Willy Clarysse
Christelle Fischer-Bovet

**GREEK PAPYRI
OF THE CLASSICS DEPARTMENT AT STANFORD
(P. STAN. CLASS.) – PART II**

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

FROM THE 61 INVENTORY NUMBERS of the Greek papyri of the Department of Classics at the University of Stanford (California), we have previously published 32 in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 42 (2012), pp. 31–87, as *P. Stan. Class.* 1–32.¹ We refer to this earlier article for a general presentation of the collection, whose texts, all from the Fayum, date from the second half of the third and from the second century BC. The best-preserved pieces in Part I were a loan contract (1), public sales (5–7), payments in installments (9–10) and the dossier of the shepherds of Mouchis (2–3), which linked texts from the Department of Classics at Stanford to the Vienna collection. In Part II, we have now connected the collection of Stanford to that of Cologne, since the petition to the *oikonomos* Apollonios (33), which incorporated a fragment previously published (18) could

¹ We would like to thank again APIS as well as the Digital Library Systems and Services at Stanford, coordinated by David Jordan, for providing the photographs. We also thank the Department of Classics at Stanford for making the papyri available for publication. All have received a TM number, which allows the user to see the plates online in Stanford (<https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/jr022nf7673>) or in APIS.

The photographs have been digitally remastered by the editors of the *JfjP*.

be identified as the first half of *P. Köln* VI 261.² This petition sheds light on oil contraband and the role of prisoners of war, who presumably settled down in the Arsinoite nome soon after the battle of Raphia (217 BC). The following petition (34) was sent by a royal farmer who was wronged by a tax-collector to the *oikonomos* Poseidonios (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I/VIII 1079); it offers a glimpse into a network of individuals in charge of the collection of the wool tax in Mouchis and the fishing business, two of them probably attested in *P. Tebt.* III 701 (235 BC) about twenty years earlier. The last three petitions are not as well preserved (35–37) but the first of them describes an effraction with arson. Among the official correspondence (38–39, 41) the first letter returns to issues of tax farming (this time beer), while the second concerns the reception of oil-bearing products in Lysimachis, apparently followed by a short account or list mentioning an Osireion and Soucheion. The declaration of surety with royal oath (40) is one of the earliest dated texts in the collection (227 BC). There are also several letters in various states of preservation (42, 44–48); 43 is interesting for the vocabulary of the grain account on the verso of (42).

The remaining Greek papyri of the collection will be published in Part III, besides the three texts in preparation by Graham Claytor (*P. Stan. Class. inv. I, 13, 19 + 32*).

LIST OF TEXTS PUBLISHED IN PART II

<i>Edition number</i>	<i>Inventory number (as in APIS)</i>	<i>Date (BC)</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Description</i>
33	P. Stan. Class. 17 + P. Stan. Class. 37 (no. 18)	213	Oxyrhyncha	Petition to the <i>oikonomos</i> Apollonios by the oil seller Petoys (upper part of <i>P. Köln</i> VI 261)
34	P. Stan. Class. 5	217–215	Mouchis (?)	Petition to the <i>oikonomos</i> Poseidonios

²This text was presented in 2019 at the 29th International Congress of Papyrology at the Università del Salento in Lecce.

<i>Edition number</i>	<i>Inventory number (as in APIS)</i>	<i>Date (BC)</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Description</i>
35	P. Stan. Class. 7	3rd c.	Arsinoite nome	Draft of a petition about effraction at night
36	P. Stan. Class. 15	2nd c.	Arsinoite nome	End of a petition to the king and queen (?)
37	P. Stan. Class. 33	2nd c.	Arsinoite nome	End of a petition
38	P. Stan. Class. 3	8 Jan. 238 or 2 Jan. 213	Arsinoite nome, near Mouchis and Oxyrhyncha	Official letter reporting a higher bid concerning the beer tax
39	P. Stan. Class. 4	Late 3rd c.	Lysimachis, meris of Themistos in the 3rd c.	Official letter with report, followed by an account
40	P. Stan. Class. 11	17–27 April 227	Arsinoite nome (?)	Declaration of surety with royal oath
41	P. Stan. Class. 12	15 May 212 or 21 May 237	Arsinoite nome (?)	Official letter
42	P. Stan. Class. 25r	Second half of 3rd c.	Arsinoite nome (?)	Letter or report with account of grain on the verso
43	P. Stan. Class. 25v	Second half of 3rd c.	Arsinoite nome (?)	Account of grain on the verso of a letter or report
44	P. Stan. Class. 8	Second half of 3rd c.	Arsinoite nome, near Eleusis	Letter to donkey drivers
45	P. Stan. Class. 10	Second half of 3rd c.	Arsinoite nome (?)	Letter
46	P. Stan. Class. 28	Second half of 3rd c. (?)	Arsinoite nome (?)	Letter (?)
47	P. Stan. Class. 39	Second half of 3rd c. (?)	Arsinoite nome (?)	Letter
48	P. Stan. Class. 20	Late 3rd c. or early 2nd c.	Arsinoite nome (?)	Letter

PETITIONS

33. Petition to the *oikonomos* Apollonios by the oil seller Petoys (upper part of *P. Köln* VI 261)

P. Stan. Class. inv. 17 + 37

P. Köln VI 261

Oxyrhyncha, Arsinoite nome

= TM 699750

Joining fragments: 16.8 × 19.7 cm

P. Köln VI 261: 16 × 24 cm

213 BC, 11 March

The text is written along the fibres, with a top margin of 1.5 cm. It consists of six joining fragments. The small fragment with sigma and kappa at the beginning of the line can be placed at the beginning of line 4 and 5. G. Baetens identified the fragment P. Stan. Class. inv. 37, published by us (no. 18), as part of the present petition. All fragments have been correctly placed in the photomontage, whereas the photo of P. Stan. Class. inv. 17 (TM 699750) available online is no longer accurate.

The Stanford fragments can be placed on top of *P. Köln* VI 261 and hardly anything is lost between the two. We have republished here the Cologne papyrus as ll. 17–28 with permission of C. Armoni. The writing of the two parts is the same, both deal with contraband sale by prisoners of war, the petitioner Petoys son of Marres is mentioned in both, as is the date year 10, Tybi 28 (ll. 2 and 28). When the two parts are joined the text measures 33.7 cm in height, which is somewhat large for a papyrus roll, but not impossible, see W. A. Johnson, ‘The ancient book’, [in:] R. S. Bagnall, *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, Oxford 2009, pp. 256–281, at p. 257. If the fragmentary lines 16 and 17 belong to the same line, the height of the sheet would become more usual.

The text is a petition (*hypomnema*) addressed to the *oikonomos* Apollonios by Petoys son of Marres oil seller in Oxyrhyncha in year 10 (213 BC). The petition was then sent by Apollonios to his superior Metrodoros on Tybi 28, the very day that the problem arose. Apollonios was no doubt the *oikonomos* of the *meris* of Polemon, Metrodoros the *oikonomos* of the whole Arsinoites (cf. *P. Köln* VI 258–271, pp. 160–161). The Ptolemaic administration could indeed work quickly and efficiently, cf. J. Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 213–214; *P. Polit. Jud.* 1.

0 10cm

On lines 3 and 4, the Greek names and patronymics of three prisoners of war are partly preserved. In view of the date, they were almost certainly Seleucid soldiers captured at the battle of Raphia in 217. Perhaps they were integrated in the Ptolemaic army and granted a *klêros* in the Fayum, as already attested after other Syrian Wars (see the list in Maresch, commentary to *P. Köln* VI 261, l. 2). Clearly, they were active in the local economy and they had great freedom of movement.

Apparently these three men organized a meeting of all prisoners of war in the area (about 30 of them, see l. 5) for some activity related to contraband oil. The Stanford fragment makes mention of some unknown kind of oil and safflower oil (see below, l. 7), while the Cologne fragment mentions an unspecified oil, castor oil and ‘Hellenic’ oil (no doubt olive oil). As Maresch points out in his note to line 6, olive oil was not included among the oil monopoly at the time of the *P. Rev. Law* (esp. §§ 47–49), but may have been so afterwards. On contraband, see now Cs. La’da & A. Papathomas, ‘Enteuxis concerning illegal sale of cedria’, *Tyche* 30 (2015), pp. 81–90; N. Dogaer, ‘The black market in oil in Ptolemaic Egypt,’ *Bulletin of The American Society of Papyrologists* 58 (2021), forthcoming; K. Vandorpe & N. Dogaer, ‘A report by Menches on oil smugglers hiding their contraband in ... dung’, [in:] J. V. Stolk & G. A. J. van Loon, *Text Editions of (Abnormal) Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, Latin and Coptic Papyri and Ostraca, Festschrift F. A. J. Hoogendijk [= P. L. Bat. 37]*, Leiden 2021, pp. 76–81).

[Α]πολλ[ω]ν[ι] [ωι οἰκ]ονόμωι παρὰ Περσῶντος [το]ῦ Μαρρεῖ[ο]υς ἐλαιοκα[π]ήλου
[Ο]ξύρυ[γχων. τῇ] κῆ το[ῦ] Τῦβι τοῦ ι (ἔτους) [. ο]υσης τῆς νη[κ]τὸς
[Α]θηνόδ[ωρος . . .] α [ο]υ καὶ Φίλων [Αλ]εξάνδρου καὶ Θεό[δο]τος

- 4 Σωπάτρου οἱ γαῖχμαλῶται παραλαβόν[τες - - -],
κώμαις Ὀξύρυγχων [αἰ]χμαλώτους ἅπαντας εἰς λ σώματα συνα[θροί-]
σθέντ[ε]ς εἰς τὴν κ[ώμ]ην καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχοντες
ἐλαίου [. . .] ατικῶ [. . .] ε. α. . ν. εν. . καὶ ἐλαίου κν[η]κίν[ο]υ λ
8 ε[ἰ]ς χ(όας) γ κ[ἰ]κιοῦ [. . .] ε.ς β εἰς χό(ας) β ἐπώλουν τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ
[. τε καὶ η. [. . . κ]οτύλια καὶ ταρ . η. ρ. . καὶ [. . .
[.]αντας σοι περὶ [τ]ούτων συν[α]πέστ[ε] [ι]λαν
[.]τούτων τῶν [τ]όπων καλῶς . . .
12 [.] ἐπλήθομεν ἐπ[ὶ] τὴν

16 [κικι ἡμῶν δὲ [.ι τῶι φ[υ]λακίτηι [.ι χεν .ι [τουσ[

— — —

ἀφε[.] [.] δὲ τοῦ [. . .] [. . .] σ[. . .] φ[.] [. . . - - - τοὺς]
 γαῖχμαλῶτους ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ σὲ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἥδη ἡρ[μ]ένον.
 καλῶς οὖν/ ποιήσεις γράψας Μητροδώρῳ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ, ἵνα συμφανῆς
 20 αὐτῷ γένηται διότι οἱ αἰχμάλ[ωτο]ι ἀγοράζοντες τὸ ἔλαιον κ[αί]
 τ[ὸ] κῖκι παρὰ τῶν τὰ ἐλαϊκὰ φορτία διηρπακότων καὶ κατειργασμένῳ[ν],
 οὗτοι δὲ τῇ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλαίου [. . .] ἀφέσει πωλοῦ[σ]ι ἐργασίαι
 χρώμενοι. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ἐπιστροφή τις γένηται περὶ [το]ύτων
 24 καὶ ἐπισταθῶσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ταύτῃ τῇ ἐρ[χ]α[σί]αι χρώ[μενο]ι, συμβήσεται
 ὥστε καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸ ι (ἔτος) ἐλαϊκὰ φορτία διαρπασ[θῇ]ναι
 [- c. ? -] εὐτύχει.

Verso

(m. 2) [Μη]τροδώρωι. τ[οῦ] δοθε[ί]ντος μ[οι] ὑπομνήματος παρὰ [[Μανρέους] Π]ετώυτος
28 [το]ῦ Μανρέους ἐλαιοκα[πῆ]λου ὑποτέταχά σοι τὰ ἀντίγραφα. (ἔτους) ι Τυβί κῆ

To Apollonios oikonomos from Petoys son of Marres oil seller of Oxyrhyncha. On the 28th of the month Tybi, year 10 [sometime in] the night Athenod[oros son of NN], Philon son of Alexandros and Theodotos son of Sopatros, all 3 prisoners of war, having taken [in the ---] villages of Oxyrhyncha all prisoners of war, about 30 persons, having gathered in the village and gone to the market, with xx of [---] oil and xx of safflower oil [---] for 3 choes of kiki (oil) [---] 2 for 2 choes they sold to the people in the village [---] kotylai [---] having [informed?] you about these things, they sent along with [---] of these places [---] we went (for inspection) to the [---] kiki (oil) [---] we [---] to the policeman [---]

— — —

he brought up the 3 prisoners of war to you, after the oil was already taken away. You will do well to write to Metrodoros the oikonomos, in order that it may be evident to him that the prisoners of war, by buying the oil and the kiki (oil) from those who have plundered and processed the oil produce, that these men then

are selling to the outlet (?) of the Greek oil by using work. So if no attention is paid to these matters and if such men are not stopped from using such work, it will happen that the oil production for the 10th year will also be plundered. Farewell

Verso

(m. 2) *To Metrodoros. Of the memorandum that was given to me from [[Manres]] Petoys son of Manres, oil seller, I have enclosed the copy for you. Year 10, Tybi 28.*

1. Apollonios *oikonomos* is the same official as in *P. Köln* VI 258–271, and our text belongs to the same archive (cartonnage of Fackelmann). Apollonios was in charge of the Polemon meris, and one of the villages under his supervision was Oxyrhyncha (*P. Köln* VI 260 and 265).

2. At the end of line 2 we expect some specification about the time when the incident happened, such as [Μεσο]ύσης τῆς νυκτός, (suggested by D. Kaltsas) but it does not fill the lacuna. In Joseph. *Bj* 4.298 one finds τῆς νυκτὸς προκοπτούσης and in Joseph. *Aj* 6.310 νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης and we must have something similar here.

4. For prisoners of war, see the article by P. van Minnen, ‘Prisoners of war and hostages in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 30 (2000), pp. 155–163, esp. pp. 155–157; W. Clarysse, ‘Three Ptolemaic papyri on prisoners’, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 48 (2002), pp. 98–106.

4–5. An expression like ‘the villages of Oxyrhyncha’ to indicate the smaller villages depending on Oxyrhyncha is rather awkward. Perhaps a participle like ‘belonging to’ is missing in the lacuna, but we have no idea how this can be linked to the genitive.

5–6. συνα[θροι]σθέντ[ε]ς: this reading is at first sight rather daring because there seem to be no traces at the end of l. 5, but there is a nice parallel in *SB* XXIV 15936, another petition from Oxyrhyncha: τοὺς συναθροισθέντας χοίρους ἀριθμῶ τεσσαράκοντα.

7. The Cologne fragment mentions κικι (l. 21) and ἔλαιον Ἑλληνικόν (l. 22), the Stanford text speaks of κικι (ll. 8 and 13), ἔλαιον κνήκινον and ἔλαιον [. . .]ατικόν. For the last word [ἱερ]ατικόν, as in *O. Wilcken* 721, would fit the lacuna, but not the sense; a type of oil is needed, not a use for a particular purpose.

8. The line starts with εἰς χ(όας) γ and then continues with εἰς χ(όας) β, but the meaning of this passage remains obscure to us.

9. The word read as [κ]οτύλια rather looks like ψτυλια, but the meaning would be unclear.

10. συν[α]πέστε[ι]λαν or συν[ε]πέστε[ι]λαν, but συνεπιστέλλω is only used in the form συνεπιστέλλοντος.

12.] ἐπήλθομεν ἐπ[ι] τῇν: it is possible to supply [ἀγοράν] as in l. 6, thus far the

actions of the accused are related; here begins the report of what the petitioner has done, in the first person plural.

16. If the reading]τοῦσ[is right, it is tempting to consider l. 16 as part of the same line as l. 17 and to read ll. 17–18 as] τοὺς [προειρημένους / προγεγραμμένους] γαίχμαλώτους.

18. ἀνήγαγεν ἐπὶ σέ: perhaps the arrest was executed by the policeman mentioned in l. 14.

22. We had at first read [δι]άθεται ‘distribution, retail sale’, see the introduction to *P. Köln* V 217. Diathesis of oil is found in *P. Lille* I 9, ll. 3–4 (τοῦ ἐξειληφότος τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἐλαίου); *SB* V 7645, ll. 18–21 (οἱ ἐλαιοκάπηλοι οἱ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐξειληφότες παρέξουσιν ἔλαιον); *P. Tebt.* I 38 and 39, and IV 1094 (τοῦ ἐξειληφότος τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐλαίου). But the *phi* is certain on the original (we thank C. Armoni for checking for us) and therefore we have accepted the reading of the *editio princeps*, which is however difficult to interpret. In l. 8 the accused are said to have been selling (ἐπόλουν) to ‘the people in the village’, here they are selling (πωλοῦσι) to the [...]αφῆσις, or perhaps, as suggested by the first editor, [ἐν] ἀφέσει ‘in free outlet’ (i.e. outside the oil monopoly)?

22. ἐργασία is a rather common word, often used as a synonym for ἔργον, with the meaning ‘occupation’, as, e.g., in *C. Ord. Ptol.* 58, l. 8: γίνεσθαι πρὸς αἷς καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐργασίαις, or in *P. Rainer Cent.* 51, a petition against linen cleaners: τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπανείρηνται κολπιτικῶι τρόπῳ. In the present text it is used without article and the translation ‘die Organisation’ in *P. Köln* II 261 is unlikely. The text suggests that the prisoners of war were engaged in ‘an occupation’ of the oil industry. The closest parallel, also without article and with χράσμαι, is *P. Oxyrhyncha* 24, ll. 7–9, where [ἐρ]χαΐαι χρωμένων καὶ παραπωλούντων is translated by the editor as ‘einen Beruf ausüben’.

23. ἐπιστροφὴν ποιέομαι is a normal circumlocation of ἐπιστρέφω ‘to pay attention to’. There is no need to translate ‘wenn keine Wendung eintritt’ (*P. Köln* VI 261) or ‘change your attitude’ (*P. Col.* II 66, l. 22).

28. Our conversion is based on the financial year, see the note of Maresch to *P. Köln* VI 261, pp. 156–160. If the regnal year is used, then it would be 212 BC.

34. Petition to the *oikonomos* Poseidonios

P. Stan. Class. inv. 5

Mouchis (?)

= TM 43096

Fr. 1: 17 × 11 cm

Fr. 2: 11 × 9,5 cm

217–215 BC

The petition is written along the fibres and there is a *kollesis* close to the right edge. It consists of two fragments but nothing seems to be lost

between ll. 20 and 21. The illegible traces of three lines above and three lines below the petition are registration notes. The petitions to Boethos (137 BC) to be published in *P. Yale* IV, in particular 139, 140 145 and 148 (ined.) have similar marginal notes with dates both at the top and at the bottom.

The verso is written along the lines, 45 degrees counter-clock, in a small fourth hand.

Three illegible lines

- 4 (m. 2) [Ποσει]δωνίῳ οἰκονόμῳ
[παρὰ] Νεκτενίβιδος μικροῦ τοῦ
[. . . .] τῶν ἐκ Θμοινέσει
β[ασιλικ]ῶν γεωργῶν. ἀδικοῦμαι
- 8 ὑπ[ὸ Π]ετρεσούχου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ
λογεῖ[α]ι τῶν ἐρεῶν ἐν τοῖς
περὶ Μοῦχιν τόποις. ἐμοῦ γὰρ
ἐγγυησαμένου αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ . (ἔτει) .
- 12 ἐγγύην ἰχθυηρᾶς εἰς ἔκτισιν (δρ.) ρ
ὑπὸ Ἀντισθένην τὸν πρα-
γματευθέντα καὶ διαγε-
[γρ]αφός τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ
- 16 [σ]ύμβολον ἐπιδεικνύοντος
αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀποδίδωσίν μοι
καταφρονῶν. ἀξιῶ οὖν σε
[ἐὰ]ν σοὶ φαίνεται συντάξαι
- 20 [γράφ]αι Μνασέαι τῷ οἰκον[ομή-]
[σαντι το]ῦς αὐτοῦς τόπους
ἐπαναγκάσαι αὐτ[ὸν] ἀποδοῦναι
μοι τὰς ρ (δραχμὰς) κα[τὰ τὸ παρ']
- 24 Ἀντισθένους σύ[μβολον]
τῆς ἀπ[ὸ] χῆς ὅπ[ως] (?)]
εἰς τὰ [ἐρ]γα ἧς γεω[ργῶ]
βασ[ιλικῆς] γῆς καὶ [μὴ] . . .]
- 28 [.] ὑσ[τερῶ]]
το[ύτου] δέ] γεν[ομένου]
τεύξομαι τῆς [παρὰ σοῦ]
φιλανθρωπίας

34. P. Stan. Class. inv. 5 recto and verso

32 [εὖ]τῷ[χεῖ
 (m. 3) πα[. . . .]. . . ε . . . [.
 [.]. . . νια[
 [.]. . . . [

Verso

36 (m. 4) Νεχθένι-
 βιος

To Poseidonios the oikonomos from Nektenibis junior son of [NN], one of the royal farmers in Thmoinesei. I am being wronged by Petesouchos the person in charge of the collection of the wool tax in Mouchis and surrounding places. When I gave surety for him in the [5 or 6th (?)] year for payment of 100 dr. in the fishing business under Antisthenes the former tax-farmer and after I had paid for him, when I showed him the certificate he does not reimburse because he despises me. I beg you, therefore, if it pleases you, to [order to write] to Mnaseas the [former] oikonomos of the same places to force him to reimburse the [100 drachmas] according to the certificate of the receipt from Antisthenes [---] so that I [can devote myself?] to the [works] of the royal land which I cultivate and not be late [with my payments?]. If this happens, I will receive (a token of) your kindness. Farewell.

1–3. These lines contained no doubt a note by the receiving administration, as in BGU XX 2845 and 2847 (with further examples in the notes) and G. Baetens, 'A petition to the *epimeletes* Dorotheos in Trinity College Dublin', *Ancient Society* 44 (2014), pp. 91–104. One expects a date at the end, but we have not succeeded in reading anything.

4. The *oikonomos* Poseidonios is attested in several texts in the period 218–215 BC (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I/VIII 1079), which provides the date for the present text. In the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, Sebennytyos, Krokodilon polis, Persea, Aphrodites Berenikes polis (all in Herakleides meris) are given as belonging to his administrative resort.

5. The name of the petitioner can be read thanks to the verso. A Nektenibis son of Sochotes is sitologos in a register of official business, *P. Tèbt.* III 701, col. IV, ll. 142 and 153 (235 BC), where an Antisthenes is also found (see line 10 below) in the next entry. They may be the same persons twenty years earlier.

6. ἐκ Θμοινέσει. This is the first attestation of this village, which may correspond to demotic *T3-m3y-n-ḥs.t, The Island of Hesis; for the Hesis cow in Greek

and demotic papyri, see *P. L. Bat.* XX 50. Nektenibis may be of Aphroditopolite origin, where the local geography is well-known. For farmers working the land in areas far away from their places of origin, see H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1964, pp. 43–50.

8–9. [II]ἐτῆσούχου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ λογεί[α]ι τῶν ἐρεῶν: the title is new, but cf. *P. Hamb.* II 78, l. 2. It probably stands for *logeutes*, though a *logeutes* of the wool is unexpected. τῶν ἐρεῶν is also mentioned in the *P. Rev.*, cols. 106 and 107.

9–11. It is surprising that the tax-farmer of the wool industry is in conflict with a person who acted as guarantee for somebody working in the fishing industry. Perhaps Petesouchos was the tax-farmer for both the wool and of the fish-tax and Nektenibis was only surety for Petesouchos regarding the fish-tax.

10. One hundred drachmas is a large amount for a surety contract paid in silver, but it is hardly enough when the counting is in bronze. The usual amount in the Sorbonne papyri published by de Cenival (*P. dem. Lille* II) is 5 or 10 drachmas. An exception is *P. Sorb. inv.* 1200 ined., where the sum for ἑκτισίς also amounts to 100 drachmas.

11–12. Ἀντισθένην τὸν πραγματευθέντα: as a title ὁ πραγματευθεὶς is new, but in the aorist the passive voice is similarly used with an active meaning in *P. Lond.* VII 2066, ll. 2–3: πρὸ τοῦ τὰς μετρήσεις πραγματευθῆναι Καλλικράτην (Skeat translates: ‘before Kallikrates takes in hand the deliveries’). In Ptolemaic papyri the middle voice is often used for tax farmers, cf. *P. Diosk.* 5, p. 49, note on l. 5. An Antisthenes is attested in *P. Tebt.* III 701, ll. 86, 150, 225, 235, and 264 in relation with fishermen. Thanks to Nico Dogaer for pointing this out to us.

11. The year date is illegible, but certainly it was no more than one small letter. Poseidonios is attested as *oikonomos* between July and November/December 217 BC. His predecessor Herakleides was still in function on 28 February 217 BC, his successor Metrodoros was *oikonomos* already on 28 June 215 BC. Therefore, the text should be dated to a year 5, 6 or 7. Neither of these figures fits the small space well, but 7 (ζ) is less plausible than 5 (ε) or 6 (ς).

18–20. ἀξιῶ οὖν σε [ἐὰ]ν σοὶ φαίνεται συντάξαι [γράφ]αι Μῆρσέαι. The formula is well-attested in the form ἀξιῶ/δέομαι οὖν σε/σου (συντάξαι/προστάξαι) γράψαι + name of official + (ἐπ)αναγκάσαι (e.g., *UPZ* I 7, ll. 29–32; *P. Ent.* 20, ll. 6–7; *P. Polit. Iud.* 8, ll. 32–34; *P. Ent.* 33, ll. 6–9; and in the Roman period *SB XVI* 12685, ll. 78–80), but the traces are very indistinct. The supplement συντάξαι [γράφ]αι was suggested by T. Backhuys.

20. Mnaseas is known as *oikonomos* in Alabanthis and the ἕξω τόποι in 223/2 BC (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I 1063). Mnaseas is unlikely to be the same person as the *epistates* of Pharbaithos (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I 690; *P. Ent.* 9, l. 7, 219 BC).

21. The small fragment with the end of τόπους has become displaced and is now stuck to the end of l. 16. On the photo this has been corrected.

23. The figure ρ (δρ.) is nearly illegible, but it is marked with a space before and after, as is common with figures. Close parallels for the formula are found in *P. Ent.* 28, ll. 9–10 (ἐπαναγκάσαι αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι μοι τὰς ιβ (δραχμὰς) and *P. Ent.* 48, l. 9 (ἐπαν[α]γκά[σαι αὐτὸν ἀ]ποδοῦν[αί μ]οι τὰς ι (δραχμὰς).

25. For the expression σύμβολον τῆς ἀποχῆς, see the note by D. Martinez, ‘*P. Erasm.* I 10: an order for payment from a cult association’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118 (1997), pp. 263–266, at p. 265 n. 10. See also *P. Ent.* 73, l. 4; *P. Zen. Pestman* 49, ll. 8–9; *P. Mich.* III 182, l. 28.

26–27. Probably the royal farmer Nektenibis stresses that he should not be hindered in working on the royal land, compare perhaps with *BGU VIII* 1836. With some hesitation we read τὰ [ἐρ]χα, which fits the context but not so well the traces.

28. The reading [μῆ] - - - ὕσ]τερῶ was suggested by T. Backhuys. The best parallels are *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59307, ll. 21–23 (ὅπως ὁ κληρὸς ποτίζεται καὶ μὴ ὕστερῶμεν) and the fragmentary *P. Bingen* 29, ll. 2–3 ([ὅπως ἀπ]οδῶμεν καὶ μὴ ὕσ[τερῶμεν]. One could imagine [τοῦ καιροῦ] before or after the verb, as in *P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59594, l. 6, and *PSI IV* 432, l. 5.

32. Of the expected greeting ἐντυχέι only minimal traces remain.

35. Draft of a petition about effraction at night

P. Stan. Class. inv. 7
Arsinoite nome
= TM 699749

16.5 × 14 cm

Third century BC

The text is written along the fibres with an Egyptian rush. It is a draft as is shown by the cursive script and the numerous corrections. There is apparently a margin to the right, though a few letters may be lost in l. 6.

The language too presents many irregularities, though often our reading and interpretation are uncertain: νυκ[τε]ί (itacism), καόντων for καιόντων, διορυ() for διωρυ(), undeclined Ἰναρω, the sandhi in ἐμ Μεφραχει. Towards the end the scribe has apparently tried to rewrite the passage with καταβαίνω.

1–4 *minimal traces at the end of the lines*

5a α . . τον ἐὰν μιν . . . [

5 καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῇι νυκ[τε]ί τῇι εἰ[s]

τῇν κ̄ ᾱ ἀπεσπερου καόντων . [

35. P. Stan. Class. inv. 7 recto and verso

ἐπελθόντες τινὲς καὶ ὑπερβάντες

8 ν Ἰναρω Φοήριος γε(ωργοῦ) βα(σιλικοῦ) καὶ διορυ()

9a . . . καταβῆναι

9 [.] θυ() τω. καταβ. . . ατο ἐμ Μεφράχει [

[] καταβὰς [.] ν θυ() κ[. . .] ναι

[] στήναι α() . . [

Verso

Upside down in the same hand (?)

12] καὶ

] Πετανοῦβα[

[---] and the things being in the night leading to the 21st from the evening, setting on fire, certain persons having made an incursion and having jumped over

[the fence of] the royal farmer Inaros son of Phoeris [---] canal [---] sluice-door [---] going down [---] in Mephraichis.

5. The expression τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ εἰς τὴν is also followed by the participle ἐπελθόν in *P. Diosk.* I, l. 6, *P. Strasb.* II 100, l. 12, and *P. Würzb.* 5, l. 4. In *P. Sorb.* III 128, l. 4, it is linked with arson (ἐνεπύρισαν) like here. For house effraction and robberies at night, see *P. Tebt.* III.1 796 and *P. Dion.* 10 with Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement* (cit. *supra*, no. 33), pp. 181–182 and 262–264.

6. For καόντων instead of καίωντων, see E. Mayser & H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, vol. I: *Laut- und Wortlehre*, part 1: *Einleitung und Lautlehre*, 2nd ed. revised by H. Schmoll, Berlin 1970, p. 85. One does not expect a genitive *absolutus* here because the scribe continues with the nominatives ἐπελθόντες and ὑπερβάντες in l. 7.

6. The strange form ἀπεσπερον, must be a synonym for ἐσπέρας, ‘in the evening, from the evening’, preceded by the date. ἐσπέρας is combined with ἐπέρχομαι in *P. Heid.* II 217.

7. The expression ἐπελθόντες τινές is often found for attacks by night, when the attackers cannot be identified, e.g., *P. Köln* III 143, l. 14; *P. Petrie* III 34, l. 3; *P. Tebt.* III 793, col. I, l. 23, and VIII, l. 13; *P. Würzb.* 5, l. 6; *SB XX* 14679, ll. 7–8, and 14711, l. 7.

8. Διῶρυξ and θύ(ρα), a canal with a sluice, go together well, see *P. Petrie Kleon*, pp. 20–21. Perhaps the intruders entered the property of Inaros by climbing over the sluice-gates of the canal.

9. The place name at the end of the line (Pephraichis, Mephraichis, Pephraichthis, Mephraichthis) is apparently new.

13. Petanoubis could be the name of the plaintiff, but the reading is far from certain; the alpha at the end is rather clear and Petanoubas would be an *addendum onomasticis*. Even Ἀνουβάς is not attested before the Roman period.

36. End of a petition to the king and queen?

P. Stan. Class. inv. 15
Arsinoite nome
= TM 699747

17 × 8 cm

Second century BC

The text is written along the fibres. Only the end of the petition is preserved with a greeting formula in the plural, no doubt addressed to the king and the queen, with a large margin (10 cm) at the bottom. A margin is probably also preserved to the right.

36. P. Stan. Class. inv. 15 recto and verso

] . ναι [
 [τούτου δ] ἐ γενομένου . . . εν
 [.] φερόντων οὐθένα τῆς
 4 [.] . ἡμεῖς δὲ τευξόμεθα [
 [τῆς παρ'] ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἐπανορ-
 [θώσεως] εὐτυχεῖτε

Verso

3 lines upside down in a different hand

Σέγγουχis Ὁρου [
 8 (ἀρουρ.) δ' ἄ κατὰ
 σύ(μβολον) ση(σάμου)

When this happens [---] nothing of the [---] and we will receive the reparation for our lives due from you. Farewell. Senouchis son of Horos 4^{3/4} arouras according to a receipt (?) for sesame.

3. No doubt [δια]φερόντων, cf. *P. Amb.* II 33, ll. 25–26, also a petition to the king: *τούτου γὰρ γενομένου οὐθὲν τῶν ὑμῶν συμφερόντων διαπείσεται*. The general meaning is something like ‘if this happens, there will be no loss for the crown and we will also get help’.

5. The formula with ἐπανάρθωσις seems to be new (the word was thus far not attested in Ptolemaic papyri), but cf. *P. Meyer* I, l. 27 (τούτου δὲ γενομένου [τευξόμεθα τ]ῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν βίον βοηθείας) and *UPZ* I 10, l. 34, and II, l. 30 (ἵνα ὧ καὶ αὐτὸς μετεπιληφὼς τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀντιλήψεως).

7. All certain examples of the name Senouchis are masculine, cf. *P. Count* 6, p. 213, note on l. 96. In *TM* 5717 the name is considered a variant of Tenouchis. The etymology remains unknown.

37. End of a petition

P. Stan. Class. inv. 33
Arsinoite nome
= *TM* 699755

Fr. 1: 8 × 5 cm
Fr. 2: 5.5 × 4.5 cm

Second century BC

The petition consists of two joining fragments and is written along the fibres. A vertical *kollesis* is visible at 1 cm from the right edge. Only the end of the document is preserved, without final greeting. The left, right and bottom margin measure 1 cm, 0.5 cm and 3 cm, respectively. The petition was probably addressed to the *strategos*, as the formulas make it clear. It is the *strategos* who usually orders the village *epistates* to bring the accused before him.

ασ. .[
ἀξιῶ οὖν σ[ε συν]τά[ξ]αι Μενελάωι
τῶι ἐπιστάτῃ ἀποστειλῆαι
4 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σὲ ὅπως τύχω
τῆς παρὰ σοῦ[β]ρηθείας

37. P. Stan. Class. inv. 33

I ask you, therefore, to write to Menelaos the epistates to send them to you so that I may obtain help from you.

2. There is no place in the lacuna for the usual expression ἀξιῶ οὖν σε συντάξαι γράψαι]. For ἀξιῶ οὖν σε συντάξαι (without γράψαι), see A. di Bitonto, 'Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico. Studio sul formulario', *Aegyptus* 48 (1968), pp. 53–107, at pp. 80–82. This expression is common in our Stanford petitions, see P. Stan. Class. inv. 5, no. 34 above.

2. The *epistates* Menelaos is new.

LETTERS

38. Official letter reporting a higher bid concerning the beer tax

P. Stan. Class. inv. 3
Arsinoite nome, near
Mouchis & Oxyrhyncha
= TM 43253

Fr. 1: 13 × 13.5 cm
Fr. 2: 13 × 8 cm

8 January 238 BC (Ptolemy III) or
2 January 213 BC (Ptolemy IV)

The papyrus consists of two fragments. The letter is written against the fibres in a good late third century official hand, dated to a ninth year, either Ptolemy III or Ptolemy IV. The *kollesis* above l. 6 shows that the

text is written *transversa charta* on the recto. Rather large upper and lower margins are preserved, but more than half of the text is lost to the left and right. If the papyrus comes from an average roll of 31 cm used *transversa charta* with margins of about 1 cm on each side, then 7 centimeters (20–25 letters) are missing. The two fragments do not join immediately, but in l. 3 only part of the *gamma* is missing and in l. 6 ἔρρωσο is complete. The name of the addressee is preserved on the back, where there are also traces of white plaster.

4 [Ἀπ]ολλωνίῳ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ γράφεις διασ[αφ]ῆσαι[ι] τὸν γενόμε[νον]
 [], που ὑπερβόλιον πεποιῆσθαι Ὀξυρύ[γ]χων [.], καὶ Μούχεως
 [] τες ζύτον π[α]ρ[α]δέχωνται προσλόγι[σ]αι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν Ἀθὺρ []
 [] κατ]ὰ μῆνα, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ὑπερβ[ε]βληκ[ό]σι]ν συνάλλαξον καὶ φ[.]. []
 [] ,ανται κατὰ μῆνα δ[ιασά]φησ[ον] δὲ [κ]αὶ ἡμ[ῖ]ν ὥς ἂν
 [] ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) θ Ἀθὺρ ιθ

Verso

Upside down

traces of ink at the top

[Ἀπο]λλωνίῳ

[NN] to [Ap]ollonios greetings. Since you are writing to inform the former [---] that a higher bid was made for Oxyrhyncha and ... for Mouchis [--- when] [---] they have received beer, add it to their account for Hathyr [---] every month. If not, make an agreement with those who have made a higher bid and [---] they [---] every month, let us also know as soon as [---] Goodbye, Year 9, Hathyr 19.

1. In Ptolemaic papyri ἐπειδὴ is normally followed by an aorist (E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, Leipzig 1920–1934, vol. II.3, p. 77; see, e.g., P. Stan. Class. inv. 8, no. 44 below); there are only five other instances of a present tense (P. Zenon Pestman 23, ll. 3–4; SB VI 9556, ll. 13–14; P. Heid. VI 362, l. 12; O. Oslo 2, l. 1; P. Ent. 51, l. 3).

1. διασ[αφῆ]σαι is just possible, cf. P. Tebt. III.1 706, l. 21 (ἔγραψα Φό]μμωτι διασαφῆσαι σοι); P. Hamb. IV 235, ll. 3–7 (καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας Ὀννώφρει

38. P. Stan. Class. inv. 3 recto and verso

διασαφήσαι [σο]ι τὸ πλῆθος); UPZ I 14, l. 40 (ἐπιγράψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν καὶ σοὶ διασαφήσαι).

2. This is the earliest occurrence of the rare word ὑπερβόλιον (eight examples in papyri.info). The best parallel is UPZ I 112, col. VIII, ll. 1, 8. If ὑπερβόλιον is merely a synonym for the common ὑπερβολή, ὑπερβόλιον ποιεῖσθαι is perhaps a circumscription of ὑπερβάλλω, which occurs in l. 4.

2. Oxyrhyncha and Mouchis were no doubt neighbouring villages in the north-east of the Polemon *meris*; see most recently A. Winkler, 'Mouchis and its crocodiles: topography, toponymy, and theonymy', *Bulletin of The American Society of Papyrologists* 55 (2018), pp. 229–251. One does not expect anything between Ὀξυρύν[χ]ων and καὶ Μούχως; the space is too long for just τξ, and there is no trace of *epsilon*.

3. The trace of a descending letter suggests π[α]ρ[α]δέχωνται, though the space between *pi* and *rho* is somewhat large for just *alpha*. Προσλογίζομαι is always used in the middle form, therefore προσλόγισαι is an imperative.

3. For the definite article preceding an Egyptian month name, see Mayser, *Grammatik* (cit. *supra*), vol. II.2, p. 20.

5. The expression δ[ιασά]φησ[ον] ἡμῖν/μοι is common at the end of official Ptolemaic letters, often followed by a phrase stressing the urgency of giving information to the sender, e.g., διασάφησον ἡμῖν παραχρήμα (*P. Bad.* II 14, l. 5; *P. Hal.* 7, l. 3; *SB XII* 10846, l. 8), ὦν ἂν τούτ[ων] ποιήσετε διασάφησον ἡμῖν παραχρήμα (*P. Genova* III 92, l. 8). Our tentative supplement also echoes ὥς ἂν οἰκονομηθῇ καὶ ἡμῖν διασά[φησον] (*P. Genova* III 93, l. 15) or ἡι ἂν ἡμέραι τάξεται, διασάφησον ἡμ[ῖν] (*P. Frankf.* 6, l. 4). We expect something as 'as soon as you know' or 'as soon as you can'.

39. Official letter with report, followed by an account

P. Stan. Class. inv. 4
Lysimachis (Arsinoite, meris of
Themistos in the third century)
= TM 699748

Fr. 1: 8 × 5 cm
Fr. 2: 5.5 × 4.5 cm

Late third century BC

The letter is written against the fibres in a fluent cursive hand, similar to that of no. 33 above; some letters still covered with plaster, especially on the back. There is perhaps a *kollesis* at the bottom unless the cartonnage has not been cleaned properly. Assuming that, as in P. Stan. Class. inv. 3 (no. 38 above), the roll was about 31 cm with 2 cm margins on each side,

39. P. Stan. Class. inv. 4 recto and verso

of which the left one is preserved, about 5 cm (about 12 characters) are missing on the right. The year, sender, place and subject are mentioned on the back.

Θεόδωρος Φαμονεύγει χαίρειν.
 παραγενόμενοι εἰς τὴν κώμην [.]. ηρ[
 πρὸς τῇ εἰσδοχῇ τῶν ἐλαικῶν [φορ]τίων εἰσεδέξ[αντο
 4 ἀρτάβας τριάκον<τα> καὶ ἔξ [.]. [ο]ντος μου εἰς [
 4a καὶ τα[
 πλεονάζοντο[ς] τῶν σπερμάτων ση(σάμου) ἀρ(ταβῶν) γ καὶ ο[
 μου δινῶς ἐνέγκαντες ἐκκενώσαντες τὸ προγεγραμμένον [
 σειροὺς ἀνέλυσαν. γέγραφα σοι ὅπως εἰδῇ[ς].
 8 [ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) . . .]
 2nd hand ἐν τῷ Ὀσιριείῳ Σουχιείῳ λζ χ(όες) δ
 σπ[ερμα[.] ση() ἐν τ. [. . .]. Πετ[ε]χώνσεως γε(ωργοῦ) [

Verso

Upside down

[(ἔτους) . . Παῦ]νι ιγ⁻
 12 παρὰ [Θε]οδώρου Λυσιμα- Φαμενε[ύγει
 χίδος ὑπὲρ ση(σάμου)

Recto

Theodoros to Phamoneug[is, greetings.] Having come to the village [---] [... being busy] with the reception of the oil crops they received [from ... (?)] thirty-six artabas and when I departed for [---] having an excess of the seeds, 3 artabas of sesame and [---] me, they being upset (and) having emptied the above-mentioned [amount (?) in the (?)] silos, they departed. I have written for your information. [Be well. Year xx, month, day] In the Osirieion in the Souchieion 37 (metretai) 4 choes seed (?) of sesame in [---] of Petechonsis, farmer [---]

Verso

[Year ... Pau]ni 13 From Theodoros concerning Lysimachis about sesame. Phamoneugis

1. and 11. The name is attested *P. Herakl. Bank* 2 a IV 2, where a certain Phamen-neugis/Phammenneus is mentioned several times (see index, p. 331). Here we have variant form with *omikron*. Maresch (*P. Herakl. Bank*, commentary, p. 165) suggests there that it is a variant of Pamneus, but this is unlikely.

3. For *πρός* + dative, indicating ‘Beteiligung an einem Geschäft oder Beruf’, usually with a form of *εἰμί* or *γίγνομαι*, Mayser, *Grammatik* (cit. *supra*, no. 38), vol. II.2, pp. 495–496.

3. *εἰσεδέξ[αντο]*, rather than *εἰσεδέξ[άμην]*, going with the subject of *παραγενόμενοι*, not with the author of the letter, who is introduced by] . *οντος μου*.

3. The expression *ἐλαϊκὰ φορτία* is found in *BGU VI* 1219, l. 25; *P. Freib.* III 21, l. 12; *P. Köln VI* 261, ll. 5 and 9 = no. 33, l. 21 and 25 above; *P. Petrie Kleon* 91, ll. 4, 6, 57; *P. Tebt.* I 5, l. 195; 105, l. 23; *P. Tebt.* III.1 703, ll. 127, 133–134; 829, ll. 46, 51.

4. *τριάκον(τα)*: for the loss of final <τα> in multiples of ten, see F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, Milan 1981, pp. 196–197. Our text would be the earliest example of this already in the Ptolemaic period.

4. We hesitated between *τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξ* and *τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξ[οδεύσ]αντος μου*. In the papyri, tens usually preceded units without intervening *καί*, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* (cit. *supra*, no. 38), vol. I.2, pp. 75–76; Gignac, *Grammar*, vol. II (cit. *supra*), pp. 195–197. For *ἑξοδεύω* *εἰς* meaning ‘to depart for’, see *P. Tebt.* I 55, l. 3; *P. Fouad* 16, l. 7 (*ἑξοδεύσαντος μου εἰς τὸν νομόν*). But the figures are set apart by a rather large space before *τριάκοντα* and after *ἑξ* and the lacuna is not filled with the five letters of *ἑξ[οδεύσ]αντος*. Probably a participle like [*καὶ ἑλθ*] *οντος* preceded *μου*.

Thirty-six artabae (1368 litres) of sesame seeds would amount to about 13 *metretai* (500 liters) of oil (cf. D. Brent Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Atlanta 1989, p. 70: ‘three artabas of seed yield 1 *metretes* of oil’).

6. *δεινῶς φέρω* is new in the papyri, but see, e.g., *Hdt.* 2.121g; *Dion. Hal.* 3.72.4 and 4.66.1; *Joseph. AJ* 17.208 and 17.261.

6. *ἐκκενόω* is used with *τὸν φάκον* as object in *P. Münch.* III 57 and with *τὰ προκείμενα* in *P. Ryl.* II 125. Perhaps the word to be supplied is *τὸ προγεγραμμένον [πληθός]*.

7. The expression *γέγραφέ σοι ὅπως/ἵνα εἰδῆς* ‘for your information’, restating the reasons for writing, is common in the Zenon archive and in Hellenistic correspondence, see *P. Köln XVI* 648, l. 8, with commentary, and H. Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.*, Helsinki 1956, pp. 78–79.

7. For *σιρός* ‘pit for keeping corn, silo’, see *P. Köln X* 412, l. 7, with note.

7. *ἀνέλυσαν* is probably not linked to *σείρους*, but used intransitively, as in *P. Tör. Amenotbes* 9, l. 19; *WChr.* II, l. 10; *P. Tebt.* III.1 768, ll. 16 and 18.

8. Apparently the Osireion (TM GEO 57951) and the Souchieion (TM GEO 579562) in Lysimachis were involved in the oil monopoly. Osiris temples in the Fayum are attested in an inscription of Theadelphia (*I. Fayoum* II 119). The Osireion here may well be the same type of sanctuary as the krokodilotapheion in *P. Tebt.* I 88, l. 4. Souch(i)eia are attested in Kerkeosiris (*P. Tebt.* I, *passim*; cf. D. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 86–90) and Euhemeria (*WCbr.* 337). For the identification of Osiris and the crocodile god Sobek in Fayum theology and iconographic sources, see M. Zecchi, ‘Osiris in the Fayyum’, [in:] *Fayyum Studies* 2 (2006), pp. 117–145, esp. p. 132 on Osireia in Theadelphia and Tebtunis.

9. The abbreviation for 4 *choes* shows that the first figure must be 37 *metretai*, i.e., 1400 litres of oil. The absence of an abbreviation for $\mu\epsilon(\tau\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota)$ is disturbing, but perhaps paralleled in *P. Bon.* 11 fr. g verso, ll. 2 and 3.

8–9. The letter is followed by a kind of account or list, as in *P. Köln* VI 269.

10. The reading $[\sigma\pi]\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha[...]\sigma\eta()$ is suggested by l. 5, but the abbreviation $\sigma\eta(\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu)$ is rather doubtful, because the sigma is too big.

11. The traces are very indistinct, but they do fit the name of Theodoros; $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ at the beginning is more difficult, but the type of docket with a date in the first line and $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ + name of the sender in the second is well attested in this period (see, e.g., *P. Petrie Kleon* 25 and 29; *P. Zenon Pestman* 38; *P. Lond.* VII 1998).

11–12. Lysimachis is located near Kynopolis and Trikomia, on the border of the *merides* of Polemon and Themistos, see https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/1275.php?geo_id=1275. For a tentative identification with modern Itsa, see C. Römer, *The Fayoum Survey Project: The Themistou Meris*, vol. A: *The Archaeological and Papyrological Survey*, Leuven 2019, pp. 27–29.

12. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$ for $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ is rare in dockets of letters; Mayser, *Grammatik* (cit. *supra*, no. 38), vol. II.2, p. 453, n. 4, finds only one reference in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59058 (against 26 $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ and 15 genitive).

40. Declaration of surety with royal oath

P. Stan. Class. inv. 11
Arsinoite nome (?)
= TM 699745

11.5 × 20.5 cm

17–27 April 227 BC

The letter is written across the fibres in a cursive hand of the later third century. The ink is blotted by water, which makes the reading difficult especially in line 3. The large top and bottom margins measure 5 cm and 4.5 cm. Assuming that the papyrus was 31 cm long with 2 cm margins left

40. P. Stan. Class. inv. 11

and right, perhaps only 12 characters are missing per line (c. 6 cm). The back is blank.

[.....]ς Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν ἐπέργων ὁ[μ]ολογ[ῶ] ὁμωμοκέναι τ[ὸν προ-]
 [γεγραμμένο]ν ὄρκον βασιλικὸν κα[τε]γγεγυῆσθαι μονῆς [Ε]ρμοκράτη[ν]
 4 []ν κ. τοικα. κοσσοῦ ποχ.....[]
 (Ἐτους) κ Φαμενώθ κ[]

[NN] son of Apollonios of the *epergoi*, [I] agree to have sworn the above mentioned royal oath that I have given surety for staying on the job for Hermokrates
 [---] Year 20, Phamenoth 2[0+]

1. τῶν ἐπέργων: the meaning remains unclear, possibly *epergos* means here 'employee,' see *P. Tebt.* III.1 774, l. 2 (around 187 BC) about Ammonios son of Dionysios, a royal farmer and 'employee'; see also *BGU VI* 1229, l. 16; Ἡρακλεοπολίτης τῶν ἐπέργων in *P. Fuad I Univ. App.* I; it is often found after an ethnic label, e.g., Cyrenaean τῶν ἐπέργων in *P. Col.* 3, ll. 24, 27; Thracian τῶν ἐπέργων in *P. Gurob* 2, l. 34; Persian τῶν ἐπέργων in *P. Tebt.* III.1 814, ll. 7, 26, 34, 39; 815, col. vii, l. 2; *SB XXII* 15558, l. 3, see G. W. Schwendner, *Literary and Non-Literary Papyri from the*

University of Michigan Collection, diss. Ann Arbor 1988, pp. 108–109, reports earlier suggestions, either an occupational designation (cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae II*, Amsterdam 1963, p. 787) or a function in the financial administration (cf. C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels 1939, p. 287; F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern*, Berlin 1968, pp. 100–101, n. 4).

1. Our reading (or rather supplement) ὁ[μ]ολογῶ is based on the parallels in *P. Erasm.* I 21, l. 1 (ὁμολογῶ ὁμωμοκέμαι τὸν προγεγραμμένον [βασιλικὸν ὄρ]κον) and *P. Freib.* III 33, l. 12 ([ὁ]μολογῶ ὁμωμοκέμαι τὸν προγεγρ[αμμένον ὄρ]κον). For royal oaths, see the discussion in *P. Köln* XVI, pp. 41–51.

2. Surety is given to persons working in industries controlled by the government, like brewers or washermen, either for payment (ἐκτίσις) or for staying on the job and not taking refuge in an asylum (μονή), cf. de Cenival, *P. Lille dem.* II, pp. 141–148; *SB* XX 14955 (with the commentary by A. R. Scaife, 'Accounts for taxes on beer and natron. P. Austin inv. 34', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 71 [1988], pp. 105–109).

41. Official letter

P. Stan. Class. inv. 12
Arsinoite nome (?)
= TM 699746

Fr. 1. 8 × 17.5 cm
Fr. 2. 7 × 15 cm

15 May 212 BC or
21 May 237 BC

The end of this official letter consists of two fragments (left and right), which do not join (but hardly anything can be missing). The text is written against the fibres, and the writing is much abraded. The left margin measures 5 cm, the bottom margin 2.5 cm and the right margin 0.5 cm. On the verso there are a few illegible traces in a thick pen. The date is either 21 May 237 BC or, perhaps preferably, 15 May 212 BC.

[. . . .]. . . .[	
. . [ἐπι]σχεψαμ[εν	] . . . ε . . [. . . .]. περι[ὦ]ν
π. . . .ων κ. . ν[	] . . . ι ἐποιήσαμεθα
4 ἔτι ο . κρ . . μ . . . ενεσ . [- -] καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενόμενοι ἐπισκε-	
ψόμεθα περὶ το[ύτων - -]	ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) ι Φαρμοῦθι γ

41. P. Stan. Class. inv. 15

4-5. The expression ἐπισκέπτομαι περὶ τούτων is typical of petitions, cf., e.g., *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59028, l. 8; 59236 2, l. 4; III 59421, l. 5; IV 59623, l. 24; *P. Ent.* 3, l. 7; 27, l. 14; 34, l. 11, etc. In l. 2 stood no doubt a form of the participle ἐπισκεψάμενος.

4. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό 'in total' is a common expression and can, in the Roman period, be combined with a tautological γίνεται, e.g., *P. Oxy.* XXIV 2411, l. 12, or *P. Oxy.* XLI 3491, l. 7. Here the expression is perhaps used with localising sense 'having arrived in the same place'?

42. Letter or report with account of grain on the verso

P. Stan. Class. inv. 25 recto
Arsinoite nome (?)
= TM 699752

14 × 18 cm

Second half of the third
century BC (?)

The text is written along the fibres and a margin of 1.5 cm is preserved to the left. If our supplements are right, only a few letters are lost to the right. The verso (43) contains two fragmentary columns of an account, written against the fibres. This gives the impression that the account was a longer text, containing several columns, and that a piece was cut out for the draft of the letter (cursive script, corrections, irregular lay-out).

- - -
[. . .] [
ὅπως αἴφ. ρε() [
ται ἀνθρώπων [

- 4 παρεγενήθη δὲ Ἀ[πολλώ-]
5a ὁ ἐπιμελητῆς
5 νιος τῇ ιθ' ὥς ἐπ[ὶ τῆς]
θαλαμηγόῦ μετε[πέμ-]
ψατο με ἀπε. συ[
8 χων μοι παρ[έσει]
ἡτινιοῦν μὴ προ[. . .]
τῆς Χρυσίππου [. . .]
ἀλλ' ἢ συνέχειν . [
12 . . . τουσ. . . ἔχ. . . [
. [. .] . [

[---] so that [---] to the person [---] Apollonios the *epimelêtês* arrived late on the 19th on the house-boat <and> summoned me [---] [telling?] me under any pretence whatsoever not to [---] of the [---] of Chrysippos but rather to arrest [---]

4 and 10. Apollonios *epimeletes*: if Chrysippos is the well-known *dioiketes* (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I/VIII 52), the text can be dated around 229–225 BC and Apollonios would be the *epimeletes* of 234/3 BC (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* I/VIII 933). For the office of *epimeletes*, see B. C. McGing, ‘Illegal salt in the Lycopolite nome’, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 48 (2002), pp. 42–66; G. Baetens, ‘A petition to the *epimeletes* Dorotheos in Trinity College Dublin’, *Ancient Society* 44 (2014), pp. 91–104.

4–7. Something is still wrong with the syntax of this passage: with *παραγίγνομαι* and *μεταπέμπομαι* one expects εἰς with accusative rather than ἐπί with genitive, and the two verbs should have been joined by καί.

6. *θαλαμηγόῦ*: for transport of officials, see E. Lanciers, ‘High-ranking Ptolemaic officials visiting the chora’, *Historia* 69 (2020), pp. 283–309, at pp. 294–295, with reference to a *thalamegos* for the strategos in *P. Tebt.* III.1 802, ll. 5–7. The house-boat may belong to the *strategos* or to the *dioiketes* Chrysippos.

7–8. *παρ[έσει] ἡτινιοῦν*: this well-known expression is found e.g., in BGU XIV 3282, l. 28; *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59354, l. 7; *P. Heid.* VIII 417, l. 30; *P. Ryl.* IV 572,

42. P. Stan. Class. inv. 25 recto

l. 56; *P. Tarich.* 1, l. 24; and no doubt also in *SB* V 7631, l. 16, where [παρενρέ]σει ἡιτινιοῦν should be supplied. The examples are found in receipts and oaths, not in letters.

11. ἀλλ' ἦ: used as a synonym for ἀλλά, see Mayser, *Grammatik* (cit. *supra*, no. 38), vol. xi II.3, pp. 118–119. The meaning is perhaps ‘do not let (a person) go (without permission) of Chrysippos, but arrest him’.

43. Account of grain on the verso of a letter or report

P. Stan. Class. inv. 25 verso
Arsinoite nome (?)
= TM 699753

14 × 18 cm

Second half of the third
century BC (?)

The text is written against the fibres on the back of 42. Only a few figures remain of the first column. The second column has lost the figures, but lists different kinds of grain (substantives), followed by a short description (adjectives) in the following line. Lines 4–5 interrupt this pattern, but their meaning is obscure.

43. P. Stan. Class. inv. 25 verso

Col. I.

..

.

...

]πθ ∟ . 89 1/2 1/8 (?)

τιε ∟ ή 315 1/2 1/8

τκη ∟ 328 1/2

κρ. . . .[

βωλοπύρου

ἀκοσκινεύτον [

4 τούτων χαλα [

κοσκινευτής [

δ. . ακριθον

ἀνεμοφθόρου [

8 βωλοκρίθου . .[

ἀνεμοφθόρου [
 ὀλυρῶν [
 ἀκοσκινεύτ[ων

12 *traces*

2. βωλόπυρος is not a ‘wheat-cake’ (so LSJ), but ‘wheat mixed with clods of earth’ (rightly in F. Adrados, *Diccionario griego-español*, vol. IV, Madrid 2008, p. 767). The word recurs several times in the accounts of Herakleides (*P. Lond.* VII).

5. The occupation κοσκινευτής ‘sifter’ in the nominative (rather than dative) amidst the genitives indicating different types of crops is puzzling.

7. The word ἀνεμόφθορος ‘blasted by the wind’ was thus far attested in the Septuagint and in two papyri (*P. Köln* VI 275, l. 14; *P. Cairo Masp.* I 67002, l. 26).

8. βωλόκριθον is ‘barley mixed with soil’, see Adrados, *Diccionario* (cit. *supra*), vol. IV, pp. 766–767, not ‘barley-cake’ (LSJ).

44. Letter to donkey drivers

P. Stan. Class. inv. 8
 Arsinoite nome, near Eleusis
 = TM 43267

7.5 × 11 cm

Second half of the third
 century BC

The letter is written on the recto against the fibres with a *kollesis* in l. 6. The text is complete except for the bottom, but heavily abraded in the lower section. The writing shows that this is a draft and there are no traces of an address on the verso.

Δωρίων Κοσανούπει καὶ τοῖς
 ὀνηλάταις χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ
 ἡξιώσατέ με μετα-
 4 βαίνειν εἰς Ἑλευσ[ί]ν[α] . .
 παραχ. . . ἡνάγκασε . .
 . . υ. . . . κηλεις. . .
 ὑμέις ο. . . . [
 8 εἰς Ἑλεν[σί]να ὑπ[ὸ] ξύλα . .

44. P. Stan. Class. inv. 8 recto and verso

Dorion to Kosanoupis and to the donkey drivers. Since you asked me to make a detour to Eleusis [---] he compelled [---] you [---] to Eleusis carrying wood [---]

1. Kosanoupis: the variant form *Κοσάνουφισ* is attested in the Fayum in *P. Count* 29, l. 18 (254–231 BC), *P. Tebt.* III.2 1052, ll. 3, 10 and 11 (late 2nd cent. BC) and *P. Herakl. Bank* 2 b, l. 4, p. 248 (after 138 BC). In *SB XVI* 12337, l. 28, the variant *Κασάνουφισ* is found.

2. On donkey-drivers, especially those used in state grain transport in Ptolemaic Egypt, see C. Adams, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt: A Study of Economics and Administration in a Roman Province*, Oxford 2007, pp. 162–165.

3–4: *μεταβαίνειν* has here the meaning ‘to change one’s course, turn round,’ see, e.g., *P. Ammon* II 34, l. 12, and 40, l. 4; *P. Strasb.* VI 564. In *P. Tebt.* II 316, col. I, ll. 20, 61 and 92, the word apparently means ‘to move to another place, change abode’.

4 and 8. The village of Eleusis is located in the Polemon meris near Mouchis and between Oxyrhyncha and the nome capital, see W. Clarysse, ‘Graeco-Roman Oxyrhyncha, a village in the Arsinoïte nome’, [in:] S. Lippert & M. Schentuleit, *Graeco-Roman Fayum, Texts and Archaeology*, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 55–73, esp. pp. 57–59 and map on p. 73.

8. For the expression *ὑπὸ ξύλα*, meaning ‘carrying wood’, see G. Husson, ‘Υπό dans le grec d’Égypte et la préposition égyptienne *hr*’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 46 (1982), pp. 227–230.

45. P. Stan. Class. inv. 10

45. Letter

P. Stan. Class. inv. 10
 Arsinoite nome (?)
 = TM 699744

Fr. 1: 5 × 1.5 cm
 Fr. 2: 18.5 × 7 cm

Second half of the third
 century BC (?)

The letter is written across the fibres with an Egyptian rush (cf. W. Clarysse, 'Egyptian scribes writing Greek', *Chronique d'Égypte* 68 [1993], pp. 186–201). Fragment 1 contains the beginning of ll. 10–12 (and thus Apol/lonios is excluded in ll. 9–10). The left margin measures 1.3 cm on fragment 1 and 1 cm on fragment 2 and the lines seem complete, so the format

of the text is apparently narrow. The top margin measures 1.5 cm and the content of the last line shows the text is complete. Numerous ink traces were left by another papyrus in the cartonnage, but the verso is blank. The reading of the text remains difficult, we thank Peter van Minnen for several suggestions.

[Ἀμε]ννεὺς Πα-
 [. . . . χα]ίρειν
 - - -
 ἐλεῖν τοῖς χε[ω]ρ-
 4 γοῖς τὸ στέγασ-
 μα τῶν χλω-
 ρῶ[ν] δεῖ
 λ[ο]γεῖν[θ]ῆναι
 8 τῇ δε[.] . . [
 [τῇ] κβ ἀπῆλ-
 θ[ο]ν οἱ γεωργοὶ
 πάντες [
 12 γραιψας [Ἡρα-]
 κλείδης [
 ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) [
]

[Ame]nneus greets Pa[---]. [---] *remove for the farmers the cover of the green (fodder). One should collect for the [---] On the 22nd all the farmers went away [---] to write to (?) Herakleides. Goodbye, year [xx].*

1. One expects the end of the name of the sender, followed by the name of the addressee Πα[, and then the greeting formula with χαίρειν. Though the traces preceding εἰν do not well fit the reading, χα]ίρειν is unavoidable. The small fragment at the top is wrongly joined directly to the rest. One or more lines are lost between l. 2 and l. 3.

3. ἐλεῖν is certainly the infinitive aorist of αἰρέω, P. van Minnen suggests [καθ] ἐλεῖν.

5. There are only four other examples of the word στέγασμα in documentary papyri. One deals with awnings for boats (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59053, ll. 6–7), the other

46. P. Stan. Class. inv. 28

Fr. 2 (margin to the right)

σ]ταλῆι
]ενη ἵνα
]σινωμην
 12]οι πολλὰ
] κλήρωι
] τῇ σα
] περὶ τῶν
 16]δὲ τῆς
]. . . .

3. A form ἐπιδέη is nowhere attested; one wonders if the correction was not meant for ἐπειδή.

7. The rare word *hypodochion* 'dock' is also found in I, l. 14 (= P. Stan. Class. inv. 2; TM 43252). The present text is written in a different hand and there is no apparent link with the other text.

47. P. Stan. Class. inv. 37 recto and verso

47. Letter

P. Stan. Class. inv. 39
 Arsinoite nome (?)
 = TM 699757

12.5 × 6.5 cm

Second half of the third
 century BC (?)

This fragment of a letter is written in a cursive hand along the fibres. There is a vertical *kollesis* at 3 cm from the right edge. A small margin is preserved to the right and at bottom.

4]
], ι ἡμῶν .[
]ταλε.[
]α την δ[
]ην αὐτοῦ [

8] . ητε εν.[
]. περι Zηνο-
]ου κομισάμενος
]. ται πεν. .
 ᾱ]μαξα πο. .αν
 τ]ην μάχαῖραν

12] ἔρρωσο

Verso

traces of the address

]νν. vac. .ο. ιβ. ω. ι

7. Certainly a personal name like Zeno[doros] or Zeno[bios].

48. Letter

P. Stan. Class. inv. 20
 Arsinoite nome (?)
 = TM 699751

5 × 5,5 cm

Late third or early second
 century BC

The text is writing along the fibres in a cursive hand and the lines are complete but breaks off at the bottom. The verso is empty.

Φίμινις Π[. . . .]ι
 χαίρειν. [π]ροστέτα-
 χεν Ασκληπιάδεω
 4 ..γεω. τιταν

Phiminis [to NN] greetings. Asklepiades has ordered...

1. The rare name Phiminis probably renders *Pzy-Mn*, unless it is an itacistic variant of Phimenis, *Hp-mn*.

48. P. Stan. Class. inv. 28

2. In Ptolemaic papyri the verb *προσάττω* is nearly always used for orders by the king (11 examples, e.g., *P. Gen.* III 13, 1. 9; *P. Grad.* I, 1. 1; *P. Hal.* I, 1. 264) or 'by a high Ptolemaic officer to a lower official' (J. Modrzejewski 'The *prostagma* in the papyri', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 5 [1951], pp. 187–206, esp. pp. 199–200; cf. also M.-T. Lenger, 'Ordres administratifs et *prostigmata* dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque', *Chronique d'Égypte* 42 [1967], pp. 145–155). Asklepiades is therefore probably a high-ranking official.

4. Perhaps *λέγειν* is possible here; an infinitive is expected, but the text is too damaged for certainty.

5. The letters *τιταν* seem to suggest the rare name *Τιτας*, which is thus far only attested in Philadelphieia.

Willy Clarysse

Faculteit Letteren
KU Leuven
Blijde Inkomststraat 21 – bus 3307
B-3000 Leuven
BELGIUM

e-mail: willy.clarysse@kuleuven.be

Christelle Fischer-Bovet

Department of Classics
University of Southern California
3560 Watt Way, PED 130
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0352
USA

e-mail: fischerb@usc.edu

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Abstract: This study investigates linguistic and scriptal variation in notary signatures found in late antique contracts from Egypt, seeking to identify and interpret the potential relationship between choices in language and script. To answer this, theoretical concepts and methods from sociolinguistics, social semiotics, and multilingual studies are used, with the objective of adding a new, more linguistically-oriented perspective to existing research on notarial signatures. On the one hand, this research demonstrates how the Latin script seems to restrict notaries, resulting in transliterated Greek signatures with very homogeneous content. The familiarity of notaries with the Greek language and writing is, on the other hand, reflected in signatures written in the Greek alphabet, which are much more diverse and at times adjusted to the circumstances under which specific documents were composed. Even if notaries seem to lack confidence in freely producing text in the Latin script, they choose to do so due to its functional values, which are conveyed and perceived visually. Latin letters create an association between signatories and Roman law, adding to the trustworthiness and prestige of the signatures. Differentiating between script and language allows us to understand how the Latin script maintained the connotations that formerly accompanied the Latin language, gradually replacing it in the form of transliterated passages, at a time when the language was disappearing from papyrological

documentation. In this sense, sociolinguistics, and especially social semiotics, prove useful when dealing with visual aspects of language in papyri, as they prevent their functions and meanings from being overlooked.

Keywords: notary, social semiotics, digraphia, diglossia, *di emou* signatures

Amin BENAÏSSA

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Abstract: Starting from a detailed interpretation of *P. Oxy. LXXVII 5123* (AD 555), I argue that the Apion estate favoured a tenancy arrangement with its *enapographoi georgoi*, the farmers registered on its tax-rolls. Such leases left them with a marketable surplus of the produce in remuneration, which they could sell either to their own estate or to outside parties. Contrary to the now current view of Apionic *enapographoi georgoi* as directly managed permanent employees or wage labourers, the evidence reviewed suggests that they were not an economically distinct and homogenous labour group.

Keywords: *coloni adscripticii*, *enapographoi georgoi*, Apion estate (Oxyrhynchus), tenancy, viticulture in late-antique Egypt

Willy CLARYSSE & Christelle FISCHER-BOVET

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Keywords: Ptolemaic papyri, petitions, letters, oil contraband, tax farming, Arsinoite nome, prisoners of war

Jean-Luc FOURNET

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Keywords: Monastery of the Metanoia, *anmona civilis*, shipping receipts, Dioscorus archive

Edward M. HARRIS

Legal expertise and legal experts in Athenian democracy 149

Abstract: This essay refutes the view that the Athenians of the Classical period were hostile to legal expertise. The Athenians had much respect for the Areopagus and the Exegetai, who were experts in law and religion. The legal expert Phanodemus was often praised and entrusted with important responsibilities. Litigants in public cases often show their legal knowledge by copious citation of statutes. They sometimes accuse their opponents of deceitful use of rhetoric never attack them for legal expertise. In the speech of Lysias *Against Nicomachus*, the accuser charges the defendant with illegally modifying the rules about sacrifices but never arouses suspicions about his legal expertise.

Keywords: expertise, Areopagus, Exegetai, Phanodemus, Apollodorus, son of Pasion, *anagrapheis* (inscribers), Lysias *Against Nicomachus*

Giulio IOVINE & Ornella SALATI

Die Geschäfte des Herrn Julius Caesar.

A survey of the first century BC – third century AD Latin and Latin-Greek documents referring to Roman citizens and their business in Egypt 169

Abstract: The paper provides an updated and annotated list of Latin and bilingual Latin-Greek papyri from the first century BC to the early third century AD – including very recently published and still unpublished – that refer to the lives and businesses of Roman citizens in Egypt. It also covers documents connected with the Roman army, that is produced in military *officia* to be specifically used by soldiers (acknowledgments of debt, receipts of money etc.). They are connected not with the army life, but with the life outside the barracks, among tradesmen, merchants, and (from the second century AD onwards) in the milieu of veterans.

Keywords: Latin papyri, Roman citizens, Egypt, business, trade, land

Andrea JÖRDENS

Die Priester und der Textillieferant.

SPP XXII 95 und die Ermittlungen zu einem ungeklärten Todesfall im Hinterland .. 199

Abstract: *SPP XXII 95* (early 3rd century AD) is concerned with the leading priests of the sanctuary of Soknopaios, who were arrested on account of the

suspicious death of a clothes vendor. Their interrogations, however, brought no result, and now efforts are being made to have them released. In the present papyrus, the head of the office summarises the state of affairs in order to append it as a 'cover-letter' to the petition submitted to the *strategos*.

Keywords: murder, pre-trial detention, priests, Soknopaiou Nesos

Adam ŁAJTAR

I. Deir el-Bahari 196 (partly) supplemented 217

Abstract: The article presents a fragment of the cornice from the Ptolemaic Portico of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari discovered in 2021 in the fill of the Middle Kingdom tomb MMA 28. The fragment carries remnants of two dipinti in red ochre, of which one is illegible and the other preserves vestiges of the three first lines of the Greek inscription *I. Deir el-Bahari 196*. They show that the inscription was a *proskynema* (act of adoration) addressed to Amenotnes (Greek for Amenhotep son of Hapu). The name of the author cannot be read with certainty (perhaps Pe[---]); the text also mentions a certain Menodoros, who may be the father of the protagonist of the inscription or another man. In an appendix, a fragment of another text in Greek, probably originating from the south wall of the Bark Room of the main sanctuary of Amun is presented.

Keywords: Deir el-Bahari, Amenhotep son of Hapu, Greek inscriptions

Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ

Mark Antony and the date of the Inimitables. A remark on an edited text 223

Abstract: A Greek inscription on stone found in Alexandria in the nineteenth century and exhibited in the Alexandrian Greco-Roman Museum contains an unusual dedicatory text in honour of Mark Antony. The text was edited several times. It contains useful information which agrees with the passage of Plutarch on the lifestyle of Antony and Cleopatra, and their entourage. In this paper the author suggests the date 34–30 BC for the activity of the 'Inimitables' and adds a further commentary on the history of Antony and Cleopatra.

Keywords: Alexandria, Mark Antony, Cleopatra VII, Antyllus, 'Inimitables'

Grzegorz OCHAŁA

Nubica onomastica miscellanea V:

Reedition of two Old Nubian lists of names from Qasr Ibrim 233

Abstract: Unlike previous instalments of the 'Nubica onomastica miscellanea'-series which focused on correcting single names or phrases in Nubian texts, its fifth part brings the complete reedition of two more substantial

texts originally published by Giovanni Ruffini. The former is a list of witnesses to a deed of land sale (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65) and the latter an account (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80). While the main subject of the paper are personal names that can be found in the two documents, other elements, such as grammar, lexicon, and – especially for *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80 – the matter of the document are also duly treated. By identifying ghost-names in Ruffini's edition and proposing the identification of new Old Nubian substantives, the paper enhances our knowledge about the vocabulary of the language. Last but not least, the new interpretation of *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80, which – for the first time in medieval Nubia – appears to explicitly state the value of certain commodities in dirhams, is an important contribution to the studies on the monetisation of Nubian economy.

Keywords: medieval Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian documents, onomastics, ghost-names, account, Nubian economy

Joanna WILIMOWSKA

Sacred animal cult workers in the Ptolemaic Fayum 263

Abstract: In ancient Egypt sacred animals were served by specific categories of priests who fulfilled various functions and tasks. The aim of this article is to examine the evidence that concerns the activities of these priests within sacred animal cults in the Ptolemaic Fayum. This study identifies, analyses, and classifies the occupational titles of the priests and attempts to discover the full range of their duties, concentrating on their non-religious activities. This in turn will enable the role that they played in both local society and the economy to be explored.

Keywords: animal cult, priests, temple personnel, Egyptian temples, Ptolemaic period, Fayum area

Ewa WIPSZYCKA

Monks at work in Eastern Mediterranean: Ideals and reality 299

Abstract: The main question that the present paper tries to answer is as follows: since two discordant precepts concerning work were to be found in the New Testament, how did monks behave? One precept treated work as a duty, the other recommended not to care about one's maintenance. The monks followed in their behaviour either the first or the second precept. As a result of disputes that took place in the fourth century the opinion prevailed that work was the better choice. It is important for us to find out when and under what circumstances that choice was done by the majority of the monastic movement in the East. It is also important to see what arguments were used by the monks of Late Antiquity in order to settle the conflict between the two discordant precepts. This conflict worried many and caused a renewal of

a dispute that seemed to have been closed. Two ways of reasoning in favour of monastic work were generally used: monks might and should pray and work at the same time, satisfying both precepts; monks ought to work in order to be able to give alms, and this conferred to work a meaning that went beyond immediate usefulness. Praying and working at the same time was not always feasible in actual practice, but this did not bother authors of ascetic treatises.

Keywords: voluntary poverty, St. Anthony, Pachomius, Horsiese, Basil of Caesarea, Evagrius of Pontus, John Cassian, *melete*, Messalians, ‘wandering and begging’ monks, Rabbula, Syriac monastic rules, almsgiving