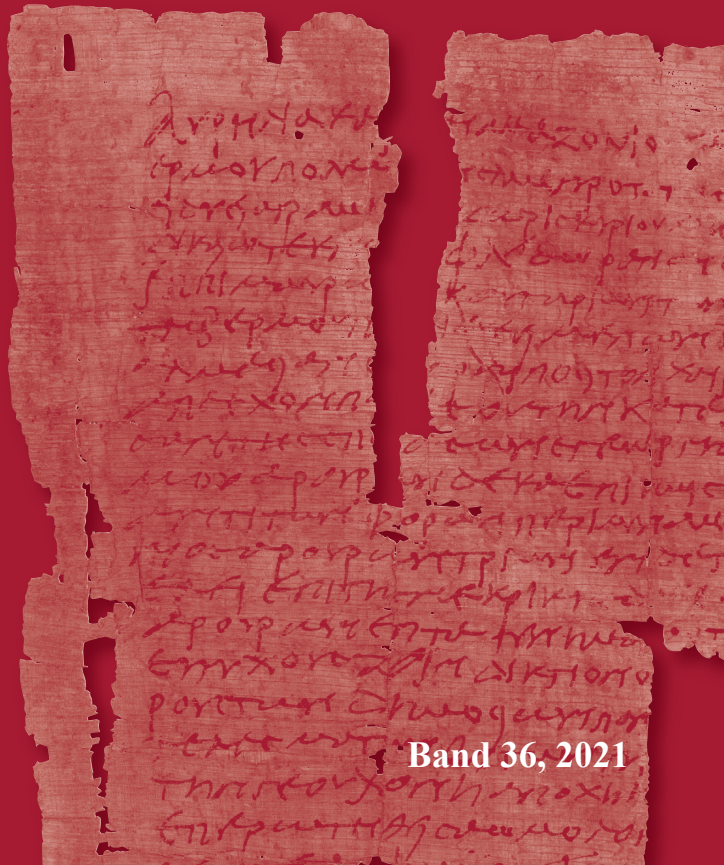


TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik



HOLZHAUSEN

Der Verlag

Band 36, 2021

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BEMERKUNGEN ZU PAPYRI XXXIV

<Korr. Tyche>

989.–993. Oxyrhynchite Receipts for Replacement Parts for Irrigators¹

989. P.Lond. III 775 (p. 279), 13–14

In P.Lond. III 775 (567), the passage mentioning the *mechane* in need of a replacement part is damaged, (ll. 13–14):

[εἰς τὴν] ὑπ' ἐμ[ἔ μηχανὴν καλουμένην --- ἀντ-]
[λοῦ]σαν εἰς ἀρ[όσιμον γῆν ---]

Given that the receipt is addressed to Apion II (and not to an administrator of the *domus divina* or the Church), the adjective γεουχικὴν should be supplemented before μηχανὴν, as shown by the parallels belonging to the Apionic dossier, cf. e.g. P.Lond. III 776 (pp. 278–279), 8 (552). Based on the image available online, the space in the lacuna would be enough not only to contain γεουχικὴν, but also the very name of the machine after καλουμένην. Taking line 11 (τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχ[ίτ]ου [νο]μοῦ [ed.: [νο]μο(ῦ); νομῶ παρ.] διαφέροντος τῆ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυσία) as a term of comparison, in l. 13 between the second ε of ἐμ[ἔ (which is written at the same height as the ι of Ὀξυρυγχ[ίτ]ου in l. 11) and the end of the line, there might have been ca. 33 letters.² In the edition 21 letters have been supplemented, although the final ἀντ- might have actually been written at the beginning of l. 14, cf. a similar space at the beginning of ll. 12 (ἐναπ and part of the following ο) and 13 (εἰς τὴν). If so, the lacuna should have contained, beyond the 18 letters already supplemented in the edition, also the ca. 9 letters of γεουχικὴν (abbreviation is possible), and finally the name of the μηχανή, which would have been ca. 6 letters long:

[εἰς τὴν] ὑπ' ἐμ[ἔ γεουχικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην ca. 6]
[ἀντλοῦ]σαν εἰς ἀρ[όσιμον γῆν ---]

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Pamela Mansutti for revising my English.

² Not including the final υ of Ὀξυρυγχ[ίτ]ου and [νο]μοῦ, which is written above the preceding ο, cf. above.

990. P.Lond. III 776 (pp. 278–279), 24 and O.Wilck. 1100, 4

The first edition of P.Lond. III 776 (552) includes only the first part of the docket on the verso:

[χειρογρα]φ(ία) Σουρουῦτος υἱοῦ(ῦ) Πεβῆτος ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Κερώθεως ὑποδοχῆ(ς)

Thanks to the digital image, the transcription can be refined and completed (abbreviations in the supplemented part are of course *exempli gratia*):

[+ χειρο]γραφ(ία) Σουρουῦτος υἱοῦ Πεβῆτος ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Κερώθεως ὑποδοχ(ῆς)
 με[γάλ(ου) ἐργ(άτου) ἐνὸς καὶ]
 μικρ(οῦ) ἐργ(άτου) (vel ἐργ(άτου)) ἐνὸς καὶ κυλλ(ῆς) κ[υ]κλ[άδος μιᾶς]

χειρογραφ/ par. υἱου par. υποδοχ) par. εργ/ vel ερ/ par. κυλλ_s par.

It is noteworthy that the provenance of the peasant on the verso turns out to read ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Κερώθεως, not ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Κεώθεως (ed.). A similar correction might be made in O.Wilck. 1100 (188), 4 (Κερώθεως in lieu of Κεώθεως [ed.]), cf. the image online. The spelling with -ευ- occurs in almost all testimonies except P.Lond. III 776, 6, which has Κυώθ[ε]ως, cf. Benaissa, RSON², s.v.

991. P.Oxy. XXVI 2779, 29

In the first edition of P.Oxy. XXVI 2779 (530) the address on the verso (l. 29³) has been read as follows:

+ χειρογραφ(ία) Ἐπιμάχου υἱοῦ Φοιβά[μ]μωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Π[α]γγουλειε[ί]ου(υ)
 ὑποδοχῆς ἄξονος ἐν(ός)⁴

With the help of the digital image, a few minor adjustments can be made:

+ χειρογραφ(ία) Ἐπιμάχου υἱοῦ Φοιβά[μ]μωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Παγγουλειεῖου
 ὑποδοχ(ῆς) ἄξονος ἐν(ός)

χειρογραφ/ par. Παγγουλειεῖο^υ par. υποδοχ) par.

992. P.Oxy. LXX 4785, 30

The second half of the docket of P.Oxy. LXX 4785 (530), a receipt by two peasants for an axle, is lost:

† χειρογραφ(ία) Παμουθίου υἱοῦ Σιττα καὶ Μη[η]νᾶ υἱοῦ [Ἰ]σάκ ὑποδοχ(ῆς) ἄξονος
 ἐνός]

³ In the edition l. 29 is mistakenly considered as l. 28 in the commentary.

⁴ A reading α instead of ἐν(ός) seems to be unlikely.

The parallels suggest the possibility to supplement the provenance (ἀπὸ κώμης Ταμπει, cf. ll. 10–11) before ὑποδοχῆς, cf. e.g. the docket on the verso of P.Oxy. XXVI 2779 and P.Lond. III 776.

993. P.Oxy. LXX 4789, 13–14; LXXXIII 5389, 12; SB XXIV 16312, 15–16

In these three receipts, the formula at the beginning seems to contain the participle γενομένης, which was (partially) read in P.Oxy. LXX 4789, 13–14 (χρείας | κ[αὶ νῦν γ]ε[νομ]έ[ν]ης) and LXXXIII 5389, 12 (χρείας καὶ ν[ῦ]ν γενομένη[ς]) and supplemented in SB XXIV 16312, 15–16 (χρείας καὶ νῦν | [γενομένης]).

However, since all the texts date from the sixth century, one would rather expect the form γεναμένης (which occurs for the first time in P.Oxy. LXVII 4616, 8 [525]), being γενομένης more typical of the fifth century receipts (it occurs for the last time in P.Oxy. XVI 1982, 9 [497]).

A digital image of P.Oxy. LXXXIII 5389 (kindly supplied by Nikolaos Gonis) indeed shows that l. 12 has γεναμένης. In P.Oxy. LXX 4789, 14 and SB XXIV 16312, 16 this form should be restored in lieu of γενομένης.

Giuseppina AZZARELLO

994. BGU II 425

Three ghostnames and some other onomastic emendations

BGU II 425 (TM 28139) contains two fragmentary columns listing several financial officials (*sitoparaleptai*, *praktors*, *sitologoi*) for the village Phokis. This village, also called Phoke, is attested only five times and was apparently situated in the Memphite nome⁵. The text also mentions Troe, modern Tura near Memphis, and Ptolemais Hormou at the entrance of the Fayum⁶. It is dated to the second or third century AD. The date can be narrowed down by the appearance of the titles *sitoparaleptes* (l. 5) and *praktor argyrikon* (l. 9). The title *sitoparaleptes* is first attested in AD 182.⁷ The last certainly dated *praktor argyrikon* is from AD 243–244.⁸ This allows us to date BGU II 425 approximately to the last quarter of the second or first half of the third century AD.

On ll. 10–11 the editor reads the identification of a *praktor argyrikon* as Κ[. . .] νθος ἐγ μητ(ρὸς) Τααρμᾶ [.] χιος ἀπὸ Τρώας⁹. The name of the *praktor* can be confidently

⁵ See TM Geo 1793 with further bibliographical references.

⁶ Troe: TM Geo 2480; Ptolemais Hormou: TM Geo 2024.

⁷ P.Oxy. 65 4482, 40–41 (= TM 78582). The example of AD 151 in P.Meyer 8, 13–14 is doubtful because the first part of the word is in a lacuna: καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν σιτοπαρ[α]λήπτου γενομένου.

⁸ P.Vind.Sal. 14, 3–4 (= TM 13675) from Herakleopolis.

⁹ The original edition read σὺ μητ(ρὸς), but this has recently been corrected into ἐγ (a phonetic version of ἐκ) μητρός by N. Gonis, *New Readings of Personal Names II*, BASP (forthcoming).

restored as K[όρ]ιυθός (the iota is certain)¹⁰, a rare name, attested in P.Oxy. XLIV 3197, 11,¹¹ P.Köln II 100, 30¹² and I.Koptos Kosseir 6, 1.¹³

The name of the mother Τααρμα is an *addendum onomasticis* and the ending]χιος in the next line gives the impression that several letters are lost. Yet one centimeter of blank papyrus is preserved in front of]χιος and the line is simply indented, as is also the case in lines 4 and 20, for example. We can read here ἐγ μητ(ρὸς) Τααρμαχιος. The name is rare, but one other instance seems to come from Memphis as well.¹⁴ A variant *Ta-Hr-mhy(.t)*, rendered as Τααρμασις in Greek, is attested in Soknopaiou Nesos.¹⁵ Similarly, the only examples of Senharmachis and Peteharmachis are also of Memphite origin.¹⁶ For the simplex Harmachis, 37 out of 73 individuals are found in texts from Memphis. Harmachis is indeed the name of the great sphinx of Gizah and it is not surprising that this is reflected in local onomastics.¹⁷

In l. 8 the patronymic of the *praktor sitikon* Phthaus junior is read by Viereck as Μυγχειος, which resulted in a new name Μυγχις, listed in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*. In fact the papyrus is damaged to the right and one recognizes a broken *ypsilon* before the break: Μυγχειου[ς], the genitive of Μυγχης, a variant of the well-known name Μεγχης. There are eight other attestations of the variants Μυγχῆς / Μιγχῆς, two of which are also from the Delta area¹⁸.

Πασαφθα. [in l. 20 must be the patronymic of Sisois-Nechtanouphis in the previous line. Πασαφθ- is the most frequently used rendering of the Egyptian name *Pa-sbt* ('The one of the wall'; TM Nam 750). The -οα- that follows then could be the beginning of

¹⁰ Alternatively, Gonis, *New Readings* (see n. 9) suggests K[όρ]ιυθός, a rare variant of the Latin name Quintus.

¹¹ = TM 15960 (AD 111); the name belongs to a slave here.

¹² = TM 21204 (AD 133).

¹³ = TM 81078 (no date).

¹⁴ P.Berl.Bibl. 19 R 4 (= TM 31073) dated to the first half of the third century AD. The provenance of this list of names is indicated as uncertain in the Berlin database (<https://berlpap.smb.museum/00346/>), but see E. Chepel, *P.Tbilisi inv. 344v: Extract from Memphite Land Register*, Tyche 33 (2018) 44 n. 4. The list also contains the name Ephthemis, (TM Nam 19601), which refers to the god Nefertem, whose cult center was Memphis; see J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, B. Van Maele, *The Memphite Triad in Greek Papyri*, Göttinger Miszellen 88 (1985) 34–35.

¹⁵ P.Dime III 8 (= TM 45600) DA l. 4 & DG l. 4 (Demotic), GH l. 1 & 8 (Greek subscripts).

¹⁶ Senharmachis: Bodl. MS. Egypt. a 41(P), text B, 1 (= M. Cannata, *Papyrus BMEA 10075 and Papyrus Bodleian Ms. Egypt. a. 41 (P): Two Halves of a Ptolemaic Contract of Sale Reunited*, JEA 92 [2006] 200 = TM 92970); Peteharmachis: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5825, 16 (= E. Bresciani, *Stele demotiche dal Serapeo di Menfi nel Kunsthistorisches Museum di Vienna [Studi in onore di Giuseppe Botti]*, Oriens Antiquus 6 (1967) 29–30 no. 2 = TM 51432).

¹⁷ For Harmachis, see the article of J. Assmann in LÄ II, col. 992–994, s.v. Harmachis.

¹⁸ P.Cair.Zen. II 59294, 25 (= TM 938) with unknown origins but found in Philadelphia; P.Ryl. II 131, 25 (= TM 12917) from Euhemeria; P.Brem. 68 col. 1, 3; col. 2, 20 & 34 (= TM 19654) from Hermopolis; P.Ryl. II 220 descr.(= TM 19530) from Thmouis; P.Brux. I 21, 13 (= TM 16057) from the Prosopite nome; and P.Genova II 65, 5 (= TM 15535), provenance unknown.

-οαφρης, the Greek rendering of *W3h-ib-R*, resulting in a new name Πασαφθοαφρης, ‘The one of the wall of Apries’.¹⁹

The second column is written by a different hand, but clearly deals with the same subject matter (οἱ ἐν κλήρῳ in l. 2, *sitologoi* in l. 8). No doubt for that reason Viereck interpreted Χαιροις in l. 1 as a personal name: Chairois son of Diogenes. He is followed by Preisigke’s *Namenbuch* and by papyri.info. However, Chairois is an *addendum onomasticis* and in the Roman period the optative χαιροις is used several times in the introductory formula of letters, usually followed by a vocative. This is how it should also be read in BGU II 425.²⁰

Yanne BROUX, Willy CLARYSSE

995.–1001. Notes on Zenon Papyri

The notes collected in this article suggest corrections to the standard editions of seven Zenon papyri.²¹ Beyond the basic aim of improving the accuracy of our readings they offer potentially valuable information on issues of format, handwriting, and language, which are currently attracting increasing scholarly attention. The observations arise from my research on the language of individuals in the Zenon Archive and on the ‘Greek-English Lexicon of the Zenon Archive’ project, the latter in collaboration with John Lee, to whom I owe the observation at KorrTyche no. 1001.

All the suggestions are based on examination of electronic images only (I am well aware of the limitations of this approach, as opposed to autopsy of originals). I have used: (i) digital images produced for the PSIonline project and the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), accessed via the Papyri.info website;²² (ii) digitised images produced by the University of Oxford’s Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (CSAD) of photographs of Zenon papyri in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo’s collection, taken in the 1970s and 1980s under the auspices of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues and UNESCO and also accessible via the Papyri.info

¹⁹ Several such walls are named after past rulers that were used as toponyms: there was a ‘wall of Pharaoh’ in Elephantine (TM Geo 11611); a ‘wall of Nektanebo’, probably in the Boubastite nome (TM Geo 10796) and another in the Apollonopolite nome (TM Geo 13570). See also J. Yoyotte, *Études géographiques. II. Les localités méridionales de la région de memphite et « le pehou d’Héracléopolis »*, *Rev.d’Ég.* 15 (1963) 106–114.

²⁰ E.g. P.Oxy. III 526, 1 (= TM 28366, second century AD); P.Coll.Youtie I 54, Verso 2 (= TM 26674, last quarter second century or first quarter third century AD); P.Lond. II (p. 253) 144, 1 (= TM 28005, second or third century AD). See D. Nachtergaele, *The Formulaic Language of the Greek Private Papyrus Letters*, Gent 2015, 52–54 (unpublished PhD thesis).

²¹ It is a pleasure to thank Charles Crowther, Rosario Pintaudi, and Raffaele Luiselli for their past kindnesses in granting privileged access to images of relevant documents and Willy Clarysse and John Lee for advice on several points.

²² Note that some of the APIS links from Papyri.info no longer seem to function (as at November 2022).

website; (iii) high-resolution images acquired directly from the British Library and John Rylands Library collections.²³

995. P.Cair.Zen. I 59135: ἀγωνιῶμεν => ἀγωνιῶμεν'

In l. 5 of this letter the edition reads ἀγωνιῶμεν, the CSAD image shows, however, that the letters -ῶμεν are a supralinear addition. To omit the verbal ending is not a typical lapse in Zenon Archive documents. This is likely to be a more complicated case. It seems possible that the whole clause ἵνα εἰδότες μὴ ἀγωνιῶμεν' '... in order that knowing we may not worry' is an addition (in the same experienced and probably professional hand as the rest of the text) made after the valediction and date had been written.²⁴ On this interpretation we would need to imagine that the scribe did not allow for the limitations of space available before the valediction, which was written on the same line as the end of the letter-body, and had to resort to adding the last four letters above the line.

996. P.Cair.Zen. III 59402: Artemidoros

This letter was sent to Zenon by someone whose name can be restored confidently as [Ἀρτε]μίδωρος (l. 1). It was attributed by Edgar to Zenon's well-known correspondent Artemidoros the doctor on the basis of handwriting.²⁵ The identification may be accurate, but analysis of images of seven Cairo papyri associated with this individual and autopsy of another held in London indicate that the hands are all different,²⁶ while the name Artemidoros is well represented in the Zenon Archive.²⁷

Part of the docket, though omitted in the edition, can be read from the CSAD image. Only -ου is certain, but it seems possible part of the top of a *rho* precedes.²⁸ This could represent the ending of Ἀρτεμίδωρου (possibly though not necessarily preceded by παρ') or even of ἱατροῦ if the author really is the doctor. Compare P.Cair.Zen. IV 59555, 9; also P.Cair.Zen. II 59225, 14, where the sender's name and appellation are in the nominative.

²³ A Discovery-Project grant from the Australian Research Council provided funding support for relevant purchases.

²⁴ For similar additions to the ends of letters and petitions in the Zenon Archive see C. C. Edgar, P.Cair.Zen. II 59251, 7–10: 'The end of the letter was added after the address [*sic*] had been written'; P.Cair.Zen. III 59379, 8–9n: 'The last sentence has been added in thinner writing and the original εὐτύχει sponged out and rewritten below'; cf. T. C. Skeat, P.Lond. VII 1973, 9–10n (in this case the valediction and date are interpreted as part of the addition).

²⁵ P.Cair.Zen. III 59402, introd.

²⁶ Willy Clarysse has examined at my request the Cairo texts and concludes (private communication) that they are almost certainly all in different hands. The London fragment is written 'in a flowing hand of chancery type' (P.Lond. VII 1968, introd.), which in my view is also distinct from the other professional hands in the group.

²⁷ W. Clarysse, Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXI, 301–303 s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

²⁸ The trace is admittedly high for a *rho* in relation to the following letters, but compare for instance the relative placement of the letters -ρος in Ἀρτεμίδωρος (usually assumed to be the doctor) in the docket of P.Cair.Zen. V 59816.

997. P.Cair.Zen. III 59489: ζευγῶν

At the end of l. 7 of this memorandum the edition prints ζευγωνιϛ. Edgar observes: ‘Possibly ζευγῶν followed by a number, but as there is no space between ν and ι, more probably ζευγωνιϛ is an adjective to κατασκευήν.’²⁹ From the CSAD image it can be seen that the reading should be ζευγῶν. Edgar seems to have confused the end of the loop at the top of the right upright stroke of the *nu* (with which compare the final *nu* of μήνυτρον in l. 9 below) with the top of an *iota*. The apparent ink marks that follow ζευγῶν may indeed be traces of a number.³⁰ Or could they be place-holding marks to add a number that was never entered? At any rate, ζευγωνιϛ, which would be a hapax, is a ghost entry in Muszynski’s word index.³¹ The passage P.Cair.Zen. III 59489, 6–8 runs: νυνὶ δὲ {τίμι [[δ]] | δῶ} τὸ ζεύγος καὶ κατασκευήν ζευγῶν . . | σύνταξον τίμι δῶ ... ‘But now tell me to whom I should give the pair of animals and harness for ... pairs of animals ...’

998. P.Cair.Zen. III 59499: [[καὶ τὸ]] `τὸ δέ’

In this series of four documents set out on both sides of a single papyrus the edition has τὸ δὲ ἥμισσον at the start of l. 65, part of the draft of a letter. The image shows, however, that the text actually runs [[καὶ τὸ]] `τὸ δέ’ ἥμισσον. It is worth noting the stylistic motivation of the correction, given Edgar’s harsh criticism of the language (‘the Greek is so extraordinarily bad’).³² By replacing καὶ with δέ the writer marks the contrast between the two halves of the house, the sale of which is being reported.

999. P.Col. IV 107: ἔρωσο

This valediction ἔρωσο in l. 1 is all that survives of its letter on a papyrus reused by Zenon to draft a memorandum. The letters dotted by the Columbia editors are perfectly legible in the APIS image. The editors, incidentally, are wrong in my view to identify the hand of the valediction as that of Zenon,³³ though the memorandum certainly is.³⁴

²⁹ P.Cair.Zen. III 59489, 7n.

³⁰ Willy Clarysse suggests *eta*, for ‘8’, as a possibility (private communication).


³¹ M. Muszynski, *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XXI, 650.

³² P.Cair.Zen. III 59499, introd. On modern responses to the language of Zenon papyri associated with Egyptians – the author here is one Petosiris – see T. V. Evans, *Not Overstrong in his Greek: Modern Interpretation of ‘Egyptian’ Greek Texts in the Zenon Archive*, in: M. Leiwo, M. Vierros, S. Dahlgren (eds.), *Papers on Ancient Greek Linguistics: Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium on Ancient Greek Linguistics (ICAGL 9), 30 August–1 September 2018, Helsinki*, Helsinki 2020, 43–62; on P.Cair.Zen. III 59499 see also T. V. Evans, *Complaints of the Natives in a Greek Dress: the Zenon Archive and the Problem of Egyptian Interference*, in: A. Mullen, P. James (eds.), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Cambridge 2012, 106–123 at 106–109.

³³ P.Col. IV 107, introd.

³⁴ W. Clarysse, *The Zenon Papyri Thirty Years On*, in: G. Bastianini, A. Casanova (eds.), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Firenze 12–13 giugno 2008*, Florence 2009, 38.

We can compare valedictions in Zenon’s autograph from P.Cair.Zen. I 59129, 21, P.Mich. I 81, 13, and PSI IV 395, 8; in these the word ἔρωσο is less cursively written and the individual letters more sharply delineated. For what it is worth, the ink of the memorandum seems darker than that of the valediction.

 1000. P.Mich. I 12, 9–16

This letter is written with an Egyptian brush, even though the author is named Artemidoros. Use of the brush indicates that an Egyptian scribe was employed,³⁵ unless Artemidoros was less Greek than his name suggests. The document has been reconstructed from four fragments: a) PSI IV 409b, containing ll. 1–8 and part of l. 9, the back of which is blank;³⁶ b) ‘a smaller piece in Cairo ... containing part of ll. 9–15, as well as the address’;³⁷ c) P.Mich.inv. 3083, containing part of the date and on the back the docket; d) P.Mich.inv. 3145 (unknown to Edgar when he produced his edition, but identified by Clarysse),³⁸ containing the ends of ll. 9–12, as well as the tops of lettering at its bottom edge.

From the new fragment it is possible to modify Edgar’s typically brilliant guesswork. Clarysse reads ll. 9–15 as: χο[ις] κα[θα] [ἔ]γραψα. | πε[ρὶ] δὲ τοῦ ἀ[ρ]γυρίου | οὐκ ἐπέσταμαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐνδεμῖν Φα|μοῦνιν. | ἔρωσο. | (ἔτους) κ[η], Μεχεῖρ ἰδ,³⁹ which adds important improvements.⁴⁰ To this transcription two further modifications can be made. Since I have not seen the Cairo fragment I cannot comment on Clarysse’s decision to treat the last two letters of κα[θα] as restored, but note that Edgar was apparently able to read the word as καθά and that this seems consistent with traces in the image of the PSI fragment. The APIS image of P.Mich.inv. 3145, meanwhile, shows that we should read [ἔ]γραψας, in accordance with Edgar’s guess [ἔ]γραψας]. The sigma is faint, but clear (note other faintly written letters in this document, for instance the omicron of ἀ[ρ]γυρίου in the following line, indicating need to replenish the brush).

What remains of the valediction and dating formula (ll. 14–15 in the edition) has to be interpreted from three of the fragments. There is a notable gap between letter-body and valediction (similar to those in e.g. P.Cair.Zen. II 59186; III 59498) and valediction and date are written over at least two lines (two lines is a common enough format; compare e.g. P.Mich. 52; PSI IV 354; 372; 382). Edgar reconstructs the text as ἔρωσο. | (ἔτους) κ[η], Μεχεῖρ ἰδ from the Cairo fragment and P.Mich.inv. 3083. The letter-strokes visible at the bottom edge of P.Mich.inv. 3145 are consistent with the tops of εχ, following another letter and preceding some more (which could be ερ). These

³⁵ W. Clarysse, *Egyptian Scribes Writing Greek*, CE 68 (1993) 191, 193.

³⁶ G. Messeri Savorelli, R. Pintaudi, Pap.Flor. XXIV, p. 31.

³⁷ P.Mich. I 12, introd.

³⁸ Clarysse, *Egyptian Scribes* (above note 35) 197 n. 16.

³⁹ W. Clarysse, *New Editions; Addenda and Corrigenda to the Texts* (electronic updates to Pestman, *Guide*, chapters I and III, accessible via trismegistos.org) P.Mich.Zen. 12 (as at November 2022).

⁴⁰ Note also Clarysse, *Egyptian Scribes* (above note 35) 197 n. 16, where as well as l. 12 ἐνδεμῖν (for the edition’s ἐνδ[ημεῖν]) he identifies l. 3 ἐπεστολέν (for the edition’s ἐπιστολήν).

would give us the *Μεχέρ* that Edgar restores (on the basis of the preserved elements of the date and (ἔτους) κη, Δύστρο[υ . . .] in the docket on the back) and Clarysse reads.

Close examination of P.Mich.inv. 3083 in relation to the new fragment reveals what Edgar was not in a position to establish, that the $\overline{\text{ιδ}}$ is written on a third line below. With this format compare the valediction and date of P.Cair.Zen. I 59134 (TM 783), which at ll. 10–11 runs: ἔρωσο. (ἔτους) κθ, Φαμενῶθ | $\overline{\text{ια}}$, P.Cair.Zen. II 59175 (TM 821), which at ll. 7–8 runs: ἔρωσο. (ἔτους) λα, Παχῶνος | $\overline{\eta}$, and especially P.Cair.Zen. II 59140 (TM 788), which at ll. 20–22 runs: ἔρωσο. | (ἔτους) λ, Παρμῶθι | $\overline{\gamma}$. P.Cair.Zen. I 59134 and II 59175 are less neat parallels, since in each of these cases the formula runs over only two lines. In all three texts images show that the placement of the number indicating day of month on a separate line is dictated by issues of available space.⁴¹ These seem less pressing for P.Mich. I 12, but may have been the motivating factor there too.

On the basis of this investigation I propose the following reading of what becomes ll. 9–16: χο[ις] καθὰ [ἔ]γραψας. | πε[ρὶ δ]ὲ τοῦ ἀ[ρ]γυρίου | οὐκ ἐπέσταμαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐνδεμῖν Φα[μοῦνιν]. | ἔρωσο. | (ἔτους) κ[η], *Μεχέρ* | $\overline{\text{ιδ}}$.

1001. PSI IV 344: προῆι

The form προῆι appears in l. 17 of this text, in the last of three letter-copies appended to a letter. In the edition it was interpreted as προ<εθ>ῆι, a syncopated 3rd person singular aorist passive subjunctive form from προίημι.⁴² The subject would be the immediately preceding τὰ ἐκ τῆς γ[ῆ]ς, thus ‘the crops(?) from the land might be released’. John Lee observes that the form actually found in the text, accented προῆι, makes good sense. It is a 2nd person singular aorist middle subjunctive form of the same verb προίημι and τὰ ἐκ τῆς γ[ῆ]ς is the object, thus ‘you might release the crops(?) from the land’.

Trevor EVANS

1002.–1034. Corrections, Mostly to Older Editions

Almost all the following corrections were made many years ago, when I was working on the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri.

⁴¹ Images are available for P.Cair.Zen. I 59134 and II 59175 via Papyri.info. There is none for P.Cair.Zen. II 59140, but an excellent plate (Pl. 50) appears at R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Vol. III: Text, Pt. 1: *Urkundenschrift*, Stuttgart 1990, 241.

⁴² For some certain examples of syncopated words in Zenon papyri see T. V. Evans, *Linguistic and Stylistic Variation in the Zenon Archive*, in: M. Leiwo, H. Halla-aho, M. Vierros (eds.), *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin*, Helsinki 2012, 25–40 at 38–39.

1002. BGU I 86 (= Chrest.Mitt. 306)

In l. 25 of this will from Soknopaiou Nesos (AD 155), BL I 17 reads ἑτέροις παρασ[υ]νχωρεῖν τῶ[. . .] παρόντων δέ etc. With the help of W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Bonn 1911, no. 25 and the scan, I read ἑτέροις παρασυνχωρούντων, παρόντων δέ. The syntax is off, because the text requires an infinitive, ἑτέροις παρασυνχωρεῖν, to match πωλεῖν and ὑποτίθεσθαι in l. 24. Perhaps because he was anticipating the following genitive plural participle, the scribe tricked himself into writing a genitive plural participle here as well.

1003. BGU I 94

In l. 3 of this sale of land from Arsinoe (AD 289), BL I 18 reads ἀπὸ] τῆς or ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ]τῆς Ἀρσινωιτῶν πόλεως. Given that the seller's origin follows later on in the same line (ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Λ[υκείων), I rather expect τῆς here to be part of her father's title. The lacuna contained the father's name followed by such a title: he was an official] τῆς Ἀρσινωιτῶν πόλεως. The same goes for l. 22, where BL I 19 reads ἀπὸ τῆς]. It should be patronymic + title + τῆς] followed by [Ἀρσινωιτῶν πόλεως in the next line.

1004. BGU I 112 (= Chrest.Mitt. 214 = FIRA III 102) and IV 1049

In BGU I 112, a declaration of property from Karanis (after 60/61), we should probably transcribe Ἀμμωνίω[ι instead of Ἀμμωνίω in l. 2.⁴³

Perhaps more importantly, ἐ]ν Ἀρσινοεῖ[τ(η) νομ(ῶ)] in l. 3 as read in BL VII 10, should be just ἐ]ν Ἀρσινοεῖ[τη], because νομῶ is left out in such cases.

In BGU IV 1049, a sale of land from Arsinoe (AD 342), in the lacuna in l. 24, the supplement as proposed in BL V 15, should also have been ἐν Ἀρσινότῃ without νομῶ, but from l. 2 it follows that the seller owned land ἐν Τα[. . .] . . . [.], no doubt the (double?) name of a village in the Arsinoite nome, and this would also have been mentioned in l. 24.

1005. BGU II 525 and III 823

We can read the end of BGU II 525, a copy of a rescript of the prefect of Egypt from the Arsinoite nome (AD 177), after the duplicate BGU III 970.7–9, and with the help of the scan, as follows:

11		τῆς εἰς ἄ-
12	[παντας εὐεργεσίας, ἡγεμὸν μέγιστε], καὶ α[ὐ]τῇ γυ[νῆ]	
13	[ἀβοήθητος καὶ μηδεμίαν βοήθειαν ἔχο]υσα [εἶ] μὴ	
14	[ὐπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγὴν ἐ]ποιη[σάμην]	

In the next line, only an *upsilon* is visible, either κ]υ[ρίων or α]ὐ[τοκρατόρων (see BGU III 970.10). In ll. 11–12, the genitive must depend on a participle, also left out in

⁴³ On Ammonios and his fellow *bibliophylax*, see W. G. Claytor, *Two Papyri from the Archive of Mikkalos and the Establishment of the bibliothekē enkteseon*, BASP 57 (2020) 25.

BGU II 970.8. Chrest.Mitt. 242 suggests <δεομένη> in a note to its re-edition of BGU III 970 (presumably after P.Flor. I 61.14). BGU III 525 breaks off after l. 15.

In l. 8 of BGU III 823, a related petition, BL I 69 reads ἀποδοῦναι . εσι ὅτι δυ . . σ[. I rather suspect, based on the scan, ἀποδοῦναι με Σισόιτι δαγεῖσ[τῆ], for which one can compare BGU III 970.18–19. In l. 9, δέ]κατον (?) should be ἐ]κατόν, as in BGU III 970.19.

1006. BGU III 780

In l. 6 of this excerpt of the *epikriseis* of the prefect of Egypt from the Arsinoite nome (155–159), BL I 66 supplements [καὶ Φαρμουθι. What follows will have been τοῦ 1–2 (ἔτους)], without ἐνεστῶτος, which was “filler” in the *ed. pr.* but has yet to be removed.

1007. BGU III 896

At the end of l. 20 of this will of a citizen of Antinoopolis (161–169), καὶ ὄς, as read in BL I 79, must have been followed by χρηματίζει in some abbreviated form, which I cannot make out on the scan, followed by ὄς (ἔτων) ξδ . [.

1008. BGU IV 1046

In col. I.14 of this list of liturgists from the Arsinoite nome (166–167), [Τῷβ]ι δέ, as read in the *ed. pr.*, or [ἔτ]ι δέ, as proposed in BL VI 14, should probably be [τῆ]ι δέ. The month name had been mentioned in a preceding column and would not have been repeated here.

1009. CPR I 105

I propose supplementing περὶ Μέν]δητα τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερ]ίδος in ll. 9–10 of this sale of land from the Arsinoite nome (II AD) instead of]δη τα. Mendes is a village in the Arsinoite nome, meris of Herakleides (TM Geo 1350).

1010. CPR I 109 and 130

In l. 1 of CPR I 130, a sale (first half of III AD), the reading π]αρέξεται α[ὐτῆ καθαρὰ is suspect. We do not know whether that buyer was a woman. The buyers in CPR I 2.4 and 3.7 were women, and αὐτῆ is on the papyrus there. More importantly, we need the object that is supposed to be provided free of other claims. Therefore α[ὐτῆ (?) has to be followed by ταῦτα καθαρὰ *vel sim.*, matching in gender and number. So also in CPR I 109, a similar sale of land (III AD), where π]αρέξεται in l. 7 has to be followed by ταῦτα καθαρὰ *vel sim.*

1011. CPR I 138

In l. 3 of this sale of land from Herakleopolis (first half of III AD), the supplement συγγραφούντων should be παρασυγγραφούντων (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v.).

1012. CPR I 223

In l. 30 of this sale of part of a house from Arsinoe (117–137), where the papyrus has ἀροντι, αἰροῦν was no doubt intended. αἰροῦν is the equivalent of ἐπιβάλλον in the phrase τὸ αἰροῦν/ἐπιβάλλον μέρος.

1013. CPR I 238

In fr. (1) of this marriage contract from Herakleopolis (II AD), in ll. 6–7, the edition reads κατ' ἀπαντης ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης, but instead of ἐμοὶ I see on the scan μοι preceded by α preceded by another zigzag or two. The ending suggests a feminine participle matching the subject of the sentence. Perhaps we can read καταπαντήσασά μοι ἐπὶ τῆς κώμης, 'when she met me in the village,' a detail not otherwise found in such texts, which acknowledge the receipt of the dowry on the part of the husband. The compound καταπαντάω is otherwise unattested but not unexpected.

1014. P.Dubl. 24

In l. 10 of this assurance (ἀμεριμνία) from the Herakleopolite nome (VI AD), the plate shows that the notation †† (2nd hand) should be † (2nd hand) †.

1015. P.Got. 39

In l. 3 of this declaration to a *logistes* from Arsinoe (AD 416), ἐν Ἄρσι(νοίτη) should be ἐν Ἄρσι(νόη) or rather ἐν Ἄρσι(νοιτῶν πόλει) (see l. 6). ἐν Ἄρσινοείτη does occur after the date in P.Messeri 36.2, but it is a mistake for ἐν Ἄρσινόη or rather ἐν Ἄρσινοειτῶν πόλει there (see ll. 3–4).

1016. P.Grenf. I 64 and 66

In the sixth-seventh century letters P.Grenf. I 64.8 and 66.4, BL I 185 suggests reading τῷ πάντ(ων) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτῳ) etc. and θεοφιλ(εστάτῳ) ὀσιωτ(άτῳ) respectively, πάντων presumably understood as 'of all' and qualifying the following superlative adjectives. A scan of P.Grenf. I 64 allows us to read τὰ πάντ' α', while a scan of P.Grenf. I 66 may have τ(ὰ) πᾶ(ντα) with a supralinear *alpha*. τὰ πάντα is accusative of respect meaning 'in all respects.'

1017. P.Heid. V 356

In l. 14 of this sale of wine in advance from the Hermopolite nome (V/VI), πρ . τουράριος δημοτῶν, the title of one of the witnesses, can be read as πρωτουράριος δημοτῶν, on the scan. πρωτουράριος probably stands for προτεράριος, with which the more common δευτεράριος may be compared (see Förster, *Wörterbuch* s.v.). The δημόται in Hermopolis were headed by a team of two officers, a προτεράριος (equivalent to the πρωτοδημότης elsewhere) and a δευτεράριος, which is as yet unattested.

1018. P.Heid. VII 390

In l. 3 of this declaration of property from Arsinoe (209/208 BC?), τῶν ἕξ Ἑρα[κλέους πόλεως (?) could also be τῶν ἕξ Ἑρα[κλ (patronymic), if six individuals were mentioned in ll. 1–2. The lacuna to the right would in each case be longer than in the edition. This may also affect ll. 4–7, where the supplement could be longer, e.g. κατὰ τὸ ἐκτεθὲν] πρόσταγμα[α τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν] ὑπάρχουσ[αν ἡμῖν κατὰ κοινὸν] οἰκίαν.

1019. P.Heid. VII 395

In ll. 6–7 of this official letter (last quarter III BC),]τ . κ ο ν τ ρ [should perhaps be read as πεν]τηκοντ[α (l. πεντήκοντα). πεντήκοντα is what the editor expected but could not get himself to read.

1020. P.Heid. VII 406

In l. 38 of this list of clothes (IV/V), παρακαυδ(ωτόν) is not a ‘Tunika, mit Schwänzen [Troddeln (n. 51)] versehen,’ but a tunic with a purple fringe.⁴⁴ It has nothing to do with Latin *cauda*.

1021. P.Heid. VII 407

In l. 12 of this letter (IV/V?), καταλώμ τὰ λεγόμενα τεσεράκοντα, καταλώμ contains Coptic λOM, a kind of bread (Crum, *Dictionary* 142b). In ll. 11 and 13 quantities of καθαρά (white bread rolls?) and ἀρτίδια μεγάλα are listed.

1022. P.Lips. I 27

In ll. 26–27 of this divorce contract from Tebtynis (AD 123), ἀσυκροφαντήτω [οὔση π]αρὰ Ἄ[υσ]ᾶ (as read in in Chrest.Mitt. 293) should be ἀσυκροφαντήτω [οὔση παρὰ] τοῦ Ἀυσᾶ according to the plate and the scan. The article is needed in such expressions.

1023. P.Petr. II 14 (2)

In l. 16 of this letter from the Arsinoite nome (III BC), ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀλλώνων (l. ἀλώνων) should be understood instead of ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὄν.

1024. P.Petr. II 25 (f)

In l. 4 of this receipt from the Arsinoite nome, Ἄσκλη[πιάδου can be supplemented as Ἄσκλη[πιάδου οἰκονόμου], followed by τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου ν[ομοῦ] in the next line. This gives us the approximate length of the lacuna in the other lines. Parallels for this are,

⁴⁴ For this translation, see: παραγάδης and R. Schmitt, “Méconnaissance” *altiranischen Sprachgutes im Griechischen*, *Glotta* 49 (1971) 95–110 at 107–110 and A. V. Rossi, *Ancora su gr. παραγάδης e sui problemi dei graeco-iranica*, in: A. Gostoli, P. Velardi (eds.), *Μυθολογείν. Μίτο e forme di discorso nel mondo antico*, Pisa 2014, 414–422.

e.g., P.Petr. II 25 (a) 4 and 25 (b) 4–5, which mention the same *oikonomos* Asklepiades (TM Per 6405).

1025. P.Prag. II 137

In l. 60 of this tax list from the Arsinoite nome (AD 222), $\alpha\gamma\theta$ is a typo for $\alpha\gamma\delta$, according to the plate.

1026. PSI III 160

In l. 6 of this account of taxes from Theadelphia (AD 149), we can read from the scan $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omega\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\omega}\gamma\omega\acute{\nu}\ \xi\gamma\ \rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma[\iota]\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$, in accordance with the duplicate P.Oslo III 91.8–9.

In l. 7, $\mu[\dots]\dots\omicron\iota\varsigma$ can be read as $\mu[\iota]\sigma\theta\omega\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$, although $\mu[\iota]\sigma\theta\omega\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ would be easier. At any rate, tax farmers ($\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\tau\alpha\iota$) are meant (P.Oslo. III 91.9 has $\mu\iota\sigma\theta(\omega\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma)$).

The supplement in l. 8, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (?), should be η , as in P.Oslo III 91.10.

1027. PSI VI 551

In l. 3 of this petition from the Zenon archive, the plate in Pap.Flor. XXIV, tav. XLV and the scan allow us to correct $\iota\gamma$ (itself corrected from $\iota\delta$) ($\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) to $\kappa\gamma$ (itself corrected from $\kappa\delta$) ($\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$). Year 263/262 is closer to Pestman's proposed date for this undated text (258/257 or 257/256).

1028. P.Wash.Univ. I 27

In l. 4 of this settlement from Oxyrhynchus (VI AD), Παλατίνου, as read in BL VIII 509, is in reality Παλατίνου, as I could conform on the original.

1029. SPP X 70 (= P.Rain.Unterricht.Kopt. 267)

In l. 10 of this Greek-Coptic list of placenames from the Arsinoite nome (VII/VIII), [Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλις] should be [πόλις] in accordance with the similar list of placenames SPP X 74 *recto* col. II.12, where the final *sigma* is also much lengthened, as it is here.

1030. SPP X 73

On the *verso* of this account of villages (VIII AD), l. 1, Ζίζ[] may indeed be read (see BL I 418) as Ζίζ[ωνο]ς (a village in the Arsinoite nome, TM Geo 2520), according to the scan, and at the end we can supplement [$\zeta\ \kappa\delta\ \mu\eta$], to make the addition in l. 3 work.

1031. SPP X 74

The *ed. pr.* of this account of villages from the Arsinoite nome (VII/VIII) did not notice that the second amount in each entry is deducted from the first amount, and that the third amount gives the remainder, if any. Here I can suggest only a few of the necessary corrections. On the *recto*, in col. I.1 we can supplement [β] β' ($2\frac{2}{3}$) at the end. The first amount in l. 7 is α . In l. 8, $\mu\gamma'$ is actually $\mu\gamma$: it is 43, not $40\frac{1}{3}$. In l. 13, the last amount is α . In col. II.6 the amount to be supplemented at the end is ζ ($\frac{1}{6}$). In l. 8, the squiggle (.)

at the end stands for // and means that there is nothing left. In l. 11 the last amount is α [$\text{ιβ}'$] ($1 \frac{1}{2}$). In l. 13 we can supplement [α] d] ($1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4}$) at the end. In l. 14 likewise [)] ($\frac{1}{2}$).

On the *verso*, in col. I.3, we can supplement [α] at the end. In col. II.2, we should read $\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau\omicron\upsilon) \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau(\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota) \theta \gamma'$ ($19 \frac{1}{3}$) instead of $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau(\omicron\upsilon) \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau(\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota) \theta \gamma'$ and at the end $\iota\zeta$, ($17 \frac{1}{2}$) [α, γ'] ($1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3}$). In l. 4 we can supplement [γ'] ($\frac{1}{3}$) at the end. Likewise, in l. 5, [δ] ($\frac{3}{4}$); in l. 6, [$\gamma \gamma'$] ($3 \frac{1}{3}$); in l. 7, [$\text{ιβ}'$] ($\frac{1}{2}$); in l. 9, [δ] ($\frac{3}{4}$).

1032. SPP X 76

In l. 3 of this account of villages from the Arsinoite nome (VIII AD), $\gamma\eta'$ can be read as $\mu\eta'$ ($\frac{1}{48}$ of a *solidus*, following $\kappa\delta'$, $\frac{1}{24}$ of a *solidus*), according to the scan.

1033. SPP X 93

At the end of l. 1 of this account of villages from the Arsinoite nome (VIII AD), we can supplement [β], to make the amounts add up to the total in l. 4. Line 1 is the first line of the account, because it starts with a cross (not transcribed in the edition).

1034. SPP X 190

At the end of l. 6 of this account of villages from Hermopolis (VII/VIII), the scan allows us to read $\nu\omicron(\mu\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon) \kappa\delta'$ ($\frac{1}{24}$), instead of just $\kappa\delta$. 24 would be an outlier among the amounts listed.

Peter van MINNEN

1035.–1094. More Notes on Papyri from Early Roman Alexandria

This is a continuation of the observations I made on texts from Roman Alexandria published by Wilhelm Schubart as BGU IV 1050–1059.⁴⁵ This part covers the remainder of the texts, BGU IV 1098–1184, and a few items published afterwards.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ P. van Minnen, *More notes on papyri from early Roman Alexandria*, Tyche 35 (2020) 978–986. See also P. van Minnen, *An antichretic loan from early Roman Alexandria revisited (BGU 4.1053)*, ZPE (2016) 144–154. The ‘antichretic’ in the title of this article is wrong. The creditor does not receive the right to use the wood-selling workshop put up as security by the debtor. The debtor continues to use it but is not allowed to sell it or otherwise dispose of it as long as the debt remains. See on this H.-A. Rupprecht, *Veräußerungsverbot und Gewährleistung in pfändrechtlichen Geschäften*, in: B. Kramer et al., *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* vol. 2, Stuttgart, Leipzig 1997, 870–880.

⁴⁶ Translations of and additional information about the texts can be found at: https://classics.uc.edu/users/vanminnen/ancient_alexandria/. Readings have been checked with the help of scans, where they were available, in the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank (<https://berlpap.smb.museum>) for papyri still in Berlin, the International Photographic Archive of Papyri (<https://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk>) for papyri in Cairo, or on the website of the Department of Papyrology of the University of Warsaw (<http://www.papyrology.uw.edu.pl/papyri.htm>) for papyri in Warsaw.

1035. BGU IV 1098

The addressee of this undated marriage contract is undoubtedly [Ἀχάϊω]ι, a possibility raised by the editor in his note, because he is the only head of the tribunal to be addressed as τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν τῆι αὐλῆι κριτηρίου. Attested from 19 to 15 BC, Achaios preceded Protarchos, attested from 14 to 4 BC, as the official in charge of the tribunal. The unpublished text on the back of BGU IV 1098, which I was able to inspect in Berlin,⁴⁷ is a draft addressed to this Protarchos and perhaps dates from year 17 of Augustus (14/13 BC). This is a few years after the text on the front, but that should not surprise. The text on the front was discarded and left to be reused as scrap paper in the office of the tribunal itself.

In a note Schubart reconstructs the opening of the text in subjective form, i.e. in the first person plural: συγχωροῦμεν, and this is undoubtedly correct. Note, however, that later on in the text, the scribe switched to the more common objective form, in the third person plural, both in the clause about the additional marriage syngraphe (ll. 41–44) and in the clause about the inheritance of the parents of the bride (ll. 44–51).

The parents of the bride and the bride herself made this *synchoreisis* with the husband, and it is more than likely that the guardian of the mother and the daughter was none other than the father himself (restore μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρός and μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρός, with or without Ἴέρακος).

In l. 23 Schubart supplies διαπράξεσθαι, which he also does in BGU IV 1100.24 (see below). He reads the verb διαπράξεσθαι in BGU IV 1099.17. I rather expect the present tense διαπράσσεσθαι, because all the other verbs in this part of the text are in the present (κακουχεῖν, ὑβρίζειν, ἐκβάλλειν, and ἐπεισάγειν), and the present tense is used in another Alexandrian marriage contract of 12 BC, SB XXIV 16073.24: διαπράσσεσθαι. BGU IV 1099 is lost, so we can only assume, not prove, that the present was used in all cases.

1036. BGU IV 1100

Schubart reads ll. 22–24 of this marriage contract (reign of Augustus, 30 BC–AD 14) as follows: | [μ]ηδὲ δεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀπηγορευ[μένου μηδὲ] | ἀδίκημα εἰς αὐτὴν διαπρά[ξεσθαι]. In the corresponding part of SB XXIV 16073, another marriage contract from Alexandria (12 BC) and a close parallel, it says: μηδ' ἕτερον μηδὲν τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων ἰς αὐτὴν ἀδίκημα διαπράσσεσθαι in ll. 22–24. The scan of BGU IV 1100 allows us to read μηδ' ἕτερον | μηδὲν τῶν ἀπηγορευ[μένων] | ἀδίκημα εἰς αὐτὴν διαπρά[σσεσθαι].⁴⁸

The same scan shows that γεινομ|ένης (l. 27) is correct, against Berger's proposal (BL I 97) to read ἔσομ|ένης. Note the non-standard way in which the word is broken off (elsewhere it would have been γεινο|μένης). A direct parallel occurs immediately above, in ll. 26–27: προκειμ|ένην.

⁴⁷ For assistance during my work in Berlin over the years, I thank the late Günter Poethke and Marius Gerhardt.

⁴⁸ For the present tense of the infinitive, see Korr. Tyche 1035 above on BGU IV 1098.

1037. BGU IV 1101

The dash at the end of l. 3 of this contract of remarriage (13 BC), following the name of the guardian, does not indicate that the name of the father is left out, as Schubart thought, but that the name of the father is the same as that of the guardian. There are several systems to indicate homonymity in inscriptions and papyri, and the dash, sometimes transcribed as (ὁμοίως), is one of them.⁴⁹

The description of the jewellery in ll. 7–8 has already been discussed by Reekmans and Russo (see BL VII 18 and XII 18). According to them, there is just one pair (ζεύγος) of golden earrings, weighing two *tetartai* (τεταρτῶν δύο). What follows the silver bracelets has not yet been understood properly. Schubart read δέκα τεμῆς (δραχμῶν) δ, whereas Russo read the number as δύω. In the latter case, it is not clear why the scribe wrote δύο instead of δύο, and why he did not write ζεύγος instead. Schubart's reading is also suspect, because the price would be very low, and the monetary value of the dowry is not given until l. 9, where the beginning of the line, left unread by Schubart, referred to an unspecified amount of drachmas in cash, as Reekmans showed. Following the scan, I think we can accept Schubart's δέκα, split it into δ and εκα, and read the latter with what follows as ἕκαστον (somewhat *verschliffen*) ὀλκῆς (the *lambda* following the pear-shaped *omicron* looks like an *alpha*) (δραχμῶν) δ: there would have been four bracelets, each weighing four drachmas, and to distinguish these drachmas in weight from those in cash, the scribe added ὀλκῆς. In l. 17 Schubart prints . . . after οἶκον, but there is nothing there.

The unpublished text on the back, which I was able to inspect in Berlin, is also addressed to Protarchos.

1038. BGU IV 1103

In ll. 11–12 of this divorce contract (13 BC), Schubart hesitatingly read ὃ εἶχεν εἰς | φερνάριον, where one perhaps expects just δ εἶχε φερνάριον, but the scan allows us to read ὃ εἶχεν εἰς | φερνάριον, which is then followed by a neuter plural, ἰματίδια.

The date at the end of the text, Pharmouthi 2 (?) in l. 30, seems to have been corrected to Pharmouthi 19 by the otherwise inexplicable ιθ̄ in l. 31. The Julian date has to be corrected accordingly to April 14, 13 BC.

1039. BGU IV 1104

The dash after the name of the guardian of the second woman in this contract for the return of a dowry (8 BC) does not mean that the scribe did not know the name of the guardian's father, but that it is the same name (see BGU IV 1101 above). The woman, Hermione, who is the daughter of one Hermias, is assisted by a guardian named Hermias the son of Hermias, who is her brother's son. If that was a full brother, the grandfather of the guardian was also called Hermias. The guardian would be Hermias III. The woman

⁴⁹ For homonymity in papyri and inscriptions, see R. Koerner, *Die Abkürzung der Homonymität in griechischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1961.

is assisted by a nephew, because her own son has died. His name was Hermias the son of Hermias. The woman therefore married someone with the same name as her father and brother.

Schubart read ll. 9–10 as follows: ἔνεκα τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ἀϋ|το(ῦ) ἀγ[δ]ρός. Surely, we have to understand this as the reason why the marriage contract is ineffective: because the first woman’s husband, the second woman’s son, died. In that case ἀϋ|το(ῦ) should have been αὐτῆς, which cannot be read on the scan (Schubart thought he could fix the problem by assuming τοῦ was meant instead of αὐτοῦ). At the end of l. 9 there seems in fact to be more than *alpha-epsilon*, and there is room for one more letter at the beginning of l. 10. I suspect but cannot quite confirm from the scan: ἔνεκα τοῦ μετηλλαχότος αὐτῆ(ς) (Hermione’s) | [v]i(ῶ). What comes after [v]i(ῶ) is in that case to be taken with what follows. Instead of *alpha-nu* I think *alpha-epsilon-tau* is also possible. L. 10 may therefore have continued after [v]i(ῶ) with αὐτ[ῆ(ν) δὲ τῆ]ν [Δ]ιο-νυσάρ[ι]ον κτλ.

There is no *paragraphos* below the beginning of l. 20. There are more such irrelevant smudges on the papyrus.

Ll. 21–24 deal with Dionysarion’s pregnancy. She will not bother Hermione about it anymore and retains the right to expose the baby. Ll. 22–23 are read by Schubart as follows: μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι αὐτὴν μηδὲ περὶ λ[οχ]εῖων διὰ τοῦ ὑπὲρ | τούτων εὐπειθῆ γεγονέναι καὶ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῆ κτλ. Of this, ὑπὲρ can be read as περ[ί] according to the scan. Dionysarion, the subject of γεγονέναι, has been ‘satisfied’ with respect to the birthing by what Hermione provided in some form. I suspect that she did not give Dionysarion cash, but allowed her to expose the child, if she wants to. As the grandmother of the child that is yet to be born, Hermione could have sued Dionysarion, if the latter exposed the child, but the former here relinquishes her claim on her grandchild in advance. I therefore suspect that the infinitive ἐξεῖναι continues the preceding articular infinitive: because she has been satisfied about the birthing and because she is allowed to (expose the child and marry another man). Otherwise the infinitive ἐξεῖναι would depend on the verb ‘agree,’ but Dionysarion herself can hardly agree that she is allowed (to expose the child and marry another man): that should have been done by Hermione, who is not explicitly ‘agreeing’ to anything in this text.

In l. 27 the note of the scribe, called a *Chiffre* by Schubart and read as σ, seems to be εὐτυ on the scan and should probably be read as εὐτύ(χει), a closing wish (‘farewell’) common at the end of petitions, and this is after all a kind of petition.

1040. BGU IV 1105

The papyrus is lost, which makes it impossible to check the readings of this petition (11/10 BC?) proposed by Naber and sometimes accepted by later scholars, including the authors of the English translation that appears in *Women and Society*.⁵⁰ There the

⁵⁰ For Naber’s edition, see: J. C. Naber, *Ad papyrum graecum lepidi argumenti*, Aegyptus 11 (1931) 179–184. For the translation: J. Rowlandson et al., *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1998, 257. A. Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt*, Philadelphia, PA 2013, 214, offers a much better translation overall.

text is misunderstood also because of the many mistranslations of the tenses of some of the verbs and of the term ἔξοδος, which is treated as a terminus technicus for “divorce,” whereas in reality it refers to the physical departure from the house, which is the subject of this petition by an abused wife, Tryphaine.

The petition is handed over to Protarchos by the woman’s father, and his perspective informs the text as well as hers. In l. 3 Schubart prints [.]ης and Naber suspected a name ending in -ης here. I rather suspect a verb, say, [συνεχώρ]ησε or [συνεχώρ]ησαν, the subject being the husband or the woman’s parents. There was an agreement to hand her over to her husband. Naber thought, on the basis of Schubart’s reading [ἐ]γκαταγομμένων in l. 7 that the parents were lodging with him (Schubart read ἀῦτῶ between the lines). I rather suspect another verb governing συνχώρησιν in l. 8, incidentally the basis for my suspicion that the text started with a form of the verb συνχωρέω.

In ll. 14–15 Schubart thought [ὁ δὲ] διαβαλλόμενος meant just “der Genannte”. Rowlandson, *Women and Society* turned this into “my accuser”. The correct translation is “the accused” (in this petition, i.e. the husband). Rowlandson also turned the verbs in ll. 18–20 into the past, whereas they are clearly present. The petition is sent while the husband is still harming, abusing, and manhandling his wife in a way one would not even treat a slave. The woman is sending her father over with this petition to get permission to leave the house so as not to jeopardize her claim on the dowry. As long as this has not happened, she remains in her house of horrors. This is one of the scariest petitions on papyrus we have, hardly *lepidi argumenti*, as Naber characterized it.

1041. BGU IV 1106 (= C.Pap.Gr. I 5)

The scans show that the unpublished text (or rather the second of two unpublished texts) on the back is dated to year 17, which is also the year in which this wetnursing contract (13 BC) was written on the front.

In l. 25 of BGU IV 1106 διὰ τὸ (...) ἐπιδεδέχθαι is clearly on the papyrus. In C.Pap.Gr. I 5 the article τό was inadvertently left out. In l. 40 (τῷ Μάρκῳ) can be added after τῆς πράξεως γινομένης. The summary, which Schubart prints as ll. 54–56, stands on the verso of BGU IV 1124, which I was able to inspect in Berlin. It is followed by an unpublished text from year 17, Phamenoth 15 (March 11, 13 BC).

1042. BGU IV 1107 (= C.Pap.Gr. I 6)

In l. 17 of this wetnursing contract (13 BC), the scan shows that the papyrus has δὲ ἀπέσχηκεν, not δ’ ἀπέσχηκεν. Ll. 37–38 following the subscriptions of the two parties is just one line. Instead of Ἰσιδω() it could be ἰδω() (the same mysterious ἰδω() occurs in in BGU IV 1116.43 and 1131.32) followed by (ἔτους) ιζ̄ Καίσαρος κτλ.

1043. BGU IV 1108 (= C.Pap.Gr. I 9)

The second unpublished text on the verso, which I was able to inspect in Berlin, is dated to year 26, as is this wetnursing contract on the recto (5 BC). In l. 12 of BGU IV 1108, in the interlinear correction, καγα() should be ἐπάνα(γκον) according to the scan. In l.

13 τοῖς τροφείοις is followed by καὶ ἐλάϊω without τῶ, as C.Pap.Gr. I 9 has it. In the interlinear correction to ll. 16–17 the unread word after παιδί(ov) is crossed out, as is the following infinitive τροφεύειν. Above the latter, another verb was added. Schubart suspected it was παραθηλάζειν. That would fit what I suggested in my note on BGU IV 1058 (Korr. Tyche 985), where I speculated that in the Alexandrian wetnursing contracts the wetnurse was allowed to suckle (παραθηλάζειν) only one child at a time, but after six months (or here nine, as the nurse has been taking care of the child without a written contract for three more months already), i.e. after weaning the child, she could start suckling another child while still taking care of the other (or others, if this scheme was repeated more than once). Schubart suspected this already in his note on ll. 15ff.

There is no need or room for καί in the lacuna in l. 26. The verb that follows could be ἐ]πιγράφεσθαι instead of] ἐγγράφεσθαι.

In l. 27 I prefer ἀντῶ over αὐτή (Schubart) or αὐτή (C.Pap.Gr. I 9), because ‘she’ is already the subject of the verb ὀφείλει and we need to know to whom she owes another debt, and this is the same as the other party she is contracting with here, Marcus.

Schubart’s *Chiffre* at the end of l. 28 should probably be read as εὐτό(χει).

1044. BGU IV 1112 (= C.Pap.Gr. I 12)

The underlined σ̄ε̄σ̄ at the end of l. 18 of this wetnursing contract (4 BC) should probably be read as εὐτ(ύχει) (see the scan and cf. Korr. Tyche 1039 above on BGU IV 1104).

1045. BGU IV 1113 (= Chrest.Mitt. 169)⁵¹

The unread and underlined . . . at the end of l. 24 of this contract for the cancellation of a guardianship (14 BC) should probably be εὐτό(χει), because Schubart noted the similarity with the *Chiffre* he detected in BGU IV 1108.28 (cf. Korr. Tyche 1039 above).

1046. BGU IV 1114

This contract for the return of a payment made for a slave intended as a gift (5 BC) comes close to being a real settlement of a dispute. An agent for Q. Caecilius Oinogenes⁵² had handed over four slaves from his master as a gift to an Alexandrian, but he had charged for a fifth slave. Apparently, he had taken advantage of the fact that the “manifest” (ὁ κατάπλους, added between ll. 8–9, for import from the Mediterranean to Alexandria) had been drawn up in his own name rather than his master’s. The ownership of the four slaves was transferred via a καταγραφή through the ἀγορανόμοι, and

⁵¹ This papyrus was bought back by the Egyptian Museum in Berlin from Sotheby’s in 1995, but I was unable to inspect it in Berlin, and a scan does not appear on the Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, where the information given is contradictory (“1995 zurückgekauft von Sotheby’s” and “vermisst seit 1958 (wahrscheinlich Kriegsverlust)”).

⁵² Likely from Spain. See S. Ruciński, K. Antczak, *Q. Caecilii Oinogeni* (Syll. Suppl. 514b; BGU IV, 1114; CIL VI, 41083–41084), Latomus 72 (2013) 426–434 and W. V. Harris, *A Julio-Claudian business family?*, ZPE 130 (2000) 263–264.

we have to assume taxes were paid for this transaction.⁵³ The agent received payment for the fifth slave via a bank draft (διαγραφοε(ίς)), “having been paid via a bank draft,” added between ll. 14–15). The present document records the repayment via the same bank.

1047. BGU IV 1115

The debtor acknowledges the receipt of 100 drachmas from a creditor in an antichretic loan (13 BC). The verb to denote the receipt in l. 6, not ἔχειν or ἐσχηκέναι but δανείσαι, as Schubart notes, is in the wrong voice. It should be middle, and inspection of the scan allows us to read with some hesitation δεδανείσ(θ)αι. There is no room for -ωνος before it, and the *omega* will have been written at the end of l. 5. The creditor, in exchange for the interest he waives and a small monthly supplement he promises to give, receives the right to inhabit an οἶκος described as follows (ll. 16–18): οἶκω ἐν συνοικίᾳ τῶ ὄν[τι (?)] | ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν τρικλ[ι]νο[σ] . αἶα καὶ τῆ κατ’ αὐτὸν προστάδι. Instead of τῶ ὄν[τι] (BL I, p. 97) Schubart read τῆ οὔ[ση], which also cannot be confirmed. It is in any case a house in the Delta quarter and part of an *insula*. I cannot confirm ἐστὶν τ-. I rather see ὅσπερ ἐστὶ περικλει|στος καὶ κτλ. The creditor would be getting the use of a house including its vestibule, the house (or the *insula*) being in the Delta quarter and ‘enclosed,’ admittedly a *hapax*. Cf. περικλείεις and περικλείσμα and, in Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, the adjective χρυσοπερικλειστος.

1048. BGU IV 1116.11–12 & 1117.15–16

The unread part of ll. 11–12 of this lease of a house (13 BC) also appears in BGU IV 1117.15–16 and a recently published text on the back of BGU IV 1156.⁵⁴ Ll. 22–25 there can be transcribed as follows:

τῶν ἐπι-
σκειυῶν τῶν δοκῶν ἀ[ν]τενβόλων καὶ ὀλε-
νῶν στεγνώσεων[v] καὶ κ γ οὐ-
25 σῶν πρὸς κτλ.

In BGU IV 1117, the scan shows that δοκῶν ἀντενβόλων can be read in l. 16 instead of δ . . . ὶων ἀντενβόλων, but in BGU IV 1116.12 this is hard to make out on the scan, also because there is something written between the lines. We have to assume that the owner of the urban property in all three instances remains responsible for the repairs of the δοκοὶ ἀντέμβολοι, whatever they may be (“interlocking beams”?), and the ὀλεναὶ στεγνώσεων (“mats for the thatching”?), again, whatever they may be (“sealings of the thatching”?).

⁵³ I. Biezuńska-Małowist, *L’esclavage dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine*, vol. 2, Wrocław etc. 1977, 121 thought the transfer was cast in the form of a gift to avoid having to pay taxes, but the involvement of the *agoranomoi* makes this unlikely.

⁵⁴ W. G. Claytor, P. van Minnen, *An antichretic loan from early Roman Alexandria*, ZPE 217 (2021) 158–164.

1049. BGU IV 1117 (= Chrest.Mitt. 107)

In l. 9 of this lease of a bakery (13 BC), the location of the workshop is given as πλησίον [τρϝ] \τοϝ Ϙ/αμῶνος by Schubart. The scan shows that the deleted letters are just *tau* and *omicron*. The scribe wrote τουαμῶνος first, but he skipped a few letters because of a *saut du même au même* (if he had not corrected himself, we could have transcribed τοϝ <Kυ>αμῶνος). He corrected himself by crossing out το- and adding τοϝ K- : above the line, not τοϝ Ϙ. We have to transcribe πλησίον [τρϝ] \τοϝ K/αμῶνος. A κυαμών is an Egyptian bean-patch, and this apparently gave its name to a feature in the urban landscape of Alexandria. In l. 13 we may have another *saut du même au même*, because the singular verb τελέσει (l. τελέσει) makes no sense. We need a plural: τελέσ(ουσι).

1050. BGU IV 1118

On the back of this lease of a garden (22 BC) are two documents from year 17 (14/13 BC), edited as BGU IV 1150. This shows us how long scrap paper remained available for reuse in the office of this particular tribunal. In l. 3 Ἀρσιγόης [μετ]ᾶ κυρίου . . . τρυμφοῦ τοῦ Τρύφωνος caused Schubart trouble. I rather see Ἀρσιγόης [τῆς] Εὐδαίμωνος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ Τρύφωνος on the scan and would slip in (ἄνδρὸς) between τοῦ and Τρύφωνος. In l. 15 I cannot see ταγά[ς] but just κα[. In l. 15 τέσσαρα καλο[can be read as τεσαράκ(ο)ν/τα ο[, the last possibly but by no means certainly ὀκτώ. BL I, p. 97 suggested τεσαράκο[ν]τα, but there is no room for a *nu*, and the *omicron* is written above the *kappa*. The word τεσσαράκοντα is occasionally written τεσσαρακοτα (O.Wilcken 714.7, SB XIV 12155.26, SB XXIV 15936 (2).24).

1051. BGU IV 1119

The first of the unpublished texts on the verso, which I was able to inspect in Berlin, is dated to year 26 of Augustus (5/4 BC), while the lease on the recto is dated to year 25 (6/5 BC). The unread letters of BGU IV 1119.10 may just be εαν, a repetition of the immediately preceding word εἰν. In that case read {εαν}. In l. 34 what Schubart transcribes as ἐπ' ἀνάγκαις, if correct, probably stands for ἐπάναγκαις, l. ἐπάναγκες, a word found in a number of Alexandrian documents.

1052. BGU IV 1120

In l. 4 of this lease (5 BC), the scan shows that there is a space between ἄνδρὸς, the end of the address, and περί, the beginning of the body of the text.

In l. 12 the number after συμμίκτους looks like τριακ[ο]σία[ς].

At the beginning of l. 24 ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξήκοντα can be read. Unfortunately, the end of l. 23 is unreadable, so we do not know what is to happen “within sixty days.”

At the beginning of l. 25, μίαν could also be the ending of a noun (e.g. -το)]μίαν) rather than the numeral. The lessees have received (cutting?) equipment for one cut (of leaves) from the palm trees (το)]μίαν φοινικίνην) and two harvests (of dates), if the following is read as καὶ καρπὸς δύο.

The dash (/) Schubart reads in front of l. 32 is just one of many chance strokes of ink.

In l. 50 τῶν μετέ[. . .]ων καρπίων can be read as τῶν μετεώρων καρπίων, crops that are ‘up in the air.’ The adjective μετέωρος is attested with καρποί (P.Erasm. I 7.3; P.Köln V 221.8, 19, 23, and 37; P.Köln V 221a.4, 9, 12, and 15; SB XIV 11893.4). A kind of ‘hanging’ fruit is meant (cf. P.Köln V, pp. 166–167).

1053. BGU IV 1121

In l. 23 of this lease (5 BC) the lessees are permitted to . . . βάλειν the papyrus swamp (the reading is based on the duplicate P.Berol. 13106 R). I think the verb is καταβαλεῖν or μεταβαλεῖν. There is no scan for P.Berol. 13106 R, but I could not read ἐπιβαλεῖν (BL VI 15) on the original in Berlin.

1054. BGU IV 1122

Schubart transcribes the end of l. 4 of this labor contract (13 BC) as follows: ἐπὶ τοῖσδε [ὄσπε] ἐ[πεί] (‘on the following conditions, such that, since’) followed by εἰλή(φασιν) in l. 5. BL I, p. 443 changed this to ἐπὶ τοῖσδε [ὄσπε] ἐ[ξ]εἰλή(φασιν), but we need ἐπεί. I think I can see ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὄσπε ἐπεὶ ἐξεἰλή(φασιν) on the scan.

Towards the end of l. 5 . . . ρ . . . υτη() should probably be read κατα[φ]υτεῖ(αν) rather than περιφυτεῖ(αν), as suggested in BL I 97.

In l. 7 the . . . ερικ(οῖς) κτήμασι were read as ἀμπελικ(οῖς) κτήμασι in BL I 443. The same occurs in l. 38, but κτή(μασι) is abbreviated there.

1055. BGU IV 1123

The scan shows that the first word in l. 1 of this contract about a lease (reign of Augustus) is not τ]οῦ but]ος, presumably Ἀλέξανδρ]ος or Σέξτ]ος.

1056. BGU IV 1124

The unread word in l. 12 of this cancellation of an apprenticeship contract (18 BC), could be καί, according to the scan. The last words in l. 15 could be ἔτι δέ instead of ἔτι ἐν, and [καί] will have followed in the next line.

The unpublished text on the verso is dated to Phamenoth 15 of year 17 of Augustus.

1057. BGU IV 1125

The unread name of one of the contracting parties in this apprenticeship contract (13 BC) is not Φίλιος, as the re-editors of this text, Bélis and Delattre, suggested.⁵⁵ They thought the papyrus was lost, but in fact, summary of the text (ll. 16–34 in the edition) survives in the Department of Papyrology at the University in Warsaw, and an unpublished scan shows that Φίλιος cannot be read there in Schubart’s l. 16.

⁵⁵ A. Bélis, D. Delattre, *À propos d'un contrat d'apprentissage d'aulète (Alexandrie; an 17 d'Auguste = 13^e)*, in: M. Capasso (ed.), *Papiri documentari greci (Papyrologica Lupiensia 2)*, Galatina 1993, 103–162; their revision of the full text was reprinted as SB XXII 15538, but the summary only appears as BGU IV 1125.16–34.

In l. 14,]δικ() should perhaps be] οἰκ(ῶν), indicating that the contracting party lives in *amphodon* so-and-so. ἀμφοδ(ογραμματεύς) in BL V 15 is in any case to be rejected in favor of just ἀμφοδ(), which seems to be followed by a number. We would expect οἰκῶν ἐπ' ἀμφοδου. The papyrus with the full text is lost, so we cannot check ll. 1–15.

1058. BGU IV 1126

For the unread word in l. 24 of this paramone contract (9 BC), Lewald⁵⁶ suggested ἐκτίσεως, which can perhaps be read on the scan. There is also something written above it, approximately nine letters long. The “loan” does not have to be paid back after performing the work: ἀπιδόσεως is therefore not excluded, despite Schubart’s note.

1059. BGU IV 1127

In ll. 28–29 of this sale of urban property (18 BC), the scan shows that the verb is indeed στρα|γεύηται (BL IV, p. 7), not στρα|τεύηται, because the initial *tau*’s in this hand look different from what Schubart transcribed as initial *tau* in l. 29.

In ll. 34–37 there is a problem.

τὴν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἢ εἰς οὐδ' ἂν αἰρήται
 35 παραχόρησιν ποιῆσθαι ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου [ὄ]νόματος καὶ
 τῶν συνεκπεμφθησομένων ἄνευ ἰκόνων μὴ προσ-
 δεηθέντι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας

Mitteis thought the words καὶ τῶν συνεκπεμφθησομένων ἄνευ ἰκόνων were misplaced by the scribe and should have come earlier. Now, ἄνευ, except in formulas, is rare, and inspection of the scan suggests rather αὐτοῦ. Also, ἐκ is not ‘from’ but ‘on the basis of’: the buyer is allowed to effect the transfer of the property on the basis of Apollonios’s name (‘in his name’) and on the basis of the εἰκόνες of Apollonios that will be sent along with a copy of the contract (ἐκ governs τοῦ ... ὀνόματος as well as τῶν ... εἰκόνων). By showing a copy of the contract and Apollonios’s personal details (if that is what εἰκόνες means), the buyer can have the property transferred to himself.

1060. BGU IV 1128

In l. 6 of this contract about a slave (14 BC), προϊόντος is either a mistake for εἰσιόντος, because the 17th year follows on the year of this text, which is (according to the summary described as BGU IV 1181) year 16, or it may even be possible to read εἰσιόντος on the scan.

1061. BGU IV 1129 (= Chrest.Mitt. 254)

In l. 7 of this sale of land (13 BC), ἐκτὸς οὐδ' προείλη(φε) [κεφα] παρὰ τοῦ Τρύφ(ωνος) καὶ ἀρχ(αίου) κεφαλ(αίου) the word καί is redundant and ἀρχ(αίου) suspect. BL IV 7

⁵⁶ H. Lewald, *Zur Personalexekution im Recht der Papyri*, Leipzig 1910, 22, n. 1.

suggested Καί(σ)αρος (‘Tryphon, a slave of Augustus’), but in fact the scan shows that Τρύφωνος is not abbreviated. What Schubart transcribed as καὶ ἄρχ(αίου) could be just -ωνος. The next *kappa* starts with a kind of tilde (~) above the final *sigma* of Τρύφωνος.

In l. 17, after the description of the various neighbors, the expression ἐφ’ οἷς ἄλλοις ἢ συνχώρη(σις) περιέχει should be preceded by καί. There is a small space before ἐφ’ and I would transcribe [καί] rather than <καί>, as suggested in BL V 15.

In l. 20, παραχωρή(σειν) is the wrong tense, because the transfer is taking place now or has already taken place. Mitteis (Chrest. 254) tried to fix it by transcribing παραχωρή(σαι). The traces on the papyrus can be read to yield the expected παρακχωρη(κέναι). The verb at the end of the line can be read as ἐξεῖ(ναι) (ἐξῖ(ναι) in BGU IV 1156.24), and this requires Τρύφωνα in the next line, which can indeed be read for Τρύφωνα there.

1062. BGU IV 1130

In ll. 29–31 of this sale of land (4 BC), another case involving the other contracting party and C. Iulius Hermias is briefly mentioned *pro memoria*, in the form of a genitive absolute. I suspect that at the beginning of l. 29 the expression would have been something like, “while Sarapion’s rights are in no way diminished” etc. κατὰ μηδέν was hesitatingly read by Schubart (BL I 98) before the lacuna, where he had read only the initial κ in the edition. The following is more doubtful: ἐλαττουμένου is most often used in such expressions, and the ending is in any case -μ]έγνου.

1063. BGU IV 1131

The second text (II), a contract about the registration of inherited property (13 BC), is written immediately below the first (I). In l. 53, Schwarz reasonably proposed πρ[οσδεηθέντι for πρ[οσφέρειν.⁵⁷ The latter verb does not occur elsewhere in the texts from early Roman Alexandria. The nouns depending on πρ[οσδεηθέντι in l. 54 should be in the genitive, not accusative (προσκλή(σεως) ἢ διαστολ(ῆς)).

1064. BGU IV 1133

The father of one of the contracting parties in this indemnity contract (19 BC), Artemidoros, is called Παθρής, which is one of the rare Egyptian names in the documents from early Roman Alexandria. Curiously, another Artemidoros, in BGU IV 1117, had a father called Δίδυμος, which is the Greek equivalent of Παθρής. I wonder whether these two Artemidoroi are one and the same. The earlier text, BGU IV 1133 is from 19 BC, while the later text, BGU IV 1117, is from 13 BC, by which time Artemidoros may have used a Hellenized form of his patronymic. But Artemidoros is an otherwise common name in the documents from early Roman Alexandria, and Didymos is even more common.

⁵⁷ A. B. Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, Leipzig 1911, 118, n. 2.

The amount of the *eranos* loan is expressed in copper, not silver, and we therefore expect a rather high amount in l. 6, which was left unread by Schubart. I think I can see, after χαλκο(ῖ), (τάλαντα) κγ' Α (perhaps followed by one other number) on the scan.

1065. BGU IV 1135

The patronymics of all three men taking up an *eranos* loan in this text (10 BC) are uncertain. The first, Τρύ[φ]ωνος in ll. 2–3 seems the most reasonable, but the next, Τρύφω[ν]ος, in l. 3 is risky. The third is not supplied by Schubart but may also have been Τρύφωνος, as BL V 15 suggested, but if all three men had been the sons of the same father, surely the scribe would have economized and written the patronymic only once. It is therefore better to query the second patronymic as given by Schubart.

In l. 5 the *prostates eranon* acknowledges the receipt of certain monies from the three men, here given as τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀμύνταν, followed by Διοσ[. . .]ῶν. Before the lacuna διε can be read on the scan and I rather suspect διε[γγ]ύων, ‘mutual (?) sureties,’ otherwise unattested, but cf. ἀδιέγγυον in P.Rev.Laws 17.3.

Against BL I 98, at the beginning of l. 11, ατῶ almost certainly stands for διὰ τό preceded by the end of an unread word that started at the end of l. 10. The expression διὰ τό is here followed by an infinitive, as often.

The *theta* Schubart thought he could see in l. 19 is probably just a smudge, not, e.g., a correction of the day date.

1066. BGU IV 1136

The text of this *eranos* loan (11/10 BC?) is cast in the form of a letter. The main verbs should therefore be in the indicative. In l. 4 Schubart supplies indeed ἀποδώσομεν, but in l. 7 he supplies an infinitive, ἐκτίσειν, as it would be in a *synchoresis*. It should instead be ἐκτίσομεν. The last of the unread lines below the text is written in larger letters (I think I can read Ἰσι[on an unpublished photo), and this could be the name of the second debtor, just as the first of the unread lines below the text starts with the name of the first, Ἀπολλώ[νιος].

1067. BGU IV 1137 (= Chrest.Mitt. 112)

In this decree of an association (6 BC), the name of the person, a slave of the emperor, to whom Iucundus, priest of the association, has to pay a certain amount of money on behalf of another member was not read completely by Schubart in l. 8. Instead of his υἱσω I think I can see Οὔρσω (Ursus, a good Latin slave name) on the scan.

The initial in l. 12, the beginning of the actual decree, is written as large as the initial in l. 1, the start of the date, both *epsilon*.

1068. BGU IV 1138 (= Chrest.Mitt. 100)

In l. 15 of this petition (19 BC), Schubart prints αὐτῶ, but the subject of the infinitive is τὸν Παπίαν and αὐτῶ refers to someone else. The ordinary αὐτῶ will do.

1069. BGU IV 1139

In this text, a petition, τροφεῖτις (l. 5) is the term used for a wet-nursing contract, not τρόφιμον. The text incidentally provides support for the interpretation of many such wet-nursing contracts as loans against the security of the debtors' child. That there would be a text that identified the debtors' child (provisionally) as a slave was not a problem, unless someone, as Paris here, would take it literally in the absence of the original creditor. It was understood that the creditor would allow the debtors to pay off their debt, in which case the original document identifying the child (provisionally) as a slave would be annulled. Bagnall has unnecessarily assumed that the world was full of people like Paris and that therefore contracts that identified the debtors' child (provisionally) as a slave of the creditor could never have been written.⁵⁸ But the brilliant finding of Manca Masciadri and Montevecchi, who identified many loans associated with wet-nursing contracts in the Tebtynis *grapheion* records as just such arrangements, is undoubtedly correct.⁵⁹

The further inference made by Montevecchi, from the use of the expression ὑπὲρ σπλάγγνου in l. 17, that the petitioners are Jews is hardly correct.⁶⁰ The petitioners hail from Upper Egypt, Lykopolis, and one of them has an Egyptian patronymic (Ἀρπαήσιος in l. 2). The scribe may have been Jewish, or the sentiment, which also occurs in the Septuagint, may have been a common Alexandrian one.

1070. BGU IV 1140 (= Chrest.Wilck. 58 = C.Pap.Jud. II 151)

Much has been made of this petition (4 BC?) by a Jew from Alexandria.⁶¹ Famously, the first time he is introduced in l. 2, his identification as an Alexandrian is crossed out and replaced by 'Jew from Alexandria.' I think that that is more precise than just 'Alexandrian'. He was an Alexandrian who also happened to be a Jew, which was the more important element in the case addressed in the petition itself. I also think that 'Alexandrian' here means Alexandrian citizen, and that there is no distinction to be

⁵⁸ R. S. Bagnall, *Missing females in Roman Egypt*, SCI 16 (1997) 137–138. M. Langellotti, *Village Life in Roman Egypt: Tebtunis in the First Century AD*, Oxford 2020, 69–70 follows Bagnall, adding dubious circumstantial evidence.

⁵⁹ M. A. Manca Masciadri, O. Montevecchi, *Contratti di balatico e vendite fiduciarie a Tebtynis*, Aegyptus 62 (1982) 148–161. See also O. Montevecchi, *BGU IV 1139: paramone e trophitis*, BASP 22 (1985) 231–241, an article not cited by Bagnall and Langellotti. BGU IV 1139 incidentally shows that the scheme detected by Manca Maciadri and Montevecchi does not require a general economic crisis, as they inadvertently assumed, just personal economic hardship.

⁶⁰ O. Montevecchi, *Viscere di misericordia*, Rivista Biblica 43 (1995) 125–133.

⁶¹ See, e.g., A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Tübingen 1985, 200–207.

1071. BGU IV 1142

This delivery contract (5/4 BC) is dated to the sixth year of Augustus according to l. 4: τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔκτου ἔτους. There are no other texts that early among the documents from Augustan Alexandria. Moreover, Schubart noted the similarity of the hand with that of BGU IV 1114, which is from year 26. The two unpublished texts on the back are also dated to year 26. I therefore suspect that the scribe made a mistake in l. 4, and that the text should be read as τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔκτου (καὶ εἰκοστοῦ) ἔτους there.

1072. BGU IV 1144

In l. 4 of this indemnity contract (13 BC), after παρά, we expect the name of the creditor, transcribed αρ . . ου by Schubart, his patronymic, preceded by τοῦ. What follows, [, is a lacuna at the end of the line and then Παμφίλου at the beginning of l. 5. Schubart printed τοῦ at the end of the lacuna, but I think that τοῦ καί is better: no patronymics are given for the three other individuals in the text. The father will have been called . [. τοῦ καί] Παμφίλου.

1073. BGU IV 1145 (= Chrest.Mitt. 168)

The unpublished text on the verso, which I was able to inspect in Berlin, is addressed to Protarchos and dated to year 26, as are the text above it and the loan on the recto (5 BC).

In the part of the relative clause in ll. 43–44 for the two debtors, a clause about *pisteis* and *skepe* being ineffective is lacking, but later on, in the part of the penalty clause for the guarantor, there is such a clause. Presumably this covers all three, and the verb in the relative clause should therefore be in the plural: ἀκύρω(ν) οὐσῶ(ν) καὶ ᾧν [ἐάν] ἐπενένκ(ωσι) πίστε(ων) πασῶ(ν) σκέπ(ης) πάσ(ης).

1074. BGU IV 1148

One of the parties in this repayment of a loan (13 BC) is a woman with an Egyptian name: Taphasies. In l. 4, following her patronymic, is an unread word in the genitive, which must go with her rather than with her patronymic. Originally, Schubart thought it could be Κανωπιέως,⁶⁵ which is still in the index to BGU IV, preceded by a *rho*, but in the edition he changed it to . αγ . . πιτιδος, again preceded by a *rho*. Κανωπιεύς would be inappropriate for a woman. Closer inspection of the scan suggests that Ῥακώτιδος, a feminine adjective (such as Μαρεῶτις), can be read. The woman with her Egyptian name (and Egyptian marriage contract in l. 18, and Egyptian inheritance in accordance with the laws of the *chora* in l. 17) hails from Rhakotis, the name of the original Egyptian settlement where Alexandria was founded, the south west of the city. Rhakotis appears rarely in Greek documents (P.Petrie² 6.9, SB XVI 12818.6, and P.Ryl. IV 576.5, all from the third century BC).

In ll. 17–18 \ . . / πρὸς [τῆ]ν κ[ατ]οχήν cannot be right, also because κατοχή has already been mentioned. What I expect is another articular infinitive, \διὰ/ τὸ ἀὐ[τῆ]ν

⁶⁵ W. Schubart, *Alexandrinische Urkunden aus der Zeit des Augustus*, APF 5 (1913) 82, n. 7.

κ[ατ]ἔχειν, and -εχειν can indeed be read; what precedes it at the end of l. 17 cannot be confirmed from the scan.

1075. BGU IV 1149

The *paragraphos* printed by Schubart between ll. 29 and 30 of this partial repayment of a loan (13 BC) makes no sense and is probably just an accidental smudge.

1076. BGU IV 1152

In ll. 24–25 of this repayment of a loan (10 BC), we expect a statement about the condition in which the documents were returned, more specifically that they were returned in the same condition as they were originally handed over to the creditor. Instead of Schubart's οὗ τὰ | πῖστ' ἃ πα[ρ]έδωκεν we expect the relative pronoun to refer back to all documents, not the slave who is the subject of the last of the documents mentioned. On the basis of the scan I propose ὃ]πῶς πα[ρ]έδωκεν, “in whatever condition he had handed them over” to the creditor.

1077. BGU IV 1153 (= C.Pap.Gr. I 3 = C.Pap.Jud. II 147)

In ll. 3–4 of this wetnursing contract (14 BC), there is a problem or two. Schubart prints μηδεμίαν twice (μηδεμί(αν) and μη(δεμίαν)) both qualifying ἔφοδο(v) in l. 4. The second time it will have been μη(δενί), qualifying ἄλλωι, instead. The scan suggests that the name at the beginning of l. 4 is not Μάρθα but rather Μαρτίω, Marion being yet another woman mentioned in the text (l. 6). Before Μαρτίω I see [τ]ῆ in l. 4, and μηδεμίαν will have been written at the end of l. 3, not μηδεμί(αν) τῆ. Schubart initially thought he could not read Σουερού(v) at the end of l. 4, but he later confirmed this reading (BL I 98), claiming it was written exactly as in l. 8, which is not quite true. C.Pap.Gr. I 3 reads Σουηροῦ(v) but Σουερ(οὖν) in l. 8. It is definitely Σουερού(v) in l. 4 and Σουερ(οὖν) in l. 8.

1078. BGU IV 1155 (= Chrest.Mitt. 67, C.Pap.Jud. II 148)

In ll. 35–36 of this repayment of a loan (11 BC), Schubart supplies τὸν | παρ[αβαίνοντα. But this particular provision does not apply to both parties, but only to one of them, a man. I would therefore supply αὐτὸν | παρ[αβαίνοντα, ‘if he transgresses’ any of the terms of the contract. It is the same in the supplement in BGU IV 1163.16. In C.Pap.Gr. 11.18 Brashear read the interlinear correction as τὸν παραβαίνο(ντα), but again, αὐτὸν παραβαίνοντα is expected, and the scan does not prevent us from reading it there. In other texts, such as marriage documents, where the provision applies to both parties, and in BGU IV 1171.41, where the provision applies to two men, τὸν παραβαίνοντα is appropriate.

1079. BGU IV 1157

Schubart thought that the text of this lease-sale of a boat (10 BC) ended in l. 26, but inspection of the original in Berlin showed that the rest of the surface of the papyrus is

missing from that point, and there are occasional traces of ink, so that the text will have continued but is now lost.

1080. BGU IV 1158 (= Chrest.Mitt. 234 = C.Pap.Jud. II 67)

The guardian's *gentilicium* in this contract for the return of property (9 BC) is read Καλλίου. This is probably for Calleius or Callius, not Caelius, as Meyer, Jur.Pap. 67 thought.

In l. 5 οὔτος after ὀφείλει is redundant. We need the person to whom the money is owed. I think αὐτῆ can be read on the scan (see also the plate, BGU IV, Taf. II).

Note that in line 7 the scribe started writing κριτηρίου, then crossed it out ([|κριτ|]) when he realized that he had to write καταλογείου instead, suggesting the κριτήριον and the καταλογεῖον were not (yet) the same thing at this time.⁶⁶

The date is also in line 26, not in a separate line, as Schubart prints it.

1081. BGU IV 1159

Schubart's reconstruction of this badly tattered contract between a *strategos* and a subordinate (reign of Augustus) is shaky. In ll. 4–5 the scan shows that the participle with τοῦ Πτολεμαίου is not αἰ|τήσαντος, but στρα|τηγεῦντος. Ptolemaios did not ask for the Menelaite nome (if that is correct) but was its *strategos* already, when Zosimus was assigned certain tasks by him.

Note that the correction of the crossed-out expression καὶ πᾶσαν in l. 9 is exceptionally written below that line, μεγάλην.

In ll. 15–16, τοῦ Πτολεμαίου must be part of another genitive absolute. The following participle should therefore not be set off from it by a comma, as Schubart has it, and should be in the genitive also, not the nominative: μεθεστα[μένου (without δέ)] | τῆς στρατηγίας, 'when Ptolemaios was relieved from being *strategos*.'

1082. BGU IV 1162

Given the date of this loan (17/16 BC), the official addressed in the now missing prescript will have been Ἀγαίωι rather than Πρωτάρχωι, as Schubart has it. It is uncertain which title, if at all, would have followed his name.

1083. BGU IV 1164

According to the the scan of this repayment of a loan (13 BC?) the year in l. 22 is most likely ιζ rather than η.

⁶⁶ Cf. H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats*, vol. 2, München 1978, pp. 28–29, who thought that the *kriterion* was the same as the *katalogeion* or at least its *Geschäftsstelle*.

1084. BGU IV 1167

In l. 2 of the first text, the repayment of a loan (12 BC), Φιλαργύρου is not followed by a patronymic (τοῦ Κ . . . ραῖο(υ), Schubart) but by τοῦ Καίσαρο(ς), according to the scan. Philargyros was a slave of Augustus. He was apparently also an Alexandrian citizen, Ἀλεξ(ανδρ)έως, perhaps a privilege sometimes accorded to slaves of the emperor. The other party has an Alexandrian demotic and was therefore not a slave.

The beginning of l. 9 (γῆι . . . κ(), Schubart) can be read as παρὰ τὸ ἀ(τόν), which should be followed by an infinitive, but this does not help very much.

In the second text, also the repayment of a loan (12 BC), in l. 36, the day date has a stroke over it.

In the third text, a loan (12 BC), in ll. 50–51, the scribe wrote ὑπερ|μενος first, then corrected it to ὑπερ\τιθε\|μενος (Schubart read πῶ instead of τι). It is true that in BGU IV 1158.12 the expression is ὑπερθέμενος, but the present is also possible. Note that the scribe immediately repeats the idea in l. 51 with ἀνυπερθέ(τω)ς.

1085. BGU IV 1168

A slave, Eros, is acting on behalf of someone else in this repayment of a loan (11/10 BC). This Kalathos alias Philemon may also have been a slave, perhaps of the same man, if it was τοῦ ἀπτο(ῶ) [Διο]δῶ[ρο(υ)] in ll. 4–5, where Schubart had just τοῦ . . . [. . .]δῶ[ρο(υ)]. We cannot check this reading, because the papyrus is lost.

In l. 11 the adjective covers two contracts, a συγχώρησις and a διαγραφή, so it should have been ἀκύρο(υ)ς, not ἄκυρο(υ).

1086. BGU IV 1169

The text on the recto of this repayment of a loan (11/10 BC?), which I was able to inspect in Berlin, is addressed to Protarchos, but the date is illegible.

1087. BGU IV 1170 (IV)

In the fourth text, the sale of the right to execute a loan (10 BC), in l. 52, the verb intended was παρακεχωρηκέναι, not the future παραχωρή(σειν), as Schubart has it, cf. Korr. Tyche 1061 on BGU IV 1129. The transfer has already taken place, and the present document testifies to it. According to the scan the scribe seems to have written a *kappa* after παρα, then continued with ωρη() and we can transcribe παρα-κ(ε)χωρη(κέναι).

The unread verb in l. 56 (ἐπι . . . ειν) could be ἐπιλύειν, according to Schubart.⁶⁷ This has to remain doubtful.

⁶⁷ Apud Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma* (n. 57) 102, n. 5.

1088. BGU IV 1171

The correction in l. 25 of this cancellation of the sale of the right to execute a loan (10 BC) can perhaps be read ἐν νεομηνίᾳ on the scan, not εἰς νε . . . ας, as Schubart has it. Payments are made on the first of the month (see l. 28, where the interlinear correction is just α).

1089. BGU IV 1178

Schubart read a new demotic, Φιλάρηρος. His ‘(Lesung fast sicher)’ is misleading, since the demotic (on fr. IV verso) is in the genitive. Likewise, Delia (BL X 20) claimed only φίλα was ‘certain.’ I think I see -φίλου Ζηγγείου on an unpublished photo, which gives us at least a known demotic.

1090. BGU IV 1181

In the second Notiz (14 BC) an unpublished scan shows that the name is not Σαραπιε() but Σαραπίω(να).

1091. BGU IV 1182

In l. 6 of this petition (14/13 BC), an amount in arouras is given, and the scan allows us to read ἀρού]ρας ἑνακοσίας εἴκοσι ἑννέα ἢ ὄσα(ι) ἐὰν ὄσι[. Among the texts from early Roman Alexandria, BGU IV 1123 concerns another substantial lease of 1084 arouras.

1092. SB XX 14375

The legion stationed at Alexandria was the 22nd, so we can supply κβ in l. 3 of this loan (12 BC). This legion is also mentioned in BGU IV 1104.34 and C.Pap.Gr. I 9.3, both from Augustan Alexandria also.

In l. 15 the symbol for (δραχμήν) is inadvertently printed v.

1093. SB XXII 15460

Brashear, in the *editio princeps* of this honorary decree of an association (5 BC), printed ll. 15–16 as follows: τιμᾶν αὐτὸν πᾶμι|φιλον διὰ βίου κλισίαι, “ihn als ‘von allen geliebt’ sein Leben lang zu ehren und mit einem Sitz (Festmahl?) . . .” I would be hard pressed to come up with a parallel for a special designation for an honorand in any of the honorary inscriptions that survive from antiquity. The translation is also incorrect in that it slips in an ‘und.’ The correct reading is Πάμι|φιλον, the name of the honorand, “to honor Pamphilos for life with a seat (banquet?).”

1094. SB XXIV 16073

In ll. 5–6 of this marriage contract (12 BC), Brashear in the *editio princeps*, printed ἐ]πὲι σύνεισιν. The photo published with the *editio princeps* shows ἐ]πὶ (for ἐπεῖ) σύνεισιν.

In l. 14 we expect a finite verb form, thus εἴληφεν ὁ] instead of εἴληφέναι].⁶⁸

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⁶⁸ Research towards this contribution was made possible by a Loeb Classical Library fellowship.