again the recent work on the domestic environment as a social setting, mentioned above, has not made it into this section, even though it represents a relatively new and distinctive avenue of research in the field of Roman domestic architecture.

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P.OXY. 62 & 63

J. C. SHELTON, J. E. G. WHITEHORNE (edd.): *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Volume LXII: Edited with Translations and Notes.* (Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 82.) Pp. xii + 182, 12 pls. London: Egypt Exploration Society (for the British Academy), 1995. £60. ISBN: 0-85698-127-3.

J. R. REA (ed.): The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Volume LXIII: Edited with Translations and Notes. (Graeco-Roman Memoirs, 83.) Pp. x + 214, 11 pls. London: Egypt Exploration Society (for the British Academy), 1996, £60, ISBN: 0-85698-128-1.

The march of volumes of P.Oxy. continues in Volume LXII with thirty-three literary papyri and eighteen documentary texts, preserving the editorial tradition summarized in the preface to Volume L: 'no parade of scholarship; no clutter of bibliography; ... an insistence on fact and precision, a distaste for easy solutions and grandiose speculations'. To be sure, that can mean omitting from the introduction and notes anything the editor does not wish to discuss; particularly irritating is the lack of any description of the handwritings of the documents, especially when P.Oxy. continues (unlike most other major series) to print very few plates. When we are told that 4330 is written on the back of 'six lines of handsome cursive', some assessment of their date and character would be welcome.

But enough carping; the contents offer the interest, and the standard of editing the competence and learning, that we have come to expect. 4301 (edd. Austin and Parsons) may be part of the same manuscript as PSI X.1213 (Eupolis, Prospaltioi); interesting remarks on papyri, parts of which were found by Grenfell and Hunt, parts by Italian excavators. 4302 (Austin, Handley, and Parsons) combines a new fragment with one published two decades ago by Handley; IV.678 is part of the same manuscript, written in a 'handsome Biblical Uncial script' of the second/third century. The general theme seems to be 'an actual or potential swindle, directed to the property of an heiress who, being a metic, is in the charge of a prostates and subject to the jurisdiction of the polemarch': evidently not Menander's Aspis. 4303 (P. G. McC. Brown and Parsons) is a small fragment, probably Menander, preserving his characteristic announcement of the arrival of the chorus. 4304 (Handley) is 'remains of fifteen comic iambics . . . from a roll of some bibliographical pretensions': perhaps Middle Comedy. 4305 (Handley), clearly New Comedy, is dialogue from the end of one act (marked by XOPOY) and start of the next: conceivably from Menander's Synaristosai, the source of Plautus, Cistellaria.

Four papyri concerned with mythography, edited by Annette Harder, come next. The largest, 4306, has twenty-seven fragments of a compendium of lists (e.g. temple builders, goddesses' epithets, metamorphoses); it 'shows much similarity with the

so-called *Indices* in Hyg. Fab. 221–277'. 4307, also a compendium, is a list of mothers who killed their children, with reasons $(\partial \rho \gamma \hat{\eta}, \lambda \omega \eta)$. A list of children of goddesses and mortals, identical to that in Hesiod, *Theog.* 975–1018, survives fragmentarily in 4308 (no information about the back of either papyrus). In 4309 are sixteen fragments of a learned work concerning Thessaly, quoting prose authors including Xenagoras, Damastes of Sigeion, Anaximenes of Lampsakos, Hecataeus of Miletos, and perhaps Andron of Halikarnassos; Harder speculates that it could be Apollodoros, $\Pi \epsilon \rho \hat{\iota} \nu \epsilon \omega \nu$.

With 4310–4333, the known stock of Demosthenes papyri is more than doubled. All come from Orations 1–9; most are edited by John Whitehorne, with contributions by M. D. Reeve, R. Hübner, and W. Cockle. Only one (4321) is given a plate. The lack of a substantial general introduction to this section is regrettable. Most come from rolls, but 4310, 4323, and 4326 are from codices. Of the rolls, some have other text on their 'backs', but we are not always told how the fibres run or which text constitutes the re-use (4317 is inadequately described). Some point to rolls containing multiple orations (perhaps 4311, certainly 4314 and 4327). The extensive use of accents, aspiration, etc. in 4321 suggests perhaps use in a school. Of the forty-five known Demosthenes papyri, thirty are known to be Oxyrhynchite and thirty-nine are of the third century or earlier.

The documents (4334–4351) are, except 4347, by the late John Shelton, to whom tribute is paid in the preface. (It is untrue that he was the 'sole author' of P.Tebt. IV; his co-author was James Keenan.) Their miscellany ranges over a half-millennium, witness to Shelton's versatility. I describe only the more interesting individually. 4334 is a list of grain payments for syntaxis, the purpose of which is obscure. In a couple of places the text is excessively cautious (7, surely resolve $A\nu\theta(\epsilon\sigma\tau lov)$); 18, $\Pi\alpha\pi o\nu\tau(\pi\hat{\omega}\tau os)$). 4335 is a receipt for rent paid by an Oxyrhynchite to his new landlord, an Alexandrian who has bought the property during the lease. What was stated to be 50 arouras in the sale proved to be 51 3/8 on survey. Such clear evidence of Alexandrian purchases in the countryside is rare.

In 4336 we get receipts concerning Julius Theon (IV), written in six hands over three columns: evidently an original receipt book, of uncertain origins. We learn that Theon was a member of the Alexandrian Museum. 4337 is an offer by a woman to buy confiscated land (19 arouras and a dike with 41 acacia trees) previously the property of M. Salvius Iustus, probably an $dv \tau a \rho \chi \iota \epsilon \rho \epsilon \dot{\nu} s$ attested in 164. 4339 is a standard invitation to a Sarapis feast. Traces of descenders at the top suggest the hypothesis that the note 'may therefore have been written with more such texts on a sheet which was later cut apart', a proceeding for which the editor can find no parallel but which seems plausible in itself. 4340 contains on a single sheet two interesting letters written to Didyme, one from Petosiris and one from Thaesis. Their Greek is contemporary and oral rather than correct, and they raise questions for which lack of space dictates treatment elsewhere.

4341 and 4342 are reports of work on dikes of a known type, which make contributions to Oxyrhynchite geography. The relative consistency of the amounts of work done per five-day period suggests some system for calling workers up in uniform cohorts. 4344 is the latest known nomination of *sitologoi* submitted to the *strategos*. The liturgists are said to consent to the nomination. A nomination of a collector of anabolikon (dated 343) is given as 4345. In line 8, the restoration of $\delta\iota_0[\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\nu]$ (one of two possibilities suggested in the note) seems almost inescapable; but neither it nor the alternative $\delta\iota_0[\delta\sigma\iota\nu]$ appears in the index. Indeed, suggestions in the notes are usually not indexed, making them much harder to find.

4346, a skipper's receipt, is notable for a rare date by the regnal years of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I. **4347** is a receipt for barley, noteworthy for the signature by someone holding the otherwise unknown office of $\epsilon \pi \iota \mu \epsilon \lambda \eta \tau \dot{\eta} s$. The piece was reused for **4348**, a schedule of supplementary taxes noteworthy for the novelties of $\delta \pi \lambda o \pi o \iota \epsilon \iota a$ and $\pi \lambda o \iota o \pi o \iota \epsilon \iota a$, which strongly suggest that these are surtaxes in connection with some imperial campaign. The date is probably after 355 (the date given to **4347** on the basis of a year 32 assigned to Constantius).

From the sixth century, **4349** is a sale of wheat with deferred delivery (504); the lender is a servant of the count Eudaimon. The borrower's surety is described as $\mu\nu\lambda\delta\psi\sigma\nu$ (ed.'s accent), but only the conjecture (note) of $\mu\nu\pi\epsilon\psi\sigma\hat{\nu}$ is indexed. The price is unexpectedly high (about 5 art./solidus). **4350** is the appointment of three $\epsilon\nu\alpha\pi\delta\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\sigma\nu$ $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\sigma\dot{\nu}$ by a contract with Flavius Apion II to collect the taxes for an

indiction, probably for a single epoikion (as the verso suggests).

The forty-nine texts of volume LXIII are all, except one literary piece (or two, if one counts the legal 4400), documents of the fourth through sixth centuries, edited by R. with magisterial eye and hand, and published in the year of his retirement from Oxford and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri. The contents are of exceptional interest even by Oxyrhynchite standards, at least a match for any documentary volume since the days of Grenfell and Hunt. Space will permit mention of only a minority and somewhat longer description of a handful.

Hexameter verses (4352) lead off; with references to the accession of Diocletian and to his first prefect of Egypt, M. Aurelius Diogenes, they were, suggests the editor, composed 'to be recited in a poetic competition at Capitoline games in Egypt', more likely (he thinks) those of Oxyrhynchus than those of Antinoopolis. An address to an $\frac{\partial \pi}{\partial \tau} po\pi \sigma s$ of the Seven Nomes is taken as referring to the epistrategos. One thirty-nine-line section is virtually intact, and there are bits of twice as much more. There was surely an ocean of poetry like this in the third century, but this is an extraordinarily rare and valuable surviving example.

In 4400, with an addendum, we have fragments of a codex containing the text of Justinian's Edict XIII, Chapter 24, written in 'a good sloping bookhand' of the later sixth century. Not enough is preserved to settle any of the vexing questions concerning this edict, but the editor canvasses them and has useful comments about the presence

of such a text in Oxyrhynchus.

Many of the texts have contributions to some area of institutions, offices, and chronology. The date of the disappearance of the emperor Severus from Egyptian formulas in 307 is narrowed by 4354 and 4355: before 20 November. Four dates to the consuls of 369 (previously found only once) appear in 4377-4380, along with the latest known Oxyrhynchite strategos in 4380. The first consular date to 479 turns up in 4392. Court proceedings are found in 4371 (bilingual Greek-Latin, a hearing in Pelusium) and 4381 (a hearing before the comes rei militaris Aegypti, i.e. the dux, in Alexandria in secretario). A soldier of the Legio VI Ferrata appears in 4359; a new procurator privatae of the Thebaid named Valerius Poemenius in 4360; a tax for the aqueduct of Constantinople (ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ τῆς πανευδαίμονος [), not previously attested in the provinces, in 4386. A widow petitions the πατήρ πόλεως about a debt of her late husband (4393), noting in closing that she has mortgaged her daughter for four (not seven, as introd.) solidi due in connection with the chrysargyron. 4365 is a letter saying 'Lend the Esdras, since I lent you the little Genesis'. The editor describes it as a 'letter about Christian books', but Esdras was (he argues) a Jewish apocalyptic, and Genesis was hardly a Christian monopoly. Even if the writer was Christian (line 6, $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\theta(\epsilon)\hat{\omega}$), the books are not distinctively so.

To move from appetizers to main courses: 4369 is an official letter of 345 instructing hypodektai to take a sum of a billion denarii (= 666,666 2/3tal.) downriver to Alexandria; the funds derive from the transportation charges paid on the grain taxes, and R. argues that the amount could represent at this date roughly the total assessment on the Oxyrhynchite nome, at a rate of 1 solidus per 100 artabas of wheat. One of the hypodektai is named Ausonius; it is tantalizing that an epimeletes Ausonius Nemesianus appears in the Arsinoite not long before (P.NYU 11a.201; see Tyche 7 [1992], 9–10). Although R. is properly cautious, he is right to point out that this papyrus seems to offer confirmation of a number of elements in the picture of taxation in this period that has emerged in recent years.

It is the Apions who are the biggest beneficiary of this volume. A brief payment order (4389), dated 439, was issued by a Strategios who R. argues was the first known representative of the dominant family that produced the consul of 539; this would be his earliest dated attestation. The Flavia Isis daughter of the late Strategios who appears in 4390 (dated 469) as lessor is probably his daughter. Isis also appears in 4391, two years later, an order to supply wine. In both texts she is $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \rho \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \eta$, femina clarissima. We thus gain substantially in knowledge about the early history of these

magnates.

Still more compelling, however, and the star of the volume, is 4397, a 250-line settlement of claims, entered into by Flavius Apion II and the monastery of Abba Hierax, located in the western $\delta\rho\sigma$ of Oxyrhynchus. The monastery had lent 130 solidi, in two instalments, to an Oxyrhynchite named Diogenes who was living in Constantinople, on the security first of an irrigated plot of 16 1/2 arouras and subsequently of all Diogenes' property. After the death of Diogenes ('of splendid memory'), it turned out that Flavius Strategios I (Apion II's father) already held mortgages on all of Diogenes' property, leaving the monastery's claims worthless. Diogenes' heirs reasonably resigned the inheritance, leaving Strategios in possession of the land. The monastery pressed its claims but discovered to its horror that Strategios' claims were prior. It then begged Strategios not to leave the monks holding the bag; he responded by ordering his agent to repay the 130 solidi (principal only) to the monastery. The last instalment was paid after his death, and his heir thus receives the acknowledgement and quit-claim.

Even this bare-bones sketch gives some sense of the rich underlying detail of the story, in which we see both the wealthy Strategios and the supposedly needy $(\tau \delta \epsilon \nu \delta \epsilon \epsilon \delta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dots \hat{d} \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \hat{\omega} \nu)$ monastery on the lookout for desirable agricultural properties; no doubt both had figured out that Diogenes was unlikely to be able to repay his debts and lent the money in hopes of acquiring the land. The reader may be skeptical about the neediness of a monastery possessing a Constantinopolitan agent who carried around gold looking for an investment opportunity, but of their entrepreneurial zeal

and chutzpah there can be no doubt.

In 4394–4395 we have two long (256 and 156 lines) loan documents written in the late fifth century in Alexandria, both concerning one Flavius Julianus v. c. tribunus notarius sacri palatii. As there are no inventory numbers, it is not certain that they were excavated at Oxyrhynchus; Grenfell and Hunt purchased extensively too. The first concerns the remaining balance of a loan originally made for the impressive sum of 1,455 solidi (roughly 20 pounds of gold), on the responsibility jointly of Julianus and a scholasticus working as advocate in the prefect's court, named Fl. Olympiodorus; the lender was another scholasticus and advocate. Julianus surrendered two orchards 'in the Taposiris Strip . . . near Lake Marea' in part-payment, and 4394, for the balance, replaces the original document. The other loan is for only 10 solidi; in it

Julianus, instead of paying interest, surrenders for the duration of the loan his right to two bread distributions. These, like the Apionic settlement, are full of details of interest and contributions to many problems.

This volume is a worthy monument to R.'s three and a half decades of distinguished editorial work on the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and a rich source of knowledge about late antiquity.

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GREEK TOXICOLOGY

S. IHM: Der Traktat περὶ τῶν ἰοβόλων θηρίων καὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων des sog. Aelius Promotus. Erstedition mit textkritischem Kommentar. (Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte, 4.) Pp. 169, 4 pls. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1995. Cased, DM 78. ISBN: 3-88226-822-0.

This is a revised version of I.'s doctoral dissertation. It is also the first complete edition of the Greek toxological treatise (I. uses *iologisch*, a term coined by O. Schneider) discovered in the sixteenth century by Hieronymus Mercurialis, who also published the first passages from it; larger extracts were published in 1873 and 1901 by Erwin Rohde.

In the MSS the treatise is transmitted anonymously, but it has often been attributed to Aelius Promotus, a first/second-century Alexandrian doctor, because of its position between two of his works in two of the MSS. Rohde, who doubted the attribution, regarded the treatise as a collection of excerpts from Archigenes. I.'s opinion is that there are no certain criteria for determining the author, but that possible clues can be gleaned from an investigation of the more general chapters and their relation to therapeutical methods and medical schools. (However, this assumes both that we are in possession of exact information about various schools and that there was a clear distinction between them in the first place.)

The treatise contains references to Arabia and Egypt, a fact that, according to I., may suggest a geographical connection, at least for some of the sources. She does not take the hypothesis any further, and it is unlikely that much can be made of the evidence. While the author mentions crocodiles and lions, he also speaks of panthers and bears, thus of wild beasts in general, without any particular Egyptian connection. The chapter $\pi\rho \delta s$ alloupo $\delta \eta \kappa \tau \sigma u s$, surprising in the context of poisons and dangerous bites, cannot be taken as an argument for Egypt either, since the keeping of cats as pets would have been widespread even if one assumes the earliest possible date.

The title now in use was created by Mercurialis, by a combination of the opening of the first part (on poisonous animals) and that of the second (on poisonous substances). It would seem that an overall title was not transmitted together with the text, for the first line, that looks like a title, is only the first chapter heading.

In the introduction, I. also discusses the structure of the treatise. It divides into two main parts, the first dealing with poisoning caused by the bites of animals (including humans), the second with poisoning caused by the ingestion of plants, minerals, or