

DONALD G. HERRING

NEW PTOLEMAIC DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SHIPMENT OF GRAIN

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 76 (1989) 27–37

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

New Ptolemaic Documents Relating to the Shipment of Grain: Five Naukleros Receipts and an Order to Sitologoi¹

P. Austin inv. 33, 35-39 and 41, from mummy cartonnage, were acquired in 1986 by the Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas at Austin. Nos. 33, 35, 36, and 38 are examples of a well-known type of receipt or bill of lading, σύμβολον, which naukleroi issued to local granary officials when transporting government grain.² Nos. 37 and 41 belong together as fragments of another receipt of this kind. Inv. 39 is a grain shipment authorization, ἐπιστολή, issued by a superior official to naukleroi who have contracted for the transport of government grain, and directed to local granary officials.

The civil servants with whom the Austin papyri are concerned are a pair of sitologoi, Apollonios and Heliodoros, colleagues at Anoubias in the Themistes division of the Arsinoite nome. These men are already known from three grain shipment authorizations published by P. J. Sijpesteijn.³ The name of their superior, Protarchos, who also figures in Sijpesteijn's documents, is partly preserved in inv. 39. The documents belong to the end of Epiphanes' reign, circa 183/2 B.C.

All the documents are written along the fibers; none has any writing on the verso. The receipts from less skilled hands are undoubtedly the work of the naukleroi themselves; inv. 36 looks as if it were written by a practised writer on the naukleros' behalf.

I

Since it is to inv. 35 that the secure dating of our documents is chiefly due, I shall begin with it. It is virtually complete, with some loss of text along the left margin from l. 10 to end. The writer was of moderate skill, between the writers of inv. 36 and 38.

¹ I wish to thank the Director of The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at The University of Texas at Austin for permission to publish these papyri. I am also grateful to the staff of the manuscript room of the Center for their help. I have consulted Professor Ann Hanson on numerous points and received invaluable aid from her.

² For literature on the subject of the transport of grain, see Sijpesteijn's article (n.3 below); also A.J.M.Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im Griechischen und Römischen Recht* (= *Studia Amstelodamensia* 13) Zutphen 1978.

³ P.J.Sijpesteijn, "Three New Ptolemaic Documents on the Transportation of Grain", *Chr. d'Eg.* 53 (1978) 107ff. = SB XIV 11887-9. Private Dutch Collection. P.Moen 1-3. Sijpesteijn dates his documents to the reign of Philometor on prosopographical grounds, identifying the sitologos Apollonios with the homonymous incumbent of that office at Anoubias in P.Tebt.III 1034. W.Clarysse disputed the dating, also on prosopographical grounds, in *Chr. d'Eg.* 56 (1981) 347ff., assigning P.Moen 1-3 to the 21st year of Epiphanes, 185/4. This dating is now confirmed by the Austin papyri.

P. Austin inv. 35

8.5 x 24.5 cm

16 December 183 B.C.

Anoubias, Themistes Division, Arsinoite nome

Tafel I

[βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαί-]
 ου τοῦ Πτολεμαί[ου καὶ Ἄρ-]
 [σ]ινόης θεῶν Φιλοπα[τό-]
 ρων (ἔτους) κγ Ἄθῦρ ἰ. ὀ[μο-]
 5 λογεῖ Διοσκουρίδ[ης ναύ-]
 κληρος τοῦ Ζοίλου κερ(κούρου)
 μυ(ρίων) ἸΒ ἐμβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ
 τοῦ κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα
 [ὄ]ρμου ὥστε εἰς Ἄλεξά[ν-]
 10 [δρειαν] εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸ[ν]
 [ἀπὸ τῶν γε]νημάτων το[ῦ]
 [κβ (ἔτους) πα]ρὰ Ἡλιεδώρου
 [καὶ Ἀπολλ]ωνίου τῶν σι-
 [τολογο]ύντων τὸ περὶ
 15 [Ἄνουβι]άδος ἐργαστή-
 [ριον πυ]ροῦ φορικοῦ κα(θαροῦ)
 [.]νου ἀρτά-
 [βας χιλ]ίας πεντα-
 [κοσίας πε]ντήκοντα
 20 [γίνονται] Ἄφν μέτρῳ
 [δοχικῶι] τῶι συμμε-
 [βλημέ]νῳ πρὸς τὸ
 [χαλκ]οῦν καὶ σκυτά-
 [λη]ι δικαία καὶ οὐθ[ὲν]
 25 [ἐ]νκαλῶ.
 ἔρρωσο
 (ἔτους) κγ Ἄθῦρ ἰ

12. Ἡλιεδώρου: 1. Ἡλιοδώρου. ε for ο: Mayser 1,1,72.

other receipts. On περὶ with gen. at this period, see Mayser 2,2,447.

συμβεβλημένῳ. Complete assimilation of β to prec. μ: Gignac I,172.

Non-assimilation of nasal. Gignac I,168.

15. [Ἄνουβι]άδος: Ἄνουβιάδα in

21-22. συμμε[βλημέ]νῳ: 1.

25. [ἐ]νκαλῶ: 1. ἐγκαλῶ.

T r a n s l a t i o n

Hathur ten in the twenty-third year of the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe the gods Philopatores. Dioskourides, captain of the freighter belonging to Zoilos with a capacity of 12000 artabs, affirms that he has loaded on board ship at Ptolemais Hormou for the royal granary at Alexandria from the produce of the [22nd] year, received from Heliodoros and Apollonios, sitologoi of the factory at Anoubias, one thousand five hundred and fifty, total 1550, artabs of unadulterated sifted wheat paid as rent, as measured by the receiving measure checked against the

brass (i.e. the official) measure, and by a straight rod, and I (sc. the naukleros) have no charge to bring (sc. against the sitologoi). Farewell.

(at bottom of sheet:) Year 23, Hathur 10.

C o m m e n t a r y

3. In no other receipt is this crucial part of the dating formula so well preserved. Hathur 10 in the twenty-third year of Epiphanes = 16 December 183.

6. On the form of the abbreviation of κέρκουρος, see W.Clarysse, “Harmachis, Agent of the Oikonomos”, in *AS* 7 (1976) p. 188.

7. The abbreviation ἀγ(ωγῆς) has been left out, as sometimes happens. At the beginning of the line stands a monogram, partly effaced, compounded of a mu and an upsilon (cf. P. Lugd. Bat. XXI B, p. 572). Kerkouroi having such a capacity were not unusual; cf. P. Teb. III 856 and L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) p. 614. The receipted consignment of grain is only a fraction of the freighter's total capacity in each of the receipts which preserve both numbers. (Cf. also, e.g., P. Teb. III, 856 col. v). On departing Ptolemais Hormou, the ship was no doubt loaded to near capacity with consignments of grain from several sources, Anoubias being just one of the localities served by the port.

8-9. Concerning Ptolemais Hormou (in these documents called ὁ κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα ὄρμος, “the port at Ptolemais”), see article by D.Bonneau in *Ch.d'Eg.* 54 (1979) 310ff.

12. [κβ (ἔτους) πα]ρὰ: The grain was probably from the latest harvest, that of the 22nd year. Ἡλιεδώρου: The slip recurs in inv. 38 l. 15.

17. [.]νου: κεκοσκινευμένου ist expected (cf. inv. 36 κοσκινευμένου) between κα(θαρῶ) and ἀρτάβας. Only about nine letters have been lost, however. Inv. 36's κοσκινευμενον (lines 17f.) may have been duplicated here. (Omission of perfect augment. Jannaris 735; Gignac II, 242-4). Alternatively, perhaps κεκοσκινευμένου was written at first; the naukleros then decided to supply the omitted καθαρῶ by erasing ε and writing α over the κ, finally adding κε left of the margin on l. 17.

20. γίνονται must have been written out in full to occupy the lacuna of about eight letters. Inv. 36 and 38 use the symbol.

24-5. καὶ οὐθὲν ἐγκαλῶ. By this disclaimer the naukleros loses the right to bring suit against the sitologoi for failure to supply the cargo as set forth in the body of the receipt. Cf. Meyer-Termier, p. 57 n.8, pp. 68-9 n.60-64. On the “Nichtangriffsklausel” as an element of receipts generally, see H.A.Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der Graeco-Ägyptischen Papyri* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte H.57) Munich 1971, pp. 94ff. ἐγκαλῶ is a present; the future of this verb in the papyri is normally ἐγκαλέσω. See Mayser I,2,129.

26. The valediction also appears in inv. 33. Inv. 35 lacks one; inv. 37/41 probably had none. Inv. 36 and 38 have lost whatever bottom margins they had; they may or may not have originally concluded with a valediction.

II

Very rudely written, the next receipt is distinguished from the rest by omissions and characteristic spelling slips. After the text there are nine cm. of writing surface, originally blank, but thanks to the cartonnage process, now bearing faint reverse traces of writing from another document -- inv. 35, as it happens. Four cm. above the text there are two lines of writing, badly smeared. The right margin is missing at the top and bottom of the text, and there are a number of holes in the papyrus, but otherwise inv. 38 is in good condition.

P. Austin Inv. 38
Provenance same

7.5 x 30 cm

July or August 183 B.C.
Tafel II

(ἔτους) [κ]β Πᾶϋν[ι
 πυροῦ [

5 βασιλεύοντος Π[τολεμαίου]
 τοῦ Πτολεμα[ίου]υ [Φιλο-]
 πατόρων (ἔτους) κ[β] Πᾶϋν[ι.]
 ὁμολογεῖ Χαιρῶς ν[αύ-]
 κληρος τοῦ Δεμητρίου
 κερ(κούρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) Ἐ ἐμβεβλ[ῆ-]
 σθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Πτο-
 10 λεμαεῖτος ὄρμου ὥσ-
 τε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
 εἰς τὸ βασιλίκον [ἀπὸ] τῶν
 γενημάτων τοῦ αὐ-
 τοῦ ἔτους παρ' Ἡλι-
 15 εδώρου καὶ Ἀπολλων[ίου]
 τῶν σιτο[λ]ογ[ού]ντων
 τὸ περ[ὶ] Ἄνου]βιάτα
 ἐρκαστήριον πυροῦ
 καθαροῦ κερ[κ]οσ[κινευ-]
 20 μένου ἀρτάβ[ας ἐ-]
 πτακοσσίας (γίνονται) ψ
 μέδρωι τοκικ[ῶι τῶι]
 συμβεβλη[μένωι πρὸς]
 τὸ καλκοῦν κα[ὶ] σκυ-
 25 τάλῃ δικαί[αι καὶ οὐ-]
 θὲ(ν) ἐνκαλῶ.

4. Omits καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν. See comm. ad loc. 7. Δεμητρίου: ε for η. Mayser I,1,47. 10. Πτολεμαεῖτος: ει for ι. Mayser I,1,69. τ for δ. Mayser I,1,147. Gen. instead of acc. Probably assimilation to case of ὄρμου following; κατὰ + gen. "at, near" never in papyri. Mayser II,2,155 and 338. 15. Ἡλιεδώρου: ε for ο. Mayser I,1,72. 17. Ἄνουβιάτα: Cf. l. 10 above. 18. ἐρκαστήριον: κ for γ.

Mayser I,1,143f. Omits φορτικοῦ. See comm. ad. loc. 20-21. 1. ἐ]πτακοσίας 22. μέδρωι:
 δ for τ. Mayser I,1,146. | τοκικῶι: τ for δ. Mayser I,1,147; κ for χ. Mayser I,1,144. 26.
 οὐ]θῆ(ν): Omission of final nu. Mayser I,1,170.

Translation

Year [], Pauni []. [] artabs of wheat

Pauni [] in the twenty-second (?) year of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Philopator. Chairas, captain of the freighter belonging to Demetrios with a capacity of 5000 artabs, affirms that he has loaded on board ship at Ptolemais Hormou for the royal granary at Alexandria from the produce of the same year, received from Heliodoros and Apollonios sitologoi of the factory at Anoubias, one thousand five hundred, total 1500, artabs of unadulterated sifted wheat, as measured by the receiving measure checked against the brass (i.e., official) measure and by a straight rod; and I have no charge to bring.

Commentary

1. Pachon or Pauni appears on l. 5, and the same is expected here. Though these lines are badly smeared, the traces can accommodate the latter reading. This would seem to be a summary of the receipt's contents; cf. inv. 35 (below the valediction) and 33 (above, as here).

3-5. The full formula, as it appears in inv. 35, is βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων. The 22 letters of l. 3 are not really a problem, the average line of this text being about 18 letters long. The next line, however, certainly could not have contained 32 letters. The letters τουπτολ are written normally; of what follows only traces remain. These letters do not follow the baseline, being written for the most part well above it. What remains are, I believe, traces of the letters ε, μ, α, and υ (or possibly φ). My conclusion is that what stood in l. 4 was τουπτολεμαιοφιλο and that there has been omission of καιαρσινοησθεων. The lapse is readily explained as due to the habit of writing the kings epithet immediately after his name. The gen. pl. ending of the epithet proves that here it is a question of an inadvertent omission and not of an abbreviated alternative formula or the writer's ignorance of the proper form.

5. After the κ there is a vertical crack in the papyrus, which has obliterated the numeral β which is clearly visible in l. 1. A horizontal crack has taken away the bottom two-thirds of the first three letters of the month. Since, however, the grain shipped was harvested in that year (ll. 13f τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους), it has to be one of the months following the harvest, i.e., Pharmouthi at the very earliest. Pachon and Pauni both meet this requirement and fit the traces. I have opted for Pauni because a nu could, in my opinion, have produced the very dim traces of the fourth letter more readily than an ω.

19. The omission of φορτικοῦ is inadvertent and without significance. If the writer had meant to imply that the wheat was acquired by the government otherwise than in receipt of rent, he would have used an epithet to specify in what way the means of acquisition differed.

III

In the next receipt, about eight letters have been lost at the beginning of each of the first seven lines, one or two letters have been torn away from the beginnings of ll. 18-21, and tears have left

remaining only the centers of the last two lines. The main difficulty with the text comes in l. 5, where one name has been written over another. The writing is very rapid and confident, orthographical anomalies few.

P. Austin Inv. 36
Provenance same

8 x 18.5 cm

Late Dec. 183 / early Jan. 182 B.C.

Tafel III

[βασιλεύο]ντο[ς Πτολε-]
[μαίου τοῦ] Πτο[λεμαίου]
[καὶ Ἀρσιν]όης θεῶν Φιλ[ο-]
[πατόρων] (ἔτους) κγ Ἀθῦρ
5 [ὄμο]λογ[ε]ῖ
[νάυ]κληρος τοῦ
[.....]υ κερ(κούρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) Ἰ ἐμβε-
[βλήσ]θαι ἐπὶ τ[ο]ῦ κατὰ
Πτολεμαίδα [όρμο]υ ὥσ-
10 τ' εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς
τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
γενημάτων τοῦ κβ (ἔτους)
παρ' Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ
Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν σιτολογοῦ(ν)-
15 των τὸ περὶ Ἀνουβ[ι]άδα
ἐργαστήριον πυροῦ φο-
ρ[ι]κοῦ καθαροῦ κοσκινευ-
[μέ]νου ἀρτ[ά]βας δισχιλί-
[α]ς τριακοσίας (γίνονται) Ἰβτ
20 [μ]έτρων δοχικῶι τῶι συμ-
[β]εβλημένωι πρὸς τὸ χαλ-
[κοῦ]ν κ[αὶ σ]κυτάλη δι[καίαι]
[καὶ οὐθὲν ἐ]γκαλῶ.

7. Ἰ. Cf. P. Cairo Zen. IV 59723, 22 with Pl. XIX. 14 f. σιτολογοῦ(ν)[τ]ων. Loss of nasal before dental. Mayser I,1,165. On word division, see Mayser I,1,222. 15. περὶ. εἰ for ι. Mayser I,1,41. 17f. κοσκινευ[μέ]νου l. κεκοσκινευμένου. Loss of reduplication. Perhaps simple haplography; perhaps reflects popular usage, which had already begun to dispense with reduplication in perfect stems. Jannaris 735. Gignac II,242-4. Perhaps something similar has occurred in inv. 35.

Translation

Hathur [] in the twenty-third year of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, gods Philopatores. [], captain of the freighter of [] with a capacity of 7000 artabs, affirms that he has loaded on board ship at Ptolemais Hormou for the royal granary at Alexandria from the produce of the 22nd year, received from Heliodoros and Apollonios sitologoi of the factory at Anoubias, two thousand three hundred, total 2300, artabs of unadulterated sifted wheat paid as rent, as measured by the receiving measure checked against the brass (measure), and by straight rod; and I have no charge to bring.

C o m m e n t a r y

5. The lacuna is easily capable of accommodating two numerals.

After ὁμολογεῖ where the naukleros' name should be, there is a tangle of lines. The name originally recorded here has been overwritten without any attempt to erase. I cannot distinguish the lines produced by the first hand from those which are the work of the second. All the lines are of equal darkness and thickness, and at line junctions it is impossible to discern, even with the aid of a microscope, which line has been laid down over the other. Perhaps the beginning of a name Ἀπολλώνι- was written second; it does not, like the other name, begin immediately after ὁμολογεῖ. As for the problem what name stood in the unaltered text, I have been unable to reach a satisfactory solution. The names of naukleroi are usually Greek (cf. H. Hauben's list in *ZPE* 28 (1978) 99ff.). A hole in the papyrus has taken away the top two-thirds of the first one or two letters; the next letter is definitely rho. What follows is similar, except as regards the form of the alpha, to the writing of Apollonios' name in l. 14. The first name might, therefore, have been Ὠραπόλλων or Σαρ(απ)απόλλων.

The change of names can be explained (1) as the correction of an error, or (2) as the consequence of a last-minute change of naukleroi. On the first supposition this would have to be the work of an amanuensis (for who, after all, forgets his own name?). No one was debarred from the occupation of naukleros by illiteracy, as the illiteracy clauses joined to a number of Ptolemaic naukleros receipts (e.g., P. Lille 23; P. Petrie II 48) prove.

IV

The next document is complete, but in poor condition. In addition to being riddled with holes, it has broken in two since it was first catalogued. The smaller fragment contains an abstract of the receipt and its beginning, the larger fragment holds the bulk of the text. The writer omits some of the usual elements, uses the short dating formula, and prefers writing out words to using numerals and monograms. The writing is lapidary but easy and assured.

P. Austin Inv. 33

8 x 15 cm

September 184 B.C.

Provenance same

Tafel IVa

(ἔτους) κα Με[σορῆ
ἀρτάβας [

(ἔτους) κα Μεσορ[ῆ]
[ὁ]μολο[γεῖ]
5 κληῆς [ναύκληρος τοῦ]
[Δ]ιονυσ[.....]
ἀγωγῆς [..... ἐμβεβλη-]
[σ]θαι ἐπὶ τ[οῦ κατὰ Π]τολε-
μαίδα ὄρμου ὥστε εἰς Ἀ-
10 λεξάνδρ[ειαν εἰς] τὸ βασι-
λικὸν ἀπὸ [τ]ῶν γενημά-
των τοῦ ἐνὸς κα[ὶ] εἰκοσ[τοῦ]

15 ἔτους παρὰ Ἡλιοδώρου
 καὶ Ἀπολ[λω]νίου τῶ[ν σιτο-]
 λογούντων τὸ περὶ [Ἄνου-]
 βιὰ δὲ ἔργα[στ]ήριον πυ[ροῦ]
 [.....] ἀρ[τ]άβας πεντ[α-]
 κ[ο]σί[α]ς (γίνονται) φ [μέ]τρῳι δο[χι-]
 κῶι καὶ σκυτά[ληι δικαί-]
 20 αι καὶ οὐθὲν ἐ[γκαλῶ].
 [ἔ]ρρωσο.

6. E.g. Διονυσίου or Διονυσοδώρου κερκούρου 7. ἀγωγῆς: Spelled out in full, not abbreviated as in other receipts. 12. ἐνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ: Spelled out in full; numerals elsewhere. 17. [καθαροῦ] or [φορικοῦ]. See commentary. Omits κεκοσκινευμένου. ἀρτάβας: Spelled out in full. 19 Omits συμβεβλημένῳ πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν.

Translation

Year 21, Mesore []. [] artabs [of wheat]

Year 21, Mesore []. []kles, [captain of the freighter (?)] of Dionysi[os (e.g.)] with a capacity of [] artabs, affirms that he has loaded on board ship at Ptolemais Hormou for the royal granary at Alexandria from the produce of the twenty-first gear, received from Heliodoros and Apollonios, sitologoi of the factory at Anoubias, five hundred, total 500, artabs of [unadulterated] wheat, as measured by the receiving measure and straight rod; and I have no charge to bring. Farewell.

Commentary

4. Contemporary examples of naukleros receipts with the minimal dating formula are those belonging to W. Clarysse's Harmachis archive (AS 7 [1978] 186ff.).

6f. ἀγωγῆς is certain; it is not possible that [προσ]αγωγίδος straddled the two lines. The name of the class of ship must therefore have been written out in full. The nine letters of κερκούρου are about right to fill the gap; but κερκουροσκάφης, προσαγωγίδος, etc., are also possible. This writer consistently spells out in full words which he might have abbreviated (ἀγωγῆς l. 7; ἐνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους l. 12; ἀρτάβας l. 17).

7. There is so much space between ἀγωγῆς and ἐμβεβλη- that I am inclined to think that the number was written out, e.g., μυρίων, or χιλίων in the case of a smaller vessel.

17. φορικοῦ, omitted in 38, is also more likely than καθαροῦ to have been omitted here since its omission could not have had any legal consequences. A sitologos risked being called to account, however, if one of his grain consignments was found in Alexandria to be adulterated, unless he could produce a receipt in which the naukleros certified that the grain consignment was unadulterated when it came into his hands. The omission of κεκοσκινευμένου is relatively insignificant: the failure to winnow grain is a much less serious matter than its adulteration, and, besides, if the word καθαροῦ was written, it might be broadly construed as guaranteeing that the wheat was free of all impurities, including chaff, and not merely without admixture of inferior cereals.

21. For the valediction, cf. inv. 36, l. 26.

V

Inv. 37 and 41 are fragments of a single receipt, of which the beginning has been lost. The right margin has been mostly preserved, except at the bottom; the remaining text is in good condition.

P. Austin Inv. 37
P. Austin Inv. 41
Provenance same

6 x 7 cm
7.5 x 13 cm

Shortly before 184 B.C.?
Tafel V

[.....] [] []
[.....]ου κερκο[υ-]
[ροσκάφ]ης ἄγωγ]ῆς Ἄ' ἐνβεβλήσθαι
[ἐπὶ τοῦ] κατὰ Πτολεμαί-
5 [δα ὄρμου ὡς]τε εἰς Ἀλεξά[v-]
[δρειαν] εἰς τὸ βασι-
[λικὸν ἀπὸ] τῶν γενη-
[μάτων τοῦ] αὐτοῦ ἔ[τους]
[πα]ρὰ [.....]
10 [κα]ὶ Ἡλιοδώρου τῶν [σι-]
[τ]ολογούντων τὸ περὶ [Ἄ-]
[νου]βιάδα ἐργαστήριον
καὶ τῶν ἐπακολου[θούν-]
[τ]ων ἄρ(τάβας) πυροῦ φορικοῦ
15 [καθαροῦ] ἢ [ἐκ]ατὸν μέτρων
[δοχικῶι τ]ῶι συν-
[βεβλημέ]νῳι πρ[ὸς]
[τὸ χαλκ]οῦν καὶ σκυ-
[τάλη δι]καίᾳ καὶ οὐθὲν
20 [ἐγκαλ]ῶ.

3. ἐνβεβλήσθαι: Non-assimilation of nasal. Cf. 1. 16 συνβεβλημένῳι. 8. Inv. 37 ends here. 9. Inv. 41 begins here. 11f. Perhaps περὶ [Ἄνου]βιάδα. 13f. Perhaps ἐπακολου(θούν)|[τ]ῶν. See comm. ad loc. 14. ἄρ(τάβας): See commentary ad loc. In the other receipts it is written after the genitives and before the numerals. 15. (γίνονται) and numerals are omitted.

T r a n s l a t i o n

[Date. So-and-so, captain of the] kerkouroskaphe of [so-and-so] with a capacity of 1000 artabs [affirms] that he has loaded on board ship at Ptolemais Hormou for the royal granary at Alexandria from the produce of the same year, received from [] and Heliodoros, sitologoi of the factory at Anoubias, and the supervisors, one hundred (eleven hundred?) artabs of unadulterated wheat paid as rent, as measured by the receiving measure checked against the brass measure and by straight rod; and I have no charge to bring.

C o m m e n t a r y

9. The name that stood here may not have been Apollonios'. The Name of Heliodoros as a rule comes first when the two names are joined in other documents. This suggests that Heliodorus was the senior colleague. Perhaps when this receipt was produced, Apollonius' predecessor was still working at Anoubias with Heliodorus as his junior colleague. On this basis I have tentatively assigned to this receipt a somewhat earlier date.

11f. Some of the horizontal fibers are preserved right of περί, but there are no traces of ink on them. Unless the margin on l. 12 was fairly ragged, however, four letters could only with difficulty be fitted into the lacuna.

13f. The ἐπακολουθοῦντες, or “supervisors”, were the agents of the oikonomos and the antigrapheus of the basilikos grammateus. They witnessed the transfer and loading of the grain, and to each the naukleros gave a receipt identical, *mutatis mutandis*, to that given the sitologos. Cf. P. Tebt. III 825a-c with 823 l. 10.

As with l. 11, there are horizontal fibers right of -λου-, which should have preserved traces of any original writing. Conceivably επακολουτων was written, with loss of the nasal before the dental (Mayser I,1,165) and haplography (Mayser I,1,218f.).

14. The letters αρ have been added in a lighter-coloured ink, evidently as a correction or afterthought. The possibility that this represents the numeral Ἄρ (reading [χιλίας ἐκ]ατόν on l. 15) cannot entirely be discounted, especially since the usual convention of abbreviation is not observed here, the rho being written directly alongside the alpha. The disruption of the natural word order would be extreme, however. If ἄρ(τάβας) is read here, the Greek, despite the deviation of the text from standard form, is unexceptionable.

VI

Inv. 39 is an epistole to sitologoi like those published by P. J. Sijpesteijn as P. Moen 1-3; it even preserves the name of Protarchos. The hand is a very refined cursive.

P. Austin Inv. 39

6 x 8 cm

Between May 184 and July 183 B.C.

Provenance same

Tafel IVb

5 [Πρ]ώταρχος [Ἡλιοδώρῳ]
 [κα]ὶ Ἀπολλων(ίῳ) χ[αίρειν.]
 [ἐμβάλ]οῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κ[ατὰ]
 Πτολεμαίδα ὄρμου [ὥστ' εἰς]
 Ἄλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τ[ὸ]
 [β]ασιλικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γ[ε-]
 [νημάτων τοῦ κ]α (ἔτους) εἰς
 [τὰ ὑπογεγραμμ]ένα []
 [] []

2. Ἀπολλων(ίῳ): Between the nu and the chi, there is a space just wide enough to accommodate the missing letters, but there is no trace whatever of ink on what is to all appearances the original surface.
 3. [ἐμβάλ]οῦ (*sic*): Certainly not ἐμβάλεσθ(ε). 8. Or [τάς ὑπογεγραμμ]ένας.

T r a n s l a t i o n

Protarchos to Heliodoros and Apollonios, greetings. Load at Ptolemais Hormou for the royal granary at Alexandria from the produce of the twenty-first year into the vessels listed below ...

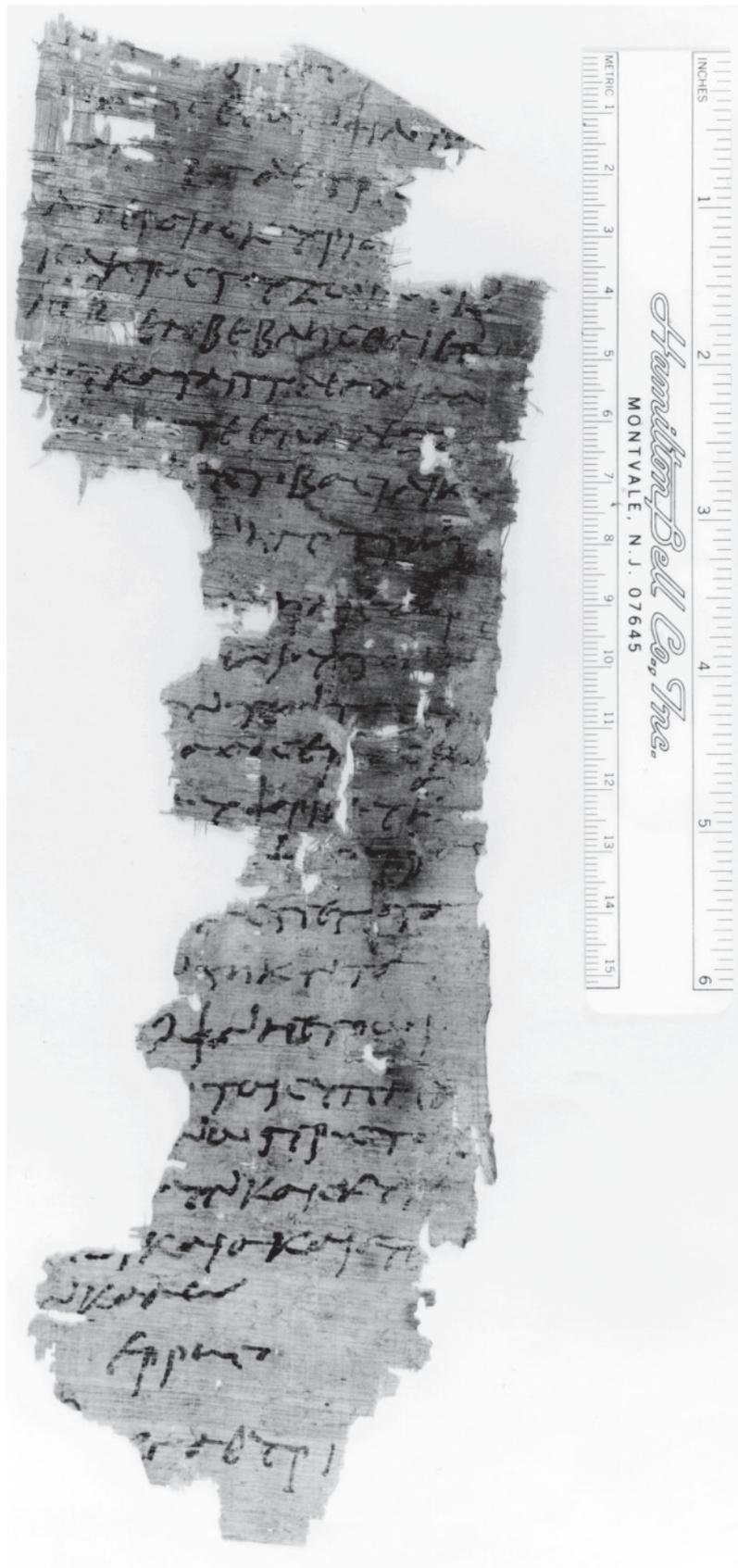
C o m m e n t a r y

1. P. J. Sijpesteijn (*op. cit.*, p. 108) felt that a determination of the capacity in which Protarchos gave orders to the Anoubias sitologoi could not be made. I concur.

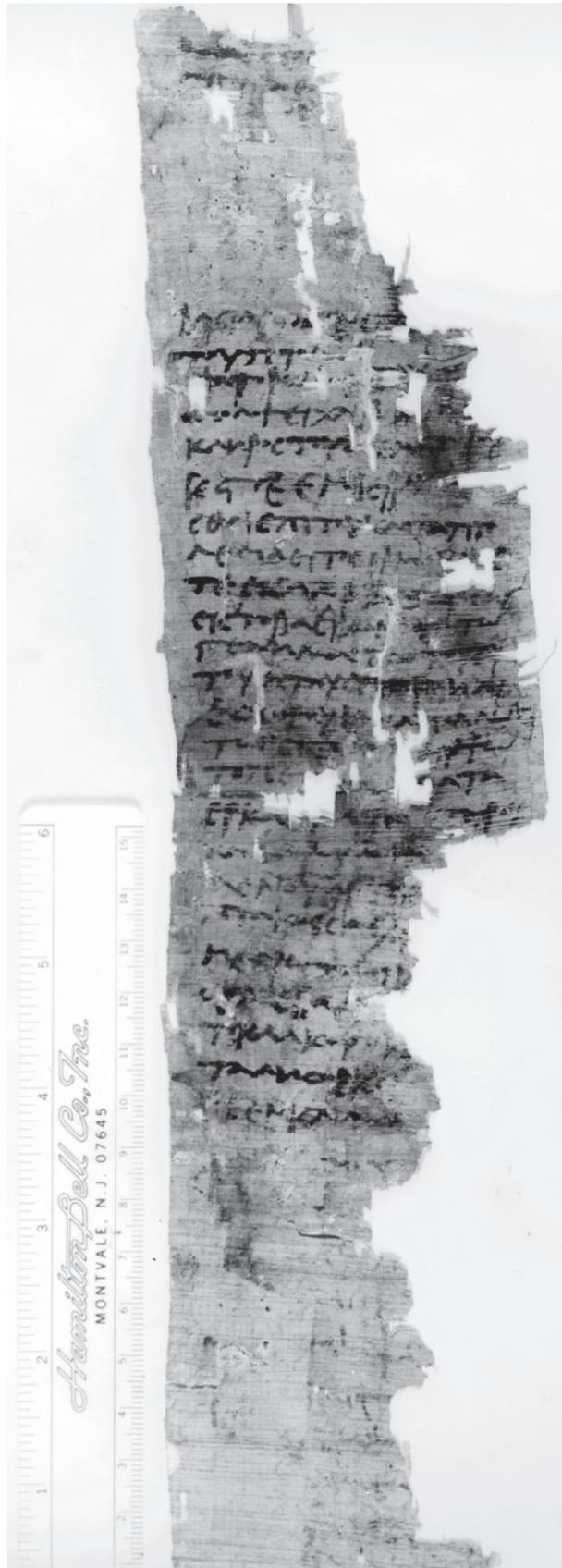
7. The reading of the alpha is certain, and there definitely is room for another numeral, which must certainly be κ (P. Moen 1-3 are all of the 21th year). Since the grain of each harvest was usually transported before the next harvest, this receipt probably was made out between May of the 21th year, the earliest possible date for that years's harvest, and the latest possible date for the nexts year's harvest, July of the 22nd year.

Austin
The University of Texas

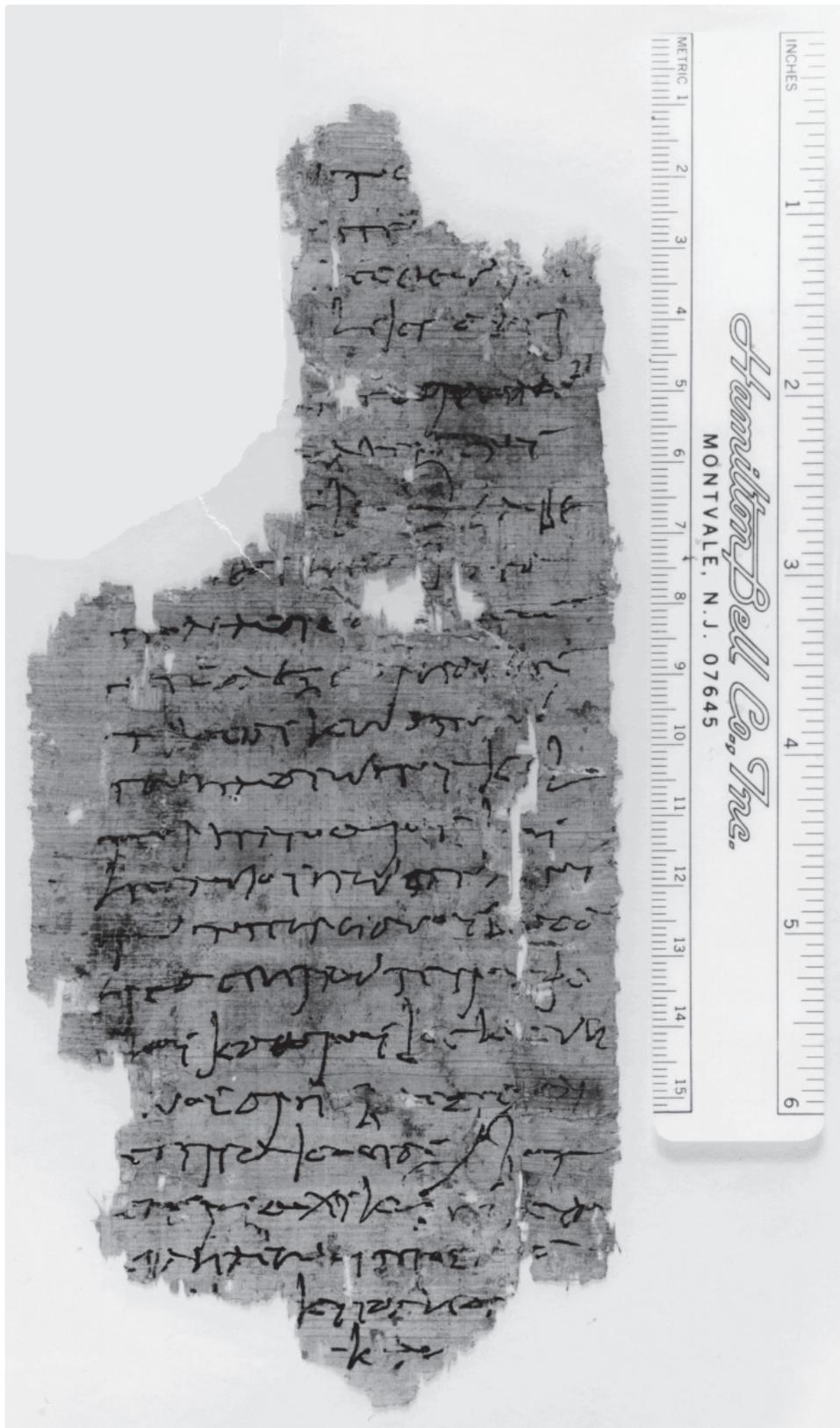
Donald G. Herring



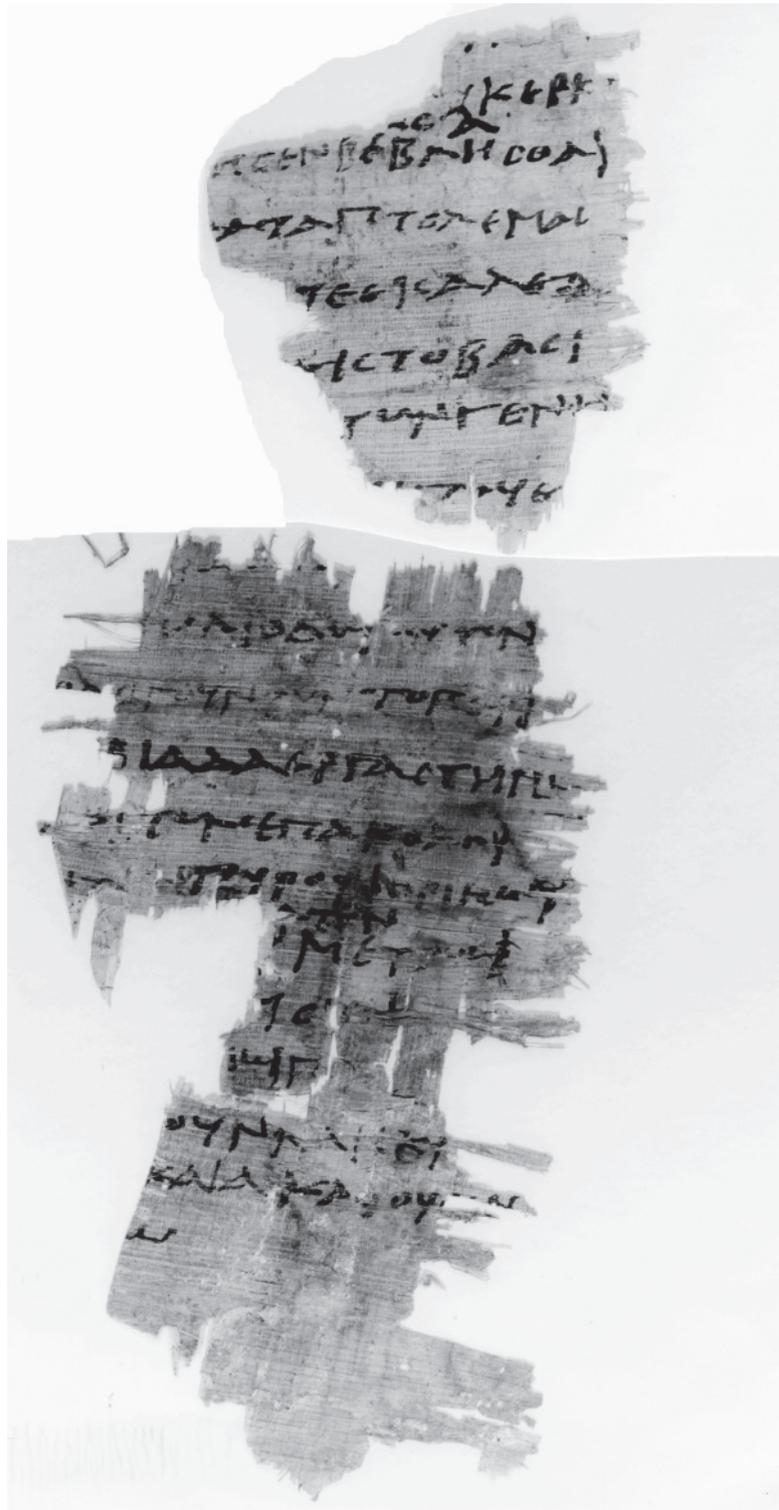
Naukleros-Quittung (P.Austin Inv.35)



Naukleros-Quittung (P.Austin Inv.38)



Naukleros-Quittung (P.Austin Inv.36)



Naukleros-Quittung (P.Austin Inv.37+41)