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**"Greek Papyri in the British Museum
(now in the British Library) (P. Lond.
VII)", vol. VII : "The Zenon Archive", ed.
by T. C. Skeat, London 1974 : [recenzja]**

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

According to the tradition of The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, all the volumes are provided with indices and perfect plates, which in a great choice illustrate now the documentary texts too.

P. Lond. VII

Greek Papyri in the British Museum (now in the British Library), volume VII: *The Zenon Archive*, ed. by T. C. Skeat, F.B.A., British Museum Publications Limited, London 1974, pp. 345.

This volume was published as the VIIth of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, because the study *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*, published in 1924 by Sir Harold Bell, was included in this series as vol. VI.

The present volume contains all papyri in the British Museum which certainly, or probably, come from the Zenon Archive, and thus renders accessible the last still unpublished numerous group of documents from this Archive, elaborated in a masterly way by the unfailing T. C. Skeat. Many of the actually published documents were already often quoted and discussed, mainly by M. Rostovtzeff in his *Large Estate* and by Mlle C. Préaux in *Les Grecs en Egypte*. They were also mentioned in numerous other works as the earlier transcripts of some of these documents were always widely accessible. Many texts were also formerly published and the most interesting among them have even a wide literature. Especially Papyrus 1955 (= SB 7986) and the till now not published as whole, but also fully discussed by Rostovtzeff in *Large Estate* (pp. 73–74), P. 1954. In these two texts, composed in autumn 257 B.C. the farmers from the Heliopolite nome criticize the Greek administration of Apollonios' estate and ask for an interview with Dioiketes himself.

A letter of Apollonios, dated September 21, 254 actually 1973 (= SB 7983), with an urgent command to Zenon to dispatch conveyances and baggage-animals to Ptolemais, at the entrance to Fayum, to meet the ambassadors of Parisades and the delegates of Argos, who had been sent by the King on a sight-seeing tour of the Arsinoite nome—awoke formerly the greatest interest. The volume contains also such texts as 1964 (= SB 7983) discussing the private business of Zenon, 2017 (= SB 6997)—a long but interesting request of Herakleotes, concerning a musical instrument bequeathed to him by his teacher or 2052 never yet entirely published, but widely known, since most of its contents is quoted by Rostovtzeff (*Large Estate*, pp. 20–21) which gives perhaps some explanation of the end of Apollonios' career. All these papyri, already known from former publications, appear now with a commentary, summing up the results of previous discussions and containing the editors own remarks.

Many of the texts, published in the analysed volume, were reconstituted of fragments belonging to the British Museum and to other collections, e.g. the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Institute of Papyrology in Florence, the Columbia University in New York or the Michigan University in Ann Arbor. Other texts complete already known documents and constitute a sensible entirety with them. E.g. No 1938 and 1944 concerning Theodoros, the brother of Amyntas, and a rather unclear business of Python, the banker, treat the same question as 1943, formerly published as P. Cair. 59062. Papyri 1941 and 1948 contain two letters from Hierocles, presumably manager of the *palaestra* in Alexandria, addressed to Zenon and Nikanor (cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59060 and 59061) where, together with Ptolemaios, he trained young sportsmen, are partly identical with 1941, P. Cair. Zen. 59098 and P. Iand. 92; Ktesias, the brother of Hierokles, is probably the author of the fragmentary text of 1961. In P. Cair. Zen 59245 Kolluthes, komogrammateus of Ammonias, reported to Zenon, that agricultural workers who ran away from the grounds, allotted to the *cleruchs*, had sought refuge in the Isieion in the Memphite nome. P. 1980 and its duplicate 1981 bring a new light to this: they are namely issued by the above named workers, who claim to have been evicted from their lands, without compensation, in spite of the *cleruchs* were in fact willing that they should remain on the land. Two rolls, 1944 and 1994, dated from 251 B.C. are, taken together, the most extensive of all documents in the Zenon Archive. They represent two successive attempts to draw up an account of the grain put at the disposal of Herakleides, the chief farmer of the Apollonios' estate, in 33, 34 and 35 B.C. of which the last was for Herakleides a year of crisis. While at the begining of this triennal period his accounting seems to be reasonably satisfactory, an abrupt change occurred in 35. The final result of these calculations shows Herakleides as owing the net amount of nearly 16000 *artabes* of wheat. The introduction to 2994 brings a very precious table of the equivalence of the different grains in terms of wheat, and the whole calculation is easier to understand on the basis of a series of very clear tables, inserted after the notes of 1995. Two other documents in the same volume, namely 1991 and 1993, together with the formerly published, are also concerning the activities of Herakleides (the most important are: P. Cair. Zen. 59292, 59438, 59569, 59730, 59741, 59783, 59787, P. Col. Zen. 76, P. Mich. Zen 119, P.S.I. 543 and 588). 2002 brings a long account, reconstituted of the London and Cairo fragments (P. Cair. Zen. 59326 and 59326 bis). It appears to be a record of disbursements, principally in money, made by various persons, presumably as agents for Zenon, probably about 249 B.C. 2026, a typical, undated letter of introduction addressed to Zenon, allows now to recognize an almost identical letter of introduction in P. Col. Zen. II 115 h + P. Mich. Zen. 93. A letter of Philinos, close and very rich friend of Zenon, published as 2056, might be connected with an other letter of the same Philinos (P. Cair. Zen. 59358) and is surely related to P. Ryl. 568. All these documents concern the preparations to a banquet; 2056 mentions a forthcoming visit of the King. According to Rostovtzeff (*Large Estate*, p. 175) it was Philinos himself

who was giving the banquet to the King. Our editor remarks however, that the provisions here asked for seem curiously meagre for such an occasion. On the other hand he admits that this letter might not have been the first one, and thus it could only mention the outstanding items from an earlier and much larger order. Further, 2038, undated completes the data about potters who worked in Philadelphia for Zenon.

Among the other documents from the Zenon Archive published in this volume, the three first ones, 1930–1932, already partly known from former publications, concern the earliest Syro-Palestinian phase of Zenon's career (259–258 B.C.). 1934, dated 258 which, together with 1958 belongs to a small group of Zenon papyri which came on the market shortly before the main find of the winter of 1914–1915, brings a proof that Apollonios received an allowance (*σύνταξις*) from the Treasury for the payment of his subordinates. The almost perfectly preserved letter from May 9th, 257, published as 1948, is a new text about the estate of Apollonius at Bethanath in Galilea. 1963 brings news about the further career of Panakestor who, in the summer of 256, is the superintendent of dispatches (*διτρός ταῖς ἀποστολαῖς*) in the Memphite nome. 1967 (date of reception: August 2nd, 255) brings an account of a fracas between the inhabitants of Philadelphia and peasants from the neighbouring village of Ammonias about the control of water-supplies. 1972, dated March 27th, 254, (its right-hand fragment has been published as P. Cair. Zen. 59197) is one of the comparatively few letters of Zenon himself included in the Archive. 2019, an other writ, emanating from Zenon from September 24th, 254, is a brief note addressed to the *nomarch* Achoapis; it is the latest exactly dated document in the British Museum collection of Zenon papyri. A group of documents refers to the relations between Zenon and the *cleruchs*, namely 1978 (Dec. 25th, 253), 1996, 1967–1969 (ca. 250), 2040 and perhaps 2027, both not dated; 2015 from June 13th, 241, without an obvious connection with the Zenon Archive, contains a copy of will, executed in Memphis; we find there the earliest absolutely certain instance of a *cleruch* bequeathing his *κλῆρος* 1998 (July 16th, 250) and 2000 (September 20th—October 19th, 250) speak about the delivery of animals—the first one to Apollonios, the second to the King for sacrifice at the Arsinoeia. Two letters from Iason, son of Kerkion to Zenon (2006 from June 24th, 248 and 2008 from May 1st, 247) show well the complex nature of Zenon's business operations and the difficulties which had to be faced by his subordinates.

The texts 2009–2019 are dated from the reign of Ptolemy III. The remaining group of the Zenon papyri are undated texts, except 2074, hypothetically dated to ca. 249–248. Among them 2036 brings an interesting memorandum of a certain Isidora who leased private baths from Zenon, acting anyway as an agent for Apollonios. 2041 is a letter addressed to Zenon, in which the writer expresses his wish to pour a libation to the *Genius loci* (*δαίμον, τοῦ χωρίου*). According to the editor, he may have considered the deified Arsinoe as the *δαίμων* of Philadelphia, or, perhaps, this might have been an assertion, that the custom was universal. The study of

E. Wipszycka, *Klio* 39, 1961, p. 185–190 should be added to the literature quoted in the introduction to 2055 about the textile factory at Memphis.

At the end of the volume there are six papyri which do not belong to the Zenon Archive. The first of them purchased already in 1895 by the British Museum from B. P. Grenfell, is now fully published for the first time (Grenfell printed a small section of the text in P. Grenfell I, p. 24, and it was accorded only a very brief description in P. Lond. III, p. XIX). This papyrus is composed of fragments of a roll containing a dossier of documents relating to a long-standing dispute between the priests of Hermontis and those of Pathyris, concerning the ownership of a fertile piece of land described as $\nu\hat{\eta}\sigma\sigma\varsigma$ καὶ τὸ προσγένημα. The latest date mentioned is the 15 Mecheir of Year 33, i.e. March 12th, 148. It might be worth mentioning, that this is not the first attestation of a hostility existing at this time between Hermontis and Pathyris, cf. Wicken, Chr. 10. The three further texts, 2189–2192, were already previously published in *JEA*. 45. 1959, pp. 75–78; 52, 1966, pp. 179–180; 55, 1969, pp. 129–160. The last papyrus, 2193, published under the title: *The Guild of Zeus Hypsistos*, in the *Harward Theological Review*, 29, 1936, pp. 39–88, is in its actual publication accompanied by notes, based on a recent re-examination of the papyrus.