

BEMERKUNGEN ZU PAPYRI XXXVII

<Korr. Tyche>

1142. BGU VII 1683

The papyrus fragment preserves the beginning of a letter. The script is admittedly severely eroded in many parts. After examining the high-quality photograph of the papyrus, I propose the following reading suggestions.

In l. 3 of the papyrus, the editors read only κενώσων. The correct reading is κένωσον. The *omicron* of the imperative appears to have been formed in two phases, causing it to resemble a small *omega*. The first two words of this line, ἐλθὲ and καὶ, are visible, and therefore we have a reasonable sense for a demand: ἐλθὲ καὶ κένωσον (“come and empty out”).

1143. SB XVI 12474

The script of this papyrus, which preserves a letter from the Byzantine period, is well written and easily legible. However, there are parts of the papyrus in which the letters are faded.

In l. 5 the edition of the papyrus runs: ἐντεκνία εἰς πα αθ . ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ καὶ χάρις ἔσται τῇ ἀγαθῇ ὑμῶν ψυχ[ῆ]. At a closer look, ἐντεκνία is highly questionable, as there is also no attestation of this noun in the papyri. The correct reading is εὐτεκνίαγ. The ending of the lower part of the first *epsilon* almost touches its middle stroke, something that happens also in the second *epsilon*. This may have led the editors to count the lower stroke as part of a *nu*. Additionally, there seems to be a ligature before the *epsilon* of εἰς, which extends itself from an *alpha-nu* combination, which is similar to that of the word ὑμετέραν of the first line.

The word εὐτεκνία carries the meaning “propagation of good children.”¹ Therefore, regarding the subsequent prepositional phrase εἰς πα -, it is reasonable to expect πάγτας, if we assume that the addressor of this letter is wishing for God to grant noble children to everyone in this world (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ). However, the remaining vestiges of the letters do not support this reading. The two visible letter vestiges after the supposed παγ- seem to be parts of an *epsilon-rho* combination. Perhaps the corrupted text can be restored with the phrase εἰς πᾶν ἔρ[γον] ἀγαθὸ[ν].² Then in such a context the word

¹ Cf. P.Mich. XXI 827, 41 note; P.Cair.Masp. III 67305, 10 (= SB I 5656) note.

² Cf. P.Louvre III 237, 8; SEG VIII 740, 7.

εὐτεκνία is used as a metaphor with the meaning “fruitfulness in noble actions.”³ It is possible that the addressor had Paul the Apostle’s *Letter to the Colossians* in mind: ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ καρποφοροῦντες (1.10). Consequently, εὐτεκνία is used as an alternative word to convey the meaning of the participle καρποφοροῦντες.

Finally, for the phrase χάρις ἔσται I suggest the verb χαρίζεται. Despite the fact that the letters are somewhat faded there seems to be no formation of an *epsilon* or a second *sigma*, but that of an *eta*. Additionally, the syntax of the sentence is more accurate since the verb χαρίζεται takes the word ἐπιθυμίας of the next line as its direct object. According to the above remarks the text of l. 5 should run: εὐτεκνίαν εἰς πᾶν ἔργ[ον] ἀγαθὸ[ν] ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ καὶ χαρίζεται τῇ ἀγαθῇ ὑμῶν ψυχῇ[ῃ].

1144. SB XVIII 13111

This private letter from the Byzantine period contains several spelling mistakes, which did not escape the attention of the editor and others, who made appropriate corrections. However, in l. 6 there is a tiny detail which has not been noticed: εὔχομε => εὐχόμε (l. εὔχομαι). So the text should run: [- ca.10 - ἐρρῶσθ]ε (l. [ἐρρῶσθ]αι) ὑμᾶς εὐχόμε (l. εὔχομαι), δέσποτα, [πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἐν κυρίῳ †].

1145. P.Berl.Brash. 17 = SB XIV 11855

This papyrus preserves a *chirographon* of a land lease. In l. 11 the missing word in genitive must be M[α]υρουσίου (κτῆμα μ. υρξυσίου). In l. 707 of P.Flor. I 71 we find the name Μαυρούσιος (κλ(ηρονόμοι) Γεροντίου πριμιπιλ(αρίου) δι(ὰ) Μαυρουσίου), which is the missing name in our papyrus.

Nikolaos KOLVERIS

1146.–1149. Revisiting Texts and Contexts in Private Papyrus Letters of the Byzantine period

With the following corrections or improvements of readings of the texts of some Byzantine letters, the context of the situations which are described is decoded.

First, in *P.Vindob.Sijp. 27* some readings of the text were revised online via PN, but no discussion of the described situation was provided. In this note, I propose readings for sections of the text that appeared problematic. Hermias writes to Eusebios, recounting that he had to retrieve pitch from a pit and encountered a certain Isidorianos nearby, accompanied by some guards left by Eusebios. It appears that in one of his earlier letters to Hermias, Eusebios had assumed that Hermias was opposed to Isidorianos and had, therefore, formally and in an unfriendly way requested Hermias to

³ We should also mention that εὐτεχνία (“skill in art”) in the present context would be more appropriate, but an interchange of *chi* to *kappa* by this apparently educated scribe is highly unlikely. For the interchange of *chi* to *kappa* in the Byzantine period see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. Vol. 1: Phonology*, Milano 1976, 86.

first assign two guards to Isidorianos and second, to provide Eusebios with the work animal that Hermias had with him. Now, Hermias is requesting that Eusebios not be concerned about the current circumstances or issues because Hermias is on the cultivated land. However, most importantly, Hermias expresses his desire to be left completely alone.

The following two notes concern the examination of challenging aspects in the texts of two Byzantine private letters (*P.Abinn.* 7 and *BGU* III 874), aiming to provide a plausible interpretation through proposed improvements in reading or punctuation.

Finally, in *SB* VI 9137 some improvements in the readings and the punctuation provide attestations of new phrases, some of them probably colloquialisms, and help us understand the context of this private letter. Phoibammon informs Salaminios about a rumor concerning the attitude of the landowner towards him. For this reason, Phoibammon had to leave suddenly. He asked Salaminios to let Kallinikos do his best to get some liters of an unspecified product. Phoibammon also asked Salaminios to decide to come and find him, because he had tow of good quality, and he knows that Salaminios prefers good quality. Now, it is in Salaminios' hands if he wants to come. If he does not want to come right now, again this is not a problem, because the product he wants will be earmarked for him.

1146. The peace of loneliness

P.Vindob.Sijp. 27 is a private letter dated to the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century A.D. Until February 2024 the only correction so far was made in l. 5 Περσέα (instead of *ed. pr.* περσέαν) as a place name (see *BL* V, p. 63), and was proposed by E. Van't Dack, in *Bibl.Or.* 22, 1965, 32. In addition, it was proposed that instead of the reading Σοτούχων in l. 5 a more reasonable reading would be a participle which would be in accordance with the participle ἀνελθών and would be construed with the prepositional [ἐν] τῷ πᾶτι σο\υ/. In February 2024, C. Balamoshev via PN suggested some new readings, unaware that I had already submitted this Korr. to the journal Tyche in February 2021. His suggestions were as follows:

l. 5 περσέαν Σοτούχων → πενααποτουχων (probably a name, but περσεαν is very unlikely)

l. 5 πᾶτι σο\υ/ => . . . σορι (the line ends with an iota)

l. 11 ἐπεὶ τοῦς → ἐπειστολάς (*l.* ἐπιστολάς)

γράφοντας ἔχου (*l.* ἔχει) => γράφοντός μοι

ἐπ{ε}ῖ → ἐπι

l. 13 ὀρθῶς → οὔτως

l. 14 ἀπώλεσεν → αὐτῷ μὲν

ῶν → ὄς

l. 15 τὰξ\ει/τῆ πόσι|σου (*l.* πόσι|ου) → τὸ κτηνός | σου

l. 18 ἦρκ'ε/ε/ς (*l.* ἦρκεις) → ἦρκες (*l.* ἦρκας)

N. Gonis, who commented on these corrections online (PN) stated, “I am happy to say that almost all the corrections are secure (but I'd prefer a discursive treatment). I only have reservations about l. 3 (there's improvement, but we still don't have an intelligible text; τ[ῶν] φρουρῶν in l. 10 is also impossible, but I don't have a solution), and the suggested ὄς in l. 14 (this type of sigma is not common in this period and cf.

-ων in the line above”. Then, Balamoshev replied, “I agree that ων is better than ως. For l. 10, I was considering... κύριον σου, but have no solution either (κύριον? κυρὸν? Κῦρον?), hence I left it as is”. Then he added one more correction on l. 3, “one should consider either ὄνπ[ερ] ἔδωκάς μοι or ὄν π[α]ρέδωκάς μοι. The papyrus appears to have ονπ[]ρεδωκάς, there is no space for an omicron in between”, and R. Ast (via PN) agreed with this.

In my submitted article to Tyche in 2021, I had already made exactly the same correction in l. 3, the three corrections in l. 11, the one in l. 13 (which was already made by Litinas in N. Litinas, G. Triantafyllou, *Adverbs in -ως in Documents of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Rethymnon 2019, 201), and the ones in ll. 14 and 15–16, and I am so happy that these were confirmed by other scholars. Consequently, this article now addresses the points I had previously corrected, mainly in ll. 5 and 10, which have not yet been included in any existing discussion⁴.

First and foremost, I would like to emphasize that the text contains a variety of rare words and phraseological expressions, some of which remain uncertain, as indicated by the question mark in the translation: l. 4 τὴν πέσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ χών[ο]υ; l. 10 ἐρήμου ὄντος; ll. 11–12 ὡς ἐπὶ δημοσίῳ; l. 14 ὡς ἐνδοξό(τατα?). One of the distinctive features of the scribe’s handwriting is the use of a superscript final *ypsilon*; cf. ll. 1 μῶ^ϵ, 5 χων[ο]^ϵ, 7 σο^ϵ, 9 εμο^ϵ ἄλλο^ϵ, 10 ερημο^ϵ, ὄ^ϵ, σο^ϵ, 15 συνεθο^ϵ, and 25 μῶ^ϵ.

Based on a photo available online (at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004328>), the text can be read as below (the differences have been marked in bold):

<i>Ed. pr.</i>	Balamoshev (via PN, 2024) + Proposed new readings
1 κυρίῳ μου/ ἀδελφῷ Ἐὑσεβίῳ Ἑρμείας χαίρειν. ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σε ὄν π[ρ]οῦδωκάς μοι φρουρὸν μόνον. ἀνελθὼν γὰρ ἐπ{ε}ῖ τὴν	1 κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἐὑσεβίῳ Ἑρμείας χαίρειν. ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σε ὄνπ[ε]ρ ἔδωκάς μοι φρουρὸν μόνον. ἀνελθὼν γὰρ ἐπει τὴν
5 Περσέα Σοτοῦχον [ἐν] τῷ πάτῳ σο\υ/ εἶδρον Ἰσιδωριανὸν [ἐ]κεί μετὰ τῶν φρουρῶν σο\υ. οἶδας, κἂν μὴ γράψω, ὅτι οὐ δύναται τὰ πράγματα ἀγνοσθῆ- ναι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ/ ἄλλο\υ/ ὄντ[ο]ς ἐν τῷ πάτῳ	5 πέσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ χών[ο]υ [±1?] τῷ . . . υῖσω . ι εἶδρον Ἰσιδωριανὸν [ἐ]κεί μετὰ τῶν φρουρῶν σου. οἶδας, κἂν μὴ γράψω, ὅτι οὐ δύναται τὰ πράγματα ἀγνοσθῆ- ναι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, ἄλλοῦ ὄντ[ο]ς ἐν τῷ πάτῳ,
10 καὶ ταῦτα ἐρήμου\ ὄντος τ[ῶ]ν φρουρῶν σο\υ/ ἐπει τοῦς δύο γράφοντας ἔχει (ι. ἔχει) ὡς ἐπ{ε}ῖ δημοσίῳ. μὴ νομίσης οὖν ὅτι κατὰ Ἰσι- δωριανὸν εἰμ{ε}ῖ γράφων. μοι ὀρθῶς ἀπώλεσεν δύο φρουροὺς ὧν ἐνδοξο\υ/	10 καὶ ταῦτα, ἐρήμου ὄντος . [±3]υ. καὶ . . . ον σου ἐπιστολὰς δύο γράφοντός μοι ὡς ἐπὶ δημοσίῳ. μὴ νομίσης οὖν ὅτι κατὰ Ἰσι- δωριανὸν εἰμει, γράφων μοι οὕτως καὶ τῷ μὲν δύο φρουροὺς ὡς ἐνδοξό(τατα?)

⁴ I would like to express my gratitude to the readers of the journal for their invaluable comments regarding my efforts to resolve the interpretative issues of this text.

<p>15 δούς καὶ συνέθου/ μοι τάξι\ει/τῆ πό{σ}- σου διδόναι μοι π[ρὸς] τὴν χρῆσιν ἕως ἂν ὀνήσω ἄ[παν]τα καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκε/ες (l. ἦρκεις). γράφω σοι οὖν, ἄδελφε, δη- λῶν σοι {ε}ῖνα μὴ πρόσχησι καὶ ἀμέρι- 20 μνος γένη παρά σοι ὡς ἐμοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῷ πάτῳ, οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ μείναι μετὰ τινος ἄλλου. ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχόμεαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις 25 κύριέ μου/ ἄδελφε.</p>	<p>15 δούς καὶ συνέθου μοι τὸ κτήνος σου διδόναι μοι π[ρὸς] τὴν χρῆσιν ἕως ἂν ὀνήσω [±3]α», καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκεις, γράφω σοι οὖν, ἄδελφε, δη- λῶν σοι εῖνα μὴ προσχησι καὶ ἀμέρι- 20 μνος γένη παρά σοι ὡς ἐμοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῷ πάτῳ. οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ μείναι μετὰ τινος ἄλλου. ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχόμεαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις 25 κύριέ μου ἄδελφε.</p>
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4 l. ἐπὶ 5 l. πίσσαν 6 ἰσιδωριανον

11 l. ἐπιστολὰς 13 l. εἰμι 14 ενδοξῶ 19 l. ῖνα

Translation: “Hermias to my lord brother Eusebios greetings. I sent you only the guard whom you had placed for me. Because when I went up for pitch from the pit..., I found Isidorianos there with your guards. Even if I do not write you, you know that the things cannot be accomplished by me, when someone else is in the cultivated land, and especially, while he is bereft of... (or, it is deserted...). On top of that, I ... two of your letters, in which you addressed me as though they were intended for public dissemination (?). Do not think that I am against Isidorianos, when you write to me ‘Give him two guards as conspicuously as possible(?) and deliver to me your beast in order to use it until we buy ..., and you ... him/it(?)’. I am writing to you, my brother, because I make it clear to you not to bother yourself with this situation, and become unconcerned, from the moment I am on the cultivated land. Because I cannot be with anyone else. I pray for your health for many years, my lord, brother.”

3 ὄνπ[ε]ρ ἔδοκας, or ὄν π[α]ρἔδοκας, C. Balamoshev (via PN); There is a diagonal stroke above the *rho*, which aligns well with the upper part of an *epsilon*. Furthermore, in ll. 14–15, the writer uses the verb διδόναι in a similar expression, φρουροὺς δούς.

4–6 ἀνελθῶν... εἶρον: For the phrase (ἐπ)ανελθῶν... ἡῖρον cf. *BGU XIII 2242*, 14–15 (II A.D.) [ἐπανελθῶν] τῆ β τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς(ς) [.] ἡῖρον τὴν οἰκίαν (where one may also restore ἀνελθῶν in the lacuna instead of the compound ἐπανελθῶν), and *P.Rainer Cent.* 161, 3–4 (V A.D.) ἐπανελθῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρίας εὔρεθην τὰ περισκελίδια.

4–5 To the left of ε there is a curved stroke, that could only belong to the letter φ at the beginning of l. 4 and not to any other letter (e.g. ρ) after the first π of l. 5. The word πεσσά or πέσσα in the feminine is not attested in the ancient Greek literature; see only ὁ πεσσός and τὰ πεσσά in *LSJ s.v. πεσσός*, with various meanings: “oval-shaped stone for playing draughts or backgammon” or “the board on which the game was played” or “cubic mass of building, terrace”. Therefore, the meaning of πεσσά in our papyrus could have been an oval-shaped area or a terrace or an agricultural area which has taken its name because of the existence of a small cube-shaped building or oval- or cube-shaped natural stone within its boundaries. For πεσσός with the meaning “staircase” or

“supporting pillar” see G. Hadgi-Minaglou, *Tebtynis IV*, Cairo 2007, 193. The change of the gender (τὰ → τὴν) is not surprising when the case involves the name of a field; e.g. the word ἡ παρόριος-τὰ παρόρια; see Gignac, *Gram.* II, 40–41. The accusative in -α instead of -αν for the first declension is rare (see Gignac, *Gram.* II, 6, e.g. ἄλλα instead of ἄλλαν), while, on the other hand, the accusative -αν instead of -α of the third declension occurs often (see examples in Gignac, *Gram.* II, 45–46). Nevertheless, it is plausible that an alternative explanation is more applicable in this context. The form πέσσα stands for πίσσα, “pitch”, and this can be associated with the following word χώνου (see below). For the pitch in Egypt see *P.Köln XV* 617, 1n.

χών[ο]υ: The last υ is superscript as in many other examples in the same papyrus (see introduction above). In Hesychius there is the explanation χώνος· βουνός. [τόπος.] βόθυνος, and the latter meaning indicated a pit dug in the ground, a trench. In the Cretan dialect today, as well as in other dialects, the word χώνος refers to a hole, a pit, or a sinkhole; see N. Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten*, Wien 1974, 605, where he translated the word ὁ χώνος, ἡ χώνη as “Schmelzgrube, Schmelz-riegel, Schmelzofen”, or “Grube, Höhlung”.

ἀνελθὼν γὰρ ἐπεὶ τὴν πέσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ χών[ο]υ: The prepositional ἐπεὶ (l. ἐπὶ) τὴν πέσσα (l. πίσσαν) indicates purpose, “for getting the pitch”. Certainly, the prepositional cannot be construed with ἀνελθὼν, because one would expect the prepositional phrase εἰς + accusative, e.g., cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 281, 5–6 (II A.D.) ἀνελθὼν εἰς τὸν τόπον μου; *P.Yale* I 61, 15 (c. A.D. 208–210?) ἀν/ελθὼν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν, etc. In this instance, the prepositional phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ χών[ο]υ does not denote movement away from a location, as, e.g., in *P.Yale* I 83, 5 (c. A.D. 200) ἀνελθὼν ἀπὸ Μαγδάλων, but rather signifies the act of removing something from a place.

[±1?] τῷ . υσῶ . ι: It is not certain if the superscript *psilon* of χών[ο]υ occupies the space in the lacuna before τῷ. Then, as checked on the original papyrus, the lower part of the *rho* of γάρ from l. 4 reaches the bottom of l. 5 and a diagonal stroke up to the right seems to belong to this *rho*. Note, however, that *rho* in the same papyrus does not have the same oblique stroke, and only *phi* in ll. 14 and 18 have it. Below this stroke, the traces correspond more closely to a π (see *ed. pr.*) or τ or an uncertain letter followed by γυ or λυ or αυ. The letter after υ seems to be σ; certainly, it is not *rho*, if we compare it with the letter ρ in κύριε in l. 25, and it is not *iota*, if we compare it with the letter ι in καί in l. 18. The following letter is ω. Then, the reading οι, as suggested by Balamoshev, is not certain, because in this papyrus the *omicrons* are not open above. We may read υι, if we compare *nu* with the same letter in the line above, in τὴν. What we expect here is an adverbial expression (e.g., simple or prepositional dative or genitive of Manner, Space or Time, etc.). One of my tentative suggestions was τῷ καύσωνι, “in conditions of intense heat”, if we assume that the letter after τῷ is κ (cf. the shape of *kappa* in κυριω in l. 1, and ἦρκ'ε/ες in l. 18), and its left part is written over the lower part of the vertical of *rho* of γάρ (l. 4); for the noun see LSJ *s.v.* καύσων 1 “burning heat, summer heat”. It should be noted that in texts from the Byzantine period, the singular dative case was used to indicate weather conditions; cf. Asterius 23.13 εἴκοσιν ἔτη ποιμαίνων τῷ παγετῷ καὶ τῷ καύσωνι ἀεὶ ἐμαστιζέτο; cf. Aesop 3 ὁ δὲ ἐμὸν σῶμα καὶ τῷ κρύει τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τῷ καύσωνι τοῦ θερούς γενναίως ἀνθίσταται.

8 η is corrected over another letter, probably α or ω.

9 ἐν τῷ πάτῳ: C. Fuhrmann, in the edition of *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5054, 12n., proposed to translate it as “threshing floor(?)”. On the other hand, G. Bastianini, Cl. Gallazzi, (in *P.Tebt. NS inv. 88/3: petizione agli epistatati del 45 d.C.*, ZPE 81 (1990) 255–260, esp. 258–259, 10–11n.; now *SB XX 15077*), concerning the text in ll. 9–11, ὑπάγοντός μου εἰς ἀγρὸν πρὸς ἐπίσκεψιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς πάτους, οὓς γεωργῶ ἀρούρας (*l. τῶν ἐμῶν πάτων, ὦν*), prefer to translate “campo coltivato, colture” instead of the translations given in the other two instances where this noun appears, that is, “Grundstück” (as in *P.Vindob. Sijp.* 27, 5n.) or “threshing-floor” (as in the translation of P. Parsons in *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5054, 12n.).

10 καὶ ταῦτα: cf. *P.Oxy.* LV 3812, 7–9 (end of III A.D.) σὺ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἠμέλησας, καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν σε προσδοκόντων ἤξειν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Καλανδῶν, καὶ ἀφείκας τοὺς συσσίτους ἀσίτους. For the meaning of the phrase see H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges*, New York 1920, §947 and 2083.

ἐρήμου ὄντος: The shape of the final letter ς of ὄντος is like a “v”. The same shape can be seen in l. 11 γράφοντος. The meaning of the adjective ἐρήμος may be either “desert” or “poor and friendless persons” or “bereft of”; see LSJ *s.v.* I suggest that the genitive is linked to ἄλλου, indicating another individual (not explicitly named) who was abandoned on the land. Consequently, the adjective ἐρήμου describes this person as lacking something, such as assistance or tools, making it plausible that [±3]υ (probably in the genitive) corresponds to this term. Alternatively, a restoration of α[ῦτο]ῦ is also possible, in which case the pronoun would function as the subject of the participle ὄντος, thus giving ἐρήμου the meaning of a “friendless person”.

10–11 [±3]υ. καὶ . . . ον σου | ἐπιστολὰς δύο: After the lacuna and the superscript *psilon*, the remaining traces of the first letter align with the shape of a *kappa*. Following this, the left portion of an α is visible, along with the lower part of a downward stroke likely representing ι. The ink has faded on the subsequent three or four letters, but the sequence ον at the end of the line is clearly discernible⁵.

11–12 The phrase ὡς ἐπὶ δημοσίῳ does not seem to be comparable to Origenes’ *Comm. Mt* 22.34–27.63 ὡς ἐπὶ δημοσίῳ ἐγκλήματι παραδοθέντα αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾷ ὁ Πιλάτος λέγων «σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;». It seems unlikely that the writer used the prepositional phrase to imply, “it functions as a public accusation that I am responsible for the abandoned land.” Rather, I find it more likely that he intended the prepositional phrase to suggest that the previous letters, instead of being written in a private and possibly friendly tone, were formal communications meant for public dissemination.

12–13 κατὰ Ἰσιδωριανόν εἶμαι: The prepositional phrase κατὰ + accusative might here denote opposition and/or rivalry, as in “I am against Isidorianos”. However, it should also be considered that it could convey the meaning, “I am (or am characterized

⁵ My tentative suggestion was to read καὶ ἔλαβον σου | ἐπιστολὰς δύο, “and I received two of your letters”. The lower parts of the letters ε, λ, and α can be traced. The letter after α cannot be *rho*, because there is not any other *rho* with the same shape in this papyrus. There is only one *beta* in l.1 which is large and extends above and below the line. If we read again β here, then we can see only its upper part and the ink in its lower half has faded.

as) someone similar to what Isidorianos describes”.

14 ὥς; cf. the form of the final ζ in δούς in l. 15.

ἐνδοξο(v) does not give sense. If we resolve ἐνδοξο(τάτους), this is a technical term that cannot apply to guards. I prefer to resolve ὥς ἐνδοξό(τατα) “as conspicuously as possibly”; for the superlative of the adverbs in -ως see Litinas, Triantafyllou, *op. cit.*, 12; for the adverb ἐνδόξως see *ibid.*, 120–121.

15 See LSJ *s.v.* συντίθημι III 1 “commit to a person’s care, deliver to him for his own use or that of others”.

16 The last letter of χρῆσιν has the shape of a “v” without the right stroke running downwards.

17 ὠνήσω [. . .]α: After the letter ω, the ligature does not yield a definitive reading: α, ν, or μ seem to be more probable paleographically. The first edition has ᾗ[παν]τα, that is, “all things”. We may also restore ᾗ[λλ]α, “other beasts”. Another possible restoration of the plural ὠνήσωμ[εν] necessitates an object for the verb “buy”, which could be a noun or pronoun of two or three letters ending in -α (read after the lacuna).

17–18 καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκες: The ι of και is made totally different than the other *iotas* in the same document. It turns to the right at the bottom, and the only comparable shape is that of the right leg of ν, which, however, does not descend below the line. There is a stroke above κ and one could consider an extension of the left vertical of κ, but a similar *kappa* can be compared only to the one at the beginning of the document. On the other hand, if we consider it a letter ι written above κ, while it was possible to be written between ρ and κ, we must assume that Hermias or the scribe who wrote on behalf of Hermias did not notice the blank space and simply added the letter ι above⁶. The reading καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκες could be either (a) a mistaken phrase instead of καὶ τοῦτο ἦρκει σοι, “this should suffice for you”, or καὶ τούτον (= τούτῳ, or = τούτων, *l.* τούτοις) ἦρκει “you are satisfied with it/them”; or (b) perfect tense of the verb αἶρω instead of ἦρκα (as Balamoshev suggested). The meaning of αἶρω in that case could be “take away, remove” (see LSJ *s.v.* αἶρω III 1). However, if the clause καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκες belongs to the phrase of Eusebios from l. 14 “αὐτῷ μὲν δύο... ἕως ἂν ὠνήσω [. . .]α, καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκες”, one should expect an imperative form of the verb and not the indicative. Alternatively, to address this problematic structure, we might consider that

⁶ The reading ἦρκες is difficult to understand. As it stands, it is the perfect tense of the verb ἐρίζω “strive, quarrel” (see LSJ *s.v.* I 1). The same meaning is found in a private letter of the third century A.D., *BGU IV* 1043, 5 ὥστε ἔτι μοι ἐρίζεις (*l.* ἐρίζεις). As can be seen, both in the literary texts and the papyrus the verb is construed with the dative. Of course, one can assume that this τοῦτον may be a mistake instead of a dative τούτῳ, or instead of the prepositional phrase <πρὸς> τοῦτον. If we consider that the meaning “quarrel” is correct, then we expect that the phrase καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκες, is a continuation of the phrase μὴ νομίσης οὖν ὅτι κατὰ Ἰσιδωριανόν εἰμει in ll. 12–13 and does not belong to the citation of the previous letter of Eusebios in ll. 14–17. On the other hand, the phrase οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι ἦρικα αὐτὸν νοσῶν is attested in another private letter of the fourth century A.D., *P.Flor.* III 371, 9–10, where the text has been regularized as οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι ἦρικα (*l.* ἦρηκα) αὐτὸν νοσῶν (*l.* νοσοῦντα) and means “you are aware that I have caught him in a state of illness” (see LSJ *s.v.* αἶρέω II 2 b). Alternatively, we may consider it a mistaken form of the perfect tense of the verb εὐρίσκω, that is, ἠύρηκα or εὔρηκα, “you are aware that I found him to be sick”.

τοῦτον ἦρκες was a distinct phrase in Eusebios' letter, and that Hermias cited two separate phrases, connecting them with καί. Furthermore, the clause καὶ τοῦτον ἦρκες could be a continuation of the phrase μὴ νομίσης οὖν ὅτι κατὰ Ἰσιδωριανὸν εἶμαι (in ll. 12–13), “do not think that I am against Isidorianos (or, “I am as Isidorianos describes me”) ... and you removed him (from a certain place)”.

1147. Life Lessons from *P.Abinn. 7*

P.Abinn. 7 is a private letter which belongs to the Abinnaeus archive. It was sent by Apa Mios (TM Per 388850) to Abinnaeus and records various issues. The text immediately after the standard opening formula was edited as follows:

- 3 [εὐ]χαριστοῦμεν τ[ῷ] Θεῷ περὶ [τ]ῆς ὀλοκληρ<ί>ας
καὶ τ[ῆ<ν>] σπουδῆν σου ἵνα περισσεύῃ τὸ φόβος
5 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν σοί, διὰ τὸ φόβος γὰρ πάντα γίνετε.
καλιγενξари οὖν γραφόμεθά σοι διὰ τὴν καλή<ν>
7 σου π[ρ]ῆξιν, ἵνα περ{ε}ισσεύῃ ἡ ἀγάπη σου καὶ
τοσοῖλο . . τοχοι ἀληθῶς, Ἀβιννέας, κατὰ πάν-
9 τα τρῶπον. γραφόμεθά σοι, ἀγαποῦμεν τὸ θέλη-
μα τῆς ψυχῆς σου. κτλ.

4 l. τῆς σπουδῆς 5 l. γίνεται 6 l. γραφόμεθά 7 l. πρῆξιν; ἵνα pap. 8 l. ἀληθῶς 9 τα τρῶπον was corrected from an initial τροπο ., and γραφόμεθά from γραφωαγα; l. γραφόμεθά

In l. 6, for the reading καλιγενξари, B. R. Rees and J. D. Thomas proposed καλή ἐν χάρ<ιτ>ι or καλά. ἐν χάρ<ιτ>ι (see *BL V*, pp. 1–2). In l. 7 ἵνα was considered as causal by Mandilaras, *The Verb*, 265, §590 (see *BL VII*, p. 2). G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.C.: tra paganesimo e cristianesimo*, Milano 1979, reproduced the text as no 25, having accepted Thomas's proposal in l. 6. He also commented on ll. 4–7 with the note that “il verbo περισσεύειν con φόβος e ἀγάπη sembra richiamare alcuni passi vetero e neo-testamentari: cfr. *Pr.* 9, 10; *I Thess.* 3, 12”; cf. the explanation provided by Origenes *PG* 12, 1200 «Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περισσεύεται» ἀντὶ τοῦ, ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἀγάπην.

However, based on the image of the papyrus provided at (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.abinn.7>), we can read the text as follows (new readings are indicated in bold):

- 3 [εὐ]χαριστοῦμεν τ[ῷ] Θεῷ περὶ [τ]ῆς ὀλοκληρ<ί>ας **σου**
καὶ τ[ῆ]ν σπουδῆν σου ἵνα περισσεύῃ τὸ φόβος
5 **τό ἐστι** ἐν σοί. διὰ τὸ φόβος γὰρ πάντα γίνετε
καλόν. ἐν **θάρι** οὖν γραφόμεθά σοι διὰ τὴν καλή<ν>
7 σου **προῆρσεις**, ἵνα περῆσσεύῃ ἡ ἀγάπη σου καὶ
τὸ φίλο<ν>. **μέτοχοι** ἀληθῶς, Ἀβιννέας, κατὰ πάν-
9 τα **τρ{ρ}όπ[ο]**ν γραφόμεθά σοι. ἀγαποῦμεν τὸ θέλη-
μα τῆς ψυχῆς σου. κτλ.

⁷ There should be no gap between the small fragment (top left) and the main papyrus.

4 l. τῆς σπουδῆς σου 5 l. γίνεται 6 l. θάρρει (= θάρσει); l. γραφόμεθά σοι 7 l. προαίρεσιν; l. περισσεύη 8 l. ἀληθῶς 9 l. γραφόμεθά σοι; γραφόμεθά was corrected from γραφωαγα

Translation: “We thank God for your good health and your zeal so that you keep the apprehension which is within you. For through apprehension everything becomes good. Then with courage we write to you because of your good intention, so that you have your love and what you love. As real partners, in every way, Abinneas, we write to you. We like what your soul desires”.

3 [εὐ]χαριστοῦμεν τ[ῶ] Θεῶ περι [τ]ῆς ὀλοκληρ<ί>ας σου: Cf. *SB* VI 9605, 3–7 (beginning of the IV A.D.) [εὐ]χο[μ]αι τ[ῶ] [ὑ]π[ί]στ[ω] (l. ὑψίστ[ω]) Θ[ε]ῶ... περι τῆς ὀλοκλη[ρ]ί[α]ς [ὑ]μῶν.

σου: This reading is probable if we compare it with the way σου is written at the beginning of l. 7.

4 After καί we can see the upper left end of a curved horizontal stroke. The letter τ (as in *ed. pr.*) is probable. After the lacuna which can accommodate one or two letters, we can read a certain ν. Σπουδή may refer to the eagerness and haste of the recipient of the letter to perform certain tasks or necessities that concerned the sender of the letter. Thanking God for this kind of σπουδή could be found in Basil, *Ep.* 261 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς φροντῖδων παρελάβετε εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑμῖν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίῳ ἐπιμέλειαν, ἠὲ χαριστήσαμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, “ (transl. by R. J. Deferrari, M. R. P. McGuire, Loeb 270, 1934) and that you have invited us to share your anxieties regarding the care of the things that are necessary to you and worthy of attention, we have given thanks to the Lord”. In *P.Abinn.* 6, 3–6 Apa Mios stressed the ὀλοκληρία and the σπουδή by placing them in different clauses, and without thanking God for the σπουδή: εὐχαρ[ε]ιστῶ τῷ θεῷ περι τῆς [ὑ]μ[ῶ]ν | ὀλ[ο]κληρίας ἵνα ῥύσει σοι (l. σε) ἀπὸ λ[ο]σ[α]ι[] [α]ρ[ι]ου. οἶδαμεν τὸ σπουδεῖον (l. σπουδαῖον) σ[ου] καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην σου εἰς ἡμᾶς.

5 τὸ ἔστι ἐν σοί: Of ε, τ and ι only the bottom edges of the verticals are preserved after το. The vertical stroke of ε is not curved at its lower edge; cf. the same form in Ἀβιννέας in l.8. The article instead of the relative pronoun is found in the same private letter in ll. 14–15 διὰ τὰς χρίαν (l. χρείας) τὰς ἔγραψά σοι. Furthermore, in l. 24 we may restore γενέσ[θαι] τὰ (= ἅ) γραφόμεθ<ά> σοι. For this syntactic structure see N. Litinas, *Relative Pronouns in the Greek Papyri*, *AnPap* 38 (2024) 137–150, esp. 140–143, and 141, example no 25.

5–6 διὰ τὸ φόβος γὰρ πάντα γίνετε καλόν: φόβος, with the meaning of apprehension, probably because of the fear of God, is a good emotion, as stated in Macarius 14.24.1 καλὸν οὖν τὸ ἀεὶ ἐν φόβῳ εἶναι καὶ ζητεῖν σύνεσιν καὶ βοήθειαν παρὰ κυρίου, ἵνα δυνηθῇ τις σωθῆναι διὰ τὸν κύριον. The change in gender (from the masculine ὁ φόβος to the neuter τὸ φόβος) may be based on the forms such as ὁ ὄνειρος and τὸ ὄνειρος, with specific examples from papyri, e.g. γύψος, χρόνον, βίον, τόκον, οἶκος, ποταμόν, ὄρκον, οἶνον, κάματον cited in Gignac, *Gram.* II, 40 and 42–43. If we do not consider the use of certain standard forms which can be explained because they were taught in language lessons (even in cases of the mother tongue), such as ὁ ὄνειρος and τὸ ὄνειρος mentioned above, it is not clear how certain and peculiar morphological

changes of gender (masculine to neuter) happen⁸. The role of the stem or the suffix may be considered important when someone, who has not learnt the correct gender of a noun, attributes a different grammatical gender to that noun⁹. In *P.Abinn. 7* the person who wrote the private letter, although he seems educated, has made a series of spelling, morphological and syntactical mistakes. Therefore, we may allow the possibility that the gender assignment by the specific writer of the present private letter, who was accustomed to using the different gender in his spoken language, may have been affected by the morphological parallelisms with other cases of neuter ending in -ος, examples of which can be found in the same document, e.g. τὸ θάρρος; cf. also in l. 8 τὸ φίλο<v>.

6 καλόν: After καλ and before ν there is only a small dot-like letter. This cannot be ι, η or α, as proposed in the readings so far, but it can be only ρ.

ἐν θάρι: The upper part of θ can be seen which has a shape similar to the others in the same hand, e.g. cf. the angular part of θ in Θεῶ in l. 3. Perhaps, one can think of εὐθάρι (*l.* εὐθάρσει) οὖν, but the vertical of *ypsilon* seems to turn to the left as it descends from its upper left beginning, and we should expect to see some traces it below the horizontal of ε. In addition, the stroke which follows the vertical is almost horizontal, similar to the shape of the other ν in the same hand. For the spelling θάρι cf. the same form of the verb in *P.Rainer Cent. 73, 10* (III–IV A.D.) ὥστε θάρι (*l.* θάρρει) ἡμῖν, ἄδελφε κύριαι (*l.* κύριε). The prepositional ἐν θάρρει, “with courage”, is attested in Josephus, *AJ* 18.235 τότε ἐν θάρρει λοιπὸν ἤγεν τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς. The contrast between φόβος and θάρρος is indicated in Arist. *EN* 1107a ληπτέον οὖν ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς διαγραφῆς. περὶ μὲν οὖν φόβους καὶ θάρρη ἀνδρεία μεσότης, where ἀνδρεία is placed between them.

6–7 διὰ τὴν καλή<v> σου προέρεσις: Cf. e.g. Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 8.5.1 διὰ τὴν προαίρεσίν σου καὶ τὴν καλὴν βουλήν; Basilius, *Ep.* 227.1 καλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως ἀπόδειξις ἡμῖν. The phrase is not attested in other Greek papyri. In Coptic contracts of land purchase, sales of houses, etc., as in *P.KRU* 2, 14 (A.D. 749) νπάση ἀγαθῆ καὶ καλῆ προερέσει (*l.* προαιρέσει), the phrase appears in legal formulae, which may be affected by the Christian context.

7 προέρεσις: After the certain π we can see the bottom edge of the vertical of the letter ρ, followed by the remaining traces of the right-hand side stroke of an ο. Then, ερ is certain. The remaining traces of the next letter indicate only the letter ε. The following letter is σ, and then the long vertical stroke is ι followed by a vertical and horizontal stroke, probably ζ. Therefore, the nominative was written by mistake instead of the accusative.

8 τὸ φίλο<v>. μέτοχοι: After το, *ed. pr.* read σο, but actually this is a large φ, similar to those found in the same document, e.g. φόβος in l. 5. The remains of the bottom end

⁸ Cf. A. Coker, *Analogical Change and Grammatical Gender in Ancient Greek*, *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 9 (2009) 34–55, esp. 48.

⁹ See M. Mastropavlou, I. M. Tsimpli, *The Role of Suffixes in Grammatical Gender Assignment in Modern Greek: A Psycholinguistic Study*, *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 11 (2011) 27–55, esp. 31 (with the word φόβος as an example), and 50–51.


of the vertical of φ can also be seen. Then λο is certain. Before the certain τοχοι one can compare the ligature of με in l. 13 μερη. Therefore, the reading μέτοχοι is certain. Since a letter ν cannot be compressed after λο and before μ, because in l. 20 where we have the same sequence of letters in γράψων μοι, the letters are written very clearly, we have to assume that the scribe wrote τὸ φίλο. This reading can be explained either as the abstract τὸ φίλο<ν> or the relative clause τὸ φιλῶ (= ὃ φιλῶ). For the former cf. Origenes, *PG* 12, 1464 ποίου δὲ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ διορατικοῦ καὶ ἱκανοῦ βλέπειν τὸ φίλον. For the omitted ν at the end of the accusative of an abstract word we can compare the omitted ν in the adjective καλή in l. 6. However, in papyri similar examples at the end of a word of the neuter gender are rare (Gignac, *Gram.* I, 112 does not give any example): cf. *P.Rein.* II 103, 28 (A.D. 21) κα<ι> ἐπίτ{ε}μο; *P.Flor.* II 157, 3 εἰς τ[ὸ] ἔργον ἐκεῖνο; III 338 (A.D. 249–268) ποιήσης τὸ βιβλίδιον ἐκεῖνο; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 38, 11 (A.D. 569) ἐργαστήριον σαλκαμαρικ[ο], if the reading is correct; however, cf. the omission in other instances, such as in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3864, 33 (V A.D.) πεπο ση χρυσινω (l. πέμπω σοι χρύσινον). As for the possibility to understand a relative clause, τὸ φιλῶ (= ὃ φιλῶ), we may refer to the relative clause in l. 5 (see n. ad loc.). In that case Apa Mios writes to Abinnaeus that “you have your love and what I love”. Then he explains what he means: They are real partners, and he likes what his soul desires”. However, a serious mistake such an *omicron* instead of *omega* at the end of a verb does not seem to be made by this scribe, since he uses the correct spellings of the verbs in most cases.

9 τρ{ρ}όπ[ο]ν: It seems that the scribe wrote twice the letter ρ. A small *omicron* is missing between π and ν.

9–10 For the will or pleasure of the soul cf. the phrase in Origenes, *PG* 13. 804 ὁ πορευόμενος ὀπίσω τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ τοῖς θελήμασι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκολουθεῖ; Macarius 6.2.3 λουπὸν εἰς οἶον ἂν μέρος ῥέψη τὸ θέλημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐκεῖνου γίνεται κτήμα καὶ υἷος.

1148. Communication in *BGU* III 874

The private letter *BGU* III 874, dated to the Byzantine period, had attracted a lot of attention already since the time of its publication. After F. Preisigke’s correction in l. 7 λιβελλίου instead of the reading λικελλίου of the first edition (*BL* I, p. 441), and L. R. Palmer’s understanding of the text in l. 7 as ἀνεπιγνωστί instead of ἀνεπεγνώσκει, in his book *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London 1948, 149, n. 4 (see *BL* III, p. 15), A. Papatomas, in his article *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Berliner Papyrusbriefen* in *APF* 53 (2007) 186, proposed to understand ἀφθονημῶν not as ἀφθονή<τω ὑ>μῶν, but as ἀφθον(φ)ήμῶν (*BL* XIII 27); cf. also the same correction by D. Hagedorn via PN. Hagedorn also (again via PN) corrected the name Εὐφρόντιον in l. 10 to Εὐφράντιον. Finally, N. Gonis dated this papyrus to the sixth century A.D., in his article *ἄφθονοι οἴκοι: Keeping the Evil Eye at Bay*, in *APF* 65 (2019) 344. For the image of the papyrus see <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/bgu;3;874>.

The sender wrote an abbreviation  (= παρά; cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67323, 1 [c. A.D. 540]; *CPR* XXV 25, 1 [end of VI–early VII A.D.]; *CPR* XIV 49, 1 [VI–VII A.D.];

CPR XXIV 22, 1 [VI A.D.] in the middle of the first line, and then immediately mentioned an earlier request he had made to the recipient concerning some money.

In ll. 2–3 of the edition (actually, ll. 3–4, if we consider the abbreviation as l. 1), the first edition read εἰς δὲ τοῦτο ἐποίησας, γράψον μοι ἐνταῦθα. However, in the image of the papyrus we could read clearly εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐποίησας, γράψον μοι ἐνταῦθα, that is, “if you did that, write to me here”. It is not clear if the meaning of the adverb at this point was (a) place, that is, “write to me to my address here, and not elsewhere”, meaning that this person was staying there for the time being, or (b) time, that is “write to me forthwith”, meaning immediately after you received the letter.

In ll. 5–8 of the edition (actually, ll. 6–9, if we consider the abbreviation of παρά as l. 1) the sender writes:

6 μετάδος δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἡλίᾳ τῷ ἀδελφ(ῶ) ὡς μετέδοκα (*l. μετέδωκα*) Πέτρῳ
 7 περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὃν εἶπέν μοι καὶ μεταδέδωκέν μοι
 8 ἀνεπεγνώσκει τὰ ἀναλώματα τοῦ λιβελλίου, γράψον μοι καὶ
 9 ποιῶ. κτλ.

Based on the printed version, with all the punctuation marks, we assume that Petros’ reply is that he knows about(?) the expenses made for the petition. If we follow this interpretation, then the scribe wrote a wrong form, ἀνεπεγνώσκει, which either (1) stands instead of the infinitive ἀνεπιγινώσκειν (as the object of the verb μεταδέδωκεν) or (2) is the third person indicative of the present tense if we consider that “ἀνεπεγνώσκει τὰ ἀναλώματα τοῦ λιβελλίου” is placed in direct speech (after καὶ μεταδέδωκέν μοι; see LSJ *s.v.* μεταδίδωμι 3 “communicate”) and reproduces the words of Petros verbatim. However, the verb ἀνεπιγινώσκω does not exist in Greek. This is why Palmer, *op. cit.*, proposed ἀνεπιγνώστί, which, however, does not exist either; for the adverbs ending in -ι in the Greek papyri see N. Litinas, G. Triantafyllou, *Adverbs in -ως in Documents of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Rethymnon 2019, 271–274. We can find the adjective ἀνεπίγνωστος “not distinctly known” and the adverb ἀνεπιγνώστως “not noticeably” in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.vv.*), but certainly such a meaning is not required in the Berlin papyrus.

Therefore, I propose to read and punctuate the published text as:

6 μετάδος δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἡλίᾳ τῷ ἀδελφ(ῶ) ὡς μετέδοκα (*l. μετέδωκα*) Πέτρῳ
 7 περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὃν εἶπέν μοι καὶ μεταδέδωκέν μοι:
 8 “ἂν ἐπεγνώσκει τὰ ἀναλώματα τοῦ λιβελλίου, γράψον μοι καὶ
 9 ποιῶ”. κτλ.

Translation: “Communicate with Mr Elias, my brother, that I communicated with Petros about the thing which he (that is, Elias) told me, and he (that is, Petros) communicated with me: “if he approves the expenses for the petition, write to me and I will do (that is, the necessary things)”.

The form ἐπεγνώσκει is also obviously wrong, and should be put in the subjunctive after ἂν, that is, in the form ἐπιγινώσκη or ἐπεγνῶ. However, we can attribute this to the influence of the present tense form ἐπιγινώσκω (from which the third-person singular ending -ωσκει is retained) and the aorist form ἐπέγνων (from which the stem

ἔπειν- is preserved). A similar form can be found in Didymus Caecus, *in Gen.* 232 κρείσσον γὰρ αὐτοῖς μὴ ἐπεινωσκέσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἢ ἐπινοῦσιν ἀνακάμψαι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. In papyri the verb ἐπιγινώσκω is found with the meaning “find out, learn” cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* VI 930, 11–15 (II–III A.D.): ἐμέλησε δέ μοι πέμψαι καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῆς ὑγίας (*l.* ὑγείας) σου καὶ ἐπιγινώσαι τί ἀναγ{ε}ι<γ>νώσκεις; *PFay.* 112, 15–16 (A.D. 99) ἐπίγνωθι (*l.* ἐπίγνωθι) εἰ ἐσκάφη ὦ (*l.* ὀ) τῆς Διονουσιᾶδος ἐλαιῶν.

1149. A Ghost Village Called Pany
and Some Rare Expressions in *SB* VI 9137

This article addresses certain revisions in *SB* VI 9137, a private letter written on papyrus, dated to the fifth century A.D. The document presents two significant points of scholarly interest. The first concerns the interpretation of the term πάνυ, while the second involves a proverbial expression — “(s)he throws medicament which takes off the skin(?), and vinegar on me” — for which no precise counterpart has been identified in extant ancient literature. It was published by Hans Gerstinger, *Prodromus Corporis epistularum privatarum inter papyros Graecas Vindobonenses (PER) asservatarum edendi*, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 363–381, esp. 371–373. The sender of the letter is a person called Phoibammon (for the person see TM Per 379108), and the recipient is his “brother” Salaminios (for the person see TM Per 379107)¹⁰.

The word Πάνυ in ll. 10 and 13 has so far been considered the name of the village Pany, which is now an entry in TM Geo 11706. The syntax of the clause δεῦοι πρὸς ἐμ[ἔ] εἰς τὴν κόμην Πάνυ in ll. 9–10 was the reason which led Gerstinger to this interpretation. To date, no sources reference a village called Πάνυ. It is my belief that in both lines 10 and 13, the word πάνυ should be understood as the adverb πάνυ. In ll. 9–11 we must divide the clauses as: καὶ δεῦοι πρὸς ἐμ[ἔ] εἰς τὴν κόμην. πάνυ πίσοι (*l.* πεῖσοι) τὴν ψηγή<ν> (*l.* ψυχή<ν>) σου. In l. 13 we may read εἰδέξ, πάνυ δ’ ἐυκε σοι (for the new readings see below).

There are additional points that require refinement, which are addressed in the following article. I provide the revised text with the new elements highlighted in bold. Some of the phrases presented for the first time are particularly noteworthy. Based on the new readings in ll. 5–7 a colloquial phrase ῥίπτει ἐκδόρειον(?) καὶ ὀξίδιον ἐπάνω μου appears, and as the writer himself says, it was mentioned with sarcasm, ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρωγείαν (see 5n., 6n. 6–7n.). In ll. 3–4 the phrase καὶ ἀφῶ τὰ εἶδιά μου reminds us of the Gospel of St. Luke (see 3–4n.). There is a new verb in l. 9, σκυλιστίσσατο, but its form was based on σκύλλω, a well-known verb. In ll. 14–15 ὡς ἔργον καλῶν ἐὰν μὴ θέλις ἔργων πάλιν τὸ θέλεις makes the understanding difficult, but the text and the context become meaningful with the addition of an article and the change of punctuation.

¹⁰ A photo of the papyrus can be accessed in <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;6;9137>. Again, I would like to express my gratitude to the readers of the journal for their invaluable comments regarding my efforts to resolve the interpretative issues of this text.

recto

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- 1 κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Σαλαμινί[ϕ]
 Φοιβάμμων χαιρέι[ν].
 .[.] δοκῶ, τοῦτο γέναιται, καὶ
 ἀφῶ τὰ εἰδιά μου. φήμη<v> οἴκουσα,
 5 ὅτι ὁ γεοῦχος ῥεῖπτη ὀκδ̄ ρειν
 καὶ ὀξεῖδιγ ἀπάνω μου ἐπὶ τὴν ὕρο-
 νεῖα. οὔτο ἄφνος ἐξήλθα. ἄφες Καλλί-
 νικος εἶνα λάβη τὰ λίτρα ταῦτα
 καὶ σκυλιστισιάτο. καὶ δεῦου πρὸς ἐμ[ε]
- 10 εἰς τὴν κώμην. πάνυ πίσον τὴν
 ψηχή<v> σου· καλὰ γὰρ σίππια λευκὰ
 ἔχω. οἶδα γάρ ὅτι καλὸν ἀρεῖς.
 εἰδέ, πάνυ δ' ἔουκε σοι ὡς ἔργον <τῶν>
 καλῶν. ἐὰν μὴ θέλεις, ἔργων πάλιν,
 15 τὸ θέλεις, [ὀ]φείλετέ σου.
 ἐρρωσθαί [σε εὔχομαι]
 πολλ[οῖς] χρόνοις,
 κύρι[ε] μου ἀδελφε].

verso

→

19 κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Σαλαμιν(ίῳ) Φ[ο]ιβά[μμων].

↓

20 (hand 2?) ἀπόδος Σαλαμί[ν]ιος

3 *l.* γένεται 4 *l.* ἰδιά; *l.* ἤκουσα 5 *l.* ῥίπτει; *l.* ἐκδ̄ ρειον 6 *l.* ὀξίδιον 6–7 *l.* τῆ εἰρω|νεῖα 7 *l.* οὔτο ἄφνος 7–8 *l.* Καλλί|νικον 8 *l.* ἴνα 9 *l.* σκυλιστισιάτο; *l.* ὄδευε 10 *l.* πείσον 11 *l.* ψηχή<v> 12 *l.* αἰρεῖς 13 *l.* ἰδέ; *l.* ἔουκε 14 *l.* θέλης 15 *l.* [ὀ]φείλεταί σοι 20 *l.* ἀπόδος

Translation: “To my lord brother Salaminios, I Phoibammon, greetings. . . . what I am looking for, let that happen, and to leave my possessions (or, to leave my household?). I heard a rumor that the landowner throws on me me dicament which takes off the skin(?), and vinegar, speaking with sarcasm. Thus, I left suddenly. Let Kallinikos receive these pounds and let him bend over backwards to do so. Then, come to me in the village. Try very hard to persuade yourself (or, your soul) to come. I have nice white tow. I know that you select the best quality. Look, this really befits you because it is top quality. If you do not want (to select tow of the top quality), again any of the products you want (to select) will be earmarked for you. I pray for your lasting health, my lord brother”.

“To my lord brother Salaminios, I, Phoibammon. Give (the letter); Salaminios”.

1 Σαλαμίν[ϕ] in *ed. pr.* After *v* at the end of the line, the lower tip of a vertical stroke can be seen, therefore we can read Σαλαμινί[ϕ]. The forms of the name Σαλαμίνος or Σαλαμίνιος are found in papyri, esp. in the Byzantine period; for the name

see TM Nam 26339. In l. 20 the form Σαλαμί[ν]ιος may be considered a nominative. In addition, in l. 19 on the back we may resolve Σαλαμιν(ίω).

2 χαίρ(ειν) *ed. pr.* Obviously Gerstinger considered the remains of ink after ρ not letters but a stroke or symbol to indicate the abbreviated word. However, the traces are extended as far as the end of the line, thus I suggest χαίρει[ν] as an alternative reading.

3–4 [. . .]ι[.]αρ, [δ π]ρ[οσ]δ[ο]κῶ in *ed. pr.* and the editor suggests restorations such as [ε]ἰ [γ]άρ, [δ π]ρ[οσ]δ[ο]κῶ or [μ]αί (l. μ]ή) [γ]άρ... or [μη μο]ι γάρ... One may compare Menander, *Dyscolus* 784–5 οὐχ ὡς ἐβουλόμην ἅπαντά μοι, πάτερ, οὐδ' ὡς προσεδόκων γίνεται παρὰ σοῦ. However, any of these restorations seem too long for the space occupied by traces of ink and damaged surface. I propose to keep [.] δοκῶ. The first letter has a long downstroke; therefore, it may be ρ or ι or ψ or φ, but it is not certain if before this first letter there was another letter, e.g. ο or ε, now totally faded. Then again, we can see some downstrokes after some letters, which seem to be again ι, or ρ (if we consider that the traces of circular strokes at their top edges are part of the letter). In addition, the reading π]ρ[οσ]δ[ο]κῶ of *ed. pr.* or another reading, e.g. ὡς δοκῶ, cannot be correct, because the space between ρ and δ cannot accommodate two letters, even if they are small. One may expect the pronoun σοι to indicate that something good is expected to happen to the recipient of the letter. If this is correct, then at least one of these downstrokes is ι of this σοι.

The form γεναιται does not exist in Greek, therefore we assume that it is a subjunctive because of the following ἀφῶ, which seems to be hortatory subjunctive. The mistake can easily be explained: γένηται → γένηται (cf. the same form in *O. Claud.* Π 270, 6) → γέναιται; For η spelt as αι see examples in Gignac, *Gram.* I, 248–250, but no exact parallel concerning the subjunctive is provided there; cf. similar mistakes in *P.Oxy* I 157, 5 (VI A.D.) ἵνα ὑποδέξαιται (l. ὑποδέξεται) \τὸ/ μέτρον. For the phrase cf. *P.Brem.* 19, 7–8 (c. A.D. 113–120) ἵνα, δ ἐπιδικαιώσης, τοῦτο γένηται.

In the *ed. pr.* the text is understood as “möchte doch das, was ich vermute (befürchte), nicht geschehen, und ich meine Habe nicht verlieren”. However, the phrase ἀφίημι τὰ ἴδια reminds one of the phrase in the Gospel of St. Luke 18:28 ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες τὰ ἴδια ἠκολουθήσαμεν σοι; cf. Clemens, *Quis dives salvetur* 4.10 and 22.1 «ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω, ὃς ἂν ἀφῆ τὰ ἴδια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ χρήματα ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπολήψεται ἑκατονταπλασίονα»; J.Chr., *PG* 62, 447 καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ ἴδια ἀφέντες, τὰ κοινὰ μεριμνῶμεν. The exact meaning of the phrase remains uncertain: it could signify “I leave my property” or “I depart from my own home”. For further references see J. P. Louw, E. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, New York 1988, 558–559. We may also compare a similar idea as expressed in *P.Mich.* VIII 494, 1–6 (II A.D.) Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίωι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. εἰ μὴ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προσεδόκων σε πάντως ἂν αὐτὸς πάντα ὑπερθέμενος πρὸς σὲ ἦλθον, “Didymos to Apollonios, his brother, greeting. If I were not expecting you daily, I would certainly have put everything aside and come to you myself”.

4 φήμη *ed. pr.* Cf. l. 10, where the accusative of a noun of the first declension ends in -η, that is ψηχή<v> (l. ψυχή<v>); for the omission of v at the end of a noun see examples in Gignac, *Gram.* I, 111–112. The phrase ἀκούω φήμην is not attested

elsewhere in papyri; cf. *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3401, 9–10 (IV A.D.) γέγονεν φήμη περὶ [το]ῦ χρυσοῦ. On the other hand, one may assume that this phrase is poetic, since we find it in Euripides, *Troades* 216 φάμαν ἤκουσ', Sophocles, *OT* 43 φήμην ἀκούσας, and Menander, *Sicyonius* 370 ἤκουσα φήμην; cf. also in Diod. Sic. 13.63.6 ἀκούουν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμην; Joseph, *BJ* 4.592 ἀκούειν πολέμου φήμην.

For the spelling mistake οἴκουσα cf. *P.Ryl.* III 461, 5 (VI A.D.) εἰσοίκου[σέν] (on an amulet on which psalms were written; TM 62162). Obviously, the mistake was not phonological, that is, the interchange of η and υ (see Gignac, *Gram.* I, 264–265) and then the interchange of υ and οι (see Gignac, *Gram.* I, 198–199), but οι was written affected by the spelling of the word οἶκος.

5 ὀκδαρειν (*l.* ὀκδάρη<ο>v) *ed. pr.* The letter after the uncertain δ may be α or ε. It is difficult to read ου. The meaning is not known and certainly not clear. The comment in *ed. pr.* states that it could be used instead of κωδάριον, “fleece”. One expects here a substance which is associated with ὀξειδίῳ in an idiomatic phrase, and its name should end in -ειν = -ειον = -ιον. I think that we should consider that the word ἐκδόριον or ἐκδόρειον is better understood here (but written by the scribe as ὀκδέρειν or ὀκδάρειν, if an anticipation error of ο and ε, or an interchange of ο/ε and ο/α happened). Its meaning when it is attributed to medicaments is “which take off the skin”; see LSJ *s.v.*, with references to Dsc. 3.62, Aët. 2.174, while it is also attributed to ἐπιθέματα in Gal. 12.448 (Kühn). The phrase is certainly used metaphorically, because it is impossible that the writer has heard that the landowner throws medicine and vinegar over him. Certainly, he would have felt it if it was a fact, and many others would have heard the pain of Phoibammon when the vinegar was applied on his skinned flesh. Therefore, “I put a medicine that takes off the skin and then vinegar on top of it” may mean that someone causes you greater pain and suffering than you already have¹¹.

¹¹ The verb ῥίπτω reminds us of the Modern Greek phrase «ρίχνω αλάτι στην πληγή» which has an equivalent in English “rub salt in someone’s wound”, but in Greek it literally means “throw” as in the text of the papyrus. The application of salt to a wound could serve as a means of osmosis to kill bacteria, but it was also a method of torture; cf. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d’Ochrida, Candie et Moscou*, Subsidia hagiographica 38, Brussels 1963 section 13, regarding the martyr Andronicus: ἀνάψας δὲ ὁ τύραννος τῷ θυμῷ καὶ ὄλωσ ἐξεστηκὸς καὶ κατάφορος γερονὸς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς πάλοις διατανθῆναι καὶ νεύροις ὁμοῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τυφθῆναι, ὥστε τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος πίπτειν· ὀλοπλήγου δὲ τοῦ σώματος γερονότος ἄλας πασθῆναι τὰς πληγὰς διετάξατο. Πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἅγιος σεμνὸν ὑπομειδιάσας εἶπεν· «Τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ἐπομόσας οὐδὲν μέγα καὶ κατ’ ἐμοῦ διεπράξω, ἀνοσιώτατε Μάξιμε· πλὴν εἰ καὶ ἄλμην ἐπιπάσσεσθαί μοι κελεύεις, οὐ δριμύττεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄσηπτον τῷ σώματι προξενεῖς», “and the tyrant was furious, and totally driven out of his mind, and tempestuous, he ordered that he be put tied to the stakes and stretched and with raw cords they hit him so much that his flesh was torn from his body; and when his entire body was full of wounds he commanded that salt be rubbed into the wounds. To whom (i.e. Maximus) the holy man, humbling himself, smiled gently and said «Even though you have sworn by the emperors and the demons, you have done nothing serious against me, most unholy Maximus; but even if you command that salt be rubbed into me, you do not treat me severely, but you cause my body not to decay»”.

6 ἄπαν ἐμοῦ *ed. pr.*, where it was stated that ἐμοῦ could also be regarded as ὠμοῦ (= ὀμοῦ). However, after ν the letter is clearly an ω. For the form instead of ἐπάνω cf. *P.Hain* III 58.19 (A.D. 539), *CPR* XXV 18.3 (VI–VII A.D.), etc.

6–7 ἐπὶ τὴν υροῖ[]ετιαγ *ed. pr.* The interpretation ἐπὶ τὴν ὕ(δ)ρο[λ]ετίαν, (*l. ὕδραλετίαν*, “auf die Wassermühle”?) was proposed. After υρ at the end of the line, we see a small dot-like *omicron*, like the ones in *l. 12 οἶδα* and *καλόν*. After ε in *l. 7* there are two vertical strokes, but one is the downstroke of the ι of *καί* in *l. 6*. Before the certain εια at the beginning of *l. 7* there are traces of ink from one letter. I propose to read ἐπὶ τὴν ὕροῖεῖα, which is of course a spelling mistake instead of ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρωνεία. The prepositional phrases ἐπὶ εἰρωνεία or ἐπὶ εἰρωνείας indicate purpose and they are found e.g. in Hesychius *s.v.* ὁ τῶν ὁ σύ, ὁ ἑταίρε, ὁ οὔτος, ὁ μακάριε. πρόσρημα τιμητικῆς λέξεως. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ εἰρωνεία πολλάκις; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* εὐγεκαλῶς, ὁσῶς· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ εἰρωνείας πολλάκις. We also find the prepositional phrases κατ’ εἰρωνείαν, e.g. in Ph. *Apologia*, p. 199 (Cohn and Reiter) ὅσα κατ’ εἰρωνείαν πρότερον ὑπούλωσ ὑπηνίττετο, or μετ’ εἰρωνείας, e.g. Plut. *Timoleon* 15.7 τινὰ λόγον μετ’ εἰρωνείας ἐμβαλόντος. For the meaning of εἰρωνεία see Hesychius *s.v.* εἰρωνεία· ἔστι λόγος ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ ἐναντίον δηλῶν, μετὰ τινος ὑποκρίσεως. I would translate the prepositional phrase “with sarcasm”.

7 For the adverb ἄφνος (*l. ἄφνωσ*) see G. Triantafyllou in N. Litinas, G. Triantafyllou, *op. cit.*, 100. As said there, the word may be considered either a spelling mistake for ἄφνωσ or the word ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης, as explained by Hesychius.

9 οκυλιστισσατο *ed. pr.* with the comment: “das Verständnis dieses Satzes erschwert das monströse οκυλιστισσατο”. It was suggested that it be read as ὁ κύλιστος (= ὁ κύλληστις «Brot») (στυ)σάτο, which is explained as τὸν κύλληστιν στησάτω. The clause was translated: “Schicke Kallinikos, dass er diese (oder die- selben ταῦτά) Gewichte nehme und das Brot abwäge”. However, the first letter is a closed σ. If we understand the verb here as aorist indicative middle third singular of σκυλιστίζομαι, it is a variant form of ἐσκύλ(θ)η (see LSJ *s.v.* σκύλλω). However, I think that the sense here requires the imperative, so the aorist imperative active third singular σκυλιστίσάτω would be a better regularization of the written form. On the other hand, since the ending -ο is uncertain, we could alternatively read -αι, and, thus, σκυλιτίσταται is the present tense indicative middle third person singular of a verb σκυλιτίσταμαι, or, if we understand σκυλιτίστατε = σκυλιτίσασατε (?), it is the aorist imperative active third person plural.

δέου was regarded in *ed. pr.* either as δύου or (ὀ)δέου (= ὄδευε?). The imperative of the middle/passive voice present tense might indicate that the subject is the receiver

In *O.Did.* 393, 32–38 (A.D. 88–96) we read: σὺ δὲ πάλι τοῦ τραχήλου σου (*l. σου*) ἐπέχο<υ>σα πάντα ἀλίξσπαρτα ποεῖς (*l. ποιεῖς*) “(transl. *ed. pr.*) but you, you hold me (?) by the throat and sprinkle salt everywhere”. Even though there is a medical connotation of this word when it is explained by grammarians, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ βίος τοῦς ἠκισμένους δεινῶς καὶ δυσθεραπεύτως ἔχοντας τὰ σώματα ἀλισπάρτους καλεῖ, as Adam Bülow-Jacobsen noted (34n. ad loc.), this word “means ‘destroyed by salt’ and the metaphorical sense is ‘miserable’”. Therefore, this phrase is irrelevant to the Modern Greek phrase “ρίχνω αλάτι στην πληγή”, “rub salt in the wound”.

of the action, that is, “drive yourself”. Certainly, the meanings “wet, drench, mix” or “miss, want” (see LSJ *s.v.* δεύω A and B) do not give sense here.

10 εἰς τὴν κόμην Πάνυ· πῖσον (*l.* πείσον) *ed. pr.*; see introduction above. For πάνυ πείθομαι see e.g. Plato, *Charmides* 176b, *Gorgias* 513c οὐ πάνυ σοι πείθομαι, etc.

10–11 ψηχή(ν) (*l.* ψυχή(ν)) *ed. pr.* For the phrase πείθω τὴν ψυχὴν cf. Alex. Polyh., fr. 140 μέγιστον δὲ φησιν εἶναι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν πείσαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ κακόν; Longus 1.32 ὁ Δάφνης χαίρειν ἔπειθε τὴν ψυχὴν.

11 For σιππία, fibers of flax or hemp used for fabrics or ropes see I. Καλλέρης, *Αἱ πρόται ὕλαι τῆς ὑφαντουργίας εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴν Αἴγυπτον*, Ἔπετ. Λαογρ. Ἀρχαίου Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 6 (1950) 78–230, esp. 192–193, 217–220; see e.g. *P.Prag.* II 176, 9–10 (III–IV A.D.) σιππόινα κύκλεια λευκὰ θ, λίνον ἐπιλυμάτου ἔν (with 9n.), *P.Abinn.* 31, 18–19 (A.D. 346 or after) ἐν ἐτύμωσ (*l.* ἐτοίμω) δὲ ἔχε τὰς (*l.* τὰ) σιππία (*l.* σιππεῖα), φέρω γὰρ τοὺς κοινηγοὺς (*l.* κυνηγοὺς) ἐρχόμενος, ἴνα τὰ λίνα ποιήσωμεν (*l.* ποιήσωμεν), or in in *SB XVI* 12941, 3 (VIII A.D.) καρακάλλ(ιον) σιπιπ(όινον) λιν(οῦν) α.

12 I preferred to understand α<ι>ρεῖς, as in *ed. pr.*, “liebst”, “gerne hast”. We should not understand ἐρεῖς “you will say”, as Salaminios’ response to Phoibammon’s opinion about the tow (σίππια = στυππεῖα): Phoibammon: “I have white tow of good quality”; Salaminios: “Good”.

13 εἰδέ (*l.* ἰδέ), Πανύ δεύκι (*l.* δεύκει) σοι *ed. pr.*, which is translated there as “siehe, Pany sorgt für Dich, dass du schöne Ware (erhältst). However, the editor offered an alternative option, that this πάνυ is an adverb: ἰδέ, πάνυ (εὐ)δοκεῖ σοι ὡς ἔργον καλόν, “sieg es wird dir sehr gefallen, weil es schöne Ware ist”. I think this alternative is the correct interpretation. However, certainly, after κ there are two possibilities: (a) there is a σ immediately after the lacuna, and after it we read the pronoun σοι. Then in the lacuna a small letter, obviously a vowel, can be accommodated; (b) the upper end of the oblique of κ turns downwards and forms the upper part of an ε, of which the end of the horizontal can be seen before σοι. Then the lower part is made, and the right end turns a little upwards so we can still see its end. Certainly, we cannot restore δεύκ[ο]ς, as this word, attested only in the Scholia (see LSJ *s.v.* δεύκος (τό) = γλεύκος, Sch. Apoll. Rhod.1.1037; Aetol. acc. to Sch. Nic. Th. 625), does not make sense. Nor can we restore δεύκ[ι]ς, *l.* δεύκεις, of the rare verb δεύκω, which is explained as “see” in EM 260.54 βλέπω, or “take care” in Hesychius *s.v.* δεύκει· φροντίζει (see LSJ *s.v.*). Certainly, δευκίς cannot be a mistake for δοκεῖς, because we would expect μοι, not σοι; cf. *P.Fay.* 124, 11–12 (II A.D.) πάνυ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖς ἄφρων τις εἶ[ν]αι; Plato, *Euth.* 282b πάνυ μὲν οὖν εὐ μοι δοκεῖς. Since there is a δ(έ) after πάνυ, εἶδε at the beginning of the line should be explained as ἰδέ, even though εἶ δὲ πάνυ is found at the beginning of a clause in the Greek literature; cf. Arist., *Lys.* 1219 εἶ δὲ πάνυ δεῖ τοῦτο δρᾶν; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.11 εἶ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάζοι φαγεῖν; Gal. *De const. art.*, vol. 1, p. 292 (Kühn) εἶ δὲ πάνυ σφόδρα μέγα. Therefore, I propose to read εἰδέ (*l.* ἰδέ), πάνυ δ’ ἔουκέ (*l.* ἔουκέ) σοι. In this case we consider that ἔουκε has the meaning “befits”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἔουκα III 1. The wrong spelling of οἰ and υἰ is not an issue, since we see similar mistakes in l. 4 (η → οἰ) and l. 6 (εἰ → υἰ).

13–15 In *ed. pr.* Gerstinger has divided the clause differently: ὡς ἔργον καλῶν (*l.* καλόν). ἐὰν μὴ θέλις (*l.* θέλης) ἔργον (*l.* ἔργον), πάλιν τὸ θελειτ[ο] (*l.* θελητ[ὸ(ν)])

[ὁ]φείλετέ σου. This interpretation is accepted if we consider that one and the same form can be written differently in the same text, that is, ἔργον sometimes written with *omicron*, and sometimes with *omega*. Then, also the regularization of the spelling mistake καλων to καλόν can be justified¹². For ἔργον καλόν cf. *P.Abinn.* 19, 16–18 ἐὰν οὖν δύνη παραφίνα (l. παραφείνα) αὐτὸν ὀπίσω, ἔργον καλὸ(v) ποιεῖ[ς]. However, this interpretation presupposes one more syntactical error, that is, an accusative as direct object of the verb θέλω, a verb almost always found as an auxiliary; see J. A. L. Lee, *Auxiliary θέλω* in T. V. Evans, D. D. Obbink (edd.), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford 2010, 15–34. Θέλω is also construed with an accusative when a person is indicated; see LSJ s.v. ἐθέλω I 9 “delight in, love” with an example from LXX Ps. 17(18).20 ὅτι ἠθέλησέν με.

The phrase ἔργον καλῶν may be understood as ἔργον καλόν (as Gerstinger suggested in the *ed. pr.*) or we may understand the phrase <τι τῶν> or the simple <τῶν> which are syntactically correct; cf. Plu. *Lyc.* 25.2 ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς ἔργον ἐπαινεῖν τι τῶν καλῶν; *Luc.* 23.4 τὸ δ’ ἔργον ἦν Σθενίδος τῶν καλῶν. In any case, in both instances the sense is the same: “Look, this really befits you because it is top quality”. However, the phrase that follows θέλις (l. θέλης) ἔργων, as said above, the genitive plural ἔργων cannot be construed with the verb θέλις (l. θέλης). Therefore, we can regard ἐὰν μὴ θέλις (l. θέλης) as a parenthetical clause, and an infinitive such as αἰρεῖν (καλόν, which is understood from l. 12) as the object of θέλις. Then, in l. 15 *ed. pr.* read τὸ θελειτ[ο] (l. θελητ[ὸ(v)]). However, the traces of the letter after ει indicate rather a ζ than τ. Cf. the dialogue in Plato, *R.* 332b τί δέ; τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀποδοτέον ὅτι ἂν τύχη ὀφειλόμενον; παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὅ γε ὀφείλεται αὐτοῖς; ὀφείλεται δέ γε, οἶμαι, παρά γε τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τῷ ἐχθρῷ ὅπερ καὶ προσήκει, κακόν τι; cf. also Libanius, *Or.* 37.4 ἦν γὰρ δὴ μοι φίλος καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖην. ἀλλ’ οὐ ταῦτα τοῖς φίλοις ὀφείλεται παρά τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ βοήθεια, προθυμία, λόγος, ἔργα. For the use of the article τό

¹² Furthermore, we can reject some other suggestions, even though they can be explained with some parallels found in various literary texts or papyri:

(a) We should not consider καλῶν a participle of καλέω, which could provide the meaning “that you will call it (a piece of) work”, as in Theodoretus, *Exp. In psalm.* 44, 2b ἔργον ἐαντοῦ καλῶν τὴν προφητείαν.

(b) Nor should we consider ἔργον ἀνθρώπων καλῶν, as in Dem. *Lept.* 54 ἐποιήσατε ἔργον ἀνθρώπων καλῶν κἀγαθῶν, or Dinarclus, *In Dem.* 111 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι καλῶν κἀγαθῶν δικαστῶν ἔργον.

(c) καλῶν is not a mistake instead of καλοῦν. Phoibammon does not want to explain to Salaminius that coming to him to see and get the tow is an obligation, a καλοῦν ἔργον; for the meaning of the verb see LSJ s.v. καλέω I 5. For the phrase cf. Theod. Studites, *Catechesis* 38 (ed. by A. Papadopoulou-Kerameus, *Theodoros Studites, Μεγάλη κατήχησις*, St. Petersburg, Kirschbaum 1904) ἕτερος ἀποδυσπετεῖν πρὸς τὸ καλοῦν ἔργον.

(d) The word ἔργων cannot be the participle of εἶργω, that is, because of a spelling mistake, and πάλιν is construed with it. This could give the following sense: “If you do not want, by hindering again, you deserve what is due to you”. A wrong ε instead of ει at the beginning of a word can be found in the case of the perfect tense of the verb ἐργάζομαι: see e.g. *PSI IX* 1047, a3 and b10 (A.D. 155) ἔργα(σται) instead of εἶργα(σται); *P.Brook.* 19, 2 (VII/VII A.D.) λινάρην ἐργασμένον instead of εἶργασμένον.

instead of the relative pronoun see N. Litinas (2024) *loc. cit.* Therefore, ἔργων πάλιν τὸ θέλεις [ὁ]φείλετέ σου is the apodosis of the conditional clause. In this case, ἔργων is considered as a genitive of the whole.

Nikos LITINAS

1150. Korrekturen zu einer Briefadresse: P.Oxy. XVI 1835

Die Herausgeber schlugen vor, den Titel des Adressaten auf dem Verso als εὐφη]μοτάτω zu interpretieren, merkten im Zeilenkommentar aber an, dass die Lesung sehr zweifelhaft ist. Εὐφημότατος ist in der Tat kein gewöhnlicher Ehrentitel: Eine Suche in der DDbDP ergab keine Parallele (außer P.Oxy. LXVII 4571, ein Fragment aus Demosthenes *De falsa legatione*). Das übliche Prädikat, welches aus dem Adjektiv εὐφημος stammt, ist πανεύφημος.

Ein kleines, loses Fragment lag über dieser Stelle auf dem Papyrus und hinderte die Lesung. Nachdem das Fragment, das nicht hierhergehört, entfernt worden war, hat die Überprüfung des Originalen es ermöglicht, den Titel zu entziffern¹³:

† ἰδίῳ [ἡμῶν(?) εὐφη]μοτάτω προστάτ(η) Μαιαρμάκις

→ † ἰδίῳ [ἡμῶν(?) μεγα]λοπρεπ(εστάτω) προστάτ(η) Μαιαρμάκις

Eine kleine Präzisierung lässt sich auch zu Z. 7 beibringen: ἀπολυθῆναι → ἀποληθῆναι, *l.* ἀπολυθῆναι. Der Schreiber verwendet auch in Z. 2 und 3 bei ἀπολυσαι ein η statt υ.

Linda PUTELLI

1151. CPR I 66¹⁴

CPR I 66 is a Heracleopolite contract for the sale of real estate from the early third century CE (211–217 or 222–235). The seller is an *ex-agoranomos* and councillor of Heracleopolis; the buyers are villagers from Tanaso (TM Geo 7409), which is where the object of sale is situated.¹⁵ The editor of CPR I, Carl Wessely, rendered the referencing to the buyers in ll. 7–9 as follows:

7 πεπρακένοι τὸ υπ[
8 []αντα πέντε Ἀσηκημηφ Ὀννώφρι καὶ Ὀρω Διδύμο[υ
9 [ὡς ἐτ]ῶν εἴκοσι ἕξ ταῖς τέσσαρσ[ι] Ἀρσέμθεως Θενατύμιος [

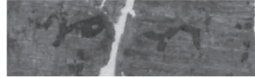
¹³ Die neuen Abbildungen sind auf der Oxyrhynchus papyri image database abrufbar.

¹⁴ The research this note is based on was carried out in the framework of the SNSF project “Urban Biographies of the Roman and Late Antique Worlds: Antinoopolis and Heracleopolis in Egypt, c. 100 – c. 650 CE”.

¹⁵ Cf. l. 10 ὑπαρχ]όντων αὐτῶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κόμη Τανασὸ πλησίον (*ed. pr.* ελησιον) [, implying that Tanaso had been mentioned before, most likely at the end of l. 9 as the buyers’ place of origin.

Several corrections, solving a number of problems posed by Wessely’s readings, can be made on the basis of the online photo of this papyrus provided by the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*.¹⁶

What follows *πεπρακέναι* at the end of l. 7 is not τὸ υπ[– Wessely perhaps thought of τὸ υπ[άρχον – but *Ἀὐρηλίῳ[ς]*.¹⁷



CPR I 66.7 *Ἀὐρηλίῳ[ς]*

Judging by parallels, the listing of the buyer(s) is indeed to be expected directly after *πεπρακέναι*.¹⁸ The name of the first buyer is lost at the end of l. 7 and (perhaps) the beginning of l. 8. The preserved part of l. 8 begins with an indication of his age: ...κ]οντα πέντε (*ed. pr.*]αντα πέντε).¹⁹ The supposed personal name Ἀσηκηφ after πέντε is particularly problematic, not only because it would be unparalleled, but also because a *καί* separating the first from the second buyer would be missing. I propose to read ἀσήμω καὶ Ὀννώφρι (*ed. pr.* Ἀσηκηφ Ὀννώφρι). Wessely mistook the bent tail of *xi* in ἐξήκοντα in the line above as part of the supposed *kappa* of Ἀσηκηφ, but this letter should be read as *mu*. The physical description of the first buyer as “without distinguishing marks” comes at its usual position after the indication of age.²⁰ After ἀσήμω, what Wessely deciphered as ηφ is *καί*, which provides the missing link with Ὀννώφρι, the second buyer. *As(e)kmeph*²¹ (TM Nam 32735) is thus a ghostname.



CPR I 66.8 ἀσήμω καί

¹⁶ <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00010190> (last accessed 21 November, 2024).

¹⁷ [*Ἀὐρηλίος* may thus be supplemented as part of the seller’s name after *ὁμολο[γεῖ]* at the end of l. 4.

¹⁸ E.g., CPR I 57.7: *πεπρα]κέναι Ἀὐρηλίῳς κτλ.*; CPR I 95.5: *πεπρακέναι Ἀὐρηλία κτλ.*

¹⁹ The reading of *omicron* before *ντα* is problematic because the letter in question is connected to the following *nu* by ligature, which does not seem to be the case for the sequence *ον* elsewhere in the text. Reading *omega* instead would be justifiable paleographically — cf., e.g., [*τριάκ*]οντα, as in, e.g., P.Grenf. II 59.2 — but is incompatible with correctly spelled ἐξήκοντα in l. 7. *Alpha* also seems possible; one may think of the rare numeral *τριάντα* (on which see P.Euphrates III 16 introd.; cf. P.Graux. II 21.15 for an early attestation), but this is just as unlikely. Despite the ligature, ...κ]οντα is therefore the most plausible reading.

²⁰ Cf. CPR I 57.12; CPR I 202.8.

²¹ Whereas the printed edition reads *ασηκηφ*, the text of CPR I 66 as entered into the *DDbDP* has Ἀσηκηφ (without *eta* after *sigma*) by mistake, which is why *Trismegistos* has recorded this as an attestation of *Askmeph* rather than *Asekmeph*.

