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EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

(GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART II

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A.

FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

ARTHUR S. HUNT, M.A.

SENIOR DEMY OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE

WITH EIGHT PLATES

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PREFACE

In the preface to *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I, we stated our intention of adopting a chronological system in future volumes. The present work is accordingly devoted to first century B.C. or first century A.D. papyri, with the exception of the theological and some of the classical fragments, and the 'Petition of Dionysia' (No. ccxxxvii), which on account of its great size and importance we wished to publish as soon as possible.

The 193 selected texts in this volume do not by any means exhaust the first century papyri found at Oxyrhynchus; but it is probable that we have examined all the most important documents of that period. The bulk of the papyri of the second and third centuries, and of the Byzantine period, has not yet been touched.

In editing the new classical fragments (ccxi–ccxxii), we have once more to acknowledge our great obligations to Professor Blass, who again visited us last Easter. To him we owe a large part of the restorations of the texts and many suggestions in the commentaries. Some help which we have received on special points from other scholars is noted in connexion with the individual papyri.

The last year has been marked by the appearance of two works of primary importance in the field of Greek papyri. Mr. KENYON's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* for the first time gathers together the results in this department, especially from the point of view of the British Museum collection. Since that book will long rank as the standard authority on the subject, we have taken the opportunity to notice some palaeographical questions respecting which we differ from Mr. Kenyon, and on which the Oxyrhynchus Papyri throw fresh light. But our points of divergence from his views are of course inconsiderable in comparison with our general agreement with them. Professor WILCKEN's *Griechische Ostraka*—the elaborate introduction to which is a comprehensive survey of all the evidence bearing upon the economic and financial aspects of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt—reached us when this volume was already in type. We have therefore been obliged to confine to occasional footnotes our references to that most important work.

The plan of this volume is practically the same as that of its predecessor, except that we have given more details in the descriptions of the papyri not published in full, and have added a grammatical index, and an index of subjects discussed in the introductions and notes.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Sept. 10, 1899.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

In the present volume a few slight modifications of the method followed in its predecessor have been introduced. Of the new literary texts some are given in a double form, an exact transcript of the original being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In other cases, where this more elaborate system appeared for various reasons to be unnecessary, and in the extant literary fragments, ordinary type alone has been employed. Here words have been separated from each other, and where possible, supplements of the lacunae added; but no stops, breathings, or other lection signs have been inserted which are not found in the original. Corrections, if written in a hand different from that of the body of the papyrus, are printed in a smaller type; if not, in the same type as the rest of the text.

The non-literary texts are given in modern form with accents, breathings, and stops. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; an index of the latter will be found at the end of the book. Iota adscript is reproduced wherever it was written; otherwise iota subscript is printed. Additions and corrections are simply incorporated into the text, and their occurrence is recorded in the critical notes. *F*aults of orthography are corrected in these notes wherever they seemed likely to cause any difficulty. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ the omission in the original of the letters enclosed; double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ indicate that the letters within them have been erased in the original, braces { }, that the letters so enclosed, though standing in the original, should be omitted. Dots placed inside brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or erased. Dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are to be considered uncertain.

Small Roman numerals refer to the texts of this and the preceding volume; large ditto to columns; Arabic numerals by themselves to lines.

B. G. U = Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.

Brit. Mus. Pap. Cat. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum Catalogue, Vols. I and II, by *F.* G. Kenyon.

C. P. R = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.

G. P. I = Greek Papyri, Series I. An Alexandrian Erotic *F*ragment and other Greek Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell.

G. P. II = Greek Papyri, Series II. New Classical *F*ragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Gr. Ost. = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

O. P. I = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

Pap. Par. = Les Papyrus Grecs du Musée du Louvre (Notices et Extraits, tome xviii. 2), by W. Brunet de Presle et E. Egger.

Rev. Pap. = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

I. THEOLOGICAL

CCVIII. St. John's Gospel, Chaps. I and XX.

21·2 × 7·5 *cm.*

THE following fragments of St. John's Gospel are contained upon a sheet of a papyrus *codex*. In its original position the sheet was folded down the middle, thus forming two leaves, each of which had on either side a single column of writing. The outer edges of the two leaves have been broken away, so that only the beginnings and ends of lines remain. The left-hand leaf, which is the more complete, having lost but three entire lines at the bottom of either side, contains verses 23–31 and 33–41 from the first chapter. The right-hand leaf, which, besides being more defective at the end, has a lacuna in the middle, gives parts of verses 11–17 and 19–25 from chapter xx.

If, then, the original book contained the whole of the Gospel, which is certainly the most natural supposition, our sheet was very nearly the outermost of a large quire, and within it were a number of other sheets sufficient to hold the eighteen intervening chapters. Written upon the same scale as the surviving fragments, these eighteen chapters would fill twenty-two sheets. The whole book would thus consist of a single quire of twenty-five sheets, the first leaf being probably left blank, or giving only the title. Such an arrangement certainly seems rather awkward, particularly as the margin between the two columns of writing in the flattened sheet is only about 2 cm. wide. This is not much to be divided between two leaves at the outside of so thick a quire. But as yet little is known about the composition of these early books; and it is by no means improbable that the simpler and more primitive form of a large number of sheets gathered into a single quire was prevalent before the more

convenient arrangement of several small quires placed side by side came into fashion.

And this sheet is in fact one of the earliest fragments of a papyrus book that has been preserved. Like the Logia and St. Matthew fragments (O. P. I. i and ii), it is of the third century. The handwriting is a round upright uncial of medium size, better formed than that of the St. Matthew fragment, but, like it, of an informal semi-literary type. It may be assigned with safety to the period between 200 and 300, but it would be rash to attempt to place it within narrower limits. In two cases corrections, or perhaps alternative readings, have been added above the line in a smaller hand, which, however, is to all appearances that of the original scribe. The contractions usual in theological MSS., $\overline{\Theta C}$, $\overline{IHC}$, $\overline{XC}$, $\overline{\Pi NA}$, occur; as these are regularly found in the third century, they must date from a considerably earlier period[1]. Points are not used; a blank space, of the width of one or two letters, commonly marks a pause occurring within the line. The rough breathing is found twice.

The text is a good one, and appears to have affinities with that of the Codex Sinaiticus, with which the papyrus agrees in several readings not found elsewhere. This agreement is unfortunately obscured by mutilation. But though in the case of slighter variants the reading of the papyrus, where defective, sometimes remains doubtful, enough remains to render it possible for the most part to reconstruct the text with considerable confidence. In the absence of positive indications, our supplements of the lacunae are taken from Westcott and Hort's text, with which the papyrus is usually in harmony. A collation with Westcott and Hort is given below.

It is commonly asserted (e.g. Kenyon's *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 24) that the book form is characteristic of the close of the papyrus period, and that the use of papyrus in *codices* was an experiment which was soon given up in favour of the more durable vellum. But the evidence now available does not justify either of these generalizations. When the papyrus book first made its appearance in Egypt it is impossible to say; but at any rate it was in common use for theological literature in the third century. Indeed the theological fragments which can be placed in that century are almost without exception derived from papyrus *codices*, not from rolls. This fact can scarcely be due to accident; and it points to a prevalence of the book form at that early date much greater than is frequently supposed. Moreover, papyrus in the book form did not run so insignificant a course. It may fairly claim to have

[1] We notice that Mr. Kenyon (*Palaeography*, p. 32) states that these compendia are confined to two 'well-written literary papyri.' Our first Oxyrhynchus volume would alone have supplied four more instances. Mr. Kenyon's remark (*ibid.* p. 154) that they are found 'in late theological papyri' is therefore somewhat misleading.

made a good fight, if not to have held its own, in Egypt against vellum so long as Greek MSS. continued to be written there. At Oxyrhynchus it was certainly the material more generally employed from the fifth to the seventh century. The literary fragments of the Byzantine period which we have obtained from other sources in Egypt during the last three or four years, and hope to publish before long, have as often been papyrus as vellum. Only in Coptic MSS. vellum, for some reason, seems to have been more commonly used.

We should therefore demur to Mr. Kenyon's dictum (*Palaeography*, p. 112) that 'in the sphere of literary papyri there is no Byzantine period.' Papyrus remained in use in Egypt, both for classical and theological literature, down to the end of that period; and the types of handwriting which appear upon it have a continuous history of their own. Though no doubt the literary hand, as practised upon vellum, reacted upon the papyrus script, we should say that the debt of papyrus to vellum was unappreciable as compared with that of vellum to papyrus. The prototype of the handwriting of the great biblical codices is to be found in papyrus MSS. of the second and third centuries. The broad heavy strokes, supposed to be characteristic of writing upon vellum, can be shown in literary papyri considerably anterior to the vellum period. The vellum hands, so far from affording any sure basis for determining the age of literary papyri of the Byzantine epoch, are rather themselves to be referred to the papyri for their explanation and date.

Fol. 1, *verso*.

[εγ]ω φων[η] βο[ωντος εν τη ερημω
[ευ]θυνατ[ε την οδον κῡ καθως ει
[π]εν ησα[ιας ο προφητης και απεσ
[τ]αλμενοι [ησαν εκ των φαρισαι
[ω]ν και ηρω[τησαν αυτον τι ουν βα
πτιζεις ει [συ ουκ ει ο χ̄ς̄ ουδε ηλιας
ουδε ο προ[φητης απεκριθη αυτοις ο
ϊωαννη[ς λεγων εγω βαπτιζω εν υ
δατι μ[εσος υμιν στηκει ον υμεις
ουκ οιδα[τε ο οπισω μου ερχομενε
[ν]ος [ο]υ ο[υκ ειμι αξιος ινα λυσω αυ
του· τον [ιμαντα του υποδηματος
ταυτα εν β[ηθανια ·εγενετο πε
ραν του ϊο[ρδανου οπου ην ο ϊωαν

[ν]ης βαπτι[ζων τη επαυριον βλε
πει τον ιηνν [ερχομενον προς αυτον
και λεγει [ϊδε ο αμνος του θυ ο αιρω
την αμαρ[τιαν του κοσμου ουτος
εστιν ὑπερ [ου εγω ειπον οπισω μου
ερχεται α[νηρ ος εμπροσθεν μου
γεγον[εν οτι πρωτος μου ην καγω
ουκ ηδ[ειν αυτον αλλ ινα φανερω
θη [τω ισραηλ δια τουτο ηλθον ε
γ[ω . . .

. . . . . .

Fol. 1, *recto.*

[καγω ουκ· ηδειν αυτον] αλλ' ο π[εμ
[ψας με βαπτιζειν εν υ]δατ[ι] ε[κει
[νος μοι ειπεν εφ ον αν ι]δης το [πνα
[καταβαινον και μεν]ον επ αυ[τον
[ουτος εστιν ο βαπτιζ]ων εν π[νι α
[γιω καγω εωρακα και μεμ]αρτυρηκα ο
[τι ουτος εστιν ο εκλεκτο]ς του θυ τη ε
[παυριον ιστηκει ο ιωαννη]ς και εκ
[των μαθητων αυτου δ]υο και εμ
[βλεψας τω ιηυ περιπατο]υντι λεγε[ι
[ιδε ο αμνος του θυ και ηκο]υσαν οι δυο
[μαθηται λαλουντος και η]κολουθη
[σαν· τω ιηυ στραφεις δ]ε ο ιης και θε
[ασαμενος αυτους ακ]ολουθουντας
οι δε
[λεγει αυτοις τι ζητει]τε ειπαν αὐ
[τῶ ραββει ο λεγεται ερ]μηνευομε
[νον διδασκαλε που μεν]εις λεγει
[αυτοις ερχεσθε και οψε]σθε ηλθαν
[ουν και ειδαν που μενει κ]αι παρ αυτω
[εμειναν την ημεραν] ἐκεινην [ὡ]
[ρα ην ως δεκατη ην ανδ]ρεας ο α

[δελφος . . . . . δ]υο των
[ακουσαντων παρα ιωαννο]υ και α
[κολουθησαντων . . .
. . . . . .

Fol. 2, *recto*.

. . . . . .
μνημ[ειω εξω κλαιουσα ως ουν εκλαιεν
παρεκυ[ψεν εις το μνημειον και θεω
ρει δυο [αγγελους εν λευκοις καθεζομε
ν[ους ενα προς τη κεφαλη και ενα προς
τ[οις ποσιν . . .

3 lines lost.

μου [και ουκ οιδα που εθηκαν αυτον
ταυτα [ειπουσα εστραφη εις τα οπι
σω και [θεωρει τον $\overline{\text{ιην}}$ εστωτα και ου
κ ηδει [οτι $\overline{\text{ιης}}$ εστιν λεγει αυτη $\overline{\text{ιης}}$
γυναι [τι κλαιεις τινα ζητεις εκεινη
δοκου[σα ρτι ο κηπουρος εστιν λεγει
αυτω [$\overline{\text{κε}}$ ει συ εβαστασας αυτον ειπε
μοι π[ου εθηκας αυτον καγω αυτον
αρω [λεγει αυτη $\overline{\text{ιης}}$ μαριαμ στραφει
[σα εκεινη λεγει αυτω εβραιστι ραβ
β[ουνι . . . . . λεγει αυτη $\overline{\text{ιης}}$
μ[η μου απτου ουπω γαρ αναβεβηκα προς
τ[ον $\overline{\text{πρα}}$ . . .
. .

Fol. 2, *verso*.

. . . . . .
ηλθ]εν [ο
[$\overline{\text{ιης}}$ και εστη εις το μεσο]ν και λεγει

[αυτοις ειρηνη υμιν .και τ]ουτ' ειπω̃
[εδειξεν τας χειρας και την πλε]υ
[ραν αυτοις εχαρησαν ουν οι μαθητ]αι ϊ
[δοντες . .
3 or 4 lines lost.
λαβετε π̄ν̄α α
[γιον αν τινων αφητε τας αμ]αρτιας
[αφεωνται αυτοις αν τινων] κρατητε
[κεκρατηνται θωμας δε εις εκ τω]ν δω
[δεκα ο λεγομενος διδυμος ου]κ ην
[μετ αυτων οτε ουν ηλθ]εν ῑη̄ς̄
[ελεγον αυτω οι μαθηται εω]ρακα
[μεν τον κ̄ν̄ ο δε ειπεν αυτοι]ς εαν
[μη ιδω εν ταις χερσιν τον τυ]πον
. . . . . .

Fol. 1, *verso*. 3. Either απεσταλμενοι (W(estcott)-H(ort) with ℵABCL) or οι απεσταλμενοι (T(extus) R(eceptus) with later hands in ℵAC and other MSS.) may have been the reading of the papyrus. The length of the line is rather in favour of the omission of οι.

5. There is evidently no room in this line for και ειπαν (or ειπον) αυτω, which is read before τι ουν by all MSS. It is noticeable that ℵ omits και ηρωτησαν αυτον. The papyrus variant is the correlative of this, and suggests that the common reading is the result of conflation.

6. ηλιας (ℵAC, &c., T.R.) is slightly more probable than ηλειας (W-H., with BL) in consideration of the length of the line.

8. ιωαννη[ς: Ἰωάνης W-H., with B.

10. There can be no doubt that the papyrus agreed with ℵBCL in omitting αυτος εστιν after οιδατε. The longer reading would make a line of thirty-four letters, which is clearly much too long. It is more difficult to decide between ο οπισω and οπισω (ℵB, W-H.). The omission of the article reduces the line to twenty-three letters, two of them being iotas, which is abnormally short. The first line of this column consists of twenty-three letters only, but it includes four omegas and no iota. But, of course, considerations of space are inconclusive for a single letter.

11. εγω was certainly not read by the papyrus before ουκ (so A and other MSS., T.R.), and probably not after ειμι (so B, &c.), for its insertion would make the line longer than any other in this column. εγω is omitted in ℵCL, &c., and bracketed by W-H.

17. The first of the two dots over the ι of ϊδε is visible.

24. The letter at the beginning of this line appears to be γ; the vestiges are not consistent with τ or υ. If ε|γ[ω is right here, ισραηλ in the previous line must have been written in the uncontracted form.

Recto. 6. The first α of μεμαρτυρηκα falls under ω of βαπτιζων; the supplement is therefore a trifle long, nineteen letters as against seventeen in the previous line.

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HISTORY

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4. *και τας χειρας* W-H., with AB, and this may have been the reading of the papyrus. *αυτοις τας χειρας . . . πλευραν αυτου* (EGKL, &c., T.R.) is excluded.

5 ff. There is a difficulty as to the number of lines lost after l. 5. The corresponding lacuna in the *recto* consists of three lines, but there would certainly be room for four on this side of the leaf if that number seemed more convenient. If all the longer variants are assigned to the papyrus, namely, *ο ιησους* before *παλιν* (AB, &c.) and *αποστελλω* instead of *πεμπω* (DL, one of the later hands in ℵ, &c.), four lines will be produced, consisting of twenty-five, twenty-seven, twenty-five, and twenty-four letters respectively. On the other hand the lacuna can be satisfactorily reduced to three lines by keeping the shorter version of verse 21 and following in verse 22 the reading of ℵ, which omits the words *και τουτο ειπων*. In view of the general agreement of the papyrus with ℵ, the latter is slightly the more probable hypothesis.

12. The letters in the lacuna must have been rather cramped if the papyrus had the ordinary reading here. Perhaps δε was written above the line, like *και* in l. 2; it is omitted in a and e.

14, 15. It is clear that the papyrus agreed with ℵ in placing *ουν* before *ηλθεν*, and omitting *αλλοι* before *μαθηται*. The ordinary reading *οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν ὅτε ἦλθεν [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς. ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι μαθηταί* would make l. 14 considerably too short, and l. 15 impossibly long.

17. Here again there can be little doubt of the agreement of the papyrus with ℵ in the omission of *αυτου*, which is read by W-H. after *χερσιν* with the rest of the MSS. The lacuna of this line and the preceding one are of the same size; and even when *αυτου* is omitted the number of letters lost in this line will be one more than in l. 16.

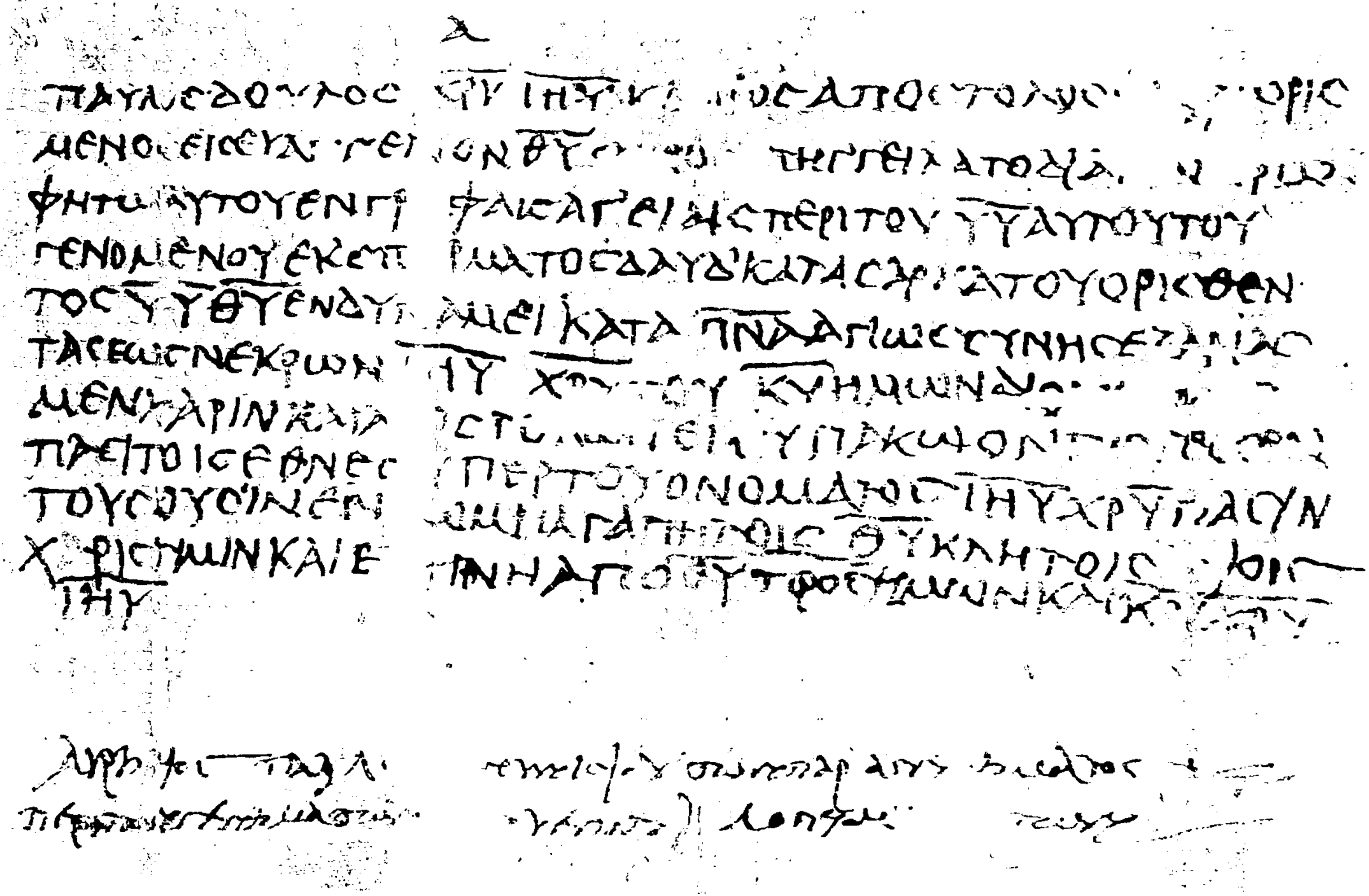
CCIX. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, Chap. I.

Plate II. 25·1 x 19·9 *cm.*

The first seven verses of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, written in a large rude uncial—no doubt a schoolboy's exercise. There are several mistakes in spelling, and part of verse 6 is omitted. Below are two lines in a cursive hand which have no apparent sense or connexion with what precedes. The cursive writing can be assigned with certainty to the first half of the fourth century A.D., and the fact that the papyrus was found tied up with a contract dated in 316 A.D., and other documents of the same period, tends to fix the date more precisely. There is no reason to think that the uncial writing is appreciably earlier than the cursive. The contractions usual in theological MSS. occur.

A

ΠΑΥΛΟC· ΔΟΥΛΟC $\overline{\text{ΧΡΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΙΗΥ}}$ ΚΛΗΤΟC ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC· ΑΦΩΡΙC
ΜΕΝΟC ΕΙC ΕΥΑΓ'ΓΕΛΙΟΝ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ Ο ΠΡΟΕΠΗΓ'ΓΕΙΛΑΤΟ ΔΙΑ Τ[Ω]Ν ΠΡΩ
ΦΗΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΓΡ[Α]ΦΑΙC ΑΓ'ΕΙΑΙC ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{ΥΥ}}$ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΚ CΠ[Ε]ΡΜΑΤΟC ΔΑΥΔ' ΚΑΤΑ CΑΡΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΡΙCΘΕΝ
ΤΟC $\overline{\text{ΥΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘΥ}}$ ΕΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ $\overline{\text{ΠΝΑ}}$ ΑΓΙΩCCΥΝΗC ΕΞ ΑΝΑC



ΤΑCΕωC ΝΕΚΡωΝ ΙΗΥ ΧΡΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΗΜωΝ ΔΙ ΟΥ Ε[Λ]Α[Β]Ο
ΜΕΝ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΚΑΙ Α[Π]ΟCΤΟΛωΝ ΕΙC ΥΠΑΚωΟΝ ΠΙCΤΕΟC ΕΝ
ΠΑCΙ ΤΟΙC ΕΘΝΕC[Ι] ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟC ΙΗΥ ΧΡΥ ΠΑCΙΝ
ΤΟΥC ΟΥCΙΝ ΕΝ [Ρ]ωΜΗ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΙC ΘΥ ΚΛΗΤΟΙC [Α]ΓΙΟΙC
ΧΑΡΙC ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ Ε[ΙΡ]ΗΝΗ ΑΠΟ ΘΥ ΠΡΟC ΗΜωΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥ ΧΡΥ
ΙΗΥ

2nd hand. *Αὐρήλιος Παῦλο[ς . .]ννισιου τῶν παρὰ γενήματος περὶ τῶν γενημάτων [. . .]ου ἐπὶ τοῦ λογείας . . [.] των χαι*

On the *verso*.

15 ? π[. . .]ση ἀπόστολος

1st hand. A

The only variant of any importance is Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ in 10–11, where the MSS. all have the reverse order; cf. 1, where the papyrus has the same order, and the MSS. are divided on the point.

CCX. Early Christian Fragment.

17·3 × 8·7 *cm.*

Fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book containing a theological work, the nature of which, whether historical or homiletic, is doubtful. Lines 14–17 of the *verso* have an obvious connexion with Matthew vii. 17–19 and Luke vi. 43–4, the saying that a tree is known by its fruits. In the parallel passage in the papyrus the words are also put into the mouth of our Lord, as is shown by the following sentence, ἐγώ εἰμι . . . εἰμὶ εἰκών; and this points to the work having been an apocryphal gospel, possibly the 'Gospel according to the Egyptians.' But the passage may of course only be a quotation from such a work, and the writing on the *recto* contains no indication that the book was of a narrative character. In line 19 of the *verso* there is perhaps a reference to Phil. ii. 6 ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. Lines 11 sqq. of the *recto* begin a little further out than the preceding four (the beginnings of the first six lines are lost), an arrangement which, if it is not a mere accident, suggests that the longer lines are a quotation; cf. ccxx and introd. to ccxxi (p. 53).

The handwriting is a good-sized, rather irregular uncial, that on the *recto* being somewhat larger than that on the *verso*, and may be assigned to the third

century of our era. The ordinary compendia for θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and πατήρ occur, as is usual in theological papyri of this period (cf. introd. to ccviii); ἄνθρωπος is contracted by the omission of the ω, and there is another contraction on line 21 of the *verso*, of which the meaning is obscure.

Recto.

. . . . . .
[. .]αρτη[. . .]α̣λ̣[
[.] . εξει ϊ[. . .]ναπ̣[
[. .]ρσιν ου δυνατα̣[ι
[υ]πομειναι δ̣ε πο[
[.]ταξε αγγελος πα[
[πε]ρ̣ι αγγελου λεχ[
τ̣ι̣[.]ς ημε̣ι̣ν τ̣α̣ αβ[
ναταὶ συ[
ουτος τα[
ετι εξει α̣[
τιαπ[
δου[
οπε[
2 lines lost.
σειν̣τ̣[
. . .

Verso.

. . . . .
]μ̣[
]ν[
]ω̣π̣ελ[
] αγαθο[
] ελεγε α̣[
]υ̣ $\overline{\pi\rho s}$ ϋ[
]ν αγα[θ
]το[
]π̣ροι[
αγα]θον το[
] ενεγ'κο̣[
] $\overline{\theta s}$ ο[. . .] αλλα [
]α ῑη̄[. κ]α̣ι ερει τ̣ι̣
αγα]θους [εν]εγ'κει ο̣̄[
ε]νεγ[κ . α̣γαθος [
καρ]π̣ος δ[εν]δρ̣ου αγαθου
]υπο[. . α]γα̣θον̇ εγω ειμι
]τ̣ο ειμι εικων της
]ος εν μορφη $\overline{\theta υ}$
]δια ως εικ̣ων αυ
]$\overline{\mu\theta\omega}$ $\overline{\theta\omega}$ τω
]ν του ειναι
]ειται ορατα
]ντα του αι̣[.
] ϊδεν οτι
]σαν ϊδεν
]ε̣νος επ[.
] $\overline{\alpha\nu\theta\rho\pi o}$[.

II. NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

CCXI. MENANDER, ΠΕΡΙΚΕΙΡΟΜΕΝΗ.

Plate III[1]. 33·4 × 13·2 *cm.*

THE following fragment of a lost comedy contains one tolerably well preserved column of no less than fifty-one lines and the ends of a few lines from the preceding column, written in a round uncial hand. The papyrus was found together with a large number of documents dated in the reigns of Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, e.g. O. P. I. xlv, xcvii, clxxiv, and ccclxxiii; and this fact, combined with the strong resemblance of the handwriting of the papyrus to that of many of the documents of that period, leaves no doubt that it dates from the end of the first or the early part of the second century of our era.

The elision marks and (with two exceptions) the *paragraphi* denoting changes of speakers are by the first hand. There is a tendency to separate words, and pauses are generally indicated by a short space. The MS. has been carefully revised by a second person, probably a contemporary, whose handwriting is generally cursive, and who uses lighter ink. He is responsible for (1) the punctuation by dots, of which three sorts are found: the high dot (*στιγμή*) denoting a long pause, the low dot (*ὑποστιγμή*, see 32 and 47, and cf. introd. to ccxxvi) denoting a short pause, and the double dots denoting a change of speaker (cf. ccxii and O. P. I. xi); (2) several corrections and various readings, together with the occasional addition of letters originally elided, and frequent alterations in the arrangement of speakers indicated by the first hand; (3) occasional insertions of the speakers' names (cf. ccxii and O. P. I. xi); (4) a few stage directions, for the occurrence of which in MSS. of so early a period there is no parallel. The result is a fairly good and carefully arranged text, though a few mis-spellings, e.g. ΕΥΑΓΕΛΙΑ in 18 and the wrong insertion of two iotas adscript in 45, are not corrected. The occurrence of the Attic forms *ποεῖν* (2 and 14) and *ὑός* (50) in a MS. of the Roman period is remarkable.

Concerning the authorship of the fragment there can be no doubt, since lines 11–12 of the papyrus coincide with the quotation *ὁ δ' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ καὶ*

[1] The correct position of the two small fragments photographed in the bottom right-hand corner of the plate was found after the facsimile had been made. The larger of the two joins Col. II. 29–34, the smaller goes at the top of Col. I.

ζηλότυπος ἄνθρωπος ascribed in the Etymologicum Magnum and elsewhere to Menander (Men. ed. Meineke, p. 137 = Kock, *Fr.* Inc. 862). The name of the play is not given, but Meineke assigned the quotation to the Περικειρομένη ('The Shorn Lady'). The certainly known fragments of that play are of the scantiest; Meineke could only cite one, and Kock (who puts the ἀλάστωρ quotation among the unidentified fragments) has but two, neither of which gives any clue to the plot. This, however, is partly known from an epigram of Agathias (*Anth. Pal.* v. 217):—

Τὸν σοβαρὸν Πολέμωνα, τὸν ἐν θυμέλῃσι Μενάνδρου
Κείραντα γλυκεροὺς τῆς ἁλόχου πλοκάμους,
Ὁπλότερος Πολέμων μιμήσατο, καὶ τὰ Ῥοδάνθης
Βόστρυχα παντόλμοις χερσὶν ἐληΐσατο·
. . . . . .
Ἀλλ' ἔμπης τελέθει Μισούμενος· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε
Δύσκολος οὐχ ὁρόων τὴν Περικειρομένην.

(In line 2 there is a variant γλυκεράς for γλυκερούς, from which Scaliger conjectured Γλυκέρας, which was accepted by Jacobs but not by Stadtmüller.)

*F*rom this epigram it appears that the principal character in the play was Polemo, a soldier of a violent disposition, who in a jealous mood went so far as to cut off the hair of his mistress, and that she, if we accept the emendation of Scaliger, was called Glycera. Some more details are supplied by Philostratus, *Ep.* xxvi. p. 924 οὐδὲ ὁ τοῦ Μενάνδρου Πολέμων καλὸν μειράκιον περιέκειρεν, ἀλλ' αἰχμαλωτοῦ μὲν ἐρωμένης κατετόλμησεν ὀργισθείς, ἣν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀποκείρας ἠνέσχετο. κλαίει γοῦν καταπεσὼν καὶ μεταγιγνώσκει τῷ φόνῳ τῶν τριχῶν. *F*rom this we gather that Polemo's mistress was a captive, and that he subsequently repented of his rash deed.

The discovery of the present fragment completely establishes the correctness of Meineke's acute conjecture, as well as the emendation of Scaliger in the epigram. In our papyrus we have Polemo, the rude and jealous soldier who has been deserted by his mistress Glycera on account of his ill treatment of her, and now wishes to be reconciled, together with several references (13 and 47) to a πάροινον or act of drunken violence committed by Polemo, i. e. the cutting of Glycera's hair. As Blass remarks, there can be no doubt that our fragment belongs to the closing scene of the play, the plot of which can now to a considerable extent be reconstructed. Besides Polemo and Glycera, the characters include Glycera's brother (11 and 50), her father Pataecus (37 sqq.), Doris, a female slave of Polemo (2, 8, 15), Philinus and his daughter (51).

Glycera, a captive (Philostr. *l. c.*) living with Polemo the soldier presumably

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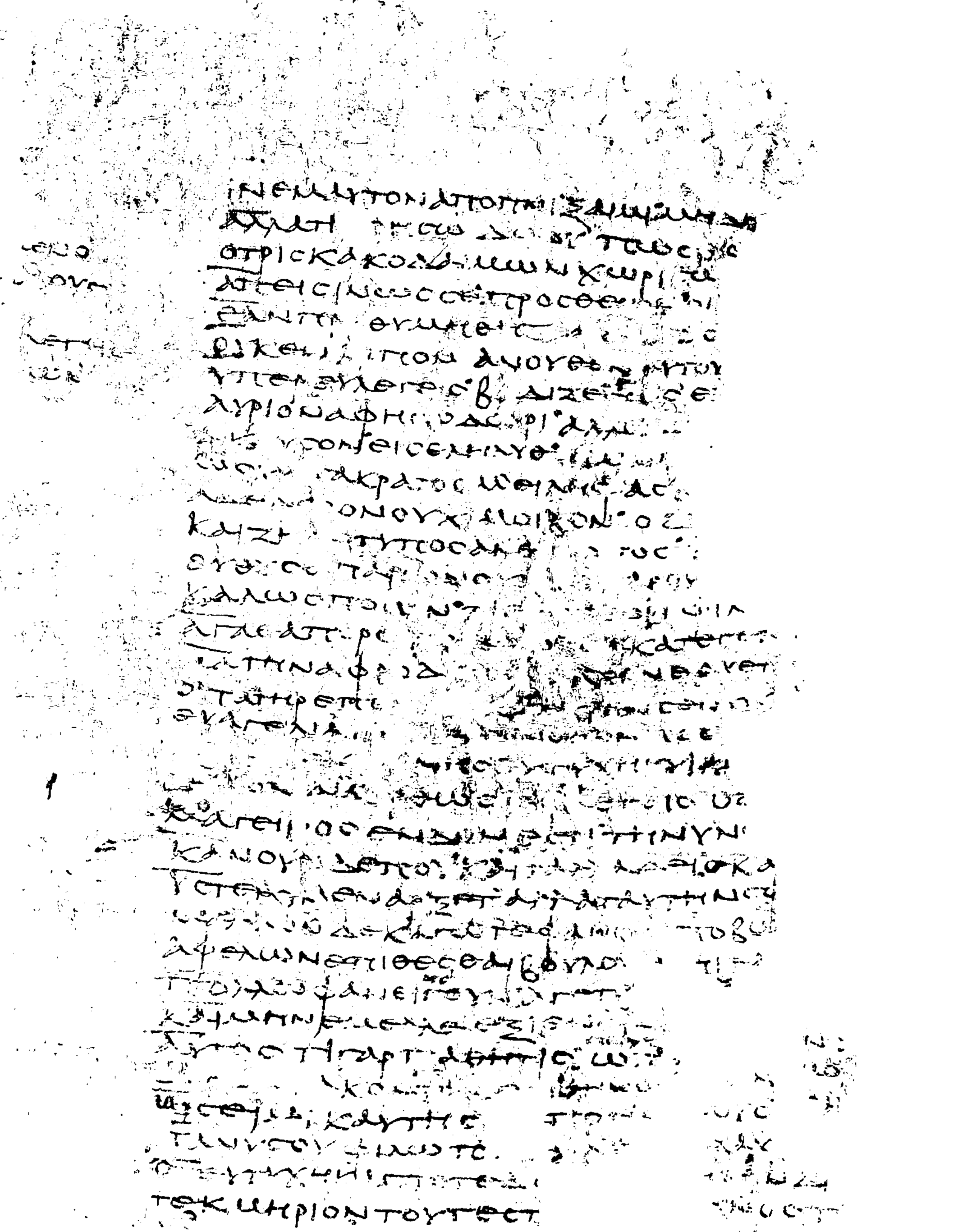

No. CCXI

at Athens, is visited by a man whom Polemo suspects of being her lover but who is really her brother (10–11). In a fit of violent jealousy Polemo cuts off Glycera's hair, whereupon she deserts him, and in some unexpected manner comes across her father, Pataecus, presumably a *ξένος*, with whom she takes refuge (46–47, note). Polemo on finding out his error is filled with remorse, which is no doubt heightened by the discovery that Glycera comes of honourable parentage, and ardently desires to receive her back. This leads to the climax of the play which is fortunately preserved in our fragment. Polemo and Doris are engaged in dialogue before the house of Pataecus, which was on one side of the stage, that of Polemo probably being on the other (cf. note on 49). Polemo is in the depths of despair and threatens to commit suicide, while Doris comforts him by offering to go and bring Glycera back. Polemo is overjoyed at this suggestion and dismisses her (1–8). During Doris' absence, Polemo makes a short soliloquy on his mistake and the rashness of his conduct (9–14). Doris then returns with the good news that Glycera is coming, and suggests that Polemo should propitiate her by offering a sacrifice to the gods. Polemo is delighted with the idea and orders hasty preparations to be made (15–26). Doris then announces that Pataecus also is coming, at which prospect Polemo is much alarmed and runs off into his own house, followed by Doris (27–30). Pataecus and Glycera then come out, and Pataecus congratulates his daughter on her approaching reconciliation. Polemo is brought back, and in 37 sqq. Pataecus formally offers him Glycera in marriage, accompanying his offer with some sound advice. Polemo joyfully accepts Glycera as his wife and is forgiven by her (43–48). The fragment closes with the announcement by Pataecus of the betrothal of his son to Philinus' daughter, whose love affairs no doubt formed a secondary intrigue in the play. It is improbable that the end of the comedy was more than twenty or thirty lines off.

Col. I.	Col. II.
]N:	ΙΝΕΜΑΥΤΟΝΑΠΟΠΝΙΞΑΙΜΙ : ΜΗΔΗ[
]Μ̣ΟΙ	ΑΛΛΑΤΙ[.]ΟΗCΩΔΩΡΙ · ΠΩCΒΙΩ[
]Ç̣ΜΕΝΟ[.]	ΟΤΡΙCΚΑΚΟΔΑΙΜΩΝΧΩΡΙCΩ[
]Λ̣Ο̣Γ̣ΟΥC	ΑΠΕΙCΙΝΩCCΕ : ΠΡΟCΘΕΩΝ · ΟΙ[
	5 ΕΑΝΠΡΟΘΥΜΗΘΗC ΑΚ[. .]ΩC[
]ΛΕΓΕΙC	ΟΥΚΕΝΛΙΠΩΜ̓ΑΝΟΥΘΕΝ ΕΥΤΟΥ[
]ΩΝ	ΥΠΕΡΕΥΛΕΓΕΙC · ΒΑΔΙΖΕ · ϵ̓ΓΩC̓Ε̣Λ̣[
	ΑΥΡΙΟΝΑΦΗCΩΔΩΡΙ · ΑΛΛΟΔ̣Ε̣[
	ΑΚΟΥCΟΝ · ΕΙCΕΛΗΛΥΘ · ΟΙΜΟΙ[

ωCK[.]TAKPATOCMЄIΛHΦACЄ[
ΑΔЄΛΦONOYXIMOIXON· OΔ[
ΚΑΙΖΗΛΟΤΥΠΟCΑΝΘ[.]ωΠΟC· Α[
ЄΥΘΥCЄΠΑΡωΝΟΥΝ ΤΟΙΓΑΡΟΥ[
ΚΑΛωCΠΟωΝ· ΤΙЄÇΤΙΔωΡΙΦΙΛ[
εξερχ ΑΓΑΘΑ· ΠΟΡЄΥÇЄΘωCCЄ: ΚΑΤЄΓЄΛ[
δωρις ΜΑΤΗΝΑΦΡΟΔ[.]ΤΗΝΑΛΛЄΝЄΔΥЄΤ[
ΟΠΑΤΗΡЄΠЄΞ[. .]ΑΖЄΧΡΗΝCЄΝΥΝΠΑ[
ЄΥΑΓЄΛΙΑΤω[.]ΓЄΓΟΝΟΤωΝΠΟΘ[
[. . . . .]ЄΚ[. .]ΝΗCЄΥΤΥΧΗΚΥΙηC[
ΝΗΤΟΝΔΙα· ΟΡΘωCΓΑΡΛЄΓЄΙC ΟΔ[
ΜΑΓЄΙΡΟCЄΝΔΟΝЄCΤΙ· ΤΗΝΥΝΘ[
δω ΚΑΝΟΥΝΔЄΠΟΥ· ΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΔЄΙ: [[C]]ΚΑ[
ΥCΤЄΡΟΝЄΝΑΡΞЄΤ'· ΑΛΛΑΤΑΥΤΗΝCΦ[
ΜΑΛΛΟΝΔЄΚΑΓωΤЄΦΑΝΟΝΑΠΟΒω[
ΑΦЄΛωΝЄΠΙΘЄCΘΑΙΒΟΥΛΟΜΑ[.]ΠΙΘΑ[
ν ηs
ΠΟΛΛωΦΑΝЄΙΓΟΥΝ: ΑΓЄΤЄ[. . .]Ξ[
ν
]! ΚΑΙΜΗΝЄΜЄΛΛЄЄΞΙЄΝΑΙΔ[
εισερχ.[
ΑΥΤΟC· ΤΙΓΑΡΠΑΘΗΤΙC: ωΤΑ[
ν
Є. . . . . ΑΚΟΝΤΟÇЄ. ![[.]]ΗΝΘ[.]ΡΑΝ[
]Ν ειCЄΙΜΙΚΑΥΤΗC[.]ΜΠΟΗCΟΥC'[
ΠΑΝΥCΟΥΦΙΛωΤΟ[.]ΥΝΔΙΑΛΛΑΧ[
]ΑÇ: ΟΤЄΥΤΥΧΗΚΑC.ΤΟΤЄΔЄ[. . . .]ΑΙΤΗΝΔΙ[
ΤЄΚΜΗΡΙΟΝΤΟΥΤЄCΤ[. . . . .]ΗΝΟCΤΡ[
]ωC ΑΛ[. . . . .]ΑΛЄΙΤωΤΙCΑ[. . . . .]ΝΑΥΤ[
]ΤΑ λεμ Є[. . . . .]ΛΛ'ЄΘΥΟΝ[.]ΠЄΡЄΥ[
[. . . . .]ΑΡЄΥΡΗΚ[.]ΙΑΝΟΥC[
παταικ
]Ν ΠΑΙΔωΝЄΠΑΡΟΤωΙCΟΙΔΙΔωΜΙ: Λ[
ΚΑΙΠΡΟΙΚΑΤΡΙΑΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ: ΚΑΙΚΑΛω[
ΤΟΛΟΙΠΟΝЄΠΙΛΑΘΟΥCΤΡΑΤΙωΤΗC[
ε
]ΑÇ: ΠΡΟΠЄΤ[[ω]]CΠΟΙΗCηCΜ[.]ΔЄЄΝ[
πολ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟCΚΑΙΝΥΝΑΠ[.]ΛωΛΑΠΑ[
]Ν ΠΑΛΙΝΤΙΠΡΑΞωΠΡΟΠЄΤ[.]COYΔЄΜ[
]ωC ΓΛΥΚЄΡΑΙ· ΔΙΑΛΛΑΓΗΘΙΦΙΛΤΑΤΗΙΜΟ[
]ΤΑ [. . .]κ ΝΥΝΜЄΝΓΑΡΗΜΙΝΓЄΓΟΝЄΝΑΡΧΗ[

ΑΓΑΘΩΝ.ΤΟCΟΝΠΑΡΟΙΝΟΝ: ΟΡΘΩ[
ΔΙΑΤΟΥΤΟCΥΓΓΝΩΜΗCΤΕΤΥΧΗΚΑ[
πολ$^{\epsilon}$εισισιπαται$^{\kappa}$[
CΥΝΘΥΕΔΗΠΑΤΑΙΚΕ:ΕΤ$_{\epsilon}$ΡΟΥCΖΗ[
ΕCΤΙΝΓΑΜΟΥCΜΟΙΤΩΓΑΡΥΩΛΑΜΒΑ[
ΤΗΝΤΟΥΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΕΡ'· ΩΓΗ[

*F*or the following restoration we are in the main indebted to Professor Blass.

(Πολ.) *ἵν' ἐμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξαιμι.* (Δω.) *μὴ δὴ [φληνάφα.*
(Πολ.) *ἀλλὰ τί [π]οήσω, Δωρί; πῶς βιώ[σομαι*
ὁ τρισκακοδαίμων, χωρὶς ὧ[ν τῆς φιλτάτης;
(Δω.) *ἄπεισιν ὡς σέ.* (Πολ.) *πρὸς θεῶν οἷ[ον λέγεις.*
(Δω.) *ἐὰν προθυμηθῇς, ἀκ[όπ]ως [ἄξω τάχα.*
(Πολ.) *οὐκ ἐνλίπο⟨ι⟩μ' ἂν οὐθέν, εὖ τοῦ[τ' ἴσθ'.* (Δω.) *ἰδού.*
(Πολ.) *ὑπέρευ λέγεις· βάδιζ'· ἐγὼ δ' ἐλ[ευθέραν*
αὔριον ἀφήσω, Δωρί, ⟨σ'⟩· ἀλλ' ὃ δε[ῖ λέγειν
ἄκουσον. εἰσελήλυθ'· οἴμοι [Γλυκέριον
ὡς κ[α]τὰ κράτος μ' εἴληφας. ε[ἰδέναι παρῆν
ἀδελφόν, οὐχὶ μοιχόν· ὁ δ[' ἀλάστωρ ἐγὼ
καὶ ζηλότυπος ἄνθ[ρ]ωπος, α[⏑ – ∪ –
εὐθὺς ἐπαρῴνουν. τοιγαροῦ[ν ἀπωλόμην,
ἐξέρχε(ται) Δωρίς *καλῶς ποῶν. τί ἐστι, Δωρὶ φιλ[τάτη;*
(Δω.) *ἀγαθά· πορεύσεθ' ὡς σέ.* (Πολ.) *κατεγέλ[α γέ σου.*
(Δω.) *μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδ[ί]την, ἀλλ' ἐνεδύετ[ο στατόν,*
ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεξ[ήτ]αζε· χρῆν σε νῦν πά[λαι
εὐαγ⟨γ⟩έλια τῶ[ν] γεγονότων ποθ[ουμένων
[θύειν], ἐκ[εί]νης εὐτυχηκυίας [τόδε.
(Πολ.) *νὴ τὸν Δί', ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις· ὁ δ[– ∪ –*
μάγειρος ἔνδον ἐστί· τὴν ὖν θ[υέτω.
Δω(ρις) *κανοῦν δὲ ποῦ, καὶ τἄλλ' ἃ δεῖ;* (Πολ.) *κα[νοῦν μὲν οὖν*
ὕστερον ἐνάρξετ'· ἀλλὰ ταύτην σφ[αττέτω.
μᾶλλον δὲ κἀγὼ ⟨σ⟩τέφανον ἀπὸ βω[μοῦ ποθεν
ἀφελὼν ἐπιθέσθαι βούλομα[ι]. (Δω.) *πιθα[νώτερος*
πολλῷ φανεῖ γοῦν. (Πολ.) *ἄγετε [– ⏑ – ∪ –*

(Δω.) καὶ μὴν ἔμελλεν ἐξιέναι δ[ὴ χὠ πατήρ.
εἰσέρχ(εται)[Πολέμων
(Πολ.) αὐτός; τί γὰρ πάθῃ τις; (Δω.) ὦ τά[λαιν' ἐγώ.
ε . . . . . ακοντος . . . νην θ[ύ]ραν [
εἴσειμι καὐτὴ σ[υ]μποήσουσ', [εἴ τι δεῖ.
(Παταικος) πάνυ σου φιλῶ τὸ "[σ]υνδιαλλαχ[θήσομαι."
ὅτ' εὐτύχηκας, τότε δε[δέχθ]αι τὴν δί[κην
τεκμήριον τοῦτ' ἔστ[ιν Ἕλλ]ηνος τρ[όπου.
ἀλ[λ' ἐκκ]αλείτω τις α[. . . . .]ν αὐτ[ὸν ∪ –
Πο]λεμ(ων) ε[ἴμ' ἐνθάδ', ἀ]λλ' ἔθυον [ὑ]πὲρ εὐ[πραξίας,
[Γλυκέραν ὕπ]αρ εὑρηκ[υ]ῖαν οὐς [οὐδ' εἶδ' ὄναρ
π[υθό]με[νο]ς. Πάταικ(ος) ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις. [ἃ δ' οὖν ἐγὼ
[μ]έλλω λέγειν, ἄκουε· ταύτην γν[ησίων
παίδων· ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι. (Πολ.) λ[αμβάνω.
(Πατ.) καὶ προῖκα τρία τάλαντα. (Πολ.) καὶ καλῶ[ς γ' ἔχει.
(Πατ.) τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιλαθοῦ στρατιώτης [ὤν, ὅπως
προπετὴς ποιήσῃς μ[η]δὲ ἓν [≃ – ∪ –
Πολε(μων.) Ἄπολλον, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἀπ[ό]λωλα πα[ρ' ὀλίγον,
πάλιν τι πράξω προπετ[έ]ς; οὐδὲ μ[ήποτε,
Γλυκέρα· διαλλάγηθι, φιλτάτη, μό[νον.
[Γλγ]κε(ρα.) νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονεν ἀρχὴ [πραγμάτων
ἀγαθῶν τὸ σὸν πάροινον. (Πολ.) ὀρθῶ[ς, νὴ Δία.
(Γλγ.) διὰ τοῦτο συγγνώμης τετύχηκα[ς ἐξ ἐμοῦ.
(Πολ) σύνθυε δή, Πάταιχ'. Πολέ(μων) εἴσ(ε)ισι, Πάταικ(os) ἑτέρους ζη[τητέον
ἐστὶν γάμους μοι· τῷ γὰρ υἱῷ λαμβά[νω
τὴν τοῦ Φιλίνου θυγατέρ'· (Γλγ.) ὦ γῆ [καὶ θεοί.

Polemo. '. . . that I might drown myself.
Doris. Don't talk nonsense.
Pol. But what shall I do, Doris? How can I, unlucky wretch, live without my darling?
Dor. She will come back to you.
Pol. Good heavens! Do you really mean it?
Dor. If you are set on it, I will bring her at once without any trouble.
Pol. There is no fear of my being backward, be sure of that.
Dor. I'm off.
Pol. Excellent! Go, I will give you your freedom to-morrow, Doris. But listen to what I want you to say. (*Doris enters the house of Pataecus.*) She has gone in. Ah me, little Glycera, how you have taken me by storm! I might have known it was a brother, not

a paramour. *I* was the wretch and a jealous fool . . . in a fit of drunken violence. That was my destruction—and it served me right. (*Re-enter Doris from the house.*) What news, dear Doris?

Dor. Good news; she will come to you.

Pol. She was only mocking you.

Dor. No, by Aphrodite. She was putting on a gown, and her father was supervising. You ought long ago to have been making a thankoffering for the attainment of your desires, since she has had this good fortune.

Pol. By Zeus, you are right . . . the cook is within. Let him sacrifice the sow.

Dor. But where are the basket and the other necessaries?

Pol. Oh, as for the basket, he can begin the sacrifice with that afterwards, but let him kill the sow now. Nay, I too want to filch a crown from an altar somewhere and put it on.

Dor. You will appear much more persuasive so.

Pol. Come . . .

Dor. By the way, her father, too, was on the point of coming out.

Pol. Himself? What will happen to me? (*Polemo enters his house.*)

Dor. Alas! . . . I, too, will enter and assist if I am wanted. (*Doris follows Polemo into his house. Enter Pataecus and Glycera.*)

Pataecus. I thank you very much for that word 'reconciled.' When you have been fortunate, then to be satisfied with the revenge—that is a mark of the Greek character. But let some one call him out.

Pol. (*re-entering*). Here I am; I was only sacrificing for good fortune, having learnt that Glycera had found in reality those of whom she had not even dreamed.

Pat. True. But please listen to what I have to say. This woman I give to you for the procreation of children in wedlock—

Pol. I take her.

Pat. With a dowry of three talents.

Pol. That is splendid.

Pat. In future forget that you are a soldier, and don't ever commit a reckless deed again.

Pol. Apollo, I, who was but now so appallingly near destruction, shall *I* do another reckless act? Never again, Glycera, if only you will make it up, dearest.

Glycera. Yes; for now your drunken violence has proved a source of blessing to us.

Pol. By Zeus, it has.

Gly. That is why I have pardoned you.

Pol. Come, join the sacrifice, Pataecus. (*Polemo enters his house.*)

Pat. I have another marriage to arrange; I am marrying my son to Philinus' daughter.

Gly. Gracious heavens!'

6. The two *paragraphi* above and below this line were inserted by the corrector, being thicker, shorter, and in lighter ink than the others. Their omission must have been a simple error on the part of the first hand. Without them both ll. 5 and 6 would belong to Polemo, and in that case ὑπέρευ λέγεις in 7 would have no meaning. There is a spot of ink, perhaps meant for a dot, under the N of ΟΥΘΕΝ, and it is possible that a dot is lost above the N where the papyrus is rubbed. If so a change of speaker was indicated after ΟΥΘΕΝ. But since there is a space left between the N and the Ε following, we should have expected the two dots to have been placed after the N, as elsewhere, instead of above and below the letter; and even if the ink spot under N means anything, it may be merely a ὑποστιγμή. If, however, the change of speaker took place after ΟΥΘΕΝ and not in the lacuna at the

end of the line, supply (Δω.) *εὖ τοῦ[τ' ἴσθι νυν, τοῦτο* referring to Doris' promise in l. 5 to bring the girl.

8. The reading of the papyrus ΔΩΡΙ·ΑΛΛ involves an impossible hiatus, which is removed by the insertion (suggested by Blass) of *σ'* after *Δωρί* and the alteration of *σ'* to *δ'* in the previous line.

10. *κατὰ κράτος μ' εἵληφας*: Polemo's metaphors are naturally military.

11. For the supplement see Menander Fr. 862 (Kock), quoted above.

12. The tip of a letter at the end of the line can only belong to A or Ω, and is much more like A.

14. For *καλῶς ποιῶν* with the passive, cf. Ar. *Eccl.* 804 *διαρραγῶ . . . καλῶς ποιήσεις.*

16. *ἐνεδύετ[ο στατόν*: *στατός=χιτὼν ὀρθοστάδιος.* The meaning appears to be that Glycera was preparing to come out.

17. ΠΑ[ΛΑΙ is extremely doubtful. The first letter may be T. The vestiges of the second letter suit A, Δ, or Λ better than anything else.

18. The two letters after ΕΥΑΓΕΛΙΑ might be read as Π and P instead of T and Ω, but Π̣Ρ̣[Ο]Γ̣Ε̣Γ̣ΟΝΟΤΩΝ would not fill the lacuna. The two doubtful gammas might be C or T, and the doubtful Ε might be O.

19. The first hand wrote ΕΥΤΥΧΗΚΥΙΑC, the termination being altered to HC by the corrector. The form in *-ης* was the common one in the Roman period, e.g. in the New Testament. By *ἐκείνης* is meant Glycera, and *εὐτυχηκυίας* apparently refers to her discovery of her father, cf. 32, 46–47 and introd.

20. The traces of the *paragraphus* above this line, though slight owing to the damaged surface of the papyrus, are clearly discernible. Between 20 and 21 there is also a *paragraphus* which has been enclosed by the corrector between two comma-shaped signs. Apparently the first hand considered that a change of speaker took place either in or at the end of 20 (probably after ΛΕΓΕΙC, where he leaves a blank space), indicating the change by the *paragraphus* between 20 and 21. The corrector, on the other hand, assigned both 20 and 21 to the same speaker (Polemo), and the comma-shaped signs enclosing the *paragraphus* are brackets indicating its removal; while in order to make matters clearer, he added the name of the speaker against l. 22. In four other cases, between 29–30, 31–32, 33–34, and 49–50, the corrector has inserted a similar comma-shaped sign at the conclusion of the *paragraphus*, and once (50–51) at the beginning of it; but as in each of these cases the other end of the *paragraphus* is lost or effaced, it is impossible to be certain that they were parallel to the bracketing of the *paragraphus* between 20 and 21. The probability, however, that in these five instances also the corrector intended to cancel the *paragraphi* is very strong. Whether he was right in doing so, is of course a different question, which must be decided in each passage separately; but he appears to be, or may be, right except in one instance (49–50), where the bracketed *paragraphus* seems certainly to be required. This case might perhaps suggest that our explanation of the comma-shaped signs as brackets is wrong, and that the corrector did *not* mean to signify by them the omission of a *paragraphus*. But the insertion of these signs must have meant something, and if the corrector wanted to omit a *paragraphus*—seeing that he has inserted two (above and below 6) it is only to be expected that he should wish to do so—the method of enclosing it in small brackets would be the most natural course to follow. Moreover, the hypothesis that the *paragraphi* enclosed by the small brackets were not intended by the corrector to be removed prevents any satisfactory explanation of 20, 21. As we have explained this passage, the corrector assigned both lines to Polemo; but the first hand, by inserting a *paragraphus* between these two lines, intended the division of speakers to be as follows: (Πολ.) *νὴ τὸν Δί', ὀρθῶς γὰρ λέγεις.* (Δω.) *ὁ δ'[. . . .| μάγειρος ἔνδον ἐστί.* (Πολ.) *τὴν ὗν θ[υέτω.* The second change of speaker is necessitated by the first, for some part at least of 21

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is a change of speaker in the middle and none at the end of the line. The adscript Πολέ(μων) εἴσ(ε)ισι means that Polemo goes into his own house to sacrifice; cf. note on 28.

50, 51. The removal of the *paragraphus* between these two lines by the corrector seems to be an improvement. If the reading of the first hand is retained, the speaker in 51 (? Glycera) is made to anticipate in a remarkable way the news which Pataecus is giving. It is much more satisfactory to assign (with the corrector) τὴν τοῦ Φιλίνου θυγατέρ' to Pataecus, and suppose that a change of speaker was made after θυγατέρ'. There may have been two dots after θυγατέρ', since the place which would have been occupied by the lower one is lost. The absence of a *paragraphus* after 51 may indeed be regarded as an argument against the supposition that the corrector introduced a change of speaker into 51, for he sometimes inserts *paragraphi* besides removing them (note on 6). But seeing that the corrector has carefully denoted the changes of speaker by the system of dots, he may have been inconsistent in his use of the inferior system of *paragraphi* which was employed by the first hand. How inadequately changes of speaker could be indicated in drama by the system of *paragraphi* is sufficiently proved by the present fragment.

CCXII. ARISTOPHANES?

21·9 x 11·6 *cm.*

Three fragments from a comedy. The use of ἤν (*Fr.* (*a*) II. 2) indicates that they belong to the Old Comedy (Menander always preferred ἄν or ἐάν); and *Fr.* (*b*) 6]ΤΑΓΑΘΩ[coincides, so far as it goes, with a line quoted by Athenaeus 15, 701 b (Kock, Fr. 599) from Aristophanes, ἐκφέρετε πεύκας κατ' Ἀγάθωνα φωσφόρους. The accentuation makes the reference to Agathon in the fragment certain; and the previous line θύραζ[έ νυν τάχος (?) connects very well with the line given by Athenaeus. It is not known from what play of Aristophanes Athenaeus was quoting, nor, unfortunately, do these fragments give any clue to its title. The expression κατ' Ἀγάθωνα also occurs (but at the beginning, not, as in the papyrus, towards the end of a verse) in a line from Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae Secundae* (Kock, *Fr.* 326), and it has been suggested that the line ἐκφέρετε πεύκας κ.τ.λ. was also derived from that play. This, however, is quite hypothetical; though it is worth noticing that the only speakers which can be distinguished in our fragments are women. *Fr.* (*a*) contains parts of two rather short columns, of the first of which there remain only the ends of about half the lines. The second column is complete at the top and bottom, but the ends of the lines are missing. Both these columns are occupied with a dialogue, the speakers in which are probably women (cf. I. 6 γύναι, II. 1 ὑβριζόμεναι); but the subject of their conversation is extremely obscure. *Fr.* (*b*) is from the bottom of a column, but it cannot be the bottom of (*a*) I, since the last two lines are lyrics and belong to the chorus, and will not therefore combine with (*a*) II. 1. *For* the same reason this fragment cannot be

from the column preceding (*a*) I. (*c*) is also a detached fragment, the position of which is quite uncertain. The script is a large round upright uncial, not very regular, but bold and handsome in appearance. It is remarkable for the use of the archaic form of Z (I) which is occasionally found in Roman papyri (cf. G. P. I. ii). The date of the MS. can hardly be later than the middle of the second century, and it may go back to the end of the first. The hands of two correctors may be distinguished; cf. note on II. 6. The division of a line between two speakers is marked by a blank space in which the usual double dots are inserted; these, like the marginal *paragraphi* which also denote the alternations of the dialogue, are no doubt by the first hand. High and middle points occur at the ends of the lines of Col. I; and in Col. II pauses in the sense are marked by points placed above the line. All these stops have probably been added later, perhaps by the first corrector. The other occasional lection signs are also unlikely to be original.

Fr. (*a*).

Col. I.

]ΙΟΜΑΙ
]ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ·
]ΑΝΗΙCΧΟΛΗ·
]ΠΑΓΕ
]ΧΜΑC·
]ΓΥΝΑΙ·
]ΑΤΙ
]
]. ΟΜΑΙ
]ΔΕCΟΙ
]ΛΕΓΩ·
. . . .

Col. II.

ΥΒΡΙΙΟΜΕΝΑΙ : ΜΑΔΙΕΓΩ[
ΗΝΝΟΥΝΕΧΩΜΕΝCΚΕΨ[
ΜΗΔΕΝΠΛΕΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΥCϴ[
ΤΙΟΥΝΓΕΝΟΙΤΑΝ : ΕΧΑ . [
ΤΙΕCΤΙΤΟΥΘΟΛΕΓΟΥCΙΤ[
ΠΑΙΣΕΙΝΕΧΟΥCΑΝΤΙΒΟΛΩ[
ΦΛΥΑΡΙΑΚΑΙΛΗΡΟCΥΒΡΕΩ[
ΚΑΛΩCΟΝΕΙΔΟCΚΑΙΚΑΤ[
ΤϘ[. .]ΩΙΓΑΡΩCΠΕΡΤΟΙCΙ . [
Τ[. . .]ΑΝΕΜΙΑΙΟΙCΟΤΙΝΕΟΤ[
ϩΥ[. .]ΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΕCΤΙΝ· ΕΥ[
ΕC[. . .]ΤΟΧΡΗCΕΙ· ΚΑΙΠΟΝΟ[
ΚΑ[. .]ΗΝΛΕΓΕΤΑΙΓΩCΕCΘ[
ΑΛΗ[.]ΙΝΩΙΚ[. . .]ΟΥΤΟ : ΝΗΔ[
ϗ ΩCΠΕΡ[.]ΕΛΗΝΗΓΗΛΙΩΙ· ΤΗΝΜΕ[
ΙΔΕΙΝΟΜΟΙΟΝΕCΤΙ· ΘΑΛΠΕΙΔΟΥ[
ΟΥΚΑΞΙΟΝΓΑΡΕCΤΙΝ : ΔΙΑΤΟΥΠΟΝ[
ΦΕΡ· Ε!.[.]ΕΤΟΙCΘΕΡΑΠΟΥCΙΚΟΙΝΩϘ[
ΤΟΠΡ[.]ΓΜΑ· ΤΙΑΝΕΙΗ· ΛΑΘΡΑΙΤϘΠ!Ạ[
ΕΓΩΜ[.]ΝΟΥΤΕΠ!ΟΤΕΡΟΝΑΥΤΗϘ[

Fr. (*b*).

. . . . .

]. .[
]ΤΡΑΓΙΚΩ[
]ΙΝΘΥΡΑΙ[
]ΤΑΓΆΘΩ[
5]ΕCΤΙΝΑCΦ[
]ΤΑΠΑΙCΩ'Γ[
]ΤΟΝΘΕΩ̊Ν
]ΕΝΕΝΩΙΔΑΙC

Fr. (*c*).

]ΝΚΑΜΕΠ[
]·ΟΙΔΑΓΑ[
]ΝΕΙΧΟΜ[
]ΦΙΛΗΚΟ[
5]CΙΠΛΕΟ[
]ΥΛΙ[

. . . . .

Fr. (*a*) I. 9. The letter O is joined to the previous letter by a low curved stroke which may very well belong to Λ, P, or C.

II. 3. The last letter may be Ε.

4. The last letter had a vertical stroke; Y, T, or N, e. g. would suit.

6. Above the C in the middle of the line *as* has been written in a minute and probably contemporary hand. Over this the missing syllable has been written a second time in larger letters by another hand, which is probably also responsible for the addition in 1. The insertion of λ in 8 and of χ in the margin opposite 15, and the addition of *o* as a variant above the line in (*b*) 7 seem to be due to the first corrector.

11. The first letter is either Ε or C; the second is probably T or Y, but N or Π are also just possible.

15. The small χ in the margin may be the initial of the speaker's name, or the critical sign known as χῖ.

19. ΕΠΙΑ: the letter transcribed as Ε may equally well be O. If the third letter is I, as is most probable, the fourth may be A, Λ, or Δ; but they could perhaps be read as a single letter, Ω.

20. ΠΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ: or ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ. C at the end of the line is very doubtful; P would suit the traces rather well.

Fr. (*b*) 6. The doubtful Γ may be Π.

7, 8. These lyric verses, the ends of which are preserved, are shorter than the preceding iambic lines by about four syllables.

Fr. (*c*) 1. The doubtful Π may be Γ.

5. O before the lacuna may be C.

6. Λ might perhaps be read as X.

The suggested restorations in the following transcription are for the most part due to Professor Blass.

Col. II. 1–20.

A. ὑβριζόμεναι. *B.* μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἐγὼ [⏑ – ∪ –
ἣν νοῦν ἔχωμεν, σκεψ[όμεθα ⏑ – ὅπως
μηδὲν πλέον τούτου σθ[ένωσιν – ∪ –
A. τί οὖν γένοιτ' ἄν; *B.* ἔχ', ἀ[πόκριναί μοι τόδε·

τί ἐστι τοῦθ' ὃ λέγουσι τ[ὰς ≍ – ∪ –
παίζειν ἐχούσας, ἀντιβολῶ, [τὸ – ∪ –;
A. φλυαρία καὶ λῆρος ὕβρεω[ς ἔκγονος (?)
κἄλλως ὄνειδος καὶ κατ[άγελως – ∪ –
το[ύτ]ῳ γὰρ ὥσπερ τοῖσι[ν ᾧοῖς χρηστέον
τ[οῖς] ἀνεμιαίοις, ὅτι νεοτ[τί' οὐκ ἔνι.
εὐ[χὴ] δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν· ευ[≍ – ∪ –
ἐς [τοῦ]το χρήσει· καὶ πονο[≍ – ∪ –
B. κα[ὶ μ]ὴν λέγεταί γ' ὡς ἐσθ' [ὅμοιον – ∪ –
ἀλη[θ]ινῷ κ[αὶ τ]οῦτο. *A.* νὴ Δ[ί', ὦ φίλη, (?)
ὥσπερ [σ]ελήνη γ' ἡλίῳ· τὴν μὲ[ν χρόαν
ἰδεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι, θάλπει δ' οὐ[δαμῶς.
B. οὐκ ἄξιον γάρ ἐστι. *A.* διὰ τοὐπὸν [∪ –
B. φέρ', εἰ [δ]ὲ τοῖς θεράπουσι κοινωσ[αίμεθα
τὸ πρ[ᾶ]γμα, τί ἂν εἴη; λάθρᾳ ≍ – ∪ –
A. ἐγὼ μ[ὲ]ν οὔτε πιότερον αὐτῆς [∪ –

CCXIII. Tragic Fragment.

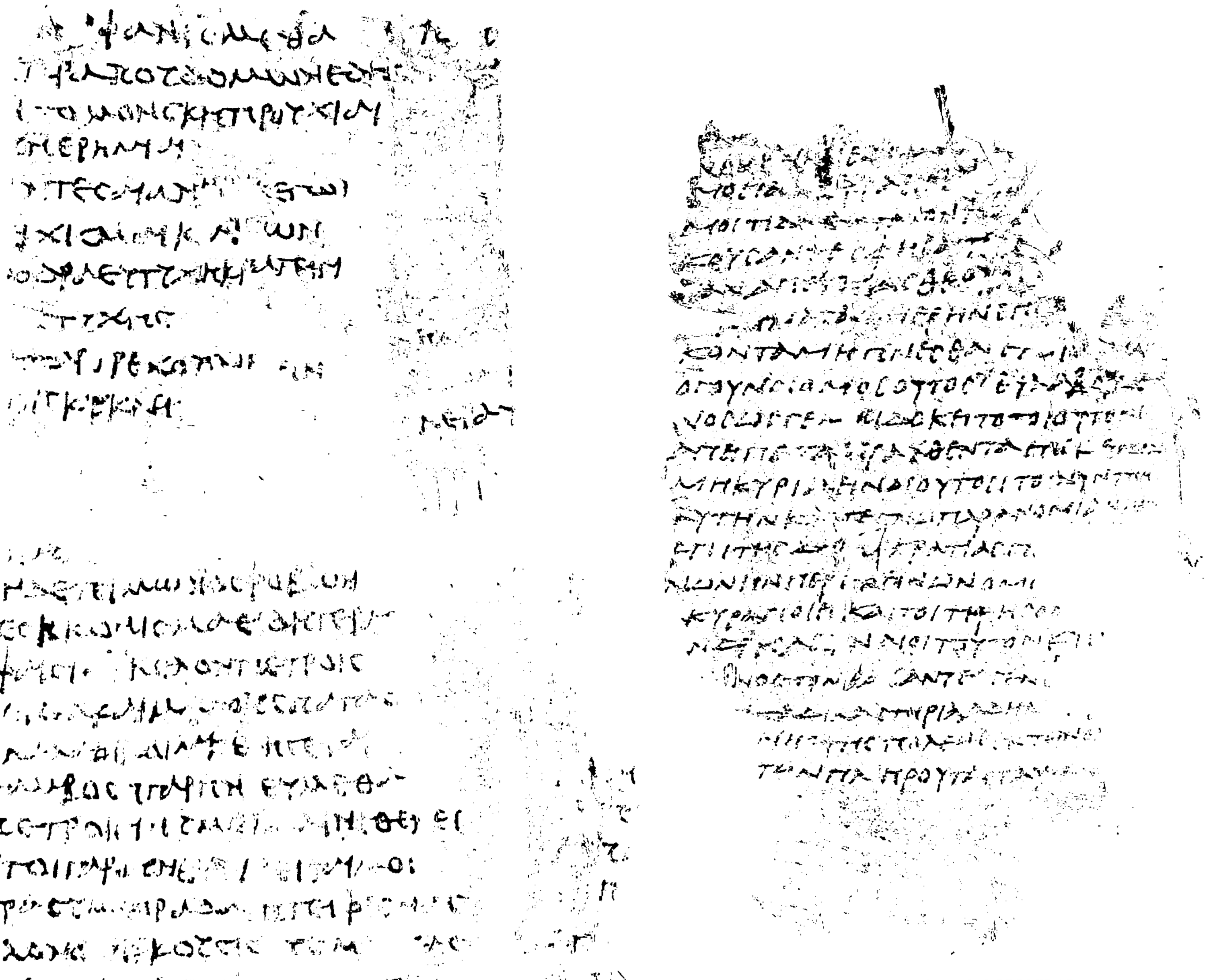
Plate IV. Fr. (*a*) 8 × 11·3, Fr. (*b*) 7·8 × 8 *cm.*

Part of a speech out of a tragedy, written in several columns on the *verso* of an account. The rough unformed hand and the corrupt Greek indicate that the writer was a schoolboy. The subject of the better preserved portion is very clearly the fate of Niobe. The scene is laid in Lydia, and it is probable that the speaker both here and throughout the fragments is Niobe's father Tantalus, who, after lamenting over his daughter's petrified form, bewails (fr. *b*) the loss of his kingdom and the fickleness of fortune. It is an obvious and tempting supposition that the author is either Aeschylus or Sophocles, both of whom are recorded to have written tragedies upon the subject of Niobe. Tantalus certainly figured among the *dramatis personae* in the Niobe of Aeschylus, and a few fragments are preserved of a speech made by him after the catastrophe had taken place. Less is known of Sophocles' play; but according to Eustathius (p. 1367, 21: cf. G. Hermann, *Opusc.* 3. 38; Welcker, *Griech. Trag.* 286 sqq. takes a different view) he made Niobe herself go to Lydia, while her children

were slain at Thebes. The question therefore as between the two dramatists becomes one of style; and Professor Blass, to whom we are to a large extent indebted for the restoration of the fragment, considers that its diction is decidedly Sophoclean. The chief grounds for this conclusion are:—Fr. (*a*) I. 2. ἐπεί in Aeschylus is never placed late in the sentence; on the other hand this is a favourite construction of Sophocles, e.g. *Phil.* 1343, *Tr.* 1174 (ἐπειδή) *O. R.* 801 (ὅτε). 3. λιθουργής is only known from later authors; but compounds of λίθος do riot occur in Aeschylus, whereas from Sophocles we have λιθοκόλλητος, λιθόλευστος, λιθοσπαδής, and λιθόστρωτος. 8. σθένειν with the inf. is Sophoclean (*Ant.* 1044, &c.), but is not found in Aeschylus. 9. τοιγαροῦν occurs four times in Sophocles, in Aeschylus not at all. Fr. (*b*) I. 7. σφόδρα is used twice by Sophocles (*El.* 1053, *Ai.* 150), never by Aeschylus. 10. κυκλεῖν is Sophoclean (*Ai.* 19, *Ant.* 226, &c.), but does not occur in Aeschylus. These considerations certainly outweigh the few instances of the use of Aeschylean words which are not found in the extant plays of Sophocles:—Fr. (*a*) I. 6. ʔ δί]υγος (*Sept. c. Th.* 985), Fr. (*b*) I. 3. σκηπτουχία (*Pers.* 297). There is also to be noted the occurrence of several words not hitherto included in the tragic vocabulary, εἰκόνισμα (cf. Phalaec. *Anth. Pal.* xiii. 6), εἴκελος, τειχίζειν, and ἀκάρδιος and λιθοῦν, if those words are to be restored in Fr. (*a*) I. 8, 9.

The papyrus upon which the piece is written is in two separate fragments, each containing the ends of lines of one column and the beginnings of lines of another. In both cases the bottoms of the columns are preserved; it is therefore evident that the fragments cannot be placed one above the other so as to form only two columns. If they are to be united at all either the second column of frag. (*a*) must be combined with the first of frag. (*b*), or the second of frag. (*b*) with the first of frag. (*a*). The latter possibility is precluded by the occurrence in the last line of (*b*) II of the word κεραυ[νός which cannot be the beginning of the last line of (*a*) I, where only one foot and a half is wanting. On the other hand there is nothing to invalidate the combination of (*a*) II with (*b*) I. The aspect of the papyrus at the right edge of (*a*) and the left edge of (*b*) is very similar; and the writing on the *recto*, of which there are also three columns, is in favour of this position of the two fragments. The speech will then have extended over three columns at least; but they may have been short ones, and the whole speech need not have contained a number of lines greater than is frequently found in the ῥήσεις of extant tragedies.

With regard to the date of the MS., the document on the *recto*—a list of names accompanied by amounts in money—is decidedly early, and probably falls within the first century. The writing on the *verso* is unlikely to be divided from that on the *recto* by a very wide interval; and though it is difficult to date



No. CCXXXII

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The letters YX at the end of this line do not appear in the facsimile owing to the fact that the small piece of papyrus containing them was turned over when the photograph was taken.

II. 1. The third letter may be Y.

Fr. (*a*). Col. I. 2–12.

[⏑ – ∪ –]πε τῶνδ' ἐπεὶ μόνος φόβων.
[καὶ μὴν λι]θουργὲς εἰκόνισμ' ἰδεῖν πάρα,
[τῇ μὲν χρό]ᾳ κωφαῖσιν εἴκελον πέτραις,
[μορφὴν δ' ἐκ]είνης οἶδα κὠμματοσταγεῖς
[πηγάς· δι]ύγρῳ κάλυβι κοιμηθήσεται.
[μέγιστον ἔ]σχον θάμβος· ἢ γὰρ πνεῦμ' ἔνι
[? ἀκαρ]δίοις πέτροισιν, ἢ 'μπαλιν σθένει
[θεὸς λιθ]ῶσαι. τοιγαροῦν θ[εω]ροῦντί μοι
[παιδὸς μ]ὲν οἰκτρὰ συμφορὰ δάπτει φρένας,
[τὸ δ' ἱστά]ναι μολόνθ' ἑκουσίους μάχας
[θεοῖσι] Μοιρῶν ἀντί' ἄζον[ται βρο]τοί.

Fr. (*b*). Col. I.

[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ – ∪]ς [ὠ]ρφανίσμεθα.
[ποῦ μοι τύραννα σκῆ]πτρα; ποῦ δόμων ἕδη;
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ σύ]ντομον σκηπτουχίᾳ
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ – ∪ ν]ῦν ἐρημίᾳ
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑]οντες αἰανὴ[ν] λέγω
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ – τετ]είχισμαι κακῶν
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ – σ]φόδρ' εὐτυχῆ κρατεῖν
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ – ∪ – ∪ δυ]στυχής
[⏑ – ∪ – ⏑ πάντ]α γὰρ τροχοῦ δίκην
ἡγο[υμένη τις δεσπ]ότις κυκλεῖ τύχ[η.

(*a*). I. 3–12. 'Lo, there may be seen the stone-wrought image, in colour like to the dumb rocks, but with the familiar shape and founts of welling tears; a dark abode shall be her resting-place. I am stricken with amazement! Either there is breath in the lifeless stones, or the god has power to petrify. Thus as I gaze my heart is wrung by my child's piteous lot; yet to go forth and engage in wilful contests with the gods in despite of Fate—that mortals dare not.'

(*a*). I. 2 sqq. Cf. Sophocles, *Ant.* 823–833.

4. *κωφαῖσιν πέτραις*; cf. Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 54 *κωφὴν γαῖαν.*

5. *κὠμματοσταγεῖς*: the compound is new. *κὤμματος στάγας* is another possible emendation which would be slightly nearer to the original; the form *στάγες* (for *σταγόνες*) is found in Apoll. Rhod. 4. 626. If this is preferred the next line may begin [*ὅθεν δι*]*ύγρῳ.*

6. *κάλυβι*: an unknown metaplasm for *καλύβῃ.*

(*b*). I. 2. *ποῦ δόμων ἔδη*: the capital of Tantalus was at Mt. Sipylus, where a city called Tantalis is said to have been destroyed by an earthquake; cf. Arist. *Meteor.* ii. 8 *γενομένου σεισμοῦ τὰ περὶ Σίπυλον ἀνετράπη.* The region was known as *ἡ κατακεκαυμένη*, to which no doubt *ἐρημίᾳ* in 4 refers.

9, 10. For the wheel of Fortune, cf Sophocles Fr. 713—

ἀλλ' οὑμὸς ἀεὶ πότμος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ
τροχῷ κυκλεῖται καὶ μεταλλάσσει φύσιν.

CCXIV. Epic Fragment.

11 × 7·9 *cm.*

Parts of forty-three hexameter lines, inscribed upon the two sides of a small fragment of papyrus, presumably a leaf out of a book. What remains of the lines on the *verso*, which is much rubbed and difficult to decipher, is indeterminate in character, the topic being the dangers of travel by sea. The *recto* is occupied with a speech relating to Telephus. According to the legends Telephus was king of Mysia at the time of the Greek expedition against Troy. He opposed the landing of the Greek army on the Mysian coast, but was wounded by Achilles. He was then pressed to join the expedition, but declined on the ground that his wife was the sister of Priam. Achilles subsequently cured the wound with the rust of the spear which had inflicted it; and in return for this service Telephus pointed out to the Greeks their route. The first five lines of the *recto* clearly refer to the initial stage of the story, and describe how narrowly the Greek host escaped destruction at Telephus' hands:—'The Achaeans would not have come yet alive to Ilium, but there would have Menelaus fallen, and there Agamemnon perished, and Telephus would have slain Achilles, the best warrior among the Argives, before he met Hector' (2–5). The situation is therefore posterior to that in the *Iliad*. What follows is obscure. The speaker, who is a Trojan woman (cf. 11 *Δαρδάνου ἠμετέροιο*, 14 *αὐτή*), continnes, and prays for a treaty between Greeks and Trojans; and a further reference to Telephus is introduced (16). A satisfactory hypothesis which will at once explain the situation disclosed in the *recto* and correlate this with the contents of the *verso* (where the speaker is perhaps the same, cf. 5 *ἑτοίμη*) is not easy to discover. The allusions to Telephus may be accounted for by supposing that the speaker is his wife Astyoche; and Prof. Robert, to whom several

restorations in the text are due, suggests that the scene is Italy, and that Astyoche, who with her sisters Aethylla and Medesicaste was among the captive Trojan women, is exhorting her fellow-slaves to set fire to the Greek ships; cf Tzetz. *ad* Lycophr. 921, 1075. This is attractive, if rather difficult to reconcile with *recto* 12–15. The style indicates the Alexandrian origin of the poem.

The papyrus is written in a small, sloping uncial hand which may be referred with little hesitation to the third century, to which also belong a number of cursive documents with which this fragment was found. The handwriting is very similar to that of ccxxxiii, which is of the same period. No stops or lection signs occur, with the exception of the diaeresis.

Recto.

[ε]ξαπινης επεδησεν ανωϊστο̣[ισι κλαδοισι
[ου] κ̣εν ετι ζωοντες ες ϊλιον ηλθον [αχαιοι
[ε]νθα δε κεν μενελαος εκεκλιτο ε̣ν̣[θ αγαμεμνων
[ω]λετο και τον αριστον εν αργειοις [αχιλη̣α
τηλεφος εξεναριξε πριν εκτορ[ος αντιον ελθειν
αλλ οποσον μ̣οι και τ[ο] αμυνεμεν ε̣[
χραισμησαι δε μοι α[. . . . .] . α[
η και απ αργειοι⟨ο⟩ λαχεν γε̣ν̣[ος] ηρακληος
[τ]ηλεφον εν θαλαμοις πολεμων απανε̣[υθε
[κλ]υ̣τε μοι αθανατοι [ζ]ευς δ[ε π]λ̣εον ον γενετηρα
δαρδανου ημετεροιο και η̣[ρα]κλη̣ος ακουω
και τουτων φρασσασθε μ[αχω]ν λυσιν ϊσα δε μ̣υθοις
[σ]υνθεσιη τρωεσσι και α[ργ]ειοισι γε[ν]εσθω
[ο]υδε αργειους θανε̣[ε]ι̣ν [. .]ησομαι αυτη
ξανθου φοινιξαντε̣ς ε̣[. . . .]μ̣ε . . χε̣υ̣μα καικου
τηλεφου ε̣ι̣φι τ̣ο̣[. . . . . ου]κετι θωρηχθεντες
[. . .] τ̣η̣λ εκ̣λ̣υ̣ε̣τ̣[. . . . .] κ̣α̣ι̣ . . ρον αχαιων
[. . . . .]υσα̣ι̣ εχειν π̣[. . . . .]ζεσκον αχαιοι
[. . . . .]ε̣τ̣αι μεσσ[. . . . .] ε̣υ̣σ̣[κ]ι̣ο̣ν ελλ̣[
[. . . . .]τος μ̣ε̣ . [. π]ολυς ει δε με[. . .] . [
[. . . . .]ο συ μοι παρα μη̣[

Verso.

[12 letters] βιοτουσαν[.]δε . . νεν ωραις
[,, ,,] . ν ποντον χθονα τ ηδ ενοησε
[13 ,,]ως α . μα πολυπλαγκτοιο θαλασ[σης
[,, ,,] . τ[.] . . θετο νηϊ θαλασση
[17 ,,]σαι και ποσσιν ετοιμη
[13 ,,] . . επι χθονος ειθυσαιμι
[,, ,,]σα[. . . . .]ν ες τινα χωρον
[. . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . .] . [. .][. .]τος ηχην
[. . . . .] . . . ν . . ν[.] . . . [.]νοσ[. .]α ποντου
[.] . [.]ινο . [.]ν . . οι[. .] . [.]τοσ . [.] ωκεανοιο
νηπιος ο[ς .]ελαε[. . .] . [. κ]ατ[α] θε[. .]ον οδευει
δουρασι π[ον]τοπο[ρ]οι[σ]ι τ[. . .]ε[.] . ος [ο]υτιδανοισι
πη νυν . [.]λι . . . δ[. .] . [. . .]μ . . λον ελοιτο θαλασσα[
εμπεδος [.] . . . . νη[.] . ϊ[. . . .]α[.]ασ[. .] . ελικτος
ιχθυβοτο[ς] κτα . . . . . [. . . . .] ρεεθρου
ποσσιν α[. .] . . . . [. . . . .]τ αμειναν
τις μεδε[ω]ν . . . [. . . . .] θαλασσαν
ναιειν του[. . .]ιμ[. π]ολυ [. . . . .]νον ανθρωποι[σιν
κ[. .]τι[.] . [. .]τις εστιν [. . . . .]ηδεν αρ[η]γε[ι
[. .] . [. . . . .]βυεισδ . . [. . . . .]ειθεδ[
[11 letters]σα . . τα[
[,, ,,]υθ[.]φ . . [

. . . . . .

Recto. 1. The allusion is to the vine over which Dionysus caused Telephus to stumble while pursuing the Greeks.

10. κλυτε μοι: cf. ccxxiii. 115.

14. The metre may be restored by the insertion of κεν after ουδε.

18.]υσαι: or υσον?

21. Robert suggests Μη[δεσικάστη; cf. introd.

Verso. 1. The doubtful σ may be γ or τ. Of the letters transcribed as δε . . νεν, δ may be α and the first ν may be μ or possibly λι; there may also be only one letter between the supposed δε and ν.

3. The traces between the doubtful α and μ would suit λ. It does not seem possible to read κῦμα. αι may be read instead of μ.

CCXV. Philosophical Fragment.

23·2 x 18·3 *cm.*

Parts of three columns from a philosophical work, apparently couched in the form of a letter, see I. 16–17 *σὺ δ' ὦ ἄνθρωπε* and II. 12 *ὦ πρὸς Διός*.

The handwriting is an irregular uncial, the letters varying much in size; ϵ especially tends to be very large. Ξ is written with three separate strokes of equal length. In its general appearance the papyrus bears considerable resemblance to the semi-literary hands of the second century B.C., e.g. that of the first three columns in the papyrus Didot of Euripides (ed. Weil). But it is a distinctly later example, and was found with documents of the Roman period, so that it is not at all likely to have been written before the reign of Augustus. On the other hand it can hardly be later than the middle of the first century A.D. There are a few corrections, some by the original scribe, others in a probably different but contemporary hand. The *paragraphi* are original, but the other marks of punctuation with one exception (see note on II. 19) have been added later.

The principal topic discussed in the fragment is the popular idea of religion and especially fear of the gods, which is severely criticized by the writer. The style and vocabulary (which includes such words as *συμπεριφορά* and *σέμνωμα*) are post-classical, but on account of the age of the papyrus the work must have been composed not later than the first century B.C. The author was probably an Epicurean philosopher, possibly Epicurus himself who wrote *περὶ θεῶν* and *περὶ ὁσιότητος* (Diog. Laert. x. 27).

Col. I.

. . . . .
[. . . . .]ν[. .]ι̣τ̣ο̣[. . . .
[.]α γιν[ϵ]σ̣[θ]αι ο̣τ̣α̣ν κατ̣[. .
[. .]ι̣ της φυσεως ως ελεγον
[οι]κειον μηδ οταν γϵ
[ν]η δια ουτωι λεγηται πα

Col. II.

. . . . .
[. .]υτικον και κεχα[ρισ]μϵ
νον ϵαν ευκαιρηι τιμ̣[ω]ν
αυτην την θεωιριαν σεαυ
του ταις συγγενεσιν κατα
σαρκα ηδοναι[ς] αι π οτ αν

υχ τ
[λι]ν υπο των τ[[π]]ον[[λ]]ων
[δ]εδο[ι]κα τους θεους παν
[τας κ]αι σε[βο]μαι [κ]αι του
[τοι]ς βο[υ]λ[ο]μαι παντα κα
[τ]αθυειν και τουτοις
[αν]ατιθεναι χαριεστε
[ρο]ν μεν γαρ ισως ποτε
[ο τ]οιουτος αλλων ιδιω
[τω]ν εστιν ομως δε ου
[δε] ταυτη πωι το βεβαιον
[ευ]σεβειας υπαρχει συ
[δ ω] ανθρωπε μακαριω
[τα]τον μεν τι νομιζε το
[διε]ιληφεναι καλως ο το
[παν]αριστον εν τοις ουσι
[δια]νοηθηναι δυναμε
[θα] κα[ι θ]αυμαζε ταυτην
[τη]ν δ[ι]αληψιν και σεβου
[. .]ε[.] . ι το[υ]το επε[ι]τα
[. . . . . .]αυτ[. .
[. . . . . .] . [.]ωσπ[. .
[. . .] . [. . .]ντ[. .]οταν σε
ν
[. . .]θο[. .]θοσιν αλλα μονο
[. . .]ον[. .] ορων τηλικου
[του] σεμνωματος κατα
[τη]ν θ[ε]ωριαν προς την
[εαυ]του ευ[δαιμ]ονιαν κ[. .
και
[. . .] δια πε[. . . .]την τη[ν
[. . .]τευθε[. . .]ραν ωσ[. .

καθηκωσιν αλλα ποτε
και τη των νομων συμπε
s
ριφοραι χρωμενο[[υ]] σου' δεος
δε μη προσα[γε] ενταυθα
μηδ υπολη ψι[ν] χαριστωινει
ας θεοις οτι ταυτα πραττεις
τι γαρ ω προς διος το δη λε
γομενον δ[ε]δοικας πο
τερα αδικει[ν] εκεινους
νομιζων' ουκουν δηλον
ως ελαττουν' πως ου[ν
ου ταπεινον τι το δαιμ[ο
νιον δοξαζε[ι]ς ειπερ ε[λατ
το[υ]ται προς σε : η και χ[. . .
αδ[. . . . . .]ς υπειλ[ηφας
εα[ν . . . . . .] πραττη[. . .
βη
υν[. . . . . .] . τοντα[. . .
λογ[. . . . . .]νιοιανη[. . .
βλ[. . . . . .] ανθρω[π . .
κ[α]ι γαρ οι[ον]ται δειν α[υτους
δεδοικεναι [και] τιμαν τ[. . .
ινα κατεχο[μεν]οι τωι φ[οβω
μη επιτιθ[ων]ται αυτοι[ς . .
ειτ ορθως τ[ουτ]ο οιομε[νοι
καθολου μ[η] βλαβησεσ[θαι
[ει]τ ουκ ορθ[ως] το δυνα[. .
[. . . . . .]ων . [. .]ων των [
[. . . . . .] . νδε[. . .]νωνι[. . .

Col. III.

. . . . .
ταφ[. .]νι . . α[τες προς το της βλα[βης υπο

καιη
ται το γαρ κατα[
βλαβην εφερεν αυ[
προσεδοκα το επ[
και χωρις τουτ[
τουμενοι μη παρ[
σημεια της χαριτ[ος νομι
ζοντες αυτους ρα[διως καθ
εαυτους και προσ[
αφικεσθαι και κ[
οσουσδηποτε τροπ[ους . . . .
πτευμα και την τ[αυτης
προφυλακην εγι[
[. .]ετεον προσπο[
[. . . .] τουτων πρ[
[. . . .]ντων υπει[
[. . .] μ[α]καριαν [
[. . .] και ου παλιν [
[. . . .]ων ο παρα[
[. . . .]σα δηπου [
[. . . . .]σατο[

I. 2. γιν[ε]σ[θ]αι: γινη[τ]αι is also possible.

4 sqq. 'Nor, indeed, even when this further statement is made by the ordinary man, "I fear all the gods and worship them, and to them I wish to make every sacrifice and offering." It may perhaps imply more taste on his part than the average, nevertheless by this formula he has not yet reached the trustworthy principle of religion. But do you, sir, consider that the most blessed state lies in the formation of a just conception concerning the best thing that we can possibly imagine to exist; and reverence and worship this idea.'

6. τυχοντων is corrected by the first hand from πολλων.

11–12. χαριεστε[ρο]ν must be a mistake for χαριέστερος.

30. σέμνωμα is used by Epicurus *ap.* Diog. Laert. ix. 77.

32. A small fragment with]αι at the end of a line perhaps belongs to the end of this line, and another fragment with]ερ to 34, i. e. ωσ[π]ερ.

II. 1–8. Blass considers the meaning of this obscure passage to be that the ideal of the Supreme Being is to be honoured with feasting and pleasures like those commonly enjoyed at the festivals of the gods, but the wise man will also sometimes do homage to received opinions and the established laws relating to the worship of the gods; cf. Plutarch, *contra Epicur. beat.* 21. p. 1102 *b*. In 8 either χρώμενος simply or χρωμένου σου must be read. χρώμενος οὔ gives no satisfactory sense.

8–19. 'But let there be no question of fear in this, nor any assumption that your action will buy the favour of the gods. For why, "by Zeus," to use the vulgar phrase, do you fear them? Is it because you think that you do them an injury? Is it not plain in that case that you are making them inferior? Are you not then regarding the divine power as something mean, if it is inferior to you?'

10. The reading υπολη̣ψι[ν] is very doubtful; the termination is more like -ψη. χαριστωνία is a new word meaning 'buying of thanks.' ταῦτα πράττεις must refer to something lost at the top of the column, probably fear of the gods, which was the subject of the first column and to which the speaker now reverts.

19. σε: the lower stop is by the first hand, the higher was added by the person who inserted the others.

20. There is not room for υπειλ[ηφεναι.

25–28. The sense of this passage seems to be that men think it necessary to fear and honour the gods in order that other men may be restrained by the fear of the gods

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No. CCXXXVI (*b*)

No. CCXXXVI (*c*)

from doing them wrong. μήτε βλάπτειν μήτε βλάπτεσθαι was the Epicurean formula of justice (Diog. Laert. x. 150). Something like οἱ ἄλλοι is wanted as the subject of ἐπιτίθωνται, but there is not room for that at the end of 28. The number of letters lost at the ends of 19 to 31 ought not to exceed 3 or 4. των in 32 seems to be the end of the line.

CCXVI. Rhetorical Exercise.

Plate V. 17·5 x 19·4 *cm.*

Parts of two columns from a speech by an anti-Macedonian orator upon a letter of Philip. The florid, Asiatic style of the fragment points to its being a rhetorical composition.

Palaeographically, the papyrus, which is written in a large handsome uncial, is of considerable value, since its date can be fixed within narrow limits. It was found with a number of documents dated in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius (e.g. ccliii, cclxxxv, ccxciii) in a mound which produced nothing later than about A.D. 50. On the *verso* is a letter written in a cursive hand of the first half of the first century, mostly covered up by another document of the same period, which was gummed over it in order to strengthen the roll. The writing on the *recto*, therefore, can hardly be later than Tiberius' reign; while the great scarcity of papyri at Oxyrhynchus before the reign of Augustus, combined with the resemblance of the handwriting to that of early first century hands which approximate to a literary type, makes it very improbable that the papyrus goes back to the Ptolemaic period. Cf. cclxxxii and ccxlvi (both on Plate VII), the former of which presents many points of resemblance, while the general appearance of the other is slightly later.

The corrections are apparently by the first hand.

Col. I.

σ.
απο μιας επιστολ[ης α]πει
λην δουλειαν αντ ε[λ]ευ
θεριας αντικαταλλ[ασ]σε
σθαι και που το περιμαχη
5 τον οιχεται φρονημα ⟩
της η[γ]εμονιας επιζητωι
γαρ ε[ι] μη τι διαμαρτανωι

Col. II.

[. .]ν απολωλε κα[. . . . . .
[τα] τειχηι της πο[λεως πε
πτωκεν τις αιχμ[αλωτος
ημων γεγονεν [που] πεζο
5 μαχουντες η ναυμ[αχο]υντες
λελειμμεθα εντ[αυ]θα γαρ
ανθρωποι περιγεγ[ρα]μμε

τω λο[γι]σμωι φησιν ημειν
πολεμ[η]σειν και ημεις
εκ[εινω . . . . .] . . ων
[13 letters]ạγ̣ῃ ạ̣λ̣
[13 letters]δενει
[12 letters] και υπερ
[17 letters]ε̣ι
2 lines lost.
[17 letters]μ̣ε
. . . . .
νοι πασας τας ελπι[δα]ς τωι
της αναγκης καιρ[ωι] δουλευ
σουσιν ημειν [[δ τ]] απορθητος
εστιν η δημοκρατια ομον[ο
ουμεν προς αλληλους τοις ν[ο
μοις ενμενομεν καρτερει[ν
ε[ν] τοις δεινοις επισταμε
[θ]α την της ελευθεριας τα
ξιν ουκ ενκατ[α]λειπομεν
εν τοις οπλοις νικησας
ε κ
νανιευεσθωι ταις δ απο
των επιστολων απειλαις
τους βα[ρβ]αρους εξαπατατω[ι
η δε των αθηναιων πολις
επιταττειν ουχ υπ[ακ]ουειν
[. . . . .] . . και δ[ικα]ζ̣ε̣[ιν
. . . . .

'(Are we) at a threat in a single letter to exchange freedom for slavery? Whither has it vanished, that pride of empire for which we fought? I am considering whether my reasoning is at fault. He says that he will declare war upon us; and so shall we upon him . . . Have the walls of the city fallen? what Athenian has been taken prisoner? where either on land or sea have we failed in battle? If men have had all their hopes crushed in war, they will be slaves to the necessity of the moment; but our democracy's stronghold has not been violated, we live in harmony with each other, we abide by the laws, we know how to be steadfast in times of peril, we never desert the banner of Freedom. When his arms are victorious, then let him triumph. Let the threats in his letters deceive barbarians; but the city of Athens is wont to give commands, not to receive them. . . .'

II. 6. There is often not much difference between η and μ in this hand, but the first word is more like λελειημεθα than λελειμμεθα.

CCXVII. Letter to a King of Macedon.

13·1 x 7·3 *cm.*

*F*ragment of a letter addressed to a king, no doubt Philip or Alexander, concerning the principles of government. Aristotle wrote a treatise on βασιλεία

for Alexander (Ar. *Fr.* ed. Rose p. 1489), and it is possible that the fragment belongs to that or to the similar treatise of Theopompus (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* 12, 40).

The papyrus is written in an uncial hand resembling that of the Plato papyrus facsimiled in O. P. I. plate VI, and may be ascribed with little hesitation to the third century A. D. There is a remarkably high margin (7·2 *cm.*) at the top.

κατεχει τα πραγμα[τα
πολυ αμεινων απα
σων των πωποτε ⟩
γενομενων η ση βα
σιλεια τον ταυτης τρο
πον και το των και ⟩
ρων τουτων ἰδιον ⟩
νομον ειναι δει και
μαλιστα τοις ου κατα

πολιν αρχουσιν χιρο
το[νη]τας αρχας οἰω̣[.
ὕπο[
φων̣[
νασ. [
πομ .[
των[
σια[.]· [
ηθ[

. . . . .

'(Since) the rule of your monarchy is far superior to that of all monarchies that have ever existed, its system and the characteristic feature of the present times ought to be law, especially among those who do not enjoy elective offices in an organized state.'

11. *οιω*[.: or possibly *πω*[*ς*.

CCXVIII. Historical Fragment.

13·6 × 12·4 *cm.* (Fr. *a*).

Parts of three columns from a prose work, apparently a collection of Παράδοξα, or marvellous stories. This species of composition was popular at Alexandria; cf. Susemihl, *Alexandr. Litteratur-Gesch.* I. 463 sqq. The upper part of the second column of the fragment is fairly well preserved, and gives a description of two curious local usages. The precise nature of the first is obscured by the loss of the context, but it was a punishment for some kind of conjugal infidelity; and for the truth of the story given is cited the authority of Zopyrus and Cleitarchus. This is followed by an account of a trial by ordeal, which, on the death of a priest of Ares, the person chosen to succeed him had to undergo. The trial consisted in holding the sword of the god underneath the burning corpse, and from the manner in which this was done the innocence or guilt of the nominated successor became evident. It is not stated where these customs obtained. The barbarous nature of the first

suggests a non-Hellenic background; while the mention of the priest of Ares shows that the locality was at least under Hellenic influence. Combining the internal evidence of the usages described with the citation of Zopyrus and Cleitarchus, it may perhaps be inferred that the scene is Asia Minor. Cleitarchus is presumably the historian of Alexander's Asiatic expedition, whose veracity was called in question by Cicero and Quintilian, and whose style displeased the author of the treatise *De Sublimitate* (§ 3). The identification of Zopyrus is more difficult. Several scattered references to a writer or writers of this name are found. A Zopyrus of Colophon or Clazomenae, who was a historian and geographer, is placed in the third century B.C. (cf. Susemihl, *op. cit.* II. 467 sqq.). Whether or no this is the Zopyrus quoted in our fragment remains a matter of doubt. The position of his name in front of that of Cleitarchus perhaps implies that he preceded Cleitarchus either in date or in point of authority. It is possible that two other authors are quoted in connexion with the account of the trial by ordeal (see note on *Fr.* (*c*)), but this is not sufficiently certain to make their identity worth discussion.

The papyrus is written in a small, rather delicate, sloping uncial hand, which may probably be referred to the third century. An addition in cursive has been made at the top of Col. III. No stops, *paragraphi*, or other lection signs occur. *ν* at the end of a line is rather frequently written as a stroke above the preceding vowel. The common ⟩-shaped sign is used to fill up short lines.

Fr. (*a*).

Col. I.

]την ουϛ̣ᾱ̣
]τραι̣[.] .
]εϲπ̣ο̣ . . .
]τ̣ησιν ε̣φ̣ οτω
]. κει[. . .]ο̣
αν]αμνησιν
] παρ̣η̣γγειλ[ε
μ]η προκρινη
]ος οργισθεις τας
]λας ενεποησε̄
]της χρ̣ονος υ
] κατακ̣λ̣υσμω
]. . ϛ απ̣ε̣κτεινε̣̄

Col. II.

[κατ]α φυσιν μ[ο]ρφη παραμενει
[γυν]αικος αλλη̣ς πειραν μη λαμ
[βα]νων εαν δε φωραθη των [σ]ῡ
δ̣
[. . .]ι̣ων παραβαινων αποτεμνε
[ται] τα μορια αυτου και παρα τους
τ̣αφους αυτης κατακαιεται ισ
τ̣ο̣ρ̣υ̣σι ζωπυρος και κλειταρχος
εαν ιερευς αποθανη του αρεως πε
ριστελλ[ετα]ι ευκοσμιως υπο τω̄
εγχωριων και εις τηνα τοπον ⟩
φερεται δημοσιον μετα την τρι
την ημεραν καιοντων δε τω̄

]και μη σχα .
]α ποτε
]ς ρεινα[
λ]εγονται
]τατω
. . . .

[σ]υγγενων ο χειροτονηθεις υπο
[τ]ου δημου ζακορος υποτιθη
[σι] τω νεκρω το του θεου ξιφος
και σιγης γενομενης βαθειας
εαν η νομιμως λαμβανει τα
γεινομενων εαν δε εγκλημα
τος τινος εχη συνειδησιν επι .
τω τ[ο]ν σ[ι]δηρον υποβληθη
[ν]αι α[. . . . .]εται και αυτος ε[. . .]
[.]ει κα[τηγ]ορειας α παρενομ[ησε]
εις τον θ[εο]ν διηγουμενος δ . .
εχονδ[. .]ν λογων [τ]ων αμ[. .]
τη κατ[.] . . [.]ρονι[. . .] . ω[. . .]
ραν σ[
υπερ τ[
αρχελ[
[

ξευ[

. . . . . .

Col. III.

αφ[
μεχ[
λωτ[
τω[
νει[
πασα[
λασιει[
καινη[
αρχο[
συνβα[
θεας ν[
κακω[
ζητουσα[

πω μερε[
τησενε[.]σ[
την θυγα[τερα
θους ανε[
συμφο[ρ
τονασα[
γιαν ασ[
δ ακουσα[
κατησ[
φιλοτιμ[
μεγεθε[ι
.[.]φον[
. . .

Fr. (*b*).

]ζω[. . .
]χωσασκ[.]
]ν λοπιζει την
]ν εστι δ εντο
γ]ενομενος ⟩
]μεν τη παρ
]τοιστο[. .]ν
]ουραι ταις
] σικελων και
]ο . [. . . . . .
] επειδαν τε
τ]ω πεδιω του
]μο

Fr. (*c*).

. . . . . .

[. . . . .]ερει[
[. . . . .]ολησ[
[. . . . .]ς και ζην[
[. . . . .] περιτυφου[
[. . . .]μητιν βιασαμ[
κ[α]πειδ[η] σ[υ]ν καιν . [
πιχειρουσι ενκαταπ[
[. . . . .] . . [.]υνεχε . . ι[
ταβι . [. .]ντ[. .]α . . . [
κρ . . . ν[.] . τιδα[
τω ϊδ[. .]ε . . ωμινι . [
αυτα[. μ]ετριον κολασι[ν
αιως δεκτη[[. .]]ς οπω[
[.]η[. . .]ταθν[. . .]υ[
[. . . . .]σακ[

. . . . .

Fr. (*d*).

. . . . .

]ω[
]ο̣κ̣[
]η̣τ[
]κτ[
]οσαι α[
]μων[

. . . . .

Fr. (*e*).

. . . . .

[.]οτ[
ραν ρ[
εισφ[

Col. II. '. . . so long as the natural form remains, if he does not intrigue with another woman. If, however, he is caught transgressing [these ordinances], he is mutilated, and the members are burnt at her tomb. Such is the account of Zopyrus and Cleitarchus. If a priest of Ares dies he is decently laid out by the natives and carried after the third day to a public place. While the corpse is being burnt by the relatives, the temple-attendant who has been elected by the people places beneath it the sword of the god. A deep silence is maintained; and if it is rightly done, he receives the customary privileges. But if he has any crime upon his conscience, on the steel being held under the body . . . and he [is liable to] accusations for his offence against the god . . .'

Fr. (*a*). I. 11. *χιόνος* could be read in place of *χρόνος*. If *χρόνος* is right, *της* may be the termination of a word like *τετραετής*.

12. *κατακλυσμω*: the letter after the second *α* is rather more like *ρ* than *κ*, and the traces following could be read as *μ*; the letter before *σ* may be *η*.

II. 4. The letter written (by the first hand) over *ω* at the beginning of this line most resembles *δ*, but might be read as *α*. Possibly the scribe intended to record a variant *τὴν . . . . ιαν* instead of *τῶν . . . . ιων*, but then he ought to have written *η* above *των*. Or *συν* | [*γεν*]*ίδων* may be read, with the insertion of ⟨*ὑπὸ*⟩ before *τῶν*.

5. *τα μορια*: i. e. *τὰ αἰδοῖα*.

10. *τηνα*: l. *τινα*.

13. [*σ*]*υγγενων*: [*γ*]*ειτονων* is a possible alternative.

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dating from the earlier part of the century (e.g. cclix, cclxxxv); and though perhaps scarcely so old as the oldest of these it is not likely to have been separated from them by any considerable interval. ι adscript is frequently added where not required, as is common at this period; and there are two or three other mis-spellings.

Fr. (*a*).

[15 letters]ε . ρ[
[15 „]ς ανα[. . . . .] . . [. . . .] . η
[13 „] . ετων νυ[. .] . δ[.]μ[. . . .]ν
[12 „] . ατην ιδιω[.] καλλονην
[12 „]σ[. .] . εχων εν τη[ι ο]δωι
[15 „]ντωσι[. .]ωγ[. . .] . ς
[16 „]των εμην [. . .]ν
[17 „]ν και πολλα [. . .]ρων
[. . . . .] . σ . [.]ιλ[. . . . .] αλεκτορα μου [δ]υναμεθα
[. . . .]τη . . σασω[. .]ασω εκ περιπατου
[. . . . .] . ιθο[. . . .]σαι παρ αλιδροσοις
[. . . . .]κουσ[. .] . [. .]νησα[.]τα τον βαρ[. . . .]χηι
[. . . . . π]αιδος ε[φ]υλασσεν ο φιλος μου τρυφων
[. . . . . τε]κνον τη[ρ]ων εν ταις αγκαλαις
[απορο]υμαι που βαδισω η ναυς μου εραγη
[τον κ]α[τ]α[θ]υμιον απολεσας ορνιθα μου κλαιωι
[. . . φ]ερε το ερνιο[ν] τροφην αυτου περιλαβωι
του μ[αχ]ιμου του επεραστου του ελληνικου
χαρ[ιν τ]ουτου εκαλουμην μεγας εν τω βιωι
[ο]
και [ελ]εγομην μακαρι[ο]ς ανδρες εν τοις φιλοτροφι
ψυχομαχωι ο γαρ α[λ]εκτωρ ηστοχηκε μου
και θακαθαλπαδος ερασθεις εμεν ενκατελιπε
αλλ επιθεις λιθον εματου επι την καρδιαν
καθ[η]συχασομαι υμε[ι]ς δ υγιαινετε φιλοι

Fr. (*b*).

. . . . . .
]ωφ[

]·μ̣μ[
]υσυμ[
]ις νοσ̣ο̣[
]ν̣αν[
]πολι·[
]τεμ[
κα]τα ψυχ[ην

Fr. (*a*). 15 sqq. '. . . I am at a loss where to go. My ship is shattered. I weep for the loss of my sweet bird. Come, let me take the chick he nurtures (?), he, my warrior, my beauty, my Greek cock. For his sake was I called great in my life, and deemed happy, comrades, in my breeding cares. I am distraught, for my cock has failed me; he fell in love with Thacathalpas (?) and deserted me. But I shall find rest, having set a stone upon my heart; so fare ye well, my friends.'

Fr. (*a*). 2. The last letter of the line may be ν, in which case the preceding letter is α or ε.

8.]ρων : ν might be read in place of ρ, and [στέ]νων restored.

10. Perhaps τηρήσας.

11. The letters between]σα and δροσοις are very doubtful. Instead of παρ, σ(or γ or τ)εν or σ(γ, τ,)ελο might be read. The vestiges following suit δ rather better than α. δαι or δου would be just possible.

15. l. ἐρράγη.

17. Possibly there is a reference to some relic of the cock.

20. ε in ανδρες is strangely formed and may be intended for ο. There is a hole in the papyrus above the final ι of φιλοτροφι, where the ο would have been if it was written; l. φιλοτροφί[ο(ις).

22. Θακαθαλπάς is conceivably the name of a hen. Or perhaps, as Blass suggests, θακα is for τάχα. On ἐμέν for ἐμέ cf. Dieterich, *Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. Gr. Sprache*, 190.

23. εματου is a later form of ἐμαυτοῦ frequent in papyri.

24. υμεις : υ is badly formed, and may be meant for η.

Fr. (*b*). There is a blank space below the remains of the last line of this fragment. Either, therefore, the fragment comes from the bottom of a previous column; or, since the lines in Fr. (*a*) are irregular in length, the blank space after line 7 may be accounted for by supposing that a short line succeeded, in which case Fr. (*b*) gives the ends of some lines from the upper part of the column preserved on Fr. (*a*). But it is not possible to combine (*a*) 2 and (*b*) 8.

CCXX. Treatise on Metres.

Plate VI (Col. VII). Height 16·6 *cm.*

This papyrus contains on the *recto* fragments of a work on Prosody, on the *verso* Homeric Scholia (ccxxi). The hand on the *recto* is a round well-formed upright uncial of good size, which may be assigned to the end of the first or

(more probably) the early part of the second century. Some additions and corrections in the MS. have been made by a different second century hand. The corrector is also responsible for the high points marking a pause which have been inserted rather plentifully, and probably for the single accent that occurs (VII. 8). The *paragraphi* are by the original scribe, who may also have inserted the solitary rough breathing in XIII. 5. The scholia on the *verso* seem to have been written before the end of the second century. Before being utilized for this second purpose the papyrus, which had no doubt become worn, was cut down, so that of the metrical treatise only the upper parts of the columns—perhaps not more than one half of what they originally were—are preserved.

The MS. is a good deal broken, but the approximate position of all but the smallest fragments can fortunately be determined from the scholia. The number of lines of Homer covered by a single column of scholia varies from one to fourteen, and it is therefore impossible to tell exactly how many columns a given number of lines may have occupied. *F*or the purpose of placing the fragments nine or ten lines of Homer at most may be taken as the average amount treated in a column. Three columns of scholia occupy the same space in the papyrus as two and a half columns of the metrical treatise. With these premises the gaps between the various columns of the latter may be roughly estimated. Between I and II, and between II and III, corresponding to I, II, and III in the scholia, as much as four or five columns may be missing. III–IV (= Schol. III and IV), and V–VI (= Schol. V–VII), are continuous, and IV–V may be so. VII–X (= Schol. VIII–XIII) are also continuous, but between VI and VII at least one column has been lost, and very possibly more, though measurements indicate that the number missing cannot be two. Between X and XI two columns probably are wanting; XI–XII (= Schol. XIV–XV) are continuous. XII–XIII are continuous if there is only one column of scholia lost between XV and XVI; if the gap there extended to two columns, one column between XII and XIII is missing. Between XIII and XIV (= Schol. XVI and XVII) there is another lacuna of at least a column.

The metres treated of are the Nicarchean (Col. III), which is not otherwise known; the Anacreontean, which is regarded as an Ionic metre (Col. VII) and considered successively in its relations to the Phalaecean (Col. VIII) and Praxillean metres (Col. IX), and the iambic dimeter (Col. X); the Parthenean, which is apparently discussed first in connexion with the Anacreontean and derived from the Cyrenaic (Col. XI), and secondly as a logaoedic form (Col. XII); and the Asclepiadean metre (Col. XIV), which was about to be discussed when the papyrus finally breaks off. The system expounded in connexion with

these different metres, though not in itself novel, is here presented in a novel form. It is that of the *metra derivata* (μέτρα παραγωγά), and its essence is the derivation of all metres either from the dactylic hexameter or the iambic trimeter, the two *metra principalia* (ἀρχέγονα), by various forms of manipulation (*adiectio*, *detractio*, *concinnatio*, *permutatio*); cf. Rossbach and Westphal, *Metrik der Griechen*, i. p. 119 sqq. Thus, for example, our author derives the Anacreontean verse from the Phalaecean by cutting off the first syllables. This metrical theory has been hitherto known to us exclusively from Latin writers, though, as indicated by the use of Greek technical terms, it had certainly a Greek origin. Westphal traces it back to Varro, and postulates (*op. cit.* p. 173) the existence of a Greek treatise περὶ μέτρων presenting this theory of derivation. Of such a treatise the following fragments formed part, and they thus fill up a gap in the history of the *ars metrica*. It may be noted that the papyrus does not satisfy all the conditions which Westphal considered that the Greek original would fulfil. One of these was an ignorance of the 'Antispastic' scheme of division, which is certainly to be found in our author; cf. notes on VIII. 1, XIV. 13.

The metrical system upon which this work is founded is of course separated by a wide interval from the more scientific metrical theory represented by Aristoxenus and the early metricists, although some survivals of the old and genuine tradition may even here be recognized (cf. notes on VIII. 9 sqq., IX. 2). The period at which this particular treatise was written cannot be very accurately fixed. The date of composition may have been B.C., but it must have been considerably later than Callimachus, from whom a quotation is made. On the other hand it cannot have been later than the end of the first century A.D. on the ground of the date of the papyrus. The style is fair, and shows care in the avoidance of hiatus. The treatise is addressed to a friend (cf. I. 10, III. 17), who is perhaps also a pupil (cf. XI. 16); and some rather naive autobiographical details occur (V, VI).

Not the least interesting feature of this MS. are the fragments contained in it of unknown lyric poems which are quoted rather frequently in illustration of the various metres discussed. The poets, citations from whom can be identified, are Sappho, Anacreon, Aeschylus, Callimachus, and Sotades. Alcman, Simonides, and Pindar are also mentioned by name. Of the unknown quotations one or two are quite possibly from Sappho. In the papyrus, quotations are always so written that they project slightly into the left-hand margin.

We are indebted to Professor Blass for much assistance in the reconstruction of this text, as well as for a number of valuable suggestions and criticisms.

Col. I.

]δ[
[
]ν[.]ε[
]τεμ̣ε[ι]ς̣ τ̣[
]μ̣ . . α̣ν . [
]ον τις χαι̣[
]τ̣ον ιαμβο[ν
] και τον διβραχ[υν
] χαριεν εστι [
ω] φιλτ̣ατε δια π[
]π̣ατων διδαχ[
δ]ειξ̣ω σοι παρα[
] επομενην [
τ]ην χωραν τε[
ε]ν τουτοις·
].ιεσ[.] θακα[

. . . . .

Col. II.

].
]ει
. . . . .

Col. III.

[π]εφυκοτω[ν γ]ειν̣εσθα[ι
[κ]ατα προσθ[εσι]ν και κα
[τ]α αφαιρεσιν [ου]τω δη ⟩
[λ]ον οτι· και·π[ο]σι και σχη
μασι τοις αυτοις αμφο
[τ]ερα χρηται· διο [και] κανων
[ο] αυτος εσται· κ[αι τ]ουτου
[κ]αι του φαλαικε[ιο]υ· μο ⟩
[ν]η τη τελευταια συλλαβηι
[βρ]αχυτερος· και γαρ κατα
[τη]ν πρωτην χωραν και
[το]υτο το μετρον τοις
[δισυ]λλαβοις εναλλασ
[σεται]· και παντων με
[τεχει] των τροπων ο
[μοιως] και το νικαρχειον·
[διοπερ] ω φιλτατε και συλ
[λαβ]α̣ι̣ς̣ ου ταις δεκ[α] μο̣
[ναι]ς χρησεται [αλλα και
[πλ]ει̣[ο]σιν· ως κ[. .]ε̣λ̣[. .
. . . . .

Col. IV.

. . . . .
about 9 letters]ναιου̣[
„ „]λους[
„ „]δεκ[
. . . . .

Col. V.

Γ προτερο]ν̣ τουτου τον αλκμανα και
τον σιμω]νιδη κατω
[ωο]μην γαρ ποτε πρωτος
[ε]ξ̣ευρηκεναι τοδε το

Col. VI.

παντελως ϊνα δοξ[αιμι τω
οντι τηι πολει κεχα[ρισθαι

No. CCXX

No. CCXXI

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Col. IX.

νως δε και παραπλησιως
και του πραξιλλειου στι
χου τεμων τις δυο τας
πρωτας συλλαβας ποι
ησει το ανακρεοντει
ον· καθολου δε καπι του
του πασας αφελων τις
τας εκ της πρωτης χω
ρας παρα μιαν βραχειαν·
αποτελεσει το μετρον
ομοιως· σκοπει γουν τα
δε· καταλελοιποτα τας
πρωτας συλλαβας·
μεν εφαινεθ α σελανα·
ονιαν τε και υγειαν·
σα φυγοιμι παιδες ηβα·
δυναται δε τις νομιζειν
ο ϊ
απ αμβικων διμετρων
καταληκτικων γεινε
σθα[ι τ]οδε· και [ε]πεστ[ι]ν
. . . . .

Col. X.

. [. . . .]
ο μ[εν θ]ελων μαχεσθαι
κ[αι . . .]ομενων ανα
π[αισ]τον κατ αρχην εσται
τ[ο σ]χημα τοιουτον·
ο δ[ε λ]υκτιος μενειτης
ο [δε] μεν θελων μαχε
σ[θαι]
αναπαιστον γαρ εχοντα
π̣[ρωτ]ον ταυτα συ[ν]εμ
π̣[ειπ]τ̣ει τοις ανακρεον
τ[ειοι]ς· σπονδειον δε
[ηγου]ν ιαμβον κατα πρω
[την χ]ωραν λαβοντα πα̣
[λι πλειο]ν αφισταται του
[. . . . . .]ν̣ [.] . . . α̣ν̣α̣[
[. . . . . .]ς· του τιθεντ[ος
[. . . . .] επι το πλειον [
[. . . .]ως ουτω το με[
[τρον] προ[κ]ειται τι
[. . . . . .] ο̣υ̣ν̣ τρ[.
. . . . . .

Col. XI.

ουτο·
[τ]αδε πασχειν ε̣θελεις [
οποιον εν τω προμη
θει τιθ̣ησι παλιν αισχυ
[λος ο]υτως·
[. . . .]ων δυσκελαδων
[σκο]πειν δ ει θελοις ετι
[και] δια συντομων απο
[κο]πτε του κυρηναικου

Col. XII.

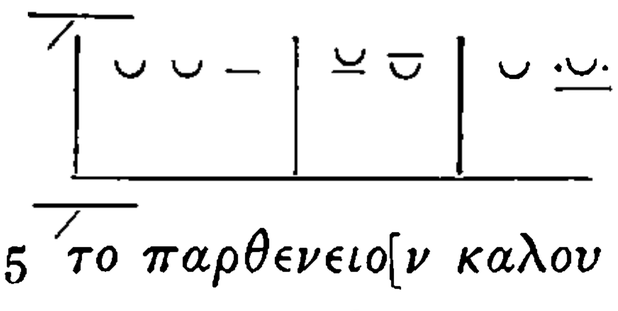
. . . . .
νον υπα[ρχον προς τα
λογαοιδ[ικα νυν μεν ουν
υπερτε[θ]η̣[ναι δει δηλωθη
σομενα̣ εν τω [μετα τουτο υ
πομνηματι τ̣[α τοις λογα
οιδ[ικοις και τωδε κοι
νως υπαρχοντ[α ερω δ εν
θαδε μαλλον π[ερι των

[το]ν πρωτον [[δι]]τρι συλλαβον
[π]οδα· και το καταλειπο ⟩
[μ]ενον προφερομενος
[πο]ιησεις τοδε το μ[ε]⟩
[τρο]ν ουτως·
[. . . .] παρθενον κορην·
[ει μ]εν ω φιλτατε σαφες
[σοι] τοδε το κωλον κα
[ταλ]ειπε· και μη δια πλε[ι
[ον]ων σκοπει· μεταβα[ι
[νε δ] ε̣π̣[ι] . ε . [. .]τιχον ⟩
. . . . .

Col. XIII.

] τουτο μ̣[
τελευτ]αιαν συλλαβ[ην
τ]ωι προκειμ[ενωι
]τι δομοις [
]μετρωι· ὁ̣[
]τ̣οδ̣[
τ]ης γαρ βρ[αχειας
]ειν̣ο̣[
]σ̣υ̣ν̣ π̣[
]ξ̣εν[
]. . ων[
3 lines lost.
συλλα]βην ω[
]ρ̣αν ποιου[
βραχεια]ν αντι μα[κρας
]ι̣· οθεν κα[ι
] π̣ροειεται φ[ωνην
]ω δε λεγε[

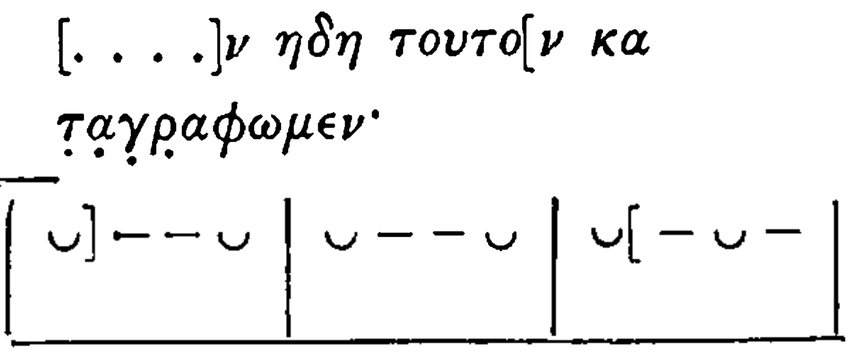
μειζονων εν[. . . . . .
λαβων ευλογον [δε παρα
λαβειν κανονα με [και κα
ταθεσθαι τουτου π̣[ροτε
ρον τοιουτον·



το παρθενειο[ν καλου
μενον μετρ[ον . . . . .
πινδαρος κα[. . . . . .
την πεμπτ[ην . . . . . .
. . . . .

Col. XIV.

. δ [. .] . ν το δωδε[κ . . . . . .
[. . . . . .] . . ινε̣ . [. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]α τ̣ους̣ [. . . . . .
[. . . . .] τριμετρο[. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]ο̣ν τουτ̣[. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]α στυγεω[. . . . . .
[. . . . .]α̣
[. . .]εως μεν ουν [. . . . . .
[περι τ]ου ασκληπιαδ[ειου
[λεγω]μεν· τον δε [κανονα
[. . . .]ν ηδη τουτο[ν κα
τ̣α̣γ̣ρ̣αφωμεν·



14 [του ασ]κληπ[ια]δ̣ε̣[ιου . .
4 lines lost.
19 [.]ω[

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*).

σ[
κ[
ζη[
τεσ[
του[
δω[
σιν[
με[
ελω[

Fr. (*c*).

]ερον γνους [

Fr. (*d*).

]τει·
]φυεεσσ[
]νειοις [

Fr. (*e*)

]ι

Fr. (*f*).

]λα[
]νε[
]ηπ[
]οχ[
]ω[

Fr. (*g*)

]ε

Fr. (*h*).

]ιο
]ν

The *recto* of Frs. (*i*) to (*n*) is blank.

I. There is no clue to the subject of this column.

10. φιλτατε : cf. III. 17, &c. φιλία τε might be read.

11. The first letter may be λ or μ.

16. This is a quotation in illustration of what has preceded.

III. '. . . which are naturally produced by addition and by subtraction. It is thus evident that both metres employ the same feet and arrangement. Accordingly the scheme of this metre is the same as that of the Phalaecean, only shorter by the last syllable. For in that metre also the feet of two syllables are interchangable at the beginning of the verse, and all the variations open to the Nicarchean metre are shared by it. Hence, dear friend, it will employ not only the regular ten syllables, but also a larger number.'

The Nicarchean metre, which is the subject of discussion in this column, is unknown from any other source. It is, however, clear from the comparison with the Phalaecean (cf. VIII) that the scheme was ⏑ ⏑ (also ⏑ ⏑ –) – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – .

4. The punctuator read οὕτω δηλονότι, which he took with what precedes. In the absence of the context it is impossible to say that this may not be right; but, as the passage stands, the punctuation followed in the translation seems preferable.

6. [και] : there is barely room for this supplement, but [ὁ] is not enough.

17. [διοπερ] : the supplement is a little long for the lacuna, which five letters would sufficiently fill.

20. [πλ]ει[ο]σιν : i.e. eleven, by the resolution of the first long syllable into two short ones : cf. 10 sqq.

V. 1–7. 'I once thought that I had been the first to discover this metre, and I prided myself upon the discovery of a new metre. I subsequently found that it had been used by Aeschylus, and still earlier by Alcman and Simonides.'

At the top of this column an omission in the text has been supplied by the corrector. The place where the omission had occurred is marked by the sign in the right margin opposite line 8, and the word *ἄνω* ('see above') was no doubt written above the line at the precise point where the additional words were to be inserted, corresponding to the *κάτω* with which they are concluded. This is the regular method in such cases; cf. ccxxiii. 83, note and 126, O. P. I. xvi. III. 3.

1 sqq. It is impossible to tell what this metre was that the writer supposed himself to have discovered. For the language cf. the lines of Pherecrates on the invention of the metre called after his name (Hephaest. x and xv) *ἄνδρες, πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν | ἐξευρήματι καινῷ, | συμπτύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.*

VI. '. . . completely, in order to appear really to have conferred a favour on the city, and to be an innovator as well. As it is, let my good will be made known . . .'

τηι πολει: i.e. the town in which the writer lived and which expected some novelties from its professors and teachers.

3. *καιν[οσο]φος*? cf. V. The compound is not found elsewhere.

VII. 3–17. 'Of the Anacreontean metre this is a specimen:—

⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

"Water bring and wine withal, boy."

'Many term this Parionic, because it appears to border on the class of Ionic metres, especially when it has the anapaest standing first and the trochee next, similarly to such parts of Ionic verses as these:—

⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –

"Unto Zeus, wielder of thunder."'

2. In the metrical scheme there are some slight traces of ink above and below a hole in the papyrus between the two trochees. But they do not appear to represent a line of division, which ought to have been carried down to meet the horizontal line below. It may then be assumed that the writer derived the Anacreontean verse from the *Ionicus a maiore* (cf. 7 sqq.), by cutting off the first and last two syllables from a series of three feet: – – | ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, – – | ⏑ ⏑. For the admissibility of – ⏑ instead of ⏑ – in the middle of the verse cf. 12.

5. The quotation is from Anacreon (Bergk, Fr. 62. 1).

10. There is not room for [*ἐφ*]*άπτεσθαι*.

17. This is the latter part of a Sotadean verse (one of the forms of the *Ionicus a maiore*) quoted by Hephaest. c. xi. The complete line is *Ἥρην ποτὲ φασὶν Δία τὸν τερπικέραυνον.*

VIII. 'If from the first two feet all the component parts are removed, and only a short syllable and the rest of the verse are left, this dimeter will be effected. For example, these are Phalaecean verses:—

– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

"Lemnos, foremost, in olden time, of cities."

– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

"Thus entreated I all the gods of heaven."

⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

"From Eros wings Aphrodite holy goddess."

'Cut off the first syllables from these Phalaecean verses, and the Anacreontean measure will result, thus:—

⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

"most, in olden time, of cities."'

The Anacreontean metre, which is the topic of the preceding column, as well as of the two columns following, is here considered in relation to the Phalaecean.

1. *της πρωτης διποδιας*: the division of the Phalaecean verse here indicated is the same as that of Hephaest. (c. x.) who describes the Phalaecean verse as a catalectic trimeter *μόνην τὴν πρώτην* (sc. *συζυγίαν*) *ἀντισπαστικὴν ἔχον, τὰς δὲ ἑξῆς ἄλλας ἰαμβικάς*, i.e. ⏑ ⏒ – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ – – .

3. The metaphorical sense of *πρίσαι* is curious. There is no alternative to the reading.

9–14. The source of none of these three quotations is known. The fact that the third of them, which has twelve instead of eleven syllables, is given as an instance of the Phalaecean metre, is remarkable. This is possibly due to confusion, which some suppose to be the explanation of the statement (e.g. Caes. Bass. p. 258) that Sappho used the Phalaecean metre, though no example is quoted from her poems. But the citation is rather to be regarded as a confirmation of the view of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, who considers the Phalaecean to be an Ionic metre, and the forms – ⏒ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, – ⏑ – – and ⏑ ⏑ – –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, – ⏑ – · to be equivalent (*Mélanges Weil*, p. 449 sqq.). According to Caes. Bass. p. 261 Varro called the Phalaecean verse *Ionicum trimetrum*; and Synesius' sixth Hymn offers an example of the mixture of Phalaecean and Ionic trimeters. On the other hand this analysis does not agree with the scheme given by our author (cf. note on VIII. 1), who makes ⏒ ⏑ – ⏑, not ⏒ ⏑ –, the first foot. But the inclusion of the dodecasyllabic ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – under the Phalaecean metre may be a survival of older tradition similar to that noticed in IX. 2, note.

12. The papyrus is damaged where a stop after *απασι* would have been if it were written.

IX. 'In an analogous and similar manner if from the Praxillean verse the first two syllables are cut off, the Anacreontean metre will result; or to make a general rule for this case also, if all the syllables of the first foot are removed except one short syllable, the metre will be produced in the same way. Take these lines, of which the first syllables have been left behind:—

"Then appeared the moon uprising."

"From distress, and health's enjoyment."

"May I fly, my comrades; youth's bloom."

'It may be thought that catalectic iambic dimeters produce the same result . . .'

1. Probably *ἑπομέ]νως*.

2. *πραξιλλειου*: the scheme of the Praxillean metre is ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – . Hephaestion describes it (c. xi.) as *τρίμετρα βραχυκατάληκτα, ἃ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει ἰωνικὴν τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τροχαικήν*, and quotes as an example the verse of Sappho *πλήρης μὲν ἐφαίνετ' ἀ σελάνα* which is also used as an illustration here (l. 14). Hephaestion's division of the metre is therefore – – ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ – ⏑, – – . Our author divides differently. It is evident from his description of the way in which the Anacreontean verse may be derived from the Praxillean (ll. 7–10) that he regarded the first foot not as ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑, but as ⏒ – ⏑. His division therefore is ⏒ – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ – –. This Blass considers to be the true analysis of the metre, and a remnant of the older metrical tradition. The same scheme may be applied to such analogous metres as the *προσοδιακόν*: ⏒ – ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ – (⏒ – ⏑ ⏑, – ⏑ – Hephaest.).

14. The quotation is from Sappho (Bergk, Fr. 53). The correct form *ἐφαίνετ'* is found in the better MSS. of Hephaestion (c. xi).

15, 16. The source of these two quotations is unknown; they seem to be from the same poem, and are very possibly, like that in 14, from Sappho. In 15 *κὐγίειαν* must of course be read for *και υγειαν*. Blass suggests that this line may be completed:

[ἔρυκ'] ὀνίαν τε, κὐγίειαν
[ὄπαζε],

and the next:

[γῆρας
[θανοί]σα φύγοιμι παῖδες· ἥβα
[κάλλιστον].

18. ιαμβικων διμετρων καταληκτ.: the discussion of the relation of this metre (which is also called Anacreontean, Hephaest. c. v) to the Anacreontean is continued in the next column.

X. 2–15. "Whoever is for fighting."

'If the first foot is made an anapaest the metre will be as follows:—

"So the Lyctian Meneites."

"But whoever is for fighting."

'For with an anapaest at the beginning these are equivalent to Anacreontean verses; but when a spondee or rather an iambus is placed in the first foot they diverge more from them . . .'

1. All that remains of the first letter of the line is a vertical stroke which may belong to H I N or P. It may be inferred from what follows that the quotation from Callimachus, ὁ Λύκτιος Μενείτης, had just preceded; and ν[ειτης] might be read here, though it is rather long for the space. But ο λυκτιος με would not fill a line, and it is the practice in this MS. to begin a fresh line for each quotation. ἥ [τόδε] may be conjectured.

2. The same quotation from Anacreon (Bergk, Fr. 92. 1) is made by Hephaest. c. v.

6. Quoted from Callim. *Epigr.* 37, 1 (Wilamowitz, who reads Μενοίτας). δέ is of course inserted in order to make the first foot an anapaest.

14. πα[λι: the vestiges after π, which resemble a nearly horizontal stroke, may be the bottom of a small α, but this is quite uncertain.

XI. 'Such as:—

"To endure this you are fain,"

just as Aeschylus again has it in the Prometheus, thus:—

"⏑ ⏑ – evilly tongued."

'If you would still like to have the case put briefly, cut off from the Cyrenaic measure the first foot of two syllables. By producing the remainder you will construct this metre, thus:—

"⏑ ⏑ maiden still unwed."

'If now, dear friend, you understand this verse leave it and consider it no further; but pass on . . .'

The metre discussed in this column is ⏑ ⏑ – ⏒ ⏓ ⏑ –, which in col. XII is called Parthenean, and is there treated as akin to the Λογαοιδικά (cf. Hephaest. c. viii), the scheme being ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏒ ⏓, ⏑ –. In this 11th column the same form is apparently considered under a different aspect, namely as a modification of the Anacreontean metre. Here then the division will be different, ⏑ ⏑, – ⏒ ⏓ ⏑, –; this is the scheme of the Anacreontean verse *minus* the final syllable.

1. l. τοι]οῦτο.

2. It may be inferred from 3 sqq. that the author of this quotation, as of the next, was Aeschylus.

3, 4. εν τω προμηθει . . . αισχυ[λυς: the quotation is not to be found in the Προμ. Δεσμ., and therefore must come from one of the other plays on Prometheus, the Π. Πυρφόρος (Πυρκαεύς) or Π. Λυόμενος.

9. του κυρηναικου: the scheme of the Cyrenaic metre, it may be gathered from this

description, was ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – or ⏑ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –, according as the *τρισύλλαβον* of the corrector or the *δισύλλαβον* of the first hand is accepted as the correct reading. This metre is only known from the present passage.

15. ∪ ∪] *παρθενον κορην*: this is apparently the latter part of a verse which had already been quoted as an example of the Cyrenaic metre. The author is not known. The phrase *παρθένος κόρα* is used by Euripides of the Sphinx, *Phoen.* 1730 *παρθένου κόρας αἴνιγμ' ἀσύνετον εὑρών.*

20. There is not sufficient space for *ἐπ'* (*ἐφ'*) [*ἔ*]*τερ*[*ον σ*]*τίχον*. The letter before *ε* is probably *γ*, *κ*, *π*, *σ*, or *τ*.

XII. 'A feature common to logaoedic verse. But we must now pass over the characteristics common to logaoedic metres and to this, as they will be explained in the following treatise. I will now rather speak of the more important . . . I may reasonably first adopt and lay down as the formula of this metre the following: ∪ ∪ –, ⏑ ⏒, ∪ ⏑. The Parthenean verse as it is called is used by Pindar . . .'

On the subject of this column and its relation to what has preceded cf. note on XI.

1. l. *κοι*]*νόν*.

XIV. 2. The traces suggest that the scribe wrote]*ωιν* and then inserted a small *σ* between *ω* and *ι*.

3. After]*α π* was originally written, but the second vertical stroke seems to have been subsequently crossed out.

6. This line apparently contained a quotation which was ended in l. 7.

10. [*κανονα*: cf. XII. 11.

13. The scheme of the Asclepiadeus here given corresponds with that of Hephaestion (c. x), who classes it under the 'Antispastic' metres, i. e. those which employ the dipody of which the pure form is ∪ – – ∪. Cf. introd. and note on VIII. 1.

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*). The combination of these two fragments of which (*a*) contains only the letters *σ*[and *κ*[, is rendered probable by the appearance of the papyrus.

Fr. (*d*), 2. This seems to be part of a quotation.

CCXXI. Scholia on *Iliad XXI.*

Plate VI (Col. X).

The following scholia on the twenty-first book of the *Iliad* are written on the *verso* of the preceding papyrus in a small, cramped, informal uncial hand. The date of the metrical treatise on the *recto*, which is late first or early second century, gives about A. D. 100 as the *terminus a quo* for the date of the scholia. On the other hand we should not assign them to a later period than the end of the second century. The writing presents much resemblance to that of the Herondas MS. (Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXXV). Mr. Kenyon now (*Palaeography*, pp. 94, 95) ascribes that papyrus to the first century or first half of the second. We, however, are inclined to think a first century date improbable in the case of the Herondas MS. Both it and the scholia are very like some of the semi-

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down in his notes), *οὐ μὴν κάλλους ἐφρόντισε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ μόνον σῶσαι τῇ σημειώσει τὰ πράγματα. ὕστερον δὲ . . . συνέταξε μετὰ κάλλους ἃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μόνον ἐσημειοῦτο διὰ τὴν μνήμην*, and the use of *ὑποσημειοῦσθαι* in the same sense in Diog. Laert. ii. 48. If then Ammonius, son of Ammonius, was the author or compiler of these scholia, can he be identified with any of the known grammarians called Ammonius? The most famous of these was Ammonius, son of Ammonius, the head of the university at Alexandria. He wrote a commentary on the *Iliad*, to which several references are made in Schol. A, and Suidas states *διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν Ἀριστάρχου πρὸ τοῦ μοναρχῆσαι τὸν Αὔγουστον*; cf. Didymus on *Iliad* x. 397. *διεδέξατο* ought to mean that Ammonius directly succeeded Aristarchus, who died about 146 B.C., and though the phrase *πρὸ τοῦ μοναρχῆσαι τὸν Αὔγουστον* rather suggests that he may have lived in the first century B.C., it is impossible to identify him with the compiler of our scholia, who quotes grammarians of the Augustan age. An Ammonius who wrote scholia on Homer before the end of the first century A.D. is also known from the Brit. Mus. Odyssey papyrus (CCLXXI), where some notes of his are added in the margin. It is possible that he is identical with our author (but even the reading of his nam e, which is always abbreviated α^{μ}, is not certain), or he may be identical with the successor of Aristarchus. A third Ammonius is the author of the extant lexicon *Περὶ διαφορᾶς ὁμοίων ῥημάτων*, the date of which is uncertain. Valckenaer assigned it to the first century A.D., but later critics suppose it to be a work of the Byzantine age based on first century materials (Cohn *ap.* Pauly *Encycl. s.v.*). Both the lexicon and our scholia quote the same grammarians, and it is conceivable that the Ammonius whose name was given to the lexicon was the author of the scholia; but this too is the merest conjecture. It is moreover by no means certain that the author of these scholia was called Ammonius. The occurrence of a signature in the middle of a long book has no parallel, and no obvious explanation suggests itself. The use of the first person *ἐσημειωσάμην* would lead us to think that the manuscript, if not the original MS. of Ammonius himself, was at least a copy made directly from the original. But the existence at an Egyptian country town of such a MS. of a work which, as will be shown, appears to have played an important part in the history of Homeric criticism, would be most remarkable. Moreover, not only is the signature in a style of a handwriting so different from that of the body of the MS. that, though we are not prepared to deny the possibility of their having been written by one and the same person, appearances are all against that supposition; but the signature may have been added as much as a century later, so far as palaeographical considerations are concerned, a fact which makes the insertion of a copy of the author's signature still more inexplicable. One is tempted, therefore, to suppose that the meaning of

ἐσημειωσάμην proposed above is incorrect, and that the explanation of the term is to be found not in literary works or grammarians but in Egyptian documents. σημειοῦν is frequently found in Greek papyri; in Byzantine contracts it is sometimes used in the signature of the scribe as a mere equivalent of ἐγράφη (cf. B. G. U. 303, 310), but since the signature here is not apparently in the hand of the body of the scholia, Ammonius cannot be identified with the copyist. In the Roman period σημειοῦσθαι is commonly used (nearly always in the form σεσημείωμαι, rarely ἐσημειωσάμην) for an official signature signifying approval; and if ἐσημειωσάμην here does not mean 'made (these) notes,' it must mean 'signed,' i.e. 'approved.' There is, however, no parallel for such an *imprimatur* as distinct from the signature of a corrector. There would be nothing strange in Ammonius stating that he had revised the MS., cf. Revenue Papyrus Col. XXXVIII. 2 διωρθωσάμεθα ἐν τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ διοικητοῦ; but σημειοῦσθαι can hardly be a mere variant for διορθοῦσθαι, and the identity of handwriting, which we should expect on this theory between the signature and the corrections that are not due to the original scribe, is not apparent, though owing to the paucity of the material for forming a judgement it is impossible to speak definitely. And even if ἐσημειωσάμην means that the manuscript had been approved by Ammonius, it is still very strange that the fact was recorded in the middle of the papyrus.

We have now discussed the possibilities of Ammonius having been the compiler, the scribe, or the 'approver' of the scholia. None of these explanations is altogether satisfactory. There remains the heroic alternative of supposing that he had nothing to do with it at all, and that the signature is a mere scribble without any connexion with the body of the papyrus, like the two lines which follow the extract from the Epistle to the Romans in ccix. Such a theory, however, is unwarrantable, since ἐσημειωσάμην admits of at any rate two explanations; and the accidental occurrence of a grammarian's signature in a Homeric commentary, yet without any reference to it, is very unlikely. The choice lies between Ammonius the compiler and Ammonius the approver, and in spite of the difficulties which arise we prefer to suppose that Ammonius was the compiler. That ἐσημειωσάμην can mean 'made (these) notes' is certain, and seeing that the term would apply to only very few literary compositions, while the approval of a grammarian might just as well be appended, if it ever was, to a manuscript containing verse or a σύγγραμμα, the occurrence of ἐσημειωσάμην in the sense of 'approved' in connexion with a manuscript itself containing notes implies an accidental coincidence which is hardly credible.

What is the relation of Ammonius (as we shall now call him) to the extant scholia of the *Iliad*? These are divided into two classes:—(1) the more

important, the scholia of the Venetus A, which, according to the subscriptions, were compiled from the commentaries of Didymus, Aristonicus, Herodian, and Nicanor; (2) those of Schol. B (Ven. 453), Schol. T (the Townley, i. e. Brit. Mus. Burney 86), and Schol. Gen. (Genavensis 44, edited by Nicole in 1891), which have no subscriptions and differ materially from Schol. A, especially in paying less attention than the latter to questions of reading and more to questions of exegesis. Ammonius' scholia are earlier than the date of the composition of Schol. A, for they do not include, so far as we can judge, two out of the four ingredients of those scholia, viz. Herodian and Nicanor. They coincide with Schol. A on some points, especially on questions of reading; but this is natural, since the other two ingredients of Schol. A, Didymus and Aristonicus, were known to Ammonius. That Ammonius' scholia were a source of the Ven. A scholia is rendered unlikely by the subscriptions of the Ven. A; and though Ammonius, so far as his scholia are complete, seems to have included notices of the readings which in Schol. A are excerpted from Didymus and Aristonicus as Aristarchean, there is not sufficient evidence to show that he was as full as the compiler of the Ven. A scholia on purely critical points. It is, therefore, extremely improbable that Ammonius' scholia are either a source or an earlier stage of the Ven. A scholia.

The case is otherwise with the second class of scholia, Scholl. B, T, and Gen. These coincide in a marked way with Ammonius, and the notes of B and T often seem to be an abbreviated version of our author. The agreement of Ammonius with Schol. Gen. is even more conspicuous, because it is only in the twenty-first book that the Geneva scholia are clearly distinguishable, by much new and valuable information, from Scholl. B and T. Several remarkable notes in Schol. Gen. on Book xxi, e. g. those on 195, 256, 282, 363, largely reproduce the scholia of Ammonius. It is indeed a question whether the coincidence between Schol. Gen. and Ammonius is not best explained by the hypothesis that Ammonius' commentary was confined to Book xxi. Of the second class of scholia, therefore, Ammonius seems to be a real source, though it is curious that he is not referred to in them by name. But we must leave the discussion of this topic, as well as that of the sources of those scholia which our author gives on his own authority, to specialists; and we conclude with a brief summary of the most important features of the papyrus.

We have here for the first time an almost contemporary specimen of a first century commentary on the *Iliad*. The MS. of the Ven. A scholia is eight centuries later than the materials from which it professes to have been compiled, and it is impossible to be certain how far corruptions and interpolations have crept in. The present papyrus can claim to be exempt at any rate from the

latter, and the statements which it makes concerning Homeric critics do not admit of controversy.

Secondly, though, as has been said, owing to the elaborateness of the Geneva scholia, our information concerning Book xxi is fuller than in the case of any other book, and Ammonius' scholia therefore contain fewer novelties than would have probably been the case if a commentary by him on some other book had been discovered, there are still a number of points in which he gives us fresh information about the views of ancient critics and grammarians, or, what is hardly less important, assigns a definite source to statements which were previously anonymous. Amongst these may be mentioned the excerpts from Hermapias (III. 17), Didymus (X. 12, XVII. 27), Dionysius Sidonius (XI. 1), Protagoras (XII. 20), Seleucus (XV. 16), Crates (XVII. 30), the attribution of the known variant πελάσας for γ' ἐλάσας to Aristophanes (X. 36), the notice of the omission of v. 290 by the Cretan edition (XV. 27), and the new verse after Book ii. 848 which was found, if we accept the ingenious conjecture of Blass, in the edition of Euripides (VI. 17).

Thirdly, our author frequently uses illustrations drawn from classical Greek literature, some of which are new, e. g. the quotations from Hesiod (?) (III. 3), an unknown epic upon Heracles (IX. 8), Pindar (VII. 6, IX. 11), Alcaeus (XI. 9), Sophocles (XI. 13), and Aristotle's Ἀπορήματα Ὁμηρικά (XIV. 30).

Lastly, whatever view be taken of the precise relation of Ammonius to the class of scholia represented by Scholl. B, T, and Gen., the authority of that class is greatly increased by the present discovery. Hitherto those scholia have been at a disadvantage compared to Schol. A, owing to the absence of subscriptions and the consequent uncertainty attaching to their materials and their date. It is now clear that they are to a considerable extent based upon a compiler, who, whether he was called Ammonius or not, lived as early as the first century A. D. and had an intimate knowledge of his predecessors in Homeric criticism and of Greek literature in general. For such statements as they make Scholl. B T Gen. are henceforth entitled to as much authority as Schol. A.

The text of the scholia is printed after our usual method except that, for the sake of clearness, the words or passages commented on are printed in capitals, with the number of the line referred to in brackets at the side; capitals are also used for the initial letters of proper names, which are here particularly frequent. Owing to the unevenness of the hand, the number of letters lost in the lacunae cannot be gauged so closely as in most literary papyri. The scholia cover the first 363 lines of the book. There are gaps sometimes extending to several columns between I–II, II–III, VII–VIII, XIII–XIV, XV–XVI, XVI–XVII. We have followed in the notes the customary practice of referring to books

of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by the letters of the Greek alphabet. In the restoration of the text we have once more to acknowledge our great indebtedness to Professor Blass. Mr. Allen has also given us help on various points.

Col. I.

. . . . . .

].τε.[

]τα.ρυτορ[. . .]σοιω[(1)

αναγ]ινωσκειν τινας ὀτὲ[δη

λε]γοντας τον δη επι[φερομενον

] τω ο.τε χρονικω επι[

ε]γκλεινειν αυτον α[γνοουσι δε

οτι το] δη ουκ εστιν αλλοιω[σαι τον τονον

τινος] των προηγουμενω[ν ΠΟΡΟΝ οι (1)

μεν τη]ν διαβασιν ομοιως τ[ω εν β και

Θρυον] Αλφειοιο πορον καθ[

]ν και πορευτος ο Αλφ[ειος

ε

]αι τας δ[.]ατου οσαι αι[

]εν τω μ οικτιστον [δη κεινο ε

μοις ιδο]ν οφθαλμοισι παν[των οσ

σ εμογη]σα πορους αλος εξερε[ινων

οι δε το ρ]ευμα απο του εισ[

]. διαρρουν τουτο[

Πτο]λεμαιος Αριστο[φανης ροον

]ρην δια του η γρα[φει

ευρ]ηος ιν' ἡ απο ορθης [

]υς αγνοει δ' οτι απ.[Col. II.

]σιν και το ανεπτ[υγμενον . . . .

]ν μεν γαρ συλλα[ ]σι[(63)

ε]πι καθαρου του η[ς φυσι]ζωος [

] επι γενικης πα[ ].ροις α[

] διοτρεφεος θυμ[ος δε μεγας φυσ]ιζωον ετ[

εστι διοτρε]φεος βασιληος [5 Δ Η]ΘΕΛΕ ΘΥΜΩ [(65)

περιεσ]παsμενη δε[
]ν̣ων τα δε απ[
]ενα ευφωνια[
]ον παρα το ηρ[
δ]ι̣ο φησιν ϊφι̣[
]δε το κλεος α̣[

παρατατι]κ[ο]ν ηυξηκ[ε
]ιν· ευλογως [
] και αλλως δε[
]τες τελευται[
]τ̣ον γε χρονο[ν
] Στησιχορω [

Col. III.

[. . . . . .δει]λην μεν ὡς οι Αττι[κ]οι (111)
[. . . . . .]σελαν οθεν διελ̣[ο]ν φ̣η
[σιν Ησιοδος εν] γ Μαρες οσοι ναιουσι πελας
[ποτι δειελ]ον αυτος δε δειελο̣ν̣ Φρυ
[νιχος ο τραγ]ικος εν Φοινισσαις δειλη
[. . . . . .]ωτητι δεειλην ε̣π̣λειο
[. . . . . .]ι̣ων ανδρες εκτεινοντο
[. . . . . .]ην εs διε̣λην ταυτης δε
[το μετα μεση]μβριαν καταστημα δει
[λην πρωια]ν λεγουσι οι Αττικοι το δε
[περι δυσι]ν ηλιου δειλην οψιαν αυτος
[δε και δειε]λ̣ο̣ς εις ο κεν ελθη δειελος οψε
[δυων σκιασ]η δ εριβωλον αρουραν ω̣ς̣ την
[εσπεραν] εσπερον τρισι δε δια[σ]τημασιν
[την ημερ]αν περιωρικε[ν] ηοι μεση ημε
η
[ρα δειλη] ΑΡΗ τω σιδηρω [οι] δε τω π̣ρ̣ο̣σ (112)
[. . . .Ερμα]πιας δε περισπαι ϊν [ηι] β̣λα
[βη βελους] η δορατος Η ΟΓΕ ΔΟΥΡ[Ι ΒΑΛ]ΩΝ (113)
[Η ΑΠΟ ΝΕΥΡ]ΗΦΙΝ ΟΪCΤΩ πεπεισ[ται γαρ]
[οτι συστ]αδην αυτον ουδεις α[νελε]ι
[ΕΝΤΑΥΘΟΙ] ΝΥΝ ΗCΟ ΜΕΤ ΙΧΘΥCΙΝ [το εν (122)
[ταυθοι ο Θρ]αιξ βαρυτονει το γαρ [π]ερισπαν
[της νεωτε]ρας Ϊαδος οι δε δια το[υ] κ̣εκ̣᾽
[. . . . . .]. το εκ του ενταυθα [πα]ρ̣α

[. . . . . .]της εκ του ενταυθ[ι. .]. την
[. . . .περι]σπώμενην γεγ[. . .].αια
β
[. . . . . .]ς δε Αττικον φη[. . . .]στον
[. . . .ησο] διατριβε εαν δε [. . . .]η εισ (122)
[. . . . . .] μεταφραστεο[ν. . . . .]ο
[. . . . . .]σο Αριστονεικ[ος . . . ι]χθυ
[σι . . . ΙΧΘ]ΥCΙΝ ΟΙ C ΩΤΕΙΛΗ[Ν . . . . .]. (122)
[. . . . . .]εις ΑΙΜ' ΑΠ[Ο]Λ[ΙΧΜΗCΟΝΤΑΙ (123)
[. . . . . α]πολειχε[ιν. . . . . .
[. . . . . Α]ΚΗΔΕΕ[C . . . . . .
[. . . . . μη φ]ροντιζο[ντες . . . . . .

Col. IV.

τ[
θ[
λε[
σω[ΘΡΩCΚΩΝ ΤΙC (126–7)
ΚΑ[ΤΑ ΚΥΜΑ ΜΕΛΑΙΝΑΝ ΦΡΙΧ ΥΠΑΙΞΕΙ
ΙΧ[ΘΥC ΟC ΚΕ ΦΑΓΗCΙ] και
Αρ[ισταρχος υπο την φρικα αιξε]ι των
ιχ[θυων τις κατα το κυμα κολυμ]βων
[ος φαγοι αν τον Λυκαονος δημον π]αν
τ[ως γαρ εδει τον μελλοντα του υ]πο
φε[ρομενου νεκρου απτεσθαι ι]χθυν
αν[ω μετεωρον . . . υπο την φρικ]α ελ
θει[ν 22 letters]τι
ι.[23 ..]υπα
τα[23 ,,]ν δια
το[23]ειον
κε[. . .]τα[18 ,,]πως
καθαπερ ε[17 ,,].αι
οπισθεν ω[17 ,,]α
τρια λουτο[14 ,, εν τ]η δ̄

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[. . ιστορ]ησεν οτι οι τας ϙ[. . . . . .
[. . . . . .] λεγου[σι]ν αυτο[ν] καὶ [. . . . .
[. . . . οπ]λ̣α αυτου δεικνυουσ[ι . . . .
[. . . . .]μ̣εως απο της υλης τη[. . . . . .
ω
[. . . . . .]ο̣υ̣ρ̣ησου προσω κ[. .]η[. . . . .
[. . . . . Ο] ΔΕ ΑΝΤΙΟC ΕΚ ΠΟΤΑΜ[ΟΙΟ (144)
[ΕCΤΗ ΕΧ]ΩΝ ΔΥΟ Δ[Ο]ΥΡΕ διειλη[πται
[. . . . . .]η̣τα . . γο̣νος ως φη[σι
[. . . . . ΕΠ]ΕΙ Κ[Ε]ΧΟΛ[Ω]ΤΟ ΔΑΙ Κ[ΤΑΜΕ (146)
[ΝΩΝ οτι ε]λλει[π]ει η περι και η̣[. . . .
[. . . . . α]νηρημενων ο μεσος [. . . .
[. . . . .] ΔΟΛΙΧΕ[Γ]ΧΕΑC Σελευκος [προπα (155)
[ροξυν]ει̣ ΗΔΕ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ ΝΥΝ ΗΩC ΕΝΔ[ΕΚΑΤΗ (155–6)
[ΟΤ ΕC ΙΛΙΟ]Ν [[Η]]ΕΙΛΗΛΟΥΘΑ εν τη κατ E[υρι
εν
[πιδην και] εν τισιν αλλαις και δια[κο]σ̣μ̣ω α̣
[. . . . . Α]στεροπαιος ουτως αυ[τα]ρ Πυραι
[χμης] αγε Παιονας αγκυλοτοξου[ς] Πηλε
[γονο]ς θ υιος περιδεξι[ος] Αστεροπ[αι]ος
[. . . .]ν̣ος γαρ αυτος απο του διακ[οσμ]ου
δε
[και ει] μ̣η παραδεχοιτο τις τον [[δ]] [ε]ν δια
[κοσ̣μ]ω περι αυτου στιχ[ον] ουδεν κω̣λ̣υει
[ενα τω]ν επι μερους ηγεμονων αυτ[ον] ο̣ν
τ
[τα μη] ωνομασ[θ]αι καθαπερ Σ[[χ]]ιχι[ο]ν Σχε
[διον Φο]ινικα Πατροκλον Αντιλοχον
Τ[ευκρο]ν· ος και υπ αυτου του Αγαμεμνο
νο[ς π]ροσηγορευται καθα κα[ι] Ἴστρος
[φη[σι] Τευκρε φιλη κεφαλη Τελαμωνιε

Col. VII.

. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]α̣σ̣[. . . . . (162–3)
[. . . . . .]ε̣λ̣ι . [. . .] . α̣ν̣[. . . . . .

[. . . . . αμφο]τερα[. . .]ṣ χερ̣[. . . . . .
[. . . . . .] . στ̣ο̣π̣[. .]ο̣να[. . . . . .
το δορυ ουσ̣[.]κ̣α̣ι . α̣[.]α̣νακ̣[. . . . . .
εν̣ Παρθενειοις πα[ις δ] Αστερ[οπαιου γε
γενημαι ος πο̣[.] . ι̣θ̣α . [. .]ας αμ[φοτεραι
σι [[κ̣]]ερσι ριπτεν και [. .]α̣μ̣[. . . . . .
ο̣ δε χαλκεοις θ̣ρασυ̣[. . . . . .
πεη[[ν̣]] χωμοπτο̣λι[. . . . . .
μαχαι θαυμαινετ̣ . [. . . . . .
λεων ϊεντα ρομ[βον βαλλει δ αμα αμφο
τεραις την δ ασπι[δα απεβαλεν ο
τι δυσχρηστος εν [υδασιν . . . . . .
και ταξ̣ε̣ . . ν· κ̣α̣ι α̣[. . . . . .
οθεν και εν τω αγω[νι . . . . . το τε
ξιφο[ς] αυτου τιθησι[[ν]] [ο Αχιλλευς . . . .
καλ[ο]ν Θρηκιον κ[αι τον θωρακα . . .
ω π[ε]ρι χευμα φα[ειν]ου κασσιτεροιο
αμφ[ι]δεδε[ι]νη[ται

Col. VIII.

]α̣]ο̣ι]
]]υ̣ν]ε
]σ̣υν]σ̣]
].].σ]
]σ̣
. .

Col. IX.

σαν ται̣[. . .] . κ̣α̣[. .] . π̣ασ̣[. .] [[ν̣ .]] κατελεξα (195)
Αχελω[ιου] αργυροδ[ι]νεω εξ ου πασα
θαλασ[σα κ]αι Μεγακλειδης δ [ε]ν ᾱ πε
ρι Ομη[ρο]υ γραφει ποιον ρειθρο[ν] μειζον

Αχελω[ι]ου εξ ουπερ παντες ποτ[α]μοι ο
μεντ[οι γ] Αριστ̣αρχος Ομηρικον αυτ[ο]ν
αποφ[αιν]ει̣ τα γαρ ρευματα εξ ωκεαν[ο]υ
ειναι [Σελ]ευκος δ εν ε̄ [Ηρ]ακλειας πω̣[ς
δ επορ[ευθ]η̣ς ρευμα Α[χελω]ιου αργυ[ρο]
δινα ωκεανου ποταμο[ιο δι] ευρεος υγ[ρ]α
κελευθα τουτο δε εμφαι[νει]ν και Πιν
δαρον λεγοντα τον αυλητικον κ[α]λα
μον Αχελω̣ιου κ[ρα]ναν τ[ο]υ υδατο[ς
προσθα μεν ι̣σ Αχελωιου [τ]ον αοιδ[οτα
τον ευρωπια κραναν ελ[ικο]ς τε π[οτ]α
μου ροαι τρεφον καλαμ[ον ε]τερως
γουν λεγειν ωκεανου π̣ε[δ]α̣ κρανα[ν
πολλους τε προ Δημητρο[ς] θυειν Α
χελωιωι οτι παντων πο[τα]μων ονο
μα ο Αχελωιος κα[ι] εξ υδα[το]ς καρπος
Εφορος δ' εν β̄ [φησι] το εν Δωδωνηι μ[αν
τιον σχεδον εν απασι τοις χρησμοις
προσταττε[ι]ν Αχελ[ωι]ωι θυειν οθε[ν
τους Ελληνας παν̣[τ]α̣[.] ποτ̣α̣μ̣ον
νομιζειν Αχελωιον̣ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΕΙΑΤΑ ΜΑ (197)
ΚΡΑ ΝΑΟΥCΙΝ οτι αντι του ναει ρει μα
κρα δε αντι του βαθεα ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ [ΑΡ ΕΓ (203)
ΧΕΛΥΕC ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΪΧΘΥΕC ισως οτι [μαλι
στα σαρκοφαγουσιν αι εγχελυες [κατ] ε
ξοχην ειρηνται και ελλειπε[ι] το α[λ
λοι ϊν' ῆι και ο[ι] αλλοι ϊχθυ[ε]ς ομοι[ω]ς
τω τη μεν τ ουδε ποτητα [πα]ρερχ[ε
ται ουδε πε[λ]εια[ι] τρη[ρω]ν[ες ισως
δ' οτι εν ϊλυ̣ι̣ ε[ι]σι και σαρκο[ς ανθρωπει
ου λιχνευονται η κεχω[ρικεν απο
τ[ω]ν ιχθυων οτ[ι ο]υτε [εξ οχειας γινον
τα[ι] καθα φησιν Αρ[ι]στ[οτελης ουτε
ζωοτοκουσιν ουτε [θορικους πορους

Col. X.

ουτε υστερικους εχουσιν αλλ' εκ των
καλουμενων γης εντερ[[ικ]]ων ης α[υ]το
μαται συνισταντται εν τω πηλω και εν
τη γη τ[η] ενικμωι ζωσι δ[ε κ]αι τρεφον
τ[αι] ομβ[ριω] υδατι εν [τ]αις γουν τελματω
δεσι λιμ[ναι]ς του τε [υ]δατος παντος ε
ξαναλω[θε]ντος και του πηλου εξυσθεν
τ[ο]ς γεινονται παλιν οταν υδωρ γενη
ται ομβριον εν τοις [[λ]]υχμοις ου γει
νονται ουδ εν ταις διαμενουσαις λι
μναις εν δε τω ζ̄ φησιν αυτον λε
γειν Δι̣δ̣υμος αμαρτυρως οτι και αλ
ληλοφαγον εστιν και οτι ζη ζ̄ και η̄
ε[τ]η· εστι δε και μονογενες παλιν
ου το μεν αρσεν το δε θηλυ και εν τω
αγορανομικω δε νομω Αθηναιων
διεσταλται εγχελυων τελη και ϊχθυ
ων Α[Μ]ΦΕΠΕΝ[Ο]ΝΤΟ περι αυτον εγι (203)
νο[ν]το ενεργουντες προαναπεφω
νηκε δε το τριτη ημερα εσομενον
οτε εμελλεν επιπλειν η τοτε εκει
το εν ταις αμμοις αι εγχελυες ηδη αυ
του ησθιον ενδυουσαι ΔΗΜΟΝ ΕΡΕ (204)
ΟΠΤΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΝΕΦΡΙΔΙΟΝ ΚΕΙΡΟΝΤΕC
οτι η πε[ι]μελη [πε]ρι τους νεφρους εστι
το δ ερεπ[τ]ομε[νο]ι σκληρως επι των
ιχθυων κειται επει γαρ τ[[η]]ων τη
γλωσση λαμβανοντων απο της ερας
το ερεπτεσθαι κειροντες δαπανων
τες ΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΙΟΝΑC· επι Παιονας ΑΝΕ (205) (213)
Ρ[Ι] ΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΟC κ[αι Α]ριστ̣αρχος διχως

ειδομενος κ[αι] εισαμε[ν]ος ΠΙΕΡ[Ι] ΜΕΝ (214)
ΚΡΑΤΕΕΙC περ[ι]σσως δε [ισ]χυρος ει ΑΙ
CΥΛΑ αν[ο]μα· και π[αρα] καθηκον
ΕΞ [Ε]ΜΕΘΕΝ Γ ΕΛΑCΑ[C συν] τω γ̄· παρα (217)
[δ]ε Αριστοφανει πελ[ασας] ΠΕΔΙΟΝ
[Κ]ΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΜΕΡΑ ΡΕ[ΖΕ τα] μεριμνης

In the margin between Cols. X and XI at right angles
Αμμωνιος Αμμωνιου γραμματικος εσημειωσαμην

Col. XI.

αξια κακα ΕΡΑΤΕΙΝΑ [ΡΕ]ΕΘΡΑ ο Σιδωνιος (218)
φησιν οτ[ι] ο πο[ι]ητης εξε[πε]σεν εις την
διηγη[μ]ατικην κατασκ[ευ]ην μιμη
τικων οντων των λογω[ν οι] δε τα φυ
σει [κα]ι προ της παραποταμιας μαχης
ερατεινα ΟΥΔΕ ΤΙ ΠΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΑΙ Π[Ρ]Ο (219-20)
ΧΕΕΙΝ ΡΟΟΝ ΕΙC ΑΛΑ ΔΙΑΝ CΤΕ[Ι]ΝΟΜΕΝΟC
ΝΕ[Κ]ΥΕCCΙ στενοχωρουμ[ενο]ς παρα
[τ]αυτ[α] Αλκαιος στενω μ[αν]· Ξανθω ρ[ο
[ος] ες θαλασσαν ικανε και εν Οδυσσεια
α[ι]ψα κε τοι τα θυρετρα και ευρεα περ
μαλ εοντα φευγοντες στεινοιτο ου
χ ως Σοφοκλης στεναζοι νεκυεσσιν υ
πο νεκυων ΑΙΔΗΛΩ[[.]]C αφανιστικως· (220)
ΕΑCΟΝ αι Αριστarχιοι ουτως ινα το συ (221)
νηθες ημιν ηι οι δε αντι του χορτα
σθητι παρα το αιματος ασαι Αρηα ου
κ ευ ασηι πλησμονηι ΕΚΤΟΡΙ ΠΕΙΡΗ (225)
ΘΗΝΑΙ αντι του Εκτορος ΕΓΩ εως περα (226)
[[α]]τος εξ εναντιας πολεμησαι ω ΠΟΠΟΙ (229-32)
ΑΡΓΥΡΟΤΟΞΕ ΔΙΟC ΤΕΚΟC ΟΥ CΥ ΓΕ ΒΟΥΛΑC
ΕΦΡΑCΑΟ ΚΡΟΝΙΩΝΟC Ο ΤΟΙ ΜΑΛΑ ΠΟΛΛ Ε
ΠΕΤΕΛΛΕ ΤΡΩCΙ ΠΑΡΕCΤΑΜΕΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ Α

ΜΥΝΕΙΝ ΕΙC Ο ΚΕΝ ΕΛΘΗ ΔΕΙΕΛΟC ΟΨΕ ΔΥΩΝ
αποτειναι επι τα κοινως ειρημε
να προς παντας αμφοτεροισι δ αρη
γεθ' οπη νοος εστιν εκαστου ει γαρ Α
χιλλευς οιος επι Τρωεσσι μαχειται
ουδε μινυνθ' εξουσι ποδωκεα Πη
λειωνα [[(δειδω μη και τειχος υπερ)]]
αυξητικως ουν ειρηκεν ο ποταμος
η κατα το σιωπωμενον ·οιητεον
τη[ν] ε[[.]]ντ[ο]λην γεγενησθαι οθεν
/και αυταρ Απολλων οιος εδυσετο
[Ιλ]ιον ιρην βεμβλετο γαρ οι τειχος
λ
ευδμητοιο π[ο[[δ]]ηος ειρυσαο προς σε (230)
/αυτον εποιη[σ]ω εφυλαξας· οσς τοι ος (230)
/σοι· δειελος οψε δυων· ο[τι αν]τι του (232)

Col. XII.

δε[ιλη αρσενικως ω]ς θυρεον μεγαν αν
τ[ι του θυραν. . . . .]το δε ο δειελος κατα
[. . . . . .απο] της ξ̄ ωρας εκεινη
[μ]εχ[ρι της. .δεκα]της αυτη δε οψια ΚΡΗ (234)
ΜΝΟ[Υ ΑΠΑΙΞΑC αφ]ορμησας [α]πο του κρη
[μ]ν[ου Ο Δ ΕΠΕCCΥ]ΤΟ ΟΙΔΜΑΤΙ ΘΥΙΩΝ δυ (234)
.[. . . . . Αχι]λλευς εφορμησαι
τ[. . . . . .πο]ταμου ενθουσιων
ο[. . . . . ΑΛΙC α]θροως ΧΕΡCΟΝΔΕ τους (236) (238)
λε[.].υ.[. .νεκρους] εις το πεδιον ε
κτος εα[υτου εξεβ]αλλεν: ΖΩΙΟΥC ΔΕ CΑ (238-9)
/ω ΚΑΤΑ [ΚΑΛΑ ΡΕΕΘΡ]Α ΚΡΥΠΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΔΙ
ΝΗCΙ ΒΑ[Θ]Ε[ΙΗCΙ οιο]ν εν κολπω τινι υδα
τος ως επι τ[ης Τυρ]ους· πορφυρεον δ α
ρα κυμα πε[ριστα θ]η ουρει ϊσον κυρτω

θεν κρυψε[ν· δε θεον] θνητην τε γυναι
κα τρια μ̣ε̣[ιζον η κατ α]νδρα τους νεκρους
εκβαλλει τ[ους ζων]τας σωζει προς *A*
χιλλεα [μαχεται] ΔΕΙΝΟΝ Δ Α[Μ]Φ ΑΧΙΛ (240)
ΛΗΑ ΚΥΚ[ΩΜΕΝΟΝ] ΪCΤΑΤΟ ΚΥ[Μ]Α· *Π*ρω
ταγορας φησ[ιν προ]ς το διαλαβειν την
μαχην το ε[πεισο]διον γεγονεναι το ε
ξ̣ης̣ τ̣ης̣ Ξα[νθου κα]ι θνητου μαχης ιν'
εις τ̣ην θεομ[αχια]ν μεταβη ταχα δε
ϊνα και τ̣ον̣ [Αχιλ]λ̣ε[α] αυξησ̣η και προ̣
κατα των η̣[. . . . . .] τοις κινδυ
νοις τ̣ω̣ι̣ ησ̣ι̣[. . . . .]ς καταλαμ
βανοντα το[. . . . . επ]ηδα δε ου
κ εν τω ρ̣ι̣θρω [ετι αλλ εν τ]ω πεδιωι· Ο (246–7)
Δ ΑΡ ΕΚ ΔΕΙΝ[ΗC ΑΝΟΡΟΥC]ΑC ΗΙΞΕΝ ΠΕ
ΔΙΟΝΔΕ ΠΟCΙ Κ[ΡΑΙΠΝΟΙCΙ] ΠΕΤΕCΘΑΙ τω
δε αρματι ου̣[κ ην χρησθαι] μ̣η καθαπερ
ρ
εν ικτηι τω [αρματι κινδ]υνευση υπο
συρεντων τω[ν ιππων . . . .]ε̣ και του πο
ε
ταμου θασσ[ον . . . . .] ηφανιζ[[ον]]
το ἡ αγωνι̣[ια . . . . .]ει κινδυ
νου ο α̣γ̣ω̣[ν . . . . .] ε̣ν δε τω το
νωι π̣[. . . . .]εστησε τον

Col. XIII.

The first five lines begin η[, ξ[, ο[, δ[, λ̣ι̣.τ̣ης τ̣[

6 δε[.]πηκ̣[ανε (246)
δυσετο λι[μνης εδυ
[[ι]]σετο πελ[
ως εκ λιμν̣[ης
ι̣ται ως εν .[

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[ον ρα τ ενα]υλος αποερση χειμων[[ος]]ι
γα
[περωντα] και Ηρη δε[[ι]] με αϋσε περι
[δεισασ Αχι]λληι μη μιν απορσειε με
[γας ποταμο]ς βαθυδινης και ερσαν
[καλει δροσ]ον και χωρις δ αυθ' ερσαι ει
[σι γαρ αι α]παλαι και δροσωδεις Κρατης
[δε ειλθε]ντα ϊν' ηι ερχθεντα και την
[εξουλης] δικην εντευθεν εκτιθη
[σι δε και Σ]ολωνος εκ ε̄ αξονος εξου
[λης εαν τι]ς εξειιλλπι ων εαν δικην
[νικηση οσ]ου εαν αξιον η εις δημοσι
[ον οφλε]ιν και τω ϊδιωτη εκατερω
[ισον ΕΝΑΥΛ]ΟΥC χιμαρρους ως Αρισταρ (283)
[χος ρεων] εν παραμηκεσι τοποις·
[. . . . . .]νες αι εν τοις αυλωσιν
[. . . . . .] αυλωνες οι στενοι και ε
[πιμηκεις ποτα]μοι ο δε Θραιξ τα κοιλω
[ματα εξ ων α]ι εκ[[.]]ρ[[ο]]υσεις των πο
[ταμων πεπλ]ηνται και εμπινπλη
[θι ρεεθ]ρα υδ[α]τος [[. .]] εκ πηγαιων
εν
[παν]τας δ οροθυνεν αυλους αυ
[λος] παν το στεινον εισι ουν η
[. . . . .]εισαι ατε στενουμεν[.] της
[. . .].ροισμα ΧΕΙΡΙ ΔΕ ΧΕΙΡΑ [Λ]ΑΒΟΝ (286)
[ΤΕC] ΕΠΙCΤΩCΑΝΤ' ΕΠΕΕCΙ δια δε
[ξιας] πιστιν εποιησαντο των λο
[γω]ν Αριστοτελης δε μη βοηθη
[σαι] αυτους Αχιλλει οτι Ηφαιστος
[αντ]ετετακτο τω Ξανθω ατοπον
[. . . .] Αινεαν σευεσθαι προσητη.
[. . .]ν ΤΟΙCΙ ΔΕ ΜΥΘΩΝ ΗΡΧΕ ΠΟ (287)
[CΕΙΔ]ΑΩΝ Ε[Ν]ΟCΙΧΘΩΝ οτι Ποσει

Col. XV.

[δ]ω[νος] κα[ι] Αθηνας κα[ι] αλ̣[λων
μ̣[η] οντων τοις ειπεν ως κα̣[ι
εν Οδυσσεια επι Καλυψους κ[αι
Οδυσσεως τοισι δε μυθων η[ρχε
Καλυψω δια θεαων ΜΗ Τ ΑΡ ΤΙ Λ[Ι (288)
ΗΝ ΤΡΕΕ· μη υποχωρει·ΖΗΝΟC ΕΙΤΑ[Ι (290)
ΝΗCΑΝΤΟC ΕΓΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΛΑC ΑΘΗ
ΝΗ αθετειται οτι ονομα ουκ ει
ρηκεν ονομα του θεου αλλ εγω
μεταβεβληκως την ϊδεαν
εις ανδρα [κ]αι γ[α]ρ̣ ουκἀδε κατα
την αφοδον σημειω επιφανει
τον Αχιλλεα εθαρσυνεν ουδε Σκα
μανδρος ελεγε το ον μενος αλλ ε
τι μαλλον χωετο Πηλειωνι
προς ταυτα λεγει Σελευκος εν τω γ̄
κατα των Αριστ̣αρχου σημειων οτι
ανδρασιν ωμοιομενοι ομως κατα
τ[ο σι]ωπωμενον δια της δεξιωσε
ω[ς] ιχνη του θεου ειναι παρεχον
[τ]αι [ε]πει πως ειρηκασι τ[οι]ω γαρ τοι
νωι θεων επιταρροθω [ειμ]εν
και [υ]πο Διος δε κατα το σ[ιω]πωμε
νον επεμφθησαν εν [δ]ε τω ε̣
ω
των διορθ[[ε]]τικων ο αυτος [α]θετε[ι
συν τοις εξης β̄ ως περισσο̣[υ]ς ου
κ ειναι δε ουδ εν τη Κρητικη ΠΟ (291)
ΤΑΜΩ ΤΕ υπο του ποταμου ΛΩΦΗ (292)
CΕΙ ενδωσει απο των τους λοφους
τους τραχηλους υποτιθεντων
ζωιων· τεως γαρ ζυγομαχουν

τα ενδιδωσιν ζευχθεντα και
ο Καλλιμαχος ηλθεν ο βους
υ[π α]ροτρον εκουσιο[[ν]]ς Π[[. . .]]ΝΩC (293)

Col. XVI.

καθηρει. κα[τεβαλλε και δασυνεται (327)
ΟΡCΕ ΚΥΛΛΟΠΟ[ΔΕΙΟΝ ΕΜΟΝ ΤΕΚΟC (331)
Πτολεμαιος [την παρατελευτον περι
σπαι οτι παν[τα τα εις ων λεγοντα
επι παρεσχα[τ
ιον. φασιν οτ[ι
τακται το ι κ[
κον νυν αλλ[
[.]ος αυτου κ[α
το εσχα[το]ν [. . . . . .ορσεο κυλλο
ποδειον βελ[τιον αθετειν τον στιχον
ουδετερω γα[ρ πρεποντως αλλα
ακ[[. .]]ραιως τ[ο επιθετον κειται
προς την φι[λανθρωπευομενην
οτι υπο μεν [
ν[.]ν χειρουτ[αι
τοιουτο ουν ε[Σκα
μανδρωι θε[HICKOMEN ω (332)
μο[ι]ουμεν ε[νομιζομεν οτι εσ
τι [υδω]ρ πυρι [εναντιον
π.νεων πο[
ε ΑΥΤΑΡ Ε[ΓΩ ΖΕΦΥΡΟΙΟ (334)
εν β περι τ[ων
μενων φη[σιν οτι ζεφυρος απο εσπε
ρας και [η] απ[ο δυσεως. . . . . κα
λειται παρα [Ομηρω ζοφος ο δε αργε

στης οτι εις [Τροιαν απο των περι Πε
λοποννησ[ον τοπων πνει εν οις το
Αργος το δ εξ [ανεμων δυο κεκραμενον
θυελλα ΕΙCO[ΜΑΙ πορευσομαι καλουσα (335)
αυτους αλλο[ν αλλαχοθεν Ζηνοδο
τος δε γραφει [ορσασα ωστε το εισομαι
γνω[σ]ομαι αυ[τους Η ΚΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΡΩΩΝ ΚΕΦΑ (336)
ΛΑC τους Τρω[ας ΦΛΕΓΜΑ. . . . . (337)
ξιν την φλο[γα καθως Ησιοδος και
μα δε θεσπ[εσιον κατεχεν χαος

Col. XVII.

]τευ[

[. . . . . .]ομ[
[. . . . . .] ΗΔΕ Κ[ΥΠΕΙΡΟΝ αι εκ των πο (351)
[λεων ηδε] κυπα[ι]ρ[ον
[. . . . . .] οτι τα α[
[. . . . . .] εξηλθον [ΤΕΙΡΟ]Ν[Τ Ε]ΓΧ[Ε (353)
[ΛΥΕC ΤΕ Κ]ΑΙ ΙΧΘΥΕC [ο]τι κεχωρισ
[μενοι εγχ]ελυες και ιχθυες ΠΝΟ[Ι (355)
[Η ΤΕΙΡΟΜ]ΕΝΟΙ τη αποφορα του π[υ
[ρος κατα]πονουμενοι ριπη δε η κ[. .
[. . . . . Κ]ΑΙΕΤΟ Δ ΙC ΠΟΤΑΜΟΙΟ η ι[σ (356)
[χυς ο ποτ]αμος ο[ι] δε τον και συν
[δεσμον .]να . . τ̣ην δε ε̄ αντωνυ
[μιαν ιν η] κα[ι] αυτον τουτο προσει
[πεν ις πο]ταμ[οιο α]ντιμαρτυρει δε
[το φη πυρι] κα[ιομ]ενος και το αυταρ
[επει Ξανθ]οιο δαμη μενος δια γαρ
[. . . . . .]νου [γ]ραπτεον ΑΝΑ Δ ΕΦΛΥ (361)
[Ε ΚΑΛΑ ΡΕΕ]Θ[Ρ]Α η φ[λ]υητις αναζεσις
[. . . . . .]τος [ο]ι δ[ε] επληθυε ΚΝΕΙ (363)
[CΗΝ ΜΕΛΔ]ΟΜΕΝΟC Αριστα̣ρχος και

[η Καλλιστ]ρατου συν τω ν̄ κνισην
[ιν ἡ συος] την κνισαν τηκων ομοι
[ως τωι κ]νισην δ εκ πεδιου ανε
[μοι φερο]ν κνιση δε ου μονον ο ε
[πιπλου]ς αλλα παν λιπος τα κνε[ι
[ση δε ο]υδεποτε ειρηκεν Ομηρο[ς
[κυριως] δ εστι μελδειν ως Διδυ
[μος τ]α μελη [ε]δειν ωμοιωσε δ[ε
[την με]ν υπο τω υδατι γην τω λε
[βητι τ]ο δ' ὕδωρ τω λιπει Κρατη[ς
[δ εν . δ]ιορθωτικων γραφομε
[νου με]λδον φησιν αντι του με[λ
[δομε]νου δια το τους αρχαιους
[τω ō τ]ο ῡ μη προστιθεναι αγν[ο

Frs. (*a*) and (*b*).

]ι[
]ς: τιμ[
]αυτω[
]ειρεα[
] γαρ ο αθη.[
]σαναπαλ[
]στινα λ[
]ο αρκια[
δ]υσχερω[ς
]ησει[
]ισινα[
]νεν[
]οσι[
. . .
]εμιζο[
]κετοιγ[.
]ε γαρ μ[
]ιωσ[

Fr. (*d*).

]αρ σου κ[
]σιων αμ[
]ερεται οιω[
]νιω εταιμ[
]υγεταιτ[
]ολ.[.]να[
]τ[
]λ[
. . .
. .
]λλ[
]ικαν[
]ενοθ[
]ον λεγ[
]απιν[
]ρκιτρ[

Fr. (*e*).

Fr. (*f*).

]ω[
]ρο[
]νιο[
]οτι[
]αιτ[
]σομ[
]ν[
]ων[
]σω[
. . .

Fr. (*g*).

. . .
].λεο.[
]σταακρη[
].[.]εν τη[
]αι δεδυ[
].σεισ[

]ρ̣σι̣[
. .

Fr. (*c*) blank.

]α̣ρχιλ[
]τησ.[
]φεν̣[
. . .

Fr. (*i*).

. . .
]σηνι̣[.]
]μιξε δε̣
]ερις και
]ικως
]λητο

]ι̣να μεγαρ̣ι
]ικ̣ωσγο[
]γαοιπ̣[
. . .

Fr. (*k*).

. . .
]ν̣[
]οι̣[
]εκ̣[
]μ̣[
]ελ̣[
]ε[
]ι[
]η̣[
]σα[
]ο[
]η[
. .

Fr. (*k*).

. . .
]ωντ̣[
]λειται[
]υσιας εσ̣[
] προσωπ[
]ειινεν[
]αμ[
]τωνε[
]αραφ[
]ετογ[.]ρ̣[

Fr. (*l*).

. . . .
]η̣[. .] τ̣[ο]υτο[
]νορι̣.[. ι]στορου̣[
. . . .

Fr. (*m*).

. .
].α̣λ̣[
]α̣ιτ̣[
]ο̣με̣[
]πο̣δ' ελ[
]αι και κ̣[
]σ̣αι ανε[
πε]ρι τουτο̣[

Fr. (*n*).

. . .
]α̣[
]αι[
]ο εν[
]απ[
]σασ[
]τ̣ατ[

I. Though the beginnings and ends of lines in this column are lost, the size of the lacunae between the end of one line and the beginning of the next can be approximately determined by the quotations which occur in 13–15 and 26–27 and have from 25–30 letters in a line. In 2–13 about 10–13 letters are lost between the lines, between 13 and 16, 12–15 letters; in ll. 16 to 27, 14–18 letters, and in ll. 27 to 33, 16–20 letters are required for the lacunae.

1–8. A scholium on the accentuation of ὅτε δή in v. 1, the general sense of which is clear. 'Some read ὁτεδή, saying that when δη is added to οτε it causes οτε to lose its accent. But they ignore the fact that δη cannot change the accent of a word preceding.' Cf. Herodian on A 493 Ἀρίσταρχος ὁτεδή ὡς δηλαδή παραλόγως ἀναγινώσκει. In 1] οτε δ[η may be read.

3. Of the grave accent over ε only the tip is preserved, but it must have been written. Oxytone words of three syllables were accentuated at this period either with grave accents on the first two syllables (e. g. in the Bacchylides papyrus) or with a grave accent on the penultimate only (e. g. in ccxxiii).

5. The meaning, if any, of the dots above and below the ο of οτε is not clear. Blass suggests ἐπι[ρρήματι.

6. αυτον : i. e. τὸν τόνον. Blass suggests τῷ τόνῳ after οτε[δη in 3.

8–18. On the different interpretations of πόρον in v. 1. Cf. Schol. A πόρον ἴξον, τὸν πορευτὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον· "καὶ Θρύον Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον." οἱ δε τὸν ῥοῦν, οἱ δὲ πόρον Ξάνθου κατὰ περίφρασιν τὸν Ξάνθον. Ἀριστοφάνης γράφει ῥόον. Schol. B omits the quotation and the reading of Aristophanes, Schol. T omits the quotation. The papyrus was somewhat fuller than any of them. In 8–11 we have the view that πόρος meant a ford, illustrated by the quotation given in Schol. A (B 592); in 16–18 the view that it meant 'flow,' which is apparently ascribed to Ptolemaeus (ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης, Ἀριστάρχειος), and in 18 the reading of Aristophanes. The point of the quotation, οἴκτιστον κ.τ.λ. (μ 258, 259), in 13–15 is not clear owing to the mutilation of the previous line. It cannot be intended to illustrate the view that πόρος meant ford; probably it was cited in support of the theory that Ξάνθου πόρον was equivalent to Ξάνθον.

19–27. On the reading and derivation of εὐρῆος or εὐρρεῖος in v. 1. This scholium is very obscure. If the supplement of 18 is, so far as it goes, correct, which hardly admits of doubt, not more than six letters are lost before the beginning of 19, and we should there expect the termination of ευρηος or ευρρειος as being the word to be commented on. Instead of that however, we have quite clearly in 19]ρην. Perhaps the scribe wrote ευ]ρην for ευ]ρηος because γράφει follows. Apparently (19–21) some critic wished to read ἐϋρῆος, which is found in one MS. (L) and in a quotation from Strabo in place of the usual εὐρρεῖος, deriving it from a nominative εὐρεύς; cf. Schol. T εὐρρεῖος, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρεύς (corrected by Maass into εὐρύς) καὶ κατ' ἐπένθεσιν του ι, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρεής εὐρε⟨έ⟩ος καὶ κράσει. To this derivation Ammonius objected in 21 sqq., but his objection and his own theory are not clear, owing to the lacunae.

21. The doubtful υ at the beginning of the line (? ευρε]υς) could equally well be read as η.

24. επι καθαρου του η̄ς̄: i.e. ης preceded by a vowel. Ammonius is now discussing εὐρεής.

26. θυμος κ.τ.λ.: B 196. The quotation apparently illustrates the form διοτρεφέος, not βασιλῆος.

28–33. These lines are apparently concerned with the accentuation of ευρρειος or ευρηος. 32 and 33 look like a quotation from Homer, but we have not been able to identify it.

II. 1–4. A note on γῆ φυσίζοος in 63, perhaps objecting to the epithet as inappropriate. Cf. Schol. T.

5–7. A note on the form ἤθελε. Blass suggests τοῦ μέτρου χάρ]ιν for the lacuna in 6–7. The rest of the column is obscure.

III. 1–16. The first half of this note on δείλη in v. 111 presents many difficulties. δείλην μέν in 1 corresponds to ταύτης δέ in 8, and we should expect in 1 sqq. an explanation of the general term δείλη as equivalent to evening, which would balance 8–11 where δείλη is said to be subdivided into δείλη πρωία and δείλη ὀψία.]σελαν in 2 seems to be corrupt.

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with 7–13 of the papyrus and the other note in Schol. B, differs only by the substitution of *ἐπὶ τὴν φρῖκα* for *ὑπὸ τὴν φρῖκα*, and a few other verbal changes. It would, therefore, be possible to maintain that in 7–13 Ammonius ascribed the reading *ἐπαΐξει*, not *ὑπαΐξει*, to Aristarchus. But such a view is very improbable, for in 23 he seems to ascribe the reading *ὑπαΐξει* to the Aristarchean copies, and the remains of 7–13 agree with Schol. B (2) more closely than with Scholl. B T (1).

6. Possibly Αριστοφανης] *και*. Porphyry states that Aristophanes read *ὑπαΐξει*.

21. The quotation (δ 389) clearly illustrates the reading *ὅς κε φάγῃσι*, where Aristophanes read *ὡς*. Probably]$\overline{\pi\omega\varsigma}$ in 17 is part of $\overline{\sigma\pi\omega\varsigma}$ used as an explanation of *ὡς*.

22. For *αἱ Ἀριστάρχειοι* (sc. *ἐκδόσεις*) cf. XI. 15.

V. 5. *αναι|*, if correct, recalls Schol. T *ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναιρουμένους εἰς αὐτὸν ῥίπτεσθαι*.

VI. 3. Ιππευς: better *Ἵππυς*, of Rhegium, perhaps a really old writer, but the works which in the Alexandrian age went under his name were not genuine; see Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in *Hermes* xix. pp. 442–53.

13. Cf. Schol. A *ὅτι λείπει ἡ περὶ πρόθεσις*. *ἀνῃρημένων* in the next line explains *κταμένων*, which is probably lost in the lacuna.

14. Blass suggests *ὁ μέσος* (sc. *ἀόριστος*) [*ἀντὶ παθητικοῦ*].

15. *προπαροξυνει*: i.e. *δολιχέγχεας*, cf. Schol. A *ὡς εὐειδέας· παραιτητέον γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλως ἀναγινώσκοντας*.

16–30. There was an ancient difficulty here that Asteropaeus was not mentioned in the Catalogue, though he states that he has been at Troy eleven days and the Catalogue was made five days previously. Ammonius offers two solutions, first, that the edition of Euripides and others contained after B 848 (*αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμης κ.τ.λ.*) a new verse (*Πηλεγόνος κ.τ.λ.*) mentioning Asteropaeus; and secondly, if this new verse be rejected, that Asteropaeus may have been one of the subordinate leaders, and therefore was omitted in the Catalogue like Stichius, Schedius, Phoenix, Patroclus, Antilochus, and Teucer, who is addressed by Agamemnon as a leader in the verse *Τεῦκρε φίλη κεφαλὴ Τελαμώνιε* [*κοίρανε λαῶν*] (Θ 281). Cf. Schol. T on v. 140, where the same two explanations are given in different language, and without mentioning by name the authority for the new verse. Schol. B gives only the second explanation.

17. *τη κατ ε*[*υριπιδην*: besides the addition after B 848 which, if the conjecture is right, is alluded to here, Eustathius says that after B 866 there was in that edition another new verse, *Τμώλῳ ὑπὸ νιφόεντι Ὕδης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ*. The edition of Euripides was pre-Alexandrian.

24. *κωλυει*: this word must have been intended, but the scribe apparently wrote *δ* in place of *λ*, and over *υ* there are traces resembling *σ*, or a circumflex accent.

26. The scribe apparently first wrote *σχιδιον*, altering it to *στιχιον*.

29. For *Ἴστρος*, the follower of Callimachus, see Susemihl, *Alex. Lit. Gesch.* i. 622. He maintained that only kings were called *ἥρωες*, see Schol. A on B 110 (Aristonicus) and on T 34. The objection that Teucer is called *ἥρως* in Θ 268 Istrus met by referring to the verse (*Τεῦκρε φίλη*, *κ.τ.λ.*) quoted here, which showed that Teucer was a *κοίρανος λαῶν*, i.e. a *βασιλεύς*. For Ammonius' use of Istrus' argument see note on 16.

VII. 6. *εν Παρθενειοις*: the *ν* of *εν* appears to have been written over something else. The quotation which follows is probably from the *Παρθένεια* of Pindar, cf. 12 *ἰέντα ῥόμ*[*βον* with *Ol.* xiii. 94 *ἐμὲ δ' εὐθὺν ἀκόντων ἰέντα ῥόμβον*. In I. 11 Blass suggests *δούρων ἀζα*]|*λέων*.

10. Apparently the first hand wrote *γενην*, which has been altered by the corrector to *πεʸη*. *χωμοπτολι*[is for *καὶ ὁμόπτολι*[*ς* or *-ν*.

13–14. For the supplements cf. Schol. B. In 16 Blass suggests *ἆθλον* or *μόνον* before *το*.

18. *καλον Θρη*⟨*ι*⟩*κιον*: Ψ 808. The quotation in the next line is from Ψ 561–2.

IX. 1–25. A discussion of the question whether v. 195 *οὐδὲ βαθυρρείταο μέγα σθένος*

'Ωκεανοῖο was to be retained. It was rejected by Zenodotus according to Scholl. A Gen. The consequence of omitting the verse was to make v. 196, ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ποταμοί, κ.τ.λ., dependent upon 'Αχελώϊος in v. 194, instead of on 'Ωκεανοῖο; cf. Schol. Gen. γίνεται δὲ 'Αχελῷος πηγὴ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων.

1–3 contain a quotation, obviously imitating the passage under discussion, from some poet who clearly did not know the doubtful verse since he makes ἐξ οὗπερ depend on 'Αχελωΐου.

3–5. A second argument in favour of rejecting v. 195, that it was not read by Megaclides; cf. Schol. Gen. which also quotes Megaclides.

5–8. Ammonius next gives the contrary view. 'Aristarchus, however, shows that it (sc. τὸν στίχον) is Homeric, on the ground that the source of streams is the ocean.'

8–11. Ammonius now brings forward quotations in support of the explanation given by those who rejected v. 195, namely, that 'Αχελώϊος was used as a general name for water. Cf. Schol. T τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν 'Ωκεανῷ 'Αχελῷόν φασιν. The first of these is a quotation from an unknown epic poem on Heracles by (? Sel)eucus, in which 'Αχελῷος appears to be used as equivalent to 'Ωκεανός. But there are several difficulties. επορ[ευθ]ης in 9 is not satisfactory; we should expect επερησας, and though the third letter can be read as ε, the letter before the final ς cannot be α or ε, or indeed any vowel except η, so that a passive aorist seems inevitable. αργυροδινα, too, is curious; αργυροδινεω would be expected.

11–17. 'This (i.e. the identity of 'Αχελῷος with 'Ωκεανός) is also shown by Pindar, who says that the flute player's reed (comes from?) the springs of Acheloius, that is to say of water. "Thee, the most musical, aforetime the broad surface of the springs of Acheloius and the winding river's streams nourished, a reed" (i.e. once you were reed, now you are a flute). Elsewhere, however, he says "Child of the springs of ocean."' Here, too, we are beset by difficulties. It is not clear why τοῦτο δὲ ἐμφαίνειν and the following verbs should be in *oratio obliqua* if they represent remarks of Ammonius himself. It is tempting at first sight to make this a continuation of the opinion of Aristarchus in 5–8, but the arguments in 18–25 are certainly directed against the view of Aristarchus, and the quotations from Seleucus and Pindar, though the point is in neither case very obvious, appear to support the same view as 18–25.

14. ισ, if correctly read, is a corruption of σ', but it is possible that the supposed ι is a stroke crossing out a letter wrongly written.

15. ευρωπια: εὐρωπός as opposed to στενωπός is found, but not the abstract substantive 'breadth'; here moreover the sense is very difficult, but there is no doubt about the reading. There is a spot of ink above the ω, which we are unable to explain.

16. For ἑτέρως in the sense of ἐν ἑτέροις cf. Schol. Gen. on v. 169, where ἄλλως appears to be equivalent to ἐν ἄλλοις.

17. πεδα is most probably for παῖδα. The argument drawn from the comparison of the two passages in Pindar seems rather far fetched.

18–20. 'And many sacrifice to Acheloius before Demeter because Acheloius is a name of all rivers, and water is the source of fruit.'

21–25. Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* v. 18 where the quotation from Ephorus is given more fully.

24. In Macrob. *l. c.* the passage runs ὥστε πολλοὶ νομίζοντες οὐ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν διὰ τῆς 'Ακαρνανίας ῥέοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ σύνολον ὕδωρ 'Αχελῷον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ καλεῖσθαι. It is not easy to recover the precise reading of 24. The scribe perhaps wrote παντας ποταμον for παντα ποταμον, the mistake being due to the acc. plur. preceding. ποταμους cannot be read.

26–7. Cf. Schol. B μακρά, βαθέα ὡς τὸ ἐναντίον, κ.τ.λ.

27–X. 18. Cf. Scholl. A B T which together give the substance of this note, but not so fully. Ammonius suggests three explanations for the conjunction of eels and fishes. (1) 28-33, eels are selected as a type of fishes because they were specially fond of eating

flesh, and ἰχθύες is equivalent to ἄλλοι ἰχθύες, just as ποτητά in μ 62 is equivalent to ἄλλα ποτητά: cf. Schol. A and (for 28–9) Scholl. B T *ad fin.* (2) eels are selected because they live in mud and eat human flesh; (3) there is a real distinction between eels and fishes, a view which Ammonius supports by two quotations from Aristotle (the second given on the authority of Didymus), and by the distinction made at Athens between taxes on eels and those on fishes; cf. Scholl. B T, which give the substance of the quotations from Aristotle without mentioning his name, and Schol. A which briefly alludes to this view.

33. ισως δ: sc. κατ' ἐξοχὴν εἴρηνται.

37. καθα φησιν Αριστοτελης: *Hist. An.* Z 16, p. 570ª. The quotation varies the order of the sentences.

38. ζωοτοκουσιν: ᾠοτοκοῦσιν Ar.

X. 2. γῆς ἐντέρων ἃ αὐτόματα Ar. The second word was corrupt as written by the first hand; the second hand apparently read εντερων, though it is possible that the stroke which he drew through the letter before ω is intended for an iota; cf. IX. 14. The superfluous ης (ῆς?) is, however, not erased.

6, 7. εξαναλω[θε]ντος: ἐξαντληθέντος Ar., which is better. εξυσθεντος = ἐκξυσθέντος. Most MSS. of Aristotle have ξυσθέντος, but there is a variant ἐξοσθέντος or ἐξοισθέντος, i.e. ἐκξυσθέντος.

11. εν δε τω ζ̄: *Hist. An.* Θ 592ª. ἀμαρτύρως='without quoting him in full.' The passage in Aristotle runs ζῶσι δ' ἔνιαι ἐγχέλυς καὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη. τροφῇ δὲ καὶ οἱ ποτάμιοι χρῶνται ἀλλήλους τ' ἐσθίοντες καὶ βοτάνας καὶ ῥίζας, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Scholl. B T φασὶ δὲ ἀλληλοφάγους αὐτὰς εἶναι καὶ ζῆν ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ ἔτη. Schol. A does not mention this.

14. Cf. Ar. *De Gen. An.* B 741ª οὔτε δὲ θήλεα οὔτε ἄρρενα καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἰχθύων γένει ἐστίν, οἷον αἵ τ' ἐγχέλεις καὶ γένος τι κεστρέων, κ.τ.λ.

15. και εν τω αγορανομικω, κ.τ.λ.: so Schol. T.

19–23. 'He' (*sc.* the poet) has anticipated what would take place on the third day when he (the corpse) would float, or while (τοτε must be corrected to ὅτε) he was lying on the sand, the eels were already pressing in to devour him.'

25. Cf. Scholl. A B T περὶ γὰρ τοὺς νεφροὺς πολλή ἐστιν ἡ πιμελή.

26–29. The derivation of ἐρέπτεσθαι from ἔρα is found in Scholl. A B T, but not the criticism of the word as inapposite.

31–2. The reading εἰσάμενος is found in most MSS. Ammonius preferred εἰδόμενος. Aristarchus, as this passage shows, left the question open. Cf. Schol. A εἰσάμενος, γράφεται καὶ εἰδόμενος (Didymus).

33. περισσως: cf. Scholl. A B T οὐκ ἀναστρεπτέον δὲ τὴν "περί." ἔστι γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ περισσῶς.

35. Cf. Schol. A (2) οὕτως διὰ τοῦ γ̄ε̄ ἐμέθεν γ' ἐλάσας. The variant πελάσας is known from Schol. T, where however Aristophanes' name was not given; Mr. Allen tells us that πελάσας is actually found in one MS. (Vat. 26, *saec.* xiii).

XI. 1–6. A discussion of the appositeness of the epithet ἐρατεινά in v. 218. 'The Sidonian says that the poet has lapsed into the narrative form, although the speech is imitative; but others say that the epithet refers to what was beautiful by nature, before the battle by the river.' ο Σιδωνιος is Διονύσιος ὁ Σιδώνιος, see Susemihl, *op. cit.* ii. 176. The point of his criticism was that the epithet ἐρατεινά was out of place here in a speech in which the poet ought to have imitated the character of the speaker, and described things from the speaker's point of view, whereas in a mere narrative ἐρατεινά like any other epithet might be employed; cf. Ar. *Poetics*, c. 3. With the view of Dionysius Sidonius cf. Schol. A ὅτι ἄκαιρον τὸ ἐπίθετον (Aristonicus), and with the other theory cf. Scholl. B T καλῶς τὸ ἐπίθετον εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥεύματα μεμίανται.

4. δε: the scribe first wrote τα and then δε over it.

8. στενοχωρουμενος: cf. Schol. A στενοχωρούμενος . . . οὐ στενάζων.

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10. The first word in the line could perhaps be read as *νεκρους*, but the vestiges do not suit very well, and more probably it is an adjective.

14–17. *πορφυρεον*, κ.τ.λ.: λ 243–4.

17. *με[ιζον η κατ α]νδρα*: cf. Schol. T *θείας ἐνεργείας τὸ μιᾷ ὁρμῇ τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς ἐκβάλλειν, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἐγκρύπτειν κολποῦντα ἑαυτόν, τὸν δὲ Ἀχιλλέα περιίστασθαι. κολποῦντα* there recalls *οἷον ἐν κόλπῳ τινί* in 13.

19–20. ΑΧΙΛΛΗΑ is mis-spelled as in XIV. 6.

20–25. 'Protagoras says that the following episode of the fight between Xanthus and a mortal was intended to divide the battle, in order that the poet might make the transition to the battle of the gods; but perhaps it was also in order that he might exalt Achilles . . .'

30–1. ΠΕΔΙΟΝΔΕ: our texts have *πεδίοιο*, which was the reading of Aristarchus. The variant *πεδίονδε* is recorded by Schol. A. Cf. XIII. 11.

31–34. Cf. Schol. Gen. on v. 256, whence it appears that Zoilus had criticized this passage because Achilles did not use his chariot. Ammonius' note is an answer to this objection. 'Achilles could not use his chariot lest he should endanger himself, being as it were in a prison if the horses were tripped up.'

37. The *διπλῆ* between this line and the next shows that a change of subject took place, and we should expect a quotation of the particular word or words in vv. 246–7 to be commented upon. It is therefore tempting to read *πεδι]ονδε*, but the remains of the letter before *ν* do not suit *ο* so well as *ε* or *η*.

XIII. 6–7. *ανε]δυσετο λι[μνης*: cf. Schol. T, where these words (from *ε* 337) are quoted in support of *λίμνης*, which was an ancient variant for *δίνης* in v. 246.

11. For the restoration cf. Schol. A (Aristonicus).

13. *φέρεσθαι* was an ancient variant for *πέτεσθαι*. Cf. Schol. A *πέτεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλῳ φέρεσθαι.*

15–18. There must have been a remark to the effect that Homer could not have described nature so well if he had been blind from birth. Cf. Scholl. B T *ἀκριβέστατα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν παρεφύλαξεν*, κ.τ.λ.

20. Cf. Schol. T *Ἀριστοφάνης φόνοιο, ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος πόνοιο, τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔργου.*

22. Probably *μεθ' ὁρμῆς βοή* in the lacuna; cf. Schol. T.

25. *οφθαλ]μους [εχοντος*: cf. Scholl. B T Gen. This is clearly an explanation of the reading *μελανόσσου*, which we have therefore proposed in 23. There were three other readings, *μελανόστου*, 'black boned,' which is ascribed to Aristotle by Scholl. B T Gen., cf. 30 sqq. below; *μέλανός του*, the reading of Aristarchus; and *μέλανος τοῦ*, the ordinary reading.

30–39. The quotation from Aristotle is from *Hist. An.* I. 618^{b} § 32. The first five lines, however, are not a verbal quotation; cf. the similar inexactness in IX. 37 sqq.

35. Perhaps *αγ]κη κα[ι λιμνας*, cf. Ar. *l. c.*, l. 24, but these words do not occur in the description of the black eagle with which the quotation is particularly concerned.

XIV. 1–16. A note on *ἐρχθέντα* in v. 282; cf. Schol. Gen., which to a large extent agrees with this passage. The first nine lines here give the second view of Alexion ὁ χωλός, who read *ἐρθέντα* or *ἑρθέντα*, giving various examples.

2. Alexion was referring to Z 348, *ἐνθά με κῦμ' ἀπόερσε*, which he says ought to be written *ἀποέρσε*. The practice of retaining the rough breathing of a verb, even when compounded with a preposition, is common in literary papyri; cf. ccxxiii. 164, note.

4–7. These two parallels, *ὅν ῥά τ' ἔναυλος*, κ.τ.λ. (Φ 283) and *Ἥρη δὲ μέγα*, κ.τ.λ. (Φ 328) are also found in Schol. Gen., but as illustrations of *ἐρθέντα*, not, as here, of *ἑρθέντα*.

6. *απορσειε*: a mistake for *αποερσειε*.

7. Cf. Schol. Gen. *ἔνιοι δασύνουσιν ἑρθέντα παρὰ ⟨τὴν ἕρσην τουτέστι⟩ τὴν δρόσον*. There is not room for *καλει την δροσ]ον* in 8. Perhaps *ερσαν | δε την δροσ]ον* should be read.

8. *χωρὶς δ' αὖθ' ἕρσαι* is from *ι* 222, where *ἕρσαι* means the young lambs and kids.

The argument is 'He calls ἔρσα "dew," quoting χωρὶς δ' αὖθ' ἔρσαι, since the tender are also dewy.' ει|γ εισι αι α]παλαι might be read, but there is not sufficient space for ει|περ εισι αι α]παλαι. Cf. Etym. M. *s. v.* ἔρσαι, . . . αἱ ἁπαλαὶ καὶ τελείως νέαι μεταφορικῶς, ὡς Ἀριστόνικος ἐν Σημείοις. ἔρση γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ δρόσος. The subject of καλεῖ, if correct, is presumably Alexion.

9–15. Cf. Schol. Gen., where the reading of Crates εἰλθέντα and the quotation from Solon's law are given.

12. εκ ε̄ αξονος: Schol. Gen. has ἐννεάξονι, clearly a corruption of ἐν ε̄ ἄξονι, besides numerous other mistakes.

13. εξειλλπι: εξειλληι is of course meant; but the scribe has quite clearly written a π instead of an η, and there is a letter which looks like an iota between the first ι and the first λ.

ων εαν: ἐάν here and in the next line is vulgar Greek for ἄν.

16–27. A note on ἔναυλος in v. 283, which is obscured by the lacunae and the frequent corrections. Aristarchus (followed by Ammonius) explained it as a torrent running in a long and narrow channel; cf. Scholl. B T ἔναυλος, χειμάρρους διὰ στενοῦ τόπου καὶ περιμήκους ποιούμενος τὴν ῥύσιν (but with no mention of Aristarchus).

18. αι is corrected from οι.

19, 20. ε[πιμηκεις: cf. Schol. A ἐναύλους τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἐπιμήκεις.

20–24. Dionysius Thrax on the other hand explained ἔναυλοι as the cavities from which rivers take their rise, comparing ἐμπίμπληθι, κ.τ.λ. (Φ 311).

23. πηγαιων: a mistake for πηγέων.

28–29. Cf. Scholl. B T.

30. sqq. Probably a quotation from Aristotle's lost book Ἀπορήματα Ὁμηρικά. The difficulty here was that Poseidon and Athena did not actively help Achilles, the explanation of Aristotle being that Hephaestus was the god opposed to Xanthus. Cf. Scholl. B T on v. 288 ἱκαναὶ αἱ προσθῆκαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ θαρσῆσαι Ἀχιλλέα . . . πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ζητοῦντας πῶς διαλέγονται μὲν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοί, οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦσι δέ, ῥητέον ὅτι ἕτερος ἦν ὁ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ ἀντιτεταγμένος.

32. ἄτοπον apparently refers only to what follows, not to what precedes. If it governed βοηθῆσαι as well as σεύεσθαι it would better account for the μή (which however often supplants οὐ at this period); but we should then expect ἄτοπον at the beginning of the sentence, and a comparison of Ammonius' note with the parallel passage in Scholl. B T quoted above shows that ὅτι Ἥφαιστος ἀντετέτακτο is the explanation of the difficulty and an argument in defence of the passage, not a reason for objecting to it.

33. A reference to Υ 325 Αἰνείαν δ' ἔσσευεν (scil. ὁ Ποσειδῶν), the point of which is not clear. Perhaps 'the absurdity of Aeneas being carried off . . .' is Aristotle's criticism of that passage.

34–XV. 5. A note on the loose use of τοῖσι, Achilles being the only person present besides Poseidon and Athena. The passage of the Odyssey referred to in XV. 3 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων, κ.τ.λ. is ε 202 (where our texts have τοῖς ἄρα). In that passage only Calypso and Odysseus were present. Cf. also η 47, where a similarly inexact use of τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε is found. In fact Homer never uses the dative singular in this phrase.

XV. 6. μη υποχωρει: cf. Scholl. BT τρέε, ὑποχώρει.

6–27. A discussion of the reasons for omitting or retaining v. 290. Cf. Scholl. A T, where the question is much more briefly alluded to. The points in Ammonius' argument are (1) 8–11, Poseidon does not mention his own name, but calls himself ἐγώ, though he had changed his form to that of man, and Achilles would not know who he was (cf. Schol. T); (2) 11–15, Poseidon does not on leaving give any clear sign who he was, and Scamander does not abate his anger (v. 305–6) as he would have done if he had known that two such mighty gods as Poseidon and Athena were speaking; (3) 16–22, Seleucus in the third book of his work κατὰ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων argued in defence of the verse

that although Poseidon and Athena had assumed human shape they had already implied *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον* the fact that they were gods, by greeting Achilles as they had done, especially in the line *τοίω γάρ τοι, κ. τ. λ.* (v. 289); (4) 23–4, Seleucus met the difficulty that there was nothing in the book to justify *Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος*, which implies that they were sent by Zeus, by the argument that this too could be explained *κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον*; (5) 24–26, nevertheless, in the fifth book of his *Διορθωτικά* Seleucus athetized vv. 290–292 as superfluous; (6) 26–27, those verses were not in the Cretan edition.

8, 9. *ονομα* is by mistake written twice.

10. Perhaps *μεταβεβληχως*. *κ* and *χ* are often hardly distinguishable in this MS.

11. The dots over *κα* signify that these letters were to be omitted, cf. ccviii. l. *οὐδὲ κατά*.

16. Seleucus was nearly contemporary with Didymus and Aristonicus. He was probably put to death by Tiberius; see Maass, *de biographis Graecis*, and Max Müller, *de Seleuco Homerico*, Göttingen 1891.

20. *θεου*: l. *θεοί*.

23. *και υπο Διος*: cf. Schol. T.

26. *εξης*: *η* is converted from some other letter.

28. ΤΕ is a mistake for ΓΕ.

29–33. Cf. Schol. T, which has briefly *λωφήσει, κοπ⟨ι⟩άσει· κυρίως δὲ τῶν ὑποζυγίων.*

32. *ενδιδωσιν*: l. *ἐνδιδόασιν*.

33. *ηλθεν ο βους κ. τ. λ.*: Callim. *Epigr.* 55, 3.

XVI. 1. Cf. Schol. T *κατὰ δ' ἦρεε, καθῆρει, κατέβαλλεν*, and Schol. B *κατέβαλλε . . . . καὶ δασύνεται.*

2–10. A discussion of the accentuation of *κυλλοποδιον*, which Aristarchus made proparoxytone (Schol. A), while Hermapias and Alexion *ὁ χωλός* made it properispome (Schol. Gen.). Ptolemaeus (*ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης*), as this passage shows, was of the same opinion as Hermapias, and formulated the rule about substantives in *-ων* which is ascribed in slightly different language to Alexion in Schol. Gen. *τὰ εἰς ῶν λήγοντα ὀνόματα καὶ τὴν παρεσχάτην ἔχοντα μακρὰν ὅταν κατὰ κλητικὴν ἐκφέρηται πτῶσιν περισπᾶται κατ' αὐτήν.*

10–18. Cf. Schol. A *ἀθετεῖται ὅτι ἄκαιρον τὸ ἐπίθετον. ἡ γὰρ φιλανθρωπευομένη καὶ λέγουσα "ἐμὸν τέκος" οὐκ ὤφειλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλασσώματος προσφωνεῖν.* Schol. Gen., however, has the same note with the substitution of *Ἀριστόνικος* for *ἀθετεῖται*, implying that Aristonicus only blamed v. 331, which indeed cannot be spared; and Cobet had supposed that the *ἀθετεῖται* of Schol. A was due to a mistake of the scribe.

12. *ουδετερω*: i.e. neither Hera nor Hephaestus.

19–20. Cf. Schol. T *ἠΐσκομεν, εἰκότως νομίζομεν ὅτι ἐναντίον ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῷ πυρί.*

24–26. Cf. Schol. T *ζέφυρος παρὰ τὸν ζόφον, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ δύσεως ἦν ζόφον καλεῖ.* As we have restored the lacunae, *ἡ* in 25 would refer to some word like *μερίς* or *χώρα*. But Schol. B is slightly different, *παρὰ τὸν ζόφον, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ δύσεως πνοὴ ζοφόπνοια καλεῖται.* If, starting from this, we read *ἡ ἀπ[ὸ δύσεως πνοή* in 25, we must supply *ζοφόπνοια* in 26, with some other name in place of *Ὁμήρῳ*. *ζοφόπνοια* is not found in any extant classical author, and the word *ζόφος* ought to be introduced somewhere in this scholium; the remains too of 27 to 30 are nearer to Schol. T than to Schol. B.

27–30. Cf. Schol. T *ἀργεστὴν τὸν νότον, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ Ἄργους εἰς τὴν Τροίαν πνεῖ. χαλεπὴν θύελλαν, φησὶ τὴν ἐκ β̄ κεκραμένην ἀνέμων.*

30–33. Cf. Schol. A *ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ὄρσατα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου φανερός ἐστι δεδεγμένος τὸ εἴσομαι γνώσομαι . . . οὐ βούλεται δὲ γνῶναι, ἀλλὰ πορευθῆναι παρασκευάσουσα.*

33–4. *τους Τρω[as*: cf. Scholl. B T.

34–6. Cf. Schol. T *φλέγμα, τὴν φλόγα ὡς "καῦμα . . . θεσπέσιον" ἰὼν τὸ καῦσις.* The quotation is from Hes. *Theog.* 700.

XVII. The note added in the margin at the top is in cursive; cf. introd. p. 53.

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the traditional order of the date of foundation as given by Pausanias (v. 8) and Eusebius, except that the two races for horses are transferred from their chronological position between the *πύξ* and *παγκράτιον* to the last place. The explanation of this may perhaps be found in the statement of Pausanias (v. 9. 5) that since the seventy-seventh Olympiad the horse races had been run on one of the later days of the festival. In placing them at the end, therefore, the compiler of the list reflects this later practice. Precisely the same order is found in a list of victors for the 177th Olympiad derived from Phlegon of Tralles (Müller, *Frag. Hist.* iii. p. 606), who wrote a work in sixteen books on the Olympian festival, and lived in the time of Hadrian (Suidas *s. v.*). The only variation is that the *ὁπλίτης* is mentioned along with the *στάδιον* and *δίαυλος*, but the reason of this is that these three races were all won by the same runner; and the fact that he won the *ὁπλίτης* is repeated in its proper position after the name of the victor in the *παγκράτιον*. Hence we may conclude that the order of the contests in the papyrus was the regular order followed in such lists of victors. It is noticeable that the *ἀπήνη* or mule-chariot race, although it was run during the period covered by the papyrus (Paus. v. 9, Polemo *ap.* Scholia on Pindar *Ol.* v. *ad init.*), and victories in it were regarded as a worthy theme for Pindar's Epinician odes, is not included among the events here recorded.

The identity of the author of the particular compilation of which this fragment formed a part must remain quite uncertain. Ultimately it may be based upon the work of Hippias of Elis, who according to Plutarch (*Numa*, c. 1) was the first to edit the Olympian register, and who, at least for the period to which the papyrus refers, had the authority of the official lists preserved at Olympia. A treatise called *Ὀλυμπιάδες* is attributed to Philochorus, and *Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι* as well as *Πυθιονῖκαι* figure among the titles of Aristotle's works. The similarity in plan to the fragment of Phlegon already alluded to is striking. The list might very well be derived from any one of these three writers. Its general trustworthiness is *a priori* probable from its very completeness; and its facts are corroborated, wherever they can be tested, by Pausanias. A few corruptions in the names may be traced, but they are not sufficiently important to affect the credibility of the list as a whole.

The number of interesting points upon which the papyrus throws new light is very considerable. By a fortunate chance its information relates to a period where it is particularly valuable, the period namely of the composition of the Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. The computation of the Pythiads from B. C. 582, which is followed by the scholiasts on Pindar in dating his poems, is confirmed (cf. note on I. 37). The dates of three of Pindar's odes (*Ol.* ix, x, xi) which have hitherto been a matter of doubt, and commonly, as it now turns out,

wrongly fixed (see notes on I. 16 and 37), are definitely determined. The chronology of the three victories at Olympia of Hieron of Syracuse, upon which depends the date of the first Olympian ode of Pindar and the fifth ode of Bacchylides, is at length settled (I. 19 note). Fresh light is thrown upon a difficulty in connexion with the occasion of Pindar *Ol.* iv and v, as to which the testimony of the ancient scholia has been discredited, though again the solution to which the papyrus points is not in favour of modern critics (II. 22 note). The traditional date of Pindar *Ol.* xiv is proved to be erroneous (I. 14 note), though we are not enabled to correct it. The latest definite date in the life of Bacchylides previously known was B.C. 468, when the victory celebrated in Ode iii was gained; it is now certain that the poet flourished as late as B.C. 452 (note on II. 18). Hardly less important is the evidence supplied by the papyrus for the history of Greek plastic art in the fifth century. Polycletus of Argos and Pythagoras of Rhegium are both shown to have been flourishing in the middle of this century. Polycletus can therefore be certainly placed somewhat earlier, and Pythagoras somewhat later, than was before possible (notes on II. 2, 14, 16). This affects the date of Myron, who on one occasion, according to Pliny, was a rival of Pythagoras, and is also described by the same author as the *aequalis atque condiscipulus* of Polycletus (*N. H.* xxxiv. 9). Naucydes of Argos is proved to have been a younger brother of the elder Polycletus (II. 28 note); and one or two statues of which the pedestals have been discovered can now be assigned to the latter artist, instead of to his less famous namesake (notes on II. 14, 16). *F*inally, a long disputed point with regard to the interpretation of a well-known passage in Aristotle's Ethics (*Eth. Nic.* vii. 4. 2) is cleared up, and the opinion of ancient commentators is entirely vindicated against the prevailing view of modern critics (II. 3 note).

But the value of this discovery lies not merely in the actual additions made to our knowledge, the more salient features of which we have summarized. It has also an important bearing upon the wider question of the credibility of early scholiasts and commentators upon matters of fact similar in kind to those contained in this papyrus. The existence during the third century at a somewhat remote and unimportant centre of Hellenic culture like Oxyrhynchus of so complete and detailed a record indicates how widely diffused and easily accessible such information was. Invention under these circumstances would be ridiculous. People do not invent when not only are they able to tell the truth, but failure to do so can easily be recognized. It follows that when definite statements upon questions of this character are found in ancient commentators, they are at least entitled to the utmost consideration and respect. They are not of course free from confusion and corruption; but to neglect them

or to dismiss them as mythical without strong preponderating evidence is inconsistent with the principles of sound criticism. It may indeed be said that the general tendency of the fresh evidence gained from recent discoveries has been to uphold the trustworthiness of tradition, as well with regard to the texts of classical authors as to their interpretation.

In the commentary upon this fragment we are indebted for a number of references and suggestions to Professor Blass, and also to his colleague Professor Robert.

Col. I.

[ξε]νοπιθης χειος παι^{δ} σταδιον (B.C. 480)
[. . .]κων αργειος παι^{δ} παλην
[. . .]φανης ηραιευς παι^{δ} πυξ
[αστ]υλος συρακοσιος οπλειτην
[. . .]τωνδα και αρσιλοχου θηβ̣α[ιων τε^{θ}
[αργ]ε̣ιων δημοσιος κελης
[$\overline{ος}$ σκα]μανδρος μιτυληναιος στ[αδιον (B.C. 476)
[δα]ν̣δις αρ̣[γ]ει[ο]ς διαυλον
]..ν̣
[. . . .] [[. .]] λ̣[α]κ̣ων δολιχον
[. . . . . .] ταραντινος πεντα^{θ}
[. . . . . μα]ρ̣ω̣νειτης παλην
[ευθυμος λοκ]ρος απ ιταλιας πυξ
[θεαγενης θ]ασιος παγκρατιον
[. . . . . λ]ακων παι^{δ} σταδιον
[θεογνητος αιγι]νητης παι^{δ} παλην
[αγ]η̣σι̣[δα]μος λοκρος απ ιταλιας παι^{δ} πυξ
[αστ]υρος συρακοσιος οπλει^{τ} ō κρατισ [.]$\bar{α}$
[θηρ]̣ωνος ακραγαντινου τεθρ^{ι}
[ιερ]ωνος συρακοσιου κελης
[$\overline{οζ}$ δαν]δις αργειος σταδιον (B.C. 472)
[. . .]γης επιδαυριος διαυλον
[εργ]οτελης ιμαιρεος δο[[.]]λιχον
[. . .]αμος μιλησιος πενταθλον
[. . .]μενης σαμιος παλην
[ευθ]υμος λοκρος απ ιταλιας πυξ

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ευβουλο[ς διαυλον
ιπποβο[τος δολιχον
πυθοκλη[ς ηλειος πενταθλον
λεοντισκ[ος μεσσηνιος απο σικελιας παλην
αριστων [επιδαυριος πυξ
δαμαγητ[ος ροδιος παγκρατιον
λακων κε̣[ιος παι$^{\delta}$ σταδιον
κλεοδωρο[ς παι$^{\delta}$ παλην
απολλοδω[ρος παι$^{\delta}$ πυξ
λυκος θεσσα[λος οπλειτην
σαμ̈ιου καμ[αριναιου τ̇εθριππον
πυθωνος ι[κελης
π̄γ̆ κριτων ιμ̣[εραιος σταδιον (B.C. 448)
ευκλειδης .[διαυλον
αιγειδας κρη[ς δολιχον
κητων λοκρ[ος πενταθλον
κιμων αργ[ειος παλην
αγησιλαος ρ[οδιος πυξ
δαμαγητος ρ̣[οδιος παγκρατιον
λαχαριδας λ̣[παι$^{\delta}$ σταδιον
πολυνικος [παι$^{\delta}$ παλην
αριστων α̣[παι$^{\delta}$ πυξ
λυκεινος λ̣[οπλειτην

I. 1. l. *Ξενοπείθης Χῖος.* The names of the winners in the two preceding games, of which the mention in the papyrus is lost, are known from Pausanias:—*Θεαγένης Θάσιος πύξ* (vi. 6. 5), *Δρομεὺς Μαντινεὺς παγκράτιον* (vi. 11. 5).

4. *[αστ]υλος συρακοσιος*: cf. Paus. vi. 13. 1, where it is said that Astylus, who was a native of Croton, entered as a Syracusan in order to please Hieron. Pausanias states that Astylus was victorious on three successive occasions in the *στάδιον* and *δίαυλος*. The papyrus shows that he should have said *ὁπλίτης* instead of *δίαυλος*. He won the *στάδιον* in B.C. 488, 484, and 480, and the *ὁπλίτης* in 484, 480, and 476 (l. 17).

5. ? *[Δαι]τώνδα* (Paus. vi. 17. 5), or *[Κρα]τώνδα*.

7. *[σκα]μανδρος*: Diodor. xi. 48 gives the name, no doubt rightly, as *Σκαμάνδριος*.

8. *[δα]νδις*: this is probably the correct form of the name. The same man won the *στάδιον* at the next Olympic festival (cf. l. 20 below); and the MSS. of Diodorus, who records the fact (xi. 53), give the name as *Δάνδης* (so Vogel), with the exception of P, the oldest MS., which has *Δάνδις*. The latter spelling is also found in the *codex Palatinus* in Simonides' epigram on this athlete (*Anth. Pal.* xiii. 14 = Simonides 125 Bergk).

9. At the beginning of the line some letters have been crossed out and others added over them. The result is a confused blur, in which it is scarcely possible to read anything.

10. This Tarentine may perhaps be identified with . . . *τίων Ταραντῖνος*, who won the same event in 468 (cf. 36). A name of about the same length is required for the lacuna here.

11. *μα*]*ρωνειτης*: the reading is very doubtful; the traces before *ε* suit *α* (or *ε*)*ρ* better than *ν*, and *νμ* or *νκ* could well be read in place of *ρω*.

12. For *Εὔθυμος* cf. Paus. vi. 6. 6. He also won the boxing match in 472, cf. 25 below and Paus. *l. c.*

13. [*θεαγενης θ*]*ασιος*: cf. Paus. vi. 11. 4.

14. According to the scholia Asopichus of Orchomenos, to whom Pindar *Ol.* xiv is dedicated, won the *παίδων στάδιον* either in the 76th or 77th Olympiad. The papyrus proves that this was not the case. The date of *Ol.* xiv is therefore still to seek.

15. Theognetus of Aegina is known from Paus. vi. 9. 1, Simonid. (?) *Epigr.* 149, Pindar, *Pyth.* viii. 35. It is not, however, stated in which year his victory was obtained. The supplement given in the text is therefore hardly certain, especially as it is rather long for the lacuna, for which ten letters would be sufficient.

16. [*αγ*]*ησι*[*δα*]*μος*: this is the victory which was the occasion of Pindar's 10th and 11th Olympian odes. The traditional date of Agesidamus' success, based on one set of scholia, is B.C. 484. Scholiast Vratisl., however, places it in B.C. 476, and this statement (which Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici*, i. p. 6, dismisses as a 'manifestus error') is now confirmed by the papyrus. Fennell (Pindar, *Olymp. and Pyth.*, p. 90) had suggested the year 476 as the date of the composition of the 10th Olympian ode, while retaining the traditional date for the actual victory of Agesidamus.

17. [*αστ*]*υρος*: I. [*Ἄστ*]*υλος*; cf. 4 and note.

For the addition at the end of this line cf. 36 and 41, where *ὁ φιλισ* and *ὁ καλλισ* are similarly appended after the names of the respective contests. *κρατισ*, *φιλισ*, and *καλλισ* can only be interpreted as the superlatives *κράτισ*(*τος*), *φίλισ*(*τος*), and *κάλλισ*(*τος*); *ὁ*, as Blass suggests, probably stands for *οὗτος*. The word after *κρατισ* in this line (it does not occur in the parallel cases) is possibly [*π*]*ά*(*ντων*); it is not clear whether there is a letter or merely a stroke of abbreviation over the *α*. The explanation of these different epithets is not obvious. The designation of a famous athlete like Astylus, who had been credited with several previous victories, as *κράτιστος* is no doubt natural; and that a boy should be described as *κάλλιστος* (cf. Paus. vi. 3. 6) is also appropriate enough. But why should a winner in the *πένταθλον* be called *φίλιστος*? And how were these designations assigned? Is it to be supposed that the judges in the games decided which of the competitors was most conspicuous for *κράτος*, *κάλλος*, and *φιλία*? It is noticeable that none of the winners in 472 are singled out in this manner.

18. This victory of Theron is celebrated in Pindar's 2nd and 3rd Olympian Odes. The statement of Schol. Vat. that Theron won in B.C. 472 has rightly been discredited by editors.

19. Cf. Paus. vi. 12. 1, Pindar, *Ol.* i., Bacchylides v. The conjecture of Bergk, who placed Hieron's first victory in the single horse race at Olympia in B.C. 476, correcting *τὴν ογ΄ Ὀλυμπιάδα* in Schol. Vratisl. to *τὴν ος΄* (*Poet. Lyr.* i. p. 4), and the chronology of Hieron's victories with Pherenicus proposed by Mr. Kenyon (*Bacchyl.* pp. 35–9), are now confirmed. Hieron won the *κέλης* at Olympia in B.C. 476 and 472 (l. 32), and the *τέθριππον* in 468 (l. 44).

20. [*δαν*]*δις*: cf. 8, note.

22. l. *Ἱμεραῖος*. This victory is celebrated by Pindar, *Ol.* xii. According to Paus. vi.

4. 11 and the scholiasts on Pindar, Ergoteles was a native of Cnossos in Crete who settled at Himera after being driven from his country by civil disturbances.

25. On Euthymus cf. 12, note.

26. [κα]λλιας: cf. Paus. v. 9. 3. The base of Micon's statue of Callias, which is mentioned by Pausanias (vi. 6. 1), has been discovered at Olympia; cf. Löwy, *Inschr. griech. Bildhauer* 41, Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inschr. von Olympia* 146.

27.]ανδριδας: the doubtful τ may be γ or σ.

29. [τελ]λων μαιναλιος: Pausanias (vi. 10. 9) describes Tellon more precisely as an Oresthasian, and this name is confirmed by the pedestal of his statue which has been found at Olympia (Dittenberger-Purgold *op. cit.* 147, 148) inscribed Τέλλων . . . Ἀρκὰς Ὀρεσθάσιος.

30.]γιας: the vestiges of the first letter are also consistent with τ or λ. It not clear why δίς is added at the end of this line. It can hardly mean that this person had won the same race on a previous occasion since (1) the remark is not made in other places where it would be expected, e. g. in reference to Astylus in 476 or Euthymus in 472; and (2) we know that this Epidaurian did not win at either of the two preceding festivals (cf. ll. 4 and 17) and so a previous victory could have occurred at the earliest twelve years before, which, though not impossible (cf. note on 4), is hardly probable. Blass suggests that δίς means a second victory on this occasion, and that]γης επιδαυριος, the winner of the δίαυλος (21), and]γιας επιδαμνιος may be one and the same person; for δίς in this sense cf. Phlegon fr. 12 in Müller, *Frag. Hist.* iii. p. 606 Ἑκατόμνως Μιλήσιος στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ὁπλίτην, τρίς. δίς might also imply that the same race was for some reason run twice over.

32. Cf. 19, note.

33. Cf. Diodor. xi. 65. Parmenides also won the δίαυλος, cf. 34.

37. The date of this victory, which was the occasion of Pindar's 9th Olympian Ode, is thus finally determined. The scholia on Pindar (*Ol.* ix. 17, 18) make two statements:—(1) that the Olympian and Pythian victories of Epharmostus occurred in the 73rd Olympiad; (2) that the Pythian victory occurred in the 30th (or according to Schol. Vratisl. the 33rd) Pythiad. Boeckh wished to reduce these conflicting dates to harmony by accepting the statement of Schol. Vratisl. and correcting by a 'certa coniectura' 73rd Olympiad to 33rd Pythiad (B. C. 458), placing the Olympian victory in B. C. 456. G. Hermann, on the other hand, adopted the 30th Pythiad as the true date, and harmonized this with the Olympiad by emending 73rd to 78th. The papyrus proves that this was the right method. It also confirms the computation of the Pythiads from B.C. 582 followed by the scholiasts on Pindar, which was the basis of Hermann's conjecture, and which is followed by Bergk in his chronology of Pindar's Pythian Odes (*Poet. Lyr.* i. pp. 6 sqq.). The computation from 586 proposed by Boeckh and adopted by some recent editors, which antedates the Pythian odes by four years as compared with the scholiasts is, so far as the chronology of Pindar is concerned, shown to be false; cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Arist. und Athen* iii. p. 323 sqq. and Kenyon, *Bacchyl.* p. 37. That some ancient writers reckoned the Pythiads from 586 B.C. appears from Pausanias x. 7. 3 (where he seems to be trying to reconcile the rival dates, 586 and 582 B.C.) and from the Parian Chronicle. But the scholiasts on Pindar (who are supported by Eusebius and Jerome) reckon the Pythiads uniformly from 582 B.C. The supposed exception quoted by Boeckh in connexion with Ergoteles of Himera (schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* xii., cf. Bergk, *l. c.*) can be easily explained. Which of the two dates 586 and 582 B.C. is correct forms too large a question to be entered on here.

39.]τιτιμαδας: the first ι was connected with the preceding letter with a ligature at the top, which would be consistent with ε, γ, σ, or τ.

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8. The scribe seems clearly to have written λ, and not μ, though it is tempting to read, as Robert suggests, Μνασέ[ας Κυρηναῖος, who is known as a victor in the ὁπλίτης from Paus. vi. 13. 7, 18. 1. It is of course quite possible that λι is a corruption for μ; the mistake is a very easy one. ε could well be read after σ; a second σ, α, or ν would also suit the vestiges.

9. Διακτορίδης was a name in use at Sparta (Hdt. vi. 71) and in Thessaly (Hdt. vi. 127).

11. λυκω[ν: the name is given as Λύκος in Euseb. *Hell. Olymp.* p. 41. 24, D. Hal. x. 53 (Λύκος Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσσης). Possibly some confusion may have arisen between this victor and the Λύκος Θεσσαλός who won the ὁπλίτης on the same occasion (l. 21), if indeed they are not to be regarded as identical.

14. The statue of Pythocles erected at Olympia by Polycletus in commemoration of this victory is mentioned by Paus. vi. 7. 10; and the base of the monument, inscribed with the names of both athlete and artist, has been discovered on the site (Löwy, *op. cit.* 91, Dittenberger-Purgold, *op. cit.* 162, 163). The papyrus by fixing the victory of Pythocles in B. C. 452 proves what was previously a moot point, that the statue was the work of the great Polycletus (so Robert), and not his younger namesake, as has been maintained by Curtius, Furtwängler, and Löwy. An important date for the *floruit* of Polycletus is also supplied by the papyrus (cf. 16, note). According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 49) he flourished in Ol. 90 (B.C. 420–417), and this is generally accepted as the approximate date of his famous statue of Hera (Paus. ii. 17. 4), which was probably completed after the destruction of the old Heraeum in B.C. 423 (Thuc. iv. 133). Plato (*Protag.* p. 311 c) couples Polycletus with Pheidias as if he was a contemporary of the latter, and it is now evident that he was not a very much younger contemporary, if he was executing important commissions as early as the middle of the century.

15. For Leontiscus cf 2, note.

16. αριστων: we are told by Pausanias (vi. 13. 6) that there was at Olympia a statue of the boxer Ἀριστίων of Epidaurus by Polycletus of Argos. The pedestal of this statue has been discovered at Olympia, bearing the inscription Ἀριστίων Θεοφίλεος Ἐπιδαύριος. Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε (Löwy, *op. cit.* 92, Dittenberger-Purgold, *op. cit.* 165). On palaeographical and orthographical grounds epigraphists have had no hesitation in referring this inscription to the fourth century B. C., and have therefore attributed the statue to Polycletus the younger. But of course if Ἀριστ[ί]ων is read here (for a similar omission of ι cf. I. 7, note), and the identification with the boxer mentioned by Pausanias is accepted, the statue must have been by the elder Polycletus. The original inscription must therefore have become defaced and was replaced by the one which is preserved.

17. For Δαμάγητος cf. Paus. vi. 7. 1. Pausanias does not give the date of his victories. A pedestal bearing the name of Damagetus has been discovered at Olympia (Dittenberger-Purgold, *op. cit.* 152).

18. λακων: l. Λάχων. This victory was the occasion of two odes of Bacchylides (vi and vii), which were accordingly composed not earlier than B. C. 452. The title of Bacch. vi (that of vii is not preserved) is Λάχωνι Κείωι σταδιεῖ Ὀλύμπ(ια). If Lachon was a boy, παιδί ought to have been added as it is in the title of Bacch. xi. Mr. Kenyon therefore very naturally supposed Lachon to be a man, and impugned the veracity of the Olympic Register, in which his name is not given. Wackernagel and Wilamowitz, who are followed by Blass, showed ground for believing that the victory of Lachon commemorated by Bacchylides was won in the στάδιον for boys; and this view is now confirmed by the papyrus. The date of the event is also a valuable fact for the life of Bacchylides. The latest precise date previously known in the poet's literary career was B. C. 468, when the third ode was written. By the discovery of this papyrus his activity obtains a definite extension of sixteen years.

21. Cf. 11, note.

22. σαμιου καμ[αριναιου τεθριππον: this name reopens the question of the occasion of Pindar's fourth and fifth Olympian odes. They are addressed to Psaumis of Camarina, who according to the scholiast on *Ol.* iv had won in the 82nd Olympiad τεθρίππῳ (*v. l.* ἵπποις); while according to the scholia on *Ol.* v Psaumis had been victorious τεθρίππῳ καὶ ἀπήνῃ καὶ κέλητι· Internal evidence makes it certain that *Ol.* v at any rate was composed in celebration of a victory in the ἀπήνη or mule-chariot race. The statement of the scholiast concerning Psaumis' triple victory has accordingly been explained with much probability as based on a misunderstanding of line 7; and *Ol.* iv has usually been considered to refer to the same victory in the ἀπήνη, notwithstanding the testimony of the scholiast. Now it is evident that this view is at least partially correct, for the papyrus shows that Psaumis did not win the κέλης in the 82nd Olympiad. But it appears more than likely that the scholiast on *Ol.* iv was so far right that Psaumis won the τέθριππον in that year. σαμιου is not far from Ψαύμιος; and καμ[can hardly be anything but the first syllable of Καμ[αριναίου. We have therefore a choice of alternatives. *Ol.* iv may actually refer to this victory in the τέθριππον, and the victory in the mule-chariot race celebrated in *Ol.* v may have been gained either on a subsequent or, less probably, on a previous occasion. There is nothing in *Ol.* iv inconsistent with such a theory. ὀχέων in l. 11 is an indecisive word; if it had definitely implied the ἀπήνη the scholiast would obviously not have said τεθρίππῳ. Or both the fourth and fifth Odes refer to a victory in the ἀπήνη which was won before this 82nd Olympiad, possibly in the 81st. If the names of winners in that race were not usually included in lists like the present (cf. introd.), the scholiasts might have no means of verifying the date; and after the theory of the three victories in the 82nd Olympiad had been evolved from l. 7, to place the victory in the ἀπήνη and the supposed victory in the κέλης, in the same year as the τέθριππον, which was fixed, would only be a natural step.

24. κριτων: Diodor. xii. 5 gives the name as Κρίσων (Κρίσσων the oldest MS., and so Euseb.); Κρίσων is also the spelling in Plato, *Protag.* 335 E, *Leg.* viii. 840 A.

25. The mutilated letter had a rounded first stroke; ε, θ, ο, σ, or ω are most probable.

28. This κιμων αργ[ειος is clearly to be identified (so Robert) with the Χείμων of Argos whose victory in the πάλη is mentioned by Pausanias and whose two statues by Naucydes he considered to be amongst the best examples of that artist's work (vi. 9. 3). For a similar substitution of κ for χ in this MS. cf. 18 λακων. It has been a doubtful question whether Naucydes was a younger brother of the elder, or an elder brother of the younger, Polycletus. By placing Cheimon's victory in B.C. 452 the papyrus shows that the former view is correct.

29. αγησιλαος ρ[οδιος? ρ before the lacuna is almost certain. Robert suggests with much probability that this is a variation of the name of Damagetus' brother, which is given in Paus. vi. 7. 1 as Ἀκουσίλαος. The fact that Damagetus also won in this year (l. 30) and Acusilaus is described by Pausanias as a boxer confirms the identification. Ἀκουσίλαος is more likely to be the correct form.

30. For Damagetus cf. 17, note.

33. The letter after ν might be λ or μ.

34. The doubtful λ may be χ or perhaps μ. It is known from Pausanias (vi. 2. 2) that a Λυκῖνος Λάκων won the chariot race about this time. But it is not likely that this is the victory to which the papyrus refers, for in the first place that hypothesis involves the supposition of the loss of a line between 33 and 34, since the ὁπλίτης always follows παίδων πύξ; and, secondly, if this Lycinus was the winner of the τέθριππον and not of the ὁπλίτης, his name ought to be in the genitive case.

III. FRAGMENTS OF EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

CCXXIII. HOMER, *Iliad V.*

26 x 209·5 (first ten cols.) *cm.* Plate I (Col. VII).

THIS fine copy of the fifth book of the *Iliad* is written upon the *verso* of ccxxxvii, the 'Petition of Dionysia.' Before being utilized for the Homer the roll had to be patched up and strengthened in places by strips of papyrus glued on the *recto*. In its original condition it was of great length. Two fragments of the twenty-ninth column are preserved; and nine more columns would still have been required to complete the book, while each column occupies from 8 to 8½ inches of papyrus. Probably other documents than the petition of Dionysia were used in the composition of this roll. The writing on the *recto* of the fragments of the twenty-ninth column is not the same as that of the petition; and a third hand may be distinguished on the *recto* of Col. XV. The MS. is continuous as far as l. 278, and the first eight columns, which were the core of the roll, are practically perfect. In the tenth and eleventh columns the condition of the papyrus gradually deteriorates, and finally becomes fragmentary.

The handwriting is a bold well-formed uncial of the square sloping type. In general style it resembles the hand of the fragment of Plato's *Laws* (O. P. I. Plate VI), which was written before A.D. 295, and still more closely that of O. P. I. xii, with which this papyrus was actually found, and which may be placed in the first half of the third century. Other items of evidence are afforded by the pieces of papyrus glued to the *recto*, which seem to date from about the beginning of the third century, and by the few cursive entries on the *verso*, which are apparently not very much later. On the other hand a *terminus a quo* is provided by the petition on the *recto*, which was written about A. D. 186. The date of the Homer, therefore, may be fixed with much certainty in the earlier decades of the third century. Ξ is formed by three separate strokes.

The MS. is very full of accents, breathings, and marks of elision, with which

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The text is a fairly good one, though not of course free from errors. As usual in the case of Homeric papyri of the Roman period, there are few divergences from our vulgate. Of the peculiar variants τέτανται for κέχυνται in 141 is the most striking. μένος for βέλος in 104 is an interesting confirmation of the reading of the Geneva MS. A collation with La Roche's text (R.) is given below. We do not, however, as a rule, notice as variants cases of the common spelling ει for ῑ.

Col. I.

ενθ αυ τυ|δειδη διομηδεϊ παλλας αθηνη
δωκε μέ|νος και θάρσος ἰν έκδηλος μὲτα πασιν
αργειοισ[ι] | γενοιτο· ϊδε κλέος ἐσθλον άροιτο·
/δαι οι εκ | κόρυθός τε και ασπίδος ακάματον πυρ
αστερ οπ|ωρεινῶ εναλίγκιον ὅς τε μάλιστα
λαμπρον | παμφάινησι λελουμένος ωκεανοιο.
ν οι
–τ[[ω]]οιο | πυρ δαΐεν ἀπο κρὰτος τε και ωμων
ωρσ
/[[θυμ]]ε δε μ|ιν κατα μεσσον ὄθι πλειστοι κλονέοντο·
ην δε τι|ς εν τρωεσσι δάρης ἀφνειὸς αμύμων
φ|
ϊρευς η|αιστοιο· δύω δε οἱ ϋιέες ήστην
/φηγευς | ειδαΐός τε μαχης ευ ειδότε πάσης
οι πο ν
τω [[μεν]] | ακρινθετε εναντίω ωρμηθήτην
ν α
τω με |φ' ιπποιϊν· ὁ δ' ἀπ[ο] χθὸνος ώρνυτο πὲζος·
/οι δ οτε δ|η σχὲδον ησαν επ αλληλοισιν ϊόντε[ς]
φηγευς ρ|α πρότερος προΐει δολιχόσκιο[ν] ε[γ]χος·
δ
τυδειδε|ω θ' υπερ ωμον αρ[ι]στερον ηλυθ' ακωκη
ου]
εγ'χεος | δ έβαλ' αυτον· ο δ' υστερος ὣρνυτο χαλκω
τυδειδη|ς· του δ' ουχ' ἅλιον βελος έκφυγε χειρος
αλλ εβαλ|ε στηθος μεταμάζιον ὡσε δ' αφ ιππων·
δ]
ειδαι⟨ο⟩ς | απόρουσε λιπων περικαλλέα διφρον·

ουδ ετλη | περιβηναι αδελφειου κταμένοιο·
ρ|
ουδε γα | [ο]υδέ κεν αυτος υπέκφυγε κηρα μέλαιναν·
αλ⟨λ⟩ ηφη|στος έρυτο σάωσε δε νυκτι καλύψας·
ως δη οι μ|η παγχυ γερων ακαχημενος ειη·

Col. II.

ιππους δ' εξελασας μεγαθυμου τυδεος ϋιος
δωκεν ἑταιροισιν καταγειν κοιλας επι νηας·
τρωες δε μεγαθυμοι επει ἴδον ϋιε δάρητος
τον μεν αλευάμενον τον δε κτάμενον παρ όχεσφι
πασιν ορίνθη θυμος· αταρ γλαυκῶπις αθηνη
χειρος ἑλοῦσ' επέεσσι προσηυδα θοῦρον αρηα.
β
ᾱρες ἄρες βροτολοιγε μιαιφόνε τειχεσιπλῆτα
ουκ αν δη τρωας μεν εᾶσομεν και αχαιους
μάρναθ' ὁππότέροισι[[ν]] πατηρ ζευς κῦδος ορεξη.
νωι δε χαζώμεσθα· διος δε αλεώμεθα μῆνιν·
ως ειποῦσα μάχης εξήγαγε θοῦρον άρηα·
μεν ε
τὸν επειτα καθεῖσεν επ ηϊ[ο]ντι σκαμάνδρω·
τρώας δ' έκλειναν δαναο͡ῖ[ι] ἔλε δ' άνδρα έκαστος
ηγεμονων· πρῶτος δε άναξ ανδρῶν αγαμέμνων
ἀρχον αλιζώνων ὀδίον μέγαν έκβαλε δίφρου
πρώτω γαρ στρεφθέντι μὲταφρένω εν δόρυ πῆξε[ν]·
ώμων μεσσηγύς· δὶα δε στήθεσφιν ελασσεν /
μηονος
ειδομὲνευς δ άρα φαῖστον ενήρατο [[τεκτονος]] ϋὶ[ο]ν
βώρου· ὃς εκ τάρνης εριβώλακος ειληλόυθει·
τὸν μεν ἄρ ειδομὲνευς δουὶ κλὺτος έγχεϊ μακρῶ
νύξ ἵππων επιβησόμενον κὰτα δεξὶον ὦμον·
ήριπε δ' εξ οχέων· στυγὲρος δ άρα μιν σκότος ἑῖλεν·
τὸν μεν ἄρ ειδομενῆος εσύλευον θεράποντες·
ϋὶον δε στροφίοιο σκαμάνδριον αἵμονα θήρης
ατρειδης μενέλαος ἔλ' έγχεϊ οξυόεντι

Col. III.

εσθλον θηρητῆρα δίδαξε γαρ αρτεμις αυτη
βάλλειν άγρια παντα τά τε τρεφει όυρεσιν ὕλη·
λ' έ
αλ ού ὁι τότε γε χραΐσμ' αρτεμις ϊοχ[[αι]]αιρα
ουδε ἐκηβολίαι ἠΐσιν το πρίν γ' εκέκαστο·
αλλά μιν ατρειδης δουρι κλειτος μενελαος
πρόσθεν ἔθεν φευγοντα μετάφρενον ὁυτασε δουρι·
ήριπε δε πρὴ[ν]ής· αράβησε δε τέυχε' επ αυτωι·
μηριόνης δε φέρεκλον ενήρατο τέκτονος ϊιον
αρμονίδεω ὃς χερσιν επίστατο δάιδαλα παντα
ξ ε
τέυχειν έ[[χ]]οχα γάρ μιν εφίλατο παλλας αθηνη·
ὃς και αλεξάνδρω τεκτήνατο νηας εεισας
αρχεκάκους ά[ι] πασι κακον τρώεσσι γενοντο·
ὁι τ[[ε]]' αυτω· επι ου τι θεων εκ θέσπατα ήδει·
τον μεν. μηριόνης ὅτε δη κατέμαρπτε διωκων
βεβλήκει γλὸυτον κατα δεξιον· ἠ δε δια προ
/(αντικρυ κατα κύστιν ϋπ οστέον ήλυθ' ακωκη·
νυξ δ' έριπ' οιμωξας· θάνατος δέ μιν αμφεκαλυψεν·
πήδαιον δ αρ επεφνε μέγης αντήνορος ϋιον
ος ρα νόθος μεν έην· πύκα δ' έτρεφε δεΐα θεὰνω
/[[ε]]ΐσα φιλοισι τέκεσσι χαριζομένη πόσεϊ ὠ·
τον μεν φυλέιδης δουρι κλὶτος εγγυθεν ελθων
βεβλήκει κεφαλης κατα εινίον οξέϊ δουρι·
αντικρυ δ αν οδοντας ϋπο γλῶσσαν τάμε χαλκος·
ευ[ρ]ύπυλος δ' ευαιμονίδης ϋψήνορα δειον

Col. IV.

Τη[ριπε δ εν] κονι[ης ψυχρ]ον [δ ελε χαλκον ο]δ̣υ̣σ̣ι[

υιον ϋπερθύμου δολοπέιονος ὅς ρα σκαμάνδρου
αρητηρ ετέτυκτο· θεος δ' ὡς τέιετο δήμω·
τον μεν άρ ευρύπυλος ευάιμονος αγλαος ϋιος

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ὁρσο πέπον καπαινηϊάδη καταβήσεο διφρου
οφρά μοι εξ ὠμο[[υ]]ιο ερύσης σ πικρον οϊστον·
ως ἀρ' ἐφη· σθένελος δε καθ ἵππων ἅλτο χαμαζε·
παρ δε στὰς βελος ὠκυ διαμπὲρες εξέρυσ' ὤμου·
αἷμα δ' ανηκόντι[[σσ]]ζε δια στρεπτοῖο χιτωνος.
δη τότ' ἔπειτ' ηρᾶτο βοην αγαθος διομήδης·
κλυθί μοι αιγιόχοιο διος τέκος ατρυτώνη
ει ποτέ μοι και πατρι φιλα φρονέουσα παρεστης
δηΐω εν πολεμω· νυν αυτ έμε φῖλαι αθηνη·
[[δ]]τον δέ τε μ' ανδρα ἔλειν και ες ορμην έγχεος ελθειν
ὅς μ' ἔβαλε φθάμενος και επέυχεται· ουδέ με φὴσιν
[[σθ]]ψε ὀ
δὴρον ἔτ' [[ανσχησ]]εσθαι λαμπρον φαος ηελιοιο·
ως ἔφατ' ευχόμενος· του δ' εκλυε παλλας αθήνη·
γὕϊα δ' εθηκεν ελαφρα πόδας και χειρας ὕπερθεν·
αγχου δ' ἱσταμένη ἐπεα πτεροεντα προσηυδα·
θαρσῶν νυν διομηδες επι τρώεσσι μαχεσθαι·
Τεν γάρ τοι στήθεσσι μενος πατρώϊον ἠΐκα κατω
αχλυν αυ τοι απ οφθαλμων ἔλον η πριν επῆεν

126 ✓ ατρομον οιον εχεσκε σακεσπαλος ιπποτα τυδευς ανω

Col. VI.

οφρ εῦ γεινώσκοις ειμεν θεον ηδε κε ανδρα·
τω νυν αι κε θεος πειρώμενος ενθάδ' ἵκηται.
μη τι σύ γ' αθανατοισι θεοις αντικρυ μαχεσθαι
τοις αλλοις· αταρ ἔι κε δios θυγατηρ αφροδέιτη
χαλκω
ελθησ ες πολεμον. την γ' ουταμεν οξέϊ δουρι·
η μεν αρ ως ειπουσ' απέβη γλαυκῶπις αθηνη·
τυδειδης δ εξαῦτις ἴων προμάχοισιν εμίχθη
και πρίν περ θυμω μεμαως τρώεσσι μαχεσθαι
δη τότε μιν τρις τόσσον ἔλεν μενος ὥς τε λεοντα

ὸν ῥά τε ποιμην αγρω επ ειροπόκοις οἴεσσι
χράυση μέν τ' αυλης ὑπεράλμενον· ουδε δαμασση·
του μέν τε σθενος ὦρσεν· έπειτα δέ τ' ου προσαμύνει·
αλλα κατα σταθμους δύεται τα δ' ερῆμα φοβεῖται·
/αι μεν τ' ανχίστεῖναι επ αλληλησι τέτανται·
/αυταρ ὸ εμμεμὰως βαθέης εξαλλετε αὐλης.
ως μεμαως τρώεσσι μιγη κρατὲρος διομηδης·
/ ενθ' ἔλεν αστύνοον και υπείρονα ποιμενα λαων
τον μεν ὑπερ μαζοῖο βαλων χαλκήρεϊ δουρι·
τον δ ετερον ξίφεϊ μεγάλω κληεῖδα παρ ωμον
/|πλῆξ· απο δ αυχένος ώμο[[ι]] εέργαθεν ηδ απο νώτου·
τους μεν έασ' ὸ δ' άβαντα μετώχετο και πολύειδον
ὑϊέας ευρυδάμαντος ονειροπόλοιο γεροντος·
τοις ουκ ερχομένοις ὸ γερων εκρέιν[[α]]τ' ονειρους·
αλλά σφεας κρατὲρος διομηδης εξενάριξεν·
/ βη δε μετα ξάνθόν τε θόωνά τε φάινοπος ὑεῖε
άμφω τηλυγέτω· ὸ δε τέιρετο γήραϊ λυγρωι·

Col. VII.

υιον [δ]' ου κετ' αλλον επι κτεάτεσσι λι[π ε[σ]θαι·
ενθ' ὸ γε τους ενάριζε· φιλον δ' εξαίνυτο θυμον
αμφ[ο]τέρω· πατέρι δε γόον και κήδεα λυγρα
/λεῖπ' επει ου ζωοντε μαχης εκ νοστήσαντε
δέξατ[ο] χηρὼσται δε δια κτῆσιν δατέοντο·
ενθ' ὑ[ι]ας πριάμοιο δυ[[ο]] λάβε δαρδανίδαο
ει[ν] ἔ[ν]ι διφρω εοντας εχεμμονά τε χρομίον τε·
ω[ς] δ[ε] λέων εν βουσι θὸρων εξ αυχένα άξη
πόρτ[ιο]ς ηε βοος ξύλοχον κάτα βοσκομενάων.
ως τους αμφοτέρους εξ ιππων τυδέος ὑιος
β[η]σε κακως αεκοντας· έπειτα δε τεύχε εσυλα·
ιπ[πο]υς δ οἷς ετάροισι δίδου μετα νηας ελάυνειν·

ὁρσο πέπον καπαὶνηϊάδη καταβήσεο διφρου
οφρά μοι εξ ὠμο[[υ]]ιο ερύσης σ πικροὶν οϊστον·
ως ἀρ᾽ ἐφη· σθένελος δε καθ ἱππων ἅλτο χαμαζε·
παρ δε στὰς βελος ὠκυ διαμπὲρες εξέρυσ᾽ ὠμου·
αἷμα δ᾽ ανηκόντι[[σσ]]ζε δια στρεπτοῖο χιτωνος.
δη τότ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ -ηρᾶτο βοην αγαθος διομήδης·
κλυθί μοι αιγιόχοιο διος τέκος ατρυτώνη
ει ποτέ μοι και πατρι φιλα φρονέουσα παρεστης
δηΐῳ εν πολεμω· νυν αυτ ἐμε φῖλαι αθηνη·
[[τδ]]ον δέ τε μ᾽ ανδρα ἔλειν και ες ορμην ἐγχεος ελθειν
ὅς μ᾽ ἐβαλε φθάμενος και επέυχεται· ουδέ με φὴσιν
ὀψε[[σθ]]
δὴρον ἐτ᾽ [[ανσχησ]]εσθαι λαμπρον φαος ηελιοιο·
ως ἐφατ᾽ ευχόμενος· του δ᾽ εκλυε παλλας αθήνη·
γὕϊα δ᾽ εθηκεν ελαφρα πόδας και χειρας ὕπερθεν·
αγχου δ᾽ ἱσταμένη ἐπεα πτεροεντα προσηυδα·
θαρσῶν νυν διομηδες επι τρώεσσι μαχεσθαι·
τεν γάρ τοι στήθεσσι μενος πατρώϊον ἠῖκα κατω
αχλυν αυ τοι απ οφθαλμων ἔλον η πριν επῆεν

ατρομον οιον εχεσκε σακεσπαλος ιπποτα τυδευς ανω

Col. VI.

οφρ εῦ γεινώσκοις ειμεν θεον ηδε κε ανδρα·
τω νυν αι κε θεος πειρώμενος ενθάδ᾽ ἵκηται.
μη τι σύ γ᾽ αθανατοισι θεοις αντικρυ μαχεσθαι
τοις αλλοις· αταρ ἐι κε διος θυγατηρ αφροδέιτη
χαλκω
ελθησ ες πολεμον. την γ᾽ ουταμεν οξέϊ δουρι·
η μεν αρ ως ειπουσ᾽ απέβη γλαυκῶπις αθηνη·
τυδειδης δ εξαῦτις ἰων προμάχοισιν εμίχθη
και πρίν περ θυμω μεμαως τρώεσσι μαχεσθαι
δη τότε μιν τρις τόσσον ἔλεν μενος ὥς τε λεοντα

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τον δ' ἴδεν αινειας αλαπάζοντα στίχας ανδρων·
βη δ' ἴμεν άν τε μαχην και ανα κλόνον εγχειάων
πάνδαρον αντίθεον διζήμενος έι που εφευροι·
εὗρε λυκάονος ὕιον αμυμονά τε κρατερόν τε·
στη δε πρόσθ' αυτοῖο επος τέ μιν αντίον ηυδα·
πάνδαρε πόυ τοι τοξον [[ε]]ὶδε πτερόεντες οϊστοι
και κλέος ὤ ου τίς τοι ερίζετε ενθάδε γ' ανηρ·
ου[[δ]]έ τις εν λυκίη σέο γ' εύχετε ειναι αμείνων·
αλλ άγε τωδ' έφες ανδρι βελος διϊ χειρας ανασχων
ός τις ὅδε κρατέει και δη κ[α]κα πολλα έοργε
τρωας· επει πολλών τε και εσθλων γούνατ' έλυσε·
ει μή τις θεος εσ[[τ]]ι κ[ο]τεσσάμενος τρωεσσιν
ειρῶν μηνέισας· χαλεπη δε θεου [[α]]π[[ο]] μηνις·

Col. VIII.

τον δ' αυτε προσεε[ι]πε λυκάονος αγλαος υιος·
αινεια τρωων βουληφόρε χαλκοχιτώνων·
τυδέιδη μιν εγω γε δαΐφρονι παντα εἴσκω
ασπίδι γεινώσκων αυλωπιδί τε τρυφαλέιη·
ιππους δ εισὄρόων· σάφα δ ουκ οιδ' ει [θ]εος εστιν·
ει δ' ὅ γ' ανηρ όν φημι δαΐφρων τυδεος ὕιος
ουχ ό γ' ανευθε θεου [[δ]]άδε μαινεται· αλλα τις ά[γ]χι
έστηκ' αθανατ[ω]ν νεφέλη ειλυμένος ωμου[ς]·
ος τόυτο[υ] βελος ὠκυ κιχήμενον έτραπεν άλλ[η
ηδη γάρ ὀι [εφ]ῆκα βελος κάι μιν βαλον ὦμον
δεξιον· αντικρ[υ [[.]ε]] δια θώρηκο[ς γ]υάλοιο·
και μιν έγω γ' εφάμην αϊδωνῆϊ προΐάψειν·
έμπης δ' ουκ εδαμασσα· θεος νύ τις εσ[τ]ι κοτήεις·
ίπποι δ' ου παρέασι και αρματα τών κ' επιβάιην·
αλλά που εν μεγάροισι λυκάονος ἔνδεκα διφροι

καλοι πρωτοπὰγεις νεοτευχέες· αμφι δε πεπλοι
πέπτανται· παρα δέ σφιν εκαστω δίζυγες ιπποι
εστᾶσι[[ν]] κρεὶ λ̇ευκον ερεπτόμενοι και ολυρας·
η μέν μοι μαλα πολλα γερων αιχμὴτα λυκαων
ερχομένω επετελλε δομοις ενι ποιητοῖσιν·
ιπποισίν μ' εκελευε και αρμασιν εμβεβαῶτα[[α]]
β [αρ]χέυειν τρωεσσιν ανα κρατερας υσμεινας·
α[λ]λ εγω ου πειθόμην η τ αν πολ[υ] κ[έ]ρδιον ηεν
ιππων φειδόμενος μή μοι δευόιατο φορβῆς
ανδρων ειλομένων ειωθότες έδμεν̣ε άδδην·

Col. IX.

παν[δ]αρ(ος) πρ(ος) αινειαν
ως λίπον [αυ]ταρ π[ὲ]ζος ες [ειλι]ον [ειλη]λουθα
τόξοισι[ν πισ]υν[ο]ς [[α]] τα δέ μ ουκ αρ εμελλεν ονήσε[ιν
ήδη γα[ρ δοι]οῖσιν αριστήεσσιν εφῆκα
τυδείδ[η τε] και α[τ]ρειδη· εκ δ αμφοτέροιϊν
ατρὲκε[ς] α[ιμ] έσσευα βαλων ήγειρα δε μαλλον·
τώ ρα κα[κ]η άιση απο πασσάλου αγκύλα τοξα
ηματι τ[ω] ἑλόμην ὅτε εἴλιον [εις ερ]ατεὶνην
ηγεόμ[ην] τρώεσσι φερων χ[αριν] εκτορι [δ]έιω·
ει δε κε ν[ο]στήσ[ω] και εσόψομ[αι οφ]θαλμοῖσιν
δ
πατρι[[τ]] εμην αλ[οχ]ον τε κα[ι] υ[ψερε]φες μεγα δωμα.
αυτίκ έπε[ι]τ απ [ε]μεῖο καρη [ταμοι] αλλότριος φως
ει μη εγω τάδε τόξα φαεινῶ εν πυρι [θέ]ιην
πο(ιητης) χερσ[ι] διακλάσσας· ανεμώλια γάρ μ[οι] οπηδει·
τον δ αυτ' αινειας τρώων ὰγος αντ[ι]ον ηυδα·
αινειας πανδαρ(ῳ)
αι
μη δ' ουτως αγόρευε· παρος δ' ουκ έσσετ[[ε]] αλλως
πρι[ν] γ' επι νω τωδ' ανδρι συν ἵ̈ππoισιν και όχεσφιν
αντιβίην ελθόντε συν έντεσι πειρηθηναι·
αλλ αγ' ὲμων οχέων επιβήσεαι όφρα ἴδηαι
ὅί ὅι τρωϊοι ἵ̈πποι επισ[τ]άμενοι πεδιοιο
κραὶ[π]να μάλ' ενθα κα[ι] ενθα διωκέμεν ηδε [φ]έβεσθαι

τω και νῶϊ πόλιν δε σαώσετον έι περ αν αυτε
ζευς επ[ι τυ]δέιδη διομήδεϊ κῦδ[ος] ορέξη
αλλ άγε [νυ]ν μάστειγα και ηνία σι[γ]αλόεντα
α ο αι
δεξαι εγω [δ] ἴπ⟨π⟩ων επιβήσομε όφρα μάχωμαι·
δε
ηε συ τόνδε δεξο μελήσουσιν δ έμοι ιπποι·
[τον] δ [αυτε] π[ροσεειπε λυκαονος αγλαος υιος
αινέ[ι]α [συ] μεν [αυτος εχ ηνια και τεω ιππω
μαλλ[ον υ]π ην[ιοχω ειωθοτι καμπυλον αρμα
όισετο[ν ει π]ερ [αν α]ὐ[τε φεβωμεθα τυδεος υιον
μη τω [μεν] δε[ι]σα[ν]τ[ε ματησετον ουδ εθελ]ητ[ον
εκφερ[εμε]ν πολεμο[ιο τ]ε[ον φθογγον ποθεον]τες·
νῶϊ δ ε[παι]ξα[ς] μεγαθυμο[υ τυδεος υιος
/αυτω τε [κτ]είνη και ελάσ[ση μωνυχας ἱπ]π[ου]ς·
/αλλα σύ [γ αυ]τος ελα[υ]νε τὲ᾽ α[ρματα και τ]ὲω ιππω
τόνδε [δ εγ]ων επιόντα δ[εδεξόμαι οξ]εϊ δουρι·
πο(ιητης) ως αρα φ[ων]ήσαντες ες ἄρ[ματα π]οικίλα βαντες
εμμεμ[αωτ] επι τυδέιδη [εχον ω]κέας ἵππους
σθεν(ελος) τους δ[ε ιδε] σθένελος κα[πανηιο]ς αγλαος υιος·
δ̣ιο(μηδει)
τυ(δειδη) αῖψα δε [τυδ]είδην έπεα [π]τ[ε]ρόεντα προσηυδα·
τυδείδ[η] διόμηδες εμω κεχαρισ[μ]ένε θυμω
ανδρ᾽ ὄρόω ⟨κ⟩ρατερω επι σοι μεμαῶτ[ε] μαχεσθαι·
εἰν᾽ απέλεθρον εχοντας· ὸ μεν τόξων εῦ ειδως
πάνδαρος· ϋιος δ αυτε λυκάονος ένχετε ειναι·
αινειας δ̣ ϋιος μ[ε]ν αμ[υ̣]μονο[ς αγχισαο]
ένχεται εκγεγάμεν [μήτηρ δε οι εστ] αφροδειτη·
αλλ άγε [δ]η χαζωμεθ᾽ [εφ ιππων μη δε μ]οι ουτω
θυνε δι[α] προμαχων μ[η πως φιλον ητορ ο]λεσσης
τον δ αρ υ[π]οδρα ιδων πρ[οσεφη κρατερος δ]ιομηδης
διομηδης̣ μή τι φο[βον] δ αγόρευε· ε[πει ουδε σε πε]ισέμεν όιω·
σ νε
π[.]δ̣ι̣ο̣ν θε ου γαρ μ[οι γ]εννᾶιον [αλυσκαζοντι] μάχεσθαι

Col. X.

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[η]μβροτε[ς] ου[δ ετυχες αταρ ου μεν σφωι γ οειω
[π]ρίν γ απο[παυσεσθαι πριν γ η ετερον γε πεσοντα
[αι]ματος ἁ[σ]α[ι αρηα ταλαυρινον πολεμιστην
πο(ιητης) 290 [ω]ς φαμενος π[ροεηκε βελος δ ιθυνεν αθηνη
[ρι]να παρ οφθ[αλμον λευκους δ επερησεν οδοντας
τ[ο]υ δ απο μεν [γλωσσαν πρυμνην ταμε χαλκος ατειρης
α[ι]χμη δ' εξελ[υθη] π[αρα νειατον ανθερεωνα
ηριπε δ εξ οχ[εω]ν· αραβησ[ε δε τευχε επ αυτω
295 α[ι]όλα παμφανόωντα· παρε[τ]ρε[σσαν δε οι ιπποι
γ̄ ωκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αὖθι λυθη ψυχή τε [μένος τε
α[ι]ν[έ]ιας δ' απόρουσε συν ασπίδι δο[υρι τε μακρω
[δ]ε[ισ]ας μή πως ὀι ερυσαιατο νέκρον [αχαιοι
α[μ]φ[ι] δ' ἄρ' αυτῶι βαῖνε λέων ὡς αλκ[ι πεποιθως
300 [προσ]θε δέ ὀι δόρυ τ' έσχε και ασπι[δα παντοσ εισην
[τον] κτάμεναι μεμαως ὅς τις τ[ου] γ' α[ντιος ελθοι
[σμερ]δαλεα ϊαχων· ὅ δε χερμ[αδιο]ν λ[αβε χειρι
[τυδ]είδης μέγα έργον ο ου δύο γ' α[νδρε φεροιεν

Col. XIV.

[αιψα δε τυδειδην μεθεπε κρα]τερώνυχα[ς ιππους
330 [εμμεμαως ο δε κυπριν επωχετο ν]ηλέϊ χα[λκω
[γιγνωσκων ο τ αναλκις εην θεος ου]δε θε[αων
. . . . . .
[πρυμνον υπερ θεναρος ρεε δ αμβροτον αιμα θε]οῖο
340 [ιχωρ οιος περ τε ρεει μακαρεσ]σι θεοισιν·
[ου γαρ σιτον εδουσ ου πιν]ουσ' άιθο[π]α οἶνον·
[τουνεκ αναιμονες εισι και] αθάνατοι καλέονται·
[η δε μεγα ιαχουσα απο εο καβ]βαλε[ν υ]ιόν·
[και τον μεν μετα χερσιν ερ]υσατ[ο] φ[ό]ιβος απόλ[λων
345 [κυανεη νεφελη μη τις δαν]αῶν ταχυπώλω[ν
[χαλκον ενι στηθεσσι βαλων] εκ θὺμ[ο]ν [ε]λοιτο
[τη δ επι μακρον αυσε βοην α]γὰθ[ος δι]ομήδης
[εικε διος θυγατερ πολεμου και δηιο]τῆτο[ς]

[η ουχ αλις οττι γυναικας αναλκι]δας ηπεροπέυε[ις
[ει δε συ γ ες πολεμον πωλησεαι η τ]ε σ οειω
[ριγησειν πολεμον γε και ει χ ε]τέρ[ωθι πύθ]ῃ[αι

Col. XV.

[
[την μεν αρ ι]ῤι[ς ελου]σ[α ποδηνεμος εξαγ ομειλου
[αχθομενη]ν ὀδ[υνησ]ι μ̣ε̣[λαι]νε[το δε χροα καλον
[ευρεν επειτ]α μαχη[ς] επ· αριστερ[α θο]ῠ[ρον αρηα
[ημενον η]έρι δ έγχος ε[κ]εκλ[ιτο] και ταχ[ε ιππω
[η δε γνυξ ερι]ποῦσα κα[σιγνητοιο φ]ιλοιο
[πολλα λισσο]μένη χρυ[σ]αμ[π]υκας ήτεεν· [ιππους
[τ]ε
[φιλε κασιγ]νητε· κ[ο]μι[σ]αι τέ με δος δε μ̣ο̣[ι] ι[ππους
[οφρ ες ολυμπο]ν ἴκωμα̣[ι] ἶν αθανάτ[ω]ν ἔδο[ς εστι
αι
[λειην αχθο]με ε[λ]κος [ὃ] με βροτ[ο]ς ὁυτασεν [ανηρ
[τυδειδης ος ν]ύν [γε και] α[ν δι] πατρι [μ]άχο[ιτο
[ως φατο τη δ αρ]ης δ[ωκε χ]ρ[υ]σάμπυκα[ς ιππους
[η δ ες διφρον εβαινεν] α[κη]χεμ[ενη φιλον ητορ
[παρ δε οι ιρις εβαι]ν[ε και ηνι]α λά[ζετο χειρι
[μαστιξεν δ ελαανˉ] τω δ' ουκ [ακο]ντε π̣[ετεσθην
[αιψα δ επειθ ικ]οντο θεων εδος α[ιπ]υν ο[λυμπον
[ενθ ιππου]ς̣ ε̣στη[σ]ε̣ π[ο]δήνεμος ω[κ]εα [ιρις
λυ[σασ εξ οχε]ων· παρα δ [α]μβροσιον βαλεν ε[ΐδαρ
πεῖ
η δ' [εν γουν]ασ[ι] πτε δ[ι]ωνη[ς] δε̣ι̣ α[[θ̣]]φ[ρο]δ[ει]τ[η
μη[τρος εης η] δ' ἀγκας [ελ]α̣[ζε]το θυγατ[ε]ρα [ην
χ̣ε[ιρι τε μιν] κατέρ[εξεν επος] τ έφατ [εκ] τ [ονομαζε
τ[ις νυ σε τοια]δ έρε̣ξε φι[λο]ν τεκος ου[ρανιωνων
μ[αψιδιως ως] ει τι κακον ρεζουσαν [ενωπη

Col. XVII.

εν [πυλω εν νεκυεσσι βαλων οδυνησιν εδωκεν
α̣[υτα]ρ [ο] β̣ῃ [προς δωμα διος και μακρον ολυμπον
κηρ' αχέων [οδυνησι πεπαρμενος αυταρ οιστος
ώμω ενι στι[βαρω ηληλατο κηδε δε θυμον

τωι δ επ̣[ι] πᾳ̣[ι]ῃ̣[ων οδυνηφατα φαρμακα πασσων
ηκέ[σατ ου μεν γαρ τι καταθνητος γε τετυκτο
σχέτλ[ιος οβριμοεργος ος ουκ οθετ αισυλα ρεζων
[ος] τόξοι[σιν εκηδε θεους οι ολυμπον εχουσι
[σο]ι δ' επ[ι τουτον ανηκε θεα γλαυκωπις αθηνη
[νή]π[ιος ουδε το οιδε κατα φρενα τυδεος υιος
. . . . . .

Col. XVIII.

[τοισι δε μυθων ηρχε θεα γλαυκω]πις αθ[ηνη
[ζευ πατερ η ρα τι μοι κεχολωσεαι] ὅττι κ[εν ειπω
3 lines lost.
[προς χρυσεη περονη καταμυξατο χει]ρα [αραιην
[ως φατο μειδησεν δε πατηρ ανδρω]ν̣ τε θε[ων τε
[και ρα καλεσσαμενος προσεφη χρ]υ̣[σ]ῃ̣ν [αφροδειτην
[ου τοι τεκνον εμον · δεδοται πο]λεμηϊ̈[α εργα
[αλλα συ γ ιμεροεντα μετερχεο] εργα γα[μοιο
[ταυτα δ αρηι θοω και αθηνη πα]ντα μελ[ησει
[ως οι μεν τοιαυτα προς αλληλους αγ]ορευο[ν
[αινεια δ εποροῦσε βοην αγαθος διο]μή[δης
[γιγνωσκων ο οι αυτος υπειρεχε] χειρας απ[ολλων
[αλλ ο γ αρ ουδε θεον μεγαν αζετο] ϊ̈ετ[ο] δ' αε[ι
[αινειαν κτειναι και απο κλυτ]α τέυχεα [δυσαι
[τρις μεν επειτ εποροῦσε κατακ]τάμε[ναι μενεαινων
[τρις δε οι εσ̀τυφελιξε φαεινην ασ]πιδ' απο[λλων
[αλλ οτε δη το τεταρτον επεσσυτο δά]ιμονι ε̣[ισος
[δεινα δ ομοκλησας προσεφη εκα]εργος απ[ολλων
[φραζεο τυδειδη και χαζεο μη δ]ε θεοισ[ι]ν
[ισ εθελε φρονεειν επει ου ποτ]ε φῦ[λ]ον ὁμ[οιον
[αθανατων τε θεων χαμαι ερχομενω]ν τ̣' α[νθρωπων

Col. XXIII.

. . . . . .
[αφνειος βιό]τ̣ο[ιο γενος δ ην εκ ποταμοιο
[αλφειου ος τ ευ]ρυ ρ[εει πυλιων δια γαιης

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58. *πρὴνής·* : the grave accent was probably placed upon the first syllable before it was observed that the word was followed by a stop (cf. 13); the acute accent was then added on the final syllable, as is usual in this papyrus (cf. introd.). Theoretically, of course, all syllables that do not bear the acute (or circumflex) accent may have the grave.

63. *αι*: the vestiges above *α* may be the remains of either a breathing or an accent.

64. The correction is by the second hand.

θεσπατα : l. *θέσφατα*. *ηδει* : so CMN Harl. *ἤδῃ* L, *ἤδη* R.

68. *νυξ* : l. *γνύξ*. *αμφεκαλυψεν* : *ἀμφεκάλυψε* R. with AEGHMNO.

71. The deletion of *ε* is due to the corrector.

72. *κλιτος* : *κλυτὸς* R, and so the papyrus in 45.

75. The omission of this line, *ἤριπε δ' ἐν κονίῃς ψυχρὸν δ' ἔλε χαλκὸν ὀδοῦσιν*, is peculiar to the papyrus; cf. 83.

83. The corrector wished to insert line 75 between 83 and 84. He accordingly wrote it out in the upper margin, placed a mark of omission in front of 83, and wrote *ανω* ('see above') at the end of the same line; cf. 126.

87. *αν* : *ἂμ* R., and so the papyrus in 96.

89. l. *γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι*. *ἐεργμέναι* MSS., *ἐερμέναι* Aristarchus, R.

90. Before *ουτ* has been placed a stroke like an iota, which seems to be a critical sign; cf. 147. *ισχι* : *ἴσχει* R.

92. *πολλα θ'* : *πολλὰ δ'* MSS., R.; cf. 16.

καλ' : the first hand wrote *τηλ*, which has been altered by the corrector. *κάλ'* R., MSS.

98. The unelided *ε* (cf. 252) was deleted by the corrector, who, however, failed to notice the trebled *σ* in the following word.

102. The reading of the first hand *ορνυσθαι* may be a genuine variant (inf. for imper.), or merely another case of confusion between *αι* and *ε*.

104. *δηθα σχησ(ε)σθαι* : or *δηθ α⟨ν⟩σχησ(ε)σθαι*; cf. 120, 285. *ἀνσχήσεσθαι* R. *μενος* : *βέλος* MSS. (except Genav., which also has *μένος*), R. Didymus says that *βέλος* was the reading of Aristarchus, on which R. remarks 'de alia scriptura nihil est traditum.' It has been supposed that the variant rejected by Aristarchus was *τέλος*. The agreement of the papyrus with the Genavensis now makes it certain that it was *μένος*.

105. *απορνυμενος* : *ἀπορνύμενον* MSS., R.

115. *μοι* : so ACDGHL. *μευ* R., with NO Cant. Harl. *μου* M.

117. The first hand wrote *φιλε*, which has been converted by the corrector to *φιλαι*. *φῖλαι* R, with AN. *φίλε* D, *φίλε'* CGHLMO, &c. The reading of the first hand may of course be due to the interchange of *ε* and *αι*; cf. 89, 128.

118. *τον δε τε μ ανδρα* : the same reading is recognized by Schol. A ad loc., and ad *Il.* xv. 119. *δὸς δέ τέ μ'* MSS., R.

119. *φησιν* : so MNO; *φησι* R., with ACDGL.

120. *ανσχησεσθαι*, which was first written, was due to a reminiscence of 285. The scribe then began to write over the line the whole word *οψεσθαι*, but, remembering that this was unnecessary, stopped at *θ*, and crossed out *σθ*. He ought to have deleted the *ε* also.

126. The line omitted in the text has been supplied in cursive in the lower margin; cf. 83. The omission is not supported by other MSS.

127. *αχλυν* : *ἀχλὺν δ'* MSS., R.

128. *γεινωσκοις* : *γινώσκοις* ACDG, &c.; the optative is also supported by L and a variant in H. The subjunctive is read in EMNO Lucian xii. 7, Plato *Alcib.* ii. 150 D. *γιγνώσκῃς* R. *ειμεν* : *ἠμὲν* MSS., R.

τε : l. *καὶ*; cf. 53.

132. χαλκῷ is the reading of the MSS. and R. This correction appears to be by a later hand than most of the rest; cf. introd.

133. γλαυκωπις is written over an erasure.

140. δνεται: the termination αι has been written by the corrector over ε, as in 117.

141. ανχηστειναι: so most MSS.; ἀγχιστῖναι R., with D. τεταναι is a reading peculiar to the papyrus; κέχυνται MSS., R.

142. l. ἐξάλλεται.

147. ωμου has been corrected to ωμοι. ὦμον MSS., R.

151. εξεναριξεν: the final ν has been added by the corrector. ἐξενάριξε ACGHMNO, R.; ἐξενάριξεν D.

152. νειε: νῖε R.; and this is the usual spelling of the papyrus.

164. αἐκοντας: for the retention of the rough breathing in compound words cf. 15 προΐει, 183 εισὁρων, and ccxxi. XIV. 2, note.

166. The first hand wrote αλαπεζοντα, which has been altered by the corrector.

171. που τοι: που σοι was originally written; the correction may be by the first hand.

172. l. ἐρίζεται; cf. 53.

173. ουδε: the first hand appears to have made some muddle in writing δ: anyhow the corrector considered the result insufficiently clear. l. εὔχεται.

175. κρατεει has been converted by the corrector from κρατεῖ.

176. ελυσε: ἔλυσεν MSS., R.

177. εστι, the reading of the first hand, is correct.

178. επι: there seems to be no support for the original reading απο.

182. γεινωσκων: γινώσκων A, and most of the MSS., γιγνώσκων R., with CL, &c.

183. ιπτους δ: so M. The corrector's reading ιπτους τ is preferred by R., with the rest of the MSS.

189. .]ε: there are indications that the superfluous word or syllable was struck out.

196. εστασι: the deletion of the original final ν is probably due to the corrector.

199. The superfluous α at the end of the line was struck out by the first hand.

200. τρωεσσιν ανα: Τρώεσσι κατὰ MSS., R.

201. πειθομην: so M; πιθόμην R.

203. εδμενε: l. ἔδμεναι. αδδην: so most MSS.; ἄδην R.

205. It is doubtful whether τοξοισι or τοξοισιν was read by the papyrus. The MSS. are divided on the point. τόξοισιν R. The deletion of α before τα is probably by the first hand. εμελλεν: so ADEO; ἔμελλον R., with CGHLMN.

205 mg. ε in αινειαν is corrected from α.

210. The first hand apparently wrote γ ἴλιον (so G), γ being subsequently altered (probably by the corrector) to ε. ὅτε Ἴλιον R.

212. οφ]θαλμοισιν: ὀφθαλμοῖσι R., with ACDEGMNO.

218. μη δ': so MSS.; μὴ δὴ R.

221. επιβησεαι: ἐπιβήσεο MSS., R.

222. οἵ οἱ: οἷοι R., with MSS.

225. κυδ[ος]: the termination must have been unusually cramped to have been contained in the available space.

227. επιβησομ⟨αι⟩, the reading of the first hand, was preferred by Zenodotus, and occurs in COS Cant. Vrat. c. Mosc. 1. 3. ἀποβήσομαι R., with Aristarchus and most MSS.

231. υ]π: ὑφ' R.; cf. 266 δωκ υ[ιος.

234. ποθεον]τες: so DE 557, 31 L; ποθέοντε R.

244. ανδρ': a mark of elision was first mistakenly inserted between δ and ρ.

245. εχοντας: so most MSS.; ἔχοντε R., with GMN Harl. Mosc. 1. Vrat. b. Lesbonax περὶ σχημάτων p. 186.

246. l. *εὔχεται*.

247. *μ[ε]ν αμ[υ]μονο[ς*: so AGLMNO, &c.; *μεγαλήτορος* R., with A sup. DHS schol. ad *Il.* xix. 291. Rhet. Gr. iii. 154, 7.

252. *οιω*: *οειω* is written when the word is a trisyllable, e.g. 350. The marginal note may perhaps be interpreted *Διομήδης π[ρ(ὸς)] δῖον Σθένε(λον)*; but *δῖον* is not very satisfactory, since that epithet is not applied to Sthenelus by Homer, nor are epithets introduced into the other marginal entries. *πρ(ὸς) τὸν* cannot be read. The letter before *ν* transcribed as *ο* might possibly be *ω*.

255. The scribe began writing line 256 at the end of l. 255.

257. *ω]κεας ιππους*, the original reading here, is also found in C, where, too, *οι* is written above the termination *ους*. The correction in the papyrus is probably not by the first hand, but there is too little of it left to make it possible to speak with certainty.

266. The reading of the first hand was *αριστοι*. The *ο* of the termination was altered to *α* by the corrector, and above this is written, presumably by a third hand, another letter, which may be *ο* or *ω*. *ἄριστοι* R., MSS.

277. *υἱέ* MSS., R.

293. *εξελ[υθη]*: so AHM and other MSS., and Aristarchus; *ἐξεσύθη* R., with CDEGLNO Vrat. a. A. Lucian 60, 27, and Zenodotus.

295. Over the first *ρ* of *παρε[τ]ρε[σσαν* there is a mark like a heavy grave accent, which seems accidental.

352. It is possible that this line was included in Col. XIV, and that Col. XV began with 353.

359. The overwritten *[τ]ε* is probably not by the first hand. *τε* is the reading of C; *δέ* R., with the rest of the MSS.

363. *τη δ αρ]ης*: the size of the lacuna makes it certain that this was the reading of the papyrus; so ADLMN. *τῇ δ' ἄρ' Ἄρης* R., with CGHOS Cant. Vrat. b. Mosc. 1.

366. *[ακο]ντε*: the space is insufficient for *[αεκο]ντε*, which is read by R., with GO Cant. Barocc. Rhet. Gr. iii. 233, 16. *ἄκοντε* is found in the majority of the MSS.

370. *δει* looks rather as if it had been altered by a later hand from an original *δη*; or *δει* may have been written and *ε* subsequently struck out. The papyrus is much rubbed in this part. The superfluous *θ* (?) following may be accounted for by supposing that the scribe began to write *δῖα θεάων*.

398. If the papyrus agreed with the ordinary text, the columns became rather shorter at this point, XVII containing twenty-three lines, and XVI and XVIII only twenty-two each.

399. *κηρ'*: so AC. *κῆρ* R.

425. The letters *ρα*, which are all that is left of this line, may belong to the word *ἁρμαιήν*.

434. *αε[ι*: *αἰεὶ* R.

703. *ε[ξ]ενηρ[ι]ξεν*: so DEHLNOS Cram. An. Par. iii. 278, 16; *ἐξενάριξαν* R., with ACGM Mor. Barocc. Harl. Lips.

CCXXIV. EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae*.

23·5 x 21·3 *cm*.

Parts of two columns, containing lines 1017–1043 and 1064–1071 of Euripides' *Phoenissae*, written in a large, heavy, formal uncial resembling that of

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ιαλεδεμοι δε μ[α]τερων·
ιαλ[ε]δε[μοι] δε [παρ]θενων·
εστεναξαν ο[ι]κο[ι]ς·
ιηιηι·ηι·ον βοαν·
[ιη]ιηι·ηι·ο[ν] μελος·
[αλ]λος αλλον επωτοτυξε·
διαδοχαις ανα [πτ]ολιν·
βρὸνται δε στε[ν]αγ'μος
αχαί τ ην ομοι[ο]ς
οποτε πολεος α[φ]ανισειεν
α πτερόυσσα π[αρθενο]ς τιν αν[δρων
χρονωι δ εβα π[υθιαις αποστολαισιν

Col. II.

. . . .
1064a ορμη[σασ . . .
1065 οθε[ν . . .
[αρπαγαισι .
αγγ]ελ(ος) ωη· τ[ις εν . . .
[α]νο[ιγετ . . .
ωη μα[λ . . .
εξελθ α[κουσον . . .
[λη]ξ[ασ . . .
. . . .

1017. πολις: i.e. πόλεις.

1019. πτερουσσα: this spelling is correct. The MSS. here and in 1042 have πτεροῦσα.

1022. πολυφορος appears to be a mistake for πολύφθορος, which is found in some MSS., most of which place πολύστονος first. Other MSS. have πολύμοχθος.

1023. μιξοπαρθενος: the MSS. are divided between this and μιξοπάρθενον.

1024 a. φοιτασιν: φοιτάσι MSS.

1027–8. πεδαιρου|[σ] αλυρον: MSS. πεδαίρουσ' | ἄλυρον. In lyrics the papyrus scribes felt little difficulty in dividing a word between two lines; witness the Bacchylides papyrus *passim*.

1033, 4. ιαλεδεμοι: a blunder for ἰάλεμοι.

1035. εστεναξαν: ἐστέναζον MSS. Cf. 1038.

1036, 7. The dots placed on either side of the third ηι indicates that the letters in question were to be omitted. It is more usual under these circumstances to put the dots *over* the letters to be cancelled. But cf. O. P. I. xvi in which letters to be omitted are placed between dots and have a line drawn over them. The revised reading of the papyrus in 1036 is therefore ιηιηιον βοαν, the metre of which is correct. The MSS. have ἰήϊον βοάν or ἤϊον βοάν, from which Grotius conjectured ἰήϊον βοάν, βοάν. The same holds good of 1037, ιηιηιον μελος.

1038. αλλον: so the MSS. ἀλλ' (Valckenaer) is necessary on metrical grounds.
επωτοτυξε: ἐπωτότυζε MSS. Cf. 1035.

1040. αχαι: i.e. ἀχᾷ. The MSS. have ἰαχά which will not scan. Musgrave conjectured ἀχά.

1041. πολεος: so Porson corrected the unmetrical πόλεως of the MSS.
αφανισειεν: so the MSS., corrected by Musgrave to ἀφανίσει'.

1042. πτερουσσα: cf. note on 1019.

CCXXV. THUCYDIDES, II. 90–91.

13 x 5·4 *cm.* Plate V.

Ends of fifteen lines and beginnings of fifteen more, containing parts of ch. 90–91 of Thucydides Book II, written in a good-sized and handsome, but not very formal type of uncial, belonging to the middle or latter part of the first century A.D. It is thus of about the same date as the much larger fragment of the fourth Book printed in O. P. I. xvi. Like that MS. the present papyrus is a good text and supports the vellum MSS. on the whole, while just as the other papyrus by omitting *ὅτι* removed an anacoluthon, so in Col. II. 9 here a somewhat harsh construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν* is got rid of by the new reading *ἀμυνούμεναι* for *ἀμυνούμενοι*. In cases where the MSS. differ, the papyrus does not consistently agree with any one, but is nearest to C, the Laurentian codex.

Col. I.	Col II.
[λας επικαταλαβον]τες	την επισ[τροφην ες την
[εξεωσαν τε προς τη]ν⟩	ευρυχωρι[αν και φθανου
[γην υποφευγουσας και] δι	σι αυτου[ς πλην μιας νε
[εφθειραν ανδρας τε τ]ων	ως προ[καταφυγουσαι
5 [αθηναιων απεκτει]ναν	5 προς τ[ην ναυπακτον
[οσοι μη εξενευσαν] αυ⟩	και σχουσαι αν[τιπρωροι
[των και των νεων τ]ινας	κατα το απολ[λωνιον
[αναδουμενοι ειλκ]ον⟩	παρεσκευαζ[οντο αμυ
[κενας μιαν δε αυτοι]ς αν	νουμεναι ην [ες την
10 [δρασιν ειχον ηδη τ]ας	10 γην επι σφας [πλεωσιν
[δε τινας οι μεσσηνι]οι	οι δε παραγεν[ομενοι
[παραβοηθησαντες] και	υστερον επαι[ωνιζον
[επεσβαινοντες ξυν] τοις	τε αμα πλεοντ[ες ως νε
[οπλοις ες την θαλασσ]αν	νικηκοτες κ[αι την μι
15 [και επιβαντες απο τ]ων	15 αν ναυν τ[ων αθη
. . . . .	. . . . .

I. 3. The supplement is rather long for the lacuna. It is possible that *την γη]ν* should be read in the previous line, and that *τε* was omitted.

δι|[εφθειραν]: the MSS. vary between the aorist and imperfect and between the simple and compound verb, *ἔφθειρον* being the commonest reading.

10. ἤδη, which has been omitted by some editors, must certainly have been read by the papyrus.

II. 1. επισ[τροφην: the MSS. vary between this and ὑποστροφὴν.

2. φθανου]σι: φθάνουσιν MSS. Cf. O. P. I. xvi where in five cases ν ἐφελκυστικόν is added by the second hand.

5. προς: so C; the other MSS. have ἐς.

6. σχουσαι: so M and (as a correction) f; the others have ἴσχουσαι.

7. το: so C and some others; it is omitted by most MSS.

8. αμυ]νουμεναι: the MSS. have ἀμυνούμενοι, which since the feminine σχοῦσαι (sc. νῆες) has just preceded is a distinctly awkward construction. The removal of grammatical difficulties here and in Book IV (see introd.) in two Thucydides papyri, which are not only nine centuries earlier than the oldest vellum MS. of that author, but are above the ordinary standard of classical papyri in point of correctness, suggests that the difficulties of Thucydides' syntax may to some extent be the fault of scribes.

CCXXVI. XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, VI. 5.

14 x 12 *cm.*

Three short and narrow columns, of which the first two are nearly complete, containing parts of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 7–9. The papyrus is written in a medium-sized neat uncial of a rather early type, and is not later than the second century, while it is possible that it even goes back to the end of the first. The MS. is carefully punctuated, the high stop denoting a longer, the low stop a shorter pause. The use of stops is said to have been systematized by Aristophanes of Byzantium who, besides the high and low stops, used a dot in the middle of the line to denote a pause still shorter than the low stop. There is as yet no papyrus in which the systematic use of all three kinds of stops can be clearly traced, though ccxxxi, so far as it goes, appears to keep the three classes distinct. But the use of the high and low dots with different values is not uncommon in literary papyri, e.g. the Oxyrhynchus Sappho (O. P. I. Plate II), the long Homer papyrus (ccxxiii, Plate I), and the Phoenissae fragment (ccxxiv). Mr. Kenyon's statement (*Palaeography*, p. 28) that 'this system (i.e. that of Aristophanes) cannot be traced in extant papyri' must now be modified. What is really rare is a text in which the distinction between the high and low dots is so carefully and consistently maintained as in this Xenophon papyrus.

The variants of the papyrus are not many, nor important.

Col. II.

[ου]κ εδιω[κον και
[γαρ] ο στα[σιππος

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II. 2. ο στα[σιππος : τοιοῦτος ὁ Στάσιππος K., with the MSS.
4. απο]κτεινυνα[ι : ἀποκτιννύναι K.
7. καλι[βιον : Καλλίβιον K.
9. μαν]τινειαι : Μαντίνειαν K.
16. επέπομφοσαν : ἐπεπόμφεσαν K.
18. κελευ|οντες βοηθειν : βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες K.
25. μαντ]ινηις : Μαντινεῖς K.
III. 8. κα]ταφυ[γοντες : καταφεύγοντες K.

CCXXVII. XENOPHON, *Oeconomicus*, VIII.17 – IX.2.

Height 26 *cm.*

*F*ive incomplete columns, containing most of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* viii. 17–ix. 2, written in a round uncial hand strongly resembling that of the British Museum Pap. CCLXXI, which contains the third book of the *Odyssey* (facsimile in Kenyon, *Palaeography*, Plate xv). Mr. Kenyon, arguing from the likeness of that papyrus to Brit. Mus. Pap. CCCLIV (*op. cit.*, Plate xiv) dating from about B.C. 10, considers that the *Odyssey* papyrus was written near the beginning of the first century, though he admits (*op. cit.* pp. 83–84) that Pap. CCLXXI has some later characteristics. Taking these into consideration, and also the fact that Pap. CCLXXI is written in a formal hand and has scholia which cannot be older than A.D. 50, we should prefer to admit the likelihood that it belongs to the latter half of the first century, or even to the first two decades of the second. To the same period we should also assign this papyrus of the *Oeconomicus*.

The vellum MSS. of the *Oeconomicus* are bad, and the papyrus too is corrupt in several places, though sometimes it preserves good readings. A few corrections (chiefly the insertion of iotas adscript) have been made, probably by a second hand.

Col. I.

ισχυρως [ο]μ[ως σω
ζουσι την [τα]ξιν
και υπερφοβου
[με]νοι ομοιως ευ
[ρ]ισκουσι το δεον
λαμβανε[ι]ν ημεις
δε και διειρημ[ε]
νων [ε]καστοις θη
κων [ε]ν τηι οικι

Col. II.

λον δε ιματ[ια κε
χωρισμενα [ιδειν
καν οποια η[ι καλον
δε στρωμα[τα κα
λον δε χαλκ[ια κα
λον δε τα αμ[φι τρα
πεζας καλο[ν δε
και το παντω[ν κα
ταγελασειε μαλι

αι μεγ[α]λων κα[ι] βε
βηκυ[ια]ς της οικι
ας εν δ[απε]δω' ει μη
ευρησ[ο]μεν καλην
και ευ[ρ]ετον χ[ω]⟩
[ρ]αν εκ[α]στοις α[υ]⟩
[των πω]ς ουκ αν
[πο]λλ[η η]μων α[συν]
εσια ει[η] ως μεν
δη αγαθον τεταχθ[αι]
σκευων κατασκευ
[η]ν και ως ραιδιον
χωραν εκαστοις
αυτων ευρειν εν
οικιαι θειναι εκα
στοις συμφερει
ειρητα[ι] ως δε κα
λον φαινεται επει
δαν υποδηματα
εφεξη[ς] κεηται
καν οπ[ο]ια ηι κα

στα ουχ ο σεμνος
αλλα κομψος καν
χκυθρας[. . . . .] ε[υ
ρυθμον φ[αινεσθ]αι
ευκρινως κ[ει]με
νας τα δε αλλ απο
τουτου παντα κα[λ]
λιω φαινεται κα
τα κοσμον κειμε
να χορος γαρ σκευ
ων εκαστα φαινε
ται κα[ι] τ[ο] μεσον
δε πα[ν]τ[ων του
των καλον φαιν[ε
ται εκποδων εκα
στου κειμε[ν]ου ωσ
τε και κυκ[λι]ος
χορος ου μονον
αυτος καλ[ον θ]ε
αμα εστιν α[λλα] και
το μεσον αυτου

Col. III.

κ[αλον και καθα
ρον [φαινεται ει
δε [αληθη ταυ
τα [λεγω εξεστιν
ω [γυναι και π]ει
[ραν λαμβανει]ν
[αυτων ουτε ζημ]ιω
θεν[τας ουτε τι
πολ[λα πονησαν
τας [αλλα μην ου
δε τ[ουτο δει αθυ

Col. IV.

θοντας λαβ[ειν ε
καστα τουτ[ου μεν
τοι εφην εγ[ω ου
δεν αλλο α[ιτιον
εστιν η οτ[ι εν χω
ραι εκαστον κει
ται τεταγμενη
ανθρωπον δε γε
ζητων και ταυ
τα ενιοτε αν τις
ζητουντα πολ

μη[σαι . . . . ω γυ
ναι [. . . . . .
χαλ[επον . . . . .
ως μ̣[ἀθησομενον
τ[ε τας χωρας και

4 lines lost.

πλασ[ια ημων εχει
η πασ[α πολις αλ
λ ομω[ς οποιον
αν τ[ων οικετων
κελευ[σης

. . . . .

λακις αναπειπτοι
τις πριν ευρειν
[και] τουτ ουδεν
[αλλ]ο αιτιον εστιν
[η] το μη ειναι τε
[ταγμενον] οπου
[εκαστον δει] αν[α
[μενειν περι μεν δ]η

3 lines lost.

[θεις δοκω με]μνη

. . . . . .

Col. V.

3 lines lost.

α[μηχανιας ευπο
ρι[αν τινα ευρη
κυ[ια και εδειτο
μο[υ ως ταχιστα
ηπε[ρ] ε[λεγον δια
τ[α]ξαι· κα[ι πως δη
[εγ]ωγ εφ[ην ω ισχο
μαχε διατ[αξας αυ
τηι τι δ ει μ[η της
γε οικιας τ[ην δυ
ναμιν εδο[ξε μοι
πρω[τ]ον επ[ιδει
ξαι α[υ]τηι ου [γαρ ποι

κ[ι]λμασι πο[λλοις
κεκοσμη[ται ω
σωκρατες α[λλα τα
οικηματα ω[ικο
δομηται πρ[ος αυ
το εσκεμμ[ενα
οπως αγγει[α ως
[σ]υμφορωτ[ατα
[ηι] τ[ο]ις μελλ[ουσιν
[εν αυ]τοις ε[σεσθαι
[ωστε] αυτ[α] ε[καλει
[τα πρ]επον[τα ει
[ναι ε]ν εκασ[τωι

We give a collation with Dindorf's text (ed. II, Teubner, 1873).

I. 4. *ομοιως*: *ὅμως* D., with MSS.

7. *διειρημ[ε]νων*: *διῃρημένων* D.

14. *ευ[ρ]ετον*: a natural blunder for *εὑρετον*.

24. *εκαστοις*: *ὡς ἑκάστοις* D., with MSS. The omission of *ὡς* in this place is no doubt due to its occurrence in 21.

II. 8, 9. *το παντω[ν κα]ταγελασειε*: a corruption of the MSS. reading *ὃ πάντων κατα-γελάσειεν ἄν*.

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bottom of a fourth successive column. The papyrus is written in an upright square uncial hand of medium size and graceful appearance, which may be assigned to the second century. The occasional corrections and lection signs seem to be due to the original scribe. Changes of speaker are indicated by the double point, as in ccxi and ccxii. The fragment offers a rather remarkable number of variations from the ordinary text. Besides several instances of transposition in the order of words, there are a number of small differences of reading, some of which, e.g. σέ γε for ἔγωγε, in Col. II. 10, may be regarded as improvements.

Col. I.

[τους θεους κ]αι ευ λ[εγ]ει[ς
[ω σωκρατες] και ημιν
[ως αληθως] τουτ[ο] αποκρι
[ν]
[ναι ω νικια πο]τερα σο
[φωτερα ημω]ν ταυτα
[τα θηρια ειναι φ]ης ἃ παν
[τες ομολογουμε]ν αν
[δρεια ειναι η πα]σιν εναν
[τιουμενος τολ]μας μη
[δε ανδρεια αυτα] καλειν:
[ου γαρ τι εγωγε ω] λαχης
[ανδρεια καλω ο]υτε θη
[ρια ουτε αλλο] το τας δει
[ν . . . . . μ]η φοβου
[μενον αλλ αφοβ]ον και
[μωρον η και τα παιδια]
[παντα οιει με α]νδρει
[α καλειν α δι αγ]νο[ι]αν
[ουδεν δεδοικεν α]λ[λ] οιμαι
[το αφοβον και το] ἀνδρει
[ον ου ταυτον εσ]τιν ε
[γω δε ανδρειας μεν]
[και προμηθειας π]ανυ
[τισιν ολιγοις οιμαι] με

Col. II.

[λοι ε]γω θ[ρασ]εα καλ[ω αν
[δρει]α δε τα [φ]ρονιμα [πε
[ρι ω]ν λεγω: θεασαι ω σ]ω
κ[ρατ]ες ως ἓ[υ ε]αυτον [ο
δε ως οιεται κοσμε[ι] τω[ι
λο[γ]ωι [[τ]]ους δε παντε[ς ο
μο[λο]γουσιν ανδρειους [ει
να[ι] τουτους αποστερε[ιν
επ[ιχ]ειρει ταυτης τη[ς
τιμης: ουκουν σε γε [ω
λαχης αλλα θαρρει [φη
μι γαρ σε ειναι σοφο[ν και
αμαχον γε ει περ εστ[ε
ανδρειοι και αλλους σ[υ
χνους αθηναιων: [ου
δεν ερω προς ταυτα εχω[ν
ειπειν ινα μη με φης
ως αληθως αιξωνέα ει
ναι: μηδε γ ειπης ω λα
[χ]ης και γαρ μοι δοκεις ου
[δ]ε ησθησθαι οτι δη ταυ
[τη]ν την σοφιαν πα
[ρ]α δ[α]μωνος του ημετε
ρου εταιρου παρειληφα
ο δε δαμων τωι προδι

[τειναι θρασυτητο]ς δε
[και τολμης και το]υ α
[φοβου μετα απρομ]ηθέι
[ας πανυ πολλοις κ]αι αν
[δρων . . .
4 lines lost.
[τ]ο τιθη[σι την ανδρει
αν : α[υτος τοινυν σκο
πει ω σ[ωκρατες : τουτο
μελλω [ποιειν ω αρισ
τε· μ[η μεντοι με
[ο]ιου αφ[ησειν σε της κοι
νωνι[ας του λογου αλ
λα προσ[εχε τον νουν και συ

κωι τα πολλα πλησιαζει
ος δ[η] δοκει των σοφιστων
κα[λ]λιστα τα τοιαυτ ονο
[ματα διαι]ρε[ι]ν : και πρε
[πε]ι ω σωκρ[α]τες σοφιστηι
τα τοιαυτα μαλλον κομ
ψ[ε]υεσθαι η ανδρ[[έ]]ι ὁ[ν

Col. III.

αξ[ιοι η πολις αυτης προ
εσταν[αι : πρεπει μεντοι
που ω [μακαριε των με
γιστω[ν προστατουντι
μεγισ[της φρονησεως
μ[ετεχειν δοκει δε
μοι νι[κιας
2 lines lost.
[σκο]πει τ[α λεγομενα : ταυ
[τ]α δη εσ[τω ει δοκει χρη
[ν]αι : αλ[λα δοκει συ δε
[ν]ικια λ[εγε ημιν παλιν
[ε]ξ αρχ[ης οισθ οτι την
ανδ]ρ̣ε̣ι̣[αν κατ αρχας του
[λογο]υ ε[σκοπουμεν
[ως μ]ε̣ρ̣[ος αρετης σκο
π̣[ουντες : πανυ γε :
ουκουν [και συ τουτο απε
κρεινω [ως μοριον ον
των δ[η και αλλων μερων
α συνπ[αντα αρετη κε
κλη̣ται : [πως γαρ ου :
αρ ουν α[περ εγω και συ

2 detached fragments from the bottom of Col. IV (?).

. . . .
θαρρ]α̣λεα̣ [δε τ]α μ[η

I. 1. εὖ γε Bek.; the omission of γε is, however, supported by a number of MSS.
3. τουτ[ο]: τοῦτ' Bek.
4. The scribe apparently intended πότερα and πότερον to be taken as alternative readings, since he has not deleted the α. πότερον Bek., with the majority of the MSS.
5, 6. This order of the words is peculiar to the papyrus. σοφώτερα φῂς ἡμῶν ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ θηρία Bek.

6. There is a thin oblique stroke above the *α* of *παν*, which is perhaps intended for an accent. The scribe may have wished to distinguish *ἃ πάντες* from *ἅπαντες*. But the stroke is possibly accidental.

11, 12. It is evident that the usual order *οὐ γάρ τι* (*τοι* wf), *ὦ* Λ., *ἔγωγε ἀνδρεῖα καλῶ* is not adapted to the lacunae here, which are of the same size in the two lines. The transposition of *ἔγωγε* is a simple remedy.

13. *ἄλλο οὐδὲν* (Bek., with MSS.) is too much for the lacuna. On the other hand the omission of *οὐδέν* leaves scarcely enough to fill it. Perhaps *ἄλλο τι*, with no *τι* or with *τοι* for *τι* in l. 11, was the reading of the papyrus.

τας δει[ν . . .: *τὰ δεινὰ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας* (*ἀνοίας* MSS.) *μὴ* Bek. *τας* may be merely a clerical error, but if so it is the only uncorrected one in the fragment.

22. *ανδρειας* is more probable than *ανδριας* (Bek.), which makes a very short line.

27. A mark above the *ε* of *απρομηθειας* is probably intended to cancel that letter. Both spellings are supported by the MSS. *ἀπρομηθείας* Bek.

II. 3. Only the lower point of the colon remains. Immediately below it is a semicircular mark which we have taken to be a circumflex accent over *ευ* in the line below, but this explanation is a little doubtful.

4, 5. *ὡς εὖ ὅδε ἑαυτὸν δή, ὡς οἴεται* Bek. *δη* (which is omitted in some MSS.) might be read in place of [*ο*]*δε* in the papyrus.

6. The superfluous *τ* has been crossed out as well as cancelled by a dot placed above it. *ε* in *ανδρει* has been similarly dealt with in 32.

10. *οὔκουν ἔγωγε* MSS., Bek. The reading of the papyrus seems more pointed.

13. *αμαχον*: the same reading is found in two of Bekker's MSS.(*ε*Σ corr.). *Λάμαχον* Bek.

19. *γ*: *γε* Bek.

21. *οὐδὲ μὴ* Bek. *μή* is also omitted in E.

οτι δη: *ὅτι ὅδε* Bekk. *ὅδε* is omitted in a large number of MSS. Cf. II. 5, note.

24. *παρειληφα*: *παρείληφεν* Bek., with the MSS. The ordinary reading is of course correct.

26. *τα πολλα*: om. *τα* MSS., Bek.

28. *τοιαυτ*: *τοιαῦτα* Bek.

29. *και*: *καὶ γὰρ* MSS., Bek.

III. 1. *ἡ πόλις ἀξιοῖ* Bek.

προ]εσταν[αι: *προϊστάναι* Bek. *προεστάναι* is found in some MSS.

3. The addition of *που* is peculiar to the papyrus.

14, 15. *με ο]ιου*: so one MS. *οἵου με* Bek.; several MSS. omit *με*.

17. The line is a little long; possibly *συ* was omitted.

19. *δη*: *δέ* Bek., with most MSS. *γε* corr. Γ.

27. *απε]κρεινω*: but *αποκριναι* I. 3. *ἀπεκρίνω* Bek.

30. *συνπ[αντα*: *ξύμπαντα* Bek.

CCXXIX. PLATO, *Phaedo*, 109 C, D.

17 × 4·9 *cm.*

Thirty lines, of which the beginnings are lost, containing parts of Plato's *Phaedo* 109 C, D, written in a small, somewhat cramped uncial. In the margin at the top are two lines in a cursive hand of the second or early third century,

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CCXXX. Demosthenes, *De Corona*, §§ 40-47.

28 × 21 *cm.*

One nearly complete column, with the ends of the lines of the column preceding and the beginnings of some lines of the column following, from a roll containing the speech *De Corona*. The MS. is written in a round, rather irregular uncial hand, dating fairly certainly from the second century, and probably about the middle of it. The text is a careful one, and occasionally shows slight variations from the MSS. It is inconsistent with regard to elision, which is most frequent with δέ and its compounds. Terminations of verbs, so far as appears, were never elided. A few corrections have been made by a second hand, which is also responsible for the rough breathings added in II. 36 and III. 14. The paragraphus is sometimes used, but no other stops. A horizontal stroke is frequently placed at the end of the shorter lines in order to give an appearance of equality in length.

We append a collation with the Dindorf-Blass edition (Teubner, 1885).

Col. I.	Col. II.
[πεποιηκα ακοντω]ν αθ[ηναι	[επ]ανειμι δ[[η]] ν̣[υν πα]λιν επι
[ων και λυπουμενων ω]ς̣τ̣ ει—	τας αποδειξεις ως τ[α] τουτων
[περ ευ φρονειτε ω θηβα]ιοι	αδικηματα των νυν π[α]ρ[οντων
[και θετταλοι τουτους] μεν—	πραγματων γεγονεν αιτια
5 [εχθρους υπολη]ψεσθε εμοι	5 επειδη γαρ εξηπατησθε μεν—
[δε πιστευσετε ου τ]ουτοις τοις	υμεις ὑπο του φιλιππου δια του
[ρημασιν γραψας ταυτ]α δε βου	των των εν ταις π[ρ]εσβ[ειαις
[λομενος δεικνυ]ναι τοι—	μισθωσαντων εαυτους [εκει
[γαρουν εκ τουτων] ωχετο—	νω και ουθεν ὑμειν αλη[θες α
10 [εκεινους λαβων ες το μ]ηδ ο	10 παγγειλαντων εξηπατη[ντο
[τιουν προοραν των μ]ετα—	δε οι ταλαιπωροι φωκεις κ[αι ανη
[ταυτα μηδ αισθανε]σθ[αι α]λλ	ρηντο αι πολεις αυτων [τι εγενε
[εασαι παντα τα πραγ]ματα εκει	το οι μεν καταπτυστοι θεττα
[νον εφ εαυτω ποιησ]ασθαι—	λοι και αναισ[θ]ητοι θηβα[ιοι] φ[ι]
15 [εξ ων ταις παρουσαις] συμφοραις	15 λον ε[υε]ρ[γ]ε[τ]ην σωτηρα φι[λ]ιπ
[κεχρηνται οι ταλαιπωρ]ο[ι] θηβαι	πον ηγουντο παντ εκεινος
[οι ο δε ταυτης της . . .] . . ε̣ως	ην αυτοις ουδε φωνην ηκουον

[αυτω συνεργος και συ]ν̣α̣γ̣ω̣[ν]ι̣
[στης και ο δευρο απαγγ]ειλας
[τα ψευδη και φενακι]σας ϋμας
[ουτος εστιν ο τα θηβ]αιων οδυ—
[ρομενος νυν παθη] και διεξι
[ων ως οικτρα και του]των και
[των εν φωκευσι κ]ακων και
[οσ αλλα πεπονθασι]ν οι ελλη
[νες απαντων αυτος] ων αιτιος
[δηλον γαρ οτι συ μ]εν αλγεις
[[επι τοις συμβεβηκο]σιν αι—
σχινη και τους θηβαιο]υς ελεεις
[κτηματα εχων εν τη βοι]ωτιαι
[και γεωργων τα εκεινω]ν εγω
[δε χαιρω ος εξυθυς εη]τουμην—
[υπο του ταυτα πραξαντο]ς—
[αλλα γαρ εμπεπτωκα ει]ς λογους
[ους αυτικα μαλλον αρμο]σει λε[γ]ειν
ει τ[ι]ς αλλο τι βου[λ]οιτο λεγ[ειν
υμεις δ υφ[ο]ρωμ[ενο]ι τα [πεπρα
γμενα και δυσχερα[ιν]οντε[ς
ηγετε την ειρηνην ο[μως
ου γαρ ην ο τι αν εποιειτε [και
οι αλλοι δε ελληνες ομοιως—
υμει[ν] πεφενακισμενοι και
διημ[α]ρτηκοτες [ων] ηλπισαν
ηγο[ν τ]ην ειρηνην αυτ[ο]ι προ
πον τ[ιν]α εκ πολλ[ου] χρον[ο]υ
πολε[μο]υμενοι [οτε γ]αρ περι[ων
φιλιππος ϊλλυριους [κ]αι τριβαλ
λους και τινας των ελληνων
κατεστρεφετ̣[ο] και δυ[ν]αμεις πολ
λας και μεγαλας επο[ιε]ιτο ϋφ ε—
αυτωι και τινες εκ των πολεων
επι τη [τ]ης ειρηνης εξουσιαι βαδι
ζοντες εκεισε διεφθειροντο—
ὡν ε[ι]ς ουτος ην τοτε πα[ν]τε[ς

Col. III.

. . . . κιν]
δυνων [τα εαυτων ασφαλως σχη
σειν οταν [βουλωνται ειτ οιμαι
συμβεβηκεν [

2 lines lost.

α[πολωλεκεναι τοις δε προε
στηκοσ[ιν και ταλλα πλην εαυ
τους οι[ομενοις πωλειν πρω
τους εα[υτους πεπρακοσιν η
σθησθα[ι αντι γαρ φιλων και
ξενων α τοτε ω[νομαζοντο
ηνικα εδωροδοκουν ν[υν κο
λακες και θεοισ[[ιν]] εχθρο[ι και ταλ
λ' ἀ προσηκει παντα ακου[ουσιν
ουδεις γαρ ω ανδρες αθην[αιοι
το του προδιδοντος συ[μφε
ρον ζητων χρηματα αν[αλισκει
ουδ επειδαν ων αν πριηται α̣ε̣ι̣

I. 9. ωχετο: ᾤχετ' B(lass).
13. πραγ]ματα: πράγματ' B.
16. [κεχρηνται οι ταλαιπωρ]ο[ι] θηβαι[οι: οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται B., omitting Θηβαῖοι.
17. . . .] . . εως: the vestiges on the papyrus are certainly inconsistent with the ordinary reading πίστεως. The traces immediately before the supposed ε resemble μ or λλ. δυν]αμεως would suit them very well.

21. εστιν is more probable than ἐσθ' (B.) owing to the size of the lacuna; it has also in its favour the analogy of γέγονεν, II. 4.

οδυ[ρομενος νυν : νῦν ὀδυρόμενος B., with A Hermog. p. 242, 346 W. νῦν is omitted in Vind. 1.

35. The lacuna is of the same size as in the previous line; it is accordingly pretty clear that the papyrus read μᾶλλον, not μάλα ἴσως, still less μᾶλλον ἴσως. ἴσως is omitted in Vind. 1 Hermog. p. 344 W. μᾶλλον [ἴσως] B.

II. 1. ν[υν: the letter transcribed as ν might be read as π, but there is room for four letters between this and]λιν. The reading νυν would perhaps also account for the correction of δη to δε. δὴ πάλιν εἰς (Vind. 1) B.

3. νυν π[α]ρ[οντων : νυνὶ [παρόντων] B. νῦν is read in Hermog. p. 416 W., where παρόντων is omitted.

4. γεγονεν : γέγον' B.

8. εαυτους : αὑτοὺς B.

εκει]νω : om. B.; αὐτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ S and other MSS.

9. ουθεν υμειν αλη[θες : οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν B.

11. δε οι ταλαιπωροι : δ' οἱ [ταλαίπωροι] B. ταλαίπωροι is omitted in Vind. 1.

αν]ρηντο : ἀνῄρηνθ' B.

15. φι[λ]ιππον : τὸν Φίλιππον B.

23. δε : δ' B.

24. υμε[ν] : ὑμῖν B.

26. ειρηνην αυτ[ο]ι : so S; εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ B.

27. τ[ιν]α : τιν' B.

εκ πολλ[ου] χρον[ο]υ : ἐκ πολλοῦ B.

30. και τινας : τινὰς δὲ καὶ B.

32. επο[ιε]ιτο : ἐποιεῖθ' B.

33. τινες εκ των : τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν B.

III. About nineteen lines are lost at the top of this column.

2. οταν : so MSS.; οἵ' ἂν B., following a conjecture of Weil.

3. συμβεβηκεν : συμβέβηκε B.

9. η]σθησθα[ι : αἰσθέσθαι B.

11. τοτε : τότ' B.

12. ηνικα εδωροδοκουν : omitted in Hermog. p. 165 and bracketed by B.

13. θεοις : the correction is probably by the second hand; θεοῖς is the ordinary reading.

και ταλ]λ α προσηκει παντα : so Hermog. p. 165; καὶ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκεν B.

15. ω ανδρες : ἄνδρες B., with SL.

17. χρηματα : χρήματ' B.

18. αει : so apparently the papyrus; the reading is doubtful, but the word following πριηται was certainly neither κυριος nor γενηται. πρίηται κύριος γένηται MSS., B.

CCXXXI. DEMOSTHENES, *De Corona*, §§ 227–229.

9·2 × 7·3 *cm.*

Eighteen nearly complete lines containing §§ 227–9 of the *De Corona*, written in a medium-sized informal uncial resembling the hand of the Thucydides fragment (Plate V), but having a somewhat later aspect. The papyrus may be

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CCXXXII. DEMOSTHENES, *contra Timocratem*, §§ 53–54, 56–58.

13 × 14 *cm.* Plate IV (Col. II).

The latter parts of two columns, containing portions of Demosthenes' *contra Timocratem*, §§ 53–54 and 56–58, written in a medium-sized, sloping uncial. The *verso* of the papyrus is covered with parts of two columns of cursive writing (perhaps a letter) of the end of the second or (more probably) of the first half of the third century. The Demosthenes on the *recto*, therefore, cannot have been written later than the early part of the third century, and may well be as old as the latter half of the second. It should be compared with the large Oxyrhynchus Homer (Plate I) and the fragment of Plato's *Laws* (O. P. I. Plate VI), both somewhat later specimens of a type of hand which became common in the third century. There are no breathings or accents, and only one stop occurs.

Col. I.

. . . . .
[εστιν η] που [νομον γ επιτα
[γμα εχ]οντ[α] εισφερειν εγω με[ν
[ουκ οι]μαι και γαρ α[ισ]χρον πε
[ρι ων μη]δε χαριζεσθαι δειν υπ[ει
[ληφατε] περι τουτων ακοντων
[υμων εα]ν α τινες βουλονται πρα
[χθηναι λ]εγε τον μετα τουτον
[εφεξης] $\bar{\text{νομο}}\bar{\text{ξ}}$ ·
[οσων δι]κη προτερον εγενετο
[η ευθυνα η] διαδικασια περι του
[εν δικαστ]ηριωι η ⟨ι⟩διαι η δημοσι
[αι η το δη]μοσιον απεδοτο μη

Col. II.

. . . . . .
οπο[σα δ επι των τριακοντα επρα
χθη η δικη εδικασθ[η ιδια η δη
μοσια ακυρα ειναι [επισχες ειπε
μοι τι δε[ι]νοτατον πα[ντες αν α
κουσαντες φησαιτε κ[αι τι μαλισ
τ αν απευξαισθε ουχ[ι ταυτα τα
[π]ραγματα απερ ην επι τω̣ν τρια
κοντα μη γενεσθαι εγωγ ο[ι]μα[ι
ο γουν νομος ουτοσϊ ευλαβουμε
νος ως γ εμοι δοκει το τοιουτον
απειπε τα πραχθεντα επ εκεινων
μη κυρια ειναι ουτοσι τοινυν την
αυτην κατεγνω παρανομιαν των
επι της δημοκρατιας πε[πραγμε
νων ηνπερ εκεινων ομο[ιως γου]ν
ακυρα ποιει καιτοι τι φησομ[εν ω
ανδρες αθηναιοι τουτον κυρι[ον
π̣[
τ[ο]ν νομον εασαντες γενε[σθαι πο

[εισαγειν π]ερι τουτων εις το δι
[καστηριον μη]δ επιψηφιζειν
τε[ρο]ν τα δικαστηρια α δημοκρ[α
το[υμε]νης της πολεως εκ των ομ[ω
μ[οκο]των πληρουται ταυτα α[δι

I. 11. There is a difficulty about the reading of the beginning of this line. The stroke before δια*ι* might just as well be an iota as the second half of H, but it is impossible to read ηριωηδια*ι* or ηριωιηδια*ι* or ηριωιδια*ι*.

II. 2. δη]μοσια: the absence of iota adscript is a slight argument in favour of supposing that the scribe meant δημόσια, not δημοσίᾳ, for in I. 11 the iota adscript is written. But MSS. of this period are not consistent in either inserting or omitting it.

4, 5. αν α]κουσαντες φησαιτε: so MSS. ἀκούσαντες ἂν B(lass).

9. ουτοσῑ: so MSS. οὗτος B.

10. ως γ εμοι: om. γ' B.

11. πραχθεντα: πραχθέντ' B., who also elides the final vowel of κύρια in 12 and ταῦτ' in 21 where it is retained in the papyrus.

15. ηνπερ εκεινων: ἥνπερ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνων ὑμεῖς B. τῶν is omitted by S and some other MSS.

CCXXXIII. DEMOSTHENES, *contra Timocratem*, §§ 145, 146, 150.

10·8 × 9·3 *cm.*

Parts of two columns from another MS. of Demosthenes' *contra Timocratem* (§§ 145, 146 and 150), written in a small uncial which resembles on the one hand that of ccxxxii (Plate IV), and on the other the fragment of Plato's *Laws* (O. P. I. Plate VI). Like the epic fragment (ccxiv), the script of which is almost identical, it may be ascribed with confidence to the third century. The few corrections are due to a second hand, which also inserted probably all the stops except that after νομοις in line 16.

The only variant of note is that in lines 10, 11, where the reading of the papyrus is obscured by the lacuna.

Col. I.

δε
[ινα μη δι]α το δ[εσθαι χειρον α
[ναγ]καζοιντ[ο αγωνιζεσθαι
[η και] πανταπ[ασι]ν απα[ρασκευ
[οι ειε]ν· ουτοσι δε α επι τ[οις ακρι
ε
5 [τοις] κιται ως περι απαντων

Col. II.

[ειρ]ημενα μελλει προ̣ς υμας
[λεγ]ειν· ως δη σαφως γν[ωσεσθε . . . . . .
[ο]τι αληθη λεγω εγω υμειν ερω· ο̣[υδενα . . . . κατα]
[ουτε] γαρ αν ω ανδρες δικα[σ]ται στη[σω . . . . υπευθυ]
[τιμα]ν εξην υμιν ο τι χ[ρη] π̣α νον [. . . . των]
[.]η̣σαι η αποτισαι· εν γ[αρ τω]ι εννε[α
[π]αθειν και ο δεσμος ε[νι ου . . . . .
[κ α]ν ουν εξην δεσμο[υ τιμησαι
ουτε οσω[ν ενδε]ιξις εσ[τιν η
απαγωγη προσεγεγραπτο [αν
[εν] τοις νομοις· τον δε̣ν δ̣[ειχθεν
[τα] η απαχθεντα δησαντων
[οι ενδ]εκα εν τω ξυλω ει
[περ μη] εξην αλλους η τους [ε
[πι προδ]οσια της πολεως η επι
[καταλυ]σει του δημου συνιον
[τας η τους τα τελη ωνου]με
. . . . . .

4. δε : the papyrus does not elide a final ε, except in 16 (corrected).

7. δη : δὲ B(lass). γν[ωσεσθε : here and in 13 the supplements at the end make the lines unusually long.

10–11. π̣α[.]η̣σαι : the MSS. here have παθεῖν. Possibly the influence of ἀποτῖσαι following made the scribe write παθησαι, in which case it was no doubt corrected. The space between ησαι and the line above is lost. The doubtful η could equally well be ι.

16. δε δειχθεντα is altered by the second hand to δ ενδειχθεντα (MSS., B).

IV. MISCELLANEOUS.

CCXXXIV. Medical Prescriptions.

30·6 × 8·7 *cm.*

Fragment of a treatise containing medical prescriptions. The column which is preserved is occupied with a classified series of specifics for earache; the first two or three letters from the beginnings of thirty-two lines of a second column also remain, but are insufficient to indicate whether the ear was still the subject

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κυτίνους μεμυκό-
τας τρίψας καὶ κρόκου
ὕδωρ ἐπιστάξας ὅ-
ταν ῥυπῶδες γένη-
ται ἀνάλαβε· πρὸς
[δ]ὲ τὴν χρείαν ἡλίκον
[ὀ]ρόβῳ ἐν γλυκεῖ διεὶς
[κ]αὶ χλιάνας ἔνσταζε.

ἔνθετα εἰς τ[ὸ]
οὖς πρὸς πόνους.
[στ]υπτηρίαν Αἰγυπτί-
[τὸ ο]ὖς, καὶ οὕτως χρῶ
[το]ῖ[ς] προγεγραμμέ-
[νο]ις ἐγχύμασιν.
[ἄλ]λο. πράσου χυλὸν
[θε]ρμὸν ἔνκλυζε.
[ἄλ]λο. χολῇ ταυρείᾳ
[ἢ κ]αὶ αἰγείᾳ ἢ προβατείᾳ
[ἤ] τινα παραπλησίᾳ
[θε]ρμῇ κλύζε. ἄλλο·
[πε]ύκης χυλῷ θερμῷ
[π]αραπλησίως.

II. 1. l. *καστορίου*. 21. l. *ὄροβον*. 47. l. *τινι*.

'Another :—Heat an equal quantity of beaver-musk and poppy-juice upon a potsherd, if possible one of Attic make, but failing that of . . .; soften by diluting with raisin wine, warm, and drop in.

Another :—Dilute some gum with balsam of lilies, and add honey and rose-extract. Twist some wool with the oil in it round a probe, warm, and drop in.

Another :—Pound some closed calices of pomegranates, drop on saffron-water, and when it becomes discoloured draw the liquor off. When required dilute as much as the bulk of a pea with raisin wine, warm, and drop in.

Stoppings for the ear against earache.

Pound some Egyptian alum and insert into the ear an amount equal to the size of a pea.

Another :—Anoint a persea leaf and insert.

Another :—Thoroughly moisten a flock of wool with the gall of an ox, roll up and insert.

Another :—Pound myrrh and alum in equal quantities and insert.

Clysters for the ear against earache.

Dilute frankincense with very sweet wine and syringe the ear; or use for this purpose the injections described above.

Another :—Rinse with warm onion-juice.

Another :—Syringe with gall of a bull or goat or sheep, or other similar kind of gall, warmed.

Another :—The sap of a pine tree, warmed, to be used in the same way.'

2. *φώσας* : *φώξας* (*φώγω*) is the commoner form.

5. *λεάνας διεὶς γλυκεῖ* : cf. Arist. *Problem*. 3. 13 *τὸ μὲν γλυκὺ λεαντικόν*.

8. *σούσινον μύρον* : the method of preparing this unguent, '*ὃ ἔνιοι κρίνινον καλοῦσιν*,' is described by Dioscor. 1. 62.

29. [*ἀλ*]*είψας* : [*τρ*]*είψας* is also a possibility; but the fact that the fragment offers three other instances of the use of this participle, in all of which the spelling is *τρίψας*, renders it less probable.

30. [*χολ*]*ήν* : cf. 45.

41. [*το*]*ῖ*[*ς*] *προγεγραμμέ*[*νο*]*ις ἐγχύμασιν* : i. e. those described in the first section (1–22), which was perhaps originally headed *ἐγχύματα*.

CCXXXV. Horoscope.

21 x 13·5 *cm.* A.D. 20–50.

Horoscope of an individual born about 10 p.m., Sept. 28, A.D. 15–37. The first four lines are introductory (cf. Pap. Paris 19), and are addressed to a certain Tryphon. The horoscope was found with cclxvii, cclxxv, &c., in which Tryphon, son of Dionysius, is constantly mentioned, and no doubt he or his grandfather (see cclxxxviii. 36) is the person addressed here. The handwriting is a good-sized semi-uncial, and the papyrus was written probably very soon after the date mentioned in the horoscope, and certainly not later than A.D. 50.

*F*our other horoscopes on papyri are known, Brit. Mus. Papp. XCVIII *recto* (date lost, first or second century), CXXX (A.D. 81), and CX, a duplicate of Pap. Par. 19 (A.D. 138), and a horoscope for a person born in A.D. 316 (Grenfell, *Class. Rev.* viii. p. 70). The present document is less elaborate than the first three, fuller than the last. It gives the sign of the Zodiac occupied by the sun, moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the four chief points in the heavens, with the ζῴδιον and οἶκος of each. A unique feature is a diagram below the text, some lacunae in which it serves to supplement, illustrating the position of the heavens at the time when the birth took place. This diagram consists of a circle divided by two diameters intersecting at right angles and connecting the zenith with the nadir, and the point in the heavens which was rising with that which was setting. The signs of the Zodiac are marked inside the circle, the sun, moon, planets, and points of the heavens outside it, in a line with the sign to which they belong. Beginning at the top we have (1) Aquarius (Ὑδροχόῳ, υδρο being written over an erasure) at the zenith (μεσουράνημα), (2) Pisces, (3) Aries, (4) Taurus, containing the moon and the point which was rising (ὡροσκόπος), (5) Gemini, (6) Cancer, (7) Leo, at the nadir, (8) Virgo, (9) Libra, containing the sun and Mars, (10) Scorpio, containing Mercury, Venus (Ἀ[φροδίτη]), and the point which was setting (δύσις, which is all but obliterated in the papyrus), (11) Sagittarius, containing Saturn and Jupiter (Ζεύς is lost in a lacuna, but cf. line 10), (12) Capricornus.

Though the hour, day, and month are preserved, a lacuna renders the year of Tiberius' reign, to which the horoscope refers, uncertain. If all the astronomical observations in the text of the papyrus were correct, the data would have sufficed to reconstitute it; but Dr. A. A. Rambaut, who has kindly investigated the question for us, tells us that some of the positions assigned to the five major planets must be inexact. If Saturn and Jupiter, the slow moving planets, are taken as the starting-point, Saturn is only in Sagittarius on Sept. 28 during the first four years of Tiberius' reign, and out of these four years Jupiter is in

Sagittarius only in A.D. 15. But during Tiberius' reign the moon is in Taurus on Sept. 28 only in A.D. 17, 25, 28, and 36, and in A.D. 15 the positions of Mars, Venus, and Mercury, do not agree with those assigned to them in the papyrus.

As is usual in horoscopes, the day of the month is given both on the fixed calendar (Phaophi 1) and *κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους* (Phaophi 11); cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXX. Col. II. 46, CX. Col. I. 4, and Par. Pap. 19. 9, where in place of *ἀρχαίους* we have *Αἰγυπτίους* as opposed to the *χρόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. A comparison of the variation, which in the reign of Tiberius is ten days, with the other two instances, in which the variation is in A.D. 81 twenty-five days, and in A.D. 138 forty days, leads to the conclusion that the *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι* gained upon the regular calendar approximately one day in four years. Hence, as Mr. J. G. Smyly remarked to us, the *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι* in Roman papyri are to be explained in reference to the ancient Egyptian year of 365 days with no leap year, but the starting-point of the divergence of the *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι* from the regular calendar was posterior to the conquest of Egypt by Augustus in B.C. 30. Reckoning back from A.D. 81, when the variation between the two calendars was twenty-five days, and subtracting one for every four years, we should get about A.D. 21 as the date of our horoscope[1], and about B.C. 20 as the point when the *annus vagus* indicated by the *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι* began to diverge from the fixed calendar. This corresponds very well with the date (B.C. 26–5) generally assigned to the introduction of the fixed calendar by Augustus into Egypt. The *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι* were of course a continuation of the old Egyptian system of 365 days without leap year, which system Ptolemy Euergetes, and after him Augustus, tried to abolish. But the recurrence of the year of 365 days in Roman papyri shows that if the true year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days ordained by Augustus ever gained universal acceptance in Egypt, it only did so for a very short period, and that though the correct year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ was observed officially and by the Greeks, the native Egyptians soon relapsed into the year of 365 days. The reckoning by *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι* is found in a papyrus as late as A.D. 237 (G. P. II. lxvii); and no doubt many of the extant private documents of the Roman period are really dated in the same way, though it is impossible, in the absence of a specific mention of the *ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι*, to distinguish them.

Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμ[ενος]. . .[. . . .]ν̣α̣ . .[. . . . . .
γενέσεις παρὰ σοῦ, Τρύφων ἀγ̣α̣π̣ε̣τέ, ε[. . . . . .
τειράσομαι πρὸς τοὺς δοθέντ̣α̣ς̣ ἡ[μῖν . . . .
χρόνους. τυν[χ]ά[ν]ουσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ [τὸ . . . . .

[1] This is confirmed by a bilingual inscription referred to by Wilcken (*Gr. Ost.* I. 794), in which Tybi 18, A.D. 30, corresponds to Mecheir 1 in the Egyptian calendar, a difference of 13 days.

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(Auletes), whose name has not been found on a papyrus before, but for palaeographical reasons, since papyri from the middle of the first century B.C. are extremely rare. In fact the only hitherto published Greek document which has a date in the period from 89–30 B.C. is G. P. II. xxxviii (with facsimile on Plate IV), belonging to B.C. 81, or, more probably, to B.C. 56, the joint rule of Berenice and Archelaus. (*a*) is written in an almost uncial hand, (*b*) and (*c*) are much more cursive. They serve to illustrate the transition of the Ptolemaic style to the Roman. (*a*) and (*b*), which have the same date, were found rolled up together, and are probably copies of the same document. We give the text of (*b*), which is the more complete, and of (*c*).

(*b*) B.C. 64.

[*Βασιλεύον*]*τος Πτολεμ*[*αί*]*ου θεοῦ Νέου Διονύσου*
[*Φιλοπάτο*]*ρος Φιλαδ*[*έ*]*λφου ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκά-*
[*του τὰ δ'*] *ἄλλα τῶν κοινῶν ὡς ἐν 'Αλεξανδρεί-*
[*ᾳ γράφε*]*ται μηνὸς Περειτίου καὶ Χοίακ*
5 [ ] *ἐν 'Οξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβα-*
[*ίδος . .*] *ᾳ . ειϛ . ε . . κᾳι . . [. .] κ*[. . . . . .

. . . . . .

2. The supplements at the beginning of lines 2–4 are from (*a*).

3. *τὰ δ' ἄλλα κ.τ.λ.*: a periphrasis, like *μετὰ τὰ κοινά*, to save the trouble of writing the long list of priesthoods at Alexandria which generally occurs in protocols of the second century B.C. Cf. the formula found in papyri from Heracleopolis, *ἐφ' ἱερέων τῶν ὄντων ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γραφομένων κοινῶν*, e.g. C. P. R. 6. 2.

4. The Macedonian calendar was equated to the Alexandrian towards the end of the second century B.C. In (*a*) the day of the month is given as the twenty-first, but probably here a blank space was left, to be filled in afterwards; cf. (*c*) 5 and ccxxxviii. 9, note.

(*c*) B.C. 69–58 or 55–51.

Βασιλεύοντος [*Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος*
Φιλαδέλφου ἔτ[*ους*
τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶν [*κοινῶν ὡς ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ*
γράφεται μηνὸς [
2nd hand *ἑβδόμ*[*ης* *ἐν 'Οξυρύγχων*
1st hand *πόλει τῆς Θη*[*βαίδος*
αμνης τῆς [

Πτολεμαίου [
[. . . . .]*αρ*[
. . . . . .

1. Judging by line 3, about twenty-one letters are lost at the end of the line; so there is not room for the insertion of *Νέου Διονύσου*.

2. From B. C. 79 to 69 Cleopatra Tryphaena was associated with the king in the dates upon demotic contracts (Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 67). The length of the lacuna in line 2 is also in favour of the number of the year having exceeded 12.

CCXXXVII. Petition of Dionysia to the Praefect.

A. D. 186.

This long and important papyrus, which contains on the *verso* most of the fifth book of the *Iliad* printed above (ccxxiii), is a petition addressed by Dionysia, daughter of Chaeremon an ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, to Pomponius Faustianus, praefect in the 26th year of Commodus (note on Col. V. 5). The latest date mentioned in the papyrus is Epeiph 3 of the 26th year (VI. 36), when the acting strategus decided that Dionysia should send a complete account of her case to the praefect, the result of which decision was the composition of the present document. Since it is unlikely that there would be any delay on Dionysia's part in forwarding her petition, the papyrus was no doubt written in the last two months of the 26th year or at latest in the early part of the 27th year, i. e. in the late summer or autumn of A. D. 186.

Few documents offer greater difficulties of decipherment and interpretation than this petition. No less than nine columns, measuring from 28 to 30 cm. in width, can be distinguished; but of these the first three, which correspond to Cols. IX–XII of the Homer, and the last column, which contains only the first halves of lines, are too fragmentary to be worth printing. Moreover, when the roll was re-used for the Homer, little regard naturally was paid to the writing on the *recto*. The height of the papyrus was reduced, no doubt because the edges had become ragged, and the top of each column is consequently lost, though it is improbable that more than two or three lines at most are wanting. More serious damage was done by glueing strips of papyrus over weak or torn places on the *recto*; for when these have been removed the writing below is generally found to have been obliterated by the glue, while even in those parts which have not suffered in this manner, the ink has often become extremely faint or has disappeared altogether. *F*ollowing our usual practice, we have not marked a lacuna by square brackets except where the surface of the papyrus has been destroyed;

but though in some of the passages which have baffled us enough remains to verify the true conjecture when it is made, only the resources of chemistry can perhaps some day render legible most of the patches of effaced writing in Cols. IV and V. In spite of these difficulties however, those parts of the papyrus which are well preserved suffice to give the document a very high rank from both the historical and the juristic points of view among recent discoveries of Greek papyri, though we shall confine our commentary chiefly to questions of interpretation.

The complaint of Dionysia, which is directed against her father Chaeremon, falls into two parts. The first five columns narrate the history of the monetary dispute, while the next two and a half turn upon the right claimed by Chaeremon to take away his daughter from her husband against her will. The last column and a half revert to the monetary dispute. It is fortunate that the later part, which is much the more interesting, is also much the better preserved; but here too we have to bewail the fortune which has deprived us of the conclusion of the list of cases before magistrates upon which Dionysia relied for support.

The monetary question between Chaeremon and his daughter is chiefly concerned with the *κατοχή* of a property (*οὐσία*) which she claimed and he denied. Owing to the mutilated condition of the earlier columns we have no one definite statement as to what exactly this *κατοχή* was, and we have to put together an idea of it from a number of scattered and often imperfect references. For the meaning of the terms *κατοχή* and *κατέχειν* the most important passage is VIII. 21 sqq. (especially 22 and 34–36), which shows that these words refer to a 'claim' or 'right of ownership' (*κτῆσις*) as opposed to 'use' (*a*) upon the property of the husband, conferred in conformity with national Egyptian law upon the wife, (*b*) upon the property of parents, conferred by them upon their children; cf. also the Oxyrhynchus papyrus quoted in note on VIII. 37. Examples of both kinds of *κατοχή* are found in Egyptian marriage contracts of the Roman period (for reasons which we refer to on p. 240, we prefer to leave the Ptolemaic marriage contracts alone). The return of the dowry and *παράφερνα* brought by the wife is uniformly guaranteed on the security of the *whole property* of the husband. He obtained the use of the dowry, but in the event of his losing any of it and the repayment becoming necessary, the wife had a kind of first mortgage upon all her husband's property (B. G. U. 183. 9, 251. 7, C. P. R. 27. 22 and 28. 7). Examples of the second kind of *κατοχή*, that conferred by parents upon their children, are naturally rarer, since they would only occur where rich parents were concerned. A good instance is C. P. R. 24, where a mother gives *ἐν φερνῇ κατὰ προσφορὰν ἀναφαίρετον* to her daughter *inter alia* half a house (of which the other half already belonged to the daughter) and a property of three

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way responsible for part of the debt (IV. 7, 12, 14, 27), apparently on condition that she obtained the income of some of Chaeremon's property (IV. 7–12, 27–8, cf. V. 21). It is in connexion with this last point that her *κατοχή* perhaps became involved in the dispute. From 31–33 it seems that she ultimately had come to an arrangement with her father by which he was eventually to receive once more the income of the property which had been guaranteed her on her marriage, but that in the meantime she was to retain (*καθέξω*, IV. 33) this income until the repayment of the debt to Asclepiades, probably by instalments of 1 talent a year (cf. IV. 33 with 14), had been completed. To this retention of his income by Dionysia Chaeremon objected, accusing Dionysia *περὶ ἀνόμου κατοχῆς* (VII. 11), while he attempted to overthrow her position by demanding the return of all that he had given her on her marriage, including the property in question, the title to which had then been guaranteed her.

The scanty information which we can glean about the *κατοχή* is enough to show that it was a very complicated affair and apparently involved two points, (1) Dionysia's right to the *κράτησις* of the property conferred by her marriage contract, (2) her right to enjoy the income from it until she had paid off the mortgage. It is tempting to simplify the question by eliminating one or the other of these two points or by combining them into one. But the great importance attached in the petition to the decree of Mettius Rufus, which has an obvious bearing upon the first point but not on the second, the letter of Chaeremon in VI. 12, sqq., and the passage in VI. 23–7, are only explicable on the supposition that the *κατοχή* was secured to Dionysia by her marriage contract; and the anxiety of Dionysia to get the mortgage paid off accords very well with the hypothesis that the ownership was vested in herself. On the other hand the various agreements enumerated in IV, culminating in her statement in IV. 33 concerning the *πρόσοδοι* of the *οὐσία*, clearly play an important part in the *κατοχή* question; but it is impossible, if we suppose that the right to enjoy the income of the *οὐσία* as well as the ownership was given to Dionysia upon her marriage, to explain the permission given by her to Chaeremon to mortgage the property, or her insistence upon the decree of Mettius Rufus, which draws so sharp a distinction between the *χρῆσις* of a property which was reserved (*τετήρηται*) to the parents and the *κτῆσις* which belonged (*κεκράτηται*, i. e. *κατέσχηται*) to the children.

Besides the dispute concerning the *κατοχή* between Chaeremon and his daughter, there was also a difference regarding certain *χορηγίαι* which Dionysia claimed from him (VII. 10, 11), and which are perhaps identical with the *τροφαί* of VI. 27. It is not clear whether her claim rested upon her marriage contract (cf. C. P. R. 24. 18 in which a mother agrees to provide (*χορηγεῖν*) the newly

married pair with a certain amount of wheat for a year), or arose from one of the contracts enumerated in IV (cf. IV. 8 where *χορηγίαι* are mentioned). The question of the *χορηγίαι* is separate from that of the *κατοχή*, for though Dionysia was victorious with regard to the latter, she had, as VI. 26–7 shows, not yet obtained the former. In VI. 27 Dionysia also complains that she had never received the dowry which her father had promised her; and possibly this included the *χορηγίαι*. But this assertion seems to conflict both with the statement of Chaeremon and the general probabilities of the case. It is more likely that she had received a dowry besides the *κατοχή* at the time of her marriage, but that Chaeremon had tried to take it away, and perhaps succeeded. The question of the *χορηγίαι*, however, is in any case quite subordinate to that of the *κατοχή*.

When we pass from the explanation of the *κατοχή* itself to the steps which both parties took to assert their claims, there are much fewer difficulties, since the useful summary in VI. 8–11 serves as a key to the narration of events in the preceding columns. It should be remembered that Cols. I–V relate to the proceedings concerning the *κατοχή* and *χορηγίαι*, and that Dionysia had been ordered by the acting-strategus to lay the story before the praefect, in order that he might have a full knowledge of the facts before giving judgement on the claim of her father to take her away from her husband (VII. 4–8). But it is this claim which is the primary subject of the present petition though it is not reached until Col. VI.

The first step was apparently taken by Chaeremon, who towards the end of the 25th year sent a complaint to the praefect, Longaeus Rufus, accusing Dionysia of having defrauded him at the instigation of her husband Horion, and asking for leave to recover what he had given her on her marriage (VI. 13–15). A full account of this was probably given in Col. I, of which only a very small piece remains, containing a mention of Longaeus Rufus. Rufus on Pachon 27 forwarded Chaeremon's complaint to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with a request that he would attend to it (VI. 15, 16, cf. VI. 8). The top part of the much mutilated Col. II contains the conclusion of a letter from one official to another, dated in Pachon of the 25th year (the day is lost), in which the phrase *ἀντίγραφον ὑπέτα[ξα* (cf. VI. 16) occurs; and it is most likely that the letter which was quoted in II at length was the letter of Rufus mentioned in VI. 8 and 15. In the rest of Col. II Dionysia is the speaker, as the expression *πρός με καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου* shows. She was no doubt much disturbed by the letter which the praefect had written after having heard only Chaeremon's side of the case (cf. VI. 8 *τὴν τοῦ Ῥούφου ἐπιστολὴν ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγράφη*, and note), and resolved to appeal to Rufus herself. Towards the end of Col. II a line begins *εὐθὺς κατέφυγον*

ἐπὶ τ . . . . ᾳτον Λογγαῖον Ῥο[ῦφον. The catalogue of grievances against Chaeremon which Dionysia laid before Rufus occupies Col. IV. 1–34 and probably Col. III; cf. IV. 35 ταῦτα διὰ τοῦ βιβλειδίου ἀνενεγκούσης μου. It is not likely that anything important happened between the receipt of Rufus' letter by Chaeremon and the petition of Dionysia to Rufus, since in the summary of events in VI. 8, the ἐντυχία of Dionysia to Rufus follows immediately upon the ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ῥούφου. The date of this petition of Dionysia to Rufus is not given; but from the fact that she had received the answer by Thoth of the 26th year (V. 9) and that the letter of Rufus to Chaeremon which gave rise to it was written on Pachon 27 of the 25th year (VI. 15), it may be inferred that the ἐντυχία reached Rufus in one of the three intervening months. The position of affairs, therefore, at the end of the 25th year was that Rufus had received one petition from Chaeremon, which he had on Pachon 27 referred to the strategus, and also a counter-petition from Dionysia. In this she defended herself against the charge made against her, giving a list of grievances against Chaeremon, and citing (IV. 35–9) both the last agreement between herself and her father, and a proclamation by the late praefect *F*lavius Sulpicius Similis (cf. IV. 36 with VIII. 21 sqq.) endorsing an edict of Mettius Rufus, praefect in A.D. 89, which regulated the registration in the public ἄrchives of contracts concerning κατοχαί. The bearing of this edict upon Dionysia's case has already been alluded to (p. 144).

Dionysia's array of evidence seems to have impressed the praefect with the justice of her case; and 'probably being unable to believe that any one after . . . so many contracts had been drawn up through public officials would have dared to write a letter to the praefect with fraudulent intent,' he forwarded her petition to the strategus with official instructions (ὑπογραφή, VI. 9) to examine the correctness of her statements about the contracts, his object being (if we may believe Dionysia) to make clear that if the facts were as stated no further decision was necessary (V. 5–8). It is noticeable that the dispute about the κατοχή now resolves itself into the question of the existence and precise terms of the contracts between Dionysia and her father; and therefore the legal right claimed by Chaeremon in his letter to Rufus (VI. 12, sqq.) to recover any presents he had made to his daughter on her marriage seems to have been disallowed by the praefect. At any rate we hear no more of the legal aspect of a father's ἐξουσία over his married daughter until we come to the second half of the case dealing with the ἀπόσπασις.

The next step was that Dionysia appeared before the strategus in Thoth of the 26th year, and requested him to carry out the instructions of the praefect by obtaining from the keepers of the archives a full account of all the contracts and other documents which were the subject of the dispute. To this course

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appealed to the praefect in a letter of which Dionysia quotes a part. In it Chaeremon brought vague charges of *παρανομία* and *ἀσέβεια* against her, and referred to his previous petition to Longaeus Rufus in the year before and to that praefect's answer, which he accused Dionysia of disregarding. He also accused Dionysia's husband, Horion, of threatening to use violence against him, and therefore claimed the right of forcibly separating her from her husband, in support of which contention he adduced the Egyptian law on the subject and several decisions of Similis, a former praefect, and others (VI. 4–29). Pomponius Faustianus, however, who had hoped to have heard the last of Chaeremon's affairs, and like other praefects endeavoured to put some check on the numerous private applications for redress sent to him (cf. VI. 6 and 35), declined to institute a new inquiry; and on Pachon 30 in a letter quoted in full (VI. 32–35) requested Isidorus, the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to settle the matter in accordance with the instructions already given by Longaeus Rufus. On Epeiph 3 the answer of the praefect was brought by Chaeremon into court before the acting-strategus Harpocration, and Dionysia argued that the instructions of Rufus had already been carried out by the inquiry which had resulted in her favour (VI. 35–41). The decision of the acting-strategus was of the nature of a compromise. On the one hand he allowed that so far as the dispute about the *κατοχή* was concerned the instructions of Rufus had been fulfilled; but since Chaeremon had introduced the further question of the right to take away his daughter from her husband, and no instructions had been given on this head either by Rufus or by Pomponius Faustianus, he referred the decision of this new point back to the praefect, to whom he directed that the contending parties should appeal, giving a full statement of all the facts (VII. 1–8). It was in consequence of this judgement of the acting-strategus that, as has been said, our papyrus, which presents Dionysia's whole case, came to be written.

There follow (VII. 8–13) a brief summary of Dionysia's arguments and a statement of her demands. Chaeremon's claim to take her away from her husband is rebutted in somewhat Hibernian fashion by two arguments:— (1) that no law permitted wives to be taken away against their will from their husbands; (2) that if there was a law which gave such permission, it at any rate did not apply to daughters whose parents had been married by contract, and who were themselves married by contract.

We at length (VII. 13, sqq.) reach what is the most interesting part of the papyrus, the evidence produced by Dionysia, consisting of decisions of praefects and other judges, opinions of eminent lawyers, and proclamations. This evidence is divided into three sections. That in the first bears upon the disputed right of a father to take away his married daughter from her husband against her will.

The second section is concerned with the proof that a judgement involving the payment of money could not be evaded by bringing a fresh charge, as (according to Dionysia) had been done by Chaeremon. The third relates to the law concerning the registration of contracts in the archives, to which Dionysia appealed in order that her father might be compelled to fulfil his monetary engagements to herself.

Under the first head three extracts from *ὑπομνηματισμοί*, or official reports of legal proceedings, are quoted, besides an opinion of a *νομικός*. One of these (VII. 19–29) records a case tried before *F*lavius Titianus, praefect, in A. D. 128, in which a father had taken away his daughter from her husband with whom he had had a quarrel. The advocate for the father maintained that he was acting within the Egyptian law in so doing; nevertheless, the praefect's decision was that the woman should stay with her husband or her father as she chose. The second case quoted (VII. 29–38) took place six years later before the epistrategus Paconius Felix, and is very similar to the first. That the harsh right of separating his daughter from her husband was conferred on a father by the Egyptian law is there very clearly stated; but the judgement of Titianus was considered by the epistrategus to be a sufficient precedent for overriding the Egyptian law, and the decision was again against the father. The third case (VII. 39–VIII. 2) is from a report of a much earlier trial which took place in A. D. 87 before the *iuridicus*. The incompleteness of the extract renders some points in the case obscure; but apparently a father had deprived his married daughter of her dowry and wished to take her away from her husband, while the *iuridicus* decided that the dowry must be restored, and probably refused to allow the separation of the husband and wife. The fourth document quoted by Dionysia (VIII. 2–7) is an opinion of Ulpius Dionysodorus, a *νομικός* who had been consulted by Salvistius Africanus, a military officer exercising judicial functions. The details of the case are not given, but here too there was a question of a dowry which a father wished to take away from his daughter. The issue turned on the point whether the daughter, being born of an *ἄγραφος γάμος*, was still in the *ἐξουσία* of her father after her marriage. The *νομικός* decided that the *ἔγγραφος γάμος* contracted by the daughter annulled her previous status of a child born *ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων*, and that therefore she was no longer in her father's *ἐξουσία*. In its bearing upon the case of Dionysia, who claimed to be *ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων* (VII. 12), the opinion of Ulpius Dionysodorus seems to be a kind of argument *a fortiori*, since if the child of an *ἄγραφος γάμος* ceased on marriage to be in the *ἐξουσία* of her father, the child of an *ἔγγραφος γάμος* would still less be so after marriage; cf. note on VIII. 2.

Having concluded her evidence in defence of her claim to remain with her

husband, Dionysia next assumes the offensive, and adduces evidence to show that Chaeremon could not escape his liabilities to her by raising the new point of his right to separate her from her husband. She quotes firstly (VIII. 8–18) a decree of the praefect Valerius Eudaemon of A. D. 138, penalizing vexatious accusations designed to postpone monetary liabilities; and secondly (VIII. 18–21) a very brief report of a trial in A. D. 151 before Munatius Felix, praefect, who on that occasion refused to allow monetary claims to be affected by accusations brought by the debtor against the creditor.

In the third and concluding section of her evidence Dionysia reverts to the old question discussed in the earlier portion of the papyrus, the disputed *κατοχή*. We have first (VIII. 21–43) the proclamation of the praefect *F*lavius Sulpicius Similis in A. D. 182, reaffirming the decree of Mettius Rufus in A. D. 89 of which mention was made in IV. 36–7. The proclamation of Similis, which is partly effaced, was designed to regulate the prevailing custom allowed by native Egyptian law of giving the wife in her marriage contract a claim for both herself and her children upon the whole property of the husband. By registering their marriage contracts in a *βιβλιοθήκη* different from that which contained the *ἀπογραφαί* of their property, some persons had apparently concealed their liability to their wives in order to be free to incur further liabilities. The praefect proposed to stop this practice by requiring that the claims of a wife upon her husband's property secured her by her marriage contract should be included among the other documents registering his property and deposited at the public archives, so that the amount of his assets might be definitely known; this being in accordance with a previous decree of Mettius Rufus. A copy of this decree is appended by Similis, and it is fortunately not only complete but of the highest interest. Its subject is the better administration of *ἀπογραφαί* (property returns) and the official abstracts of them, which had not been accurately brought up to date. Holders of property are therefore required to register the whole of their property at the public archives, and wives have to add to the statements of their husbands a declaration of any claim upon the husbands' property, while children have to add a clause to the statements of their parents if their parents have made over to them the title (*κτῆσις*) of any property, retaining only the use of it during their lifetime. It is this last point which has a special bearing on Dionysia's case (cf. p. 144); for she argued in connexion with her own *κατοχή* that she had fulfilled all the requirements of the law (VII. 17, 18).

The concluding words of VIII give the date of the next piece of evidence, a *ὑπομνηματισμός* of Petronius Mamertinus, praefect in A. D. 133; and the first nineteen lines of IX were occupied with an account of this case. Unfortunately no connected idea is attainable. We gather, however, from line 8 that one of

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of mistakes in grammar and spelling occur. No doubt the present document is a copy of the original which was sent to the praefect.

Col. IV.

. . . . . .

[16 letters] . . [

[16 letters] . ἀ[

[14 letters]ρ̣ας λ̣ε[36 letters] . το χρῳ̣[.] . [

[. . . . ἑ]κάστην πρότερον τ̣[26 letters] . . . . [ἥ]μισυ ην μοι πρᾳ̣[

[. . . . .] . . . [.]ουσι αν̣θ[. . . . . .]ῳκα . . [14 letters] . . . . ᾳ̣ καὶ̣ λοιπὰ τῆς τιμῆς ὅσ̣α̣ α̣ὐ̣τ̣η̣[.] . . [. . . . . .]ι̣σ̣η

[22 letters] . . . ὁμολόγημᾳ̣ διὰ̣ δημοσίου γεγονέναι τῷ̣ κβ (ἔτει) μεταξὺ ἡμῶν μήτε τὸν πατέρα

. . . . . μ̣[19 letters]θ̣ε̣ν ἐ̣ν καταχ̣ρ̣η̣ματισμῷ̣ οἰκονομεῖν ἐμὲ δωρ̣οδ̣ο̣κ̣ουν τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς τιμῆς

[ὀφ]ειλόμενα [. . . . . δούλο]υ̣ς καὶ̣ ἀπελευ̣[θέρου]ς̣ χορηγίας ἐκλεγομένων [. . .] τοῦ̣ κγ (ἔτους) τὰς προσόδους τούτων

. . . [.]ν̣ ὑπαρχ[όντων. . . . .]ων ἄλλων αν . . . . τῶν αὐτῷ̣ ὑπαρχόν[τ]ων πράσεως ἀποδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς

ἃ ἐδανείσατο συνγραψα[. . . . .]ου πάππου μου . . . ., καὶ τούτου τοῦ ὁμολογήμ[ατ]ος αὐτῷ̣ διὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπο̣υ̣ παρατε-

[θέντ]ος αὐτὸν μηδ' ὡς ἐμ⟨με⟩μενηκ[έ]ναι τοῖς ἐνγεγραμμένοις ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐπ[ι]τετροφέναι μοι ἐπὶ τὴν πρόνο̣ι̣α̣ν

[τῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντω[ν . . . . .] κατὰ τὰ συνκείμενα ἵνα τῷ̣ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ ἀποδιδόναι δυνηθείην. πάλιν δέ μοι

[. . . . .] . [. .] . ινοι δ . . . ι . [. . .] . . . . [. .]ον ὁμολόγημα πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ̣ κγ (ἔτους) πάλιν διὰ̣ δημοσίου ἐπὶ τῷ̣

π̣[. . . . .] ἀ̣ν̣αδεξαμεν[. . . . .]ο̣υ̣ . . αὐτο̣ῦ̣ πατέ̣ρ̣α . [. . . . .] ἀποδοῦναι (τάλαντον) ᾳ̣ ἕως ἂν ζ πλήρ̣η̣ς̣ ἐκτείσῃ

ῃ . . μὴ ἀποδιδ . . . . . ὁ̣μ̣ο̣λογοῦντα . . . σ̣[. . . . .]ων πρὸς τ . δ̣ . . . . . αὐτῆς τ̣η̣[. .] . . α̣[. . .]ς̣

. [.]υ̣ . κεν̣ . . [. . . . .] . . . τ̣ούτω̣ν̣ . . . . δα̣ν̣ε̣ίων π[. . .] . . [. .]των̣ σ̣ . ε̣ . . . . τ̣ο̣[ῖ]ς̣ τ̣ῶ̣[ν ἐνκ]τήσεων βιβλιο-

φ[ύλ]αξι . [. . . . .] . . . . [. . . .] . ἀλλὰ μήτε . [. .] . [. .] . . . α̣σ̣κ̣ . . πρᾳ̣ . . [. . .] . δε̣δ̣ω̣κ̣έναι μήτ' οὐσιακὰ

[θ]έματα [. . . . . .] . . . . . [. .]ο ἀργύριον τοῦ [ὀφλ]ήματος . . . ἀπο-
δοντ[ὸ]ς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ διὰ δημοσίου . . . . .
. . μενα[. .] . . μ. . . . . α . . . . . τι . . ειορων . [.] . . θε . . [. . .] . . ωνα
. [.] . η . . . οιτο κατὰ τὴν προθ[ε]σμίαν
τὰ ἀργύρια μὴ ἀπεσχηκέναι . ν[. . . ν]όμιμα . [. .] . . α . [.] τῶν κατεχομέ[ν]ων
μοι ὑπαρχόντων. ὁ δ[ὲ] καὶ παρ' ὁ[λ]ί-
γον γεγενῆσθαι τοῦ παρα . . . . . μος [ἀ]παιτοῦ[ν]τος καὶ μὴ ἀπολαμ-
βάνοντος τὸ ὤφλημα ἀναγκάσθαι
με παρὰ τ[οῦ] πατρὸς τὸ προ . . . σομ . [.] . . . . απου . . ἐπισταμένου ὅτι οὐ
περιόψομαι ἀποσπώμενα τὰ κατεχόμε-
νά μοι ἐντίθεσθαι ε . στιαοπ . . . . . αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα μόνα ἐμοῦ
μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ χρ . . . . α τῷ δὲ
πατρὶ ε . . . ο[.]πανκα[.]α α . . . . . πάντα ὀφειλόμενα λοιπὰ τιμῆς αὐ-
τῶν μόνα καὶ . . . κη . . . ου . . . αλα προσ . . .
ὅλα (τάλαντα) ὁ[κ]τὼ μετὰ τῶν τόκ[ων .] . . . . . νων ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπό-
δοσιν τὰ ἄλλα αὐτὸς ἔχῃ εἰς ὃ βούλεται. καὶ πάλιν
τετελο . [.] . . . . . μετα . . [.]απησθαι με πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ κδ (ἔτει) διὰ
δημοσίου συνχρηματισμοῦ αὐτῷ δανείσας
. . τα (τάλαντα) . [. . . . .] . . ἐξ α[ὐ]τῶν ἀποδοῦναι μὲν τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τὰ
ὀφειλόμενα καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἔχειν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ εἰς
ὅ τι ἐὰν τ[. . . . . .] . . . . . ρ ἐμοῦ τῇ προσόδῳ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων παρα . . . . αι δημόσια καὶ δαπάνας
ἕως εμμε . [. . . .]ου και . . . . . [. .] . δανειστ[ῶ]ν τόκοι, ἀπὸ
δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κε (ἔτους) ἐτήσια ε . . ειων καὶ κεφάλαιον (τά-
λαντα) ζ
τῆς δὲ μητ[ρὸς . . . . . .] . . . . . [. .] . . . αὐτὸν διάγειν ἀποδιδόντα μοι
μόνας τὰς . . . . . παρ' ἑαυτῶν
ὅλως (τάλαντα ?) . . γεν[ο]μέναις αὐτὸν μὲν κ[υρ]ιεύειν πάλιν τῶν προσόδων
πασῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ζῇ χρόνον μόνας ἀποδιδόντα μοι
ται . . . οντως ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπειλ[η]φεν . . τι[. .] . τὰ περὶ τῆς κατοχῆς δίκαια τὸν
διορ'ζωμονον . τα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ὁμολογίαν
ἐπισταμένη ὅτι περὶ μιᾶς [. . . .] . . . . προσόδων ἑκάστου ἔτους καθέξω ἕως
ἂν ἡ ἀ[πό]δο[σ]ις ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῶν ὡρισμέ-
νων γέν[ητ]αι χρημάτων δ[. . . .]το τετολμηκέναι αὐτῷ γράψαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
πάν[τα] τὰ ἐν τῷ πράγματι ἐψευσμένον

παρα[λ]αβεῖ[ν . . . . .] τα[ῦτ]α̣ δ̣ι̣ὰ τ[οῦ] βιβλειδίου ἀνενεγκούσης μου τῷ
Ῥούφῳ καὶ ὑποταξάσης τό τε τελευταῖον κοι-
νὸν ὁμο[λόγημα] πρὸς τὸν πα[τέ]ρα, ᾧ [δ]ι̣ὰ̣ δημοσίου γενομεναν ἀναφορὰν
ἔχω, κα[ὶ] εἰς τὰ πρῶτα καὶ Σιμίλιδος τοῦ ἡγε-
[μο]νεύσα[ντο]ς καλλίστοι[ς] παρα[δείγ]μασ[ι] ἐπιστολὴν κατακολουθήσαντος
Μεττίου Ῥούφου διατάγματι περὶ τοῦ τὰς τοιαύ-
τας συνγραφὰς μὴ μόνον δ[εῖ]ν εἶν[αι κ]υρ[ί]ας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατίθεσθαι διὰ
τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν π[έκ]νων ταῖς τῶν γονέων οἷς ἡ μὲν χρῆσ{ε}ις
διὰ δημοσίων τετήρηται χρη- (-ματισμῶν)

Col. V.

. . . . . .

[70 letters] . ο̣α̣[

ορι̣[32 letters]α̣ο̣υτω̣[. .] . [.] . [. . . .] . [. .] . [15 letters]ι̣μ̣α̣[.]κ̣α . [. . . . . .]
ρ̣ο̣σ . . .

[. . . . .]α̣[24 letters]η̣[.] . . . . . (ταλαντ .) ζ- [. . .] . . [.] . . [.]α̣κα̣ [. . . .] . ε̣ . .
[. . . . .]μ̣ε̣ν τὰ ἀποδο̣θ̣η̣[σό]μ̣ε[ν]α̣
ἐτήσια τω[. . .]α̣ι̣τ̣[.]η̣ . . [. . . . . .]ξ τόκω[ν] οὐκ ὀλίγων ὄντω[ν .]αζω̣ . . . .
[.]τ̣[. . .] . ε̣ ἑαυτο[ῦ] τοῦ γένους ἀποδ[ι]δο[ὺ]ς κ[ἀ]μοὶ
τὰς . . . . . [. . .] . . [. .]κ . . . . . [. . . Ῥο]ῦφος ἐντυχὼ̣[ν] καὶ τάχα ἀπιστεύσας
εἰ μετὰ τοσοῦτο [πλῆ]θος τῶν ἡμετέρων δικαίων καὶ το-
σαῦτα δ̣ι̣ὰ̣ δ̣ημ̣οσίου γράμματα [γενόμε]να ἐθάρρησεν ἄν τις ἐπιστολὴν ἐπὶ
παραλογισμ[ῷ] γράφειν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, ὑπέγραψεν
τω . . . ω . . α̣υ̣τ̣ω̣ν̣ γ̣ε̣ν̣ . . α̣ . [. .] . . . τῷ βιβλειδίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, "παρα-
θοῦ{ου} ἐξετάσα[ς] ἐάν τι τῆς ἐμῆς διαγνώσεως κατὰ
π̣α̣ . . . . α̣ . . . . επεμ . . . . α̣ . . . . . ," οὐδὲν ἕτερον οἶμαι ἢ δηλῶν ὅτι εἰ
τὰ ἀληθῆ φανείη μηδὲ κρίσεως δεῖσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα. ταύ-
τ̣η̣ς̣ δ̣ὲ̣ ὑ̣π̣ο̣γ̣ρ̣α̣φ̣ῆ̣ς̣ τυχο̣ῦ̣σ̣α̣ ἐ̣[π]ή̣νεγκα τὸ βιβλείδιον ἐπὶ τοῦ κς (ἔτους)
Θὼθ ἐπὶ παρόντι τῷ πατρί μου Χαιρήμονι, ἠξίωσά τε τὸν
στρατη[γ]ὸν ἐπιστο̣λ̣ὴν [γράψαι] τ̣ο̣ῖ̣ς̣ τῶν ἐνκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλαξι ὁ προσ-
φωνήσωσιν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ παρακείμενα τῶν
τοῦ π̣α̣τ̣ρ̣[ὸς] . [. .] . . . . μ̣α̣τ̣ . . . . . τ̣ῶν γενομένων μετοξὺ ἡμῶν κατὰ
χρόνους κοινῶν ὁμολογημάτων καὶ παραθέσεων

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σεων . . . . . τε πάλιν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν κύριον κατέφυγον,
καὶ ἐνέτυχον διὰ βιβλειδίο[υ . . . .] . τῷ κϛ (ἔτει)
. . . α . . . . . ν ἐξέτασιν ἤδη τοῦ πράγμ[α]τος γεγενῆσθαι
ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καθὼς σὺ [ἠθέλησ]ας τῇ γεν[ο]-
μένῃ ἐξετάσει γνοῦσά σε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης σοι ὑπὸ τῆς
στρατηγίας ἀντίγραφον . . . . . [. . . . .] . . . . . .
. . . . . ν γράψαι τῷ τ[ο]ῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ βέβα[ι]ά μοι μένειν
τὰ ἐκ τῆς μητρῴας μ . . . . . [. . . .] . . . . . .
. . . . . χρηματισμῶν δηλούμενα δίκ[αια], καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίζεσ-
θαι κατὰ τῶν τα . . . . [. . .] ματωβ . . .
. . . . . καθὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐκέλε[υ]σαν. κα[ὶ] σὺ ὁ κύριος
ἐντυχὼν καὶ αν . . . . . [. .]δ . . . . κοσ
[. .] . . . . φ . [. . .] . . . . . τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [τ]ῆς τῶν
βιβλιοφυλάκων προσφωνήσεως καὶ [. . .] . . . . γενομε
[ν .] . . . . [. . . .] . . . . . ξενῶν δεόμενον τῇ συνή[θ]ει σου δικαι[ο]δοσίᾳ
χρώμενος ὑπέγραψάς μοι τῷ [βιβ]λειδίῳ
[. .] . . [. . .] . . . . . ς δικαίοις χρῆσθαι δύνασθαι. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τὴς λοιπῆς
ἀξιώσεως σοῦ τὴν . . πο . . [. . . πρ]όνοιαν
[. .] . . . . . προμαντευσάμενος ὅτι καὶ τ[ῆ]ς ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ στρατη-
γοῦ βοηθείας δεόμεθα . . με . [. . .]αν̣ην
[. .] . . . . . ο τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀγνωμονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ
πατρός. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ ἐτόλμησεν [. . .] . τα ταῦτα
[. .]αξ . . . . . διὰ τῆς αἱρέσεως τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐμοῦ γὰ[ρ] τὸ βιβλείδιον ἐπὶ
τῇ σῇ ὑπογραφῇ παρενεγκ[ούσης] καὶ ἀνα-
[δ]ούσης διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός μου τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀξιωσάσης τε καθὼς ἠθέλησας
τῆς λοιπῆς ἀξιώσεως μ[ὴ] . . [. ἀ]μελη θῆ-
[ναι καὶ] ἐπιστεῖλαι τοῖς τῶν ἐνκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλ[αξ]ι βέβαιά μοι τὰ δίκαια
τὰ ὑπόντα μένειν καθὰ [προσε]φώνησαν

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. . . . . .
[20 letters]μως νο[23 letters]τω . [.]ως κομ[. . .]μ[11 letters]εται ὑμεῖν λα-
[12 letters] . . . στοσιν εἰδότα καὶ τῆς λ[οι]π̣ῆ[ς ἀ]ξιώσεως π]άσης καθὰ
ἠθέλησεν ὁ λαμ[πρότ]ατος ἡ[γε]μὼν πρόνοιαν

[. .] . . [. .] . . . . μηδὲν νεωτερίζεσ[θαι . . . . . τὸ]ν πατέρα μετὰ τὰ το[σαῦ]τα γράμματα τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μή-
τε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐνοχλεῖν μήτε ἐμοὶ ἔτι ἀπε[ιλεῖν]. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπιθέμενός μοι οὐκ ἔληξε[ν], ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι περὶ
τῆς κατοχῆς οὐκέτι οἷόν τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐνκαλεῖν μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας ἐξε-
τάσεις καὶ τοσαῦτα γράμματα, ἑτέρῳ ἐπέτρεψεν τὴν
κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου πάλιν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ὑπογύως διαταξαμένου περὶ ἰδιωτι-
κῶν ζητήσεων ἐπιστολάς σοι μὴ γράφειν, ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἔγραψεν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὼν ἠκρωτηρίασεν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς καὶ σὲ
τὸν κύριον πλανῆσαι δυνάμενος. σιωπήσας γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥούφου ἐπι-
στολὴν ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγράφη καὶ τὴν ἐντυχίαν τὴν
ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥούφου {την} ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ τῶν βιβλιοφυλάκων τὴν προσφώνησιν
καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτων γραφεῖσάν σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταύτην ἐμοῦ ἐντυχούσης δοθεῖσαν
ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι ἐπιστάλ-
ματα ψειλῶς σοι διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δεδήλωκεν
τάδε· Χαιρήμων Φανίου γυμνασιαρχήσας τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως· τῆς θυγατρός μου Διονυσίας, ἡγεμὼν κύριε,
πολλὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ἀσεβῶς καὶ παρανόμως πραξάσης κατὰ γνώμην Ὡρίωνος Ἀπίωνος ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἀνέδωκα ἐπιστο-
λὴν Λογγαίῳ Ῥούφῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ, ἀξιῶν τότε ἃ προσήνεγκα αὐτῇ ἀνα-
κομίσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἰόμενος
ἐκ τού⟨του⟩ παύσασθαι αὐτὴν τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ ὕβρεων· καὶ ἔγραψεν τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ (ἔτους) κε//, Παχὼν κζ̄, ὑπο-
τάξας τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφέντων τὰ ἀντίγραφα ὅπως ἐντυχὼν οἷς παρεθέμην φροντίσῃ τὰ ἀκόλουθα πρᾶξαι. ἐπεὶ οὖν,
κύριε, ἐπιμένει τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπονοίᾳ ἐνυβρίζων μοι, ἀξιῶ τοῦ νόμου διδόντος μοι ἐξουσίαν οὗ τὸ μέρος ὑπέταξα ἵν' εἰδῇς
ἀπάγοντι αὐτὴν ἄκουσαν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἰκίας μηδεμίαν μοι βίαν γείνεσθαι ὑφ' οὑτινος τῶν τοῦ Ὡρίωνος ἢ αὐ-
τοῦ τοῦ Ὡρίωνος συνεχῶς ἐπαγγελλομένου. ἀπὸ δὲ πλειόνων τῶ[ν] περὶ το[ύ]των πραχθέντων ὀλίγα σοι ὑπέταξα ἵν' εἰ-
δῇς. (ἔτους) κς̄, Παχών. ὁ μὲν ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔγραψεν, οὐδεμίαν

μὲν οὔτε ὕβριν οὔτε ἀλλὸ ἀδίκημα εἰς αὐτὸν
ἁπλῶς ἐφ' ᾧ μέμφεται δεῖξαι ἔχων, ἐπὶ φθόνῳ δὲ μόνον [λο]ιδορούμενος καὶ
δεινὰ πάσχων ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, λέγων ὅτι δὴ
ὦτα παρέχω ἄνοα αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆς ὑπολειπομένης ἐμοὶ κατοχὴν τῆς οὐσίας
ἵνα μ' αὐτὴν ἀποστ⟨ερ⟩ῆται, καὶ, τὸ καινότερον, βίαν
πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός μου προφερόμενος τοῦ καὶ μετὰ {και με[τα]} τὴν
πρὸς αὐτόν μου συνγραφὴν ἐν ᾗ εἶχεν τὸ δίκαιον
καθαρόν μου προσενηνεγμένον συνχωρήσαντός μοι καὶ ἔπ⟨ε⟩ιτα [τῇ] μ[η]τρὶ
ο . . . υνου συνευδοκῆσαι βουληθείσαι⟨ς⟩ αὐτῷ ὑποτι-
θεμένῳ τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην πρὸς ὅλα (τάλαντα) η, ἀφ' οὗ με ἀπευ . . . . . .
ειδη . τασινευκε τοῦ ἀνδρός με στερῆσαι ἐπιχειρῶν,
ἐπὶ μὴ δύναται τῆς οὐσίας, ἵνα μηδ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χορηγεῖσθαι [. . . . .] . .
σενε[.] . . . δύνωμαι γυνή, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε
ἣν ὑπέσχετο προῖκα μήτε τι ἄλλο ὑπάρχον λαβοῦσα ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ κα[ι]ρὸν
τὰς χορη[γηθ]είσας τροφὰς ἀπολαμβάνουσα. ὑπέταξεν
δὲ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς κρίσεις Σ[ι]μίλιδος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιδικαστοῦ τῷ Λογγαίῳ
Ῥούφῳ γραφομένας ἑτέρας ὁμοίας, μηδὲ αἰδεσθεὶς ὅτι οὐδὲ
ὁ Ῥοῦφος προσέσχεν αὐτα[ῖ]ς ἀνομοίαις οὔσαις εἰς παράδειγμα . . . . [. .] .
ἑτέρων . . αιων. ἀλλὰ σὺ ὁ κύριος τῇ θεογνώστῳ σου
μνήμῃ καὶ τῇ ἀπλανήτῳ προαιρέσει ἀνενεγκὼν τὴ[ν γραφεῖσ]άν σοι ὑπὸ
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπιστολήν, καὶ ὅτι φθάνει τὸ πρᾶγμα
ἀκριβῶς [ἐξ]ητασμένον, πρόφασις δέ ἐστιν ἐπιβουλῆς το . . . . πα . . θ . .
ειουκ . . ον κατὰ συνγραφήν, ἀντέγραψεν τῷ στρατηγῷ
τάδε· Π[ο]μπώνιος Φαυστιανὸς Ἰσιδώρῳ στρατηγῷ [Ὀ]ξυρυγχε[ί]τ[ο]υ χαίρειν.
τὰ γραφέντα μοι ὑπὸ Χαιρήμονος γυμνα-
σιαρχήσαντος τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως αἰτιομένου Ὡρείω[να ἄν]δρα θυγατρὸς
αὐτοῦ ως βιαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάσχ[ο]ντος
ὑποταχθῆναι ἐκέλευσα, ὅπως φροντίσῃς ἀκόλουθα πρᾶξαι τοῖς π[ε]ρὶ το[ύ]του
πρότερον γραφεῖσι ὑπὸ Λογγαίου Ῥούφο[υ] τοῦ δια-
σημοτάτο[υ] πρὸς τὸ μὴ π[ε]ρὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐντυγχάνειν. ἐ[ρ]-
ρῶσθ(αι) εὔχομ(αι). (ἔτους) κς//, Παχὼν λ̄. ταύτην
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ[εν]εγκόντος τοῦ Χαιρήμονος καὶ ἀναδόντος ἐπὶ τῆς γ̄ τ[ο]ῦ
Ἐπειὶφ Ἁρποκρατίωνι βασιλικῷ γρα[μ]ματεῖ
[δι]αδεχομένῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρα(τηγίαν), παροῦσα αὐτὴ διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός
μου προσεκύνησα μὲν σοῦ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τοῖς [γ]ραφεῖσι

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ἐξ ἐνγράφων γάμων γεγενημένας καὶ ἐνγράφως γεγενημένας. ὅτι δὲ ταῦ(τα)
οὕτως ἔχει, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς προφάσεως ἀπαλλά
ξω, ὑπέταξά σοι ἀπὸ πλειόνω[ν] περὶ τούτου κριθέντων ὀλίγας ἡγεμόνων
καὶ ἐπιτρόπων καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῶν κρίσεις, ἔτι τε καὶ νο-
μικῶν προσφωνήσεις, περὶ τοῦ τὰς ἤδη τελείας γυναῖκας γενομένας ἑαυτῶν
εἶναι κυρίας, εἴτε βούλονται παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν μένειν
εἴτε μή, καὶ ὑπόκεισθαι πατράσιν οὐ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἐφεῖται
ἐπὶ προφάσει ἑτέρων ἐνκλημάτων φεύγειν τὰς χρηματικὰς δίκας,
ἀλλὰ
δὴ καὶ ὅτι τὰς συνγραφὰς πα[ρα]τίθεσθαι τοῖς βιβλιοφυλακίοις νόμιμον
καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων γενομένας κατοχὰς πάντες ἡγεμόνες
καὶ αὐτοκράτορες· κυρίας [εἶν]αι καὶ βεβαίας τεθελήκασι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδενὶ
ἐφεῖται λέγειν πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γράμματα, ἵνα κα[ὶ] ἐκ τούτων
ἤδη ποτὲ παύσηται περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνοχλῶν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις καθὼς καὶ σὺ
γράφων ἠθέλησας. ἐξ ὑπομνη-
ματισμῶν Φλαουίου Τειτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος. (ἔτους) ιβ θεοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ, Παῦνι η̄, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ βήματος. Ἀντωνίου
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προσελθόντος λέγοντός τε διὰ Ἰσιδώρου νεωτέρου ῥήτορος
Σεμπρώνιον πενθερὸν ἑαυτο[ῦ] ἐκ μη[τ]ρὸς ἀφορ-
μῆς εἰς διαμάχην· ἐλθ[όν]τα ἄκουσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀπεσπακέναι, νοσησάσης
δὲ ἐκείνης ὑπολοίπης τὸν ἐπιστράτηγον Βάσσον
μεταπαθῶς ἀναστρα[έν]τα ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν κωλύεσθαι εἰ
συνοικεῖν ἀλληλοῖς θέλοιεν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἠκουκέναι·
τὸν γὰρ Σεμπρώνιον ἀποσι[ω]πήσαντα τοῦτο καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι περὶ βίας
ἐντυχόντα ἐπιστολὴν παρακεκομικέναι ἵνα οἱ ἀντίδι-
κοι ἐκπεμφθῶσι· αἰτεῖσθαι οὖν ἐὰν δοκῇ μὴ ἀποζευχθῆναι γυναικὸς οἰκείως
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχούσης. Δίδυμος ῥήτωρ ἀπεκρει-
νατο μὴ χωρὶς λόγου τὸν Σεμπρώνιον κεκεινῆσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντων[ί]ου
προσενεγκαμένου θυγατρομειξίας ἐγκαλεῖν, μὴ ἐνέγκαν-
τος τὴν ὕβριν τῇ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους συνκεχωρημένῃ ἐξουσίᾳ κεχρῆσθαι,
ἠτιᾶσθαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ [. . . . . .]πες ἐ[νκ]λημάτων.
Προβατιανὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀντωνίου προσέθηκεν, ἐὰν ἀπερίλυτος ἦν ὁ γάμος, τὸν
πατέρα μήτε τῆς προικὸς μηδὲ τῆς παιδὸς τῆς ἐκδεδο-
μένης ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν. Τειτιανός· διαφέρει παρὰ τίνι βούλεται εἶναι ἡ γε-
γαμημένη. ἀνέγνων. σεσημ(είωμαι). ἐξ ὑπομ[νηματισ]μῶν

Πακωνίου Φήλικος ἐπιστρατήγου. (ἔτους) ιη θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, Φαωφι ιζ̄, ἐν
τῇ παρὰ ἄνω Σεβεννύτου, ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Φλαυήσιος
Ἀμμούνιος ἐπὶ παρούσῃ Ταειχήκει θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἥρωνα Πεταήσιος.
Ἰσίδωρος ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Φλαυήσιος εἶπεν, τὸν οὖν αἰτιώμενον
ἀποσπάσαι βουλόμενον τ[ὴ]ν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ συνοικοῦσαν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ
δεδικάσθαι ὑπογύως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐ[πι]στρατήγου
καὶ ὑπερτεθεῖσθαι τὴν δίκην ὑμεῖν ἵνα ἀναγνωσθῇ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίω[ν νό]μος.
Σεουήρου καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου ῥητόρων ἀποκρειναμένων
Τειτιανὸν τὸν ἡγεμονεύσαντα ὁμοίας ὑποθέσεως ἀκούσαντα [ἐξ] Αἰγυπτιακῶν
προσώπων μὴ ἠκολουθηκέναι τῇ τοῦ νό-
μου ἀπανθρωπίᾳ ἀλλὰ τ[ῇ] ἐπι[νοί]ᾳ τῆς παιδός, εἰ βούλεται παρὰ τ[ῷ ἀνδρὶ]
μένειν, Πακώνιος Φῆλιξ· ἀναγνωσθητο ὁ ν[ό]μ[ος. ἀ]να-
γνωσθέντος Πακώνιος [Φῆ]λιξ· ἀνάγνωται καὶ τὸν Τειτιανοῦ ὑπομ[ν]ηματι-
τισμόν. Σεουήρου ῥήτορος ἀναγν[όντος], ἐπὶ τοῦ ιβ̣ (ἔτους) Α[δρια]νοῦ
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Παῦν[ι] ῃ̄, Πακώνιος Φῆλιξ· καθὼς ὁ κράτιστος Τ[ειτ]ι-
ανὸ[ς] ἔκρεινεν, πεύσονται τῆς γυναικός· καὶ ἐκέλευ[σε]ν δι' [ἐρ]μη-
νέως αὐτὴν ἐνεχθῆν[α]ι, τί βούλεται. εἰπούσης, παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μένειν,
Π[α]κώνιος Φῆλιξ ἐκέλευσεν ὑπομνηματι[σ]θῆναι.
ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν Οὐμβρί[ου] δικαιοδότου. (ἔτους) ς Δομειτιανοῦ, Φαμε-
ν[ὼθ .]. Διδύμη ἧς ἔκδικος ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς Σαβεῖνον
τὸν καὶ Κάσιον, ἐκ τῶν ῥεθέ[ντω]ν· Σαραπίων· μετάλλα τὰ πρόσωπα
Αἰγ[ύ]πτια ὄ̣ν̣τ̣α̣ παρ' οἷς ἄκρατός ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ν[ό]μων ἀποτομ[ί]α·
διοριζόμενος γάρ σοι λέγω [ὅ]τι Α̣ἰ̣γ̣[ύ]π̣τ̣ι̣οι οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀφελέσθαι τὰς
[θυγατ]έρ[ας ὧ]ν ἔδωκαν ἐξουσίαν, ἔχουσιν δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐὰν κ̣αὶ ἴδια
κτήσωνται μεθέτερα· Ο[ὔ]μβρι[ο]ς Σ̣α̣βείνῳ· εἰ ἔφθακας ἅπαξ προῖκα δ[οὺς
τ θυγ]ατρί σου, ἀποκατάστησον. Σαβεῖνο[ς· τ]οῦτον μ̣α̣ . . . . . α̣ἰ̣-
τοῦμαι. Οὔμβριος· τῇ θυγατρ[ὶ] δ̣ή̣. Σαβεῖνος· τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ οὐθὲν
[προσ]ή̣κ̣[ει] συνῖναι. Οὔμβριος· χεῖρόν ἐστι ἀνδρὸς ἀφαι[ρεῖσθαι

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. . . . . .
ἀντ[. . . . .]ν̣ε̣ . [14 letters]ν̣ο̣με . [. .]ησπαρ̣ . [12 letters] . ικο . σι[.] . ε̣ὐ̣δ̣α̣ι̣-
μ̣[. . . . . .]σ̣[. .] . . . . . [. . .] . . . . . .
μ̣ην[. . . . . .] . . . . δ[.]δω[. . . . . .] ἀντίγραφον προσφων̣[ήσεως νομ]ικοῦ. Οὔλ-
πιος Δ[ι]ονυσόδ[ωρος] τῶν ἠγορανομηκό-

των νομικὸς Σαλουιστ[ίῳ Ἀφ]ρικανῷ ἐπάρχῳ στόλου καὶ [ἐπὶ τῶ]ν κεκριμένων τῷ τειμιω[τά]τῳ χαίρειν. Δ[ιον]υσία
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδοθεῖσα [πρ]ὸς γάμον ἐν τῇ τοῦ π[α]τρὸς ἐξουσ[ίᾳ οὐ]κέτι γείνεται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῷ πατρὶ ἀγράφως
συνῴκησε [κ]αὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴ δοκεῖ ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων γεγενῆσθαι, τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκδόσθαι πρὸς γάμον οὐκέτι
ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων ἐστίν. πρὸς τοῦτο ἴσως γράφεις, τειμιώτα[τε]· καὶ δι' ὑπομνηματισμῶν ἠσφάλ[ι]σται περὶ τῆς πρ[οι]κὸς ἡ παῖς
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῇ βοηθεῖν δύναται. (ἔτους) κβ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, Μεχεὶρ κ̄. ἀντίγραφον διατάγμ[α]τος. Οὐαλέρι-
ος Εὐδαίμων ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει· καὶ παραδείγματι τῷ καλλίστῳ χρώμενος γνώμῃ τοῦ κρατίστου Μαμερτείνου,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ πεφωρακὼς ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν χρήματα ἀπαιτουμένων τὸ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν τοῖς ἀπαιτοῦσι ἀφέντες
ἐπανατάσει μειζόνων ἐνκλημάτων παντελῶς διακρούεσθαι ἢ παρατείνειν τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ἐπιχειροῦσι, οἱ μὲν κατα-
πλήξ⟨ε⟩ιν τοὺς τάχα ἂν φοβηθέντας τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐλάττονι
συμβήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, οἱ δὲ τῇ{ς} ἐπανα-
τάσει τῆς δίκης ἀπαυδήσειν τοὺς ἀντιδίκους οἰόμενοι, παραγγέλλω τῆς τοιαύτης πανουργίας ἀπέ{σ}χεσθαι, ἀποδιδόντας
ὅσα ὀφείλουσι ἢ πείθοντας τοὺς δικαίως ἀπαιτοῦντας· ὡς εἴ τις χρηματικῆς
. . . . συστάσης δίκης ἀπαιτηθεὶς καὶ μὴ
παραυτίκα ἀρνησάμενος ὀφείλειν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, μὴ παραυτίκα πλαστὰ εἶναι τὰ γράμματα εἰπὼν καὶ κα[τη]γορήσειν γράψας εἰ εἴτε πλασ-
τῶν γραμμάτων ἢ ῥᾳδιουργίας ἢ περιγραφῆς ἐνκαλεῖν ἐπιχειρῇ, ἢ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῆς τ[οι]αύτης τέχνης ὄφελες ἔσται ἀναγκασθήσεται [δὲ
ἀποδοῦναι εὐθέως ἃ ὀφείλει, ἢ παρακαταθέμενός τε τὸ ἀργύριον ἵν' ἐν βεβαίῳ τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν ὀφειλόμ[ενα] ᾖ, πέρας τῆς χρηματικῆς
ἀμφισβητήσεως λαβούσης, τότ' ἐὰν θαρρῇ τοῖς τῆς κατηγορίας ἐλέγχοις, τὸν μείζονα ἀγῶνα ε[ἰ]σελεύσεται, ο[ὐ]δ[ὲ] τότε ἀθοος
ἐσόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἐπιτίμοις ἐνεχόμενος. (ἔτους) ε θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου, Ἐπειφ κδ̄. (ἔτους) ιε Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Θὼθ ιξ̄. κληθείσης Φλαυίας Μηβίας πρὸς Φλαυίαν Ἑλένην καὶ ὑπακουσάσης, Λε . . [. . .] . . ς ῥήτωρ εἶπεν·
ἐν τῇ

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γματογράφοις καὶ τοῖς μνήμοσι μηδὲν δίχα ἐπιστάλματος τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακ[ίου
τελειῶσαι, γνοῦσιν ὡς οὐκ ὄφελος τὸ] τοιοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ
αὐτοὶ ὡς παρὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα ποιήσοντες δίκην ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν προσή-
κουσαν. ἐὰν δ' εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῶν ἐπά-
νω χρόνων ἀπογραφαί, μετὰ πάσης ἀκρειβείας φυλασσέσθωσαν ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ τὰ διαστρώματα, ἵν' εἴ τις γένοιτο ζήτησις εἰς
ὕστερον περὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντως ἀπογραψαμένων ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐλεγχθῶσι. [ἵνα]
δ' [ο]ὖν β[εβ]αία τε καὶ εἰς ἅπαν διαμένῃ τῶν διασ-
τρωμάτων ἡ χρῆσ{ε}ις πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἀπογραφῆς δεηθῆναι, παραγγέλ-
λω τοῖς β[ι]βλιοφύλαξι διὰ πενταετίας ἐπανανεοῦσθαι
τὰ διαστρώματα μεταφερομένης εἰς τὰ καινοποιούμενα τῆς τελευταίας ἑκάστου
ὀνόματος ὑποστάσεως κατὰ κώμην καὶ κα-
τ' εἶδος. (ἔτους) θ Δομειτιανο[ῦ], μηνὸς Δομιτ{τ}ιανοῦ δ. ἐξ ὑπομνηματισ-
μῶν Πετρωνίου Μαμερτείνου. (ἔτους) ιη Ἀδρ(ιανοῦ), Ἀθὺρ ιε̄.

IV. 5. λοιπὰ τῆς τιμῆς: the τιμή appears to be the sum of 8 talents for which Chaeremon mortgaged the property settled upon Dionysia, cf. IV. 7, 14 and VI. 25.

6. διὰ δημοσίου: a public official or office such as the ἀγορανομεῖον or μνημονεῖον, cf. note on VIII. 36. The main verbs throughout Col. IV, γεγονέναι, ἐμμεμενηκέναι, &c., are in the infinitive because Dionysia is quoting her previous petition to Longaeus Rufus.

9. Perhaps διὰ τῆς τ]ῶν ἄλλων.

10. Probably συνγραψα[μένου τ]οῦ πάππου.

11. ἐπὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν: ἐπί seems superfluous. On the probable nature of this transaction see introd. p. 144.

12. Asclepiades seems to have been the mortgagee, cf. 27 and introd. p. 143.

21. l. ὄφλημα. αναγκασθαι is probably a mistake for ἠναγκάσθαι.

23. For ἐντίθεσθαι, if right, cf. VIII. 26 where it is used of the insertion of a claim in the statement of a man's property deposited in the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων.

26. δανείσας: the letters at the beginning of the next line might conceivably be θαι, in which case αὐτῷ (Chaeremon) is left without a construction. But δανεῖσαι, the subject being Dionysia, would be expected. In any case δανείσας can hardly be right.

30. τῆς δὲ μητ[ρός: the part played by Dionysia's mother in these transactions is obscure, cf. note on VI. 24.

34. αὐτῷ must be Longaeus Rufus, and the subject of γράψαι is Chaeremon, cf. VI. 13 and introd. p. 145.

36. For γενομεναν l. γενομένην or, perhaps better, γενομένῳ, cf. 6.

37–9. The proclamation of Similis reaffirming the decree of Mettius Rufus is given at full length in VIII. 22–43, *q. v.* For ὑποστάσεις see note on VIII. 26.

39. l. χρη|[ματισμῶν, ἡ δὲ κτῆσις μετὰ θάνατον τοῖς τέκνοις κεκράτηται, cf. VIII. 35–6.

V. 5. Ῥοῦφος: Longaeus Rufus, praefect, as the present papyrus shows (introd. p. 145), in the summer of A. D. 185; cf. B. G. U. 807. 10. He was succeeded by Pomponius Faustianus between Sept. 185 and Jan. 186 (introd. p. 147). His probable predecessor was Flavius Sulpicius Similis, who was praefect in Nov. 182 (VIII. 27, note). Neither Faustianus nor Similis are known from other sources.

7. The *ὑπογραφή* of the praefect giving instructions to the strategus was appended to the petition. It was then returned to the applicant, who had to bring it to the notice of the strategus, cf. 9, 37, and 41.

παρατίθεσθαι means to report, cf. VII. 9. The reference in *ἐμῆς διαγνώσεως* is obscure. Probably the meaning is that Rufus had given a decision favourable to Chaeremon before he had received the counter-petition from Dionysia, and now wished to modify it; cf. introd. p. 145.

10. The *βιβλιοφύλακες τῶν ἐγκτήσεων* were the natural persons to be referred to in the case of a disputed title to real property, since the *ἀπογραφαί* of such property were sent to them; cf. note on VIII. 31, and B. G. U. 11, a *προσφώνησις* of the Arsinoite *βιβλιοφύλακες* upon the possession of a piece of land claimed by two persons of the same name.

12. *γενομένη*: there is no trace of there having been a previous inquiry before that which is referred to in line 7; so it is probable that *γενομένη* is a mistake for *γινομένη* or *γενησομένη*. The *ρ* of *πραγματος* is corrected from *α*.

13. The vestiges after *τῇ* at the beginning of the line do not suit *ἡγεμονίᾳ*.

17. Some verb like *προσέταξε* is wanted at the beginning of the line.

18. *λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι*: cf. VI. 2, 14, &c. The epithet *διασημότατος* is found in VI. 34 and VII. 6. The earlier praefects were called *κράτιστοι*, see VII. 37, VIII. 8, and introd. p. 151.

21. The word after *ἡμε*|[*τ*]*έρ*[*ων*] is not *δικαίων*, but the allusion must be to the *κατοχή*. Apparently the answer of the *βιβλιοφύλακες* justified not only Dionysia's original *κατοχή* upon her father's property (cf. introd. p. 143), but also her claims upon him in connexion with the transactions narrated in IV.

ἐντυχών: this verb is used both of making and attending to a petition, cf. V. 5, 30, 35, VI. 10.

23. This *ἀπογραφή* was probably a declaration by Chaeremon which mentioned Dionysia's claim upon him (cf. VIII. 35), and was the principal evidence proving the existence of the *κατοχή* which Chaeremon denied. The date of Dionysia's marriage contract by which she obtained the *κατοχή* (VI. 23), is nowhere stated. Presumably it took place in or before the 22nd year, which is the earliest date mentioned in IV (line 6).

27. *σοί*: Pomponius Faustianus, who had succeeded Longaeus Rufus as praefect during the inquiry; cf. VI. 32, VII. 6, and introd. p. 147.

33. *μητρῴας*: cf. note on VI. 24.

34. *μηδὲν νεωτερίζεσθαι*: the subject is Chaeremon, cf. VI. 3.

35. *καθὰ κ.τ.λ.*: something like *μηδὲ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐνοχλεῖν* is required for the preceding lacuna, cf. VI. 4, 6, 35. The custom of appealing to the highest authority in the land on quite trivial disputes was inherited from the Ptolemaic period, when similar appeals were addressed to the king and queen, of which numerous examples are afforded by the papyri. From VI. 6 it appears that one of the first acts of a new praefect was to issue a proclamation against unnecessary petitions.

38. The *λοιπὴ ἀξίωσις* of Dionysia (cf. 42) apparently means her request for the help of the strategus in asserting her rights (33). The strategus considered that the brief answer of the praefect . . . *δικαίοις χρῆσθαι δύνασθαι* justified him in acceding to this request.

VI. 1–4. These lines are probably the conclusion of the commands addressed to the *βιβλιοφύλακες* by the strategus, cf. VI. 11 *τὰ ἐκ ταύτης τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι ἐπιστάλματα.*

VI. 4–VII. 8. 'Chaeremon, however, once more renewed his attacks upon me without cessation, but recognizing the impossibility of accusing me any longer concerning my rights to possession after such elaborate inquiries and so much correspondence had taken place, turned his schemes in another direction; and though your highness had like your predecessors recently proclaimed that applications concerning private suits were not to be sent to you, he not only wrote but came in person and mutilated the case, as if he were

able to deceive even the lord praefect. Ignoring entirely both the circumstances under which the letter of Rufus was written, my petition to Rufus, his answer, the inquiry held by the strategus, the report of the keepers of the archives, the letter written to you on the subject by the strategus, the reply to it which you sent to me on my petition, and the orders consequently issued to the keepers of the archives, he merely wrote to you a letter to the following effect: "From Chaeremon, son of Phanias, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus. My daughter Dionysia, my lord praefect, having committed many impious and illegal acts against me at the instigation of her husband Horion, son of Apion, I sent to his excellency Longaeus Rufus a letter in which I claimed to recover in accordance with the laws the sums which I had made over to her, expecting that this would induce her to stop her insults. The praefect wrote to the strategus of the nome in the 25th year, Pachon 27, enclosing copies of the documents which I had submitted, with instructions to examine my petition and to act accordingly. Since therefore, my lord, she continues her outrageous behaviour and insulting conduct towards me, I claim to exercise the right given me by the law, part of which I quote below for your information, of taking her away against her will from her husband's house without exposing myself to violence either on the part of any agent of Horion or of Horion himself, who is continually threatening to use it. I have appended for your information a selection from a large number of cases bearing upon this question. 26th year, Pachon." Such was his letter. He could not indeed cite a single insult or any other act of injustice against himself with which he charged me, but malice was the root of his abuse and assertion that he had been shamefully treated by me, saying that forsooth I turned a deaf ear to him, and a desire to deprive me of the right which I retain over the property. Stranger accusation still, he professes that he is exposed to violence on the part of my husband, who, even after my marriage contract with him which stated that I brought him this right unimpaired, gave his consent to me and afterwards to my mother . . . when we wished to agree to Chaeremon's mortgaging the property in question for a total sum of 8 talents. Since that time (he has continued) attempting to deprive me of my husband, being unable to deprive me of my property, in order that I may be unable to get provision even from my lawful husband, while from my father I have had neither the dowry which he promised nor any other present, nay more, I have never received at the proper times the allowance provided. He also appended the judgements of Similis as before, and other similar cases quoted by the archidicastes in his letter to Longaeus Rufus, unabashed by the fact that even Rufus had paid no attention to them as a precedent on account of their dissimilarity (to the present case). . . . But your lordship exercising your divine memory and unerring judgement took into consideration the letter written to you by the strategus, and the fact that a searching inquiry into the affair had already been held, and that . . . was a pretext for plotting against me; and you answered the strategus as follows:—"Pomponius Faustianus to Isidorus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. The complaint which I have received from Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, accusing Horion, the husband of his daughter, of using violence against him, has by my orders been appended to this letter. See that the matter is decided in accordance with the previous instructions of his excellency Longaeus Rufus, in order that Chaeremon may not send any more petitions on the same subject. Farewell. 26th year, Pachon 30." On the receipt of this letter, Chaeremon brought it on Epeiph 3 before Harpocration, royal scribe and deputy-strategus; and I appeared in court through my husband, and not only welcomed your orders and desired to abide by them, but showed that a decision in accordance with the previous instructions of Rufus had already been reached. For while Chaeremon had written to protest against my claim as being illegal, Rufus, as was proved both by his answer to Chaeremon and his reply to my petition, desired that an inquiry should be held to investigate the justness of my claim, and

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24. μ[η]τρί: cf. IV. 30, VIII. 25, note, and V. 33, which tends to show that Dionysia's rights came somehow from her mother. Combining this with the present passage, according to which the consent of Dionysia's mother as well as that of Dionysia seems to have been necessary for Chaeremon's mortgage of the property, it may be conjectured that the οὐσία in question was originally part of the dowry of Dionysia's mother. Dionysia, however, does not seem ever to lay much stress on rights derived from her mother. The γράμματα of her father, including the ἀπογραφή (V. 23) and ὁμολογήματα (IV. 6, 36), were the important evidence concerning the κατοχή.

26. ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.: the truth of Dionysia's assertion that she had not received her dowry is doubtful, cf. introd. p. 145.

27. χορηγεῖν is generally used of the provision made by the husband for his wife, as in 26, but it is also used of the parents; cf. C. P. R. 24. 18, and see introd. p. 144.

28. Σιμίλιδος: Flavius Sulpicius Similis, praefect in A. D. 182 (cf. VIII. 27). It may be doubted whether Dionysia was quite ingenuous in saying that Rufus paid no attention to the evidence of Chaeremon, for the letter of Rufus seems to have been favourable to him, cf. note on VI. 8 and introd. p. 145.

31. ἀντέγραψεν is a slip for ἀντέγραψας.

35. Possibly σε is lost after ἐρρῶσθ(αι); but a petition quoted in IX (introd. p. 151) addressed apparently to Annius Syriacus, praefect in A. D. 163, concludes ἐρρῶσθ(αι) εὔχομαι, ἡγεμὼν κύριε. The pronoun is also omitted in Brit. Mus. Pap. CCXIII. *verso* 13, of the third century. But the full phrase, which becomes practically universal in the fourth century, occurs in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus as early as the 16th year of Trajan.

VII. 1–7. The judgement of the deputy-strategus, cf. 10 below and introd. p. 148.

7. Above the δ and ν of δύναται are two signs like ⌣, and a similar sign recurs at the bottom of IX. In all three cases the ink is not that used by the person who wrote the petition.

8–19. 'On all points then, my lord praefect, the affair being now clear, and the malice of my father towards me being evident, I now once more make my petition to you, giving a full account of the case in accordance with the decision of the royal scribe and deputy-strategus, and beseech you to give orders that written instructions be sent to the strategus to enforce the payment to me of the provisions at the proper times, and to restrain at length his attacks upon me, which previously were based upon the charge of an illegal claim, but now have the pretext of a law which does not apply to him. For no law permits wives against their will to be separated from their husbands; and if there is any such law, it does not apply to daughters of a marriage by written contract and themselves married by written contract. In proof of my contention, and in order to deprive Chaeremon of even this pretext, I have appended a small selection from a large number of decisions on this question given by praefects, procurators, and chief justices, together with opinions of lawyers, all proving that women who have attained maturity are mistresses of their persons, and can remain with their husbands or not as they choose; and not only that they are not subject to their fathers, but that the law does not permit persons to escape a suit for the recovery of money by the subterfuge of counter-accusations; and thirdly that it is lawful to deposit contracts in the public archives, and the claims arising from these contracts have been recognized by all praefects and emperors to be valid and secure, and no one is permitted to contradict his own written engagements. In this way too he will at length cease from continually troubling the praefecture with the same demands, as you yourself wished in your letter.'

10. χορηγίας: cf. VI. 27 and introd. pp. 144–5.

11. τε after ἐπίσχειν is corrected from δε.

13. ἐνγράφως γεγενημένας seems to be a mere repetition of ἐξ ἐνγράφων γάμων γεγενημένας, and most probably γεγενημένας is a mistake for γεγαμημένας; cf. VI. 23, from which it appears

that there was a *συγγραφή* between Dionysia and Horion. It is clear, both from Dionysia's admission here (*εἴ τίς ἐστι*) and from the *προσφώνησις* of Ulpius Dionysodorus in VIII. 2–7, that a distinction had arisen between the rights of a father over the person of a daughter *ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων* who was not married *ἐγγράφως*, and his rights over a daughter *ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων*, who was married *ἐγγράφως*, and that the freedom of children in the former class was much less than that of children in the latter. Indeed it seems that daughters *ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων* could not claim to have the judgement of Titianus made applicable to themselves unless they were married *ἐγγράφως*, cf. VIII. 2–7 and VII. 32, note. A parallel instance is afforded by C. P. R. 18, which proves that a child by an *ἄγραφος γάμος* could not in the lifetime of the father make a will in favour of any one else. But it may be doubted whether so far as the national Egyptian law was concerned Dionysia's second position, that no law allowed daughters *ἐξ ἐγγράφων γαμών* who were *ἐγγράφως γεγαμημέναι* to be taken away from their husbands, is any more correct than her first statement that no law allowed *any* daughters to be taken away, which is certainly untrue, cf. VII. 32, note. We should have at any rate expected some reference by Dionysia herself or in the cases quoted by her in VII. 19–43 to the passage of the law forbidding fathers to take away from their husbands daughters *ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων* who were *ἐγγράφως γεγαμημέναι*. But in the arguments of the advocates in the trials before Flavius Titianus and Paconius Felix nothing is said about *ἔγγραφοι* or *ἄγραφοι γάμοι*, and the natural inference from these trials is that the law made no exceptions in the right which it conferred upon fathers to take away their daughters. The strength of Dionysia's case lay not in the Egyptian law, which on all points seems to have been on the side of Chaeremon, but in the judgements of praefects and others overriding it.

14. *ἐπιτρόπων*: *ἐπίτροποι* in Roman papyri are generally *procuratores Caesaris* who were concerned with the royal domains. But no judgements of this kind of *ἐπίτροποι* or of *ἀρχιδικασταί* occur in VII, VIII, or apparently in IX. In VII. 29–38, however, there is a *ὑπομνηματισμός* of an epistrategus, and it is to this that *ἐπιτρόπων* probably refers; cf. B. G. U. 168. 1 and 4, where an epistrategus is addressed as *ἐπιτρόπων μέγιστε*. The absence of any judgements of *ἀρχιδικασταί* perhaps points to another column having been lost after IX, but cf. introd. p. 151.

16. The construction is difficult. *οὐ μόνον* apparently has the sense of 'not only not,' which is assisted by *οὐδ' ἐφεῖται* following.

19–20. 'Extract from the minutes of Flavius Titianus, sometime praefect. The 12th year of the deified Hadrian, Payni 8, at the court in the agora. Antonius, son of Apollonius, appeared and stated through his advocate, Isidorus the younger, that his father-in-law Sempronius had been induced by his mother to quarrel with him and to take away his (Sempronius') daughter against her will, and that, when she fell ill on being deserted, the epistrategus Bassus, being sympathetically disposed, declared that if they wished to live together Antonius ought not to be prevented. But Sempronius took no notice, and ignoring this declaration sent a petition to the praefect accusing Antonius of violence, to which he received an answer ordering the rival parties to appear. Antonius claimed therefore that, if it pleased the praefect, he should not be divorced from a wife with whom he was on good terms. Didymus, advocate of Sempronius, replied that his client had had good reason for having been provoked. For it was because Antonius had threatened to charge him with incest, and he refused to submit to the insult, that he had used the power allowed him by the laws, and had himself brought the action against Antonius. Probatianus on behalf of Antonius added that if the marriage was not cancelled the father had no power over the dowry any more than over the daughter whom he had given in marriage. Titianus said: 'The decision depends upon the question, with whom the wife wishes to live. I have read over and signed this judgement.'

21. *ἐκ μητρὸς ἀφορμῆς* probably qualifies *ἀπεσπακέναι* more than *ἐλθόντα*.

23. *ἀποφαίνεται*: *φαιν* is corrected from *φαν*. If the indicative is retained, the subject must be Antonius; but in that case (1) the present tense is curious since the other verbs, when not in the infinitive, are in the past, e.g. *ἀπεκρείνατο* in 25 and *προσέθηκεν* in 28, (2) *ὅτι—θέλοιεν* will then have to depend on a verb of speaking to be supplied out of *μεταπαθῶς ἀναστραφέντα*, (3) the construction after *ἀποφαίνεται* will be first a participle and then an infinitive *ἠκουκέναι*, (4) *ἀποφαίνεται* from its position ought to govern *ὅτι*, which, since *ὅτι—θέλοιεν* is clearly a declaration by the epistrategus, it cannot do. On all these grounds, therefore, it is better to read *ἀποφαίνεσθαι* with Bassus as the subject, as in our translation.

25. *ἀποζευχθῆναι*: this shows that the *ἀπόσπασις* of the daughter by her father was no temporary measure, but intended to be a permanent divorce.

27. *κατὰ τοὺς νόμους*: cf. 34–35, which leave no doubt about the right conferred by the national Egyptian laws, and note on VI. 17.

28. *ἀπερίλυτος* is used of a contract which is 'not cancelled'; cf. cclxxi. 21, and the clause sometimes inserted in (Fayûm) marriage contracts, e.g. B. G. U. 183. 10 and 251. 8, *μενούσης δὲ ἐπὶ χώρας τῆς συγγραφῆς ταύτης ἀπερίλυτον εἶναι*. That Antonius and his wife were married *ἐγγράφως* is clear from the use of this word and of *ἐκδεδομένη*, for which cf. VIII. 5 and the Oxyrhynchus marriage contracts which frequently begin with the word *ἐξέδοτο*, e.g. ccclxxii. It is almost certain that the wife was also *ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων*, cf. notes on 32 and VIII. 4. Probatianus' argument, therefore, in so far as it concerns the person of the daughter, resembles that of Dionysia in VII. 12 (*εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν τις, ἀλλ' οὐ, κ.τ.λ.*); and a general survey of Dionysia's evidence leads to the conclusion that that argument, so far as the Egyptian law was concerned, was unsound; cf. VI. 17–8, VII. 27, 34–5. That Dionysia should use it was, after the judgements of Titianus and Paconius Felix, quite natural. But in the mouth of Probatianus at the trial before Titianus it must have been an appeal to equity, not to the Egyptian law, which undoubtedly was on the side of the father and had to be overridden by the judge (VII. 34). But Probatianus was chiefly concerned with the question of the dowry, the claim to the *ἐξουσία* over the person of the daughter having been discussed by Isidorus. On the rights of an Egyptian wife over her dowry, which never became the property of her husband, see Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 230 sqq., though the new fact proved by this papyrus that the father had by native Egyptian law considerable rights over the dowry puts the freedom of the woman in a very different light.

A clause enacting that in the case of the wife's death without children the dowry should return to her family is sometimes found in marriage contracts from Oxyrhynchus, e.g. cclxv. 30, 31. By the Theodosian code the husband might in this case receive as much as half the dowry (Mitteis, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–50).

29. *ἀνέγνων. σεσημείωμαι*: the official signature of the praefect giving legal validity to the *ὑπομνηματισμός*; cf. B. G. U. 136. 27, where *ἀνέγνων* alone occurs.

29–38. 'Extract from the minutes of Paconius Felix, epistrategus. The 18th year of the deified Hadrian, Phaophi 17, at the court in the upper division of the Sebennyte nome, in the case of Phlauesis, son of Ammounis, in the presence of his daughter Taeichekis, against Heron, son of Petaësis. Isidorus, advocate for Phlauesis, said that the plaintiff therefore, wishing to take away his daughter who was living with the defendant, had recently brought an action against him before the epistrategus and the case had been deferred in order that the Egyptian law might be read. Severus and Heliodorus, advocates (for Heron), replied that the late praefect Titianus heard a similar plea advanced by Egyptian witnesses, and that his judgement was in accordance not with the inhumanity of the law but with the choice of the daughter, whether she wished to remain with her husband. Paconius Felix said, "Let the law be read." When it had been read Paconius Felix said, "Read also the minute of

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38. ενεχθηναι is no doubt a corruption of ἐλεγχθῆναι, for the daughter was in court (31), and a word meaning 'asked' is imperatively required by the context.

39–43. 'Extract from the minutes of Umbrius, *iuridicus*. The 6th year of Domitian, Phamenoth . . . Didyme, defended by her husband Apollonius, against Sabinus also called Casius: extract from the proceedings. Sarapion:—"Inquire of the witnesses who are Egyptians, amongst whom the severity of the law is untempered. For I declare to you that the Egyptians have power to deprive their daughters not only of what they have given them, but of whatever these daughters may acquire for themselves besides." Umbrius said to Sabinus:—"If you have already once given a dowry to your daughter, you must restore it." Sabinus:—"I request . . ." Umbrius:—"To your daughter of course." Sabinus:—"She ought not to live with this man." Umbrius:—"It is worse to take away (a wife) from her husband (than a dowry from a daughter?)" . . .'

40. Sarapion, who was no doubt the advocate of Sabinus, appears to be addressing the δικαιοδότης.

42. Apparently Sabinus had taken away the dowry which he had given to his daughter. The dialogue which follows is obscure. The judgement of the δικαιοδότης was no doubt in favour of the daughter, or Dionysia would not have quoted the case.

VIII. 2–7. 'Copy of a lawyer's opinion. Ulpius Dionysodorus, ex-agoranomus, lawyer, to his most esteemed Salvistius Africanus, praefect of a troop and judicial officer, greeting. Since Dionysia has been given away by her father in marriage, she is no longer in his power. For even though her mother lived with her father without a marriage contract, and on that account she appears to be the child of a marriage without contract, by the fact of her having been given away in marriage by her father, she is no longer the child of a marriage without contract. It is about this point probably that you write to me, my good friend. Moreover, there are minutes of trials which secure the rights of the daughter against her father in respect of the dowry, and this too can help her.'

2. A νομικός was frequently appointed to act as assessor where the judge was a soldier and therefore not a legal expert. Cf. C. P. R. 18, the report of a trial before Blaesius Marianus, ἔπαρχος σπείρης πρώτης Φλαουίας Κιλίκων ἱππικῆς, who has the νομικός Artemidorus as his legal assessor. The present προσφώνησις is an answer by a νομικός to a technical question addressed to him by an ἔπαρχος στόλου acting as judge, and involves a point of law somewhat different from that of the cases tried before Titianus and Paconius Felix. In them, as has been pointed out (VII. 32 note; probably in the case tried before the δικαιοδότης as well), the daughters were ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων. But in the case with which the προσφώνησις is concerned the daughter was ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων, and therefore the decisions of Titianus and Paconius Felix did not directly apply. Nevertheless the νομικός declares that the fact of the daughter having herself contracted an ἔγγραφος γάμος (cf. 5 τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκδόσθαι with note on VII. 28) annulled her status as a person ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων, and therefore she was freed from the ἐξουσία of her father and presumably could appeal to ὑπομνηματισμοί such as those of Titianus, Paconius Felix, and Umbrius, as precedents for staying with her husband and keeping her dowry. This προσφώνησις is Dionysia's chief evidence for her statement (VII. 14) that the law giving fathers the right to take away their daughters did not apply to those who were ἐγγράφως γεγαμημέναι, while the three ὑπομνηματισμοί are intended to justify her statement that the law did not apply to daughters ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων. On both grounds therefore, as being herself not only ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων but ἐγγράφως γεγαμημένη, Dionysia could claim the support of legal decisions and opinions, though we have seen that the national Egyptian law was much more unfavourable to her than she allows (VII. 13, note). That Dionysia, though herself ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων, should appeal to a decision regarding persons ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων, is intelligible, since the rights of children ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων were much more restricted than those of children ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων, and there-

fore the opinion of Ulpius Dionysodorus that an ἔγγραφος γάμος freed a daughter ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων from the ἐξουσία of her father *a fortiori* applied with redoubled force to herself, who had not only contracted an ἔγγραφος γάμος but was not even by birth ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων.

3. Σαλουιστ[ίῳ Ἀφ]ρικανῷ: another letter addressed to him with the same titles occurs in the mutilated Col. IX (see introd. p. 151). Of the writer's name and titles only [τῶν ἡγο]ρανομηκότων survives, but not improbably he was Ulpius Dionysodorus (cf. line 2 here).

Δ[ιον]υσία: the identity of this name with the writer of our papyrus may at first sight appear more than a mere coincidence, especially as the date of this προσφώνησις is uncertain, cf. note on 7. But Salvistius Africanus is not mentioned in the early columns, and the Dionysia who wrote the papyrus claimed to be ἐξ ἐγγράφων γάμων. Moreover the date of the προσφώνησις probably falls in the reigns of Hadrian or Pius.

4. γεινεται: the first ι is inserted over the line. There are two transverse lines through the τι of ουκετι, apparently in the same ink as that used by the person who inserted the signs in VII. 7. Probably they are meaningless.

6–8. These lines are very obscure. καὶ δι' ὑπομν.—δύναται seems to have been put in as an afterthought, and ὑπό in 7 to be a mistake for ἀπό. The ὑπομνηματισμοί would be such trials as those before Titianus and Umbrius the δικαιοδότης, in both of which the question of dowry is discussed. τοῦτο in 6 means the opinion of the νομικός which has just been given, while τοῦτο in 7 refers to the preceding sentence καὶ δι' ὑπομν. κ.τ.λ.; cf. note on 7.

7–18. 'The 22nd year of the deified Hadrian, Mecheir 20. Copy of a decree. "Proclamation of Valerius Eudaemon, praefect of Egypt. Following a most illustrious precedent, the opinion of his highness Mamertinus, and having myself from my own observation discovered that many debtors when pressed for payment refuse to satisfy the just claims of their creditors, and by the threat of bringing a more serious charge, attempt either to evade altogether or to postpone payment, some because they expect to terrify their creditors who perhaps may be induced through fear of the danger to accept less than the full amount, others because they hope that the threat of an action will make their creditors renounce their claims, I proclaim that such persons shall abstain from this form of knavery, and shall pay their debts or use persuasion to meet the just demands of their creditors. For any person, who, when an action for the recovery of a debt is brought against him, does not immediately deny the claim, that is to say does not immediately declare that the contract is forged and write that he will bring an accusation, but subsequently attempts to make a charge either of forgery or false pretences or fraud, either shall derive no advantage from such a device and be compelled at once to pay his debts; or else shall place the money on deposit in order that the recovery of the debts may be assured, and then, when the money action has come to an end, if he has confidence in the proofs of his accusation, he shall enter upon the more serious law-suit. And even so he shall not escape his liabilities, but shall be subject to the legal penalties. The 5th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus, Epeiph 24."'

7. The dates at the beginning and end of the διάταγμα of Eudaemon constitute one of the greatest difficulties in the papyrus. Since the date in 18 cannot refer to what follows (another date comes immediately after it), we should naturally suppose the 5th year of Pius to refer to the proclamation of Eudaemon and the 22nd year of Hadrian to the προσφώνησις of Ulpius Dionysodorus. This however is impossible, for the praefect from the 3rd to the 6th year of Pius is known to have been Avidius Heliodorus (cf. C. I. G. 4955 with B. G. U. 113. 7), while the date of Eudaemon's praefecture had already been assigned with much probability to the last year or two of Hadrian on the evidence of O. P. I. xl, which suits Eudaemon's reference here to Petronius Mamertinus, praefect in 134–5 and no doubt his immediate predecessor. The date therefore in line 7, the 22nd year of

Hadrian, must refer to Eudaemon's proclamation, though it is unsatisfactory that it comes before *ἀντίγραφον διατάγματος* instead of after it, for the rule is that the date should either follow the title, as e.g. in VII. 20, 30, or be placed at the end, as in VIII. 27 and 43. This difficulty, however, is as nothing compared to the problem which then arises concerning the date in line 18. Unless there is some mistake in the papyrus as to these two dates, the only document to which the date in 18 can apply is the *προσφώνησις* of Dionysodorus. We should then have to suppose that Dionysodorus enclosed a copy of Eudaemon's proclamation and that the last sentence *καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῇ βοηθεῖν δύναται* refers to the proclamation. This course has the advantage of supplying a date for the *προσφώνησις*, which has not got one at the beginning, and cannot claim the date in line 7 without leaving the proclamation of Eudaemon undated; but the objections to it are quite insuperable. (1) We should expect *τόδε* in place of *τοῦτο* in 7, and some reference to the proclamation which he had appended (cf. VI. 19, VIII. 27). (2) Though such an arrangement of dates is possible, it is not in itself probable. In VIII. 27 where the *διάταγμα* of Similis quotes the *διάταγμα* of Mettius Rufus, the date of Similis' edict is put at the end of his own *διάταγμα*, and the date of Rufus' at the end of his (VIII. 43). (3) The proclamation of Eudaemon does not appear to have the least bearing on the *προσφώνησις*, which is concerned with the rights of a father over his daughter, while on the other hand there is every reason for Dionysia to quote the proclamation after the evidence bearing on the *ἀπόσπασις* question, since in VII. 16 she declared her intention of proving firstly the injustice of the *ἀπόσπασις*, secondly *ὅτι οὐδ' ἐφεῖται ἐπὶ προφάσει ἑτέρων ἐγκλημάτων φεύγειν τὰς χρηματικὰς δίκας*, which is the very subject of Eudaemon's proclamation and of the following *ὑπομνηματισμός* (VIII. 18–21). We are therefore reduced to the hypothesis that something has gone wrong in the arrangement of dates in 7 and 18. Two methods of solving the difficulty may be suggested. The first is to suppose that the date in 18 refers to a *ὑπομνηματισμός* or *προσφώνησις* which for some reason has been omitted; but this is open to the objection that the *προσφώνησις* of Dionysodorus will then be left without a date. The solution which satisfies every requirement except that of inherent probability is to suppose that the dates in 7 and 18 have been wrongly transposed. Then both the *προσφώνησις* and the proclamation will have dates and the date of the proclamation will come in a natural place. But though as has been stated the present papyrus is probably a copy and not the original of the petition, and there are a good many minor mistakes, such an error is very difficult to explain.

8. *Μαμερτείνου*: Petronius Mamertinus, who is known from B. G. U. 114 and 19 to have been praefect from Feb. 25, 134, to Feb. 11, 135. VIII. 43, where a *ὑπομνηματισμός* of his is quoted, shows that he was already praefect on Nov. 11, 133.

10. *μειζόνων*: i.e. more serious than an action for the recovery of a debt.

12. *τῆς δίκης* apparently goes with *ἐπανατάσει*, since there is no instance of *ἀπαυδᾶν* governing a genitive. Otherwise it would be more satisfactory to construct it with *ἀπαυδήσειν* in the sense of the *χρηματικὴ δίκη*, cf. 13 and VII. 16.

14. *εἰ εἴτε κ.τ.λ.* is perhaps defensible, but the sentence would be much improved by reading *εἶτα* or *εἶτ' εἰ*.

16. *τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν ὀφειλόμ[ενα] ἢ*: as it stands, *ὀφειλόμενα* must mean debts in general. *τὰ ὀφειλομενα* would be an improvement. There is not room for *ὀφειλόμ[ενον]*.

17–18. *οὐδὲ τότε κ.τ.λ.*: the sense of this is that even if the debtor won his *μείζων ἀγών* it would not absolve him from the penalties incurred through failure to repay his debt at the proper time. The usual penalty for non-payment of a debt was enforced payment of the *ἡμιόλιον* or 1½ times the original sum; cf. e.g. O. P. I. ci. 44.

18. (*ἔτους*) *ϵ θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.*: see note on 7.

18–21. 'The 15th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Thoth 16. Flavia Maevia having been summoned to defend herself against Flavia Helena and having obeyed,

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was to ensure that the *κατοχαί* to which real property was liable should be registered along with the statements of the property.

γενόμενον: the word which follows is not *ἐπίτροπον*.

26. *ὑποστάσεσιν*: cf. 34 and 42. The *ὑποστάσεις* were distinct from the *ἀπογραφαί*, which were only one class of the documents concerning ownership. *ὑπόστασις*, of which the central meaning is 'substance,' i. e. property (cf. e. g. O. P. I. cxxxviii *κινδύνῳ ἐμῷ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστάσεως*), is used here for the whole body of documents bearing on the ownership of a person's property (whether *ἀπογραφαί*, sales, mortgages, &c.) deposited in the archives, and forming the evidence of ownership. By the edict of Mettius Rufus (VIII. 31–43) all owners of house or land property were commanded to register it (*ἀπογράφεσθαι*) within six months of the edict, and in the *ὑποστάσεις* wives and children had to insert (*ἐντιθέναι* 26, or *παρατιθέναι* 34) a statement of their claims, if any. The *διαστρώματα* were the 'digests' or official abstracts of documents referring to ownership of land and houses, and were also evidence for a title to possession. The necessity of keeping the *διαστρώματα* up to date is the central point in Mettius Rufus' decree. For examples of official *διαστρώματα* of about A. D. 100 containing property lists with annotations stating subsequent changes, quite in accordance with the commands given in 41–42, see cclxxiv and ccclx.

27. (*ἔτους*) *κγ*: the reading is not quite certain, but there is not much room for error. The absence of the emperor's name points to the decree belonging to the current reign; ann though Commodus in Egypt counted his regnal years from the date of his father's accession he does not appear in dates upon papyri until A. D. 176, and his sole reign only began in the middle of his 20th year. The date therefore falls between the 21st year and the 25th, when Longaeus Rufus appears as praefect.

27–43. 'Proclamation of Marcus Mettius Rufus, praefect of Egypt. Claudius Areus, strategus of the Oxrhynchite nome, has informed me that both private and public affairs are in a disorganized condition because for a long time the official abstracts in the property record-office have not been properly kept, in spite of the fact that my predecessors have on many occasions ordered that these abstracts should receive the due corrections. This cannot be done adequately unless copies are made from the beginning. Therefore I command all owners to register their property at the property record-office within six months, and all lenders to register their mortagages, and all others having claims upon property to register them. And when they make the return they shall severally declare the sources from which the property acquired has come into their possession. Wives shall also insert copies in the property-statements of their husbands, if in accordance with any native Egyptian law they have a claim over their husbands' property, and children shall do the same in the property-statements of their parents, where the usufruct of the property has been guaranteed to the parents by public contracts but the right of ownership after their death has been settled upon the children, in order that persons entering into agreements may not be defrauded through ignorance. I also command all scribes and recorders of contracts not to execute contracts without an order from the record-office, and warn them that not only will failure to observe this order invalidate their proceedings, but they themselves will suffer the due penalty of their disobedience. If the record-office contains any registrations of property of earlier date let them be preserved with the utmost care, and likewise the official abstracts of them, in order that, if any inquiry is made hereafter concerning false returns, those documents and the abstracts of them may supply the proofs. Therefore in order that the use of the abstracts may become secure and permanent, and prevent the necessity of another registration, I command the keepers of the record-offices to revise the abstracts every five years and to transfer to the new ones the last statement of property of each person arranged under villages and classes. The 9th year of Domitian, Domitianus 4.'

30. *διαστρώματα*: see note on 26.

31. *ὅπερ οὐ καλῶς κ.τ.λ.*: this is explained by what follows.

ἀπογράψασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν κτῆσιν: throughout this decree the property in question is real property, i. e. land or houses. By a curious chance we have in three Oxyrhynchus papyri (ccxlvii, ccclviii and O. P. I. lxxii) examples of *ἀπογραφαί* sent to the *βιβλιοφύλακες* in the 9th year of Domitian in accordance with this very decree of Mettius Rufus. On the origin and nature of these *ἀπογραφαί* see the luminous article by Wilcken in *Hermes* xxviii. pp. 230 sqq. The present decree, taken in combination with the new facts adduced by the Oxyrhynchus *ἀπογραφαί* (see below), throws fresh light on the subject, and suggests some modifications of the views there expressed; cf. Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 150, whose explanation is entirely confirmed by the present text. Wilcken groups the *ἀπογραφαί* of house and land property together with the *ἀπογραφαί* of cattle, and considers that *ἀπογραφαί* of land, and perhaps those of houses, were made yearly (cf. subject-index to B. G. U. p. 399, 'alljährliche Steuerprofessionen')[1] like *ἀπογραφαί* of cattle. There are, however, two notable differences between the *ἀπογραφαί* of houses or land and those of cattle. In the former class we uniformly find it recorded that the *ἀπογραφαί* are made in accordance with the orders of the praefect, while in the *ἀπογραφαί* of cattle there is no such statement; and in the former class there is never any reference to an *ἀπογραφή* of the same property in the previous year (in ccxlviii an *ἀπογραφή* of the same property is mentioned, but it took place seventeen years before, see below), while the *ἀπογραφαί* of cattle often contain a mention of an *ἀπογραφή* of the same animals in the previous year. Moreover the edict of Mettius Rufus, which gave rise e.g. to the *ἀπογραφαί* O. P. I. lxxii and ccxlvii, does not apply to property other than land and houses. We must therefore distinguish the *ἀπογραφαί* of cattle, which were made yearly and required no special orders of the praefect, from the *ἀπογραφαί* of houses and land. The latter kind may be further subdivided into two classes: (a) those which are addressed to the strategus or *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς* and report land property which is *unwatered* (*ἄβροχος*), i. e. B. G. U. 139 and doubtless 108 (A. D. 202), 198 (A. D. 163), G. P. II. lvi (A. D. 163); (b) those addressed to the *βιβλιοφύλακες*, which register property in land or houses, whether acquired by sale or inheritance, and the mortgages, if any, upon it, in the manner laid down by the decree of Mettius Rufus.

The *ἀπογραφαί* in class (a) are clearly of an exceptional character, and were sent in when, owing to the Nile being low and a failure of the water supply having taken place, the praefect issued an edict that persons whose farms had not been watered should make a return. The four instances mentioned show that a failure took place in the years 162–3 and 201–2; but they contain nothing to prove that such returns were annual. It is significant that they are addressed to the strategus and basilicogrammateus, the officials who controlled the taxation, while the other class is addressed to the keepers of the archives, who were concerned not with the taxation but with the title-deeds of property (*ἐγκτήσεις*).

Were *ἀπογραφαί* in class (b) sent in regularly every year? An examination of the instances in the light of Mettius Rufus' decree leads to the conclusion already reached by Mr. Kenyon (*l. c.*) that this was not the case. Whenever property changed hands by sale or cession, or, no doubt, by inheritance, the change had to be notified; in fact the notification had to be sent by the vendor before the sale took place, cf. e. g. B. G. U. 184, 379, Brit. Mus. Pap. CCXCXIX and CCC, and note on 36 below. But a general *ἀπογραφή* sent in by all owners of property, whether recently obtained or not, such as is ordained by Mettius Rufus here, which stated not only the source (*πόθεν καταβέβηκεν* 33), but any *ὑποθῆκαι* upon the property, and of which B. G. U. 112, 420, 459, O. P. I. lxxii, lxxv and ccxlvii–l, ccclviii are examples, is not *a priori* likely to have been made every year; and

[1] So too *Gr. Ostraka*, I. 461 sqq., though he admits that there is no proof in the case of house property.

the tenour of Rufus' decree strongly supports the other view. In the first place the general ἀπογραφή ordained in VIII. 31 is to take place within six months, i. e. of the date of the decree, but there is nothing said about another general ἀπογραφή. On the contrary it is distinctly implied in 41 that if the διαστρώματα and ὑποστάσεις were properly kept up to date by the βιβλιοφύλακες there would be no need of another general ἀπογραφή at all. Secondly, if it was a standing rule that all owners of houses and land had to send in an ἀπογραφή every year, there does not seem much point either in this decree of Rufus ordering them to do so within six months, or in the insertion in the ἀπογραφαί themselves that they had been ordered by a particular praefect. Thirdly, the necessity for the general ἀπογραφή is stated by Mettius Rufus to be due to the absence of ἄνωθεν ἀντίγραφα (31), i. e. materials for making a comprehensive list of all title-deeds to property, without which the existing abstracts of documents bearing on ownership could not be revised. But if all owners of property had to send in ἀπογραφαί every year, there would at any moment be in the archives sufficient material for forming a general list, without having recourse to special measures. Lastly, the evidence of the extant ἀπογραφαί supports the same conclusion. It is very difficult, if not impossible, on a theory that yearly ἀπογραφαί of real property were made, to account for the fact that in the majority of ἀπογραφαί the property returned had certainly been acquired several years previously, while no reference is made to a previous ἀπογραφή of the property by the present owner. Prior to Domitian's reign we have B. G. U. 112 and ccxlviii–ccl. The first of these, which is quite clearly a general return of property of the same kind as that ordered by Mettius Rufus, took place in accordance with the commands of the praefect Vestinus. It records property acquired in the 5th and 6th year of Nero. The document is not dated, but was probably written in the 7th year, to which ccl belongs. The date of the previous ἀπογραφή of *other* property mentioned in that papyrus (χωρὶς ὧν προαπεγραψάμην ccl. 4, cf. ccxlix. 7) does not appear; but there is nothing whatever to imply that it took place in the year before the papyrus was written. ccxlviii. 32 seems to show that another general ἀπογραφή was held three years afterwards in the 10th year of Nero.

ccxlviii and ccxlix were both written on Oct. 10, A. D. 80. ccxlviii is a return of property bequeathed in A. D. 75–6 and mentions (line 32) that the said property had been registered in the ἀπογραφή of the 10th year of Nero (A. D. 63–4). This is extremely significant. If the property had been registered yearly, there is no reason for the selection of a date so far back as A. D. 63–4 as the year in which a previous ἀπογραφή took place. On the other hand if general ἀπογραφαί only took place from time to time, the reference in A. D. 80 to an ἀπογραφή in A. D. 63 is intelligible. An inference which may perhaps be drawn from this view is that between 63–4 and 80 no general ἀπογραφή (at any rate for the Oxyrhynchite nome) had occurred, and that therefore the previous ἀπογραφή mentioned in ccxlix. 7 was that held in 63. But this is doubtful. The property of which details are given in ccxlix was devised in A. D. 77–8.

ccxlvii, ccclviii, and O. P. I. lxxii which are dated in the 9th year of Domitian all mention the very decree of Mettius Rufus that is preserved in our papyrus, though they do not state when the property registered was acquired. On the theory that the ἀπογραφαί were yearly, this coincidence must be explained as purely fortuitous. On the other theory, however, the fact that they were written in the 9th and not in any of the other years of Domitian's reign is explained. B. G. U. 536 is a similar ἀπογραφή written in Domitian's reign (the precise year is lost), and it is specially interesting because it gives a list both of property καθαρὰ ἀπό τε ὀφειλῆς καὶ ὑποθήκης καὶ παντὸς διεγγυήματος and of property ἐν ὑποθήκῃ, quite in accordance with the decree of Mettius Rufus. There is but little doubt that this papyrus too was written in the 9th year of Domitian. A general ἀπογραφή is probably implied by O. P. I. lxxv (A. D. 129), which mentions no commands of a praefect but in other respects resembles ordinary ἀπογραφαί. It is not stated when the property was

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who would draw up the contract, see B. G. U. 184, 379, and Brit. Mus. Pap. CCXCIX and CCC. Brit. Mus. Pap. CCXCIX concludes *διὸ ἐπιδίδωμ[ι] ὅπως ἐπισ[ταλῇ] [τ]ῷ μνήμονι ὡς καθήκει*; cf. B. G. U. 379. 16 *διὸ προσαγγέλλο[μεν] ὅπως ἐπιστείλητε τῷ τὸ γραφεῖον Καραν[ίδος] συνχρηματίζ[ιν] ἡμεῖν ὡς καθήκει.*

A similar application in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the reign of Trajan contains the following passage:—*ἐπιδί[δω]μι [τ]ὸ ὑπόμν[η]μα ὅπως ἐπισ[τείλῃς] τοῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀγορανόμο[ις οὖσι] καὶ μνήμοσι τελειῶσαι* (whence we have restored *τελειῶσαι* in VIII. 37) *τὸν χρηματ[ισμὸν] ὡς καθήκει*, and concludes with a declaration that the property is *καθαρὰς ἀ[πὸ π]άσης κατοχῆς δημ[ο]σίας κ[αὶ] ἰδιωτικ[ῆς]* (written *ιδιοδικης*) *εἰς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέρα[ν]*. At the end is the *ἐπίσταλμα* of the *βιβλιοφύλαξ*:—*Σαραπίων ὁ σὺν Θέωνι βειβλιοφύ(λαξ) ἀγορανό(μοις) μητ(ρο)πόλ(εως) χα(ίρειν). ἔχει Ἀχιλλᾶς ἐν ἀπογραφῇ τὰς ἀρούρας ἕξ, διὸ ἐπιτελεῖτε ὡς καθήκ(ει).*

41. *πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν κ.τ.λ.*: the hopes of Rufus were not realized, for general *ἀπογραφαί* were held on several occasions subsequently, cf. note on 31.

43. *κατ' εἶδος*: cf O. P. I. xxxiv. *verso*, I. 11 *[τὰ εἴ]δη τῶν συνβολαίων.*

μηνὸς Δομιτιανοῦ: Domitian gave his name to October (Suet. *Dom.* 13): probably therefore Phaophi is meant; cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLIX. 99 and Mr. Kenyon's note. For the *ὑπομνηματισμός* of Mamertinus, praefect in A.D. 133–5, see introd. pp. 150–1, and cf. note on VIII. 8.

V. FIRST CENTURY DOCUMENTS.

CCXXXVIII. Official Notice.

19·4 × 9·5 *cm.* A.D. 72.

A NOTICE issued by some official, most probably the strategus, ordering all persons who had deposited in the notarial offices business documents, such as contracts, wills, etc., which documents were still *μετέωροι*, to appear before the agoranomi and have the documents completed within a certain time. The point of the notice depends upon the interpretation of the obscure term *μετέωρος* as applied to contracts. The word also occurs in B. G. U. 136. 16 *μετέωρα πολλὰ καταλελοιπέναι*, and 417. 3 *τὰ μετέωρα ἀπαλλάξαι . . . ἀπάλλαξον οὖν σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς μετεώρου, ἵνα ἤδη ποτὲ ἀμέριμνος γένῃ καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ μετεωρίδια ἤδη ποτὲ τύχην σχῇι*; cf. O. P. I. cxvii. 4 *ὅπως ἀπαρτισθῇ τὸ ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ μετεωρίδι⟨ο⟩ν.* The meaning which seems to suit all these instances of *μετέωρος* best is 'provisional,' 'incompleted'; the contrasted word being *τελειοῦν* in line 9. Possibly pro-

visional contracts had always to be made valid (or withdrawn) within the first month of the year following that in which they were drawn up. But the present papyrus scarcely justifies this inference.

The handwriting is a large clear semi-uncial; as the lines are of unequal length, the lacunae at the ends of 11–18 may be two or three letters longer than we have supposed.

Τοὺς ἔχοντας μετεώρους
οἰκονομίας ἔν τε τῶι
ἀγορανομίωι καὶ μνημο-
νείωι καὶ γραφίωι ἐν τῶι
διεληλυθότι τετάρτωι ἔτει
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
προσέρχεσθαι τοῖς
ἀγορανόμοις καὶ τε[λειοῦν
ταύτας ἐντὸς [. . . .
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ[ος
μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ [. . .
καὶ ὀφείλοντα[ς . . .
φέρειν [. . . . καταλο-
χισμῶν ε[. . . . . .
καὶ ἐνκυκλι[. . . . . .
ματα ἔτι καὶ νῦ[ν . . .
φέρειν ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ἀ[. . . .
. . . . . .

2–4. *Τῶι ἀγορανομίωι καὶ μνημονείωι καὶ γραφίωι*: the proclamation unfortunately has no address. But if the natural supposition, that it refers to the city of Oxyrhynchus, is correct, the conclusion is inevitable that there were at Oxyrhynchus at this time three offices, or three branches of one office, bearing different names, through each of which it was possible to execute *οἰκονομίαι*. The singular *ἀγορανομίωι κ.τ.λ.* is an objection to the hypothesis that the regulation was issued for the whole nome, or had a still wider application. The *ἀγορανομεῖον* occurs frequently in the Oxyrhynchus papyri; but in the Fayûm very rarely. We have not as yet found other evidence of the existence at Oxyrhynchus of the *γραφεῖον*, except in O. P. I. xliv. 23, where, as the name of a tax, it interchanges with *ἀγορανομεῖον*. It was, however, an institution common in the Fayûm (cf. Mitteis, *Hermes* xxx. 596 sqq., and a number of instances in Kenyon, *Cat.* II). On the other hand the *μνημονεῖον*, which is unknown in the Fayûm, is frequently mentioned in the Oxyrhynchus papyri; cf. e. g. ccxliii. 11, cclxx. 12. How far its functions are to be distinguished from those of the *ἀγορανομεῖον* is doubtful. The *μνημονεῖον* is most commonly connected with contracts of loan; testamentary business on the other hand appears always to be referred to the *ἀγορανομεῖον*; while deeds of cession may be executed in either. The title *μνήμων* is coupled with that of *ἀγορανόμος* in B. G. U. 177, 6 *τῶι ἀγορανόμωι ὄντι δὲ καὶ μνήμονι*, and elsewhere; cf. notes on ccxxxvii. VIII. 36 and 37. The conclusion to which this comparison leads is that the functions of the *ἀγορανομεῖον*, *μνημονεῖον*, and *γραφεῖον*, to which may be added from other Oxyrhynchus papyri (e. g. cclxxi. 7) the *καταλογεῖον*, were, so far as the execution and registration of contracts are concerned, very much the same. We are therefore unable to agree with Mitteis (*l. c.*), who draws a sharp contrast between the duties of the *γραφεῖον* and the *ἀγορανομεῖον*. The registration (*ἀναγραφή*) of contracts, for instance, which was performed in the Fayûm by the *γραφεῖον*, was effected at Oxyrhynchus by the *ἀγορανομεῖον*, cf. ccxli–iii. All these various notarial offices, though they were also repositories of documents (cf. e. g.

O. P. I. cvii), must be distinguished from the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, which was especially concerned with ἀπογραφαί; cf. ccxxxvii. VIII. 31, note.

Besides these local record offices in the nomes, there were also in Alexandria a Ναναῖον and, from Hadrian's time onwards, a Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη, both of which seem to have received copies of contracts from the local archives (O. P. I. xxxiv). Mitteis (*Hermes* xxxiv. 91–8) has proposed another explanation of that papyrus, regarding the Ναναῖον and Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη not as single libraries at Alexandria but as record offices in the several nomes, and he identifies the Ναναῖον with the γραφεῖον in villages, and the Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη with the δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη in the μητροπόλεις. This hypothesis has the advantage of reducing the number of official record offices, which certainly seem to be unnecessarily numerous; but it is counterbalanced by the enormous difficulty of supposing that by the singular Ναναῖον (the word is otherwise only known as an epithet of Isis) the praefect meant all the γραφεῖα (and, as we should now have to add, all the ἀγορανομεῖα, μνημονεῖα, καταλογεῖα, etc. throughout the towns and villages), and by ἡ Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη διὰ τοῦτο κατασκευασθεῖσα all the δημοσίαι βιβλιοθῆκαι, which, as the Oxyrhynchus papyri, and especially the decree of Mettius Rufus in ccxxxvii. VIII. 27 sqq., show, were established long before Hadrian's time in the μητροπόλεις throughout Egypt. The passage in B. G. U. 578. 19 in which an ἀρχιδικαστής is asked (συγκαταχωρίσαι) ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι εἰς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς βιβλιοθήκας no doubt, as Mitteis remarks, refers to the Ναναῖον and Ἀδριανὴ βιβλιοθήκη; but so far from this being an argument in favour of identifying them with local record offices, it supports the view that they were libraries at Alexandria; for the ἀρχιδικαστής, though his jurisdiction extended beyond Alexandria, rarely held his court outside that city, and people came to him from remote parts of Egypt to register contracts concerning property (G. P. II. lxxi, cf. Milne, *Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 196 sqq.).

9. τε[λειοῦν: perhaps τε[λεῖν or τε[λειοῦ(σθαι), for the co-operation of the officials was necessary to make the documents 'complete'; cf. the ἐπίταλμα of the βιβλιοφύλαξ quoted in note on ccxxxvii. VIII. 37. Though τελειοῦν occurs so frequently in papyri in connexion with contracts, its precise meaning is not easy to gather. Sometimes (e. g. O. P. I. lxviii. 5) it comes to mean practically 'execute,' referring to the notarial functions of the agoranomus or other official who drew up documents. This meaning is strongly marked in Byzantine papyri (e. g. O. P. I. cxxxvi. 49), in which ἐτελειώθη διὰ . . . is merely the signature of the scribe and is equivalent to ἐγράφη, and will cover most instances of the use of the word. But the meaning 'execute' is hardly applicable in the present passage, where the οἰκονομίαι are already deposited in the record offices, although still μετέωροι; it is out of place in cclxxi. 7, where a συγχώρησις is τελειωθεῖσα διὰ τῆς ἐφημερίδος τοῦ καταλογείου (cf. cclxviii. 10); and its suitability in the case of τελειοῦν in the application to the βιβλιοφύλαξ quoted in the note on ccxxxvii. VIII. 37 is doubtful. The τελείωσις διὰ τῆς ἐφημερίδος suggests, unless we are prepared to give ἐφημερίς a new meaning, that in the case of the καταλογεῖον at any rate, the 'completion' consisted in the entry of the contract in some kind of official list. This comes near to the ἀναγραφή or official registration of contracts (cf. Mitteis, *Hermes* xxx. p. 599), which was effected through the ἀγορανομεῖον or γραφεῖον and was frequently resorted to in order to secure their permanence, especially when the contract had been drawn up privately (cf. introd. to ccxli). But if the τελείωσις in the case of the ἀγορανομεῖον or γραφεῖον implied or included the ἀναγραφή we should expect to find τελειοῦν (διὰ τοῦ ἀγορανομείου, μνημονείου, or γραφείου) interchanging with ἀναγράφειν. This, however, is not the case; the variants are τίθεσθαι (O. P. I. lxxv. 10), ποιεῖν (ccxlix. 21), or γίνεσθαι (ccl. 16); and, putting aside the καταλογεῖον and its ἐφημερίς, τελείωσις does not appear to have anything to do with ἀναγραφή.

We are therefore brought back to ccxxxviii and the μετέωροι οἰκονομίαι, which were already in the record offices but had to be 'completed.' The only explanation which we

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1. Cf. ccxlvi. 4 *τοῖς γράφουσι τὸν νο[μόν.* As that passage shows, *ὁ γράφων* is distinct from the *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς.* Apparently *ὁ γράφων τὸν νομόν* is equivalent to *νομογράφος*, and in that case the latter term has nothing to do with *νομικός* as we supposed in our note on O. P. I. xxxiv. I. 9.

8. *λογεία* is used for irregular local contributions as opposed to regular taxes. Cf. B. G. U. 515, where *τὰ ὑπὲρ λογείας ἐπιβληθέντα* are contrasted with the *σιτικὰ δημόσια*, though both are collected by the *πράκτορες σιτικῶν*; and Brit. Mus. Pap. CCCXLII. 15 where, amongst various complaints against a *πρεσβύτερος* of a village, it is stated *παρ' ἕκαστα λογείας ποιεῖται*[1].

11. *προστήσεσθαι* means to become a *προστάτης κώμης*; cf. note on ccxcix. 4.

CCXL. Extortion by a Soldier.

12·6 x 10·5 *cm.* A.D. 37.

Declaration by a village scribe denying any knowledge of extortion by a certain soldier and his agents in the villages for which the writer acted as scribe. Cf. cclxxxiv and cclxxxv.

[. . . . . *κω*]*μογραμματεὺς*
[. . . . . .]*τοου Ἑρήμου.*
[*ὀμνύω Τιβέριον Κα*]*ίσαρα Νέον Σεβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα*
[*θεοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθε*]*ρ*[*ίου*] *Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν εἶ μὴν*
[*μὴ συνε*]*ιδέναι με μηδενὶ διασεσεισμέ-*
[*νωι ἐπὶ*] *τῶν προκειμένων κωμῶν ὑπὸ*
[. . . . . .]*ος στρατιώτου καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ.*
[*εὐορκοῦ*]*ντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ*
[*τὰ ἐναν*]*τία.* (*ἔτους*) *κγ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,*
Μεχ(*εὶρ*) *ιζ.*

3. *νεον* added over the line. 4. l. *ἢ μήν.*

3 sqq. 'I swear by Tiberius Caesar Novus Augustus Imperator, son of the deified Jupiter Liberator Augustus, that I know of no one in the village aforesaid from whom extortions have been made by the soldier . . . or his agents. If I swear truly, may it be well with me, but if falsely, the reverse. The 23rd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mecheir 17.'

2. The village-names were given in this line, cf. 6.

3. *Νέον Σεβαστόν*: this title was also applied to Gaius, cf. cclxvii. 12. The name *Νέος Σεβαστός* was given to the month Athyr in Tiberius' reign; see B. G. U. 636. 3.

4. *θεοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθε*]*ρ*[*ίου*]: cf. ccliii. 17.

[1] On *λογεία* cf. Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* I. 253 sqq. The instances which he quotes are concerned with a tax for the priests of Isis, and a *προστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ* writes the receipts. But though in B. G. U. 515, as he remarks, *λογεία* may mean a contribution for religious purposes, in both Brit. Mus. Pap. CCCXLII and our Oxyrhynchus papyrus the word probably has a wider signification; and the *προστάτης τῆς κώμης* is not to be identified with the *προστάτης τοῦ θεοῦ.*

CCXLI. Registration of a Mortgage.

19·3 x 6·6 *cm.* About A.D. 98.

The three succeeding papyri are specimens of an interesting group of documents (cf. cccxxvii–xl), which follow a formula not yet found outside Oxyrhynchus. They are addressed to the agoranomus, and contain a notification from an official not precisely specified, or his agent, to *ἀναγράφειν* or *καταγράφειν* a contract of sale or mortgage, the terms of which are cited at length. The property alienated in such sales is sometimes slaves, more often land or houses. To this notification is added a banker's certificate that the *ἐγκύκλιον*, or tax on sales and mortgages (cf. ccxlii. 31 sqq., ccxliii. 45 sqq.), had been paid. The signification of the main transaction of course depends upon the meaning to be here attached to *ἀναγράφειν* or *καταγράφειν*; but there can be little doubt that their sense is 'register,' i. e. enter on the official list of such contracts. That *ἀναγράφειν* frequently has this meaning is certain; see Mitteis, *Hermes* xxx. 592 ff., and cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CCXCIII. 33 etc., and CCCVIII. 26, where the usual *ἀναγέγραπται* is replaced by *ἐντέτακται*. It is noticeable that such registration is in hitherto recorded instances referred to the *γραφεῖον*, while in the Oxyrhynchus papyri it is always effected through the *ἀγορανομεῖον*. Evidently at Oxyrhynchus at any rate that institution combined to a large extent the functions of a record and a notarial office. The agoranomi were responsible, as the present group of documents shows, for the registration of contracts; they received notice of the transfer and sale of land (O. P. I. xlv–xlviii); and they had the custody of wills (O. P. I. cvi, cvii). Cf. ccxxxviii 2, note, and Wessely, *Die Aeg. Agoranomen als Notare* in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung Pap. Erz. Rain.* V. From the fact that these notifications were written it may be inferred that the contracts to which they refer had been made privately, or at any rate not before the agoranomi.

The present document is an authorization from Caecilius Clemens (cf. cccxl, dated in the second year of Trajan) to the agoranomus to register a loan of money from a man named Thonis to his brother on the security of a share of a house.

Καικίλλι⟨ο⟩ς Κλήμης
τῷ ἀγ⟨ο⟩ρανόμῳ χ(αί)ρειν.
ἀνάγραψον δανίου
συνγραφὴν Θώνιος
καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ εἰ-
σώδων καὶ ἐξόδων
καὶ τῶν συνκυρόν-
των τῶν ὄντων

τοῦ Ἁρπαήσιος τοῦ
Πετσερῳθώνιος
μητρὸς Πετοσίριος
τῆς Ἁρπαήσιος
τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων)
πόλ(εως), ἀρχειπαστω-
φώρου Θοήριδος
καὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Σ[α-
ράπιδος καὶ Ὠσί[ριος
καὶ τῶν συννά-
ων θεῶν μεγίσ-
των, ὑποθήκης
τρίτου μέρους
οἰκίας, ἐν ᾗ αἴθριον,
ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) δρώμου
Γυμνασίου πρὸς
τῷ Ὠσιρίῳ καὶ τῷ
Ταμ(εῖ)ῳ, οὗ ὑπεθε-
το αὐτῷ ὁ ὁμογνή-
σιος αὐτοῦ ἀδ∶λ(φὸς)
Θομφύας πρός ται
ἃς εὐχρήστησαν
αὐτῷ κατὰ χιρόγρα-
φον καὶ διαγραφὴν
τραπέζης δραχμὰς
τετρακοσί[ας . . . .
καὶ α[. . . . . .
. . . . . .

10. l. ἀρχιπαστοφόρου. 12. l. Ἴσιδος. 15. The final ν of συνναων corr. fr. θ.
19. l. εἰσόδων. 23. l. δρόμου. 26. l. ὑπέθετο. 29. l. πρός τε. 30. l. ηὐχρήστησεν.
32. l. διαγραφήν.

'Caecilius Clemens to the agoranomus, greeting. Register a contract of loan from Thonis, son of Harpaësis, son of Petserothonis, his mother being Petosiris, daughter of Harpaësis, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, chief bearer in the temple of Thoëris and Isis and Sarapis and Osiris and the associated most mighty gods, on the security of the third part of a house, in which there is a hall, with the court and entrances and exits and appurtenances, situated in the Gymnasium square quarter by the temple of Osiris and the treasury, which was mortgaged to him by his full brother Thomphuas in return for an accommodation in accordance with a note of hand and a payment through a bank of 400 drachmae . . . , and . . .'

1. The status of the persons sending these notifications is in no case given; probably they were the farmers of the ἐγκύκλιον (O. P. I. xliv. 6)[1]. Sometimes they act on their own authority, as here; sometimes they are described as συνεσταμένοι ὑπό a second party, e.g. ccxliii. 1. Occasionally (cccxxvii, cf. cccxxix) the notice is sent by . . . καὶ οἱ μέτοχ(οι), a phrase which rather suggests a financial company (cf. O. P. I. xcvi. 4, xcviii. 8, etc.); but μέτοχοι ἀγο(ρανόμοι) occur in cccxx. 27.

CCXLII. Registration of a Sale.

23·7 × 11·5 *cm.* A.D. 77.

Official notification to the agoranomus to register a contract of sale, to which is appended a banker's receipt for the ἐγκύκλιον, or tax on sales; cf. introd. to

[1] On the ἐγκύκλιον see Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* I. 182, who points out that this tax was levied chiefly on the sale of houses, land, and slaves. This confirms our explanation here, cf. introd. to ccxli.

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[Κλαύδιος Ἀντωνῖνος τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ χαίρειν.]
[ἀνάγραψον ὠνὴν . . .
. . . . . .
τος τῆς Φατρεοῦς καὶ Ἄπει Ἁρπ̣α̣ήσιος τοῦ Α[. . . . . .
μητρὸς Ταυσοράπιος τῆς Ἁρθοώνιος τοῖς [. . . . . .
ἱερεῦσι Θοήριδος καὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος κα[ὶ τῶν συν-
νάων θεῶν μεγίστων τοῦ δὲ Ἁρθών[ιος καὶ
Πάειτος οὖσι καὶ στολισταῖς τῶν αὐτῶν [θεῶν, ὧν
τυγχάνει ἡ διατιθεμένη ἠγο[ρακυῖα παρὰ
Διονυσίας τῆς καὶ Τααμόιτος τῆς Δι[ονυσίας
Ἐπιμάχου τῷ μηνὶ Καισαρείῳ τοῦ διε[λθόντος
ἐνάτου ἔτους ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων π[όλει
Σαραπείου ἐπὶ λαύλας Ἑρμαίου ἐκ βορρᾶ [. . . . . λέ-
λυπεν ἡ Διονυσία ἡ καὶ Τααμόις ἀπὸ β[ορρᾶ
τοῦ Σαράπιδος θεοῦ μεγίστου περιβόλ[ο]υ [ἐκ

for the Roman period the numismatists have not yet told us how much a copper drachma weighs, we are wholly in the dark as to the ratio between the two metals. We know indeed from Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXXI that twenty-eight copper drachmae were equivalent to twenty-four silver, but until we know how much twenty-eight copper drachmae weighed we cannot tell what the ratio of copper was to silver. The fact that there was a discount on copper of one-seventh does not make the ratio between silver and copper 24 : 28 (Kenyon, *Cat.* I. p. 167, II. p. 233), any more than the discount of one-ninth in the third century B.C. (Rev. Pap. pp. 192, 199–200) makes the ratio 24 : 27. Such a view involves a confusion of the ratio between the nominal or face value and the real value of copper (which ratio in the time of Vespasian was about 24 : 28) with the ratio between silver and copper, which is a totally different question. The monetary system of the Roman period, as has been stated, reverts to the system of a single silver standard found in the earlier Ptolemaic period. During the intervening last two centuries B.C a different system was in vogue, in which there were two standards, silver and copper (Rev. Pap. *l. c.*). The pre-existing ratio of 120 to 1 continued to be the proportion of value between the two equal weights of silver and copper; but sums in copper coins were not calculated in terms of their nominal equivalent in silver, but in relation to a purely copper standard. A copper drachma meant no longer the amount of copper (120 drachmae in weight) which was nominally equivalent to a silver drachma, but a drachma's weight of copper which was worth $\frac{1}{120}$ of a silver drachma. Thus, the copper coin which in the third century B.C. was called an obol or one-sixth of a silver drachma was in the second century B.C. called twenty copper drachmae. The result of the change was of course that amounts paid in copper are enormously high. This kind of copper drachmae which really weighed a drachma is still occasionally met with in the Roman period, and is meant in Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLXVI and in some Oxyrhynchus papyri (introd. to ccxlii). The greatly increased difference in value between the metals is perhaps surprising, but it must be remembered (1) that the ratio of 120 : 1 can only be traced up to about 90 B.C., and there is hardly any evidence for the next seventy years. It is therefore possible that during that period the difference in value between the two metals was increasing and in B.C. 30 was much more than 120 : 1; (2) that Ptolemaic copper would naturally in the Roman period be at a considerable discount as compared to Roman copper; (3) that under ordinary circumstances taxes in the Roman period were paid in silver, and therefore it was a concession on the part of the government to accept copper, much more Ptolemaic copper, at all.

Prof. Wilcken also finds a ratio of 450 : 1 between Roman silver and Ptolemaic copper in two second century ostraca (*Gr. Ost.* I. 723), and is somewhat disturbed thereby, though, as the Oxyrhynchus papyri show, unnecessarily. There is no contradiction between this ratio and the ratio of 120 : 1; for the ratio of 120 : 1 is only known to apply to the third and second centuries B. C., and we are still ignorant, as has been said, of the ratio of Roman and Ptolemaic silver to Roman copper.

πλάτους πήχυος ἡμίσους τόπων ἐκ μέρους περι-
τετειχισμένων, σὺν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι φορτίοις,
ἐπὶ τῷ ἐᾶσαι τοὺς ὠνουμένους τόπους τῷ κυρίῳ
Σαράπιδι πρὸς χρηστίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ λυ-
πὰ μέρη περιτειχίζειν, τοὺς δ' αὐτοὺς τόπους
οὐκ ἐμφόρους πυήσουσι πρὸς τὸ μένειν αὐτοὺς χρησ-
τήρια τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, οὐδὲ μὴν ἐ-
ξέσται αὐτοῖς ἑτέροις πωλεῖν· κατ' οὐδ[έ]να τ[ρ]όπον,
ὧν ἐπρίαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις παρὰ Θερμ[ο]υθίου τῆ[ς
Διονυσίου τοῦ Θοώνιος μητρὸς Τεσεύριος τῆ[ς
Πετοσοράπιος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς
Κεφάλωνος τοῦ Ἀρθοώνιος τοῦ Εὐβούλου μητρὸς
Θαήσιος, πάν[τ]ες τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως,
τειμῆς ἀργ[υ]ρί[ο]υ (δραχμῶν) χqβ χ(αλκοῦ) (ταλάντων) να Ἐυ. ἔρρωσο.
(ἔτους) δεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίαχ ιβ. 2nd hand. Κλαύδιος Ἀντωνῖνος χρη(μάτισον).
3rd hand Ἀλέξα(νδρος) καὶ οἱ μέ(τοχοι) τοῖ(ς) ἀγο(ρανόμοις) χαί(ρειν). τέτακται
τῇ ιγ̄ το(ῦ) Χο(ίακ) ἐνκ(υκλίου) Ἀρθοῶνις Ἀρθοώ(νιος)
καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἱερεῖ(ς) καθ' ἣ(ν) ἔχουσι
διαγρα(φὴν) χα(λκοῦ) πρ(ὸς) ἀργ(ύριον) (τάλαντα) ε Ἀρμ. ἔρρω(σθε).

6–7. l. τῷ δὲ Ἀρθών[ει καὶ] Πάειτι or ὄντων καὶ στολιστῶν. παειτος corr. from παειτι (?). 12. l. λαύρας . . . λέλοιπεν. 18. l. λοιπά. 20. l. ποιήσουσι. 27. l. πάντων.

1. In cccxxx Claudius Antoninus is described as ὁ συνεστημένος ὑπὸ Σαραπίωνος, and it is possible that this may be the reading here. But in ccxliii, dated the year after the present papyrus (cf. cccxxxi, cccxxxiv), Cl. Antoninus himself has an agent; so he may very well be here acting independently.

4. The word lost at the end of the line gave the number of the purchasers, probably τέσσαρσι or πέντε.

8. A participle is certainly required after διατιθεμένη, and the traces suit ηγο, but ἠγο[ρακυῖα παρά is rather long for the lacuna.

11. Ὀξυρύγχων π[όλει: the title ἡ Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλις does not occur in the first century papyri. The earliest instance of it which we have yet found is ccxxxvii. VI. 12 (A. D. 186).

12. λαύρας Ἑρμαίου: cf. ccxliii. 14, where an ἄμφοδον Ἑρμαίου is mentioned; and cf. Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς, which is the name of an ἄμφοδον in ccxlvii. 21 and of a λαύρα in cccxciii. The same interchange takes place, e. g. with Μυροβαλάνου (cf. ccliv. 5 with cccxxxviii), Ποιμενικῆς (cf. cclviii. 5 and cccxvi), Τεμουενούθεως (cf. ccli. 9 with O. P. I. lxxvii. 9); and it is clear that the terms ἄμφοδον and λαύρα are coextensive. They denote an area larger than that of a street with the houses fronting it (the term for which is ῥύμη; cf. O. P. I.

xcix. 7), but somewhat less than that implied by 'quarter.' Oxyrhynchus had at least fourteen ἄμφοδα, and Arsinoe still more[1].

13–14. The relation of this sentence to the preceding is not quite clear. λυπεν if right —and the letters though faint seem certain—must be the termination of λελυπεν, i.e. λέλοιπεν or a compound of that verb. Two interpretations seem possible, though neither is quite satisfactory. (1) [καὶ . . . λέ]λοιπεν may be read, in which case λέλοιπεν is the correlative of the mutilated participle in 8. But no compound of λείπειν corresponds very well with ἠγορακυῖα, and on the other hand no word meaning 'inherited' appears suitable in 8; moreover, the further specification of the property ἀπὸ β[ορρᾶ κ.τ.λ. then comes in rather awkwardly. Or (2) we may read [ὧν καταλέ]λοιπεν, the genitive depending on βορρᾶ and the whole clause further defining the position of the land sold.

16. φορτίοις: cf. ccxliii. 26 σὺν τοῖς ἐμπεσουμένοις φορτίοις.

30. χρη(μάτισον): this is the usual form of signature by the official who sent these notices to the agoranomus. In one instance (cccxxxvii) χρη(μάτισον) is replaced by the more specific ἀνάγρα(ψον).

32. ἐνκυκλίου: cf. O. P. I xcix, introd. The amount of the ἐγκύκλιον on sales was 10 per cent of the price. It appears from ccxliii that on mortgages the tax was 2 per cent.

34. χαλ(κοῦ) πρ(ὸς) ἀργ(ύριον): this phrase, which applies only to Ptolemaic copper, though not yet found in Roman papyri from other sources, was common in the first century at Oxyrhynchus; e.g. ccxliii. 47, cccxxxiii, and O. P. I. xlix. 17, l. 4, xcix. 19. The precise meaning of the addition πρὸς ἀργύριον is obscure[2].

Ἀρμ: μ is rather strangely formed and could be read as κα, but since in other cases the amount paid for ἐγκύκλιον is an exact proportion of the sum changing hands according to the contract, μ is the safer reading.

CCXLIII. Registration of a Mortgage.

23·5 x 11·2 *cm.* A.D. 79.

Notification similar to the two preceding papyri (cf. introd. to ccxli) authorizing the agoranomus to register a contract of mortgage. The borrower is Dionysius, who, on the security of some house and land property, obtains from Didymus a loan of 1300 drachmae of silver for twelve months at the usual interest of 1 per cent. a month. The chief interest of this document consists partly in an explicit statement of the ratio at this period between silver and Ptolemaic copper (cf. introd. to ccxlii), which is given as 4 : 1800; partly in the banker's receipt appended to the provisions of the contract, which shows that the tax called ἐγκύκλιον was levied upon mortgages as well as upon sales, and that its rate was 2 per cent. of the loan, payable by the mortgagee. The tax due from purchasers, on the other hand, was 10 per cent. of the price. In the

[1] Prof. Wilcken (*Gr. Ost.* I. 712) considers that λαύρα means 'quarter,' but identifies ἄμφοδον with ῥύμη. This, however, now seems hardly tenable. Cf. also the description of a ψιλὸς τόπος at Hermopolis in Gizeh Pap. No. 10259 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Φρουρίου λιβὸς ἐν ῥύμῃ λεγομένῃ Ἀσυγκρητί.

[2] Cf. Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* I. 720 sqq., where the question is discussed at length.

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τέρων τῶν μερῶν πήχεις ἕνδεκα, ὥστ' εἶναι
καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐμβάτου πήχεις διακοσίους ἑξή-
κ[ο]ντα τέσσαρος, σὺν τοῖς καὶ εἰς τούτους συνεμ-
πεσουμένοις φορτίοις πᾶσι, ὥστ' εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτω
ἐμβάτου πήχεις ἐπ⟨τ⟩ακοσίους ἑβδομήκοντα ἕξ,
π[ά]ντα δὲ ἀκολούθως τῇ δηλουμένῃ ὁμολο-
γείᾳ· ὧν ὑπεθετω αὐτῷ ὁ προγεγραμμένος Διονύσι-
ος ὁ καὶ Ἀμόις πρὸς ἀργυρίου καιφαλέου δραχμὰς
χιλίας τριακοσίας τόκου δραχμιαίου ἑκάστης
μνᾶς τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου ἐπὶ χρόνον μῆνας δέκα
δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθι, ὧν τιμὴ
ὡς τῶν δ (δραχμῶν) Ἀω χα(λκοῦ) (τάλαντα) ϙζ Γ. ἔρρω(σο). (ἔτους)
ια Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Οὐεσ[πα]σιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενώθ.

2nd hand. Χαιρή(μων), χρ(ημάτισον).

3rd hand. Θέων καὶ οἱ μέτοχ(οι) τρα(πεζῖται) τῷ ἀγο(ρανόμῳ) χαί(ρειν).
τέτακ(ται) τῇ κ̄η̄ τοῦ Φαμε(νὼθ) ἐνκ(υκλίου) Δίδυμος
Σαραπ(ίωνος) καθ' ἣ(ν) ἔχει διαγρα(φὴν) χαλ(κοῦ) πρὸς ἀργ(ύριον)
(τάλαντον) α Ἐψ. (4th hand) Θέων σεση(μείωμαι) χ[α]λ̣κ̣(οῦ) πρὸς
ἀ̣ρ̣[γ(ύριον)] (τάλαντον) [α] Ἐ̣ψ.

3. l. συγγραφήν. 7. l. Ἀμόιτος. 10. l. ἔθετο; cf. 37. 16. l. αἴθριον. 25. l. τὸ αὐτό, and so in 34. l. πεντακοσίους. 26. l. τούτους. 30. l. τέσσαρας and so in 33. 38. l. κεφαλαίου. 46. The name διδυμος perhaps by the 4th hand.

'Chaeremon, son of Chaeremon, of the Maronian deme, nominee of Claudius Antoninus, to the agoranomus, greeting. Register a contract of mortgage for Didymus, son of Sarapion, son of Didymus, his mother being Charitous, daughter of Petosius, of Oxyrhynchus, of the property of the mortgager Dionysius also called Amois, son of Phanias also called Amois, son of Phanias, his mother being Zenarion, daughter of Dionysius, of the same city, being a share assigned to him by his mother Zenarion in her lifetime by an agreement of cession executed through the record office of the same city in the month of Mecheir in the tenth year of Nero, of her house near the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus in the quarter of Hermaeus, containing a two-storied tower and a gateway and passage and hall and chamber, and of the court adjoining the tower on the north side and containing a stone well, and of some open plots of land formerly in the possession of Heracleides, son of Philoxenus, and Ptolema, daughter of Asinis, on the north side starting from the north angle of the gateway towards the south, measuring from north to south on both sides 16 cubits, and from west to east also on both sides 32 cubits, making 512 square cubits, together with all fixtures that may be included in them; the measurements of the court northwards of the tower and containing the well are from north to south on both sides 24 cubits, and from west to east also on both sides 11 cubits, making for the court 264

square cubits, together with all fixtures which may be included in them ; total measurements, 776 square cubits, all these particulars being in accordance with the aforesaid agreement. The property has been mortgaged to Didymus by the said Dionysius also called Amois for a sum of 1300 drachmae of silver at the interest of a drachma for a mina each month for a term of twelve months from the coming month Pharmuthi ; the value of which sum, reckoned at the rate of 1800 drachmae (of copper) for 4 drachmae (of silver), is 97 talents 3000 drachmae of copper. Farewell. The 11th year of the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Phamenoth.'

There follow the signature of Chaeremon authorizing the registration, and the receipt of the bank of Theon and company for 1 talent 5700 drachmae of copper paid by Didymus on account of the tax on sales and mortgages.

1. *Μαρωνεύς*: several new names of demes occur in this volume; see cclxi. 6 *Αὐξιμητόρειος ὁ καὶ Λήνειος*, cclxiii. 18 *Ἐπιφάνειος*, cclxxiii. 9 *Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς*, 12 *Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος ὁ καὶ Ἡράκλειος*; cf. ccclxxiii and ccclxxvii. Probably in all cases the demes are Alexandrian, like *Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς* in O. P. I. xcv. 15.

11. *διὰ τοῦ . . . μνημονίου*: cf. ccxxxviii. 2, note.

25. For *ἐμβάτου* or, more correctly, *ἐμβάδου* cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CLIV. 6 *πήχεις ἐμβαδικοί*. The spelling *ἐμβατικός* occurs in Brit. Mus. Pap. CXCI. 19.

27. For *φορτία* in the sense of fixtures cf. ccxlii. 16 and C. P. R. 206, in which a *μέρος φορτίων πλινθικῶν καὶ αὐλικῶν καὶ* [. . .]*ητικῶν* is sold for 600 drachmae.

36. *τῇ δηλουμένῃ ὁμολογίᾳ*: i. e. the *ὁμολογία* mentioned in 13.

42. The tetradrachm or stater, being the silver coin in common use, was the regular unit in a comparison of values ; cf. e. g. Rev. Pap. col. LX. 15, and Brit. Mus. Pap. CXXXI. *recto* 447 *ὡς τῶ(ν) δ (δραχμῶν) ὀβολ(οὶ) κη*.

CCXLIV. TRANSFER OF CATTLE.

28 x 13·6 *cm.* A.D. 23.

This and the following papyrus (ccxlv) are both addressed to the strategus Chaereas, and are concerned with the registration of property in cattle. The present document is a letter from a slave named Cerinthus, who states his intention of transferring his sheep to the Cynopolite nome, which was on the opposite side of the river, and requests that the strategus of that nome may be notified of the fact. Below is the beginning of the letter written in accordance with this request by Chaereas to Hermias, the strategus of the Cynopolite nome.

An interesting palaeographical feature is the signature of Cerinthus, which is one of the earliest examples of Latin cursive writing upon papyrus.

[*X*]*αιρέαι στρατηγῶι*
παρὰ Κηρίνθου Ἀντωνίας Δρούσου
δούλου. βουλόμενος μεταγαγεῖν
ἐκ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου εἰς τὸν Κυν[*ο*]*πολίτην*
νομὸν νο[*μῶ*]*ν χάριν ἃ ἔχω ἐν ἀπογρα*(*φῇ*)

ἐπὶ τοῦ ’Οξ[υρυγ]χίτου ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι
ἐνάτωι ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
πρόβατα τριακόσια εἴκοσι καὶ αἶγας
[ἑκατ]ὸν ἑξήκον[τ]α καὶ τοὺς ἑπακολουθ(οῦντας)
ἄρνας [κ]αὶ ἐρίφους, ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνη(μα)
ὅπως γράφῃ⟨ς⟩ τῶι τοῦ Κυνοπολίτου
[σ]τρατηγῶ[ι]. φ[έρ]ειν τὰ σημαιν⟨όμεν⟩α πρόβατα
καὶ ἐν . . . α . [ἐν] ἀπογραφῆι . . . . . .
. .[. . . . .].[.]ντος γ . . . . . ν[. . . . . .

2nd hand. Ceri[nthus] Antoniae ·· Drusi · ser(nus)
epid[e]doca · anno · viiii · Tib(eri)
Caesaris Aug(usti) · Mechir · die · oct(auo)

3rd hand. Χαιρέας Ἑρμίᾳ [στρα(τηγῷ) Κυνο]πολίτου πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
ἐπέδωκέν μοι ἀ[πογραφὴ]ν Κήρινθ[ο]ς ’Αντωνίας Δρούσου
δοῦλος βου[λό]μ[ενος 22 letters]. . ει
. . .[
. . . . . .

‘To Chaereas, strategus, from Cerinthus, slave of Antonia, daughter of Drusus. I wish to transfer from the Oxyrhynchite to the Cynopolite nome for the sake of pasturage 320 sheep and 160 goats and the lambs and kids that may be produced, which I have on the register in the Oxyrhynchite nome in the present ninth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. I therefore present this memorandum in order that you may write to the strategus of the Cynopolite nome to register the aforesaid sheep and goats . . .

‘I, Cerinthus, slave of Antonia, daughter of Drusus, have presented this in the ninth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, on the eighth day of Mechir.

‘Chaereas to Hermias, strategus of the Cynopolite nome, many greetings. Cerinthus, slave of Antonia, daughter of Drusus, has presented to me a return, wishing to . . .’

13. It does not seem possible to read *αἶγας* here after *καί*, where it is certainly expected.

17. There are some traces of ink which may indicate another short line below 17, but are more probably accidental.

CCXLV. Registration of Cattle.

37 × 7 *cm.* A.D. 26.

Property return addressed to the strategus Chaereas (cf. ccxliv) by two persons, who make a statement of the number of sheep in their possession in the twelfth year of Tiberius. The formula followed in this document also occurs in cccl–ccclvi ; it is somewhat different from that found in the Fayûm papyri.

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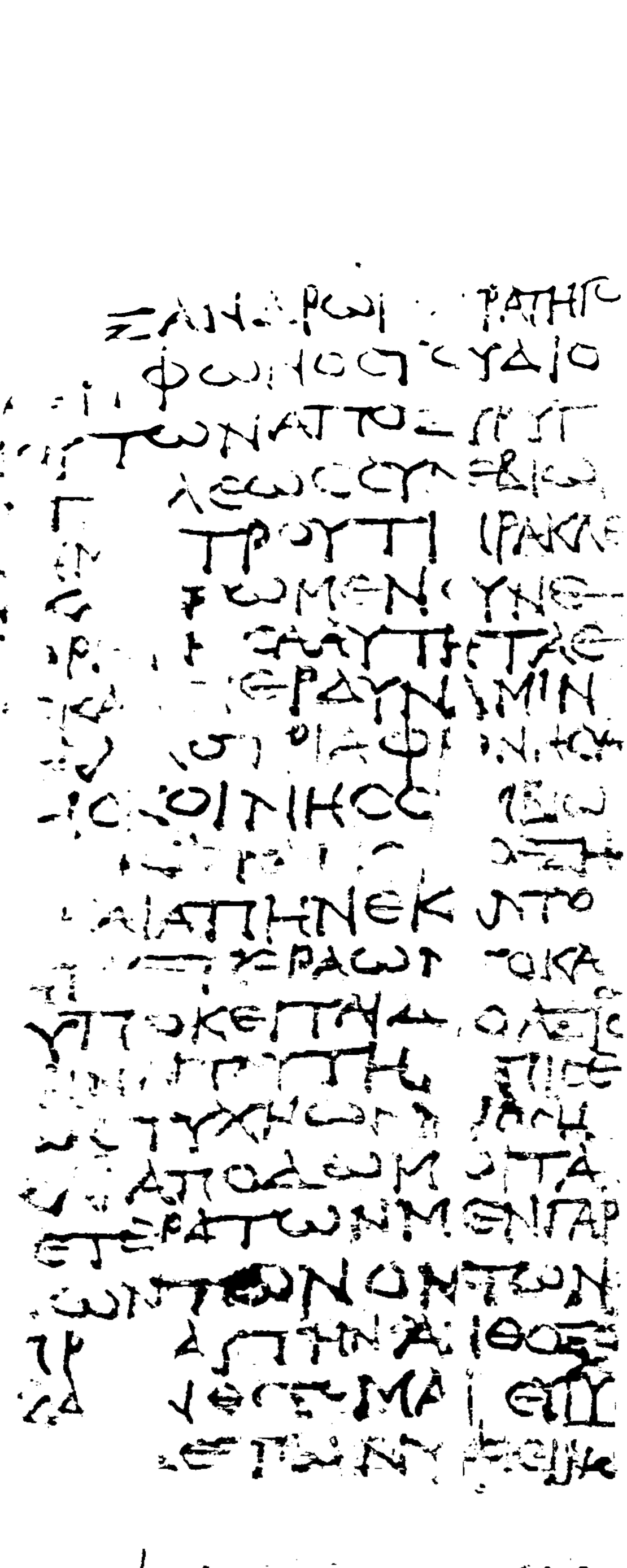
The body of the document is in a fine uncial hand of a literary type, while the signatures of the various officials are very cursively written.

Παπίσκωι κοσμητεύσ[α(ντι)
τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρα(τηγῷ) Ὀξυ[ρυγχ(ίτου)
καὶ Πτολεμα(ίῳ) βασιλικῶ[ι γρα(μματεῖ)
καὶ τοῖς γράφουσι τὸν νο[μὸν
παρὰ Ἁρμιύσιος τοῦ Πε[το-
σίριος τοῦ Πετοσίριος μ[η-
τρὸς Διδύμης τῆς Διογέ[νους
τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Φθώχ[ιος
τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τ[οπ(αρχίας).
ἀπεγραψάμην τῶι ἐν[εσ-
τῶτι ιβ (ἔτει) Νέρωνο[ς
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος περὶ τὴν
αὐτὴν Φθῶχιν ἀπὸ γ[ο-
νῆς ὧν ἔχω θρεμμάτω[ν
ἄρνας δέκα δύο, καὶ νῦ[ν
ἀπογράφομαι τοὺς ἐπ[ιγε-
γονότας εἰς τὴν ἐνεστ[ῶσαν
δευτέραν ἀπογραφὴν ἀ[πὸ
γονῆς τῶν αὐτῶν θρεμ[μά-
των ἄρνας ἑπτά, γίνον[ται
ἄρνες ἑπτά· καὶ ὀμν[ύω
Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρ[α
Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν
Αὐτοκράτορα μὴ ὑπεστάλ[θ(αι).
ἔ[ρρω(σθε).

2nd hand. Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ π(αρὰ) Παπ[ίσκου
στρατηγοῦ σεση(μείωμαι) ἄρν(ας) ζ.
(ἔτους) ιβ Νέρωνος τοῦ κυρ(ί)ου,
Ἐπεὶφ λ̄.

3rd hand. Ὡρίων ὁ π(αρὰ) Πτολ(εμαίου) βα(σιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως)



No. CCLXXXII

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Παυσίριος τοῦ Πανεχώ-
του μητρὸς Τσεναμμω-
νᾶτος τῆς Πανεχώτου
τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(εως).
ἀπογράφομ[αι τῷ ὁμογν]ή-
σίῳ μου ἀδελ[φῷ . . . . .
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
προστρέχοντι τῇ ἐννό-
μῳ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ
τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος
Μεττίου Ῥούφου προσ-
τεταγμένα τὸ ὑπάρ-
χον αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἐνεσ-
τῶσαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τοῦ
πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(ει)
Σαραπίου ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς
[σης] αὐλῆς καὶ ἑτέρων
[χ]ρηστηρίων καὶ εἰσ-
όδου καὶ ἐξόδου καὶ
τῶν συνκυρόντων,
κατηντηκὸς εἰς αὐτὸν
ἐξ ὀνόματος τῆς ση-
μαινομένης καὶ με-
τηλλαχυίας ἀμφοτέ-
ρων μητρὸς Τσεναμ-
μωνᾶτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-
τῆς {α} πόλεως ἀκολού-
θως οἷς ἔχει δικαίοις.
(ἔτους) ἐνάτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,
Φαμενὼθ ιδ.

'To Theon and Epimachus, keepers of the archives, from Panechotes, son of Pausiris, son of Panechotes, his mother being Tsenammonas, daughter of Panechotes, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. I register for my full brother . . . of the same city, who is approaching the legal age, in accordance with the commands of his highness the praefect Mettius Rufus, his property at the present date in the Campus near the Serapeum at the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Knights' Camp quarter, namely a third part of a doubled-towered house, in the middle of which there is a hall, and of the court attached and the other fixtures and the entrance and exit and appurtenances. This has descended to him from the property of the aforesaid and departed Tsenammonas, the mother of us both, in accordance with his rightful claims. The ninth year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Phamenoth 14.'

12. *προστρέχοντι τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἡλικίᾳ*: cf. cclxxv. 8 *οὐδέπω ὄντα τῶν ἐτῶν*. The 'legal age' was probably fourteen years, when men became liable to the poll-tax.

23. *διπυργίας*: cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CCCXLVIII. 12, C. P. R. 28. 10.

37. From the use of the present tense it seems that the subject of *ἔχει* is the legatee; but in the parallel passage in ccxlviii. 33–4 the *δίκαια* are those of the testator.

CCXLVIII. Registration of Property.

37 × 11·5 *cm.* A.D. 80.

Property-return similar to the preceding, sent to the keepers of the archives by Demetrius on behalf of his son Amois, who had inherited some property

from his grandfather Sarapion. It is noticeable that Sarapion is stated to have died in the 8th year of Vespasian (75–6), or at least four years earlier than this registration; cf. ccxlix. 13 and 25, and note on *ἀπογραφαί* on ccxxxvii. VIII. 31.

Ἐπιμάχωι κα[ὶ Θέωνι
β[ι]β[λ]ιοφύ̣[λαξι
παρὰ Δημητρίο[υ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Θέωνος
μητρὸς Πρείμα[ς] τ̣ῆ̣[ς .....
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἀλε[ξάνδρου .....
τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων [πόλ(εως). ἀπογράφομαι
τῶι υἱῶι μου Ἀμόιτι [Δημητρίου τοῦ
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Θέ̣[ωνος τῶν ἀπὸ τ̣ῆς αὐ-
τῆς πόλεως .[.....
πρώτα̣ς σκατ̣[..... τὰ κα-
τηντηκότα [εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξ] ὀν[όματος
τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς ἐμ̣ο̣[ῦ αὐ]τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ [δὲ πάππου
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Θέωνος [.....
χου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ[τ(ῆς) πό]λεω[ς τετελευ-
τηκότος τῶι ὀγδόω[ι] ἔτει θεο[ῦ
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, ἐν μὲν τῆι Ὀξυρύγ[χων
πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφό⟨δο⟩υ Πλατεία[ς .....
μέρος ἡμίσου̣ς μέρους κοινωνι[κῆς οἰκίας
καὶ αἰθρίου καὶ αὐλῆς, καὶ περὶ Κερκε[...
τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας ἐκ τοῦ [Κτη-
σικ̣λέους κλήρου ἀπὸ κοινωνικῶν [ἐδα-
φῶν ἥμισυ μέρος κατοικικῆς γῆς ἀ[ρου-
ρῶν δέκα μιᾶς τετάρτου, καὶ ἐκ το[ῦ Ἐπι-
μάχου ὁμοίως ἀπὸ κοινωνικῶν [ἐδα-
φῶν ἥμισυ μέρος κατοικικῆς γῆς
ἀρουρῶν δύο, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμ[ῃ
δίμοιρον μέρος τετάρτου μέρου[ς
κοινωνικῆς ἐπαύλεως συνπεπ[τω-
κυίας ἐν ᾗ πύργος καὶ περιστερεὼν κ[αὶ αὐ-
λαὶ καὶ ἕτερα χρηστήρια πάντα συν[πε-
πτωκότα. ὁ δὲ Σαραπίων ἐστὶν διὰ [τῆς

τοῦ δεκάτου ἔτους Νέρωνος
ἀπογραφῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ πάντω[ν] ἀκο[λού-
θως τοῖς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν Σαραπ[ίων]α δ[ικ(αίοις).
(ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου Καίσ[α]ρ[ος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶ(φι) ιγ̄.
2nd hand. η ᾱ π̄ε

10. The three letters after πρωτ corrected. 18. The syllable μι in ημισους originally omitted, and added above the line. 34. τοις added above the line.

9. In the latter part of the line it was probably stated that Amois was a minor; cf. ccxlvii. 12.

10. Perhaps κατ[ὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα, but the difficulty at the beginning of the line renders the supplement doubtful.

20. [Κτη]σικλέους κλήρου: the names of the κλῆροι are perhaps those of the first κάτοικοι who held them, just as the three μερίδες of the Fayûm were probably called after the three first στρατηγοί.

28. συνπεπ[τω]κυίας: 'in a state of ruin.'

31. The point of the statement that Sarapion had registered the property in the 10th year of Nero is not easy to understand on the theory of an annual registration; cf. note on ccxxxvii. VIII. 31. On the other hand the remark need not necessarily imply that there had been no general ἀπογραφή of property between that date (63–64) and the present year, though it rather points in that direction.

CCXLIX. Registration of Property.

21 x 7·2 *cm.* A. D. 80.

Supplementary property return, dated in the same year and on the same day as ccxlviii, announcing in addition to property registered previously the possession of a share of a house devised to the present owner by his brother, who had died early in the year 78. Two years had therefore elapsed between the decease of the testator and this registration of the property by the heir; cf. introd. to ccxlviii, and note on ccxxxvii. VIII. 31.

Ἐπιμάχωι καὶ Θέωνι βιβλιοφ(ύλαξι)
παρὰ Διογᾶτος τοῦ Τεῶτος
τοῦ Κενταύρου μητρὸς Ἀπί-
ας τῆς Πρωτᾶτος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυ-
ρύγχων πόλεως. ἀπογράφο-
μαι κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμέ-
νους λεγομένῳ παραδεί-
σου τρίτον μέρος ἕκτου
μέρους κοινωνικῆς πρός
με καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ
ἑτέρους οἰκίας ἀκολούθως

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τέταρτον ἐνδέκα⟨τον⟩, τὰ κατηντηκ[ότα εἰς ἐμὲ
ἐξ ὀνόματος τοῦ μετηλλαχότος π̣[ατρός μου
Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ταῖς [ἐπαγομέναις
τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ (ἔτους) ἀφ' ἧς ἔθετο ἰδιο[γράφου ὁμολογί-
ας τῶι ιγ (ἔτει) θεοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ διὰ [τῆς πρὸς τὴν
γυναῖκά μου Ταα̣γρελλσὰ Ἀπελλ̣[ᾶτος . . . . . .
συνοικεσίου συνγραφῆς γεγονυία[ς διὰ τοῦ ἐν
Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει ἀγορανομίου τῶ[ι . . . . . μηνὶ
τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) θεοῦ Κλαυδίου, ἐν μὲν Ὀξυρ[ύγχων πόλει
ἐν τῆι τῶν Λυκίων παρεμβολῆ ο[ἰκίαν καὶ αὐλὴν
καὶ ἕτερα χρηστήρια, καὶ περὶ τὸ ν[. . . . . .
ἐκ τοῦ Νικάνορος καὶ Δριμάκου κλήρ[ου . . . . . .
ὑπάρχο[ν]τος αὐτῶι ἐποικίου το[. . . . . .
ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρους εἰς ὃ ἐνλο[γίζεται καὶ
ὁ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ περιστερεὼν καὶ τὰ [. . . . . .
γουχ̣α̣ πρότερον [Ἀπ]ύ̣ν̣χ[ι]ος Α[. . . . . .
ει δὲ ἐλαιῶνι κατα . [22 letters
δύο τετάρτου ο̣[25 letters
ον καὶ τ̣ὰ τοῦ στο̣[25 letters
ἀνηκον̣[τ
. . . . . .

On the *verso*

2nd hand.]τος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων πόλεως) μη(τρὸς)
Κ̣ε̣ρω̣μ̣( ) (ἐτῶν) ῑζ̄.

7. ε in γερμανικου corr. from α. 8. l. ἐκ τῶν, or κλήρου λεγομένου in 9; cf. 21.

6. It is not certain to what this date refers; if to προαπεγραψάμην, then the writer's previous ἀπογραφή was made in A.D. 56–7, in which year a general ἀπογραφή must have been held. But the construction of 3–10 is doubtful owing to the lacunae. Possibly καὶ νῦν immediately followed προαπεγραψάμην (cf. ccxlix. 8); the property mentioned in 3–10 would then be part of the current return.

11. Perhaps another name (ending in -τος; cf. the *verso*) should be supplied in the lacuna after πατρός; Ἀμμώνιος will then be the name of the writer's grandfather.

13–17. The property in question was secured to its present owner by two agreements, (1) the ὁμολογία between himself and his father in the 13th year of Claudius, (2) his marriage contract of the following year, in which the provisions of the ὁμολογία were reaffirmed.

16. συνοικεσίου συνγραφῆς: cf. cclxvi. 11, Pap. Par. 13, 10 (quoted in introd. to cclxvii).

25. γου καὶ may perhaps be read.

30. (ἐτῶν) ιζ: if, as is the natural interpretation, this is the age of the writer of the ἀπογραφή, the date of which is approximately A. D. 61, he was only nine or ten years old when his marriage, which is mentioned in line 18, took place. Possibly therefore ιζ is a mistake; but marriage at a very early age was not uncommon in Egypt at this period, cf. Wessely in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, 1891, p. 65. The age at which a boy ceased to be ἀφῆλιξ appears to be 14, cf. note on ccxlvii. 12.

CCLI. NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

32·5 × 9·5 *cm.* A. D. 44.

This papyrus and cclii, and probably ccliii, are addressed to two officials who combined the functions of the τοπογραμματεύς (scribe of the toparchy, see note on line 2) and κωμογραμματεύς or village-scribe, and announce (*a*) the removal of an individual from the place where he was officially registered (ἀναγραφόμενος or ἀπογραφόμενος, cclii. 4); (*b*) the fact that he no longer possessed any means (πόρος), presumably in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The truth of the statements is vouched for by oath. The removal of an inhabitant from his abode was regarded by the authorities in Egypt with much suspicion, being often resorted to for the purpose of evading λειτουργίαι or taxation. A decree of M. Sempronius Liberalis, praefect in A. D. 154, stigmatizing persons ἐπὶ ξένης as brigands, and commanding them to return to their proper homes, is preserved in B. G. U. 372. In O. P. I. cxxxv we find a lead-worker bound over by surety to remain on his holding.

The formula followed in these declarations concerning ἀναχώρησις resembles that found in announcements of death, e. g. cclxii. For their bearing on the origin of the census in Egypt see introd. to ccliv.

Διδύμωι καὶ Η[. . . . . .
τοπογρα(μματεῦσι) κ[α]ὶ κωμογρα(μματεῦσι)
παρὰ Θαμούνιος [τ]ῆς
Ὀν[νώ]φριος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
χω[ν π]όλεως μετὰ κυρίου
Σαρα[π]ίωνος τοῦ Σαραπίωνο(ς).
ὁ υἱός μου Θοῶνις Διονυσίου
ἄτε[χνο]ς ἀναγραφόμενος
ἐπὶ λαύ[ρ]ας Τεμουενούθεως
[ἀληθῆ εἶναι] τὰ π[ρ]ογεγρα(μμένα),
κ[αὶ μηδένα] πόρον ὑ[πά]ρχ(ειν)
τ[ῷ αὐτῷ] Θοώνει ἀ[. . . . .
. [.] . γεστρ[α]τε . . . [. . . . .
[ε]ὐορκ[ο]ύσῃ [μ]έν μ[ο]ι
[ε]ὖ εἴηι, ἐπιορκού[σ]ῃ δὲ τὰ
ἐναντία. ε[ὖ]τυχ(εῖτε).

2nd hand. Θαμούνι⟨ο⟩ν Ὀννώφρ[ιο]ς ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ὑπ[ό]μνημα καὶ ὁμώμεκα τὸν προγεγραμμένον

ἀνεχ[ώ]ρησεν εἰς τὴν
[ξέ]νην τῶι διελθόντι
[χ]ρόνῳ. [δι]ὸ ἀξιῶι [ἀ]ναγράφε(σθαι)
[τ]οῦτον [ἐ]ν τοῖς ἀνακεχω(ρηκόσιν)
[ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου
ἔτους Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ
[Γερ]μ[ανικ]οῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
[καὶ ὀμ]νύω Τιβέριον
[Κλαύδι]ον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν
[Γερμανι]κὸν Αὐτοκράτορα
ὅρκον. . . ων Σαραπίωνος
ἐπιγέγραμμαι αὐτῆς κύριος καὶ
γ[έ]γραφα ὑπὲρ [α]ὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυίας
γράμματ[α].
(ἔτους) δ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
Κα[ί]σαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ] Γ[ε]ρμανικοῦ
Αὐ[τ]οκράτορος, Τῦβι ιβ.
1st hand. [Θα]μούνιον ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη μέσ(η)
ἄση(μος) οφ . . [. . .]ε . [. . . .]
τη( ) [.] . ξ . [. . . . .]εχ( )
. . . . . ατε[χ(νος)

29. l. ὀμώμοκα.

'To Didymus and . . ., topogrammateis and komogrammateis, from Thamounion, daughter of Onnophris, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, with her guardian Sarapion, son of Sarapion. My son Thoönis, son of Dionysius, who has no trade, registered in the quarter of Temouenouthis, some time ago removed abroad. Wherefore I ask that his name be entered in the list of persons removed, henceforth from this year which is the 4th of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator; and I swear by Tiberius Claudius, etc., that the aforesaid statement is correct, and that Thoönis possesses no means . . . If I swear truly may it be well with me, but if falsely the reverse. Farewell.' Signature of Thamounion, written by her guardian, date, and official description of Thamounion's age and appearance.

2. On τοπογραμματεῖς see Wilcken, *Observationes ad hist. Aegypti*, pp. 23 sqq.[1] .They were scribes of the toparchies into which the nomes were divided. The Oxyrhynchite nome contained at least five (indices to O. P. I and II), and the Heracleopolite nome had several (B. G. U. 552, etc.). Other nomes however, e.g. the Latopolite, perhaps contained only two toparchies, an upper and a lower. The τοπογραμματεῖς appear more frequently in the Ptolemaic than in the Roman period, when their functions tended to become merged in those of the κωμογραμματεῖς who originally were subordinate to them. Here and in cclii and ccliv both titles are held by each of the two officials. Why applications such as these should be addressed to them by persons who were living at Oxyrhynchus itself is not clear. It seems that even in the metropolis of the Oxyrhynchite nome there were τοπογραμματεῖς and κωμογραμματεῖς who were specially concerned with the revision of the census lists; cf. ccliv. 1.

3. Θαμούνιος: in 28 and 38 and cccxxii she is called Thamounion, but in cclxxv. 2 her name is Thamounis, as in O. P. I. xcix. 3.

11. ξένην: cf. note on cclxxxvi. 15.

24. Possibly Thoönis' departure was due to his having become a soldier.

27. The word at the end of the line is doubtless εὐτυχεῖτε (cf. ccliii. 4) but the letters before χ are a mere scrawl.

31. The two letters before ων may be πι; in any case the name should have been Σαραπίων, as in 6.

[1] Cf. his *Gr. Ost.* I. 428 sqq. on τοπαρχίαι.

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1. l. κωμογρ. 6. l. ἐωνημένος. 9. l. ἀσφαλείαις. 14. l. ἔχουσι; the genitive is probably due to τάξει being used in similar returns, e. g. cclxii. 12.

6–8. Cf. ccliii. 3–5.

10. ἑτέρου, i. e. no πόρος except the above-mentioned part of a house which he had purchased. The house had in some way been disposed of before Ammonius went away, cf. 4 ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάρχοντι.

15. Cf. ccliii. 12, 24. Any other emperor but Tiberius is on every ground out of the question.

18. Perhaps Μ[εσορή, cf. ccliii. 24.

CCLIII. Notice of Removal.

19·3 × 13 *cm.* A. D. 19.

A notice similar to the preceding but written in the previous year; cf. introd. to cclii.

. . . . . .

[. . . . .]ωτη[ἀπογρα-
[φόμενοι ἐπὶ τ]οῖς ἔμπρ[οσθε]ν ὑπάρ[χουσ]ι[ν
[αὐτοῖς μέρεσιν] οἰκίας λαύρας Τευμενού[θ(εως)
[ἐωνημένοι παρ]ὰ Δεησότης γυναικὸς
[μετὰ κυρίου] Σαραπίωνος ἀκολού-
[θως ταῖς εἰς αὐ]τὴν ἀσφαλείαις ἀνε-
[χώρησαν εἰς τ]ὴν ξένην μηδενὸς
[ἑ]τέρ[ου αὐτοῖς π]όρου ὑπάρχοντος.
διὸ [ἐπιδίδωμι τ]ὸ ὑπόμνη[μ]α ἀξιῶν
ἀναγρ[άφεσθαι τ]ούτους ἐν τοῖς ἀνακε-
χωρηκόσι [καὶ π]όρον μὴ ἐχόντων
[ἀ]πὸ τοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶ]τος ε (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ε[.]ων ὁμοίων.

εὐτύχει.

2nd hand. [Θοῶνις Ἀμμωνίο]υ ἐπιδέδωκα τὸ ὑπόμν[η-
[μα καὶ ὀμνύω Τιβέριον] Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν
Αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου
Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγε-
[γ]ραμμένα, καὶ μηδένα πό[ρ]ον ὑπάρχειν

20 [τ]ῷ Ἀμμων[ί]ῳ καὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ
Θέωνι μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέ-
ρας. εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴη,
[ἐ]πιορκοῦντ[ι δὲ τ]ὰ ἐναντία.
(ἔτους) ε Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Μεσορ[ὴ . .

11. l. ἔχουσι. 18. αληθη ειναι corr. from αληθει ηναι. 22. First υ in ευορκουντι corr. from ρ.

13. ?ἐ[τ]ῶν. What we have regarded as the second vertical stroke of ν is unusually long and possibly represents an over-written ι, in which case a contracted word . . ωνι( ) must be read.

CCLIV. Census Return.

13 × 11·3 *cm.* About A.D. 20.

One of the most interesting classes of Roman papyri consists of the census returns (*ἀπογραφαὶ κατ' οἰκίαν*, which must be carefully distinguished from *ἀπογραφαί* of house and land property discussed in ccxxxvii. VIII. 31, note). The earliest census in Egypt hitherto known is that which was held in A.D. 62 (Brit. Mus. Pap. CCL. 79; Kenyon, *Cat.* II. 19). From that date to A.D. 202 the recurrence of the census at intervals of fourteen years is attested by numerous examples. On the origin of the cycle a good deal of light is thrown by the papyri published in this volume, which carry it back certainly to the reign of Tiberius and with all probability far into the reign of Augustus.

The question of the beginning of the cycle has recently attained an unusual degree of importance owing to the brilliant attempt made by Prof. Ramsay in '*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*' to explain in the light of the Egyptian census returns the much disputed passage in St. Luke ii. 1–4 respecting the *ἀπογραφή* held by Herod. We were able to lay a part of our results last autumn before Prof. Ramsay in time to be utilized in his book, but we can now present them in a fuller and more matured form which has undergone some modifications. It will therefore perhaps not be out of place if, after a survey of the evidence as it stands at present, we briefly turn aside to examine those of Prof. Ramsay's arguments which are based on the Egyptian census lists, and consider how far, if at all, his conclusions are affected by the new facts concerning *ἀπογραφαί* which are adduced in this volume.

The nature and purposes of the census in Egypt are discussed by Wilcken (*Hermes* xxviii. pp. 246 sqq.)[1], and more recently by Kenyon (*Cat.* II. pp. 17 sqq.). The returns in Fayûm papyri are addressed to the *στρατηγός*, *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς*, *κωμογραμματεύς*, and *λαογράφοι*, or to one or more of these officials; and consist of a statement by the householder (1) of the house or part of it owned by him or her, (2) of the names and ages of himself and all the

[1] And now in *Gr. Ost.* I. 435 sqq.

other residents including children, slaves, and tenants. A notable characteristic is that the returns always relate to the year before that in which they were written. Thus a census return for 89–90 was sent in during 90–91. These returns and the lists drawn up from them, of which Brit. Mus. Papp. CCLVII–CCLIX are examples, were evidence with regard to a man's age, address, household property, slaves, etc.; but their chief object undoubtedly was to be the basis of a list of inhabitants liable to or exempt from the poll-tax. This is amply proved by (1) the use of the term *λαογραφία* for poll-tax in Egypt in place of the more usual *ἐπικεφάλαιον* (though, as we shall see hereafter, at Oxyrhynchus *ἐπικεφάλαιον* sometimes occurs in early Roman papyri, e. g. cclxxxviii), (2) by the three Brit. Mus. papyri mentioned above, (3) by the census returns themselves, in which any individuals who for various reasons were *κάτοικοι* or *ἐπικεκριμένοι* (cf. introd. to cclvii), i. e. wholly or partly exempt from the poll-tax, record the fact, e. g. B. G. U. 116 II. 18.

The three census returns published here, ccliv–vi, are all unfortunately incomplete; but they show the same general formula, and differ in some respects from other known census returns, which nearly all come from the Fayûm. As the differences are a matter of some importance, we give first the text of a *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* for A. D. 145–6 from Oxyrhynchus, which resembles closely the formula of the Fayûm census returns and was briefly described in O. P. I. clxxi (cf. ccclxi, part of a census return for 75–6).

Διοσκόρῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ Ἰσχυρίωνι βασιλ(ικῷ) γραμμα(τεῖ)
παρὰ Ἱέρακος Ἀκώριος τοῦ Ν̣ . . .[. . .
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως. ἀπογράφομαι κ[ατὰ
τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Πρόκλου
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς
τὴν τοῦ διελθόντος θ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογρα-
φὴν τὴν (corr. from *το*) *ὑπάρχο⟨υσα⟩ν μοι ἐπ' ἀμφόδου δρό-*
μου Θοήριδος οἰκίαν ἐν τόπῳ Καλου-
μένῳ Διονύσου Τεχνειτῶν,
ἐφ' ἧς ἀπογρά(φομαι)
αὐτὸς ἐγὼ μητρὸς Διονυσίας Ἱέρακος
ἀπὸ γυμνασίου[1]*, χωλαίνων (ἐτῶν) ξς,*
Ἱέραξ υἱός μου μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρας
ἀπελευθ[έρας. . . .
Beginnings of 5 more lines.

cclv is addressed to the *στρατηγός, βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς, τοπογραμματεύς* and *κωμογραμματεύς*, ccliv to the two last-named officials, whom in ccli–iii we have already seen to be concerned with the revision of the lists of persons' names and property at Oxyrhynchus. The middle part of the formula in these early Oxyrhynchus census returns differs from that of the later one and of Fayûm returns in having no reference to the past year, nor do the phrases *ἀπογράφεσθαι*, except perhaps in cclvi. 15, and *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* occur in them. cclv in fact is called in line 18 a *γραφή* simply. On the other hand cclv (and probably ccliv and cclvi as well) has at the end a declaration on oath which is not found in later census returns, except in an incomplete one (unpublished) from Oxyrhynchus written in Nov. A.D. 132 and referring no doubt to the census known to have been held for the year 131–2. But the three Oxyrhynchus papyri in question nevertheless contain all the essentials of a census return, viz. a statement by a householder of his house and of the names and ages of all the inhabitants; and if any doubt remains, it is removed by an examination of their dates. cclv is dated in Oct. A. D. 48. As has been stated, the earliest definitely known census is

[1] Cf. introd. to cclvii (p. 219).

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formula consists of (*a*) the address and description of the writer, (*b*) a statement that he registered himself (*ἀπογράφομαι*) for the year in which he was writing, (*c*) a statement where he lived (*καταγίνομαι*), (*d*) the concluding sentence, *διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι*. So long as these two papyri were separated by a long distance of time and by material differences in the formula from ordinary *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*, they could not be used as evidence bearing on the census. The interval of time is now bridged over by the Oxyrhynchus papyri; and the fact that reference is made to the current not to the past year need cause no difficulty, since the three Oxyrhynchus census returns do not refer to the past year, although cclvi is written early in the year following the periodic year. That the two returns of Pnepherôs, though he says nothing about his family, have to do with a census of some kind can hardly any longer be disputed; but their precise explanation remains doubtful. Since a general census in two successive years is out of the question, one or both of them must be regarded as exceptional. The second *ἀπογραφή* in B. C. 18 contains nothing to show what the exceptional circumstance was, but the first suggests a clue by the words *θέλων σύνταξιν* which occur in line 8 after *ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ια (ἔτος) Καίσαρος*. Why did Pnepherôs 'want a contribution'? It may have been due to him as a *δημόσιος γεωργός*, though the mention of the writer's profession in these two papyri is rather discounted by the fact that such mentions are a common feature of census returns (e. g. ccliv. 2 and B. G. U. 115. I. 7); or, possibly, he may have been claiming exemption from the poll-tax on the ground of his being over sixty years of age (cf Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 20); or, what is more likely still, the reference is to something unknown.

Neither of these papyri, therefore, proves anything with regard to a general census in B. C. 20–19 or 19–18[1], though their similarity to the early Oxyrhynchus census returns supports the view that even before B. C. 10–9 returns were being sent in and lists compiled in a manner which, judging by the analogy of subsequent reigns, implies a general census. But in the face of these two papyri indirect evidence is no longer sufficient for supposing that the fourteen years' cycle extends beyond B. C. 10–9. Some kind of census seems indeed to have been held in Egypt in quite early times, cf. Griffith, *Law Quart. Rev.* 1898, p. 44; and some critics have on the evidence of ancient authors supposed that the poll-tax and general census existed in Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies. What is more important, a third century B. C. papyrus at Alexandria (Mahaffy, *Bull. corr. Hell.* xviii. pp. 145 sqq.) is a return by a householder of his household; and *ἀπογραφαί* of property, similar to those ordained by Mettius Rufus in A. D. 89 (ccxxxvii. VIII. 31, note), are known to have been decreed from time to time by the kings (e. g. Brit. Mus. Pap. L; Mahaffy, Petrie Papyri II. p. 36)[2]. But no mention of *λαογραφία* has yet been found in the papyri or ostraca of the Ptolemaic period[3]. The passages cited from ancient authors are very inconclusive. Diodorus (xvii. 52. 6) mentions *ἀναγραφαί* as the evidence for the number of the citizens at Alexandria when he was there in the reign of Ptolemy Auletes. But there is no reference to the poll-tax, and without that there is no reason for postulating a periodic census. The author of III Maccabees describes (ii. 28) a general *ἀπογραφή* of the Jews with the view to a poll-tax held by Philopator. But the statements of this writer, who belonged to the Roman period, are of very doubtful value for the previous existence of *λαογραφία*. Josephus

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too (*B. Jud.* II. 16. 4) only supplies evidence for the poll-tax in Egypt in the Roman period. In any case there is no sort of evidence for the existence of the fourteen years' census period under the Ptolemies.

The conclusion to which the data from both sides converge is that the fourteen years' census cycle was instituted by Augustus. That general censuses were held in Egypt for B. C. 10–9 and A. D. 5–6 is probable, and one or more censuses had in all likelihood occurred before B. C. 10–9, but in what year or years is quite doubtful.

To turn aside to Prof. Ramsay's book, we quote first the passage (according to the R. V.) in St. Luke (ii. 1–4) the accuracy of which is the subject of dispute; (1) *Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled.* (2) *This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria.* (3) *And all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city.* (4) *And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and family of David.*

Prof. Ramsay is on firm ground when he justifies from the evidence of Egyptian papyri St. Luke's statement that Augustus started, in part at any rate of the Roman world, a series of periodic enrolments in the sense of numberings of the population; and since the census which is known to have taken place in Syria in A. D. 6–7 coincides with an enrolment year in Egypt, if we trace back the fourteen years cycle one step beyond A. D. 20, it is prima facie a very probable hypothesis that the numbering described by St. Luke was connected with a general census held for B. C. 10–9. Moveover the papyri are quite consistent with St. Luke's statement that this was the 'first enrolment.'

Prof. Ramsay interprets verse 3 (*op. cit.* p. 190) as meaning that all true Hebrews in Palestine went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city, and thinks the Jews are there contrasted with the rest of the inhabitants, who were enrolled at their ordinary homes. We must, however, confess that this interpretation seems to us scarcely warranted by St. Luke's words, and hardly in accordance with general probabilities of the case. St. Luke has just stated in the most general way possible that all the world was to be enrolled. Surely 'all' in verse 3 must have a wide signification, applying at least to all inhabitants of Palestine, whether Jews or not. The essence of a census was that it afforded for taxation purposes a list of the population with their places of permanent abode; and we have seen from ccli–iii that in Egypt changes of address were carefully notified to the officials concerned with the census. Nothing would be more natural than that when a census was instituted every one without distinction of race should be ordered to go to his own city. If a person were registered at some city in which he did not live, he might easily evade the taxation. The non-Jewish population of Palestine, just like the population of Egypt and any other countries that came under Augustus' decree, must equally have gone 'every one to his own city.' Yet St. Luke clearly connects the going to his own city with Joseph's visit to Bethlehem, which therefore was in St. Luke's eyes Joseph's 'own city' (though he rather inconsistently but quite naturally in verse 39 uses the same expression with regard to Nazareth). Prof. Ramsay most ingeniously overcomes the difficulty that the Jews were not registered like other people at their homes by the supposition that Herod, to avoid offending their susceptibilities, held the census not after the Roman manner by households but after the national Jewish manner by tribes. Into the merits of this explanation we cannot enter fully; but three points may be noted. (1) Unless the census held by Herod failed in fulfilling the primary objects of a census, which is not very likely, Joseph though enrolled at Bethlehem in the city of David must have stated in his ἀπογραφή that his home was at Nazareth. (2) In the *facts* recorded by St. Luke ii. 1–4, and particularly in verse 3, there is no necessary implication that the Jews were enrolled in any other but the ordinary method which prevailed in the Roman world; it is only the *reason* which St. Luke gives

formula consists of (*a*) the address and description of the writer, (*b*) a statement that he registered himself (*ἀπογράφομαι*) for the year in which he was writing, (*c*) a statement where he lived (*καταγίνομαι*), (*d*) the concluding sentence, *διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι*. So long as these two papyri were separated by a long distance of time and by material differences in the formula from ordinary *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*, they could not be used as evidence bearing on the census. The interval of time is now bridged over by the Oxyrhynchus papyri; and the fact that reference is made to the current not to the past year need cause no difficulty, since the three Oxyrhynchus census returns do not refer to the past year, although cclvi is written early in the year following the periodic year. That the two returns of Pnepherôs, though he says nothing about his family, have to do with a census of some kind can hardly any longer be disputed; but their precise explanation remains doubtful. Since a general census in two successive years is out of the question, one or both of them must be regarded as exceptional. The second *ἀπογραφή* in B. C. 18 contains nothing to show what the exceptional circumstance was, but the first suggests a clue by the words *θέλων σύνταξιν* which occur in line 8 after *ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ια (ἔτος) Καίσαρος*. Why did Pnepherôs 'want a contribution'? It may have been due to him as a *δημόσιος γεωργός*, though the mention of the writer's profession in these two papyri is rather discounted by the fact that such mentions are a common feature of census returns (e. g. ccliv. 2 and B. G. U. 115. I. 7); or, possibly, he may have been claiming exemption from the poll-tax on the ground of his being over sixty years of age (cf Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 20); or, what is more likely still, the reference is to something unknown.

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for Bethlehem, not Nazareth, being Joseph's 'own city' that supports the view that the census was held in an exceptional way. St. Luke's statement that 'all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city,' so far from being an argument that the census was exceptional, is an argument for the reverse; and it happens not infrequently that the facts recorded by a writer may well be right while his explanation of them is wrong. (3) If without rejecting the first chapter of St. Luke, his account of the census could be combined with St. Matthew's version of the Nativity, from which the natural inference is that before the Nativity Bethlehem, not Nazareth, was the permanent abode of Joseph, all the difficulty concerning the exceptional character of the census would be removed. But the possibility of a solution on these lines belongs to another field of study.

The fourteen years' cycle in Egypt carries us back to B. C. 10–9 as the year of the general census ordained by Augustus. The keystone of Prof. Ramsay's argument is that the order applied to Syria and Palestine as well as Egypt. Nevertheless he places Joseph's visit to Bethlehem in connexion with the census in the late summer of B. C. 6. The interval of three years is explained by him thus: (1) The Egyptian census returns are sent in in the year *after* the periodic census-year, and generally towards the end of it. Therefore the Egyptian census returns for B. C. 10–9 would not be sent in till July or August of 8 B. C. (2) The Syrian year corresponding to the Egyptian year Aug. 29, B. C. 10 to Aug. 28, B. C. 9 was April 17, B. C. 9 to April 16, B. C. 8 (*op. cit.* pp. 141, 142), and therefore the actual Syrian enrolment would not take place till the Syrian year B. C. 8–7. (3) The enrolment in Palestine was delayed until the summer of B. C. 6 (i. e. the Syrian year B. C. 6–5) owing to the position of affairs in that country. The second argument, which is the least important, is not a strong one, for the part of it depending on events which occurred in B. C. 23 does not seem to have much bearing on the question of a census cycle which it is essential for Prof. Ramsay to show began in B. C. 9; and the relevancy of the question which Syrian year corresponded to which Egyptian when both are converted into Roman years may be doubted. If the ἀπογραφή decreed by Augustus resembled other censuses, e. g. that described in III Macc. ii or the registration of property ordered by Mettius Rufus in ccxxxvii. VIII, either he, or the governors of provinces for him, mentioned a fixed time in which his commands were to be carried out; and if the Egyptians were executing the commands at one time, there seems no reason why, if the season was suitable, the Syrians should not have been doing so at the same time. Moreover if we are to take into account the differences of the calendar between Syria and Egypt, it might be argued that the Egyptian year B. C. 10–9 corresponds as nearly with the Syrian B. C. 10–9 as with the Syrian year B. C. 9–8. The force of the first argument too is somewhat weakened by the new Oxyrhynchus census returns which make no mention of the past year, though the only one which has a date is written two months after the periodic year (judging by the cycle in later years) had expired. The two ἀπογραφαί for the years 19 and 18 B. C. are for the current year. Moreover the ἀπογραφαί of property (valuation returns) in Egypt were for the current year; and in Syria these valuations (ἀποτιμήσεις) were combined, as in most provinces, with a census of the population both in the known ἀπογραφή held by Quirinius in A. D. 6 or thereabouts, and in the census in Cilicia in A. D. 35. The presumption therefore seems to us rather in favour of the idea that the orders of Augustus were being carried out in the Roman province of Syria in the late summer and autumn of B. C. 9, or, in any case, making every allowance for Prof. Ramsay's first two arguments, not later than the autumn of B. C. 8. The census in Palestine however is supposed to have taken place in the late summer of B. C. 6. There thus remains a gap of at least two years which has to be explained by Prof. Ramsay's third argument. Whether this argument, which is much the strongest of the three, is sufficient, is a question which falls outside our sphere. But if theologians could reconcile the hypothesis that B. C. 7 was the year of the Nativity with the rest of the data for the chronology

of Jesus' life, the probability of Prof. Ramsay's explanation being correct would be much heightened. The statement of Tertullian, who connects the birth of Christ with the census held by Sentius Saturninus (a governor of Syria known from archaeological evidence to have been in office from B. C. 9 to 7), just because it contradicts St. Luke, is, as Prof. Ramsay justly observes, an important corroboration of the fact of a census under Herod; but Prof. Ramsay sacrifices much of the advantage which he might derive from Tertullian by connecting the *ἡγεμονία* of Quirinius and the birth of Christ with the governorship of Varus, and therefore finding it necessary to explain Tertullian's statement away. Even if the adoption of B. C. 7 as the date of the Nativity were to involve the rejection of St. Luke's statement that Quirinius was *ἡγεμών* in Syria at the time, we are, with every wish to agree with Prof Ramsay, unable to attach the same importance to proving St. Luke right about Quirinius as to proving the occurrence of a census under Herod, which to us seems a quite distinct and much more important point.

Lastly, if our view that the *ἀπογραφαί* of house and land property in Egypt were not sent in yearly but from time to time is correct (ccxxxvii. VIII. 31, note), it has some bearing upon the question whether, apart from St. Luke's account, it is likely that the Romans instituted a numbering in Palestine without a valuation of property. The census held by Quirinius in A. D. 6, which St. Luke calls (Acts v. 37) '*ἡ ἀπογραφή*' and which resulted in a rebellion, combined the function of a numbering of the population (as is shown by the famous inscription of Aemilius Secundus) with that of a valuation of property (*ἀποτίμησις* is Josephus' word), and we know that in Cilicia about A. D. 35 the imposition of the poll-tax by a census was coupled with a valuation of property. Augustus certainly instituted the so-called provincial census or valuation of property throughout the provinces; and there is nothing in the Egyptian papyri inconsistent with the belief that when Augustus instituted the fourteen years' census cycle, he also at the same time ordered a valuation of property, which was the first of a series recurring at irregular intervals[1]. Moreover, the first verse of St. Luke ii is not only compatible with the view that the *ἀπογραφή* ordered by Augustus served this twofold purpose, but, if the general *ἀπογραφή* ordained by Augustus was ever intended to be carried out through *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη*, its historical character can only be defended on the supposition that *ἀπογράφεσθαι* was not limited to a numbering for purposes of the poll-tax, since that tax was far from being generally imposed throughout the empire. On the other hand the enrolment of king Herod, as described by St. Luke in the rest of the chapter, and the evidence of Josephus, who implies that the *ἀποτίμησις* was novel in A. D. 6, are inconsistent with the supposition that the *ἀπογραφή* held by Herod in Palestine had anything to do with an *ἀποτίμησις*; and since the *ἀπογραφαί* of real property in Egypt were during the Roman period clearly independent of the census, it is of course a legitimate hypothesis that, at any rate until Palestine was definitely incorporated as a Roman province after the death of Herod, there was no necessary connexion there between the two kinds of *ἀπογραφή*. It must however be remembered that Egypt in this respect seems, so far as we know, to have differed from most other Roman provinces where a poll-tax was imposed; and there were very likely special reasons why in Egypt the numbering and valuation were held in separate years. If it could be shown that these causes also existed in Palestine, the truth of St. Luke's account of Herod's enrolment would receive important corroboration. The explanation in Egypt may be that while *ἀποτιμήσεις* were held by royal decree in the Ptolemaic period (ccxxxvii. VIII. 31, note), *λαογραφία* and periodic censuses do not appear to have been in existence before Augustus. To discuss the question with regard to Palestine would require a detailed examination of several

[1] Cf. Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* I. 823, where he points out that declarations of households were combined with *ἀπογραφαί* of property in Egypt under the Ptolemies.

passages in Josephus and III Maccabees, for which this is not the place. But in any case, so far as the evidence of Egyptian papyri goes, the particular *ἀπογραφή* decreed by Augustus may have had the double object of a numbering and an *ἀποτίμησις*, in its application to that country; and unless St. Luke is wrong in stating that the *ἀπογραφή* concerned *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη*, he cannot when he wrote verse 1 have been thinking at all exclusively of a numbering apart from an *ἀποτίμησις*.

The present papyrus is a census-return addressed to Eutychides and Theon (cf. cclii. 1) by a priest called Horion living in a house owned by him in common with various other persons. For the date at which it was written, probably the summer or autumn of A.D. 20, see above. In the upper margin a line has been washed out, and on the *verso* are four short lines of an account, which has no reference to the *ἀπογραφή* on the *recto*.

Εὐτυχίδῃ καὶ Θέωνι τοπ(ογραμματεῦσι) καὶ κω(μογραμματεῦσι)
παρὰ Ὡρίωνος τοῦ Πετοσίριος ἱερέος Ἴσιδ(ος)
θεᾶς μεγί(στης) ἱεροῦ Δύο Ἀδελφον λεγομένου
τοῦ ὀντὸς ἐπ[ὶ το]ῦ πρὸς [Ὀ]ξυρύγχων πό-
λει Σαραπιήου ἐν λαύρᾳ Μυροβαλάνου.
εἴσιν [ο]ἱ καταγινόμεν(οι) ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ
μοι καὶ τῇ γυ(ναικὶ) Τάσιδι καὶ Ταύριος Ἁρβίχιος
καὶ Παντοντῶτι Νεχθεσόριος καὶ Θαεχμέ-
ρη οἰκίᾳ ἐν τῷ προκιμέν(ῳ) Δύο Ἀδελ(φῶν) λεγομέ(νῳ),
ὧν εἶναι·
. [. . . . .]ων μη(τρὸς) Σινθεῶ(τος) ἄτεχ(νος) απε . . ( )
[. . .]εκνεχει πατρὶ καὶ . [
[. . .] . ἱερῷ (ἐτῶν) . μέ(σος) μελ(ίχρως) μα(κρο)πρ(όσωπος) [
. . . . . .

3. l. Ἀδελφῶν. 7. l. Ταυρίῳ. 8. ι of *παντοντωτι* corr. from *ο*. *χ* of *θαεχ* over the line.

'To Eutychides and Theon, topogrammateis and komogrammateis, from Horion, son of Petosiris, priest of Isis, the most great goddess, of the temple called that of the Two Brothers situated by the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus in Myrobalanus quarter. The inhabitants of the house, which belongs to me and my wife Tasis and to Taurius, son of Harbichis, and to Papontôs, son of Nechthosiris, and to Thaëchmere (?), in the aforesaid (temple) of the Two Brothers, are as follows . . .:'

3. *Δύο Ἀδελφῶν*: presumably the Dioscuri.

5. *μυροβάλανος* is said to be the fruit of the *guilandina moringa*, whence was extracted a kind of scentless oil.

8. Perhaps *Θαεχ( ) μερη* should be taken as two words, in which case *μερη* is probably for *μέρει* and *τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ . . . οἰκίᾳ* will require alteration.

11. Cf. notes on cclv. 11, cclvi. 15.

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[Καίσαρο]ς Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
[Αὐτοκρά]τορος, Φαῶφι [. .

15. l. ἢ μήν. 24. l. ἐπ]ιορκούσῃ.

2. Διδύμωι: cf. ccli. 1.

8, 9. ἀπελ(ευθέρα) Σωτάδου: cf. cccv.

11. The figure probably gives the total number of persons returned. The two strokes after $\bar{\gamma}$ do not appear to mean anything, though it is not usual so early as this to find two strokes placed after a number merely to show that it is a number, as is common in later papyri, e. g. ccxxxvii. The owner apparently returns herself as one of the inhabitants of her house, but at the end of the list, and not, as is the rule in Fayûm census returns, at the beginning. In cclvi the owners do not seem to return themselves, from which we may infer that they lived somewhere else. In ccliv the point is uncertain. Men are apparently returned before women in these papyri; cf. cclvi. 9, note.

16. Cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CLXXXI. Col. II. 13, from which it would appear that the mutilated word here began with the letters εξυ.

18. There is not room for [ἀπογρα]φήν: cf. introd. to ccliv.

20–22. The lacunae can be filled up with certainty from the similar declaration in a papyrus written in A. D. 132 (see p. 208).

21. ἀπελεύθερον: it is curious that there is no mention of slaves in this declaration, for they were included in census returns (e. g. B. G. U. 137. 10), and even underwent ἐπίκρισις in some cases; cf. B. G. U. 324 and introd. to cclvii.

CCLVI. Census Return.

15 x 6·8 *cm.* A. D. 6–35.

Census-return addressed to the strategus or, more probably like ccliv, to the τοπογραμματεῖς and κωμογραμματεῖς, by three women and possibly a fourth individual, enclosing a list of persons living in a house which the writers owned. The owners apparently do not return themselves; cf. note on line 15.

The date of the papyrus is lost, but judging by the handwriting and the other documents found with it we should connect it with the censuses of A. D. 20 or 34 or even 6 rather than with that of A. D. 48. Later censuses are out of the question. Cf. introd. to ccliv.

] . ρ( )
παρὰ καὶ ἀμφ]οτέρων Θ[ο]ώνιος καὶ τῆς {της} ἀδ[ελ-
φῆς Ταμε]ννέως τῆς [.] . . [. . . . .]ς ἑκατέρας μετὰ
κυρίου μὲν]ρωτ[ο]ς τοῦ Ἀπολλοφάνους, Ταῶτος δὲ
5]κου, Ταμεννέως δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
εἴσιν οἱ κα]ταγεινόμενοι ἐν τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ
ἡμῖν καὶ με]τόχ[ο]ις οἰκίᾳ λαύρας Χηνοβοσ[κῶν

] ὢν εἶναι·
]θεως ἄτεχ(νος) (ἐτῶν) μέ(σ . .) μελίχ(ρως) μα(κρο)-
πρό(σωπος) ἄση(μος)
] ὑπόστραβος.
]ρᾳ( ) Κρονίο(υ) ἀφῆ(λιξ) [(ἐτῶν . μέ(σος)] μελίχ(ρως)
[στ]ρ[ο]γ(γυλοπρόσωπος) ἄση(μος).
]ρησκ( ) Ταση̣ῦτος γ(υνὴ) τοῦ Κρονίου ἄτεχ(νος)
] στρογγ(υλο)πρό(σωπος) καρπῷ δεξ(ιῷ).
Κρον]ίου ἀφῆ(λιξ) ἄτεχ(νος) ὡς (ἐτῶν) ε ἄσημος.
]
] . προγεγρα(μμέν . .) προαπογραφον τῳ ε̣ν̣[. . .
λ]α̣ύ̣ρας [. . . . .]η[. .] . [.] . . κ̣ . . . ετ̣[
6 more mutilated lines.

1. The letter before ρ is a little more like γ than τ; κωμο]γρ(αμματεῖ) is therefore the most likely word, cf. ccliv. 1.

2–3. It is not clear whether Ταώς is to be placed after καί in l. 2 or in the lacuna of l. 3. In the former case there are only three senders of the return, and the first name in 2 is also feminine, ἑκατέρας in 3 referring to all three women; in the latter case the senders are four, and the first is probably a man.

9. (ἐτῶν): the number of years is omitted, unless we suppose that με means 45 instead of μέ(σος). But the space between the sign for ἐτῶν and με is against this, and the ε is written slightly above the line, which suggests an abbreviated word. Moreover when a description of a person's appearance is given it is the rule to begin with his height.

It is probable that the person referred to in 9 and 10 is Κρόνιος himself whose son (?) is returned in line 11, and wife in line 12 (and probably 13). The child mentioned in 14 may be his daughter; cf. cclv. 11, note.

13. καρπῷ: οὐλή is omitted.

15. The meaning of this line is obscure, and the lines following are too mutilated to afford any help. Apparently a previous ἀπογραφή of some kind is referred to, and this may well be a census return sent in fourteen years before. But it is not clear whether the owners who were responsible for sending the return or the persons who were returned are meant. So far as can be judged in this return, the owners do not include themselves, as the owner in cclv does and as the analogy of Fayûm census returns would lead us to expect. But since the landlord not the tenant was responsible for the returns, there is nothing surprising in this.

CCLVII. Selection of Boys (ἐπίκρισις).

28·4 × 12·2 *cm.* A. D. 94–5.

This papyrus and cclviii are concerned with the ἐπίκρισις, on which subject see Kenyon, *Cat.* II, pp. 43–46. He there distinguishes two kinds of ἐπίκρισις,

one the selection of soldiers for the army, with which e.g. B.G.U. 142, 143 (and O. P. I. xxxix) are concerned, the other the 'selection' of boys aged 11–14 for admission to the list of privileged persons who were exempt from poll-tax. B. G. U. 109, 324, G. P. II. xlix and Pap. de Genève 18 are examples of applications to ex-gymnasiarchs *ὄντες πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει* made by the parents of boys who had nearly reached the age of 14 and had to be 'selected' (*ἐπικριθῆναι*), enclosing a statement of the claim (*τὰ δίκαια*). The evidence for this in each of these four papyri is that of the census lists (*κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*) which were made every fourteen years (introd. to ccliv). The nature of the claim is not precisely stated in any of the applications; but the numerous *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί* from the Fayûm, in which the phrase *ἐπικεκριμένος κάτοικος* often occurs, show that in that province the ground of the application was usually, perhaps always, that the boy in question was a *κάτοικος* or descendant of a privileged class of settlers; and this is confirmed by Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLX (Kenyon, *Cat. l. c.*), which proves clearly that *κάτοικοι* were in most, if not all, cases exempt from the poll-tax of 20 (sometimes 40) drachmae payable by ordinary persons from the ages of 14 to 60, and that this remission of taxation was obtained through the *ἐπίκρισις*. Several points however remained doubtful:—(1) whether women as well as men were subject to the poll-tax and if so could be exempted; (2) what was the meaning of the phrase *λαογραφούμενοι ἐπικεκριμένοι* applied to certain persons in B. G. U. 137. 10, which seems to contradict the definite statement in Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLX. 125–7 that an individual *ἀπὸ λαογραφίας κεχωρίσθαι διὰ τὸ ἐπικεκρίσθαι*; (3) whether the remission of the poll-tax was confined to Greeks; (4) how slaves came under the *ἐπίκρισις*, as appears from B. G. U. 324; (5) whether there was any ulterior connexion between the two kinds of *ἐπίκρισις*. The two Oxyrhynchus papyri here published supply much additional information about the various forms of *ἐπίκρισις* and go some way towards settling the problems connected with it.

The general formula of the four *F*ayûm applications is much the same as that found in these two Oxyrhynchus papyri and an (unpublished) application dated in A.D. 132, which closely resembles and explains cclviii. But there are some notable differences. Neither cclvii nor cclviii is complete at the beginning, and it is uncertain to what officials they are addressed. The application of A.D. 132 is however addressed to the *βιβλιοφύλακες*, and it is most probable that cclviii at any rate was also sent to them, and not, as in the case of the *F*ayûm applications, to specially appointed officials. Secondly, while the documentary evidence which is appealed to in the *F*ayûm applications consists of *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί*, in our papyri a *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή* is only once (cclvii. 27) mentioned. Thirdly, the Oxyrhynchus applications supply much more detail as to the basis

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application of A. D. 132, which is complete, and in which one of the proofs adduced is a *ὁμόλογος λαογραφία* for A. D. 128–9. The poll-tax from Domitian's time was normally more than 12, and very often 20 drachmae (Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 20); the applicants therefore in cclviii and in the papyrus of A. D. 132 claim that the privilege of paying 12 instead of probably 20 drachmae may be extended to the boys in question. In both cases it was necessary to show that the father and the maternal grandfather of the boy had been 'selected' as a *μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος*. The nature of the evidence in cclviii is lost, but in the papyrus of A. D. 132 it was in the case of the father the *ὁμόλογος λαογραφία* mentioned above, and in the case of the maternal grandfather an *ἐπίκρισις* of A. D. 103–4. Why the *μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι* had this privilege does not appear. If, as seems likely, Tryphon and his family belonged to this class (cf. introd. to cclxxxviii), the *ἐπίκρισις* connected with it can be traced back to Augustus' reign, like the privileges of descendants of gymnasiarchs. The *μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι* can hardly have coincided with the *κάτοικοι*, because most *κάτοικοι* at any rate were exempt from poll-tax altogether (Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 45), nor again is it at all likely that they were descendants of gymnasiarchs like the applicant in cclvii. It is more probable either that they formed a third and distinct class, or else that the term is a general one and applies to all persons in Oxyrhynchus itself who paid 12 instead of 20 drachmae for poll-tax, whatever the grounds of the privilege.

To sum up the evidence with regard to *ἐπίκρισις* and poll-tax, Mr. Kenyon seems right in rejecting the theory that the *ἐπίκρισις* was always a military institution, and in drawing a sharp contrast between the *ἐπίκρισις* of recruits for military purposes and the *ἐπίκρισις* of boys nearing the age of fourteen who on various grounds claimed to be partly or wholly exempt from poll-tax. It is possible, as Mr. Kenyon observes (*Cat.* II. p. 44), that exemption granted to *κάτοικοι* may originally have been based upon an obligation of military service. But if *λαογραφία* was not imposed in Ptolemaic times, which seems probable (cf. p. 210), the exemption from it granted to *κάτοικοι* in the Roman period is not likely to be connected with their ultimate military origin. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether the *κάτοικοι* in nomes other than the Arsinoite were to any large extent descendants of veterans. In any case the granting of the privilege to the sons of gymnasiarchs has no apparent military connexion. The term *ἐπίκρισις* itself is relative and does not connote a military rather than any other kind of 'selection.' In fact we should be inclined to draw the distinction between the two kinds of *ἐπίκρισις* even more sharply than is done by Mr. Kenyon.

Secondly, in the *ἐπίκρισις* of boys the ground of the application might

be of three kinds, according as the boy was descended on both sides from (1) *κάτοικοι*, (2) gymnasiarchs, (3) *μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι*. Most, if not all, boys in the first class were entirely exempt from poll-tax (Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLX. 124 sqq.). A difficulty, however, arises in the phrase found in census-returns (e.g. B. G. U. 137. 10) *λαογραφούμενοι ἐπικεκριμένοι*. Mr. Kenyon suggests that the persons so described are *κάτοικοι* who had been exempted from poll-tax by an *ἐπίκρισις* since the preceding census. If that is correct, then all *κάτοικοι* were exempt from poll-tax; but the phrase *μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι* found in the Oxyrhynchus papyri shows that there was a class of privileged persons who paid part of the poll-tax, and possibly this is the class to which the *λαογραφούμενοι ἐπικεκριμένοι* belonged; cf. note on cclviii. 8. That the second class of privileged persons, the descendants of gymnasiarchs, was altogether exempt from poll-tax there is no evidence to show, but it is in itself likely. The privileges of the third class are sufficiently indicated by their name.

Mr. Kenyon considers (*Cat.* II. p. 20) that in Egypt, contrary to the practice in Syria, women were exempt from poll-tax and also that the privileges of *κάτοικοι* were confined to Greeks. On the former point the Oxyrhynchus papyri support his conclusion. If women were subject to poll-tax, it would be expected that they could also under certain circumstances come under the *ἐπίκρισις*. But it is noteworthy that not only are the persons to be selected in the three Oxyrhynchus papyri boys, but, although evidence of descent from a privileged class, whether from a gymnasiarch or from a *μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος*, had to be traced through the mother as well as through the father, the documentary evidence in the case of women in these papyri differs from that in the case of men. In cclvii the privileges of Diogenes and Ptolema, the parents of the father of the boy, are detailed because the father himself was *ἀνεπίκριτος*; but Diogenes was privileged because he was himself 'selected,' while Ptolema is not stated to have been herself 'selected,' but is only the daughter of a 'selected' person. Similarly in cclviii and the application in A. D. 132, where at first sight the expression *ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν δωδεκαδράχμων* might suggest that the mother as well as the father paid 12 drachmae instead of 20, the evidence produced shows not that the mother was herself *ἐπικεκριμένη*, but that she was the daughter of an *ἐπικεκριμένος*. If the mother had been specially exempt from poll-tax, the fact of her own *ἐπίκρισις* would have naturally been alluded to in place of the *ἐπίκρισις* of her father; and the conclusion to which this points is that no women paid poll-tax, but they were nevertheless entered in *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί* as privileged (cf. B. G. U. 116, II. 21 and cclvii. 27), because a boy could only be 'selected' when he could trace descent on both sides

from privileged persons. In all applications for *ἐπίκρισις* the descent of the mother of the boy is as important as that of the father[1].

This being the case it may be doubted whether the privileges of *κάτοικοι* or any other classes which came under the *ἐπίκρισις* were connected with their nationality. It is only natural that most possessors of these privileges should have been Greeks. But though the list of persons 'selected' in Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLX contains none but Greek men's names, the interchange of Greek and Egyptian names in families and the adoption of Greek names by Egyptians, combined with the fact that the names of the mothers in that list and elsewhere are generally Egyptian, are strong arguments against laying much stress on mere names. Moreover, Egyptian men's names occur in applications for *ἐπίκρισις*; e. g. in G. P. II. xlix the boy is called Anoubas, and in the Oxyrhynchus application of A. D. 132 the boy's grandfather is called Ptollis.

Lastly, with regard to B. G. U. 324 where two slaves are 'selected,' it is practically certain that this means a remission of poll-tax in their case. Some light is thrown on this case by the Oxyrhynchus application of A. D. 132, in which the mother of the boy is an *ἀπελεύθερα*, and records the fact that the father of her patroness was a *μητροπολίτης δωδεκάδραχμος*. If a slave who was freed could claim exemption for her son on the ground that the father of her patroness was privileged, there is no reason why an ordinary slave should not be privileged where his master was privileged.

Some further details connected with the *ἐπίκρισις* are discussed in notes on cclvii. 12, 22, 23. Incidentally this papyrus supplies valuable indirect evidence with regard to the origin of the census in Egypt, which was closely connected with the *ἐπίκρισις*; cf. introd. to ccliv.

. . . . . .

[*παρὰ Διογένους τοῦ*] *Θεογ*[*έ-*
νους μητρὸς Πτ[*ο*]*λεμᾶ*[*ς . . . . . .*] *. λε*[*. . .*
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεω[*ς*] *ἀμφ*[*ὁδ*(*ου*)] *Ἡρακλ*[*έ-*
ους τόπων. κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα πε-
ρὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβαινόντων
εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ γυμνασίου δηλῶ τὸν υἱό[*ν*
μου Θεογένην μητρὸς Ἰσιδώρας Πτ[*ο-*
λεμαίου γεγονέναι ιγ (*ἔτη*) *εἰς τὸ ἐνε*[*στὸς*
ιδ (*ἔτος*) *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτια*[*νοῦ*

[1] Professor Wilcken (*Gr. Ost.* I. 242) takes for granted that women paid poll-tax in Egypt, as in Syria. But it is noteworthy that in none of the numerous receipts for *λαογραφία* in his ostraca is there an instance of a payment of the tax by a woman.

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45 [17 letters]στω[. . . . . .
[14 letters] . ωρκῳ ην[. . . . . .
[2nd hand. 12 letters Δ]ιογένους ἐπ[ιδέδωκα
[καὶ ὀμώμοκα τὸν] ὅρκον. [
. . . . . .

20. l. *νίδοῦς*.

'To . . . from . . . , son of Diogenes, son of Theogenes, his mother being Ptolema, . . . , of Oxyrhynchus, living in Heracles-place quarter. Following the orders concerning the selection of persons approaching the age for being incorporated among those from the gymnasium, I declare that my son Theogenes by Isidora, daughter of Ptolemaeus, is thirteen years of age in the present 14th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, and lives in the said quarter. Wherefore, coming forward for his selection, I declare that my father Diogenes, son of Theogenes, son of Philiscus, his mother being Sinthoönis, daughter of Achilleus, was selected at the selection which took place in the 5th year of the deified Vespasian under Sutorius Sotas, ex-strategus, . . . ex-basilicogrammateus, and the other proper officials in the said quarter, in accordance with the proofs produced by him that his father Theogenes, son of Philiscus, was entered as the grandson of a gymnasiarch in the list of those from the gymnasium made in the 34th year of the deified Caesar, among the persons who have no amphodarch; that I myself was placed among the unselected owing to non-residence; that my mother Ptolema married my father before the 7th year of Nero and was registered by him in the house-to-house census of the following 8th year as the daughter of Philiscus, son of Philiscus, ex-gymnasiarch of the said city; that my wife and the mother of my son, Isidora, married me in the 7th year of Nero, and that her father Ptolemaeus, son of Ammonius . . . had likewise been selected in the same year (i. e. the 7th of Nero) and in the same Heracles-place quarter, in accordance with the proofs produced by him that his father Ammonius, son of Ptolemaeus, was (included) in the list of the 34th year of the deified Caesar in the same quarter. And I swear by the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus that Theogenes is the son of Isidora, and neither adopted nor supposititious . . . ; otherwise may I be liable to the consequences of the oath.' Signature.

12. Applications for *ἐπίκρισις* could be sent in any year, being dependent on the age of the boy, and the lists were probably revised annually; but the formal revision by government officials took place at intervals, as in the case of *ἀπογραφαί* (ccxxxvii. VIII. 31, note). It is to these general formal revisions and the official lists made from them that reference is probably made here and in 33, for both Diogenes and Ptolemaeus must have been much more than fourteen years old at the time of their *ἐπικρίσεις* mentioned in 12 and 33. Otherwise we must conclude that for some reason they were not selected until they were far on in life; cf. B. G. U. 562. 14 where a man is transferred *ἀπὸ ἀνεπικ(ρίτων) [καὶ] εἰς λαογραφίαν ἀνειλ(ημμένων)* (as we should suggest) to the position of a *κάτοικος*. But there seems no reason why Diogenes and Ptolemaeus should have waited so long to claim their privileges, and it is therefore better to suppose that the *ἐπικρίσεις* of these particular years are referred to because in them a special general revision took place. That in A. D. 72–3 was conducted by the strategus and *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς*; cf. B. G. U. 562. 14 sqq., where an inquiry about a disputed claim is held apparently by an ex-gymnasiarch (if we are right in preferring *ἐπικ(ρίναντος)* to *ἐπικ(εκριμένου)* in line 15), and the *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς* is also concerned in the case.

The general revision recorded here at Oxyrhynchus in A. D. 72–3 corresponds with the date of Brit. Mus. Pap. CCL, which shows that a revision of the poll-tax lists was also held in the Fayûm both in that year and in A. D. 54–5. Another occurred at Oxyrhynchus in A. D. 60–1 (line 33); and a revision of the lists in A. D. 103 is indicated by the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of A. D. 132 (cf. p. 220). This was perhaps connected with the *ἐπίκρισις* held in the Fayûm in A. D. 104–5 (B. G. U. 562. 14). The *γραφὴ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου* mentioned in 21 and 37 also points to a systematic revision in A. D. 4–5.

17. *Φιλίσκου*: probably this Philiscus is identical with the elder Philiscus mentioned in 28, in which case Theogenes in 16 is the brother of the younger Philiscus in 28, and Diogenes, the father of the writer of the papyrus was first cousin to his wife Ptolema (2, 25). Theogenes and Ammonius, the grandfather of the writer's wife, were contemporaries, and were both entered in the same *γραφή* of A. D. 4–5 (cf. 21 and 37).

22. *ἐπὶ ἀναμφοδάρχων*: it was essential to state the *ἄμφοδον* to which privileged persons belonged, since the amphodarchs were responsible for making up the lists of such persons in towns every year (Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 45). Theogenes, however, was 'among those who had no amphodarch.' Why he was entered in the list as not dwelling in a particular *ἄμφοδον* it is of course impossible to say. It is clear from the plural that others were in the same case; but it is unlikely that he lived in a village, for then the *κωμογραμματεύς* would probably have been responsible for his being entered in the list as coming from a particular village; cf. Kenyon, *Cat.* II. p. 45 with cclxxxviii. 41. On the meaning of *ἄμφοδον* see note on ccxlii. 12.

23. It is not quite clear why absence should have prevented the writer himself from claiming the privilege of *ἐπίκρισις*, since persons could be transferred from the list of *λαογραφούμενοι* to that of *ἐπικεκριμένοι* (cf. note on 12). But perhaps such transfer was not possible after a certain age had been reached.

24–27. The natural inference from this passage would be that the marriage between the writer's parents, Diogenes and Ptolema, took place in the period between A. D. 60–1 and the preceding census for A. D. 47–8. But the applicant himself married in A. D. 60–1 (ll. 30–1), so unless there is a mistake in the date in line 31 the marriage of Diogenes and Ptolema can hardly have taken place after the census of A. D. 47–8. Cf. ccclxi, part of a census return written in A. D. 76–7, in which the marriage of the writer's parents is stated to have taken place [*πρὸ τοῦ*] *ζ* (*ἔτους*) *Νέρωνος*.

27. *οὖσαν ἐκ . . . γεγυμνασιαρχηκότος*: similarly in Fayûm census returns female descendants of *κάτοικοι* are registered as such, not because they were themselves subject to *ἐπίκρισις*, but because a boy to be 'selected' had to trace descent on both sides from privileged persons; cf. introd.

36. A verb is required at the end of the line, and some compound beginning with *κατα* and meaning 'was entered' is probable. *κ*[*άτοικον* is very unlikely, for there would not then be room for a verb after it, and the *γραφή* of the 34th year of Augustus mentioned here was probably a *γραφὴ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου* like that in 21.

CCLVIII. SELECTION OF BOYS (*ἐπίκρισις*).

16·2 x 8·7 *cm.* A. D. 86–7 (?).

Application similar to the preceding, addressed probably to the *βιβλιοφύλακες*, by the father of a boy aged thirteen, adducing evidence that his son was the offspring on both sides of 'inhabitants of the metropolis who paid

12 drachmae.' On the meaning of this phrase and the interpretation of the papyrus see introd. to cclvii. The supplements of the lacunae are based on the similar application of A. D. 132, which follows the same formula. The document was written in the reign of Domitian, but the exact year is not quite certain, the papyrus being in a much damaged condition.

The first two lines are obliterated.

. . . ṇων τ̣ὴν ϵ . . . . [12 letters
Διδύμου τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ[ων πόλεως
ἐπ' ἀμβόδου Πυμενικῆς. κατὰ τ̣ὰ̣
κριθέντα ἐπὶ τῶν προσβεβηκότων
ἰς τρισκαιδεκαέτεις εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέ-
ρων γονέων μη[τ]ρ̣οπολειτῶν δω-
δεκαδράχμων ϵ̣[ἰσ]ἰν ϵταṭη ἐπὶ (ἐτάγη Mitteis 216, 217)
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφόδου, ὁ υ[ἱὸς μ]ο̣ῦ . . . . .
ος μητρὸς Θ̣ϵ̣ψεῖτος τῆς [Δι]δύμου
προσβέβηκεν εἰς τρισκαιδεκα[έτει]ς
τῷ̣ ἐνεστῶτι . (ἔτει) Αὐτοκράτ[ορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ. ὅθεν πα[ρ]α[γενόμε-
νος ἰς τὴν τούτου ἐπ[ίκρισιν εἶ-
ναι ἐμὲ κατὰ τ . . . . . [. . . . . .
κα̣ὶ τὸν τῆ̣[ς μη]τ̣[ρος αὐτοῦ πατέ-
ρα Δίδυμο̣ν . [. . .] . [. . . . . .
ἀναγραφόμενον ϵ̣νο̣[. . . . . .
ἐπ' ἀμφόδου [. . . . . ὃς καὶ τε-
τελεύτηκε τ[ῷ̣ . . . . . ἔτει Νέρω-
νος, καὶ ὀμνύ[ω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
Δομιτιανὸν Σε[βαστὸν Γερμανικὸν
ἀληθῆ εἶναι [τὰ προγεγραμμένα.
ἔτους ἕκ̣[τ]ο̣υ̣ [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Δομιτι[ανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ . . . .
2nd hand. Μ . ν̣ . . . . . ρ̣[ἐπιδέδωκα.

5. l. ἀμφόδου Ποιμενικῆς. 9. μ of δωδεκαδραχμων inserted above the line. 10. α of αμφοδου above the line. 17. The first ϵ of ϵμϵ above the line.

8. The class of privileged persons who paid 12 instead of 20 drachmae poll-tax

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Σαρα(πίωνα) Σαραπίω(νος) τὸν εἰσηγμένον [π]ρὸς [σ]υν-
γρα(φὴν) ἰδιόγραφ[ον] ψελίου χρυσοῦ[[ν]] μνα[ι]ήω(ν)
δύο Μαγιανοῦ εἰς λόγον Ἀλίνης τῆς
Διονυσίου ἀστῆς διὰ Βίλλου διοικητικ[οῦ
ὑπηρέτ[ου]. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παριστῶ ἐν τα[ῖς
προκειμέναις ἡμέρα⟨ι⟩ς ἐκτείσω τὰ
προκείμενα{ις} τῶν χρυσίων μν[α-
ιήων δύο ἀνυπερθέτως, μὴ ἔχοντός
μου ἐ{κ}ξουσίαν χρόνον ἕτερον [κ]τ[ή][σ]εσ-
θαι μηδὲ μετάγει⟨ν⟩ ἐμαυτὸν εἰς
ἑ[τ]έραν φυλακ[ή]ν. εὐορκοῦντι μέν μ[οι
εὖ εἴη, ἐπιορκο[ῦ]ντι δὲ τὰ ἐναν[τί]α.
(ἔτους) θ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Παχ(ὼν) κβ.
ὑπόλ[ε]ξον Σαραπίω(νι), χάριν οὗ ἦλθεν ὁ
Διονύσι[ο]ς ἐτελέσθη, καὶ περὶ τοῦ
Ἡλ[ιο]δώρου λ[ό]γου συνπερίλυσον αὐτόν,
καὶ λάβε τ[ὸ] ἀργ(ύριον). συνζητ[ο]ῦμ[εν]
τούτου χάριν. οὐκ ἀνεπλευσάμε[θ(α)]
ἐν τ[ού]τῳ τῷ πλοίῳ ὅτι οὐκ ἔλκε μ[. .] .
ἢ αὐτὸν ἱκανοδοτοῦντ[.] . με[. . .]
ἕως ἑαυτὸν αὐτ[ὸ]ν ποιήσω, εἰ δὲ [μ]ὴ
ἐμβέβηκ(εν). ἔρρω(σο).
βλέπε με πῶς με ἡ μητηρ ἡμῶν
[ἔ]σφαξε χάριν τοῦ χειρογράφου . . . ω( )
[. . . .]αφ[. . . .] . . [.]ηκα δε[. . .] . [. .] .
[14 letters (?)κα]λ(ὡς) δρα̅.

6. l. ἢ μήν. 11. Second υ of χρυσου over the line. l. μνα[ι]αίω(ν). 16. The ι of -μεναις is very close to the s, and is possibly a stroke cancelling the s. l. τοῦ χρυσίου μν[α]ιαῖα. 28. l. εἶλκε or ἕλκει.

'Copy of a bond. Theon, son of Ammonius, a Persian of the Epigone, to Demetrius, governor of the prison of Zeus. I swear by Tiberius Caesar Novus Augustus Imperator, that I have thirty days in which to restore to you the man whom I bailed out of the public prison in Phaophi of the present year, Sarapion, son of Sarapion, arrested through Billus, assistant to the dioecetes, on account of a note of hand for a gold bracelet weighing two minae to Magianus on behalf of Aline, citizen, daughter of Dionysius. If I do not produce him within the said number of days, I will pay the said two minae of gold without delay, and I have no power to obtain a further period of time nor to transfer myself to another

prison. If I swear truly, may it be well with me, but if falsely, the reverse. 9th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 22.'

5. Νέον Σεβαστόν: cf. ccxl. 3 note.

13. Βίλλου: Βιάλου might also be read. διοικητικοῦ: cf. introd. to ccxci.

23. ὑπόλ[ε]ξον: the doubtful λ may be γ or possibly τ, but ὑποτ[α]ξον is not satisfactory. There is room for two letters in the lacuna.

30. Above ἑαυτὸν αὐτόν are faint traces of about eight letters between the lines.

33. [ἔ]σφαξε: the third letter is certainly φ and not ρ: [ἔ]πραξε cannot therefore be read. For the hyperbole cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CXIII. 12 (d). 11 ὁ χρεώστης ἐφ[ό]νευσέν με.

CCLX. PROMISE OF ATTENDANCE IN COURT.

27·7 × 11·5 *cm.* A.D. 59.

Copy of declarations made by the two parties in a suit, Antiphanes, son of Ammonius, and Antiphanes, son of Heraclas, of Oxyrhynchus, that they would attend the court of the ἀρχιδικαστής at Alexandria for a stated period, in order to effect a settlement of their dispute. The case had been referred to the ἀρχιδικαστής from the strategus of Oxyrhynchus,—whether by order of the strategus or merely by mutual agreement of the litigants is not made clear.

The declarations of the two men, apart from necessary alterations in names and one or two slight unintentional divergences, are verbally identical. We therefore print only the first of them, which is the better preserved. The body of the document is written by one hand and the signatures of the two persons concerned by another.

Ἀντίγρα(φον).
Ἀντιφάνης Ἀμμωνίου [τ]ῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχ(ων)
πόλεως τοῖς παρὰ Τιβερίου Κλαυδί[ο]υ
Ἀμμωνίου στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδω(ν)
τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου. ὀμνύω Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον
Καίσαρα Σεβαστ[ὸν Γε]ρμανικὸν Αὐτοκράτορα
εἰ μὲν κα[τ]ὰ [τὰ] συ[μ]φωνηθέντα ἐμοὶ
κα[ὶ] Ἀντ[ι]φ[ά]νει Ἡρακλᾶτος ἐξ ἧς ἐποιησά-
με[θα] πρὸ[ς] ἑαυτοὺ⟨ς⟩ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
Τιβερίου Κλ[αυ]δ[ίου] Ἀμμωνίου ἀντικαταστάσε-
ως ἔσασθα[ι ἐμ]φανῆ τῷ Σαραπίωνο[ς
ἀρχιδικαστοῦ [β]ήματι ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας
ἕως τριακάδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς

Ἐπείφ, καὶ προσκαρτερήσειν μέχρι οὗ
ἃ ἔχωμεν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐγ[β]ιβασθῆι.
εὐορκοῦντι μέν μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκ[οῦ]ντι δὲ
τὰ νεαντία. ἔτους πέμπτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς,
Ἐπεὶφ θ̄. (2nd hand) *Θέ[ω]ν Ὀννώφριος ὑπηρέ-*
της ἐπηκολ[ού]θ[η]κα τῆι [α]ὐθεντι[κ]ῆι
χιρ[ογρ]α(φίᾳ). (ἔτους) ε Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
[Σεβαστοῦ Γε]ρμαν[ικοῦ Α]ὐτ[ο]κράτορος, Ἐπεὶφ θ̄.

7. l. *ἢ μήν.* 11. *εσασθαι*: so too in the duplicate copy; l. *ἔσεσθαι.* 14. Second *ε* of *προσκαρτερησειν* corrected from *α.* 17. l. *ἐναντία.*

'Copy. Antiphanes, son of Ammonius, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, to the agents of Tiberius Claudius Ammonius, strategus and superintendent of the revenues of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, that in accordance with the agreement made between me and Antiphanes, son of Heraclas, in consequence of our confronting each other before the strategus Tiberius Claudius Ammonius, I will appear at the court of the chief justice Sarapion at Alexandria until the 30th day of the present month Epeiph, and will remain until our suit is decided. If I swear truly may it be well with me, if falsely, the reverse. The 5th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 9.

I, Theon, son of Onnophris, assistant, have checked this authentic bond.' Date.

4. *στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων*: this title does not seem to occur elsewhere; but the strategus was throughout the Roman period the chief financial administrator in the nome.

12. *ἀρχιδικαστοῦ*: cf. cclxviii. 1, cclxxxi. 1, O. P. I. xxxiv. II. 3. Mr. Milne, who summarizes the evidence upon the nature and extent of the jurisdiction of the *ἀρχιδικαστής* at this period (*Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 196), concludes that any civil case could be referred to him at Alexandria when the litigants did not live in the same district. But in the present instance both parties are distinctly stated to be residents of Oxyrhynchus; and in cclxxxi there is no suggestion of diversity of residence.

14. *προσκαρτερήσειν*: cf. cclxi. 12 and O. P. I. lix. 10 *προσεδρεῦσαι . . . δικαστηρίῳ.*

19. *ὑπηρέτης*: for the signature of a *ὑπηρέτης* (of the strategus) giving official sanction to a document cf. B. G. U. 581. 16, 647. 28.

CCLXI. Appointment of a Representative.

24·6 x 15·8 *cm.* A. D. 55.

Agreement by which a woman named Demetria appoints her grandson Chaeremon to act as her representative in a lawsuit which was pending between herself and a certain Epimachus. This document should be compared with

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CCLXII. Notice of Death.

23·8 x 7·9 *cm.* A. D. 61.

Notice addressed to Philiscus, farmer of the tax upon weaving, by Sarapion, announcing the death of his slave who was by trade a weaver. The formula resembles that of ccli–iii. On the *verso* are four short lines effaced.

Φιλίσκωι ἐγλή(μπτορι) γερδ(ιακοῦ)
παρὰ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαρα(πίωνος).
ὁ δοῦλός μου Ἀπολλοφάνης
γέρδιος ἀναγραφόμενος
ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Τεγμούθεως
ἐτελε(ύτησεν) ἐν τῆι ξένηι
τῶι ἐνεστῶτι ζ (ἔτει) Νέρωνο(ς)
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ-
μανι[κ(οῦ)
Αὐτοκράτορος. διὸ ἀξιῶ
ἀναγραφῆναι τοῦτον
ἐν τῆι τῶν τετελε(υτηκότων)
τάξει, καὶ ὀμνύωι
Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρ[α
Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Αὐτοκρά(τορα)
ἀληθῆι εἶναι.
(ἔτους) ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκρά(τορος),
Μεχ(εὶρ) κζ̄ Σεβα(στῆ).
2nd hand. Φιλίσκος σεσημ(είωμαι).
(ἔτους) ζ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου
[Κα]ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
[Γερ]μανικοῦ
[Αὐτο]κράτορ[ος,
[Με]χ(εὶρ) κ̣ζ̄ [Σεβα(στῆ).
. . . . .

7. ζ corr. from ε.

'To Philiscus, farmer of the tax on weaving, from Sarapion, son of Sarapion. My slave Apollophanes a weaver, registered in Temgenouthis Square, died during absence in the present 7th year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator. Wherefore I request that his name be inscribed in the list of dead persons, and I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that this information is true.' Date, and official signature of Philiscus.

5. Τεγμούθεως: this name is variously spelled, cf. introd. to cclxxxviii.
18. Σεβαστῆ: cf. note on cclxxxviii. 5.

CCLXIII. Sale of a Slave.

16 x 15.6 *cm.* A. D. 77.

Declaration on oath addressed to the agoranomi by Bacche with her guardian Diognetus, a member of the Epiphanean deme, stating that she had sold to Heliodora an eight-year-old female slave, who was her absolute property,

and that she had received the price, 640 drachmae. Cf. O. P. I. c and B. G. U. 543, which is addressed to τοῖς ἐπὶ χρεῶν τεταγμένοις and is a promissory oath (Mitteis, *Hermes* xxxii. p. 658); the formula of the two Oxyrhynchus declarations is almost the same as that of the Berlin papyrus, except that in them we have the past tense ὀμνύω . . . πεπρακέναι in place of the future ὀμνύω . . . παραχωρήσειν. For the price of slaves at Oxyrhynchus cf. O. P. I. xcv, where a female slave aged twenty-five is sold for 1,200 drachmae, and cccxxxvi, ccclxxv.

The papyrus formed one of a series of documents glued together, and the ends and beginnings of lines of those adjoining it are preserved.

Τοῖς ἀγορανόμοι[ς] ε . . . . . [.] . . ν̣ π̣α̣[ρὰ
Βάκχης τῆς Ἕρμωνος ἀστῆς μετὰ κυρίου
Διογνήτου τοῦ Διονυσίου Ἐπιφανείου.
ὀμνύω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐεσπασια[νὸν
Σεβαστὸν πεπρακέναι Ἡλιοδώρᾳ μη-
τρὸς Ἡλιοδώρας μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου
τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι
δούλην Σαραποῦν ὡς ἐτῶν ὀκτὼ ἀσυκο-
φάντητον πλὴν ἱερᾶς νόσου καὶ ἐπα-
φῆς, εἶναί τε ἐμοῦ καὶ μήτε ὑποκεῖσ-
θαι μηδὲ ἑτέροις ἐξηλλοτριῶσθαι
κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, ἀπέχειν δέ
με τὴν τειμὴν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
ἑξακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ β[ε]βαιώ-
σειν. [ε]ὐορκούσῃ μέν μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐ-
[πι]ορκούσῃ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. Διόγνη-
τος Διονυσίου Ἐ[π]ιφάνειος ἐπιγέ-
γραμμαι αὐτῆ[ς κ]ύριος καὶ ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μ[ὴ ε]ἰδυίας γράμματ[α.
(ἔτους) ἑνάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Φαρμο[ῦθι
κς.

'To the agoranomi . . . from Bacche, citizen, daughter of Hermon, with her guardian Diognetus, son of Dionysius, of the Epiphanean deme. I swear by the Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus that I have sold to Heliodora, daughter of Heliodora, with her

guardian who is her husband Apollonius, son of Dionysius, son of Dionysius also called Didymus, the slave Sarapous who belongs to me, and is about eight years old and without blemish apart from epilepsy and leprosy; and I swear that she is my property and is not mortgaged, and has not been alienated to other persons in any respect, and that I have received the price, 640 silver drachmae, and will guarantee the contract. If I swear truly, may it be well with me, but if falsely, the reverse.' Signature of Diognetus on behalf of Bacche, and date.

1. ε . . .: only the tips of the letters after ε are left; *ἐπὶ τῶν χρεῶν* will not suit.

10. *πλὴν ἱερᾶς νόσου καὶ ἐπαφῆς*: this saving clause is regularly found in contracts for the sale of slaves, who were not guaranteed against being subject to epilepsy or leprosy.

CCLXIV. Sale of a Loom.

25 × 11 *cm.* A.D. 54.

Contract for the sale of a loom to Tryphon, son of Dionysius (cf. introd. to cclxvii) by Ammonius. The agreement is followed by the signature of the vendor, and a docket of the bank of Sarapion through which the purchase money, 20 drachmae of silver, was paid.

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Τρύφωνι Διονυσίου
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι σοι τὸν ὑπάρ-
χοντά μοι ἱστὸν γερδι[ακὸν] π[η]χῶν γερδιακῶ(ν)
τριῶν παρὰ παλαιστὰς δύο, οὗ ἀντία δύο
ἱστόποδες δύο, ἐπιμν[ημονεύω]ν ἔχειν παρὰ σ(οῦ)
διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξ[υρύγχ(ων)] πόλει Σαραπιείου
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Λόχου τραπέζης τὴν ἑσταμένη(ν)
πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτου τιμὴν ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
Πτολεμαικοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς
εἴκοσι, κ[αὶ] βεβαιώσειν σοι τὴν πρᾶσιν πάσῃ
βεβαιώσ[ει] ἢ ἐκτείσειν σοι ἣν ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ
τιμὴν σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ καὶ τὸ βλάβος. κυρία ἡ χείρ.
(ἔτους) ιδ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου ιε.

2nd hand. *Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου πέπρακα τὸν ἱστὸν*
καὶ ἀπέχω τὴν τιμὴν τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰ(ς)
εἴκοσι καὶ βεβαιώσωι καθότι πρόκιται. Ἡρα-
κλείδης Δ[ιον]υσίου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ

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to the bride, Sarapous, the receipt of the dowry of the latter, consisting of four minae of gold, three dresses, and some land, the revenues of which are to be used for the benefit of the household, the taxes upon this land being paid by Dionysius (2–8). A further provisional settlement is made by the mother of the bride upon her and her children, of some house-property and furniture and probably a female slave, which were to be inherited on the mother's death (9–12, 20). Sarapous promises to Dionysius the obedience which a husband has the right to expect from a wife, and Dionysius engages not to ill-use Sarapous (13–14). In the case of a divorce the dowry is to be repaid by Dionysius; but a share of it is reserved for any child of the marriage who decides to stay with his father (17–22). Dionysius undertakes the responsibility of providing for the children in an adequate manner, but apparently only so long as he remains in possession of the dowry (24). In the event of the death of Dionysius, arrangements are made for the appointment by Sarapous of a guardian to act with herself in the management of the household and estate. Should the guardian thus chosen also die, Sarapous is empowered to act alone (27–8). If Sarapous died childless, or if her children died childless, her dowry reverts to her own family (30, 31). The contract is signed, firstly, by Dionysius, who again acknowledges receipt of the dowry, undertakes to make some provision for the father of his wife during the father's life-time, and releases him on his own part from all further claims (37–42); secondly, by the mother of the bride, who reserves to herself the right to dispose of the property, which at her death was to pass to her daughter, in any other manner she pleased (43–45).

Ἔτους . . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομι]τιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, [μηνὸς]
Καισαρείου ἐπαγομένων [
ὁμολογεῖ Διονύσιος μητ]ρὸς Δι[ονυ]σίας τῆς Θέωνο[ς τῶν] ἀπ' Ὀξυ-
ρύγχων πόλεως τῇ Σ̣α̣[ραποῦτι
ἔχειν τὴ]ν̣ δὲ βαλανίνην τὴν καλ[ὴ]ν ὑδατίνην καὶ ψελίων χρυσῶ[ν
ἀρουρῶν δέ]κ̣α ἡμίσους καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰάσ[ω]νος καὶ Δρειμάκου ἀρουρῶν δέκα [
κατεχ]ώ̣ρισε Νει̣λου ἐκ τοῦ Διονυ̣[σο]δ̣ώρου ἀρουρῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐπὶ [
Σεβαστ]οῦ Γερμανικοῦ καρπιε⟨ῖ⟩ται ὁ γ[α]μῶν Διονύσιος σὺν τῇ̣
γυναικὶ Σαρ[αποῦτι
] κ̣αρπί̣ζ̣εται κατ' ἔτο[ς] ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ [τ]ὸ̣ δημόσιον καθήκοντα διὰ
τοῦ π̣ν̣[
τῶν προκει]μένων ἀρουρῶν κ̣α̣ὶ̣ σ̣υ̣[ν]τασσόμενος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τούτου κ̣[
Ἀπ]ολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐν ἀγυιᾷ̣ τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ συνχωρ[εῖ εἶναι
] τ̣οῦ Διονυσίου τέκνων ἥμισυ μέρος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς

ἀπολει[φθησομένων
κ]αρπείαν καὶ ἐνοίκησιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόσφορα τῶν
ὑπ' αὐτ[ῆς
] ἄλλων καταχρημ[α]τίζειν ἢ πᾶν τὸ ὑπ' ἐναντίω[ν
] ὅσ[α δ]εῖ πειθαρχεῖν γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἀνδρός, καὶ κυριευέτωσα[ν
μηδὲ κακουχεῖ]ν αὐτὴν μηδ' ἀποκλεί⟨ει⟩ν μηδενὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντω[ν
προσ]ηκόντων πάντων ὄντων περὶ Ταλαῶ ἐκ τοῦ Μοσχίωνο[ς
] ἐπιτρόπων μηδὲ μέρος αὐτῶν ἄνευ τοῦ συνεπιγραφῆναι τη[
ἐὰν δέ τι διαφέ]ρωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ βούληται Σαραποὺς ἀπαλλάσ-
σασθαι ἀπὸ τ[οῦ Διονυσίου
ἀποδότω ὁ Διονύσιος τὰ τοῦ] χρυσίου μναιαῖα τέσσαρα καὶ τὰς τρεῖς
στολὰς ἐὰν περα[
ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν] ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλων τέκνων μὴ βούλη[ται
δου]λείαν καὶ τὰς ἀποφορὰς τῆς δούλης Πλουσίας καὶ .[
] οὐδὲ τὴν δούλην οὐδὲ τὰ ἐσόμενα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγ[γονα
]ν ἄκυρον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς τελευτὴν βεβαιῶσθαι [
]ν καθ' ὁνδηποτοῦν τρόπον, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ ταῦτα μηδεμι[
τὴν πρέ]πουσαν ἐλευθέροις παισὶ παιδείαν μέχρι τῆς τῶν προκειμέ[νων
]ην τὰ τοῦ χρυσίου δοκίμου μναιαῖα τέσσαρα καὶ τὰς τρεῖς [στολὰς
τ]ὴν Σαραποῦν καὶ τὴν δούλην Πλουσίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀπο .[
]ντος αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλων τέκνων [
τῶν τέκν]ων ἀφηλίκων ὄντων ἔστωσαν ἥ τε Σαραποὺς καὶ ὁ ὑπ' αὐτῆς κα-
[τασταθησόμενος ἐπίτροπος
]ν καὶ ὁ συνεπιτροπεύσας ἐπιμεταλλάξῃ, ἔστω μόνη ἡ Σαρα[ποὺς
ἢ κ]αὶ τῶν γενομένων ἐπιμεταλλαξάντων ἀτέκνων μ[
εἰ]ς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναπεμπέσθω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτῆς ἅπαντα [
ἀ]πολ[ε]ιφθη[σ]ομένων ὑπαρχόντων πάντων καὶ ἐπίπλω[ν
]σει τῇ Σαραποῦτι καὶ οἷ[ς ἄ]λλοις ὥρισται ἐκ τοῦ ἑξῆς ε[
ἀνακομι]δῆς τῆς φερνῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται παρ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' α[ὐτοῦ
τ]ὰ π[ε]ριεσόμενα ἐνοίκια τοῦ προκειμένου τρίτου μέρους [
]ν μηδενὸς ἁπλῶς τρόπῳ μηδενί, οὐκ οὔσης τῇ α[
] ἐφ' ὃν ἐὰν συνῶσιν ἀλλήλοις χρ[ό]νον [
2nd hand. Διονύσιος]τερος ἔχω τὴν φερνὴν [τ]ὰς τῶν ἱμα[τίων
]ενων ἓξ καὶ χρηστηρίων καὶ υ . . [.]ρευματων κ[αὶ
] . . . ρου τοῦ Λυβίου κλήρου ἄρουραν μίαν μηδὲ ἃ εὖ[

τ]ῷ πατρὶ Ζωίλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζω[ῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον
οὐδ]ὲν ἐνκαλῶ τῶι πατρὶ Ζωίλῳ περὶ οὐδενὸς ἁ[πλῶς
3rd hand. καθ' ὃν] ἐ[ὰ]ν αἱρῶμαι τρόπον, καὶ εὐαρ[εστοῦμαι ?
τοῦ προγεγρα]μμέν[ο]υ μου ἀνδρὸς τὰ ἐπ[
ἀπολειφθησ]ομένων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξ ὀν[όματός μου

9. εν . . . συνχωρ[over an erasure. 13. l. ἀνδρί. 23. Final ν of ονδηποτουν corr.

3. βαλανίνην κ.τ.λ.: this is the third of the three στολαί mentioned in 18. Dresses frequently appear in marriage contracts as part of the dowry. In cclxvii. 7 we have a χιτὼν γαλάκτινος.

7. A similar clause making the husband responsible for taxes upon land brought to him by the wife occurs in C. P. R. 24. 24.

9 sqq. Cf. e.g. B. G. U. 183. 25, where the settlement of property by a mother on her daughter, who is to succeed to it on her mother's death, is revocable, as here (cf. 43 below).

13. πειθαρχεῖν: the same provision occurs in ccclxxii and other marriage contracts from Oxyrhynchus; cf. C. P. R. 30. 22 (sixth cent.) ὑπακούειν δὲ αὐτῷ καθὰ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ συμβαίνειν οἵδε.

κυριευέτωσα[ν: some phrase like καταχρώμενοι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν βιοτίαν (ccclxxii. 9) probably followed.

14. μηδὲ κακουχεῖ]ν κ.τ.λ.: this clause recurs in ccclxxii, where the further stipulation is made that for the wife μὴ ἐ]ξέστω ἀπόκοιτον μηδὲ α[. . . μηδὲ φθείρειν (so another Oxyrhynchus contract)] τὸν κοινὸν οἶκον.

16. συνεπιγραφῆναι: the subject is perhaps the mother; cf. cclxxiii. 20–4, where, since the mother has alienated the land, her συνεπιγραφή is stated to be unnecessary.

19 sqq. The sense of this passage seems to be that if, in the case of a dissolution of the marriage, any of the children elected to stay with their father, they should have some share of their mother's property. The responsibility of Dionysius for the children's education is apparently limited to such time as he remains in the possession of his wife's dowry. Neither of these clauses seems to occur in other marriage contracts.

27. ἐὰν ὁ Διονύσιος πρότερος τελευτήσῃ has preceded somewhere in the lacuna.

30. Supply ἐὰν δὲ ἡ Σαραποῦς προτέρα τελευτήσῃ τέκνων αὐτοῖς μὴ ὄντων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἢ κ]αὶ κ.τ.λ.

35. προκειμένου τρίτου μέρους: this is part of the property settled on Sarapous by her mother in 10–11.

CCLXVI. Deed of Divorce.

15·6 x 14·6 *cm.* A.D. 96.

Deed of separation drawn up between a husband and wife, who had been married a little over a year. Thaësis the wife, who appears as the principal party in the agreement, acknowledges to her late husband Petosarapis the receipt of her dowry of 400 drachmae of silver, and declares that he is released from all engagements entered into in their marriage contract and from all further

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dowry really came from the wife's side. The second a priori consideration, the necessity of finding a *quid pro quo*, is not more convincing, for, even admitting the necessity, it can be satisfied otherwise than by supposing that when the papyri say 'A has given to B,' what is meant is 'B has given to A.' The husband at least provided a home and made himself responsible for his wife's maintenance and clothing, *καὶ ὅσα προσήκει γυναικὶ γαμετῇ*.

There remains the analogy of demotic marriage contracts. They are divided by Revillout into two classes, those of Upper Egypt, which show an earlier, and those of Lower Egypt, which show a later, formula. The essential distinction between them is that while in the former (according to Revillout's translations) the husband makes a small present to the wife, and agrees to pay a heavy penalty if he divorces her, in the latter this express penalty is absent, and the husband receives from the wife a large dowry which he is to forfeit on separating from her. The two formulae are brought into line by supposing that the dowry which is liable to be forfeited corresponds to the penalty for divorce, and is therefore fictitious. In the one case the husband simply states that he will pay a certain sum, in the other the same effect is secured by a promise to pay back a sum which has never been received. No sufficient reason is assigned for this elaborate fiction; and it is to be noted that the whole theory rests upon the decipherments and translations of a single scholar, whose conclusions, especially when based upon demotic documents, have to be accepted with reserve. We notice, too, that on this question, in particular, Egyptologists show an inclination to suspend judgement (e.g. W. Max Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, p. 4, note).

That our distrust of Revillout's 'translations,' is not unfounded, will be seen on a reference to the passage of the contract from Lower Egypt which is the basis of the view that the dowry there mentioned is fictitious. As translated by Revillout (*Rev. Égypt.* I. pp. 91–2) this passage is: 'Je te prends pour femme, tu m'as donné et mon coeur en est satisfait, 750 argenteus . . . Je te donnerai les 750 argenteus ci-dessus, dans un delai de 30 jours, soit au moment où je t'établirai pour femme, soit au moment où tu t'en iras de toi-même.' The husband thus engages to pay the dowry of his wife either on the ratification of the marriage, or on separation; and it is certainly not an unnatural explanation of such an engagement that the so-called dowry was in reality a gift from the husband (*donatio propter nuptias*). But the words 'Je te donnerai' etc., strongly suggest the ordinary provision of the Greek marriage contracts ensuring the restitution of the dowry in case of divorce. For instance, in C. P. R. 22. 22 sqq., the husband promises on separating from his wife to return the dowry *ἐὰν μὲν αὐτὴν ἀ[πο]πέμπηται, παραχρῆμα, ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὴ ἑκοῦσα ἀπα[λλάττηται, ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα* (cf. 24, 31 etc.). The limit of thirty days is the same as in the demotic text; and *ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὴ ἑκοῦσα ἀπαλλάττηται* corresponds very well with 'soit au moment où tu t'en iras de toi-même.' It is therefore very probable that the sentence translated 'soit au moment où je t'établirai pour femme,' is the demotic equivalent of *ἐὰν μὲν αὐτὴν ἀποπέμπηται, παραχρῆμα*, which is the necessary correlative of *ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὴ ἑκοῦσα ἀπαλλάττηται*. If so the contract ceases to be remarkable, and the supposed proof from demotic contracts of the legal fiction falls to the ground. The explanation of Greek documents of the Roman period may or may not be discoverable in demotic documents dating from Ptolemaic times; but until it is known what the terms of those demotic documents really are, any such explanation must be regarded as premature.

A more substantial basis for the theory of the fictitious dowry appears at first sight to be supplied by No. cclxvii of this volume. That papyrus is an agreement between Tryphon and Saraeus, who are contracting an *ἄγραφος γάμος*. Tryphon acknowledges the receipt from Saraeus of a dowry amounting to 72 silver drachmae, which he binds himself to repay at the end of five months from the date of the agreement. Appended to this is an acknowledgement by Saraeus, dated six years later, that she had received the sum mentioned;

and we know from other documents that the pair were living together several years after the date of Saraeus' signature. What is the meaning of this transaction? It will be noticed in the first place that the marriage is expressly stated to be *ἄγραφος*, and therefore stands upon a different footing from the *ἔγγραφοι γάμοι* for which the theory of the fictitious dowry has been devised. The *ἄγραφος γάμος* was subject to special conditions, and the existing evidence is insufficient to show what those conditions were. If, as is possible (cf. introd. to ccxlvii), the object of such an arrangement was to secure to the contracting parties greater freedom in separating if they found themselves uncongenial companions, it is quite intelligible that the dowry should be repayable after a short period. At the end of that period it could be repaid or could be the subject of a fresh agreement, the *ἄγραφος γάμος* perhaps becoming *ἔγγραφος*, according as circumstances directed. At any rate there is not at present any ground for maintaining that the dowry stated to be brought by Saraeus to Tryphon was really a *donatio propter nuptias*, or gift from the husband to the bride.

We are here brought to a difficulty involved in the theory of the fictitious dowry which has not yet been sufficiently taken into account. According to Mitteis, the criterion of the real as opposed to the fictitious dowry is that the former is represented as coming from the bride or her parents to the husband, the latter from the parents of the bride to herself (cf. Wessely, *op. cit.* p. 59). Now on this view the dowries mentioned in some existing contracts will be partly real partly fictitious, those in others (e. g. ccxlvii and C. P. R. 28) will be entirely fictitious. But all dowries alike had to be repaid by the husbands at separation, whether voluntary on their own part or not. When therefore the dowry was altogether fictitious, the wife was protected from divorce by a heavy penalty, which she might demand from her husband without having fulfilled any of her obligations as a wife. Is it likely that prospective husbands would have laid themselves open to fraud in this manner? Is it probable that Tryphon, for example, would have bound himself to pay Saraeus on a certain day a sum of 72 drachmae out of his own pocket, having no guarantee that he would see her again after the conclusion of the contract?

But these are not the only difficulties with which the theory has to contend. There is no adequate reason why a *donatio propter nuptias* on the part of the husband should be converted by a fiction into the dowry, or part of the dowry, of his wife. Wessely suggests that the ground of the fiction may be the distinction drawn by Greek and Roman law between dowered and dowerless women. When Egyptian marriage contracts came to be written by Greeks in Greek, the fiction of the existence of a dowry when there was none would be intelligible if the absence of a dowry implied an inferiority of status. But how does this explanation apply to the demotic contracts, the analogy of which is the main support of the theory? Moreover, if the *donatio propter nuptias* was customary at this period in Egypt, it is somewhat surprising that not only is the identity of the *donatio* always concealed by an elaborate fiction, but that no Greek word to express it appears in the papyri before the Byzantine period (*ἰσόπροικον* C. P. R. 30. 10). There is scarcely need to point out that this proof from the use of a special term that the *donatio* existed in Egypt in the sixth century, so far from implying its existence there in the period prior to the *Constitutio Antonina*, when no such term is found, is rather an argument to the contrary. Finally, if it was the rule in Egypt for the dowry, though nominally coming from the wife, to be supplied by the husband, it is highly improbable that so strange an institution should have escaped the notice of Strabo, who (iii. 18, p. 165) describes it as a peculiarity of the Cantabri that among them the husband provided the dowry of his wife.

Ἔτους ἑκκαιδ[ε]κάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ, μη(νὸς) Γε[ρμ]ανικοῦ ἐν Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(ει) τῆς Θηβαίδος.

ὁμολογεῖ Θαῆσις Θώνιος τοῦ Ἀμιθώνιος μητρὸ⟨ς⟩ Σινθεῦ-
τος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρωοῦ Ὀννώφρι⟨ο⟩ς Ὀννώφριο[ς] τοῦ Παμ-
μένους μητρὸς Ταρθώνιος τῷ γενομένῳ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ
Πετοσαράπι Θομπεκύσιος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸ⟨ς⟩ Σινθώ-
νιος, πάντες ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, ἐν ἀγυι[ᾷ], ἀπέχειν
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς τετρα-
κοσίας κεφαλαίου ἃς προσηνέγκατο αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ ἐν φερνῇ
μ[ε]τεγγύου [τ]ῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σινθώνιος Πετοσαράπιος τοῦ
[.]βι[. . . .] κα[τὰ συ]νγραφὴν συνοικισίου διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων
[πόλει ἀγορανο]μίου ταῖς ἐπαγομέναις τοῦ τεσσαρασκαιδε-
[κάτου ἔτους Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
[Γερμανικοῦ, ἧ]ς τὴν ἐπίφορον αὐτόθεν ἀναδεδωκέναι αὐτῷ
[κεχιασμένην ε]ἰς ἀκύρωσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ [ἀν]αζυγὴν τοῦ γάμου
[γενέσθαι, καὶ] μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν μηδὲ ἐπε-
[λεύσεσθαι μη]τὲ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων μηδὲ περὶ παρα-
[φέρνων . . . . .]ο ἀπεσχηκέναι μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδε-
[νὸς πράγματος] μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώση[ς ἡ]μέρας. κ[αὶ] αὐτὸς δὲ
[ὁ Πετοσάραπ]ις ὁμολογεῖ ἐν ἀγυιᾷ [τ]ῇ αὐτῇ μὴ [ἐ]νκαλεῖν
[μηδὲ ἐνκαλέ]σειν μηδὲ ἐπ[ελεύσεσθ]αι τῇ Θαήσ[ει
[μηδὲ τοῖς πα]ρ' αὐτῆς π[ε]ρὶ μηδεν[ὸς ἁπλ]ῶς μέχρι [τῆς
[ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας . . . . .]στ[.]νπρ[. .
. . . . . .

'The 16th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, on the . . . of the month Germanicus, at the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Thaësis, daughter of Thonis, son of Amithonis, her mother being Sintheus, with her guardian her step-father Onnophris, son of Onnophris, son of Pammenes, his mother being Taarthonis, acknowledges to her late husband Petosarapis, son of Thompekusis, son of Sarapion, his mother being Sinthonis, all of Oxyrhynchus (the agreement being executed in the street), the receipt from him of the capital sum of 400 silver drachmae of the Imperial coinage which she brought to him with herself as her dowry and for which his mother Sinthonis, daughter of Petosarapis, son of . . ., gave a joint guarantee, in accordance with a contract of marriage drawn up through the office of the agoranomi at Oxyrhynchus on the intercalary days of the 14th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus. This bond she has thereupon returned to him cancelled in order to effect the dissolution of the marriage; and she neither makes nor will make any claim, nor will proceed against him either on account of the aforesaid sum or of the *parapherna* (which she has also received) or of anything else up to the present date. Petosarapis likewise on his part acknowledges, in the same street, that he neither makes nor will make any claim, nor will proceed against Thaësis or any of her agents on any account whatsoever up to the present date . . .'

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and the docket of the bank through which payment of the dowry was made. *F*inally, below these is a declaration by Saraeus, dated June 9, A.D. 43, that she had received back the dowry described in the agreement. The contract, including the signatures of Tryphon and of Saraeus' guardian, has accordingly been cancelled in the usual manner by a number of crossing diagonal strokes of the pen (κεχιασμένη, cclxvi. 15).

We have already (introd. to cclxvi) stated our reasons for refusing to find in this agreement any confirmation of the theory that the dowries described in Gracco-Egyptian marriage contracts as brought by wives to their husbands were really disguised *donationes propter nuptias* or gifts from the husbands to their wives; and owing to the paucity of information concerning ἄγραφοι γάμοι a satisfactory explanation of the relations between Tryphon and Saraeus is not obvious. *F*ortunately, we have a good many more papyri relating to the affairs of Tryphon, and these throw some light upon the subject.

Tryphon himself was born in the year 8 A.D. (cclxxxviii. 40), and was therefore twenty-eight years of age at the time of his marriage with Saraeus. Saraeus, however, was not his first wife. It appears from cclxxxii that he had been married to a woman named Demetrous, with whom he had quarrelled; and that this marriage was prior to that with Saraeus is rendered practically certain by a petition (cccxv) addressed by Tryphon to the strategus, complaining of an outrage upon his wife Saraeus by Demetrous and her mother. This petition is dated in Epeiph of the first year of an emperor whose name is lost, but who, on account of the size of the lacuna, can only be Gaius. The outrage of which Tryphon complained therefore occurred two months after this marriage with Saraeus; and we can hardly be mistaken in recognizing in the Demetrous of cccxv the supplanted wife, who was no doubt actuated by jealousy. Another fragmentary papyrus (cccxxi), the date of which is missing, shows that Saraeus gave birth to a daughter, whose nurture was the subject of a fresh agreement between her and Tryphon. A son was born in A.D. 46–7 (O. P. I. xxxvii. I. 5 and 22), and the pair were living together two years later (O. P. I. xxxvii, xxxviii). Another son named Thoönis was born of the marriage about the year 54, for he was not yet fourteen years of age in 66, when he was apprenticed to a weaver (cclxxv). That the boy was not taught his trade by his father, who was also a weaver, may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Tryphon was at this time suffering from a partial loss of his eyesight (O. P. I. xxxix). The last mention of Saraeus is in A.D. 59 (cccxx), when she was still Tryphon's wife.

The married life of Tryphon and Saraeus therefore extended over a period of at least twenty-three years, notwithstanding the provision in their original

agreement for the return of the dowry at the end of five months, and the fact that, according to Saraeus' own acknowledgement, it was actually so returned at the end of seven years. The simplest explanation appears to be that the original contract was only intended to be a provisional arrangement. Revillout once considered that a 'trial year' was one of the peculiarities of Egyptian marriage institutions, but he subsequently withdrew the suggestion, which was based on an incorrect interpretation of the demotic (see Max Müller, *Liebes-poesie der alten Ägypter*, p. 5, note). In contracts for *ἔγγραφοι γάμοι* there is no question of a 'trial year.' But in the case of *ἄγραφοι γάμοι* the existence of some such custom is apparently implied by Pap. Par. 13, almost the only Greek document of the Ptolemaic period which is concerned with a marriage. The important passage is:—*τῆς μητρός μου Ἀσκληπιάδος συνούσης Ἰσιδώρῳ . . . καθ' ἣν ἔθετο αὐτῇ συγγραφὴν ὁμολογίας, δι' ἧς διομολογεῖται ἄλλα τε καὶ ἔχειν παρ' αὐτῆς ἣν προσενήνεκτο φερνὴν χαλκοῦ (τάλαντα) β̄ καὶ περὶ τοῦ θήσεσθαι αὐτῇ ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ συνοικισίου· μέχρι δὲ τούτου συνεῖναι αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή.* The construction of *θήσεσθαι αὐτῇ ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ συνοικισίου* is not quite clear. Considering that *συνοικισίου συγγραφή* was a regular phrase (cf. ccl. 16, cclxvi. 11), and that *ἔθετο συγγραφήν* has just preceded, it is not improbable that *συγγραφήν* is to be supplied after *συνοικισίου*. But if *συνοικισίου* depends, as is usually supposed, upon *ἐνιαυτῷ*, there is no necessary implication that an *ἐνιαυτὸς συνοικισίου* was the regular method of commencing a marriage. All that is meant by *καὶ περὶ τοῦ θήσεσθαι* κ.τ.λ. is that Isidorus promised to make an arrangement with Asclepias (respecting their marriage) within a year (i.e. the first year) of their cohabitation, and that up to that point they should live together as man and wife. If they found themselves uncongenial companions the further arrangement would presumably not be made. This state of affairs is quite analogous to that existing between Tryphon and Saraeus; and a comparison of these two cases indicates that a short period (not always a year) of trial was sometimes the commencement of an *ἄγραφος γάμος*, which period might or might not be concluded by a more permanent contract. Tryphon was perhaps impelled to adopt this more cautious method by his experience of Demetrous. Why it was that he did not repay Saraeus' dowry at the expiration of the stipulated term, and that he did repay it at a much later period, can only be conjectured. The payment would no doubt depend upon the choice of Saraeus. Its actual occurrence, and the fact that the pair are afterwards found living together, may be explained either by supposing that there was a temporary rupture, or that the repayment was the occasion of a fresh contract which placed their relations upon a different footing. But which, if either, of these explanations is correct, there are not sufficient data to determine.

Τρύφων Διονυσίου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπ[ι]γονῆς Σαραεῦτι Ἀπίωνος
μετὰ κυρίου Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶι ἔχειν
παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Σαραπιείου διὰ τῆς
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Κλεάνδρου τραπέζης ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ Πτολεμαικοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ
τιμῆς ἐνωτίων χρυσῶν ζεύγους ἑνὸς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
εἴκοσι καὶ χιτῶνος γαλακτίνου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα δύο,
ὥστ' εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο
κεφαλαίου αἷς οὐδὲν τῶι καθόλου προσῆκται, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ
συνπέπεισμαι. τὰς δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκον-
τα δύο ἀποδώσω σοι τῇ τριακάδι τοῦ Φαῶφι τοῦ ἰσιόντος
δευτέρου ἔτους Γαίου Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ Νέου Σεβαστοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος, χωρὶς πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶι
καθὰ γέγραπται ἐκτείσω σοι τὸ προκείμενον κεφάλαιον
μεθ' ἡμιολίας, τῆ[ς] πράξεως σοι οὔσης ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. ἐὰν δὲ
ἀπαλλαγῶμεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐξέσται σοι ἔχειν τὸ τῶν ἐνω-
τίων ζεῦγος ἐν τῆι ἴσῃ διατιμ[ή]σει. ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεσμεν
ἀλλήλοις ἀγράφω[ς] προσομολογῶι ἐὰν ὡσαύτως ἐκ διαφορᾶς
ἀπ[αλλαγ]ῶμεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλ[ων] ἐνκύου σ[ο]ῦ οὔση[ς] ἕως ἄν σοι
[. . . . . .]απαλ̣[. . .]ο̣υ̣[28 letters
[κυρία ἡ ἀπο]χὴι [πανταχῆ ἐπιφερομένη καὶ] παντὶ [τῷ̣ ἐπιφέροντι.
[ἔτους α Γαίου Κα]ίσαρος Γερμ[ανικοῦ Νέο]υ Σεβαστο[ῦ Αὐτοκρ]άτορος,
Παχὼν κ̄ζ̄ Σεβαστῆι.
2nd hand. [Τρύφω]ν Διονυσίου ἔχ̣ω̣ τὰς το[ῦ] ἀργυρίου δ[ραχ]μὰς ἑβδομή-
κοντα δύο
[κεφαλαίο]υ καὶ ἀποδώσω καθότι πρόκειται. Λέων . [. .]ερωτος γέγραφα ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ διὰ
μὴ εἰ⟨δε⟩ναι αὐτὸν γράμματ[α]. (ἔτους) α Γαΐ[ο]υ Καίσαρος Γερμαν[ι]κοῦ Νέου
Σεβαστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
Παχὼν κ̄[ζ̄] Σεβαστῆι.
3rd hand. Ὀννῶφρις Ἀντιπάτρου ἐπιγέγραμμαι τῆς Σεραηῦτος κύριος. Θέων
Πααήιος γέγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδότος γράμματα. (ἔτους) α Γαίου Καίσαρος
Γερμανικοῦ Νέου Σεβαστοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, Παχὼν κ̄ζ̄ Σεβαστῇ.
4th hand. ἔτους πρώτου Γαίου Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ Νέου Σεβαστοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος,

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Ophelous' share of her father's property. Ammonarion was entitled on the death of her husband to the repayment of her dowry; and Ophelous was one of her father's heirs. By the present agreement Antiphanes, who probably also inherited under the will of Heraclas, effects a composition on account of both these claims against Heraclas' estate. The relation of Antiphanes to Heraclas is not certain; probably he was a nephew (cf. note on 8). The contract is addressed to the *ἀρχιδικαστής*.

A clause, making a reservation for Antiphanes, which had been omitted, is inserted in the left-hand margin.

Ἀντίγραφον. Θέωνι ἀρχιδικα[στ]ῆι καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελε[ί]ᾳ τ[ῶ]ν χρη[μα]τιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων
παρὰ Ἀμμωνάρι[ο]υ τῆς Ἀμμω[νί]ου τοῦ Διονυσίου, ὡς ἐν [Πτο]λεμαίδι τῆς Ἑρμίου χρηματί[ζ]ει, α[ὐ]τῆς καὶ τῆς ταύτης
[θ]υ[γ]ατρὸς Ὠφε[λοῦτ]ος τῆς Ἡρακλᾶτος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως, μετὰ κυρίο[υ] τῶν δύ[ο] γυναικῶν τ[ο]ῦ τῆς
[Ἀμμων]αρίου ὁμ[ομ]ητρίου ἀδ[ε]λφοῦ Βησαρί[ω]νος τοῦ Ἡρ[ᾶτο]ς, ὡς ἐν τῆι αὐτῇ Πτολε[μ]αίδι χρηματίζει,
5 *[.....]του κ[....].. Ἀντιφάν[ο]υς τοῦ Ἀμμωνί[ου τ]ῶν [ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ[ε]ως. συνχωροῦμεν*
[πρὸς ἀλλήλο]υς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ὥστε εἶναι τὴ ['Αμμωνάριο]ν [καὶ] τὴ Ὠφελοὺς εὐπιθεῖς γεγονυῖαι καὶ ἀπεσχηκυῖαι
[παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντ]ιφάνους διὰ χειρὸς [ἐ]ξ οἴκου ὃ καὶ ἐπε[ίσθη]σαν κεφάλαιον, ἡ μὲν Ἀμμωνάριον ἀνθ' ἧς προσ-
[ηνέγκατο τ]ῷ τοῦ μὲν Ἀντιφάνους πατρὸς ἀδελφ[ῶι] δὲ τῆς Ὠφελο[ῦ]τος πατρὶ ἑ[αυ]τῆς δὲ γενομένωι
καὶ [μετηλλ]αχότι ἀνδρὶ Ἡρακλᾶτι Ἀντιφάνους τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυ-ρύγχων πόλεως φ[ε]ρν[ῆ]ς
10 *τειμ[ῆς ἀργ]υρίου δραχμῶν ὀκτακοσίων κατ[ὰ συ]νχώρησιν τὴν τελειωθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς ἐφημερίδος*
ἐν τοῖς ἔμπ[ρο]σθεν χρόνοις, ἡ δὲ Ὠφελοὺς καὶ αὐ[τὴ]ι ἐξέσταται τῶι Ἀντι-φάνει τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν μ[έ]ρους
τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος αὐτῆς πατρὸς Ἡρακλᾶτος ἀπολελιμμένων πάντων, καὶ εἶναι ἄκυρον
[τ]ὴν δηλουμένην τοῦ γάμου συγχώρησιν κ[αὶ μη]δεμίαν τῆι Ἀμμωναρίωι καὶ τῆι Ὠφελοῦτι μηδ' ἄλλωι

ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καταλίπεσθαι ἔφ[ο]δον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντιφάν[η] μηδὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ
Ἡρακλᾶτος ἀπολελιμμένα,
[ἡ] μὲν Ἀμμ[ω]νάριον μήτε περὶ τῆς διευλυτημένης φερνῆς, ἡ δὲ Ὠφελοὺς
μήτε περὶ τῶν
[ἐξε]σταμένων καθὼς πρόκειτα[ι, ἀμ]φοτέροις δὲ μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς
ἁπλῶς ἐνγράπτου
ἢ ἀγράφου πράγματος τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρ[ό]νων μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστώσης
ἡμέρας, ἢ τὴν
ἐσομένην ἔφ[ο]δον ἄκυρον καὶ ⟨ἀ⟩πρόσδεκτον ὑπάρχειν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς προκει-
μένοις οὐκ ἔνεστι σωματ(ισμός)·
ἀξιοῦμεν ὡς καθήκ[ε]ι. (ἔτους) δ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Κ[αί]σαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος, μη(νὸς) Νερωνείου
Σεβαστοῦ γ̄. ἀντίγρα(φον). Ἀπ[ολλώ]νιος κατακε[χ]ώρισται.

On the left-hand margin, at right angles to the text

2nd hand. μὴ ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους ἐν τῇ ἐπ[. . . . .] . [.]α[. . . οὗ
ἐπρίατο
παρ' αὐτοῦ μέρους αἰθρίου ἀκολούθως τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν [γεγονυίᾳ καταγραφῇ.

8. l. τῆς δέ. 15. l. τῇ μὲν Ἀμμ[ω]νᾳρίῳ . . . τῇ δὲ Ὠφελοῦτι. 16. l. ἀμ]φοτέραις. 18. κ of και corr. from ε.

'Copy. To Theon, chief justice and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts, from Ammonarion, daughter of Ammonius, son of Dionysius, and however else she is described at Ptolemais Hermiu, and from her daughter Ophelous, whose father is Heraclas, of Oxyrhynchus, the two women acting with their guardian, the half brother of Ammonarion on the mother's side, Besarion, son of Heras, and however else he is described at Ptolemais, and from . . . Antiphanes, son of Ammonius, of the said city of Oxyrhynchus. We agree with each other as follows:—Ammonarion and Ophelous have given their consent and have received from Antiphanes from hand to hand in cash the sum which they severally consented to accept, Ammonarion, on account of the dowry, amounting to 800 silver drachmae, which she brought to her late husband, the brother of Antiphanes' father and the father of Ophelous, Heraclas, son of Antiphanes, of the same city of Oxyrhynchus, in accordance with a settlement completed some time ago through the daybook, and Ophelous on her part resigns to Antiphanes her share of all the property left by her late father Heraclas. The said agreement of marriage is void, and neither Ammonarion nor Ophelous nor any one acting on their behalf has any further claim against Antiphanes or against the property left by Heraclas, Ammonarion on account of the refunded dowry, and Ophelous on account of the resigned inheritance, as is aforesaid; and neither of them has any claim respecting any other matter whatever written or unwritten of past date down to the present day, and any claim that is made shall be void and inadmissible. The above agreement has no . . ., for which we make due petition.' Date.

1. πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελε[ί]ᾳ τ[ῶ]ν χρη[μα]τιστῶν κ.τ.λ.: this is a regular title of the ἀρχιδικαστής (cf. e.g. cclxxx. 1, B. G. U. 455. 2) which must have descended from the Ptolemaic period,

for the *χρηματισταί* are never heard of, apart from this phrase, in Roman times. On the *ἀρχιδικαστής*, cf. cclx. 13, note.

4. Ἡρ[*ᾶτο*]*ς* suits the lacuna rather better than Ἡρ[*ακλᾶτο*]*ς*, but the latter name is not impossible.

8. Some alteration is necessary in this line, which with *ἀδελφ*[*ῶι*] does not construe, and with *ἀδελφ*[*οῦ*] makes nonsense; for there is no point in describing Heraclas as the father of Ophelous' brother when he was the father of Ophelous herself (l. 12), and when this brother is not mentioned elsewhere in the document. The simplest remedy seems to be to read *ἀδελφ*[*ῶι*] and to transpose *δέ* and *τῆς*. This will make Ammonarion's husband the uncle of Antiphanes.

10. *κα*[*τὰ συ*]*νχώρησιν* : cf. cclxxxi. 6–7 *φερνὴν δοῦσα κατὰ συνχώρησιν.*

διὰ τῆς ἐφημερίδος : cf. cclxxi. 7 *συνχώρησιν τελειωθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς ἐφημερίδος τοῦ καταλογείου*, and 11 *τελειωθεῖσαν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καταλογείου.* The ordinary meaning of *ἐφημερίς* is a journal or (with reference to accounts) a daybook. Unless therefore the word is here used in a new sense, it must be supposed that the *τελείωσις* in these two cases was effected by an official entry in a register; cf. ccxxxviii. 9, note. For *τελείωσις διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου* cf. O. P. I. lxviii. 5, lxxiii. 34.

15. *διευλυτημένης* : cf. cclxxi *ἐξευλυτῆσθαι. εὐλυτόω, διευλυτόω*, etc., are the ordinary forms.

18. *σωματ*(*ισμός*) : cf. B. G. U. 198. 6 sqq. *ἀπογρ*(*άφομαι*) *τὰς ὑπαρχ*(*ούσας*) *περὶ κώμην Καρανίδα διὰ δὲ σωματισμοῦ εἰς Ζωι*[*δ*]*οῦν Πετεσούχου κλήρου κ*[*α*]*τ*[*οικ*(*ικοῦ*) (*ἀρούρας*). The agreement between Antiphanes and the two women evidently required the sanction of the *ἀρχιδικαστής* in order to become legal, and apparently the sanction consisted in the *σωματισμός*; but the precise meaning of the word is obscure.

19. *μη*(*νὸς*) *Νερωνείου Σεβαστοῦ* : cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CLXXXI. (a) 19, (b) 16. The month meant is Pharmuthi, cf. Suet. *Ner.* 55, Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 12.

21–2. Cf. cccvi, from which the supplement in 22 is taken. But there is not room for *ἐπ*[*ακολουθούσῃ*] *α*[*ὐτῷ βεβαιώσει οὗ ἐπρ.* in 21 unless some of the words were abbreviated.

CCLXIX. Loan of Money.

20·5 x 33 *cm.* A. D. 57.

Copy of acknowledgement of a loan of 52 silver drachmae for a term of rather more than three months from Tryphon, son of Dionysius (cf. introd. to cclxvii), to Dioscorus. The copy of this agreement is followed by a short letter from Tryphon to a friend named Ammonas, who is requested to dun Dioscorus for payment of the debt. The agreement is thus an enclosure in Tryphon's letter, and was sent to Ammonas in order to acquaint him with the conditions of the loan.

Col. I.

Ἀντίγρα(*φον*). *Διό*[*σκο*]*ρος Ζηνοδ*[*ώρου Πέρ*]*σαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Τρύφων*[*ι Διονυσίο*[*υ χα*]*ίρειν. ὁ*[*μ*]*ολογ*[*ῶ ἔχει*]*ν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει* [*Σαραπ*]*είου διὰ τῆς Ἀ*[*ρχιβίου*] *τοῦ Ἀρχιβίου τραπέζης ἀργ*[*υ*]*ρίου*

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Imperator, without any delay. If I do not repay you in accordance with this agreement, I will forfeit to you the aforesaid sum with the addition of one half, with proper interest for the overtime, for which you are to have the right of execution upon me and upon all my property, as if in accordance with a legal decision. This note of hand is valid wherever produced and whosoever produces it.' Date, copy of the signature of the borrower, and copy of the docket of the bank through which the payment was made.

II. 'Tryphon to his dear friend Ammonas, also called Macer (?), greeting. If you can, please worry Dioscorus and exact from him his bond. If he gives you the money, give him a receipt, and if you find a safe person give him the money to bring to me. My salutations to all your household. Good-bye.'

II. 2. *τῷ* [M]*άκρῳ*: it would be possible to read *του* instead of *τω*, and Macer may be regarded as the name of Ammonas' father, which will necessitate the correction [M]*άκρου*. With the reading *τῷ* [M]*άκρῳ*, *καί* must be understood between the two words,—unless indeed we read [*μ*]*ακρῷ* as an adverb qualifying *φιλτάτῳ*, which does not seem very probable.

7. *χειρόγραφον*: i.e. the money to which the *χειρόγραφον* referred.

CCLXX. Indemnification of a Surety.

Plate VIII. 38·7 x 15·8 *cm.* A. D. 94.

Agreement executed at Oxyrhynchus in the 13th year of Domitian between Lucia, with her second cousin Heras as guardian, and Sarapion. Sarapion had become surety for Lucia for the repayment of a loan of 3500 drachmae for two years and interest at the usual rate of 12 per cent. a year, lent to Lucia by Heraclides on the security of various farms belonging to her which amounted in all to $24\frac{5}{12}$ arourae. By the present contract Lucia binds herself not to allow Sarapion to be called upon for payment on her account under penalty of forfeiting to him the ownership of the property.

With this contract should be compared cclxxxvi, a petition by a woman who had entered into an engagement similar to that undertaken by Sarapion, asking for leave to sequestrate the property of certain persons who had failed to fulfil their obligations to her.

The document is a good specimen of the fine semi-uncial hand which characterizes many of the contracts and official documents of the first and second centuries at Oxyrhynchus. A noticeable feature is the increased size of the first letter in each line.

Ἔτους τρισκαιδεκάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Μεχεὶρ , ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος.
ὁμολογεῖ Λουκία ἡ καὶ Θαισᾶς Λουκίου μητρὸς Σινθώνιος τῆς Θέωνος Περσείνη μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἐξανεψίου Ἡρᾶτος τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου

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τὸς μὲν βεβαίας ἀπὸ πάντων πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καὶ καθαρὰς
ἀπὸ δημοσίων καὶ τελεσμάτων πάντων τῶν ἕως τῆς προθεσ-
μίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς προθεσμίας. ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων ἡ ὁμολογοῦσα
παρασυνγραφῇ, ἄκυρον [ἔ]στω καὶ προσαποτισάτω τῷ [Σ]αραπίω-
νι τῷ καὶ Κλάρῳ ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ὃ ἐὰν παρα[σ]υνγραφῇ εἶδος
τό τε βλάβος καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χιλίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημό-
σιον τὰς ἴσας, καὶ μηδὲν ἧσσον τὰ διωμολογημένα κύρια ἔστω,
τῆς πράξεως γινομένης τῷ Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Κλάρῳ ἔκ τε τῆς
ὁμολογούσης καὶ ἐκ τῶν προκιμένων ἀρουρῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχ(όν)-
των αὐτῇ πάντων. κυρία ἡ ὁμολογία.

3. First *υ* of λουκιου corr. from *ι*. 8. l. *παρέξεσθαι*, so in 39. 18. *ο* of *αρουραις* corr. from *α*. 25. *ε* of *εις* corr. from *α*. 27. First *ρ* of *αυτοκρατορος* corr. from *α*. 32. Second *σ* in *τεσσαρων* above line. 33. *αι* of *αποφερεσθαι* corr. from *α*. 45. *κ* of *και επι* corr. from *ε*. 48. *των αλλων υπαρχ* by a different hand over an erasure.

18. *κατοικικῆς καὶ ὠνημένης*: cf. cccxlvi. It is not clear whether two kinds of land are meant. From this expression it might be inferred that the 'catoecic' was distinct from 'bought' land, cf. 25 *κατοικικῆς καὶ ὠνημένης εἰς κατοικίαν*, from which it seems that 'bought' land might be converted into catoecic. But catoecic land could be ceded (*παραχωρεῖσθαι*) for a price (cf. e. g. C. P. R. 1) a transaction which practically amounts to a sale, though where *ὠνεῖσθαι* is used in contracts for the sale of land, the land in question, so far as can be judged, was not 'catoecic,' and *παραχωρεῖν* is not often used of land other than catoecic. What the privileges of owners of catoecic land were is uncertain. The view of P. Meyer that they were exempt from land taxes is rightly rejected by Mitteis (*Hermes* xxxii. p. 657). The clause which occurs in connexion with changes of ownership in catoecic land, such as we have in 40–2 below, only means that the new owner was to inherit no arrears of taxation from the previous possessor. But if the holder of catoecic land was *ipso facto* a *κάτοικος*, which is likely enough, he was exempt from poll-tax (introd. to cclvii); and perhaps this was his only privilege.

41. For the various burdens on land cf. C. P. R. I. 15, 16 *καθαρὰ . . . ἀπὸ μὲν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων καὶ [ἑτέρων εἰ]δῶν καὶ ἀρταβιῶν καὶ ναυβίων καὶ ἀριθμητικῶν καὶ ἐπιβολῆς κώμης καὶ κατακριμάτων πάντων.*

CCLXXI. Transfer of a Debt.

37·6 x 20 *cm.* A. D. 56.

Contract between Heraclea, with her guardian Nicippus, son of Nicippus, a member of the Althaean deme, and Papontos, by the terms of which Heraclea makes over to Papontos the right of execution on account of a sum of 200 drachmae which was due to her, in consideration of having received from Papontos the 200 drachmae with interest. The sum due to Heraclea had not

been lent by her, but the right to exact it had itself been transferred to her by another person who was the original lender of the money to a certain Pnepheros. Who the original lender was is not made clear owing to a gap in line 10 which has not been filled in; but most probably he was the Irenaeus who appears in 19–20 as having surrendered his rights of execution; cf. note on 10. Both the original contract between Irenaeus and Pnepheros and the contract by which Irenaeus ceded his rights to Heraclea were now to be handed over intact by Heraclea to Papontos. The usual penalties for violation of contract are appended. No. cclxxii is a similar contract, but less well preserved.

On the *verso* are four much obliterated lines.

Ἀντίγρα(φον). Ἔτους δευτέρου Νέρωνος Κλα[υδίου Κ]αίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερ-
μ[ανικ]οῦ Αὐτοκράτορος,
μηνὸς Καισαρείου ἐπαγο(μένων) γ̄, ἐν Ὀξυρύγχ(ων) π[όλει] τῆς Θηβαίδος.
ὁ[μολο]γεῖ
Ἡράκλεια Ἡρακλείδου ἀστὴ μετὰ [κυρίο]υ Νικίππου τοῦ Ν[ι]κίππου
Ἀλθαιέως Παποντῶτι Ἀφύγχιος τοῦ κ[αὶ] Ζωίλου τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεως
ἐν ἀγυιᾷ παρακεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ πρ[ᾶ]ξιν καὶ κομιδὴν ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ
καὶ Π[τολε]μαικοῦ νομίσμα[τ]ος δραχμῶν [δι]ακοσίων, ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ Ἡράκλεια
τυγχ[άνε]ι παρακεχωρημένη κατὰ [συν]χώρησιν τὴν τελειωθεῖσαν
διὰ τῆς [ἐ]φημερίδος τοῦ καταλογείου τ[ῷ Κα]ισαρείῳ μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
[[*δευ*]]
δ[ε]υ[τ]έρο[υ] ἔτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ[ος Σεβασ]τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐ[το]κράτορος,
δανε[ι]σθεισῶν δὲ ὑπὸ Πνεφερ[ῶτι] Παποντῶτος χρ[η]ματίσαντι
Πέρ[σῃ τῆς] ἐπιγονῆς καθ' ἑτέραν σ[υνχ]ώρησιν τὴν τελειωθεῖσαν
διὰ το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ καταλογείου ταῖς ἐπ[αγομέ]ναις τοῦ Καισαρείου μηνὸς τοῦ
πρώτου ἔτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καί[σαρ]ος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτο-
κράτορος·
π[ρο]σπ[αρ]ακεχωρηκέναι δ' αὐτῷ ὁμ[ο]ίως ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ παρεκεχώ-
ρη[τ]αι πρᾶξιν διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ὡς πρόκειται γεγονυ[ία]ς συν[χω-
ρήσεως τῶν τοῦ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) διακοσίω[ν, .] . . . κ[.]ν Πα[πο]ν[τω .] . [. .
συν[κεχ]ωρηκέναι αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ τὴν π[ρᾶξιν] καὶ κομιδὴν . [. .
εισ . . υ̣τ̣ων τοῦ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) Σ καὶ τῶν τόκ[ω]ν, καὶ τὰ ἄ[λ]λα
ἐπ[ι]τελ[εῖ]ν καθὰ

καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ ἐξῆν, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἀναδέδωκεν τῷ
Παποντῶτι τὰς εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Εἰρην[αῖ]ον ὡς πρόκειται
συνχωρήσεις δύο ἃς καὶ παρέξεται ἐνθέσμους καὶ ἀπεριλύτους
διὰ τὸ ἐξευλυτῆσθ[α]ι αὐτὴν ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ Παπ[ο]ντῶτος ταῖς τοῦ
ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμαῖς) διακοσίαις [κ]αὶ τοῖς τόκοις. τὴν δ[ὲ π]αρὰ ταῦτα
ἐσομένην
ἔφοδ[ο]ν ἄκυρον ε[ἶ]ναι, ἔτι καὶ [ἐ]κτίνειν [Ἡρ]άκλειαν ἢ τὸν [π]αρ'
αὐ[τῆ]ς ἐπελευσόμενον τ[ῷ Π]απαντῶτ[ι] ἢ τοῖς [π]αρ' αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑ-
κά[στ]ην ἔφοδον τό τε βλάβο[ς κ]αὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀρ[γ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) ἑ]κατὸν καὶ
εἴ[ς τὸ δ]ημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, καὶ μ[ηδ]ὲν ἧσσον κυρία [ἡ] συνγραφή.

3. *o* of *ηρακλειδου* corr. from *η*. 11. *θ* of *καθ* corr.

4. *Ἀλθαιέως*: cf. cccxxiii. Generally there is an alternative to this deme-name; cf. *Σωρικύσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλ.* O. P. I. xcv. 15, *Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος ὁ καὶ Ἀλ.* cclxxiii. 9, where the Nicippus in question is perhaps a son of the Nicippus here, but is not likely to be identical with him since cclxxiii was written nearly forty years after cclxxi.

8. *τῆς ἐφημερίδος*: cf. note on cclxviii. 10.

10. A blank space is left after *ὑπό*. As already stated, we think that the name should have been Irenaeus, who is mentioned in 19–20, and whose position, if he was not the original lender, is quite obscure. The fact that one of the two *συγχωρήσεις* concerned him will then be explained. The objections to this view are (1) that if the writer of the contract knew that the original lender was Irenaeus, it is very strange that he should have left a blank, (2) that the *ἑτέρα συγχώρησις* on this theory will be a contract for loan, not a contract for transference of executive rights like the first *συγχώρησις* mentioned in 7. On the other hand, if we suppose that the name omitted in 10 was not Irenaeus, it is inexplicable how the right of execution conferred by this contract between *X* and Pnepheros was passed on to Heraclea and Irenaeus, as is indicated in 19–20; and as for the second objection, not only is *συγχωρεῖν* used in cclxviii in a sense approaching that of *ὁμολογεῖν*, but since the money was lent *καθ' ἑτέραν συγχώρησιν*, it is hardly possible to give *συγχώρησις* in 11 any other meaning than that of a contract for loan. To make the papyrus intelligible, it is necessary to insert Irenaeus' name in the lacuna in 10.

17. *αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ*: unless this is a mistake for *αὐτὴν αὐτῷ* the subject must now be Papontos; in *ἀναδέδωκεν* in 19, however, Heraclea is once more the subject.

CCLXXII. Transfer of a Debt.

31·7 x 18·3 *cm.* A.D. 66.

Contract, similar to the preceding, between two men called Dionysius and Sarapion and a woman whose name does not appear, by which they transfer to her the right of exacting a debt of 249 drachmae from a certain Heracleus. The total debt of Heracleus amounted to 947 drachmae two obols, and the

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CCLXXIII. Cession of Land.

13·8 x 11·7 *cm.* A. D. 95.

Agreement between Julia Heracla, acting with her specially appointed guardian Lucius Ofilius, and Theon, son of Nicippus (cf. cclxxi. 3), by the terms of which Julia cedes to her daughter Gaia, as a free gift, five arourae of catoecic land. Probably Theon was the husband, actual or prospective, of Gaia, who is stated to have been under age; and the agreement is parallel to those clauses in marriage contracts (e.g. cclxv. 4 sqq., C. P. R. 22. 9 sqq.) in which the parents of the bride settle property upon her.

Ἔτους τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου {ι} Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσ[αρος
Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, μηνὸς [Π]αῦν[ι
(2nd hand) λ̄, (1st hand) ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδ[ο]ς.
ὁμολογεῖ Ἰουλί[α Ἡ]ρακ[λ]ᾶ μ[ε]τὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδ[ομ]ένου
αὐτῇ κατὰ τ̣ᾳ̣[. .]μ̣ᾳ̣ . . ν̣ε̣ . ν ὑπὸ Γαίου Σε[πτ]ιμ̣[ίο]υ̣
Ο[ὐ]εγέ[τ]ου τοῦ [ἡγ]εμονεύσαντος ἀκ[ολο]ύθως
τῇ̣ γεν[ο]μέ[ν]ῃ̣ ταβέλλῃ Λουκίου Ὀφελλίου Λουκί-
ου . . . φ̣ε̣τεινα Ἀνθ[ε]στίου Θέωνι Νικίππου
τοῦ Νικίππου Φυλαξιθαλασσείῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθ⟨αι⟩εῖ
ἐν ἀγυιᾷ̣ συνκεχωρηκέναι τῇ ἑαυτῆς θυγατρὶ
Γαίᾳ̣ τῇ καὶ Σαραπιάδι Παυσανίου τοῦ καὶ Διονυ-
σίου Ἀστυάνακτος τοῦ Τρύφωνος Φυλαξιθαλασ-
σείου τοῦ καὶ Ἡρακλείου οὐδέπω οὔσῃ ἐν ἡλι-
κίᾳ̣ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον κατὰ χάριν
ἀναφαίρετον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν αὐτῇ
περὶ Σερῦφιν τῆς πρὸς λίβα τοπαρχίας ἐκ τοῦ
Νεικάνδρου κλήρου ἀρουρῶν δέκα πέντε
ἐξ ἧς ἐὰν αἱρῆται τούτων κεφαλῆς κ̣α̣[τοι-
κικῆς γῆς ἀρούρας πέντε̣, ἃς καὶ ἐξέσ[ται
τῇ Γαίᾳ̣ τῇ καὶ Σαραπιάδι ἀπὸ τῆσδε [τῆς ὁμο-
λογίας δι' ἑαυτῆς μετεπιγράφεσθαι [διὰ τῶν
[κ]αταλοχισμῶν, μὴ προσδεηθε̣[ίσῃ τῆς
τῆς μητρὸς Ἰουλίας Ἡρακλᾶς συ[νεπιγρα-
φῆς. κρατεῖν οὖν καὶ κυριεύειν τ[ὴν Γαίαν

25 τὴν καὶ Σαραπιάδα σὺν ἐγγόνοις κ[αὶ τοῖς
[π]ᾳρ' αὐτῆς μεταλημψομένοις [. . . . . .
. . . . . .

'The 14th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the 30th of the month Payni, at Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. Julia Heracla, acting with the guardian assigned to her by the (instructions) issued by Gaius Septimius Vegetus, the late praefect, in accordance with the letter which he wrote, namely Lucius Ofilius, son of Lucius . . . , son of Antistius, agrees with Theon, son of Nicippus, son of Nicippus, of the Phylaxithalassean or Althean deme (the contract being executed in the street), that she has ceded to her daughter Gaia also called Sarapias, daughter of Pausanias also called Dionysius, son of Astyanax, of the Phylaxithalassean or Heraclean deme, being under age, from the present time henceforth for ever by an unalterable deed of gift, out of the fifteen arourae owned by her near Seryphis in the western toparchy in the lot of Nicandrus, five arourae of catoecic land to be selected at will from the whole amount, which land Gaia also called Sarapias shall from the date of this contract be permitted to transfer by herself to another through the official assignments, without requiring the consent of her mother Julia Heracla to the transfer. Gaia also called Sarapias shall therefore possess and own the land with her children and heirs . . . '

4. In the present case the *κύριος* was appointed by the praefect; cf. O. P. I. lvi, where, in the absence of the strategus and *βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς*, a woman applies to an *ἔναρχος ἐξηγητής* to appoint a *κύριος* for her, and the Geneva papyrus discussed by Erman (*Zeitschr. d. Sav. St.* xv. 241 sqq.), where the strategus is competent to appoint a guardian. According to Ulpian, Marcus Aurelius assigned the appointment of guardians to the *iuridicus* or *δικαιοδότης*.

5. Gaius Septimius Vegetus was praefect A. D. 86–88, cf. C. I. L. III. p. 856 and *Bull. de corr. Hell.* 1896, p. 167.

7. It is possible that *Λουκίου Ὀφελλίου* depends upon *ταβέλλῃ*, and that *Λουκίου . . Ἀνθεστίου* is the name of the *κύριος*; but the order of the words is rather against this explanation, and *Ὀφέλλιος*, if an official, would be expected to have a title.

21. *μετεπιγράφεσθαι*: this word occurs frequently in documents dealing with a change of ownership in catoecic land, e. g. B. G. U. 622. 4; cf. cclxv. 16. On the registration of changes of ownership in land see note on ccxxxvii. VIII. 31.

The supplements of the lacunae at the ends of 21–3 are from ccclxxiii. 20 sqq. *καὶ ἐξῖναι τ[ῇ] Σελήνῃ ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς συν[γραφῆς μετεπιγράφεσθαι] διὰ τῶν κατ[αλ]οχισμῶν τὰς δέκα ἀρούρας, μ[ὴ προσδεηθείσῃ* 10 letters*]μενης παρουσίας μηδὲ συνεπιγραφῆς.*

22. *καταλοχισμοί*: the office regulating the transfer of catoecic land; cf. introd. to O. P. I. xlv.

CCLXXIV. Register of Property.

34·5 × 21·5 *cm.* A. D. 89–97.

This papyrus offers an example of a *διάστρωμα* of the kind to which the decree of Mettius Rufus (ccxxxvii. VIII. 28 sqq.) refers. It is part of an official register of real property owned by various persons, with annotations referring to transactions affecting the ownership and payments of taxes thereon. The main body of the document was written in the year 89–90 (l. 16), and gives

a list of the separate items of property, evidently based upon the *ἀπογραφαί* of the owners. Each item is separated from the next by a blank space, and within these spaces and in the margin at the side are notes entered by different hands at different times, keeping the register up to date, just as Mettius Rufus ordered to be done. The latest year mentioned in these notes is the first of Nerva. Cf. cccl x, which is part of another *διάστρωμα* of about the same date.

One column, which we here print, is fairly complete; parts of thirteen lines of another column are also preserved.

1st hand. *μετηνέχθη.*

2nd hand. *καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἀμφόδου ἑτέραν οἰκίαν καὶ αὐλὴ(ν)*
ἃ ἦν τὸ πρὶν ψιλὸς τόπος, ἀφ' οὗ πατρικὸν μὲν
τὸ ἥμισυ, πρὸς ὧι κεκλήρωται ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὴν
πρὸς πατρὸς α(ὐτοῦ) θείαν Δημητροῦν Σαραπίωνος
διαιρέσεως πλείω πήχεις ἐννέα τέταρτον
ὄγδοον, ὧν καὶ τὸ τέλος ἔταξαν.
καὶ [. .] ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἀμφόδο[υ] ἐν ὑποθήκηι
Δίου τοῦ Πτολλίωνος . . [. . .]ο̣υ μη(τρὸς) Θερμοῦτο(ς) τῆς
Σαραπίωνος οἰκίαν ἐν ἧι π . . . . . λο̣ν καὶ αἴθριον
καὶ αὐλή, ἀκολούθως αἷς ἔγραψε [τ]ῷ̣ αὐτῶι Σαραπίωνι
[αὐτός τε] καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Διονυσία [. . . . .] . τοῦ
. [. .]α̣[. .]ω̣νος μη(τρὸς) Σαραεῦτος τῆς Ἡρα̣κ̣λ̣[είδου
δανείου συνγραφαῖς τρισὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐν τ̣ῆι α(ὐτῆι) π[ό]λει
μνημο(νείου), μιᾶι μὲν τῶι ζ (ἔτει) Δομιτιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
μη(νὶ) Καισαρείωι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τῶι διελθ(όντι) η (ἔτει)
το . . . . μ̣η̣(νὶ)
Φαῶφι, τὴ̣[ν] δὲ τρίτ[η]ν τῶ̣[ι] α(ὐτῷ̣) διελθ(όντι) (ἔτει) μ̣[η(νὶ)
Μεχ]είρ,
τὰ δὲ προκείμενα αὐτοῦ πατρικ[ὰ δ]ηλωθέν̣[τα
ὑπάρχοντα κατήντ(ησεν) εἰς α(ὐτὸν) μετὰ τὴν τ[ο]ῦ̂ πατ(ρὸς)
τελευ[τήν.

3rd hand. *ιβ (ἔτους), ἐπαγο(μένων) ε̄, δι' ἐνκυκλ(ίου) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) γε . . ( ) Σαρα-*
πίων τέτακται τ̣έ̣[λος] ἀνανεώ[σ]εω̣ς
τῆς προκειμένης ὑποθήκης.

4th hand. *ῑγ̄ (ἔτους), ἐπαγο(μένων) ε̄, δι' ἐνκυκλ(ίου) κο(λλήματος ?) γ̄ ὁ Σαραπίων*
τέτακτ(αι) τ[έ]λος ἐπικατακολ(ουθοῦν) τῆς

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previous *διάστρωμα*. The same word is used in the clause of the decree of Rufus which provides for the periodical renewal of the registers, *διὰ πενταετίας ἐπανανεοῦσθαι τὰ διαστρώματα μεταφερομένης εἰς τὰ καινοποιούμενα τῆς τελευταίας ἑκάστου ὀνόματος ὑποστάσεως* (ccxxxvii. VIII. 41–42).

2 sqq. The owner who is the subject throughout the column is Sarapion also called Diogenes, cf. 11, 24.

3. *πατρικὸν μὲν κ.τ.λ.*: particulars as to how owners came by their property were required by Rufus' decree, ccxxxvii. VIII. 33.

7. *τὸ τέλος*: i. e. the succession duty, which in the second century was 5 per cent., cf. B. G. U. 326. II. 10 *εἰκοστὴ κληρονομιῶν*.

8–9. *ἐν ὑποθήκηι Δίου*: cf ccxxxvii. VIII. 32. The note in the margin (31–38) commencing opposite to l. 9 also refers to this mortgage of Dius, but it is obscured by mutilation.

20. *δι' ἐνκυκλίου*: the tax on mortgages was 2 per cent., cf. introd. to ccxliii.

24–25. *ἐπήνεγκ(ε) . . . ἄδειαν*: Sarapion paid off the mortgage upon the property.

27. *ὄρους*: the desert was the regular burial-ground; cf. G. P. II. Ixxvii. 22.

μέρος τάφου: cf. B. G. U. 183. 24 *εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου τὴν προσήκουσα⟨ν⟩ τῆ⟨ς⟩ Σαταβοῦτος ταφήν*.

37. Perhaps Ἰπ]πέ(ων) πα(ρεμβολῆς), cf. ccxlvii. 21; but, with the following abbreviation uninterpreted, this explanation remains doubtful.

CCLXXV. Contract of Apprenticeship.

37·9 × 9·7 *cm.* A. D. 66.

Agreement by which Tryphon, son of Dionysius (cf. introd. to cclxvii), apprenticed his son Thoönis to a weaver named Ptolemaeus for the term of one year. Weaving was the trade of Tryphon's family, cf. cclxxxviii. The main conditions of the contract are that Thoönis' expenses should in the first instance be borne by his father, but that Ptolemaeus should pay Tryphon an allowance of 5 drachmae a month for food and 12 drachmae at the end of the year for clothing; that Thoönis should serve his full year, and should make up at the end of it any days which he had missed; and that Ptolemaeus should instruct his apprentice to the best of his ability. Money penalties are imposed on failure to fulfil these terms.

Ὁ[μ]ο[λ]ογοῦσιν ἀλλή[λ]οις Τρύφων Διονυ[σίου
τοῦ Τρύφωνος μητρὸς [Θ]αμούν[ι]ς τῆ[ς
Ὀννώφριος καὶ Πτολεμαῖο[ς] Παυσιρίωνος
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου μητρὸς Ὠφελοῦτος τῆς
Θέωνος γέρδιος, ἀμφότεροι τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυ-
ρύγχων πόλεως, ὁ μὲν Τρύφων ἐγδεδόσ-
θαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν Θοῶ-

νιν μητρὸς Σαραεῦτος τῆς Ἀπίωνος οὐδέ-
πω ὄντα τῶν ἐτῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐνιαυτὸν
ἕνα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας, διακονοῦ(ν)-
τα καὶ ποιο[ῦ]ντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμε-
να αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατὰ τὴν
γερδιακὴν τέχνην πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐπίστα⟨τα⟩ι, τοῦ παιδὸς τρεφομένου καὶ ἱμα-
τι{σ}ζομένου ἐπὶ τὸν ὅλον χρόνον ὑπὸ
τοῦ πατρὸς Τρύφωνος πρὸς ὃν καὶ εἶναι
τὰ δημόσια πάντα τοῦ παιδός, ἐφ' ᾧ
δώσει αὐτῷ κατὰ μῆνα ὁ Πτολεμαῖος
εἰς λόγον διατροφῆς δραχμὰς πέντε
καὶ ἐπὶ συνκλεισμῷ τοῦ ὅλου χρόνου
εἰς λόγον ἱματισμοῦ δραχμὰς δέκα δύο,
οὐκ ἐξόντος τῷ Τρύφωνι ἀποσπᾶν τὸν
παῖδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου μέχρι τοῦ
τὸν χρόνον πληρωθῆναι, ὅσας δ' ἐὰν ἐν
τούτῳ ἀτακτήσῃ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὰς
ἴσας αὐτὸν παρέξεται [με]τὰ τὸν χρό-
νον ἢ ἀ[πο]τεισάτω ἑκάσ[τ]ης ἡμέρας
ἀργυρίου [δρ]αχμὴν μίαν, [τ]οῦ δ' ἀποσπα-
θῆναι ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόν[ου] ἐπίτειμον
δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον
τὰς ἴσας. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ[ς ὁ] Πτολεμαῖος
μὴ ἐγδιδάξῃ τὸν παῖ[δ]α ἔνοχος
ἔστω τοῖς ἴσοις ἐπιτε[ί]μοις. κυρία
ἡ διδασκαλική. (ἔτους) ιγ Νέ[ρ]ωνος Κλαυδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος, μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ κα.

2nd hand. Πτολεμαῖος [Πα]υσιρίωνος
τοῦ Πτολεμαίου μητρὸς Ὠφε-
λοῦτος τῆς Θέωνος ἕκαστα
ποιήσω ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἑνί.
Ζωῖλος Ὥρου τοῦ Ζωίλου μητρὸς
Διεῦτος τῆς Σωκέως ἔγραψα

ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδότος γράμματα.
ἔτους τρισκαιδεκάτου
Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτο[ρο]ς, μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ κα.

10. υ of διακονου above line. 25. τ in τας corr. from σ. 43. τα in γραμματα corr.

'Agreement between Tryphon, son of Dionysius, son of Tryphon, his mother being Thamounis, daughter of Onnophris, and Ptolemaeus, weaver, son of Pausirion, son of Ptolemaeus, his mother being Ophelous, daughter of Theon, both parties being inhabitants of the city of Oxyrhynchus. Tryphon agrees that he has apprenticed to Ptolemaeus his son Thoönis, whose mother is Saraeus, daughter of Apion, and who is not yet of age, for a term of one year from this day, to serve and to perform all the orders given him by Ptolemaeus in respect of his weaver's art in all its branches of which Ptolemaeus has knowledge. The boy is to be fed and clothed during the whole period by his father Tryphon, who is also to be responsible for all the taxes upon him, on condition of a monthly payment to himself by Ptolemaeus of 5 drachmae on account of victuals, and at the termination of the whole period of a payment of 12 drachmae on account of clothing. Tryphon is not to have the power of taking away his son from Ptolemaeus until the completion of the period; and if there are any days on which the boy fails to attend, Tryphon shall produce him for an equivalent number of days after the period is over, or shall forfeit for each day 1 drachma of silver. The penalty for taking him away within the period shall be 100 drachmae, and an equal sum to the treasury. If Ptolemaeus fails to instruct the boy thoroughly he is to be liable to the same penalties. This contract of apprenticeship is valid.' Date, and signature of Ptolemaeus.

8. Σαραεῦτος: cf. introd. to cclxvii.

8–9. οὐδέπω ὄντα τῶν ἐτῶν: cf. ccxlvii. 12, note.

17. τὰ δημόσια: as Thoönis was an ἀφῆλιξ (cf. 8), we should have expected that he would not have to pay any taxes, unless apprentices were liable for the χειρωνάξιον upon their trade. But of course Thoönis may have reached the age of fourteen during his year of apprenticeship. Tryphon seems to have paid part at any rate of the γερδιακόν before he was fourteen, see introd. to cclxxxviii.

In cccxxii, which is a similar contract of apprenticeship, it is agreed that τῆς [ὑπὲ]ρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαιτηθησομένη(ς) λαογρ[αφί]ας καὶ χωματικ[οῦ] καὶ υικῆς οὔση(ς) πρὸς [τὴ]ν Θαμούνιον (the mother of the apprentice). The χειρωνάξιον was the subject of a special arrangement, which is rendered obscure by the mutilation of the papyrus. In this case too the apprentice is described as οὐδέπω ὢν τῶν ἐτῶν.

19. In cccxxii Thamounion is to receive 4 drachmae a month εἰς λόγον διατροφῆς.

24–31. Precisely the same provisions are made in cccxxii, except that the penalty for removing the apprentice before he had served his time is 60 drachmae instead of 100.

CCLXXVI. Transport of Corn.

10·9 × 10·5 *cm.* A.D. 77.

Acknowledgement of receipt addressed by three steersmen on a cargo-boat, one of whom is a Jew (. . . son of Jacob), through a soldier of the second legion

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CCLXXVII. Lease of Land.

29 × 16·6 *cm.* B. C. 19.

Lease of 36¾ arourae of land near the village of Pamis by Dionysius to Artemidorus for one year. The land was to be sown with corn, and the produce to be shared equally between landlord and tenant, the division being apparently made at the village granary at the end of the year. The cost of transport and the instruments for (or expenses of?) mowing (*ἄμητρα*) were to be provided by the tenant, those for harvesting (*θέριστρα*) jointly by both parties. An allowance was made to the tenant for land-taxes.

Both landlord and tenant style themselves 'Macedonians' and *ἱππάρχαι ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν*, one of the numerous court titles given by the later Ptolemies. On the meaning of the appellation see G. P. I. p. 40; the occurrence of it after the Roman conquest confirms the view there expressed that the addition of *ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν* to *ἱππάρχης* or *ἡγεμών* was intended to distinguish these honorary officers from real *ἱππάρχαι* and *ἡγεμόνες* in active service.

The papyrus was written in the twelfth year of Augustus, and the hand-writing retains a strongly marked Ptolemaic appearance.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Διονύσιος Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρου Μακεδὼν ἱππάρχης
ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρωι Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μακεδόνι
ἱππάρ[χ]ηι ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ἃς ἔχει περὶ Πᾶμιν ἐκ τοῦ Φίλωνος
κλήρου ἀρούρ(ας) τριάκοντα ἓξ ἥμισυ τέταρτον, ὥστε
σπεῖραι εἰς τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος πυρῶι, ἐφ' ἡμεσίᾳ πάντων
τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν καὶ γενημάτων,
ἐφ' ὧι ἡ μὲν παραγωγὴ[ι] ἔσται καὶ τὰ ἄμητρα πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτεμίδ(ωρον)
τὰ δὲ θέριστρα ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ δοθήσεται. ἐὰν δέ τι πραχθῆι
ὁ Ἀρτεμ[ί]δωρος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἢ εἰς ἕτερόν τι ὑπὲρ Διονυ-
σίου η . [.]τησ[. . .]ολογει τῶι δὲ τὰ ε[. . .]κ . [.]ν . . τῶι Δι-
ονυσίωι ἥμισυ [. . . . .]ιου τῶι δὲ Δι[ονυσίωι . . . . . .
πάσηι [β]εβαι[ώσει . . . . .]μενης δὲ α[16 letters
κοινῶς τα[. .] . ημα ε[. .]τας περὶ Π[ᾶμιν .]πι[. . . . . .
ἄλωι, καὶ [ἀπὸ τ]ῶν παρασταθέντων ἐχέτωι ἕ[κα]στος
τὸ ἑαυτ[οῦ ἥ]μισυ.

(*ἔτους*) *ι[β Καίσαρ]ος, Θὼθ(θ) θ.*

2nd hand. *Ἀρτεμί]δωρος μεμίσθωμαι τὴν γῆν ἐφ' . ἡμεσίᾳ*
καθὼς] πρόκειται.
(ἔτους) ιβ Καίσαρος, Θὼ(θ) θ̄.

1. Second σ of εμισθωσεν corrected. 5. l. ἡμισείᾳ; so in 17.

CCLXXVIII. HIRE OF A MILL.

34·4 x 11·9 *cm.* A. D. 17.

Lease of a mill by Isidorus to Heracleus, son of Soterichus (cf. cccv), for seven months, at the rent of 2 drachmae 3 obols a month.

Ἐμ[ίσθωσεν Ἰσίδωρο]ς Ἰσιδώρου
Ἡρα[κλείῳ Σωτ]ηρ[ίχου Π]έρ[σ]ῃ τῆς ἐ[πι-
γον[ῆς ἐκ τῶν] ὑπ[αρ]χ[ό]ντων αὐτῶι
μύλ[ων μύλο]ν ἕν[α] τ[έ]λει[ο]ν Θηβαει-
κὸν [ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐ]νεστ[ῶ]τος μηνὸς Μεχεὶρ
μέχ[ρι Μεσορ]ὴ ἐπαγομένων πέμπτης
τοῦ α[ὐτοῦ ἐνεσ]τῶτος τρίτου ἔ[τ]ους
Τιβ[ερίου Κ]αί[σα]ρος Σεβαστοῦ, ἐνοικίου
τοῦ ἐσταμέ[ν]ου πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ὑπὲ[ρ] τοῦ σημ[αι]νομένου μύλου ἑκάστου
μ[ηνὸ]ς ἀργ[υρί]ου δραχμὰς δύο τριώβολ(ον).
ἀ[ποδ]ιδότ[ωι] δὲ ὁ μ[εμι]σθωμένος
τῶ[ι Ἰσι]δώρ[ω]ι τὸ κατὰ [μ]ῆνα τοῦ μύλου
ἐνο⟨ῖ⟩κιον ἄν[ευ] πάσης [ὑ]περθέσ[ε]ως.
ἀκίνδυνος δὲ ὁ μύλ[ος] καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον
παν[τὸ]ς κινδύνου, καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον
ἀπ[οκα]ταστησάτωι ὁ μάνης τὸν μύλον
ὑγιῆι καὶ ἀσινῆι, οἷον καὶ παρείληφεν,
ὅπου [ἐ]ὰν συντάσσηι ὁ Ἰσίδωρος ἐν Ὀ-
ξυρύγχων π[ό]λει, ἢ τὴν ἐσταμένην
τούτου τ[ι]μὴ[ν] ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατόν,
ἑκάστου δὲ μ[η]νὸς οὗ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδῶι,

τὸ ἐνο⟨ί⟩κιον μεθ' ἡμιολίας, τῆς πρά-
ξεως [ο]ὔσης [τ]ῶι Ἰσιδώρωι ἔκ τε τοῦ
μεμίσθωμένου κα[ὶ] ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων αὐτῶι πάντων, καθάπερ
ἐγ δίκης. κυρία ἡ μ[ίσ]θωσις πανταχῆι
ἐπιφερομένηι.

(ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχ(εὶρ) ᾱ.

2nd hand. Ἡρά[κλε]ιος Σωτηρίχου μεμίσθωμαι
τὸν μύλον ἕως ἐπαγομένων
πέμπτης, καὶ ἀποδώσω τὸ κα-
τὰ μῆνα ἐνοίκιο[ν], καὶ μετὰ τὸν
χρόνον ἀποκαταστήσω τὸν μύ-
λον ὑγιῆ ἢ τὴν τ[ού⟨του⟩] τειμὴν
δρα[χ]μὰς ἑκατό[ν], καθότι πρό-
κειται. Διονύσιος Διον[υ]σίου
γέγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰ-
δότος γράμμα⟨τα⟩.

(ἔτους) γ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
Μεχε[ὶ]ρ ᾱ.

On the *verso*

1st hand. ἔτους γ Τ[ι]βερίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχ(εὶρ) ᾱ.
μ[ί]σ[θ(ωσις)] Ἰσιδώ[ρ]ο(υ) π̣[ρὸ]ς Ἡ[ρ]άκλ[ειο]ν.

11. l. δραχμῶν κ.τ.λ.

'Isidorus, son of Isidorus, has leased to Heracleus, son of Soterichus, a Persian of the Epigone, from the mills which he possesses one perfect Theban mill from the present month Mecheir until the 5th intercalary day of Mesore of the present third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, at the rent agreed upon by the two parties for the aforesaid mill, namely 2 drachmae 3 obols of silver a month. The lessee shall pay to Isidorus the monthly rent of the mill without any delay. The mill and the rent are guaranteed against all risks, and at the end of the time the servant shall restore the mill safe and uninjured in the condition in which he received it, at whatever spot in Oxyrhynchus Isidorus may require, or shall pay its value as agreed upon, namely, 100 drachmae of silver, and for every month that he fails to return it, 1½ times the rent; Isidorus having the right of execution upon both the person and all the property of the lessee, as by a judicial decision. This lease is valid wheresoever produced.' Date, and signature of Heracleus written for him by Dionysius.

11. ἀργυρίου qualifies τριώβολον as well as δραχμὰς δύο. Not that there were silver coins having the value of an obol at this period; for the obol was, at any rate after the reign of Ptolemy Soter (cf. Rev. Pap. p. 218), always a copper coin. But in adding up the instalments of the rent the 3 obols were to be calculated as worth half a silver drachma, though

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γένεσι ὑπὲρ ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι ἑκάστη[ς ἀρού-
ρης ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πέντε καὶ ὑ[πὲρ
τῶν ἄλλων ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι ἐν π[. . . . .
. . . . . .

4. συν corr. 12. τελέσωι: τελεῖν should have been written. 13. *Not* ἐν ἑτ[έροις.

CCLXXX. Lease of Land.

14·5 x 10·3 *cm.* A.D. 88–9.

Lease of 5 arourae of land for four years from Dionysius, son of Dionysius, to Dionysius, son of Harpocration, at the rent of 17 bushels of wheat. For the first three years any crops might be sown except woad (ἰσάτις); in the last year half of the land was to be sown with wheat, half with beans (ἄρακος). In the event of a failure of the inundation in any of the years, that year was not to be counted in the lease; cf. note on 5.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Διονύσιος Διονυσίου τοῦ Παυ-
σιρίωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως
Διονυσίῳ Ἀρποχρατίωνος τοῦ Σαραπίωνο(ς)
τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Πέρσῃ τῆς ἐπι-
γονῆς εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα βροχὰς τέσσαρες ἀπὸ τ(οῦ)
ἐνεστῶτος ὀγδώου ἔ[του]ς Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ περὶ Τύχιν Νεκῶτιν
ἐκ τοῦ μέσου περιχώματος καὶ τῆς πρότερο[ν
Ἀρτεμιδώρου δωραιᾶς ἀπὸ κοινωνικῶν
ἀρουρῶν ἀρούρας πέντε, ὥστε ἐπὶ μὲν
τὰ πρῶτα ἔτη τρία κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλα-
μῆσαι ταύτας οἷς ἐὰν αἱρῆται γένεσι χωρὶς
ἰσάτεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ σπεῖραι
τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ πυρῷ τὸ δ' ἄλλο ἥμισυ ξυλα-
μῆσαι ἀράκῳ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ εἰς ἄρωσιν
τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἥμισυ εἰς κοπήν, ἀποτάκτου
[φόρου πυρο]ῦ ἀρταβῶν δέκα ἑπτὰ ἀκιν-
δ[ύνου κ]ατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτον παντὸς κιν-

20 [δύνου], παραδεχομένης τ[ῷ] μεμισ-
[θωμένῳ τ]ῆς ἐσομέν[ης] τὸ τάχιστ[ον
[20 letters]ησ[.]τ . [. .
[20 letters]ο . [. . . . . .
. . . . . .

On the *verso*

μίσθ(ωσις) Διον(υσίου) ἀρο(υρῶν) ε περὶ [Τύχιν Νεκῶτιν.

2. ξ of οξυρυγχων corr. from ο. 5. l. τέσσαρας. 9. του corrected. 10. l. δωρεᾶς. 16. α of αρωσιν corr. from ξ.

'Dionysius, son of Dionysius, son of Pausirion, of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Dionysius, son of Harpocration, son of Sarapion, of the same city, a Persian of the Epigone, for four years and four inundations, beginning with the present eighth year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the land belonging to him situated near Tychis Nechotis in the middle basin, and previously held in gift by Artemidorus, his share, namely 5 arourae, on condition that during the first three years the lessee may sow and plant the land with whatever crops he chooses, woad excepted, and in the last year he shall sow half the land with wheat, and plant the other half with beans, of which half half shall be ploughed while the other half is cut, at the fixed rent of 17 artabae of wheat guaranteed for each year appointed against all risks, an allowance being made to the lessee . . .'

5. βροχὰς τέσσαρας: apparently if there was no βροχή the year was not to count as one of the four years. Cf. the clause frequently found in leases, e. g. O. P. I. ci. 24–6, ἐὰν δέ τις τοῖς ἑξῆς ἔτεσι ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ.

8. Τύχιν Νεκῶτιν: cf. ccxc. 6, which shows that the name consists of two words, not one.

9. περίχωμα is here used for a space surrounded by mounds, not for a mound or embankment itself.

10. On land ἐν δωρεᾷ see Rev. Pap. p. 137. Land and even villages were assigned by the Ptolemies to court favourites.

12 ξυλαμῆσαι: cf. 15 and O. P. I. ci. 11, cii. 12; the word does not seem to occur outside the Oxyrhynchus papyri. The context here and in 15 shows that ξυλαμᾶν expresses a process parallel to sowing, and is not contrasted with it.

14. ἰσάτεως: cf. O. P. I. ci. 12, where it is coupled with ὀχομένιον.

CCLXXXI. Complaint against a Husband.

18·1 × 9·3 *cm.* A. D. 20–50.

Petition addressed to the ἀρχιδικαστής by a woman who had been deserted by her husband, and who wished to recover the dowry which she had brought him on her marriage. Cf. introd. to cclxvi and cclxxxii.

This papyrus was found with cclxxxiii, ccxciv, and a number of other documents dated in the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, and belongs to the same period.

Ἡρακλείδηι ἱερεῖ καὶ ἀρχιδι-
καστῆι καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμε-
λείᾳ τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων κριτηρίων
παρὰ Σύρας τῆς Θέωνος.
συνεβίωσα Σαραπίωνι φερνὴν τού-
τῳ δοῦσα κατὰ συνχώρησιν εἰς
λόγον ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν διακοσί-
ων. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπιδεξαμέ-
νη αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ τῶν γονέων
μου οἰκητήρια λειτὸν παν-
τελῶς ὄντα ἀνέγκλητον
ἐματὴν ἐν ἁπᾶσει παρειχό-
μην. ὁ δὲ Σαραπίων κατα-
χρησάμενος τῆι φερνῆι εἰς ὃν
ἠβούλετο λόγον οὐ διέλει-
πεν κακουχῶν με καὶ ὑβρί-
[ζ]ων καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπι-
φέρων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαί-
ων ἐνδεῆ καθιστάς, ὕσ-
τερον δὲ καὶ ἐνκατέ-
λιπέ με λειτὴν καθεσ-
τῶσαν. διὸ ἀξιῶ συντάξαι
καταστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σὲ
ὅπως ἐπαναγκασθῇ συν-
εχόμενος ἀποδοῦναι [[μ]]
μοι τὴν [φ]ερνὴν σὺν ἡμι-
ολίᾳ. τῶ[ν] μὲν γὰρ ἄλ-
λων τῶν [ὄντων πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἀντέχομ[αι καὶ ἀνθέξομαι.

3. και των : ν above line. 6. υ of του above line. 8. σι of διακοσι above line.
15. σα of χρησαμενος above line.

'To Heraclides, priest, chief justice, superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts, from Syra, daughter of Theon. I married Sarapion, bringing him by cession a dowry amounting to 200 drachmae of silver. As he was destitute of means I received him into my parents' house, and I for my part conducted myself blamelessly in all respects. But Sarapion, having squandered my dowry as he pleased, continually ill-treated and insulted me, using violence towards me, and depriving me of the necessaries of life; finally he deserted me leaving me in a state of destitution. I therefore beg you to order him to be brought before you, in order that he may be compelled perforce to pay back my dowry increased by half its amount. This petition is without prejudice to any other claims which I have or may have against him.'

1–4. ἀρχιδικαστῆι κ.τ.λ.: cf. cclxviii. 1.
6–7. φερνὴν . . . κατὰ συνχώρησιν: cf. cclxviii. 10.
28–30. For the supplements cf. cclxxxii. 18–21, cclxxxvi. 22–5.

CCLXXXII. Complaint against a Wife.

Plate VII. 17·5 × 9·7 *cm.* A. D. 30–35.

Petition to the strategus from Tryphon, son of Dionysius, complaining that his wife Demetrous had left him and carried off various articles belonging to him. A list of the stolen property was added, but this is lost.

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present letter to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome was written on the day of the capture; and Sarapion requests that Euporus should be properly guarded, and that the praefect Julius Postumus should be notified of the impending trial. The date thus supplied for the praefecture of Postumus is of importance. He is known to have still been in office in the year 47 from Orell. *Inscr. Latt.* 709; cf. C. I. G. 4957. 27.

Fr. (*a*). *Τιβερίωι Κλ[αυδίωι] Πα[σί]ων[ι στρα(τηγῷ)]*
παρα [Σ]αραπ[ίωνος τῷ . ἔτει
Τιβερ[ίου] Κλαυ[δίου Καίσ]αρος Σεβασ[τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος [. . . . . .]υ νεωτέρ[ου . . .] . . ωραθ . . . .
5 [. .]ο̣σ[20 letters]α̣ν̣[.]χ . [. . . . .]τος δ̣ . . . . [. . .
. . . . . .
Fr. (*b*). *τε ἐμοὶ π̣ε̣μ[20 letters]τ̣α . [. .] δ̣ύ̣ο . . . . . .*
ἀργυρίου ταλ[ά]ντων τ̣ρ̣ι̣ς . . . . [. . . . . .] . . μοι β̣λ̣ά̣β̣η παρηκο-
λ[ούθ]ηκεν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν γεγονοι[ῖαν μοι ἐ]π̣ί̣[θε]σ̣ι̣ν καὶ . [. .] . παρῆ[ν.
καταπλέων νυν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρε[ι]αν, ὅπου ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄρειος καὶ ὁ
10 *Εὔπορος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀπίωνος [ἀ]δελφὸς καὶ ἐπίτροπο[ς Κα]λλιδάμα(ς),*
καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ Μέμφει τῇ ιε̄ Ἰουλίᾳ [Σ]εβαστῇ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-
τος μηνὸς Καισαρείου συνέλαβον τὸν σημαινόμενον δοῦλον
Εὔπορον ἐξ οὗ δεήσει γνωσθῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τῶν προ-
γεγραμμένων ἀλήθειαν, ὃν καὶ ἀγείοχα ἐπὶ σὲ μεθ' ἱκανῆς
15 *τῆς γεγονοίας μοι ἐπιθέσεως καὶ πληγῶν ἐπιφορᾶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τε*
καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ περιχυθέντων. διὸ προῆγμαι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἐπιδοῦ-
ναι, καὶ ἀξιῶι ἐὰν φαίνηται ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔχειν τὸν αὐτὸν δοῦλον καὶ ἐκπέμ-
ψαι ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἡγεμόνα Ἰούλιον [Πόσ]τομον πρὸς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐσομένην ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος προσέλευσιν ὃν προσήκει
20 *τρόπον.* (*ἔτους*) *ε Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος [Σ]εβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ*
Αὐτοκράτορος,
μη(νὸς) Κ[αισαρ]είου ῑε̄ Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβασ[τ]ῇι.

8. l. *γεγονυ[ῖαν*; so in 15. 14. l. *ἀγήοχα.* 18. *την επ*: *ε* corr. from *υ*.

ll. 9–21. 'On my voyage to Alexandria, therefore, where Areus and Euporus and Apion's brother and guardian, Callidamas, live, I reached Memphis on the day Julia Augusta, the 15th of the present month Caesareus, and seized the above-mentioned slave Euporus, from whom the whole truth respecting the aforesaid matter will have to be learnt, and have brought him to you at the expense of a severe and violent attack upon myself by him and those by whom he was surrounded. I am, therefore, impelled to present this

petition, and beg you, if you think fit, to keep the said slave guarded, and to send word to the lord praefect Julius Postumus with a view to the proceedings which I shall take at his court in the proper manner concerning the whole matter.' Date.

4. *φωραθ* . . . cannot be read.

5. As many as a dozen lines may be lost between this line and the next.

11. *τῇ ιε Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ τοῦ . . . Καισαρείου*: cf. C. I. G. 4957. 3 *Φαῶφι α Ἰουλίᾳ Σεβαστῇ* (A. D. 68), C. P. R. 25. 1 *Μεσορὴ κα . . . ἐπὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς* (A. D. 136), B. G. U. 252. 2 *Χοίακ κη . . . ἐπὶ Ἰουλ(ίας) [Σεβαστῆς]* (A. D. 98). There seem to have been a number of days called *Ἰουλία Σεβαστή*, as there were many *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί*, cf. note on cclxxxviii. 5[1]. It is curious that in another papyrus of Claudius' reign (cclxiv. 21) Caesareus 15 is called not *Ἰουλία Σεβαστή* but *Σεβαστή* simply.

14. *ἀγήοχα*: unless Pasion was himself at or near Memphis the perfect must be proleptic; for this letter was written on the day on which the capture was effected (cf. 11 with 21), and Sarapion could not of course have got back from Memphis to Oxyrhynchus the same day.

CCLXXXIV. Extortion by a Tax-Collector.

16·7 x 8·2 *cm.* About A. D. 50.

Petition to the strategus Tiberius Claudius Pasion from a weaver of Oxyrhynchus, complaining that a tax-collector named Apollophanes had unjustly compelled him to pay 16 drachmae in the year 47–48. The petition was apparently sent in a year or two afterwards, though probably not later than A. D. 50, since Pasion was already in office in 45 (cclxxxiii). Cf. the following papyrus, and cccxciii–iv, two similar petitions written in A. D. 49–50; and ccxxxix–xl.

Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι Πασί(ωνι) στρα(τηγῷ)
παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολ(λωνίου)
[τ]ῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεω[ς]
[γερ]δίων λαύρας δρόμου
Θοήριδος. διασείσθην ὑπὸ
Ἀπολλοφάνους γενομ⟨έν⟩ου
πράκτορος τῶι η (ἔτει) Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς
κατὰ μέρος ἀργυρί[ο]υ δραχ(μὰς)

[1] Prof. Wilcken (*Gr. Ost.* I. 813) explains the two instances of *ἐπὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς* differently, giving them a local meaning, and even throws doubt on the ordinary interpretation of C. I. G. 4957. 3, which however is amply confirmed by the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. The two cases with *ἐπί* are, we admit, open to doubt; but we adhere to our former view.

δέκα ἕξ. διὸ ἀξιῶι διαλα-
βεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐάν σοι
δοκ(ῇ).

5. l. διεσείσθην. 11. δ of διαλαβειν corr. from α.

'To Tiberius Claudius Pasion, strategus, from Alexandrus, son of Apollonius, a weaver of Oxyrhynchus, living in the quarter of the square of Thoëris. Apollophanes, ex-collector of taxes, in the eighth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator extorted from me among other people 16 drachmae of silver. I therefore beg you to proceed against him as you may think fit.'

6. Ἀπολλοφάνους: cf. cclxxxv. 5.

7. τῶι η (ἔτει): that the date refers to διεσείσθην, not γενομένου, is shown by cccxciii. 7 sqq. διεσίσθην ὑπὸ Δάμιτος γενομένου πράκτορος τῶι μὲν η (ἔτει) . . . δραχμὰς δέκα ἕξ, καὶ τῶ̣ι διελληλυθότει θ (ἔτει) ἄλλας . . . .

CCLXXXV. Extortion by a Tax-Collector.

24·4 × 9·8 *cm.* About A. D. 50.

Another petition to the strategus Pasion complaining of exactions by Apollophanes, the same tax-collector who was impeached in the preceding papyrus, in the first and the ninth years of Claudius. At the bottom of the petition and on the *verso* are some unintelligible lines, written in large rude uncial letters. The writer was perhaps a boy practising his hand. Cf. O. P. I. xc. 6–7.

Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίῳ Πασίων[ι] στρ[α-
(τηγῷ)
παρὰ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Θέωνος
τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως
γερδίων λαύρας δρόμου Γυμν[α-
σίου. Ἀπολλοφάνης γενόμ[ενος
πράκτωρ χιρωναξίου γερ-
δίων τῶ̣ι α (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Κλαυδ[ίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος πολλῇ βίᾳ χρώ-
μενος ἀφήρπασεν ὃν ἔμην
ἐνδεδυμένο⟨ς⟩ χιτῶνα λεινοῦν
ἄξι⟨ο⟩ν δραχμῶν ὀκτώ, καὶ διέ-
σισέν με ἄλλας δραχμὰς τέσσα-
ρες, καὶ ἀπὸ μηνὸς Νέου Σεβασ-
τοῦ ἐνάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου
Κλαυ{δ}δίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἕως
Φαρμοῦθι, μηνῶν ἕξ, κατὰ μῆνα
δραχμὰς δύο, αἳ συναγόμεναι (δραχ-
μαὶ) κδ.
διὸ ἀξιῶ διαλαβεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ
ὡς ἐάν σοι φαίνηται. εὐτύχει.

2nd hand. θεουκαιπιαπενεκαιαγυνι
καπιουγενεπινκινκαπι
σεουκαισοφωνεκαισο

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ριον ἀποδώσειν μετ' ἔτη πέ[ν]τε τῇ τοῦ Ἥρωνος μητρὶ
[Φ]ιλουμένῃ Ἥρωνο[ς ἃς ἐδ]ά[νεισ]εν ἡ Φιλουμένη ἐμοί
τε καὶ τῇ μητρί μου Θ[αήσι] κατὰ συνγραφ[ὴν τελ]ειωθ[εῖ]σαν
διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ὀξυρύγχω[ν πό]λει μνημονίου τῷ ἐνάτῳ ἔτει
θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Φαρ[μ]οῦθι ἀργυρίο[υ δρα]χμὰς δισχει-
λίας κεφαλαίου καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τῆς
ἀποδόσεως τόκους, καὶ παρέξεσθαι ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν μη-
τέρα μου Θαῆσιν ἀπαρενοχλήτους καὶ ἀνεισπράκτους
κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ἢ ἐκτείσειν ὃ ἐὰν πραχθῶμεν ἢ βλα-
βῶμεν τούτων χάριν σὺν ἡμιολίᾳ ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλοις ἡ ἀσφάλεια
περιέχει. τῆς δὲ Φιλουμένης παρ' ἕκαστα διοχλούσης με
προελθεῖν ἠνάγκασμαι, καὶ ἀξιῶ συντάξαι γράψαι τῷ τοῦ
Ὀξυρυγχείτου ξενικῶν πράκτορι μεταδοῦναι τῇ τε
Ζηναρίῳ καὶ τῷ Ἥρωνι τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπομνήματος
[ἀ]ντίγραφον ὅπως παρέχωνται ἡμᾶς ἀπερισπάστους
[καὶ] ἀπαρενοχλήτους ὑπὲρ τῆς προκειμένης ὀφειλῆς
καὶ ἀποδώσειν ταῦτα, ἢ εἰδῶσι ἐάν τι ἰς ταύτην πραχθῶ
ἐσομένην μοι τὴν πρᾶξιν παρά τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ ὧν
ἐὰν εὑρίσκω αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
σειτικῶν ἐδαφῶν καὶ ἑτέρων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων τῶν
κατ' ἐμαυτὴν κα[ὶ] ὧν ἑτέρων ἔχω πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν
ὑπόντων μοι δ[ι]καίων πάντων ἀντέχομαι καὶ ἀν-
θέξομαι ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐλαττουμένη. πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ χρη-
ματισμοῦ τελείωσιν διαπέσταλμαι Ἡρακλείδην Ἡρα-
κλείδου.

2nd hand. ὡς καθήκει. (ἔτους) πρώτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
[Δομιτι]ανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ μ[ηνὸς] Γερμανικείου κβ̄.

In the left-hand margin opposite line 28 ὡς (ἐτῶν ?) λ̣.

On the *verso* . . . τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου) . . . [

'. . . (Heron) agreed that Zenarion would repay after 5 years to his mother Philumene, daughter of Heron, the 2000 drachmae of silver which Philumene lent me and my mother Thaësis by a contract completed through the record office at Oxyrhynchus in Pharmuthi of the ninth year of the deified Vespasian, both the capital and the interest on it from the beginning up to the time of repayment, and would guarantee me and my mother against any trouble or liability whatsoever under penalty of paying us in full any loss or damage which we might incur in connexion with the transaction, in addition to half the amount, with the other guarantees contained in the agreement. Since Philumene is continually

pressing me to repay, I have been forced to come forward, and request you to order the collector of external debts to be instructed to serve Zenarion and Heron with a copy of this memorandum, in order that they may secure us against any liability or trouble in connexion with the aforesaid debt, and may repay it, or take cognizance of the fact that, if I am made to pay anything on this account, I shall have the right of execution upon both their persons and any property which I may find in their abodes, whether granaries or other possessions. This petition is without prejudice to other claims which I have or may have against them, and to all my legal rights. I have dispatched as my agent Heraclides, son of Heraclides, to conclude the transaction.' Date.

15. *ξενικῶν πράκτορι*: this official is known in the Ptolemaic period from Turin Pap. xiii, where he is mentioned in connexion with the exaction of a debt from one Egyptian to another. Revillout (*Rev. Égypt.* II. p. 140) supposes that by *ξενικοί* are meant native Egyptians, who would be foreigners in the eyes of the Greeks. But this is not at all probable. *ξένη* in the papyri (e.g. ccli. 11, ccliii. 7) often implies merely a place outside the nome in which a person was registered; and in the present case the writer clearly lived some distance from the abode of Zenarion and Heron, probably in a different nome, cf. 15, 21, 26. The function of the *πράκτωρ ξενικῶν* would therefore seem to be that of a collector of *ξενικά* or debts owed to *ξένοι* in the limited sense of persons who were living in another nome, and therefore were under the jurisdiction of a different set of officials.

CCLXXXVII. PAYMENT OF CORN.

12·5 × 11 *cm.* A.D. 23.

Receipt for 40 artabae 3 choenices of corn paid by a tax-collector on behalf of certain villages in the western toparchy to the sitologi of a division of the lower toparchy. Similar certificates issued by the sitologi are very common among the Fayûm papyri (cf. Kenyon, *Cat.* II. pp. 88–94). Other instances from Oxyrhynchus are ccclxxxiii–v and O. P. I. lxxxix.

[*Ἔτους*] *δεκάτου Τιβερίου Κα*[*ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ*,
[*μηνὸ*]*ς Νέ*[*ου*] *Σεβαστοῦ κς*. [*ὁμολογεῖ* . . . . .
[*καὶ*] *μέτοχοι οἱ σιτολογοῦ*[*ντες τ*]*ὴν πρὸς*
[. . . ( )] *μερ*(*ίδα*) *τῆς κάτω τοπαρχ*(*ίας*) [*μεμετρ*]*ῆσθαι*
5 [*πα*]*ρὰ Ἀριστάνδ*[*ρ*]*ου τοῦ Ἀρίστων*[*ο*]*ς ὑ*(*πὲρ*)
[*λι*]*βὸς τοπαρχ*(*ίας*) *Ἀπίων*[*ο*]*ς κωμῶν πυρ*(*οῦ*)
[*σύ*]*ν παντ*(*α*) *ἀρτάβας τεσσαράκοντα μίαν χ*(*οίνικας*) *γ*,
[/ (*πυροῦ ἀρτάβας*)] *μα χ*(*οίνικας*) *γ*.

'The tenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, 26th of the month Neos Sebastos. I, . . ., and my associates, overseers of the corn supply of the . . . division of the lower toparchy, acknowledge that we have received by measure from Aristandrus, son of Ariston;

on behalf the villages of Apion in the western toparchy, of wheat in all 41 artabae 3 choenices, total 41 artabae 3 choenices.'

1. [ἔτους]: or perhaps [(ἔτους) ἐν- or δω-].

4. For μερίδες in the toparchies of the Oxyrhynchite nome cf. ccclxxxiii–iv.

6. Ἀπίωνος κωμῶν: perhaps the Apion who gave his name to these villages was an ancestor of the family of Flavius Apion which in the sixth century played so important a part at Oxyrhynchus, cf. O. P. I. cxxxiii-cxxxix.

7. σύνπαντ(α): this word (abbreviated συνπ¯) also occurs in ccclxxxiv πυροῦ τριω( ) σύνπ(αντα) [ἓν]δεκα τέταρτον.

CCLXXXVIII. Taxation Account.

36·3 x 18 *cm.* A. D. 22–25.

Copy of receipts for various taxes paid, usually through a bank, from the eighth to the eleventh years of Tiberius by Tryphon, son of Dionysius (see introd. to cclxvii), and his father Dionysius; cf. cclxxxix, a copy of similar tax receipts forty years later referring to Thoönis, probably a relative of Tryphon, and cccviii–cccxiii. At the end of the present document is a copy of an extract from an ἐπίκρισις of the year A. D. 11–12, giving the names and ages of the male members of the family of Tryphon's grandfather, Tryphon himself being set down as three years old at that time. On the ἐπίκρισις see introd. to cclvii. Here too the persons included in the list are privileged, probably paying less poll-tax than others; and, as will appear, there is reason for connecting Tryphon's family with the class of μητροπολῖται δωδεκάδραχμοι mentioned in cclviii.

Four different taxes occur, (1) the γερδιακὸν Ἱπποδρόμου, (2) the ἐπικεφάλαιον Ἱπποδρόμου, (3) the ὑική, (4) the χωματικόν. The first of these is the tax on weaving and a branch of the χειρωνάξιον or tax on trades (cf. cclxxxv. 6), and the second is of course the poll-tax, which is generally called λαογραφία. The point of the addition of Ἱπποδρόμου is that it is the name of the ἄμφοδον in which Tryphon lived at this time; cf. cccxcii. Similarly in cccviii the χωματικόν and γερδιακόν are described as Τεμεν(ούθεως); Τεμενοῦθις, or as it is variously spelled Τεμγενοῦθις, Τεμιενοῦθις, Τεγμοῦθις or Τεμουενοῦθις, was the name of an ἄμφοδον at Oxyrhynchus which is frequently mentioned in the papyri. The amount paid here for poll-tax (12 drachmae) corresponds to the sums paid on account of λαογραφία by Thoönis forty to fifty years later; cf. ccclxxxix. The progressive rise of this tax, which stood at 20 drachmae in the Fayûm from Domitian's reign onwards, cannot at present be clearly traced through the earlier part of the century, but the publication of Professor Wilcken's *Griechische Ostraka* will throw

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The first four lines of the document are written in an even, careful cursive; the rest in a larger and freer hand, but there seems to have been only one scribe. The copy is not likely to have been made much later than the eleventh year of Tiberius. Lines 7–11 are reproduced in cccxi.

In this and the following papyrus the number of the day of the month (or, when there are two figures, the second of them) regularly has a horizontal stroke above it, which, for convenience of printing, we have omitted in the transcripts.

Ἀντίγρα(φον). ἔτους ἑνάτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ις, διαγέγρα(πται) γερδιακοῦ Ἱπποδρόμο(υ) Τρύφων Διονυσίο(υ) διὰ Παά[πιο]ς δραχ(μὰς) ζ τριώβολον, / (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον).
Χοίαχ κε ὁ α[ὐτὸ]ς (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). Τῦβι ε ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμίωβολον).
Μεχεὶρ ιθ ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον), / (δραχμὰς ζ (τριώβολον).
Φαρμοῦθι λ ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
Παχὼν δ (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). Παῦνι Σεβαστῆι ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον),
ἄλλαι (δραχμὰς) β (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) β (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιώβολον).
ἔτους ἑνάτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Παῦνι β διαγέγρα(πται)
διὰ Διογένους τρα(πέζης) ἐπικεφαλ(αίου) Ἱπποδρόμου Τρύφων Διονυσίου
σὺν καταγωγίωι (δραχμὰς) ιβ, [/ (δραχμὰς)] ιβ, καὶ τῆι κθ τοῦ Παῦνι
ὑικῆς ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) β (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) [β] (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιώβολον), καὶ τῆι δ τοῦ Μεσορὴι χωματικ(οῦ) (δραχμὰς) ς (τετρώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) ς (τετρώβολον). [ἔ]τους δεκάτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ, Χοίαχ ιζ, διαγέγρα(πται) γερδιακοῦ Ἱππ[ο]δρόμου
Τρύφων Διονυσίου διὰ Παάπιος (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον). Μεχεὶρ ις ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον). Φαρμοῦθι κβ ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) ζ (τριώβολον).
Παῦνι η [ὁ α]ὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). Μεσορὴι γ ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὰς) ς.

ἔτους δεκάτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχεὶρ ιγ,
διαγέγρα(πται) διὰ Διογένους [τ]ρα(πέζης) ἐπικεφαλ(αίου) Ἱπποδρόμου Τρύφων
Διονυσίου σὺν κα(ταγωγίωι) (δραχμὰς) η, καὶ τῆι κδ τοῦ Φαρμοῦθι
ἐπικ(εφαλαίου)
ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) δ. Παῦνι κ̣α̣ Σεβαστῆι ὑικῆς (δραχμὰς) β (ὀβολὸν)
(ἡμιώβολον).
Ἐπεὶφ ις̄ χωμα(τικοῦ) (δραχμὰς) ς̄. ἔτους ια Τιβερίου
Καίσαρος [Σε]βαστοῦ, [μ]ηνὸς Σεβα[σ]τοῦ ιγ, διαγέγρα(πται) γερδ(ιακοῦ)
Ἱπποδρόμ[ο]υ Διον[ύ]σιο[ς . . . . . .] διὰ Διον(υσίου) (δραχμὰς) ζ̄ (τριώβολον),
καὶ τῆι ιθ τοῦ Τῦβι (δραχμὰς) ζ̄ (τριώβολον), [κα]ὶ τ̣ῆ̣ι [. .] τοῦ Φαμενὼθ
(δραχμὰς) ζ̄ (τριώβολον),
καὶ τῆι ιζ̄ [το]ῦ Παῦνι (δραχμὰς) ζ̄ (τριώβολον), καὶ τῆι ιε τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ
(δραχμὰς) ς̄.
ἔτους ια Τι[β]ερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχ(εὶρ) ιε, διαγέγρα(πται)
διὰ Διογένους τρα(πέζης) ἐπικ(εφαλαίου) Ἱππόδ(ρόμου) Τρύφων Διονυσίου σὺν
κα(ταγωγίωι) (δραχμὰς) η,
καὶ τῆι ιγ τοῦ Παχὼν ἐπικεφαλ(αίου) (δραχμὰς) δ, καὶ τῆι ιγ τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ
ὑι[κ]ῆς (δραχμὰς) β (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιώβολον), καὶ τῆ̣[ι] κη τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ ὑικῆς
(δραχμὰς) ς̄ (τετρώβολον).

ἔτους η Τι[β]ερίου Καί[σ]αρος Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχεὶρ ιη,
διαγέγρα(πται) γ[ε]ρδιακοῦ [Ἱ]ππ̣οδρόμου Τρύφων Διονυσίου
διὰ Πα[άπ]ιος (δραχμὰς) ζ̄ (τριώβολον). ἔτους ι Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σε[βαστο]ῦ, [Φαῶ]φ̣ι Σ[ε]βαστῆι, διαγέγρα(πται) γερδιακοῦ Ἱππόδ(ρόμου)
Τρύφων Δι[ο]νυ[σίου] δ[ιὰ] Παάπιος (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
μηνὸς Νέ[ο]υ Σεβασ[τοῦ] γ ὁ αὐτὸς (δραχμὰς) γ (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
ἀντίγρα(φον). ἐ[ξ] ἐπικρίσ[ε]ως μα (ἔτους) Καίσαρος.
Τρύφωνος τοῦ Διδύμου ὁ κύριος γέρδ(ιος) (ἐτῶν) ξδ.
Δίδυμος υἱὸς μητ(ρὸς) Τιμῶτος γέρδ(ιος) (ἐτῶν) λζ.
Διονύσιος ἀδελ(φὸς) μητρὸ̣(ς) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) γέρδ(ιος) (ἐτῶν) λβ.
Τρύφων υἱ[ὸς] μητρὸς Θαμούνιος (ἐτῶν) γ.
Θ[ο]ῶνι[ς Τρύφωνος] μητρὸ̣(ς) Τιμῶτος γέρδ(ιος) (ἐτῶν) κα.
καὶ ἐξ ἀπ[ογραφῆς κω]μογραμματέων
μβ (ἔτους), [Θοῶνις Διο]νυσίου α (ἔτους).

6. l. ἄλλας. 11. δ of δεκατου corr. from ι. 23. Second του corr.
39. υ of υι[ος corr. from τ.

5. *Παῦνι Σεβαστῆι*: the number is omitted, but was probably the same as that in 19, where unfortunately the reading is uncertain. An astonishing number of *ἡμέραι Σεβασταί* occur in the first century Oxyrhynchus papyri (see Index iii). Outside Oxyrhynchus it is rare to find any notice taken of them[1]. In some months, e.g. Mecheir, Pharmuthi, Pachon, and Payni, more than one day was *Σεβαστή*, even in the same reign; cf. cclxix. I. 14 with cclxxxix. I. 4. No doubt the *Σεβασταὶ ἡμέραι* were in some way in honour of the Imperial family; but on what principles particular days were selected is unknown. Cf. also note on cclxxxiii. 11 for an interchange of *Σεβαστή* with *Ἰουλία Σεβαστή*.

7 sqq.: cf. cccxi, probably the original receipt of which this entry is the copy.

9. *σὺν καταγωγίωι*: the point of this addition, which recurs in 18 and 26, always in connexion with Tryphon's payment of the poll-tax, is obscure. It does not occur in cclxxxix, cccviii, cccxi, cccxiii. In Louvre Pap. 62. V. 17, 21 *καταγώγιον* means the 'expenses of transport' (of copper). But that sense does not suit here.

20. (*δραχμὰς*) *ϛ*: probably the sign for 4 obols has been omitted by the copyist, cf. 11, 28 and introd.

22. Probably [*Τρύφωνος*], cf. 36 and 38.

28. *ὑικῆς* towards the end of the line is probably a mistake for *χωματικοῦ* for which 6 dr. 4 obols were the regular payment, whereas Tryphon is just before stated to have paid 2 dr. 1½ ob. for the pig tax.

40. The lacunae in this line and 42 are filled up from cccxiv, an extract similar to the present one, but referring to the following year, so that the persons are all one year older.

42. In cccxiv the younger Thoönis is mentioned in his natural place after his brother, the younger Tryphon.

CCLXXXIX. Taxation Accounts.

21·6 × 53 *cm.* A.D. 65–83.

Copies of tax receipts, similar to cclxxxviii, for taxes paid chiefly by Thoönis, son of Thoönis, in various years from the twelfth of Nero to the second of Domitian. The entries have been put in at different times, but apparently are all in the same hand. Their chronological order is I. 1–10, II, I. 11–20. I. 17–20 are written parallel to I. 11–16, to the left of them. The entries for the eighth year of Vespasian (II. 18) are incomplete, and it is probable that there was once a third column containing the rest of the entries for that year and those for the four following years, which are missing.

Three of the four taxes mentioned in cclxxxviii occur here, (1) the poll-tax (here called as usual *λαογραφία*) amounting to 12 drachmae, regularly paid in two instalments of 8 and 4 drachmae, (2) the pig tax, which generally amounts to 1 dr. 4½ obols, (3) the tax of 6 dr. 4 obols for maintenance of dykes. In addition to these a tax, of which the name is much abbreviated, of 1 drachma occurs in I. 8, 10, and possibly another tax is mentioned in II. 7.

[1] Cf. Wilcken *Gr. Ost.* I. 812, where the evidence hitherto available is collected.

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ὁ α(ὐτὸς) ϛ[. . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι], / η. Ἐπεὶφ ε λαογ(ραφίας) ιγ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑι(κῆς) ιγ (ἔτους) (δραχμὴν) μί[αν, / α]. φ( ) ιγ [(ἔτους) ὁ] α(ὐτὸς) σ . . . (δραχμὴν) μίαν, / α. μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου ε χω(ματικοῦ) ιγ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) Θοῶ̄(νις) Θοώ(νιος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ [τε]τ[ρ(ώβολον)], / ϛ (τετρώβολον). μη(νὸς) Σωτηρείου γ λαογ(ραφίας) ιδ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η. Πα(ῦνι) δ λαογρ(αφίας) ιδ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) Θοῶ̄(νις) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑικ(ῆς) ιδ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). φ( ) ιδ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ . . . (δραχμὴν) μίαν, / α.

ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,
Μεχ(εὶρ) κη, (διὰ) τῆς Χαιρή(μονος) καὶ μετόχ(ων) τρα(πέζης) λαογ(ραφίας) γ (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ̄(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η. μη(νὸς) Γερμα(νικείου) ε λαογ(ραφίας) γ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑικ(ῆς) γ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν τετρ(ώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). Ἐπεὶφ ε χωμα(τικοῦ) γ (ἔτους) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) ἓξ (τετρώβολον), / ϛ (τετρώβολον). α (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ιγ, λαογ(ραφίας) α (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ̄(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑικῆ(ς) α (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν (τετρώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον). ἐπα(γομένων) γ χω(ματικοῦ) α (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ (τετρώβολον), / ϛ (τετρῶβολον).

ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,
Μεχ(εὶρ) α, (διὰ) τῆς Χαιρή(μονος) καὶ μετό(χων) τρα(πέζης)
λαογ(ραφίας) β (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ̄(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η.

Col. II.

ἔτους β Σερουίου Γάλβα Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶ̄(φι) ε, διαγέγρα(πται) διὰ Δωρί(ωνος) καὶ Χαιρή(μονος) τρα(πέζης) χωμα(τικοῦ) α (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ̄(νις) Θοώ(νιος) τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ τετρώ(βολον), / ϛ (τετρώβολον).

ἔτους πρώτου Αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου Ὄθωνος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμε(νὼθ) κα [

διαγέγρα(πται) διὰ Δωρί(ωνος) καὶ Χαιρή(μονος) τρα(πέζης) λαογ(ραφίας)
α (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ̂(νις) Θοώ(νιος) τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος) σ . . . (δραχμὰς)
ὀκτώι, / η.
μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ε λαογ(ραφίας) α (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) ϛ . . . (δραχμὰς)
τέσσαρας, / [δ]. ὑικ(ῆς) α (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν τετρ(ώβο-
λον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
β (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβασ[το]ῦ, μη(νὸς)
Σεβαστοῦ ε, χωμα(τικοῦ) α (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄
Θοῶ̂(νις) Θοώ(νιος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ (τετρώβολον), / ϛ (τετρώβολον). . . φ( ) α
(ἔτους) διὰ Διδ(ύμου) χε( ) ὀβολ(όν), / (ὀβολόν). β (ἔτους) Φαμε(νὼθ) γ
λαογ(ραφίας) β (ἔτους)
Θοῶ̂(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η. Φαρμ(οῦθι) κϛ λαογ(ραφίας)
β (ἔτους) Θοῶ̃(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέ[σ]σαρας, / δ. ὑικ(ῆς)
β (ἔτους)
ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν τετρώ(βολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου κη χωμα(τικοῦ) β (ἔτους) ὁ [α(ὐτὸς)] (δραχμὰς) [ἓξ]
(τετρώβολον), / ϛ (τετρώβολον).
γ (ἔτους) Φαμε(νὼθ) γ λαογ(ραφίας) γ (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶνις Θοώ(νιος)
ϛ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η. μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ε
λαογ(ραφίας) γ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑικ(ῆς) γ
(ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν τετρώ(βολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α
(τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). μη(νὸς) Καισαρείου γ χωμα(τικοῦ) γ [(ἔτους)
λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ̂(νις) Θοώ(νιος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ (τετρώβολον), / ϛ (τετρώβολον). δ
(ἔτους) Μεχ(εὶρ) κθ (διὰ) τῆς Χαιρή(μονος) καὶ Ἀπολ(λωνίου) τοῦ
κ(αὶ) . . . ( ) τρα(πέζης) λαογ(ραφίας) δ (ἔτους) Θοῶ̂(νις) Θ[οώ(νιος)
σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η. μη(νὸς) Γερμανικείου ε λαογ(ραφίας) δ (ἔτους)
ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. [ὑ]ικ(ῆς) δ (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς)
(δραχμὴν) μίαν (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).
ε (ἔτους) Φαῶ̂(φι) ε δ[ιὰ
Χαιρή(μονος) καὶ υἱῶν Ἀπολ(λωνίου) τοῦ κ(αὶ) . . . . ( ) τρα(πέζης) χωμα-
(τικοῦ) δ (ἔτους) Θοῶ̃(νις) Θοώ(νιος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ (τετρώβολον), / ϛ
(τετρώβολον). Φαρμ(οῦθι) κζ Σεβαστῆι λαογ(ραφίας) ε (ἔτους) Θοῶ̂(νις)
[Θοώ(νιος)
σ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η. Πα(ῦνι) β λαογ(ραφίας) ε (ἔτους) Θοῶ̂(νις)
Θοώ(νιος) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑικῆ(ς) ε (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς)

(δραχμὴν) μί[αν (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον).

ς (ἔτους) Φὰωφι δ Σ̣ε̣β̣α̣σ̣τ̣ῆ̣ι̣ χωμα(τικοῦ) ε (ἔτους) Θοῶ(νις) Θοώ(νιος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ τετρ(ώβολον), / ς (τετρώβολον). μη(νὸς) Γερμα(νικείου) β λαογ(ραφίας) ς (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) [ὀκτώι], / η.

Πα(ῦνι) γ λαογ(ραφίας) ς (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) τέσσαρας, / δ. ὑικ(ῆς) ς (ἔτους) ὁ α(ὐτὸς) (δραχμὴν) μίαν (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον), / α (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιώβολον). ζ (ἔτους) μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ ε̣ [χω]μα-(τικοῦ) ς (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ [Θοῶ(νις) Θοώ(νιος) (δραχμὰς) ἓξ (τετρώβολον), / ς (τετρώβολον). η (ἔτους) Φαρμ(οῦθι) ε λαογ(ραφίας) η (ἔτους) λ̄ π̄ Θοῶ(νις) Θοώ(νιος) σ̄ . . . (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώι, / η.

I. 2. Thoönis' grandfather is here called Chaeremon, but this Thoönis is nevertheless probably identical with the Thoönis whose grandfather is called Onnophris in I. 5, II. 2, 4, and the woman Τετεο(υς?) in I. 3 is also the same as the woman Τετοεο(υς?) in I. 5. Thoönis was probably connected with Tryphon's family; but he cannot be identical with either of the two persons of that name mentioned in cclxxxviii. 40 and 42. He may, however, be identical with the Thoönis of ccciv.

4. The sum paid for ὑική here by Thoönis and his brother is exactly double that paid by Thoönis alone.

5. The χωματικόν in this papyrus, as in cclxxxviii, is regularly paid during one of the months of the inundation, Epeiph, Mesore (Καισάρειος), Thoth (Σεβαστός), or Phaophi, a circumstance which agrees very well with the hypothesis that the tax was the alternative for five days' personal work (introd. to cclxxxviii). In most second century receipts for χωματικόν, however, e.g. B. G. U. 359, Brit. Mus. Pap. CCXCVI, the payment takes place much later.

9. Σωτήριος = Payni, cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. CXLI. 2; but there is an error here, for the second instalment of λαογραφία is paid on Πα¯, i.e. Πα(ῦνι), 4. Πα(χών) is unlikely there because in this papyrus that month is called Germaniceus, and in II. 6 Πα¯ must be Payni since it is clearly distinguished from Germaniceus. Moreover, even if Πα¯ in I. 9 could mean Πα(χών), the order of the months would be wrong. Probably, therefore, Σωτηρείου is a mistake for either Γερμανικείου or Φαμενώθ, in which months the first instalment of λαογραφία was paid in the other years.

II. 7. χ̣ε( ): or, possibly, ἀδε(λφοῦ).

CCXC. Work on the Embankments.

27·8 × 9·1 *cm.* 83–84 A. D.

Part of a list of 'private embankments.' The portion preserved refers to an embankment in process of construction at the village of Τύχις Νεκῶτις, and a statement is given of the persons erecting it and of the size of their respective

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Σαραπίωνο(ς) ς,
Πετσίριος το(ῦ) κ(αὶ) Ἀνικήτ(ου) Ἰναρω( )
υἱῶν γ (ἥμισυ),
ἄρο(υραι) υα (ἥμισυ) (τρίτον).
καὶ ἀπὸ λιβ(ὸς) δημοσίου Χώματ(ος)
[. . . . .]οι[. .] . δημοσι( )
. . . . . .

25. β corr. from α.

6. Τύχ(ιος) Νεκώ(τιος): cf. cclxxx. 8.

7. κατ' ἐπιβολήν: the general meaning of the passage clearly is that the contributions of the individuals mentioned were proportional to the extent of their property. In Petrie Papyri, II. xxiii, the word is used in reference to χώματα in the sense of 'building up'; while in C. P. R. I. 16 ἐπιβολὴ κώμης is one of the burdens imposed upon land. Neither of these meanings suits the present passage, which is rather to be compared with B. G. U. 444. 19 τὰ] κατὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν γεγενῆσθαι κατ' ἐπιβολήν.

10. The length of the χῶμα was apparently $\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{6}$ of a σχοινίον. For σχοινίον as a measurement of land, cf. Petrie Papyri, II. xxxvi, and Brit. Mus. Pap. CLXVII, where Mr. Kenyon (*Cat.* II. p. 130, note) gives it the value of 100 cubits. The Tabulae Heronianae mention σχοινία of 40 and 48 cubits; but more probably the longer σχοινίον is meant here, for $\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{6}$ of it, if the σχοινίον refers to the length of the χῶμα, is in any case a very short distance.

11, 12. Ὡρίωνος . . . Δημήτρι⟨ο⟩ς: throughout the list the nominative and genitive cases are indiscriminately used in the names of the landowners.

21. προστάτου: cf. note on ccxcix. 4.

22. τετέλ(εσται) ἀποπιμπ(λάς): the meaning may be that Petsiris had discharged his obligations in the matter; ἀποπιμπ(λάς) recurs in 28. If τετέλ(εσται) is right Ηετσί(ριος) το(ῦ) should have been Πετσῖ(ρις) ὁ.

CCXCI. Letter of a Strategus.

23 × 15 *cm.* A.D. 25–26.

Letter from Chaereas, who was strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. ccxlvi. 1), to Tyrannus, διοικητής, with reference to certain details of financial administration. Of the position and duties of the διοικητής at this period little is known; but the rank of Tyrannus was clearly very different from that of the high official of the same title who is dignified by the adjective κράτιστος, and is sometimes referred to in papyri of the third century. The tone of this letter (cf. also ccxcii) shows that the status of Tyrannus was probably inferior to that of the strategus, who places his own name first and writes in the most familiar manner. In the Ptolemaic period there seem to have been subordinate

dioecetae besides the chief of the treasury at Alexandria (Rev. Pap. p. 123); and the chief financial officials of the nome, the oeconomus and antigrapheus, were under their control. But the relations of the διοικητής in the Roman period to the strategus, who now became the most important financial official in the nomes, is uncertain [1].

The letter is written in a fine, bold, semi-uncial hand, with an unusual tendency to separation of words. ccxcii, which is also addressed to Tyrannus, is in the same handwriting; probably both letters were written by a professional scribe attached to the strategus.

Χαιρέας Τυράννωι τῶι φιλτάτωι
πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
τ[ὴν] ἔκθεσιν τοῦ ιβ̄ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου
Καί[σαρ]ος Σεβαστοῦ σειτικὴν καὶ
ἀρ[γ]υρικὴν εὐθέως γράψον,
ἐ[πεὶ] Σεουῆρος μοι ἐνετείλατο
πρὸς ἀπαίτησιν· καὶ προέγρα-
ψ[ά σοι] ἀνδραγαθῖ[ν] καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν
μ[έχ]ρι ὑγια[ί]νων παρ[α]γένωμαι.
[μὴ ο]ὖν ἀμελήσῃς καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ
[. (ἔτους) μ]έχρι ιᾱ (ἔτους) ἑτο[ῖ]μα ποίησον
[εἰς τὴ]ν ἀπαίτησιν σιτικὰ καὶ
[ἀργυρικά].
ἔρρωσο.

On the *verso*

Τυράννωι διοικητῆι.

3. ἐκθεσιν: κ is written above a χ which has not been deleted.

'Chaereas to his dearest Tyrannus, many greetings. Write out immediately the list of arrears both of corn and money for the twelfth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, as Severus has given me instructions for demanding their payment. I have already written to you to be firm and demand payment until I come in peace. Do not therefore neglect this, but prepare the statements of corn and money from the . . . year to the eleventh for the presentation of the demands. Good-bye.' Addressed 'To Tyrannus, dioecetes.'

3. ἔκθεσιν: cf. cclxxii. 18, note.
7. πρὸς ἀπαίτησιν: cf. ccxcviii. 19.

[1] Cf. Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* I. 492 sqq. He thinks that *each* nome had a διοικητής in the Ptolemaic period, and that these διοικηταί were in the Roman period succeeded by imperial *procuratores*.

CCXCII. Letter of Recommendation.

20 × 14·7 *cm.* About A. D. 25.

Another letter to Tyrannus (cf. introd. to ccxci), from Theon, introducing and commending to the favourable notice of the dioecetes the writer's brother Heraclides.

The letter is in the same handwriting as ccxci, but is rather more cursively written.

Θέων Τυράννωι τῶι τιμιωτάτωι
πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
Ἡρακλείδης ὁ ἀποδιδούς σοι τὴν
ἐπιστολήν ἐστίν μου ἀδελφός·
διὸ παρακαλῶ σε μετὰ πάσης δυνά-
μεως ἔχειν αὐτὸν συνεσταμέ-
νον. ἠρώτησα δὲ καὶ Ἑρμί[α]ν
τὸν ἀδελφὸν διὰ γραπτοῦ ἀνηγεῖ[σθαί
σοι περὶ τούτου. χαρίεσαι δέ μοι τὰ μέγιστα
ἐάν σου τῆς ἐπισημασίας τύχηι.
πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὑγια(ῖ)νειν σε εὔχ[ο-
μαι ἀβασκάντως τὰ ἄριστα
πράττων. ἔρρω(σο).

On the *verso*

Τυράννωι διοικ(ητῆ).

9. σοι περι inserted above line. l. χαρίσει.

'Theon to his esteemed Tyrannus, many greetings. Heraclides, the bearer of this letter, is my brother. I therefore entreat you with all my power to treat him as your protégé. I have also written to your brother Hermias asking him to communicate with you about him. You will confer upon me a very great favour if Heraclides gains your notice. Before all else you have my good wishes for unbroken health and prosperity. Good-bye.' Addressed 'To Tyrannus, dioecetes.'

6. συνεσταμένον: literally 'as one recommended to you.' Or perhaps συνεσταμένος here has the sense which it has in the phrase συνεσταμένος ὑπό (e. g. cccxxxi–ii), i. e. 'give him an appointment.' But though this was probably the writer's real meaning, the use of ἔχειν is in favour of the other interpretation.

9. χαρίεσαι: for the form cf. G. P. II. xiv (c). ἢ χαρίεισαί μοι τοῦτο ποιήσας.

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CCXCIV. Letter from Alexandria.

23·1 × 13 *cm.* A.D. 22.

This letter is of more than ordinary interest, but it has unfortunately suffered by mutilation. Sarapion, the writer, was concerned in some case which was to go to the praefect's court. Apparently news had reached Sarapion on arrival at Alexandria that among other events his house had been searched during his absence, and he now sends to his brother Dorion for further information, with a view to a petition to the praefect. He adds for Dorion's benefit a few items of news: that he was thinking of entering the household of the chief attendant at the praefect's court, which would strengthen his position at the trial; and that two officials in the retinue of the strategus (of the Oxyrhynchite nome?) were under arrest by order of the praefect until the session commenced. Whether the officials in question were connected with Sarapion's case does not appear. The writer concludes with some jocose remarks about his friends.

'Ο διαλογι[σμὸς . . . . . .
Σαραπίων Δω[ρίωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαί-
ριν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑ̣[γιαίνιν. ἐπὶ τῷ̣ γεγο-
νέναι ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ̣ [τῇ . . τοῦ ὑπογε-
γραμμένου μηνὸς ἔμ[αθον παρά τινων
ἀλιέ̣ων εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρι[αν . . . . . ὅ-
τι Σα[. .]ειλλα προσοινθ[. . . . . .
παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐν αὐλῇ̣, καὶ ὁ οἶκος . . . . . .
Σεκόνδας ἠραύνηται κ[αὶ . . . . . .
ὁ ἐμ[ὸς] οἶκος ἠραύνητ[αι . . . . . .
καὶ σεσύνηται εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχι ἀσφα-
λῶς. εὖ οὖν ποιήσις γράψας μοι ἀντιφώνη[σ]ιν
περὶ τούτων εἵνα καὶ ⟨ἐ⟩γὼ αὐτὸς ἐπιδῶ ἀνα-
φόριον τῷ ἡγεμόνι. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσις, ἐγὼ
δὲ αὐτὸς οὔπω οὐδὲ ἐνήλεπα ἕως ἀκούσω φάσ-
ιν παρὰ σοῦ περὶ ἁπάντων. ἐγὼ δὲ βιάζο-
μαι ὑπὸ φίλω[ν] γενέσθαι οἰκιακὸς τοῦ ἀρχι-
στάτορος Ἀπολλωνίου εἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ̣ ἐπὶ δι-
αλογισμὸν ἔλ̣[θ]ω. [ὁ] μὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρα-
[τ]ηγοῦ κ[αὶ Ἰοῦ]στος ὁ μαχαιροφόρος ἐν κ̣οσ-

[τ]ωδε[ίᾳ εἰσί], ὡς ἐπέταξεν ὁ ἡγεμών, ἕως
ἐπὶ διαλ[ογισ]μός, ἐὰν μή τι πίσωσι τὸν ἀρχι-
στάτορα δο[ῦν]αι εἰκανὸν ἕως ἐπὶ διαλο-
γισμόν. περὶ δ[ὲ] τοῦ φαλακροῦ γράψον μοι πῶς
πάλιν ἄνω λαλαχεύεται. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποι-
ήσῃς. εἶπον δὲ Διογένι τῷ φίλῳ σου μὴ ἀδικῆ-
σαί με πε[. . . .] εἰς δαπάνην οὗ ἔχι μου·
συναναχ[. . . γ]ὰρ τῷ ἀρχιστάτορι. ἐρωτῶ δέ σε
καὶ παρακαλ[ῶ γρά]ψει μοι ἀντιφώνησιν περὶ
τῶν γενομέν[ων. πρ]ὸ μὲν πάντων σεαυτοῦ
ἐπιμέλου εἶν' ὑ[γιαίνῃς]. ἐπισκωποῦ Δημητροῦ[ν
καὶ Δωρίωνα· [τὸν πατ]έρα. ἔ[ρ]ρωσο.
(ἔτους) θ Τιβερίου Καίσαρ[ος Σεβαστοῦ, Χο]ίακ ιε.

On the *verso*

ἀπόδο(ς) Δωρίωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷι.

22. l. διαλογισμόν. 24. κ in φαλακρου corr. from α or λ. 27. After μου a blank space. 29. l. γράψαι. 31. l. ἐπισκοποῦ.

'Sarapion to his brother Dorion greeting and good wishes for continued health. On arriving at Alexandria on the . . . of the month below written, I learned from some fishermen who were at Alexandria that . . . and that Secunda's house has been searched and that my house has been searched, and . . . whether this is certainly so. I shall therefore be obliged if you will write me an answer on this matter, in order that I may myself present a petition to the praefect. Be sure to do this; I am not so much as anointing myself until I hear word from you on each point. I am being pressed by my friends to enter the service of Apollonius, the chief usher, in order that I come to the session in his company. The marshal of the strategus and Justus the sword-bearer are in prison, in accordance with the instructions of the praefect, until the session,—unless indeed they persuade the chief usher to give security for them until the session. Let me hear about our bald friend, how his hair is growing again on the top; be sure you do. I told your friend Diogenes not to rob me over the expense of what he has of mine; for I am . . . with the chief usher. I beg and entreat you to write me a reply concerning what has happened. Before all else take care of your health. Look after Demetrous and our father Dorion. Good-bye.' Date. Addressed, 'Deliver to my brother Dorion.'

1. This remark inserted at the top of the letter perhaps informed Dorion of the date when the session would commence. For διαλογισμός, cf. e.g. B. G. U. 19, I. 13 τῷ διεληλυθότι διαλογισμῷ.

11. σεσύνηται is a curious word; there is no doubt about the reading. Perhaps σεσύληται was intended, and εἰ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. may be an elliptical indirect question.

15. ἐνήλεπα: a strangely formed perfect from ἐναλείφω. In another (unpublished) letter from Oxyrhynchus a man declares to his sister that as a token of sympathy he has not washed for a month. The division φάσ|ιν violates the ordinary canon; the writer elsewhere shows himself to be rather uneducated.

25. λαλαχεύω is a new verb having the sense of λαχνόω.

26–28. This remark is perhaps a humorous allusion to Sarapion's relations to the ἀρχιστάτωρ:—'I have told your friend to mind what he is about, for have I not the usher at my back?' πε[ρισσά] is rather long for the lacuna in 27, and πέ[ρα] scarcely fills it up.

CCXCV. Letter of a Daughter.

25 x 8·4 *cm.* About A. D. 35.

A short letter composed of a series of laconic messages from a daughter to her mother.

The papyrus was found with ccxciii, ccxciv, etc., and is of the same early period.

Θαεισοῦς Συρᾶτι τῇ
μητρί. γίνωσκε ὅτι
Σέλευκος ἐλθὼν
ὧδε πέφευγε.
μὴ σκ{λ}ύλλε ἑα-
τὴν ἐνπῆναι.
προσδέχου ἰς τὸν
ἐνιαυτὸν Λου-
κία. γράψον μοι
τὴν ἡμέραν.
ἄσπασαι σὺ
Ἀμμωνᾶν
τὸ[ν] ἀδελφόν μου
κα[ὶ] . ραπ[.]ν καὶ
[τ]ὴ[ν ἀδε]λφὴν
[. . . . . .]α[. . .
. . . .

In the left-hand margin

καὶ Θεωνᾶν τὸν παρ[έ]ρα.

'Thaisous to her mother Syras. I must tell you that Seleucus came here and has fled. Don't trouble yourself to explain (?). Let Lucia wait until the year. Let me know the day. Salute Ammonas my brother and . . . and my sister . . . and my father Theonas.'

6. ἐνπῆναι: for ἐμφῆναι? But the sense is obscure.

7–8. προσδέχου . . . Λουκία: the same construction occurs in cccxcviii. 22–3 Κλεόνικος ὕπαγε, καὶ ἄλλος ἐλεύσεται. Perhaps the full-stop should be placed after ἐνιαυτόν.

CCXCVI. Letter concerning Taxation.

11·3 x 7·4 *cm.* First century.

Letter from Heraclides to Asclatas, asking him to pay the bearer the poll-tax for Mnesitheus and the ναύβιον. The meaning of this word has long been a puzzle to editors, but there is no need to discuss here the various solutions

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'Αμμώνιος 'Αμμωνίωι
τῶι πατρὶ χαίρειν.
καλῶς ποιήσεις
γράψεις διὰ πιττακίων
τὸν ἀπολογισμὸν
τῶν [π]ρ[ο]βάτων
τί σοι προσεγένετο
ἀπὸ ἀρνέας παρὰ
τὴν πρώτην ἀπο-
γραφὴν ἐπι-
[. . .]τ̣εντο̣[. ἀπο]λογισμ(ο .)
[. . . .]α̣τ̣ι̣κ̣[. . .ἔρρ]ω̣(σο).
[(ἔτους)] ι̣δ̣ Τιβερίου [Κλα]υδίου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορ(ος),
'Επεὶφ κ̣θ̣̄.

On the *verso*

'Αμμωνίωι τ[ῶι πατρί.

'Ammonius to his father Ammonius greeting. Kindly write me in a note the record of the sheep, how many more you have by the lambing beyond those included in the first return . . . Good-bye. The fourteenth year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 29.'

CCXCVIII. Letter of a Tax-Collector.

22·9 × 18·5 *cm.* First century A. D.

A long and rather garrulous epistle, which occupies both sides of the papyrus, from a man to a friend. The names of both writer and recipient are lost, but the former was an official apparently in the finance department. He talks of visiting various nomes and getting in arrears of payment, and of reports received from Alexandria. But the letter is for the most part occupied with private affairs.

[17 letters]ωι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν.
[ἔσχον ἐπιστολὴν παρ]ὰ Παυσιρίωνος τῇ κ̄ε̄ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς
[17 letters] καὶ ἀνέγνων τὰ διὰ αὐτῆς γεγραμμένα πρῶ-
[τον περὶ 9 letters]ς̣ τοῦ κατακρίματος (δραχμῶν) σ̄ ὅτι ὁ πυρὸς τῆς 'Αρσου-
[15 „]θη, καὶ ὅτι ἡ θρεπτὴ ἀπέ[δ]ρα σε, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ Παυ-
[σιρίωνος τὰς ἀρτά]βας ὀκτὼ οὐκ ἔλαβες καὶ [ὅτ]ι τὴν ἀποχὴν Εὐδαι-
[μ 12 letters πε]ρὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κατακρίματ[ο]ς τὸν πυρὸν πώλη-
[σον 12 „ κ]α̣ὶ̣ πλήρωσον ἐπεὶ ὀφείλομεν δημοσίων καὶ

[16 „]ας δύο ἀμφιδάφους ἀγόρασον καὶ δύο ἐπιβο-
[λὰς 24 „]...ει....υ ἀμφιδάφου καὶ
[20 „] στατῆρας πορφύ[ρ]ας ἀγόρασον ἰς κιθῶ(να)
[16 „] Θαισοῦτι ἄλλο οὐδέν. ταῦτα οὖν οἰκονομήσας
[16 „].μετὰ τῆς μεικρᾶς ἐπεὶ λίαν αὐτὴν ἐπιζητοῦ-
[14 „ τ]οῦ ἀσχολήματος ἐὰν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παραγένῃ παν-
[15 „] ὑπομνηματισμοὶ ἠνέχθησάν μοι ἀπ' Ἀλε-
[ξανδρείας . . . περ]ὶ τῶν κληρονομιῶν. ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο προσοφεί-
[ληται 12 letters]μενος εὐθέως ἀπολήμψῃ ἐν τόσῳ καὶ εἰς
[τὸν . . . . . πο]λείτην διαβαίνω. μεμένηκα ἐν τῷ Λη-
[τοπολείτῃ . . . . ἡμέρ]ας λ̄, μόγις (δραχμὰς) χ ἀπαιτήσας. διέγραψα
[17 letters]ι θέμα δεδώκασι τῶν καταλοχισμῶν, καὶ
[17 „] παιδίωι Σαραπίωνι ἱμάτ[ι]α πεποίηκεν ἐν ου-
[14 „ Θαι]σοῦτι οὐχ [εὕρ]ομεν τὴν ἀποχὴν ἐπεν-
[17 „] ἀνενεγκ[. . . μο]ι εἰς Μέμφιν καὶ τὰ σύμβο-
λα.

On the *verso*

Col. I.

περὶ Ἑρμοδώρου γράφε[ι]ς
μοι λίαν αὐτὸν βαρύνο-
μαι, πάλι γὰρ πάντα ταράσ-
σει. ἐὰν εὕρῃς παρὰ σοὶ
νεώτερον ἐντ[άσ]σειν
ἐν τοῖς γράμμασ[ι] ἔνεγκον,
ἐπεὶ ἀποτάξασθαι αὐτῷ
θέλω, καὶ ὁ Ἀνουβᾶς αὐ-
[τὸ]ν οὐχ ἡδέως [β]λέπει.
ἄσπασαι Πτολεμᾶ[ν] καὶ τοὺς
σοὺς πάντας κατ' ὄνομα.
ἀσπάζεταί σε Σαραπίων
καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν.
οὔπω πολλὴ ὑπώρα ἐγένε-
το ἐν Μέμφι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντ[ο]ς.
ἐπέμψαμεν τοῖς παιδίοι[ς

Col. II.

ἄλλοτε σοι ἔγραψ[α
ἵνα ἐὰν εὕρῃς ἀγ[ο-
ραστὴν τοῦ μέρ[ους
τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐ[ν
Τανάει ἵνα πραθῇ [
περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπαν-
θρωπίας τῶν ἀπ[αιτη-
σάντω⟨ν⟩ ἐγὼ αὐτ[ὸς . . .
. . . [ἀ]ποδώ[σ]ω [. . . .
λ[
ἐπιζητῖ τῳ ε.[. . . .
αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀπογε[. .
κτισται ἕως παραγ[ένη-
ται ἀσπαλίσαι ἡμῶ[ν
τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ . . [. . .

τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κυάμους φ καὶ μῆ-
λα γ̄, καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ σου
Ἀπολλωνοῦτι μῆλ(α) ν̄ καὶ τῇ
μεικρᾷ. ἔρρω(σο). Παῦνι κ̄ς̄.
45 λίαν ἀδημονοῦμεν χάρ[ι]ν
τῆς θρεπτῆς Σαραποῦτος.

9. l. *ἀμφιτάπους*; so in 10. 38. l. *ὀπώρα*. 60. l. *ἀσφαλίσαι*.

25 ff. 'You write to me about Hermodorus that I am too severe with him, for he is upsetting everything again. If you find where you are a young man to replace him, tell me when you write, since I wish to get rid of Hermodorus, and Anoubas looks upon him with no kindly eye. My salutations to Ptolema and to all your household individually. Sarapion salutes you and so do we all. There has not been much fruit at Memphis up to the present. I send however for your brother's children 500 beans and 50 apples, and 50 apples for your sister Apollonous and the little one. Good-bye. Pauni 26. I am excessively concerned on account of the foster-child Sarapous. I wrote to you on another occasion, if you find a purchaser for the share of the house at Tanais, to let it be sold. As for the cruelty of the collectors, I myself will be responsible for that . . .'

1. The number of letters lost at the beginnings of the lines is of course uncertain; it is estimated throughout the column on the basis of the supplements proposed in 2 and 6, which seem very probable. On the other hand in 16 and 19, where the lacunae are of the same size as in 2 and 6, the sense is completed with a rather shorter supplement; so possibly *τάς* should be omitted in 6 and a shorter word (? *φάσιν*) substituted for *ἐπιστολήν* in 2.

18. *-πο]λείτην*: the name of a nome is to be supplied.

19. *ἀπαιτήσας*: cf. ccxci. 7, 12.

26. It is not clear whether *λίαν αὐτὸν βαρύνομαι* is for *λίαν αὐτῷ βαρύνομαι* or for *λίαν αὐτὸν βαρύνω*. The first makes better sense, but the second is nearer the Greek.

46. *τῆς θρεπτῆς*: cf. 5.

58. *οὐκ ἀπογε[γαλά]|κτισται*? But the subject can hardly be the *μικρά* mentioned in 13 and 44, for she was old enough to eat apples.

59. *ἕως παραγ[ένη]ται*: it is not clear whether this goes with what precedes or with what follows.

CCXCIX. Letter concerning a Mouse-Catcher.

5·4 × 10·8 *cm.* Late first century.

Letter from Horus to Apion about the payment of a mouse-catcher and other matters.

Ὧρος Ἀπίωνι τῷ τειμειωτάτωι χαίρειν.
Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῇ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ διὰ σοῦ ἀρα-
βῶνα (δραχμὰς) η ἵνα μυοθηρεύσει ἔντοκα. καλῶς ποιήσεις

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'Indike to Thaisous greeting. I sent you the bread-basket by Taurinus the camel man; please send me an answer that you have received it. Salute my friend Theon and Nicobulus and Dioscorus and Theon and Hermocles, who have my best wishes. Longinus salutes you. Good-bye.'

9. *ἀβασκάντους*: cf. CCXCii. 12.
11. *Γερμανικ(είου)* or *Γερμανικ(οῦ)*, cf. CCLXVi. 2.

VI. DESCRIPTIONS OF FIRST CENTURY PAPYRI.

(*a*) *Literary.*

CCCI. Σίλλυβος intended to be attached to a roll (cf. ccclxxxi) containing the title ΣΩΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΜΙΜΟΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΙΟΙ, written in uncials. Late first or early second century. 2·8 × 12·5 cm.

CCCII. Fragment of a historical work containing the ends of 8 lines and beginnings of 7 more. Col. II. 3–7 begin (Κυ)ζικηνῶν [, πληρῶσαι τα[, μεν τῆι πόλ[ει, . . . ἀποκ[, εἰ[ς Χ]ρυσόπολιν [. Early first century uncial. 6 x 8·6 cm.

CCCIII. Prose literary fragment containing the beginnings of 9 lines. Line 4 ληνης κύκλου ὃς ἐπ̣[, 5 ἐλάχιστος ἀπὸ τῶν [. Careful uncial. First century A. D., probably not later than Nero's reign. Ξ is formed by three distinct strokes (cf. p. 318). 7 × 7·2 cm.

(*b*) *Papyri concerning Tryphon, son of Dionysius, and documents found with them.*

CCCIV. Acknowledgement by Tryphon of the loan of 104 drachmae from Thoönis, son of Thoönis (cf. cclxxxix), with signatures of Tryphon and Thoönis, docket of the bank of Ammonius and Epimachus, and receipt for the repayment. Cancelled as far as line 28. Same formula as cclxix. Dated in the second year of Nero Claud. Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A. D. 55). Complete. 36 lines. 36 × 13·9 cm.

CCCV. Acknowledgement by Heracleus, son of Soterichus, and his wife Thermoutharion, ἀπελευθέρα Σωτάδου (cf. cclv. 8), of the loan of 104 drachmae from Thoönis Πατβέως. The money was paid through the ἰδιωτικὴ τράπεζα of Harpocration. Signature of Heracleus, docket of the bank, and receipt for repayment. Cancelled as far as line 30. Same formula as cclxix. Dated in the sixth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug. (A. D. 20). Nearly complete. 32 lines. 33·9 × 16·5 cm.

CCCVI. Gizeh Museum Inv. No. 10003. Acknowledgement by Antiphanes, son of Heraclas (cf. cclx. 8, cccxviii), of the repayment by Tryphon of a loan of 160 drachmae contracted *διὰ τοῦ μνημονείου* in Payni. Dated in Epeiph of the fifth year of Nero Claud. Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A. D. 59). Practically complete. 28 lines. 37·4 x 12·5 cm.

The papyrus concludes *μὴ ἐλατ⟨τ⟩ουμένο(υ) τοῦ Τρύφων[ος] ἐν τῇ ἐξακολουθούσῃ τῷ Ἀντιφάνε[ι] βεβαιώσει ἧς ἠγόρασεν παρ' αὐτοῦ οἰ[κ]ί[α]ς ἀκολούθως τῇ εἰς αὐτὸ[ν] γεγουνίᾳ κα[ταγ]ραφῇ*; cf. cclxviii. 21–2.

CCCVII. Gizeh Museum Inv. No. 10012. Horoscope. Imperfect. First century A. D. 20 lines. 19·7 x 19·6 cm.

CCCVIII. Copies of tax receipts, similar to cclxxxviii and cclxxxix, in two columns, recording various payments by Tryphon for *γερδιακὸν Τεμεν(ούθεως)*, *λαογραφία*, *ὑική*, and *χωματικὸν Τε(μενούθεως)*, from the sixth to the tenth years of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. The payments under the last two heads are 1 drachma 4 obols, and 6 drachmae 4 obols respectively, those for *γερδιακόν* and *λαογραφία* do not appear to be complete; cf. introd. to cclxxxviii. The entries were made at different times. A. D. 45–50. Nearly perfect. 17 lines. 24·5 × 51·2 cm.

CCCIX. Copies of tax-receipts, similar to the preceding papyrus, in four short columns, referring to various payments by Thoönios *ἀπελ(εύθερος) Πτολ(εμαίου)*. The second column records the payment of 36 drachmae in all (cf. cclxxxviii) for *γερδιακόν* of the fifth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug.; the third, also dated in the fifth year of Tiberius, mentions payments for *χωματικόν* (6 drachmae 4 obols) and other taxes; the fourth column, dated in the fourth year, also mentions *χωματικόν* (6 drachmae 4 obols), &c. The first column, which is incomplete, records payments of *γερδιακόν*. A. D. 17–19. Nearly perfect. 23 lines in all. 8 × 40·8 cm.

CCCX. Receipt showing that Apion, son of Tryphon, had paid 36 drachmae in all for the *γερδιακὸν Τευμε(νούθεως)*; cf. introd. to cclxxxviii and cccviii. Dated in the second year of Nero Claud. Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp., Payni 20 *Σεβα(στῆι)* (June 14, A. D. 56). Complete. 6 lines. 11·7 × 14 cm.

CCCXI. Receipt showing that Tryphon had paid in the ninth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug. 12 drachmae for *ἐπικ(εφάλαιον) Ἱππoδ(ρόμου)*, 2 drachmae 1½ obols for *ὑική*, and 6 drachmae 4 obols for *χωματικόν*; cf. cclxxxviii. 7–11. A. D. 22–3. Nearly complete. 6 lines. 11·2 × 8 cm.

CCCXII. Receipt for a payment through the bank of Dorion and Ptolemaeus of 3 drachmae 4½ obols (i. e. a little over half the full amount) for *χωματικόν* of the twenty-second year of Tiberius by a person whose name is lost.

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her son-in-law Dionysius, to Tryphon, Saraeus, and Onnophris, Tryphon's brother. Similar formula to cclxix. Dated in the fifth year of Nero Claud. Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp., Payni 25 (the day added later) (A.D. 59). At the end a docket (in a second hand) with same date *δι' Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ πρὶν κεχρη(ματικότος) Σεκῦνδου τοῦ συνεσταμένου ὑπὸ τῶν μετόχων ἀγο(ρανόμων) κεχρη(μάτισται)*. Cancelled. Endorsed on the *verso*. Practically complete. 28 lines. 36 x 17 cm.

CCCXXI. Beginnings of 27 lines of an agreement between Tryphon and Saraeus concerning the nurture of their infant daughter. Cf. introd. to cclxvii. Written in the reign of Gaius or Claudius. Cancelled. 26·2 x 7 cm.

CCCXXII. Contract between Thamounion, acting with her son Tryphon, and Abarus a weaver, apprenticing to him her son Onnophris (cf. cccxx) for two years. Similar formula to cclxxv. Dated in the twenty-third year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Sebastus (A.D. 36). Incomplete. 47 lines. 34·8 × 9·5.

CCCXXIII. Part of the signatures to a loan of money (cancelled), with acknowledgement of the repayment to the lender and docket of the bank of Pamphilus stating *περιλέλυται ἡ διαγραφή*. One of the parties was a member of the Althean deme. Repayment dated in the twenty-second year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Choiach (A.D. 35). 18 lines: 18·3 x 12·2 cm.

CCCXXIV. Latter part of a petition, addressed probably to the strategus, by Tryphon, complaining of an assault upon him and his wife Saraeus by a woman and other persons unnamed; cf. introd. to cclxvii. Signature of Tryphon (in a second hand) written by Zoilus. Dated in the eleventh year of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp., Neos Sebastus (A.D. 50). 15 lines. 18·3 x 11·2 cm.

CCCXXV. Two fragments of a letter to Onnophris from his father (whose name is lost), asking him to come, &c. Dated in the second year of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp., Neos Sebastus 20 *Σεβαστῇ* (Nov. 16 A.D. 41). 28 lines. 18·5 × 7·8 cm. (fragment *b*).

CCCXXVI. *Recto*. Letter from [Ammoni]us to his father Ammonius (cf. ccxcvii) chiefly about writing materials. Lines 7–14, *οὐκ ἔλαβον ἀργύριον παρὰ [τῶν πρ]οπόλων ἀφ' οὗ ἀπεδήμη[σα. π]αρατέθεικα τῇι μητρὶ Φιλου[μέν]ηι τὸ βροχίον τοῦ μέλανος* ('the ink pot') *καὶ τοὺς κ[αλά]μους καὶ τὸ σμηλίο[ν ὅ]πως γακήσῃ τοὺς καλάμους γεγρ[αμ]μένους καὶ τ[ὸν] τριβακὸν [.....] καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα*. Incomplete. 15 lines. About A.D. 45. On the *verso* address, and in the same (?) hand a short account, *τιμῆ(ς) συρι( )* 4 drachmae, *σκάφη(ς) . ., κέντρω(νος) . ., σακκ̣ί̣(ου) εἰς σάγμ(α) . ., κεντρωνορ(ίου) . ., καμη-*

λίωνο(s) 3 drachmae 1 obol, σάγματος 2 drachmae, ἱμανταρίου 2 obols. 17 x 12·5 cm.

(c) *Notices to the agoranomi.*

CCCXXVII. Notice sent to the agoranomus by a person whose name is lost and οἱ μέτοχ(οι) to register (καταγράφειν) the sale of the half share of a slave Dioscorus also called Dionysius, about thirty years of age. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Late first century. Imperfect, only the beginning being preserved. 8 lines. 4·5 x 8·2 cm.

CCCXXVIII. Beginning of a notice to the agoranomus from Theon, son of Sarapion (cf. cccxxxvi), to register (καταγράφειν) a sale. Same formula as ccxli–iii. About A. D. 85. 5 lines. 5·6 x 7·6 cm.

CCCXXIX. Beginning of a notice to the agoranomus from Theon ὁ συνεσταμένος ὑπὸ Διον(υσίου) καὶ τ(ῶν) μετόχ(ων) to register a contract of loan. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Late first century. 7 lines. 5·5 x 6·4 cm.

CCCXXX. Notice from Claudius Antoninus, ὁ συνεσταμέ[νος ὑπὸ] Σαραπίωνος, to the agoranomus to register the sale of 1½ βῖκοι (cf. O. P. I. c. 10) of ψιλοὶ τόποι near the Serapeum ἐπὶ τ[ῇ λεγομένῃ] τῶν Ἱππέων χορτοθήκηι at the price of 240 silver drachmae. Same formula as ccxli–iii. A.D. 77–83; cf. ccxlii, cccxxxi. Imperfect. 17 lines. 13·7 x 10·3 cm.

CCCXXXI. Notice from [Chaeremon] ὁ συνεσταμένος ὑπὸ Κλα[υ]δίου [Ἀντωνείνου] (cf. ccxliii. 1) to the agoranomus to register the sale of ⅔ of a house at the price of 400 silver drachmae or 30 talents of copper (cf. introd. to ccxlii). Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the third year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus [Aug. Germ.], Phaophi (A. D. 83). Imperfect. 30 lines. 24 x 9·5 cm.

CCCXXXII. Beginning of a notice to the agoranomus from Dionysius ὁ συνεσταμένος ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος (cf. cccxxxvii) to register the sale of the third part of a slave Sarapous, aged fourteen. Same formula as ccxli–iii. About A. D. 89, cf. cccxxxiii. 10 lines. 7 x 8·5 cm.

CCCXXXIII. Notice from Zeno to the agoranomus to register the sale of a house(?) sold for 700 silver drachmae or 52 talents 3000 drachmae of copper (cf. introd. to ccxlii). Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the eighth year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ., Καισαρείου ἐπαγομένων ᾱ (Aug. 24 A.D. 89). At the end a docket (cf. ccxliii. 45, sqq.) διαγρα(φὴ) τῇ ᾱ τῶν ἐπαγομ(ένων) ἐνκυκλίο(υ) χαλκ(οῦ) πρὸς ἀργ(ύριον) (τάλαντα) ϵ Ἀφ (i.e. 1/10 of the price in copper). Perfect, but defaced in parts. 13 lines. 21·3 x 10·2 cm.

CCCXXXIV. Notice from Apollonius ὁ σ(υνεσταμένος) ὑπὸ Διδύ[μου τοῦ] σ(υν-

εσταμένου) ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Ἀντωνε[ίνου (cf. ccxlii) to the agoranomus to register the sale of a house at the price of [600 drachmae of silver or] 45 talents of copper. Cf. introd. to ccxlii. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the reign of Imp. Caes. Domitianus [Aug.] Germ. About 81–3 A. D. Imperfect. 16 lines. 14·8 × 7·5 cm.

CCCXXXV. Notice from [Theon], son of Sarapion (cf. cccxxxvi), to the agoranomus to register the sale of the sixth part of a house ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἰουδα(ι)κ(οῦ) bought by Νικαίᾳ Σιλ[βα]νῷ Ψουβίου τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρύγχων) πόλ(εως) Ἰου[δ]αίων from Παῦλος. Same formula as ccxli–iii. About A. D. 85. Imperfect. 12 lines. 9·3 × 7 cm.

CCCXXXVI. Notice from Theon, son of Sarapion (cf. cccxxxv), to the agoranomus to register the sale of a slave Ammonous ([οἰκογε]νής, probably a child) at the price of [140 silver drachmae or] 10 talents 3000 drachmae of copper; cf. introd. to ccxlii. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the fifth year of Imp. [Caes.] Domitianus Aug. [Germ.] (A. D. 85–6). Imperfect. 10 lines. 6·1 × 7·4 cm.

CCCXXXVII. Conclusion of a notice from Dionysius (cf. cccxxxii) to the agoranomus to register a sale at a price of 300 silver drachmae or 22 talents 3000 drachmae of copper; cf. introd. to ccxlii. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the eighth year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ., Pharmuthi (A. D. 89). 9 lines. 9·3 x 8·2 cm.

CCCXXXVIII. Notice from Caecilius Clemens (cf. ccxli, cccxl) to the agoranomus to register the sale of the half share of an αὐλὴ ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Μυροβαλάνου for 60 drachmae of silver or 4 talents 3000 drachmae of copper; cf. introd. to ccxlii. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the third year of [Trajan]; cf. cccxl (A. D. 99–100). Nearly complete. 17 lines. 13·5 × 6·2 cm.

CCCXXXIX. Notice from Phanias ὁ συνεσταμένος ὑπὸ Φανίου Σαραπίωνος to the agoranomus to register (ἀναγράφειν) a contract of mortgage of three-fifths of a house and its appurtenances ἐπ' ἀμφόδου νόδου (= νότου ?) δρόμου for a period of three years. Instead of receiving interest the mortgagee was to have the right of living in the house (ἐνοίκησις) on condition of making a yearly payment, the nature of which is obscure, of 4 talents of copper. Same formula as ccxli–iii. Dated in the reign of Imp. [Caes.] Domitianus [Aug. Germ.] (A. D. 81–96). Nearly complete. 23 lines. 14·2 x 10 cm.

CCCXL. Notice from Caecilius Clemens (cf. ccxli) to the agoranomus to register the sale of house property at the price of 180 silver drachmae or 13 talents 3000 drachmae of copper (cf. introd. to ccxlii). Same formula

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τεταγμένου κ.τ.λ. for παρακεχωρημένου, as cccxli and *O.* P. I. xlv–vii. Late first century. Imperfect. 16 lines. 8·7 x 8·8 cm.

CCCXLIX. Beginning of a notice from [.]μηνιος and Didymus οἱ συνεστα[μέ]νοι ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου Μουσαίου to the agoranomus, requesting him to free (πρὸς ἐλευθέρωσιν, apparently a blunder for δὸς ἐλ.) a female slave ἐλευθερουμένη ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον; cf. O. P. I. xlviii–ix. Late first century. 7 lines. 5 x 7 cm.

(d) ἀπογραφαί.

CCCL. Return addressed to Chaereas, strategus, by Thais, of sheep and goats ἃ νεμήσονται . . . διὰ [νο]μέως Διονυσίου . . . λαογραφουμένου εἰς Ταλαώ. Same formula as ccxlv. Dated in the eleventh year of Tiberius Caes. Aug. (A. D. 24–5). *On* the *verso* scribblings. Imperfect. 17 lines. 21 x 10·8 cm.

CCCLI. Return addressed to Chaereas, strategus, by Taosiris, of sheep and goats. Signature of Sarapion, τοπ(άρχης), as in ccxlv. Same formula as ccxlv. Dated in the fourteenth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Mecheir (A. D. 28). Perfect. 24 lines. 29·7 x 5·8 cm.

CCCLII. Return, probably addressed to Chaereas (cf. cccl), of sheep and goats pastured near a village τῆς Θμ[οι]σεφῶ τ[οπαρχί]ας (cf. *O.* P. I. lxii *verso*, 8), with the signature of an official. Same formula as ccxlv. Dated in the fourteenth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Mecheir (A. D. 28). Incomplete. 15 lines. 13·7 x 5 cm.

CCCLIII. Return addressed to Chaereas by Sambathaeus, of sheep and goats pastured near Pela, the shepherd λαογραφουμένου [πε]ρὶ τὸ Σαρύρου ἐποίκιον. Same formula as ccxlv. Written in the thirteenth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug. (A. D. 27–8). Nearly complete. 22 lines. 17·5 x 5·5 cm.

CCCLIV. Return addressed to Theon, τοπάρχης, by Heraclides τοῦ Ἡρακλίδου Χαριτησίου . . . ἐπί τινων χρόνων κεχρηματικότος [. . .] τιος ('sometime called . . . tis'), of sheep and goats pastured περὶ Σε[φὼ τῆ]ς Θμενσεφῶ [τοπαρχίας]. Same formula as ccxlv. Written in the twentieth (?) year of Tiberius Caes. Aug. (A. D. 33–4). Imperfect. 17 lines. 12 x 7·5 cm.

CCCLV. Return addressed to Theon, τοπάρχης, by Tsenpalemis, of sheep and goats. Same formula as ccxlv. Written in the fifth year of Gaius Caes. Imp. (A. D. 40–1). At the top in a second hand Νερωνείο(υ) . . . Incomplete. 15 lines. 11.8 x 5·6 cm.

CCCLVI. Return of sheep and goats with the signature of Apollonius, τοπ(άρχης). Same formula as ccxlv. Dated in the thirteenth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Mecheir (A. D. 27). Imperfect. 20 lines. 14·5 x 5·2 cm.

CCCLVII. Return addressed to a strategus (?) giving the number of sheep and goats in the owner's possession compared with that of the previous year, which were registered *ἐπὶ τοῦ Πάγγα Εἰσείου* (cf. *O.* P. I. ciii. 7). Same formula as *O.* P. I. lxxiv. Late first century. Incomplete. Joined on the left to a similar *ἀπογραφή*, of which the ends of a few lines remain. 18 lines. 15 x 10 cm.

CCCLVIII. Conclusion of a property return dated in the ninth year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ., Pharmuthi (A. D. 90). Cf. ccxlvii and note on *ἀπογραφαί* ccxxxvii. VIII. 31. 12 lines. 17·2 x 10 cm.

CCCLIX. Beginning of a property return addressed to Epimachus and Theon (cf. ccxlvii–ix) by Ammonius. Same formula as ccxlix. Written in the reign of Titus or Domitian (probably in A. D. 80 or 90; cf. note on ccxxxvii. VIII. 31). 11 lines. 7·2 x 7·5 cm.

CCCLX. Fragment of a list of owners of real property with marginal and interlinear annotations, similar to cclxxiv. First century. Parts of 26 lines. 20 x 15·1 cm.

CCCLXI. Conclusion of a census return (cf. introd. to ccliv), containing a list of persons with ages, ending *ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἡ[μ]ῶν ἐγαμήθη τῶι πατρὶ [ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ] ζ (ἔτους) Νέρωνος* (cf. cclvii. 24), *καὶ [ὀ]μνύομεν Αὐτ[ο]κράτορα Καίσαρα [Οὐεσπασιανὸν Σεβαστὸν ἀλη]θῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα. εὐορκοῦσι μὲν ἡμεῖν [εὖ εἴη· κ.τ.λ.* Dated in the ninth year of Imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug. (A. D. 76–77). 13 lines. 16·8 x 18·6 cm.

(*e*) *Contracts, wills, leases.*

CCCLXII. Acknowledgement by Sarapous, acting with her cousin Apollonius, of the repayment by Adrastus of a loan of 500 silver drachmae contracted *διὰ τοῦ μνημονείου* three months previously. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug., Mecheir (A. D. 75). Nearly complete. 19 lines. 12·8 x 13·1 cm.

CCCLXIII. Fragment of a similar acknowledgement of the repayment of a loan contracted in the eighth year of Imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug., Germaniceus. Written in A. D. 77–79. 20 lines. 8·3 x 10·5 cm.

CCCLXIV. Beginning of a contract by which Tiberius Claudius Sarapion *τῶν ἠγορανομηκότων Ἀλεξανδρείας* appoints Theon as his agent to collect certain debts (*συνεστακέναι . . . ἀπαιτήσοντα*). Dated in the thirteenth year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ., Germaniceus (A. D. 94). Joined on the left to a piece of another contract. 14 lines. 9·5 x 10·6 cm.

CCCLXV. Conclusion of a contract, similar to *O.* P. I. xcvii and cclxi,

appointing a representative to appear at court. Late first century. 13 lines. 16·3 x 8·4 cm.

CCCLXVI. Agreement by which Sarapion, son of Ptolemaeus, cedes to a woman acting with her guardian Thoönis 4½ arourae of catoecic land. Dated in the first year of Tib. [Claudius (?) Caes.] Aug. (A. D. 41). Imperfect. 24 lines. 15 x 11·2 cm.

CCCLXVII. Two fragments of an agreement concerning a *γερδιακὸς ἱστός* (cf. cclxiv). Dated in the fourteenth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Pachon (A. D. 28). 19 lines in all. Fragment (*b*) 11·1 × 9·2 cm.

CCCLXVIII. Beginning of a contract for the lease of domain land (*ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν γεωργίων*) near Pela from Sarapion also called Didymus to Artemon for one year; cf. cclxxix. Written in the fourth year of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A. D. 43–4). 6 lines. 7·1 × 13·6 cm.

CCCLXIX. Acknowledgement, similar to ccclxii, of the repayment of a loan of 430 silver drachmae contracted in the second year *θεοῦ Τίτου*. Written soon after A. D. 81. Nearly complete. 28 lines. 12 × 8·6 cm.

CCCLXX. Conclusion of an agreement concerning a payment of 3320 drachmae, ending *ἃς καὶ διαγράψομεν ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν ταῖς ὡρισμέναις προθεσμίαις κατὰ τὸ ἔθος καὶ εἰσοίσομεν τὰ ὑπαλλάγματα ἐφ' ᾧ μενεῖ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος περὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηρητὰς κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον τῆς ὑποσ[τάσεως]*. Dated in the second year of an emperor. Late first century. 14 lines. 10·3 × 12·2 cm.

CCCLXXI. Beginning of a marriage contract, dated in the first year of Imp. N[erva] Caes. Aug., Caesareus (A. D. 97). Parts of 5 lines. Written on the vertical fibres (cf. *O.* P. I. cv). 4·4 x 14 cm.

CCCLXXII. Fragment of a marriage contract, beginning *ἐξέδοτο Ταοννῶφρις* (the mother of the bride). The dowry included a sum of 160 drachmae. Cf. cclxv. Dated in the seventh year of Imp. Caes. Vespasianus [Aug.] (A. D. 74–5). Parts of 15 lines. Written on the vertical fibres; cf. ccclxxi. 10 x 14 cm.

CCCLXXIII. Loan of 1120 drachmae from Selene to Apollonia with her guardian Themistocles *Καισάρειος ὁ καὶ* [. . . . In the event of Apollonia failing to repay, Selene was to take possession of 10 arourae of catoecic land belonging to Apollonia near Sinaroi in the lower toparchy, the neighbouring landmarks being *βορρᾶ γύης, ἀπηλιώτου πλευρισμός*. Cf. cclxxiii. 21, note. Dated in the second year of Imp. Titus Caes. [Vesp. Aug.] (A. D. 79–80). Imperfect. 32 lines. 13 x 10·5 cm.

CCCLXXIV. Conclusion of a lease. After the usual penalties for non-payment of the rent, the document ends *ἐπάναγκον δὲ τὸν με[μ]ι[σθωμ]ένον κυπηρολογήσειν καὶ παραδοῦναι τῶι Διδύμωι τὴν γῆν κ[αθ]αρὰν ἀπὸ κυπήρεως*. Dated

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in the reign of Tiberius Caes. Aug. (A. D. 14–37). Incomplete. 7 lines. 9·5 × 7·7 cm.

CCCLXXXIII. Lower part of a series of receipts for corn, containing a receipt for 3 artabae *δημοσίωι μέτρωι* of wheat, being *ὀφειλ(ήματα)* of the twelfth year of Tiberius, measured by two sitologi *τινῶν κωμῶν* in the eastern *μερίς* of the upper toparchy. Cf. cclxxxvii. Dated in the thirteenth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Mecheir (A. D. 27). 9 lines. 9 x 6·7 cm.

CCCLXXXIV. Receipt for 11¼ artabae of wheat, *ὀφειλή(ματα)* of the eleventh year of Tiberius, from the village of Taruthinus, measured through the sitologi of the middle *μερίς* of the eastern (?) toparchy. Cf. cclxxxvii. Dated in the twelfth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Phaophi (A. D. 25). Nearly perfect. 6 lines. 9·4 x 13 cm.

CCCLXXXV. Receipt for a payment of corn through the sitologi of the eastern toparchy for the seventh year of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ. (A. D. 87–8). Imperfect. 6 lines. 7·3 x 8·7 cm.

CCCLXXXVI. Receipt for 8 and subsequently 2 drachmae paid by Onnophris and his son for a tax the name of which is illegible. Dated in the seventh year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Mecheir (A. D. 21). Complete. 7 lines. 13·1 × 6 cm.

CCCLXXXVII. *On the recto*, fragment of account of money payments (?) by various persons. *On the verso*, part of an account of payments in kind (wheat, meat, wine) in a different hand, headed *Σεβαστῆι ἐν Σενέπτα*. Amongst the persons who appear as receiving (or paying?) are a *σταθμοῦχ(os)*, an *ἐκφόδιος*, *δεκανοί*, and a *προφήτης*. First century. *On* the *recto* 23, on the *verso* 18 lines. 16·8 x 10·2 cm.

CCCLXXXVIII. Fragment of an account of payments for wine, hay, a millstone, &c. First century. *On* the *verso*, part of an account. *On* the *recto* 12, on the *verso* 10 lines. 8·8 x 6·3 cm.

CCCLXXXIX. Part of an account in two columns of which the first has only the ends of lines. Col. II. 1–5, an account connected with building, headed *καὶ τῆι κε τοῦ μη(νὸς) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ*. Among the entries are *κασοπ( ) η*, *ηπη( ) μη*, *κλ[.]δ( ) ιβ*, *ἀστρολ( ) δ*, *οἰκοδ( ) η*, *ἐργα( ) κ*. There follows an account of payments for *λα(ογραφία)*, *χω(ματικόν)*, and *ὑικ(ή)*; cf. introd. to cclxxxviii–ix. The entries are—*Θεω . . ( ) λα(ογρ.)* 80 dr., *χω(μ.)* 14 dr. 1 ob., *ὑικ.* 5 dr. [5½ ob.], total 100 dr. ½ ob. *Ἀμόι(τος) λα(ογρ.)* 40 dr., *χω(μ.)* 136 dr. 1½ ob., *ὑικ.* 14 dr., total 194 dr. 1½ ob. *Ξένω(ν) λα(ογρ.)* 20 dr., *χω(μ.)* 67 dr. 5½ ob., *ὑικ.* 12 dr. ½ ob., total 100 dr. *Ἡρακλείδ(ου) χω(μ.)* 12 dr. 3 ob., *ὑικ.* 26 dr. 4½ ob., total 39½ dr. 1½ ob. *Ἀρθοώ-(νιος) λα(ογρ.)* 16 dr., *χω(μ.)* 6 dr. 4 ob., *ὑικ.* 13 dr. 3 ob., total 36 dr. 1 ob.

Ἀτρίωνο(ς) λα(ογρ.) 24 dr., χω(μ.) [3]3 dr. 2 ob., ὑικ. 6 dr. [4½ ob]., total 64 dr. ½ ob. Δι̣ο̣ννσι(ου) λα(ογρ.) 12 dr., χω(μ.) 6 dr. 4 ob., ὑικ. 5 dr. 5½ ob., total 24 dr. 3½ ob. Παρ( ) λα(ογρ.) 20 dr., χω(μ.) 9 dr. 3½ ob. Since the χω(ματικόν) tax was normally 6 dr. 4 ob. for each person (see introd. to cclxxxviii), only the entries concerning Harthoönis and Dionysius seem to be individual payments; in these two cases the payments for λαογραφία are 16 and 12 dr. respectively; cf. introd. to cclxxxviii. 32 lines. Early first century. 21·2 x 12·8 cm.

CCCXC. Fragment of an account of money payments for various purposes. Among the items are τῶν παλαιστροφυλ(άκων) 1 dr. 5 obols, χάρτου 1 dr. 3 obols. The month Germanicus (cf. cclxvi. 2) is mentioned. On the *verso*, another account. First century. 34 lines in all. 23·2 x 12 cm.

CCCXCI. Part of an account of receipts of wheat headed λόγος λημμά(των) [π]υροῦ μετὰ λόγου [. . . . . Line 4 begins ἀγορασταὶ ὧν ἡ τιμὴ πρόσκειτ(αι). On the *verso*, parts of 3 lines of another account. First century. 13 lines in all. 11·5 x 12 cm.

CCCXCII. Fragment of an account of money payments by various persons. Before each name is the title of an ἄμφοδον (cf. note on ccxlii. 12), e.g. Θοή(ριδος), Ἱππόδ(ρόμου), cf. introd. to cclxxxviii, Ποιμ(ενικῆς), Λυκ̣ί̣ω(ν) π̣α(ρεμβολῆς). First century. 19 lines. 14·6 x 13 cm.

(*g*) *Petitions and Letters.*

CCCXCIII. Petition addressed to Tiberius Claudius Pasion, strategus (cf. cclxxxiv), by Aristas, weaver, of the λαύρα Ἱππέων παρεμβολῆς, complaining of the extortion of Damis, γενόμενος πράκτωρ, in the eighth and 'past ninth year' of Claudius. Same formula as cclxxxiv–v; cf. note on cclxxxiv. 7. Written in the tenth year of Tib. Claudius Caes. Aug. Germ. Imp. (A. D. 49–50). Nearly complete. 18 lines. 15·6 x 6·3 cm.

CCCXCIV. Conclusion of a similar petition complaining of the extortion of 24 drachmae and a ἱμάτιον worth 16 drachmae. About A. D. 49. 7 lines. 21 × 8·2 cm.

CCCXCV. Part of a declaration by various persons, concluding with a βασιλικὸς ὅρκος. The word συνταυροτάφος occurs. Written in the reign of Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug. Germ. (A. D. 81–96). 19 lines. 10·2 × 7·1 cm.

CCCXCVI. Beginning of a letter from Dionysius to his brother Sarapion, commencing Δ̣ι̣]ονύσιος Σαραπίωνι τῶι ἀδελφῶι [χαίρειν] καὶ διὰ π[αντ]ὸς ἐρρωμένῳ εὐτυχεῖν. Postscript added at the top Ὀννῶφρις δέ σοι μεγάλως

εὐχαριστεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετρίως εἶχε ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνεσημάνθη οὐκ εἴσχυσέ σοι γρ[ά]ψαι. Address on the *verso*. Late first century. 9 lines. 5·1 x 12·1 cm.

CCCXCVII. Letter written by Glaphyra announcing the dispatch of various articles, &c. The words βουκίαι and κολλύραι occur. Early first century. Nearly complete but effaced in parts. 31 lines. 20·5 × 7 cm.

CCCXCVIII. Letter beginning ἀπήγγελται Πτολεμ[α]ῖο[ς ὑ]πηρέτης, much effaced. Dated in the ninth year of Tiberius Caes. Aug., Phaophi (A. D. 22). 13 lines. After a blank space is another letter in a different hand, dated Payni 19, mentioning the eleventh year (A. D. 24–5). Incomplete. 16 lines 35·5 x 7·1 cm.

CCCXCIX. Letter from Apollonius to Dionysius announcing the despatch of an ὀνηλάτης with two donkeys, and asking for news. First century. Incomplete. 17 lines. 13 × 9·5 cm.

CCCC. Letter from Dionysius to another Dionysius about a cargo and the dispatch of wine, bread, cheeses, &c. Late first century. Complete, but stained in parts. 30 lines. 23·8 x 9·5 cm.

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that lines 1–9 of the *recto* are a quotation from the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 9.

vii. 5. ἄμβροτε is for ἤμβροτε (Diels). The ode has probably lost nothing at the beginning.

xii. I. 13–15. l. *τόντων κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐ[πὶ Ῥώμης οἱ τι]μηταὶ πρῶ[ρον ἐκ] τοῦ δήμου ᾑρέθησαν* (Wilamowitz).

xv. II. 5, 10, 15. l. ΑΥΛΕΙ ΜΟΙ for ΑΥΛΕΙΜΟΙ (Wilamowitz).

xxvi. II. 7. l. ὁτ[[ι]] for ὅτι, and IV. l. *διαβαλλόντων* (Blass).

*O*ur arguments from the resemblance of this papyrus to the Bacchylides MS. have failed to convince Mr. Kenyon, who (*Palaeography*, pp. 75–7) adheres to his former date for that MS., the first cent. B. C. We should, however, be disposed in the present state of papyrus palaeography to place less reliance than he does upon 'test letters' for distinguishing the hands of different periods. The two letters which he selects (p. 73) as the most decisive criteria for literary papyri of the Ptolemaic period, the A in which the right hand oblique stroke is formed separately from the rest of the letter, and the Ξ in three disconnected strokes, are hardly satisfactory. This form of A is very common in the Roman period, as well as in the Ptolemaic, e. g. the Harris Homer (Brit. Mus. Pap. CVII, probably of the first cent. A. D.), *O.* P. I. vii, xii, xiii, xv, xviii, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, xxviii, besides numerous instances in the present volume; and Ξ made by three distinct strokes is commonly used in ccxxiii, which is of the third century, just as the archaic I (Z) occurs in the Roman period, e. g. G. P. I. ii, and ccxii of this volume. The Ptolemaic characteristics of some letters, especially M, Ξ, Y, in the Bacchylides papyrus, do not seem to us to outweigh the Roman characteristics of others, especially E, K, N, Σ, Ω, and the general resemblance of the MS. to some uncial papyri of the first and second centuries A. D.

xxxii. The lower part of this papyrus has been found since our original publication. The end of the letter runs as follows:—

m[. . . . .] . . *id es*[*t* . . . . . .
c[. . . . .] *hab*[. . . . . .
h[. . . . .] *et* [. . . . . .
tor . *t* . .[. . .]*ico*[. . . . . .
illum ut[. . .]*upse*[. . . . . *inter-*
cessoris u[*t il*]*lum co*[*mmendarem*
estote felicissi[*mi domine to-*
tis annis cum [*tuis omnibus*
ben[*e agentes*
hanc epistulam ant⟨*e*⟩ *ocu-*

los habeto domine puta[*t*]*o*
me tecum loqui
uale

xxxiii. II. 13, note. *ἀφιλοκαγαθία* is a mistake for *ἀφιλοκαλοκαγαθία* (Crusius). Mommsen considers that the emperor in the papyrus can be Commodus, since M. Aurelius is called *divus Antoninus* in C. I. L. III. 239.

xxxiv. I. 5. l. [*εἰ*]*ς τὸ* [*τρια*]*κοντάκλειτον*, and II. 7 *ἄλλο τι* for *ἄλλον* (Wilamowitz).

xxxix. 4. l. (*Φαρμοῦθι κθ*) *Σεβαστ*(*ῇ*) for *σεσημ*(*ειωμένης*); cf. the duplicate copy, cccxvii, where *Σεβαστῇ* is clear.

xliii *verso*. I. 7, 10. *al.* Wilamowitz suggests that the abbreviation at the beginning of the line is for *πρός*, which makes good sense, but the comma-shaped sign which would represent the *π* comes after the p, not above it.

V. 6. l. *Κόλοβος* for *κολοβός* (Wilamowitz).

xlv. 2 and xlvi 2. l. *οἱ ἀσχολούμενοι* for *διασχολούμενοι*.

xlviii. 6, xlix. 8. l. *ὑπὸ Δία Γῆν Ἥλιον* (W. M. Ramsay, Wilamowitz).

lii. 16. *περιωμάτων* = *πελιωμάτων* (Wilamowitz).

lix. 14. l. *Ἀπολλοθέωνα* (Wilamowitz).

lxii *verso*. 8. l. *Θμοισεφῶ* for *Θμοισαφῶς*.

lxvi. 10. l. *Μητροδώ*[*ρου . . . . . .* for *Μητροδώ*[*ρου ἀνδριὰν*, and in 18 *ἀνδρίαν* (i. e. *ἀνδρεῖαν*) for *ἀνδριὰν* (Wilamowitz).

lxviii. delete note on 34–5 (Wilamowitz).

lxix. 14. l. ⟨*δέ*⟩*ουσαν* for *οὖσαν* (Wilamowitz).

lxxii. 5. l. *Σένεπτα* for *Ἔνεπτα*.

lxxiv. 21. l. *ἃ νεμήσουτ*(*αι*) *περὶ*, and in 23 *νομοῦ διὰ*, cf. ccxlv.

lxxviii. 16. *Σαλοσταρίου* may be read *Σαλουταρίου*. The Latin Salutaris is meant (Wilamowitz).

lxxxi. The *verso* contains eleven lines of an account.

lxxxvi. 20–2. l. *εἰς ἀγ*[*ά*]*γ*[*κην*] *με καταστῆναι τῷ μίζονι προ*[*σέ*|*τι ἐ*]*ντυχεῖν* (Wilamowitz).

lxxxix. 4 and xc. 3. l. (*διὰ*) *σι*(*τολύγων*) for *λ*( ) *σί*(*του*), cf. cclxxxix.

xcvi. 2 and 26. l. *σὺν ἄλ*(*λοις*) for *συναλ*(*λακτῆς ?*) (Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.* I. p. 576). Cf. cclxxvi. 11.

c. 4. l. [.]*ειταναβατείῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀλθαιεῖ*, the name of a deme; cf. xcv. 15 *Σωσικοσμίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως*.

cv. 13. l. *Ἄμ*]*μωνος*, 16 *Διὸς ἐπ' ἀετῷ*, and 19 [*π*]*ρ*[*ο*]*τομὴ φιλ*[*ο*]*σόφου* (Wilamowitz).

cxvi. 19. l. *καλῆς* for *μάχης* (Wilamowitz).

cxvii. *On μετεωρίδι*⟨*ο*⟩*ν*, cf. introd. to ccxxxviii.

cxviii. 21–3. l. *ἀγα[θὰ εὐ]χόμενος [ἐπίθυ]ε* (Wilamowitz).

cxix. 12. *πεπλάνηκαν ἡμᾶς ἐκε[ῖ* is what is meant (Wilamowitz, Blass, *Hermes* l.c.); but *ημως* was apparently written, not *ημας*.

13. l. *λυπόν* (i. e. *λοιπόν*) for *λύρον* (Wilamowitz).

cxxii. 5. l. *[ἡδ]έως* for *[εὐθ]έως*, and in 12 *ὦ̣ χρή[σῃ ἡδέ]ω[ς* (Wilamowitz).

cxxiii. 3. There should be a full stop after *ὑμᾶς* (Wilamowitz). Delete note on 1.

clxvii. Written on the *verso*. On the *recto* ends of five lines.

clxx. Date about A. D. 77–9, cf. ccxlii–iii.

clxxi. Text of the census return given on p. 208 of this volume.

clxxviii. For Seras read Heras.

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(*e*) τόποι, &c.

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ε for η **235.** 2. ε for ει **269.** i. 20.
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ει „ ῑ and *vice versa, passim.*
ει „ ῐ **209.** 3; **221.** x. 17; **223.** 201; **237.** iv. 35 *et saep.*, vi. 33, vii. 11, viii. 35, 41, 43; **243.** 36; **252.** 2; **270.** 3; **278.** 4; **281.** 13; **294.** 13, 18, 23, 31; **396.**
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η „ ι **218.** ii. 10; **234.** ii. 1.
η „ ει **241.** 12.
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ι „ „ ω **222.** i. 17, ii. 26.
ι omitted after α **292.** 11.
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v „ ω **269.** ii. 8.
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