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THREE POPYRI FROM THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY COLLECTION

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THREE PAPYRI FROM THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY COLLECTION¹

1. PRIVATE LETTER FROM HÔREIS TO HIS MOTHER DÊMÊTROUS

P. Princ. inv. no. 15960 C

9.9 x 23.8 cm.

mid II-III AD

Provenience unknown

cf. Tafel II

The papyrus is medium brown in color, and its four sides carefully cut off; the black ink is written along the fibers on both sides. The letter begins 2 cm. below the top edge of the papyrus and continues for ca. 14.5 cm., leaving about 7 cm. blank below line 18. The letter was folded once horizontally and twice vertically, and the central panel that received the address is ca. 14 x 3 cm. A modern paper patch has been glued to the back, opposite the ends of lines 2-3.

Hôreis sends a letter to his mother Dêmêtrous, and the brevity and simplicity of his letter, consisting only of *proskynêma* formula and other salutations, suggest that blood relationship binds her to Hôreis, as well as to many of the others whom he greets with kin designations (Germanos and Thermoution, lines 5-7, see note ad loc.; 'my lord Sarapion' and 'our whole household,' lines 8-12). After these salutations, Hôreis seems to close his letter with a conventional formula (lines 12-13); subsequently, however, he adds further greetings to his mother from four others, apparently individuals present with him (Theônilla, Anthestios, Kleôn, and Dêmêtria, lines 13-16). Hôreis begins another flourish of greetings (lines 16-18), but breaks off without completing them, since he apparently realizes that Theônilla's name is inappropriate as recipient of his greetings, since he has just conveyed Theônilla's to his mother (lines 13-14). A woman is on Hôreis' mind here at the end (lines 16-18), and, if, as suggested above, Dêmêtrous be his biological mother, he is calling this woman 'my mother' out of respect. Hôreis is, however, unable to write out her name without puzzling over it and, after attempting to correct what he has written, he simply gave up. Hôreis had begun his letter, after all, at the top of his sheet, and had perhaps the intention of filling it, but his intentions outstripped his abilities, and he is able to communicate no news of interest to his family, no urgent requests.² Hôreis is a βραδέως γράφων,³ and he is as lacking in penmanship, as in orthography and syntax. On occasion, however, Hôreis does correct orthographic and morphological mistakes (see *app. crit.* ad lines 1, 6-7, 11-12, 14), as well as false starts (lines 4, 10, 16-17 and notes ad loc.), but other infelicities remain (interchanges of *omicron* and *omega*; *epsilon* for *alpha-iota*; itacism, see *app. crit.*), no doubt because he was unaware of their existence. Hôreis' ear seems well tuned to phrases conventionally employed in Greek messages and letters, but neither schooling nor subsequent experiences with writing have equipped him to draft connected prose or to wield a pen with ease.⁴ He includes customary phrases, but they seem drawn largely from the jumbled storehouse of his memory of having heard letters read aloud. Nonetheless, his family was

¹ We are grateful to Dr. Jean Preston for permission to publish the texts and we wish to thank Dr. Don C. Skemer, curator of manuscripts, Princeton University Library, for the opportunity to study the papyri. The photographs were prepared by Donald Breza.

² Cf. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.*, Helsinki-Wiesbaden, 1956, 88 ff., and the similar, but more skilfully executed, *P. Köln* II 108 (= no. 15 in G. Tibiletti, *Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.C.*, Milano 1979; III AD).

³ For the βραδέως γράφων, see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II, 629-51 (= 'Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy,' *GRBS* 12, 1971, 239-61); despite the many apparent examples of 'slow writers,' the terms βραδέως γράφων and βραδύτερον γράφων occur rather infrequently in the papyri, see A.E. Hanson, 'Ancient Illiteracy,' pp. 159-98 in *JRA Supplement* 3, 1991, espec. p. 170.

⁴ Hanson, 'Ancient Illiteracy' (above, note 3), 159-98.

surely pleased with this palpable evidence that Hôreis was alive and remembering of them, and they would have known without hesitation how to interpret τούς ἀδελ-φούς μου in lines 5-6 (see note ad 5-7). For outsiders, interpretation and phrasing of Hôreis' lines are not immediately obvious (esp. lines 3-5, 5-7, 8-12).

The letter, acquired by Princeton University Library through purchases by Robert Garrett, lacks provenience and date. Thus, although Garrett habitually purchased from dealers a number of papyri that proved to have been written in Oxyrhynchos and although most names mentioned in the letter likewise occur in papyri from Oxyrhynchos (see e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3169, 174-212 AD, a 7-column account of giro-transfers of wheat that lists individuals from widely separated communities within the nome), these seem insufficient grounds on which to assign Oxyrhynchos as a possible destination for Hôreis' letter. As to date, a *terminus ante quem* of late III or early IV AD is suggested by the presence of the *proskynêma* formula, which largely disappears from the letters of Christian Egypt.⁵ Hôreis' crude letter forms, however, can be paralleled by hands written at any time during the first three centuries AD.⁶ Even so, the names Theônilla and Germanos both point to a date in the latter half of those 300 years.⁷ Theônilla has yet to appear in a papyrus securely dated before the early III century AD.⁸ The name 'Germanus,' a Roman import into Egypt, often appears in both the I century AD and the first half of the II in Roman or Romanized milieux--as a name for Romans' slaves, for freedmen, soldiers, and veterans,⁹ before being absorbed within the nomenclature of Greek-speaking Egypt.¹⁰

⁵ H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I, 451-54 (= 'P.Mich. Inv. 346: A Christian ΠΡΟΣΚΥ-ΝΗΜΑ,' *ZPE* 28, 1978, 265-68) and R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, Princeton, 1993, 271-73.

⁶ See e.g. *P.Lond.* III 1178 (194 AD) and plate 43, p. 71, in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Berlin 1925, and the introduction to *P.Köln* I 56 (I AD) and plate VII, with other examples of unpracticed hands.

⁷ Κύρα μου, line 13, points to the same chronological boundaries.

⁸ E.g. Oxyrhynchus--*P.Oxy.* XLIV 3169.62 (174-212 AD), XXII 2346.43-44 (III), *PSI* VIII 895.5 (III), *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2682.17 (III-IV), XIV 1747.59 (III-IV), XXIV 2421.26 (IV), *P.Hamb.* I 21.1 (315 AD), *PSI* VI 698.14 (392 AD); Hermoupolis--*P.Herm. Landl.* Anhang II 1.42 (III-IV); Herakleopolite--*CPR* X 107a.9 (396 AD).

⁹ 'Germani' in a Romanized context in a securely dated text: e.g. Germanus, s. of Tarkentimê, among the *arrôstoi* (*O.Claud.* 91.12 and index, 100-120 AD); Gaius Julius Germanus (*P.Oxy.* I 95.6-7, 18, 25, 36, 129 AD); Lucius Anthesios Germanus (*P.Phil.* 12.1, 150 or 173 AD); Hermes alias Germanus, slave of Calpurnius Serênus (*PSI* V 447.7, etc., Oxyrhynchos, 167 AD); Germanus, slave of Longinus Isidoros (*P.Mich.* IV 223.2593, etc., Karanis, 171-72 AD); Lucius Julius Germanus (*P.Mich.* IV 223.2594, etc., Karanis, 171-72 AD); Gaius Petronius Germanus (*P.Mich.* IV 224.4352, etc., Karanis, 172-73 AD). See also R.O. Fink, *Roman military records on papyrus* (= APA monograph 26) 1971, Index #1, p. 471.

'Germanoi' in securely dated texts, but lacking certain Roman connections: e.g. Germanos, s. of Hôriôn, *praktôr sitikôn* at Thebes (*O.Brux.* 8.5, 113 AD); Germanos, s. of Menephôn, pays dike and bath taxes (*O.Petr.* 75.1, Charax, 82 AD); German(os), f. (?) of Antas (*P.Stras.* IX 862 verso.4, after 114 AD); Germanos, f. of Nemônios, *chômatepimelitês* at Hermonthis (*O.Ont. Mus.* II 233.1, 118/19 AD, and 279.1, 98-117 AD); Germanos, s. of Sokonôpis (*BGU* IX 1893.164, etc., Theadelphia, 149 AD); Germanos, f. of Panarês (*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3492.18, 161-69 AD); Germanos, s. of Marôn (*P.Stras.* IX 849.265, Euhemeria, ca. 165 AD); Germanos, s. of Mersis (*P.Mich.* IV 224.2135, Karanis, 172-73 AD); Germanos, f. of Neseus (*P.Petaus* 59.32, Ptolemais Hormu, 185 AD) and Orsenouphis (*P.Petaus* 68.14, Ptolemais Hormou, 185/86 AD); Germanos, f. of Porieuthos the farmer (*O.Wilb.* 68.5, Thebes, 189 AD). Indeterminate: Germanus, exporting 2 stallions in a customs account at Bacchias (*P.Wisc.* II 80.103 [= *P.Cust.* #76], 114 AD); Germanus, *apatôr* and *presbyteros* of Tebtynis, perhaps a veteran's child (*P.Mil. Vogl.* II 98.38, 138-39 AD); Germanus, *praktôr argyrikôn* with Domitius

- ←
 Ὠρεῖς[τι] Δημητροῦτ' ἰ'
 τῆ μητρεῑ πλεῖ(ς)τα χαίρειν·
 καὶ τὸ πρῶσκύνημ[ά] σου
 4 ποιῶ κατ' ἐκάστην [ορα]
 ἡμέραν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-
 φού(ς) μου ἀσπάζομε Γερ-
 μανὸν καὶ Θερμούτιον·
 8 ἀσπάζου τὸν κύριόν
 μου Σαραπίωνα πρὶν
 πάντων καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν
 πάντας κατ' ὄνομα ἀσ-
 12 πάζου. ἐρῶσθέ με εὐχο-
 με κυρά μου μήτ' ε' ρ{ι}. ἀσπά-
 ζετέ με Θεονίλλα καὶ Ἀν-
 θέστις καὶ Κλέων καὶ Δη-
 16 μητρία. ἀσπάζου [Θεονιλ]
 τὴν μητέρα μου [π] Ἀ[πλο-]
 νου(ν).

Verso: (←) ἀπόδος Διμητ(ρ)οῦ X τι ἀπὸ Ὠρεῖτος.

1. Δημητροῦτ' ἰ': second -τ- ex -c 2. *leg.* μητρὶ 3. *leg.* προσκύνημ[α] 4. *leg.* [ορα] 5-6. see note ad loc. 6. *leg.* ἀσπάζομαι 6-7. Γερμανόν: γ ex c 10. τοὺς: υς ex υ; *leg.* ἡμῶν 11. *leg.* ὄνομα 11-12. ἀσπάζου: c ex ζ 12. *leg.* ἐρῶσθαι 12-13. *leg.* εὐχομαι 13-14. *leg.* ἀσπάζεται 14. με: c ex ζ; *leg.* Θεονίλλα: ε ex α 16. *leg.* [Θεωνιλ] 17. [π] ex [ο] 18. *leg.* Ἀ[πολλων]ἰνοῦ(ν) 19. *leg.* Δημητ(ρ)οῦτι: X *divid.* Δημητ(ρ)οῦ- et -τι.

Translation: Hôreis to Dêmêtrous, his mother, greeting. And I make obeisance for you each day, and I salute my siblings, Germanos and Thermoution. Salute my lord Sarapiôn before all and salute by name all those of our family. I hope you are well, my lady mother, and Theônilla salutes you, and so does Anthestios and Kleôn and Dêmêtria. Greet my mother, Apollônous (?).

Address: Give to Dêmêtrous, from Hôreis.

Phannianus at Elephantine between 146-149 AD (*SB* I 4363.1, and frequently elsewhere [cf. *O.Cair.* p. 140]).

'Germanus' and 'Germanos' in texts with inferential dates do not substantially alter this view of the name.

¹⁰ E.g. Iiro Kajanto, 'The Latin Cognomina,' *Soc. Sci. Fennica Hum-Litt.* 36.2, 1965, 51, culling his examples largely from epigraphic sources, notes that like 'Gallus,' 'Germanus' was particularly popular in both Roman Spain and Africa, with these two areas accounting for nearly 1/3 of his examples (71 out of 258). He suggests that this popularity may have been due to the 'exotic' quality these names possessed for more southerly residents of the empire.

Notes:

1. On his first try, he wrote Ὡρεῖτι Δημητροῦς, thus reversing addresser and addressee; he corrected his error in the writing of Ὡρεῖς by excising *tau-iota* from Ὡρεῖτι and by adding *sigma* in the space between *iota* and *tau*. He corrected Δημητροῦς by changing *sigma* to *tau*, but he then set a right-curving stroke over the *tau*, before rewriting this supralinear as a straight and more proper *iota*. By the time he wrote the address on verso, he got the names with proper inflections right on his first attempt.
- 1-2. Although kinship terms are often used in Roman Egypt as designators of respect and affection (see e.g. *P.Oxy.* LV 3813-3815, introduction, p. 200-201), Hôreis seems to be greeting his family back home, and Dêmêtrous is presumably his mother (cf. lines 5-7, 8-9, 12-13 and notes ad loc.). Cf. also, note to lines 17-18.
2. πλεῖ(ς)τα: for the loss of the sigma, see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, Milano 1976, 130, citing the same phenomenon in *BGU* 602.2 (II) and *WChres.* 461.22 (early III).
3. καί: Hôreis may mistakenly remember καί as integral part of the *proskynêma* clause and may be forgetting that it usually serves there as connector for that most common of epistolary openings--πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ Alternatively, he may have intended pleonastic καί, in order to emphasize the phrasing καὶ ... ποιῶ (lines 3-5) ... καὶ ... ἀπάζομε (*leg.* -μαι, lines 5-7). In any case, one of these two motives is more likely than the notion that Hôreis intends καί ... καί to join the beneficiaries of his obeisance--καὶ ... σου ... καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφου μου (articulated as τοῦ{ς} ἀδελφοῦ).
4. For κατ' instead of καθ', see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, Milano 1976, 134 ff.
- 4-5. κατ' ἐκάστην [ὡρα [*leg.* ὡρα]] ἡμέραν: Hôreis begins writing a less common expression for the duration of his obeisance, καθ' ἐκάστην ὥραν (*P.Mich.* VIII 492.2-3, II AD; *P.Brem.* 61.48, II AD¹¹), but converts to the more usual κατ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν after excising ὡρα. Further, Hôreis makes no mention of the deity, or deities, in whose presence the *proskynêmata* were normally carried out.¹² Given his hesitancy as a writer, it seems more likely that Hôreis omitted the conventional reference unintentionally, rather than purposefully, as did a few early Christians.¹³ There are likewise a few letters, clearly from a pagan milieu, that omit the reference (e.g. *P.Brem.* 66.2-3, *P.Tebt.* II 412.2, both II AD; *P.Oxy. Hels.* 50.2-3, *P.Par.* 18.2, both III AD), yet none of these writers appear as handicapped as Hôreis.
- 5-7. καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-φού(ς) μου ἀπάζομε (*leg.* -μαι) Γερ-λιανὸν καὶ Θερμούτιον: see above, note to line 3, for the suggestion that καί in line 5 connects ἀπάζομε (*leg.* -μαι) and ποιῶ (with the articulation τοὺς ἀδελ-φού(ς)). Family members knew whether or not Germanos and Thermoution were 'siblings' to Hôreis, and consequently whether or not the phrase begun in line 5 extended through Thermoution in line 7.

Both confident and less certain writers of letters in Greco-Roman Egypt tend to place forms of ἀπάζεσθαι early in the clause of salutations (sometimes with adverbial complement pre-

¹¹Perhaps also *P.Alex. Giss.* 51.3-4, which, like *P.Brem.* 61, belongs to the archive of Apollônios, strategos of the Apollonopolite Heptakomias in early II AD, and his wife Alinê.

¹²E.g. not only before the lord Sarapis in letters sent from Alexandria, the site of his famous shrine, but also before a panoply of gods, some of whom can be identified as principle deity of particular localities (thus H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I, 36-45 [= 'Grenfell's Gift to Lumbroso,' *Ill. Class. Stud.* III, 1978, 90-99]). For a list of deities that appear in *proskynêma* formulae, see G. Geraci, 'Ricerche sul Proskynema,' *Aegyptus* 51, 1971, 3-211, esp. pp. 203-207.

¹³E.g. *SB* XIV 12173, and see the discussion by H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae posteriores* I, 451-54 (= *ZPE* 28, 1978, 265-68). Geraci, 'Ricerche sul Proskynema' (above, note 12), 208, also lists examples of *proskynêmata* where the name of the divinity is lacking.

ceding) and prior to the specific individuals being greeted in the letter,¹⁴ although examples of embedding a form of ἀσπάζεσθαι, or placing it in last position, are not lacking. Hôreis, however, is unsteady about the matter, with ἀσπάζου in first position (line 8) and last position (lines 11-12); hence he may have embedded ἀσπάζομαι in line 6 without being aware that such *variatio* could represent a stylistic nicety for more accomplished writers (e.g. *P.Haun.* II 30.10-11, I AD).

- 8-9. τὸν κύριόν | μου *Σαραπίων*: most likely the oldest, adult male of the household, and quite possibly the father of Hôreis.
9. πρὶν πάντων: presumably for πρὸ πάντων, although most writers who employ the phrase do so at the outset of a letter in lieu of πρὸ μὲν πάντων, placing it before the verb of greeting (e.g. *SB* XVI 12496.1-2, ca. 300 AD: πρὸ πάν-των πολλά *σε ἀσπάζομαι*; *P.Yale* I 77.3-4; *P.Oxy.* XII 1584.3-4; *P.Ross. Georg.* III 3.2; *P.Brem.* 57.3.). Cf. also *VBP* II 35.27 = *CPJ* II 424 (πρὸ πάντων *σα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ*). Another crude letter shows πρὸ πάντων being used to emphasize the first individual in a string of those to be greeted: ἀσπάζο[α]ί *σε* πρὸ πά[ν-]των καὶ *Σαραπίωνα* καὶ *Σελήνην* | καὶ *Εὐδαίμονίδα* (*P.Sarap.* 96.2-4; cf. also the more accomplished VI century letter from the abbot Andreas to his superior Geôrgios, *P.Fouad* 87.30-31, and note ad loc.). Hôreis apparently also wishes to emphasize the greetings *Dêmêtrous* is to convey to 'my lord *Sarapiôn*,' prior to giving his salutations to other, nameless kin in the household. Nonetheless his πρὶν πάντων, as well as his repetition of ἀσπάζου in lines 11-12, underscore how vague is his knowledge of epistolary usage.
10. τούτ: the *sigma* seems to have been attached to the tail of the *upsilon* as an afterthought.
- 11-12. ἀσπάζου. Hôreis repeats the ἀσπάζου of line 8, at first writing the initial syllable as αζ-, before correcting to ασ-; for the interchange of *zeta* and *sigma*, also in line 14 (*app. crit.*), see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, Milano 1976, 120-21.
- 12-13. ἐρῶσθέ *σε* εὐχο-|με (*leg.* ἐρῶσθαί *σε* εὐχομαι) conventionally closes a letter, suggesting that Hôreis' inclusion of greetings from *Theônilla*, *Anthestios*, *Kleôn*, and *Dêmêtria* to his mother *Dêmêtrous* is an afterthought.
13. Hôreis first wrote μητρί and then attempted to correct his mistake by superimposing an *epsilon* above and between *tau-rho*. He neglected, however, to excise *iota*.
- 14-15. Throughout the discussion we have spoken of 'Anthestios,' assuming 'Ἀνθέστις = 'Ἀνθέστιος. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v., lists both 'Ἀνθέστιος and 'Ἀνθέστις (one example, *BGU* II 615.24, Fayum, II AD), although Viereck's note ad 615.24 advises 'l. 'Ἀνθέστιος.' For the later Greek declension of names in -τις (-ίου, -ίω, -ις), instead of -τιος, see F.T. Gignac, *Grammar* II, Milano 1981, 25-26, B.2.a., with examples as early as I AD.
- 16-17. ἀσπάζου [Θεονιλ] | τὴν μητέρα μου: Hôreis' mother is *Dêmêtrous*, and he may have intended a title of courtesy here, rather than a marker of kinship. On the other hand, the presence of [Θεονιλ] in Hôreis' mind at this point, even if eventually deleted from his text, may equally well indicate that he is losing his grip on his train of thought, due to his exertions in the act of writing.
- 17-18. τὴν μητέρα μου [π] 'Α[πλω] | λνου(ν) (sc. 'Ἀπολλωνοῦν): We thank Dieter Hagedorn for this explanation, for it offers a satisfactory representation of the Greek letters Hôreis wrote, at

¹⁴For lengthy examples of ἀσπάζεσθαι preceding, see e.g. IV cent. examples in *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3396.21-31; LVI 3859.26-50; *P.Neph.* 12.5-17. For a repertory of greeting formulae in the papyri, see *P.Haun.* II, Index VIII, pp. 84-87, and especially 16.17-18 (ἀσπάζονται in last position) and 32.11-12 (ἀσπάζεται embedded); one letter, #41 (= *BGU* I 248) in the collection by B. Olsson, *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*, Uppsala 1925, with ἀσπάζομαι in last position, preceded by adverbials and the person greeted (*σε*).

least at one stage in his writing. Hôreis did, however, go on to excise all letters but *alpha* at the end of line 17, and it is possible that his thoughts later veered to a woman whose name began with 'Ανου-, such as 'Ανουβάρτιον. In any case, if his letter was addressed to a family in Oxyrhynchus (see introduction), Apollônous was a more popular name there than Anou-names for women (i.e. Apollônous. nos. 538-544 in B.W. Jones - J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*, Chico 1983; no examples for a woman's name beginning Anou-).

2. LETTER FROM CHAIREAS TO KEPHALÔN

P. Princ. inv. 13395 (folder 24)¹⁵

8.2 x 8 cm.

II AD

Provenience unknown

cf. Tafel III

The papyrus has been regularly cut off at top, right, and left; the text breaks off at bottom after line 10, and the regularity of the rending suggests the break occurred along a horizontal fold. The papyrus also preserves traces of three vertical folds. The letter was written across the fibers and begins 2 cm. down from the top edge of the papyrus; the left margin is ca. 1.5 cm., while the text extends to the edge along the right, with a space filler at the end of line 8. The back of the papyrus as preserved is blank. For the tiny, oblique strokes, or 'high dots,' used to punctuate lines 4-6, 8, 10, see introduction, below.

Chaireas begins his letter to Kephâlôn with thoughts about the steadfastness of Apollônios' pledge to Kephâlôn--due principally, Chaireas claims, to himself (μάλιττα δὲ καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ, line 6). Chaireas reflects on his previous knowledge of Apollônios' characteristic modes of behavior (lines 6-10), but then the text breaks off, prior to the introduction of other topics. Neither Chaireas, Kephâlôn, nor Apollônios can be identified with known individuals, since they seem not to have appeared together elsewhere. The writer of the letter, whether Chaireas or a scribe, produces an elegant and readable cursive, datable to the mid-II AD,¹⁶ and his penmanship matches not only the fine quality of the papyrus itself, with its light color and smooth surface, but also his meticulous command of Greek orthography, syntax, and sophisticated modes of expression (see lines 4-5, 6-8, 9-10, notes ad loc.). Five small, oblique strokes appear above the line, and one might also refer to them as 'high dots,' since they serve to punctuate the phrasing of the letter, occurring, as they do, after main verbs (ἐπέγνων, line 4; οἶδα, line 8) and at the conclusion of dependent phrases (δεξιάν, line 5; ἐμοῦ, line 6; κε, line 10). Similarity of ink-color with the main text strongly suggests these were inserted by the writer himself, and their position, as much as 0.1 cm. above the line, suggests that he added them after the letter's composition, in the process of reading the letter through prior to dispatch--most likely at the same time he inserted δὲ above μάλιττα καὶ in line 6. Punctuation of any kind is unusual in private letters, and, when joined with the letter's fine appearance and its precise diction, we are tempted to see Chaireas as a person of some refinement and education.¹⁷

¹⁵As the inventory number reveals, the papyrus belongs to the Askren collection, given to Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton Library, in memory of Allan Chester Johnson.

¹⁶The hand is a twin to that which copied excerpts from proceedings before the *archidikastês* Claudius Philoxenos during the prefect's conventus at Memphis in year 19 of Hadrian (135 AD, *BGU* I 136 = *MChres.* 86), with plate 22b in W. Schubert, *Papyri graecae berolinenses*, Bonn 1911. The hand is also similar to another copy of excerpts from proceedings before the prefect Marcus Petronius Mamertinus earlier in the same conventus (*BGU* I 19 = *MChres.* 85), with plate I (showing col. ii) in *BGU* I.

¹⁷See E.G. Turner, *GMAW*² (= *BICS* Supp. 46) 9-10 and his remarks on text #70 (= *P.Herm. Rees* 5, ca. 325 AD, and plate IV). His other examples are *P.Ross.* II 43, II/III AD and additional letters from the Theophanês archive (*P.Ryl.* IV 624, 317-324 AD). See also *P.Oxy.* LV 3812, Letter

←
 Χαιρέας Κεφάλωνι
 τῷ φιλότατῳ χαίρειν·
 συνέτυχον Ἀπολλωνίῳ
 4 καὶ ἐπέγνων μένουσαν
 αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς σὲ δεξιάν,
 μάλιστα δὲ καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ· τὴν
 δὲ ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν
 8 τρόπων οὐ πρότως οἶδα,
 ὡς παραιτεῖται τὸ μὴ
 βαρεῖσθαί σε, ἢ μάλιστα

Translation: Chaireas to Kephalthōn, his dearest one, greeting. I encountered Apollōnios and learned that his pledge to you remains steadfast--especially, in fact, because of me. Not for the first time do I know the conduct of his ways, that he is entreating not to weigh down upon you, or especially

Notes:

- 4-5. μένουσαν | αὐτοῦ τὴν πρὸς σὲ δεξιάν: as in the II cent. AD letter from Theogitōn to Apollōnios, *P.Fay.* 124.11-14, πάνυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς | ἄφρων τις εἶ[ν]αι ...!... μὴ φυλάσσει[ν] (leg. -ειν) [τρ] σου τὴν δε-ξιάν ('Indeed you appear to me to be quite mad ... in not keeping your pledge,' edd.).
5. αὐτοῦ τὴν: for the ligature between *upsilon* and *tau*, compare that between *omega* and *tau* in πρότως (line 8); the *tau* of τὴν, however, was formed in a manner similar to that in τῶν (line 7), although no ligature precedes here.
- 6-8. τὴν | δὲ ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν | τρόπων: the phrase is similar to the expression τῇ τοῦ βίου ἀγωγῇ, 'on account of the conduct of their life,' in *SB VI 9050* col. v.11-12, a dossier of prefectural decisions regarding imposition of compulsory services simultaneously on members of the same family, copied before 150 AD. The phrase occurs in the dossier when the prefect Mettius Rufus is instructing strategoi about selection of liturgists: προεξετάσας ἴν' ὧσιν ἐπιτήλδαιοι πάντες οὐκ οὐσία μόνον, | ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡλικία καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου | ἀγωγῇ, ἄπερ τοῖς τὰ κυριακὰ πιττευο-ιμένοις ὑπάρχειν δεῖ, having ascertained beforehand '... that all are suitable not only on account of their fortune, but also of their age and of their conduct of life, i.e. such qualifications as those to whom public ... matters are entrusted must have' (lines 9-13, trans. by E.P. Wegener, *Eos* 48.1, 1956, 340. Cf. also N. Lewis, *Compulsory public services*, Florence 1982, 173-76).
- 9-10. τὸ μὴ | βαρεῖσθαί σε: as in the III-IV cent. letter, *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2728.8, ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι πολλὰ β' ἀρ' οἰμαί σε ('I know that I weigh heavily upon you,' edd.).
10. Straightening out the fibers of this line, so as to reveal σε ἦ, occurred after the photograph was taken. For the high dot after σε, see introduction.

of Eunōios to Hōrigenēs, late III AD, in which there appears '... an oblique stroke for strong punctuation (5), one high stop (11), probably two rough breathings (6, 12?), two examples of apostrophe used as a diastole (9, 10), and one slightly doubtful accent... The facetious style of the letter, although simple enough, is more literary than colloquial. Eunōios was evidently an educated person with literary tastes' (p. 196).

3. RECEIPT FOR REPAYMENT OF A LOAN

P. Princ. inv. 15960 B
Oxyrhynchus

8.2 x 17.7 cm.

201/202 AD
cf. Tafel III

Serious abrasions and stripping away of the papyrus' fibers at top impair the reading of letters in the first 2 lines. The remainder of the text appears, at first glance, complete on its other sides; closer examination, however, reveals that a strip of papyrus, 8 x 3.8 cm., with similar fibers and coloring, has been fastened at bottom in a repair that may have been carried out in antiquity. Even so, except for lines 1-2, the text is virtually complete, for the imperial titulature, begun in line 23, is nearing its close in the pitiful remains of line 27, and it is unlikely that more than a line has been lost. The top margin is 1.6 cm.; the left margin slips markedly toward the right, with a margin of ca. 1.5 cm. in lines 2-5, but ca. 2.2 cm. in lines 24-25; the right margin is at the edge of the papyrus.

The scribe writes a small and neat cursive hand; his orthography complies with the highest of koine standards and his command of Greek syntax is beyond reproach, except for the omission of a complementary infinitive after ὁμολογῶ (lines 4-5). His text records repayment of a loan between two individuals whose names are no longer recoverable in lines 1-2: the lender, whose parents are Amōis and Asklēpia, gave 600 drachmas at 12% interest to the borrower, whose parents are ...stōn and Dēmētrous. Both borrower and lender are inhabitants of the hamlet of Dōsitheos in the Oxyrhynchite nome,¹⁸ although their contract of loan was registered in the metropolis (lines 14-17). Their repayment took place through agency of the bank at the Sarapeion, currently farmed by Theōnas and Chairēmōn (lines 5-8)--a bank whose existence at Oxyrhynchus spans nearly two hundred and fifty years, first as private bank under the Ptolemies and in the I century AD, and, after 153/54 AD, a state bank that was farmed out, perhaps due to having been confiscated.¹⁹

The present repayment of a loan through a bank closely resembles *P.Oxy.* VIII 1132, 162 AD, a loan of 600 drachmas repaid through the Sarapeion bank before its appointed term, perhaps because the interest rate was two drachmas on the *mina* per month, or double the normal rate.

¹⁸ The hamlet (ἐποίκιον) of Dōsitheos lay in the lower toparchy, later in the eighth *pagus*, and was called 'village' (κώμη) in the 4th cent.: see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi*, Florence 1981, 43 and 235, adding to the attestations in addition to the present papyrus: *P.Oxy.* LV 3787.1 (301/302 ? AD), 3790.8 (ca. 317/18 AD), 3795.28 (IV), and *SB* XIV 12130.4, 10, 16 (V/VI).

¹⁹ For discussion, see R. Bogaert, 'Les banques affermées de l'Égypte romaine,' pp. 39-61 in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo* III, 1983, espec. 42-49. For references to the Sarapeion bank at Oxyrhynchus, see A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18, 1938, 260-61, and *P.Congr.* XIV, p. 116; further updates in *P.Köln* III 148.3-4, note ad loc., and *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3915.13-14, note ad loc. Thus, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1639.3-5, 73 or 44 B.C.? (cf. *BL* VIII 248); *P.Yale* I 60.3-5 (= *SB* VI 9289), 6/5 BC; *PSI* X 1099.3-5, 6/5 BC; *P.Oxy.* IV 835, ca. 13 AD; *SB* XVI 12700.4-6, reign of Augustus; *SB* X 10222.5-7 (= *P.Oxy.* II 305 descr.), 20 AD; *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3915.13-14, 30 AD; *P.Oxy.* II 267.3-4 (= *MChres.* 281), 36 AD; *SB* X 10238.3-5 (= *P.Oxy.* II 319 descr.), 37 AD; *P.Oxy.* II 264.6-7 (= *MChres.* 266), 54 AD; *SB* X 10246.2-4 (= *P.Oxy.* II 304 descr.), 55 AD; *P.Oxy.* II 269.2-3 (= Olsson, *Briefe* 36.1, and *Sel.Pap.* I 69), 57 AD; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3487.7-9 and 14-16, 65 AD; *P.Turner* 17.6-9, 69 AD; *P.Mich.* inv. 92.6-8 (= p. 200, from Gagos, Koenen, McNellen, pp. 181-205 in *Life in a multi-cultural society*, Chicago 1992, and see also pp. 201-204, for summaries of other texts in the archive, 11 of which mention the bank at the Sarapeion), 73/74 AD; *SB* XIV 11302.7-9 ([cf. *BL* VIII 369] = *P.Congr.* XIV, p. 116), I AD; *P.Oslo* III 130.9-10, I AD; *P.IFAO* III 30.3-4, I AD (cf. *BL* VIII 153); *P.Yale* I 65.10-13, post 138 AD; *P.Oxy.* I 98.6-8, 141/42 AD; *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.16-18, 144 AD; *SB* VI 9296.8-11, 153 AD; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2722.7-8, 154 AD; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1132.8-12, ca. 162 AD; *P.Oxy.* III 513.38 (= *WChres.* 183 = *Sel.Pap.* I 77), 184 AD; *P.Oxy.* I 91.9-10 (= *CPap. Gr.* I 35 = *Sel.Pap.* I 79), 187 AD; *P.Oxy.* XII 1473.6-7, 201 AD; *SB* VI 9372.5-6, II AD (cf. *BL* VIII 344); *P.Köln* III 148.3-4, II AD (cf. *BL* VIII 156); *PSI* VIII 878.8-9, II AD (cf. *BL* VIII 402-403). The name of the Sarapeion bank is perhaps lost in lacuna at the beginning of *P.Yale* I 63, Oxyrhynchus, 64 AD.

There seems no reason to connect the Princeton repayment to the cheirographic documents with bank-transfer, particularly characteristic of I-II century AD Oxyrhynchos, which were, in fact, frequently prepared at the Sarapeion bank and which bulk large in loans from wives to husbands and repayments of loans from husbands to wives, especially between couples living in an *agraphos gamos* (see, most recently, T. Gagos, L. Koenen, and B.E. McNellen, 'An early Roman archive from Oxyrhynchos,' pp. 181-205 in *Life in a multi-cultural society*, J.H. Johnson, ed., Chicago 1992, with earlier bibliography, an edition of *P.Mich. inv. 92*, and description of twenty-two related texts).

←
 Χρ... ους Ἀμοίτος [μητρὸς Ἀσ]κλήπι-
 ας ἀπὸ τοῦ Δοσιθέου ἐπ[οικίου ± 3]... c-
 τανος μητρὸς Δημ[ητρο]ῦτος ἀπὸ τοῦ
 4 αὐτοῦ Δοσιθέου ἐποικίου χაίρειν· ὁμο-
 λογῶ <ἀπεσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ> κατὰ προσφώνησιν Θεωνᾶ καὶ
 Χαϊρήμονος ἀσχολουμένων ὡ-
 νήν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγχων
 8 πόλει Σαραπείου τραπέζης ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς ἑξακοσίας κεφαλαίου
 καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἀπὸ μηνὸς Μεχεῖρ
 τοῦ προδιεληλυθότος ἡ (ἔτους) τῶν κυ- 199/200
 12 ρίων Αὐτοκρατό[ρ]ων Σεουήρου
 καὶ Ἀν[τ]ωνίνου μέχρι νῦν δρα-
 χμιαίους τόκους, τὸ δὲ κεφάλαι-
 ον δανεισθέν σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ
 16 δάνειον γεγονό[ς] διὰ τοῦ ἐνθάδε
 μνημονείου [τ]ῆ προκειμένῳ
 μηνὶ Μεχεῖρ ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ οὗ
 ἔχεις δούλου Κα[ρα]πίωνος καὶ
 20 [μ]ηδέν σοι ἐγκαλεῖν περὶ μη-
 δενὸς ἀπλῶς [μέ]χρι τῆς ἐνεστώ-
 σης ἡμέρας. κυρία ἢ ἀποχή.
 (ἔτους) ι Αὐτοκρατόρων Καϊσάρων 201/202
 24 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου
 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτ[ίν]ακος Ἀραβικοῦ
 [Ἀδια]βηνικ[οῦ] Παρθικοῦ με-
 [γί]στου καὶ Μάρκου Αἰῶρηλίου
 28 [Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν, Month, Day.]
 2, 4. leg. Δοσιθέου

Translation: Chr...ous, son (?) of Amöis and a mother Asklepia, from the hamlet of Dôsitheos, to NN, son (?) of ...stôn and a mother Dêmêtrous from the same hamlet of Dôsitheos, greeting. I acknowledge <to have received back from you> in accordance with a notification of

Theôn and Chairêmôn, who farm the bank at the Sarapeion in the city of the Oxyrhynchoi, six hundred drachmas of money, being capital, and the interest on these of a drachma (per *mina* per month) from the month Mecheir of the year before last--the 8th year of our lords the Emperors Severus and Antoninus--up to the present day, the capital having been lent to you by me in accordance with a contract of loan which was through the record office here in the aforementioned month of Mecheir on security of the slave Sarapiôn, whom you possess, and I make no claim against you in anything else up to the present day. The receipt is valid. Year 10 of the Emperors, Caesares, Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti

Notes:

1. Χρ . . . ους (or Χρ . . . ους): at times we have thought to be able to read Χρηστους, but neither initial Χρ-, nor the letter immediately preceding - ους are read with certainty (for the latter, -ηους, -γους, and -πους also seem possible, as well as -στους), and the name 'Chrêstous' is otherwise unknown. Amôis is a popular name at Oxyrhynchus,²⁰ although his wife's name, apparently Asklēpia, was not.²¹
- 2-3. [± 3] . . . -ιτωνος μητρὸς Δημ[ητρο]ῦτος: the name of the borrower will, of necessity, have been short--perhaps Hôros (thus, "Ωρῶ in lacuna). By far the most common name to end in -των would be Ἀρίτων, but the traces of ink in line 2, prior to *sigma*, seem unsuitable for Ἀρι, lacking, as they do, any sign of a sublinear stroke for either *rho* or *iota*, as is characteristic in this hand. At times we have thought to be able to read Ἡφες-ιτωνος, but such a variant on Ἡφαιτίων seems otherwise unattested.
- 4-8. ὁμολογῶ ... ἀργυρίου: the infinitive phrase has been omitted--most likely ἀπεσχηκέναι (or ἀπέχειν) παρὰ σοῦ--and parallels show that it could be placed either at the outset of the clause, directly after ὁμολογῶ, or just prior to the sum of money (line 8). No doubt ambiguity of placement contributed to the phrase's omission here. (ἀπεσχηκέναι, as in e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 513.37-39, 184 AD, or ἀπέχειν, as in e.g. *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.15-16, 144 AD, and VIII 1132.7, ca. 162 AD; placement after ὁμολογῶ, as in e.g. *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.15-16 and VIII 1132.7, or prior to ἀργυρίου, line 8, as in e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 513.38-39.)
5. κατὰ προσφώνησιν: notification from the lessor of the bank at the Sarapeion also figures in the same fashion in a receipt acknowledging repayment of 795 dr. 3 ob. 3 chalk., refunded because the confiscated house-property was eventually sold to a higher bidder (*P.Oxy.* III 513.37, 184 AD). Cf. also *SB VI* 9372.4 and *P.Köln* III 148.3 with note ad loc.; both papyri from Oxyrhynchus, II AD.
- 5-6. Θεωνᾶ καὶ | Χαίρημονος: these bankers' names are new.
- 6-8. ἀσχολουμένων ὠ-ινὴν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγχων | πόλει Σαραπείου τραπέζης: as in *P.Oxy.* III 513.37-38, 184 AD, and cf. also ἀσχολουμένων τὴν τραπέζην, in XXXI 2584.15, 211AD. For the bank at the Sarapeion at Oxyrhynchus, see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit*, Frankfurt 1990, 101, and above in the introduction, footnote 19.
- 13-14. δρα-λχμιαίους τόκους: an interest rate of a drachma per *mina* per month, or 12% per year, is the usual rate of interest in Roman Egypt (see *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.22 with note ad loc., citing H.E. Finckh, *Zinsrecht*, Diss. Erlangen 1962, 27-38).

²⁰ For Amôis, see nos. 207-40 in B.W. Jones-J.E.G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*, Chico 1983.

²¹ No examples of Asklēpia in Jones-Whitehorne, one (#664) for Asklēpias; see Asklēpia, however, in *P.Lond.* III 604B.91, p. 79, Arsinoite nome, early I AD.

The syllabic division δρα-λχιμαίους is worthy of note and may reflect a pronunciation that fostered omission of *chi* in the writing of δραμῶν instead of δραχμῶν (five examples cited in F.T. Gignac, *Grammar I*, Milano 1976, 98, E.1.a.1)--'χ omitted').

14-15. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαι-ον: the formulae employed here are similar to those in *P.Oxy.* LV 3798.23-34, 144 AD, although the narrative in that text is more complex, because the lender has died intestate and her children, as her heirs, are receiving the repayment of the loan.

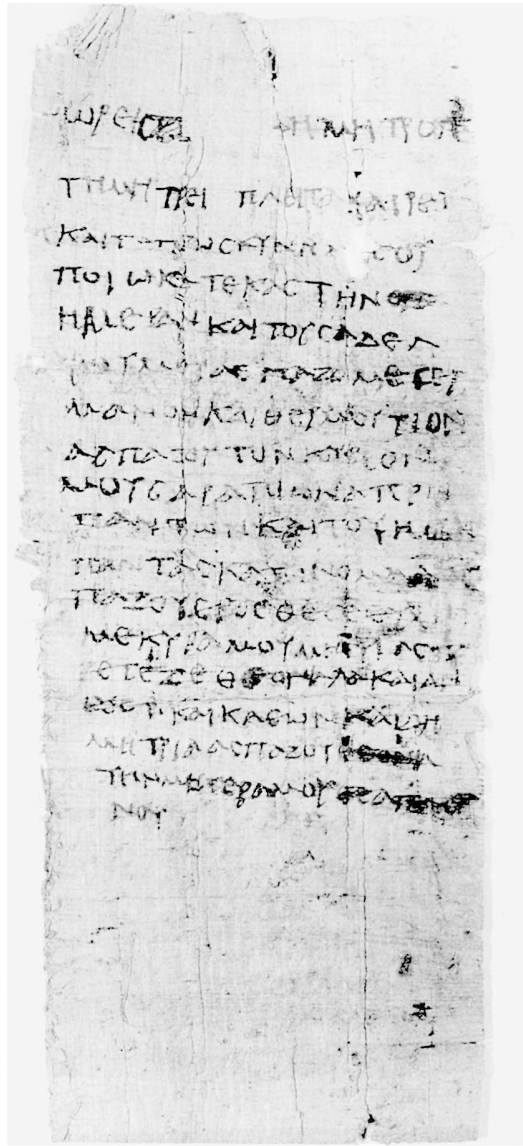
16-17. διὰ τοῦ ἐνθάδε | μνημονείου: i.e. the record office at Oxyrhynchos, as is explicit in *P.Oxy.* III 485.13-14, 178 AD (διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρύγγων πόλει μνημονείου; cf. also X 1282.21-22, 83 AD).

18-19. ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ οὗ | ἔχεις δούλου Κα[ρα]πίωνος: a female slave was security for repayment of a loan of 900 drachmae in *P.Oxy.* III 485.22-26, 178 AD. When in this instance the principal and the 12% interest were not repaid by the appointed day, the lender laid a claim before the *archidikastês*; the *archidikastês* then authorized the strategos to forward the claim to the debtor, as the lender tried legal means to force repayment and / or to gain possession of the slave.

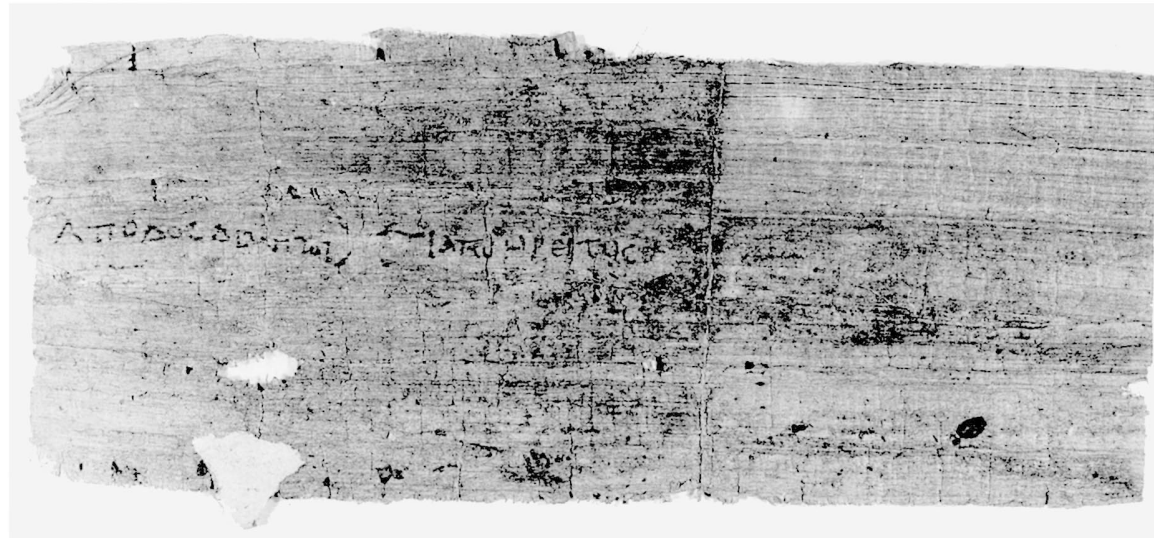
Sarapiôn is a rather common slave-name in the Roman period; cf. I. Biezuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. II partie: Période romaine*, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk 1977, 176.

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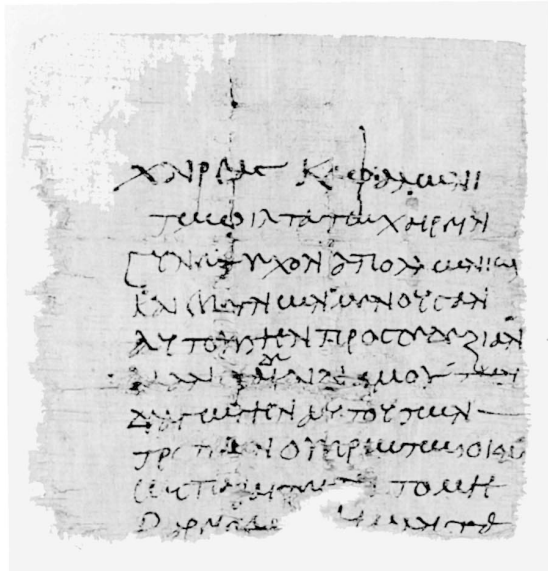


Nr. 1a

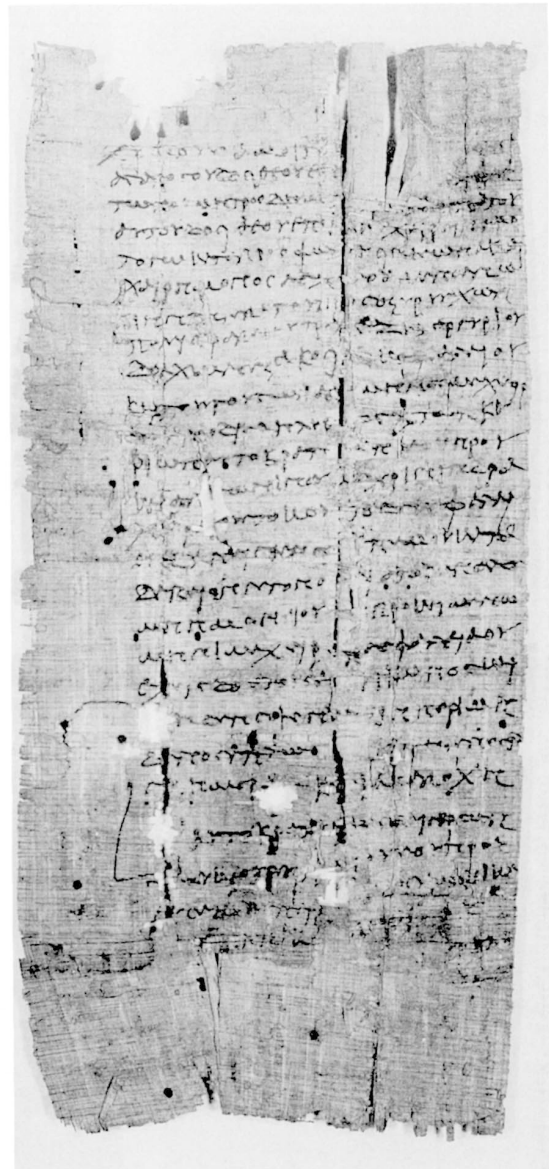


Nr. 1b

P.Princ. inv. no. 15960 C (a recto, b verso)



Nr. 2



Nr. 3

Nr. 2 (P.Princ. inv.no. 13395, Nr. 3 (P.Princ. inv.no. 15960)