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ORDER TO DELIVER: P.LOND. V 1655 REVISED

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## ORDER TO DELIVER: P.LOND. V 1655 REVISED

British Library inv. 1759

14 x 8 cm

20 June 364

A very similar order originating from the same two persons is now published as P.Oxy. LXIII 4373 and comparison with that has enabled improvements to be made to the printed text of the London papyrus. The first reading was made from a microfilm, but I have inspected the original in the British Library.

The main point of interest common to both these documents is that they attest the duty of supplying recruits which was incumbent on estates as a compulsory public service in the Later Roman Empire. Since the liability was assessed on the basis of the ownership of cultivated land, only the larger landowners would be assessed at a high enough arutage to be responsible for the delivery of one or more recruits by themselves, smaller landowners being grouped into consortia, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 615, ii 1254 n. 16. Unfortunately these documents do not give us the names of the joint owners of the estate in question, which was liable for at least two recruits in the same year.

Of lexicographical interest is the occurrence of the noun νεολέκτης, not yet in the dictionaries and attested in only a few papyri, see 3-4 n.

The format of this order is rather different from that of P.Oxy. 4373, which is a narrow slip 27 cm wide and only 6 cm high, written *transversa charta*, that is, across the fibres of the recto, while this is a much less elongated and slightly deeper shape. The writing runs across the fibres, except that a strip of horizontal fibres runs through line 3. This may have been a repair. There is no sheet join to show whether this is the recto surface of the original roll or the verso. The back is concealed by the framing. There is no special reason to suspect that it bore writing. The back of P.Oxy. 4373 is blank.

The hand in which the main body of the text is written is also different from that of the main body of P.Oxy. 4373, although it is a cursive of a very similar type. The two countersignatures must be presumed to be in the hands of Apphus and Isidorianus, the pair who issued the orders, but we cannot say which is which. The first countersignature here is in the same hand as the single countersignature of P.Oxy. 4373, as is obvious especially from the idiosyncratic form of the abbreviation of χρῶ(νοῖς) in line 8. I thought it possible that the text and countersignature of P.Oxy. 4373 might have been written by the same person, and it is possible, though again not strongly indicated, that the second countersignature here was written by the person who wrote the text. This hypothesis would mean that only two persons, Apphus and Isidorianus, were involved, but it is equally possible that an estate extensive enough to be liable to supply at least two recruits in one year had two or more clerks to write its documents, in which case up to four persons, two clerks and the two named administrators, might have been involved.

Ἄποφῶς καὶ Ἰσιδωριανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγίρω(φ) χ(αίρειν).

δὸς Παμουθίῳ ἀπὸ Ἀλκυονέως συλλημ-  
φθέντι εἰς τοὺς νῦν παρισταγομ(ένους) νεολέ-

κτας ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν κυρίων μου  
5 γεούχων τῆς ζ' ἰνδικτίονος ὑ(πὲρ) δαπάνης  
ἡμερ(ῶν) ε' τῶν ἀπὸ traces of c. 15 letters

] [ ] κρέως λί(τρας) β(ἡμις). (m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι) πο(λλοῖς)

χρῶ(νοῖς). δὸς κρ(έως) λί(τρας) β(ἡμις).

(m. 1) (ἔτους) μ'θ' Παῦνι κς.

(m. 3) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι) πολλοῖς χρῶ-

10

νοῖς. δὸς λί(τρας) β(ἡμις).

1 ἰσιδωριανος; μαγίρω: 1. μαγεῖρω; χζ 2 1. συλλημ- 3 παρισταγομζ 5 υ) 6 ημερ/ 7 Δ βL', ευχ ο̄ π ο̄  
8 χρῶ ζ', κρ/Δ βζ' 9 L = (ἔτους), ευχ<sup>ο</sup> 10 Δ βL'

‘Apphus and Isidorianus to Apollonius, cook, greetings.’

‘Deliver to Pamuthius from Alcyoneos, who has been included among those newly enlisted men now being presented in respect of the estate of my lords the landowners for the 7th indiction, in respect of expenses for 5 days from ... (to) ..., meat lbs 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. Year 40, 9, Payni 26th. (2nd hand) I pray for your health for many years. Deliver meat lbs 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. (3rd hand) I pray for your health for many years. Deliver lbs 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.’

- 1 μαγίρ(φ) = μαγείρφ. See P.Oxy. LVI 3866.2 n. for the broad significance of this term, ‘butcher, cook, and retailer’ χ(αίρειν). In spite of ed. pr.’s denial and some damage it seems reasonable to recognize χ for χ(αίρειν) at this point.
- 2 Ἀλκυονέως. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell’Ossirinchite* (Pap. Flor. IX) 27; cf. P.J. Sijpesteijn, K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 235 and fn. 4.
- 2-3 συνλημφθέντι (l. συλλ-). The verb sometimes means ‘arrest’ and conscription was in effect at this period, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 614-19, but perhaps some neutral sense, e.g. ‘included’, is more appropriate.
- 3-4 νεολέκτας. The noun \*νεολέκτης has not yet appeared in the dictionaries, but is now certainly read in the nominative in P.Lond. III 982.2, see P.Lond. *Facsimiles* III Pl. 75, and the new edition offered below. The correction from the ed. pr.’s ναολέκτης was made by R. Rémondon in *Chronique d’Égypte* 41 (1966) 168 and the latest version of the whole text appeared in J. Bingen et al., *Choix de papyrus grecs* No. 28, with p. 33 (apparatus). The word has also occurred in P.Sakaon 30 (= P.Théad. 49).11 in the accusative plural, as here. That papyrus also has νεολέκτους (1) and νεολέκτων (3) in broken contexts, since the beginnings of the very long lines are lost. It would be tempting to think that νεόλεκτος was used only as an adjective and that therefore the first must have had a noun for the adjective to agree with, as in P.Oxy. XLV 3261.5-10 ἐπειδὴ ἐπ[ε]βλήθημεν παρασχεῖν τίρω[νας] νεολέκτους κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δια]χημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγε[μ]όνος Καβινιανοῦ κατὰ πρόσταξιν [τ]οῦ διαχημοτάτ[ου] δουκὸς Βάρβα κτλ. However, W.*Chr.* 469 has the passage τοὺς νεολέκτους τοὺς ἀποτελλομένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγ[υ]πτιακῆς διοικήσεως ... ὑποδεξάμενοι ... παραπέμψατε (3-6), showing that the adjective was used also as a substantive. In the second case in P.Sakaon 30 we cannot choose for certain between νεολέκτων and νεολεκτῶν. Nor in P.Oxy. VIII 1103.4-5 can we say for certain that we should read τῶν νεολεκτῶν (rather than νεολέκτων) τῶν στρατευθέντων ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ... ἀνενεγκόντων ὡς κτλ. The present London companion piece may more strongly suggest that in P.Oxy. 4373.3 the abbreviation ought to have been expanded to νεολέκτ(α) rather than νεολέκτ(ου), but about that we cannot be sure.
- 4 τῶν κυρίων μου. So also P.Oxy. 4373, although there are two senders.
- 5 γεούχων. The estate was held in joint ownership by two or more people.  
The seventh indiction is 363/4, cf. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 75, as emerges from the era date, see 9 n.
- 6-7 A horizontal split, running from the right edge of the sheet almost to the middle, has destroyed most of the ink in the second half of line 6, while line 7 is similarly split from the left at the beginning, so that the first surviving letter there is the kappa of κρέως, which falls under the omega of τῶν above. In 7, however, there are no ink traces near the beginning and it looks as if the line was deeply indented as far as κρέως. P.Oxy. 4373.4 in the equivalent passage has ὑ(πὲρ) ἡμερ(ῶν) δ’ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἐπειφ β ἕως ε οἴνου κεράμιον ἐν μ(όνον), α, while in the date in line 5 the month and day are given as Ἐπειφ β’. By analogy with this, we would expect to find here τῶν ἀπὸ Παῦνι κς ἕως λ κρέως λί(τρας) κτλ. I have not been able to recognize this wording for certain. Possibly the the date of the order was not in this case the first day of the period covered in it, which might have been the first five days of the next month, Epeiph, for instance, or one spanning the transition between the months  
Two and a half pounds of meat for five days represents the same daily ration rate of half a pound as the mid-fourth century *mansio* accounts in P.Oxy. LX 4087-8, see *ibid.* introd. p. 192.
- 7-8 This second hand is the same as that of the countersignature of P.Oxy. 4373, see above introd. para. 5. πολλοίς, which is written in full in P.Oxy. 4373.5, is represented here by πo with a longish horizontal over the omicron. The chi of χρο(νοίς) is clear, then comes a very rapid ‘Verschleifung’ which I take to represent ρο; over the top of this is a horizontal from the right end of which hangs a double curve. This version of χρο(νοίς) is virtually the same as in P.Oxy. 4373.5.
- 9 Παῦνι κς. The second digit of the day number is faintly inked and was omitted from the ed. pr. The correct reading was published by H. Harrauer, P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Tyche* 3 (1988) 118, cf. BL IX 146.  
For the conversion of Payni 26 of Oxyrhynchite era year 40/9 to 20 June 364 see R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 100, 38.