A NEW GROUP OF ZENON PAPYRI.

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THE John Rylands Library contains a small but interesting collection of papyri from the famous archive of Zenon, which, at the kind invitation of Dr. Guppy, I have the pleasure of publishing here. Shortly after their acquisition they were transcribed by a scholar who was unsurpassed as an editor of such material, the late Professor Grenfell, but unfortunately he was prevented by illness from proceeding to the publication of them. In preparing this edition I have made free use of his transcripts, but have in every case re-examined the original text.

The documents are printed below in chronological order so far as they are dated or datable, the method of publication being the same as that employed in the Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library. To avoid confusion with the papyri published in the Catalogue, which are universally known as P. Ryl., I suggest that the present series might be cited as P. Ryl. Zen.

No. 1. Heading of a List of Goods.—8.5 × 12.5 cm.—About 258 B.C.

The list, which has been written along the fibres in a chancery hand, apparently in a single column, no doubt dates from the early years of the correspondence.

"Ηκείς σοι μετὰ τῶν
'Απολλωνίων ξενίων
παρὰ 'Αβδημοῦν Σιδωνίου
ἀ ἀπέστειλεν Ζήνων
5 ο ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐγ 'Ρόδου,
ὡν τὰ τέλη καταβέβληκε
'Αριστεύς.

[Handwritten text]

Verso
(2nd hand) Ἰου Νικάνορι ἐληλυθότων.
"There have arrived for you along with the gifts for Apollonius from Abdemoun the Sidonian the following articles which his brother Zenon sent from Rhodes, the taxes on which have been paid by Aristeus: . . ."

1. It is not clear whether σοι refers to Zenon or, as the docket suggests, to Nicanor, who was another member of Apollonius's suite (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59012). Perhaps the goods were delivered to Nicanor in Zenon's absence.

3. Σιδωνίου: the δ is very doubtful, but no other word seems possible. Grenfell's copy has σιτωνίου, but the letter does not look like τ.

'Αβδημών is the Phoenician name transliterated by Josephus as 'Αβδημών and 'Αβδημόνος.

4. ἀνέστειλεν might alternatively be taken as a qualification of ξενίων.

6-7. The τέλη were the Customs duties at the port of entry. Aristeus, who paid them, was an accountant in the household of Apollonius (see P. Cairo Zen. 59027, P.S.I. 411).

8. The list began here, ὅβ being the number of some article, such as wine-jars.

**No. 2. Letter from Amyntas (?) to Apollonius.**—29 × 16 cm.—February 6 or 9, 257 B.C.

Amyntas, to whom I have ventured to ascribe this letter, was one of the chief lieutenants of Apollonius. Some of his letters have an individual character rather rare among Zenon's correspondents, and are spiced with uncomplimentary epithets, such as Καλλιάνας ὁ κίναδος, Λυσιμάχου τοῦ ληστοῦ. When Apollonius was travelling in the interior in 258-257 B.C., Amyntas had charge of the household in Alexandria, whence he wrote every few days, sometimes to his chief, but more often to his friend Zenon. A phrase in P.S.I. 340, Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἐξω σκηνοῦντα καὶ γεγαμηκότα, may perhaps refer to the house at Canopus mentioned in the present letter.
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10 τῇ [ν ἀ]ρχήν ἡμεῖς προσελή
λύθαμεν καὶ ἀρραβώνα δεξιόκα-
μεν καὶ . . . τον . . . ὀδρ.
μενον ἀπεστήσαμεν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ
καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἄντως αὐτῶ καὶ προσ-
elθόντος ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτῶ Σωσιβίου
15 τοῦ ἐπιστολογραφοῦντος αὐτῶ
ἀπηγγείλαμεν.
ἐρρωσο. Ἡ κη Χοίαχ ἦ.

Verso ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩΙ.

"... The gifts which the letter-carrier brought, consisting of . . . wheat and the new flax, we presented to the king. And you must know that the house of the gouty Nicanor at Canopus is ours for 2 talents 500 drachmae. So if the people of Antiochus the rachas importune you, take note that originally we came forward first and have paid earnest-money and repulsed . . .; and of these same facts we notified him when he was here himself and his secretary Sosibius approached us on his behalf. Year 28, Choiach 13. (Addressed) To Apollonius."

1-3. These gifts were no doubt specimens of the produce of one of Apollonius's estates (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59560, 59562).

4-6. A house worth 2 talents 500 drachmae, a price to which we have no parallel in Ptolemaic documents, must have been a luxurious one, and Nicanor probably belonged to the Alexandrian aristocracy.

6. Perhaps a deleted letter before β.

7. Ἄντιοχος: so I read the name, though Grenfell's copy gives Ἀντίθεον. The context indicates that this was a man of high position, and it is rather tempting to identify him with Ἄντιοχος δ' Κρής who appears in P. Hib. 110 receiving correspondence by the royal postal service along with the king and the dioecetes; but Antiochus, like Nicanor, was a very common name. Ἀράχαν is a new word, perhaps a shortened form of ᾿Αρχαστήν, "the braggart"; it is presumably Greek, whereas ᾿Αράχ or ᾿Αράχ of the New Testament is supposed to be Aramaic. The Alexandrians were much addicted to giving nicknames to their distinguished fellow-citizens; see the remarks of Lumbroso in Archiv für Papyrusforschung IV, p. 67.

8. πυθῶ is very doubtful; there may have been another letter before π, and the last letter might be ι, e.g., ἐπίστημι.

17. The day of the month is either εν or ων.
No. 3. **Letter from Addaeus to Zenon.**—16 × 19 cm.—April, 257 B.C.

In three fragments, all of them in very bad condition; the right half is lost. Addaeus was an agent of Apollonius at Memphis, and the present letter has been an account of a sum of money spent by him on various kinds of business. It was received by Zenon at Mendes in the Delta, a town which Apollonius was then visiting on his tour of inspection.

> 'Αδδαίος Ζήνων χαίρειν. γέγραφακατὰ τὴν [π]αρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολῆν ... α.[
> δραχμὰς π[ε]ντήκοντα. τρίτου ἄγγ[λω
> [. . .] . . . [. . .] . απ[. . .] . . . . . . a.[

5 (δραχμαὶ) η (δβολός), ὀψωνίῳ ... ζαιωι καὶ σ. μα[
(δραχμὴ) a (τριώβουλον), ἐβάφθ' ἡσαν ἐρίῳν μναὶ δεξα......[
βάψαι τὴν ψιλοταπίδα (δραχμαὶ) γ', ἐργάτηι [
ἐλαίον μετρητᾶς δύο (ἄκταχόνως?), κεράμια ἐλαιόν. [
ἐλαιον [. . .] [. . .] ἄγοραζομεν . . . . . . .[
10 ταῖς παιδίσκαις εἰς τὰ ἔρια κάλαθοι iδ (δρ.) a [μισθὸν υποζυγίοις τοῖς κατενώκασιν τῇ[ν
ναι εἰς τὴν ἀναδενδράδα (δρ.) ε.]

**Verso**

> Ι κη Δύστρου μα, ἐν Μ[ένητι]. ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
> 'Αδδαίος τοῦ ἀνηλωμέ[νου]
> 15 ἀγγυρίου λόγος. Α

5. Perhaps ἄνεβαν καὶ σώμαν.
8. After δύο an abbreviation like χ over a doubtful η.
10. For these slave girls see P.S.I. 854 and P. Cairo Zen. 59142.
13. The day of the month might be η, ω, iδ, or κ.
15. The large α is probably a number given to the letter by the recipient (see P. Cairo Zen. 59330).

No. 4. **Letter from Numenius to Zenon.**—13.5 × 15 cm.—April 10, 257 B.C.

This letter, of which only the left end is in the Rylands collection, the other parts being in Florence and Cairo, has already been published as *P. Cairo Zen.* 59541, but I reprint it here for the sake of completeness with a few corrections made on
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a revision of the original. It dates from the time when Zenon was travelling with Apollonius in the Delta, and it was written by a subordinate who wishes to know when they will return to Memphis. But it took 13 days to reach Zenon, and he was actually in Memphis before he received it.

Novembris Zηνω  χαίρειν. [πα]ρὰ τὸ γεγραφ[ε]ναι ημίν
'Απολλάνιον συννυ[ῆςαι αὐτῶι]
οὔθεν κόσμω, ὡς ὦ τι τάχος
ἐτοίμῳ δὲν τῶν ἀνάπλ[ουν] ποιεῖσθαι. καλ[ῶις] ἀν οὖν
ποιῆσαις γράψα[ς ημῖν τόσας]
egι ἡμέρας μενεῖ ἐν τοῦ Μ[ενδ]ησίωι καὶ πότε [τὸν] ἀνάπλουν
eἰς Μέμφιον [ποιήσεται],

5 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ [βα]σιλέως ποῦ δι[ἐγν]ωκέν
ἀγεν καὶ τίνι ἡ[μέραι ὦς τῶν]
Αἰγυπτίων ἡ θυσία ἐσται, δ[ποι] εἰδώμεν.
εἴρρωσο. Ι κῆθ Μεχήρ Ι.

Verso

Novembris περὶ συναντήσεως τῆς ZΗΝΩ[N].
eἰς Μέμφιοι. Ι κη Δύστρου κι,
ἐμ Μέμφιοι.

"Numenius to Zenon greeting. Owing to Apollonius having written to me to meet him at Memphis on the 2nd I have been obliged to travel round the nome without any method, in order that I might be ready to sail up immediately. Please then write to me how many more days he is going to remain in the Mendesian nome and when he will sail up to Memphis, and tell me also directly where he has decided to celebrate the king's birthday and on what day in the Egyptian calendar the sacrifice will take place, in order that I may know. Farewell. Year 29, Mecheir 17. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Numenius about meeting at Memphis. Year 28, Dystrus 20, in Memphis."

5. The king's birthday fell sometime in the Macedonian month of Dystrus. But a Macedonian date was of little use to Numenius, who naturally reckoned by the more convenient Egyptian calendar.

7. It will be noted that Numenius writes "year 29" and Zenon "year 28." The former was the financial year beginning on the 1st of Mecheir, the latter the regnal year beginning a little later about the end of Dystrus.
No. 5. Letter from Criton to Zenon.—11.5 x 20.5 cm.—

Date of reception: about July 11, 257 B.C.

Criton the στολάρχης, commander of Apollonius's little fleet, requests his colleague Zenon, who was at present staying in Alexandria, to have the θαλαμηγός of Petechon made ready for the use of a certain Plistarchus. As θαλαμηγός usually means a river-boat, and as the captain was an Egyptian, it is probable that Plistarchus was making an inland voyage, though the name of his destination is lost.

Кρίτων Ζήνων χαίρειν. συντέταχεν 'Απολλώνιος τῆν [θαλα-
μηγὸν τῆν Πετε-] χώντος δοῦναι Πλειωστάρχῳ ὅπως ἀποκαταστασθῇ εἰς [...]

καλῶς]

οὖν ποιήσεις δοῦν τινα αὐλαίαν ὅπως παράβλημα ἔχῃ.

ὑπάρχουσιν δὲ νῦν]

ναύται δ. προσμισθώσασθαι οὖν σύνταξον 'Πετεχώντι

έλλους δ [ἀσστε γενέσθαι πάν-]

5 τας ἦ, καὶ δός τοῖς η ἐκάστῳ σὺν τῷ σῖτῳ εἰς τὸν [πλοῖν

δύσιν]

χάλκον (δραχμᾶς) θ, καὶ συναπόστειλον αὐτὴν ἐν τάχει.

ἐρρωσο. Λ [κθ]

λαβὲ δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τ[ὡν ναυτῶν].

Verso

Κρίτων περὶ θαλαμηγοῦ ἵνα ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.

δοθῆι Πλειωστάρχῳ καὶ ναυτῶν.

10 Λ κθ Δαισίου ι, ἐν 'Αλεξάνθρειαι.

"Criton to Zenon greeting. Apollonius has ordered the barge of Petechon to be given to Plistarchus in order that he may betake himself to . . . Please therefore give him some awning to provide him with a screen round the side. There are at present 4 sailors on board; so order Petechon to engage 4 more, making 8 in all; and give each of the 8 along with his corn 9 drachmae in copper as wages for the voyage. And dispatch the barge in haste. Farewell. Year 29, . . . (Postscript) And also take the descriptions of the sailors. (Addressed) To Zenon."
(Docketed) Criton about the barge, to have it given to Plistarchus, and about the sailors. Year 29, Daesius 10, in Alexandria.”

1. This may be the θελαμηγγός mentioned in P.S.I. 332.
2. The letter before the lacuna begins with an upright stroke.
3. Or perhaps ναύτας.
4. εἰς τὸν μῆνα is also possible, though the usual phrase is τοῦ μήνος unless the month is specified. The last word might also be πρόδομα.
5. The δ of δέ perhaps written over a κ. The “descriptions” were identification marks.

No. 6. LETTER FROM MARON TO ZENON.—12 × 17 cm.—Date of reception: about July 14, 257 B.C.

Maron was an employee of Apollonius at Philadelphia both before and after Zenon had taken charge of the estate there. The present letter was evidently a request for an increase of salary. It begins in a large, ligatured hand, which gradually becomes smaller and more cursive. The break on the right is quite straight, so probably the other half of the papyrus is in existence somewhere.

Μάρων Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. καλῶς
φαίνεται, εἰς τὸ ὄψωνιν ἐτὶ (δραχμᾶς) β (τριώβολον) ὥστε π. [μοι εἰς τὰ τε ἀλετρὰ καὶ ὐδωρ ἀγοράζειν [σοὶ δ’ ὡς φαίνεται οὕτω ποιεῖ. πολλοὶ δὲ διατρίβου[σι]
5 ‘φυλακία’ λαμβάνουσι ὄψωνιν (δραχμᾶς) ἵ καὶ πυρῶν ἀργάβας []

Verso
Μάρων περὶ τοῦ ὄψωνιν. ZHNGΩNI.
المع دمثυνιν εδ,
ἐν Ἀλέξανδρείᾳ.

“Maron to Zenon greeting. Please assign me, if you think fit, 2½ more drachmae for my salary... to provide for the cost of grinding and for buying water. ... But do just as you think right yourself. Many persons are occupied... those engaged in guarding receive a salary of 15 drachmae and... artabs of wheat. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed) Maron about his salary. Year 29, Daesius 14, in Alexandria.”
1. E.g., καλῶς ἵνα ποιήσας προσθεῖς μοι, εἰ σοὶ φαίνεται.
2. He means of course his monthly salary.
3. Though Grenfell read ἄλεαρα, I think that ἄλετρα, another form of ἄλεστρα, is quite certain. The omission of τό before ὑδωρ ἀγοράζεω is nothing unusual. The water of which Maron speaks was no doubt water for household use brought round by carriers in goatskins (cf. P.S.I. 528, 11-12).

No. 7. Letter from Apollonius to Zenon.—12 × 31·5 cm.—
October 3, 256 B.C.

A brief note of approval from the diecetes, the king's minister of finance. As Zenon was now stationed at Philadelphia, and as the letter was written on the 13th of Mesore and received on the 14th, Apollonius must have been staying in the neighbourhood.

'Απολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ὁρθῶς ἐποίησας ἀποστεῖλας τὸν ἐρέσινθον εἰς Μέμφιν.
ἐρρωσο. Λ λ Λωίου ὡς Μεσορῆ γ.  

Verso
5 Λ λ Λωίου ὡς Μεσορῆ γ. ΖΗΝΩΝΙ.
'Απολλώνιος ἐρέβινθον.


5. Λωίου ὡ ought to be ζ, but Zenon had already lost touch with the Macedonian calendar.

No. 8 Letter from Etearchus to Zenon.—24 × 10 cm.—
July-August, 251 B.C.

Written in a large hand along the fibres; a junction of two sheets runs down the middle. The writer appears from other documents to have been a nomarch, and it is not clear in what relation he stood to Zenon; but certainly the two men worked in close contact.
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VERSOS

Etearchus to Zenon greeting. As the water has been released, and as we have no need of it at present, please dam up the outlet in order that the works may be completed and the outcrops of sand cleared away. Farewell. Year 35, Pauni. (Addressed) To Zenon.

8-11. The work of reclamation was evidently being carried on near Philadelphia, and quite probably on the estate of Apollonius.

No. 9. LETTER FROM BUBALUS TO ZENON.—33·5 X 11 cm.—August 16, 251 B.C.

Written in a large hand. Bubalus, who was an agent of Apollonius, appears to have been stationed somewhere in the Memphite nome (cf. P.S.I. 354), though in an earlier document we find him delivering a list of goods imported through Pelusium to Alexandria (P. Cairo Zen. 59012). The subject of the present letter is the provisioning of the cavalrymen who were going down from their holdings to take part in the great festival called the Penteteris or Ptolemaieia. Though not published before in full, it has often been referred to and quoted, especially by Rostovtzeff, Large Estate, p. 121, and Beloch, Griechische Geschichte IV, pt. 2, p. 604. Its chief interest is that it helps to determine the chronology of the festival.
"Bubalus to Zenon greeting. You wrote to me to request Phanias the secretary of the cavalrymen to provide supplies at Meia for the cavalrymen who are going down to the Penteteris. You must know then that Leon who has been here said that a certain person has taken up the meat contract, paying the rent to the Treasury, and he will provide supplies; likewise also the oil-dealers who have contracted for the sale in retail will provide oil; so that nothing will be lacking. As for the billets, I have in fact been pointing them out to Meliton and his companions. I have therefore written to let you know. Farewell. Year 35, Pauni 26. (Addressed) To Zenon.

"(Account, in another hand.) For a male donkey with saddle-bags 28 drachmae; inclusive of saddle-bags, for another male 20 drachmae, for another 12 drachmae, for a female 20 dr., total 80; for another female 32 dr. Total 112."

4. Phanias, whose name appears in many contemporary documents, was an important official having economic and administrative authority over the cavalry settlers in various nomes.
7. A village in the Memphite nome.
11. An agent of the Memphite ecomeone (see P.S.I. 372).
12-16. The context shows that Rostovtzeff was right in taking this to be a contract with government for the right of dealing in meat in a certain locality rather than the farming of a tax on butchers. Compare Wilcken’s remarks in Archiv VIII, p. 79.
18. For the place of these retailers in the machinery of the great oil monopoly see Revenue Laws, cols. 47-48.
28. Grenfell’s copy has κδ, as given by Ernst Meyer and Beloch, but κφ is almost certain.
29. The address has been deleted when the verso was used for the note about the donkeys, which has no connexion with the letter.

No. 10. Letter from Pataecion to Zenon. — 16 × 34 cm.—
May 23, 250 B.C.

An amusing instance of how the subordinates of a great official might combine to circumvent a troublesome petitioner. At the time when the letter was written Zenon must have been paying a visit to Apollonius (see note on l. 9).

[[Παταεκίων] Ζήνων χαίρειν. προσεβαλόμεθα εἰς τὸ Ἀριστο-
δήμου ὄνομα
οἰκίαν Σοκέως τοῦ Νεξαύνος μαχίμου ἐν Ἀνήρει, ἀκηκόαμεν δὲ
καταπεπλευ-
κέναι ὡς ἐντεύξειν ἐμβάλητι [Ἀπ]ολλωνίων περὶ ἡμῶν, παρα-
λιπόν τὸν
τε ἀποδόμενον καὶ τὸν ἀγοράσαντα, οἰόμενος ἡμᾶς διασείσων
ἐὰν
5 Ἀπολλωνίων ἐντύχησιν, καλῶς ὡς ποιήσεις, εἰ σοι εὐκαίρον
ἐστιν καὶ ἂν ἐν δυ-
νατόν ἦς, μετελθεῖν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὡς μὴ καταγινωσκόμεθα
ὑπὸ
tῶν λοιπῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίων τῷ ἔρμηνει περὶ
tούτων,
ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνος κακῶσει αὐτόν καθο δύναται.
ἐρρωσο. ἐς Φαρμοῦθι ἂν.

Verso
10 ZHNΩΝΙ, τῶι ἐκ Φιλαδελ-
φεῖας.
Pataecion to Zenon greeting. I assigned to the possession of Aristodemus a house of Sokeus son of Nechauis, a native soldier, in Aueris, and I have heard that he has sailed down to present a petition to Apollonius about me, ignoring both the seller and the buyer, with the idea that he will discomfit me if he appeals to Apollonius. If therefore you have an opportunity and if it be practicable, will you please take action against the fellow, in order that I may not be discredited by the rest of them. I have written also to Apollonius the interpreter requesting him also to do the man as much damage as he can. Farewell. Year 36, Pharmouthi 1. (Addressed) To Zenon. (Docketed by the sender.) The Philadelphian.

1. Pataecion, whose name has been deleted (I do not know why), was one of Zenon’s agents. Apparently he had assigned to Aristodemus as the result of an auction (for the use of προσεβιλόμεθα in this sense cf. U.P.Z., p. 534, and P. Cairo Zen. 59354, 22) a house which was said to be that of Sokeus but which had been sold by a third party, τοῦ ἀποδόμουν. The situation is not quite clear, but one possibility is that the seller was a creditor recovering a loan by distraint, while Pataecion was acting as a πράκτωρ. The question at issue seems to be whether he had a right to dispose of the house (cf. P. Tebit. 5, 231 ff.)

2. Ἀνήμερα: a village in the μείπος of Heraclides and in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais Hormu, forming part of the τῶν ἐξ ὅσων (cf. Enteureis, p. 216). The name may have survived in the modern Hawara.

6. μετελθεῖν means that Zenon was to prejudice Apollonius against the complainant.

7. This interpreter is mentioned again in P. Cairo Zen. 59065 and P.S.I. 409. He might easily have used his position to do an ill turn to a native petitioner.

9. The date is interesting. Reckoned by the regnal year it would be May 22, 249 b.c., but reckoned by the financial year May 23, 250 b.c. As we know from P. Cairo Zen. 59299-301 that Zenon had gone down to Alexandria at the latter time, there is a strong probability that the date is a financial one. Indeed it seems to me not unlikely that the financial year was the one generally used for dating by the Greeks in the χώρα. Cf. P. Mich. Zen., p. 55.

10. The docket, which is on the fold next to that on which the address was written, was added by Pataecion to identify the addressee.

No. 11. ACCOUNT OF WINE.—25 × 10 cm.—July 16, 250. b.c.

Λ ἔν Παχῶν ἔὲ
δέος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς Σωστράτου ἐκμετρηθέντος Ὡρω
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ἀπὸ κερ(ἀμίων) ἡ

5 Θηβαῖον ἡμικαδίων καὶ ἐν ἀλλω ταμητῶι κερ(ἀμία) ἡ

| κεράμια | πθ
|--------|------

10 ἡμικαδία τούτων ῥυάδες κερ(ἀμία) β

| λοιπὰ κερ(ἀμία) | πζ
|-----------------|------

ἀ ἐκμετρηθέντα ἐξέβη

15 ἐν κεραμίοις πβ

ἐν οἷς μετρητάι Ἀρσινόης (ἐξάχοις) ο ἡ

| ἀττικοὶ μετρητάι (δώδεκάχοι) | νη
|-----------------|------

τρυγίον κερ(ἀμία) η

καὶ ύπαρχει ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς

20 [Μέμφιῳ μετρηθέντος

 δεκτὸς τρυγίος κερ(ἀμία) δ

 ὥσπερ εἶναι τὰ ύπάρχοντα

ἐν ταμητῶι τρυγίος κερ(ἀμία) ἴβ

καὶ τὰ εὑρεθέντα ύπο-

25 ζ<ἐ>οντα κερ(ἀμία) γ

“Year 36, Pachons 25. Account of the sour wine which was measured out to Horus on the estate of Sostratus: contents of 62 jars, 10 Theban jars, 6 half-jars; and in another storehouse 17 jars, 19 half-jars; total 89 jars, 25 half-jars; deduct as produce of diseased grapes 2 jars, remainder 87 jars, 25 half-jars. These when measured out came to 82 jars containing 78 six-chous metretae of Arsinoe, equal to 58½ twelve-chous Attic metretae; 8 jars of lees; and from the sour wine measured out for Memphis there were left 4 jars of lees, so that the amount of lees now in the storehouses is 12 jars; and 3 jars which were found to be fermenting.”

2. Sostratus was a friend of Zenon and joint owner with him of a large vineyard.

5. Θηβαῖον is written over a deleted word.

16. Ἀρσινόης: perhaps the standard measure kept in the temple of the goddess Arsinoe, like the artaba called 'Ερμοῦ. It cannot be the measure used in
the ἀπόμομπα of Arsinoe, which contained 8 choes. There is perhaps a reference to the Ἀρακουκεῖας μετρητής in P. Cairo Zen. 59271.

17. This line is interpolated. It appears from the equation that 1 Ptolemaic chous = 1½ Attic choes, which, so far as I know, is a new metrological datum.

19. Read ὑπάρχει rather than ὑπάρχει.

21-22. In the left margin opposite these lines are the figures λθ (¼ of ον in l. 16) and below, θλζ (¼ of λθ).

24-25. Cf. B.G.U. 1549, where ἀποζέσαντα must surely mean "after fermentation."

No. 12. LETTER FROM DEINON TO ZENON.—17 × 13 cm.—
About December 31, 250 B.C.

Only the right side of this letter is in the Rylands collection, but the left side has been identified among the Zenon papyri in the British Museum (Inventory 2678) and with the kind permission of Mr. Bell I print the two fragments together. It is written in a large chancery hand. We possess another letter of the same correspondent, P.S.I. 376 + P. Cairo Zen. 59415, and he is no doubt also the author of P. Hib. 44. He is mentioned again in P.S.I. 858 (Δείνων εὑρέθηκε) and in P. Mich. Zen. 100. That the τῶν περὶ Δείνων of P. Cairo Zen. 59001 refers to the same man is not impossible, though that text is 24 years older. His title is nowhere given, but he was evidently a high official.

Δείνων Ζη[νον χαίρειν]. ἀκοῦσθε τοῦ δέοντος εἰς ἰδοντα ....... τάσαι. ἐδει μὲν οὖν σε μὴ ἐνοχληθη[ναί, ........ πρὸ δὲ ἦμας γράψαι ὅπως εἰδημεν· προσεβε[χόμεθα γάρ σε εἰς παρέσεσθαι.

5 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις τὴν τε ταχύστη πολυμβάνων καὶ προσέχου τὴν νοῦν ἵνα βεβαίωτερον ἰσχύσης. γράψε δὲ καὶ ἔλθῃ τοὺς τῶν παρὸς ἦμῶν χρείαν ἐχεις· ὅτι γάρ ἠθέω τὸ ὄνομα σῶμα σε ἀγαπῶν.

ἔρρωσο. Ι. λας 'Τερβε(ραίον) κδ.

"Deinon to Zenon greeting. I hear that having gone out sooner than you ought you have had a relapse. Now you ought not to have troubled but simply written to us to let us know; for we were expecting you to come at any moment. So please
try to recover as fast as possible and take care that your health is soundly established. And write if ever you have need of anything here; for I am sure you know that we will gladly do your bidding. Farewell. Year 36, Hyperberetaeus 24."

2. ὑποτροπάσα would be of the right length, but the only known forms are ὑποτροπαθήμα and ὑποτροπιάσα.

4. Probably εἰδήμεν = ἡδεμεν (cf. εἰδήν in P. Cairo Zen. 59643, 15) and is not to be corrected to εἰδήςωμεν or εἰδήςετημεν. The construction is a rarity in texts of this kind, but Deinon writes a rather superior style.

8. The end of this line is written in much smaller characters, so that the suggested supplement is probably not too long.

No. 13. LETTER TO ZENON.—12 × 24 cm.—February, 249 B.C.

The writer appends a receipt from Cephalon for 30 drachmae for horticultural work. The receipt is addressed to Zenon, though the original was apparently delivered to his correspondent. Written in a large clear hand.

[. . . . . . .]Ος ᾿Ζήμωνι χαίρειν. ὑπογέγραφά σοι τῆς παρ[ά
Κεφάλωνος]
[ἐπιστο]λής τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ἔρρωσο. Ἡ λς Χοία[χ . . .]
[Κεφάλων . . .] Ζήμωνι χαίρειν. ἔχω παρὰ Σπα[]
[εἰς] τὸν σκαφητὸν καὶ εἰς τομὴν καὶ εἰς φυτη[κομιαν]
5 [δρα]χμᾶς τριάκοντα. ἔρρωσο. Ἡ λς Χοία[χ . . .]

Verso

[Η λς Χοία]χ κ
[ἀντίγραφον] ἐπὶ(ιστολής) Κεφάλωνος.

"... to Zenon greeting. I have appended for you a copy of the letter from Cephalon. Farewell. Year 36, Choiach . . .

"Cephalon to Zenon greeting. I have received from Spa . . . for hoeing and cutting and dressing the trees thirty drachmae. Farewell. Year 36, Choiach . . . (Addressed) to Zenon. (Docketed) Year 36, Choiach 20. Copy of a letter of Cephalon."

1. [Ἀνδρόνικ]ος is a possible supplement, for a man of that name appears as a vine-dresser in several of Zenon's accounts.

3. Or possibly παρ' Ἀσπα[.]

6. The κ seems to be written over ια.
No. 14. LETTER FROM DIOSCURIDES TO ZENON.—13 × 7.5 cm.—Undated.

This short letter, which is written along the fibres, refers to building operations at Philadelphia. Dioscurides was an agent whom Zenon employed on various kinds of work.

Διοσκορίδης Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. παρακεκο-
μίκαμεν γαυνείοις
παρὰ Στοτοήτιος
5 τοῦ λατόμου
ἔως ἦ τοῦ Μεχεῖρ
ωκ. ἔρρωσο.

Verso ZHNGΩNI.

"Dioscurides to Zenon greeting. Up to the 30th of Mecheir we have transported 820 corner-stones delivered by Stotoetis the quarryman. Farewell. (Addressed) to Zenon."


No. 15. LETTER FROM PHILINUS TO ZENON.—35.5 × 11 cm.—Undated.

Philinus was a man of property who appears to have been in very close relationship with Zenon. The two corresponded frequently, chiefly about services which one was doing for the other. For further details and surmises about his position see Rostovtzeff, Large Estate, p. 175. We do not know where he resided, but it cannot have been far from Philadelphia; the word καταποστείλας in l. 12 suggests a locality either in the north of the Fayum or in the Memphite nome.

The present letter is written in the large, untidy hand characteristic of Philinus (see P. Cairo Zen. III, pl. 25).
Philinus to Zenon greeting. In accordance with what you wrote about Zenon I interviewed Aphthonetus and it will be arranged as you write. Be good enough to make ready all the things required for the reception according to the memorandum and to send them down by the 10th of Choiach or the 12th. And please come yourself along with your brothers; for I am sacrificing both on my behalf and on yours. Make also 25 plates, each of them 1 cubit 8 fingerbreadths in diameter, to be given to the banqueters as at the festival of Hermes. I have sent you the measurement of the plates, for they say here that they will not be able to make them of such a size, though at present they are being compelled to supply a couple. Farewell.

(Addressed) to Zenon."

3. Zenon’s friend Panacestor had a son called Zenon (P. Cairo Zen. 59244), who may possibly be the person spoken of.

4. Aphthonetus was a strategus of high rank, exercising authority in the Arsinoite nome, and possibly in other nomes as well.

10. The $\tau$ of $\tau\hbar$ is written over an $\sigma$. The word $\delta\sigma\chi\hbar$ might mean the entertainment of the guests in general or the reception of a distinguished visitor.
From an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum Rostovtzeff has conjectured that on one occasion Philinus gave a banquet to the king, but the evidence is rather meagre.

13. The date suggests that, if the papyrus belongs to the reign of Euergetes, the festivity might have had some connexion with the king's birthday (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59358).

31. The words are ambiguous, and I do not know exactly what Philinus meant. δύο might be either the object (plates) or the subject (persons).

No. 16. PETITION TO ZENON FROM PATUMIS.—17.5 x 12.5 cm.—Undated.

The petitioner, who was an ἵσιονόμος, writes about certain cattle which he had delivered to Zenon as a παρακαταθήκη. They nominally belonged to Isis and Osiris, but actually he used them as his own property. From the emphasis which Patumis lays on Zenon's protection and from his offer of a cow I suspect that he had been in trouble, perhaps in prison, and that the παρακαταθήκη was an expedient, advantageous to both parties, for the purpose of safeguarding the cattle. It appears from P. Cairo Zen. 59491 that on one occasion Patumis was brought before Zenon on a charge of robbery, but we are not told of the sequel.

[Zήνωνι χαίρε]ιν Πατύμις Ἀραπάκτιος ἤσιονό-
[μος. ἐπιστη]ς διότι παρακαταθήκην δέδω-
[κα τὰς βο]ὺς τῆς Ἰσεως καὶ Ὀσίρεως. καλῶς ὅν
[ποιήσει], εἰ καὶ σοι δοκεῖ, ἢν ἀν σοι δοκῇ βοῦς
5 [ἐκ τούτων λαβεῖν, τὰς δὲ λουτᾶς ἀποδοῦναι
[ὅπως ἄν]ν ἔχω τὸμ. βίον ἐξ αὐτῶν. ἐσκέπασες
[ἡμᾶς κ]αὶ ἀρχῆς, ἐτι δὲ καὶ νῦν οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς
[οὐδενὶ γ]ὰρ ἀν ἐπίστευσα ἀλλ' ἢ σοι ἢν σκεπά-
10 [σθ]ς ἡμᾶς].

εὐτύχει.

"To Zenon greeting from Patumis, son of Harapaktis, steward of Isis. You know that I have given to you as a deposit the cows of Isis and Osiris. Be good enough therefore, if you too agree, to take whichever one of them you please and give me back the rest in order that I may gain my living from them. You protected us in the beginning, and now again no one but
you will protect us, for the sake of Isis. For I would not have put trust in anyone but you to protect us. May you prosper."

2. It is not clear whether the παρακαταθήκη in this case was a legal deposit, like P. Grenf. II, 17, or an informal trust. But Paturnis seems to request the return of the cattle as a favour rather than a right.

4. Read βοῦν.

7. It is just possible, but not probable, that the scribe has tried to correct ἄρχης to ἄρχην; ἐπὶ ἄρχης cannot be read.

9. ίνα σκεπάσης = σκεπάσαι; so in one of the unpublished fragments in Cairo οὐμολόγηκας εἶνα παραγέη.

No. 17. PETITION TO ZENON.—10.5 × 14 cm.—Undated.

The left end of this text has been published as P. Cairo Zen. 59395. The new fragment, comprising the right end, makes the meaning a little clearer, but the missing part cannot be restored without considerable risk of misrepresenting the sense. It appears that the petitioner had been accused of complicity in a robbery, brought before a nomarch in Crocodilopolis, and detained there. He therefore asks Zenon, with whom he had apparently some engagement, to procure his release and so allow him to fulfil his obligations.

Zήνωνει Χαίρειν Ἀπο[---]ᾶδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλακιτῶν τῶν ἐν Κερκεσούχους. λείας γὰρ[---]τόποις ἀνήγαγόμ με βίαι εἰς Κροκοδίλων πόλιν ἐπὶ Τιμόθεου τῶν νομάδρχην --- οὖκ ἀπελύθην. δέομαι οὖν σου, ἐπεδή βίαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰχθυς καὶ ὑβρ[ισθην ---]μοι τῆς κώμης 5τῆς φυτείαν ὑπαρ[χει] εἰς[---]α ὥστε δύνασθαι σοι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν.

θέλω δὲ σοι καὶ ἐμαντ[---]α[---]ἰ παρέχεσθαι ὥστε σε μηθὲν ἐγκαλεῖν, ἵνα καὶ τ[---]ἀρήσωμαι καὶ συγγράψασθαι σοι βούλομαι περὶ τούτων καὶ καὶ[---]αι σοι τοὺς ἀδῆλφοὺς.

eὐτύχει.

2. Perhaps λείας γὰρ εὐφρεθείσης ἐν τοῖς τόποις.

4. After κώμης the surface is broken, but there is no trace of any letter.

5. τῆς φυτείας ὑπάρχει is possible, though neither supplement is certain.


7. χρήσωμαι is not impossible.
Written along the fibres. The Artemidorus mentioned here was a physician in the service of Apollonius. He lived in Alexandria, accompanying his master on many of his tours and missions, but he had also a house and an allotment at Philadelphia, which his friend Zenon looked after in his absence.

Παχώνς παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου
iatroū

idos µήκωνος µελαι(νης) υαλδ'

κ Μνηδικοῦ πυ(ροῦ) υζζ

5 Παῦνι ζ δλύρ(ας) ρα

ιζ σησάµου κα

κγ σησάµ(ου) λγ

/ πυρ(οῦ) υζζ

δλύρ(ας) ρα

10 σησάµου νδ

µήκωνος 'µελαι(νης)' υαλδ'

Verso τῶν Ἀρτεμιδώρου
γενηµάτων.

"Pachons, from Artemidorus the physician: 19th, of black poppy seed 11½ artabs; 20th, of Median wheat 16½. Pauni 7th, of olyra 101; 17th, of sesame 33. Total: 16½ artabs of wheat, 101 of olyra, 54 of sesame, 11½ of black poppy seed. (Endorsed) List of the crops of Artemidorus."

2. iatroō is interpolated.
4. Wheat grown from seed originally imported from Media (cf. P. Cairo Zen. 59292, 6).