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ΟΝ κηρυκίνη:

P.HEID.IV 334, P.KÖLN VI 279, AND CPR I 232

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On κηρυκίνη:

P.Heid.IV 334, P.Köln VI 279, and CPR I 232

The plate (Tafel XXV) allows a slight correction to the text of P.Heid.IV 334.4-5: read ἐν τῷ Θοηρείῳ τῷ (instead of ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαγορείων. The same temple in Oxyrhynchus was already known more briefly as the Θοηρεῖον ἐξαγορείων (SB V 7634.9-10, P.Merton I 26.4-5, PSI III 215.6). The whole text runs:

εἴ τις εὕρην ζεῦγος χιτῶ-
 ν[ών] παιδικῶν καροίνων
 τῇ ζ̄ τοῦ Ἀθύρ, δότω τῇ
 4 κηρυκίνη τῇ ἐν τῷ Θοηρείῳ
 τῷ τῶν ἐξαγορείων λαμβά-
 νων παρ' αὐτῆς (δραχμᾶς) ις̄ καὶ τῇ
 θεῷ (δραχμᾶς) β̄.

The general situation is clear. The text offers a reward to the finder of lost clothing who delivers it to the temple. Although a grammatical difficulty is removed by the new reading, we are still driven to guess at the real significance of the word ἐξαγορείων and we may still be in a similar difficulty with τῇ κηρυκίνη, in spite of the thorough discussion given by Dr Kramer in ed.pr. line 4 n. When κηρυκίνη first appeared in the papyri in a damaged and virtually incomprehensible context in CPR I 232.29, Preisigke took it as an adjective agreeing with an understood noun such as ἀρχή and meaning therefore 'herald's office' (Das Amt des Ausrufers, Wb.s.v.). I have retained the traditional English equation of κήρυξ with 'herald', although our heralds were associated only with states and armies, and are now restricted to genealogy. The κήρυκες of Roman Egypt were more like town-criers or, in some of their functions, like auctioneers, but an appropriate modern English term is not available.

Dr Kramer cites passages of three ancient lexica, Hesychius, Photius, and the Suda, where κηρυκίνη is applied to women. She concludes that the κηρυκίνη here was a female herald. My inclination is to agree with Preisigke; perhaps the suppressed noun was τάξις, often used of a body of officials. This view depends on likelihood rather than facts. Nearest to fact is the text of CPR 232, of which I present a revised version below. The passage in question is still without a full solution, but a reference to an office or department seems more plausible than one to a female herald.

Moreover, it seems to me that a woman herald would be a very unexpected phenomenon in the social circumstances of the Graeco-Roman world. For the sorts of paid work that women did do see S.B.Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* 160-71. The highly public performance of a herald is far outside the narrow range offered there. The women's herald in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* is a very special case, which I would claim in support of my view rather than against it, since the central joke of the piece is that women play the roles of men.

The passages from the ancient lexica run as follows:

Suda (Adler i.3 K.1540) Κηρύκαινα: θήλεια. καὶ Κηρυκίνας ἐκάλουν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς γυναῖκας, αἵτινες εἰς τὰς ἀνὰς παριοῦσαι καὶ τὰς συνοικίας, ἐφ' ᾧτε συναγεῖρην τὰ μιάσματα καὶ ἀποφέρειν εἰς θάλασσαν, ἅπερ ἐκάλουν φυλάκια.

(Cf. i.4 Φ.823: Φυλάκρια: παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τὰ ἐκμαγεία τῶν γυναικείων μολυμῶν).

Hesychius (Latte ii K.2561) κηρυκίνη. ἡ καταρωμένη.

Photius (Naber i p.340) κηρύκαιναν. γυναῖκα κηρύττουσαν λέγουσιν, with the note 'Codex κηρυκίνη. Refero ad Arist.Eccl.713'.

From the Suda entries we learn chiefly that there were women in Alexandria who went round entering courtyards and tenement houses to collect what we would nowadays call sanitary towels to be disposed of in the sea. These women were called κηρυκίνας. An obvious guess at the reason for that name would be that they uttered loud cries, somewhat like heralds, as they went about their work. The cries may have been intended to give notice to the customers, who presumably paid for this waste disposal service, and another motive may have been to give warning to those who felt that they might be ritually polluted by meeting persons associated with menstrual blood, although the researches of R.C.T. Parker, *Miasma* 100-3, have indicated that menstruation did not inspire in Greeks quite such extreme horror as has been shown in other cultures. Some evidence of its ritual impurity is collected in G.H.R.Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 4 (for 1979) pp. 109-110, cf. P.Warr.21.125 and n.

The gloss of Hesychius, 'she who calls down curses', does not fall into any context recognizable by me. It might refer to a female herald, cf. Dem.XXIII 97 καταρᾶται καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ ... εἴ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἢ βουλήν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν. I should like to connect it with the Alexandrian κηρυκίνας, but for that we should probably need 'accursed', καταραμένη rather than καταρωμένη.

Unlike Dr Kramer I would accept Naber's emendation of the Photius codex to κηρύκαιναν to agree with the Suda, and I think that he was correct to associate it with Ar. *Eccl.* 713, cf. 834-52.

We need to return now to ἐξαγορείων. Previous interpretations assumed that religion must furnish the dominant element in any explanation, hence associations with confession or prophecy, see P.Heid.IV pp.240-2. Here, however, we have a different association, one with some aspect of the work of heralds or town-criers, and this casts a different light on the word. According to LSJ the cognate verb, ἐξαγορεύω, has as its basic meaning 'tell out, make known, declare', while κηρυκεύω means 'perform the office of a herald' (s.v. I) and 'proclaim, notify' (s.v. II). The similarity in sense is so striking that we can hardly escape the notion that this Thoereum was named from its connection with heralds or town-criers. The translation must still be tentative, because we cannot see whether we are dealing with ἐξαγόρειοι or with ἐξαγόρεια, but 'the Thoereum of the proclaimers (proclamations?)' may do as a stop-gap till we have more evidence.

The implication seems to be that at Oxyrhynchus some town-criers were organized as a corporation or college for cult as well as for business activities and that they had fixed their headquarters at this particular temple of Thoeris, which therefore acquired the name of 'the Thoereum of the Proclaimers (Proclamations?)' to distinguish it from other temples to the same goddess, e.g. Θοηρείον Θενεπιόϊ, Θ. Cιντανώ, cf. ZPE 60 (1985) 228-230. For guilds meeting in temples cf. J.-P.Waltzing, *Corporations professionnelles* i 210-17, cf. 219 on the *schola Xantha* of the *scribae librarii et praecones aedilium curulium*.

A fragment of a similar text has been published by Dr Kramer as P.Köln VI 279 in the following form:

	εἴ τις εὐ[ρεν]
	... δότω []
	τὰ μου [ἐν]
4	τῆ πλατ[εία, δότω τῆ κη-]	

ρυκίνη λ[αμβάνων παρ' αὐ-]
 τῆς δρα[χμᾶς]
 καὶ τῆ θεῶ δραχμᾶ[ς]
 8 τέσσαρα.
 2 δύο

The readings in lines 2-3 are very doubtful: for this sort of text the phonetic error in δύο is not very likely and μου is meaningless without a definition for which there can hardly be room. However, I must admit that I have not been able to make any convincing reading of the remains, even from an excellent photograph supplied by Dr Kramer.

Lines 5-6 seem to offer a strong indication of the length of the lines, but the reconstruction of 3-4 is oddly different from the parallel. We are given a location for the loss of the property, which is not in P.Heid.334, and τῆ κηρυκίνη is quite without any qualification to compare with the elaborate τῆ ἐν τῷ Θοηρείῳ τῷ τῶν ἐξαγορείων. My feeling is that the location is that of the κηρυκίνη, which will be a different one from that in P.Heid.334. Lines 3-5 might rather have run δότω τῆ ἐν] τῆ πλατ[εῖα c.7 letters κη]ρυκίνη. There was a district of Oxyrhynchus called the ἄμφοδον Πλατεῖα, which indicates that there was an open space in the city called simply ἡ Πλατεῖα. The only other known πλατεῖα was ἡ π. τοῦ θεάτρου (P.Oxy.VI 937.10-11, PSI XIII 1331.35-6). In P.Oxy. 937 there is a question of a lost bowl or cup (φιάλη), seemingly lost on board a boat travelling between Oxyrhynchus and Antinoopolis, and the woman who received the letter was asked to enquire after it from some named persons in 'Theatre Square'. This might be connected with a lost property office in that location, but the text offers no certain confirmation of this idea. One objection to restoring τοῦ θεάτρου might be that in that case the goddess who was to receive a donation remains unspecified. This could be right; Athena Thoeiris is the characteristic local deity of Oxyrhynchus. Or the gap in 4 might contain the name of a temple, although we know of no such πλατεῖα.

Before we leave these two texts something may be said about the herald's formula εἴ τις εὔρεν, which occurs also in P.Oxy.LI 3616.1. In the introduction there I suggested that the word missing from the manuscripts of Lucian, *Fugitivi* 27 εἴ τις () ἀνδράποδον κτλ., should be εὔρεν rather than εἶδεν, as supplied by Fritsche and printed in the usual texts, e.g. M.D.MacLeod, OCT iii (1980). Unfortunately I have not been able to locate where Fritsche made his original suggestion, but I now see that it was based on Moschus 1 (= Anth. Graec. IX 440) 1-3:

Ἄ Κύπρις τὸν Ἔρωτα τὸν υἱέα μακρὸν ἐβώτρει.
 Ἐἴ τις ἐνὶ τριόδοις πλανώμενον εἶδεν Ἔρωτα,
 δραπετίδας ἐμός ἐστιν. ὁ μανυτὰς γέρας ἐξεῖ.' κτλ.

Now that the papyri have revealed that εἴ τις εὔρεν is a formula used by heralds in advertising for runaway slaves, as well as for other lost property, it seems inevitable that we should emend εἶδεν to εὔρεν in Moschus as well as supply εὔρεν as the omitted word in Lucian.

Finally we must return to the text in which the word κηρυκίνη first appeared, CPR I 232. Its script seems to date from the second half of the third century A.D. and it is a written affirmation of evidence (διαμαρτυρία), submitted by at least two persons, who declare that the charge of theft which their woman neighbour has brought against them in the past and failed to sustain is false. It is submitted to a board of officials, who are most likely to have been nyctostrategi, cf. J.Lallemand, L'Administration 164-5, P.Oxy. Hels.26 introd. Dr Harrauer, Director of the Vienna papyrus collection, has kindly supplied an excellent photograph of the document, see Tafel II, on which the following revised version is based:

 c. 20 letters] [c.12 letters
 c. 20 letters] [] ολ [] τοις
 c.12] [] πλειστο[] νμη
 c.12] επι [] ἐπηρέα[ζ]ειν βου-
 5 c.10] κυκοφαν[τ] εν προήχθη-
 μεν ἔγ]γρ[α]φ[ο]ν ταύτην διαμαρτυρίαν παρ' ὑμῖν
 ποιῆσαι π[άλ]ιν ἡμᾶς ἀντοὺς ἀσφαλικάμενοι
 πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐκκεῖθ[α] ἐπηρεία δευτέρα.
 γυνὴ Εὐδαι[μ]ονὶς τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ γειτόνων
 10 ἡμῶν οἰκ[οῦ]σα καὶ βουλομένη ψευδεῖς
 αἰτίας ἡμῖν [ἐ]πιφέρειν ἔφησεν ἀντλητικὸν
 κ[ά]δον καὶ ἕτερ[ο]ν εἶδος χάλκεον ὑφ[η]ρηθῆσαι ἐν
 τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκ[ί]α, καὶ πρὸς πειθανότητα τοῦ
 15 κυκοφαντήμ[α]τος, μέ[σ]ου ὄντος τειχίου δύο αὐ-
 λῶν τῆς τε ἡμετέρας κ[αὶ] τῆς γείτονος οἰκίας
 καὶ τοῦ τειχίου κεράμοις [ἐ]τσιβαζμένου, τὸν
 κυ]νδέοντα πηλὸν κ[αὶ τῶν] κεράμων τοὺς μέσους
 ὑφ]ελομένη, ἡμῖν ἐπέφερον τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν
 ὑφ]ηρημένων καὶ παρή[γγ]ειλεν μὲν ἡμῖν, ἀπὸ τῆς
 20 ὑμε]τέρας τάξεως φρουρ[ᾶν] λαβοῦσα, ἡμῶν δὲ παρα-
 γε]γομένων καὶ ἐτοιμῶν ὄντων ἀποκρίνεσθαι
 περὶ ὧν ἐκυκοφαντούμεθα, ὁ γαμῶν αὐτὴν στρα-
 τι]ώτης, ᾧ θαρροῦσα ταῦτα καθ' ἡμῶν συνσκευά-
 25 ζ]εται, οὐκέτι μὲν ἐνήγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίκην, προε-
 κ]αλεῖτο δὲ ὄρκον καὶ τὴν [παρ'] ἡμῶν πίστειν, ἀξιῶν
 ἡ]μᾶς ὁμῶναι περὶ τῶν [αὐτ]ῶν ὑφηρημένων.
 τ]αῦτα προκαλεσαμένη ἅμα τῷ ἀνδρί, δόξαν αὐτῇ, οὐ-
 κέ]τι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπήντα, ἥτοι ἀλλαχόθεν εὐ-
 30 ροῦ]σα ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῷ τὴν κηρυκίνην ἐπιτυχοῦσα
 τῆ]ς εὐ[ρ]έσεως. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ἀμάρτυρα ἦ, μη-
 δὲ] τὸ κυκοφάντημα αὐτῆς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποσιωπηθῆ,
 ἐπιδ]ίδομεν τ[ά]δε τὰ βιβλία ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι ἐν
 κατ]αχωρικμ[ῶ] δεικνύντα τὸν βίον τὸν ἡμέτε-
 35 ρον] καθαρεύοντα πάσης αἰτίας, ἴν' εἴ ὕστερον πάλιν
 πειρ]ηθεῖη κυκ[ο]φαντεῖν, φανερὰ αὐτῆς ἢ ἐκ τῶν
 ῥη]θέντων ἢ π[ρ]οαίρεσι[ς] ἐν οἷς ἐπιχειρήσασα
 ἐάλ]ω, ἐκ δευτέρου δὲ ἐξελε[γ]θηναὶ δ[ύ]νηται.
 (vac.?) διευτυχ]εῖτε. (vac.)
 c. 10 letters Με]χεῖρ κε̅̅̅.

12 l. πιθανότητα 23-4 l. συσκευάζεται 25 l. πίστιν

'... we were impelled to lay before you this written testimony, again securing ourselves against being exposed to a second injury.'

'A woman called Eudaemonis, who lives next door to us and wishes to bring false charges against us, alleged that a water-drawing pot and another vessel made of bronze had been stolen in her house, and to lend conviction to her slander, since there is a wall between the two courtyards of our house and the next one and the wall is stacked with tiles, she removed the middle tiles and the mud plaster binding them together and tried to bring a charge of stealing the goods against us. First she took out a summons against us, getting assistance from your department; then when we appeared in court and were ready to answer to the slanders we were suffering, the soldier who lives with her, on whom she relies when she trumps up these charges against us, did not after all try to bring a suit against us, but began to issue a challenge to an oath and a pledge from us, asking us to swear an oath about the same stolen goods. Having issued this challenge in collusion with her man, by her own personal decision she did not after all try to attend for the oaths, either because she found (the goods) elsewhere or indeed because she succeeded in making the discovery while visiting the person who is in charge of the association of heralds. So that these facts may not go unwitnessed nor her slander be passed over in silence by us, we submit this petition, requesting that it be placed upon record as showing that our way of life is clear of all guilt, in order that, if she should later again try to spread slander, her (evil) disposition in the attempts in which she was detected may be manifest from what has been said and that she may be able to be convicted a second time.'

'Farewell.'

'(Year *n* of emperor X.?), Mecheir 25.'

Absolute reliance should not be placed on every element of this restored version. For instance, at the beginning of 35 περι]ηθείη might be rather τολμ]ηθείη, and in 36-7 the restorations are no more than stopgaps which give a plausible and possible sense.

Wessely's text of lines 1-5 seems to show that in the ninety-odd year interval between his publication and the present day a small piece containing the beginnings of 1-4 or 1-5 has been lost or misplaced. He prints in CPR I p. 259:

1. ..αρα.....]μων [.....
2. αμφοτερ[.....].ο...ομολο[γη]μα τοις
3. κυκοφαντουμενοις πε[ρι]πλεικτου οταν μη
4. αφηκυχα[ση] επιτη[.....]επηρεα[ζ]ειν βου
5. λομενω ε]κυκοφα[ντ.....ετι προηχθη

This may indicate that we have lost only the address to the board of officials, the *nyctostrategi* if my suggestion above is correct, but are still near the beginning of the document, line 1 opening with παρά, followed by the names of the persons who submitted the deposition and then their origin, ἀμφοτέρων ἀπό. Before τοῖς an attractive possibility would be πόλεως. I have tried to fit ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως or ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως to the traces and failed. Although it would be rather difficult to account for applicants from Antinoopolis in a document stated to come from its neighbour across the river, Hermopolis, I am tempted to suggest, tentatively, ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄντιν]όρ[υ] πόλεως.

After that we might easily reconstruct what would be a suitably sententious opening by adapting the main elements of Wessely's transcription to what now remains, as follows:

τοῖς
κυκοφαντουμ]ένοις [περ]ὶ πλείκτου[υ ἐ]στὶν μὴ

ἀφῆχυχάσαι] ἐπὶ τ[ῶν τ]ε ἐπηρεά[ζ]ειν βου-
λομένων καὶ] κυκοφαν[τεῖ]ν. ὄθεν προήχθη-
μεν κτλ.

'For those who are being slandered it is of the utmost importance not to rest quiet in the face of those who want both to injure and to slander them. Hence we were impelled' etc.

Having established a general view of the document we can return to the passage containing the word κηρυκίνη. The Greek, as I have read and conjecturally restored it, runs:

τ]αῦτα προκαλεσαμένη ἅμα τῷ ἀνδρί, δόξαν αὐτῆ, οὐ-
κέ]τι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀπήντα, ἥτοι ἀλλαχόθεν εὐ-
ροῦ]σα ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῷ τὴν κηρυκίνην ἐπιτυχοῦσα
30 τῆ]ς εὐ[ρ]έσεως.

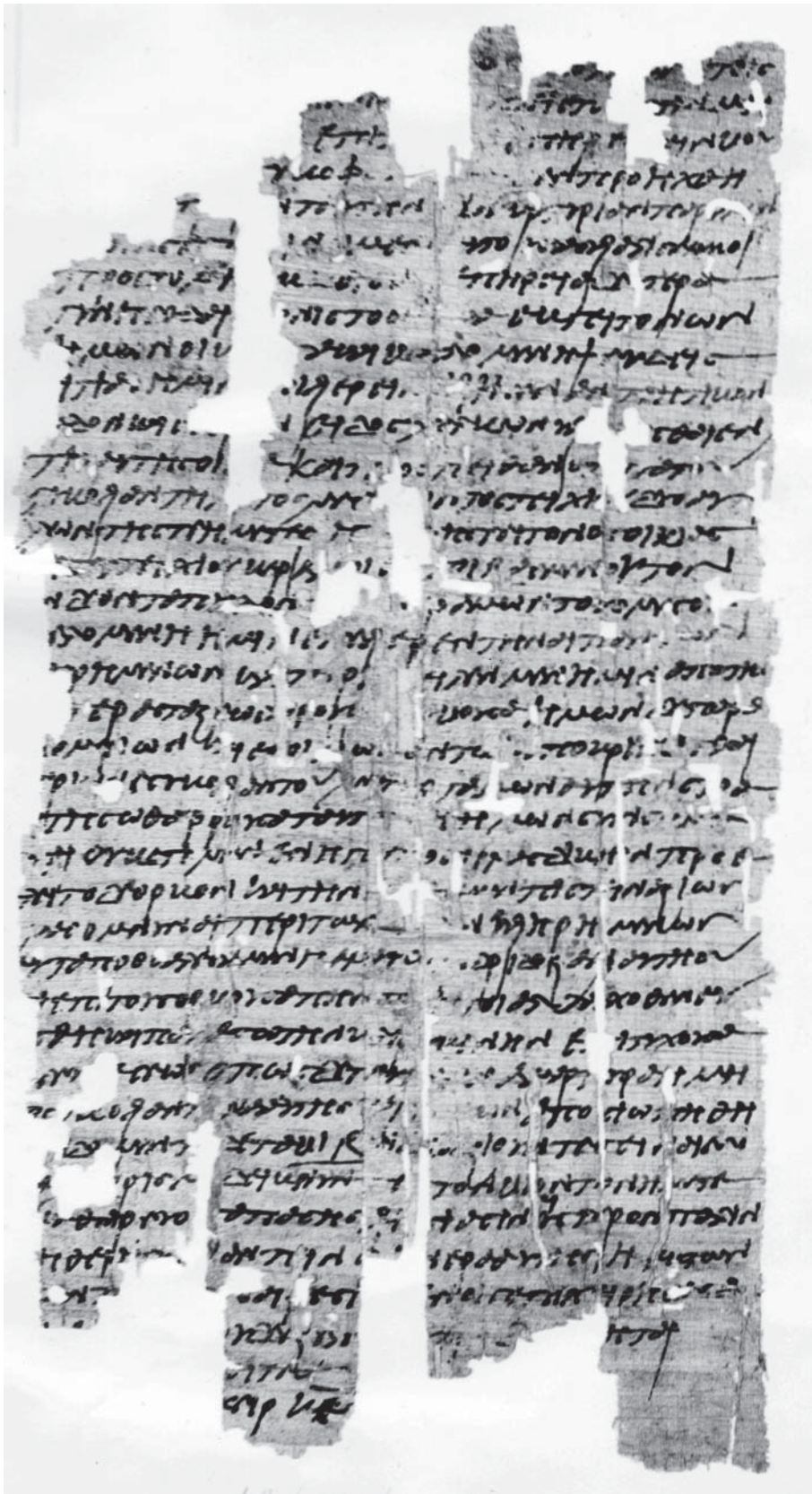
'Having issued this challenge in collusion with her man, by her own personal decision she did not after all try to attend for the oaths, either because she found (the goods) elsewhere or indeed because she succeeded in making the discovery while visiting the person who is in charge of the association of heralds.'

(I gratefully acknowledge that I owe the sense of this translation to Professor Hagedorn and Dr Kramer; I had in fact misunderstood the text which I read and restored myself!)

It should also be acknowledged that κηρυκίνη is not a self evident reading, chiefly because the doubtful eta looks more like alpha or lambda followed by something else, perhaps iota, see Tafel II. I have come to the conclusion that this impression must be the result of damage, since no other word can be found to fit better and since the sense suits what we already know of the κηρυκίνη from the new texts. It seems that the petitioners think or profess to think that their adversary did not proceed with her challenge because she recovered the goods. It seems that, although they reject the charge against themselves as false, they are willing to allow that the goods had been missing at some time and that there was some sort of basis for suspicion, until they were recovered. They conjecture that the goods might have turned up in the lost property office.

The slightly surprising accusative absolute is classical, see LSJ s.v. δοκέω II 4.c., and has appeared also in P.Oxy. I 44.10, cf. B.G.Mandilaras, *The Verb* 370 (§ 911). It is rather awkwardly placed in the sentence. I take it to refer forward, being intended to emphasize the woman's wilful decision to change her mind about her legal challenge.

If this text is right or nearly right we need to understand a participle with παρὰ τῷ to govern τὴν κηρυκίνη. Something like διοικοῦντι might suit the sense, or if this is a government contract, ἀσχολουμένῳ or ἐξειληφότι. Unfortunately we do not yet have a very clear idea of how heralds were organized, see R.Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* ii 151-7 = 'The Herald in the Law of the Papyri', *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 6(1949)189-94, and we have only recently begun to see how they functioned in the recovery of lost property. However, there seems very little chance that there is any reference to a female herald either in this text or in the two notices or proclamations of lost property.



CPR I 232