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# P.Lond. III 1128: Sale of a Donkey

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#### P.LOND. III 1128: SALE OF A DONKEY\*

A medium brown papyrus which is preserved in the half right-hand part of the document. The papyrus is also broken at the bottom. Based on l. 11 (the most probable restoration), we can assume that about 20-23 letters are lost at the beginning of each line. The upper margin is  $2.3 \, \text{cm}$ . The back is blank. The measurements of the fragment are  $8.1 \, \text{x} \, 11.1 \, \text{cm}$ . The writing is along the fibres.

The text is described in P.Lond. III as a fragment of the Roman period. It is a sale of a male donkey in the form of a χειρόγραφον (II. 1-5 the parties of the agreement; II. 5-10 the terms of the agreement; II. 10-11 the βεβαίωτις-clause; I. 11 the κυρία-clause). The seller agrees that he has sold a donkey to the buyer for 1300 drachmas and has received the total sum. At the end in the lost part of the document we can assume that the regnal year and the signature were written. The interest of this papyrus lies in the title of Hermou polis (see 2-3 n.) and the reference to the legion III (see 4 n.).

The names of both parties of the transaction cause problems, because they are lost. The first person (ll. 1-2), an ex-gymnasiarch, ex-chief-priest of Hermou polis, is the seller. A soldier of Legio III Augusta (?) is the buyer (l. 4). In ll. 3-4 we find a person, whose name is totally lost, but we learn that he is son of ...avos, grandson of Anoubion alias Sarapammon. If we can consider him as a seller together with the ex-gymnasiarch, this does not agree with the verb  $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\epsilon}c\chi$ ov in singular in l. 9. Again, if we consider him as a buyer together with the soldier, we cannot explain the pronoun coì in singular in l. 4. Apart from this problem, we have to note that the alias  $C\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\dot{\alpha}\mu\mu\omega\nu\sigma$  refers to the father or the grandfather and not to the buyer or the seller, because in the former case we would expect the nominative ὁ καὶ Cαραπάμμων and in the latter the dative τῶ καὶ Cαραπάμμωνι; see Deborah Hobson, Naming Practices in Roman Egypt, BASP 26 (1989), pp. 157-174. Consequently, we could accept one of these possibilities, if only we consider either the verb  $\alpha\pi\epsilon$ cxov or the pronoun coí as a mistake of the scribe. The scribes had usually a pattern of the contracts in front of them or in their mind. Sales of animals with parties of more than one person are rare; cf. as sellers P.Gen. 23; BGU I 228; SB XVIII 13176, 159-164; P.Lond. II 339 and as buyers P.Stras. 251. So every departure from this pattern could turn out as a mistake. One more possibility is to consider the son of ...avos, grandson of Anoubion alias Sarapammon as the name of the soldier; however, then it is difficult to restore the text in the beginning of 1. 4, as we need to supply about 17 letters after μωνος and find a proper word for the ending -ω, the first letter after the lacuna, presumably a dative of an adjective; however, words such as ἀπολυςίμφ, λεγειωναρίω are not the best possible restorations.

At the end there is a list of prices of donkeys, which not only updates Sophia van Lith's list in CPR VI 2, as there are enough documents published since then, but also mentions all the references to sales of donkeys and it is not restricted to the contracts of sales.

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Cf. Plate I
\rightarrow
  1
                                        ] γυμναςιαρχήςας ἀρχιερατεύςας
       NN
       [βουλευτής Έρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς με]γάλης ἀρχαίας καὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ ςε-
                                         ]αβοῦ 'Ανουβίωνος τοῦ καὶ Cαραπάμ-
       [μνοτάτης
                     NN
                                         ]φ στρατιώτη λ[εγ]ειῶνος τρίτης 'Αουςτος
       [μωνος
               χαίρειν. Όμολογῶ πεπρα]κέναι τοι ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει ὄνον ἄρρε-
  5
       [να
                                         ]χρωμον ἔχοντα οὐλὰς ἐπὶ τῶν
                                    τιμης] της πρός άλλήλους ευμπεφωνη-
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<sup>\*</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Scot McKendrick, Curator of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, who kindly gave me the permission to publish this text here.

4 1. λεγεῶνος, Αὐγούςτης (?)

[μένης ἀργυρίου Cεβαςτ- νομίςματ]ος δραχμὰς χειλίας τριακ[ο-[ςίας ] ἀπέςχον παρὰ ςοῦ διὰ χειρὸς 10 [ἐκ πλήρους καὶ βεβαιώςω ςοι πάς]η βεβαιώςε[ι] ἀπὸ παντὸς [τοῦ ἐπελευςομένου ςοι. Κυρία] ἡ πρᾶς[ις] κ[α]ὶ ... [...]

NN, son of NN,] ex-gymnasiarch, ex-chief-priest, [...of Hermou polis,] the great illustrious and most august [and (or to) NN son of ...]abos, grandson of Anoubion, alias Sarapammon, [to (or and...)] soldier of Legion III Augusta (?) [ greetings. I agree] that I have sold to you in Hermou polis a male donkey,[...-]coloured, having scars on [...at the price] agreed between us of 1300 drachmas [of silver of the coinage of the Augusti (or Augustus), total 1300 drachmai, which on the spot] I have received from you from hand to hand [in full and, I, the vendor, guarantee (possession) in all] respects against everyone [who will take action (legal proceedings) against you]. The deed of sale is to be [authoritative] and [I have been asked the formal question by you and I have given my assent...

8 Ι. χιλίας

- 1-2 NN] γυμναcιαρχήcαc ἀρχιερατεύcαc | [βουλευτὴc Έρμοῦ πόλεωc: In the period between A.D. 217/246 and 267 (see 2-3 n.) there are so far six gymnasiarchs of Hermou polis known by name: see P.J. Sijpesteijn, Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine, Zutphen 1986, nos 362, 363, 399, 401, 403a and 403b. Two of them were also archiereis, Hermes alias Maximos, A.D. 250, and Aurelios Eudaimon alias Theodotos, A.D. 250.
- 2-3 τῆς με]γάλης ἀρχαίας καὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ cel[μνοτάτης: For the epithets of Hermou polis see Nikos Litinas, Hermou polis of the Thebais, APF 41/1 (1995), pp. 80-81. This title was introduced in a year between A.D. 217 and 246 and was in use until A.D. 267, when a new title was introduced (the latest example of μεγάλη ἀρχαία καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ceμνοτάτη is SPP V 119 vi (December A.D. 266) and the earliest of μεγάλη ἀρχαία καὶ ceμνοτάτη καὶ λαμπροτάτη is now SB XX 13751 (17 March A.D. 267).
- ]αβοῦ: There is no name ending in -abo(u)s attested in the papyri from Hermou polis so far. The names Σαταβοῦς (or Σεταβοῦς), Παβοῦς with genitive in -αβοῦ are attested only in the Arsinoite nome. The name 'Αβοῦς (-οῦ) is found only in the byzantine period.
- cτρατιώτη  $\lambda$ [εγ]ειῶνος τρίτης 'Αουςτος: The first letter after cτρατιώτη is certainly a  $\lambda$ ; cf. the third  $\lambda$  of ἀλλήλους, l. 7. The letter ι is certain as well; cf. ι of πεπρα]κέναι, l. 5; for the spelling λεγειων- cf. also W.Chr. 458, 11 (A.D. 140); P.Cair. Isid. 83, 19 (III A.D.). Then only the left round part of ω is preserved. Veterans as buyers of donkeys are found in P. Mich. IX 551 (A.D. 103); P.Mey. 13 (A.D. 141); PSA Athen. 27 (A.D. 150); in P.Oxy. XLIII 3143 (A.D. 305) the buyer is a cavalryman, ἕξαρχος. Then αουςτος (read by D. Hagedorn) seems a certain reading. For the letters αου cf. ἔχοντ**α οὐ**λὰc in l. 6 and for the curved horizontal stroke of  $\tau$  cf. παντόc in l. 10. The form αουςτης is probably a mistake for Αὐγούςτης; for the form cf. BGU III 741, 6-8 (A.D. 143-144) στρατιώτου κλάςςης 'Αούςτης 'Aλεξανδρε[ίν]ης; cf. also SB III 7244, 30 (III A.D.); SB VI 9131, 6 (A.D. 300-301). The ending -oc instead of -ηc could be explained as a mistake because of the preceeding λεγειῶνος. The legio III Augusta was stationed always in Africa. In A.D. 238 it was disbanded and not reconstituted until A.D. 253; see RE XII 2, coll. 1493-1505; J.N. Adams, Latin and Punic in Contact? The case of the Bu Njem Ostraca, LRS 84 (1994), pp. 87-89. Soldiers of this legio are found in inscriptions from Egypt; cf. Breccia, Inscr. Mus. Alex. 483 (II A.D.); Inscr. Memn. 60 (c. A.D. 205); Baillet, Inscr. des Syringes 1148 (A.D. 168) and 1942 (no date). However, we cannot say whether our document should be dated between A.D. 217 (see above) and A.D. 238 or later. In the beginning of l. 5 we would expect the designation of the ala or the cohors, but the space left before χαίρειν is not sufficient, since it yield not more than 6-7 letters. We notice that the letters αουστος are clearly smaller and more condensed than all the other in this document, even the letters which are written at the end of the other lines. We cannot say whether they were added after the document was written or calamo currente. Here I will try an assumption. There were two known legions III in Egypt, Augusta and Cyrenaica; the later was stationed in Egypt as well; for this legio see Richard Alston, Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt, London 1995, pp. 23, 73. The Legio III Cyrenaica left Egypt in A.D. 106-107 for the province of Arabia. So, if in the beginning of 1. 5 the word Κυρηναϊκῆc was written by mistake instead of Αὐγούςτης, then we could have a correction by the scribe himself by stricking through Κυρηναϊκῆc and adding the right legion 'Αούςτηc in the blank space of l. 4. Finally, even thought 'Aoûctoc is attested as a personal name in papyri of the third century A.D. (cf. P.Stras. I 73, v 1 and ibid. IV 253, 1), it could not have anything to do with the soldier himself or the name of his centuria or ala.

- 5 ἐν Ἑρμοῦ πόλει: Hermou polis is place of a concluded contract concerning a sale of donkey in PSI I 38 (A.D. 101) and CPR VII 36 (A.D. 331); see list at the end.
- 5-6 ὄνον ἄρρείνα --- ]χρωμον: For the adjectives designating the gender of animals see Zola M. Packman, Masculine and Feminine: Use of the Adjectives in the Documentary Papyri, BASP 25 (1988), pp. 144-145; the donkeys are designated ἄρcην οr θῆλυς and very seldom ἀρεενικός or θηλυκός (see Packman, loc.cit., n.22). Sometimes the gender is indicated only by the article, i.e. ὁ ὄνος, ἡ ὄνος (ἡ ὀνάς); cf. P.Oxy. XLVIII 3416, 18; moreover the word ὀνοθήλεια is attested from the sixth century A.D.; see P.Rainer Cent. 12, 20n.). In the lacuna there is space for about 19-20 letters. After the gender of the donkey we usually find the age of the animal. For the way it was expressed, see the excellent discussion of S. Van Lith in CPR VI 2, pp. 20-21. Then the colour of the animal folows; see generally CPR VI 2, p. 19 and the sixth column of S. van Lith's list. For the usual colours of donkeys see also Schnebel, Landwirtschaft, p. 336 and O. Montevecchi, Ricerche di sociologia nei documenti dell'Egitto Greco-romano III -- I contratti di compravendita, Aegyptus 19 (1939), p. 41. White-coloured (λευκόχρωμος) or black-coloured (μελανόχρωμος) are the usual colours <sup>1</sup>. Consequently, could we supply for instance ἄρρε | να δευτεροβόλον μελανό|γρωμον?
- 6-7 ἔχοντα οὐλὰς ἐπὶ τῶν | [ : Sometimes a special feature, such as a scar in a part of the body. Here, however, we find the plural οὐλάς, which is not so far attested in animals. We cannot tell whether the donkey had scars in a certain part or in different parts of the body. So, could we supply for instance ἐπὶ τῶν | [ἐμπροςθίων ποδῶν οτ ἐπὶ τῶν | [ποδῶν καὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ? These scars were not a kind of marking of the donkey. They may have been caused by an accident. Besides as far as the marking of the animals is concerned, though often mentioned in the documents, it is very rare in the case of donkeys (see P.Mert. III 106, 10-11n. and three other examples, SPP XXII 101, 8; SB I 5679, 6; BGU XIII 2304, 4); see also the note for a female donkey in a contract (P.Oxy. 1707 descr. [=SP I 33], 6-7 ἀχάρακτον (unbranded). Perhaps also in P.Lond. II 473 (p.76), 5-7 reference is made to a scar in a donkey. In P.Cair.Isid. 85, 5 τὴν [ἐπιλεγο]μένην Τανοῦβ, on the basis of P.Lond. II 473 (p.76), 6 we should supply τὴν [cεσημειω]μένην Τανοῦβ or on the basis of BGU XIII 2315, 4 and BGU XI 2106, 5 τὴν [κεχαραγ]μένην Τανοῦβ. For branding of animals as a method to distinguish them, see C.P. Jone, Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity, JRS 77 (1987), pp. 139-155, esp. p. 151. In P.Col. X 264, 7-8 instead of [ὑπάρ]χων (see n. ad loc.) read οὐλὴν ἔ]χων (maskuline instead of feminine); cf. P.Mert. II 106, 10-12. By contrast, the marking of the camels is indicated in the sales (e.g. P.Oxy. XLI 2998, 8-9; P.Lond. III 1100 (ed. by R.Pintaudi, Vendita di una cammella e due piccoli, Analecta Papyrologica 3 (1991), pp. 105-108). The preposition ἐπί + genitive or merely dative are usually attested to indicate the part of the body.
- 7-10 The receipt of payment of the price is in the form τιμῆς τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους cυμπεφωνημένης ἀργυρίου Cεβαςτῶν (or -οῦ) νομίςματος δραχμῶν χ |² (γίνεται) (δραχμαὶ) χ, ἄςπερ αὐτόθι ἀπέςχον διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους. But there are some variations in this formula, perhaps due to the inattentiveness of the scribe. For the verb ἀπέςχον and its use in the receipts see Heinrich Erman, Die "Habe"-Quittung bei den Griechen, Archiv 1 (1901), pp. 77-84; C. Préaux, Aspect verbal et préverbe: l'usage de ἀπέςχον dans les Ostraca, CE 57 (1954), pp. 139-146, with bibliography. The perfective meaning of the verb ἔχειν is in the compound verb ἀπέχειν (see Erman, loc.cit., p.80, where he explains this, as "das Empfangen ist eine abgeschlossene, also in der Vergangenheit liegende Thatsache"; cf also Préaux, loc.cit., p.142; Mandilaras, The Verb, § 207, p. 100; R.M. Pierce, Three Demotic Papyri in the Brooklyn Museum, SO (SF) 24, 1972, pp. 100-103). The same verb is used also in the bank-διαγραφαί (see P.Köln I 54, 14n.). The phrase διὰ χειρός is used in order to stress the reality of the cash payment³.

cυμπεφωνημένηc: see Gignac I, p.168 b 2 about the assimilation of the nasals to a following consonant in composition. The letter n tents to be left unassimilated in writing in papyri of the first four centuries; see op.cit., p.66 for the ratios of assimilated and unassimilated spellings in the first century, 10:1; second century, 5:1; third century, 4:1; fourth century, 5:2; fifth century, 1:1; sixth-eight centuries, the assimilated spellings predominate. So this example here seems to be a rate one

For the moneta Augustorum (ἀργυρίου Cεβαcτῶν νομίτματος) and moneta Augusta (Cεβαcτοῦ νομίτματος), when only one emperor is in question (for exceptions see J.D. Thomas in P.Oxy. XLIV 3198, 9n., who cites P.Mich. III 188 and P.Mich. XI 605, both written by the same scribe, which used Cεβαcτῶν in the reign of Hadrian), generally see T. Mommsen, Zum ägyptischen Münzwesen, Archiv 1 (1901), pp. 273-284, but the former was used exclusively after A.D. 187 (see J. Oates, Sale of a donkey, BASP 25 [1988], p.131 and Mommsen, loc.cit., p.275, n.3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the only Demotic sale of donkey, published so far, the animal is described by its colour and name; see P. Inv. Sorbonne 217a, 9. In a lease of donkey also in the Demotic papyrus P.Ox.Griffith 59 (ed. Bresciani), the donkey is described as "veloce, robusta, sana da tutt'e due gli occhi", which is a very different description than that used in the Greek documents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The price is given in the genitive; there are some cases, however, in which it is given in the accusative; see Mayser, Gram. II 2, p.336.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See F. Pringsheim, The Greek Law of Sale, Weimar 1950, pp.60, 70-74.

For a list of "the emperors' coins" in the papyri see E. Christiansen, On denarii and other coin-terms in the papyri, ZPE 54 (1984), pp. 286-292, who states that in the contracts we can be sure that actual coins are implied.

- 10-11 The βεβαίωτις-clause as a provision of guarantee (Gewährleistung)<sup>4</sup>. The contracts usually include this clause, but not always<sup>5</sup>. There are several views on its role, the meaning and the content with regard to the "non-aggression-clause" ("Nichtsangriffsklausel"); the two clauses are of different content and legal effect: the non-aggression-clause concerns only the absence of the aggression by the person who declares, while the βεβαίωτις-clause concerns the protection against the aggression by third parties and also the protection against particular aggression. So when the non-aggression-clause is next to the βεβαίωτις-clause, it seems to be unnecessary since the latter covers it and is sufficient for the undertaking of the responsibility by the person who declares. The notaries used various versions both of the βεβαίωτις-clause and the non-aggression-clause, as they took all the possible cases of eviction into account. As far as the sales of animals are concerned, the former was used as a rule, i.e. βεβαιώτει το πάτη βεβαιώτει οτ βεβαιώτει οτ βεβαιώτεως ἐξακολουθούτης μοι τῷ πεπρακότι) and generally this form was fixed: (see P.Vindob.Worp 9, 13n.) (1) The word πάτη comes always before βεβαιώτει and never after it. (2) Of course, mistakes made by the writers were common. (3) The position of coí between the βεβαιώτω and πάτη was very striking. This phrase is about the same in all the contracts, while the non-aggression-clause καὶ τὸν ἐπελευτόμενον ἡ ἐμποιητόμενον τούτου χάριν has some variations according to the place where the contract was drawn up (see CPR VII 36, 10-12n.).
- 11 The meaning of the word κυρία in this clause that was suggested by J. Partsch<sup>6</sup> and adopted by F. Pringsheim<sup>7</sup>, H.J. Wolff<sup>8</sup>, M. Hässler<sup>9</sup> and E. Kiessling<sup>10</sup> is "authoritative", "decisive", "irrefutable" ("maßgeblich") and not "valid", ("gültig"). This happens because ἡ πρᾶcιc is efficient for the acquisition of ownership, εἰς κτῆcιν, so payment of the price is not necessary for an authoritative agreement but the price is paid because the agreement preceded it<sup>11</sup>. So the clause must be rendered as "the contract of sale is to be authoritative".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. Preisigke, Girowesen, p.343; Meyer, Jur. Pap., p.116; Von Woeß, Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten, MBPAR 6, München 1924, pp. 278-289; Hans-Albert Rupprecht, Βεβαίωσια und Nichtangriffsklausel, in Symposion 1977. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, ed. by J. Modrzejewski und D. Liebs, Köln-Wien 1982, pp. 235-245; and Die "Bebaiosis". Zur Entwicklung und den räunlichzeitlichen Varianten einer Urkundsklausel und den graeco-ägyptischen Papyri, Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo III, Milano 1983, pp.611-626; Arnold Kränzlein, τοῦτον τοιοῦτον ἀναπόριφον in den Eselverkaufsurkunden aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten, Grazer Beiträge 12/13 (1985/1986), pp.225-226).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> About 85%; see Rupprecht, loc.cit., p.239; Taubenschlag, Law, pp.335-336 and Mitteis, Grund., p.191, n.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Griechisches Buergeschaftsrecht, I. Teil: Das Recht des altgriechischen Gemeindestaats, p.149 and in Z.f.H. 70 (1911), p.447.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Law, p.138, n.5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In Taubenschlag-Festschrift I, Warschau 1956, pp.363-364; ZSS 90 (1973), p.373 and Das Recht, pp. 155-164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel in den Papyrusurkunden, pp.19-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> In JJP 19 (1983), p.90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Pringsheim, Law, pp.136-139.

### References to prices of donkeys in the papyri\*

no	document	date	origin	kind of document	place of the concluded document	no	sex	age	price
1	P.CtYBR inv. 311 (in CE 71 (1996), pp.297-309)	145 B.C.	Tebtynis	homologia	Tebtynis	1	F	P	lost
2	P.Köln I 54	4 B.C.	Arsinoe	bank-diagraphe	Arsinoe	1	M	5	40 dr.
3	BGU III 806	1		homology		1	M	5	
4	SPP XXII 20	4	S.N.	homologia		1 1	F M	P	
5	P.NYU Inv. no XVIII 47, 25-26	5	Arsinoite	petition to the epistates of the phylakitai		1			lost
6	BGU I 189	7	Arsinoite (S.N.?)	homologia	S.N.?	1			
7	PSI Congr. XX, 6	41	Tebtynis	homologia	Tebtynis	1	M	P0	
8	P.Mich. II 121 r I iii	42	Tebtynis	abstract of a contract	Tebtynis	1	M	P0	
9	P.Mich. II 121 r I iv	42	Tebtynis	abstract of a contract	Tebtynis	1	M		
10	P.Mich. II 121 r I vi	42	Tebtynis	abstract of a contract	Tebtynis	1	M	P?]0	
11	P.Mich. II 121 r I xi	42	Tebtynis	abstract of a contract	Tebtynis	1	F	P0	
12	P.Mich. II 121 r I xiii	42	Tebtynis	abstract of a contract	Tebtynis	1	F	1	
13	P.Mich. II 121 v I 13, 14. 16	42	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.13 1.14 1.16	1 1 1			
14	P.Mich. II 121 v II 1, 3	42	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.1 1.3	1 1			
15	P.Mich. II 121 v VI 4, 5. 17	42	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.4 1.5 1.17	1 1 1			
16	P.Mich. II 121 v VIII 16, 19. 21	42	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.16 1.19 1.21	1 1/2 1			
17	P.Mich. II 121 v XI 4, 8	42	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.4 1.8	1 1			
18	BGU II 584	44	Arsinoite	homologia	Tebtynis	1	M	1	
19	P.Mich. II 123 r V 19, 21	45-47	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.19 1.21	1 1 1	F F	P P	
20	P.Mich. II 123 r VI 1, 4	45-47	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.1	1 1 1		r	

<sup>\*</sup> All dates except nos. 1 and 2 are A.D. For brevity's sake the following abbreviations are used: **S.N.** stands for S(oknopaiou) N(esos); **MP** for Market-Place; **M** for M(ale); **F** for F(emale); **P** for πῶλος; **0** for ἄβολος; **1** for πρωτοβόλος; **2** for δευτεροβόλος; **4** for τετραβόλος; **5** for τέλειος. I would like to thank the Egypt Exploration Society, Oxford for permission to refer to some unpublished documents from the Oxyrhynchus collection in advance of publication (nos 135, 136, 139, 143).

21									
21	P.Mich. II 123 r VII 14	45-47	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis	1			
22	P.Mich. II 123 r XII 25	45-47	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis	1			
23	P.Mich. II 123 r XIII 17	45-47	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis	1			
24	P.Mich. II 123 r XV 18	45-47	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis	1			
25	P.Mich. 126, 7. 9-12	46-49	Tebtynis	grapheion-register (homologia)	Tebtynis 1.7	1			
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			8 4	1.9	1			
					1.10	1			
					1.11	1			
					1.12	1			
26	SB XVI 13073	51	Arsinoite (Neilou	homologia	Neilou polis (div. of	1	F	P0	lost
			polis)		Heracleides)				
27	P.Lond. II 282 (p.194)	69	Arsinoite (S.N.?)	homologia	lost	1	F	5	
28	P.Gen. 23 (=M.Chr. 264)	70	S.N.?	cheirographon		1	M	5	
29	P.Stras. 251	69 or 79	Arsinoite	homologia	Euemeria	1	F		lost
				-		1	M	P	
30	BGU IV 1066	98	Ersatz Ehnas	cheirographon		1	M	5	108 dr.
31	BGU XV 2479	98-117				1	F		70 dr.
						2	F	P	
32	P.Oxy. XXXVIII 2846	second	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon		1	M	5	<100 dr.
		half of I							
33	P.Mert. III 120	I-II	Arsinoite	homologia?	lost	1	F	P	lost
						1			
34	PSI I 38	101	Hermou polis	cheirographon	Hermou polis	1	M		306 dr.
35	P.Mich. IX 551	103	Karanis	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	M	P0	280 dr.
36	P.Stras. VI 504	106		homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	M	1	270 dr.
37	BGU III 982	108	Arsinoite	copy of bank-diagraphe	Arsinoe	1	F		lost
38	P.Mil.Vogl. IV 212, recto xi, 4	109		account		2		P	212 dr.
20	CD 373 HH 12005		m 1 · · ·		T7 1 1				208 dr.
39	SB XVIII 13897	111	Tebtynis	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	M	5	206 ui.
40	BGU XV 2480	111 120 ?	Tebtynis	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1 1	M M	1	100 + dr.
			Tebtynis	homologia	Bacchias	1 1 1		5 1 ?	
40	BGU XV 2480	120 ?	Arsinoite	-		1 1 1	M	1	100 + dr.
40 41	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11	120 ? 123	•	homologia	Bacchias	1 1 1 1 1/2	M M	1	100 + dr. lost
40 41 42	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92	120 ? 123 126	Arsinoite	homologia homologia	Bacchias Theadelphia	1 1 1	M M	1 ? 1	100 + dr. lost 56 dr.
40 41 42 43	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27	120 ? 123 126 126	Arsinoite Theadelphia	homologia homologia homologia cheirographon	Bacchias Theadelphia	1 1 1	M M F	1 ? 1 P0	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr.
40 41 42 43 44	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27 P.Mich. IX 552	120 ? 123 126 126 131	Arsinoite Theadelphia Karanis	homologia homologia	Bacchias Theadelphia Theadelphia	1 1 1	M M F	1 ? 1 P0 P0	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr. 48 dr.
40 41 42 43 44 45	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27 P.Mich. IX 552 P.Grenf. II 46 P.Aberd. 55	120 ? 123 126 126 131 137 117-138	Arsinoite Theadelphia Karanis Arsinoite Arsinoite	homologia homologia cheirographon homologia cheirographon	Bacchias Theadelphia Theadelphia Kerkesoucha	1 1 1	M M F M F	1 ? 1 P0 P0	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr. 48 dr. 106 dr. 60 dr.
40 41 42 43 44 45 46	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27 P.Mich. IX 552 P.Grenf. II 46 P.Aberd. 55 P.Ryl. III 158	120 ? 123 126 126 131 137 117-138 138	Arsinoite Theadelphia Karanis Arsinoite Arsinoite Arsinoite	homologia homologia cheirographon homologia cheirographon homologia	Bacchias Theadelphia Theadelphia Kerkesoucha Ibion Eikosipentar.	1 1 1	M M F M	1 ? 1 P0 P0	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr. 48 dr. 106 dr. 60 dr. lost
40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27 P.Mich. IX 552 P.Grenf. II 46 P.Aberd. 55 P.Ryl. III 158 P.Meyer 13	120 ? 123 126 126 131 137 117-138 138 141	Arsinoite Theadelphia Karanis Arsinoite Arsinoite	homologia homologia cheirographon homologia cheirographon homologia homologia	Bacchias Theadelphia Theadelphia Kerkesoucha Ibion Eikosipentar. Philopator Apias	1 1 1	M M F F M M M	1 ? 1 P0 P0 5	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr. 48 dr. 106 dr. 60 dr. lost 340 dr.
40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27 P.Mich. IX 552 P.Grenf. II 46 P.Aberd. 55 P.Ryl. III 158 P.Meyer 13 P.Basel 4	120 ? 123 126 126 131 137 117-138 138 141 141	Arsinoite Theadelphia Karanis Arsinoite Arsinoite Arsinoite Arsinoite	homologia homologia cheirographon homologia cheirographon homologia chomologia homologia bank-diagraphe	Bacchias Theadelphia Theadelphia Kerkesoucha Ibion Eikosipentar. Philopator Apias Arsinoe	1 1 1	M M F F F M M M M	1 ? 1 P0 P0	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr. 48 dr. 106 dr. 60 dr. lost 340 dr. 148 dr.
40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48	BGU XV 2480 PIFAO I 11 P.Fay. 92 P.Soter. 27 P.Mich. IX 552 P.Grenf. II 46 P.Aberd. 55 P.Ryl. III 158 P.Meyer 13	120 ? 123 126 126 131 137 117-138 138 141	Arsinoite Theadelphia Karanis Arsinoite Arsinoite Arsinoite	homologia homologia cheirographon homologia cheirographon homologia homologia	Bacchias Theadelphia Theadelphia Kerkesoucha Ibion Eikosipentar. Philopator Apias	1 1 1	M M F F M M M	1 ? 1 P0 P0 5	100 + dr. lost 56 dr. 60 dr. 48 dr. 106 dr. 60 dr. lost 340 dr.

52	P.Lond. II 303 (p.195)	142	Arsinoite	homologia	Herakleia	1	M	5	148 dr.
53	P.Lond. II 466 (p.196)	143	Arsinoite	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	F	1	160 dr.
54	CPR VI 2	144		homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	F	5	88 dr.
						1	<u>M</u>	P	
55	SPP XXII 170	145	Arsinoite	homologia	Kerkesoucha (BL 8, p.488)	1	F	5	108 dr.
56	SB XVIII 13257	145	S.N.	receipt for the tax on a donkey	Alexandrou Nesos	1	M	P	lost
57	P.Lond. II 313 (p.197)	148	Arsinoite	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	F	5	64 dr.
58	P.Lond. inv. 1762	148 or		cheirographon		1	F		120 dr.
		158							
59	PSA.Athen. 27 (= SB V 8254)	150	Karanis	homologia	Karanis	1	M?	P0	200 dr.
60	SPP XXII 27	155	S.N.	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	M	5	
61	SB XVI 12559	155		homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	F	1?	224 dr.
62	SB XVIII 13258	160	Alexandrou Nesos	receipt for the tax on donkeys	Alexandrou Nesos?	1	?	1	
63	SB XVIII 13259	166	Alexandrou Nesos	receipt for the tax on donkeys	Alexandrou Nesos?	1	F	5	188 dr.
64	SB XII 11063	167-169		cheirographon		1	F		
65	SB XVIII 13176, 159-164	168	Hermou polis	acta familiae (πρᾶσις ὄνου in		1	F		
	,		•	12 Nov. 163)					
66	P.Flor. I 22	177	S.N.	homologia	Arsinoe	1	F	5	140 dr.
67	P.Col. X 263	178	Memphite nome	homologia		1	F		172 dr.
68	P.Col. X 264	178	Memphite nome	homologia		1	F		23[.] dı
69	P.Lond. II 339 (p.200)	179	•	cheirographon		1	F	5	160 dr.
	•					1	F	P	
70	SB III 6001	179	Arsinoite	cheirographon		1	M	5	160 dr.
71	BGU II 541	177-180	Arsinoite	cheirographon		1	F		128 dr.
72	P.Prag. I 63	180		receipt for the tax on donkeys	Alexandrou Nesos?	1	M	5	140 dr.
73	BGU II 527 (=M.Chr.262)	197	Arsinoite	homologia	Arsinoe	1	M	P	300 dr.
74	P.Munch. III 82	197	Arsinoite	cheirographon		1	F		
						1	F	P	
75	BGU III 758	198	Arsinoite	cheirographon		1	F	5	348 dr.
76	SPP XXII 29 (= SB XVIII 13866)	II	S.N.	homologia	Kerkesoucha	1	M	5	236 dr.
77	SPP XXII 101	II	S.N.	notarial protocol	Arsinoe (MP)	1	F	5	280 dr.
78	SB X 10750 (=PUG II 80)	II		?		1	lost	lost	140 dr.
79	P.Stras. III 215	second half of II		homologia		1	M	1	
80	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 3-4	second half of II	Arsinoite	tax payments for the bank- diagraphai concerning donkey sales contracts	Arsinoe	1	M	0	
81	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 5-8	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	F		

82	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 9-10	second	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
		half of II	rusmone	do.	rusmoc	1			
83	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 12-13	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
84	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 14-15	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
85	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 17-18	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
86	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 19-21	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M	0	
87	P.Hamb I 33, ii 22-23	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M	0	
88	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 24-25	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M	0	
89	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 26-27	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
90	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 28-29	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M	0	
91	P.Hamb. I 33, ii 32- iii 1	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
92	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 2-3	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
93	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 4-5	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
94	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 7-9	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
95	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 11-12	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	lost		
96	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 13-14	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
97	P.Hamb I 33, iii 16-18	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
98	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 19-20	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
99	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 22-23	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	1	M		
100	P.Hamb. I 33, iii 25-27	second half of II	Arsinoite	do.	Arsinoe	3			
101	P.Flor. I 25, 7	II	Arsinoe	register of the diagraphai	Arsinoe?	1	lost	lost	lost
02	BGU II 568, 1	II		register					
.03	SB XIV 11899	II	Oxyrhynchos	private letter		1?	F		
104	CPR XV 48	II	?	receipt of the payment	?	1	F	1	100 + (5 dr.

105	P.Bodl. I 121	II	Arsinoite ?			1	F	lost	lost
106	BGU I 228	II-III	Arsinoite	homologia		1	F		260 dr.
107	SPP XXII 56, iv	II-III	S.N.	list of expenses and incomes		1>		<u> </u>	124 dr.
108	SB XVI 12612	202-203	S.N.	homologia		1	F	5	800 dr.
109	P.Oxy. XIV 1707 descr. (=SP I 33)	204	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Alexandria?	1	F	1	600 dr.
110	BGU XIII 2336	208	Alexandrou Nesos	receipt	Alexandrou Nesos (MP)		lost		120 dr.
111	PSI I 79	216-217	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon		2	F	4	1500 dr.
112	SPP XXII 16	217	S.N.	cheirographon		1	F		400 dr.
113	P.Lond. III 1128	217-267		cheirographon	Hermou polis	1	M		1300 dr.
114	BGU II 413 (=M.Chr. 263)	219		notarial protocol	Kerkesoucha	1	M	5	500 dr.
115	P.Diog. 28	223	Philadelphia?	cheirographon		1	F		600 dr.
116	P.Wisc. I 1, 15	236	Bubastis or Oxyrhynchos	exchange of donkeys (cheirographon)		1	F	P	80 dr. + 1 pregnant (5)
117	SB XII 11015	first half of III		cheirographon		1	F	4	lost
118	P.Hamb. 1, 98	265	Arsinoe	homologia	Arsinoe (MP)	1	lost M?	lost	lost
119	SB VI 9221 (=P.Cair.Isid. 84)	267 or 276	Karanis	homologia	Arsinoe	1	M	P0	500 dr.
120	SB V 8021	277	Narmouthis	homologia		1	F	γραῦς	3800 dr.
121	P.Mich. IX 553	283-284	Karanis	lost	lost	1	lost	lost	lost
122	PSI XIV 1417	290-291	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Oxyrhynchite (MP)	1	F	5	1 tal.
123	BGU II 373	298	Arsinoite	homologia		1	M	P	lost
124	P.Thead. 3 (=P.Sakaon 61)	299	Theadelphia	homologia		1	F	5	lost
125	P.Oslo III 134	second half of III (BL 8,p.229)		cheirographon		1	M	P	132 dr.
126	SB VIII 9829	III	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon		2	M	5	4 tal.
127	P.Mert. III 106	c. 280	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Oxyrhynchos?	1	F	5	4000 dr.
128	P.Oxy. LXIII 4360	c.295-325	Oxyrhynchos	?	Oxyrhynchos?	1	M	5	
129	PSI VII 810, 6	III-IV		accounts		1	M		172 dr.
130	PSI VII 810, 7	III-IV		accounts		1	F		107 dr.
131	P.Oxy. XLIII 3143	305	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Oxyrhynchos	1	M	2	15 tal.
132	P.Oxy. XLIII 3145	early IV	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Oxyrhynchite (MP)	1	M	5	12 tal.
133	P.Mich. inv. 6462b in AFP 41/2 (1995), p.186	early IV	Karanis?	homologia		1	F	lost; a donkey?	+ ?] 2000 dr.
134	SB I 5679	307	Oasis Magna	cheirographon	Oasis Magna?	1/2	F	-	2 tal. + 3000 dr.

135	P.Oxy. 32 4B 4/A (1-2) a	307	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Upper Cynopolite (MP)	1	M	0	5 tal. +
					epper cynoponic (MI)	•			3000 dr.
136	P.Oxy. 28 4B 62/B (5-7) a	307	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon		1	M	2	5 tal. + 4000 dr.
137	P.Berl.Leihg. I 21	309	Hermou polis	cheirographon	Upper Cynopolite (MP)	1	M	0	6 tal. + 3500 dr.
138	SB VI 9179 (=P.Cair.Isid. 86)	309	Karanis	homologia		1	F	P0	2 tal. + 3000 dr.
139	P.Oxy. 28 4B 62/B (8-9) a	310	Oxyrhychos	cheirographon		1	M	lost	8 tal.
140	P.Oxy. XIV 1708	311	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Upper Cynopolite (MP)	1	M	2	10 tal + 4000 dr.
141	SB VI 9214	311	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Oxyrhynchite (MP)	1	M	0	6 tal. + 3000 dr.
142	P.Corn. 13	311	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Upper Cynopolite (MP)	1	M	1	10 tal.
143	P.Oxy. 28 4B 62/B (3) a	311	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon	Upper Cynopolite (MP)	1	F	P0	9 tal. + 3000 dr.
144	P.Cair Isid 72 iii, 19-20	314	Karanis	memorandum for a petition (see no 145)	Karanis?	2	F		40 tal.
145	P.Cair.Isid. 72, 26; 73, 10	314	Karanis	petition to the prefect	Karanis?	1	F		27 tal.
146	P.Cair.Isid. 145, 2	first quar- ter of IV	Karanis	private account		1			1 tal. + 3000 dr.
147	P.Kellis 34	315	Kellis	cheirographon		1/2	M?	P	2 tal. + 3000 dr.
148	SB XIV 11278	316	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon?	lost	1	M		39 tal.
149	P.Oxy. X 1288, 5	324-330 (BL 8, p.244)	Oxyyrhynchos	private account					6 tal + 10 art.
150	CPR VII 36	331	Hermou polis	cheirographon	Hermou polis	1		1	40 tal.
151	PSI VIII 882	337 (see CPR VII 36, 7n.)	Oxyrhynchos	cheirographon?	lost	1	F		40 tal.
152	P.Abinn. 80 verso,11 (= SB VIII 9697)	IV	Dionysias	list of sales	Andromachis	1		P	350 tal.
153	P.Duke inv. G 9 in BASP 25 (1988), pp. 129-135	383		cheirographon	lost	1	M		21500 tal.
154	P.Oxy. VI 922, 25-26	late VI- early VII	Oxyrhynchos	accounts of horses	see 24 n. ad loc.	1 1 1	F F F	μικρά	4 sol.
155	P.Nessana 89, 31	VI-VIII	Nessana	accounts of a trading company		1	F	Pre-1-1-1-1	2 1/3 sol.
156	P.Nessana 89, 34	VI-VII	Nessana	accounts of a trading company		1	F		5 1/3 sol.
157	P.Nessana 89, 29	VI-VII	Nessana	accounts of a trading company		1?			2 1/3 sol.

Rethymnon (Crete)

Nikos Litinas

#### Corrigendum

In ZPE 124 (1999), pp. 195-204 I published P.Lond. III 1128, a sale of a donkey. In Il. 1-5 three names are mentioned, and the problem I discussed in the introduction concerned the second one. I think that we can overcome all the difficulties, if we assume that this person is an intermediary of the ex-gymnasiarch.

The text in that case could run as follows:

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[ΝΝ ] γυμνασιαρχήσας ἀρχιερατεύςας

[βουλευτὴς Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως τῆς με]γάλης ἀρχαίας καὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ σε -

[μνοτάτης διὰ ΝΝ ]αβοῦ ἀνουβίωνος τοῦ καὶ Cαραπάμ-

[μωνος ]ῷ στρατιώτῃ λ[εγ]ειῷνος τρίτης ἀρυςτος

[ χαίρειν.
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translated as:

NN, son of NN,] ex-gymnasiarch, ex-chief-priest, [...of Hermou polis,] the great illustrious and most august [through NN son of ...]abos, grandson of Anoubion, alias Sarapammon, [to (or and...)] soldier of Legion III Augusta (?)[ greetings.

The papyri provide some examples of intermediaries in the context of contracts of sale: P.Sarap. 9, 1-2; PSI XII 1228, 8-9; SB VI 9145, 8.

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P. Lond. III 128; N. Litinas, pp. 195–204