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Keywords: Ptolemaic, first century BC, grain transport, samples, administration, archives, *naukleros*, *dioiketes*, *sitologos*, *strategos*, *basilikos grammateus*, *apostoloi*, *antapostoloi*, *phylakitai*, ship security guards, shipping, shipowners, corrections.

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Different tax quotas indicated in the document are discussed as well. Moreover, an effort is made in the article to understand the identity of the issuing official and the document's place of origin. Although it is almost certain that the tax receipt comes from the Egyptian province, it can be hypothesized that it was written originally in the capital city Al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Finally, some general conclusions about the process of the Arabisation of the Egyptian administration are drawn.

Keywords: Greek, Arabic, bilingual documents, early Islamic Egypt, fiscal administration, tax receipt, Herakleopolis Magna, Iḥnās.

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Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, exercises, education, piety.

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Keywords: P. Vindob. G 13753, P. Vindob. Boswinkel 5, *SB XXVI 16502*, marriage document, account, Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

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Abstract: The role of freedman procurators in Roman administration of the principate period is still unclear. While the division into equestrian and freedman procuratorships is well documented and studied (particularly by H.-G. Pflaum and P.R.C. Weaver), neither the explanation behind it nor adopting the criterion of less important (freedman) or more important (equestrian) procuratorships is entirely convincing. Reducing the work of freedman procurators (having the same titles as *equites*) to merely assisting equestrian procurators (under 'unequal collegiality') can be disputed as well. By re-interpreting the career of the imperial freedman Ulpian Paeon and calling upon other careers, the article argues that some imperial freedmen could have held equestrian procuratorships as their superiors.

Keywords: inscriptions, procuratorships, roman government, principate, provincial administration, appointment policy, Roman emperor, imperial freedmen, *equites*.

GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA

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Keywords: Christian Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian, onomastics, ghost names.

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Abstract: Recent years witnessed an increasing interest in Christian amulets with Biblical texts. Several catalogues and monographic contributions have been published, facilitating the research on historical and religious aspects of these artefacts. The paper offers a methodological framework, founded mainly on the concept of semiophore formulated by Krzysztof Pomian, as well as six case studies, which show how the analysis of material and textual aspects of a scriptural amulet might reveal theological ideas, more or less consciously shared by its producers and users.

Keywords: magic, Biblical amulets, scriptural amulets, texts of ritual power.

Angelina TROIANO

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Abstract: In the recent *secunda cura* of the *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Giuseppe Camodeca has completely rebuilt the dossier TH² 8911 about the acquisition of the Roman citizenship by the *Latinus Iunianus* Venidio Ennico. Thanks to this study, it is currently possible to make further considerations about the procedure described in the *Fragmentum Riccardi* and its relationship with the *lex Aelia Sentia*.

Keywords: *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Roman citizenship, *Lex Aelia Sentia*, *Fragmentum Riccardi*, *anniculi causae* probation.

Jakub URBANIK

Józef inter gentes: On status and law between the centre and periphery 289

Abstract: Following the footsteps of Józef Méléze Modrzejewski and reassessing his law-custom theory, the essay explores the principles of law-application under Roman law. Passages from Ps.-Menander's *Epideictic Treatises* and Gregory the Miracle-Worker's *Eulogy of Origen* are confronted with the selected papyrological evidence of apparent 'conflict of laws' faced by the Roman jurisdiction: the petition of Dionysia (*P. Oxy.* II 237), and a text concerning the testamentary freedom of the Egyptians (*P. Oxy.* XLII 3015), and finally with a fragment of a juridical work attributed to Volusius Maecianus (D. XIV 2.9 *pr.*). In conclusions, a new take of the problem is presented. I suggest the principle ordering the choice of competent law be *lex posterior derogat legi priori*. Thus, after the Roman conquest the old norms remained in force until expressively abrogated by a new Roman precept: be it in a form of a judicial decision (in line of the Roman magistrate-law making), or new imperial legislation.

Keywords: *Constitutio Antoniana*, *consuetudo*, usage, *Reichsrecht*, *Volksrecht*, Menander Rhetor, Dionysia, provincial law, conflict of laws.

Marzena WOJTCZAK

'Legal representation' of monastic communities in late antique papyri 347

Abstract: While focusing on the issues such as spirituality, faith, prayer, and discipline, the late antique literary discourse pays little attention to the engagement of monks in the mundane realities of daily life. The symbolic significance of the total withdrawal from the earthly matters have paved its way into common imagination of the monastic existence. One must, however, remain cautious while attempting to translate monastic writings into the reality of day-to-day life of a monk in Egypt. As shown by numerous papyri, social and economic relations between monks and the surrounding world were not sporadic, but an inevitable element of the monastic movement. The picture of Egyptian monasticism depicts a web of contacts with the 'outside world' and an entanglement of religious landscape in the local economy. In this article, I discuss only one aspect of the much broader issue, that is the existence of 'legal capacity' of monastic communities in late antique Egypt. I address the problem of 'legal representation' of monasteries as outlined in the sources of legal practice. For a lawyer, these observations are all the more stimulating as there has been an ongoing debate whether 'legal persons' as such existed at all in Roman law, and whether we could talk about anything approaching our current understanding of 'legal personality'.

Keywords: monks, monasteries, legal capacity, Late Antiquity, papyri, legal representation, *dikaion*, *diakonia*, Roman law, legal practice, Justinian, Egypt.

Constantinos Balamoshev

**SB V 8754: APOSTOLOI, ANTAPOSTOLOI,
AND THE PTOLEMAIC GRAIN TRANSPORT***

THE AIM OF THIS PAPER is to propose several emendations to Henrik Zilliacus' original edition¹ of P. Berlin inv. 16876 = SB V 8754 which did not appear in subsequent corrections listed in *Berichtigungsliste* or which differ from those of the *Berichtigungsliste*, as well as new readings based on personal inspection of the papyrus at the Department of Papyrology in Warsaw. Special attention is placed on the discussion of the technical term ἀνταπόστολοι (lines 36–37 of the proposed re-arrangement), which is not known from other sources, and the people involved in their issuance based on the evidence we have on the shipping procedure. That being said, the paper does not intend to exhaustively revisit all the literature that has previously dealt with this text, but primarily to point out specific passages that require reinterpretation based on new readings and in view of the minor re-arrangement of the lines. Finally, appended is a transcription which reflects the current state of the papyrus, together with a translation into English.

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¹ H. ZILLIACUS, 'Neue Ptolemäertexte zum Korntransport und Saatdarlehen', *Aegyptus* 19 (1939), 61–62, Nr. 1.

To give a brief overview, the document under discussion belongs to the archive of Harchēbis, the royal scribe (βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς) of the Herakleopolite nome, and consists of two columns, starting with a letter from the στρατηγός Andromachos to Harchēbis which cites two other letters, the first containing a copy of Andromachos' orders/instructions to the σιτολόγος Leonidēs and the second being a copy of the orders/instructions of the deputy διοικητής Ptolemaios to Andromachos.

As noted above, many of the corrections to the text have been already published and included in volumes III, VI, VIII, and XIII of the *Berichtigungsliste*. Unfortunately, none of them have made it to the DDbDP database yet, and thus the text which appears there retains the readings of the *editio princeps*.

Aside from the minor corrections that may have their own merit, a surprising element of this research is the discovery of the hitherto unknown technical term ἀνταπόστολοι. In brief, an ἀνταπόστολος is apparently the equivalent of an ἀπόστολος, a term often discussed in the literature.² Perhaps plausibly, there have been attempts to link the ἀπόστολοι with the earlier ἐπιστολαί of the διοικητής or his subordinates in Alexandria, which are given to the ναύκληροι.³ This view has been

² Regarding the Ptolemaic documents, one can refer to: U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomatie der Papyrusurkunde I, Historischer Teil*, Erste Hälfte: Grundzüge, Leipzig – Berlin 1912, p. 377; *W. Chr.* 442, Einleitung; T. REEKMANS – E. VAN'T DACK, 'A Bodleian archive on corn transport,' *Chronique d'Égypte* 27 (1952), pp. 149–195; J. VÉLISSAROPOULOS, *Les nauclères grecs*, Genève – Paris 1980, pp. 284–285; Ph. A. VERDULT, *P. Erasmiana II: Parts of the Archive of an Arsinoite Sitologos from the Middle of the Second Century BC*, Amsterdam 1991, pp. 105–107; *BGU XVIII.1*, 2736, n. 11; L. ROSSI, 'Le transport interne et méditerranéen du blé égyptien: les structures institutionnelles et leurs intermédiaires commerciaux (IIe–Ier s. av. J.-C.),' *PapCongr XXVI*, pp. 647–654; Ch. ARMONI, *Studien zur Verwaltung des Ptolemäischen Ägypten: Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus*, Paderborn 2012, p. 35 with n. 11, p. 41, p. 49 with n. 60, 61; *P. Köln XIV 566*, introd. and comm. to l. 5–6. An overview of the transport procedure, although partly based on incomplete evidence and slightly outdated (e.g., regarding the number of *phylakitai*), is offered by Dorothy THOMPSON, 'Nile grain transport under the Ptolemies', in: P. GARNSEY – K. HOPKINS – C. R. WHITTAKER (eds.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, pp. 64–75, London 1983.

³ VERDULT, *P. Erasmiana II* (cit. n. 1), pp. 105–106, collects the various interpretations known up to his time, namely those of Wilcken, Kunkel, Zilliacus, Reekman and Van't Dack, Meyer-Termeer, and Vélissaropoulos.

upheld, as far as one can infer, by Charikleia Armoni in both *P. Köln* XIV 566, Introduction and notes to lines 6–7, and in *Das Amt des Basilikos Grammateus*, pp. 48–50. Furthermore, Lucia Rossi, in her above-cited paper on the Egyptian grain transport,⁴ attempts to prove that ἀπόστολοι were issued by the officials called οἱ πρὸς τῇ ναυλώσει, which is not convincing, in my opinion, as the following review of the text will attempt to show. In contrast, Philip Verdult maintains that ἀπόστολοι were issued by the πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ in the harbour of Alexandria, containing instructions to the φυλακῆται concerning the appropriate taking and sealing of the grain sample (δεῖγμα). This has been met with skepticism by Panagiota Sarischouli in *BGU* XVIII.1 2736, commentary to line 11, who considers the term ἀπόστολος too ambiguous to be defined precisely. In the present text, the official issuing the ἀνταπόστολοι is not explicitly stated, but these documents seem to originate from the φύλακες⁵ in Alexandria.

As a first step, therefore, it is worth taking a closer look at our text and collating the information contained in both letters (viz. both the χρηματισμός of the στρατηγός Andromachos to the σιτολόγος Leonidēs, and the χρηματισμός of the deputy διοικητής Ptolemaios to Andromachos), paying attention to the language used:

Copy of Andromachos' orders to the σιτολόγος Leonidēs, based on the Ptolemaios' χρηματισμός

Κατακολουθήσας οὖν ἐμ[βα]λοῦ
 συνεπι[σ]τέ[λλοντος Ἀρχή]βιος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
 γραμματέως εἰς τὴν διασαφουμ[ένη]ν
 ἀναπεπέμφθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ
 Ἡρωίδου τῶν πρὸς τῇ ναυλώσει καὶ
διατετάχ[θαι] εἰς τὸν Μεμφίτην κατ' ἀπόστολον
ἐπ' ἀνάληψιν π[υροῦ] ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τοῦ γ
 (ἔτους) σκά(φην) Ἀγαθοκλείου[ς] [ἀγ]ωγῆς Βφ,
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀδόλου κεκοσκινευμένου μέτρῳ
 δοχικῶι τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν καὶ σκυτάληι
 δικαίαι

Copy of χρηματισμός of Ptolemaios, the deputy διοικητής to Andromachos

Εἰς τὴν ἐ[κ τῆς] πόλεως ἀναπεπεμμένην ὑπ[ὸ]
 Διον[υσίου] καὶ Ἡρωίδου τῶν πρὸς τῇ
 ναυλώσει καὶ εἰς τὸμ **Μεμφίτην διατεταγμένην**
ἐπ' ἀνάληψιν πυροῦ σκά(φην) Ἀγαθοκλέους
 ἐμβалоῦ ἀπὸ τῶν γενη(μάτων) τοῦ γ (ἔτους)
 τὰς τῆς ἀγωγῆς πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀδόλου
 κεκοσκινευμένου μέτρῳ τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν
 (ἀρτάβας) Βφ (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) Βφ.

⁴ Rossi, *Le transport interne* (cit. n. 1).

⁵ Whether φύλακες is a simple or compound noun, such as ὄρμοφύλακες, remains debatable. See nn. 35–36, where I argue in favour of the simple noun.

(πρότερον) ἐπιβιβασθέντων φυλακῶν
κεκληρουχημένων τῶν μάλιστα πίστιν
ἔχόντων, οἷς καὶ τὸ δεῖγμα κατεσφραγισμένον γείνοις ἀγγείοις ἐπιβιβασθῶσ[ιν πλεύ]σοντες εἰς
ἐπιτεθήσεται ἐν γείνοις ὤμοις ἀγγείοις

Ἴνα δὲ συντόμως ἐξαρτισθῆ καὶ φυλακῆται
ἔχοντες κατεσφραγισμέν' α' τὰ δε[ίγματα] ἐν
τὴν πόλιν

καὶ παρακομιούσι παρὰ τοῦ πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ καὶ παρὰ [τῶν] φυλάκων ἀνακομιούντας τοὺς
τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως τοὺς καθήκοντας ἀνταποστόλους
χρηματισμοὺς, ληφθείσης καὶ τοῦ ναυκλήρου
χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ περὶ τοῦ
ἀποκαταστήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸν γόμον
ἀκακοποίητον ... μετὰ τῆς Παγκράτου καὶ
Δημητρίο[υ τῶ]ν [περὶ τῆν] διοίκησιν
μαχαιροφόρων καὶ ἐπίπλων γνώμ[ης]

οὐ στραγευσάμενον ἐν τ[ῶι] πόρωι πρηνόησον ὡς μή' παρέργως

καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα) ποιή(σαι) Καὶ σύμβ[ολ]ον καὶ ἀντισύμβολον γενέσθωι πρὸς
πρὸς α(ὐτόν) [ὡς καθή(κει)] τὸν ναύκληρον, ὡς καθήκει

The above juxtaposition of letters shows an inevitable correlation between the ἀνταπόστολοι and the χρηματισμοί issued by the official called ὁ πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ, whose title is discussed below. Whether ἀνταπόστολοι (specifically used in the plural) are used as a collective term here to denote a set of documents which includes the orders/instructions (χρηματισμοί) issued by πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ, the written statement on oath to the king (χειρογραφία ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ) of the ναύκληρος, and the written consent from officials of the administration of military police and ship guards in the service of the chief of finance, or as a bundle of copies (one for the ναύκληρος and another for the στρατηγός – ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων), remains to be clarified by further discoveries.

Another significant observation is that the ἀπόστολος does not seem to be issued by Dionysios and Heroidēs, the πρὸς τῆι ναυλώσει. One will notice that Dionysios and Heroidēs are explicitly tied to the dispatching of the ship (ἀναπε|πέμφθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως), while the phrase 'assigned to Memphites according to the ἀπόστολος' (διατετάχ[θαι] εἰς τὸν Μεμφίτην κατ' ἀ|πόστολον) is placed after that clause. If the two infinitives ἀναπεπέμφθαι and διατετάχθαι were governed by the same grammatical

agent, it is very likely that they would have been linked together with a *καὶ* in between, and not after the grammatical agent. This argument can be strengthened by the word order in the attached letter of the deputy *διοικητής* Ptolemaios to Andromachos in the second column, where again Dionysios and Heroidēs are not directly connected with the assignment of the ship but with its dispatch: *ἀναπεπεμμένην ὑπ[ὸ] Διογ[υ]σίου | καὶ Ἡρώιδου τῶν πρὸς τῇ ναυλώσει καὶ | εἰς τὸν Μεμφίτην διατεταγμένην ἐπ' ἀνά|ληψιν πυροῦ σκά(φην)* (here no *ἀπόστολος* is mentioned). Consequently, it is far from certain, and one might say rather unlikely, that the officials known as *οἱ πρὸς τῇ ναυλώσει* issued the *ἀπόστολοι*. This would contradict the interpretation proposed by Lucia Rossi. In fact, the assignment (*διατετάχθαι*) must have derived directly from the central Alexandrian authorities.

Furthermore, special reference should be made to the official whom most scholars denote as *ὁ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως*, but whom Philip Verdult takes to refer to the simple *ὁ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ*. In this debate, I shall support Philip Verdult's case that *τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως* belongs to *τοὺς καθήκοντας χρηματισμούς*, which stands contrary to the thin evidence we possess on the term *ἐξαιρέσεις*. The evidence adduced concentrates on two passages:

1. *P. Tebt.* I 5, 25–27 (118 BC): *μηδὲ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι ἐὰν μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάν(υδρεια)ν ὄρ[μων] | [ἐ]πὶ τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως (Ἰ. ἐξαιρέσεως) εὐρύ[σκ]ηι τι τῶν μὴ τετελωνημέν[ων] | ἢ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, τ[αὐ]τα δὲ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τὸν διοικητήν;*⁶

2. a lemma from Pollux, *Lexicon*, 9. 34, about the Athenian harbour, referring to a work of Hyperidēs: *τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς λιμένας μέρη δεῖγμα, χῶμα, ἐμπόριον, καὶ ὡς Ὑπερείδης φησὶν, ἐξαιρέσεις, ὅπου τὰ φορτία ἐξαιρεῖται.*⁷ For Athens, this is also confirmed by lemmata in *Etymologicum*

⁶ '(And they have decreed that the officials of the custom-house shall not) ... nor seize goods unless they find upon the wharf at the harbours of Alexandria something on which duty has not been paid or of which the importation is forbidden; these they are to bring to the *dioikētēs*.' (SOURCE: R. S. BAGNALL – P. DEROW (eds.), *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation*, Blackwell Publishing, 2004², p. 96).

⁷ '...The parts of a harbour include the mart, pier, the Exchange, and as Hyperidēs says, the landing wharf, where the freight is unloaded' (my translation).

Magnum, Ἐξαίρεισι: Τόπος τις Ἀθήνησιν, ἔνθα ὑπεξαυρούμενοι τὰ φορτία ἀπετίθεντο, and *Lexica Segueriana*, Ἐξαίρεισι: τόπος τις Ἀθήνησιν, ἔνθα ἐξαιρούμενοι τὰ φορτία ἀπετίθεντο.⁸

That this could have been a universal term and not apply exclusively to Athens or Alexandria is attested by an omitted source, namely Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. Hist.*, XVI 18, ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκρόπολις ἤδη παραδιδόμενη τοῖς Συρακοσίοις τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἀνεπίστως διεφυλάχθη, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πληρώσαντες ἀπάσας τὰς τριήρεις ἐπέπλευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔτι περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τῆς ἀγορᾶς διατρίβουσιν.⁹

At any rate, for harbour areas, the word ἐξαίρεισι appears to be used metonymically.¹⁰ That said, there is at least one example of the primary meaning ‘offloading/unloading/taking out’, in a Ptolemaic-era papyrus, *SB* III 7169, 24 (2nd cent. BC): οὐδ’ ἂν ἡ ἐξαίρεισι γένηται τῶν ἀρω[μάτων (?) κατὰ τὰ ἐ]πιβάλλοντ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πλόου, where ἐξαίρεισι expresses not a place but an action and, therefore, is accompanied by an objective genitive. To this one could add *BGU* X 1930, 8 (second half of the 2nd cent. BC): ἐπὶ τὸν] δια[σ]αφούμενον ὄρμον καὶ τὴν ἐξαί[ρεισιν (?), which could have an active meaning ‘unloading’, or which could be a place name. The restoration is probably correct, although half of the word is missing and remains open to interpretation.

⁸ ‘Landing wharf: a place in Athens, where they stored the unloaded freight.’ (my translation)

⁹ ‘Now the acropolis which was already on the point of being given over to the Syracusans was unexpectedly preserved in the aforesaid manner, but the Syracusans, manning all their triremes, sailed against the enemy while they were busy in the area of the landing wharf of the market.’ This last sentence in bold letters is my translation of the passage, compared to the original ‘they were still occupied in unloading the supplies’ of the Loeb text.

¹⁰ Cf. the use of the term ἔλαιον to denote the oil-market in Athens, in Menander, fr. 700: ἀναμενῶ σε πρὸς τοῦλαιον (‘I will be waiting for you at the oil-market’); or the information provided by *Suda*, delta 300, regarding δεῖγμα: κυρίως μὲν τὸ δεικνύμενον ἀφ’ ἐκάστου τῶν πωλουμένων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τόπος τις ἐν τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπορίῳ, εἰς ὃν τὰ δείγματα ἐκομίζετο, καλούμενος οὕτως. Ἀττικὸν δὲ ἐστὶν ἔθος τὸ καλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τόπους (‘primarily, the one that is shown from each of the items sold; there is also a place with this name in the trading-station of Athens, where the samples-to-be-shown were brought. It is an Athenian custom to name the places themselves on the basis of the things which are in it [sc. the place]’).

Returning to the official titled ὁ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ, I fail to grasp the need for a precise reference to the unloading wharf in his title, since he is attested in two other papyri without any additional description, even though these attestations are dated some decades earlier: κατὰ τὸν παρ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ ἀπόστολον (*P. Erasm.* II 25, 5–6, and 28, 5–6). In her paper, Lucia Rossi¹¹ argued for a direct grammatical connection between πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ and τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως, on the basis of *BGU VIII* 1743, 13 τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως τὰς κατεσχημ(ένας), which was also restored in the lacuna of *BGU VIII* 1742, 17.¹² However, on closer inspection, this reading appears to be erroneous,¹³ and should be corrected to τοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν χρ⁷, i.e., τοὺς καθήκοντας χρηματισμούς. Here is an image of the passage:



Consequently, this argument should be dismissed. In addition, I do not consider the grammar troublesome here, cf. for instance *P. Giss. Univ.* III 20. 7–8 (AD 113–117): τῶν δού[[λω]ν τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἕως τούτου οὐχ εἶδρον. Against this background, one may justly assume that the Ptolemaic official is called ὁ πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ and that τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως belongs to τοὺς καθήκοντας χρηματισμούς. The meaning would be that he, being in charge of the corn tax, would provide the φυλακῆται with unloading orders/instructions.

The present text offers another particularly significant point of correspondence. In the copy of the letter of Andromachos to the σιτολόγος Leonidēs, Andromachos appears to convey the orders of the deputy διοικητῆς Ptolemaios, doing so in a more detailed way. Now, by the re-reading and restoration of the passage from Andromachos' letter, one may clearly observe the following similarities:

¹¹ Rossi, *Le transport interne* (cit. n. 1), p. 649.

¹² A restoration influenced by 1743.

¹³ A high-resolution image is available here: http://berlpap.smb.museum/Original/P_13957_R_4_001.jpg.

παρακομιούσι (Andr.) – ἀνακομιούσι (Ptol.)
 παρὰ τοῦ πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ (Andr.) – παρὰ [τῶν] φυλάκων (Ptol.)
 τῆς ἐξαίρεσεως τοὺς καθήκοντας χρηματισμούς (Andr.)
 – τοὺς ἀνταποστόλους (Ptol.)

In the second of the above pairs, one will notice that *πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ* – *φύλακες*. This correspondence adds to our knowledge of the role of the *πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ* in the grain transport. This official, thus, seems to be in charge of a group of *φύλακες* in the harbour, who are responsible for the checking of the unloaded grain and guarding of the storage facilities. Moreover, if this equivalence is correct, then his office is the one that issued the *ἀνταπόστολοι* too, confirming the already known information that was extracted from the above-mentioned documents published by Philip Verdult, which mention *ἀπόστολοι* of the *πρὸς τῆι σιτηρᾷ*.

The above analysis provides a framework for the interpretation of *ἀνταπόστολοι* and the description of the procedure. On the one hand, the *ναύκληρος* obtains the sample (*δεῖγμα*), sealed with a ring in the jar by the *σιτολόγος* and the supervisory agents of the royal scribe. The sample is accompanied by an *ἀπόστολος*, a waybill, or, as some researchers have argued, an *ἐπιστολή* (in earlier times), which is also sealed with the same ring¹⁴ and apparently placed inside the jar to prevent tampering.¹⁵ The work cycle comprises the following steps:

1. the loading of the grain in the local port under the supervision of the *σιτολόγος* and, upon authorization of the royal scribe, the issuance of receipts and counter-receipts by the *σιτολόγος* to the *ναύκληρος*;
2. the embarkation of the *φυλακῆται*, who are entrusted with the samples placed in more than one vessel for better verification;

¹⁴ Cf. *P. Köln* XIV 566. 6–7: τὸ δὲ δεῖγμα συνσφραγισάμενοι | τῶι ναυκλήρωι πέπομφα εἰς τὸν δειγματ[ι]σμόν. δακτυλίωι δι και ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐσφράγισται, ‘having sealed the sample together with the *nauklēros*, I have sent it for checking’ (my translation).

¹⁵ Cf. *SB* VI 9367 No. 5. 6–7: ἐ[πιτ]εθίκα[μ]εν δακ[.]αλι τὸ [δεῖ]γμα κατεσφραγισμέ[ν]εν ἐν κονδυλίωι | οὐηκαι ἐπιστολή (οὐηκαι = δι και ὁ in n. 12; or, alternatively, denoting a location: οὐ ἢ και ἐπιστολή); No. 6. και τὸ δεῖγμα . . . | ἐ[πι]τεθίκα[μ]εν . . . κατεσφραγισμένον ἐν | κονδυλίωι. ἐπ[ιστολή] ἐν ἀγγ[ε]ίωι ἐσφραγίσθη]. This is among the examples that have been used to support the *ἐπιστολή* = *ἀπόστολος* argument.

3. the journey and arrival of the ship to Alexandria;
4. the unloading of the grain, and
5. the δειγματισμός (i.e., the checking of the sample against any adulteration) by the πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ and his subordinate φύλακες.

If the checking process went well, the ship continued its task and was dispatched back to collect more grain, following the orders contained in the ἀνταπόστολοι (return waybills) of the πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ, which the same φυλακῆται were due to carry up-river. As Philip Verdult has already pointed out,¹⁶ the χρηματισμοί of the πρὸς τῇ σιτηρᾷ in the letter of Andromachos have a similar scope to the ἀπόστολοι, which the new reading of ἀνταποστόλους clearly confirms. The use of the plural here could refer either to what Philip Verdult had suspected, that is an ἀπόστολος for the ναύκληρος and a copy intended for the στρατηγός – ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, or to a set of documents (χρηματισμοί, χειρογραφία ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ, γνώμη τῶν περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν μαχαιροφόρων καὶ ἐπίπλων). Otherwise, what the στρατηγός describes as καθήκοντες χρηματισμοί in his letter to the σιτολόγος in column I may well be a generic term used to refer to the orders contained in the ἀνταπόστολοι.

Commentary

line 3: Τῦβι κ → ἐ[ρρωσο (ἔτους) δ] Τῦβι κζ ; This correction has been already implied by Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 13 (1939), p. 224 (see *BL* III, 208), but there needs to be an ἔρρωσο added. There are traces of ink before the gap but they could not be safely identified; they might even be from a deleted text. Cf., e.g., *BGU* XVIII 1. 2750. 3 and *P. Berl. Salmen.* 2. 2 (both from 86 BC), where the pattern is precisely this: ἔρρωσο + year x + month y.

line 6: κατακολουθή[σ]ας → κατακολουθήσας

[ἐμβαλ]οῦ → ἐμ[βα]λοῦ

συνεπιστ[έλλοντος Ἀρχήβιος] → συνεπι[σ]τέ[λλοντος Ἀρχή]βιος
(*BL* VIII, 335).

¹⁶ VERDULT, *P. Erasmianae* II (cit. n. 1), p. 106.

διασαφουμ[ένην] → διασαφουμ[ένη]ν


Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρωίδου → Διονυσίου καὶ Ἡρωίδου; the transcription in DDbDP is incorrect. The *editio princeps* has καί. For these shipping agents, cf. *BGU XVIII* 1.2755. 4 and *BGU XVIII* 1.2756. 3.


line 9: ναυλώσει → ναυλώσει

line 10: [πυροῦ] → π[υροῦ]

line 11: Ἀγαθοκλείου → Ἀγαθοκλείου[ς] (also implied in *BL VIII*, 335); all the examples of the genitive with this name have an ending in -ς (*BGU VIII* 1846. 7; *O. Stras.* I 294. 4; *P. Tebt.* I 79). For the various forms of the cases of s-stem names, see Gignac, *Grammar*, vol. II, pp. 69–75, esp. pp. 71–72.¹⁷

line 13: {α} → (πρότερον) (*BL XIII*, 198). There was the belief that the letter with a dash on top represented the number of the φυλακίται on board. However, the readings of this letter were insecure. E. Salmenkivi acknowledged this problem and entertained the idea of reading (πρότερον) in all cases instead of a number.¹⁸ Where he was forced to be cautious in these readings, I believe that we can now be more certain of reading $\bar{\alpha}$ (= πρότερον). These include:

BGU VIII 1742. 12,¹⁹ where $\bar{\xi}$ should be read as $\bar{\alpha}$. Such an *alpha* recurs in the text, cf. χαλκοῦν in line 11: .

BGU VIII 1743. 9,²⁰ where $\bar{\eta}$ should be read as $\bar{\alpha}$ too: .

In *BGU XVIII.1* 2736, [2]; 2737, [9]; 2738, [12]; 2739, [8]; 2740, 10; 2755, [8–9]; 2756, [7]; *P. Berl. Salmen.* 17, [9],²¹ the symbol is not present but is assumed to be in the lacuna, rendering the reading uncertain but plausible, if one follows the pattern which was already suggested by Salmenkivi. The parallel rendition of this abbreviation is given in *BGU XVIII.1* 2759. 7: σκυτάλη] δικάαι πρότερ[ο]ν ἐπιβιβασθέντων. Cf. also *P. Erasm.* II 25, 10–12 (152 BC): καὶ μὴ πρότερον | τὴν ἐμβολὴν ποιῆσαι ἐὰν μὴ | ἐπιβιβασθῆ

¹⁷ F. T. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II: *Morphology*, Milan 1981.

¹⁸ *P. Berl. Salmen.* 17, n. 9.

¹⁹ Image: http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=12&Publikation=%022BGU%020VIII%020%022&order=Nr_mit_Zusatz-ASC&columns=pubnr.

²⁰ Image: http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=13&Publikation=%022BGU%020VIII%020%022&order=Nr_mit_Zusatz-ASC&columns=pubnr.

²¹ Image: <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?TM=47214>.

ὁ ἡγούμενος φυλακῆς. This (πρότερον) is otherwise common to the Ptolemaic period (see, e.g., *P. Berl. Salmen.* 15, 6).

line 15: ὅμοις → ὁμοῖς (*BL VI* 148).

line 17: κατήκοντας (*Ι. καθήκοντας*) → καθήκοντας (*BL III* 208)

line 19: ἐ[αυτοῦ] → ἐν τ[ῶι] (*BL III* 208)

line 21: γνώ[μης] → γνώμ[ης] (ἀρτάβας) πυροῦ *Bφ*]; contrary to *BL III* 208, where γνώ[μην πυροῦ] (ἀρτάβαι) *Bφ*] is suggested. The objection relies on other texts that were published at a later time and preserve the expression, namely: *P. Berl. Salmen.* 17, 13; *BGU VIII* 1742, 17; *BGU XVIII.1* 2738, 16; *BGU XVIII.1* 2740, 15–16: ἐπίπλων γνώμης, with the genitive. This is at any rate expected as it refers to μετὰ τῆς in line 19. Γνώμης is regularly followed by the number of *artabae* expressed in words, but could also be expressed with a number (e.g., *BGU XVIII.1* 2740, 16). Since it is difficult to fit δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας into the lacuna, and there are traces that indicate the symbol of *artabae*, the text has been restored as above.

line 22: γίνονται (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) → γίνονται (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ; the verb after *BL III* 208.

καὶ → καὶ

ποι(ησαι) πρὸς α(ὐτούς) → ποι(ησαι) πρὸς α(ὐτόν) [ὡς καθή(κει)]; this is a standard expression that can be found in almost all similar documents from the Harchēbis' archive, cf., e.g., *P. Berl. Salmen.* 20. 19 (78 BC). Besides, there are some ink traces after α(ὐτόν). The copy of the letter of the deputy διοικητής clearly refers to one ναύκληρος, who is probably Agathoclēs.

line 22a: there is a horizontal line (*paraglyphos*) marking the end of the section. It should be added to the text. See *BL VIII* 335.

line 23: Ἀνδρομάχῳ → Ἀνδρομάχῳ σ[τρατηγῶι?]; the traces following the name suggest that probably the title of Andromachos followed. We know that he was a στρατηγός and the available space would not allow for more titulature, though his full titles included two more appellatives; see *P. Berl. Salmen.* 17. 5–6: Ἀνδρομάχου τ[ο]ῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ [στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν][προ]σόδων. On this figure more generally, see *BGU XVIII.1*, pp. 24–28.

line 24: [ἐκ τῆς] → ἐ[κ τῆς]

line 25: ὑπὸ Διονυσίου → ὑπ[ὸ] Διον[υσίου]

line 27: τὸν Μεμφίτην → τὸμ Μεμφίτην (*l.* τὸν Μεμφίτην); a case of assimilation. *Nu* in most occurrences does not form a ligature with the next letter in this text, while here it is evident that the letter touches upon the following *mu*.

line 29: γεν(ημάτων) → γενη(μάτων); pap. γεν^η.

line 31: χαλκοῦν (ἀρτάβαι) Βφ → Β corr. ex δ. Perhaps, his first thought was to write the number in full: δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας.

line 32: ἵνα δὲ συντόμως ἐξαρτίσθη καὶ φυλακίται: the line in DDbDP appears to be part of line 30, which needs to be corrected.

ἐξαρτίσθη → ἐξαρτισθῆι (also Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 13 [1939], p. 225)

φυλακίται → φυλακίται

lines 34–35: ἐπιβιβάσθων [πλεύ] | σοντες → ἐπιβιβασθῶσ[ω πλεύ] | σοντες; Wilcken proposed ἐπιβιβασθῶ(σιν) ἐ[πιπλεύ] | σοντες (*BL* III 208), but there are no signs of abbreviation, which, at any rate, would be strange for such a verb form. This verb continues the ἵνα clause and the preceding ἐξαρτισθῆι.

lines 35–36: παρὰ [τῶν ὄρμου] | φυλάκων → παρὰ [τῶν] | φυλάκων; *BL* III 208 proposes παρὰ [τῶν ἐκεῖ] | φυλάκων. Another possibility is παρὰ [ποταμο] | φυλάκων. We know that ποταμοφύλακες are assigned to maintain order on the river routes, especially with regard to corn transfer to Alexandria.²² However, due to the approximate space available up to the margin, I would keep only the article τῶν without any further designations, i.e., [τῶν] | φυλάκων.

lines 36–37: τὰ πάντα || [1 line missing] | <α>πόστολος π → τοὺς ἀντα|ποστόλους. The *editio princeps* suggests that one line is missing. This, however, is not the case. The word is a *barax* and a technical term, for which see the Introduction.

προνοιου → προνόησον (*BL* III 208)

ὡς ἰ. παρέργως → ὡς μὴ παρέργως; in this difficult passage we would expect an expression like προνοήθητι μὴ παρέργως (*P. Köln* VI 258, 5) or προνο|εἰσθε μὴ πα[ρ]έργως (*UPZ* I 110, 185–186), echoed also in μελησάτω

²² See *BGU* XIV 2368, 3–5 (63 BC): τοῖς ἀποτεταγμένοις | π[ρὸς τῆι τ]ηρήσει τῶν κατὰ ποταμὸν [πόρω]ν | [ποτα]μοφύλαξι

σοι μὴ παρέργως (*P. Berl. Zill.* 2, 25). Consequently, it is more than likely that the letters in the supralinear space stand for μὴ.

line 38: σύμβολον → σύμβ[ολ]ον

γενέσθαι → γενέσθω; *BL* III 208 has γενέσθω, though a vertical stroke descending into the interlinear space and touching upon the final *epsilon* of the next line can be seen.

line 39: σαυτοῦ γε → σαυτοῦ τε (after *BL* III 208). Usually, we find it with δε/δ' in this position.²³

line 40: ἵνα ὑγιαίνης → ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς (*J. ὑγιαίνης*) corr. ex. ὑγιαίνω; The scribe perhaps initially wanted to write a participle ὑγιαίνων but then changed his mind.

line 41: ἔ[ρρωσο] → a curved horizontal stroke marking the end of the section (after *BL* III 209)

(ἔτους) [-ca.?-] → (ἔτους) δ̣ Τῶβ[ι number]; *BL* III 209 has (ἔτους) δ̣ Τῶβ[ι

Text and translation

Below, I attach the new transcription of the complete text, together with a translation into English:

Col. I

Ἀνδρόμαχος Ἀρχήβει χαίρειν. Τοῦ πρὸς Λεωνίδην τὸν σιτολόγον χρηματισμοῦ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.

Ἐ[ρρωσο. (ἔτους) δ̣] Τῶβι κζ.

- 4 Λεωνίδη. Τοῦ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου το[ῦ διαδεχομένου]
τὰ κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν [χ]ρηματισ[μοῦ ἀντίγραφον ὑπόκειται.]
Κατακολουθήσας οὖν ἐμ[βα]λοῦ συνεπι[σ]τέ[λλοντος Ἀρχή]βιος
τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως εἰς τὴν διασαφουμ[ένη]ν ἀγαπε-
8 πέμφθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Ἡρωίδου τῶν
πρὸς τῇ ναυλώσει καὶ διατετάχ[θαι] εἰς τὸν Μεμφίτην κατ' ἄ-

²³ See, e.g., *P. Tebt.* I 20, 10.

- πόστολον ἐπ' ἀνάληψιν π[υροῦ] ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων
 τοῦ γ (ἔτους) σκά(φην) Ἀγαθοκλείου[s] [ἀγ]ωγῆς Βφ, πυροῦ καθαροῦ
 ἀδόλου
- 12 κεκοσκινευμένου μέτρῳ δοχικῶι τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν
 καὶ σκυτάληι δικαίαι (πρότερον) ἐπιβιβασθέντων φυλακितῶν κεκλη-
 ρουχημένων τῶν μάλιστα πίστιν ἔχόντων, οἷς καὶ τὸ δεῖγμα
 κατεσφραγισμένον ἐπιτεθήσεται ἐν γείνοις ὡμοῖς
- 16 ἀγγείοις καὶ παρακομιοῦσι παρὰ τοῦ πρὸς τῆι σιτηραῖ τῆς ἐξαιρέσεως
 τοὺς καθήκοντας χρηματισμοὺς, ληφθείσης καὶ τοῦ ναυκλήρου
 χειρογραφίας ὄρκου βασιλικοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἀποκαταστήσειν εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν τὸν γόμον ἀκακοποίητον οὐ στραγευσάμενον ἐν τ[ῶι]
- 20 πόρωι, μετὰ τῆς Παγκράτου καὶ Δημητρίο[υ τῶ]ν [περὶ τὴν]
 διοίκησιν μαχαιροφόρων καὶ ἐπίπλων γνώμ[ης (ἀρτάβας) πυροῦ Βφ]
 γίνον(ται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) Βφ καὶ σύ(μβολα) καὶ ἀντισύ(μβολα) ποιή(σαι)
 πρὸς α(ὐτόν) [ὡς καθή(κει)]

Horizontal stroke

Col. II

- Πτολεμαῖος Ἀνδρομάχῳ σ[τρατηγῶι?]
 24 χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι. Εἰς τὴν ἐ[κ τῆς]
 πόλεως ἀναπεπεμμένην ὑπ[ὸ] Διο[υ]ν[υσίου]
 καὶ Ἡρωίδου τῶν πρὸς τῆι ναυλώσει καὶ
 εἰς τὸμ Μεμφίτην διατεταγμένην ἐπ' ἀνά-
 28 ληψιν πυροῦ σκά(φην) Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐμβалоῦ
 ἀπὸ τῶν γενη(μάτων) τοῦ γ (ἔτους) τὰς τῆς ἀγωγῆς
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀδόλου κεκοσκινευμένου
 μέτρῳ τῶι πρὸς τὸ χαλκοῦν (ἀρτάβας) Βφ (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) Βφ.
 32 Ἴνα δὲ συντόμῳς ἐξαρτισθῆι καὶ φυλακίται
 ἔχοντες κατεσφραγισμέν' ἀ' τὰ δε[ίγματα]
 ἐν γείνοις ἀγγείοις ἐπιβιβασθῶσ[ιν πλεύ-]
 σοντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρὰ [τῶν]
 36 φυλάκων ἀνακομιοῦντας τοὺς ἀντα-

ποστόλους, προνόησον ὡς ἤμῃ παρέργως.
 Καὶ σύμβ[ολ]ον καὶ ἀντισύμβολον γενέσθωι
 πρὸς τὸν ναύκληρον, ὡς καθήκει. Σαυτοῦ τε
 ἐπιμελοῦ, ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς.
 Ἔ[ρρωσο], (ἔτους) δ' Τῦ[βι number]

40

15. *l.* γηίνους || 27. *l.* τὸν || 30. *Bφ:* B corr. ex δ || 33. *corr.* ex κατεσφραγισμεν[ον] || 34. *l.* γηίνους ||
 36. *l.* ἀνακομιούντες || 38 *l.* γενέσθω || 40. ὑγιαίνῃς *corr.* ex. ὑγιαίνω.

Col. I

Andromachos to Harchēbis, greetings.

A copy of the official order given to Leonidēs, the *sitologos* is appended below.

Farewell. Year 4, Tybi 27.

To Leonidēs. A copy of the official order from Ptolemaios, the deputy chief of finances, is appended below. So, in compliance with it, upon authorization of Harchēbis, the royal scribe, put the shipment on board the boat of Agathoclēs, with [its] grain-carrying capacity of 2500 artabae, [which is] explicitly instructed to be dispatched from the city up-river by Dionysios and Heroidēs, the shipping agents, and assigned to Memphitēs according to the waybill, for the purposes of collecting wheat from the crops of the third year, amounting to 2500 artabae of pure and unadulterated wheat, sifted and measured with the *dochikon*-standard, tested with the bronze measure, and with fair and just smoothing-rod. The sample, sealed in unbaked earthen vessels, shall be entrusted to previously embarked policing officers, who have been chosen from among the cleruchs and exhibit the utmost loyalty. And they will carry with them the proper official orders of unloading obtained from the official in charge of collecting the corn tax, having also obtained a statement on oath to the king from the skipper that he shall deliver the cargo to the city unharmed without wasting time on the way, together with the consent of Pancratēs

and Dēmētrios, from the administration of military police and ship-guards in the service of the chief of finance. Total: 2500 artabae of wheat. Also, make duplicate receipts with him.

Col. II

Ptolemaios to *stratēgos* Andromachos, greetings and best wishes. Put on board the boat of Agathoclēs, dispatched from the city by Dionysios and Heroidēs, the shipping agents, and assigned to Memphitēs to collect wheat, from the crops of the third year, the shipment of 2500 artabae of pure and unadulterated wheat, sifted and measured with the bronze measure. Total: 2500 artabae. Mind that it is not considered of secondary importance, so that the boat is quickly freighted and the policing officers having the sample sealed in earthen vessels are embarked, in order to sail to the city and to bring back up-river the return waybills obtained from the guards. Also, draft duplicate receipts with the skipper, as is proper. And take care of yourself to retain your health. Farewell. Year 4, Tybi [?].

Constantinos Balamoshev

University of Warsaw
Faculty of Law and Administration
Chair of Roman Law and the Law of Antiquity
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
00-927 Warsaw
POLAND
e-mail: *c.balamoshev@uw.edu.pl*