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RECORDS OF LOAN RECEIPTS FROM A GUILD ASSOCIATION

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RECORDS OF LOAN RECEIPTS FROM A GUILD ASSOCIATION¹

P. Texas inv. no. 8

20 x 18 cm

182 or 158 BC

Provenance unknown

Medium-brown papyrus incomplete at top and right, with left and bottom margins of .5-1 and 2.8-3.2 cm. respectively. Papyrus has sustained much damage, with holes, cracks and worn places throughout. At points the ink is smudged or faded beyond recognition. All three hands of the document commit spelling errors; notable is the third hand's confusion of m and n (δραχνάς, 15; νηὶ Νεξ[ο]ρή, 16 [see comm.]). Writing parallel to fibers. Back blank.

P. Tex. inv. 8 belongs to a small collection of Ptolemaic cartonnage papyri purchased in 1986 by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center of the University of Texas. The papyrus preserves three complete loan receipts in different hands with remnants of another at the top.² Of the complete texts, the third scribe writes in a lapidary uncial script, whereas the second uses a rapid, sloppy cursive. The first writer falls somewhere between these two extremes.

The receipts concern loans made to Menestheus son of Chares, Asklepiades son of Kasas (?; see comm.), and Xenikos, whose father's name is not given, and all are addressed to Herakles, whose official title may have been δημοσίαρχος, a hitherto unattested word.³ All stipulate a six-month loan period from Phamenoth to Mesore of the twenty-third year.⁴ That year, coupled with paleographic considerations, suggests two possible second-century BC dates, 182 or 158. This papyrus most likely formed part of the bookkeeping of the lending institution, which in this case, judging from the phrase κοινῶν χρημάτων (see on 4 below), is an unnamed guild, or κοινόν.⁵ Loan documents in which a guild is the lending institution are rare; for the Ptolemaic period I find only *P. Ryl.* IV 586 and 589.⁶ *P. Eras.* I

¹ We thank P. van Minnen for reading a preliminary draft of this article and offering many helpful suggestions, and K. Rigsby for help with inscriptions. We are also grateful to the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center of the University of Texas, Austin, for permission to publish this papyrus.

² The few distinguishable letters do not permit identification as a separate hand.

³ The reading Ἡρακλεῖ δημοσίαρχωι is uncertain; see comm. I have not been able to identify these names with other personae in the Ptolemaic papyri. Ξενικός is unattested in the Ptolemaic period, occurring elsewhere in 3rd/4th cent. AD pap. (I find only *P. Oxy.* XII 1413.22, 1486.1, 1496.2.20, 22, 34; XXIV 2421.1, 12. Cf. Ξενική, *SB* XIV 11532.7).

⁴ Phamenoth has been restored in the second complete receipt. No day date seems to follow Phamenoth in line 2, the only place where any amount of space follows the month. Six months was a long period for this time (H.-A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit* [Münchener Beiträge 51, 1967] 21f.). Cf. *P. Ryl.* IV 589; cols. 1-8 are a ledger of principal and monthly interest on loans of a guild or gymnasium, carried over a six-month period

⁵ For Greco-Egyptian guilds in general, see the *RE* articles by Stöckle s.v. "Berufsvereine" (Suppl. IV 155ff.) and Kornemann, s.v. "κοινόν" (Suppl. IV 914ff.); M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*; 1 Die Vereinsarten: 2, Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht (Münchener Beiträge 2. Heft, 1972² with bibliographic addenda by J. Herrmann); C. Roberts, T.C. Skeat, AD Nock, *HTR* 29 (1936) 72-88 (Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* [Oxford 1972] I 430ff.); A.E.R. Boak, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 212ff. (Demotic parallels to the Michigan *nomoi*; this publication is hereafter cited as *art. cit.* to distinguish it from Boak's notes to *P. Mich.* V); M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) II 1061-66; III 1388 n. 105, 1395 n. 121, 1590ff. nn. 25, 27; R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* [Warsaw 1955] pp. 62ff. with n. 26; P. van Minnen, *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6, Heft 1, 31ff., esp. 48-72; G.H.R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* V (1989) index s.v. "associations", p. 176; Wm. Brashear, *Vereine im griechisch-römischen Ägypten* (Xenia 34, Konstanz 1993), with his bibliography, p. 40f. n. 1. For Demotic and Greek texts on religious associations see Boak, *art. cit.*, Nock, loc. cit., F. de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents Démotiques*, IFAO, Bibl. d'Étude XLVI (Cairo 1972); M. Muszynski, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977) 145-174; and more recently E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994) 49ff.; W. Huss, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester* (Historia Einzelschriften 85, Stuttgart 1994) 114f. n. 270.

⁶ Cf. the early *eranos* loan *P. Hib.* II 259 (235 BC) and for the Byzantine period *P. Strass.* IV 287, both cited and discussed by van Minnen, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) 65 n. 122.

10 (II BC) may be an order to repay (or deliver on) a guild loan (see the note on this text which follows this article).

The practice of clubs making loans to members⁷ served two purposes. First, membership in an association entailed rendering assistance to one's colleagues in times of need, and extending loans from the common fund served as a corporate means of meeting this obligation.⁸ Second, in addition to expressing *κοινωνία*, the guild profited when loans were repaid with interest, as is the case, for example, in *P. Ryl. IV 586.4-7*:⁹ [ἐπι]κοίνων χρημ[άτων¹⁰ χαλκοῦ νομίματος] τάλαντα πεντήκοντα τρία δραχμὰς . . .] χιλίας τόκου [ὡς ἐκ δύο δραχμῶν τῆ μνᾶ] ἐκάστη τὸν μῆ[να ἕκατον (cf. also *ibid.* 589 cols. 1-8; see our text below, on lines 4, 10, 14). The Texas papyrus specifies no rate of interest. This may point to an interest-free loan, as was the practice in *eranos* societies (J. Vondeling, *Eranos* [Groningen 1961] 29ff., 259-61). We cannot, however, always argue from silence in cases such as these (Pestman, *op. cit.* [above n. 8] 14f.).

The format of this text in itself raises interesting questions. The three different hands and the *ich-Stil* of the entire document seem to indicate that Herakles allowed each borrower to make the appropriate entry in the ledger book (the third hand particularly is not that of a trained scribe). Normal practice would rather have the separate receipts glued together in a *tomos synkollesimos* or summarized into a ledger by a single hand (in *er-Stil*).¹¹ I do not know of any Ptolemaic parallels for the scheme of the Texas document. For the Roman period, however, P. van Minnen has drawn my attention to *CPR XVIIIB*, two rolls from Panopolis in which transactions through a bank are entered in a ledger in different hands (also *ich-Stil*; cf. Sijpesteijn's introd., p. 3). See also below on αἰρεῖ, lines 6 and 13.

Finally, lapidary script is not all that distinguishes the third entry. It also omits the ἐὰν --- ἀνυπευθύνω default clause which concludes the first two receipts (and the fragmentary one at the top) and replaces it with the blander καὶ ποι[ήσω καθότι προ]γέγραπται.

→ 1 [. ἐὰν] δὲ μὴ [c. 6 litt.] . . . [c. 27 litt.]
[. α]ἰρεῖ ἀνυπευθύνω] ὄντι. (*traces*) ἔρρω[ωο Φαμε]νῶτ

Μενεσθεὺς Χάρητος Ἡρακλεῖ δειμοκτάρχῳ χαίρειν. [ὁ]μολογῶ ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν
4 κοινῶν χρημάτων χαλκοῦ τάλαντα ε καὶ δραχμὰς πεντακισχίλιας . . .]
ὡς ἀποδώσω σοι ἐμ μηνὶ Μεσορῆ τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους· [ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπο-
δῶ, ἐξέσται σοι ἐνεχυράζειν με παντὶ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἐὰν αἰρεῖ, ἀν[υπευθύνω]
ὄντι.

8 ἔρρωο (*traces?*) Φαμενῶθ

(m₂) Ἀσκληπιάδης Κακᾶτος Ἡρακλεῖ {κλή} δημοκ{ος}κτάρχῳ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν
ἀπὸ τῶν κ[ο]ινῶν χρημάτων χαλκοῦ δραχμὰς τρισχίλιας [.]
ἐνεαήκ[ο]ντα τρεῖς τριώβολον, ὡς ἀποδώσω ἐμ μηνὶ Μεσορ[ή] τοῦ τρίτου]
12 καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ [ἀπο]δῶ, ἐξέσται σοι ἐνεχ[υ]ράζειν με]

⁷ In general see van Minnen, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) 65f.

⁸ Failure to do so in fact could be a finable offense: ἐὰν τις παρίδη τινὰ ἐν ἀηδία καὶ μὴ συνεπιχώρη ἐπὶ τῷ κυλλῶσαι αὐτὸν τῆς ἀηδίας, δ[ό]τωι (read δότω) (δραχμὰς) ἢ (*P. Mich. V 243.6* [guild *nomos*, 1st cent. AD]). Compare also the practice of guilds furnishing bail for arrested members (e.g., *P. Mich. V 243.8-9; 244.9-10*; Boak, *art. cit.* 218). In general, for good will or altruism as motives for making loans see P.W. Pestman *JJP* 16/17 (1971) 17f.

⁹ On *P. Ryl. IV 586*, the missing top portion of which has been identified as *P. Graz I 1933 (SB VI 9255)*, see also C.H. Roberts and E.G. Turner, *JEA* 39 (1953) 113f. This text is a *Blanketturkunde*, see van Minnen, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) 66 with n. 125.

¹⁰ Although *κοινῶν χρημάτων* is read by the first editors, [ἐπι]κοίνων, the reading of 589.85, should probably be restored. See Roberts, Turner, *op. cit.* (above n. 9) 114, n. on line 11.

¹¹ For the latter cf. *P. Ryl. IV 589* cols. 1-8 (simply a list of names and sums); or if not a single hand, at least not a different hand for each receipt.

παντὶ τρόπ<ω> ὧι ἂν{ν} αἰρεῖ, ὄντι ἀνυπευθύν(ωι). vac. 3 ἔρρωσο [Φαμενώθ]

(m₃) Ξενικός Ἡρακλεῖ δημοσίᾳρχῳ χαλκοῦ δραχμῶν ὀκτακοσίας παντήκοντα ἐννέα τριώβρο[λον, ὅς ἀποδώσω]
 16 ἐν μηνὶ Μεσ[ο]ρή τοῦ τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτου<ς> {ετου} καὶ ποι[ήσω καθότι προ-]
 γέγραπται. (vac. 14) ἔρρωσ{ς}ο Φαμ[ενώθ]

2. read Φαμενώθ 3. read δημοσίᾳρχωι 5. read Μεσ[ο]ρή 6. and 13 read αἰρεῖ 11. read ἐννέκοντα
 14. read ἔχω 15. read δραχμῶν and πενήκοντα 16. read μηνὶ Μεσ[ο]ρή and εἰκοστοῦ

From line 3: "Menestheus son of Chares to Herakles demosiarch, greetings. I agree that I have received from the common funds... talents and five thousand... drachmae of copper, which I will repay you in the month Mesore of the twenty-third year, and if I do not repay, you may seize me without accountability in any way you see fit. Farewell. Phamenoth..."

Asklepiades son of Kasas (?) to Herakles demosiarch, greetings. I agree that I have received from the common funds three thousand... ninety-three copper drachmae and three obols, which I will repay in the month Mesore of the twenty-third year, and if I do not repay, you may seize me without accountability in any way you see fit. Farewell. Phamenoth..."

Xenikos to Herakles demosiarch, greetings. I have received from the common funds 859 copper drachmae and three obols, which I will repay in the month Mesore of the twenty-third year and I will do as above written. Farewell. Phamenoth..."

1-2: The traces, if correctly identified, suggest the following reconstruction: [εἰκοστοῦ ἔτου· ἐὰν] δὲ μὴ [ἀποδῶ, ἐ]ξέ[τ]αι σοὶ ἐνεχυράζειν με παντὶ ἢ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν αἰρεῖ, ἀνυπευθύν[ω]ι ὄντι. (traces) ἔρρωσο Φαμε[ν]ώθ. In line 1, however, the δ of δέ is very uncertain, as is ξεε (only smudges remain). Also, the supplement at the end of line 1 is somewhat short. A narrow piece of papyrus extends up at the fifth or sixth letter space of the lacuna before the beginning of line 2 but it seems to be only verso fibers.

3 Ἡρακλεῖ δειμοσίᾳρχωι; 9 Ἡρακλεῖ {κλη} δημο[ς] {ος} ἰάρχωι; 14 Ἡρακλεῖ δημοσίᾳρχῳ: For the spelling δειμ- in the first hand (3) cf. also Μεσορεῖ 5 and αἰρεῖ 6 (see both *ad loc.*). The present case may, however, be due to the influence of the preceding Ἡρακλεῖ (Mayer/Schmoll P² 1.49f.). The reading as well as the interpretation (below) remain most uncertain, particularly in line 9 where the tops of the letters are completely faded from the papyrus. I present here images of the traces:



In line 3 (1) we could also read Ἡρακλεῖδει ποσιᾳρχωι (read <συ>ποσιᾳρχῳ), in 9 perhaps Ἡρακλεῖ κλη (read Ἡρακλεῖ κλη) συμποσιᾳρχωι, and in 14, in the clearest but also most untrained hand, Ἡρακλεῖδη ποσιᾳρχῳ (read <συ>ποσιᾳρχῳ). This interpretation would give us a well-attested word which suits the general practice of associations, which held monthly banquets for their members (*P. Mich.* V 243.2; cf. *P. Lond.* VII 2193.15f.; de Cenival, *op. cit.* [above n. 5] 181ff.). That our text describes an official in charge of making loans, seeing to their repayment, and penalizing default, does not necessarily argue against συμποσιᾳρχος, since a guild official (especially a president) could be named after one of many functions. The reading does, however, force us to assume the coincidence that two different hands made almost the same mistake (or used similar unattested abbreviations for συμποσιᾳρχος). On the other hand, if we adopt the reading given in the text and lemma, we are obliged to explain the δημοσίᾳρχος, an *addendum lexicis*.

The word, if correct, is structurally similar to, e.g., ἐρανάρχη (*BGU IV* 1133.5 [19 BC]), "president of the *eranos*", or "administrator of the *eranoi*-loans", since in this text he oversees loans and their repayment (cf. 10ff.; Denarch., *or.* 69 fr. 3.4; Suidas 1762, IV p. 148 Adler s.v. πληρωταί; Diog., *vit. phil.* 6.63. Similarly ἀρχέρανος [*JG XII* 7.58.9; 3rd cent. BC], ἀρχερανιστής [*JG II*², 1297.10; 237/6 BC], and ἀρχιερανιστής [*JG II*², 1369.35; late 2nd cent. AD; *ID IV* 1800.1f.?, 113/12 BC]. In general see Brashear, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) 15; San Nicolò, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) I 218ff; Stöckle, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) 188f.; Vondeling, *op. cit.* (above introd.) 212ff., 230f., 264. Cf. also the προστάτης ἐράνων in *BGU IV* 1134-36 (10 BC), and on these texts see San Nicolò, *loc. cit.* Similar also in form and possibly function is χρηματοφύλαξ in *P. Ryl.* IV 586.9f., 15f., 24 (c. 99 BC), "keeper of the χρήματα", i.e. the κοινὰ χρήματα, "common funds" (on which see below and the note on *P. Eras.* I 10 following this article). By analogy, δημοσίᾳρχος could mean the "treasurer of the guild", the "administrator of public goods (τὰ δημόσια)," perhaps a secular equivalent of the Egyptian *mr šn* in cult associations. According to one of two

possible derivations, the *mr šn* is the overseer of the inventory or goods of the temple (see F. de Cenival's discussion [above, n. 5] 154-159; cf. Huss, *op. cit.* [above n. 5] 115 n. 270). But there are no parallels for applying τὰ δημόσια/τὸ δημόσιον to the treasury or common goods of an association, unless we take as evidence a general tendency to transfer the language of public life to the language of guilds.

We may also derive δημόσιάρχος on the basis of δημόσια in its technical sense of "public funds" which in the Roman/Byzantine periods the members were obliged to pay through their guild to the state. Collecting the δημόσια in the form of taxes (*SB XVI* 12695, on which cf. van Minnen [above, n. 5] 64f.; J. Rea's n. on line 13 of the ed. princ. [*ZPE* 46, 1982, 202]) or fines (ὡς ἂν τις πολήγι ἐλάττω τούτω[v] ζημιούεθω ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸ κυνὸν ἀργυρί[ου] δραχμὰς ὀκτώ καὶ ἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας, *P. Mich.* V 245.24ff.) was an important part of the responsibilities of guild presidents (e.g., the mid-first century AD Michigan guild *nomoi P. Mich.* V 243-45 and in general see Boak, *art. cit.* [above n. 5] 214; van Minnen, *op. cit.* [above n. 5] 49, 53 with n. 81, 64f.; cf., e.g., ἔδοξαν{σαν} ἑαυτῶν κυνῆ γνώμη προχίριται τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν τὸν καὶ ἐπιμελιτὴν καὶ εἰκάκτον τῶν δημοσίων Ἀπύνην Ὀρσεύτος, *P. Mich.* V 245.3ff.; so 244.3ff., and cf. 245.37ff. [cited below on ἐνεχυράζειν]). Thus our official would be named after this function, "administrator of the public account". Ptolemaic papyri, however, provide no evidence of the payment of δημόσια through guilds, and texts of this period generally use βασιλικ- (or with regard to taxes, πρόκοδοι) rather than δημοσι- to describe anything relating to the state (Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, 3, 30; cf. idem on *P. Freib.* III 26.10 [cited below] p. 64; with the double fine in *P. Mich.* V 245.24ff. [cited above] cf. the penalty clause in Ptolemaic loans, ἐκτίω σοι{τι} --- δραχμὰς τριχιλίας --- καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὸ ἴσον, *P. Tebt.* I 110.8, 92/59 BC; see Rupprecht [above n. 4] 100). Exceptions include δημόσιον for "state archive" in *SB I* 3926.7 (76/5 BC) and *BGU X* 1971.6f. (mid. II BC), perhaps not surprisingly, since the former certainly and the latter likely are from Ptolemais, which had independent status as a polis. More significant is the same usage in *P. Petr.*² I 14.10 (*CPJ I* 126, *C.Ptol.Sklav.* 53; III BC, Crocodilopolis); similarly *P. Freib.* III 26.10 (rest. Wilcken; 179/8 BC.; Philadelphia). Cf. also δημόσιον for "state" or "state granary", *P. Hibeh I* 65.25ff. (approx. 265 BC); ῥύμη δημοσία, *BGU VI* 1273.16, 17, 58f.(222/1 BC; Oxyrhynchos); περὶ τῶν δημ[οσίων], *P. Tebt.* III 2.912.7 (139 BC; ?), probably referring to lands. Potentially most interesting is the *nomos* of "the guild of Zeus hypsistos", but the relevant passage is to lacunate to afford much help: [*c. 19 litt.* δη]μοσιώ[τι] καὶ ἀ[ντ] ?[ι] το[ῦ] π[ρ]ός τε τὰς συμβολ(ὰς) καὶ τὰλλα ἐπι[] *c. 28 litt.*]ηπει καὶ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν κτλ. (*P. Lond.* VII 2193.20f., between 69 and 58[?] BC; Philadelphia).

Neither of the above explanations adequately account for δημόσιάρχος nor do they inspire much confidence in the security of the reading.

3 χάριεν: Very few smudgy traces remain; the word is not clear in any of the receipts (cf. below on line 14).

4, 10, 14 κοινῶν χρημάτων: "common" or "club funds"; a familiar phrase in inscriptions (F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* [Leipzig 1909] 488f. with n. **†), but in the papyri, as far as I can see, cf. only κοινὰ/ἐπίκοινα χρήματα in *P. Ryl.* IV 586.4 and 589.85. Unfortunately in the former (quoted in introd. above) the phrase is surrounded by lacunae. In this text and ours, however, it seems to mean the general operating account or treasury from which loans were made and other services provided to members; cf., e.g., the practice of furnishing bail (above n. 8) and *P. Mich.* V 244.18, which prescribes that if a member is bereaved, εἰςτιαθήσεται ὁ παθὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνοῦ ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν (Boak, intro., p. 103f.; van Minnen, *op. cit.* [above n. 5] 65). So in inscriptions κοινὰ χρήματα describes the treasuries of political entities and of guilds; with respect to the former, e.g., the Athenian popular assembly (*IG II* 2.558.31 [Dittenberger, *Syll.* I 343], Attica, 303/2 BC), an Amphictyonic league (*IG II* 2.1126.7 [*SEG* 28, 100], Delos, 380/79 BC), the "League of Islanders" (*IG XI* 4.1036.12, Delos, IV AD). For the latter, cf., e.g., *ID IV* 1521.33ff. (Delos, II AD?), which instructs, εἰς τοὺς [στεφά]νον καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀνήλωμα δοθῆ[ναι] ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων (33ff.; in general, for this kind of decree, see cf. *P. Berol.* inv. 25159.15ff. in Brashear, *op. cit.* [above n. 5] 12ff.); *FD III* 2.70.22, 62 (Dittenberger, *Syll.* II 705, Delphi, 112/11 BC, R.K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* [Baltimore 1969] pp. 86ff., # 15 [one of the "technitai guild" inscriptions]); *IG II*² 1317.9 (Attica, end of III AD; a fragmentary inscription concerning θιαῶται of Bendis, in which κοινῶν χρημάτων is plausibly restored).

The Michigan first-cent. guild *nomoi* designate the common fund as simply τὸ κοινόν (*P. Mich.* V 244.8 [with n. *ad loc.*], 13; 245.25, 28; cf. Poland, *op. cit.* [above, n. 5] 489 with n. *), fed by dues (*ibid.* 243.2f.; cf. Boak, *art. cit.* 215), special contributions (*ibid.* 243.5; Boak, *art. cit.* [above, n. 5] 215f.) and the numerous fines imposed upon negligent members (*ibid.* 243.4, 244.7f., 245.25f., 28f., 35f. [with n. *ad loc.*]; Boak, *art. cit.* 218f.). From the basic sense, "common fund" (from which loans were taken), κοινὰ/ἐπίκοινα χρήματα came also to mean the loans themselves, as in *P. Ryl.* IV 589.84f. (i.e., the principal on which interest was charged in the first 8 columns; see ed.'s introd.): πρᾶξον δὲ καὶ [το]ὺς ὀφείλ[ο]ντας [ἐ]πίκοινα χρήματα, then follows a list of names and amounts owed. Cf. *I. Iasos* 23.9ff.(II BC): ἴνα, ἐὰν δόξη τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπιχωρηθῆ αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πράξεις τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς κοινῶν χρημάτων κατὰ τῶν χιριάντων τι αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἀποδόντων ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσιν χρόνοις κτλ.

5 Μεσορεί: On this spelling see Mayser/Schmoll I² 1.49.

6, 12 ἐνεχυράζειν: Usually "take something as surety from someone"; here "seize (persons)," "take into custody." Cf. *P. Mich.* V 245.39ff., ἐξίνα τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀπ[ύνη] ἐνε]χυράζειν αὐτοὺς ἔν τε τῇ πλατέα καὶ ἐν [ταῖς οἰκί]αις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῶι καὶ παραδιδάιναι αὐτοὺς [καθὼς πρό]κ[ι]ται (similarly 244.10ff., 18ff.). The Texas papyrus may be our earliest example of the right of guild officials to compel payment by seizure of persons. In the Demotic documents of the Ptolemaic period surveyed by Boak, they apparently do not possess this privilege (*art. cit.* [above, n. 5] 214f.).

6, 13 αἰρεῖ: Mayser (I² 2.91) notes only one other example of -ει as a 2nd pers. subjunctive ending of the pres. middle/passive. Perhaps it is to be phonetically explained, esp. in line 6, since that scribe in two other places uses -ει for -η (see

above line 3 on δειμοσιάρχοι; Ἡρακλῆ in line 9 below may be graphic or morphological). The fact, however, that two different hands reproduce this misspelling could indicate that the borrowers are copying from an exemplar, filling in the appropriate names and amounts (or abbreviating, as in the case of the third hand below). It is doubtful that we have a substituting of indicative for subjunctive endings, since this did not become common until after the Ptolemaic period (Mayser II 1.284f.; Gignac II 358f.).

9 Καῶτος: If this is correct (the fourth letter is severely smudged), it is the only occurrence in Ptolemaic pap. of the name Καῶς; cf. in Rom./Byz. texts nom. Καῶς, *P. Berl. Leihg.* II 26 ii.23; gen. Καῶ, *ibid.* I 4 (verso) viii.23 (*SB* III 7196) and *Stud. Pal.* X 12.1ff. (5 times); as in our text, gen. Καῶτος *T. Mom. Louvre* I 600.2f. For names in -ῶς the dental stem. gen. -ῶτος is preferred in Ptolemaic documents to Doric -ῶ (Mayser I² 2.6ff.; Gignac II 16ff.; more generally, L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* II [Berlin/New York 1996] 71ff.).

Ἡρακλῆ: or Ἡρακλῆι (what follows η is very doubtful; see above on lines 3, 9, 14) inst. of Ἡρακλεῖ in the other two receipts. The phonological confusion of η/ει is common enough (Mayser-Schmoll I² 1.100ff.; cf. Gignac I 239ff.), and morphologically the dative ending -ει of most *s*-stem nouns frequently interchanges with *a*-stem -η/η in both Attic inscriptions (Threatte, *op. cit.* [see above] 138f., 172f.) and papyri (Mayser I² 2.39f.; Gignac II 69f.; on *Deklinationismischung* in general, Schwyzer, *Grammatik* I 582ff.). Specifically, however, with proper names in -κλῆς, this phenomenon is practically unknown in inscriptions (Threatte, *op. cit.* 207) and rare in papyri. Gignac (II 70f.) gives no examples for Rom./Byz. documents, and where it does occur in Ptol. pap., Mayser (I² 2.40f.) explains it as graphic error rather than morphological confusion. To his examples add Θεουκλῆι *BGU* X 1996.7 (241 BC); Κτηκυκλῆι, *PSI* IV 399.9 (III BC); Ξενοκλῆ, *P. Tebt.* III 2.893.12 (II BC).

10 τριχιλία[ς: The horizontal bar of τ extends back in a wavy line over a letter space.

11 ἐνεαήκοντα: the first α probably caused by conflation with ἔννεα.

14 χ[αί]ρειν: There are smudgy remains of what seems to be the tops of ρ and ε on the piece of papyrus which crosses the lacuna.

15 παντήκοντα: ε > α is not a frequent exchange in this period (Mayser-Schmoll I² 1.44).

[ῶς ἀποδώσω]: without cot following, as in the second hand (line 11), fits the space better than with cot following, as in the first hand (line 5).

16 ἐν νηὶ Νεσ[ο]ρή: In general, for the rare μ/ν interchange see lit. cited by Martinez on *P. Mich.* XVI 757.46 (p. 104). The confusion in our text seems in no way phonetic, but the two erroneous ν's arose by assimilation to the previous syllables (see esp. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I [Berlin/New York 1980] 491f.). This does not, however, explain δραχνάς in 15.

εἰγοστοῦ: cf. this exact spelling in *BGU* XV 2501.1 (with ap. crit.; AD 183-4). For κ > γ in Ptolemaic texts, see Mayser/Schmoll I² 1.143f.; S-T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of Ptolemaic Koine* (Göteborg 1977) pp. 183 (§ 148), 241f.

16f. [καθότι προ]γέγραπται: [καθὰ] γέγραπται is also possible but makes the supplement a bit short.

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¹ The edition in *P. Erasm.* I 10 is a reprint (with very few changes) of a previous edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn in *ZPE* 40, 1980, 126f.