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TWO NEW LATIN PAPYRI FROM THE TEBTYNIS TEMPLE LIBRARY

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TWO NEW LATIN PAPYRI FROM THE TEBTYNIS TEMPLE LIBRARY

The two Latin papyri published here are previously unedited. Both texts are from the Tebtynis temple library and have Egyptian texts on the verso (see Ryholt 2005). Both come in several fragments, housed by altogether three collections.¹ The largest fragments of both texts are in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection in Copenhagen. In addition, both texts have fragments in Florence (Papiri della Società Italiana); P. Carlsberg 671 also has one fragment in Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung). The Egyptian text on P. Carlsberg 555 verso was published by Kim Ryholt in 2012, but the Egyptian side of P. Carlsberg 671 remains unpublished. It is commonly assumed that the papyri from the Tebtynis temple library, bearing in most cases Greek texts on the recto, were re-used there. This gives an approximate second century date for the texts on the recto, with which the Latin cursive hands are compatible. The two papyri published here are the only Latin texts from the temple library (Ryholt 2012: 143).

1. P. Carlsberg 671 recto + Berlin P 14470 b recto + PSI inv. I 149 recto

This papyrus consists of three groups of fragments belonging to the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection in Copenhagen (Carlsberg fragments A–E, Plate 1), the collection of the Papiri della Società Italiana in Florence (PSI fragments A–E and possibly F, Plate 2), and the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung (the Berlin fragment, Plate 1). The Berlin fragment was recognized as part of the papyrus and joined to Carlsberg frg. A by Susanne Töpfer (information conveyed in an email).

On the verso, the fragments have a text written partly in Hieratic and partly in Demotic (unpublished). This text is written upside down (at 180°) to the Latin text.²

On the recto of the fragments there is writing in both Latin and Greek, the content of which is summarized below:

Carlsberg frgs. A + C + Berlin frg.

A Roman will in Latin

Carlsberg frg. B

Latin text together with one line in Greek, possibly part of the will

Carlsberg frgs. D and E

Latin letters

PSI frg. A

Latin letters on top, after that blank

PSI frg. B

Fragment of a Greek text, possibly from court proceedings

PSI frg. C

Traces of Latin (?) letters

¹ I would like to thank the following people for permission to publish the texts: Kim Ryholt for P. Carlsberg 671 recto and P. Carlsberg 555 recto, Daniela Manetti for PSI inv. I 149 recto and PSI inv. D 111 recto and Marius Gerhardt for Berlin P 14470 b recto. – I also thank David Thomas, Jaakko Frösen, Rodney Ast, Marja Vierros and Ornella Salati for help in reading the texts; Kim Ryholt and Susanne Töpfer for information on the Egyptian texts on the verso; and Giulio Iovine for comments on the Latin handwriting. Marco Stroppa has kindly sent me images of the Florence fragments and helped with the interpretation of PSI inv. I 149 B. Finally, I owe a special thanks to Sampsa Rydman for preparing the plates for this publication. – The editions are based on examination of the original papyri in Copenhagen and on high quality photographs of those in Florence and Berlin. – This work was made possible by a scholarship from the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the project *Act of the Scribe* at the University of Helsinki (funded by the Academy of Finland). Final stages of the work were carried out during my research period as a Visiting Fellow in All Souls College, University of Oxford (Michaelmas term 2017).

² Information by email from Kim Ryholt and Susanne Töpfer.

PSI frg. D

Traces of Greek letters

PSI frg. E

Traces of ink

PSI inv. I 149 F (?)

Latin letters

Carlsberg fragments A and B come from the same sheet and probably from the same column.³ If the latter is the case, frg. B belongs below the Berlin fragment on the Latin side (above it on the Egyptian side), given that Carlsberg frg. A contains the upper margin and begins with the opening of the will.

I have placed Carlsberg frg. C to the right of the Berlin fragment and assumed that the name Ulpius and the letters below it belong to the mancipation formula, other parts of which are seen in the Berlin fragment. This placement is possible on the Egyptian side.⁴

It has not been possible to connect the Greek text on PSI frg. B with the will. Instead, it seems likely that this fragment originally comes from a report of court proceedings. Smaller pieces of papyri were often glued together for making larger manuscripts in the Tebtynis temple library (Ryholt 2018: 156–158; more than twenty examples). This must be the case here as well.

The Latin hand in this papyrus resembles other 2nd century documentary hands but is remarkably irregular, resulting in a careless overall appearance. A parallel to the hand, in at least some respects, can be seen in *ChLA* X 427 (another copy of a will or protocol, second half of the 2nd century), characterized by the editor as “cursive bureaucratique”. The scribe of the present will used two different forms of *d*, the typical Latin one and another resembling the Greek delta (cf. ll. 3 and 7; the same happens e.g. in *P.Oxy.* LII 3692 = *ChLA* XLVII 1424, a will from the 2nd century). A parallel for the form of *g* (ll. 9, 13 and 14) is found in *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2565.3 (*ChLA* XLVII 1412, a birth certificate from 26 May–24 June, AD 224). Medial dots regularly mark abbreviations.

The writing on the smaller Carlsberg fragments is in most cases clearly in this same hand. In Carlsberg frg. B this is true for two lines of the Latin (ll. 5–6), whereas for the remaining as well as the Greek letters some doubt remains. The traces of Latin letters on the PSI fragments are probably in the same hand as well.

P. Carlsberg 671 A + C + Berlin P 14470 b: A Roman will (*testamentum per aes et libram*).

The original will was written in Alexandria on the 12th of July but the year is lost. The only name preserved fully is C. Iulius Priscus who acted as the scale-holder (*libripens*). This name is found elsewhere in Roman-era papyri, but as it is built of very common elements, no reasonable suggestions for identification can be made. I bring up some attestations of the name in the comments. In addition, if my interpretation of fragment C is correct, the *nomen* of the *familiae emptor* was Ulpius. This is a less frequent name but nonetheless securely attested in 2nd century Egypt.

Currently, a dozen Roman wills in Latin are known among papyri or writing tablets. In addition, there are Roman wills translated into (or later, written in) Greek. Both are collected in Migliardi Zingale (1997³) (30 texts, of which 12 in Latin, and 18 in Greek) and Nowak (2015). Nowak adds one Latin will from Britain (Tomlin 2001, 2nd century AD; Nowak 2015: 357) and one Greek will from Egypt (*P. Bagnall* 5, AD 213; Nowak 2015: 370).

The traditional Roman will, *testamentum per aes et libram*, was originally an oral process. An important element of it was the so-called mancipation whereby the person making the will sold his household to a fiduciary person for the price of a coin by hitting with this coin (*aes*) a bronze scale (*libra*) (see Keenan, Manning and Yiftach-Firanko 2014: 121–124). This imaginary sale had lost its meaning as a ritual by this time, but nevertheless remained a part of the phraseology. In its written form, the Roman will was traditionally incised on wax tablets, of which the will of Antonius Siluanus (Jouguet and Guéraud 1940 = *FIRA*

³ Information from Susanne Töpfer.

⁴ I am grateful to Susanne Töpfer for this information.

[]g
 [factum Alex(andreae)] ad· Aeg(yptum) · Iiii Id(us) · Iul(ias) [·]

21. *atque*

“[NN] made [a will]. [NN,] dearest and most loyal, [shall be my heir. All others] shall be disinherited. He shall accept [the inheritance within 100 days after] he shall know and be able [to testify (this). If he does not accept] nor enter [into the inheritance] he shall be disinherited. [Then NN shall be my heir], all other persons shall be disinherited. [He shall accept the inheritance] within the 60 days [following (...)] I want [to be buried] with care and piety [...] it will seem [...]. If I [leave behind] anything [in writing after this, I wish it to be equally valid as] my testament. [May evil guile] be absent [from this will]. [On the making of this will] Ulpius [bought] the household and chattels for one [sestertius] with C. Iulius Priscus being the scale-holder. P. [] was the first witness....

[The will was made in] Alexandria on the 12th of July”

- 1 The letters *it* are clearly visible, and to the left of them possibly the end of the upper stroke of *c*. Therefore the supplement [*testamentum fec*]it seems likely. There would thus be 14 letters in addition to the name lost on the left; the line was probably in ekthesis.
- 2 At the beginning of the line the name of the heir is lost, and the part we have opens with the adjectival attributes: *cari(s)simus atque fideli[ssimus]*. Such attributes of heirs are sometimes attested in Roman wills, e.g. []*simia femina* at *P. Oxy.* LII 3692.3–4 (*ChLA* XLVII 1424) and [τὰ γλω]κύτατα πα[δ]ί[α] μου at *P. Diog.* 9.3–4.
 The form *adque* is written for *atque*, and the blurring of the lower part of the letter may signal that a correction was attempted.
 At the end of the line, there is probably room even for the longer formula with *ex asse: fideli[ssimus ex asse mihi heres esto]*.
- 3 There is an apex over the final long *o* in *suntó*; further instances are *estó* (l. 6), *uoló* (l. 8) and *Iulió* (l. 13). In Latin papyri and tablets, the apex often occurs over long vowels, particularly on *o* in final syllables; see Adams (1995: 97–98) on the Vindolanda material.
- 3–7 The *cretio* contains explicit disinheritance of other persons for both the first (l. 3) and secondary heirs (l. 6).
- 5 Using the verb *adierit* in the *cretio* is not the common practice. It is found in a 2nd century will from Roman Britain published by Roger Tomlin in 2001 (in the phrases *adito cernito* and *si aditum nolueris*) but not to my knowledge elsewhere in wills on papyri or tablets. According to Gaius, the phrase used in the written form of the *cretio* did not have the verb *adeo*, only *cernere*. Instead, the verb *adeo* was used in the phrase that the heir was supposed to say when formally accepting the inheritance (Gaius, *inst.* 2.165–166).
- 7 The text agrees with the will of Antonius Siluanus (*FIRA* III 47 = *CPL* 221) in giving 60 as the number of days for the secondary heir to make his claim.
- 8 [*sepelir*]ique may be considered a fairly certain supplement. Another possibility is [*funerar*]ique, cf. *P. Diog.* 10.12 *corpus m[e]um funerari volo fid*]. The phrase *cura et pietate* is not attested in extant Latin wills, but we do find what is undoubtedly a translation of this phrase in the will of C. Longinus Castor *BGU* I 326.2.1–2: ἐκκο[μ]ισθῆναι περιστ[αλ]ῆναί τε ἐμαυτὸ[ν] θέλω τῆ φροντίδι καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ τῶν [κ]ληρονόμων μου (AD 194 Karanis). There, τῆ φροντίδι καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ translates *cura et pietate* in the Latin original.
- 9 Most probably *uidebitur* is the final word of the burial instructions (e.g. *ut sibi uidebitur* or similar) although I have been unable to find a parallel for this in other Roman wills.

After *uidebitur*, the next phrase affirms the validity of any testamentary regulations (*codicilli*) given after the writing of the present will. This phrase typically appears after the instructions for the burial, as it does here (see e.g. *BGU* I 326, which seems to be the closest parallel for this part of the text). The reading is not in doubt, but it is somewhat difficult to supply such a short form of the phrase that it could be accommodated between what survives of lines 9 and 10. On the next line there seems to be, conversely, very little missing between the preserved parts (ll. 10–11). I have given one possible restoration following *BGU* I 326.2.2–3 εἴ τι ἐὰν ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα γεγραμμένον καταλίπω τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ γεγραμμένον οἷω δὴ[π]οτε τρόπῳ βέβη[ιό]ν μοι εἶναι θέλω.

- 10 The letters *ho* are clearly visible at the end of the broken line between the two fragments. They would fit the beginning of *dolus malus* phrase (*hoc testamento dolus malus abesto*), expected at this place, and the end of which can be seen in the Berlin fragment. The problem is that if the phrase starts on l. 10, it is too short for the available space. To explain this, we must assume an empty space at some point in the missing part (not impossible, given that the spacing of the letters is clearly wider towards the end of the document). I have also considered the possibility that *hoc* belongs to the preceding phrase: *ratum esse uolo ac testamentum meum hoc*. But the placement of *hoc* at the end of the phrase is exceptional both in terms of the standard phraseology (with the order *hoc meum testamentum*) and Latin grammar. An alternative is that *hoc* is part of something else, but if so, it is not a commonly used phrase.

It is worth noting that when the *dolus malus* phrase is written in full the words “this testament” are in the dative: *huic testamen[to dolus malus abesto]* in *ChLA* IX 399.6 (P. Yale inv. 1547). The abbreviation *h* in this phrase is solved as the ablative *h(oc) t(estamento)* in *FIRA* III 47.38 and *P.Mich.* VII 439.10 (*ChLA* V 301) and as the dative *h(uic) t(estamento)* in *P. Hamb.* I 72.17 (*ChLA* XI 496).

- 11 In the first line of the Berlin fragment, the abbreviation *ab · e ·* must stand for *abesto* although this verb in this phrase (*hoc testamento dolus malus abesto*) is usually abbreviated *ab(esto)* or written in full.

I have placed Carlsberg frg. C here, to the right of the Berlin fragment. The name Ulpian in Carlsberg frg. C fits as the name of the *familiae emptor*. What precedes, is the trace of *f(iduciarius)*, or possibly *e(mit)*, as *fiduciarius* is sometimes dropped from this formula.

- 12 The name of the scale-holder, *libripens*, is C. Iulius Priscus. Both Iulius and Priscus are very common elements. A check in Trismegistos People (www.trismegistos.org) reveals that a person with the same *tria nomina* appears several times in 2nd century papyri (e.g. *BGU* IX 1893, a report of the σιτολόγοι from Theadelphia, AD 149; *P. Mich.* IV 223–225 tax rolls from Karanis, AD 172–175).

If my reconstruction is correct, line 12, too, continues on Carlsberg frg. C with *ante]st · e ·* and the name of the first witness *P · []*. The phrase *antestatus est* (or *antetestatus est*; on this phrase and its interpretation see Nowak 2015: 28) is usually abbreviated *antest(atus est)*, and not *antest(atus) · e(st)* but writing the *e* of *est* is in accordance with the same practice on the previous line: *ab · e(sto) ·* instead of the usual *ab(esto)*.

- 14 In the numeral following *Aeg*, the first *i* is enlarged and has an additional stroke to the left. In *Iul*, *ul* is written together ligature-like (as in e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLI 2951, AD 267).

P. Carlsberg 671 B.

11.4 (h) × 4 (w) cm (Plate 1)

This fragment possibly belongs to the latter part of the will or opening protocol, coming after (below) the Berlin fragment.

]ηο . . . [
]ιτῑ ἄ . λῑ . ἄ . [
] μην̄σε Thoῦθ̄ [

] vac. [

]s . rmare · m[

 5] se in . . [

]em ambit̄ . [

] . [2–3] . [ca. 5]

] . ο ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν

- 1 Perhaps *an]n̄o* (?).
- 2 *T]itī Aelī H̄ad[r̄iani* (?) is conceivable, although *H* and *d* are very difficult to reconcile with the existing traces.
- 3 If the reading *m̄ense Tho]h* is right, it means that this is from the dating of the opening protocol (rather than the actual testament) because the actual already has a date (in July). This would mean that there are several lines between fragment A + Berlin fragment and fragment B, containing the end of the dating formula, the testator's subscription, and the beginning phrase of the opening protocol (cf. the preserved opening protocols *ChLA* X 412 and *P. Diog.* 10 = *ChLA* XLVII 1403).
- 4 The letters *mare* seem reasonably certain and what precedes is *r* or possibly *a*. The end of a horizontal line just before makes it impossible to see *i* before *r* to give a form of *(ad/con)firmare* (a word in any case not found in wills). A medial dot follows, making it probable that this is an abbreviation but it remains unclear of which word. A long ascending line at the break of the papyrus strongly suggests *s* somewhere in the missing part.
- 7 Text has been rubbed off.
- 8 If the reading is right, it may contain a reference to the witnesses, to the effect that the witnesses of the opening protocol were the same as in the original will; however, the two preserved Latin opening protocols do not have this phrase in Greek (*P. Diog.* 10 has a Latin phrase; in *ChLA* X 412 the phrase is not preserved and may not exist), and when the Greek versions mention the witnesses or seals they use other words (cf. *P. Hamb.* I 73.20–21 καὶ] πλεῖστον μέρος σφραγιστῶν, as well as *BGU* VII 1655.62–63, and *BGU* I 326.12).

P. Carlsberg 671 D.

4.5 (h) × 3.9 (w) cm (Plate 1)

faint traces of at least 2 lines of Greek letters

] κ . . . ετ[

] ετ

P. Carlsberg 671 E.

4.5 (h) × 2.9 (w) cm (Plate 1)

On the Egyptian side, this fragment has the end of a column like Carlsberg frg. A, and it belongs to the right of it.⁵ On the Latin side, it cannot be aligned with the text on fragment A, because in fragment E recto the writing begins from the very top, without a margin. Hence, it seems impossible that it comes from the same column as fragment A which preserves the upper margin.

]ae . [

] . c . . . [

] . . en[

⁵ Information from Susanne Töpfer.

] . . οσ[

- 4 The last letter looks very much like a Greek sigma; before the omicron, there may be an iota with diaeresis, possibly Γῳῖος (?).

PSI inv. I 149.

These fragments, which are kept in Florence (Plate 2), belong to the same Egyptian text as the Carlsberg fragments. The most substantial fragment (B) contains writing in Greek, and there are traces of Greek letters on fragment D, and possibly C as well.

Traces of Latin letters can be seen on fragments A and C, written probably in the same hand that wrote the will (the Carlsberg fragments).

PSI inv. I 149 A.

10.3 (h) × 6.5 (w) cm (Plate 2)

]ros . . . br[

This fragment seems to be blank below the letters close to the top, but it is possible that the text has been erased.

PSI inv. I 149 B.

8.5 (h) × 4.5 (w) cm (Plate 2)

It is not uncommon to have Greek text in a will otherwise written in Latin. The tablets *FIRA* III 47, as well as the opening protocols *ChLA* X 412 and *P. Diog.* 10 all have the subscription of the testator in Greek; naturally witnesses could sign in Greek as well. However, none of the words in the Greek on PSI frg. B suggests a connection with Roman wills. It should also be noted that the Greek hand on PSI frg. B does not bear any similarity to hands elsewhere seen in Roman wills (see, e.g. *P.L.Bat.* XIII 14, *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2857, *PSI* XIII 1325 and even *BGU* I 326), a fact that already casts some doubt on its belonging to the will. Moreover, the Greek hand is very careful, and the Latin hand remarkably irregular, which makes it unlikely to be the same hand – all papyrus wills that have both Latin and Greek have them in the same hand.

The verbs εἶπεν (l. 3) and ἀπεκρ]εῖνάτο (l. 4) make it likely that this fragment belonged to a court proceeding; a parallel with the two verbs can be found e.g. in the recently published *PSI* XVII 1686 (3rd century AD).⁶ As the present fragments almost certainly belong to the same manuscript, to judge from the Hieratic-Demotic text on the reverse, the conclusion is that the texts were pasted together to form the manuscript on which the Egyptian text was written (a practice known from the Tebtunis temple library, see above and Ryholt 2018: 156–158).

] , [3–4] . [
] . . ε
] . εἶπεν ο [
ἀπεκρ]εῖνάτο π . [
5] . λαβῶ αὐτ[
] . σ ε . . [
] . ας [
] δίδωσιν [
] . δ . αρπαζ[

⁶ I owe this information to Marco Stroppa.

10] . εἶπεν [
] . . . [

- 4 ἀπεκρ]είνατο for ἀπεκρ]ίνατο.
 5 ἔλαβα is just possible but not tempting.
 7 The horizontal stroke of the sigma appears to be drawn out, possibly to mark the end of the line.
 8 δίδωσιν alone may have been intended, or else a compound form, e.g., ἀποδίδωσιν.
 9 Possibly διαπραζ[.

PSI inv. I 149 C.

5.4 (h) × 2.7 (w) cm (Plate 2)

The fragment is broken on all sides; traces of ca. 7 lines of text, probably Greek.

PSI inv. I 149 D.

5.3 (h) × 2.1 (w) cm (Plate 2)

Traces of five lines of Greek text in the same hand as fragment B; broken at right, left, and top, with possible bottom margin extant.

PSI inv. I 149 E.

3.9 (h) × 1.5 (w) cm (Plate 2)

Traces of ink.

PSI inv. I 149 F (?).

2.6 (h) × 1.6 (w) cm (Plate 2)

I publish here this small fragment, found in Florence together with fragments of PSI inv. D 111. However, the letters look more as if they belong together with the other fragments of PSI inv. I 149.

] . . ς . [
] . πα . [
] . . . [

2. P. Carlsberg 555 recto + PSI inv. D 111 recto

A military document mentioning ships, canoes and iron smiths

There are altogether eleven fragments (Plates 3 and 4), of which four are in Copenhagen (the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection) and seven in Florence (Papiri della Società Italiana). The verso of P. Carlsberg 555, which contains an Egyptian narrative text in Demotic, was published by Kim Ryholt (2012). The PSI fragments were identified as belonging to the same papyrus by Kim Ryholt in 2017 and by Marco Stroppa in 2018.

Two of the Carlsberg fragments (my b1 and b2) were joined by Kim Ryholt in his 2012 publication (of these b1 is itself made of several smaller ones). However, now in light of the new Florence fragments, this join is not unproblematic on the Latin side (see comments on Carlsberg frg. b2 and PSI frg. a below).

The two sides are written along the fibres at a 90° angle to each other (see Ryholt 2012: 143–144). It is assumed here, as in the case of the first text, that in the context of the Tebtynis temple library, the Latin text was written first and the papyrus was then reused for the Egyptian text.

The Latin side is very fragmentary and ink has been erased in several places. The arrangement and order of the fragments is uncertain and the exact nature of the text remains undetermined. The context is military, as suggested by *f(iunt) ad k(astra)* in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1 and PSI inv. D 111 a. The text seems to be concerned with ships or boats. The word *navis* occurs several times and canoes (*monoxyli*, associated with river crossings) are mentioned in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1. In addition, iron smiths (*fabri ferrari*) are mentioned in two fragments (P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1 and PSI inv. D 111 f). Taken together, these may point to transport (possibly by river), or other supporting activities of the Roman army. Given that Egyptian names can be read in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. a, it is at least a possibility that the text refers to local people who were involved in supplying such services for the army (Roth 1999: 270–271 on private contracting in grain transport). On the other hand, given the many references to *naues*, we may be dealing with a text associated with the Alexandrian navy.

It is somewhat puzzling that in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. a the Latin text seems to preserve the left margin, but on the Egyptian side the text continues over the corresponding edge (it is the bottom of the fragment on the Egyptian side). How this should have happened if indeed, as is reasonably assumed, the Latin text was written first and the Egyptian text thereafter, is unclear. One possibility is that the Latin text is in fact one of several columns and that the papyrus was accidentally broken between the two Latin columns (or that the Latin text began further away from the left edge of the sheet).

The writing is in a cursive hand with certain distinctive characteristics. For example, the letter *n* is not very cursive, but rather rectangular with an almost capital-like appearance. In *n* and *a*, the diagonal strokes to up and left are often conspicuously long. In both, as well as in *x*, the stroke to the bottom left can have a long descender. On the contrary, many other letters are written so that it is difficult to tell the difference (*s*, *i*, *e*, *f*, *t*). This combined with the poor state of preservation makes the text very difficult to read. The lines slant often heavily upwards. In general appearance, though not in the forms of all individual letters, the text resembles PSI II 119 (after AD 111).⁷

P. Carlsberg 555 a.

11.1 (h) × 16 (w) cm (Plate 3)

 peṭ . aḳ traces [
 Psenoṣirei Sarapion t . . oṣirei sciṣara . . . [
 p . . t . oḳḳis sara . . . n Iṣidorḳ i . . ṣ florhḳ Sitoes . . a . oss[
 p[2–3 letters] o . i . P[s]enoṣirḳ ḳ . liuṣ r[ca. 9 letters] [
 5 aa mon . . . e . . f . . oṣynuiarḳp . Dḳionysiuṣ [
 p [] amussiṣ ṣa [
 p [] . traces [
 paḳ[.] . [
 [
 traces [

- 1–7 The initial letters of these lines are considerably enlarged.
 1 Only the lower parts of the letters in this line survive. The third is most likely *t* because of traces of the horizontal stroke at the top. Instead of *a* one might read *r*.
 2–4 The enlarged initial letters which I take to be *p* (*c* is also possible) are not likely to stand for Roman *praenomina*, but rather to be the beginnings of Egyptian names (although a medial dot after the initial letter, especially on l. 2 cannot be fully ruled out).
 2 The letter after the first *a* is probably not *t* because elsewhere the bottom hook of *t* is to the right. After what is likely to be Sarapion, probably *Titosirei* or *Tetosirei* was written (if so, it could be a mat-

⁷ I owe this information to Ornella Salati and several readings and suggestions to Rodney Ast and Ornella Salati.

- ronymic?), but the two letters between the initial *t* and *o* cannot be verified and thus are not printed in the text.
- 3 Before *Işıđori* probably Sarapion; after *Işıđor* the letter can also be *a*.
 - 4 The name *Psenosiris* is common, e.g. *P. Oxy.* IV 735 (*ChLA* IV 275). Afterwards possibly *Celius* (for *Caelius*; or *Culius*, from Κοῦλις?).
 - 5 In *Điđonysius*, there is very little space after *d* for *io* but on the original papyrus traces of *i* are visible, followed by what could be a trace of *o*.
 - 6 If *amussiş* is correct, it is a level used by masons in levelling stones. This would fit the context of this text (cf. *fabri* in *P. Carlsberg* 555 frg. b1 and *PSI* inv. D 111 f).

P. Carlsberg 555 b1.

6.8 (h) × 10.9 (w) cm (Plate 3)

 fa]br̄is ferrar() . i a · a[] . .
] [ca. 4 letters] . s monoxy(l) () n(umero) x̄īī e[
] *vacat* f(iunt) ad k(astra)
]st s̄tern() n(umero) v̄i
 vacat
 5 *vacat* . [] ş
] . [] a[d]fixum̄ . b[

2 n' pap. 4 n' pap.

- 1 *fabris ferraris* 'iron smiths' occurs in fragment *PSI* inv. D 111 f, and is supplied here on that basis.
- 2 *monoxy(l)os* or *monoxy(l)i* 'canoes' or 'small boats' from μονόξυλος, ov. This refers to dugout canoes made from one log, used particularly in river crossings (μονόξυλα sc. πλοῖα; Polybius 3.42, Strabo 3.2.3, Arrian. *Anab* 1.3, Cassius Dio 49.37). As a Latin word, *monoxylus* (adj.) is found in literature only a few times. Vegetius in the *De re militari* mentions them twice (*Veg. mil.* 2.25.5 and 3.7.7); they were needed when legions wished to pass rivers without building a bridge.⁸ Pontoon bridges consisting of small boats are portrayed on Trajan's column (see Roth 1999: 218).

Given the mention of *fabrii ferrarii* in fragments *P. Carlsberg* 555 b1 and *PSI* inv. D 111 f it is noteworthy that iron equipment needed in the construction of pontoon bridges is mentioned in both passages by Vegetius, even if any direct link between *monoxyli* and *fabrii ferrarii* cannot be established in the papyrus.

- 4 I have assumed that this is a separate line, but it could also be the beginning of line 3. The horizontal stroke on top of the second *n*, interpreted as an abbreviation mark, is conspicuously long. After that, the letters are most probably *v* (with an accidental dot above it), and a long upright with a foot to the left at the bottom, taken here to be *i*.
- 5 The upper parts of letters visible after *ixu* slant heavily upwards, and may be *m*. There are traces above and to the right of this line. To the right, a long curvy horizontal stroke must belong to an *s*. It is difficult to say whether it is part of l. 5 slanting upwards, or a separate line in *eisthesis* above l. 5.

⁸ In addition, Pliny the Elder uses the word when discussing transportation of pepper in India (*regio autem, ex qua piper monoxyliis lintribus Becaren convehunt, vocatur Cottonara*, *Plin. Nat.* 6.105).

P. Carlsberg 555 b2.

3.8 (h) × 3.1 (w) cm (Plate 3)

] . e . xxv [
] . i nauisita[
 pro nauī s(upra) [·] s(cripta) · s(unt) ·
] i []

- 2–3 I assume that the text on this fragment is parallel to what we have on PSI inv. D 111 frg. a (see below). If that is right, this fragment most probably does not join with P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1 (as suggested in Ryholt 2012), as there is very little space between fragments b1 and b2, and there should be several letters there if the text is the same as, or close to, that of PSI inv. D 111 a.

P. Carlsberg 555 c.

3.1 (h) × 4.2 (w) cm (Plate 3)

]it · xv K(alendas) Iun(ias) . . [
] . corṇas`s´ . . i y . . [

- 2 Another possibility is *coralas*, in which case it might have something to do with anchors or hooks (*ancora*, *ancoralis*)?

It would be tempting to read *corn(icularius) · s(upra) `s'(criptus)* because what remains of *a* at this point looks like a medial dot, and what I have now read as *l* could in theory be the second vertical stroke of *n*. *Cornicularii* belonged to the *principales* (soldiers with special duties) and served as administrative assistants. However, in that interpretation, the trace of a diagonal stroke between *corn* and *s* is left without explanation.

PSI inv. D 111 a.

6.1 (h) × 6.8 (w) cm (Plate 3)

] vacat n' t n[
]sṛṇ nauisitaliaṣ n' t[
] . pro nauī s(upra) · s(cripta) · s(unt) · . [
] . f(iunt) ad k[astra]

The writing on this fragment is for the most part clear and well preserved. There are textual links between this fragment and P. Carlsberg 555 frgs. b1 and b2.

- 1 This line looks like a header or the sum of something that was listed above. The first *n* has a short stroke on top of the right vertical stroke (as does the last *n* in l. 2); something like *n(umerus) t(otus) n(auium)*?
- 2 The traces after the first *s* are compatible with *a* and *r*, and what follows looks like *o*, with an oblique stroke on top, probably an apex. If the diagonal comes from the line above, even *pro* would be a possibility.

The letters *itali* are certain, followed most likely by *as* (*nauī sit alias?*). Alternatively, *as* could be interpreted as *n*, followed by an abbreviation mark, and similar to the stroke in frg. P. Carlsberg 555. b1 l. 4.

There are shorter strokes (or better hooks) on top of the second vertical stroke of the *n* later on in this line and on the first line of this fragment.

- 3 The reading *pro nauj s(upra) · s(cripta) · s(unt)* seems certain. The form *nauj* must be assumed to be the ablative (instead of *naue*).
- 4 The letters *fad* are clear and assumed to be parallel to *fad K* in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1 l. 3. Here, the fragmentary letter following them has a hook to the left at the bottom, unlike the *k* in the same phrase in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1 or the *k* in *K(alendas)* in P. Carlsberg 555 frg. c. If not *k*, the fragmentary letter could be *s* or *h*.

PSI inv. D 111 b.

5.0 (h) × 8.8 (w) cm (Plate 3)

] . a [. . .] . [
vacat
]a[] i i · s̄f̄ . [. . .]i[
] p̄r̄o . [
] . . d aḍ se feç n̄it̄n̄[.] . . [.] . [.] . . [

- 3 The letters *p̄r̄o* are faint but they have an appearance similar to *pro* in PSI inv. D 111 a.

PSI inv. D 111 c.

1.5 (h) × 6.3 (w) cm (Plate 3)

trace of a letter close to the right edge

PSI inv. D 111 d.

4.6 (h) × 7.8 (w) cm (Plate 4)

] . . . [
] [. . .] . [
] ā D̄ionys̄io Eutyche . · e[] . eo naua . [
] . . [

- 3 Presumably *nav̄a*[-] is to be read, as in the following fragment.

PSI inv. D 111 e.

2.9 (h) × 8.5 (w) cm (Plate 4)

] . . [] s̄d̄f̄m[
] *traces*
].[] naua . [
] *traces*

- 1 Possibly *s̄d̄e*m.

PSI inv. D 111 f.

2.2 (h) × 4.3 (w) cm (Plate 4)

] fabris ferraris [

1 “Iron smiths” (plural dative or ablative); see the comments on P. Carlsberg 555 frg. b1, ll. 1 and 2.

PSI inv. D 111 g.

1.8 (h) × 2.2 (w) cm (Plate 4)

] . r̄cion[
] . a . [

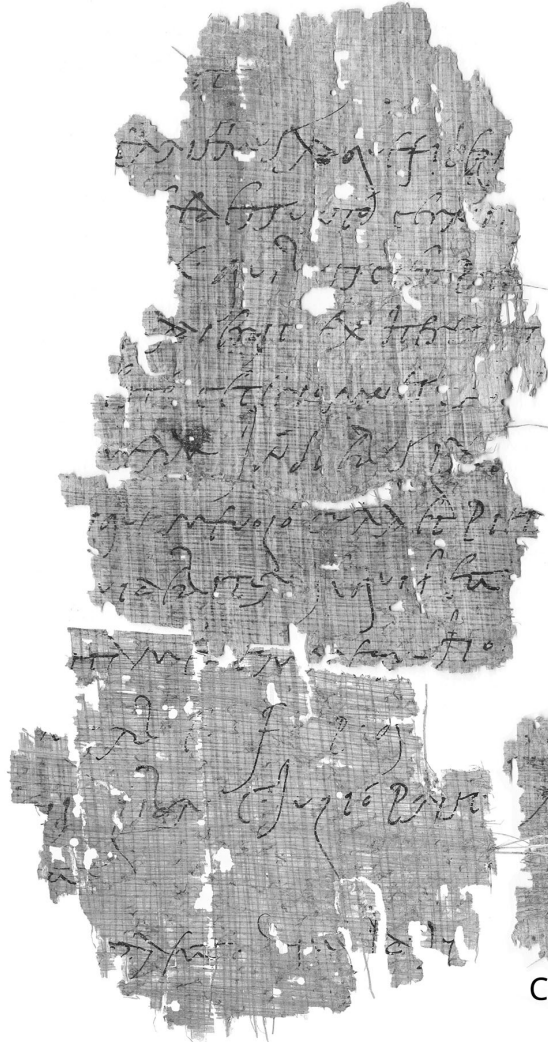
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PLATE 1

Carlsberg frg. A



Berlin frg.

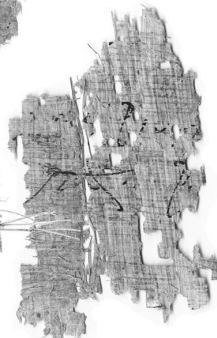
Carlsberg frg. D



Carlsberg frg. E



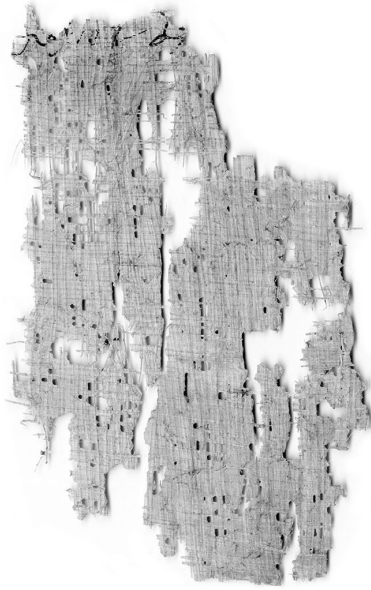
Carlsberg frg. C



Carlsberg frg. B

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PLATE 2



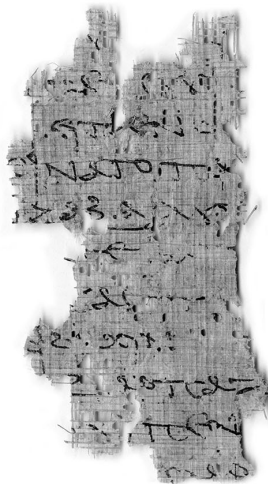
PSI frg. A



PSI frg. C



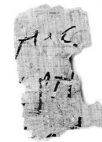
PSI frg. E



PSI frg. B



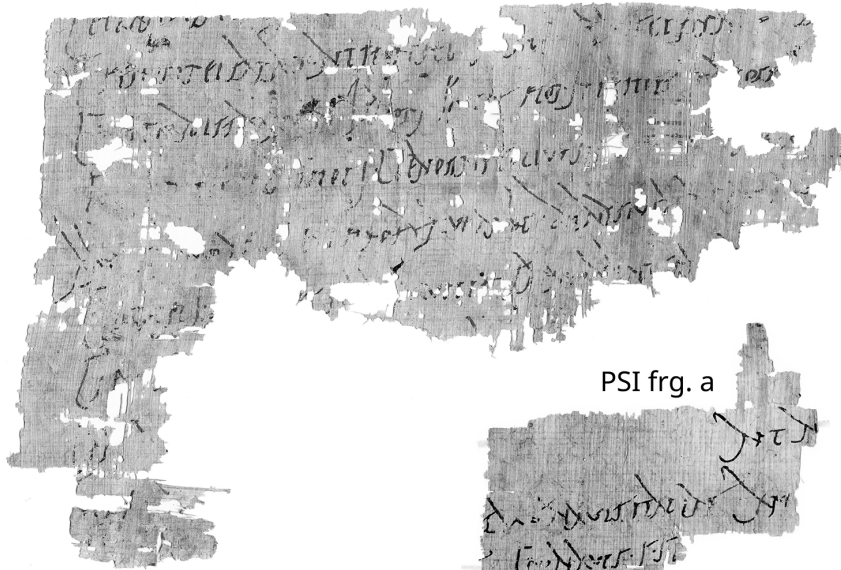
PSI frg. D



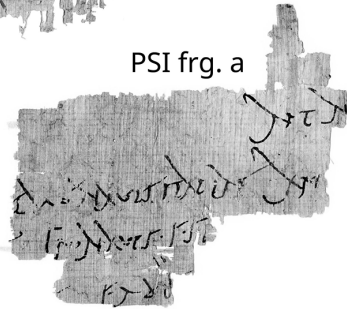
PSI I 149 F

PLATE 3

Carlsberg frg. a



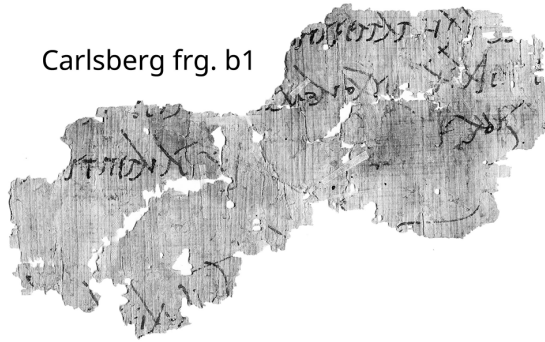
PSI frg. a



Carlsberg frg. b2



Carlsberg frg. b1



PSI frg. c



Carlsberg frg. c



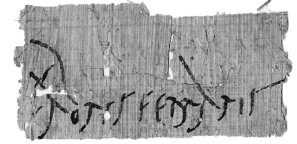
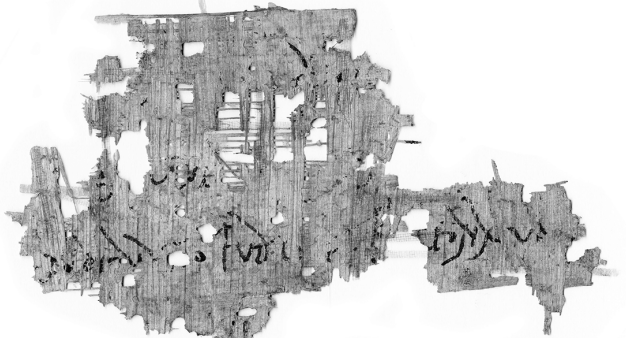
PSI frg. b



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PLATE 4

PSI frg. d



PSI frg. f

PSI frg. e



PSI frg. g