

P.J. SIJPESTEIJN

THE MEANINGS OF ἦτοι IN THE PAPHYRI

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 90 (1992) 241–250

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn



## The Meanings of ἤτοι in the Papyri\*

In *Wörterbuch* I Friedrich Preisigke offers two meanings for the connector ἤτοι: 1) “oder,” when ἤτοι is equivalent to ὁ καί; 2) “und zwar,” when ἤτοι gives additional information about the previous term.<sup>1</sup> Preisigke did not bother to list the most frequently encountered meaning for ἤτοι--disjunctive “or.” Since ἤτοι may carry out any one of these three semantic burdens, depending on the context in which we find it, it is imprecise and unhelpful merely to translate ἤτοι invariably as “or,” “oder,” “ou,” “o(d),” especially when that meaning is inappropriate for the context. Each time ἤτοι occurs in a text, then, it must be established whether the word has the meaning “or” (A); whether it equals ὁ/ἡ/ὁ καὶ (B); or whether it gives additional information and means “and especially” (C).<sup>2</sup>

### A. = “or”<sup>3</sup>

This meaning of ἤτοι is the most common one in the papyri. Disjunctive ἤτοι seldom appears alone,<sup>4</sup> however, and is more often found in combination with single or repeated ἤ.<sup>5</sup> We also come across the combination ἤτοι - - - ἤτοι, sometimes with ἤ in between.<sup>6</sup> It is important to note that if we find a combination of the connectors ἤτοι and ἤ in a papyrus, ἤτοι is always placed in the first position. Moreover, καὶ seems, on occasion, to be used instead of ἤτοι: - - - καταχρᾶσθαι - - - τοῖς ἐμπεκουμένοις ἤτοι ἐκ πράξεως καὶ ἐξ ὑποθήκης ἀργυρίοις (*P. Oxy.* III 494.20-21). In similar fashion, ἤτοι also seems to be used instead of καί: - - - γί(νεται) κενδ(ηνάρια) σ καὶ τὰς τούτων δεκάτας ἤτοι ἐκατοστάς (*P. Vindob. Sijpesteijn* 1 i.12-13, ii.11-12, 22-23).<sup>7</sup>

\* The examples from publications after 1926 were provided to me by A.E. Hanson who used the Duke Data Bank (= DDB) CDRom3. I culled the examples from publications before 1926 from the indices of these publications. This implies that I have not collected all examples of the use of the word ἤτοι, since it is one of the words earlier editors thought of as not “important” enough to include in their indices.

Unless relevant, I have left out all critical signs in the passages I cite.

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning, see also H.I. Bell, note to line 53, *P. Lond.* IV 1433 (*cf.* also *P. Nessana* 82. 1 n.).

<sup>2</sup> Ἥγουν, which occurs infrequently in the papyri, can have the same meaning. See, for example, the following: - - - εἶγε εὐρεθεῖη ἐν αὐτῷ ὄξη ἤγουν φαῦλα ἐμὲ τὰντα ἀλλάξαι (*P. Mich.* XI 608.15-16, and *cf.* A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1990, sect. VIII); - - - ὅτε με τούτων παραγάγει καὶ παραδοῦναι σοι - - - ἤγουν τὰς ἀπολογίας ποιήσασθαι σοι (*SB XVI* 12717.17-21, and *cf.* also *SB VI* 9146.14-16).

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, Oxford 1954<sup>2</sup>, 553ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.*, e.g., - - - τοῦ κινδύνου μειώσεως ἤτοι ἀυξήσεως δημοσίων τελεμαμάτων - - - ὀρῶντος αὐτούς (*P. Mich.* XIII 659.227-229); - - - ἐκτεῖναι μοι τὴν τοῦ ὄνου τειμὴν - - - ἤτοι [ . . . ] τυχεῖν ὧν προσήκει (*SB VI* 9150.44-49).

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.*, e.g., - - - βούληται πωλεῖν - - - τὰ - - - δοῦλα σώματα ἤτοι τὰ ὅλα ἢ καὶ τινὰ αὐτῶν (*P. Oxy.* III 493.3-4); - - - ἀργήρη ἤτοι δι' ἑορτὰς ἢ ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν - - - (*P. Wisc.* I 5.27-29).

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.*, e.g., - - - ἐπιπέμψω ἤτοι κανίκια ἤτοι παιδικὰ κα. [ ἤτοι] ἄλλα τινά (*PSI XIV* 1419.5-6); - - - πέμψατέ μοι ἤδη (= ἤτοι) λί(τρα) χωρικὰ ἢ λί(τρα) πρ( ) ἤδη (= ἤτοι) κονχίτζματα ἤδη (= ἤτοι) χαλκώματα ἤδη (= ἤτοι) σπάτια ἤδη (= ἤτοι) ἀπαξᾶπλως μὴ ἀφῆκέ με (*P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2729.29-30).

<sup>7</sup> These last texts may have been influenced by meaning B. In this same vein, ἤτοι seems to have the meaning καὶ in - - - ὄντων πρότερον Ἀντωνίου Φιλοξένου Ἀλυπίου ἤτοι Διοδώρα γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ - - - (*P. Prag.* I 117.7), as the editor suggests by his translation “...che un tempo appartenevano ad Antonios Philoxenos, figlio di Alypius, ed anche a Diodora sua moglie...”. Likewise ἤτοι nears καὶ in ἀ(ντίδικος) Διόσκορος ἤτοι ὁ τούτου παῖς Μακρόβιος (*SB XII* 10989 ii.2); since Makrobios is his father’s representative (*cf.* ii.22-23), one can well understand why the scribe chose disjunctive ἤτοι here. Ἥ nears the meaning of καὶ in - - - παρέξασθαι καθαρὰ ἀπὸ τε ἄλλων πράξεων ἢ

## B. ἦτοι = ὄς/ἦ/ὀ καί

We find this meaning of ἦτοι especially in the following circumstances:

1) when a person has two names: Ἐωκράτης Ἀφροδιείου ἦτοι Ἡρακλήου (*BGU IX* 1900.51); Ἀνικήτω ἦτοι Ἀπολλωνίω Κυβάνου (*SB XVI* 12340.31);<sup>8</sup>

2) when two indictions are equated:<sup>9</sup> ὑπὲρ ιζ ἦτοι τρίτης νέας ἰνδικτίωνος (*P. Char.* 16.5-6); ις ἦτοι πρώτης νέας ἰνδικτίωνος (*SB XII* 10996 VI c.2);<sup>10</sup>

3) when a word is translated from one language into another:

a) from Greek into Latin (or *vice versa*): - - - τῆς διαλύσεως ἦτοι ῥεπουδίου (*repudium*)<sup>11</sup> ὁμολογίας (*P. Herm. Rees* 29.3); - - - οὐσοφρουκτον (*usufructus*) ἦτοι χρῆσιν καὶ ἐπικαρπίαν<sup>12</sup> (*P. Lond.* III 1044.20, p. 254f.); - - - γνῶσιν ἦτοι τρακτατίονα (*tractatio*) (*P. Cairo Masp.* III 67329 ii.7.);<sup>13</sup>

b) from Greek into Coptic (or *vice versa*): - - - ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑποπεσίου ἦτοι χρῆρε<sup>14</sup> (*P. Münch.* I 11.27); - - - τῆς ἐκτὸς καταγαίου καμάρας ἦτοι κυπης (*khpe*) (*P. Cairo Masp.* III 67309.22-23);<sup>15</sup> - - - τῆ αἰρούσχη καμετ' (*samet*) ἦτοι λάκκω<sup>16</sup> (*P. Cairo inv. no.* 10672.3<sup>17</sup>);

ἑτέρων παραχωρήσεων (*CPR I* 189.16). ἦτοι has the meaning “and especially” and does not approach the meaning “καί” in - - - πάντα τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦτοι αὐτοῦ κληρονόμους παντοίους - - - (*SB VI* 8988.71; cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* I 67110.9: - - - τοῖς κληρονόμοις ἦτοι πᾶσι υἱοῖς καὶ θυγατρᾶσι Ἑλένης - - -). Nonetheless, one can hesitate between the meanings “or,” “ὄς καί,” and “or rather” in - - - μετὰ τοῦ καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκδέξασθαι τοὺς τούτων νομέας ἦτοι δεσπότης - - - (*P. Mert.* II 92.22-23).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* XXI, 1941, 240. No difference is made between “official name ἦτοι name given at birth” and “name ἦτοι nickname.” For naming practices in Roman Egypt, see D. Hobson, *BASP* XXVI, 1989, 157ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. R.S. Bagnall-K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (*Stud. Amstel.* VIII), Zutphen 1978, 11ff.

<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon can be compared with data ἔτους X τοῦ καὶ Y which sometimes occur in Ptolemaic documents when two rulers occupy the throne (cf. T.C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, Munich 1954).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Barcelona 1971, 99; *P. Oxy.* L 3851.15-16n.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. S. Daris, *op. cit.*, 84. Through his use of two Greek words joined by καί the scribe of the London text demonstrates his awareness of the fact that *usufructus* was a contraction of *usus et fructus*. Cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* II 67151.71-72: - - - τῆς ἐπικαρτείας - - - ἦτοι *ousufructu* - - -.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. S. Daris, *op. cit.*, 113. In *P. Cairo Masp.* III fr. 3.18 the supplement ἦτοι is not warranted (cf. fr. 1.33). With *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67353 verso A 14-15 (cf. M. Amelotti-G.I. Luzzatto, *Le costituzioni giustiniane nei papiri e nelle epigrafi*, Milano 1972, 74f.): - - - φαλκίδιον (cf. S. Daris, *op. cit.*, 115) ἦτοι δωδεκάτην μοῖραν we seem to have a mixture of the meanings **B** and **C**.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *P. Münch.* I 12.22 and *P. Lond.* V 1722.20. The word τχηρε / χρηρε has not yet been identified (cf. W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 117b, s.v. krhrē).

<sup>15</sup> Several other texts may involve a Coptic “translation”: *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67325 recto i.29; *P. Oxy.* I 43 verso i.13-14; *P. Vat. Aphrod.* 25 fr.A(2).19; see also below, footnote 44.

<sup>16</sup> Sometimes the Coptic “translation” of a Greek word appears only on the verso of a text (cf. *ZPE* 70, 1987, 55).

<sup>17</sup> Published in *ZPE* 80, 1990, 267f.

4) when an official functions in more than one capacity:<sup>18</sup>

ἀλιαδίτης ἦτοι γραμματηφόρος (*P. Flor.* I 39.5-6 [cf. *BL* I 138]; *PSI* X 1108.8; *P. Oxy.* LI 3623.8-9);<sup>19</sup>

ἀπαιτηταὶ ἦτοι ἐπιμεληταί<sup>20</sup> (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1.153; *SB* VI 9131.8);

ἀποδέκται ἦτοι διαδόται (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1.267, 269, 354, 360);

γενόμενοι γραμματεῖς ἦτοι βοηθοί (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1.87);

διαδόται ἦτοι ἀποδέκται (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1.265);

διαδόται ἦτοι ἐπιμεληταί (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1.357);

ἐπιμελητῆς ἦτοι ἀναπομπός (*P. Rain. Cent.* 83.5);

ἐπιμελητῆς ἦτοι καταπομπός (*P. Beatty Panop.* 2.212-213);

ἐπίτροποι ἦτοι ἀπαιτηταί (*P. Mich. inv. no.* 4650b.7-8);<sup>21</sup>

προνοητῆς ἦτοι ὑποδέκτης (*P. Oxy.* I 136.15);

ῥιπάριοι ἦτοι χωματεπεῖκται (*SB* XII 12384 = 12385.2);<sup>22</sup>

αιτολόγοι ἦτοι ἀπαιτηταί (*P. NYU* 3.1-2);

στρατηγός ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ;<sup>23</sup>

ὑποδέκται ἦτοι καταπομποί (*P. Lips. inv. no.* 362);<sup>24</sup>

χειρισταὶ ἦτοι πραγματευταί (*P. Beatty Panop.* 1.210).<sup>25</sup>

I start, then, from the assumption that in all these cases the element ἦτοι in the phrase “function ἦτοι function” has the same meaning.<sup>26</sup> The *communis opinio* is that the second item is

<sup>18</sup> It is important to note that if the article appears, it is placed with the first function, rather than the second.

<sup>19</sup> For the meaning of ἀλιάς/ ἀλιάδιον, see B. Palme, *CPR* X 2.4n.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. B. Palme, *Das Amt des ἀπαιτητῆς in Ägypten*, *MPER* XX, Vienna 1989, 155ff., who assumes that we are dealing with cumulation. The function of ἀπαιτητῆς is often combined with another function. Sometimes the two functions are simply juxtaposed (ὀπεινάτωρ [B. Palme, *op. cit.*, no. 247. Cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, forthcoming in *Aegyptus*], σπεκουλάτωρ [389], ὄφικιάλιος [504]). At other times they are linked with καί (διαδότης [283-285, 299, 300, 315, 316, 319, 320], ἀποδέκτης [295, 296, 301, 302, 317, 318], παραλημπτής [347], κεντυρίων [551], στρατιώτης [554], κυγουλάριος [555, 573, 574], νοτάριος [582], ἐνοικολόγος [588]); or with οἱ καί (στρατιώται [587]).

<sup>21</sup> Published in *BASP* XXII, 1985, 325-327. Cf. B. Palme, *op. cit.*, 147, note 185.

<sup>22</sup> In this case we may be dealing with the meaning of B 3 a).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J.D. Thomas, *CdE* 34, 1959, 124ff.; *eundem*, *CdE* 35, 1960, 262ff.; *eundem*, *YCIS* XXVIII, 1985, 115ff.; *eundem*, *Egitto e storia antica dall' Ellenismo all'età araba* (edd. L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci), Bologna 1989, 683ff. (only a summary of Thomas' talk at the XVII International Congress of Papyrologists has been published—see *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III, Naples 1984, 1065).

<sup>24</sup> Published in *Archiv* 32, 1986, 39-46. For examples of procuring and transporting goods, cf., e.g., F. Preisigke, *WB* I, s.v. ἀνακομιδή 2).

<sup>25</sup> I assume that in *BGU* III 958 c 1 another function has to be supplemented at the end of the line, so as to precede the ἦτοι προκάτη of line 2.

<sup>26</sup> In *P. Wash. Univ.* I 7.10-11, where the correct reading is: - - - κάμον τὸν κερνιάριον ἦγουν νομεράριον (cf. K.A. Worp in a forthcoming article in *BASP* and *P. Wash. Univ.* II, p. 240) ἦγουν may have the same meaning, but we could also (though less likely) be dealing with an instance of meaning C. On the other hand, the *scrinarii* were headed by *numerarii* (cf. E. Stein, *L'histoire du Bas-Empire* I, Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam 1959, 221).

a new title for the first function and that the second will eventually replace the first.<sup>27</sup> I have difficulties, however, with this supposition for the following reasons:

a) It assumes that a new and different title was being introduced for the *same* old function. See above, διαδόται ἦτοι ἀποδέκται and διαδόται ἦτοι ἐπιμεληταί, or ἐπιμελητής ἦτοι ἀναπομπός and ἐπιμελητής ἦτοι καταπομπός.<sup>28</sup>

b) It assumes that the same new title was being given to a *variety* of old functions. See above, ἀπαιτηταί ἦτοι ἐπιμεληταί and διαδόται ἦτοι ἐπιμεληταί.

c) It assumes that what was an *old* title in one instance was being introduced as a *new* title in another instance. See above, προνοητής ἦτοι ὑποδέκτης and ὑποδέκται ἦτοι καταπομποί, or ἐπιμελητής ἦτοι ἀναπομπός and ἀπαιτηταί ἦτοι ἐπιμεληταί.

d) It assumes that the new title was supposed to replace the old title — yet if this were the case, it is difficult to understand why a combination of the old and the new title still occurs decades after the introduction of the new title.<sup>29</sup>

e) It sweeps aside the fact that after a particular “x-function ἦτοι y-function” phrase was introduced, both the x-function and the y-function nonetheless continued in independent use.

These objections disappear, however, if we assume that the phrase “function ἦτοι function” indicates that one and the same official exercised both functions at one and the same time.<sup>30</sup> The

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *W.Chrest.* 43 introduction. (In *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> we read with reference to this passage *s.v.* ὑποδέκτης “receiver, steward, a financial official, = καταπομπός.” Cf. also H.C. Youtie, *BASP XVI*, 1979, 145 = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores I*, Bonn 1981, 53: “...he is presumably the strategos (exactor) of the Oxyrhynchite nome.”). The editor of *P. Lips.*, inv. no. 362 (cf. note 24), translates ὑποδέκτης (read ὑποδέκτας) ἦτοι καταποπούς (ll. 5-6) as “Steuerbeamte bzw. Transportbegleiter” (cf. also her note to ll. 5-6); the editor of *P. Oxy.* LI 3623 renders ἀλιαδίτην (read ἀλιαδίτου) ἦτοι γραμματηφόρου (ll. 8-9) as “(to the position) of sailor otherwise letter-carrier.”

<sup>28</sup> A καταπομπός is a person who sends goods down river but an ἀναπομπός sends goods upstream (cf. *P. Rain. Cent.* 83, 5n.).

<sup>29</sup> The expression ἀλιαδίτης ἦτοι γραμματηφόρος occurs in A.D. 359 (*P. Oxy.* LI 3623.8), A.D. 381 (*PSI X* 1108.8) and A.D. 396 (*P. Flor.* I 39.5-6). *στρατηγός ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ* is still found in A.D. 399/400 (cf. G. Bastianini-J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt = Papyrologica Florentina XV*, Florence 1987, 75). Caution, however, is required: in *P. Landlisten*, to be dated after A.D. 346/47 (cf. W. van Gucht, *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia III*, Naples 1984, 1135ff.), we still encounter *τοπαρχία*, although *pagi* had replaced the *topoi* in A.D. 307/308 (cf. J.D. Thomas, *BASP XI*, 1974, 60, footnote 3). For a list of ἐξάκτορες, see ADDENDUM to this article; this list supersedes that in *P. Amst.* I, pp. 168ff.

<sup>30</sup> A dossier assembled by Aurelios Isidoros of Karanis has been adduced to prove that ἐξάκτωρ equals *στρατηγός*--that is, that *exactor* was the new title introduced for the old function of the *strategia* and that *exactor* was intended to replace *strategos* (cf. *P. Merton* II 91, note to line 19). When Aurelios Isidoros petitioned the *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia, he was told by the *praeses* in the subscription he appended to Isidoros' petition that he was delegating Isidoros' affair to the *exactor*. Presumably the *praeses* thought the matter proper for that newly instituted official and so the *praeses* told Isidoros that the *exactor* would examine the matter at issue: ὁ ἐξάκτωρ - - - τοῦτο ποιήσει γενέσθαι ὕπερ ὁ δίκαιος λόγος ἀπαιτεῖ (*P. Cairo Isid.* 74.22). But when Isidoros appealed as the *praeses* had directed him to do, he addressed his later petition to the *στρατηγός* Aurelios Oktavios, asking him to implement the *praeses*' order (*P. Merton* II 91; cf. J.D. Thomas, *Egypt and the Hellenistic World = Studia Hellenistica 27*, Leuven 1983, 369ff.).

The dossier, however, does not necessarily prove that ἐξάκτωρ equals *στρατηγός*; it may equally well suggest that at the moment Isidoros went to implement the *praeses*' subscription, the *στρατηγία* and the *ἐξακτορία* were combined in one and the same man, Aurelios Oktavios. Perhaps the *praeses* thought it unnecessary to mention this fact in his subscription, when he was speaking about the *exactor*, or perhaps he forgot. In any case, Isidoros directed his later petition to the *strategos* of the nome, just as peasants of Roman Egypt had done for centuries and he too neglected to mention that the *strategos* Aurelios Oktavios was at this time fulfilling the functions of *exactor*, because these two merged together in a single person only recently.

popularity of the phrase “function ἦτοι function” did increase markedly, in fact, from the IIIrd century A.D. onward, and this was a period when it became more and more difficult for the government to enlist sufficient liturgists to take on bureaucratic responsibilities.<sup>31</sup> Hence it was a time when shortages of suitable candidates might foster concurrent exercise of more than a single function by the suitable candidates that were available.

I suggest the following reconstructions to explain how one and the same official might come to exercise two functions concurrently. On the one hand, it is likely that when the government introduced a new function into the existing bureaucratic framework, it might well begin that process by coupling the new function with a familiar one already in existence. The choice of old function to which the new one should be joined was apparently influenced by similarity and congruity — with which existing function were the duties of the new closely associated? In time the new function would prove its *raison d’être* and take on an independent existence of its own (although, even after becoming independent, from time to time being coupled with an old function). On the other hand, it is also likely that paucity of suitable candidates may have brought it about that the well qualified and capable who already exercised one function might assume a second and “new” function.<sup>32</sup> Note that these two paths to a single official carrying two functions are not at all mutually exclusive, but are rather mutually complementary.

This does not, however, address the question of why from the IIIrd century A.D. onward ἦτοι was used instead of a simple καί to indicate that one and the same person exercised more than a single function. I suggest that ἦτοι seemed more semantically appropriate than καί because sometimes one function appeared more important and rose to the fore, while, at other times, the other function was the one that was being stressed. (See, in particular, in the list above: ἀποδέκται ἦτοι διαδόται and διαδόται ἦτοι ἀποδέκται in *P. Beatty Panop.* 1.) Both functions were in the hands of one and the same person who could be addressed with either function depending on which aspect one wished to emphasize.

### C. ἦτοι = “and especially”<sup>33</sup>

This use of ἦτοι<sup>34</sup> is very common and is usually easy to recognize. For example, in sureties for *coloni adscripticii*, the guarantor often says that he guarantees that the person in question will remain where he is supposed to remain—in his village with his loved ones, his wife, his animals, and all his possessions, “...answering for all that regards his person or the fortune of a serf” ( - - - ἀποκρινόμενον εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ ὀρώντα τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἦτοι τὴν τοῦ ἐναπογράφου τύχην - - - *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3204.15-16).<sup>35</sup> It is clear that ἦτοι τὴν τοῦ

---

It should also be noted that in *P. Lond. inv. no. 2180* (cf. J. Lallemand, *L’administration civile de l’Égypte de l’avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse* (284-382), Brussels 1964, 264) Flavius Ision is styled πολιτευόμενος ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ, not στρατηγός ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, Oxford 1983, 182ff.

<sup>32</sup> It should, however, be noted that, with the exception of the combination στρατηγός ἦτοι ἐξάκτωρ, all the other functions are relatively low in the bureaucratic hierarchy and existed discretely before being combined. Further ἐξάκτωρ (*exactor*) is a Latin word, but στρατηγός is Greek — cf. B 3 a).

<sup>33</sup> Some instances of this meaning are treated in A.E. Hanson-P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 87, 1991, 268-274; in P.J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 87, 1991, 257-8, and *idem*, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* forthcoming in *CdE*.

<sup>34</sup> We also find ἦγουν with this meaning in - - - τοῦ κατ’ ἐμοῦ εὐαγοῦς ξενῶνος ἦγουν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου - - - (*P. Ant.* III 188.17-18) and in - - - πινάκιον μετὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἦγουν ἄξιον ἀργυρίου τάλαντων ... [ ... ] χειλίων - - - (*BGU XII* 2175.6-7).

<sup>35</sup> For similar texts, see *ZPE* 62, 1986, 146; *CPR* X 127, introduction.

ἐναπογράφου τύχην is a restriction on the guarantee and a further specification of the previous phrase. That is, the guarantor will be responsible only for the person as *colonus adscripticius* and he does not guarantee other actions of this same individual.<sup>36</sup>

Obvious also are the following examples in which ἦτοι provides an explanation of the preceding word or words:

- I. - - - κέλλια τρία ἦτοι κοιτῶνα ἕνα - - - τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους δύο τόπους - - - (*P. Berl. Zill.* 6.23-25; *cf.* also *P. Oxy.* VIII 1129.10).
- II. - - - καὶ μοι τῷ μισθῷ ἦτοι ἀμπελουργῷ - - - (*P. Coll. Youtie* II 89.16-17).
- III. - - - πλοίου ἦτοι (σκάφους) ἀγριοχηνοπρυμνοῦς - - - (*P. Münch.* I 4 + 5 verso 25 (59)).
- IV. - - - πρὸ ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἦτοι πρὸ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἀφίξεως - - - (*SB* VI 8988.9-10).

Other instances are not so obvious, but some examples can be clarified through better understanding of Graeco-Roman habits and with the help of specialists in various aspects of Graeco-Roman antiquity. For example, an anchor is referred to as ἄγκυρα ἦτοι μονόβολον (*P. Lond.* V 1714.32). The note of the editor is significant: “μονόβολω: probably this is not a mere synonym for ἄγκυρα, as we should expect after ἦτοι (italics mine, PJS), but specifies the kind of anchor. Does it mean one-fleeked?”<sup>37</sup> Μονόβολος, however, means “in one piece” (opp. δίβολος). Greeks and Romans used different kinds of anchors, the most simple being a stone with a hole in it, attached to a line.<sup>38</sup> Alternately, some anchors were also made from a single piece of other heavy materials, in addition to stone. In any case, it was an anchor of such a kind that was meant in the London text. In a list of effects the following entry occurs: καὶ ἐν ταῖς χρεῖαις κλιδ(ίον) ἦτοι δελφινάρι(ον) α (*P. Oxy.* XVI 1925.37). Χρεῖαι probably has the meaning *latrinae* in this line. The editors observe that δελφινάρι(ον) “is apparently novel both in form<sup>39</sup> and sense.” On the other hand, κλ(ε)ιδίον can mean “stop-cock,” or the valve that regulates the flow of water through a pipe. And the moment one realizes that in Roman latrines the faucets often had the form of a dolphin,<sup>40</sup> the meaning of the item in the Oxyrhynchus list becomes understandable.

Sometimes, however, the relationship between the word or words before and after ἦτοι escapes us. Regarding the expression ἀποχή ἦτοι ἐντάγιον,<sup>41</sup> H.A. Rupprecht writes to me: “Was den Gegensatz ἀποχή und ἐντάγιον angeht, so deckt ἀποχή den privatrechtlichen wie den öffentlich-rechtlichen Bereich. Deckt ἐντάγιον vielleicht eher den öffentl.-rechtlichen, steuerlich-rechtlichen Bereich ab?” (Letter of 12 November 1990.) Regarding ἕδνα ἦτοι δωρύφιον, G.

<sup>36</sup> In *P. Mich. inv. no. 490* (published in *ZPE* 84, 1990, 40f.) ἦτοι, in the expression ἐπίταγμα ἦτοι φιλικόν (ll. 6-7), also has explicative value: “a written order, and especially a power of attorney.”

<sup>37</sup> *LSJ*<sup>9</sup> translates μονόβολον simply as “anchor.”

<sup>38</sup> *Cf.* H. Frost, *Under the Mediterranean*, London 1963, 42ff.; and for anchors fashioned from a single material, see *eundem*, in *Marine Archaeology*, D.J. Blackman ed., London 1973, 397ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Cf.*, however, *Hero Aut.* 27.2, where δελφινάριον equals a small dolphin.

<sup>40</sup> *Cf.* J. Ewald and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, “Ein römischer Bronzedelphin aus Munzach bei Liestal BL,” *Archäologie der Schweiz* 1-1978-1; for stop-cocks in general, see A. Mutz, “Römische Wasserhähnen,” in *Studien zu unserer Fachgeschichte*, Baden 1959, 34ff.

<sup>41</sup> Examples are listed in *P. Col.* VII 146.11-12n. Also in line 49 of *P. Flor.* III 384(a) I read: [ἀ]π[οχ]ᾶς ἦτοι ἐντάγια κτλ. This new reading implies the supplement [εἰς ἀπόδ]ειξεῖν in line 50 (and the editor’s note to line 49 can now be disregarded).

Häge writes:<sup>42</sup> “Bereits früh werden die *Hedna* mit dem δωρόφιον - - - *gleichgesetzt* (italics mine, PJS), dessen Bedeutung - - - und Übersetzung - - - unklar sind.”

Decoding the relationship between two terms connected by ἦτοι in the meaning “and especially” is a task that often requires specialized knowledge, so as to convert what appears tautological into an additional specification for the initial term. It would be a fortunate circumstance for all concerned, if Copticists,<sup>43</sup> archaeologists, and students of ancient (Roman) law examined anew the instances of “X ἦτοι Y” in the papyri.<sup>44</sup>

#### ADDENDUM: List of *Exactores* and *Ex-exactores*<sup>45</sup>

##### Antinoopolis/ Hermopolis

###### *Exactor*

Anubion	340	<i>BGU</i> I 21 ii.17
Hermodoros	ca. 350 <sup>46</sup>	<i>P. Landlist.</i> F = <i>P. Flor.</i> I 71.677 in marg.

###### *Ex-exactor*

Eulogios	ca. 350 <sup>46</sup>	<i>P. Landlist.</i> F = <i>P. Flor.</i> I 71.589
Nikantinoos	ca. 350 <sup>46</sup>	<i>P. Landlist.</i> F = <i>P. Flor.</i> I 71.736

##### Apollinopolite Mikra nome

###### *Exactor*

Aur. Hyperechios	372	<i>Archiv</i> 32, 1986, 35.3
Aur. Anubion	372	<i>Archiv</i> 32, 1986, 35.3

<sup>42</sup> *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian*, Köln-Graz 1968, 17, footnote 48. In *P. Lond.* V 1711.20-21, and in *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67310.5, there is a question of γαμικὰ ἔδνα ἦτοι πρὸ γάμου δῶρα.

<sup>43</sup> Demoticists, however, will be less involved, since I came across only four examples of ἦτοι in Ptolemaic texts (*P. Merton* II 59.26-27, *UPZ* II 162 vi.7-8, viii.27, ix.6)-- and in all these texts ἦτοι has the meaning “or.” Insofar as the meaning **B 3** is concerned, in Ptolemaic texts we find the term αἰγυπτικτὶ to express the Egyptian name/ word of a Greek name/ word (*cf. UPZ* 81 ii.14: τὸν προαγορευόμενον αἰγυπτικτὶ Ὀνοῦρει, ἑλληνικτὶ Ἄρης). In *P. Erl.* 21.15 and 19 (ca. A.D. 195) we find the same phenomenon (*cf. D. Bonneau, Opes Atticae = Sacris Erudiri* XXXI, 1989-1990, 39). *Cf. also P. Wash. Univ.* II 74.1-2n.

<sup>44</sup> And this study should not be restricted to the meanings of ἦτοι. In *P. Turner* 52.1 there is a question of: - - - σωλῆν(ος) λεγομ(ένου) Καβητ( ) - - -. The editor assumes that the pipe in question was given a name. I wonder whether a Coptic word lurks behind Καβητ( ) (*cf. shbe* in W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 320b). *Cf. also above, footnote 15.*

<sup>45</sup> This list replaces the list published in *P. Amst.* I, pp. 168ff.

<sup>46</sup> For the date of the *P. Landlist.*, see W. van Gucht, *Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di papirologia* III, Naples 1984, 1135ff.

**Arsinoïte nome***Exactor*

Aur. Oktavios	315	<i>P. Mert.</i> II 91.20 <sup>47</sup>
Plutammōn	342-351	<i>P. Abinn.</i> 13.21
Fl. Ision	IV	<i>P. Lond. inv. no.</i> 2180 <sup>48</sup>

**Great Oasis***Exactor*

Gelasios	309	<i>YCIS</i> 28, 1985, 115ff.
Aur. Leonides	369/70	<i>Archiv</i> 32, 1986, 41.1

**Herakleopolis***Exactor*

Heraklammon (?)	361	<i>P. Fuad Crawford</i> 16 <sup>49</sup>
Aur. Dorotheos	IV	<i>P. Lond.</i> V 1911.1
Aur. Turbo	IV	<i>P. Lond.</i> V 1911.1

*Ex-exactor*

Aur. Antoninos	335	<i>CPR</i> I 247.3
----------------	-----	--------------------

**Hermopolis***Exactor*

Paris	314	<i>CPR</i> I 243 = <i>W. Chrest.</i> 42.11 <sup>50</sup>
Theophanes ?	316 ?	<i>CPR</i> XVII 6.1
Sostratos Ailianos	320/21	<i>CPR</i> XVII 9b (= <i>P. Cair. Preis.</i> 4).3; 18.2; 22 (= <i>P. Cair. Preis.</i> 8).3; 23.4
Herakleon	322	<i>CPR</i> XVII 23.4
Aur. Dioskurides	337/47	<i>CPR</i> V 10.1 <sup>51</sup>
]ios Ak[	340	<i>P. Vindob. inv. G.</i> 16711 <sup>52</sup>
Hermaion	367/68	<i>SB</i> XIV 11972.32
Theotimos	376	<i>P. Flor.</i> I 95.45, 48
Agathokles	384	<i>P. Lips.</i> I 62 i.10
Theophanes	384	<i>P. Lips.</i> I 62 i.9
Hyperechios	384	<i>P. Lips.</i> I 62 i.11
Ailianos	385	<i>P. Lips.</i> I 62 i.30

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *P. Cairo Isid.* 74.21n., 22n.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382)*, Brussels 1964, 264.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. R.S. Bagnall *et alii*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987, 639.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *BL* VII 43.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *P. Charite* 21.3.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. G. Bastianini-J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt = Papyrologica Florentina XV*, Florence 1987, 75.

Dorotheos, s. of Achilles	399	<i>PLBat.</i> XIII 10.5 <sup>53</sup>
Zenodotos, s. of NN	399	<i>PLBat.</i> XIII 10.4 <sup>53</sup>
Heraklammon, s. of Demeas	399	<i>PLBat.</i> XIII 10.4 <sup>53</sup>
Neilos	IV	<i>CPR</i> VIII 30.4
Theognostos	IV	P. Lond. inv. no. 1014 <sup>54</sup>
Serenos	IV	<i>P. Lips.</i> II 98 i.3
Taurinos, s. of Ammonios	IV	<i>P. Lips.</i> II 98 ii.1 <sup>55</sup>
Taurinos	IV/V	<i>PSI</i> VI 684.10
<i>Ex-exactor</i>		
Theophanes	321	<i>CPR</i> XVII 16.21-22
<b>Hypselite nome</b>		
<i>Exactor</i>		
Aur. Silvanos	372	<i>P. Lips.</i> I 51.3
<b>Kabasite nome</b>		
<i>Exactor</i>		
Apollon	309-314/5 <sup>56</sup>	<i>P. Prag.</i> I 10.3
<b>Lycopolite nome</b>		
<i>Exactor</i>		
Septimios Krateros (?)	322	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLIII 3132.2 + note
<b>Nilopolis</b>		
<i>Exactor</i>		
Aur. Dionysios	343	<i>P. Med.</i> II 66.1
<b>Oxyrhynchos</b>		
<i>Exactor</i>		
Ptoleminos	IV/V	<i>P. Heid.</i> IV 313.12
Euethios	IV/V	<i>P. Heid.</i> IV 313.18
<i>Ex-exactor</i>		
Ammonianos	370	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XVII 2110.18
Gerontios	370	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XVII 2110.10

<sup>53</sup> = *SB* VIII 9840. Cf. *ZPE* 56, 1984, 56.

<sup>54</sup> Published in *Miscel·lània Papirologica Ramon Roca-Puig*, Barcelona 1987, 247ff.

<sup>55</sup> Identical with the next person listed?

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *ZPE* 77, 1989, 216.

**Panopolis***Exactor*

Ge...sitheos alias Apol( )	314	<i>P. Köln Panop.</i> 23.1 <sup>57</sup>
Serenos	332	<i>P. Köln Panop.</i> 29.1; 30.1, 45 <sup>58</sup>
<i>Ex-exactor</i>		
Hesychos	ca. 329	<i>P. Köln Panop.</i> 31A.12; 31B.20 <sup>59</sup>

**Thebaid***Exactor*

Appianos	IV	<i>O. Bodl.</i> II 2066.1
Aristophanes	IV	<i>O. Leid.</i> 349 A.5
Peisistratos	IV	<i>O. Leid.</i> 346
Porieuthes	IV	<i>O. Leid.</i> 346
Klaudios	IV/V	<i>O. Strassb.</i> 514
Isidorianos	IV/V	<i>O. Bodl.</i> II 2103.12
Isidoros	IV/V	<i>O. Strassb.</i> 466; 514
Nikon	IV/V	<i>O. Bodl.</i> II 2116.7
Pa...	IV/V	<i>O. Bodl.</i> II 2166.8
Philon	IV/V	<i>O. Bodl.</i> II 2103.11
Sarapion	IV/V	<i>O. Bodl.</i> II 2116.6
Piphios	IV/V	<i>SB XIV</i> 12681

**Provenance unknown***Exactor*

Honoratos	IV	<i>P. Amst.</i> I 76.8 <sup>60</sup>
Pasion	IV ?	<i>P. Ross. Georg.</i> V 26.12 <sup>61</sup>
Eutoskos	?	J. Baillet, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes à Thèbes, Cairo</i> 1920-26, 1077.1
Hyperechos ?	IV	<i>P. Vindob. Tandem</i> 5.6 <sup>62</sup>

University of Amsterdam

P.J. Sijpesteijn

---

<sup>57</sup> = *SB XII* 11216.

<sup>58</sup> = *SB XII* 11222; 11223.

<sup>59</sup> = *SB XII* 11224.12, 33.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. note *ad locum*.

<sup>61</sup> = *CPL* 168. Cf. *BL III* 159.

<sup>62</sup> Maybe identical with the Hyperechos listed under Hermopolis.