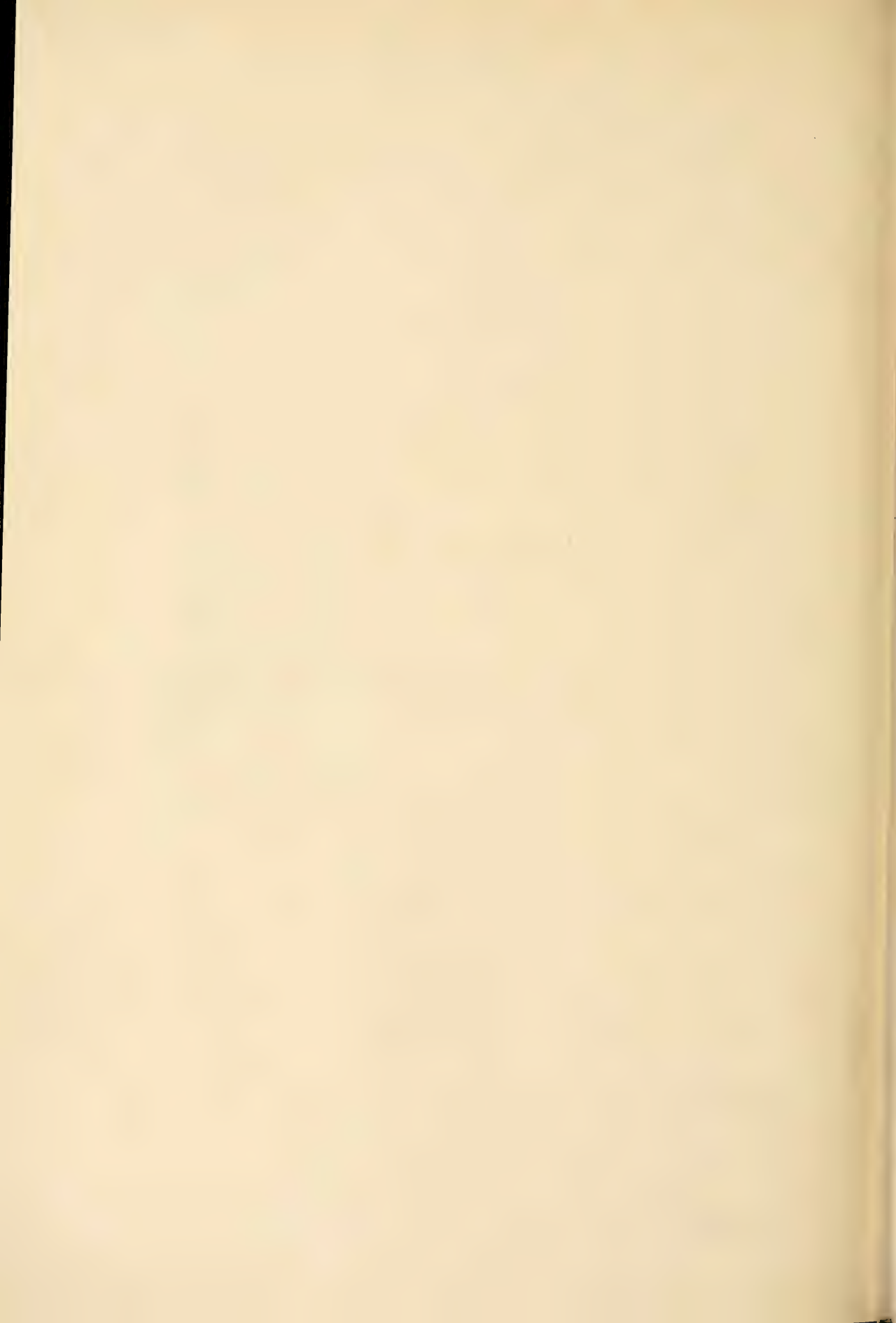


[Faded and mostly illegible Greek text, likely a fragment of a larger inscription or document.]

ΑΤΤΟΔΑΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΛΟΣ — ΑΤ ΕΥΜΕΓ ΜΕΝΙΧ

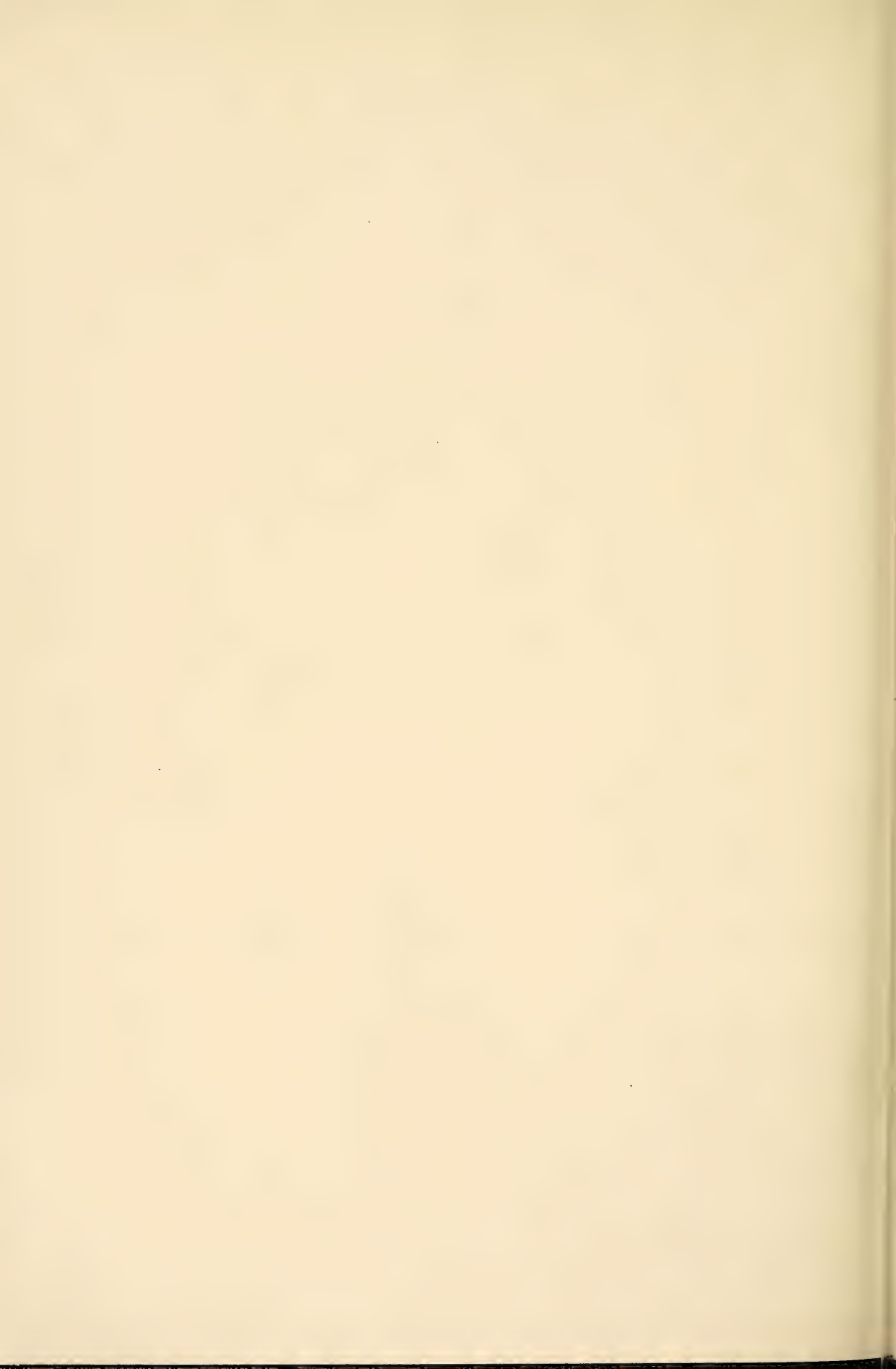
ΥΠΟΧΑΡΟ ΕΥΤΟΦΕΙ

ΟΥΝΟΥΡΑΤΟΣ — ΑΤ ΜΕ ΑΚΑΚΧ ΕΤΟ



[Faded and mostly illegible text in a cursive script, likely a form of Greek or Latin, covering the upper and middle portions of the page.]

[A vertical strip of text, possibly a fragment or a separate section, written in a cursive script, oriented vertically on the right side of the page.]



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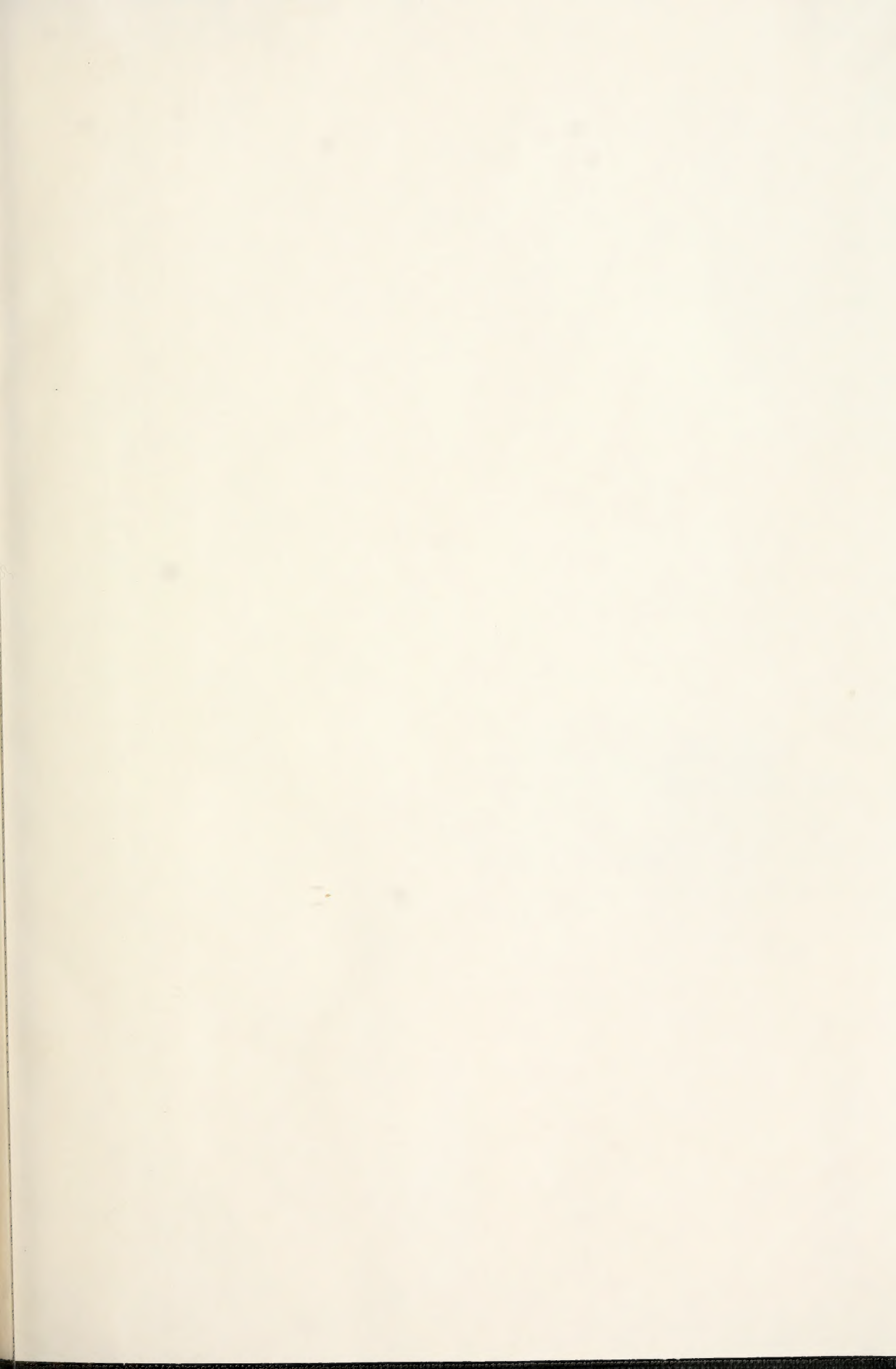
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