GREEK PAPYRI FROM ROMAN EGYPT (PLATES 5-44)

1. COMPLAINT AGAINST A TAX COLLECTOR

P. Yale inv. 43 $6 \times 14 \text{ cm}$. A.D. 49/50 (=P. Oxy. 393 descr.) Oxyrhynchus

Aristas, son of Plutus, a weaver from Oxyrhynchus, complains to Ti. Claudius Pasion, the strategus of the nome, that over the previous two years the tax collector Damis extorted from him a total of forty drachmas.

Two similar documents have been published as P. Oxy. 284 and 285.

Pl. 5 Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Πασείωνει στρατηγῶι παρά 'Αριστάτος τοῦ Πλούτου, τῶν ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων πόλεως γερδίων 5 λαύρας Ίππέων Παρεμβολης. διεσίσθην ύπὸ Δάμιτος γενομένου πράκτορος 10 τῷ μὲν η (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος άργυρίου δραχμάς δέκα έξ, καὶ τῷ διελ{λ}ηλυθό-15τει θ (ἔτει) ἄλλας εἴκ[οσι τέσσαρος κατὰ μ[έρος

2 Πασίωνι 7 διεσείσθην 10 (ἔτει): L. Pap. (so also in 16) 15-16 διελιγλυθότι 16 ἄλλας: first α corr. from τ 17 τέσσαρας

- 1-2. Pasion occurs also in P. Oxy. 283-285 and 316. On the office see N. Hohlwein, *Musée Belge* 28, 1924, 125 ff. and 29, 1925, 5 ff., reprinted as *Le stratège du nome* (Brussels 1969).
- 3. The nominative of the name is incorrectly given as 'Αρίστας in Preisigke, Namenbuch. It is not listed in D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum (Milan 1971).
- 5. For weavers and weaving in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see M. Chwostow, The Textile Industry in Greco-Roman Egypt (Kazan 1913; in Russian); S. Calderini, «Ricerche sull'industria e il commercio dei tessuti in Egitto», Aegyptus 26, 1946, 13 ff.; I. Kalleris, Λί πρῶται ὕλαι τῆς ὑφαντουργίας εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴν Αἴγυπτον (Athens 1952); H. Thierfelder, «Zur sozialen Lage der Weber im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten», Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft 5, 1957, 118 ff.; E. Wipszycka, L'industrie textile dans l'Egypte romaine (Warsaw 1965); id., «Das Textilhandwerk und der Staat im römischen Ägypten», Archiv für Papyrusforschung 18, 1966, 1 ff.; and M.V. Biscottini. «L'archivio di Tryphon, tessitore di Oxyrhynchos», Aegyptus 46, 1966, 60 ff. and 186 ff.
- 6-7. The well known quarter of Oxyrhynchus, which is sometimes referred to simply as Ἱππέων. See H. Rink, Strassen- und Viertelnammen von Oxyrhynchos (Diss., Giessen 1924), and cf. P. Jouguet, La vie municipale dans l'Egypte romaine (Paris 1911), 282 ff. On the village itself see H. MacLennan, Oxyrhynchus. An Economic and Social Study (Diss., Princeton 1935), and E. G. Turner's brilliant «Roman Oxyrhynchus», Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 38, 1952, 78 ff.
- 7. διασείειν is a technical term applied to extortion by officials as well as private citizens. See U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien* (Leipzig Berlin 1899), 568, and R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (2nd ed., Warsaw 1955), 450 with n. 108.
- 9. πράκτορος, i.e. γειρωναξίου γερδίων, as in P. Oxy. 285, 6-7; cf. 2957, 1-2. On πράκτορες, the principal collectors of taxes paid in money, see F. Oertel, Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens (Leipzig 1917), 195 ff., and N. Lewis, Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (New Haven-Toronto 1968), s.v. πρακτορεία. On taxes on weaving, dyeing, and fulling see S. L. Wallace, Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian (Princeton 1938), 193 ff. In Oxyrhynchus the rate of the γειρωνάζιων γερδίων was 36 drachmas per annum.

16. The document was written during the 10th year of Claudius (A.D. 49/50).

18. Similar petitions, e.g. P. Oxy. 284 and 285, usually end διὸ ἀξιῶ διαλαβεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐάν σοι φαίνηται (or δοκῆ). εὐτύχει. «I therefore request that you proceed against him as you may think fit. Farewell.»

Translation

To Tiberius Claudius Pasion, strategus, from Aristas, son of Plutus, a weaver of the village of Oxyrhynchus, residing in the Cavalry Camp quarter.

Damis, ex-collector of taxes, extorted from me sixteen drachmas in silver in the 8th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, and twenty four more drachmas in the past 9th year, among other people. ...

2. LETTER TO POTAMON

P. Yale inv. 1083

 4×20.5 cm.

Late II cent. A.D.

A son writes to his father that, having failed to reach agreement with the advocates, he met the prefect of Egypt as the latter was returning from the theatre and finally succeeded in receiving a hearing of his case. The rest of the front side of the letter is too mutilated to yield any sense; at the back there is a list of articles that the writer sent to his father.

This strip was cut from a larger sheet of papyrus written on the front. The back, which was clean of writing, was used first as the front of the letter; and when the writer discovered that this was not enough, he turned the piece over, washed off the previous text (traces of which are still visible), and continued with his letter.

The papyrus, like no 5 below, is allegedly from Aboutig 1.

^{1.} Aboutig (from Greek ἀποθήκη, via Coptic ΤΑΠΟΘΗΚΗ), usually identified with ancient Abotis, is a small village on the western bank of the Nile, about 20 km. to the south of Assioùt (ancient Lyconpolis). See A. Calderini, Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto grecoromano, 1 (Cairo 1935), 4.

Pl. 6	Front		
	Ποτάμωνι		
	πατρί χαίρειν.		
	[κ]αὶ σήμερον		
	[τ]ῶν ῥητόρων		
5	[μ]ή συνεπιδόν-		
	[τ]ων ήμιν τὰς		
	χεῖρας, ἐνετύχο-		
	μεν τῷ ἡγεμόνι		
	έρχομένο ἀπό τοῦ		
10	θεάτρου, καὶ τὸ ἔσ-		
	[χατον έ]λεήσας ήκου-		
	[σεν] ήμῶν καὶ		
	[]νοπ[.]κει		
	[]εν τοῖς		
15	[] πειράζης		
	[] χλαμίς μοι		
	[]χες καὶ . []		
	$[\dots\dots]$ σε $\theta[\dots]$		
	$[\ldots\ldots]$ εβλ η .		
20	[] ἄχραν		
	[] ἐμοῦ		
	[]άσει καὶ		
	[]νωσεν		
	[]. ε		
25	$[\ldots\ldots]$ $\varphi\eta x$.		
	[] ² 200		
	[] ἀπὸ παρε-		
	[] ἡμέρας		
110	[θ]αρρεῖν		
30	[]η περὶ		
	[].		
Back			
Daux			
	Ποτάμωνι:		
	λοπάδιν κογχῶ[ν]		

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[α.]το χοραχιν.[...]
        της, ἄνητον, [....]
        δύο, ѽόν, αὐα[σι-]
 5
         τικαὶ ἐλέαι, ἴτ-
         ριν, μαρσίππιν
        \dot{\epsilon}ν \ddot{\phi} δορχάδ(εοι), \sigma \ddot{\upsilon}κ(α) \bar{\iota},
        σταφίδ(ες) μέλ (αιναι), φασήλ (ια)
10
        ξηρά, ἄλ(λα) φασήλ(ια), σι-
         κύδια γ [
         έλ[έαι] . .[
         \alpha\delta.
           . . . [
           ε..[
15
        λαγήνιν [
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Front: 10 ἐσ-: ε corr. from σ 28 ἡμέρας: ε corr. from α Back: 3 [α.]: perhaps not an erasure but α written over two (?) letters 6 ἐλαῖαι 11 συχίδια 12 ἐλαῖαι

- 4. On ῥήτορες acting as lawyers (συνήγοροι) see L. Wenger, Die Stellvertretung im Recht der Papyri (Leipzig 1906), 450 ff., and E. Seidl, «Συνήγορος, 2» in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, Suppl. IV, cols 1354 ff.
- 5-7. For the expression cf. Them. *Orat.* 7, 90a, ὅτι σοὶ χρηστὰ νο-οῦντι τὴν χεῖρα συνεπέδωκεν ὁ θεός.
- 7-8. ἐντυγχάνειν is a technical term meaning «to petition», «to appeal to», and is usually so employed in inscriptions and papyri; but it may also mean «to meet with», «to fall in with», and in the present case it has both meanings, as the petitioner, having met with the prefect, made an appeal to him in person—and in a rather pressing manner, if the restoration proposed in line 11 is accepted. Cf. Dittenberger, OGIS 664, 8-11, Λούκιος Λούσιος [Γέτας] λέγει· ἐπεὶ ᾿Αρσινοείτου ἱερεῖς θεοῦ Σοκνοπαίου ἐνέτυχόν μοι λέγοντες etc.; S. Daris, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto (Milan 1964), 403 (=Negotia 171b = SB 8247), 1-3, ἀντίγραφον ἐντυχείας· προσ (έτυχον?) (sc. τῷ ἡγεμόνι) οἱ λεγεωνάρειοι ἐπὶ τῆ, ὁδῷ τῆς Παρεμβολῆς πρὸς τῷ Εἰσίῳ; Dittenberger, OGIS 669, 5, σχεδὸν δὲ ἐξ οῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέβην, καταβοώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανούντων.

- 10. If, as seems very probable, the events described here took place in Alexandria, the prefect was returning from the μέγα (Athen. 14, 620d) and Διονυσιακὸν (Polybius 15, 30, 4) theatre in the city. See A. Calderini, *Dizionario*, 114 f., with sources and bibliography.
- λοπάδιν κογχῶ[ν] would be either a plate full of mussel or a pan for frying mussel.
- 3. Perhaps a form of χοράχινος, «raven black»; οτ χοραχῖνος, the well known Nile fish (Pliny 9, 16, 24, 57; Martial 13, 85; and see D'Arcy W. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Fishes (London 1947), s.v. χοραχῖνος III, ὁ ποτάμιος); οτ χοράχιν (=χοράχιον) a small hook; cf. SB 1, 24 and 26.
- 4. ἄνητον (also spelt ἄννητον, ἄνηθον, and ἄννηθον) is the dill, Anethum graveolens, and should not be confused with ἄννησον (also spelt ἄνησον, ἄνησον, ἄνησον, άννισον, and ἄνισον), the anise, Pimpinella Anisum.
- 5. What is read as ω could be σμ, in which case the beginning of the line would read δύοσμον (=not δίοσμον but, as in modern Greek, ήδύσσμον), the green mint, *Mentha viridis*, also called μίνθη.
- 5-6. αὐασιτικαὶ (=ὀασιτικαὶ) ἐλέαι are olives grown in one of the oases of Egypt; cf. P. Soc. 203, 5, ὀασιτικὸν ἔλαιον.
- 6-7. ἴτριν (=ἴτριον) is a kind of small honeycake; cf. Athen. 14, 646d, πεμμάτιον λεπτὸν διὰ σησάμου καὶ μέλητος γενόμενον; P. Cairo Zen. 59821, 9; P. Soc. 428, 35, 61; P. Oxy. 736, 50, 81; P. Cott (=P. Ness.) 85, 4.
- 8. δορχάδεοι (sc. ἀστράγαλοι) are gazelle knucklebones used as dice; ef. P. Cairo Zen. 59069, 7, δορχαδέων θυλάχιον ἐσφ(ραγισμένον), and 18-19, θύλαχος δορχαδέων ἀστραγάλων; ef. also P. Soc. 331, 2 and 444, 2.
- 10-11. σικύδιον (=συκίδιον): diminutive of σῦκον, as in Aristoph. Pax, 598. For συκάριον, the term more frequently employed in papyri, see P. Flor. 176, 9 and P. Warren 18, 17.

To Potamon, my father, greetings.

As today once more the advocates refused to offer us their hand (in assistance?), we appealed to the prefect as he was returning from the theatre, and at the end, feeling pity, he listened to us. ...

3. COMPLAINT TO A CENTURION

P. Yale inv. 307

 13×17.5 cm.

ca. A.D. 184 Tebtunis

The landowner Eudaimonis complains to the centurion Aurelius Antoninus about the village elders of Tebtunis, accusing them of attempted extortion, violence, unlawful seizure of her slave, and theft.

There have survived many similar complaints of the ruthlessness and brutality of tax collectors (e.g., BGU 515 against the πράκτορες σιτικών, and 908 against the σιτολόγοι), but we should not overlook the fact that the cultivators themselves were frequently guilty of employing diverse and devious devices to avoid paying their dues. For complaints of a variety of injustices, injuries, and wrongdoings see P. Ryl. 124-152, Mitteis, Chrestomathie 109-128, and S. Daris, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto (Milan 1964), 75-82. See also B. Baldwin, «Crime and Criminals in Graeco-Roman Egypt», Aegyptus 43, 1963, 256 ff.

On the competence and functions of the centurion and other low grade army officials as police officers see L. Mitteis, Hermes 30, 1895, 586 ff. and Grundzüge, 33 ff.; P. M. Meyer, Juristische Papyri (Berlin 1920), 281 f.; P. Oxy. 2234 introd.; R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (2nd ed., Warsaw 1955), 540; E. C. Baade, "Two Yale Papyri Dealing with the Roman Army in Egypt", Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, N.S. V (Vienna 1956), 23 ff.; see also J. F. Gilliam, "The Appointment of Auxiliary Centurions (P. Mich. 164)", TAPA 88, 1957, 155 ff.

Pl. 7

5

Αὐρηλίφ 'Αντωνείνφ (ἐκατοντάρχφ) παρὰ Εὐδαιμ[ο]νίδος τῆς Ζωίλου, γεουχούσης ἐν κόμη Τεπτῦνι. πρώην οἱ τῆς κώμη[ς] πρ[εσ]βύτερο[ι] ἐπῆλθάν μοι καὶ βιαίως χρώμενοι ἐπίρασαν ἀπαιτῖν σιτικὰ δημόσια ὡς ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ ἀγνώστου μοι ἀνθρώπου, καταφρονοῦντές μου ὡς γυναικὸς ἀβοηθήτου καὶ χήρας κατεσ[σ]τώσης. μὴ ἀνεχ[ο]μένης

δ' ἐμοῦ ἐργολαβηθῆναι, αὐθαδῶς
χρησάμενοι ἀποσπάσαντες δούλην μου Σαραπιάδα, ἃ εἶχεν πέριξ
αὐτὴν ἱμάτια ἐβάσταξαν καὶ βίαν

15 αὐτῇ πλ[εί]στην ἐποιήσαντο. ὅθεν
κέλευσον [ἀχθ]ῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ διακοῦσαί [μου], ἵνα δυνηθῶ διὰ τῆς
σῆς βοη[θείας] τ[..].τα[.]ο....
μειν.και[....]..[.]..[.].ε...ας
20 ει.[.].οι..[...]ζε..[.]π.[...].ιο
τ[.].πο.ατριτ[...].[...]ο[
....[.].ίοις τῶν οσ[

1 (έκατοντάρχφ): × Pap. 5-6 ἐπείρασαν ἀπαιτεῖν 10 καθεστώσης 14 τματια Pap. 15 ἐποιήσαντο: π corr.

9 άβοηθήτου: α corr.

- 1. Aurelius Antoninus is almost certainly identical with the centurion of the same name to whom an inhabitant of Soknopaiou Nesos addressed a complaint dated 27 September 184 (P. Amh. 78 = Mitteis, Chrestomathie 123), and quite possibly with the decurion (δεκαδάρχης) Aurelius Antoninus to whom two inhabitants of Arsinoë addressed the now very mutilated P. Petaus 123 (not dated, but obviously written before A.D. 184).
- 4. On the village elders see Oertel, Die Liturgie, 146 ff., and especially A. Tomsin, Etude sur les πρεσβύτεροι des villages de la χώρα égyptienne (Brussels 1952). See also Wallace, Taxation, 312 f., 365 n. 8, and 474 n. 28.
- 5. βιαίως χρώμενοι (cf. 14-15, βίαν ... ἐποιήσαντο): on the delict of violence see Taubenschlag, Law, 442 ff., esp. 446 f.
- 6-7. ὀφειλόμενα σιτικά (as opposed to ἀργυρικά) sc. τελέσματα = debita fiscalia frumentaria (as opposed to pecuniaria). See Preisigke-Kiessling, Wörterbuch III, Abschnitt 11, s.v. σιτικός, and cf. Caracalla's edict of 216 (Année épigraphique 1948, no. 109). On the land-tax in kind, see Wallace, Taxation, 11 ff.
 - 12-13. The ἀπόσπασις δούλου, i.e. the unlawful seizure of a slave,

was considered a case of $\beta i\alpha$; cf. P. Oxy. 1120, 13-20, and see Taubenschlag, Law, 447 n. 85.

14. ἐβάσταξαν: «The Roman period ..., like the Ptolemaic, was without a technical term for theft. In addition to the terms κλέπτειν, ἀφαιρεῖν, ἀναρπάζειν, ἀποφέρειν, συλᾶν, taken over from the Ptolemaic period, the papyri use new words as βαστάζειν, ἀποσπᾶν, ἐπανοιγνύναι», Taubenschlag, Law, 456.

15ff. See Taubenschlag, Das Strafrecht im Rechte der Papyri (Leipzig 1916), 98 ff., and Law, 541 with n. 27. The imperative κέλευσον is striking, the standard expression being ἀξιῶ κελεῦσαι.

Translation

To Aurelius Antoninus, centurion, from Eudaimonis, daughter of Zoilus, landowner in the village of Tebtunis.

Recently the elders of the village came suddenly upon me and applied force in an attempt to extract payment for the public wheat tax, saying that it was due by a man whom I do not even know, being contemptuous of me, since I am a helpless woman and one who has become a widow. Then, as I would not suffer that they make profit out of me, they displayed insolence, seized Sarapias, my slavewoman, removed the clothes she was wearing, and assaulted her greatly.

Order, therefore, that they be arrested, and that I present my case to you, so that by your assistance I may ...

4. LIST OF TAX SUPERINTENDENTS

P. Tale inv. 1238 V

 10×12 cm.

Late 11 cent. A.D.

A list of five names headed «Superintendents of the tax of the one fortieth» (i.e. of two and a half per cent.), compiled, in all likelihood, by a village scribe prior to the preparation of a final γραφή λειτουργῶν to be forwarded to the strategus of the nome. Both the tax and the liturgical officials responsible for its collection are new. For similar lists see P. Petaus 45, 48, 50, 51, 59a, 61, 63, 64, 67, 71, and 72.

On the recto of this rectangular sheet of papyrus there survive 43 lines of accounts, complete at left.

'Ονόματα ἐπιτηρητῶν
τεσσαρακοστῆς'
Πετεῦρις 'Οννώφριος,
''Ωρος ὁ καὶ 'Απτᾶς,
5 'Ηρακλῆς Πετεύριος,
Σαρᾶς Σαρᾶτος μητρὸς
Σαμβοῦτος,
Πτολλᾶς Πτολλᾶτος
μητρὸς Τσανμσένχεω(ς).

Notes

- 1. On ἐπιτηρηταὶ see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 237 ff., and Lewis, *Inventory*, s.v. ἐπιτήρησις, where seventy different ἐπιτηρηταὶ are listed.
- 2. τεσσαρακοστή is a tax ad valorem, like τρίτη, τετάρτη, έκτη, έβδόμη, πεντηκοστή, έκατοστή. See Wallace, Taxation, 214 ff.
- 4, 9. 'Απτᾶς and Τσανμσένχις are not listed in Preisigke, Namenbuch, or Foraboschi, Onomasticon.

5. A SCHOOLBOY'S EXERCISE

P. Yale inv. 1253 V

 12×11 cm.

II or III cent. A.D.

A piece of coarse papyrus allegedly from Aboutig. On the front, along the fibers, there survive two fragmentary columns of accounts; the name Κλαύδιος 'Αμμωνάριος and the διεληλ(υθὸς) ιε (ἔτος) of an unknown emperor are among the discernible traces.

The back of this document was employed to write four sentences from well known works of literature. This, together with the large, clumsy and occasionally malformed letters and their uneven size and spacing, establish the text as a schoolboy's exercise and the writing as a «school hand»; while the various mistakes encountered throughout point to a dictated text.

For a complete list of papyri and ostraca written by schoolboys (and some by their teachers) see G. Zalateo, «Papiri scolastici», Aegyptus 41, 1961, 160 ff. For the educational techniques used by the Greeks in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see E. Ziebarth, Aus der antiken Schule (2nd ed., Bonn 1913); P. Collart, «A l'école avec les petits Grees d'E-

gypte», Chronique d'Egypte 11, 1963, 498 ff.; O. Gueraud and P. Jouguet, Un livre d'écolier du III^e siècle avant J.-C. (Cairo 1938); J. M. Galé, Las escuelas del antiguo Egipto a traves de los papiros griegos (Madrid 1961); H. I. Marou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité (6th. ed., Paris 1965); W. Clarysse and A. Wouters, «A Schoolboy's Exercise in the Chester Beatty Library», Ancient Society 1, 1970, 201 ff.

Pl. 8	αντιπολλωνμεν η		άντὶ πολλῶν μὲν
	· οανδρεσαθηναιοι		δ άνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι,
	χρηματωνελεσσθαι		χρημάτων έλέσσθαι.
	αβρ ^ο χιτωνδεφυλαξ		άβροχίτων δὲ φύλαζ
	θηρωζυγωχαμψι	5	θηρωζυγωκαμψι-
	μετωποσ'ημοσ		μέτωπος. ἦμος
	δ'ηριγενιαφανη		δ' ἠριγένια φάνη
	δροδωδακτυλοσ ηωσορνυταδεζευ		δροδωδάκτυλος
			'Ηώς, ὄρνυτ' ἄδ' ἐξ εὐ-
	νησειερονμενοσ	10	νῆς είερὸν μένος
	αλχινωοιο ου		'Αλκινώσισ. σὐ-
	δεισουκεπα.[δεὶς οὐκ ἔπασ[χέ
			[τι]

Notes

- 1-3. Dem. Olynth. 1, 1, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἄν, ὧ ἄνδρες 'Αθηναῖοι, χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἐλέσθαι νομίζω.
- 4-6. Anthol. Pal. 9, 538, άβροχίτων δ' ὁ φύλαξ θηροζυγοχαμψιμέτωπος. This hexametric verse was chosen simply because it contains all twenty four letters.
- 6-11. Homer, Od. 8, 1-2, ημος δ' ηριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος 'Ηώς. / ἄρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆς ἱερὸν μένος 'Αλκινόοιο.
 - 11-12. Xen. Symp. 1, 9, οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου.

6. LETTER FROM ZOILUS TO SARAPAS

P. Yale inv. 308

 15×10 cm.

H or HI cent. A.D.

Zoilus writes to his friend Sarapas to inform him that he had a petition prepared, but that when he attempted to submit it to the juri-

dicus, the latter refused to accept it saying that the prefect was near entering the city; ships had, in fact, been sent to fetch him.

With so little information at our disposal it is rather difficult to reconstruct the situation with any certainty. It would appear that the juridicus had been deputising for the prefect in the latter's absence † . As for the prefect, he may had just been on a conventus tour within Egypt. The idea, however, of $\pi\lambda$ oīz going out to fetch him suggests rather that he was arriving at Alexandria by sea and that he and his entourage were being fetched off a big ship in small boats; in this case he would be arriving from Rome to enter upon office.

Ζωίλος Σαραπᾶτι τῶι τειμιωτάτφ γαίρειν.

πρό τῶν ὅλων εὕχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν, καὶ τὴν σύμβιόν σου καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου τέκνα καὶ ὅλον σου τὸν οἶκον ἀσπάζομαι. γεινώσκειν
σε θέλω ὅτι ἐτυπωσάμην ἀναφόριον ἐπιδῶναι τῷ δικαιοδότῃ καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκέ με αὐτὸς
λέγων ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμῶν ἐγγύς ἐστιν τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. τὰ πλοῖα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελήλυθεν. ἐν
τοσούτῳ πέμψω σοι ἐπιστο[λ]ὴν κ....[

Verso: ἀπὸ Ζωίλου φίλου

10

1 τιμιωτάτφ 5 γινώσχειν 9 έξελήλυθεν: θ corr.

Notes

3. For the formulaic elements (greetings, salutations, wishes, etc.) encountered in Greek private letters of the Roman period see F. X. J. Exler, The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter. A Study in Greek Epistolography (Washington 1923), and B. Olsson, Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit (Uppsala 1925).

^{1.} Cf. Wilcken, Chrestomathie 209, 6 κράτιστος δικαιοδότης διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν; ΒΟU 327, 6 κράτιστος δικαιοδότης διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν; P. Harris 68, 6 κράτιστος δικαιοδότης διέπων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

- 6. ἐτυπωσάμην: this is the first known instance of the use of the middle form in the sense «to execute in due form»; the active is found in P. Soc. 635, 7 (cf. also the employment of the passive in P. Oxy. 67, 11 and P. Lips. 35, 19). For τύπος = «prescribed form of a document» see the references in Preisigke-Kiessling, Wörterbuch, s.v. τύπος 2 and 3.
- 7. For the office of the juridicus (διασιοδότης) who was, according to Strabo 71, 1, 12 (p. 797), τῶν πολλῶν κρίσεων κύριος, see U. Wilcken, «Der ägyptische Konvent», Archiv für Papyrusforschung 4, 1908, 366 ff.; H. Kupiszewski, «The Juridicus Alexandreae», Journal of Juristic Papyrology 7-8, 1953-54, 187 ff.; Taubenschlag, Law, 489 n. 61. A list of known juridici may be found in H.-G. Pflaum, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain (Paris 1960-61), 1087 f. and 1107 f. Although the competence of the juridicus covered both Alexandria and the χώρα, his court was seated exclusively in the capital, there being no evidence that he held conventus, like the prefect, or that there were special conventus towns for him. See Kupiszewski, 196.
- 8. For this «ὅτι recitativum» see S. G. Kapsomenakis, Vorunter-suchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit (Munich 1938), 48 f., and J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources (2nd ed., London 1952), s.v.
- 8-9. τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν: on the articular infinitive see now B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri (Athens 1973), 331 ff.
- 9. τὰ πλοῖα ... ἐξελήλυθεν: it is not clear whether this was said by the juridicus or whether it is a comment of the writer. For the expression cf. P. Oxy. 1763, 3-7, οὅπω μέχρι σήμερον τὰ πλοῖα τῆς ἀννώνας ἐξῆλθεν, τνα δυνηθῶμεν ἐξελθεῖν.

Zoilus to the most honored Sarapas greetings.

Before all I pray for your health, and I salute your wife and your children — whom the evil eye may never touch — and your entire household. I wish to inform you that I wrote a petition in the prescribed form in order to submit it to the juridicus, but he did not allow me to do so himself saying «The prefect is near entering». The ships have sailed out to fetch him. In the meantime I shall send you a letter ...

Address (on the back): From your friend Zoilus.

7. SALE OF VEGETABLE SEED

P. Yale inv. 416

 $10.5 \times 19.5 \text{ cm}$.

28 January 239

An acknowledgment of the sale of three artabas of vegetable seed. The seller, Aurelius Polion, has received from Aurelius Soterichus the price in cash in two installments, and undertakes to deliver the vegetable seed to Soterichus in Pauni (May/June), i.e. after the harvest, or pay him the highest market price of three artabas of vegetable seed. In the event that Polion fails to make delivery or payment, Soterichus will have the right of execution against him and all his property. For other contracts of this type connected with vegetable seed see O. Montevecchi, «Vendite a termine», Aegyptus 24, 1944, 131 ff., esp. 147 f.

The juristic character of this type of document has been widely discussed by jurists and papyrologists; and the opinion now generally accepted is that it records a genuine sale with payment in advance of delivery, and not a cession of property in settlement of a previously existing debt (datio in solutum). See F. Pringsheim, The Greek Law of Sale (Weimar 1950), 268 ff., and R. Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (2nd ed., Warsaw 1955), 336 ff.

Pl. 9 "Έτους δευτέρου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου 'Αντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐ[τυ]χοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Μεχεὶρ γ, ἐν Πτολεμ[α]ἴδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ 'Αρσινοΐτου.

^{1.} Cf. C. B. Welles, AJP 68, 1947, 94: aThis type of document ... has bothered the jurists who approach it from the point of view of Roman law, but the conception is Greek, and eminently sensible; payment in advance gives the farmer money to finance his crop, and in the case of wine, where the procedure is so common as to be regular, it assures him of an immediate market, without even the obligation of furnishing his own containers; in Egypt, it should have been fairly easy to forecast the yield.» It must have been primarily the desire to satisfy economic needs of such a nature that created this type of contract for cash payment with deferred delivery, which, unlike the normal contract for sale, created a duty to give future delivery which could be enforced by an execution clause; and it was, strictly speaking, an acknowledgment of receipt and a promise to deliver, thus circumventing the veto of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos which forbade the sale of unharvested produce (§ 104, [\$\frac{1}{2}] \tilde{2} \tilde{2} \gamma \tilde{2} \tilde{2}

- 5 όμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Πωλίων Παέμις μη[τρός {Πα]βουκᾶτος} ζ λάπὸ κώμης Σο[κ]ν[οπ]α[ίου] Νήσου, ώς (ἐτῶν) κε, οὐλὴ μετώπω, Αὐρήλιος Σωτήριχος Παβουκᾶτος άπὸ κώμης Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου, ἔχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλίου Πωλίωνος διὰ χειρὸς 10 [άρ]γυρίου δραχμάς πεντήκοντα έξ, ούσας [λοιπάς] τιμῆς λαγανοσπέρμου νέου, κα-[θαροῦ, ε]ὐαρέστ[ο]υ ἀρ[τ]αβῶν τριῶν, ὧν [καὶ τὴν ἀ]πόδοσ[ι]ν ποιήσεται ἐν μηνὶ [Παῦνι τ]οῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἐν τῆ προκει(μέ)-15 νη κώ[μ]η ἐν ἴσαις μέτρω ἐλεουργικῷ άνυπερθέτος, ή την ἐπὶ τοῦ κεροῦ ἐσομένην τοῦ λαγανοσπέρμου πλίστη(ν) τιμήν, γεινομένη(ς) τοῦ Αὐρηλίου Σωτηρίχου τ[η]ς πράξεως έκ τε τοῦ ὁμολογ(οῦντος) 20 καὶ ἐκ [τ]ῶν ὑπαργό(ν)των αὐτῶ πάντων καίπερ {.} έκ δίκης. περί δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ούτως ὀρθῶς καλῶς γεγονέναι, ἐπερωτηθείς όμολόγησα.
- 5 Αὐρήλιος: ς corr. from ο, Παέμιος 7 (ἐτῶν): L Pap. 8 Αὐρηλίφ Σωτηρίχφ 10 Αὐρήλιον Πωλίωνα 16 ἐλαιουργικῷ 17 ἀνυπερθέτως, καιροῦ 18 πλείστην 19 γινομένης 21 καὶ: ι corr. 22 καθάπερ 24 ὡμολόγησε

- 3. Mecheir 3 of the 2nd year of Gordian = 28 January 239.
- 4. Soknopaiou Nesos (today's Dimai or Dimê) was a village located on the northern shore of Lake Moëris and a fortified place protecting the caravan route from the Arsinoite nome to the oases of the Libyan desert. See Λ. Ε. R. Boak, Soknopaiou Nesos. The University of Michigan Excavations at Dimê in 1931-32 (Ann Arbor 1935). The village owes its name to the crocodile god «Sok [a form of Sebek], lord of the Isle», whose temple dominated over the village. Under various forms and names Sok was worshipped in every village of the Arsinoite that could boast a temple of its own; and the large number of crocodiles alive,

mummified or sculptured — that the Greeks found in the capital of the nome, Arsinoë (Ptolemais Euergetis), was responsible for the name they gave to it: Κροκοδείλων πόλις or Κροκοδειλόπολις. In this connection cf. Strabo 17 (p. 811), σφόδρα γὰρ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ τιμῶσι τὸν κροκόδειλον, καὶ ἔστιν ἱερὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν λίμνη καθ' αὐτὸν τρεφόμενος, χειροήθης τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καλεῖται δὲ Σοῦχος τρέφεται δὲ σιτίοις καὶ κρέασι καὶ οἴνῳ, προσφερόντων ἀεὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἀφικνουμένων; cf. Hdt. 2, 69, and see J. Toutain, «Le culte du crocodile dans le Fayoum sous l'empire romain», Revue de l'histoire des religions 71, 1915, 171 ff.

- 6. Πα]βουκᾶτος, being a masculine name, is out of place here. The scribe has confused the genealogy by placing here the name of Soterichus' father.
- 11-12. In contracts for deferred delivery the price of the goods sold is regularly not stated, as it plays no further part in the transaction. The entire price is not mentioned even in those rare cases when a first installment has been paid, while the remainder, which is indeed stated, is paid together with the signing of the contract (e.g., P. Athen. 23). See Montevecchi, Aegyptus 24, 1944, 135 f., and Pringsheim, Law, 275 and 279 with nn. 4 and 7. For λάχανον and λαχανόσπερμον see M. Schnebel, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten (Munich 1925), 210. For their price in Roman Egypt see P. Princ. 60, 12-13 n.; P. Cair. Isidor. 92, 6-7 n.; and the list in A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian (Baltimore 1936), 313.
- 15. Pauni (i.e. 26 May to 24 June) would be the month during which the vegetable seed would be harvested; cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 92, 9.
- 22. καίπες (a gross mistake for καθάπες) ἐκ δίκης: See H. J. Wolff, «The Praxis-Provision in Papyrus Contracts», TAPA 72, 1941, 418 ff. (= Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Altgriechenlands und des heltenistischrömischen Ägypten (Weimar 1961), 102 ff.), and «Some Observations on Praxis», Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology (Toronto 1970), 527 ff.
- 23-24. ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα (=ὁμολόγησε, an error common enough in such agreements; ef., e.g., P. Cair Isidor. 92, 14) is a translation of the latin formula interrogatus respondit. On the question whether this was by now a mere phrase, or whether it made the agreement, like the corresponding Latin, a real stipulatio, see the contrasting views of D. Simon, Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel (Munich 1964), and E. Seidl, «Die 'Stipulatio' im ägyptischen Provinzialrecht», Studie G. Scherillo 2, 1972, 627 ff.

The second year of the emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, the 3rd of the month of Mecheir, in Ptolemais Euergetis of the Arsinoite nome.

Aurelius Polion, son of Paemis and ..., of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos, about 25 years old, with a scar on the forehead, acknowledges to Aurelius Soterichus, son of Pavoukas, of the village of Soknopaiou Nesos, that he, Aurelius Polion, has received from him from hand to hand fifty drachmas in silver as the remainder of the price for three artabas of new, clean, good quality vegetable seed, which same amount of artabas he will deliver in the month of Pauni of the current year at the aforementioned village of Soknopaiou Nesos by the oil standard and without delay, or he will pay the highest market price of vegetable seed then current. Aurelius Soterichus shall have the right of execution both against the acknowledging party and against all his property, as if in consequence of a court decision.

In response to the question whether the terms have been correctly and properly stated, I [sic] have so declared.

8. LIST OF PAYMENTS

P. Yale inv. 230 V

 $9.5 \times 15.5 \text{ cm}$.

Late III cent. A.D.

The sixty fourth column (see line 1) of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος, being an account of expences, λόγος ἀναλώματος or ἀναλωμάτων. Recorded are payments to a slave boy (θρεπτὸν παιδίον), a waterer (ὑδροπάροχος), and various vine-dressers (ἀμπελουργοί) and donkey-drivers (ὀνηλάται), working in vineyards scattered over at least eight different localities.

For more extensive accounts of farm activities see A. Świdereck, La propriété foncière privée dans l'Egypte de Vespasien et sa technique agricole (Vratislav 1960); A. C. Johnson, Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian (Baltimore 1936), 174 ff.; and SB 9406-15 (from the Heroneinus archive).

On the recto there survives part of a land register, written in a small hand I would assign to the early part of the third century A.D.

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Pl. 10
                                                   ξδ
       λ(όγος) ἀναλ(ώματος): θρεπτῷ παιδ(ίω) ὑπὲρ σε.[
       Σαραπίωνι άμπελουργῷ Συνορίας [
       Σακᾶ ἀμπελ(ουργῶ) κτήμα(τος) Μεθορίας ὁμοί[ως
       Πολυτείμω, ὧν λόγον δώσει (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην) α [
  5
       τῷ αὐτῷ Πολυτείμῳ εἰς λ(όγον) σειτολ(όγων) (δραχ.) ζ[
       Οὐάλεντι ἀμπελουργῷ κτήμα(τος) Διον[ύσου
       Πτολεμαίω άμπελ (ουργῷ) κτήμ (ατος) Μεθορίας ὑπ[ἐρ
       Πτολεμαίω ύδροπ (αρόχω) Διονύσου είς φαγεῖ[ν
 10
       'Αρτεμιδώρω ίδίω όνηλάτη ύπὲρ σε.[
       Δωρᾶ έτέρω ὀνηλάτη ὁμοίως ὑπ[ὲρ
       Πτόλλιδι άμπελουργῷ Διοσκουρίου εἰς [
       'Ακῶρι ἀμπελουργ(ῷ) κτήματος Λιβ[ὸς
       Κολλούθω άμπελουργ (ῷ) Τριόδου όμ[οίως
       Πεϊοῦλι ἀμπελ (ουργῷ) κτήματος Νήσου [
 15
       [. . . . άμπ]ελουργῷ κτήμ (ατος) \Deltaωρίδος [
                               ].....
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2 λαναλ, παιδ Pap. 4 αμπελ (so also in 8 and 15), κτημα) (so also in 7) Pap. 5 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβην): 5 Pap. 6 λσειτολ5ζ Pap.; read σιτολόγων 8 κτημα~ (so also in 16) Pap. 9 5δρο) Pap. 10 ίδιω Pap. 13 and 14 αμπελορογ~ Pap.

- 2. A θρεπτὸν παιδίον could be either an adopted foundling or a slave boy bred in the house; παιδ(αρίω) is equally possible.
- 3. Here, as often in documents from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, κτῆμα = ἀμπελών. See M. Rostowtzew, Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates (Leipzig-Berlin 1910), 14 f. The reader who is interested in the cultivation of vines in Egypt will find much information in C. Ricci, La coltura della vite e la fabbricazione del vino nell'Egitto grecoromano (Milan 1924).
 - 9. εἰς φαγεῖ[ν: See Mandilaras, The Verb, para. 850.
- 12. Α κτημα καλούμενον Διοσκουρείου is mentioned in P. Oxy. 2241 (A.D. 283/4), a list of rents from state land in the territory of the village of Sinkepha in the Oxyrhynchite.

9. MAGICO-MEDICAL PRESCRIPTIONS

P. Yale inv. 1206 col. vi

 20×16.5 cm.

III or IV cent. A.D.

For a list of medical (and some magical) prescriptions on papyri see R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd ed., Ann Arbor 1965), 126 ff.; magical papyri have been collected by K. Preisendanz in *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. *Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Leipzig-Berlin 1928-31), hereafter referred to as PGM.

Pl. 11

κατακύψαι καὶ μὴ ἀν[α]κύψαι νάρκης κατακύψαι καὶ μὴ ἀν[α]κύψαι τὴν ἐσφύν.

έν βαλανείω τινὰ ἐρέσθαι: κυνὸς νεκροῦ κροτῶνα θλ[ῖ]ψον ἰς τὴν ἐσφύν.

5 γυναικὶ ἐμπαϊξαι: θαψίας χ[ει]]υλῶι

έν συ [μ]ποσίω μά[ν]ην γενέσθαι κυνόδηκτον λίθον βάλε ἰς τὸ μέσον.

όξος δριμύ ποιῆσαι ψήφους πυρώ-10 σας βάλ' ἐν [αὐ]τῶι.

πρός πολλά βεινῖν· σελείνου καὶ εὐζώμου σπ[έρ]μα πρόπιε.

² ἐγχεφάλο, ὀσφύν (so also in 4) — 3 perhaps αἴρεσθαί? — 4 εἰς (so also in 8, unless βάλ' εἰς is read) — 6 χρῖε — 11 βινεῖν, σελίνου

- 1-2. νάρκη θαλασσία is the torpedo or electric ray as opposed to νάρκη ποταμία, the electric catfish, found in the Nile; see Thompson, A Glossary, 196 ff. In antiquity it was used as remedy against gout and arthritis (Alex. Trall. 2, 581) and headackes and prolapsus (Galen 12, 365; Diosc. 2, 15; Pliny 32, 105); according to Pliny (32, 135 and 139), its brain was prescribed as a depilatory, while its liver was considered an antaphrodisiac. In the present context we would have a better text if the order of the two infinitives were reversed; but perhaps no remedy against a disease was intented.
- 3-4. αἴρεσθαι, rather than ἐρέσθαι, gives far better sense, and I have so translated below. κροτών is the tick, *Ixodes ricinus*.
- 5-6. For this euphemistic use of ἐμπαίζειν cf. Judges 19, 25, καὶ ἔγνωσαν αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν παλλακὴν) καὶ ἐνέπαιζον ἐν αὐτῷ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἔως τὸ πρωί. On θαψία, the deadly carrot, Thapsia garganica, see Arist. Probl. 864^a 5, and Diosc. 4, 153, according to whom it ὀπίζεται as well as χυλίζεται; on how the juice is extracted see 3, 7.
- 11-12. σέλινον is the celery, Apium graveolens, while εὄζωμον is the rocket, Eruca sativa; cf. Diosc. 2, 140, εύζωμον πλεῖον βρωθέν συνουσίαν παρορμᾶ, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ, οὐρητικὸν ὑπάρχον καὶ πεπτικόν καὶ εὐκοίλιον. (In P. Oxy. 1088, 15, εὐζώμου σπέρμα is one of the ingredients of a concoction used as remedy against leprosy.) Such seeds would be drunk in the form of lozenges or pastilles — τρογίσκοι διά σπερμάτων σύν ὕδατι, see Galen 13, 90 and Paulus Aegineta 7, 12. For similar prescriptions in magical papyri cf. PMG vii (=P. Lond. 121 = Diels-Kranz, Vorsokr.6, II, 221), 182-185, πολλά βι[ν]εῖν δύνασθαι· στροβίλια πεντήχοντα μετὰ δύο κυά $[\theta]$ ων γλυκέος καὶ $\langle \bar{\mathbf{x}}? \rangle$ κόκκους πεπέρεως τρίψας πίε. στ[ύ]ειν ὅτε θέλεις πέπερι μετὰ μέλιτος τρίψας χρῖέ σου τὸ πράγμα; 191-192, φ[ιλ]τοκατάδεσμος αἰώνιος χολῆς κάπρου, άλὸς ἀμμωνιακοῦ, μέλιτος 'Αττικοῦ όμοῦ τρίψον καὶ χρῖσόν σου τὴν βάλανον; PMG xxxvi (=P. Osl. 1), 283-285, φυσικλείδιον λαβών ώδν κορώνης καὶ κορωνοποδίου βοτάνης χυλόν καὶ χολήν νάρκας ποταμίας τρῖψον μετὰ μέλητος καὶ λέγε τὸν λόγον, ὅταν τρίβης καὶ ὅταν συνχρίη τὸ αἰδοῖόν σου. Cf. also Galen 14, 488; Aelianus, de nat. anim. 9, 48; Marc. Emp. 33, 66; Ovid, Ars am. 2, 417; Petronius 138.

To stoop and not to stand straight again: anoint your loins with the brain of a torpedo. To win someone at the baths: squeeze the tick of a dead dog against your loins.

To have intercourse with a woman: anoint your private parts with the juice of a deadly carrot.

To create madness at a banquet: throw a dog-bitten stone in its midst.

To turn vinegar sour: throw red-hot pebbles into it.

To be able to have many coitions: drink in advance celery and rocket seeds.

Athens

GEORGE M. PARÁSSOGLOU

A CORRECTION

In a previous issue of this periodical (26, 1973, 273) I published the text of P. Yale inv. 554 verso, reading lines 3-6 as follows: ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου εἰμή (=εἰμί), Διογένης (=Διόγενες), καὶ θεωνιων (=?) οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνθάδε οἶς ⟨οὐκ⟩ ἐλάλησα περὶ τῆς Τετραδύμις κτλ. In a note dated 4 October 1974, Prof. E. G. Turner was kind enough to communicate to me what is surely the right construction of these lines: ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου εἰ μὴ Διογένης καὶ Θεωνίων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνθάδε· οἶς ἐλάλησα κτλ. («Of the members of the association none is here but Diogenes and Theonion. I spoke to them about Tetradyme etc.») The same correction was subsequently proposed independently by H. C. Youtie, P. J. Parsons, and C. Tsantsanoglou.