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TWO PAPHYRI FROM THE “ZENON GROUP” IN THE MICHIGAN  
COLLECTION

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## Two Papyri from the “Zenon Group” in the Michigan Collection

The two papyri published in this collaborative article were discovered in the course of the past two years or so, when the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan underwent a thorough review of its materials. The target of this project is to monitor better the status of the published and unpublished materials of the collection by building up an integrated electronic catalogue, which will contain all the types of writing materials and all the languages that are represented in the collection. In addition to information pertaining to content and physical description and location, each “pointer file” will also contain a digital image of the actual text.<sup>1</sup>

In the early stages of that project it became clear that, although both pieces were acquired in 1925 together with a very large number of papyri that belong to the Zenon archive or the “Zenon group”,<sup>2</sup> these nicely preserved papyri were left unpublished.<sup>3</sup> But as will become apparent from the individual discussions for each piece, it is not certain that the first document belongs to the Zenon archive; and this is rather unlikely in the case of the second papyrus. Perhaps, it was exactly this consideration that kept the two texts away from publication for the past sixty years. When C.C. Edgar published the Michigan papyri from the Zenon archive he stated that “some quite insignificant fragments, less than thirty in all, have been omitted, and also a few pieces of the second century B.C., which had been thrown in by the vendors among the genuine Zenon papyri” (see *P. Mich. Zenon* introduction, p. 2).

### 1. Name-list with contribution amounts

P. Mich. Inv. 3211  
Provenance unknown

18.5 cm. x 25.5 cm.

III/II BC  
Plate II

With the exception of a few holes that affect the writing only in one line (see note to line 9), the papyrus is preserved in good condition. The writing runs in the same direction as the fibres; the back is blank. There are generously spaced blank sections both on the right (ca. 9 cm.) and at the bottom of the list (ca. 15 cm.), and this may indicate that the scribe intended to enter more names at a later point.

The hand that wrote the list is rather crude and bold. The letters are for the most part large and stand independently. The script becomes semi-cursive only with effort; a good example for this is Ἄνταίου (line 7). Palaeographically, the papyrus cannot be assigned to the Zenon archive with certainty, as the hand does not resemble the most common chancery or official hands encountered in the Zenon archive. However, there are documents, albeit few, within the Zenon archive that are

<sup>1</sup> Further details on the “Michigan Papyrus Digitization Project” will appear in print in the near future. The project is carried out by T. Gagos.

<sup>2</sup> The “Zenon group” is a term used in the descriptions of the old catalogue in the Michigan papyrus collection. The term seems to refer to texts a) of the Zenon archive, b) contemporary to the Zenon archive, c) of a later date. In one word, the term is applied to all the texts that were purchased concurrently with the Zenon papyri. See also note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. nos. 3192-3300 form a single acquisition. A good deal of those numbers were identified as belonging to the Zenon archive and were published in *P. Mich. Zenon*. However, there were pieces that, although Ptolemaic in date, did not belong to the Zenon archive, see e.g. *P. Mich.* III 162, 182, 184: these papyri date from the second century BC. See the general introduction above and note 2.

not as practised and bear some resemblances with our piece; see, for example, P. Heid. Inv. 1832 (R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Band I.1 [Stuttgart 1967] #6) which dates after 241 BC. The hand can also be compared with P. Mich. Inv. 3245 (*ZPE* 74 [1988] 23ff. and pl. Ia) dated by the editors on palaeographical grounds to the II<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>4</sup>

Very little can be said about the contents of the papyrus. The text is a simple list which consists of sixteen entries with the proper names of individuals. Since all names are in the genitive followed by a figure, it is reasonable to conclude that we are dealing with individuals that contribute the number of unspecified items which follows them. What they contribute is unknown, but the figure is low; only one individual contributes three items (line 8) and in three more instances two (lines 11, 13, 14).

The papyrus was purchased with the main bulk of the Zenon papyri in the Michigan collection, and in line 2 occurs the name of a certain Zenon. However, because this name is rather common in the Ptolemaic period<sup>5</sup> and, even in the documents of the Zenon archive, is recorded for individuals other than the well-known estate manager of Apollonios the dioiketes in Philadelphia, the relation of our papyrus to that archive remains very questionable.<sup>6</sup> If, nevertheless, the papyrus should belong to the papers of the famous Zenon, it could be connected with his journey to Palestine, because the first person mentioned in our list might be the special envoy of King Ptolemy II in Palestine, who is known from other texts.<sup>7</sup> In this case the other names might have been either part of the group that travelled to Palestine (cf. n. on Apollodotos, line 9) or local magistrates who perhaps went to present their credentials or pay their respects to the envoy of the King. Some of the other names, however, are very rare and some are not encountered in the Zenon archive (see the notes *ad loc.*).<sup>8</sup> The text may as well be contemporary—but not necessarily related—to the Zenon archive or later, that is dating from the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BC (see the palaeographical discussion above).

	Ἀπελλέου	α
	Ζήνωνος	α
	Διογένου	α
4	Ἀσκληπιάδου	α
	Ἀρτάκου	α
	Πτολεμαίου Περ()	α

<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting here that our two Michigan pieces and the one published in that *ZPE* volume form part of the same acquisition (see above, n. 3).

<sup>5</sup> The name is recorded also in many documents after the third century BC.

<sup>6</sup> For a basic introduction to the Zenon archive, see e.g. *P. Mich. Zenon* pp. 1-57; the bibliography is too long to be cited in the present note. The interested reader is referred to the bibliographical survey in P.W. Pestman et alii, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*. Papyrologica Lugd.-Bat. 21A, Leiden 1981, pp. XI-XVIII.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀπελλῆς, the envoy of the King (ὁ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως) appears in three papyri, namely *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004.27; 59006.26 and III 59350 (vol. IV p. 288).1; see further *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VI 15138. For the journey in Palestine from 260-258 BC, see the outline in *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* 21A, p. 264 with all the relevant bibliography listed there.

<sup>8</sup> We comment only on very rare names, i.e. names that appear less than three times in the Zenon archive or elsewhere.

	Ἄνταίου	α
8	Ἄλκιμήδου	γ
	Ἀπολλοδότου	α
	Μονίμου	α
	Ἀλεξάνδρου	β
12	Δαλίσκου	α
	Ἄνδρονίκου	β
	Πυθοκλέους	β
	Ἄντιφίλου	α
	Μητροδώρου	α

9. Ἀπολλοδότου, ο corr. ex δ 3. Read Διογένους 9 and 11. The figures have either been corrected from something illegible or there is simply an ink smudge

1. For a possible identification of this individual, see above and footnote 7. At the end of the name we expect -λλουc. The gen. in. -έουc may be influenced by the Greek proper names in -κλήc; this formation was expanded to other names on -ηc, primarily to Egyptian proper names (see E.Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I.2, Berlin and Leipzig 1937, 40-42.).

2. Apart from the well-known Zenon, there are several other individuals with the same name in the Zenon archive (Pap. Lugd.-Bat. 21A, 332-333).

3. Διογένουc: the omission of the final sigma is unusual for this scribe (cf. lines 1, 2, 14); however, it is omitted rather frequently at the end of words in the Ptolemaic period (E.Mayser-H.Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I.1, Berlin 1970, 180-183). In fact, the genitive -ου instead of -ουc in proper names becomes gradually more common after the third century BC (see E.Mayser, *op.cit.* I.2, 39 with specific examples of the genitive of Διογένηc).

5. Ἀρσάκουc: no individual with this name is found in the Zenon archive, and there are only five instances on papyri from Egypt, of which two come from the Ptolemaic period: *P. Ryl.* IV 589, 4, 23, 31, 39, 47, 86, and *P. Grenf.* I 12, 31. The first papyrus dates from the year 180 BC and comes perhaps from Philadelphia and the second from 148 BC and comes from the Thebaid. It cannot be ruled out that our Arsaces might be identified with the individual in the Rylands papyrus. The name is Persian and all the known instances along with rich literature are recorded in Ph. Huysse, *Iranische Namen in Nebenüberlieferungen indogermanischer Sprachen. Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens* in M. Mayrhofer - R. Schmitt (ed.), *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Band V, Fasz. 6a, Wien 1990, 33-34. The rough breathing used by Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, in listing this name, is unjustified.

6. Πτολεμαίου Περ( ): this is the only entry where apart from the name and the amount there is additional information. The hole that has damaged the papyrus makes any suggestion questionable. Most of the first letter (if there was indeed only one) is now lost in the lacuna and only very poor traces survive on the top and the bottom, which can fit palaeographically only with a *pi*. What we read as *epsilon* and *rho* could also be a *sigma* with an *iota*, but we find that reading less likely; the last letter is very similar to the *rho* of Ἀρσάκουc in line 5. Our original suggestion was to read Πέρ(ουc), which would have made Ptolemaios the only Persian in our list, but following L.Koenen's suggestion we think that a patronymic is perhaps more likely; after all Ptolemaios is a rather common name and the usual way to avoid confusion with an individual of the same name is to use his patronymic. Things get further complicated because there is no obvious abbreviation sign, but the word cannot be complete as it stands, no matter what the reading may be.

7. Ἄνταίουc: this name occurs only once in the Zenon archive (*P. Cairo Zen.* IV 59586, 3). An Antaios, epistates of Philadelphia, is addressed in *P. Mich.* III 173, a petition which may date to ca. 170 BC (see *BL* III 109), but it is hard to establish a strong connection with our papyrus, except that the two pieces were purchased together. Otherwise, the name is rare in the Ptolemaic period, see the listings in *WB* and *Onomasticon*.

8. Ἀλκιμήδου: no such name is known from the Zenon archive and there are only two instances recorded in the papyri, i.e. *P. Rein.* II 109, 7 (131 BC) and *P. Ryl.* IV 674, r, 11 (III BC), but for some reason they have not been incorporated in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. It is most likely a variant of the common Greek name Ἀλκιμίδης (also absent from the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*).

9. Ἀπολλοδότου: the name is rather common, but it should be noted that there is a person of this name recorded during the journey of Zenon to Palestine (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004, 61; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VI 16346).

12. Δαλίσκου: this name is so far known only from the partly published *P. Hibeh* I 149, dated to about 250 BC (unrecorded in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*) and, as the name of a kleros in the Heracleopolite nome of the first century AD, from *BGU* XIV 2441, 11, 17; 2442, 14; 2443, 41, 53; 2448, 63 (we owe this reference to D. Hagedorn). The name seems to be a diminutive of Δάλις, which is not unknown in the papyri, with the suffix -ικος, as in Δάμις>Δαμίσκος, Κάλαμος>Καλαμίσκος.

14. Πυθοκλέους: Only one individual with this name is found in the Zenon archive (*P. Mich. Zenon* 66, 12, 35, 37; see *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* II 4086).

## 2. Letter from Agathocles to Demetrios

P. Mich. Inv. 3207  
Philadelphia?

15.5 cm. x 10.3 cm.

first half of II BC  
Plate III.1

Apart from a number of minor holes (ll. 2, 9, 12), the papyrus is preserved in very good condition. In the inventory catalogue it is described as belonging "probably to the Zenon group" (see above, n. 2). On the front the script runs against the fibers, whereas on the back, which contains a very faded address, script and fibers run in the same direction. The hand is not calligraphic, but it is clear and presents many similarities with *P. Mich.* X 601 (see pl. VIII). This does not come as a surprise, since the Michigan text published there has the inv. no. 3206 and it is again a letter addressed by a certain Diogenes to a Demetrios, undoubtedly the same Demetrios as in our papyrus. Despite the striking similarity of the two scripts, we believe that the two texts are the product of different hands. Letters such as *zeta* and *chi* are formed in a slightly different manner. Also in our text, the scribe has consistently avoided *iota* adscripts, whereas that is not the case in *P. Mich.* X 601.

The provenance of the two Michigan pieces cannot be confirmed with internal evidence, but since they were both acquired with the bulk of the Zenon materials, it is possible that they were unearthed also in Philadelphia or in its vicinity.

When G.M. Browne published *P. Mich.* X 601, he was so influenced by the fact that the piece was purchased with the "Zenon group" that he dated his piece to the middle of the third century BC, both on palaeographical grounds and on internal prosopographical evidence, which seemingly linked the piece with the Zenon archive. However, in reviewing that volume F. Uebel moved the date to after 210 BC, that is after the general conversion of Egyptian currency to the copper standard and rather to the first half of the second century BC when an ἐπιγροφή of 2 drachmas per metretes of wine was allowed.<sup>9</sup> Our papyrus then will have to be dated to the same period. Support for such a date for our piece comes also from the grammar of our papyrus which records no *iota* adscripts throughout; the omission of adscripts by

<sup>9</sup> *Bibl. Orient.* XXX (1973) 420 (=BL VII 114). For further corrections of that text, see *ZPE* 23 (1976) 117 (=BL VII 114).

the long diphthongs starts already in the middle of the third century, but becomes common practice by the middle of the second century BC<sup>10</sup>.

Although the message of the letter is pretty straightforward, it is hard to establish the relationship between Agathocles and Demetrius. Are they co-renters or is it a relation of lessor and lessee? As we argue below, we think that Agathocles is the lessor and Demetrius the lessee, although the case of co-renters cannot be ruled out for certain.

In his letter, Agathocles informs Demetrius about the harvested grain which the latter abandoned unthreshed when he went to Alexandria. In the meantime, the unthreshed grain had become moist, as a result of water used for artificial irrigation in the vicinity. The situation is critical, because part of the grain has already been damaged; and there is further danger that if the water level rises, then the wheat will be completely drenched and thus be destroyed. In the meantime, Agathocles has submitted to the tax collector, the *logeutes*, a document which will legally permit him to complete the threshing process, in the absence of Demetrius and to remove his portion of the crops. But before taking this final step, he notifies Demetrius and asks whether he has any plans, presumably because threshing in the absence of Demetrius could violate the latter's rights. However, if Demetrius does not respond, then Agathocles will activate the *chrematismos*, the document which he has submitted to the tax collector.

The wording of the papyrus does not disclose the relationship of the two men. One reasonable explanation would be to assume that the harvest in question has resulted from a joint project of the two men from a piece of land which they have rented together; in that case the two men would be co-renters. In that case, what is said in line 8 ("that I shall receive my own portion of the grain"), would indicate Agathocles' portion of the harvest. According to the regulations pertaining to harvest, threshing and tax collection in the Ptolemaic period, both joint renters have to be present at the treshing and neither of them can remove his share before all the taxes are paid. Such an eventuality would generate a chain of reactions, because if the renters could not receive their share, then the rent could not be paid, and that means that penalties would have to be paid to the lessor, whether he was a private individual or the state.<sup>11</sup> The *chrematismos*, therefore, in our papyrus would show that Agathocles is one of the renters and allow him to meet all his obligations both with the lessor and the state, since he would be in a position to remove his share (on the possible format and function of the *chrematismos*, see also note to lines 6-7).

The function of the taxman is very important.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the *oikonomos* was in charge of the tax collection in the *nome*, the *logeutes* was the local official with whom the farmers had to

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<sup>10</sup> See Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I.1 95-117, but compare W. Clarysse, "Notes on the use of iota adscript in the third century B.C.", *Chron. d' Ég.* 51 (1976) 150-166.

<sup>11</sup> For an extensive lease of land—although from the end of the second century BC—see *P. Tebt.* I 105, esp. lines 16 ff. which describe the responsibilities, the payments and the penalties. Further on leases of land, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht im ptolemäisch-römischen Ägypten*, Diss. München 1967.

<sup>12</sup> On the office of the *logeutai*, who were tax collectors employed by the state, their responsibilities and their importance in the collection of taxes in the Ptolemaic period, see G.M. Harper, Jr., "Tax contractors and their relation to tax collection in Ptolemaic Egypt", *Aegyptus* 14 (1934), 52-64; cf. *ibid.* 269-285. On the control of cultivation of grain, as well as the assessment and collection of taxes on grain, see Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, 117-152.

deal directly. He is a key figure in our text, because he along with his assistants would collect the state share and therefore any problem with regard to such issues should be referred to him. In this case, Agathocles has submitted to him a *chrematismos*, presumably a document which explains the situation, Demetrios' absence and responsibility and thus helps Agathocles' position in the matter.

The above discussion, however, does not explain the chastising tone of the letter nor the ἐκφόρια mentioned in line 5. That word can mean both taxes and rents owed to the state or rent for private land. In general, from what Agathocles writes, it seems that the two men have not been in touch constantly; in the case of co-renters, however, one would expect a constant dialogue between the two men and Demetrios would have informed Agathocles about his impending trip to Alexandria. Also, in terms of the action taken here with the logeutes, the co-renters scenario looks less likely.

More consonant with the contents of the letter could be the explanation that Agathocles is in fact the lessor and Demetrios the lessee. This could explain why Agathocles stresses that the "rent is in danger", but does not mention any other type of danger; this is because he cares about his money, "his share" as he calls it (line 8) and nothing more. As for the state taxes, the *chrematismos* he has submitted to the logeutes, will allow him to complete the threshing and give the proper amount to the local authorities.

We have mentioned already under the palaeographic description that our Demetrios must be identified with the individual in *P. Mich.* X 601. If that is true, then, within this wider picture, Demetrios is in trouble. In the already published text a certain Diogenes informs Demetrios that his work is hindered by two tax collectors (*logeutai*) who claim that according to their accounts Demetrios owes them 150 drachmas, of which 140 for 70 *keramia* (probably of wine) and the remaining 10 for an unspecified number of empty *keramia* (see introduction to that text). Whether our text precedes the other Michigan papyrus or not, cannot be established, but we can certainly describe Demetrios as a "farmer in distress".

With one exception in line 9, the entire text has been recovered, but even there the general context can be understood (see note *ad loc.*). In addition to the interesting content of the letter, there are some special linguistic features worth of note. The scribe seems to be a learned man. The papyrus records the *hapax* ἀναλόητον (line 2), the very rare and obscure in meaning adjective ὑπομβρον (line 4) which is an *addendum papyrologicis lexicis*, and the adjectival form ἐκείνη (line 4) in a rare syntactical function as "locative" dative without preposition, as well as the literary collocation μετέωρος τῇ διανοίᾳ (line 4); see all the relevant notes *ad loc.*

On the form of the letter, see J.L. White, *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: A Study of the Letter-Body in the non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle* (Missoula 1972). On the Ptolemaic epistolography, see in particular R. Buzón, *Die Briefe der Ptolemäerzeit. Ihre Struktur und ihre Formeln* (Diss. Heidelberg 1984).

Ἄγαθοκλῆς Δημητρίῳ χαίρειν. οὐκ εἶ πεπόηκ' ἄ  
 ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἔτι ἔχων τὴν ἄλω ἀναλόητον.  
 τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ διὰ τὸ τὰς χέρσουσ ποτίζεσθαι  
 4 ἐκείνη, ὑπομβρον τὸν κίτον πεπόηκε



ὅτε κινδυνεύειν τοῖς ἐκφορίοις. πυθόμενος  
 δέ σε ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἶναι χρηματικὸν  
 πεπόμενα τῷ λογευτῇ ἵνα δι' ἐμοῦ ἀλοηθῇ καὶ  
 8 κομίσωμαι τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ. ἔτι οὖν καὶ νῦν φρόντι-  
 κον ὅπως μὴ . . . . . ἴς ὄλος κατακλυσθῇ. {ει} δια-  
 κάφηκόν μοι τί σοι πρόκειται [εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλοήκω]  
 ὅπως μὴ μετέωρος ᾧ τῇ δ[ι]ανοίᾳ. εἰ δὲ μή, χρή-  
 12 κομαί τ[ῷ χρη]ματικῷ.  
 ἔρρωσο.

(Back, along the fibres, in very faded ink)

Δημητρίῳ

1. ω in Δημητρίῳ ex corr. (-oc ?)      the c at end of the line is raised to fit      7. τ in τῷ corr. ex. λ

"Agathocles to Demetrios greetings. You have not done well keeping the harvested grain until now unthreshed, because the water has made the grain damp, as the land is irrigated in that neighbourhood. Hence the rents are put at risk. Having learned that you were in Alexandria, I provided the logeutes with a legal instrument, so that it be threshed by me and I receive my share. Even now take care that not all ... be inundated. Instruct me clearly what your plan is so that my mind is not in suspense. Otherwise, I will take advantage of the legal instrument."

Back: "To Demetrios"

2. ἔως τοῦ νῶν ἔτι ἔχων: the letters after the article have suffered severely from a hole, but the reading is palaeographically secure and makes good sense.

ἀναλόητον: this word is hitherto unattested, but the formation and the meaning are obvious: *α* *privativum* and the verbal adjective of ἀλοάω. In the papyri, ἀλοητός is found only in two texts of the Ptolemaic period (*BGU* VII 1507, 1; 1512, 12, both of the third century BC) and one from the Roman era (*BGU* IV 1031, 11, from the second century AD). Interestingly enough, the two Ptolemaic texts are both on ostraca from Philadelphia, where our text may originate as well. For the harvest and threshing, as well as the various types of the latter, see M.Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, MB 7 (München 1925) 162-182.

3. τὰς χέρσους (sc. ἀρούρας): this is not dry land, but land that is not reached by the natural inundation of the Nile and has to be irrigated artificially, see M.Schnebel, *op.cit.*, 9-24; for the compounds involving this word and their significance, see T. Gagos - P. van Minnen, "Documenting the rural economy of Egypt: three Byzantine papyri from Alabastrine", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992) 193 note to lines 5-6.

ποτίζεσθαι: the verb is used to indicate irrigation both by the natural inundation of the Nile and by artificially directing the water of the inundation to fields not reached by the flood, see D.Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil. Etudes et Commentaires* LII [Paris 1964] 114 n.1 and M.Schnebel, *op.cit.* 71, 161 and the note to *P. Laur.* I 11 A 16.

4. ἐκεῖνη: here not as an adjective, but as an adverb meaning "at that place, in that neighbourhood" (see *LSJ* sv ἐκεῖνος III1). This "locative" use without a preposition is rare in the papyri; there is only one other instance known to us, *P. Giss.Univ.* III 31, r, 19: ἀναβαίνω γὰρ ἐκεῖνη κατ[ὰ] τάχους καὶ ἔρχομαι αὐτοῦ.

ὑπομβρον: the word is not attested in the papyri and is rare also in the literary sources; perhaps the use of this word is indicative of the educational level of our scribe. In fact, the occurrence of this word in our papyrus predates all the literary sources and makes it the earliest instance of this word to date. The only literary source where ὑπομβρος and κατακλύζομαι are used together is Plutarch, *De defectu orac.* 438A τὸ ἱερεῖον --- μὲν ὑπομβρον γενόμενον καὶ κατακλυθέν. In our papyrus, the meaning must be “slightly damp”. From lines 8-9, we understand that there is still some time to salvage the crop before it gets completely “innundated” (which is expressed with the verb κατακλυθῆ). Once wheat is exposed to water, it becomes damp and soft and cannot be threshed, let alone in case of complete innundation. If this is what the scribe intended with the word ὑπομβρον, then this word could be a synonym of the word ὑπόβροχος, which in its turn is not frequently found in the papyri either; see *BGU* II 531, 4 and *P. Stras.* I 260, 3, where ὑπόβροχος is used to describe a “slightly wet” letter that cannot be read easily, and *P. Thmouis* I 111, 4, where the reference is to land and see the observations by D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil*, Paris 1971, 75 n.350.

6-7. χρηματικὸν πεπύρικα τῷ λογευτῆ: it is not entirely clear what is exactly meant by the term χρηματικὸς. This term is used generically and describes either a private or a public legal instrument. Here it may refer to either a formal letter or a sort of petition whereby Agathocles (being either the landlord or a co-renter) informs the local tax collector of the events that have taken place, which are partly narrated also in our letter, and denounces any responsibility in case the state will not be able to collect its share from the crop at issue.

According to the system of state revenue in the Ptolemaic period, the tax collector would have to be satisfied, i.e. receive the state share, before any private share was to be removed from the threshing floor. The χρηματικὸς is submitted to the representative of the state to satisfy the state’s interests in all taxes due from the harvest. The χρηματικὸς mentioned in our papyrus might have been very similar to a document addressed to the logeutes of Euehemeria in 132/31 BC (*PGiss.Univ.* I 5) where the owner of private land complains that the two renters of his land were drafted into the army at the time of the harvest without bothering to hire threshers. In consequence, the owner was obliged to pay from his own pocket for all the expenses until the harvested grain was taken to the threshing floor. Trouble continued also on the threshing floor, but unfortunately the papyrus breaks off at that point and we are unable to find out what followed. In our case, the χρηματικὸς would entitle Agathocles (the lessor) to arrange for the threshing of the harvest and, after payment of all taxes, remove the rent which Demetrios (the lessee) owed to him.

For damage on crops of wheat caused by flood and the ways in which that was reported in the Ptolemaic period, a good example is *P. Tebt.* I 49 (113 BC). On the office of λογευτή, see *P. Mich.* X 601, note to ll. 6-7 with the bibliography given there. Here is a list of recent attestations of this office: *P. Congr.* XV 5,7,11; *P. Hels.* I 24 (1), 26 A (5), (12); *P. Mil.Congr.* XVIII p. 6, 1, 7, p. 21, 3, 18; *P. Rainer Cent.* 40,7; *SB XVI* 12343, 4; 12344, 3.

9. ὅπως μὴ . . . ἄλλος κατακλυθῆ: we have tried many alternative readings for the missing part, but none seems to fit palaeographically. What is missing does not seem to deprive us seriously from the general understanding of the document. ἄλλος has been read with some difficulty, but it seems to be the best palaeographically and it makes good sense. We would then expect, that the scribe wrote μὴ ὁ εἶτος ἄλλος κατακλυθῆ, but the noun cannot be read; also the word ἄλλος would make very good sense, but that cannot be read either.

The terms κατακλύζω and κατακλυμὸς are used in an Egyptian context to describe the sudden flooding of the Nile, see Bonneau, *op.cit.* 71 note 3. Both words are rather common in the Ptolemaic times, but they are rare in the Roman period. Note the crescendo in the tone of warning: in line 4, the wheat is damp (ὑπομβρον), in line 9 the wheat will be completely innundated (κατακλυθῆ) if no measures are taken.

9 ff. Agathocles informs Demetrios of his next steps. He was about to regard the lease as broken and to proceed against the interests of Demetrios who, as a result, might lose the fruits of his work. Agathocles presents Demetrios with an ultimatum, but he seems to be uncertain as to how to do this as politely as possible. He starts with a conditional: "If you shall make it clear to me" but immediately reverts to the command "make it clear to me!" Then he falls back in the opposite conditional: "If you do not do this, then I shall be thresh

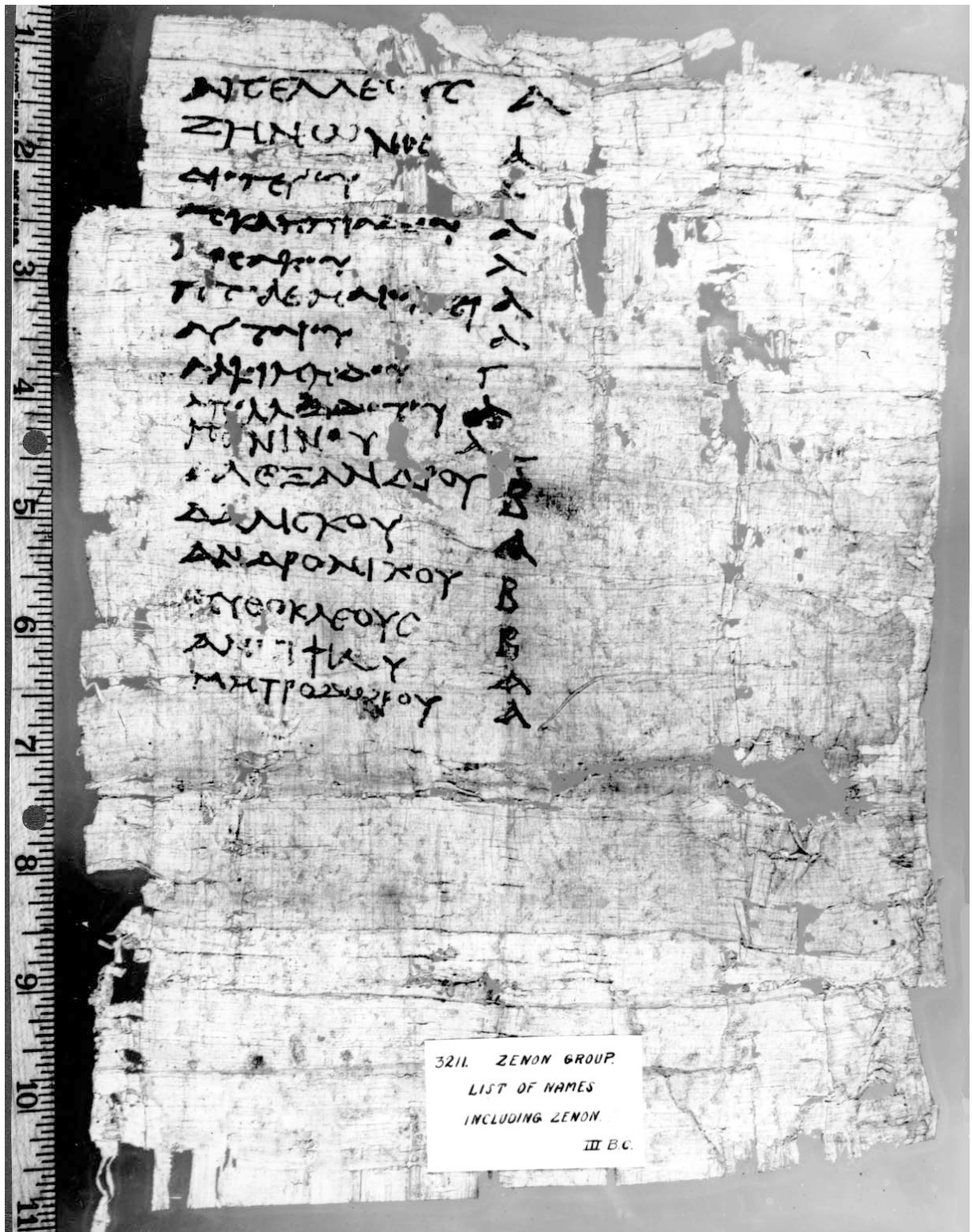
ing”, only to realize that he should tone down the preceding sentence by adding: “so that my mind is not in suspense.” Only then he starts again the negative option in a slightly disguised fashion: “otherwise, I will take advantage of the legal instrument”, i.e. that he will execute his rights under the contract, take care of the threshing, and with the permission of the tax collector remove his share

10. τί σοι πρόκειται: the construction of the verb πρόκειμαι with the dative of the person is new in the papyri, although there are examples in earlier and later literature; see Bauer - Aland, *Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, Berlin 1988, s.v. πρόκειμαι III. This construction is used with reference to a goal or destination for something that lies or is set before someone.

11. ὅπως μὴ μετέωρος ᾦ τῇ δ[ι]ανοίᾳ: “so that I am not in suspense of mind”. μετέωρος is used in a metaphorical sense (see *LSJ* s.v. III). Both μετέωρος and δίανοια are found in individual use in documents, but never interrelated as in our papyrus. The juxtaposition of these words is rather common in literature and the scribe might have been familiar with this phrase through some of the works of his contemporaries; see e.g. Polybius, *Hist.* 3.107.7.1: τῶν δὲ κομμάχων πάντων μετεώρων ὄντων ταῖς διανοίαις (in fact Polybius is fond of this expression and uses it several times: *Hist.* 5.18.5.1-2; 8.20.8.2; 11.27.6.2-3; 28.17.11.5). In the papyri the closest these two words have been used before is found in *SB* XII 10927.4-6 (διὸ ἄξιῶ γράφειν μοι πυκνότερον ὡς μετεωριζομένοι καὶ φάλλονται τῇ διαγ[ο]ίᾳ), but this is hardly a parallel to our text.

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P.Mich.Inv.Nr. 3211: Namenliste mit Zahlungen (III/II<sup>a</sup>)

