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TEN PTOLEMAIC GRANARY RECEIPTS FROM PYRRHEIA

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## Ten Ptolemaic granary receipts from Pyrrheia

Some years ago one of us grouped a small dossier of six naukleros receipts (σύμβολα), three of them published among the Lille papyri, the other three belonging to the Sorbonne collection<sup>1</sup>. The central figure of this "archive" was Herakleodoros, the ἀντιγραφεύς of the royal scribe at the granary of Pyrrheia, a village in the meris of Themistos<sup>2</sup>.

It was demonstrated on that occasion that the texts did not belong to the third, but to the second century B.C. and that years 26 and 34, mentioned in them, should be attributed either to the reign of Ptolemy VI, *i.e.* 156/155 and 148/147, or to that of Ptolemy VIII, *i.e.* 145/144 and 137/136. For several reasons H.Hauben preferred a date in the reign of Ptolemy VI. The implication was that all the "boats of the queen", mentioned in three documents of the said dossier as well as in some other texts, could be ascribed with certainty to Kleopatra II<sup>3</sup>. This conclusion seems in any case to be confirmed by the publication of P.Eras. II, an archive of two or more sitologoi<sup>4</sup>, which is firmly dated to the period 153/152-150/149<sup>5</sup> and in which no less than ten documents refer to boats of the queen. Here also Kleopatra II is to be considered the only possible owner of all barges involved<sup>6</sup>. However, as the present dossier has in the mean time substantially increased and a new element has turned up, we have to return to these issues below.

Whereas we were able to point out that P.Lille I 19 (= no. 1), though not a naukleros receipt, certainly belongs to the present dossier, W.Clarysse, during a recent visit to the "Institut de

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<sup>1</sup> W.CLARYSSE, Notes on the use of the iota adscript in the third century B.C., in Chron. d'Ég., 51 (1976), pp. 150-166, esp. pp. 156-160. The texts in question are P.Lille I 21, 22 and 23 (= WILCKEN, Chrest. 189 = J.HENGSTL, Griechische Papyri aus Aegypten, München 1978, 138), and P.Sorb. inv. 110a, 110b and 111, now SB XIV 11866, 11867 and 11868. For the naukleros symbola (not contracts, but receipts), see most recently Ph.A.VERDULT, P.Eras. II. Delen van een arsinoïtisch sitologen-archief uit het midden van de tweede eeuw v. Chr. (Mededelingen van het Juridisch Instituut van de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam n° 45), diss. Rotterdam 1988, pp. 145-207 and 254-260 (esp. pp. 192 and 260). Verdult's new interpretation of the Ptolemaic naukleria in official service (pp. 169-191 and 258-260) is both clear and convincing. An English version of this work is forthcoming in Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia.

<sup>2</sup> Pros. Ptol. I 1788 = \*1791. For the antigrapheus, the delegate of the basilikos grammateus in the village, working in the immediate vicinity of the sitologos, see Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], pp. 17-21, 78, 84-90.

<sup>3</sup> H.HAUBEN, Le transport fluvial en Égypte ptolémaïque. Les bateaux du roi et de la reine, in Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie IV (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 19), Bruxelles 1979, pp. 68-77, esp. p. 74; H.HAUBEN, Nouvelles remarques sur les nauclères d'Égypte à l'époque des Lagides, in ZPE, 28 (1978), pp. 99-107, esp. pp. 101 and 104. Cf. H.HAUBEN, Another boat of Kleopatra II ?, in ZPE, 66 (1986), p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1].

<sup>5</sup> Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], p. 3. We have slightly adapted the termini given by Verdult (152/151 and 149/148). In documents nos. 28 and 54-57 the harvest years 29 and 32 are mentioned. Verdult dates the texts, of which the date at the end is lost, one year later, but this is unnecessary, since he himself (p. 4) notes that in the Rotterdam corpus the grain is generally harvested and loaded in the same year. The only exceptions are the fragmentary texts nos. 42 and 48, dated (and thus loaded) in Thoth, the first month of the year. In that case the grain was of course harvested in the previous year. Verdult's list (pp. 11-14) should be corrected accordingly.

<sup>6</sup> Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], pp. 33-34; cf. below, p. 63-64.

Papyrologie" of the Sorbonne, discovered three further fragmentary naukleros receipts<sup>7</sup>: P.Sorb. inv. 112 (= no. 3), written in the same hand as P.Lille I 21 (= no. 2), and P.Sorb. inv. 689 (= no. 6) together with 690 (= no. 7). These fragments are clearly linked with each other and with the other texts through the antigrapheus Herakleodoros and the sitologos Petobastis. All texts are moreover extracted from mummy cartonnage found at El-Lahun.

In the present publication we have grouped ten documents, all of them receipts: nine (nos. 2-10) are issued by a naukleros to an antigrapheus or a sitologos, one (no. 1) by a sitologos to another official. Most, probably even all, of them deal with the granary of Pyrrheia; only for no. 9 this cannot be proved with certainty, but here too it is very likely.

At least five receipts were issued to Herakleodoros, the controller (antigrapheus) representing the royal scribe in the granary of the village, so that on an earlier occasion one of us referred to "the archive of Herakleodoros"<sup>8</sup>. This remains correct in so far as the receipts of Herakleodoros constitute the core of our dossier. The new texts nos. 3 and 7, which were issued to the sitologos of the same granary, are in fact twin receipts for nos. 2 and 6 respectively: they are written on the same day for the same freight. In no. 1, Herakleodoros was a witness to the transaction and for one reason or another the receipt was kept in his files (similar instances are well attested in the Zenon archive). Maybe we should call it the archive of the thesauros of Pyrrheia. In a small village the thesauros officials, sitologos and antigrapheus, no doubt shared the same office and so their papers could easily have been mixed up. That the texts ended up as mummy cartonnage in the cemetery of Ptolemaïs (El-Lahun), the place whence the ships started their journey to Alexandria, is probably accidental.

It was usual for the naukleroi to give a receipt for the freight delivered to them at each granary, not only to the sitologos, but also to one or even two controllers. In P.Tebt. III 825, for instance, we have three receipts for the same freight, taken from the granary of Boubastos and loaded in the harbour of Ptolemaïs: one is for the antigrapheus of the royal scribe, the second for the agent of the oikonomos, the third for the sitologos (apparently again accompanied by the antigrapheus)<sup>9</sup>. The same is the case in our dossier for nos. 2-3 and 6-7. These texts are identical except for the name and title of the officials involved. In this respect it is interesting to notice that the sitologos is introduced by *παρά* in no. 3 (the preposition is lost in no. 7), whereas for the antigrapheus the preposition *διά* is used in nos. 2 and 6. The distinction is quite logical since the naukleros indeed receives the wheat *from* (*παρά*) the keeper of the granary, *through* (*διά*) the controllers. This practice can also be observed in naukleros receipts outside the present archive. Thus *παρά* is used for the sitologos in BGU XIV 2400, P.Petrie II 48, P.Tebt. III 824, SB XVI 11962 and P.Erasm. II 36, 38-41, 43-47, 50; *διά* is found for the antigrapheis and representatives of the royal scribe and the oikonomos in P.Hib. I 98, P.Köln VI 273 and P.Tebt. III 825a and b. There are, however, several exceptions to the rule, perhaps caused by scribal slovenliness (the pattern for one official being repeated for the others). Thus one finds *διά* for the sitologos in P.Tebt. III 823 and 825 c, whereas *παρά* is found for the antigrapheus in nos. 5 and 8 of the present group and in P.Strasb. 113 and 563 (cf. Anc. Soc. 7, 1976, pp. 186-190).

<sup>7</sup> We wish to thank here prof. A.Blanchard for his help in our search through the unpublished Sorbonne papyri and for permission to publish the texts.

<sup>8</sup> H.HAUBEN, *Transport fluvial* [n. 3], p. 72.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], pp. 85-86.

The village of Pyrrheia is attested in texts ranging from the third century B.C. until the 4th century A.D.<sup>10</sup> It was probably named after Pyrrhos, the well-known king of Epirus. From 299 to 297 Pyrrhos was resident in Alexandria. He married a step-daughter of Ptolemy I and received the necessary means for his return to Epirus. After his return he remained a faithful ally of Ptolemy<sup>11</sup>. In the late fourth and early third century Ptolemy named a few Alexandrian demes and Fayum villages after eminent colleagues and allies, such as Seleukos (deme Seleukeios), Krateros (deme Krateraieus), Leonnatos (deme Leonnateus) and Lysimachos (deme Lysimacheios, village Lysimachis)<sup>12</sup>. It is possible that alongside the village Pyrrheia a deme-name Pyrrheios will some day turn up to confirm our hypothesis.

Pyrrheia was situated in the meris of Themistos. Neighbouring villages were Kerkesecephis (see P.Tebt. III 716) and Narmouthis (see P.Sakaon 53 and O.Narmouthis 26), both in the North of the meris of Polemon. This shows that our village belonged to the southern part of the meris of Themistos. The thesauros of Pyrrheia is also attested in BGU III 802 passim (A.D. 42), SB X 10213 (A.D. 252) and O.Narmouthis 26 (III A.D.).

We have presented here the whole dossier in chronological order, followed by a recapitulative list. The republication of the texts formerly published by Jouguet and others and by Clarysse makes possible a comparison of the handwritings, which are important both for the dating of the texts and for their respective positions within the group. Moreover, the new fragments and our renewed study of the whole have resulted in several corrections in the reading and interpretation of the earlier publications.

The texts are written in several hands. Nos. 2 and 3 are in the same hand and so are nos. 6 and 7. This is normal as nos. 2-3 and 6-7 form pairs of documents written on a single day. Only no. 1, which is not a naukleros receipt, is written by a professional scribe. No. 4 is a typical example of the crude uncials produced by a *βραδέως γράφων* and nos. 2-3 are only slightly better. With the exception of no. 1 and nos. 6-7, the orthography is very uncertain; frequent dittographies and omissions of syllables and whole words point to mechanical copying of a model; the syntactical errors, especially the confusion of gender of *κερκουροσκάφη* (no. 4 l. 7; no. 5 l. 7; no. 9 ll. 7-10) are typical of Egyptians writing Greek (notwithstanding the Greek names in no. 5 l. 27 and no. 10 ll. 8-9). Very typical in this respect is the orthography of proper names, and especially of the name of the village, spelled variously as Πυρρηε[ί]α (no. 1), Πυρή[ι]α (no. 3), Φυρ[ε]ία (no. 5), Πυρρεία (no. 6) and Φυρέα (no. 10)<sup>13</sup>.

In any case, it is clear that these receipts were not written by professional scribes of the thesauros administration, but by private persons, some of whom were more versed in writing than others. According to Ph.A. Verdult the receipts of P.Erasm. II were written by illiterates, by occa-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. P.Tebt. II, p. 400; A. CALDERINI-S. DARIS, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano* IV, p. 218. P.Fayum 243 is now republished as SB XVI 13001; the photograph given in ZPE, 50 (1983), pl. II, shows that the reading Πυρρ[ε]ίας in l. 1 of this text is very doubtful. See also F.UEBEL, *Die Kleruchen Aegyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern*, Abh. Deutsch. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, 1968, 3, p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. P.LÉVÊQUE, *Pyrrhos*, *Bibl. des Écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome* 185 (1957), pp. 107-116; J.SEIBERT, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit*, *Historia Einzelschr.* 10, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 76-77; A.B.NEDERLOF, *Pyrrhus van Epirus*, Amsterdam 1978, pp. 40-42; É.WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique I<sup>2</sup>*, Nancy 1979, pp. 90-93.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W.CLARYSSE - W.SWINNEN, *Notes on some Alexandrian demotics*, in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano*, *Studi in onore di A.Adriani*, IV, Roma 1983, pp. 13-15.

<sup>13</sup> The scribes of P.Erasm. II have similar problems with the spelling of the village name *Oxyrhyncha*: see Ph.A.VERDULT [n.1], pp. 58-59, 167.

sional writers and by professionals<sup>14</sup>. Apparently the naukleroi had themselves to provide the thesauros officials with receipts for the grain delivered to them. This was not a service the administration undertook on their behalf, no doubt because of a lack of secretaries.

In the present state of the dossier at least seven and probably nine out of the ten texts belong to the same 26th year. Only no. 9 mentions a 34th year. Since we have added P.Lille I 19 (no. 1, year 26) to the group, the question now arises whether the date under Ptolemy VI (156/155 and 148/147 respectively) can be maintained or if the texts should be transferred to Ptolemy VIII (145/144 and 137/136 respectively).

No. 1 makes mention of an epimeletes Apollonios. This man may very well be identical with the homonymous epimeletes Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 935, who was certainly in office in 143-141 (cf. below, p. 53). Does this mean that the whole dossier should be dated to the reign of Ptolemy VIII? The weak point in the argument is the triviality of the name Apollonios: this leaves open the possibility of a homonymous epimeletes some ten years earlier.

On the other hand several texts refer to the harvest of a preceding 25th year. Theoretically this would exclude Ptolemy VIII because his 25th year was limited to July/August-September 145, whereas the harvest of that year took place in May-June 145, *i.e.* during the 36th and last year of Ptolemy VI (146/145). It is possible, however, that in the course of the 26th year of Ptolemy VIII (145/144) the preceding harvest was retroactively attributed to his 25th year.

For all those reasons we prefer again to leave open the two dating possibilities for the 26th year in our dossier, although a slight preference may now be given to the reign of Ptolemy VIII (145/144) following the prosopographical argument on the epimeletes Apollonios.

As to the 34th year, mentioned in no. 9, the reign of Ptolemy VI seems preferable (cf. below, p. 65): his 34th year (148/147) is indeed closer both to his own 26th year (156/155) and to the 26th year of his brother (145/144) than is the 34th year of Ptolemy VIII (137/136). But again it is impossible to exclude either possibility and we have therefore preferred to exercise caution and to list the text as no. 9.

This adjusted chronology has no consequences for our thesis that all the queen's barges known to date belonged to Kleopatra II, as she was still the only queen in 145/144. Only if the 34th year of no. 9 were to be attributed to Ptolemy VIII (137/136), would Kleopatra III qualify as a possible alternative. But, as stated above, this seems less likely. Moreover, in 137/136 Kleopatra II stood alongside Kleopatra III as a reigning queen<sup>15</sup>, so that even in that case the proposed identity of the royal owner need not be questioned.

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<sup>14</sup> Ph.A.VERDULT [n.1], pp. 164-166.

<sup>15</sup> See E.LANCIERS, Die Alleinherrschaft des Ptolemaios VIII. im Jahre 164/163 v. Chr. und der Name Euergetes, in Proc. XVIIIth Intern. Congress of Papyrology, Athens 1988, II, pp. 405-433, esp. pp. 423-424 and 429; L.MOOREN, The wives and children of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, *ibidem*, pp. 435-444.

## 1. P.Lille I 19

18 x 11.7 cm  
Kairo inv. 2820-58972

Tafel II

The text was republished with some minor changes in U. WILCKEN, Chrest. 164, under the title "Der ἐπιμελητής in der Getreideverwaltung in der Mitte des III. Jahrh. v. Chr." As a result of the new date proposed here the office of epimeletes is now first attested during the reign of Philopator rather than in the time of Euergetes. It seems probable that the office was in fact a creation of the late third century B.C.

Written along the fibres on the recto of the roll. There is a vertical kollema in the middle of the sheet. The papyrus was folded from left to right; the vertical folds gradually increase from 2.3 (left) to 3.5 cm (right).

The text is written in a careful professional cursive hand, clearly belonging to the second century B.C. The scribe avoids word division at the end of the lines. The result is a very irregular right hand margin and some crowding at the end of several lines.

Date: 31 October - 29 November 156 B.C. or 28 October - 26 November 145 B.C.

Ἔτους κς Φαῶφι. Παρὰ  
Πετοβάσ[τιος] τοῦ σιτολογοῦντος  
τὸ περὶ Πυρρηε[ίαν] ἐργαστήριον,  
σίτου τοῦ εἰσε[ινηγε]μένου διὰ  
5 Ἀσκλη[πι]άδου [τοῦ] παρὰ  
Ἀπολλων[ίου] τοῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ  
[.] ἐν Κερκ[ - - ], παρὰ  
Σαραπίωνος τοῦ προεστηκότος  
τῆς Καλλιξέ[ινου] δωρεᾶς  
10 [ . . . ] πυροῦ Ἰσμζ ∟.

Ἡρακλεόδω[ρος] ὁ ἀντιγραφόμενος]  
παρὰ βασιλικῶν γραμματέων].  
- - - - -

## 3. I. Πυρρείαν

1. ις Φαῶφ ι edd. 3. Πυρρηε[ίαν] edd. 4. εἰσ[ιδε]δεγμένου P.Lille I, p. 272 (add.) and Grenfell-Hunt (P.Tebt. III 837 l. 5, note), εἰσ[β]εβλημένου Smyly (P.Lille I, p. 272) 7. Κερκε[οσίρει] edd., ἐν κερκο[ύρωι (?)] Wilcken 9. Καλλιξέ[ινους] edd., Καλλιξέ[ινου] Wilcken 11. Ἡρακλε[ίδης] edd. 11. [ἀντιγραφέως] edd. 13. [συμμεμέτρημαι κτλ.] edd.

*Year 26, Phaophi. From Petobastis, acting as sitologos in the granary at Pyrrheia for wheat delivered (?) through Asklepiades the representative of Apollonios the epimeletes in Kerk.[ - - ], from Sarapion the director of the dorea of Kallixeinos: 2247 1/2 artabae of wheat. Herakleodoros, who controls for the royal scribe - - -*

- 1 The year was read by the editors as ἔτους ις and attributed to the mid third century B.C.<sup>16</sup> As a date under Ptolemy II (270/269) was apparently too early, the year has regularly been attributed to Ptolemy III (232/ 231)<sup>17</sup>. Since it is certain that P.Lille I 19 belongs to the dossier of Herakleodoros (see our reading in l. 11), it should be dated to the second century, as is clear also from the hand.

In fact the figures of the year are heavily damaged: all one can see is a long descending vertical stroke, which could belong to an *iota*, but also to a *kappa* (cf. the *kappa* in l. 11) and the flat top-stroke of the second figure. There is no problem whatsoever in reading ἔτους κς<sup>18</sup>. Thus the text falls into line with the rest of the dossier and more particularly with no. 3, which mentions the same sitologos.

From a palaeographical point of view the enlarged epsilon of ἔτους at the beginning of the text is interesting: it is one of the earliest examples of a habit which was to become normal practice only in the Roman period.

After the year the editors read Φαωφ ι (= 10 Phaophi). But the spelling of the month name without the final *iota* and the absence of a supralinear stroke above the supposed day-figure are both suspect. We therefore prefer to read Φαῶφι without any indication of the day. Probably the text was written on the first of the month.

- 2 Πετοβάσ[τιος] (Pros. Ptol. I 1410): the same man is mentioned in nos. 3 and 7. He may be identical with one of the authors of P.Sorb. inv. 692 (unpublished; also from El-Lahun), a letter from Petobastis and Apollonios to a certain Chesertaios, mentioning the archisitologos Demetrios. In Pros. Ptol. VIII 1350a this unpublished text is dated to the third century B.C. Having checked the original in Paris we can confidently say that it belongs to the second century. If Petobastis in that text is identical with the sitologos of Pyrrheia, P.Sorb. inv. 692 may have formed part of the present dossier.
- 4 σίτου τοῦ εἰσε[ι]νηγε[ι]μένου: a very similar expression is found in the sitologos-receipt P.Tebt. III 836 (177 B.C.), which closely parallels the present text: date, παρὰ NN τοῦ σιτο-λογούντος τὸ περι village name ἐργαστήριον, σίτου τοῦ μεμετρημένου - - - ἐν village name παρὰ NN. P.Tebt. III 837 (139 B.C.) has a variant formula: σίτου τοῦ εἰσδεδεγμένου. We have supplemented here a form of εἰσφέρειν: σίτου τοῦ εἰσε[ι]νηγε[ι]μένου because of the traces after εισ-, but εἰσ[δε]δεγμένου, suggested by the editors in the addenda and by Grenfell-Hunt cannot be excluded since the traces before the lacuna are very small; of the *gamma* we can see no trace. For εἰσφέρειν σῖτον, see e.g. P.Hib. I 157 and PSI VI 664 l. 1.
- 5-6 διὰ Ἰασκλη[π]ιά[δο]υ (Pros. Ptol. I 967) [τοῦ] παρὰ Ἀπολλων[ί]ου (Pros. Ptol. I 932) τ[ο]ῦ ἐπιμελητοῦ.

The new date of P.Lille I 19 has one interesting consequence for institutional history. When it was dated under Ptolemy III Apollonios (Pros. Ptol. I 932) was the earliest attested epime-

<sup>16</sup> The date "ca. 250" as given in Pros. Ptol. I 932, 967, 1410, 1783 or IV 10087 and 10455, takes the indication "milieu du III<sup>e</sup> siècle" in the *editio princeps* too literally.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. R.S.BAGNALL, Theogenes the Dioiketes, in *Anc. Soc.*, 3 (1972), pp. 111-119, esp. p. 114. Cfr. BL VI, p. 59.

<sup>18</sup> This reading has been confirmed on the original in Cairo by Cl. Gallazzi.

letes<sup>19</sup>. Since this single exceptional case<sup>20</sup> has now been removed, no epimeletai are known until the reign of Ptolemy IV (Ptolemaios, Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 951).

At present three epimeletai are attested for the Arsinoite nome in the mid second century B.C.:

a) Chairemon (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 958; P.Eras. II [n. 1] 31-34<sup>21</sup>): 154/153, 153/152, 152/151 and 151/150<sup>22</sup>. Chairemon was certainly epimeletes under Ptolemy VI: see P.Tebt. I 61 (b), ll. 70-71; cf. comm., pp. 212-213, *sub* l. 46.

b) Apollonios (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 935): 143/142 and 142/141. Apollonios was certainly epimeletes under Ptolemy VIII: see P.Tebt. I 61 (b), l. 52; cf. comm., pp. 212-213, *sub* l. 46; P.Tebt. III 731, l. 8, comm.

c) Ptolemaios (Pros. Ptol. I 955): 140/139. Ptolemaios was certainly epimeletes under Ptolemy VIII: see P.Tebt. I 61 (b), l. 57; cf. comm., pp. 212-213, *sub* l. 46.

It is very tempting to identify Apollonios in the present text (Pros. Ptol. I 932) with the epimeletes of 143/142 and 142/141 (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 935). In that case the whole group of texts (with the possible exception of no. 9) should be dated to the reign of Ptolemy VIII, against Hauben's former suggestion. For it is unlikely that the same Apollonios would have held the function of epimeletes twice with an interruption (156/155 and 143/142-142/141). However, as the name is so common, the possibility of a homonymous epimeletes some ten years earlier (*i.e.* before Chairemon) cannot be excluded.

The epimeletes Apollonios in the present text (Pros. Ptol. I 932) was identified by R.S.Bagnall, who dated no. 1 to 232<sup>23</sup>, with his homonymous colleague in WILCKEN, Chrest. 224 = Archiv, 2 (1902), pp. 82-84 (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 933)<sup>24</sup>. This text is dated in a 14th year, which Bagnall situated under Ptolemy III, *i.e.* in 234/233. In the meantime, however, it has become abundantly clear that the epimeletes Pros. Ptol. I 933, who appears in the same context as the royal scribe Imouthes (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 440 = 449 = 450), the oikonomos Kallikrates (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 1056) and the dioiketes Theogenes (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 32), was active during the reign of Ptolemy IV. The 14th year in WILCKEN, Chrest. 224 therefore corresponds to 209/208<sup>25</sup>. The chronological shift of both Pros. Ptol. I 932 and 933 totally excludes their identification<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> See Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 930-971a; Apollonios (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 933) is now to be placed with certainty under Ptolemy IV : see below.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. U.WILCKEN, in Archiv, 5 (1913), p. 226; Grundzüge, p. 150; Chrestomathie, p. 196. For the function of epimeletes, see now Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], pp. 97-98.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], p. 3, where a few details should be corrected : in P.Tebt. III 782 the date is lost; the editors rightly date "about 153 B.C." P.Tebt. III 843 is dated to 152, but the reference to Chairemon relates to 154/153. We do not understand Verdult's chronological note concerning Pros. Ptol. I 958.

<sup>22</sup> The last two dates are based on the harvest year mentioned in P.Eras. II 31 and 32, viz. the 30th and 31st year of Ptolemy VI. Cf. above, n. 5.

<sup>23</sup> See n. 17.

<sup>24</sup> For this man, see now also Aegyptus, 68 (1988), p. 16 : P.Med. inv. 83.03, ll. 19-20.

<sup>25</sup> See, in chronological order, T.C.SKEAT, A receipt for enkykliion, in JEA, 45 (1959), pp. 75-78; T.C.SKEAT, The date of the dioiketes Theogenes, in Anc. Soc., 10 (1979), pp. 159-165; K.MARESCH, in P.Köln VI (1987), pp. 156-160; W.CLARYSSE, A banking receipt from Philopator's last year, in ZPE, 78 (1989), p. 300; B.KRAUT, Hypomnema to Theogenes the dioiketes, in ZPE, 80 (1990), pp. 273-276. An argument of R.S.Bagnall [n.17] (p.114) concerning P.Petrie III 72a (= WILCKEN, Chrest. 222), which looks impressive at first sight, is in fact erroneous. The text is an apographe from the 15th year (or the 14th year according to T.C.SKEAT, in JEA, 45, 1959, p. 77), addressed to the royal scribe Imouthes. According to Bagnall "later parts of the same papyrus, . .

7 ἐν Κερκε[ - - ]: Wilcken's supplement for l. 7 ἐν κερκε[ύρωι (?)] was rightly dismissed in P.Tebt. III 837 l. 5, comm. (see BL III). The editors of P.Lille I were right in supplementing a village name. Their choice of Κερκε[οσίρις] is, however, uncertain. We should look for a village in the neighbourhood of Pyrrheia. Kerkeosiris in the meris of Themistos is possible<sup>27</sup>, but Kerkesephis is at least as likely a candidate (cf. above, p. 49).

7-9 π[α]ρὰ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ προεστηκότος τῆς Καλλιξε[ί]νου δωρεᾶς.

Sarapion (Pros. Ptol. IV 10455) is of course the current manager (cf. U.WILCKEN, Chrest., p. 196), not the "ancien régisseur" (thus the editors) of Kallixeinon's dorea (Pros. Ptol. IV 10087, to be slightly corrected). This dorea is briefly mentioned, without further commentary, by Claire PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Brussels 1939, p. 20 n. 1.

As most dorea holders belong to the upper strata of society, there is a fair chance that the man may be attested elsewhere in the Prosopographia Ptolemaica. The index of the systematic part of this work (vol. VII) mentions only one homonym, the well-known historian Kallixei(n)os of Rhodos (Pros. Ptol. V 13323a = VI 16928 = \*17095). Given his personal interests and the theme of his work (Alexandrian history), as well as the sources he may have consulted, it does not seem improbable that Kallixeinon had access to the highest circles. He was certainly alive after the accession of Ptolemy IV in 221, and, according to several modern authorities, even many years later<sup>28</sup>. If, as some have suggested<sup>29</sup>, the Rhodian author was the same as the bronze sculptor whose *floruit* Pliny the Elder (*NH* XXXIV 52) situates in the 156th Olympiad (156/155 - 153/152), an identification with the dorea holder would become very attractive indeed. But the most recent and thorough investigation<sup>30</sup> puts Kallixeinon of Rhodos in the third century B.C., in which case the proposed identifications are, of course, out of the question.

The Kallixeinon of our text probably occurs in another unpublished document in the Sorbonne collection, also found at El-Lahun (P. Sorb. inv. 425). It is a receipt for 120 2/3 artabas of beans delivered to Dionysios ὁ [παρὰ] Καλλιξείνου for Eudamos and Philostratos, two sons (or agents ?) of the same Kallixeinon, who was apparently an important man. The non-Attic form of the name (-ξείνου instead of -ξενου) does indeed suggest a highly placed person<sup>31</sup>,

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.. mention the strategos Diophanes . . . and dates of years 24 and 25." These dates certainly refer to the reign of Ptolemy III, as Bagnall rightly maintains, but they do not belong to the same papyrus. As so often the numbering of the Petrie papyri is confusing : different documents have been grouped under one number.

<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, when the 14th year is 209/208, Apollonios, the correspondent of Theogenes in P.Tebt. III 705, l. 1 (cf. R.S.BAGNALL [n.17], pp. 114-115), may very well be identical with the epimeletes Pros. Ptol. I 933 (see already the introduction on P.Tebt. III 705, p. 105; T.C.SKEAT, in *JEA*, 45, 1959, p. 78). It is, however, not excluded that the person mentioned in the Tebtynis papyrus is the oikonomos of P.Köln VI nos. 258-271, rather than the epimeletes : see K.MARESCH, in P.Köln VI, p. 161.

<sup>27</sup> The two homonymous villages Kerkeosiris, one in Themistos and the other, much better known, in Polemon, are not clearly distinguished in Calderini's *Dizionario* [n. 10], III, pp. 101-104, but see F.UEBEL [n. 10], pp. 133-134 and pp. 171-180.

<sup>28</sup> See P.M.FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria II*, Oxford 1972, pp. 738-739 n. 152; cf. also Pros. Ptol. VI 16928, where a date about 150 B.C. is given.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. F.JACOBY, art. Kallixeinon, in *RE*, 10 (1919), col. 1751-1754, and G.LIPPOLD, art. Kallixenos 2, *ibid.*, col. 1754. Cf. also Pros. Ptol. VI 16928.

<sup>30</sup> E.E.RICE, *The grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford 1983, pp. 134-179 and 209-210.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the Doric genitives in -α used for some eponymous priests and eponymous officers (e.g. Ναύτα, Λίχα, Δάμα etc.), or the boat owner Archeboula (discussed in ZPE, 28, 1978, p. 103).

who may have been the holder of the local dorea. We have supplied the form  $\xi\epsilon\{\nu\}\sigma$  in the lacuna of no. 1 l. 9 on the basis of P. Sorb. inv. 425, but of course the koine variant  $\text{Καλλι-}\xi\epsilon\{\nu\}\sigma$  remains possible.

- 11-12 Ἡρακλεόδω[ρος]: the editors, who had not noticed the link between this text and the rest of the dossier, read the name as Ἡρακλεῖ[δη[ς]]. On the photograph one can see that the signs before and after the *delta* are heavily damaged. But the small trace before *delta* fits *o-mikron* better than *iota*. The antigrapheus Herakleides (Pros. Ptol. I 1783) should be expunged.
- 13 The editors supplement [συνμεμέτρημαι], but since we could not find a parallel for this in similar receipts, we prefer to leave the lacuna open.

## 2. P.Lille I 21

6 x 16 cm; 6 x 14 cm  
Kairo inv. 2821-58973

Tafel III

Two fragments written along the fibres; between them one or two lines are lost, as is the top margin. If we allow for 2 cm for the lost parts, the papyrus must have been about 32 cm high. There is a margin of 1 cm to the left and a large lower margin of 9 cm. To the right the papyrus was cut very close to the end of the lines.

Written in a practised but rather crude and irregular hand. The same scribe also wrote no.3. His orthography is even worse than his writing.

Date: 24 March 155 B.C. or 21 March 144 B.C.

["Ἔτους) κς Μεχέιρ]  $\overline{\text{κε}}$ .  
[('Αρτάβας) τετρακοσ]είας δ[εσ]  
[σαράκοντα ὀ]κτό, (γίνονται) υμη.

- Ἔτους κς Μεχέιρ  
5  $\overline{\text{κε}}$ . Ὁμολογεί Ἡρα-  
κλείδης ναύκλη-  
ρος τῆς Ἡρακλείτου  
προσαγογείτος ἀγ(ωγῆς) Ὑφ  
ἐμβεβλήσθαι ἐπεὶ τοῦ  
10 τατὰ Πτολεμαίετα  
ὄρμον ὥστε εἰς Ἄλε-  
ξάντρεαν εἰς τὸ  
βασιλικὸν ἀπὸ τῶ[ν]  
γενημάτων τοῦ  
15 κε (ἔτους) δεῖα Ἡρα-  
κλιοτόρου τοῦ ἀν-  
[τι]γραφομένου(ν) πα-  
[ρὰ] βασιλικοῦ γραμ-  
[μα]τήως <τὸ> περεὶ  
20 [Πυρήαν] ἐργασ[τή]

[ριον πυ(ροῦ) . . . . .]  
 [ἀρτάβας τετρακοσι-]  
 [α]ς τ[ε]σ[σ]α[ρ]άκοντα  
 ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) υμη,  
 25 μέτρῳ δοχεικῶ  
 τῷ συμβεβ<λ>ημένῳ  
 πρὸ<ς> τὸ χαλκοῦν  
 καὶ σχυτάλη δεικαία,  
 καὶ οὐθέν ἐ<γ>καλῶ.

Verso: υμη

2-3. 1. τετρακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα 3. 1. ὀκτώ 6-7. ναύκληρος corr. from ναύκρηρος 7. τῆς corr. from τῆι  
 8. 1. προσαγωγίδος 9. 1. ἐπί 10. 1. κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα 11. 1. ὄρμου 11-12. 1. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 13. 1. βασιλικόν 15-16. 1. διὰ Ἡρακλεοδώρου 18-19. 1. βασιλικῶν γραμματέως 19. 1. περί 24. 1. ὀκτώ 25. 1. δοχεικῶ 26. 1. τῷ 28. 1. σκυτάλη δεικαία

8. (ἀρταβῶν) edd. 13. βασιλικόν edd. 18. βασιλεικοῦ edd. 19-21. [μα]τέως περὶ [τὸ] ἔργασ[τήριον?] edd.

Year 26, Mecheir 25.

Four hundred forty eight artabae, i.e. 448.

Year 26, Mecheir 25. Herakleides, responsible captain of the barge of Herakleitos, of 3500 artabae burden, acknowledges that he has loaded up at the harbour at Ptolemais, for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the 25th year, through Herakleodoros, who controls for the royal scribe the granary at Pyrrheia, four hundred forty eight artabae of - - - wheat, i.e. 448, by the receiving measure tested with the bronze measure and with a fair smoothing-rod. And I make no complaint.

Verso: 448

5-6 Ἡρακλείδης: Pros. Ptol. V 14027.

7 Ἡρακλείτου (Pros. Ptol. V 14084): since the name Ἡρακλείδης immediately precedes, we are probably justified in accepting this as a genitive of the name Ἡράκλειτος, though the scribe regularly confounds *delta* and *tau* elsewhere in the text (δεσσαράκοντα, προσαγωγείτος, Πτολεμαίτα, Ἀλεξάντρεαν, Ἡρακλητοῦ). Verdult [n. 1] (p. 246) identifies him with Ἡρακλει( ), owner of a prosagogis in P.Erasm. II 53 (August 10, 149 B.C.). This is possible, but far from certain: the name in P.Erasm. II 53 is abbreviated and can also be expanded as Ἡρακλεί(δης), and the capacity of the prosagogis in no. 2 is 3500 artabae, whereas in P.Erasm. II 53 it is only 2900 artabae. The boats are therefore not the same.

9-11 ἐπεὶ τοῦ - - ὄρμου: the change from genitive to accusative is strange, but the same error is found in P.Tebt. III 825 a and b ll. 5-6. For Ptolemais Hormou, see Danielle BONNEAU, Ptolémaïs Hormou dans la documentation papyrologique, in Chron. d'Ég., 54 (1979), pp. 310-326 (for the expression ὁ κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα ὄρμος, see p. 318).

15-16 Ἡρακλητοῦ (Pros. Ptol. I 1788 = \*1791): Herakleodoros is the central figure of the present group of texts, cf. above p. 48.

18-21 The editors read here γραμ[μα]τέως περὶ [τὸ] ἔργασ[τήριον?], but offered no translation. We know from the other texts (nos. 3 ll. 17-19; 5 ll. 16-20; 6 ll. 13-17) that we should have

τὸ περὶ + village name + ἐργαστήριον as a direct object after ἀντιγραφομένου. Apparently the scribe forgot the article <τό>, as he forgot so many other words and signs. In l. 20 there is just enough room for [Πυρήαν] (the same spelling in no. 3), if we take into account that the lacuna in l. 20 is somewhat larger than in l. 19, where it is filled with [ματ]η (part of the *eta* is in the lacuna; the editors' reading [μα]τε is clearly wrong and their supplement too short for the lacuna).

### 3. P.Sorb. inv. 112

5,7 x 6,5 cm; 11.2 x 6.2 cm

Tafel III

Margin of ca. 1 cm to the left and (damaged) to the right.

Written along the fibres in an irregular semi-cursive hand, by the same scribe as the preceding text. The upper fragment was found among the fragments of P.Sorb. inv. 695-18 .

The supplements and some readings in this text are based on the readings of no. 2, which is much better preserved. The two texts belong very closely together: they are written in the same hand and on the same day, they deal with the same transaction and they offer exactly the same orthographical peculiarities: δεσσαράκοντα, Πτολεμαίετα, Ἄλεξάντρεαν, βασιλικόν.

Date: 24 March 155 B.C. or 21 March 144 B.C.

[(Ἔτους) κς Με]χείρ κ̅ε.  
 [(Ἄρτάβας) τετρακοσι]ίας δεσσα-  
 [ράκοντα] ὀκτό, (γίνονται) υμη.

- Ἔτους κς Μεχέι]ρ κ̅ε].  
 5 Ὅμολογεῖ Ἑρακλεί-]  
 δης [ναύκληρος]  
 τῆς Ἑρακλείτου]  
 προ(σαγωγίδος) ἀγ(ωγῆς) [ἸΓφ ἐμβεβλήσ-]  
 θαι ἐπεὶ τ[ο]ῦ κατὰ  
 10 Πτολεμαίετα  
 [ὄ]ρμου ὥστε εἰς Ἄλε-  
 ξάντρεαν εἰς τὸ  
 βασιλικόν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 γενημάτων τοῦ  
 15 κε <(ἔτους)> παρὰ Πετροῦ-  
 βάστεις τοῦ σ[ι]-]  
 τολογόντος τὸ πε-  
 ρὶ Πυρή[α]ν ἐργασ-  
 τήριον] πυ(ροῦ) . . . ε . αυ

20 ἀρτάβας τετρακοσί-  
 ας τεσσα[ράκο]ντ[α]  
 [ὀκτὸ, (γίνονται) υμη]  
 - - - - -

2-3. 1. τεσσαράκοντα 10. 1. Πτολεμαίδα 11-12. 1. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 13. 1. βασιλικόν 15-16. 1. Πετουβάστιος 16-17. 1. σιτολογούντος 18. 1. Πυρρείαν

*Year 26, Mecheir 25.*

*Four hundred forty eight artabae, i.e. 448.*

*Year 26, Mecheir 25. Herakleides, responsible captain of the barge of Herakleitos, of 3500 artabae burden, acknowledges that he has loaded up at the harbour at Ptolemais, for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the 25th year, from Petoubastis functioning as sitologos in the granary at Pyrrheia, four hundred forty eight artabae of - - - wheat, i.e. 448 - - -*

4 The day figure κε is lost, but the horizontal stroke above it is preserved.

8 προ(σαγωγίς): written by means of the monogram  $\overline{\pi\rho}$ . The same monogram is found in P.Erasm. II 46 l. 4, 49 l. 4 and 53 l. 5. The expansion of the abbreviation is made certain by the parallel passage in no. 2 l. 8, where the word is fully written.

15 The 25th year is the harvest year. In the present group of texts this is always the year preceding the year of loading (cf. below, text 8, introd.).

15-16 For the sitologos Peto(u)bastis (Pros. Ptol. I 1410), see no. 1 l. 2 and comm.

18 For the spelling of the village name, see above, p. 49.

#### 4. P.Lille I 22

14 x 7 cm

Kairo inv. 2822-58974

Tafel IV

The upper and left margins measure about 1 cm, the margin to the right is irregular. The text is written along the fibres in crude uncials, not unlike the writing of the katochoi archive (cf. the plate in E.G.TURNER-P.J.PARSONS, Greek manuscripts of the ancient world, Bull. Inst. Class. Stud., Suppl. 46, 1987, pl. 45). Most typical is the deeply curved *mu*.

Date: 2 April 155 B.C. or 30 March 144 B.C.

(Ἔτους)  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  Φαμενώθ  $\overline{\delta}$ .  
 Πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) τ.

(Ἔτους) κς Φαμενώθ  $\overline{\delta}$ .  
 Ὁμολογεῖ Παρέμφις  
 5 ναύκληρος κερκουροσ-  
 κάφης ἀχαράκτου  
 βασιλίσσης,  $\overline{\delta}$  μισθώ-  
 της ὁ αὐτὸς] Παρέμ-

- φισ, ἐνβεβλήσθαι ἐπί]
- 10 τοῦ κατὰ Πτολεμα-  
 ἶδα ὄρμου [ὥ]στε εἰς  
 Ἰαλεξάνδρειαν εἰς  
 τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 γενημάτων
- 15 τοῦ (ἔτους) κς διὰ  
 Ἡρακλεοδώρου  
 τοῦ ἀντιγραφομέ-  
 νου παρὰ βασιλικῶν  
 γραμματέων]
- 20 πυροῦ φορικοῦ  
 ἀρτάβας τριακοσίας]  
 - - - - -

## Verso:

ναυ. . [.] . βασιλ

7. I. οὐ = ἦς 15. κς corrected from κς  
 22 maybe ναύκλη(ρος)] βασ(ι)λλ(ίσσης) edd. (P.Lille I, p.277)

*Year 26, Phamenoth 4.*  
*300 artabae of wheat.*

*Year 26, Phamenoth 4. Parempthis, responsible captain of an unmarked kerkouroskaphe of the queen, of which the same Parempthis is the lessee, acknowledges that he has loaded up at the harbour at Ptolemais, for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the 25th year, through Herakleodoros, who controls for the royal scribe, three hundred artabae of wheat paid as rent - - -*

- 1 (ἔτους) κς: the supralinear stroke above the figure of the year is unusual.
- 4 Παρέμφις (Pros. Ptol. V 14036): the name is rare, and in this orthography attested only here. The variant form Φαρέμφις is found in P.Lille I 33 and in the Zenon archive (cf. W.CLARYSSE, Prosopography, in Pap. Lugd.-Bat. XXI, 1981, p. 433). For names ending in ῥεμπις and ῥεμφις, see J.QUAEGEBEUR, Eseremphis, in Das römisch-byzantinische Aegypten (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2, 1983), pp. 67-75, esp. p. 71.
- 15 τοῦ (ἔτους) κς: unusual for τοῦ κς (ἔτους). The same inversion is found in P.Erasm. II 36 l.12.
- 20 For φορικός, paid for rent (and taxes?), opposed to ἀγοραστός, bought by the government, see Claire PRÉAUX, L'économie royale, pp. 141-142, and M. AMELOTTI-Livia MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, Una dichiarazione di "naukleros" del 237 a.Cr., in Sodalitas. Scritti in onore di A.Guarino, VI, Napoli 1984, pp. 3009-3019, esp. pp. 3013-3014.
- 22 In their addenda (P.Lille I, p.277) the editors suggest ναύκλη(ρος)] βασ(ι)λλ(ίσσης). As we have no photograph of the verso, this reading could not be checked. The internal abbreviation in βασ(ι)λλ(ίσσης) is suspect.

## 5. P.Lille I 23

8.5 x 18.5 cm  
Kairo inv. 2823-58975

Tafel IV

Republished by U.WILCKEN, Chrest. 189 and J.HENGSTL, Griechische Papyri aus Aegypten 138.

The papyrus consists of three joining fragments; it was folded lengthwise (vertical folds) and the text is seriously damaged along the foldline to the right; the end is missing. The margins (above, left and right) are small. The writing is untidy and irregular, but it is not the hand of an illiterate person. The linking strokes to the right at the top of *mu*, *eta* and *pi* are typical of the second century B.C.

Date: 4 April 155 B.C. or 1 April 144 B.C.

Ἔτους ἕκτου καὶ ἱκοστοῦ  
Φαμενώθ ἕκ[τη]. Πυροῦ  
ἀ[ρ]τ[ί]αβα[ι]ς διακοσί[α]ς πεν-  
τήκοντα, (γίνονται) συν.

- 5 Ἡρώδης ναύκληρος κερ-  
κουροσκάφης βασιλίσ-  
σης ἀχάρακτον οὐ μίσηθω-  
τῆς Ἡρώδης ὁ αὐτὸς, ὁμο-  
10 λογεῖ[τ] ἐμβεβλήσ[σ]θαι ἐ-  
πὶ τοῦ κατὰ Πτολεμα-  
ίδα ὄρμου ὥστε εἰς Ἄλε-  
ξάνδρεαν εἰς τὸ βασιλι-  
κῶν ἀπὸ τῶν γλιημά-  
15 [τ]ων τοῦ πέμπ[το]ν καὶ  
ἱκοστοῦ ἔτους παρὰ Ἡ-  
ρακλεωδώρου τοῦ ἀν-  
[τ]ιγραφομένου παρὰ βα-  
[σιλικ]οῦ γραμματέ-  
ως τὸ περὶ Φυρ[ε]ίαν] ἐρ-  
20 γαστήριον πυροῦ ἀρ-  
τάβας φορικοῦ [δι]ακο-  
σί[α]ς πεντήκοντα,  
(γίνονται) συν, μέτρῳ τῷ συν-  
βεβλημένῳ πρὸς τὸ  
25 χαλοῦν καὶ [σ]κ[υ]τά-  
λη [δικαί]α. [Ἔ]γραψε  
[. . . .] Ἀπολλωνίου[σ]

1. l. εἰκοστοῦ 7. l. ἀχαράκτου ἦς 11. ὥστε, ω corrected from ε (the scribe had started writing εἶς) 11-12. l. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 15. l. εἰκοστοῦ 15-16. l. Ἡρακλεοδώρου 19. l. Πυρρείαν 23. the sign / is corrected from |

2. ἔκ[του] edd., ἔκ[τη] Wilcken 19. Φυ... edd., Φυρ[εῖαν] Clarysse (Chron. d'Ég., 51, 1976, p. 158)

*Year twenty-six, Phamenoth the sixth.*

*Two hundred and fifty artabae of wheat, i.e. 250.*

*Herodes, responsible captain of an unmarked kerkouroskaphē of the queen, of which the lessee is the same Herodes, acknowledges that he has loaded up at the harbour at Ptolemais, for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the twenty-fifth year, from Herakleodoros, who controls for the royal scribe the granary at Pyrrheia, two hundred and fifty artabae of wheat paid as rent, i.e. 250, by the measure tested with the bronze measure and with a fair smoothing-rod. Written by NN son of Apollonios - - -*

- 4 σν: both here and in l. 23 the sign for 200 is written as an ordinary *sigma* (σ), not as the usual Σ.  
 8 Ἡρώδης (Pros. Ptol. V 14029): the homonymous naukleros in P.Erasm. II 45 (25 July 151), may be the same man: see Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], p. 29 no. 13.  
 15 παρά: normally διὰ is used for the antigrapheus, παρά for the sitologos. The use of παρά here may be due to inadvertent copying from the receipt written for the sitologos (see above, p. 48).

## 6. P.Sorb. inv. 689

15 x 7.3 cm

Tafel V

The papyrus consists of three fragments; the upper margin and side margins are preserved. The text is written along the fibres in an irregular semi-cursive hand, identical with that of no. 7, which is a twin copy directed to the sitologos.

Date: 4 April 155 B.C. or 1 April 144 B.C.

- (Ἔτους) κς Φαμε[ν]ῶθ σ̄.  
 Πυροῦ ἀ(ρ)τάβας φ.  
 (Ἔτους) κς Φαμενῶθ σ.  
 Ὁμολογεῖ Δωρίων ναύκλη-  
 5 ρος κερκουροσκάφη[ς]  
 βασιλίσσης ἀχαράκτου  
 ἐνβ[ε]βλήσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 κατὰ Πτολεμ[αί]δα  
 ὄρμου ὥστε εἶ[ς] Ἀλε-  
 10 ξά[νδρ]ειαν εἰς τὸ βασιλι-  
 κὸν [ἀπὸ] τῶν γενημά-  
 τω[ν] τοῦ κε (ἔτους) [διὰ  
 Ἡρακλεοδώρου τοῦ

15 ἀντιγραφομήνου πα-  
 ρὰ βασιλικοῦ γραμμα-  
 τέως τὸ περὶ Πυρρείαν  
 [ἐργασ]τήριον πυροῦ  
 [φορικοῦ ἀρτάβας]  
 [πεντακοσίας]  
 - - - - -

14. I. ἀντιγραφομένου

*Year 26, Phamenoth 6.  
 500 artabae of wheat.*

*Year 26, Phamenoth 6. Dorion, responsible captain of an unmarked kerkouroskaphe of the queen, acknowledges that he has loaded up at the harbour at Ptolemais for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the 25th year, through Herakleodoros who controls for the royal scribe the granary at Pyrrheia, five hundred artabae of wheat paid as rent ...*

- 2 ἀ(ρτάβαι): the abbreviation is an *alpha* with supralinear stroke.
- 3 Φαμενώθ κς: the supralinear stroke, which is present above the day-indication in l. 1, is missing here.
- 4 The name Dorion is common. Two homonymous naukleroi are attested in the third century: see H.HAUBEN, in ZPE, 28 (1978), pp. 99-101, nos. 8 and 14. In P.Erasm. II the name does not occur. Dorion was, in our opinion, both naukleros and kybernetes of the queen's boat: see H.HAUBEN, in ZPE, 8 (1971), p. 263 n. 17. Neither in no. 6 nor in no. 7 is mention made of a misthotes, whose name normally follows the indication of the ship (cf. below, p. 65-66). This absence can be explained in three different ways: maybe his name was added at the end (in the lost part of the text), as also happens in P.Erasm. II 39, ll. 17-18 (cf. Ph.A.VERDULT [n.1], p. 217). In that case he could be Dorion himself or another person. Or the misthotes was not mentioned at all, as is the case in P.Erasm. II 43 (also for a boat of the queen). The omission may then be due either to scribal inadvertence, or to the fact that the naukleros himself acted as misthotes (as in nos. 4 and 5) and that it was not considered necessary to make explicit mention of this. The third possibility is that there simply was no misthotes (although in the case of a boat owned by the queen this might raise problems). For misthosis of boats, see H.HAUBEN, in Chron. d'Ég., 58 (1983), p. 243; Proc. XVIIIth Intern. Congress of Papyrology, Athens 1988, II, pp. 247-248 (but for Neon, see now Anc. Soc., 19, 1988, pp. 207-211), now to be corrected and supplemented with Ph.A.VERDULT [n.1], pp. 38-39, 171-173, 257.

## 7. P.Sorb. inv. 690

20 x 6 cm

Tafel V

The text is made up out of four fragments, two of which were added from P.Sorb. inv. 695-18 and 695-22. The upper margin and side margins are preserved. Although there is an upper margin of about 3 cm, there is no trace of the expected *scriptura exterior*. The text is written along the fibres in a semi-cursive hand, the same as no. 6, which deals with the same transaction. Under the middle fragment a different piece of papyrus is stuck, which gives the impression of a margin under l. 14 and also contains some ink traces opposite ll. 12-13.

Date: 4 April 155 B.C. or 1 April 144 B.C.

[(Ἔτους) κς Φ]αμενώθ ὅ.  
 [Ὁμολογεί Δωρίων  
 ναύκληρος κερ-  
 [κ]ουροσκάφης βα-  
 5 σιλίσσης [ἀχαρ]άκτ[ο]υ  
 ἐνβεβλήσθαι]  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ κατ[ὰ Πτο-]  
 λεμαίδα ὄρμου]  
 ὥστε] εἰς Ἀ[λεξάν]δρει-  
 10 αν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν γε[νημά-]  
 των τοῦ κε [(ἔτους) παρὰ]  
 Πετοβάστ[ιος τοῦ]  
 15 [τὸ περὶ Πυρρείαν]  
 ἐργαστήριον  
 πυροῦ φ[ο]ρικοῦ  
 ἀρτάβας πεντα-  
 κοσίας, (γίνονται) ἀ(ρτάβας) φ,  
 20 μέτρῳ [δ]οχικῷ  
 τῷ πρ[ὸ]ς τὸ χαλκοῦν.  
  
 [Ἐγραψε Ἀ]πολλώνιος  
 [ . . . ] . . . ος

18. ἀρτάβας, **written** ἀρταβας

*Year 26, Phamenoth 6. Dorion, responsible captain of an unmarked kerkouroskaphe of the queen, acknowledges that he has loaded up at the harbour at Ptolemais for conveyance to Alexandria to the royal granary, from the produce of the 25th year, from Petobastis, who acts as sitologos in the granary at Pyrrheia, five hundred artabae of wheat paid as rent, i.e. 500, by the receiving measure tested with the bronze measure.*

*Written by Apollonios son of NN.*

1 The year-number is supplied, but certain since the present text is the companion to no. 6 (same hand, same harvest year, same day, same transaction).

18-19 As a rule the cargo and therefore presumably the capacity of the queen's barges were rather small: the greatest cargo known thus far is 3000 artabae (P.Eras. I 17); see H.HAUBEN, *Transport fluvial* [n. 3], p. 73, and ZPE, 66 (1986), p. 148; P.Eras. II [n.1] 30, 39, 42 and 43.

Nos. 6 and 7 date from the same day as no. 5 and are only two days later than no. 4. The four texts deal with a κερκουροσκάφη ἀχάρακτος of the queen and cover three different transactions under three naukleroi (Parempthis, Herodes and Dorion). The queen therefore owned at least three barges (cf. our remark in *Transport fluvial*, p. 73), which were loaded with grain from

the same granary. P.Eras. II 23, 30, 33, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47 confirm that she had a whole flotilla of transport barges. In some of these texts mention is made of  $\tau\iota\nu\omega\nu$   $\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\omega\nu$   $\tau\omega\nu$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ . See Ph.A.VERDULT [n.1], pp. 33-34.

22 [’Α]πολλώνιος: the reading of the name is not certain; especially *omega* seems difficult. In no. 5 l. 27 an Apollonios is mentioned as the father of the scribe of the document.

## 8. P.Sorb. inv. 111

15 x 7.5 cm

Tafel VI

Published by W.CLARYSSE, Chron. d'Ég., 51 (1976), p. 158 (= SB XIV 11868)

There is a shredded margin to the left and a large margin (7.3 cm) at bottom. The format of the papyrus was clearly less narrow than that of the other receipts. The text is written along the fibres with a fairly thick pen, which clearly shows where new ink has been taken. The hand is experienced but unattractive. The surface of the papyrus has suffered badly.

The dating of this receipt causes some difficulties: as the date is not preserved, we have to depart from the harvest year mentioned in l. 3; but the reading cannot be determined with certainty: it is either 25 (κε) or 29 (κθ) (see Chron. d'Ég., 51, 1976, p. 159). The problem of the relationship between harvest year and year of loading was discussed by Ph.A.VERDULT [n. 1], pp. 4-7. In P.Eras. II the grain is regularly shipped to Alexandria in the same Egyptian year (1 Thoth = 30 September) in which the harvest took place (May-June), *i.e.* between the end of May and the end of September; the only exceptions are P.Eras. II 42 and 48 (cf. n. 5 above). For some reason this is not so in our dossier: in nos. 2-7 wheat harvested in the 25th year (May-June 156 or 145) is loaded in the 26th year (March-April 155 or 144). In no. 9 as well the harvest year must precede the year of loading, since the loading takes place in January. By reading κε and dating the present text to year 26 (between 1 October 156 or 28 September 145 and May-June 155 or 144) we bring it in line as far as possible with the other texts of the group.

πυρ[ . ]ε . . . . . [   
 ἀπὸ τῶν γενημ[άτων]   
 τοῦ κε (ἔτους) παρ' Ἡ[ρακλε-]   
 οδώρου τοῦ ἀντιγ[ραφο-]   
 5 μένου παρὰ [βασιλικῶ] γρα[μματέως]   
 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑ[κατὸν],   
 (γίνονται) ρ, μέτρο δοχικῶ [τῶ συν-]   
 βεβλημένῳ πρὸς τὸ χ[αλκοῦν]   
 καὶ σχυτάλη δικαί<αι>, καὶ [οὐ]   
 10 θέν ἐγκαλῶ.

3-4. 1. Ἡρακλεοδώρου 7. 1. μέτρο 9. 1. σχυτάλη

- - from the produce of the 25th(?) year, from Herakleodoros who controls for the royal scribe, hundred artabae of wheat, *i.e.* 100, by the receiving measure tested with the bronze measure and with a fair smoothing-rod. And I make no complaint.

1 The first line remains unread, though enough characters and traces are preserved to show that it did not contain the usual formula ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. One does not expect the village name Πυρρεία at this place.

- 3 The reading παρ' Ἡ[ρακλε-] is not very satisfactory from a palaeo-graphical point of view. Moreover, the normal preposition is διὰ, not παρά, as the wheat is not received *from* the controller, but *through* him. See above, p. 48. But the ending -οδόρου leaves no doubt that Herakleodoros is meant here.

## 9. P.Sorb. inv. 110a

12 x 6.5 cm

Tafel VI

Published by W.CLARYSSE, Chron. d'Ég., 51 (1976), p. 156 (= SB XIV 11866)

Only the upper part of the text is preserved, with margins above and on both sides. The text is written along the fibres in rather clumsy uncials.

Date: 8 January 147 B.C. or 5 January 136 B.C. Though we cannot exclude the later date, the earlier seems distinctly preferable. The rest of the dossier is dated in a 26th year, either that of Ptolemy VI (156/155) or that of Ptolemy VIII (145/144). A date in 148/147 is closer to both of these than 137/136. The date given in SB XIV 11866 ("2. Hälfte 1. Jahrh. v. Chr.") is no doubt a mere error of inadvertence.

(Ἔτους) λδ Χοίαχ ιβ̄.  
Πυροῦ [(ἀρτάβας)] ἄχ.

Ἔτους τ[ε]τάρτου  
καὶ τριακοστοῦ

- 5 **Ἔτους** Χοίαχ ιβ̄.  
Ὁμολογεῖ Πετοσεῖ-  
ρις ναύκληρος τοῦ  
τῆς βασιλίσσης  
κερκουροσκάφης  
10 ἀχαράκτου οὗ  
[μισθωτῆς - - ]  
- - - - -

6-7. 1. Πετοσεῖρις 7. 1. τῆς 10. 1. ῆς

Year 34, Choiak 12.  
1600 artabae of wheat.

Year thirty-four, Choiak 12. Petosiris, responsible captain of an unmarked kerkouroskappe of the queen, on which NN is lessee, acknowledges - - -

- 6-7 Πετοσεῖρις (Pros. Ptol. V 14037): the supplement [μισθωτῆς] proposed by Clarysse for l. 11 (Chron. d'Ég., 51, 1976, pp. 156-157) is certain because of the relative pronoun οὗ at the end of l. 10 (cf. no. 4 l. 7; no. 5 l. 7; P.Eras. II 30 l. 5; 40 [l. 6], 42 <l. 4>; 45 l. 5). However, the name Petosiris, suggested by Clarysse after it (cf. H.HAUBEN, ZPE, 28, 1978, p. 101 no. 29 and p. 104), is no longer certain, as in P.Eras. II naukleros and misthotes of a ship owned by the queen are sometimes different persons (cf. Ph.A.VERDULT

[n. 1], p. 38; pp. 171-172; p. 195 n. 7). The relevant texts in P.Erasm. II are the following: 30, 39, 42 (boat of the queen with different persons as naukleros and misthotes); 43 (boat of the queen mentioning a naukleros, but no misthotes); 40 (boat of a group, with the same person functioning as naukleros and as misthotes); 45 (boat of a group with different persons as naukleros and misthotes).

## 10. P.Sorb. inv. 110b

7.5 x 7.5 cm

Tafel VI

Published by W.CLARYSSE, Chron. d'Ég., 51 (1976), p. 157 (= SB XIV 11867)

The papyrus is broken off at top and bottom, but preserves the margins at left and right. It is written along the fibres in rather large clumsy uncials. The writing is different from no. 4 (it does not present the typical *mu* of that hand) and from no. 8.

The date is lost. Most likely the text should be dated to the 26th year (156/155 or 145/144) as all other receipts in the present dossier with the exception of no. 9. The date given in the Sammelbuch ("2. Hälfte 1. Jahrh. v.Chr.") is a mere error of inadvertence.

[τοῦ ἀντιγραφομένου παρὰ βασιλικοῦ γραμ-  
ματῆος τὸ περὶ Φυρέ-  
αν ἐργαστήριον πυ-  
ροῦ φορικοῦ ἀρτάβα[ς]  
{βας} τετρακοσίας, (γίνονται) υ,  
5 μέτρῳ τῷ σ[υν]  
βεβλημένῳ π[ρὸς]  
τὸ χαλκοῦν.  
Ἐγραψεν Θεόδοτος[ς]  
Θεοδ[ - - ]  
10 η[ - - ]

1.1. γραμματέως 1-2. 1. Πυρρείαν

-- *who controls the granary at Pyrrheia for the royal scribe, four hundred artabae of wheat paid as rent, i.e. 400, by the measure tested with the bronze measure. Written by Theodotos son of Theod[- -].*

1 The antigraphus was probably Herakleodoros<sup>32</sup>.

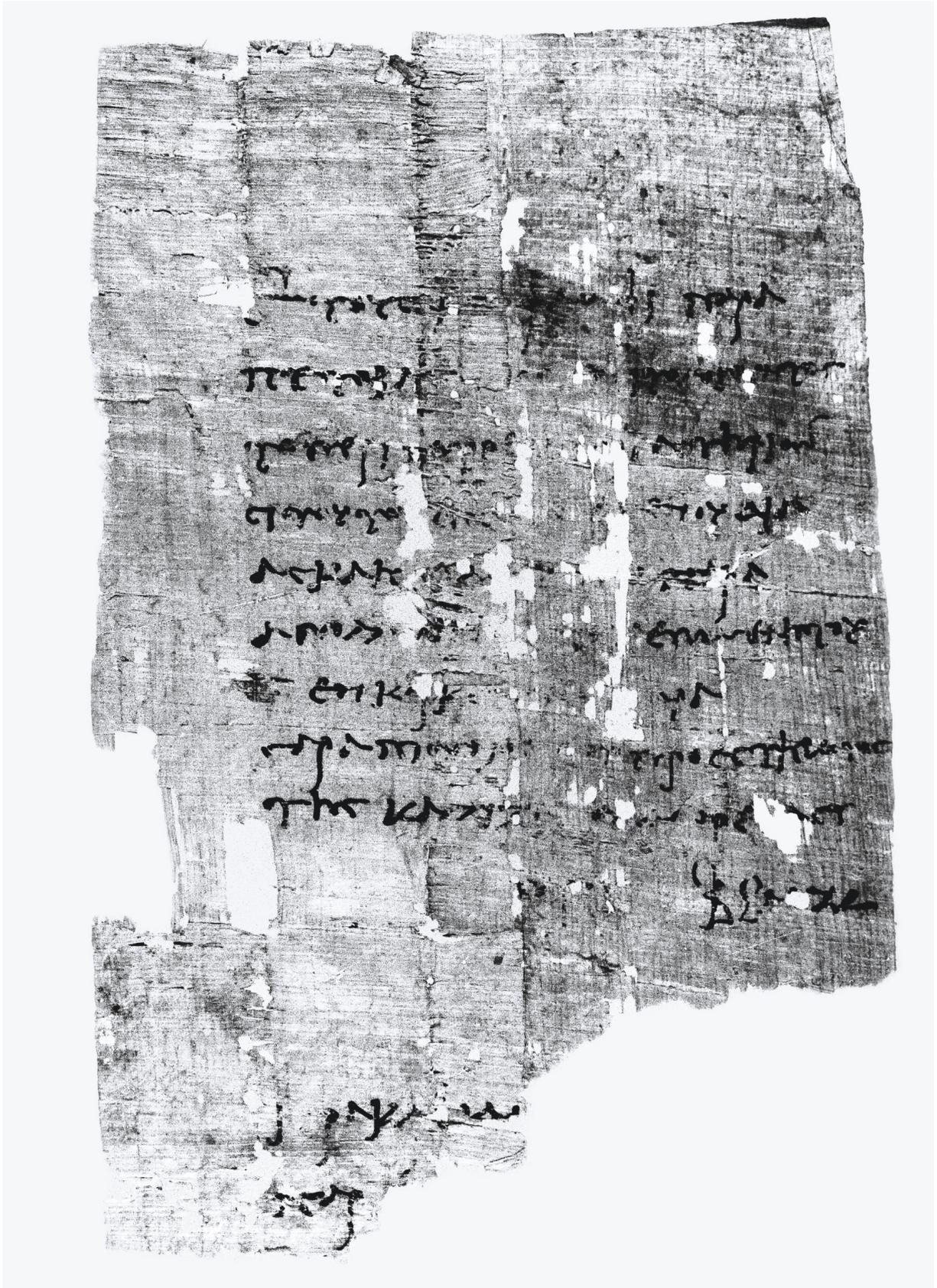
<sup>32</sup> With thanks to Dorothy J.Thompson for correcting our English.

doc.	reference	year of harvest	Egyptian date	Julian date	place of loading	ship and crew	official to whom the receipt was delivered
<b>1</b>	<b>P.Lille I 19</b> (= Kairo inv. 2820-58972)		Phaophi year 26	Oct. - Nov. 156 or 145			Asklepiades, the representative of Apollonios the epimeletes
<b>2 (+ 3)</b>	<b>P.Lille I 21</b> (= Kairo inv. 2821-58973)	25 (= May-June 156 or 145)	25 Mecheir year 26	24 March 155 or 21 March 144	Ptolemaïs Hormou	prosagogis of Herakleitos; naukleros Herakleides	Herakleodoros, antigrapheus of the royal scribe at the granary of [Pyrrheia]
<b>3 (+ 2)</b>	P.Sorb. inv. 112	25	25 Mecheir year 26	24 March 155 or 21 March 144	Ptolemaïs Hormou	prosagogis [of Herakleitos; naukleros] Herakleides	Petobastis, sitologos of the granary at Pyrrheia
<b>4</b>	<b>P.Lille I 22</b> (= Kairo inv. 2822-58974)	25	4 Phamenoth year 26	2 April 155 or 30 March 144	Ptolemaïs Hormou	kerkouroskaphe acharaktos of the queen; naukleros-misthotes Paremphis	Herakleodoros, antigrapheus of the royal scribe; the granary is not mentioned; no doubt Pyrrheia
<b>5</b>	<b>P.Lille I 23</b> (= Kairo inv. 2823-58975)	25	6 Phamenoth year 26	4 April 155 or 1 April 144	Ptolemaïs Hormou	kerkouroskaphe acharaktos of the queen; naukleros-misthotes Herodes	Herakleodoros, antigrapheus of the royal scribe at the granary of Pyrrheia
<b>6 (+ 7)</b>	P.Sorb. inv. 689	25	6 Phamenoth year 26	4 April 155 or 1 April 144	Ptolemaïs Hormou	kerkouroskaphe acharaktos of the queen; naukleros Dorion	Herakleodoros, antigrapheus of the royal scribe at the granary of Pyrrheia
<b>7 (+ 6)</b>	P.Sorb. inv. 690	25	6 Phamenoth [year 26]	4 April [155] or 1 April [144]	Ptolemaïs Hormou	kerkouroskaphe acharaktos of the queen; naukleros Dorion	Petobastis, sitologos of the granary at [Pyrrheia]

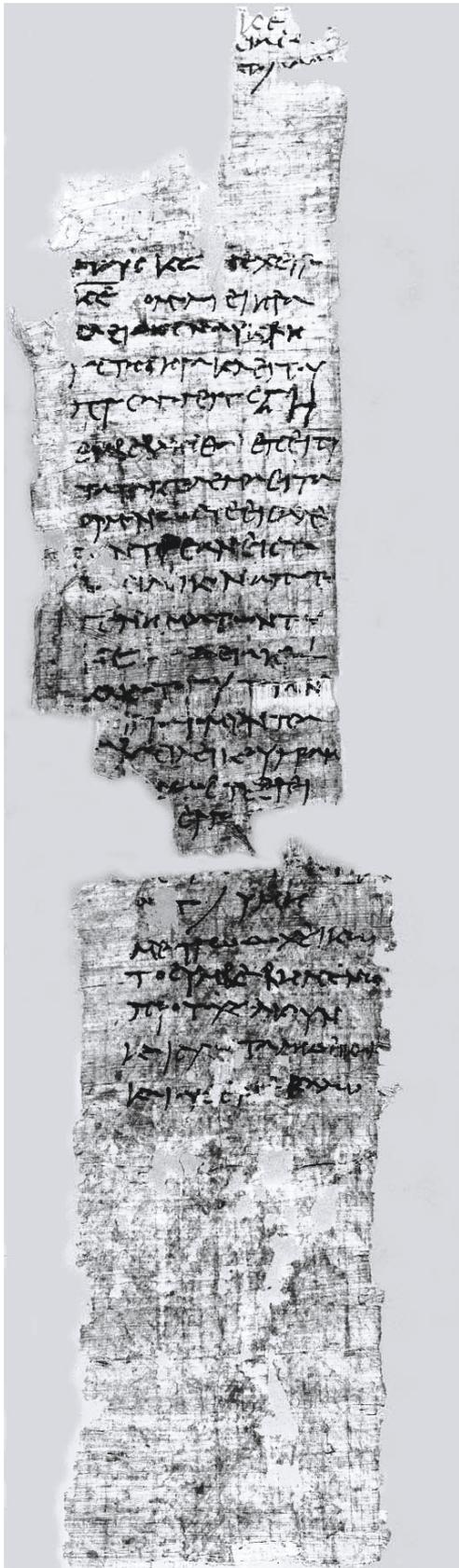
doc.	reference	year of harvest	Egyptian date	Julian date	place of loading	ship and crew	official to whom the receipt was delivered
<b>8</b>	<b>SB XIV 11868</b> (= P.Sorb. inv. 111)	25 (κε)	[prob. 26th year]	[prob. 156/155 or 145/144]	[prob. Ptolemaïs Hormou]	[ ]	Herakleodoros, antigrapheus of the [royal scribe]; the granary is not mentioned; no doubt Pyrrheia
<b>9</b>	<b>SB XIV 11866</b> (= P.Sorb. inv. 110a)	[33] (= [May-June 148 or 137])	12 Choiak year 34	8 January 147 or 5 January 136	[prob. Ptolemaïs Hormou]	kerkouroskaphe acharaktos of the queen; naukleros Petosiris; [misthotes NN.	[ ]
<b>10</b>	<b>SB XIV 11867</b> (= P. Sorb. inv. 110b)	[prob. 25]	[prob. 26th year]	[prob. 156/155 or 145/144]	[prob. Ptolemaïs Hormou]	[ ]	[prob. Herakleodoros, antigrapheus of the royal] scribe at the granary of Pyrrheia

Leuven

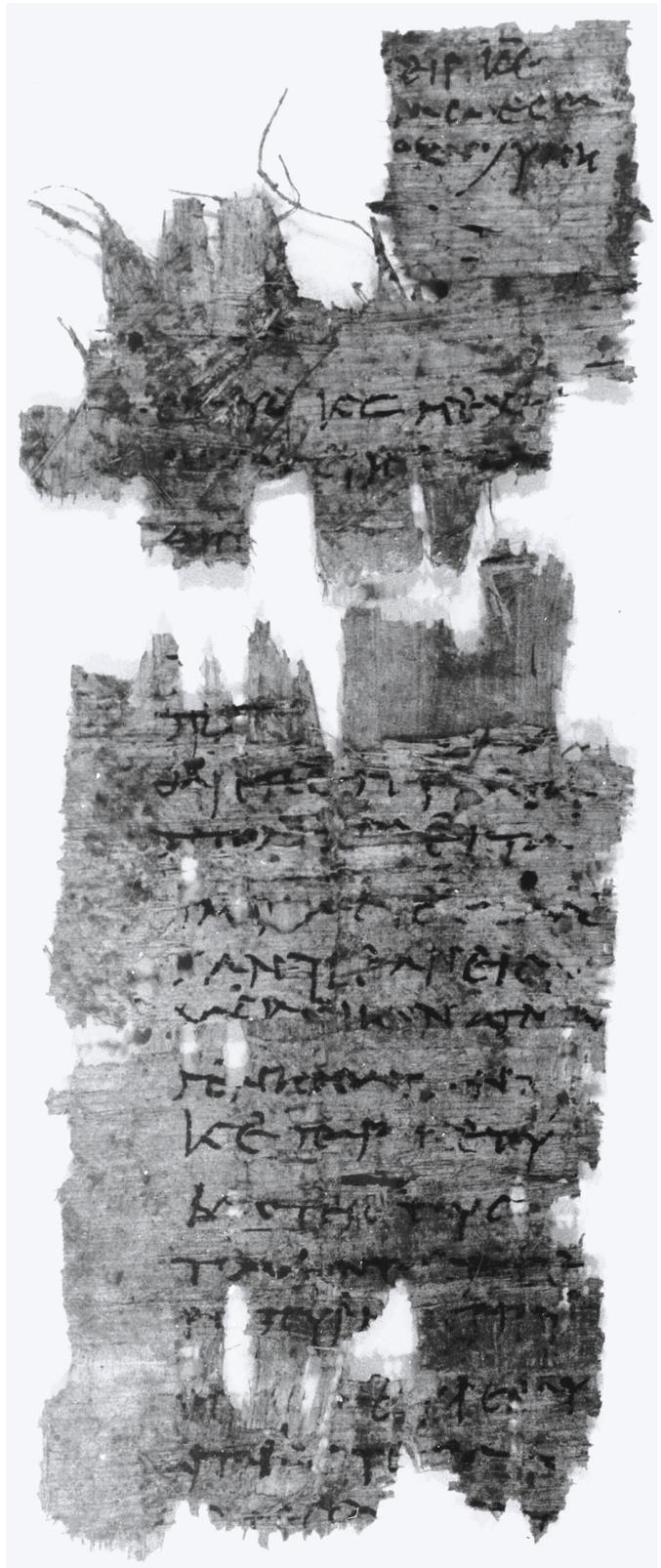
Willy Clarysse  
Hans Hauben



P.Lille 19

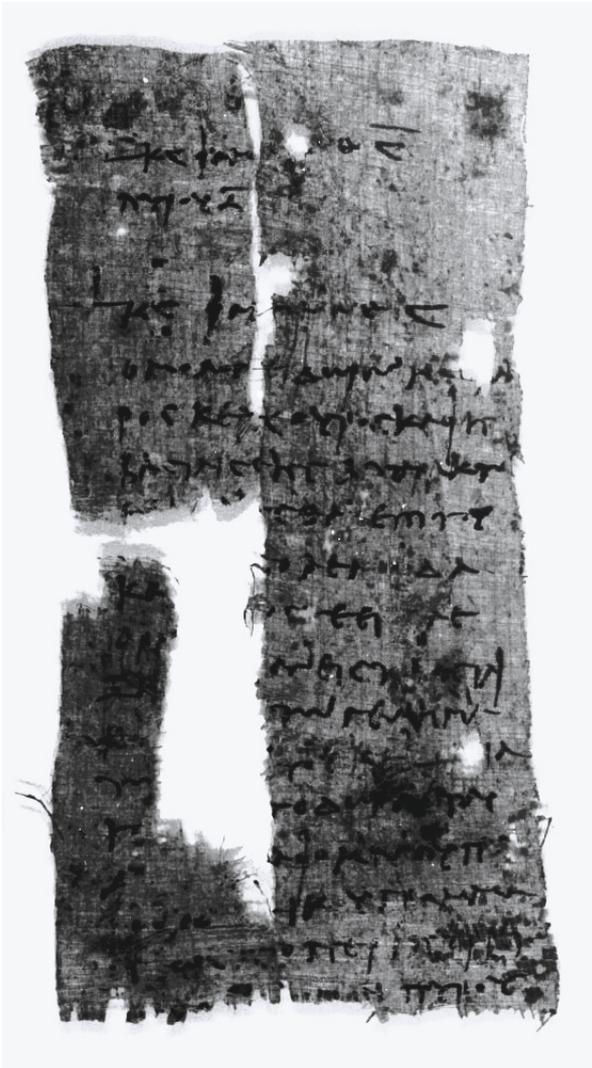


P.Lille I 21



P.Sorb. inv. 112





P.Sorb. inv. 689



P.Sorb. inv. 690

