

GREEK PAPYRI FROM MONTSERRAT.
(*P.MONTS.ROCA IV*)

PUBLICACIONES ABADIA DE MONTSERRAT

ORIENTALIA MONTSERRATENSIA 7

En preparación

8. Veinte siglos de Misterio. El papiro de Artemidoro
9. Textes coptes de Montserrat. *P.Monts.Roca V*

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PÁGINA LEGAL

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INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth volume of editions of texts from the Roca-Puig collection at the Abbey of Montserrat. The origin of this collection has already been discussed elsewhere and we refer to these publications for further information¹.

This volume contains 63 texts, among which there are a number of already known pieces that for diverse reasons we have elected to include. Some of them were first edited as *P.Barç.* a long time ago by Ramón Roca-Puig, the original owner of the collection, and appeared in publications that are today difficult to find. These include the Homeric papyri, which have received a necessary revision by Alberto Nodar Domínguez. Two of these pieces are Ptolemaic Homer papyri (33-34), being especially interesting due to the variations they present. We are also including a number of Biblical texts, which were Roca-Puig's main focus of interest (41-52). He first edited these in his unpublished PhD dissertation (Salamanca, 1955, supervised by Antonio Tovar), and subsequently published them separately in obscure publications which hardly reached the University libraries of the world. María Victoria Spottorno has accepted the task of reediting these fragments, after a thorough restoration of both the papyrus and the parchment fragments.

Other texts have been edited in various periodicals and congress proceedings by Sofía Torallas Tovar and Klaas A. Worp. These include a Roman Homer fragment, a few parchment and papyrus fragments containing Christian texts (primarily John

¹ On this see J. Gil-S. Torallas Tovar, *Hadrianvs. P.Monts.Roca III* (Barcelona, 2010), pp. 17-18, 24-31, and M. T. Ortega Monasterio, "El Instituto Papiroológico Roca-Puig y el CSIC: ¿Proyecto o realidad?", in *Palabras bien dichas. Estudios filológicos dedicados al P. Pius-Ramon Tragan* (Barcelona, 2011), pp. 57-76.

Chrysostom), a Ptolemaic contract of lease, and some later documents related to monastic environments. Raquel Martín Hernández has also reedited an amulet (61) which she had studied and published some time ago. We have considered it useful to integrate these in this volume together with new editions. Whenever a papyrus has been previously published, we have indicated this by way of the first footnote in the edition, marked with an asterisk.

The great majority of the papyri in this book, however, are newly edited, the product of over ten years of collaboration between Klaas A. Worp and Sofia Torallas Tovar at Montserrat. The papyri include both literary and documentary texts, and have been arranged thematically, and within the individual sections, chronologically or in the order of the literary works (esp. Homer and the Bible). Each of them has been assigned a number in Trismegistos (TM), for which we wish to thank Mark Depauw (Leuven). He has been extremely generous with his time and attention, not only in this matter, but also in responding to other minor queries about TM. We wish to thank Marina Escolano Poveda (Johns Hopkins, Baltimore) for editing the Demotic part of 79.

There is a photographic section at the end of the book, but we refer also to our website (<http://dvctvs.upf.edu>), where we have uploaded digital images of all the papyri. We thank Sergio Carro (CSIC, Madrid) for taking on this task with such seriousness, ensuring the quality and availability of all the images. He and Raquel Martín also invested time and effort in helping with the voluminous indexes.

We have to thank a number of colleagues who have contributed enormously in making this book possible. Our greatest debt is to Father Pius Tragan, the director of the *Scriptorium Biblicum et Orientale*, where the collection of papyri was deposited with the arrival of Father Roca-Puig. He has made every possible effort to facilitate our work, as well as contributed with his

enormous knowledge to solve many doubts about Biblical passages and Early Christianity. Father Josep Massot, director of PAMSA, has always shown extreme patience and effectiveness in the edition of our books. The whole Benedictine community and staff of the Fundació Abadia de Montserrat 2025 deserves our gratitude too.

Our warmest thanks are also due to the members of the DVCTVS team: Amalia Zomeño, Irene Pajón Leyra, María Jesús Albarrán Martínez, Raquel Martín, Alba de Frutos García, Marina Escolano Poveda, Sergio Carro Martín, have all helped in many ways to make this book possible, suggesting comparisons, helping with indexes, finding bibliography, etc.

Prof. T. de Jong (Amsterdam) first, and then César González García (CSIC, Santiago de Compostela) were instrumental in finding the calculation for the horoscope in 64.

For many small questions we have been fortunate to count on the generosity of many colleagues like Dieter Hagedorn (Köln), Chris A. Faraone (Chicago), Peter van Minnen (Cincinnati), Guido Bastianini (Florence), Alberto Bernabé (Madrid), Ineke Sluiter (Leiden), Anne Boud'hors (CNRS, Paris), François Gaudard (OI, Chicago), Marco Antonio Santamaría (Salamanca), all of whom have helped in many ways.

Through reviews and articles on the published Montserrat pieces, we have received very useful feedback from our colleagues Thomas Kruse, Amphilochos Papatomas, Alain Delattre, Claudio Meliadó, Marco Stroppa, Nikos Gonis. We indicate in footnotes their contributions. We are also much indebted to David Nirenberg (Chicago), who kindly agreed to polish our English text.

The papyrus project has been financed since 2002 by the Fundació Abadia de Montserrat 2025, and since 2005 by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technology. Last year financial support was once again granted by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (MINECO, Spain) for a period of three years. This

grant (FFI2012-39567-C02-01/02) covers the basic needs of the team in Madrid and Barcelona.

Finally, we need to thank REALE for continuing to believe in us. In a world where culture and written heritage receive less attention than deserved, they have supported us for years now in our adventure of recovery of the Roca-Puig papyrus collection at the Abbey of Montserrat, and in the publication of this series whose seventh volume you now hold in your hands.

METHOD OF PUBLICATION

The texts in this volume are presented according to the usual papyrological practices. Punctuation, accents and breathings have been added except in a few cases where the accentuation was uncertain². The following signs have their usual meanings:

()	Resolution of an abbreviation or symbol
[]	Lacuna in the papyrus
< >	Letters omitted by the scribe
[[]]	Letters written and then cancelled by the scribe
{ }	Letters erroneously written by the scribe
αβ	Letters seriously damaged and read with some degree of uncertainty
...	Traces of letters which could not be read

In this book we cite the names of Greek classical authors in their Latinized form, while we have instead used a Greek transliteration for the names of the people appearing in the documentary texts. Toponyms follow the use of papyrological publications in English. Bibliography is cited complete upon the first occurrence in each chapter, both in the text and in footnotes. Subsequent citations within the same chapter are reduced to the author and a few words of the title. In internal references, *P.Monts.Roca* IV publication numbers (33-96) are referred to in bold type without repeating the siglum *P.Monts.Roca* IV.

² Alberto Nodar Domínguez has preferred to follow the practice in *P.Oxy.* and has not accentuated the Homeric texts he edits in this volume (33-35, 37).

ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviations of papyri and ostraca, and for abbreviations of papyrological journals and series, we follow the *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, available online at <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

For Biblical books we follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*; for abbreviations of philological journals, we follow the list of *Année Philologique* (www.annee-philologique.com/files/sigles_fr.pdf). We list below a number of abbreviations of works which are often repeated throughout the book.

Abbreviations

Byz.Not. = K. A. Worp-J. M. Diethart (ed.), *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* (Vienna, 1986).

Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.* = A. Calderini-S. Daris (ed.), *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* (Milano, 1986).

Cavallo, *Scrittura* = Cavallo, G. *Scrittura Greca e Latina dei papiri. Una introduzione. Studia Erudita 8* (Pisa-Roma, 2008).

Cavallo-Maehler, *GB* = G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period (A.D. 300-800)* (London, 1987; BICS Suppl. 47).

Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands* = G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Hellenistic bookhands* (Berlin, 2008).

CDD = *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*. Available online at: <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/cdd/>

Criboire, *Writing* = R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996).

CSBE = R. S. Bagnall-K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004).

DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary papyri, now available through the papyrus portal: <http://papyri.info>.

ED-PHI = Epigraphical Database of the Packard Humanities Institute. Available online at: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>

Gignac, *Gram.* = F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, Phonology, vol. 2, Morphology (Milan 1976, 1981; Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità, 55, 1–2).

Kropp = A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*. 3 volumes. (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1930–31).

Lampe, *PGL* = G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

LDAB = Leuven Database of Ancient Books. Available online at <http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>

Lex.Äg. = W. Helck-E. Otto-W. Westendorf (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, (Wiesbaden 1972–1996).

LGPN = P. M. Fraser–E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 1987).

LSJ = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon*. Available online at <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/ljs/#eid=1&context=lsj>.

Mandilaras, *Verb* = B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* (Athens, 1973).

Mayser, *Gram.* = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1906–1970).

Mertens-Pack = CEDOPAL. The Mertens-Pack³ database project. Available online at <http://www2.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/pages/mp3anglais.htm>.

Meyer-Smith = M. Meyer-R. Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. Princeton, 1999.

NB Copt. = M.R.H. Hasitzka, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*. Available online at: http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf

NB Dem. = E. Lüddeckens-H.J. Thissen (ed.), *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1980).

Nestle-Aland = B. et K. Aland *et al.*, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, post Eberhard et Erwin Nestle, edicione vicesima septima revisa (Stuttgart, 1993).

Pape-Benseler = W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. Dritte Auflage neu bearbeitet von Dr. Gustav Eduard Benseler (Braunschweig, 1911).

Pestman, *Prim.*² = P.W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1994).

PGM = *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz. 2 vols. (Leipzig-Berlin, 1928, 1931). Repr. by A. Henrichs in 1974.

PLRE = A. H. Martin Jones- J. R. Martindale-J. Morris, *Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1971-1992).

Preisigke, *NB* = F. Preisigke (ed.), *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienbildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg 1922, repr. Amsterdam 1967).

Pros.Ptol. = W. Peremans-E. Van 't Dack (ed.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, (Leuven, 1950-).

PW-RE = *Pauly Wissowa Realenzyklopädie*

Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* = A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart (Stuttgart, 2006).

Roberts, *GLH* = C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands, 350 B.C.—A.D. 400* (Oxford, 1956).

Rupprecht, *Einf.* = H. A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt, 1994).

Seider, *Pal.Gr.* = R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* (Stuttgart, 1967, 1970, 1990), vol. 1 Urkunden, vol. 2 Literarische Papyri, vol. 3 Text, pt. 1 Urkundenschrift.

Suppl.Mag. = Robert Daniel-Franco Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* (Opladen, 1990-1992). Also available online at: <http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=SupplMag&ct=0>

TLG = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Available online at www.tlg.uci.edu/

TM = Trismegistos. Available online at <http://www.trismegistos.org/>

Turner, *Typology* = E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977).

Turner-Parsons, *GMAW* = E.G. Turner - P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*² (London, 1987. *BICS Suppl.* 46).

Van Haelst, *Catalogue* = J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976).

WörterListe = D. Hagedorn, *Wörterliste*. Pdf file available at <<http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/fak8/papy/WL/WL.html>>.

33-34. HOMER PTOLEMAIC PAPYRI

33. HOMER, *ILIAD* 9. 696 – 10. 3

P. Monts.Roca inv. no. 47*
H. 10.7 cm. x W. 9.1 cm.
TM 67369/LDAB 8639

Provenance unknown
Date: mid-3rd cent. BCE

Remains of sixteen lines of writing along the fibers of a papyrus roll re-used for cartonnage; only the upper margin has been preserved, to a depth of 1.9 cm, whereas there is only blank space to the right of the shorter lines, the longer ones being incomplete. No lower or LH margins have been preserved. The text preserved is that corresponding to the end of Iliad book 9, from line 696 onwards, down to line 3 of book 10. The version it presents, however, is not exactly that transmitted by the *vulgate* (see this introduction below and commentary to the interpretative transcript). The back is blank, except for some accidental drops of ink and some isolated traces.

The script is close to the epigraphic style characteristic of early bookhands: letters are detached and do not normally touch each other. o is sometimes smaller, and ε and c are sometimes narrower than the rest of the letters, especially γ (but also α and η), that are broader. However, the modular contrast is only very slight, and, in general, letters tend to present the same size. Characteristic of an archaic style are the shapes of ε, in three movements, with a rather straight back drawn in single movement together with the lower elements, and detached cap; α with angular central elements; triangular δ in three movements, and a general angular appearance. However, c has already its lunate shape, ω is already acquiring a roundish shape -although it is still drawn in three movements-,

* This papyrus was first published by R. Roca-Puig (ed.), *Homer. Fragment de la Ilíada. 9,696 10,3. Papir de Barcelona, Inv. número 47* (Barcelona, 1976).

and, if only exceptionally, some vertical strokes present a slight curvature, as the right-hand one of second ρ in 704.

Lines are regularly spaced, and bilinearity is roughly achieved, but υ protrudes below the line, ω is placed higher in the line, and ι and ρ can either keep to the baseline or protrude below it. Ornamentation is scarce; only very occasionally can we find a short serif at the lower ends of verticals, approaching almost the shape of an unintentional blob.

Our hand is comparable to that of *P.Hamb.* 2:163, assigned to the mid-3rd century or the second half of the 3rd century BCE, in its angularity, slight modular contrast and general appearance (Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, 54, Turner¹, 17 and Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, 20). Some letters are, however, differently formed, such as α, with its central elements joined in just one stroke, or θ, with a central dot, whereas others, such as ε and μ, with angular central elements reaching almost the baseline, are very similarly formed.

The papyrus presents no lectional signs or corrections; iota adscript is present in ορρηι (703) and μ]αλακωι (2), but not in αγηνορηειν (700) and ηειν (701).

The text has been collated with M. West, *Homeri Ilias* (Stuttgart-München, 1998-2000), and shows a considerable number of divergencies from the vulgate, including two plus verses (708a, 708b), which make an ending for book 9 different from that in the manuscript tradition, and seven minus verses (697, 706 and 709-713), none of which are among those missing in the papyri studied by S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Köln-Opladen, 1967). On the whole, these divergencies result in a simpler, banalised, text (see commentary to the interpretative transcript).

¹ E. G. Turner, "Ptolemaic Bookhands and Lille Stesichorus", *S&C* 4 (1980), pp. 19-40.

Other papyri containing remains of lines attested by our papyrus are:

P.Ant. 3:160 (3rd-4th cent. CE). *Ilias* 9.222-344, 354-359, 367-369, 464-495, 501-533, 538, 543-653, 657-660, 664-673, 676-699. It was described and collated with Allen's text² in the volume. on the fragment relevant to our text, ll. 676-99, editor J. Barns speaks of "scattered fragments" and does not report any readings concerning our passage.

P.Köln 2:74 (2nd-3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 9.682-696. It does not actually overlap with our text, for it only contains remains of a few letters from the beginning of l. 696.

PSI 14:1377 (2nd cent. CE). *Ilias* 9.682-709. The text actually overlaps with ours, and agrees with the vulgate version.

P.Oxy. inv. 22 3B 20/F(2)a (2nd cent. CE). *Ilias* 10.1-15 (unpublished).

P.Vindob. inv. G 26753 (1st cent. BCE). *Ilias* 10.1-26³. The papyrus overlaps with ours at the first three lines of book 10, showing a variant reading (see commentary to interpretative transcription l. 1).

By reason of the substantial differences between the text preserved by the papyrus and that offered by the manuscript tradition, I give in this case, as in that of the other Ptolemaic Homer papyrus in this volume, P.Monts.Roca inv. 46, both a diplomatic and an interpretative transcript.

→

1]ιπεβοναγαθοσδιομηδη[
 2]αιαμυμοναπηλειωνα
 3]σοδαγηνωρεστικαιαλλωσ
 4]μαλλοναγηνορησινενηκασ
 5]ογμενεσησομεναικενησιν
 6]τεδοτεμαχησεταιιοπποτεκεμι[
 7]ηθεσσανωγη[]εσορσηι
 8]ανεγωειπωπε[]εθαπαντες
 9]μησασθετεταρπ[]μενοι []..... ορ

² T. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* (Oxford, 1931).

³ H. Gerstinger, *Arch. Bibliogr.* 1 (1926), p. 90 (no. 13), describes and collates the papyrus.

10] π̄ε̄ [] . []
 11] μ̄ . λ̄ [] ε̄ π̄ου []
 12] ᾱτο [] .. []
 13] ... ᾱ οταμυθ[ο]ῡ ε̄ ῑ []
 14] ῡ ς̄ ῑ γ̄ ᾱ ρ̄ ῑ ς̄ τ̄ η̄ ς̄ π̄ ᾱ ν̄ ᾱ χ̄ ᾱ ῑ ω̄ ν̄
 15] ᾱ λ̄ ᾱ κ̄ ω̄ ῑ δ̄ ε̄ δ̄ η̄ μ̄ η̄ μ̄ ε̄ ν̄ ο̄ ῑ ῡ π̄ ν̄ ω̄ []
 16] ᾱ γ̄ ᾱ μ̄ [] ν̄ ο̄ ν̄ ᾱ π̄ ο̄ ῑ μ̄ ε̄ ν̄ []

Commentary to the diplomatic transcription

9. non-descript traces of ink on a very abraded surface.

10. π̄ high remains of ink, as of horizontal?] [upper end of high vertical
 [remains of ink on very abraded surface] very faint remains of ink
 on extremely abraded surface; at line-end remains of two round letters may be
 distinguished.

11. λ̄ first, upper, middle and low remains of ink as of horizontals; second,
 remains of ink on very damaged surface, to the right remains of vertical] [
 low remains of ink] ε̄ upper, middle and low remains of ink] π̄
 first, high remains of ink; below, to the right, further remains at line-level;
 second and third, scattered remains of ink on very abraded surface; fourth
 remains of vertical; fifth, very faint remains of ink high in the line; traces of
 vertical crossing it?

12. ᾱ first to four, very faint and scattered remains of ink; fifth, seemingly,
 remains of triangular letter; sixth to eighth, remains of ink on very damaged
 surface] [first, remains of vertical; second, lower end of long
 descender?; third, remains of triangular letter? fourth and fifth, middle and high
 remains of ink] ... [first, very faint remains of ink; second, seemingly,
 remains of circular letter, below, accidental drop of ink (similar to the ones on
 the back); third, very faint remains of ink

13. ... ᾱ first, remains of ink at line-level; second, remains of vertical; third,
 remains of ink on abraded surface, an oblique descending to right may be
 distinguished? to the right, remains of vertical; fourth, remains of circular letter
 with middle cross-bar] ο̄ remains of ink on very abraded surface, as of

circular or triangular letter . ε remains of circular letter with middle cross-bar? . [remains of vertical; above, to the right, traces of high horizontal?
 16 μξ only very few faint traces of these three letters. Roca-Puig sees remains of a line below this one, but I can see no traces of it.

1	μετεε]ιπε βοην αγαθος Διομηδη[ε	696
2	λιςσεεθ]αι αμυμονα Πηλειωνα	698
3	διδου]ε ο δ αγηνωρ εστι και αλλωε	
4	]μαλλον αγηνωρηειν ενηκαε	700
5	κειν]ον μεν εηκομεν αι κεν ιηειν	
6	το]τε δ ουτε μαχηεται οπποτε κε μι[ν	
7	ετ]ηθεεειν ανωγη [και θ]εοε ορηι	
8	]αν εγω ειπω πε[ιθωμ]εθα παντεε	
9	κοι]μηεαεθε τεταρπ[ο]μενοι [φ]ιλον ητορ	705
10	]επει[κε φανηι κ]α[λη ρ]οδοδακτυλοε ηωε	707
11	εχε]μεν λα[ον] τε και ιππου[ε	
12	]..... ατο..... [].. [
13	πα]ειν εαδοτα μυθ[ο]ν εειπ[ε	
14	νη]υειν αριετηεε Παναχαιων	1
15	μ]αλακωι δεδημενοι υπνω[
16	]Αγαμ[εμ]νονα ποιμεν[α	

Commentary to the interpretative transcription

697. minus verse; see note to 708a and A. Nodar, “Wild papyri in the Roca-Puig collection”, in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie, Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Genève, 2012), pp. 565-572, esp. pp. 569-570.

698. αμυμονα Πηλειωνα with all the MSS (including the papyri) and the testimonia. According to West a scholium attributed to Aristarchus presents ἀμύμωνος Αἰακίδαο (cf. *app. crit.*), but I have been unable to trace it in the edition by H. Erbse (ed.), *Scholía Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)* (Berlin-New York, 1969-1988). Nor does Allen mention the scholion in his apparatus.

699. ἀλλῶς agrees again with the manuscript tradition, against αὐτῶς, which appears as a *varia lectio* in A and T, and which was known to Didymus, if the scholium 9.699c is to be attributed to him: <καὶ ἄλλῶς> γράφεται “καὶ αὐτῶς”. A^{int}T⁴.

700. ἐνηκας so all MSS (including testimonia and papyri), against ἀνήκας “ἐν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων”, according to Didymus in scholium 9.700a1

701. ἐηκομεν perhaps vulgarisation for ἔακομεν, following the pattern of the future forms belonging to contracted verbs in -άω; cf. in the aorist Hesych. <ἦεν>· εἶαεν. cf. Nodar, “Wild papyri”, p. 569. αἰ itacistic misspelling for ἦ; the error may also have been induced by the high frequency of the sequence αἶ κέ in the Homeric epics, cf. Nodar, “Wild papyri”, p. 569. Roca-Puig reads εἰ κεν.

702. οὔτε in the place of αὐτε; the mistake does not seem to be of a phonetic nature⁵, but caused by the general meaning of Diomedes’ words: i. e. “You should not have tried to persuade him (Achilles) to fight, for this has made him even more arrogant. Let us leave him alone, whether he leaves or stays, for he won’t fight, anyway”, cf. Nodar, “Wild papyri”, p. 569.

κε in the place of κεν; the scribe has applied the phonetic rule correctly, but in doing so has made the line unmetrical. Roca-Puig reads κεν [μιν], but both μ and ι are visible.

703. ἀνωγη use of iota adscript fluctuates: it is missing in ἀγηνορηκιν (700) and ηκιν (701), but it is present in ορηκιν later in this line and in μ]αλακωι in 10. 2. It might have been lost here in the lacuna and likewise after υπνω in 10. 2.

705. [φ]ιλῶν ητορ the two final letters seem assured, which makes it plausible to reconstruct the line as we know it from the manuscript tradition.

706. minus verse; cf. Nodar, “Wild papyri”, p. 569, for possible reasons for its absence. The line is, in any case, formulaic and therefore not necessary for the understanding of the passage.

⁴ When citing the *scholia vetera* to the *Iliad*, I follow Erbse’s edition, *vid. supra*.

⁵ Gignac, *Gram.* vol. 1, p. 217, registers two instances of replacement of ου by αυ, not αυ by ου, as would happen in our text, as sporadic and not reflecting phonological changes (*ibid.* p. 216).

707. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$ the reconstruction of the conjunction seems quite safe; we would thus have line 707 here instead of line 706, another minus verse in our papyrus. Although the rest of the line is severely abraded, the remains of the last two letters (cf. palaeographical commentary to the line) are consistent with final ω from Ἡώω .

$\phi\alpha\nu\eta$ I prefer not to restore iota adscript, see note to $\alpha\nu\omega\gamma\eta$ in line 703. [λη ρ]οδοδακτυλος ηωω Roca-Puig does not seem to have interpreted the faded ink to the right of the lacuna as remains of letters, and his interpretation of the line would make it end abnormally to the right:

[αυταρ επει]ι κε φ[ανηι καλη ροδοδακ]τυ [λος ηωω]. The identification of this and the following line remains, however, in his own words “només probable”.

708a. We do not seem to have l. 709 at this point: it is not really possible to read $\upsilon\tau\omicron$ instead of $\alpha\tau\omicron$, for the fibres are not missing and nothing can be seen from the long descender; we therefore may not have $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Besides, the pronoun seems to stand too early in the line (third metron) to appear at this point: cf. the position of $\mu\epsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha$ and $\alpha\delta\omicron\tau\alpha$ above and below our sequence in lines 708 and 708b, respectively, where they occupy the fourth metron. The difficulties are even greater if we consider that 708 and 708b present three dactyls before the fourth metron, and 708a just two spondees, which means that $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ would appear even closer to the line-beginning. Roca-Puig reads $\theta\epsilon\omega\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ και [αριςτος], following T 258 and τ 303 (and also ψ 43), but traces before α in $\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ do not seem consistent with $\upsilon\pi$.

The awkwardness of line was already felt in Antiquity: cf. *Schol.* 9.708–709, on the rarity of the change of addressee, from the whole of the Greek army to Agamemnon: $\langle\pi\rho\omicron\ \nu\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\chi\acute{\mu}\epsilon\nu\ \langle\lambda\alpha\omicron\acute{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ / \omicron\tau\rho\acute{\nu}\omega\nu\rangle$: $\alpha\pi\omicron\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \langle\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\theta\epsilon\rangle$ (I 705) $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\upsilon\nu\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\lambda\theta\epsilon\ \varsigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$. $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\Lambda}\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\nu\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$. b(BCE3 E4)T. Similarly, Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Iliadem* 2.838.16–19, emphasizing that the infinitives are in the place of second person singular imperatives, *Schol.* 9. 708. and *Schol.* 9.709b. Aristonicus (*schol.* 9. 709a) seems to refer the pronoun to the speaker himself: $\langle\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\nu}\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \langle\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota\rangle$: $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \varsigma\iota\omega\pi\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\ \acute{\Lambda}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\ \phi\eta\varsigma\iota\nu$. “ $\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \text{Τυδείδew Διομήδεος εν παλάμησι / μ\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ ” (Π 74–5), and further insists on the use of the infinitive in the place of the imperative⁶.

Our scribe may have tried to eliminate the difficulty implied by the change of addressee by getting rid of the initial apostrophe to Agamemnon (697) and the last line of the speech, where the singular form reappeared. This results in a simpler text (cf. Nodar, “Wild papyri”, pp. 569–570).

⁶ See Nodar, “Wild papyri”, pp. 569–570 for further discussion of the scholia.

708b. cf. Il. 9. 173 and 18. 422 ὧς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ἑαδῶτα μῦθον ἔειπε. The line following 708a is thus not 710. Furthermore, the remains of the two lines following 708 do not seem to be consistent with any of the verses left from this point down to the end of the book.

1. After the closing formula of Diomedes' speech (708b) the papyrus carries on with 10.1, thus omitting 9.711-713 after having substituted two verses in the place of 709 and 710. We cannot know whether the book-end was marked in the papyrus, since its left-hand margin, where a lectional sign would have been placed to this effect⁷, has not been preserved.

Without, thus, having the same end for book 9⁸, our papyrus did present the text corresponding to book 10, regarded by some as not originally belonging to the *Iliad*; cf. schol. 10. 0b: φασι τὴν ῥαψωδίαν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου ἰδίᾳ τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποιήσιν. T and Eust. 3.2.6-8⁹.

The verse agrees with the manuscript tradition, against Aristotle's quotation of the passage, where it seems to have been mistaken with the first line of book 2 (*Poet.* 1461a16), and against P.Vindob. inv. G 26753, which reads τῶν ἀχαιῶν.

2 ὑπνω[see note to ἀνωγή in line 703.

AND

⁷ A paragraphos, accompanied or not by a coronis, would be the most likely sign to mark book-ends in a papyrus from 3rd cent. BCE; see F. Schironi, *To Mega Biblion. Book-ends, End-titles, and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* (Durham, North Carolina, 2010), pp. 35-37.

⁸ For the possibility of our papyrus reflecting a continuous recitation see Nodar, "Wild papyri", p. 571.

⁹ I cite according to Van der Valk's edition *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* (Leiden, 1971-1987).

34. HOMER, *ODYSSEY* 11.73–78

P. Monts.Roca inv. no. 46*
 H. 3.5 cm. x W. 8.3 cm.
 TM 61221/LDAB 2361

Provenance unknown
 Date: mid-3rd cent. BCE

This fragment contains the line-ends of *Odyssey* 11.73–78 written along the fibers. The back is blank. Only the RH margin has been preserved, to a maximum of 4 cm. The width of the margin, and the fact that no remains of a following column may be observed to the right might suggest a sheet and not a roll as the format of our document¹⁰. In this case, it might have transmitted just the Elpenor episode¹¹. However, certain examples of other papyrus sheets directly transmitting the text of Homer (i.e. not of a paraliterary character) along the fibers and with a blank back are

* This papyrus was first published by R. Roca-Puig (ed.), *Homer, Fragment de l'Odissea, 11, 73-78. Papir de Barcelona, inv. no. 46* (Barcelona, 1972), and then re-edited by himself: R. Roca-Puig (ed.), “Un fragment de l’Odyssée du III^e siècle avant J.C. (P. Barc. Inv. número 46)”, *CdÉ* 48 (1973), pp. 109–113.

¹⁰ See Roca-Puig, *Papir de Barcelona*, pp. 7–8 and Roca-Puig, “Un fragment de l’Odyssée”, p. 110.

¹¹ V. Bérard, *Introduction a l’Odyssée* (Paris 1924), pp. 128–137, and *L’Odyssée. Poésie Homérique* (Paris, 1925), in the notes to the relevant passages (i. e. 10.551–560; 11.51–89 and 12.10–17), argues strongly against the episode having originally belonged to the *Odyssey*. Following this hypothesis, one might even entertain the possibility that our papyrus might be a witness to a separate circulation of the episode. See, however, above, against the possibility of a sheet as the format of our document. On the other hand, it is only Callistratus that seems to have questioned not the whole episode, but just ll. 50–52, on the grounds of internal coherence; cf. *Schol.* 1.52. (I cite following W. Dindorf (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* [Oxford, 1855, repr. 1962]) οὐ γάρ πω ἐτέθαπτο] εἰ ἀποφαίνεται νῦν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, πῶς ἔξις διστάζων φησὶ “πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ ζόφον;” διὸ ὁ Καλλίστρατος ἀθετεῖ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα φησὶν ὅτι, οὐκ ἠσθόμεθα τὸν θάνατον διὰ τὸ περὶ ἄλλα ἀσχολεῖσθαι. HQ, and even so he is doubtful.

scarce, if not nonexistent¹². On the other hand, the width of the hypothetical intercolumnium may well have been caused by the abnormal length of line 77, where some correction might have happened, thus forcing the line –and the margin– further to the right (see commentary to the line). The back is, as already said, blank, but it has been reinforced in ancient times in weak areas and around lacunae with papyrus stripes, on one of which there are remains of writing. The fact that the roll might have been restored in Antiquity seems to point to its character as a book appreciated by its owner; see below in this introduction for its production standards.

The handwriting consists of detached capital letters that touch each other only occasionally. Lines are well spaced, and the script is roughly bilinear, though there are variations in the height at which letters are placed within the line. A modular contrast may be observed between large wide characters, such as μ , ν , π , ρ , τ , υ , ω , even α sometimes, and the set of the so-called circular letters, especially θ , \omicron , ς , but also ϵ and ρ sometimes, which tend to be narrower and smaller. ϵ presents detached upper elements, and quite a straight back, and the same happens, though to a lesser degree with ς . The middle elements of ϵ and θ are very often detached from the body of the letter and contracted, arriving to the shape of a dot in some cases. Characteristic is ν , in three movements, with the right-hand vertical placed higher in the line than the left-hand one, and υ , with extremely flattened upper elements drawn in a single movement. τ presents characteristically its vertical to the right of the central point of the high horizontal. Despite the overall angularity of the script, the verticals of μ , and its central elements, drawn in a single movement, those of π and, above all the right-hand vertical of η , which takes the shape of a ς ,

¹² *P.Oxy.* 6:944 may be one such case, but it is only described, and no information about its nature is provided.

are curved. The central elements of α take sometimes the archaic shape of two small oblique strokes.

Our hand compares well with that of *P.Petrie* 2:49(c) and that of *P.Heid.* 1:178, nos. 10 and 12 in Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*. Both scripts are from the mid-3rd century BCE, and are executed with relative formality, although similar fluctuations as regards the baseline and the letter spacing can be observed there. Both share with our script the modular contrast and the general angular air, and both present some curvature in certain vertical strokes, notably those of μ , π , and η , especially the right-hand ones. They both tend to place the vertical of τ to the right of the central point of the high horizontal. *P.Heid.* 1:178 is nonetheless more similar to our handwriting on the whole, inasmuch as it shares with our papyrus some peculiarities, such as ϵ with flat upper elements drawn separately, right-hand vertical of η in the shape of a lunate sigma and very flat and open upper elements of υ . On account of all these coincidences I should place this papyrus towards the mid-3rd century BCE.

The papyrus does not present any lectional signs but for a high stop at the end of 74. Iota adscript is written in line 77, and “ephelcystic” ν appears at the end of 74 (see commentary to both lines). The text might have been corrected, for some kind of trouble in the writing of the line is noticeable in l. 77. Several other aspects, such as the handwriting, the preserved ample margin, and the restoration of the roll in Ancient times, seem to point to a book executed with relative care. The text has been collated with P. von der Mühl (ed.), *Homeri Odyssea* (Basel, 1962), and in accordance with many papyri of the Ptolemaic period prior to 150 BCE, presents several readings unknown to the so-called Homeric “vulgate” (see especially commentary to 75a onwards). I have not been able to find our text on any other papyrus fragment.

By reason of the substantial differences between the text preserved by the papyrus and that offered by the manuscript tradition, I give in this case, as in that of the other Ptolemaic

Homer papyrus in this volume, P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 47, both a diplomatic and an interpretative transcript.

→	-----	
1	]γενωμ []ι	73
2	]ςσαμοιεστιν·	
3	]θινιθαλασσης	75
4	]τερεακτερειξαι	
5	]ενοιοπυθεσθαι	
6	]αιτεπιτυμβωιερετμον	
7	]οι []ρ [

Commentary to the diplomatic transcription

4 There is a blank space between τε and ρεα.

5 Remains of ink above ε in πυθεσθαι with no particular shape; they are most likely accidental.

1	]γενωμ[α]ι	73
2	α]σσα μοι εστιν·	
3	]θινι θαλασσης	75
4	κ]τερεα κτερειξαι	75a
5	]ενοιο πυθεσθαι	
6	πηξ]αι τ επι τυμβωι ερετμον	
7	εμ]οι[ς ετα]ρ[οιςιν	

Commentary to the interpretative transcription

73. Roca-Puig sees remains of α before]γενωμ[α]ι, which I am unable to see.

74. εστιν· high dot in the place of a modern comma; there is no apparent reason why it should stand here and not, for instance, at the end of the following line,

where modern editors also place a comma. Note the so-called epheleystic ν at the end of the line, even if the following line starts with a consonant. Roca-Puig, *Papir de Barcelona*, p. 9, adduces the possibility of a different beginning for l. 75, altered by the presence of 75a, as an explanation for its appearance, but the practice is well attested in Ptolemaic papyri: see S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, p. 17 and G. M. Bolling, “Movable nu at the End of Homeric Verses”, *CPh* 40 (1945), pp. 181–184.

75a. Plus verse: cf. Od. 1. 291–292 $\kappa\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \omicron\iota\ \chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \kappa\acute{\tau}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha\ \kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\iota$, / $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda'$, $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\kappa\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\ \mu\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\nu\alpha\iota$, also in a funerary context. Roca-Puig, *Papir de Barcelona*, p. 14; Roca-Puig, “Un fragment de l’*Odyssee*”, p. 113, suggests the first half of 292 as the first hemistich: $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda'$, $\acute{\omicron}\kappa\kappa\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \kappa\]\acute{\tau}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha\ \kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\iota$. But the hiatus after the feminine caesura and the syntax of the line, which would have no connector with the previous $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$, make the restoration difficult; it does not seem that we have here a simple case of concordance interpolation, see Nodar, “Wild papyri”, p. 567.

76. The genitive ending $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ in the place of the dative plural $-\omicron\iota\iota$ of the vulgate ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\iota\ \pi\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\alpha\iota$) might be an error induced by the previous genitive $\delta\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$, but the scribe is not a careless one and the fact that 75a has been introduced after $\kappa\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}$ in line 75 might have altered the syntax altogether, so as to produce a different first hemistich for our line, with no genitive phrase to have caused the confusion. The other possibility is that the genitive ending belongs to a word different from the participle: cf. Roca-Puig, *Papir de Barcelona*, p. 14; Roca-Puig, “Un fragment de l’*Odyssee*”, p. 113, Od. 8.12: $\acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\alpha\ \xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\theta\epsilon$, though perhaps more fitting our context I would think of $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\phi\theta\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \pi\upsilon\theta\omicron\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\nu$ Il. 19. 322 or $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\rho\eta\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$, $\acute{\omicron}\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\phi\theta\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\ \pi\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta\tau\alpha\iota$. Il. 19.337. cf. Nodar, “Wild papyri”, pp. 567–568.

77. The line protrudes exceedingly to the right for no apparent reason: it contains four dactyls, just as l. 75, considerably shorter, and it has only one more letter than the previous line. This seems to suggest that the line might have been partially erased to the left in some kind of correction. If this were so, it could be the reflection of a $\delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\omega\tau\iota\varsigma$, yet another sign of the quality of the copy.

78. $\epsilon\mu\]\omicron\iota\]\epsilon\tau\alpha\]\rho\]\omicron\iota\iota\upsilon\nu$ Roca-Puig edits the line differently: $\epsilon\omega\]\nu\]\mu\epsilon\tau\]\epsilon\]\mu\omicron\iota\]\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \rho\omicron\iota\iota\upsilon\nu$, but this would take it almost as far to the right as l. 77. AND

35–37. HOMER ROMAN PAPYRI

35. HOMER, *ILIAD* 1.135 – 139

P. Monts. Roca inv. no. 49*
 H. 5.5 cm. x W. 3.5 cm.
 TM 66765/LDAB 8015

Provenance unknown
 Date: early 2nd cent. CE

Remains of five lines of writing containing the ends of *Iliad* 1.135–140 written along the fibers of a papyrus roll. Only the lower margin has been preserved, to a depth of 3.4 cm. The back is blank, but has been reinforced with a stripe at the bottom right in ancient times, to judge from the breaks that run along it, affecting both the stripe and the original surface.

The text is written in a medium sized round bookhand; letters are of the same size and generally keep to regular higher and lower lines, causing an impression of bilinearity, but occasionally they touch each other (thus the right-hand oblique of α and the lower oblique of κ, the lower horizontal of ξ, and the high horizontal of τ touch the following letter). Although the script is not ornamented occasional blobs can be observed at the lower and upper ends of verticals. The general impression of roundness is reinforced by the curvature of some obliques, such as those of κ (l. 139) and μ (l. 137), the oval shape of the right-hand elements of α, drawn in a single movement, and some occasional loops at the top of this same letter and at the lower elements of υ (l. 137). The hand could be thus classified as an example of informal round, following Turner and Parsons' terminology, *GMAW*, p. 21, carefully

* This papyrus was first published by R. Roca-Puig (ed.), "Quatre papirs inèdits", in M. Balasch et al. (eds.), *Ramon Roca-Puig i la ciència dels papirs* (Lleida, 1988), pp. 139–169 (no. 1 "fragment de rotlle: Homer, *Iliada* 1, 135–139. Papir de Barcelona, inventari núm. 49", pp. 143–147).

executed, although without reaching the high standards of formality seen in the formal round types.

Our hand is comparable to that of the Hyperides papyrus (*P.Lond.Lit.* 132 + P.Louvre inv. 7169 + P. Babington inv. I-VI), assigned to the 1st-2nd cent. CE, because of its rounded shapes and the “informal character”. Similar letters are α, with oval right-hand elements, υ with looped lower end, and ε, though it features a higher central stroke than in our script. *P.Oxy.* 42:3030 (Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, no. 87), dated probably to 207 CE, which is compared to *P.Oxy.* 31:2555 in the later 1st cent. CE, and described by Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 146, as a “late survival of the fragile decorated manner”, presents many of the characteristics of our script: oval right-hand elements of α, μ with rounded central elements descending to the base-line, tall ω and ε with high central stroke. κ presents wide open curved obliques, and the lower elements of υ are sometimes looped, as in our papyrus. In view of all these coincidences, I should be inclined to assign our papyrus to the early 2nd cent. CE.

A high stop at the end of l. 138 is the only certain lectional sign present in the papyrus (cf. commentary to the line, and also to l. 137), seemingly written by the same hand. There are no corrections, and there is no word in the text which would have required iota adscript. The text has been collated with M. L. West (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* (Stuttgart-München, 1998-2000) and presents no new variants, coinciding, as is normal in a papyrus from the Roman period, with the vulgate text.

Book 1 of the *Iliad* being the most widely attested book of the Epic, and thus of all Greek literature, our papyrus overlaps partially with several other papyrus texts:

P.Gen. inv. no. 95 + *BKT* 5.1.3 (P.Berol. inv. 6869 AB + 7492-7495, antea 572)
 + *BKT* 9:61 (P.Berol. inv. no. 21158) + *P.Aberd.* 134 (antea 2787) +
 P.Louvre inv. no. AF 12809¹³ (1st-2nd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.44-60, 54-64, 71-

¹³ P.Gen. editio princeps: J. Nicole, “Fragments d’Homère sur papyrus d’Égypte”, *R.Ph.* 18 (1894), p. 103; then re-edited by W. Lameere, *Aperçus de*

104, 114–123, 131–164, 338–343, 412–433, 456–465, 494–534, 537–590, 602–609, with number of book at the end. Only a few letters of l. 140 do actually overlap in the two papyri.

P.Oxy. 71:4813 (3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.90–92, 95–100, 119–125, 128–153. It does overlap with our text with no divergencies.

P.Köln 2:70 (1st cent. BCE–1st cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.108–131, 137–153. It does not actually overlap with our papyrus, since it has not preserved end-lines at this point. However, our papyrus has placed correctly the line-end of 137, unlike *P.Köln* 2:70, which seems to have offered that of l. 135.

P.Ryl. 1:43 (3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.121–157, 161–199, 202–241, 244–284. It transmits partially the same passage, and agrees with our text.

P.Duke inv. 970 (olim S73 5)¹⁴ (1st cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.127–139. The two papyri overlap, presenting the same text.

P.Oxy. 3:536¹⁵ (first half 3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.127–147. It overlaps with our text and coincides with it, even in the writing of double sigma in οδυσσος (l. 138).

P.Lond.Lit. 2 (2nd–3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.129–150. Described; since it contains the middle parts of the column, it is not likely to overlap with our text.

P.Köln 1:21 (inv. 1030v + 46v) + *P.Mich.* inv. 6653¹⁶ (1st–3rd cent. CE¹⁷). *Ilias* 1.129–146, 151–190, 192–211, overlaps with our text showing no divergences.

P.Oxy. inv. no. 27 3B 43/F(1)a (2nd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.102–108, 127–138. Unpublished, West 738.

paléographie homérique: à propos des papyrus de l'Iliade et de l'Odyssée des collections de Gand, de Bruxelles et de Louvain (Brussels 1960), pp. 83–85. For *BKT* + *P.Aberd.*, see H. Maehler-W. Müller-G. Poethke (eds.), “Ilias Handschriften aus der Berliner Papyrus-Sammlung”, *Archiv* 24–25 (1976), pp. 6–12; Finally, for *BKT* + *P.Aberd.* + *P.Louvre*, see L. Capron (ed.), “Nouveaux Fragments du Mertens-Pack³ 572 (“Iliade”, chant I): P. Louvre inv. AF 12809”, *ZPE* 142 (2003), pp. 3–18.

¹⁴ J. Landon (ed.), “Homer, Iliad 1. 127–138 from the Duke Papyrus Collection”, *ZPE* 141 (2002), pp. 71–73.

¹⁵ Descr. ed. M. Subacus, “Six Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchus at Columbia University”, *BASP* 48 (2011), pp. 9–11.

¹⁶ The Michigan papyrus is edited by N.E. Priest, “P.Mich.Inv. 6653 and P.Köln I 21: A Convergence”, *ZPE* 33 (1979), pp. 35–37 and “Michigan Homeric Papyri I: Iliad A–P”, *ZPE* 46 (1982), pp. 54–55.

¹⁷ Whereas B. Kramer dates *P.Köln* 1:21 to 1st cent. CE, N. E. Priest argues for a date in 2nd–3rd cent. CE.

- P.Oxy. inv. no. 33 4B 79/B(2-5)a (2nd-3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.114-163. Unpublished, West 740.
 P.Oxy. inv. 37 4B 111/M(1-3)a (no date assigned). *Ilias* 1.122-134, 135-167. Unpublished, West 743.
 P.Oxy. inv. 24 3B 74/J(a) (1st-2nd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.123-144. Unpublished, West 744.
 P.Schøyen inv. MS 1389 (3rd cent. CE). *Ilias* 1.128-155. Unpublished.

→	-----	
1	μεγα]θυμοι Αχαιοι	135
2	α]γαξιον εσται	
3	]αυτοσ ελωμαι	
4	]οδυσσηοσ·	
5	κεχολω]ζεται ον κεν ικω]μαι	139

Commentary

137. ελωμαι Roca-Puig reads a rough breathing on ε, but the surface is too damaged to recognise any shape in the flecks of ink visible high above the ε. Similarly, he interprets the flecks of ink above second α as a sign with the shape of a tiny ν. I believe they are accidental, as the aforementioned flecks above ε most probably are.

138. οδυσσηοσ· the double sigma, present also in *P.Oxy.* 3:536, makes the verse unmetrical. It may have been taken by mistake from the nominative Ὀδυσσεύς¹⁸.

The high stop stands at line-end in a place where no pause seems to be required; on the other hand, no sign can be observed at the end of l. 136, where modern editors do place a high stop. Thus, although we cannot ascertain whether there was a stop at the end of ll. 135, 137 and 139, it does not seem that the sign was written here either to mark a pause or as a convention marking simply the end of line. It seems rather that it has been used in the same way as a line-filler; i.e. as a graphic element contributing to the ‘mise en page’ of the text.

139. Our papyrus presents this line, which was athetized by Aristarchus, as schol. 1.139a, attributed to Aristonicus, informs us: <ἄξω ἑλών:> ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι πλήρης ὁ λόγος, ἀλλαγῆς γενομένης τοῦ ῥήματος, “ἔλωμαι” (A 137) ἀντὶ τοῦ

¹⁸ cf. Subacus, “Six Homeric Papyri”, p. 10.

ἐλοίμην. καὶ εἴηθεσ τὸ προσκείμενον <ὁ δὲ κεν κεχολώσεται> πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλε χολοῦσθαι; A¹⁹. This line, containing 35 letters, is in fact not much longer than some of the previous ones: ll. 135 and 136 have 35 and 34 characters, respectively. Some kind of correction – or annotation, regarding some textual discussion about the line – may have taken place in the lost section of the line, causing it to extend further to the right? AND

36. HOMER, *ILLIAD* 14.1-80, 369-381, 411-419

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 541A and B* Provenance: Theadelphia?
 Fr. A, 1: H. 16.2 cm. x W. 14 cm. Date: 3rd cent. CE
 Fr. A, 2: H. 2.7 cm. x W. 3 cm.
 Fr. B: H. 10 cm. x W. 6 cm.
 CEDOPAL 0914.103
 TM/LDAB 120582

About 25 fragments of very thin and fragile papyrus featuring a light colour were puzzled up to form two codex folia, one of them complete in its width and most of its length, the second one only a very small fragment of the lower part of the folium. The margins preserved in fr. A are at the top 2.9 cm., at the left 1.1 cm. and in fr. B, only at the bottom 2 cm. In fr. A, we are dealing with the upper part of pages 1 and 2 of a papyrus codex²⁰. We calculate that the original codex had a tall shape of about H. 27

¹⁹ When citing the *scholia vetera* to the Iliad, I follow Erbse's edition: H. Erbse (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)* (Berlin-New York, 1969-1988).

* This piece was first published as *P.Poethke* 37: S. Torallas Tovar – K. A. Worp, "Three papyri from the Roca-Puig Collection at the Abbey of Montserrat: a) A fragment of Homer's Iliad XIV b) Two Tax Receipts from Early Arabic Egypt", *Archiv* 55/2 (2009), pp. 465-472. We reproduce the *ed. princ.* with a few minor amendments in lines 48, 52, 53, 55, 64.

²⁰ For such codices in general, see the fundamental study by Turner, *Typology*.

cm. x W. 16 cm. See Turner, *Typology*, 18, group 6; cf. also E. G. Turner, “Some Questions about the Typology of the Codex”, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (München, 1974; *Münch.Beitr.* 66), pp. 427–437, esp. 430, group 6.

The text is written in black ink. The handwriting, a slanting and irregular cursive, can probably be assigned to the second half of the 3rd cent. CE. The hand is strikingly similar to those of the Heroninus archive, especially *P.Flor.* 2:259²¹. See Roberts, *GLH*, pl. 22a: *P.Flor.* 2:108; pl. 22c: *P.Ryl.* 1:57; and 22d: *P.Flor.* 2:259, all dating shortly before or shortly after 260 CE. See also Cavallo, *Scrittura Greca*, p. 109, who describes it as a slanting hand, with a quick ductus which results in a semicursive hand. For this reason we have assigned as a probable provenance Theadelphia, although we understand that palaeographical similarity is not sufficiently compelling to propose this provenance with certainty.

It features very few diacritical marks: dihaeresis on the iota of ἰαχή (l. 1), υἱός (l.9) ὀξεῖ (l. 12), εἴσιδεν (l. 13), δ]αῖζόμε[v]ος (l. 20) Ἰλιον (l. 46), ἱππότα (l. 52), ἀρήϊα (l. 381), or the upsilon of ἐϋπλόκαμος (l. 6), ἀϋτῆς (l. 37, although only the dihaeresis is preserved), ἐϋκ[v]ήμιδες (l. 49), [τ]ετεύχεται (l. 52). The iota adscript appears in κ[λι]σίη (l. 10) χαλκῶι (l. 12), πο[ρφ]ύρηι and κωφῶι (l. 13), ῶι (l. 55), and incorrectly in βοῆι (l. 4).

The first folium composed of ca. 22 fragments of papyrus contains now approximately the first 80 verses of book 14 (Ξ) of Homer’s *Iliad* (on the recto of Fr. A: ll. 1–26 + ll. 33–37, resp. on its verso: ll. 44–68 + ll. 76–80). Originally, Fr. A counted on average 43 lines per page; this is of some importance for calculating the original size of the codex (see below). Both sides of the first folium feature at the top of the page a numeral (α = 1, resp. β = 2). The

²¹ On the few literary texts of this archive, cf. D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in third century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 12: Two Homer fragments (*Iliad* 3 and 8), Demosthenes, *De Corona*, an unidentified Greek comedy and a fragment of a philosophical polemic.

separate, much smaller papyrus fragment B offers the lower part of pages 9 and 10 (ll. 369–381, resp. 411–419) of the same codex.

We calculate that, if the original codex contained the whole of Iliad 14 (= 522 lines), then approximately 12.5 pages (= slightly more than 6 folia) were needed for writing down only this book.

The papyrus from Montserrat does not present many interesting variant readings. The text has been collated with M. L. West (ed.), *Homeri Ilias* (Stuttgart–München, 1998–2000). We use his sigla for various mss. Its format, however, makes it interesting, as it is a rather early example of a papyrus codex. Other attestations of Iliad 14 in codex form are LDAB 1912 = *P.Mert.* 1:3, for verses 108–126, 162–177 and LDAB 1924 = *PSI* 10:1169, for verses 232–251, 291–310²². We have established that these texts are not related to the Montserrat papyrus. Other papyri containing parts of book 14 in roll form are far more fragmentary, and none of these contains the opening of this book. For these reasons we venture to think that P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 541 may rightfully claim scholarly interest.

Fr. A, 1 recto

→

- 1 [Νέστορα δ' οὐκ] ἔλ[αθ]εν ἰαχὴ πίν[οντά] περ ἔμ[πης.]
 2 [ἀλλ' Ἀσκληπι]άδην ἔπεα πτερόε[ντ]α π[ροσ]ηύδα·
 3 [φράζεο, δῖε Μαχᾶο]ν, ὅπως ἔσται τ[άδ]ε ἔργα·
 4 [μείζων δὴ παρ]ὰ νηυσὶ βοή[ι] θάλαρῶν αἰζηῶν.
 5 [ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν ν]ῦν πῖνε καθήμεν[ο]ς αἴθορα [οἶνον,]
 6 [εἰς ὃ κε θερμὰ λοε]τρὰ ἐϋπλόκαμος [Ἐ]καμήδη
 7 [θερμὴν καὶ λο]ύση ἄπο β[ρ]ότον [αἶ]ματόεντα,
 8 [αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐλθὼν] τά[χα εἴ]σομαι [ἔς] περιωπήν.
 9 [ὥς εἰπὼν σ]άκ[ος] εἴλε τετυγμέν[ο]ν υἱὸς ἐοῖο
 10 [κείμενον ἐ]ν κ[λι]σίηι Θρασημήδεος ἵππ[ο]δά[μο]ιο,

²² Photo in G. Cavallo, *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico, Mostra di papiri* (Firenze, 1998), tav. 53.

11 [χαλκῶ πα]μ[φα]ῖνον· ὁ δ' ἔχ' ἀσπ[ί]δα πατρὸς[ς] ἑοῖο·
 12 [εἶλετο δ' ἄλκι]μον· ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὄξεϊ χαλκῶι.
 13 [στῆ δ' ἐκτὸς κλ]ισίηι, τάχα δ' εἴσιδεν ἔργον ἀ[ει]κές,
 14 [τοὺς μὲν ὀρινο]μένους, τοὺ[ς δὲ] κ[λο]γέον[τ]ας ὄπισθε
 15 [Τρῶας ὑπ]ε[ρθ]ύμους· ἐρέριπτε[ο δὲ τεῖ]χος Ἀχαιῶν.
 16 [ὥς δ' ὅτε] πο[ρφ]ύρηι πέλαγος μ[έγα κ]ύματι κωφῶι
 17 [ὀσσομέν]ον λιγέων ἀνέμων λ[αι]ψηρὰ καίλευθα
 18 [αὐτῶς ο]ὕδ' ἄ[ρα τε πρ]οκυλίνδεται οὐδ' ἐτ[έ]ρωσε
 19 [πρὶν τινα κεκριμέ]νον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς [ο]ὔρον,
 20 [ὥς ὁ γέρων ὠρμ]αινε, δ[αῖ]ζόμε[ν]ος κατὰ θυμὸν
 21 [διχθάδι', ἠ μεθ' ὄμιλον ἴο]ι Δαναῶν [τα]χ[υπ]ώλων,
 22 [ἦε μετ' Ἀτρείδην Ἀγαμέ]μνον[α, ποιμένα] λαῶν.
 23 [ὥδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δο]άσσα[το κέρδιον εἶ]ναι,
 24 [βῆναι ἐπ' Ἀτρείδην. οἱ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζο]ν
 25 [μαρνάμενοι· λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χροῖ χαλκὸς ἀτειρή]ς

Fr. A, 2 recto

33]...[
 34 [αἰγιαλὸς νῆας χ]αδέειν, σθείν[οντο δὲ λαοί·]
 35 [τῷ ῥα προκρόσσα]ς ἔρυσαν καὶ π[λῆσαν ἀπάσης]
 36 [ἠϊόνος στόμα μ]ακρόν, ὅσον [συνεέργαθον ἄκραι·]
 37 [τῷ ῥ' οἶ γ' ὄψ' αἰόντ]ες ἀ[ῦ]τῆς κ[αὶ πολέμοιο]

Fr. A, 1 verso

↓

44 δείδω μ[ῆ] δῆ μον τελέ[ση ἔπο]ς ὄβριμος Ἐκ[τωρ·]
 45 [ὥ]ς ποτ' ἐπ[ηπ]εῖλησεν ἐνὶ [Τ]ρώεσσ' ἀγορέγων,
 46 μὴ πρ[ὶν] πα[ρ] νηῶν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἀπονέεσθαι,
 47 πρ[ὶν] πυρὶ νῆας ἐ[ν]ιπρῆ[σα]ι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.
 48 κε[ῖνος τῶς] ἀγ[όρε]υε· τὰ δὲ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.
 49 [ὧ πόποιοι, ἦ ῥα καὶ ἄ]λλοι ἐϋκ[ν]ήμιδες Ἀχαιοί

50 [ἐν θυμῷ βάλλονται] ἐμοὶ [χ]όλον, ὡς περ Ἀχιλ[λεύς,]
 51 [οὐδ' ἐθέλουσι] μά[χ]εσθαι ἐπὶ πρυμνήσι νέεσσ[ι].
 52 [τὸν δ' ἠμείβ]ετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἵππότης Νέστ[ωρ].
 53 [ἦ δὴ ταῦτά γ']ἐ[τοῖ]μα [τ]ετεύχεται, οὐδέ κεν ἄλλ[ω]ς
 54 [Ζεῦς ὑ]ψιβρε[με]μέτης αὐτὸς πα[ρ]ατεκτῆναιτο.
 55 [τεῖχος] μ[ε]ν γὰρ δὴ κατερήριπεν, ὧι ἐπέπιθμεν
 56 [ἄρρηκτο]ν νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν εἶλαρ ἔσεσθαι,
 57 [ο]ἱ δ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θοῆ[σι] μάχ[ην ἀλί]αστον ἔχουσι[ν]
 58 [ν]ωλεμές· [ο]ὐδ' ἄν [έ]τι γνοιῆς μ[άλ]α περ σκοπιάζω[ν,]
 59 ὀπποτέρω[θε]ν Ἀχαιοὶ ὀρι[νό]μενοι κλονέ[ο]ντα[ι].
 60 [ὦ]ς ἐπιμιξ [κτ]εῖν[ο]νται, αὐτὴ δ' οὐρα[νὸν ἴκει].
 61 [ἦ]με[ῖ]ς δὲ φ[ρα]ζώμεθ', ὅπως ἔσται τ[ά]δε ἔργα,
 62 [εἶ] τι νόος [ρέ]ξει. πόλεμος δ' οὐκ ἄμ[με] κεύω
 63 [δ]ύμενοι· οὐ γὰρ πως βεβλήμ[ε]νον ἔσ[τι] μάχεσθαι.
 64 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέε[ι]πεν ἄναξ ἀνδ[ρῶν] Ἀγαμέμνων·
 65 [Νέστορ, ἐπε]ὶ δὴ ν[η]υσὶν ἐπι]πρύμ[νησι] μάχονται.
 66 τεῖχος δ' οὐκ ἔχρα[ισμε] τετυγμένον, οὐδέ τι τάφρος,
 67 ἦ[ι] ἐ[πι]πόλλ' ἔπ[αθον] Δαναοί, ἔλποντο δὲ θυμῷ
 68 [ἄρρηκτον] νη[ῶν] τε καὶ αὐτῶν εἶλαρ ἔσεσθαι.]

Fr. A, 2 verso

76 [ἔ]λκωμεν, πάσας δὲ ἐρύσσομε[ν] εἰς ἄλλα [δ]ῖ[αν],
 77 [ὑ]ψι δ' ἐπ' εὐνάων ὀρμίσσομε[ν], εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθ[η]
 78 [ν]ῦξ ἀβρότη, ἣν καὶ τῆ ἀπόσχ]ωνται πολέμ[οιο]
 79 [Τρῶες· ἔπειτα δέ κεν ἐρυσαιμ]εθα νῆας [ἀπάσας].
 80 [οὐ γὰρ τις νέμεσις φυγέειν κακ]όν, οὐδ' [ἀνὰ νύκτα·]

1 ἰαχή ἱ Pap. 4 l. βοή 6 εὐπλόκαμος ὑ Pap. 12 ἔγχος χ ex corr. ὀξεί ἱ Pap.
 13 l. κλισίης εἰσίδεν ἱ Pap. 14 West ὀπισθεν 17 l. κέλευθα 20
 δ]αιζόμε[ν]ος ἱ Pap. 34 l. στείνοντο 44 l. μοι 45 l. ἀγορεύων 46 ἴλιον ἱ
 Pap. 49 ἐκ[ν]ήμιδες ὑ Pap. 51 West νέεσσιν 52 ἵππότης, Pap. corr. ἵππόδα
 τ ex δ 53 [τ]ετεύχεται ὑ Pap. 54 l. ὑψιβρεμέτης 57 West ἔχουσιν 61 ὅπως
 ο ex α 62 l. πόλεμον 77 εἶ ex corr.

Fr. B recto

-
- 369 [ἡμεῖς ὀτρυνώμεθ' ἀμ]υγ[έ]μεν ἀλ[λήλοισιν.]
 370 [ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ] εἶπω, πρ[ε]θ[ω] [μεθα πάντες·]
 371 [ἀσπίδες, ὄσσαι ἄρι]στ[α]ι ἐ[ν]ι στρατ[ῶ] ἡδὲ μέγισται,
 372 [ἔσσάμενοι, κεφαλὰς δ]ὲ παναίθ[η]σιν κορύθεσσι
 373 [κρύψαντες, χερσὶν] δὲ τὰ [μ]ακρότ[ατ' ἔγχε'] ἐλ[ό]ντες,
 374 [ἴομεν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἡγήσομαι,] οὐδ' [ἔτι] φημί
 375 [Ἐκτορα Πριαμίδην μενέειν] μάλα περ μ[ε]μαῶτα.
 376 [ὅς δὲ κ' ἀνὴρ μενέχαρμος, ἔ]χη δ' ὀλίγον [σάκος ὤμω,
 377 [χείροσι φωτὶ δότω, ὃ δ' ἐν ἀσ]πίδι μείζ[ονι] δύτω.]
 378 [ὡς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα το]ῦ μά[λα μ]έν κλύιον οὐ[δ']
 ἐπίθοντο].
 379 [τοὺς δ' αὐτοὶ βασι]λῆ[ες ἐ]κόσμεον οὐτ[άμενο]ί [περ,]
 380 [Τυδείδης Ὀδυσεύς τε] καὶ Ἀτρεΐδης [Ἀγ]αμέμ[ων],
 381 [οἰχόμενοι δ' ἐπὶ πάντα]ς ἀρήϊα τ[εύχε'] ἄμειβον·]

Fr. B verso

-
- 411 [πὰρ ποσὶ μαρ]γα[μ]έγων ἐκ[υλίνδ]ετο, τῶν ἐν αἰέρας]
 412 [στῆθος βεβλήκειν ὑπ]ἔρ ἄντυγ[ος ἀγχόθ]ι δειρήσ[·]
 413 [στρόμβον δ' ὡς ἔσσει]ε βαλῶν, π[ε]ρὶ δ' ἔδραμε πάντη[·]
 414 [ὡς δ' ὄθ' ὑπὸ πληγῆς π]ατρὸς Διὸ[ς ἐξ]ερίπη δρυῖ[ς]
 415 [πρόρριζος, δεινὸν δὲ θεοῦ] γίνεται ὀδμή]
 416 [ἔξ αὐτῆς,] τὸν δ' [οὐ] περ ἔχει θράσος ὅς κεν ἴδηται]
 417 [ἐγγὺς ἐὼν χαλεπὸς δὲ Δ]ιὸς με[γάλοιο κεραυνός]
 418 [ὡς ἔπεισ' Ἐκ]τορος ὄξ[α] [χ]αμαὶ μέ[νος ἐν] κονίησιν·]
 419 [χειρὸς δ' ἔκβ]αλεν [ἔ]γχο[ς ἐ]π' αὐτ[ῶ] δ' ἀσπίς ἐάφθη]
 371 ἄρι]στ[α]ι perhaps ἄρ]ξ[α]ι 372 παναί. [The traces of the letter following
 ι do not match with the expected θ. They rather look like a ρ or a μ. 376 West
 ἔχη: ἔχει Aristarchus TRWG 377 West μείζονι 378 ου[δε] corr. to ἡ[δε], 380
 l. Ἀγαμέμνων. 381 ἀρήϊα ἱ Pap. STT-KAW

37. HOMER, *ODYSSEY* 5.113 – 122

P. Monts.Roca inv. no. 48*
 H. 6.1 cm. x W. 5.5 cm.
 TM 61164/LDAB 2303

Provenance unknown
 Date: 1st cent. BCE–1st CE

Remains of 10 lines of writing written along the fibres of a fragment of a papyrus roll. No margins are preserved. The papyrus has partially preserved ll. 113–122 of book 5 of the *Odyssey*. The back is blank.

The script is a nice exemplar of a round hand of generous size, with lines and letters regularly spaced. Characters may be inscribed into uniform squares, and only υ, ψ (going below and above the line) and ρ (going below the line) break the bilinearity, just altered by a slight variation in the level of the base-line. The script presents no shadowing, but is ornamented by serifs, sometimes ticks, to the left of the lower end of vertical strokes, and, more rarely, blobs at their upper end. It is also possible to observe serifs to the right of lower ends of verticals, when they are the right-hand ones of a letter (e.g. η in 116, or even in the case of oblique strokes, as in λ in 121). It is only by strict comparison with the standard exemplars that we cannot include the hand in the formal round group, as defined by Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, pp. 21–22. In fact, the hand presents the features of the so-called square/round style, and, more precisely, those of the epsilon-theta style²³, characterized by the contraction of the middle cross-bar of these two letters to a dot, as tends to be the case here, or to a small hook. Another peculiarity of our script is the shape of ζ, of which

* This papyrus was first published by R. Roca-Puig (ed.), “El esquema arcaico de la letra Z en PBarc. inv. no. 48. Homero, Od. 5, 112–122. Siglo I a.C / I”, in B. G. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens, 25–31 May 1986* (Athens, 1988), pp. 353–363.

²³ Cf. Cavallo–Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, p. 16.

the central elements take the form of a vertical stroke²⁴. As examples of the epsilon-theta style, Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, p. 16, propose *BKT* 5:2, 113-114, from the middle of 1st cent. BCE, *P.Oxy.* 31:2545, from the end of the same century, and *P.Oxy.* 4:659, end of 1st cent. BCE beginning of 1st cent. CE²⁵. It is above all the latter that shares many of the characteristics of our script; although *P.Oxy.* 31:2545 also presents the same peculiar shape of ζ and the same kind of serifs at the lower end of strokes, *P.Oxy.* 4:659²⁶ features distinctly round shapes for the letters, as in our papyrus, and is executed somehow more informally, also breaking the bilinearity by ρ (more conspicuously here than in our script) and by the fluctuation of the base-line. On account of these coincidences I should be inclined to accept 1st cent. BCE – 1st cent. CE as a likely date for our papyrus.

There is a rough breathing on ε in 115, and, seemingly, remains of another one on first ε in 121 (see commentary to the lines); both seem to be due to the main hand. Iota adscript has been written in the only instance it could possibly appear (113). The text has been collated with Von der Mühl's edition of the Odyssey and, although no new variants have been found, the error in l. 120

²⁴ For examples of papyri presenting the same shape for ζ and for its distribution in time, see Roca-Puig, "El esquema arcaico", pp. 354-360.

²⁵ This hand is also to be found, in accordance with Cavallo-Maehler thesis on the koine of writing in the Hellenistic period (Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, pp. 16-17), in the Herculaneum papyri; G. Cavallo, *Libri, scritture, scribi a Ercolano* (Napoli, 1983), p. 38 mentions the contraction of the middle cross-bar of ε and θ as a characteristic of his group M in the Herculaneum papyri, and furthermore takes *P.Oxy.* 4:659, a very close parallel to our handwriting, as an exemplar of this kind of writing outside Herculaneum.

²⁶ Both *P.Oxy.* 31:2545 and *P.Oxy.* 4:659 appear in Turner-Parsons, *GMAW* with nos. 37 and 21, respectively, and of both of them it is said that "it is only by application of the strictest standard ... that it (their style of writing) deserves the adjective "informal" (Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, 21 and 72), as has been said above of our papyrus.

results in a textual innovation that points to a relatively intelligent scribe, who, nonetheless, produced a medium quality copy²⁷.

Other papyri containing remains of lines attested by our papyrus are:

P.Tebt. 3:697 (2nd cent. BCE). Od. 4.796-812, 5.6-264 (with lacunae). Only a few letters of l.114 overlap with our text.

PSI 1:8 (end of 1st cent. CE / beginning of 2nd cent. CE). Od. 5.106-113. Only its last line overlaps with our text, presenting no divergencies.

P.Cair. inv. 65445²⁸ (3rd cent. BCE). Od. 5.116-124. The text overlaps with ours from line 116 onwards, presenting peculiar unique variant readings²⁹ (see commentary to the text).

P.Qasr Ibrim 8 I-II & IV-VII³⁰ (1st cent. BCE). Od. 5.122-33, 135-41, 165-71. The papyrus overlaps with ours just at its first line (122), which is the last one preserved in our text. Both papyri share the peculiar shape of ζ, but the possibility that they belong to the same roll is excluded by the presence of the same text in l. 122.

→	-----	
1	]τηιδ α[ιϰα φι]λω[ν	113
2	ο]ι μοιρ ςϵτι φιλουϵ τ ιδ[εειν	
3	]υποροφον και ξ[ην	115
4	]ριγηϵν δε Καλυψω[
5	]φ[ω]γηϵα[ϵ] επ̄εα[
6	ϵχ̄ετλιο]ι εϵτε θεοι ζηλημο[νεϵ	

²⁷ Our papyrus may be regarded as one of those copies showing high production standards but no special preoccupation for the text transmitted, such as described in A. Nodar, “Papiri omerici senza segni di lettura”, in G. Bastianini - A. Casanova (eds.), *I Papiri Omerici. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi. Firenze, 9-10 Giugno 2011* (Firenze 2012), pp. 213-229; esp. pp. 222-226.

²⁸ O. Guéraud – P. Jouguet (eds.), *Un livre d'écolier du IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo, 1938).

²⁹ Cf. Guéraud – Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier*, p. 18: “Les variantes principales sont, soit d'évidentes bévues (...), soit des conjectures inutiles destinées à rendre le texte plus clair (...) ou à corriger d'apparentes fautes de métrique (...)”.

³⁰ M. E. Weinstein – E. G. Turner (eds.), “Greek and Latin Papyri from Qasr Ibrim”, *JEA* 62 (1976), pp. 115-130, esp. pp. 118-119 no. 3: “Odyssea 05,122-133, 135-141, 165-171”.

7]αγαααθε παρ αν[δραειν
 8 τ]ε ρφι φιλον πο[ιησετ 120
 9 ωριων]α ελετο ροδ[οδακτυλοσ
 10]θεοι ρει[α

Commentary

113. *PSI* 1:8 presents an obelos against this line, as well as against 109, 110 and 111. In 110 the obelos is accompanied by an asterisk and a dipole periestigmene, and in 111 by a dot. See editio princeps and re-edition by M. Manfredi, *Papiri dell'Odissea. Seminario Papirologico 1977-78* (Firenze 1979), pp. 47-51 for discussion about the critical signs.

Before this line, Roca-Puig prints τον νυν ς' ηνωγειν απ]οπ[εμπεμεν οπι ταχιτα, but I cannot see any remains of l. 112.

τηδ Roca-Puig sees an apostrophe after δ, but I can only see partially darkened surface, not ink, between this letter and following α.

λω[v remains of ink below ω, seemingly accidental.

114. τ our papyrus does not omit the enclitic τ', as some MSS do.

115. ξ[ην after ξ there is surface for at least three letters, but it is extremely abraded. Roca-Puig, however, prints και ξην ες. The rough breathing is most likely meant to prevent confusion with the imperfect form from εἰμί.

116. ριγησεγ with the manuscript tradition, against γήθησεν in P.Cair. inv. no. 65445.

Καλυψω[nothing more than very scanty and dispersed flecks of ink remain from κα on a very abraded surface.

117. φ[ω]γηα[ς] επεα[nothing more than very scanty and dispersed flecks of ink remain from πεα on a very abraded surface; ε before them is, however, recognisable, which seems to indicate that in this case the scribe would not have written the participle in *scriptio plena* (i.e. φωνηαα επεα), as it appears in P.Cair. inv. no. 65445, or as he himself does below in l. 121.

118. ζηλημο[νεσ with the manuscript tradition, against δηλήμονεσ (cf. Il. 24. 33), which seems to be an ancient reading; cf. schol. 5. 118. 36 γράφεται δηλήμονεσ E³¹.

120. σφι does not belong to the transmitted text (Roca-Puig reads σφι); σφι might be interpreted as a case of dittography caused by φιλον, which follows immediately after, but then the scribe has been led to think of the pronominal form σφι, in the dative, which suits the context very well: “if any of them (the goddesses) ever takes a mortal *for herself* as a beloved bedfellow”. The ink on the lower vertical of φ might be interpreted as a sign intended to erase the wrongly written letters, but, since it appears only on φ, and not the three of them, and the scribe has succeeded to make sense of the error, after all, it might be regarded as purely accidental, as in many other instances on the papyrus surface.

121. The verses 121–124 (or just 123–124) were suspected in Antiquity; cf. *Schol.* 5.124 οὐδέποτε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἄρρενασ φονεύει· διό τινεσ ἀθετοῦσι τοὺσ στίχοσ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τῆσ ἱστορίας μέμνηται ὡσ τὸν Ὠρίωνα πλημμελοῦντα εἰσ αὐτὴν ἡμύνατο ἡ Ἄρτεμισ. HPQ.

α the remains of ink, of an oblique descending to right with the extremity of a cross-bar at mid-height, suit α better than ν. The scribe would have effected no elision here, causing a hiatus and making the verse unmetrical. ελετο remains of rough breathing above first ε? AND

³¹ When citing scholia to this book of the *Odyssey*, I follow Dindorf's edition: W. Dindorf (ed.), *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam* (Oxford, 1855, repr. 1962).

38–40. CLASSICAL LITERATURE

38. DEMOSTHENES, *ORATIO* 21.62

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 275*

H. 8.3 cm. x W. 4.8 cm.

TM/LDAB 113820

Provenance unknown

Date: early 1st cent. CE

This papyrus fragment features eleven fragmentary lines of a scroll. The verso is blank. The hand is an upright, large bilinear uncial. Although it is taller than broad, it can be described as *informal round*, according to Turner-Parsons' terminology (*GMAW*, p. 21), by reason of the general curvature of the strokes and the absence of contrast between narrow and broad letters. Vertical strokes are often decorated by serifs (γ ι), but more characteristically present a hook to the right (μ ν), which is also visible in many of the oblique strokes ascending to the right (λ α). The upper stroke of the epsilon touches the end of the middle stroke. The writing was carefully executed and spacing between letters and lines is regular. The hand is strikingly similar, if not exactly the same as P.Mich. inv. no. 1575, containing Homer's Iliad³². This papyrus was originally dated to the 1st-2nd cent. CE, but later assigned by Moretti³³ to the beginning of the 1st cent. CE. His argument is based on the comparison with *P.Mil.Vogl.* 2:36,

* This papyrus was first published as *P.Worp* 2, A. Nodar-S. Torallas Tovar, "Demosthenes, Oratio 21, 62", in F. H. Hoogendijk - B. Muhs (eds.), *Sixty-Five Papyrological Texts. Presented to Klaas A. Worp on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden-Boston, 2008; *Pap. Lugd.Bat.* 33), pp. 5-8.

³² TM 61175 = LDAB 2314, published by N. E. Priest, "Michigan Homeric Papyri I: Iliad A-P", *ZPE* 46 (1982), pp. 88-91, Pl. IIa. She compared it to P.Berol. inv. 11516 = Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2, n. 24 (1st cent. CE). Photo available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu>.

³³ A. F. Moretti, "Revisioni di alcuni papyri homerici editi tra i *P.Mil.Vogl.*", *Tyche* 8 (1993), pp. 87-97, esp. p. 93, n. 16.

for which there is a *terminus ante quem* provided by a documentary text on the back dated to the end of the 1st cent. BCE or the beginning of the 1st cent. CE. This dating agrees with the other two papyri presented above for comparison with our piece. We think the hand is more similar to the type of *P.Oxy.* 32:2620, and we consider that the Berlin papyrus features a formal round. Also similar, though not so much as the Michigan piece, is *P.Heid.* 4:289 (1st cent. CE). We suggest the same date for our Demosthenes papyrus.

The lines in each column of our papyrus must have contained ca. 15 characters, which make a line of ca. 7–8 cm. wide, while the Homer papyrus must have been at least twice that length to contain a whole hexameter. Hardly anything else can be said about the layout of the text due to the small size of the fragment. Since the papyrus presents no lectional signs, all diacritics and punctuation marks in our edition have been added according to modern practice.

→ -----
 1 Πολ[λῶν] ἱερ[ίνων,]
 2 [ῶ] ἄνδρες Ἀθ[ηναῖοι,]
 3 [γεγεν]ημένων [ἐχθρῶν]
 4 [ἀλ]λήλοις, ο[ὐ μόνον ἐξ]
 5 [ιδί]ων ἀλλὰ [καὶ ἐκ κοι-]
 6 [νῶ]ν πραγ[μάτων, οὐ-]
 7 [δε]ῖς πώπ[οτε εἰς το-]
 8 [σοῦτ]ον ἀν[αιδείας ἀφί-]
 9 [κετο] ὥστε [τοιοῦτόν]
 10 [τι τολμῆ]σαι [ποιεῖν.]
 11 [καίτοι φα]σὶν [Ἰφικράτην]

This fragment contains a passage of the Demosthenian oration 21, *In Midiam*, 62. For the purposes of the collation of our

text against the manuscript tradition we follow P. Leganés-F. Hernández Muñoz, *Demosthenis In Midiam* (León, 2008)³⁴. We equally use their sigla when referring to the different manuscripts (see list at the end). There are fifteen other papyri containing parts of the text of the same oration. We have been able to discard, on palaeographic grounds or otherwise, the possibility that our piece belongs to the same book as any of the other papyri (see list at the end). We have also examined, whenever images were available, the other Demosthenes papyri roughly contemporary to our piece, with the same result³⁵.

Commentary

2. ἄνδρες: Our papyrus agrees with all the other manuscripts, against the reading in M, which omits the word. MacDowell, *Demosthenes*, pp. 71–72, explains the omission in mss. deriving from A as a misinterpretation of the abbreviation for ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

7. πῶπ[οτε: The *scriptio plena* is attested in AFY (post correctionem) E and the Aldine editions. We have supplied the ending of the word in the lacuna following Leganés-Hernández Muñoz criteria, *Demosthenis*, p. 73, of keeping the *scriptio plena* when attested in both SA or in the majority of the *veteres*.

7-8. τοσοῦτον: The manuscripts read τοσοῦτ' ἀναιδείας. But our papyrus supports the reading of A and M. However, we should not infer from only this

³⁴ We have also consulted the editions of D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes. Against Meidias (Oration 21)*, edited with introduction, translation, and commentary (Oxford, 1990), and M. R. Dilts, *Demosthenis Orationes* (Oxford, 2002–2005).

³⁵ Lists of the Demosthenes papyri have been compiled and subsequently updated in the course of time. Among them we may mention those in B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta in papyris et membranis servata* 1-2 (Firenze, 1978 and 1981; *Pap.Flor.* 4 and 8); and Dilts, *Demosthenis Orationes*. See also F. Hernández Muñoz, “Los papiros y las arengas demosténicas (Or. I–XVII)”, *ZPE* 162 (2007), pp. 43–50. However, online databases, such as LDAB and CEDOPAL, which are constantly being updated, are today most valuable for the purposes of compiling material and accessing images.

piece of evidence that the papyrus attests to the same tradition represented by A against S. More text in the papyrus would be needed to sustain such an assertion. On this matter, see Leganés-Hernández Muñoz, *Demosthenis*, pp. 63-74; H. Wankel, “Zu dem neuen Yale Papyrus mit Demosthenes 8,6”, *ZPE* 102 (1994), p. 194; H. Wankel, “Bemerkungen zu Demosthenespapyri”, *ZPE* 94 (1992), pp. 1-7; R. Babcock, “Demosthenes *De Chersoneso* (P. Ct. YBR inv. 1348; pl. I.1)”, *ZPE* 100 (1994), pp. 45-46.

Codices

Veteres

- A Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 485, 10th cent. CE.
 F Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 416 (= 536), 10th cent. CE.
 S Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 2934, 9th-10th cent. CE.
 Y Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 2935, 10th cent. CE.

Recentiores

- M Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, *Matritensis* BN 4647, copied by C. Lascaris in 1486.
 E El Escorial: Biblioteca del Real Monasterio, *Escorialensis* R.I.20, 14th cent. CE.

In Midiam *papyri*

- Π¹ *P.Heid.* 1:207. LDAB 609. *Mid.* 104-105. 1st cent. CE.
 Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
 Π² *P.Oxy.* 56:3850. LDAB 664. *Mid.* 131-137. 2nd cent. CE.
 Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
 Π³ *P.Oxy.* 56:3846. LDAB 727. *Mid.* 6-8. 3rd cent. CE.
 Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
 Π⁴ *P.Oxy.* 56:3847. LDAB 724. *Mid.* 29-30. 3rd cent. CE.
 Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
 Π⁵ *P.Oxy.* 56:3848. LDAB 725. *Mid.* 48-51. 3rd cent. CE.
 Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
 Π⁶ *P.Oxy.* 56:3849. LDAB 726. *Mid.* 51-56. 2nd-3rd cent. CE.
 Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
 Π⁷ *P.Oxy.* 11:1378. LDAB 709. *Mid.* 151-154; 3rd cent. CE.
 Excluded for chronological reasons.
 Π⁸ P.Berol. inv. 13276. LDAB 704. (Hausmann, *Demosthenis* 2, p. 30).
Mid. 11-12. 3rd cent. CE. Since this is a parchment codex it is ruled out that it may be part of same book.
 Π⁹ *P.Harr.* 1:17. LDAB 743. *Mid.* 147. 4th cent. CE.
 Excluded both on chronological and palaeographical grounds.

- Π¹⁰ *P.Rain.* 1:8 (P.Vindob. inv. G 29816 a) + P.Whitehouse s.n. LDAB 748. *Mid.* 33, 39–43. 4th cent. CE. Ed. J. Lenaerts, *CdÉ* 42 (1967), pp. 131–136. Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
- Π¹¹ *P.Rain.* 3:47 (P.Vindob. inv. G 29833 a). LDAB 752. *Mid.* 91, 98–100, 102, 104–105, 110, 112, 124, 127, 129–130. 4th–5th cent. CE. Ed. alt. P.Lit. Lenaerts 11 (with identification). The codex format and the date exclude the papyrus.
- Π¹² *P.Lond.Lit.* 179 (Brit. Libr. inv. 131,2v). LDAB 611. (Hausmann, *Demosthenis* 2, p. 47). *Hypothesis and commentary to Demosthenes*, *Mid.* 1st cent. CE. The nature of the text excludes the possibility of identifying our text as part of this book.
- Π¹³ P.Vindob. inv. G 26007 (P.Rain. inv. 7). LDAB 751. *Lexicon to Demosthenes*, *Mid.* 4th–5th cent. CE. Ed. *SPP* 4:111–113. The nature of the text excludes the possibility of identifying our text as part of this book.
- Π¹⁴ P.Dubl. inv. C.3r. LDAB 4901. *Mid.* 126. 1st half of 1st cent. CE. Ed. S.A. Stephens, “Recycled Demosthenes”, *ZPE* 77 (1989), pp. 271–272. Excluded on palaeographical grounds.
- Π¹⁵ Trieste, Private collection Daris 261. LDAB 108963. *Mid.* 79. 2nd cent. CE. Ed. S. Daris, “Frustoli Letterari”, *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia* 3 (2006), p. 77.

There is a list of unpublished Demosthenes papyri in *P.Yale* 2:35–36.

AND-STT

39. FRAGMENT OF UNIDENTIFIED HELLENISTIC HISTORIOGRAPHY

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 267

Provenance unknown

Fr. 1: H. 2.8 cm. x W. 3.1 cm.

Date: 3rd cent. BCE

Fr. 2: H. 5.4 cm. x W. 3.4 cm.

Fr. 3: H. 16.8 cm. x W. 8.5 cm.

TM/LDAB 219235

The frame holds three papyrus fragments belonging originally to the same book roll. They present four columns of text, but it is not clear where they should be placed relative to each

other. The original height of the roll must have been at least ca. 18 cm. (see below the description of fr. 3). The surface of the papyrus was dirty and featured a layer of whitish gesso on the recto, probably due to the fact that the fragment derived from a papyrus cartonnage. After proper restoration, however, most of the text became fairly easily readable. The writing runs along the papyrus fibers. The verso of all three fragments is blank. For palaeographical reasons and because of its use for cartonnage we date this papyrus to the Ptolemaic period, and by comparison to palaeographical parallels, like *P.Lond.Lit.* 73 (Roberts, *GLH*, 3a) and *P.Lond.Lit.* 112, or P.Sorb. inv. no. 2303 (Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, 29) to the 3rd cent. BCE. The hand is a skilled upright, featuring contrast between smaller (θ ε ο ζ) and wider characters, and some ornaments in the form of serifs at the left of the horizontal stroke of the τ or both ends of the vertical stroke of the κ. The verticals of υ ρ τ descend a little below the line, and the verticals of μ η and α δ λ are curved. The hand, moreover, is very close to that of text 33 in the present volume, dated to the 3rd cent. BCE. The column is 3.5–4 cm wide³⁶. In the upper part of the intercolumnium in fr. 3 there is a sign that reminds of a small *coronis*, though it does not resemble any of the *coronides* we have seen before. For the function of a *coronis*, see F. Schironi, *To Mega Biblion: Book-Ends, End-Titles and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry* (Durham, NC, 2010; Am.Stud.Pap. 48), p. 10. At the same level in the line itself there is a horizontal line (or an ancora)³⁷ above two letters in column 1, which seems to be

³⁶ Although he presents later examples, this size places our roll in the group Prose column width class I (narrow), as in W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto, 2004), p. 108.

³⁷ The papyrus is broken there, but there seems to be a continuation of the horizontal stroke at the right, with a vertical stroke. This could be interpreted as an ancora, a sign for simple corrections. See Kathleen McNamee, *Annotations in Greek and Latin texts from Egypt* (New Haven, 2007; Am.Stud. Pap), p. 15, and

connected with the single dot to the left of the text in the intercolumnial space. Since the text is unknown, we cannot decide about the nature of the sign, but this is most probably a correction or deletion, being the horizontal stroke on the letters a sign of deletion (see Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 16). There are no punctuation signs, but the pauses are marked with spaces (cf. fr. 3, ll. 5 and 48), cf. Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 8.

Fr. 1 features the upper part of a column, since there is a margin at the top of ca 1 cm. Fr. 2 features the bottom of a column, since there is a bottom margin of 2.4 cm. Fr. 3 contains almost two complete columns of text. The margin at the top (0.8 cm.) is preserved, while there is no margin preserved at the bottom. At the end of col. 1 the fibers have disappeared. There might have been two lines following the preserved text. The space between columns is 0.5-1.2 cm. In the following pages we present a diplomatic transcription next to the interpretative edition of the text.

Fr. 1

→

1	παραλίᾳς ὄθεν α[ύ-]	παραλιασοθενα[]
2	τους ἔδει διαμ[έ-]	τουσεδειδιαμ[]
3	νειν εἰς [τ]ὸ περ[]	νεινεις[]οπερ[]
4	.....[ ]οσδοκ[ ]	.....[ ]οσδοκ[]

“... the coast where they had to stay ...”

Fr. 2

→

1	[...]ολε[.....]	[...]ολε[.....]
2	[] .. καὶ Εὐρυδίκης	[] .. καιευρυδικησ

eadem, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Brussels, 1992), pp. 11-15.

3	ἅμα θεραπεύων	αμαθεραπευων
4	ἐν τοῖς σωματο-	εντοισσωματο
5	φύλαξιν βουλό-	φυλαξινβουλο
6	μενος τοὺς η-	μενοστουση
7	[.....]ασπάσαι	[.....]ασπασαι

“and of Eurydice simultaneously taking care of (them) among the bodyguards, wishing to draw away ...”

Fr. 3

Col. 1

→

1	κτων παραιτοῡ-	κτωνπαραιτου
2	μενος .: σιγγέ-	·μενος σιγγε §
3	νεσθαι τῆς ἀγνοί-	νεσθαιτησαγνοι
4	ας καὶ συγγνώμης	ασκαισυγγνωμησ
5	τυχεῖν· ἀπὸ δὲ	τυχειν αποδε
6	[τ]ῆς θυσίας ταύτης	[.]ησθυσιασταυτησ
7	[κα]ταβᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν	[.]ταβασεπιτον
8	[α]ἰγιαλὸν διέπλευ-	[.]ιγιαλονδιεπλευ
9	σεν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ	σενπαλινεπιτο
10	στρατόπεδον	στρατοπεδον
11	[κα]ὶ παρασκευασά-	[.]ιπαρασκευασα
12	μενος τῇ θεῶι κα-	μενοστηθεωικα
13	τὰ τὰς εὐχὰς ἴμα-	τατασευχασιμα
14	[τ]ισμὸν παντελῆ	[.]ισμονπαντελη
15	γυναικεῖον ἔθν-	γυναικειονεθν
16	σεν καὶ	σεν και
17	.. σον κ[αὶ] φιάλην	.. σονκ[.]φιαλην
18	χρυσῆν καὶ μετα	χρυσηνκαιμετα
19	.. τῶν ἕκ τινος	.. τῶνεκτινος
20	.. μου πέλεκυν	.. μουπελεκυν
21	καὶ ξι[φίδ]ιον .ε	και ξι[.]ιον .ε
22	[.σ]ιδηροῦν	[.]ιδηρουν

23	[...]ΙΖΕΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ	[...]ΙΖΕΝΔΕΚΑΙ
24	[.....]ΓΑΙΚΑ	[.....]ΓΑΙΚΑ
25	[.....]..	[.....]..
26	[.....]ΤΡΥ	[.....]ΤΡΥ
27	[.....]ΝΟΥΣ	[.....]ΝΟΥΣ
28	[.....]ΩΣ	[.....]ΩΣ
29	[.....]ΝΤΩΝ	[.....]ΝΤΩΝ
30	[.....]ΩΝ ΔΥΣ-	[.....]ΩΝΔΥΣ
31	[.....]ΑΤΑ	[.....]ΑΤΑ
32	[.....]ΜΟΣΧΟΥ	[.....]ΜΟΣΧΟΥ
33-35	<i>traces</i>	

2-3 l. συγγένεσθαι τῆ ἀγνοίᾳ 29 dots on top and underneath the τ

“... going down from this sacrifice to the coast he crossed sailing back to the army camp and having prepared for the goddess, according to the vows, a full-sized female costume he offered a sacrifice (...) a golden bowl and with a (...) from some (...) an axe and a (...) dagger made of iron ...”

Col. 2

36-41 *traces*

42	τε[.....]προ[]	τε[.....]προ[]
43	Δ.[.....]...[]	Δ.[.....]...[]
44	..[...].ε.	..[...].ε.
45	σιν γυναικὶ θύ-	σινγυναικιθυ
46	ειν διὰ ταύτη[ν ἴν']	εινδιαταυτη[]
47	ἢ θυσία γίνητ[αι]	ηθυσιαγινητ[]
48	νομίμως· συ[ν-]	νομιμωσ συ[]
49	ετέτακτο δ' αὐ-	ἔτετακτοδau
50	τοῖς ἑκατόμβην	τοισηκατομβην)
51	αἰγῶν καὶ προ-	αιγωνκαιπρο
52	βάτων καὶ μός-	βατωνκαιμοσ
53	χων θύσαι καὶ	χωνθυσαικαι
54	δέξασθαι τοὺς	δεξασθαιτους

55	ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς	ενταισαρχαις
56	ὄντας καὶ ταῖς	οντασκαιταις
57	ἱερητείαις καὶ	ιερητειαισκαι
58	τοὺς ἀφηγού-	τουσαφηγου
59	μένους τοῦ πο-	μενουστουπο
60	λιτεύματος καὶ	λιτευματοσκαι
61	τοὺς ἰδιοξένους	τουσιδιοξενους
62	πάν[τα]ς. Τούτων	παν[]στουτων
63	ἀπεσταλμένων	απεσταλμενων
64	κατὰ θάλατταν	καταθαλατταν
65	τριταίων ἐπὶ τ[...]	τριταιωνεπιτ[...]
66	τὴν θυσίαν [...]	τηνθυσιαν [...]
67	των π.. [	τωνπ.. [
68-69	<i>traces</i>	

 49 ἐτετακτο Pap. Supralinear mark to the left of the epsilon 50-51 mark on the right margin

“ ... to a woman through this (fem.) in order that the sacrifice would occur according to the norms. And it was ordered to them to offer a hecatomb of goats, sheep, and calves, and to admit the magistrates and the priests and the leaders of the citizenry and all the foreign residents. Once these were sent out at sea on the third day (...) the sacrifice (...)”.

This papyrus preserves a fascinating fragment of unknown Hellenistic prose, which cannot be clearly ascribed to any author. It can be characterized as a piece of Hellenistic historiography, probably part of the historiography around the figure of Alexander the Great. There must be a central figure, subject of all the verbs and participles in third person, masculine singular (fr. 3, ll. 8-9 διέπλευσεν, ll. 15-16 ἔθυσεν, fr. 2, ll. 3 θεραπεύων, ll. 5-6 βουλόμενος, fr. 3, ll. 1-2 παραιτούμενος, l. 7 κα]ταβᾶς, and ll. 11-12 παρασκευασάμενος. While it is tempting to imagine this subject is Alexander the Great, it is impossible to assert it with certainty. The text mentions perhaps Ptolemy and a certain

Eurydice (fr. 2). This “Eurydice” can be one of five different women in Alexander’s family setting³⁸:

1. Eurydice I of Macedon, wife of Amyntas III, i.e. Alexander’s paternal grandmother.
2. Eurydice Adea, wife of Philip Arrhidaeus, Alexander’s half brother (born ca 335 BCE, married ca 322 BCE).
3. Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, wife of Ptolemy I. They married 321/320 BCE.
4. Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, wife of Philip II (ca 337 BCE), changed her name to Eurydice at marriage.
5. Eurydice II of Macedon (after the death of Alexander).

If we read line 1 as Πτ]ολε[μιαι.. then this might refer to Ptolemy I Soter and his second wife, Eurydice (n. 3). Ptolemy married her after the death of Alexander, and repudiated her in 287 BCE in order to marry Berenice (Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.6.8). She gave her daughter Ptolemais in marriage to Demetrius Polyorctes (Plutarch, *Demetr.* 46). Our text might refer to his daughter Ptolemais instead.

It is rather difficult to establish which episode this text can refer to with only two personal names and one of them only partially read. If we follow the order of fragments that we propose, Eurydice appears surrounded by bodyguards; then the coast is mentioned, a military camp, a sacrifice offered to a goddess of a female garment, a golden vase, an axe and an iron dagger. A hecatomb follows in the presence of magistrates, priests, leaders of the citizenry and all the foreign residents.

There is a military background to the scene (cf. fr. 3, l. 10 τὸ στρατόπεδον, ll. 48-49 συνετέτακτο), which also suggests that this is related to Alexander’s campaigns. These few elements do not

³⁸ See W. Heckel, *Who’s Who in the Age of Alexander the Great: Prosopography of Alexander’s Empire* (Malden, 2008), pp. 4, 64, 122-3, and for stemma 1, p. 377; see also *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 4, p. 298.

help in reconstructing a plot or in identifying a precise historical or fictional event, in order to narrow the possibilities of an author.

The episode of Alexander at Troy in 334 BCE (Arrian, *Anab.* 1.11, and Plutarch, *Alex.* 15), however, has elements in common with the text of the Montserrat papyrus: there is a crossing of the rivers Strymon and Hebrus, and then the Hellespont, where a φιάλη χρυσῆ is used in a sacrifice to Poseidon and the Nereids, and once in Troy a sacrifice to Athena, where Alexander offered his own panoply in exchange for some arms deposited in the temple since the time of the Trojan wars.

If this identification is correct, some of the women by name Eurydice in fr. 2 could be eliminated for chronological reasons (see the chronology of the five different women by this name above). The likeliest candidate is Cleopatra (alias Eurydice), seventh wife of Philip II (n. 4). Eurydice was apparently the established name for Macedonian queens, once married. On this see A. B. Bosworth, *Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 282-283, ad *Anab.* 3.6.5. After the death of Philip II, she was killed together with her newborn daughter Europa, by Olympias, who was very upset about the marriage of her husband to this woman. This could explain the "illicit relationship" hinted at in fr. 3, ll. 1-5 (cf. note).

Another solution for this chronological problem could be that both fragments belong to a much longer account, in which there was a distance between the columns in which the ten to fifteen year gap between 334 and 321 BCE was covered, and in which other Eurydice could be meant.

The early date of the fragment places the author at least before the 3rd cent. BCE, and allows to think of the first generation of the historians of Alexander: Callisthenes of Olynthus (*FGrHist.* 124), Anaximenes of Lampsacus (*FGrHist.* 134), Nearchus of Crete (*FGrHist.* 133), Cleitarchus of Alexandria (*FGrHist.* 137), Ptolemy son of Lagos (*FGrHist.* 138), Aristobulus of Cassandreia (*FGrHist.* 139), Chares of Mytilene (*FGrHist.* 125), Ephippus of Olynthus

(*FGrHist.* 126), Polyclitus of Larissa (*FGrHist.* 128), and Medeios of Larissa (*FGrHist.* 129), whose works are almost entirely lost. The fact that our text refers perhaps to Ptolemy and Eurydice could point rather at Ptolemy (*FGrHist.* 138), who narrated especially those events in which he himself had participated, but this is based on one of the identifications of the figure of Eurydice. On Alexander historians, see L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1960), P. Pédech, *Historiens compagnons d'Alexandre* (Paris, 1984), A. Zambrini, "The historians of Alexander the Great", in J. Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 210-220. On Ptolemy, L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories*, pp. 188-211, P. Pédech, *Historiens compagnons*, pp. 215-329. On the papyri of the historians of Alexander, see Luisa Prandi, *I papiri e le storie di Alessandro Magno* (Pisa: Serra, 2010; *CPSA.2* vol. 9). It is interesting to observe that the papyri collected in this volume are all later than the Montserrat piece (the earliest is 1F, 2nd-1st cent. BCE). This makes our papyrus, together with *P.Lond.Lit.* 112³⁹, the earliest papyrus fragment related to the historiography of Alexander. See also F. de Polignac, "Décomposition et reconstitution d'une culture savante. L'exemple des Vies d'Alexandre", in C. Jacob (ed.), *Des Alexandries II. Les métamorphoses du lecteur* (Paris, 2003), pp. 145-157; I. Denuzzo, "Le storie di Alessandro Magno nei papiri", *PapLup* 12 (2003), pp. 69-98; L. Giuliano, "PSI XII 1285 e le lettere del cielo di Alessandro", *STPNS* 12 (2010), pp. 207-222.

When we first started working on this prose fragment we contemplated the possibility that it was a fragment of Greek novel. However, the palaeographical date of the fragment and the

³⁹ See forthcoming reedition of *P.Lond.Lit.* 112, by Irene Pajón Leyra, "The nomima barbariká of P.Lond.Lit. 112 reconsidered", *JHS*. We are grateful to Irene for sharing with us her thoughts about the Montserrat papyrus and contributing to the identification process.

elements mentioned above, pointing rather towards a fragment of historiography around the figure of Alexander, dissuaded us from this idea. The known novel fragments are much later, being the earliest is the fragment of Ninus and Semiramis, 1st cent. CE. On the chronology of the Greek novel see in latest instance, G. Messeri, “I papiri di narrativa dal 1893 ad oggi”, G. Bastianini-A. Casanova (eds.), *I Papiri del Romanzo Antico* (Firenze, 2010), pp. 3-41. See also M. P. López Martínez, *Fragmentos papiráceos de novela griega* (Alicante, 1998) and S. A. Stephens - J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments* (Princeton, 1995).

Commentary

Fr.1

3. Perhaps read εἰς τὸ πέρ[αν], “to the other side”. Another possibility is εἰς τὸ περ[ιέχον].

4. []ροσδοκ[]: the last line of this fragment is difficult to read. The few letters that can be deciphered can be interpreted, if taken together, as a form of the verb προσδοκάω, and if taken separately as πα-/θυγα-/μη[τρ]ῶς δοκ[]. The shortness of the fragment does not allow any further reconstruction.

Fr. 2

1-7. [...]ολε[...] |].καὶ Εὐρυδίκης | ἅμα θεραπεύων | ἐν τοῖς σωματο- | φύλαξιν βουλό- | μενος τοὺς η- | [.....]ασπάσαι

While there is no finite verb in this fragment, we find two participles relating to the same subject θεραπεύων and βουλόμενος, which appear asyndetically. The subject of these verbs might be Alexander, or Ptolemy, if we reconstruct the first line as we propose below.

These σωματοφύλακες might refer to the bodyguards of Alexander. See W. Heckel, “The somatophylakes of Alexander the Great”, *Historia* 27 (1978), pp. 224-228, and his later *Marshals of Alexander's Empire* (Abingdon, 1992). The use of the verb θεραπεύειν for describing the tasks of the bodyguards appears in historians of Alexander in Arrian, fr. 1.38: τοὺς βασιλέας φρουρεῖν τε καὶ θεραπεύειν. Though this does not imply necessarily that the subject of the verb is a bodyguard, Ptolemy was indeed one of them.

For Eurydice, see above introd. If this scene happens during a military campaign, one may wonder if the wives of the companions of Alexander may have been present. Philip forbade his army to take women along on campaign

(Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 557b), and Alexander continued this ban, although important commanders may have been granted exceptions (Plutarch, *Alex.* 48.4–5). Diodorus Siculus, 17.35.3, describes the presence of the royal and noble women with the army as in accordance with an ancestral custom of the Persians, although there is no evidence of this in the best-attested Persian armies, those of Darius and Xerxes in Herodotus.

6. It is uncertain whether τοὺς η[] is the subject or the object of the action expressed by the verbal infinitive of l. 7. Perhaps read ἡ[μετέρους].

7. We must be dealing with a form of the verb σπάω (ἀνα-, κατα-, παρα-) in the form of inf.aor. Right before the preserved part of the line, there is space for 7 or 8 characters. If we propose to supply ἡ[μετέρους], there is a problem with adding the three or four characters of the preverb.

An imperative of ἀσπάζομαι, ἄσπασαι, makes no sense in this context, and if we think of an infinitive, the medial form ἀσπάσασθαι is expected, rather than the active ἀσπάσαι. Though the transfer from the active for the medial form of the verb can be an explanation, cf. *LSJ*, s.v. and Mandilaras, *Verb*, § 370, p. 178, where he claims that certain middle verbs, including ἀσπάζομαι, occasionally transfer to active inflexion in documentary texts (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 8:1158.18), in a literary text one would not expect a colloquial use like this.

Fr. 3

1-5. κτων παραιτοῦ- | μενος .. σιγγέ- | νεσθαι τῆς ἀγνοί- | ας καὶ συγγνώμης | τυχεῖν: There are two letters in line 2 which remain difficult to read. These were highlighted by a supralinear horizontal sign, which seems to be related rather to the high dot to the left of the text in the margin, than to the paragraphos on the margin to the right. This is probably a correction mark, see Turner-Parson, *GMAW*, p. 16.

The construction of the verb συγγίγνομαι, ‘to consult, to come to assist’, governs the dative: συγγένεσθαι τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ. Perhaps here we should read <ἐκ> τῆς ἀγνοίας (cf. below the text of Timotheos). However, the precise meaning of this expression is not clear to us. There are however some examples of this expression with the meaning ‘to have sexual contact’, in the context of illicit relationships:

Timotheus Gramm. *Excerpta ex libris de animalibus* 32, 21–23: ὅτι ἐὰν ὁ καμηλίτης παρασκευάσῃ τὸν ἄρσενά ἐξ ἀγνοίας συγγενέσθαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ ἢ τῇ ἀδελφῇ, ἀναιρεῖται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

Plutarch, *De fluviis* 3.2: Ὁ Παγγαῖος, Ἄρεως καὶ Κριτοβούλης παῖς, τῆ θυγατρὶ **κατ' ἄγνοιαν συγγεγόμενος** ἀθυμία συσχεθεὶς ἔδραμεν εἰς Καρμάνιον ὄρος (...).

Plutarch, *De fluviis* 4.1: Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας **τῆ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγένετο**.

Plutarch, *De fluviis* 18.1: Ἀλιάκμων δὲ τῷ γένει Τιρύνθιος ἐν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ ποιμαίνων ὄρει καὶ **κατ' ἄγνοιαν τῆ Ἥρα συγγινόμενον** τὸν Δία θεασάμενος ἐμμανῆς ἐγένετο καὶ μεθ' ὀρμῆς ἐνεχθεὶς ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ποταμὸν Καρμάνορα (...).

Eudoxus Astr. F. 290 (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 356 E): Αἰσθομένην δὲ **τῆ ἀδελφῆ ἑρῶντα συγγεγονέναι δι' ἄγνοιαν** ὡς ἑαυτῆ τὸν Ὅσιριν, καὶ τεκμήριον ἰδοῦσαν τὸν μελιώτινον στέφανον (...).

Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes* 10.29: (about Oedipus) ... διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ **ἄγνοιαν**. ἔγνω γὰρ ὅτι **τῆ μητρὶ συνεγένετο** καὶ παῖδές εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἔξ ἐκείνης

All cases refer to sexual misconduct (with mothers, sisters). In our papyrus there is reference to apology and pardon (παραιτούμενος, συγγνώμης), followed by a sacrifice, perhaps to cleanse the guilt.

12. τῆι θεῶι: It is not clear in honor of which goddess the sacrifice is taking place. It could be Athena, receiving a dress in war times, or Hera, if the sacrifice has the purpose of cleansing an illicit relationship (cf. note above).

Alexander offered sacrifices to local gods wherever he arrived in his campaigns. He sacrifices to Athena at Magarsus, Arrian, *Anab.* 2.5.9: καὶ τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ τῆ Μαγαρσίδι ἔθυσεν, and at Nicaea in Bactria, Arrian, *Anab.* 4.22.6, and at Troy (see introd.). Το Artemis at Ephesus, Arrian, *Anab.* 1.18.2 αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσεν τῆ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμψε ζῦν τῆ στρατιᾶ πάσῃ ὀπλισμένη τε καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένη. The context of these sacrifices and the participation of the army, with the presence of the local dignitaries, are very close to the context of the Montserrat papyrus.

13-18. ἰμα- | [τ]ισμὸν παντελῆ | γυναικεῖον ἔθυ- | σεν . . . καὶ | ..σον κ[αὶ] φιάλην | χρυσῆν: The unreadable characters after the verb must be something like an adverb, followed by two new objects, one ..σον and φιάλην | χρυσῆν.

In ll. 13-14 ἰμα-[τ]ισμὸν παντελῆ has been translated as “full-sized costume”, meaning that a feminine apparel, perhaps the size of a goddess, is offered. According to G. Losfeld, *Essai sur le costume grec* (Paris, 1991), p. 44, the term ἰματισμός, not attested before the Hellenistic period, is not a precise garment, but a more general term for clothing, even an “assemblage de vêtements”. One finds in literature the use of the term ἰματισμός for specific costumes, e.g. τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἰματισμὸν in Diodorus, *Bibl.* 17.94.2, ἰματισμός Ἀραβικὸς in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 28.3, and it is the term used

generically for garments in the context of offerings in general in Septuaginta (Ex. 3.22, 11.2, 12.35, 21.10), cf. J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (Chico, CA, 1983), p. 101. According to F. M. J. Waanders, *The History of Telos and Teleō in Ancient Greek* (Amsterdam, 1983), § 175, p. 179, παντελής means ‘complete’, ‘with complete equipment’, denoting numerical completeness. This would fit with the idea of an offering of a complete female apparel, including all pieces which compose it, or a complete trousseau. The adjective παντελής, however might as well be interpreted as ‘complete size’ or ‘full-size’.

17-18. φιάλη χρυσοῦ: A golden patera is a vessel typically used for libations, generally of wine. There appears one in the context of sacrifice of bulls to Poseidon in Arrian, *Anab.* 6.19, and in a libation for the river Hidaspes in 6.8, and in a sacrifice in the Hellespont to Poseidon and the Nereids in 1.11 (see introd.).

18-22. καὶ μετὰ | ... ὧν ἕκ τινος | .. μου πέλεκυν | καὶ ξι[φίδ]ιον εἰ | [..σ]ιδηροῦν: While μετὰ- can stand as the preverb of a participle in lines 18-19 μετὰ | ... ὧν, like μεταφέρων, with πέλεκυν and | ... σιδηροῦν as object, it cannot be excluded that it can also stand as a preposition μετὰ followed by a gen.pl. in l. 19. We cannot devise the precise noun to follow τινος, ending in -μου. It can refer to the place from where the axe was drawn or brought.

The reading of lines 21-22 is all but clear. It is almost tentative since the surface is abraded and still has traces of the whitish gesso which difficult the reading. One may expect another object following the axe, made of iron. The word καὶ is not easy to read, especially the alpha. The space after the word καὶ and before the ξ is also difficult to explain, although it can be due to a displacement of the fibers of papyrus. We considered the possibility of reading μέ- | [γα, but the traces do not clearly fit the shape of a my.

24. The most probable reading is γυ]ναῖκα. Other possibilities like κυρηναῖκά or ληνναῖκά are not very attractive. If the letters are taken separately it could have other interpretations too.

29. Two dots, one above and one below the tau, which probably indicate a correction, see Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 16.

42. This is the first legible, though not complete line of the second column, and corresponds to line 7 in col. 1 of fr. 3.

43. The delta at the beginning of the line is slightly larger than the other letters and is also written in ekthesis. It must be a beginning of sentence or section.

47-48. ἡ θυσία γίνητ[αι] νομίμως: sacrifices according to custom or according to precise indications appear especially in Arrian, referring to sacrifices performed by Alexander: *Anab.* 7.24.3, νομιζόμενας θυσίας; *Anab.* 3.16.9, θύσας τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ; *Anab.* 3.16.5, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἔπραξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἔθυσεν. See also Arrian, *Anab.* 1.11: καὶ τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν ἀπ' Ἀρχελάου ἔτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε, “He offered to the Olympian Zeus the sacrifice which had been instituted by Archelaos and had been customary up to that time”.

49-51. There is a mark on top of the epsilon of line 49 and a curved mark on the margin to the right of the text perhaps related to the mark on the epsilon. This can be interpreted as a deletion, similar to parentheses which enclose the text to be expunged (see Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 16). Since we do not have the antigraphon or any other example of the text we cannot confirm this interpretation.

50. There is no reference in the historians of Alexander to a hecatomb offered by him. There is however a reference to a hecatomb offered in Athens in Suda A 1123: Ὅτι οὗτος ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος, νικήσας ναυμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τειχίσας τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἑκατόμβην θύσας πάντας εἰστίασεν Ἀθηναίους, “This Alexander the Great, having defeated the Lacedaemonians in a sea-battle and fortified Piraeus and sacrificed a hecatomb, feasted all the Athenians”. Since Alexander did none of the things attributed to him in this reference, this must be a case of mistaken identity. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 1.5, allows us to rectify it to Conon, who defeated the Lacedaemonians in the sea-battle at Cnidus in 394 BCE. In this passage, Alexander is mentioned regarding his munificence, compared then to Conon in a text which is surely the source of Suda: τοιοῦτος ἦν τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ ὁ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος. Κόνων δὲ τῇ περὶ Κνίδον ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τειχίσας τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἑκατόμβην τῷ ὄντι θύσας καὶ οὐ ψευδωνύμως πάντας Ἀθηναίους εἰστίασεν. Either this text is the direct source of Suda or they have a common source, and the comparison of both generals is the cause of the mistake, or Suda must have mixed up the much similar names of Alexander and Lysander, another Spartan general.

54-62. Arrian, *Anab.* 2.24.6 presents an interesting parallel to this scene of local dignitaries attending the offering. After taking Tyre, Alexander offered a sacrifice to Herakles, in the presence of the magistrates of the city and the king, whom he had amnestied because they had taken refuge in the temple of the god:

ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζέμιλκος καὶ Καρχηδονίων τινὲς θεωροὶ ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τι[να] νόμιμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμενοι.

54-57. Referring to those in the magistracies of the city and those in τοὺς | ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς | ὄντας καὶ ταῖς | ἱερηταίαις. The latter word is attested as ἱερατεία, ‘priesthood’, among other, in Septuaginta, *Ex.* 29.9, and *OGI* 90.52 (Rosetta, 2nd cent. BCE). Instead, one finds the spelling ἱερείτης in the lexicographers corresponding to ἱερεὺς (Ps-Zonaras, iota 1093.5; Suda iota 167.1. Aelius Herodianus et Ps-Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica*, 3.1.77.4 and Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας 3,2.436.19, Theognostus, *Canones sive De orthographia*, 247.8), which would explain a derivative ἱερατεία.

61. The term ἰδιόξενος is attested only in later Greek literature, among other, Lucian, *Phalaris*, 2.1, Plutarch, *Socr.* 576A.3. STT-KAW

40. COMMENTARY TO THEOCRITUS, *IDYLL*. 1.45 – 152, 7.5

P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 316^{*}

Provenance unknown

H. 12.9 cm. x W. 7.4 cm.

Date: 4th cent. CE

Mertens-Pack 1495.121

TM/LDAB 113900

This papyrus fragment is broken at the top, at the left, and at the right hand side. Its bottom margin is 1.5 cm wide. The recto of the papyrus contains traces of what looks like a documentary text.⁴⁰ The text of the commentary is written against the fibers in a tiny, upward rising cursive hand that can be dated to the 4th cent. CE: cf. the ‘Latin’ shaped *delta* (ll. 9, 14) and *eta* (ll. 13-14) and the *epsilons* rising above the line (ll. 8-9), cf Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 1, n. 47; 2, n. 53; Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, n. 4a and 9a. There are almost no

^{*} This papyrus fragment was first published in “Commentary to Theocritus *Idylls* 1.45-152, 7.5”, *Mnemosyne* 62 (2009), pp. 283-294.

⁴⁰ Against what was stated in the *editio princeps*, that the verso was blank. We apologize sincerely for this mistake.

14] μων· δισ{σ}υλλάβων γὰρ παραλήγουσαν· []
 15] πᾶσαι, κοῦραι, μοῦσαι, ταῦροι : λυγυξῆν δὴ[σειν
 16]αι ἢ ἄμαυρῶσαι, λυγαῖον / . σκότος : υβλ[
 17]ον ὄρος Ἄρκαδίας : Ἑλίκης ῥίον ἐν τῷ Λυκι.[
 18]ν ὄρος· οὗτος γὰρ [[το]] ὁ ἱερεὺς τ[ο]ῦ Λυκίου Διός
 : ἀρ[κεύθοισι
 19 σκῶ]ψ ὄρνεόν ἐστι παρ'αφώνων ἀηδὲς μῦαν[
 20]τηγανίζοντες ἐσθίου[σ]ι : οὐ μὴ σκ[ιρτασῆτε
 21 χαῶ]ν τ(ῶν) / ἀγαθῶν δωρικ[ῶς]
 22]ετις λακωνίζουσα δ[

5 καθίξη ἰ Pap. 15 l. λυγιξεῖν 16 ἡ Pap. 17 l. Λυκαίω (see note below)? 18 l. Λυκαίου (see note below)? 19 There is a supralinear diagonal line above the rho of παραφώνων; in our opinion this is accidental and has no diacritic meaning 21 ντ` Pap.

This Montserrat fragment is of some particular interest. It appears to provide us with part of a scholar's personal notes containing a kind of *Hypomnema* to Theocritus, *Idyll.* 1.45–152, followed immediately by a note which can be related to the Scholia to *Idyll.* 7.5–9.⁴² It offers an important ancient testimony for the

⁴² The *editio princeps* of the *scholia* is the work of Kalliergis, who included them in his edition of Theocritus in 1516. F. Dübner edited them in Paris (*Scholia in Theocriti Idyllia Auctiora*) in 1849. The most complete modern edition is that by C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum vetera* (Leipzig, 1914). He is also the author of the study *Überlieferung und Entstehung der Theokrit-Scholien* (Berlin, 1920). See also H. Maehler, “Die Scholien der Papyri in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Scholienkorpora in den Handschriften”, in F. Montanari (ed.), *La Philologie Grecque à l'Époque Hellénistique et Romaine* (Genève: Vandoeuvres, 1994; *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, 40), pp. 95–141, and *idem*, “L'évolution matérielle de l'hypomnema”, in M. O. Goulet-Cazé (ed.), *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation* (Paris, 2000), pp. 32–36; N. Wilson, “Scholiasts and Commentators”, *GRBS* 47 (2007), pp. 39–70; E. Dickey, *Ancient Greek Scholarship: A Guide to Finding, Reading, and Understanding Scholia, Commentaries, Lexica, and Grammatical Treatises. From Their Beginnings to the Byzantine Period* (New York, 2007), pp. 63–65; for the subject of Theocritus' scholia, see also C. Meliadò, “Scoli a Teocrito in POxy 2064 + 3548”, *ZPE* 147 (2004), pp. 15–26.

numerical order of the *Idylls*, the text of number 7 appearing here immediately after *Idyll* 1. This is in fact the order (also found in an important medieval manuscript, K = Ambros. 886 = C 222 inf.) advocated by no less than U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (Berlin, 1906; *Philologische Untersuchungen*, 18), see the introduction to *P.Oxy.* 2064, in A. S. Hunt, J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus papyri* (London, 1930; *Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, 22); for further observations on the order of the *Idylls* see the introduction by A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* (Cambridge, 1952), vol. 1, pp. lxvi-lxix and *P.Oxy.* 50: 3545-3552, 100 and 105.

At present, the evidence from antiquity for the order of the first nine *Idylls* is the following (for the indication Π^1 - Π^4 , see Gow, *loc.cit.*):

LDAB 3989: $\Pi^1 = P.Oxy.$ 2064	nos. 1, 6, 4, 5, 7, 3, 8, 9
LDAB 4003: $\Pi^2 = P.Oxy.$ 13:1618	nos. 5, 7
LDAB 4004: $\Pi^3 = P.Ant.$	nos. 1, 5, 7 ⁴³
LDAB 4005: $\Pi^4 = Mertens-Pack$ 1488	nos. 1, 4, 5
LDAB 113900: P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 316	nos. 1, 7
LDAB 4006: <i>BKT</i> 9:85	nos. 7, 3
LDAB 3996: <i>P.Oxy.</i> 64:4430	nos. 7, 3
LDAB 3995: <i>P.Oxy.</i> 50:3547	nos. 3, 4

For other Theocritus papyri featuring scholia and commentary, see:

- LDAB 4004 = Mertens-Pack 1487, *P.Ant.* s.n. + *P.Ant.* 3:207 (published in Hunt - Johnson, *Two Theocritus papyri*, pp. 19-87). *Idylls* 1, 2, 5, 12-15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28 - 30 (fragments) with scholia (5th-6th cent.) = Π^3
- LDAB 3989 = Mertens-Pack 1489, *P.Oxy.* 2064 (published in Hunt-Johnson, *Two Theocritus papyri*, pp. 3-19) + *P.Oxy.* 50:3548. *Idylls* 1, 3, 4, 5 - 9, 11 (fragments) with scholia (2nd cent.) = Π^1
- LDAB 4006 = Mertens-Pack 1489.4, *BKT*9:85 (P.Berol. inv. no. 21182) (*ZPE* 4 [1969], pp. 114-116, no. 8). *Idyll* 7.127-135 with scholion on 134, 3.1-8 (6th cent.)

⁴³ It may be followed by nos. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 (cf. Π^1 and *P.Oxy.* 50:3547), but this order is not established and may need to be changed.

- LDAB 3995 = Mertens-Pack 1489.5, *P.Oxy.* 50:3547. *Idylls* 3.49 – 4.2 with scholia (2nd cent.)
- LDAB 3997 = Mertens-Pack 1495.13, *P.Oxy.* 64:4432. *Idyll* 4.55-57, 62-63, commentary (2nd cent.)
- LDAB 3987 = Mertens-Pack 1496, *BKT* 5.1 p. 56 no. 4:2 (P.Berol. inv. no. 7506). *Idyll* 5.38-49, commentary (1st-2nd cent.)

Regarding the relation of our text to the tradition of the medieval scholia on Theocritus, our notes below show that it coincides only partially with the medieval manuscripts. Our text presents, e.g., for *Idyll* 1.152 a scholion that is absent from the extant scholia (if our interpretation is correct; see below our note to line 20); for other considerable divergences see ll. 7, 13-15, 19-29 and 22 and our notes *ad loc.* What is also striking is that the author of our notes seems to skip fairly large passages in Theocritus where a note might have been expected (see our note on ll. 13-15, noticing a gap between lines 67-97; likewise there are gaps to be noticed between ll. 98 and 118 and 136 and 152). The passages featuring some form of correspondence are just enough to show that our set of scholia apparently belongs to an earlier stage of development (i.e. some of them are simplified versions of later more elaborated scholia) or shares at least a common source with the ME scholia. Of the ancient philologists who worked on Theocritus, one may mention Theon and Asclepiades of Myrlea (first century BCE), Amarantus (probably 2nd cent. CE), Munatius and Theaetetus (2nd cent. or 4th-5th cent. CE); we do not have enough evidence to decide to which of them (if to any) this commentary can be attributed (on this, see Gow, *Theocritus*, vol. 1, pp. lix-lxii and lxxx-lxxxiv; Wendel, *Scholia*; Maehler “Die Scholien” and the introduction to *P.Oxy.* 64:4432); at best, one may note the indirect link with Theaetetus visible in l. 16 (see our note *ad loc.*).

Commentary⁴⁴

Within the text, the / (cf. ll. 5, 9, 11, 16, 21; the diagonal in l. 19 is a different case, see note) and the : (cf. ll. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20) serve a marker function. In particular, the : separates individual scholia, while the / connects a lemma with the scholion. Cf. Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 67.

2. ἀλίπρυτο[10 /: attested in Theocritus, *Idyll.* 1.45. Cf. also *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.45b, <ἀλιπρύτοιο>: τοῦ ἐν θαλάσση πονοῦντος καὶ τρυχομένου καὶ τειρομένου.

3. αἰμάσσεσθαι: cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.47b, <αἰμασιαῖσι> φραγμοῖς ἠκανθωμένοις· εἰς ἃς οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι αἰμάσσονται τοὺς ἰδίους πόδας, hence at line end one may consider restoring in our text perhaps τ[οὺς ἰδίους πόδας.

4. Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.48b, <ὄρχως> ὄρχος ὄρχάτου διαφέρει. ὄρχος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ βόθρος, εἰς ὃν ἐντίθεται τὸ φυτὸν πρὸς μοσχείαν, παρὰ τὸ ὀρύσσω ὄρχον τινα ὄντα, ὄρχατον δὲ τὴν ἐπίστιχον φυτείαν παρὰ τὸ ἔρχεσθαι. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης.

5. Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.51b, <ἀκράτιστον> οἱ μέλλοντες πολεμεῖν πρῶτας ἔτι οὐσης ὀλίγον τινα ἥσθιον ἄρτον καὶ ἄκρατον οἶνον ἔπινον, ὡς θερμοὶ ὧσι καὶ μὴ δειλιῶσιν, ὃ καὶ ἀκρατισμὸν ἐκάλουν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ <ἀκράτιστον> ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγευστον.

5-6. Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.51d, <καθιξεῖ> γράφεται καὶ <καθίξη.> βαρυτόνως λεκτέον· τὰ γὰρ ὑποτακτικὰ τῶν ῥημάτων ὁμοίως οἱ Δωριεῖς ἡμῖν προφέρονται.

For the word combination ὑποτακτικὰ ῥήματα, “verbs in the subjunctive”, see Apollonius Dyscolus, *De Constructione*, 1.2 p. 376.11, 437.7; (Ps.-)Herodianos, *De locutionum pravitatibus*, p. 261.20.

C. Meliadò, “Un nuovo”, p. 36, proposes to supply καθίξη / γ[ράφεται καὶ καθιξεῖ· οἱ Δωριεῖς προφέροντα] ὁμοί[ως ἡμῖν τὰ] ὑποτακτικὰ ῥήματα, based on the same scholium that we referred to in our first edition.

⁴⁴ In the commentaries we highlight the connection between our text and individual *Scholia in Theocritum* for *Idylls* 1 and 7 by printing the consecutive line numerals in the latter text in **bold** type. Compare now also C. Meliadò's suggestions in his article “Un nuovo ‘commentario’ Teocriteo (P.Monts.Roca. inv. 316)”, *ZPE* 117 (2011), pp. 35-40.

6. At the end of the line, one finds a semicolon before a damaged letter appearing on the RH edge; as elsewhere, this semicolon introduces a new lemma. The letter can be read as a damaged my and we compare *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.53a, <μέλεται δέ οί:> μέλει δὲ αὐτῷ οὔτε πήρας οὔτε <...>. 1.53b, <μέλεται:> διὰ φροντίδος ὑπάρχει, hence we propose to restore in our text μ[έ]λεται.

7. Or should one read ζωγράφημά τι? This line seems to refer to a passage expected in between verses 53 and 56 of *Idyll* 1, but we cannot find the precise line among those for which scholia have been preserved. Perhaps this is a reference to the old topic of *ut pictura poesis*, attributed to Simonides by Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium* 346f.4-5: Πλὴν ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποιήσιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποιήσιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν. ἃς γὰρ οἱ ζωγράφοι πράξεις ὡς γινομένας δεικνύουσι, ταύτας οἱ λόγοι γεγενημένας διηγοῦνται καὶ συγγράφουσιν.

8. At the beginning of the line, restore Αἰτ]ωλίαν? Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.56g, Αἰολικὸν τὸ Αἰτωλικόν.

ἀτύξαι: Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.56m, <τέρας κέ τυ θυμὸν ἀτύξαι:> ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκπλήξαι δυνάμενον. καὶ Ὅμηρος (Z 468)· ‘πατρὸς ὅψιν ἀτυχθεῖς’. τοῦτο τὸ θέαμα τεράστιον [τι] ὄν τὴν σὴν ἐκπλήξει διάνοϊαν.

9. ἄχρα]ντον: Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.60a, <ἄχραντον:> ἀθιγές, οὐ χεῖρ οὐχ ἦψατο. ἦ· ὁ οὐδέποτε εἰς χρεῖαν ἦλθεν.

επεχρ[: of the (altogether 35) forms in επεχρ[α-, επεχρ[ε-, επεχρ[η- επεχρ[ι-, επεχρ[υ- and επεχρ[ω- listed by the TLG, the form ἐπεχρ[ῶσθη (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ἐπιχρῶζω = ‘to tinge’) looks the most attractive.

C. Meliadò “Un nuovo”, p. 36, however, proposes the reading ἐπέχρ[ανε τὸ χεῖλος ἐμὸν τὸ ξύλινον | δέπας or ἐπεχρ[ήσατο τῷ ξυλίνῳ ποτηρίῳ, based on the Theocritean text vv. 59-60.

10. We expect this line to be related to a passage in between lines 60 and 64, but this seems not retrievable. In our *ed. princ.* we did not succeed in reading this line completely. Meliadò, “Un nuovo”, p. 36, however, suggests a new reading of the line: τυ / ἀντ]ωνυμία ὀρθ[οτον]οιμένη ἀμέπτως [.]. [probably referring to the accentuation of the pronoun (ἀντωνυμία) τυ in Theocritus ll. 60 and 64.

11. Following the semicolon indicating a new lemma (see above, note preceding the body of commentaries) there are two letters (αι, less likely μι) right before ἄρχετε. They are problematical and we do not know what their meaning is.

Indeed, the word combination ἀρχὴν ποιῆσθε is an alternative for the verb ἄρχετε. Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.64a, <ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς> ἄρξασθαι με ποιήσατε τῆς βουκολικῆς ᾠδῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ γίνεσθε· ἐπικαλεῖται γὰρ αὐτὰς μέλλων ἀεΐδειν; 1.64b, <ἄρχετε> τοῦτο λέγεται ἐπωδὸς καὶ πρόασμα καὶ ἐπιμελώδημα.

At line end, supply πῆ π[οκα : as in 1.66 (cf. the lemma of the *Scholia In Theocritum* 1.65–66).

12. Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.67c, κατὰ Πίνδω· Πίνδος ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας ἢ ποταμὸς ἢ ὄρος τῆς Περραιβίας.

For a similar use of θηλυκῶς in a Theocritus scholion, cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.133a. Pape-Benseler, p. 1199, s.v. Πίνδος, informs us that this name can have both a masculine and a feminine article (hence it is *utriusque generis*). The author of the scholia prefers here the female version.

13–15. These lines contain a discussion about accentuation, in particular that of the last syllable (l. 13) and of words consisting of two syllables (ll. 14–15). The lemma in l. 13 has to be a word needing an oxytone accent upon the final syllable and that word has to occur between lines 67–97. For a possibility, one may compare *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.67 on Πηνειός. We cannot make, however, a similar suggestion as to how the rest of the note was phrased; it is unknown how much is lacking in the lacunas to the RH side of l. 13, resp. to the LH side of l. 14.

ὄξυτονητ[έ]ογ: according to the TLG, the word ὄξυτονητέον occurs remarkably frequently (35 out of 90 attestations) in works written by (Ps-) Herodianos (*De Prosodia catholica* [only in 3.1 517.13; cf. our note below and at l. 17], *Περὶ κυρίων καὶ ἐπιθέτων καὶ προσηγορικῶν* [2x], *Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς προσωδίας* [22x], *Περὶ Ὀδυσσειακῆς προσωδίας* [9x] and *Περὶ παθῶν* [1x]). We think it specially interesting to compare our text with (Ps)Herodianos, *De prosodia catholica* 3.1, p. 9.10: Ἡ <αι> καὶ <οι> ἐν τέλει λέξεων κείμεναι, μὴ ἐπιφερομένου συμφώνου, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀντὶ βραχείας παραλαμβάνονται, ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν εὐκτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιρρήμάτων ἀντὶ μακρᾶς· οἷον τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τὸ Μήδεια καὶ ἄνθρωποι προπαροξύνονται· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ **μοῦσαι καὶ κοῦροι** προπερισπᾶται, ὡς τῶν τελευταίων συλλαβῶν βραχειῶν οὐσῶν.

C. Meliadò “Un nuovo”, p. 36–37, suggests reading παραληγόμενα, and reconstructs three different possibilities:

1. based on Theocr. v. 74, taking the reading of the *editio princeps*: ταῦροι / τὰ προσηγορ]ικῶν· δισυλλάβων γὰρ παραλήγουσαν μα[κρὰ οὔσα θέλει προπερισπᾶσθαι ὡ]ς πᾶσαι, κοῦραι, μοῦσαι, ταῦροι.

2. based on Theocr. v. 74: ταῦροι / τὰ προσηγορ]ικῶν· δισσυλλάβων γὰρ παραληγόμενα [μακρᾶ βραχυκατάληκτα προπερισπᾶται ὡ]ς πᾶσαι, κοῦραι, μοῦσαι, ταῦροι.

3. Suggested by Ucciardelo, based on Theocr. v. 71: θώες / τὰ εὐθεῖα (τῶν) πληθυντ]ικῶν· δισσυλλάβων γὰρ παραληγόμενα [μακρᾶ παρὰ Δωριεῦσι παροξύνει ἐναντίως τοῖ]ς πᾶσαι, κοῦραι, μοῦσαι, ταῦροι.

But we cannot read his proposed παραληγόμενα. C. Meliadò, moreover, warns that the double sigma in δισσυλλάβων is attested elsewhere, and should not be corrected as a mistake, but we prefer to stick to the traditional spelling as in the Lexica.

15. λυγιξεῖν: cf. Theocritus, *Idyll.*, 1.97 and also the *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.95-98f, <λυγιξεῖν> καταδήσειν, τουτέστι περιέσεσθαι τοῦ Ἑρωτος ἐκαυχῶ· ἴσως γὰρ ὁ Δάφνις μεγαλορρημονήσας εἰς τὴν Θεὸν ταύτην ὑπέσχε τὴν ποιήν.; 1.95-98g: <λυγιξεῖν> τὸ βεργίους δήσειν, ἦτοι δήσειν λύγοις [παρὰ τὸ δεσμεύειν] (cf. also 1.95-98k: λυγιξεῖν: κάμψειν, δεσμεύσειν).

Therefore, at the end of this line (15), it seems conceivable to restore δή[σειν, though the absence of a / before δή[should be noticed.

C. Meliadò “Un nuovo”, p. 37, suggests keeping the reading λυγυξῆν as it might be a Dorism that is traceable in the manuscripts. For this, he refers to T. Molinos Tejada, *Los dorismos del Corpus Bucolicorum* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 71, 74-75.

16. Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.95-98h, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀμαυρώσειν δηλοῦν· λυγαῖα γὰρ τὰ σκοτεινά.

There is a gamma-shaped trace of ink right before the word σκότος which we cannot explain. At the end of the line, υβλ[should be compared with the various manuscript readings of Theocritus, *Idyll.* 1.118 and in particular with *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.118a, <Θύβριδος> <...> <δύβρις> κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἢ θάλασσα. τινὲς δὲ Σικελίας ἔφησαν ποταμὸν <Θύμβριδα.>, resp. with 1.118c, Θεαίτητος δὲ φησι Συρακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως <ὀνομάσαι προσθέσει τοῦ <Θ>>. Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ὁ <Μυρλεανὸς> διὰ τοῦ <δ> γράφει καὶ φησι <‘δύβρις> κατὰ γλῶσσαν ἢ θάλασσα.’ γράφουσι δὲ τινες <κατὰ Θύμβριδος> ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὗτος ποταμὸς Σικελίας. All of this presupposes a most frequently attested scribal confusion between lambda and rho.

C. Meliadò finds support for this: Servius *Ad Aen.* 3.500: et Albulam fluvium ad imaginem fossae Syracusanae Thybrin vocaverunt, quasi Ubrin, ut <497> effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis. circa Syracusas autem esse fossam Thybrin [Thilo Ybr-, Tybr-, Tibr-, codd.] nomine Theocritus meminit.

17-18. For the beginning of line 17,]ον ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας, cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.123c, <Λυκαίου:> Λύκαιον ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας κληθὲν ἀπὸ Λυκάονος τοῦ Πελασγοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ μαντεῖον Πανός· (123d), εἰς δὲ ὄρος <φασὶν> ἐλθοῦσαν τὴν Λυκάονος θυγατέρα Καλλιστῶ ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ τραφῆναι ἄρκτον οὔσαν. Cf. also 123g, Λυκαίω ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας, respectively 1.124a, <Μαίναλον:> ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας ἀπὸ Μαινάλου τοῦ Λυκάονος· (124b) ἔνθα ἡ Ἀταλάντη τῷ Ἰάσονι παρέσχετο δόρυ ξένιον· ἑδεξιτερῇ δ' ἔλεν ἔγχος ἐκηβόλον, ὃ ῥ' Ἀταλάντη Μαινάλῳ ἐν ποτέ οἱ ξεινήιον ἐγγυάλιξεν' (Apol. Rhod. 1.769-770).

Ἐλίκης ῥίον: Cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.125/126a, <Ἐλίκας δὲ λίπε ῥίον:> τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ἀκρωτήριον παρὰ τὸ ἐπιρρεῖσθαι τοῖς τῶν ὑετῶν καὶ πηγῶν ὕδασιν, and 1.125/126b, <Ἐλίκας δὲ λίπε ῥίον:> Ἐλίκη ὄνομα πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ.

For the end of the line, ἐν τῷ λυκι[, we do not have a passage in the Theocritus Scholia to compare; searching for a parallel to this letter combination in the TLG we found that one may compare (Ps.-)Herodianos, *De prosodia catholica* 3.1, p. 344/45, Δολιχίστη· οὕτως Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ Λυκίας περιπλῶ Δολίχην νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Λυκίᾳ καλεῖ, but this parallel does not seem relevant. As the setting of Theocritus' poem obviously is in Arcadia, we prefer to reckon with a small change, reading ἐν τῷ Λυκ<α>ίῳ. One may compare in this respect the *Scholia in Aratum vetera* (ed. J. Martin, Stuttgart, 1974), *Scholion* 91bis, l. 16, <ἄλλως:> οὗτος ὁ Ἀρκτοφύλαξ Ἀρκάς ἐστι, Διὸς καὶ Καλλιστοῦς παῖς, ὃς ᾄκει τὸ Λύκαιον παρ' αἰπόλῳ τινὶ τραφεῖς, ὃν λέγεται κινδυνεῦσαι σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἀναιρεθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ).

For reference made in l. 18 to a male priest of the Lykaian Zeus cf. Pausanias, *Descr.*, 8.38.4; for a female priest the *Scholia in Ael. Aristid.* 127.15.5; cf. also the story about Hagno in P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1963³), p. 172; respectively that about Arkas, the son of Zeus and Kallisto, Grimal, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 43-44. Cf. also L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1907), vol. 3, p. 287 note 'c' and A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 63-99. In the scholia to Theocritus there is no mention of a priest of Lykaian Zeus, or of Lykaian Zeus at all.

ἀρ[κεύθοισι/: cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.133c, <ἀρκεύθοισι κομᾶσαι:> ἄρκευθος εἶδος φυτοῦ ἀκανθώδους. τὸ δὲ κομᾶσαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναθῆλαι· τὰ ἀπαρέμφατα ἀντὶ προστακτικῶν.

19. σκῶ]ψ: cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 1.136 (= Tyrannion Gramm., *Fr.* 6), <σκῶπες:> εἶδος ὀρνέων κακόφωνον. Ἀλέξανδρος (Περὶ ζώων, fr. 13 Wellmann, *Herm.* 26, 1891, 550) φησι τοὺς σκῶπας οὐκ ἐπιτερπεῖς τῇ φωνῇ· διὸ καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ (ε 66) φησὶν ὀρθῶς δοκεῖν γράφεσθαι 'σκῶπές τ' ἴρηκές

τε', οὐ δεῖν δὲ γράφειν χωρὶς τοῦ <σ>· οἱ γὰρ σκῶπες <λέγονται, διότι σκαιὰν ὄπα καὶ> φωνὴν ἀφιάσι. Καλλιμάχος (fr. 418 Pfeiffer) δὲ φησιν, ὅτι φθέγγεται ὡσπερ ἐπισκώπτων τῇ φωνῇ, ὅθεν καὶ οὕτω καλεῖται. Τυραννίων δὲ σκῶπας τοὺς νυκτικόρακας φησιν, οἷον σκίοπας, τοὺς ἐν σκιᾷ ἔχοντας τὴν ὄπα.

The meaning of παραφώνων in this context, divergent from *LSJ*, can be compared with the lemma in Hesychius, Π 717 <παρατρύζει>· παραφωνεῖ. This is further explained by Photius, Π 391, 25 <Παρατρύζει>: παραφρονεῖ· εἰληπται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρνέων, ὅτ' ἂν τοῖς οἰκείοις νεοτοῖς γοερά ἐπιφωνοῦσιν.

The meaning of the clause as “The owl is a bird which produces an unpleasant sound” would be fairly synonymous to the scholion mentioned above. The end of the line reads μυᾶν. This form can be the infinitive act.praes. of the verb μυάω (μύω), rendered in *LSJ* as ‘compress the lips in sign of displeasure’. We think, however, that the verb may refer to any form of compressing and an owl’s compressing its eyebrows is characteristic for this bird.

At the end of line 19, instead of μυᾶν[C. Meliadd, “Un nuovo”, p. 38, reads σχαδ[· σκῶ]ψ ὀρνέον ἐστι παρ'αφώνων ἀηδὲς : σχαδ[όνων (v. 147) (although in the commentary he gives σχαδόνες) σχαδ[όνες κηρία ἢ τῶν κηφίνων ἔκγονα ἃ ἔνιοι] τηγανίζοντες... We are not convinced that Meliadd's reading is indeed correct.

20. τηγανίζοντες ἐσθίου[σ]ι: one finds a much similar word combination in Galen, *De alimentorum facultatibus* (6.667.5 Kühn), ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ὀπτῶντες ἢ ταγηνίζοντες ἐσθίουσι, ξηροτέραν τροφήν δίδωσι; cf. also Aëtius, *Iatrica*, 2.121.39, 269.3, and Oribasius, *Collectiones Medicae* 3.33.5.1 = *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium* 4.33.4.1 = *Libri ad Eunapium* 1.49.2.2.

There is a small problem in connecting these words with the text in the previous line, and in establishing whether the commodity fried and eaten is indeed an owl. Galen's text discusses various animals that are eaten, but there is no explicit mention of the owl as a source of meat. For the edibility of owl's meat compare, however, Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 617b, 31: Σκῶπες δ' οἱ μὲν αἰεὶ πᾶσαν ὥραν εἰσί, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀεισκῶπες, καὶ οὐκ ἐσθίουται διὰ τὸ ἄβρωτοι εἶναι. ἕτεροι δὲ γίνονται ἐνίοτε τοῦ φθινοπώρου, φαίνονται δ' ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἢ δύο τὸ πλεῖστον, καὶ εἰσὶν ἐδώδιμοι καὶ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. We think that the faint traces following ἐσθίου[σ]ι may be taken as the remains of another semicolon. If that assumption is correct, it follows that οὐ μὴ is a new lemma which we wish to compare with the start of *Idyll* 1.152, οὐ μὴ σκιρτασῆτε, for which there is no preserved scholion. Indeed, the photo allows us to read the remains of the first two letters of the verb as σκ[ιρτασῆτε.

21. χαῶ]ν τ(ῶν) / ἀγαθῶν δωρικ[ῶς]: cf. *Scholia in Theocritum* 7.5-9a, <χαῶν:> τῶν ἀγαθῶν. χαὰ γὰρ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἀγαθὰ· χαῖον δὲ τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ ἀρχαῖον, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ χάον.

The lemma would be a shortened version of *Idyll* 7.5, χαῶν τῶν ἔτ' ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ Κλυτίας, the article appearing as τ`. For this abbreviation, cf. K. MacNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (Chico, CA, 1981; BASP Suppl. 3), pp. 70, 100, and 116 (where ` = -ων). As to the diagonal dash coming after τ`, this is difficult to explain. One would expect such a diagonal standing in between χαῶ]ν and τ(ῶν) (cf. the scholion referred to), rather than coming after the article. δωρικ[can be restored as δωρικ[ῶς, equivalent to παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους in the scholion. For the use of this term, cf. Wendel's index to the *Scholia in Theocritum* p. 386-387, sub *Dialectus Dorica*.

22. At the beginning, one may alternatively read:]ε τις, but in itself there are various female nouns and personal names in -ετις. For the partic.praes. λακωνίζουσα, cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.8.28.3; Plutarch, *Lysandr.* 3.2.7. As far as a connection with the Theocritus scholia to the 7th idyll is concerned, we have not been able to find among these a passage that can be taken as providing a useful parallel.

STT-KAW

41-52. BIBLICAL TEXTS

41. 2 CHRONICLES 29:32-35; 30:2-6

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 3*

Provenance unknown

H. 8.3 cm. x W. 8 cm.

Date: 2nd-3rdcent. CE

Rahlfs 983 van Haelst 76

TM 61932/LDAB 3089

This papyrus fragment contains a text of the second book of Chronicles on two fragments of a codex page. The larger one shows a top margin of 2 cm. The RH margin of the front side (verso) is ca 0.5 cm, and so too at the corresponding LH side of the back page (recto). The piece was part of a codex of only one column of 24-25 lines per page and 24-29 letters per line. W. Baars has the “strong conviction” that P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 3 belongs to the same codex as *P.Lond.Christ.* 3 (P. Egerton 4), containing 2 Chr 24:17-27, because of their “striking similarities” in date, hand, and scribal practice⁴⁵.

The fragment is written in plain style writing, not very elegant, a bit rough, as the papyrus itself, with thick strokes and no ornaments at all. The script is a regularly sized bilinear round script, in which only the β slightly projects above the line (ll. 1 and 9 of the back side). Some letters fit together without connection strokes or slopes. The v is remarkably wide, the σ very closed and rounded, akin to the o, and a short ω. The nomina sacra are

* Both fragments have been published by R. Roca Puig twice: R. Roca-Puig, “Un papir grec del llibre segon dels Paralipòmens”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de las Bellas Letras* 29 (1961-1962), pp. 219-227, and “Un papiro griego del libro segundo de los Paralipómenos”, *Helmantica* 44 (1963), pp. 175-185.

⁴⁵ W. Baars, “Papyrus Barcinonensis Inv. n° 3 and Egerton Papyrus 4”, *VT* 15 (1965), pp. 528-529. Cf. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, p. 51, nos. 75-76.

abbreviated: $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\theta\omega}$, $\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$, $\overline{\iota\lambda\eta\mu}$ ⁴⁶. Numbers are marked by a stroke over the numeral letters. It can probably be dated to the 2nd century CE, by its similarity to the hand of *P.Oxy.* 20:2245–2255, rolls containing fragments from Aeschylus tragedy⁴⁷. W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and scribes in Oxyrynchus* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 18–20, 61, identifies the scribe as Oxy. scribe A3.

The poor condition of this papyrus, broken and erased in many parts, poses a real obstacle to establish its text. The sequence of lines 6–7 of both sides is confusing, since the fragment is horizontally broken and the interlinear space is not clearly joined.

The editions of A. E. Brooke–N. M^cLean and H. St. J. Thackeray⁴⁸ and of N. Fernández Marcos–J. R. Busto Saiz⁴⁹ have been consulted for the reconstruction.

Front side

↓

1	[κ]αὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῆς [όλοκαυ]-	27 2 Chr 29:32
2	[τ]ώσεως ἧ[ς] ἤνεγκεν ἡ [ἐκκλησία]	24
3	[μό]σχοι ὁ κρειοὶ ῥ· ἀμνοὶ ζ [εἰς ὄλο]-	26
4	[κ]αύτωσιν $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ πάντα ταῦτ[α καὶ οἱ ἡγι]-	28 2 Chr 29:33
5	[ασ]μένοι μόσχοι $\overline{\chi}$ [πρόβητα , $\overline{\gamma\phi}$ ἀλλ']	27 2 Chr 29:34
6	[ἦ] οἱ ἱερεῖς [ὀλίγο]ι [ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδύν]-	29
7	[α]ντο διεῖραι τῆ[ν ὄλ]ο[καύτωσιν καὶ]	28

⁴⁶ On this matter, cf. L. W. Hurtado, “The Origin of the Nomina Sacra”, *JBL* 117 (1998), pp. 655–673, and “P52 (P. Rylands Gk. 457) and the Nomina Sacra: Method and Probability”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 54 (2003), pp. 1–14; Ch. M. Tuckett, “P52 and the *nomina sacra*”, *NTS* 47 (2001), pp. 544–548.

⁴⁷ R. Roca-Puig, “Un papiro griego”, p. 177, n. 2 and 3.

⁴⁸ A. E. Brooke – N. M^cLean and H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial manuscripts, with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint*. Vol. II, Part III: *I and II Chronicles* (Cambridge, 1932).

⁴⁹ N. Fernández Marcos – J. R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega*, III: *1–2 Crónicas* (Madrid, 1996).

8	[άντε]λάβον[το α]ύτ[ων οί ἀδελφοί αύ]-	27
9	[τῶν οί λ]ευῖται ἕως[ς οὔ συνετελέσθη]	28
10	[τὸ ἔργ]ον κα[ί] ἕως [οὔ ἠγνίσθησ]αν [οί]	27
11	[ἱερεῖς ὅτι οί λευ]ι[τ]α[ι πρ]οθύμω[ς ἠγ]-	28
12	[νίσθησαν παρὰ τοῦ]ς ἱερ[ε]ῖς καὶ ἡ	26 2 Chr 29:35
13	[όλοκαύτωσις πολλή ἐν τ]οῖς στέασι	28
14	[τῆς τελειώσεως τοῦ σωτηρ]ίου καὶ	27

3 l. κριοί 6, 12 ἱερεῖς Pap. 9, 11 λευῖται Pap.

Back side

→

1	[κ]αὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ βασιλε[ύς καὶ οί]	28 2 Chr 30:2
2	[ἄρχον]τες καὶ πᾶσ[α] ἡ ἐκκλη[σία ἡ]	25
3	[ἐν ἰλη]μ ποιῆσαι τὸ φάσεκ [τῶ μηνί]	26
4	[τῶ δευ]τέρω οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνάσθησ[αν αύ]-	27 2 Chr 30:3
5	[τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐ]ν τῶ καιρῶ ἐκείν[ω ὅτι]	27
6	[οί ἱερεῖς οὐχ] ἠγνίσθησαν ἱκαν[οί]	27
7	[καὶ ὁ λαὸς ο]ὐ σν[ν]ήχθησάν [ε]ῖς	28
8	ἰλη[μ καὶ ἥρεσ]εν ὁ λόγος ἐν[αντίον]	27 2 Chr 30:4
9	τοῦ βα[σιλέ]ως καὶ ἐναντ[ίον τῆς ἐκ]-	27
10	κλησί[α]ς καὶ ἔ[στησαν λόγον διελ]-	26 2 Chr 30:5
11	θεῖν κή[ρ]υγμα[ἐν παντί ἰηλ ἕως]	24
12	δὰν ἐλθό[ντες ποιῆσαι τὸ φάσεκ]	25
13	κῶ θῶ [ιηλ ἐν ἰλημ ὅτι πληθος οὐκ ἐ]-	26
14	π[οίησεν κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν καὶ ἔπο]-	26 2 Chr 30:6

6 ἱκανοί Pap. 7 dots on top of σαν Pap.

Commentary to the front side

1-2. There are spaces left between the two last letters of the words ἀριθμος and ηνεγκεν.

2. There are small rough breathings over ἦς and over the article ἡ.

The word ἤνεγκεν is a unique variant reading. The alternative ἀνήνεγκεν is the one accepted in contexts of offerings. Here the writing is quite clear: there is space enough for only the ζ of ἤς. The expanded ἤνεγκεν has an unusual initial η, compared with others in the fragment (l. 1 of the front page and ll. 2, 6, 10 of the back): the curl of the first stroke of the η is similar to that of the α of στέασιν in line 13 of the front page.

5. Numerals coincide with most mss., except for $\overline{\gamma\phi}$. As it is in the lacuna, we supply the reading according to Codex Vaticanus τρισχίλια πεντακόσια. The Antiochene text with the majority read τρισχίλια, and a small group of minuscules read τριακόσια.

7. The reading δεῖραι, 'to skin', is very doubtful because the stroke before the ε does not match with a Δ. It should be read διεῖραι. A mistake, caused by a possible itacism, could be related with the also itacistic reading διραι of the Antiochene ms. 93.

12. There is a paragraphos at the end of the line indicating the beginning of verse 35.

Commentary to the back side

5. The fragment seems to follow the text of the great majority of Septuaginta mss. along with the Hebrew text, omitting the preceding ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ πρώτῳ present in the Antiochene text,

7. The last three letters of συνηθησάν are meant to be erased, in order to correct an error of the scribe, who repeated the plural of the previous line, making a *concordantia ad sensum* with ὁ λαός. On the dot on top of a letter as a deletion sign, see Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, p. 16.

11-12. There is a textual difficulty here. The text of 2 Chr 30:5 says: καὶ ἔστησαν λόγον διελεῖν κήρυγμα ἐν παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ Βηρσάβее ἕως Δάν... Line 12 of the fragment begins with Δάν. There is no space for ἀπὸ Βηρσάβее after ἠλ in line 11, neither in line 12 after Δάν. That sentence ἀπὸ Βηρσάβее ἕως Δάν is transposed, ἀπὸ Δάν ἕως Βηρσάβее, every time it appears in narrative books of the Bible (eight cases). Only in 1 and 2 Chronicles (once in each book)⁵⁰ the order is inverted⁵¹. It is to be assumed that the scribe had the

⁵⁰ 1 Chr 21:2 and 2 Chr 30:5. In 2 Chr 19:4 ἀπὸ Βηρσάβее ἕως ὄρους Ἐφράιμ keeps the same order.

usual order in mind and the order in the apographos under his eyes; that double sight could lead him to make a mistake omitting ἀπὸ Βηρσάβεε. MVS

42. PSALM LXX 14:3-5

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 2*

Provenance unknown

H. 4.2 cm. x W. 7.2 cm.

Date: early 2nd cent. CE

Rahlfs 2160

TM 61925/LDAB 3082

This is a very dark piece of parchment written in two columns. A very small independent fragment has been placed on the upper-left side. The verso is blank, so the fragment probably belongs to a roll. On parchment rolls, see in latest instance, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, “Writing Materials in the Ancient World”, in R. S. Bagnall, *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 3–29, esp. 22–23. Though less common than papyrus rolls, they existed. In the case of Old Testament examples, they were probably influenced by the Torah format.

There are some traces of the preceding column, too faded and dark to give a sound identification⁵¹. A paleographical description was made by R. Roca-Puig in his edition (pp. 12–13). The text is written in a perfect round uncial writing, clear and well defined, by a good professional scribe. R. Roca-Puig argues for the 2nd cent. CE as a probable date, by comparison with several Oxyrhynchus papyri. He considers that it is similar to *P.Oxy.* 24:2396 (Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*, no. 6), which has the same writing as *P.Oxy.* 2:211, a roll of Menander dated to the 1st-2nd

⁵¹ In both cases the Antiochene text shows the common order.

* R. Roca-Puig, *Dos Pergamins Bíblics: Salm 14 (15) i Mateu 26. Papirs de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 2 i n.º 4* (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 7–16.

⁵² No nearby letters of the Psalms coincide with the letters that can be read on the left side of the fragment.

cent. CE. For the date, cf. G. Ucciardello, “A Single Scribe in *P. Oxy. IV 660 + P. Oxy. XXIII 2623 + PSI inv. no. 1907* (Choral Lyric: Simonides?)”, *ZPE* 160 (2007), p. 6, n. 5. He gives other examples of this careful and regular rounded hand with minute serifs attached to vertical strokes, which belong to the 1st-2nd cent. CE⁵³.

Hair side (?)

1	[αύ]τοῦ ἐξουθένωται [ένώ]-	20	Ps 14:4
2	[πι]οῦ αὐτοῦ πᾶς πονηρ[ευόμε]-	22	
3	.. γος τοὺς δὲ φοβουμ[ένους]	21	
4	.. [κ]ῶ δοξάζει[ὁ] ὁμνύω[v]		18
5	.. με τῶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ [οὐ]κ	20	
6	αἶνα [ἀ]θροῶν τὸ ἀργύριον αὐ-	18	Ps 14:5
7	αεν τοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ	19	
8	μ . καὶ δῶρα ἐπ' [ἀ]θροῖς οὐκ		18
9	ἔλαβεν ὁ π[οι]ῶν ταῦτα ο[ὐ]	19	
10	[σαλ]εῦθη [εἰς] τὸν α[ἰ]ῶ[ν]α	18	

6 episema on ι of ἀργύριον

This parchment contains two verses of Psalm no. 14 in the Septuagint (no. 15 in the Hebrew Bible). It was published by R. Roca-Puig in a booklet in 1985, together with a palimpsest of the gospel of Matthew (inv. no. 4). The Psalter is one of the OT books with the largest number of surviving copies and its text has been quite regularly transmitted; nevertheless our fragment presents some variant readings discrepant from the edited text (see the commentary below).

⁵³ *Dos Pergamins*, pp. 13-15.

Commentary

1. 3. 4. 6. and 9. The text presents blanks in these lines, all of them coinciding with the punctuation of the edition. In line 4 the blank appears in a lacuna and is assumed by stichometry and analogy.

2. The presence of πᾶς in line 2, preceding πονηρευόμενος, coincides with Codex Alexandrinus, some Egyptian and Antiochene mss. and Theodoret.

6. There is a curved episema over the ι of ἀργύριον.

10. The last line of the fragment coincides with the end of the Psalm. It seems that there is a variant reading in it: the space after -θη- is not wide enough to include -σεται εἰς before τὸν αἰῶνα, the edited reading according to the majority text. In connection with this, the most frequent sentence in the Bible is εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in singular accusative, and this is the most probable reconstruction, going along with all the mss. There are some cases of this sentence in plural accusative; and there are also examples with similar sense in different cases with different prepositions, but never singular accusative without εἰς, only the article seldom drops out. Thus, the proposal of R. Roca-Puig in favour of the subjunctive passive aorist σαλευθῆ, expressing a wish, instead of σαλευθήσεται should be accepted. The subjunctive in the book of Psalms alternates with the future, and it also appears in Ps 20:8, and, in the first person, in Ps 9:27, 12:5, 15:8, 25:1 (v.l.), 29:7 (+εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα), and 61:3. MVS

43. PSALM LXX 119:7

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 10*
 H. 4.9 cm. x W. 6.5 cm.
 Rahlfs 2162
 TM 68621/LDAB 9893

Provenance unknown
 Date: 4th cent. CE

This is a nice piece of vellum containing the end of one column with the last verse of Ps 119 of the Greek Psalter (120 in Hebrew). Lateral margins are preserved in part, as well as the right side of the lower margin: 1 cm. for the LH margin and 1 cm. for the largest part of the RH margin and 0.2 cm. for the narrowest; the lower margin reaches 1.7 cm. at the most. The top margin seems to have been cut on purpose. The fragment belongs to a scroll, containing probably only the book of Psalms for liturgical use. On parchment rolls, see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, "Writing Materials", pp. 22-23. The writing is cursive. However it is somehow tidy and elegant, quick, with slopes and letter links. The ε has a remarkably large size. The text is written on the hair side of the skin, as is usual for rolls.

1	[τ]ων τὴν [εἰ]ρή[νην]	13	Ps 119:7
2	ἡμην εἰρηνικός·	15	
3	ὅταν ἐλάλουν αὐ-	13	
4	τοῖς ἐπολέμου	13	
5	[με δ]ωρεάν>>>>>>-----		
6	. . .		

 5 both ink lines go parallel slightly upwards 6 traces of a dot and a vertical stroke

* The fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, with a plate on the cover of the leaflet: R. Roca-Puig, *Estrena de Nadal. Salm 119 (120), 7, segons la versió dels Setanta* (Barcelona, 1975). He sent the leaflet to his friends as a Christmas gift. Cited as no. 227a in K. Treu, "Référate", *Archiv* 26 (1978), p. 153.

This Ps 119 opens the series of fifteen psalms, each one entitled ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, “Ode of the Steps”. There is no convincing explanation for this sentence. It probably means that those fifteen psalms were sung when the Jewish people entered the Temple ascending the steps of the main entrance. This group of psalms probably filled one whole roll, thus our fragment would be part of the first column of the roll, the part most likely to survive.

The extended use of Psalms as amulets in Egypt provides a possible context for the use of this text. Ps 119 is a psalm to obtain help from the Lord, by exposing the complaints of the soul and the good behavior in difficult circumstances⁵⁴.

Commentary

1. The article τὴν is absent only in codex Alexandrinus. Cf. A. Rahlfs, *Psalmicum Odis* (Göttingen, 1931), a. l.
2. The end of this line is faded out, but a faint high stop appears, coincident with the punctuation of the Psalm.
5. The word δωρεάν closes the Psalm. This word is absent in a *Vetus Latina* codex (*Psalterium Sangermanense*, Lat. 11947, Paris, BnF), coincident with the Hebrew Masoretic text. The rest of the line is filled with seven little irregular angles joined to a sort of signature composed by two semiparallel lines. Some traces of ink on the lower margin may suggest that a text or a design follows.

MVS

⁵⁴ Similar contents in amulets with Ps 3:2-4,5-6; 4:2; 7:4-10; 9:39-10:3; 12:2-3,5-6; 24:15; 26:1-6,8-14 31:8-11; 43:21-24,27; 53; 62:2,4-5; 72:21-23; 118:122-123,130-132,155-160; 135:21-26. Cf. Th. S. de Bruyn-J. H. F. Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets”, *BASP* 48 (2011), pp. 163-216.

44. SONG OF SONGS 5:12.14.13; 6:4-5

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 84*

Provenance unknown

H. 2.7 cm. x W. 2.8 cm.

Date: 3rd-4th cent CE

Rahlfs 952 van Haelst 269

TM 62307/LDAB 3470

This small papyrus fragment constitutes the central part of a column, without margins. It contains verses of chapter 5 of Song of Songs in the front side, and of chapter 6 in the back side. The fragment is part of a larger papyrus, *P.Lond.Lit.* 209 of H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1928), pp. 176-178, inv. no. 2486, containing two columns with the text of Song 5:12-6:10, written in one of the two preserved leaves (a bifolium) of a codex⁵⁵ dated by Milne to the early 4th century. The Montserrat fragment fills the lacunae of the first five lines of both sides. Milne's fragment has nineteen/twenty more lines. The fragment often presents word division, marked in the transcription. The lacunae have been supplied with the reading of *P.Lond.Lit.* 209 (ll. 1-5). The square brackets inside the lacuna indicate lacunae in the text contained in the London fragment.

The front side is written across the papyrus fibers, while the back side along the fibers. It presents a medium-sized irregular uncial hand remarkably small in ll. 1 and 4 of the back side. The vertical stroke of the φ projects into the lower interlinear space (l. 4 front and 2 back); the υ (Υ) only once (l. 4 back) surpasses the lower limit of the line; the lower half of the β also projects below the line limit (l. 1 back).

* This fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, *Càntic dels Càntics 5, 12, 14, 13; 6, 4-5. (Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n° 84)* (Barcelona, 1973); *idem*, "Song of Songs V. 12, 14, 13, VI. 4-5; P. Barc. inv. no. 84", *JThS* 26 (1975), pp. 89-91.

⁵⁵ The other leaf contains the Apology of Aristides (no. 223 of Milne's *Catalogue*, Inv. No. 2486). The probable structure of the codex is described by Milne (p. 186).

Front side

↓

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| 1 | [στερ[αὶ ἐ]πὶ πληρώμ[ατα ὑδάτων λελου]- | 29 Song 5:12 |
| 2 | [μέν[α]ι ἐ]ν γαλάκτι[ι καθήμεναι ἐπὶ] | 26 |
| 3 | [π[λ]ηρώ]ματι ὑδάτ[ων· κοιλία αὐτοῦ] | 26 Song 5:14b |
| 4 | [πυξίον] ἐλεφάντι[νον ἐπὶ λίθου σαπ]- | 28 |
| 5 | [πεύρου σ]ι[αγόνε[ς αὐ]τοῦ ὡς φιάλαι τοῦ] | 30 Song 5:13 |

3 ὑδατων Pap. 209 4-5 l. σαπ-φείρου Pap. 209

Back side

→

- | | | |
|---|--|-------------|
| 1 | [ὡς ἱερουσαλήμ θ]άμβος ὡ[ς τετ]αγμέ]- | 27 Song 6:4 |
| 2 | [ναι ἀπόστρεψο]ν ὀφθαλμ[ο]ύ[ς] μου] | 25 Song 6:5 |
| 3 | [ἀπεναντίον μου ὅ]τι αὐτοὶ ἀγ[επ[τ]έρωσά(ν)] | 31 |
| 4 | [με· τρίχω]μά σου ὡς ἀγ[έλη τῶν αἰ]- | 26 |
| 5 | [γῶν αἰ] ἀνεφισ[αν] ἀπὸ τοῦ γ[αλααδ' ὀδόν]- | 29 Song 6:6 |

1 ἱερουσαλήμ Pap. 209 4 l. τρίχωμα Pap. 209 4 ἀγέλη itacism for ἀγέλαι Pap. 209 5 l. ἀνέβησαν Pap. 209

Commentary to the front side

1-2. Milne's transcription gives λελουμέναι, along with codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus. For the variant λελουσμέναι, cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek. According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 219-221: "Formation of passive tenses (I aor., fut., perf.) with or without σ".

3. The dative πληρώματι is clear in our papyrus, avoiding repetition of the same wording in line 1.

3-5. Transposition of verses: the second half of verse 14 (κοιλία αὐτοῦ ... σαπφείρου) follows verse 12 (l. 3). After verse 14 follows verse 13, of which there is a minute trace in our fragment (l. 5). The first half of verse 14, χεῖρες

αὐτοῦ τορευταὶ χρυσαῖ πεπληρωμένοι Θαρσεῖς, is placed after verse 13 (Milne ll. 8-9).

4. The Γ of ἀγέλη clearly belongs to the Montserrat fragment. Maybe Milne's fragment had a trace of it, and in that case a dot should be placed under the letter in the transcription.

4-5. Milne reads a second π as a common mistake for the word σαπφείρου.

Commentary to the back side

1. There is a word division between the θάμβος and ὤς.

2. The text of the Septuagint has σου, according to the Hebrew text, instead of μου (Milne's reading), which does not make sense in the sentence.

3. Blanks before and after αὐτοί.

5. Milne's reading ἀνέφησαν is probably a mistake for ἀνεφάνησαν, 'appeared', which is printed in the editions (cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, a. l.). Codex Sinaiticus reads ἀνέβησαν. MVS

45. JEREMIAH 18:15-16.19-20

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 5*

Provenance unknown

H. 9.7 cm. x W. 7.3 cm.

Date: 4th cent. CE

Rahlfs 984 van Haelst 309

TM 61988/LDAB 3147

This papyrus fragment shows the lower part of a leaf with probably only one column reckoned to have been originally 15-16 x 12 cm. It belongs to a codex and features 8 lines (r and v) of the

* The fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, "Papiro griego de Jeremías", *Aegyptus* 45 (1965), pp. 70-73. Turner, *Typology*, list OT 204, p. 183.

22 lines of the total. The Jeremiah text between the end of the recto and the verso of the papyrus (Jer. 18:16b-18) takes about 300 characters, at a rate of 20-22 letters per line, a total of 15 lines. The preserved bottom margin is 4.2 cm. (v) and 4.4 cm. (r), and the the lost top margin must have been slightly smaller (cf. Turner, *Typology*, p. 8). The piece is about one third of the page, that could have measured 24 x 16 cm., admitting margins of 2 cm. at each side of the text⁵⁶.

The fragment is written in a Biblical script, round and plain, with no serifs, regular in width, and bilinear, except for the ρ and the υ which descend below the line. Due to the damage that this fragment has suffered, other features of its handwriting cannot be accurately defined; however it clearly follows the style of contemporary Biblical codices. By compariston with *P.Chester Beatty IV* of Genesis, it can be dated to the 4th cent. CE.

Front side

→	-----		
1	[κενὸν ἐθυμίασαν καὶ] ἀσ[θε-]	20	Jer 18:15
2	[νήσουσιν] ἐν ταῖς ὁδο[ῖς]	19	
3	[αὐτ]ῶν σχοίλους α[ἰωνίους]	21	
4	[τ]οῦ ἐπιβῆναι τρίβο[υ]ς [οὐκ]	21	
5	[ἔχ]οντι[ας] ὁδὸν εἰς πορ[ε]ῖαν	21	
6	[το]ῦ τάξει τὴν γῆν αὐτῶ[ν εἰς]	22	Jer 18:16
7	[ἀφ]ανισμὸν καὶ εἰς σὺ[ριγμα]	22	
8	[αἰώ]γιον πάντες οἱ π[αραπο-]	21	

Back side

↓	-----		
1	[ἐ]ἰ[σάκ]ο[υσόν τῆ]ς φ[ωνῆς τοῦ]	21	Jer 18:19
2	[δ]ικαιώμ[ατ]ός μο[υ εἰ ἀντα-]	20	Jer 18:20
3	[π]οδίδοται κακὰ ἀντὶ [ἀγα-]	20	

⁵⁶ Turner [25] x [16.5], p. 183.

4	[θ]ῶν ὅτι συνελάλησαν [ρήμα-]	21
5	[τ]α κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μ[ου καὶ]	20
6	[τ]ῆν κόλασιν αὐτῶν [ἔκρυψάν]	22
7	[μο]ι μνήσθητι ἔστηκ[ότος]	21
8	[μο]υ κατὰ πρόσωπόν [σου τοῦ]	20

This part of the text of Jeremiah does not present the great textual problems of the Septuagintal tradition, since the manuscripts are quite uniform. However this fragment presents two variations from the edited text on the front side (verse 16, ll. 7 and 8) and one on the back side (verse 20, l. 3), that are explained in the following commentary.

Commentary to the front side

7. The preposition εἰς, absent in the bulk of mss., is also present in codex Alexandrinus, in Arabic and Armenian versions and in Theodoret. It would be possible, and maybe better, to reconstruct σύρρηγμα, according to codex A.

8. The last visible letter has a vertical shape which does not fit with the stroke of the δ for διαπορευόμενοι, the edited reading⁵⁷; thus, our ms. must read a π for πορευόμενοι with some minuscules or, most probable, a π for παραπορευόμενοι with codex Alexandrinus and the Arabic version, in accordance to the variant of l. 7.

R. Roca-Puig was able to guess traces of letters over the end of lines 7 and 8. He suggests that they were corrections.

Commentary to the back side

1. Perhaps the reconstruction would be ἐπάκουσον instead of εἰσάκουσον, according to codex Alexandrinus.

3. The reading κακά precedes ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν along with Hexaplaric and Lucianic mss. and most of the versions, against the edited majority text. This

⁵⁷ J. Ziegler (ed.), *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae* (Göttingen, 1957), ad. l.

variant is based on R. Roca-Puig's acceptance of $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ as a sound reading, although the bad conditions of the ink does not allow any accurate statement. MVS

46. DANIEL 7:25-28; 8:4-7

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 42*

Provenance unknown

H. 15 cm. x W. 11 cm.

Date: 2nd-3rd cent. CE

Rahlfs 967 van Haelst 315

TM 61933/LDAB 3090

This fragment and P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 43 (see 47 below) constitute two semifolios of a single-quire codex⁵⁸ with one column per page, containing part of Ezekiel, Daniel (text of the LXX, with Bel and the Dragon and Sousanna) and Esther, in that order⁵⁹, which is known by the number 967 (Rahlfs). The total number of folios of the codex is 118, 236 pages, of which only 200 have been preserved. Some of these folios are severely damaged, many of them divided in two fragments, often kept in separate

* The two semifolios were first published by R. Roca-Puig, *Daniel. Dos semifolios del còdex 967. P. Barc., Inv. n° 42 i 43*, Barcelona 1974, 4 plates. R. Roca-Puig, "Daniele. Due semifogli del codice 967. P. Barc. inv. nn. 42 e 43", *Aegyptus* 56 (1976), pp. 3-18. Turner, *Typology*, OT 183 and OT 207a: Group 8, Aberrant 1 (p. 21), dimensions 12.8 x 34.4 (p. 97).

⁵⁸ On single quire codices, see F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible* (London, 1933), vol. 1, pp. 10-11. H. Ibscher, "Der Codex", *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst* 4 (1937), pp. 3-15, claims that all papyrus codices up to the 3rd century are single-quire codices, and it was from the 4th century on that they started to be composed in more than one quire. For a full survey of the subject, see J. M. Robinson, "The future of Papyrus Codicology", in R. M. Wilson (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 23-70 and also Turner, *Typology*, pp. 51-55, esp. p. 61.

⁵⁹ The order is different from that of Codex Alexandrinus adopted in the Septuagint.

collections. The first 18 pages (9 folios), which constituted the external part of the codex, containing the the first 11 chapters of Ezekiel, and the corresponding 18 final pages (also 9 folios), containing Esther 2:16 to 10:3 with the six LXX supplements to that book (9 pages) and, possibly, the book of Ruth or Tobit (9 pages) are lost. The extant folios are scattered in different collections: P. Chester Beatty (Dublin), P. Fundación Pastor (Madrid), P. Scheide (Princeton) and P. Köln Theol. (Cologne)⁶⁰.

The Montserrat fragment inv. no. 42 shows the lower part of folio 78 of the codex, pages 155 and 156 of the codex. The top part of that folio belongs to the Chester Beatty collection, edited by F. G. Kenyon⁶¹, where their page numbers $\rho\nu\epsilon$ (155) and $\rho\nu\zeta$ (156) appear. The preserved margins are RH 1.4 cm., LH 1.3 cm. and lower margin 2.6 cm.

The palaeographic features are minutely described by F. G. Kenyon (*The Chester Beatty*, pp. VIII-X), and the scribal practices are also described in the editions of the different parts of the codex⁶² (esp. Fernández Galiano, “Nuevas páginas”, pp. 17-24).

⁶⁰ When Joseph Ziegler published the Ezekiel critical edition in Septuaginta Göttingen series (1952), he did not know about the Madrid section, and a few years later, in 1977, D. Fraenkel published the apparatus of all sections concerning 967 in a separate leaflet; now these readings are included in the new printing of Ezekiel: J. Ziegler (ed.), *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. XVI, 1, *Ezekiel*. Mit einem Nachtrag von Detlef Fraenkel (Göttingen, 2006). The edition of Daniel has also been revised in its second edition: J. Ziegler (ed) *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. XVI, 2, *Susanna · Daniel · Bel et Draco*, Versionis iuxta LXX interpres textum plane novum constituit Olivier Munnich, Versiones iuxta “Theodotionem” fragmenta adiecit Detlef Fraenkel (Göttingen, 1999).

⁶¹ F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*. Fasc. VII: *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther. Text* (London, 1937), *Plates* (London, 1938).

⁶² A. Ch Johnson, H. S Gehman, E. H. Kase, Jr., *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri. Ezekiel* (Princeton, 1938). L. G. Jahn, *Der griechische Text des Buches Ezekiel nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*, Bonn 1972. M. Fernández-Galiano, “Nuevas páginas del códice 967 del A. T. griego (Ez 28, 19-43, 9)

Two scribes are behind the copy of the codex, one for Ezekiel and a different one, with a more rounded and uneven writing, for the rest of the books. Both belong to the same school and keep an apparent regularity in the script of the codex, that can be described as a square Biblical uncial, quick and irregular, easily readable and fairly consistent. It represents a previous stage to the solemn Biblical script of the great codices of the 4th and 5th centuries. The average number of lines in the Daniel section is 41–48 lines per page, while in the first part of the codex it goes over 50; thus, the columns of the second part have a less crowded appearance. In fragment 42 the number of letters per line is quite irregular, 16 to 22 letters per line.

The provenance of the codex is uncertain. C. Schmidt, “Die neuesten Bibelfunde aus Ägypten”, *ZNTW* 30 (1931), pp. 285–293, esp. 293, suggests a provenance near Aphroditopolis (Aftih?); H. A. Sanders, *A Third Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of St Paul* (Ann Arbor, 1935, pp. 13–14)⁶³, Upper Egypt (Panopolis?); G. D. Kilpatrick, “The Bodmer and Mississipi Collection of Biblical and Christian Texts”, *GRBS* 4 (1963), pp. 33–47, esp. 38, suggests Fayyum (Arsinoites?).

Front side

→	-----		
1	ἕως κ[αί]ρ[οῦ] καὶ ἕως ἡμῶν-	18	Dan 7:25
2	σὺ καιροῦ καὶ ἡ [κρίσις]	18	Dan 7:26

(PMatr. bibl. 1)”, *StudPap* 10 (1971), pp. 7–64. A. Geissen, *Der Septuaginta-Text del Buches Daniel, Kap 5–12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther, Kap.1, 1a–2, 15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Bonn, 1969). W. Hamm, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 1 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (Bonn, 1969), and *Kap. 2* (Bonn, 1977).

⁶³ Cf. J. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, p. 30, no. 7, about the provenance of Chester Beatty Papyri, says that H. A. Sanders “fait état d’une rumeur selon laquelle les manuscrits auraient été découverts dans un cimetière copte de la Haute Égypte (sur Panopolis...)”.

3	καὶ τὴν ἐξουσία[ν ἀπολοῦ]-	20	
4	σιν καὶ βουλευσοντ[αι μι]-	20	
5	ἄναι καὶ ἀπολέσαι ἕω[ς]	18	
6	τέλους καὶ τὴν ἐξου[σίαν]	20	Dan 7:27
7	καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τ[ὴν]	21	
8	μεγαλειότητα παντῶν	18	
9	καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πασῶν	16	
10	τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν βα-	18	
11	σιλειῶν ἔδωκα λαῷ ἁγίῳ	19	
12	ὑψίστου βασιλεῦσαι βασι-	21	
13	λείαν αἰώνιον καὶ πᾶσαι	20	
14	ἐξουσίαι ὑποταγήσον-	18	
15	ται αὐτῷ καὶ πειθαρχήσου-	21	
16	σιν αὐτῷ ἕως καταστρο-	18	Dan 7:28
17	φῆς τοῦ λό[γ]ου ἐγὼ δαγί-	18	
18	ηλος σφόδρα ἐκτάσει πε-	19	

Back side

↓

1	[μενος ἐκ] τῶν χειρῶν αὐ-	18	Dan 8:4
2	[τοῦ καὶ ἐ]ποίηι ὡς ἠθέλην	20	
3	[καὶ ὑψώ]θη καὶ ἐγὼ διεγ[ο]-	19	Dan 8:5
4	[ούμην] καὶ ἰδοὺ τράγος αἰ-	20	
5	[γῶν] ἤρχετο ἀπὸ δυσμῶν	18	
6	[ἐπ]ὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς κα[ὶ]	20	
7	ἦν τοῦ τράγους κέρας ἐν ἀνά	22	
8	μέσον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κ[α]ὶ	19	Dan 8:6
9	ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κριὸν τὸν	19	
10	τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντα ὃν εἶδο	20	
11	ἔστῶτα ἐν τῇ πύλῃ καὶ ἔδρα-	21	
12	μεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν θυμῷ ὀρ-	18	
13	γῆς καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν προσά-	21	Dan 8:7
14	γοντα πρὸς τὸν κριὸν καὶ	20	
15	ἐθυμώθη ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐ-	18	

16	πάταξεν καὶ συνέτριψεν	20
17	τὰ δύο κέρατα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ-	21
18	κέτι ἦν ἐν τῷ κριῶ ἰσχύς	19
19	σπῆγαι κατέναντι τοῦ τρά-	21
20	γου [κ]αὶ ἐρράξεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ	21
	4 ἴδου Pap. 7 τραγους Pap. 10 εἶδο(v) abbrev. Pap.	

This codex represents a singular witness for the books concerned, as it brings a prehexaplaric text not yet affected by Origen's philological work in his Hexapla, and for the book of Daniel it also represents the text of the Septuagint old version, only found in very few mss., commonly replaced by the text of Theodotion. The fragment is part of Daniel chapter 7, which comes, with chapter 8, transposed between chapters 4 and 5.

Commentary to the front side

1-2. The first three letters ἕως, do not present any doubt. The edition reads ἕως καιροῦ καὶ καιρῶν καὶ ἕως ἡμίσεως καιροῦ, a sentence of eight words with five /καί/ in continuous writing at the end of verse 25, which does not fit into de lacuna; the repetition of καὶ makes haplography possible. Our ms. probably reads ἕως καιροῦ (καιρῶν is also possible) καὶ ἕως ἡμισὺ καιροῦ.

For ἡμίσεως the apparatus says: ημισυ 967 (vid.). Since the ms. is clear at this point, (vid.) should be deleted.

2. There is not enough space to assume that καθίσεται, adopted in the edition, follows ἡ κρίσις.

6-7. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. This word order has been adopted in the second edition of Daniel (ed. Göttingen 1999, p. 344).

8-9. πάντων is a unique reading of our ms. Its partners 88-Syh read αὐτῶν, avoiding similarity with the next sentence, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πασῶν, present in all mss. and considered as a doublet by the editors.

11. The first person ἔδωκα of our ms. might be in agreement with the direct style of Daniel's narrative. The context deals with the predictions that will come over the earth with the fourth beast of his vision; in verse 26 three personal verbs

are 3rd p. future tenses, one singular (having ἡ κρίσις as subject), and two plural in generic impersonal sense. In verse 27, the aorist ἔδωκε / ἔδωκα is out of context; both forms are possible, since the beast and I, (myself, Daniel) may be understood as subjects, thus the beginning of verse 28 ἐγὼ Δαυνηλ... possibly contaminates the preceding 1st person of our fragment in verse 27.

14-15. The group 88-Syh places αὐτῷ before ὑποταγήσονται as a correction in accordance with the Hebrew text.

15. The final three letters, σου, are much smaller, to fit within the margins.

18. The initial η appears in ekthesis; it is not clear whether it is added as a correction by the same scribe or it is to be taken as a mark indicating the beginning of a period (Fernández-Galiano, “Nuevas páginas” p. 18). A scribal use in this codex is the ekthesis of the line that follows the starting of a verse or a significant sentence, and here this seems to be calling attention towards ἐγὼ Δαυνηλός, but regarding the close way the η is joined to the rest of the word, the assumption of a correction seems plausible, and so it has been suggested in the edition, indicating that the first hand was Δαυνηλός corrected into Δαυνηλος; the choice can be based on another case (6:27) where P 967 writes Δαυηλ'. The use of the inflected form is not consistent in this papyrus (5:10).

The reading ἐκτάσει, instead of ἐκοτάσει in the printed edition, is a unique reading. Both words make sense in the context.

Commentary to the back side

2. A final -v appears at the end of the line, while in l. 10 it is abbreviated (εἶδο̄).

6. The sentence καὶ οὐχ ἤπτετο τῆς γῆς is not in our fragment, along with ms. 88. The editor suggests omission by homoioteleuton.

7. Erroneous ς in τράγους.

8. Syh adds αὐτοῦ to ὀφθαλμῶν, printed by Rahlfs and Ziegler. In the second edition O. Munnich has removed it being asterized as coincident with the Hebrew text (*Septuaginta*, p. 30).

10. A long stroke over the last two letters, going into the margin to indicate the abbreviation.

11. The group 88-Syh reads πρὸς instead of ἐν.

12. 88 reads πρὸς instead of ἐπί.

18. Only our fragment presents this order of words; 88-Syh along with the Hebrew text reads ἰσχύς ἐν τῷ κριῶ.

20. Our ms. reads ἐπράξεν while the rest of the evidence and the edited text read ἐσπράξεν. MVS

47. DANIEL 11:29-32.34-38

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 43*
 H. 18.5 cm. x W. 11.7 cm.
 Rahlfs 967 van Haelst 315
 TM 61933/LDAB 3090

Provenance unknown
 Date: 2nd-3rd cent. CE

This fragment (inv. no. 43) is the upper half of the folio no. 91 of a codex containing part of the book of Ezekiel, and the books of Daniel and Esther. The lower part of that folio is one of the various lost fragments of the codex. For the description of this codex, see 46, above. In this fragment, the abbreviation of the *nomen sacrum* is not consistent, as it appears developed in ll. 11 and 16, while it is abbreviated in ll. 11 and 12 of the back side. The scribe seems to tend to itacism and diphthongs the ι in ει in ll. 13, 15, 17 of the front side, and in l. 1 of the back side with the same diphthong ει.

This semifolio contains Daniel 11:29-32 on the front page, numbered as page ρπα (181) of the codex, and Daniel 11:34-38 on the back page, numbered as page ρπβ (182) of the codex. Numbers are placed at the center of the upper margin, leaving the larger space above the number. The preserved margins are, on the

* The two semifolios were first published by R. Roca-Puig, see above 46 for references.

front side: RH (2-1.3 cm.), LH (1.6 cm.) and top margin (2.6 cm.)
and on the back side: RH (2.1-2.5 cm.), LH (1.7-2.1 cm.) and top
margin (2.3 cm.).

Front side

→

0	ρπα		
1	εἰς καιρόν καὶ εἰσελεύσε-	21	Dan 11:29
2	ται εἰς αἴγυπτον καὶ οὐ-	19	
3	κ ἔσται ὡς ἡ πρώτη καὶ	17	
4	ἡ ἐσχάτη καὶ εἰσελεύσε-	19	Dan 11:30
5	ται καὶ ἤξουσιν ῥωμαῖοι	20	
6	καὶ ἔξουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ	18	
7	ἐμβριμήσονται αὐτῷ	17	
8	καὶ ἐπιστρέψει καὶ ὀργι-	20	
9	σθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν δια-	17	
10	θήκην τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ποι-	19	
11	ήσει καὶ ἐπιστρέψει καὶ	20	
12	διανοηθήσεται ἐπ' αὐ-	17	
13	τούς ἀνθ ὧν ἐνκατέλει-	18	
14	πον τὴν διαθήκην	14	
15	τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ βραχείο-	18	Dan 11:31
16	νες παρ' αὐτοῦ στήσον[ται]	20	
17	καὶ μειανοῦσιν τὸ ἅγι[ον]	20	
18	τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἀπο[στή]-	17	
19	σουσιν τὴν θ[υσίαν καὶ]	18	
20	δώσουσιν [βδέλυγμα ἐ]-	17	
21	ρημώσ[εως καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτί]-	19	Dan 11:32
22	αις διαθ[ήκης μαινοῦσιν]	21	

13 l. εγκατελιπον 15 l. βραχιονες 17 l. μαινουσιν

Back side

↓

0	ρπβ		
1	δοσία καὶ ἐν τῷ συνείτων	20	Dan 11:34-35
2	διανοηθήσεται {εἰς τὸ καθα}	22	
3	εἰς τὸ καθαρεῖσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ	24	
4	εἰς τὸ ἐκ{γ}λεγήναι καὶ εἰς τὸ	23	
5	καθαρισθῆναι ἕως καιροῦ	21	
6	συντελείας ἔτι γὰρ καιρὸς	22	
7	εἰς ὥρας ποιήσει κατὰ τὸ	20	Dan 11:36
8	θέλημα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς	20	
9	καὶ παροργισθήσεται καὶ	21	
10	ὑψωθήσεται ἐπὶ πάντα	18	
11	θεὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ᾠν τῶν	18	
12	ᾠν ἔξαλλα λαλήσει καὶ	18	
13	εὐδοθήσεται ἕως ἂν	17	
14	συντελέσθῃ ὀργὴ εἰς	18	
15	αὐτὸν γὰρ συντέλεια γί-	19	
16	[ν]εται καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς	20	Dan11:37
17	[τ]ῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ	15	
18	[οὐ] μὴ προνοηθῆ ἔν	14	
19	[πα]γτὶ ὑψωθήσεται	15	
20	[καὶ θ]υ[μ]ωθήσεται ἐπ' αὐ-	18	
21	[τοὺς καὶ ταγ]ήσεται αὐτῷ	19	
22	[ἔθνη ἰσχυρά] ἐπὶ τὸν	16	Dan 11:38
23	τόπον αὐτοῦ] κινήσει	18	
24	[καὶ ᾠν ὃν οὐκ ἔγνωσ]αγ	17	

 1 l. συνιεντων 2 l. καθαρισαι 4 l. ἐκλεγήναι 11 ᾠν for θ(εο)ν Pap.
 12 ᾠν for θ(εω)ν Pap. 23 l. κινήσει

Commentary to the front side

0. The page number is placed 0.8 cm. over the first line, within an upper margin of 2.3 cm.

1-8. It seems that the scribe tried to divide the words. Small blanks appear between ται εἰς (l. 2), before καὶ (ll. 2, 3, 4, 5), after the first καὶ (ll. 6, 8), after the first κ (l. 2) and after the article ἡ (l. 3).

4-5. Repetition of καὶ εἰσελεύσεται after ἐσχάτη. This reading is witnessed by this fragment only.

6. The reading ἔξουσιν is unique. The edition, along with the rest of the evidence, prints ἐξώσουσιν.

8-9. The LXX reading καὶ ὀργισθήσεται is printed in the edition (6:30) within square brackets, since it is marked as spurious with an obelus in 88-Syh.

Commentary to the back side

0. The page number is placed 0.4 cm. over the first line, in an upper margin of 2.5 cm.

1. The beginning of verse 35 in our fragment differs from ἐκ τῶν συνιέντων printed in the edition, witnessed by the rest of the evidence. Our reading ἐν τῷ συνείτων can hardly be justified. R. Roca-Puig proposes to correct it with ἐκ τῶ(ν) συνιέ(ν)των ("Daniele", p. 17).

2. The singular διανοηθήσεται is a unique reading of our fragment. The edited text prints the plural διανοηθήσονται, as it is in the Hebrew text.

2-3. End of the line: εἰς τὸ καθα is a scribal mistake, due to dittography. The scribe initiates what is complete in the following line: εἰς τὸ καθαρείσαι.

3. The papyrus presents αὐτούς, instead of ἑαυτούς witnessed by the rest of mss.

11-12. The first θεόν is not abbreviated, as are the following θ(εὸ)ν τῶν θ(εῶ)ν.

14. Indicative in our fragment συνετέλεσθη, in disagreement with the subjunctive συντελεσθῆ of the rest of the evidence.

Our fragment omits the article ἡ. The omission is probably due to haplography.

16. The nomen sacrum is in full: θεούς.

18-19. When compared to the edited text, which is based on the testimony of Victorinus, Hieronymus and the text of Aquila, our ms. has a gap due to parablepsis. The sentence omitted comes after προνοηθῆ saying: καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ γυναικὸς οὐ μὴ προνοηθῆ.

20. The reconstruction θυμωθήσεται is coherent with the remaining traces. There is no other witness for this reading. The final letters αυ are smaller and appear in ekthesis.

20-21. Considering the opinion of O. Munnich, *Septuaginta*, p. 17, over the uncertainty of R. Roca-Puig reconstruction ἐπ' αὐ[τούς], it is to be considered that among other possible readings (ἐπ' αὐτῶ, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς), R. Roca-Puig's should be the right one, on the basis that the verb θυμώω occurs twice in the book of Daniel and once in Bel, and only one out of the three appears with personal complement, and this is in accusative with ἐπί.

21. Stichometry does not permit to reconstruct ὑποταγήσεται, but the simple ταγήσεται. It is part of an athenized sentence, dubious for the editor, with only a few letters in our fragment. This papyrus would be the only witness for the simple form of the verb.

22. The reading καὶ θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν before ἐπί (begining of v. 38) is lacking in our fragment and in 88-Syh. It can be considered as a doublet of the preceding ἔθνη ἰσχυρά (Munnich, *Septuaginta*, p. 60).

23. The reading of our fragment κεινήσει is shared by the mss. 88-Syh, instead of τιμήσει, supported by J. D. Michaelis, "Daniel nach den LXX (= Rezension der *ed. pr.*)", *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, vierter Theil, nr. 50 (1773), pp. 1-44, p. 11.

24. Possible abbreviation of θεόν in the lacuna, judging by the space allowed.

MVS

48. MATTHEW 3:9.15; 5:20-22.25-28

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 1*

Provenance unknown

Fr. A: H. 1.8 cm. x W. 1.1 cm.

Date: Late 2nd cent. CE

Fr. B: H. 4.9 cm. x W. 5 cm.

Gregory-Aland P⁶⁷ van Haelst 336

TM 61783/LDAB 2936

These are two fragments from a codex containing verses of the gospel of Matthew chapter 3, for the small fragment A, and chapter 5 for the large one B in discontinuous pages. In fragment A the side with vertical fibres precedes the one with horizontal fibres, and in fragment B the one with horizontal fibres precedes the one with vertical fibres. Fragment A presents the central part of a column. Fragment B has an irregular right margin in the front page up to 0.7 cm. in line 12, and 0.5 cm. in lines 7, 9, and 11; the rest of the lines do not show any margin. The left margin of fragment B is more regular on its back side, of 0.5 to 0.7 cm. from l. 5 to l. 13, with lacunae in ll. 1-5 and 14-15 of the fragment.

The Montserrat fragments belong to the same codex of the three fragments kept in Oxford, *Magdalene Greek* 17⁶⁴, containing

* This fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, *Un papiro griego del evangelio de San Mateo* (Sabadell, 1956), booklet reproduced in the article “P. Barc. inv. n. 1 (Mt. III, 9.15; V,20-22.25-28)”, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, 2 (Milano, 1957), pp. 87-96; this edition has been revised by R. Roca-Puig, “Nueva publicación del papiro número uno de Barcelona”, with C. H. Roberts, “Complementary note to the article of Prof. Roca Puig”, *Helmantica* 37 (1961), pp. 103-124. Besides this “note”, Roberts also published the “Transcripció del P. Magd. d’Oxford”, dated 9.vi.60, with a plate in pp. 61-62 of R. Roca-Puig booklet *Un papiro grec de l’evangeli de sant Mateu. Amb una nota de Colin Roberts* (Barcelona 1962). See also R. S. Bagnall, *Early Christian books in Egypt* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 25-49, in connection with the fragment 7Q5 and C. P. Thiede proposals. Turner, *Typology*, group 8, Aberrant 1 (OT 207a).

several verses from Matthew chapter 26:7-8.10.14-15.22-23.31.32-33. Verses 7-8.10.14-15 are placed on the vertical side, and verses 22-23.31.32-33 on the horizontal side. There were two columns to each page, the first two fragments (vv. 7-8 and v. 10) come on the first column of the front page, corresponding to the fragments of v. 31 and vv. 32-33, on the second column of the back page; the central fragment, vv. 14-15, is on the second column of the front page, corresponding to vv. 22-23 on the first column of the back page, as Roberts indicates in his edition⁶⁵.

Since the publication of the *editio princeps* of the Montserrat fragments, several reconstructions of the codex have been proposed together with a sound discussion about its relationship with P⁴ (Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Suppl. Gr. 1120), containing fragments of the Gospel of Luke⁶⁶. Van Haelst in his catalogue (*Catalogue*, no. 403, p. 146) places a question mark

⁶⁴ In J. van Haelst, *Catalogue*, no. 336 (2), p. 125, these fragments are numbered as Gr. 18 erroneously, cf. C. P. Thiede, "Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17 (Gregory-Aland P⁶⁴): A Reappraisal", *Tyndale Bulletin* 46.1 (1995), pp. 29-42, esp. 30-31; a reprint with minor corrections from *ZPE* 105 (1995), pp. 13-20. In the Prologue of the catalan booklet *Un papir grec* (1962), R. Roca-Puig explains how in 1901 Charles B. Huleatt acquired three small fragments in Luxor and gave them to Magdalene College, in Oxford, where they were kept unpublished till 1953, when Colin H. Roberts edited the text and gave the details of the history of the fragments, already identified by Ch. B. Huleatt.

⁶⁵ C. H. Roberts, "An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel", *HTR* 46 (1953), 233-237

⁶⁶ The fragments come from the binding of a codex containing two treatises of Philo, first partially published by V. Scheil, "Archéologie. Varia, p. I: Fragments de l'Évangile selon saint Luc, recueillis en Égypte par le R. P. Scheil, O.P.", *RB* 1 (1892), pp. 113-115; in part II of that article, pp. 116-117, he describes other archaeological items. It has been reproduced in "Fragment d'Évangile", *Mémoire Mission archéologique française* 9.2 (1893), p. 216. Cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 2: *Critique rationnelle* (Paris, 1935), pp. 119-123; J. Merell, "Nouveaux fragments du papyrus 4", *RB* 47 (1938), pp. 5-22; K. Aland, *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 108-110.

over the three groups of fragments as belonging to the same codex. These three groups have been compared from many points of view: the writing seems to be the same for all three, and since C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London, 1979), p. 13, stated that, in his opinion, there is no doubt that they come from the same codex, in spite of small discrepancies between P⁴ and P⁶⁷. The possible reconstruction of this codex, in which P⁴ is included, containing fragments from chapters 1 to 6 of the gospel of Luke, was explained by T. C. Skeat in 1997⁶⁷. His theories have been contested by S. D. Charlesworth⁶⁸, who attracted attention to the direction of the fibres as essential for a correct codicological reconstruction⁶⁹. On my part, I suggest that the fragments of P⁶⁷ belonged to a codex in two columns bound in quires of four bifolia, i.e. eight folios with sixteen pages and thirty two columns.

⁶⁷ T. C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?", *NTS* 43 (1997), pp. 1-34.

⁶⁸ S. D. Charlesworth, "T. C. Skeat, P⁶⁴⁺⁶⁷ and P⁴, and the Problem of Fibre Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction", *NTS* 53 (2007), pp. 582-604.

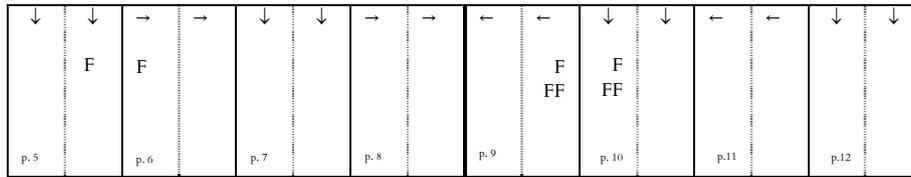
⁶⁹ S. D. Charlesworth, "T. C. Skeat and the Problem of Fiber Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction", in T. Gagos - Adam Hyatt (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor, 2010), pp. 131-140.

first column (11th column of the codex). The most suitable position of the fragment would be to begin on line 6 of the column. The large fragment of P⁶⁷ could be placed on page 9, second column (18th column of the codex), and its back on page 10, first column (19th column of the codex). The position of this fragment would be the same as for the small one. Close to the beginning of the fragment, in the missing text, the stichometry demands an omission of some 65 letters that could coincide with a possible parablepsis in Matt 3:13-14: βαπτισθῆναι – βαπτισθῆναι.

The sequence between the end of the small fragment and the end of the large one of P⁶⁷ (Matt 3:9c to 5:28) should be reconstructed as follows:

↓p. 5 →p. 6 ↓p. 7 →p. 8 || p. 9← p. 10↓ p. 11← p. 12↓

Pages 8 and 9 constitute the center of a quire of two bifolia. Pages 7-8, and 11-12 are lost. The text between both fragments would occupy 7 columns of about 5 cm. wide and about 14 cm. height with about 36 lines per column, a little more than 4000 letters.



Most probably the gospel of Matthew opened the codex. In order to give space for the incipit, the first column might be extended to 25 lines, about 400 letters. From Matt 1:1 to Matt 3:9 an amount of about 5.220 letters should take 9 columns of about 580 letters per column with 36 lines, of an average of 16 letters per line.

↓ Incipit Matr 1:1-6 p. 1 col. 1	↓ 1:7-14 col. 2	→ 1:14-20 p. 2 col. 3	→ 1:20-25 col. 4	↓ 2:1-7 p. 3 col. 5	↓ 2:7-13 col. 6	→ 2:13-17 p. 4 col. 7	→ 2:18-23 col. 8
↓ 3:1-7 36 lines p. 5 col. 9	↓ 3:7-13 5 lines 3:9 νοιας] καὶ μὴ δόξει- τε λέγειν ἐν [εαυτοῖς πρὸς] ἐχομένον Ἀβρα- άμ λέγω γὰρ ἡμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν	↓ 3:13-4:2 5 lines [homoiot. βαπτισθῆναι] 3:15 πρὸς με] ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἴς εἶπε]ν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄφες αὐτῷ οὐ πικρὸς γὰρ πρέπει]ον εἶσθιν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι] πάσαν δι-	↓ 4:2-9 36 lines col. 12	↓ 4:9-16 p. 7 col. 13	↓ 4:17-23 col. 14	→ 4:23-5:5 p. 8 col. 15	→ 5:6-13 col. 16

←	←	↓	↓
5:13-19	5:19:22	5:22-29	5:29-35
	6 lines	6 lines	
	5:20	5:25	
	ἐὰν μ[ὴ] περισ[εύση ὑμῶ]ν ἢ δικα[ιοσύνη πι]λ[ε]ῖτον τῶν [γραμμα- τέων καὶ φα[ρισαίων οὐ μὴ εἰσελθ[ή]τε εἰς τὴν βασι[λεί]α[ν τ]ῶν οὐ- ρανῶν : ἠκο[ύ]σατε ὅ- τι ἐρρ[έθη] τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐ φ[ονεύ]σεις ὅς δ' ἂν φον[εύ]ση [ἐ]νοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσ[ει] : ἐγὼ δὲ λέ- γω ὑμῖ]ν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀρ- γισ[τ]όμενος τῷ ἀδελ- φῷ αὐ]τοῦ νοχ[ος ἔσ-	παραδ[ό]ψ[ος] ὁ ἀντ[ι]δ[ί]κος τῷ κρ[ι]τῇ καὶ ὁ κρ[ι]τῆς τῷ ὑπ[η]ρέτῃ καὶ εἰς φυ- λακῆν] βληθήσῃ ἀμ[ὴν λέ]γω σοι οὐ μὴ ἐξελ- θῆς [ἐκ]εῖθ[ε]ν ἕως ἂν ἀπο[δο]ῖς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην : ἡ[κού]- σατε ὅτι ἐρρ[έθη] οὐ μοι χεύσεις : ἐ[γ]ὼ δὲ [λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς [τὸ ἐπι- θυ]μῆσαι ἡδὴ ἐ[μ]οίχευ- σεν αὐτῇ]ν ἐν τῇ καρ-	
36 lines			36 lines
p. 9 col. 17	16 lines col. 18	16 lines p. 10 col. 19	col. 20

5:19 (p. 9, col. 2, ll. 1-6): Presumably P⁶⁷ contained the text of a homoioteleuton witnessed by codices Sinaiticus (Ⲱ), Bezae (D) and Freerianus (W) οὐρανῶν ... οὐρανῶν.

←	←	↓	↓	←	←	↓	↓	←	←	↓	↓
p. 11 col. 21	col. 22	p. 12 col. 23	col. 24	p. 13 col. 25	col. 26	p. 14 col. 27	col. 28	p. 15 col. 29	col. 30	p. 16 col. 31	col. 32

Pages composing the sheets of the quaternion:

pp. 1 + 16	pp. 2 + 15	pp. 3 + 14	pp. 4 + 13	pp. 5 + 12	pp. 6 + 11	pp. 7 + 10	pp. 8 + 9
↓ ↓	← →	↓ ↓	← →	↓ ↓	← →	↓ ↓	← →

The place of provenance is unknown. R. Roca-Puig did not indicate where he had acquired this fragment. Since we know that P⁶⁴ was purchased by the Revd. Huleatt in Luxor and P⁴ was found

at Coptos⁷⁰ and acquired at Luxor, we may assume that all three come from that region. If P⁴ is not from the same codex, at least it was written at the same scriptorium. Colin H. Roberts⁷¹ dated the fragments before the 3rd cent. CE. T. C. Skeat⁷² agrees with Roberts in comparing the papyrus with others which present a similar writing, all dated in the 2nd cent. CE. Philip Comfort thinks that it could be dated even to the first century, based on the date he gives to P⁴. He argues that since it was found as part of the binding of a codex dated to the third century containing two treatises of Philo, P⁴ “may have been in use more than a hundred years before it was discarded”⁷³.

The codex is written in one of the clear and careful scripts preceding the Biblical uncial of the great codices of the fourth and fifth centuries⁷⁴. T. C. Skeat (*NTS* 43 [1997], pp. 8-9) describes minutely the hand of the three groups of fragments that have close similarities (P⁴, P⁶⁴ and P⁶⁷). Although he admits not being certain about the identity of P⁴ with the other two, he describes the script as coming from the same school.

⁷⁰ At 43 km. north of Luxor. The R. P. Scheil (*RB* 1 [1892], p. 113), concerning the fragments of P⁴ says: “... recueillis au cours de ma mission d'Égypte (1891)... en capitales grecques sur un papyrus provenant de *Coptos* et se trouvant adjoint à un autre plus considérable contenant deux traités de *Philon d'Alexandrie* écrits en onciales”.

⁷¹ Colin H. Roberts, “An early papyrus of the first Gospel”, *HThR* 46 (1953) pp. 233-237, esp. p. 237. He agrees with the opinion of H. Bell, T. C. Skeat and E. G. Turner who proposed the later second century as its most probable date.

⁷² T. C. Skeat, “The Oldest manuscript”, *NTS* 43 (1997), pp. 28-31.

⁷³ Ph. W. Comfort, “Exploring the common identification of three New Testament manuscripts: P⁴ P⁶⁴ and P⁶⁷”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 46.1 (1995), pp. 43-54, esp. p. 53.

⁷⁴ See G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica* (Firenze, 1967), pp. 28-32. A similar script is found, for instance, in *P.Oxy.* 17:2101, of the first half of the 3rd century, a scroll containing fragments of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, in ‘Biblical majuscule’. Cf. W. A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes*, pp. 37-38, plate 8.

Fr. A: Matthew 3:9.15

Front side

↓	-----		
1	[νοίας] · καὶ μ[ὴ δόξη-]	15	Matt 3:8-9
2	[τε λέγ]ειν ἐν [ἐαυτοῖς]	17	
3	[πρᾶ] ἔχομ[εν τὸν ἀβρα-]	16	
4	[ἀμ λέ]γω γὰ[ρ ὑμῖν ὅτι]	16	
5	[δύνα]τ[αι ὁ θς ἐκ τῶν]	15	

1 High stop in Pap. 3 πρᾶ in lacuna for π(ατε)ρα 5 θς Pap. for θ(εο)ς

Back side

→	-----		
1	[πρὸς με] · ἀποκ[ριθεὶς δὲ]	18	Matt 3:14-15
2	[ὁ ις εἶπε]ν πρὸ[ς αὐτόν]	17	
3	[ἄφες ἄ]ρτι οὐ[τως γὰρ]	15	
4	[πρέπ]ον ἐσ[τὶν ἡμῖν]	15	
5	[πληρῶ]σα[ι πᾶσαν δι-]	15	

1 High stop in Pap. 2 ις in the lacuna for ι(ησου)ς

Commentary to the front side

1. High stop at the beginning of the line. It might be the remains of a colon, used elsewhere in this papyrus to mark the end of a verse.

2. Some minuscules, codex Syrus Sinaiticus of the Syriac version and John Chrysostom do not present ἐν ἐαυτοῖς.

Commentary to the back side

1. Here the dot between verses is at a middle level and very close to the α.

2. The reading πρὸς αὐτόν is found in most codices except Vaticanus, family 13 and a few, which read αὐτῷ; absent in Coptic versions and codex 0250.

Fr. B: Matthew 5:20-22.25-28

Front side

→	-----		
1	[ἐὰν] μ[ὴ] περισ[εύση]	15	Matt 5:20
2	[ὕμῶ]ν ἢ δικα[ιοσύνη]	15	
3	[π]λ[ε]ῖον τῶν [γραμμα-]	15	
4	τέων καὶ φα[ρισαίων]	15	
5	οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθ[ητ]ε εἰς	16	
6	τὴν βασι[λείαν τ]ῶν οὐ-	17	
7	ρανῶν : ἡκο[ύσα]τε ὅ-	14	Matt 5:21
8	[τι ἐρρ]ήθη τ[ο]ῖς ἀρχαίοις	20	
9	[οὐ φ]ογεύσεις ὅς δ' ἂν	16	
10	[φον]εύση ἔνοχος ἔσται	19	
11	[τῆ κρίσ]ει : ἐγὼ δὲ λέ-	16	Matt 5:22
12	[γω ὑμῖ]ν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀρ-	15	
13	[γιζό]μενος τῷ ἀδελ-	16	
14	[φῶ αὐ]τοῦ ἔνο[χος ἔσ-]	16	

7 and 11 colon in Pap.

Back side

↓	-----		
1	[παραδ]ῶ ὁ ἀντι[ί]δικος]	16	Matt 5:25
2	[τῷ κρι]τῆ καὶ ὁ κ[ριτῆς]	17	
3	[τῷ ὑπ]ηρέτη καὶ εἰ[ς φυ-]	17	
4	[λακὴν] βληθήση ἀμῆ[ν]	16	Matt 5:26
5	λέ[γω σ]οι οὐ μὴ ἐξέλ-	15	
6	θης [ἐκ]εῖ[θε]ν ἕως ἂν	15	
7	ἀπο[δῶ]ς τὸν ἔσχατον	16	
8	κοδράντην : ἡ[κού-]	14	Matt 5:27
9	ᾠατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη οὐ [μοι-]	18	
10	χεύσεις : ἐγὼ δὲ [λέγω]	17	Matt 5:28
11	ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶ[ς ὁ βλέπων]	17	
12	γυναῖκα πρὸς [τὸ ἐπι-]	16	

13	[θυ]μῆσαι ἤδη ἐ[μοίχευ-]	17
14	[σεν αὐτή]ν ἐ[ν τῇ καρ-]	15

8 and 10 colon in Pap. 9 σ corr. M2 episema on α

Commentary to the front side

7. Colon between verses 20 and 21. At restoration, unfortunately the ink faded when removing the tape vertically placed over that part of the papyrus.

8. The verb ἐρρήθη, apparently with an η, is found in a large number of mss. However, in line 9 of the back side of our text, the papyrus has ἐρρέθη, with ε, giving a sample of the fluctuation between Attic and Hellenistic forms⁷⁵.

14. Most manuscripts read εἰκῆ, ‘in vain’, after τῶ ἀδελφῶ αὐτοῦ, omitted only in few mss. among which our manuscript P⁶⁷, the first hand of Sinaiticus (κ*), the Vaticanus, some Latin (Vulgata), and some Fathers. Modern critical editions do not print εἰκῆ as original.

Commentary to the back side

9. At the beginning of the line one correction is detected: the sigma lacking in the word is placed under a horizontal stroke, small sized, and in ekthesis, apparently the hand is the same as that of the fragment.

12-13. Most manuscripts give the complement αὐτήν to ἐπιθυμῆσαι. The second hand of κ, f¹ and some others give αὐτῆς. Our manuscript with Codex Sinaiticus (κ*) bears witness for the absence of it; Tertullian and Clement of

⁷⁵ G.D. Kilpatrick, “Atticism and the Greek New Testament”, in J. Blinzler-O. Kuss-F. Mussner (eds.), *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Joseph Schmid* (Regensburg, 1963), pp. 125-137. J. K. Elliott (ed.), *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick* (Leuven, 1990), esp. “Eclecticism and Atticism”, pp. 73-79 and *idem, Essays and Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Córdoba, 1992) esp. chapter 1; J. A. L. Lee, “The Atticist Grammarians”, in S. E. Porter-A. Pitts (eds.), *The Language of the New Testament: Context, History, and Development* (Leuven, 2013), pp. 283-308, esp. 10: “Atticism and the Text of the New Testament”, pp. 306-308; E. J. Epp-G. D. Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of the New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, 1993), esp. chapters 7 and 8.

Alexandria with a few minuscules also support the omission. The weight and antiquity of these testimonies deserve major attention in the critical texts. MVS

49. MATTHEW 26:24-29

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 4*	Provenance unknown
H. 16.8 cm. x W. 8.8 cm.	Date: 6 th cent. CE
Gregory-Aland 0298 van Haelst add.	
TM 68794/LDAB 10066	

This parchment fragment presents a Coptic-Greek bilingual text of the Gospel of Matthew. The Coptic text (26:17-21) is placed on the hair side of the piece and has been published as *P.Monts.Roca* 2:14 by Sofia Torallas⁷⁶, where the description of the fragment is given as follows: “it is written on a reused parchment, a palimpsest, which had previously contained a Latin text. The fragment features the external margin of the folio. The second text was written opposite to the direction used for the original text. The layout of the manuscript probably presented the Greek text on the left hand page, the verso of every folio, and the Coptic text on the facing page, to the right, on the recto of every folio”. On the Greek side, the top margin is 2.8 cm. and the LH margin 2.5 cm. The script is uncial, oval in shape, with narrow sigma and omicron, with occasional serifs in the τ, combining thick and fine strokes. Some letters feature an irregular size, especially the β, exceeding the lower rule of the line. It is surprising the χ, first letter of line 14, curled at the tops of its left stroke –a small curl up left and a bigger one down right–; the second stroke is coming

* This parchment fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, *Dos Pergamins bíblics. Salm 14 (15) i Mateu 26. Papirs de Barcelona, Inv. n.º 2 i n.º 4.* (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 17-20.

⁷⁶ S. Torallas Tovar, *Biblica Coptica Montserratensia. P.Monts.Roca II* (Barcelona, 2007; *Orientalia Montserratensia* 2), pp. 76-77.

over the margin two lines down, with an elegant knot or bow at the upper right side.

There are marginal annotations, placed at different levels of the fragment, all of them written in the opposite sense of the Greek text, to be read upside down, hence, they may be notes to the underlying Latin text. The size of the Latin script is very small and regular, with an ink similar to that of the first script of the palimpsest. There are two notes placed on the outer edge of the margin (three lines matching with lines 2-3 of the fragment, and seven lines matching with lines 16-18, of 1.5 x 0.8 cm.), plus one note going into line 16 (two lines of about 2 cm. long the first one and 0.7 cm. the second one). They are written in Greek script, small capitals, with strokes of abbreviation. While legible, the words are uncomprehensible (only $\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\nu$ is complete in line 6). There are two other notes in the middle of the fragment (ll. 10 and 12-14). The one beside line 10 shows two cursive *d* in latin writing, underlined by two small strokes; the other one shows the same figure three times plus the sign ζ below each one.

R. Roca-Puig dated this fragment to the 8th-9th cent. CE, advanced by S. Torallas to the 6th cent. CE. This date, according to the script, could be brought forward to the 3rd-4th cent., but the script of the Latin text underlying the Coptic moves the date to the 5th-6th centuries, as S. Torallas states.

Flesh side

1	ανος [ἐ]κεῖνος [ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἰού]-	25	Matt 26:24-25
2	δας ὁ παραδι[δοὺς αὐτὸν εἶπεν]	24	
3	μήτι ἐγὼ εἶ[μι ῥαββί λέγει]	21	
4	αὐτοῦ σύ εἶπας [ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐ]-	23	Matt 26:26
5	τῶν λαβῶν ὁ ἰς [ἄρτον καὶ ἐυλο]-	23	
6	γήσας ἔκλασεν [καὶ δοὺς τοῖς μα]-	25	
7	θηταῖς αὐτοῦ εἶ[πεν λάβετε φά]-	24	
8	γετε τοῦτ[ο ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου]	23	
9	Καὶ λαβῶν προ[τήριον καὶ εὐχαρισ]-	26	Matt 26:27

10	τήσας ἔδωκ[εν αὐτοῖς λέγων]	22
11	πίετε ἕξ αὐτοῦ πάντες τοῦτο]	23 Matt 26:28
12	γάρ ἐστιν τὸ [αἷμα μου τὸ τῆς]	22
13	διαθήκη[ς τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκ]-	22
14	χυνόμεν[ον εἰς ἄφεςιν ἁμαρ]-	23
15	τιῶν λέγω [δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ]	21 Matt 26:29
16	πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι [ἐκ τούτου γενή]-	21
17	μ[α]τος τῆς ἀμ[πέλου ἕως τῆς]	21
18	[ἡμ]έρας ἐκε[ίνης ὅταν αὐτὸ]	21
19	[π]ίνω μ[εθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ]	21

 9 λάβων Pap. 10 ἔδωκ Pap. 11 πίετε Pap. 13 διὰ Pap. 14 l. χυνν

Commentary

1. There is no abbreviation stroke on ανος for ἄνθρωπος.
3. There is probably a small blank in the reconstruction, before λέγει, as in line 15 before λέγω.
6. Word division before ἔκλασεν.
7. The presence of αὐτοῦ is clear, according with codex Venetus Marcianus (U) and *multi* minuscules and Latin, Syriac and Aethiopic versions.
8. Word division before τοῦτο.
9. The K is larger and appears in ekthesis.
12. Inclusion of τό in the reconstruction is according to the uncial A C W 074, minuscule families 1 and 13, the Byzantine majority and the Syriac Harklean version. It seems that this variant goes along with the inclusion of καινῆς after τῆς, witnessed by the same manuscripts plus the codex Bezae (D) and some others of Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions. The choice for reconstructing τό and not καινῆς is mainly due to stichometry. The absence of both words is witnessed by P³⁷ and most authoritative uncial mss. and the inclusion may be a harmonization with Luke 22:20.

15. Word division before λέγω.

The presence of ὅτι in the reconstruction follows the same reasons as those given in line 12, witnessed by the same codices and probably harmonized with Mark 14:25.

16. Reconstruction of τούτου (with P^{37*} ⳨* C L and *pauci*), haplography of τούτου τοῦ, printed in the editions.

19. Although the final part of the fragment is extremely damaged, the letters νομ are clear enough to maintain the readings τίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν, in that order. MVS

50. LUKE 8:25-27

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 16*

Provenance unknown

H. 7.2 cm. x W. 9 cm.

Date: 5th cent. CE

Gregory-Aland 0267 van Haelst 414

TM 61711/LDAB 2863

This fragment of vellum belongs to a good quality codex which, as R. Roca-Puig points out (pp. 139-140), was probably reused for binding. The back side is blank, but features traces of a yellowish sticky paste, now cleaned up in the restoration process. The skin is pale and it seems that it has been washed up to erase the text. The fragment has a spot of red ink at the top and a hole on the left, at the level of lines 6-7, possibly produced by the rust of a speck of ink. The preserved LH margin is irregular, from 3.4 cm. to 4.1 cm.

Over the hole, at the top of the text, part of a linear drawing is preserved, representing a circle with three arcs connected at a

* This fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, "Un pergami grec de l'Evangelí de sant Lluç", in *Miscel·lània Carles Cardo*, Barcelona 1963, pp. 395-399; and "Dos fragmentos bíblicos de la colección Papyri Barcinonenses", *Helmantica* 49 (1965), pp. 139-144.

point; a long stroke crosses through the central point upwards. As this drawing does not represent an ornamental figure, R. Roca-Puig assumes that it might be a scholar's geometrical draft, made when the leaf had already been discarded.

It is written in a regular round Biblical uncial, remarkably spaced and large, akin to the script of Codex Washingtonianus⁷⁷, dated to the first half of 5th century. Both mss. have a similar way of indicating paragraphs, i. e. shortening the line where the previous period ends, and initiating the next line with a larger letter in ekthesis into the left margin.

Flesh

1	[καὶ ὑπ]ακροῦο[υσιν]	14	Luke 8:25
2	[α]ὑτῷ	4	
3	καὶ κατέπλε[υσαν]	14	Luke 8:26
4	εἰς τὴν χώ[ραν τῶν]	14	
5	γερασσηνῶ[ν ἦτις]	13	
6	ἔστιν ἀντ[ιπέρα]	13	
7	[τ]ῆς γαλιλα[ίας]	12	
8	ἐξελθόντ[ι δὲ αὐτῷ]	15	Luke 8:27
9	ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν [ὑπὴν]-	13	
10	τησεν ἀνή[ρ τις ἐκ]	13	

Comentary

1. Under the ink blot an α can be read.

⁷⁷ Belonging to the Freer Collection, it contains Deuteronomy and Joshua (Rahlfs W¹). Cf. H. A. Sanders, *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1917), Part I: "The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua", plates II, pp. 30-31, and III, pp. 48-49. See also Part II: "The Washington Manuscript of the Psalms", plate V, pp. 110-111, and VI (esp. line 29), pp. 114-115.

2. The line is not filled out by the verse coming next, as it is usual in Biblical vellum codices. In this line only the ω is clear.
3. The κ initiating verse 26 is slightly larger and appears in ekthesis.
5. The reading $\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\eta\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is clear. It agrees with P⁷⁵ B, D and a few versions. This word has two other variants used traditionally to refer to the Gerasene people: a) $\gamma\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\sigma\eta\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ witnessed by κ L Θ Ξ f^1 a few minuscules and Bohairic version, and b) $\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\rho\eta\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ witnessed by A W Ψ f^{13} the bulk of Byzantine mss. and the Syriac version. The weight of the mss. supporting our reading $\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\eta\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is indicative of the high quality of the text given in this fragment.
6. The parchment is seriously damaged. There is a hole probably made by action of rust going down to line 8. It is possible to guess the first ϵ .
7. This line probably was shorter, as it takes the end of the verse, like in line 2.
8. The damage of the previous line reaches the second and third letters of this line. The first ϵ is larger and styled and appears in ekthesis, indicating the beginning of a verse. The following ξ is hardly legible. MVS

51. JOHN 3:34 + COMMENTARY

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 83*

Provenance unknown

H. 10.3 cm. x W. 9.5 cm.

Date: mid 3rd cent. CEGregory - Aland P⁸⁰ van Haelst 441

TM 61645/LDAB 2795

This papyrus fragment of fairly good quality is the lower part of a leaf of a codex, containing one verse of chapter 3 of the gospel of John and its interpretation, a sort of *catena* not infrequent among Biblical testimonies. The margins preserved are LH (1.5 cm.) and the bottom margin (3.3 cm.).

R. Roca-Puig dates this papyrus to the middle 3rd century⁷⁸, indicating the similarity of the writing of our fragment with that of the Florence papyri in Heroninos correspondence, letters from Alypius to Heroninus, all belonging to the middle of the 3rd cent. CE (ca. 260)⁷⁹. Among them there is closer similarity with *P.Flor.* 2:148 (266-267 CE) and 2:166⁸⁰ (cf. above 36, another possible

* This fragment was first published by R. Roca-Puig, "Papiro del Evangelio de San Juan con 'Hermeneia'", *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia: Milano 2-8 Settembre 1965* (Milano, 1966), pp. 225-236. A presentation with plate: R. Roca-Puig, "Un papiro grec de l'Evangelio de Sant Joan a Barcelona (P. Barc. n° 83)", *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 37 (1964), pp. 353-355. Listed in P. Comfort-D. P. Barrett, *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (Milano, 1999), pp. 603-604; K. Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament nach den ältesten griechischen Handschriften* (CD-Rom) (Vienna-Würzburg 2006), nos. 3955-3957.

⁷⁸ J. Chapa, "The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Gospel of John in Egypt", *VChr* 64 (2010), pp. 327-352, esp. p. 343, assigns a later date to our fragment (P⁸⁰): late 4th or early 5th century.

⁷⁹ D. Comparetti, *Papiri Greco-Egizii*, vol II: *Papiri fiorentini. Papiri letterari ed epistolari* (Milano, 1908), pp. 67-124: "Correspondenza heroniniana", Alypius, no. 118-169. On the few literary texts of this archive, cf. D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in third century A.D. Egypt* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 12.

⁸⁰ The lower part of this fragment is broken, thus, address and date are lacking.

Heroninus hand). Other papyri without a clear date present a remarkable similarity; this is the case of Papyrus Bouriant no. 1⁸¹: leaving aside the deficiencies of a schoolwork text, many aspects of its writing, gently sloped rightwards, –ductus, size, and distance between letters– are alike. R. Roca-Puig compares it to *P.Mich.* 2.2:129⁸²; however, it is a visibly different hand.

The *nomen sacrum* θεός/θεοῦ appears three times in lacunae. Stychometry suggests that it was presumably abbreviated.

Front side

↓

1	[ὁ θεός τὰ] ῥ[ή]ματ[α τοῦ θεοῦ λαλεῖ]	21	John 3:34
2	[ο]ὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέρου[ς δίδωσιν ὁ θεός]	23	
3	τὸ πνεῦμα γ γ [
4	ἐρμηνεία		
5	ἀληθὴ ἐστὶν τὰ λ[ελαλημένα]	22	
6	παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐὰν σ[ὺ ἐξ αὐτοῖς]	21	
7	ὠφελήθησῃ ✕		
	1 θε(εο)ς θε(εο)υ 2 θε(εο)ς 4 l. ἐρμηνεία		

Back side

→

1	[. ὧ ἄνθ]ρωπε μὴ καὶ
2	✕

This fragment contains, as stated above, a passage of John with “interpretation”. Among the known manuscripts containing

⁸¹ J. Jouguet – P. Perdrizet, “Le papyrus Bouriant no. 1: un cahier d'écolier grec d'Égypte”, in C. Wessely (ed.), *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde VI* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 148–161, + Plates, and in the same volume, a short study by W. Crönert, p. 185.

⁸² Published by C. Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas: (Similitudes 2-9) with a Fragment of the Mandates* (Ann Arbor, 1934). R. Roca-Puig, “Papiro del Evangelio”, p. 228, n. 1.

the Greek text of the Gospel of John, there are a total of five papyrus fragments (P.Vindob. inv. no. G 26214 [P⁵⁵], P.Ness. 2:3 [P⁵⁹], P.Berlin inv. no. 11914 [P⁶³], P.Vindob. inv. no. G 36102 [P⁷⁶], our papyrus: P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 83 [P⁸⁰]) and three parchment fragments (lost parchment from Damascus [0145], P.Berlin inv. no. 3607 + 3623 [0210], and P.Berlin inv. no. 21315 [0302]) known as ‘hermeneia’ manuscripts, that is, fragments containing a certain passage from the Gospel of John, followed by the word ἑρμηνεία, centered on the page, followed generally by a comment or note on the biblical citation⁸³.

R. Roca-Puig, “Papiro del evangelio”, p. 235, suggests two possible reconstructions of the text on the back side, the most plausible is based on Gal 6:1 (adding ὦ ἄνθρωπε, which was not in the text) assuming that the explanation was made by means of a NT sentence, although it might not have been so:

- 1 [σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν ὦ ἄνθ]ρωπε μὴ καὶ Gal 6:1
 2 [σὺ πειρασθῆς]
 1 σκοπῶν N-A; σκόπει Roca-Puig p. 235 2 πειρασθῆς N-A;
 κολασθῆς Roca-Puig p. 235

Another proposal of reconstruction is based on John 12:47. As in Gal 6:1, the vocative is an addition, since it does not appear in the whole text of the NT:

⁸³ See B. M. Metzger, “Greek Manuscripts of John’s Gospel with ‘Hermeneiai’”, in T. Baarda-A. Hilhorst-G. P. Luttikhuisen-A. S. van der Woude (eds.), *Text and Testimony. Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn* (Kampen, 1988), pp. 162-169, on the Montserrat papyrus, esp. pp. 162-163. On the purpose of the *hermeneiai*, connected or disconnected from the Biblical text, see B. C. Jones, “A Coptic Fragment of the Gospel of John with *Hermeneiai* (P.CtYBR inv. 4641)”, *NTS* 60.2 (2014) 202-214. We are very grateful to Brice Jones for kindly sending the unpublished text of his article to us. Cf. also W. Cirafesi, “The Bilingual Character and Liturgical Function of ‘Hermeneia’ in Johanine Papyrus Manuscripts: A New Proposal”, *NT* 56 (2014), pp. 45-67.

0 [καὶ ἐὰν τίς μου ἀκούσῃ] John 12:47
 1 [τῶν ῥημάτων ᾧ ἄνθ]ρωπε καὶ μὴ
 2 [φυλάξῃ, ἐγὼ οὐ κρίνω αὐτόν]

Commentary to the front side

2. μέρους is a variant reading of μέτρου, the reading of the edited text, but present in P⁶⁶ (μερου) first hand, and correction of that hand: W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St. John*, vol. 1: The Papyri (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1995), p.158. Cf. R. Roca-Puig, “Papiro del Evangelio”, p. 231.

3. There is a sign closing the text. Probably it was repeated as line filler, similarly to Psalm 119 in this publication (43), since traces of a second sign are visible.

5. R. Roca-Puig reconstructs λελαλημένα on the grounds of λαλεῖ (l. 1) of the verse on which the interpretation lies. He also takes into consideration the similar construction in Luke 1:45: ...τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου.

5-7. There is word division between the words ἀληθὴ ἐστὶν and αὐτοῦ ἐὰν.

The ἐρμηνεία is based on the text of John 10:41, which says about the words of John the Baptist: πάντα δὲ ὅσα εἶπεν Ἰωάννης περὶ τούτου ἀληθὴ ἦν.

The second reconstruction proposed by R. Roca-Puig may be slightly modified, substituting ἐν by ἐξ, according to the similar sentence in Mark 7:11, κορβᾶν, ὃ ἐστὶν, δῶρον, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῆς.

7. The line ends with a staurogram. On this sign, see K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Bruxelles, 1992), table 3, “sigla of uncertain function”, where she collects evidence of this sign in P.Berol. inv. no. 11866A-B, *P.Oxy.* 25:2429 and 32.2637, and *PSI* 9:1095. Cf. also L. Hurtado, “The staurogram in early Christian manuscripts: the earliest visual reference to the crucified Jesus?”, in Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (eds.), *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Text and Their World* (Edinburgh: Divinity Publications, The University of Edinburgh School of Divinity, 2006), pp. 207-226.

In some documents this sign is placed at the beginning. See different hands of this sign in the documents of the 6th century collected in C. Wessely (ed.), *SPP* 3, pp. 1-136, and *SPP* 8, pp. 137-213, most frequently at the

beginning of the document. This sign also appears in a letter, *P.Flor.* 2:136 (at the end of l. 10).

52. HEBREWS 6:2-4.6-7

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 6*

Provenance unknown

H. 5.7 cm. x W. 2.7 cm.

Date: 4th cent. CE

Gregory - Aland 0252 van Haelst 538

TM 61880/LDAB 3037

This is a piece of parchment containing the central part of a codex leaf. Its edges present evidence of severe burning making the reading impossible. The skin is pale and fine, probably belonging to a very elegant codex. There are about 13 lines missing between the front and the back side, reckoning an original column of 24/25 lines. The page probably had two columns, and our fragment would be placed somewhere in the external column. If the beginning of the chapter coincides with that of the column, we reckon the fragment had 10 lines above it and 2 lines below, 25 lines in all, and the back side would have 11 lines before the fragment and 2 lines after, containing the rest of verse 7. A codex with only one column would have been too narrow: H. ca. 15 cm. (ca. 12 cm. written, and 3 cm. for the upper and lower margins) x W. ca. 8 cm. (5.5 cm. written and 2.5 cm. for the margins at both sides). Two columns would make a square codex: 15 cm. x 15 cm. (about 7 cm. for each column and about 1 cm. for the space

* R. Roca-Puig, "Un pergami grec de la Lletra als Hebreus. *Papyri Barcinonenses*, Inv. n.º 6, Hebr. 6,2-4.6-7", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 30 (1963-1964), pp. 241-245; and also "Dos fragmentos bíblicos de la colección *Papyri Barcinonenses*", *Helmantica* 49 (1965), pp. 139-149, 145-149.

between the columns); cf. Turner, *Typology*, NT Parch. 101B (p. 162).

The palaeographical features have been described by R. Roca-Puig. The script is an example of Biblical uncial, round and neat, with remarkable difference between fine (horizontal) and thick (vertical) strokes. Fine strokes are sometimes lengthened and bear small serifs. Letters are bilinear except for ρ, υ, and β. The ink of the back side is stronger and is visible through the skin on the front side. This is often misleading as, for instance, in line 12 of the front side, where the ρ written on the same line of the back side has gone through between the α and the μ.

The fragment can be dated to the 4th cent. CE. R. Roca-Puig, “Dos fragmentos”, p. 146, proposed the first half of the 4th cent. CE, while K. Aland (Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1995, p. 701) thinks that the 5th cent. is more likely.

Front side (flesh)

1	[τισμ]ῶν [διδαχῆς]	13	Heb 6:2
2	[ἐπι]θέσ[εως τε]	12	
3	[χει]ρῶν ἀ[ναστά]-	12	
4	[σε]ῶς τε υ[εκρῶν]	12	
5	[καὶ] κρίμα[τος α]-	12	
6	[ἰω]νίου· κ[αὶ τοῦ]-	12	Heb 6:3
7	[το] ποιήσο[μεν]	12	
8	[ἐά]νπερ ἐπ[ιτρέ]-	12	
9	[π]η ὁ θς· ἀδ[ύνα]	10	Heb 6:4
10	[το]ν γὰρ το[ῦς ἀπαξ]	14	
11	[φω]τισθ[έντας]	11	
12	[γευσ]αμ[ένους]	11	

9 θς for θ(εο)ς Pap.

Back side (hair)

1	[σταυρο]ϋγ[τας]	11	Heb 6:6
2	[ἐαυτοῖς] τὸν[υἱ]-	12	
3	[ὄν το]ϋ̄ θ̄υ κ[αὶ πα]-	12	
4	[ραδει]γματ[ίζον-]	13	
5	[τας· γ]ῆ γὰρ ἡ π[ιοῦ]-	13	Heb 6:7
6	[σα τὸ]ν ἐπ' αὐ[τῆς]	12	
7	[ἐρχό]μενον [πολ]-	12	
8	[λάκι]ς ὑετὸν [καὶ]	13	
9	[τίκ]τουσα βοτ[ά]-	12	
10	[νην] εὔθετ[ον]	10	
11	[ἐκείν]οις δι' οὔς]	13	
12	[καὶ γεω]ργ[εῖται]	13	

3 θ̄υ for θ(εο)υ Pap. 8 ὑετον Pap.

This fragment contains a passage of Hebrews. There are at least other 17 fragments of papyrus and parchment containing parts of Hebrews in Greek, according to LDAB, none of them however matches our piece. For other papyrus and parchment fragments, cf. R. Pintaudi, “N. T. Ad Hebraeos VI, 7-9; 15-17 (PL III/292)”, *ZPE* 42 (1981), pp. 42-44.

Commentary to the front side

1. The reconstruction of διδαχῆς, in the genitive case, for the accusative of P⁴⁶ B and 0150, coincides with the edited text, in accordance with the genitives of verse 1 as complements of θεμέλιον. It would be plausible to reconstruct the accusative as a *lectio difficilior* and coincident with P⁴⁶, as well as in l. 4 for the presence of τε.

4. The reading τε is clear and coincides with P⁴⁶ and most part of the Greek mss. and some Latin. Only the manuscripts Vaticanus and Claromontanus with two later mss. and some others of the Latin Vulgate and the Coptic versions omit the particle. All printed texts, except B. F. Westcott & F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the original Greek* (Graz, 1974), vol. 1, *a. l.*, include that reading.

6 and 9. High stop after αἰωνίου and θ(εο)ς, probably indicating the end of verses 2 and 3.

7. The reading ποιήσομεν (P⁴⁶ & B I K L 0122, 0278, some minuscules, Latin and Coptic versions) can also be read as ποιήσωμεν. The weight of the evidence lies on ποιήσομεν. Otherwise, since a future tense suits better in the context, it might be a correction. The shape of the fragment does not allow claiming the ο against the ω; in fact the thickness of the visible stroke approaches to an ω, but an exhortative subjunctive is not probable here.

9. On the *nomina sacra*, see L. W. Hurtado, “The Origin of the Nominal Sacra”, *JBL* 117 (1998), pp. 655–673, and “P52 (P. Rylands Gk. 457) and the Nomina Sacra: Method and Probability”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 54 (2003), pp. 1–14; Ch. M. Tuckett, “P52 and the *nomina sacra*”, *NTS* 47 (2001), pp. 544–548.

10. This line exceeds the regular length of the lines of this fragment. There must be a variant; but since there are no variant readings in the mss. for this sentence, we have no suggestions; nonetheless it is not impossible that our ms., as regular in format as it is, would have omitted the word ἄραξ, unnecessary for the sense. The inclusion of the word makes a too long line, while the omission makes a too short line.

12. The head of the α and the angle of the μ are well distinguished. The ink of the ρ of the back side is visible through the skin.

Commentary to the back side

1. The reconstruction of this line in R. Roca-Puig’s edition is σταυ]ροῦ[ντας. He was probably guided by a longer vertical stroke that he attributed to the ρ, while it is also feasible to ascribe that stroke to the υ. Moreover, the ν next to the υ fits better to the straight, not curved, rests of ink in that line.

2. The abbreviation of υἰόν (\overline{uv}) proposed by R. Roca-Puig seems somewhat forced and unnecessary.

5. Although this line is a little longer, a high stop is to be presumably reconstructed after παραδειγματίζοντας, to indicate the end of verse 6, as in verses 2 and 3 of the front page.

abbreviation marks, especially for κ(αι). The iota adscript is never written. We would date this hand between the late 5th and early 6th cent. CE, comparing to Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, pll. 16b and 23b⁸⁴.

As will be suggested below, the text apparently stems from a scholarly and Christian environment. In order to further illustrate this fact, we highlight some pieces featuring a remarkable similarity in the handwriting and even the material of this papyrus. There are two pieces in the Duke collection, P.Duke, inv. nos. 764 (TM 62317; LDAB 3480) and 765 (TM 61615; LDAB 2764), both Bible commentaries, to be dated to the 5th cent. CE⁸⁵, which provide a remarkably close parallel for the handwriting found in the Montserrat papyrus. It seems even possible that in fact these texts were written by the same scribe and within a close period of time. Another piece may be found in Köln, *P.Köln* 1:11 (TM 64572; LDAB 5802), a small fragment containing a few lines, perhaps a biblical commentary, perhaps a homily⁸⁶. The other parallels we have found are preserved in the Palau Ribes collection, also in Barcelona⁸⁷. The six papyri in question, *P.PalauRib.Lit.* 3 (inv. 225r), 5 (inv. 225v), 13 (inv. 68, 207), 14 (inv. 31), 15 (inv. 4)

⁸⁴ A. Maravela-G. Wehus, “In the workshop of a preacher-scholar? Christian Jottings on an Oslo Parchment”, *ZPE* 183 (2012), pp. 87–97, esp. 88–89, refer to this papyrus as a parallel to their Oslo piece. See below ...

⁸⁵ See the publication of inv. 765 (formerly P.Robinson inv. 28) by D. Brent Sandy, “Transformed into His image: a Christian papyrus”, *Grace Theological Journal* 2 (1981), pp. 227–237. It should be noted that Sandy attributes the text to the 4th cent. CE.

⁸⁶ Edited by L. Koenen, “Wartetext 6: P.Colon.inv. Nr. 1170: Homilie oder Kommentar”, *ZPE* 4 (1969), pp. 41–42; cf. K. Treu, “Christliche Papyri 1940–1967. IV”, *Archiv* 22/23 (1973/74), pp. 367–395, 379, no. 4.

⁸⁷ This collection was gathered by the late Father Josep O’Callahan with the financial help of his brother in law, Palau Ribes, who gave name to the collection. He bought his pieces in Cairo, perhaps through the same intermediary or merchant as Roca-Puig did. On this see J. Gil-S. Torallas, *Hadrianvs. P.Monts.Roca* III (Barcelona, 2010), pp. 17–18, 24–31.

and 16 (inv. 72), are all dated to the 5th cent. CE. F. de Solá⁸⁸ suggested that all these Palau Ribes papyri belonged to a codex containing different Christological discussions, liturgy and pastoral texts. A. Carlini⁸⁹, however, doubts that they are written by the same person or in the same *scriptorium*, although he accepts that they were produced in the same “clima grafico”. On the one hand, inv. 225r, *P.PalauRib.Lit.* 3, presents a copy of the Greek Qohelet (Ecclesiastes), Song of Songs and *Ecclesiasticum*, while inv. 225v presents *P.PalauRib.Lit.* 5, Sentences of Sextus in a Christianized version, probably not in the original shape. This model would also explain the freedom of our scribe to include lines into our *Comparatio* text. For our edition we have used S. Jaekel, *Menandri Sententiae, Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis* (Leipzig, 1964) (hereafter J.), who gives the relevant bibliography of secondary literature.⁹⁰

→	-----	J.
1	[π]ένητα κ(αὶ) [μόνον]	l. 44
2	[μ]ηδὲν ἐρώτα·	l. 45
3	[πά]ντα γὰρ κακῶς ἔχει.	
4	[κ]αλὸν τὸ θνήσκιν	l. 46
5	ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ.	
6	[Α]ἰσχύνομαι πλου-	l. 49

⁸⁸ F. de Solá, “Fragmento de homilía bautismal (P.PalauRib. inv. 4)”, *Stud.Pap.* 12 (1973), pp. 23-33, 27.

⁸⁹ A. Carlini, “Il più antico testimone greco di Sesto Pitagorico. P.Palau Rib. Inv. 225v”, *RFIC* 113.1 (1985), pp. 5-26, 7 n. 2.

⁹⁰ For literature on Menander’s *monostichoi* and on the *Comparatio* on papyrus, see M. S. Funghi, “*P.Mil.Vogliano inv. 1241: Γνωμαὶ Μονόστιχοι*”, in M. Capasso, e.a. (eds.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica*, II.1 (Firenze, 1990; *Pap.Flor.* 19.1), pp. 181-188; C. Pernigotti, “Appunti per una nuova edizione dei Monostichi di Menandro”, in *Papiri filosofici. Miscellanea di Studi*, I (Firenze, 1997), pp. 71-84; M. S. Funghi, *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, II (Firenze, 2004; Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere “La Colombaria”, Studi 225).

7	τοῦντι δωρεῖσθ(αι)	
8	[φί]λῳ, ἔλεγ(χός)	At ἔλεγ(χός) l. 52
9	ἔστιν τῆς ἀχορ-	
10	τάστου τύχης.	
11	ὡς ἄδου τὸ χάσμα	Not in J.
12	μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐμ-	Not in J.
13	πιπλουμένοι	Not in J.
14	Ἄει τὸ πλουτεῖν	ll. 59-63
15	συμφορὰς πολλὰς	
16	ἔχει· φθόνος τε	
17	κ(αὶ) ἐπήριον κ(αὶ) μῖ-	
18	σος πολὺ, πράγμα-	
19	τα πολλὰ κ(αὶ) ὀχλεί-	
20	σις μυρίας, [πρά-]	
21	ξις ται πολλ[ὰς]	
22	συνλογὰς τε [τοῦ]	
23	βίου. εἶτα μ[ετὰ]	
24	ταῦτα εὐθύ[ς εὐ-]	
25	[ρ]έθη θανών,	
26	<i>traces</i>	

 4 l. θνήσκειν 7 l. δωρεῖσθ(αι): the abbreviation mark after θ is too faded for being recognizable without an UV lamp. 17 l. ἐπήριον 19-20 l. ὀχλήσεις 20-21 l. πράξεις τε 22 l. συλλογὰς

The recto side contains a passage from the *Comparatio Menandri et Philistionis* (Μενάνδρου καὶ Φιλιστίωνος σύγκρισις), a work composed in Late Antiquity by an anonymous author. The verso contains a Christian text part of which can be identified as Hippolytus' *De Benedictionibus Isaaci et Iacobi* (see below 54).

For the *Comparatio*, the author culled passages, in particular verses from the works of the ancient comedy writers Menander and Philemon. We are facing a literary product which presents a very complicated and entangled textual tradition. Literature of this

kind, i.e. texts composed from small units of text, like the *apophthegmata*, collections of jokes, or *sententiae*, can easily be readapted to new necessities –as this case shows– and allows a great deal of creativity on the part of the scribe. In fact, there are several versions of the text of the *Comparatio*. Our papyrus covers in particular J.'s second version, lines 45–63 (see J., pp. 104–105). His apparatus lists two more papyri covering part of this text of the *Comparatio*, i.e. *P.Bour.* 1 (=J.'s 'P. II' = Cribiore, *Writing*, no. 393) ll. 178–180 (= J. l. 48, δένδρον παλαιὸν μεταφυτεύειν δύσκολον; cf. also *P.Mon.Epiph.* 2:615.11 [= J.'s 'P. XIII' = Cribiore, *Writing*, no. 319]) and 201–202 (= J. l. 51, μισῶ πένητα πλουσίῳ δωρούμενον). Remarkably enough, however, both verses are missing in the papyrus presented here. On the other hand, our papyrus features in ll. 11–13 a line ὡς ἄδου τὸ χάσμα μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐμπιπλουμένοι, which apparently does not appear anywhere else in the TLG. We think that this is in fact a gloss which at some moment intruded into the original text of the *Comparatio*. In general, this papyrus features vulgarisms in spelling (cf. ll. 4, 7, 9, 19–20, 20–21) and a few textual variants of some interest (cf. ll. 1, 2, 5, 16–17, 19, 23).

Commentary

1. J. prints, <πενιχρὸν> καὶ μόνον: obviously, the meaning of Pap.'s [π]ένητα and πενιχρὸν (its insertion into the text was proposed by Studemund) is virtually synonymous.
2. J. prints ἐπερώτα in Pap.'s ἐρώτα: the papyrus features between the letters ε and ρ a squiggle coming from the line above, i.e. the abbreviation (αι) belonging to κ(αι). Pap.'s reading should be rejected as it does not fit into the metrical pattern of a iambic trimeter.
4. J.'s ll. 47–48 are missing in Pap.
5. J. prints ἔστιν † ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγειν. By ending the line already with τούτῳ, Pap. omits a iambic foot (-) in the last part of the trimeter.

6. J.'s ll. 50-51 are missing in Pap.

9. J. prints ἔστι.

10. J.'s ll. 53-58 are missing in Pap.

11-13. No doubt we are dealing with a remark on the interpretation of the passage concerning the giving of presents to friends who are already rich ("as if we are filling [ὡς ἐμπιπλουμένοι, i.e. succeeding in filling] in no way whatsoever [μηδενὶ τρόπῳ] the chasm of the underworld [ἄδου τὸ χάσμα]"), a remark made by an ancient anonymous teacher who discussed this text with his class. It is well known that for pedagogical reasons in particular Menander's *monostichoi* were much in favor in ancient schools. We note that the meter of this line is not quite regular. Only from τὸ χάσμα onwards one is dealing with a iambic trimeter.

14-25. J. prints:

59 Ἄει τὸ πλουτεῖν συμφορὰς πολλὰς ἔχει,
 60 φθόνον τ' ἐπήρειάν τε καὶ μῖσος πολὺ,
 61 πράγματά τε πολλὰ κάνοχλήσεις μυρίας,
 62 πράξεις τε πολλὰς συλλογὰς τε τοῦ βίου.
 63 ἔπειτα μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς εὐρέθη θανῶν, κτλ.

Obviously the scribe of Pap. committed some spelling errors (see the crit. app.) and produced some morphological misunderstandings (l. 16, φθόνος, as if this noun belonged to the 3rd declension; l. 17, ἐπήριον, as if it were a diminutive form, both forms being acceptable in the accusative like μῖσος in the same line). Deviant readings (not necessarily leading toward a better text) are present in the omission of τε in ll. 17 and 19, in the simplification of the compound ἐνοχλήσεις > ὀχλήσεις, in ll. 19-20 and in the use of εἶτα for ἔπειτα in l. 23.

STT-KAW

54. HIPPOLYTUS, *DE BENEDICTIONIBUS ISAACI ET JACOBI*

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 65v*

Provenance unknown

H. 13.4 x W. 4.3 cm.

Date: 5th-6th cent. CE

Mertens-Pack 1322.02 + 0546.1 van Haelst add.

TM 108924/LDAB 10987

The verso of P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 65 presents a text written across the direction of the fibres by the same hand as that on the recto. For a description, see above, 53.

Hippolytus,
De benedictionibus Isaaci et Jacobi

↓	-----	
1	κ(αἰ) ἐπταιν(.). τὸ δὲ [
2	πάνκαλον α [..]	
3	τὸ κάλλος ἐξ εὐ-	
4	ποιείας. τὸ φευ-	
5	κτὸν ἐξ ἀργείας	
6	ἐν χερσὶν τῶν	
7	ἀπιθ[ο]ύνητων .. [..]	
8	δυγον πιστοῖς [
9	κ(αἰ) οτιπος vacat	
10	τὸ δὲ λίαν	
11	θαυμάσιον εὐλο	
12	τῆς μὲν [ἐ]ύ-	(p. 30.5-6) τῆς μὲν οὖν
13	μνολογίας	εὐλογίας
14	ταύτης ἐπὶ τὸν	ταύτης ἐμφάσει μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν
15	Ἰακὼβ γενομέν<ης>,	Ἰακὼβ εἰρημένης,
16	[τῆς δ]ὲ ἀληθείας	τῆ δὲ ἀληθεία
17	[..]Χ(ριστὸ)ν πληρου-	ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν πεπληρω-

* For its *editio princeps*, see 53, and for its verso reconsidered in D. Hagedorn-S. Torallas Tovar-K. A. Worp, "P.Monts.Roca inv. 65 verso again", *ZPE* 160 (2007), pp. 181-182.

18	[μέ]νης· εἰς βρω-	μένης (16.5) <εἰς τρο-
19	[σιν] πνευματι-	φήν πνευματι-
20	[κήν] τῷ λόγῳ	κήν τῷ λόγῳ
21	[ἔξα]ρτιζόμενοι	ἐξηρτισμένοι>
22	[.] μης τα	
23	[...]ν τὸν ἀξ[ιο-	
24].[

 1 ἐπαιν' 2 l. πάγκαλον 3-4 l. εὐποιίας 7 l. ἀπειθούντων 8 δυνον
 ex δυνος 12-13 ü-|μολογίας Pap. 15 ἰακωβ Pap. 16 ἀληθείας -ς ex
 corr. 17 χν Pap.

Already in the *editio princeps*⁹¹ of the verso it was realized that this text displays biblical echoes (cf. the name of Jacob in l. 15 and the expression “spiritual food” in ll. 18-20), but at that stage the text was not further identified. D. Hagedorn discovered a link between this text, ll. 12-21, and that of Hippolytus’ *De Benedictionibus Isaaci et Iacobi*⁹². Especially two passages in the standard edition, p. 30.5-6 and p. 16.5, are to be compared with the text on the Montserrat papyrus, which we reproduce below. In the latter passage of Hippolytus’ text the editors actually print some Greek words between < >, restoring a textual omission in the Greek text, on the basis of the Armenian parallel version⁹³.

⁹¹ See Torallas-Worp, “A New Papyrus”, pp. 181-184.

⁹² See Hagedorn-Torallas Tovar-Worp, “P.Monts.Roca inv. 65 verso again”. The Hippolytus edition referred to there is that of M. Brière-L. Mariès-B.Ch. Mercier, *Sur les bénédictions d’Isaac, de Jacob et de Moïse: Texte Grec, Version Arménienne et Géorgienne* (Paris, 1954; *Patrologia Orientalis*, 27.1-2). Now cf. also *P.Rain.Cent. 32*, D. Hagedorn, “Amphilochios von Ikonion in P.Rainer Cent. 32”, *ZPE* 169 (2009), pp. 209-212, esp. p. 211 n.8. He compares the practice of using individual sentences in a fragment of Amphilochius in a contemporary fragment from the Vienna collection to the possibility that a similar practice is present in our piece.

⁹³ For their reasons to follow this procedure, see their commentary p. 206 n. 40. Here in the 3rd line from the bottom one should most probably insert an omitted French ‘ou’ between the first case of ἐξηρτισμένοι and καί, hence the editors

Hagedorn's discovery happily confirms a suggestion about the general nature of the text made by G. Bastianini (Firenze) already in an e-mail from 17.xi.2006⁹⁴. Though the identification does not help answering the question about the precise origins of Hippolytus⁹⁵, at least it demonstrates that he was read in Egypt. To date, Hippolytus' works are hardly attested among the Greek Christian literary papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt: only *P.Oxy.* 6:870 (6th-7th cent. CE; TM 60197; LDAB 1314) has been attributed to Hippolytus' *Chronica*, but the attribution is far from certain⁹⁶.

There is an interesting divergence between the text on the papyrus, ll. 14-15, and the corresponding passage in the Hippolytus text, presenting an extension ἐμφάσει μὲν ὡς that is absent in the papyrus (perhaps due to the preceding μὲν in l. 12?) and featuring the participle εἰρημένης instead of the papyrus reading γενομέν<ης>. Likewise, there are tempus divergences between the present participles of the papyrus, ll. 17-18, πληρου[μέ]γης and l. 21 [ἐξα]ρτιζόμενοι, versus the printed Hippolytus text (based on a modern editorial restoration of the Greek from the Armenian model) which offers participles in the perfect tense, i.e. πεπληρωμένης and ἐξηρτισμένοι. On the other hand, the divergence between the papyrus, l. 16, and the printed Hippolytus text is only due to a correction of the *editio princeps* of

actually leave the reader a choice between the supplement of πρὸς βρωσιν πνευματικὴν τοῦ λόγου or εἰς τροφήν πνευματικὴν τῷ λόγῳ.

⁹⁴ “--- potrebbe essere l'inno (benedizione) pronunciato da Isacco su Giacobbe in Genesi 27, 27-29, in particolare i vv. 28-29 (Giacobbe come figura profetica di Cristo, Kyrios, nel quale si 'compiono' le promesse). Il testo sembra un commento (una omelia?) fatto in ambito cristiano a questo celebre passo del Genesi”.

⁹⁵ On this question, see the recent study of J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West. The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus* (Oxford, 2002; Oxford Theological Monographs).

⁹⁶ Cf. K. Aland-H. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* (Berlin - New York, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 312-313, no. KV 44.

the text: the Hippolytus manuscript itself also reads τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας⁹⁷. Lines 12-13 in the papyrus present a reading [[ε]]ὑμνολογίας vs. εὐλογίας. The scribe's correction might point at the fact that he has doubts between two different variants.

The question remains: what is to be made of ll. 1-11 of the Montserrat papyrus? While searching for various word combinations, we have not found anything useful in the TLG. This situation makes it difficult to place the papyrus under review within a clearer context and give it a further, more coherent interpretation. As the case stands now, the author of the text apparently drew passages from various Christian sources, among which Hippolytus' *De Benedictionibus*, and put these into a certain order of his own choice, perhaps writing notes for a homily in which these topics would be discussed in greater detail. For the moment we do not think that we can go further than this speculation.

Commentary

2-3. The adjective πάνκαλον may be linked with the noun τὸ κάλλος, but the nature of the intervening word starting in α- is unclear.

7-8. We wonder whether a restoration of ἀν[ώ]-|δυνον is really possible, because the traces after ἀπιθ[ο]ύντων do not seem compatible with ἀν-.

9. We have no idea to share as to what Greek word lurks behind στ.πος. The reading of the individual letters transcribed does not seem to be doubtful.

10-11. Does the phrase end after (incomplete) εὐλο, which remains unexplained, or does it end already with θαυμάσιον? See below.

12-13 ὑ-|μνολογίας Pap. The upsilon is correcting an epsilon. Maybe the scribe started with the word εὐλογίας (cf. l. 11, εὐλο), then changed his mind?

⁹⁷ Ms 573 of the Meteora monastery, published by C. Diobouniotis, *Hippolyts Schrift über die Segnungen Jakobs* (Leipzig, 1911; Texte und Untersuchungen 38.1).

15. The word γενομεν is not provided with an abbreviation mark.

17. We have carefully studied the original papyrus and a new digital photograph and came to the conclusion that on this line, after a lacuna offering space for 3 (at best 4 thin) letters, the papyrus features a horizontal dash on top of the preserved letters Xv, probably marking an abbreviation of the *nomen sacrum* X(ριστὸ)v. This passage corresponds to Hippolytus' wording ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν, but on the papyrus there is no space for both ἐπί and τόν, and we cannot establish whether the preposition or the article was omitted. Even so, our new reading implies that we abandon our earlier reading of [έν] κ(υρί)ω, presented in our 2007 publications (see above note *).

18-20. We note that there is a small spacing before εἰς. Alternatively, instead of βρῶ-|[σιν] πνευματι-|[κὴν] one may supply βρῶ-|[μα] πνευματι-|[κὸν]. The expression 'spiritual food' occurs in the New Testament, 1Cor. 10:3; for further discussion see, e.g. A. Robertson-A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 200-201; W. Orr-J. A. Walther, *The Anchor Bible, I Corinthians. A new translation with notes and commentary* (New York, 1976), p. 245; W. Schrage, *Der Erste Brief an die Korinther (IKor 6,12-11,16)* (Düsseldorf, 1995; *Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, VII.2), pp. 392-393. Since the Hippolytus text corresponding to this part has been reconstructed on the Armenian version, the choice of τροφήν is not guaranteed in the original. Our papyrus is thus the only witness for this passage.

STT-KAW

55-56. TWO FRAGMENTS OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

We present in the following pages two parchment fragments, probably related in their origin, containing paraphrases of John Chrysostom's *De Virginitate*. This is in itself interesting for two reasons:

(a) in general, there are not many publications of papyri and parchments of John Chrysostom available to date (the LDAB cites only a small number of texts as coming from Egypt)⁹⁸:

LDAB 564 = *P.Köln* 7:297;

LDAB 2566 (van Haelst 632) = Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum P. 6788a: K.Treu, *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975), pp. 71-78;

LDAB 2567 (van Haelst 635) = *MPER NS* 4:54;

LDAB 2568 = *BKT* 9:15;

LDAB 10859 = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale IV 459, *olim* Phillipps 22406, (fol. 3, 37, 38), J. Noret, "Le palimpseste grec Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. IV.459", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 95.1-2 (1977), pp. 101-117;

cf. also, from the Sinai,

LDAB 7327 = Monastery of St Catharina Sinaiticus MG 78: Nikolopoulos, *Ta nea heuremata tou Sina* 1998, p. 153 no. 78 descr.;

LDAB 7470 = Monastery of St Catharina Gr. 491, L. Politis in *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), pp. 5-17;

LDAB 117923 = Monastery of St Catharina Gr. 492 + St Petersburg, Russian National Library Gr. 835: M. Van Esbroeck, *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978), pp. 51-55.

(b) among these few texts there is *no* publication of any fragment containing a part of *De Virginitate*.

In both pieces, the many omissions and the qualities of the divergences from the standard text, lead us to think that we are dealing with a very vulgar text of John Chrysostom's treatise *De Virginitate*. We do not think that they should be taken as offering a set of serious *variae lectiones*. At the same time we cannot tell what purpose they served. The fact that they were written on parchment may be taken to suggest that the text was intended to serve a longer term purpose than one written on papyrus. Further, both use rejected pieces of parchment, ie. from the edges of the skin or palimpsests. If it were intended for, e.g., use in an ancient school, it yields in many places plainly incomprehensible Greek. It

⁹⁸ All of these Chrysostomos fragments, except for LDAB 564, belong to the category of Homiletic texts.

is possible that the writer used a piece of parchment containing a text he considered obsolete for noting down a new text for private purposes, perhaps intended for oral delivery. After our first edition, A. Maravela and Wehus⁹⁹, published a piece from Oslo with a remarkable similarity to our fragments, both in the material aspect and in its Christian contents. For comparanda in other collections, see their pp. 88-89.

55. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *DE VIRGINITATE*, 73

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 995*

H. 15.8 cm. x W. 10 cm.

TM/LDAB 109374

Provenance unknown

Date: 5th – 6th cent. CE

This text written on this piece of parchment was first published in 2012. The top and the bottom edges seem completely preserved. The LH margin of the hair side (= the RH side of the flesh side of the parchment) is more or less intact (ca. 1 cm.), the other vertical side(s) of the parchment sheet being only incompletely preserved; the text written on the hair side precedes the text on the flesh side. On balance, it probably does not belong to a codex, but is instead an independent sheet.

In its present form the parchment does not look very attractive. It features a greyish colour and, due to scraping, its

⁹⁹ A. Maravela-G. Wehus, “In the workshop of a preacher-scholar? Christian Jottings on an Oslo Parchment”, *ZPE* 183 (2012), pp. 87-97

* This piece was first published as S. Torallas Tovar– K. A. Worp, “New literary texts from Montserrat: (1) A Fragment of Johannes Chrysostomos’ De Virginitate, Ch. 73 and (2) A New Papyrus of the Comparatio Menandri & Philistionis”, in J. Frösén–T. Purola–E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki 2004* (Helsinki, 2007), pp. 1019-1031, esp. 1020-1026.

surface is rather uneven. Underneath the present text there are faint traces of an earlier text which we have not been able to read (even though we tried to do so with the help of UV light); hence, the parchment is to be regarded as a palimpsest. The handwriting of our text looks untrained, or at least the writer was not very careful. It is written in black ink. Comparing Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, pl. 19c (second half of the 5th cent. CE), we would date this hand to the late 5th (or perhaps to the early 6th?) cent. CE. For our use of the < > in the transcript, see below.

Hair

- 1 καιρὸς < > ἔστηκεν < > τῆς < > χρη[σιμευ-]
 2 ούση[ς] < > τὴν λαμπρότη[τα]
 3 κ(αὶ) [τῆ]ν δόξαν ἄπασα[ν. Ἡρ-]
 4 μόσθημεν καὶ γὰρ [
 5 ποταμ . οὕτω ζητοῦ[ντι]
 6 παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαπᾶσθ(αι) < >
 7 ἀλλὰ < > πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἢ[]
 8 ἐν οὐρανῷ καλοῦντα
 9 Νῦν γὰρ φησιν ἐγγύτερον
 10 ἡμῶν ἢ σωτηρία < > οἱ γὰρ
 11 οἱ μέλλοντες δικαστ[η-]
 12 ρίω [π]αραστήσεσθ(αι) π[αρ']
 13 ἡμῖν κ(αὶ) λόγον < > ὑπέ[ρ]
 14 τῶν πεπλημμελημένων < >
 15 οὐ γυνεκὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ
 16 καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν < > ἀποστή-
 17 σαντες < > τῆς ἀπολογίας
 18 γίνονται μόνης [.] [
 19 δὲ μᾶλλον < > οὐραν[ίω]
 20 βήματι παρ[

Flesh

- 21 [ἀφί]στασθ(αι) χρῆ < > κ(αὶ) τὴν φοβερὰ(ν)

22 [μόν]ον ἐκείνην ἡμ[έρ]αν
 23 [μεριμ]γᾶν δεῖ «Εἴ τι[ς], γάρ] φησι
 24 [«ἔρχετ](αι) πρὸς με < > ἔτι τὲ κ(αὶ) τὴν
 25 [ἔαυ]τοῦ ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔστιν
 26 μου ἄξιος . Καὶ ὅστις οὐ βαστά-
 27 [ζει] τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ < > οὐ δύ-
 28 [ν]αται μου εἶνε μαθητής
 29 [Σὺ] δὲ παρακαθιζόμενος
 30 [σ]χολάζων ἐπιθυμίαις
 31 [γυναι]κῶν καὶ γέλω[τ]ει
 32 [κ(αὶ) δια]χύσει τρυφῆς
 33 []ταβάλλεις θε(ο)ῦ κατάστασιν
 34 καὶ διαγωγὴν ἀγιαστίας οὕτω^ς
 35 πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἐπιδι-
 36 κνυμένους ἐπὶ τὰ
 37 [..] δέοντα ὧν πρὸ τῆς
 38 [ἔσπέ]ρας πολάκις
 39 [ἀ]προστησόμε *traces of earlier text*

2 l. λαμπρότητα 7 restore ἡ[μᾶς] or ἡ[δη]? 9 l. ἐγγύτερον 10 l. εἰ
 γάρ 11 μέλλοντες: spatium between ν and τ 13 ὑπε[] Pap. 15 l.
 γυναικὸς; μόνον: 1st ο ex corr. 18 restore π[ολ]ῶ (l. πολλῶ)? 19
 μᾶλλον -ον ex corr. 23 between δεῖ and εἰ a small spatium 24 l. εἰ δε
 27 the τ in σταυρον is a staurogram 28 l. εἶναι 31 l. γέλωτι 33
 restore [με]ταβάλλεις?; θῦ Pap. 34 l. ἀγιαστείας 35 l. ἐπιδει- 36 τα:
 α ex corr. (< ι?) 38 l. πολλάκις 39 l. ἀπροστησόμεθα

With the help of TLG we were able to determine that the text on the parchment transcribed above contains elements of the text of John Chrysostom, *De Virginitate*, 73.5-8; 19-72. We have used the edition of this treatise by H. Musurillo-B. Grillet, *La Virginité* (Paris, 1966; Sources Chrétiennes 125). Underlined below are the words and passages occurring (though sometimes in a garbled form) in the Montserrat parchment:

(5) ὁ δὲ παρῶν καιρὸς πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐπείγεται καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔστηκεν, οὐ γάμων καιρὸς οὐδὲ κτημάτων ἀλλ' ἐνδείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης τῆς ἐκεῖ χρησιμευούσης ἡμῖν.

 (19) Οὕτω καὶ ἡμᾶς χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν τέλειον ἀγόμεθα βίον καὶ τὸν ἀνδράσι προσήκοντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα ἀφέντας τὰ ὄντως παιδικὰ ἀθύρματα φαντάζεσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ διατριβῆς τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἅπασαν. (2) Ἠρμόσθημεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς νυμφίῳ οὕτως ζητοῦντι. (25) παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὡς μὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ γῆ μόνον μηδὲ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων καὶ εὐτελεῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἀφίστασθαι δι' αὐτὸν ὅταν δέη. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖ λοιπὸν ἀπιέναι χρῆ ἀπαλλάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς φροντίδος τῆς εὐτελοῦς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς βασιλείαν μεθίστασθαι μέλλοντες ἀπὸ πενιχρᾶς οἰκίας, (30) κεραμίδων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐφροντίσαμεν ἂν πενίας. Μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ νῦν τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ μεριμνῶμεν· ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤδη καλεῖ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, καθάπερ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιστέλλων ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἔλεγε· «Νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία ἢ ὅτε (35) ἐπιστεύσαμεν· ἡ νῦξ προέκοψεν, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικε.» Καὶ πάλιν· «Ἐνταῦθα ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ὦσι.» (3) Τί οὖν δεῖ γάμου τοῖς οὐ μέλλουσιν ἀπολαύεσθαι γάμου ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς οὐκ ἔχουσι διακείσεσθαι; Τί δαὶ χρημάτων, (40) τί δαὶ κτημάτων, τί δαὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν, τῆς χρήσεως αὐτῶν ἀώρου λοιπὸν οὔσης καὶ παρὰ καιρόν; Εἰ γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες δικαστηρίῳ παραστήσεσθαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ λόγον ὑφέξειν τῶν πεπλημμελημένων, τῆς κυρίας γενομένης ἐγγύς, οὐ γυναικὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πάσης ἑαυτοὺς (45) ἀποστήσαντες φροντίδος τῆς ἀπολογίας γίνονται μόνως – πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιγείῳ τινὶ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ' οὐρανίῳ βήματι παραστήσεσθαι μέλλοντας καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐννοιῶν εὐθύνας ὑφέξειν, πάντων ἀφίστασθαι χρῆ καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ (50) τὴν φοβερὰν μόνον ἐκείνην ἡμέραν μεριμνᾶν. «Εἴ τις», γὰρ φησιν, «ἔρχεται πρὸς με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν, οὐ δύναται μοι μαθητὴς εἶναι. Καὶ ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ (55) ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου οὐ δύναται μοι εἶναι μαθητής.» (4) Σὺ δὲ παρακάθη σχολάζων ἐπιθυμίαις γυναικὸς καὶ γέλωτι καὶ διαχύσει καὶ τρυφῇ; «Ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς.» Σὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων φροντίζεις καὶ μεριμνᾶς; «Ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐφέστηκε.» Σὺ δὲ περὶ οἰκίας καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς (60) ἄλλης σκοπεῖς ἡδονῆς; «Παράγει τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.» Τί οὖν κόπτεις σαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου πράγμασι τοῖς οὐ μένουσιν ἀλλὰ δαπανωμένοις, τῶν μενόντων καὶ βεβαίων ἀμελῶν; Οὐκέτι γάμος, οὐδὲ ὠδῖνες, οὐχ ἡδονὴ καὶ μίξις, οὐ χρημάτων εὐπορία οὐδὲ κτημάτων ἐπιμέλεια, οὐ (65) τροφή οὐδὲ ἐνδύματα, οὐ γεωργία καὶ

ναυτιλίας, οὐ τέχναι οὔτε οἰκοδομαί, οὐ πόλεις οὐδὲ οἰκίαι ἀλλ' ἕτερα τις κατάστασις καὶ διαγωγή. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀπολεῖται. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον· «Παράγει τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.» Τί τοίνυν ὡς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας (70) ἐνθάδε μενοῦντες, οὕτως πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἐπιδεικνύμεθα, ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων μεριμνῶντες ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας πολλάκις ἀποστησόμεθα:

It is obvious that the text on the parchment features a startling number of lacunae when compared with the standard text of John Chrysostom's *De Virginitate*, 73; these are indicated in our transcript of the parchment by way of < >. It is well known that this treatise was much relevant for (and probably widely read in) monastic communities¹⁰⁰. The poor quality of the Greek spelling may suggest that we are dealing here with the product of a non-Greek writer, e.g., a Coptic (novice?) monk. For now the question remains why the scribe of the parchment omitted sometimes single words, sometimes even very significant parts of the standard text. We note here only the speculations that, as this version of the text is much shortened if compared with the standard text, it may have been written down from memory, or that only a few ideas taken from the text were written down as a means of memorandum for an oral exhortation in front of a community¹⁰¹. On the other hand, there does not seem to be much of a system discernable behind such a supposed copying of essential words and ideas from the original text. In fact, John Chrysostom's words appear rather haphazardly¹⁰², and if the text was written down 'by heart', the writer's heart sometimes missed a beat (or two)! Furthermore, the

¹⁰⁰ See P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), pp. 305-322 (Chrysostom), esp. pp. 306-308 (on *De Virginitate*).

¹⁰¹ The quality of the handwriting may be taken as suggesting that the text was not meant to last or to be read by others, but that it served only as a 'personal' note.

¹⁰² For a similar phenomenon, see *P.Rain.Cent.* 32, mentioned above: D. Hagedorn, "Amphilochios von Ikonion in P.Rainer Cent. 32", p. 211 n.8.

new text on the parchment features a few interesting textual variants:

Parchment, ll.

Standard text, ll.

4-6. [Ἡρ-]μόσθημεν καὶ γὰρ [] |
ποταμ . οὕτω ζητοῦ[ντι] |
παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαπᾶσθ(αι)

(24-25) Ἡρμόσθημεν γὰρ καὶ
εἰς νυμφίῳ οὕτως ζητοῦντι
παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαπᾶσθαι

Comment: The main question is what to think of the word ποταμ (the last letter might be a final omega missing its RH upward stroke). We cannot escape the conclusion that the scribe of the parchment, if he thought of 'river' rather than 'bridegroom', was led astray here seriously. Furthermore, there is no good reason for the transposition of γὰρ καὶ in the standard text to καὶ γὰρ on the parchment.

7-8. ἀλλὰ < > πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡ[μᾶς/-δη]
ἐν οὐρανῶ, καλοῦντα

(32-33) ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἡμᾶς
ἤδη καλεῖ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν

Comment: Due to some form of serious misunderstanding of the original text the scribe significantly and incorrectly alters the standard Greek wording of John Chrysostom.

18-19. π[ολ]ῶ δὲ μᾶλλον

(46) πολλῶ μᾶλλον

Comment: we feel that the insertion of δέ is not warranted. For the writing error in π[ολ]ῶ compare l. 38, πολακίς for πολλάκις.

23. [μεριμ]ῶν δει

(50) μεριμᾶν

Comment: the scribe of the parchment creates [!] here on his own account a construction parallel to that of ἀφίστασθαι χρῆ in l. 21.

25-26. οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος (cf. 28)

(53-54) οὐ δύναταί μου
μαθητῆς εἶναι

Comment: The editors of the *Sources Chrétiennes* edition aptly note (p. 355, n.1): "Lc 14:26. Ce texte doit être nuancé par celui de Matth. 10:37". This opinion is confirmed by the scribe of the parchment who in fact mixes the texts of Luke 14:27: ὅστις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου

οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής, and Matt. 10:38, καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος. The mix-up of these quotations on the parchment may be taken as the result from quoting by heart.

29-34	[Σὺ] δὲ παρακαθιζόμενος [σ]χολάζων ἐπιθυμίαις [γυναι]κῶν καὶ γέλω[τ]ει [κ(αὶ) δια]χύσει τρυφῆς []ταβάλλεις θε(εο)ῦ κατάστασιν καὶ διαγωγὴν ἁγιαστίας οὕτω ^s	(56-57) Σὺ δὲ παρακάθη σχολάζων ἐπιθυμίαις γυναικός καὶ γέλωτι καὶ διαχύσει καὶ τρυφῆ om. (66-67) ἕτερα τις κατάστασις καὶ διαγωγή.
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Comment: due to a serious misunderstanding (?) of the original text the scribe of the parchment changes the construction of the Greek text completely,

(a) by using the participle παρακαθιζόμενος, rather than the finite verb παρακάθη, and

(b) by inserting a new main verb [?με]ταβάλλεις which probably should be taken as governing the following words θε(εο)ῦ κατάστασιν καὶ διαγωγὴν. Moreover, he qualifies the latter word further by adding a noun ἁγιαστίας that is not found in the standard text. We also note that the scribe changes the singular γυναικός into the plural [γυναι]κῶν and combines the dicolon διαχύσει καὶ τρυφῆ into a more simple wording.

36-37: ἐπὶ τὰ [] δέοντα

Om.

Comment: it is difficult to guess why and from where the scribe of the parchment would have added the words ἐπὶ τὰ [] δέοντα. Moreover, it is also difficult to guess which three letter word should be read between τὰ and δέοντα; serious candidates are words like ἤδη or νῦν. STT-KAW

56. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *DE VIRGINITATE*, 81-82; 73-74

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 722*
 H. 16 cm. x W. 10 cm.
 TM/LDAB 144444

Provenance unknown
 Date: 5th-6th cent. CE

This sheet of rather rough parchment made of two pieces joined by sewing with a piece of string. There is a piece of string going through the top margin too, so there was a third piece of parchment (perhaps even more), forming part of this unusual piece. It features flesh and hair on both sides, since the two pieces were sewn together without making hair coincide with hair on the one side and vice versa. The four margins are preserved, but are very irregular, since the disposition of the text is peculiar. Not only the lines and the interlinear spacing are irregular, but the stains and holes already existing in the parchment when it was written were avoided by the scribe. We have tried to reproduce these irregularities in the layout in our edition. Moreover, the text on one side is written at 180° from the other, as if the page was turned upside down, instead of from left to right.

There is a certain physical similarity with the previous parchment edited (55) in that we are dealing again with a fragment of parchment, possibly cut –like the earlier one– from the edges of the skin used for producing parchment for codices. The text is written rather carelessly, in a quick cursive, not really well-trained hand in brown and black ink (side 2, ll. 19-21). Comparing Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, pl. 19c (second half of the 5th cent. CE), we would date this hand to the late 5th (or perhaps to the early 6th?) cent. CE. For the peculiar format of the piece, a vertical strip of parchment apparently not belonging to a codex, rather probably an

* This piece was first published as S. Torallas Tovar-K. A. Worp, “John Chrysostomos and Methodios at Montserrat”, in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26e Congrès international de papyrologie. Genève 2010* (Genève, 2012), pp. 745-753, esp. pp. 745-748.

individual note of theological content written on a discarded support, cf. the recently published vertical strips of parchment *P.Oxy.* 75:5023 (a mid/late 6th cent. CE *Chairetismos* to the Virgin) and 5024 (a 6th-7th cent. CE Prayer to the Lord through the intercession of Maria). One may compare also a similar strip of papyrus P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 65 (53-54). Likewise to be compared are the parchment fragments published in *P.Köln* 10:409 (a 6th cent. CE interpretation of the Trinity) and *P.Köln* 6:256 (a 6th cent. CE theological text) and P.Oslo inv. no. 1668¹⁰³. Especially the two latter texts feature a remarkable paleographical similarity to the Montserrat parchments discussed in this paper.

Side 1

Hair		John Chrysostom, <i>De Virg.</i> 81.5
1	ὁ χρημάτων κατα-	Ὅ γὰρ χρημάτων καταφρονῶν
2	φρονῶν κα[ὶ θ]ανάτου	ὁδῶ προβαίνων καὶ θανάτου
3	καταφρον[ήσ]ει ῥα-	καταφρονήσει ῥαδίως
4	δίως καὶ συνγραφέω	
5	ἀκρίβειαν κ(αὶ) μείζον [
6	τῆς ἀθυμίας ἐγεῖραι [
7	τὴν τυραννί[δα].	
8	καὶ δὴ ἂν τὸν προ{ }-	
9	φήτην ἐμισή ^{μη} σαμεν·	
10	ἀπὸ τούτω[ν]	
11	αὐτῷ πλέξω-	
12	μεν τῷ[.]	
13	τὰς ὑποθέσει[ς].	
	stitches	

¹⁰³ See Maravela-Wehus, “In the workshop of a preacher scholar? Christian Jottings on an Oslo Parchment”, *ZPE* 183 (2012), pp. 87-97. The Oslo fragment was bought from Nahman in Cairo in 1954, a circumstance which coincides with Roca’s purchases of papyri. Although we cannot know if he bought the Montserrat fragment from Nahman, we do know that he had dealings with him in precisely the 50’s.

Flesh

14 ἔξω

4 l. συγγραφέων 5 ἀκρίβειαν: -κ- ex corr. or smudged?

9 ἐμισήσαμεν, supra -ση-, -μη- legitur 13 ὑπο- Pap.

“He who despises material things, he shall also despise death easily --- and the precision of (the) authors, and to awaken (?) the tyranny of despondency to a larger degree (?). And in fact we would have hated/emulated the prophet. On this basis, let us elaborate for him ... the arguments.

To the outside”.

Regarding the text itself, we find again a text that comes close to Chrysostom, while it is not exactly a copy of the standard text, but a condensed version, and again, we are dealing with the treatise *On Virginity*, of which the previous fragment, 55, was in 2004 the only papyrological evidence.

Commentary

7-13. The disposition of the text in these lines is due to the stain at the left which has been avoided by the scribe.

9. The syllable -μη- of ἐμισήσαμεν was added between the lines on top of the syllable -σή-, perhaps by a second hand. In the *editio princeps* we suggested the reading -μι-, without providing a convincing explanation of it, but Prof. Hagedorn called our attention on the possibility of reading -μη- as a correction of ἐμισήσαμεν into ἐμιμήσαμεν. This brings us to other possible parallels, for example in Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Johannis* 5, 4 n, 1 μὴ ἄρα πειθαρχῶν σοι οὐκ ἐπειθάρχησα θεῶ οὐδὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἐμιμησάμην.

12-13. If we reconstruct a genitive plural correctly, the position of the article τὰς is not satisfactory. It should have been τὰς τῶ[v...] ὑποθῆ[ε]ι[ς]

14. The word is written in the center of the piece of parchment.

Side 2

Hair		John Chrysostom, <i>De Virg.</i>
1	Ἄλλὰ τίς ὁ σοφὸς <ς> [τῶν] (82.1.3)	Ἄλλὰ τίς ὁ σοφὸς τῶν
2	πολλῶν λόγος []	πολλῶν λόγος;
3	ὁ πατριάρ (hole) χης φη[σίν]	Ὁ πατριάρχης φησίν
4	---	
5	τί τι τι τοῦτο πρ[ὸς] τῆν (73.2)	Καὶ τί τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν
6	τοῦ σωτήρος {τῆς} αὐτοῦ	γάμον;
7	ἀνύψωσιν; ἴσως	ἴσως
8	ἂν εἴπω τις προσα .	ἂν εἴποι τις
9	σὺν δὲ πρὸ σφόδρα (73.2-3)	Καὶ σφόδρα
10	μὲν οὖν (vacat) (stitches)	μὲν οὖν πρὸς αὐτόν

Flesh

11	ὁ δὲ παρῶν (73.5-6)	ὁ δὲ παρῶν
12	καιρὸς πρὸς τέλος	καιρὸς πρὸς τὸ τέλος
13	ἐπίγεται καὶ ἐπὶ θύραι[ς]	ἐπείγεται καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις
14	τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως	τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως
15	κηρύσσει(αι). Οὐ γὰρ	ἔστηκεν
16	καὶ γὰρ δικαστηρίῳ (73.41)	Εἰ γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες
17	παραστήναι ^{σασα} μέ[λ]λον-	δικαστηρίῳ
18	[τ]εξ καὶ πάντων (vacat)	παραστήσεσθαι , etc.
19	M2? Αὐτοῦ λόγου θεοῦ βουλη-	
20	μάτων[]θων [] ἐν ἐκκλη-	
21	σίαις Χρ(ιστο)ῦ (vacat) υ	

1 ὁ Pap. 5 τί: *ed. princ.* καὶ τὴν: η corr. ex -ο- 7 ἴσως Pap. 8 l. εἴποι 13 l. ἐπείγεται 15 κηρύσσει(): κ ex corr. (-εσ-?) 19 λόγου: λ- ex o corr.

Commentary

1-4. These lines can be identified with *De Virg.* 82.1.3: Ἄλλὰ τίς ὁ σοφὸς τῶν πολλῶν λόγος; Ὁ πατριάρχης φησίν etc.

5. After re-examining the parchment we prefer to read a *tau* at the beginning of line 5 right after the lacuna. This means that we depart from our original reading (see note *). Our new reading produces a repetition of the word τί, to be interpreted as a rhetorical device to achieve an intensifying effect.

5-10. The phrasing of lines 5-10 is very close to *De Virg.* 73.2, “Καὶ τί τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν γάμον;” ἴσως ἂν εἴποι τις ... We do not know why the author of our parchment made the jump backwards from *De Virg.* 82.3 to 73.2.

7. The noun ἀνύψωσις, ‘exaltation’, occurs among 4th cent. Christian authors apparently only in Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunom.* 3:3.43.1) and Athanasius (*Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG 28, p. 377.39) and in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* vol. 1.1.7 p. 126.19 (*Council of Ephesus*, 431).

11-14. These lines correspond almost exactly to *De Virg.* 73.5-6: ὁ δὲ παρὼν καιρὸς πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐπείγεται καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔστηκεν. Only the article τὸ before τέλος is omitted.

16. The edition of the text of chap. 73.41-50 has:

- (41) -----Εἰ γὰρ οἱ μέλλοντες
 (42) δικαστηρίῳ παραστήσεσθαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ λόγον ὑφέξειν
 (43) τῶν πεπλημμελημένων, τῆς κυρίας γενομένης ἐγγύς, οὐ
 (44) γυναικὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πάσης ἑαυτοῦς
 (45) ἀποστήσαντες φροντίδος τῆς ἀπολογίας γίνονται μόνης –
 (46) πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιγείῳ τινὶ δικαστηρίῳ ἀλλ'
 (47) οὐρανίῳ βήματι παραστήσεσθαι μέλλοντας καὶ ῥημάτων καὶ
 (48) πραγμάτων καὶ ἐννοιῶν εὐθύνας ὑφέξειν, πάντων ἀφίστασθαι
 (49) χρή καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ λύπης τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ
 (50) τὴν φοβερὰν μόνον ἐκείνην ἡμέραν μεριμνᾶν.

We have underlined the text contained in the parchment. Obviously, the scribe's eye swerved from l. 42 to the same wording in ll. 47 and then copied words from ll. 47 μέλλοντ-, καὶ) and 48 (πάντων).

19. From this line on, the ink used is different in color. Is it perhaps also a different scribe at work?

20. Or read βούλημα τῶν, perhaps followed by ἀ[γ]αθῶν. We have speculated about reading αὐτοῦ λόγου θεοῦ βούλη-|μα τῶν ἀ[γ]αθῶν [τ]ὸ ἐν ἐκκλη-|σίαις Χρ(ιστο)ῦ, but we are very skeptical as regards the supposed omikron

before ἐν and we do not think that the resulting Greek text is coherent nor produces good sense.

20-21. The word combination ἐκκλησία Χριστοῦ occurs until the 6th cent. CE only in Eusebius, *Comm. in Psalmos*, PG vol. 23, p. 813.38 and in Procopius, *Comm. in Isaiam* 1864, 31. STT-KAW

57. METHODIUS, *SYMPOSIUM*

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 731*
H. 20.1 cm. x W. 4.3 cm.
TM/LDAB 144445

Provenance unknown
Date: 5th-6th cent. CE

This piece is a narrow strip of parchment, featuring irregular damage on the RH edge of the hair side and at the bottom of the strip, possibly an edge of a skin, which contains a text written in a quick cursive hand on both sides with black ink. Again (see above) we may compare this hand to Cavallo-Maehler, *GB*, pl. 19c (second half of the 5th cent. CE), and we date it to the late 5th (or perhaps to the early 6th?) cent. CE. For the hand and the material aspect, and parallels, see above 53-54, 56.

Hair		<i>Symposium</i>
1	εἶ τε οὖν	(8.16.72) ἦτοι οὖν
2	γένεσις ἔστι,	γένεσις ἔστι
3	οὐκ ἐχρήν	καὶ οὐκ ἐχρήν
4	εἶναι νόμο[υς]	εἶναι νόμους
5	ἰ[[ε]] ἡ ἀνάβασις[ς]	
6	τοῦ Νείλου	
7	ζωή ἐστι κ[αὶ]	

* This text was first published by S. Torallas Tovar-K. A. Worp, "John Chrysostomos and Methodios", pp. 749-753.

8	χαρὰ ἐστία[ις.]	
9	Τὰ λοιπὰ	(3.14.35) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
10	ἐφεξῆς μνη-	ἐφεξῆς μνη-
11	μονεύσαντες	μονεύσαντες
12	ὡς ἔτι ἔναυλ[ον]	ὡς ἔτι ἔναυλον
13	τὴν ἀκρόα[σιν]	τὴν ἀκρόασιν
14	ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ,]	ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ
15	πρὶν ἀπο-	πρὶν ἀπο-
16	πτῆναι κ(αὶ) δι[α-]	πτῆναι καὶ δια-
17	φυγεῖν εὐε-	φυγεῖν εὐε-
18	ξάλει[πτ]ο[ι γ]ὰρ	ξάλειπτοι γὰρ
19	νέων ἀκου[σ-]	νέων ἀκουσ-
20	μάτων [	μάτων
21	μνημα[ι]	μνημαί
22	γερόντων]	γερόντων
23	εἰς μέγ[εθος καὶ]	(3.8.60) εἰς μέγεθος καὶ,
24	κάλλος [ἀρε-]	κάλλος ἀρετῆς
25	τῆς, ὁ κα-	(3.9.18) κατ'
26	τ'ἄξιαν [τε καὶ]	ἀξίαν τε καὶ
27	μέγεθος	μέγεθος
28	εἰπεῖν ἀδυ-	εἰπεῖν ἀδυ-
29	νατῶ· ο[	νατῶ.
30	[᾽Ο]μῶς δ[	᾽Ομῶς δ'οὖν
	<i>traces</i>	

Between ll. 4 and 5 the parchment features a paragraphos 5 l. εἰ, ἀνάβασις 24 24 l. κάλλος

Flesh

1	Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ
2	[π]ολλάκις ποι-
3	[ητ]αὶ τυγχάνου-
4	[σι] τῶν ποιη-
5	μάτων· οὐκ εἰσι

6 δὲ δεσπότηαι.
 7 [Τ]ὸ μὲν γὰρ
 8 [τ]ῆς τέχνης
 9 [ἐρ]γάζοντ[α]ι, τὸ
 10 [δ]ὲ τῆς δεσ-
 11 ποτίας ἄλλοις
 12 παραχωροῦσ[ι.]
 13 Πολλοὺς λαν-
 14 [θ]άνει τῶν νό-
 15 [μ]ῶν ἢ ἰσχὺς
 16 προχείρως
 17 [κα]τὰ τῶν ἐλευ-
 18 [θ]έρων τολ-
 19 μᾶν ἰωθό[[ω]]τως
 20 [. . . νο]μίζον-
 21 τες ἀνδρῖ[α]ν
 22 εἶναι τὴν ἀλό[γ]-
 23 [ιστο]ν τόλμαν·
 24 [. . .]ερ οὐδεν
 25 [.]ρες
 26 [. . .]δορη το
 27 [. . φ]ρονίμη
 28 [οὐ δ]ίκαιον ὑ-
 29 [π]ὸ ἀδίκου
 30 [τ]υπτηθῆ-
 31 [ναι]
 32 [. . .]δικην
 33 [. . . γ]ὰρ ὑβ[ρ]
 34 [. . . ἀ]νθρω[π]
 35 [.] . συ[

 10-11 l. δεσποτείας 15 ἰσχυς Pap. 19 l. εἰωθότως ἰωθο[[ω]]τως Pap.
 21 l. ἀνδρείαν 24 Or ουδαν? 25,],ρες: the last two letters may
 belong to ink coming through from the other side 27 φ]ρονίμη Pap.
 28 ὑ- Pap. 33 ὑβ[ρ- Pap.

The text on the hair side turned out to be that of a Christian author, this time the Church father Methodius, now attested for the first time in Egypt. Methodius died in 311 CE during the persecutions, so his life may be attributed to the period ca 250 – 311 C.E. He wrote a treatise titled *Symposium sive Convivium decem virginum*¹⁰⁴, an eulogy on the advantages and blessings of voluntary virginity, which does in fact match with the topic of the previously discussed two fragments of John Chrysostom. It is remarkable that this is now the earliest extant fragment of the works of Methodius, the *Patmiacus graecus* 202 (an eleventh century codex commonly cited as Ms P) being the earliest thus far known source for his text¹⁰⁵. The verso apparently presents a hitherto unidentified Greek literary prose text. As far as we have been able to establish there is no clear connection between the texts on each side. The text on the hair side, in particular ll. 1-4 and 9-28, comes from *Oratio* 8:16.72-73, and *Oratio* 3:14.35-40, 8.60-61 and 9.18-19 of Methodius' *Symposium*.

Parts of the text on the flesh side suggest that here one is dealing with a product of Gnostic wisdom written by an ancient pedagogue. The opening lines may be compared with John Chrysostom, *Eclogae* (PG 63, p. 655.36 Migne): Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ πολλακίς ἀρρωστοῦσιν. Furthermore, a search in the TLG produced for ll. 17-18, [κα]τὰ τῶν ἔλευ-|[θ]έρων, a precise parallel with Basilus Caesar., *Epistulae*, 270.1.5, while for ll. 20-23, νο]μίζον-| τεσ ἀνδρί[α]ν | εἶναι τὴν ἀλό[γ]-| [ιστο]ν τόλμαν, one finds a matching text in Thucydides, *Historiae*, 3:82.4.2: τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη (cf. also Dionysius

¹⁰⁴ Edited by H. Musurillo-V. H. Debidour, *Méthode d'Olympe. Le banquet* (Paris, 1963; Sources chrétiennes 95).

¹⁰⁵ For the transmission of the text of Methodius, see Musurillo-Debidour, 1963, 31-38. On the codex P, see p. 41. One may add that some of Methodius' extracts were preserved in the *Sacra Parallela*, and that our text may belong to a tradition of his works different from the one represented in the medieval manuscripts.

Halicarn., *De Thucydidis idiomatibus*, 17.14; Plutarch, *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur*, 56C.1; Aelius Aristides, *Ars Rhetorica*, I 1.3[1].5; Hermogenes, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου*, 1.6.172). Remarkably enough, for most parts of the flesh side there seems to be no parallel available in the texts stored to date in the TLG, see the notes below.

Commentary to the hair side

1. Εἷ τε is a iotacistic spelling or a variant of ἦτοι in the standard text. The resulting different syntax facilitates the omission (3 words later in this phrase) of the standard text's καί. It remains unclear why the author of our parchment jumps from one oration (8) to another (3) and even within the same oration (3.14 > 3.8 > 3.9), why he omitted between ll. 11–12 the words μιμητικώτατα διέλωμεν, and why he wrote in l. 12 ὥς (this occurs also in the 11th cent. Ms P, for which cf. Debidour-Musurillo, p. 33) rather than ὧν. The single ὅ in l. 25 may be taken as a relative pronoun that connects the preceding passage with the following. It is not clear either what is the cause of the apparently divergent text at the end of l. 29 (it adds the beginning of an unexpected word in ο- right before ὅμως). Maybe only a dittography of ὅμως?

5–8. Remarkably enough, the text ἰ[[ε]]ή ἀνάβασις[ις] (l. ἀνάβασις) | τοῦ Νείλου | ζωὴ ἐστὶ κ[αὶ] | χαρὰ ἐστία[ις], “The rise of the Nile is (= ‘means’) life and joy for the families”, does not occur in Methodius. The combination of ζωὴ + [5 words later] χαρὰ is found in several other Christian authors, among whom John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Philipp* (PG 62, p. 295.48) and *De Paenitentia* (PG 60, p. 703.55).

Commentary to the flesh side

1–6. Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ποιηταὶ τυγχάνουσι τῶν ποιημάτων· οὐκ εἰσι δὲ δεσπότες may be translated as “For many times many people happen to be the makers of poems (or, in general: creations /creatures?), but they are not the masters”. Apparently this phrase does not occur in the TLG. In itself, the *topos* of Πολλοὶ + [after 4 intervening words] πολλάκις occurs frequently enough in Greek literature between the 3rd and the 6th cent. CE (such a TLG search produces ca 200 attestations, half of which in John Chrysostom!). In a couple of Christian authors (among whom, again, John Chrysostom) one finds a combination of words in ποιητ-, ποιημ- and δεσποτ- occurring together

relatively closely (within 1 line of each other), but the context in each case is far from the same. Likewise, the combination of ποιημ- and δεσποτ- is a phenomenon found only in Christian authors, but never in a context like in our text. For illustrating the ‘Gnomic color’ of this text, we refer to the (only partially) parallel expression in Menander, *Sententiae* 628: Πολλοὶ μὲν εὐτυχοῦσιν, οὐ φρονοῦσιν δέ.

7-12. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τέχνης ἐργάζονται, τὸ δὲ τῆς δεσποτείας ἄλλοις παραχωροῦσι may be translated as “For they work on (ἐργάζονται) the ‘technical’ aspect (Τὸ -- τῆς τέχνης) but they leave (παραχωροῦσι) the aspect of mastership (τὸ -- τῆς δεσποτείας) to others (ἄλλοις)”. A TLG search for a combination of ἐργαζ- + παραχωρ- or τέχνη + δεσποτεία remained unproductive.

13-23. Πολλοὺς λανθάνει τῶν νόμων ἢ ἰσχὺς προχείρως κατὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων τολμᾶν εἰωθότως [...] νομίζοντες ἀνδρείαν εἶναι τὴν ἀλόγιστον τόλμαν may be interpreted as “The force of the laws (ἢ ἰσχὺς τῶν νόμων) escapes (λανθάνει) many (πολλοὺς) <so as> to commit acts of cruelty (τολμᾶν) readily (προχείρως) against their wives (κατὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων), feeling in their usual manner (εἰωθότως νομίζοντες) that irrational recklessness (τὴν ἀλόγιστον τόλμαν) is tantamount to (εἶναι) manliness (ἀνδρείαν)”, though the interpretation given to λανθάνει + an abstract subject ἢ ἰσχὺς τῶν νόμων and connected with the infinitive τολμᾶν seems rather forced. For a similar ‘Gnomic’ sentiment we refer to Menander, *Sententiae* 226: Εὐτολμος εἶναι κρῖνε, τολμηρὸς δὲ μή.

It is probably no coincidence that this section starts with Πολλοὺς, after the preceding section on poems, poets, and owners of poems (ll. 1-12) started with Πολλοὶ ...

20. It is hard to propose a convincing solution for restoring the three letters lost in the lacuna.

27. It is, again, hard to propose a convincing solution for restoring the two letters lost in the preceding lacuna. Even so, one may wonder whether one should not capitalize Φρονίμη (not known to date as a woman’s name). This and the following lines can be translated, then, as “For a wise woman (φρονίμη) it is not right (οὐ δίκαιον) to be beaten (τυπτηθῆναι) by an unjust person (ὑπὸ ἀδίκου)”, but this raises the question whether a reversal in the elements ‘wise’ (> ‘stupid’) and / or ‘unjust’ (> ‘righteous’) would change the outcome, in other words: is it acceptable for *any* woman to be beaten by *any* person? STT-KAW

58. CHRISTIAN TEXT

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 775
 H. 13 cm. x W 14.6 cm.
 TM/LDAB 219236

Provenance unknown
 Date: 4th-5th cent. CE

This sheet of parchment preserves the lower (4 cm.), LH (ca. 0.4 cm.) and RH (0.1-0.3 cm.) margins. It contains 12 lines of writing in dark brown ink. Traces of an earlier text are visible on the surface of the parchment, and in the lower margin the pricking and ruling are clearly visible, so this is part of a folio intended for a manuscript. The original writing of the manuscript has disappeared, if it ever was there, and would have run at 90° of our text. But there might have been a second use, a text previous to the final text, running underneath it in the same direction, which has been washed out and which may be responsible for the supralinear ink traces in lines 6 and 7. The verso is blank.

Flesh

- 1 Traces ἐπὶ τὸν
 - 2 . . ε τῷ θ(ε)ῶ κάλλιστον
 - 3 τὴν ὁμοφροσύνην προση-
 - 4 νέγκατε / ἐρόμεθα σε δικαστή(ν)
 - 5 πείσατε ὅτι ἐνμενῖται οἷς ἂν δι-
 - 6 κάζω / ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτ(ε)
 - 7 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ποιούμενοι
 - 8 (*hole*) σπουδὴν κ(αὶ) τῆς αὐτῆς
 - 9 τῶν πενήτων ἐνδία
 - 10 ὃν χρὴ τρόπον ἐπιμελούμεθ(α)
 - 11 γῦν πολλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγαθοσύνης
 - 12 ποιούμεν[ο]ι . σπουδῆν
- 2 θῶ Pap. 5 l. πείσατε or ποιήσατε ? 1 l. ἐμμενεῖτε 6 l. ἐπειδὴ

7 ὑπέρ: υ ex corr. 9 l. ἐνδεία

“You have presented/brought forward unanimity to the ... most beautiful to God. We chose you/we ask you as a judge: Take care that you observe whatever I judge. For you know quite well, while making an effort for your own salvation, in which way we need to take care of the same (salvation) of the poor in need, while making a great effort to be good”.

While this text contains a number of elements that occur in early Christian literary and subliterary texts, we have not been able to identify it with any Christian text presently found in the TLG. It gives the impression of having something to do with a profession or ordination of a priest, a *cheirotomia* after the unanimity of the community is reached, and the obligations are expressed.

Commentary

6-7. Between these two lines, above the ρ of ὑπέρ there is a trace of ink in the shape of a ny or a circumflex accent, as well as above the ζ of σωτηρίας, in the shape of an x, that we fail to explain. They might be traces of the writing underneath, since this seems to be a palimpsest.

6-12. The syntax of the Greek is complex. We analyse it as follows with a parallel construction:

οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτ(ε) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ποιοῦμενοι σπουδῆν, ὃν χρὴ τρόπον ἐπιμελούμεθ(α)
κ(αί) τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν πενήτων <ἐν> ἐνδεία πολλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγαθοσύνης ποιοῦμεν[ο]ι σπουδῆν

We read τῶν πενήτων <ἐν> ἐνδεία; cf. the same phrasing in John Chrysostom, *In epistulam i ad Timotheum (homiliae 1-18)*, 62, 569, 58: τί κατατήκεις τὴν τοῦ πένητος ἐν ἐνδεία;

10. The ending of the word ἐπιμελούμεθα is not clear. We venture to read an unclear theta, followed perhaps by an abbreviation squiggle, like above at the end of line 6.

11. In the margin we read a faint $\nu\tilde{\nu}$, which can be a marginal indication. The spelling of ἀγαθοσύνη in Christian times deviates from the Classical spelling ἀγαθωσύνη (see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v.). STT-KAW

59. CHRISTIAN TEXT

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 996

Provenance unknown

H. 14 cm. x W. 3.1 cm.

Date: 5th-6th cent. CE?

TM/LDAB 219237

This longish parchment fragment has the top (0.3 cm.), LH (0.2 cm.) and RH (0-0.1 cm.) margins preserved, though not completely, since it features several holes. For this longish format, both in papyrus and parchment in the Montserrat collection, cf. 53 and 57. It is written on both sides in a fairly well trained hand, similar to that found in P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 731 (see above 57). On the hair side traces of another (earlier?) text written perpendicularly to the present text are visible in the lower part. On the flesh side, the upper part is blank, and the text starts at the level of the other side's sixth line.

Hair

- 1 Πάντες
- 2 εὐχόμεθα
- 3 εἶναι φυτεία
- 4 θ(εο)ῦ· δ[.....].
- 5 οὐκ ἐστ[.....]
- 6 φυτεία[.....]
- 7 ἀπεφήνα-
- 8 το ὁ κριτῆς
- 9 κ(αὶ) σωτῆρ ἡμῶ(ν)
- 10 εἰπών: "Τὰ
- 11 γλυκέα φθέγ-

12 γεσθ(αι) τε-
 13 τήρηται”.
 —
 14 Οὕτως·
 15 αἰσθητῶς
 16 καὶ νοητ[ῶς]
 17 παρέξε[ιν]
 18 τὴν ἐξ
 19 ἀμφ[ο]τέ-
 20 ρων ὠ-
 21 φέλιν
 22 κ(αὶ) πρὸς
 23 φιδ[ι]
 24 ...η

 4 Θῦ Pap. High stop after the upsilon on Pap. 13-14 Paragraphos
 between the lines indicating a new section.

“We all pray to be the plantation of God. (...), our judge and saviour stated saying: «It has been retained to pronounce sweet words». Like this: to provide in a sensible and intelligible way the profit resulting from both and ...”

Flesh

1 τ[οῦ] ἀσχήμονο^ς
 2 τοῦ μισοῦν κ(αὶ)
 3 τὸ ἀκαλέστα-
 4 τον στυγνὸν
 5 μεταβάλλων
 6 διὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆ^ς
 7 αὐτοῦ προνοί-
 8 ας τοὺς ἀλγι-
 9 νοτάτους
 10 πόνους κα-
 11 ταπαύοντα
 12-21 *traces*

 3-4 l. ἀκαλλέστα-|τον 8-9 l. ἀλγει-|νοτάτους

“...of the hater of the ugly and changing the most graceless gloomy, through the agency of his good providence putting an end to the most painful sufferings...”

This parchment fragment contains a Christian text of unknown nature. There appears no matching text yet in the TLG. There might be however a Biblical background to the text in the Matt. 15:13 for the flesh side: ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται. It also appears in Isa. 61:3 and it is a widespread metaphor for the people of God.

Commentary to the hair side

3-4. φυτεία θεοῦ: The TLG (accessed on 29.v.2012) offers attestations of this wording in John Chrysostom (*In Matthaëum* 58.514.39) and in Epiphanius (*Panarion*, 2.202.5).

7. We find a similar expression in Cyril Hierosol., *Catecheses ad illuminandos* 16.1.10. ὁ κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπεφήνατο; Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epistulae* 1509.23: ὁ κριτῆς ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις ἀπεφήνατο· and Ps.–Caesarius, *Quaestiones et responsiones*, 146 :161. ὁ κριτῆς ἀπεφήνατο.

8-9. The TLG (accessed on 29.v.2012) offers no attestations of the wording κριτῆς κ(αὶ) σωτήρ (= Christ). They both appear often in strings of epithets of Christ.

11-13. Cf. Diodorus, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 49, 19b.1:

(19b.) Ἡ γλῶσσά σου περιέπλεκε δολιότητας. (1n)

Ἄντὶ τοῦ ἐκέχρησο δὲ καὶ δόλοις, γλυκέα μὲν φθεγγόμε- (1)
 νος τοῖς συνοῦσι, κακία δὲ περιβάλλων αὐτοὺς ἀνιάτῳ ...

The TLG (accessed on 29.v.2012) offers no attestations of the wording φθέγγεσθαι τετήρηται.

13-14. There is a paragraphos between lines 13 and 14, in the shape of a line.

15-16. The TLG offers many attestations of the word combination αἰσθητῶς καὶ νοητῶς, in particular in John Chrysostom (cf. above 55 and 56), Didymus the Blind and in the *Catena*.

19-20. There are a number of unexplained traces between these two lines.

Commentary to the flesh side

2. τοῦ μισοῦν: needs to be either τοῦ μισοῦντος or τὸ μισοῦν.

3-4. According to the TLG (accessed on 30.iii.2014) the word ἀκαλλέστατος occurs only in Cyril Alexandrinus. The combination of ἀσχήμονά τε καὶ ἀκαλλέστατον only appears in Cyril, *Ep. Pasch.* 77.541.5; 7.1.152

8-10. Apparently the wording ἀλγεινοτάτους πόνους does not occur in texts the TLG. This expression might indicate that the text refers to a martyrdom.

10-11. It is not clear what the part. καταπαύοντα refers to. Since the text is very fragmentary, the interpretation is only preliminary. STT-KAW

60. LIST OF GODS

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 840
H. 7.2 cm. x W. 6.5 cm.
TM/LDAB 219238

Provenance unknown
Date: 2nd-3rd cent. CE?

The margins of this small fragment are at the left 2.5 cm., at the right 1.5-2 cm., and at the bottom 1.8 cm. It features two horizontal folds which section the papyrus in three. It is written in a skilled cursive hand, datable to the 2nd-3rd century CE, along the direction of the papyrus fibers. The verso is blank.

→ -----
1 . [
2 Ἀπόλλω[νος]
3 Διός
4 Ἀθηνᾶς
5 Διοσκούρω[v]
6 Ἑρμοῦ
7 Πανός

This papyrus presents a list of gods in the genitive case. The closest parallel is a list on a 2nd-3rd cent. CE ostrakon, *O.Medinet Madi* 1334 (LDAB 5081) edited by R. Pintaudi and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 76 (1989), p. 86, no. 2, presenting the names of three gods in the genitive case. There is no clear explanation, other than a school exercise, for these names to be in a genitive form. We have not been able to find a mythological context in which these gods appear together. It is true that the order of the Homeric Hymns to the Dioscuri, 2nd hymn to Hermes and to Pan, appear in this precise order, but that does not explain the use of the genitive case.

Other lists of gods in papyri are:

- LDAB 1054 = O. Guéraud - P. Jouguet, *Un livre d'écolier du IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo, 1938), a school manual consisting of, *inter alia*, a list of gods (ll. 38-47).
- LDAB 6897 = U. Wilcken, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 160-183 = Pack 2099+2068, col. vii.3-5, a 2nd-1st cent. BCE miscellaneous text which contains a list of gods.
- LDAB 4404 = *MPER* N.S. 1:18 a 1st cent. CE school composition about the antecedents and the course of the Trojan war, with the list of gods who fought on the side of the Trojans.
- LDAB 5062 = *SB* 14:12157 is a 3rd cent. CE list of gods, with their Latin equivalent (in Greek characters).
- LDAB 5416 = *P.Oxy.* 65:4460, fr. 2, is a 3rd cent. CE list of gods with their genealogy.
- LDAB 416 = *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 25:8 is a 3rd cent. CE concordance to the *Sortes Astrampsychi* with a list of gods, although probably not connected to school.
- LDAB 2412 = *PSI* 1:19, a 5th cent. CE school papyrus which contains questions and answers about the Trojan war, among which, the gods, which are listed. STT-KAW

61. AMULET

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 239*

Provenance unknown

H. 10 cm. x W. 9.7 cm.

Date: mid. 2nd-3th cent. CE

TM 140309

This is a light brown papyrus fragment featuring eleven lines of an incomplete magical text written in black ink. The text is written along the papyrus fibers and the verso is blank. The top margin (ca. 1 cm.) and probably the LH margin (1.2 cm.) are preserved. There are traces of red ink on the LH margin and on the fifth line of the text, which do not seem to be writing.

* The present edition is an updated version of R. Martín Hernández, "A Magical Amulet at the Abbey of Montserrat", *ZPE* (2010), pp. 220-222.

The handwriting is a careful but not well trained rounded type, without ligatures. The middle curve of the μ was traced in one stroke and it is very low, sometimes descending below the baseline. The χ features one stroke much longer than the other. It could be dated between the second half of the 2nd cent. to the 3rd cent. CE. For parallels see *P.Oxy.* 44:3166, dated to 187 CE, *P.Wisc.* 1:15, dated to 236 CE and *P.Beatty* 9:967 (Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 2, no. 54, Plate 28), dated between the 2nd and the 3rd cent. CE, and P.Mich. inv. no. 6666 = *Suppl.Mag.* 1:3, a magical amulet dated to the 3rd cent. CE.

Text

→

1	αρχαχαμαριαχαβελ	
2	αρχαχαμαριαχαβε	
3	αρχαχαμαριαχαβ	
4	[α]ρχαχαμαριαχα	
5	αρχαχαμαριαχ	
6	[αρ]χαχαμαρια	
7	[αρ]χαχαμαρι	
8	αρχαχαμαρ	<i>magical character</i>
9	[α]ρχαχαμα	
10	αρχαχαμ	
11	αρχαχα	

This papyrus features a fragment of an incomplete magical word written in a wing-shaped formation, that is, a triangle formed by the repetition of a magical word that loses its first or final letter in each line. In the Greek magical papyri the adverb πτερυγοειδῶς and other derivative words beginning by πτερυ- are used to describe this particular kind of representation. See e.g. πτερυγοειδῶς in *PGM* 2:2 and 5, ἐν πτέρυγι 3:709, γράψων β' πτερύγια in 7:716 and πτερυγώματα in 13:904. The wing-shaped

magical words are very common in Greek and Coptic magical papyri. Cf. some examples for different magical purposes in Greek in *PGM* 8b, 19a, 36:115, 29, 43, 88 and 120, and in Coptic in *P.Oxy.* 7:1060 (Meyer-Smith 25; TM 64461) and *P.Lond.Copt.* 524 (Meyer-Smith 64; TM 98056). On these formations see the complete study by Ch. A. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts. On Ancient Greek Amulets* (London, 2012; BICS Supplement 115). The use of this magical shape in amulets is usually linked to healing, commonly against fever. This formation probably follows analogical ritual mechanisms which aim at finishing the disease in the same way the word in the triangle loses its letters; see Ch. A. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts*, pp. 2-4, 6, and 67. There are traces of a magical *character* to the right of the text. The papyrus was probably folded up to serve as an amulet, placed in a tubular capsule hanging from a necklace, because it features five horizontal folding marks.

Commentary

1. αρχαμαριαχβελ: The *vox magica* is not attested in other Greek and Coptic magical papyri, but it follows usual phonetic patterns of alliteration of other similar compositions like the famous αβλαναθαναλβα, the most frequent magical palindrome (See. e.g. *Suppl.Mag.* 1:9, a fever amulet). The word in our papyrus is very close to the magical word αχραμαχαμαρι, a popular *vox magica* with many variations in spelling. Achram(m)machamar(e)i, in its various spellings, appears widely in Greek and Coptic magical texts. For example, in Greek in *PGM* 3:79, 150, 223, 508, 4:982, 5:62, 7:221, 312, 1021 and *Suppl.Mag.* 1:10, 19, 20, 42, 45, 50, and in Coptic in P. Heid.Kopt. inv. no. 544b (Meyer-Smith 54; TM 98048)¹; Kropp, 2:34 (Meyer-Smith 63; TM 98055); 2:43 (Meyer-Smith 70; TM 98061), and 2:30 (Meyer-Smith 130; TM 100018). *Achrammachamari* appears forming a wing-shaped formation in two papyri: *PGM* 17a and 19a, and in two lead tablets: *Suppl.Mag.* 2:48, and 2:55. G. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*

¹ *Ed. princ.* by H. Quecke, “Zwei koptische Amulette der Papyrussammlung der Universität Heidelberg (Inv. Nr. 544b and 564a)”, *Le Muséon* 76 (1963), pp. 248-254.

(New York, 1965²), pp. 94–100, offers a tentative explanation of the meaning of this word. He derives the name from the Aramaic *āqar*, ‘to uproot’ and *mik^lmāre*, ‘nets’, ‘magic spells’.

The alliteration of χ with α is common in the Greek Magical Papyri: e.g. *PGM* 1:139 and 147 $\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\ \chi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\ \chi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\alpha\chi$, 2:120 $\theta\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\nu$, 4:240 $\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi$ and 1385 $\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\alpha\chi\pi\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$.

The ending $-\epsilon\lambda$ appears in other magical words in Greek Magical Papyri: *PGM* 4:1791, 2025, 2050, 3018, 3027; 12:54, 293, 294; 13:1059, 35:9, and *Suppl.Mag.* 1:16, 6.

8. *Charactêr*. The traces of ink to the right side of the composition seem to be part of a magical *character* like ✨ or †. Cf. *Suppl.Mag.* 1:21, a Christian protective charm, where the magical name $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\lambda\beta\alpha$ is written in the shape of a bunch of grapes and is provided with magical *characteres* on both sides. Ch. A. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts*, p. 23, indicates that it is common in wing-shaped amulets that the scribe placed the *characteres* on the diminishing side of the formation. On magical *characteres*, their format, and their use in Greek and Coptic magic, see D. Frankfurter, “The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic: The Power of the Word in Egyptian and Greek tradition”, *Helios* 21 (1994), pp. 189–221; A. Mastrocinque, *Sylloge gemmarum gnosticarum* (Roma, 1994; Bollettino di Numismatica), pp. 90–98 and R. Gordon, “Shaping the Text: Innovation and Authority in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic”, in H. F. J. Horstmanshoff-H. W. Singor-F. T. van Straten (eds.), *Kykeon, Studies in honour of H. S. Versnel* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 69–111. K. Dzwiwa (Universität Erfurt) is currently working on a doctoral dissertation about the magical *characteres*.
RMH

62. CHRISTIAN AMULET

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 742

Provenance unknown

H. 3.5 cm. x W. 5.5 cm.

Date: 5th–6th cent. CE?

TM 219239

This small piece of papyrus features five lines of text written across the papyrus fibers in black ink and in a cursive and rather irregular hand, which we have tentatively dated to the 5th–6th cent. CE. All four margins are preserved: the top and the bottom

margins of ca. 0.3 cm. The text reaches the edge on both the LH and the RH margins. There are marks of one vertical and two horizontal folds, indicating that it had been folded and probably placed inside a capsule in order to be worn around the neck. There are some traces on the verso, but the text is not intelligible (Coptic, or magical signs?).

→

- 1 πρρρρρρθ
 2 Εἰς θε(εό)ς, εἰς Χρ(ιστό)ς, ἐν πν(εῦμ)α ἅγιον·
 3 ι ι θεράπευστων Πακνοϋ[ϋ]μι-
 4 ν ἀπὸ παποδ .. σιωγ traces
 5 παντὸς σώματος †.
 2 θς, χρς, πνα Pap. 3 l. θεράπευσον 3-4 l. Παχνοῦμιν

“One God, one Christ, one Holy spirit. Heal Pachnoumis (...) his whole body”

This papyrus ticket contains a complete Christian amulet against some type of disease. On amulets see Ch. F. Faraone, *Vanishing Acts. On Ancient Greek Amulets* (London, 2012; *BICS Suppl.* 115). On Christian amulets, see Th. S. de Bruyn and J. H. F. Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets”, *BASP* 48 (2011), pp. 163–216.

Commentary

1. Apparently there is no parallel for this combination of eight consonants; clusters of consonants are not completely unheard of in the magical texts from Egypt, but far less frequent than clusters of vowels. For a combination of rhos, cf. *PGM* 28c:11: ‘ppp’. The six letters between the first and the last seem to be an evolution from a rho towards a qoppa, the vertical stroke of which appears progressively more to the right. Furthermore, we wonder whether there is a link with the combination of ρθ = 99, equalling in isopsephy the value of ἀμήν. On this see, H. Leclercq, “Isopsépie”, *DACL* 7.2 (1927), pp. 1603–6; L. Robert, “Pas de date 109, mais le chiffre 99, isopsépie de Amen”, *Hellenica* 11 (1960),

pp. 310–11; L. Vidman, “Koppa Theta = Amen in Athen”, *ZPE* 16 (1975), pp. 215–16; T. C. Skeat, “A Table of Isopsephisms (P. Oxy. XLV. 3239)”, *ZPE* 31 (1978), pp. 45–54; L. S. B. MacCoull, “A Note on the Subscription of the Vision of Dorotheos”, *ZPE* 83 (1990), p. 292; S. R. Llewelyn, “ΣΔ, A Christian Isopsephism?”, *ZPE* 109 (1995), pp. 125–127; F. Bovon, “Names and Numbers in Early Christianity”, *NTS* 47 (2001), pp. 267–88. One may also compare the seven crosses or staurograms in *P.Köln* 8:340.1 or *PSI* 1:29 (*PGM* 35:1–28)

2. The Holy Ghost is also mentioned in *Suppl.Mag.* 1:21.2 (see the informative note to ll. 1–2) and 31.4.

3. We have transcribed two iotas at the beginning of the line, but it might well be a drawing on the margin. The combination of ι ι occurs in *Suppl.Mag.* 2:48.G 13, H.3.7. There is no reason to reckon here with a special magical sign. In a Greek amulet one expects at this place in the formula the imperative *θεράπευσον*, which occurs here in deviant spelling, cf. Gignac, *Gram.* vol. 1, pp. 275–276. For the construction *θεραπέω τινα ἀπό τινος*, cf. *Suppl.Mag.* 1:3.3–5n.

3–4. The name Pachnoumis appears 785 times in TM/People name ID 674. It is mostly attested in Upper Egypt.

4. This line is very difficult to decipher. After the –v, belonging to the name in the previous line, we clearly read ἀπό, expecting the construction *θεράπευσόν τινα ἀπό τινος*, so it should be followed by the disease. Among the letters following the preposition, there is what seems to be a capital delta, which looks very much like the sign for δ(εῖνα), very frequently found in the magical instructions. But we cannot explain it in that position.

4–5. There remains the question of what affection or illness this amulet should protect against. A search in the TLG for σώματος (or for σώματι) does not produce any clue. Likewise, the occurrences of σῶμα in *Suppl.Mag.* 1:29.6–8 (*μηκέτι ἄψη ... παντὸς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ*), 30.5 (*ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πνεῦμα*) 34 A.9 (*πᾶσαν νόσον τοῦ σώματος*) do not help us any further.

STT-KAW

63. UNKNOWN LITERARY TEXT AND MEDICAL PRESCRIPTION

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 97
 H. 5 cm. x W. 3.5 cm.
 TM/LDAB 219240

Provenance unknown
 Date: Late Ptolemaic

This small papyrus fragment features two different texts by two different hands on each side. On both sides, the LH margin (ca. 1 cm.) is preserved. The recto presents eight lines of text, and was probably the original use of the papyrus, while the text on the other side is the reutilization. The text on the verso is written across the fibers in a fairly regular biliteral literary hand, with scarce ornamentation –only occasional hooks to the left of some letters, cf. l. 5 κυ, and serifs at the end of verticals, cf. l. 3 ρ, comparable to *P.Köln* 3:126 (Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, 80, dated 1st cent. BCE) or *P.Ryl.* 4:586 (= *P.Oxy.* 4:802, Roberts, *GLH*, 8a, dated 99 BCE). The recto is written along the fibers in a hand featuring influence from chancery hands, with modular contrast, perhaps an example of the oblong pattern of 2nd cent. BCE, described by Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, p. 15.

Recto

→ -----
 1 στυ[.]οντρ.. [
 2 συ[.] π. [
 3 ξηι τὰς του[
 4 φα νεῦρα εις[
 5 δε διλη ἐν π[
 6 [ἀ]λλ' ἀθροίζετα[ι
 7 πες ἐνίστε[
 8 π[....],[.]ε[

 5 Or read δεδιαπεντ.[?

Verso

↓ -----
 1 μ..εγον[
 2 σανδαρά[κης amount
 3 ζμύρνης [amount
 4 στυπτηρία[ς amount
 5 κυπαίρου [amount
 6 λεῖανας [amount
 7 []..[

 5. l. κυπέρου

The text on the recto cannot be identified, but terms like νεῦρα and a form of the verb ἄθροίζ-, remind of medical texts, cf. Galen, *De usu partium*, 4.308.12 (ed. Kühn) or Erasistratus, Fr. 240.7 (ed. Garofalo). On the verso there are seven incomplete line beginnings presenting part of a Greek medical prescription. The same combinations of ingredients as mentioned in ll. 2-5 appear in the TLG in two Greek medical authors: Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 12.957.3 and Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium filium*, 3.116.1.1-2 and 3.171.1-2. The ingredients are used especially in recipes for remedying mouth ulcers. The closest parallel we have found appears in H. Harrauer - P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Mezinische Rezepte und Verwandtes* (Vienna, 1981; MPER NS 13), pp. 29-35, no. 12. For medical prescriptions, see I. Andorlini (ed.), *Greek Medical Papyri I* (Firenze, 2001), pp. 10-14, and II (Firenze, 2009), pp. 4-9; M.H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des Papyrus Grecs de médecine* (Genève, 1981). See also the recently edited *BKT* 10:24 ("Pharmakologisches Rezept", a re-edition of *BKT* 9:168 by M.-H. Marganne), and 25 ("Aromatische Rezepte", by I. Andorlini). Specifically for mouth diseases see P.Corn. inv. 47 (Marganne, *Inventaire*, 148-149), *P.Ryl.* I 29a

(Marganne, *Inventaire*, 272-273), although the ingredients do not coincide with our papyrus.

For the individual ingredients, cf. W. C. Till, *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten* (Berlin, 1951); V. Gazza, “Prescrizioni mediche nei papiri dell’Egitto greco-romano”, *Aegyptus* 35.1 (1955), pp. 86-110 and 36.1 (1956), pp. 73-114; J. André, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin* (Paris, 1956); J. André, *Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque* (Paris, 1958; Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des hautes études. fasc. 311); D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus* (Wiesbaden, 1972); D. Fausti, “Ricerche sul lessico botanico dei papiri medici”, I. Andorlini (ed.), ‘*Specimina*’ per il *Corpus dei Papiri Greci di Medicina. Atti del Incontro di studio (Firenze, 28-29 marzo 1996)* (Firenze, 1997), pp. 83-108; R. J. Durling, *A Dictionary of medical terms in Galen* (Leiden, 1993). We cite them below using name and if necessary, year, and page number.

Commentary of verso

1. We are not certain as to what this line represents: the first line of the recipe continued in ll. 2-6, or the end line of a preceding recipe?
2. σανδαράκης, or -χης, ‘red sulphide of arsenic’, ‘realgar’. Till, p. 124; Goltz, p. 160; Durling, p. 286.
3. ζμύρνης, ‘myrrh’. Till, p. 99; Gazza (1956), p. 97; André (1956), p. 296; Durling, p. 294, Fausti, p. 101.
4. στυπτηρίας, name of any of a group of astringent substances containing alum or ferrous sulphate. Till, p. 3; Gazza (1956), p. 104; André (1958), p. 57; Durling, p. 301; Goltz, p. 161.
5. κυπαίρου (*l. -πέρ-*), *Cyperus rotundus*. Gazza (1956), p. 87; André (1956), p. 113; Durling, p. 215; Fausti, p. 101 (κύπηρις).

7 Ἐρ[μῆς, Ἥλιος] Λέοντι
 8 [Ἦ]ρ[οσκοπός] Ἰχθῦσι
 9 (M2) *traces?* ΔΙΕΥΤΥΧ(ΕΙ)
 1 □ Pap.

“[M]esore 5, 4 th hour of the night [Midheaven] in Capricorn, by far (?)	MC	♑
[Saturn] in Scorpio	♄	♏
Ju[piter, the Moon?] in Aquarius	♃♁	♒
Ma[rs]in Gemini	♂	♊
V[enus] in Cancer	♀	♋
Mer[cury, the Sun] in Leo	☿☉	♌
[Horoscopus] in Pisces (M2) ... Farewell”.	H	♓

The front side of the papyrus sheet contains a horoscope, i.e. a kind of text well represented in our documentation. See the collections by O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia, 1959), D. Baccani, *Oroscopi Greci. Documentazione papirologica* (Messina, 1992; *Ric.Pap.* 1), and A. Jones, *Astronomical papyri from Oxyrhynchus, P.Oxy 4133-4300a* (Philadelphia, 1999), part V, Horoscopes, nos. 4236-4300a. For a few more horoscopes from 4th cent. CE Egypt, cf. in latest instance the texts from Kellis re-published in *SB 26:16826-16829*. The date of the present horoscope was computed several years ago by Prof. T. de Jong (UvA) as 29.vii 337 CE, at 21:20. It has been recalculated and confirmed by César González García (INCIPIT-CSIC, Spain), who also indicated the position of “Midheaven” in line 2.

Commentary

1. The date appears expressed only in month and day, also found in *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 207 = *O.Wilck.* 2:1602. In general the year is also stated in horoscopes. In cases where it is not, one may infer that the date of birth provided to the astrologer was for the current year, and was thus considered unnecessary

to declare. Cf. Baccani, *Oroscopi*, p. 58. The document on the other side of the papyrus is dated to the year 336/7 (see below 89, note to line 8). While one might be prone to think that the document, being written against the fibres of papyrus, is the second use of it, it cannot be completely excluded that the order to pay was written *transversa charta* and that the horoscope is the reutilization.

The beginning of a horoscope often carried the mention of the birth and the name of the newborn; for other horoscopes without a name, see *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 258 = *P.Oxy.* 12:1563 and no. 465 = *PSI* 1:25. Cf. Baccani, *Oroscopi*, 96, n.3.

The use of the monogram □ for ὥρα, according to Baccani, *Oroscopi*, 63, no. 3, appeared in horoscopes from 179 CE on.

2. The only parallel for πολλῶ seems to be *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 293, VIII = *P.Oxy.* 12:1565.7, presenting the reading σελην[η] τοξοτη, πολλα[ν], labelled by the editors: “very doubtful” and translated as “moon in Sagittarius, far advanced (?)”. The photo of this text² shows that in principle the editors’ reading is correct; one can even read traces of the final ny in πολλαυ. There is no attestation of this phrasing in Baccani, *Oroscopi*, nor in Jones, *Astronomical Papyri*.

For the lacuna in this line, the only element in Capricorn on that date is “Midheaven”. See *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 1-3 and no. 3 = *P.Oxy.* 4:804.12 (μεσουρανεί); no. 15/22 = *P.Oxy.* 2:235.13 (μεσουρανεί in restoration); no. 46 = *P.Oxy.* 2:307.19 (μεσουρανεί); no. 98 = *P.Lond.* 1:98.66 (μεσουράνημα); no. 137a.30 = *P.Paris.* 19.30 (μεσουράνημα) and no. 137b.30 = *P.Lond.* 1:110; and Jones, *Astronomical Papyri*, p. 10, and *P.Oxy.* 4238.8 (μεσουράνημα), 4257.2 (μεσ(ουράνημα)), 4277.35 (μεσουράνη[μα]). There is none in Baccani, *Oroscopi*.

9. For horoscopes ending with a farewell or luck wish formula, see Baccani, *Oroscopi*, pp. 64-65: “formula di buon augurio”. The farewell formula Διευτύχει appears in *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 81 = *P.Lond.* 1:130.184; n. 138/161 = *P.Princ.* 2:75.16; n. 277 = *PSI* 7:764.10; no. 283 = *P.Oxy.* 12:1564.9; and also Jones, *Astronomical Papyri*. *P.Oxy.* 4249.13, 4264.9, 4266.i.11, ii.8, 4268.5, 4269.12, 4270.13, and 4295.6.

STT-KAW

² <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/images/papyrus/0019rwf.jpg>

65. NAME TAG

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 981
 H 6.2 cm. x W 8.9 cm.
 TM 219242

Provenance unknown
 Date: 2nd cent. CE

This small papyrus ticket features a short text, written across the direction of the fibers in blackish ink on a reused piece of papyrus. The verso has traces of ink (it looks like the sign for the artaba and a delta for the numeral 4). The three line text is complete, with all margins preserved (top, ca. 2 cm., bottom 1-1.4 cm., LH 0.4 cm. and RH, 1 cm.). It is written in a cursive hand, which not very carefully records a name and a date. It can be dated to the 2nd century CE.

↓

1 Πιδήρου ἀδελ-
 2 φὸς Ἀτινόου
 3 μηνὸς Τῦβι
 2 l. Ἀντινόου

“Of Piteros, brother of Antinoos, month of Tybi”.

The use of this label carrying only a personal name and a month name cannot be established with certainty, since name tags can have any number of applications. In particular, their function as mummy labels comes to mind³, but name tags used for

³ The most common material for mummy labels was wood or stone, but there are also some exceptional cases when other materials were used. See J. Quaegebeur, “Mummy label: An orientation”, in E. Boswinkel-P. W. Pestman, *Textes grecs, demotiques et bilingues* (Leiden, 1978; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 19), pp. 233-259, esp. pp. 234-235, where he discusses the materials used for mummy labels and suggests some guidelines helpful in identifying texts written on different materials as mummy labels. On papyrus labels, see also B. Boyaval, “Conclusions provisoires sur les étiquettes de momies en langue grecque”, *BIFAO* 86 (1986),

apparently general purposes also exist; they are found both on ostraka (*O.Berl.* 1:111-115; *O.Mich.* 1:88, 1:636-675, 2:945-966), and on papyrus, see e.g. *SB* 20:15220; *P.Hamb.* 3:226; *P.Petaus* 94, 95, 111-115; *P.Harr.* 1:57-58; *P.Vindob.Tandem* 33; *CPR* 10:66-104 (small tickets carrying personal names preceded by a cross -like *P.Vindob.Tandem* 33-, all taken by the editor as being just name tags, except for 104, which is labelled as “Mummienetikett”, since it carries the term βωμοῦ, translated as “Für das Grab”).

Commentary

1. Πιδήρου is a so far unattested personal name but can be compared to Πιτηρος (see TM/People name ID 5140). ἀδελφός must be corrected to ἀδελφοῦ. It is not uncommon to find a lack of concordance in these kinds of short texts.
2. Ἀτινίου stands for Ἀντινίου. It is a common mistake, cf. *SB* 3:7123.
3. There is a supralinear stroke on top of the name of the month on the letters TYB. STT-KAW

pp. 37-89, esp. p. 40 ; *idem*, “Aspects nouveaux du dossier des étiquettes de momies”, *CRIPEL* 8 (1986), pp. 61-71, esp. pp. 67-68, also argues that labels on papyrus and linen were used as supplementary identification in addition to mummy labels. See also A. Bataille, “A propos d’une étiquette de momie inédite”, *Rev.Arch.* 35 (1946), pp. 43-56, but Boyaval “Aspects”, p. 61 criticises Bataille’s suggestion that papyrus labels were substituted by wood in Roman times.

66-70. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

66. PETITION OF THE PRIESTS OF SEKNEBTYNIS

P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 315

Provenance: Tebtynis (Arsin.)

H. 17.3 cm. x W. 15.5 cm.

Date: 2nd cent. BCE

TM 219243

This papyrus features the lower part of a petition, which has suffered damage in the upper part probably when it was scrolled, judging by the shape of the damaged area. There is a small fragment which clearly belongs to the document, and should be placed in the upper margin, but it is not clear exactly where. It only contains a few characters. The RH margin is preserved, although the text hits the edge of the papyrus. We cannot tell precisely how much text is lost to the left. So much is certain that six folds are visible on the papyrus, increasing in size from the right toward the left, due to the fact that the document was rolled in that direction. We suppose that on the LH side the papyrus is broken on a fold and that in the lacuna one or two foldings are lost (ca. 16-20 characters; see l. 11 and ll. 18-19). The lower margin is ca. 6 cm. The text is written in a cursive script with black ink and a thick *calamus*, along the fibres of the papyrus in a professional hand comparable to *P.Heid.* 6:380 (192 or 209 BCE), or *P.Tebt.* 3.1:750 (197 BCE). Cf. Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, p. 70, no. 39. The scribe often corrects and introduces changes to the text. There is no need to think that the text is only a draft petition, rather than the final copy. Other cases of such documents featuring not only similar corrections but also proof that they had been submitted to the authorities and registered in an official archive, speak against such an assumption (cf. *P.Enteux.* 1). The verso is blank.

- ↓
- 1 *traces*
- 2 *traces*
- 3 []...[]σου [ca. 10]καὶ ταντι[]
- 4 []ρων[]... [ca. 10 τ]ῶι ἱερῶι []
- 5 []...[]αγμενι[]ν καὶ [] τ]οῦ
 πασταφ[όρου] ...
- 6 []...[]λλων στ[.]λας β καὶ [] ια τὰ
 εὐρεθ[] τωι
- 7 []...[]καὶ [π]αραδοθέντι [] []ει τῶι
 ἀρχιερ[εῖ ...].δε
- 8 []ρι...[]καὶ ἀποδόντος αὐτι[] ἐ]πρεποίητο λει[]
 ...]θη
- 9 []ιται α.[]των φιλαγ[θ]ρωπων ἐ[]ου ἱεροσύнай[]
 ..][]ον
- 10 []μενοι αὐτ[ῶν κατ]ασταθέν[τ]ων αὐτῶν [ἵνα ε]ὐ
 τυχῶσιν τῆς [ἀρ]μο-
- 11 [ζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως]εκων ..[]των καὶ ὄσα []
 κατοποιοῦν η εὐσταθήσωσι ἐπιβε-
- 12 [] []εν καθ' ὄν καιρὸν προσδεόμεθα. Ἀξιοῦμεν σε
 ὄντες
- 13 [ἱερεῖς? το]ῦ ἱεροῦ θεοῦ μεγάλου Σεκνεβτύνιος μὴ
 περιδεῖν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ
- 14 []ατρεχομέν[ο]υς καὶ τῶι ζῆν εἰς τέλ[ο]ς
 κекινδυνευκότας αὐτῶν
 [] καὶ κραταιαῖς
- 15 []δυσιαῖς ἱκαναῖς πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ εὐχερ[ῶ]ς ἐκφυγεῖν
 αὐτοὺς καὶ
 [] διὰ τὸ δι[.]δάσκειν αὐτάς
- 16 [] συντάξαι συμπέμψαι εἴλην τῶν περὶ σὲ
 μαχαιροφόρων οἷς καὶ
- 17 [παρα]σταθήσονται ἐπὶ σε μετὰ τῆς ἐνδεχομένης
 ἀσφαλείας ἵνα

- 18 []ης γενομένης ἐπί σου τυχῶσιν. Καταξίωσων
προδιαπε-
τόποις
- 19 [τ]ὸ λοιπὸν μηθένες ἄλλοι ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπάρχωσιν
τὸν ὅμοιον
- 20 [] Τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἐσόμεθα τετευχότες τῆς παρά
σου ἐντολ-
- 21 [ῆς] Εὐτύχει
5 l. παστοφόρου 9 l. ἱερωσύνα 14 κекινδунευκότας: υ ex corr. 16 l.
ἴλην | σέ: σ ex corr. (με?) 18. l. καταξίωσον

“...the temple... of the pastophoros ... the things found and delivered ... to the high priest... and after he had handed over what in fact had been made ... of the generous people ... the priesthoods ... having them (the accused) been produced, in order that they well receive the deserved punishment ... that they remain calm ... during which time we are in need. We request, being (the priests?) of the great god Seknebtynis that you do not neglect us, while we are being trampled by (the culprits) and after having completely risked our lives by their considerable and violent acts of robbery(?), and in view of their escaping not easily ... and that you order that a troop of your swordsmen be sent, to whose side they (= the culprits) will be placed for being brought up to you with the (utmost) possible (= maximum) security, in order that they receive ... Command to send in advance ... in order that in the future nobody else occurs in our lands, ... the same... If this happens, we will be protected by your ordinance. Farewell.”

This document is the lower part of a petition (or a draft of it) of the priests of Seknebtynis, the local crocodile god (Sobek of Tebtynis) to an official who is hard to identify. On Ptolemaic petitions, see A. di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re”, *Aegyptus* 47.1/2 (1967), pp. 5-57; *eadem*, “Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico”, *Aegyptus* 48.1/4 (1968), pp. 53-107; *eadem*, “Frammenti di petizioni del periodo tolemaico”, *Aegyptus* 56.1/4 (1976), pp. 109-143.

Judging by the fact that the addressee is asked to send his μαχαιροφόροι, one may think that it is the nome strategos, but there are other officials who have such swordsmen under their

command. Even members of the royal guard could be involved, and in that case this petition, like so many other Ptolemaic enteuxeis (cf. *P.Entreux.*) could be addressed to the king in Alexandria, although the use of the verb ἀξιῶ in the petition formula (l. 12) speaks against the possibility of its being a petition to the king; such petitions use almost invariably (with only few exceptions) the formula δέομαι οὖν σου (See di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re”, p. 15).

On the god Soknebtynis in Tebtynis, see W. J. R. Rübsam, *Götter und Kulte in Faijum während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Marburg, 1974), pp. 180–182. On the temple of Seknebtynis in Tebtynis, see V. Rondot, *Tebtynis II. Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos. Fouilles franco-italiennes* (Cairo, 2004). One finds a dedication to the god in *SEG* 38:1692 (6 BCE), invocations of the god in two private letters (*P.Tebt.* 2:284 and *P.Lips.* 2:131), while his priests appear in *P.Bingen* 57 (1st cent. BCE), and *PSI* 10:1147 (a census declaration from 202/3 CE). See also A. Monson, “Priests of Soknebtunis and Sokonopis: P. BM EA 10647”, *JEA* 92 (2006), pp. 205–216. Seknebtynis appears as a toponym (TM/Places geo ID 13002) in *SB* 24:16256.87; *P.Stras.* 4:277.2 and *BGU* 2:562.6; as the name of a town quarter in Arsinoe in *P.Ryl.* 2:103.18; land of the god is mentioned in *P.Mich.* 5:322a.4.

Commentary

5. The reading of the first visible string in this line [...].αγγμενι[.]ν, does not seem to correspond to any existing word. Behind it one might find a participle perf. pass. in -αγγμένην.

On the *pastophoros*, a term belonging to Egyptian priest organisation, see H.-B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976; Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 80); A. Passoni dell’Acqua, “Ricerche sulla versione dei LXX e i papiri - I. Pastophorion”, *Aegyptus* 61.1/2 (1981), pp. 171–211, J. G. Griffiths, “Pastophoren”, in *LdÄ*, vol. 4, p. 914. The *pastophoroi* of Soknebtynis appear in *P.Lund.* 6.1 (2nd cent. BCE); *P.Tebt.* 1:115 (115–113 BCE). There is a list of *pastophoroi* in *CPR* 13, pp. 134–

142, to which the following documents should be added for the Ptolemaic period:

TM 3553 = *UPZ* 2:152 (Thebes, 3rd cent. BCE). Complaint to the King by the pastophoroi of Amenophis. 1-2 οἱ παστο[οφόροι] τοῦ Ἀμενώ[φ]ιου θεοῦ μεγ[ίστου].

TM 8309 = *BGU* 10:1937 (Prov. unknown, 2nd half 3rd cent. BCE). List of temple staff. 5 παστοφόροι.

TM 5604 = *PUG* 3:118 (= *SB* 18:13871) (Arsin., 1st half 2nd cent. BCE). Memorandum of appearance of priests. 7-10 καὶ Πόρσην Ἀγχώφιου παστοφόρον Ἰσιος τῶ[ν] | ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

TM 8234 = *P.Yale* 1:31 (= *P.Hib.* 1:87) (Herakleop., 257-256 BCE). Receipt for Seed-corn. 6 περὶ τὴν τῶν Πα[στο-] | φόρων κλήρους σπέρμ[α].

TM 44396 = *P.Count.* 15 (Arsin., late 3rd cent. early 2nd cent. BCE). Greek village list of ethnics and occupations. 13 πα[σ]τοφόρο[ι] -.

TM 3407 = *UPZ* 1:16 (Memphis, 156 BCE). Complaint against the military authorities. 14. οἱ τε ἱερ[εῖ]ς καὶ παστοφόροι καὶ ἄλλοι τινες.

TM 3406 = *UPZ* 1:15 (Memphis, after 156 BCE). Complaint against the military authorities. 12 ἀξιῶν ἵνα | μηθεῖς τῶν τ[ε] ἱερέων καὶ παστοφόρων 42 ὑμῖν δὲ ἢ τε Ἰσις καὶ ὁ Σάραπτις οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν κυριεύειν.

TM 3578 = *UPZ* 2:177 (+ *Enchoria* 31 [2008-2009], pp. 25-42 text C + *P. Survey* 17b) (Memnoneia, 136 BCE). Greek translation of a Demotic contract on Choachytic rights. 12 Παύρ[ιος] παστοφόρου Ἀμμ[ω]νος.

TM 3767 = *P.Tebt.* 1:131 (= *SB* 16:12675) (Arsin., 100 BCE?). Account of Petermouthis, carpenter, for the expenses for the reception of Kriton followed by a list of days worked by Horos son of Amenneus. 20 πεστοφόρου (for παστοφόρου) α γ λ ο (ιπὸν) ? (ἀρτάβης).

TM 43994 = *O.Stras.* 1:787 (Thebes, 1st cent. BCE). Address. 1-3 Ψενγερεῖς παστοφόρος τοῦ Εἰσιήου.

6. We suggest the possibility of supplying στ[ολ]ᾶς β, which would refer to “two (stolen?) garments”. Textiles were an expensive commodity, which often appear reported as stolen. K. Vandorpe has shown that they constitute 22% of stolen properties. See “Inventories and Private Archives in Greco-Roman Egypt”, in K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse (eds.), *Archives and Inventories in the Eastern Mediterranean. 23-24 January 2004* (Bruxelles, 2007), pp. 69-83, esp. pp. 74-75 (‘2. Lists of stolen objects’).

6-7. Perhaps read εὔρεθ[έντα ἐν] τῶ, followed in l. 7 by [π]αραδοθέντ[α], referring to the things “found and delivered”. Before τα one might read a delta or a lambda, i.e.]λιατα εὔρεθ[ήν...], but we cannot restore the text satisfactorily.

8. The lacuna might be restored as καὶ ἀποδόντος αὐτ[οῦ ἃ καὶ ἐ]πεποίητο, “and after he had handed over what in fact (καὶ) had been made”. But it might as well be read αὐτ[ῶ] or αὐτ[οῖς], if we consider that there was a previous participle in the *lacunae*, which formed with ἀποδόντος a longer gen.abs. construction. Then the subject αὐτ[οῦ], would not be needed there.

10. We reconstruct this line with a supplement based on the formulas found in similar petitions to the authorities:

TM 7325 = *BGU* 6:1253.14-18 (2nd cent. BCE): ὅπως ἐπελθὼν ἐφίδη τὸ γεγονός βλάβος τὰ τε κ[τ]ή[νη] ἀσφαλασι (l. ἀσφαλίσι) καὶ τὸν Πετρουῦχον σὺν τῷ Ὀνωφρε[ι] ἐξαποστησεις (l. ἐξαποστήσι) ἐφ’ οὖς κα[θήκ]ει, ἵνα τύχῳσιν τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως.

TM 3652 = *P.Tebt.* 1:16.23 (114 BCE): προ(νοήσατε) ὡς αὐτοὶ κατασ[ταθέντες τύχῳσι] τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπ[λήξεως].

TM 3681 = *P.Tebt.* 1:45.34-36 (113 BCE): οἷς καθήκει, ἵνα τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων κατασταθέντων ἐγὼ μὲν κομισώμαι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ αὐτοὶ δὲ τύχῳσι τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως.

TM 3683 = *P.Tebt.* 1:47.30 (113 BCE): ἵν’ ἡμεῖς μὲν κομισώμεθα τὰ ἐαυτῶν αὐτοὶ δὲ τύχῳσι τῆς ἀρμοζούσης ἐπιπλήξεως.

TM 4939 = *BGU* 8:1860.6-9 (Herakleop., 64-44 BCE): [ἔπ]ως γενηθείσης τῆς ἐπισκέψεως ἡμεῖς μὲν κομισώμεθα, αὐτοὶ δὲ τύχῳσι τῆς προσηκούσης κολάσεως, ἵν’ ὦμεν βεβοηθημένοι.

We have preferred to supply ἐπιπλήξεως, appearing in the Tebtunis papyri, but κολάσεως is equally likely there. The use of the adverb εὔ does not have a parallel in these texts.

11. We are puzzled by the reading of this line. While εὐσταθησῶσι is clearly a 3rd p.pl. aor.subj.act. of the verb εὐσταθέω, it is hard to make sense out of the previous string. The verb is either preceded by a negative particle μὴ or the disjunctive particle ἢ. The characters preceding it can be interpreted as a form of the verb ποιέω or καταποιέω, though the second alpha of κατα- is not clear. It is not likely that we can reckon with a scribal error for ποιου<μέ>νη. The reading κατ’ ὅποι οὖν presents the difficulty that one would expect καθ’ instead of κατ’. Another option, reading τόποι οὐ μὴ εὐσταθησῶσι, does not solve the previous string ὅσα . [...]κα and does not make good Greek either.

At the end of the line we read the combination ἐπιβε-. If taken together as a single word beginning, it could be a verb. In itself, one should always be aware of the possibility of iotacism, i.e. separating ἐπι from βε- and reading ἐπεί.

12. At the beginning of the line there are three or four letters which apparently have been deleted by the scribe.

13. In the lacuna, instead of [ιερεῖς το] one could also restore [παστοφόροι το], which is a lower rank, but usually is referred to in combination with the name of the god who is being served (Passoni dell'Acqua, "Ricerche", 175).

14. This is a compound of the verb τρέχω, in particular [δι]ατρεχομέν[ο]υς, [παρ]ατρεχομέν[ο]υς, [ἀν]ατρεχομέν[ο]υς or [κατ]ατρεχομέν[ο]υς.

According to our interpretation of the text, the last participle is the most likely, meaning "to overrun, ravage or oppress". ὑπὸ, if it represents the agent for the following verb, should be followed by something like αὐτῶν; there is, however, a problem with the fact that a direct combination of ὑπὸ αὐτῶν creates hiatus in between the two words respectively ending and beginning with a vowel.

15. From the few likely restorations of this word (a search in the website version of *LSJ* produces three Greek words in -δυσία, i.e. ἐκδύσια, πανδυσία, or λωποδυσία), we are inclined to think that one should choose λωποδυσία, 'highway robbery', appearing to date in only one papyrus: *P.Med.* 1:30.1, a very fragmentary text referring to guards.

16. The *machairophoroi* were in the Ptolemaic period armed attendants of the various officials rather than regular soldiers. See the notes to *P.Louvre* 2:98.5 and to *P.Tebt.* 1:35.13, cf. in particular, *P.Tebt.* 1:105.2: τῶν περὶ τ[ὸν σ]τρατ[ηγὸν] μαχαιροφόρων; *P.Tebt.* 1:39.23, for an arrest; without clear context, *P.Amh.* 2:38.3 and 2:62.3). However they appear here referred to as an ἴλη, military terminology for a troop of ca. 30 men, although the number of soldiers in units varied from one army to the other in Hellenistic times (Ch. Fischer-Bouvet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, Diss. [Stanford, 2008], pp. 111, 100 and 124). The fact that a whole troop is required might mean that the trouble that gave rise to the petition is significant. For *machairophoroi* in Ptolemaic times, see J.-J. Aubert, "Transfer of Tax-Money from the Village of Theadelphia to the Village of Apias: P.Col. inv. 192", *BASP* 24.3-4 (1987), pp. 125-36.

Most of the text of the supralinear addition remains unintelligible to us.

18-19. Perhaps προδιαπέ-|μπειν, which would have as an object a reference to the guards mentioned in the previous sentence; for the irregular word division, cf. Mayser, *Gram.* vol. 1.1, pp. 220-224. To be sure, if in l. 19 only

[μπειν ἴνα] (see note *ad loc.*) is restored, an object (i.e. “the guards” vel sim.) would be lacking.

19. We explain the subjunctive ὑπάρχωσιν by making the verb dependent from a preceding [lost] ἴνα. At the end of the line, τὸν ὅμοιον might be followed in line 20 by something like [βίον ζῶντες], or [βίον διάγοντες] with the meaning “in order that in the future nobody else occurs in our lands suffering the same (wretched) life”.

20. This phrasing is unattested as such in Ptolemaic petitions published to date. It belongs to the type of ‘protocolary’ formula which closes petitions. For petitions to the King, see di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re”, p. 50; for petitions to other officials, see di Bitonto, “Le petizioni ai funzionari”, pp. 102–105; J. Lesquier, *Papyrus de Magdola* (Paris, 1912), p. 6. A similar formula appears as *BGU* 8:1867.3: τούτου δὲ [γ]ενομένου ἐσό(μεθα) τετευχότες τῆς | [π(αρά)] σο(ῦ) βοηθείας. See also *P.Amh.* 2:34.7; *P.Petr.* 3:32.12; or *P.Enteux.* 59.13: τούτου δὲ γενομένου, | ἐσόμεθα τοῦ δικαίου τετευχότες. See also *P.Lond.* 7:2188.r. 4, 114; *P.Tor.Choach.* 4.15; or *SB* 18:13312.9: τούτο]υ γὰρ γενομένου, ἐσόμεθα, βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρὰ σοῦ φιλαν- | [θρωπίας τετευχότες.

21. Εὐτύχει is the regular farewell formula for all functionaries without distinction (di Bitonto, “Le petizioni ai funzionari”, p. 105), and may be used even for the King (di Bitonto, “Le petizioni al re”, p. 55) although in the latter case it is sometimes reinforced as διευτύχει. Nothing follows the farewell formula.

STT-KAW

67. APPLICATION FOR THE ISSUE OF SEED-CORN WITH OATH

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 1451

Provenance unknown

H. 5.2 cm. x W. 7.3 cm.

Date: 81–96 CE

TM 144236

The frame holds five fragments under inv. no. 1451, which might belong to the same document. Only two of these present traces of writing, one of them (presenting scanty, hardly readable remains of four lines) apparently featuring the same hand as in our text; a reliable and intelligible transcript of these futile remains does

not seem worthwhile. We produce a transcript of only the largest fragment, featuring ten lines of writing in a cursive hand written with black ink along the direction of the fibers.

→ -----
 1 *traces*
 2 [ἄ]ς καὶ καταθησόμεθα [εἰς τὴν]
 3 [γῆ]ν ὑγιῶς καὶ μετσομεν
 4 [ἄ]μα τοῖς τῆς γῆς καθήκουσι δη^μ(οσίοις)
 5 καὶ ὀμνύωμεν Αὐτοκράτορα
 6 Καίσαρον Δομιτιανὸν Σεβαστ[ὸν]
 7 [Γ]ερμανικὸν ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προ-
 8 [γ]εγραμμένα καὶ
 9 ...[.] ἡμεῖν. Ταῦτα
 10]..[]συμβ[

 3 l. μετρήσομεν 5-6 l. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα 9 l. ἡμῖν

“...which (artabas) we will put safely into the earth and we will measure them (in repayment) together with the public land taxes; and we swear by the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus Germanicus that what is written above is true ...”.

This is a fragment of an application for the issue of seed-corn with an oath. There are at least thirteen such applications known (see *P.Oxy.* 57, pp. 99-100). Among these, *SB* 18:13159 (provenance unknown, 81-96 CE) and *P.Coll.Youtie* 1:22 (Tanais, in the Oxyrhynchite nome, 87 CE [see *BL* 9:57 for the date]) are contemporary with our document. *P.Oxy.* 57:3902-6 feature a wording close to our papyrus. The closest parallel, however, is *P.Coll.Youtie* 1:22, a papyrus from the Cologne collection (Köln P. 268). The hand and the layout of the document are remarkably similar to ours. Since the interconnections of the Montserrat and the Köln collections are well-known (cf. 46, 53, 56), it is possible

that our document comes also from Tanais and from a year during the reign of Domitian (81–96 CE).

Commentary

1. There must be a reference to the artabas of the seed corn here.

2. καταθισόμεθα appears written in full, as in *P.Flor.* 1:21.13. Cf. the edition of *P.Oxy.* 57:3903–5, in which καταθῆ(σομεν) has been resolved and might be replaced by καταθῆ(σόμεθα).

3. The scribe wrote μεσομεν, and then added a supralinear τ as if he wanted to indicate some form of abbreviation of the syllable -τη-. Of course, an internal abbreviation is unlikely.

5–6. The scribe committed in Αὐτοκράτοραγ Καίσαρον two mistakes in the declension by analogy: (1) he treated the accusative Αὐτοκράτορα as if it were a second declension word (adding by analogy a final -ν), and (2) he presented an accusative Καίσαρον instead of Καίσαρα, as attested several times in the DDbDP. For this extensive phenomenon, cf. Gignac, *Gram.* vol. 2, pp. 45–46.

8–9. A comparison with other oath formulas makes us reckon with a wording μηδένα πόρον ὑπάρχειν ἡμῖν. This fits the space, but does not seem to match exactly the mostly unrecognisable traces. STT-KAW

68. DECLARATION OF DEATH

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 991

Provenance unknown

W. 5.4 cm. x H. 8.1 cm.

Date: 1st–2nd cent. CE

TM 144234

This fragment of light brown papyrus features a text written in black ink along the direction of the fibres. The verso is blank. The hand is unskilled and irregular but quick. The date is probably the 2nd cent. CE, comparable e.g. to *P.Oxy.* 3:638, dated to 112 CE. The diminishing size of the lacunae to the left of the

document can be explained by the fact that the scribe tilted the LH margin towards the right (opposite to what generally happens according to Maas' law).

→ -----
 1]...
 2 [.... γεγ]ραμμένου παρα
 3 [.....]ου ἐπιδίδωμι το-
 4 [δὲ τὸ ὑπό]μνημα καὶ ἀξιῶ
 5 [οὖν ἀν]αγράψασθαι τῆ[ν]
 6 [λεγομ]ένην ἐν τῇ τάξι
 7 [τῶν τε]τελευτηκότων
 8 [ὡς ἐ]πὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πρ(ὸς)
 9 [τὸ ἀ]σικοφάντητόν μ[ε]
 10 [εἶ]ναι. Εὐτύλ(ει).
 5 l. ἀναγράψασθαι 6 l. τάξει 9 l. ἀσυκοφάντητον: κ ex χ corr.

“... I submit this declaration and request that the above mentioned may be registered in the list of the deceased as in similar cases, in order that I may not be subject to slanderous accusations. Farewell”.

This papyrus presents the lower part of a declaration of death of a woman, whose name and date of death are lost. Only the request to have her listed in the official register of deceased people is preserved. For this category of texts, see L. Casarico, *Il controllo della popolazione nell'Egitto Romano. 1. Le denunce di morte* (Milano, 1985; *C.Pap.Gr.* 2), with the addition of *P.Gen.* 3:137, 139, 4:166; *P.Narm.* 2006, 7; *P.Oxy.* 65:4478-4480, 74:4992, 4996-8; *P.Prag.* 1:19; *SB* 20:15011, 15037, 15038. For notices of death, see O. Montevocchi, “Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano”, *Aegyptus* 26 (1946), pp. 111-129; P. Sijpesteijn, “A document concerning registration of deaths”, *ZPE* 52 (1983), pp. 282-284. W. M. Brashear, “P.Sorb. inv. 2358 and the New Statistics on Death Certificates”, *BASP* 14 (1977), pp. 1-10; R. Bagnall, “Notes on Egyptian Census

Declarations, I”, *BASP* 27 (1990), pp. 1-4; *idem*, “Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations, II”, *BASP* 28 (1991), pp. 13-32 and *idem*, “Notes on Egyptian Census Declarations, III”, *BASP* 28 (1991), pp. 121-133. The fragment presents in lines 2-3 a variant formulation from the one expected, and adds in lines 8-10 an unparalleled indemnity clause to such a report.

Commentary

2-3. It is conceivable that one should take παρα[.....]ου together as one word, perhaps a personal name or function.

3-8. cf. *P.Prag.* 1:19: ἐτελ(εύτεησαν) ἔτι πάλαι. διὸ ἀξιῶ ταγήναι αὐτῶν τὰ ὀ[ό]μα[τα] ἐν τῇ τῶν τετελ[(ευτηκότων) τά]ξει ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν [ό]μο[ί]ων.

8. At the end of the line we read a π written above a very much damaged ρ, i.e. the preposition πρ(ος). STT-KAW

69. DECLARATION TO THE *LOGISTES* OF OXYRHYNCHOS

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 1014

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos

H. 5.6 cm. x W. 13.4 cm.

Date: ca. 325 CE

TM 219244

The papyrus is inscribed with dark brown ink along the papyrus fibers in a small cursive hand datable to the 4th cent. CE. The upper margin is approximately 0.9 cm wide. The verso is blank. The state of preservation of the papyrus fragment is not very satisfactory. The surface is very irregular and there is, e.g., a small fragment covering in l. 5 part of the verb before ἀξιοῦντες.

→

1 [Φ]λ[α]ύιω Διονυσίω τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ λογιστῇ

- Ὁξυρυγγίτου
 2 [Παρ]ὰ Αὐρηλίον Πασυριώνου καὶ Διδύμου ἀμφοτέρων
 Ὀνόφριος ἀπὸ
 3 [τῆς] λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγγιτῶν
 πόλεως, ἱερέων. Ἴσον ἥς πεποιήμεθα
 4 [ἐν]τυγίας παρὰ τοῦ κυρίῳ Φλ(αυίῳ) Μάγνου τῷ
 διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ
 5 [] Αἰγύπτου καὶ []μεν ἐπιδίδωμέν σοι
 ἀξιοῦντες
 6 [τὰ ἀκό]λουθ[α γ]ενέσθαι *traces*
traces of 1 or 2 more lines

 2 l. Αὐρηλίον 1. Ὀννώφριος 4 l. τῷ Μάγνῳ,

“To Flavius Dionysios alias Apollonios logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Pausirion and Didymos, both the sons of Onnophris, coming from the glorious and most glorious town of the Oxyrhynchites, priests. We present to you a double of the petition handed over to our lord Flavius Magnus, the most illustrious prefect of Egypt and ----, while we request that the consequences will be drawn ---”.

This is the beginning of a document from ca. 325 CE (cf. note 4 below) addressed by two priests to a *logistes* of Oxyrhynchos whose name is unknown to date. According to our reconstruction of the sequence of events (based on the discussion given in the *ed. princ.* of SB 20:14587):

1. the two pagan priests from Oxyrhynchos presented at some moment a petition to the prefect of Egypt;
2. the prefect reacted to this by writing underneath the petition a *hypographê* (written opinion) directing the petitioners to address a lower authority, i.e. the provincial *logistes* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, and
3. armed with this *hypographê* the petitioners address the said lower authority through sending him a copy of the petition to the prefect + the prefectural *hypographê*.

Our document is thus linked with the third phase. On the procedure, see J. D. Thomas, “Subscriptiones to Petitions to Officials in Roman Egypt”, in E. van 't Dack, P. van Dessel, W. van Gucht (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic world: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 24-26 May 1982* (Leuven, 1983; *Studia Hellenistica* 27), pp. 369-382; also relevant is, of course, R. Haensch, “Die Bearbeitungsweisen von Petitionen in der Provinz Aegyptus”, *ZPE* 100 (1994), pp. 487-546.

Commentary

1. A man named Φλάυιος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος is not yet known as a *logistes* of the Oxyrhynchite nome (cf. the list of *logistae* in *P.Oxy.* 54, Appendix 1, pp. 222-229). The element Φλάυιος demonstrates that the papyrus was written after the victory of Constantine the Great over his opponent Licinius Licinianus in September 324 (battle of Chrysopolis), as a consequence of which officials in Egypt accepted adding the nomen ‘Flavius’ to their name out of loyalty to the new ruler; cf. also the note to l. 4.

2-3. It is interesting that, if the document dates from ca. 325 CE (cf. l. 4 n.), Pausirion and Didymos, both sons of Onnophris, are still officiating pagan priests, cf. ἱερέων in l. 3. At this time, the process of Egypt’s open Christianization has already started, while the pagan cults are losing their influence at an increasing pace (cf. also 94).

3. For the meaning of the term ἴσον, cf. B. Kübler, “Ison und antigraphon”, *ZSavigny* 53 (1933), pp. 64-98, esp. p. 76, for the difference between ‘duplicate’ and ‘copy’.

4. Φλάυιος Μάγνος is the name of the prefect of Egypt in *P.Oxy.* 54:3756.9 (i-ii.325), 3757.4,18 (13.iii.325), 3758.10,15,37,80,92 (after 13.iii.325), 3759.5,12 (2.x.325). Unfortunately, we do not know the precise date of his appointment but it seems quite possible that he was appointed by Constantine after the latter had taken over Egypt from his opponent Licinianus (see note to l. 1 and cf. *CSBE*, Appendix D, s.a. 324, pp. 180-181).

5. Given the standard combination of ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου it is quite uncertain how to fill lacuna before Αἰγύπτου. Perhaps one should reckon with a small indentation or the insertion of the article τῆς; cf. *P.Oxy.* 10:1313.1, 12:1470.4

(but note the exception in l. 9!), 33:2666.6-7, 2667.4-5, 51:3611.15, 3620.24, 54:3756.9, 3757.4-5,18, 3758.10,80,92, 3759.6, 3764.6-8, 3767.4,7,17, 63:4376; *SB* 6:9192.6, 16:12692.18,54, 18:13260.7, 20:14587.4, etc.

After ἴσον ἢς πεποιήμεθα | [ἐν]τυχίας παρὰ -- ἐπάργω | [] Αἰγύπτου καὶ, a restoration [ἢς ἐτύχο]μεν ὑπογραφῆς *vel sim.* is expected, cf. the opening passages of *P.Oxy.* 7:1032; *P.Stras.* 4:196, and of *P.Harr.* 1:68 and its double *P.Diog.* 18. There is, however, the problem that the preserved traces do not allow us to recognize any part of the term to be expected. Or read ἐπιστέλλομεν.

6. The DDbDP contains to date eight texts (*P.Bingen* 78.5; *P.Bub.* 2:5.2; *Chr.Mitt.* 323.8; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15.85-86; *P.Lond.* 2:359.1; *P.Oxy.* 42:3030.10; *P.Ryl.* 4:599.17; *PSI* 4:282.23, 13:1328; *SB* 18:13956.9 and *C.Pap.Gr.* 2.1, Appendix 1) presenting the wording τὰ ἀκόλουθα γενέσθαι. The alternative formula is τὰ ἀκόλουθα πράσσειν. STT-KAW

70. REMAINS OF A LEGAL DOSSIER: (A) ACCOUNT & (B) REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

P.Monts.Roca inv. nos. 194 + 193 + 192 + 113 + 1204

inv. 192: H. 13 cm. x W. 10.7 cm. Provenance: Alexandria

inv. 193: H. 13.1 cm. x W. 9.5 cm. Date: 378/9 CE

inv. 194: H. 12.8 cm. x W. 10 cm.

inv. 113: H. 8.4 cm. x W. 4.5 cm.

inv. 1204: H. 6 cm. x W. 7 cm.

TM 219245

These five fragments form the upper part of a *tomos synkollesimos* consisting now of two individual documents of which only the top margin (of ca. 1.5-1.8 cm) is preserved, as between documents 1 and 2 a *kollesis* is visible especially at the lower part of the intercolumnium. For such *tomoi synkollesimoi*, see W. Clarysse, "Tomoi synkollesimoi", in M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 344-359 (for

some recently published examples, see e.g. *P.Mich.* 20:800; *P.NYU* 2:2; *P.Oxy.* 74:4986-4988, 4993-4995; *SB* 26:16671-16674). The papyrus features a dark brown color, possibly due to the influence of humidity. It seems less likely that it results from some form of burning. The increasing size from left to right in the three main damaged parts of the papyrus seems to indicate that it was rolled sideways towards the right. The two documents preserved are written parallel to the direction of the fibers. The first document features only the endings of eleven lines and we cannot tell how much of text is lost per line. The top of the second document contains a dating formula in Latin, while in the following lines major parts of eleven lines are preserved. An indication of the amount of text lost can be found in the dating formula in ll. 1-2, as between the already restored *Augustis* in l. 1 and the word *ind(ictionis)* in l. 2 a month name + day numeral and an indiction number are missing. It is impossible to determine how many lines in each document are lost. There are some traces on the verso, but we have not succeeded in deciphering them.

Document 1 (inv. nos. 194+193)

→

1]νου μοδ(ίους) υ, ὑπὲρ Νικ[αντ]ιγίου
 2]μοδ(ίους) Βλ οὕτως· ὑπ[ὲρ] Ἀνυσίου
 3 Ε]ὐαγγέλου μοδ(ίους) χ καὶ [ύ]πὲρ Κουσ-
 4] καὶ Κύρου καὶ με. [
 5 Ἀ]ρποκρατίωνος μ[οδ(ίους)...]. καὶ ὑπὲρ
 6]. μοδ(ίους) Αλπε οὕτως □ ὑπὲρ
 7]ιδος μοδ(ίους) Βλ οὕτως· ὑπὲρ
 8 N.N. son of N.N.] διὰ Σωτήρος διαδ[ό]χ[ου] μοδ(ίους) Βρ
 9 N.N. son of ----]τίωνος κωμήτου μοδ(ίους) ψ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 10 ----]υ Εὐλογίου διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοδ(ίους) φ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 11 N.N.] Ἡρωνος διὰ [N.N] διαδόχου ὑπὲρ

“---- (son) of --nus 400 *modii* on behalf of Nikantinoos -- 2900 *modii* as follows: on behalf of Anysios -- (son) of (or: through?) Euangelos 600 *modii* and on behalf of Kous- -- and Kyros and ---- (son) of (or: through?) Harpokration [--] *modii* and on behalf of N.N. 1985 *modii* as follows; on behalf of --- (son of) --is 2900 *modii* as follows: on behalf of N.N. son of N.N. through Soter his successor (?) 2100 *modii*; [on behalf of / through N.N.] son of --tion, villager, 700 *modii* and on behalf of --us son of Eulogios through the same (person) 500 *modii* and on behalf of N.N. son of Heron through N.N. his successor on behalf of ----.”

Document 2 (inv. nos. 193 + 192 + 1204 + 113)

→

- 1 *Exempl(um). Post con[s(ulatum)] d(ominorum) n(ostrorum)*
Valente VI et Valent<ini>αηο Ιουν(ιοε) ΙΙ perpetuis
[Augustis, -----]
- 2 *ind(ictionis). Theodoro pro nauclero Soterichus ἀδβοϋς(atus)*
d(ixit): Θεόδωρος προ ναυ[
- 3 *...δ[ε]δῶκως ἐκ πλήρους προ...αγ.....ν.οδ.....φι..[]τὸ*
ἀσφαλ[ές
- 4 *Fl(auius) Crati[nus v(ir) cl(arissimus)] praef(ectus)*
Ann(onae) Alex(andrae) d(ixit): ὑπο[ca. 15 c.]φι. Την []
- 5 *et res(ponsit): πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀδλ[ca 15 c.]δεκτη[]*
- 6 *δέχομαι ἀπὸ ὀρρίων Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν[ca 15 c.] προτ[]*
- 7 *μοι[...]καὶ τὰς τοῦ γ... εκ.το.....[]*
- 8 *Ο[ὑάλεντο]ς Αὐγούστου τὸ ἕκτον καὶ [Οὐαλεντινιάνου*
νέου τὸ δεύτερον]
- 9 *Fl(auius) Cratinu[s v(ir) cl(arissimus)] pra]ef(ectus)*
Ann(onae) Alex(andrae) d(ixit): ὑπο[]
- 10 α[] Θε]εόδωρος π[]
- 11 traces [] traces
-

“Copy. After the consulate of our Lords Valens VI and Valentinianus Iunior II, perpetual Augusti, --- nth indiction. In defence of Theodore the *nauclerus* --- the advocate Soterichus said: “Theodore --- having delivered in full --- the guaranty (?) ---.” Flavius Cratinus, *vir clarissimus*, prefect of the Annona of

Alexandria said: “---”; and he replied: “To the court --- I receive from the granaries of Alexandria ---” (in / after the consulate) of Valens Augustus for the sixth time and Valentinianus Iunior for the second time --- Flavius Cratinus, *vir clarissimus*, prefect of the Annona of Alexandria said: “By --- Theodore ---”.

This combination of fragments presents the upper part of a *tomos synkollesimos* from early Byzantine Egypt, part of which presents a report on the proceedings of a trial before the Praefect of the Annona of Alexandria, Fl(avius) Cratinus. The precise content of the original texts is difficult to reconstruct and we can offer only a very general idea about it. Document 1 contains an administrative account dealing with amounts of *modii* (a measure of dry goods like wheat or barley) and their provenance or destination. The amounts of *modii* range between 400 (l. 1) and 2900 (ll. 2, 7). If our reconstruction of the preserved parts of ll. 8-11 is correct, it follows that at the beginning of these lines not very much is missing, but we cannot reconstruct precisely the arithmetical operations in this column (see the note to l. 2-10). It is difficult to establish what the term διάδοχος (‘successor’, ‘heir’) should mean precisely within the context of this account.

The issue at stake in Document 2, the bilingual report of judicial proceedings, is even more difficult to reconstruct (on these see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* [Bruxelles, 1966], pp. 36-38; cf. the listing of such bilingual documents in *P.Oxy.* 51:3619, updated by J. D. Thomas, “*P.Ryl.* IV 654: The Latin Heading”, *CdÉ* 73 (1998), pp. 125-134. Texts like *ChLA* 47:1466-1468; *CPR* 24:3; *P.Kellis* 1:26; *P.Mich.* 20:812; *P.Thomas* 24-25; *P.Harrauer* 46 [re-ed. in *JJurPap* 33 [2003], pp. 205-211], and *P.Worp* 27 may now be added): there are three persons mentioned by name, i.e. a lawyer Soterichus, a *nauclerus* Theodore, while the judge presiding over the lawsuit is the *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*. For the papyrological documentation about this high official in general, see most recently *P.Mich.* 20:816, introd. Apparently, the holder of this office in

378/379 CE is not yet known, and the correct reading of the name in our document is somewhat problematic, see the note to ll. 4, 9.

Commentary to document 1

1. On the size of the *modius*, see R. P. Duncan Jones, “The Choenix, the Artaba and the Modius”, *ZPE* 21 (1976), pp. 43-52 and “The Size of the Modius Castrensis”, *ZPE* 21 (1976), pp. 53-62; J. Jahn, “Zum Rauminhalt von Artabe und modius castrensis: ein Diskussionsbeitrag”, *ZPE* 38 (1980), pp. 223-228.

2-10. The function of οὐτως is normally the introduction of a passage in which a preceding larger amount is broken up into its smaller components. Therefore one expects the amount of 2900 *modii* to be broken up thereafter into various smaller amounts, and the number 600 in l. 3 fits into that picture, while other smaller amounts were lost in the lacunas in the passage ll. 2-5. In l. 6, however, one finds another fairly large amount, 1985 *modii*, but there is not much of an opportunity here to list its components because already in l. 7 one finds again an amount of 2900 *modii*, while an addition of the amounts preserved in ll. 8-10: 2100, 700, and 500 *modii*, produces a total of 3300 *modii*.

3. After the model of lines 1 and 2, in which one finds ὑπὲρ + personal name, we reckon at the end of line 3, too, with a personal name. Latin names like Custos or Cussonius seem to be the most likely candidates, cf. TM/People (searching for Κουστ-).

Commentary to document 2

1. *Exemplum*: for this technical term for ‘copy’ see D. Feissel and K. A. Worp, “La requête d’Appion, évêque de Syène, à Théodose II: P.Leid. Z révisé”, *OMRO* 68 (1988), pp. 97-111, esp. p. 100 (where see the note on col. ii, first line, *exemplum precum*. The complete text was reprinted as *SB* 20:14606).

The rest of this line mentions the consuls of the year 378 CE, cf. *CSBE*, Appendix C and, for attestations in the papyri, *ibidem*, Appendix D, s.a. The dating formula is irregular in that after the words *post consulatum*, “after the consulate”, one expects a genitive rather than an ablative which is normally found in a dating formula ‘in the consulate of X and Y’ (in Lat. *X et Y cons(ulibus)*). Such a confusion between a consular and a post-consular dating formula is sometimes found in epigraphical sources too; cf. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz and K. A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, GA, 1987; *APA* Monograph 36), pp. 65-55.

2. The phrase *Theodoro pro nauclero* presents the preposition *pro* between the noun and the attributive, a position which is not uncommon in later Latin: see R. Kühner-C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Satzlehre, 1. Teil, 4e Auflage (durchgesehen von A. Thierfelder), (Darmstadt, 1962), in particular § 113.c: Stellung der Präpositionen, pp. 587-588 sub g), referring to (i.a.) Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.43, *montem apud Erycum*; Florus, 2.8.15, *Maeandrum ad amnem*.

We considered reading *ind(ucto) Theodoro pronauclero*, but rejected this idea, in particular because the term *pronauclerus* is hardly attested in Greek documentary sources, occurring apparently only in *SB* 6:8973 (6th-7th cent. CE; this Vienna papyrus appears now lost and its reading of line 3 cannot be verified), and in an undated inscription, *IG* 12:8 585.3 (from Thasos); it also does not appear in any other Latin text.

For the ναύκληροι in the papyri, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Zur Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (Amsterdam, 1978), pp. 7-12. A new study titled *Nauklêroi, Kybernêtai and Nauklêrokybernêtai and their ships in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* by K. A. Worp is forthcoming.

4, 9. There does not seem to be an abbreviation mark after the letters 'Fl', but it seems unlikely that an official of the rank of a *praefectus annonae* would not have been introduced as 'Flavius XYZ'. The problem is compounded by the consideration that the personal names 'Oratinus' (this looks like the most natural reading in l. 20) and 'Floratinus' are both not attested. On the other hand, comparing the form of the letter 'c' in ll. 12, *cons-*, and 13, *nauclero*, one can read in l. 15 'Fl. Cratinus' (cf. the Greek name Κρατ(ε)ίνοϛ, TM/People name ID 3758). In itself this name seems suitable enough, but it takes some imagination to read this name also in l. 20.

5. It would seem to us that as the result of a change of speaker at the end of l. 15 (starting with Fl. Cratinus as the subject of 'dixit') the subject of '*responsit*' is now the advocate Soterichos.

8. Αὐγούστου τὸ ἕκτον: cf. the dating formula in l. 12 referring to the sixth consulate of Valens Aug. One expects, therefore, the emperor's name Οὐάλεντος at the start of this line. STT-KAW

71-75. TAX RELATED DOCUMENTS

71. RECEIPT FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE “HERMENEIA METROU”

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 328
H. 19 cm. x W. 12.5 cm.
TM 219246

Provenance: Bubastos
Date: 2 or 6.xi 141 or 142 CE

This piece of papyrus features a text in nine lines. The bottom margin is ca 5.5 cm.; the top margin ca 0.5-1 cm. and the LH 0.5 cm. It features one horizontal and two vertical folding marks. On the verso there are traces of ink belonging to a completely different text, possibly listing plots of land and their quality (ἄσπ(ορος)[or ἐσπ(αρμένη)]). This side features probably the second use of the papyrus. It is written in a very irregular and untrained hand, in detached capital letters, in lines slanting down at the right. Although this is not a school text, one may presume that Dionysios only reached the equivalent of an evolving hand level (no. 3) in his mastering of writing: see Cribiore, *Writing*, p. 112.

→

1 Διονύσιος Διονύσιος Στοτο[ήτ-]
2 ι ἐλαιουργῶ χαίρειν. Ἔχω [π-]
3 ἀρὰ σου ὑπὲρ ἔρμηνείας μέτ-
4 ρου κώμης Βουβάστου τοῦ
5 ε (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ
6 Κυρίου τὰς συμφωνηθείσ-
7 ας δραχμὰς ὀκτώ. (ἔτους) [π.]
8 Ἀν[τ]ωνίνου Καίσαρος τ[οῦ]
9 Κυρί[ο]υ Φάωφι .

1 l. Διονύσιος Διονυσίου 1-2 l. Στοτοῦ 3 l. ἔρμηνείας

“Dionysios son of Dionysios to Stotoetis the manufacturer of oil, greetings. I have from you for the tax on “conversion” of measures of the village of Bubastos for the 5th year of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, the agreed eight drachmas. Year *n*. of Antoninus Caesar the Lord, Phaophi *n*.”

This is a receipt for a tax specified as ἐρμηνεία μέτρου, or “conversion of measures”, which remains unknown to date. One may compare the commentary to *P.Oxy.* 27:2472 to l. 3. See also *P.Fay.* 23.i.12. The interpreters might have been involved in the conversion of various measures in the market. See also *P.Lund* 6:5(2) (187-91 CE) = *SB* 6:9355, which might refer to the same tax. The year paid for was 141/142 CE, but the taxpayer may have paid in the year following the fiscal year intended, which was year 5.

Commentary

1. The name Stotoetis (TM/People name ID 1147) is widely and almost exclusively attested in the Arsinoite, and mostly in the 1st and 2nd cent. CE.

7-9. The date of the receipt cannot be read clearly: the year is in a lacuna, and the day of the month could be read both as ε and θ. STT-KAW

72. TAX RECEIPT FOR THE HEIRS OF MARINOS

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 308
H. 13.7 cm. x W. 12.6 cm.
TM 219247

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos
Date: 8.xii 419 CE

This papyrus fragment has preserved the top (ca 2 cm.), and LH margins (1-2 cm.). This document is written with black ink, along the direction of the fibers, on a coarse sheet of papyrus. It features a 2.5 cm. wide *kollesis* at 7.6 cm. from the LH edge. It features one horizontal and several vertical foldings. The verso features a small illegible trace of ink. On the fibers of the verso

there are knots visible with a regular pattern. These may be taken as reflecting the manufacturing of the papyrus according to the ‘Hendriks’ method; see I. H. M. Hendriks, “Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* XIII, 74–82, and the Manufacture of Papyrus”, *ZPE* 37 (1980), pp. 121–136. E. G. Turner, “An Open Letter to Dr. I. Hendriks”, *ZPE* 39 (1980), pp. 113–114. N. Lewis, “Open Letter to I. H. M. Hendriks and E. G. Turner (More on *ZPE* 39, 1980, 113–14)”, *ZPE* 42 (1981), pp. 293–294. I. H. M. Hendriks, “More about the Manufacture of Papyrus”, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 31–37. See also for the latest approach, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, “Writing Materials in the Ancient World”, in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, (Oxford, 2009), pp. 3–29. The hand is cursive and professional. The abbreviations are indicated by way of a diagonal line.

→

- 1 Παρέσχ(ον) κληρ(ονόμοι) Μαρίνου δι(ι) Θέωνος υίου
 2 χρυσοῦ μηνιαίου σταθμοῦ τρίτης
 3 ἰνδικτίονος χρυσοῦ ἐν ὀβρύζ(η) νομισμτιον
 4 ἔν, (γίνεται) χρ(υσοῦ) ὀβρύζ(η) ν^ο(μισμάτιον) α.
 Σεσ(ημείωμα) Τατιανός.
 5 (Ἔτους) ρς ξε, Χυκ ια. Εὐήθιος Θεοδοσίου προ()
 6 δι’ ἐμοῦ Ἀπφοῦ[τος] σεσ(ημείωται).
 7 Παρέσχ(ον) κληρ(ονόμοι) Μαρίνου δι’ Θέωνος υίου
 8 ὑπὲρ ἐξ[α]ργυρι[σ]θίσης ἐσθῆτος τῆς
 9 τρίτ[ης] ἰνδικ[τί]ονος χρ[υ]σοῦ γράμματα

 1 υίου Παρ. 3 ἰνδικτίονος; ι¹ in ekthesis | 1. νομισμάτιον 5 (Ἔτους)
 in ekthesis | 1. Χοιάκ 8 1. ἐξ[α]ργυρισθείσης

“The heirs of Marinos have provided through Theon, his son, for the monthly payment in gold for *stathmos* of the third indiction one pure gold solidus. Total 1 pure gold *solidus*. I, Tatianos, have signed. Year 96 = 65, Choiak 11th. Euethios, son of Theodosios --, represented by me, Apphous, has signed.

The heirs of Marinos have provided through Theon, his son, for the *vestis militaris* converted into money for the third indiction – grams of gold”.

This papyrus presents two receipts, (1) for the payment of the monthly *stathmos* tax and (2) for payment of the *vestis militaris* tax (converted), both issued to the heirs of Marinos. On the taxes for the billeting of the army, see F. Mitthof, *Annona militaris: Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten* (Firenze, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 208–258. For the *Vestis militaris* in general, see J. Sheridan’s discussion in *P.Col. IX: The Vestis Militaris Codex*, (Atlanta, 1998), pp. 73–105; for the 4th century in particular, see, pp. 87–104. While most of documentation on this tax refer to actual pieces of clothing (in fractions even going as far as $\frac{1}{96}$ of a garment in *P.Lond.* 3:1259v = *SB* 16:12827 (cf. *BASP* 20 [1983], pp. 7–11) or in *P.Stras.* 8:737.1–6 (Hermop., 380/1 CE; cf. also *P.Stras.* 8:738.6,7) one finds even $\frac{1}{384}$ part of a *chlamys* brought into account), the tax was levied in cash, as in our papyrus, in grams of gold. The amount of tax paid was per aroura, at a rate which does not seem clear from the texts: in *PSI* 7:781.3–5 (Oxy., 341 CE; cf. *BL* 8:401, p. 247), one finds a rate of 1200 dr. per aroura, while in *P.Oxy.* 48:3424.2 (after 355 CE) one had to pay per aroura an amount of 35 myriad of *denarii*, i.e. ca. 233 $\frac{1}{3}$ Tal. *SB* 16:12644.4–9 (Oxy., 353/4 CE, cf. H.C. Youtie, “P.Mich.Inv. 418 Verso: Tax Memoranda”, *ZPE* 38 [1980], pp. 285–286) lists the assessments per aroura in garment fractions, for a total of 19 $\frac{1}{16}$ ar.: $\frac{1}{12}$ *chlamys*, $\frac{1}{8}$ *sticharion*, $\frac{1}{9}$ *pallion*. Cf. also *P.Oxy.* 16:1905.3 (356/7 or 371/2 CE?). Other payments of the *vestis militaris* in fractions of *chlamydes* are *P.Dubl.* 21.2–3 (Panop., 337 CE); *P.Panop.* 19 (338–342 CE); *CPR* 24:4.41–48 (Hermop., 401–450 CE); *P.Stras.* 8:737.1–6 (Hermop., 380/1 CE), 8:738 (Hermop., 380/1 CE); *SB* 16:12543 (= *PSI* 4:309; Oxy., 327 CE), 16:12827 (= *P.Lond.* 3:1259; Hermop., 342/3 CE; *ed. princ.* in *BASP* 22 [1983], pp. 7–11).

Commentary

1-2. The only parallel for this wording of the monthly payment of the *stathmos*, see *P.Vindob.Tandem* 19.10 (Herakleop., 425-475 CE).

4. Tatianos and Euethios appear as *politeuomenoi*; on these, cf. K.A. Worp, “Ἀρξόντες and Πολιτευόμενοι in Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt”, *ZPE* 115 (1997), pp. 201-220; *idem*, “*Bouleutai* and *Politeuomenoi* in Later Byzantine Egypt Again”, *CdÉ* 74 (1999), pp. 124-132. They appear in a list of people who received or delivered amounts of wheat from Oxyrhynchos, *P.Heid.* 4:314.2, 7 (401-425 CE), and *P.Heid.* 4:313 (*P.Mich.* 20, App. B. no. 5.17 and 18), respectively as *politeuomenos* and *exactor*. Tatianos also appears in *CPR* 5:24.12 (5th cent. CE) and *P.Oxy.* 68:4680.1 (419 CE). Euethios appears in *P.Oxy.* 68:4675.1. Both Tatianos and Euethios belong to the upper level of the Oxyrhynchite society. Tatianos appears as well in *SB* 22:15270.1, of which the date assigned by the first editor as 6th century is to be corrected. In l. 5 the editor's reading (γίνονται) οἴνου ξέσ[ται] should be replaced by (ἔτους) + Oxyrhynchite era year numerals starting in respectively ο. and μ.[As the text contains an order to produce 450 *sextarii* of wine of/for the twelfth indiction (l. 4), which covers the year 398/9 CE, the Oxyrhynchite era year numerals should be either οε = μδ (= 398/9 CE) or ος = με (= 399/400 CE); we think that the numerals can be read in fact as οε' = μδ'.

5. The last traces of this line may contain a reference to the title of Euethios. It is followed by three characters that we read as πρo, but which appear in a much damaged surface of the papyrus.

6. One expects something like δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀπφοῦ[τος] σεση(μείωται) οτ, alternatively, Εὐήθιος Θεοδωσίου σεση(μείωμα) δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀπφοῦ[τος] (patronymic or function).

8. [ἀ]ργυρι[σ]θίσης refers to the conversion of taxes in kind into money taxes (*exargyrimos* or *adaeratio*). For the process, see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte* (Bruxelles, 1964), pp. 189-190. STT-KAW

73. DOCUMENT RELATED TO TAX COLLECTION

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 713*
 H. 3.7 cm. x W. 10.2 cm.
 TM 128359

Provenance: Hermopolis
 Date: 7th-8th cent. CE

This papyrus is contains two lines of text written across the fibers, in brown ink, in a cursive hand datable to the 7th-8th cent. CE. It seems to have been cut from a larger document, perhaps by the dealers of antiquities, due to the fact that it is provided with a clay seal. Traces of the previous lines are visible in the upper edge of the papyrus. The margins preserved are the top (ca 1 cm.), the RH (0.3 cm.) and the lower (ca. 1 cm.). The verso is blank.

↓ -----
 1 *traces*
 2]..λμων Ἀφοῦ μοναζοντ() ἁγίου Ἀπολλῶ
 3](κεράτια) γ
 4]. μ(ηνὶ) Π(α)ῦ(νι) α ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) ιγ † *clay seal*

In this text one seems to be dealing with a payment of a sum of money (only three carats preserved in line 3, but in the preceding lacuna one or more *solidi* may have been mentioned). The payment may be related to matters of taxation as also the use of the clay seal seems to suggest (see below). It is of interest that line 2 refers to one or more monks of the monastery of the Holy Apollos. It is true that the word μοναστήριον itself has not been written, but nevertheless we venture to think that a phrasing “monk(s) of the Holy Apollos” cannot be interpreted otherwise.

* This papyrus was first published as *P.Clackson* 50, S. Torallas Tovar – K. A. Worp, “Three Greek Montserrat texts related to the Monastery of Apa Apollo”, in A. Boud’hors, J. Clackson, C. Louis, and P. Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt: Ostraca, Papyri, and Studies in Honour of Sarah Clackson* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 2009), pp. 127-128.

The precise date of the text, given in the text as Pauni 1 of the 13th indiction, cannot be pinpointed any further; the handwriting makes us feel that it probably belongs to the late 7th or early 8th cent. CE.

The clay seal has been stamped twice, and is thus a double one. Each side features a round face of about 5 mm. in diameter. On the one side we think we can see a cornucopia, and on the other side a human (perhaps female) figure standing, holding a long object in the left arm. It should be kept in mind that clay seals are frequently found in late papyrus documents dealing with taxation, i.e. either receipts for payment or tax demands. See A. K. Wassiliou-H. Harrauer, *Siegel und Papyri: das Siegelwesen in Ägypten von römischer bis in frühbyzantinischer Zeit* (Wien, 1999); K. Vandorpe, *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy. Sealing Practices in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt based on Greek, Demotic and Latin Papyrological Evidence* (Leiden, 1995; Leids Papyrologisch Instituut, 18) and *eadem*, “Seals in and on the Papyri of Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt”, in M. Fr. Boussac-A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et Sceaux du monde hellénistique* (Paris, 1997; BCH, Suppl. 29), pp. 231-291¹. For seals related to the monastery of Apa Apollo, see A. Delattre, *Papyrus coptes et grecs du monastère d’Apa Apollo de Baouît conservés aux Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire de Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 2004), pp. 164-165, although these seals feature only monograms. On the basis of this general finding it may be supposed that also in the case of our papyrus one is dealing with such a document. If this is correct, it may be argued that between a mention of a tax payer (l. 2) and a date (l. 4) one expects in line 3 a tax payment or an imposition to have mentioned, hence our idea to read here (κεράτια). It must be admitted, however, that the reading of the symbol for κερᾶτια is all but certain and that the name of the tax paid for is now lost.

¹ Addendum in website: <http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/seals/Sealslist.htm>.

Commentary

2. The DDBDP, when searched for μοναζ -, produces 147 matches, among which there are some doubles. Another term for ‘monk/nun’ is μοναχός/μοναχή, but it is far less common than μονάζων, μονάζοντ-, μοναζούσα/-ση. On these terms, see for example F. E. Morard, “Monachos, moine. Histoire du terme grec jusqu’au 4^e siècle”, *FZPhTh* 20 (1973), pp. 332-411; A. Guillaumont, “Les *remnuoth* de Saint Jérôme”, *Christianisme d’Égypte* (Paris-Louvain, 1995), pp. 87-92; K. A. Worp, “On the Aureliate of Clergy and Monks”, *ZPE* 151 (2005), pp. 145-152, esp. p. 151, on the discussion of the use of the term μοναχός as ‘unmarried’. For the rising importance of monkhood in the 4th century, see M. Choat, “The development and use of terms for monk in Late Antique Egypt”, *JAC* 45 (2002), pp. 5-23. The main contribution to the study of Egyptian monasticism is E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe-VIIIe siècles)* (Varsovie, 2009; *JJurPap Suppl.* 11).

While μονάζοντ- is not often used at Bawit, there are a few examples, as e.g. *P.Athen.Xyla* 5.7 and 10.6.

If -λμων is in fact the end of a personal name in the nominative (something about which we are all but certain), it does not seem attractive to resolve here μονάζοντ(ος) going with a father’s name Ἀφοῦ; monks generally do not have children, unless they have entered the monastery after marriage. It could instead be μονάζοντ(ες) and refer to more than one people, preceding “-lmon son of Aphou”.
STT-KAW

74. TAX RECEIPT

P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 199*
 H. 5.4 cm. x W. 10.7 cm.
 TM 128346

Provenance: Hermopolis
 Date: 7th-8th cent. CE

The text on the front side of the papyrus sheet is written *transversa charta*, although a stripe of papyrus has been stuck horizontally on the upper part, probably to reinforce the writing surface. The margins preserved are at the LH (1.5 cm.), at the top (0.7 cm.), and at the bottom (0.4–1.3 cm). The verso is blank.

- 1 [† Σὺν] θ(εῶ). Μεσο(ρή) εἰ(ν)δ(ικτ.) ια· [ἔσ]χ(ον) δ(ιὰ)
 Μην(ᾶ) Σαραπάμμω(νος)
 2 στρα(τιώτου) ἀπὸ διαγρ(αφῆς) (καὶ) δ[η]μο(σίων)
 κανώ(νος) δεκάτ(ης) [ι](ν)δ(ικτ.) (καὶ) δ(α)π(άνης) ια
 εἰ(ν)δ(ικτ.)
 3 ἀρ(ι)θ(μίου) νο(μ.) γ' τρίτο[v]. ††† Κλαύδ(ιος) σ[τ]οιχ(εῖ) †
 σημ(εῖον)
 Κλαύδ(ιου)
 Φοιβ(άμμων)
 4 ἑλ(ά)χ(ιστος) διάκ(ονος) (καὶ) νομικ(ὸς) ὑπέγρ(αψα)†.
 5 γί(ν.) νο(μ.) γ'

“† With God; Mesore 5, indiction 11; I have received through Menas the son of Sarapammon, soldier, of the *diagraphē* and the *demosia* of the tax assessment of the 10th indiction and for *dapanē* of the 11th indiction $\frac{1}{3}$, one third reckoned solidus. ††† sign of Claudius. Claudius agrees; I, Phoibammon most humble deacon and notary, have subscribed. Total $\frac{1}{3}$ *solidus*”.

* This papyrus was first published as *P.Poethke* 38, S. Torallas Tovar-K. A. Worp, “Three papyri from the Roca-Puig Collection at the Abbey of Montserrat: a) A fragment of Homer’s Iliad XIV b) Two Tax Receipts from Early Arabic Egypt”, *Archiv* 55.2 (2009), pp. 474–475. We have incorporated the corrections by A. Delattre, *Tyche* 26 (2011), pp. 294–295.

This papyrus contains a tax receipt from early Arabic Egypt, dated to Mesore 5 of the 11th indiction and regarding the payment of $\frac{1}{3}$ *solidus* for taxes levied over the 10th and the 11th indiction. The document is of special interest as most probably it belongs to a cluster of already published similar texts from the Hermopolite Nome, see the discussion in *P.NYU* 2:42, published by B. Nielsen and K. A. Worp, “New Papyri from the New York University Collection: IV (nos. 38-53)”, *ZPE* 149 (2004), pp. 108–109, where also recent literature concerning the *diagraphé*-tax is cited. For the *dapane*-tax see in latest instance, D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp, “Greek Tax Receipts from Late-Byzantine Akoris”, *ZPE* 140 (2002), pp. 159–160, (Akoris) text no. 37.1n. A combination of these two tax payments on one receipt is attested already elsewhere, cf. K. A. Worp, “Tables of Tax Receipts on Coptic Ostraka from Late Byzantine and Early Arab Thebes”, *Tyche* 14 (1999), pp. 309–324, esp. p. 312.

Commentary

1. Σὺν θ(εῶ): for the papyrological attestations of this religious formula, see D. Hagedorn, K. A. Worp, “Einige griechische Ostraka der Sammlung Kaufmann in Beuron”, *ZPE* 146 (2004), pp. 159 – 164, esp. p. 161 n. 1.

Mesore 5 = 29.vii. The 11th indiction, can correspond to the following years: 652/53, 667/68, 682/83, 697/98, 712/13, 727/28, 742/43, etc.

3. ἀρ(ι)θ(μίου) corrects our original ἀρ(ι)θ(μιον), as suggested by Peter van Minnen, *BASP* 49 (2012), p. 314. Claudius also appears in *P.NYU* 2:42. Our original reading [[B1]]{Σιλ()} Κλαύδ(ιος) was corrected by A. Delattre, *Tyche* 26 (2011), pp. 294–295, who proposes the reading adopted above. We abandon our original reading, which linked this passage with a certain Biktor.

Delattre proposes the solution σημ(εῖον) instead of our Σιλ(), above the ligature of three crosses as a “marque de reconnaissance” of a person, equivalent to a seal. Below the line, the name Κλαύδ(ιου). He provides the parallels in *P.Herm.* 34.32; *SPP* 3:118.8; *CPR* 4:32.13,5; 123.11, and especially *SB* 8:9759, a 7th–8th cent. Hermopolite tax receipt, with a similar disposition in l. 4. N. Gonis, “Two poll-tax receipts from Early Islamic Egypt”, *ZPE* 131 (2000), p. 150, n. 7

suggests an 8th cent. date for the latter, something that could also be said of the Montserrat papyrus.

Tax payments of a third of a solidus (= a *tremissis*) are quite normal, cf. the data found in the list of such receipts by I. J. Poll, “Die διάγραφον-Steuer im spätbyzantinischen und früh-arabischen Ägypten”, *Tyche* 14 (1999), p. 271.

3–4. A deacon and *nomikos* Phoibammon does not yet appear in the texts stored in the DDbDP. For the term νομικός = ‘notary’, cf. *Byz.Not.*, pp. 9–10.

STT-KAW

75. TAX RECEIPT

P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 498*

Provenance: Hermopolite

H. 8 cm. x W. 10.3 cm.

Date: 12.ii.729 CE

TM 128347

This is a complete small papyrus sheet, preserving the four margins, the top (0.5 cm.), the bottom (ca. 3 cm.), the LH (ca. 1 cm.). The writing reaches the edge at the RH margin. The recto is inscribed across the direction of the fibers. The verso is blank. The text is written in red ink. The most recent list of papyri inscribed with red ink is by P. Schubert, “*BGU* I 361 et P.Gen. inv. 69: retour sur l’encre rouge”, *Archiv* 51 (2005), pp. 249–252; to which also add L.H. Blumell, “Report of Proceedings in red ink from Late Second Century AD Oxyrhynchus”, *BASP* 46 (2009), pp. 23–30.

* This papyrus was first published as *P.Poethke* 39, by S. Torallas Tovar-K. A. Worp, “Three papyri from the Roca-Puig Collection at the Abbey of Montserrat: a) A fragment of Homer’s *Iliad* XIV b) Two Tax Receipts from Early Arabic Egypt”, *Archiv* 55.2 (2009), pp. 476–477. We have considered the suggestions for l. 2 by T. Kruse, “Urkundenreferat 2009”, *Archiv* 57.1 (2011), p. 141. Cf. also N. Gonis, “Reconsidering Some Fiscal Documents from Early Islamic Egypt IV”, *ZPE* 186 (2013), pp. 270–274, esp. 273–274.

1 † Μ(ε)χ(εῖρ) ιη ἰ(ν)δικτίωνος ιβ· ἔσχο(ν) Περσίων
 Πετρῶ(νίου)
 2 ἀπὸ ἔξκ(ε)π(τόρων) πρίγκ(ι)π(ος) νοτ(ίνου) σκ(έ)λ(ους)
 Ἑρμουπολ(ίτου)
 3 καταβλ(ηθὲν) ἐφ' ἡμᾶ(ς) (ὑπὲρ) δημο(σίων) (καὶ) ἄλλων
 4 ἐνδεκ(άτης) ἰ(νδ.) ἔτου(ς) ρθ ἀρίθ(μιον) νο(μ.) α ἔν μ(όνον).
 Σευῆρο(ς) στοιχ(εῖ). †
 4 ἰ(νδ.) Παρ.

“† Mecheir 18 of the 12th indiction; I received from (?) Persion son of Petronios, ex-*exceptor*, head of the southern district of the Hermopolite Nome, paid to us for the public taxes and other (dues) of the eleventh indiction, year 109, 1 reckoned *sol(idus)*, one in total. Severus agrees. †”

This papyrus contains a tax receipt dated exactly to the year 109 of the Hijra. This makes this text interesting. Particularly on the year, see below n. 4. This receipt offers a close parallel to *P.Prag. 27*.

Commentary

1. Mecheir 12/13.ii; indiction 12 covers the year 728/729 CE (cf. below l. 4 n.), hence the date is 12.ii.729.

There is only one attestation of the personal name Περσίων (TM/People name ID 26345) in the papyri, cf. *SB* 5:8027.10 (Arsin., 2nd-3rd cent. CE), but see below.

As one expects that the receipt is issued by a tax collector Severus (l. 4) and as nowhere else in the text there is an opportunity to mention a tax payer, Persion may be taken as the name of such a tax payer, though the scribe should have written ἔσχον <παρὰ> Περσίων<ος> or <παρ>έσχεν Περσίων. Gonis, “Reconsidering”, p. 273 reads παρ(ὰ) Σίων (l. Σίωνος) Πέτρ(ο)υ. Although the personal name suggested by Gonis is much more frequent (TM/People name ID 8652), we do not see however the abbreviation mark for the preposition παρ(ὰ), and we clearly read an epsilon rather than an alpha. His reading Πέτρ(ο)υ is not better than our Πετρῶ(νίου).

2. For the activities of an ‘exceptor’ (= a kind of stenographer), cf. H. G. Teitler, *Notarii et Exceptores: an Inquiry into Role and Significance of Shorthand*

Writers in the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Bureaucracy of the Roman Empire (from the Early Principate to c. 450 A.D.) (Amsterdam, 1985); here, it is unclear whether one is dealing with a former (ἀπό = Latin ‘ex-’) *exceptor*, or whether one is dealing with one of (ἀπό) a collegium of *exceptores*.

In our *ed. princ.* we were not able to solve the 2nd half of this line. We owe the reading to T. Kruse, “Urkundenreferat 2009”, *Archiv* 57.1 (2011), p. 141, where he provides the parallels *SB* 20:14674.28 for a *princeps*, and *P.Sorb.* 2, p. 60 and *CPR* 22:1.5 for the southern district. Cf. *CPR* 30, p. 15. See also *P.Lond.* 4:1461.14. Almost the same correction as the one produced by T. Kruse, was proposed by P. van Minnen in a private message from 17.ix 2010, now published in *BASP* 49 (2012), p. 314. The *princeps* here would be the ‘head’ of the administration in the southern district of the Hermopolitan nome. For Latin terms in *princ-* (i.e. *princeps, principalis*) in the papyri, cf. S. Daris, *Il Lessico latino²* (Barcelona, 1971), p. 94. Gonis, “Reconsidering”, p. 273, prefers Ἐρμιοῦ πὸλ(εως). Even if we accept his reading of an upsilon right above the pi, we prefer the resolution with the name of the nome. Of the 21 instances of the word σκέλος in the DDbDP one finds this term with a city name only some times (cf. *SB* 8:9749.1, 9755.1-2), while the reference in the Islamic period to northern and southern districts of nomes is absolutely common: cf. A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten* (Wien, 1959; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften. 77), esp. p. 341, and recently G. Azzarello, “‘Distretti’ nell’Oxyrhynchites del VII sec.? P.Mert. II 98 rivisitato”, *Archiv* 59.2 (2013), pp. 401-405, esp. p. 404.

3. The noun καταβολή and the cognate verb καταβάλλω represent in such late tax receipts usual terminology for ‘a tax payment’, ‘to pay taxes’. We prefer here an aorist participle passive on the grounds that between the beta and the lambda there is no abbreviation sign indicating the omission of a syllable, hence one should reckon with a consonant sequence -βλ-. That excludes the noun καταβολή. At the same time, the use of ἡμᾶς seems slightly premature, as no tax collector (let alone a plurality of these officials) has been mentioned yet. Gonis, “Reconsidering”, p. 274, presents parallels for this expression in contemporary tax receipts: *CPR* 8:73.2; *SB* 1:4897.2, 8:9758.2, 16:13018.9-10, 18:13771.10. None of these except our papyrus, mention the name of the tax payer.

4. The year 109 (the rho is difficult to read, but there is no more convincing alternative reading possible) should refer to the Saracene era (for this era, see *CSBE*, Appendix 1, pp. 300-312; see recently N. Gonis-G. Schenke, “Two entagia from Cambridge”, *CdE* 78 [2013], pp. 372-378). In fact, the Saracene

era year 109 (= 28.iv.727-16.iv.728 CE) coincides in the Thebaid with an 11th indiction based upon the Pachon (May) indiction (for this start of the indiction year, see *CSBE*, Ch. 4), i.e. v. 727/728 CE. Cf. N. Gonis, "Reconsidering", p. 274, for his discussion on the substitution of indiction for Hijra year.

A signature Σευήρο(ς) στοιχ(εῖ) occurs also in *P.Lond.* 5:1739 (Hermop., 7th cent. CE), but here the name of Severos is preceded by that of a co-signer, Taurinos.

STT-KAW

76-87. CONTRACTS

76. CESSION OF LAND

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 1015 Provenance: Krokodilopolis (Arsin.)
 H. 5.2 cm. x W. 7.3 cm. Date: 183/2 BCE
 TM 144233

These two fragments of middle brown papyrus are inscribed with black ink along the direction of the fibers, in a very small skilled cursive hand, comparable to Cavallo-Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, 34 (*BGU* 10:1964 + *P.Hamb.* 2:190, 221-214 BCE). The top margin, of ca 0.9 cm. is preserved. It features some whitish stains mostly on the left hand fragment, resulting from gesso on mummy cartonnages. The verso is blank, although it also features whitish stains and a red spot, perhaps from the polychromy of the cartonnage.

→

- 1 [Βασιλεύοντος Π]τολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου [καὶ]
 Ἄρσινόςθεων
 2 [Φιλοπατόρων] (ἔτους) κϞγ ἐφ' ἱερέως [Πτολ]εμαίου
 τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου
 3 [Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων] καὶ [θ]εῶν Ἀδελφῶν
 [καὶ θε]ῶν [Ε]ὐεργετῶν καὶ θεῶν
 4 [Φιλοπατόρων] καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν [ἀθλοφό]ρου
 Βερενίκης
 5 [Εὐεργέτιδος] Δημητρίας τῆς Θρασυμάχ[ου κ]ανηφόρου
 Ἄρσιν[ό]ης
 6 [Φιλαδέλφου] Ἄρσινόςθεως τῆς Πραξιτ[ίμου ἱ]ερείας
 Ἄρσινόςθεω Φιλο-
 7 [πάτορος Εἰ]ρήνης τῆς Πτολεμαίου [μ]ηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου
 8 [λ] Παῦγι λ ἐν [Κ]ροκοδίλων πόλει

- 9 [τοῦ Ἀρσινόεϊτ]ου νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεῖ Θεοφ[---] ..μ.ου
 Εὐ...ᾶτι
- 10 [NN ἰπ]πάρχῃ τῆς πρώτ[ης] ἀπὸ
 (ἑξᾶκονταρούρων) συγ[ευδοκεῖ]ν
- 11 [τῆ παραχω]ρήσι, μητὲν παρασυγγρα[φήσειν] τι τῶν διὰ
 τῆ[ς]
- 12 [τοῦ ὁμολογί]ου συγγραφῆς γεγραμμέν[ων...]...εῖται ν[.]
- 13 []...τηι στ[.....]του[.....]μν
- 14 []α [
- 15 []ε[
- 16 []..[

 11 l. παραχωρήσει ; μηδὲν or μηδὲ? cf. note *ad loc.*

“During the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, gods Philopatores, in the 23rd year, during the priesthood of Ptolemy son of Herakleides of Alexander and the gods Soteris and the gods Adelphoi and the gods Euergetes and the gods Philopatores, and the gods Epiphaneis, while Demetria daughter of Thrasymachos was athlophoros-priestess of Berenike Euergetis, Arsinoe daughter of Praxitimos the kanephoros-priestess of Arsinoe Philadelphos, Irene daughter of Ptolemy priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, in the month of Apellaios, 30th, Pauni, 30th, in Krokodilon Polis of the Arsinoite Nome. Theoph- son of NN acknowledges to Eu- son of NN, hipparch of the first (hipparchy) belonging to the sixty-aroura owners, to agree to the cession of land, and not to offend against any point of the stipulations in the written agreement ---”

These two fragments are the upper part of a much longer document dealing with a cession of land (*parachoresis*). On this type of document, see in latest instance *P.NYU*2:16.

Commentary

1-7. The regnal year 23 covers the year 183/2 BCE. For the priests mentioned in our dating formula:

- Priest of Alexander: [Πτολ]εμαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου
- Athlophoros of Berenike: Δημήτριας τῆς Θρασυμάχ[ου]
- Kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphos: Ἀρσινόης τῆς Πραξιτ[ίμου]

- Priestess of Arsinoe Philopator: [Εἰ]ρήνης τῆς Πτολεμαίου
 see Willy Clarysse, G. van der Veken, S. P. Vleeming, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt. Chronological Lists of the Priests of Alexandria and Ptolemais, with a Study of the Demotic Transcriptions of their Names* (Leiden, 1983; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 24), pp. 22-23, no. 108. While the names of the two Arsinoe priestesses coincide completely, the patronymic of the priest of Alexander appears there as Pyrrhides (based on the Egyptian spelling *Prryds*) instead of Ἡρακλείδου as in our text, l. 2; likewise, the patronymic of the Athlophoros of Berenike appears there as Dorimachos (based on the Egyptian *Drymkws*) instead of Θρασυμάχου as in our papyrus, l. 5.

3. There is not enough space for the expected [Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων]; therefore, one of these two elements must have been accidentally omitted.

9. After Θεοφ-, we expect a patronymic in the genitive (ending in -ου), followed by the dative of a name beginning with Ευ- and ending in -ᾶτι, like Εὐτυχᾶτι or Εὐπορᾶτι, or, less likely, ending in -ῶτι. The *Pros.Ptol.* 2, 2794, p. 107, has a Theophilos close in date to our text (194 BCE-171 BCE). He appears in *P.Tebt.* 3.2:1036.38, and his father's name starts Εὐ[. He is a *hekatontarouros* from the fifth hipparchy, from Philoteris.

10. In an incomplete text, *P.Freib.* 3:26.7 (Philadelphia, 178 BCE), we find a word combination ἱππαρχ]ίας ἐξηκονταρούρ[ου], but there is no reason to link this text to ours. *SB* 14:12101 (Arsin. nome, 176 or 165 BCE): Δημητρ[ε]ῖωι [[ἐξηκονταρούρωι] ὑπ/ηρέτη τῆς δευτέρας ἱπ(παρχίας) ἐξηκονταρούρωι χάρειν, does not give a good parallel either.

10-11. For our reading συν[ευδοκεῖ]ν | [τῆ παραχω]ρήσι we compare *BGU* 8:1738.20 (Herakleop., 72/71 BCE). For the following one has to reckon with either an omission of καὶ before an infinitive παρασυγγρα[φήσειν], or reconstruct a participle παρασυγγρα[φήσων] or (even more likely?), correct μηδὲν in μηδὲ. For μηδὲν παρασυγγραφήσειν and the continuation of the formula, we find a parallel in *P.Bingen* 51.2 + *BGU* 8:1740.12 (Herakleop., 80-30 BCE): καὶ μηδὲν παρασυγγ[ραφήσειν μηδὲν τῶν διὰ τῆς συ]γγράφ[ης ἦ] | [διὰ τῆς] χειρογραφίας ταύτης γεγραμμέ[νων, μηδὲ κατ]άστασιν. Cf. also *BGU* 8:1738.21 (Herakleop., 72/71 BCE): --- καὶ μηδὲ<ν> (our correction; *ed. princ.* μηδὲ) παρασυγγρα]φήσειν μηδὲ κακοτεχν[ήσ]ειν τ[ι τῶν διὰ τῆς συγγρα]φῆς ἦ τῶν ἐν τῇ χειρογραφίᾳ ταύτη.

11-12. The formula τῶν διὰ τῆ[ς] [τοῦ ὁμολογί]ου συγγραφῆς γεγραμμέν[ων...] has been reconstructed on the basis of *BGU* 8:1736.10, 1738.15, 1739.9,13, and 1844.14, apparently the only instances of the term ὁμολόγιον in the papyri. STT-KAW

77. PTOLEMAIC CONTRACT OF LEASE

P.Monts. Roca inv. nos. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649*

inv. 381: H. 15.5 cm. x W. 13.2 cm.

inv. 569: H. 13.7 cm. x W. 22.6 cm.

inv. 578: H. 13.6 cm. x W. 7 cm. Provenance: Hephaistias (Arsin.)

inv. 649: H. 23.9 cm. x W. 16.2 cm. Date: 9.xii 148 BCE

TM 128573

This collection of fragments belonging to a single Greek document measures together ca. 30 x 27.5 cm. After serving its original purpose, the papyrus was apparently used for the production of mummy cartonnage. This observation is supported especially by the polychrome traces on the back of inv. no. 649, the largest fragment, containing most of the left hand margin of the document. Written along the upper margin of the papyrus sheet in a very small and almost illegible script one finds a copy of the text of the document, the so-called *scriptura interior*, which was signed by the witnesses and then was rolled up. Below this comes the

* This piece was first published as “A Ptolemaic Lease Contract: P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 381 + 569 + 578 + 649”, in T. Gagos et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor, 2010; American Studies in Papyrology), pp. 763–776. It also appeared in the website *The Roman Law Library*, edited by Y. Lassard and A. Koptev (<http://webu2.upmf-grenoble.fr/DroitRomain/Negotia/Worp1.gr.html>).

scriptura exterior that was to be left visible after the *scriptura interior* of the *hexamartyros syggraphê* had been rolled up².

Scriptura interior

Recto

→

- 1 (1) [Βασιλευόντων Πτολε]μαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας τῶν
Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας θεῶ[ν Ἐπιφαν]ῶν ἔτ[ους
τε]τάρτου καὶ τριακκοστοῦ, ἐφ' [ἱερ]έ[ως Καλλικλέους τοῦ
Διοκρίτου Ἀλεξάν-]
- 2 (2) [δρου καὶ θεῶν Σω]τήρων καὶ θεῶν Ἀδ[ελφῶν] καὶ θεῶν
Ε[ὐερ]γετ[ῶν] καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατό[ρων καὶ] θεῶν
Ἐπι[φανῶ]ν καὶ θεοῦ Εὐπάτορος κ[αὶ θε]ῶν
Φιλ[ομητόρων, ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης]
- 3 (4) [Εὐεργέτιδος Ἐργονόης] τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου, κληφ[όρου
Ἀ]ρ[σινό]ης Φι[λαδ]έλφου Ἀσκληπιάδ[ος τῆς] Πτολεμαίου
τοῦ Ἀσ[κλη]πιάδ[ου ἱερε]ίας Ἀρσινόης φιλοπάτορος
Ἀπολ-]
- 4 (5) [λωνίας τῆς Ἴσοκρ]άτους μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου δωδεκάτη
[Ἀθῦρ δωδεκάτη] ἐν Ἡφαιστιάδι τοῦ Ἀ[ρσινο]ίτου νομοῦ.
[Ἐμίσθω]σεν Ἡρακλεῖ[δης Νικάνορος]
- 5 (7) [τοῦ προεστηκότος τῆς] Εὐβούλου τῶν πρώτων φίλων
δωρεᾶς Πετοσοῦχῳ Φραμήνιος Ἀ[ρ]σινοίτη γεοργῶι ἀπὸ
τῆς σημ[αινομένης] δωρεᾶς γῆς ἀρούρας δέκα]
- 6 (8) [πέντε τέταρτον πρὸς τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος
ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκάστην ἀρούρας μὲν δέκα μί[αν
πυρῶν ἀρταβ]ῶν [τεσσάρων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς]
- 7 (11) [ἀρούρας τέσσαρας] τέταρτον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν πέντε
δίμοιρον [ἀκι]γδύγ[ων] παντὸς κιγδύνου καὶ
ἀγυπο[λόγ]ων πάσης φθορᾶ[ς βρεχείσης δὲ τ]ῆς γῆς
ταύτης [κατασπειράτω]

² Both texts are virtually the same. In the transcript of the *scriptura interior* we include in parentheses the line number of the *scriptura exterior* corresponding to the text in the interior. In the notes to the text we use the same procedure.

- 8 (12) [τὴν γῆν Πετοσοῦχο]ς τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν σπέρματα
 ἑαυτῶι παρέχων καθαρὰ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [κατασ]πεῖρη τὴν
 γῆν ἢ σπείρα[ς λίπηι τὴν μίσθωσιν,] πλήρη τὰ ἐκφόρ[ια
 ἀποτεισάτωι.]
- 9 (13) [κατασπαρείσης δὲ] τῆς γῆς ταύτης βεβαιούτωσαν
 Ἑρακλείδης κα[ὶ] οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου Πετοσοῦ[χου] κα[ὶ]
 τοῖς παρὰ [Πετοσοῦχου τὴν μί]σθωσ[ιν καὶ] τὴν γῆν ἐαν[...
 ..]
- 10 (14) [..... ἐπὶ τὸν] συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον· ἐὰ[ν] δὲ μὴ
 βεβαίοι καθῶς προέγραπται ἀποτει[σάτω ὁ
 προγ]εγ[ε]ρ(αμμένος) Ἑρ[ακλείδης ἢ οἱ παρ'] Εὐβούλου
 συμβεβαι[οῦντε]ς
- 11 (16) [Πετοσοῦχοι ἐ]πίτιμον χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι καὶ τὸ
 βλά[βος καὶ] μηθ[έν] ἦσσαν ἢ μί[σθωσις ἢ]δε κυρία ἔστ[ω]
 καὶ ἐ[ξέστω Πετοσοῦ]χοι ἀ[ντε]ξάγειν [τὸν εἰσβια-]
- 12 (18) [ζόμενον εἰς τὴ]ν γῆν ταύτην ἀνυπευθύνωι παντὸς
 ἐπίτιμου>. Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως πα[ρα]δότη[ωι]
 Πετοσοῦχος Ἑρ[ακλείδης ἢ] τοῖς^[παρ' Εὐβούλου] [.....].α
 παραθεσ
- 13 (20?) [..] εἶδε ες .. βα . [.] τοῖς παρ'
 Εὐβ[ού]λου οὐ^{αν} [συν]τάσ[σωσι]ν πυρὸ[ν νεὸν καθαρὸν
 καὶ ἄδολον κα]ὶ καταστήσαν-
- 14 (22)[τες] εἰς Ἑφαιστιάδα εἰς τ[.]ν ἀπο ν τοῖς
 ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν· ἢ[ς δ'] ἂν ἀτάβης μ[ὴ] ἀπο[δ]ῶι,
 [ἀποτεισάτω παραχρῆμα ὁ Πετοσοῦχο]ς χαλ[κοῦ] δρα-
- 15 (24) [χμὰς χιλίας] εἰ τῆ[ν] ἐσομένην πλείστη[ν] τιμ[ὴν ἐ]ν τ[ῇ]
 ἐν Ἑφαι[στ]ιάδι ἀγορᾷ. Ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστωι
 Ἑρακλείδης καὶ [τοῖς παρ' Εὐβούλου πράσσουσιν ἐκ τε
 Πετοσοῦχου]
- 16 (26) [αὐτοῦ] καὶ ἐκ τῶ[ν] ὑπαρχόντων αὐ[τῶι πάντ]ων
 κατὰ [τὸ διάγραμ]μα καὶ τοὺς νόμους[ς]. Ἡ συγγραφὴ
 κυρία.[Μάρτυρες Παμῆνις ἱερεὺς σ]ουχου [..... ρος,]

- 17 (27) [Διόδωρο]ς οἱ δύο Πέρσαι, Καλ[λίας Θραῦξ, οἱ τρεῖς τῶν
 Ἄρατου τῆς] δευτέρας ἵππα[ρ]χίας ἑκατονταρούρ[οι],
 Δωρ[όθεος, Πτολεμαῖος] οἱ δύ[ο τῆς *n.* ἵππαρχίας]
 18 (29) [Μακεδόν]ες τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. [Συγγραφοφύλαξ Παμῆνις
 ἱερεύς]
 5 l. γεωργῶι 12 l. παραδότω 15 l. ἦ ἔστω

Scriptura exterior

- 1 Βασιλευό[ντ]ων Πτ[ο]λε[μαίου καὶ Κ]λεοπάτρας τῶν
 [Πτολεμαίου κα]ὶ Κλεοπάτρας θε[ῶν Ἐπιφανῶν ἔ]τους
 τετάρτου [κα]ὶ τρια-
 2 κοστοῦ, ἐφ' ἱερέως Καλλικ[λέ]ο[υς το]ῦ Διοκρί[του
 Ἀλεξάνδρου κα]ὶ θεῶν Σ[ω]τήρω[ν καὶ θεῶν Ἀδε]λφῶν
 [κ]αὶ θεῶν Εὐερ^{υ[ε]}[τ]ῶν
 3 καὶ θεῶν Φιλοπατό[ρ]ων καὶ θεῶν Ἐπιφαν[ῶν καὶ θεοῦ
 Εὐπ]άτορος [καὶ θεῶν Φιλομητόρων, ἀθλοφ]όρου
 Βερε[ν]ίκης
 4 Εὐεργέτιδος Ἐργον[ό]η[ς τῆς Ἀ]λεξάνδρου, κανη[φόρου
 Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀσκληπιάδος τῆς] Πτολεμαίου
 5 τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἱερεία[ς] Ἀρσινόης φιλο[π]άτ[ο]ρο[ς
 Ἀπο]λλω[νί]ας τῆς [Ἴσοκ]ράτους, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου
 δωδε[κ]άτη
 6 Ἀθὺρ δωδεκάτη ἐν Ἡφαι[σ]τιάδ[ι] τοῦ Ἀρ[τεν]σινο[ίτου]
 νομοῦ. Ἐμίσθω[σεν] Ἡρα[κλείδης] Νικά-
 7 νορος τοῦ προεστηκότος τ[ῆς] Εὐβούλου τῶν <πρώτων>
 φίλω[ν δωρ]εᾶς Πετοσοῦχω [Φραμ]ήν[ιο]ς Ἀρσινοίτη
 γε]ωργ[ῶι]
 8 ἀπὸ τῆς σημαινομένη[ς] δωρεᾶς γῆς ἀρούρας [δέκα π]έντε
 τέταρ[τον πρὸς τὸ τέταρτον κ]αὶ τριακ[οσ-]
 9 τὸν ἔτος ἐκφορίου τὴν ἄρουραν ἐκάστη[ν ἀρ]ούρας [μὲν
 δέ]κα μίαν πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν τεσσά[ρων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς
 10 ἀρούρας τέ<σ>σaras τέταρτον πυρῶν ἀρταβῶ[ν πέν]τε
 δί[μοιρον ἀ]κινδύν[ω]ν [παντὸς κινδύνου] καὶ
 ἀνυπ[ο]λόγ[ων πάσης]

- 11 φθορᾶς βρεχείσης δὲ τῆς γῆς ταύτης κατασπειράτω [τὴν]
γῆν Πετοσοῦχ[ος τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώ]μασιν σπέ[ρ]μ[ατα
ἔαυ-]
- 12 τῷ παρέχων καθαρά· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κατασπείρ[η] τὴν γῆν ἢ
σ]πείρας λίπηι [τὴν μίσθωσιν], πλήρη τὰ [ἐ]κφό[ρ]ια
ἀπ[ο-]
- 13 τεισάτω· κατασπαρείσ[η] δὲ τῆς γῆς ταύτης
βεβ[αιούτωσαν Ἑρακλείδ]ης καὶ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου Πετο-
14 σούχωι καὶ τοῖς πα[ρὰ] Πετ[οσοῦχ]ου τῆ[ν μίσθωσιν] καὶ
τῆ[ν γῆν] ἔαν ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγρα<μ>-
15 μένον χρόνον· [ἐὰ]ν δὲ μὴ βεβαίοι καθὼς [προγέγραπτ]αι
ἀπ[ο]τεισάτω ὁ προγεγραμμένος Ἑρακ[λείδ]ης
16 ἢ οἱ παρ' Εὐβούλου [συ]μβεβαιοῦντος Πετοσούχω
[ἐ]πίτιμον {ἐπί[τιμον]} χαλκοῦ τάλαντα εἴκοσι κα[ὶ τὸ]
17 βλάβος καὶ μηθὲ[ν] ἥσσοι ἢ μίσθωσις ἥδε κ[υρία] ἔστω καὶ
ἐξέστω Πετοσούχωι ἀν[τε]ξάγ[ειν] τὸν εἰσ-
18 βιαζόμενον εἰς τ[ὴν] γ[ῆν] ταύτην ἀνυπεθύ[νω]ι π[αντὸς]
ἐπιτίμου. Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μ[ίσθω]σεως
19 π[α]ραδότω Πετ[ο]σοῦχ[ος] Ἑρακλείδῃ ἢ τοῖς [παρ'
Εὐ]βούλου τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκ[φό]ρια ἐ[ν μ]η-
20 νὶ Π[αχῶν] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔ[τ]ρους καὶ παρα[δότω] τὰ
γενή]ματὰ ἐν τῇ [αὐτῇ] κώμῃ]
21 ..[.....] οἱ γ[.....]ργοὶ Εὐβούλου [οὔ]τ' ἀ[ν] [συντάσ]σωσιν
πυρὸν νέον καθ[αρὸν] καὶ ἄ[δο]λον]
22 [.....]μ[ι] [.....]τα εἰς Ἑ[φαισ]τιάδα[.....]ν ἀπ[ε]ιγ[.....]ον
τοῖς ἰδίοις
23 ἀνηλώμασιν· ἥς δ' ἂν ἀρτάβης μὴ [ἀποδῶ] ἀπο[τε]ί[σ]άτω
παραχρ[ῆμα] ὁ Πετοσοῦχος χαλ[κοῦ] δρα-
24 χμᾶς χιλίας ἢ τὴν ἐσομένην πλείστην [τιμ]ῆν ἐν τῇ ἐν
Ἑφα[ιστιάδ]ι ἀγορᾷ. Ἡ δὲ] πρᾶξις
25 ἔστωι Ἑρακλείδῃ καὶ τοῖς παρ' Εὐ[βού]λου
πρ[άσσο]υσιν <ἐκ τε> Πετοσοῦχοι [αὐ]τοῦ καὶ
26 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ [πάντων] κατὰ τὸ διά]γραμμα
καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Ἡ συγγρα-

- 27 φή κυρία. Μάρτυρες Παμήνις ἱερέυ[ς] .. [.....] ρος,
 Διόδωρος οἱ δὲ[ο] Πέρσαι, Καλλία[ς]
 28 Θραῖξ, οἱ[ί] τρεῖς τῶν Ἀράτου τῆς δευτέρ[ας ἱππ]αρχίας
 ἑκατοντάρ[ου]ροι, Δωρόθ[εος],
 29 Πτο[λ]εμαῖος οἱ δὲ[ο] τῆς <n.> ἱππα[ρχί]α[ς] Μ[α]κεδόνες
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.
 30 συγγραφοφύλαξ Παμήνις ἱερεύ[ς] .
 31 [Ἡρ]ακλείδης μεμίσθω[κα καθὼς προγ]έγραπται καὶ
 τέθει-
 32 [μαι τὴν συγ]γραφὴν παρὰ φα. νε. θεν. [..] σο]ύχου
 33 (M2) Π[ε]σοῦχ[ο]ς μεμίσθωμα κα[θὼς προ]γέγραπται
 καὶ ποιμαῖ τῆ[ν]
 34 συγγραφὴ[ν] [..] [..] (M3) Παμήνιος [.....] ἀ]πέχω
 35 ις[̄] ια μ() δ[] [] δδ εβ μεμι ...
 12-13 l. ἀποτεισάτω 16 l. [συ]μβεβαιοῦντες 19 l. παραδότω 25 l.
 ἔστω 33 l. πεποιήμαι 34 l. Παμήνις

Verso at 180° of the recto text on the right hand side of the papyrus

↓

- 36 Μί(σθωσις) Ἡρα[κλ]είδου
 37 Πε[το]σοῦχ[ω]ι τῶι
 38 [γεωρ]γῶι

Translation of the *scriptura exterior*

“(1) In the reign of Ptolemy and Kleopatra son and daughter of Ptolemy and Kleopatra, the Gods Epiphaneis, in the thirty-fourth year, Kallikles son of Diokritos being priest of Alexander and the Gods Soteres and the Gods Adelphoi and the Gods Euergetai and the Gods Philopatores and the Gods Epiphaneis, and the God Eupator and the Gods Philometores. And the *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis being Ergonoe daughter of Alexander, the *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphos being Asklepias daughter of Ptolemy (5) son of Asklepiades, the priestess of Arsinoe Philopator being Apollonia daughter of Isokrates, on the twelfth of the month Artemisios, Athyr the twelfth, in Hephaistias in the Arsinoite nome. Herakleides, son of Nikanor, manager of the estate of Euboulos, one of the first friends, has leased to Petosouchos son of Phramenis, Arsinoite, peasant, from the above mentioned estate, of land fifteen and a quarter arouras for the thirty-fourth year for a rent for each aroura for (a plot of) eleven of them

of four artabas of wheat, for the remaining (10) four and a quarter arouras for a rent of five and two-thirds artabas of wheat, guaranteed against every risk and not subject to deduction for damage. When this land has been irrigated Petosouchos shall sow the land at his own expense, supplying to himself pure grain. If he does not sow the land or if he leaves the lease after having sown, he shall pay the whole rent. And when the land has been sown, Herakleides and Euboulos' representatives must guarantee to Petosouchos and his representatives the lease and the land [and the crops?] for the agreed period of time. (15) If he fails to guarantee the lease as written above, the above mentioned Herakleides or Euboulos' representatives, being partners in the guarantee, shall pay a fine of twenty talents of bronze, and the damages and this lease must be no less authoritative. And Petosouchos must be allowed to evict in return anyone who forces his way onto the land, without being liable to any penalty. If the lease is confirmed, Petosouchos shall deliver to Herakleides and the representatives of Euboulos the stipulated rent in the month (20) of Pachon of the same year and he must hand over the crop in the same village [----] Euboulos, wherever they order, in new, pure and unadulterated grain ... (transported) to Hephaistias ... at their own expense. And for each artaba which he does not deliver, Petosouchos shall pay immediately a fine of one thousand drachmas of bronze or the highest price that may be (charged) at the market of Hephaistias. (25) Let there be for Herakleides and Euboulos' representatives the right of execution on the person of Petosouchos himself and on all his possessions, as according to the regulation and the laws. This contract is authoritative. Witnesses: Pamenis, priest; N. N.; Diodoros, both Persians; Kallias, Thracian, all three of them *hekatontarouroi* from the second hipparchy of Aratos; Dorotheos; Ptolemaios, both Macedonians of the Epigone. (30) Keeper of the contract, Pamenis, priest. I, Herakleides, have leased out in accordance with what is written above and have deposited the contract with NN son of -souchos
 I, Petosouchos, have leased in accordance with what is written above and have signed the contract.
 I, Pamenios, have received (the contract in deposit)".

This document is a so-called *hexamartyros syggraphê*. For this type of document, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* (München, 1978; *HdA*, 10.5.2), pp. 57-73. The document is dated to the 34th year of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II, Hathyr 12th. Using the conversion tables produced by T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (2nd ed.) (München, 1969; *Münch.Beitr.*

39)³, the precise date turns out to be 9.xii 148 BCE. For the various priests referred to in lines 2-5, see W. Clarysse – G. v.d. Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leiden, 1983; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 24), pp. 30-31, no. 143. The priests mentioned are:

- Priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies:
Klykl̓s (Kallikles), son of *Tywkrt̓s* (Diokrates or Theokrates)
- *Athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis:
̓rwny̓s (Ergonoe), daughter of Anaxandros
- *Kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphos:
̓sq̓py̓s (Asklepias), daughter of Ptolemaios
- Priestess of Arsinoe Philopator:
 [A]pollonia, daughter of Isokrates

Clarysse and v.d. Veken provide as the sole attestation of this set of priests *P.Cair.dem.* 2:31179 (*P.Assoc.*, p. 63); see now also *P.Köln* 4:187 (also featuring the patronymic as Anaxandros instead of Alexandros presented by our text). This papyrus from Montserrat offers some important new data in addition to the information already given by Clarysse and van der Veken, *Eponymous Priests*.

For leases of land in general, cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten*, Diss. (München, 1967). See in particular p. 27 for the rate of the rent; pp. 80-81, 92-93 for a list of penalties to be paid by whomsoever (lessor or lessee) breaks the contract; and pp. 185-190 for a list of 2nd century BCE leases from the Fayum.

Analysis of the *scriptura exterior*:

1-5: Dating formula of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II, indication of various priesthoods filled by various priests;

5-6: Indication of date [12 Artemisios = 12 Hathyr] and place [the village of Hephaistias in the Arsinoite nome];

6-7: Opening of the document (a lease of land) presenting a description of the two parties concerned, i.e.:

³ See also the website http://aegyptologie.online-resourcen.de/Ptolemaic_Kings.

1. Herakleides, son of Nikanor, for a certain Euboulos, member of the King's inner circle and owner of a *dorea* near Hephaistias;

2. Petosouchos, son of Phramenis, inhabitant of Arsinoe;

8-11: Indication of the term of the contract (1 year) and of the amount of land involved: 15.25 arouras of wheat land, split up into 2 plots, (1) of 11 arouras at a rent of 4 art. / ar., and (2) of 4.25 arouras at a rent of 5.6666 art. / ar.;

11-13: Obligations in case of normal irrigation: Petosouchos takes care of sowing at his own expense; he will pay the rent in full, even if he quits the lease early;

13-17: Warranty of the lessors (Herakleides, respectively the representatives of Euboulos) that in case of failure to meet with their obligations they will pay a penalty of 20 talents and the damages, while the lease will not be terminated;

18-19: Clauses concerning date of paying the rent, the place of delivery [Hephaistias], the quality of the wheat to be handed over and who is bearing the cost;

19-24: Provision for the case that Petosouchos does not provide any wheat for payment of rent: he shall pay a penalty of 1000 drachmas per artaba, or the highest market price at Hephaistias;

24-27: The normal praxis- and kyria-clauses.

27-30: Listing of the six witnesses: 1. Pamenis, a priest; 2. N.N. and 3. Diodoros (both Persians) and 4. Kallias (a Thracian), all three members of the 2nd cavalry regiment under the command of Aratos and holders of a plot of 100 arouras; 5. Dorotheos and 6. Ptolemaios, both members of a cavalry regiment and Macedonians; keeper of the contract is Pamenis;

31-32: Subscription by Ptolemaios;

33-34: Subscription by Petosouchos;

34: Subscription by Pamenis;

35: Resumé of most essential data of the document.

Commentary

1 (1). For the regnal formula, see *P.Köln* 4:187.1 and *SB* 3:7188.1. The formula never appears to have τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου κτλ., which is sometimes restored by modern editors (cf., e.g., *P.Gen.* 2:87.1; *SB* 5:7632.1 and 16:12373.1).

The priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies is attested in Demotic as *Klykls* (Kallikles), son of *Tywkrt*s. Clarysse and v.d. Veken, *Eponymous Priests*, transliterate this second name as ‘Diokrates or Theokrates’. We venture to think that ‘-krts’ may also stand for Greek names in -κρίτος, hence we should be dealing, then, with a Greek name Diokritos or Theokritos (TM/People name ID 13941). Our papyrus presents in the *scriptura exterior* an incomplete and partly doubtful reading of which only the letters omikron, kappa, rho, and iota are more or less secure, while a more doubtful reading of delta + iota seems more attractive than theta + epsilon; hence we propose to read Διοκρί[του]. This name does not appear in the usual papyrological onomastica nor in Pape-Benseler, but it occurs in *LGPN*, 1, p. 135 (an attestation on Rhodos); the ED-PHI gives an extra attestation from another Greek island, i.e. *I.Cret.* 1:22:4A.7 (3rd cent. BCE).

1-2 (2-3). Compare Kallikles’ eponymous formula with the formula in *P.Dryton* 2 = *P.Grenf.* 1:12.4 (150 BCE); *P.Lond.* 7:2188.26-31 (148 BCE); *P.Köln* 4:187.3-8 (146 BCE) and *P.Gen.* 2:87.2 (145/4 BCE); for the ‘god Eupator’ in particular, see J. Whitehorne, *Cleopatras* (London-New York, 2001), index p. 241 for ‘Ptolemy Eupator of Egypt’.

3-4 (4-5). In *P.Köln* 4:187.7 (146 BCE), the father of Ergonoê appears to be Ἀνάξανδρος. We have verified the reading and conclude that somewhere a misunderstanding must be at hand. The *kanephoros* Asklepias, daughter of Ptolemy appears in *P.Cair.dem.* 2:31179 (*P.Assoc.*, p. 63). Asklepias was the *athlophoros* the preceding year in TM 45973 (*P.Meermann*o 3 + P.dem. Wien Kunsthist. Mus. inv. 3874, ined.). Apollonia daughter of Isokrates held the priesthood of Arsinoe Philopator a number of years (Clarysse and v.d. Veken, *Eponymous Priests*, nos. 142-145c) as attested by various demotic documents. She is attested in Greek also in *P.Köln* 4:187 (and restored in a lacuna in *SB* 24:16054 [145 BCE]).

4 (5). In the lacuna at the end of the line in the *scriptura exterior* we restore the name of the Macedonian month corresponding to Hathyr 12 in l. 6 as Ἀρτεμισίου δωδε[κ]άτι. Cf. the *scriptura interior*, l. 4. Cf. in general A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (München, 1962), pp. 129-130, and the situation in *SB* 16:12373.5 (158 BCE): Audnaios 8 = Epeiph 8.

5 (7). The titlature τῶν πρώτων φίλων appears in l. 5 of the *scriptura interior*. In the *scriptura exterior* there is a lacuna following τῶν φίλ[, but one can hardly think of an inversion of the words into τῶν φίλων πρώτων. To date, an Euboulos “of the first friends” is unknown. He does not appear in the *Pros.Ptol.* nor in Leon Mooren, *The Aulic Titlature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography* (Bruxelles, 1975; *Verhandelingen KVAB Klasse der Letteren* 37), no. 78; *idem*, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque. Contribution à l'étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l'époque hellénistique* (Louvain, 1977; *Studia Hellenistica* 23). For a later development concerning the title ‘of the first friends’, see J. F. Oates, “Equal in Honor to the First Friends”, *BASP* 32 (1995), pp. 13-21.

6-7 (10). For the rent level, cf. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht*, p. 27.

9-10 (13-14). One would expect here a wording like βεβαιούτωσαν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ παρ’ Εὐβούλου Πετοσοῦχῳ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ Πετοσοῦχου τὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον (cf. parallels such as *BGU* 6:1264.26-27, 1266.33-34, 1267.17, 10:1943.16-17, 1949.5-6, 14:2383.14, 2384.15, 2390.27; *P.Frankf.* 1, Int. 41-42, Ext. 45-46; 2, Int. 30-31, Ext. 36-37 and *P.Hib.* 1:90.16-17; although these Ptolemaic texts are mostly from the Oxyrhynchite or the Herakleopolite nomes, rather than from the Arsinoite). The reading καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐαν[on the *scriptura interior* seems clear enough, but as parallels are lacking we cannot find an explanation for this; maybe the solution should be found in cancelling the last letters, εαν, after which we may carry on with καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς, etc.

For Arsinoite land leases featuring a τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον clause, cf. *PSI* 10:1098.16-17 (Tebtynis, 51 BCE): βεβαιούτω δὲ Ἀρίστων τοῖς μεμισθωμένοις τὴν μί[σθ]ωσιν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον; *P.Tebt.* 1:105.29-30 (Tebtynis, 103 BCE): βεβαιώτω δὲ Ὁρίων Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν μίσθωσιν κα[ὶ] τὰ ἐκ τῆς [γῆς] [γεν]ήματα ἐκκαρπίσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς διηγορευμένοις τὸν συγγεγραμμένον χρόνον.

12-14 (18-23). The corresponding passages in both texts are difficult to reconcile. The *scriptura interior* has:

Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως π[α]ρα[δότη]ωι Πετοσοῦχος Ἡρ[ακλείδης ἢ] τ[οῖς][παρ’ Εὐβούλου] [.....]α παραθεσ | [] εἶδε ες βα []
 τοῖς παρ’ Εὐβ[ού]λου ὅν ἄν [συν]τάσ[σωσι]ν πυρὸν νέον
 καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον καὶ καταστήσαν-| τεσ] εἰς Ἡφαιστιάδα εἰς τ[]ν ἀπο
 ν τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀνηλώμασιν·

while the *exterior* has:

Βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς μ[ισθ]ώσεως | π[α]ραδότωι Πετ[ο]σοῦχ[ο]ς Ἡρακλείδῃ
ἢ τοῖς [παρ]’ Εὐ[βού]λου τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκφόρια ἐ[ν] μ[η]νὶ Π[α]χῶν τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ἔ[τ]ους καὶ παρα[δότω] τὰ γενή[ματα] ἐν τῇ [αὐτῇ] κώμῃ | [.....
] οἱ γ[.....]ργοὶ Εὐβούλου οὗ ἂν [συντάσ]σωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθ[αρὸν] καὶ
ἄ[δο]λον | [.....] μι[.....]τα εἰς Ἡ[φαισ]τιάδα[.....]ν απ.ε.ιγ [.....
]ον τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν·

For the general wording of the text compare:

P. Yale 1:51.10–11, 22–24:

ἀποδιδότωσαν δὲ [Ἀγα]θοκλῆς καὶ [Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει κατ’ ἔτος τὰ
ἐκφόρια ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ ἐκάστου ἔτους ἢ ὅταν ἡ ἄφεις τοῦ γενήματος δοθῇ
πυρὸν [νέον καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ
καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀ[νη]λώμασιν εἰς Κερ[κεσοῦ]χα οὗ ἂν
Πετεβεντήτης συντάσση καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδώσι τὸν πυρὸν] καθά
προγέγραπται ἀποτεισάτωσαν [Ἀγαθοκλῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Πετεβεντήτει
ἐκάστης ἀράβης ἧς ἂν μὴ ἀποδώσι χαλκοῦ ν[ο]μ[ίσ]ματο[ς] δρ[α]χμᾶς

P. Amh. 2:44.9, 29–34:

οὗ ἂν Πύρρος συντάσση c ? πυρὸν νέον ἄδολον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ [παντὸς c ?]
| [c ?]ωι μετρήσει δικ[αίαι c ?] | [c ?] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώ καθ ἂ γέγραπται
ἀποτεισάτω] παραχρῆμα ε.[c ?] | [c ?] τὴν ἐσομέν[ην] πλείστην] | [τὴν ἐν τῇ
ἀγοραὶ τιμὴν c ? ἢ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω] Πύρρῳ τῷ [κατὰ τὴν] | [συγγραφὴν
πράσσοντι παρά τε c ? καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶ[ι] πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ
δίκης·

PSI 10:1098.20–26:

βεβαιουμένης | δὲ τῆς μ[ισθ]ώσεως μηθὲν παρασυγγραφοῦντος
ἀποδιδότωσαν αὐτοῖ | οἱ μεμ[ισθ]ωμένοι Ἀρίστωνι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐκφοριῶν ἐν
μηνὶ Παῦνι | τοῦ δευ[τέρου] ἔ[τ]ους καταστήσαντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν
εἰς τὴν | π[ρ]ογεγρ[αμ]μένην [κώ]μην Τεβτῦνεν οὗ ἂν Ἀρίστων συντάσση
πυρὸν | νέον κ[αθ]αρὸν καὶ ἄδολον ἀπὸ πάντων, μ[έ]τρῳ τῷ τῆς κώμης
τετραχοι- | νίκῳ δ[ρόμ]ῳ μετρήσει δικαία

P. Tebt. 1:105.39–42:

τὸ δὲ διασεσαφημένον ἐκφόριον κατ’ ἔτο[ς] ἀπ[ο]δοτόω Πτολεμαῖος Ὀρίωνι ἢ
τοῖς παρ α[ὐ]τοῦ ἐν μ[η]νὶ | Παῦνι ἀποδιδούς πυρὸν νέον κ[αθ]αρὸν ἄδολον
ἀπὸ πάντων μέτρῳ ἑξαχοινίκῳ δρόμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ προγεγρ[αμ]μένῃ |
κώμῃ Σουχιεῖου μετρήσει δικαία καταστήσας εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς Ὀρίωνα
οὗ ἂν συντάσση ἐ[ν] τῇ αὐτ[ῇ] κώμῃ | τοῖ[ς] ἰδ[ί]οις ἀνηλώμασιν.

P. Tebt. 1:106.25–29:

καὶ τοῦ χρόνου διεθόντος παραδειξάτω ἂ καὶ παρείληφεν καθαρὰ | [ἀπὸ
θρύου καλάμο]ν ἀγρώστεως τῆς {α} ἄλλης δείσης, τὰ τε κατ’ ἔτος ἐκφόρια
ἀποδιδότω | [Πτολεμαῖος Μάρωνι .5 ἐν μηνὶ Π]αῦνι ἐν τῇ σημαυνομένῃ κώμῃ
οὗ ἂν Μάρων | συντάσση c 15]νποιοῦν καὶ λόγον μέτρῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸ ἐν
τῷ δρόμῳ | [τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ Σουχιεῖου.

On the basis of these parallel texts one expects in our text a wording like οὐ ἂν συντάσσωσιν πυρὸν νέον καθαρὸν ἄδολον μέτρῳ δικαίῳ μετρήσει δικαίαι καὶ καταστήσαντες εἰς Ἡφαιστιάδα τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀνηλώμασιν.

13 (19-20). According to ll. 19-20 of the *scriptura exterior*, the *scriptura interior* should read ἐκφόρια ἐν μηνὶ Παχῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ παραδότω τὰ γενήματὰ ἐν τῆι. But since there is a line written above the text, it may be assumed that the scribe first forgot and afterwards inserted part of this text. In the *scriptura exterior*, l. 20, two different months could possibly be restored, Pachon or Pauni. Moreover the month should be the harvest month. For the wheat harvest in Roman Egypt (late Pharmouthi [= April] - early Pauni [= June]) see P. W. Pestman, *Prim.*², pp. 316-317. Here, however, we are in Ptolemaic Egypt and that at a moment when Hathyr 12 is December 9th, rather than November 8th or 9th (in a Roman leap year). Consequently, all Egyptian calendar data in this text fall approximately one month later in Roman Egypt. It follows that a supposed harvest date in P[auni] would fall effectively in Epeiph, i.e. during the rise of the Nile: not a particularly apt season for collecting harvests. Accordingly, the month name most likely to be restored in this Ptolemaic text is that of Π[αχῶν], which equals Pauni in Roman Egypt.

15 (25). There is a gap in the text of the *scriptura exterior* l. 25 of ca. 1 cm. between the words καὶ and τοῖς.

17 (27). A Diodoros, Πέρσης, appears in *BGU* 6:1254.1, a complaint sent to the κωμογραμματεὺς of the village of Hephaistias in 154/3 or 143/2 BCE (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* 2, 2778, p. 106). He belonged to the second hipparchy (a cavalry unit) under the command of Ἄρω[.]καὶ Λύκωνος. The reading of Ἄρω[.] should most probably be taken as a misreading for Ἄρῶτ[ου], alpha and omega being often very similar in Ptolemaic hands. No doubt, the first of these two commanders (cf. *Pros.Ptol.* 2, 1858, p. 8) must be identical with the Aratos mentioned in our text. There is an Aratos in *Pros.Ptol.* 2, 1850, p. 7, who seems to be an eponymous officer in *P.Tebt.* 3.2:971.21 (150 BCE).

On military personnel, see F. Übel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemaern* (Berlin, 1968), and for the foreign ethnics (Thracians, Persians, Macedonians of the epigone), see Csaba A. Lada, *Foreign Ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt*, in *Pros.Ptol.* 10 (2002), pp. 87-103 (Thracians), pp. 229-271 (Persians; our Diodorus is Lada's no. E 1984, on p. 232), pp. 201-207 (Macedonians of the epigone). On Persians, see more recently the article by K. Vandorpe, "Persian Soldiers and Persians of the Epigone. Social Mobility of Soldiers-herdsmen in Upper Egypt", *Archiv* 54.1 (2008), pp. 87-108.

Ext. 32, 34. One might expect συγγραφήν κυρίαν, as in other examples of the formula found while searching the DDbDP for τέθειμαι (cf. the 2nd century BCE Fayumic texts *BGU* 6:1271.14; *P.Meyer* 2.5; *P.Oslo* 3:140.5; *P.Tebt.* 1:105.61; 3.1:818.30; *P.Würzb.* 6 Ext. 39; *SB* 8:9679.3; 16:12372.22), but this does not seem to fit the traces.

One expects the name of the συγγραφοφύλαξ Pamenis, but the traces seem to belong to a name starting with Φ-, perhaps followed by a mother's name Θενπετοσούχος.

Ext. 35. We think that in this line at least the elements ια, δ[], δδ and εβ refer to elements, in particular numerals, mentioned already earlier in the preceding contract. The numerals ια (= 11) and δδ (= 4.25) may be taken to refer to the number of arourae in each of the two plots of land referred to, while the first delta (= 4), must be, then, the rent paid for the first plot at four artabae per aroura, and the letters εβ (= 5 2/3) indicate the amount of rent for the second plot of land. The first numeral, however, ιζ⁻ (= 16) is a mystery; as we do not see what this refers to (a σφραγίς numeral is not mentioned in the text itself) the function of the μ() is equally uncertain (it is unlikely to represent an abbreviation of μισθός) and the last word is not fully readable for us. While we cannot come further than reading μεμι ..., we think that this must be a perfect form of the verb μισθόω. As we are at the end of the *scriptura exterior*, at this place the whole function of such summary of some important elements in the lease raises questions; such a summary, after all, may be expected rather on the verso of the text. Maybe these indications served as an aide-mémoire for the scribe who had to devise phrasings for the whole contract, i.e. the *scriptura interior* and, after that, the *scriptura exterior*? STT-KAW

78. LOAN OF MONEY

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 258

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos

Fr. 1: H. 9.3 cm. x W. 9.9 cm.

Date: 28.viii. 49-54 CE

Fr. 2 + 3: H. 10.2 cm. x W. 5 cm.

TM 219248

The papyrus sheet has reached us in three fragments, two of which turned out to be contiguous, the remaining fragment being

relatively close (but not adjacent) to the other two. The top margin of ca 3 cm. of fragment 1 is preserved. A skilled professional hand has written the text with black ink along the papyrus fibers. The verso is blank.

Fr. 1

→

- 1 [Ἔτους) -- δεκ]άτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαν[ικοῦ Αὐτοκρά-]
2 [τορος μη]νὸς Καισαρείου Ἐπαγο(μένων)ᾶ ἐν
Ἄξυρύγγων πόλει [τῆς Θηβαίδος]
3 [Ἐδάνει]σεν Σινθοῶνις Θέωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ἄξυρύγγων
πόλεως μετὰ κυ-
4 [ρίου τοῦ τ]ῆς αὐτῆς υἱοῦ Ἄρθοῶνιος τοῦ Ἄρθοῶν[ιος το
N.N. daughter of]
5 [N.N.] κ[α]ὶ Διονυσία Σαραπίων[ος
ἀ]μφοῖ[τέρας μετὰ κυρίου τῆ μὲν N.N. son of]
6 [N.N.]ως, Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, τῆ δὲ Διονυσία
[N.N. son of N.N. ἀργυ-]
7 [ρίου Σεβ]αστοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαικοῦ νομίσμα[τος δραχμᾶς
n.]
8 [κεφαλ]αίου αἷς οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προσῆ[κται ἐφ' ᾧ ἀντὶ
τῶν τού-]
9 [των τό]κων ἐνοικήσει ἢ Σινθοῶνις καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς
ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰσοικισθη-
10 [σόμενο]ι ἐν τῷ αἰθρίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ἐπάνω τ[

Fr. 2

- 11 [χ]ρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ [το]ῦ[
ἐνεστῶτος n. ἔτους]
12 [χρωμένης Σιν]θοῶνιος κ[αὶ] τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς τῶν ὑπ'
αὐτῆς εἰσοικισθησομένων]

- 13 [τῷ τε οἴκῳ καὶ τῷ πυλῶνι κ[α]ὶ δώματι κ[αὶ ἀύλῃ καὶ
εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρησ-]
14 [τηρίοις πᾶσι ἀ]κωλύτως, [μ]ὴ οὔσης [τοῖς
δεδανεισμένοις οὔτ']
15 [ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἐξ]ουσίας ἐγβάλλιν τὴν Σιν[θοῶνιν οὐδὲ
τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐντὸς]
16 [τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ] ἐνοικησμ[ο]ῦ[ς] μέχρι το[ῦ] τὸν χρόνον
πληρωθῆναι καὶ βεβαιούτωσαν]
17 [τὸν ἐνοικισμὸν] αὐτῇ οἱ δε[δανισμένοι]
18 [πάσῃ βεβαιώ]σει. Τοῦ δὲ χρόνου πλη[ρωθέντος
ἀποδότησαν]
19 [οἱ δεδανεισμ]ένοι τῇ Σινθοῶνι τὰς [τοῦ ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς *n.*]
20 [Ἐὰν] δὲ παρασυγγραφοῦν[τες μὴ ποιῶσι καθὰ
γέγραπται,]
21 [ἀποτεισ]άτωσαν οἱ δεδανισμέ[νοι τῇ Σινθοῶνι ἐπὶ
τῷ]
22 [μὲν μὴ βεβαι]ῶσαι τὸν ἐνοικισμὸν [ὡς πρόκειται
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς *n.*]
23 [καὶ εἰς τὸ δη]μόσιον τὰς [ἴσας, τὸ δ' ἀργύριον ἀφ' οὗ ἔαν
παρασυγγραφῆ]
24 [χρόνου σὺν το]ῖς καθήκο[υσι τόκοις]
25 []. ἀλλήλ[ων ἔγγυοι εἰς ἕκτισιν]

6 l. Πέρσου 15 l. ἐγβάλλειν 16 l. ἐνοικισμοῦ

“Year 10+n of the Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, month of Kaisareios, fifth Epagomenal day, in the city of Oxyrhynchos of the Thebaid. Sinthoonis daughter of Theon from the city of Oxyrhynchos, with as her representative her son Harthoonis son of Harthoonis, has lent to N.N. daughter of N.N. and Dionysia daughter of Sarapion, both with as representatives for N.N. N.N. son of N.N. Persian of the epigone, and for Dionysia N.N. son of N.N., a sum of *n.* drachmai of imperial and Ptolemaic silver coinage, to which nothing has been added, under the condition that instead of paying interest Sinthoonis and her clients who shall be installed by her will live in the courtyard, and in the other/second room/floor above --- (Fr.2) --

- (for) a period of two years from the current year *n*, while Sinthoonis and those with her who will be installed by her make use of the house, the gate, the room and court, with entrance and exit, and all the appurtenances of the house without any hindrance, none of the debtors or any other person having the right to expel Sinthoonis or those who are with her during the term of occupation until the expiration of the period and the debtors guarantee the occupation to her with every guarantee. Once the period is expired, the debtors will [return] to Sinthoonis the *n*. drachmai []. If they, while breaking their contract, do not act as is written, [] the debtors will pay to Sinthoonis for not guaranteeing the occupation as aforesaid *n* drachmai, and to the Treasury an equal amount ...”.

In this fragmentarily preserved Greek document, dating from the later part of the reign of the emperor Claudius and drawn up in Oxyrhynchos (ll. 1-2), a woman named Sinthoonis, daughter of Theon, represented by her son Harthoonis son of Harthoonis (ll. 3-4), lends some money (precise amount lost, cf. ll. 3, 6-7) to two other women from Oxyrhynchos, (1.) N.N. daughter of N.N. and (2.) Dionysia daughter of Sarapion, each represented by a tutor (ll. 5-6). Instead of receiving interest, Sinthoonis will have the right of free *enoikêsis* in a house that is described in l. 10-14; unfortunately, the description is very much incomplete (cf. the note *ad loc.*). Parallel texts for this type of contract (in German: ‘Zinsantichrese’) from Oxyrhynchos are *P.Fouad* 44 (44 CE); *P.Oxy.* 14:1641 (68 CE); *SB* 16:13041 (1st-2nd cent. CE) and 13042 (29 CE).

Commentary

1. Given its position,]ατου, must be taken as the ending of the ordinal in the range 10-15, hence one should restore -δεκ]ατου.

4. A man named Harthoonis son of Harthoonis occurs in *P.Turner* 17.4, 21 (Oxy., 69 CE); *P.Oxy.* 2:242.32 (Oxy., 77 CE); *P.Dubl.* 6.3-4 (Oxy., 99 CE); *P.Oxy.* 22:2351.1-2 (112 CE; father of Phratres and Peteuris), and in *PSI* 13:1356.2 (1st cent. CE). For these people, see in general J. E. G. Whitehorne-B. W. Jones, *Register of Oxyrhynchites, 30 B.C.-A.D. 96* (Chico, CA, 1983; *Am.Stud.Pap.* 25).

6. As a consequence of the fact that the two female debtors are both represented by a tutor (μετὰ κυρίου) and that in parallel documents one often finds an indication of the legal status of these tutors, after μετὰ κυρίου all further elements following in the genitive, it seems inescapable to consider the nominative Πέρσαι as an error, probably standing for Πέρσου.

8. The αἶς οὐδὲν (τῷ καθόλου) προσῆκται phrase is frequently attested in the following texts (all except two known to originate from Roman Oxyrhynchos): *BGU* 11:2118.6-7 (223; without τῷ καθόλου); *P.Flor.* 3:381.6 (2nd cent. CE); *P.Genova* 2:62.7 (98 CE); *P.Giss.* 1:30.4 (Oxy.[?], 140-161 CE; without τῷ καθόλου); *P.IFAO* 1:14.7 (140 CE); *P.Oslo* 2:40.5 (150 CE; without τῷ καθόλου); *P.Oxy.* 2:267.9 (37 CE), 269.5 (57 CE), 3:507.9 (146 CE; without τῷ καθόλου), 34:2722.11 (154 CE), 36:2774.8 (129 CE), 47:3351.5-6 (34 CE), 49:3485.8-9 (38 CE) 3490.8 (140/1 CE; without τῷ καθόλου); 3491.6 (157/8 CE; without τῷ καθόλου), 66:4532.9 (85 CE), 70:4772.16-17 (213/4 CE; without τῷ καθόλου); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 31.7 (86 CE), 32.8 (55-67 CE), 36.1 (167 CE); *P.Princ.* 2:32.9-10 (99/100 CE); *PSI* 9:1068.9 (246 CE; without τῷ καθόλου); *PSI Congr.* 20 10.21 (ca 173/4 CE; without τῷ καθόλου); *P.Uppsala Frid.* 3.5 (122/3 CE); *P.Yale* 1:64.10 (74/5 CE); *SB* 10:10222.9 (20 CE), 10238.7-8 (37 CE), 10246.7 (55 CE), 10249 (58/9 CE), 12:11228.6-7 (204 CE; without τῷ καθόλου?), 14:11491.11 (59 CE), 16:13042.5 (29 CE), and 18:13103.12 (Prov. unknown, 117-138? CE, much restored). Probably one may assign *SB* 18:13103 to Oxyrhynchos as well.

9-10. At precisely this place, the parallel documents do not provide a direct suggestion for filling the lacuna between οἱ παρ' αὐτῆς (l. 9) and ἐν τῷ αἴθριῳ (l. 10); we fetch our restoration here from *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.4; compare also below, the restoration (!) in l. 12.

For the meaning of the term αἴθριον, '(unroofed) courtyard/lightshaft inside a house', cf. P. Chantraine, "Grec ΑΙΘΡΙΟΝ", *Rec.Pap.* 3 (1964), pp. 7-15; G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris, 1983), pp. 29-36; G. Husson, "Houses in Syene in the Paternouthis archive", *BASP* 27 (1990), pp. 123-137, esp. 125, includes the αἴθριον in the list of "dwelling-rooms". More recently, R. W. Daniel, *Architectural orientation in the papyri* (Paderborn, 2010), pp. 123-147, on the possibility of it having a flat roof. One has to accept that Sinthoonis and persons representing her (in practice: clients of her) would have lived in an open courtyard, and that there was also another inhabitable space somewhere on a higher floor (read τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ἐπάνω τ[όπῳ?]). Or should one supply after ἐπάνω at the end of the line τ[ῆς οἰκίας?

11. The photo seems to suggest a reading χ]ρόνευ (for this spelling error, cf. Gignac, *Gram.*, vol. 1, p. 289; for the phrasing, cf. *P.Fouad* 44.13), but a check of the original as to whether this reading is preferable to χ]ρόνον turned out to yield no clear result, hence we decided not to impute a spelling error to the scribe of this text.

12-14. For the restored phrasing, cf. above, 9-10n. and *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.3-6, ---χρωμένου σοῦ καὶ τῶν | παρὰ σοῦ τῶν ὑπ[ὸ σ]οῦ εἰσοικισθησομένων τῶ τε οἴκῳ καὶ πυ- | λῶνι καὶ δώματι καὶ αὐλῇ καὶ εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις | τῆς οἰκίας χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι ἀκολουτῶς (l. ἀκωλύτῶς) ---; a restoration of all of this is much too long and some element(s) should be left out, we only cannot tell precisely which one(s). Cf. also *SB* 16:13042.10-12, --- χρωμένου τοῦ Ἀρμιύσιος καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ | [οἰκίαι διστέγωι καὶ αὐ]λῇ καὶ αἰθρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς οἰκίας χρη- | [στηρίοις πᾶσι, ---.

14-16. For the restoration of the text as ---- [μ]ῆ οὔσης [τοῖς δεδανεισμένοις οὔτ' | ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἐξ]ουσίας ἐγβάλλιν τὴν Σιν[θοῶνιν οὐδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐντὸς | τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ] ἐνοικησ[μ]οῦ{ς} μέχρι τοῦ τὸν χρόνον πληρωθῆναι, cf. *P.Fouad* 44.17-18; *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.7-10; *SB* 16:13041.5-7, and 13042.12-15.

16-18. As a further restoration we would suggest: καὶ βεβαιούτωσαν | τὸν ἐνοικισμὸν] αὐτῇ οἱ δε[δανισμένοι | πάση βεβαιώ]σει, compare *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.8-9; *SB* 16:13041.6-7 and 13042.14-15 (probably restore here in l. 14: (μέχρι τοῦ τὸν) | [χρόνον πληρωθῆναι καὶ βεβαι]οῦν etc.

18-19. For the phrase Τοῦ δὲ χρόνου πλη[ρωθέντος --- ἀποδότωσαν | οἱ δεδανεισ]μένοι τῇ Σινθοῶνι τὰς [τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς n. ---, cf. *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.9-10; *SB* 16:13041.7-8, and 13042.15-16.

20. Compare the reconstructed formula ἐὰν] δὲ παρασυγγραφοῦντ[ες μὴ ποιῶσι καθὰ γέγραπται, with *SB* 16:13042.16: ἐὰν δὲ παρασυγγραφοῦσα [μὴ ποιεῖ καθὰ γέγραπται. It is, however, more common to find the verbs in coordination, like in *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.10-11: ἐὰν δὲ παρασυγγραφῶ ἢ μὴ ποιῶ καθὰ γέγραπται, or *SB* 16:13041.8: ἐὰν δὲ παρασυγγραφῶ ἢ] μὴ ποιῶ κα[θὰ γέγραπται.

21-22. The formula of the condition [ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν μὴ βεβαι]ῶσαι τὸν ἐνοικισμὸν is based on *SB* 16:13042.17, although it could also be reconstructed as τοῦ μὴ μὲν βεβαιῶσαι τὸν ἐνοικισμὸν as in *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.11-12 and reconstructed in *SB* 16:13041.8-9. Our choice is based on the length of the lacuna, into which the first solution seems to fit better.

23. This line has been supplied using as parallels *P.Oxy.* 14:1641.13-15: --- καὶ <ε>ἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, τὸ δ' ἀργύριον παρα-λχρήμα μεθ' ἡμιολίας σὺν τοῖς καθήκουσι ἀφ' οὗ ἔαν παρασυν-λγραφήσω χρόνου τόκοις, and (fitting even better with the remains of our text) *SB* 16:13042.18-20: καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον [τὰς ἴσας, τὸ δ' ἀργύριον σὺν τοῖς ἀ]φ' [ο]ὔ ἔαν παρασ[υγγρ]αφεῖ (l. παρασυγγραφή) [χρόνου καθήκουσι τόκοις -ca.?-].

24-25. The ink in the traces of these two last lines seem a bit darker. This must be due to a reinking of the calamus, since the hand looks the same. The text following could be a subscription by the debtors. STT-KAW

79. FRAGMENT OF A BILINGUAL SALE OF A HOUSE

P.Monts.Roca inv. nos. 718 (LH fr.) + 792 (RH fr.)

inv. 718: H. 12.8 cm. x W. 5.3 cm. Provenance: Soknopaiou Nesos

inv. 792: H. 9.2 cm. x W. 6.4 cm.

Date: 37-69 CE

TM 219249

These two papyrus fragments were found to belong to the same document. They form the lower part, since the bottom margin of 2.4 cm. is preserved. It features two different hands, one demotic, the other Greek, written in two different ink colors, probably by two different scribes. The recto is inscribed along the papyrus fibers, in a hand very similar to *P.Dime* 3:38 (42 CE). The verso is blank.

→ -----
 1 [.....] traces [.....]
 2 [.....]=w ἰr mḥe [.....]
 3 [.....ḥ]tr ἰwty mn [.....]
 4 [... p3 ἰt t3 mw.t p3 sn t3 sn.t p3 šr t3] šr.t p3 šm [t3 šm.t p3 hy t3 ḥm.t]
 5 [rmt nb p3 t3 nty ἰw=f (r) ἰy r-r=k ἰw=n dī.t wy=f r-r=k n ḥtr ἰwty
 mn ἰw]=n (r) dī.t w^cb[<=w/=f> n=k r sh nb]

- 6 [qnb.t nb hp nb wp] 𐀓 .t nb 𐀓 md.t nb (n) p3 t3 n 𐀓y (n) p3 hrw[r
hry šc d.t n] htr iwty m[n]
- 7 [(M. 2) Τεσενοῦφι]ς Σαταβοῦ[τος μητρὸς -]παπαίς κὲ ἡ
τοῦτον γυν[ῆ N.N. d. N.N & N.N. Ὁμολογοῦμεν
πεπρακέναι το N.N. s.]
- 8 [N.N.]ς μητρὸς Ἐριεῦτος τὴν ὑπα]ρχῶνσαν ἡμῖν
ὀκίας [ἐν κώμη Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ τῆς]
- 9 [Ἡρακλείδου μερί]δος ἥς γείτον]ες· Νότου Ἀρπαγάθου
οἰ[κία , Borrã -----, Λιβὸς -----, Ἀπηλιώτου]
- 10 [---- καὶ ἀ]πέχωμ[εν τὴν συγκ]εχορημένην τιμὴν π[ᾶσαν
ἐκ πλήρους καὶ βεβαιώσομεν πάση βεβαιώσει ἐπὶ τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον]
- 11 [ὡς πρόκει]τε. Ἐγραψ[εν ὑπὲ]ρ αὐτῶν Πᾶ[ν]εφρύμμης [s.
N.N. διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι αὐτοὺς γράμματα. (M. 3) N.N. s.
N.N. μητρὸς Ἐριεῦτος ἡγόρακα καθὼς πρόκειται.
Ἐγραψεν]
- 12 [ὑπὲρ αὐ]τοῦ Παπ[αίς?] Πετεσοῦχο[ν] διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶέναι
αὐτὸν γρά[μματα. (M. 4) Πρᾶσις καὶ ἀποστασίον
οἰκίας]
- 13 [ἐν τῇ Σοκνο]παίου Νήσῳ [ῳ ἥς] γί(τονες) αἱ πρό[κει]γται,
ἦν προιε[ῖ]ται Τεσενοῦφις Σαταβοῦτος μητρὸς --παπαίς
ὡς (ἐτῶν) -- (description) καὶ N.N. daughter of N.N. &]
- 14 [N.N ὡ]ς (ἐτῶν) νε.[] πρὸς N.N. son of N.N.]...
πρεσβυτέρου{υ}[μητρὸς Ἐριεῦτος ὡς (ἐτῶν) --
- 15 [οὐλή] μετόποι ἀριστ[ερῶι. Ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν
πεπρακ(ότων) Πανεφ[ρύμμης son of N.N., ὡς (ἐτῶν) ---
(description). Ὑπογραφεὺς τοῦ ἡγορακότος Παπαίς (?)
Πετεσοῦχου ὡς (ἐτῶν) -- (description)]
- 16 []Traces [Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαν]ικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος [
7 l. καὶ | l. τούτου 8 l. ὑπαρχοῦσαν | l. οἰκίαν 10 l. ἀπέχομεν |
l. συγκεχωρημένην 11 l. ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν 12 l. εἶδέναι 13 l. γείτονες
15 l. μετώπῳ

1-6 ¹[...] ²[...] they seize (?) [...] ³[...] forcibly and without hesitation [...] ⁴[... the father, the mother, the brother, the sister, the son, the] daughter, the father-in-law, [the mother-in-law, the husband, the wife,] ⁵[any man at all who will come against you, we will cause him to be far from you, forcibly and without hesitation, and] we will cause <them/it> to be unencumbered [for you regarding any document,] ⁶[any court document, any legal right,] any verdict, anything at all from today [onward for eternity,] forcibly and without hesita[tion]”.

7-16 “Tesenouphis, son of Satabous, whose mother is -papais, and his wife N.N. We agree to have sold to N.N. son of N.N. whose mother is Erieus, the house belonging to us in the town of Soknopaiou Nesos in the Herakleides district, whose neighbours are: to the South, of Harpagathos --- to the North --- to the West --- to the East --- and we have received the agreed-upon price complete in full, and we shall guarantee with complete warranty for the whole future (10) as stated above. Panephrymmis son of N.N. has written for them, since they do not know letters. N.N. son of N.N., whose mother is Erieus has bought as stated above. Papais, son of Petesouchos has written for him since he does not know letters. Document of sale and cession of a house in Soknopaiou Nesos, whose neighbours are as stated above, done by Tesenouphis son of Satabous, whose mother is Tapapais, about *n*. years old [description] and NN. daughter of N.N., about 55 years old [description] to N.N. son of N.N. the elder, whose mother is Erieus, about *n*. years old [description a scar] on his forehead to the left. Signatory of the sellers is Panephrymmis son of [NN. description]. Signatory of the buyer is Papais son of Petesouchos [description]. Year *n*. of Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor”.

This fragmentarily preserved bilingual document contains the sale of a house (and appurtenances?) in Soknopaiou Nesos. The exact date of the transaction is not preserved but line 16 shows that it belongs to the period of 37-69 CE, i.e. between the reigns of Gaius Caligula and Nero. Starting with the emperor Vespasian, the element *Αὐτοκράτωρ* moves from the end of the regnal titulature formula to its beginning, while the titulature of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius never contained an element *Γερμανικός*. The Greek text does not contain any major element departing from what is normally found in other similar sales of immovables at Soknopaiou Nesos. For a recent discussion of these, see B. P. Muhs, N. Kruit and K. A. Worp, “A Bilingual Sale of a House and Loan of Money in Soknopaiou Nesos (P.Boswinkel 1)”, in F. Hoffmann

- H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004* (Leuven 2004; *Stud.Demotica* 6), pp. 339-368. And the 32 contracts edited in S. L. Lippert - M. Schentuleit (mit Beiträgen von F. Reiter), *Urkunden. Demotische Dokumente aus Dime III* (Wiesbaden, 2010; DDD III), with introd.

The spelling of this document betrays an Egyptian scribe at work (cf. l. 7: ὑκίας for οἰκίας; l. 10: αὐτῶν for αὐτῶν; l. 11: εἰτέναι for εἰτέναι; l. 14: μετόποι for μετώπωι). On the phonology of the papyri, see Gignac, *Gram.* vol. 1; especially regarding vowels, see G. Horrocks, *Greek: a History of the Language and its Speakers* (London-New York, 1997; 2nd ed. Malden Mass.-Chichester, 2010), pp. 108-109; S. T. Theodorsson, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koiné* (Göteborg, 1977). On the influence of Egyptian in these types of contracts, see G. Mussies, "Egyptianisms in a Late Ptolemaic Document", E. Boswinkel, B. A. van Groningen, P. W. Pestman (eds.), *Antidoron Martino David* (Leiden, 1968; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 17), pp. 70-76. See also M. Vierros, *Bilingual Notaries in Hellenistic Egypt: A Study of Greek as a Second Language* (Bruxelles, 2012; *Coll.Hellen.* 5), pp. 107-137.

Commentary

2. The orthography of *mḥe* is that corresponding to the verb 'to seize', but it can also be used for the verb 'to fill, complete' (CDD M (10:1):170). The lack of context does not allow a clear choice between both options.

4. Although 'father-in-law' is the most common meaning for *šm*, it can also be used in the broader sense 'male in-law' (cf. *P.Dime* 3, p. 28, n. 163).

6. The initial traces in this line fit with those of the word *wp.t*, ending with the determinative of the man with hand in mouth. However, the following sign, which should be *nb* according to the formula of the Garantieklausel part 2 (*P.Dime* 3, p. 30), does not resemble the *nb* that follows *md.t* in this same line. Another reading that would fit the traces is *š r md.t* (cf. *P.Dime* 3:16 DG21, DA20), but the rest of the preserved formula does not make this reading likely.

The presence of $\text{sc } d.t.$, which can be reconstructed in the space of the lacuna, appears in documents from 29 CE onward, which is consistent with the dating provided by the Greek section between the reigns of Caligula and Nero (37–69 CE) (*P.Dime* 3, p. 31).

The document ends with this clause. Incompleteness with regard to the legal formulae is a feature that increases in documents from Soknopaiou Nesos in the Roman period (*P.Dime* 3, p. 38).

7. Tesenouphis is supplied here with the help of line 12. A Tesenouphis, son of Satabous is found in a few papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos, three of them in the 1st cent. CE: *P.Dime* 2:19.5 (39 CE); *P.Amh.* 2:110.10,30 (75 CE); *P.Dime* 2:5.1B3,1C3 (88 CE). There are a few others in the 2nd cent. CE. However, one must take into account that both the name Tesenouphis and the name Satabous seem to be quite common names in Soknopaiou Nesos, so it is not sure that these are the same person. As the name Παπαίς itself is masculine (cf. *NB Dem.*, p. 367), we expect it that here we are dealing with a compound starting in Τα- or Τσεν-. There is a case of Ταπαπαίς from Eg. *Ta-pa-pay* in *P.Dime* 3:31 DG3, see note 3 on p. 381, Preisigke, *NB*, Sp. 413.11 (and 14), *NB Dem.* 367, TM/People person ID 396151. But cf. TM/People name ID 17836 Ταπαπεις, attested mainly in the Arsinoite, which is a variation of the same name (cf. variants in *NB Dem.*, p. 367). For the interchange of αι/ει-ι, see Gignac, *Gram.* vol. 1, p. 249. But it must be taken into consideration that the transliteration into Greek of Egyptian names involved a great deal of variation, especially referring to vowels: see M. Vierros, *Bilingual notaries in Hellenistic Egypt*, p. 107–8, B. Muhs, “Linguistic Hellenisation in Early Ptolemaic Thebes”, in J. Frösen, T. Purola, E. Salmenkivi (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology* (Helsinki, 2007), pp. 793–806, esp. 797–798, and *idem*, “Language Contact and Personal Names in Early Ptolemaic Egypt”, in T. D. Evans, D. D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 187–197.

12. A Papais son of Petesouchos is not yet found in Greek papyrus texts taken up into the DDBDP and TM/People (accessed on 30.viii 2013).

15. Before μετόποι a horizontal part of a letter is visible; it does not give the impression of being part of the final eta of οὐλή. The most common wording for indicating the left side of the forehead is μετώπω ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, which appears in hundreds of documents, but there are a few instances of μετώπω ἀριστερῶ: *BGU* 3:975.9 (Sokn., 45 CE) and *P.Stras.* 7:628.18 (Arsin., 140 CE), or μετώπω δεξιῶ: *P.Ryl.* 4:586.29 (Arsin., 99 BCE); *P.Lond.* 2:282.6 (Arsin., 69 CE), 2:334.11 (Hermop., 86 CE–166 CE); *P.Aust.Herr.* 2.23 (Arsin. 160 CE); *P.Bour.* 15.69 (Arsin., 138–161 CE); *P.Flor.* 1:25.8 (Arsin., 3rd cent. CE).

These types of contracts feature normally physical descriptions of the parts, following the name and patronym (often also metronym), including age and special marks (scars or moles). On physical descriptions in the papyri, see J. Hasebroek, *Das signalement in den Papyruskunden* (Berlin–Leipzig, 1921); A. Caldara, *L'indicazione dei connotati nei documenti papiracei*, (Milano, 1924; *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* 4, 2), J. Hasebroek, “Zum antiken Signalement”, *Hermes* 60/3 (1925), pp. 369–371; G. Hübsch, *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*, (Berlin, 1968). More recently, on the practice of *eikonismos*, see M. Depauw, “Physical Descriptions, Registration and εἰκονίζεῖν with new interpretations for P.Par 65 and P.Oxy I 34”, *ZPE* 176 (2011), pp. 189–199.

16. We expect here part of the formula concerning the drafting and registration of the sale in the grapheion at Soknopaiou Nesos, ἀναγέγραπται διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σ.Ν. γραφείῳ. For this formula, cf. F. Mithoff, “Ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσῳ: zur Bezeichnung des Errichtungs-, bzw. Registrierungsortes in den Notariatsurkunden aus Soknopaiu Nesos”, *ZPE* 133 (2000), pp. 193–196; a new attestation has recently been published in P.Boswinkel inv. 1 appearing in Muhs–Kruit–Worp, “A Bilingual Sale of a House”. STT–KAW–MEP

80. DEED OF GIFT

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 812
H. 17 cm. x W. 8.7 cm.
TM 144235

Provenance unknown
Date: 161–169 CE

This piece of papyrus is inscribed along the direction of the fibers with black ink in a cursive hand which can be dated to the 2nd cent. CE. Both LH and RH margins have been lost. Only the top margin, of ca 1.6 cm. is preserved. The verso is blank.

→

- 1 [Ἔτους *n*. Αὐτοκράτορος Καί]σαρος Μάρκο[υ]
- 2 [Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σε]βαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτ[ορος]
- 3 [Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρη]λίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ Παῦν[ι
n.]

4 [NN son of NN τὸ] ἤ καὶ Ψεντουώριος στρ [
 5 [μητρὸς] οὗτος Πανεχάτη τῷ ἰδίῳ...]
 6 [χαίρειν.] Ὁμολογῶ χαρίζεσθ[αί σοι]
 7 [χάριτι ἀναφαιρέτῳ καὶ] ἀμετανοήτῳ ἀ[πὸ τοῦ]
 8 [νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντ]α χρόνον ἀπὸ τ[ῶν ἐν *loc.*
 9 [ὑπάρχ]ον μοι μέρος [
 10 [] πρὸς σε ἐν τε.[
 11 [] υθεως (πρότερον) τῆς μη[τρὸς μου?]
 12 [] υ . ψιλ(ὸς) τόπ(ος), Νότ(ου) (καὶ) Λιβ(ὸς)
 ἴσοδο[ς]
 13 [καὶ ἔξοδος]ητος Νε^ρφερῶτος α[
 14 []ωτος οἱ ἄν ὧσι γίτογ[ες πάντοθεν
 15 []ξιν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν χρό[νου
 16 []τα περὶ αὐτοῦ καθ[
 17 []τελ(ειωθέντα) δι' ἀρχίου [
 18 []...[

 11 α' P. 12 l. εἴσοδος 14 l. γείτονες 15 l. -εξιν 17 l. ἀρχείου

“Year *n.* of the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and the Emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Pauni *n.* NN son of NN, also known as Psentouoris ---, whose mother is -ous, to his dear friend Panechates, - - greetings. I agree to give to you by gift inalienable and irrevocable, from now on and forever, the part belonging to me --- vacant lot, to the south and the west, the exit and entrance, --- of Nepheros --- whatever the neighbours may be from every side --- from now on ---”.

This document is a deed of gift dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus (161-169 CE). The gift is of a portion of a plot of land (μέρος, l. 9), which is described in ll. 12-14. cf. On deeds of gift, see introd. to *P.Neph.* 31, *P.Kellis* 1:38 a+b, *P.Oxy.* 51:3638; Rupprecht, *Einf.*, p. 129.

The documents closest to the Montserrat fragment, carrying a form of the verb χαρίζομαι or ἀποχαρίζομαι, and a similar wording are, in chronological order:

- TM 17829 = *CPR* 17B:40 (Panopolis, 217–218 CE): ὁμολογῶ χα[α]ρ[ί]ζεσθαι
 TM 22628 = *P.Grenf.* 2:71 (Hibis, Oasis Magna, 244 CE): ὁμολογῶ χαρίζεσθαι
 ὑμῖν χάριτι αἰωνία καὶ ἀναφαιρέτω εὐνοίας χάριν καὶ φιλοστοργίας
 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μεχρὶ παντὸς ἕξ ἴσου μέρους πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου
 τὰδε
 TM 22625 = *P.Grenf.* 2:68 (Kysis, Oasis Magna, 247 CE): ὁμολογῶ χαρίζεσθ[αι]
 σοὶ χάριτι ἀναφαιρέτω καὶ ἀμετανοήτω, εὐνοίας ἔν[εκ]εν 5{καὶ
 ἀμετανοή[τω]} ἦν ἔδειξας εἰς ἐμέ, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης μοι κηδείας
 νεκροταφικῆς ἐν Κύσει
 TM 22627 = *P.Grenf.* 2:70 = *M.Chr.* 191 (Kysis, Oasis Magna, 287 CE):
 ὁμολογῶ χαρί[ζεσθαι] σοὶ χάριτ[ι] ἀναφαιρέτω καὶ ἀμετανοήτω
 εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν [κ]αὶ ἦς ἐνέ[δειξα]ς εἰς ἐμ[ε] ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης μοι
 κηδείας νεκροταφικῆς ἐν Κύσει.

With a different formula, still presents the verb ἀποχαρίζεσθαι, for which see Roger S. Bagnall, “Two Byzantine Legal Papyri in a Private Collection”, in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller* (Leiden, 1986; *CSCAT* 13), pp. 1–9 (= *SB* 18:13741):

- TM 15361 = *P.Oxy.* 51:3638 (Oxy., 220 CE), Cession of a Share of a Vineyard:
 ὁμολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι σοὶ διὰ τ[οῦ] πατρὸς] 5 ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡμισυ μέρος τοῦ ἐπιβάλλον[τος] μοι
 μέρους] περὶ κώμην Σιναρὸν τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἐκ
 τοῦ Ῥοδ[ί]ππου κλήρου] (...) 16 αὐ[τό]θι ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ
 πατρὸς Ἑρμίου διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους, ὡς καὶ προφέρη ἐντεῦθεν
 ἀποχαρίζεσθαι τῇ αὐτῇ θυγατρὶ σου κατὰ χάριν ἀναφαιρέτων.

Two more examples of the verbs are much later: *P.Gron.* 10 (prov. unknown, 6th cent. CE) and *SB* 18:13741 (Kynop., 6th cent. CE).

On gifts in the papyri, see M. Meerson, “Gifts after death in Greco-Roman Egypt”, *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1–7 August 2004* (Helsinki, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 709–728.

Commentary

4. The final letters of this line are difficult to interpret. They are followed by the metronymic in the following line. It is difficult to interpret if this is part of the alias Psentouris, the repetition of the patronymic, or even a parponymic? They could also be read as στρ, perhaps an abbreviation, as e.g. for στρ(ατιώτης).

5. One might expect a name like [μητρὸς Δημητ]ροῦτος. For the name, cf. **82** (Oxy., Roman), l. 10. Other possible names are Ἰσα]ροῦτος, Σατυ]ροῦτος, etc.

6-7. The formula expected can be inferred from *P.Grenf.* 2:68 (Kysis, 247 CE): ὁμολογῶ χαρίζεσθ[αι] σοὶ χάριτι ἀναφαιρέτω καὶ ἀμετανοήτω, εὐνοίας ἔν[εκ]εν {καὶ ἀμετανοή[τω]} ἦν ἔδειξας εἰς ἐμέ, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης μοι κηδείας νεκροταφικῆς ἐν Κύσει με[τὰ] καὶ τῶν κωμῶν [τ]ῆς Κύσεως μέρος τέταρτον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μεχρ[ι] παντός.

9. ὑπάρχον μοι μέρος or ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος was probably followed by the portion, i.e. τρίτον, τέταρτον, etc.

13. Νε^ρφερῶτος. The rho written above the line seems to be a correction to the name, which is otherwise spelled correctly, cf. TM/People name ID 540.

14. The common formula is ἦ οἱ ἄν ὧσιν γείτονες πάντοθεν, and the ἦ was perhaps suppressed for iotacism and conflated to the following οἱ, pronounced exactly the same. STT-KAW

81. LABOR CONTRACT AND LEASE OF PIGS

P.Monts.Roca. inv. no. 592

Provenance unknown

H. 3.9 cm. x W. 16.2 cm.

Date: 3rd cent. CE

TM 219250

This strip of papyrus is broken at the top and the bottom. Both the RH and LH margins are preserved, the LH margin measuring 2.5 cm., while the writing reaches the RH edge of the papyrus. There are five lines of text written along the papyrus

fibers in brown ink in a regular cursive, slightly tilted to the right, datable to the 3rd cent. CE, cf. (e.g.) *P.Oxy.* 8:1121 (295 CE).

→ -----
 0 *traces* [έμοῦ τοῦ μισθωσα-]
 1 μένου ἐκτελοῦντος τὰ δι' ἔργατῶν τῶν ἀρουρῶν ἔργα
 πάντα
 2 ὅσα καθήκει ἀπὸ σπορᾶς μέχρι συνκομιδῆς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς
 3 συνκομιδῆς· ἔσχον δὲ παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ γεούχου σύας
 ἀθανά-
 4 τους τελείας εὐαρέστους δύο, ἐπὶ τῷ μαι παρέχειν ὑπὲρ
 5 φόρου Ἐπ[εῖφ μη]γὶ ἑνιαυσίως κρέως χοιρίου λίτρας ἑκα-
 6 [τόν -----]
 4 l. τελείας | l. με

Verso at 90°

→
 1]ως καὶ συ.[

“---while I the lessee will execute all the labors done by the farm-workers, that need to be done from the sowing until the harvest and including the harvest itself. I have received from you, the landowner two fully grown pleasing immortal pigs, under the condition that I provide for rent in the month of Epeiph yearly one hundred pounds of pork meat---”.

The papyrus offers a fragment of a contract containing: (a) a regular lease of (wheat?) land, in which at some point (see ll. 1-3) the lessee promises to execute and perform all duties that are being taken care of by laborers on the plot of land in question, between the moment of sowing and the moment of harvesting, and (b) a provision (ll. 3-5) that the lessee has received 2 ‘eternal’ pigs (i.e. after termination of the contract these should be returned and in case they died prematurely, another set of much similar ‘stand-in’ pigs should be returned) and that as compensation for these the

lessee promises to deliver each year in the month of Epeiph 100 pounds of pork.

The renting out of pigs is already attested in the Zenon papyri: see D. J. Thompson, "Ptolemaic Pigs: An Ecological Study", *BASP* 39 (2002), pp. 121-138, for a list of relevant documents about pig rental, see esp. pp. 129-130. On leases of animal, see S. von Bolla-Kotek, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht im Altertum* (München 1940, 1969²; *Münch.Beitr.* 30). For labor contracts in general, see *P.Heid.* vol. 5, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten*, (Heidelberg, 1990), section "Untersuchungen", pp. 125-375. Other contracts of lease of animals are for example:

P.Cair.Zen. 3:59422 (Philadelphia, mid 3rd cent. BCE); lease of 60 goats, payment 1 kid per head.

P.Dion. 4 (Tenis, Hermopolites, 108 BCE); lease –text in demotic– of a herd of cows (number apparently not specified) for an unspecified period.

P.Amst. 1:41 col. 1 = *SB* 12:11248 (Ptolemais Euergetis, Arsinoite, 10 BCE); lease of 50 everlasting sheep and, 2 everlasting goats for 3 years.

P.Harr. 2:222 (Provenance unknown, 1st cent. CE); letter mentioning a lease of [n.?] animals).

P.Ross.Georg. 2:18 (Arsinoite, 139-140 CE ?) in col. XXXIX 170-174 there is a contract of loan of 10+ animals (θρέμματα) for [?] years.

P.Alex.Giss. 5 = *SB* 10:10621 (Arsinoite, 215 CE); lease of 112 everlasting sheep and 30 goats, for 4 years.

PSI 4:377 (Philadelphia, 249 BCE); agreement about a lease of 536 everlasting sheep (and 10 goats? –cf. fr. 2, lines 16, 17).

SB 5:8086 (Sentrempaei? Arsinoite, 268 CE); lease of 50 sheep and 5 goats, for 5 years.

P.Stras. 1:30 (Theadelphia, 276 CE); lease of 56 everlasting goats for 2 years.

P.Michael. 22 (Tebtynis, 291 CE); lease of 3 cows for 1 year.

P.Sakaon 71 (Theadelphia, 306 CE); lease of 62 sheep, 59 goats for a period of 5 years, as a compensation, half of the yearly issue plus 26 lambs, 10 kids the first year and 18 the following years.

P.Sakaon 72 (Theadelphia, 327 CE); extension of lease of 12 sheep.

P.Sakaon 73 (Theadelphia, 328 CE); lease of 10 goats for 2 years at an annual rent of 5 kids.

SB 12:11024 (Arsinoite, 328 CE); lease of [?] goats, for [?] years.

P.Princ. 3:151 (Ibion, 341 CE); lease of 1 cow and 1 heifer⁴.

P.Vindob.Sipp. 10 (Arsinoite, 5th-6th cent. CE); lease of wine land including oxen for operating irrigation machinery.

P.Genova 1:35 (Hermop.?, 6th cent. CE); lease of [n.?] animals.

SB 24:16190 (Antinoop., 6th-7th cent. CE); lease of an animal for 1 year.

For payment in meat, cf. *P.Giss.* 1:49 (Oxy., 3rd cent. CE, lease of a land, payment 140 drachmai, two mnas of pork meat per month and a piglet for the Demetreia). *P.Hamb.* 1:68 (Aphroditis Kome, Antaiop., 548-549 CE) is a contract for a vineyard, olive grove, dates and fruit garden, in which the lessee agrees to work with his own animals (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μου ζώων), and part of the lease payment / rent is in meat (ll. 37-41).

Commentary

1. A much similar promise to perform all regular tasks done by laborers is found in *P.Grenf.* 1:54.14-16 (Arsin., 378 CE; a lease of 40 arouras of land): ἐμοῦ τοῦ μισθω<σα>-| μένου ἐκτελοῦντος τὰ δι' ἐργατῶν τῶν ἀρουρῶν ἔργα πάντα ὅσα καθήκι (*ed.princ.*: μισθω-| μένου; Hunt, *P.Grenf.* vol. 2, p. 216: l. μισθου-| μένου: STT-KAW μισθω<σα>-| μένου, cf. the aor.participles in (e.g.) *BGU* 1:312.5: παρέχοντος ἐμ]οῦ τοῦ μισθωσαμένου; *BGU* 1:34.9-10: ἐμοῦ .. τοῦ μισθωσα-|μένου θερίζοντος; *BGU* 2:364.13: [παρέχοντος μοῦ τοῦ] μισθωσαμένου; *P.Cair.Masp.* 2:67154.v.16: βεβαιοῦντος ἐμο(ῦ) τοῦ δωρησαμένου; *SB* 1:4483.26: ἐμοῦ τοῦ μισθωσαμένου Γεωργίου ποιοῦντος τὴν ἀντλείαν.

2. Similar expressions are found with the term κατασπορά rather than σπορά: *P.Flor.* 1:17.14-15: ἀπὸ κατασπορᾶς | μέχρι σ[υνκο]μιδῆς; *P.Lips.* 1:23.23-26: ἀπὸ κατασπορᾶς με-|χρεις (l. μέ-|χρη) συνκομιδῆς καὶ α(ὑ)τῆς τῶν | δημοσίων παντοίων τελεσ-|μάτων ὄν<των> πρὸς σὲ τὸν γεοῦχον; *P.Mich.* 11:609.20-22: ἀπὸ τε κατασπο-|ρᾶς μέχρι συνκομι-|δῆς καὶ λικμήσεως.

⁴ The original title 'Lease of Slaves', maintained in the HGV and the DDbDP, is incorrect; the translation added at some later moment to the DDbDP, referring to 'cows', reveals the true nature of the contract. Read in l. 6 [βό]ας, and in l. 8 something like δ[αμά]λις (there is unfortunately no photo available online).

3. On the importance of pigs in Egyptian agriculture, see D. J. Thompson, “Ptolemaic Pigs”. On the meaning of the term ἀθανάτους, see S. von Bolla-Kotek, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht*, pp. 66-82.

In our papyrus we find the uncommon term σῦς (l. 3), while the term χοιρίον (in l. 5, κρέως χοιρίου λίτρας) is very common, cf. the 3rd-4th cent. CE papyri: e.g. *PSI* 3:202 (Oxy., 338 CE), 7:820 (Prov. unknown, 314 CE); *CPR* 6:57 (Hermop.?, 320/1 CE). The use of the word σῦς for pig instead of χοῖρος – common word for pig in Koiné Greek – is not found often in the papyri (cf. for example *P.Frankf.* 5, 241-240 BCE). The term χοῖρος was often avoided in Egypt, since it was the name of a Nile fish, so ἱερεῖον (= ‘animal for offerings’) was used instead (e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 2:59217.6), since the pig was the sacrificial animal by definition, and δέλφαξ was used for piglets. On the use of the terms for ‘pig’ in Egypt, see D. J. Thompson “Ptolemaic Pigs”, pp. 123-125, and D. Schaps, “Piglets again”, *JHS* 116 (1996), pp. 169-71.

Verso

1. Maybe read [κρέ]ως καὶ σύω[v

STT-KAW

82. FRAGMENT OF A DIHAERESIS

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 288

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos

H. 5.3 cm. x W. 5.8 cm.

Date: Roman

TM 219251

This papyrus fragment features the upper and RH side of a document. A top margin of ca. 1 cm. is preserved. The RH margin is preserved too but the text reaches the edge of the papyrus. For the missing text to the left, see note to line 5. The recto is inscribed along the papyrus fibers in a rather irregular cursive hand in black ink. The verso is also inscribed, across the fibers with a different text which seems to have been written on two different occasions with two different *calami*.

Recto

→

1 [ἐν ...πόλει τῆς] Θηβαίδος. Ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλ-
 2 [λήλοις N.N. καὶ τοῦ μετ]ηλλαχότος αὐτῶν ὁμοπα-
 3 [τρίου ἀδελφοῦ], ἐκ τοῦ Ὀνωφρίου υἱοῦ Θη-
 4 [δ]ειρῆσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐ-
 5 [ξ εὐδοκοῦντων ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὴν
 καταλειφθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ] Βησαῦτος παππικὴν οἰκίαν
 6 [καὶ αὐλήν καὶ εἴσοδον καὶ] ἔξοδον καὶ τὰ συνκύροντα
 πά-
 7 [ντα] ὧν μέτεστι τῶι μὲν ἀφή-
 8 [λικι] τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ λελογ-
 9 [χέναι ?] οἰκίας οὗ μέτρα Βορρά
 10 [Νότου Λιβὸς] ἡ Δημητροῦτος ε
 11]νης traces προ-

 4 l. διηρῆσθαι

“In the city of – in the Thebaid. NN. son of N. N. and N.N. his paternal brother agree --- from Onnophrios son of The-, in dividing in consensus from now on and forever the house of their grandfather endowed to them by Besas, and the court ---, the entrance and exit and all the appurtenances --- of which the minor has a share --- a third part ---”

Verso

↓

1 M1 traces
 2 M2 ὁ ἀνειρημέ[ν
 3 M1 ἐτῶν ε Ἀμμωνι[
 4 θωθ
 5 M2 τῶ Πατωῆς
 6 M1 ἐν Ὀξυρύγχωγ [πόλει
 7 M2 α μέχρι τῆς .[
 8 M1 Ὄρου πέρσης [τῆς ἐπιγονῆς]
 9 ... συμενα

10 ἀργυρῶν .σθ[

 2 l. ἀνηρημέν[7 l. μέχρι

On the recto apparently one is dealing with a division of an inheritance. On this subject, see the literature cited in *P.Kellis* 1:13, introd. Searching the HGV for the terms ‘Erbschaft’ + ‘Teilung’ one finds at least 24 documents, the majority of which date from the 3rd cent. CE or later. We think that l. 1 contained a date by regnal year, month + day and an indication of the place where the document was written, possibly ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς] Θηβαΐδος, since the toponym Ὁξυρύγχων appears on the verso. Lines 1–4 contain descriptions of various parties involved, including their individual family affiliations, ll. 5–6 the object(s) to be divided and their description. Evidently, some house(s) was (were) involved, cf. the word οἰκία in ll. 5, 9; maybe only a third part in one of the objects played a role, cf. τὸ τρίτον μέρος in l. 8.

The verso contains a few words scribbled with two different *calami* in alternate lines, perhaps at two different moments. For this reason it is difficult to make sense out of the text.

Commentary

3. The name of the father starting with Θη- could be any of the ones appearing in TM/People, among them e.g. Θηβαΐος, Θηβᾶς or Θημᾶς. It seems impossible to suggest a solution. See also D. Hagedorn, *WörterListe*, p. 68.

4. After δ]ιερῆσθαι (l. διηρῆσθαι) πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς one may reckon with the following continuations starting with an epsilon:

ἐκουσίως: *P.Stras.* 6:555.5

ἐξ ἐγκελεύσεως: *P.Oxy.* 14:1637.9

ἐξ εὐδοκούντων: *P.Mich.* 5:323/324/325.6, 326.3; *P.Oslo* 2:31.8; *P.Oxy.* 3:503.5; *P.Tebt.* 2:383.8; *SB* 14:11337.7

ἐξ ἴσου: *P.Oxy.* 31:2583.4

ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος: *BGU* 4:1037.5–6; *P.Iand.* 4:52.8; *P.Ryl.* 2:157.3; *P.Tebt.* 2:382.3

ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον: *P.Mich.* 9:554.8

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε: *P.Oxy.* 49:3482.16

ἔτι: *P.Tebt.* 2:391.5

If one adopts one of the two the most frequently attested formulas, i.e. ἐξ εὐδοκούντων or ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, a (slightly remarkable) word division in the middle of the prepositions ἐξ or ἐπὶ must be accepted.

5. If our reconstruction of this line is correct, it demonstrates that three times the width of the preserved text is missing to the left of the preserved fragment. We may assume that the document was folded in four vertically and only the last folding is preserved.

Verso

5. Πατωης is a name attested in *P.Fouad* 18.8 (Oxyrhyncha, Arsin., 54 CE).

8. On πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, see K. Vandorpe, “Persian soldiers and Persians of the Epigone. Social mobility of soldiers-herdsmen in Upper Egypt”, *Archiv* 54.1 (2008), pp. 87–108. STT-KAW

83. APPRENTICESHIP CONTRACT

P.Monts. Roca inv. no. 663

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos

H. 5.8 cm. x W. 11 cm.

Date: 3rd-4th cent. CE

TM 219252

This papyrus is broken at the top and the bottom. The RH (0.5–1.5 cm.) margin is preserved. The recto of this papyrus is inscribed along the papyrus fibers by an irregular cursive hand datable to the 3rd-4th cent. CE. The verso, written across the fibers, is the lower part of a document written with black ink in a cursive professional hand.

Recto

→ -----
1 [] τῷ ἐπεϊστᾶτῃ κατ' ἐκάσ-

2 [την ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ἀν]ατολῆς ἡλίου μέχρι
 3 δ[ύσεως κ]αὶ ἐκτελοῦντα πάν-
 4 [τα τὰ ἐπιτραπησό]μενα αὐτῷ ἔργα
 5 [ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐ]πι[τά]του ἀνήκοντα τῇ
 6 [δηλουμένῃ] τέχνῃ τρεφόμενον

 1. 1. ἐπιστάτη | 1. καθ’

“--- (who is to stay?) with the overseer every day from sunrise to sunset and doing everything that he is instructed by the overseer referring to the craft taught, while he is being fed (and dressed)---”.

Verso

↓ -----
 1 Αὐρή[λ(ιος) ‘Η]λίας π[.]σεσ[.]... []
 2 τῶν ἐρίων ὀγκῆς ταλάντ[*n.*
 3 πλήρη καὶ ἀποδώσω ὁ []
 4 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγ[ησα.

“Aurelios Elias (...) the weight of wool, *n.* talents (...) complete I will pay (...) having been consulted I agreed.”

The recto of this papyrus features a fragment of a contract of apprenticeship within the textile industry. All indications of the parties involved are lost, but we have a few formulas concerning the period of activity of the apprentice and his maintenance (cf. *P.Oxy.* 4:725, 14:1647, 31:2586, 41:2977). The standard discussion of legal aspects of such contacts of apprenticeship is that by J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 83–97, cf. also P. Brendebach, *Berufsausbildung in der Antike* (München, 2009), pp. 10–12.

On the *didaskalikai* see the extensive study by M. Bergamasco, “Le *didaskalikai* nella ricerca attuale”, *Aegyptus* 75 (1995), pp. 95–167; see also L. Migliardi Zingale, “Riflessioni in

tema di apprendistato femminile e arte della tessitura: in margine a P.Oxy. LXVII 4596”, *Aegyptus* 87 (2007), pp. 199-208. Bergamasco is currently working on a corpus of such documents, as announced in his “La διδασκαλική di P.Col. inv. 164”, *ZPE* 158 (2006), pp. 207-212.

On the verso of the papyrus there is the lower part of a contract which involves wool. Wool was measured thus far in mnai (60 Mnai = 1 Talent), hence this document must have registered an unusually large amount of wool.

Commentary to the recto

1. In view of the parallels, one could restore at the beginning of the line either ὁ πατήρ, cf. *P.Oxy.* 31:2586.11-12, or παραμένοντα based on *P.Oxy.* 41:2977.34-35.

6. Probably followed by καὶ ἱμ[α]τιζόμενον ὑπὸ and the person in charge of the maintenance of the apprentice. It could be the master, τοῦ δεσπότη as in *BGU* 4:1021.14 or *P.Oxy.* 41:2977.13, or the father, τοῦ πατρὸς, as in *P.Oxy.* 31:2586.15.

Commentary to the verso

3-4. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 14:1705.26-27 (3rd cent. CE), sale of a loom, which presents a similar phrasing for the payment: καὶ ἀπέσχον τὰ τῆς τιμῆς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δύο καὶ δραχμὰς χιλίας 1000 πλήρη, καὶ βεβαιώσω ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. STT-KAW

84. BEGINNING OF A LOAN CONTRACT

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 620
 H. 10.5 cm. x W. 5.5 cm.
 TM 219253

Provenance: Oxyrhynchite
 Date: 4th-5th cent. CE

This papyrus fragment features the left hand upper side of a contract written along the papyrus fibers with black ink in a cursive hand datable to the 4th-5th cent. CE. The top (ca 1.2 cm.) and LH (ca 1 cm.) margins are preserved. On the verso there are faint traces of 1 line of text written along the fiber direction, probably indication of the content of the document.

Recto

→

- 1 Ὑπατεία Φλ[αυίων N.N. καὶ N.N. τῶν -τάτων month,
 day]
 2 Αὐρήλιος Ἀλε[ιδ-- τοῦ N.N. μητρὸς N.N. ἀπὸ]
 3 Μικροῦ Πετρίου [μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ καὶ ἀναδόχου εἰς
 ἀπόδοσιν]
 4 τοῦ ἐξῆς δηλοῦμ[ένου χρέους Αὐρηλίου N.N. τοῦ N.N.]
 5 μητρὸς Ῥαχῆλ [ἀπὸ toponym + nome]
 6 Αὐρηλίῳ Τιμ[- τοῦ N.N. μητρὸς -]
 7 μης συνεκ[ἀπὸ toponym Ὁμολογῶ]
 8 ἐσχηκέναι π[αρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους]
 9 συμπεφω[ημένην καὶ ἀρέσασάν μοι τιμὴν πλήρη]
 10 κριθ[ῆς] ἀρτ[αβῶν]

 1 ὑπατεια Παρ. 3 l. Πετραίου 9 l. συμπεφω[ημένην]

Verso

→

- 1 † γρ(αμμάτιον) Ἀλείδου μετ' ἐ[γγυητοῦ]

The fragment, presumably dating from the late 4th or early 5th century CE, apparently contains part of a receipt of a loan, cf. ll. 7-8. Furthermore, an amount of barley (precise amount now lost) played a role, cf. l. 10. We consider it possible that in fact a certain amount of money was borrowed and that the borrower promised to return this in kind by a delivery of barley. For such transactions see the literature cited by H. A. Rupprecht, *Einf.*, p. 121, and A. Jördens in *P.Heid.* vol. 5, p. 296-301. The borrower apparently comes from the Oxyrhynchite nome and we assume that the same may apply to the lender.

Commentary to the recto

2. For the personal name see the verso, n. 1. We do not know what the precise form of the nominative is. A connection with the name Ἡρακλείδης seems unlikely.

2-3. For an Oxyrhynchite village Μικροῦ, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite: repertorio toponomastico* (Firenze, 1981), p. 106, and TM/Places geo ID 5765, cf. A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome. A Papyrological Survey. Version 2.0* (May 2012), (Köln-Leuven, 2012; TOP 4), p. 188; see also *P.Leid.Inst.* 76.2. We have not found it anywhere provided with an extension Πετράϊου as found in our text. There is no TM/Places entry for Πετρέου or Πετράϊου in isolation either.

7. We think that -μης forms the end of the mother's name supposedly standing in the lacuna in l. 6.

συνεκ.[: we think that this word beginning forms the start of a qualification of the name of the addressee, but probably not a profession, trade or office, as we have not succeeded in finding a suitable word. Our best guess is συνεκδ[ημοῦντι or συνεκδ[ήμω = Lat. *comes*, but the latter word is attested in the papyri only in documents from the Ptolemaic period.

Commentary to the verso

1 The name Ἀλείδου perhaps corresponds to Ἀλίτου, genitive of Ἀλίτας TM/People name ID 8433 (cf. *P.Prag.* 2:158.13; *SB* 22:15599.3) or of Ἀλιτοῦς (*P.Kellis* 1:13.1, see index of personal names for the nominative), with the

frequent confusion of δ/τ in Egyptian Greek (cf. Gignac, *Gram.*, vol. 1, pp. 80-83).
STT-KAW

85. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 638
H. 7.7 cm. x W. 19.4 cm.
TM 219254

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos
Date: mid-5th cent CE

This papyrus document is broken at the top, while the bottom (ca 3 cm. not including the signatures) and RH (ca 0.3 cm.) margins are preserved. The text is written in black ink along the direction of the papyrus fibers. There are traces of writing on the verso, probably only pen trials (there is nowhere a continuous, meaningful text), rather than the remains of an account.

→ -----
1 [κυρία ἢ ὁ]μολο[γ]ία ἀπλή
[γραφεῖσα]
2 [καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν. Αὐρηλίοι Ν.Ν.
]ιος καὶ Φοιβάμμων Παπνουτίου[]
3 [καὶ Ν.Ν. s. Ν.Ν. καὶ Ν.Ν.]άμμωνος καὶ Παλέους
Ἰωάννου καὶ Σαραπίων
4 [s. Ν.Ν. καὶ Ν.Ν. s.]Πησιό[υ] καὶ [Παπ]νοῦτις
Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Σαμουήλ Ἀμμωνίου
5 [καὶ Ν.Ν. s. Ν.Ν. καὶ Ν.Ν. s. Ν.Ν.] καὶ [Ν.Ν.]νίου
καὶ δ[... Ἀ]μμωνίου πεποιήμεθα
6 [τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ ὠμόσαμεν] τὸν θεῖον ὄρ[κον] καὶ
συμφωνῆ ἡμῖν πάντ[α] τ[ὰ] ἐγγεγραμμέ[να.]
7 []ονος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδόντων

- 8 (M2) καὶ ποιησ]όμ[εθ]α τὰ γεγραμμένα ὡ[ς] πρόκειται
 9 (M3) † *di emu Rufinu*
 3 -άμμωνος ο ex κ corr. ἰωαννου Παρ. 6 l. συμφωνεῖ 7]μονος or
 λονος 8 l. γεγραμμένα | l. πρόκειται

“The contract is valid, written in one copy. Having been consulted, we agreed. The Aurelii N.N. and Phoibammon son of Papnoutios, and N.N. son of N.N. and N.N. son of -ammon, and Paleous son of Iohannes, and Sarapion son of N.N. and N.N. son of Paeis, and Papnoutis son of Ammonios, and Samuel son of Ammonios, and N.N. son of N.N., and N.N. son of N.N., and N.N. son of N.N., we have produced the contract and we have sworn the divine oath and we agree with you in all the things written. --- I, N.N. have written for them because they do not know how to write. --- We have done as written above. † Through me, Rufinus”.

This fragment of papyrus features the end of a contract, with the indication of the parties, oath, indication of substitute writers and a notary signature. The fragmentary state of the document does not allow establishing the use of the contract. The fact that the notary coincides with that of *P.Fouad* 20 (see note 9 below) confirms the Oxyrhynchite provenance and a date close to 440 CE.

Commentary

2. There is a Phoibammon son of Papnoutios in *CPR* 7:45.Ro 21 (Herm. 507 CE) and in *P.Stras.* 1:26.8 (prov. unknown, 5th cent. CE), but the names are too common for us to be able to assume that these are the same person. They are moreover very unlikely to be the same as in our text, in view of their provenance and date.

3. The name Paleous appears in a number of papyri, mainly from Oxyrhynchos: *P.Oxy.* 10:1326.4 (Oxy., 401–600 CE), 16:1912.74 (Oxy., 566 CE), 16:2019.28 (Oxy., 547–578 CE), 19:2244.34 (Oxy., 526– 575 CE), 55:3805.91 (Oxy., 566 CE); *P.Oxy.descr* 19 (Oxy., 535 CE); *PSI* 8:954.33 (Oxy., 501–600 CE); *SPP* 3:86.1 (Herakleop., 593 CE), and perhaps also in *P.Oxy.* 16:2029.9 (Oxy., 6th cent. CE), with a variant form of the genitive.

5-6. On oath formulas see *CSBE*, Appendix G, pp. 272-289. See also *P.Bagnall* 36, n.7. We find a similar formula in *P.Fouad* 20.13-14 (Oxy., 5th cent. CE, cf. L. C. Youtie, "Notes on Subscriptions", *ZPE* 18 (1975), pp. 213-223, esp. p. 218, for the date): οἱ προκείμενοι πεποιήμεθα τὴν ἐγγύην καὶ ὠμόσα μεν τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον καὶ συμφωνῆ ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς προκίται, and *P.Oxy.* 16:1881.21-22 (427 CE): πεποιήμεθα τὴν ἀντίρησιν καὶ ὠμόσαμεν τὸ[v] θεῖον ὄρκον κα[ι] προησόμεθα ὡς πρόκειται.

9. The notarial signature is the same as *P.Fouad* 20, and *P.Oxy.* 6:913, to be read as †*di emu Rufinu*. See *Byz.Not.*, p. 88, Oxy. 25.6.1 and 25.6.2 (see pl. 50). See also L. C. Youtie, "Notes on Subscriptions", pp. 217-218 (with plates), for the identification. As these two papyri are dated to the years 442 and 443 CE, we can propose a similar date for our document. STT-KAW

86. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A LOAN

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 297
H. 6.1 cm. x W. 6.3 cm.
TM 219255

Provenance: Herakleopolis
Date: 8th cent. CE

This papyrus fragment has lost both the LH and the RH margins, while its top and bottom sides do not feature any substantial margins, since the writing reaches the edges of the papyrus. At the bottom the papyrus features a *kollesis*. The text is inscribed across the direction of the fibers in dark brown ink, in an elegant cursive hand datable to the 8th cent. CE. The verso is blank.

- 1 [† Ἔσχη]ον ἐγὼ Κοσμάς κναφε(ὺς) υἱ[ὸς N.N. ἀπὸ N.N.
παρὰ N.N.]
- 2 [ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτ(ῆς) πόλε(ως) εἰς ἰδίαν μου [καὶ ἀναγκαίαν
χρείαν]
- 3 [τῆ τ]ρίτη τοῦ Φαμενώθ μηνὸ[ς]
+
- 4 † Δι' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου [συ]μβολ[αιογράφου]
- 5 +

“I, Kosmas, fuller, son of N.N. from (city name), received from N.N. from the same city for my private and necessary expenses --- on the 3rd (day) of the month Phamenoth ----. (signed) By me, Petros, contract writer”.

This fragment contains part of an acknowledgement of a loan certified by a notary who is known to have officiated in early 8th century Herakleopolis. The loan should be returned on the 3rd of the month of Phamenoth (= 27/28.ii). There is a loan signed by the same notary (*SPP* 3²:190, see note to line 4) for a certain Kosmas, a linen-weaver, probably not the same person, but certainly in the same trade or guild.

Commentary

1. The name Κοσμάς is widely attested in the papyri in the 7th and 8th centuries (cf. TM/People name ID 3712). A reading Κοστᾶς seems less likely, as this personal name is not yet attested in Byzantine Egypt.

On the trade of κναφεῖς = ‘fullers’, see E. Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile dans l’Égypte romaine*, (Warszawa, 1965), pp. 129-140; K. Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihrer Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri*, (Rahden, 2008; Pharos: Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 24), vol. 2, pp. 492-501, s.v. γναφεύς.

2-3. In the lacuna at the end of l. 2, one may restore, based on *SPP* 3²:191.3: παράσχω σοι, and in line 3 after μηνὸς: τῆς παρούσης *n.* ἰν(δικτίωνος). Thereafter followed the amount of money or that of the commodity borrowed.

4. For this notary see *Byz.Not.* p. 57 (Herakleop., 16.2.1,2 [7th-8th cent.]). He appears in *SPP* 3²:190 and 3:356. STT-KAW

87. PTOLEMAIC FRAGMENT MENTIONING SUNTHIASITAI

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 303
 H. 6.9 cm. x W. 4.1 cm.
 TM 219256

Provenance: unknown
 Date: 3rd cent. BCE

Fragment of the upper part of a document written in black ink on the recto of a medium brown papyrus. Only the top margin of ca 1 cm is preserved. It contains eleven lines of text written in black ink along the papyrus fibers in a Ptolemaic cursive hand datable to the 3rd cent. BCE, cf. Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 3.2, pp. 198-199. It comes from cartonnage, since before restoration it featured traces of gypsum. The verso is blank.

→

1	]ται ὑπὸ ὀλ[
2	]όντος πράγ[ματος
3	]συνθιασίτου κ.[
4	π]ρόσταγμα ἀπε.[
5	συ]νθιασίτην αυ[
6	] ἀποδῶι τοὺς δ[
7	]ησεν ὀλυ. [
8	]διὰ τὸ γρα.[
9	]ασιμοι .[
10	]αὐτοὺς π.[
11	]ν[

The only interesting term in this small fragment from Ptolemaic Egypt occurs in ll. 3 and 5 where one finds respectively *συνθιασίτου* and *συ]νθιασίτην*, ‘fellow-member of a *thiasos*’, a typically Greek institution of a religious association protected by the local government.

On associations in Ptolemaic Egypt see M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*

(München, 1915, 1972²); F. Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (Cairo, 1972); M. Muszynski, “Les ‘associations religieuses’ en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques”, *OLP* 8 (1977), pp. 145–74; B. P. Muhs, “Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis”, *JESHO* 44 (2001), pp. 1–44; A. Monson, “The ethics and the economics of Ptolemaic religious associations”, *Anc.Soc.* 36 (2006), pp. 221–238.

Commentary

2. Here we expect something like τοῦ πα]ρόντος or τοῦ ἐπ]ίοντος πράγ[ματος.

3. Very few papyri attest the word συνθιασίτης. A search in the DDbDP for θιασιτ- yielded 13 attestations of θιασίτης and συνθιασίτης in 8 texts from various provenances in Ptolemaic Egypt:

O.Joachim 1.7 (Omboi, 79 BCE): ἐφ' Ἑρμίου <τοῦ Καλλίου> οἴκο(νόμου), καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θιασιτῶν

O.Joachim 2.8 (Omboi, 78 BCE): καὶ Καλλίου Ἑρμίου ἀρχιθιασίτης (l. ἀρχιθιασίτου)

O.Joachim 7.8–9 (Omboi, 73 BCE): καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θιασιτῶν

O.Joachim 18.6–9 (Omboi, 53 BCE): ἐφ' Ἑρμίου Καλλίου ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδ(ω)ν | καὶ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων (l. βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως) καὶ χρισμοῦ (l. χειρισμοῦ) | καὶ πορθώτην (l. πορθώτου), καὶ τῶν θιασιθῶν (l. θιασιτῶν) πάν-των ---

P.Enteux. 20 (Alexandrou Nesos [Arsin.], 221 BCE): 1–6 -- Ἄδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ | Φιλίπ[που καὶ Διονυσίου. τ]οῦ [γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἀδελ]φοῦ Ἀπολλοδότου συνθιασιτεῦοντος αὐτοῖς | μετ[-ca.?-]ω[-ca.?-]υδιος τῷ Μάρωνος, ὄντες ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς, ὁ δὲ | ἀρχιθιασί[της, τελευτήσα]ντο[ς τοῦ Ἀπ]ολλοδότου, πρὸς τῷ μῆτε θάψαι μῆτε | ἐξακολ[ουθῆσαι αὐτῷ κα]τὰ [τὸν θιασι]τικὸν νόμον, οὐδὲ τὸ γινόμενον αὐτῷ | [ἀ]ποδεδώκ[ασιν].

P.Enteux. 21 (Magdola [Arsin.], 218 BCE): 2–3 καὶ Τετειμ[-ca.?- κ]αὶ Ἐριέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν [σ]υνθιασιτίδων ἰτῶν ἐκ Κερκεθοήρεως, τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος/. Σοήριος γὰρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου | γυναικὸς δ[ἐ Τεῶ]τος τοῦ προγεγραμμένου σ[υ]νθιασιτεουσῆς ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις --

verso 2–3: πρ(ὸς) Τεμσῶν | καὶ τὰς συνθιασιτίδας

P.Grenf. 1:31 (Pathyris, 101/100 BCE): 5 -- συνθιασίταις, ἐν μ(ηνὶ) Παχῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ 15-17. πρᾶξις ἔστω Ἐριανοῦπι καὶ τοῖς συν-θιασίταις ἐκ τῶν Νεχούτου καὶ ἐκ τῶ[ν] ἰ̅ ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶ̅ πάντων
SB 3:6319 (200/201 BCE): col. i.51-53: ἐὰν συνανάβωσιν ἰ̅ οἱ συνθιασίτοι (ἰ̅ συνθιασίται) πάντες, ἰ̅ ἐπεὶ δώσω (ἰ̅ ἐπὶ δώσω) οἴνου [κ]εράμια.

4. π]ρόσταγμα: this a reference to a royal decree, or a decree issued by another (lower) authority. Cf. J. Modrzejewski, “The *prostagma* in the Papyri”, *JJurPap* 5 (1951), pp. 187-206.

6 A formula like ἐὰν δὲ μὴ] ἀποδοῶ̅, could be supplied.

7. ὄλυ.[: or separate ο from λυ.[? Here we might be dealing with a personal name beginning with Ὀλυμπ-, i.e. Ὀλύμπιος or Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, perhaps also in line 1.

8. Perhaps διὰ τὸ γρά[φειν

9.]άσιμοι: for adjectives in -σιμος, see O. Montevocchi, “Note lessicali nei papiri: gli aggettivi in -σιμος”, in M. Capasso-G. Messeri Savorelli-R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana II* (Firenze, 1990; *Pap.Flor.* 19.2), pp. 443-449. STT-KAW

88-92. ACCOUNTS AND PAYMENTS

88. ACCOUNTS

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 757

Provenance unknown

H. 8.2 cm. x W. 9.9 cm.

Date: 3rd cent. BCE

TM 144231

This fragment of papyrus is written on both sides along the papyrus fibers, i.e., on the one side at 90° of the other. It features whitish stains, since it probably comes from a cartonnage. The margins preserved on side 1 are the top (0.5 cm.), the LH (0.3 cm.), the bottom (1.2 cm.), and the RH (2.6 cm.). On the other side, the

LH (0.6 cm.) and RH (ca. 1 cm.) and the bottom (4 cm.) margins are preserved.

Side 1

→

1	Χαβρίου λόγος	<i>vacat</i>
2	Μεχεῖρ Ζήνωνι	(δρ.) κε
3	Φαμενώθ	<i>vacat</i>
4	Σαμαῦτι τιμὴν	
5	[χ]ηνῶν	(δρ.) ιζ =
6	[.....]	(δρ.) ..[
7	[.....], τι ἔλ(αίου)	χ ^c [<i>n.</i>]
8	[Φαρμο]ῦθι Ζήνωνι	κ []

“Account of Chabrias

Mecheir, to Zenon 25 dr.

Phamenothe

To Samaus, the price
of geese (?), 17 dr. 2 ob.

[--] *n* dr.[

To ..., of oil 6-choes [*n.*]

Pharmouthi, to Zenon 20 --[]”

In view of the occurrence of the name Zenon in ll. 2 and 8 and the palaeographical date of the papyrus, one wonders whether there may be a link with the Zenon archive. The name Chabrias (l. 1) occurs in there indeed, but only once, i.e. as that of an *archihyperetes* (*P.Cair.Zen.* 1:59006.iii.52); for another personal name connected with the Zenon archive, cf. below, l. 4n. and verso l. 4n. On the other hand, the surface of the papyrus features traces of a white substance, probably to be connected with an origin of the papyrus from cartonnage, while among the Zenon papyri there are no papyri deriving from mummy cartonnage.

Side 2

→ -----
 1 τοῦ ὄνου []
 2 (δρ.) λS= δ̄ []
 3 (γίν.)(?) ογS = δ̄
 4 ὃ ἔχει Ἀμεννεὺς ἐλ(αίου) δ̄
 5 Πομουει α .
 6 (γίν.) οδS= .

Commentary to side 1

4. Σαμαῦς is a spelling variant of the name Σαμῶς, cf. *NB Dem.* 1348, TM/People name ID 1028. The spelling in our text is apparently not found in texts belonging to the Zenon archive. For occurrences of the name Σαμῶς in the Zenon archive, cf. *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 21, p. 413.

7. χ^c= (ἐξά)χ(οα); for this measure with a capacity of 6 choes, see the remarks of N. Kruit - K.A. Worp, "Metrological notes on measures and containers of liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt", *Archiv* 45 (1999), pp. 96-127, esp. p. 107.

Commentary to side 2

1. We do not know what is intended here.

2. (and 3, 6). There is a serious problem in the arithmetics. It looks as if one is dealing with an amount of 30.5 dr., 2 ob., but one would have normally expected 30 dr., 5 ob. (in principle, 0.5 dr. = 3 ob.) Moreover, it is all but clear what the function of the δ̄ is. Evidently, the difference between 73.5 <dr.> 2 ob. (l. 3) minus 30.5 dr. 2 ob. (l. 2) = 43 dr., but we do not find this amount back elsewhere in the document.

Indeed, 73.5 dr., 2 ob. (l. 3) + 1 <dr.> (l. 5) would make 74.5 dr., 2 ob. (l. 6), but it is uncertain whether such an addition was indeed intended. The problem is compounded in that the δ̄ from ll. 2 and 3 does not resurface in l. 6. It is just possible that these δ̄ are to be retrieved in l. 4, ἐλ(αίου) δ̄, but we feel most uncertain about this.

4. For the name Ἀμεννεὺς found in a number of texts belonging to the Zenon archive, see *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 21, p. 282.

5-6. A personal name Πομοῦις is so far unattested; the name Πομοῦς comes close (cf. *P. Tebt.* 3.2:894, from ca. 114 BCE). STT-KAW

89. ORDER TO PAY

P.Mons.Roca inv. no. 223b

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos?

H. 13 cm. x W. 13 cm.

Date: 336/7 CE

TM 219257

For the material description of this papyrus, and the contents of the other side, see above 64.

↓

- 1 Π(αρά) Εὐπόρου Διδύμης [to N.N.]
 2 κλιβάνι χαίρειν.
 3 Δὸς Θεοδώρῳ ὑπηρ(έτη) λογιστ[είας
 4 ἄ μοι ὀφείλεις ἀπὸ λόγου [
 5 ἀργυρίου τάλαν[τα *n.* τὰ]
 6 χωροῦντά μοι [διὰ]
 7 τοῦ πατρός μου [
 8 (Ἔτους) λα καὶ κα καὶ ιγ καὶ δ/ κα[ἰ β]
 9 σεσημ(είωμαι).
 2 l. κλιβάνει 4 l. ὀφείλεις

“From Euporos son of Didyme to N.N. baker, greetings. Give to Theodoros the assistant of (the office of the) *logisteia* what you owe to me from the account [of -, i.e. *n.*] talents of silver, coming to me [--- through(?)] my father [N.N.] Year 31=21=13=4=[2, Month, day] I have signed”.

While the other side contains a Greek horoscope, this side of the papyrus sheet contains an order issued by a certain Euporos to an anonymous baker to pay a certain amount of money

(indicated in talents) to Theodoros, an assistant working in the office of the provincial *logistes*. In fact, this money was owed by the baker to Euporos and perhaps it was coming to Euporos through his father (cf. the restoration of *διὰ* in l. 6; cf. also l. 1n.). By choosing this procedure Euporos apparently wishes to settle a debt he himself already has versus the provincial authorities.

Commentary

1. It is striking that Euporos (for the name, see TM/People name ID 3050: ca. 125 attestations) is identified here only as ‘the son of Didyme’, hence he may have been an *apator*. On this term, see H.C. Youtie, “Apatores: Law vs. Custom in Roman Egypt”, in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Bruxelles, 1975), pp. 723-740 (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores*, I [Bonn, 1981], pp. 17-35) and more recently, M. Malouta, “Fatherlessness and Formal Identification in Roman Egypt”, in S. Hübner and D. Ratzan (eds.), *Growing up Fatherless in Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 120-138. At the same time and in conflict herewith, l. 7 mentions a father of Euporos (τοῦ πατρός μου, “my father”). We assume that this refers not to the physical father of Euporos, but to a man who is considered to be equal to his father in terms of age and personal affection. To be sure, we considered a reading Π(αρά) Εὐπόρου Διδύμη Σ[, i.e. “from Euporos to Didyme daughter of S—”, but in that case there would be a problem with the following term κλιβάνει, which, given its ending in -εύς, is undoubtedly a masculine noun; cf. K.A. Worp, “Female Professionals in the Hellenistic World”, in *Palabras Bien Dichas. Estudios filológicos dedicados al P. Pius Ramon Tragan* (Montserrat/Barcelona, 2011), pp. 85-86, n. 14.

2. On the profession of the κλιβανεύς, see E. Battaglia, *‘ARTOS’: Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci* (Milano, 1989), p. 188; K. Ruffing, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk* (Rahden/West, 2008), vol. 2, p. 595.

3. On the *hyperetes* in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see H. Kupiszewski-J. Modrzejewski, “Hyperetai. Étude sur les fonctions et le rôle des hyperètes dans l’administration civile et judiciaire de l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, *JJurPap* 11-12 (1957-1958), pp. 141-166, and more recently S. Strassi, *Le funzioni degli υπηρέται nell’Egitto greco e romano* (Heidelberg, 1997; *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Schrift. Phil.-hist. Kl. 3*).

8. The year is 336/7 CE, cf. *CSBE*, p. 55; unfortunately, the precise month and day are lost. At this point within the 4th century, regnal datings are found only in texts from Oxyrhynchos (cf. *CSBE*, pp. 44-45, 250-1). STT-KAW

90. RECEIPT FOR LOAVES OF BREAD

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 619*
H. 4.9 cm. x W. 15 cm.
TM 128358

Provenance unknown
Date: 6th-7th cent. CE

The margins of this papyrus strip are irregular at top, LH, and bottom, and are all less than 1 cm. The writing reaches the edge of the RH margin. The text is written in an irregular cursive across the papyrus fibers in black ink. The verso is blank.

↓

1 † Τῷ εὐλαβ(εστάτῳ) ἀββᾶ Μήτρα μονάζ(οντι) Ἱερακίων·
2 παράσχ(ου) τοῖς ἀγγαρ(ευταῖς) Δωράνης ψωμία δέκα
3 ὀκτώ, γί(ν.) ψωμ(ία) ιη. Μηνὶ Μεσορῆ κδ αἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
1 Ἱερακίων P.

“† To the most pious abba Metras the monk, Hierakion. Deliver to the labourers of Dorane, eighteen loaves of bread, total 18 loaves of bread. In the month of Mesoré on the 24th of the first indiction”.

This papyrus strip contains a receipt for bread addressed to an ‘abba’ for the payment of workers in kind. For payments in bread, there are three orders from Bawit: *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 14, 15 and 16.

* This papyrus was first published as *P.Clackson* 48, S. Torallas Tovar – K. A. Worp, “Three Greek Montserrat texts related to the Monastery of Apa Apollo”, in A. Boud’hors, J. Clackson, C. Louis, and P. Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt: Ostraca, Papyri, and Studies in Honour of Sarah Clackson*, (Cincinnati, Ohio, 2009), pp. 126-127.

Commentary

1. For the title ‘abba’, see T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, “L’emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l’Égypte byzantine”, *JJurPap* 24 (1994), pp. 23–56. The name Μήτρως (TM/People name ID 10617) appears to date in documentary papyri only in *SB* 22:15365.4 (Oxy., 7th cent.).

2. For the word ἀγγαρευτής, ‘laborer’, see *P.Hamb.* 3:216 intro.; *P.Oxy.* 58:3958.28n.; *CPR* 22:45.5.

For the personal name Δωράνης (TM/People name ID 25564), cf. *P.Herm.* 73.2 (Hermop., 5th cent. CE), where Δωράνις (ed.: l. Δωρανίω) is written where a dative should be used. We think it not unconceivable that in fact Δωράνις is a iotacistic spelling of Δωράνης and that the latter form was left uninflected. It seems also conceivable that one is dealing with a female personal or geographical name Δωράνης, gen. in -ης; such a name, however, is not yet found in the standard onomastica or in the DDbDP. There are other names that can be compared to ours: Τωράνιος, *P.Lond.* 5:1771.4 (Hermopolite, 6th cent. CE), or Τωράννος, *SPP* 20:221.21 (Hermopolite, 6th cent. CE). However, Preisigke, *NB*, s.n. connects these with Τύραννος.

On bread and baking in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see E. Battaglia, *‘ARTOS’: Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci* (Milano, 1989), for ψωμία, see esp. pp. 97–99.

3. For the word μηνί written out in full, cf. the remarks made by N. Gonis, “Two Poll-Tax Receipts from Early Islamic Egypt”, *ZPE* 131 (2000), pp. 150–154, esp. 154 note to 1. 3 and fn. 16 and N. Gonis, “Reconsidering some Fiscal Documents from Early Islamic Egypt”, *ZPE* 137 (2001), pp. 225–228, esp. 226 n.12. Our text does not contribute to sharing his preference for μ(ηνός) instead of μ(ηνί).

For the use of the temporal dative in such datings in Byzantine papyri, compare also the many cases of datings of the type ἐγράφη μηνί [month name], with μηνί written out in full (we have not found any case of ἐγράφη μηνός written out in full); Mayser, *Gram.* vol. 2.2, pp. 296–297, discusses the temporal dative in Ptolemaic documents.

Mesore 24 = 17 viii. There is no way to establish which Julian year was covered by the 1st indiction (in the late 6th cent. = 552/553, 567/568, 582/583, 597/598; in the early 7th century = 612/613, 627/628, 642/643, etc.). STT-KAW

91. ACCOUNT OR MEMORANDUM?

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 225
 H. 4.9 cm. x W. 16.5 cm.
 TM 219258

Provenance unknown
 Date: 7th-8th cent. CE

The recto of this papyrus is inscribed perpendicularly to the direction of the fibers. The verso is blank. All margins are preserved, the top (0.5 cm.), the LH (0.3 cm.), the RH (1.7 cm.) and the bottom (ca. 2 cm.). It is written in black ink in a tiny trained cursive datable to the 7th or 8th cent. CE.

↓

1 † Δ(ιὰ) ἄβ(β)α Βίκτω(ω)ρος ἀπὸ μοναστη(ρίου) ἀρ(ι)θ(μια)
 νο(μισμάτια) κε (καὶ) νο(μ.) ια (καὶ) β' νο(μ.) λά
 2 (ὑπὲρ) Μικροῦ Παννει() νο(μ.) νο(μ.) νο(μ.)
 1 ια Pap.

“Through Abba Biktor from the monastery (paid) 25 reckoned solidi and 11 solidi and secondly (?) 31 sol.; for the small Pannei(s) (paid) sol. -, sol. -, sol. -.”

This small strip of papyrus records a payment by abba Biktor, attached to an unidentified monastery, of three different amounts of *solidi*, i.e. 25, 11 and 31 *sol.* for unspecified purposes. As these amounts are relatively high, probably the payment of taxes or rent by a larger community were involved.

Commentary

1. The meaning of the beta in (καὶ) β' νο(μ.) λά is not clear. Is this perhaps a kind of shorthand for a 2nd tax instalment? Actually, however, this is the third amount indicated in this line.

2. A recording of a second payment for ‘small Pann--’ was intended. The scribe already noted the abbreviation νο(μ.) 3x, but the actual amounts were never filled out. A personal name Παννεῖς (gen. Παννεῖτος) apparently does not yet

occur, but cf. Παννῆ (gen.) in *P.Cair.Isid.* 1:10 and Παννῆς in *P.Mich.* 9:573.2, 20.21 and in *P.Paris* 21ter, p. 257, l. 30. We have not found a toponym of the name Παννει() Μικροῦ. At best, one may compare the Oxyrhynchite toponym ‘Panneui’ in TM/Places geo ID 2871. STT-KAW

92. LIST OF PAYMENTS

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 516*
H. 6.5 cm. x W. 17.5 cm.
TM 128357

Provenance: Hermopolis
Date: 7th-8th cent. CE

This papyrus has a rather rough surface. It preserves the top (0.6 cm.) and LH (1.2 cm.) margins. It features two vertical fold marks. It contains a list of personal names followed by amounts of solidi, written in two columns of five lines each across the direction of the fibers. The provenance of the text is probably the Hermopolite nome, cf. Titkois in 1.2. The palaeographical aspects of the handwriting allow us to assign the text to a date in the 7th-8th cent. CE⁵. The text on the verso holds the remains of four lines also written across the papyrus fibers on this side at 90° of the text on the other side.

Recto

↓

col. 1

1	† Ἰωά(ννης) ἀνυ(τής) τῆς	νο(μ.) ς S γ ιβ
2	Τιτκώ(εως) M2 ... M1	νο(μ.) α

* This papyrus was first published as *P.Clackson* 48, S. Torallas Tovar-K. A. Worp, “Three Greek Montserrat texts related to the Monastery of Apa Apollo”, in A. Boud’hors-J. Clackson-C. Louis-P. Sijpesteijn (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt: Ostraca, Papyri, and Studies in Honour of Sarah Clackson*, (Cincinnati, Ohio, 2009), pp. 124-126.

⁵ Our colleague A. Papatomas, *Tyche* 25 (2010), p. 247, prefers an 8th cent. date.

3	Ἀπολλ() πρξ(σβυτέρου)	νο(μ.) β)
4	Ἰωαννου	νο(μ.) α
5	Ἰο[ύ]στου	νο(μ.) ιβ
col. 2		
6	Ἰσακ() []πρξ()	νο(μ.) α ζ
7	Μασκοι	νο(μ.) α
8	Γεωργ(ίου)	νο(μ.) γ
9	Ἀγουφίου	νο(μ.) δ/
10	γί(ν.)	νο(μ.) ιβ γ ιβ

“† Of Johannes, exactor of the village of 6 ½ ⅓ ⅓ sol.
 Titkois 1 sol.
 of Apoll(o), priest ⅔ sol.
 of Johannes 1 sol.
 of Justos ⅓ sol.
 of Isak, -πος() 1 ⅓ sol.
 of Maskoi 1 sol.
 of Georgios ⅓ sol.
 of Anouphios ¼ sol.
 in total 12 ⅓ ⅓ sol.”

Verso

↓

1	† ἐν χρ(ήσει)	νο(μ.) β δ
2	ἄμα Θεοδ(ώρα)	νο(μ.) δ ζ
3	Ἀπολλ()	νο(μ.) δ
4	παλ..	νο(μ.) α
	1. Οτ χρ(υσῶ).	

The precise purpose of the list is not indicated by way of a heading with a word like γνῶσις or λόγος, but it is connected with payments, e.g. rents or taxes. The individual amounts recorded range between ⅓ sol. (line 5) and 1 ⅓ sol. (line 6), while in between columns 1 and 2 mention is made of an amount of 6 ½ sol. Given the variation in payments it does not seem very likely

that one is dealing with a register of payments of a single per capita tax like the *diagraphon*.

It seems certain that one should take ll. 1-2 Ἰωά(ννης) ἀνυ(τῆς) τῆς Τιτκώ(εως), together; in other words, we do not think that the amount of $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ sol. belongs to Johannes himself, and we assume that this amount refers to a collection of money referred to earlier on. Adding the amounts in lines 2-9 one arrives to the total of $5 \frac{1}{2}$ sol. which sum, augmented with the $6 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ sol., yields in line 10 the total of $12 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ sol.

Commentary to the recto

1. For the ἀνυτής, 'exactor', cf. *Just. Nov.* 163 (2). Papathomas, *Tyche* 25 (2010), p. 247, suggests that this line and the following features names in the genitive form, as in ll. 4, 5 and 9.

2. For the village of Titkois in the Hermopolite nome, see Calderini-Daris, *Diz.geogr.*, p. 131 and S. Clackson, in the introduction to *P.Mon.Apollo*, pp. 5-9. It is unclear what the function of the letters added by a second (previous?) hand is; their reading is far from certain and we have refrained from proposing any reading at all (should the papyrus be turned by 90° or 180°?).

3. Οἱ Ἀπολλ(ῶ)τος or Ἀπολλ(ῶ), Papathomas, *Tyche* 25 (2010), p. 247. Instead of reading πρε(σβυτέρου) one may also consider a reading πρᾶ(κτορος) or πρᾶ(γματευτοῦ).

5. There is a *Iouste* in *P.LouvreBawit* 25.3.

6. We do not know how to resolve the abbreviation [.]πρσ().

7. A personal name *Maskoi* is not known from Greek or Coptic documentary sources; for the latter, see Hasitzka, *NB Copt.* We think it conceivable that one should separate the elements μασ(ε) and κο(υ)ι for the former (yielding translations like 'young', 'young calf/bull'; we observe that μασ(ε) often forms the first element in compounded personal names); for the latter compare κοι, 'small'.

9. It should be noticed that in other lines the fractions of a solidus (1 sol. = 24 ker.) are given in the order of $\frac{2}{3}$ (l. 3), $\frac{1}{3}$ (ll. 1, 8), $\frac{1}{6}$ (l. 6), $\frac{1}{12}$ (ll. 1, 5), rather than as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{32}$, etc. Only in l. 1, one finds the fraction of $\frac{1}{2}$.

Commentary to the verso

2. A. Papatomas, *Tyche* 25 (2010), p. 247 suggests that, if the text on the verso follows the text on the recto, one might consider that the names should be in the genitive case, and one might read here a genitive ἄμα Θεοδ(ώρας). There is a Theodora (ΘΕΘΩΔΩΡΑ ΤΑΚΟΝΘΕ) in *I.Baouit* 43:9.5.

Furthermore one finds various traces of an earlier (?), very faded (intentionally erased?) text written perpendicular to these lines (and parallel with the fibre direction). Of this text only the words Θελε Ἀπολλω() are still legible.

STT-KAW

93-96. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

93. NOTE ASKING FOR HELP

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 36

Provenance unknown

H. 6.2 cm. x W. 8.5 cm.

Date: 2nd cent. CE

TM 219259

The margins have been preserved, at the top 0.7, at the LH side 0.7, at the bottom 2.8 cm. There are traces of a vertical and three horizontal folds. The verso seems blank, although there are traces of ink which remain unintelligible. The scribe is clearly not a professional, though the hand is not crude. It is very difficult to assign a precise date. The ε and the μ may point to a 2nd cent. CE date.

→

- 1 Κατεστάθην ἐπὶ τῆ[ς]
- 2 τῆς Εὐθηνίας πύλης δ[...]
- 3 θρας ὅπου ἐπραγματε[ύθην.]

4 Εἰ οὖν ἦδὺ σοί ἐστιν, ἔλ[θε]
 5 ἵνα μοι βοηθήσης.

“I was stopped at the Gate of Prosperity ---- where I happened to be busy. If you please, come to my help”.

This papyrus fragment features a short note asking for help, without any further reference to the recipient or the dispatcher. It may refer to someone who has been arrested and placed in prison. The arrested person was probably working or conducting business at a local market by the city gate. Requests for help are common in the papyri, especially in the context of imprisonment. See for example *P.Cair.Zen.* 3:59519 (Alexandria, mid 3rd cent. BCE), *P.Col.* 3:18 (provenance unknown, 257 BCE). See also S. Torallas Tovar, “Violence in the process of arrest and imprisonment in the papyri of Late Antique Egypt”, in H. Drake (ed.), *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 101–110.

Commentary

2. This seems to be a topographical reference to a Gate of Prosperity, so far unattested. For the name of a Gate in Alexandria, cf. now J. Gascou, “La σημασία *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2719 et le paysage urbain d’Alexandrie”, *CdÉ* 87 (2012), p. 309, l. 2; but this should not be taken as meaning that we suggest attributing this document to Alexandria as well; there is only a chance that the document comes from Alexandria, but one should not discard the possibility that in fact a gate in Oxyrhynchos, Hermopolis, or Antinoopolis, *vel sim.* is meant. On gates in Egypt, see recently K.A. Worp, ‘Excursus: On Gates (Pylai) in Graeco-Roman Egypt’, in “SB I 2639: A Semasia-Note Accompanying a Mummy”, *Archiv* 59.2 (2013), pp. 375–382.

2-3. Judging by the reconstructions of lines 3 and 4, we reckon that three letters are lost at the end of line 2. A restoration δ[ιὰ κύ]- | θρας does not appeal to us. We reckon with a restoration δ[ι’ ἔχ]- | θρας, “because of enmity” (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἔχθρα), but to date this is not attested in the papyri.

4. This expression as such seems also unattested in the papyri published to date. For similar phrasings, see *P.Oxy.* 66:4544.15: ἐάν σοι ἡδὺ ἦ, γράψεις μοι; *P.Köln* 2:106.7-8: ἐάν καὶ σοι ἡδὺ ἦ. For such phrasings in general, see H. A. Steen, “Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques”, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938), pp. 119-176. STT-KAW

94. PRIVATE LETTER MENTIONING A HIEROGLYPH CARVER

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 247
H. 8.1 cm. x W. 16.7 cm.
TM 219260

Provenance: Oxyrhynchos?
Date: end of 3rd-4th cent. CE

This papyrus fragment features a letter written in black ink along the direction of the fibers of a middle brown papyrus sheet featuring an irregular surface. It has one vertical and several horizontal folding marks. The hand is cursive, fairly irregular, and can be dated to the 3rd-4th cent. CE. On the verso there are traces of several lines of washed off text at 90° of the text on the other side. On the right hand side, across the fibres stands the address in two lines.

Recto

→

- 1 Τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς [μο]υ δεσπότη καὶ κυρί[ω] Σιφάρω, Ν.Ν.
χαίρειν]
- 2 Πρὸ μὲν π[άν]τ[ων] εὔχο]μ[α]ί σε ὑγιένιν μοι, πά[τερ,]
- 3 []αστος []β[]μιν πρᾶγμα κα[θ]ότι ἡμι[]
- 4 [Ε]ἴσηκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐξεπλέξατε ἐν τάχι[] ἵνα τὸ]
- 5 [ἀ]μερίμνον σχωῶμεν. ὡς νεανίσκος δὲ οφιλ[]
- 6 μόνον μνημονεύετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γινο[μένους]
- 7 νισσον. Θῶνις [ὁ] ἱερόγλυφος μέσον τοῦ δρόμου πο[]
- 8 ελες καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα πάντα. Ἄλλὰ χάριτα ἐχ[-]
- 9 εις· θαρῶν ἐστάθην καὶ μέχρι νῦν διεσώθην []

- 10 μοντα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι. Ἀσπάζετ[αι σε N.N. καὶ
οἱ παρ' ἡ-]
- 11 μῶν πάντες. Ἀσπάζου τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν[N.N. καὶ]
- 12 [] καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμῶν. Ἐρρῶσθαί σε [εὐχομαι καὶ
εὐκαι-]
- 13 *vacat* ρῖν, περίψημ[ά μου]
- 2 l. ὑγιαίνειν, ü- Pap. 4 l. τάχει 7 ἱερόγλυφος, ï- Pap. 9 l. θαρρῶν
11 πατέρα features a gap between π and α 13 -ρεῖν

Verso

↓

- 1 ἀπόδ(ος) Σιφάρῳ
- 2 ἱερεῖ

“To the Master of my soul and my Lord Sipharos, NN greetings. Before all, I pray for your health, father. ... [...] We have heard that you disentangled quickly. ... so that we remain free from care. Like a young boy ... Just call to mind the men who became ... Thonis the hieroglyph carver in the middle of the road ... and all the consequences. But I (?) am grateful ... I remained courageous and until now I was saved ... in this business. N.N. and everyone with us greets you. Greet our father N.N. and ... and our friends. I pray for your health and well-being, my deliverance”.

Verso

“Give to Sipharos, the priest”

This papyrus contains a virtually complete private letter. Its main interest lays in the fact that there is a mention of a hieroglyph carver and a pagan priest in a letter which can be dated to the 3rd-4th cent. CE (cf. 69). At this point, the use of hieroglyphs was almost extinct, and their meaning only known to a few people. Notably, Horapollo wrote in the 5th cent. CE a treatise “On hieroglyphs” in which he exhibits already a lack of knowledge of the true meaning of the signs (only some 57% of his descriptions are correct). See F. Crevatin-G. Tedeschi, *Horapollo L'Egiziano. Trattato Sui Geroglifici* (Napoli, 2002; *Quaderni Di AIONNS* 8), p. 21; H.-J. Thissen, *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch*.

1. *Text und Übersetzung* (München-Leipzig, 2001; ArchivBeih. 6). See also E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in the European Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1961), p. 48, and H. Sternberg-El Hotabi, “Der Untergang der Hieroglyphenschrift”, *CdÉ* 69 (1994), pp. 218-245.

Commentary

1. For the expression Τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς [μο]υ δεσπότη καὶ κυρί[ω], cf. *P.Lond.* 3:1244.1 (4th cent. CE): τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ κυρίω τῆς ψυχῆς μου Κοπρέα; *SB* 20:14226.1-4 (4th-5th cent. CE): τῷ δεσπότη μου τῆς | ψυχῆς μου ὡς ἀληθῶς | τιμιωτάτῳ μου πατρὶ | Θέωνι Θέρπη; 30-31 (= verso): τῷ δεσπότη μου τῆς ψυχῆς [μου] πατρὶ Θέωνι Θέρπη. The name Sipharos is restored from the verso (cf. TM/People name ID 12184, with only two attestations, one of them in Oxyrhynchos).

4-5. The expression ἵνα τὸ | [ἀ]μερίμνον σχῶμεν has a parallel in *P.Flor.* 2:157.12.

5. We cannot decide whether the string οφιλ[belongs to ὁ φίλος or to a form of the verb ὀφείλω.

7. The reading of the name Thonis is not completely sure (cf. TM/People name ID 1384). This name predominantly occurs in Oxyrhynchos.

There are two more papyri containing references to hieroglyph carvers, *SB* 3:7258.5 (Oxy., 1st cent. CE) and *P.Oxy.* 7:1029. 5, 6, 8, 15 (Oxy., 107 CE), which proves that a small guild of hieroglyph carvers still existed in Oxyrhynchos in the 2nd cent. CE. These carvers must have existed at least until the end of the 4th century, when we find the last hieroglyphic inscriptions.

8. The expression χάριτα ἔχειν can have two different meanings, ‘to owe a debt of gratitude’, or ‘to favour/be partial to someone’ (cf. *LSJ*, s.v.).

12. At the beginning of the line there is a word of about 6 characters which was thoroughly deleted by the scribe. Only the last two characters (-υδ-) are partially visible.

13. The word περίφημα appears only twice in the papyri (*P.Mich.* 8:473.18; *P.Petaus* 29.5), though in a slightly different context. If the term is taken as meaning ‘humble servant’ as in *CIL* 8:12924, then one should supply

περίημι[ά σου. However, we prefer to relate it to the object of the wish, σε, supplying μου, and attributing to the term a meaning like ‘deliverance’ or ‘salvation’ (cf. Suda Π 1355: περίημιμα ἡμῶν γενοῦ. ἦτοι σωτηρία καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις). STT-KAW

95. A GREEK LETTER FROM SYRIA

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 241*

Provenance: Syria?

Fr. A: H. 12.2 cm. x W. 7.2 cm.

Date: 4th-5th cent. CE

Fr. B: H. 12.4 cm. x W. 10 cm.

TM 219261

These two fragments form a Greek private letter broken into two pieces. The interval between the two fragments seems to be only 1-1.5 cm. The margins preserved are the top (ca. 1 cm.), the LH (2.1 cm.). The writing reaches the edges of the RH margin. The bottom margin is lost. On both the recto and the verso the writing runs parallel with the fibers. The date of the handwriting of this private letter may be assigned to the late 4th or early 5th century and its ‘Textheimat’ seems to be Egypt.

Recto

→

- 1 Κυρίωι π[οθεινοτάτω ἀδ]ελφῶι Διοσκόρωι Ἀνδρέας
- 2 καὶ Ἡρακλείδ[ης] χαίρειν.
- 3 Τὸν περὶ τὸ[[ν]] καλ[.....]μον τῆς σῆς ἐρασμίου διαθέσε-
- 4 ως [εἰ]δότες καὶ [εὖ ἐπιστά]μενοι μελῶν σοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν
δικαιο-

* This papyrus was first published in Klaas A. Worp, “A Greek Letter from Syria”, in A. Houtman, A. de Jong, M. Misset van de Weg (eds.), *Empsychoi Logoi. Religious Innovations in Antiquity: Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 359-364.

5 σύ[ν]ην κατορ[θώσεως.]ομεν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Συρίας
 ἐκκλησιῶν·
 6 λο[ι]πὸν ἡγαγ[κασμένοι] σὺν τῇ τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρὸς
 7 ἡμῶν καὶ διδ[ασκάλου] Καλλιπίου εὐκερδία καὶ σὺν θεῷ
 8 φάναι καὶ τὴν [.] σπευσούμεθα μετὰ ὑπολύποισιν
 9 εἰρηνικοῖς [?ἀνθρώπο]ις ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνα-
 10 γγ[ω]ρισμοῖς [?λαβόντες] καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κρείττονος
 11 δωρεὰς ἀσμ[ένως]. Τυχ[ῶν] γὰρ τῆς δικαιο[σύνης] καὶ αὐ-
 12 τὸς φρόντισ[ον ἵνα σὺ] εἰ[κ]ότως ἂν τ[ο]ῦτο ποιή-
 13 σε[ι]ας προσε[] []

8 l. σπευσούμεθα | 1. ὑπολείπουσιν: 2nd u ex corr

Verso (written at the back of fr. A at 90°)

→

1 Κ[υ]ρίῳ ποθεινοτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ [Διοσκόρῳ]

“To (their) dearest brother Dioskoros, Andreas and Herakleides (send) greetings. Knowing the. . . of your loving disposition concerning the. . . and well aware that the correction in fairness is a matter of care to you, we [*verb*] from the churches distributed over the (various parts) of Syria. Furthermore, as we have been forced (to this) with the profit/gain of the wholly blessed father and teacher Kallipios and with God so to speak, we shall really hasten to make the [journey to you?] with the remaining peaceful (i.e. Christian?) people, gladly receiving in the recognition of justice the gifts of the Almighty. For in the possession of justice you by yourself, too, must think that you can do this reasonably---”

This fragment contains a private letter. The names of the senders of the letter and of its addressee are not informative and its precise contents are not easy to determine with complete certainty, but two things stand out:

1. The letter apparently refers to churches in Syria (cf. line 5) and its authors, Andreas and Herakleides (cf. lines 1–2) seem to be reporting about their situation directly from this country (in that case the letter’s ‘Schriftheimat’ would be Syria);

2. It mentions a personal name which is unusual in the documentary papyri from Egypt, i.e. a certain Kalliopios who is perhaps to be linked to one or more persons living in Syrian Antiochia, ca. 390 CE (see line 7, note *ad loc.*). It is unclear what the authors mean precisely when using the phrase “with the profit/gain of Kalliopios” (for σύν indicating a necessary connexion or consequence, cf. *LSJ* s.v. 6). What is certain is that the concept of ‘fairness and justice’ (δικαιοσύνη) is prominently on the authors’ mind, cf. the repeated use of this noun in lines 4–5, 9, and 11.

Commentary

3. Probably a neuter noun needs to be restored with the (corrected) article τὸ; if so, a restoration Τὸν περὶ τὸ κάλλ[ος ? ca. 5]μον imposes itself in which τὸν is the article belonging to a masc. noun in -]μον. That noun forms the object to εἰδότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι, participles of verbs meaning ‘to know something’ (cf. next note), but I have not been able to retrieve the noun in question.

3–4. For the use of the word διάθεσις, see Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. It is frequently used in complimentary addresses; for its use in the papyri see H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen und Höflichkeitstiteln im Griechischen* (Helsingfors, 1949), pp. 66, 88. The word combination ἐράσμιος διάθεσις is attested neither in the TLG nor in the DDbDP. The dicolon εἰδότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι (or v.v.) occurs 15 times in the TLG; it is found already with authors of the classical period.

5. Within the present context (note the female article τῆς, l. 4, most probably to be followed by a noun), a word beginning in κατορ- brings us automatically to the genitive of the noun κατορθωσις, ‘reform, amendment, rectification’; the verb κατορθώω, or the neuter noun κατορθώμα are excluded here, of course. After that one may reckon with a verb, e.g., ‘we report / write’; the size of the lacuna allows probably no more than 2 or 3 letters before the ending in -ομεν, and the trace of the letter before the verb’s ending is so small that one cannot come further with determining the verb in question. The following preposition ἐκ may probably best be taken in a spatial sense, though other uses of the preposition are known; cf. Mayser, *Gram.* vol. 2.2, pp. 382–90.

Συρία is mentioned to date in the documentary papyri a number of times in the famous Zenon archive (mid-3rd cent. BCE) and rather sporadically

in documents from Roman Egypt; cf. Calderini-Daris, *Diz.Geogr.* 4, p. 320 s.v. (add there now *P.Yale* 3:137.3 [216/217 CE]). Between 250–800 CE one finds among the Egyptian documentary papyri references to Syria in the following texts (in chronological order):

P.Oxy. 43:3109.21 (Oxy., 253–256 CE): people selected for receiving ploughing oxen in Egypt and delivering them in Syria, undoubtedly for Valerian's campaign in the East.

P.Oxy. 42:3054.6 (Oxy., 265 CE?): a women from Bostra in Syria registers the sale of a slave.

P.Bingen 113.6–7 (Karanis, 272/3 CE?): context very uncertain, perhaps reference made to events related to the emperor Aurelian and his campaign against Zenobia of Palmyra.

P.Oxy. 9:1205 = *C.Pap.Jud.* 3:473.8 (Oxy., 291 CE): manumission of a female slave, reporting that an amount of money has been paid by i.a. a βουλευτής Ὀνιτῶν τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης as representative of the Jewish community (παρὰ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων).

P.Laur. 1:19.4–5 (3rd cent. CE): -----]κησεν ἐν Συρίᾳ; context not informative.

P.Oxy. 14:1722.3 (315/323 CE): fragment of a document sent to a *princeps* of the *praef. Aegypti* by someone from Eleutheropolis in Syria, who is now residing in Oxyrhynchos.

PSI7:771.2 (Oxy., 321 CE): a person states to be from Bostra in Syria.

P.Lond. 6:1913.6 (334 CE):—[ἀ]παντήσαι εἰς Καισάρειαν τῆς Παλαιστίνης Συρίας πρὸς διάκρισιν περ[ὶ] κ[α]θαρισμοῦ <τοῦ> ἁγίου Χρηστῖανικοῦ [π]λήθους—, i.e. ‘—to proceed to Caesarea in Palestinian Syria to come to a decision concerning the purgation of the holy Christian body—’.

PSI 4:311.24–26 (Oxy., 4th cent. CE?): letter to be sent to Laodicea in Coele Syria (πρὸς τὴν Λαυδικίαν τῆς κοίλης Συρίας).

P.Iand. 2:15.fr. 3.9–10 (4th cent. CE): something needs not to be brought to Syria (ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν Συρίαν [] ἐνέγκαι).

After the fourth century, references to Syria in papyri from Egypt are apparently lacking in the documentation presently available. In general, for various aspects of the relationship between Syria and Egypt, cf. W.M. Brashear, “Syriaca”, *Archiv* 44 (1998), pp. 86–127 (esp. pp. 87–92: A. Syriac Texts from Egypt; pp. 101–104: E. Syrians in Pagan Greco-Roman Egypt; pp. 104–106: F. Syrians in Christian Egypt). Also to be mentioned within this context is the famous early 4th cent. CE Theophanes archive containing, among other things, information about a journey made from Egypt to Syria (for this archive, see in latest instance *CPR* 17A:6.1n. and 17A:18 introduction, 3n.), and the

geographical papyrus *SB* 26:16607 (containing a list of place names in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor).

I think it most attractive to take the preposition κατά + acc. in its geographical sense ‘distributed over, in’. In this view the wording κατὰ τὰ Συρίας (sc. μέρη) can be taken as ‘distributed over the various parts of Syria’. Within this context it is worthwhile to remember that under Diocletian Syria was split up into four parts, viz. Arabia, Palestine, Fenice and Coelesyria, cf. *Der Kleine Pauly* 5, p. 472. While it has been suggested to me that one should interpret αἱ κατὰ τὰ Συρίας ἐκκλησίαι as “the churches according to the Syrian rite”, I have not found parallels sufficiently endorsing such an interpretation.

7. For a Kalliopios (TM/People name ID 25378) mentioned in the documentary papyri see *P.Laur.* 3:85.3 (Prov. unknown, 4th cent. CE). There seems to be no good reason to identify this person with the Kalliopios in our text. For five prominent men named Calliopius living in late Antiquity and mentioned in late fourth century sources, see cf. *PLRE* 1 s.n., 174–175 s.n. Calliopius, esp. nos. 3 and 4. While the Calliopii nos. 1–4 are all mentioned by Libanius, it is to be noted especially regarding Calliopius 3 and 4 that these were assistant teachers under Libanius, who came from Antiochia, in Syria (cf. line 5); Calliopius 3 was active ca. 388–390, Calliopius 4 died in 392. On these see R. Cribiore, *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch* (Princeton, 2007), pp. 33–36, 180, 250, and R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 250–252. The Calliopii 1 and 2 were high officials in the imperial administration (i.e. Calliopius 1 a governor of Bythinia, Calliopius 2 a consularis of Macedonia), while Calliopius 5 was an editor of Terence and is not mentioned in the East. It cannot be excluded that either Calliopius 3 or Calliopius 4 may be identified with the man who authored the Theban inscription (executed in uncial letters, but no further date suggested) *I.Syringes* 467: Καλλιόπι<ο>ς Ἀντιοχεύς . . . ἑθαύμασα. There seems to be no connection with the Kalliopios occurring in another Greek graffito from Egypt (*SB* 1:1036, This, date ?).

7–8. For the expression σὺν θεῷ φάναι, “with god, so to speak”: cf. *P.Flor.* 2:127. A.2; *P.Oxy.* 36:2788.9n.

8. Possibly something like ὁδὸν πρὸς σε / ὁδὸν εἰς σε may be restored, cf. *IG* 14:1729.

9. For εἰρηνικός, ‘peaceful, peaceable’ (said especially of Christians etc.) cf. Lampe, *PGL*, p. 421 s.v. The preposition μετά is used here with the dative

instead of with the genitive; this is caused, of course, by a confusion with the preposition σύν (which governs the dative).

10. For τὸ κρεῖττον = ‘the Almighty’, see Lampe, *PGL*, p. 777a. *s.v.*, 2.

12–13. The use of the optative + ᾗν reflects a certain amount of education. In general, Mandilaras, *Verb*, p. 272, § 604, notes that the use of optatives is characteristic of 4th century letters. KAW

**96. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER FROM PAULOS SCHOLASTICOSTO
SOLON, COMES DOMESTICORUM & DUX**

P.Monts.Roca inv. no. 224
H. 15.5 cm. x W. 24 cm.
TM 219262

Provenance unknown
Date: 6th cent. CE

Only the top (3.5 cm.) and LH (1.3 cm.) margins have been preserved, being the other two badly torn. Two vertical folds are visible. The text on the recto is inscribed *transversa charta*, with brown ink in a 6th cent. CE cursive hand, comparable to Seider, *Pal.Gr.* 1, 55 (Aphrodito, 551 CE) or 58 (Arsin., 599 CE). Slightly slanting to the right, it is a quick cursive, which keeps a wide regular interlinear space. The kappa, eta and delta are distinguished by an upright loop which bends to the left. The verso was written parallel to the fiber direction.

Recto

↓

1 † Φοιβάμμων ὁ καθοσιώμ(ενος) ὑποαγανακτήσειν τῆς ὑ[μ
2 μεγαλοπρ(επ) γενόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τη[.]....[
3 ζώνης θεῖον ἐπορίσατο τύπον δόντα μεν [.
4 ἀπὸ τῆ[ς .][.] ἢ δὲ ὑμέτερα μεγαλ[ο]π[ρέπεια
5]δέξατο [.
6].[

 1 l. ὑπαγανακτῆσειν ; ὑποαγανακτησειν, ὕ[μ Papy.

Verso

→

7 Τῷ μεγαλο(πρεπεστάτῳ) (καὶ) ἔνδοξ(οτάτῳ) κόμ(ιτι)
 τῷ(ν) καθ(οσιωμένων) δομ(εστικῶν) (καὶ) δουκὶ Σόλωνι
 π(αρά) Παύλου

8 σχο(λαστικοῦ) †.

7 καθθ' Papy. δομί Papy.

It is virtually impossible to reconstruct a coherent content out of this fragmentarily preserved letter. In l. 1 we encounter a certain Phoibammon who probably was a soldier belonging to the *domestici*, i.e. the imperial guard: cf. his epithet καθοσιώμενος and the mention of the capacity of the addressee as mentioned on the verso, κόμ(ιτι) τῷ(ν) καθ(οσιωμένων) δομ(εστικῶν). Apparently he was on the verge of becoming (?) somewhat wroth (cf. the inf. fut. ὑποαγανακτῆσειν), but the reasons for this are far from clear, while it remains unknown who or what is the target of this anger: the addressee of this letter, or his wife (cf. below, l. 1n.)? Anyway, for that reason (cf. l. 2, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο) something had happened concerning a girdle or (military) belt (cf. ζώνης, l. 3; of course, one should also reckon here with a compound in -ζώνη). Apparently, at some moment Phoibammon produced an imperial rescript/decreed (θεῖον ἐπορίσατο τύπον, l. 3), but as the rest of the letter is lost, the precise consequences of this move escape us. The special interest of this fragment, however, lies in the address on the verso, as it mentions the precise title of its addressee who may be linked to a person of the same name and status already known to us (cf. below, l. 7n.).

Since we do not have a reliable history of the document's acquisition or finding, it is not possible to propose an origin

directly in Alexandria (highly unlikely as a find spot anyway). If it was found somewhere else in Egypt, one could reckon with the possibility that Solon moved when he retired from his position and took his archives with him.

Commentary

1. For the epithet καθοσιώμενος (= Lat. *devotissimus*), cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden: Ein Beitrag zum römischen und griechischen Titelwesen* (Diss. Giessen, 1930), p. 18 s.v. The verb ἀγανακτέω is normally construed with the dative rather than with the genitive. One may solve the problem created by our present rendering of the text by reading at the end of the line τῆ συ[μβίῳ τῆς ὑμετέρας/ὑμῶν] | μεγαλοπρ(επείας). There is, however, the problem of the single supralinear dot on top of the upsilon which apparently forms part of a dihaeresis: such a dihaeresis is normally found on initial upsilons rather than in the middle of a word. On the other hand, it is well known that in post-classical Greek the dative tends to disappear and that the genitive is used instead. On this datival genitive see A. N. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar* (London, 1897), p. 342, §§ 1350-1351.

1-2. The construction of γενόμενος + an inf. fut. (i.e. ὑπ{ο}αγανακτήσειν) is definitely abnormal; should we suppose that the scribe confused γίνομαι with μέλλω (the latter verb normally has the inf. fut. with it)? If one is not dealing with some form of a straightforward anacoluthon, one might perhaps also think of a confusion between the future and the aorist tense, but even then, too, a construction γενόμενος ὑπ{ο}αγανακτῆσαι remains abnormal.

3. ζώνης: often enough this is part of a female dress rather than that of a male; cf. l. 1n., but within the context of this letter one may be dealing with a belt of a military uniform. One can only speculate whether Phoibammon in the course of his row with his commander was stripped of his military belt vel sim.

It is not known what the θεῖον τύπον was about: maybe it was an imperial decree/rescript regulating the conditions of service of *domestic*? In general, see R. Taubenschlag, "The Imperial Constitutions in the Papyri", *JJurPap* 6 (1952), pp. 121-142. (*Opera Minora*, [Warszawa, 1959], vol. 2, pp. 3-28); see also the introduction to M. Amelotti-L. Migliardi Zingale, *Le Costituzioni Giustiniane nei papiri e nelle epigrafi*² (Milano, 1985), pp. 5-14.

4. Either restore ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] + a geographical name, or ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] + σήμερον. Or read τῆ δὲ ὑμετέρῳ μεγαλ[ο]π[ρ]επείῳ?

7-8. For Solon, see *PLRE* 2, p. 1019, where a *dux Aegypti* (?) named Solon is discussed on the basis of a reference found in a literary source, Olympiodorus' *Commentary on the Gorgias of Plato*, 44.4.11; he is dated to the late 5th-early 6th cent. CE, and this fits nicely with the palaeographical date of our document. Cf. also *CPR* 7:25.2 and 6 (Hermop., 6th cent. CE), where a μεγαλοπρεπέστατος / κόμης Σόλων is mentioned; most probably these references all regard the same man. Furthermore, *PLRE* 3, p. 1167 mentions a *comes domesticorum* named Fl. So...; he is found in a fragmentarily preserved inscription coming from Palestine and dating from the period 527-548 CE and it appears that he was sent as a *discussor* to Palestine. It remains to be seen whether he is to be identified with our man.

For the *comes devotissimorum domesticorum* see *CPR* 5:18.1n., referring to *PW-RE* 4, pp. 648-650. The following other holders of the office are mentioned in the papyri stored in the DDBDP (other *comites domesticorum* in the East are listed in *PLRE* 2, pp. 1294-1295 and 3, pp. 1511):

Fl. Eustochius: *SPP* 20:128 (Arsin., 487 CE); *SB* 18:13951 (Arsin., 487-491 CE)

Fl. Strategius: *P.Oxy.* 16:1982 (Oxy., 497 CE)

Fl. Varius: *P.Ross.Georg.* 3:32 (Arsin., 504 CE)

Fl. Theodorus: *CPR* 5:18 (Herakleop., 538? CE); also ex-dux & augustalis

Fl. Callinicus: *P.Cair.Masp.* 1:67005^v (Aphrod., after ca. 568 CE); also *dux & augustalis*

Fl. Erythrius: *P. Bour.* 19 (Prov. unknown, mid 6th cent. CE. cf. *Eirene* 34 [1998] 107 n. 23)

Fl. Munatius Cyricus: *P.Oxy.* 16:1942 (Oxy., 6th cent. CE); also *archon* of Arcadia

Fl. Apion: *P.Oxy.* 16:2019, 18:2204 (both Oxy., mid 6th cent. CE).

For the *dux* see B. Palme, "The Imperial presence: Government and army", in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 244-270, esp. 248. A. Bowman, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 12, *The Crisis of Empire, AD 193-337* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 118-123.

A Paulus *scholasticus* may occur in *P.Flor.* 3:336.1 (cf. *BL* 8:130), but as this papyrus is dated to the 7th cent. CE, he cannot have been the same man as his namesake in the papyrus from Montserrat. For literature in general about the *scholastici*, see *P.Pommersf.* pp. 66-68, notes to ll. 30 and 45. STT-KAW

INDEX

This index includes the Greek, Latin and Demotic words appearing in paraliterary and documentary texts, organised in subindices as is common papyrological practice. We also include the Greek words appearing in the literary texts which were previously unknown or depart significantly from their medieval textual tradition. Words appearing partially or completely in parenthesis indicate that they appear abbreviated in the text. We indicate in boldface the number of text in this volume, followed by indications of side (flesh and hair, side 1 and 2, recto and verso), fragment (fr.), column (col.) and line number. If the reference appears in a note, the letter 'n' follows, if it is in a footnote, we add 'ft'.

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 iw=n [79.5] (twice)

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 ir – verb ‘make, do’ 79.2
 it – ‘father’ [79.4]

- =w – third person plural suffix
 pronoun **79.2**, <5>
 w^cb – ‘unencumbered’ **79.5**
 wy – verb ‘to be far’ **79.5**
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 hy – ‘husband’ [**79.4**]
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