

# Twelve Documentary Papyri from the Amsterdam Papyrus Collection

## I JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Provenance unknown

18.3 × 9.3 cm.

IIInd century A.D.

Inv. no. 32. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off on all sides. Complete at the bottom only (margin of 1.5 cm.). Between lines 4 and 5 there is a space of 2 cm. The hand is practised and writes with ease. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. On the verso-side in two columns remnants of an account.

.σαν ρ.[...]... ἡρκέσθης τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ]  
]ατο εἰς τὸ ιερὸν αὐτῶν ὑπῆγον αὐτ[ὸν  
]περ εύσεβεῖν ἐπειρῶ μηδὲν ἀπο[  
]ἡθέλησας καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δεδομεν[

5 α]ύτὸν ὑπηγόρευσεν παρόντος αὐ[τοῦ  
]ῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ Ἐρμᾶτ[ι  
]βιβλίδιαι ἀναγνωσθέντων οὐ τ[  
]έ]νεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνελθῶν εἰς οὐ[  
10 πά]ντα τὰ ἡμέτερα ἴματια καὶ σκεύη[  
].αν βίᾳ κατέσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ καλ[  
]μένοις καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔξ[  
κα]ὶ δέδωκα[τ] μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγν. [σιν  
ὅ στρατη]γὸς αὐτῷ ἐπεν: εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν ο[ἰκίαν  
15 ]. οὐδὲν πεποίηκα ἀλλὰ ἤλθεν[  
]ἀπεκρείνατο· ἐπεμψέν με δὲ καὶ[  
]θειαν, μετὰ τίνων ἡθέλησας εύσ[εβεῖν  
ὅ στρα]τηγὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐπιτ. [  
]καὶ τὸν Σωτήριχον προσαγαγεῖν[

2. pap. ιερον; ὑπῆγον  
5. pap. ὑπηγόρευσεν

10. pap. ἴματια  
16. τ. ἀπεκρίνατο

The contents of the papyrus cannot be determined because pieces of unknown

size are missing at the top (traces of a preceding line are still visible above line 1), the right-, and the left-hand sides. Neither is it possible to say with any kind of certainty why a space was left between lines 1-4, and 5-19 (the two groups of lines are in the same hand).

The document deals with a trial held before a strategus (for the cognizance of the strategus in legal proceedings, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*<sup>2</sup>, Warszawa, 1955, pp. 485/6). The parties seem to consist of one person and a variety of persons (including the N.N. alias Apollonius and Hermas, mentioned in line 6?).

In the first part mention is made of a sanctuary and of worship (possibly referred to again in line 17). In the second part reference is made to breaking into a house and the destruction of garments and instruments inside (this offence was regarded as βία; cf. Taubenschlag, *op. cit.*, pp. 442ff. For a similar case, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Angabe an einem Nyktostrategen*, Antidoron Martino David Oblatum = P. L. Bat. xvii, pp. 128ff.).

For a general study on crime in Egypt, see B. Baldwin, *Crime and Criminals in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Aegyptus XLIII, 1963, pp. 256-263.

See also R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*, Bruxelles, 1966.

1. A rhetor might be referred to here. For the rhetor acting as legal representative, see P. Wisc. I, I, Introduction.

ἡρχέσθης was probably followed by a question mark = "were you satisfied?".

4. Is δεδομέν 1st pers. plur. ind. perf. Act., or should it be supplemented to become a participial form? In the first instance the translation would run: "and accordingly we have submitted" (cf. H. Ziliacus, *Selbstgefühl und Servilität*, Comm. Hum. Litt. XVIII, 3, 1953, pp. 5 sqq.).

5. ὑπαγορεύειν is also used in connection with a judge who passes sentence and dictates to the court scribe.

13. The ι in δεδωκατ has been cancelled by means of a diagonal stroke.

14. The name of the strategus was probably mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus, because here he is simply referred to as ὁ στρατηγός.

Supplement, for instance, ο[ι]χίαν εἰσῆλθες (interrogatory or posing).

17. Supplement, for instance, λέγε τὴν ἀληθείαν.

## II LIST OF LEASEHOLDERS

Provenance unknown

11.9 X 10.2 cm.

44/5 A.D.

Inv. no. 8. A dark brown papyrus, regularly cut off only at the left-hand side and partially at the top. At the left there is a margin of 3.5 to 4.5 cm., at the top one of 1 cm. Practised hand. The writing runs parallel with the fibres.

Λόγος τ[ῶν

πρὸς ὑπόστασιν[ ἔτους τετάρτου

Τίβερίου Κλαυδίου Καί[σαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ

Αὐτοχράτορος.

5 Ἡσαν τῷ δ (ἔτει) [.].α[

ἀφ' ὧν ὑπ[έστησαν

Τεσενοῦφις Ε[

Πανεφρόμεος[

Καλατύτης[

10 Πᾶσις [

### 8. r. Πανεφρόμεος

Although the above papyrus is incomplete, the contents of this most interesting document can quite easily be understood. In the papyrus is stated how many people (The actual number has been lost, cf. line 5. Perhaps there is space for 2 letters before α) showed interest in leasing a plot of land from the state in the fourth year of the Emperor Claudius, and how many actually became leaseholders.

In Ptolemaic times the state informed the people whenever land could be leased; anyone interested submitted a written bid, and the state allotted the plots of land to the highest bidders (cf. U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 274). It is still a matter of dispute what the exact procedure was in Roman times (cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 94sqq.). It is an established fact that compulsory leasing of certain categories of land occurred in some periods in some districts (cf. G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, Olten/Lausanne, 1964, p. 101sqq.; G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, Bruxelles, 1969).

From P. Beatty Panop. II, 155sqq., however, it appears that as late as the early fourth century A.D. one could submit bids for the lease of certain plots of land of one's own free will. Undoubtedly this was the state of affairs: in principle the state preferred voluntary bids, which were more advantageous, but occasionally the state had perforce to resort to compulsory leasing.

The present papyrus proves that in the year 44/5 A.D. the people of an unknown village (probably in the Fayûm) voluntarily submitted bids and that the state selected the most advantageous ones.

### III LEASE CONTRACT

Ophis

6.1 × 6.7 cm.

vth/vith century A.D.

Inv. no. 10. A light-brown papyrus, at the left-hand side carefully cut off and complete (margin of approx. 1 cm.), and regularly broken off at the other sides

(most probably at the folds). Practised hand. The writing runs parallel with the fibres on the recto-, as well as on the verso-side.

λιβδές γήδια τῆς approx. 20 letters

οἱ οἱ ἀν δεσι γείτονες, εἰς σπορὰν πυροῦ

καὶ κατάθεσιν κάρπων, ὃν ἔὰν αἰρῶμαι, φόρου

κατ' ἔτος τῷ σύμπαντος χρ(υσοῦ) νομισμάτια...

5 παρὰ κεράτια δέκα, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια)... π(αρὰ) κ(εράτια) τ,  
τῷ δὲ ἀβρόχῳ, τὸ μ[ὴ] εἴη, παρέξω ἥμισυ τοῦ  
φόρου, ὅντερ χρυσ[ικὸν φόρον τῷ] μηνὶ<sup>τοῦ</sup>  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεκαπέμπτου ἔτους ἀποδώσω

Verso: χω]ρίου "Οφεως τοῦ Ἐρμ[οπολίτου]

2. r. ἦ; ὁσι

4. r. τοῦ

6. r. δ

#### Translation:

..... in the West the estates of ....., or whoever the neighbours may be, for the sowing of corn and the growing of whatever fruits I choose, while the total annual rent amounts to x gold solidi minus ten keratia, altogether x gold solidi minus 10 keratia. In the event of insufficient flooding- may it never happen- I shall pay half the rent, which rent in gold I shall pay in the month ..... of the same fifteenth year .....

The above papyrus is part of a land-lease contract containing the final part of the description of the acreage leased, by means of mentioning the neighbours, the purpose of the lease, the rent in case of normal and of abnormal flooding, and the conditions of payment of the rent. As far as can be retraced from the text the contract does not deviate from the form customary in the Hermopolites. A list of lease contracts is to be found in J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri* (München, 1958) and D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten* (München, 1967). See also H. Comfort, *Studies in Late Byzantine Land-Leases* (Haverford, 1939) and H. Ziliacus, *Late Byzantine Land-Leases from Hermopolis*, Comm. Hum. Litt. XIV, 1947, pp. 1-16.

1. Considering that, when mentioning the neighbours of a particular plot, house, etc., the order South-North-East-West is usually employed, the lacuna has probably only contained the names of the owners of the estates west of the leasehold.

2. For the expression ἦ ὅσοι(οἱ) (ἐ)ἀν ὁσι, cf. H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Köln, 1966.

3/4. We find either φόρου τοῦ (σύμ)παντος or φόρου σύμπαντι λόγῳ. For the interchange of ου and ω, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* I, 1, p. 100.

6. For the use of the article instead of the relative, cf. P. Mich. VIII, 518, 10-11, note.

7/8. The statement in lines 3/4 concerning the amount of the annual rent leads us to suppose that we are dealing with a lease extending over more than one year. From the conditions laid down in these lines, however, one derives the impression that the rent is being paid only once. *ἀποδώσω* usually precedes statement of the month.

#### IV MONTHLY SURVEY OF THE SITOLOGOI

Sethroites                  9.9 × 7.2 cm.                  Middle IIInd century A.D.

*Plate IV (p. 112).*

Inv. no. 14. A light-brown papyrus, broken off at the bottom and right-hand side. The top (with margin of 2.5 cm.) and the right-hand side (with margin of 1.5 cm.) have been preserved. Practised hand, writing large letters. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. Four vertical folds are still visible (the papyrus must have been rolled up from right to left).

Ἄριστελδη τῷ καὶ Πτ[  
στρατηγῶι Σ[εθρωίτου  
παρὰ Συρίωνος .[  
νοῦ καὶ μετόχων ἐ[ν κλήρῳ  
5 σιτολογίας Τανου[  
συναίρεμα πυροῦ τοῦ μ[εμετρημέ-  
νου ἡμεῖν ἀπὸ γενή[ματος τοῦ

7. r. ήμεν

Translation:

To Aristides alias N.N., strategos of the Sethroites from Syrion, son of N.N.  
and his fellow-nominated, but not yet by lot appointed sitologoi of Tanu  
[ ] total of the wheat allotted to us from the harvest of the x year .....

The above papyrus belongs to a type which has long been familiar to us and which is amply represented. It deals with a monthly survey of corn received and is addressed to the strategos (cf. T. Kalén, *Berliner Leihgabe griechischer Papyri*, Uppsala, 1932, p. 43sqq.; P. Tebt. II, 340 is the best parallel for our papyrus). What makes this papyrus exceptional are the facts that its provenance is a nome which is represented by very few papyri and that it introduces us to a strategos of the nome who was hitherto unknown to us.

1. H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges des noms égyptiens* (Cairo, 1935), p. 37 and G. Mussies, *Supplément à la liste des stratèges égyptiens* (*Studia Papyrologica Varia* = P. L. Bat. XIV, Leiden, 1965), p. 28 are only able to list two strategoi for this nome: Alexander and Apollonius junior, who held office before 170 A.D.
2. There are only two nomes of which the names begin with a sigma: Σεβεννύτης and Σεθρωίτης (cf. H. Gauthier, *Les noms d'Egypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Cairo, 1935). Since we know that in Roman times the Sebennytic nome was divided for administrative purposes into two different parts (an upper and a lower part; cf. P. Oxy. VI, 931, 15 note), only the Sethroitic nome qualifies for consideration. In SB V, 8780 it says in lines 12/3 and 29/30 στρατηγὸς Σεθρώτου.
4. For the meaning of ἐν κλήρῳ cf. N. Lewis, *Leitourgia Studies*, Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology (Oslo, n.d.), p. 234sqq. Cf. also *idem*, *The Limited Role of the Epistrategos in Liturgic Appointments*, Chron. d'Eg. XLIV, 88, 1969, pp. 339ff.
5. In P. Flor. I, 64, 102 and 103 mention is made in a papyrus from the Hermopolites of the village of Τανοῦπις. It is possible that we are here dealing with the same village.

## V SALE OF FEMALE SLAVE

Oxyrhynchos	21.7 × 11.8 cm.	Before 227/8 A.D.
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*Plate V (p. 113).*

Inv. no. 26. A light-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at the top (margin of 3 cm.) and partially at the bottom (margin of 10.5 cm.). At the right- and left-hand sides the papyrus has been regularly broken off at the folds. Six vertical folds are still visible (the papyrus has been folded from the right to the left). Practised hand, writing large letters. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. On the verso, against the fibres, a greatly faded document.

(Ἐτους)      Εὔσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Θανθικοῦ ἢδι Μ[εχεὶρ] ἢδι  
 ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) μηδέσημ(ος) [  
 διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ μικρῇ Ὁάσει ἀρχείου τῷ ἢδι (ἐτεῖ) θεῶν Σεουή[ρου]  
 καὶ Ἀντωνίου  
 ὡς] (ἐτῶν) κρήδησημ(ον), ἦν καὶ αὐτόθι παρ[είληφεν  
 ]δωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὠνούμενος (δραχμὰς) ἢβ[  
 ἀργυρίου] Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς [  
 ]δούλην Ἀλεξάνδραν ὡς πρόκει[ται].

I. r. Θανθικοῦ

The above papyrus contains part of a contract pertaining to the sale of a slave. O. Montevercchi, *Richerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano*, III: *I contratti di compra-vendita*, Aegyptus XIX, 1939, pp. 11–53, gives on pp. 14–16 a list of all the sales known at that time. This list has been supplemented by R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*<sup>2</sup>, Warszawa, 1955, p. 331. Since then the following sales of slaves have been published: P. Oxy. XXXI, 2582 (*Oxyrhynchos*, 49 A.D.); P. L. Bat. XIII, 23 (Fragment of an EIPOMENON with extracts from two sales, *Oxyrhynchos*, end 1st century A.D.); SB VI, 9145 (*Arsinoites*, 180–192 A.D.); P. Antin. III, 187 (Registration of (2) sales of slaves, *Antinoopolis*, 198 A.D.); BGU XI, 2111 (Down payment on female slave, *Arsinoites*, beginning 2nd century A.D.); P. Oxy. XXXVI, 2777 (*Oxyrhynchos*, 212 A.D.); P. Strassb. 264 (*Oxyrhynchos*, 277–282 A.D.) and SB VI, 9216 (*Hermopolis Magna*, 285 A.D.).

In the 14th year of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (= 205/6 A.D.; cf. P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie Égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* = P. L. Bat. XV, Leiden, 1967) the female slave Alexandra had already been the subject of a transaction (cf. line 3). At the moment of the present sale she is 22 (cf. line 4). The periods of reign of Macrinus, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander could therefore be considered for the date of the present papyrus, but the date should in any case be fixed before 227/8 A.D., because Alexandra is already alive in 205/6 A.D. When we disregard the short reign of Macrinus and assume that the beginning of line 1 contained a year of reign of either Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, we reach the conclusion that, if we start from the titles most commonly used with these emperors (cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales*, Bruxelles, 1964), there is at the best room for 57 (Elagabalus) or 66 (Severus Alexander) letters at the front (if ετοῦς should have been represented by a symbol and the year by a number); at the worst there would be room for 60 + x, and 69 + x letters respectively. It is no longer possible to determine how much is missing at the right-hand side. Anyhow, there seems to have been sufficient room on this broad papyrus to contain the conditions and expressions usually employed in slave sales (cf. e.g. P. Oxy. IX, 1209).

*Oxyrhynchos* is the likely provenance of this papyrus because the seller is a native of that place (line 2) who seems to have bought the slave himself in the Small Oasis, situated west of the *Oxyrhynchitic nome* and for administrative purposes often considered as being part of this nome (cf. P. Oxy. VI, 888, 8 note; P. Oxy. XXXVI, 2793, 6/7 note).

See W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia, 1955. For further literature on this subject see P. Wisc. I, 5 introduction.

1. There is a horizontal stroke over the delta of ω, from which two thin lines slant upwards to the right.

5/6. The price of a slave depends on many factors. Leaving out of account the increasing inflation in Egypt under the Romans, it is self-evident that price was to a large extent influenced by the skill of the particular slave. Additional factors are age, sex, nationality, qualities of character (*e.g.* whether he is apt to run away), etc. In consequence it is quite impossible to determine what price was paid for Alexandra, not even by means of comparison with similar contemporary sales in the same district. This fact also makes it difficult to account for the twelve drachmae which, according to line 5, were paid by the buyer to the selling party (*αὐτῷ*), indeed a small sum! One can hardly consider the ἐγκύλιον (cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton, 1938, pp. 226 sqq.). It is most unlikely that this tax of 10 per cent. on sales was paid to the seller. Neither is it likely that we are dealing here with a down payment or earnest money considering the small amount of the sum (cf. BGU XI, 2111 and the literature cited in the introduction). The most likely explanation, in my opinion, is that the buyer refunded the costs made by the seller in connection with the sale of the slave Alexandra (*e.g.* transport, medical examination, loss of earnings, registration fee).

## VI REGISTRATION OF DEATH

Provenance unknown

8.3 × 3.6 cm.

227/8 A.D.

Inv. no. 92. A middle brown papyrus, irregularly broken off at all sides. Partially complete at the left-hand side only. Practised hand. The writing runs parallel with the fibres.

τ]ῆ ἔμ[ῆ].. [ approx. 15 letters  
 πῶν Πλουστίωνος μητρός) approx. 5 letters  
 ἐτελεύτησ[εν τῷ ἐνεστᾶτι  
 ζ (έτει) μηνὶ 'Α[θύρ. Διὸ δὲ πιδίδωμι  
 5 τὸ ὑπόμνημα δξιῶν αὐτὸν  
 ἐν τῇ τῶν [δμοίων τάξει ταγῆ-  
 ν]αι καὶ δμ[νυμι τὴν Μάρκου  
 Αὔρηλίου Σεουήρου 'Αλεξάνδρου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τύχην  
 10 μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι η ἔνοχος  
 εἰ]ην τῷ δρκ[ῳ.

("Ετους) ζ] Αύτοκ[ράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὔρηλίου Σεουήρου κτλ.

## Translation:

..... N.N., son of Plution and of the mother N.N. has died in the present 7th year in the month of Hathyr. Therefore I submit this memorandum with the request that he be entered into the register of such persons and I swear by the genius of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the Lord that nothing has been lied or else I may be subjected to the oath. Year 7 of the Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus .....

The above papyrus is one of the many documents reporting the death of a person to the authorities in order to be granted remission of tax. The list of death registrations compiled by O. Montevercchi, *Ricerca di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano*, v. *Le denunce di morte*, Aegyptus XXVI, 1946, p. 111sqq., has been completed in P. Petaus, pp. 72/3. Since then few new registrations have been published: *Documentary Papyri from the Michigan Collection*, ed. G. M. Brown, 579 (Oxyrhynchos, ca. 150 A.D.); P. Oxy. XXXVI, 2761 (Oxyrhynchos, 161-179 A.D.); *A Critical Edition of Select Michigan Papyri*, ed. E. M. Michael, 9 (Karanis, 169 A.D.); *ibidem*, 10 (Ptolemais Hormu, 184 A.D.).

A number of lines are missing at the top of our papyrus (very faint traces of the preceding line are visible above our line 1), which must have contained the name of the person to whom the document was addressed and that of the sender (cf. T. Grassi, *Formulari*, Aegyptus II, 1922, pp. 206-211).

1. Might this line have contained something like τῇ ἐμῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑπάρχων δοῦλος?

10/11. For the meaning of the formula η ἔνοχος εἴην τῷ ὄρκῳ, see E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, München, 1933, p. 121.

11/12. Between these two lines a space of 0,7 cm. into which the two slanting lines of the numeral of the year (line 12) reach.

13. The titles of the emperor most probably continued with Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ (cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales* Bruxelles, 1964). As was usually the case (see P. Petaus, 3-8), this registration was probably submitted in the same month in which the person concerned died. In that case the papyrus may be dated on October/November 227 A.D.

## VII DRAFT OF LEASE AND REGISTRATION OF DEATH

Fayûm

8.1 × 7.7 cm.

IIInd/IIIrd century A.D.

*Plate VII (p. 114).*

Inv. no. 70. A light-brown papyrus, regularly broken off at the top, right-hand side, and partially at the left-hand side. The first text has a margin of more than 0.5 cm., the second one of 2 cm. There is a space of more than 1 cm.

between the two texts. The practised hand writes quite large letters. The writing runs against the fibres. On the verso, parallel with the fibres, remnants of a document.

γιων ἀναβολάς σποράς [βοτανισμούς  
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, οἵσα καθήκε[ι]  
βλάβος μηδὲν ποιῶν, σπ[είρων

[[Κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) κώμης Μούχε[ως]]

5 Κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) κώμης Βουκόλων  
παρὰ "Ηρωνος Μάρωνος" ἢποδ κώμης Βουκόλων.  
'Ο συγγενής μου Δ[  
τελῶν τὰ ἐπιτελ[ επὶ τῆς προκει-  
μένης κώμης ἐτ[ελεύτησεν τῷ ἐνεστῷ-  
10 τι μηνὶ Μ[εσορ]ή. Διὸ δ[ξιῶ ταγῆναι αὐτοῦ

The two texts are written by one and the same hand. The following facts lead to the assumption that we are dealing here with drafts: 1) there are two dissimilar documents on one papyrus; 2) the lease contract has not been finished (cf. P. Amh. II, 91) and 3) the registration of death was in the first instance addressed to the komogrammateus of Muchis which has afterwards been deleted.

1. At the end of the preceding line was written διωρυ. In this line and the preceding one(s) were mentioned the tasks to be performed by the leaseholder in order to guarantee the φιλοκαλία of the land leased (cf. P. L. Bat. XI, 7, 11 note).

2. Instead of the customary λατγραφούμενος we also find other expressions, such as τελῶν τὰ ἐπικεφάλαια (cf. P. Petaus, 5, 11 note). The fully legible letters επιτελ of our papyrus do not allow us to supplement one of the expressions occurring elsewhere. We must probably supplement ἐπιτελ[λόμενα a term deliberately kept vague.

## VIII LIST OF NAMES

Provenance unknown                    28.2 x 17.5 cm.                    IIInd/IIIrd century A.D.

Inv. no. 24. A light-brown papyrus, irregularly broken off at all sides. The papyrus itself is damaged by numerous worm-holes. At the top there was a margin of at least 2 cm. There is a space of 1.5 cm. between columns I and II. There is a κόλλημα 4.5 cm. from the left-hand side. Practised hand. The writing runs parallel with the fibres.

## Column I

] $\zeta$   
 ] $\zeta$   
 'Αγαθοῦ Δ]αιμο(νος)  
 ].ου  
 5 ] $\zeta$   
 ]μησίων[ζ]  
 ]ιγου  
 'Αγαθοῦ] Δαιμονος  
 ]τοῦ καὶ 'Αχιλλέω(ζ)  
 10 ]νους  
 ]ζ

## Column II

Κροῦ[ρις  
 Δίδυμος Ἐρμ[  
 μωνις  
 15 'Ι·σίδωρος Διοσκορ[  
 'Αμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Ο.[  
 Φιβίων Ἡρακλα[  
 'Αντωνῖνος Σερῆ[νου  
 'Ι·σίδωρος Ἐρμίνου[  
 20 'Ἐρμαπόλλων ὁ καὶ 'Ἐλ[  
 'Ἀσκληπιάδης Κρέωνος τοῦ καὶ  
 'Ἐρμίνου  
 'Ι·σάμμων Σερήνου 'Ἐρμοῦ  
 'Ἐρμίας ὁ καὶ 'Αγαθ[ο]ς Δαιμον' Αμ-  
 25 μωνίου  
 Πτολεμαῖος 'Ἐρμίνου 'Αχιλλέω[ζ  
 Κολλούθιος 'Αμμωνίου Σαρα-  
 πίωνος  
 Πασίων 'Ι·σιδώρου Κάστορος  
 30 Χαιρίμων 'Ωρί[ων]ος Φ[ο]ιβάμ-  
 μωνο[ζ  
 Κτησίας ὁ καὶ .[.]τρατος 'Ι·σι-  
 δ[ό]ρου  
 'Αμμωνίων 'Ἐρ[μ]ησίωνος  
 35 'Αμμωνί[ω]νος  
 'Αντωνῖνος 'Ι·σιδώρου Διονυ-  
 σίου  
 'Λρποκρ[α]τιων 'Ἐρμίου τοῦ καὶ  
 [...]ρου  
 40 ]ν Δίου τοῦ κ[αὶ Η]τολεμαίου  
 ].[.]τοῦ καὶ Εύδαιμονος

30. τ. Χαιρήμων

The nature of this papyrus, which has contained at least two columns, is not clear. Its purport apparently was to give a clear description of a number of persons. A striking feature is the fact that when a particular person or his father has an alias, the name of the grandfather is not mentioned.

It is not possible anymore to establish the number of columns that may possibly have preceded our column I. The (remnant of the) horizontal line under line 41 might indicate that the papyrus ends there and that our column II therefore was not followed by other columns.

The names, which are all known, are too common to constitute an indication as to the provenance of this papyrus.

7. Probably: 'Ερμησίωνος.

30. For a similar interchange of  $\eta$  and  $oī$ , see C. E. Holm, *Griechisch-Ägyptische Namenstudien* (Uppsala, 1936), p. 16.

32. In view of the fact that the remnant of the letter before the lacuna would fit in best with an  $\eta$ , the following names come up for consideration: 'Ηράστρατος, 'Ηγέστρατος, or 'Ηρόστρατος (cf. F. Dornseiff/B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1957).

#### IX SURVEY OF PAID ARTABAE OF WHEAT

Arsinoites (?)

12.2 × 10 cm.

IIIrd century A.D.

Inv. no. 2. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly broken off at all sides. At the top there is a margin of over 1.5 cm. Practised hand. The writing does not run parallel with the fibres. On the verso, parallel with the fibres, remnants of two columns with names and paid amounts of corn. There is a κόλλημα 3 cm. from the right-hand side.

Ιουσιανὸς Αύνητος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) i  
 ἐτ(άγησαν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε λοιπ(αὶ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ε  
 Σοκμήνεως Σιλοῦρος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) i  
 ἐτ(άγησαν) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ L λοιπ(ὴ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβη) L  
 5 Αύνης Ἀμμωνίου τῇ η—(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ιδ L  
 ἐτ(άγησαν) αἱ π(άσαι)  
 Θ]εαγένης Ὡρίωνος (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) i  
 ἐτ(άγησαν) αἱ π(άσαι)  
 Πτολεμαῖος Σαραπ( ) καὶ Ἰσιδ( )  
 10 ἀδελφ(οὶ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) κ  
 ἐτ(άγησαν) αἱ π(άσαι).

3 r. Σοκμήνης

#### Translation:

. usianos, son of Aunes, 10 artabae of wheat, 5 artabae of wheat were paid, remain 5 artabae of wheat; Sokmenis, son of Siluros, 10 artabae of wheat,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  artabae were paid, remains  $1\frac{1}{2}$  artaba of wheat; Aunes, son of Ammonios, on the 8th  $14\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat, everything is paid; Theagenes, son of Horion, 10 artabae of wheat, everything is paid; Ptolemaios, son of Sarap ( ) and Isid ( ) brothers, 20 artabae of wheat, everything is paid.

The above papyrus mentions how many artabae of wheat a number of persons had to pay and how many artabae they had in fact paid. It is not clear why this list was compiled. Each person apparently had to pay 10 artabae of wheat. Only Aunes, son of Ammonios (line 5), had to pay  $14\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat. The addition "on the 8th" is a striking feature.

1. Towards the bottom the lines begin each time a little more to the left. It is possible that one more letter has preceded the letters  $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omega\varsigma$ , although the upsilon is written directly above the epsilon of  $\dot{\epsilon}\tau(\dot{\alpha}\gamma\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma)$  in line 2. The proper names ending in  $-\nu\sigma\alpha\nu\omega\varsigma$  mentioned in F. Dornseiff/B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1957) are all too long to be considered here. Very likely we are dealing here with a proper name 'Στιανός' which has not occurred before.

3. Because of this rare proper name I assume that this papyrus originates from the Arsinoites.

In SB 1, 5124, 238 there occurs the proper name Σιλουρᾶς. Are we dealing here with a new proper name (nominative instead of genitive), or should we write Σιλουροῦ? In any case it is unlikely that first the name of the father and only then the name of the person concerned was written.

5.  $\tau\tilde{\eta} \eta$  cannot mean but "on the 8th (day)". There is probably some connection between the mention of this day and the fact that Aunes paid  $4\frac{1}{2}$  artabae of wheat more than the others.

## X SURVEY OF WINE OWED

Provenance unknown

12 X 9.2 cm.

5th century A.D.

Inv. no. 9. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at all sides except at the top. The practised hand writes large letters. The writing runs parallel with the fibres.

Ρ Λόγ(ος) δν χρεωστοῦσιν  
οι ἀμπελουργ(οι) το'ū' κ. [.] α' τ.  
χρεωστή Ἰωσῆφ δι(πλᾶ) δ |  
χρεωστή Ἀμίου δι(πλᾶ) ιδ |  
5 χρεωστή Τιμόθεος  
δι(πλᾶ) θ |  
χρεωστή Μακάρις  
δι(πλᾶ) η |  
χρεωστή Ἀβραμίου  
δι(πλᾶ) ια γ |

1 pap. λγ; r. όν; the ω of χρεωστοῦσιν corr. from ο. 2 the λ of ἀμπελουργ(οί) corr. from ο. 3 r. χρεωστεῖ, also line 4, 5, 7 and 9. 4 r. Ἀμεῖος. 9 βραχιονίου written over ανειβ; r. Ἀβράμιος

## Translation:

Survey of what the vine-dressers of the ..... owe: Joseph owes  $4\frac{1}{2}$  double jars; Amios owes  $14\frac{1}{2}$  double jars; Timotheos owes  $9\frac{1}{2}$  double jars; Makaris owes  $8\frac{1}{2}$  double jars; Abramios owes 11  $\frac{1}{3}$  double jars.

The above papyrus gives a survey of the quantities of wine still owed by five vine-dressers (it is not certain whether the papyrus is complete at the bottom). This papyrus probably originates from a private estate (it is perhaps possible to read in line 2 κτ[ή]ματο[ν]). See E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, New York, 1931).

On wine-growing, see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, München, 1925, p. 239 sqq.

1. For attractio casus, see E. Mayser, *Grammatik* II, 3, p. 98sqq.
3. Considering the fact that payment is owed by ἀμπελουργοί, διπλᾶ οἴνου are apparently meant here. Also in P. Oxy. X, 1325 διπλᾶ stand for διπλᾶ οἴνου.

## XI STATEMENT OF SERENOS CONCERNING DISPATCHED FISH

Provenance unknown                          4.5 × 7.4 cm.                          IIInd/IIInd century A.D.

*Plate xi (p. xi8).*

—

Inv. no. 16. A middle-brown papyrus, regularly cut off at all sides. At the top there is a margin of over 1 cm., at the left-hand side one of over 0.5 cm. A number of horizontal and vertical folds are still visible. Practised hand. The writing runs parallel with the fibres. On the verso large letters (beginnings of six lines) of a text which also ran parallel with the fibres. On this side traces of washed-off writing that did not run parallel with the fibres.

γ Σερῆνος ἔπειμψά σοι  
σφύριον ἄ ἔχων  
φάγροι                γ  
κωρακείδια [[με]] ν  
5 λατίδιον μέγα ἄ  
διὰ Καικης

2 r. ἔχον 3 r. φάγρους 4 r. κωρακείδια

## Translation:

On the 3rd. I, Serenos, have sent you a basket with 3 phagri, 50 korakidia, 1 large Nile perch through Kaike.

Fish was part of the staple diet in Egypt. Going back to pharaonic times we have numerous depictions of fishes and references to fishing, the fishing-industry, and the consumption of fish (cf. M. C. Besta, *Pesca e pescatori nell'Egitto greco-romano*, Aegyptus II, 1921, pp. 67–74).

The above papyrus contains a statement from Serenos addressed to a person not mentioned by name that he has sent him a basket with various kinds of fish through the agency of Kaike.

On fishes, see D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London, 1947.

1. The γ with the stroke above it must stand for the third day of a month. It is not surprising that the name of the month is not mentioned, because the person to whom the consignment was dispatched undoubtedly received the fish in the same month in which it was dispatched. In the present case it was obviously taken for granted that the letter would reach its destination quicker than the fish.

3. Besides being a sea-fish, the phagrus is a type of fish found in the Nile (cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–275). The Nile phagrus cannot be identified with any certainty. Thompson's assumption – though not considered a very likely one – that the Nile phagrus would be identical to the Nile perch (= λάτος) is proved to be incorrect in this papyrus, because the two types of fish are mentioned separately.

4. Thompson, *op. cit.*, mentions an unidentified fish κόραξ = κόρακος = κόρ(ι)αξος (p. 127). κορακίδιον might very well be a diminutive of this word (cf. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*, Heidelberg, 1917, § 293).

A much better-known type of fish, also found in the Nile, is the κορακῖνος (cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 123–125). Perhaps we should read κορακινίδιον.

5. Λατίδιον is a new word, derived from the well-known λάτος (the form λάτις occurs in P. Mich. II, 123 Verso VII, 19. Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–146). The fact that μέγα is linked here with a word that is formed by means of diminutive-suffix, supports the assertion made by H. Zilliacus, *Zur Sprache Griechischer Familienbriefe des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Comm. Hum. Litt. XIII, 1944), pp. 34sqq., that the term "demunitivum" for the suffix –ιος (–ιον) is incorrect in a number of cases.

6. The name Καίκη occurs here for the first time. However, see Κάϊκος (SB I, 1040; 2500; and 2567).

## XII INSTRUCTION OF PAYMENT

Oxyrhynchos

8.2 × 24.7 cm.

6th December 434 A.D.

Inv. no. 91. A light-brown papyrus, fairly regularly cut off at all sides. There are margins at all sides (at the left-hand side one of 1.5 to 2 cm.), but some letters penetrate far into these margins. The typical Byzantine handwriting with large flowing letters runs against the fibres. On the verso, parallel with the fibres, minimal remnants of an amount. The papyrus narrows to the right (4.8 cm.).

Μυρῖνος

Θεοφίλῳ στινουρ( ).

Παρασχοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ μου θαυμασιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Κανδίδῳ χρυσοῦ κεράτια  
δκτῷ ἡμισυ γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) η<sub>λ</sub> μ(όνα). Σεσημείωμ(αι) χρ(υσοῦ)  
κερ(άτια) δκτῷ ἡμισυ μ(όνα).  
(Ἐτους) ρι οθ Χοιάκ θ.

## Translation:

Myrinos to Theophilos ..... Provide my Lord, my most admirable brother Kandidos with eight and a half gold keratia, total 8½ gold keratia only. I have signed for eight and a half gold keratia only. Year 110/79, Choiak 9.

The above papyrus is one of the many documents in which a person instructs someone to give a certain amount of money or goods to another person.

1. The name Μυρῖνος does not occur in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; it does, however, mention the feminine counterpart Μυρίνη (IIIrd century B.C.). The name does occur in W. Pape/G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. Now also in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*, fasc. 3.

I cannot explain the letters στινουρ, which represent a further qualification of Theophilos. Undoubtedly they should be supplemented to στινουργός. If, contrary to all expectation, the Ionic form στεινός, instead of the Attic form στενός, should be received in the Koine, we might think of a road-maker (of especially narrow roads?). In my opinion this is most unlikely. In BGU II, 672,7 we come across an unknown reference to a trade, viz. στι( ). The assertion in Liddell/Scott, *Greek-English Dictionary* s.v. στῆνος that this would be a late spelling for στενός should be expunged. In BL I it is rightly stated that in P. Cairo Goodspeed 15,24 στῆνος should be interpreted as σθένος. Cf. W. Crönert, *Zur Kritik der Papyrustexte*, SPP IV, p. 97.

2. The upsилons of μου, θαυμασιωτάτω, and χρυσοῦ are represented by means of a waving line above the words.

For θαυμασιώτατος, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen, 1930), p. 15/6. In P. Oxy. xvi, 1833,8 we find the same sequence of words.

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P. J. SIJPESTEIJN

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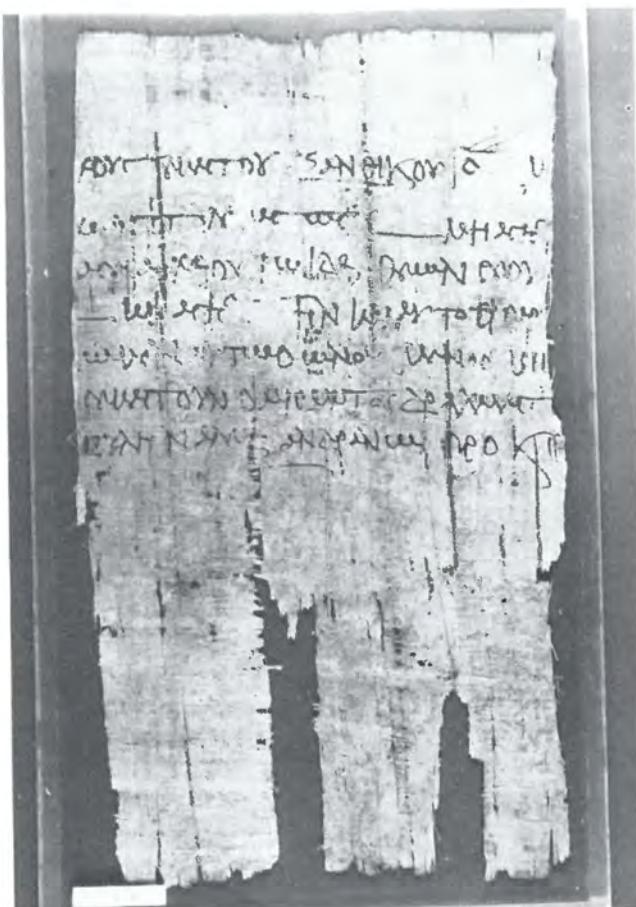
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