

# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΣΕΙΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΤΕΛΩΝ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΝ

3

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

ADVERBS IN -ΩΣ IN DOCUMENTS OF GRAECO-ROMAN  
EGYPT

NIKOS LITINAS – GEORGIOS TRIANTAFYLLOU

Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία  
Ρέθυμνο 2019

**ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ**  
ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΑΚΗ  
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ

Π. Μανουσάκη 5–Β. Χάλη 8  
GR 741 00–Ρέθυμνο

και

Χατζηχρήστου 14  
GR 117 42–Αθήνα

**ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ–ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ**  
Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας (Ρέθυμνο)  
Καθ. Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης (Ρόδος)

**PUBLISHER**  
MEDITERRANEAN  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

P. Manousaki 5–V. Chali 8  
GR 741 00–Rethymnon

and

Chatzichristou 14  
GR 117 42–Athens

**PUBLISHING DIRECTORS, EDITORS-IN-CHIEF**  
Dr. Nikos Litinas (Rethymnon)  
Prof. Manolis I. Stefanakis (Rhodes)

EULIMENE  
EYAIMENH

2019

**ISBN:** 978-618-80666-4-9

Η *EYAIMENH ΣΕΙΡΑ Αντιστελών Εκδόσεων* περιλαμβάνει μελέτες στην Κλασική Αρχαιολογία, την Επιγραφική, τη Νομισματική και την Παιυρολογία εστιάζοντας στον Ελληνικό και Ρωμαϊκό κόσμο της Μεσογείου από την Υστερομινωϊκή / Υπομινωϊκή / Μυκηναϊκή εποχή (12<sup>ος</sup> / 11<sup>ος</sup> αιώνα π.Χ.) έως και την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα (5<sup>ος</sup> / 6<sup>ος</sup> αιώνα μ.Χ). Πρόκειται για δοκίμια που δεν μπορούν λόγω της μεγάλης έκτασής τους να ενταχθούν στην ετήσια επιστημονική έκδοση της *EYAIMENHΣ*, όπως μονογραφίες, πρακτικά συνεδρίων και συμποσίων, δημοσιεύσεις ανασκαφών, συντάγματα νομισμάτων και εκδόσεις επιγραφών και παπύρων. Η *EYAIMENH ΣΕΙΡΑ* περιλαμβάνει επίσης μελέτες στην Ανθρωπολογία, Παλαιοδημογραφία, Παλαιοπεριβάλλον, Παλαιοβοτανολογία, Ζωοαρχαιολογία, Αρχαία Οικονομία και Ιστορία των Επιστημών, εφόσον αυτές εμπίπτουν στα προαναφερθέντα γεωγραφικά και χρονικά όρια. Ευρύτερες μελέτες στην Κλασική Φιλολογία και Αρχαία Ιστορία θα γίνονται δεκτές, εφόσον συνδέονται άμεσα με μία από τις παραπάνω επιστήμες. Η *EYAIMENH ΣΕΙΡΑ* δεν θα εκδίδεται περιοδικά.

Παρακαλούνται οι συγγραφείς να λαμβάνουν υπόψη τους τις παρακάτω οδηγίες:

1. Οι εργασίες υποβάλλονται στην Ελληνική, Αγγλική, Γερμανική, Γαλλική ή Ιταλική γλώσσα. Κάθε εργασία συνοδεύεται από μία περίληψη μέχρι 3.000 λέξεις, σε γλώσσα άλλη από αυτή του κειμένου.

2. Συντομογραφίες δεκτές σύμφωνα με το *American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature, J.F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP.*

3. Οι εικόνες πρέπει να υποβάλλονται σε μορφή αρχείου .tiff ή .jpg και σε ανάλυση τουλάχιστον 1,200 dpi (dots per inch) προκειμένου για γραμμικά σχέδια και 400 dpi για ασπρόμαυρες εικόνες (στην κλίμακα του γκρι). Όλα τα εικονογραφικά στοιχεία πρέπει να είναι αριθμημένα σε απλή σειρά.

4. Οι εργασίες υποβάλλονται σε ένα εκτυπωμένο αντίτυπο, συνοδευόμενα από το κείμενο και τις εικόνες σε ηλεκτρονικό μέσο αποθήκευσης δεδομένων (CD, DVD).

Είναι υποχρέωση του κάθε συγγραφέα να εξασφαλίσει γραπτή άδεια για την αναπαραγωγή υλικού που έχει δημοσιευτεί αλλού ή είναι αδημοσίευτο.

Οι συγγραφείς θα λαμβάνουν ανάτυπο της εργασίας τους σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή αρχείου .pdf και 10 τόμους *EYAIMENH ΣΕΙΡΑ*, τιμής ένεκεν.

Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, Π. Μανουσάκη 5 – Β. Χάλη 8, Ρέθυμνο – GR 74100

Δρ. Νίκος Λίτινας, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Τμήμα Φιλολογίας, Ρέθυμνο – GR 74100

Δρ. Μανώλης Ι. Στεφανάκης, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Τμήμα Μεσογειακών Σπουδών, Ρόδος – GR 85100

web: <http://www.eulimene.eu/>

The *EULIMENE SERIES of Independent Publications* accommodates book-length studies in the fields of Classical Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, and Papyrology, with particular interest in the Greek and Roman Mediterranean world. The time span covered by the *EULIMENE SERIES* runs from the Late Minoan / Sub Minoan / Mycenaean period (12<sup>th</sup> / 11<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) through to the Late Antiquity (5<sup>th</sup> / 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD). The *EULIMENE SERIES* is designed to accommodate extended essays too long for inclusion in the *EULIMENE* annual scientific journal and they can be single author monographs, proceeding of *colloquia* and congresses, excavation publications, numismatic corpora and editions of inscriptions and papyri. *EULIMENE SERIES* will also welcome studies on Anthropology, Palaeodemography, Palaeo-environment, Botanical and Faunal Archaeology, the Ancient Economy and the History of Science, so long as they conform to the geographical and chronological boundaries noted. Broader studies on Classics or Ancient History will be welcome, though they should be strictly linked with one or more of the areas mentioned above. The *EULIMENE-SERIES* appears irregularly.

It will be very much appreciated if contributors consider the following guidelines:

1. Contributions should be in either of the following languages: Greek, English, German, French or Italian. Each paper should be accompanied by a summary up to 3.000 words is required, in a language other than that of the volume.

2. Accepted abbreviations are those of *American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature, J.F. Oates et al., Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP.*

3. Illustrations should be submitted in .tiff or .jpg format of at least 1,200 dpi (dots per inch) for line art and 400 dpi for halftones (grayscale mode) resolution. All illustrations should be numbered in a single sequence.

4. Please submit one hard copy of your text and a version on a digital storage media (CD, DVD).

It is the author's responsibility to obtain written permission to quote or reproduce material which has appeared in another publication or is still unpublished.

Offprint of the work in .pdf format and 10 volumes of the *EULIMENE SERIES* will be provided to the contributors free of charge.

Mediterranean Archaeological Society, P. Manousaki 5 – V. Chali 8, Rethymnon – GR 74100

Dr. Nikos Litinas, University of Crete, Department of Philology, Rethymnon – GR 74100

Dr. Manolis I. Stefanakis, University of the Aegean, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Rhodes – GR 85100

web: <http://www.eulimene.eu/>



Ἡ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας ὅμως πλέον συγκεκριμένη τεχνολογία εἶναι ἡ τεχνολογία τοῦ Ἐπιρρήματος. Αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχι μόνον Προθέσεις, ὡς εἶδομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα μέρη τοῦ λόγου, καὶ (τίς ἤθελε τὸ πιστεύσει;) λόγους ὀλοκλήρους, ἤγουν προτάσεις συγκεκριμένας ἐξ ὑποκειμένου καὶ κατηγορουμένου. Εἶναι ἄραγε αὕτη ἡ αἰτία, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ὠνόμασαν τὸ Ἐπιρῆμα Πανδέκτην; Δὲν ἤρκει τοῦτο· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ διαίρεσις αὐτοῦ εἰς εἶδη ἔγινε τόσο ἀτέχνως, ὥστε ἠνώθησαν εἰς ἓν εἶδος ἐπιρρήματα διαφόρου εἶδους, καὶ διηρέθησαν εἰς διάφορα, πολλὰ ταυτοειδῆ ἐπιρρήματα. Εἰς ὀλίγα λόγια, ὁ Πανδέκτης οὗτος εἶναι ἀληθινὴ Κόπρος τοῦ Αὐγείου, τὴν ὁποίαν νὰ καθάρισι δὲν ἐξαρκεῖ ἑνὸς μόνου Ἡρακλέους δύναμις.

Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς,  
*Πρόδρομος Ἑλληνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης,*  
Ἐν Παρισίοις, 1805, σελ. λη



## CONTENTS

### EULIMENE SERIES OF INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS 3 (2019)

Preface	i
Bibliography – Dictionaries - Online resources	v
General Introduction	1
The adverbs in -ως	
1. Views of the ancient theorists regarding adverbs and the adverbs in -ως,	
2. Views of the modern grammarians regarding adverbs and the adverbs in -ως in the ancient Greek language	
3. The papyrological approach to adverbs	
The adverbs in -ως in the private letters in Egypt	
1. The adverbs in -ως	
2. The private letters	
Observations	
Catalogue of the Adverbs in -ως (with a focus on the Adverbs Used in the Private Letters of the Graeco-Roman Egypt)	27
Lists	
1. Indicative checklist of the verbs modified by adverbs in -ως in the private letters	263
2. Adverbs in -ως in the private letters. Indicative number and distribution	267
3. Indicative checklist of the adverbs which appear in papyri from the Byzantine period	269
(a) <i>Adverbs attested only in Byzantine private letters</i>	
(b) <i>Adverbs attested in Byzantine documents and private letters</i>	
(c) <i>Adverbs attested only in Byzantine official letters</i>	
(d) <i>Adverbs attested in the Byzantine period in documents other than private letters</i>	
Appendices (Nikos Litinas)	
I. The adverbs ending in -ί and -εί, -δην and -δόν	271
II. Delenda adverbia	276
(a) Ghost-adverbs	
(b) Adverbs rejected and corrected	
Index of debatable attestations and Corrections (Nikos Litinas and Georgios Triantafyllou)	
I. <i>Videant doctiores!</i> Index of debatable resolutions or restorations	289
II. Index of corrections	291
Reverse Index	301
General Index	305





## Preface

This book is part of an ongoing research to investigate adverbials in the ancient Greek language. This first volume is devoted to the use of the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  in texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt. It deals with lexicographical, papyrological and stylistic issues and may help to fill a gap in the research into the use of the Greek language in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

The adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  are formed mainly from adjectives or participles and are characteristic for their ability to imply Manner (sometimes combined with other values, such as Time, Instrument etc.). Kretschmer and Locker (1963, 537-541) record c. 580 adverbs ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , while Foris (1970) has listed 4683 adverbs (1863 adverbs with  $-\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  *perispomenon* and 2820 adverbs with  $-\omega\varsigma$  *paroxytone*), but certainly we have found many other adverbs that were not included in these works. Our aim was to provide papyrologists, epigraphists and philologists with a source of the attestations of adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  and their meanings, use and sense in the documentary sources coming from Egypt. Therefore, this book functions, firstly, as a dictionary, since it provides entries on the Greek adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which are attested in Egypt in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine period, and secondly, as a concordance of these attestations, which are arranged in a chronological sequence. We included rather extensive quotations of the text of the papyri or inscriptions (with spelling accuracy indicated either by following the rules of the use of the papyrological symbols, or by putting the correct form in brackets) in order to clarify the context in which the adverb is used, with the hope that this might be convenient and useful not only for classicists, but also for the general interested reader. This practice should allow readers simply to glance at the entry to check for themselves how a particular adverb was used in a particular context or in a variety of contexts. Likewise, we have also included translations of some passages when we considered that the understanding of the passage in a given context seemed confusing or problematic, or that a translation could help to indicate better how we should construct the adverb in the clause. In most cases we follow the translations (also in German, French or Italian) given in the first editions, and sometimes with our minor alterations.

In the era of the internet and digital humanities one may reasonably question the need for printed dictionaries, given the disadvantage that they cannot be updated frequently. Actually, there are several reasons to justify the present printed book. For this study we had to check the editions, the photographs and the commentaries of all the texts where the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  were read and restored in the papyrological and epigraphical sources (dated to the Graeco-Roman period) in Egypt. Our aim was to produce a database with all the certain attestations, free from proposed restorations or non-existent formations (although in some cases the interventions and proposals of the previous editors could be considered possible). In current databases, printed or online dictionaries, these restorations were offered as certain and as self-evident. When we finished this work, we observed that the result produced many corrections which could be published in many and various forms of articles or short papyrological notes, but could not provide a full understanding of the function of these adverbs. In addition, this work offers a number of rather minor additions and corrections to LSJ and its supplements. In cases where we are unable to understand the use or the general or specific sense, we write it explicitly in order that the reader might find a solution. The

same is true of the cases where we are not certain about a reading or restoration and we cannot provide any solution. We did not sidestep the problem, but we used the adjective “debatable”, which may invite readers to extend our research and to try to restore the text with certainty. For these reasons, we have summarized and listed all these cases in the Index *Videant doctiores!* (p. 289).

At the same time, this book represents part of research into the language of the private letters in the Greek and Latin papyri. This research deals with the question “How many words (and of which parts of speech) were used in the everyday written language of the people in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period?” The results of this research concerning the extent to which adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  are used in the private letters were also incorporated in this book, which is the first work in a series of books or articles. In the general introduction the first part provides an outline of the main usage of the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  from antiquity to nowadays, and the second part explains the reasons for the necessity of studying this part of speech and focuses on specific aspects of the results of the research concerning the use of these adverbs in the private letters. The reason why private letters are chosen for this first study is because in most cases by sending a private letter written on a piece of papyrus or on an ostrakon, people want to convey their thoughts and the reason they write in a few words. The same can be assumed, even if their thoughts are complex, especially when the writer expects the reader to know the basic details of a situation. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate the role of these concise adverbs (one word – one meaning) in the conciseness of these usually short private letters. In addition, to write a personal or business letter and send it to someone requires a certain relationship between the reader and the writer. It would be strange and illogical to assume that this relationship does not affect the register of the language. We examine if the certain use of the adverbs affects the communication. As it seems, most of the adverbs are found once in the private letters, which means that the person who used them had a certain purpose in mind. In such cases if the language of the rest of the personal private letter does not provide further details, we cannot say with certainty if the style is formal or informal, and therefore, to contribute to the purpose of the letter. In addition, the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  include a subjunctive sense when they are used, which sometimes confuses the clarity, so we have to assume that it was necessary that the recipient of the letter was well aware of the situation under discussion. If the rest of the text of the private letter or if the text which belongs to an archive with further available context allows, we can draw some conclusions. Otherwise, for the time being, we can only indicate the particular use.

The term “private letter” is used for all letters that are written between two individuals, even officials, for personal communication, and they are not part of official correspondence. In that sense, the business letters are also considered as private ones. “Private documents” include –apart from the private letters– a variety of documents such as private transactions, contracts, receipts, etc. “Official documents” are those which involve officials and could have been written as part of a public procedure, e.g. official correspondence and circulars, petitions, tax documents, etc.

In his MA thesis in the University of Crete, Department of Philology, Rethymnon (2015) Georgios Triantafyllou worked on the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  which indicate Time, directly or indirectly, as they appear in the private letters. He wrote the chapter “The

adverbs in -ως”, pp. 1-8, and the chapter concerning the adverbs indicating “Time” in Observations, on pp. 21-24. His work on the following 58 adverbs, after its update, has been incorporated here: ἀγρύπνως, ἀδιακωλύτως, ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀνάως, αἰφνιδίως, αἰωνίως, ἀκαίρως, ἀκωλύτως, ἀνελλείπτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀνεμποδίστως, ἀνεπικωλύτως, ἀνόκνως/ἀόκνως, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀπαύστως, ἀπερισπάστως, ἀπροόπτως, ἀπροσδοκῆτως, ἀπροσκέπτως, ἀρτίως, ἄφνης, βραδέως, γοργῶς, διαταχαίως, διαφόρως, διηνεκῶς, δυνειανσίως, δυσόκνως, ἐκπροθέσμως, ἐμπροθέσμως, ἐνδελεχῶς, ἐνιαυσιαίως, ἐνιαυσίως, ἐπειγμένως, ἐτησίως, εὐθέως, εὐκαίρως, εὐμαρῶς, εὐτάκτως, εὐχαιροτέρως, ἡμερησίως, ἡμερουσίως, μηνιαίως, ὀκνηρῶς, ὀψίμως, προθύμως, προπετῶς, πρωιμότερον, πρώτως, πυκνῶς, σπανίως, συνεχῶς, συντόμως, συχνῶς, ταχέως, ὑπογύως/ὑπογύιως, ὠκαίως (= ὠκέως?). He also studied the adverbials (τὸ) τάχος, κατὰ τάχο(υ)ς, which were incorporated in the entry ταχέως, the adverb παραχρῆμα, which was incorporated in the entry εὐθέως, and the adverb οὕτως. Nikos Litinas wrote the rest of the “General Introduction” and worked on the other 500 adverbs in -ως and their use in the private letters. He also wrote Appendix I (on p. 271) concerning the adverbs ending in -ί and -εί, -δην and -δόν. We studied all the examples of the adverbs in -ως occurring in the private letters which were published until 2016. Only some editions of papyri, which appeared afterwards as book editions or as journal articles were considered, therefore the evidence based on these publications is not extensively included. The total number of entries is 561. After the completion of our study, we were pleased to see that our primary results were true of all new instances provided in these new editions. The adverbs occurring in private letters are marked with an asterisk (\*), which is placed after them in their entry.

As for the micro-organization of the entries, even though the adverbs are listed in alphabetical order, the structure of the entries is not the same, since it depends on the use in the private letters. It usually takes the following form: translation and the basic meanings and the various uses and senses that these adverbs could acquire within a certain context, based on LSJ, Bauer, Lampe and *LBG*, and the texts of the Greek inscriptions; attestation(s) in the Greek literature, and where we consider necessary, with full citations from Greek authors, earliest or latest attestations of the adverb, with remarks on its use and various possible points of interest, which are related to the position of the adverbs in the clause or the sentence, the syntactical constructions, the modified constituents, and other notes that could provide information for the user, such as concerning the style, the way the context contributes to a certain expected or unexpected meaning, collocations, morphological regularities or specificities. References to the secondary literature are made where necessary. This secondary literature is not included in the General Bibliography (p. v). We include expanded or explanatory pieces on entries concerning the use of the adverbs in the private letters. Since in most cases the adverbs in -ως occur only once or very few times in the private letters, the relevant passages are quoted. However, references are made to other types of documents as well, and occasionally there is a further discussion of adverbs in -ως in these documents. In this book, the entries concerning adverbs which are attested in documents other than private letters contain only the meaning and the occurrences of the adverb, and in some cases we have posed questions mainly concerning its sense and use, its position in the clause, and the modification it provides, especially when this is not clear. The purpose was to show that from the numerous adverbs which existed (as mentioned above, more

than 4700 adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  in the Greek language) and were probably known, only 558 were used in the everyday texts in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and almost half of them (228 adverbs, that is c. 41%) were used in private letters, and again almost half of them (c. 52%) are attested only once in the private letters (see p. 14). Obtaining results of a statistical analysis based just on a few surviving ancient findings would be flimsy and not convincing, but in our opinion, this comparative study is a reliable guide because it allows us to see which adverbs were used in each type of document and in which situations. When the adverbs occur both in the private and the official documents, only the results concerning the private letters are discussed, since these adverbs can provide a characteristic parallel or some additional information concerning the textual use of adverbs in the private letters. However, the study of the use of the adverbs in the official and legal clauses of the documents will appear in a future volume of this series. Such a study is uncommon in the papyrological editions, with few and recent exceptions, such as that of Thomas Backhuys in *P.Köln XVI 651*, pp. 199-202, 7-8n.

Furthermore, the comparative and superlative forms of the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$ , which are attested in the private letters, are also discussed in order to indicate their morphological variations and how they are used –similarly or differently– from the positive degree. In some cases, when the positive degree of these adverbs does not occur in the papyrological documents, and we have examples of only the comparative or superlative degree, it is placed in rectangular brackets [ ]. In addition, in the following books or articles, studies concerning the use of the adverbs instead of other corresponding expressions, such as oblique cases, prepositional expressions etc. will appear. Some first observations were included in the entries, or see footnote 38 in the General Introduction.

The appendices concern the adverbs ending in  $-\acute{\iota}$  and  $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ,  $-\delta\eta\nu$  and  $-\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , ghost-adverbs, and adverbs rejected and corrected. At the end of the book we have also included two indexes: (a) a reverse index of the adverbs, and (b) an index of the adverbs, in which we have also included the adverbs which should be disregarded, indicating them with a strikethrough text formatting.

## Bibliography

- Alexiadou, A. 1997. *Adverb Placement: A Case Study in Antisymmetric Syntax*. Linguistik Aktuell; Linguistics Today 18. Amsterdam; Philadelphia.
- Alexiadou, A. 2013. Adverbial and Adjectival Modification. In: M. den Dikken (ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax*. Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics. New York, 458-484.
- Anghelina, C. 2007. On Some Adverbs with Variable Endings in Ancient Greek. *Glotta* 83:1-12.
- Austin, J.R., S. Engelberg and G. Rauh. 2013. Current Issues in the Syntax and Semantics of Adverbials. In: J. R. Austin, S. Engelberg and G. Rauh (edd.), *Adverbials; The Interplay between Meaning, Context, and Syntactic Structure*. Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 70. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, 1-44.
- Bagnall, R.S. and R. Cribiore. 2006. *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 B.C.-A.D. 800*. With Contributions by Evie Ahtaridis. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Baillet, J., 1920-1926. *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Mémoires publiés par les membres, 42. Cairo.
- Bernard, A. 1992. *La Prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*. Paris.
- Bernard, É. 1969. *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*. Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 98. Paris.
- Blass F., A. Debrunner and F. Rehkopf. 1984. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 16. durchgesehene Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bonner, C. 1941. Four Lexicographical Notes. *AJPh* 62:451-459.
- Cagnat, R. (with J.F. Toutain and P. Jouguet). 1908. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, Vol. 1.5. Paris.
- Cervin, R.S. 1990. *Word Order in Ancient Greek: VSO, SVO, SOV, or all of the above?* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Ph.D.
- Chapa, J. 1998. *Letters of Condolence in Greek Papyri*. Papyrologica Florentina XXIX, Firenze.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Current Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge, MA; London.
- Chomsky, N. 1966 (<sup>3</sup>2009). *Cartesian Linguistics; A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought*. Cambridge.
- Cinque, G. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. New York; Oxford.
- Clarysse, W. 2011. Departure without Saying Goodbye: A Lexicographical Study. *BASP* 48:141-148
- Clarysse, W. 2017. From Anger to Agony. Emotions in Private Letters on Papyrus. *AncSoc* 47:63-86.
- Cooper, G.L. 1997. *Attic Greek Prose Syntax* (after K.W. Krüger), 2 volumes. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Cresswell, M.J. 1985. *Adverbial Modification; Interval Semantics and Its Rivals*. Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 28. Dordrecht; Boston; Lancaster; Tokyo.

Cuvigny, H. 2012. ‘Quand Héroïs Aura Accouché...’; ἐάν = ὅταν dans l’expression de l’éventuel. *BIFAO* 112:97-99.

Davies, D.P. 1976. The Position of Adverbs in Luke. In: J.K. Elliot (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday*. Leiden.

Decker, R.J. 1997. The Use of Euthus (“Immediately”) in Mark. *The Journal of Ministry and Theology; A Ministry of Baptist Bible Seminary* 1. 1:90-121.

Devauchelle, D. and G. Wagner. 1984. *Les Graffites du Gebel Teir: Textes démotiques et grecques*. Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, Recherches d’archéologie, philologie et d’histoire, 22. Cairo.

Dickey, E. 2009. The Greek and Latin Languages in the Papyri. In: R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford, 149-169.

den Dikken, M. (ed.). 2013. *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax*. Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics. New York.

Eszes, B. 2009. Aspect and Adverb Interpretation; The Case of Quickly. In: K.É. Kiss (ed.), *Adverbs and Adverbial Adjuncts at the Interfaces*. Berlin, 269-294.

Evans, T.V. and D.D. Obbink (edd.). 2010. *The Language of the Papyri*. Oxford.

Evelyn-White, Hugh G. and J.H. Oliver. 1938. *The Temple of Hibis in El Khāreh Oasis. Part II. Greek Inscriptions*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition, 14. New York.

Exler, F.X.J. 1923. *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America.

Foris, B.D. (= Φόρης, Β.Δ.) 1970. *Αντίστροφος πίνακας τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων σὲ -ως τῆς ἀρχαίας ἑλληνικῆς* (= *Rückläufiger Index der auf -ως endenden Adverbien der altgriechischen Sprache*) Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς, Παράρτημα ἀριθμ. 16. Θεσσαλονίκη.

Frohwein, E. 1868. De adverbis graecis. In G. Curtius, G. (ed.), *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*. Erstes Heft. Leipzig, 63-132.

George, H.C. 2014. *Expressions of Time in Ancient Greek*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge.

Gignac, F.T. 1976. *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 2 volumes. Milano.

Gildersleeve, B. L. 1900-1911. *Syntax of Classical Greek from Homer to Demosthenes*, 2 volumes. New York; Cincinnati; Chicago.

Goodwin, W.W. 1900. *A Greek Grammar*. Boston.

Hanson, A.E. and P.J. Sijpesteijn. 1994. Three Papyri from the Princeton University Collection. *ZPE* 103:41-51.

Haspelmath, M. 1997. *From Space to Time; Temporal Adverbials in the World’s Languages*. Lincom Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 03. München; Newcastle.

Hasselbrook, D.S. 2011. *Studies in New Testament Lexicography. Advancing toward a Full Diachronic Approach with the Greek Language*, Untersuchungen zur Lexikographie des Neues Testaments. Ein Beitrag zu einem vollständig diachronen Ansatz zur Erforschung des Griechischen. Tübingen.

Hasselgard, H. 2010. *Adjunct Adverbials in English*. Studies in English Language. New York.

- Humbert, J. 1945 (<sup>3</sup>1960). *Syntaxe Grecque*. Collection de Philologie Classique II. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Hussein, Adel. 2000. *Le sanctuaire rupestre de Piyris à Ayn al-Labakha*. Mémoires de l'IFAO. 116. Cairo.
- Iber, F. 1914. *Adverbiorum Graecorum in -ως Cadentium Historia Usque ad Isocratis Tempora Pertinens*. Diss. Marburg.
- Jacobson, S. 1980. Contextual Influences on Adverb Placement in English. *SL* 34.2:135-140.
- Katz, G. 2008. Manner Modification of State Verbs. In: L. McNally and C. Kennedy (edd.), *Adjectives and Adverbs; Syntax, Semantics, and Discourse*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford; New York, 220-248.
- Kraus, Th.J. 1999. Slow Writers-βραδέως γράφοντες: What, How Much, and How Did They Write? *Eranos* 97:86-97.
- Kretschmer, P. and E. Locker, 1963. *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. 2. Auflage mit Ergänzungen von G. Kisser, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Kühner, R. 1836 (<sup>3</sup>1892). *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, 1. Elementar- und Formenlehre. Zweiter Band. Hannover.
- Kühner, R. 1836 (<sup>3</sup>1898). *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, 2. Satzlehre. Erster Band. Hannover; Leipsig.
- Kühner, R. 1836 (<sup>3</sup>1904). *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache*, 2. Satzlehre. Zweiter Band. Hannover; Leipsig.
- Larson, R.K. 1988. On the Double Object Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:335-391
- Lasnik, H. and R. Hendrick. 2003. Steps toward a Minimal Theory of Anaphora. In: R. Hendrick (ed.), *Minimalist Syntax*. Generative Syntax. Malden, MA; Oxford; Carlton, 124-151.
- Lefebvre, G. 1907. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Mémoires publiés par les membres 101. Paris.
- Leiwo, M. 2010. Imperatives and Other Directives in the Letters from Mons Claudianus. In: T. Evans and D. Obbink (edd.), *Language of the Papyri*, Oxford, 97-119.
- Litinas, N. 2004. Punctuation Matters in Some Papyri. In: H. Harrauer and R. Pintaudi (edd.), *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak (P.Horak)*. Papyrologica Florentina XXXIV. Firenze, 285-288.
- Louw, J.P., E.A. Nida, R.B. Smith and K.A. Munson. 1988. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, 1. Introduction & Domains. New York.
- Lycan, W.G. 2000 (<sup>2</sup>2008). *Philosophy of Language; a Contemporary Introduction*. Routledge Contemporary Introductions to Philosophy. New York.
- Matthaios, S. 2005. Aristarch, die *Tékhnai Grammatikaí* und Apollonios Dyskolos zum Adverb. Zur Geschichte einer Wortkategorie in der griechischen Grammatik. *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 27-2:93-120.
- Matthaios, S. 2007. Das Adverb in der Grammatikographie der griechischen Antike. In: A. Käinä and S. Matthaios (edd.), *Das Adverb in der Grammatikographie*. Teil I. Themenheft, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft 17. Münster, 13-58.

Mayser, E. 1933-1934. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der ptolemäerzeit mit Einschlüss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, Band II 2, Satzlehre. Analytischer Teil. Zweite Hälfte. Berlin; Leipzig.

Mayser, E. 1936. *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der ptolemäerzeit mit Einschlüss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, Band I. Laut- und Wortlehre, III. Teil. Stammbildung, 2nd ed. 1936. Berlin; Leipzig.

Meyer, G. 1880. *Griechische Grammatik*. Bibliothek Indogermanischer Grammatiken III. Leipzig.

Milne, Joseph G. 1905. *Greek Inscriptions*. Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Oxford.

Mitsakis, K. 1967. *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*. Byzantinisches Archiv 11. München.

Morzycki, M. 2015. *Modification*. Key Topics in Semantics and Pragmatics. Cambridge.

Moulton, J.H. 1906 (<sup>3</sup>1908). *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 1. Prolegomena. Edinburgh.

Moulton, J.H. 1963. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 2. Accidence and Word-Formation with an Appendix on Semitisms in the New Testament, edd. J. H. Moulton and W. F. Howard. London; New York.

Moulton, J. H. 1963. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3. Syntax, ed. N. Turner. London; New York.

Moulton, J.H. 1976. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4. Style, ed. N. Turner. Edinburgh.

Muchnová, D. 2013. Manner. In: G.K. Giannakis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, Managing Editors Online Edition. Consulted online [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-448X\\_eagll\\_COM\\_000002277](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-448X_eagll_COM_000002277).

Olsson, B. 1925. *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*. Uppsala.

Payne, T.E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax; A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge.

Perdrizet, P. and G. Lefebvre. 1919. *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos*. Nancy; Paris; Strasbourg.

Pinker, S. 1994. *The Language Instinct; How the Mind Creates Language; The New Science of Language and Mind*. Penguin Science. London.

Rau, J. 2006. The Greek Adverbs in -δην -δον -δα. *Glotta* 82:211-220.

Robins, R.H. 1993. *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History*. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 70. Berlin; New York.

Royse, J.R. 2008. *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*. Leiden; Boston.

Rutherford, W. G. 1890 (repr. 1912). *First Greek Grammar; Syntax*. London.

Schwyzler, E. 1939. *Griechische Grammatik; auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*, 1. Allgemeiner Teil; Lautlehre; Wortbildung; Flexion. München.

Schwyzler, E. 1950. *Griechische Grammatik; auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*, 2. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik. Vervollständigt und herausgegeben von A. Debrunner. München.

Smyth, H.W. 1920. *A Greek Grammar for Colleges*. New York; Cincinnati; Chicago; Boston; Atlanta.



Spicq, C. 1978. *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire*. Orbis biblicus et orientalis XXII/1-2. Tome I: pp. 1-524; Tome II, pp. 525-980. Fribourg, Switzerland / Göttingen, Germany.

Spicq, C. 1982. *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire. Supplement*. Göttingen.

Stainton, R.J. 1996. *Philosophical Perspectives on Language*. Peterborough, Ontario.

Steen, H.A. 1938. Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques. *C&M* 1:119-176.

Tibiletti, G. 1979. *Le lettere private, nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo d.C. Tra paganesimo e cristianesimo*. Milano.

Tsouderos, G. (= Τζουδερός, Γ.) 2000. *Η ελληνική γράση κ' οι τρόποι έκφρασης απ' την ομηρική ελληνική ως την κοινή νεοελληνική*, Ρέθεμνος 2000.

Wouters, A. 1979. *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Contributions to the study of the "Ars Grammatica" in Antiquity*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang XLI ; Nr. 92, Brussel.

Wagner, Ch. 1999. *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesu Sirach. Untersuchungen zu Wortwahl und Wortbildung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des textkritischen und übersetzungstechnischen Aspekts*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 282, Berlin; New York.

Wagner, Guy. 1987. *Les Oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs (Recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques)*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude 100. Paris.

White, J.L. 1970. *The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: A Study of The Letter-Body in the Non-Literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle*. Vanderbilt University, Ph.D.

Yamuza, E.R. 2000. Objective and Subjective Modality Satellites in Ancient Greek: Τάχα and ἴσως. *Glotta* 76. 3./4. H:237-248.

Youtie, H.C. 1971. Βραδέως γράφων: Between Literacy and Illiteracy. *GRBS* 12.2:239-261. Repr. in Youtie, H. C. 1973. *Scriptiunculae II*. Amsterdam, 629-651.

Youtie, H.C. 1971. Ἀγράμματος: An Aspect of Greek Society in Egypt. *HSPH* 75:161-176.

Youtie, H.C. 1975. Ὑπογραφεύς: The Social Impact of Illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt. *ZPE* 17:201-221.

Zilliacus, H. 1943. *Zur Sprache griechischer Familienbriefe des III. Jahrhunderts n. Chr (P. Michigan 214-221)*. Commentationes humanarum litterarum XIII. 3. Helsinki.

### Dictionaries

Bauer: W. Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*. Durchgesehener Nachdruck der fünften, verbesserten und stark vermehrten Auflage. Berlin, 1971.

Lampe: G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968.

LBG: E. Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität. Besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*. Erstellt von Erich Trapp, unter Mitarbeit von Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Diethart, Astrid Steiner-Weber [et al.]. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994-2017.

LSJ: H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford 1940. Ninth edition revised by H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie; *A Supplement*, edited by E.A. Barber and P. Maas, M. Scheller and M.L. West. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969; *Revised Supplement*, edited by P.G.W. Glare and A.D. Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); also, the online version of LSJ (<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/>).

WB I-II: F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden, mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten*. Berlin 1925-1927.

WB IV: . Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden, mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten*. 1.-5. Lieferung (ἁ-ζωφυτέω), Berlin; Marburg 1944-1993.

### Online resources

Searching passages from the literary texts: the online database *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG)*: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/fontsel>

Searching passages from the papyri and ostraca and their dating:

*Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri, DDbDP*: <http://papyri.info/>

*Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens, HGV*: <http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/>

*Trismegistos*: <http://www.trismegistos.org/>

*PapPal* (<http://www.pappal.info/>)

Searching passages from inscriptions: *Searchable Greek Inscriptions of the Packard Humanities Institute*: <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>

For the editions of papyri: Checklist of editions of Greek, *Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*:

<https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html>

## General Introduction

### The adverbs in -ως

People perceive or describe an event or an action by the use of adverbs, the verbal forms (e.g. tenses, moods, etc.) and modifiers (prepositional phrases, etc.). All these can specify the state of affairs on the basis of which a statement is true or false. The word “adverb” (ἐπίρρημα) itself indicates the function in the phrase structure (ἐπί + ρήμα in Greek, *ad* + *verbum* in Latin). An adverb is a non-inflected part of speech which defines the verb and denotes mainly Place, Manner, Time or Quantity. It concerns the broader context within which a statement is expressed, or within which the actions or events described in this statement occur or have occurred. Therefore, the adverb provides information about the conditions under which the action, described by a verbal form in a clause, is performed. Moreover, although it is difficult to define a rule concerning the truth conditions of the adverbs (see Lycan, 2000, 122), the only way to verify the fact of an action or event is to specify the time and the place where this very action has taken place (see Cresswell 1985, 1). Place and Time are the two main pillars upon which thinking is structured (see Haspelmath 1997, 1). However, the adverbs as a grammatical category are not studied as much as they should be (see Alexiadou 1997, 1). Furthermore, current linguistic studies on adverbs usually have as a starting point either the syntax or the semantics (see Austin, Engelberg and Rauh 2013, 2), and they are based on a specific language (usually a modern language). General rules, which could also apply to the ancient Greek language, have not been determined so far<sup>1</sup>. In this book we do not study the adverbs attested in Greek papyri from the perspective of Linguistics.

---

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the position of the adverb with respect to the verb of the sentence is a matter of great concern for linguistic research, as may be easily understood from studies, which deal with syntax in general, and studies, which deal specifically with adverbs; see Jakobson 1980, 140; Larson 1988, 345-346, n. 11; Cervin 1990, 124-126; Chomsky 1995, 63-64; Stainton 1996, 14; Alexiadou 1997, 1; Cinque 1999; Lasnik and Hendrick 2003, 129-131; Alexiadou 2013, 458-484. The variety of functions of adverbs, and of their position in the phrase structure with respect to the verb or the verb phrase, led to diverse ways of distinguishing them. Even the classification of the adverbs varies: Payne (1997, 69) defines adverbs as a *catch-all category*. The term *rag-bag category* used by Hasselgard (2010, 3) encapsulates this view of adverbs. Hasselgard (*ibid.*), however, is of a different opinion, and states that whatever is not a verb, noun or adjective can be considered as an adverb, which usually modifies whole sentences, and not smaller phrases. Payne, however, separates the adverbs from the particles. Nor does he expressly agree with this view, but merely points out that it prevails. Adverbs always derive from other words in various ways, and they are divided into four categories: those of Manner, Time, Location, and Evidence (*ibid.*, 69-70). Pinker (1994, 473) in the glossary of his book identifies adverbs as one of the minor syntactic categories and refers to only two adverbial relations that may be denoted by them: Manner and Time.

Chomsky (1966, 86), detected in the grammar of *Port Royal* (Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot, *Grammaire générale et raisonnée contenant les fondemens de l'art de parler, expliqués d'une manière claire et naturelle*, Port-Royal-des-Champs, 1660) some efforts to formulate a theory concerning the use of adverbs as a need to make speech shorter, that is, the adverb is an elliptical form of the preposition-noun construction. However, at the same time, the use of adverbs, according to theories of the semanticists, cannot provide true- or false-values (see Lycan, 2000, 122; Katz 2008, 220). Moreover, for the semantics of the adverbs see Eszes 2009, 269, and Morzycki 2015, 186-240. Du Marsais (cited with reference to Chomsky, *ibid.*, 88) thought that adverbs are simply words that make speech shorter, and Beauzée (cited with reference to Chomsky, *ibid.*, 88) thought that adverbs and their corresponding prepositional structures have the same meaning, but they differ in some supplementary connotations associated with them. That is, the adverb indicates a recurring action or situation, while the prepositional structure indicates an action that does not recur.

Our study of these adverbs focuses, first, on selecting and organizing them, second, on textual issues in papyri, and third, on observations on matters of style in the private letters.

In the following brief historical overview of the opinions of grammarians from antiquity until today regarding adverbs in general, and, specifically, those ending in *-ως*, we can see how thinking about this part of speech evolved through the centuries. This overview presents (1) views of the ancient theorists regarding adverbs and the adverbs in *-ως*, (2) views of the modern grammarians regarding adverbs and the adverbs in *-ως* in the ancient Greek language, and (3) the papyrological approach to adverbs.

### 1. Views of the ancient theorists regarding adverbs and the adverbs in *-ως*.

The existence of adverbs as a grammatical category was observed as far back in time as when the ancient theorists composed their grammars<sup>2</sup>. However, although all these ancient grammarians noticed that many adverbs derive from an adjectival stem with the addition of the suffix *-ως*, they did not explore their syntax and semantics as a separate group<sup>3</sup>. Although our study does not discuss morphology, the opinions of grammarians of ancient Greek language concerning the morphology of adverbs are presented briefly in this introduction to define what is and what is not an adverb, and especially an adverb in *-ως*.

The existence of a non-inflected part of speech, which had to do mainly with the verb had already been identified by the ancient grammarians<sup>4</sup>. Dionysius Thrax (second century B.C.) defined eight parts of speech<sup>5</sup> and among them the adverb, which he discussed in the section *Περὶ ἐπίρρηματος*<sup>6</sup> of his work (see Matthaïos 2005, 109). Dionysius was mainly interested in the morphology of words, and so examined the syntax only on occasion. The function of the adverbs within a sentence was undoubtedly the modification of the verb<sup>7</sup>. The adverb could either precede or follow the verb<sup>8</sup>. He

<sup>2</sup> For the conception of the words that functioned as adverbs in antiquity see Matthaïos 2007, 13-29; Matthaïos 2009, 94-99.

<sup>3</sup> For the syntax and semantics of all adverbs see Matthaïos 2007, 32-35, and 39-52; Matthaïos 2009, 104 and 110-118.

<sup>4</sup> The existence of adverbs and the similarities and differences between them and other parts of speech became an issue of interest not only to grammarians but also to philosophers (see Matthaïos 2007, 17-19) and lexicographers (e.g. Ammonius, first or second century A.D.). In Ammonius' study *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia* (= *Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφορῶν λέξεων*), the view that the adverb is non-inflected and does not indicate a specific grammatical (verbal) person is illustrated through a comparison between an adverb and a verb; see *ibid.* 19, αἴθε καὶ ὠφελον διαφέρει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπαρέμφατον προσώπων· τὸ δ' ὠφελον ἐμφαίνει πρόσωπα. οἶον· ὠφελον ἐγώ. ὠφελος σύ. ὠφελον ἐκεῖνος. διὸ τὸ αἴθε ἐστὶν ἐπίρρημα. τὸ δ' ὠφελον ρῆμα.

<sup>5</sup> See D.T. *Ars grammatica* 1.1.23 τοῦ δὲ λόγου μέρη ἐστὶν ὀκτώ· ὄνομα. ρῆμα. μετοχή. ἄρθρον. ἀντωνυμία. πρόθεσις. ἐπίρρημα. σύνδεσμος. ἢ γὰρ προσηγορία ὡς εἶδος τῶ ὀνόματι ὑποβέβληται.

<sup>6</sup> See D.T. *Ars grammatica* 1.1.72.3-86.1.

<sup>7</sup> See D.T. *Ars grammatica* 1.1.72.4-5 ἐπίρρημά ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον. κατὰ ρήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ρήματι.

<sup>8</sup> The discussion about the syntax of adverbs in the ancient Greek grammars seems to be confined merely to this axiom. However, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first century B.C.), *De compositione verborum* 5 (= *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*) considered that it was better to place the adverbs after the verbs, because "in the nature of things, whatever acts or is acted upon takes precedence over the adverbs of τρόπου, τόπου and χρόνου and the like" (5.18-5.29: κλυθὶ μεν αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἄτρυτῶνη καὶ ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι...

divided the adverbs into twenty-six subcategories, which were not given names. Some adverbs were categorized on the basis of their morphology, such as the ἐπιρρήματα μεσότητος, that is, those ending in -ως<sup>9</sup>, other adverbs on the basis of their syntactic function and their meaning, such as the χρόνου δηλωτικά, the ποσότητος, and the τοπικά, and, finally, other adverbs clearly on the basis of their meaning, e.g. the ἐπιρρήματα ποιότητος (cf. Wouters 1979 on pp. 83-85).

The comments of many ancient scholars on the work of Dionysius survive and assist greatly in understanding the work of the Alexandrian grammarian. One of these commentators pointed out that the difference between the adverb and the other indeclinable parts of speech is that the function of the adverb is simply the modification of the verb<sup>10</sup>. Another commentator observed, among other things, that the adverb modifies the verb as a whole or partially<sup>11</sup>, because a Manner adverb can modify any verb (καθόλου), while a Time adverb can specify only some tenses or moods of the verb (μερικῶς).

Moreover, the viewpoint of the grammatical τέχνη<sup>12</sup>, which is preserved in *P.Lit.Lond.* 182 (= Wouters 1979, no 2, on pp. 61-92, esp. 83-85; c. A.D. 300) was probably influenced by Dionysius' concept, since the discussion of the two texts present many similarities. The anonymous grammarian agreed that the only function of the adverb is the modification of the verb, and that adverbs should be divided into many subcategories<sup>13</sup>. He grouped some of these together, among them the adverbs in -ως, since he considered, e.g., the adverbs of the medium state or condition to be in the same group as those of quality<sup>14</sup>, without explaining the reasons for this.

μνησαι πατρός σεῖο, θεοῖς ἐπέικελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ. ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἡγεῖται μὲν τὰ ρήματα, ὑποτέτακται δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αἰτιάσαιτο τὴν σύνταξιν ταύτην ὡς ἀηδῆ. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ἄμεινον ἐδόκουν εἶναι τὰ ρήματα προτάττειν τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ πρότερον ἔστι τῇ φύσει ἢ παύσασθαι τῶν συνεδρευόντων αὐτοῖς, τρόπου λέγω καὶ τόπου καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίω, ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν ἐπιρρήματα. παραδείγμασι χρώμενος τούτοις).

<sup>9</sup> See *Comm. in D.T. Art. gram.* 59.27-60.2 τὰ δὲ μεσότητος ἐπιρρήματα οὐκ ἀπὸ ἐννοίας τινὸς ὠνόμασαι· πλείστας γὰρ διαφορὰς ἔχει ἐννοιῶν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενικῆς τῶν πληθυντικῶν τῆς μέσης οὐσης τῶν τριῶν γενῶν. τοῦ ν μόνου εἰς ζ τρεπομένου. διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται μεσότητος. οἶον τῶν καλῶν· αὕτη γενικὴ οὐσα πληθυντικὴ μέση ἔστί. τουτέστι κοινή. ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλυκοῦ καὶ οὐδετέρου. οἱ καλοὶ τῶν καλῶν. αἱ καλά τῶν καλῶν. τὰ καλά τῶν καλῶν· τραπέντος οὖν τοῦ ν εἰς ζ. ὡς ἔφαμεν. γίνεται τὸ ἐπίρρημα καλῶς· σοφῶν σοφῶς ὁμοίως. See also *Comm. in D.T. Art. gramm.* 97.31-98.5. Herodian (*De pros. catholica* 3, 513-515 [Lentz, *Gramm. Graeci*]) wrote only on the stressed vowels of these adverbs. For the aspects of the Byzantine commentators concerning the ancient grammarians see Robins 1993, 82-83. These commentators named the adverbs in -ως alternatively ἐπιρρήματα μεσότητος οἱ ποιότητος.

<sup>10</sup> See *Comm. in D.T. Art. gram.* 59.4-59.11 εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ «κατὰ ρήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ρήματι» καὶ τούτων αὐτὸ ἀπεμέρισεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον μέρος λόγου τῷ ρήματι ἐπιφορὰν ἀναγκαστικῶς ποιεῖται. προταττόμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ρήματος ἢ ὑποταττόμενον. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄνομα εἴληχε. «καλῶς ἦλθεν. ἦλθε καλῶς. σοφῶς ἔφη. ἔφη σοφῶς».

<sup>11</sup> See *Comm. in D.T. Art. gram.* 96.13-96.15 «κατὰ ρήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ρήματι»· ἑλλίπῳς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει. καὶ δεῖ προσθεῖναι «καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς».

<sup>12</sup> For an extensive discussion of the papyrus-τέχναι and how they define the adverbs see Matthaios 2007, 29-31 and 42-52.

<sup>13</sup> See *P.Lit.Lond.* 182, 80-82 ἐπίρρημα τί ἐστίν; λέξις καθ' ἓνα σχηματισμὸν ἐκφερομένη. προτακτικὴ καὶ ὑποτακτικὴ ρήματος ἀσυνθέτου. ἐν <πολλοῖς> εἴδει θεωρουμένη. The adjective ἀσυνθέτου means that the adverb cannot make a composite word with the verb.

<sup>14</sup> See *P.Lit.Lond.* 182, 82-86: τῶν δὲ ἐπιρρημάτων ἃ μὲν ἐστὶν μεσότητος καὶ ποιότητος δηλωτικά. οἶον καλῶς. σοφῶς. ἄρδην. ἀνέδην. βοτρυδόν. ἀπριάτην. νύξ. γνύξ. λάξ. ὀδάξ. ἀν. νων· ἀκουιτί. σάφα. μάλα. λικριφίς. ἀμοιβηδής. ἑλλημιστί. συριστί. καὶ ἔτι πλείονα.

In a manual on the parts of speech, *BKT X 17*, pag. 12, ll. 1-11 (c. A.D. 300), the grammarian followed the definition of the adverb as it was given by *P.Lit.Lond.* 182. Two examples of adverbs ending in -ως (καλῶς γράφω and ταχέως ἦλθον) are mentioned, and in ll. 12-68, forty-four semantic species are fixed, which exceed any other similar classification in the known lists (see *BKT X 17*, p. 147, 10-11n. *ad loc.*); for the lists see Matthaios 2007.

The grammatical τέχνη, which is preserved in *P.Yale I 25* (= Wouters 1979, no 1, on pp. 47-60, esp. 55-56; I A.D.), acknowledged nine parts of speech, which include the adverb<sup>15</sup>. He pointed out that the adverb serves as a modifier to the verb, and divides adverbs into twelve subcategories, based on their meaning<sup>16</sup>. Only one adverb in -ως is mentioned, καλῶς (l. 47), which is classified as an adverb of Quality.

The section, in which the anonymous grammarian of *P.Heid.Siegmann 197* (= Wouters 1979, no 6, on pp. 125-134; second half of I A.D.) discussed adverbs, has been preserved in a very fragmentary condition, and the restoration of the passage is so extensive that it is not certain if the restored words and phrases indeed correspond to what was originally written. His analysis<sup>17</sup> is like a combination of the aspects which were expressed in *P.Yale I 25* and Dionysius Thrax. The adverbs in -ως (and -δον) (l. 53 καλῶς, σοφῶς, βοτρυδόν, ἀγελιδόν) are placed in the category of the ones that indicate Quality. This perspective can be also understood in the study<sup>18</sup> written by the author of *P.Harr.* 59 (= Wouters 1979, no 11, on pp. 163-174, esp. 72; end of the II A.D.), where he states that the same examples of adverbs are called either ποιότητος or μεσότητος: see ll. 46-48. The contribution of the anonymous grammarian preserved in *P.Ant.* II 68 (= Wouters 1979, no 15, on pp. 198-203; IV A.D.) is brief, but not necessarily concise, compared with those of the previously mentioned grammarians. He distinguished eight parts of speech<sup>19</sup>, and simply mentioned a typical example of each. The adverb σαφῶς is mentioned as a typical one among the adverbs<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, the parts of speech are eight, according to the grammarian Dositheus<sup>21</sup>, and the adverb is one of them.

Following the work of Dionysius Thrax, the first comprehensive treatise on adverbs was written by Apollonius Dyscolus in the second century A.D. and was entitled *De adverbis* (= Περὶ ἐπιρρημάτων) (see Matthaios 2005, 107-110). In this study we read

<sup>15</sup> See *P.Yale I 25*, 2-5 τοῦτου [δὲ μέρη ἐστὶν ἐννέα. ὄνομα. προσηγορία. μετοχή]. ἀντονομασία{ι}. ἄρθρον. [ρήμα. πρόθεσις. ἐπί<ρ>ρημα. σύνδε[σμο]ν.

<sup>16</sup> See *P.Yale I 25*, 37-43 ἐπί<ρ>ρημα δ' ἐστὶν λέξις κατὰ μίαν ἐκφορὰν δ[η]λουμένη. προτακτικὴ ἢ ὑποτακτικὴ ρήματος ἄσυν|[θ]έτως σημαίνουσα ποσότητα ἢ ποιότητα ἢ χρόνον ἢ τόπον ἢ ἄρνησιν ἢ συνκατάθεσιν ἢ ἀπαγόρευσιν ἢ ἐπικέλευσιν ἢ ἐρώτησιν ἢ εὐχή[ν] ἢ παραβολήν ἢ διστα<σ>μόν; for ἄσυν|[θ]έτως see n. 13 above.

<sup>17</sup> See *P.Heid.Siegmann 197*, 42-49 ἐπί<ρ>ρημα δὲ ἐστὶν λέξις προτακτικὴ [καὶ ὑποτακτικὴ παντὸς ρήματος ἀκλίτως σημαίνουσα ποσότη[τ]α ἢ [ποιότητα καὶ μεσότητα] ἢ χρόνον ἢ τόπον ἢ ἄρνησιν] ἢ ἐπικέλευσιν ἢ ἀπαγόρευσιν] ἢ διστα[σμο]ν ἢ συνκατάθεσιν] ἢ εὐχή[ν] ἢ παραβολήν.

<sup>18</sup> See *P.Harr.* 59, 31-42: [ἐπίρρημα δὲ ἐστὶν λέξις προτακτικὴ καὶ ὑποτακτικὴ παντὸς ρήματος ἀκλίτως δηλοῦσα] [ποσότητα ἢ ποιότητα ἢ τ[ό]πον [ἢ χρόνον ἢ ἄρνησιν ἢ συ]γκατάθεσιν ἢ ---].τα [ ἐπί[τ]ασι] [---]... ἢ εὐχ[ή]ν ἢ ---]...[---]...[- --- ἢ σύγ]κρισι[ν] ἢ ---].

<sup>19</sup> See *P.Ant.* II 68, 16-17 μέρη τοῦ λόγου [ὀκτώ].

<sup>20</sup> See *P.Ant.* II 68, 25-26 ἐπίρρημα [οἷον ---] σαφῶς α[---].

<sup>21</sup> See Dositheus *Ars grammatica* 14.3-5 λόγου μέρη εἰσὶν ὀκτώ. ὄνομα ἀντωνυμία ρῆμα μετοχὴ ἐπίρρημα πρόθεσις σύνδεσμος παρένθεσις· τισὶν δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ προσηγορία.

that adverbs are non-inflected words and that they modify verbs<sup>22</sup>. Obviously, this does not mean that any word which modifies the verb is an adverb, but that any word, which cannot be used otherwise within a sentence, other than as the complement of the verb, should be included in this category.

The grammarian Theodosius in the fourth or fifth century A.D., in his work *Περὶ γραμματικῆς*, considered the adverbs as non-inflected words which are placed after the verb to complement its meaning. Only three functions can be expressed: Manner, Place and Relation<sup>23</sup>. What the adjective is for the noun, the adverb is for the verb, and this function is reflected in the very name of this part of speech, ἐπίρρημα<sup>24</sup>.

## 2. Views of the modern grammarians regarding adverbs and the adverbs in -ως.

The way the modern scholars of ancient Greek language considered the adverb does not differ much from that of the ancient ones. As its very name indicates in its syntactical role, an adverb was seen mainly as a complement of the verb.

Kühner (1836), whose work is the most detailed account among the traditional grammars, discussed adverbs extensively, but there is no systematic discussion about the adverbs in -ως. In the section on morphology, Kühner (1836, II 2, 247-253) is interested only in the composition of words with the first component being a preposition. He promised (*ibid.*, 247) that he would address morphology of adverbs under the corresponding section in the volume of syntax. Furthermore, one can find some scattered notes concerning the adverbs, such as in the phrase οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, where the adverb modifies a noun, or the phrase καλῶς γράφεις, where he stated that one of the parts of the speech that can complete (extend or determine) the concept of the predicate is the adverb (Kühner 1836, II 1, 52; 260; 269). Kühner (1836, II 2, 113-223) also discussed extensively issues which are relevant to the syntax of the adverb. In this discussion, Kühner (*ibid.*, 113-114), citing Apollonius Dyscolus, pointed out the similarity between the relation of adjective and noun on the one hand, and the relation of adverb and verb on the other. He specified the possibility that the adverb also determines adjectives or other adverbs. The relations denoted in all cases, according to Kühner (*ibid.*, 114), are Manner, Place, Time, Frequency and the Intensity of an action. These relations can also be denoted by using equivalent expressions, such as adverbial participles, oblique cases of a noun, and prepositional structures. There are also the modal adverbs, such as confirmatory adverbs, which modify the entire sentence. Finally, a Manner adverb can function as a replacement of the subject and the object of a verb or an entire subordinate clause (*ibid.*, 114-115). Following the general discussion, he addresses some examples of adverbs, which he considers to be the most important. Some of them, however, should be considered as particles, such as γέ. Apart from these, Kühner mainly dealt with adverbs composed of a word and an inseparable particle, such

<sup>22</sup> See Apollonius Dyscolus *Adv.* 2.1,1.119.5-6 ἔστιν οὖν ἐπίρρημα μὲν λέξις ἄκλιτος. κατηγοροῦσα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐγκλίσεων καθόλου ἢ μερικῶς. ὧν ἄνευ οὐ κατακλείσει διάνοιαν.

<sup>23</sup> See Theodosius of Alexandria *Grammatica* 87. 4-9 ἐπίρρημά ἐστι λέξις ἄκλιτος μετὰ τὸ ῥῆμα ταττομένη καὶ τρόπον. ἢ τόπον ἢ σχέσιν δηλοῦσα. οἷον ἀναγιγνώσκω καλῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγιγνώσκω ῥῆμά ἐστι. τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἐπίρρημα καὶ σημαίνει τρόπον. πῶς ἀναγιγνώσκω. τὸ δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπίρρηματα τόπον ἢ σχέσιν δηλοῦνται.

<sup>24</sup> See Theodosius of Alexandria *Grammatica* 19. 31-32 τὸ δὲ ἐπίρρημα δυνάμει μὲν ἐπιθετόν ἐστι τοῦ ῥήματος. ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τούτου δηλοῖ.

as composite adverbs with the morphemes  $-\pi\epsilon\rho$  and  $-\theta\epsilon\nu$ . No discussion can be found in his work about the adverbs ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$ .

Frohwein (1868) studied the adverbs by presenting a definition of the grammatical category and presented only the adverbs with their citations to the ancient texts based on their formation. In Meyer (1880), one would expect to read a chapter about the adverbs, but there is no discussion about them. Goodwin (1900, 190) just observed that adverbs derived from adjectives and nouns, and that they “qualify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs” (Goodwin 1900, 264). Furthermore, no reference to the adverbs can be found in the books on syntax of Gildersleeve (1900-1911) and Humbert (1960). Rutherford (1912) studied the non-inflected parts of speech, but he did not examine the syntax of adverbs. Iber (1914) did not write a Grammar, but in his dissertation on the adverbs ending in  $-\omega\varsigma$  from Homer to Isocrates, collected all the available instances of these adverbs and categorized them based on their morphology and in which author (or literary genre) they appear for the first time. However, there is no study of their syntax.

A comprehensive grammar, in which adverbs are examined (although not in such detail as other parts of speech), was also written by Smyth (1920). Contributing new information concerning adverbs, he disagreed with traditional grammars on some points, and he introduced new distinctions. According to Smyth, adverbs can be derived from the oblique cases of nouns and adjectives. In particular, adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  are not derived from the genitive plural, as both ancient and modern grammarians thought, but from the ablative case (see Smyth 1920, 99-100). In addition, the suffix of adverbs often reveals their meaning. Thus, adverbs in  $-ι$ ,  $-\thetaι$ ,  $-\sigmaι$ ,  $-\delta\epsilon$ ,  $-\zeta\epsilon$ , and  $-\sigma\epsilon$  denote Place, and adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  denote Manner (*ibid.*). Regarding syntax Smyth (*ibid.*, 283-284) divided them into two groups: (a) simple adverbs which denote Manner, Degree, Place, Time, and further relevant relations, which modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, and (b) sentential adverbs or particles, which modify an entire sentence or emphasize a specific word. As equivalent syntactic structures he considered the oblique cases, the prepositional structures, the participles, and the adverbial subordinate clauses (*ibid.*, 284).

Schwyzler (1939, 617-633 and 1950, 412-417) also extensively studied the formation of adverbs, and divided them into categories according to their derivation. He classified the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  in the category of those which are derived from cases of pronouns and adjectives (see Schwyzler 1939, 623-624). He also considered that they are produced from the ablative case, the semantic value of which is maintained by them. However, the section devoted to the syntax of the adverbs, though not extensive, is nonetheless concise. He distinguished and examined separately adverbs in the strict sense, i.e. those words which can act as adverbials, and are non-inflected (see Schwyzler 1950, 412). Adverbs provide information concerning the events themselves, in contrast to the logical function of the particles, and they do not function as textual operators, like conjunctions (*ibid.*). The basic function of adverbs is to modify verbs, but they may have other functions as well: the formation of verbal phrases, the modification of adjectives and other adverbs, and the function as nouns, when accompanied by an article (*ibid.*, 413). The syntax of adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  is discussed together with other adverbs.

Cooper (1997, vol. 2, pp. 1082-1084) collected and categorized a variety of constructions of the adverbs with other words, stating that the regular position is before



the modified constituent. He mentioned Kühner's examples (cf. Kühner 1836, II, 2, 114), and he stated that the adverbs are found when adjectives are expected (Cooper 1997, vol. 2, pp. 1084-1085). He wrote that "the choice between the two sometimes seems arbitrary and capricious, and this has led to some attempt on the part of scribes and editors to systematize by emendation what was doubtless enjoyed originally as various" and "particular adverbs developed stylish currency in this way and can offer amusing studies in idiom".

Furthermore, in the Grammars of New Testament Greek the adverbs are also discussed. In the four-volume work by Moulton on the language of the New Testament, one finds minimal information about adverbs. In the first volume (see Moulton 1906, 99-100), the Prolegomena, only the possibility that adverbs function as complements of prepositions in prepositional structures is stated. In the second volume (see Moulton 1963, vol. 2, 163-164), one of the issues examined is the morphology of adverbs. The formation of the adverbs in  $-\omega\varsigma$  was more common in New Testament Greek compared to earlier periods. In vernacular Greek, however, there was a tendency to use the neuter accusative with adverbial meaning, in order to avoid confusion between the morphemes  $-\omega\varsigma$  (of the adverbs) and  $-\omicron\varsigma$  (of the adjective or noun), which had no phonetic difference. In the last volume, in which style is examined, very few cases of adverbs, such as  $\lambdaοιπὸν$  (see Moulton 1976, 13; 92; 104),  $\piολλὰ$  (*ibid.*, 13; 38; 92; 117) and  $\piάλιν$  (*ibid.*, 32) are presented. Concerning the syntax of adverbs (Moulton 1963, vol. 3, 226), only the possibility of using an adverb as complement, and the frequent use of adverbs combined with the verb  $\xi\chi\omega$  are discussed. Moulton (1963, vol. 3, 227-229), made some observations concerning the position of the adverbs in the New Testament Greek that "an adverb usually follows the adjective or the verb which it determines..." ... "occasionally the adverb is given great emphasis by its divorce from its verb"... "Matthew has the peculiar habit, in the imperative, of giving second place to adverbs which in other moods he puts first"... "however, in the Ptolemaic papyri the normal position of adverbs in the simple sentence increasingly tends to be before the verb to which they belong"... "in the language of Ptolemaic documents the normal pre-positive adverbs and those which for a rhetorical purpose are post-positive are fairly evenly distributed. In many documents, such as official acts, the tendency to emphasize the adverb in post-position is very strong. Conversely certain adverbs are always pre-positive, others post-positive; others again are both". However, these were simply observations, and then, Davies (1976), stating that these aspects must be indicated clearly in the texts of each author and each type of work, studied the position of the adverbs in Luke. He arranged his material based on the following categorisation: pre-position, but separated from the word modified by one or more words; pre-position, immediately preceding the word modified; post-position, immediately following the word modified; post-position, but separated from the word modified by one or more words; the verb modified must be understood as it is not expressed in the clause. On p. 112 the results are as follows: "The general pattern shows that adverbs of Time and Manner normally precede, and adverbs of place normally follow the word modified. With adverbs of time where the word modified is an imperative, infinitive or anarthrous participle there are no exceptions to this rule. The only notable exception is that adverbs of time follow the arthrous participle. Adverbs of manner behave normally except with the aorist indicative, but in contrast to adverbs of Time, the imperative and anarthrous participle are sometimes followed by an adverb of Manner, though

with the infinitive the adverb is never in post-position”<sup>25</sup>. Concerning the adverbs of Manner (p. 114) when they are in a post-position, following the word modified, it seems that in most cases the adverbs of Manner “stand emphatically as last word in the clause”<sup>26</sup>.

In Blass, Debrunner and Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (1984, 81-83), the adverbs were divided into four categories: Manner, Location, Time, and Correlative. It is not explicitly stated that adverbs in -ως denote Manner, but it is implied, since adverbs with such a formation were not included in the other categories. Therefore, it seems that morphology affects semantics. In the brief discussion of the syntax of adverbs (*ibid.*, 361-363) the focus was on the adverbs used as adjectives, but there was no particular reference to the Manner adverbs.

### 3. *The papyrological approach to adverbs.*

Mayser (1933-1934 and 1936) had included in his Grammar of Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic period an extensive study on adverbs. In the first volume of his work, where he deals with phonology and morphology, he described how adverbs are formed, listing all the derivational suffixes that can produce an adverb, and the adverbs themselves (see Mayser 1936, 117-126). This list is supplemented with more adverbs in the second part of the second volume of his work (see Mayser 1933-1934, 175-184). It seems that morphology affects the meaning, since the adverbs in -ως, which were the most numerous in the papyri of that period (see Mayser 1936, 122-125, and 1933-1934, 176-178) are classified as “Modaladverbien”. Mayser (1933-1934, 179) observed that the use of adverbs does not differ from the use made by the authors of the classical period, that is, adverbs mainly modify verbs. It is possible that they are close to copular verbs, either taking the position of the corresponding adjective, or when copular verbs have the meaning of a regular verb (*ibid.*). The usual position of adverbs is before the modified constituent, but in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, adverbs which are placed after the modified constituent can also be found (*ibid.*, 180-181). When emphasis was needed, e.g. when they used the imperative mood (*ibid.*, 181). Adverbs of Time belong to this category (*ibid.*), as well as adverbs of Manner (*ibid.*, 183), which indicate urgency and haste. When the rhythm or the style required, some adverbs were also placed after the modified constituent. Adverbs of Place, and most adverbs of Manner, were placed before the modified constituent, but, as noted by Mayser (*ibid.*, 184), there is not any uniform rule that applies to all adverbs.

Zilliaccus’ study (1943) on the language of family letters of the third century A.D. does not discuss adverbs at all. In Gignac’s (1976) *Morphology*, the adverbs are not examined. In the handbook where there is bibliography concerning the language of the papyri (Dickey 2009, 166) not one specific study of the adverbs is listed. In addition, in the volume on the language of papyri edited by Evans and Obbink (2010) there is no contribution concerning the adverbs.

---

<sup>25</sup> Such studies are important for the critical edition of a text; cf. e.g. Royse 2008, p. 158, n. 267.

<sup>26</sup> For a general discussion of the various positions of the adverbs in order to indicate emphasis in a phrase (as they attested in texts from Homer to Modern Greek) see Tsouderos 2000, 180-183.

### The adverbs in -ως in the private letters in Egypt

Our aim was to study the syntax and the connotations of the adverbs ending in -ως in the private letters written on papyri and ostraca that were found in Egypt<sup>27</sup>. The question is, however, why did we select the material based on a specific morphological criterion (ending in -ως) and, secondly, why only in the private letters?

#### *1. The adverbs in -ως*

In answer to the question, we consider the adverbs in -ως as a group of words that are formed based on adjectives or participles, therefore they have specific qualitative value, and thus, specific purpose. Although they are considered the typical ones to indicate Manner, they can also indicate Time, State, Quantity, Quality, Degree, Reason, Purpose, Agreement, Instrument, Modality, as well as Place (see below, pp. 21-25)<sup>28</sup>.

Taking into consideration a wide basis of data, a refinement of the existing attestations and descriptions of these adverbs was made, so as to study all the adverbs ending in -ως which are recorded in documentary sources (papyri, ostraca and inscriptions<sup>29</sup>) in Egypt from the third century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. that is,

---

<sup>27</sup> Some adverbs, which are attested in papyri and ostraca from other areas outside Egypt, are also considered: ἀσμένως and εὐτυχῶς in Coele Syria; ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀδόλως, ἀμειώτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀνελλείπτως, ἀπεριγράπτως, βεβαίως, εὐδοκίμως, πεπλασμένως in Petra; λαμπρῶς in Maoza, Arabia; βεβαίως, ἐκόντως, πάντως in Dura-Europos; αἰσίως in Khirbet Mird, Palaestine; ἀδυνάτως, διαφόρως, πάντως in Nessana; εἰκότως in Syria(?); μ{ε}ικρῶς in Bostra, Syria.

<sup>28</sup> The relative adverbs ὡς and ὅπως, the interrogative πῶς and the adverbial καθῶς are not included in this study, since their function as adverbials of Manner is restricted in the beginning of the clause as introductory words.

The prepositional καθῶς was not in use in the private letters of the Ptolemaic period, except once in the Zenon archive, where it modifies the verb γράφω (*P.Col.* IV 93, 5; III B.C.). In two cases (letters) the general phrasing of the private letters presents an official tone or refers to an official procedure (*P.Lille* I 26, 4; III B.C.; *P.Bad.* IV 48, 4; 127 B.C.). This adverbial is not used as a Manner one, but in order to indicate that something is (or will be) done according to what has been said or ordered. The same use is observed in the Roman period, as the adverbial modifies verbs γράφω, διαλέγομαι, ἐντέλλω, κελεύω, ἐρωτῶ, θέλω, προ(λέγω), παρακαλῶ, τάσσω, πρέπει, τίθημι(?). Although in the most cases its use seems to be in the phrase “according to what we arranged etc.”, in one instance the adverbial seems to function as a Manner one: in *P.Bagnall* 12, 2-5 (c. A.D. 115-130) καθῶς ἡρώτη|κά σε περι τῶν γραμματι|ων, σπουδάσης μοι πέμ|ψε (*l.* πέμ|ψαι), κύριε, ἀσφαλῶς, where the adverb at the end of the period modifies the infinitive πέμ|ψε (*l.* πέμ|ψαι), but it seems that it is also meant to correspond to καθῶς at the beginning.

<sup>29</sup> Adverbs, which are attested in literary (or sub-literary or magical) texts (known or unknown) found in Egypt are not included in the study: e.g. περι<σ>πωμένως in *BKT* X 17, p. 11, 6-7, ἀσυνθέτως, καλῶς and ταχέως, *ibid.*, p. 12, 4, 9 and 10; καταχρη[σ]τι[κ]ῶς, *ibid.*, p. 23, 33 and p. 24, 2-3; ἐπιβούλως in *P.Grenf.* I 1, 3 (see Mayser 1936, 122); ἰσοχρόνως (see Mayser 1936, 123); εὐτάκτως in *P.Fay.* 337, 16; ἐτοιμολόγως in *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5351, 9 (*Acta Maximi*); ἱκανῶς in *PSI* XVII 1672, ii 22; ἀκατακρίτως in *BKT* X 135, 14-15; ὁμοιοτρόπως in *BKT* X 23, I 9; ἐκείνως “in that case” in *P.Petr.* II 49 (e), iii 13 (see Mayser 1936, 125); δικα[ι]ῶς... οὐδ’ ἀδ[ικ]ῶς in *APF* 44, 1998, 209-218; παραβόλως in *Acta Pauli et Antonini* (*P.Paris* 68); εἰρηνικῶς in a magical text, *SEG* XLI 1619, 21-22; furthermore, the adverbs in medical texts, e.g. δαιμ[ο]νίως in *P.Mich.* XVII 758, 5, χιαστῶς in *PSI* X 1180, 47, ὀρ[κ]ῶς in *PSI* XII 1275, 9, μετρίως in *P.Turner* 14, 19 etc. However, in some cases (in order to clarify some meanings), we have included the references to them, e.g. ἀνελεῶς in *Acta Justini*.

On the other hand, adverbs occurring in letters which are considered as school exercises, e.g. the adverbs attested in the letter of Hadrian, the adverbs προσφάτως, καλῶς, δικαίως, ὀσίως, καθαρῶς, πραεῶς, ὁμοίως, ἀόκνως, μανικῶς, ἀσμένως, εὐθέως, εὐδιαλύτως and ἀπαρακαλύπτως in *UPZ* I 144 and 145, the adverb

almost 1000 years of the use of the Greek language either in the everyday speech or in the official documents<sup>30</sup>. So far only scattered short remarks have been made in the commentaries of the papyrological editions. Editors of papyri or other scholars usually refer to the adverbs for the following reasons<sup>31</sup>:

(a) when the adverbs are rare, and they cite exact parallels; e.g. Th. Kruse's note concerning ειλικρινῶς; A. Papathomias on εὐσεβῶς; É. Bernand on εὐφύχως; H.A. Steen on πάντως; K.A. Worp on συννόμως; G. Parássoglou on φιλοπόνως; J. Chara on χαλεπῶς.

(b) when they focus on the syntactical position of the adverbs: cf. B. Kramer's note on ἀσυντάκτως; Fr. Mitthof and A. Papathomias' note on ἀναγκαίως.

(c) when the adverbs can affect the style of the text: e.g. see H.I. Bell's and C.H. Roberts' note concerning ἀβασανίστως "this pompous expression – the adverb is cited from Thucydides and Plutarch, but is not found in the documents – is characteristic of the style of the whole speech"; C. Römer on αἰφνιδίως; K. Helms and M. Zellman-Rohrer on ἀταράχως; A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas on προσεχόντως.

(d) when there is doubt regarding the meaning of the adverb: e.g. É. Bernand on ἀργυρικῶς, σωματικῶς and εὐμενῶς; H.G. Ioannidou on ἐμπορικῶς; J.D. Thomas in ἐργατικῶς; E. Van't Dack, W. Clarysse, G. Cohen, J. Quaegebeur, J.K. Winnicki on κεχαρισμένως; Fr. Mitthof on μοναχῶς; P.J. Sijpesteijn and P.Th.J. de Wit on πολλαστῶ[ς]; M. Bergamasco on an adverb ending in -λόγως in *PSI* III 241; A. Papathomias on ἀκαίρως; T. Garvey on ἀτόνως; H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter on the reading of the adverb σοβαρῶς; H. Harrauer on the adverb σκολιῶς, which has been rejected now (see Appendix II, on p. 288).

(e) when there are issues concerning the syntax of the adverbs: e.g. J.D. Thomas on προθύμως; R.W. Daniel on ἐτέρως.

(f) when the adverbs explain the legal situation, e.g. Th. Backhuys on ἐκτενῶς, προθύμως and ἀνεγκλήτως in *P.Köln* XVI 651, 7n.

---

εἰτύχως in *P.Bour.* I, 273-275, the adverb ἀλόγως in *P.Tebt.* II 278, the adverbs attested in the bilingual glossaries, e.g. βασιλικῶς, ἡδέως (ὀρῶ), ἰσοψύχως etc., and in metrical inscriptions are considered in the discussion, as they have to do with aspects of everyday life.

<sup>30</sup> Some adverbs, e.g. ἀγαθῶς, ἀσκόπως, νυχθημέρως, are not attested in Greek documents, but in Coptic. However, although they are formed from Greek words, they were not included in this book.

ἀγαθῶς: The adverb ἀγαθῶς is rare in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀγαθός IV. In Egypt it does not occur in any private and public document, since the adverb εὖ was mainly used to indicate that something has been made "well" or "profitably". However, it occurs only in a Coptic letter (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *P.KellisCopt.* I 33, 19, and we can assume that the writer probably used it based on the Greek adverb.

ἀσκόπως: Although the adverb is not rare in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄσκοπος B), it is found only in a Coptic testament, *SB* I 5589, 25 (c. A.D. 695) ἄσκοπως, with the meaning "aimlessly". The adjective ἄσκοπος is not found in the Greek papyri, as well.

νυχθημέρως, "night and day although". It occurs in a private letter, *P.Vindob.* K 5569, Side A, l. 11 νυχθημερωσ; ed. W.C. Till, "Koptische Briefe, 3", *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes* 49, 1942, 1-12; cf. also S.J. Clackson†, "Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri", in: A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbāsids*, Farnham 2010, 73-104, esp. p. 78. For its attestations in the Greek language see *LBG s.v.*

<sup>31</sup> In the indexes of some editions, the adverbs are neither indicated as such, nor are differentiated from adjectives, e.g. in *P.Petrie Kleon*.

The purview of the present book was originally not only “lexicographical”, but also, mainly “papyrological”. Many adverbs are rejected for various reasons, either as not existing in the Greek language (although one could say that they were possible forms), but they were just conceived by the editors of the texts (see Appendix IIa, on p. 276), or, mainly, because of the wrong readings or wrong restorations of the editors or other scholars (see Appendix IIb, on p. 276)<sup>32</sup> and the readings or restorations of some adverbs remain debatable (Corrections, on p. 289)<sup>33</sup>. In almost all these cases the editors did not explain the reasons why they restore these adverbs. All the corrections made by the two authors of this book were collected in Corrections II, on p. 291. In addition, we would like to note that all our restorations of fragmentary or lost parts of papyri which contain adverbs in -ως are based on conclusions drawn from a surface structure analysis and the parallel phraseology.

The fate of all lexicographical studies is that they are already out-of-date the moment they are printed, and, inevitably, the fate of the present study will be the same. Therefore, the importance of this work lies in the fact that when there is a lacuna in a papyrus and an editor restores the text, the conclusions of this work can be used to choose the most probable adverb (in that sense the Reverse Index, p. 301, might be also helpful). We were happy to see that some corrections made by scholars in the past concerning adverbs in -ως were right and could be proved by the evidence of new published texts. An example of a change of an adverb to an adjective is *P.Col.* III 6, 6, where *ed. princ.*'s restoration εὔπρεπ[ῶ]ς was corrected by Vitelli and Wilcken as εὔπρεπ[ή]ς; see *P.L.Bat.* XXIA, on pp. 122-123.

Using this approach, we have produced a dictionary with all meanings and attestations of these adverbs in papyri. However, the discussion on each adverb is restricted to the private letters and includes a reference to its lexical meaning, the determination of its location in the clause with respect to the verb, and the consideration of information of the broader context, which can contribute to the understanding of its use, and the reasons for its use in each particular context. Also examined are any subordinate clauses that assist the reader in understanding its meaning. Where it is

---

<sup>32</sup> For instance, the reference to the adverb ἀκαιρίως and ἀζηλοπραγιμόνως in LSJ should be removed. On the other hand, ἀναποστάτως, ἀνεισπράκτως, ἀνίσως, ἐλευθερικῶς, ἐνδιαρκῶς ἐνιαυσιαίως, εὐδιαλύτως, ὑπηκόως, the comparative forms ἀστοργότερον and ταρότατα, and the verb ἀλ{ε}πισοτακτῶ should be added to the entries of LSJ. Moreover, additions should be made for: the meaning of ἀνελλιπῶς as συνεχῶς (see *s.v.* ἀνελλιπῶς) and the example of *SB XVI* 12275, 5 concerning ἀπαρακλήτως.

Adverbs in -ως which were read in the first or later editions and then corrected are not included in our list; e.g. the reading πασπάντως in *P.Rain.Cent.* 126, verso 1 (which was considered as *addendum lexicis*) was corrected by D. Hagedorn to τὰ πάντα; see *BL VIII*, on p. 287; κοινῶς χορηγεῖν in *P.Genova IV* 171, left margin, corrected to τῷ οἴνῳ σχολάσης by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 207, 2018, 140-141.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. the adverb ἀναποκρίτως was restored in a Ptolemaic πρόσταγμα, *SB VI* 9454 (3), 3-4 (after 245 B.C., mentioning 276 B.C.) δέονται ἐπὶ τῶι | τοῦ στα[θμοῦ στερεῖσθαι ἀναποκρίτως, but in the re-edition (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 7) it is noted that “cette restitution est conforme à l’esprit de l’ordonnance, mais difficilement compatible avec l’état du texte”. The meaning “without answer” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναπόκριτος 1) is not required here, apart from the fact that an adverb is not necessary at this point of the ordinance.

The adverb ἐντελ[ῶ]ς was restored in the *ed. princ.* of a papyrus, *PSI IV* 436, 6, but it was corrected to ἐντεύξεται in *P.Iand.Zen.* 24, 6. The adverb was discussed by Mayser 1936, 122 and Mayser 1933-1934, 177, as the only example in the Ptolemaic period, but, as indicated also in our entry here (see p. 122), it does not occur in this period.

appropriate to illustrate the level of literacy of the writer, references to the use of adverbs in literary texts are used.

One may argue that the comparative and superlative forms of the adverbs have the same position as the positive form in -ως. Therefore, in this work we have included these forms in the discussion of the positive forms in order to indicate their use in the official or private documents (and especially private letters) and the period in which they were in use<sup>34</sup>. The comparative forms found in the private (and business) letters are: ἀκριβέστερον (*s.v.* ἀκριβῶς), ἀσφαλέστερον (*s.v.* ἀσφαλῶς), βαθύτερον (*s.v.* [βαθέως]), βεβ]αιότερον (debatable; (*s.v.* βεβαίως), δικαιοτέρον (see *s.v.* δικαίως), ἐπιμελέστερον (*s.v.* ἐπιμελῶς), εὐκαιροτέρως (and not εὐχεροτέρως in *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 14; *s.v.* εὐκαιρος), εὐτονώτερον (*s.v.* εὐτόνως), ἰσχυρότερον (*s.v.* ἰσχυρῶς), κομψότερον (*s.v.* κομψῶς), νωθρότερον (*s.v.* [νωθρῶς]), οικειό|τερον] (debatable; (*s.v.* οικείως)), παλαιότερον (*s.v.* [παλαιῶς]), περισσό|τερον (*s.v.* περισσοτέρως), προθυμότερον (*s.v.* προθύμω), προσεχέστερον (*s.v.* προσεχῶς), πυκνότερον (*s.v.* πυκνῶς), τα|χύτερον (*s.v.* ταχέως), σπουδαιότερον (*s.v.* σπουδαίως), συνεχέστερον (*s.v.* συνεχῶς), σφοδρότερον (*s.v.* σφοδρῶς), φιλοτιμότερον (*s.v.* φιλοτίμω)<sup>35</sup>.

It is interesting that most of the comparatives that occur in the official documents are different from the ones found in the private letters (except ἀκριβέστερον, ἐπιμελέστερον, which occur mainly in official documents, and ἀσφαλέστερον, προθυμότερον, πυκνότερον and συνεχέστερον, which occur rarely in the official documents): ἀκριβέστερον (*s.v.* ἀκριβῶς), ἀμεριμνότερον (*s.v.* ἀμερίμνω), ἀστοργότερον (*s.v.* [ἀστόργω]), ἀσφαλέστερον (*s.v.* ἀσφαλῶς), βιαίοτερον (*s.v.* βιαίως), διεξοδέστερον (*s.v.* διεξοδικῶς), ἐνδεέστερον (ἐνδεῶς), ἐντελέστερον (*s.v.* ἐντελῶς), ἐπιεικέστερον(?) (*s.v.* ἐπιεικῶς), ἐπιμελέστερον (*s.v.* ἐπιμελῶς), ἐπιστρεφέστερον (*s.v.* ἐπιστρεφῶς), εὐκοσμότερον (*s.v.* εὐκόσμω), ἥδιο|ν (*s.v.* ἡδέως), κακουργότερον (*s.v.* κακούργω), μεγαλοπρεπέστερον (*s.v.* μεγαλοπρεπῶς), μισοπονηρότερον (*s.v.* μισοπονήρω), οικειότερον (*s.v.* οικείως), ὀλοσχερέστερον (*s.v.* ὀλοσχερῶς), προθυμότερον (*s.v.* προθύμω), πυκνότερον (*s.v.* πυκνῶς), σαφέστερον (*s.v.* σαφῶς), στενότερον (*s.v.* στενῶς), συνεχέστερον (*s.v.* συνεχῶς), ταχύτερον and τάχιον (*s.v.* ταχέως), φανερώτερον (*s.v.* φανερῶς)<sup>36</sup>.

The superlative of the adverbs in -τατα is rare in the private letters: cf. only ἀκριβέστατα (*s.v.* ἀκριβῶς), ἀσφαλέστατα (*s.v.* ἀσφαλῶς), δεινότατα (*s.v.* δεινῶς), ἐναργέστατα (*s.v.* ἐναργῶς), προθυμότατα (see *s.v.* προθύμω), ταρότατα (*s.v.* ταχέως), φιλανθρωπότατα (*s.v.* φιλανθρώπως), φιλοτιμότατα (*s.v.* φιλοτίμω). However, the superlative ἥδιστα occurs only in private letters (*s.v.* ἡδέως) and τάχιστα mainly in private letters (*s.v.* ταχέως).

The comparative of some adverbs can be also formed not in -τερον, but in -τερω (metaplasms; see Mayser 1936, 125 and 126; Mitsakis 1967, 47): εὐκολωτέρως,

<sup>34</sup> See Gignac 1976, II, p. 145 in his discussion of the degrees of comparison of the adjectives, states that the formations of the superlative seem to be considerably less frequently used than the ones in the comparative.

<sup>35</sup> The form εὐωνότερα in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59270, 7 is not an adverb (as stated in Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 178) but it is an adjective.

<sup>36</sup> Because of the fragmentary condition of *P.Sarap.* 98, 17 (A.D. 90-133), it is not clear if the form ὑπερ|οπ]τικώτερον is an adverb or an adjective. The same is true of the cases of other fragmentary words which could be considered as adverbs or adjectives, e.g. in *PSI Congr.* XXI 14, 11 (II A.D.) ]ἐγέστερον εἶχε (proceedings) and *P.Warr.* 16, 9 (III A.D.) ] . . . ἔστερον δηλώσας μ[ο]! (private letter).

εὐκαιροτέρως(?), περισσοτέρως, πλείονως, πολυτελεστέρας, πυκνοτέρως, σαφестέρως, στυγνοτέρως. Some of them are coined by the scribes<sup>37</sup> and some are *addenda lexicis*.

## 2. The private letters

As far as the second question is concerned, that is, why the study is restricted mainly to the adverbs found in the private letters, this type of document represents a special case, compared with other documents: (1) The private letters are neither official documents nor private receipts and contracts that would be kept for a long period of time. In a private letter (when it is not a literary epistle) both for the sender and recipient the interest is usually restricted to a particular situation. In most cases a private letter contains some information concerning the activities of the sender and his social or business environment, and/or some questions about health, everyday or serious problems and business issues. (2) Free choice of vocabulary and variety of expression go hand in hand. We examined only the private letters because the language of such documents resembles the vernacular, where accuracy in meaning is not as necessary as in official or legal documents. (3) The private letters are usually short. One of the characteristics of the adverbs in -ως both in the written and oral language, is the tendency to prefer brevity, since only one word is needed to express an idea, and economise on space, since they occupy minimum space in the papyrus within the phrase. In doing so, we studied only the adverbs ending in -ως in the private letters, because it facilitates a better understanding of the matters of importance of ordinary people and their society in a particular time, their way of expressing the feelings both of themselves and of other people, and situations in one single word.

## Observations

From the study of these adverbs in the private letters, certain observations seem to have emerged. These are presented systematically in this book for the first time and we sincerely hope that this will be of help to other researchers. It is evident that much more research needs to be done on the usage of the adverbs in the private letters in comparison with other extended, or not, adverbial expressions (prepositional phrases, e.g. ἐν φανερώ [see *s.v.* φανερώς], παρὰ τοὺς νόμους [see *s.v.* παρανόμως], dative, a clause etc.)<sup>38</sup>. This book is the first of a series, and, although here in some cases some alternative

<sup>37</sup> In some cases the scribes coined the forms for both adjectives and adverbs. Such an example occurs in *P.Fouad* 88, 6-8 (VI A.D.), where the scribe wrote a common phrase, ἔγων γὰρ καὶ νῦν. πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμμάτων. τὸ σταθερὸν καὶ ἀμετακίνητον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως εἰς ἐμέ, but what is interesting is that what the scribe originally wrote was τὸ σταθέστερον which was then corrected to τὸ σταθερὸν (but the ending τερον has been left in the text undeleted). The comparative form is σταθερώτερον (see LSJ *s.v.* σταθερός; cf. also Philo *de ebrietate* 98; *de spec. leg.* 4, 221). One may assume that the scribe confused the form because of the similar adjective εὐσταθής – εὐσταθέστερος and coined the form σταθέστερον, but when he understood that something is wrong changed it to the simple and secure σταθερὸν.

<sup>38</sup> Adverbs in -ι, -εῖ and -δην, -δόν, or the adverbial use of the simple dative function in the same way. The former, as parallel non-inflected examples of speech (see Muchnová 2013), are discussed in Appendix I, while the latter appears in a following volume of this series. Adverbs ending in -ιξ (e.g. ἀναμίξ) are not found in papyri so far. Some cases, however, are discussed briefly; e.g. λάθρα (p. 185). Its synonyme κρύφα (see LSJ *s.v.* 1 and 2 “without the knowledge of,” and “secretly”) does not occur in papyri. The adverb σπουδῆ (see LSJ *s.v.* σπουδή IV “in haste, hastily”, “urgently”) occurs only in official documents (of the Roman and Byzantine

adverbial expressions are referred to (e.g. see *s.v.* ἀγογγύστως), in the following volumes we will discuss further aspects of the use of the adverbials. Moreover, in the following observations we have selected typical examples which demonstrate our approach.

1. In most cases the meaning of an adverb is common and familiar, but even if it were not, it could be easy to comprehend it if one knows the adjective/participle (usually in -ος or -ης) from which it is formed<sup>39</sup>; therefore, its use in a short private letter can be very convenient, the message becomes comprehensible, and there is an impression of a fluent use of the language. However, the most important thing is that since the Manner shows a degree of subjectivity, in order to avoid misunderstandings, the use of a familiar adverb with an established semantic use would be a safe choice, because it would sound right. From this perspective, it is worth investigating whether the adverb in a private letter, written either deliberately or quickly or unthinkingly, is just a kind of filler word (for both the writer and the reader) or has a concrete purpose within the phrase as one word that can be fully and easily understood by all participants in the dialogue.

However, the statistics so far raise a paradox. In List 2 (p. 267), where the adverbs in -ως are arranged based on their number of appearances in the private letters, it becomes clear that from the 228 adverbs 118 are used only once, that is 51.7%, while the adverbs that are attested up to five times number 64, that is 28%. Then, there are only 38 adverbs that occur between six and fifty times, that is 16.8%, and only 8 adverbs over fifty times, that is 3.5%. Of the latter, only the adverbs ταχέως (c. 70 times), ἡδέως (93 times), εὐθέως (c. 160 times) and καλῶς (more than 1000 times, as it is used more frequently than other adverbs, because it has qualitative properties, that is “something is accomplished”, and very rarely moral notions) indicate Manner. The other adverbs are part of a formulaic wording in the address (e.g. ἀληθῶς) or have a more general meaning or are Modal adverbs (e.g. ὁμοίως, πάντως, ἄλλως) or are clause modifiers (e.g. ἀληθῶς).

An initial observation is that the writers who used these adverbs in their brief texts are more concerned about time (ταχέως and εὐθέως) and quality (ἡδέως and καλῶς), and

---

period) and not in private letters. The adverb κομδῆ is found only in official documents from the middle of the third century A.D. The adverb δημοσίᾳ (see LSJ *s.v.* δημόσιος V) does not occur in private letters, but only in official documents of the Roman period. On the other hand, its opposite, ἰδίᾳ (see LSJ *s.v.* ἴδιος VI 2) is rare in papyri, and occurs in a marriage contract of the second century A.D. (*P.Mil.Vog.* II 71, 23; A.D. 172-175), an official document of the end of the seventh century A.D. (where it is combined with the adverb ἡσυχίως, in *CPR* XIV 53, 5), and two private letters of the first (*PSI* XIV 1404, 11-14 π[λ]ήρης δὲ ἐν τοῖς | δημοσίοις ἐρω[τῶ] | σε παραγ[ε]ῖν[εσθαι] | ἰδίᾳ, where the opposition between ἐν τοῖς | δημοσίοις and ἰδίᾳ is clear) and the fourth/fifth century A.D. (in a proverbial phrase, *SB* XIV 11882, 9 εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντες ἰδίᾳ ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀλλότριον στήκ<ε>ι). The adverb κοινῆ is attested in official documents of the Ptolemaic (e.g. contracts) and Roman (e.g. *Apokrimata*) periods, and in only one private letter sent by two brothers to their father, *P.Haun.* II 16, 6-7 (II-III A.D.) οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον κοινῆ καὶ νῦν | ἐπιστέλλομέν σοι. The adverb δωρεάν is attested in an official order, *W.Chr.* 439, 3 (A.D. 42) “as a free gift, freely”; see LSJ *s.v.* δωρεά II 1.

<sup>39</sup> There are many examples where a scribe has corrected an adjective to an adverb or vice versa: e.g. ἀπαραβάτους was corrected from ἀπαραβάτως (see p. 78), ἐρωτικῶς from ἐρωτικός (see p. 131), ἀδιαστρόφου from ἀδιαστρώφου (see p. 37), ἀδράστως from ἀδράστους (see p. 38), ἀόκνως from ἄοκνος (see p. 76).

The adverbs in -ως formed from participles are (from the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124-125): ἀνεστραμμένως, ἀρμοζόντως, δεόντως, εἰθισμένως, εἰρομένως, ἐνδεχομένως, ἐπειγμένως, ἐρρωμένως, ἐχομένως, καθηκόντως, κεχαρισμένως, κευρωρισμένως, ὁμολογουμένως, προηγουμένως, πεπεισμένως, πεπλασμένως, πεφροντισμένως, συντετηρημένως, τεθαρημένως; for ἐμπεισμένως see Appendix II, on p. 276.



want to express themselves in a standard, common and well-known way, which will not confuse the recipient. The writers of the everyday private letters (either written for personal reasons or for business) do not have to prove that they know Greek, but some details such as adverbs of Manner and prefabricated routine phrases helped them to communicate in a way that they were also sure that their ideas will be perceived perfectly. We consider as a formulaic and standardized expression a phrase that occurs in many private letters in the same limited period. The use of these adverbs even in a formulaic way helped the writer of a private letter to write a general idea and syntactic constructions very quickly, (although he might be well aware that the reader might not even notice them, even if these phrases had an imperative mood) so as to express his points more precisely and focus on what he really meant: e.g. ἀδυνάτως ἔχω, ἀηδῶς ἔχω, ὡς ἀληθῶς in the addresses of the Byzantine letters, μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης, ἀλόγως, ἀλύπῳς ζῆν/ἀπαλλάσσεις, ἀναγκαίως, ἀπείρως ἔχω, ἀναγκάζομαι ἀπράκτως, ἀσθενῶς διάκειμαι, ἐρρωμένως, ἡδέως, κακῶς ἔχω/διάκειμαι etc., καλῶς ποιεῖν etc., κομψῶς ἔχω, συνεχῶς γράφω. We cannot say with certainty that these ready-made expressions were necessarily used in the oral speech of the people who wrote and read these letters. It would be really strange for them to hear people asking someone to bring something to them during a street conversation, saying καλῶς ποιήσεις φέρων μοι, etc, instead of an imperative or the potential optative or hortatory subjunctive.

However, regarding the adverbs that appear only a few times, and especially the ones that appear only once, we can assume that the writer wanted to be very specific about what he wanted to express. In cases where an adverb is rare, probably not part of everyday speech, and even occurring seldom in the Greek literature (taught by a teacher), it is not certain that the recipient of the letter, possibly illiterate, will understand the whole range of the situations in which this adverb is employed: e.g. ἀβαρῶς in a private letter seems to be the first attestation of this adverb in Greek. It is interesting that this adverb seems to be a word used in Egypt, since it appears both in the private letter of the early second century and in Soranus, who was in Alexandria at the same time<sup>40</sup>; ἀβασκάντως appears only twice in private letters and once in an epigram; ἀδελφικῶς is used in an unexpected way in a well-known epistolary expression; ἀειμνήστως(?), which is attested only in Aeschines; ἀκαλῶς is recorded in the lexicography of the Byzantine period; ἀλωβήτως, occurs only in Johannes Chr. and Cyrillus and a papyrus of the seventh century A.D.; ἀναλογούντως, probably as equivalent of ἀναλόγως, finds one of its earliest attestations in a private letter; ἀσπουδάστως occurs in a private letter of the third century A.D. (Heroninos archive) and once in Aelian; εἰρομένως has its first attestation in a papyrus of the Zenon archive, written by a farmer. The other attestation of the same adverb comes from a physician who studied in Alexandria; we may assume that this word was known in Egypt and was used both in everyday speech and scientific works; ἐπιψελλῶς, κατασπουδαίως, πολυτελεστέρωσ are *addenda lexicis*; σαπρῶς, with two references to papyri, one of which in the papyrus of a “prodigal son”, and one in the Greek literature; σαφεστέρωσ, with about ten occurrences in the entire Greek literature, is attested once in a private letter; τεθαρρημένως, with two instances in papyri in

---

<sup>40</sup> Other adverbs which occur only in Egypt so far are ἀνόκως (only in private letters), ἡμερησίως (also used in documents).

the Roman period before one single attestation in the tenth century; ὑπερηφάνως, with a peculiar negative meaning found only in a Zenon papyrus<sup>41</sup>.

Some of these cases can be explained as an attempt of the scribe to express the message more concisely and more quickly, instead of using another structure that required one or two more lines, and probably or eventually more complicated language, e.g. subordinate clauses, adjectives with participles, prepositionals, etc. In this category one can see adverbs such as ἀβαρῶς, ἀβασκάντως, ἀβλαβῶς, ἀδελφικῶς, ἀδιαφόρως, ἀπαραλλάκτως, ἀπροφασίστως, ἐμπορικῶς, etc.

In addition, apart from the *addenda lexicis*, some adverbs occur for the first time in Greek language in papyri, e.g. ἀδεκάστως (in an honorary inscription), ἀδιαθέτως (a mistaken use by the scribe of a testament), ἱερατικῶς (in an official document), and especially in the private letters, e.g. αὐτάρκως, δυσόκνως, ἐκθύμως, στυγνοτέρως. It is possible, however, that there exist other attestations of which we know nothing.

Therefore, when a specific adverb of manner ending in -ως seems to be previously attested in certain ancient literary sources (in classical literature or in metrical inscriptions), and this also occurs in the simple language of the private letters, the study of the context in which this adverb appears, either unexpectedly or conventionally, is very useful, first, for the interpretation of this everyday text, so as to understand details of the context that are not easily understandable *prima facie*, that is, how easy it is to define what it means exactly, e.g. ἀδεῶς, ἀδιαστρόφως, ἀθύμως, ἀκαλῶς, ἀτόπως, εικότως, ἐνδόξως (which occurs in more literate private letters), etc., and secondly, because it can provide an idea concerning the literacy of the scribe (and, possibly, the reader), because one wonders how many times one can use adverbs either in writing or orally, such as ἀδιστάκτως, ἀειμνήστως(?), ἀλλοίως, ἀλύπως, ἀσυντάκτως, εἰρομένως, εὐθύμως, ἥσυχίως, ὀλιγώρως, ὀλοψύχως, περισσοτέρως, πικρῶς, πράως, σαπρῶς, ὑπερηφάνως<sup>42</sup>. Furthermore, it is not easy to ascertain whether such an adverb, which is employed in the private letters, gains or loses its associations in literature. Nor can we be sure about how far the writers of the private letters were aware of these associations. It is interesting to see that sometimes there are different uses of an adverb in literature and in the language of the papyri, and especially, the private letters, e.g. ἀβαρῶς, ἀποκρότως, which have been used both in official documents and private letters, and ἰδιαζόντως, which acquires a new meaning in the Byzantine period, etc.

Hence, the intention of a scribe to use formulaic adverbs together with rare adverbials is not surprising; cf. e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, ii 19-20 (A.D. 567) where ἐπειγμένως and σπο(υ)δαίως are supplementary to each other. In *CPR* VIII 28, 12-13 καλῶς δὲ ποιήσ<ε>ις καὶ πρε|πόντως τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου, the phrase καλῶς δὲ ποιήσ<ε>ις is formulaic, but it is combined with the following καὶ πρεπόντως τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου in such a way as to intensify the words of the writer concerning the actions of the recipient: “not

<sup>41</sup> Similar observations can be established in the cases of the adverbs attested so far only in official documents, e.g. the adverb ἀδήλως is attested in a petition of the second century B.C., and this adverb appears only in Thucydides and Aristotle. These adverbs, as said in the introduction, will be discussed in another study of this series.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. H.I. Bell's and C.H. Roberts' note on ἀβασανίστως (*s.v.*, p. 27) in the proceedings of a trial. Cf. also *s.v.* ἐρωτικῶς in the speech of an advocate. See also *s.v.* ἀδράστως in sales of slaves for a possible influence from Herodotus.

only done well, as probably anybody can do, but also done according to your good character”<sup>43</sup>.

Sometimes even new (and peculiar) adverbs were coined according to the standard rules of learned language. Some of them are attested in the private letters: e.g. in the Roman period: γενικῶς, coined by a scribe of a private letter of the Roman period to contrast with ἀργυρικῶς; in the Byzantine period: γυμνῶς to indicate that some people fought each other naked; γνησιαίως and ἐνιαυσιαίως are hybrid adverbs (and *addenda lexicis*), produced from a borrowed morpheme instead of γνησίως and ἐνιαυσίως respectively; προσεχόντως, probably a mistake of the scribe<sup>44</sup>.

**2.** In continuation of the above, in the labor contracts or in lease contracts (e.g. *P.Grenf.* I 58, 7-11 (c. A.D. 561) ἐτοιμῶς ἔχω κυκλεῦσαι τὸ αὐτὸ | γεώργιον {ἐκ} τῆς (l. τοῖς) ἐμῆς (l. ἐμοῖς) ζώοις τῶν (l. τοῖς) καὶ τρεφομένων (l. τρεφομένοις) παρ’ ἐμοῦ | ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως); *P.Mil.* II 48, 6 (V-VI A.D.?) ἀόκνως ἀκαταγνώστως ἀλειποτάκτως), it is stated that the work in the fields should be done as the adverbs ἀκαταγνώστως, ἀκαταφρονήτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεμποδίστως, ἀόκνως, ἀπεριφρονήτως, δεόντως describe. Moreover, some other adverbs in -ως appear in the phraseology concerning the execution of the work, e.g. ἀγγογγύστως, ἀραδιουργήτως, σπουδαίως, ἀναμφιβόλως and ἀλιποτάκτως. However, although the main concern of the senders of the private letters was the successful completion of certain works, which were usually mentioned in these letters, and although everyone involved wanted to make sure that nothing was going to hinder the progress of their plans, they did not frequently use these adverbs which would imply actions freely carried out. It might mean that these adverbs which were used in the legal clauses of the contracts were not so readily understood or they were not part of the usually limited vocabulary of the ordinary people. If this is the case, can we determine to what extent the ordinary people were familiar with specific official and legal terms and how they used them in their everyday speech? Therefore, the interaction between private and public communication is worth exploring regarding the way in which an official and legal expression (found in documentary papyri and inscriptions or decrees) is adopted in the everyday language of the private letters (e.g. see the discussion

---

<sup>43</sup> Rare attestations of adverbs in documents (except private letters) with specific attestation in the Greek literature: ἀβασανίστως, with attestation in Thucydides and Plutarch; ἀδήλως, with a few instances in the Greek literature, before its occurrence in a papyrus; ἀγλαῶς, in an inscription, with its attestation in Aristophanes; ἀγνωμόνως, with instances in the fourth century Greek; ἀεργῶς, with an instance in Johannes Chr.; αἰδεσίμως, with instances in Aelian *NA* 2.25 and Johannes Chr.; ἀνεπηρέαστως, with one instance in Josephus *AJ* 16.2.5; ἀπροσέπτως, with instances in the fourth century B.C. (comedy and Aeneas Tact.); ἀφιλοπραγμόνως, with an instance only in Cyrillus; γεωργικῶς, with a reference to Pollux. It seems to have been coined by the scribe, since in Pollux it is mentioned with another meaning; κακοσχόλως, with rare instances in literature; κακοτρόπως is attested from the Ptolemaic period, but it is found rarely in the Greek literature from the second century A.D.; νέως is attested only in grammarians; πλαγίως is rarely attested in the papyri; πολυπραγμόνως, which is the only attestation in Greek until the tenth century A.D.; συντετηρημένως is attested in the Ptolemaic period and is also found only in Eustathius.

<sup>44</sup> Adverbs which are attested in documents other than private letters: *Addenda lexicis* in the Ptolemaic period: προσφθάλμως, τυχόντως (concerning its specific meaning in papyri). *Addenda lexicis* in the Roman period: ἀμειψιμοιρήτως, ἀνεισπράκτως, ἀνευρησιλογήτως, ἐκπροθέσμως. For *addenda lexicis* in the Byzantine period: see List 3d.

on adverbs ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀδίκως, ἀκολούθως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀνεμποδίστως, ἀνόμως, ἀπαξαπλῶς, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀποκρότως, ἀργυρικῶς, ἀσμένως, αὐθαιρέτως, δεόντως, διηλεκῶς, δικάως, ἐγγράφως, εἰκότως, ἐνωμότως, ἐτοίμως, εὐλαβῶς, εὐλόγως, εὐμαρῶς, εὐσήμως, ἤσυχως, νομίμως, σαφῶς, ὑπογύως). Senders of private letters could use them because they wanted to be clear about the terminology, probably with reference to an official document or legal formulas of a private document, and we expect that the recipient understands this terminology. Of course, it could also be the case that the professional language can affect the simple everyday language. This is the case of the adverb ἀπροφασίστως, which is written in a wedding invitation, because the writer has been influenced by the official language probably used in his profession, and then he used it in the unrelated context of an invitation.

Another case is the exact reciting of a phrase from a certain document or from a discussion into the written private letter. For instance, ἐλευθέρως (see *s.v.*, p. 116) seems to be used in the answer given by the god, and the writer refers to it.

On the other hand, very few adverbs that occur in the everyday language of the private letters appear in an official document: e.g. ἡδέως.

Sometimes the basic meaning of an adverb can vary slightly in connotation between private letters and the official or other private documents: e.g. ἀληθῶς, ἀλόγως, περισσῶς, πιστῶς, ὑγιῶς. A totally different use and meaning can be seen in the cases of some other adverbs, such as διαφόρως, εὐμαρῶς.

**3.** When there is an excessive use of adverbs in -ως in the same clause, the context is intensified, and the author can show better what he wants to stress; e.g. in Xenophon *Hipp.* 8.21 τὸ δ' εὐρεῖν τοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως καὶ εὐψύχως παρελῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦτο ἦδη ἀγαθοῦ ἱππάρχου, four adverbs in -ως indicate the characteristic of a good leader, but in private letters such an accumulation in one sentence is not observed. Only some cases of adverb-pairs can be found, e.g. *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 38-39 (A.D. 117) ἀδίκως καὶ | ὑβριστικῶς; *P.Laur.* II 41, 4-6 (III A.D.) ἐπεδήμησας σύ, ο (l. ῶ) πάτερ, | εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑγιῶς τῇ πατρίδι σου; cf. also *PSI XII* 1261 (A.D. 212-217) μεγάλως καὶ πολλαχῶς (l. 3), εὐχρῶμως καὶ εὐδόξως (l. 6), προθύμως (l. 16). In addition, in a letter of Hadrian to Antoninus, dated to the second century A.D. (*P.Fay.* 19 = M-P<sup>3</sup> 2116), which is considered as a school exercise, where the purpose is clear, to teach the Greek language, the adverbs are accumulated: in ll. 2-4 we read ὅ[τι ο]ὔτε ἀω|[ρεῖ οὐτ]ε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ροσ]δοκῆ[τω]ς | [οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίου (cf. also ll. 17-19 ὅτι οὐ ἀω[ρι] οὔτε | [ἀλόγως] οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπροσδοκῆ[τ]ως | [οὔτε ἀ]νοήτως ἀπαλλάσσομε τοῦ βίου)<sup>45</sup>.

On the other hand, a person can use many adverbs in -ως in a brief letter, but these are placed in various clauses and not in pairs: cf. *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356 (A.D. 76) ἀναγ|καίως (ll. 3-4), νωθρότερον (l. 7), κομ[ψ]ότη[ρον] (l. 8), μεγάλως (l. 10), σοβαρῶς (l. 14), περισσο|τέρως (ll. 17-18); *SB X* 10240, 5-9 (= *P.Oxy.* II 325; A.D. 41) με|τρί[ως] ἔχει καὶ

<sup>45</sup> Moreover, there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως in an honorary inscription from Egypt, *OGIS* 51, 6-13 (285-246 B.C.; = *SB V* 8855) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει. τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται. καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα. καλῶς δ' ἔχει τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαινομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς.

κομῶς (ll. 5-6); ἔλαφ<ρ>ῶς in l. 8 is debatable; *P.Herm.* 11 (IV A.D.?), where the adverbs συνεχῶς (l. 7), οὐ μικρῶς (l. 12), ἀσφαλῶς (l.18), εὐχερῶς (l. 22) and καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς (l. 25); cf. also *PSI* XII 1261 (A.D. 212-217), cited above; *SB* VI 9387, 7-11 (II-III A.D.) ἀπελογησάμην σοι οὖν πε| [ρι] πάν[τ]ων, ἵνα μὴ δόξης ἀναισθήτως γεγραφέναι, | [εἰ] καὶ ἀναιδῶς τοῦτό σοι διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γεγραφέναι | [μέ]χρι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἠρκέσθην; *P.Herm.* 6 (c. A.D. 317-323) ἀληθῶς (l. 3), ἀκριβῶς (l. 17), ἐνδόξως (l. 18), ἀκριβῶς (l. 19), δικαίως (l. 20), ὕγι[ως] (l. 23), σφαεστ[έρ]ως (l. 29), ἀληθῶς (l. 32). In *SB* XIV 11584, 4-10 the scribe shows a clear preference for adverbs in -ως. Although the text is written in a hurry, and the content is about entirely personal matters, the style and the selection of words reveal that it was written by a well-educated person with a high level of linguistic competence (cf. ll. 5-6 οὕτως γὰρ αὐξηθῆ| [σ]εται ἡμῶν ἢ φιλία)<sup>46</sup>.

The adverbs in -ως can be an ideal way of expressing various figures of speech easily, e.g. the *homoioteleuton* figure, as in Cyrillus, *PG* 1, 290, φονῶσιν ἀδίκως, ἐπιβουλεύουσι δυσσεβῶς, φθονοῦσι δυστρόπως, or to generate a comic effect, e.g. as the chorus's coinages in Aristophanes *Ach.* 1015-1017 ἤκουσας ὡς μαγειρικῶς, κομψῶς τε καὶ δειπνητικῶς, αὐτῶ διακονεῖται. If this use works in literature, could it also work accordingly in some of the everyday private letters? Are they aware of the use of the figure of speech? The use of disjunctive conjunctions in these documents means that they were aware of the correct use of these figures of speech. Opposition: δυσχερῶς – ραδίως, δυσχερῶς – εὐχερῶς, δικαίως – ἀδίκως, εὐθύμως – ἀθυμῶ, εὐσήμως – ἐπιψελλῶς; comparison: ἀναισθήτως – ἀναιδῶς; *litotes*: μὴ ἀμελῶς, μὴ ἀτόμως, οὐ καθηκόντως οἱ μὴ καθηκόντως, οὐ μετρίως, οὐ μικρῶς, οὐκ ὀλίγως, μὴ/οὐ παρέργως, οὐ πρῶτως; *parechesis*: κακόν/κακὸν κακῶς, ἀκαλῶς... καλῶς. The advantage of the adverbs, and especially of -ως, is that they are not declined, so it is easy to make a word play; cf. also *P.David* 14, 24-26 (II A.D.) οὐκ ἄν σοι [τ]ολμήσαιμι | ἀδεῶς λέγειν [ἵ]να μὴ ἀτόπως | δ[ι]ηγῆσω[μ]αι; also, *P.Fouad* 85, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀληθῶς καλῶς τραγοιδοῦσιν (l. τραγωδοῦσιν) σε καὶ ἐνταῦθα κ(α)ὶ ἐκεῖθε; *PSI* XII 1261, 6 (A.D. 212-217) εὐχρώμως καὶ εὐδόξως.

4. One can easily observe that certain formulas and certain adverbs were not used in all periods. Therefore, in editions of papyri, where the date of the private letters is usually difficult to ascertain, since it is only the handwriting which provides the only criterion, one could be helped by the attestation of these adverbs. In List 2 (p. 267), we can see how these adverbs occur in private letters throughout the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also *P.Lond.* IV 1349 (A.D. 710), where Kurrah ben Sharik writes to Basileios, pagarches of Aphrodito, and uses many adverbs in -ως: ἐνδρανῶς and ἐμπι[σμένως] (l. 12), ἀρτίως (l. 13), εὐχαιροτέρως (l. εὐκαιροτέρως; 14), ἀκαταφρονήτως (l. 19), ἄλλως (l. 26) ὡσαύτως (l. 27), ἐμπόνως and ἀενάως (l. 34).

An interesting example is also the use of the adverbs in -ως in honorary inscriptions. For instance cf. Bernard 1992, no 46 (39 B.C.), where at least one adverb in -ως is used in each clause where the reasons for honoring a certain person are given: l. 5 τὴν πόλιν ἔθαψε κηδεμονικῶς; l. 6 τὰ τε τῶν μεγίστων καὶ πατρῶιων θεῶν ἱερά εὐσεβῶς ἐξυπηρέτησε; l. 11 μεγαλοψύχως ἑαυ[τ]ὸν αὐτόκλητος[ς] ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐντοπίων σωτηρίᾳ ἐσέφερε; ll. 12-13 διηνε[κ]ῶς | [σιτίων σχεδ]ὸν πάντας πάντων ἐ[τ]ήρησεν; l. 16 π[αν]τελῶς δὲ τῆς πόλεως κρινομένης; l. 19 εὐγενῶς μόνος ὑποστάς τὸ βάρος; l. 20 τὸν γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὀλοσχερῶς ἀνέθετο τοῖς χρῆσθαι βουλομένοις; ll. 23-24 εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἀγ[ρ]ύπνως | [ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐφ]ρόντισεν; l. 25 ἀνενώσατο αὐτὰς ποι[η]θῆναι τὰς τῶν κυρίων θεῶν κωμασίας καὶ πανηγύρεις εὐ μάλα ὀσίως καὶ [κ]α[λ]ῶς.

Moreover, in the Byzantine period there is a widespread use of adverbs ending in -ως, mainly in official documents and private documents but not in private letters (see List 3a-d, p. 269). Although some adverbs appear in the Greek literature and inscriptions before the Byzantine period, the following are attested in papyri<sup>47</sup>:

(a) only in Byzantine private letters: ἀλλοίως, ἀλωβήτως, ἀπαραλλάκτως, ἀπροόπτως, ἀργῶς, ἀσυνειδήτως, δεξιῶς, διαφόρως, ἐνδιαθέτως, ἐπαφροδιτικῶς, ἡσυχίως, λιπαρῶς, ὀλοψύχως, πλατικῶς, πλειόνως, πολλαπλασίως, πυκνῶς, σαφεστέρως, σπανίως, συχνῶς, σφοδρῶς, ὑγιεινῶς, φθονερῶς, φρονίμως.

(b) both in Byzantine private letters and other documents: ἀδιαστρόφως, ἀδιαφόρως, ἀδυνάτως, ἀπείρως, ἀταράχως, ἐπαξίως, ἐπαχθῶς, εὐγενῶς, ἡσύχως, προηγουμένως, πράως/πραέως.

(c) only in Byzantine official letters: ἀγαπητῶς, ἀενάως, ἀνευδότης, ἀπαραλείπτως, ἀρμοδίως, ἀσυμπαθῶς, ἀτρώτως, ἐπιστημόνως.

Moreover, in some instances we can further specify the period of the use, e.g. ἀδυνάτως ἔχω and ἀπείρως ἔχω are attested only in the sixth century A.D.; see below, p. 21, concerning the adverbs that denote Time.

**5.** The position of adverbs in the phrase structure of the private letters is not fixed (as Mayser had already stated; see above, p. 8).

In the published documents so far the following adverbs are always placed before the modified constituent: ἀβασκάντως, ἀηδῶς, αἰφνιδίως, ἀρτίως, ἀσθενῶς, ἀσπουδάστως, ἄφνω, βραδέως, γενναίως, γοργῶς, διαφόρως, δυσόκνως, ἰκανῶς, πρώτως, πυκνῶς, σπανίως. Some adverbs are placed at the beginning of the sentence, e.g. ἀβαρῶς, ἀβασκάντως etc.

The adverbs ἀνόκνως/ἀόκνως and εὐθέως usually precede the modified constituent.

The following are always placed after the modified constituent: ἀκαίρως, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀπράκτως, διηνεκῶς, εὐκαίρως, ἡμερησίως and προθύμως. In some cases, such as ἀβλαβῶς, the position of the adverb at the end of the clause can confuse the reader.

The adverbs ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, εὐτάκτως, συνεχῶς, συντόμως, ταχέως, ὑπογύως and ὑπογύως can either precede or follow the modified constituent. In some cases, such as ἀδεῶς, the position of the adverb between the main verb and the infinitive might mean that the modification applies to both verbal forms.

The adverb ἐπιμελῶς follows the modified constituent when it is constructed with verbs which have the meaning “write”, and either precedes or follows the modified constituent when it is constructed with verbs which have the meaning “send”. In addition, when it is constructed with other verbs, in most cases it precedes the modified constituent.

**6.** Some adverbs can help us identify the kind of document if it is preserved in a fragmentary condition; e.g. the adverbs ἀνόκνως, κομψῶς, ὀλίγως appear so far only in private letters, the adverb γενναίως only in letters of condolence; ἡδέως and ἐξαιρέτως are characteristic of the private letters. On the other hand, if an adverb, which has not

<sup>47</sup> However, the attestation of these adverbs only in the Byzantine period might be only a coincidence, and new findings may provide earlier attestations.

occurred in the private letters so far, has a certain attestation in a private letter in future publications, then this use should be explained; cf. the case of ἀπροφασίστως above.

7. We argue that the view that adverbs in -ως always denote Manner, as expressed in traditional grammars, is oversimplified. This aspect suggests that the adverbs in -ως concern the mode in which someone lives, acts or behaves. This suggestion, however, seems to define a catch-all (or rag-bag) category (Manner) within another catch-all (or rag-bag) category (Adverbs; see footnote 1 above). Based on our consideration in almost all contexts the adverbs in -ως acquire additional properties, which can be defined as follows<sup>48</sup>:

(a) Time. The adverbs in -ως can indicate the time of an event or an action. This direct or indirect temporal connotation can be shown clearly in ancient Greek non-literary private letters. Our intention is not to discuss objective time, as directly indicated with specific adverbs, such as “yesterday”, “today”, “tomorrow” etc. On the contrary, our intention is to examine subjective time (see below), as is described in the papyri through the adverbs in -ως. This does not mean that the perception of time is relative and varies from period to period and from culture to culture, but that some adverbs, which at first sight reveal the manner in which an event occurred, provide information about the time as well.

The time at which an event takes place may be described by using noun phrases, certain tenses of the verbs, temporal subordinate clauses, adverbs and adjectives, and certain verbs or nouns (see Haspelmath 1997, 6)<sup>49</sup>. Concerning the ancient Greek language, Decker (1997, 90) explored the meaning and use of the adverb εὐθύς in the Gospel of Mark (cf. also the brief discussion in Moulton 1963, vol. 3, 229), in order to demonstrate that the range of its meanings has not been considered in the English translations of this Gospel. When the adverb is found alone, its function is adverbial, and εὐθύς denotes rapidity or brevity (*ibid.*, 109-111 and 119). However, when it is combined with the conjunction καί, to form the phrase καί εὐθύς, the adverb can function either as an adverbial or as a conjunction (*ibid.*, 111-116 and 119). Yamuza (2000) considered the adverbs τάχα and ἴσως as “satellites” of subjective and objective modality in combination with all possible moods and tenses with which these can be constructed (*ibid.*, 238-246). The adverb τάχα derives from a word meaning *quickly*, but also functions as a tense satellite and finally as a modality satellite (*ibid.*, 238). The variety of the syntax of the adverbs εὐθύς or εὐθέως as part of a conjunction in the papyri was examined by Litinas (2004, 285-287 and also N. Litinas, “The Expressions ‘to Annoy’ as Used in Alexandria and ‘to Sit on a Donkey’”, *CE* 88, 2013, 307-312, esp. 309), whose conclusions were supported by Cuvigny (2012, 97-99). George (2014) was mainly interested in the use of the expressions of time in the ancient Greek literary texts. However, he devoted a section

<sup>48</sup> The classification below is based on the properties of the adverbs in a certain context and does not always concern all instances.

<sup>49</sup> As an example, concerning English, Eszes (2009, 271) examined the adverb *quickly*, and observed that, contrary to the prevailing view, it does not necessarily indicate pure manner, but rather, it should also be considered as a *functional adverb of time*. Of course, it does not fit into the same category as other adverbs which have similar temporal function, such as *immediately* and *soon*, because they cannot have a pure manner meaning.

of his book to the study of some expressions of time in the Greek papyri (*ibid.*, 230-244), especially the use of syntactical structures (e.g. dative of time, prepositionals etc.) involving nouns which describe periods of time, such as day, night, month, and year, but the adverbs in -ως were not discussed as possible time-denoting modifiers.

The time-denoting adverbs in -ως can be divided into two large groups, depending on the extra effort required from the reader to identify the time limits conveyed: (a) the adverbs of the first group denote time directly and the notion of time is clear: ἀκαίρως, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀρτίως, εὐθέως, εὐκαίρως, ἡμερησίως, μηνιαίως, πρώτως, πυκνῶς, σπανίως, συνεχῶς, συντόμως, συχνῶς, ὑπογύ(ι)ως, ὠκαίως (= ὠκέως?). In this group there are adverbs which describe “definite frequency”, e.g. ἡμερησίως, μηνιαίως, and adverbs which describe an “indefinite frequency”, as they do not specify an exact time frame, e.g. συνεχῶς, συντόμως, συχνῶς. (b) the adverbs that require a rationale, so that the temporal nuance can be understood: ἀδιαλείπτως, αἰφνιδίως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀ(ν)όκνως, ἀπροόπτως, ἄφνης, βραδέως, γοργῶς, διαφόρως, διηνεκῶς, δυσόκνως, ἐτοιμίως, εὐτάκτως, ὀλιγώρως, ὀκηρῶς, προθύμως, ταχέως. The adverbs of the first group answer the question “when?”, while the adverbs of the second group answer the question “how?”. The information provided by the adverb of the second group might not be of interest to the reader if it denoted only Manner. What the sender and the recipient of a private letter cared for was in fact mainly the time of the fulfillment of a certain action, rather than the way this action would be completed. Even when someone says that a certain person acts or does not act ἀνόκνως or βραδέως, even though he might have in mind the way this person moves and behaves, the most important thing is if this style reflects the time of the completion of the action. Therefore, it seems that in these adverbs in -ως Manner (velocity, regularity etc.) somehow affects Time<sup>50</sup>.

The commonest verbs that can be modified by the adverbs in -ως denoting Time are the ones with the meanings “send”, “write”, “come” and “go”. These adverbs alter the meaning of the modified verbs substantially. What really matters is not only what the verb describes as an event or action, but also what happens within the time specified by the adverb. Therefore, for the person who is interested in this action or event, if it happens later than he wishes, it becomes meaningless, and actually, there is no reason for it to take place at all.

The modified constituents may be placed in any tense and any mood, provided that they are allowed by the meaning of the adverb: e.g. the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως requires the sense of tenses continuousness.

When a writer uses an adverb in -ως which also indicates (mainly indirectly) Time instead of a typical adverb of Time, he makes the period within which an event or an action must be completed relative to the experience of the person to whom a request is addressed, since the exact time is not clearly set. However, the determination of time is

---

<sup>50</sup> There are also adverbs which are not attested in private letters and denote (directly or indirectly) only Time (e.g. ἀνάως, αἰωνίως, διαταχαίως, διενιαυσίως, ἐνιαυσιαίως, ἐνιαυσίως, ἐτησίως, ἡμερουσίως, καινῶς, νέως, ὀψίμως, πρωιμότερον, χρονίως) or State and Time (as said above) (e.g. ἀγρύπνως, ἀδιακωλύτως, ἀκαθυστερητήτως, ἀκωλύτως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀνεμποδίστως, ἀνεπικωλύτως, ἀνευρησιολογήτως, ἀπαύστως, ἀπερισπάστως, ἀπροσδοκίως, ἀπροσκέπτως, ἐκπροθέσμως, ἐνδελεχῶς, ἐμπροθέσμως, ἐπειγμένως, εὐχαιρότερον, καρπαλίμως, προπετῶς). As it seems these adverbs belong to the official vocabulary and legal clauses and, therefore, were not part of the everyday speech.



not negotiable and inflexible. There are two aspects, towards the agent, whose actions are bound by the temporal restrictions set by the adverbs, and towards the result, which should be carried out at a given, definite or indefinite, period of time. In the former case the recipient of the letter could have his action done, simply by acting quickly or continuously, regardless of when the person who orders him will receive the benefits of this action. In the latter, even in cases where the imperative is used, it seems that, by preferring to use these adverbs instead of the pure temporal adverbs, the scribe aims to convey an expression of politeness. It is much more polite to ask someone to send something “in a timely manner”, than to ask him to send it by a predetermined and non-negotiable time, apart from the fact that the scribe may understand the various and unexpected factors that could affect time of the final completion of an action. Technically, this is the difference between the adverbs in *-ως* that denote Time and those not ending in *-ως* that denote Time: one can formulate precise rules for the truth-conditions of the latter, while he cannot do so for those ending in *-ως*. When one says that something will arrive at the time *t*, that means that if it actually arrives at this time, his statement is true. If not, it is false. On the other hand, when he says that something will arrive soon, one cannot formulate a criterion according to which the statement would be described as true or false, because of the vagueness of the word “soon”. In fact, these adverbs describe time as an undefined period, and in most cases even units of time (e.g. days) are not defined when these adverbs are used.

The adverbs with the higher frequency in the private letters are the adverb *εὐθέως* in the first group, and *ταχέως* in the second one. The adverbs *διηνεκῶς*, *εὐθέως*, *ἡμερησίως*, *προθύμως*, *πυκνῶς* and *συνεχῶς* are often parts of formulaic expressions.

The adverbs *ἀδιαλείπτως*, *ἀκαίρως*, *ἀνελλιπῶς*, *ἀνυπερθέτως*, *ἀρτίως*, *διηνεκῶς*, *εἰσιμίως*, *εὐτάκτως*, *πρώτως*, *ὑπογύως* and *ὑπογύως* are often attested in official and formal documents, and their rare use in private correspondence is certainly influenced by the formal vocabulary (see above, (2)). The adverbs *ἐπιμελῶς* and *εὐκαίρως* are also very often attested in official and formal documents and in private correspondence, and in some cases, we may assume that their use was also influenced by the formal vocabulary. On the other hand, the adverbs *ἀνόκνως* (this particular form), *δυσόκνως*, *πυκνῶς*, *σπανίως*, *συνεχῶς*, *συντόμως* and *ταχέως* are rarely or never attested in official or formal documents. Finally, the adverbs *ἀόκνως* (this particular form), *εὐθέως*, *ἡμερησίως* and *προθύμως* are found both in official documents and private letters. The adverb *βραδέως* in the formulaic expression *βραδέως γράφων* in official documents has a different meaning from the one found in the private letters.

Although so far there is a small sample of the adverbs in *-ως* that denote Time, and although it is possible that more examples might be found in the future, it seems that the adverbs *ἀνόκνως/ἀόκνως*, *εὐθέως*, *προθύμως*, and *ταχέως* are attested in private letters of all periods, while the others were only used in certain periods (see List 2, p. 267): The adverb *εὐτάκτως* was used only in the Ptolemaic period. The adverb *δυσόκνως* occurs only once, in the Ptolemaic/early Roman period: *αἰφνιδίως* and *βραδέως* are attested only in the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods; *ἐπιμελῶς* was used in all periods, but it seems that it retained its temporal connotations only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods; *ὑπογύ(ι)ως* is attested only in the Roman period; *ἀνυπερθέτως*, *διηνεκῶς*, *ἡμερησίως* and *πρώτως* occur only in the Roman period; *ἀρτίως*, *ἀδιαλείπτως*, *ἀνελλιπῶς*, the form *ἀνόκνως* and *συνεχῶς*

are attested in the Roman and the Byzantine periods; *πικνῶς* and *σπανίως* occur only in the Byzantine period; *ἀκαίρως* occurs almost exclusively in the Byzantine period, with only one instance in a letter of the Ptolemaic period; *συντόμως* is attested in the Ptolemaic and the Byzantine periods, and there is only one certain attestation so far in letters of the Roman period<sup>51</sup>.

(b) State/condition, mostly concerning humans, during an action or an event.

(1) In the sense of a simple description of the way in which an action is performed in the official or professional life of a person and can be viewed by the mind. It can be found in all types of documents, but the specific state has to be indicated very clearly when the adverbs in *-ως* are used in official or legal documents in order to describe specific performance parameters<sup>52</sup>: e.g. *άβασανίστως*, *άβλαβῶς*, *άγογγύστως*, *άγρυπνως*, *άγρυπτίστως*, *άδεκάστως*, *άδεῶς*, *άδήλως(?)*, *άδιαιρέτως*, *άδιακρίτως(?)*, *άδιανοήτως(?)*, *άδιαστροφῶς\**, *άδράστως*, *άδωροδοκίτης*, *άεργῶς*, *άζημίως*, *άηδῶς\**, *άισχρῶς\**, *άκακουργίτης(?)*, *άκαλῶς\**, *άκαταγνώστως*, *άκαταφρονίτης*, *άκεφαλαίως*, *άκινδύνως\**, *άκοιλάντως/άκυλάντως*, *άκρίτως*, *άλιποτάκτως*, *άλληλεγγύως*, *άλύπῶς\**, *άλωβήτης\**, *άμάχως*, *άμέμπτως\**, *άμεψιμοιρήτης*, *άμερίμῶς\**, *άμεταθέτως*, *άμετανοήτης*, *άμφιβόλως*, *άναιτίως*, *άναμφιβόλως*, *άναμφιλέκτως*, *άναμφιλόγως*, *άναμφισβητήτης*, *άναντιρρήτης*, *άναξίως*, *άναποδείκτως*, *άναποστάτως*, *άναφαιρέτως*, *άνεγκλήτης*, *άνεισπράκτως*, *άνεμποδίστως*, *άνευδεῶς*, *άνευδοιάστως*, *άνευδότως*, *άνεπηρέαστως*, *άνεπιρρήτης*, *άνεστραμμένως*, *άνευρησιλογίτης*, *άνίσως*, *άνοικονομήτης\**, *άνυπολόγως*, *άνωφελῶς*, *άόκνως\**, *άπαραβάτως*, *άπαραιτήτης*, *άπαρακλήτης*, *άπαρενοχλήτης*, *άπεριγράπτως*, *άπερισκέπτως*, *άπεριφρονήτης*, *άποκρότως\**, *άποστατικῶς*, *άπραγμόνως*, *άπροκρίτως*, *άπροσκοπῶς\**, *άπροσωπολήπτως*, *άπροφασίστως\**, *άραδιουργίτης*, *άργῶς\**, *άρεστῶς*, *άσαφῶς*, *άσπουδάστως\**, *άστρατεύτης*, *άσυμπαθῶς*, *άσυμφόρως*, *άσυνειδήτης\**, *άσφαλῶς\**, *άταράχως\**, *άτόνως(\*?)*, *άτρώτης*, *άυθαιρέτης\**, *άυτομάτως*, *άυτοπροσώπως*, *άυτοτελῶς*, *άφειδῶς*, *άφιλοεικῶς*, *άφιλοπραγμόνως*, *άφόβως*, *άχρείως*, *άψευδῶς*, *βεβαίως*, *γεωργικῶς*, *γνησιαίως*, *γνησίως\**, *γυμνῶς*, *δεόντως\**, *δεσποτικῶς*, *διαφερόντως*, *διαφόρως*, [*διεξοδικῶς*], *δικαίως*, *δυσκόλως*, *δυστρόπως*, *δυσχερῶς*, *έγκληματικῶς*, *εικαίως*, *έκόντως*, *έκουσίως*, *έλευθερικῶς*, *έλευθέρως\**, *έμπόνως*, *έναποδείκτως*, *έναργῶς\**, *ένεργῶς*, *έντίμως*, *έπικινδύνως\**, *έπινόσως\**, *έπισφαλῶς*, *εύδαιμόνως*, *εύκόλως*, *εύκόπως\**, *εύλαβῶς\**, *εύμαρῶς\**, *εύσημόνως\**, *εύτάκτως\**, *εύτόνως*, *εύφήμως*, *εύχερῶς\**, *ήρέμως\**, *ήσυχίως\**, *ήσύχως\**, *θυμικῶς\**, *ίλαρῶς\**, *καθαρίως\**, *καθαρῶς*, *κακοσχόλως*, *κατασπουδαίως\**, *κενῶς\**, *κλεψιμαίως*, *κρυπτῶς*, *κυδαλίμως*, *κυριευτικῶς*, *κυρίως*, *λαθραίως*, *λαμπρῶς\**, *ληστρικῶς*, *λυσιτελῶς\**, *μεγαλομερῶς*, [*μεγαλοπρεπῶς*], *μεγαλοφρόνως*, *μεγαλοψύχως*, *μισοπονήρως*, *μογερῶς*, [*νεανικῶς*], *νομίμως\**, *οίκτρῶς*, *όλιγῶρως\**, *όλοψύχως\**, *όμολογουμένως*, *όρθῶς\**, *όρφανικῶς*, *όσίως\**, *όχληρῶς*, *πανούργως*, *παραναιτικῶς*, *παραλόγως*, *παρανόμως*, *παχυμερῶς*, *πεπεισμένως*, *πεπλασμένως*, *περιφανῶς*, *πεφροντισμένως*, *πιστῶς*, *πλατικῶς\**, *πλεονεκτικῶς*, *πολυπραγμόνως*, *πολυτελεστέρως\**, *προθύμως\**, *προνοητικῶς*, *προσεχόντως\**, [*προσεχῶς*], *προσηκόντως*, *προσηνῶς*, *προστακτικῶς*, *προφανῶς*, *προχείρως*, *προφρονέως*, *ραδίως*, *ρητῶς*, *ριφοκινδύνως*, *σαφῶς\**, *σπουδαίως\**, *στενῶς\**, *συντετηρημένως*, *σωφρόνως*, *ύπηκῶς*, *ύπόπτως*, *ύποστατικῶς*, *ύποτακτικῶς*, *φανερῶς*, *φαύλως*, *φιλοπόνως\**, *φιλοσόφως*, *φιλοτίμως\**, *φοβερῶς*, *φρονίμως\**, *χαλεπῶς\**, *ψιλῶς*. For adverbs which can denote both State and Time see above.

(2) State/condition, in the sense of a personal moral interaction with other humans during an action in a close private and social circle: e.g. *άγνωμόνως*, *άγρίως*, *άδελφικῶς*, *άδιαφόρως\**, *άδικῶς\**, *άδιστακτικῶς\**, *άδόλως*, *άθύμως*, *άθωπεύτης*, *άιδεσίμως*, *άιδημόνως*, *άκόσμως(?)*, *άλλοτρίως*, *άλόγως\**, *άναιδῶς\**, *άναισθητῶς\**, *άνελεῶς*, *άνθρωπίνως\**, *άνοήτης*, *άνόμως*, *άπανθρώπως\**, *άσεβῶς*, *άσέμνως*, *άσμένως\**, [*άστόργως*], *άυθαδῶς*, *βιαίως*, *γελοίως\**, *γενναίως\**, *δεξιῶς\**, *δυσσεβῶς*, *έκθύμως\**, *έλεημόνως*, *έναρέτως*, *έπαχθῶς\**, *έπεικῶς*, [*έπικλόπως*], *έπιφθόνως*, *έρωτικῶς*, *εύγενῶς\**, *εύγνωμόνως\**, *εύεργετικῶς*, *εύθύμως\**, *εύμενῶς*, *εύνοικῶς\**, *εύνης\**, *εύπρεπῶς*, *εύσεβῶς*, *εύχαρίστως\**,

<sup>51</sup> The adverbs *μηνιαίως*, *ήμερησίως* and *πλήρως* occur in papyri, but not in the ancient Greek literature. However, they occur in Modern Greek; see Γ. Μπαμπινιώτης, *Λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας*, Αθήνα 1998, s.vv. For *μηνιαίως* and *ήμερησίως* see also Δ. Δημητράκος, *Μέγα λεξικόν ὅλης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας*, 1936-1950, s.vv.

<sup>52</sup> See A. Jördens in *P.Heid.* V, pp. 155-156.

εὐψύχως\*, ἐχθρῶς, ἡδέως\*, θερμῶς\*, κακοπραγμόνως, κακοτρόπως, κακούργως, καλοθελῶς, κεχαρισμένως\*, κηδεμονικῶς, λιπαρῶς\*, οἰκείως, παγκάκως\*, πικρῶς\*, πονηρῶς, πράως\*, πρεπόντως\*, σαπρῶς\*, σεμνῶς, στυγνοτέρως\*, τολμηρῶς, τυραννικῶς, ὑβριστικῶς\*, ὑπερηφάνως\*, φθονερῶς\*, φιλαγάθως, φιλανθρώπως, φιλικῶς\*, φιλοστόργως, φιλοφρόνως\*.

(c) Quality in an action or state, e.g. ἀκριβῶς\*, ἀξιοπίστως, ἀτόπως\*, βασιλικῶς, ἐμπείρως\*, ἐνδρανῶς, ἐπιμελῶς\*, ἐπιπόνως, ἐπιστημόνως, ἐπιστρεφῶς, ἐπιτηδείως\*, ἐπιπελλῶς\*, ἐργατικῶς, εὐσήμως\*, ἱερατικῶς, καλῶς, κακῶς, παρέργως\*, τυχόντως.

(d) Degree or intensification, e.g. ἀδρῶς, ἄκρως, ἀξιολόγως, ἀρκούντως, ἐκτελῶς, ἐκτενῶς\*, ἐκτόπως, ἐμμέτρως, ἐνδεχομένως, ἐνδεῶς, ἐνδιαρκῶς, ἐντελῶς, ἐντόνως, ἱκανῶς\*, ἴσως\*, μεγάλως\*, μετριοπαθῶς, μετρίως\*, μικρῶς\*, ὀλίγως\*, πανεξόχως, παντελῶς\*, παντοδαπῶς, παντοίως, πάντως\*, περισσοτέρως\*, περισσῶς\*, πλειόνως\*, σμικρῶς\*, σφοδρῶς\*; cf. some examples in ἀμειώτως, ἀπαραλείπτως, αὐτάρκως\*, ἀφάτως, ἀφθόνως\*, δαψιλῶς, δεινῶς\*, ἰσχυρῶς\*, σφοδρῶς\*; sometimes intensifiers of other adverbs or adjectives; see Mayser 1933-1934, 179 (e.g. παντελῶς).

(e) Quantity and distribution, e.g. διπλασίως, δισσωῶς\*, ἐμπορικῶς\*, ἰδιαζόντως\*, ἰδικῶς, ἰδίως, ἰδιωτικῶς(\*?), καθολικῶς, κειωρισμένως, κοινῶς\*; μηδαμῶς\*, μοναχῶς, μονομερῶς, ὀλομερῶς, ὀλοσχερῶς, ὄλως\*, ὀποτέρως\*, οὐδαμῶς\*, πληθικῶς, πλήρως, πληρωτικῶς, πολλαπλασίως\*, πολλαχῶς\*, σμικρομερῶς, στοιχειωδῶς, τριπλασίως, metaphorically ἀθρόως; cf. also some examples of ἀκεραίως\*, ἀπλῶς\* and ἀπαξαπλῶς\*.

(f) Physical property, usually used metaphorically, e.g. ἀδυνάτως (also used in a legal sense), ἀβαρῶς, ἀσθενῶς\*, βαρέως\*, δυνατῶς, ἐρρωμένως\*, εὐχρῶμως\*, [ἰσχυρῶς\*], κομψῶς\*, μαλακῶς\*, μετρίως\*, [νωθρῶς], ὑγιεινῶς\*, ὑγιῶς\*; some adverbs indicate colour, e.g. ἀγλαῶς, ποικίλως\*.

(g) Reason, e.g. ἀναγκαίως\*, δικαίως\*, εἰκότως\*, ἐμφύτως, εὐλόγως\*.

(h) Purpose, e.g. ἀειμνήστως\*.

(i) Result, e.g. ἀβασκάντως, αἰσίως, ἀπνευκταίως, εὐαρέστως, εὐδοκίμως, εὐδόξως\*, εὐεργῶς, ἐνδόξως, ἐπαφροδίτως, ἐπαφροδιτικῶς\*, ἐπιφανῶς, εὐκταίως, εὐτυχῶς\*, θαυμαστῶς, ματαίως\*, σωτηρίως.

(j) (Dis)agreement, e.g. ἀκαταλλήλως, ἀκολουθῶς\*, ἀλλοίως\*, ἄλλως\*, ἀναλογούντως\*, ἀναλόγως, ἀντιθέτως, ἀξίως\*, ἀρμοδίως, ἀρμοζόντως, ἀτρεκέως, αὐτως, δεόντως\*, εἰθισμένως, ἐναντίως, ἐννόμως, ἐπαξίως\*, ἐτέρως, ἰκέλως, καθηκόντως, καταξίως, ὁμοίως\*, συμμετρῶς, συμφώνως, συνήθως\*, συννόμως(?), ὑπεναντίως, ὠσαύτως.

(k) Instrument, mostly metaphorically, e.g. ἀγράφως, ἀδιαθέτως, ἀργυρικῶς\*, γενικῶς\*, ἐγγράπτως, ἐγγράφως\*, ἐνόρκως, ἐνωμῶτως\*, ἐπιχωρίως, εὐαγῶς, θειωδῶς, θείως, θερμῶς\*, σωματικῶς, χρηματικῶς.

(l) Place, e.g. εἰρομένως\*, ἐπομένως, and, metaphorically, γενικῶς\* and εἰδικῶς\*, ἐνδιαθέτως, ἐξαιρέτως\*, ἐσχάτως, ἐχομένως, πλαγίως(?), προηγουμένως\*, προοφθάλμως, πρωτοτύπως\*, πρώτως\*.

(m) Modality, e.g. ἴσως\*, ὄλως\*, ὄντως\*, πάντως\*.

(n) Clause modifier, e.g. ἀληθῶς\*, ἐτύμως.

8. The expression “ἔχω + adverb in -ως” seems to replace another formulaic phrase, “ἔστι μοι + adjective”, and therefore, in fact, the adverb indicates the values as set above more clearly than the neutral mode of the adjective. Such adverbs modifying the verb ἔχω are: ἀγαπητῶς, ἀδιαφόρως, ἀμελῶς, ἀναγκαίως, αὐτάρκως, ἐπιμελῶς, ἐτοίμως, εὐκαίρως, εὐμαρῶς, ἡδέως, ἱκανῶς, σπουδαίως, φιλικῶς, φθονερῶς etc.

9. The way simple necessities of life are described in a brief papyrus letter can show clearly the concerns and worries of the average person in his life either in a cosmopolitan city or in a small remote village or agricultural area. We can see, therefore, what they need (see *s.v.* ἀναγκαίως), and what makes them anxious (see *s.v.* εὐθέως,

συντόμως, ἀνόκνως/ἀόκνως). We understand their feelings concerning what needed to be done and what is fair or unfair (see *s.v.* δικάως and ἀδίκως).

We see how everyday people perceive and subsequently express their or others' attitude towards relatives, friends, collaborators, priests, authorities, e.g. in a positive sense ἀδελφικῶς, ἀληθῶς, ἀνθρωπίνως, φιλανθρώπως, ἀφθόνως, γνησιαίως, γνησίως, δεξιῶς, ἐναντίως, ἐναργῶς, ἐνδεχομένως, ἐνδιαθέτως, εὐνοϊκῶς, εὔνως, εὐχαρίστως, ἡδέως, ἡσυχίως, θερμῶς, ἱκανῶς, κακῶς, καλῶς, κεχαρισμένως, μεγάλως, πιστῶς, φιλικῶς, or in a negative sense, e.g. ἀλόγως, ἀναιδῶς, ἀναισθητῶς, ἀπανθρώπως, γελοίως, ἐπαχθῶς, πικρῶς, σαπρῶς, σφοδρῶς, ὑβριστικῶς, ὑπερηφάνως, χαλεπῶς.

In addition, we can infer how these people describe their own way of living and their reactions to good and bad situations, e.g. positively, such as ἀβασκάντως, ἀδιαστρόφως, ἀδιαφόρως, ἀδιστακτῶς, ἀκαλῶς, ἀλύπως, ἀμερίμνως, ἀταράχως, ἀτόνως, αὐτάρκως, γενναίως, ἐνδόξως, ἐρρωμένως, εὐγενῶς, εὐδόξως, εὐθύμως, εὐμαρῶς, εὐχρώμως, εὐσεβῶς, εὐσημίονως, εὐψύχως, ἡδέως, ἡσύχως, ἱκανῶς, ἰλαρῶς, καθαρῶς, κακῶς, καλῶς, κομπῶς, λαμπρῶς, μετρίως, οὐ μικρῶς, οὐκ ὀλίγως, ὀλοψύχως, ὀσίως, πράως/πραέως, πρεπόντως, σαπρῶς, φρονίμως. On the other hand, we can infer how they describe unpleasant situations or a bad state of health, e.g. ἀηδῶς, ἀσθενῶς, βαρέως, δεινῶς, ἐπικινδύνως, ἐπινόσως, θυμικῶς, μαλακῶς.

It seems that the verbs that denote “write a letter” are modified by a variety of adverbs. People who write letters want others to reply. However, simply writing was not enough. Therefore, they became more specific by indicating Manner and Time: in the private letters (see List 1, p. 263, *s.vv.* γράφω, ἐπιστέλλω, ἀντιγράφω), e.g. ἀκριβῶς, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀναγκαίως, ἀνόκνως, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀσφαλῶς, διαφόρως, διηνεκῶς, δυσόκνως, ἐπιμελῶς, ἐπιπελλῶς, εὐθέως, εὐκόπως, εὐσήμως, εὐτονώτερον, πλατικῶς, πυκνῶς, συνεχῶς, συντόμως, συχνῶς, ταχέως, φιλοτίμως, and in other documents also ἀξιοπίστως, διεξοδέστερον, προπετῶς, συντετηρημένως.

Furthermore, verbs that mean “bring”, “send”, “take” and “receive” are modified by adverbs such as ἀλωβήτως, ἀναγκαίως, ἀνόκνως/ἀόκνως, εὐθέως, ἐπιμελῶς, ἡδέως, πάντως, πιστῶς, σωτηρίως, ταχέως, and verbs that mean “go” and “come” by adverbs such as ἀνεμποδίστως, ἀσμένως, ἀσυντάκτως, ἀσφαλῶς, αὐτοπροσώπως, δυσκόλως, ἐλευθέρως, εὐθέως, ἡδέως, πάντως, ταχέως. Sometimes such verbs are modified by two adverbs, e.g. ἀναγκαίως and ταχέως (or ταχύ) in *O.Eleph.DAIK* 96, 9-10 and *P.Mich.* VIII 506, 3-4.

In women's letters we see very few adverbs in -ως, and when they are used present some kind a deviation from the standard ones: cf. examples ἀδελφικῶς in *P.Brem.* 61; ἡσυχίως in *CPR* XIV 53 by an educated woman; γελοίως (and σφοδρότερον) in *P.Col.* III 6 by a worried mother; κατασπουδαίως in *BGU* IV 1206 and 1207; πικρῶς in *P.Petrie Kleon* 3; εὐθέως (ἄν σοι | ἔλθη ἢ [ἐ]πιστολή, εὐθέως παραγ[ε]ίνου); βαρέως, εὐθέως, παντελῶς and ταχέως in *UPZ* I 59. On the other hand, the examples of ἀσθενῶς in *P.Brem.* 64; εὐθέως and the uncertain restoration ἀ[ν(?)]αγκ[αίως(?)] in *P.Lond.* III 988, ἀδίκως and συνεχῶς in *P.Flor.* III 332, ἀσφαλῶς in *BGU* VI 1300, ταχύτερον in *SB* VI 9120, and ὅτι συντομώτατα in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59028 written by a harper in Alexandria.

**Catalogue of the Adverbs in -ως**  
**(with a focus on the Adverbs Used in the Private Letters of the Graeco-Roman Egypt)**

ἀβαρῶς\*

The adverb derives from the adjective ἀβαρής, which means “without weight, light” and “not offensive”, and the meaning of the adverb in the literary texts is “without giving or taking offence” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀβαρής, citing Simplicius; cf. Steen 1938, 128; Bauer *s.v.* ἀβαρής; *WB IV s.v.* ἀβαρής “müheles”). The only attestation of ἀβαρῶς in papyri is in a letter sent by Herodes to Apollonios the strategos, *P.Brem.* 15 (A.D. 118?). It is interesting that its first attestation in the Greek literature is in a medical text of Soranus 3.29.9 οὐδὲ κατάπλασμα φέρειν ἀβαρῶς δυναμένην διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς περιθλάσεως ἐπίτασιν. Soranus practised medicine in Alexandria during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, that is, in the same period when the adverb is attested in the private letter. It seems that the adverb was already coined and used in the everyday language, and Herodes used it when he wrote that, after his urging, an arrangement was agreed about some work in a house, (l. 11) ἵνα ἀβαρῶς γένηται. Wilcken in the *ed. princ.*, translated “müheles” (“effortlessly”, “without being a burden for us”), based on the use of the noun βάρος and the verb βαρέω in papyri: *P.Brem.* 2, 5-6 ὅπως μὴ βαρηθῶ|σιν ἢ παραπραχθῶσιν οἱ ἐνχώριοι; *P.Giss.* I 7, ii 12-13 ἐκούφισεν τῶν ἐνχωρίων | τὰ βάρη; *P.Oxy.* VII 1062, 14-15 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο σοι βάρος φέρε | καὶ μήπω ἡγόρασας; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1159, 2-4 ἵνα μὴ βα|ρήσω αὐτῷ ὀψωνί|ου etc. The adverb precedes the modified verbal form in the final clause of the private letter (and placed immediately after the conjunction), obviously to stress its meaning, while in Soranus it follows the modified verb (φέρειν ἀβαρῶς).

ἀβασανίστως

In an extract from the minutes of an exegetes, *P.Mert.* I 26, 11 (A.D. 274), it is reported that a woman οὐκ ἀβασανίστως δὲ ἦλθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν ταύτην, “she did not proceed to this inquiry without due examination”. The same use was already found in Thucydides 1.20 (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀβασάνιστος 2). H.I. Bell’s and C.H. Roberts’ note *ad loc.* that “this pompous expression – the adverb is cited from Thucydides and Plutarch, but is not found in the documents – is characteristic of the style of the whole speech”. The adverb precedes the modified verbal form, and it is placed at the beginning of the clause to stress the fact that this woman went through an examination.

ἀβασκάντως\*

Although the adjective ἀβάσκαντος was used many times in a formulaic phrase where the wish is expressed that the recipient of a letter and certain persons (or, even, the horse) in his house are not affected by the evil eye (e.g. ἄσπασαι τὰ ἀβάσκαντα παιδιά, ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν ἀβασκάντων etc.), the adverb ἀβασκάντως (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀβάσκαντος I, citing *P.Oxy.* II 292 and the epigram *AP* 11.267) occurs only in two private letters, where it is not used as in the ἀβάσκαντος-formulas: *P.Oxy.* II 292, 11-13 (A.D. 25) πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὑγια<ί>νεῖν σε εὐχ[ο]μαι ἀβασκάντως τὰ ἄριστα | πράττων, and *PSI* III 210, 1-4 (IV-V A.D.) ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ζῶμεν αὐριον ἐστὶν ἐν ὄσῳ ἀβασκάντως καὶ ἰσχυρότερο[v] γ{ε}ίνεται. In these examples the adverb precedes the modified verbal forms. It is interesting that in the

latter example the wish covers not only the recipient of the letter, but both the sender and the recipient (ζῶμεν... ἀβασκάντως).

#### ἀβλαβῶς\* – ἀβλαβέως

A private letter, *PSI IV 392* (242/242 B.C.), which was sent by Hermokrates to Zenon, ends with a wish: (ll. 12-13) εὐχαριστήσεις δέ μοι φιλοτιμότερον γράψας ἐνταῦθα οἷς ἂν ὑπολαμβάνης | ἐπιτήδεον εἶναι, συναρίστασθαι ἡμῖν ἐν οἷς ἂν τυγχάνωμεν χρεῖαν ἔχοντες ἀβλαβῶς. The meaning of the adverb ἀβλαβῶς is “safely, without harming anyone” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀβλαβῆς II; see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177), and in this example it is placed both at the end of the sentence and at the end of the period. Cl. Orrieux, *Les papyrus de Zenon*, Paris 1983, 68-69 translated as “tu me ferais plaisir en m’écrivant une lettre généreuse faisant part de ce qui te paraît propre à nous secourir dans les besoins qui nous assaillent alors que nous n’avons fait aucun mal”. The question is, who will not cause harm? It is more probable that the adverb modifies the verbal expression χρεῖαν ἔχοντες, (that is, συναρίστασθαι ἡμῖν, ἐν οἷς ἂν τυγχάνωμεν χρεῖαν ἔχοντες ἀβλαβῶς), which means that whatever they need will not be harmful to Zenon (which corresponds to χρεῖαν ἔχοντες ἀβλαβῆ), and it does not modify the verb συναρίστασθαι (that is, συναρίστασθαι ἡμῖν, ἐν οἷς ἂν τυγχάνωμεν χρεῖαν ἔχοντες, ἀβλαβῶς) which would mean that Zenon will be there to assist and he will cause them no harm and vice versa.

In Egypt, the adverb also occurs in a funerary metrical inscription of the late Ptolemaic period, in Bernand 1969, no 8, 4 (I B.C.?) κῆπειτ’ ἀβλαβέως ἔρπε, and in private contracts and official orders of the sixth century A.D.: *PSI VIII 934*, 14 (A.D. 522-553); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303, 7 and 20 (A.D. 553); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159, 31 (A.D. 568); *P.Stras.* I 40, 43 (A.D. 569); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67090, 4 (VI A.D.).

#### ἀγαπητῶς

For its use and attestations in Greek see LSJ *s.v.* ἀγαπητός III “gladly, contentedly”. The adverb occurs only in the official correspondence of *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 148-149 (A.D. 300) ἀγαπητῶς ἔχοντας τὸ τὴν μείζ[ονα ἐν τῷ] παρόντι ἐκπεφευγέναι κατα|δίκην “they should, in fact, be well satisfied at having escaped, on this occasion, a heavier penalty”, where it precedes the modified participle ἔχοντας.

#### ἀγλαῶς

LSJ *s.v.* ἀγλαός II cited Aristophanes *Lys.* 640 ἐπεὶ χλιδῶσαν ἀγλαῶς ἔθρεψέ με as an example of this adverb. In Egypt it occurs in a Christian inscription, in Lefebvre 1907, no 69, 1 (VI A.D.?) οὐρανὸς ἀγλαῶς λαμπρεύεται (*l.* λαμπρύνεται) ἀχλὺς (*l.* ἀχλὺν) παντελῶς μὴ κεκτημένος, where it means “splendidly” and precedes the modified verbal form λαμπρεύεται.

#### ἀγνωμόνως

The adverb occurs in the Greek literature from the fourth century B.C. with the meaning “senselessly” or “cruelly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀγνώμων I 1 and II 2): cf. Isocrates *Ant.* 227; Xenophon *Hell.* 6.3.11; *Cyr.* 5.5.28; Demosthenes *Ol.* 2, 26; cf. also Harpocration *Lex. s.v.* ἀγνωμόνως, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλογίστως καὶ ἀβούλως Δημοσθένους ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς, and Timaeus *Lex. Plat., s.v.* ἀγνωμόνως, ἀνοήτως ἢ ἀχαρίστως. λέγονται δὲ παρὰ Πλάτωνι ἀγνώμονες οἱ ἀμαθεῖς. In papyri it occurs with the same meaning in official documents of

the Ptolemaic period, mainly of the second century B.C., and it always precedes the modified verbal form<sup>53</sup>.

#### ἀγογγύστως

The meaning of the adverb is “not murmuringly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀγόγγυστος). It is used by Soranus 2.19.13 (who wrote in the I/II A.D.) when he refers to women who breastfeed babies, ἵνα καὶ τὰ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀόκνως παρέχη καὶ ἀγογγύστως. In addition, it is found in the vocabulary of churches and monasteries, when reference is made to the docility of the monks; cf. e.g. Johannes Chr. *Epist.* 224; Nilus *Epist.* 2.157; see examples in the patristic literature in Lampe *s.v.*, with the meaning “without complaining”.

In the papyri it is found only (and also spelt wrongly) in a labor contract of the seventh century A.D. from Arsinoe (*SB* I 4490; A.D. 641 or 656), where in ll. 10-13 we read [ἐκτ]ελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτὴν πά[ντ]α τ[ᾶ κ]ελευόμε(νά) | μοι παρ' αὐτῆς ἔργα ἐν τε τῇ πόλ<ε>ι καὶ | κατ' ἀγροὺς δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ ἀκογγίστως (l. ἀγογγύστως)<sup>54</sup>. It might just be a notary's initiative to insert it there, since the idea of “not complaining” is expressed by the prepositional δίχα γογγυμοῦ in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159, 26-28 (A.D. 568) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως, δίχα πάσης | ραδιουργίας καὶ γογγισμοῦ (l. γογγυμοῦ) καὶ ὑπερθέσεως καὶ ἀναβολῆς | ἔργων διόλου. The same idea is also expressed by a noun in a colloquial expression in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 11 (c. A.D. 270) μὴ καὶ τι[ς γ]ογγυσμός κ[α]θ' ἡμῶν γένηται.

#### ἀγράφως

The adverb appears only in the Roman and Byzantine periods, usually as the antonym of ἐγγράφως, in various documents, e.g. marriage contracts, loans, petitions, registrations of *epheboi* etc., and refers to agreements which were not written as contracts; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἄγραφος (1); LSJ *s.v.* ἄγραφος III 1; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*

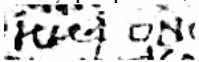
#### ἀγρίως

In a petition submitted by a widow (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005; c. A.D. 568) we read the savage and violent acts (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄγριος III) of a certain person, named Senouthes: ll. 18-19 παρέ[βαλέν(?) με ἐν τῇ] ἰδικῇ αὐτ[ο(ῦ)] φυλακῇ, παρασκευάσας ἡμέριον (ἡμέρον; l. ἡμέραν *ed. princ.*)<sup>55</sup> ἐμέ βακλισηθῆναι καὶ πελματισθῆναι καὶ κρεμασθῆναι ἀγρίως | εἰς [λ]όφον ἐπὶ π[έν]τε μῆνας [ . . . . . φυ]λακ[ῆ]ς. Because of the position of the adverb after the infinitives, it cannot be

<sup>53</sup> **Official correspondence:** *SB* XVI 12528, 4 (end of III-beginning of II B.C.) [ὑπομνήματος παρὰ τῶν ἐκ ---]ίας βασιλικῶν γεωργῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγνωμόνως | [---]; **petition** to an official: *CPR* XXVIII 11, 14-16 (191 B.C.) (see M. Stern, *BASP* 53, 2016, 32-34) κἀν φαί|νων\ται/ ἀγνωμόνως ἡμᾶς | παραλογεύοντες; **petition** to the king and queen concerning unlawful acts: *UPZ* I 6, 32-24 (163 B.C.) διόπερ [ἀ]ξιῶ σε. βασιλεῦ. μὴ ὑπεριδε[ῖν] | με παρ' ἕκαστα ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀγνωμόνως πολιορκούμενον | καὶ ὑβριζόμενον καὶ ἀνομιού/μενον.

<sup>54</sup> In *SB* XVIII 13998, 1-2 (VI-VII A.D.) πρὸς τό με ἐργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀμπέλω | δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκ[αταφρονή]τως, where we have the same sequence of adverbs, it is not certain if the space at the end of l. 2 is enough to accommodate καὶ ἀγογγύστως. Therefore, the restoration of the adverb here is debatable.

<sup>55</sup> My proposal ἡμέριον (instead of ἡμέρον; l. ἡμέραν *ed. princ.*) is based on the traces of a vertical stroke after ρ.



([http://www.misha.fr/papyrus\\_bipab/pages\\_html/P\\_Cair\\_Masp\\_I\\_67005.html](http://www.misha.fr/papyrus_bipab/pages_html/P_Cair_Masp_I_67005.html)).

The meaning “every day” is also attested in *SB* XX 14626, 10 (c. A.D. 573-574 or 589-590); *BGU* XIX 2827, 27 (A.D. 595) etc.

said whether it modifies the three previous infinitives which are already forceful in their sense (indicating the violent acts), or the everyday participle παρασκευάσας at the beginning of the phrase (indicating the violence of Senouthes).

#### ἀγρύπνως

The adjective ἄγρυπνος and the noun ἀγρυπνία are rarely attested in Egypt. The former occurs only in a private letter, *P.Heid.* II 212, 14 (66 or 37 or 15 B.C.), and the latter occurs for the first time in official correspondence, *BGU VIII* 1764, 9 (64-44 B.C.); in addition, the verb ἀγρυπνῶ is found for the first time in official correspondence of the middle of the first century B.C., *BGU VIII* 1766, 9 (c. 51-50 B.C.). In the Roman and Byzantine periods the compounds ἐπάγρυπνος and ἐπαγρυπνῶ are attested. As for the adverb ἀγρύπνως, in the Greek literature it is attested in Pollux 3.121; in the Christian literature cf. Procopius, *PG* 87, 1693 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ὑδάτων ἀγρύπνως καθήμενοι, with the meaning “wakefully” or “constantly alert and with a vigilant eye” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄγρυπνος I; Lampe *s.v.*). The first example of the adverb, however, comes from Egypt and occurs in an honorary inscription of the first century B.C., in Bernand 1992, no 46, 23-24 (39 B.C.) κράτιστα εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἀγ[ρ]ύπνως | [ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐφ]ρόντισεν; see Mayser 1936, 123. Based on the evidence the attestations of the adjective, noun and the verb provide, as said above, it seems that words beginning with ἀγρυπν- became popular in the middle of the first century B.C.

The adverb was also corrected above another word, probably the adjective ἄγρυπνος, in a Byzantine settling of private issues between Aurelia Tekrompia, *anthylopratisa*, and Aurelia Maria her daughter: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67156, 11-12 (A.D. 570) κ[α]ὶ ἀ[δ]όκνως εἰργασάμην με[τὰ σπου]δῆς ἀγρύπνως εἰς τὴν ἡμῶν | [ἀ]γρυπν[ο]πρατικὴν τέχνην. However, the restoration ἀγρύπνω[ς] in an official document (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *P.Pommersf.* 1, 476 (second half of VI A.D.; Constantinople or Italia) διεκελεύετο τοῦτον ἀγρύπνω[ς], is debatable.

#### ἀγρυπνίστως

The adverb is attested only in a contract (concerning collection of taxes, *P.Lond.* V 1660, 12, dated to c. A.D. 553), and it is considered as a mistake for ἀγρυπνίστως (the reading of the papyrus ἀγρυπνίστως is certain). Neither ἀγρυπνίστως nor ἀγρυπνίστως is ever attested in the Greek literature, and, therefore, we might have to regard the form ἀγρυπνίστως as an extended form of ἀγρύπνως (see LSJ Suppl. *s.v.*). The prepositional phrase μετὰ ἀγρυπνίας in the same document, (l. 29) πάντα ἐκτελέσαι μετὰ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀκριβίως καὶ σπουδῆς, seems to provide a similar meaning. In this text the contractor will take over the collection (λαβεῖν καὶ συνάξει) of taxes ἀγρυπνίστως, he will also make an account, and will not hide anything. If we explain the form as a moment of confusion and a slip of the pen instead of the adverb ἀγρυπνίστως, it means that the collector should be awake or watchful or alert in order to collect the taxes. If, however, the form ἀγρυπνίστως itself is what was actually meant, could we consider that the scribe coined an adverb deliberately having in mind the verb γρύπτω, “become bent or wrinkled” or γρυπόμαι, “to become hooked”, which in our text could mean that the collection of the taxes should be straight, without weakness? Cf. γρυπνόν· στυγνόν, κατηφές in Hesychius (also *s.v.* γρυπτέω).



## ἀδεκάστως

It occurs in an honorary inscription, in Bernard 1992, no 52, 11-14 (A.D. 22-23) καὶ τὴν δὲ τῶν χωμάτων κατε[ργασίαν] | [ἐν τ]οῖς δέουσιν καιροῖς μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμε[λείας] | [π]οιεῖται ἀδεκάστως ἀναδεχόμενος πό[νον καὶ νυ]||[κτὸς] καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄχρι συνετέλεσεν, with the meaning “in an unbribed way, impartially” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδέκαστος), which seems to be the earlier attestation of this adverb in the Greek language so far.

## ἀδελφικῶς\*

In the Greek literature ἀδελφικῶς is rare, since it is found in LXX 4 *Ma.* 13.9 παρεθάρσυνον ἀλλήλους λέγοντες, ἀδελφικῶς ἀποθάνωμεν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τοῦ νόμου; Ps.-Callisthenes 3.20 εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἔρχονται Πέρσαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὡς ἀδελφικῶς ἀλλήλοις διακεῖσθαι (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδελφικός); cf. also Gregorius Naz., *PG* 35, 736 ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφούς περιεπτυξάμεθα μικρὸν ὑπὲρ κλήρου πατρικοῦ στασιάσαντας ἀδελφικῶς, and Johannes Chr., *PG* 61, 379 μὴ ἐπιτακτικῶς, ἀλλ' ἀδελφικῶς τοῦτο; see Lampe *s.v.*

In a private letter to Apollonios the strategos, *P.Brem.* 61 (II A.D.), the sender (a woman), asked Apollonios to greet some relatives, (ll. 20-23) ἄσπασαι | Ἀλίην ἀδελ[φ]ικῶς καὶ Εὐδαιμονίδα | τὴν μητέρα [κ]αὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου | παιδία, “Grüsse Aline schwesterlich und Eudaimonis, (deine) Mutter, und deine Kinder (unberufen!)” (transl. Wilcken, *ed. princ.*; cf. *WB IV s.v.* ἀδελφικός), “greet Aline in a sisterly way (or: who is a sister to me) and mother Eudaimonis and your children free from harm” (transl. Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, 142). As Wilcken (*ed. princ.*, on p. 135) and Bagnall and Cribiore pointed out, one might think that it does not have the original meaning “in a brotherly or sisterly way”, and the use of the adverb here was intentional to indicate that she considered Aline as her sister<sup>56</sup>. The adverb does not modify the previous verb ἄσπασαι (since there is no specific way in which siblings greet each other), but it stands semantically independent to modify an implied verbal form, e.g. οὔσαν (e.g. ὡς ἀδελφὴν); cf. Kühner 1836, II, 2, 114 (citing Plato *Leg.* 752b εὐκόλως καὶ ἀφόβως = εὐκολοὶ καὶ ἄπειροὶ ὄντες) and Cooper 1997, vol. 2, 1085 (citing Thucydides 6.85.2 ἐλευθέρως ξυμμαχοῦντας = ἐλευθέρους ὄντας ξυμμάχους).

## ἀδεῶς\*

The adverb is attested in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδεής III; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*) and means “without fear or scruple, confidently”. In the Greek papyri the adverb occurs in three documents of the second century A.D.: (1) a contract of lease, which is now preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Stras.* VIII 706, 16-18 (A.D. 122-123) τ[ρ]ῆφειν ὄρνι|θας ἀδεῶς ἐν μυλαί|ω; (2) a petition, *P.Mich.* VI 425, 19-20 (A.D. 198) τοὺς [ἀδικουμένους] | σὺ (*l.* σοὶ) προσ{ε}ίέναι ἀδεῶς τῶν δικαίων τευξομένους, “that those who are victims of injustice shall approach you without fear in order to obtain justice”; (3) a private letter, *P.David* 14, 23-28 (II A.D.) ἐγενόμην γὰρ ἐν [θορύ]βοις πολ|λοῖς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν σοι [τ]ολμήσαιμι | ἀδεῶς λέγειν, [ἵ]να μὴ ἀτόπως | δι[ι]ηγῆσω[μ]αι. οἶμαι δὲ σε ἀκη|κ[ο]ῦναι· εἰς γὰρ

<sup>56</sup> For the use of ἀδελφός and ἀδελφή in the documentary papyri see P. Artz-Grabner, “‘Brothers’ and ‘Sisters’ in the Documentart Papyri and in Early Christianity”, *RivBibli* 50, 2002, 185-204, esp. 192-193, concerning the use of these two words (but not ἀδελφικῶς) in the Apollonios the strategos archive.

πλ[ει]στους ἐξίτη|λ[α] ταῦτα ἤλθε; see *WB IV s.v.* ἀδείης “nicht so leichtthin”. Moreover, it occurs in a small number of Byzantine contracts and petitions<sup>57</sup>.

Concerning the private letter *P.David* 14, the scribe seems to be well educated, and tends to philosophize, e.g. in ll. 3-4, he uses rare words in ll. 12-15, dual in l. 6, and a word play with the adverbs in -ως in ll. 24-26. The adverb ἀδεῶς could equally modify either the following infinitive λέγειν or the preceding main verb of the clause [τ]ολμήσαιμι; cf. Plato *Th.* 144a ἀδεῶς δὴ λέγω; *Soph.* 256d ἀδεῶς ἄρα τὴν κίνησιν ἕτερον εἶναι τοῦ ὄντος διαμαχόμενοι λέγωμεν; Demosthenes 43.30 ἀδεῶς ἔλεγεν; Johannes Chr., *PG* 47, 395 οἱ πολλὰ μὲν ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ λέγουσι καὶ πράττουσιν ἀδεῶς; *PG* 60, 198 διὰ τοῦτο ἀκινδύνως καὶ ἀδεῶς κατατολμῶσι τοῦ θανάτου; Theodoretus, *PG* 81, 1569 ἀδεῶς ὁ φόνος τολμᾶται and *PG* 82, 537 ἀδεῶς πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν τολμῶσι. However, based on the following ἀτόπως δ[ι]ηγῆσω[μ]αι, where the adverb precedes the verbal form, it is more probable that the adverb also in the phrase οὐς οὐκ ἄν σοι [τ]ολμήσαιμι | ἀδεῶς λέγειν similarly modifies the adverb λέγειν.

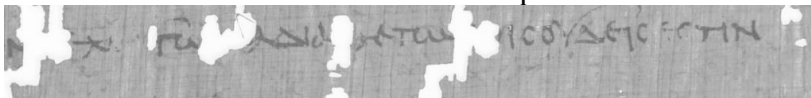
#### ἀδήλως

It occurs only in a Ptolemaic petition, *P.Köln* V 222, 16 (145 B.C.), with the meaning “secretly”. Even though the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition and does not allow us to understand the described situation, the adverb seems to modify the following verbal form ἔχον[.]. Moreover, the adverb was rare in the Greek literature; before this instance in Egypt it occurs only in Thucydides 1.92.1 and 6.58.1, and in Aristotle 355b and 1455b<sup>58</sup>; cf. also Bauer *s.v.*

#### ἀδιαθέτως

The adverb ἀδιαθέτως, with the meaning “by having made no will, intestate”, in the Greek language occurs only in a testament of the sixth century A.D.: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 36-37 (A.D. 570) εὐλαβούμενος μὴ ἐξαίφνης | ὑπαναχωρήσαι με τῶν τῆτε ἀδιαθέτως πραιμάτων. Since the reading ἀδιαθέτως is certain, and since the adverb cannot modify the preceding verbal form ὑπαναχωρήσαι, it seems probable that the adverb was used wrongly by the scribe (deliberately or in a moment of confusion) instead of the adjective ἀδιαθέτων (πραιμάτων).

In the Gnomon of Idios Logos, *BGU* V 1210, 23-25 (c. A.D. 150), it is stated that [τ]ῶν [τ]ελευτώ[ν<των>] ἀδιαθέτως οἷς οὐδεὶς ἐστίν | ἄλλος κατὰ νόμους κληρονόμος (corr. from κληρονομο[υ]ς) τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῷ φίσκῳ | προσκρ{ε}ίνεται. The first edition read ἀδιαθέτω[ν] (while M. Vandoni read the adverb ἀδιαθέτως; see *BL* VII, on p. 19). In the photograph of the papyrus (in <http://berlpap.smb.museum/record/?result=1&Alle=11650>) we can see that ν is possible and a trace of a letter can be seen at this point.



<sup>57</sup> See *WB I s.v.* ἀδείης (3); cf. *SB* XX 14606, 11 (A.D. 425-430); *P.Flor.* III 295, 1 and 5 (A.D. 566-568); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 15 (A.D. 567); *SB* XXVIII 17239, 17 (A.D. 567); *SB* XX 15131, 3 (VI A.D.); *SB* VI 9402, 13 (VII A.D.); *SB* I 5267, 6 (IV-VII A.D.).

<sup>58</sup> J.A.L. Lee - G.H.R. Horsley, “A Lexicon of the New Testament with Documentary Parallels: Some Interim Entries, 2”, *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 11, 1998, 57-84, esp. 60.

If we assume that the text used the adjective ἀδιάθετος for persons who died intestate, I propose to keep *ed. princ.*'s reading, as ἀδιαθέτων.

Accordingly, in *SPP XX* 26, 7-8 (A.D. 222) Μάρκου Πτολεμαίου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀτέκ(νωσ) | καὶ ἀδιαθ(έτωσ) ἐπ' ἐμοὶ μόνω κληρο(νόμω), it might be better if we resolve the adjectives instead of the adverbs, that is, Μάρκου Πτολεμαίου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀτέκ(νου) | καὶ ἀδιαθ(έτου) ἐπ' ἐμοὶ μόνω κληρο(νόμω). The same is true of *SPP XX* 29 verso, 8 (A.D. 227) Σωτηρίχου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀ[τέκνωσ καὶ ἀδιαθέτωσ], where we can restore not the adverbs, but the adjectives, that is, Σωτηρίχου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀ[τέκνου καὶ ἀδιαθέτου].

#### ἀδιαιρέτως

The first instance, where the adverb can be read with certainty, is in a lease contract, *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 268, 11-12 (A.D. 114) ἐν τῶι ὑπάρχοντι τῶι Χαϊρᾶ [καὶ ]| . . . ]μνι κοί|νῶσ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως [. Although the final letters of the first adverb κοί|νῶσ are not clear (checked also on original), the ending ωσ in ἀδιαιρέτως is almost certain, since the letter which has the form of a cup (opened above), can be better considered as the left part of an *omega*, and not of a not closed *omicron*.

The adverb has been resolved from an abbreviated form αδι in two Ptolemaic sales of land with the meaning “unpartitioned”: *P.Adl.* 3, 16 (112 B.C.) ἤσ μέτεστι τοῖς ἀδ(ελφοῖς) ἀδι(αιρέτωσ); 18, 5 (99 B.C.) ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῶι τε καὶ τοῖς με(τόχοις) ἀδι(αιρέτωσ) τὸ ἐπιβάλλ[ο]ν αὐτῶι ἀρού(ρας). This resolution of the abbreviation was made based on the reading of *P.Adl.* 21, 6 (98 B.C.) ἤσ μέτεστι τοῖς ]|ἀ[δελ(φοῖς) ἀδιαιρέτ[ω]ς, where the restoration of the adverb in the lacuna is uncertain. However, since the appearance of the adverb cannot be certain before the second century A.D., I prefer to resolve ἀδι(αιρέτος) in *P.Adl.* 3, 16, ἀδι(αιρέτον) in *P.Adl.* 18, 5 and ἀδιαίρετ[ο]ς in *P.Adl.* 21, 6. Moreover, in an offer to lease, *P.Phil.* 14, 4-6 (A.D. 155) τὰς ὑπαρχούσας σοι πε|ρὶ κώμην Φιλαδέλφειαν σιτικᾶς ἀρού|ρας δέκα πέντε κοινῶν καὶ ἀ[δι]αιρέτω[ν], the regularization in l. 6 κοινῶσ καὶ ἀ[δ]ιαιρέτω[ς] is not necessary. It is a syntactical slip instead of the accusative plural, κοινᾶσ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους.

Finally, in the Byzantine period the adverb is used in a number of contracts: an agreement concerning inherited property, *P.Petra* I 2, 83 (A.D. 538); a settlement of a debt, *P.Petra* III 29, 40 (A.D. 582-592?); a lease contract, *BGU* XVII 2685, 9 (A.D. 585); and a labor contract, *P.Grenf.* II 87, 12 (A.D. 602). In the literature the adverb appears with the meaning “indivisibly, undividedly, inseparably” from the third/fourth century A.D. (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιαίρετος) mainly in the Christian texts; cf. for example, Gregorius Thaum., *PG* 10, 1156 χαρὰν ἀδιαιρέτως πανταχοῦ ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἔδωρήσατο etc.; see Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἀδιακρίτως

The adverb occurs mainly in the Christian texts from the second/third century A.D. (see Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*). In a registration of property, *P.Oxy.* IV 715 (A.D. 131), the abbreviation αδιακ was resolved ἀδιακρίτως with the meaning “unhesitatingly or unquestioningly”. An ex-gymnasiarch signs at the end of the document that he has entered it in the register without having examined, (ll. 34-36) Ἡρᾶσ γεγυ(μνασιαρχικῶσ) διὰ Ἴπποδ( ) γραμμ(ατέωσ) συσταθ(έντωσ) | κ[α]τακεχώ(ρικα(?)) ἀδιακ(ρίτωσ) κινδ(ύνω) τῶν ἀπογρα(φομένω) μηδενὸσ | [δ]ημοσίου ἢ ιδιωτικο(ῦ) καταβλαπ(τομένου). However, the

resolution of ἀδιακ could also be ἀδιακ(ωλύτως) (see below, *s.v.*, p. 34) and, therefore the occurrence of the adverb ἀδιακρίτως in papyri is still debatable.

ἀδιακωλύτως, ἀκωλύτως and ἀνεπικωλύτως

These adverbs did not appear in the private letters. They mean “without hindrance, freely” and are found in private or official contracts (e.g. sales, leases and division of land etc.) from the middle of the first century A.D. onwards.

As far as ἀδιακωλύτως (see LSJ *s.v.*; *LBG s.v.*) is concerned, all its first attestations in the Roman period are restored or resolved: (loan contract) *P.Mich.* X 585, 19-20 (A.D. 87) κ[αὶ] χωρμένοι[ς] τοῖς τούτων χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι | ἀδιακωλύτω[ς]; ἀδιακωλύτω[ς] in the sale contract (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *BGU* IV 1048, 19 (A.D. 110-111), and cf. N. Litinas’ proposal to read it instead of ἀδιακρίτως in a document of A.D. 131, *P.Oxy.* IV 715, 36 (A.D. 131) (see *s.v.* ἀδιακρίτως, p. 33). From the fourth century A.D. its use in the clause of the contracts is certain:

*P.Prag.* II 156, 8 (V A.D.); *BGU* I 313, 2 (Byzantine period); *P.Prag.* I 41, 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *SPP* XX 269, 12 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB* I 4662, 10 (A.D. 632); *CPR* VII 47, 13 (A.D. 645); *SB* I 4798, 2 (first half of VII A.D.); see also *SB* I 4777, 2, where ἀδιακωλύτος is a mistake for ἀδιακωλύτως; cf. also Cyrillus Alex.’s use of this adverb.

The adverb ἀκωλύτως is attested for the first time in Plato *Cratylus* 415d (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκώλυτος; Bauer *s.v.*), but in papyri it is found from the middle of the first century A.D. onwards, first, in a loan of money, *P.Monts.Roca* IV 78, 14 (A.D. 49-54; Oxyrhynchus) and in a loan with the right of habitation, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1641, 3-6 (A.D. 68).

The adverb ἀνεπικωλύτως, “unhindered”, is attested in the Greek literature from the first century B.C. (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνεπικώλυτος), but it is found only in legal clauses of contracts of sales, in cessions of property, wills, donations of land or houses from the fourth century A.D. to indicate that a contract is valid without hindrance; *P.Köln* V 232, 11 (A.D. 330-337) is the earliest example.

ἀδιαλείπτως\*

The adverb ἀδιαλείπτως was used in order to indicate that an action, which is described by a modified verbal form, is incessant (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάλειπτος; Bauer *s.v.*; Spicq 1978, 41-43; Lampe *s.v.*; Mayser 1936, 122).

It occurs mainly in formal documents (see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀδιάλειπτος, “ununterbrochen”)<sup>59</sup>. The more than fifty occurrences of the adverb in official

<sup>59</sup> **Honorary inscription:** *I.Fay.* II 116, 11-15 (57 B.C.; = *SB* I 1161 = Bernand 1992, no 41) τυγχάνομεν ἀδιαλείπτως τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ καύσεις λύχνων καὶ τᾶλλα [τὰ] νομιζόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελοῦντες; **petitions:** *BGU* VIII 1854, 4 (74-73 or 45-44 B.C.); *BGU* I 180, 10 (A.D. 172 or 204); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 3, 5 (A.D. 567); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003, 12 (c. A.D. 567); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67004, 20 (c. A.D. 567); *P.Lond.* V 1676, 22 (A.D. 566-573); **deeds of surety:** *P.Lond.* III 974, 5 (A.D. 306); *PSI* III 180, 3 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67296, 11 (A.D. 535); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4787, 15 (A.D. 564); *P.Lond.* III 778, 15 (A.D. 568); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4790, 23 (A.D. 578); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4791, 16 (A.D. 578); *P.Oxy.* I 135, 16 (A.D. 579); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4794, 13 (A.D. 580); *SB* XVI 12484, 13 (A.D. 584); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204, 13 (A.D. 588); *P.Oxy.* LXIX 4756, 13 (A.D. 590); *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2478, 16 (A.D. 595); *PSI* I 59, 12 (A.D. 596); *SB* XII 10944, 12 (VI A.D.); *P.Heid.* III 248, 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *PSI* I 52, 16 (A.D. 602, 617, or 647); *PSI* I 61,22 (A.D. 609); *PSI* I 62, 16 (A.D. 613); *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420, 13 (A.D. 614); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3959, 17 (A.D. 620); *SB* XVIII 14006, 20 (A.D. 635); *P.Pintaudi* 19, 13 (late VI - early VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4802, 9 (early VII A.D.); *P.Mert.* II 98, 3 (VII A.D.); **contracts of lease:** *P.Oxy.*

documents and the three instances in the private letters might suggest that the adverb belonged to a formal and technical vocabulary (financial and legal). The position of the adverb in the clause structure is not fixed, although the examples seem to provide standardized formulas. In the two instances dated to the Roman period, it seems that it precedes the modified verb ποιῶ (forms of the present tense in both cases): *P.Giss.* I 67, 6-8 (c. A.D. 118) ὅτι δὲ ἀδιαλί|π<τ>ως τοῦ[τ]ο ποιῶ ων . . . [ . . . τὰ δια]φέροντά σοι ἢ αὐτὰ [τ]ὰ | ἔργα ἐ[λθόντι σοὶ μ]αρτυ[ρήσει, “dass ich das unaufhörlich tue..., warden deine Angelegenheiten oder die Arbeiten selbst wenn du kommst bezeugen”; *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 3-5 (II A.D.) πρὸ παντὸς [ύγιαίνειν σε] | εὔχομαι καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ἀδιαλείπ[τως ποιούμε]|νος παρὰ τοῖς τριχώμασι ἐν Κοπτῶ, “before all else, I pray [for your health] and make obeisance for you unceasingly in the presence of the hair (of Isis) at Koptos”. In the Byzantine private letter *P.Amh.* II 145, 4-9 (late IV A.D.) [βούλο]μαι μὲν καταξιωθῆναι ἀεὶ γράφειν | [τῆ σῆ] θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ προσαγορεύειν τὴν | [ἀνε]φάμιλλον σου καλοκαγαθίαν | [ἀδι]αλείπτως, μὴ φορτικός δὲ ὅμως γε|[νέσ]θαι τῆ σῆ τιμότητι περὶ οἴουδῆποτε | [πρά]γματος, “though I wish to be found worthy of writing continually to your holiness and saluting your... rivaling kindness without ceasing, I desire nevertheless not to weary your honour on any subject”, the adverb modifies the infinitive of the present tense of the verb προσαγορεύω. However, as far as the evidence concerning the official documents indicates, the adverb can modify verbs of other tenses as well; cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* L 3597, 23-25 παρέξεις | δέ μοι ἀδιαλείπτως εἰς τὴν δεξαμενὴν τὰ ἐνχρηζόντα ὕδα|τα, “and you will provide for me without intermission the necessary water for the cistern”.

Actually, the semantic value of the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως would not allow the modification of a simple tense. If an action is incessant, it must last for a considerable amount of time, during which at least one break could be made. Therefore, it seems that both the tense and the adverb indicate the actions started in the past and continue in the future without a break, which is of course impossible. For instance, nobody can act incessantly, as *P.Giss.* I 67, 6-7 implies, or worship in a temple incessantly, as in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4, or greet somebody incessantly, as the sender of *P.Amh.* II 145, 7 seems to claim. Obviously, the use of the adverb is non literal, since the semantic representation of all parts of the sentences does not correspond to the meaning conveyed by the writer. The non-literality of the meaning of the adverb is similar even for the majority, if not all, of its occurrences in the formal documents. The actions described by the modified verbal forms are rather regular or consistent, and not incessant: the senders of the private letters, who decided to use the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως, acted in such a way when their

---

XLVII 3354, 19 (c. A.D. 257); *P.Oxy.* L 3597, 24 (A.D. 260); *P.Panop.* 7, 5 (c. A.D. 338-339); *P.Flor.* III 384, 31 (A.D. 489); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104, 9 (A.D. 530); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67170, 26 (A.D. 562, 563, or 564); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67156 A, 14 (A.D. 570); *P.Heid.* V 353, 1b (VI A.D.); *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 2, 5-7 (VI A.D.) καὶ ποτίσαι | ἀκαταφρονήτ[ως ἀδιαλείπτως καὶ σκάπτει]ν καὶ κλαδοτομεῖν καὶ | ὑπορθοῦν καὶ φυλλοροῆσαι: if the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως should be restored, the conjunction καὶ should also be added before it, i.e. ἀκαταφρονήτ[ως καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως]; *P.Mich.* XIII 666, 16 (A.D. 616-646; ἀτιαλείπτος, which was corrected from ἀτιαλέμπος); **oaths**: *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2876, 20 (A.D. 212-214); *PSI* XII 1229, 14-15 (A.D. 217); *P.Oxy.* I 82, 6 (middle III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2764, 20-21 (A.D. 277); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2767, 12 (A.D. 323); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2969, 10 (A.D. 323); *P.Oxy.* I 83, 12-13 (A.D. 328); and **various contracts**, usually between officials: *P.Lond.* III 1166 6 (A.D. 42); *P.Harr.* I 64, 18-19 (A.D. 269-270); *PSI* IX 1037, 17 (A.D. 301); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2994, 5 (A.D. 321-324); *SB* XIV 12088, 13 (A.D. 346); **official correspondence**: *P.Tebt.* I 27, 45 (113 B.C.).

actions were needed or expected. Similarly, if the adverb was used in a lease contract, in the clause where the lessee promised to pay the rent ἀδιαλείπτως, it would not mean that he should do thus every single moment of his life, but he promised to act regularly on the agreed dates. Therefore, the adverb functions as an adverbial of Time, and not of Manner, since it does not answer a question about “how something was done, but when it was done”.

The non-literal use of a word in the private letters could suggest some degree of literacy of the writer, because its use was rare in the papyri, and it was even rarer by the time the three private letters were written. As we can see, it was used, among others, in theological and religious texts, such as the Pauline *Epistle to Romans* 1.9.2-1.10.1: ᾧ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ | υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνεῖαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι | πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, and in historical texts, such as the *Bibliotheca Historica* of Diodorus Siculus, in which the adverb can be found again to modify the verb ποιῶ; cf. 12.47.2.3-6: οὐδὲν δ' ἦττον καὶ | μηχανὰς προσάγοντες καὶ διὰ τούτων σαλεύοντες | τὰ τεῖχη καὶ προσβολὰς ἀδιαλείπτως ποιοῦμενοι διε|τέλου.

In any case, the use of this adverb was a matter of stylistic preference. In the cases of *SB X 10278*, 4-5 οὐ διαλείπω τὸ | προσκύνημα ποιῶν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ, “ich nicht aufhöre zu beten vor dem Herrn Hermes”, *UPZ I 109*, 5 ὡς [ποι]ῶσι [μο]ι [τ]ὸ πρ[ο]σκύνημα αὐτῶν [, the object of the forms of the verb ποιῶ is the noun προσκύνημα, as in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4, but the verbal forms are not modified by an adverb. However, in *SB X 10278*, 4-5 the participle ποιῶν is near the verb διαλείπω, which derives from the same stem as the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως. The meaning of οὐ διαλείπω in this text is exactly the same as in *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4. Nevertheless, the adverbial phrase could not have originated from a verbal one, since *SB X 10278*, 4-5 dates to c. A.D. 114-119, that is, to the same century as *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 4. Nor could it have originated from the adjectival phrase, since the adjective ἀδιάλειπτος was not widely used. Its only occurrence is provided by *P.Lond.* I 77, 27 ὡσαύτως τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον δεσποτείαν παρεθέμην σοι, which dates to c. A.D. 610. In *SB XXVI 16758*, 2-3 ὑπὲρ σοῦ] τὸ προσκύνημα[α ---] | [--- ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς, probably an adverb is lost in the lacuna before the verb ποιῶ, but we cannot tell if ἀδιαλείπτως can be supplied there. Finally, in *P.Abinn.* 30, 4-5 ἔσπευσα προσαγορεύσέ σου τὴν | ἀμίμητον καλοκαγαθίαν, “I have hastened to salute your inimitable aristocracy as truly incomparable”, the object of the form of the verb προσαγορεύω is the noun καλοκαγαθία, as in *P.Amh.* II 145, 7, but the verbal form is not modified by an adverb.

ἀδιανοήτως(?)

The adjective ἀδιανόητος was used for the first time by Plato, with the meaning “silly” or “inconceivable”, and the adverb ἀδιανοήτως only by the same philosopher in *Hipp. maj.* 301c περὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω οὐ οὕτως ἀλογίστως καὶ ἀσκέπτως καὶ εὐήθως καὶ ἀδιανοήτως δικάεισθε.

The adverb is rare in the classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιανόητος I and II) and in the patristic literature; see Lampe *s.v.* In Egypt, it has been restored in a contract, *SB I 4798*, 2 (first half of VII A.D.) βουληθείης [---]μείναι ἀδιακωλύτως καὶ ἀδιανοεῖ[τ]ως [---] (I have not had sight of the original papyrus in order to check the reading ει), where one would

regularize it as ἀδιανοή[τως]. However, such an adverb gives no sense at this point of the contract and, therefore, the reading is debatable.

#### ἀδιαστρόφως\*

The adverb appears for the first time in *P.Herc.* 1012 (Demetrius Lacon) col. 67 φύσει γὰρ λέγεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ποριστικὸς εἶναι τρο]φῆς, ἐπειδήπερ ἀδιαστρόφως, φύσει δὲ πόνων εἶναι δεκτικὸς (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάστροφος II 2 “in the absence of perversion, i.e. by natural instinct”), and then in the literature of the second century A.D. (e.g. Galen 18b (Kühn)).

With the meaning “without molestation” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάστροφος III) it occurs in a Byzantine petition, *P.Lond.* V 1674, 102-103 (A.D. 570) τοῦ μεῖν[αι] | δυνάσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδιαστρόφως καὶ ἀταράχως, where it modifies the preceding verbal form μεῖναι.

In three private letters of the sixth century A.D. the adverb seems to have various meanings, which depend on the modified verb: in *P.Oxy.* I 157 (VI A.D.) ὑποδέξαιται (*l.* ὑποδέξεται) \τὸ/ μέτρον ἀδιαδιατρόφος the latter word has been understood as ἀδιαστρόφως with the meaning “rigidly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάστροφος I). In *PSI* I 97, 4-6 (VI A.D.) ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμψη σὺν αὐταῖς τινα τὸν καὶ | [ἀπ]ὸ τῆς καλύβης τῆς νίκης παρασκευάζοντα αὐτὰς ἀδιαστρόφως | παρελθεῖν, seems to mean “incapable of turning back” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάστροφος I). In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1845, 4 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ συντόμος (*l.* συντόμως) ἀπολύση αὐτὸν ἀδιαστρώφως (*l.* ἀδιαστρόφως, the adverb was also corrected by the scribe from the initial writing ἀδιαστρωφου), where it means “without changing the decision or not in a distorted way” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάστροφος II 2 and διαστρέφω I 2; cf. *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀδιάστροφος “und er wird ihn gleich ohne Belästigung entlassen”). In two of these three cases the adverb follows the modified verbal form and is placed at the end of the clause, and in one case it precedes the verbal form, ἀδιαστρόφως παρελθεῖν.

Finally, the adverb is also restored in a loan contract, *P.Gen.* IV 196, 2-3 (second half of VII A.D.), where in a text, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, the reading ἀδια|[σ]τρόφος is proposed to be read as [ἀδια]|[σ]τρόφως, but the restoration is debatable.

#### ἀδιαφόρως\*

The meaning of the adverb is “indifferently” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάφορος II), and it is found in philosophical texts from the Hellenistic period. In the papyri it is attested for the first time in a petition of the first half of the fourth century A.D. (*PSI* V 452, 9) [τούτων δὲ ὁ μ]ὲν ἀδελφὸς ἀδιαφόρως ς[α]ῖ ἀγράφως, οἷον δὴ γίνεται, εἶχέν τινα, κάγώ ἕτερα, with the same meaning, without, however, expressing any moral sense; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἀδιάφορος (2).

In a private letter of the sixth century A.D., the adverb seems to indicate a random selection of six melons: *SB* XIV 11492, 12-13 (VI A.D.) θέλησον δὲ ζητήσῃ<ν> (and not *l.* ζητήσης, as in *ed. princ.*) παρὰ τοῦ γραμματηφόρου σηκίδια ἕξ | ἀδιαφόρως. In this example the adverb functions as an adverb of Manner and should be understood as “I am not interested in the kind of the six melons”, and not as “without charge” (as translated in *ed. princ.*). In another private letter of the sixth century, *SB* XX 14626, 13-14 (c. A.D. 573-574 or 589-590) συμβαλλόμενον κελεῦσαι ἑναπο[ 2-3 letters ] φροντίζειν ἐκ ψυχῆς τοῦ/ αὐτοῦ ἀγίλου/ τόπο/υ/ | ἀδιαφόρως ὡς ἰδίου ὑμῶν ὄντ[ος], the adverb functions

also as an adverb of Manner, and it means “without discrimination” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιάφορος IV; Lampe *s.v.*).

#### ἀδίκως\*

For examples of this adverb in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἄδικος IV; Bauer *s.v.* In the papyri the adverb is used in many private and official documents as an antonym of δικαίως (see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἄδικος “ungerecht, unrecht”). Most of these documents are petitions in which someone accuses certain persons for acting unfairly (unjustly or unethically) against him or someone else.

In the private letters it is also used in a similar way, that is, when someone informs the recipient of the letter about a wrongdoing:

*PSI* IV 330, 8 (258/257 B.C.) ὅσον εἰσενήνοχα ἀδίκως μετὰ βίας παρανομηθεῖς; *P.Col.* III 18, 2 (257 B.C.) ἀδίκως ἀπήγμα; *PSI* V 502, 21-22 (257/256 B.C.) οὐκ ἔφασαν οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἀδίκως | συντιμήσεσθαι; *P.Mich.* I 57, 3 (248 B.C.) εἰς τὸ κατακρ{ε}ῖναί σου ἀδίκως; *P.Flor.* III 332, 9-10 (c. A.D. 114-119) τυχεῖν ἀδίκως πρᾶ | γμάτων; *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 37-39 (A.D. 117) λοιδορεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς | τὰ πλεῖστα ἀδίκως καὶ | ὑβριστικῶς<sup>60</sup>.

#### ἀδιστακτως\*

In the Greek literature the adverb is used from the first century B.C., e.g. Philodemus *Rhet.* I 133; Claudius Ptol. 1.1.101 ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀδιστακτως ἄν λαμβάνοιτο etc. with the meaning, “unhesitatingly”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδιστακτος II; Bauer *s.v.* 1.

It is only attested in a private letter, *SB* XIV 12178 (III A.D.), where someone asks the recipient to (ll. 24-27) γράψον | καὶ τῇ μ{ε}ικρᾷ αἰτῆσαι/ παρ' ἐ|μοῦ ἀ[δ]ιστακτως ἃ ἐὰν χρή|ζη ὡς εἰ παρὰ σοῦ λαμβάνουσα, “write also to the little one that she should ask from me without hesitation whatever she may need, as is she were getting it from you”, where it modifies the verb αἰτῶ.

#### ἀδόλως

Although the adverb is already attested in Sappho (94,1), Aeschylus (*Ch.* 955), and Thucydides (e.g. 4.118) etc., in the papyri it is only attested in the legal clauses of the Byzantine contracts, where it is stated how the services should be performed, with the meaning “without fraud or betrayal”<sup>61</sup>.

#### ἀδράστως

The adjective ἄδραστος appears in Herodotus 4.142 with the meaning “not running away”, referring to slaves, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς δούλων ἰώνων τὸν λόγον ποιούμενοι,

<sup>60</sup> It is also restored in *P.Athen.Xyla* 2, 3 (later VI-beginning of VII A.D.), but the addition in the text at this point is debatable, since the general sense does not require this adverb there.

<sup>61</sup> See *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92, 33-35 (A.D. 569) ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν πάσαις | δουλικαῖς ὑμῶν ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ χρεῖαις ἀναποστῆτως (*l.* ἀναποστάτως) ἐλευθ[ε]ρικῶς καὶ | ὑποτακτικῶς καὶ ὑπηκόως, ἀδόλως πάντα πράττουσαν δίχα π[ά]σης | ἀποφυγῆς καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ οἰασδήποτε ραδιουργίας (*l.* ραδιουργίας); it is restored in the same context in *P.Stras.* I 40, 30-35 (A.D. 569) ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν παραμεῖναι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ λαμπρᾷ σο[φ]ίᾳ κ[αὶ] | προσεδρεύειν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδ[ό]λ[ω]ς κ[αὶ] ἐ[ . . . . ] κ[αὶ] ταῖς ἡμ[ε]ρ[α]ῖς | χρεῖαις γνησίως καὶ ἐνδια[ρ]κῶς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπέξασθαι δουλικῇ | αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς γῆς, εἴτε κατ' οἶκον ἀόκνως | καὶ ἀκαταφρο[ν]ήτως καὶ μ[η]δαμῶ[ς] ἀποστῆναι τῆς δουλικῆς α[ύ]του | προστάσι[ας]. Cf. also in a donation in *P.Petra* III 31, 31-32 (A.D. 582-592) τῆ|υδε τήν | [ἔ]γγραφον δωρεᾶν . . . . | τως καὶ ἀδόλως κ[αὶ] ἀ|περιγράπτ[ως]; see n. ad loc.



ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτά φασι εἶναι καὶ ἄδραστα μάλιστα; cf. also Plutarch 174e μὴ βουλευθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαρεῖον πίστιν ἀνδράποδα χρηστὰ καὶ ἄδραστα ἐκάλει; see LSJ *s.v.* ἄδραστος, citing also *P.Lond.* II 251, 14 (p. 316-318) (= *P.Abinn.* 64; IV A.D.). The adverb is only found in a legal clause in a sale of two slaves, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67120, 6 (c. A.D. 566-568) ἀδράστως ὑπουργούσας καὶ ἀρραδιουργήτως, where the adverb was corrected by the scribe from the adjective ἀδράστους, which was written initially. It is just a possibility that the scribe coined the adverb based on a word which might have been known from the Herodotean passage.

#### ἀδρῶς\*

The adverb is attested in *P.Wisc.* II 73, 4-6 (A.D. 122-123) ἀδρῶς ἐχάρη|μεν καὶ ἐωρτήν (*l.* ἐορτήν) ἤξαμεν λαβόν|τες σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον, “we very much rejoiced and had a party when we received your letter”. The adverb occurs rarely even in the Greek literature, e.g. Cornutus, *De nat. deor.*, p. 50 (Lang) in the first century A.D.<sup>62</sup>; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδρός, citing only the comparative ἀδροτέρως, and other adverbial forms, ἀδρόν and ἀδρότερον; in the papyri we find also the adjective in *P.Ryl.* II 234, 1-14 (II A.D.) καὶ ὡς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀδρόν ἐστι.

#### ἀδυνάτως\*

The phrase ἀδυνάτως ἔχω appears in the Byzantine documents to indicate that someone is unable to act (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδύνατος III, with its first appearance in the fourth century B.C.; *WB* I *s.v.* ἀδύνατος (3)): In three petitions, *SB* XXVI 16817, 20 (first half of VI A.D.), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67006, 5 (c. A.D. 567), and *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2479, 19 (VI A.D.); in an arbitration, *P.Lond.* V 1708, 220-221 (A.D. 568); in an agreement, *P.Nessana* 193 (VII A.D.).

The same use is also found in a private letter, *P.Eirene* II 23, 2-3 (VI A.D.?) ἔχω τρ<ε>ῖς ἡμέρας ἀειδιδῶ|μενος (*l.* ἀηδιζό|μενος; see *APF* 52, 2006, 88) καὶ ἀδυνάτως ἔχω ἐλθ<ε>ῖν.

#### ἀδωροδοκῆτως

It occurs in an honorary inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 52, 8-11 (A.D. 22-23) ἐν τε ταῖς δικαιοδοσίαις κατ’ ἴσον, [ἀεὶ τὸ] [δ]ίκαιον καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως κατὰ [τὴν τοῦ] [θ]ειοτάτου ἡγεμόνος Γαίου Γαλερίου βο[ύ]λησιν [ἀ]π[ο]νέμει; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδωροδόκητος, with the meaning “incorruptible”.

#### ἀειμνήστως\*

In the private letter *P.Sarap.* 101 (A.D. 90-133), Nearchus, the sender, informs the recipient of the letter that he visited some places in Egypt, and (ll. 10-12) καὶ τῶν φίλων | [ἐ]μ[ῶν] τὰ ὀνόματα ἐνεχάρῃα τοῖς [ἐ]μοῖς ἀειμνήστως, τὸ προσκύνημα [ (here the text breaks off) “et j’ai grave le nom de mes amis sur les sanctuaires pour un souvenir perpétuel” (transl. Burnet, *L’Égypte ancienne*, 249, no 185). The reading ἀειμνήστως is uncertain and this adverb, as it is spelt here, does not occur in any Greek text. One could imagine a

<sup>62</sup> Cornutus’ works seem not unknown in Egypt, since the title of one of his works survives in *P.Oxy.* LII 3649 (end of II-first half of III A.D.).

coined word made from the adverb αεί and the verb μνάομαι (“I am mindful”), therefore, the adverb could mean “having always in mind”. It was considered as a variant of the adverb αειμνήστως found in Aeschines 2.180, and, in that case, it means “having in everlasting remembrance” (see LSJ *s.v.* αείμνηστος; cf. *WB* I *s.v.* αείμνηστος). However, as can be seen in the photograph (*P.Lond.* III, plate 28, and Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, photograph 29, on p. 142), it seems that after the certain letters αειμν there is an oblique stroke, which could part of either the letter α, ε, or η. However, then there is space for at least two letters before the certain ως. Therefore, the reading cannot be αειμνάτως, and already B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt had proposed αειμνή<σ>τως, (cf. Deissmann’s translation, *loc. cit.*, on p. 141 “zu ewigem Gedächtnis”), which is also not certain and, therefore debatable. In addition, it is not certain whether the adverb modifies the verb ἐνεχάραξα (as proposed so far) or another verbal form, which is now lost in the lacuna after τὸ προσκύνημα [. In the latter case, we have to put a comma after ἰ[ε] |ροῖς, and the meaning is that “I have made this certain προσκύνημα in such a way so as to be remembered for ever”.

#### ἀενάως

In the literature the adverb was found only in Aristotle 346b15, and in papyri it is attested only once, in official correspondence, *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 33-35 (A.D. 710) ἡ ἐξάνυσης (*l.* ἐξάνυσις) τῶν δημοσίων ἐστὶ τοῦ | ἐμπόνως καὶ ἀενάως | κ[α]τὰ διάνοιαν ἔχειν; its meaning in this text is “unrelieved, uninterrupted, continuously”. The adjective ἀέναος is also rare, since it occurs only in a papyrus of the Ptolemaic period, *UPZ* I 14, 31-33 (158 B.C.) τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἔσομαι δι’ ὑμᾶς ἐσχηκῶς τὸν βίον τὸ[ν] ἀέναον χρόνον.

#### ἀεργῶς

This adverb is attested in a Byzantine petition, *P.Flor.* III 295, 5-6 (A.D. 566-568) περιποιοῦντες ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀερ[γ]ῶς καὶ ἀπράκτως | [---], with the meaning “not working, idly”, but it is not certain whether it modifies the preceding participle or a verbal form which follows and now is lost at the beginning of the next line. In the literature it is also rare; cf. e.g. Johannes Chr., *PG* 56, 534; see Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἄζημίως

The adverb appears in the Byzantine documents to indicate that someone can leave without punishment, a meaning already found in the classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀζήμιος I 2): *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 11 (A.D. 567) ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἀζημίως ἀπολυθῆναι; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67090, 4 (VI A.D.) καὶ ἀζημίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς εὐρέθηδε (*l.* εὐρέθητε) ὑπὲρ ἔμο(ῦ); cf. Plato *Lg.* 865c ἀβλαβῆ παρεχέτω καὶ ἀζήμιον. In addition, in *P.Jena* II 37, 21 (VI A.D.?) ἀπολύσαι τὸν ἐμὸν ναύτην [κ]αὶ ἀζημίως, the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition and the meaning is not certain, but since it is an account, the meaning might be “without fraud” or “without further payments” (for the latter see LSJ *s.v.* ἀζήμιος I 1, citing Herodotus 6.92).

#### ἀηδῶς\*

The adverb ἀηδῶς, with the meaning “unpleasantly”, occurs mainly in private letters. Its primary function is to indicate that the emotional state of some people is unpleasant (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀηδής III 1; *WB* I *s.v.* ἀηδής (1)), but it also refers to the senses,

like that of hearing (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀηδής III 2; Lampe *s.v.*), “hear without pleasure to oneself, unwillingly”). Although it is used in classical texts already from the fourth century A.D., it seems that it became fashionable in the informal phraseology of the private letters of the Roman period:

From the nine instances where it appears, only one dates to the Ptolemaic period:

*P.Phrur.Diosk.* 17, 19 (151 or 140 B.C.); six instances date to the Roman period (*BGU* II 665, iii 10 (I A.D.); *P.Giss.* I 20, 9 (A.D. 113-120); *BGU* III 801, 3 (II A.D.); *P.Ryl.* II 243, 3 (II A.D.); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3 (c. A.D. 270); see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀηδής “ich bin betrübt”; *P.Iand.* VI 117, 3 (III A.D.); see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀηδής “ich bin dir nicht gewogen”; two date to the early Byzantine period (*SB* XVI 12571, 23 (first half of IV A.D.); *P.Ant.* II 93, 14 (IV A.D.).

The adverb is also found once in a formal document of arbitration dated to the Byzantine period, where an unpleasant situation is described, *P.Lond.* V 1708, fr. F, 92-94 (A.D. 567-568) ἐγκακθέντα καὶ θλιβέντα τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα | ἀηδῶς τρεφόμενον παρὰ τούτων ἀνέλαβον αὐτὸν | κατ’ οἶκον.

In all its appearances, the adverb precedes the modified verbal form, and more specifically, in six of the cases it is placed right before the modified verbal form<sup>63</sup>. The verb ἔχω is combined with the adverb ἀηδῶς in the eight of the nine cases<sup>64</sup>, and only once the verb ἀκούω is modified by the adverb, in *BGU* III 801, 3-4, λείαν ἀ[η]δῶς ἦ[κο]υ|σα παρὰ Τασονν[ώ]φρι(ος), where the adverb itself is modified by the adverb λίαν, which intensifies the unpleasantness of the emotion.

In addition, in seven examples the modified verbs are in the indicative mood<sup>65</sup>, and twice they are infinitives<sup>66</sup>. The person that is described as distressed for a particular reason is either the sender of the letter, (cf. the use of the first person of the verb), or the recipient (cf. the use of the second person of the verb or the subject of the infinitive). There are five cases in which the sender states that he himself feels distressed<sup>67</sup>, and three cases in which the sender acknowledges the, real or likely, unpleasant emotions of the recipient of the letter<sup>68</sup>. The emotions of a third party, apart from the sender and recipient of the letter, are of no interest to the sender. The person who is described as unpleasant is indicated by the use of the accusative (*P.Ant.* II 93, 14) or the dative (*P.Iand.* VI 117, 3) of the personal pronoun.

Furthermore, the senders of the letters could state the reasons for the distress they describe, by using –before or after the adverb– either a construction of the preposition διά + accusative (*P.Ryl.* II 243, 3 and *P.Giss.* I 20, 9), or of the preposition περί + genitive (*BGU* II 665, iii 10), or a participle of reason or of time (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3), or a subordinate clause of purpose (*P.Ant.* II 93, 14), or a main clause (*SB* XVI 12571, 23; *BGU* III 801, 3; *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 17, 19; *P.Iand.* VI 117, 3). The distress is usually expressed as a fact, except in the case of *P.Ant.* II 93, 14, in which the adverb is found in

<sup>63</sup> *SB* XVI 12571, 23; *BGU* III 801, 3; *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 17, 19; *P.Giss.* I 20, 9; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3; *P.Ryl.* II 243, 3.

<sup>64</sup> *BGU* II 665, iii 10; *P.Giss.* I 20, 9; *P.Ryl.* II 243, 3; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3; *P.Iand.* VI 117, 3; *SB* XVI 12571, 23; *P.Ant.* II 93, 14; *P.Phrur. Diosk.* 17, 19.

<sup>65</sup> *SB* XVI 12571, 23; *BGU* II 665, iii 10; *BGU* III 801, 3; *P.Ant.* II 93, 14; *P.Iand.* VI 117, 3; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3; *P.Ryl.* II 243, 3.

<sup>66</sup> *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 17, 19; *P.Giss.* I 20, 9.

<sup>67</sup> *SB* XVI 12571, 23; *BGU* II 665, iii 10; *BGU* III 801, 3; *P.Iand.* VI 117, 3; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3.

<sup>68</sup> *P.Ant.* II 93, 14; *P.Phrur. Diosk.* 17, 19; *P.Ryl.* II 243, 3.

a conditional subordinate clause: the addressee will probably be distressed, if the sender moves to a house near the addressee's. The reasons for the unpleasant feeling are usually stated clearly, but sometimes they are implied. People felt distressed in cases of death, such as in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 3 and *BGU* III 801, 3-9, in cases of drought, such as in *P.Ryl.* II 243, 3-4, when they realized the truth of certain behaviours and actions, such as in *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 17, 18-20, *SB XVI* 12571, 22-23, *P.Ant.* II 93, 18-23 and *P.Iand.* VI 117, 3. The sender of *BGU* II 665, iii 10-11 ἀηδῶς δὲ ἔσχον περὶ | τοῦ ἵππου felt distressed, because of the, presumably, poor condition or the death of a horse.

#### ἀθρόως

This adverb is attested in a document, probably official, *P.Lips.* I 119 verso, 1-3 (A.D. 273) τούτους πῶς | οὐκ ἄν πολλῶ δικαιότερον τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἀθρόως ἔχον | τας ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τῆς ἀκηράτου μεγαλοδωρίας. Its meaning is “heaps, en masse, crowded together” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀθρόος I). Moreover, it is found in petitions to the Prefect, with similar use and sense “as a whole, together” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀθρόος II), e.g. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1117, 22-23 (c. A.D. 178) οὕτως καὶ ἡμ<ε>ῖς δυνηθῶμε[ν] ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρ[αμένειν . . . . .] | καὶ μὴ ἀθρόως πολιορκηθέντες; *P.Harrauer* 35, 45-46 (or 57-58 in DDBDP) (c. A.D. 250) ὄπω[σ] ἔναντος ὑφ' ἓνα καιρὸν ἀθρόως τὸ τίμημα τῆς ἐξηγητείας | τῶ [αὐτ]ῶ διεγράφη παρὰ τῶ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶ; *P.Oxy.* X 1252 verso 31-32 (after A.D. 294-295) ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἀθρόως τὴν τετράμηνον χορηγήσαντας ὑ[ . . . . . ] (restore ὑ[περβολῆ?], *ed. princ.*, 30-32n.) | ἐπιτρίβεσθαι. In addition, the meaning “quickly, suddenly” is attested in the patristic literature (see Lampe *s.v.*), but it does not seem to occur in papyri so far.

#### ἀθύμως

In the classical literature from the fourth century B.C. onwards the adverb usually precedes and modifies the verbs διακίμαι, διάγειν and ἔχω (e.g. Isocrates 3.58, 4.44 and 93, 18.60, Xenophon *Hell.* 1.5.20, 4.5.4 etc.). With the same meaning “to act without spirit” it also occurs in papyri:

In the Ptolemaic period in a petition (ὑπόμνημα) to Zenon, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59482, 6-10 (middle of III B.C.) ὅπως μὴ | συμβῆι αὐτῇ παραπολέσθαι | ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ | ἀθύμως διακειμένη | ἐπὶ τοῖς παιδίοις, “so as happens to her not to perish in the prison, wearing out her heart over her children”. In the Byzantine period, in Ammon's letter to his mother, *P.Ammon* I 3, vi 11-12 (A.D. 348) καὶ μηδὲ ὄλωσ αὐτὴν ἀθύμω[σ] . . . [---] |]σης, the restoration of the adverb is debatable, since we can also restore an adjective or a verbal form.

#### ἀθωπεύτως

It occurs in a dedicatory metrical inscription (vision of Maximus), in Bernard 1969, no 168, 33-34 (end of I-III A.D.) καὶ τάδε σοι στείχοντα χαράσσειν μ' αὐτὸς ἔλεξας καὶ σοφὰ γράμματα πᾶσιν ἀθωπεύτως ἔσοραῖσθαι, with the meaning “without flattery” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀθώπευτος III).

#### αἰδεσίμως

The adverb occurs for the first time in Aelian *NA* 2.25 and then in Johannes Chr., *PG* 60, 373; 61, 115; 56, 550 (see LSJ *s.v.* αἰδέσιμος), and in papyri it is found only in a Byzantine petition, *SPP* XX 129, 9-10 (A.D. 497) πολλάκις | αἰδεσίμως ὑπομνηθεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, with the meaning “reverently”.

## αἰδημόνως

The adverb appears in the Greek literature from the fourth century B.C. onwards (first attestation in Xenophon, *Symposium* 4.58). It was considered as a synonym of αἰδεσίμως in Suda *s.v.* αἰδεσίμως, and Hesychius *s.v.* ἠδημόνως. In papyri this adverb is only found in *P.Gen.* I 1 (A.D. 213), an official letter, where the epistrategus(?) orders the strategē of the nomes to treat modestly the persons of a certain [Valer]ius Titanianus, and not to run upon the estate in a violent way, (ll. 9-12) αἰδημόνως περὶ τοὺς οἰκείουσ ἀύ| τοῦ προσενεχθῆναι μηδὲ βιαίω{ω} | σ ἐπὶ τὰ κτήματα αὐτοῦ [ἐ]πιτρέ| χειν.

## αἰσίως

The first attestation of this adverb is in Euripides, *Ion* 410 (see LSJ *s.v.* αἴσιος). In the papyri from Egypt it occurs only in a letter of a Roman Emperor(?), *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4592, 8-9 (A.D. 175-225), where it is stated that ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ' [ύμῖν] | αἰσίως πα[ρ]ελευσόμενο[ς], with the meaning “in an auspicious way”. It is also found in an inscription from Rhodes concerning rules for entering a temple, *IG* XII,1 789, 2 (c. A.D. 117-138), and in a letter from Palaestine, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB* XX 14188, 3 (VIII A.D.; Khirbet Mird) αἰσίως διεξάγεται.

## αἰσχροῶς\*

The adverb αἰσχροῶς is used in juridical proceedings to describe an action (or the result of an action) as “disgraceful”: *P.Stras.* IV 227, 16-18 (A.D. 99-100) and *BGU* IV 1024, 7, 20-24 (end of IV A.D.).

It is only once attested in a private letter, *PSI* VI 571, 20-25 (252-252 B.C.) καὶ εἰς τὸν κατάπλουον δέ, ὅπως μὴ τελέως αἰσχροῶς | καταπλέωμεν, ἐάν σοι δοκῆ, εὐχαριστήσας ἡμῖν | καὶ προδοῦς εἰς συναγορασμὸν μήκωνος (ἀρτάβας) ρν ἧς σὺ | διαθήσει ἡμῖν μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς σιτα|ρίου παράθεσιν (δραχμὰς) ρ ἄς κομιεῖ ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς | τῆς μήκωνος. The sender, Pyron, asks the addressee of the letter, Zenon, to take care of some works, so as he will sail down the river “not absolutely disgracefully”. The adverb is placed just before the modified constituent. However, αἰσχροῶς is also modified by the adverb τελέως, and, thus, it seems that the sailing would be definitely be “shameful”. If Zenon acts as requested, the degree of “shame” would be lessened, but not avoided. The writer’s thinking is not clear. It seems that αἰσχροῶς is used to indicate a “wasted, purposeless” or “troublesome” journey that might be also “disgraceful”; cf. the meaning “ill-suited, awkward” in LSJ *s.v.* αἰσχροῶς II 2.

## αἰφνιδίως\*

The meaning is always “suddenly” (see LSJ *s.v.* αἰφνίδιος; Spicq 1982, 8-10) and refers to a specific event that took place quickly and without warning; therefore, the adverb can denote both Time and Manner. Apart from one petition of 154 B.C.(?), *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 1, 13, ἐπεισεπήδησεν αἰφνιδίως, and two funerary metrical inscriptions, (see Bernard 1969, no 84, 11-12 (I A.D.?) [αἰ]φνιδίως με λαβω{βώ}ν; cf. *WB* IV *s.v.* αἰφνίδιος “unvorhergesehen”; no 96, 14-17 (II-III A.D.) κ<ε>ῖμε (*l.* κείμαι) δ' εἰς Αἶδα αἰφνιδίως ἀρπασθ<ε>ῖσ{σ}α), it occurs so far in three private letters of the Ptolemaic and Roman period. It precedes the modified verbs, which are always attested in the past perfect tense: In *P.Bagnall* 50, 7-8 (II B.C.), where the wrongdoing of an epistates is described, the sender of the letter writes ὡς δ' ἀνασ|παστὸς αἰφνιδίως γέγονα “but that I am now

suddenly a renegade”; see C. Römer’s note on αἰφνιδίως in *ed. princ.* “the word does not belong to the vocabulary of orators but is often found in historians”. In *P.Fay.* 123, 19-24 (c. after A.D. 100 or 110?) οὔτε γὰρ εἶ|ρηχε ἡμ[ῖ]ν ἀγόμενος | ἵνα ἀπολυθῆ, ἀλλὰ αἰ|φνιδί|ως εἶρηχεν ἡμῖν | σήμερον. γνώσομαι γὰρ | εἰ ἀληθῶς λέγ<ε>ι, “he did not ask me to be released at the time that he was impressed, but has suddenly told me to-day. I will find out whether he is speaking the truth”. In *P.Stras.* V 334 b, 3-4 (I-II A.D.) τῆ περι ἐμέ ἐφναι|δίως (*l.* αἰφνιδίως) γεναμένη.

#### αἰωνίως

It is always found in legal clauses of formal documents of the Byzantine period with the meaning “perpetually”: contracts of sale (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67169, 5 and 23 (A.D. 569); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67169 bis, fr. 4, 68 (A.D. 569); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67099, 5 (VI A.D.)), petitions (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 3, 24 (A.D. 567)), wills (*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 140 (A.D. 570)), and divisions of inherited property (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313, 63 (VI A.D.)). The adverb is also found in the patristic literature, with the meaning “eternally, for ever, without end”; see Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἀκαθυστερήτως

The adverb, with the meaning “without delay”, is only found once, in a contract of employment, *BGU* IV 1126, 11 (9 B.C.); see Mayser 1936, 123; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

#### ἀκαίρως\*

There is one example of this adverb in a private letter of the Ptolemaic period (Zenon archive), *PSI* VI 662, 3 (middle III B.C.) ἐ|πεὶ ἀκαίρως σου εἰ|, but the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the modified constituent of the adverb is lost in a lacuna. In the private letters and other documents of the Byzantine period the adverb is used to indicate an “ill-timed, unseasonable” action. When it is used with reference to people, its meaning is “acting in an inopportune or untimely manner”, if we consider it as an extended meaning of the adjective (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄκαιρος II; Lampe *s.v.* “unseasonably”, “unsuitably” and “unexpectedly”); see A. Papatomas’ note on the private letter *CPR* XXV 18, 2n. (VI-VII A.D.) ἐπ<ε>ὶ ἀκέρως (*l.* ἀκαίρως) ἀφορμάδετε (*l.* ἀφορμάζετε), “weil Ihr auf unangemessene Art und Weise Ausflüchte sucht”, where the adverb modifies and precedes the verb ἀφορμάζετε. In *SPP* XX 223, 2 (middle VII A.D.) ἵνα μάθη ἡ κύρα μου ὅτι οὐ πέμπ[ω] εἰ[ς] Βαβυλῶνι ἀκαίρω[ς], “so that my lady learns that I do not send ... to Babylon at the right time” (cf. *WB* IV *s.v.* ἄκαιρος “zur Unzeit”), it modifies and follows the verb πέμπω. On the other hand, in *SB* X 10525, 7 (VI-VII A.D.) μὴ ἀπολέσω ἡμέ[ρ]ας | ἀκα[ί]ρως, “je ne perde pas de jours hors de propos”, the adverb is used as a conditional or causal, that is “I will not waste my days upon it, because it is not the right time and there is no reason to waste my days”. Therefore, it does not modify the verb ἀπολέσω, but a verbal form, which can be implied here from the previous phrases, e.g. ποιῶν, μένων etc.<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> This use is different than Euripides *Hel.* 1081 ἐς καιρὸν ἦλθε. τότε δ’ ἄκαιρ’ ἀπώλλυτο, where the adverb ἄκαιρα modifies the verb ἀπώλλυτο.

The adverb also occurs in a Byzantine petition (*P.Lond.* III 1073, 1; VII A.D.; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἄκαιρος) and two *dialysis* contracts (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 19 A.D. 567; *SB* VI 8988, 102; A.D. 647).

#### ἀκακουργήτως

The adverb is restored in a declaration on oath, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 20, 18-20 (A.D. 139) π[α]ρ[α]φ[υ]λ[ι]άξω | ἄχρι ἂν ἀκακο[υ]ργήτ[ι]ως π[α]ρ[ι]ρ[ο]υ[θ]ῶ. The reading is uncertain (as can be seen in the photograph), and the alternative possibilities are various, as they are discussed in *ed. princ.*, 19n., on p. 65). Since the adjective ἀκακούργητος occurs in deliveries, usually paired with σῶος, dated between the second and early fifth century A.D., and since the adverb ἀκακουργήτως is attested in the Byzantine authors and in subsequent texts (see Lampe *s.v.*, e.g. *Epiph. Anc.* 56.1 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπεριέργως καὶ ἀκακουργήτως πιστευόμεν θεῶ τῶ ἀληθεύοντι ἐν πᾶσι, although for the adjective there is an entry in Harpocration *Lex. s.v.* διασειστους), one might consider that the restoration of the adverb in *P.Oxy.Hels.* 20 is debatable.

#### ἀκαλῶς\*

The word ἀκαλῶς is read in a private letter of the fourth century A.D. (after A.D. 324), *P.Oxy.* XIV 1676, 20-25 καὶ λυποῦμαι πάλιν ὅτι | ἐκτός μου εἶ[ν] ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ[τ]ός μου οὐκ ἀκάλως ἔχης, | χαίρω ὅτι καλῶ[ς] ἔχεις μέν, | κἀγὼ δὲ πάλι καταξύομαι | μὴ ὀρῶν σε. Because of the opposition with the following καλῶς, the adverb was considered by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt in *ed. princ.* to have been created from ἀκαλος (cf. the opposite ἄκακος), which was formed from ἀ + καλός (citing *Etym. Magn.* 11.38). However, such an adjective and an adverb do not exist in the Greek literature. On the other hand, the alternative accentuation ἀκαλῶς points to an adverb that exists, meaning “peacefully”, a synonym of ἡσύχως (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκαλός). This last definition creates the best fit for the context in this private letter. In ll. 10-16 the sender of the letter, Flavius Herculanus, wrote to Aplonarion that she and her husband did not manage to come to the birthday of his child, because they had other –and more important– work to do, εἶχες ἄρα/ ἐπὶ πολλὰς | ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆναι σὺν | αὐτῶ. ἀλλὰ πάντως κρείττο|να εἶχες. διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερῆ|φάνηκας ἡμᾶς. Therefore, there is no opposition between the unattested ἀκάλως and the following καλῶς, but the phrase ἐὰν δὲ ἐκτός μου οὐκ ἀκαλῶς ἔχης, “if when you are away you are not calm”, and the implication in the text (ll. 10-16) that they had things to do could be paralleled.

#### ἀκαταγνώστως

The adverb is found in the Byzantine period mainly in labor contracts or references to the labor, usually pairing with other adverbs ending in -ως<sup>70</sup>, but also in

<sup>70</sup> *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001, 17 (A.D. 514) ἀόκνως καὶ ἀκαταγνόστως (*l.* ἀκαταγνώστως); *SPP* III 395, 3 (VI A.D.) ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκατ[α]φρονήτως; *CPR* XIV 2, 5-6 (end of VI-early VII A.D.) ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ | ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SB* XX 14400, 9-10 (VI-VII A.D.) [ἀκαταγνώστως] καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτ[ω]ς | [καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀρ]αδιουργήτως; *SB* I 4490, 10-13 (A.D. 641 or 656) δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ ἀκογγίστως (*l.* ἀγογγίστως); *P.Dub.* 26, 5 (VII A.D.) ἀπεριφρονίτως (*l.* ἀπεριφρονήτως) καὶ ἀκαταγνόστως (*l.* ἀκαταγνώστως); cf. Spicq 1978, 59.

various contracts<sup>71</sup>; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκατάγνωστος “unexceptionably”; cf. Eriphanus, *Panarion* 3, 489 τὰς εὐχὰς θεῶ ἀκαταγνώστως μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης πολλῆς καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἐπιπόνου ἀναπέμποντες; see Lampe *s.v.*; cf. Hesychius *s.v.* ἀκαταγνώστως: ἀνεπιλήπτως.

#### ἀκατάλληλος

The adjective ἀκατάλληλος was already in use in the Greek literature from the second century B.C. to denote a variety of meanings depending on the context (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκατάλληλος). The initial use of the adverb was to indicate that a speech or text was ungrammatical. However, in the papyri it was used in the Gnomon of Idios Logos to indicate that something was not in conformity with regulations: *BGU* V 1210, 106-107 and 117 (A.D. 149); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3014, 12 (I A.D.).

#### ἀκαταφρονήτως

The adverb is not attested in the classical Greek literature. It occurs in contracts and official correspondence of the Byzantine period, almost always in combination with other adverbs<sup>72</sup>; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκαταφρόνητος, “without negligence”; cf. also the occurrence

<sup>71</sup> E.g. **leases** etc.: *SB* XIV 12050, 22-23 (A.D. 498) ἀμέμπ[τως καὶ ἀκατα]γνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; see *P.Gascou* 30, 9n.; *BGU* XII 2185, 14-15 (A.D. 512?) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως καὶ ἀκατα[φρονήτως]; *P.Grenf.* I 58, 10-11 (c. A.D. 561) ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Stras.* I 47, 14-15 (A.D. 566) ἀμέμπ[τως καὶ ἀκα]ταφρονήτως ποιεῖσθαι ἀκαταγνώστως, and the adverbs are restored in l. 39 [ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως]; *P.Stras.* I 48, 10-11 (A.D. 566) ἀμέμπ[τως καὶ ἀκατα]φρονήτως | [φρονήτως] π[ο]ιεῖσθαι ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Stras.* I 49, 9-10 (A.D. 566) ἀμέ[μ]π[τως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως], and 19-20 ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκατα[φρονήτως] ποιεῖσθαι ἀκαταγνώστως; *SB* VI 9293, 16-17 (A.D. 573) δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκα[ταφρονήτως]; *P.Lond.* I 113 (3), 6 (pp. 207-208) (VI A.D.) ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως, where the restoration of the adverb ἀκαταφρονήτως is not certain; *P.Lond.* I 113 (4), 15 (pp. 208-209) (A.D. 595) ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SB* XVIII 13998, 2 (VI-VII A.D.) δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκα[ταφρονήτως]; *P.Mil.* II 48, 6 (V-VI A.D.?) ἀόκνως ἀκαταγνώστως ἀλεποτάκτως, and l. 13 ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Gen.* IV 188, 14-15 (A.D. 616) δεόντως | [καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως] καὶ ἀκα[ταφρονήτως]; *SPP* XX 218, 22 (A.D. 624?) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51, 17-18 (A.D. 630) [δεόντως] | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκα[ταφρονήτως]. We also find the adverb in a **marriage contract**, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67340, 42-44 (VI A.D.) συνοικεῖν τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ θαυμασιωτ(άτῳ) | [Ἀκυλλίνῳ] ἀκαταγνώστως. καὶ ὑπακούειν | αὐτοῦ ἐν ἅπασιν; in a **surety contract**, *P.Eirene* II 12, 10 (A.D. 492) παραμένοντα ἀπαρ[αβή]τως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; a **register** containing a series of guarantees *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328, 12 (A.D. 521) ἀόκνως καὶ ἀκα[τα]γνώστως (*l.* ἀκαταγνώστως); and an **adoption**: *P.Köln* VII 321, 14-15 (VII-VIII A.D.) δεόντων (*l.* δεόντως) κ[αὶ ἀκαταφρονήτ[ως]] | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως.

<sup>72</sup> **Contracts (leases, loans, sureties)**: *SB* XIV 12050, 22-23 (A.D. 498) ἀμέμπ[τως καὶ ἀκατα]γνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; see *P.Gascou* 30, 9n.; *BGU* XII 2185, 14-15 (A.D. 512?) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως καὶ ἀκατα[φρονήτως]; *P.Flor.* III 279, 12 (A.D. 514) [ἀμέ]μπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως (as corrected in *P.Gascou* 30, 9n.); *P.Lond.* V 1694, 13 (A.D. 531-532 or A.D. 516-517?) ἀκα[ταφρονήτως] καὶ <ἀνευ> ἀμελείας; *SB* V 8029, 13 (A.D. 537) ἀκατα[φρονήτως]; *P.Berl.Brash.* 17, 25 (A.D. 547?) ἀκαταφρονή(τ)ως; *P.Grenf.* I 58, 7-11 (c. A.D. 561) ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Hamb.* I 68, 24 (A.D. 564 - 565 or A.D. 549 - 550?) ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Gascou* 30, 9 (A.D. 565-578) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως, with n. *ad loc.* by J.-L. Fournet “cette combinaison est typique des textes d’Aphrodité”; *P.Stras.* I 46, 13 (A.D. 566) [ἀμέ]μπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Stras.* I 47, 14-15 (A.D. 566) ἀμέμπ[τως καὶ ἀκα]ταφρονήτως ποιεῖσθαι ἀκαταγνώστως and the adverbs are restored in l. 39 [ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως]; *P.Stras.* I 48, 10-11 (A.D. 566) ἀμέμπ[τως καὶ ἀκατα]φρονήτως | [φρονήτως] π[ο]ιεῖσθαι ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Stras.* I 49, 9-10 (A.D. 566) ἀμέ[μ]π[τως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως], and 19-20 ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκατα[φρονήτως] ποιεῖσθαι ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92, 38 (A.D. 569) ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SB* VI 9293, 16-17 (A.D. 573) δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκα[ταφρονήτως]; *P.Vind.Tand.* 28, 23-24 (A.D. 576-577) ἀμέμπτως καὶ | ἀκαταφρονήτως; the restoration of ἀμέμπτως in l. 23 is not certain; *P.Val.Aphrod.* I, (A.D. 598?) ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Vatic.Aphrod.* 2 (VI A.D.) ἀκαταφρονή[τως] ἀδιαλείπτως; the restoration of



in two funerary inscriptions, *IK Kalchedon* 58, 2 (early Roman) ζήσας ἔτη νδ' ἀκαταφρονή[τως], and *IK Prusa ad Olympon* 100, 4 (II A.D.) ζήσας ἀκαταφρον<ή>τως, with the meaning that the adjective ἀκαταφρόνητος has, i.e. “not to be despised” or “without contempt”.

#### ἀκεραίως\*

The adverb occurs in the Greek literary texts in the first century B.C./first century A.D. either with the meaning “in full” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκέραιος 4) or “unprejudiced” in Fl. Josephus, *AJ* 17.94. In the Roman period the prepositional ἐν with the dative of the adjective ἀκέραιος was also in use in formal documents to indicate that something is in full force or unharmed<sup>73</sup>. On the other hand, in the patristic literature the meaning is “sincerely, honestly”; see Lampe *s.v.*

The adverb ἀκεραίως is found only thrice in the Greek papyri: once in a formal document, *M.Chr.* 71, 9 ἀντὶ [τῶν] χρεῶν ἀκ[εραί]ως καταλα[β]εῖν σύμπαντα τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα καὶ χρυσίου (A.D. 458-473), to indicate that an amount is given in full, which means that it is an adverb of Quantity (see *WB* I *s.v.* ἀκέραιος (5)), and in two private letters: in *BGU* IV 1208, 42-47 (27-26 B.C.) τὴν δὲ | μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηκολου|θηκυῖαν ὕβριν μετα|πε[μ]φθεις ὑπὸ σοῦ ὁ | [Καλατ]ύτις ἐξηγή|[σατό μ]οι ἀκεραίως, the sender states that another man, whose name is Kalatytes, described to him in detail an unpleasant situation. The adverb modifies a form of the verb ἐξηγοῦμαι and it is placed at the end of the clause; see Mayser 1936, 123; Mayser 1933-1934, 177. Since the verb ἐξηγοῦμαι means “tell at length, relate in full, explain” (see LSJ *s.v.* III), the adverb seems

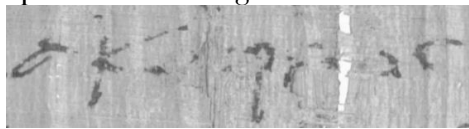
---

ἀδιαλείπτως is not certain; *P.Heid.* V 354, 3 (VI A.D.) [ἀκαταφρ]ονήτω[ς]; *P.Laur.* I 7, 6 (VI A.D.) ἀκαταφρονήτως; in l. 9 the restoration ἀκα[ταφρονή]τως is debatable; *P.Laur.* II 29, 3 (VI A.D.) ἀμέμπ[τ]ως καὶ [ἀ]κ[α]τ[α]φρ[ο]νήτως, where the restoration of both adverbs is not certain; *P.Lond.* I 113 (3), 6 (pp. 207-208) (VI A.D.) ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως, where the restoration of the adverb ἀκαταφρονήτως is not certain; *P.Lond.* I 113 (4), 15 (pp. 208-209) (A.D. 595) ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Hamb.* III 234, 1 (VI A.D.) ἀκαταφρονή[τως] (see *P.Heid.* V, p. 155, n. 67); *P.Hamb.* III 222, 20 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀκαταφρονήτω[ς]; *SB* XVIII 13998, 2 (VI-VII A.D.) δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Gen.* IV 188, 14-15 (A.D. 616) δεόντως | [καὶ ἀκαταγνώστ]ως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SPP* XX 218, 22 (A.D. 624?) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51, 17-18 (A.D. 630) [δ]εόντως | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτω[ς]; *P.Mich.* XIII 666, 16 (A.D. 631 or 646?) ἀδιαλείπτως (*l.* ἀδιαλείπτως, *corr.* from ἀδιαλεμπτος) ἀκαταφρονήτος (*l.* ἀκαταφρονήτως); *P.Paramone* 18, 20 (A.D. 641?) ἀκαταφρονήτως; **labour contracts:** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159, 26-28 (A.D. 568) ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως. δίχα πάσης | ραδιοργάνου καὶ γογγισμοῦ (*l.* γογγισμοῦ) καὶ ὑπερβέσεως καὶ ἀναβολῆς | ἔργων διόλου; *P.Stras.* I 40, 33-34 (A.D. 569) ἀκόντως | καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *CPR* XIV 2, 5-6 (end of VI-early VII A.D.) ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ | ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SPP* XX 217, 10 (A.D. 581) ἀκαταφρονήτως; *BGU* XIX 2827, 20-21 (A.D. 595) ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ | ἀρραδιοργάνου; *SPP* III 395, 3 (VI A.D.) ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SB* XVIII 13960, 1-2 (VI-VII A.D.) [ἀμέμπ]τως καὶ [ἀ]καταγ[νώ]στως | [καὶ ἀκα]ταφρονήτως; see correction by J.-L. Fournet in *P.Gascou* 30, 9n.; *SB* XX 14400, 9-10 (VI-VII A.D.) [ἀκαταγνώστως] καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτω[ς] | [καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀρ]αδιοργάνου; *SB* I 4490, 10-13 (A.D. 641 or 656) δεόντως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτως καὶ ἀκογγίστως (*l.* ἀγογγύστως); **testaments:** *P.Köln* X 421, 58-59 (c. 524 – 545) ] | ἀκαταφρονήτως; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 186-187 (A.D. 570) ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐπιπόνως | ἀκαταφρονήτως; **adoption:** *P.Köln* VII 321, 14-15 (VII-VIII A.D.) δεόντων (*l.* δεόντως) καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτω[ς] | καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; **contract of apprenticeship:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67305, 10 (A.D. 568) ἀκαταφρονήτως; **division of inheritance:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314 (A.D. 569-570) ἀκαταφρονήτως; **official correspondence:** *P.Lond.* IV 1337, 19 (A.D. 709); 1349, 19 (A.D. 710); **uncertain:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67333, 13 (A.D. 525-550) ἀκαταφρονήτως; *SB* I 4882, 1 (IV-VII A.D.) ἀκαταφρονήτως.

<sup>73</sup> *SB* I 5693, i 7 and ii 16 (after A.D. 186); *SB* XXII 15496, 15 (A.D. 245).

redundant, as its meaning overlaps with the meaning of the verb. Two other occurrences of the verb ἐξηγοῦμαι in the papyri<sup>74</sup>, and three occurrences of the participle ἐξηγούμενος occur in the papyri<sup>75</sup>, and in none of these cases the verbal form is modified by an adverb. The second instance is in the letter written on an ostrakon, *O.Claud.* I 137, 5-12 (c. A.D. 110) θέλω σε γνοῦνε (*l.* γνῶναι) ὅτ{ε}ι | ἤρκέν μου (*l.* μοι) Δειωκλῆς (*l.* Διοκλῆς) τὸν | χαλκὸν μου, στατῆρες (*l.* στατῆρας) | δεκαεπτὰ, καὶ τὴν ἀκό|νην. εἰ δύνῃ, πείασε (*l.* πιάσαι; corrected in PN by H. Cuvigny) Φού|ρειον (*l.* Φου|ρίου(?) PN proposal by H. Cuvigny) τὴν ἀκόνην ἀκαι|ρέως (*l.* ἀκε|ραίως) ὥς (*l.* ἕως?) ἔρχομε (*l.* ἔρχωμαι) καὶ | κρ{ε}ινῶ (or better, *l.* κρίνω?) μετ' αὐτοῦ, “I wish you to know that Diocles has taken my money, seventeen staters, and the whetstone. If you can, press Furius hard (ἀκαι|ρέως <to pay for (?)> the whetstone (or <to pay for (?)> the whetstone in full (ἀκαι|ρέως?) until I come and I (shall?) decide with him”, where the situation is not clear.

The adverb ἀκαιρίως is read in a well know private letter among the papyrologists (because it reminds the parable of the prodigal son), *BGU* III 846, 12-15 (II A.D.) ἤκουσα παρὰ το[ῦ . . .]ου μου τὸν εὐρόντα σαι (*l.* σε) | ἐν τῷ Ἄρσ{α}ινο{ε}ίτη καὶ ἀκαιρίως (read by Schubart; ἀκαιρίως *ed. princ.*) πάντα σοι δι|ήγηται. In the *app. crit.* of DDbDP we are advised to “*l.* ἀκεραίως” (cf. WB IV *s.v.* ἀκέραϊος 2 “unverfälscht, aufrichtig”). The adverb in *BGU* III 846 modifies the verb διηγοῦμαι which means “set out in detail”, and this use is comparable with the use of the adverb ἀκεραίως when modifies the verb ἐξηγοῦμαι (see above). In that case one could have reasons to consider ἀκαιρίως as a mistake for ἀκεραίως. The same text appears in an entry in LSJ *s.v.* ἀκαιρίως, where the adverb ἀκαιρίως has the meaning “unseasonably”, “not in the proper time”; so also translated by J.G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, Ann Arbor 1933, 106; cf. also the translation of R. Burnet, *L'Égypte ancienne à travers les papyrus – Vie quotidienne*, Paris 2003, no 210 “bêtement”; cf. Bauer *s.v.* ἀκαιρίως. However, the reading ἀκαιρίως is not certain. The letters between κ and ρ are not αι, since there is the end of a horizontal stroke before ρ. This letter can be either α or ε. Since there is also a trace of ink below this end of a horizontal, we may better read it as ε. There are similar large epsilons in the same hand, with their upper horizontal either curved upwards or downwards or even as a straight stroke. After ρ we can see some ink (like a small dot) above what is considered as ι, and this can hardly be part of ω. On the other hand, ἀκερέϊως (*l.* ἀκαιρίως) is not possible, because there are no traces of a small vertical (of ι) at the end of the middle horizontal of ε; also, if we consider that this ι is lost in the damaged part of the surface, then it seems that there is not enough space for the left cup of the following letter ω.



(<http://berlpap.smb.museum/01968/>)

I would propose to read ἀκερέϊως (*l.* ἀκεραίως). If my reading is correct, the entry ἀκαιρίως in LSJ should be removed, and the adverb ἀκεραίως has a third example in the private letters, all in the Roman period.

<sup>74</sup> *P.Oxy.* XIV 1681, 24 (III A.D.); *CPR* XXV 29, 3 (A.D. 643-644).

<sup>75</sup> *P.Oxy.* XLII 3015, 9-10 (after A.D. 117); *SB* XVIII 13956, 7 (A.D. 138-161); *BGU* XI 2061, 2 (A.D. 210).

ἀκεφαλαίως

It is attested in an honorary inscription, *SB* III 7246, 8-11 (end of III-beginning of II B.C. = *SEG* VIII 694) τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων λόγους ἀκεφαλαίως κειμένους προσεδρεύσας τῆι λογιστείαι; see *ed. princ.*, n. *ad loc.* (in H. Henne, *BIFAO* 22, 1923, 194-195) that the adverb stands for ἀκεφάλως (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀκέφαλος I 2; Mayser 1936, 122; Mayser 1933-1934, 177), and the text is translated as “voyant l’état défectueux des comptes, depuis les exercices précédents”. *LSJ Suppl. s.v.* has entered it as a new word with the meaning “without arrangement under headings”. However, it might also refer to accounts which miss the sum; cf. *LSJ s.v.* κεφάλαιος II 5 b).

ἀκινδύνως\*

The adverb occurs in a private letter sent to a physician. The sender asks for a strong caustic: *P.Mert.* I 12, 17-20 (A.D. 59) ἐρωτῶ | δέ σε περὶ ἐλκωτικῆς γενναίας | δυναμένης ἀκινδύνως πέλματ(α) | ἐλκῶσαι, translated as “please tell me of a strong caustic which can safely be used to cauterize the soles (of the feet)”. The question is: Does safely modify “used” or “cauterize”? It seems to me that it modifies the infinitive ἐλκῶσαι and not δυναμένης, therefore the translation should be “please tell me of a strong caustic which can be used to cauterize the soles (of the feet) safely”.

The adverb is used mainly in the clauses of lease contracts of the Roman period to indicate that the object of lease is guaranteed against risk: *SB* XIV 11279, 23-23 (A.D. 44) ἀνυπολόγως παντὸς | ὑπολόγου καὶ ἀκινδύνως παντὸς κινδύνου; *P.Laur.* III 72, 11-12 (A.D. 118-138) ἀνυπολόγως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ χωρὶς παρα|[δοχῆς πάσης; *SB* VI 9562, 11-12 (A.D. 214) ἀνυπο|λόγω[ς κ]αὶ ἀκινδ[ύνω]ς; see *LSJ s.v.* ἀκίνδυνος I; See U. Wollentin, *Ὁ κίνδυνος in den Papyri*, Diss. Köln 1961, 68-72. The same use is found in a Byzantine lease, *SPP* XX 114, 5 (A.D. 421) εἰς] ἰδίαν μου καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρ<ε>ίαν ἀκινδύνως, and a loan, *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4395, 8 (A.D. 499) ἀπόδοσιν ἀκινδύνως τοῦ ἐξῆς δηλοῦμ[ένου χρέους]. Moreover, in a sale of a house, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1701, 9-10 (III A.D.) πρὸς τὸ ἀκινδύνως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς | [ἐνοικεῖν(?), the adverb indicates that someone could stay in a house without any danger. Finally, for the ghost-adverb ἐξακινδύνως in *P.Lond.* IV 1400, 8 (A.D. 710) see p. 282. This might be another instance of the adverb ἀκινδύνως in papyri.

ἀκλεῶς

It occurs (since it is a probable restoration) in a funerary inscription of Kleopatra daughter of Menon, who died because of a scorpion sting: *SB* I 1267, 3-6 (A.D. 8) ἀκλ[εῶ]ς καὶ ἀκρίτως βιαίωι θανάτῳ ἀπολωλυῖα, ἀναξίως τῆς χρηστότητας, with the meaning “died alone and forgotten”. Three adverbs in -ως are placed at the beginning of two phrases (of a total of nine words) to stress the way the girl died.

## ἀκοιλάντως / ἀκυλάντως

This adverb is not attested in the Greek literature. It is only found in a small number of third-century A.D. leases or loans<sup>76</sup> to indicate that the rent or the interest will be paid “in full” (or “without deficiency”; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἀκοιλαντος (2)<sup>77</sup>; *LSJ s.v.*; *P.Gen.* IV 188, 20 (A.D. 616), “mais en te faisant les paiements dans leur intégralité”; see n. *ad loc.*, citing also H. Gerstinger, *JJP* 13, 1961, 65) on a certain day of every month during the lease. Then the adverb becomes a usual part of legal clauses in the Byzantine period (e.g. *SB* XXVI 16756, 5 (A.D. 467 or 497)).

Both variant spellings ἀκοιλάντως and ἀκυλάντως appear in the Byzantine period. It is uncertain which is the correct spelling, since the etymology of the adverb is doubtful: (a) from ἄκοιλος, “not hollow”, which derives from the verb κοιλόω, (b) from ἀκύλιστος “not to be rolled about”, or (c) from κυλλός “deformed, contracted”, which derives from the verb κυλλόω.

Alternatively, I propose that the adverb may have derived from the Aramaic, “kul”, meaning “all, the entire”. The use of the adverb in the documents as “in full, the entire amount” could be explained from this Aramaic word. A parallel example is the name Κοίλη Συρία, which was taken as a kind of a folk etymology to mean “hollow Syria”, since there are many places that have similar designation; see *LSJ s.v.* κοῖλος I 2 “lying in a hollow or forming a hollow”; cf. also a location near Theogonis which appears in a division of property in *P.Mich.* V 321, 6-7 (Tebtynis; A.D. 42) περὶ Θεωγονίδα (l. Θεογονίδα) τῆς αὐτῆς | μερίδος ἐν τῇ κύλῃ λεγωμένη (l. λεγομένη) κλήρου. For the etymology of Coele Syria from the Aramaic see Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Volume 2, The Early Hellenistic Period (335–175 BCE)*, London-New York 2008, 173-174.

## ἀκολούθως\*

This adverb occurs many times in official or formal documents, but it is very rare in the private letters (all of the Roman period), and, when it is used in such documents, it refers to official procedures and phraseology to indicate that something is in accordance with the orders, the law etc.: *P.Stras.* VII 629, 44 (c. A.D. 160); ἀκολούθ(ως) τοῖς; *PSI* XVI 1647, 9-11 (middle III A.D.) τ[ὸ δὲ] | ὕδωρ ἀκολούθ[ως] | τῷ τρυγητ[ι]; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 20-21 (last quarter III A.D.) τὸ εἶναι αὐτοῦ | ἰδιόγρ[α]φᾶ ἀκολούθως τῷ διαστολικῷ, “it is his autograph in accordance with the *diastolikon*”.

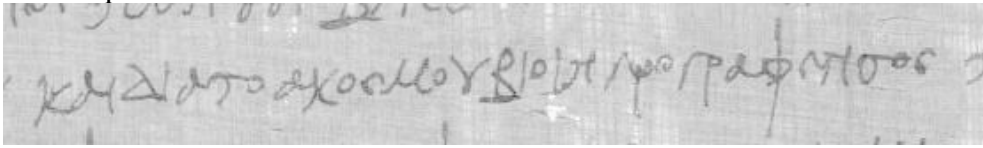
## ἀκόσμως

This adverb is attested in a Ptolemaic petition, *W.Chr.* 11A (123 B.C.) with the meaning “disorderly”; for examples in literature see *LSJ s.v.* ἄκοσμος I; *Lampe s.v.*

<sup>76</sup> e.g. *SB* XIV 11705, 5-6 (A.D. 213) τοὺς δὲ τόκους κατὰ μῆ|να ἀκοιλάντω[ς]; *BGU* XI 2034, 12-14 (beginning of III A.D.) τὸ δὲ ἐνοίκιον | [ἀποδώσω ---]κ . . . . οπ . ραε . . . . α τῇ πέμπτῃ ἀκοι|[λάντως]; *BGU* I 253, 15-16 (A.D. 244-248) τὸ δὲ ἐσταμέν|ον ἐνοίκιον ἀποδώσω | [καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἀκοιλ|άντως]; *P.Lond.* III 954, 15-18 (A.D. 260) πρὸς χρῆσιν [ἐ]νοικί[ου] ἐκάστ[ου] ἐνι|αυτοῦ δραχμῶν τεσσεράκοντ[α] ἄσπερ | ἀποδώσω σοι κατ' ἔτος ἀνυπ[ε]ρθέ|τως καὶ ἀκοιλάντως; *P.Turner* 37, 15-17 (A.D. 270) καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀπ[ο] | δώσω κ[ατὰ μ]ῆνα ἕκαστ[ου] τῆ θ | ἀκοιλάντ[ω]ς.

<sup>77</sup> *P.Flor.* III 279, 12 (A.D. 514) has been corrected to [ἀμέ]μπτως (instead of *ed. princ.*'s [ἀκοιλ]άντως) καὶ ἀκαταφρονῆτως in *P.Gascou* 30, 9n., therefore, the entry in *WB* I *s.v.* ἀκοιλαντος (1) “keine Unterbrechung eintreten lassend” should be disregarded.

However, in two other cases the instances of the adverb are debatable. In a petition to the Prefect, *P.Mich.* III 174 (A.D. 144-147?), there is a phrase in l. 12, which seems unsyntactical ἀνδρὸς ἐπιμέπτου καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκόσμου βιοῖν προγραφέντος, “a culpable fellow who had been proscribed on account of his lawless life”.



(<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1449>)

It has been proposed that the adverb ἀκόσμως is implied there, (if we should also change βιοῖν to the infinitive βιοῦν). Since, however, the form βιοῖν is also a wrong spelling, one can also assume that the scribe wanted to write either διὰ τοῦ ἀκόσμου βίου or διὰ τὸν ἀκόσμον βίον. The reading and restoration in *P.Mich.* VIII 478, 10-11 (early II A.D.), a letter sent by Terentianus to Tiberianus [. . . .] ἀκ[ό]σμως, κ[αὶ ἡ]δυσήθην] ἡμέρ[ας πέν]τε μη|δέν σοι [γ]ράφε[ιν] is not possible; ἀκ[ό]σμως is certainly not there.

ἀκριβῶς\* – ἀκριβέστερον\* – ἀκριβέστατα\*

The adverb ἀκριβῶς was already used in the classical Greek literature with the meaning “to a nicety, precisely”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκριβής II 1; Lampe *s.v.* 1. It occurs in a variety of official and private documents in papyri (see *WB IV s.v.* ἀκριβής “genau, sorgsam gewissenhaft”; see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177).

In the private letters in papyri it occurs from the Ptolemaic period with the same meaning, usually preceding and modifying verbs such as ἐπίσταμαι, οἶδα, σκέπτομαι, μανθάνω, πυνθάνομαι, γινώσκω etc.:

*P.Hib.* I 40, 6-8 (261 B.C.) ἐπίστασο | μέντων (*l.* μέντοι) ἀκριβῶς | ὅτι; *P.Petrie Kleon* 112, 18 (c. 260-236 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 1941, 2-3 (257 B.C.) ἡμεῖς ἐπιστάμεθα | ἀκριβῶς ὅτι, and l. 5 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἐπί[στασθαι]; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59060, 2 (257 B.C.) εἰ [μὲ]ν ἀκρ[ε]ιβ[ῶ]ς ἐπιστάμεθα; *P.Col.* III 11, 9 (257 B.C.) εἰδῶς ἀκριβῶς ὅτι; *P.Lond.* VII 2049, 2-3 (middle of III B.C.) σκεψάμενος | ἀκριβῶς; from the Zenon archive cf. also the restoration in *P.Iand.Zen.* 40, 3 ἀκριβῶς; *P.Petrie Kleon* 42, 14 (250-249 B.C.) εἰδῆσαι ἀκριβῶς; *W.Chr.* 50, 7-9 (246 or 221 B.C.) Αἰγυπτίῳ|τι δὲ ὑπέγραψα, ὅπως | ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆσαι; *P.Tebt.* III 763, 8-10 (early II B.C.) ἀκρ[ε]ιβῶς μαθῶν ποῦ | λέγει; *UPZ* I 68, 6-7 (152 B.C.) δ[ια]σάφ[η]σόν μ[οι] τὰ περὶ Ἀπολλώνιον | καὶ τὰ περὶ σαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς, ὅπως εἰδῶ, where it is not certain whether the adverb modifies the preceding δ[ια]σάφ[η]σόν or the verb of the following clause εἰδῶ (placed before the clause to stress its sense); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1673, 9-10 (II A.D.) μέχρι ἂν τὸ εὐῶδες ἀ[π]ο|κατασταθῆι καὶ γνωσθῆι ἀκριβῶς; *SB XVI* 12589, 12-13 (II A.D.) κ[αὶ] μα[θ]οῦ]σα ἀκριβῶς ὅτι; *P.Herm.* 12 (II-beginning of III A.D.?) ἀκριβῶς ἦδειν; *P.Ryl.* IV 624, 7 (A.D. 300-325) καὶ τὸ ἀκρ[ε]ιβ[ῶ]ς εἰδέν[αι], and l. 20 [ῶ]ς ἀκριβῶς εἰδῶς; *P.Oxy.* XII 1587, 3-4 (III A.D.) ]αντων ἀκρ[ε]ιβ[ῶ]ς κατ[ε]χῶ | [τὸ βιβλίδιον ἐπ]εσκεμμ[ε]νον, where it modifies the preceding participle(?) ending in -άντων<sup>78</sup>; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1667, 3 (III A.D.) ἀκρ[ε]ιβ[ῶ]ς πυνθανόμενος; *SB XVI* 12590, 2-3 (III A.D.) ἀκριβῶς | πρόσχε, “keep a sharp eye on” and ll. 6-9 καὶ ἐπίστη|κε ἕως ἀκριβῶς | καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γέ|νη[τ]αι, “so that it gets done with precision and in orderly fashion”; *P.Herm.* 6, 17 (c. A.D. 317-323) ἀκριβῶς καταμαθεῖν, ὅπως ἂν, and ll. 18-19 πιστεύω | γὰρ ἀκριβῶς κ[αὶ] θαρρῶ ὡς; *P.Herm.* 14, 2 (IV A.D.) καὶ γὰρ ἀκρ[ε]ιβ[ῶ]ς γινώσκομεν ὅτι; *P.Kellis* I 76, 24-28 (second half of IV A.D.) εἰ δὲ ἀνθρωπιόν τι \ε/παθεῖν | καὶ ἀκούσωμεν ἀκριβῶς | αὐτὸν λυθῆναι τοῦ σώμα|τος; *P.Ryl.* IV 712, 5 (VI A.D.) ἕκαστον οὖν ἀκριβῶς σκοπήσας δήλωσόν μοι; *SB XVI* 12474, 11 (VI-VII A.D.) πέπεισμοι (standing for πέπεισμαι or πεπεισμένοι ἔσμεν; see *app. crit.* in *ed. princ.* in *JEByz* 28, 1979, 23-27) γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὡς ὅσα ποιεῖται μετ’ αὐτῶν ὁ θεός. In the private letter, *P.Tebt.* III 762, 19-21 (end of III B.C.) ἤκουσα γ[ὰρ] | [συμβῆ]ναι τι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰδήσας γράψ[ον] μοι | [ἀκρ]ιβ[ῶ]ς, “for I hear that something happened to them, and when you know, write to me exactly”, the restoration of the adverb is debatable, since other possible restoration might also give better sense, e.g. [ἀναγκα]ίως, [ἀνόκν]ως etc.; see p. 263.

<sup>78</sup> In that case, the use of this adverb here is not “con cura”, as Tibiletti (1979, 84-85) maintains.

The comparative form of the adverb is also attested in a variety of documents, both official (mainly of the Roman period)<sup>79</sup> and private. In the private letters the adverb is attested in the third century B.C. (two examples) and in the third century A.D. (one example) modifying various verbs:

*P.Petrie Kleon* 14, 13 (c. 260-249 B.C.) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πεισομέθεα ἀκριβέστερον; restored also in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59019, 11 (258-256 B.C.) τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σοι γράψω ἀκριβέστερον], where it follows the verbal forms; *PSI XIII* 1335, 25-26 (III A.D.) ἐ[ἀ]ν γὰρ γένωμαι πρὸς σε σὺν θεῶ ἀκριβέστερόν σοι διασα|φήσω, where it precedes the verbal form.

On the other hand, the superlative ἀκριβέστατα occurs in official letters of the Ptolemaic period:

*BGU VI* 1238, 5 (257-239 B.C.) ἴνα ὡς] ἀκριβέστατα ἀνεύγκωσι; *P.Freid.* I 7, 2-3 (251 B.C.) ἀναγραφάμενος κατὰ γένος ὡς ἐνδέ|χεται ἀκριβέστατα ἀποστείλον ἡμῖν, and 9 γεωμετρήσας ἀνάγραφον κατὰ γένος ὡς ἐνδέχεται ἀκριβέστατα τὴν ἐσπαρμένην. It is restored in an official report of the early Roman period, *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5171, 9-10 (A.D. 6) [ ἀκρι|]βέστα[τα] ἐπὶ πάντων λ[α]μβάνειν [. In the official letter *SB XVIII* 13958, 8-9 (A.D. 193-194) τοῦτο ἐξητασμέ|νοι ἀκριβέστατα δηλώσατε, the modified verb could be either the restored ἐξητασμέ|νοι or the main verb δηλώσατε.

The same is true of the only example of the superlative of this adverb in a private letter: *O.Did.* 339, 8-10 (A.D. 77-92) reads εἰ ἤκουκας περὶ σου{π}|κεσ<σ>όρων ἀκριβέστατα, γράψον | μοι “if you have heard anything specific about the relief, write to me”, which, however, could be also understood as εἰ ἤκουκας περὶ σου{π}|κεσ<σ>όρων, ἀκριβέστατα γράψον | μοι “if you have heard about the relief, write to me more specifically”.

#### ἀκρίτως

There are only two certain attestations of the adverb in the Ptolemaic petitions, *P.Enteux.* 14, 5 (222 B.C.) ἐπελ[θ]ῶν Δεινίας ἐ[ξέ]βαλε τὸν ἵππον ἀκρίτως, and *PSI VII* 816, 6 (middle of II B.C.?) ἠγνωμονημένον καὶ μεμαστιγωμένον ἀκρίτως, to indicate that something was done without trial, and to imply an irrational action; see *LSJ s.v.* ἄκριτος II 2<sup>80</sup>; see *Mayser* 1936, 124. Moreover, this irrationality is also expressed in funerary metrical inscriptions, in *Bernand* 1969, no 6, 6 (I B.C.?) καὶ μ’ ἀκρίτως θέμενον; no 36, 8-9 (I B.C.?) γαίη κείμ’ ἀκρίτως δυστηνοτάτη; *SB I* 1267, 3-6 (A.D. 8) ἀκλ[εῶ]ς καὶ ἀκρίτως βιαίωι θανάτωι ἀπολωλυῖα, ἀναξίως τῆς χρηστότητος. The restoration in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67305, 26-27 (A.D. 568) εἰ δ[ἐ] καὶ| σὺ ἀν[ἀ]γῶγος φανείης [κα]ἰ ἄνετ(ος) ἐν [πᾶ]σι τ[οῖ]ς ἔργ[ο]ις, ἀκρ[ι]τῶς ἐξ[ε]λθεῖν ἀπ’ ἐμο(ῦ) γυμνὸν . . . γυμ[ν]όν, | μετὰ καὶ τοῦ [σ]ο(υ) χρ[έ]ους] τῶν αὐτῶν [δύ]ο νομισμ[α]των) is debatable, since the certain adverb does not provide any sense there.

#### ἄκρως

The adverb is attested in a Byzantine disinheritance, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67353 (A.D. 569) where the father writes that (in ll. 32-33) ἔχρην γὰρ [κα] | [τ]ὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον τοὺς ἐαυτῶν γονεῖς ἄκρως τιμᾶν, to indicate that the children should have done their utmost to honor their parents; see *LSJ s.v.* ἄκρος III; *Lampe s.v.*

<sup>79</sup> **Records:** *P.Heid.* VI 363, 17 (224-218 B.C.) τοῦτων προσανακριθέντων \ἀκρ[ι]βέστερον/ ἐπισκοπέ[α] | \μεινοι/ περὶ [τούτου]; **circular:** fragmentary preserved *O.Krok.* I 61, 6 (A.D. 102-103 or 121-122) ἀκριβ[ι]τέστερον; **proceedings** *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 25, iii 12-13 (A.D. 127) δυναμένου | ἀκρ[ε]ιβέστερον διδάξει π[ρ]ὸς παρέπεσον; **report of legal proceedings** *P.Oxy.* VIII 1102, 12 (c. A.D. 146) ὁ τοῦ νομ[ο]ῦ στρατηγὸς ἀκρ[ε]ιβέστερον ἐξετάσει; **legal proceedings:** *M.Chr.* 91, ii 41-42 (A.D. 157-159) ἤξει Ἀρπαλὸς καὶ ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ τούτου ἀκρ[ε]ιβέσ[τ]ερον; **correspondence:** *CPR VII* 20, 4 (after A.D. 305) ὥστε ἐξετάζειν μὲν π(ερὶ) | . . . ( ) εἰσ[τ]εῖ | \αὐτοῦ/ ἀκριβέστερον.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. also the same meaning in the patristic literature, *Lampe s.v.* 2.

ἀκωλύτως

See *s.v.* ἀδιακωλύτως, p. 34.

ἀλιποτάκτως

This is an entry in LSJ Suppl. *s.v.*, as a new word. The adverb is only attested (with the wrong spelling ἀλειποτάκτως) in a Byzantine contract, *P.Mil.* II 48, 5-6 (A.D. 549) ἀποπληρώσαι δίχα τῆς χρ<ε>ίας τοῦ | μυροπολίου (*l.* μυροπωλίου) ἀόκνως ἀκαταγνώστως ἀλειποτάκτως, indicating that someone carries an action out without deserting his post; see LSJ *s.v.* λιποτακτέω. The verb ἀλ{ε}ιποτακτῶ was also restored (no entry yet in LSJ) in *P.Lond.* III 1246 (p. 224), 11-12a (A.D. 345) ἀντιλαβέσθαι τ[ῆ]ς | [ἐγχει]ρισθείσης αὐ[τοῖς] ὕδρ]οφυλακίας ἀμέπτως | καὶ ἀλ[ε]ιποτακ[οῦν]τας (see *BL* I, on p. 466), but the restoration is debatable.

ἀληθῶς\*

The first attestations of the adverb in the papyri, with the meaning “truly”<sup>81</sup>, is in an official letter sent by Apollonios to Eukles, *P.Col.* IV 87, 5 (244 B.C.) τὸ αὐτὸ ἀληθῶς ὑπάρχον, “the same is true”, and another official document submitted in the process of a lawsuit, *SB* I 4512, 76 (133 B.C.) ὡς δ’ ἦν τούτου ἀληθῶς. The only attestation in a private letter in the Roman period is found in *P.Fay.* 123, 23-24 (c. A.D. 100) γνώσομαι γὰρ εἰ ἀληθῶς λέγ<ε>ι. In the papyri of the Roman period, it is also resolved in a declaration of a house, *P.Ryl.* II 108, 15-18 (A.D. 110-111) ὁμνύομεν τὴν... τύχην ἀληθ(ῶς) | ἐπιδεδωκέναι καὶ μὴ διεψεῦσθ(αι), “we swear by the fortune... that we have made the return truthfully and have told no falsehood”. However, this resolution of the abbreviation is debatable, and it is most probable that the abbreviated word should be resolved as ἀληθ(ῆ), as an internal object of the adverb ἐπιδεδωκέναι: cf. *P.Oxy.* IX 1198, 24-25 ἀλεθῆ (*l.* ἀληθῆ) | εἶναι [τὰ γ]εγ[ρ]αμμένα, or the phrase attested in *SB* XX 14440, 16-17 (A.D. 12) ἐπ’ ἀρηθέας (*l.* ἀληθείας) ἐπι|δεδωκέναι.

In the Byzantine period, however, the adverb is used in many private letters in various contexts<sup>82</sup> (but not with the meanings recorded in the patristic literature, for which see Lampe *s.v.*).

1. Mentally modifying an implied verbal form, e.g. a participle of the verbs εἰμί, ὑπάρχω, in the titles of address as a formulaic phraseology<sup>83</sup>:

*P.Kellis* I 71, 1-2 (IV A.D.) κυ[ρ]ί[ω] τιμιωτάτω καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς | π[ο]θεινοτάτω ἀδελφῶ; *P.Cair.Mich.* II 24, 2 (IV A.D.) τὴν σὴν τιμότητα, δέσποτα, ὡς ἀληθῶς [---]; *SB* VIII 9683, 1-2 (IV A.D.?) ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμίω | πάτρωνι ἀ[δελφῶ]; *P.Ross.Georg.* V 8, 1-2 (IV-V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς (*l.* ἀληθῶς) | [καὶ ἀγαπητῶ] ἀδελφῶ; *SB* XIV 11882, 1-2 (IV-V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ πάντα τιμιωτάτω ἀδελφῶ; *SB* XX 14226, 2-3 (IV-V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς |

<sup>81</sup> See Spicq 1982, 36-37.

<sup>82</sup> In some fragmentary texts the use of the adverb is not clear: *P.Abinn.* 7, 7-10 (A.D. 342-351) ἵνα περισεύῃ (*l.* περισεύῃ) ἢ ἀγάπη σου καὶ | τοσοῖλο . . . τοχοὶ ἀληθῶς (*l.* ἀληθῶς). Ἀβιννέας, κατὰ πάν|τα τρόπων. γραφωμεθα (*l.* γραφόμεθά) σοι. ἀγαποῦμεν τὸ θέλη|μα τῆς ψυχῆς σου; *CPR* VI 84, 19 (IV A.D.) ὡς ἀληθ[ῶς(?)] [---]; *P.Med.* I 61, 2-3 (IV A.D.) ἐγὼ αὐτὴν ἠτη[---] | [---] ἀληθ[ῶς] τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν ποιοῦμαι ἵν’ ἐκδικίας τυ[γ---], the restoration of the adverb is debatable, since there is no exact parallel phrase to modify τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν ποιοῦμαι; *P.Mert.* III 115, 7 (early IV A.D.) [. . . . .] . . . με ἀληθῶς |.

<sup>83</sup> See J. O’Callaghan, *Cartas Cristianas Griegas del Siglo V*, Barcelona 1963, no 10, 1n., who considered the formula the equivalent of οὐς (ὄν) ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

τιμωτάτω μου πατρί; *P.Athen.Xyla* 16, 1-2 (middle V A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμασιω[τάτω ---] | ὡς ἀληθῶς πάτρωνι; *SB XXVIII* 17169, 1-2 (V A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀληθῶς | τιμωτάτω γεούχω; *SB V* 8262, 1-2 (V A.D.) τῷ ἀληθῶς τὰ πάντα θαυμα[σιω]τ[άτω] | καὶ ἐναρέτω μαγίστωρι; *PSI I* 96, verso (V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) τὰ πάν[τα] θαυμασιωτάτω; *P.Daris* 53, 1 (V A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀληθ[ῶς] ἐναρέτω ἀδελφῶ; *P.Prag.* II 194, 1-2 (V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς | [φιλ]τάτω ἀδελφῶ; *P.Princ.* III 169 verso (V A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀληθ[ῶς] ---; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1873, 1 (V A.D.) τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμ[ο]τ[άτω] καὶ ἐναρέτω πατρί; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1870, 1 (V A.D.) [τῷ ὡς] ἀληθῶς ἀγαπητῶ ἀδελφῶ, and verso τῷ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαπητῶ ἀδελφῶ; *P.Oxy.* LIX 4004, 1 (V A.D.) κυρίω μου ἀληθ[ῶς] [τ]ιμωτ[άτω] ἀδελφῶ, and verso κυρίω μου ἀληθῶς τιμωτάτω ἀδελφῶ; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3864, 2-3 (V A.D.) ὡς ἀλιθῶς (*l.* ἀληθῶς) κατὰ πάντα | μη (*l.* μοι) τιμωτάτω πατρί; *PSI IV* 301, 2-3 (V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ | [π]άντα θαυμασιωτάτη ἀδελφῆ; *SB XVIII* 13872, 7-8 (V A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς | τὰ πάντα ἐνδοξότατοι; *CPR V* 23, 1 (V A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμοτατο (*l.* τιμωτάτω) ἀδελφῶ; *SB V* 7635, 1-2 (late V-early VI A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμω[τάτω τὰ] | πάντα θαυμασιωτάτω ἀδελφῶ; *P.Col.* X 290, 1-2 (V-VI A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀλυθῶς (*l.* ἀληθῶς) θαυμασιωτά[τω]; *P.Bodl.* I 62, 1 (V-VI A.D.?) ] ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοχρ[ῖ]στον πατρ[ῖ]; *SB XVIII* 13114, 1 (V-VI A.D.) ὡς ἀληθ[ῶς] τιμωτάτω (see *BL XI*, on p. 223); *P.Iand.* VI 129, 1 (VI A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμω[τάτω]; *SB XX* 14987, 1-2 (VI A.D.) καὶ ἀληθῶς ποθει[νοτάτω] υἱ[ῶ]; *SB XVI* 12573, verso (VI A.D.) ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) τ[ ] . [ ] . τωι εν [---] λαμπρο[τ(άτω)] καὶ εὐδοκ[ιμοτάτω] κόμιτι; *SB XVI* 12485, 1-2 (VI A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ πάντα | μοι θαυμασιωτάτω καὶ ἐναρέτω; *PSI I* 71, 1-2 (VI A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ πάντα μοι θαυμασιω[τάτω] καὶ ἐναρέτω; *P.Iand.* VI 102, 1-2 (VI A.D.?) τῷ δεσπ[ότη] μο(υ) ὡς [ἀλ]ηθῶς τιμω/τάτω | πατρί [μου]; *P.Fouad* 86, verso (VI A.D.) δεσπ[ότη] ἡμῶν ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) τὰ πάντα θεοφιλεσ[τάτω] κ(αὶ) ἀγιοστ[άτω] πατρ[ῖ]; *P.Fouad* 88, verso (VI A.D.) δεσπ[ότη] ἐμῶν ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) τὰ πάντα θεοφιλε[στάτω] (καὶ) ἀγιοστ[άτω] πατρί π[νευματι]κῶ; *P.Vind.Sal.* 22, 1 (VI-VII A.D.) ὡς ἀληθῶς διὰ πάντα θαυμασιωτ[άτω] κ[αὶ] ἐναρέτω; verso [ὡς ἀλ]ηθῶς διὰ πάντ[ρα] θαυμασιωτάτω καὶ ἐναρέτω. Cf. also *P.Abinn.* 30, 4-6 (A.D. 342-351) ἔσπευσα προσαγορεῦσέ (*l.* προσαγορεῦσαι) σου τὴν | ἀμίμητον καλοκαγαθίαν ὡς | ἀληθῶς (*l.* ἀληθῶς) ἀσύνκριτον. Also, the same meaning is expected in a petition, *P.Mert.* I 43, 13 (V A.D.?) τῷ δεσπότη μου τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς πα[ ] . [---]; cf. also *P.Herm.* 8, 17-19 (IV A.D.?) λοιπόν, δέσπο[τα], ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπε, | καταξίωσον, and *P.Pommersf.*, on pp. 36-59, lines 99-100 (second half of VI A.D.) ἔπρεπεν ὡς ἀληθῶς βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ δύο [ . . . . . ] | ἔξευρεῖν; and also the school exercise, *P.Rain.Unterricht* 74, 3 (V A.D.) τῷ δεσπότη μου ὡς ἀληθῶς δια [ .

Cf. also without ὡς in *PSI VII* 783, 9-10 (A.D. 375) ἐρῶσθ(αι) πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὐχομαι | πᾶτες ἀσύνκριτε (*l.* ἀσύγκριτε) ἀληθῶς (see correction *s.v.* ὀρθῶς, p. 199).

2. In some cases the adverb is placed at the beginning of the clause (either as the first or the second word) to intensify a statement:

*P.Congr.* XV 20, 5-7 (late III-beginning of IV A.D.) ἀληθῶς θαυμάζω πῶς | τωτησοῦτο (*l.* τοσοῦτο?) ἐσφάλης ὡς σοῦ τε | ξαμένου (*l.* δε | ξαμένου) Ἡράκλει[ον]; *P.Herm.* 6, 3-4 (c. A.D. 317-323) ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς [μοι] πόθος τις κα[ὶ] πολὺς ἐνεκ[ε] [μ]εν[ος] τῆ[ι] δianoia | μου, ἀδελφε κ[ύριε]; *P.Neph.* 3, 4-5 (IV A.D.) ἀληθῶς δὲ οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῖς | ἐλάδιον οὐδέπω ἐκομισάμεθα; *P.Lond.* VI 1928, 12-13 (IV A.D.?) ἐν θλίψ<ε> ἐπεκαλεσάμην καὶ εἰσῆκουσεν | μου. νῦν ἀληθῶς θλίψις ἐν ἡ εἰμί; *P.Michael.* 29, 14-16 (IV A.D.?) εἶπερ ἀληθῶς | [π]ροτ[ε]ριτοῖ εἰσιν, ἀποστ[ε] [λατε] πλοῖον εἰς Ψῶνιν; *P.Lond.* V 1658, 4-6 (IV A.D.?) προσεπ<ε>ἴν τὴν ἀναμίλλητόν | σου θεοσέβ<ε>ιαν, ἀγαπητὲ υἱέ, ὡς γὰρ ἀληθῶς μνή[μ]ην ἀδιάλ<ε>πτὸν σου ποιούμαι καὶ ἀπόντος. In *CPR XXV* 6, 16-17 (V A.D.) ἀλλὰ γνησίως φιλεῖ | ἀληθῶς ἀντιφιλοῦντάς σε, where it modifies and precedes the participle. *P.Mert.* I 46, 7 (end of V-beginning of VI A.D.) ἀληθῶς γὰρ κάματός ἐστιν καταλαβεῖν τὸν λόγον; *P.Fouad* 85, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀληθῶς καλῶς τραγοδοῦσίν (*l.* τραγωδοῦσίν) σε καὶ ἐνταῦθα κ(αὶ) ἐκέιθε; cf. also the text which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB I* 5314, 15 (Byzantine period) | ἀγάπη ἀληθῶς τοῖς ἅπασιν ἐγενόμεθα εἰς τραγοδίαν (*l.* τραγωδίαν) καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν [, where the adverb might be the first word of the clause. Moreover, the adverb occurs in a petition, *P.Ammon I* 4, 29-30 (A.D. 348) οὐδ[ ] | γὰρ ἐστίν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπεὶ μηδὲ πράττειν τι τῶν δικαίων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐγίνωσκεν<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> In *P.Oslo* III 88, 5-10 (c. A.D. 370) ἀπετίτω (*l.* ἀπαιτείτω) τὸν παλεόν (*l.* παλαιόν) οἶνον πρωτοτύπως. | καὶ πολλάκις συ (*l.* σοι) ἔγραψα περὶ τῆς ἀπετήσε[ως] (*l.* ἀπαιτήσε[ως]) τῆς ἐχθέσεως. εἰ προεχώρησεν ἡ οὐ[ ] | ἀληθῶς τὰ



### ἀλληλεγγύως

The adverb appears only in two loan contracts of the Byzantine period, in Egypt, *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4394, 148 (A.D. 494), and in Palaestine, *P.Ness.* III 26, 30 (A.D. 570), with the meaning “with mutual sureties”; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἀλληλέγγυοι, citing Just. *Edict.* 9.3, *Nov.* 99.

### ἀλλοίως\*

With the meaning “otherwise, differently”, the adverb is attested for the first time in Plato *Ly.* 212d ἀλλοίως ἄρα νῦν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ ἢ πρότερον ἔδοξεν (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀλλοῖος II; cf. Bauer *s.v.*). Since in papyri the adverb ἄλλως (see *s.v.*, p. 55) is mainly used for the same or parallel meaning, ἀλλοίως is only found in two letters of the Byzantine period: *SB* XIV 11492, 10 (IV A.D.) ἵνα μὴ εὐριθῶ (*l.* εὐρηθῶ) ἀλίος (*l.* ἀλλοίως) ποιῶσα (*l.* ποιῶσα) τοῖς ἀπὸ Τερύθους, “so that I may not be found wronging the villagers of Terythis (transl. in *ed. princ.*)”, and *SB* XX 15102, 13-14 (A.D. 709) ἐπεὶ ἡμῶν εὐρισκόντων σε ψευσάμενον ἢ καὶ ἀλλοίως | γράψαντα. In both cases the adverb precedes and modifies a predicate participle which depends to the verb εὐρίσκω, but the same structure does not find parallels in the Greek literature of the same period.

### ἀλλοτρίως

Although the adverb is attested from the fourth century B.C. mainly in the phrase ἀλλοτρίως διακεῖσθαι (ἔχειν) πρὸς ἀλλήλους “to be unfavourably disposed towards” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀλλότριος III 1), in papyri it appears only in a decree, *P.Tebt.* I 124, 45 (c. 118 B.C.) τὰ ἀπὸ τούτου κεκριμένα ἀλλοτρίως [. However, the papyrus is broken off after *ς*, and since the text might continue, the division of the words after ἀλλοτρίως is debatable. It is also probable that a form of the verb ἀλλοτριῶν (e.g. ἀλλοτριῶσ[αι etc.]) would be restored here.



(<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.tebt;I;124/images>)

### ἄλλως\*

The meaning is “otherwise than should be, at random, without aim or purpose” (see LSJ *s.v.* II 3). The phrase μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης (or *sim.*) is a typical use of the adverb, since the phrase ἄλλως ποιῶ is found already in Herodotus 1.112 and 4.147; Aristophanes *Thesm.* 157 καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ποιήσης; Aesop 107 ὁ δ' οὐκ ἄλλως ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν; Isaeus *De Apoll.* 27 καὶ μὴ ὡς ἄλλως ποιήσουσι; Plato *Crito* 45a ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθου καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποίει; 46a πείθου μοι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ποίει; *Lach.* 201b καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης;

---

ἐνέχυρα ἔρεται (*l.* αἶρεται) διὰ τὸ λίνον. ἐ|ὰν μὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἢ αὔριον πληρω|θῆ· οἱ γὰρ λινούφοι ἐξελαύνονται, the text might be understood better with a different punctuation, as follows: ἀπετίτω (*l.* ἀπαιτείτω) τὸν παλῆον (*l.* παλαιὸν) οἶνον. πρωτοτύπως καὶ πολλακίς συ (*l.* σοι) ἔγραψα περὶ τῆς ἀπετήσε|ως (*l.* ἀπαιτήσε|ως) τῆς ἐχθέσεως. εἰ προεχώρησεν ἢ οὐ | ἀληθῶς τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἔρεται (*l.* αἶρεται) διὰ τὸ λίνον. ἐ|ὰν μὴ. ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἢ αὔριον πληρω|θῆ· οἱ γὰρ λινούφοι ἐξελαύνονται.

Xenophon *Mem.* 1.3.1 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως πῶς ποιοῦντας περιέργους καὶ ματαίους ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι; Menander *Dysc.* 611-612 οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψαιμί σοι | ἄλλως ποῆσαι.

In papyri it is attested in various documents<sup>85</sup>, but mainly in the private letters of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods:

*P.Petr.* II 23, 3 (260-246 B.C.); *P.Rain.Cent.* 42, 5 (259 B.C.); *P.Genova* IV 137, 6-7 (258-257 B.C.)<sup>86</sup>; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59386, 5 (middle of III B.C.); *P.Col.* IV 103, 12 (middle of III B.C.); *PSI* V 491, 11-12 (257 B.C.); *PSI* V 499, 7 (256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59198, 4-5 (254 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59824, 3-4 (252 B.C.); *P.Mich.* I 72, 20 (251 B.C.); *P.Hib.* I 60, 9 (245 B.C.); *P.Hib.* I 58, 11-12 (245-244 B.C.); *BGU* V 1996, 14-15 (241 B.C.); *P.Jena* I 1, 9 (231 B.C.); *SB* X 10271, 40-41 (231-206 B.C.); *P.Hib.* 69 (230 B.C.); *P.Yale* I 49, 16-17 (227 B.C.); *SB* XX 14663, 17-18 (second half of III B.C.); *SB* XVIII 14042, 8-9 (III B.C.); *P.Mert.* I 4, 8-9 (III B.C.); *SB* I 5369, 22 and 27 (III B.C.); *SB* VI 9104, 19-20 (195 B.C.); *P.Heid.* VII 393, 5-6 (late III B.C.); *P.Bon.* 13, 7-8 (II B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III 767, 11-12 (II B.C.) εἰ δ' ἄλλως | πο<ι>ήσεις; *BGU* XVI 2656, 11-12 (21-5 B.C.); *BGU* XVI 2625, 21-22 (15 B.C.); *BGU* XVI 2613, 7-8 (14 B.C.); *P.Fay.* 109, 13 (10 B.C.-A.D. 34); *BGU* XVI 2654, 8-9 (6 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* II 459 (5 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2979, 11-12 (3 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* IV 745, 8 (A.D. 1); *P.Tebt.* II 408, 14-15 (A.D. 3); *P.Oxy.* II 294, 14 and 25 (A.D. 22); *P.Pintaudi* 52, 14-15 (A.D. 29); *P.Mich.* XI 621, 13 (A.D. 37); *BGU* IV 1096, 12-13 (A.D. 38); *P.Ryl.* II 230, 9 (A.D. 40); *SB* III 6823, 8-9 (A.D. 41-54); *P.Yale* I 78, 10 (first half of I A.D.); *P.Mich.Mchl.* 23, 10 (A.D. 51-65); *P.Berl.Zill.* 9, 14 (A.D. 68); *BGU* II 597, 12 and 20-21 (A.D. 75); *BGU* III 846, 9-10 (A.D. 75-85); *O.Did.* 339, 10 (A.D. 77-92); *O.Did.* 352, 3-4 (A.D. 77-92); *BGU* III 844, 12-13 and 19-20 (A.D. 83); *O.Krok.* I 86, 7-8 (A.D. 88-138); *P.Princ.* III 162, 5 (A.D. 89); *P.Turner* 18, 23 (A.D. 89-96); *P.Fay.* 110, 34 (A.D. 94); *BGU* III 824, 17 (A.D. 97-98); *BGU* III 811, 11-12 (A.D. 98-102); *SB* XXVIII 17096, 21-23 (A.D. 98-117); *P.Fay.* 112, 22 (A.D. 99); *O.Berenike* III 464, 9 (second half of I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2844, 12-13 (second half of I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4624, 14 (I A.D.); *P.Phil.* 33, 19 (I A.D.); *P.Havn.* II 24, 8-9 (I-II A.D.); *P.Wisc.* II 69, 11 (A.D. 100-101); *O.Claud.* I 154, 8 (A.D. 100-120); *P.Fay.* 115, 9 (A.D. 101); *P.Fay.* 119, 22-23 (A.D. 103); *P.Fay.* 116, 19 (A.D. 104); *P.Fay.* 118, 24 (A.D. 110); *O.Did.* 438, 5-6 (A.D. 110-115); *P.Mich.* III 203, 27-28 (A.D. 114-116); *SB* X 10278, 18-19 (A.D. 114-

<sup>85</sup> In the official documents and in contracts the adverb modifies a variety of verbs (never ποιῶ so far), and it always has the meaning “differently”: In the **Gnomon of Idios Logos**, *BGU* V 1210, 249; in **petitions**: *P.Enteux.* 25, 16 (222 B.C.) καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἄλλως ἔσται; *BGU* VIII 1826, 25 (51 B.C.); *SB* X 10239, 10-11 (A.D. 37) [πρᾶ]γμα ἄλλως μὴ ἔχουσαι | [πρὸ]ς ἐμέ; *P.Mich.* VI 426, 14 (A.D. 199-200); in **official documents**: *SB* VI 9454, (1) 8 and (3) 1 (270-269 B.C.); *P.Rev.Laws*, col. 30, 6-7 (259-258 B.C.) restored ἢ [ἄλλως] | ἐπικωλύσωσι τοὺς γεωργούς; *P.Tebt.* III 703, 39-40 (after 208 B.C.); *UPZ* I 112, ii 17 and v 14 (204 B.C.); *P.Berl.Zill.* 1, 30 (156 B.C.); *P.Congr.* XV 15, 49, 50, 76 and 77 (A.D. 80); *P.Hamb.* I 29, 13 (A.D. 94); *SB* VI 9050, v 6-7 (A.D. 117-127) ἢ ἄλλως ἀνάξει φανέντες δό|ξωσί σοι ἀνεπιτήδειοι εἶναι; *SB* XII 10929, 17 (A.D. 133-137); *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 107 (A.D. 300); *P.Gascou* 30, 8 (A.D. 548-565), with F. Morelli's n. *ad loc.* “preferisco allora pensare che coloro che hanno ἄλλως ἀσθενῶς τὸ σῶμα siano anch'essi lebbrosi, che ne soffrono però in maniera diversa”; *M.Chr.* 95, 15 and 17 (IV A.D.); *CPR* VII 25, 8 (VI A.D.); *P.Oxy.* I 128, 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 26 (A.D. 710); in **contracts** (usually in the legal clause ἄλλως καταχρηματίζειν): *P.Oxy.* XIV 1644, 14 (63-62 B.C.); *P.Mich.* X 587, 19 (A.D. 24-25); *P.Mich.* V 322a, 30 (A.D. 46); *P.Aberd.* 54 fr. 1, 11; fr. 2, 4 (middle of I A.D.); *SB* XXVIII 17045, 10 (A.D. 74-75); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 31, 23 (A.D. 86); *P.Mich.* IX 566, 16 (A.D. 89); *P.Bas.* 7, 16 (A.D. 117-138); *P.Oxy.* III 491, 8 (A.D. 126); *P.Oxy.* III 496, 7 (A.D. 127); *P.Oxy.* LII 3691, 13 (A.D. 139); *P.Oxy.* III 497, 2 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Athen.* 21, 18 (A.D. 131); *P.Giss.* 30, 17 (A.D. 140-161); *P.Oxy.* III 506, 42 (A.D. 143); *P.Vind.Worp* 10, 14-15 (A.D. 143-144); *M.Chr.* 237, 13 (A.D. 149); *P.Oslo* II 40, 17 and 48 (A.D. 150); *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2722, 36 (A.D. 154); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3491, 14 (A.D. 157-158); *PSI Congr.* XX 10, 2 (A.D. 173-174); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2560, 4 (A.D. 258) ἢ καὶ ὡ[ς] ἄλλως χρηματίζων; *PSI* XIII 1340, 16 (A.D. 420); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3355, 13-14 (A.D. 535); *P.Warr.* 10, 26 (A.D. 591-592); *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 6, 28-29 (A.D. 710); in **accounts and lists**: *P.Ryl.* IV 589, 7 (180 B.C.); *UPZ* II 180b xxviii 7 (113 B.C.) Ὅσοροῆρις Σποτοῦτος φεντομῆ . ( ) ἢ καὶ ἄλλ(ως) γρά(φεται); *P.Diog.* 46, 22 and 30 (A.D. 156-211); *P.Flor.* II 151, 10-11 (A.D. 266); *SB* VI 9157, 3 (III A.D.?) in **mathematical calculations** *P.Lond.* II 265 recto 6, 20, 35 (p. 257) ἄλλως ποιῆσαι.

<sup>86</sup> The text reads [ ἐ]πεὶ οὖν ἐμβέβηκας εἰς τὸν κληῖρον | μὴ ἄλλως ποιῆσαι] ἵνα καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπ[ὸν . . . .] ἵαν ἔχωμεν, and it is better to consider it as an official letter rather than a petition (cf. *ed. princ.*'s discussion in the introduction of the papyrus and the question mark after the title of the papyrus, “petizione?”); see footnote above concerning official documents.

119); *O.Krok.* I 76, 5 (A.D. 117-125); *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 217, 7-8 (A.D. 125) βλέπε μὴ ἄλλως | ποιήσης; *O.Did.* 427, 11 (A.D. 125-140); *O.Claud.* II 299, 9 (A.D. 126-175); *O.Flor.* 19, 7 (A.D. 126-200); *P.Hombert* II 41, 14-15 (A.D. 126-200); *P.Stras.* IV 193, 15-16 (A.D. 128); *SB VIII* 9843, 10-11 and 18-19 (A.D. 138; Palestine); *O.Did.* 448, 6 (A.D. 140-150); *SB XX* 15380, 10-11 (first half of II A.D.); *P.Phil.* 16, 6 (A.D. 161); *BGU III* 846, 24-15 (II A.D.); *BGU XV* 2492, 5-6 (II A.D.); *O.Leid.* 328, 5 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 13 (II A.D.); *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 300, 10-11 (II A.D.) -- | οὖν ἄλλως [--] → μὴ | οὖν ἄλλως [ποιήσης?]; *P.Tebt.* II 411, 10-11 (II A.D.); *P.Worp* 52, 13 (II A.D.) μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης; *O.Bodl.* II 2475, 6(?) (II-III A.D.); *SB XXIV* 16283, 14 (II-III A.D.); *P.Tebt.Pad.* I 24, 17-18 (II-III A.D.); *P.Berl.Zill.* 11, 21 (III A.D.); *SB XII* 10785, 14 (III A.D.) ἀλ<λ> ὅρα μὴ ἄλλως (*scil.* ποιήσης); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 3, 23 (III A.D.) at the end of the phrase ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλως (*scil.* ποιήσης); *SB XX* 14330, 8-9 (III-IV A.D.); *O.Trim.* I 298, 5-6 (A.D. 350-370); *SB X* 10279, 7 (IV A.D.?) μὴ οὖν ὅπως (*l.* οὐ<ν> ὡς, or ὅπως or ὅμως see A. Papathomas in *P.Heid.* VII 393, on p. 48, n. 25) ἄλλως ποιήσης.

White (1970, 18) considers the phrase as part of the responsibility statement in the closing of the letter. Steen 1938, 160-162 “L’expression μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης est employé au temps Ptolémaïque et au Ier siècle après J.-Chr. comme un tour d’intensité. Au IIe siècle apr. J.-Chr. elle est supplantée par μὴ ἀμελήσης qui apparaît sporadiquement au t. Ptolemaïque et au Ier siècle apr. J.-Chr., mais qui -au IIe siècle apr. J.-Chr.- prend le dessus sur μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης est place immédiatement après l’impératif qu’il faut renforcer. Très souvent il sert à conclure une longue série d’impératifs immédiatement avant la formule d’adieu”. Similar phrases in which the adverb modifies the verb ποιῶ are: *P.Genova* III 94, 3 (240 B.C.) εἰ δ’ ἄλλως ποιήσεις; *P.Lond.* II 356, 10-11 (I A.D.) ἐὰν γὰρ ἄλ|λως ποιήσης; *SB VI* 9139, 15 (VI A.D.) ὅτι οὐκ εὐρίσκεις (*l.* εὐρίσκεις) ἡμᾶς ἄλ<λ>ως ποιοῦντ[ας]. In addition, cf. the modification of the verb πράττω in two instances of the second century A.D.: *P.Oxy.* III 532, 15 (II A.D.) ὅρα οὐ\ν/ μὴ ἄλλως πράξῃς; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2996, 45-46 (II A.D.?) it should be dated to the early III A.D.; see proposal in p. 209) μὴ καὶ ἄλ[λ]ως πως πράξω πρὸς σέ.

Moreover, the adverb modified other verbs:

(εἰμί), cf. *P.Hib.* I 62, 16 (245 B.C.) [καὶ ὅ]π[ω]ς μὴ ἄλλως ἔσται; *P.Stras.* VII 621, 4 (232-231 B.C.); *P.Col.* IV 122, 5-6 (181 B.C.) εἰ δ’ ἄλλως | ἔσται.

(δοκεῖ, τάσσω, φαίνομαι, διαγιγνώσκω, φρονῶ, προλαμβάνω), cf. *P.Köln* VI 263, 9 (213 B.C.) εἰ δ’ ἄλλως δέδοκται; *P.Lond.* VII 1977, 10-11 (253 B.C.) εἰ μὴ ἄλλως πως οὐ διώ|κησας; *P.Petr.* II 17, 24 (229-228 B.C.) ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως πως δοκῆ| Ἀριστ[ομάχῳ]; *P.Sorb.* I 33, 6-7 (III B.C.) ἐγὼ οὖν οὐκ ἄλ|λως πως ἐτετάγμην (“agreed upon”); *P.Tebt.* III 936, 4 (c. 155 B.C.) ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ἄλλως φαίνητ[αι]; *P.Tebt.* III 956, 10 144 B.C.) ἐὰν μὴ ἄλλως φαίνηται; *P.Tebt.* III 736, 44 (143 B.C.) ἐὰν μὴ ἄλλως δ[ό]ξῃ; *P.Tebt.* III 712, 15 (last quarter II B.C.) εἰ δ’ ἄλλως διέγνωσται; *P.Tebt.* I 53, 27 (110 B.C.) ἐὰν μὴ ἄλ<λ>ως φαίνηται; *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2594, 4-5 (II A.D.) οὐ δὲ δοκεῖς με | ἄλλως περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3994, 11-12 (III A.D.) προλαμβάνω ἄλλω\ς/ πε|ρὶ αὐτῆς (see n. *ad loc.* referring to LSJ *s.v.* ἄλλως “otherwise than right, wrongly”; *P.Ryl.* IV 624, 18 (III A.D.) τῶ[ν] ἄλλως φρονού[σ]των.

In addition, it seems to modify the verb καταφέρω in *P.Apoll.* 41, 9-10 (A.D. 708-709) ἐὰν οὐ ποιῆς (*l.* ποιῆς? or ποιή<σ>ης, *l.* ποιή<σ>ης?) τοῦτο | [--] ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀλλεῶς (*l.* ἀλλῶς, *ed. princ.*; cf., however, *LBG s.v.* ἀλλεῶς (ἀλλοίως?) “auf andere Art”) κατενεγκη (*l.* κατενέγκαι?) αὐτόν. (I would like to thank Jean-Luc Fournet for providing to me a photo of the papyrus).

In some instances, where the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, the modification of the verb is not clear:

*SB XII* 10867, 6 (244/219 B.C.) ἤδη μὴ οὖν ὀλιγωρήσατε ἄλλως [. . . ]εται; *P.Mil.* II 21, b 4 (III B.C.); *BGU VI* 1301, 15 (II B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III 751, 12-13 (II B.C.) καὶ ἄλλως πως ἡμῖν | [; *SB V* 7611, 10 (50-49 B.C.); *P.Stras.* VII 629, 24 (c. A.D. 160), where ἄλλως should be constructed probably with the previous phrase ἔγραφα αὐτῆ; *P.Ryl.* II 434, 5-6 (c. A.D. 130-200); *P.Wisc.* II 48, 26 (II A.D.) μὴ κρ{ε}ινόμενος ἄλλως <ε>ισῆλθον ἐν τῶ πραιτωρ[ί]ω; *SB XVI* 12653, 6 (II A.D.?) [. . . ] ἄλλως ποι|[ ], probably the formula μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης (or *sim.*) should be restored, since the verb ποιῶ is usually found in the private letters; *P.Brook.* 18, 13 (III A.D.) εὐ ποιεῖς ἄλλως ἀκούειν; *PSI VII* 740, 1 (A.D. 304) ἄλλως γ{ε}ινά[μ]μενα πρὸς τὸ α[; *P.Worp* 24, 12-13 (III-IV A.D.) ἄλλως γὰρ | χλ[α]μ[ύ]δας] ε[. . . .] ἄλλως δὲ ὑμ<ε>ῖς ἔχετε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν; *P.Iand.* VI 127, 4 (V A.D.?).

In addition, ἄλλως τε / ἄλλως δέ (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄλλως I 2 b “especially, above all”) are also found in papyri:

*UPZ* I 20, 44 (163 B.C.); *P.Amst.* I 89, 3 (A.D. 3); *P.Tebt.* II 302, 19 (A.D. 71-72); *BGU* II 530, 18 and 36 (I A.D.).

There are some texts in which the adverb (sometimes also restored) is difficult to understand<sup>87</sup>:

*P.Stras.* IX 808, 21 (I A.D.?) σε κύριε εὐχομαι [---] | [ἄ]λλ(ως) (ἔτους) θ θεοῦ Οὐεσ[πασιανου]. In *BGU* IV 1040, 34-35 (II A.D.) κ[αὶ ἄλλ]ως οὔν μοι γράψ<ε>ις, περὶ ὧν | σοι [δοκεῖ(?) γράφειν] the restoration is arbitrary and uncertain. *P.Iand.* II 20, 9 (VI-VII A.D.) βλέπε οὔν μὴ [ἄλλως ποιήσης, the restoration is debatable; see A. Parathomas in *P.Heid.* VII 393, on p. 48, n. 24. *O.Cair.GPW* 17, 4-5 (137-136 B.C.) καὶ οὐθέν σοι ἐ<γ>κα[λῶ]. | ἄλλως τοῦ βοιθοῦ (*l.* βοηθοῦ?). *PSI* VII 837, 7-8 (III-IV A.D.) καὶ ἄλλως γέγονεν τὸ ἀργὸν δεσμιδίων | (δραχμῶν) Δ. *P.Lond.* VI 1928, 6-7 (IV?) οὐ γὰρ | ἄλλως βοηθῆσθαι πισ[τ]ε[ύ]ω. *P.Oxy.* XIV 1929, 2-3 (IV-V A.D.) μὴ ἀμελήσης τοῦ ρῆσαι τούτω (*l.* τοῦτο?) | ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ ἄλλω (*l.* ἄλλως?) κερὸς (*l.* καιρός) ἐστιν μάλιστα καὶ χρ<ε>ιαν ἔχομεν τὰ πλοῖα.

### ἀλόγως\*

The adverb indicates that something happened without any reason, “contrary to reason, absurd” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄλογος II 3). It is found mainly in petitions concerning the irrational action of some persons (see Mayser 1936, 124):

E.g. *P.Enteux.* 79, 9-10 (218 B.C.) δέομαι οὔν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, [μὴ περιδεῖν με οὔ]τως ἀλόγως ὑπὸ Αἰγυ[πτίας] ὑβρισιμέ[ν]ον, “Ἑλλην[α ὄν] | τα καὶ ξένον; *BGU* II 467, 8-10 (c. A.D. 176-179) ἀλώγως (*l.* ἀλόγως) ἐπῆλ | θέ μ[οι κα] | βιαίως ἀπέσπασεν [τ]οῦς κα | μ[ή]λο[υ]ς; probably also understood in *P.Flor.* I 58, 7-8 (A.D. 234) “Ἡρων υ . . . ἀλογως ἐπελθ[όν]τες δίχα παντός νόμου καὶ δι | [χα πάσης] ἐξουσίας καὶ δίχα γνώμης ἐμῆς καὶ συνκαταθέσε[ω]ς . . . ουντες δικαίω ἢ τοπικῇ βίᾳ. The adverb appears in school exercises: (1) in an alphabetical acrostic as a school exercise, *P.Tebt.* II 278, 31 (early I A.D.) ἦρτε ἀλόγως, “it (i.e. my garment) was taken without cause”, and (2) among other adverbs ending in -ως in a letter of Hadrian to Antoninus, dated to the second century A.D. (*P.Fay.* 19 = M-P<sup>3</sup> 2116). In ll. 2-4 we read ἔ[τι ο]ὔτε ἄω | [ρεῖ οὔ]τε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀ[προσ]δοκί[τ]ω[ς] | [οὔτε ἀνο]ή[τ]ως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βί[ο]υ (cf. also ll. 17-19 ἔ[τι οὐ] ἄω[ρι οὔ]τε | [ἀλόγως] οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπροσδοκί[τ]ω[ς] | [οὔτε ἀ]νοή[τ]ως ἀπαλλάσσομε (*l.* ἀπαλλάσσομαι) τοῦ βίου).

In addition, in the Roman and early Byzantine periods the adverb is usually found in private letters as part of a phrase in which information is given concerning someone who left a place. It precedes (in most cases) or follows the modified verbs ἀφίστημι, ἀποδημῶ, ἀπέρχομαι, ἐξέρχομαι, ἐξοικέω. Clarysse (2011) considers that at least in six instances in various documents, both private and official, the adverb should be translated as “without saying a word, without saying goodbye” (in the following examples only the private letters are provided with the text):

*P.Graux.* II 26, 2-6 (II A.D.); *P.Fouad* I 78, 2 (II-III A.D.) ἀλόγως ἀποστήση μὴ συμ|βαλῶν μοι; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1668, 26-27 (III A.D.) ἵνα μὴ | ἀλόγως ἀποστῶμεν; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3066, 7-9 (A.D. III); *SB* VI 9534, 43 (= *P.Heid.* II 214) ἀλόγως ἀποστήναι; *P.Abinn.* 14, 3-4 (middle IV A.D.) θαυμάζ[ω] ὥς ἀλόγως ἐξοίκη | σας ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. Concerning fourteen more cases the meaning fits the context both as “without reason” and “without saying goodbye”: *P.Oxy.* III 526, 3-5 (II A.D.) οὐκ ἦμην ἀπα | θῆς ἀλόγως σε κατα | λείπ<ε>ιν; *P.Hamb.* II 192, 9-11 (III A.D.) ὁ δὲ κατά | ρατος ναυτικός ἀλό | γως ἀπεδήμησεν; *P.Lond.* III 973b (p. 213), 11-12 (III A.D.) μὴ δόξης με ἀλό | γως ἀπεληλυθέναι ἀ[π]ὸ σοῦ; *P.Tebt.* II 420, 4-6 (III A.D.) οἴδατε ὅτι ἀπὸ ζημίας ἡμῖ (*l.* εἰμὶ) καὶ | ἀλόγως (*l.* ἀλόγως) ἐξήλθατε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ μὴ | δούντες (*l.* δόντες) μοι χάλκινα; *SB* VI 9415, 18 (= *P.Prag.Varecl.* NS 39, 10-12) (III A.D.) καὶ διὰ τοῦ | το ἀλόγως αὐτοῦς | ἀποστάντας; *SB* VI 9534, 6-8 (III A.D.) ἀπ[ο] | στῆναί μου ἀλόγως καὶ ἐν | καταλείπει με ἐπ[ὶ] | ξένης; *W.Chr.* 498, 8-9 (A.D. 267-274?) θαυμάζω πάνυ | [ὅτι] ἀλόγως ἀπέστητε; *P.Mert.* I 38, 10-12 (middle IV A.D.) καὶ ἀλώκος (*l.* ἀλόγως) | ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἤλ | θαν πρὸς σέ; *P.Amh.* II 145, 15-18 (c.

<sup>87</sup> For the new reading in *P.Mich.* VIII 474, 8-10 (II A.D.) κα[ὶ] ἔ]πεμψε Ἰσίδωρον τὸν υἱὸν [σ]ου πρὸς σέ {ε}ἵνα σου τὰ βάλλ[τ]ια ἐνέγκῃ σοι μετ’ἄ στρατιωτῶν. ὅτι ἀκολουθ<ε> ἡμ[ε]ῖν μήπως ἔλθῃ καὶ ἀλλ’ ὡς καὶ σο[ὶ] | [e.g. ἔγραφα (οἱ εἶπον, ἐπέμψα etc.) ἢ πλήμυρα ἐ]ν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπ<ε>ἰ ο[ὐ] δύνομε (*l.* δύνομαι) ἐγὼ καταλείψῃ (*l.* καταλείψαι) τὴν οἰκίαν; see p. 230, *s.v.* σοβαρῶς.

A.D. 370-430); ostracon M1126 transcribed by J.-L. Fournet in H. Cuvigny (ed.), *La route de Myos Hormos*, IFAO 2003, II, 437, n. 52; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3085, 3 (III A.D.) ἀλόγως ἀποστάς; *P.Lips.* I 111, 20 (IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3413, 3-4 (IV A.D.) δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀλόγως | [--]ας μὴ ἀπαντήσας, where in this private letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, one should restore a form of a verb to indicate that the recipient of the letter left the place. Clarysse (2011) also considers one example dated to the Ptolemaic period as one of alternative rendering: *SB V* 7636, 10-12 (70 or 41 B.C.?), after a πίστις sent to three workers (ll. 1-9), there is a personal note to them, ἔδει δὲ μὴ ἀλόγως ὑμᾶς | κεχωρίσθαι. τίς γὰρ | ὑμᾶς ἐξέβαλε ἢ τί | ἠδικήθητε.

In the private letters of the third century A.D., the adverb ἀλόγως is also found to modify other verbs:

E.g. in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3085 (III A.D.), as said above, in l. 3 it modifies the verb ἀφίστημι (ἀλόγως ἀποστάς), and in ll. 10-12 it modifies probably the verb σκύλλω (μὴ τοῖσιν | ποιήσης με σκυ . . . | ἀλόγως) (see Clarysse 2011, 146, no 17); it modifies the verb καταλαῶ, “talk down”, in *P.Laur.* III 106, 4 (before A.D. 253) οὐ μὴ Λε[ ] . . . ἀλόγως καταλαεῖ; the verb ἀπομένω, “remain behind”, in *P.Oxy.* XLII 3066, 7 (III A.D.) καὶ ἀπέμεινας ἀλόγως (alternatively, ἀνέμεινας ἀλόγως, as proposed by Clarysse 2011, 142, no 4 “you stayed away”). Finally, in the Byzantine period the adverb is found in some private letters to modify various verbs: *P.Lips.* I 111, 20 (IV A.D.) διὰ τί ἀλόγως ἀπαίδι[ . . . ]σας αὐτῶ; the adverb is an uncertain reading in *P.Oxy.* LIX 4004, 4-5 (V A.D.) \κα[ι οὐκ]/ | | ἀλ[όγ]ως τοσοῦτον ὁ υἱός σου | Γρατιανὸς ἐπόθησεν αὐτήν; see Chara 1998, 11, 4n. “This combination of οὐκ with ἀλόγως is classical (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἄλογος II 3), although I could not find other examples of it in the papyri”; *P.Land.* II 16, 6 (V-VI A.D.) [κ]αὶ [μ]ὴ ζημιωθ[ῆ]ναί με ἀλόγως.

#### ἀλύπως\*

The adverb was used in the classical literature, e.g. in Plato, Isocrates, Lysias, Xenophon (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄλυπος), in order to indicate that someone lives free from pain and sorrow. It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 75, 13-14 (Roman period) τοῦτο δὲ σοι πέμπω παραμύθι[ον ὧς], ὅτι ἀλύπως, ρητῶς ἔσχα τρυφήν πρὶν εἰς Α[ἰδην] μ' ἀναλῦσαι.

In the papyri it appears only in four private letters of the Ptolemaic period (see Mayser 1936, 124) in a way that looks formulaic. In two of these examples the adverb modifies and follows the infinitive ζῆν:

*P.Baden* IV 51, 2-3 (beginning of II B.C.) χαίρ<ε>ιν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρωμένον ζῆν | ἀλύπως, ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτή; *P.Bagnall* 50, 2-3 (II B.C.) χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι | ζῆν ἀλύπως. The phrase finds literary parallels in Plato *Prot.* 358b ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀλύπως ζῆν καὶ ἠδέως, but mainly in Menander fr. 14, 2-3 ἀπλοῦν γὰρ ἦν | τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ζῆν ἀλύπως ἀποθανεῖν; sent. 286 ἢ ζῆν ἀλύπως, ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως; 749 τὸ ζῆν ἀλύπως ἐστὶν ἠδιστος βίος; 757 τὸ ζῆν ἀλύπως ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν εὐτυχούς; cf. also *I.Fay.* I 58, 4 (I A.D.; = *SB I* 5760) ἄλυπος, which is read as ἀλύπως by Presigke in *SB I* 5760 (see *SEG XXVI* 1741).

In two other examples the adverb modifies and precedes the second person present tense indicative ἀπαλλάσσεις/ἀπαλλάττεις:

*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59405, 2-4 (middle of III B.C.) καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι εἰ | αὐτὸς τε ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰ λοι|πὰ εἰ ἀλύπως ἀπαλλάττεις (see *WB IV s.v.* ἄλυπος “wenn du ohne Sorgen bist”); *P.Petr.* II 2 (3), 1-2 (III B.C.) εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλύπως ἀπαλ|λάσσεις, εἴη ἂν ὡς ἐγὼ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχόμεν[ος] διατελῶ.

#### ἀλωβήτως\*

The adjective ἀλώβητος, with the meaning “unblemished, intact or sound” appears from the first century B.C. (Philo 1.451; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀλώβητος) and the adverb in the patristic literature of the fourth century A.D.: cf. Joannes Chr. *Epist. ad Eudox.*; Cyrillus, *PG* 68, 552 and 808 etc.; see Lampe *s.v.* In papyri the adverb is only found in a private(?) letter of the second half of the VII A.D.: *P.Apoll.* 71, 4 κελεῦσαι ταῦτα (some products) δέχεσθαι ἀλωβήτως, where it follows the modified verb δέχεσθαι.

## ἀμάχως

It is only attested in a testament of the Byzantine period, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 15-16 (A.D. 570) γινῶναι τε ἀναμφισβητήτως καὶ ἀμάχως | τό τί περιέχει, and it is restored in a contract, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67153, 31 (A.D. 568), to indicate that no dispute should be done concerning some documents and legal procedures; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἄμαχος II 2 “disinclined to fight, not contentious”; Wagner 1999, 331-332 (for a comparison to εἰρηνικῶς).

## ἀμειώτως

The adverb occurs in private documents, such as settlements, testaments and agreements, of the Byzantine period, mostly of the sixth century A.D., with the meaning “without reduction”: *P.Mich.* XIII 659, 88 (A.D. 527-547); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312, 86 (A.D. 567); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 97 (A.D. 570); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896, 21 (A.D. 577); *P.Petra* III 29, 61 (A.D. 582-592); *P.Lond.* II 483, 55 and 58 (A.D. 615-616); in the latter two examples it is paired with the adverb ἀνελλιπῶς/ἀνελλίπτως (see *P.Petra* III 29, 61n.); see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμειώτως, citing Olympiodorus *in Alc.* p. 111C.; Lampe *s.v.*

## ἀμελῶς\*

Although the adverb usually occurs in the classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμελής; Spicq 1978, 68) with the meaning “carelessly”, it is rarely used in the private letters or other types of documents. Its first attestation in papyri is in an official letter from the Zenon archive, *PSI* IV 425, 13-15 (263-229 B.C.) ὀρῶ ἀμελῶς | [τὸν] Ἡρακλείδην τὸν γραμματέα πεπρα|γματευμένον. In a private letter of the Roman period, it modifies the verb ἔχειν: *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 11, 5-6 (first half of II A.D.) ἡγοῦμαι μὴ | ἀμελῶς ἔχειν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν. In both instances the adverb precedes the modified verbal form. The proposal of *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀμελής concerning the reading in *PSI* VII 842, 21 (IV A.D.?) αρτιαμελ . . to be understood as ἄρτι ἀμελ[ῶς] is debatable; see photograph in <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/PSI%20VII%20842%20r.jpg?1365958183>.

It is also found in an official document, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *CPR* XXIV 2, 13 (end of IV-beginning of V A.D.) ] ἔξεσταί μοι ἀμελῶς ηδ[, but the modified verb is lost in the lacuna. However, in two other cases the restoration should be considered debatable: in the legal proceedings in *P.Flor.* I 61, 11-12 (= *M.Chr.* 80; A.D. 85), instead of τὸ πρᾶ[γ]μα χαρίζομαι | αὐτῶι, ἴν' ἀμελῶ[ς] ἔχω(?) it is better that a simple verbal form, e.g. ἀμελῶ [ is restored at the end. In a contract of the Byzantine period, *P.Flor.* III 384, 86-87 (A.D. 489) ὀλ[ιγ]ωρῆσαι τῆς μισθώσεως | [ἢ ἀμε]λῶς ἀνα[στ]ραφ[ῆ]ναι, the meaning “carelessly” does not give proper sense. One could restore other adverbs, e.g. παντε|λῶς, ὄ|λως etc.

## ἀμέμπτως\*

The adverb was mainly used in official documents to indicate that something was made to support irreproachably (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμεμπτος I 2; Bauer *s.v.*) and was usually paired with ἀκαταφρονήτως (see *s.v.*, p. 46); in addition, it occurs in a marriage contract, *PSI Com.* XI 7, 9 (I-II A.D.); see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀμεμπτος; for its attestation in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

In the private letters, however, it occurs rarely:

In the Zenon archive: *P.Col.* IV 64, 9-10 (c. 257-255 B.C.) συναρέστημεν αὐτῶι |

ἀμέμπτως; *PSI IV* 361, 15-16 (251 B.C.) καὶ τούτους σοὶ ἀποστελῶ· λ<ε>ιτουργήσουσιν γάρ σοι ὡσεὶ | ἀδελφῶν ἀμέμπτως; *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59852, 4-5 (243 B.C.) ὅπως ἂν σοὶ χρεῖας παρέχωμαι ὑπουργῶν ἀμέμπτως | τὸ προστασσόμενον; *P.Lond.* VII 2041, 1-5 (middle of III B.C.) οἶδας | μὲν αὐτὸς ὄν τρόπον τὰ ἔργα λυ|σιτελῶς τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως | συντελῶ σοι, πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ | ἔτι βελτίον προστῆναι.

In two letters of the late Roman period: *P.Harr.* II 203, 7-10 (III A.D.) ἵνα | δυνηθῆ ἀμέμπτως | ὑπηρετῆσαι τῷ ἡγεμό|νι, and *P.Oxy.* XLII 3086, 3-4 (III-IV A.D.) μὴ οὖν ταρασσέτω | πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτω χρόνω ἀμέμπτως ἡμῖν κοινωνοῦντα. In all cases these private letters seem to have an official character, and the adverb always modifies verbs which mean “support, do service”.

The same is true of a private letter, published by R. Pintaudi – D. Rathbone, “Due lettere dell’archivio di Heroneinos nella collezione Martin Schøyen (MS 244/18; MS 244/23)”, *AnalPap* 23/24 (2011-2012), 105-109, esp. 106, ll. 7-9 πάσαν ὑπη[ρ]εσίαν προ|νόησον αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν πρὸς | τὸ ἀμέμπτως μὴ μεμφθῆναι (A.D. 258), where, even though the adverb modifies the infinitive πρὸς τὸ μὴ μεμφθῆναι, the idea of “do service” is found in the main verb of the clause.

In the ostrakon *P.Giss.* I 98 (II A.D.), however, the brief text of the private letter/notice runs as follows: Κράτης τοῖς ἀλιεῦσι. ἔπεμψα πρὸς | ὑμᾶς τὴν Σευμαριάνην χάριν | ὀλίγων. τὰ τέσσερα οὖν κολο|φώνια τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά μοι | δότε αὐτῇ ἀμέμπτως, ἀλλ’ ἐν | τάχει καὶ μὴ κατὰσχητε | αὐτήν, where the κολοφώνια should be sent “in perfect condition” and immediately.

ἀμεψιμοιρήτως

The adverb with the meaning “without cause of complain” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμεψιμοίρητος) is found only in marriage contracts of the Roman period and not in the classical literature: see *P.Ryl.* II 154, 19 (A.D. 66); *BGU* I 251, 5 (A.D. 81); *CPR* I 28, 5 (A.D. 110); *P.Bodl.* I 61 d, 7 (II A.D.); *SB XXVIII* 17070, 7 (II A.D.); cf. also its occurrence in *P.Mich.* V 340 recto, 40 (A.D. 45-46), a property settlement after marriage. In addition, the opposite μεψιμοίρω is attested only in Pollux 3.139.

ἀμερίμωσ\* – ἀμεριμνότερον<sup>88</sup>

The adverb is certain in two cases, where it precedes and modifies the verb διάγω to indicate that someone does not need to worry concerning various matters (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἀμέριμνος I; Lampe *s.v.*): *P.Ryl.* II 235, 9-11 (II A.D.) ἵν[α] καὶ ἡμεῖς πε|ρὶ σοῦ ἀμερ[ί]μνωσ διάγω|μεν; *P.Haun.* II 21, 10-12 (III-IV A.D.) ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν μὴ βουλευθῆς τρ|χύτερόν μοι διάπεμψαι ἐπιστολήν ἵνα | κάγω ἀμερίμωσ διάγω. Two private letters, *SB XXIV* 16290, 8 (II-III A.D.?) ἀμερίμωσ, and *P.Ross.Georg.* V 6, 19 (= *P.Iand.* II 13, 15-32; IV A.D.) ἀμερίμωσ ὦμεν, are preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the modification which is made by the adverb is not clear<sup>89</sup>; see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀμέριμνος “sorglos”.

Moreover, the restoration [ἀμ]ε[ρί]μνωσ in *P.Amh.* II 136, 20-22 (A.D. 196-198?) ἵνα

<sup>88</sup> The comparative of the adverb is only found in an official document, *W.Chr.* 237, 20-21 (I-II A.D.) ἀμεριμνότερον ἔχης.

<sup>89</sup> In the former case, *SB XXIV* 16290, 9 the writer has also written another adverb in -ως, that is ἀσφαλῶς. In the latter, *P.Ross.Georg.* V 6, 17-18 we read εἰ ἀμε(?)|ριμνεῖς εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ σέ, which is a parallel wording.

ἔχη αὐ| [τὰ εἰς [τ]ὰ παρ' αὐτῶ ἀναλώματα | [ἀ]με[ρί]μνωσ <ε>ἰς πρᾶσιν is debatable. In *P.Iand.* II 8, 10-12 (II-III A.D.) καὶ τ]ὰ λοιπὰ καὶ τὰ γάρια, | [ἐὰ]ν [ὄ]νον εὐρω{ι}, διαπέμψ[ομαι] | [διὰ τοῦ] ὀνολάτου ἀμερίμνω[ς], the restoration of the adverb is debatable, since the verb ἀμερίμνωσ οἱ ἀμερίμν[ή]σω οἱ -ήσεις can also be restored; in addition, the restoration διαπέμψ[ομαι] is also uncertain, since another verbal form could also be restored, e.g. διαπέμψ[ας] etc. Cf. also the proposal to restore the personal name Ἀμερίμνου(?) (in an anonymous marginal note from Michigan, via PN)<sup>90</sup>.

#### ἀμεταθέτως

It occurs only in an agreement *P.Lond.* V 1902, verso 1-2 (A.D. 566-573) καὶ ἐνορκῶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ κριτὴν καὶ δικαστὴν ἀμετ[α]|θέτως ταύτας αἰεὶ παραφυλάξει ἀρραγεῖς, with the meaning “unalterably”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμετάθετος; Lampe *s.v.*; cf. also Origenes, *PG* 12, 1609 καὶ τὸ «ὀμόσαι» τουτέστι τὸ ἀμεταθέτως τοῦτο προθέσθαι, καὶ ἀπαράβατον φυλάττειν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ὄρκου μετὰ βεβαιώσεως προελέσθαι.

#### ἀμετανοήτως

The adverb is used with the meaning “not repentantly” (see LSJ *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*) in legal clauses of contracts, such as divisions of inheritance, leases sales etc., dated to the late Roman and Byzantine periods. It is usually paired in the clause with other adverbs ending in -ως, e.g. κυρίως καὶ ἀναφαιρέτως καὶ ἀμετανοήτως οἱ ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως καὶ ἀμετανοήτως.

#### ἀμισῶς

The adverb is attested in a petition of the middle of the third century B.C. (Zenon archive?), *P.Genova* IV 136, 15 καὶ αὐτῶι ἀμισῶς, with the meaning “not hatefully”; see 15n. *ad loc.* The adverb is rare in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμισής, with its first reference to Philo 2.57 ὅς γένοιτ' ἂν ἰκανὸς ἀμισῶς καὶ ἀνεπάφως εὐτρεπῆ τὰ λεχθέντα ποιεῖν.

#### ἀμφιβόλως

A reading in a receipt of the Byzantine period, *BGU* III 808, verso 2-3, ἀν|αλογίαν ἀμφιβώλος (ἀναμφιβώλος *ed. princ.*) | γραφ( ), is interpreted as the adverb ἀμφιβόλως, with the meaning “doubtfully, ambiguously”. For the meaning and earlier attestations see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμφίβολος III.

#### ἀναγκαίως\*

It occurs in petitions (official requests, complaints etc.), court proceedings, edicts<sup>91</sup>, official diaries, reports and administrative documents (e.g. census, declarations etc.) and official letters<sup>92</sup>; see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀναγκαῖος 2 “notwendig”.

<sup>90</sup> The adverb is restored in the petition *SB* VIII 9897, 12-13 (II-III A.D. = *SB* XVI 12290) τὸ δύνασθαι με ἀνεπ[ηρ]ῆσαι[τον οὐ]τῶς γενέσθ[αι καὶ ἀμερί]μνωσ ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου διατρέι[βει]ν, where, even though the restoration is based only on the certain letters μνωσ at the beginning of the line, it seems the most probable one.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. also in inscriptions: Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 3, 21; no 4, 8. 19. 41 (A.D. 68); cf also no 4, 8.19.

<sup>92</sup> *P.Alex. Giss.* 41, *P.Bub.* II 5 Kol. IV, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67061, *P.Giss.* I 48, *P.Harr.* I 63, *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2182, *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2187, *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3469, *P.Oxy.* LV 3788, *P.Oxy.* LXX 4775 R, *P.Giss.* I 61, *SPP* V 97, *P.Petaus* 12 and *SPP* XX 254.



In the private letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods, the adverb means “necessarily”, and it modifies various verbs or verbal phrases<sup>93</sup>. Sometimes in an utterance writers used the adverb ταχέως, because they wanted to indicate that it is both necessary and important that a certain action had to be done quickly. A subordinate clause of purpose or cause is used, e.g. in *P.Giss.* I 103, 6-8; *P.Oxy.* III 532, 10-14; *O.Eleph. DAIK* 96, 9-10; *P.Mich.* VIII 506, 3-4; *P.Oslo* III 160, 9-11; *BGU* II 451, 8-13; *P.Warr.* 15, 28; *P.Flor.* II 138, 2-6; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1665, 14-19; *P.IFAO* II 18, 4-8. In most cases the adverb modifies verbs that mean “write” and “tell” or “send” and “receive” something.

#### A. ἀναγκαίως modifying a simple verbal form:

*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 3-4 (A.D. 76) ἀναγ|καίως σοι ἔγραψα; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1153, 10-12 (I A.D.) ἐγὼ δὲ εὐρών τὸ | πλοῖον καταπλέον ἀναγκαίως ἔδοξα | δηλώσαι σοι περὶ τῶν προγεγραμμέ(νων); *P.Brem.* 56, 9-11 (A.D. 113-120) ἐπεὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς | σήμερον οὐκ ἤλθας, αὔριον ἡμεῖς ἀ|ναγκαίως [σ]ε ἀσπασόμεθα<sup>94</sup>; *P.Giss.Apoll.* 21, 2-11 (c. A.D. 117) ἐπ<ε>ὶ οἶδας τὸ συμβάν... ἀναγ|κ[α]ίως γράφω σοί· οὐδένα | <ἐ>χω [μ]ε[τ]ᾶ τὸν θ[ε]ὸν εἰ μ[ὴ] σε, and l. 24, where the text is restored as ἐπ<ε>ὶ ἀναγ|καίως / | [ἐ]χω ἀγοράσαι τὰ ὀθόνια (see B, below); *P.Giss.Apoll.* 25, 8-11 (A.D. 115-117) Ἀ|γουβ[ί]ων γρ|άψη τοῦ[το αὐ] | τῶι παρὰ [σοῦ ἀν]αγκαίως σε[---] | λω, φίλτα[τε, ἐπεὶ] χρεῖα ἐστὶν ἡ|μῶν ἄρτω[ν]. It might be restored as ἀναγκαίως σο[ι] ἐπιστέλ|λω, φίλτα[τε; cf. *P.Col.* X 282, 9-10 (III-IV A.D.) ἀναγκαίως ἐπιστέλ|λω σοί, φίλτατε, ἴν' εἴδῃς; *PSI* XII 1241, 16-17 (A.D. 159) ἀναγκαίως καὶ | νῦν γράφω; *P.Petaus* 27, 25-27 (c. A.D. 182-187) προνόη|σον καὶ τῶν χοίρων ἀναγ|καίως εἰς τὴν ἐνάτην; *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2861, 15-16 (II A.D.) καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἐνθάδε | μεμένηκα; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5055, 10-11 (II A.D.) δαίωμα (l. δέομαι) ὑμῶν | ἀναγκαίως ἐγλαβεῖν μοι αὐτό; *P.Mich.* III 209, 14-15 (late II-early III A.D.) ἀναγ|κέως ἔγραψά σοι τὴν πρώτην ἐπιστολήν; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3067, 4-5 (III A.D.) ἀναγκαίως διὰ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὑ|π' ἐμοῦ διαπεμφθέντων γράφω; *PSI* VIII 971, 6-9 (III-IV A.D.) ἐ|π<ε>ὶ ἰδὴ <δὲ> ἴδια μου ἔργα ἔ|χω καὶ [σ]ὺπα οὐδὲ ἐν | τετέλεσται, ἀναγ|καίως σοι γράφω ἵνα εἴδῃς; *P.Lond.* VI 1916, 16-17 (c. A.D. 330-340) ἀναγκ[α]ίως οὖν πάνυ σπουδάσατε αὐτῶ (l. αὐτῶ οἱ αὐτοῦ?) ἀόκως; *P.Giss.* I 103, 6-8 (IV A.D.) ἀναγκαί|ως δὲ γράφω σοι ὅπως ταχέως | ἡμᾶς κατάλαβ[ε]; *P.Gascou* 47, 3 (V-VI A.D.) εὐρ|ωστείας, ἧς μοι μέλει ἀναγκαίως. ἐξέ|ρχομαι δὲ . . . [ . . . ] with Fr. Mitthof and A. Papatthomas n. *ad loc.* “Wir konnten keine papyrologische oder literarische Parallele für die vorliegende Wendung μέλει + *Pronomen* (*Dat.*) + ἀναγκαίως finden”. Alternatively, one could punctuate differently, and read εὐρ|ωστείας, ἧς μοι μέλει. ἀναγκαίως ἐξέ|ρχομαι δὲ . . . [ . . . ], “it is necessary to leave...”; δὲ could be the beginning of another word, e.g. δεόμενος, δέσποτα, etc. In any case, the reading ἐξέ|ρχομαι, as the editors note, is not certain, so one could assume that the necessary(?) conjunction can be read in the letters after ἀναγκαίως.

#### B. ἀναγκαίως χρεῖαν ἔχω οἱ ἀναγκαίως χρεῖα ἐστί:

*BGU* I 248, 23 (c. A.D. 75-85) ἐπεὶ ἀναγκαίως αὐ|τῶν χρεῖαν ἔχω εἰς δαπάνην; *P.Oxy.* I 116, 14-16 (II A.D.) πέμψατέ μοι ἐν αὐ|τῇ καθάρια διδράχμου, ἐπεὶ | ἀναγκαίως χρεῖα ἐστί μοι αὐτῶν. In *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 256, 21-24 (II-III A.D.) τὸν φαινόλην αἰριον (l. ἐρεοῦν)<sup>95</sup>. πάντως | ἀνελ[θ]ε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἐπ<ε>ὶ | χρεῖα σ[ο]ῦ ἐστὶν ἀναγκαίως | χάριν [Σ]αβείνου; *PSI* inv. 1604 verso (published by Marwa M.E. El-Alfy in *Aegyptus* 94, 2014, 13-17, ll. 4-5 (III A.D.) ἐπ<ε>ὶ ἀναγκαίως | σου χρ<ε>ί[ . . . ], probably χρ<ε>ία [ἐστὶν (see n. *ad loc.*); *P.Sorb.* I 62, 5 (first half of VI A.D.) μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης περὶ τούτου ἐπειδὴ χρεῖα ἐ[στί]ν ἀναγκαίως; *P.Stras.* VIII 800, 6 (VI A.D.) ] ἀ[ν]αγκ[α]ίως χρεῖαν ἔχω αὐτοῦ; in l. 5 one may restore the adverb εὐθέως; *P.Vindob. Worp* 23, 4-6 (VI-VII A.D.) καταξίωση ἢ σή

<sup>93</sup> The adverbial use of the adjective ἐπάναγκες (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπάναγκες) is attested from the fourth century B.C. in the Greek literature. In papyri the first examples occur in a clause concerning loans in a legal document of the late third century B.C., *BGU* XIV 2367, 17 ἐὰν δ' ἐπάναγκες δανείζη τις, and in a contract of loan of the early second century B.C., *P.Ryl.* IV 585, 17 καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐγὼ ἀποστήσω. It is interesting that ἐπάναγκες does not occur in private letters so far.

<sup>94</sup> In the Roman period (mainly in the first century A.D.) we find the phrase ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω ἀσπάσασθαι: cf. *BGU* XVI 2619, 4-5 (21 B.C.-A.D. 5) ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω ἀσπ[α]σθ[α]σαι σε καὶ ὑπομῆσαι; *P.Oxy.* LV 3806, 3-4 (A.D. 15) ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω ἀσπ[α]σθ[α]σαι σε διὰ γραπτοῦ; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1756, 3-4 (I A.D.) ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω διὰ γραπτοῦ σε ἀσπάσασθαι; *P.Princ.* III 187, 6-7 (I A.D.) ἀναγκαῖον γινώ[ν]αι[---] ἐπιστολῆς ἀσπάσασθαι σε; *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 4-5 (II-III A.D.) ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω διὰ γραπτοῦ | σε ἀσπάσασθαι.

<sup>95</sup> Checked both in the photograph in tav. IX of the *ed. princ.* and in the original, and we should read τὸν φαινόλην. αὔριον πάντως | ἀνελ[θ]ε πρὸς ἐμέ, “tomorrow anyway...”.

εὐλάβεια... ἀποστείλαι δὲ καὶ τρι[άκο]ντα κεντηνάρια | σιδ[ήρου], ἐπειδὴ ἀναγκαίως χρ<ε>ία ἐστίν; *SB VI* 9139, 11 (VI A.D.) παρακλήθητι οὖν ποίησον τὸ ἔργον, ὅτι ἀναγκέως χρ<ε>ία ἐστίν ἐν[θάδε to be restored?].

### C. ἀναγκαίως ἔχω + infinitive:

*O.Claud.* II 299, 3-4 (middle II A.D.) ἀναγκαί|ως (*l.* ἀναγκαί|ως) ἔσχον δι' ἐπιστολίδιου ἀσπάσασθαι; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1666, 6-7 (III A.D.) μαθὼν ἀναγκαίως ἔσχον | πρὸς αὐτὸν καταντῆσαι, καίτοι μὴ βουλόμενος.

D. If the verbal form is an imperative, then it corresponds to the phrase “it is necessary that you...”<sup>96</sup>:

*BGU II* 530, 29-31 (I A.D.) ὅθεν ἀναγκαίως ἐλ|θέ, ἐπ<ε>| κινδυνεύει | τὰ φυτὰ διαφωνῆσαι; *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 10-11 (A.D. 107) ἔρω[τηθ]εῖς ἀναγκαίως σχέθητι πρὸ πάν|των [γρά]ψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας [ύ]μῶν; *P.Heid.* II 211, 3-6 (I-II A.D.) εὐθέως λαβῶν τὸ ἐπι|στόλιον κατάντησον πρὸς | με ἀναγκαίως, ἵνα συμ|βάλῃς τῷ κωμογραμματεῖ; *P.Oxy.* III 532, 10-14 (II A.D.) ἀναγκαίως οὖν τῷ | ἀναδιδούνη σοι τὸ ἐπιστό|λιον τοῦτο εὐθέως | ἀπόδος ὅπως κάμῃ | ἄσкулτον ποιήσης; *O.Eleph. DAIK* 96, 9-10 (II A.D.) Παμύθην υἱὸν Ἐ|σουήριος ἀναγκαίως | πέμψατε ταχέως (see also E, below); *P.Mich.* VIII 506, 3-4 (II-III A.D.) [ἀ]ναγκαίως ταχῶ κατάντη| . . .]σον ἐνθάδε ἐπεὶ φίλος μου...; *P.Oslo* III 160, 9-11 (second half of III A.D.) πέμψον μοι διὰ νυκτὸς, ἐπ<ε>| | σ[π]ουδῆ ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν μά\γ/γεῖρον Νεμεσᾶν πέμψον | μ[ε]τ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγκαίως.

### E. ἀναγκαίως + τάχειον + χρεία in the same context:

*BGU II* 451, 8-13 (I-II A.D.) ἀναγκαίως ἔσχαμεν | δι[τ'] ἐπιστολῆς σε ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ | εἰδέναι σε, ὅ[τ]ι θεῶν ἐπιτρεπόν[τ]ων τάχειον σε ἔω[ς] τῆς ἡ ἄσπα|σμέθεά σε, [ἐ]ὰν δὲ τινὸς σοι | χρεία ἦ; *P.Warr.* 15, 28 (II A.D.) καὶ τοῦτο ποίησον δοθῆναι τῷ | ὀνηλάτῃ, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, ἀναγκαίως | βοικῶν οὐείλις (latin: *velum*) γ. ἀλλὰ σπουδα|σον, ἄδελφε; *P.Flor.* II 138, 2-6 (A.D. 264) εὐθέως λαβῶν | μου τὰ γράμμα|τα ἄνελθε | ἐπεὶ ἀναγκαίως | σου χρῆζω; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1665, 14-19 (III A.D.) ἀναγκαίως | οὖν, ἐὰν ἔτι παρὰ σεαυτῷ | χρ[<ε>]ῖον ἔχῃς, δῆλωσον ἢ τῷ | υἱῷ, σου ἢ ᾧ ἐὰν σὺ βού|λῃ τούτους μοι ἐν τάχει | παρα[σ]χεῖν.

### F. Problematic uses of the adverb:

*O.Claud.* II 252, 4-7 (middle of II A.D.) εὐ ποιήσ<ε>ις, ἐὰν | ἔχῃς μου ἐπιστόλια, πέμ|ψον μοι, ἐπὶ ἀνακκέως (*l.* ἀναγκαίως) | εἰσίν (where the regularization has been done to ἀναγκαῖα, but, alternatively, one could also consider a wrong use of the verb εἰσίν instead of ἔχω).

In *BGU III* 923, 18 (I-II A.D.) καὶ δῆλωσόν μοι [ἐ]ν τάχει ἀναγκαίως ἐκο|μισάμην παρὰ γατρακρημίας κ. διὰ τί δὲ | κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐλθοῦσα οὐκ ἦλθε εἰς οἶκον, ἀλλὰ | ἔδειξε ἀρχὴν διασχιμοῦ, it is debatable if a stop should be placed before or after ἀναγκαίως. However, a construction δῆλωσόν μοι [ἐ]ν τάχει ἀναγκαίως probably gives better sense.

*P.IFAO II* 18, 4-8 (III A.D.) καλῶς πυῖσις (*l.* ποιήσεις) λα|βῶν ταυτὰ μου τὰ | γράμματα, ἄνελ|θε ἐν τάχ<ε>ι ἀν\α/γκέως (*l.* ἀναγκαίως) χωρῖν, ἀλ' ὅ|ρα μὴ ἀμελήσης. I think that instead of χωρῖν (read by G. Wagner), we could read χάριν, which was actually read by B. Boyaval in *ed. princ.* in *ZPE* 6, 1970, 30-31; see photograph in *ed. princ.*, Tafel III b; and in *P.IFAO II*, pl. VIII. In that case, one might consider that the adverb ἀναγκαίως is a moment of confusion instead of the adjective ἀναγκαίων; cf. *BGU VIII* 1817, 6-9 (60 B.C.) τὸν | ἐ[ἰ]ς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατάπλουν | πεπιοῖ[μ]ένος ἀναγκαίων | χάριν; *P.Laur.* III 106, 3 (A.D. 253) δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀναγκαίως χάριν; cf. the different construction in *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 256, 21-24 (see above B) ἐπ<ε>| | χρεία σο[ῦ] ἐστίν ἀναγκαίως | χάριν [Σ]αβείνου.

G. Fragments (uncertain restorations or texts preserved in a very fragmentary condition):

*P.Giss.* I 78, 4-6 (A.D. 113-120) π[ε]πεισομαι ὅτι [ . . . ]νευ σου [ἀπέ] | σπακα, ἀναγκαίως δὲ ὡς οἶδ[ας] καὶ διὰ [τὸν] | [ . . . ]εἰκ[ι]νον, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ πο . . . ως ἐ[ . . . ]ρε[ώθη]; *SB XVI* 12556, 11-13 (c. A.D. 138-144) ἔκλαιε γὰρ ὅτι πο | τ . . . να . . . εχω ἀναγκαίως μῆ | δ . . . να[ . . . ]σποίησται; *P.Vet.Aeli* 18, 19 (c. A.D. 222-255) ]ου φληθρος ἀναγκαίως [; *P.Lond.* III 988, 8-9 (III A.D.) πέμψον μ[ο]! ο[ῦ]ν ἀ[ν(?)]αγκ[αίως(?)] . . . ]ου(?) | τὸ διαστολ[ε]μικόν (the adverb ἀ[ν(?)]αγκ[αίως(?)] was translated “urgently” in Bagnall and Criamore 2006, 315); *P.Med.* I 79, 16-17 (III A.D.) κ . . . ἰδια [ἀ]ναγκαίως | σοι οἶδα [ . . . ]αφειλ . . . ρα; *SB XX* 15042, 3 (V-VI A.D.) ]εισω ἀναγκαίως.

<sup>96</sup> See Steen 1938, 153-154, where he considers that the adverb “est employé comme expression d'intensité dans les siècles postptolémaïques”, when it modifies verbs in the imperative.

## ἀναιδῶς\*

The adverb occurs in a private letter with the meaning “shameless” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναιδής III), *SB* VI 9387, 7-11 (II-III A.D.) ἀπελογησάμην σοι οὖν πε|[ρι] πάν[τ]ων, ἵνα μὴ δόξης ἀναισθήτως γεγραφέναι, | [εἰ] καὶ ἀναιδῶς τοῦτό σοι διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γεγραφέναι | [μέ]χρι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἠρκέσθην, where it is paired in a word play with ἀναισθήτως (see *s.v.*, p. 65; both adverbs begin with ἀναι- and end with -ως) to indicate the different ways of writing of the two persons, who were involved in the correspondence.

Moreover, it is used in an edict of the Prefect, *OGIS* 665, 15-17 (A.D. 48) καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἤκουόν τινας δαπάνας ἀδίκους καὶ παραλ<λ>αγῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλεονεκτικῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς ταῖς ἐξ[ο]υσίαις ἀποχρωμένων γ{ε}ίνεσθαι.

## ἀναισθήτως\*

The adverb occurs only in a private letter with the meaning either “indifferent, without concern” or “without perception or common sense” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναισθητος I 1 and 2), *SB* VI 9387, 7-11 (II-III A.D.) ἀπελογησάμην σοι οὖν πε|[ρι] πάν[τ]ων, ἵνα μὴ δόξης ἀναισθήτως γεγραφέναι, | [εἰ] καὶ ἀναιδῶς (see *s.v.*, p. 65 ) τοῦτό σοι διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γεγραφέναι | [μέ]χρι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἠρκέσθην.

## ἀναιτίως

The adverb is attested in a justification, with the meaning “without a cause, without me being the fault or the cause of a situation (usually bad)” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναίτιος III; Lampe *s.v.*), *SB* VI 9558, 6 (A.D. 325) ἀλλ' εὐλαβοῦ[μ]εν[ος] τὸν κίνδυνον [ὄν] ἀναιτίως πρὸ τούτου πέπονθα.

## ἀναλογούντως\*

The adverb occurs only in a private letter of Chaeremon to Apollonios of Bakchias, *BGU* I 248, 20-21 (A.D. 76-84) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀμπέλων ἰδίων | γνησίως γενέσθω ἀναλογούντως Ἀπολλωνίωι, “and the work in the vineyards may be done honestly, as it is agreeable (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναλογούντως, “= ἀναλόγως”, “fittingly”; add also Cyrillus, *Comm. in Jo.* 1, 34 [Pusey]; Porphyrius, *Comm. Ptol. Harm.* p. 34 [Düring]) to Apollonios”, where some work must be done well and in a way that is acceptable to Apollonios, the recipient of the letter, or to another person with the same name. Olsson (1925, no 41), too, considered that the adverb was used instead of ἀναλόγως, and translated “und die Weinbergsarbeiten mögen treu in Übereinstimmung mit Apollonios vor sich gehen”. The adverb occurs in inscriptions of the Roman period, however, the dative, which is governed by this adverb, does not refer to persons, as in *BGU* I 248, but to abstract nouns: e.g. ἀνα[λο]γ[ο]ύντως καὶ τῇ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς [εὐ]σεβείᾳ καὶ τῇ περὶ ὑ[μ]ᾶς [τ]ιμῇ (see *Hesperia* 10 (1941), 78, 34, 10-11; Athens); ἀναλογούντως τῇ τε ἀξίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πεφιλοτειμημένοις (*I.Kaunos* 4, 21); ζήσαντα σωφρόνως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ἀναλογούντως τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀξίᾳ (*I. Kaunos* 30, 1-3); ἀναλογού<ν>τως τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῶι γένει (*CIG* 2760, 18-19; Aphrodisias); ἀναλογούντως ταῖς προγονικαῖς ἀρεταῖς (*SEG* XLVIII 1472, 13-14; Sardis).

## ἀναλόγως

The adverb is found only in four documents (leases) of the Byzantine period, and its meaning is “proportionately”<sup>97</sup> (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνάλογος I; Lampe *s.v.*).

## ἀναμφιβόλως

Although the adverb is attested in the Greek literature in the second century A.D., in Egypt it is only found in legal clauses of various contracts of the Byzantine period, and its meaning is “unambiguously”, “without question”; see LSJ and LSJ Revised Suppl. *s.v.* ἀναμφίβολος; Lampe *s.v.*; cf. also *SPP* III<sup>2</sup> 112 B, 3n. for the phrase ἀτοκὶ ἀναμφιβόλως.

## ἀναμφιλέκτως

The adverb occurs in official documents and contracts of the second century B.C. in Thebes (*P.Tor.Choach.* 8, A, 20 and B 18-19; 11, 56; 12, v 20 and ix 19) and in the first century A.D. in Tebtynis (*P.Mich.* V 323, 20; 326, 56; *PSI* VIII 903, 20) to indicate that something is “undebatable” and “indisputable”; see Mayser 1936, 123; Mayser 1933-1934, 183. In that sense it seems to be used as the adverb ἀναμφιβόλως of the Byzantine period (cf. Herodian *Phil.* 109 ἀναμφιλέκτως καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως) or as the adverb ἀναμφιλόγως also of the Byzantine period (see *s.v.*); see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναμφιλέκτος; Lampe *s.v.*; cf. also Pollux 5.152 where these adverbs are recorded together, ἀναμφιλόγως, ἀναμφιβόλως, ἀναμφιλέκτως, ἀναντιλέκτως, βεβαίως, ἀνευδοιάστως, ἀναμφισβητήτως, ἀναντιρρήτως, παγίως.

## ἀναμφιλόγως

In papyri the adverb is only found in contracts, mainly leases, of the Byzantine period, and its meaning is “without dispute, willingly”; see LSJ *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*

## ἀναμφισβητήτως

The adverb is found in the petition *P.Gen.* II 103, 19 (A.D. 147), which is addressed to the *Dikaiodotes* Calvisius Patrophilos, but the papyrus is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the text does not provide information concerning the exact use of the adverb. Moreover, in the testament *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 15, the adverb ἀναμφισβητήτως is combined with the adverb ἀμάχως (see *s.v.*), and its meaning is “indisputably”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναμφισβητήτος II; Lampe *s.v.*

## ἀναντιρρήτως

In papyri the adverb is only found in contracts, mainly leases, of the Byzantine period, and its meaning is “incontrovertibly”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναντίρρητος, citing Aëtius *Iatr.* 15.15; Lampe *s.v.* However, it was already attested in Asia Minor and Greece; cf. *I.Perg.* I 245, C, 47 (before 133 B.C.); *EAM* a, 22-23; b, 15-16 (A.D. 275-276; Eordaia, Macedonia).

<sup>97</sup> *CPR* VIII 62, 25-26 (A.D. 575); *P.Lond.* I 113 (4), (p. 208), 27 (see *BL* XII, on p. 99); *SB* XXII 15729, 28-29 (A.D. 639); *SB* XXVI 16362, 14-15 (VI-VII A.D.).

## ἀναξίως

It occurs in a funerary inscription, *SB I* 1267, 3-6 (A.D. 8) ἀκλ[εῶ]ς καὶ ἀκρίτως βιαίωι θανάτωι ἀπολωλιῖα, ἀναξίως τῆς χρηστότητος; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνάξιος II 1 “undeserved”.

## ἀναποδείκτως

It is restored in a passage, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, in *P.Lond.* V 1714, 51-52 (A.D. 570), a lease contract, probably with the meaning “without proof”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναπόδεικτος I; Lampe *s.v.*

## ἀναποσπάτως

It is found only in a contract in *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92, 33-35 (A.D. 569) ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν πάσαις | δουλικαῖς ὑμῶν ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ χρεαῖς ἀναποσπάτως (*l.* ἀναποσπάτως), with the meaning “unable to escape from the work”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναπόστατος, citing also the adjective in *P.Oxy.* XII 1469, 5 (A.D. 298).

## ἀναφαιρέτως

The adverb belongs to the legal phraseology and occurs in contracts and petitions concerning legal matters to indicate that a certain legal right cannot be revoked. All examples of its appearance in papyri date to the Roman and Byzantine periods; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀναφαίρετος. The earlier example in the Greek literature is also in the third century A.D.; see Porphyrius *Quest.Homer.* 79.

## ἀνεγκλήτως

The adverb belongs to the legal phraseology and appears in petitions and declarations to indicate that something is “irreproachable” and, furthermore, there is no ground for dispute; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνέγκλητος I and II. All examples date to the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods; see *P.Köln* XVI 651, 7n., pp. 201-202.

## ἀνεισπράκτως

The adverb ἀνεισπράκτως, “without pecuniary liability” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνείσπρακτος; only in papyri), is attested in the legal formula of a lease (*P.Kron.* 38, 16; A.D. 137), in which it is stated that the lessee will be left ἀπαρανοχλήτως (*l.* ἀπερανοχλήτως) καὶ ἀν<ε>ισπράκτως καὶ ἀπερισπάστω[ς] concerning the payment of taxes. There is no entry for the adverb ἀνεισπράκτως in LSJ or LSJ Suppl.

## ἀνεκφράστως

The adverb is attested in the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 6 (A.D. 547) πάντα τὰ πράγματα περὶ τὴν ἡμῶν κώμην ὥς εἴρηται [ἐ]ξ[ε]πρόβησαν κακῶς καὶ ἀνεκφράστως, “as already said, they have plundered in an indescribably evil manner” (transl. in J. Rowlandson, *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, no 20), with the negative meaning, while in the Christian texts of the Byzantine period, both the adjective and the adverb are usually found with the meaning “inexpressible, unutterable”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνέκφραστος; Bauer *s.v.*

## ἀνελεῶς

It appears only (as restored) in the petition *P.Lips.* I 39, 12 (A.D. 390) τύψας με [ἀν]ελεῶς, with the meaning “unmercifully”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνελεής. It is also attested in *Acta Justiniani* 5.5 (Musurillo) Ῥούστικος ἑπαρχος εἶπεν· εἰ μὴ πείθεσθε, τιμωρηθήσεσθε ἀνελεῶς.

## ἀνελλιπῶς\*

It means “unfailingly” and “unceasingly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνελλιπής I; Lampe *s.v.*), and it occurs in official petitions, private contracts (e.g. contracts of sale, and divisions of property) and official letters (*P.Lond.* IV 1338 and *P.Lond.* IV 1392) of the Byzantine period; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἀνελλιπής (2); *P.Petra* III 29, 61n.

Only in two private letters is the adverb recorded. In *CPR* XXIV 31, 15-16 (middle-late VII A.D.) (καὶ) ἐὰν ζητήσοσιν (*l.* ζητήσωσιν) τὸν τοιοῦτον σίδ[ηρον,] | εὐρίσκεται ἀνελλ[ε]ῖπῶς παρὰ τῶν ἡγουμέ(νων) ἐκ(άσ)τ(ου) χωρ[ι]ο[υ], “falls sie eben dieses Eisen verlangen, es sich unvermindert finden bei den Vorstern jeder Ortschaft”, which is either a business or an official letter, the adverb seems to have the same meaning as in the official documents. Here it modifies and follows the present indicative εὐρίσκεται, and the general sense is that its use concerns not only the quantity but also the time, that is, “always able to supply with continued intensity when it is needed”. The temporal sense, however, is clearer in the first instance of this adverb, in a private letter of the second century A.D., *P.Oxy.* XLI 2980, which was sent from Theon to Ammonios. Theon says that he had not received any letter from the Ammonios for many days, ll. 3-4 πολλὰ ἡμέραι σου ἐπιστό[λ]ια οὐκ ἔλαβον, and in ll. 6-8 he writes that he –on the contrary– has written many letters, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ αὐτός | σοὶ ἀνελλιπῶς [σοὶ] \γράφωι/, | τοῦτο καὶ πέπεισαι, “that I myself write to you unfailingly, of this you need no convincing”. Here the adverb modifies and precedes the present indicative γράφω and it seems to be used as a synonym of *συνεχῶς* (see *s.v.*). The period that this “unceasingly” covers is the time when Theon had not received any letters from Ammonios. This use of the adverb has not been recorded in the dictionaries.

## ἀνελλείπτως

The adverb ἀνελλείπτως is found twice in a contract of a settlement of a debt within a family, *P.Petra* III 29, 61 and 130 (A.D. 582-592); see n. *ad loc.* “there are two words, ἀνελλείπτως and ἀνελλιπῶς, which have the same general meaning”. The form ἀνελλείπτως is formed from the adjective ἀνέλλειπτος, and means “unfailingly, ceaselessly”; see LSJ *s.v.*

## ἀνεμπόδιστως\*

The adverb, with the meaning “unhindered” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνεμπόδιστος I 1; Bauer *s.v.*; *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀνεμπόδιστος I “ungehindert”), is found as part of legal clauses in the Ptolemaic (see Maysers 1936, 124), Roman and Byzantine periods, in a variety of private contracts (e.g. sales of houses, wills and divisions of inherited property, etc.) and official documents (e.g. royal decrees, petitions, court proceedings, registrations) modifying

various verbs<sup>98</sup>. In some official letters (*P.Köln* XII 479, 27; *SB* XII 11078, 18; *P.Apoll.* 15, 3-4 (A.D. 660-661 or A.D. 675-676) ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀν[έ]λ[θω] | ἀνεμποδίστως Θεοῦ κελεύοντος; and *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 5, 25; see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀνεμπόδιστος 2 “unverzüglich”) it modifies various verbs<sup>99</sup>.

Only in the private letter *SB* XX 14218, 2 (VI A.D.) does it follow and modify the infinitive ἐνεγκεῖν: παρασκευάσω τοὺς καμηλίτας ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ ὠμόπλιθα ἀνεμποδίστως, and its use here might have been influenced by the appearance of the adverb in the formal vocabulary.

#### ἀνευδεῶς

It appears in two public documents (oath undertaking) of the third and early fourth century A.D. with the meaning “faultlessly, unexceptionably” (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀνευδεής; *Lampe s.v.* 3)<sup>100</sup>.

#### ἀνευδοιάστως

It occurs with the meaning “unhesitatingly, unequivocally” (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀνευδοίαστος; *Lampe s.v.*) only in one contract of the Byzantine period, *P.Oxy.* I 138, 25 (A.D. 610-611); see above *s.v.* ἀναμφιλέκτως.

#### ἀνευδότης

It occurs only in an official letter with the meaning “rigidly”, “without giving way, steadfastly” (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀνευδοτος; *Lampe s.v.*), *P.Lond.* IV 1343, 35-37 (A.D. 709) ἀνθρώπους ἡμῶν πίστους καὶ ἱκανοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἀνευδότης | μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας ἐρα[υ]νῆσαι καὶ καταψηλαφήσαι χάριν | τῶν αὐτῶν φυγάδων, where it modifies together with a prepositional of the manner (μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας) the following infinitives ἐρα[υ]νῆσαι καὶ καταψηλαφήσαι.

#### ἀνεπηρέαστως

It occurs in a petition to the Prefect with the meaning “unmolested” (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀνεπηρέαστος: *P.Mich.* III 174, 19-22 (A.D. 144-147) ἵνα | δυνηθῶ ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχεστάτοις τοῦ μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος καιροῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ | ἐπαφρο[δ]εῖτῳ σου ἡγεμονίᾳ ἀνεπηρέαστως ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαζῆν καὶ | ὧ βεβ[ο]η[θη]μένος, “so that I may be able to live unmolested in my home during the most happy times of our exalted emperor, and your delightful prefecture, and may obtain relief”. This is the only attestation of the adverb in the Roman period with the one in Josephus *AJ* 16.2.5; for the patristic literature see *Lampe s.v.*

<sup>98</sup> 106 examples, mostly in the Byzantine documents: First attestation is in *P.Köln* XII 479, 27 (145-140 B.C.), official letter (forwarding an enteuxis), and last attestations are in *P.Ross. Georg.* IV 5, 25 (early VIII A.D.), in a letter requisitioning sailors and provisions for an expedition, where the adverb is partially restored, and in *P.Apoll.* 15, 1, 4 (A.D. 660-661 or 675-676). The spelling mistake ἀνεμποδίστως appears in *BGU* I 7, 8-9; *P.Diog.* 16, 26.

<sup>99</sup> In *SB* XII 11078, 16-19 (c. 100 B.C.) ἐξαποστ[ε]λλετε | παραχρημα ἐφ' οὓς καθή[κει] | ὅπως δύνωγται ἀνεμ[ποδίστως] | ἐκπληροῦν τὰ βασιλικά, the restoration seems certain, although, based on the other restorations at the end of the lines of the document, it seems long.

<sup>100</sup> *P.Oxy.* XLV 3244 12-15 (A.D. 228) χο|ρηγήσειν τῇ πόλει ἀνευδεῶς τ[ὸν] | ἰχθύν; *W.Chr.* 429, i 3-6 (cf. also ii 7) (A.D. 306) πάν|[τ]ων τῶν ἐνφερομένων τῇ αὐτοῦ [χρ]εῖα ἀνευδεῶς | [κ]αὶ ἀδιαλείπτως.

ἀνεπικωλύτως

See *s.v.* ἀδιακωλύτως, p. 34.

ἀνεπιρρήτως

It is attested in a loan of seed corn, *P.Amh.* II 147, 10-12 (IV-early V A.D.) μέ|τρῳ δεκάτω, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνεμετρήθη ἀναπιρρή|τως (*l.* ἀνεπιρρή|τως); see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνεπιρρήτως, “without demur or subterfuge”, citing only this example. Pollux 3.139 records the opposite adverb ἐπιρρήτως, with the meaning “blameworthy, reprehensible”: καλοῖτο δ’ ἂν ὁ μὲν ἔνοχος ὑπαίτιος, ὕποχος, ὑπεύθυνος, ἐγκλητέος, ἐπιλήψιμος, μεμπτὸς ἐπίμεμπτος, ἐπίφογος, ἐπίρρητος, ὁ δ’ ἀναίτιος ἀνεύθυνος, ἄμεμπτος, ἄψογος, ἀνέγκλητος. τὰ δ’ ἐπιρρήματα ὑπαίτιως, ὑπευθύνως, μεμπτῶς, ἐπιρρήτως, καὶ ἀναίτιως, ἀνεγκλήτως, ἀνευθύνως, ἀμέμπτως.

ἀνεστραμμένως

It appears in an official document of the Ptolemaic period, but the meaning is not clear (see LSJ *s.v.* “inversely”): *P.Tebt.* I 25, 16-17 (117 B.C.) ἀντὶ τῶν μὲ (*l.* μῆ?) εὐδοκιμουμένων ἀνεστραμμένως δαινεκθέντες (*l.* διενεχθέντες?) (see Mayser 1936, 125). In the patristic literature it occurs with the meaning “conversely”; see Lampe *s.v.*

ἀνευρησιλογήτως

It is found in a legal clause of a repayment of a loan, *P.Warr.* 8, 17 (A.D. 86) ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀνευρησιλογήτως, with the meaning “with no delay or subterfuge”; see LSJ Revised Suppl. *s.v.* The adverb is coined from ἀνεύρεσις or ἀνεύρημα “invention, discovery” and -λόγητος (cf. ἀναπολόγητος etc.).

ἀνθρωπίνως\*

For examples of the adverb in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνθρώπινος II; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.* In Egypt it occurs in a letter of condolence, *PSI* XII 1248, 17-20 (A.D. 235) οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνως ἔπραξεν, καὶ αὐ|τὸς μὲν μετ’ ἄλλων πράγματα πράξας | οὐδέπω οὐδὲν φάσκει τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων | ἡμᾶς διαθέμενος, “indeed his behaviour was inhuman, yet although he himself, with the help of others, caused the trouble, he ill-treating us, still does not admit to have done things which are not human (transl. Chapa 1998, no 6)”, and in an official document, *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 85 (A.D. 300) ὅτι| δι’ ὧν ἔναγχος ἀντέγραφον τὰ καλῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως σοι παραστάντα ἔφθην βεβαιώσας, “what I am writing in reply that I have been quick to confirm your well-chosen and friendly suggestions”.

ἀνίσως

The adverb ἀνίσως is rare in the classical literature (no entry in LSJ *s.v.* ἄνισος, also not in LSJ Revised Suppl.): cf. Demosthenes *In Timocr.* 168 οὕτω δ’ ἀνίσως καὶ πλεονεκτικῶς ἔσχε πρὸς ὑμᾶς Ἀνδροτίων; Strabo 17.3.1 οἱ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἠπείρους τὴν οἰκουμένην διελόντες ἀνίσως διεῖλον etc.

As far as the evidence in Egypt, it was proposed to be read in two official documents, but in both cases the restorations are debatable: the first one is in a petition



to the Prefect, *P.Vet.Aelii* 10, 24-25 (A.D. 222-255) και δίκας ἐ[π]άγειν ἀνείσ[ε]ως(?) τῶν οὔτερ[α] | [νοῖς]. In Tafel VII of the edition, instead of ἀνείσ[ε]ως, I can read ----αν εἰς ἐμέ<sup>101</sup>.

The second instance is in the memoranda of proceedings of a public meeting, *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2407, 27 (late III A.D.) οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν. [. . . .]σ. π. . . .οι. . . [. . . . .]σθω. ἀν[ι]σως ἐποῖη[σ]α[ς], “the members of the second tribe cried: ‘...you have acted unfairly’”.



(<http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH0101/a9199ff9.dir/POxy.v0024.n2407.a.01.hires.jpg>) However, even if we consider that the space between ν and σ(?) accommodated only one ι, the fragmentary condition of the text does not allow us to understand the situation.

#### ἀνοήτως

It occurs only in the letter of Hadrian with the meaning “silly” together with other adverbs ending in -ως, *P.Fay.* 19, 2-4 (II A.D.), which is actually a writing exercise, ὅ[τι ο]ὔτε ἄω | [ρεῖ οὔτ]ε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ροσ]δοκῆ[ς] | [οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίου [cf. Il. 17-19 ὅτι οὐ ἄω[ρι οὔτε] | [ἀλόγως] οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπροσδοκῆ[τως] | [οὔτε ἀ]νοήτως ἀπαλλάσσομε τοῦ βίου). For the adverb see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνόητος III; Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἀνοικονομήτως\*

The adverb is found only in a letter, *BGU XVII* 2629, 2-3 ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως | ἀναστραφέντες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐνεπόδισαν..., “behaving in an unorganized manner they have until now hindered etc...” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνοικονόμητος), which is the first occurrence of the adverb (see *ed. princ.*, n. *ad loc.*), while a later example is found in Johannes Chr. (see Lampe *s.v.*).

#### ἀόκνως\* / ἀνόκνως\*

For its attestation in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἄοκνος, citing Hippocrates. *Art.* 38, Plato *Lg.* 649b, Oribasius *Syn.Praef.*, and for the superlative ἀοκνότατα Xenophon *Cyr.* 1.4.2; see also Bauer *s.v.* The adverb is used in formal documents<sup>102</sup> with the meaning “without hesitation to act in a certain way”.

<sup>101</sup> In *P.Vet.Aelii* 10, 24n. the word ἀνείσ[ε]ως is considered as “Adjektiv” (not adverb), and a parallel is cited in *P.Genova* I 45, 3 καὶ μὴ συγχ[ω]ρῆσαι ἀνίσων ἀπό τινος (where the reading is not quite certain) and *P.Wisc.* I 1, i 9, where ἄνισα is read. However, certainly ισ cannot be read there (it looks like κ followed by another letter and α).



(<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-5377/W42RO.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg>)

<sup>102</sup> **Work contracts:** *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001, 17 (A.D. 514); *P.Oxy.* LI 3641, r, 10 (A.D. 544); *P.Med.* I 48, 6 (A.D. 549); *P.Oxy.* I 140, r, 15 (A.D. 550); *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4967, 4 (late VI A.D.-early VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3933, 15 (A.D. 588); **work contract** (slave): *P.Stras.* I 40, 33 (A.D. 569); **lease contract**(?): *P.Lond.* V 1714, 41 and 43 (A.D. 570); **contract** (liturgies): *P.Cair.Isid.* 82, 5 and 9 (A.D. 318); **contracts** (settlement): *SB* III 6704, 14 (A.D. 538); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67156, 11 (A.D. 570); **deed** of surety: *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2478, 18 (A.D. 595); **register** (guarantees): *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328, p. 1, 12; p. 2, 11; p. 3, 16; p. 4, 16; p. 5, 15; p. 6, 13; p. 7, 14; p. 9, 16; p. 10, 15; p. 11, 16; p. 12, 15 (A.D. 521); **testament:** *P.Köln* X 421, 35 (c. A.D. 524-545); **petitions:**

With the same use the adverb is also found in the private letters<sup>103</sup>. However, in the Greek papyri from Egypt the form ἀνόκνωσ also appears, always in private letters, which are dated to the Roman period; from the 25 examples so far of ἀ(ν)όκνωσ, the form ἀνόκνωσ appears sixteen times, while twice (*SB* VI 9017 (54), 2-4, and *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 35-37) the adverb could be restored either as ἀνόκνωσ or ἀόκνωσ. On the other hand, ἀόκνωσ appears seven times, once in the Ptolemaic, twice in the Roman and four times in the Byzantine period.

It is used in various formulaic phrases:

(a) “write to me whatever you need, and I will do it without hesitation”. In all three examples the adverb precedes and modifies the future indicative ποιήσω (Ptolemaic – early Roman period); see *UPZ* I 145, 46-48n:

*SB* XXII 15278, 16-19 (246-245 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ καλῶς | ποιήσεις μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς | πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ προθύμως | καὶ ἀόκνωσ ποιήσομεν, where it precedes and modifies (with the adverb of Manner προθύμως) the future indicative ποιήσομεν; in this use the adverb could be compared with the formula προθύμως ποιήσομεν (see *s.v.*), found mainly in the Zenon archive documents; *P.Oxy.* IV 743, 38-40 (2 B.C.) καὶ σὺ | δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν θέλῃς, γράφει μοι καὶ ἀνόκνωσ ποιήσω, “write to me yourself about anything you want, and I will do it without hesitation”; *P.Mert.* II 62, 10-12 (A.D. 7) καὶ σὺ δὲ | περὶ ὧν ἐὰν αἴρῃ σήμανον, καὶ ἀνόκνωσ ποιήσω, “and signify anything you choose, and I will recompense you without hesitation”; *P.Corn.* 49, 7-12 (I A.D.) καὶ γράφ<ε>ιν μὲν (*l.* μοι) περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐὰν | χρήσεως (*l.* χρήσεως) τῶν ἐνθάδε, | μὴ ὀκν<ε>ι μὲν (*l.* μοι) γράφ<ε>ιν, | εἰδηα (*l.* εἰδυῖα) ὅτι ἀνόκνωσ (*l.* ἀνόκνωσ) | ποιήσο (*l.* ποιήσω), “and if you write me about anything here which you need, I will take care of it immediately”. Cf. also *UPZ* I 145, 46-48, a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., ἅμα δὲ ἀόκνωσ | συντάσσωσιν γράφειν περὶ ὧν ἂν δυνατὸν | ἦν ἡμᾶς τί σοι ποιοῦντας χ[αρι]ζεσθαι.

(a1) The shorter phrase περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐὰν | χρήσεως (*l.* χρήσεως) τῶν ἐνθάδε | μὴ ὀκν<ε>ι μὲν (*l.* μοι) γράφ<ε>ιν in *SB* XXII 15278, 16-19 (246-245 B.C.). This could be paralleled with the same phrases in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2983, 32-33 (II-III A.D.) περὶ ὧν β[ού]λει, ἀνόκνωσ μοι γράφε, “don’t hesitate to write to me about anything you want”, where the adverb precedes and modifies the present imperative γράφε.

(b) “write to me about certain action”:

*PSI* XV 1557, 22-24 (late III A.D.) ἀόκνωσ | γράψατε περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ πωλῆ|σαι.

(c) “if you need something, do not hesitate to write to me”. In all these examples the adverb precedes and modifies an imperative (second century A.D. – Byzantine period):

*P.Harr.* I 63, 7-9 (after A.D. 161) περὶ δὲ ὧν καὶ | αὐτο[ι] ἐντέλλεσθε, ἀνόκνωσ μοι ἐπιστεί|λατε (correction by D. Hagedorn; see *BL* XI, on p. 88); *P.Oxy.* IX 1218, 8-9 (III A.D.) περὶ οὐτινος αἰᾶν (*l.* ἐάν) χρήσεως ἡδέως ποι|οῦντι ἀνόκνωσ δήλωσον, “tell me freely about anything which you want, and I will do it gladly”, where it precedes and modifies the aorist imperative δήλωσον. *P.Fay.* 130, 13-15 (III A.D.) καὶ εἴ τινος ἦαν (*l.* ἐάν) | χρεία σοί ἐστιν ἀντίγραφόν μοι ἀνόκνωσ, “and if you are in want of anything, write back to me without hesitation”, where it follows and modifies the aorist imperative ἀντίγραφον; *SB* XVI 12475, 12-13 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐὰν χρεῖαν ἔχῃς ἀποκρισιν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀνόκνωσ | γράψον μοι, where it precedes and modifies the aorist imperative γράψον; cf. also *SB* VI 9395, 4 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ τίνος χρ<ε>ία ἀόκνωσ κελε[ύ]ε<ε>ιν ἡμῖν καταξιώσατα (*l.* καταξιώσατε (not καταξιώσατε as in *ed. princ.*), which is a parallel to the previous, since the orders were sent by letter.

---

*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 19 (A.D. 548-549); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 1, 8 (A.D. 567); *P.Lond.* V 1677, 9 (c. A.D. 568-570); **official letters:** *P.Lond.* IV 1356, 7 (A.D. 710). *CPR* VII 11, 14 (A.D. 237) is a fragmentary official letter and the restoration of the adverb is debatable, καὶ ταῦτα γεγρονάι ἀ[όκνωσ]. In addition cf. the magical text *PGM* 17a, 21 ὑπη]ρετουμένη ἀόκνω[ς].

<sup>103</sup> See Tibiletti 1979, 82.

(d) “do not be lazy, and write to me whenever you can about your health, not only when you need something” (second century A.D.)<sup>104</sup>:

*SB VI 9017* (54), 2-4 (I-II A.D.) [οὖν ἀνόκ]νωσ μοι γράφε [περὶ τῆς] σῆς σωτηρίας, as it is proposed to be restored by N. Gonis in *Comunicazioni* 2, 2997, 40-41, n.10; see *BL XII*, on p. 194); *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 35-37 (A.D. 108) ἐρωτῶ | [ύμᾶς ἀόκ]νωσ (or better, ἀνόκ]νωσ?) μοι ἀντιγράψαι περὶ τῆς σω|τηρίας] ύμῶν, “I ask you without delay to reply to me concerning your health” This formula in three private letters from the so-called “happy family archive”, *SB III 6263*, 8-9 (second half of II A.D.) ἀνόκνωσ | μοι γράφειν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ύμῶν, “without hesitation send me news of your health”, where it precedes and modifies the infinitive γράφειν; *P.Mich.* XV 751, 10 (late II A.D.), [ἀνόκνωσ μ]οι γράφε περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, “do [not be lazy to] write to me about your welfare”, where it is restored, and *P.Mich.* XV 752, 6-10 (late II A.D.) ε[ύρω]ν τ]ῶν | πρὸς ύμᾶς ἐρχόμεον ἀνα[πλέ]ον[τα ἠπ<ε>ιγό]μην | δι’ ἐπ[ε]ιστολῆς ἀσπάσα[σ]θε (l. ἀσπάσα[σ]θαι) ύμᾶς. ἐρωτῆ]θεῖσ<α>, ἢ | κυρία μου, ἀνόκνωσ [μ]οι γρά[φ]ε[ι]ν π[ε]ρὶ τ[ῆ]ς σω|τη]ρία<ς> ύμῶν, {ε}ἵνα ἀ[μερι]μν[ό]τερα δι[ά]γω, “because I found someone who is coming to you upstream, I hurried to greet you by a letter. Do please, my lady, do not hesitate to write to me about your welfare, so that I may feel less anxiety”<sup>105</sup>.

(e) Other modifications:

(**bring**) *P.Mich.* VIII 482, 5-6 (A.D. 133) ἀνό|[κνωσ] ἐνήνεχάν (l. ἐνήνοχάν) μοι αὐτόν<sup>106</sup>; (**introduce**) *P.Mich.* VIII 498, 13-17 (II A.D.) πρὸς τὸν Αἰμιλλιανὸν | ἀνόκνωσ καὶ σπουδαί|ως συνέστακέ <με> ὡς συν|γενῆν (l. συ|γενῆν) σου ὃν ἤδιστα ἐσ|χε, “he introduced me without delay and with zeal to Aemilianus as a kinsman of you whom he cherished”<sup>107</sup>; (**come**) *P.Giss.Apoll.* 11, 22-24 (A.D. 113-120) ἀξιώσεις οὖν δίστιχον αὐτῶι γραφῆναι, ἵνα | ἀξίως σου καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀόκνωσ προσέλθῃ, “Entschliesse Dich nun, ihm ein paar Zeillen schreiben zu lassen, damit er sich Deiner und der Götter würdig unverdrossen ans Werk macht”; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3997, 20-23 (III-IV A.D.) πρό|τρεψον αὐτόν ἵνα ἀνόκνωσ ἡμί(v) | γένη[ται] καὶ γράψον μοι τί χρήζεις | καὶ δι[ἀ] τί]νος θέλ<ε>ις πέ|μ/πω, “so urge him to come to us without hesitation and write me what you need and by whom you wish me to send; (**render service or help**) *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4962, 4-6 (first half of III A.D.) ἐπειδὴ πρώην | σε ἀνόκνωσ ὑπηρετήσαμεν, οἶμαι | καὶ νῦν ἀρέσειν τῶ ἀδελφῶ, “since we earlier served you unhesitatingly, I believe that we will also now please your brother”; *SB XX 14241*, verso 2 (c. A.D. 566-567) ὅπως κάγω κελευόμενος ἀόκνωσ ύμῖν ὑπουργῆσαι; (**act**) *P.Wisc.* II 73, 9-11 (A.D. 122-123) ἀνόκνωσ οὖν τοῦ|το ποίει εἰδῶς ὅτι ἡ προσδοκία | ἡμῶν ἐστὶν αὐτή; (**act**) *P.Lond.* VI 1916, 16-18 (c. A.D. 330-340) ἀναγκ[αί]ως οὖν πάνυ σπουδάσατε | αὐτῶ ἀόκνωσ, ὅτι τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ εἰς δουλ<ε>ίαν | ἤρπασαν οἱ δαν<ε>ισταί; (**render**) *PSI VII 742*, 9 (V-VI A.D.) ἀόκνωσ (l. ἀόκνωσ) καὶ διὰ τάχους παρασκευάσαι με ταῦτα γνῶναι.

In the last two examples (*SB XX 14241* and *PSI VII 742*) of the Byzantine period, and probably in *P.Mich.* VIII 498 of the Roman period, the adverb follows and modifies

<sup>104</sup> There were various ways to ask or give information about the health of the sender or the recipient in the private letters of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods; see N. Litinas, “A private Letter of the IV A.D.”, *Eulimene* 1, 2000, 133-140, esp. see the Appendix on pp. 137-140.

<sup>105</sup> In many cases we can assume that people wrote their letters when they had information about someone’s imminent departure from their place, therefore they were in a hurry to write their letters as soon as possible so as to give them to the person who would carry and deliver them to the recipient.

<sup>106</sup> The papyrus in ll. 2-6 reads (according to the first edition)

2 [ . . . ] καὶ εἴ τι θέλ<ε>ις. [γράψον μοι]  
[πάντ]α ἃ θέλ<ε>ις. ἀπ[ό]κ<ε>ιται ἕως σή-  
[μερο]ν τὸ κοκκούλιόν σου. καὶ πέπομ-  
5 [φαν α]ὔτον (l. αὐτὸ) εἰς Συρίαν ἄλλο ἅπαξ καὶ ἀνό-  
[κνωσ] ἐνήνεχάν (l. ἐνήνοχάν) μοι αὐτόν.

Transl. in *ed. princ.* “... and if you want anything, write me everything that you want. Your hood is still safely laid away. They sent it to Syria again, and they brought it to me without delay”. However, the syntax is problematic, especially concerning the position of ἅπαξ (which is not translated in *ed. princ.*) in the clause. In addition, it is not certain if the restoration ἀνό|[κνωσ] is correct or if we have to keep αὔτον in l. 5 and not understand it as αὐτό.

<sup>107</sup> See D.I. Yoon, “Ancient Letters of Recommendation and 2 Corinthians 3.1-3: A Literary Analysis”, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 12, 2016, 45-72, esp. p. 60, n. 51, “considering the two adverbials ἀνόκνωσ and σπουδαίως, Gemellus shows how grateful he is in being recommended”.

the aorist imperative σπουδάσατε (*SB* XX 14241), a verb that implies the urgency for a certain action, or it precedes (with also the prepositional διὰ τάχους) and modifies the infinitive παρασκευάσαι (*PSI* VII 742) or it is paired with the adverb σπουδαίως, which also indicates an immediate action (*P.Mich.* VIII 498). In these cases, one might assume that the adverb ἀνόμως does not function only as an adverb of Manner, but also of Time, and denotes “without delay” (this is also the translation of H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter in the Michigan papyrus).

#### ἀνόμως\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἄνομος I 1-3; Bauer *s.v.* In the papyri the adverb ἀνόμως, “illegally, in a way not abiding by the laws” belonged to the formal vocabulary; see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἄνομος “gesetzlos”. It modified verbs which described actions that were performed against the law, and deeds that either were unjust in themselves or were described as such in certain circumstances. The adverb occurs in petitions<sup>108</sup>, and only once in a private letter of the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period, in *BGU* XIV 2420, 9-11 (I B.C.) ἐάν μὴ | καὶ τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν ἀνόμως ἡμῖν | \προδ . . . α/ ὑπ[ὸ] τοῦ πράκτορος διορθώσωμαι, “wenn ich die Kleinigkeiten, die uns vom Praktor ungerechterweise... sind, nicht zurecht mache”, but the uncertain readings and syntax make the understanding of the text difficult.

#### ἀντιθέτως

Although the adverb is not rare in the classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀντίθετος I), in Egypt it occurs only in an edict of the Prefect, *SB* XII 11236, iii 1-2 (after A.D. 138) ἀν|τιθέτως πρὸς ὅσα κ[εκέλε]υσται, where, although the modified verb is not preserved, we can assume that its implied meaning is “act” or “do”.

#### ἀνυπερθέτως\*

The adverb appears in loans and leases, and other contracts of the Roman and Byzantine periods as part of the clause concerning repayment (561 examples so far in DDBDP, mostly in documents of the Byzantine period), and the earlier instances are *P.Köln* III 147, 17 (30 B.C.-A.D. 15), a lease contract (ship), and *BGU* IV 1167 III 51 (13-12 B.C.), a loan contract, where the adverb is resolved from ἀνυπερθε( ), and *BGU* IV 1199, 12 (4 B.C.), an official letter<sup>109</sup>; see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀνυπερθέτως “ohne Berzug, pünktlich”.

<sup>108</sup> *P.Enteux.* 75, 11 (222 B.C.); *SB* XIV 11273, 4 (second half of II B.C.); *BGU* IV 1200, 20 (2-1 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2131, 16 and 17 (A.D. 207); *SB* XIV 11707, 7 (A.D. 212); *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4961, 30. 78 (A.D. 223); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4774, 4 (A.D. 224); *SB* XIV 11276, 14 (A.D. 249-251); *P.Lugd.Bat.* XXV 56, 5 (III A.D.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 70, 4 (c. A.D. 310); *SB* XXII 15608, 22 (A.D. 324). Moreover, it is found in an inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 60, 9-10 (A.D. 89-91) δι' οὗ ἐδήλου ἀνόμως πεπραμένον εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν κη[πό]ταφον.

<sup>109</sup> An interesting use occurs in an offer made in the form of an official letter, *SB* XXII 15471 (beginning of V A.D.). Last examples might be *P.Apoll.* 72, r, 3 (c. second half of VII A.D.), a marriage invitation, partially restored; *P.Gen.* IV 196, 7 (second half of VII A.D.), a loan contract, where the adverb was corrected by the scribe from the initial writing ἀνυπερθέτος; *P.Herm.* 34, 28-29 (VII A.D.), a lease of land, where again the word was corrected by the scribe from ἀνυπερθε . . . ως.

It is part of the penalty clauses that state that someone should not delay a certain payment (cf. also *O.Claud.* III 590, probably a receipt). Moreover, it is found in official correspondence *O.Krok.* I 87, i, 11-13 (A.D. 118) ὥστε | περι αὐτῆς ὑμᾶς ἀνυπερθέτως | μοι γράψαι.

Apparently, the legal sense of the adverb was also used in some instances in the everyday language of the private letters with verbs as ποιῶ and πέμπω, but only to indicate the necessity for immediate action, without implying legal implications. Its first appearance is in a private letter *SB XIV* 11584, 9-10 (late II A.D.) περι οὗ σοι χρεία ἐστίν, ἐπίστελλέ μοι, | [εἰ]δὼς ὅτι ποιήσω ἀνυπερθέτως, “if you have need of anything, send me word since you know that I will do it without delay”. The sender of the letter explains to the recipient the reasons for which he delayed in replying and gives him advice on how they should keep in touch in order to strengthen their friendship. The adverb follows the verbal form (future indicative). It seems that the scribe likes to use adverbs ending in -ως, since in a short letter he uses three more adverbs in -ως, (ll. 4-9) διὸ παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν σ[υ]νεχῶς... ὅταν δέ σοι βραδέως [γ]ράφω, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρ[υ]ίσκειν μηδὲνα πρὸς σὲ ἐρχόμενον ραδίως τοῦτο γίνεται. In *P.Heid.* II 215, 6-9 (middle of III A.D.) πέμπ<ε>ις δὲ ἀνυπερθέτως ὄν[ον] | καὶ σάκκον καὶ Πακῦσιν διὰ | νυκτός, ἵνα τὴν αὐτὴν κατέλ[θη] ὑπὸ σῆτον, the adverb follows the verbal form, which is in aorist subjunctive (instead of the imperative). The sender, Harpokration, asks the recipient of the letter, his son Arsinoos, to send a donkey, a sack for storing wheat, and a man, named Pakysis. A temporal prepositional διὰ νυκτός also follows, since everything should be sent immediately, even by night<sup>110</sup>. Neither of the adverbials is redundant, because ἀνυπερθέτως specifies the time that Pakysis and the donkey should be sent, that is, by the time the recipient receives the letter, and διὰ νυκτός specifies the time that the journey of Pakysis should take place, that is, during the night. Pakysis should be sent back first thing in the morning, in order to be on the same day (τὴν αὐτὴν) at his destination. The completion of the journey would have been done during the day, not during the night. The subordinate clause of purpose, that follows, explains the reason of this haste, that is, Pakysis should leave immediately from the city Arsinoe to the village Tebtynis. However, it is not clear which night is meant: the one when Arsinoos has received the letter from his father, or the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> of the month (l. 3), when he goes to the place his father wants.

The adverb ἀνυπερθέτως also appears on the back of a private letter, after the address, in a text which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, therefore, it is difficult to explain the situation which is described: *P.Worp* 24, 23 (III-IV A.D.) ἀνυπερθ[ε]τός [(έτως) π]ρὸς υ.οεας (l. οἰκ[ο]ίας).

#### ἀνυπολόγως

It is found only in loans of the Roman and Byzantine period, usually combined with the κίνδυνος-clause: *P.Mil.Congr.* XIV, on p. 64, 22-23 (A.D. 44) ἀνυπολόγως παντὸς ὑπολόγου καὶ ἀκινδύνως παντὸς κινδύνου; *P.Laur.* III 72, 11 (A.D. 118-138) διὰ μι[σθ]ώσεων ἀνυπολόγως καὶ ἀκινδύνως; *SB VI* 9562, 11-12 (A.D. 214) ἀνυπο[λόγω]ς καὶ ἀκινδ[ύνω]ς; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1892, 25 (A.D. 581) ἀνυπολόγως. It seems that the adjective ἀνυπόλογος (c.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *P.Flor.* II 184, 11 (III A.D.) νυκ<τ>ὸς ἀπόστειλον.

180 examples in DDBDP so far) is mainly used instead of the adverb; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνυπόλογος “subject to no claim or charge”.

ἀνωφελῶς

The adverb is attested in a petition to the Prefect, *M.Chr.* 229, 28-29 (A.D. 139) τὰ ἐαυτῶι ἀρέσκον[τ]α κενῶς καὶ [ἀ]νωφελῶς δηλώσας, and indicates that an action was unprofitable and useless (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνωφελής). It was also restored in the text of another petition to the Prefect, *PSI Cong.* XXI, 13 (A.D. 284-285) ἀντιτεταγμένη κενῶς κα[ὶ] ἀνωφελῶς ---], where, if the context is the same as in *M.Chr.* 229, then κενῶς καὶ ἀνωφελῶς should modify the missing following verbal form. The two adjectives (not the adverbs) are used in combination in order to explain each other: cf. Galen 18b, 751 (Kühn) κενεὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον ὑφ’ ἡμῶν κενὸν καὶ μάταιον, ὅπερ ἀνωφελὲς ὀνομάζουσιν.

ἀξιολόγως

It occurs in an honorary inscription with the meaning “remarkably” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀξιόλογος 1), in Bernand 1992, no 49, 26-31 (5 B.C.) ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκονίασε τὸν οἶκον ἀξιολόγως. In the same text some other adverbs ending in -ως are also attested, e.g. μεγαλομερῶς and μεγαλοψύχως.

ἀξιοπίστως

See LSJ *s.v.* ἀξιόπιστος 2 “trustworthy”. In Egypt the adverb is found in an official report of a strategos, *BGU VIII* 1764, 4 (64-44 B.C.) κατὰ δ[ὲ] τὸ δυνατ[ὸν] ἕκαστα γράφων ἀξιοπίστως, but, since the text after the adverb is lost, it is not certain if the adverb modifies the participle γράφων. In this text it seems to be used in a positive sense.

ἀξίως\*

It occurs in inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period with the meaning “worthy” and paired with other adverbs: *OGIS* 48, 7-10 (278-277 B.C.; = *SB V* 8852) καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως προέστησαν ὀρῶντές τινας τῶν πολιτῶν [μ]ὴ ὀρθῶς ἀνα[στρ]εφομένους καὶ θόρυβον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα παρ[έ]χ[ον]τας ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς [καὶ] ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις; *OGIS* 49, 4-6 (246-241 B.C.; = *SB V* 8853) [ὅπ]ως φαίνεται ἡ πόλις φιλοτίμως καὶ ἀξίως ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως [παραγ]ινομένους; it is also restored in an honorary inscription, *SB IV* 7286, 6-8 (Ptolemaic period) εἰς τρ[α]γ[ω]ιδεῖν ἀξιοθέντα ἡγωνί[σαι] ἀξίως κ[αὶ] φιλοτίμως.

The adverb appears in two private letters of the second and the third century A.D.: *P.Giss.* I 20, 23-24 (A.D. 113-120) ἀξιώσεις οὖν δίστιχον αὐτῶι γραφῆναι, ἵνα | ἀξίως σου καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀόκνως προσέλθῃ, and *BGU II* 624, 15-17 (A.D. 285) πολλὰ γάρ με ἠρώτησε, λέγων, ὅτι δου|λεύσω ἀξίως ἡμῶν τῆς γεωργίας | τοῦ κλήρου Ἀντήνορος, constructed in both cases with a genitive, and modifying verbs that either precede or follow; see LSJ *s.v.* ἄξιος III; Bauer *s.v.*

Its latest attestation in the papyri occurs in an affidavit of the early Byzantine period, *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3304, 7-8 (A.D. 301) οὐκ ἀξίως τῆς τῶν νόμων [ἐπιστρεφείας καὶ τοῦ φ]όβου τοῦ διασημοτάτου | [ἐ]πάρχου.

ἀόκνως\*

See above p. 71, *s.v.* ἀόκνως/ἀνόκνως.

ἀπανθρώπως\*

The adverb is found only in one private letter, with the meaning “not as a human acts” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπάνθρωπος II; Lampe *s.v.*): *P.Sorb.* I 33, 20-22 (middle III B.C.) οὐ κα|λῶς οὖν πλ/ο|εῖς ἀπανθρώπως | ἡμῖν χρώμενος. One could assume that the reading ἀπανθρό|πος in *SB* V 7600, 7-8 (A.D. 16) οἰδὸς (*l.* εἰδῶς) καὶ σύ, ὅτι (*l.* ὅτι) οὐκ ἀπανθρό|πος (*l.* ἀπανθρώ|πως) ἀριτα (*l.* ἄρρητα or, my proposal, ἀρι<σ>τα) πνεῖς (*l.* ποιεῖς) might be kept as such, and not regularize it as an adverb, since the adjective occurs in many papyri (see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀπάνθρωπος “unmenschlich, unfreundlich”); cf. other words (nouns, adjectives) that are used to express similar situations: *P.Oxy.* I 298, 52-54 (I A.D.) περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπα|θρωπίας τῶν ἀπ[αιτη]|σάντω(ν); *P.Flor.* II 226, 16-17 (c. 247-260) οὐ σήμερον οὖν οἰδᾶ σ[ου] τὸ | ἀπάνθρωπον ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ οἰδᾶ; *SB* XXIV 16335 12-13 (II-III A.D.) μὴ | ὑπολάβ[η]ς μ[α]ι (*l.* με) ἀπάνθρωπον; *P.Flor.* III 367, 3-4 (III A.D.) ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ μ[ε]μῆσομαι σε οὐδὲ τ[ὰ]ς ἀ|πανθρώπους σου ἐπιστολάς. The noun, and not the adverb, seems to be part of the official judicial wording; cf. *P.Oxy.* II 237, 33-35 (A.D. 186), where two advocates use the noun ἀπανθρωπία in their speech: Σεουήρου καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου ρητόρων ἀποκρ[ε]τιναμένων Τ[ε]ιτιανὸν τὸν ἡγεμονεύσαντα ὁμοίας ὑποθέσεως ἀκούσαντα [ἐξ] Αἰγυπτιακῶν προσώπων μὴ ἠκολουθηκέναι τῇ τοῦ νόμου ἀπανθρωπία ἀλλὰ τ[ῆ] ἐπι[νο]ία τῆς παιδός; cf. also the judicial proceedings, *P.Oxy.* LI 3627, 2 (late IV A.D.) ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀπανθρωπίας φερόμενος.

ἀπαξαπλῶς\*

The adverb ἀπαξαπλῶς, “just, simply, merely”, can modify any word or clause as a modal adverb. It is found in official documents and contracts<sup>111</sup>, and only twice in private letters, both dating from the middle of the fourth century A.D., where the adverb modifies an imperative of the verb πέμπω with the meaning “at any rate”: *P.Abinn.* 6, 18-19 (c. A.D. 346) ἀπαξαπλῶς πέμψον | μοι ὀλίγα; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2729, 28-30 (middle IV A.D.) ὁμοῦ ἀγοράσεται εἶδη καλὰ | καὶ πέμψατέ μοι εἶδη ἤδη (*l.* ἦτοι) λί(τρα) χωρικά ἢ λί(τρα) πρ( ) ἤδη (*l.* ἦτοι) κονχισματα (*l.* κογχίσματα) ἤδη (*l.* ἦτοι) | χαλκώματα ἤδη (*l.* ἦτοι) σπάτια ἤδη (*l.* ἦτοι) ἀπαξαπλῶς μὴ ἀφηκες μαι (*l.* ἄφες με or ἀφήκης με). The sender asks the recipient

<sup>111</sup> See *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀπαξαπλῶς “überhaupt”: *P.Lips.* I 27, 35 (A.D. 123); *PSI* V 446, 11 (A.D. 133-137); *CPR* XVII B 2, 19 (A.D. 184 or 185); *SB* XXII 15383, 12 (A.D. 225-233); *P.Oxy.* IX 1205, 12 (A.D. 291); *P.Bodl.* I 46, 22 (A.D. 299-300); *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2407, 21, 41 and 45 (late III); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3139, 8 (late III A.D.-early IV A.D.); *P.Nag Hamm.* 1, 16 (late III A.D.-early IV A.D.); *BGU* VII 1663, 3 and 10 (III A.D.); *P.Berl.Möller* 1, 11 and 12 (A.D. 300); *P.Nekr.* 24, 21 (A.D. 299-300; = *P.Bodl.* I 46); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2859, 19 (A.D. 301); *PSI* IX 1037, 24 (A.D. 301); *P.Nekr.* 34, 17 (= *M.Chr.* 295; A.D. 305-306); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1645, 11 (A.D. 308); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3261, 13 (A.D. 324); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3756, 25 (A.D. 325); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3758, 46 and 75 (after A.D. 325); *P.Oxy.* IX 1206, 14 (A.D. 335); *BGU* IV 1049, 16 (A.D. 342); *P.Abinn.* 58, 11 (A.D. 345); *M.Chr.* 361, 15 (A.D. 355); *P.Harr.* I 97 1 (IV A.D.); *P.Havn.* III 57, 20 (A.D. 412-415); *SB* XII 11075, 14 (first half of V A.D.); *P.Herm.* 25, 17 (V A.D.); *P.Duke* inv. 728 (ed. in *BASP* 48, 2011, 84), 8 (A.D. 518-527?); *P.Mich.* XIII 659, 207 and 236 (A.D. 527-547); *P.Lond.* V 1722, 26 (A.D. 530); *P.Michael.* 41, 43-44 (A.D. 539 or 554); *BGU* XIX 2831, 13 (first half of VI A.D.); *P.Lond.* V 1708, fr. F, 152 (A.D. 567-568); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67305, 10 (A.D. 568); *P.Hamb.* I 23, 28 (A.D. 569); *P.Lond.* V 1712, 16-17 (A.D. 569); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 94 (A.D. 570); *P.Lond.* V 1714, 50 (A.D. 570); *P.Lond.* V 1674, 83 (c. A.D. 570); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67097 27 (A.D. 571-572); *P.Köln* III 156, 4 (A.D. 582-602); *P.Münch.* I 11, 20 (A.D. 586); *P.Par.* 21, 23 (A.D. 592); *P.Münch.* I 13, 24 (A.D. 594); *P.Par.* S. 257, 7 (A.D. 599); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313, 59 (VI A.D.); *P.Stras.* IX 859, 4 (VI A.D.); *P.Lond.* I 77, 21 (c. A.D. 610); *SB* XVIII 13320, 73 (A.D. 613-641); *P.Mich.* XIII 662, 25 (A.D. 615 or 630 or 645); *P.Par.* 21, 44 (A.D. 616); *SB* XXIV 16039, fr. A, 5 (early VII A.D.); *SB* XVII 13173, 63 (A.D. 629 or 644); *SB* XXIV 16039, 5 (VII A.D.).

to send him some specific products he proposes and, at the end, either he asks him just to send something, if the adverb modifies the imperative πέμψατε, or he asks him “at any rate not to abandon him” (*ed. princ.*), because he sits in the storehouse alone, if it modifies the following μή ἀφηκες μαι.

#### ἀπαραβάτως

The first instance of this adverb is restored in *O.Claud.* III 463, 9 (A.D. 139) ἀπαραβάτω[ς], at the end of a receipt for an amount of wheat. However, probably we would restore the dative of the adjective there, because the evidence so far shows that the adverb ἀπαραβάτως does not appear before the Byzantine period, when it is used in various documents, mainly contracts:

*P.Eirene* II 12, 12 (A.D. 492) παραμένοντα ἀπαρ[αβ]άτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; *P.Lond.* V 1902 verso 2 (A.D. 566-573) παραφυλάξει ἀρραγεῖς (hand 2) ἀπαραβάτους (corr. from ἀπαραβατώς) καὶ ἀσαλεύτους; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313, 33-34 εἰς κληρό[ν] μου λελοχθέναι ἀπαραβάτ[ω]ς | καὶ ἀμετανοήτως καθ' οἶον δῆποτε τρόπον ἢ χρόνον; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67340 verso, 93-94 (VI A.D.) καθ' ὅσον ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως ταύτας τέθεικα | \νομίμως καὶ ἀπαραβάτ[ω]ς; *P.Stras.* I 40, 22-23 (A.D. 569) εἰς ἀποπλήρωσιν πάντων τῶν ἐφεξῆς δηλουμένων | συμφώρων (*l.* συμφόρων) ἀπαραβάτως; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67169, 20-21 (A.D. 569) καὶ ἐμμεῖναι τῇ παρούσῃ ἐ[γ]γράφῳ διαπράσει διηνεκ[ῶ]ς ἀπαρα[β]άτως | τῷ προσημανθέντι αὐτῆ[ς] κ[ινδύ]νῳ; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἀπαραιτήτως

For examples in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπαραίτητος II; cf. also Lampe *s.v.* In Egypt it is found only in a decree (see Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, inscription no 4, 39-40 (A.D. 68)), with the meaning “inevitably”, and in a public document, *P.Bas.* 21, 8 (III A.D.), where the context is not clear, as it is preserved in a fragmentary condition.

#### ἀπαρακαλύπτως

The adverb is attested for the first time in Plato *Respublica* 538c and *Euthydemus* 294d; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπαρακάλυπτος, “undisguised”; later attestations can be found in Diodorus Sic. 20.63.1 etc. In texts from Egypt the adverb occurs only in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 144, 2-4 τοῖς μὲν | ἀδικήμασιν ἀπαρακαλύπτως [ὀ]ργίζεσθαι | καὶ δυσχεραίνειν (see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177).

#### ἀπαρακλήτως

It occurs only in a public document, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB* XVI 12275, 5 (middle of II B.C.) τὸν πατέρα ἀπαρακλήτως συναντιλ[---] (where we can restore a form of the verb συναντιλαμβάνομαι “help, support”). Its meaning seems to be “without consolation”; see LSJ Revised Supp. *s.v.*, citing *SEG* VII 62, 10 (Seleukia in Pieria; 186 B.C.; = *IGLSyr.* 3,2 1183).

#### ἀπαραλείπτως

It is attested only in two official letters of the eight century A.D., *P.Lond.* IV 1338, 36 (A.D. 709) and *P.Lond.* IV 1361,5 (A.D. 710), where Kurrah ben Sharik writes to Basileios, pagarches of Aphrodito, that actions should be taken “in an unintermittent way” or “completely”.



## ἀπαραλλάκτως\*

See LSJ *s.v.* ἀπaráλλακτος; Lampe *s.v.* So far in the documents from Egypt the adverb is attested in a private letter, *CPR XXX* 2, 3 (A.D. 643-644) [ὄ]μ[ο]ία καὶ πρὸς τὸ μῆκος καὶ πρ[ὸ]ς τὸ πάχος \καὶ τὸ πλάτος/ ἀπαραλλάκτως, where the writer asks that some bricks should be made in precisely similar way as some others. The adverb either modifies an implied verb form, e.g. ποιούμενα, or it is used instead of the adjective ἀπaráλλακτα; cf. the phrase ὁμοῖος καὶ ἀπaráλλακτος in Athanasius, *PG* 28, 1329; Basilus, *PG* 29, 692 etc.

## ἀπαραποδίστως

Although there is a variety concerning the types of documents where the adverb is used (e.g. contracts, wills, petitions, receipts, settlements of dispute) with the meaning “without interference” (see Mayser 1936, 123; Mayser 1933-1934, 177), it is not attested so far in the private letters. In *BGU VIII* 1876, 9 (I B.C.), the reading ἀπαραποδίστος (*ed. princ.*) should be considered as an adjective ἀπαραπόδιστος and not an adverb ἀπαραποδίστως.

## ἀπαρενοχλήτως

It is found in a petition, *BGU VIII* 1836, 23 (51-50 B.C.), where it refers to seeds, which must be provided without the petitioner being disturbed. Moreover, ἀπαρενοχλήτως is attested in a contract of lease (*P.Kron.* 38, 15-16; A.D. 137), and it should be regularized as ἀπαρενοχλήτως. The adjective ἀπαρενόχλητος is attested in various documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and early Byzantine period, e.g. agreements and contracts, private and official letters, petitions etc.; its last attestation is in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1626, 19-20 (A.D. 325).

## ἀπαύστως

The adverb is rare in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπαυστος I 1. With the meaning “ceaselessly” it is restored in an official letter, *BGU VIII* 1784, 9-12 (64-44 B.C.) συντάξας | εὐθαρσεῖς ποι[εῖσθαι καμ]άτους, καὶ | ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ τῶ[ν c. 9 letters τόπ]ων γένωνται | ποι[ω]ν[ c. 18 letters ἀπα]ύστως. Moreover, it is an uncertain reading in a petition of the Byzantine period, where the scribe used a few adverbs ending in -ως: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 26-28 (A.D. 548-549) {ε}ῖνα εὐρουσιν \τοῦ λ[οιποῦ]/ οἱ ἐνοικ[ο]ῦντες ἡσύχ[ως βιῶναι, καὶ εὐκόλ[ως εἰσφέρει]ν | τὰ εὐσεβῆ ὑμῶν τελέσματα, \αἰ/ ἐ[νδ]ε[λ]ε[χῶ]ς δὲ καὶ ἀπαύστως ὑπερέξασθαι | τῆς εὐζωείας καὶ διαμονῆς [το(ῦ) ἀ]π[η]τῆτου ὑμῶν κράτους διὰ παντός.

It occurs also in a Christian inscription, in Lefebvre 1907, no 69, 2 (VI A.D.?) ἄγ]γελοι καὶ ἀπαύστως αὐτὸν γερέρουσιν ἐν τρισαγία φωνῇ ἄδοντες καὶ λέγοντες.

## ἀπείρως\*

It is found in a private letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition and its context is not clear: *P.Ant.* II 100, 5 (VI A.D.) ἀπείρως ἔχουσα. Moreover, in a petition, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67006 recto 5 (c. AD 567) ἔλκεσθαι \με/ εἰς τοιοῦτο γεωργικὸν λειτούργημα καὶ φρόντισμα \δο(υ)λ<ε>ίας/ οὗ ἀπείρως ἔχω καὶ ἀδ[υ]νά[τ]ως ἔχω τὸ μ[έ]ρος . . . θῆναι; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἄπειρος. In both examples it follows and modifies the verb ἔχω; see LSJ *s.v.* ἄπειρος 2 “inexperienced”, citing Herodotus 2.45, Xenophon *Mem.* 2.6.29, and Isocrates 5.19.

## ἀπεριγράπτως

It occurs only as a provisional reading and it is grouped with at least two other adverbs ending in -ως (one of which is ἀδόλως) in a donation, *P.Petra* III 31, 32 (A.D. 582-592). ] τως καὶ ἀδόλως κ[αὶ ἀ]περιγράπτ[ως], “and without treachery and sincerely (transl. *ed. princ.*)”. Its meaning in the patristic literature is “without being circumscribed”; see Joannes Chr., *PG* 56, 385; Epiphanius, *PG* 43, 444; see also Lampe *s.v.*; cf. Mitsakis 1967, 45.

## ἀπερισκέπτως

It appears only in a contract, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *CPR* XIX 4 (after A.D. 416?- after 423?), with the meaning “without consideration, in a thoughtless manner”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπερίσκεπτος.

## ἀπερισπᾶστος

It is attested in a petition (*P.Tebt.* III 895, 57; c. 175 B.C.) and in a contract of lease (*P.Kron.* 38, 16-17; A.D. 137) with the meaning “without annoyance” or “continually”; see Spicq 1978, 123-124; Bauer *s.v.*

## ἀπεριφρονήτως

It appears only in the clause in labor contracts of the late Byzantine period in order to indicate the way in which some work has to be done:

*SB* XVIII 13963, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐργ[α]σ[άμενον ἀπεριφρ]ονήτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως; *SB* XVIII 13997, 2-3 (first quarter VII A.D.) ἐργα]σίαν [ἀκα]τ[α]γ[νώ]στως καὶ ἀπερι]φρονήτως; *SB* XVIII 14000, 6-7 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐργάσασθαι [ε]ἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀμπελον ἀπεριφρονήτως καὶ | ἀκαταγνώστως; *SPP* III 422, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐργάσασθαι εἰς αὐτὰ ἀπεριφρονήτ[ως]; *SPP* XX 219, 15-18 (A.D. 604) ποι|οῦντα πρὸς σὲ τὴν τοῦ σταβλί|του χρεῖαν ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ | ἀπεριφρονήτως; *P.Dub.* 26, 5 (VII A.D.) ἀπεριφρονήτως (*l.* ἀπεριφρονήτως) καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως (*l.* ἀκαταγνώστως).

## ἀπευκταίως

It appears in a declaration of an inheritance, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1114, 24-25 (A.D. 237), probably modifying an infinitive in l. 29 (if we restore τελευτῆσαι), and in a petition to the Prefect, *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3302, 3-4 (A.D. 300-301) ἔ[δ]ει μὴ πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς | ἀπευκτέως (*l.* ἀπευκταίως) παρὰ τῆς τύχης μου συμ[ ] ἐπαχθῶς με βιάζεσθαι, “it was not right that on top of these accidents that have occurred, contrary to my hopes, as a result of my own destiny, (anyone?) should burden me with rough treatment”, where a woman writes about people who had tried to keep her out of her inheritance; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπευκταῖος.

## ἀπλῶς\*

The difficulty to understand the exact meaning of this adverb in its appearances in the Greek literature has already been noticed (see LSJ *s.v.*; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*<sup>112</sup>). In the papyri the adverb ἀπλῶς appears in the legal clauses in official documents. For ἀπλῶς in the official documents and the legal clauses see Spicq 1978, 128-129”; see also *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀπλοῦς 6 “ohne weiteres, ohne Ausnahme, im allgemeinen, überhaupt”; for the

<sup>112</sup> For the phrase ἐπίστασθαι ἀπλῶς in Aristotle see M. Gifford, “Lexical Anomalies in the Introduction to the Posterior Analytics, Part I”, *OSAPh* 19, 2000, 163-223, esp. 171-223. For the use in a negative context see N. Georgantzoglou, “Lexical and Explanatory Notes on Dio Chrysostom”, *RhM* 147, 2004, 73-79, esp. 73.

Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. It is also attested in the letter of Claudius, *P.Lond.* VI 1912, 79-80 (A.D. 41) ἀπλῶς δὲ προσαγορεύω{ι} ὅτι ἂν μὴ καταπαύσῃται (l. καταπαύσῃτε) τὴν ὀλέ|θριον ὄργην ταύτην κατ' ἀλλήλων.

However, when it is used in the private letters, the meaning is not always the same. Moreover, it occurs so far only in letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods. Therefore, in a letter from the Zenon archive, *P.Lond.* VII 1941, 8-9 (257 B.C.) Πτολεμαῖος οὐ μισθοὺς ἐ<κ>πράσ<σ>εται ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπιστάτ[ραι, ἀπλῶς δ' ἐλπίζει σε] | στεφανῶσαι, the adverb is restored, but this restoration, which seems to be the earliest occurrence of the adverb in the Greek papyri, is debatable.

As far as the private *SB XVIII* 13946, 14-15 (III-IV A.D.) οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ἀπλῶς γεννω|μ[ένων] ἀθ[άν]ατος is concerned, see Chapa 1998, 121, 14-15n. “the position of the adverb ἀπλῶς after the article is unusual. It would be easiest to understand ἀπλῶς as reinforcing the whole statement; it is frequently joined with οὐδεὶς to mean “absolutely nobody” (LSJ *s.v.* ἀπλῶς). But the word-order seems to exclude this. Since ἀπλῶς also frequently occurs with πᾶς, I wonder whether here we should understand an implicit πάντων: *Stud.Pal.* XX 21.21 (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.): τῶν δημοσίων πάντων [περ] ἀπλῶς ὄντων πρὸς σέ; *PSI VII* 827.26 (4<sup>th</sup> cent.): ἀσπάζου πολλά Ἄγαθὸν Δήμονα (l. Δαίμονα) καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς τοῦς ἀγαπῶντας ἡμᾶς; also, *P.Ahm.* II 96.3. If so, Eudaemon's words could be understood as ‘nobody of absolutely all who are born...’. But this does not seem very convincing. Thus, we should think that the writer referred it to γεννω|μ[ένων] to reinforce it and meant ‘none of those who are born at all’”. Nevertheless, we may assume that ἀπλῶς may stand for a word that means “just human, not a being more than human”, that is, instead of the adjective ἀπλοῦς, and so, we can understand that “none of the people who were born as just mortal lives for ever”.

In the Roman period, in *P.Giss.Univ.* III 20, 11-13 (A.D. 113-117) καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι | ἀμηχανῶ οὐκ εἰωθῶς | ρ{ε}ίπτε[ι]ν οὐδὲν μὲν | [ἀ]πλῶς β[ι]βλίον, μάλιστα τὰ ἀνα[γ]καιότερα, the meaning of οὐδὲν μὲν | [ἀ]πλῶς is “not even one”; in this case it seems that the adverb is used instead of the adjective; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἀπλόος III b, ἀπλῶς βιβλία “rolls containing a single author”. In *P.Yale* I 83, 7-9 (c. A.D. 200) ἐπιστάμενος πάντα | τὰ μετοξὺ (l. μεταξὺ) ὅτι μηδὲ ἔν ἀπλῶς | ἀδικήσα[ς] μηδένα, the adverb in the phrase μηδὲ ἔν ἀπλῶς is used with the meaning of “absolutely not” (see LSJ *s.v.* II 2).

In the Byzantine period, the phrase καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν occurs in the official letters: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67062, 10 (first half of VI A.D.); *P.Bas.* 19, 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Lond.* IV 1332, 9; 1333, 11 (A.D. 708); 1338, 23; 1339, 10; 1343, 8 (A.D. 709); 1350, 13 (A.D. 710), with the meaning “just to say”; see LSJ *s.v.* II a.

Another formulaic expression seems to be the one found only in the private letter *P.Col.* VIII 242, 10 (V A.D.) ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς (l. ἀπλῶς) οὕτω (l. οὕτω) καθ[ι]ζόμεθα μιδὲν (l. μηδὲν) πόλεμον ποιο[ῦ]ντες, where ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς (l. ἀπλῶς) οὕτω (l. οὕτω), has the meaning “...but just in this way”.

In all the other instances the meaning of the adverb seems to be “simply” (see LSJ *s.v.* II 2):

*P.Kellis* I 65, 3-6 (early IV A.D.) θαυμά[ζ]ω πῶς οὐκ ἔγρα|ψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ | οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς, ἔγραψά σοι | πρὸ τούτου ὅτι etc.; II. 18-20 ἀπλῶς δὲ περὶ πάντων | πιστεύσω σοι τὸν ἐμὸν τό|πον. In the former instance, we may put the stop after θαυμά[ζ]ω πῶς οὐκ ἔγρα|ψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ | οὐδενός, and a new clause starts with ἀπλῶς ἔγραψά σοι | πρὸ τούτου ὅτι etc.; *PSI VII* 827, 26-29 (IV A.D.) ἀσπάζου πολλά Ἄγαθὸν | Δήμονα (l. Δαίμονα) καὶ πάντας | ἀπλῶς τοῦς ἀγαπῶντας | ἡμᾶς; *SB XVIII* 13598, 5 (VI-VII A.D.) περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀνουσίας γράφατέ μοι ἀπλῶς τὴν | [---]; *P.Lond.* VI 132, recto 1 and verso 2 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀπλῶς οὐκ οἶδες ὅτι χρείαν

ἔχω and [ἀπ]λῶς ο[ύ]κ ἐδυνήθησ λαβ<ε>ίν; *SB XXVIII* 17005, 11 (VII A.D.) οὐδὲν ἀ[π]λῶς μένει εἰ[ς] τὴν κώμην αὐτῶν.

The context of some texts, which are preserved in a fragmentary condition, or some tentatively restored texts is not clear: *SB VI* 9164, 11-12 (first half of II A.D.) ἵνα μὴ ἐλθῶν ἀπ[λῶς πα] | ρ' ἕνα ὑμῶν; *PSI IV* 286, 37 (III-IV A.D.) ἀλλὰ κ[αί] τὰ βιβλία πέμψω αὐτῷ ὡς ἐὰν δόξῃ πρὶν ἀπλῶ[ς(?) ] ηδ [ . . . ] πέρασ τῷ πράγμα[τ]ι ἐπιτεθῆ ἀντίγραφον περὶ τούτ[ο]υ; *P.Mert.* III 115, 16-17 (early IV A.D.) [οὐδ]ὲ πιστεύειν σε ἀπλῶς | [ . . . ] διαλέγεσθαι; *P.Iand.* II 23, 14 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB XX* 14118, 7 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ οὐκ ἐχρῆν . . . τὴν ἀπλῶς . . . ος ἐνεχθῆναι. Some of these απλως might be only forms of the verb ἀπλόω.

#### ἀποκρότως\*

The adverb ἀποκρότως, “without fail” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπόκροτος I; *WB IV s.v.* ἀπόκροτος), is part of the legal clauses of the contracts, καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως, of the Byzantine period, both in the Greek<sup>113</sup> and Coptic<sup>114</sup> documents.

In addition, the adverb appears in the wording of three private letters, and obviously it is used because of the knowledge of the legal clause:

In *SB V* 7656, 10-11 (IV-VII A.D.) οὐ συνεχώρησέν με γὰρ ἐξελεθ<ε>ίν ἐ[πί] | τὴν Μέμφιν, εἰ μὴ ἐποίησέν με ἀντιφωνῆσαι αὐτῷ ἀποκρότως Ἀνουβίῳ, “for he did not allow me to leave Memphis until he had made me guarantee the sum without fail to Anoubion”, the infinitive ἀντιφωνῆσαι is modified by the adverb. Since also in *P.Flor.* III 343, 2-4 ἔχω καὶ ὀφείλω τῇ σῆ ἀρετῇ | ὑπὲρ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀποκρότου ἀντιφωνήσεως (*l.* ἀντιφωνήσεως) χρυσοῦ | νομίματα τριάκοντα εὐσταθια ζυγῶ δημοσίῳ, the noun ἀντιφωνήσεις is qualified by the adjective ἀπόκροτος, it seems that the phraseology of the letter was influenced by the legal vocabulary. However, the adverb is placed between the two objects of ἀντιφωνῆσαι, which might mean that the scribe recalled the adverb in the course of his thought as a natural complement of the infinitive.

In *CPR XXV* 8, 7 (V-VI A.D.) καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἤδη ἀνεδέξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποκρότως ἢ σῆ ἀρετῇ, the sender was probably imprisoned, and tortured, and some men (sent by the recipient?) would put an end to his suffering. The verb ἀναδέχομαι is modified by the adverb. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1875, 11-13 (VI-VII A.D.) καλανδικά... ὡς ταῦτα ἀποκρότως ὑμῖν ἔχει δοθησόμενά μοι δι' ὑμῶν the adverb precedes and modifies a verbal form of the verb δίδωμι “ἔχει δοθησόμενα”. A form of the verb δίδωμι is also modified by the adverb ἀποκρότως in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1897, 3-6 ὁμολογῶ ἐπίμοσ (*l.* ἐτοῖμοσ) ἔχειν ἀποκρότος διδῶναι (*l.* διδόναι)... χρυσοῦ ν[ο]μίσ(ατα). In both cases the meaning of receiving and giving money justifies the use of the adverb, if the scribe had in mind the legal clauses.

<sup>113</sup> *P.Grenf.* II 89, 3 (A.D. 510 or 525); *P.Grenf.* II 90, 6 (A.D. 510 or 525); *P.Paramone* 13, 5 (c. A.D. 530); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67165, 11 (A.D. 566-573); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67164, 4 (A.D. 569); *SB* III 6258, 2 (A.D. 577 or 592); *SB XII* 10810, 2 (second half of VI A.D.); *SB VIII* 9772, 6 (VI A.D.); *SB XXII* 15596, 6 (VI A.D.); *P.Lond.* V 1776, 1 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1897, 3 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB XXVI* 16345, 2 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4535, 23 (A.D. 600); *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5070, 8 (A.D. 605-606 or 620-621); *P.Amh.* II 151, 14 (A.D. 610-619 or 629-641); *P.Oxy.* LXXII 4930, 12 (A.D. 614); *P.Edfou* I 2, 3 (A.D. 619); *P.Ross. Georg.* III 53, 10 (A.D. 674-675); *P.Dub.* 25, 4 (VII A.D.); *SPP* III 427, 2 (VII A.D.); *SPP* III 2.1 59, 3 (VII A.D.); *T.Varie* 10, 4 (VII A.D.); *SPP* III 2.1 115, 3 (VII-VIII A.D.). In *P.Stras.* I 40, 31 (A.D. 569) instead of καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδ[ό]λ[ω]ς κ[αί] εἰ[ς] [ . . . . . ] we may restore καθαρῶς καὶ ἀπ[οκ]ρ[ό]τ[ω]ς κ[αί] εἰ[ς] [ . . . . . ].

<sup>114</sup> End of VI A.D.: *CPR IV* 90, 3 (A.D. 596). VII A.D.: 57, 5; 72, 3; 74, 4; 75, 3; 77, 3; 93, 3. VII-VIII A.D.: *CPR IV* 85, 5; *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 34, 2. VIII A.D.: *CPR IV* 71, 2; 78, 3; 80, 2-3; 87, 3; *CPR II* 198, 2.

The adverb is found only twice in literary texts. In Epiphanius *Panarion* 3.234 ἀποκρότως βούλεται ὀρίζειν, it describes an action as unhindered (see Lampe *s.v.*, citing this example with the meaning “stubbornly, obdurately”), and in Hesychius *s.v.* διακρότως· σκληρῶς. ἀποκρότως, it denotes an act when it is performed harshly.

ἀποστατικῶς – ἀποστατικώτερον(?)

It is found in a petition, *BGU* VI 1253, 6-8 (II B.C.) ἐπεὶ οὖν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμέ|νοι εἰσὶν ἀποστατικῶς [δ]ια|κείμενοι, “and since they did these things in a rebellious manner”, preceding and modifying the participle [δ]ια|κείμενοι; see Mayser 1936, 123<sup>115</sup>; Mayser 1933-1934, 177. In two Ptolemaic petitions we find the dative of Manner ἀποστατικῶ τρόπῳ: *P.Tor.Amenothos* 8, 65-69 (116 B.C.) ὁ Ἀμενώθης πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἐπερρω|μένος τῆι τολμηρίαι καὶ τοῦτον | ἐθεράπευσεν βιαίωι ἀγῶνι καὶ αὐτο|κρασίαι τινὶ ἐκφερόμ[ε]νος καὶ ἀποστα|τικῶι τρόπῳι; *BGU* XX 2847, 11-12 (49 B.C.) καὶ ἐν τῶ πεδίῳ ἐπίθεσ[ιν ---]| ἀποστατικῶ τρόπῳ [---]. The adjective or the adverb(?) ἀποστατικώτερον is used in two other petitions of the early Roman period: *P.Lond.* II 354, 6 (p. 163) (7-4 B.C.) καὶ αἰεὶ ἀποστατικώτερον φρονούντω[ν, and the adjective in *P.Stras.* VI 566, 5-6 (7 B.C.) ἀποστατικῆ αἰρέσει ἐπιβα|[λῶν; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀποστατικός I, citing the London papyrus for the comparative, and Chrysippus ap. Gal. 5.406 ἀποστατικῶς πράττειν τοῦ λόγου; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*

ἀπραγμόνως

Although the adverb appears in the historical texts of Thucydides and Xenophon and in the tragedies of Euripides (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπράγμων) with the meaning “without trouble or care”, in papyri it is only found in documents of the Byzantine period:

Petitions: *M.Chr.* 62, 12-13 (A.D. 303) ἤξιωσεν ἀπραμμόνας (*l.* ἀπραγμόνως) τὴν |διάλυσιν τῶν χρεωστουμένων ποιήσασθαι; *P.Abinn.* 55, 13-14 (A.D. 351) διῶ (*l.* διὸ) ἀξ[ι]ῶ, πραιπόσιται (*l.* πραιπόσιτε) κ[ύ]ριε, ἀπραγμόνος (*l.* ἀπραγμόνως) | ἃ ἀφῆρπασέν μου [π]αρασχεθῆναί μοι[ι]; *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2418, 4-6 (V-VI A.D.) καὶ ἐγ[κ]ρατεῖς γενό|μεινοι τῶν πραγμ[α]τῶν, ἀπραγμόνως οὐ βούλο[ν]ται το[ῦ] μέρου[ς] μου τῆς μητρῶας περιουσίας [ἀποστῆναι(?), where the comma should be placed after the adverb, because it seems that it modifies the previous participle γενόμενοι; cf. also a dialysis contract, *P.Berl.Möller* 1, 11 (A.D. 300) ἐδοκίμασαν μᾶλ[λ]ον ἀπραγμόνως δια[λ]ύσασθαι.

Official documents, e.g. *PSI* I 76, 8 (A.D. 572) μὴ ἀνεχομένην ἀπραγμόνως τὸ ἰκανόν μοι περιποιῆσαι, and in a civil judgment, *P.Münch.* I 6, 33-36 (A.D. 583) καὶ τούτω γὰρ τῶ | λόγῳ οὐδὲ ἀντεπιτεῖν ἔσχεν Ἰωάννης ὁ αὐτῆς υἱός, ἀλλὰ καὶ | ἀπραγμόνως συνέθετο.

ἀπράκτως\*

The adverb appears in two private letters, one of the Ptolemaic and one of the late Byzantine period: in both cases the adverb follows immediately after the verb ἀναγκάζομαι and modifies the following verbal forms: ἀναλύειν in *P.Heid.* VI 366, 19-23 (III B.C.) ἀναγκασθῆσο|μαι ἀπράκτως | ἀναλύειν πρὸς | τὸν ἄνθρωπον | τᾶ . . . αἰρα . θιαν; lost verb in *PSI* VIII 889, 6-7 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ ἠναγκάσθην ἀπράκτως | [---]. The meaning seems to be “unsuccessfully, in vain” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπρακτος I 2).

<sup>115</sup> In Mayser 1936, 113, reference is made to the petition *P.Lond.* II 354, 6 (p. 163) (7-4 B.C.) καὶ αἰεὶ ἀποστατικώτερον φρονούντω[ν, but, because of the fragmentary condition of the papyrus, it is not certain if this form is the adverb or a form of the adjective ἀποστατικώτερος.

However, when it occurs in the petition *P.Flor.* III 295, 5-6 (A.D. 566-568), καὶ δημηγερούσιαν πάντοτε πράττουσιν πᾶσαν ἀζωτίαν ἑαυτοῖς περιποιούντες ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀέρ[γ]ως καὶ ἀπράκτως | [---], which is cited in LSJ *s.v.* ἄπρακτος I 3 with the meaning “by doing nothing, idle” (cf. also *WB* IV *s.v.* ἄπρακτος I “untätig”, citing *PSI* VIII 889, 6-7), it is not certain, first, whether it modifies the participle περιποιούντες or a word lost in the following line, and, second, whether the meaning given by LSJ or another meaning (such as “in vain”) might be required here.

#### ἀπροκρίτως

The first appearance in papyri is in a petition (*ius trium liberorum*), *P.Oxy.* XII 1467, 21-23 (A.D. 263) ἀξιῶ ἔχε[ιν] | αὐτὰ ἀπροκρίτως τοῖς δικαίοις μ[ο]υ, “I beg you to keep it without prejudice to my rights”; see LSJ *s.v.* 1 and 2; cf. also Lampe *s.v.* “without discussion, immediately”, citing Cyrilus Alex., *PG* 77, 288C. In the Byzantine period the adverb is followed by the temporal conjunction ἄχρι(ς). It occurs in official correspondence, e.g. *W.Chr.* 281, 17-18 (A.D. 367-368) συνάγετε (*l.* συνάγεται) λόγου ναύλου θαλασσίων πλοίο(ων) ιβ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἀπροκρίτως ἄχρις τῆς ἀποστελλομένης | δηληγατίονος κατὰ τὸν τύπον τ[ῆ]ς ιᾱ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (δηναρίων) μ(υριάδας) θ̄ σμβ. In the sixth century it is found in payments for military supplies, and it is usually placed at the end of the clause. It modifies verbs which are written at the beginning of the clause, and it is followed by ἄχρι κοιμηθῆς: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67320, 5-6 (A.D. 541) ἀπαιτηθῆναι καὶ παρασχεθῆναι... ἀπροκρίτως, ἄχρι κοιμηθῆς; *P.Erl.* 55, 10-12 (c. A.D. 542) εἰσενεχθῆναι καὶ παρασ[χ]εθῆναι... ἀπροκρίτω[ς], ἄχρι κοιμηθῆς; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67321, B 1-5 (A.D. 548-549 or A.D. 533-534?) ἀπαιτηθῆναι καὶ παρασχεθῆναι... ἀπροκρίτως, ἄχρι κοιμηθῆς; *P.Lond.* V 1663, 17-23 (A.D. 549) εἰσενεγεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν... ἀπροκρίτως ἄχρι κοιμηθῆς.

#### ἀπρόπτως\*

It occurs only in a private letter of the Byzantine period, *P.Amh.* II 154, 7 (c. A.D. 643-644) ἐπειδὴ ἀπρόπτως πρᾶγμα οὐ θέλω ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτοῖς, where it precedes and modifies the following infinite ἀναγαγεῖν. Its meaning is “unexpectedly, not realizing beforehand”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπρόοπτος I. The adjective ἀπρόοπτος is not attested so far in papyri.

#### ἀπροδοκίτως

The adverb does not occur in private letters. However, it is listed with other adverbs in *P.Fay.* 19, 2-4 (II A.D.) οὔτε ἀω[ρ]εὶ οὔτε ἀλόγως οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ροσ]δοκίτω[ς] | [οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίου, which is an exercise of a letter of the Emperor Hadrian. Moreover, R. Pintaudi, in *AnPap* 23/24, 2011-2012, 165, published PL III/499 (beginning of VI A.D.), understood the word ἀπρο[σ]δοκίτ[ο]ς in l. 8, which is only partially preserved, as an adverb.

The adjective ἀπροσδόκητος is attested in *P.Rain.Cent.* 70, 4-6 [---]ο[υ]σ[α] γὰρ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς καὶ | ἀπροσδοκίτου συ[μ]φορᾶς | οὐδὲ πρ[ὸ]ς βραχὺ κοιμῶμαι, for which see Chapa 1998, 89-90, no 5, 4-5n.

#### ἀπροσκέπτως

The adjective ἀπρόσκεπτος (see LSJ *s.v.*) appears in the literary texts from the fourth century B.C. and is explained by Demosthenes 51.15 τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ιδιωτῶν τοὺς

μετὰ τοῦ παθεῖν μανθάνοντας ἀπροσέπτους ὀνομάζομεν; cf. also Xenophon *Lac.* 13.8. The adverb ἀπροσέπτως is found so far only in Antiphon fr. 195, 7-9 (Kock) (apud Athenaeus) ὅσ' ἂν μόνον | τύχη τις εἰπών, ταῦτ' ἀπροσέπτως ποιεῖν | ἅπαντα.

In papyri it is only attested in a royal decree, *SB I 5675*, 11-12 = *C.Ord.Ptol.* 30-31 (183 B.C.), καὶ τοὺς μὲν | εἰκῆι κ[α]ὶ ἀπρο[σ]σκέπτως ἀνάγοντάς τινας ἐπιπλήσσετε (see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177). The meaning “unexpectedly” or “improvidently” is justified from the context and one should not understand here the adverb ἀπροσέπτως as a mistake for ἀπροσκόπτως, “without stumbling”, which is attested in Byzantine literary texts (see below, *s.v.*).

#### ἀπροσκόπως\*

The adjective ἀπρόσκοπος, “without harm”, is found mainly in private letters of the Roman period (and two letters of the Byzantine period)<sup>116</sup>. In the same period the adverb is also attested only in another private letter, *P.Giss.Apoll.* 24, iv 8-9 (A.D. 117) ἵνα μετὰ φιλίας καὶ ἀπροσκό[π]ως ἐξέλθωμεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν | ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι, where it precedes and modifies the aorist subjunctive ἐξέλθωμεν. For its examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπρόσκοπος I 2; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἀπροσωπολήμπτως

With the meaning “treating persons equally” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀπροσωπόληπτος; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*<sup>117</sup>), it is restored in *P.Lond.* IV 1356, 31-34 (A.D. 710), where Kurrah ben Sharik writes to Basileios, pagarches of Aphrodito, that λοιπὸν | [ἀνάγνωθι] αὐτοῖς τὰ παρόντα γράμματα ἡμῶν προμαρτυρόμενος | [αὐτοὺς εἰ]ς τὸ σχεῖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ/ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ | [ἀπροσωπ]ολήμπτως (see *BL VIII*, on p. 190 [ἀπαρ]αλήμπτως → [ἀπροσωπ]ολήμπτως proposed by P.V. Jernstedt) διαστεῖλαι τὸν ρηθέντα μοιρασμόν.

#### ἀπροφασίστως\*

The adverb ἀπροφασίστως was used to indicate that someone acted unhesitatingly and readily, and implies that the subject of the modified verbal form did not use any excuse for his actions<sup>118</sup>. It is usually attested in formal documents and private contracts<sup>119</sup>. For attestations in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. In a business letter, *SB VI 9090*, 7-8 (248 B.C.), the phrase ὅπως δύνηται ἀπροφασίστως τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ[ν] | τῶι βασιλεῖ reminds one of that in *P.Petr.* II 32, 2a, 27-28 (217 B.C.) δυνώμεθα τῶι

<sup>116</sup> *P.Köln* I 56, 7, 17 (I A.D.); *P.Alex.Giss.* 60, 4 (A.D. 113-120); *P.Giss.Apoll.* 2, 8-9 (A.D. 113-120); *P.Giss.Apoll.* 13, 7 (A.D. 113-120); *P.Sarap.* 89, 14-15 (II A.D.); *SB XVI 12570*, 14 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3858, 27 (IV A.D.) and 3862, 10-11 (IV-V A.D.). In *P.Stras.* VIII 732, 9 the text is damaged; cf. also the noun ἀπροσκοπία in *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 8 (II A.D.).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. also Hasselbrook 2011, 46-48.

<sup>118</sup> See LSJ *s.v.* ἀπροφάσιτος; cf. also O. Poltera, *Le langage de Simonide. Étude sur la tradition poétique et son renouvellement*, Bern, Peter Lang, 1997, 327-328. Bonner 1941, 457-459 (for the semantic development of the word πρόφασις).

<sup>119</sup> *P.Sorb.* I 42, 11 (222 B.C.); *P.Petr.* II 32, 2a, 27-28 (217 B.C.); *M.Chr.* 32, ii 4 (after 181 B.C.); *P.Ryl.* II 66, 8 (130 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III 707, 4 (118 B.C.); *BGU VI 1252*, 36-37 (II B.C.); *BGU I 7*, 6 (A.D. 247); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3071, 6 (A.D. 249-250); *PSI Congr.* XXI 13, 6 (after A.D. 284-285); *P.Gen.* IV 190, 18 (A.D. 522 or 523); *P.Lond.* III 1319, 12 (A.D. 544); *P.Stras.* VII 677, 9 (VI A.D.); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 49, 12 (A.D. 604-605); *BGU XII 2208*, 24 (A.D. 614); *BGU XII 2210*, 21 (A.D. 617); *CPR IX 30*, 10 (first half of VII A.D.).

βα[σιλει] | τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀπροφασίστως and indicates an influence from the official vocabulary. Both texts date to the Ptolemaic period, but, as can be seen, the position of the adverb is not fixed, and it can precede or follow the verb. The verb ποιῶ was modified by the adverb ἀπροφασίστως also in the classical literature, e.g. cf. Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 2.3.8 καὶ ὅς ἄν φανῆ τοῦτο ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν.

A similar impact can be assumed concerning the appearance of the same adverb in an invitation for a wedding in a private letter, *P.Apoll.* 72, 3 (c. second half of VII A.D.), where a person asks an official to come to the wedding of his daughter, [ἀ]ν[υ]περθέτως καὶ ἀπροφασίστως ἀξιῶσαι ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐπ[α]γα[θ]οῦ ὄ[ψ]εως αὐτῆς, which reminds one of the wording of the contracts for delivery of wine, e.g. *P.Gen.* IV 190, 17-18 (A.D. 523) ἀνυπερθέτως | καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἀπροφασίστως; *SB XVI* 12490, 11-12 (VI A.D.) ἀπροφασίστως | [καὶ ἀνυπερθ]έτως. The exaggeration in the phraseology of this person can be also understood in *I. 6* αὐτὴν σκυλῆναι πρὸς κόσμησιν.

#### ἀραδιουργήτως

It appears only in a sale of two slaves, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67120, 6 (c. A.D. 567-568), and a labor contract, *SB XX* 14400, 10-11 (VI-VII A.D.), after the clause [καὶ ποιήσασθ]αι πᾶσαν ὑπουργίαν | [ἀκαταγνώστως] καὶ ἀκαταφρονήτω[ς] (ll. 8-9), where we read [καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀρ]αδιουργήτως | [παραλ]αμβάνοντα (ll. 10-11). The adverb is found in legal texts by Athanasius, nomographus in the sixth century, *Novellae constitutiones* 3.7.2 and 3.8 in clauses concerning private documents (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀραδιούργητος “*sine fraude*”). It seems that it is an original formation based on the clause δίχα πάσης | ραδιουργίας, as in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159, 21-22 (A.D. 568) δίχα πάσης | ραδιουργίας, ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως.

#### ἀργυρικῶς\*

It appears in a private letter in the formulaic phrase “in kind or in money”: *P.Bon.* 43, 3-9 (I A.D.) καλῶς ποιήσεις προνο|ήσας, ὡς ἔωθας, τοῦ ἀρι|θμητικοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς | γυναικὸς μου διὰ Πα|θηβίς ὤρου Πεεννώ, \κο(τύλαι) ιδ/ | καὶ ἔξις τὸ ἡμισυ ἢ | γενικῶς ἢ ἀργυρικῶς.

In a petition, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB XX* 15143, 12 (A.D. 212) ἀλλὰ ἀργυρικῶς λογ[---], the adverb seems to modify a following verbal form<sup>120</sup>.

#### ἀργῶς\*

It is attested in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2729, 30-32 (middle IV A.D.) ἀργῶς | κᾶθημαι μόνος· εἰμί γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην ἡμῶν· οὐ δύναμαι γὰρ | σαλευθῆναι τῆς ἀποθήκης μου, where it means “lying idle, lazy, without doing anything”; see also n. *ad loc.* concerning the syntax of μόνος with κᾶθημαι or with εἰμί; cf. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* cent. 2.25 (Diogenianus) Ἀμελοῦς γωνία: ἐπὶ τῶν ραθύμως καὶ ἀργῶς καθημένων; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀργός (B) I 1 and 2; Spicq 1978, 142-145.

<sup>120</sup> Concerning the phrase ἀργυρικῶς ἢ σωματικῶς | κολασθήσονται in an edict, *I.Fay.* I 75, 17-18 (= *SB V* 8900) (S.N.; A.D. 54) É. Bernand's noted *ad loc.* “L'adverbe σωματικῶς pose un problème juridique. Il semble, en effet, qu'à l'époque romaine la *lex Iulia de vi publica*, interdisant la peine du fouet (*verberare*) à l'encontre des citoyens romains ait été appliquée en Égypte. Or l'édit de Lusius Geta ne fait aucune distinction entre les catégories de personnes. L. Wenger se demande s'il n'est pas sous-entendu que σωματικῶς s'applique seulement aux *peregrini* et ἀργυρικῶς aux *cives*”.



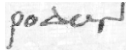
## ἀρεστῶς

The adverb ἀρεστῶς, “quite to one’s satisfaction”, is rare both in papyri and the classical literature<sup>121</sup>, and it is used only to indicate a pleasing or satisfactory action, because it fulfils all the necessary requirements to be accomplished. Apart from four contracts dated to the Ptolemaic and the early Roman period, where it is used in a clause to refer to the satisfactory work that must be done<sup>122</sup>, it is read in the *ed. princ.* of two private letters (which are preserved in a fragmentary condition) coming from the Zenon archive, *P.Col.* III 17, 2 (257 B.C.) (mentioned by Mayser 1936, 122) and *P.Col.* IV 115 b, 5 (middle of III B.C.). In these two private letters the adverb is used again to indicate a satisfactory action and is found in a conditional subordinate clause, which seems to be a way to express politeness. The modified verbal form is in both cases restored. In *P.Col.* III 17, 2 an impersonal passive form of the verb ποιῶ is supplemented, εἰ κεκόμισαι παρὰ Κρίτωνος καὶ εἰ ἀρεστῶ[ς | πεποίηται...], and in *P.Col.* IV 115 b, 5 the editor preferred the third person of the present indicative of the verb εἰμί, οὐ οὖν εἴ σοι ἀρεστῶ[ς ἐστί...]. However, in both these examples, the readings are not ἀρεστῶς, but forms the adjective ἀρεστός.

In *P.Col.* III 17, 2, after the certain στ one could read the left cup of a characteristic Ptolemaic *omega*, but what follows is a letter which has a vertical stroke, of which we can see only the lower end



(<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;3;17/images>). This letter could only be a “v” (or

an *iota* adscript?); cf. the way the letters ων are written in l. 4 . Therefore, we should read εἰ κεκόμισαι παρὰ Κρίτωνος καὶ εἰ ἀρεστῶ[ς | πεποίηται...]. Moreover, the verb ἐστί could also, alternatively, be supplemented here, accompanied by a dative to indicate the person who likes the action<sup>123</sup>.

In *P.Col.* IV 115 b, 5, after the certain στ there is a right curved stroke which resembles the same one as it is formed in the letter α and not as in the letter ω.



(<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.col;4;115; columbia.apis.p126.f.0.600>).

Therefore, the reading should be οὐ οὖν εἴ σοι ἀρεστά [ ἐστί...]; cf. also the adjective ἀρεστός in the same context in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59244. 6 (252 B.C.), ἐμοὶ μέγ γὰρ οὐκ ἀρεστά ἐστιν; *ibid.* III 59299, 1 (250 B.C.), τὰ σκόρδα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἀρεστά σοι εἶναι.

## ἀριπρεπέως

The Ionic form occurs in the hymn to Isis, in Bernand 1969, no 175, iv 13-14 (I B.C.?) ὃς γλυκὺ φέγγος ἀντέλλων φαίνει πᾶσιν ἀριπρεπέως; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀριπρεπέης 3. “famously, in a very distinguished way”.

<sup>121</sup> See LSJ *s.v.* ἀρεστός. A dative, which can precede or follow the verbal form, indicates the person which likes what is described by the modified verbal form.

<sup>122</sup> A lease contract, *P.Col.* IV 79, 28 (256-248 B.C.); a work contract, *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59182, [8] and 21 (255 B.C.) ἀπ[ο]δοῦναι [τ]ῆν γῆν καθ[α]ρ[ᾶν] ἀρεστῶς Ζή[νωνι]; and the lease contracts, *BGU* IV 1119, 19-21 (6-5 B.C.) ἐπιτελεῖν... τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα πάντα καθ' ὥρα[ν] καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρεστῶς (see Mayser 1936, 122; Mayser 1933-1934, 177) and *BGU* IV 1120, 29-30 (5 B.C.) καὶ [ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς μεμ]ισθωμένους τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κατεργασίαν καθ' ὅ[ραν] καὶ | κατὰ καιρὸν ἀρεστ[ῶ]ς.

<sup>123</sup> In *P.Col.* III 17, 1 the infinitive ἀ[πο]στεῖλαι can be restored at the end of the line.

## ἀρκούντως

It is an adverb formed from a participle, and, although it is not rare in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀρκεόντως, “enough, abundantly”), in texts coming from Egypt it is found only in a judgement of Severus, *P.Oxy.* LI 3614, 8 (after A.D. 200) τοὺς ἐπιτηρητὰς ἀρκοῦ/ντως. However, the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition after the adverb and the modified verbal form is lost.

## ἀρμοδίως

In an official correspondence, *P.Giss.* I 57, 6 (VI-VII A.D.) τὰ γράμματα... ἀντιγραφῆναι ἀρμοδίως, not with the meaning “in a fitting way”, but “appropriately by a responsible person” and, therefore, “responsibly, reliably”; cf. the adjective ἀρμόδιος in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 4 (A.D. 547) καὶ γὰρ ἐπίσ[τ]αται ἢ ἐπιχώ[ριο]ς ἀρμόδια τάξεις; for examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἀρμόδιος II; Lampe *s.v.*

## ἀρμοζόντως

The adverb appears in three documents of the Ptolemaic and early Roman period with the meaning “suitably” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀρμοζόντως): official correspondence, *UPZ* I 110, 76-78 (164 B.C.) τοῦ καὶ τοῖς | καιροῖς πρεπόντως καὶ τοῖς ἀν[θ]ρώποις ἀρμοζόν|τως φαίνεσθαι πεπολιτευμένους (see Mayser 1936, 125); in two petitions, *P.Hels.* I 31, 30-32 (160 B.C.) οἱ δὲ νομεῖς τύχωσιν ἀρμοζόντως | ἵνα μηθὲν ἐλάττωμα τῇ γῆι | ἀναφέρηται, and *BGU* IV 1060, 30-31 (14 B.C.) προσδιαλη|φθέντ[ο]ς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρμοζόντως (see Mayser 1936, 125). In *P.Lond.* VII 2188, 109 (148 B.C.) ἀρμοζοντ[ ], probably the adjective should be restored.

## ἀρτίως\*

The adverb with the meaning “just, newly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄρτιος III; Lampe *s.v.* 1) is usually attested in a variety of formal documents of the Roman period (very few instances) and, mainly, of the Byzantine period<sup>124</sup>. In almost all cases the adverb is placed before the verbal form. On the other hand, the adverb ἄρτι is attested in all periods (Ptolemaic to Byzantine), but mainly in the Roman period, and it is placed both before and after the verbal form. The adverb ἀρτίως is only attested in two private letters, and it precedes and modifies past tenses of verbs: *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 27-31 (A.D. 117) ὁ Δημήτριος

<sup>124</sup> **Private letters:** *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 1, 27-28 (A.D. 117); *P.Rain.Cent.* 74, r, 2 (V A.D.); **letter or petition:** *SB* XXVIII 16970, 13 (late VI-early VII A.D.); **petitions:** *SB* XXII 15540, 14 (A.D. 266-267); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 6b (A.D. 548-549); *P.Lond.* V 1676, 40 (A.D. 566-573); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003, 20 (c. A.D. 567); **contracts** (settlement) *P.Mich.* XIII 659, 132 and 175 (A.D. 527-547); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397, 122; 120; 137; 147; 151; 160 (A.D. 545); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67156, 14 and 24 (A.D. 570); (sales of land) *P.Michael.* 41, 57 (A.D. 539 or 554?); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67169, 12 (A.D. 569) (lease) *BGU* IV 1020, 15 (VI-VII A.D.); lease(?) *BGU* III 749, 9 (IV-VIII A.D.); (land exchange) *SB* XXVI 16532, 13 (A.D. 535); (marriage contracts) *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67006 V, 38 (c. A.D. 566-570); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67340 V, 9 (c. A.D. 566-573); (divorce) *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67155, 14 (A.D. 566-573); contract (autoprakt.) *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032, 29 (A.D. 551); work contract (slave) *P.Stras.* I 40, 36 (A.D. 569); (loan) *SB* VIII 9770, 2 (A.D. 511); abstracts of contracts *P.Mich.* II 121 R, 2, ii, 1 (A.D. 42); **debt acknowledg.:** *P.Lond.* V 1772, 11 (VI A.D.); **receipt:** *SB* XVI 12282, 3 (VI A.D.); **testament:** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 281 (A.D. 570); document concerning payment of **taxes:** *P.Flor.* III 377, 3 (VI A.D.); **transfer of taxation:** *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67118, 33 (A.D. 547); **court proceedings:** *SB* XII 10989, 2, 23 (c. A.D. 325); *P.Lips.* I 40, 3, 16 (before A.D. 381?); **imperial rescript:** *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67029, 5 (A.D. 548); **official report:** *M.Chr.* 88, i, 6 (after A.D. 142); **official letters:** *UPZ* I 110, 4, 126-127 (164 B.C.); *P.Haun.* III 52, 15 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 13 (A.D. 710).

οὖν ἀρ|τίως μοι μ[ε]τέδωκεν ἐξέρχασθαι | ἐατὸν καὶ ἐμεμφάμην αὐτὸν ὅτι μοι το|σαύταις ἡμέραις οὐκ ὤπται καὶ ἔφη περισπᾶσ|θ[α]ι περὶ ἀργυρωματίων σὺν Κέρτω it precedes and modifies the second aorist indicative μετέδωκεν. In *P.Rain.Cent.* 74, 2-3 (V A.D.) γινώσκειν θέλομεν τὴν ὑμετέραν λαμ[π]ρότητα ὅ[τι] ἀρ[τ]ίως μεμαθήκαμεν | ἐνταῦθα ὡς ὅτι ἔφθασεν τὰ αὐτόθι ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος Ἰωάννης, although the reading of the adverb is uncertain, it precedes and modifies the past perfect indicative μεμαθήκαμεν.

#### ἄσαφῶς

It is found in *O.Narm.* I 70, 7-10 (II-III A.D.) καὶ γεγραφέναι ἄφατο|ς (see *s.v.*, p. 98; *l.* ἄφατο|ν οἱ ἀφάτω|ς in *ed. princ.*, n. *ad loc.*, “in modo indicibile”) ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ἄσαφῶς (“in modo dissennato”) | πεποη<κ>έναι τὴν ἐξέτασιν, where it precedes and modifies the infinitive πεποηκέναι, with the meaning “not clearly”. The adjective ἄσαφής does not appear in the Greek papyri so far.

#### ἄσεβῶς

It appears in two petitions: *BGU VIII* 1854, 19 (74-73 or 45 – 44 B.C.?) | τοὺς δὲ ἄσεβῶς καὶ κακουργότερον; *P.Oxy.* II 237, 13 (after A.D. 186) πολλὰ εἰς ἐμὲ ἄσεβῶς καὶ παρανόμως πραξάσης, where it paired with adverbs such as κακουργότερον and παρανόμως, and the meaning is not “profane” (see *LSJ s.v.* ἄσεβής, with earlier attestations in Polybius), but it is extended to denote “disrespectfully, in an insulting way”.

#### ἄσέμνως

It is attested only in *P.Aktenbuch* vii 20-24 (= *BGU IV* 1024) (before A.D. 359) ἀπέσφα[ξ]ας γυναῖκα, Διόδιμε, αἰσχροῶς | τὴν ἐπ’ ἀ[ν]θρώποις τύχην ὀνειδίζου|σαν, ὅτι [τὸν μ]ὲν βίον ἄσέμνως διῆγεν, | τὸ δὲ τέ[λος] . .]μως ὑπεριον ἑκαπήλευ|εν, where the adverb appears in a decision on a lawcase, together with other two adverbs, αἰσχροῶς and ]μως; see *LSJ s.v.* ἄσεμνος, and the occurrence in the grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus *De adverbiiis* (Schneider, *Gramm. Graeci* 2, 134). Moreover, the adjective ἄσεμνος does not appear in the Greek papyri so far.

#### ἀσθενῶς\*

The adverb ἀσθενῶς was used as a modifier of the verbs ἔχω and διάκειμαι in the classical literature; see *LSJ s.v.* ἀσθενής, and cf. Polybius 1.19.1.1-4 ἀσθενῶς διακειμένους; Pausanias 2.7.1.4-7 ἐχόντων δὲ ἀσθενῶς ἤδη τῶν Σικυωνίων. It is attested in four private letters: *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59489, 15-16 (middle III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59254, 4 (before 252 B.C.); *P.Brem.* 64, 5 (A.D. 113-120); *P.Lond.* VI 1917, 16 (c. A.D. 330-340), and, also, official documents: *P.Louvre* II 96, 6 (middle II B.C.); *UPZ* I 17, 23 (after 163 B.C.); *P.Berl.Salm.* 9, 7 (86-85 B.C.); *BGU VIII* 1815, 6-7 (before 60 B.C.), where *WB IV s.v.* ἀσθενής 2, considers the meaning of the adverb here as “wirtschaftlich schwach”; *P.Köln* III 137, 14 (A.D. 88); *P.Mich.* IX 575, 4 (A.D. 184); *P.Gascou* 30, 8 (A.D. 548-565), ἄλλως ἀσθενῶς ἐχόντων τὸ σῶμα. For the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Maysers 1936, 124; Maysers 1933-1934, 177.

The adverb ἀσθενῶς was also used in papyri always next to verbal forms of διάκειμαι or ἔχω to describe one’s feeble condition, usually a synonym of the simple verb ἀσθενῶ. This use becomes clear from the text in *P.Brem.* 64, 4-9 (A.D. 113-120) πῶς γράφεις | μοι ὅτι ἀσθενῶς ἔχω; [ἔ]τι ἔλεγάν μοι ὅτι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ εἰς τοσαύ|την λοίπην (*l.* λύπην) με βάλλεις.

ἐγὼ \γάρ/ ἰδοῦ | τετράμηνος ἀσθενῶ<sub>{1}</sub> μου τὰ ὄμματα; the phrase ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τυγχάνω is also attested in *BGU* II 467, 11-12 αὐτὴ ἐν ἀσθεν<ε>ίᾳ | τυγ[χ]άνουσα.

In all cases the adverb precedes the verbal form. In two texts, which are preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Louvre* II 96, 6 ἀσθενῶς διατεθεμεν[ ] . α[, and *P.Lond.* VI 1917, 16, ἀσθενῶς δα[ ] . . . . .]αίως, the modified verb and the place of the adverb is not certain. However, the cause of feebleness was not specified in any document. Only the part of the body which is feeble (that is, the eyes) is specified in *P.Brem.* 64, 9, and in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59254, 4, the sender states that his whole body is feeble.

#### ἀσμένως\*

The adverb ἀσμένως, “glady, readily” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄσμενος), is used to indicate that a person, who is the subject or the object of a verbal form, is well pleased, because an action was performed with pleasure or without delay. In papyri it is found with both meanings in the formal vocabulary of official letters and documents<sup>125</sup>. In addition, it is attested to modify the verb αἰσθάνομαι in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 145, 31. For the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124.

The adverb is attested in only one private letter that comes from the Coele Syria, *P.Euphr.* 17, 22-23 (middle III A.D.). The papyrus survives in a fragmentary condition and many details are obscure. It seems that the sender promises to the recipient that he was going to pay him some due money, when he is going to leave a place, ἐπεὶ ἀ[σ]μένως ἐγβένω (*l.* ἐκβαίνω) ἐκ<ε>ῖ|θεν. The verb ἐκβαίνω is not found in combination with the adverb ἀσμένως in any literary texts, and here it is uncertain if his departure was pleasant or was going to be conducted readily. In *P.Monts.Roca* IV 95, 10-11 (IV-V A.D), with place of origin probably Syria, the adverb was restored by the editor K.A. Worp in the clause [λαβόντες (?)] καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κρείττονος | δωρεὰς ἀσμ[ένως]. This restoration is probable, but still it is debatable if we have to restore an adverb or an adjective, e.g. ἄσμενοι. The adjective ἄσμενος is found only once in the Greek papyri, in a private letter, where it is used as a transferred adjective *SB* XVIII 13593, 23-26 (III-IV A.D.) καὶ περὶ | τοῦ προπιναρίου γάρου, ὦν (*l.* ὄν) | μοι ἔπεμψες, εὔρον αὐτὸν | ἄζμενον (*l.* ἄσμενος)”. Grammatically it is attributed to the object of the verb αὐτὸν instead to the subject ἐγώ.

#### ἀσπουδάστως\*

Both the adjective ἀσπούδαστος and the adverb ἀσπουδάστως, “carelessly, not earnestly” are used in papyri of the third century A.D.<sup>126</sup>. The first attestation of the adjective is in Euripides, and of the adverb in Aelian; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀσπούδαστος. In *P.Flor.* II 187, 3-4 (A.D. 249-268; = *PSI* VII 832, 2-3 (III A.D.)) and in *SB* XIV 12082, 2-3 (III A.D.) the adverb precedes and modifies the aorist indicative, ἐχρήσω and ἐποίησας, respectively.

<sup>125</sup> See *WB* IV *s.v.* ἄσμενος “gern, willig”: *P.Grenf.* II 14 a, 17-18 (232 B.C.); *UPZ* I 110, 160-161 (164 B.C.); *PSI* XIV 1403, 12 (II B.C.); *P.Oxy.* X 1252 verso [19]? (after A.D. 294-295); *P.Lond.* III 1007 a, 24 (c. A.D. 558); *P.Lond.* V 1676, 39 (A.D. 566-573); *BGU* I 255, 6 (A.D. 599); *SPP* XX 269, 2 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB* VI 8988, 43 (A.D. 647).

<sup>126</sup> For the adjective see *P.Hamb.* II 192, 12-13 and *P.IFAO* II 17, 3 (III A.D.).

[ἀστοργῶς] – ἀστοργότερον

Only the comparative of the adverb is attested in an official document, *BGU VIII* 1848, 15-16 (47 B.C.) ἀστοργότερον | διακείμενος πρὸς με καὶ τὸ τέκνον<sup>127</sup>. However, the adverb ἀστοργῶς, with the meaning “without affection” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄστοργος) is not attested so far in the papyri; cf. only the inscription (Isis hymn) in Kyme, *IK Kyme* 41, 21-22 (I B.C.) and Thessalonike (Macedonia), *IG X,2* 1 254, 9-10 (I-II A.D.) ἐγὼ τοῖς ἀστοργῶς γονεῦσι διακειμένοις τ[ιμωρίαν ἐπέθηκα; also in the Christian literature: Athanasius *Apol. contra Ar.* 6.6; Basilius, *PG* 31, 912.

ἀστρατεύτως

It is mentioned in Pollux 1.159. It occurs only in official correspondence, *BGU VIII* 1760, 6-7 (50 B.C.) τὰ προσαγγέλματα ἀστρατεύτως | ἔκπεμψον, probably with the meaning “without trying to avoid” or “without troubles”; see n. *ad loc.* “vgl. στρατεύεσθαι Winkelzüge machen *BGU IV* 1127, 28; 1131, 20; also: ohne Umstände”; see Mayser 1936, 123.

ἀσυμπαθῶς

It occurs only in official correspondence with the meaning “without fellow-feeling or sympathy” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀσυμπαθής I), *P.Lond.* IV 1343, 8-9 (A.D. 709) κ[α]ὶ ἀπ[λῶς] εἶπεῖν πᾶσαν εἶδησιν καὶ φανέρ[ωσιν] | ἀψευδῶς καὶ ἀσυμπαθῶς ἐ[ν] δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καταγράφω{ν}, together with other adverbs ending in -ως. The adjective ἀσυμπαθής is not found in the Greek papyri.

ἀσυμφόρως

The adverb is read in *P.Bour.* 14, 20-21 (= *CPGr* I 28; A.D. 126) μη[δ'] ἄλλο μηδὲν | ἀσυμφόρως αὐτῷ ἐπιτελεῖν, “né di compiere alcun'altra cosa dannosa al bambino”. However, the reading is uncertain, and, as can be seen in the photograph (pl. XXVII), it seems debatable. Moreover, the meaning of the adverb is “inconveniently” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀσύμφορος) and not “disadvantageous”, and in any case one would expect here to read the adjective ἀσύμφορον (i.e. ἄλλο μηδὲν | ἀσύμφορον).

ἀσυνειδήτως\*

It occurs only in a private letter, with the meaning “unconsciously, without realising”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀσυνείδητος, citing Plutarch 2.214e; Lampe *s.v.*: *P.Oxy.* I 123, 16-17 (III-IV A.D.) μὴ οὖν θελήσουσιν ἀσυνειδήτως | ἡμᾶς φέρ<ε>ιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, “take care they do not allow us to fail in coming to an understanding with each other”, where it precedes and modifies the infinitive φέρ<ε>ιν.

ἀσυντάκτως\*

It is found only in the private letter *UPZ* I 61 (161 B.C.) Ἰππαλος δὲ ὁ ἀδελ|φός σου ἀσυντά|κτ[ω]ς κατέπλευ|σε ἡμοῦ ἡτοιμακός πάντα/, “Dein Bruder Hippalos ist, ohne mir ein Wort zu sagen, stromab gefahren <wiewohl ich alles vorbereitet hatte>”, where

<sup>127</sup> In *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3113, 13 (A.D. 264-265) ]στοργότερον προσε[ one might restore the same adverb, ἀ]στοργότερον.

Wilcken seems to follow the meaning “without saying anything” (as in LSJ *s.v.* ἀσύντακτος II “not having composed a speech, without premeditation, unprepared”, citing Plutarch 2.6d; see Mayser 1936, 123; the adverb is not discussed in Clarysse 2011), but LSJ enters the adverb separately *s.v.* ἀσύντακτος I 6 “without previous intimation or arrangement”; the participle ἠτοιμακότος can be interpreted either as causal or adversative. For the adjective ἀσύντακτος “die keine Syntaxis erhält” (referring to ἔθνος, “Handwerkschaft”) see *P.Paramone* 6, 14n. (p. 76), where B. Kramer also notes that “das Adverb ist gerade bei Verben der Bewegung in der Literatur gut bezeugt”. The first instance of the adverb ἀσυντάκτως is in *UPZ* I 61, while in the Greek literature it is found from the second century A.D.: Appian 4.14.112; Plutarch *Nicias* 3.5; Polyaeus 8.3.2; Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.*, versio 1, p. 107; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*, citing Theodoretus *ep.* 80, with the meaning “without farewell”.

### ἀσφαλῶς\*

Thirty-seven out of forty-five certain examples of this adverb which appear as result in DDBDP are attested in private or business letters<sup>128</sup>. However, the meaning of the adverb is not the same in all these examples<sup>129</sup>. First, the meaning “unfailingly” is not certain (12b[?], 27[?], 28[?]). Secondly, the meaning “safely” is found with the verbs that indicate that something was sent or will be sent after taking some precautions (examples 1a, 6, 7 [twice], 10, 11, 17, 30, 31, 33) or that something ended up or has to be done in safety (1b, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9[?], 13, 16, 24, 25, 32) or that a jar is closed with safety (15, 23, 37)<sup>130</sup>. Thirdly, the meaning “surely, certainly”, which is found in the Greek literature, occurs in the papyri from the Roman period onwards, but it seems that in this case “surely” can be compared with the use of a simple particle “of course, indeed” (26, 29, 34, 35, 36). This is clearer when the adverb modifies the verb γράφω (12a, 18, 20[?]).

(1)(a) *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59240, 5-6 (253 B.C.) φροντίσας ὅπως | ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀποσταλῶσιν, and (b) 10-11 ὅπως εἰδήσωμεν ὅτι ὑπάρχουσιν ἡμῖν | καὶ διασεσωμένοι εἰσὶν ἀσφαλῶς; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

(2) *P.Mich.* I 45, 8-10 (252 B.C.) καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡμῖν παρα|μένοντες τὰ ἔργα συντε|λῶσιν.

(3) *P.Hib.* I 53, 3-4 (246 B.C.) πειρῶ οὖν ἀσφαλῶς διεγγυᾶν ὡς πρὸς σέ | τοῦ λό[γ]ου ἐσομένου; cf. also *P.Hib.* I 130.

(4) *BGU* VI 1300, 19-22 (193 B.C.?) καὶ τὴν παιδίσκην ἢ πέραν ἤν εἰ[ι]ς | Ὀξυρύγχα φροντίσων ὅπως | ἀσφαλῶς | τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν οἰκονομήσῃς κ[α]ὶ | μηθέν σοι ὤδε ἀντιπέσῃ.

(5) *P.Col.* VIII 208, 3-5 (187 B.C.) ὅπως εἰδῶς παρα|[πέμψης τὸ πλοῖον ἀσφαλῶς ἕως] τοῦ ἐγδέξασθαι αὐτὸ τ[οὺς] | [περὶ Ἄκωριν, and 9-10 καλῶς ποιήσεις παραπέμψας ἀσφαλῶς ἕως τοῦ] | [ἐγδέξασθαι αὐτὸ τοὺς περὶ Ἄκωριν.

<sup>128</sup> The adverb is used in the legal clauses of **leases** to state that someone will deliver a certain amount within the agreed time: *BGU* II 661, 19-19 (A.D. 140) ἀσφαλῶς. παραστήσω | καὶ δώσω; *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 34, 5-7 (A.D. 156) τὰ δὲ ἐκφό|[ρια πα]ραδώσω κατ’ ἔτος μηνὶ Παῦνι | [ἀσφαλῶς]; in a **sale** of a house, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1701, 9-10 (III A.D.) πρὸς τὸ ἀκινδύνως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς | [ἐνοικεῖν?]; in the **testament** of a Roman soldier, *CPR* VI 76, 17 (III A.D.) [ἀσφαλῶς καὶ πιστῶς ὑπηρετήσεν; in a **petition** concerning an inheritance, *P.Ammon* II 38, 64 (A.D. 348) ἀναγκαίως/ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς; in a **report** of public meeting, *P.Oxy.* I 41, 18-19 (early IV A.D.) καὶ ὑμ<ε>ῖς | βεβαίως παρέχ<ε>/τ<α>/ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀ[σφα]λῶς/ λαμβάνω; in the legal proceedings, *SB* XVI 12949, 4 (A.D. 207 or 268) ὁμ[ο]λόγησεν κ[α]ὶ οἶδα τοῦτο ἀσφαλῶς ἐγώ; in **official correspondence**, *O.Krok.* I 87, 108-109 (A.D. 118) ἀντ[ι]γράφων διπλώματος πεμφθέντος ὑπέταξα | καὶ ἀσφαλῶς προσέχητε. The form ἀσφαλῶς is attested in a fragmentary part of an official letter, *P.Apoll.* 43, 3 (second half of VII A.D.).

<sup>129</sup> See Tibiletti 1979, 84; cf. Spicq 1982, 78.

<sup>130</sup> For its meaning “mit Sicherheit” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124.

(6) *P.Münch.* III 5714-18 (II B.C.) καλῶς ποιή|σ<ε>ις ἔκκεν[ώσ]ασα τὸν φακὸν | καὶ ἀποστ<ε>ίλασά μοι αὐτὸν ἀσ|φαλῶς διὰ τὸ κεχρησθῆναι με | αὐτὸν ὤδε.

(7) *P.Oxy.* IV 742, 2-10 (2 B.C.) παράλαβε παρὰ Πόθου τὸν κάλα|μ[ο]ν πανα[ριθμῶ]ι καὶ ἀπόστειλὸν | μ[ο]ι πόσας δέσμας παρείληφες | καὶ θ[έ]ς αὐτὰς εἰς τόπον ἀσ|φαλῶς ἵνα τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτὰς | ἄξωμεν. παράδος δέ τι | τῶν φίλων ἀριθμῶ αὐτὰς ἵνα | πάλιν φ[ί]λος ἡμ[ε]ῖν παραδοῖ | ἀσφ[αλῶς]; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

(8) *P.Oxy.* II 294, 10-12 (A.D. 22) ὁ ἐμ[ός] οἶκος ἡραύνηται c. 10 letters ] | καὶ σεσύνηται εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχ<ε>ι ἀσφα|λῶς (see N. Litinas, in *CE* 93, 2018, 206-207).

(9) *P.Fay.* 110, 14-10 (A.D. 94) γνῶθι εἰ πεπότισ|ται ὁ [έ]λαιὸν δυοῖ ὕδασι καὶ δεδι|κ[ρ]άν[ισται, εἰ] δέ τι μη, ποτισθήτωι | καὶ ἐν[.]τε[.] .[.] .[.] .[.] ἀσφαλῶς δικρανισ|θ[η] μ[.] .[.] κ[.] α[.] .[.] αὐτοὺς διαπέσει, where the fragmentary condition of the text before and after the adverb makes it difficult to understand which word is modified.

(10) *SB XXII* 15708, 58-59 (c. A.D. 100) ἐκομισάμεθα τὸν κόικα (“palm-leaf basket”), πάντα ἀσφα|λ[ῶ]ς ὅσα ἔγραψας ἔχοντα.

(11) *SB XVI* 12322, 5-8 (I A.D.) ἐπεθέμην Σαραπίων[ι] | τῶν/ ἀδελφῶν ἵνα ὅσα ἐὰν ἔχης μοι | πέμψαι, ἀσφαλῶς δι’ αὐτοῦ πεμφθῆι, where the adverb precedes and modifies the following πεμφθῆι.

(12)(a) *SB X* 10529a, 22-24 (I-II A.D.) ἐὰν εὕρης εὐκε|ρίαν (*l.* εὐκαι|ρίαν), γράψ<ε>ις μοι ἀσφαλῶς | περὶ πάντων; (b) Verso 1 . . . . τα πάντα ποιεῖ ἀσφαλῶς.

(13) *SB XXIV* 16289, 17-20 (I-II A.D.) εἰς οἴ|κον συνεχέστερο[ν] παράβαλλε | καὶ ἐντέλλου τῶ[ι] Ἀπελλεῖ ἀσφα|λῶς φυλάσσειν τὴν οἰκίαν.

(14) Fragmentary text in *O.Krok.* I 71, 6 (c. A.D. 109), where the use of the adverb is not clear.

(15) *P.Flor.* III 334, recto, 6-8 (c. A.D. 114-119) καὶ πάλι | τῇ σῆι σφραγίδι ἀσφαλῶς | κλείσας σφράγισον.

(16) *P.Giss.Apoll.* 8, 14-15 (A.D. 115?) παρακ|αλῶ σε οὖν ἀσφαλῶς σεαυτὸν | [φύλαττε]. One could also restore other verbs in the lacuna, e.g. ἔχε etc., since the adverb ἀσφαλῶς does not modify the verb φυλάττω (ἐμαυτὸν) in other examples.

(17) *P.Bagnall* 12, 2-5 (c. A.D. 115-130) καθὼς ἠρώτη|κά σε περὶ τῶν γραμματί|ων, σπουδάσης μοι πέμ|ψε, κύριε, ἀσφαλῶς.

(18) *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3312, 6-8 (II A.D.) καὶ γράψον μοι ἀσπαλῶς (*l.* ἀσφαλῶς ) | περὶ Διονυσარიού ὅτι πόσων | μηνῶν ἔστιν, “and write to me of course [“without fail” in Rea’s translation in *ed. princ.*, or “be sure to write me” transl. in J. Rowlandson, *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, no 219] about Dionysarion, how many months pregnant she is”. Since it seems that there is not a real order to the recipient of the letter to write back about the pregnancy of Dionysarion, the neutral “of course” might work better here.

(19) *SB VIII* 9832, 16 (II A.D.) a private letter which is preserved in a fragmentary condition.

(20) *PSI VIII* 899, 9-10 (II A.D.) ἀ|σφαλῶς μοι [γρά|]ψον, a letter which is preserved in a fragmentary condition.

(21) *P.Oxy.* LV 3810, 12-17 (II-III A.D.) Διοσκουρίδης μὴ | ἀγωνεῖ< > λοιπὸν περὶ μηδενός. | οὕτως γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς σιγγλάριος | ἔλθων τῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συν|ἀπέλυσε τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ | Λυκοπολείτου καὶ ἄλλους δύο, “Dioscurides should not worry any more about anything. For just so a *singularis* came safely to the royal scribe and himself helped to release the strategus of the Lycopolite nome and two others”.

(22) *SB XXIV* 16290, 9 (II-III A.D.) ἀσφαλῶς in a fragmentary part of the letter.

(23) *P.Mich.* XII 657, 14-17 (late II-early III A.D.) τὰ | γὰρ κεράμια τῶν ἐλαι|ῶν οἶμαί σε ἀσφαλῶς | πάλιν γυψεῖν, “as for the jars of olives, I think you should securely seal them again”; cf. LSJ *s.v.* γυψῶ 2, “plaster with gypsum” citing Gr. 4.15.13 φυλάξεις δὲ τοὺς βότρυας, ἐὰν εὐθὺς τρυγήσας ἐμβαλῶν αὐτοὺς ἀσινεῖς καὶ ἀθραύστους εἰς κεράμιον, χρήσις ἐπιμελῶς τὸ στόμα τοῦ κεραμίου, καὶ γυψώσης (cf. no 37 below).

(24) *SB X* 10557, 9-10 (III A.D.) ἵνα ἀσφαλῶ[ς] | ἀναπλεύση[ς] in a fragmentary part of the letter.

(25) *P.Eirene* IV 14, 8 (middle of III A.D., before A.D. 257) ἀσφαλῶς οὖν ἔχε τὰς ἀλωνίας.

(26) *P.Oxy.* XX 2273, 14-15 (late III A.D.) καὶ [τ]ὸ [ἄ]λλο μου ἱμάτι|ον ἐκτινάξης ἀσφαλῶς μὴ σαπῆ, “and skake my other dress, of course, [*ed. princ.* “without fail”] to prevent it spoiling”.

(27) *P.Ryl.* IV 692, 3-8 (late III A.D.) σπ[ο]ύδ[ασ]ον κ[.] . . . | ναι κο[τ]υλισ[μὸ]ν | το (*l.* τοῦ) ἄλας (*l.* ἄλως) καὶ ἀσφαλῶς | ἐπαναγραφήν ποιήσον | ὅσους μοδίους [μ]έλλεις | εὐρεῖν. Cf. Il. 19-21 οἶδα [γὰρ] ἐγὼ τὸ ἀσφαλές | σου κ[αί] γ[ο]ργὸν καὶ πιστι|κόν, which might indicate that the meaning of the adverb here is “unfailingly”.

(28) *P.Giss.Univ.* III 32, 9-11 (III-IV A.D.) ἀνέρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς | τὰ ἐρίδια ποιή[σ]ων ἀσφαλῶς κατερ|γασθῆναι.

(29) *P.Mert.* I 32, 4-6 (early IV A.D.) <ε>ὶ μὲν οὖν ἀσφαλῶς βού|λη αὐτῷ (*l.* αὐτὸ) ὀνήσασται (*l.* ὠνήσασθαι), δὸς τι ἀπὸ | μέρους τῆ Λιβικῆ.

(30) *SB XVI 12947*, 5-7 (early IV A.D.) ἀλλὰ | βλέπε ἀσφαλῶς ἀμάξας δυναμένας | τὴν πίστιν παραδοῦναι ἡμῖν “moreover, look (“carefully” Rea’s translation in *ed. princ.*) for wagons that are capable of delivering the commission to us safely”. The adverb has been placed at the beginning in order to stress the safety of the delivery.

(31) *PSI IV 311*, 1-13 (early IV A.D.) (see new ed. by L.H. Blumell in *BASP* 49, 2012, 277-296) ἀ|[πο]δοθῆναι αὐτὰ θέλω καὶ|κεῖνος (*i.e.* ὁ ἐπίσκοπος) ἀσφαλῶς| αὐτὰ πέμ|πει τῷ ἀνθρώ|πῳ “and that man will send them safely to the one whom I wish”.

(32) *P.Herm.* 11, 18-19 (IV A.D.) καὶ ἀσφαλῶς πάν|τα ποίει, and 24-25 πάντα διοι|κῆσαι καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς.

(33) *P.Wisc.* II 76, 23-25 (IV A.D.) ἔπως ἔρθω πρὸς οἰμᾶς (*l. ὑμᾶς*) | [καὶ .] μιλλαν. ἀσφαλῶς ταῦ|[τα αὐ]τῷ δός, ἃ ἔγραψα.

(34) *SB XVIII 13589*, 5-6 (IV A.D.) καὶ οἶδες ἀσφαλῶς πῶς διάκ<ε>ι|μαι πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐγέν<ε>ιαν.

(35) *P.Sijp.* 11c, 19-21 (second half of IV A.D.) ἐὰν δὲ | ἀσφαλῶς μάθης ὅτι οὐκ | ἠδέως ἔχει, γραψάτω Φεῦτι.

(36) *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2193 23-24 (late IV-early V A.D.) γινῶθι οὖν ἀσφαλῶς | εἰ ἔχει τινὰ δικαιολογίαν καὶ σύνελθε ὁσίως.

(37) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) γεμ{ε}ῖσαι ἐν{α} κεράμιν καὶ σφραγίσαι ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ γυμίου (see no 23 above).

The comparative form occurs in two private letters of the Roman period: *P.Sarap.* 97, 15-17 (A.D. 90-133) ἐργάτην | ἕνα ἵνα ἀσφαλέστερον (corr. from ἀσπαλεστερον) πατήσωμεν; *P.Mich.* XII 657, 11-12 (end of II-beginning of III A.D.) [σ]ὺ δὲ τῷ ἀσφα|λέστερ[ον] φέροντι; and in official correspondence, *O.Krok.* I 87, 100 (A.D. 118) ἀσφαλάστερον (*l. ἀσφαλέστερον*) αὐτοῖς παρέχητε, where also the superlative forms [ἐ]π{ε}μελέστερ[ον] and σαφέστερον occur (see *s.v.*, pp. 127 and 228). The superlative form of the adverb ἀσφαλέστατα appears in two letters sent by Hierokles to Zenon, in the same wording, *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59060, 11 (257 B.C.) ἀλλὰ σὺ {ε}ἰκανὸς εἶ διοικῶν ἵνα ἀποσταλῆ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59061, 5-6 (257 B.C.) ἀλλὰ σὺ ἰκανὸς εἶ διοι|κῆσαι καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, and two other private letters of the third century B.C.: *P.Hib.* I 52, 7-9 (245 B.C.) σὺ | οὖν πειρῶ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα | διεγγυῆσαι; *P.Köln* XI 438, 5 (214 B.C.; Theomnestos archive) συνάγαγε{ι} ὡς ἀσφαλέστ[ατα].

Finally, it occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 3, 5-6 (III-II B.C.) ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι, παροδίτα, προσαιδήσας μέγα χαίρειν | μηθὲν ταρβήσας ἀσφαλέως ἄπιθι; and in a hymn to Mandoulis, *ibid.*, no 166, 4-5 (end of I-III A.D.) ἐπολυπράγμοσα ἀσφαλῶς <ε>ιδέναι θέλων εἰ σὺ <ε>ἶ ὁ ἥλιος; also in the hymn to Isis, *ibid.* no 175 iv 37-38 (I B.C.?) ἀσφαλέως δὲ μαθῶν τε παρ’ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἱστορούντων ταῦτα.

#### ἀταράχως\*

The meaning is “without disturbance”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀτάραχος; Bauer *s.v.* Its first appearance in papyri is in an (official?) document of the first century A.D., *SB XVI 12495*, 15-16 [ἵ]να ἡμέρας ἀτα|[ρ]άχως εἰρμένον πωλῶσι “so that they may sell the strung fish by day without fuss (transl. J. Rea in R. Pintaudi, *Pap. Flor.* VII, 1980, on p. 323)”; see *WB IV s.v.* ἀτάραχος “ungestört”. In addition, it appears in a petition of the Byzantine period, *P.Lond.* V 1674, 102-103 (A.D. 570) τοῦ μεῖν[αι] | δυνάσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀδιαστρόφως καὶ ἀταράχως, for which see the remark of K. Helms and M. Zellman-Rohrer, “A Pearl of Great Price? (P.Mich. inv. 4086)”, *CE* 92, 2017, 129-136, esp. 134, 5n. “the adverb is applied to persons in a petition in the archive of Dioskoros of Aphrodite”. In the context of the private letter of P.Mich. inv. 4086, 5 (VI A.D.) νύκτωρ δὲ κελεύση βληθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀταράχως [ἵνα ἐ]κπλεύση τὸ ἀλλότριον μετὰ τοῦ πλοίου “and please order that these things be loaded at night without disturbance, [so



that?] the consignment may sail out with the boat”, the editors comment that “local women to spend the night stringing fish in a storehouse so that may sell it the next day ἀτα[ρ]άχως”, and also that “the sense is yet more concrete, referring to careful handling of valuable cargo to avoid damage”. In addition, we would note that in both instances there is no reference to what kind of disturbance the scribe refers to, and whether it comes from external reasons (situations or people) or internal (people of their social or economic environment).

#### ἀτόνωσ(\*?)

For the attestations of the adverb in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἄτονος, with the meaning “not stretched, slack, relaxed”. The adjective (?) in the comparative form occurs in an official document of the Ptolemaic period, *P.Stras.* II 95, 11 (214 B.C.)<sup>131</sup>; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἄτονος. The adverb appears so far in two published documents. The first document is a private letter of the third century A.D., *P.Sel.* 19, 5 (III A.D.) λαβῶν παρ’ ἐμοῦ[υ], ἐπὶ (l. ἐπεὶ) ἐπ<ε>ίγω ἀτόνωσ (l. ἀτόνωσ), which is translated by P.J. Sijpesteijn in *ed. princ.* as “weil ich ihn matt antrieb”; however, the first singular of the verb ἐπέιγω means “I am pressing, I am urging” and this does not give sense with the meaning “relaxed” of the adverb ἀτόνωσ. In the previous lines the writer, Sotas, says that he was ill a month ago (l. 2 πρὸ ἐνὸς μηνὸς ἡσθένου) and he is still ill (l. 3 μέχρι νῦν κατακλινῆς <ε>ίμι). Therefore, he asks Kases(?) to come together with Dionysis to get from him something. In the photograph of the papyrus in pl. VIII of the *ed. princ.*, it seems that there are traces of ink after ατωνος (I cannot read ατωνω), but only their lower strokes can be seen, and it is difficult to be read them with any certainty. I prefer to read the text in l. 5 as λαβῶν παρε . . . [ ] η, ἐπὶ (l. ἐπεὶ) ἔγω (l. ἐγὼ) ἄτωνος (l. ἄτονος) ἦν (ἴμι, like in l. 3 cannot be read), “to get..., because I was not vigorous”. For the aphaeresis of ἐ- see Gignac, *Grammar I*, Phonology, on pp. 319-320, examples such as καὶ ἔγω, ἐπὶ ἵνοχοῦμαι etc.

The second document is either a private letter or a petition, which is dated to the third-fourth century A.D., *P.Vindob. G.* 15061, and was published by T. Garvey, “A Woman’s Unease about Her Property”, *BASP* 47, 2010, 87-91, l. 4 πρὸς ᾧ μὴ ἀτόνωσ κομιδῆ ἐχούσης ἐμοῦ [, “in addition to which while I am not at all at ease”. The editor’s remark is that: “the use of the *litotes* (μὴ + α privative) paired with the qualifying adverb κομιδῆ (“not at all at ease”) is a prime example of the unusual diction employed in the text and gives an impression of the author’s education”.

#### ἀτόπως\*

In the Greek papyri of the Roman period it is found only in a private letter, written by a well-educated person (in a word play of adverbs in -ως) *P.David* 14, 23-28 (II A.D.) ἐγενόμην γὰρ ἐν [θορύ]βοις πολ|λοῖς οὐς οὐκ ἄν σοι [τ]ολμήσαιμι | ἀδεῶς λέγειν [ἵ]να μὴ ἀτόπως | δ[ι]ηγῆσω[μ]αι. οἶμαι δέ σε ἀκη|κ[ο]έναι· εἰς γὰρ πλ[ε]ίστον ἐξίτη|λ[α] ταῦτα ἦλθε, where it precedes and modifies the verb δ[ι]ηγῆσω[μ]αι; see LSJ *s.v.* ἄτοπος I 4

<sup>131</sup> It is not certain whether the form ἀτονώτερον, which is attested in this document (ὅτι ἀτονώτερον), is an adverb or an adjective. In addition, the superlative ἀτονώτατα has been restored in a private letter of the middle of the fourth century A.D., *P.Lond.* VI 1929, 13-14 ἀγών οὖν [μέγιστος πε]ρι ἐμοῦ [ἔστι] π[ρο]σπάσχοντος | . . . α καὶ ἀτονώτ[ατα] ἔχοντος (see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἄτονος “abgespannt, matt”), where, however, the restoration is debatable.

“marvellously or absurdly”; cf. also Lampe *s.v.* “improperly”. The adjective ἄτοπος, -ον is found in many papyri to describe an action that is strange or absurd.

ἀτρεκέως

It occurs in an honorary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 114, 21-22 (I A.D.?) φράζ[ε] μάλ’ ἀτρεκέως μιν; 115, 11; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀτρεκής I 1 “precisely, truly, exactly”. In addition, it is restored in *PGM* 3, 348.

ἀτρώτως

It is found only in the official correspondence between Kurrah ben Sharik and Basileios, the pagarches, with the meaning “invulnerable” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄτρωτος II): *P.Lond.* IV 1343, 28-29 (A.D. 709) καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀτρώτως φυλάξει | τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἡμῶν. However, the meaning of the adjective ἄτρωτος is different, since it is used to indicate that something is “intact”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἄτρωτος III.

αὐθάδως (or αὐθαδῶς)

The adverb is found only in reports or petitions of the first and second century A.D., when an arrogant, self-willed, stubborn action is described; see Spicq 1978, 160-161; cf. LSJ *s.v.* αὐθάδης, citing Aristophanes *Ra.* 1020; Lampe *s.v.*

αὐθαιρέτως\*

The earliest attestation in Egypt occurs in an honorary inscription, Bernand 1992, no 41, 18 (57 B.C.) αὐθαιρέτως ἐπιδεξ[άμενος]. For the examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* αὐθαίρετος III; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.* In the contracts of leases, deeds of surety, etc. the clause ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως “voluntarily and of my own free will” is standard in the Roman and Byzantine period. The form εὐθαιλέτας in a declaration on oath, *BGU* XIII 2245, i 8-9 εἴ μὴν ἐκοσίως εὐθαι|λέτας γεωργοῦσαι (= εἴ μὴν ἐκουσίως <καὶ> εὐθαι|ρέτως γεωργῆσαι) was regarded as the adverb εὐθαιρέτως = αὐθαιρέτως, and, similarly, it has been restored in ll. ii 10-11 εἴ μὴν ἐκοσίως καὶ | εὐθαι|ρέτως γεωργῆσαι (A.D. 14-37). However, the adverb εὐθαιρέτως does not exist in the Greek language. The interchange of λ and ρ can be explained as noted *ad loc.*, however, there is no confusion between α and ε. Moreover, the lack of καὶ between the two words, ἐκοσίως εὐθαιλέτας, might indicate that εὐθαιλέτας is not an adverb.

In a private letter written on an ostrakon which was found in Elephantine, the adverb precedes and modifies the participle ὠνηθέντα, which refers to a purchase of a horse “at his own expense” (cf. LSJ *s.v.* αὐθαίρετος I): *O.Eleph.DAIK* 96, 2-5 (II A.D.), 2-5 ἐπ’ ὀνόμ[α] | [το]ς Ἴερακος ἵππο[ν] | περικαλλῆ αὐθαιρεω[ς] (*l.* αὐθαιρέτως) | ὠνηθέντα εἰς ὄνο|μα αὐτοῦ; cf. also two other adverbs ending in -ως, in l. 9 ἀναγκαίως and 10 πέμψατε ταχέως. If the interpretation of the form αὐθαιρεω[ς] is αὐθαιρέτως, it is obvious that the scribe used this adverb with its legal meaning.

αὐτάρκως\*

The adverb αὐτάρκως is only found in three private letters of the Roman period, and it can indicate self-sufficiency and independence or something that was available in enough quantity and quality or met specific requirements. As far as the adjective αὐτάρκης (see LSJ *s.v.* αὐτάρκης I and II) is concerned, the same uses occur in the literary

texts and the documentary papyri. In the private letters, however, only the meaning “sufficiently” is found: in *BGU* II 665 (I A.D.), the sender of the letter informs his father that everything that a pregnant woman needs for her childbirth was prepared in a sufficient quantity (ii 17-18: ἡτοιμάσθη αὐτῇ πάντα [π]ρὸς | [τ]ὴν λοχ[ε]ίαν αὐτάρκως). The verb ἐτοιμάζομαι is not modified by the adverb αὐτάρκως in other papyri or in literary texts. In *P.Flor.* II 247 (A.D. 253 or 256), the sender of the letter writes that it will be enough for the recipient of the letter to write some letters so that some actions can be accomplished, 11-14 αὐτάρκως δὲ | ἔχεις ἅπαξ ἐπιστέλλεσ|θαι περὶ τῶν κτηνῶν | τοῦ ἀναπέμψαι. In *P.Harr.* I 105 (III A.D.), 11-13 βίρροι β τέλειοι, μὴ λείαν | παχέα ἀλλὰ αὐτάρκως | καθάρεια (see *WB* IV s.v. αὐτάρκης), the adverb seems to modify the adjective καθάρεια, but also a verbal form might be implied here, i.e. ὄντα. The cloaks must not be quite thick, but sufficiently clean.

#### αὐτομάτως

This adverb means “by acting of one’s own will, spontaneously”, and it is found only in a petition, *P.Amst.* I 35, 6 (A.D. 55-68), but the preserved text is too fragmentary to draw any conclusion about its use in this document; for the adjective see Spicq 1978, 162-165.

#### αὐτοπροσώπως\*

The adverb with the meaning “in one’s own person” appears for the first time in *Philo Leg. all.* 3.177; *De dec.* 19; 39; 175; see *LSJ* s.v. αὐτοπρόσωπος; *Lampe* s.v. It is also found in three private letters in papyri, of which, *P.Hamb.* IV 254 can be considered as one of the earliest appearances of this adverb in Greek. In all instances the adverb precedes the modified verbs: in the first instance (in the Roman period) it is the verb συσταθῆναι, and in the other two cases (in the Byzantine period) forms of the verb προσκυνῶ:

*P.Hamb.* IV 254, 9-12 (beginning of II A.D.?) ἐγὼ γὰρ θέλων αὐτο|προσώπως ὑμ[ε]ῖν συσταθῆναι | οὐκ ἐπῆλθέ μοι τῆ κώμη ἐπι|βῆναι; *PSI* XIV 1428 11-12 (first half of VI A.D.) καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔρχομαι ἵνα | αὐτοπροσώπως προσκυνήσω ὑμᾶς; *P.Grenf.* II 91, 5-6 (VI-VII A.D.) ἕως οὗ ὁ θεὸς | ἐνέγκη ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοπροσώπως προσκυνήσωμεν τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1860 3 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ ἀξιωθῶ αὐτοπροσώπως (*l.* αὐτοπροσώπως) προσκυνῆσαι αὐτήν.

Moreover, the adverb is attested in an official petition, *SPP* XX 54, ii 5-6 (A.D. 250) πρὸς ἃ αὐτὸς ἀ[ντ]ε[π]ίστ[ε]ιλέν μοι αὐτοπροσώπως μόνος περὶ κοσμητείας | εἰς ἣν ὠνομάσθη οὐ δεόντως ὁ ἡμέτερος υἱὸς Αὐρήλιος Ὡρίων ὁ καὶ Ἑρμα[ῖ]ος, where it modifies the verb ἀντεπιστέλλω.

#### αὐτοτελῶς

Although the adjective αὐτοτελής appears in various documents in papyri of all periods, and although the adverb αὐτοτελῶς was reported to be used by *Lysias* (see *LSJ* s.v. αὐτοτελής I 4 with the meaning “arbitrarily”), the adverb is found only in petitions and proceedings of the fourth century A.D. with the meaning “independently”: *P.Oxy.* LIV 3759, 6 (A.D. 325) πρὸς τὰ αὐτοτελῶς γεγόμενα; *P.Panop.* 30, 40 (A.D. 332) ἀναγν[οῦ]σα τὰ αὐτοτελῶς ἀποφανθέντα; *PSI* V 451, 23 (A.D. 341) ἐπ[α]ναγκάσει αὐτὸν [α]ὐτοτελῶς; cf. also *Lampe* s.v. citing examples with the meaning “completely” and “absolutely”.

## αὐτως

It occurs only in a division of land, *P.Tebt.Wall* 12, 22 (= *SB XVIII* 13793) (A.D. 101) καὶ αὐτως καταδιαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ὕδατα ἐξ ἴσου μέρους, “and likewise to divide the water in equal portions”; see *LSJ s.v.* αὐτως I.

## ἀφάτως

The adjective ἄφατος appears in the Greek papyri of the Byzantine period, where its meaning is negative, that is, “something that cannot be described abundantly”; see *Lampe s.v.*:

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 10 (A.D. 547) [καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄφατα ζημιώματα τε καὶ ἀδικήματα τὰ περιε]λθόντα ἡμᾶς; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279, 6 (A.D. 567) ἐν ἀφάτοις περιπεπ[τ]ωκῶς ζημιώμασι; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 5 (A.D. 567) ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῖν ἀφάτων ζημιωμάτων; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67009, 11 (A.D. 567-570) τὰ παρ' ἐκείνο(υ) ἄφατα δεδρακότα ἡμῖν κ[α]κᾶ.

As far as the adverb is concerned, *LSJ s.v.* ἄφατος, cites *Dioscorides* 1.13 as its first instance in the Greek literature, with the meaning “marvelously, immensely”. In papyri it occurs in a petition, *SB XXVI* 16666, 16 (A.D. 315), where the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and it is difficult to understand the use of the adverb.

In *O.Narm.* I 70, 7-10 (II-III A.D.) καὶ γεγραφέναι ἀφάτο|ς (*l.* ἄφατο|ν οἱ ἀφάτω|ς; see n. *ad loc.*, “in modo indicibile”) ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ἀσαφῶς (“in modo dissennato”) | πεποιε<κ>έναι τὴν ἐξέτασιν, the form ἀφάτο|ς is proposed to follow and modify the infinitive γεγραφέναι, with the meaning “unutterable, ineffable”. However, since there is another adverb, which is written without spelling mistakes in the line below, i.e. ἀσαφῶς, the form αφατος might be better considered as an adjective, which can be attributed to the subject of the participle ὀφ<ε>ίλων and the infinitives γενέσθαι (ll. 6-7) and γεγραφέναι (l. 7).

## ἀφειδῶς – ἀφειδέστερα

For the attestations in the Greek literature see *LSJ s.v.* ἀφειδῆς II. The adverb is read in the official correspondence of the Ptolemaic period, *P.Tebt.* I 24, 75-76 (117 B.C.) ἐξ ὧν ὑπογράφουσι | ἀφειδ[δ]ῶς, but the reading is not certain.

In the Byzantine period it occurs in three official documents:

*P.Oxy.* XVI 1885, 8-9 (A.D. 509) κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόψας ἀφειδῶς (“without mercy”; see *WB IV s.v.* ἀφειδῆς “schonungslos”) καὶ θανατηφόρον ἐπενεγκῶν | [κατ' αὐ]τοῦ πλη[γ]ὴν [ἐβαλ]εν; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 19 (A.D. 548) [ἀ]όκνως καὶ [ἀ]φ\ε/ιδῶς ἀνατρέπει τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας; *P.Flor.* III 295, 2 (A.D. 566-568) ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἐπιρίπτουσι[ν(?)] δίκην βαρβάρων παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦ ζῆν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπ[ο]τροφίον εἰσφέρειν.

In addition, it is restored in a will:

*SB VI* 9402, 12-14 (VII A.D.) κρατεῦειν καὶ κυριεῦειν πάντα τὰ [ὑ]πάρχοντά μου καὶ τὴν ὑπάρ|χουσαν) τοῦ μακαρίου μου [ἀνδρ]ῶς Γε[ρ]οντίου <οικίαν> ἀδεῶς καὶ | [ἀφειδῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ] εἰ[ς] τ[ὸ]ν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον, however, the restoration is debatable, since “lavishly” might not be the proper term here.

The comparative ἀφειδέστερα (instead of ἀφειδέστερον) occurs in two petitions of the early Roman period in the same context with similar wording. In both cases the adverb modifies the verb δίδωμι πληγᾶς, and the phrase is comparable with the phrase κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόψας ἀφειδῶς in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1885, 8-9 (A.D. 509):

*P.Mich.* V 228, 19-21 (A.D. 47) ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἔδωκεν τῇ γυ(ναικί) Τανου{ν}ρ<ε>ι | ἀφιδέτερα (*l.* ἀφειδέστερα (instead of ἀφειδέστερον)) πληγᾶς πλήρους (*l.* πλήρεις) εἰς τὰ παρατυχ|όντα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἐγκοίου (*l.* ἐγκύω) οὔση; *P.Mich.* V 229, 20-24 (A.D. 48) ἔτι | δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ἔδο|κάν (*l.* ἔδω|κάν) μοι ἀφιδέστερα (*l.* ἀφειδέστερα (instead of ἀφειδέστερον)) πληγᾶς | πλήρους (*l.* πλήρεις) εἰς τὰ παρατυχο|ντα μέρη τοῦ σώματος.

## ἀφθόνως\*

The adverb seems to have the meaning “not in a grudging way, abundantly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄφθονος IV). In papyri it is attested in two cases to modify the verb παρέχω: in a private letter, *P.Hamb.* IV 254, 12-15 (beginning of II A.D.?) μιμησκόμενος τῆς πρὸς | τὸν εὔμυρον (*l.* εὔμοιρον) συμπαθείας καὶ τῶν | ἐκείνου χαρίτων, οὗς (*l.* ἄς) πρὸς πάν|τας ἀφθόνως παρεῖχεν; in public legal proceedings, *P.Ryl.* II 77, 36-37 (A.D. 192) ἡ τύχη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν | Αὐ[το]κράτορος ἀφθόνως ἀρχά[ς] παρέχει καὶ τῆς πόλ(εως) αὐξάνε[ι] τὰ πράγματα, “the fortune of our lord the Emperor provides offices abundantly and augments the prosperity of the city”. Finally, in a marriage contract of the Byzantine period, *SB XXVI* 16533 8, (VI A.D.) ἐ|ύ|ν|ομ|ία ὁμονο|ία καὶ βιώσει καὶ οικήσει ἀφθόνως<sup>132</sup>, even though the modified verb is lost in the lacuna, we may assume that this was a verb with the meaning “provide”.

## ἀφιλονείκως

It is found only in a fragmentary part of a Byzantine will, *P.Bodl.* I 47, 4 (after A.D. 535), with the meaning “without being fond of strife”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀφιλονεικος. The adjective ἀφιλονεικος is not found in papyri.

## ἀφιλοπραγμόνως

The adverb ἀ[ζ]ηλοπραγμόνως is read in an official document, of which the type is not certain: *P.Lips.* I 119 verso, 4-6 (A.D. 273) εἰς χαράν τε ὁμοῦ | καὶ σπουδῆν περὶ τὸ ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀ[ζ]ηλοπραγμόνως τῶν ὑπαρ|ξάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐμφορουμένους βιοῦν προάγοιτο<sup>133</sup>. However, this reading introduces an adverb that does not exist in Greek. As can be seen in the photograph ([https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/UBLPapyri\\_derivate\\_00001190/UBLPapyri\\_Lips224R\\_300.jpg](https://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/UBLPapyri_derivate_00001190/UBLPapyri_Lips224R_300.jpg)), before λο there is a short vertical. Between the initial letter α and this vertical there is space for two narrow letters or one broad letter, and the letter φ is possible, to read ἀφιλοπραγμόνως. This adverb is attested in Cyrillus, *PG* 69, 1251 where he explains the passage ἐν ἀκακία καρδίας μου: ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἀπονήρως καὶ ἀφιλοπραγμόνως, οὐ θορύβους ἀγαπῶν πραγμάτων κοσμικῶν καὶ περισπασμῶν εἰκαίων ἔχων δὲ μάλλον ἐν ἑμαυτῷ τὸν νοῦν εὐσταθῆ καὶ ἡρεμοῦντα, where he describes the right way of living. This meaning “without distraction” or “without meddlesomeness” (see Lampe *s.v.*) can also be true of the passage of *P.Lips.* I 119<sup>134</sup>.

## ἀφιλοτίμως\*(?)

LSJ *s.v.* ἀφιλότιμος I 2 “lukewarmly” cites only *P.Petrie Kleon* 15, 16 (260 B.C.) οὐ δὲ ἀφιλοτίμως μου ἀντιλάμβαν[η] \ε/ι οὐκ [--], “but you are helping me without enthusiasm [--]”; see Mayser 1936, 122. However, one could also divide the words as οὐ δέ, ἃ φιλοτίμως μου ἀντιλαμβάν[η] \ε/ι, οὐκ --]; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀντιλαμβάνω II 2, “help, take part with, assist”. Then, in the lacuna we may restore a verb in the second person singular; for the verb ἀντιλαμβάνομαι modified by φιλοτίμως see Plutarch 77B οὕτως ἄγονται μὲν ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας

<sup>132</sup> For the phrase ἄφθονος οἶκος, “hospitable house”, in the private letters, see *WB* I *s.v.* ἄφθονος (2).

<sup>133</sup> It cannot have a similar meaning as ἀζηλώτως (found in Pollux 5.160), which has negative connotations and means “not to be envied”.

<sup>134</sup> LSJ Suppl. has the entry ἀζηλοπραγμόνως as an adverb, but this should be removed.

πολλοὶ καὶ σφόδρα γε φιλοτίμως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τοῦ μανθάνειν δοκοῦσιν, where the verb has another meaning; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀντιλαμβάνω II 2, “lay hold of”.

#### ἄφνω\*

See LSJ *s.v.* ἄφνω (also ἄφνωσ), “unawares, of a sudden”. In papyri it is found in one petition, *P.Kron.* 2, 11 (A.D. 127 or 128) ἄφνωσ ἐξέφυγεν, and two private letters, *P.Giss.* I 19, 4-5 (A.D. 115) ἐξ | [οὔ ἄφ]νωσ ἐ[ξῆ]λθεσ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ (see Litinas’ correction on p. 282), and *SB* VI 9137, 7 (V A.D.) οὔτο (*l.* οὔτω) ἄφνωσ (*l.* ἄφνωσ) ἐξῆλθα, preceding and modifying the following verb, in all cases compound with ἐκ- (and in aor. indicative)<sup>135</sup>.

#### ἀφόβως

The adverb ἀφόβως appears in *P.Berl.Frisk* 3, 6-7 (A.D. 211-212) κα[ί] γὰρ ἡ σὴ εὐμένεια προτρέπεται τοὺς | ἀδικηθέντας ἀφόβως σοι π[ρ]οσείναι (*l.* προσιέναι), a petition to the Prefect, where the petitioner states that people who feel the injustice, come in front of him without fear<sup>136</sup>; cf. *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀφόβως “furchtlos, unbedenklich”. The sense that someone goes to or stays in a certain place without fear is also found in another case: the adverb ἀφόβως is used by the Flavius Atias, dux of the Thebaid, in a formal letter, *CPR* VIII 84, 4-6 (late VII-early VIII A.D.) εἴ<σ>ελθε εἰς(ς) τ(ῆν) ἰδίαν σου πόλιν | ἀφόβως (καί) θεοῦ κελευόντ(ος) | οὐκ ἀφῶ σε ἀδικηθ(έντα), where the sender encourages the recipient to enter his own town without fear, and promises that he will not let anybody to behave unjustly to him. The adverb follows the modified verb, while in similar cases it can also precede it; cf. Joannes Dam., *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* 386 ἀλλ’ ἀφόβως πάντας συνεισελεθεῖν, κοινῇ διασκεψώμεθα γνώμη. The same use is found in *SB* III 7240, 16-17 (A.D. 697) δι’ οὗ ἐπιτρέπων ὑμῖν | ἀφόβως μεῖναι τῇ ταυτότητι εἰς τὸν τόπον ὑμῶν, a *firman* of the dux of the Thebaid that the monks should stay in their place.

In addition, in *SB* XXVIII 17238, 15 (c. A.D. 567), which is a petition to a governor, a certain man, ὠμοφάγος, is described, who together with his band fearlessly spent the taxes collected from the people, ἐδαπάνωσαν (*l.* ἐδαπάνησαν) εἰς ἑα[υτ]οὺς ἀφόβως. The text should be compared with the phrase in l. 11 καὶ ἄδ[ε]ϊαν πράττω[ν] ἐν ἅπασι κεχηρη[μ]ένο[ς] κακοῖς, “he practised fearlessness in all respects”, and it cannot be the “fear of God”, which appears in l. 7 of the same document, μήτε ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος κατὰ φόβον Θεο(ῦ), “nor sparing people out of fear of God”.

Finally, the adverb occurs in a magical text, *SEG* XLI 1619, 21-22 (III-IV A.D.) πάνητί μοι (see *ZPE* 87, 1991, 253-254) εἰρηνικῶς διὰ φωνῆς ἀβόφως (*l.* ἀφόβως). For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἄφοβος I; Bauer *s.v.*

#### ἀχρείως

The restoration of the adverb and its interpretation in the preserved fragmentary text (a lawsuit about a will) *P.Fouad* I 25, ii 13 (II A.D.) διαφθεῖραι αὐτὰ [---] οντες ἀχρείω[ς] ανα[ ] is debatable. For its meaning see LSJ *s.v.* ἀχρεῖος I 1 “by not serving any purpose”.

<sup>135</sup> In the latter case, however, it is not certain whether this form should be considered as an adverb, ἄφνωσ, or an adjective, ἀφνώσ, for which see Hesychius *s.v.* ἀφνώσ ἐξαίφνης.

<sup>136</sup> It is also restored with uncertainty in *P.Tebt.* I 24, 74 (after 117 B.C.) ἀφόβω[ς] . . .], and *O.Claud.* IV 849, 20-21 (late II A.D.) ἀφό[ ]βως ἔχοντες; cf. *P.Tarich.* 5, ii 16n.

ἀψευδῶς

It was read in *BGU* II 432, ii 1-2 (A.D. 190) και τ[ο]ύς λε|γομένο[υ]ς [ἀ]ψευδῶς πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν (*BL* VIII, on p. 27 : [. . .]αιτ[ο]υ λεγομένο[υ] . . .]ευδως πρὸς ἀναχώρησιν prev. ed.) and, also likewise, was restored in *BGU* XV 2467, 13 [ἀψευδῶς πρὸς ἀ]ναχώρησιν. However, in the former papyrus the letter ψ cannot be read before ευ. Therefore, the only certain attestations are found only in Byzantine documents: a marriage contract, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67340, 45 (A.D. 566-573), a petition, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67007, 11 (a. 567 - 568), and an official letter, *P.Lond.* IV 1343, 9 (A.D. 709); see LSJ *s.v.* ἀψευδής II, “really and truly”.

[βαθέως] – βαθύτερον\*

The comparative form is attested in *P.Petrie Kleon* 91, 113-115 και καταπήξ[αντος] \λαι/ κατάπηγας ισχύ|οντας τῶι μήκει βαθύτερον τοῦ θεμε|λίου (πήχυν) α, with the meaning “deeper”; see Mayser 1936, 125.

βασιλικῶς

It is attested in a trilingual glossary (Latin with Greek characters – Greek – Coptic) of the fifth/sixth century A.D., *C.Gloss.Biling.* I 15, 20-22 βενε νως : | ακκιπιστι [ε] | ετ ρεγαλιτερ : = καλως ημα[ς] | εδ[εξω] | και β[ασιλικω]ς.

βαρέως\* – βαρύτερον

The meaning is literal, that is, “being very ill”, or metaphorical, that is, “take a thing ill, suffer it impatiently” (see LSJ *s.v.* βαρύς I 2, already attested in the classical period; Spicq 1978, 175-178). It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 80, 13-14 (III A.D.?) ὄν βαρέως κλαύσας οἰκτρὸν ἔθαψε πατήρ. In papyri it is attested in both private letters in all periods and official documents (petitions) of the Ptolemaic period, always preceding the modified verbal form (e.g. of the verbs φέρω, ἔχω, διατίθημι, ἄρρωστῶ, δουλεύω); see *WB* IV *s.v.* βαρύς 1 “schwer, schwerwiegend, ernstlich, schlimm, leidend” and 2 “schwer, beschwerlich, lästig”.

Private letters are:

*P.Tebt.* III 747, 10-13 (243 B.C.) ἀλλὰ | ὑπομεμένηκας ἕως | κ[αί] Ἀμμώνιον βαρέως | ἐνεγκεί[ν], “but have delayed until Ammonios is annoyed”; *UPZ* I 59, 27-28 (168 B.C.?) ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου τυγχάνει | βαρέως ἔχουσα (see Mayser 1936, 124); *SB* III 6263, 20-21 (second half of II A.D.) μετέλαβον, ὅτι βαρέως δουλεύουετε (*l.* δουλεύετε) | τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν μητέρα{ν}, and 26-27 ἀλλὰ μὴ βαρέως ἔχε μου τὰ γράμματα νουθε|τοῦν[τ]ά σε; *CPR* XXX 17, 8 (c. 643-644) εἰ δὲ βαρέως ἔχει τὴν αἴτησίν μου δέξασθα.

Official petitions are:

*P.Polit.Iud.* 7, 4-5 (134 B.C.) ἀδελφοῦ ἄρρωστήσαντος παρ' ἐμοὶ | και βαρέως διατεθέντος; *P.Tebt.* III 798, 5-6 (II B.C.) ἄρρωστοῦν|τός μου βαρέως. The comparative is attested in a petition of the Ptolemaic period: *P.Gurob* 5, 15-16 (c. 215 B.C.) ἐπεὶ οὖν | βαρύτερον διάκειμαι; cf. also *P.Heid.* VI 363, 12 (224-218 B.C.).

βεβαίως – βεβαιότερον\*(?)

For the adjective see LSJ *s.v.* βέβαιος II; Bauer *s.v.*; Spicq 1978, 182-185. The adverb appears as part of a collocation in contracts to confirm or guarantee a transaction or agreement, e.g. κυρίως και βεβαίως (in documents from Dura – Europos, Petra etc.), βεβαίως και ἀναφαιρέτως (*P.Oxy.* IV 713, 18-19). The comparative of the adverb is restored in a letter from the Zenon archive, *P.Ryl.* IV 565, 6 (249 B.C.) και προσέχων τ[ὸν] νοῦν ἵνα βεβ[ε]αιότερον ισχύσης, but this restoration is debatable.

βιαίως – βιαϊότερον

This adverb was used mainly in petitions, records of court proceedings and summonses to appear in court in order to describe a violent action committed by a certain person against another. In *P.Gen.* I 1 (A.D. 213), an official letter, the epistrategus(?) orders the strategi of the nomes not to cause [Valer]ius Titanianus hardship in respect of his estate, (ll. 10-12) μηδὲ βιαίω{ω} |ς ἐπὶ τὰ κτήματα αὐτοῦ [ἐ]πιτρέ|χειν. The comparative of the adverb is also attested only in official documents: *P.Dryton* I 34, 18-19 (115-110 B.C.) βιαϊότερον | ἐμβατεύσ[α]ς εἰς τὸ δη[λούμενο]ν ἔδαφος, and probably *P.Oxy.* IV 803 descr. (later part of I B.C.) ἀπητῆσθαι βιαϊό[τ]ερων.

βραδέως\* – βραδύτερον\* – βραδύτερα – βράδιον

It is attested in many documents official or private and it is constructed with the participle γράφων in order to indicate that someone writes slowly (see LSJ *s.v.* βραδύς I 3; Youtie 1971 and 1975; Kraus 1999).

Concerning the meaning “tardy, late”, which denotes Time, see LSJ *s.v.* βραδύς II, for instances in literature; cf. *P.Tebt.* III 787, 7-9 (c. 138 B.C.) καὶ ἐν τῇ | [ἀναβάσει τοῦ ὕδατος βραδέ{ι}ως ἀφικνεῖσθαι | [ἐπὶ ἡμέτερα] πεδία; see *WB* IV *s.v.* βραδύς 2 “spät”.

In the private letters of the Ptolemaic and Roman period the adverb is used to indicate that an action has not been completed promptly<sup>137</sup>, and it always precedes the verbal form. In *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59110 (257 B.C.), a private letter sent by Amyntas to Zenon, in ll. 2-9 we read that πυρθάνο|μαι Πάτρωνα τὸν | ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος | σκήψεις φέρειν, ὅταν | βραδέως παραγένη|ται, ὅτι<sup>138</sup> ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν | κατέχομεν [ο]ὐ διδόν|τες [ἐπισ]τολάς. Patron, the captain of a boat excuses himself when he arrives late, by saying that he has been delayed by the sender of the letter, Amyntas, because the latter would not give him the letters. The temporal clause ὅταν βραδέως παραγένη|ται is short, and the adverb is placed before the verb παραγένηται. The meaning of the temporal-conditional use of ὅταν (when and if Patron arrives) is strengthened with the use of the adverb, that is, Patron’s arrival is always “late”. Its use seems here somehow ironic towards Patron’s habits. The adverb indicates both Manner (equivalent of “tardy, slowly, sluggish”, *νωθρῶς*) and Time (“behind time”).

*P.Oxy.* LXVII 4624 (I A.D.) is a private letter sent by Dios to Sarapion. In ll. 2-5 Dios writes that εἰ βραδέως ἀγοράζεται τὰ σιτάρια | μὴ πώλει ἄρτι. τάχα γὰρ σὺν | θεῶ ἀναβησόμεθα καὶ χρεῖα | ἡμ{ε}ῖν αὐτῶν ἐστι, “if wheat is being bought slowly, do not sell just now because soon we shall come up, god willing, and we have need of it”. The adverb βραδέως at the beginning of the clause precedes and modifies the verb ἀγοράζεται. It seems that Sarapion had bought the wheat very recently (probably not at the time he

<sup>137</sup> *P.Hib.* II 253 (middle III B.C.) is a private(?) letter sent by Leodamas to a person whose name is lost. In l. 2 the adverb βραδέως is restored βραδ[έως γὰρ . . .] | κεν εἰς τὸ προσσ[ . . . ] | ἀνακομιζεσθαι, but, if the restoration is correct, then it is certain that the adverb is placed at the beginning of the sentence and precedes the verbal form. In *P.Laur.* I 19 (early III A.D.), which is a fragmentary private letter or petition, the position and the context of the adverb βραδέως in l. 17, ] βραδέως γραμμα|[ are uncertain.

<sup>138</sup> After the verbal phrase σκήψεις φέρειν, which describes the insubstantial claims of Patron, the noun clause should begin with ὡς. The introduction with ὅτι might be used to indicate that Amyntas reproduces the words of Patron verbatim.



should have bought it) and Dios asks him not to sell it right now (in fact, at the time he receives the letter).

In the next two examples the adverb modifies verbs that mean “write and send a letter”, and both are dated to the late second century A.D.:

In *SB XIV 11584* (late II A.D.) the scribe favors the use of adverbs ending in *-ως* (e.g. *συνεχῶς*, *οὕτως*, *ραδίως*, *ἀνυπερθέτως* are also found in the letter; see p. 19). In ll. 4-9 διὸ παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ | ποιεῖν σ[υ]νεχῶς (that is, to write letters to me), οὕτως γὰρ ἀνξηθή|[σ]εται ἡμῶν ἢ φιλία. ὅταν δέ σοι βραδέως | [γ]ράφω, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρ[υ]ίσκειν μηδὲνα | πρὸς σὲ ἐρχόμενον ραδίως τοῦτο γίνε|ται, the temporal adverb *βραδέως* is placed in a temporal conditional clause and precedes the verb *[γ]ράφω*, but after *σοί*, which is the object of the verb. The interest of this example lies in the use of the phrase *γράφω βραδέως*, which is used here to indicate that someone does not write letters of reply promptly, while, as was said, it was mainly used in the subscriptions of contracts or official documents to indicate someone who is a slow writer.

*P.Hawn. II 16* (II-III A.D.) is a private letter sent by two brothers to their father. In ll. 3-4 they apologize for delaying writing to him, *ἐκαμέν* (*l. ἐκά<μο>μέν ed. princ.<sup>139</sup>*) *σε ἐγνωκέναι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ βρα|δέ[ω]ς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστέλλειν σοι δι' οὗ ὁ ἐτέρος* (*l. ἐταῖρος*) | *ἡμῶν Ὑπατο[ς] ἐν Ἀρσινο<ε>ίτη ὧν ἔγραψέ σοι | ἐπιστολίου*, “we have taken pains that you know the reason why we are slow in writing to you through the letter which our comrade Hypatos wrote to you when he was in the Arsinoite”.

**βραδύτερον and βραδύτερα.** The comparative *βραδύτερον* was used mainly in documents of the first century A.D. instead of the positive degree in the expression *βραδέως γράφειν* (see LSJ *s.v.* *βραδύς* I 3). This use is found in official documents and private contracts<sup>140</sup>:

Two receipts, *O.Wilck. 757*, 9 (106-105 B.C.) and *P.Ryl. II 183 a*, 9 (A.D. 16); three contracts of cession of catoecic land, *P.Mich. V 252* (A.D. 25-26), *PSI VIII 906*, 11 (A.D. 45-46) and *P.Mich. V 273*, 10 (A.D. 46); a copy of loan through a bank, *P.Ryl. II 173*, 13 (A.D. 34); two contracts of loan, *P.Zauzich 39*, 56 and 106 (A.D. 54) and *P.Stras. VII 663*, 9 (A.D. 57-58); a division of land and house, *P.Ryl. II 156*, 25 (I A.D.).

The form *βραδύτερα* (see Mayser 1936, 125) is also used in the same way, mainly in the end of the Ptolemaic and beginning of the Roman period:

*WO II 1027*, 9-10 (Ptolemaic; based on the handwriting probably it must be dated to the late Ptolemaic period); *BGU II 543*, 17 (27 B.C.); *ChLA XII 465*, 17 (A.D. 25-26); *PSI VIII 905*, 16 (A.D. 25-26); *P.Mich. V 336*, 6 (A.D. 27); *P.Mich. V 278*, 6-7 and 279 (A.D. 30); *P.Vind.Tand. 10*, 54 (A.D. 54); a later example is in *BGU I 69*, 19-20 (A.D. 120).

In the official correspondence the adverb *βραδύτερον* has also a temporal meaning:

In *P.Yale I 34*, 4-7 (250 B.C.) *ἐὰν δὲ | βραδύτερον ποιῆς σαυτὸν βλά|ψεις, [ο]ὕ γὰρ σχολάζω μένειν πλείονα | χρ[ό]νον;* *P.Ryl. II 81*, 27 (A.D. 107?), a letter of an *αἰγιαλοφύλαξ*; *CPR VII 20*, 14 (after A.D. 305); *P.Ryl. II 81*, 27 (A.D. 107?).

There is only one occurrence of *βραδύτερον* in a private letter. In *PSI VII 821*, 5-9 (II-III A.D.) *πέμψον δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παιδαρίου Θέωνι | τῷ ἐκεῖ [χ]ειριστῆι ἀγω[γὰς] τριακόντα . καὶ ὅρα | μὴ ἀμε[λ]ή[σ]ης καὶ βρα[δύτε]ρον πέμψ[η]ς, ἐπεὶ | τὰ ἐκεῖ ἔργα κατεπεῖγει* (see *WB IV s.v.*

<sup>139</sup> One could better consider *ἐκαμέν* as third person impersonal singular.

<sup>140</sup> In *PSI VIII 906*, 11 and *P.Ryl. II 156*, 25 the adverb is spelled as *βρατύτερον*. In *P.Zauzich 39*, 56 it is spelled as *πλατυτέρου* and in l. 106 as *πλατύτερος*.

βραδύς 2 “spät”), it precedes and modifies the subjunctive πέμψης. The presence of the negative particle makes the expression equivalent to ταχέως πέμψον.

**βράδιον.** The comparative βράδιον is attested in official correspondence with the meaning “very late”, *P.Panop. Beatty* 1, 220 (A.D. 298). In *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2419, 7 (VI A.D.), a declaration, the adverb has the meaning of “late in the afternoon” (= ὀψέ) (see LSJ *s.v.* βραδύς II).

[βραχέως] – βραχύτατα

The adverb βραχέως does not occur in papyri so far. However, its superlative is attested in official correspondence, *BGU* III 1011, 9-11 (II B.C.) τῶν ἀναγκαίων | καὶ κατεπειγόντων ὡς | βραχύτατα γράφειν (see Mayser 1936, 126), with reference to the letters sent to the king. On the other hand, the adverb βραχύ is used in private letters, and it means “slightly” (see LSJ *s.v.* βραχύς 4). In *UPZ* I 78, 17-18 (after 159 B.C.) ἔλεγον αὐτὰς {αὐτὰς} ὅτι ἔτι βραχύ | ἔχω ἐν τῷ ἄθρει (*l.* ἀέρι), and *l.* 34 πρόσμ<ε>ινον βραχύ καὶ ἄξω σε. In the private letter *P.Köln* IX 370, 4-5 (II A.D.) περὶ δὲ φορτίων, εἰμερώιτεραι (*l.* εἰ μετριώτεραι (οἱ ἡμερώιτεραι)) αἱ τιμαὶ γεγόναν<ασιν>, <έν> βραχεῖ ση{ι}μαίνω σοι ἴνα | εἰδηῖς, one could also understand this βραχεῖ as βραχύ, and there is no need to supply the preposition <έν>. In addition, the prepositional κατὰ βραχύ is attested in *UPZ* I 110, 172-173 τῶ[ι] κατὰ βραχύ λογιζεσ|θαι δυναμένωι (see LSJ *s.v.* βραχύς 2) and the prepositional διὰ βραχέων (see LSJ *s.v.* βραχύς 3) is attested in petitions of the last quarter of the third century A.D.; cf. *SB* III 7205, 5-6 (c. A.D. 290-292) τὰ δὲ κατ’ ἐμὲ (D. Hagedorn (via PN); ἐμο[ῦ] *ed.princ.*) διὰ βραχέων σοι παραθήσο|μ[αι]; cf. also *SB* XVIII 13932, 12 (A.D. 287).

γελοῖως\*

See discussion *s.v.* ἀγελοῖως in corrections, p. 277. where in *P.Col.* III 6, 4 (257 B.C.) the adverb seems to have a negative meaning. It occurs in the classical literature with the meaning “ludicrously, absurdly, ridiculously” (see LSJ *s.v.* γέλοιος/γελοῖος II; cf. *WB* IV *s.v.* γελοῖος “zum Lachen anregend”). For its occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124.

γενικῶς\*

The adverb is first attested in a private letter of the first century A.D. in a formulaic phrase (cf. also *s.v.* ἀργυρικῶς): *P.Bon.* 43, 3-9 καλῶς ποιήσεις προνο|ήσας, ὡς ἔωθας, τοῦ ἀρι|θμητικοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς | γυναικός μου διὰ Πα|θηβίς Ὦρου Πεεννώ, \κο(τύλαι) ιδ/ | καὶ ἔξεις τὸ ἡμισυ ἢ | γενικῶς ἢ ἀργυρικῶς. The meaning is “in kind”; see LSJ *s.v.* γενικός IV, citing the opposition with ἀργυρικὸς λόγος in *P.Flor.* I 77, 7 (A.D. 241-242); cf. also *P.Oxy.* L 3569, 5-6 (A.D. 282) τὸ[ν μη]νιαῖον λόγον ἀργυρικὸν καὶ | γεν[ι]κόν; *P.Ant.* I 32, 2 (A.D. 339) λόγος ἀργυρικ(ὸς) καὶ γενικός; cf. *WB* IV *s.v.* γενικός I.

In contracts of the Byzantine period it occurs in another formulaic phrase, ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς “in particular and in general” or γενικῶς καὶ ἰδικῶς; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*; *WB* IV *s.v.* γενικός 2.

## γενναίως\*

The adverb is used only as a kind of a proverbial phrase of the everyday speech in letters of condolence, with the meaning “in a way befitting a noble”, that is, with patience and high spirit: Cf. *SB* XIV 11646, 9-11 (= Chapa 1998, no 1) (I-II A.D.?) ἀλλὰ θάρσ<ε>ι καὶ γενναίως | φέρε. πάντων γὰρ τὸ [θανεῖν ἐσ] | τι; *BGU* III 801, 5 (= Chapa 1998, no 3) (II A.D.) γενναίως φερέτ[ω(?)]; *P.Hamb.* IV 254, 7-9 (II A.D.) καὶ ὡς οὔτε πρῶτοι οὔτε ὕστατοι | ἐπάθετε τοῦτο γενναίως φέρε | τε τὸ συμβάν; Cuvigny, *Myos Hormos*, 493, n. 435 and 436 (document M128), l. 7 τὰ προσπίπτοντα γενναίως φέρ<ε>ιν; *PSI* XII 1248, 10-12 (= Chapa 1998, no 6) (A.D. 235) ἀλλὰ | γενναίως φέρετε. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς | ἀπόκειται. Cf. also *SPP* XXII 33, 7-16 (I A.D.) γ{ε}ίνωσκε δέ, | πάτερ, ὅτι πολλὴ θνησις | γέγονεν ἐνθάδε ἐπ’ ἐφέ | τους καὶ οἱ πλείονες | τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀνεχῶ | ρη[σαν . . . . .] α δὲ τοὺς | [--- ο]ὔδ’ ἐν ἔχω | [. . . . .] παρακαλῶ | [ c. 9 letters ] γενναίως | [ c. 14 letters ] γενοῦ, where the same kind of condolence seems to be expressed; see *WB* IV *s.v.* γενναῖος. In all instances the adverb precedes the modified verbal form (of the verb φέρω). Most examples are dated to the second century A.D.

## γεωργικῶς

The word was interpreted as an adverb in an entry of an account, *BGU* II 567, 4 (II A.D.) πρὸς) ἀλλή[λο]υς διε[ρέ]σεως γεωργικῶς (the reading is certain). It might refer to a contract of a division of an agricultural property. *LSJ s.v.* γεωργικός II cites Pollux 7.141, where the meaning might not be “occupied or skilled in farming” (as in *LSJ*), but I would prefer “as far as agricultural matters are concerned”. In that case, the adverb in this document seems to be coined by the scribe in order to correspond to the word γεωργικός, e.g. γεωργικῶν (of land?); cf. *LSJ s.v.* γεωργικός I, citing τὰ γεωργικά in Chrysippus 3.180.

## γνησιαίως\*

It appears only in a private letter (*addendum lexicis*), *SB* VI 9138, 3-4 (end of VI A.D.) [γ]ινώσκ<ε>ιν σε θῆλ[ω, ὡς] | γνησιαίως διαφόρως γεγράφηκά σοι, where it can be explained as a variant of γνησίως. Clearly the scribe coined this adverb in error under the influence of similar adverbs, such as δικαίως etc. A similar example is ἐνιαυσιαίως (see *s.v.*, p. 121).

## γνησίως\*

*LSJ s.v.* γνήσιος I 2 provides various meanings of the adverb: “genuinely, truly” (as in Euripides *Alc.* 678, Lysias 2.76, Demosthenes *Ep.* 3.32, etc.); γ. φέρειν “bear nobly”, Antiphon 281, Menander 205; “lawfully”, τοῖς γ. συμβιώσασιν Philodemus *Piet.* 93; see Spicq 1978, 196-199; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*, citing examples from the patristic literature.

In papyri it is attested in many private letters with the meaning “honestly” when it modifies verbs which mean work (cf. Sch. Euripides *Or.* 920 αὐτουργὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐργαζόμενος γῆν. σώζουσι δὲ γῆν οἱ αὐτουργοῦντες. γνησίως γὰρ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐργάζονται):

*BGU* I 248, 20-21 (c. A.D. 75-85) καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀμπελων ἰδίων | γνησίως γενέσθω ἀναλογούντως Ἀπολλωνίω; *P.Fouad I Univ.* 6, 8-12 (III A.D.) περὶ | γὰρ τῆς τρύγης τῶν χωρίων | σου γνησ{ε}ίως παρέλαβε | αὐτὴν ὁ Σαρμάτης ἐκ προ|νοίας ἐμοῦ καὶ Αἰῶνος; *SB* X 10567, 3-6 (III A.D.) ὡς ἐνθυμοῦμαι τῷ πατρί | σου οὐκ ἀναλ[ο]γίεις, ὅς οὐ δύ|νασαι ἀνθρώπου ἀποδήμου | γνησίως προξενῆσαι, “to my mind you’re not the man your father was – you, who can’t look after things honestly for someone who’s away” (transl. P.J. Parsons, in *ed. princ.*, *CE*

44, 1969, 320); *P.Oxy.* LI 3646, 8-11 (III-IV A.D.) ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλ<ε>ίδης ὁ στρατηγὸς | γνησίως ἠπηρετήσεν σοῦ | τὰ κτήνη δούς ἤδη χόρ|του δέσματος διοχι(λ)ίας; cf. also the use of the adverb in a letter of recommendation, *PSI* I 96, 1-2 (V A.D.) [ἀξιώση ἢ ὑμετ]έρα λαμπρότης προστήναι Εὐφρο[νίου τ]οῦ στρατιώτου | φροντιζ[ομένου] γνησίως παρ' [ἐμ]οῦ, modifying the participle φροντιζ[ομένου]<sup>141</sup>.

The phrases γνησίως ἀγαπῶ, γνησίως ἀσπάζομαι, γνησίως φιλῶ, where the adverb has the meaning “genuinely, truly”, appear in the Byzantine period:

For γνησίως ἀγαπῶ see: *BGU* II 547, 7 (IV-VII A.D.) μάλιστα τῶν γνησίως ὑμᾶς ἀγαπῶντων; *SB* V 7655, 8-9 (first half of VI A.D.?) ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ προσκυνῶ καὶ ὡς | ἀδελφοὺς ὑμᾶς ἔχω γνησίως; see *WB* IV s.v. γνήσιος 2; the adverb here might modify the verb ἀγαπῶ or προσκυνῶ; *PSI* XIII 1345, 13 (second half of VII A.D.) τοῖς γνησίως ἀγαπῶσιν [ὑ]μᾶς.

For γνησίως ἀσπάζομαι see: *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 17-20 (VI A.D.) π]λεῖστα δὲ ἐν κ(υ)ρ(ίω) | προσκ]υνῶ καὶ κατασπάζομαι γνησίως καὶ [εὐ]τυχῶς τὴν τοῦ | δεσπότη μου ἀγισσύνην καὶ σὲ τὸν θεοφι[λέστ]ατον καὶ γνήσι|όν μου ἀδελφὸν Φοιβάμμωνα; *P.Apoll.* 46, 10-11 (second half of VII A.D.) καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὸν δεσπότην μου μαθεῖν ἐσθήματα γνησίως. | ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς θεοφυλάκτους καὶ μεγαλ(ο)πρεπεστάτους ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἀδελφ[όν] τὸν Κύριν Ἰωάννην δεσπότην. However, the full stop should be put after ἐσθήματα, since the adverb γνησίως modifies the following ἀσπάζομαι; cf. also *P.Apoll.* 69, 20 (second half of VII A.D.) [--- γ]νησίως τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν [κατα]φ[ιλῶ] ἀσπάζομενος τὰ ἔχ[νη ---] and *CPR* XXX 21, 10-11 (c. A.D. 640-700) γνησίως διὰ τοῦ γράμματος ὡς παρῶν | ἀσπάζομαι ἀ[ύ]την. Moreover, *CPR* XXX 3, 13-14 (A.D. 643-644) ὡς παρ[ρ]ῶν γνησίως ἀσπάζομαι | ὑμᾶς; *SB* XXVIII 17005, 12-13 (VII A.D.) λ[ο]!|πὸν ο]ἴκ ἔστι δικεουν (l. δίκαιον) τὸν γνησίως | προσκυνούντα ὑμᾶς διστιχεῖν (l. δυστυχεῖν); *SB* XX 14188, 8-9 (VIII A.D.) γνησίως ἐξ ἡμῶν ἄσπασαι (καὶ) τ(ὸν) ἀββα Σωφρόνιον τὸν Δαμασκηνόν. | ὁ καλόγηρ(ός) μου \γνησίως σε [ας] ἀσπάζεται/.

For γνησίως φιλῶ (also γνήσιος φίλος etc.) see: Papathomas in *CPR* XXV 6, 16-17n.: *SB* XX 14331, 6 (III-IV A.D.) | τῶν (or πάν)των γνησίως σε φιλοῦντων? (for the restoration see Papathomas, *ibid.*); *CPR* XXV 6, 16-17 (V A.D.) ἀλλὰ γνησίως φίλει | ἀληθῶς ἀντιφιλοῦντάς σε.

The adverb is also attested in a petition regarding the guardianship:

*P.Tebt.* II 326, 10-11 (A.D. 266-267) προ|[νο(?)]ήσεσθαι(?) \γνησίως/ τοῦ παιδίου τὴν πρόσοδον ποιουμένη “honorably protect the child”.

In the contracts of the Byzantine period the meaning seems to be “genuinely” and “lawfully”:

Contract of **adoption**, *P.Lips.* I 28, 12 (A.D. 381) πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀνατρέφεσθαι εὐγενῶς καὶ γνησίως; II. 18-19 θρέψω καὶ ἱματιζῶ εὐγενῶς καὶ γνησίως ὡς υἱὸν γνήσιον καὶ φυσικὸν ὡς | ἐξ ἐμ]οῦ γενόμενον. **Marriage** contract, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67310, 9 (dupl. of *P.Lond.* V 1711, 27) (A.D. 566-573) διαθρέψαι \σε/ γνησίως. **Labour** contract, *P.Stras.* I 40, 31-33 (A.D. 569) κ[αί] τ[αῖς] ἡμ[ε]ρ[α]ς | χρέαις γνησίως καὶ ἐνδια[ρ]κῶς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπέξεσθαι δουλικῇ | αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίαν. “**Presentation-guarantee**”, *P.Vindob.Sijp.* 7, 14-16 (A.D. 462) ποιήσασθαι ὄν κ[αί] | γνωσί\ω/ς καὶ ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως (l. ἀκαταγνώστως) [ὑμ]ῖν | παραστήσω καὶ παραδώσω.

γοργῶς\*

The adverb means “vigorously” (see *LSJ* s.v. γοργός 3), and it is used as an adverb of Manner. In papyri it is only attested in private letters of the Roman period, and its meaning has shifted to indicate Time, therefore, it would be translated as “quickly”. In *SB* VI 9271, 9 (I-II A.D.) γοργῶς οὖν ἐλεύσει ἐπ' ἐμέ, it precedes and modifies the future indicative (which is used instead of the imperative) ἐλεύσει. Paulina asks her brother to come quickly, and help her, because her husband threatens to kill her. In *O.Did.* 398, 4-5 (before c. A.D. 115-120) καὶ εἴ τ[ι] πο|εῖς ὡς γοργος (l. γοργῶς) πόη, it precedes and modifies the present imperative ποίει. This phrase seems to be colloquial: “if you do something, do it quickly”. A parallel wording occurs in *PSI* XIV 1413, 3-4 (II-III A.D.) καιρὸν δὲ ἔχοντες | ὃ ποεῖτε γοργῶς ποήσατε, “as there is an opportunity (see *LSJ* s.v. καιρός III), whatever you do, do it quickly”. In these examples the adverb precedes and

<sup>141</sup> In a fragmentary letter, *P.Stras.* IX 840, 10 (VII A.D.) παρ' αὐτῶ περι τούτου γνησίως, the context is not clear.

modifies imperative forms of the verb ποιῶ. Finally, in *SB X 10557*, 7-8 (middle III A.D.) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις γοργῶ[ς] ἀν[α] | στρεψάμεν[ος], “fais-moi donc le plaisir de t’occuper avec énergie de [...]”, it precedes and modifies the participle ἀναστρεψάμενος.

#### γυμνῶς

It is used instead of the adjective γυμνός, “naked” in a petition, *PSI I 71*, 7-9 (VI A.D.) πολλῶν δὲ γυμνασθέντων | κ(αί) γυμνῶς τῷ σώματι ἕκαστος ἐπήλθεν | τῷ ἑκατέρῳ<sup>142</sup>. The adverb in the Greek literature is used with the meaning “baldly” (see LSJ *s.v.* γυμνός 6; cf. also Lampe *s.v.* with the meanings “openly, plainly” or “simply, merely”) and not with the meaning “being naked”, therefore, one can assume that either the scribe coined this meaning of the adverb or that the form γυμνῶς is a mistake instead of the adjective γυμνός.

#### δαφιλῶς

It occurs in a decree (Rosetta stone, *OGIS 90*, 32 (196 B.C.)) τὰ τ' εἰς τὰς ταφὰς αὐτῶν καθήκοντα διδούς δαφιλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως, with the meaning “in abundance”; see LSJ *s.v.* δαφιλής; Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177; cf. also the synonym ρύβδην, p. 275.

#### δεινῶς\*

The adverb was mainly used in the private letters to indicate the dangerous state of the health of someone (see LSJ *s.v.* δεινός I; Bauer *s.v.*; *WB IV s.v.* δεινός):

*BGU II 595*, 14 (c. A.D. 75-85) ὁ υἱός μου ἀσθεν<ε>ῖ δ<ε>ινῶς; *P.Oxy. XII 1481*, 5 (early II A.D.) οὐ γὰρ δεινῶς ἡσθένησα; *SB XVI 12606*, 5-6 (c. A.D. 290) Τεχασοῦς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφή δ<ε>ινῶς ἀσθεν<ε>ῖ; *P.Oxy. LXI 4126*, 11-16 (III-IV A.D.) καὶ ἦδη ἂν | παρῆν, εἰ μὴ κυνὸβρωτος | ἐγενόμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀνατολλῇ/ | τοῦ Κυνὸς κε ὑπὸ μανικοῦ | κυνός, καὶ ἕως νῦν δεινῶς | [---]; *P.Oxy. VIII 1161*, 7-11 (IV A.D.) ταῦτα δέ σοι ἔγραψα | νοσοῦσα, δεῖνῶς ἔχουσα, πᾶ | νυ μὴ δυναμένη ἀναστῆ | ναι ἐκ τῆς κοίτης μου, ὅτι πᾶ | νυ δ<ε>ινῶς ἔχω. In a letter of the third century A.D., *P.Stras. IV 253*, 8 δ<ε>ινῶς διάγουσαν [ἐ]νθάδε, the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition which renders the entire contexts difficult to understand. The same is true of *SB XII 11144*, 2 (VI-VII A.D.) ] τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐντέρου, δεινῶς γὰρ βασανίζεται.

Similarly, in the petitions the adverb was used for the same reason:

Cf. *P.Tebt. III 800*, 25-28 (142 B.C.) ὑπὸ | τῶν πληγῶν[ν] καὶ τ[ο]ῦ πτώμα[τος] δεινῶς κακοπ[α]θεῖν | καὶ κλινοπ[ε]τοῦς γεγο[ν]υῖας; *BGU VI 1253*, 6 (II B.C.?) ὥστ' ἂν δεινῶ[ς] διακε[ῖ]σθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶ(ν); *P.Ammon II 41*, 71 (A.D. 348) καὶ δεινῶς ἐσχηκός; cf. also the use of δεινότατα, the superlative of the adverb in *CPR VII 55*, 7-9 (II A.D.) παραμένω | ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πολλὰ [ ] καὶ [ ] δεῖν[ο]τάτα πάσχω | ἀπὸ τῶν [ ], “I stay home... terribly treated”; similar to κακῶς πάσχειν οἱ παθεῖν; see LSJ *s.v.* δεινός I.

In another private letter, *SB X 10529b*, 15-19 (I-II A.D.?), the context is not clear, although the readings are certain: ὁ κόσμος τῶν ἀγορα[σ]τῶν ὅδε ἐνι | ἡ ἐκσαγωγή (l. ἐξαγωγή) κρατεῖτε (l. κρατεῖται) δεινῶς. | Ἀλεξᾶ[ν]δρ[ου] μὲν (l. μοι) λέγ<ε>ι «παραεκδεξόμεθ(α) | ἡμέρας ε καί, τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος, | ἥσο<ν> ἀγορῶμεν». The meaning is that there is a fear concerning how the exportation is going to be prevented at all cost. We should not put a full stop before the adverb δεινῶς, so as to consider that the adverb modifies the following verb λέγ<ε>ι (see LSJ *s.v.* δεινός II with the meaning “strongly, exceedingly”).

In the petition of the Byzantine period, in *P.Cair.Masp. I 67009*, 17-19 (A.D. 567-570) ὡ[ς] τ[ῶν] ἀλιτηρ(ίω)ν | Βλεμύων βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τῶν πάλαι ἡμῶν γονέων παραλαβ[όντων] \ειληφότων/ | [τὴν] ἡμετέραν πόλιν καὶ π\ο/ρθηράντων δεινῶς, the meaning is “in a terrible

<sup>142</sup> Cf. B. Boyaval, “Sur un sens ‘égyptien’ de γυμνός”, *Luchnos 71*, 1997, 59-60.

way, exceedingly”. In an edict of the Prefect, *P.Princ.* II 20, 3-5 (A.D. 133-137?) τοὺς τελώνας | δεξιῶς σοφίσασθαι τοῖς διερχομένοις, the adverb is restored, but the restoration is debatable.

On the other hand, in the patristic literature the adverb has the meaning of “cleverly”; see Lampe *s.v.*, citing Irenaeus, and the comparative δεινότερως in Eriphanius; cf. also LSJ *s.v.* δεινός III.

#### δεξιῶς\*

It appears only in a private letter, *P.Oxy.* XII 1424, 9-11 (A.D. 316-318) σπούδασον τοῖνυν, ἄδελφε, | τοῦτον ρύσασθαι τοῦ λειτουργήματος, | ἔτι δὲ καὶ δεξιῶς αὐτῷ προ<σ>σχεῖν, to indicate that someone should treat a person courteously, kindly; see LSJ *s.v.* δεξιός V, citing Galen.

#### δεόντως\*

It is attested in official documents, mainly petitions, and private contracts, to indicate that something is carried out properly (see LSJ *s.v.* δεόντως; *WB* I *s.v.* δέω; Mayser 1936, 125), and in official correspondence: in *P.Oxy.* LXIX 3472, 8-10 (A.D. 149) ὅσοι συνήψαν\το/ τοῖς ἐπὶ Τούσκω τὴν συντεῖ|μησ[ιν] [ἐ]πιδ[ε]δωκόσι δύνανται δεόντως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι | τῶν τῶπων, and in a letter of Kurrah ben Sharik to the pagarches Basilius, *SB* III 7241, 40-41 (A.D. 710) ἀλλὰ τὰ μάλιστα | τούτους ἐξασφαλιζόμενος δεόντως δι' ἐγγράφου ὁμ[ο]λ[ο]γ[η]σ[α]ς.

The only instance in a private letter is in *BGU* XVI 2647, 2-6 (8 B.C.) πλεῖστ\α/ χαίρει|ν καὶ διὰ [παντὸς ὑ]γιάνειν δεόντω[ς] Ἱερωνίκης εἰς | τῶσαγάλην πορ[ε]ύεται διὰ τὸ | μέμψασθαι αὐτῷ ἃ ἀπώλεσε ἐν τῇ | ναυαγίᾳ, “many greetings (and continual) health. Hieronikes is going as he should to Tosalgēs(?) to face the music about the things he lost in the shipwreck”. The position of the adverb at the beginning of the clause stresses on the fact that Hieronikes has reacted well.

#### δεσποτικῶς

It occurs only in a contract of a sale of a slave, *BGU* I 316, 29-31 (A.D. 359) καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸν [προγεγρ(αμμένον)] | δοῦλον κυρίως ἔχειν καὶ δεσποτικῶς κτᾶσθ[αι] χρᾶσθαι | πωλεῖν διοικεῖν, with the meaning “exercising the master’s power over the slave”; see LSJ *s.v.* δεσποτικός II 2; Lampe *s.v.*

#### διαταχαίως

The reading διαταχαίως translates the Latin *iam iamque*, “at this very time, precisely now”, in *P.Sakaon* 33, 13 and 23 (A.D. 320). The translator probably intended to use a prepositional structure (e.g. διὰ τάχους?), but, as he preferred to provide a Greek adverb to translate the Latin *iam iamque*, he coined a new adverb. If this is the case, it might be necessary to regularize the spelling διαταχαίως to διαταχέως; cf. διὰ ταχέων *s.v.* ταχέως, p. 241. The same form is attested in Ducas *Historia Turcobyzantina* 28.9 (15<sup>th</sup> A.D.) καὶ εἰ μὲν βούλει τοῦ εἶναι σε φίλον ἐμόν, πέμψον μοι τὸν σὸν υἱὸν διαταχέως, ὅτι μέλλω περᾶν τὸν Ἰστρον. The grammarian Georgius Choeroboscus *Epim.* p. 55 (Gainford) (9<sup>th</sup> A.D.) considered that διαβραχέος, διαταχέος and καταχρέος should be written with -ος.

## διαφερόντως

The adverb does not appear in private documents (for literature see LSJ *s.v.* I and II). It is restored in *BGU* I 255, 7 (A.D. 599) ὀπηνίκα καιρῶ τοῦτον ἐπιζητήσεται [δ]ιαφερόν[τως] παραδώσωμεν ὑμῖν, with the meaning that above all other things they have to do, they will do whatever they are asked to do at this moment; in *P.Oxy.* I 136, 38 (A.D. 583) διαφερόντως δὲ τῇ νεαρᾷ διατάξει τῇ περὶ ἐγγυητῶν, the adverb has the meaning “especially”. In *P.Stras.* VII 700, 1 (end of VI A.D.) the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the restoration of the adverb is debatable.

## διαφόρως\*

The adverb modifies the verb γράφω in the Byzantine period, with the meaning that someone has written several letters repeatedly at various instances in the past, therefore, it is also used as an adverb that can denote Time:

*SB* VI 9138, 3-4 (VI A.D.) [γ]ινώσκ<ε>ιν σε θε[έ]λ[ω, ώς] | γνησιαίως διαφόρως γεγράφηκά σοι; *SB* XXVI 16649, 1 (VI A.D.) τὰ διαφόρως γράμματά της ἡ μετριότης [μου; *P.Köln* VII 317, 34-36 (VI A.D.) καὶ ὡς δ[ι]αφόρως | γεγράφηκα παρακαλῶν τ[ὸν ἐμὸν] δεσπότην, κελ[εύ]ση | τὸν σύντροφόν μου “und wie ich wiederholt geschrieben und meinen Herrn ersucht habe, so möge mein Herr befehlen”; *P.Apoll.* 70, 4 (A.D. 714) ἐμοῦ γράψαντος τοῖς δεσπότηις μου καὶ αὐτῇ διαφόρως.

Moreover, the adverb can modify other verbs, e.g. with the meanings “come”, “ask”, “happen”: in official correspondence, *P.Haun.* III 52, 11 (VI-VII A.D.) διαφ[ό]ρως γέγενα πρ[ὸς] αὐτόν, “several times I came to him”; in petitions, e.g. *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 14, 3-4 (VI-VII A.D.) διαφόρως, ἀγαθὲ δέσποτα, ἐζήτησα προσελθε[ῖ]ν καὶ φόβος με | ἐκώλυσεν, and 9-10 καὶ μ[ά]ρτυς μου ὁ Θεός, θεοφύλακτε | δέσποτα, διαφόρως ἐκινδύνευσα εἰς τὴν ἐνορία[ν] φ[υ]γῆ[ν].

On the other hand, in the official letter *PSI* XIII 1344, recto 1-2 (VI A.D.) ἔσχον εἰς παραμονὴν τινα δοῦλον καὶ ἡῦρον διαφόρως καταφρονοῦντά μου κ(αὶ) κλέπτοντά μοι, and verso 1-2 παραμένοντά μοί τινα παῖδα ἔχω πρ[ὸ] ὀλίγων ἡμερῶ[ν κ(αὶ)] ἡῦρον αὐτὸν [διαφόρως] | καταφρονοῦντά μου πολλάκις, the adverb might have the meaning “in various ways”, since its meaning “several times in the past” cannot be justified by the use of the aorist, which refers to a certain incident in the past. The texts in the contract *P.Worp* 28 (A.D. 477) and in summons in *P.Nessana* 29, 6 (A.D. 590) are preserved in a fragmentary condition, and therefore, the use of the adverb is not clear.

For the meaning “differ” in the phrase διαφόρως ἔχειν in *P.Oxy.* I 34, 14-15 see Litinas’ correction *s.v.* ἐτέρως, p. 132.

## [διεξοδικῶς] – διεξοδέστερον

The positive form is not attested so far in papyri (for the literature see LSJ *s.v.* διεξοδικός II). Only the comparative occurs in an official letter: *P.Brem.* 2, 4-5 (A.D. 119) περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι δι|εξωδέστερον (*l.* δι|εξοδέστερον) ὑμ{ε}ῖν γράφειν, with the meaning “more in detail”.

## διηνεκῶς\*

For its examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* διηνεκῆς “without ceasing, continually, in perpetuity”; Bauer *s.v.* The adverb is mainly used in formal documents, e.g. contracts of sale, leases, wills, contracts of marriage, divorces, divisions of inherited property,

registrations in the taxation lists and settlements; also, in honorary inscriptions, e.g. see Bernard 1992, no 46, 12 (38 B.C.).

The only instance in private letters is in *P.Michael.* 16, 4 (II-III A.D.) ἐχρῆ σε ἄδελφε | γράφειν μοι διηλεκῶς | περὶ τῆς ὑγ<ε>ίας σου, where it follows and modifies the infinitive γράφειν. This phrase is a variant of the συνεχῶς (or αἰεὶ) γράφε μοι περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου-formula. The reason the sender prefers this adverb over the adverbs συνεχῶς or αἰεὶ might be that he was influenced by the formal use of the adverb. It is also probable that, since the adverb is used in this context by Johannes Chr. *Ep.* 39 (*PG* 52, 631) κἂν μὴ διηλεκῶς γράφωμεν, διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν γραμματηφόρων ἐγκοπτόμενοι, the scribe of the papyrus (and, later, probably also Johannes Chr.) combined two syntaxes, μεμνησθαι ἡμῶν διηλεκῶς and γράφειν ἡμῖν συνεχῶς. In other instances, Johannes Chr. expressed these two phrases clearly in the same context: e.g. *Ep.* 67 (*PG* 52, 645) μεμνημένος τε ἡμῶν διηλεκῶς, καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν γράφῃς, μακροτέρας ποιῶν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας τε καὶ εὐθυμίας καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐνδιατρίβων διηγήμασιν; *Ep.* 70 (*PG* 52, 647) πόρρωθεν ὄντες μεμνησθαι τε ἡμῶν διηλεκῶς μὴ κατοκνεῖτε, καὶ γράφειν ἡμῖν συνεχῶς, ἡνίκα ἂν ἐξῆ, τὰ περὶ τῆς ὑγείας τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι; *Ep.* 129 (*PG* 52, 688) γράφομεν συνεχῶς, μεμνήμεθα διηλεκῶς.

#### δικαίως\* – δικαιότερον\*

The adverb is attested mainly in petitions and legal documents of all periods with the meaning “justly” (see LSJ *s.v.* δίκαιος B, I 2; Bauer *s.v.*). In the private letters it is used with the meaning “justly” when a legal context is described, or with other meanings, e.g. “with reason”; for its meaning “gerecht, richtig” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayer 1936, 124: *PSI* V 502, 21-22 (257 B.C.) μετὰ δ’ ἡμέρας δ καθίσαντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν οὐκ ἔφασαν οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ’ ἀδίκως | συντιμήσεσθαι, with the meaning “rightly, justly” (see LSJ *s.v.* δίκαιος B I 2); *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59300 7 (250 B.C.) δικαίως οὖν Ἀπολλωνίδει φλυαρεῖν ἐπέρχεται, with the meaning “with reason” (see LSJ *s.v.* δίκαιος B II 3); in a fragmentary part of a private letter, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59466 4-5 (middle of III B.C.) οὐ δὴ δι|[καίως ἔ]θου, the adverb is restored, but its use here is debatable; *BGU* XVI 2629 20-21 (4 B.C.) ἀναπέμψω σοι αὐτὸν κτηνοτρό|φους ληψόμενον ὁμνύοντας δικαίως κρίνειν, “I will send him up to you to bring shepherds who swear they will judge justly”, or “equally” (see LSJ *s.v.* δίκαιος B I); *P.Herm.* 6, 20-21 (c. A.D. 317-323) ἐφ’ οἷς δικαίως | τ . . πρ . σι . [ . . ]ς εὐεργετεῖν κατ’ ἐμῆ [χρή, probably with the meaning “justly”. Cf. also the comparative of the adverb in *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59852, 5-6 (243 B.C.) ἵνα ἐγὼ τε τὰ παρὰ σοῦ διδόμενα λαμβάνω δικαιότερον, σὺ τε ἥδιον διδῶς ποιοῦντός τι ἐμοῦ πλέον σοι. In addition, the adverb occurs twice in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 144, 13-15 τοῖς θεοῖς, πρὸς οὓς ὁσίως καὶ {δικ}|αί | δικαίως πολιτευσάμενος ἐμαυτὸν ἀμεμ|ψιμοίρητον παρέσχημαι, and II. 29-30 τὰ πάντ’ οἰκονομεῖσθαι καθαρῶ[ς] | [κα]ι δικαίως.

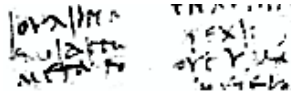
#### διπλασίως

It occurs only in contracts of sales of the late Byzantine period in the clause διπλασίως τὸ τίμημα ἀποδώσειν: *P.Michael.* 45, 61 (A.D. 540); *P.Lond.* V 1686, 40 (A.D. 565); *P.Michael.* 52, 24 (A.D. 631-632).



## δισσῶς\*

For attestations of the adverb in the Greek literature see Bauer *s.v.* III; Wagner 1999, 180. In a letter from Gaius Iulius Apollinarius to his mother Tasoucharion, *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 29-31 (A.D. 108) ἔρωτῶ δέ σε πολλά | τὴν κυ[ρ]ίαν μου Ἰουλίαν μ[η]θὲν λυπ<ε>ῖν | αἰσθομ[έ]νη ὅτι ἐμοὶ δισσῶ[ς ὑπ]ερέχ<ε>ις [ . ], “I ask you seriously not to annoy my lady Iulia in anything, since you know that . . . protects me doubly(?) . . .”. In that sense the adverb indicates Degree. However, the letters ερ cannot be read, and it seems that instead of ρ we should read ι, while the letter before it forms a kind of ligature with this ι, e.g. ει or τι. In addition, the phrase “protect(?) someone doubly” is not found in the classical literature, and probably the verb was not used with the meaning “protect” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὑπερέχω I 2) in this example. Therefore, although the restoration of the adverb δισσῶ[ς] here is probable, it might be debatable.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Mich.&vVol=8&vNum=465>)

## δυενιαυσίως

It occurs in a contract of a loan of money, *P.Amh.* II 148, 8 (A.D. 487), which is probably a coined adverb formed from δύο ἐνιαυσίως or δις ἐνιαυσίως, “twice a year”.

## δυνατῶς

It occurs only in official correspondence, *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 366 (A.D. 298) τοὺς δυνατῶς ἔχοντας οὐσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει, “who should be adequate both in property and in capability”, where the adverb “strongly” refers to the “strength”. For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* δυνατός; Bauer *s.v.*

## δυσκόλως\*

The adverb is used as the antonym of ραδίως and εὐκόλως (see *s. vv.*), and the sense of its use is that “in any case something will be accomplished, but during the operation it will be hard and difficult for someone to complete” (see LSJ *s.v.* δύσκολος; Bauer *s.v.*). It is attested in four letters: one official letter from the Zenon archive, *SB VI* 9220b, 2 (254 B.C.) ἐπεὶ οὖν δυσκόλως οὕτως ἡμῖν συναντῶσιν, and three private letters, *P.IFAO* II 40, 14-15 (III. A.D.) ἐγὼ γὰρ δυσκόλως [εὐ]ρίσκω ἐ[ῖ] | τίς μοι γράψῃ; *P.Oxy.* X 1294, 9-11 (late II - early III A.D.) κόμισαι τὸ τοῦ παναρίου κλειδίον. | [ἐὰν δὲ σὺ] μὴ δυνηθῆς ἀνοῖξαι τὸ πανάριον, δυσκό[λ]ως γὰρ ἀνοίγεται, δὸς τῷ κλειδοποιῷ καὶ ἀνοίξει σοι; *P.Princ.* II 102, 9-10 (IV A.D.) ἐπ<ε>ιδήπερ δυσκόλως ἀνερχό|μεθα εἰς τὴν πόλ[ε]ιν; see *WB IV s.v.* δύσκολος. It always precedes the modified verbal form; cf. also Matthew 19:23 πλούσιος δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν; see Spicq 1978, 218-220.

## δυσόκνως\*

In the first lines of a private letter, *BGU XIV* 2421 (I B.C.), the writer asks the recipient of the letter not to “hesitate to write to us” or not to “write to us very lazy or unwillingly”, μ[ὴ] | δυσόκνως ἡμῖν γράφω (ll. 3-4), “sei so gut und schreib uns umgehend, was Du nötig hast, wenn Du (diesen Brief) bekommst”. The adverb precedes and modifies the participle γράφω, and it is also placed at the beginning of the phrase. This

is the first attestation of the adverb so far in the Greek literature. Later attestations are only found in Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 5.1 ὄρθρου, ὅταν δυσόκνως ἐξεγείρη; Herodian 6.7.1 καὶ δυσσποσπάστως τε καὶ δυσόκνως καταλειπόντων τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν χώραν; Origenes *Comm. Ioan.* 10.42.289 δυσόκνως μετὰπτωσιν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν παραδέχονται οἱ ἀκούοντες; see LSJ *s.v.* δύσοκνος.

#### δυσσεβῶς

This adverb occurs only in a Byzantine testament, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 215-217 (A.D. 570) καὶ ποιηὴν | κατὰ τοῦ ἐθελοκακεῖν δυσσεβῶς βουλευθησομένου κατ' ἀψ[τ]ῶν | ὀρίζων μιᾶς λίτρας χρυσοῦ εἰς ἕκτισιν, where it precedes and modifies the participle βουλευθησομένου. The noun δυσσεβής and the adverb δυσσεβῶς are found mainly in the Greek tragedy (see LSJ *s.v.*, “ungodly, impious, profane”). Pollux 1.22 mentions it as a synonym of ἀσεβῶς, ἀνοσίως, ἀθέως, θεοβλαβῶς, θεομισῶς and ἀθεμίτως.

#### δυστρόπως

This is only restored in the fragmentary part of a Byzantine document, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295 (VI A.D.) ἐπίσταμαί γε ὅσα διὰ τούτους ἀνωρθώθη] δυστρό[πως ἐ]χόμενα, and although the reading is debatable, it could be possible, since the adverb δυστρόπως occurs also in Pollux 3.132 and 5.120, expressing a way to indicate a difficulty or a blame; see also LSJ *s.v.* δύστροπος, citing Philostratus *VS* 1.19.2.

#### δυσχερῶς

The adverb is rarely found in the Greek papyri. In *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59021, 29-30 (258 B.C.), Demetrios writes to Apollonios to inform him about the difficulty of using the gold, οἱ κατὰ πόλιν δὲ πάντες τῶι ἀπο|τετριμμένωι χρυσοῖω δυσχερῶς χρῶνται (see *s.v.* εὐχερῶς, p. 161); see *WB* IV *s.v.* δυσχερής “schwierig, unter Schwierigkeiten” Although the text in *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59768 (275-226 B.C.) is preserved in a very fragmentary condition, the opposition of ρα|δίως εὐρεῖν in l. 10 and the restored δυσ|χερῶς εὐρομεν in l. 13 is striking, but one could also restore οὐκ(?) εὐ|χερῶς; for the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. Moreover, *W.Chr.* 461, 24 (A.D. 200-203) is a petition submitted by the veteran Iulius Valerius. The adverb has also been restored, δυσ|χερῶς, but, since the details of the context are not clear, one should also restore οὐκ(?) εὐ|χερῶς; see *s.v.* εὐχερῶς, p. 161.

Finally, the adverb δυσκερδῶς was restored in a private letter of the Byzantine period, *CPR* VIII 28, 9-12 (IV A.D.) καὶ νῦν με | σφ{ρ}όδρα ἐλύπησεν, ὅτι δυσκερδῶ[ς] | κατεργάζεται τὰ ὑστερούμενα χώ|ματα, “Auch jetzt noch bin ich sehr gekränkt darüber, dass die vernachlässigten Dämme ohne Besserung des Zustandes bearbeitet werden”. However, this adverb does not exist in the Greek literature, and the adjective δυσκερδής is only attested in Oppianus *H.* 2.417 δυσκερδῆ τε φέρων καὶ ἀνέστιον ἄγρην (see LSJ *s.v.*, “with ill gains, ill-gotten”). It has been proposed to read δυσχερῶς by R. Hübner in *Gnomon* 59, 1987, 38 (see *BL* IX, on p. 68), and in the photograph of papyrus, ([https://search.onb.ac.at/primo\\_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=ONB&docId=ONB\\_alma21228936790003338&fn=permalink](https://search.onb.ac.at/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=ONB&docId=ONB_alma21228936790003338&fn=permalink)) δυσχερῶς is the correct reading.

## ἐγγράπτως

For the adjective ἐγγραπτος see LSJ *s.v.*, citing Polybius 12.9.3, Strabo 6.1.8, Diodorus Siculus 1.94. It occurs in documents of the Graeco-Roman period, e.g. *UPZ* I 20, 13 (163 B.C.) etc.; cf. also the noun ἐγγραπτον “written document” in *P.Entreux*. 22, 8 (218 B.C.). In the Greek literature the adverb is attested only in Eusebius *Ecl. Proph.* p. 154 καὶ παρήγγειλε φωνὴν ἐν πάσῃ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ γε ἐγγράπτως, λέγων.

In papyri it occurs in official documents, that is, in a letter of Iuridicus, *BGU* XI 2059, ii 5-6 (c. A.D. 63) βούλομαι οὖν σε παραγγεῖλαι | [ . . . . ] αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλουμένοις ἐγγράπτως | [παρατυχεῖν] ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἐντ[ὸς] ἡμερῶν ἐξήκοντα, and in an official declaration, *P.Oxy.* XLV 3264, 20-22 (A.D. 80-81) ὄνομα[τ]α ἀνδρῶν δεκατρι[ῶν] οἱ καὶ ἐ[γ]γράφτως προσεφώνη|σαν τῷ στρα[τ]ηγῷ.

## ἐγγράφως(\*?)

It occurs in reports, petitions and contracts in all periods, and only in two (official?) letters (see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἐγγραφος “schriftlich”), where it seems that reference is made to certain documents: *O.Claud.* IV 885, 8-9 (c. A.D. 150-154) εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις | καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐγγραφῶς δηλώσας; *P.Apoll.* 33, 7 (second half of VII A.D.) [---] ἐγ[γρά]φως καὶ ἐκ στόματος. See LSJ *s.v.* ἐγγραφος for the attestations in the Greek literature and inscriptions; cf. also Litinas’ correction in *BGU* I 7, 3-4 (A.D. 247), *s.v.* ἐνσαφῶς, p. 282. For the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.*

## ἐγκληματικῶς

See LSJ *s.v.* ἐγκληματικός “liable to cause disputes”, for the adjective, citing Aristotle *EN* 1162b16, *Pol.* 1335a4, and for the first appearance of the adverb ἐγκληματικῶς in Vettius Valens 293.35 (second century A.D.), where there is an opposition of adverbs, κοσμίως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐνεχθῆς, καθὼς προέγραπται, καὶ μὴ ἐγκληματικῶς μηδ’ ἀκροθιγῶς. For the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.* In papyri it is attested in a clause of a dialysis agreement that someone will not bring someone to the court for any reason in order to cause a dispute: *SB* VIII 9763, 19-21 (A.D. 457-474) [μήτ]ε ὑπὸ θείου γράμματος μήτε περὶ οἰουδήποτε πράγματος | [π]ερὶ τῶν μνημονευθέντων κεφαλαίων μήτε χρηματικῶς | μήτε ἐγκληματικῶς, μήτε αὐτῶ μήτε τῶ αὐτοῦ υἱῶ Φοιβάμ[μωνι].

## εἰδικῶς

It is attested only in contracts (leases, sales, etc.) of the Byzantine period, e.g. *P.Bodl.* I 60 (A.D. 553); *P.Lond.* I 113 (VI A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2238 (A.D. 551); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2239 (A.D. 598); *P.Oxy.* LXX 4794 (A.D.580); *SB* I 4687 (VI A.D.), to indicate “in particular” as an opposite to γενικῶς, “in general”; see *s.v.* γενικῶς, p. 104.

## εἰθισμένως

It is attested only once, in a freight contract, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 37, 6 (A.D. 176) καὶ πλεύση τὸν πλοῦν εἰθισμένως; see LSJ *s.v.* “in the accustomed manner” citing Arcesilaus apud Diogenes Laertius 4.35; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*; for the participle εἰθισμένος in the literature see Spicq 1982, 198.

## εικάϊως

It occurs in a petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, iii 18 (A.D. 567) βουλόμενος εικάϊως ἐκ τοῦ συνόλο(υ) αὐτὴν ἐξαλείψαι καὶ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι αὐτὴν παντελῶς and it means “purposelessly” and “rashly”, “at random”; see LSJ *s.v.* εικάϊος 1 and 2.

## εικότως\*

Although the adverb is usually attested in the Greek literature, it occurs rarely and only in documents of the Roman and Byzantine period, with the meaning “reasonably, fairly, naturally, as was to be expected” (see LSJ *s.v.*; *WB* IV *s.v.*). There is only one attestation in a private letter (from Syria?), in *P.Monts.Roca* IV 95, 11-13 (IV-V A.D.) τυχ|ῶν γὰρ τῆς δικαιο|σύνης καὶ αὐ|τὸς φρόντισ|ον ἵνα σὺ| εἰ|κότως ἂν τ|ο|ῦτο ποιή|σε|ι|ας. Cf. also the letter of the Emperor Gordian, *SB* XVIII 13775, 8-9 (A.D. 241/242) εικό|τως ἂν εἴητ|ε| καὶ νῦν ἀπηλλαγμένοι.

## εἰλικρινῶς

The adverb is attested in Plato (see LSJ *s.v.* εἰλικρινής II; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*) with the meaning “without mixture, of itself, simply, absolutely” and in inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* XXIX 1076, 5 from Stratonikeia; 81 B.C.?). It occurs only in an official document, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Poethke* 21, 9 (II-III A.D.); see Th. Kruse’s n. *ad loc.* “Im Gegensatz zum Adjektiv εἰλικρινής und dem Substantiv εἰλικρίνεια war das Adverb εἰλικρινῶς in den Papyri anscheinend bisher nicht bezeugt”; for the noun and adjective see Spicq 1982, 211-214.

## εἰρομένως\*

LSJ *s.v.* and *WB* IV *s.v.* provide the meaning “running on, in order”, “im Zusammenhang stehend” (deriving from the verb εἶρω) for the adverb, citing the only instance in the papyri, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59357, 15-17 (244 B.C.), ἀποστείλας μοι τοὺς | τόμου\ς/, ἵνα εἰρομένως | γράφωμεν τὰ λοιπὰ (see Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 177), where the adverb precedes and modifies the verbal form. The adverb is also attested in the physician Apollonius of the first century B.C. who studied medicine in Alexandria, but he lived in Kition, Cyprus. LSJ refers to the adverb εἰρομένως in his work *Comm. In Hipp.*, where it is found with the meaning “in continuation”; it is probable that it was used with the meaning “unbroken text” in the Zenon papyrus.

## ἐκθύμως\*

For attestations of the adverb in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἔκθυμος, with the meaning “ardently”, in Diogenes Oen.15; ἐρίζειν Lucian *JTr.* 16; “vehemently, bravely” in Polybius 2.67.7 etc. In a letter from Hierokles to Nikanon (Zenon archive), *P.Lond.* VII 1946, 8-9 (257 B.C.) γρ|άφε δὲ σὺ ὦν ἂν χρει|αν| | ἔχη|ς. πάντα γὰρ σοι ποιήσομεν ἐκθύμως, we find the first instance of the adverb, placed at the end of the letter, and modifying the previous verb. The adverb is found again with the meaning “ardently” in a private letter of the Byzantine period, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67064, 11-12 (c. A.D. 538-547) προσκυνῶ | καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐκθύμως τὴν ὑμετέραν πατρικὴν διάθεσιν; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἔκθυμος.

## έκόντως

The adverb occurs rarely in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐκόν III; cf. also Cassius Dio 58.15; Cyrillus, *Comm. in Ioan.* 2, p. 3 (Pusey). It is only once attested, with the meaning “willingly” in a mutual distribution of property among four brothers from Dura-Europos, *P.Dura* 19, 2 (A.D. 88-89) διείλοντο ἐκόντως [πρὸς] ἐ[αυτο]ῦ[ς] Δημήτριος, but it is not found so far in any Greek papyrus from Egypt.

## έκουσίως

It occurs in various documents, usually in the phrase ἐκουσίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως, with the meaning “voluntarily” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐκούσιος II; Bauer *s.v.*), but it is not attested in the private letters; cf. also a decree in an inscription in Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 3, 37 (A.D. 68) τοῖς [βουλομένοις ἐκουσίως προσέρχεσθαι]; for its meaning “willig, gern” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124

## έκπροθέσμως

The adjective ἐκπρόθεσμος is attested for the first time in Philo (e.g. 2.532), and in papyri in the first century A.D. (cf. *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3508, 32, dated to A.D. 70). However, the adverb is not attested in the Greek literature (see only its occurrence in the legal text of *Πρόχειρος Νόμος* 40.93 (9<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century A.D.)), and it occurs in official documents of the third and fifth centuries A.D., therefore it is an *addendum lexicis*: in an official letter of a strategus, *CPR* V 3, 9 (c. A.D. 231-236) ἐκ τῶν ἐκπροθέσμως μεταδοθέντων, and in a loan of money, *P.Amh.* II 148, 11 (A.D. 487) ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ]προθέσμως ὑπερθῶμαι περὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόδοσ[ι]ν; cf. also the opposite ἐμπροθέσμως, which occurs in documents of the late second to the early sixth century A.D. However, the occurrence in *P.Amh.* II 148, 11 ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ]προθέσμως is not certain, since it is a restored text, and one could also restore alternatively ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐμ]προθέσμως.

## έκτελῶς

There is only one attestation in a contract of lease, *BGU* IV 1116, 9-10 (13 B.C.) ὄν καὶ διορθώσεται τῇ Ἀντωνί[α] Φι[λ]ηματί[ω] ἐκτε[λ]ῶς ἕκαστ[ον] ἀνυπόλογο(ν) π[αν]τὸ(ς) ὑπολ(όγου) καὶ ἀνηλώματο(ς), with the meaning “in full, completely” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐκτελής; see Mayser 1936, 123). However, the reading is very uncertain, and debatable.

## έκτενω̄ς\*(?)

With the meaning “earnestly, zealously, vigorously, diligently” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐκτενής II; Bauer *s.v.* in the patristic literature the adverb has a different meaning, “fervently” and refers to the prayers; see Lampe *s.v.*) it is attested in an inscription of the third century B.C., *OGIS* 51, 6-13 (285-246 B.C.; = *SB* V 8855) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δίονυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει, τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται, καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενω̄ς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα, καλῶς δ’ ἔχει τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαιομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς, where there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως. Moreover, with the same meaning it is attested in an inscription of A.D. 22-23, Bernard 1992, no 52, 5-6 (see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἐκτενής) ἐκτε[νω̄ς καὶ] φιλανθρώπως διακείμενος.

An early example of the adverb in papyri occurs in *P.Köln* XVI 651 (middle of II B.C.?), where it is placed together with *προθύμως* and *ἀνεγκλήτως* and refers to accomplishment of tasks; see n. *ad loc.* It is also found in official correspondence of the end of the third century A.D., *P.Michael.* 20, 2-3 (A.D. 277) *πρὸς τὸ ἐκτενῶς αὐ[τ]οῖς ὑπάρχειν τὰ τῆς εὐθeneίας; P.Oxy.* XIX 2228, 38-40 (A.D. 283 or 285) *καὶ φροντίση[ς τὸν] | ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένον ἐκάστη κώμη ἀριθμὸν θρεμμάτων τεθρ[αμ]μένων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχειν [καὶ πρό]νοιαν ποιήση τοῦ ἐκτενῶς αὐτὰ τρέφεσθαι, and P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 375-376 (A.D. 298) *διὸ ἠπείχθη ἐπιστεῖλαί σ[ο]ι ὅπως τούτων πάντων πρόνοιαν ποιήση πρὸς τὸ ἐκτε[νῶς τῆ]ν τοῦ ἄρτου εὐθeneίαν τοῖς γενναιοτάτοις | στρατιώταις γενέσθαι.*

As for the occurrences of the adverb in the private letters, there is only one so far, in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2861, 3-6 (II A.D.) *ὡς κατ' ὄψιν σε ἠρώτη|σα ἐ[κ]τενῶς τὴν ἀπ[αί] | τησ[ι]ν [πο]ιήσασθαι τῶν | παρὰ σοὶ ὀνομάτων, obviously with the meaning “vigorously”, but J.D. Thomas’ note *ad loc.* gives one more possible alternative reading, *ε[ὐ]τῶνως*, which is also problematic (see *s.v.*, p. 158).*

#### ἐκτόπως

It is attested only in an official correspondence, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Petr.* III 53 (j), 14 (255-237 B.C.), *ἐκτόπως φιλάργυρον εἶναι*, with the meaning “extraordinarily”; see LSJ *s.v.* *ἐκτοπος* II 2; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*: Mayser 1936, 122.

#### ἐλεημόνως

It is only attested in *O.Claud.* IV 862, 9-11 (c. A.D. 137?) *ὁ ἐάν σοι | δοκ<ε>ῖ, κύριε, ἐλεημόνως | ποίησον (l. ποιήσον)*, which is an official letter to a military person sent by a corps of masons in the Roman army. The adverb is recorded in Pollux 8.11 (see LSJ *s.v.* *ἐλεήμων*) as one that could be attributed when a case is adjudged, and as one which is used (as well as *φιλοικτιρμόνως*) in a grave sense (*σκληρόν*).

#### ἐλευθερικῶς

The adjective appears only in Plato (see LSJ *s.v.* *ἐλευθερικός*). The adverb is an *addendum lexicis* and occurs in a labor contract, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92, 33-35 (A.D. 569) *ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν πάσαις | δουλικαῖς ὑμῶν ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ χρεῖαις ἀναποστήτως (l. ἀναποστάτως) ἐλευθ[ερ]ικῶς καὶ | ὑποτακτικῶς καὶ ὑπηκόως, and in a petition, P.Lond.* V 1674, 15-16 (A.D. 570) *εἰλ]κύσθημεν εὐγενῶς κ[αὶ] | ἐλευθερικῶς τὸν βίον κατ[αγ]όμεν[ον]*, where the details of the situation are not clear. In the former example the adverb was translated by J.W.B. Barns as “generously”, but if we consider that it is set in contrast to the previous *ἀναποστήτως (l. ἀναποστάτως)* and the next two adverbs *ὑποτακτικῶς καὶ ὑπηκόως*, its meaning is “of his own free will”.

#### ἐλευθέρως\*

In *P.Tebt.* II 284, 2-7 (70 or 41 B.C.) *ἐπικέ|κριταί (or should we read ἐπ<ε> | κέ|κριταί?) μοι μὴ καταβῆ|ναι ἕως τῆς κε, καὶ | ὡς θέλει ὁ Σεκνεβτῦ(νις) | ὁ κύριος θεὸς καταβῆ|σομαι ἐλευθέρως*, Lysimachos tells his sister what is the outcome of an oracular question, “(as?) it has been decided for me that I should not go down till the 25<sup>th</sup>, and as Soknebtynis the mighty god wills it, <then> I will go with boldness (transl. *ed. princ.*; or “I will go come down freely (transl. J.L. White)”. The adverb seems to be part of the

answer given by the god Seknebtynis. The adverb ὕστερον is implied before καταβήσομαι to give sense to the clause. The last two letters of the reading ἐλευθέρως are not certain (see photograph in [http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/apis/apis2?invno=&apisid=534&sort=Author\\_Title&item=1](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/apis/apis2?invno=&apisid=534&sort=Author_Title&item=1), but certainly the reading is not ἐλευθερίως.



The latter has been restored in N. Vega Navarrete, *Die Acta Alexandrinorum in Lichte neuerer und neuester Papyrusfunde*, Pap.Col. XL, 2017, p. 320, no 4.2.1, II 56 εἶμι[ι] ἐλε[υθ]ε[ρί]ως, and it modifies the verb εἶμι, and one may restore alternatively εἶμι[ι] ἐλε[υθ]ε[ρί]ως, since it modifies a verb of motion (as indicated in *loc. cit.*, *app. crit.* Premerstein had restored ἐλε[υθ]ε[ρί]ως. For the use of these adverbs in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἐλεύθερος II and ἐλευθέριος II.

#### ἐμμέτρως

The adjective appears in this sense in Plato; see LSJ *s.v.* ἔμμετρος I 1. The adverb might be used as an antonym of ἀμέτρως, but the latter is not found in the Greek papyri so far. In Egypt it occurs in a Byzantine petition, *P.Flor.* III 295, 4 (A.D. 566-568) ἔως οὗ εὖρωμεν ἐμμέτρως καὶ ὀλι[γ]ί[σ]τ[ι]ως ζῆσαι, where the adverb ὀλι[γ]ί[σ]τ[ι]ως is restored in a mutilated part of the papyrus. The adverb ἐμμέτρως precedes and modifies the infinitive ζῆσαι, and it means that certain people want to live according to certain conditions of life, that is, reasonably and moderately. The reading of the adverb with which ἐμμέτρως is associated is debatable (see *s.v.* ὀλιγίστως, p. 285).

#### ἐμπείρως\*

It is attested in a private letter, with the meaning “by experience” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἔμπειρος II), *P.Fay.* 114, 11-17 (A.D. 100) τὸν | ἐλαιῶνα αὐτοῦ ἐπ<ε>ὶ | πυκνός ἐστιν καὶ | θέλ<ε>ι ἐξ αὐτῶν (*l.* αὐτῶν) ἐκκόψαι φυτά, {ε}ῖνα ἐνπί|ρος (*l.* ἐμπεί|ρως) κοπή τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκκόπτεσθαι, “his olive-grove, as it is too dense and he wishes to cut down some of the trees, in order that those to be cut down may be cut skilfully”. As far as the form ἐνπίρος is concerned, because of the spelling of the word in -ος, one may propose to understand it as an adjective, {ε}ῖνα ἐνπι|ρος (*l.* ἔμπειρος) κόπη (*l.* κόψη?) τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκκόπτεσθαι, “in order that a skilful person cut those to be cut down”, but in that case we have to assume that the scribe used the wrong voice of the verb, and also a word, such as the pronoun τις, after the adjective is necessary to give sense.

#### ἐμόνως

It is only used in the official correspondence of Kurrah ben Sharik with the pagarches Basileios in the early eighth century A.D. with the meaning “being patient of labour” (see *WB* I *s.v.* ἔμπονος; LSJ *s.v.* ἔμπονος I; Lampe *s.v.*): *P.Lond.* IV 1337, 23 (A.D. 709); 1344, 9 (A.D. 710); 1349, 34 (A.D. 710); 1384, 46 (A.D. 708-710).

#### ἐμπορικῶς\*

It is attested in *P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 11-13 (II A.D.) καλῶς ἐποίησας | τὸν οἶνον ἐμπ[ο]ρ[ι]κῶς πωλήσας καὶ μὴ κο|τυλίσας; See LSJ *s.v.* ἐμπορικός III, “in mercantile fashion”, citing Strabo 8.6.16.; see H.G. Ioannidou’s note *ad loc.* “it can reasonably be taken to mean simply ‘wholesale’ in antithesis to κοτυλίσας, ‘selling by the pint’”.

## ἐμπροθέσμως

Its meaning is that something has to be done before the stated time; cf. the opposite ἐκπροθέσμως, p. 115.

It is attested in **official correspondence** (e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 474, 19-20 (A.D. 216); cf. also *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 65 (A.D. 300)), **official letters** (*SB XVIII* 13175, iv 16 (A.D. 194); *P.Oxy.* I 61, 12 (A.D. 221); *P.Bub.* I 1 Kol. I, 8 (after A.D. 224); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4369, 8 (A.D. 345)), **registrations** (*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2567, 10 (A.D. 253)), **loan contracts** (*P.Harrauer* 52, 3 (V A.D.?): *SPP XX* 139, 12 (A.D. 531)), **sureties** (*SPP XX* 128, 9 (A.D. 487)), and **petitions** (*P.Oxy.* LXX 4774, 8 (A.D. 224?)) concerning legal matters of the Roman and Byzantine periods, especially from the third century A.D.

## ἐμφύτως

Its meaning is “having a virtue which is inborn, natural”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἔμφυτος I, citing Philo fr. 70H οὐκ ἐμφύτως ἀλλὰ μεμαθημένος; cf. also Clemens *Str.* 5.14.133 ἐμφύτως καὶ ἀδιδάκτως. In Egypt it occurs in a settlement of claims, *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397, 121-122 (A.D. 545) κ[αί] | ἐμφύτως ἔχοντες πρὸς εὐσέβειαν.

## ἐναντίως\*

It occurs only in *P.Petrie Kleon* 42, b, 16-17 (238-237 B.C.?) ἔγραφόν σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐλογευόμην τὰ δ . . . [---] | ἐπεὶ σὺ γράφεις μοι ἐναντίως, with the meaning “contrariwise” (see *WB* I *s.v.* ἐναντίος (4); LSJ *s.v.* ἐναντίος II 3; Mayser 1936, 124). The modified verbal form γράφω occurs also in Appian *BV* 3.3.22 καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα δ’ ἔφη τοῖς τότε δόξασιν ἐναντίως γεγράφθαι.

The adverb was considered as an alternative (but not a certain) restoration in a petition, *SB XXVIII* 16970, 18 (late VI-early VII A.D.), where we can read either [--- τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας κτήτορας τῆς Στρατονικαίων πόλ[εως, οἱ [--- τοὺς διακειμένους ἐναντίας κτήτορας τῆς Στρατονικαίων πόλ[εως.

## ἐναποδείκτως

It is used in two documents of the sixth century A.D., and its meaning is “demonstrably” (see LSJ *s.v.*): a testament, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 180 (A.D. 570), and an arbitration, *P.Lond.* V 1708, 5 (A.D. 567-568). The adjective ἐναπόδεικτος is attested for the first time in Hippolytus *Comm. in Dan.* 1.8.2 (Lefèvre); cf. Lampe *s.v.*

## ἐναργῶς\* – ἐναργέστερα\*

The adverb ἐναργῶς (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐναργής I 3 “clearly”) is attested in private letters of the third and fourth century A.D., first, in *SB VI* 9415 (18), 3-12 (= *P.Prag.Varcl.* II 39; A.D. 249-268) ὁ πατήρ ἐνὸς τῶν | παρ[ά] σοι | φυ[λ]άκων | προσῆλθέν μοι καὶ | [α]ὐτῶν πληθέν|των διὰ τινα ἀφορ|μὴν [καὶ ἀμ[ . . . ]ως] | ἠν[ . . . ]αι τάχα καὶ σὺ | ἐναρ[γ]ῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦ|το ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς | ἀποστάντας, “der Vater eines der Wächter bei dir, ist zu mir gekommen, da sie [von dir] aus irgendeinem Grunde [den du selbst am besten kennst?] geprügelt wurden; darum haben sie sich ohne Grund entfernt”. However, the modified verbal form either was not written after the correction in l. 8 or it was the word written at the beginning of l. 9. The meaning “openly” occurs in a private letter, *P.Münch.* III 125, 10-13 (IV A.D.) ἀλλ’ ἵνα [ἦ] | [ἐ]νεργέστερα | (I. [ἐ]ναργέστερα) | ἐγὼ \ σοι / μᾶλλον ἀπολογία|σωμε (I. ἀπολογία|σωμαι) καὶ μάλιστα μετ’ ἐνεργοῦς (I. ἐναργοῦς) ἀποδεί|ξεως, where the comparative ἐναργέστερα was written at the beginning of the phrase, but it was then erased by the



scribe in order to express the same meaning with the prepositional μετ' ἐνεργοῦς (*l. ἐναργοῦς*) ἀποδείξεως; see D. Hagedorn, n. *ad loc.*, citing also *M.Chr.* 372 iii 9, *P.Oxy.* XVII 2111, 5, *P.Cair.Isid.* 69, 29. For *BGU* II 401, 18 see *s.v.* ἐνεργῶς.

The adverb also occurs in a legal clause of a marriage contract, *SB* VI VI 8986, 25 (A.D. 641) ἐναργῶς ἀποδειχθεῖσόμενα, where, although the text is partly preserved, it is certain that the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἀποδείκνυμαι.

#### ἐναρέτως

It occurs in a public confirmation of a victory in Olympic Games, *SPP* XX 69, 9-10 (= *Pap.Agon.* 7) (A.D. 264-268) Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ὡ[ρίων ἐ]νδόξως καὶ ἐναρ[έτως ---] | [νικήσας τὸ] τῶν σαλπ[ιγκτ]ῶν ἀγώνισμα, with the meaning “virtuously, valiantly”; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἐνάρετος (2); *LSJ s.v.* ἐνάρετος; cf. also *Lampe s.v.*

#### ἐνδελεχῶς

For its attestations in the Greek literature see *LSJ s.v.* ἐνδελεχής, “continuously, perpetually”. In papyri it occurs only in one petition, where the scribe wrote many adverbs ending in -ως, but the reading of the adverb ἐνδελεχῶς is debatable: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 26-28 (A.D. 548-549) {ε}ῖνα εὔρουσιν (*l. εὔρωσιν*) \ τοῦ λ[οιποῦ] / οἱ ἐνοῖκ[ο]ῦντες ἡσύχ[ως βιῶναι, καὶ εὐκόλως] εἰσφέρει[ν] | τὰ εὐσεβῆ ὑμῶν τελέσματα, \ αἰ / ἐ[νδ]ε[λ]ε[χ]ῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπαύστως ὑπερεῦξασθαι | τῆς εὐζω[ε]ίας καὶ διαμονῆς [το(ῦ) ἀη]ττήτου ὑμῶν κράτους διὰ παντός.

#### ἐνδεχομένως\*

It is used in the correspondence of Theodoros, *P.Petrie Kleon* 83, 3-6 (c. 260-236 B.C.) καλῶς [οὔν] ποιήσεις | φροντίσας ὡς ἐνδεχομένως περὶ αὐτὸν | εἰς τὸ ἐπιγραφῆναι αὐτῶι γραμματεῖαν | οὗ ἂν σοι φαίνεται (see *Mayser* 1936, 125); see *WB* I *s.v.*; *LSJ s.v.* “= ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ‘as it is possible’”. The adverb is used in private and official documents, cf. e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59038, 23-25 (before 257 B.C.) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ πο|λυωρῶν αὐτοῦ χαριεῖ μοι | ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59039, 6 (257 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* XXII 2342, 39. 46 (A.D. 102).

#### ἐνδεῶς\* – ἐνδεέστερον

It occurs in the private letter *P.Michael* 20, 4-6 (A.D. 277) εὔ δὲ [ῖ]σθι ὡς, εἰ ἐνδεῶς περὶ | τοῦτο ἀναστραφείης, ἐν κινδύ|νω οὐ τῶ τυχόντι ἔσει, “be assured that, if you are negligent in this matter, you will be in no ordinary danger”; see *LSJ s.v.* ἐνδεής 6, “defectively, insufficiently, opp. ἰκανῶς”. Furthermore, I can read this adverb at the end of l. 8 of the unpublished first column of a private letter, *P.Princ.* II 69 (image in <http://publ.princeton.edu/sheetreader.php?obj=6h440w05w>) (of which only the second column is published), for which I propose a date in the beginning of the third century A.D. (see *s.v.* εὐδόξως, p. 135).



Moreover, at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. the adverb ἐνδεῶς is used in a public document of uncertain nature, as it is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Berl.Möller* 13, 16. The comparative form is also attested in official documents: In the edict of Hadrian, *P.Heid.* VII 396, 4 (A.D. 136) [καὶ νῦν

ἐνδεέστερον ἀναβῆναι τὸν Νεῖλον, with A. Papatomas' n. *ad loc.* “seltener Form des Adverbs ἐνδεεστέρως (Comp. von ἐνδεῶς = ermangelnd); vgl. LSJ *s.v.* Gemient ist hier ‘mangelhafter als gewöhnlich’”; cf. the same edict in *P.Oslo* II 78, 5; *P.Cairo* inv. 49359, 5; 49360, 4. In the official correspondence preserved in *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 124 (A.D. 300) τοὺς δέ γε ἐνδεεστέρων τὴν δι[ιάδοσιν] ποιησαμένους, the regularization in *ed. princ.* ἐνδεεστέρων is not necessary, since the form is the adverb ἐνδεέστερον, which modifies the participle ποιησαμένους.

#### ἐνδιαθέτως\*

For its rare attestations in the Greek literature and its meaning “from the heart” see LSJ *s.v.* ἐνδιάθετος I 3. It occurs only in the private letter *SB* VI 9156, 5-8 (c. A.D. 300) [καθότι] νῦν ἠθέλησε[ν] καὶ δι' ἡμῶν ἀξιωθῆ[ναι, ὡς] διὰ γραμμάτων τὴν προαίρεσίν σου | [. . .] ον<sup>143</sup> ἐνδιαθέτως ἐνδείξασθαι σπου[δάσ]ης, and probably modifies the following infinitive ἐνδείξασθαι. It seems to be a *parechesis* of ἐνδ(ε)- in the two successive words, but we cannot tell if this figure of speech was deliberate.

Moreover, the adjective ἐνδιάθετος is found in various documents (mainly private letters) of the Byzantine period; cf. Greg. Nyss. *Inscr. psal.*, vol. 5, p. 154 (McDonough) also καὶ θρήνω καὶ δάκρυσιν τὴν ἐνδιάθετον αὐτοῦ τῆς κακίας ἀποστροφὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος; also Georg. Prodr. *Comm. in Herm.*, vol. 7,2 p. 1146 (Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*) ὅτε μὲν βούλοιο ἐνδείξασθαι ἦθος ἐνδιάθετον.

#### ἐνδιαρκῶς

It is an *addendum lexicis*, as it is attested only in a labour contract, *P.Stras.* I 40, 31-33 (A.D. 569) κ[αί] τᾶς ἡμ[ε]ρ[α]ς | χρεῖαις γνησίως καὶ ἐνδιαρ[κ]ῶς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπείξασθαι δουλικῆ | αὐτῆ ὑπηρεσίαν. It seems that this adverb was coined based on the verb ἐνδιαρκέω “genügen, ausreichen” (see *LBG s.v.*, citing Johannes Dam., *PG* 95, 1581 (c. A.D. 700); Joseph Genesius 85,54 (10<sup>th</sup> cent.)), with the influence of the simple διαρκῶς (see LSJ *s.v.* διαρκῆς 2). It has the same meaning as ἀρκούντως.

#### ἐνδόξως\*

The meaning “conspicuously” (see Lampe *s.v.* 2) is found twice in the same private letter, *P.Herm.* 6, 15-18 (c. A.D. 317-323) ἔστι δέ | μοι νῦν ἐπιμελ[ε]ῖς καὶ σφόδρα εὐκταῖον τῶν [μέ]ν σοι κατορθωθέν[των] πραγμάτων τὴν τύχην ἀκριβῶς καταμαθεῖν, ὅπως ἂν | καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' οἷς ἐνδόξως διέκραζων (*l.* διέκραζον) μέγιστα ἦσθῶ; ll. 33-34 ἐρρωμένον σε ἀπολάβοιμι, δέσποτα ἄδελφε, | τῶν ἡμῖν βουλομένων ἐνδόξως τυχόντα; cf. also the occurrence in a decree (Rosetta stone, *OGIS* 90, 32 (196 B.C.) τὰ τ' εἰς τὰς ταφὰς αὐτῶν καθήκοντα διδούς δαφιλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως; see Mayser 1936, 123; Mayser 1933-1934, 177). It is also restored in an honorary inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 41, 7-8 (57 B.C.) ἐ[ν]δοξ[ω]ς καὶ μεγαλομερῶς. For the use of the adverb with the meaning “conspicuously placed” see *WB* I *s.v.* ἐνδοξος; LSJ *s.v.* ἐνδοξος I 2, with reference to *I.Fay.* II 112; 113, 24 (93 B.C.). In three other cases the adverb, usually paired with other adverbs in -ως, refers to victories in games, and its meaning is “gloriously” (see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12, 1960, 351-358): public notification of a victory in Olympic Games, *SPP* XX 699-10 (A.D. 268) Μάρκος Αὐρηλίος

<sup>143</sup> Probably we can restore here [εἰς αὐτ]όν; cf. *M.Chr.* 277, 19; *P.Vindob.Worp* 14, 7.

ἠ[ρίων ἐ]νδόξως καὶ ἐναρ[έτως ---] | [νικήσας τὸ] τῶν σαλπ[ιγκτ]ῶν ἀγώνισμα; notification of a victory at the games, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 69, 8-9 (A.D. 272) ἐνδόξως | [κα]ἰ ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενο[υ]; petition of a sacred victor, *P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5210, 11-14 (A.D. 298-299) ἱερὸν{ε}ἰκής τοῖνον τυγχάνω, ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐπρεπῶς τοὺς ἱεροὺς | ἀγῶνας ... ἀνεδησάμην; cf. also n. *ad loc.*

#### ἐνδρανῶς

It occurs in official correspondence of the seventh century A.D., usually where Kurrah ben Sharik writes to Basileios, pagarches of Aphrodito, that something should be done actively:

*P.Lond.* IV 1332, 10-11 (A.D. 708) σταθῆναι ἐνδρανῶς | εἰς τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν (cf. its duplicate 1333, 12); 1394, 15-16 (A.D. 708-709) εἴ τι δ' ἂν ἦνυσας καὶ ἀγω[νίσ]η | ἐνδρανῶς; 1349, 12 (A.D. 710) ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰς τοῦτο ἐνδρανῶς καὶ ἐμπι[ε]σιμένως; see *WB* I *s.v.*; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 1, 27-28 (A.D. 710) ἐνδρανῶς δὲ καὶ μετὰ πασῆς ἀκριβείας ἐνέχθητι | ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθέσει; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 8, 10-11 (A.D. 710) λοιπὸν | ἐνδρανῶς ἐνέχθητι εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα; *SB* III 7241, 30 (A.D. 710) ἐνδρανῶς \δὲ/ ἐνέχθητι εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα; cf. also the restoration in *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 5, 34 (beginning of VII A.D.) and the text in *P.Apoll.* 63, 13 (second half of VII A.D.), which is preserved in a fragmentary condition.

One might also consider the form ἐνδρανῶς as an opposite of an adverb ἀδρανῶς (coming from ἀδρανής, [ἀ + δραίνω]); see LSJ *s.v.* ἀδρανής, “impotent, feeble, weak, non-efficient”; Lampe *s.v.* ἀδρανῶς). Therefore, it must not be regularized to ἐντράνωσ (as in *W.Chr.* 284; cf. *LBG s.v.* ἐντράνωσ, with the meaning “klar, deutlich”), by assuming that this adverb is a coined one (formed from the adjective ἐντρανος, which, in fact, does not exist, and having a meaning similar to τρανῶς, for which see LSJ *s.v.* τρανής II), since the evidence of *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032, 53-54 (A.D. 551) ἀλλ' εἰς πέρας ἄξει εὐλόγως καὶ σπουδαίως καὶ δικ[α]ίω[ς] | κατὰ πάντα ἐντρανῆ τῶν τρόπον, indicates that the idea of “clearly” is expressed with the prepositional κατὰ πάντα ἐντρανῆ τῶν τρόπον and not with the simple adverb, although it would be expected to be written after three adverbs ending in -ως.

#### ἐνεργῶς

It is used in two official documents: official correspondence, *BGU* VIII 1770, 8-9 (63 B.C.) ἐνεργῶς \φιλοτιμῶς/ διακείμενος εἰς πᾶν τὸ σοὶ | χρήσιμον, where the situation is not clear (because the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition), and the meaning of the adverb might be “productively”. In a surety it is written that it had to be proved that a certain man interacts with a certain woman, *BGU* II 401, 18 (A.D. 618) καὶ ἐνεργῶς ἀποδειχθείη. Its meaning is not clear, since it can be either “when he is in action”, ἐν ἔργῳ (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐνεργός) (cf. also the meaning “practically, actually” in the patristic literature; Lampe *s.v.*), or “clearly” as a mistake for ἐναργῶς (see *s.v.* and *P.Münch.* III 125, 11, 12 and 24n.).

#### ἐνιαυσιαίως

This is used only in a petition, *BGU* XIX 2788, 9 (A.D. 607-608) διαπίπτει ἐνιαυσιαίως τὸ δημόσιον “geht jedes Jahr die Steuerzahlung verloren”, where, obviously, the main meaning of ἐνιαυσιαίως, “lasting a year” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐνιαυσιαῖος I), cannot give sense in this text. Probably the form ἐνιαυσιαίως was written instead of the adverb ἐνιαυσίως, “every year, annually”, and, therefore, it is a mistake of the scribe, who coined this adverb from the adjective ἐνιαύσιος with the ending -αίως (cf. *s.v.* γνησιαίως, p. 105); the adverb has no entry in LSJ.

## ἐνιαυσίως

It occurs in various documents (97 examples so far in DDBDP), usually lease and loan contracts, accounts and petitions, dated to all periods<sup>144</sup>. Its meaning is “annually”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐνιαύσιος II.

## ἐνόμως – ἐνομώτερον

The adverb appears for the first time in papyri in a petition to the epistrategos *P.Turner* 34, 7 (A.D. 216) [εἰ υἱὸς] δικαίως καὶ ἐνόμ[ω]ς τὸ ἴδιον μέρος κέκτηται[ι]. The meaning is κατὰ τὸν νόμον “ordained by law, lawfully, legally” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐνομος I 1; Bauer *s.v.*), as can be seen in an official document (an appointment of a representative), *P.Oxy.* XIV 1642, 25 (A.D. 289) ἀξιοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἔχεσθαι (*l.* ἔχεσθαι) τῆς ἀγορα(νομίας) \ἐνόμω[ς] / [κατὰ τοὺς νόμους] ὀνομασθέντα, where the prepositional was replaced by the adverb.

In addition, the comparative ἐνομώτερον occurs in:

A petition to a strategos, *P.Oxy.* IX 1204, 23-25 (after A.D. 299) Δόμνος ὁ διασημότατος καθολικὸς εἶπ(εν)· καὶ τὸ βιβλίον | τῆς χειροτονείας παρασχεθήτω καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ὡς ἐκέλευσα δειξάτω, ἵνα δὲ ἐνομώτερον ἀκουσθεῖη, παραγγεῖλά | τω τῶ ἐλαμέ[ν]ω αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν δεκαπρωτείαν, in a petition to a logistes, *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2187, 12 (A.D. 304) τῆν δὲ {τὴν} Θαῖσιν ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὸ λογοθέσιον κα[ι] τὴν νομήν παραλαβεῖν ἐνόμω[ς] καὶ κατὰ τὰ κεκρ[ι]μένα ποιεῖν, and in the report of proceedings before defensor civitatis about ownership of some property, *SB* XVI 12692, 25-26 (A.D. 339) ἦδη γὰρ τὴν παραγρα|φὴν ἦν προυτινάμην τῶ σεμνῶ τούτῳ δικαστηρίῳ ἐνόμω[ς] παραθήσομαι πρὸς τὸ ἀναδιδάξαι τὴν σὴν καθαρότητα.

In all these examples the adverb precedes the modified verb. In a Byzantine dialysis, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB* XXII 15801, 10-11 (A.D. 419) τὴν ἔφοδον τετολημκότας ἐνόμω[ς] | [---, it is not certain if the the adverb follows the modified participle, or precedes another verbal form lost at the beginning of l. 11.

## ἐνόρκως

It is attested so far with the meaning “to bind oneself by oath” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐνορκος II a) only in official documents of the second century A.D., when an official submits a report by oath that the information recorded there is correct: e.g. *P.Diog.* 14, 23-25 (A.D. 141-142) ὁ τῆ[ς] κώμης κωμογραμμ[α]|τε[ῦ]ς ἐνόρκω[ς] π[ρ]οσεφώνησεν εἶν[αι] | ἐξ ἄ[τ]ε[λ]ῶν ἐδ[α]φ[ῶ]ν; cf. also *P.Diog.* 13, 13-14; *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 98, 26, 41-42 (A.D. 138-139?); *P.Iand.* VII 139, 24-25 (A.D. 148); *BGU* II 619, 12 (after A.D. 155); *P.Vars.* 11, 1 (A.D. 138-161).

## ἐντελῶς – ἐντελέστερον

The adverb is always attested in formal (official and private) documents (e.g. official letters and circulars, contracts, and petitions) of the Roman period, and in the correspondence of the pagarches Basileios in A.D. 709-710, to indicate that something is accomplished completely or perfectly; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἐντελής I 5. The same is true of the comparative form which is only attested in official proceedings of the fourth century A.D.<sup>145</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> First occurrence: *P.Monts.Roca* IV 81, 5 (III A.D.), a labor contract and lease of pigs. Last occurrence might be *P.Köln* VII 322, 13 (VII-VIII A.D.), an antichretic loan. It also occurs in an official letter, *P.Ross.Georg.* III 8, 11 (IV A.D.).

<sup>145</sup> *P.Oxy.* LIV 3759, 15-17 (A.D. 325) συνχώρησον ἀναγνώνας τὰ ὑπομνή[μα]τα ἀφ' ὧν ἐντελέστερον . . . [.] εἰ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑπ[ο]λείπεται μοι; *SB* XIV 12692, 62 (A.D. 339) ἵνα τοίν[υ]ν ἐντελέστερον ἀναδιδάξω τὴν σὴν ἐμμέλ<ε>ιαν.

ἐντίμως

In Egypt the adverb is only attested in the phrase ἐντίμως ἀπολυθέντας in papyri of the Roman period (until also the fourth century A.D.), and it refers to veterans; see LSJ *s.v.* ἔντιμος I 3 “Lat. *missus honesta missione*”; cf. also the funerary inscription, *SB* I 2477 (II A.D.), from Alexandria. The adverb ἐντίμως is never used in papyri as an opposite of ἀτίμως (an adverb also not found in the papyri), i.e. “in honour”-“dishonourably”.

ἐντόνως(\*?)

It appears only in a divorce agreement, *P.Flor.* I 93, 26-27 (A.D. 569) διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη | ἀπηλλάχθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διαλελύσθαι ἐντόνως καὶ τελείως. The meaning is “eagerly” (see *WB* I *s.v.* ἔντονος; LSJ *s.v.* ἔντονος I 2) or “extremely seriously”. In two private letters, which are preserved in a fragmentary condition, the adverb can be restored; see *s.v.* εὐτόνως.

ἐνωμότως\*

The adverb is used in contracts and legal documents of the Byzantine period with the meaning “confirmed by oaths”; see *WB* I *s.v.* ἐνόματος; LSJ *s.v.* ἐνόματος I 2; Lampe *s.v.* The earliest appearance of the adverb can be found in a petition to a strategos, *P.Ant.* II 88, 7-8 (A.D. 221) καὶ ζητήσεως περὶ τούτω[ν] | γενομ[ένης] ἐχ[ε]ιρογράφησεν ἐνωμότως ἀνελεῖν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν, but this reading is debatable. It also occurs in a private letter, *SB* XXVI 16710, 14-18 (IV A.D.) ἐθάρρησα γὰρ | [περὶ τούτου] ὅτε | ἐν[ω]μοτότως μοι | περὶ τούτου χεῖρα | δέδωκας, as corrected by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 158, 2006, 201-202.

ἐξαιρέτως\*

The meaning of the adverb is “especially” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐξαιρετος IV), and belongs mainly to the vocabulary of the private letters<sup>146</sup>. Its first certain attestation is in *P.Amh.* II 136, 8-12 (A.D. 196-198) περὶ τῶν παρὰ | σοὶ ἔργων ἀμεριμῶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν | οὐδενὶ ἐνλείψει τῶν κατεπειγόν|των, ἐξαιρέτω[ς] τῶν ποτισμῶν | τῶν κτημάτων. The adverb refers to τῶν κατεπειγόν|των as part of an explanatory apposition. The same meaning occurs in three more private letters of the Roman period: in *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2861, 8-10 (II A.D.) προσελθεῖν τῇ ἀπαι|τήσει ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τῶν | στερεῶν ὀνομάτων. In *P.Wisc.* II 84, 18-19 (late II A.D.) τὰ ἀν[θ]ρω[π]ίνα φρονεῖν, ἐξερέτως (*l.* ἐξαιρέτως) | ἐν τούτω κερῶ (*l.* τοιοῦτω καιρῶ), the text was translated as “do not think humanly in excess certainly not at such a moment”, but the adverb ἐξερέτως can be constructed with ἐν τούτω κερῶ, and the meaning of the phrase is “especially during this period”.

On the other hand, the use of the adverb in *P.Lond.* II 144, 3-15 (II-III A.D.) is not clear: {παρακαλῶ} νωθρευσαμένου μου | καὶ ἀσ{ε}ιτήσαντος ἡμέρας δύο | ὥστε με μετὰ τῶν νομαρχῶν | μηδὲ συνδ<ε>ιπνησαι, ἐξαιρέτως | καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου μου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσι|νοῖτου ἀσθήσαντος (*l.* ἀσθενήσαντος), μέχρι σήμε|ρον δὲ καὶ τῶν] ἐπιτηδείων μοι μὴ | παρόν[των, σὲ] παρακαλῶ προνο|ῆσαι ὀνάρ[ιον,] ἵνα δυνηθῇ τὸ παι|δάριον μου ἐλθεῖν πρό[ς] μ[ε] με|τὰ τῶν

<sup>146</sup> For official documents cf. *BGU* I 168 (A.D. 171), 4; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3339, 4-5 (A.D. 191). The texts in the letters *P.Alex.* 23, 4 (I-II A.D.) ]ως πάντας ἐξαιρέτως, *CPR* XXV 22, 12 (late VI A.D.) ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τοῦ ἀγροῦ [---, *CPR* XIV 53, 10 (early VIII A.D.) ]νηφωνα αὐτοῦ ἐξαιρέτως ἢ τῆς [ἀ]μοιβῆς are fragmentary, and the meaning of the adverb there is not clear.

ἐπιτηδεῖων. δέομαι οὖν | κύριέ μου μὴ ἀφεῖναι με ἐπὶ | ξένης ἀδιαφορηθῆναι. It seems that in this text the adverb ἐξαιρέτως is not used with the meaning “especially”, but with the meaning “besides, in addition, moreover” (equivalent to προσέτι, πρὸς τούτοις). Otherwise, we must assume that the adverb modifies the participle ἀσθήσαντος, and its meaning is “in a special degree”, which might imply “exceedingly” (equivalent to διαφερόντως, ὑπερβαλλόντως), or “excessively” (equivalent to σφόδρα, λίαν, περισσῶς).

The meaning “especially” is attested in the Byzantine period in various official documents (e.g. petitions and contracts), but mainly in private letters:

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1675, 6, which is dated to the third century A.D., but the handwriting should be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (as can be seen in the photograph; my correction was also submitted to papyri.info); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 9, 20 (late IV A.D.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67064, 13 (c. A.D. 538-547); *SB* XX 14626, 19 (c. A.D. 573-574 or c. 589-590); *PSI* XIV 1429, 7 (VI A.D.); *SB* VI 9138, 10 (late VI A.D.); *SB* VI 9396, 10 (second half of VI A.D.); *P.Bas.* 19, 6 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 4006, 8 (VI-VII A.D.); *PSI* XIII 1345, 13 (second half of VII A.D.); for its attestations in the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.*

#### ἐπαξίως\*

It occurs in a private letter, *P.Kellis* I 63, 28-30 (first half of IV A.D.) μόνος γὰρ ὁ δ[ε]σπότης ἡμῶν | [ὁ] π[α]ρ[ά]κ[λ]ητος λικανὸς/ ἐπαξίως ὑμᾶς εὐλογῆσα[ι] | κ[α]ὶ τ[ῶ]ν δέοντι καιρῶ ἀνταμείψα[σθ]αι, with the meaning “deservedly”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπάξιος 2.

Moreover, it is attested in official documents, such as an election of a κεφαλαιωτῆς of a corporation, *PSI* XII 1265, 10 (A.D. 426) ἐξο[υ]σίας σου οὔσης προ[σηνα]γκάσθαι τοῦτον [καὶ] ἐ[πα]ξίως ὀρίσ[αι] κα[τ]ὰ το[ῦ] σφάλλοντος ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος; cf. also *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 108 (A.D. 300).

#### ἐπαφροδίτως

The adjective occurs in a private letter, *P.Oxy.* LVI 3852, 16-19 (II A.D.) ἐπειδὴ | χρεία σο[ύ] ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ σὴ παρ|ουσία ἔσται ἢ | μ[ε]τ' ἐν ἐπαφρό|δι[ε]ίτος.

The only certain occurrence of the adverb can be found in a rescript of a list of wells near Hibis, *SB* XIV 11938 (A.D. 246-249), edited by P.J. Parsons in *JEA* 57, 1971, 165-180. It is equivalent of *feliciter*, and it is comparable with ἐπαφροδίτος ἡγεμονία, usually found in papyri (see *loc. cit.*, on p. 166, n. 1). There is one more occurrence of the word επαφροδ in a report concerning brick-making, in *P.Bodl.* I 162, 1-4 (II A.D.), ἐν Πελείου δωρ(εᾶ) ἐπαφροδ(ίτως) | δηλ( ) κατακεχρησθαι εἰς | πλιθουλκίον (*BL* XII, on p. 41; *ed. princ.* πλιθουλκίαν) ἔτι ἀπὸ | τρίτ(ου) (ἔτους), where the editor, R.P. Salomons, n. *ad loc.*, notes that it can be interpreted either as the adverb ἐπαφροδ(ίτως), similarly with the use found in the previous document, or as the name Ἐπαφρόδ(ίτος) in the dative, to indicate the recipient of the report.

#### ἐπαφροδιτικῶς\*

The adverb ἐπαφροδιτικῶς occurs in a private Manichaean letter, *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4965, 25-27 (IV A.D.) Θεόγνω|στον καὶ ἐπαφροδιτικῶς | του [ . . ] δ[ . . ] Ἀθανασίου, “Theognostos, and with a warm heart... of Athanasios”, where the editor, C. Römer, notes (*ad loc.*) that it stands for ἐπαφροδίτως, cites a passage of Alcipliron 4.16.4, and refers to P.J. Parsons in *JEA* 57, 1971, 166, n.1; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπαφρόδιτος I “lovely, fascinatingly, charmingly”, citing the adverb in the phrase ἐπαφροδίτως γράφειν in Dionysius Hal. *Lys.* 11, with references also to Alcipliron 2.1 and Philostratus *VA* 6.3.

## ἐπαχθῶς\*

The adverb is used in a metaphorical sense, with the meaning “grievously, invidiously”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπαχθής II. The first occurrence in the papyri is in a petition to a Prefect, *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3302, 3-4 (A.D. 300-301) ἔ[δ]ει μὴ πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς | ἀπευκτέως (*l.* ἀπευκταίως) παρὰ τῆς τύχης μου συμ [c. 18 letters] ἐπαχθῶς με βιάζεσθαι, “it was not right that on top of these accidents that have occurred, contrary to my hopes, as a result of my own destiny, (anyone?) should burden me with rough treatment”, but it is not certain whether it modifies the following verb βιάζεσθαι or a verb lost in the previous lacuna.

It is also found in a private letter of the sixth century A.D., *P.Rain.Cent.* 79, 5-6 ἐπ<ε>ιδῆ [ . . . ] [ἐπ]αχθῶς φέρετ[α]ί | μοι ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης Παῦλος, where it modifies the following φέρεται.

Although ἐπαχθῶς and βαρέως have a similar meaning (“heavy to bear” or “grievous”), there is a difference concerning their sense and use: The effects of βαρέως remain on the subject of the modified verbal form, while in the case of ἐπαχθῶς the results of the action of the verb affect the feelings of another person.

## ἐπειγμένως

It occurs in the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, ii 19-20 (A.D. 567) οὐδέποτε ἐ[ν] ὑστερησῶ γεναμένοι τῶν βασιλικῶν \φόρων/ καὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς, καὶ ταύτην ἐπειγμένως κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἡμῶν ἀεὶ σπο(υ)δαίως ἐπειγόμεθα | καὶ τὴν ἐφετινὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐνηργοῦντες ἐμβάλλεσθαι; see *s.v.* σπουδαίως, p. 230; cf. Lampe *s.v.*, citing Gregorius Nyss., *PG* 46, 420 for the meaning “hurriedly, hastily”, and Theodorus Stud., *PG* 42,140 for the meaning “eagerly”. It is interesting that in the papyrus the repetition of the same words or words that are formed from the same stem are played in the same phrase: ἐπειγμένως - ἐπειγόμεθα, ἐμβολῆς - ἐμβολὴν - ἐμβάλλεσθαι.

ἐπεικῶς<sup>147</sup>

Although the adverb is very well attested in the Greek literature<sup>148</sup> and, because of its meaning (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπεικῆς III, “fairly, tolerably, moderately, mildly, kindly, generally, usually”; Spicq 1978, 263-267), could be used both in official documents and everyday language, its appearance in papyri is rare. It is attested in the proceedings of the Senate, *P.Oxy.* XII 1414, 23 (A.D. 271-272) οἱ βουλευταὶ εἴπ(ον)· ἐπει{ε}κῶς ὁ πρῦτανις, and in two documents, which are dated to the Byzantine period: a petition, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295 10-11 (second half of VI A.D.) ὥσττε μ[η]τ[ε]μίαν συναρπαγὴν γενέσθαι [μήτε] κενотоμίαν κατὰ τῶν ἐπεικῶς βιούντων παρὰ τῶν | [ἀσεβούντων; a testament, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 236-238 (A.D. 570) καθ' ὅσο[ν] ἐπεικῶς | καὶ σπουδαίως κέχρηται περὶ πάντων ὁτιοῦν εὐάρεστον τῶ [Θε]ῶ | ἀγαθὸν ἔργον.

<sup>147</sup> It is not certain if the reading ἐπισκετερον in a letter of Tiberius, *P.Tebt.* II 484 descr. (A.D. 14) ἀντίγρ(αφον). Τιβέριος πράκτωρσει. καὶ τῶι πρώτῳ(ι) μηνὶ ἐκοιλάνατ[ε] τῆ ἀριθμησί καὶ ἐπι<ει>κέστερον ὑμῖν ἐχρησάμη(ν), should be restored as the comparative of ἐπεικῶς.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. e.g. J.L. Calvo, “El concepto de ἐπιείκεια de Platón a Plutarco, Plutarco, Platón y Aristóteles”, in A. Pérez Jiménez et al. (edd.), *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la I.P.S. (Madrid-Cuenca, 4-7 de Mayo de 1999)*, Madrid, Ediciones Clásicas, 1999, 45-62, esp. 48-49.

## ἐπικινδύνως\*

It occurs in *P.Oxy.Hels.* 47a, 10-12 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔτι | καὶ νῦν ἐπικιν|δύνως ἔχω{1} and *P.Oxy.Hels.* 47b, 3-4 ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπικινδύ|γως ἔχω, two private letters, which are dated to the second century A.D. and are sent by the same person. The expression has the meaning “I am still dangerously ill”, but one should also take it to mean “I am still in a precarious or critical state”, as in LSJ *s.v.* ἐπικίνδυνος 3, citing Euripides, fr. 682 ἡ παῖς νοσεῖ σου κάπικινδύνως ἔχει.

The adverb also occurs in a list of repairs needed to various buildings, which were recorded in a report to the *logistes*, *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4441, vi 18 (A.D. 316) π[ά]νοι (*l.* πάνυ) παλαιωθεῖς καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἔχων, “very antiquated and in a dangerous condition”. The adjective ἐπικίνδυνος does not occur in the papyri.

## [ἐπικλόπως] – ἐπικλοπώτερον

In the petition *CPR XV 7, 2* (A.D. 14) the form ἐπικλοπώ[τερον ---] “in modo piu ingannevole” is restored as an adverb. The adjective is well attested in the Greek literature, but the adverb ἐπικλόπως and its comparative ἐπικλοπώτερον are rare (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπίκλοπος 1, “thievish, tricky”, citing Plato *Lg.* 781a (for the adjective) and Procopius *Arc.* 25, *Goth.* 4.30 (for the adverb); for ἐπικλόπως cf. also Olympiodorus, *Comm. Job*, p. 152 and 176.

## ἐπιμελῶς\* – ἐπιμελέστερον

The adverb is attested in all types of documents in all periods<sup>149</sup>. Its meaning is always “carefully, attentively”, and, therefore, it should be regarded as an adverb of Manner; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιμελής I 2; Bauer *s.v.*; cf. Spicq 1978, 276; *WB IV s.v.* ἐπιμελής.

In the private letters, it is used mainly in the Ptolemaic and rarely in the Roman and Byzantine periods. It is usually placed before the modified verbal form:

*P.Mich.* I 78, 4-5 (middle III B.C.) ἐάν τί σοι βούλη γίνεσθαι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς [---] | ἅμα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 26, 4 (255 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς οὔ[ν] c. 14 letters φύτε|γσον; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 27, 5-6 (254 B.C.) καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιμελῶς | γενέσθαι; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59314, 3 (250 B.C.) νῦν αὐτὸ ἐπιμελῶς ποιήσον; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 49, 11-12 (244 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς οὖν ἀποδοῦς αὐτοῖς σπούδασον | ἀγαγεῖν εἰς οἰκονομίαν; *PSI VI 637, 5* (after 256 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς [ἔκ]θες τὰ προ|γράμματα; *PSI VI 590, 5* (middle III B.C.) φροντίσας ἐπιμελῶς; *SB V 7600, 5* (A.D. 16) τὸν [ἴ]ππον μου ἐπιμεβλήψης (*l.* ἐπιβλέψης) ἐπ[ε]μελῶς; *P.Sarap.* 80, 11 (A.D. 90-133) ἐπιμελῶς ἀναστραφῶσιν; *P.Fay.* 121, 7 (after A.D. 110) ὁ καὶ ἀλεί|ψεις ἐπιμελῶς; *SB XIV 11374, 11-12* (after A.D. 168) ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάζε[ιν] | τίνες εἰσὶ οἱ τῶ ὄντι ἀνακεχωρηκότες; *P.Mich.* VIII 489, 12 and 13-14 (II A.D.) τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελῶς . . . ἰανση καὶ π[άντ]α γε|νέσθω ὡς ὑπέσχου μοι καὶ τῶν . . . δίων τὰ ἔργ[α] ἐπι|με|λῶς ἐφόδευσον; *P.Oxy.* XII 1581, 14 (II A.D.) διὰ π[αντ]ῶς ἔχε | τ[ὸ]ν Σαραπίωνα ἐπι|με|λῶς; *P.Flor.* II 236, 8-9 (A.D. 266) ἐπι|μελῶς οὖν τρυγᾶτε; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1675, 14-15 (III A.D.) ἵνα οὖν καὶ | σὺ ἐπιμελῶς χρήση; *P.Köln VI 281, 8* (VI A.D.); ἵνα φυλαττόμενος ἐπιμελῶς ἔλθῃ, “damit er sorgfältig bewacht ankornmt”; ll. 15-17 ἀλλ' οὕτω σε ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήσῃ | ἐπιμελῶς πάνυ παράπεμψον αὐτόν ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῇ | φυγεῖν “Also sei Gott Dir gnädig! Überstelle ihn ganz sorgfältig unter Bedeckung, damit er nicht entfliehen kann!”.

In some examples it is uncertain which verbal form is modified by the adverb ἐπιμελῶς:

ἔρω|τήσας... ἐπιμελῶς... οἱ ἐπιμελῶς... γνοῦς... in *SB XII 11017, 3-5* (A.D. 12) ἔρω|τήσας ὠρίωνα τὸν σιτολόγον (*l.* σιτολόγον) ἐπιμελῶς τὴν | ἀσφαλὴν φάσιν γνοῦς; ἡγόρασας ἐπιμελῶς οἱ ἐπιμελῶς τήρησον in *SB XVIII*

<sup>149</sup> For the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124; also Th. Buckhuys in *P.Köln XVI 649, 3n*. Apart from private letters cf. also documents such as **public notices**, *SB XVI 12504, 38* (after A.D. 135); **petitions**, *P.Würzb.* 9, 63 (A.D. 161-169); **contracts**, *SPP XX 32, 20* (A.D. 231-232); **medical prescriptions**, *SB XXIV 15917* (II A.D.); *SB XXVIII 17139, 12* (V A.D.).



13211, 2 (I-IV A.D.) a business letter, τούς ἡλους, | οὐς ἡγόρασας, ἐπιμελῶς τήρησον, ὅπως | Τύραννος ὁ κυβερνήτης μαρτυρήση μοι, ὅτι | διὰ αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἔδαπανήθησαν; ἀποστέλλει... ἐπιμελῶς οἱ ἐπιμελῶς θρέψον in *P.Flor.* II 149, 5 (A.D. 266) τούς δύο ταύρους | οὐς ἀποστέλλει σοι | Ὡρίων ὁ φροντι|στῆς ἐπιμελῶς | θρέψον ἵνα δυνη|θῆ τῆ β ἀνελθεῖν.

In some examples, however, which are dated the third century B.C., the phrases γράφω ἐπιμελῶς and ἀποστέλλω ἐπιμελῶς do not mean “I write a letter carefully“ and “send something carefully”, but the adverb seems to function as an alternative way to say “take care to write or send”, which is usually expressed with the phrase “μὴ ἀμελήσης + infinitive” or “ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεις” or “ἐπιμελήθητι”:

γράφω ἐπιμελῶς: e.g. *PSI V* 533, 12 (258-257 B.C.) καλῶς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃς καὶ γράψῃς | ἐπιμελῶς καὶ δοῦς Ἐρμωνι τῶν εἰς τὴν | ναῦν ὅσα μὴ δύναται ἄνωθεν ἀγορασ|θῆναι, ἵνα ἐκ πόλεως ἀγορασθῆ; *PSI VI* 614, 14-15 (before 257-256 B.C.) γράφε δὲ καὶ | Ἡραγόραι, ἐάν τί σοι | προσπίπτῃ τῶν | καθ' αὐτόν, ἐπι|μελῶς αἰεὶ γὰρ | πυνθάνεται εἴ τι | ἦκει γράμμα παρὰ | σου; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59284, 5-7 (251 B.C.) ἐάν δὲ οἱ κληροῦχοι| μὴ ᾧσιν τεταγμένοι ἐν τοῖς | περὶ σὲ τόποις, γράψῃς ἐπι|μελῶς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστάτην τὸν ἐκεῖ ὄντα, ἵνα διὰ σὲ μὴ ὀλιωρῶν|ται, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνωσιν τῆς πάσης φιλανθρωπίας] where the adverb is restored. Therefore, in *PSI VIII* 899, 4 (III A.D.) πολλαῖς σοι ἐ|γραψα ἔλθιν. [γρά|] φων μοι ἐπι|μελῶς ἢ (l. εἰ) ἔρχῃ, the restoration ἐπι|μελῶς is debatable, since only the ending -ως of an adverb can be read with certainty; cf. ἀσφαλῶς μοι [γρά|] φων in ll. 9-10.

ἀποστέλλω ἐπιμελῶς: e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59025, 19-24 (258-256 B.C.) καλῶς | οὖν ποιήσεις ἀποστέλ|λων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπι|μελῶς, ἐάν τινας χρέ|αν ἔχωσιν, καὶ ποιῶν | αὐτοῖς; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59190, 6 (255 B.C.) ἐπιμελῶς ἀπόστειλον; *P.Mich.* I 33, 8-11 (254 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν οὖν | ποιήσῃς ἐπιμέλειαν ποιού|μενος περὶ ὧν ἂν σοι | ἐντυγχάνῃ; *PSI VI* 557, 1 (256 B.C.) ἐπι|μελῶς [ἐπισ(?)]τέλλων; *PSI V* 519, 4 (250 B.C.) ἀποστέλλειν ἐπιμελῶς καθὰ ἂν γράφῃς; *P.Eleph.* 10, 5-6 (223-222 B.C.) καὶ τοῦ[το ποιή]σας ἐπιμελῶς | ἀπόστειλ[ο]ν ἡμῖν; *P.Eleph.* 12, 3-4 (223-222 B.C.) ὡς ἂν οὖν ἀναγνώσῃς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παραδειξὸν αὐτῶι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους | ἐπιμελῶς.

In addition, in some instances in the Zenon archive in the third century B.C., although the adverb ἐπιμελῶς occurs close to an expression of time, it does not seem to have a temporal meaning:

*P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59585, 8-10 (middle III B.C.) καὶ τοῦτο | [ἐπι]μελῶς καὶ ἐν τάχει ποιήσατε, ὅπως μὴ πλείους | [ἡμέρας] ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει [ποιῶ] ἐλκώμεθα; *P.Mich.* I 55, 6 (c. 240 B.C.) καλῶς ποι|ήσεις ὑπὲρ ὧν Πτολεμαῖος | ἀδελφὸς ἀναπέπλευκεν πρὸς | σέ | ἐπιμελῶς διοικήσας, ἵνα τα|χέως πρὸς με ἀναστρέφῃ | καὶ μὴ ἐπικωλύωμαι ἐάν | δέῃ ἀναπλεῖν; *PSI IV* 387, 1-2 (244 B.C.) ἐάν τινας χρεῖαν ἔχῃς, διδόνα[ι τῶι δείνα] | τὰ γράμματα, ὅς ἐπιμελῶς α[ς]. 11 letters] αὐθημερόν; cf. also *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59562, 6 (after 253 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν | ποιήσε[τ]ε ἐπι[μελῶς φροντίσαντες] | ὅπως τὸ τάχο[ς], if the the restoration of the adverb is correct.

Texts preserved in a fragmentary condition, where the meaning of the adverb is not clear:

*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59389, 5 (256 or 255 B.C.) τὰ δι[ε] δ[ε]λεφά[κ]ια --- | ἐπιμελῶς καὶ τοκάδας ὅτι πλείστας ---]; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59397, 4 (middle III B.C.) χαριεῖ μοι ἀντι|λαμβανόμενος α[ὐτοῦ ---]ν γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59442, 11 (middle III B.C.) καὶ .ε. ὧν ταῦτα ἐπιμελῶς; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59593, 11 (middle III B.C.) ἐπι|μελῶς ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ; *P.Lond.* VII 2103, 3 (middle III B.C.) ἐπιστολή | πρὸς ἡμᾶ[ς] ἐπιμελῶς | .ρηται.

The adverb also occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 108, 15-17 (end of II A.D.) τούς μὲν ἀγκύλην ἔχοντας διάνοιαν ἐπιμελῶς δεῖ μισθὸν ἀμαθίης λαβόντας ὅψε ποτε φρονῆσαι, where it precedes and modifies the participle λαβόντας.

The comparative form occurs both in official documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods<sup>150</sup> and private letters of the Ptolemaic period: *PSI V* 514, 1-3 (251 B.C.) ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τῶν | εἰς τὰ στεφανηφόρια ξενίων πλεονάκις προστέτα[χε]ν | ἐπιμελέστερον.

<sup>150</sup> **Official correspondence:** *P.Ryl.* IV 572, 54-55 (II B.C.) ἐπι|μελέστερον λαβὲ πα[ρ] αὐτῶν] χειρ[ο] | γραφίαν ὄρκου βασιλικῶ, where because of the fragmentary state of the text it is not clear if it is an adjective or adverb; *O.Krok.* I 87, 97-98 (A.D. 118) ἔσπευσα {ε}ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν [ἐ]π[ε]μελέστερ[ον] | προσέχητε (cf. also the comparative forms in the same document in l. 100 ἀσφαλῆστερον (l. ἀσφαλέστερον) and ll.104-105 σαφέστερον (see s.v.); **petition:** *P.Hamb.* I 35, 12-13 (A.D. 152-162) ἵνα καὶ ἡ εἴσπραξις ἐπιμελέστερον | γίν[η]ται; **official declaration:** *P.Princ.* II 27, 3 (A.D. 191-192) φρόντισον πρὸ καιροῦ διαπέμψασθαι ἐπιμελέστ(ερον).

Apollonios writes to Zenon and informs him about the order of the king. Because of the way the phrase is written, it looks like that this order was only one word, that is, a single adverb ἐπιμελέστερον. The necessity that (1) everything has to be according to this saying and this will, and that (2) no delays happen, is stressed by the following colloquial phrases and imperatives, (Il. 3-4) νύκτα οὖν ἡμέραν ποιούμενος | κατάπεμψον, and (Il. 5-6) καὶ σπούδασον μάλιστα μὲν πρὸ πλείονος, εἰ δὲ μή, τό γ' ἐλάχιστον; *PSI* IV 405, 20-23 (middle of III B.C.) ἐπιμελέστερον σύν|ταξον Θεοπόμπω διδό|ναι ταῦτα τῶι υἱῶι μου | Πτολεμαίωι, where, because of the position of the adverb at the beginning of the clause, it is uncertain which verbal form, σύνταξον or διδόναι, is modified; *P.Oxy.* 17, 9-11 (II B.C.) τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς [ἀ]|δικίας ἐπιμελέσ|τερόν σοι γενηθήτω {}. In *PSI* VI 568, 5 (253-252 B.C.) we can restore ἐπιμελέ|στερον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.

The superlative is restored in the private letter *P.Berl.Cohen* 15, 11-12 (II-III A.D.) κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ἡμῶν [λ]ήμψωμεν | αὐτὸ ἐπιμελέστ[ατα, in a text that is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and one might better supply the comparative ἐπιμελέστ[ερον].

#### ἐπινόσως\*

The first attestation in papyri is in a petition, *P.PalauRib.* 1, 9 (A.D. 245-246) ἐπινόσως [ἔχουσα]. The modified verb ἔχουσα has been restored based on parallels of the fourth century A.D., where the adverb precedes and modifies ἔχω: a daybook of the *curator civitatis*, *P.Oxy.* LX 4075, 7 (A.D. 318) ἐπιγ[ό]σως ἔσχηκ[εν]; a will, *P.Oxy.* VI 990 (A.D. 331) ἐποίησα νοοῦσα καὶ φρονουῖσα ἐπινόσως ἔχουσα; proceedings, *P.Oxy.* LIV 3758, 137-138 (A.D. 325) Τανεχ[ῶ]ντις ἐπινόσως ἔχ[ου]σα/ | μετεκαλέσατό με; and a private letter, *P.Oxy.* VI 939, 21 (IV A.D.) εἰ μὴ ἐπινόσως ἔσχηκει τὸ σωματίον “if he had not been ailing”.

#### ἐπιπόνως

It occurs twice in the same testament, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 184-188 (A.D. 570) καὶ βούλομαι καὶ κελεύω | τὴν πᾶσαν τῶ(ν) ἀρρώστων φιλοκαλίαν τε καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν | καὶ διαίτησιν περαιωθῆναι ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐπιπόνως | ἀκαταφρονήτως, εὐσεβεῖ<α> καὶ φόβῳ Θεοῦ καλλιεργουμένην, | μετὰ σπουδῆς πάσης καὶ ἐπιεικείας; Il. 239-241 καὶ εἰκότως φροντίζειν | ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐπιπόνως τῶν εἰρημένων δειλαίων μου | τέκνων καὶ τῶν τούτων ἐλάχιστων πραγμάτων, with the meaning “laboriously, patiently”, mentioned together with other adverbs ending in -ως; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπίπνος I 2 and II.

#### ἐπιστημόνως

It is used in official correspondence, *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 271-272 (A.D. 300) ναυπηγούς ὀκτῶ τῶν θεραπέειν ἐπιστημόνως [δυναμέν]ων εὐθέως ἀπο|στείλατε, with the meaning “acquainted with”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιστήμων I 2 and II.

#### [ἐπιστρεφῶς] – ἐπιστρεφέστερον

The positive of the adverb does not occur so far in the papyri; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιστρεφής II, for its attestations in the literature, with the meaning “earnestly,

vehemently”. Only the comparative form occurs in official documents, mainly petitions, of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods<sup>151</sup>.

#### ἐπιφαλῶς

It is an adverb that always precedes and modifies the verb ἔχω, in official documents (mostly petitions), while the subject of the verb could be a person, an animal (“to be in danger to die”), or a building (“to be in danger to fall”); see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιφαλής: In a petition of a woman to the strategos the adverb describes the situation of her father, *P.Oxy.* I 76, 20-21 (A.D. 179) νοσήσας ἐπιφα|λῶς ἔχει; in another petition the adverb refers to the condition of a bull, *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2849, 18-19 (A.D. 296) συμβέβηκεν τὸν ἕνα τῶν ταύρων πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ | ποδὸς ἀπομεμνηκέναι καὶ ἐπιφαλῶς ἔχειν; in the petition it refers to the condition of a house, *SB* XXVI 16666 13-15 (A.D. 315) ἐπ<ε>ὶ οὖν ἐπισ|φαλῶς ἔχει ἡ π[ροειρημ]έ[ν]η οἰκία | κ[αί] δεομένη. It is also used in a report concerning work in a public building, *CPR* XXIII 32, 4 (A.D. 450) τὸ παρ’ ἡμῖν θέατρον καὶ τὸ βῆμα[ω]ς]τε τὰ ἐπιφαλῶς ἔχοντ[α].

#### ἐπιτηδείως(\*?)

H.C. Youtie restored the text of a copy of a decision of the Prefect (*P.Oxy.* I 40, 8-9 (II A.D.)) impeccably as διδάξον τ[ὸν στρα] | τηγόν, εἰ ἰατρὸς εἶ δημοσ[ι]εύων ἐπιτη[δείως], but at the same time he considered the restoration of the adverb uncertain and proposed the restoration of the adjective as alternative possibility; see his translation in, “A Reconsideration of *P.Oxy.* I 40”, *Festschrift Oertel*, 28-29, n. 32, “notify the strategus if you are a physician with a public practice and suitable qualifications”. Furthermore, the adverb is read in a fragmentary part of an official letter of the Senate to the strategus, *P.Mert.* II 90, 20-21 (A.D. 310 or 311), but its context there is not clear.

The adverb also occurs in a private letter, *P.Oxy.* VI 938, 5-7 (late III-IV A.D.) ἡπέι|χθην καὶ νῦν σοι γράψαι ὅπως αὐτῆς ὥρας γομωθῆναι ἐπιτηδείως τὰς σαργάνας | ποιήσας ἀποστείλης, “I hasten to write to you now once more and beg you instantly to get the baskets properly laden and send them off ” The position of the adverb ἐπιτηδείως (between the infinitive γομωθῆναι and the object τὰς σαργάνας) indicates that it modifies the infinitive and not the main verb ἀποστείλης. Finally, in another private letter, *P.Mich.* III 219 + 215, ll. 11-12, the editor P. Heilporn (see “Des Nouvelles de Paniskos”, *BASP* 49, 2012, 119-138) proposed to restore ἐπιμέλ[ε]τε | [σὲ σπουδ]έως (*l.* σπουδαίως) ἄλλω[ν] instead of the proposal ἐπιτη[δέως] of the previous editor J.G. Winter.

<sup>151</sup> **Ptolemaic period: petitions:** *SB* XXIV 16295, 33-36 (199 B.C.) ἀξιῶ σε γράψαι τῷ Χαιρεφάνει | ἐπιστρεφέστερον ἐνεχυρά|σαντα αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαι | ἐπὶ σέ; *UPZ* I 24, 23-24 (162 B.C.) συντάξει | ἐπιστρεφέστερον τῷ Μεννίδει χρηματίσαι (see Mayser 1933-1934, 183); *UPZ* I 51, 21-22 (161 B.C.) συντάξει ἐπιστρεφέστερον <τῷ Ψυνταήτι> ἀπο|δοῦναι; *P.Mil.Congr.* XIV, on p. 34, 15-16 (second half of II B.C.) ἀξιῶ οὐ[ν] σε] συγγράψαι ἐπιστρε|φέστερον [τῷ] ἐπιστάτῃ; *BGU* VIII 1856, 16-19 (64-44 B.C.) ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνηται γράψ[α]ι τ[ῷ] αὐτῷ] | Ἀρτεμιδώρω ἐπιστρεφέστερον τὴν [πράξιν] | παρὰ τῆς προγεγραμμένης συστήσασθα[ι] εἰς τὰ | ἐν ἔμοι βασιλικά; *P.Bingen* 44, 5-7 (I B.C.) ἀξιῶ συντάξει γράψαι | ἐπιστρεφέστερον τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ (*l.* ἐπιστάτῃ) | καταστήσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σέ. **Roman period: petitions:** *P.Oxy.* VI 899, recto 42 (A.D. 200) [κ]ελεύσαι ἐπιστρεφέστερον γραφῆναι; *SB* XIV 11707, 18-19 (A.D. 212) ἐπιστραφέστερον (*l.* ἐπιστρεφέστερον) | [διέπειν; **official letter:** *P.Gen.* I (2e éd.) 1, 16-18 (A.D. 213) ἐπιστρε|φ[έ]στερον ὑμᾶς ἐπανορθώ|[σω]μαι.

## ἐπιφανῶς

Its first attestation is in an honorary inscription for Ptolemaios IV, *SB* III 7172, 37-40 (217 B.C.) [ἦτις τυγ]χάνει προτετιμημένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐξημένη ἐπιφανῶς, with the meaning “famously, in a renowned way”; see *WB* IV *s.v.* ἐπιφανής. The adverb is attested in the fragmentary part of the text of *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2611, 10 (A.D. 192-193), νῦν ἐπιφανῶς ἀχθέντ[, which is a document concerning an athlete. The adverb seems to modify the following participle, with the meaning “with distinction”; see *LSJ s.v.* ἐπιφανής.

## ἐπιφθόνως

The adverb is found in a petition of an ex-kosmetes of Hermopolis, with the meaning “in a hostile way“, *SPP* XX 54, 13-14 (A.D. 250) καὶ παραμορισθέντα (*l.* παραμερισθέντα) ἐκ τῶν νόμων | [καὶ] τῆς [ὑπογρα]φῆ[ς] ἐπιφ[θ]όνως τ[ι]νὰ δηλώσαντος κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, where it precedes and modifies the following participle; see *LSJ s.v.* ἐπίφθονος II.

## ἐπιχωρίως

The adverb is attested only in an edict of a praeses with the meaning “in the native speech”: *P.Oxy.* IX 1186, 3 (IV A.D.); see N. Litinas, ““Of the country”, “local” and “foreign” in the Greek papyri: The Use of the Adjectives ἐπιχώριος, ἐγχώριος, ἐντόπιος, ξενικός”, *MBAH* 26, 2009, 159-164, esp. 161, n. 15.

## ἐπιπελλῶς\*

The adverb is attested in a Ptolemaic private letter, *P.Tebt.* III 763, 13-15 (early II B.C.), οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν | γράφειν ἐπιπελλῶς | περὶ τοιοῦτου εἶδους, “for one should not write incoherently about that kind of thing” (see *WB* IV *s.v.*, “ohne Zusammenhang”; Mayser 1936, 123), as an opposite to εὐσήμως (see *s.v.*, p. 157). The word does not appear in the Greek literature, and seems to derive from the verb ἐπιπελλίζω, whose meaning is “lisp”.

## ἐπομένως

It is restored in a contract of loan of seed from the state, *P.Sakaon* 49, 8 (A.D. 314), and its meaning is “as follows”. For *SB* XXVI 16710, 14-18 see *s.v.* ἐνωμότως, p. 123.

## ἐργατικῶς

The adverb is read only in an official declaration, where someone undertakes to serve in a bakery, *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4530, 29-32 (A.D. 288), καὶ ὑπηρετήσασθαι . . . [ . . . ] | ἐργατικῶς ὑπηρετο[υμένω τῆ] | ἀρτοποιεῖα τῶν γεγ[υ]ναιοτάτων | στρατιωτῶν. As J.D. Thomas notes *ad loc.*, “the adverb ἐργατικῶς does not seem to have occurred before in the papyrus and instances of the adjective, nearly all of which are used with reference to donkeys, are not helpful in the present context (it is possible to read ἐργατικῶν with, e.g., ὄνων in the previous line)”. He translated “to serve... efficiently(?) serving the baking of bread for the most noble soldiers”. On the other hand, the adverb in this papyrus might mean “as a worker”; it occurs in the patristic literature with the meaning “as a working man” in Ephraem Syrus, and with the meaning “in workmanlike” in Agathangelus; see *Lampe s.v.*

## ἐρρωμένως\*

The first attestations of the adverb are in formulaic phrases at the beginning of Ptolemaic private letters (see Mayser 1933-1934, 179, n. 2): *SB XVI* 12619, 3-6 (early II B.C.) εἰ ἐρρωμένως | ὑμῖν τ<α> ἄλλα κατὰ λόγον | ἐστίν, εἴ<η> ἂν ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω>. κ<αί> αὐτὸς δὲ ὑ<γ>ί<α>ινον [κα], “if you are in good health and everything else conforms to your expectations, it would be as I wish. I myself am also well”; *P.Heid.* III 228, 2-6 (first half of II B.C.) εἰ ἐρρωμένως εἶ μετὰ | τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφίων <καί> | τ<α> ἄλλα κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν | ὡς βούλομαι. ὑγιαίνομεν δὲ καὶ | αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παρ’ ἐμοὶ πάντες; *UPZ I* 64, 2 (156 B.C.) εἰ ἐρρωμένως σοι καὶ τ<α> ἄλλα κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν, τὸ δέον ἂν εἴη κ<αί> αὐτοὶ δὲ | ὑ<γ>αίνομεν; it is restored in the private letter *PSI VIII* 983, 2-4 (122 B.C.) εἰ ἐρρωμέ[νως ---] | [---] .π. . καὶ {κ}αυτοὶ [---] | [--- ὑ]γιαίνομεν; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐρρωμένος, “in good health”.

In the Roman period, the adverb is attested in an edict of the Prefect, *PSI V* 446, 14-16 (A.D. 133-137) ὡς [ἐμ]οῦ κο[λ]άσοντος ἐρρωμένως, ἐάν τις ἀλῶ | μετὰ τ[οῦτο] τὸ διάταγμα λαμβάνων ἢ διδούς | τι τῶν [προειρη]μένων, where it follows and modifies the participle κολάσοντος, to indicate “severe punishment”. This ἐρρωμένως might translate the Latin “*graviter*”, “*aceriter*”; cf. also Johannes Chr., *PG* 50, 605 ἐρρωμένως μάλα καὶ γενναίως τοὺς ἀδικούντας ἐκόλαζε, τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἤμυνε. For attestations in the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.*

The last instance of the adverb is found in a private letter, *P.Abinn.* 12, 17-24 (middle of IV A.D.) καὶ περὶ | [ῶ]ν βούλει κέ[λ]ευέ μοι, | κύρ{ε}ιε ἀδελφε, ἡδέως | ἔχοντι. | ἐρρωμέ[ν]ως | σε ἔχετε (*l.* ἔχητε) | ἡ θ<ε>ία πρόνοια, | κύριε ἀδελφε. As can be seen in the photograph in <http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/imageZoom/?iip=bgeiip/papyrus/pgen12-ri.ptif>, the letter ω in the ending is uncertain, while the letters after ἐρρω seem to be smaller and, if we want to read μέ[ν]ως, the text is condensed. However, I cannot offer other suitable restorations, while the reading ἐρρώμε[ν]ως, that is, the nominative of the masculine adjective, cannot be constructed in the clause.

## ἐρωτικῶς

In a speech of an advocate, a man is described as being heartbroken, *P.Oxy.* III 472, 11-14 (A.D. 131) καὶ ἐζηλοτύπει αὐτὴν μὴ ἐπισταμένην | καὶ ἄνδρα μὲν αὐτῆς ἐαυτὸν ἐκάλει, οὐκ ἀξιούμενος δὲ ταύτης | τῆς προσηγορίας ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐρωτικῶς/ς (corrected by the scribe from ἐρωτικός) ἤλγει καὶ ἐπιζῆν ἐαυτῶ | ταύτην οὐκ ἤθελεν, where ἐρωτικῶς/ς ἤλγει is translated “he suffered like a lover”; cf. Thucydides 6.54 ὁ δὲ ἐρωτικῶς περιαλγῆσας. However, the phrases ἐρωτικῶς ἔχω, δίακειμαι, διατίθημι are the most usual ones in the literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐρωτικός II; Lampe *s.v.*

## ἐσχάτως

In a petition to a strategos concerning a violent action, *P.Harris II* 192 (A.D. 167), the adverb appears twice, in l. 15 ἐσχάτως διακειμ[, and l. 22 ἐσχάτως ἐχ[, but the fragmentary condition of the text does not allow an evident understanding of the situation which is described. It is probable that the adverb was not used with the meaning “exceedingly”, but it should be translated as “to be at the last extremity”; cf. LSJ

*s.v.* ἔσχατος II b; Bauer *s.v.*<sup>152</sup>; cf. also *P.Bastianini* 22, 4n., where the editor E.A. Conti states that the evidence of the adverb in *P.Harris* II 192 can be compared with the prepositional ἐν ἔσχατοις “essere agli estremi”, “essere in fin di vita”. Therefore, it seems that in papyri ἔσχατως is not used as an adverb of Time, “last, to the end”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἔσχατος I 4.

ἐτέρως(\*?)

The adverb is attested in an official correspondence with the meaning “differently” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἕτερος V 2; Bauer *s.v.*), *UPZ* II 200, 20 (130 B.C.) ἐὰν ὁ διοικητὴς ἐτέρως κρίνη πρὸς τοὺς αἰτησαμένους, and in an edict of the Prefect, *P.Oxy.* I 34, 14-15 the so-called *eikonistai* should παρασημ<ε>ιούσθ[ωσαν] [εἶ πο]υ ἀπ\αλ/ήλ{ε}ιπται ἢ ἐπιγέγραπται τι | ὁ [ἐτέ]ρωσ ἔχει, “add a marginal note when something has been expunged or anything else added” (transl. M. Depauw, *ZPE* 176, 2011, 197). However, it is more probable to restore here the adverb [διαφό]ρωσ, and translate “add a marginal note when something has been expunged or something is different”; see LSJ *s.v.* διάφορος III 2. The space could accommodate more than three letters; cf. ll. 16-17 where 5 and 6 letters are restored in the same length of the lacuna.

The adverb is also read in a private letter of the second-third century A.D., *P.Freib.* IV 68, where the sender Polydeukes uses various expressions known only from literary sources (see *ed. princ.* introd.) and writes to the recipient that ll. 19-23 [ἐ]τέρω[ω]ν σοι διαφερόντων νῦν καὶ τόν|δε δ[έ]ξι. συμ[β]ουλεύω ἐτέρως ἵνα | ἡμᾶς [σ]κέψα[σ]θαι ας . . . [.]. καὶ τε|θαρημένως σαυτὸν ἐπίδος ἐπ[ι τ]ῆ τῶ[υ] | σῶν φροντίδι, “if others are important to you, devote yourself to taking care of your things”, The text and the reading itself is uncertain, and the content is not clear. As the editor, R.W. Daniel, notes *ad loc.*, it is not certain whether συμ[β]ουλεύω is constructed with the followed or the previous words as main verb of the clause. The latter can be translated as “if others are important to you, I advise you to accept even this way”, but the editor rejected this possibility, because “in this case one could object not only to the misspelling [ἄτόν for αὐτόν], but also to the position of the adverb, which one would expect closer to the infinitive”. In addition, the reading ἐτέρως is not certain. As can be seen in the photograph, there is no letter ρ in the word after the verb συμ[β]ουλεύω. We can read ε followed by a letter with a vertical (π or τ?), then ει, followed by two(?) letters and then ινα (possible also to read τινα), but I cannot provide further suggestions concerning the text.



(<https://www.ub.uni-freiburg.de/recherche/historische-sammlungen/bestaende-benutzung/papyri/papyri-der-ub-freiburg/?papid=000082&recto=verso=r>)

<sup>152</sup> See also J.A.L. Lee – G.H.R. Horsley, “A Lexicon of the New Testament with Documentary Parallels: Some Interim Entries, 2”, *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 11, 1998, 57-84, esp. 76.

ἐτησίως

It is only attested in formal documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods:

**Lease contracts** (*P.Sijp.* 21 a, 22 (A.D. 186); *P.Berl.Leihg.* I 23, 9 and 14 (A.D. 252); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 32, 11 (A.D. 504); *SB XXVIII* 17154, 16 and 20 (A.D. 587); *SB XXII* 15729, 36 (A.D. 639); *PSI IX* 1056, 13 (VII A.D.)), wills (*P.Cair. Masp.* III 67312, 106 (A.D. 567)), **adoptions** (*P.Köln* VII 321, 15 (VII-VIII A.D.)), **petitions** (*P.Oxy.* X 1252 V, 2, 25 (after A.D. 294-295); *P.Oxy.* I 130, 10 (A.D. 548-549?)), **land-survey** (*P.Oxy.* XIV 1744, 11 (A.D. 287-288?)) and **official letters** (*P.Oxy.* LI 3618, 11 (A.D. 305-310)).

It is also rare in the patristic literature; see Lampe *s.v.*

ἐτοίμως\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἔτοιμος III; Bauer *s.v.* “readily”. Although the expression ἐτοίμως ἔχω is attested in many official documents (petitions, contracts etc.), its appearance in private letters is rare (only in Roman and Byzantine periods)<sup>153</sup>, and it refers to public situations, not strictly private. It is interesting, although it might be fortuitous, that in the Byzantine private letters, the adverb is found in conditionals:

*P.Stras.* VI 581, ii 1-3 (9 B.C.) καὶ εἶχον ἐτοίμως εἰς πάντα αὐτῶι συλλαβέσθαι; *PSI VIII* 968, 2-9 (I B.C.) ἐπεὶ ὁ πυρὸς ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ | χαλκοῦ . . . ἐστὶν καὶ εὐλαβῶς | ἔχω μὴ καὶ πλείσσοι (l. πλείστου) γένηται, | οἱ τε καρπῶναι ἐτοίμως ἔχουσιν | τὸν χαλκὸν πληροῦν ἕως κγ, | διατάξας τὰς παρεσταμένας | παρ[ά] σοὶ ἀρτ[άβ]βας κ σὺμισογε | φέρωναι προσάγγελμα τῶν σιτολόγων; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3066, 11-13 (III A.D.) δηλώσον οὖν μοι εἰ μὴ ἐτοίμως ἔχει ὁ Μῶρος ἀνελεῖν καὶ εἰ εὖρες | παρὰ σοί; *SB III* 6262, 11-14 (III A.D.) καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν καθ' ἡμέραν <ν> | σχεδοῦ τι πυνθάνετε (l. πυνθάνεται) περὶ σοῦ [ἐτοίμως] | ὅτι οὐπω [ἤλθεν] ἔρχετε; κάγω οὖν λέγω | [ὅτι] ἐν . νέ (l. ναί); *P.Gen.* IV 171, 14-16 (first half of IV A.D.) τῷ τε | [πρὸς σέ μὴ ἐτοίμως ἀπηντηκότι, εἰ οὖν ζητεῖ τοῦτους, | [ἐνοχλήσαι; however, the restoration is debatable, and one could also restore other adverbs here, e.g. ὀψίμως, φιλοτιμως etc.]; *P.Kellis I* 73, 15-20 (IV A.D.) καί, ἐὰν ποιήσης | δέκα ἡμέρας ἢ εἴκοσι με|τ' αὐτοῦ ἕως πιπράσκεις | τὰ εἶδη μου, ἐτοίμως ἔχω | παρασχεῖν σοὶ τὸν μισθόν | σου; *P.Fouad* 82, 14-16 (IV-V A.D.) ἐὰν ἔρχαιται (l. ἔρχεται) τις | ἐξ αὐτῶ[ . . . ] τῷ ἐδύμως (l. ἐτοίμως) ἔχω ἀ|π[---] ἔξ μᾶς; *P.Hamb.* III 229, 7. (VI A.D.) ἐὰν δ[έ] ἐτοίμως ἔχεις ἵνα πέμπ[η]ς τὸ ὀψώνιον μου ἄνω πρὸ τῆς ἀναβ[ί]ασεως, | δῆλω[σ]όν μοι.

ἐτύμως

It occurs in the hymn to Isis, in Bernand 1969, no 175, ii 9-10 (I B.C.?) ὡς ἐτύμως ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, Σοκουῶπις κραταιός, σύνναος ναίει, with the meaning “how very true it is”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἔτυμος I 2, citing ὡς ἐτύμως in Aeschylus *Eu.* 534.

εὐαγῶς

For its attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* εὐαγής 2, “lawfully”. The adjective εὐαγής appears in the Byzantine documents to indicate the sacred places (e.g. monasteries, churches, shrines etc.); cf. also Lampe *s.v.* In papyri it is attested in a petition, *SB IV* 7339, 3-7 (A.D. 67-71) ἐτόλμησε[ν] παρὰ τ[ὸ] καθῆκον ἄ[νευ] τῆς γνώμης | ἡμῶν ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὴν | ὑποθήκην Φιλοστράτῳ Ζωίλου, ᾧ καὶ εὐαγῶς | μεταλαβόν[τος] διαστολικὸν μετέδομεν διὰ | σοῦ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεόντως ἡγορακεῖναι, “...ventured wrongfully [without our knowledge?] to alienate at Alexandria the security to

<sup>153</sup> It is also rare in Ptolemaic documents: *P.Amh.* II 34c, 7-8 (c. 157 B.C.) [--- ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν παραδείκνυσθαι αὐτὸν παραλο[γισάμενον] οἴτον τε καὶ χαλκόν; *P.Amh.* II 34d, 3-4 (c. 157 B.C.) ἐπεὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν παρα[δεικνύειν]; *P.Tebt.* I 61, 366 (117 B.C.) [γεωργῶν καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχόντων] [ . . . . . ] [ησ]αί τ[ῆ]ν γῆν τ[οῖ]ς αἰρο[υμένοις]; *P.Tebt.* I 72, 364-365 (114-113 B.C.) [γεωργῶν καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχόντων] [ . . . . . ] [ησ]αί τὴν γῆν; *P.Tebt.* III 728, 2 (II B.C.) ἐτ[ο]ίμως ἔχ[ουσι] τῆ[ν] τε κ[α]τεργασίαν καὶ τὴν διάθεσ[ιν]; *P.Amh.* II 32, 6-7 (II B.C.) καὶ ἐτοίμως ἔχόντων[ν] χειρο[γ]ραφε[τ]ῶν τὸν βασιλικὸν ὄρκον; *BGU VIII* 1843, 9-11 (50-49 B.C.) καὶ ἐκεῖ | ἐτοίμως ἔχόντων τὸν στρατηρίσκον | δι[ο]ρθώσασθαι.

Philostratus son of Zoilus, to whom with your concurrence we presented through you a notification concerning his improper purchase”.

εὐαρέστως

Although the adverb is attested in the Greek literature from the fourth century B.C. (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐάρεστος I; Bauer *s.v.*), in papyri it occurs for the first time in *P.Mich.* XV 706, 11 (II-III A.D.) πρὸς τὸ εὐαρέστως, which is a document that is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and, thus, its type is not certain. Then, the adverb occurs in documents concerning leases, which are dated to the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D.: *P.Col.* X 280, 13 (A.D. 269-277) πρὸς τὸ εὐαρέστως ταῦτα γ{ε}ίνεσθαι; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1631, 29-30 (A.D. 280) εὐκαίρως καὶ εὐ|αρέστως; *SB* XXII 15769, 9 (A.D. 311) εὐκῆ[ρως] [ καὶ εὐαρέστως; *P.Col.* X 284, 7 (A.D. 311) εὐκαίρως καὶ εὐαρέστως. It also appears in the patristic literature with the meaning “so as to be well pleasing, acceptably”; see Lampe *s.v.*

εὐγενῶς\*

This Euripidean adverb (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐγενής II “nobly, bravely”; cf. also Spicq 1978, 301-304) occurs for the first time in Egypt in an honorary inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 46, 19-20 (39 B.C.) εὐγενῶς μόνος ὑποστάς τὸ βάρος πάλιν ὥσπερ λαμπρὸς ἀστήρ καὶ δαίμων ἀγαθὸς | [τοῖς ἅπασιν] ἐπέλαμψε; see Mayser 1936, 123; cf. also in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 97, 5-6 (II A.D.?) τῆς γ{ε}ιναμένης ὁ πάππος ἄρξας εὐγενῶς Ἐπίμαχον ἔσχευ νιόν.

In an adoption, *P.Lips.* I 28, 10-12 (A.D. 381) ἔδοξεν δὲ | [ῶσ]τ' ἐμὲ τὸν [ἀ]δελ[φ]ὸν αὐτοῦ Σιλβανὸν κατ' εὐσεβίαν τοῦτον τὸν παῖ[δ]α ἔχειν | [καθ'] υἱοθεσίαν πρὸς τὸ δύνα{ν}σθαι ἀνατρέφεσθαι εὐγενῶς καὶ γνησίως (see *WB* I *s.v.* εὐγενής), there is the first appearance of the phrase ἀνατρέφεσθαι εὐγενῶς. This is also found for the first time in literature in Romanus Melodus 89.2 αὕτη γονέων οὔσα ἐνδόξων εὐγενῶς ἀνετράφη καὶ ἐπισήμως<sup>154</sup>. At the time when Romanus wrote, the phrase also occurred in a private letter, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1873, 8-9 (late V A.D.), that presents many unique expressions (see intr. by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt): καὶ θυγάτριον νήπιον εὐγ[ε] | νῶς ἀνατεθραμμένον. The text refers to a little gently nurtured daughter who was saved during a riot.

In addition, the adverb εὐγενῶς occurs in a fragmentary part of a petition, *P.Lond.* V 1674 (A.D. 570) εἰλ]κύσθημεν εὐγενῶς κ[αί] | ἐλευθερικῶς τον βίον κατ[α]γ[ό]μεν[ο]ν, where the details of the situation are not clear.

εὐγνωμόνως\*

The adverb is found in the letters of the Zenon archive in the phrase εὐγνωμόνως χρώμαι, with the meaning “I am considerate, reasonable”: *P.Lond.* VII 1945, 4-5 (257 B.C.) ὅπως ἂν χρήσων|ται αὐτῶι εὐγνωμόνως; *P.Lond.* VII 1946, 6 (257 B.C.) ὅπως ἂν εὐγνωμόνως χρήσονται; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59631 12-13 (middle of III B.C.) διὰ τοὺς τῆι ἡμετέροι ἀπουσίαι οὐκ εὐγνωμόνως | χρωμένους. This phrase is attested for the first time in Xenophon *Ag.* 2.25 πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῶ.

<sup>154</sup> However, the phrase εὐγενῶς τρέφομαι is earlier, cf. e.g. Johannes Chr., *PG* 61, 279 ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων καὶ τραφεὶς εὐγενῶς; *PG* 63, 18 εἰ γὰρ εἰς δεσμοπήριον τις ἐμβληθεὶς ἐνταῦθα τῶν εὐγενῶς τεθραμμένων etc.



The meaning “reasonably” (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐγνώμων II 1) is found in petitions and private documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods<sup>155</sup> and it is also attested in two private letters of the second century A.D.:

*BGU* III 1011, 16-18 (II B.C.) εὐγνωμ[ό]νως | [ἀπ' ἀλ]λήλων ἀπολυθῆ|[ναι]; *P.Fay.* 124 (II A.D.) καὶ νῦν | [ο]ὔν εἰ μὴ πίθη καὶ τὴν χορηγί|αν τῇ μητρὶ εὐγνωμόνως (*l.* εὐγνωμόνως) | ἀποδίδυς (*l.* ἀποδίδοις), τὸ ἀκόλουθον τοῦ|των ἔσται καὶ μετέμελόν | σ[ο]ι πάλ|ε|ιν εἰσο[ισ]εῖ ἢ πλεονε|ξ|[ι]α σου, “therefore if you do not comply and pay your mother her allowance in a fair manner, the consequences of your behavior will follow and your cupidity will again cause you regret”.

#### εὐδαιμόνως

Although the adverb occurs in the classical literature, and there are names such as Εὐδαίμων, Εὐδαιμονίς in Egypt, the adverb itself appears in a fragmentary part of the proceedings in *P.Pommersf.* 459 (second half of VI A.D.), where its meaning is not clear; it can be either “fortunate” or “wealthy” or “truly happy”; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐδαίμων 1-2.

#### εὐδιαλύτως

The adverb occurs in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 144, 4-6 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὀπωσθητοῦν | ἠγνωμονηκέναι φάσκοντας εὐδιαλύτως | καὶ πράεως διατίθεσθαι (see see Mayser 1936, 123). It is not attested in the ancient Greek literature, where we find only the adjective εὐδιάλυτος; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐδιάλυτος, and we may assume that the meaning in the present papyrus is the one given under the same entry of LSJ as εὐδιάλυτος II “easy to reconcile”, citing Polybius 29.11.5. The adverb is attested again in the tenth century A.D., in Theophanes Cont., *Chronographia* p. 68 (Bekker) καὶ οὐχ ὡς ῥήθη εὐδιαλύτως, with the meaning “easy to break up”.

#### εὐδοκίμως

It occurs only in a fragmentary part of an agreement concerning family property in *P.Petra* I 1, 66, meaning “honourably”. The adverb is rare in Greek; see Galen, 15, p. 24 (Kühn) ὅπου γε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐρίσκονται τινες εὐδοκίμως ἠγωνισμένοι κωμικοὶ τε καὶ τραγικοὶ ποιηταὶ δράμασιν οὐκέτι διασφζομένοις, and Pollux 5.159.

#### εὐδόξως\*

The adverb is rare in Greek; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐδοξος, with the meanings “remarkably” and “famously”, citing Plato *Hp.Ma.* 287e, and with the meaning “with distinction”, citing Manetho 1.102; cf. also its occurrence in inscriptions, e.g. J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, BEFAR 179, Paris 1954, no 15, 15-16 (236/235 B.C.) καλῶς καὶ εὐδόξ[ω]ς ἐπεμελήθη τῆς τε τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας.

In papyri it occurs only at the beginning of a private letter, where there is an accumulation of various adverbs ending in -ως: *PSI* XII 1261, 3-7 (A.D. 212-217)

<sup>155</sup> **Petitions:** *SB* XX 14401, 26-27 (A.D. 147) καὶ ἐάν τι φανῶ αὐτῷ ὀφείλων μετὰ ταῦτα. ἰσχύσω αὐτῷ | ἀποδῶναι (*l.* ἀποδοῦναι) εὐγνωμόνως, “and if it is apparent that I owe him anything after this, I shall undertake to repay him in a reasonable manner”; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 14 (A.D. 548-549); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, I 16, 22 18, iii 6 (A.D. 567) καὶ εὐγνωμόνως καὶ πληρωτικῶς; *P.Flor.* III 296, 51-52 (before A.D. 548-565?) τὰ δημόσια εὐγνωμόνως πληρῶσαι; **division of an inheritance:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314, 23-24 (A.D. 569-570) ξ[αθαρώς καὶ] | εὐ[γνωμ]όνως; **will:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67324, 3 (before A.D. 525-526) μὴ καταβα[λ]εῖ[ν] εὐ[γνω]μόνως; cf. Lampe *s.v.*

μεγάλως καὶ πολλαχῶς ἤσθημεν τοῦ Γορ|γίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενομένου καὶ δηλώσαν|τος ἡμῖν ὅτι τε ἔρρωσαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς | ἡμῶν εὐχρώμως καὶ εὐδόξως ὡς | ἔπρεπέν σοι ἀπήλλαξας. Since there are no details for the reasons the writer is happy, the meaning of the adverb εὐδόξως is not certain: it might be “with good reputation” or “remarkably” or, like the adverb εὐδοκουμένως, (see LSJ *s.v.*) “satisfactorily”. It may be also paralleled with the wish at the ends of the letters in the third century A.D.: ἐρρῶσθαί σε | εὐχομαι, κύριέ μου ἀδελφέ, πανοικεῖ | εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδοξ[ο]ῦντα in *P.Princ.* II 69, 5-7 (II A.D., which should be dated (based on the handwriting, to the beginning of III A.D.; see image in <http://publ.princeton.edu/sheetreader.php?obj=6h440w05w>); ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι) | εὐδοξοῦντα κ[αί] | ὀλοκληρ[ο]ῦντα in *P.Iand.* VI 116, 12-14 (III A.D.); ἐρρῶσθαί | [καὶ ὀλοκληρεῖν(?)] σε εὐδοξοῦντα καὶ εὐτυ|[χοῦντα καὶ εὐπρα]γοῦντα θεοῖς πᾶσι εὐχομαι in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1766, 16-18 (III A.D.); *P.Tebt.* II 418, 18-20 (III A.D.) ἐρρῶσθαί σε | εὐτυχευδοξοῦντα πανοικησίᾳ | εὐχομαι.

#### εὐεργετικῶς

The phrase εὐεργετικῶς διακείμενος is found in the Rosetta stone, *OGIS* 90, 11 (196 B.C.); see LSJ *s.v.* εὐεργετικός “beneficently”<sup>156</sup>. The adverb is attested for the first time in Aristotle, *Rh.* 1388b12; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐεργετικός; Bauer *s.v.*; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*, for instances in the patristic literature.

#### εὐεργῶς

It occurs in an inscription, in Cagnat 1908, no 1162, 6 (Roman period; = *SB* V 8808) ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργῶς κ[ατεσκευασμένων(?)]; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐεργός I 2, “serviceable”.

#### εὐθέως\*

The denotation of rapidity can be indicated by the use of the adverb εὐθέως. For attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* εὐθύς; Bauer *s.v.* This adverb is both attested in official documents<sup>157</sup> and the private or business letters in a total of 217 occurrences of

<sup>156</sup> The form εὐεργετηκῶς in Bernard 1992, no 25, 7, mentioned by Mayser (1936, 123) is a participle (not an adverb).

<sup>157</sup> **Official letters**, which begin without the χαίρειν-greeting formula or are fragmentary or the beginning of the letter is lost: *BGU* XV 2467, 10; *CPR* XXX 8, 6; *CPR* XXX 13, 6; 7; 8; 10; *CPR* XXX 25, 3; *CPR* XXX 26, 2; *CPR* XXX 27, 4; *O.Krok.* I 61, 8; *O.Krok.* I 65, 8; *P.Apoll.* 13, 2; *P.Apoll.* 16, 2; *P.Apoll.* 18, 9; *P.Apoll.* 25, 1; *P.Apoll.* 26, 14; *P.Apoll.* 27, 10; *P.Apoll.* 30, 4; *P.Apoll.* 32, 9 and 14; *P.Lille* I 3, 4; *P.Lond.* IV 1346, 12; *P.Lond.* IV 1353, 20; *P.Lond.* IV 1357, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1370, 7; *P.Lond.* IV 1394, 10; *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2561, 19; *P.Sijp.* 24 c, 3; *P.Tebt.* III 729, 7; *P.Wisc.* II 55, 2; *SB* X 10252, 7; *SB* X 10459, 7; *SB* XIV 12144, 2; *SPP* X 128, 3; *SPP* XX 6, fr. A, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1348, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1365, 2; **official letters**, which begin with the χαίρειν-greeting formula: *O.Claud.* IV 880, 5; *BGU* XVI 2631, 7; *BGU* XVI 2653, 6; *CPR* XXX 6, 8; *O.Claud.* II 360, 4; *O.Claud.* II 380, 9; *O.Claud.* IV 892, 3; *O.Krok.* I 41, 69; *O.Krok.* I 44, 14; *O.Krok.* I 87, 105; 116; 120; *P.Abinn.* 29, 6; *P.Brem.* 12, 22; *P.Brem.* 13, 13; *P.Brem.* 16, 10; *P.Brem.* 20, 9; *P.Meyer* 3, 16; *P.Oxy.* II 291, 5; *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2183, 9; *P.Ryl.* II 78, 26-27; *P.Ryl.* IV 572, 62; *P.Sorb.* III 84, 3; *P.Stras.* IV 178, 9; *P.Tebt.* I 38, 16; *P.Tebt.* III 2 941, 16; *SB* XII 10846, 9; *SB* XXVI 16350, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1348, 5; *P.Lond.* IV 1365, 2; *SB* XVI 12359, 1. Official correspondence: *P.Laur.* IV 192, 13; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 9, 7; *P.Ross.Georg.* V 10, 1; *P.Ryl.* II 81, 15 and 28; *P.Panop.* Beatty 2, 7; 63; 88; 105; 154; 272; 304 (in some of these cases it is partly restored). In *P.Lond.* IV 1336, 12 the adverb was supplemented *exempli gratia*. *P.Ness.* 71, 8 (VII A.D.) is not certain if it is an official letter; **official summonings**: *CPR* XVII A 36, 14 and *CPR* XXX 15, 6; **a copy of a letter** (*P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 121), that was presumably presented before the court. The adverb is also found in other types of official documents and in formal private documents: **royal decree**: *BGU* VI 1211, 10; **proceedings of the senate**: *P.Oxy.* XII 1413, 31; **court proceedings**: *M.Chr.* 80, 10; *M.Chr.* 88, v 24; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24, 96; *SB* IV 7404, 55; *P.Oxy.* XII 1420, 7; *P.Oxy.* XXII 2339, 9; *P.Princ.* II 16, 13; **official deeds**: *W.Chr.* 281, 24; **petitions**: *P.Abinn.* 33, 13; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 23; *P.Coll.Youtie* I 12, 8; *P.Diog.* 17,

the adverb in any kind of correspondence. Most of the instances in the private and business letters (69.5%<sup>158</sup>) are dated to the Roman period. Considerably fewer instances

20; *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 1, 16; *P.Flor.* I 6, 7; *P.Gen.* II 103, i 13; *P.Heid.* VI 376, 5 and 8; *P.Mich.* IX 527, 12; *P.Mich.* XVIII 787, 71; *P.Oxy.* II 237, 8, 16; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119, 7; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2997, 8-9; *P.Tebt.* I 39, 10; *P.Tebt.* III 952, 24; *P.Wisc.* I 32, 10; *PSI* XV 1529, 10; **draft of a document or a note:** *P.Ammon* II 49, fragment b, 3; **requests:** *P.Ross.Georg.* II 22, 11; *SB* XIV 11917, 7; **commission:** *P.Ross.Georg.* III 7, 2; **orders:** *P.Apoll.* 12, 5; *SB* VI 9073, 4; *P.Stras.* V 342, 13; *PSI* V 460, 9; *O.Theb.* 134, 2; *SB* XXVI 16482, 2; *SB* XX 14219, 2 and 4; **oaths on undertaking service:** *P.Harr.* II 193, 13; *P.Leit.* 12, 15; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3091, 15; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3097, 16-17; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3132, 12; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3344, 8; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3976, 8; **official confirmations:** *P.Lond.* III 774, 15; *P.Lond.* III 776, 13; **report(?):** *BGU* III 728, 9; **contracts:** (sale) *CPR* I 119, 13; *SB* XXVI 16830, 26-27; (lease): *BGU* IV 1123, 7; *W.Chr.* 1, 4, 20; *P.Kron.* 38, 20-21; (loan) *P.Brem.* 68, 7; *P.Flor.* I 1, 7; *P.Flor.* I 81, 10; *P.Stras.* I 52, 7; (contract concerning the conditions for the return of seized property): *BGU* IV 1158, 5, (apprenticeship) *SB* VI 9374, 28; **will:** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 104; **memorandum:** *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59446, 10; **request** for waiver of liturgies: *P.Flor.* III 382, 50; **arbitration:** *P.Lond.* V 1708, 43 and 90; **receipts:** *P.Med.* I 64, 7; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1899, 13; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1900, 17; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982, 14; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1985, 14; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1987, 18; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1988, 21; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1990, 22; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1991, 26; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2724, 12; *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2779, 13; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4781, 12; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4782, 7; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4785, 17; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4788, 15; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4797, 10; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4798, 12; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4799, 17; *P.Oxy.* LXX 4800, 5; *SB* XXII 15364, 22; *P.Select* 20, 11; *PSI* I 60, 18; *SB* XII 11231, 9); **acknowledgement** concerning the repair of a waterwheel: *P.Oxy.* I 137, 17; **surety:** *PSI* XIII 1329, 8.

The following letters are classified either as private or official: *P.Tebt.* III 2947, 5; *P.Haun.* II 38, 9; *P.Ness.* 75, 6; *P.Warr.* 17, 9; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 and 4; *P.Lond.* III 1041, 3; *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14; *P.Fuad I Univ.* 10, 15., The following letters were classified either as business ones or official: *P.Tebt.* III 945, 12; *PSI* V 514, 8; *CPR* XXIV 31, 7; *PSI* XV 1535, 30., and in documents which are simply classified as letters: *P.Genova* II 85, 6; *PSI* VI 557, 2; *P.Col.* IV 114 f. fr. 1, 4; *SB* IV 7478, 9; *O.Flor.* 12, 4; *P.Bingen* 121, 12; II 59204, 5; *O.Leid.* 329, 3; *P.Laur.* II 39, 8; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19; *SB* III 7036, 2.

<sup>158</sup> *BGU* XVI 2636, 7 (c. 21 B.C.-A.D. 5); *BGU* XVI 2641, 4 (10-9 B.C.); *P.Stras.* VI 581, 2, 10 (9 B.C.); *P.Bas.* 18, 7 and 10 (late I B.C.-I A.D.); *P.Amst.* I 89, 5 (A.D. 3); *P.Sel.Warga* 13, 4 (A.D. 6); *P.Oxy.* IV 839 (early I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 5 (A.D. 30); *P.Ryl.* II 229, 9 (A.D. 38); *P.Ryl.* II 230, 10 (A.D. 40); *P.Berl.Möller* 9, 3 (A.D. 45); *P.Col.* VIII 212, 3 (A.D. 49); *BGU* I 249, 6 and 11 (c. A.D. 75-85); *O.Did.* 343, 7 (before c. A.D. 77-92); *O.Did.* 325, 5 (before c. A.D. 77-92); *BGU* III 844, 4 (A.D. 83); *P.Lond.* III 897, 5; 14; 23 (A.D. 84); *P.Sarap.* 84 a, 2, 10 (A.D. 90-133); *P.Phil.* 32, 13 (late I A.D.); *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 279, 9 (late I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14 (late I A.D.); *P.Harr.* II 222, 4 (I A.D.); *P.Köln* I 56, 5 (I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* II 298, 17 (I A.D.); *P.Princ.* III 187, 13 (I A.D.); *SB* VI 9121, 2; 3; 10 (I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14 (late I A.D.); *P.Phil.* 32, 13 (late I A.D.); *O.Leid.* 330, 8 (I-II A.D.); *SB* VIII 9644, 9 (I-II A.D.); *SB* VIII 9645, 7 (I-II A.D.); *SB* X 10529b, 6 (I-II A.D.); *P.Heid.* II 211, 3 (I-II A.D.); *P.Fay.* 120, 9 (c. A.D. 100); *P.Fay.* 119, 34 (c. A.D. 103); *P.Coll.Youtie* I 54, 9 (A.D. 104); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1155, 4-5 (A.D. 104); *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 33; 38; 40 (A.D. 107); *O.Did.* 434, 4 (before c. A.D. 110-115); *P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 4 (c. A.D. 113-120); *P.Alex.Giss.* 48, 6 (c. A.D. 113-120); *O.Claud.* II 290, 6 (c. A.D. 114); *O.Did.* 389, 4 (before c. A.D. 115-120); *P.Giss.* I 70, 5 (after A.D. 117); *P.Louvre* II 99, 24 (early II A.D.); *O.Claud.* I 174, 12 (early II A.D.); *P.Laur.* II 39, 8 (early II A.D.); *O.Did.* 445, 16 (before c. A.D. 125-140); *P.Stras.* IV 193, 4 and 12-13 (A.D. 128); *P.Stras.* VII 652, 68 (c. A.D. 136-141); *P.Stras.* IV 193, 4 and 12-13 (A.D. 128); *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5100, 17 (c. A.D. 136); *P.Stras.* VII 652, 68 (c. A.D. 136-141); *P.Bour.* 23, 11 (c. A.D. 140-144); *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6 (first half of II A.D.); *PSI* XII 1241, 28-29 (159 A.D.); *O.Flor.* 12, 4 (middle - late II A.D.); *O.Flor.* 17, 6 (middle - late II A.D.); *SB* XIV 12176, 1 (late II A.D.); *P.Mert.* II 83, 20 (late II A.D.); *PSI* XV 1540, 2 (late II A.D.); *P.Freib.* IV 64, 5 and 16 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 532, 12 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11 and 17 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Sel.Warga* 12, 8 (II A.D.); *SB* III 6299, 2 (II A.D.); *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 219, 3 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 21 (II A.D.); *BGU* III 821, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* III 206, 19-20 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 10 and 19 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 12 (II A.D.); *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 61, 4 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 10 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3313, 4 (II A.D.); *P.Tebt.* II 413, 4 (II A.D.); *SB* VIII 9826, 10 (II A.D.); *W.Chr.* 480, 8 (II A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3 and 20-21 (II A.D.); *P.Lund.* II 2, 3 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 3-4 (II A.D.); *PSI* VII 822, 13 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 497, 11 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19 (II A.D.); *P.Stras.* V 346, 5 (II A.D.); *P.Warr.* 14, 31 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30 (II A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3 and 20-21 (II A.D.); *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 61, 4 (II A.D.); *O.Bankes* 88, 2-3 (II A.D., restored); *SB* XIV 12176, 1 (late II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XII 1585, 8 (late II - early III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* I 54, 1, 14-15 (late II - early III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 533, 5 (late II - early III A.D.); *P.Dub.* 15, 22 (II-III A.D.); *P.Köln* II 107, 4 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 11 and 22 (II-III A.D.); *O.Leid.* 329, 3 (II-III A.D.); *SB* XIV 12026, 6 (II-III A.D.); *PSI* VII 821, 2 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5112, 3 (c. A.D. 212-246); *P.Fuad I Univ.* 10, 15 (A.D. 217-218); *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 72, 2-3 (early III A.D.); *P.Flor.* II 187, 9 (A.D. 249-268 = *PSI* VII 832, 8 (III A.D.)); *PSI* XV 1553, 4 (first half of III A.D.); *P.Flor.* II 125, 5 (A.D. 250-261); *P.Flor.* II 171, 2 (A.D. 255); *P.Flor.* II 131, 11 (A.D. 257); *P.Flor.* II 250, 6 (A.D. 257); *P.Flor.* II 142, 10 (A.D. 264); *P.Flor.* II 148, 11 (A.D. 265-266); *P.Flor.* II 138, 2 (A.D. 264); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 and 4 (c. A.D. 258-260); *SB* VI 9415 (23), 4 (A.D. 259-260); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 7 and 28 (c. A.D. 270); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 25 and 30 (middle III A.D.); *SB* X 10557, 11 (middle III A.D.); *BGU* IV 1030, 2 (middle III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14 (c. A.D. 285); *SB* XII 10918, 11-12 and 14-15 (second half of III A.D.); *P.Lond.* III 988, 11 (III A.D.); *P.Tebt.* II 422, 22 (III A.D.);

(20 %<sup>159</sup>) are dated to the Byzantine period, and even fewer instances 10.5%<sup>160</sup>) are dated to the Ptolemaic period (the adverb is only mentioned in Mayser 1936, 124). A first inference that can be drawn from this account is that the occurrences in the letters of the Roman period are twice as many as the letters of the other two periods together. It is also worth noting that the number of the Byzantine letters is less than the third of the Roman ones.

*Position of the adverb.* Although the position of the adverb in the clause structure is not fixed, a careful observation of the changes that happened in its placement in the surface structure could lead to some interesting assumptions. In 74.2% of the instances where εὐθέως is used, it is placed before the verbal form that is modified by the adverb, and in only 17.5% instances it is placed after it. In four cases, three of which date from the Ptolemaic period, the verb is omitted because it is understood, in nine cases the modified constituent is not preserved, and in five cases, because of the mutilated or fragmentary condition of the papyri, it is uncertain which is the modified constituent. It seems that it is indifferent whether the adverb is near the verbal form or not. In 47.8% of the instances where the adverb precedes and in 39.5% of the instances that the adverb follows, it is right next to the verbal form. In all other cases some words are placed between the adverb and the modified verbal form. Moreover, some other verbal forms can also be placed between them, e.g. temporal participles or temporal subordinate clauses. The marrying of the verb and the adverb is always very strong regardless of the position of the adverb. The need of rapidity or immediacy expressed by the adverb is as important as the performance of the described action itself.

In the Ptolemaic period the adverb was usually placed before the verbal form: in 15 cases the adverb precedes, and only in four does it follow. In 11 of these 15 cases (73.3%), and in two of the four cases (50%), it is placed right next to the modified

---

SB XXVI 16808, 11 (III A.D.); *P.Haun.* II 38, 9 (III A.D.); *SB XXVI* 16563, 12 (III A.D.); *P.Giss. Bibl.* III 29 V, 8 (III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 19-20 (III A.D.); *P.Ryl.* II 244, 7 (III A.D.); *P.Warr.* 17, 9 (III A.D.); *PSI I* 93, 12 and 17 (III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* II 192, 4 and 7 (III A.D.); *PSI VIII* 970, 3 (III A.D.); *PSI XV* 1554, 4 and 10-11 (III A.D.); *SB XIV* 12200, 14 (III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* I 118, 35-36 and 38-39 (late III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15 (late III A.D.); *PSI XVII* 1711, 3 (end of III-beginning of IV A.D.).

<sup>159</sup> *P.Abinn.* 25, 7 (c. A.D. 346); *P.Ammon* I 3, 3, 13 (A.D. 348); *P.Oslo* II 62, 5 (first half of IV A.D.); *PSI XV* 1563, 12 (IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XII 1590, 1 (IV A.D.); *NYU I* 25, 11 (IV A.D.); *P.Bingen* 121, 12 (late IV-early V A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2156, 18 (late IV-V A.D.); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 35, 3 (IV-V A.D.); *PSI V* 478, 6 (V A.D.); *P.Genova* II 85, 6 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Stras.* VIII 719, 9 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Harr.* I 157, 5 (V-VI A.D.); *PSI XIV* 1428, 5 (first half of VI A.D.); *SB VI* 9616, 5 and 10; 8 (A.D. 550-558); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5 and 15 (c. A.D. 577-583); *SB VI* 9285, 11 (second half of VI A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3 (VI A.D.); *P.Rain.Cent.* 79, 10 (VI A.D.); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1 and 3 (VI A.D.); *P.Gen.* IV 168, 30 (late VI-early VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851, 4 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 2 and 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *SPP XX* 224, 3 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1164, 4 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB XVIII* 13762, 6 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB III* 7036, 2 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Amh.* II 153, 16 (c. A.D. 643-644); *CPR XXV* 30, 3 (first half of VII A.D.); *CPR XXIV* 31, 7 (middle-second half of VII A.D.); *CPR XXX* 1, 75 (c. A.D. 643-644); *P.Apoll.* 62, 5-6 (c. second half of VII A.D.); *P.Ness.* 75, 6 (late VII A.D.); *CPR XIV* 52, 14 (VII A.D.); *P.Lond.* III 1041, 3 (VII A.D.). *SB IV* 7478, 9 is not dated, however, the reading in lines 9-10 (εὐθέως δὲ ἀκ[--- ἀρχι]μυανδρίτου εὐ[---]), and the subsequent probable restoration ἀρχιμυανδρίτου indicates a date in the Byzantine period. The earliest attestation of this title is found in *P.Köln* II 112, 12 (V-VI A.D.).

<sup>160</sup> *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59034, 17 (before 257 B.C.); *P.Hib.* I 45, 10 (257 B.C.); *PSI V* 498, 3 (257 B.C.); *P.Ryl.* IV 557, 6 (257 B.C.); *PSI V* 499, 2 (256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59129, 16 (256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155, 3 and 5 (256 B.C.); *P.Petr.* II 13, fr. 3, 7 and fr. 18a, 16 (256 or 255 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59191, 15-16 (255 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59196, 4 (254 B.C.); *PSI VI* 557, 2 (256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59204, 5 (254 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8 (before 252 B.C.); *PSI V* 514, 8 (251 B.C.); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 2 (III B.C.); *SB XXII* 15278, 13b (246-245 B.C.); *P.Col.* IV 114 f, fr. 1, 4 (middle III B.C.); *PSI IV* 402, 10 (middle III B.C.); *P.Petr.* II 23 (1), 14 (III B.C.); *P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 2 (III B.C.); *P.Yale* I 42, v, 3 (187 B.C.); *UPZ* I 59, 10 (179 or 168 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III 945, 12 (175 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III 947, 5 (early II B.C.).

constituent. In the Roman period, in 118 instances it is placed before, whereas only in 19 cases it is placed after the modified constituent. However, only in 51 cases out of the 118 (43.2%), and in eight cases out of the 19 (42.1%) it occurs right next to the verbal form. The tendency to place a temporal participle between the verb and the adverb in the Roman period seems to become a stylistic convention<sup>161</sup>. The result of this tendency was a more frequent distancing of the verbal form from the adverb. In the Byzantine period the position of the adverb in the clause structure became even more random, since in 28 instances it is placed before the verbal form, and in 15 cases it is placed after it; these numbers indicate a much less significant irregularity than that observed in the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri. The proximity of the adverb and the modified constituent also seems to play only a minor role for the Byzantine writer: in 15 of the 28 instances (53.6%), where the adverb precedes, and in five of the 15 cases (33.3%), where it follows, it is found right next to the verbal form.

*The verbal mood.* There are three verbal moods that are combined with the adverb εὐθέως: indicative (83 instances), subjunctive (11 instances), and imperative (59 instances). In 30 cases the adverb modifies infinitives, usually ones that denote purpose. In most of these cases the infinitive functions as a complement to a verb which denotes desire, and the phrase can be understood as “I want something to be done at once”. In just 7 instances the adverb refers to a participle.

The predominant tenses of the verbs in indicative are future (48.2%) and aorist (38.6%). There are also examples in the present tense (9.6%), one example in the imperfect (1.2%)<sup>162</sup>, and two in the past perfect (2.4%). The described actions could either have not yet been performed (subjunctive, infinitive, imperative, or a future, and sometimes present, indicative), or have already been performed (aorist indicative).

*The verbs modified.* The verbs that are modified by the adverb εὐθέως could be divided in four main groups.

(1) It contains verbs that are used by the sender to describe the transportation of goods or persons, that is, both the sending and the delivery of them:

πέμπω (BGU I 249, 6; P.Bour. 23, 11; P.Lond. III 988, 11; P.Mich. VIII 488, 7; P.Mil.Vogl. IV 218, 5-6; P.Oxy. XVI 1839, 3; P.Oxy. XVI 1844, 1; P.Oxy. XVI 1851, 4; P.Oxy. XVI 1852, 3; P.Oxy. LXXVIII 5179, 7; P.Phil. 32, 13; P.Tebt. II 422, 22; SB XIV 12176, 1; O.Did. 445, 16; BGU XVI 2636, 7; O.Did. 343, 7; O.Flor. 12, 4; O.Flor. 17, 6; P.Alex.Giss. 44, 4; P.Fay. 119, 33; P.Flor. II 187, 9 (= PSI VII 832, 8); P.Oxy. XXXIII 2680, 22; P.Sarap. 84 a, 2, 10; PSI I 93, 12 and 17; SB X 10557, 11; O.Claud. I 174, 12; P.Oxy. XLVII 3357, 14; CPR XXIV 31, 7; O.Did. 325, 5; P.Ross.Georg. III 13, 1; P.Ryl. II 229, 9; PSI VII 821, 2; PSI XVII 1711,

<sup>161</sup> In P.Sel.Warga 12, 7-10 πρό|λαβε οὖν τὴν ἄλω ἴν' εὐθέως ἀπο|λάβης ἐκλείσης (l. ἐγκλείσης; cf. II. 5-6 ἐνκλεί|σης, l. ἐγκλεί|σης), καὶ μὴ λόγους σοι | δῶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, the syntax seems to be a contraction of ἴν' εὐθέως ἀπο|λαβῶν ἐκλείσης and ἴν' εὐθέως ἀπο|λάβης καὶ ἐκλείσης.

<sup>162</sup> One could expect that any continuous tenses would have been automatically ruled out, because the adverb focuses on the immediacy of the action. Therefore, the action should happen just once, unless there was a repetitive sequence of actions described, like “every time this happens, you will immediately act in this certain way”. However, in UPZ I 59, 6-14 κομισαμένη τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν | παρ' ὤρου. ἐν ἧι διεσάφεις εἴ|ναι | ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ τῷ | ἐν Μέμφει. ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἐρρῶσθα[ί] σε | εὐθέως τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαριστοῦν. | ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαί σε [π]ά[ν]των | τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀπειλημμένων παραγεγο[ν]ό[ν]των / | ἀηδίζομαι ἔνεκα τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τούτο\υ / | καιροῦ ἐμαυτὴν τε καὶ τὸ παιδί[ο]ν σου), is a unique example where an imperfect is modified. One could assume either that the use of this tense instead of the past tense εὐχαρίστησα was wrong, or that εὐθέως indicates only the beginning of the action “of thanking the gods”, but this person continued to thank them after this first moment.

3; *SB* III 7036, 2; *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30), διαπέμπω (*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15; *P.Mich.* III 206, 19-20; *SB* VIII 9826, 10; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 4; *P.Stras.* V 346, 5), δίδωμι (*P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5100, 17; *PSI* V 478, 6; *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 33 and 38; *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19), ἀποστέλλω (*PSI* XV 1563, 12 ; *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8; *P.Flor.* II 171, 2; *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14), κομίζω (*BGU* I 249, 11; *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 25 and 30), ἄγω (*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59129, 16; *P.Tebt.* III 945, 12), ἀναπέμπω (*P.Louvre* II 99, 24; *P.Warr.* 14, 31), καταλαμβάνω (*P.Ammon* I 3, 3, 13; *P.Oslo* II 62, 5), λαμβάνω (*P.Princ.* III 187, 13; *W.Chr.* 480, 8), παρακομίζω (*PSI* VI 557, 2; *P.Hamb.* I 54, 1, 14-15), ἀνακομίζω (*PSI* V 499, 2), ἀποδίδωμι (*P.Oxy.* III 532, 12), ἀπολαμβάνω (*P.Oxy.* II 298, 17), ἐκδίδωμι (*P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 7), ἐκπέμπω (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 3), ἐξάγω (*P.Petrie Kleon* 52, 7-8), ἐπιδίδωμι (*P.Tebt.* III 947, 5), ἐπιστέλλω (*P.Stras.* VI 581, 2, 10), καταπέμπω (*PSI* V 514, 8), μεταπέμπω (*SB* XII 10918, 11-12), παραλαμβάνω (*P.Fuad I Univ.* 10, 15), φέρω (*P.Hib.* I 45, 10). The verb εἶμι (*P.Oxy.* VI 935, 19-20) also belongs to the first group, since its subject is the noun μεταφορά, and the conveyed meaning of the sentence is that the transportation was going to be immediate; *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 18-20: ἡ μεταφορὰ | τῶν ἀνακαλῶν ἔστε εὐθ[ε] | ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, “the transport of the bundles will be performed immediately by my father”.

(2) It contains verbs that are used by the sender to describe a person as going or being present somewhere:

ἀνέρχομαι (*P.Oxy.* XII 1585, 7; *P.Rain.Cent.* 79, 10; *PSI* XV 1563, 12; *SB* VIII 9644, 9; *SB* XXVI 16808, 11; *PSI* XIV 1428, 5; *SB* XIV 12200, 14), ἔρχομαι (*P.Sel.Warga* 13, 4; *P.Apoll.* 62, 5-6; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 10; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3313, 4; *BGU* IV 1030, 2; *P.Lund.* II 2, 3; *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 40), παραγιγνομαι (*P.Berl.Möller* 9, 3; *SB* VI 9121, 2/3 and 10; I 59034, 17; *P.Mich.* VIII 497, 10; *P.Yale* I 42, v, 3), γιγνομαι (with the meaning “I arrive”; *P.Köln* II 107, 4; *P.Bas.* 18, 7; *PSI* XV 1553, 4; *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5112, 3; *PSI* XV 1554, 4), ἀπέρχομαι (*O.Did.* 389, 4; *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 11; *SB* VI 9616, v, 10; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 3-4), ἐξέρχομαι (*P.Genova* II 85, 6; *SB* XIV 12026, 6; *P.Oxy.* I 118, 35-36), πορεύομαι (*P.Giss.* I 70, 5; *P.Col.* VIII 212, 3; *PSI* VIII 970, 3), ἀναβαίνω (*SB* III 6299, 2; *P.Köln* I 56, 5), κατέρχομαι (*P.Stras.* IV 193, 4 and 12-13), ἀνακάμπτω (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59204, 5), ἀναπλέω (*SB* X 10529b, 6)<sup>163</sup>, εἰσέρχομαι (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 7), ἐξελαύνω (*P.Oxy.* I 118, 38-39), ἦκω (*P.Bas.* 18, 10), καταντῶ (*P.Heid.* II 211, 3), πάρειμι (*P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 2), σπεύδω (*O.Did.* 434, 4).

(3) It contains verbs that are used by the sender to describe the action of informing a certain person about some situation, usually by writing or responding to a letter:

γράφω (*P.Amh.* II 153, 16; *P.Coll. Youtie* I 54, 9; *P.Lond.* III 897, 14; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 1 and 5; *P.Stras.* VIII 719, 9; *SPP* XX 224, 3; *O.Did.* 343, 7; *P.Amst.* I 89, 5; *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 19; *O.Claud.* II 290, 6; *SB* VI 9285, 11), δηλῶ (*BGU* III 821, 7; *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 12; *PSI* XII 1241, 28-29; *PSI* XV 1540, 2), ἀντιγράφω (*SB* VI 9616, 5 and 8), ἀναφέρω (*P.Stras.* VII 652, 68), ἀπαντῶ (*P.NYU* I 25, 11), δημοσιῶ (*P.Oxy.* III 533, 5), μεταγράφω (*P.Mert.* II 83, 20), πέμπω φάσιν (*P.Oxy.* III 530, 30-32 περὶ τούτων οὖν μοι εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν πέμψεις φάσιν εἰ τὸν χαλ|κὸν | ἐκομίσω καὶ εἰ ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἱμάτια, “send me word about this immediately after the festival, whether you received the money and whether you recovered my clothes”); πέμπω ἀντιφώνησιν (*O.Did.* 343, 7-8 (= *P.Thomas* 9) εὐθέως ἔγραψα καὶ | ἔπειμὰ σοι ἀντιφώνησιν.

The objects that should be moved immediately in the second group are humans (mostly relatives, friends, or the sender and the recipient of the letter themselves) and in the third group the objects are letters. When εὐθέως is combined with a verb of these groups, it is considered firstly as an adverbial of Time, meaning *immediately*, and secondly an adverbial of Manner.

(4) There are also some verbs which are modified by εὐθέως, but they cannot fall into one certain semantic group:

ἀπολύω (*P.Dub.* 15, 22; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 17; *SB* XVIII 13762, 6; *CPR* XXV 30, 3; *P.Gen.* IV 168, 30; *P.Laur.* IV 187, 20-21), γίγνομαι (with the meaning “I become”; *P.Lond.* III 897, 5; *P.Abinn.* 25, 7; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 15; *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 5), ἐγκλείω (*P.Sel.Warga* 12, 9; *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3), ἐκδίδωμι (*P.Oxy.* LIX 3989, 7), ποιῶ (*P.Alex.Giss.* 48, 6; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 28), and ἀγοράζω (*P.Oxy.* IV 839), ἀμελῶ (*P.Hamb.* II 192, 3), ἀξιῶ (*P.Lond.* III 1041, 3), ἀπαρτίζω (*O.Leid.* 330, 8), ἀποκαθίστημι (*P.Tebt.* II 413, 4), ἀφίστημι (*P.Giss.Univ.* III 29 verso 8), βάλλω (*P.Freib.* IV 64, 16), δοκῶ (*P.Ryl.* II 230, 10), εἰσπράττω (*P.Laur.* II 39, 8), ἐκπλέκω (*SB* XII

<sup>163</sup> Cf. also the occurrence of the adverb modifying the verb καταπλέω in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 145, 4-5 ἡβουλόμην μὲν εὐθέως καταπλεύσας | ὄφθῆναι σοι κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον.

10918, 14-15), *ἔξιστημι* (*PSI* VII 822, 13), *ἐτοιμάζω* (*P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 72, 2-3), *εὐρίσκω* (*P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1), *εὐχαριστῶ* (*UPZ* I 59, 10), *καθίστημι* (*P.Mich.* VIII 486, 10), *κατασπείρω* (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155, 5), *κναφεύω* (*P.Oxy.* XVII 2156, 18), *λύω* (*P.Fay.* 120, 9), *μανθάνω* (*P.Ryl.* II 244, 7), *μέλλω* (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1155, 4-5), *μέμνημαι* (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 279, 9), *μεταβάλλω* (*P.Warr.* 17, 9), *παρακάθημαι* (*PSI* IV 402, 10), *παραφέρω* (*P.Oxy.* VIII 1164, 4), *πληρῶ* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5), *ποτιζῶ* (*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155, 3), *συμβάλλω* (*P.Mil.Vogl.* II 61, 4), *συγχωρῶ* (*P.Bingen* 121, 12), *χειμάζω* (*BGU* III 844, 4), *χρηματιζῶ* (*P.Petrie Kleon* 86, 16, a register of correspondence), *ὠνοῦμαι* (*P.Hamb.* II 192, 7).

The things that should be sent, given or received quickly are those that people considered important or valuable in a rural society, such as:

**Oil and vinegar** (*P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6), **oil** (*P.Laur.* IV 187, 3), **wine** (*SB* XIV 12176, 1; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1851, 4; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1 and 3), a **contract** of lease (*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14), **letters** or other **documents** (*P.Oxy.* III 532, 12; *P.Oxy.* LXXVI 5100, 17; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15; *O.Did.* 343, 7; *P.Sarap.* 84 a, r, 2, 10; *P.Warr.* 14, 31; *PSI* V 514, 8), **jars** full of caper (*P.Flor.* II 187, 9 = *PSI* VII 832, 8), an amount of 3 **artabas** and the relish (*P.Ryl.* II 229, 9), **hay** for animals (*P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14), **receipts** (*SB* III 7036, 2 and *P.Oxy.* III 530, 30), **plants** (*PSI* V 499, 2), a **rush-basket** (*P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 5), **mattresses** and leather **pillows** (*P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8), **animals** (*P.Fay.* 119, 34 and *P.Flor.* II 171, 2), monthly **provisions** (*P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5179, 7), and **money** (*P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 11; *P.Phil.* 32, 13; *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 25; *W.Chr.* 480, 8; *O.Flor.* 17, 6; *SB* VIII 9826, 10; *O.Claud.* I 174, 12).

There are also some letters, in which the items to be sent are not stated, such as *PSI* V 478, 6 (where the adverb is restored [εὐθέ]ως) and *O.Did.* 325, 5 (where the adverb is read with uncertainty). In these cases, one has to assume that the recipient of the letter knew the products or objects that were sent. In some other letters, because of the fragmentary condition of the text, what was sent or to be sent is not clear<sup>164</sup>. In *P.Hib.* I 45, 10 it is uncertain if the sender is asking for grain or money. In *P.Bour.* 23, 11 the sender probably asks for products (ointment and pine cones). In *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59191, 15-16 the sender asks the recipient to send something for some girls immediately, but he does not define what exactly should be sent. We only know that in his previous sentences he had asked for some sacrificial pigs. In two cases some documents which were important for the administration should be sent immediately<sup>165</sup>. Moreover, in four cases the sender promises to send immediately everything that the recipient of the letter may need<sup>166</sup>.

In some cases, certain persons are sent or should be sent immediately. Heras (in *P.Lowvre* II 99, 24), Ammonios (in *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7), Ioannis and Parsakis (in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3) with their swords and shields, Theodoros (in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1), Akoutas (in *P.Tebt.* II 422, 22), a supplier (in *PSI* XV 1563, 12), Diogenes (in *BGU* XVI 2636, 7), Kalokairos (in *PSI* I 93, 12), along with a deed of surrender, the adversaries in a suit (in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1164, 4), and Ptolemaios (in *SB* XII 10918, 11-12).

<sup>164</sup> Probably in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3 the delivery of some letters is described. In *BGU* I 249, 6 the sender probably asks for grain and barley. In *P.Princ.* III 187, 13 and in *PSI* VI 557, 2 money is probably sent or to be sent; in *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 what is to be sent is probably some quantity of wine; in *CPR* XXIV 31, 7 some ropes and in *PSI* VII 821, 2 chaff are sent.

<sup>165</sup> A register should be sent immediately in *PSI* V 498, 3. In *P.Lond.* III 988, 11 the sender asks the recipient of the letter to send her some documents immediately. Moreover, a legal document (χρηματισμός) was expected to be given immediately in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 17-28.

<sup>166</sup> In *P.Hamb.* I 54, 14-15, in *P.Mich.* III 206, 19-20, in *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2680, 22, and in *P.Wash.Univ.* I 30, 30. These promises constitute a variant of a politeness-formula, which can be found in a variety of wording in the private letters, and was used, in order to state that, if the recipient of the letter asks of something, this is going to be done immediately by the sender.

The names of the persons who are going to carry the goods immediately are not mentioned. In some cases, where the adverb modifies verbs such as ἀποδίδωμι, δίδωμι, ἐκδίδωμι, ἐπιδίδωμι, κομίζω, παρακομίζω, παραφέρω, φέρω, the senders or recipients of the letters are also the couriers of the mentioned goods. When there is a third person, e.g. a courier, a prepositional structure is possible (διά + genitive) so that the identity of the courier can be provided.

In *BGU* I 249, 11 the items should be carried by a small donkey. In *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 218, 5-6 the courier should be the first person available who sails downstream. In *O.Did.* 343, 7 the camel-drivers carried the letter. In *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14 the sender asked for a lease contract which should be carried by the donkey-drivers or some other reliable person. This means that the donkey drivers were considered reliable as well. In *PSI* VII 821, 2 the courier is a boy or a young slave. Moreover, in *PSI* V 499, 2 some plants had been sent by Zenon, and had been carried to the destination by donkeys or some other animals<sup>167</sup>. The absence of such a prepositional phrase could imply that the means of transport were prearranged, or that the transportation was an usual one, and should be conducted as usual, or even that the sender or the recipient of the letter was himself responsible of finding a way to send the requested goods at once. In the first two cases the adverb could be considered as agent-oriented, i.e. the responsibility of the sender or the recipient of the letter was limited to delivering at once the requested goods to the people who were going to carry them, whereas in the third case the adverb is clearly result-oriented, i.e. the sender or the recipient of the letter is responsible for the whole process, until the immediate delivery of the requested goods to someone by the courier.

*The adverb in a subordinate clause of purpose.* The adverb cannot be found in any other adverbial subordinate clauses, except of purpose<sup>168</sup> in the following examples:

*BGU* I 249, 6-7 [ἵνα μ[ο]ι εὐθέως πεμφθῶσι | καὶ κρειθή, “so [these things] and barley are sent immediately to me”; *P.Mich.* VIII 488, 7-9 ἵνα εὐθέως πέμψῃ Ἀμμώνιον πρὸς τὸν | κατασπασμὸν τῆς ἐλάς, “that he may send Ammonius at once for the harvesting of the olives”, *P.Rain.Cent.* 79, 9-10 ἵνα ποιήσω, [ἢ] ἀναμείνω ᾧδε | ἢ ἀνέλθω εὐθέως, “so I’ll take action, or wait here, or come there at once”, *P.Ryl.* II 230, 9-11 μὴ ἵνα (l. μὴ ἵνα) | δόξωμὲν σε εὐθέως ἠλλάχθαι | τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, “so we are going to think at once that you have changed towards us”<sup>169</sup>, *P.Sel.Warga* 12, 8-9 ἵν’ εὐθέως ἀπολάβῃς ἐκλείσης, “so that as soon as you receive it, lock it up” (see above

<sup>167</sup> In *O.Did.* 445, 16 only the preposition διά, and a word starting with του are preserved; the latter could be the article τοῦ followed by the occupation or status of a person. What is not preserved is the identity of the courier. In *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 3 some amount of wine should be carried by the same person that was mentioned earlier, in the missing first part of the letter.

<sup>168</sup> It can be found in some noun clauses (*P.Warr.* 17, 9; *SB* VI 9616, v, 10; *SB* XVIII 13762, 6; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 5 and 15; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2981, 10; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1; *O.Claud.* I 174, 12; *P.Laur.* IV 187, 3; *O.Did.* 325, 5), and in two relative clauses (*P.Lond.* III 1041, 3 and *P.Giss.* I 70, 5). However, these clauses do not indicate how the immediate action is related to other actions.

<sup>169</sup> The translation proposed by the editor is “lest we think you to have become all at once estranged towards us”. In this case one would assume that the sender is in the position to know when exactly the change of attitude of the recipient of the letter took place, in order to infer that it happened suddenly. Moreover, he would be interested in that, and this is the reason he mentions it. However, both assumptions should be disregarded. The sender threatened the recipient of the letter that, if he fails to act in a certain way, this would immediately (εὐθέως) be considered as a change of attitude towards the sender. Therefore, the adverb modifies the verb δόξωμεν, and not the infinitive ἠλλάχθαι. In fact, the sender cared about the accomplishment of a certain task, and not about what the recipient of the letter was thinking of him. In addition, it is not easy to understand why, and how, the change of the attitude of the recipient of the letter would be sudden.



p. 139), *P.Sel.Warga* 13 4-5 ἴν' εὐθέως τὸ ἀργύριον [ἀπὸ] \ἐλλθης/ | ἔχων, “so that you may come immediately with the money”, *SB VIII* 9645, 7 ἴνα εὐθέως ἐνπεδ . . . (the verb of the clause is not preserved), *CPR XXV* 30, 3 {ε}ἴνα ἀπολήσῃ εὐθέως (*l. εὐθέως*) τ . . . [ . . . ] (the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the meaning is obscure).

In all these examples an action is described in the clause to which the subordinate clause refers, and which action is the presupposition of the immediate accomplishment of the second action, which is described in the subordinate clause. The opposite structure (i.e. the immediate action to be the prerequisite to another action) is not so frequent and requires that the adverb is in a conditional clause (cf. also the same use in the case of *ταχέως*, p. 241): *PSI I* 93, 17-20 ἐάν μοι εὐθέως πέμψεις Καλόκαιρον καὶ | τὴν ἐκχώρησιν Νε|μεισίλλης, “if you send me immediately Kalokairon and the deed of surrender of Nemesilla”, and in *P.Stras. IV* 193, 11-13 ἐάν γὰρ α . [ . . ] | μὴ κατελθεῖ[ν εὐθέ]|ως, “if you... don’t come at once”.

*The adverb in a clause after a conditional subordinate clause.* It is possible that a conditional subordinate clause precedes, in which the presuppositions of the speed are stated: there are two constructions:

(a) conditional clause + main clause (imperative or infinitive) + main clause starting with καὶ εὐθέως:

*BGU I* 249, 9-11 ἐάν δὲ μὴ λαβὼν | παρα[ . . . ] χαλκόν, ναυλώσαι ὄναριον καὶ | εὐθ[έως] . . . κομισθήτω, “if you do not receive ...”; *P.Abinn.* 25, 6-7 ἐάν σοι οὖν δοκ<ε>ῖ, κύριε, ἐλθ<ε>ῖν πρὸς | ἡμᾶς, καὶ εὐθέως γ{ε}ίνετα τὸ ἔργον, “if, then, it seems good to you, lord, come to us, and the work shall be done at once”; *P.Oxy. XXXIII* 2680, 20-21 ἐάν | τι θέλ[η]ς πεμφθῆναί σοι, γράψον μοι | καὶ εὐθέως σοι πέμψω, “if you want anything sent to you, write to me and I will send it you immediately”; *P.Wash.Univ. I* 30, 23-25 εἰ δὲ χρεῖαν ἔχεις ἄλλων | ἐ[πι]μηνηδίων, γράψον μοι | κα[ὶ] εὐθέως σοι κομισθήσεται etc., “if you have need of other supplies write to me and they will be brought to you at once etc.,” and 28-31 ἀντι[γ]ραφον | δέ μοι εἶπερ χρήσεις ἄ[λλ]ου, | καὶ εὐθέως σοι κομισθήσ[ε]ται, “write back to me if you need anything else and it will be brought to you at once”.

(b) conditional + main clause beginning with εὐθέως:

*P.Oxy. LXXVIII* 5179, 5-8 εἰ οὖν, ὡς γρά|φει, μήπω τῷ πενθερῷ αὐτοῦ | ἀπεστάλη, εὐθέως τῷ Ἡλιοδώρῳ | πέμψον αὐτὰ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, “so if, as he writes, it has not yet been dispatched to his father-in-law, send it immediately to Heliodorus in Alexandria”; *P.Bas.* 18, 9-10 ἐάν ὁ θεὸς θέλη, | εὐθέως ἦξω πρὸς σέ, “if the god wants it, I will come to you immediately”; *P.Oxy. II* 298, 16-18 ἐάν δέ τι ἄλλο προσοφεῖ| [ληται c. 12 letters] μενος, εὐθέως ἀπολήμψῃ ἐν τόσῳ καὶ εἰς | [τὸν c. 12 letters] πο[λ]εῖτην διαβαίνω, “if anything else is still owed...”; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 57, 1-2 ἐάμπερ (*l. ἐάνπερ*) ορθ[---] | εὐθέως παρέσει, εἰ δὲ μὴ, γίνωσκε διότι οὐθ[---]; *PSI XII* 1241, 28-29 εἴ τι δὲ ἐάν πράξω, εὐθέ|ως ὑμ{ε}ῖν δηλώσω, “if I do anything, I will tell you immediately”, *P.Mich. VIII* 466, 33-34 ἐάν οὖν με φιλῆς, εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δώ|σ<ε>ις γράψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, “if, then, you love me, you will straightway take pains to write to me concerning your health” (further discussion of this text on p. 149)<sup>170</sup>; *P.Hib. I* 45, 8-10 καὶ εἴ τι κερμάτιον | λελογεύκατε, φέρε|τε εὐθέως, “and if you have collected any money bring it at once”.

There are some clauses, the function of which is temporal rather than conditional or both temporal and conditional, although they are introduced only by a conditional conjunction:

E.g. in *P.Oxy. XLIX* 3505, 10-12 τὰ ἀργύρια ἐάν | συνλέξῃς, εὐθέως διὰ ἐπιθήκης διαπέμ|ψαι μοι, “if you collect the money, send it to me at once by letter of credit”, in *P.Amh. II* 153, 15-18 ἐάν δὲ ἐκφρήσῃ | τὰ ἀρρενικά πρόβατα, γράψον μοι εὐθέως | ὅτι π[ό]σα ἀρρενικά εἰσιν \καὶ πόσα θηλικά (*l. θηλυκά*)/ καὶ πέμψον τὴν | καταγραφήν αὐτῶν, “if you let out the male sheep write to me immediately how many males there are and how many females, and send me the register of them”, in *P.Oxy. XXXIII* 2680, 10-13 ἐάν αἰ | ὁδοὶ στερεωθ[ῶσι], εὐθέως ἀπε|λεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν γεωργόν σου | καὶ αἰτήσω αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκφόριά σου, “if the roads are firm, I shall go off immediately to your farmer and ask him for your rents”, in *P.Oxy. XLI* 2981, 9-12 ἐάν ἀναλάβω ἐμαυ|τόν,

<sup>170</sup> See Litinas 2004, 286.

εὐθέως ἐλεύσομαι σοι εἰς | Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τῶν ἀν|θρώπων τῶν ἀπὸ Πακέρκη, “if I recover I shall at once go to Alexandria for you with the men from Pakerke”, and in *P.Stras.* VI 581, 2, 9-10 ἐὰν πο|ρεύωμαι, ἐπιστελῶ σοι [εἰ]ϋθέως, “(if and) when I go...”.

*The adverb in a clause before a conditional subordinate clause.* In one case a conditional clause follows the adverb. *P.Bour.* 23, 9-12 ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς | ἄλλας δύο ἀγοράσῃ καὶ στροβί<λους> | δέκα, ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ἐὰν πέμ|πηται, “pour que lui aussi en achète deux autres livres et dix cônes, mais seulement s’il peut faire l’envoi immédiatement”, where we should put a full stop after δέκα, and understand an imperative of a verb with the adverb εὐθέως, i.e. πεμπέσθω (as in *ed. princ.*) or ἀγορασάτω (if we assume that the sense is to buy something immediately, if he is going to send something”).

*The adverb in a clause before or after a subordinate clause of reason.* Sometimes, a subordinate clause of reason follows, and clarifies the reason for the hastiness:

*P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 218, 3-8 πέμψατέ μοι, δι’ οὗ ἐὰν [ . . . ]μα[ . . . ] | τε, ἐλαίου ραφανίνου ἢ[μίχοα] ὀκτώ, | καὶ ὄξους Προσωπειτικοῦ ἑπτὰ, εὐ|θέως, διὰ προτέρου κατα|πλέοντος, ἐπεὶ δῶρον αὐτὰ | διδοί, “mandatemi, per mezzo di chi..., 8 semichoa di olio di rafano e 7 di aceto Prosopitico, subito, per mezzo del primo di voi due che verrà giù, perchè devo darli in regalo”; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 3-5 πέμψον δὲ εὐθέως διὰ τῆς σήμερον | [ἡμέρας(?)] Ἰω|άννης (*l.* [Ἰω]άννην) καὶ Παρσάκις (*l.* Παρσάκιν) μετὰ τῶν σπαθίω[ν] αὐτῶν καὶ σκουταρίων, ἐπειδὴ θέλω | [τούτους] ἐ[γ]γύς μου, “send immediately to-day John and Parsakis with their swords and shields, for I desire their presence”; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1-3 εὐθέως καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν Θεόδωρον τὸν παραπομπὸν πέμψη μοι ἐνταῦθα | ἢ σὴ γνησία λαμπρότης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸν [ἀ]γβλέπει ὁ περιβλεπτος ἀργυροπράτη[ς] κατελθεῖν | ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, “immediately and at that very moment let your true excellency send to me here Theodoros the collector(?), since the noble money-changer expects(?) him to go down to Alexandria”; *P.Rain.Cent.* 79, 10 ἢ ἀνέλθω εὐθέως, ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ οὐτεμία ἀπόκρισις ἕως ἄρτι ἤλ[θε]ν “because no answer has arrived until now”; *SB XIV* 12176, 1-6 εὐθέως | πέμψον μοι ἐν ἄσκοις | ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπο|θήκ(ης) ὀμφακίν(ου) μετ(ρητὰς) ε, ἐπ<ε>ὶ | εἶληφα ἀρραβῶνα πρὸς (δραχμάς) ρκ, | καὶ λαχαν( ) (ἀρτάβας) ἢ πρὸς (δραχμάς) κε, “send me immediately in skins from the store in the house of Apollon 5 metretai of wine made from unripe grapes(?), since I have accepted a pledge for 120 drachmae, and 8 artabae of vegetable-seed(?) at 25 drachmae”; *SPP XX* 224, 2-3 γράψατέ μοι | εὐθέως, ἐπειδὴ ἔχω, “write me immediately, because I have”; *SB VI* 9616, 8-9 ἀντιγράψαι μοι εὐθέως, | ἐπειδὴ, ὡς οἶδεν ὁ θεός, κλέων (*l.* κλαίων) καὶ θλ[ι]βόμενος ἔγραψα ταῦτα, “write back to me immediately, because I was crying and distressed, while writing these things”; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 5-7 ἀλλά, διὰ τὸν θεόν, εὐθέως | γράψη ἡμῖν ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς εἶπον, πάνυ | ὀλιγωρεῖ, “so, for God’s sake, let my master write to us immediately, because, as I said, he worries”.

However, in *PSI XV* 1563, 9-15 ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ τοίνυν Θεόγνω|στος ὁ χ<ε>ριστὴς περίστασιν παν|θάν<ε>ι καθ’ ἡμέραν ἔνεκεν ὑμῶν, | εὐθέως οὖν ἢ ὑμεῖς ἀνέλ|θατε καὶ διαγράφαται ἢ ἀπο|στ<ε>ίλατε τὸν παρέχοντα τὸ μ[έ]λ[ο]ς ὑμῶν Θεογνώστω, “because Theognostos, the administrator, suffers from fits every day because of you...”, the subordinate clause of reason precedes the adverb. In *P.Ryl.* II 229, 7-11 ἐπεὶ οὖν | ἔπεμψάς μοι (ἀρτάβας) γ ἔρωτῶ σε | ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου εὐθέως μοι | πέ[μ]ψαι τὰς ἄλλας (ἀρτάβας) γ, καὶ τὸ | ὀψάριον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πλοίῳ εἰμί, “you have sent me 3 artabae; I ask you therefore to do your utmost to send the remaining 3 artabae immediately and the relish, as I am on board a boat”, one subordinate clause of reason precedes, and one follows the adverb<sup>171</sup>.

*The adverb in a clause before a subordinate clause of purpose.* This structure is more usual, and can be found in many private letters. The prerequisite of the immediate

<sup>171</sup> A participle of reason is found before εὐθέως in *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 8-10 ἢ γὰρ διορκὴ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τὸν Οὐαλεριανὸν | μὴ ἐθέ[λο]ντα. ἀντιδιαστειλαμένης αὐτῷ τῆς | γυναι[κός]. εὐθέως πρὸς αὐτὴν καταστάσθαι, “for the delay arose in the fact that Valerianus, not by his own wish, but because his wife controverted our orders to him, went off straightway to her”.

action is stated by the use of the main clause, and something has to be done immediately so that something else will or will not happen, e.g.:

Positive clause of purpose: *P.Coll. Youtie* I 54, 8-11 εἰ δὲ | μὴ, γράψον αὐτῷ εὐθέως | ἵνα καταλάβῃ ἢ ἐπιστολῇ | αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀποχωρισμόν, “if not, write to him immediately so that the letter arrives before his departure”, in *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 72, 2-5 εὐ|θέως οὖν ἀρ[γ]ύριον ἐτοί|μασον {ε}[ἴ]να π[α]ρ[ε]ρχόμε|νος εὖρω πρ[ὸ] ἐμοῦ, “...so I will find it, when I come”, in *P.Oxy.* III 532, 10-14 ἀναγκαίως οὖν τῷ | ἀναδιδοῦντί σοι τὸ ἐπιστό|λιον τοῦτο εὐθέως | ἀπόδος ὅπως κάμῃ | ἄσкулτον ποιήσης, “be sure therefore to give this sum at once to the bearer of this letter, that you may save me too from trouble”; *PSI V* 498, 4-6 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχουσ[ῶν] αὐτοῖς(?) | [γυ]ναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, ἵνα ἐχθῶμεν (*l.* ἐκθῶμεν) εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφέντα [αὐτῶν(?)] | [πλ]ήθη τὴν γινομένην αὐτοῖς σιτομετρίαν, “...so we’ll calculate the rations of corn according to their population”; *P.Ness.* III 75, 6-7 καλῶς (*l.* καλῶς) οὖν ποιεῖτε εὐθέως (*l.* εὐθέως) καὶ ὑμ<ε>ῖς [.] . . ἄζοντες ἵνα εὐρεθόμε[ν] (*l.* εὐρεθῶμεν) | πάντες μιᾶς ψυχῆς καὶ μιᾶς ὠμονοίας (*l.* ὁμονοίας), “...so we’re in solidarity and in amity with each other”; *P.Bas.* 18, 5-8 Τιθοῆς ἦλθεν <ε>ἰς Θ[ε]ρ[ε]ν[οῦ]θιν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ <ε>ἰς Λητοῦς | εὐθέως γεινόμεθα, ἵνα ἐκεῖ | ἐργασώμεθα, “...so we’ll work there”; *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 279, 9-11 εὐθέως οὖν μνησ|θήσῃ αὐτῷ ἵνα ἐγκατέλ|θῃ (*l.* ἐγκατέλθη), “presto dunque ricordagli di ritornare”; *P.Berl.Möller* 9, 3-6 εὐ ποιήσεις εὐ|θέως κοιμισάμενος | τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παραγενάμενος | [εἰ]ς τὸ λογισ[τ]ήριον, ὅπως κατα|χωρίσῃς τὰ ἐνλίποντα βυβλ[ί]α, “du wirst gut daran tun unmittelbar nachdem du meinen Brief bekommen hast, dich in die Rechenkammer zu begeben, um dort die noch fehlenden Akten abzugeben”; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 13, 1 [πέ]μψαι εὐθέως τὰ οἰνάρια ἔξω, ἵνα βλ[ή]θῃ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, “die Weine sofort abzuschicken, damit sie verladen werden”; *P.Ryl.* IV 557, 6-7 εὐθέως δὲ καὶ τὰ γενέθλ[ι]α τοῦ [βα]σιλέως ποῦ δι[έ]γν[ω]κεν ἄγειν καὶ τίνοι ἡμέραι ὡς τῶν | Αἰγυπτίων ἢ θυσία ἔσται, ὅ[πως] εἰδῶμεν, “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”; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 15-17 καὶ εὐθέως μοι | διαπέμψατε, ὅπως κἀγὼ προσέλθω | τῷ μείζονι, “and immediately send me notice, so that I also contact the higher authority”. The subordinate clause always follows the adverb.

Negative clause of purpose: *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59129, 14-19 [καὶ αὐθῆ] [καὶ ὄπ] ὡς δ’ ἂν | ἀποτρίψωσιν | αὐτάς, εὐθέως ἀγέτωσαν, | ὅπως μὴ συγκαυθεῖσα | ἔγλευκος (*l.* ἔκλευκος) γένηται | καὶ ἀχρεῖος, “...so it does not become white and useless, if it is burnt up”; *O.Leid.* 330, 8-11 εὐθέως | ἀπάρτισον αὐτὸ(ν) ἵνα | μηδεμίαν ἐποχῆ(ν) | γενέσθαι, “...so that there are no suspensions of payment”; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3505, 17-19 εὐθέως δὲ | τὸν αὐτὸν Δίδυμον ἀπόλυσον, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ | πλ<ε>ῖον παρέλκηται παρὰ σοί) the adverb modifies the aorist imperative ἀπόλυσον, “let the same Didymus go at once, so that he may not be detained longer with you”; *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 18-21 γράψω | γάρ σοι εὐ|θέως μετὰ τὸν περισπανμόν (*l.* περισπασμόν) τοῦ|τον, {ε}[ἴ]να μὴ περὶ τῶν σοι διαφερόντων | φροντί[σ]η[ς], “for I shall write to you immediately after this distraction, so that you may not be anxious concerning your affairs”; *P.Oxy.* III 533, 5-6 εὐθέως<sup>172</sup> δημοσιώσατε αὐτὰ πρὸ τοῦ | Φαῶφι, ἵνα μὴ ἐκπρόθεσμα γένηται, “issue them at once before Phaophi that they may not be later than the due time”; *P.Oxy.* L 3570, 14-16 ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ποιήσον | ἀποσταλῆναι, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν αἰ|τίαν ταύτην δόξωσιν τι μέμφεσθαι, “get it sent straight away so that they may not think of blaming us in any way on this account”.

*The adverb in a clause before or after a temporal clause or participle.*

In *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 38-40 ἐργασίαν δὲ δώσω εὐθέως ἂν ἄρ|ξῆται ὁ ἡγεμῶν διδόναι κομμεᾶτον, | εὐθέως ἐλθ<ε>ῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, “I shall take pains, as soon as the commander begins to grant furloughs, to come to you immediately”, εὐθέως ἂν replaces the temporal conjunction, by which the clause is introduced, while the second εὐθέως functions as a modifier of ἐλθεῖν. The introductory phrase is equivalent to the phrases εὐθύς ὡς ἂν and εὐθέως ὡς ἂν τάχιστα (see Litinas 2004, 286-287<sup>173</sup>). A close parallel is provided by *SB VI* 9121, 2-3 εὐθέως ἂν σοι | ἔλθῃ ἢ [ἐ]πιστολῇ, εὐθέως παραγ{ε}ίνου, “as soon as the letter

<sup>172</sup> A full stop should be put here (instead of comma of *ed. princ.*), as a new clause begins with the adverb εὐθέως.

<sup>173</sup> In *P.Oxy.* VIII 1155, 2-7 γι<γ>νωσκ<ε>ῖν σε [θέ]λλω ἔτι (*l.* ὅτι) εὐθύς ἐπιβέβη|κα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρην. εὐ|θέως <μ>εμέλ<η>κε ἐμοὶ περὶ | τοῦ πράγ{α}ματος οὐ με ἠ|ρώτηκες, “I wish you to know that as soon as I arrived at Alexandria I immediately attended to the matter about which you asked me”, the temporal clause is introduced by the adverb εὐθύς without the particle ἂν, as the latter is not allowed by the mood of the verb of the clause.

reaches you, come immediately” (transl. by Eitrem and Amundsen) or “just as soon as the letter reaches you, come at once” (transl. by Bagnall and Criboire 2006), in which there are also two occurrences of the adverb, discussed by N. Litinas, “The Expressions “to Annoy” as Used in Alexandria and “to Sit on a Donkey””, *CE* 88, 2013, 307-312, esp. 309; see also Litinas 2004, 286-287).

The most striking difference between the use of the adverbs *εὐθέως* and *ταχέως* (see p. 241) is that the former can be preceded or followed by a temporal participle or clause.

**Preceded by a temporal participle:** *SB* III 6299, 1-3 λαβώ(ν) μου | τὸ ἐπιστόλιον τοῦτο εὐθέως ἀνάβα πρὸς ἐμέ, “when you receive this letter (and “as soon as you read it” is meant), come to me”; *SB* XXVI 16808, 10-12 λαβῶν | δὲ [ταῦ]τά μου τὰ γράμματα εὐθέως | ἄν[ελ]θε, “wenn Du aber meinen Brief erhalten hast, komm sofort herauf”; *O.Did.* 343, 4...10 λαβῶν τὸ ὄστρακον..., εὐθέως ἔγραψα καὶ | ἔπειμιά σοι ἀντιφώνησιν διὰ τῶν κα[μηλι]τῶν, “having received your ostrakon..., I write at once and send you a reply through the camel-drivers”; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59204, 4-6 διακούσας γὰρ τῶν τε ἔξ Ἡφαιστιάδος | λαῶν καὶ Ἀμμενέως εὐθέως ἀν[α]κάμψε[ι] | πρὸς ἡμᾶς, “when he hears about the men of Hephestias and Ammeneus, immediately he will come to us”; *P.Flor.* II 187, 7-11 (= *PSI* VII 832, 6-10) ὄψη κομισάμενος | τὸ ἐπιστόλιον | εὐθέως μοι πέμ[ψ]ις (*l.* πέμψης) τὰ δύο κεράμι[α] | τῶν κα\π/πάρεων ἰδ[---], “take care, when you receive my letter, immediately send me the two jars with capers”; *P.Sarap.* 84 a, 9-10 λαβῶν | δὲ εὐθέως πέμψω, “dès que je la recevrai, je ferai l’envoi”; *PSI* XV 1553, 3-5 λαβόντες σου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον ἐγενόμεθα | εὐ[θ]έως ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ φί[ι]λοι περὶ | τὸ διαφέρον σοι πρᾶγμα, “when we received your letter...”; *SB* VI 9616, 9-11 γυνῶναι δὲ βούλομαι τὸν ἐμὸν [δεσ]πότην, ὅτι φθάσαντος | τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἰλλουστρί[ου] Ταυρίνου εἰς τὴν Ἀντινόου εὐθέως ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν | [εἰ]ς προσκύνησιν, “when the glorious illustrious Taurinos arrived at Antinoopolis...”; *P.Köln* II 107, 3-6 λαβῶν μου τὰ γράμ[μα]τα | εὐθέως γενοῦ πρὸς ἐμέ | εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν | ἢ εἰ[ς] τ]ὴν Ἀραβ[ί]αν., “wenn du meinen Brief erhalten hast, komme sofort zu mir in die Gauhauptstadt oder nach Arabia”; *SB* VI 9415 (23), 3-4 ἐντυχῶν [---] | [---]σον εὐθέ[ως] ---, “when you meet...”; *O.Did.* 434, 3-5 ἐπιμεληθεὶς τοῦ | ἵππου, εὐθέ[ως] | πρὸς σὲ σπεύδ[ω], “after taking care of the horse, I hasten to you at once”; *P.Bingen* 121, 11-12 δεξάμενοι οὖν{ } τὰ γράμματα τῆς θεοσέβ<ε>ϊαν (*l.* θεοσεβείας) σου | εὐθέως ἐσυνεχωρήσαμεν αὐτόν, “ayant donc reçu la lettre de ta piété, nous l’avons tout de suite dispensé”; *P.Giss.* I 70, 3-6 ἡ ἀναγραφή τετραγώνου κατέσχεν | ἡμ[ᾶ]ς μέχρι ὥρας ἕκ[τ]ης ἧς ἀπαρτιθ[έ]ισης εὐθέως [ἐπι]ορεῦσθην εἰς τ[ὸ]ν | ὄρμ[ο]ν, “das Verzeichniss des Tetragonon nahm uns bis 12 Uhr in Anspruch. Nach dessen Erledigung ging ich sofort zum Hafen”; *P.Lond.* III 897, 5 {ε}ίνα παραγενάμεν[ο]ς εὐθέως πάλ[ε]ιν ἐπήρία μοι γένη[τ]αι, “when I went there...”, and 23-24 κ[α]ὶ π[α]ραγενάμενος εὐ[θ]έως | [, “when you come here...”. *P.Stras.* VII 652, 67-69 μέμνησαι γάρ, κύριε, | πῶς ἐλθῶ[ν] εὐθέως ἀπὸ Ἀρσινοῦ|ἵτου ἀνήνεγ[κ]ά σοι περὶ τῶν δραχμ[ῶ]ν) provides a similar case, although the word order is unusual and confusing. The adverb *εὐθέως* follows the temporal participle and precedes a prepositional structure which is constructed with the participle. We should understand the text either as *εὐθέως ἐλθῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρσινοῦ*, ἀνήνεγκά σοι οἱ ἐλθῶν ἀπὸ Ἀρσινοῦ, *εὐθέως ἀνήνεγκά σοι*, which means that either *εὐθέως* or ἀπὸ Ἀρσινοῦ is an afterthought in the mind of the scribe.

**Followed by a temporal participle:** *P.Oxy.* XVI 1829 provides a special case, in which the adverb follows the modified verb in ll. 4-6 ὅτι οὐκ ἡμελήθη | [ἡ] κέλευσις ὑμῶν ἀλλ’ ἐπληρώθη εὐθέως αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου | [ἄρ]χοντος καταλαβόντος, “that your commands were not neglected but were executed immediately, when he, the most magnificent praeses, arrived”, and precedes it in ll. 15-17 [ὅ]τι τοῦ μεγαλοπρ[επεστάτου] ἄρχοντος καταλαβόντος εὐθέως ἡ κέλευσις ὑμῶν | ἐγένετο καὶ εἰ[μ]ὴ ὡς ἐβουλήθητε καὶ ἐπετρέψατε οὐκ ἀντεφωνήθη | ὁ πρακτῆρ, τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐχρησάμην, “that your commands were executed immediately, when the most magnificent praeses arrived, and that the collector was given no answer but such as you wished and directed, I have written to you”<sup>174</sup>. The word order is just a matter of stylistic preference. The structure of ll. 4-6, in which the temporal participle following both the adverb *εὐθέως* and the modified constituent, can also be found in *P.Warr.* 14, 30-34 κὲ (*l.* καὶ) οὕτως κομίσητε τὰ | γράμματα, κὲ (*l.* καὶ) εὐθέως | ἀναπέμψατε μοι, τῆς δὲ | γυνεκὸς (*l.* γυναικὸς) ἐφιδούσης αὐ|τῆς τὴν ὑπογραφὴν, “and get them (i.e. the bonds) back in this way and send them immediately to me; and that, as soon as the woman herself has seen my signature”.

**Before a temporal subordinate clause introduced by πρὶν ἤ:** *SB* XXVI 16563, 11-13 [---] ρνα κοτύλας κατὰ κ . . . τῆς | [---] πᾶσχητε ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ἀπαιτῶ | [---] πρὶν ἢ χ(όες) ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ἀνασπάων, “before he

<sup>174</sup> B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt seem to consider that the adverb modifies the temporal participle “that your commands were not neglected but were executed as soon as he, the most magnificent praeses, arrived”.

comes to pull up something”; *P.Stras.* IV 193, 3-8 πάντη<sup>175</sup> πάντως [ . . . . ] | ἐπιστόλιον εὐθέως κά|τελθε ποτίσω[ν τὸ] | κληρίον πρὶν [ἢ τὸ ὕ]|δωρ σταθῆ ἐν [διώ]|ρουγι, “in any way, when you receive the letter<sup>176</sup>, come to water the allotment, before the water is halted in the canal”.

After a temporal subordinate clause, introduced with a variety of temporal conjunctions: *BGU* III 821, 6-7 ὅταν ἡ{ν} τι κλαι/νότερον, | εὐθέως σοι δηλ[ώ]σω, “when something new happens, I will tell you”; *P.Alex.Giss.* 44, 3-5 ὡς ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τοῦ λογαρείδιου τῶν | δεδαπανημένων, εὐθέως σοι ἔπεμψα | τρία ψιάθα, “when you wrote me about the account of the expenses...”; *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 11-12 ἐπὶ ἀν διαταγῶ καὶ γνῶ <ε>ἰς ποίαν | <ε>ἴμι εὐθέως σοι δηλῶ, “when I have been assigned and know where I am going, I will let you know at once”; *P.Oxy.* IV 839 descr. ὡς ἐναυάγησεν κατὰ Πτολεμαίδα καὶ ἦλθέ μοι γυμνὸς κεκινδυνευκῶς, (for comma instead of a stop see Litinas 2004, 286) εὐθέως ἠγόρῃσα αὐτῶι στολήν, “when he was cast away and came to me naked, after being in danger...”; *P.Ryl.* II 244, 5-9 ὡς ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου ἵνα | βιβλ[ε]ῖδια ἀναδῶμεν, εὐθέως | ἔμαθον παρὰ Εὐτυχ[ι]ανοῦ ὅτι | ἀνεδόθη, “when you wrote to me concerning your sister that we should present a petition, I forthwith learned from Eutyuchianus that one had been presented”.

A writer could use any possible structure that works better when he writes, and even switch between preferred structures at different points in the same letter. In *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59155 both possible structures involving a temporal modifier near εὐθέως are attested. In ll. 2-3 ὡς ἂν οὖν ἐχειρήσῃς (l. ἐκχειρήσῃς) τὸν πρῶιον οἶτον, | εὐθέως πότισσον, “after harvesting the early corn, immediately water the field”, a temporal subordinate clause precedes the adverb, while in l. 6 καταψύξας εὐθέως | κατὰσπειρε τὸν τρίμηνον πυρόν, “when you dry the land...”, the adverb follows a temporal participle.

In the Roman period there was a tendency to place the temporal subordinate clause or participle between the adverb and the modified constituent. Most of the examples of this syntax<sup>177</sup>, which does not occur after the early Byzantine period, were studied by Litinas (2004, 285-287). In *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 3-8 οὐδ[εῖ]ς μοι ἤνεγκεν | ἐπιστολήν περὶ ἄρτων, | ἀλλ’ εὐθέως, <ὔστερον> ἢ ἔπεμψας διὰ Κολλούθου | ἐπιστολήν, {ε}ἰδοῦ ἄρ|τάβη σοι γίνεται, “no one has brought me a letter about the bread, but after you send a letter by Colluthus, an artaba will come to you immediately” (see N. Litinas, *BASP* 51, 2014, 191-196, esp. 193), the temporal clause (after you sent the letter by Kollouthos) is placed between the adverb and the modified constituent.

In *PSI* VII 822, 11-16 ἐξερχόμεθα ἐπὶ τὸν | κληρὸν καθῆσθαι μέχρι οὗ τὴν | φάσιν ἡμ{ε}ἶν ἐνέγκῃς \σήμερον/. εὐθέως | ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐξέστηκα τοὺς | ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐξῆλθον διαν[ . . . . ] | ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ (see Litinas 2004, 286) a temporal participle (when I heard these things) would be found between the adverb and the modified constituent.

<sup>175</sup> A full stop should be put just before the adverb πάντη, since the greeting formula follows, and the adverb seems to be the first word of the sentence.

<sup>176</sup> A participle which means “you received” would be restored in the lacuna at the end of l. 3, e.g. λαβὼν τὸ ἐπιστόλιον etc.

<sup>177</sup> *P.Oxy.* X 1291, 3-8 (A.D. 30); *P.Berl.Möller* 9, 3-6 (A.D. 45); *P.Col.* VIII 212, 3-7 (A.D. 49); *BGU* III 844, 3-6 (A.D. 83); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3357, 14-18 (late I A.D.); *P.Heid.* II 211, 3-9 (I-II A.D.); *P.Mert.* II 83, 20-24 (late II A.D.); *PSI* XV 1540, 2-9 (late II A.D.); *W.Chr.* 480, 6-10 (II A.D.); *P.Laur.* IV 187, 2-5 (II A.D.); *P.Lund.* II 2, 3-5 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 3-7 (II A.D.); *P.Sel.Warga* 12, 7-11 (II A.D.); *PSI* VII 822, 11-16 (II A.D.); *O.Leid.* 329, 3-7 (II-III A.D.); *SB* XIV 12026, 5-12 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5112, 3-6 (c. A.D. 212-246); *P.Flor.* II 171, 2-6 (A.D. 255); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3291, 1 (c. A.D. 258-260); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 26-29 (c. A.D. 270); *BGU* IV 1030, 2-5 (middle III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* II 192, 3-5 and 6-8 (III A.D.); *PSI* VIII 970, 3-7 (III A.D.); *P.Oslo* II 62, 3-6 (first half of IV A.D.); *P.NYU* I 25, 9-12 (IV A.D.). *PSI* V 514, 8-9 (251 B.C.) εὐθέως δὲ τοῦτῳ ἐχόμενα κατὰπεμψον τὰ ἐπι|σταλέντα εἰς τὰ γενέθλια τοῦ βασιλέως is an example from the Ptolemaic period. The use of the temporal participle (“when they are ready”, genitive absolute instead of ἐχομένων) between the adverb and the modified constituent is different than the one which became popular in the Roman period.

In *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 6-9 κα[λ]ῶς οὔν πο[ι]ή[σ]εις, μήτηρ, λαβοῦσα | ἡμῶν [τ]ὰ [γ]ράμματα καὶ εὐθέως <ε>ἰσελθοῦσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, γινώσκου|σα ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός μου Μάρκος ἐν προλήμψ<ε>ι ἐστὶν πολλῇ τῇ πε|ρὶ τοὺς κ[ά]μμοντας καὶ τὸ ἰατρ<ε>ῖον, “du wirst nun gut tun, Mutter, nach Erhalt unseres Briefes unverzüglich zu uns zu kommen. Du weißt ja, das mein Bruder Markos viel Sorge hat mit den Kranken und der Heilanstalt”, a temporal participle λαβοῦσα | ἡμῶν [τ]ὰ [γ]ράμματα is placed between the main verb κα[λ]ῶς οὔν πο[ι]ή[σ]εις and καὶ εὐθέως <ε>ἰσελθοῦσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς. The participle <ε>ἰσελθοῦσα is attracted in a way by the previous one λαβοῦσα, and it is used instead of the infinitive εἰσελθεῖν. The conjunction καὶ is placed there probably as intensive (cf. above, after a conditional), while the adverb precedes the modified participle <ε>ἰσελθοῦσα. The syntax in ll. 26-29 is clear: διὸ οὔν, | μήτηρ, ὡς φρονίμη γυνή, λαβοῦσα ὑμῶν τὰ γράμματα | ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρποκρᾶ, εὐθέως οἰκονομήσασα τὰ σεαυτῆς, | τὴν φροντίδα τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ποιοῦ, “daher nun, Mutter, bringe als verständige Frau nach Erhalt unseres Briefes von Harpokras deine Angelegenheiten unverzüglich in Ordnung und lasse dir den gedanken an (die Reise zu) uns angelegen sein”.

There are some letters, in which a combination of two subordinate clauses of different kinds can be found near the adverb εὐθέως:

In *P.Heid.* II 211, 3-7 εὐθέως λαβὼν τὸ ἐπι|στόλιον κατάντησον πρὸς | μὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἵνα συμ|βάλης τῷ κωμογραμματεῖ | τῶν ἐνθάδε, “so you will help the komogrammateus there”, one temporal participle (when you receive the letter) and one subordinate clause of purpose (so you’ll help the komogrammateus there) follow. This combination is also attested in *P.Mert.* II 83, 20-24 εὐθέως οὔν λαβὼν | τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μετὰ γραφον ἡμ(ε)ῖν, ἔμοι καὶ Θερ|μουθίω, ἔμοι μὲν, ἵνα μάθω ἢ \ν/ ποι\η/ις μου τὴν | φροντίδα, Θερμουθίω δέ, ἵνα οὐ ἕαν χρήζης | μὴ ὑστερήσης, “so, as soon as you get this letter, be sure to write back to us, (that is,) to me and Thermouthion - to me, so that I may know whether you are seeing to my matter, and to Thermouthion, so that you won’t fail to get what you want”.

In *CPR* XIV 52, 14-15 εὐθέως ἵνα ποιήσω τὴν χρεῖαν, ἐπειδ[ὴ] οὐκ ἐστὶ ---] | κέρδος τοῦ πράγματος \τούτου/ εἰς σὲ αν .[. .] εἰ a subordinate clause of purpose (in order to cover the needs) and a clause of reason (because there is no gain out of it) follow.

In *O.Claud.* II 290, 6-8 ἔδει σέ μοι εὐθέως | γράψαι δι’ αὐτοῦ ἵν’ αὐτὸν ἀπαιτήσω, | καὶ οὐχ ὅτε ἀπῆλθε, “tu devais m’écrire aussitôt par son intermédiaire pour que je le lui réclame et non après qu’il fut parti”, a subordinate clause of purpose and a temporal one follows.

In *P.Laur.* IV 187, 20-22 ἐπεὶ περ γ(ε)ῖνονται εἰς Ἀμμ[ωνιακή]ν, [εὐ] | θέως ἀπέλυσα Ὀφέλλιον ἐκεῖ ἵνα μοι τὸ ἡμ[ισ]υ τ[ῶ]ν καμ[ή] | λων ἐνέγκῃ, “since they are making for Ammoniake(?), I straightaway sent Ophellios there to bring me half of the camels”, a subordinate clause of time precedes, and a clause of purpose follows.

In *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 219, 2-5 κ[ατα]γραφέντων(?) ἀμπελι|[κῶν] εὐθέως μοι [. .] χορ[. .] | [ἀπό]τε|μψον, ἐπε[ὶ] | χρ[ε]ία | [ἐστὶ] γεωργεῖν, “dai vigneti..., mandami subito... perchè bisogna fare i lavori nei campi”, a temporal participle precedes, and a subordinate clause of reason follows.

In *P.NYU* I 25, 9-12 [[εα] ἕαν | δὲ μὴ πέμψης (l. πέμψης) τὴ ὠρισμένη ἡμέρα τὴν ἀλλαγὴν, | καθὼς περ μοι συνετάξω, εὐθέως τῆς ἡμέρας | τῆς ἀλλαγῆς καταλαβούσης ἀπαντήσω πρὸς σέ, “if you do not send the shift on the appointed day as you arranged with me, as soon as the day of the shift arrives I will come to you”, a conditional subordinate clause precedes, and a temporal participle phrase follows.

In *SB* VI 9285, 11-12 καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνόμισα τα[ῦ]τα μαθὼν εὐθέως γράψαι ὥστε μὴ συγ[χ]ωρῆσαι τοὺς ζυγοστάτας | παρὰ τὸ ἐ[θ]ο[ς] διαστρέψαι τινὰ, ἵνα μὴ τῇ αἰτία ταύτῃ τινὰ ἀπομείνῃ one temporal participle (when I learned these things) and a concession subordinate clause (so that I will not let the public weighers distort anything contrary to the custom) follows<sup>178</sup>.

*The adverb combined with other temporal adverbials.* Other structures, which were used in order to indicate the Time in a clearer and more accurate way are:

<sup>178</sup> This is the only occurrence of such an adverbial clause near εὐθέως.

Prepositionals, e.g. κατ' αὐτήν τὴν ὥρα, which is connected to the adverb by a coordinating conjunction<sup>179</sup>; πρὸ τοῦ Φαῶφι, “before Phaophi” (*P.Oxy.* III 533, 5-6); μετ' ἄφιξίν σου, “after your departure” (*P.Mich.* VIII 497, 11-12); μετὰ τὴν ἐορτήν, “after the festival” (*P.Oxy.* III 530, 30),

Other adverbs, e.g. νῦν πέμψον Ἀκουτᾶν | εὐθέως “now”, (*P.Tebt.* II 422, 21-22); ἅμα and ἐχθές (*P.Mil.Vogl.* II 61, 3-4); πρωί, “in the morning” (*PSI* IV 402, 10),

Temporal genitive or dative, e.g. ὄρθρου (*P.Warr.* 17, 9). In *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 8 the adverbial phrases ὡς ἂν δὲ τάχιστα and ἅμα τῇ ὥραίαι are connected by an asyndetic coordination to the adverb, in order that emphasis is laid on how immediately the described action should be performed.

Relative clauses: εἰς ὃν καιρὸν | ἐγράψαμεν ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἐπιστολαῖς (*PSI* V 514, 9-10), where the prepositional phrase clarifies the previous εὐθέως. This relative clause is different to the one in *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 19-20 καθὼς ἔθος ἔχεις, “as your custom is”, which is unrelated to the adverb εὐθέως and the exact time when the action is due to be performed.

*Corrections and debatable restorations:*

The restoration (*exempli gratia*) of the adverb εὐθέως in *P.Lond.* III 897, 25-26 ἀλλά μοι [εὐθέως(?)] | τὴν ἀλήθειαν γράψον is debatable.

In *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 17-21 τὸ συνηλεγμένον [δὲ] | πλωμα ἐπαναγκασ[ . . . ] | τὸν ἱατρὸν ταχέως[ς] | σφραγίσαι αὐτ[ . . . ] | ψεῖς εὐθέως, “when(?) you have compelled the doctor to seal the enclosed double document quickly, . . . immediately”, the verb before the adverb εὐθέως could be restored as [πέμ]ψεις as a modified constituent<sup>180</sup>.

In *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 34-35 ἐὰν οὖν με φιλήῃς εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δῶ | σ<ε>ῖς γράψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου the translation in the *ed. princ.* “if, then, you love me, you will straightway take pains to write to me concerning your health” is debatable, because it was considered that the adverb modifies the infinitive γράψαι, so as to denote that the sender’s concern is the writing of the letter. If the recipient of the letters took pains immediately, but the writing was delayed, the pains he took would be of no use to the sender. What he really cares about is the writing of the letter, and this is what should be done at once. Thus, the text should be translated as “if then you love me, you will take pains to write me immediately concerning your health”.

In the Byzantine period the phrase εὐθύς καὶ παραχρῆμα occurs both in official documents and private contracts (cf. *ChLA* XLI 1195, 4-5 (A.D. 531-546); *P.Flor.* III 292, 4 (A.D. 543-544); 293, 5 (A.D. 544-545); *P.Münch.* I 13, 43 (A.D. 594); *P.Lond.* I 77, 30 (A.D. 610); *T.Varie* 3, 17 (A.D. 621-636)) and in private letters (cf. *P.Stras.* I 35, 17 (IV-V A.D.) and *P.Berl.Zill.* 13, 2 (VI A.D.)). The meaning of these two adverbs is the same (see LSJ *s.v.* παραχρῆμα 1), and it is interesting that in this period these two adverbs are paired.

<sup>179</sup> The tautology, which is created by the use of this structure, can be observed only in letters of the Byzantine period: e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1 (VI-VII A.D.), *P.Oxy.* XVI 1852, 3 (VI-VII A.D.), *P.Oxy.* LVI 3873, 2 (VI-VII A.D.), and *SB* III 7036, 2 (VI-VII A.D.).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. note in the *ed. princ.*, “Only about five letters can be missing at the end of 20, which hardly leaves room for καὶ *vel sim.* Therefore, in spite of ἐπανα[γ]κάσεις in 25-6, and even though this writer does not use participles elsewhere and is particularly fond of connecting his sentences with καὶ, we should probably restore a participle, ἐπαναγκάσ[ας], in 18. The subordinate clause looks as if it ought to end after σφραγίσαι (20). If so and if αὐτ[ is part of αὐτός, it must bear some stress. Perhaps restore αὐτ[ὸν (or αὐτ[ὸς) --- πέμ]ψεις εὐθέως. The whole would then mean, “When you have compelled the doctor to seal the enclosed double document, send the man himself” —or “send (it) yourself”—“immediately”. But αὐτ[ό, picking up the initial phrase, is also quite possible in colloquial language, see E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii I. 63-4, and we should probably punctuate after it, and translate “the enclosed double document, when you have compelled the doctor to seal it, send (to me) immediately”.

In the papyri the adverb παραχρῆμα (see LSJ *s.v.*) was used in private and formal documents, usually contracts of all periods in the acknowledgement of the receipt or in the legal clauses. However, in the Byzantine period the attestations are fewer than in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (the same is true of literature<sup>181</sup>). Its earliest attestations are found in a business letter, *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59011, verso 1 (c. 259 B.C.), in *dikaïomata*, *P.Hal.* 1, 25 and 230 (after 259 B.C.), and in the revenue laws, *P.Rev.Laws*, xviii 2; xxvi 10 (259-258 B.C.). The latest attestation is provided by a sale of part of a house, *SB* I 5114 (A.D. 630-640).

Out of the 659 examples so far in DDBDP, only 15 are found in private and business letters<sup>182</sup>.

In the letters of the Ptolemaic period the adverb usually modifies a preceding verbal form and the most cases it has the same meaning as εὐθέως:

*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59011, v, 1 (c. 259 B.C.) | παραχρῆμα \τὸν χαλκὸν/ ἡμόλιον, where it modifies a preceding term, now lost in the broken left part of the papyrus; *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59823, 6-7 (253 B.C.) κ[αί] τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ὁ ἄν ἡ | ὦι ἂν ἐπιστείλῃς διορθώσομαι παραχρῆμα, it modifies the preceding future indicative διορθώσομαι. *P.Zen.Pestm.* 69, 6 (III B.C.) π[α]ραχρῆμα καὶ τῶι, the adverb modified a preceding verbal form, now lost in the broken left part of the papyrus. Cf. also a memorandum to Zenon, *P.Mich.* I 97, 11-13 (middle III B.C.) τὴν δὲ τ[ε]μῆ\ν/ | . | παραχρῆμα | κομιῆι. *P.Hal.* 7, 34 (232 B.C.) διασάφῃσον ἡμ[ί]ν παραχρῆμα. It is restored in *SB* VI 9220b, 8-9 (254 B.C.) ἐγδεξάμενος ἕως Φαῶφι τριακάδος πρόσταγμα κομιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τῆ[ν] τιμὴν παραχρῆμα(?) | [τά]ξεσθαι μετρητῶν δέκα μόνον, but even though this restoration is probable, the position of the adverb seems peculiar.

The adverb precedes the modified constituent in:

*SB* VI 9089, 1-3 (250 B.C.) καθότι σοι | καὶ πρότερον ἐγράψαμεν, παραχρῆμα | ἀρίθμησον Θεοδώρωι τὰς Βριμδ (διώβολον); *UPZ* I 71, 17-18 (152 B.C.) καὶ αὐτὸς δέ | ὡς ἂν εὐκαιρήσω, παραχρῆμα παρέσομαι πρὸς σέ; *P.Tebt.* III.1 768, 16-17 (115 B.C.) ἀλλὰ πείθετ[α] | τὸ παραχρῆμα συ{ν} σχεθῆναι.

In the Roman and Byzantine periods the adverb usually precedes the modified constituent:

*SB* XIV 12176, 5-9 (late II A.D.) εἴληφα ἀρραβῶνα πρὸς (δραχμᾶς) ρκ, | καὶ λαχαν( ) (ἀρτάβας) ἡ πρὸς (δραχμᾶς) κε. | παραχρῆμα(α) [, where it seems to precede and modify a verbal form in the lacuna after it; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 3, 7-9 (III A.D.) διὸ οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσης καὶ | εἰς τ[ῆ]ν ὄνην (l. ὠνήν) καὶ πα[ρα]χρῆμα σοί (l. σύ) [α]ὐτὰ | ἀγγόρσαι; *P.Stras.* I 35, 16-17 (IV-V A.D.) θελήση οὖν ἡ σὴ ἀδελφότης δεχόμε[ινος] | τὰ γράμματά μου εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα γράψεν (l. γράψον) μοι, ἢ (l. εἰ) ἐδέξου. *PSI* XIV 1428, 8 (first half of VI A.D.?) ἀνηλθον ἐπὶ τῶ ἐμὲ προσκυῆσαι αὐτῶ καὶ παραχρῆμα ὑπαναλύσαι; *P.Berl.Zill.* 13, 2 (VI A.D.) τὰ τριάκοντα ἕξ κνίδια τὰ ὄξινα εὐθὺ (l. εὐθύ) καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀπέστειλα καμήλια. In *P.Köln* V 240, 5-6 (VI A.D.) τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν τὴν πρὸς Βικτορα τὸν διοικητὴν τῆς Ἀνταίου παραχρῆμα | καταξιώσατε πέμψαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀντίγραφα καὶ πέμψαι μοι, the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive πέμψαι.

The only exception is *SB* VI 9557, 28-30 (A.D. 264-282) ἐπέστειλάν τε | παραχρ[ῆ]μα τὸ ἀργύριον ἐξωδιασ[θ]ῆναι (l. ἐξοδιασθῆναι) ὑμῖν, which is a business letter, and where the adverb modifies the preceding aorist indicative ἐπέστειλαν.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. also *C.Gloss.Biling.* I 4, W, 2 (VI A.D.) [πα]ραχρῆμα *extemplo*.

<sup>182</sup> Official correspondence: *P.Mich.* I 43, 7 (253 B.C.); *SB* XII 10846, 8 (c. 205-204 B.C.); *P.Heid.* VI 365, 3 (second half of III B.C.); *P.Col.* IV 122, 4 (181 B.C.); *P.Genova* III 92, fr. A1, 8 (165 B.C.); *UPZ* I 110, 82 (164 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III.1 716, 12 (158 B.C.); *P.Ryl.* IV 572, 72 (II B.C.); *VBP* II 14, 5 (II-I B.C.); *SB* XII 11078, 17 (c. 100 B.C.); *BGU* VIII 1783, 23-24 (80-30 B.C.); *BGU* VIII 1787, 9 (64-44 B.C.); *BGU* VIII 1803, 3 (64-44 B.C.); *BGU* VIII 1749, 8 (63 B.C.); *P.Harrauer* 35, 70 (c. A.D. 250); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67061, 1 and 4 (middle VI A.D.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67202, 4 (VI A.D.)



εὐθύμως\* – εὐθυμότερον\*

In the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander (A.D. 68), *BGU VII 1563*, 4-7 (II A.D.) καὶ | [τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυ]πτον ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ διά[γ]ουσαν εὐθύμως | [ὑπηρετεῖν] τῇ τε εὐθηνίᾳ καὶ τῇ με[γίστῃ τῶν νῦν] | [καίρων] ἐ[υ]δαιμονίᾳ, the adverb is restored based on the text preserved in inscriptions; cf. Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 3, 9-10 (A.D. 68) καὶ τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυ[πτον ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ διάγ]ουσαν εὐθύμως | ὑπ[η]ρετεῖν; also see *ibid.*, no 4, 4.

The same adverb has been restored in a private letter, *O.Did.* 424, 9-13 (before A.D. 125-140) ταῦτα δὲ κάγῳ | ἄθυμῳ τῶν δύο ἀπεσ[σ]πασ[μ]ένων ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ Ἀπολλίου καὶ | Ἡριανοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὁμως εὐθύμ[ως] | ἡμᾶς δεῖ φέρειν, with the meaning “bravely”; the opposition between the verbs σὺ ἄθυμ<ε>ῖς (l. 8), ἄθυμῳ (l. 10) and the adverb εὐθύμ[ως] is striking. The phrase εὐθύμως φέρω occurs in the classical literature: cf. Xenophon *Cyrop.* 8.4.14 ὅτι τότε μὲν ἐώρων τοὺς πόρους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὐθύμως αὐτοὺς φέροντας, etc.; cf. LSJ *s.v.* εὐθυμος; Spicq 1978, 314-317.

The adverb does not occur in the official documents. Its comparative is attested also in a private letter modifying the verb διάγω, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1666, 21-22 (III A.D.) μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης, ἵνα κάγῳ περὶ ὑμῶν εὐθυ|μότερον διάξω.

εὐκαίρως\* – εὐκαιροτέρως(?)

The adverb εὐκαίρως is attested in official documents, such as leases and employment contracts and in petitions<sup>183</sup>.

With the meaning “seasonably, opportunely” (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐκαιρος IV; Spicq 1978, 318-320; Wagner 1999, 211-212) it occurs many times in the Zenon archive (the adverb is included in Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177). It modifies participles or verbs, and in the most cases it is placed after them. Moreover, in some examples a subordinate clause of purpose follows:

*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59508, 5 (258-256 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσῃς | προσε[νέγ]κας εὐκαίρως | καὶ δεῖ[ξ]ῃς ἐξελῶν ἐπὶ | π[ί]νακ[τ]ι, it modifies the participle προσενέγκας; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59038, 25-28 (before 257 B.C.), ἕως | ἂν Ἀπολλώνιον ἡμεῖς ἀξι[ώ]σωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ λαβόν[τ]ες εὐκαίρως it modifies the participle λαβόντες; in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59046, 6-10 (257 B.C.) it is used twice ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἀποδεδήμηκεν | πρὸς σὲ ἐντύχη σαυτῶ | εὐκαίρως. καλῶς ἂν οὖν | ποιήσῃς δούς αὐτῶ | σαυτὸν εὐκαίρως, modifying the verb ἐντύχη and the participle δούς, in both instances following them. For the second instance in l. 10, LSJ *s.v.* considers it to have the meaning “favourably, propitiously”, but it seems that in both cases the meaning is “seasonably”; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59064 (257 B.C.) is a business letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition. The adverb εὐκαίρως is used in l. 10, but the modified constituent is not preserved. It is likely that a form of the verb λαμβάνω (or another verb which should be the opposite of ἀπεδώκαμεν of l. 11) is lost at the end of l. 9. In *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59498, 13-15 (middle III B.C.) δοθῆναί μοι τὴν | σιτομετρίαν καὶ τὸ ὄψωνιον | εὐκαίρως, ἵνα σοι τὰς χρεῖας παρέσ[χ]ωμαι, it modifies the infinitive δοθῆναι, and a subordinate clause of purpose follows.

In the following examples the adverb modifies a verb form of ἀποδίδωμι:

*P.Lond.* VII 1969, 2-7 (before 255 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν ποι[ή]σῃς ἀποδοῦς Ἀπολλωνίῳ | τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐκαί[ρ]ως, ἵνα καὶ γράψῃ οἷς | δεῖ περὶ τῶν γεγραμ[μ]ένων, “please deliver this letter to Apollonios at a favourable moment, so that he may write to the appropriate persons concerning the contents”; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 22, 9 (257 B.C.) ὅπως | αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀποδοθῶσι Ἀπολλ[ω]νίῳ εὐκαίρως; *P.Lond.* VII 1943, fr. B, 3-13 (before 257 B.C.), καλ[ῶ]ς ἂν οὖν π[οι]ήσῃς | καὶ σὺ λαβ[ῶ]ν... | τῇ[ν] ἐπιστολὴν... | ... ἀπο[δο]ῦς εὐκαίρως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συν[σ]πεύσας φιλοτίμως..., ὅπως ἂν | ἐν τάχει τε γραφῇ καὶ ἵνα τὸ | πρῶτον αὐτῶ γένηται, “so please on your

<sup>183</sup> *P.Berl.Zill.* 1, 42 (156 B.C.) οὐκ ἂν εὐκαί[ρ]ως . . . [ . . . ] ἡ ἔλθοις, is an official letter. The adverb is restored and not certain. In the description of *P.Hal.* 17, 7 (III B.C.), the reading is ἐὰν εὐκαίρως ἔχης. However, in the photograph we can see that the letter after εὐ seems to be χ and not κ.

part when you receive from the bearer the letter... present it at a favourable opportunity and also add your zealous entreaties... so that word may be sent quickly and priority be given to its issue"; in this example two subordinate clauses of purpose follow. The phrase ἀποδοῦς εὐκαίρως, paired with the concept of φιλοτιμία, can be also found in *P.Lond.* VII 1944, 4-6 (before 257 B.C.) χαριεῖ οὖν μοι| ἀποδοῦς | εὐκαίρως καὶ φιλοτιμηθεῖς ἵνα συντάξῃ ποστὴν ἐπιγράφεϊ<ν> | ἐκατέραν, “you will gratify me by delivering it at a timely moment, using your good offices so that he may order each (letter) to be endorsed for such-and-such an amount(?)”.

The situation in *PSI* V 502, 2-4 (257 B.C.) καὶ ὡς ἂν | ποτε εὐκαίρως ὑπολαμβάνῃς Ἀπολλώνιον ὑπομῆσαι ὑπὲρ ὧν σοὶ καὶ ἐμὲ Μέμφει τὰ ὑπο|μνήματα ἔδωκα is different. The adverb modifies the verb ὑπολαμβάνῃς, but it is placed before the verb, probably because of ποτέ. In *P.Col.* III 12, 1-4 (before 257 B.C.) περὶ τοῦ γινομέ[νου ὀφωνίου Ἑρμίππου] | τῶν ἀδελφῶν καλῶς ἂν ποιήσῃς φροντίσας ὅ[πως ---<sup>184</sup>] | Ἑρμίππου εὐκαίρως ἀποδοθῆι Ἀπολλωνίου κα[τὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον] | αὐτῶν πρόσταγμα πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν οἰκονόμ[ον ---], “regarding the (wages) which have accrued for my brother, please take care that (the accumulated [?] wages) of Hermippos be paid at your convenience to Apollonios in accordance with the order (written) for him and addressed to Apollodoros, the steward”, the adverb seems to precede and modify the verb ἀποδοθῆι.

In the Roman and Byzantine period the adjective εὐκαιρος, the noun εὐκαιρία and the verb εὐκαιρῶ are used for expressing the occasion concerning an action; see Tibiletti 1979, 81. The adverb, however, occurs only in two private letters from the Apollonios the strategos archive, where it precedes the modified verbal form:

*P.Brem.* 11, 3-5 (A.D. 117-118?) [ἴ]σ[θ]ι, οὐκ εὐκαίρως σχόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόν|τ[ο]ς διὰ τὴν τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ κα[τ]αγωγὴν | [ἀ]ποδραμεῖν πρὸς σέ, and *P.Brem.* 63, 3-6 (A.D. 116) εὐχομαί σε πρὸ πάντων εὐ|καίρως ἀποθέσθαι τὸ βάρος | καὶ λαβεῖν φάσιν ἐπὶ ἄρρε|ν[ο]ς, “ich wünsche vor allem, dass du zu guter Zeit niederkommst, und dass ich die Botschaft become, dass es ein Junge ist”, where the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitives ἀποθέσθαι and λαβεῖν<sup>185</sup>.

The comparative of the adverb occurs in *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 14 (A.D. 710), where Kurrah ben Sharik writes to Basileios, pagarches of Aphrodito, that εὐχαιροτέρως (*l. εὐχεροτέρως ed. princ.*) ἀποπληρώσ<ε>ιν τὰ δι' αὐτῶν, but we can assume that this adverb comes from the adjective εὐκαιρος, as an alternative of the comparative εὐκαιρότερον (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐκαιρος IV, citing Plato *Phd.* 78a), therefore, *l. εὐχαιροτέρως*.

#### εὐκόλως

Although the adverb appears in the classical literature with the meaning “calmly, carelessly”, obviously as an antonym of δυσκόλως, it is attested only in four petitions, all dated to the Byzantine period, of which only one provides a certain example:

*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, iii 23 (A.D. 567) καὶ εἰσπράξαι αὐτὰ εὐκόλως, while in the other three instances the adverb is restored: *SB* XXVIII 17239, 19 (A.D. 567) ὅπως εἰ[ύρωμ]εν εὐκόλω[ς] βιῶναι; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 26 (A.D. 648-549) καὶ εὐκόλω[ς] εἰσφέρει[ν]; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 14 (A.D. 547) καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐρωμεν εὐκόλ[ω]ς βιῶναι [καὶ ἡσύχως ἐ]ργάζεσθαι, for which I have proposed to read καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐρωμεν ἡσύχ[ω]ς βιῶναι [καὶ εὐκόλως ἐ]ργάζεσθαι (see *s.v.* ἡσύχως, p. 170).

<sup>184</sup> It is likely that at the end of l. 2 we could restore a participle, e.g. ἐλθόντος.

<sup>185</sup> In *PSI* VII 742, 5 (V-VI A.D.) τοῦτο δὲ εὐκαίρως δύνῃ γυνῶναι παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, the form εὐκαίρως is a phonological equivalent of the correct form εὐχερῶς (see *s.v.* εὐχερῶς, p. 161) and not of εὐκαίρως, as in *ed. princ.*

## εὐκόλωτέρως

The adverb is formed from the comparative of εὐκόλως (see above). It is attested in Byzantine texts, e.g. Themistius, *PG* 23,3, 140, and in scholia. In papyri it occurs only in an arbitration, *P.Lond.* V 1708, 241 (A.D. 567-568); see *WB I s.v.*

## εὐκόπως\*

For examples in literature see *LSJ s.v. εὐκοπος*; *Bauer s.v.* Its meaning is “easily”. The first attestation in papyri is in the petition *P.Tarich.* 5, ii 15-17 (c. 189 B.C.) οὕτω γὰρ οἱ ἐπιχειροῦν|τες τῶι βασιλεῖ πλέον τι ποιεῖν ἄφοβοι ὄντες εὐκ[ό] | πως προσαγ[γ]ελ[οῦσιν]. In addition, it is recorded in another petition of the Roman period, which was submitted by a woman for *ius trium liberorum*: *P.Oxy.* XII 1467, 10-15 (A.D. 263) καὶ αὐτὴ τοῖ|νυν τῶ μὲν κόσμῳ τῆς εὐ| παιδείας εὐτυχήσασα, | ἐνγράμματος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ | μάλιστα γράφειν εὐκόπως (corr. from εὐ|β|ο|πως) | δυναμένη, “accordingly, as I too enjoy the happy honour of being blessed with children and as I am a literate woman able to write with a high degree of ease”; see *WB I s.v. εὐκοπος*.

In a private letter we find that writing an answer to the letter is “easy”: *P.Rein.Cent.* 73, 6-7 (III-IV A.D.) περὶ τῆς κοζμητίας (*l. κοσμητείας*) οὐδὲν μοι ἀν|τέ|γρα|ψας, καίτοι εὐκόπως γίνετε (*l. γίνεται*) σήμερον, “concerning the office of cosmetes, you have not answered to me at all, but it can be done easily <even?> today”.

In addition, the adjective and the verb are also used in private letters to indicate that something is easy to do, or with a negative οὐκ, that something is not easy to do: *P.Ross.Geog.* III 2, 9-10 (c. A.D. 270) οἶδας δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκοπον πάσχοντας κατ[α]λ<ε>ῖψαι οὐχ ὀλίγους καὶ ἐργαστήρι(ο)ν “and you know that it is not easy to leave a good number of patients and a dispensary”; in a fragmentary part of the closing formula of the letter, *PSI* IV 286, 38 (III-IV A.D.) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι εὐκοποῦντα διὰ ὅλου βίου ἔπεμψά σοι τὸν λόγον ἀπε[---].

## [εὐκόσμως] – εὐκοσμότερον

The adverb (already attested in Homer) is found only in its comparative form in the official correspondence *P.Tebt.* I 27, 100-101 (113 B.C.) καὶ εὐκοσμότερον ἐν τῇ | ἑαυτοῦ οἰκία παρακατε . . . μενος (see *Mayser 1933-1934, 178*); see *LSJ s.v. εὐκοσμος* 2 “in good order”.

## εὐκταίως

For its attestation in literature see *LSJ s.v. εὐκταῖος* 3; cf. also εὐκταίως in the patristic literature with the same meaning “as one would desire”; see *Lampe s.v.*

It occurs in an undertaking on oath concerning the visit of the Emperor, *P.Oxy.* LI 3602, 9-10 (A.D. 215) εἰς Πηλούσιον πρὸς τὴν εὐκταίως γ{ε}ινομένην ἐπιδημίαν, “. . .to Pelusium for the visit, which is taking place in answer to our wishes”. It seems that it functions as an equivalent of εὐτυχῶς (see *s.v.*, p. 159), attested in *SB* XXIV 15936, 6-8 and 9-11 (A.D. 232-233). A similar use is also true of the superlative form εὐκταϊοτάτην (ἐπιδημίαν), in *P.Oxy.* LI 3603, 11-12, 3604, 11 and 3605, 4 (see *P.Oxy.* LI 3602, 9n.).

## εὐλαβῶς\*

The adverb seems to be characteristic of petitions and legal proceedings of all periods, always preceding and modifying the verb ἔχω (usually the participle ἔχων). Its meaning is “being careful” concerning a wrong situation or a dangerous person; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐλαβῆς II 1; cf. Lampe *s.v.* 1; for its meaning “vorsichtig, gewissenhaft” in the Ptolemaic period see Maysen 1936, 124. For the Roman period a clause beginning with μή follows, which means that a fear is also expressed with εὐλαβῶς ἔχω. In that case the phrase has the same sense as εὐλαβοῦμαι, e.g. petitions, *P.Oxy.Hels.* 23, 34; *M.Chr.* 116, 17; private letters, *P.Ross.Georg.* III 4. 12-13; *PSI XIII* 1333, 14-15<sup>186</sup>.

In the private letters the adverb is used in *BGU IV* 1141, 37-40 (14-13 B.C.) προσελαβόμεν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον παρ’ ἐμὲ καὶ ἐδί|δου αὐτῷ διαστολὰς μηδὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ εἶναι, εὐλαβῶς | ἔχων \διὰ τὸ/ προεγνωκ\έναι με/ περὶ τῶν δακτυλιδίων [γεγονέναι] ὧν ἐπόησε ὁ Ἔρως, | μή τι παραναπίσει αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ δηλωσαί τι ἐν τῷ χειρισμῷ. The sender of the letter writes that he took Xystos into his house and ordered him not to have contacts with Eros, and he behaved “cautiously”, since he knew beforehand of previous events; it seems that the writer used the adverb while having in mind certain legal connotations.

However, in *PSI VIII* 968, 2-4 (I B.C.) ἐπεὶ ὁ πυρὸς ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ | χαλκοῦ (*sc.* δραχμῶν) Ἄω[ ] ἐστὶν καὶ εὐλαβῶς | ἔχω μή καὶ πλείστου γένηται [αἰ] (see *BL XII*, on p. 254), the use of the adverb seems to be more general, e.g. “beware”, immediately followed by a clause starting with μή; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐλαβέομαι I 1. Finally, in another private letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Mert.* I 24, 19 (c. A.D. 200) the situation is not clear.

## εὐλόγως\*

The adverb is found in legal documents of the Roman period. Its meaning is “with good reason, reasonably”; see *WB I s.v.* εὐλογος; LSJ *s.v.* εὐλογος II 1; in the patristic literature it is found with the meaning “with a blessing”; see Lampe *s.v.*<sup>187</sup>.

<sup>186</sup> **Petitions:** *UPZ I* 119, 10-12 (156 B.C.) καὶ εὐλαβῶς | [σχ]όντα συνδεδραμηκένα εἰς τὸ ἐφημ[ερευτήριον τῶν] | [πα]στοφόρων; 122 (157 B.C.) καὶ εὐλαβῶς μου σχόντος | καὶ βουλομένου ἀναχωρήσαι εἰς τὸ | Σαραπίειον; *P.Tebt.* II 14-16 (A.D. 168) ὅθεν. κύριε. εὐλαβῶς ἔχων τὸν | περὶ τοῦ {θανα}θανάτου αὐτοῦ κίν|τυνων (I. κίν|δυσον) “Wherefore, sir, being careful for the danger to his life...”; *SB XII* 11008, 15-17 (A.D. 196) εὐλαβῶς ἔχων | [μη ἄρ]α ὕστερον τι ἐπήρ<ε>ιά | τις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γένηται, “being watchful lest somewhat later on some malicious action be committed by him”; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119, 10 (A.D. 253) ὁ τε στρατηγὸς πάντα ἐπέστειλεν τῷ ἀμφοδογραμματεῖ. ἐκείνός τε εὐλαβῶς ἔχων τὸν ἐπηρτημένον αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παρανομήματος κίνδυνον, “the strategus sent the whole correspondence to the amphodogrammatus, and he, being aware of the danger hanging over him in correspondence of his illegal action...”; *P.Sakaon* 38, 25-26 (A.D. 312) εὐλαβῶς τε ἐμοῦ ἔχοντος. μή ἐκ τοῦ|[του πρόφασις] ἐφόδου συμβῆ καὶ τ[ὸ]ν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶ[ν]α ὁπότερον μέρος ἐκδέξεται, “Since I fear that as a result of all this a pretext for attack may arise and either side may come to fight for life...”; **proceedings:** *SB XVI* 12692, 57-58 (A.D. 339) δι’ Ἀνουβίωνος ἐρμηνεύοντος εἶπ(εν)· εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντες μή εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ τελέσματα | ἔλθῃ κατεσπ<ε>ίραμεν ταύτας “through Anoubion, interpreting for him, he said, ‘We sowed these fields as a precaution lest the taxes devolve upon us’”; *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381, 7-8 (A.D. 375) ἐπεὶ [τοίνυ]ν εὐλαβῶς | ἔχομεν μή τὸ αὐτὸ πάλιν πάθωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν διαφέροντες παρὰ τῶν τῆν ἀπαίτησιν ἐνκεχειρισμένων. καταφεύγομεν ἐπ[ε]ὶ τὸ σὸν μέγεθος “since, therefore, we are taking care that those who belong to us may not suffer the same thing again from those to whom the exaction is entrusted, we flee for refuge to your Highness”; cf. also the **official letter**, *UPZ I* 199, 16-17 (131 B.C.) διὰ τὸ εὐλαβῶς ἔχειν ἡμᾶς | τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἄμενῶφιν καὶ τὸν Ὀσίριν.

<sup>187</sup> **Petition:** *P.Oxy.* IV 718, 28-29 (A.D. 179-181) παρ’ οὗ καὶ εὐλόγως ἢ | [ἀπαίτησις τῶν δημοσίων] γενήσεται[αἰ]; **proceedings:** *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3117, 13 (A.D. 235) εἰ ἄκρ[ε]ιτον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐνῆν ἀναχωρεῖν ἴσως εὐλόγως αὐτόν.

Only one private letter written on ostrakon preserves the adverb, but the situation is not clear because of the fragmentary condition of the text: *SB* VI 9017 (31) (= *O.Faw.* 31 in *BIFAO* 41, 1942, 184-185) verso, 1-2 (I-II A.D.) ἵνα δυνασθῶ εὐ|λόγως λαλῆσαι.

#### εὐμαρῶς\*

The adverb is attested in official documents (e.g. correspondence, petitions, marriage contracts etc.) of all periods, with the meaning “easily, readily” (see *WB* I *s.v.* εὐμαρής; *LSJ* *s.v.* εὐμαρής II):

**Petitions:** *UPZ* I 20, 2, 43 (163 B.C.); *P.Sakaon* 36, 23 (c. A.D. 280); *CPR* XVII A 9 b, 2, 9 (A.D. 320); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3394, 7 (A.D. 364-366?); **official letters/petitions:** *P.Oxy.* X 1252 V, 2, 35 (after A.D. 294-295); **official letters:** *UPZ* I 110, 6, 189 (164 B.C.) (see Maysers 1936, 124); *P.Oxy.* XII 1409, 18 (A.D. 278); *P.Panop.Beatty* 1, 10, 265; 13, 355; 14, 361 (A.D. 298); **imperial edict:** *P.Giss.* I 40, 2, 18 and 28 (c. A.D. 215); court **proceedings:** *P.Sakaon* 33, 8 (A.D. 318, 319 or 320?); **marriage contract:** *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67340 V, 26 (c. A.D. 566-573).

In the private letters it occurs for the first time in *P.Köln* IV 186, 7 (II B.C.; = *LDAB* 65863) διὰ τὸ εὐρύχωρον εἶναι εὐμαρῶς συνέβαινεν χε[ιροῦσθαι with the same meaning. In the private letters of the third century A.D., however, it refers to specific works (e.g. transportation of olives and distribution of water in the canals); the adverb in both cases precedes the modified verbs φέρειν and ἔχειν: *SB* XVI 12392, 2-7 (A.D. 253-268) τὰ ἀποταγέντα κτήνη εἰς τὴν | ἀνακομιδὴν τῆς ἐλαίας παρὰ | σοὶ τρεφέσθω χόρτον καὶ κρ{ε}ιθὴν | λαμβάνοντα ἵνα τρεφόμενα τὴν | ὁδὸν δύνηται εὐμαρῶς φέρειν | βαρυτάτην οὔσαν ὡς οἶδας, “the animals which have been sent for the transport of the olives must be fed with green fodder and barley so that having been fed, they can easily bear the way that is very difficult”; *P.Rein.* II 115, 10-11 (A.D. 257) πρὸς τὸ εὐμαρῶς τὰ | ὕδατα πάντας ἡμᾶς ἔχειν.

#### εὐμενῶς

For examples in literature see *LSJ* *s.v.* εὐμενής II; *Lampe* *s.v.* In Egypt it occurs in an honorary inscription, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *I.Fay.* I 29, 10 (= *SB* III 6185; III A.D.) εὐμενῶ[ς] καὶ φιλαν[θρῶπως; see É. Bernand, n. *ad loc.* “εὐμενῶς paraît rare dans la langue des inscriptions et des papyrus d’Égypte. Mais l’ἐπιθήκη d’εὐμενῆς, ‘bienveillant’ est appliquée fréquemment aux mortels et parfois aux dieux [cf. L. Robert, *Rev.Phil.* 1934, 289-290 (*Opera minora*, II, 1188-1189); *Hell.* XIII (1965) 75]”. Moreover, it occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 108, 39 (end of II A.D.) συνεῖς ἀνάθεμά τ’ εὐμενῶς ὡς κοίρανος δέδορκεν.

#### εὐνοϊκῶς\* – εὐνοϊκῶτατα

The adverb, which appears in the Greek literature in the fourth century B.C., with the meaning “well-disposed, kindly, favourably” (see *LSJ* *s.v.* εὐνοϊκός) is attested only in

---

Moreover, in various **official documents** (e.g. petitions) and private contracts of the Byzantine period: *P.Wash.Univ.* I 20, 9; *P.Kellis* I 27, 6; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67031, 13 ; 67032, 53; II 67151, 62. 95. 285; *P.Lond.* V 1791, 6; *P.Paris* 20, 8. In addition, it is found in an official letter, **circular**, *P.Berl.Zill.* 3, 7-13 (before A.D. 178) [ἐ]π<ε>| δὲ διαλογιζόμενος το[ὺς ν]ομοὺς [ἐμ]αθον... εὐλόγως |[ὑπέ]λαβον ἐπιστ<ε>|λαι ὑμ{ε}|ν, {ε}ἵνα |[πᾶ]σιν φανερόν ποιήσητε ὅτι etc., and two other official documents: in a fragmentary official document of unknown nature, *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 207, 29 (II B.C.) and in a fragmentary part of an official letter, *P.Lond.* V 1791, 6 (VII A.D.) εὐλόγως ὀλιγωρῆσαι.

one private letter so far, *P.Palau Rib.* 35, 3 (III A.D.?), which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, and in the surviving part of the letter the context is not clear.

Furthermore, the adverb occurs in formal documents:

A testament, *P.Köln* II 100, 14 (A.D. 133) εὐνοικῶς πρὸς μὲ διακειμένω (*l.* διακειμένου) καὶ πολλά μοι παρεχομένου, and it is restored in a fragmentary part of an official(?) letter, *P.Prag.* I 99, 2-7 (III A.D.) γίνωσκε τὸν λαμπρό|τατον ἡμῶν ἡγεμό|να εἰ[ύ]νο[ι]χῶς (*l.* εὐνοικῶς) συγκε|χωρηκέναι τὸ μετα|γαγ<ε>ἰν ἡμᾶς τοὺς λίθους | ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαταλίου. It is also a superscript addition, written after two other adverbs ending in -ως, in a petition to the Dux, *P.Lond.* V 1674, 66-68 (c. A.D. 570) καίτοι ἀφ' ἧς | παρέλαβεν τὴν παγαρχίαν συνεχῶς ἀπήειμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν | καλοθελῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως \καὶ εὐνοικῶς/. The superlative form is found in an official document, *SB XVIII* 13274, 5 (first third of VI A.D.?) σύμβιος ἐκείνου, εὐνο{ε}ϊκότατα παραμένουσα μετὰ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἀνδρός; see *WB I s.v.* εὐνοϊκός (2).

εὐνως\*

It is attested in a private letter, dated to the end of the third century A.D., where it is paired with ἡδέως: *SB XVI* 12496, 11-12, περὶ ὧν | βούλει, ἐνταῦθα κέλευέ μοι ἡδέως καὶ εὐνως ποιοῦντι, with the meaning “more favourably”; see *LSJ s.v.* εὐνοος 2, citing Marcus Ant. 3.11. Such a pairing does not occur in the Greek literature.

εὐπρεπῶς

For examples in literature see *LSJ s.v.* εὐπρεπής II; *Bauer s.v.*; *Lampe s.v.* It occurs with the meaning “majestically” in a petition of a sacred victor, *P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5210, 11-14 (A.D. 298-299) ἱερὸν{ε}ϊκῆς τοίνυν τυγχάνω, ἐνδόξως καὶ εὐπρεπῶς τοὺς ἱεροὺς | ἀγῶνας ... ἀνεδησάμην, “now I am as it happens, a sacred victor: I tied on the wreath gloriously and majestically at the sacred games...”. The adjective εὐπρεπῆ (*l.* εὐπρεπεῖ?) occurs in a private letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Mil.* I 77, 11 (III A.D.).

The difference between the prepositional phrase ἐπ' εὐπρέπειαν (see *Spicq* 1978, 330) and the adverb εὐπρεπῶς is clear in a private letter, *P.Haun.* II 18, 8-13 (III A.D.) εὐχαριστω{ν} μου | τὸν πατέρα ὅσα ἐπ' εὐ|πρέπειαν τῶν ἀνθρώ|πων πρεπόντως αὐ|τοῦ (either genitive or *l.* αὐ|τῶ?) καὶ τῆ τύχῃ τοῦ | οἴκου αὐτοῦ ὅλου, where the adverb πρεπόντως refers to the father, while the prepositional to the family. If the adverb εὐπρεπῶς was used there instead of the prepositional, the reference would have been for the father as well.

εὐσεβῶς<sup>188</sup>

For examples in literature see *LSJ s.v.* εὐσεβής II; *Bauer s.v.*; *Lampe s.v.*, “devoutly”. Only in three inscriptions is the adverb attested during the Ptolemaic period, and the context concerns the behaviour towards the gods:

*I.Fay.* II 135, 13-14 (69 B.C.; = *SB* III 6154) αὐτός τε | εὐσεβῶς διακείμενος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, an ordonnance of Ptolemy XII; and in *Milne* 1905, 19,33027, 8-10 (112-111 B.C.) εὐσεβῶς τε διακείμενος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον προθύμως πεπόηται μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ δαφίλους δαπάνης; *OGIS* 51, 6-13 (285-246 B.C.; = *SB* V 8855) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει, τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται, καὶ κατ' ἴδιαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα, καλῶς δ' ἔχει τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαινομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς, where there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως; *Bernand* 1992, no 46, 6 (39 B.C.) τὰ τε τῶν μεγίστων καὶ πατρῶιων θεῶν ἱερὰ εὐσεβῶς ἐξυπηρέτησε, and *Il.* 23-24 εὐσεβῶς καὶ ἀγ[ρ]ύπνως | [ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐφ]ρόντισεν.

<sup>188</sup> For the meaning of the adjective (and the adverb) A. Cheyns, “Εὐσεβής, ἀσεβής et leurs dérivés dans l'oeuvre de Platon: examen des contextes”, *RBPh* 69, 1991, 44-74, esp. 54.

### In the papyri the adverb is attested in petitions:

The first one is a petition to the Prefect, *SB XXIV 15915*, 4-6 (A.D. 164) εἰρήνη[η]ς οὔσης βαθυτάτης καὶ πᾶ[ν]των ἀνθρώπων | εὐσεβῶς διακόντων (*l.* διαγόντων) ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχεστάτο[ι]ς τῶν κυρίων | ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων καιροῖς, where one may assume that the adverb is used with the same meaning, “piously, devoutly”. The first editor, A. Papatomas, notes (*Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses II*, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1997, 773-774 (5n.)) that the adverb εὐσεβῶς is rare in the papyri, citing three examples: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119, 17 (A.D. 253); *CPR I 30*, fr. II 24, 6 (VI A.D.) and *P.Lond.* I 77 (pp. 231-236), 14 (end of VI A.D.)<sup>189</sup>. At the beginning of his note he discussed the possible readings based on the expression adverb -ως + διάγω and also stated that the phrase εὐσεβῶς διάγω does not occur in the literature; see only εὐ διάγω, εὐσεβῶς ζήω, εὐσεβῶς βίωω. The Byzantine examples cited by Papatomas refer to the laws, οἱ καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς κείμενοι νόμοι, in contracts and testaments. The example of A.D. 253 also refers to the laws, παρὰ νόμοις... οἷς ἐπόμενοι εὐσεβῶς καὶ οἱ κατὰ καιρ[ό]ν ἡγησάμενοι τοῦ ἔθνους.

#### εὐσήμως\*

The adverb is used in the official documents to indicate that something has been written or submitted “clearly, distinctly”, which might be understood rather as “with details” than “legibly”; see LSJ *s.v.* εὔσημος II; for its meaning “ausführlich, eingehend” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124:

Cf. *UPZ I 112*, ii 7 (204 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* III 913, 10 (193 B.C.); *SB XXIV 16524*, 9 (137 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* I 14, 11 (114 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* IV 1101, 6 and 12 (113 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* IX 18, 5 and 11 (A.D. 13); *P.Oxy.* XX 2277, 4 and 8 (A.D. 13).

The same use is found in a private business letter, *P.Tebt.* III 763, 8-15 (early II B.C.) ἀκριβῶς μαθῶν ποῦ | λέγει εὐρηκέναι | αὐτάς, τὰ ἀργυρώματα εὐσήμως | γράψον, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν | γράφειν ἐπιπελλῶς | περὶ τοιούτου εἶδους, “find out exactly where he says that he found them and state the silver vessels in clear writing, for one should not write incoherently about that kind of thing”. The adverb is used as an opposition to ἐπιπελλῶς (see *s.v.*, p. 130).

#### εὐσχημόνως\*

It occurs in a letter of the Zenon archive, *P.Mich.* I 46, 9-10 (251 B.C.) εὐσχημόνως συγκαταπλέγωμέν σοι “I may accompany you in proper style”; cf. LSJ *s.v.* εὐσχήμων II I “with grace and dignity, like a gentleman”; Spicq 1978, 333-336. The same modification of this verb is not found in the Greek literature; with verbs of motion cf. Paul, *Rom.* 13.12-13 ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, ἐνδυσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός. ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν, μὴ κώμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις, μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλῳ. Moreover, see the opposition of adverbs in Galen, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 5.3.23 (Lacy) οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ παγκρατιάζειν καὶ παλαίειν καὶ βαδίζειν εὐσχημόνως καὶ καλῶς λέγονται τινες, ἕτεροι δ’ ἀσχημόνως τε καὶ αἰσχροῶς.

#### εὐτάκτως\*

The meaning of the adverb is “in an orderly manner” or “regularly” when it concerns payments; see *WB I s.v.* εὐτακτος; LSJ *s.v.* εὐτακτος II; Bauer *s.v.* With this latter meaning it occurs in various formal documents of the third century B.C. (for its meaning

<sup>189</sup> The restoration [---]η εὐσεβῶ[ς] ---] in the proceedings in *VBP IV 72*, 44 (A.D. 117), a text that is preserved in a fragmentary condition, is not certain.

“ordnungsmässig, pünktlich” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124), and loan contracts of the Roman period<sup>190</sup>.

As far as the private letters are concerned, it is attested in four private letters in the Zenon archive. In three of them, the adverb precedes and modifies a form of the verb (ἀπο)δίδωμι and in the fourth one, it precedes and modifies a form of the verb ἐφέλκομαι, “I am in arrears”:

*P.Col.* III 31, 3-4 (256 B.C.), δίδου δ' αὐτῶι | τό τε ὀψώνιον καὶ τὸ σιτάριον τὸ συντεταγμένον εὐτάκτως, “give him the fixed wages and food allowance punctually”, where the adverb is placed at the end of the clause and modifies the verb which is placed at the beginning of the clause. However, if the adverb means “punctually”, it does not reflect the repetitive nature of the adverb “εὐτάκτως”. Besides, what concerns the sender is not the payment of the employee’s wages on a deadline, but the payment of his wages every month. It seems that it was not important if the employer failed to pay the due wages for a month on the last day of it, since he could pay them on the first days of the following month, and still the payment was considered regular. Therefore, the adverb could be translated as “regularly”. The verb is in imperative mood, and precedes the adverb, and the two objects of the verb are placed between the verb and the adverb. This could mean that what mattered more was the payment of the wages to the employee, and not its regularity. In *P.Zen.Pestm.* 46, 2-3 (252 B.C.) [καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐ]πιμέλειαν π[ο]ιησάμενος ὅπως τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια καὶ οἱ | [γενόμενοι μισθοὶ ἐ]ὐτάκτως δίδονται, “do something, in order to give them supplies and wages regularly”, where the adverb precedes and modifies δίδονται (subjunctive in a subordinate clause of purpose). *P.Lond.* VII 2038, 26-27 (middle III B.C.) τοὺς μισθοὺς εὐτ[άκτ]ως | ἡμῖν ἀποδιδόναι, where Lysimachos and Paeis who work in a pottery workshop complain to Zenon that there was a four-day delay in payments of wages of the previous month. They ask him to order somebody to avoid any delays in the future. Finally, in *PSI* IV 350, 1-4 (before 253 B.C.) γίνωσκε διότι τοῖς μηθὲν | πεποιηκόσιν εὐτάκτηκας τὰ ὀψώνια, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπη|ρεάζοντές σοι νῦν καταλιμπάνουσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶι | ὄντι πρὸς τῆς θήραι εὐτάκτως ἐφέλκεται τὰ ὀψώνια, the letter concerns the payment of the workers, the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἐφέλκεται. It seems that some workers, who were not productive, left their jobs, although they were paid regularly (the verb εὐτακτῶ, from the same stem as the adverb, also occurs here) and Nikon complains that he works, and regular payments are in arrears (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐφέλκομαι I 4).

εὐτόνως\* – εὐτονώτερον\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* εὐτονος I 4; Bauer *s.v.* The only certain attestation of the adverb occurs in a private letter, *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062 10-12 (late III A.D.) εἰ οὖν ταῦτα οὐ|τως πέπρακται, ὡς φατέ, εὐτόνως μετα|λαβέτω κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον,

<sup>190</sup> The adverb occurs with the meaning “regularly” in **contracts of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods** (leases and loans): *BGU* IV 1151, 14 (24-23 B.C.); *BGU* IV 1147, 12 (14-13 B.C.); *BGU* 4 1156, 14 (14-13 B.C.); *BGU* IV 1056, 13 (13 B.C.); *BGU* IV 1166, 11 (13 B.C.); *P.Genova* II 62, 9 (A.D. 98); *BGU* III 920, 30 (A.D. 212); **royal decrees**: *P.Tebt.* I 6, 46 (after 139 B.C.); I 5, 55 (after 118 B.C.); **petitions of the Ptolemaic period**: *UPZ* I 20, 15(?) (163 B.C.); *UPZ* I 43, 18 (after 161 B.C.); *UPZ* I 51, 13 (after 161 B.C.); *UPZ* I 16, 28 (after 156 B.C.). The abbreviation εὔ is resolved in a receipt for the payment of taxes in *P.Vars.* 9, 10 (A.D. 160) as εὐ(τάκτως), but the resolution is debatable.



“therefore, if these things have happened as you say, let him promptly receive (it) according to what is lawful”. This modification does not occur in the Greek literature.

The adverb has been read in three private letters of the Roman period, however, the restorations are not certain:

(1) In *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2861, 3-6 (II A.D.) ὡς κατ’ ὄψιν σε ἡρώτη|σα ἐ[κ]τενῶς τὴν ἀπ[αί]τησ[ι]ν [πο]λήσασθαι τῶν | παρὰ σοὶ ὀνομάτων, J.D. Thomas note *ad loc.* that the reading ἐ[ὶ]τῶνως could be an alternative reading. (2) As far as *SB XVI* 12326, 1-4 (late III A.D.) Ἡλιοδώρα \τη/ μητρί μου πολλά χαίρειν. εὐ|τόνω[ς] πικρένομέ (l. πικραίνομαί) σοι ὅτι οὐτέ (l. οὐδέ) φάσ<ε>[ις] [λαβεῖν] | διὰ γραμμάτων σου κατηξιώσας με [ἀφ’ ὅτε] | ἐξῆλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ, “Heliodora to my mother, many greetings. I am thoroughly exasperated with you that you did not even think me worthy to receive news through a letter of yours ever since I left you”, is concerned, the first editor, F.T. Gignac, in *BASP* 16, 1979, 196, restores the text based on Lk. 23.10 ἰστίκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς εὐτόνωως κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ (see n. *ad loc.*). However, this text is not an exact parallel, and I propose to restore another adverb, e.g. ἐν|τόνωως. (3) In *P.Mich.* XVIII 769, 11-15 (200 B.C.) [κ]αὶ φρόντισον ὅπως | [ . . ]τόνωως διατηρῆ[ις] | ὡς πρὸς σέ ἡμῖν τοῦ | λόγου ἐσομένου περὶ | τούτων, “and see to it that you guard it energetically, as you will be held accountable to us regarding these matters”, the editor C.S. Mackay, in his note *ad loc.* suggests tentatively [ἐν]τόνωως; in D. Hagedorn’s *WL* (2017) it appears both *s.v.* εὐτόνωως and ἐντόνωως. If [ἐν]τόνωως is correct, then this is the only occurrence of the adverb in a private letter, which is dated to the Ptolemaic period.

The comparative adverb εὐτονώτερον occurs in official or business letters of the third century B.C. (see *WB I s.v.* εὐτονος):

An official letter, *P.Lille* I 3, 14 (215-214 B.C.) ἐπιστεῖλαι εὐτονώτερον (see Mayser 1933-1934, 178); in private business letters: *P.Lond.* VII 2061, 5 (middle of III B.C.) πρόεσμεν εὐτονώτερον; *P.Petrie Kleon* 122, 8-10 (c. 253 B.C.) γράψον οὖν εὐτονώ|τερον Θέρωνι καὶ τοῖς | φυλακίταις; cf. also *P.Petrie Kleon* 14, 14 (260-249 B.C.) οὕτως δὲ ὑπολάμβανε εὐτ[ονώ]τερ[ον]; *P.Petrie Kleon* 36, 5-6 (c. 260-249 B.C.) ἀποστεί|λας αὐτῶ[ι] εὐ|τονώτερον; *P.Petrie Kleon* 86, 13 (c. 253 B.C.) εὐτ[ονώ]τερον \χορηγεῖν ὅπως/ (see Mayser 1933-1934, 178); cf. also *P.Petr.* II 9 (1), 4-5 (c. 250-249 B.C.) καλῶς ποιήσεις εὐτονώ|τερον γράψας; *P.Petrie Kleon* 88, 5-6 (c. 242-241 B.C.) γράψας | εὐτονώτερον. In the Roman period the comparative form is restored in *BGU* IV 1047, iii 15 (A.D. 131) εὐτονώ[τερον] ἔτι| ἐξετάσαι, but the restoration is debatable.

#### εὐτυχῶς\*

In Egypt the adverb occurs in wishes, such as in a label on a wedding present, in *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 196, 1-3 (V-VI A.D.) εὐτυχῶς | τῇ νύμφῃ | καὶ [τ]ῷ νυμφίῳ, in acclamations, e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3340, 15 (A.D. 201-202) ἐφώνησαν· εὐτυχῶς τῷ ἐπιτρ[ό]πῳ(?); *O.Mich.* I 663, 1-2 (III/IV A.D.) πᾶσαι ν{ε}ῖκαι τοῖς | Ρωμαίοις (l. Ρωμαίοις) / εὐτυχῶς, *P.Oxy.* I 41, 3.6.9 (early IV A.D.) εὐτυχῶ[ς] τῷ καθολικῷ etc. and *P.Oxy.* LXXXIII 5357 (IV A.D.?) εὐτυχῶς τοῖς περὶ Εὐθυμᾶν καὶ Σαμβάτιον καὶ λοιποῖς βιολόγοις καὶ πάσι τοῖς καλοῖς θεαταῖς, in a magical text, *P.Laur.* III 123, 6-8 (= *LDAB* 68881) (III A.D.?) [ε]ὐ|τυ|χῶ[ς], at the beginning of a list of officials, e.g. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1108, 1 (VI-VII A.D.); cf. also *SB* XII 11230, 27 (V-VI A.D.) + Εὐτυχως, where we may read the adverb and not the name, as proposed in *ed. princ.*, that is, Εὐτυχος.

With the same meaning it is found in many inscriptions and graffiti, e.g.:

*I.Fay.* II 128, 1-3 (Roman period) εὐτυχῶς τῷ κυρίῳ | Σούχῳ, ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ | Πασικαίου, a dedicatory inscription to Souchos, with É. Bernand’s n. *ad loc.* “l’adverbe εὐτυχῶς se rencontre parfois en tête de certains actes d’adoration et constitue une formule de voeu. Une inscription honorifique du IIIe siècle ap. J.C. [*OGI* 713; Milne 1905, 9223 (= *SB* V 8915)] présente la formule plus développée εὐτυχῶς καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶι”. Cf. graffiti inscribed on walls or statues etc. by visitors: e.g. the ones published by Devauchelle and Wagner 1984, 34 II 12 (= *SB* XVI 12917); 35 II 14a (= *SB* XVI 12919[a]); 41 III 1 (= *SB* XVI 12928), dated to the Roman and Byzantine periods. In an inscription in the Colossus of Memnon, in Cagnat 1908, no 1195, 1. 13 (A.D. 150; = *SB* V 8221); Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, 550 (no date); Wagner 1987, 33,34; 33,35; 34,37; 36,45; 41,61; 54,7; 59,1; 65,6; 77,1a; 78,1b, which are dated to the late III-IV A.D.; cf. also Baillet 1920-1926, nos 788; 917; 1158; 1290; 1381; 1631; 1726; *SB* I 2666 and 2667 from Alexandria; *SB* XXIV 16084 (21)

(Byzantine period) from Pancion; also see Hussein 2000, 81, no 12, 3 (III A.D.) ed. by Guy Wagner<sup>191</sup>; *SB* XXVIII 17087 (I-IV A.D.) from Abû Kuway'.

Furthermore, in the phrase τῆς εὐτυχῶς ἐσομένης ἰνδικτίονος and τῆ[ς] φα[ν]η[σο]μένης εὐτυχῶς ὑπατ<ε>ίας (the latter in *P.Lond.* III 975 (p. 230), 13 (A.D. 314); cf. *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 58 (A.D. 300)) the adverb is used to express the completion of a successful and fortunate period of time.

In addition, in *O.Petr.Mus.* 67, 1 (III/IV A.D.) the text of an invocation (?) starts with this adverb; see n. *ad loc.* The purpose of the short notice (?) in *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4670 (IV A.D.) is also difficult to explain; see *ed. princ.*, introd. p. 109.

The adverb εὐτυχῶς is attested at the end of the closing formula in private letters of the second half of the second century A.D.: *O.Claud.* II 242, 7-8 (c. 144-145) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι, | ἄδελφε, εὐτυχῶς; *O.Claud.* IV 892, 9 (c. A.D. 150-154) ἔρρωσθ(αί) σε εὐχ(ομαι) εὐτυχ(ῶς); *P.Oxy.* I 118, verso 40-42 (late II A.D.) ἔρρωσό μοι εὐτυχῶς. | (hand 2) ἔρρωσο ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ | εὐτυχ[ῶς].

In addition, it modifies words which refer to a (private or official) journey, e.g. ἐπιβαίνω, ἔρχομαι, εὐοδόω, ἐπιδημία, ἐπιδημῶ (usually referred to the Prefect), παραγίγνομαι etc.

In the private letters: *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 18-19 (A.D. 107) μετὰ τὸν Σάραπιν | εὐτυχῶ[ς] ἐνθάδε με εὐοδῶσαι, “after] Sarapis [conducted me hither] in safety”; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1770, 24-26 (end of III A.D.) ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃς εὐτυχῶς, ἀκού|εις πάντα καὶ τὰ πραχθέν|τα; cf. *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3094, 15-17 (c. A.D. 217-218) καὶ τοῦ εὐτυ|χοῦς ἡγεμόνος Ἰουλίου Βασιλιανοῦ εὐ|τυχῶς ἐπιβάντος τῆ πόλει; *PSI* VII 828, 10-11 (A.D. 294) ἐὰν οἴν(?) ὁ ἀ|δελφὸς ἡμῶν Φί|λων [εὐτυ]χῶς παράγνηται; *P.Laur.* II 41, 4-6 (III A.D.) ἐπεδήμησας σὺ ο (l. ὦ) πάτερ | εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑγιῶς τῆ πατρίδι σου, ἐπιδημήσω | δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν θελόντων; *PSI* IX 1082, 23-24 (IV A.D.?) αἰῶν (l. ἐὰν) οὖν εὐτυχῶς ἔλ|θωσι πρὸς σοὶ (l. σέ), αἰπίσιλόν (l. ἐπίστειλόν) μοι; cf. also an agreement in the form of a private letter, *SB* VI 9241, 8-9 (III-IV A.D.) ἐὰν οὖν εὐτυ|χῶς παρα[γ]ένη ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ | κώμῃ.

As far as the official documents are concerned, the adverb is restored in a report of an epimeletes concerning preparations for the visit of Severus Alexander, *SB* XXIV 15936, 6-8 and 9-11 (A.D. 232-233) πρὸς τὴν | [εὐτυχῶς γ{ε}ινομέ]νην ἐπιδη|[μίαν, and πρὸς τὴν] | εὐτυχῶς γ{ε}ινομ[ένην] | ἐπιδημίαν; the restoration is not certain, since, in the same context, in *P.Oxy.* LI 3602, 9, if the reading is correct, the adverb εὐκταίως was used. In other examples the adverb εὐτυχῶς is certain:

*SB* XXIV 15936, I 6-8 and ii 9-11 (A.D. 232-233) πρὸς τὴν | εὐτυχῶς γ{ε}ινομ[ένην] | ἐπιδημίαν; *SB* XXII 15496, 16 (= *P.Euphr.* I; A.D. 245; Antiochia, Syria Coele) τῆς σῆς εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐσομ[έ]νης σου εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημίας; cf. also l. 9 ὥστε ἐπὶ εὐτυχῶς ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἔση; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119, 21 (A.D. 253) πρὸς τὴν εἰ|τυχῶς ἐσομένην σου ἐπιδημίαν; *SB* XXVI 26807, 2 (A.D. 253?) τῆς εἰ|τυχῶς γενομένης αὐτοῦ; *P.Oxy.* L 3563, 14 (A.D. 225-230); *SPP* V 52-56 II, 19-20 (A.D. 267) παρ' ὄν ἐπιδημῆ εὐτυχῶς ἡμῖν | χρόνον; *P.Oxy.* XII 1456 9-10 (A.D. 284) ἐνθάδε εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημήσαν|[τ]; *P.Panop.Beatty* I, 53. 110. 168 (A.D. 298); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1103, 3-4 (A.D. 360) τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) δουκὸς Φλ(αοίου) Ἄρτεμιου | εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημησάσης; cf. also *SB* XVIII 13932, 9 (A.D. 287) εἰσι|όγτι σοι εὐτυχῶς; *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3146, 14 (A.D. 347) εὐτυχῶς ἐκ<ε>ῖσα παραγένηται. Moreover, it is found in two petitions to the Prefect, *P.Leit.* 9, 9 (III A.D.) ἡνίκα εἰ|τυχῶς ἐπεδήμησε; *P.Cair.Isid.* 73, 13-14 (A.D. 314?) εὐ|τυχῶς ἐπιδημήσαντι ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος; cf. also in the middle of the fourth century A.D. its attestation in the Abinnaeus archive: *P.Abinn.* 17, 3-5 (c. A.D. 346) ἐπ<ε>ῖδη ὁ κύριός μου ὁ δεσποτικός | νοτάριος εὐτυχῶς σήμερον | ἐπιδημ<ε>ῖν ἡμῖν μέλλει; *P.Abinn.* 35, 30 (middle of IV A.D.) καὶ ἂν εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημήσης.

<sup>191</sup> In *P.Bour.* I, 273-275, at the end of the student's notebook, we can also read the adverb, [-- ε]τυχῶς τῶ | [-- ἔ]χοντο καὶ τῶ | [-- ἀ]ναγιγνώσκοντι.

The adverb modifies verbs or phrases that indicate an action, e.g.:

The verb **ἄγω** in official correspondence in the phrase **κατεπίγοντος τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς πορείας ἦν εὐτυχῶς ἄγειν μέλλω ἐξαυτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐνκέλευσιν τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος** in *P.Flor.* II 278 *passim* (A.D. 203) and in a contract concerning charioteer's work in *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3135, 4-8 (A.D. 273-274?) **ὁμολογῶ ἔκου|σίως καὶ αὐθαιρέτως ἠνιοχ<ε>ἴν [σο]ι ἐ[π]ὶ τοῖς | σοῖς ἵπποις τῷ εὐτυχῶς ἀγομένῳ ἐν τῇ | αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυ[γ]χιτῶν πόλει ἱερῶ Καπετ[ω]|λιακῶ ἀγῶ[νι] ὑγιῶς καὶ [πιστ]ῶς** (where five adverbs in -ως are placed in a phrase that contains 24 words); **(ἐπι)τελῶ**, e.g. in *Pap.Agon.* 3, 41 (A.D. 288) **ἐκ τοῦ εὐτυχ[ῶς τελεσθ]έντος μεγάλου ἀγῶνος**, *Pap.Agon.* 10, 6-7 (A.D. 275-276); *P.Oxy.* LX 4079 and 4080, 12-14 (A.D. 328); **ἐπισκευάζω**, e.g. in *P.Oxy.* I 53, 5-6 (A.D. 316) **εὐτυχῶς ἐπ[ὶ] | σκευαζ[ο]μένουσθε θερμοῦ δημοσίου βαλαν<ε>ίου**; cf. *P.Oxy.* VI 896 i, 7-9 (A.D. 316), **κατασκευάζω**, e.g. *SB XVIII* 13174, ii 17 (A.D. 258) **τοῦ εὐτυχῶς κατασκευαζομένου**; **εὐλυτόω**, e.g. in the private letter *PSI VII* 837, 9-10 (III-IV A.D.) **ἂν μὲν εὐτυχῶς | εὐλυτώσης, ἔλθέ; ἐμβάλλω**, e.g. in *P.Michael.* 127, 1-3 (VI-VII A.D.) **ἐνεβαλόμην | Κάστωρ εὐτεχῶς (l. εὐτυχῶς) | εἰς τὸ πλοῖον (l. πλοῖον); θεσπιζῶ** in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67321, 3-4 (A.D. 533-534 or 548-549?) **θεσπίσαι γὰρ εὐτυχῶς κατηξίωσεν διὰ θεοῦ πραγματικοῦ τύπου | [ἐν]ίδρυσθαι τῇ Ἐρμουπολι[τῶ]ν πόλει ἀριθμὸν τῶν εὐκαθροισιῶν Νουμιδῶν Ἰουστινιανῶν**; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1663, 4-5 (A.D. 549); *SB V* 8028, 3-4 (A.D. 550); cf. also *P.Oxy.* XII 1409, 17 (A.D. 278) **τῇ ἐσομένῃ εὐτυχῶς πλημύρα τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Νείλου**<sup>192</sup>; **προσκυνῶ** and **κατασπάζομαι**, e.g. in the private letter *P.Berl.Zill.* 14, 17-20 (VI A.D.) **πλεῖστα δὲ ἐν κ(υ)ρ(ί)ῳ | προσκ[κ]υνῶ καὶ κατασπάζομαι γνησίως καὶ [εὐ]τυχῶς τὴν τοῦ | δεσπότου μου ἀγιωσύνην καὶ σὲ τὸν θεοφι[λέστ]ατον καὶ γνήσι[ον] μου ἀδελφὸν Φοιβάμμωνα**<sup>193</sup>.

**εὐφήμως**

It occurs in the hymn to Isis, in Bernard 1969, no 175, ii 27-28 (I B.C.?) **τερφθέντες δ' εἰς οἶκόν τε πανηγυρίσαντες ἔβησαν εὐφήμως, πλήρεις τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τε τρυφῆς**. The same modification is not found in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* εὐφημος II “with or in words of good omen”; cf. also Lampe *s.v.* In Pollux 5.117 where words that mean “praise” are recorded, only the adverb **εὐφήμως** (and not other adverbs) are cited: **ἔπαινος, εὐφημία, εὐλογία, ἐγκώμιον· βίαιον δὲ τὸ καλλιλογία καὶ εὐστομία· ἐπαινεῖν, εὐλογεῖν, εὐφημεῖν, ἐγκωμιάζειν, καλῶς λέγειν, εὐστομεῖν. ὄνομα δὲ μόνον ὁ ἐπαινέτης, καὶ ἐπίρρημα τὸ εὐφήμως**.

**εὐχαρίστως\***

The adverb occurs before the closing formula in a private letter from the Zenon archive, but because of the fragmentary condition, the modified verb cannot be restored with certainty: *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59196, 7-8 (254 B.C.) **[--- ποιήσομεν(?) γ]ὰρ σοι εὐχαρίστως. | ἔρρωσο**, with the meaning “happily” or “gratefully, thankfully” (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐχαρίστος I and II; Mayser 1936, 122; Mayser 1933-1934, 177). It does not occur again until the late Byzantine period, when it is read in a contract, *P.Erl.* 68, 2 (VII A.D.) **ἔπερ σοι ἀποδώσω εὐχαρίστως** (probably a certain reading).

**εὐχερῶς\* – εὐχερέστερον**

In the ancient Greek literature, both the adjective **εὐχερής** and the adverb **εὐχερῶς** have a variety of meanings depending on the modified word and the context (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐχερής I, II and III). The same can be drawn from the use of the adverb in the private letters in papyri. In *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59021, 28 (258 B.C.) **καὶ οὐδ' ἄλλοις ἔχοντες**

<sup>192</sup> In the *ed. princ.* of *SB XX* 14515, 9 (IV A.D.) **εὐτ[υχ]ῶς** (so in *ed. princ.*; ] **εὐτυχῶς** in *SB XX* 14515) **συνεζεύχθη** ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς, the editor, A. Łukaszewicz, considers that the restoration of this adverb is uncertain and that it modifies the following verb (see *JJP* 22, 1992, 39). It can also modify the previous verb that denotes motion to a place, and the verb **συνεζεύχθη** (“I joined your travel”) follows.

<sup>193</sup> Fragmentary texts with the occurrence of the adverb are preserved in *SPP V* 124, recto 6 (A.D.?) and *P.Oxy.* X 1252 recto 15 (after A.D. 294-295).

ἐλάσσονος τιμῆς διαθέσθαι εὐχερῶς, the adverb follows and modifies the infinitive διαθέσθαι, and the phrase means “tolerant to unpleasantness”. This can be compared with the following ll. 29-30 καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόλιν δὲ πάντες τῶι ἀπο|τετριμμένωι χρυσίωι δυσχερῶς χρῶνται, where the opposite adverb δυσχερῶς occurs.

In other private letters the meaning “easily” can be also understood: in *SB XIV* 12107, 21-24 (III A.D.) ἐβάρησεν δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸ τῶν | ἀναλωμάτων διὰ τὸ πάντας ὁμοῦ | τετρυγηκέναι καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώ|πους εὐχερῶς εὐρίσκειν, “the matter of expenses has been a burden to us because all have made the vintage at the same time and we do not find men easily”, the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive εὐρίσκειν. In *P.Herm.* 11, 21-23 (IV A.D.) ἵνα | εὐχερῶς κατέλθης με|τ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς μέ, the adverb precedes and modifies the verb κατέλθης, and it means “easily”, but also “cool”, whose meaning becomes intensive because of the lack of any danger (cf. the adverb ἀσφαλῶς in ll. 18 and 25).

Generally, in the official documents, it is found more often with the meaning “easily”:

E.g. in *P.Tor.Choach.* 12, viii 13 (117 B.C.); in a decree in an inscription: Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 47 (A.D. 68); it is also restored in the Gnomon of Idioslogos (*BGU V* 1210, 7; c. A.D. 150); in petitions (*P.Monts.Roca* IV 66, 15, dated to the II B.C., *P.Dryton* 34, 24, dated in 115-110 B.C.; *P.Oxy.* VIII 1121, 6, dated in A.D. 295, and *P.Flor.* III 296, 29-30, dated in c. A.D. 548-565). Moreover, cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67352, 30-31 (= *P.Congr.* xxv 244; c. A.D. 548-551) ὅπως εὐρω εὐχαιρῶς (*l. εὐχερῶς*) βιώναι καὶ ὑπ(ε)ρ)εὔξασθαι τοῦ ἀητητή[ου] | ὕμων κράτους; in *PSI VII* 742, 5-6 (V-VI A.D.) τοῦτο δὲ εὐχαίρως (*l. εὐχερῶς*) δύνῃ γινῶναι παρὰ τοῦ νόου, it precedes and modifies the infinitive γινῶναι<sup>194</sup>.

Cf. also the comparative form in an official report, *BGU VIII* 1766, 4 (51-50 B.C.) εὐχερέστερον. For εὐχαιροτέρως → *l. εὐκαιροτέρως* and not εὐχεροτέρως in *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 14 see *s.v. εὐκαιρος*, p. 152.

#### εὐχρώμως\*

The adverb is attested in two private letters of the third century A.D. It means “well- or bright-coloured”, which implies good health; see LSJ *s.v. εὐχρῶς*, and εὐχρωμος.; cf. also *IGUR II* 413, 5-6 ἄριστος ζήσας | εὐχρώμως. The first instance is in a letter where it is paired with εὐδόξως, *PSI XII* 1261, 6-7 (A.D. 212-217) εὐχρώμως καὶ εὐδόξως ὡς | ἔπρεπέν σοι ἀπήλλαξας; the second instance is in *P.Ryl.* II 237, 7-8 (middle of III A.D.) ἵνα κάγω εἰς | [ἐκεῖνον] ἰσχύσω συνπερι<ε>νεχθῆναι εὐχρώμως (*l. εὐχρώμως*); see *WB I s.v. εὐχρωμος*; LSJ *s.v. συμπεριφέρω II* 2.

#### εὐψύχως\*

The adverb occurs in an inscription, *I.Fay.* I 40, 5 (Roman period; = *SB I* 682), on which cf. É. Bernand’s n. *ad loc.* “L’adverbe εὐψύχως semble une rareté. On peut y voir l’équivalent de la formule traditionnelle dans les épitaphes, εὐψύχει, ‘bon courage’. De la même façon on trouve εὐτυχῶς, comme formule de vœu, au lieu de εὐτύχει”; see *WB I s.v. εὐψυχος*; cf. Lampe *s.v.*; LSJ *s.v. εὐψυχος* cites as the earliest example of the adverb Xenophon *Eq.Mag.* 8.21.

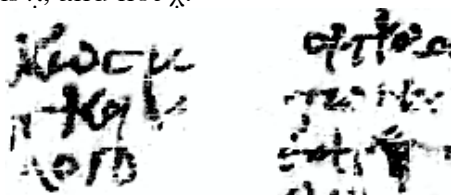
It also occurs in a private letter on an ostrakon which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB VI* 9017 (18), 6-7 (I-II A.D.) λοιπὸν εὐψύχως ἡμᾶς δ<ε>τ̄ | φέρ<ε>ιν, and the context is not clear. In l. 4 there is information about someone who is ill, and s(he) will not..., but it is not certain how this situation can be connected with the encouragement

<sup>194</sup> In the *ed. princ.* it was regularized to εὐκαιρῶς, but εὐχερῶς should be the correct adverb.

concerning a difficult event (a death?). The instance in this ostrakon, the ones concerning the verb εὐψυχῶ in papyri, and the instance of the adverb in LXX 2 *Ma* and 2 *Ma*. 7.20 are discussed by Chapa (1998, 62, 2n.).

#### ἐχθρῶς

The adverb ἐχθρῶς, with the meaning “hatefully”, is not rare in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐχθρός V, citing Plato *Lg.* 697d etc. It is restored in the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279, 25 (A.D. 567) καὶ ἐχ[θρῶς] τῶν χρησαμένων κατ’ ἐμο(ῦ), where Apollo complains of having been treated in a hostile way by some officials of Antinoopolis. However, as can be seen in the photograph, the restoration is not certain. The space is not so large enough to accommodate the proposed restoration, and, also, it seems that the letter after εἰ is λ, and not χ.



([http://www.misha.fr/papyrus\\_bipab/pages\\_html/P\\_Cair\\_Masp\\_III\\_67279.html](http://www.misha.fr/papyrus_bipab/pages_html/P_Cair_Masp_III_67279.html))

#### ἐχομένως

It is used instead of ἐφεξῆς (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐχομένως; cf. also *PGM* 4, 502) in various official documents of the Roman period. The abbreviation εχομε in the address of a private letter was resolved as ἐχομένως in *P.Oxy.* VII 1061, verso (22 B.C.) Διονυσίω τῷ καὶ Ἀμότι Πτολεμαίου ἀδελφῶν Ἀπολλωνίου | κωμογραμματέως Θώλθεως παρόντος ἐχομέ(νωσ) Θέωνο(ς) Ἰσχυρίω(νος), but St. Llewelyn, “The εἰς (τὴν) οἰκίαν Formula and the Delivery of Letters to third Persons or to their Property”, *ZPE* 101, 1994, 73 resolved it as ἐχόμε(να?).

#### ἠδέως\* – ἠδίων\* – ἠδιστα\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἠδύς III “pleasantly”. The adverb is attested in two letters of the Emperor Claudius: *P.Lond.* VI 1912, 28 (A.D. 41) διόπερ ἠδέως προσεδεξάμην τὰς δοθείσας ὑφ’ ἡμῶν (*l.* ὑμῶν) μοι τιμὰς; *P.Lond.* III 1178 (p. 214), 12-14 (A.D. 210-212) τὸν πεμ[φ]θέντ[α μοι] ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Βρεταννῶν ν{ε}ίκη χρυ|σοῦν σ[τέ]φ[α]νον ἠδέως ἔλαβον σύμβολον περιέχοντα τῆς ὑμετέ|ρας πρὸς με εὐσεβείας.

The adverb occurs almost exclusively in private letters, and the only exceptions are two Byzantine petitions: *BGU* II 547, 6-7 (IV-VII A.D.) ἀκριβῶς γὰρ οἶδα, δέσποτα, ὅτι αὐτοπαράκλητοί ἐστε καὶ ἠδέως | καταδέχεσθε τὴν αἴτησιν τῶν προσκυνητῶν ὑμῶν, μάλιστα τῶν γνησίως ὑμᾶς ἀγαπώντων; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 iii 16-17 (A.D. 567) διόλο(υ) ἠδέως καὶ πρ[ο]θύμως ἐμβά[λλεσ]θαι | τὴν αἰσίαν ἡμῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐκ πλήρους \σπεύδωμεν/.

Concerning the private letters<sup>195</sup>, in almost all cases, the adverb precedes the modified verbal form; exceptions are nos 6, 11, 12, 19, 86.

The formula ἠδέως ποιῶ is found in all periods, mainly in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods: nos 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 29, 42, 47, 50, 53, 58, 59(?),

<sup>195</sup> Cf. generally Spicq 1978, 353-354.

66, 68, 77, 79, 80. The formula ἡδέως ποιήσω is the most usually found; see Steen 1938, 128-130. A parallel phrase is no 20 ἡδέως πληρῶ in the second century A.D.

The formula ἡδέως ὑπουργῶ is found in the Byzantine period: nos 78, 81, 82, 84.

The formula ἡδέως ἔχω concerning a task or work is found from the second-third century A.D. onwards and mainly in the Byzantine period: nos 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59(?), 62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 83, 91, 92, 93<sup>196</sup>. The phrase ἡδέως διάγω with someone (no 32) is a parallel to ἡδέως ἔχω (60).

The formula ἡδέως ἀσπάζομαι is found in the second century A.D.: 18, 25, 26, 27(?).

The formula ἡδέως προσαγορεύω/προσλέγω in the Byzantine period: nos 52, 63, 76, 85, 87.

The formula that includes verbs which signify “to hear”, “to see”<sup>197</sup> “to eat” is found from the Roman period onwards: nos 15, 17, 24, 43, 73, 88. Moreover, it occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 108, 22 (end of II A.D.) ἀνάθημα γὰρ εὐχῆς θεὸς ἡδέως δέδορκεν.

The formula that includes verbs which mean “to receive” “to accept” “to offer/provide” “to follow an advice”, “to get along” etc. is found in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (nos 1, 2, 10, 12, 13, 19, 28), since the examples nos 51 and 69 are restorations and no 61 is a peculiar case. The phrase ἡδέως ἔχω was such a standard formula, which could first come to mind, therefore in (no 61) *P.Sakaon* 33, 16-17 (A.D. 318 or 319 or 320) ἡμῶν ἡδέως [εχον] | ἀναδεχομένων τῶν εἴκο[σι] ἀρουρῶν τὰ τελέσματα, the scribe originally wrote εχο, but then corrected it to the necessary verbal form ἀναδεχομένων.

The phrase in no 89 seems to be proverbial.

(1) *BGU XIV* 2417, 3-6 (258-257 B.C.) ὕγι|αίνει δὲ καὶ Πλείσταρχος, | καὶ ἡδέως προσεδέξατο | αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεύς.

(2) *P.Col.* III 11, 2-3 (257 B.C.) καὶ ἡδέως ἂν προενετετεύ|χειμέν σοι συναλαῆ[σαι].

(3) *P.Lond.* VII 1968, 5-6 (255 B.C.) καὶ ἡμῖν | [γράφον περι ὧν βούλει· ἡδέως γὰρ ποιήσομ]εν.

(4) *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59250, 5-7 (253 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ εἴ του χρεῖαν ἔχ[εις ---]α γράφειν, ἡδέω[ς γὰρ] | αὐτὸ ποιήσομ[εν].

(5) *P.Ryl.* IV 565, 7-8 (249 B.C.) γράφε δὲ καὶ ἐά[ν τινος τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν χρεῖαν ἔχης· | ὅτι γὰρ ἡδέως π[οιήσομεν οὐκ οἰμαί σε ἀγ]νοεῖν.

(6) *PSI VI* 552, 19-22 (231 B.C.) ἐὰν μὲν ποιῶσιν ἡδέως | αὐτά, βέλτιστα· εἰ δὲ | μὴ γε, κατάπλευσον | σύ.

(7) *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59575 6-8 (middle of III B.C.) καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράφων [ὧν ἂν χρεῖαν εἴ]χης καὶ τί ποιῶντες χαριζοίμεθ' ἂν σοι, ὡς ἡμῶν [τοῦτο] | προθύμως καὶ ἡδέως ποιησόντων.

(8) *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59843, 2-6 (middle of III B.C.) περι | ὧν ἂν χ[ρ]εῖαν ἔχης | τῶν ἐνταῦθα· | ἡδέως γὰρ σοι πάντα | ποιήσομεν.

(9) *P.Mich.* I 85, 5-7 (middle of III B.C.) γράφε δὲ καὶ σὺ, ἐὰν . . . . . ]ς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἡμῶν | ἡδέω[ς] | σοι ποιησόντων.

(10) *P.Mich.* I 103, 13-15 (middle of III B.C.) γράφε | δὲ καὶ σὺ πρὸς μὲ [ὡς ἐμοῦ] περι ὧν | ἂν θέλης ὡς ἐμοῦ ἡδέως ἐπακουσομένου.

(11) *PSI V* 526, 13-15 (middle of III B.C.) γράφε δὲ καὶ σὺ ἡμῖν τί ἂν σοι | ποιῶντες χαριζοίμεθα· | ποιήσομεν γὰρ ἡδέως.

(12) *P.Mich.* XV 750, 23-25 (172 B.C.) οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι | ὑποδεδεγμένοι εἰ|σὶν με ἡδέως.

<sup>196</sup> Cf. Tibiletti 1979, 79.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. *C.Gloss.Biling.* I 15, 48 and 50 (V/VI A.D.) [λιβεντε]ρ τη : | βιδεω : = ἡδέως σε : | ὀρῶ.

(13) *PSI XII 1242*, 6-7 (I B.C.-I A.D.) τὸ γὰρ ἐφ' αὐτοῖς πάντως | ἠδέως ἀπαλλάξομεν (cf. *LSJ s.v.* ἀπαλλάσω II, and *Luc. Amor.* 27 ἀλλήλους γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου διαθέντες ἠδέως ἀπηλλάγησαν.

(14) *P.Oxy.* XII 1480, 23-26 (A.D. 32) γράψ[ον μοι περὶ] | ὦν ἡ[ἀ]ν (l. ἐ[ἀ]ν) δύν[ω] | με (l. δύν[ω] | μαι) κα[ὶ] ἡδ[ή] [ω]ς (l. ἡδέ[ω]ς) | πο<ι>ήσω.

(15) *P.Oxy.* II 298, 32-33 (I A.D.) καὶ ὁ Ἄνουβᾶς αὐ[τὸν] οὐχ ἠδέως [β]λέπει.

(16) *O.Krok.* I 96, 11-13 (A.D. 98-138) περὶ ὧν ἐὰν θέλης | γράψον μοι καὶ ἡδέ[ω]ς ποιήσω.

(17) *P.Giss.* I 19, 5-9 (A.D. 115?) οὔτε πο[ρ] [τοῖς? ο]ὔτε [σε] [ἰ]τίους ἠδέως προσέρχομαι, | [ἀλλὰ] συν[ε]χῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσα νυκτὸς ἢ [μ]έρας [μ]ίαν μέριμναν ἔχω τὴν περὶ | [τῆς] σωτ[η]ρίας σου.

(18) *P.Brem.* 10, 4-5 (A.D. 113-120) ἠδέως | σε, [ᾄδ]ελεφε, ἀσπάζομαι.

(19) *P.Giss.* I 73, 3-4 (A.D. 113-120) ἐ[κομοσά]μην σου τὴν ἐπιστο[λ]ὴν ἠδέως καὶ περιμένω σε.

(20) *P.Giss.* I 47, 27-28 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 6; A.D. 117) περὶ ὧν ἄλλων βούλει, | [γρά]φε μοι [ἡ]δέως [π]ληρώσον[τι]. However, the reading is uncertain and debatable.



([http://digibib.ub.uni-giessen.de/cgi-bin/populo/pap.pl?t\\_allegro=x&f\\_SIG=P.+Giss.+47](http://digibib.ub.uni-giessen.de/cgi-bin/populo/pap.pl?t_allegro=x&f_SIG=P.+Giss.+47))

(21) *SB XVI 13058*, 8-11 (A.D. 117-138) [καὶ πάν] | τως ἐπιτρέπειν μοι περὶ ᾧ[ν] | ἐνθάδε χρεῖώδης σοὶ <ε>ίμι, ὡς | ἠδέως ποιήσ[ο]ν[τι].

(22) *P.Mich.* VIII 483, 5-6 (118-138) καὶ σὺ δι[ε] περ[ὶ] ὧν ἐὰν χρεῖαν ἔχης | γράφε μοι, <ε>ιδῶς ὅτι [ἡδέ]ως πάντ[α] σοι ποιῶ.

(23) *P.Oxy.* XLI 2980, 11-12 (II A.D.) καὶ γράφειν μοι περὶ ὧν | βούλει ἠδέως ποιήσον[τι].

(24) *P.Mich.* VIII 494, 7-8 (II A.D.) Μύστην ὄν ἀδελφὸν ἢ δέως εἶδον.

(25) *P.Oxy.* III 531, 3-4 (II A.D.) ἠδέως σε ἀσπάζομεθα πάντες οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ | τοὺς μετ' ἐσοῦ πάντας.

(26) *P.Oxy.* XIV 1758, 19-20 (II A.D.) ἀσπάζομαι πάντας | οὗς ἠδέως ἔχεις [---].

(27) Restored in *P.Wisc.* II 71, 9-10 (II A.D.) τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχ[ει] ἠδέως | κατ' ὄψιν σε ἀσπασσῆσθαι, “because it is sweet to greet you in person”, but such a phrase is not attested anywhere (no comm. in the n. *ad loc*), so this restoration is debatable, and probably should be rejected.

(28) *P.Mich.* XVIII 790, 9-10 (II-III A.D.) ἐὰν οὖν π[---] πε[ί]θομαι δὲ ὅτι ἠδέως παρέχεις γλ[---] | τῷ ἐρχομένῳ τί δῶ.

(29) *P.Oxy.* I 113, 30 (II-III A.D.) περὶ δὲ καὶ σὺ ὧν θέλεις δήλου μοι ἠδέως ποιήσοντι.

(30) *P.Michael.* 16, 7-10 (II-III A.D.) οὔτε φάσιν μοι οὔτε ἐπιστο[λ]ὴν ἐγράψατέ μοι ἵνα | καὶ αὐτὸς τεταρρημένως | ἑμαυτὸν ἠδέως ἔχω.

(31) twice in two different formulas in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1664, 9-12 (c. A.D. 200) περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ πατρίδος σοι χρεω[δ]ῶν, κύριέ μου, ἐπίστελλέ μοι ἡδέ[ω]ς ἔχοντι, τὰς γὰρ ἐντολάς σου ἥδιστα | ἔχων ὡς χάριτας λήμφομαι, and (32) II. 16-17 διὰ βίου εὖ διάγοντα | μεθ' ὧν ἠδέως διάγεις; Cf. also the use of ἥδιστα.

(33) *SB I 4317*, 10 (c. 200) ἐκ σοῦ ἠδέως ἔχω παρ' ἐμοί.

(34) *P.Flor.* II 222, 2-5 (A.D. 253 or 256) ἐὰν ἠδέως ἔχης φίλτ[α]τε ἐκ τῶν | μετανεχθέντων μοι ... οἰναρίων μεταβαλοῦ Λογγείνω.

(35) *SB VI 9082*, 12 (A.D. 254-268) ἐ[ἀ]ν ἠδέως ἔχης.

(36) *SB VI 9083*, 3-4 (A.D. 254-268) ἐὰν ἠδέως ἔχης, | πέμψον Χαιρήμονα.

(37) *SB VI 9466*, 17-19 (A.D. 255) ὁ κύριός μου Ἀπι[ανὸς] ἠδέως ἔχει | περὶ τούτου.

(38) *P.Flor.* II 223, 3-4 (A.D. 257) ἐὰν ἠδέως ἔχης παράσχε[ς] | Ἀτρῆ.

(39) *P.Flor.* II 272, 3-5 (A.D. 258) ἐὰν ἠδέως ἔχης κέλευ[σον] δοθῆναι τῷ | Ἀκιῆ.

(40) *SB VI 9059*, 7-10 (A.D. 259) ἂν ἠδέως | ἔχης, πρόσβαλε αὐ[τ]οῖς, ἐπ<ε>ὶ χρῆζομεν | αὐτῶν.

(41) *SB VI 9415* (28), 10 (A.D. 267) [ἐὰν] ἠδέως ἔχης, δός.

(42) *P.Col.* X 279, 4-7 (middle of III A.D.) καὶ ἂν [οὕ]ν | σοι χρ<ε>ία ἦν τῶν ἐνθάδε, δηλωσόν μοι | διὰ ἐπιστολῆς ὅπως ἀποπέμψω | σοι, εἰδῶς ὅτ[ε] ἠδέως ποιῶ.

(43) *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5113, 3-4 (III A.D.) ἠδέως ἐπιθυμῶν σωζόμενόν | σε ἐπανεληλυθέναι.

(44) *P.Ryl.* IV 604, 22-25 (III A.D.) καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλει | ἐναυθῆ ἐν τῇ Ἀντινίου | ἐπίστελλον μοι ἠδέως ἔχον | τι.

(45) *PSI VII 833*, 2-5 (III A.D.) [---]εως ἐν τῇ αὔριον, ἐὰν ἠδέως ἔχης, | [---] πέμψον τὰ ψωμῖα, ἀλλὰ πάντως | [---] ὑπερθέμενος, ἀλλὰ καί, ἐὰν ἠδέως | [ἔ]χης [---] δύο κορμῖα ξύλων μοι ἀναπέμψ<ε>ις.

- (46) *PSI IX 104*, 25-6 (III A.D.?) τὰ γράμματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἡδέως | ἔσχον.
- (47)- (48) twice in two different formulas in *P.Oxy. IX 1218*, 8-12 (III A.D.) περὶ οὐτινος αἰᾶν (*l. ἐάν*)  
 χρήζης ἡδέως ποι|οῦντι ἀνόκως δήλωσον. ἄσπα|ζε πολλὰ τὸν φίλτατον Φούλλωνα καὶ | τὰ ἀβάσκαντα αὐτοῦ παιδιά  
 καὶ τὴν σύμβι| [ο]ν καὶ οὓς ἡδέως ἔχομεν κατ' ὄνομα.
- (49) *BGU IV 1080*, 16-17 (III A.D.?) καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλει, ἐπίστελλέ μοι | ἡδέως ἔχοντι.
- (50) *P.Nekr. 28*, 18-20 (late III A.D.; = *P.Grenf. II 73*) δηλώσον δέ μοι | καὶ περὶ ὧν θέλεις ἐνταῦ|θα ἡδέως  
 ποιοῦντι.
- (51) *P.Oxy. I 122*, 3-5 (end of III-beginning of IV A.D.) [τὰ πα]ρὰ σοῦ κοιμισθέντα μοι | [περὶ τῆ]ν τῶν  
 Κρονίων ἡμέραν | [ἡδ]έως ([εὐθ]έως *ed.princ.*; *BL I*, on p. 316) ἔλαβον; and ll. 10-12 ἐπέψαμεν | δέ σοι κ[ . . . . ]ων[  
 ]ου ἀπὸ αειλων | ᾧ χρή[ση ἡδέ]ω[s] [χρη[σ . . . ]ω[ . ] *ed. princ.*; *BL I*, on p. 316) [. However, although both are  
 proposals of Wilamowitz, they do not seem persuasive, and both are debatable.
- (52) *SB XVI 12304*, 9-11 (end of III-beginning of IV A.D.) ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ {σ}οῦν [ἐμοι] | ὑμᾶς ἡδέως  
 προσαγ[ορεύ]ω.
- (53) *SB XVI 1249611-12* (end of III-beginning of IV A.D.) καὶ περὶ ὧν | βούλει, ἐνταῦθα κέλευέ μοι ἡδέως  
 καὶ εὔνως ποιοῦντι.
- (54) *P.Rein.Cent. 73*, 8-10 (III-IV A.D.) ἀσπάζου τὸν κύριόν μου πατέρα· πάντα γὰρ εἶπον τῷ ἀδελφῷ | ἃ  
 παρέσχον αὐτῷ· ἐπίστελλέτω οὖν αὐτῷ ἡδέως ἔχοντι | ποιεῖν· ὥστε θάρ<ρε>| ἡμῖν, ἀδελφε κύρια (*l. κύριε*).
- (55) *CPR VII 57*, 18-19 (III-IV A.D.) περὶ ὧν θέλεις | γράφε μοι ἡδέως ἐχο[ύ]σῃη.
- (56) *PSI III 236*, 36 (III-IV A.D.) ἀντίγραφόν μοι περὶ οὗ βούλει ἡδέως ἔχοντι.
- (57) *PSI VII 837*, 15-16 (III-IV A.D.) οὐχ ὀκνῶ οὐδὲ πάλι ὀκνήσω ἀλλὰ καὶ | ἡδέως ἔχω ὀλίγον ἐλάδιον  
 ἡμῖν εἰς φαγ<ε>|ν.
- (58) *PSI VIII 971*, 25-27 (III-IV A.D.) μὴ | ὀκν<ε>| γράφειν μοι ἡ|δέως ποιοῦντι.
- (59) *P.Kellis I 66*, 11-12 (beginning of IV A.D.) καὶ περὶ| | ὧν θέλεις κέλευέ μοι ἡ|δέως ἔχοντι| οἱ,  
 alternatively, we could also restore ἡ|δέως ποιοῦντι|.
- (60) *SB XIV 11666*, 14-15 (beginning of IV A.D.) πολλὰ ἀπ' ἐμο(ῦ) προσαγόρευε καὶ ὅσους ἡ|δέως ἔχεις.
- (61) *P.Sakaon 33*, 16-17 (A.D. 318 or 319 or 320) ἡμῶν ἡδέως [ε]χον| | ἀναδεχομένων τῶν εἰκο[σ]ι ἄρουρῶν  
 τὰ τελέσματα.
- (62) *P.Oxy. LV 3821*, 10-11 (A.D. 341) κέλευέ μοι περὶ ὧν βούλει | ἐπὶ τῆς ἡδείας (*l. ἰδίας*) ἡδέως ἔχοντι.
- (63) *P.Abinn. 10*, 27-30 (A.D. 346) πρόσσειπε παρ' ἐμοῦ | τὴν κυρίαν μου τὴν σύμβιον σου | καὶ τὰ παιδιά σου  
 καὶ πάντας | ἡδέως κατ' ὄνομα.
- (64) *P.Abinn. 11*, 13-14 (A.D. 346) καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλη | κελεύε{ν} μοι εἰδέος (*l. ἡδέως*) ἔχοντα.
- (65) *P.Abinn. 12*, 17-20 (middle of IV A.D.) καὶ περὶ | [ῶ]ν βούλει κέ[λ]ευέ μοι, | κύρ{ε}|θε ἀδελφε, ἡδέως |  
 ἔχοντι.
- (66) *P.Abinn. 30*, 23 (middle of IV A.D.) περὶ δὲ ὧν βούλ<ε>| κέλευέ μοι ἡδέως ποιοῦντι.
- (67) *P.Got. 13*, 3 (IV A.D.) [ἀ]κούσας καὶ σὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀνάγκαις γε[γ]ε[ν]ῆσθαι, οὐχ ἡδέως ἔσχον.
- (68) *PSI VII 783*, 7-8 (A.D. 375) γρά|φε μοι περὶ ὧν βούλη ἡδέως μου ποιοῦντος.
- (69) it is restored in *P.land. VI 100*, 16-18 (second half of IV A.D.) εἰ μὲν ἔτοι|μοι ἔ[σ]εσθε κατε|λθεῖν πρὸς  
 [ἡμᾶς], προδηλῶ|σ[α]τε [καὶ ἡδέω]ς ἐκδέχομαι, and the restoration seems to fit the required sense.
- (70) *P.Sijp. 11 c*, 19-21 (second half of IV A.D.) ἐὰν δὲ | ἀσφαλῶς μάθης, ὅτι οὐκ | ἡδέως ἔχει, γραψάτω  
 Φεῦτι; cf. also restoration in ll. 15-16.
- (71) *PSI XV 1565*, 13-16 (second half of IV A.D.) τὴν δὲ | ὑπηρεσίαν σου καθ' ἡμέραν | λάμβανε, ἡδέως  
 ἡμῶν ἐχόν|των.
- (72) *P.Kellis I 69*, 9-11 (IV A.D.) π[ε]ρὶ δὲ ᾧ βού|λει κέλευέ [μοι ἡδέως] | ἔχοντ[ι].
- (73) *P.Kellis I 7*, 18-19 (IV A.D.) καὶ νομίζω οὐκ ἡδέως ἀκούει κα[---].
- (74) *P.Neph. 10*, 17-19 (IV A.D.) μὴ ὀκνήσης γράψαι μοι περὶ ὧ(ν) | χρ<ε>|ίαν ἔχεις· ἡδέως γὰρ ἔχω ἐάν μοι |  
 κελεύσης εἰς ὃ δ' ἂν θέλης.
- (75) *P.Oxy. XII 1593*, 14-15 (IV A.D.) καὶ περὶ ὧν βούλης | παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀντίγραφόν μοι, ἐμοῦ ἡδέως ἔχοντι (*l.*  
 ἔχοντος).
- (76) *P.Oxy. VIII 1162*, 10-12 (IV A.D.) ἐγὼ δε (*l. τε*) | καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἡδέως ὑμᾶς | προσαγορεύεσθαι  
 κ(υρί)ω.
- (77) *SB XXVI 16706*, 22-24 (IV A.D.) εἴ τι χρεῖαν | ἔχητε, γράψατέ μοι | ἡδέως ποιοῦνσι (*l. ποιοῦντι*).
- (78) restored in *SB XXIV 15903*, 13-16 (IV A.D.) κέλευέ μοι περὶ | ὧν βούλη ἡ|δέως| σοι ὑπουρ|γ[οῦντι].



(79) it might appear in the letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Nag.Hamm.* 79, 7-8 (IV A.D.) [--- ὅτι χρεῖαν ἔχ[ --- ] | [ --- ]τ ἡδέως ποι[---] (|τηδεως *ed. princ*), which must be restored with a form of ποιῶ.

(80) *P.Flor.* III 348, 3-5 (IV A.D.) μὴ ὄκνε[ι] | ἐπιτά[σ]σειν μοι ἡδέως ποιῶντι μ[ε]τὰ | πάση[ς] πρ[ο]θυμίας.

(81) *CPR* XXV 3, 4-5 (IV A.D.) περί δὲ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς | βούλη, κέλευέ μοι ἡδέως ὑπουργοῦντι; see A. Papathomas' n. *ad loc.*, citing *P.Bingen* 121, 14; *SB* XIV 11372, 19-20; *SB* XXIV 15903, 13-16.

(82) *P.Bingen* 121, 14 (end of IV-beginning of V A.D.) περί ὧν βούλη κέλευε ἡμῖν ἡδέως ὑπουργοῦντες.

(83) *PSI* V 481, 6-7 (V-VI A.D.) καὶ περί τῶν | ἄλλων τριακοσίων, ἐὰν ἡδέως ἔχετε, δέσποτα, καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιτάσσω.

(84) *SB* XIV 11372, 19-20 (V-VI A.D.) ἂν τινος δὲ χρ<ε>ία ἦ, κέλευε | ἡμῶν ἡδέως ὑπουργούντων(ν).

(85) *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2731, 20-21 (IV-V A.D.) προσαγορεύω πάντας τοὺς ἡδέως ὑμᾶς | ἔχοντας κατ' ὄνομα.

(86) in a letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB* XVIII 13112, 11 (V-VI A.D.) ---]θα κέλευε ἡμῖν ἡδέως τ[---].

(87) *CPR* V 23, 15-16 (V A.D.?) προσαγορεύω πάντας τοὺς φιλ[ο]ῦν[τες] ὑμᾶς ἡδέως (*l. ἡδέως*). ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεαι etc.

(88) *P.IFAO* II 27, 6 (end of V-beginning of VI A.D.) καὶ νομίζω οὐκ ἡδέως ἀκούει κα[---].

(89) *SB* VI 9616, recto 6-7 (A.D. 550-558) ἡδέως γὰρ ἔχω ἀποθανεῖν | εἰς χεῖρας ἄλλων καὶ μὴ ἐμπειεῖν εἰς [χ]εῖρας τοῦ δεσπότη μου ἢ παρὰ κέλειςιν αὐτοῦ τί ποτε πράξαι.

(90) read in a letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *CPR* VI 84, 21 (VI A.D.).

(91) *P.Stras.* V 400, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐὰν οὖν ἡδέως ἔχεται |.

(92) *P.Apoll.* 43, 6 (second half of VII A.D.) ἐὰν ἡδέως ἔχει is added above the line.

(93) *P.Apoll.* 61, 4 (second half of VII A.D.) καὶ ἐὰν ἡδέως ἔχουσιν τὰ ἀμφοτέρω μέρη, in a description of a law case between two parties.

The superlative ἡδιον is attested both in private letters, *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59852, 5-6 (243 B.C.) ἵνα ἐγὼ τε τὰ παρὰ σοῦ διδόμενα λαμβάνω δικαιότερον, σύ τε ἡδιον διδῶις ποιῶντός τι ἐμοῦ πλέον σοι, and official documents, e.g. in the edict des M. Sempronius Liberalis, *SB* XX 14662, 14-15 (A.D. 154) ἵνα δὲ τοῦτο προθυμ[ό]τε[ρ]ε[ρ]ο[ν] κ[α]ὶ ἡδιο[ν] π[ο]ιῶ[σ]ιν.

On the other hand, the superlative ἡδιστα is attested only in private letters: It modifies the same verbs as the ἡδέως (see above):

E.g. ποιῶ something: *P.Oxy.* VII 1061, 21-22 (22 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* LV 3806, 5 (A.D. 15); *SB* IV 7461, 11 (A.D. 45); *P.Brem.* 21, 11 (A.D. 113-120); 22, 11-12 (A.D. 113-120); 52, 10-11 (A.D. 113-120); *O.Berenike* III 472, 3-4 (second half of I A.D.); *P.Ryl.* II 434, 10 (II A.D.); *P.Sarap.* 103ter, 6 (II A.D.); ἔχω someone or something in *P.Mich.* VIII 498, 16-17 (II A.D.) and *P.Oxy.* XIV 1664, 11-12 (c. A.D. 200); καταλείπω someone in *P.Lond.* III 897, 8 (A.D. 84); ἄγω in *PSI* XII 1242, 4 (I B.C.-I A.D.); λαμβάνω something in *P.Warr.* 13, 4-5 (II A.D.); παραδέχομαι someone in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1676, 27-28 (A.D. 324); ἀσπάζομαι someone in *SB* IV 7335, 3-4 (117-138); *P.Sarap.* 103ter, 3-4 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VI 933, 5-6 (III A.D.); κομίζομαι letters in *SB* XVIII 13590, 4-5 (I-II A.D.); cf. also προίεμαι in the letter of Claudius, *M.Chr.* 373, 16 (A.D. 119).

ἡμερησίως\*

The adverb “daily” does not occur in literary texts, but only in the Greek papyri from Egypt, mainly in the clauses of the employment contracts which refer to the provision for daily payment of the wages by the employer.

It is also attested in private letters of the Roman period, and it can be placed before or after the verbal form to indicate a daily basis (real or not) of an action. In most cases the adverb seems to be used instead of the prepositional καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν.

Its first appearance is in *SB* XX 14102 (late I A.D.-early II A.D.), a letter sent by Origenes to his daughter Alexandra, reminding her of his order, when they had met in the past, that she should write to him everyday(!), ll. 3-4 [ὡ]ς καὶ σοι κατ' ὄψιν ἐνετειλάμην ὅτι | λ[ί]αν δέον ἦν ἡμερησίως γράφε μοι. The adverb immediately precedes and modifies the form γράφε, and this indicates the unreasonableness or exaggeration of the order, since it

was very difficult for someone to write and send a letter to the same person every day. Here I would like to make two observations concerning the text: the verbal form γράφε might be a mistake instead of the infinitive γράφειν. Probably a full stop should be placed after the pronoun μοι, so that the following sentence which starts in l. 5 ἢ ἀνέπεισέ σε Σεραπίας τοῦ μὴ [γρά] | φειν could be followed by another sentence starting with ἢ in the lost part of the papyrus, “either Sarapias has persuaded her not to write to him... or...” .

The adverb also appears in the archive that belonged to Saturnila and her sons (or Happy Family archive; see <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/212.pdf>), in *SB* III 6263, 5 (second half of II A.D.), *P.Heid.* VII 400, 5 (late II A.D.), *P.Mich.* XV 751, 3 (late II A.D.) and *P.Mich.* XV 752, 5-6 (late II A.D.), which are four letters sent by Sempronius to his mother Saturnila, and in *P.Mich.* III 209, 5 (late II A.D.-early III A.D.), which is a letter addressed to Sempronius by his brother Saturnilus. The adverb is part of the προσκύνημα-formula which follows the χαίρειν formula at the beginning of the letter, ἅμα δὲ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιούμεαι ἡμερησίως παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι, “and at the same time I make supplication for you daily before the lord Serapis”, in the letters of Sempronius, and ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά | σου ποιούμε<v> ἡμερησίως παρὰ τοῖς πατρῶ | ες (*l.* πατρῶ | οἰς) θεοῖς, “at the same time I also make daily obeisance for you before our ancestral gods”, in the letter of Saturnilus. It always follows the verbal form ποιούμεαι, and therefore, corresponds to the well-attested prepositional καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν<sup>198</sup>

*SB* VI 9364, 4 (A.D. 243) and *SB* VI 9467, 5-7 (A.D. 250, A.D. 254 or A.D. 261) belong to the Heroninos archive (<http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/103>). Both documents can be classified as private business letters. In *SB* VI 9364 an amount of barley should be given or paid to someone, but the modified verbal form, which certainly preceded the adverb, is not preserved and was not placed next to it. On the other hand, in *SB* VI 9467 small fish should be brought to a certain place, and the adverb follows and modifies the infinitive ἀναφέρειν. It is placed right next to the infinitive: ἴν\α/ [οὔτως] δια | ταγὴν λάβωσιν τοῦ ἀναφέρειν ἡμε | ρησίως ἰχθύδια.

*SB* XIV 12200 (III A.D.) is a letter sent by Sarapion to his brother Heraklianos mentioning some urgent obligations. Heraklianos must come south straight away when he gets the letter, because some people want to file a monthly report and they are being harassed daily, ll. 5-8 λαβῶν μου τὸ ἐπιστόλιον εὐθέ | ως ἀναλθε (*l.* ἀνελθε), ἐπ<ε>ιδὴ τὸν μηνιαῖον | βούλονται καταχωρίσαι. ὀχλοῦν | ται γὰρ ἡμερησίως. The adverb follows the modified verb ὀχλοῦνται, and is placed next to it.

*P.Oxy.* LXXXII 5321, 29-30 (III A.D.) is a private letter, where the writer, Thonios, mentions that a certain person, Hermon, has often (which is expressed generally in l. 26 with the adverb πολλάκις) been dealing with him about a certain matter. Thonios writes that he has managed to put him off, but now he is more specific about the frequency, which is indicated with the adverb ἡμερησίως: κάγῳ αὐτὸν ἡμερη | σίως διαβάλλω.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. for instance *P.Mich.* VIII 476, 4-5 ὑγιαίνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ποιούμενός σου τὸ προσκύνημα καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν | παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Σεράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς, “I myself am in good health and make obeisance for you daily in the presence of our lord Sarapis and the gods who share his temple”, and *P.Mich.* VIII 480, 4-5 [τὸ] πρ[οσκύ]νη[μ]ά σου πο[ιο]ῦμαι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖ[ς] | [ἐν]θ[άδε θε]οῖς, “I make obeisance for you daily in the presence of the local gods”.

As mentioned above, it cannot be said with certainty if this daily activity is real or just an expression.

*SB XVIII 13614* (II-III A.D.) is a letter sent by Thonas and Kalalas to their father. An expression of love occurs in ll. 3-5 as (*ed. princ.*) ἔρ<ρ>ωμαί δε καὶ τοῦ σου [βίου ἀρι]στέϊαν μνημ[ονεύω ἡμερησίως] | πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς, “I love you and daily I make mention of your excellent way of life to all the gods”, but the reading after κα (l. 3), the restoration [βίου ἀρι]στέϊαν, the verb and the adverb are restored without exact phrasal parallel. In fact, after ἔρωμαί δε the text could be read as καὶ ἀ[ύ]τρός followed by Sijpesteijn’s σου. The word ἀρι]στέϊαν seems the most probable restoration. Instead of the verb μνημ[ονεύω I read μνήαν (l. μνεΐαν), since the small circle of an α is preserved at the right of the lower part of the right leg of η. In that case the letters στέϊαν at the beginning of the line would be the end of an adjective attributed to the following μνήαν. Based on a parallel, which, however, is dated to the Ptolemaic period, the adjective ἀρίστην is found in a formula at the beginning of a private letter<sup>199</sup>. However, a restoration ἀρι]στέϊαν as a coined feminine form of the adjective ἀριστεῖος (-ον) (see LSJ *s.v.*, “belonging to the bravest, bestowed as the prize of valour”), is contrary to Lex Youtie. If this restoration is accepted, the defaced and lost part of l. 4 could be restored as [ποιῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν παρά], followed by l. 5 πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς. Therefore, the text reads ll. 3-5 as ἔ<ρ>ρωμαί δε καὶ ἀ[ύ]τρός, σου [τῆν ἀρι]στέϊαν (l. ἀρίστην?) μνήαν (l. μνεΐαν) [ποιούμενος καθ’ ἡμέραν (?) παρά] | πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς.

#### ἡμερουσίως

This spelling instead of ἡμερησίως is attested only in the Byzantine contracts (middle of the fourth to the seventh century A.D.). Therefore, *SB X 10217*, a contract which is dated in the third-fourth century A.D. should be dated in the late fourth century A.D. The handwriting is comparable to the hands of *P.Köln III 139* (Harrauer, *Paläographie*, Tafelband, Abb. 196). The variant spelling is obviously influenced by the adjectives in -ούσιος.

#### ἡρέμωσ(\*?)

It is restored in a private letter which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Diog.* 48, fr. D+E, 6 (II-III A.D.) ἡ]ρέμωσ, but the restoration of the adverb is debatable; for the rare attestations of the adverb in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἡρεμος 3, “quietly”.

#### ἡσυχίως\*

Although the adverb was in use in Plato, *Theaetetus* 179e, Posidippus 58,5 etc. (see Spicq 1978, 361-363. Cf. also *s.v.* ἡσύχως), in Egypt it is attested only in a private letter of the Byzantine period, *CPR XIV 53*, 5 (early VIII A.D.?) περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐλάλησεν [υ] ἡμῖν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἡσυχίως, Μάρκος, with the meaning “quietly”. The sender of the letter seems to be a woman, and judging from the professional hand (see Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, 226-227) and the vocabulary, the person who wrote the letter seems to be well-educated.

<sup>199</sup> *P.Bad.* IV 48, 1-2 (127 B.C.) ἔρωμαι δε καὶ αὐτή, σου τὴν ἀρίστην μνήαν (l. μνεΐαν) | ἐπὶ παντός ἀγαθοῦ ποιουμένη οὐ διαλείπω; *SB XXIV 16069*, 5-6 ἔρρωμεθα δε καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρίστην | [μνεΐαν ποιούμενοι] παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Πηλουσίῳ θεοῖς; see also *SB XX 14729*, 1-4.

## ήσυχως\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ἡσυχος III; Bauer *s.v.* The adverb is attested in petitions of the Byzantine period always in the phrase εύρίσκω ήσυχως βιωναι:

*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 26 (A.D. 548-549) {ε}ἴνα εύρουσιν \τουῦ λ[οιποῦ]/ οἱ ἐνοικ[ο]ῦντες ήσυχ[ως] βιωναι; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 23 (A.D. 567) εύρωμεν ήσυχως βιωναι; *SB XXVIII* 17239, 20 (A.D. 567) εύρωμεν ήσ[ύ]χ[ως] διατριψαι; Since the adverb seems to follow the verb εύρίσκω, and then to precede and modify an infinitive, one could correct the restoration in the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 14-15 (A.D. 547) και ήμεῖς εύρωμεν εύκόλ[ως] βιωναι [και ήσυχως ἐ]ργάζεσθαι περι τὰ εύσε[βῆ] τελέσματα και τήν εξάσιον | [ήμῶν ἐμβολήν το και ήμεῖς εύρωμεν ήσυχ[ως] βιωναι [και εύκόλως ἐ]ργάζεσθαι περι τὰ εύσε[βῆ] τελέσματα και τήν εξάσιον | [ήμῶν ἐμβολήν.

It is also used in the phraseology of a private letter, in *P.Grenf.* II 91, 4-5 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐπλήσθημεν χαρᾶς διότι ήσυχως ηὔρατε καλόν τόπον και τήν θεραπειάν | ύμῶν, which might used to indicate that everything was done in a very gentle way and quietly and, based on the phrase in petitions, we may assume that an infinitive βιωναι has been implied.

## θαυμαστῶς

It occurs in court proceedings, in the oral language of the court, ρ(ήτωρ) εἶ(πεν)· μή πάνυ θαυμαστῶς, in *PSI Congr.* XXI 17, 16 (end of III A.D.), where, even though the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, the meaning seems to be “wonderfully”. For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* θαυμαστός I; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*

## θειωδῶς

With the meaning “by imperial decree” (see LSJ *s.v.* θειώδης (B)), this adverb is attested in documents of the Byzantine period:

*P.Cair.Isid.* I, 11-12 (A.D. 297); *SB XX* 14606, 12 (A.D. 425-430); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312, 27 (A.D. 567); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 42 and 46 (A.D. 570); *P.Lond.* I 77, 13 (A.D. 610); cf. also *IG XII,4* I, 273, 13 (A.D. 371; Cos); Athanasius, *Apol. Contra Ar.* 85.7. see *WB I s.v.* θειώδης; cf. Lampe *s.v.* 2.

## θείως

It is attested in official documents of the third century A.D., with the meaning “by divine providence”<sup>200</sup>; see *WB I s.v.* θειώδης; cf. Lampe *s.v.* 1.

## θερμῶς\*

It occurs only in two private letters of the Roman period: *BGU* III 822, 21-22 (after A.D. 105) θερ|μῶς ἀσπάζεται σε Κουπανηοῦς, with the metaphorical meaning “hot-headed, warmly”; (see LSJ *s.v.* θερμός II 1) *P.Flor.* II 127, 6-7 (A.D. 266) και ἄχ[υρ]ον πανταχόθεν συλλέξας ἴνα θερ|μῶς λουσώμεθα χειμῶνος ὄντος, with the actual meaning “with hot water” (see see *WB I s.v.* θερμός; LSJ *s.v.* θερμός III 2).

<sup>200</sup> **Petition:** *SPP V* 52 - 56 I, 21-24 (A.D. 266-267) και ἀπόσχη τοιαύτης | εισπράξεως ήν παρὰ τὰ θείως διηγορευμένα | γεινομένην ἐμέμψατο ή μεγαλειότης τουῦ | λαμπροτάτου ήγεμόνος; in documents concerning **privileges of athletes and artists:** *P.Oxy.Hels.* 25, 46-47 (A.D. 264) ἀτελῆ τε [εἶναι και πάντων τῶν λειτ]ουργιῶν δημο[σ]ί[ων] ἀφέσεις ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ περι τούτων θείως [διηγορευμένα]; *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2476, 45-46 (A.D. 288) περι του ἀτελῆ και ἀλ<ε>ιτούργη|τον εἶναι κατὰ τὰ περι τούτων θιων (*l.* θείως) διηγορευμένα; **official correspondence:** *P.Oslo* III 83, 11 (A.D. 315-324) το]ῦ καθολικοῦ. τὰ μὲν θείως ὡς και νῦν νο[μ]ίζ(?)

## θυμικῶς\*

In the private letter *BGU XVI 2608*, 6-7 (10-1 B.C.) {ε}ῖσθι δὲ πεπονεκῶς (*l.* πεπονηκῶς) τὴν κρ{ε}ῖθην | θυμικῶς, the editor, W.M. Brashear, has rendered “get busy and tend to the barley”. However, {ε}ῖσθι is the imperative of οἶδα and the participle πεπονεκῶς (*l.* πεπονηκῶς) is not a predicate adjective, but a participle in indirect discourse. The adverb θυμικῶς, therefore, follows and modifies the participle: “know that I have worked hard turning myself inside out for the barley”. For the rare occurrence of the adverb in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* θυμικός 4, citing Polybius 18.37.12, with also the comparative θυμικώτερον in the same author, 7.13.3; cf. Cicero *Att.* 10.11.5.

## ἰδιαζόντως\*

It occurs in a private letter where troubles are described, *P.Fouad I 87*, 9-10 (VI A.D.) ὀφείλων διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῶ τὰ εἰκότα ἰδιαζόντως πρὸ τοῦ ἀνάπλου | ἡμῶν. If it is considered to modify the infinitive διαλεχθῆναι, its meaning is “separately, in private” (a sense similar to κατ’ ἰδίαν). However, one could also consider that the meaning is “in particular”, and construct the adverb with the following prepositional πρὸ τοῦ ἀνάπλου ἡμῶν, “before our sailing up-stream”.

Moreover, it is attested in formal documents:

A dialysis document, *P.Princ.* II 82, 52-53 (A.D. 481) μήτε πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς | κοινῇ μήτε πρὸς ἓνα ἰδιαζόντως; in a petition, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 iii 8 (A.D. 567) ἰδιαζόντως ἐκ προνομίου ἐχόντων, and it is read in a petition, *P.Lond.* V 1674, 12 (c. A.D. 570) ἰδιαζόντως, but the reading and restoration are not certain.

LSJ *s.v.* “separately, opp. κοινῇ”, cited *P.Princ.* II 82. This meaning is different from the one in literature, “in a special or peculiar way”; see *WB I s.v.*; LSJ *s.v.* cites Diodorus Sic. 19.99 etc.

## ἰδικῶς

It occurs only in a petition, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 15-17 (A.D. 567) ἐχρόνισεν γὰρ | ὁ αὐτὸς Διόσκορ[ο]ς ἰδικῶς α(ὐ)τουργῶν τα[ύ]τα]ς μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτο(ῦ), καὶ εὐγνωμόνως καὶ πληρωτικῶς καθ’ ἔτος παρέχων | τὰ τούτων δημόσια, where the meaning ἰδικῶς α(ὐ)τουργῶν might stand for ἰδιωτικῶς α(ὐ)τουργῶν, “as an individual working with his own hand”; see *WB I s.v.* ἰδικός; LSJ *s.v.* ἰδικός 2 “proper, one’s own”, citing Simplicius *in Ph.* 848.21; Lampe *s.v.* 2. In *SB I 4687*, 5 (VI A.D.) the adverb is restored in a lease contract, but the restoration is debatable.

## ἰδιοκινδύνως

The adverb occurs in a letter of Korrah to Basilus the pagarches, *SB III 7241*, 42-43 (A.D. 710) ὅπως ἰδιοκινδύνως παραδώσωσιν | τὸ παραδωθὲν (*l.* παραδοθὲν) αὐτοῖς; see Lampe *s.v.* with the meaning “at one’s own risk”.

## ἰδίως

The only certain reading<sup>201</sup> and interpretation is in the petition *BGU II 614*, 28 (A.D. 217) καὶ περὶ ὧν μοι ἰδίως ὀ[φ]εῖλ<ε>ι. Based on this instance, the reading ἰδι or ἰδ were resolved as ἰδίως in some documents of the fourth century A.D.:

<sup>201</sup> The meaning of the reading ἰδίως [ in *O.Claud.* IV 722, 36 (c. A.D. 136-137), a list of personnel, is difficult to understand. The reading in the fragmentary *P.Turku* 22, 7 (middle of II B.C.) is not clear (read ἰδίως α .[

In the building account *P.Ant.* I 46, verso 16 (c. A.D. 337-348) ἰδί(ως) γί(νεται) (τάλαντα) σι, in a travel account *P.Ryl.* IV 630-637, 369 (A.D. 317-323) [. . .] ἰμοὶ ἰδί(ως), and in an account of wine, *P.Ryl.* IV 641, 32 and 43 (early IV A.D.) Σιλβανῶ ἰδίω(ς) α and ἰδί(ως) α.

In that sense, the adverb seems to have the meaning of ἰδίᾳ “by oneself, privately, on one’s own account”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἴδιος VI 2; Bauer *s.v.*

#### ἰδιωτικῶς(\*?)

The adverb occurs in an account of corn, *P.Oxy.* IV 740, 20.28.32 (c. A.D. 200-201), where either the meaning is “concerning private accounts” or the word refers to the nature of corn; see B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt’s n. *ad loc.*

The abbreviated word ἰδιωτικ was resolved as ἰδιωτικ(ῶς) in one private letter, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1153, 18-19 (I A.D.) ἀβόλλην σοι ἐὰν εὔρω ἀγοράσαι ἰδιωτικ(ῶς) | ἐν τάχει πέμψω, and was translated as “auf eigene Faust” (see Olsson 1925, no 74, on p. 203). However, one could also resolve an adjective ἰδιωτικ(ήν) attributed to the noun ἀβόλλην, and can be interpreted as either “for your personal use” or as a kind of garment, i.e. “a coarse thick cloak”.

#### ἱερατικῶς

In papyri there is the earliest example of this adverb in the Greek literature; cf. a later example in an anonymous’ treatise (referring to Dioscorides 11,2, p. 166 (Zuretti) καὶ ἀπόθου ἱερατικῶς ἐπὶ τρίποδα). It is attested only in official documents concerning circumcision of priests in the second century A.D. with the meaning “priestly, in a sacerdotal sense”:

*W.Chr.* 77, 11-12 (A.D. 149) ἐπέδωκάν μοι βιβλ[ε]ῖδιον βουλόμενοι ἱερατικῶς περιτεμεῖν | οἱ μὲν υἱοὺς ἑαυ[τ]ῶν; *BGU* XIII 2216, 10-11 (A.D. 156) ἐπέδωκέ [μοι] βιβλ[ιδίου] β[ο]υλόμενο[ς] ἱερα[τ]ικῶς | περιτεμεῖν υἱ[ο]ὺς ἑαυτοῦ; *P.Rein.Cent.* 58, 6 (A.D. 156) ἐπέδωκέ μοι βιβλ[ιδίου] βουλόμενος ἱερα[τ]ικ[ῶς]; *SB* XXVI 16726, 7-8 (A.D. 192-193) βιβλιδίον μοι ἐπέδω[κ]εν βουλόμενος ἱερατικῶς περιτεμεῖν υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ.

#### ἱκανῶς\*

The general meaning “sufficiently, adequately” in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ἱκανός III; Bauer *s.v.*) is also found in private letters of all periods (for its meaning “genügend” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124), almost always preceding the modified verb:

Ptolemaic period: *P.Petrie Kleon* 7, 9 (c. 260-249 B.C.) ἱκανῶ[ς]; *P.Petrie Kleon* 15, 41 (260 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 1948, 6 (257 B.C.) ἱκανῶς οὐ<ν> μοι δοκεῖ κατειργάσθαι; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59096, 1-2 (257 B.C.) Ζωῖλος Ζήνων[ι] χαίρειν. εἰ Ἀπολλωνίος[ς] τε ἔρρωται καὶ σὺ καὶ οὐς βούλει, | γίνεται ὡς ἡμε[ῖς] ἂν βουλοίμεθα ἱκανῶς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴχομεν; *P.Mich.* I 72, 12-13 (251 B.C.) ἱκα|νῶς γὰρ ἐγγεγέλασαι, “for you have been abundantly derided about it”; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59193, 1-2 (255 B.C.) ἐπεῖδον τὴν δια|γρα|φὴν τ[. . . . .] ἐφ[α]ίνετό μοι ἱκα|νῶς ἔχειν; following the modified verb only in *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59647, 12-13 (248-247 B.C.) [μ]ήτε χάρταις κεχ[ο]ρηγηῖσθαι | ἱκανῶς, ἀξιούμέν[σ]ε, ὅπως etc.; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59497, 3-4 (middle of III B.C.) συν[γν]ῶ|μην ἔχων. ἱκανῶς γὰρ καὶ πι[κρ]ῶς τετιμῶρημαι; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59575, 1-3 (middle of III B.C.) εἰ Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίος τε ἔρρω[ω] | [τ]αι καὶ σὺ καὶ οὐς βούλει καὶ τὰ λοιπ[ὰ] κατὰ νοῦν ἐστίν, | γ[ε]νοιτ’ ἂν ὡς ἡμε[ῖς] θέλομεν. ἱκανῶς δὲ [καὶ αὐτοὶ εἴχομεν]; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59639, 12-15 (middle of III B.C.) ἡ ἐν Μένφι συντελέσαι τὸ ἐ|νεστηκὸς ἔργον καὶ ἄλλο | ὃ ἂν συντάσσης ἱκανῶς | γὰρ τετιμῶρημαι;

---

or ἰδιωσα [., e.g. ἰδιώσατο etc. In a memorandum of the doiketes, *P.Tebt.* III 703, 262-264 (c. 210 B.C.), ὧμινη γὰρ δεῖν τὸ μὲν | [ἡ]γεμονικῶπατον (l. [ἡ]γεμονικῶτατον) ἰδίως καὶ καθα|[ρῶς] | [κ]αὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστ[ου] ποιοῦντας(?), “I considered that your prime duty is to act with peculiar care, honestly, and in the best possible way”, the reading is not certain.

*P.Mich.* I 87, 5-6 (middle of III B.C.) δέομαί σου καὶ ἰκετε<ύ>ω, μὴ περιίδης μὴ (l. μοι) ἐν τῷ δεζμωτηρίῳ. ἰκανῶς | βέβλαμ<μ>αι ἀφ' οὗ ἀπέγμαι (l. ἀπήγμαι) ἀπ' τοῦ κλήρου οἷ[ῦ] ἐμισθωσάμην ἐπὶ σοὶ (l. σοί) πεποιθῶς, “I pray and beseech you, be not unmindful of me in prison. Much loss have I suffered since I was led to gaol from the allotment which I leased, trusting in your support”; a letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB VI* 9440, 9 (middle of III B.C.) ὁ δ' εἶπεν εἰ μὴ ἰκανῶ[ς] ---; *P.Petr.* III 53, N 1-3 (III B.C.) εἰ ἔρρωσα[ι] | καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν | ὡς βούλομαι· κἀγὼ δ' ἰκανῶς εἶχον; letter which is preserved in a fragmentary condition *SB XII* 10845, 9-10 (204 B.C.) τοῦ[ς] γεω[ρ]γού[ς](?) τῆ[ς] | διαγραφῆς τοῦ σπόρου καταχώρισον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἰκανῶς πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν ἰστ[ῆ]; *UPZ I* 146, 4-6 (II B.C.) ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ συνειλκυμένος ὑ[πὸ] τ[ῆ] οὐ | ἀνθρώπου <τῆι> πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὸν πατέρα αἰρέσει | ἰκανῶς ἐξεπίστην.

**Roman period:** *P.Tebt.* II 411, 3-7 (II A.D.) ἅμα τῷ λαβεῖν μου τὴν | ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῆ ὥρα | ἄνελθε, ὁ γὰρ κράτιστος | ἐπιστράτηγος ἰκανῶς | σε ἐπεζήτησε, “immediately upon receiving my letter come up instantly, for his highness the epistrategos has made several inquiries for you”; *P.Wisc.* II 84, 7-9 (late II A.D.) γείνωσκε οὖν, ἀδε[λ]φέ, ἰκανῶς με ἀγων[ι]ᾶν | ἅμα μὴδὲ τὰς νύ[κ]κ[τ]α[ς] κοιμώμενον ἄχρ[ε] [ι] οὗ | μοι δηλώσης πῶς δι[ά]γει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀέρι, “you must know, brother, that I shall be very anxious and that at the same time I shall not sleep at night until you let me know how she is doing in that climate”; letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, in *P.Flor.* II 268, 5 (A.D. 249-268); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2784, 2-4 (III A.D.) [ι]κανῶς ἐνηδρεύ[θη]μεν, ἀμελησάντων ὑμῶν περὶ τὸ | πλοῖον; *P.Rein.Cent.* 71, 23-26 (III A.D.) ὡς καὶ εἰ[κ]ο[ς] ! [ . . . ] δοκεῖ τὸν τρυφήσαντα | ἰκα[νῶς] γ[ε] τῆς ἐναντίας διαίτης | πειραθῆ[ν]αι καὶ πεινᾶσαι.

**Byzantine period:** *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2730, 15-16 (III-IV A.D.) ἐπ<ε>ι ἰκανῶς καταφρονού[σι] τῆς οἰκίας ἡμῶν; *P.Lond.* VI 1927, 40-44 (middle of IV A.D.) ὅτι ὡς ἰκα|νῶς τάχα σοι ὁ θε(ὸ)ς ἐχάρισεν | τὸν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν εὐρεῖ(ν) | ἀντίπαλον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν ἄποφα[σ]τικόν; cf. my correction in *SB XX* 14626, 26, s.v. ἡκαίως, p. 284; *PSI XVI* 1653, 3-8 (V-VI A.D.) αὐτῆς ὥρας δεξάμενός μου | τὰ γράμματα πενήκοντα | ἀρτάβας κριθῶν τήρησον | παρὰ τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἡκανοὺς | ἐπεὶ οἱ σπεκουλάτωραις (l. σπεκουλάτωρες) | αὐτὰ λαμβάν[ο]υσιν, “nel momento stesso in cui ricevi la mia lettera, tieni da parte cinquanta artabe di orzo presso i contadini in modo adeguato, poichè gli *speculatores* prendono queste cose”. The editor L. Giuliano interpreted this form as adverb ἰκανῶς, however, one can assume that the form can be also interpreted as the adjective ἰκανάς (i.e. ἀρτάβας)<sup>202</sup>.

### ικέλως

For literature see its rare attestation in LSJ s.v. ἵκελος, “in the same way as”, citing Hippocrates, *Gland.* 8, Diotogenes, ap. Stob. 4.1.133. It occurs in a funerary metrical

<sup>202</sup> The adverb is attested also in **Ptolemaic official letters:** *P.Tebt.* III 703, 255-258 (210 B.C.) ταῦτα γὰρ ὑ[μῶν] | ποιούντων καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν τὸ δέον τε | λείεσθαι καὶ ὑμῖν ἡ πᾶσ' ἀσφάλεια ὑπάρ[ξ]ει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἰκανῶς ἐχέτω; *UPZ I* 110, 4-7 (164 B.C.) <ε>ι δὲ | καὶ σὺ ὑγιαίν<ε>ις καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν. εἴη ἂν ὡς βουλόμεθα. καὶ καιτοὶ (l. καῦτοὶ) δ' | ἰκανῶς ἐπανή[γ]ομεν; *BGU VIII* 1877, 10 (64-44 B.C.) ἐπεδείξαντο \δὲ ἰκανῶς πρὸς αὐτ[ὸ]ν/ ἐπιστολὴν, here following the modified verb. In **petitions (Roman and Byzantine period):** *BGU III* 823, 10-13 (A.D. 176-179) πάντων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἡγεμόν[ων] | κελυσάντων πρωτοπρατίαν ἔχιν τὰς προοίκας ἐγὼ μόνη παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα | ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μου Λιμναίου ἀδελφῆς Ἐ[λ]ένης ἰκανῶς διετέθην ἐναντιουμένης | τοῖς καθολικῶς διατεταγμένοις; *BGU II* 614, 14-16 (A.D. 217) οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ | τελευτησάσης τῆς παιδ[ὸ]ς c. 23 letters εἰ[λ]ατο ἡ μήτηρ ἰκανῶς με παρακαλέσασα πεποιοῦσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου | τὴν προχρ[ε]ίαν; *P.Lond.* V 1676, 59-61 (A.D. 566) εἰ παραστα[ι]η | προστάξει ἰκανῶς μηδεμίαν πάροδον τοῦ προρηθέντος | περιβλέπτου ἀνδρὸς γενέσθαι μοι περὶ τούτου; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279, 22-23 (A.D. 567) εἰ παρα[σ]ταίη προστάξει | ἰκανῶς ἐκδ[ικη]θῆναι μ[ε] καὶ ἀναλη[μ]θῆναι τὰ εἰρημέ(να(?)) μο(υ) πρ[ά]γματά τε (see *BL XIII*, on p. 56) καὶ ζημιώματα; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005, 26 (c. A.D. 568) εἰ παρα[σ]ταίη ἰκανῶς πρ[ο]στάξει [ε]μ[ε] ἐν ἅπασι ἐκδικηθῆναι; *P.Lond.* V 1677, 42-43 (c. A.D. 568-570) εἰ παρα[σ]ταίη διὰ τὸν Θε(ὸ)ν ἰκανῶς προστάξει γραφῆναι τῷ εἰρημέ(νω) | [Μηνᾶ(?)] ἀποστῆναι. In a **testament (Byzantine period):** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 129-130 (A.D. 570) ἀλλὰ ἰκανῶς κρατοῦσαν βεβαίον τρόπον | παντὸς καὶ τοῦ inter vivos κατὰ τὸν νόμον. In **contracts (Byzantine period):** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159, 31-34 (A.D. 568) αἰ τοὺς | μισθοὺς ἰκανῶς [ἀ]πολαμβάνειν καὶ διαμερίσασθαι εἰς ἑαυτοὺς | τούτους κοινῇ ἐφ' ἡμίσειας μερισμοῦ. δίχα πάσης κλοπῆς καὶ | ἀποστασίας; in a fragmentary part of *P.Flor.* III 294, 95 (VI A.D.)

Finally, it occurs in a hymn to Mandoulis, in Bernand 1969, no 167, 4 (end of I-III A.D.) ἰκανῶς προσκυνήσας θεό[ν], and in an honorary inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 49, 6-8 (5 B.C.) ἐπειδὴ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γ<ε>νομένου συνεκέρησεν τὸν οἶκον σὺν τοῖς προσκυροῦσι χρηστηρίοις ἰκανῶς σαλευθέντα καθαιρεθῆναι.

inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 94, 3-4 (14 B.C.?) μέτ(οχ)ος κ<ε>ῖμαι ἐν τύ<μ>βωι, | και γονέ{σ}ες πάσχουσ' ικέλωσ ἐπὶ υἰὸν ἀρεστόν.

#### ιλαρῶς\*

It occurs in two private letters with the meaning “cheerfully” (see LSJ *s.v.* ιλαρός I): *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 23-24 (A.D. 108) ἐρωτῶ [σε τή]ν κυρ[ίαν μου . . .] .χως (see p. 235) και ιλαρῶσ | εὐφραί[ν]εσθαι, “ therefore I ask you, my lady, to be . . . and merrily joyful”; *P.Lond.* III 1162, 5-8 (VII A.D.) τοὺς παρόντας και ἀγαδίδο{υ}ντας αὐτῇ | τὴν παροῦσάν μου ἐπιστολὴν ιλαρῶσ | ἀκουσθῆναι και δι[ακρ]ιθῆναι τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦσ | πρᾶγμα, always preceding the modified verb.

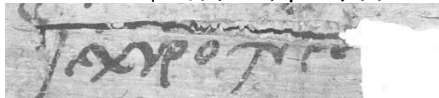
In *P.Giss.* I 22, 7-9 (A.D. 113-120) ἀ|[πολ]αμβανούσ\ησ/ σε ἀπρόσ|[κοπ]ον και ιλαρώτατον, the adjective occurs. Moreover, LSJ *s.v.* ιλαρός III refers to the imitation of gold, “bright”, in *P.Leid.* II, pap. X, pag. iii 12, and pag. v 43 (III-IV A.D.).

#### ισοψύχως

The adverb is restored in a bilingual papyrus that preserves word-lists to Cicero's *Catilinarians*; see D. Internullo, *Cicerone latinogreco. Corpus dei papyri bilingui delle Catilinarie di Cicerone*, tesi di laurea magistrale, Roma Tre 2011, p. 54, Π<sup>I</sup>, l. 111 *aequjo anīmo* ισοψυ[χως], with comm. on p. 76. The adverb ισοψύχως is rare in the Greek literature; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ισόψυχος.

#### ισχυρῶς\* – ισχυρότερον\*

It occurs only in a letter from the Zenon archive with the meaning “very much, exceedingly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ισχυρός II 2; Bauer *s.v.*): *P.Zen.Pestm.* 51, 2-3 (257 B.C.) αὐτὸσ μὲγ (l. μὲν) γὰρ καταπλεύσασ ἀνωθεν | [ἦν]ωχλήθην ισχυρῶσ, νυνὶ δὲ πρὸσ τῶι ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰμί. The modification of the preceding verb ἐνοχλοῦμαι is only here attested, and in the classical literature one could refer to Oribasius (in the fourth century A.D.) 8.17 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κνησμῶν και ὀδαξησμῶν ισχυρῶσ ἐνοχλοῦντων ἀπαλλάξαι. The comparative of the adverb occurs in the private letter *PSI* III 210, 1-4 (IV-V A.D.) ἀλλὰ | ἐὰν ζῶμεν αὔριον ἐστὶν | ἐν ὄσῳ ἀβασκάντωσ και | ισχυρότερο[ν] γ{ε}ἴνεται, with the meaning “in the best of health”.



(<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;3;210>)

Although the reading ισχυρότερο[ν] is not certain (also the letter ρ before ο is also not clear), it seems more probable than the reading ισχυροτέρω[σ].

#### ἴσως\*

In most of the cases both in private<sup>203</sup> and official documents, it is used as a modal adverb<sup>204</sup>, and the meaning is “probably, perhaps” (see LSJ *s.v.* III; Bauer *s.v.*). However,

<sup>203</sup> Private letters: *P.Zen.Pestm.* 29, 6 (257 B.C.) ἴσως γάρ; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59608, 1 (middle of III B.C.); *P.Ryl.* IV 572, 47 (II B.C.); *SB* XXVI 16708, 4 (A.D. 4) ἴσως γάρ; *P.Sarap.* 96, 16 (A.D. 90-133); *P.Oxy.* IX 1219, 6 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1681, 4 (II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 505, 6 (II-III A.D.); *P.Wisc.* II 84, 37 (II-III A.D.) ἴσως γ[ά]ρ; *P.Rein.* I 52, 4 (A.D. 250-264); *P.Tebt.* II 424, 3 (A.D. 276-300); *P.Amst.* I 95, 10 (III A.D.); *P.Ryl.* IV 605, 6 (III A.D.); *SB* XVI 12982, 14 (III A.D.) ἴσως γάρ; *P.Oxy.* LXXVII 5113, 10 and 12 (III A.D.) ἴσως γάρ; *P.Ammon* I 3, 28 (A.D. 348); *P.Kellis* I 72, 12 (middle of IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3420, 43 (IV A.D.); *P.Genova*



there is one case in a private letter, where it functions as an adverb of Degree (Manner), with the meaning “equally” (see LSJ *s.v.* II), in *P.Giss.* I 76, 5-6 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 28; A.D. 117-120) ἀσπᾶ | ζομαί σε πολλά, ἴσως<sup>205</sup> καὶ Χαιρᾶς καὶ [Ἡρώδης.

καθαρίως\*

For examples of the adverb in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* καθάρεις I, and Lampe *s.v.* It is recorded by Pollux 6.17 as vulgar, ὁ γὰρ καθάρεις ἰδιωτικόν, καίτοι τὸ καθαρείως παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι (*Cyrop.* 1.3.8) εἴρηται. During the same period when Pollux used this adverb, it also occurs in a private letter, *P.Bastianini* 22, 12-14 (II A.D.) αὐτῆς ἐρχομένη[ς] ἐνεγκάτω | καθαρίως μέντοι ...ἰν καὶ τὰ | ἱμάτια τὰ πορφυρᾶ, where the editor, E.A. Conti, cites another private letter, *P.Oxy.* XIV 1770, 11-14 (late III A.D.) [έκομισά] | μὴν ὅσα ἀπεστ<ε>ίλατε· [ . . . ] | γὰρ οὐ καθαρίως γράφ<ε>ι π[ . . . ] σολυχιδι. Although the meaning in the latter text is obvious, that is “cleanly, tidily” (see LSJ *s.v.* καθάρεις I), and the adverb refers to someone whose handwriting is not tidy, the meaning and the context are not clear in *P.Bastianini* 22, 8-14.

*ed. princ.*

8 .ατον παραβαλέτω αὐτῆ, εἴ που  
δύναται αὐτὴν καταλαβεῖν, ὅπως  
10 οὐ ἔχει τι μετέωρον πρὸς αὐτὴν.  
τοῦτο ἐγβιβασθῆ τὸ ἱέρωμα·  
12 αὐτῆς ἐρχομένη[ς] ἐνεγκάτω  
καθαρίως μέντοι ...ἰν καὶ τὰ  
14 ἱμάτια τὰ πορφυρᾶ

Transl. in *ed. princ.*

“vada da lei / consegna a lei, se in qualche modo riesce a raggiungerla, affinché non abbia qualcosa di sospeso nei suoi confronti. In questo modo sia stabilita l’offerta sacra: (Tauris) quando arriva, deve offrire, certamente in modo puro... e i mantelli di porpora”.

However, I propose that a correction of punctuation and a further attempt to understand what is written after the adverb are necessary:

8 .ατον παραβαλέτω αὐτῆ, εἴ που  
δύναται αὐτὴν καταλαβεῖν, ὅπως,  
10 εἰ ἔχει τι μετέωρον πρὸς αὐτὴν,  
τοῦτο ἐγβιβασθῆ. Τὸ ἱέρωμα  
12 αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενον[ς] ἐνεγκάτω.  
καθαρίως μέν σοι [λή]μψ[ο]μαι τὰ  
14 ἱμάτια τὰ πορφυρᾶ.

“...if he can find her somewhere, so as, if he has something unsettled with her, this could be carried out. Let him bring her offering, when he comes. I will also get for you the purple clothes which will be clean”.

In l. 13 the letter before αι is not κ, since only the form of κ in l. 12 (ἐνεγκάτω) could be compared with it, but—even in this case—the lower curve is shorter. The letter μ is the most probable reading. I am not sure if my proposal, [λή]μψ[ο]μαι, is the correct reading. The future tense of the verb λαμβάνω constructed with the two objects (direct and indirect) can be found in *BGU* VII 1674, 2-3 (II A.D.) εἰ μὲν οὖν [θ]έλε<ε>ις τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχεις (*l.* ἔχειν), τὴν ποσο | τητα{ν} γράψον [μοι] καὶ λήμψομαί σοι.

Regarding ll. 13-14, cf. a Hippocratic text that suggested that a doctor should be presentable, in *De medico* I ἔπειτα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν καθαρίως ἔχειν, ἐσθῆτι χρηστῆ καὶ χρίσμασι

I 25, 6 (IV A.D.); *SB* XVI 12424, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.Köln* VI 281, 9 (VI A.D.); *P.Apoll.* 69, 8 (second half of VII A.D.). For ἴσως γὰρ at the beginning of the clause see Chapa 1998, 85, no 4, 37-39n.

<sup>204</sup> E. Ruiz Yamuza, “Desplazamientos semánticos en adverbios de modalidad en griego antiguo”, *Habis* 32, 2001, 659-675.

<sup>205</sup> Although there are dots under ως, the reading seems correct.

εὐόδοις, ὀδμήν ἔχουσιν ἀνυπόπτως. On the other hand, in *PGM* 1, 57, the adverb καθαρῶς is attested: ἐνδεδυμένος καθαρῶς.

#### καθαρῶς

For its attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* καθαρός; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*; for its meaning “rein, reinlich” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. It is almost always paired with another adverb in -ως: It is attested in a school exercise, *UPZ* I 144, 29-30 τὰ πάντ’ οἰκονομεῖσθαι καθαρῶ[ς] | [κα]ὶ δικάϊως. Two adverbs, καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως, occur in an honorary inscription: see Bernard 1992, no 52, 8-11 (A.D. 22-23) ἐν τε ταῖς δικαιοδοσίαις κατ’ ἴσον [ἀεὶ τὸ] [δ]ίκαιον καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως κατὰ [τὴν τοῦ] [θ]ειοτάτου ἡγεμόνος Γαίου Γαλερίου βο[ύ]λησιν [ἀ]π[ο]νέμει.

In the papyri it occurs in the legal clause καθαρῶς καὶ ἀποκρότως (see *s.v.* ἀποκρότως; cf. *P.Bastianini* 22, 13n.) in contracts of the Byzantine period. The only exception so far is the official correspondence, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3343, 7 (A.D. 204-206) [. . . . .] .ως καὶ καθαρῶς τοῦτο γενέσθαι μ. [c. 20 letters ], where probably two adverbs were mentioned, one ending in -ως and the adverb καθαρῶς, but the details of the situation are not clear.

#### καθηκόντως

It always occurs in official documents of the Ptolemaic and early Roman period, with a negative, οὐ καθηκόντως οἱ μὴ καθηκόντως, with the meaning “not fittingly, properly” or, once “appropriately”. The negative οὐ seems to be used until the middle of the second century B.C., and then we find only the negative μὴ:

*SB* XXIV 15938, 16 (209-192 B.C.) οὐ καθηκόντως; *CPR* XXVIII 11, 8 (191 B.C.) οὐ καθηκόντως; *P.Tebt.* III 793, 15 (183 B.C.) οὐ καθηκόντως αὐτῶι (see Mayser 1936, 125); *BGU* VI 1256, 12 (147-136 B.C.) οὐ καθηκόντως; *P.Mil.Congr.* XVIII, on p. 10, 15 (143-141 B.C.) οὐ καθηκ[ό]ντως; *P.Lips.* II 124, 80-81 (137 B.C.) μὴ καθ[η]κόντως; *P.Rain.Cent.* 51, 4 (first half of I B.C.) μὴ καθηκόντως; *SB* I 5232, 24 (A.D. 15) μὴ καθηκόντως.

Moreover, it is always found either to precede or follow the modified verb, and one occasion (*P.Tebt.* III 793, 15) the adverb is constructed with a dative with the meaning “appropriately”; see LSJ *s.v.* καθήκω II 4; Bauer *s.v.*

#### καθολικῶς

The adverb refers always to the universal orders issued by the Emperors or the Prefects. It is attested so far in petitions and official documents of the second and third centuries A.D.:

*P.Giss.* I 7, 12-14 (A.D. 117) ἐκούφισεν τῶν ἐνχωρίων | τὰ βάρη καθολικῶς διὰ προγράμμα|τος; *BGU* III 983, 17-18 (A.D. 138-161) καθολικῶς, κύριε, δια|ταχθέντος; *BGU* III 970, 13. 28 (A.D. 176-179) τοῖς καθολικῶς διατεταγμένοις; *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2182, 17-19 (A.D. 165) διὰ γραμμάτων πολλάκις | καθολικῶς καὶ κατ’ ὅψιν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν ἡγε|μόνα ἠπειληκέναι; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3364, 29 (A.D. 209) καθολικῶς δι[ατετ]αμένων; *P.Oxy.* XII 1558, 2-3 (A.D. 267) καθολικῶς κε|[λευ]---

The adverb is also found in a decree in an inscription: see Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 49 (A.D. 68). In *SB* VI 9242a, 12-14 (second half of II A.D.) ἐὰν | δέ τι καθολικ(ῶς) ἄβροχ(ον) γένητ(αι) | πρὸς ἄλην τ[ὴν] κληρουχ(ίαν), the abbreviated word καθολικ has been resolved as an adverb with the meaning “entirely”, but it might be also possible to resolve it as an adjective, καθολικ(όν).

## καινῶς

The adverb, with the meaning “newly, afresh” (see LSJ *s.v.* καινός I; Bauer *s.v.*), appears only in *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 86 (A.D. 114-115) οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον καινῶς τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ αἶθος (*l.* ἔθος) ἐπεζήτησαν, a report with various official documents annexed, and it precedes and modifies the verb ἐπεζήτησαν<sup>206</sup>; cf. also in a decree in an inscription: Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 46 and 49 (A.D. 68).

## κακοπραγμόνως

This adverb is formed from the adjective κακοπράγμων, which is attested in Xenophon *Hell.* 5.2.36 and Isocrates *Antidosis* 224-225. The first attestation of the adverb occurs in an inscription from Delphi, *CID* IV 124, 15 (end of II B.C.) ἀντιποιεῖσαι κακοπραγμόνως κατασοφιζομένα. Then it occurs only in Egypt, in the petition *M.Chr.* 60, 16-17 (after A.D. 147) κακοπραγμόνως ὁ Σατορνείνο[ς] | ἐπ[ο]ίησεν πρ[ὸς] με κατὰ[σ]τασ[ι]ν, where someone accuses a certain Saturnilos that acted in a mischievous way. In the Byzantine period a similar adverb, κακοπραγμονικῶς, is attested in Gregorius Naz., *PG* 35, 1164.

## κακοσχόλως

This adverb modifies verbs such as οἰκονομεῖν to indicate that something has been done with frivolous delay or verbs with the meaning “accuse” or “speak in order to indicate that someone was mischievous, naughty or frivolous”; see LSJ *s.v.* κακόσχυλος. The two earliest attestations of the adverb occur in papyri of the second century B.C.: in official documents, *P.Lips.* II 124, 38-39 (137 B.C.) ἐκ τῶν κακοσχόλως ὑπὸ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῦ γρα[μματέων] | [παραδε]χθέντων “aus den böswillig von seinen Schreibern eingenommenen (verbuchten?) Steuern”; in an official text, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Heid.* VI 364, 17 (after 172 B.C.?) κακοσχόλως ἔχοντα, where its use is not clear.

## κακοτρόπως

In the Greek literature the adverb appears from the second century A.D. onwards; see LSJ *s.v.* κακότροπος I; Lampe *s.v.* 1. The earliest attestations of the adverb come from Egypt. In three official documents (petitions and legal proceedings) the malignant behavior of some persons is pointed out: in *P.Tebt.* III 789, 10 (c. 140 B.C.) κακοτρόπως ἔχοντες τὰ πρὸς ἡμ[ᾶς] and *P.Tor.Choach.* 12 vi 3-4 (117 B.C.) κακοτρόπως καὶ ἐπὶ ραδιουργίαι | παρακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν συνχώρησιν (see Mayser 1936, 123). In *P.Bublin* 18, 11 (A.D. 257-259?) κακο]τρόπως ἐπῆλθεν, the restoration, although possible, is debatable.

## κακούργως – κακουργότερον

The adverb appears in the first century A.D. in the classical literature: cf. Josephus 1.320; 11.278; Achilles Tatius 7.2.1 etc.; Spicq 1978, 397-399. As far as the evidence from Egypt is concerned, it is proposed to be tentatively restored in an official document *SB* XX 14090, 2 (IV A.D.) κακο]ύργως πραιτ .[ (*l.* πραιδεύω?) (see S. Daris in *ed. princ.* in *Aegyptus* 69, 1989, 44, 2n.

<sup>206</sup> *P.Tebt.* III 765, 14 (153 B.C.) καινῶς appears in a fragmentary point of the papyrus and the reading is not certain.

### In papyri the comparative of the adverb occurs in petitions:

First, in a petition, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, the word can be also interpreted as an adjective: *BGU VIII 1854*, 19 (74-73 or 45-44 B.C.?) ] τοὺς δὲ ἀσεβῶς καὶ κακουργότερον; moreover, it is found in petitions: *P.Würzb.* 5, 6-8 (31 B.C.) [ἐπελθόντ]ες τινὲς κακουργότερον ἐπὶ ἴσ[ . . . . . π]ορθμέως ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Θώλθαι | [οἰκίαν(?); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3916, 4-7 (A.D. 60) καὶ ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐπιβαλό|μενοι τινες κακουργότε|ρον (transl. “feloniously”) ἐφ’ ὃν ἡ δοῦλη μου Ἐπί|χαρις καταγίνεται οἶκον, and II. 19-22 κατὰ τ[ὸν] αὐτὸν τρόπον | ἐπιβαλομένων τινῶν κα|κουργότερον ἐπὶ τὸν δηλού|μενον οἶκον; Finally, the adverb was used in the wording of official correspondence, in *CPR VII 20*, 24 (after A.D. 305) κ(αι) τοῦ δοκεῖν κακουργώτερον πρ(ος)ενηνέχ(θαι) τῇ λειτουργ(ί)α).

#### κακῶς\*

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* κακός D 1; Bauer *s.v.*; for its meaning “schlecht, schlimm” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. It is an adverb that can be used in all kinds of documents, mainly with legal context: petitions, court proceedings, edicts, contracts<sup>207</sup>.

In the private letters, some phrases seems to be formulaic:

#### (1) κακῶς διάκειμαι / ἔχω / διατίθημι:

Referring to animals, as not in good health, e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59152, 8-12 (before 256 B.C.) τὴν δὲ το|κάδα οὐ βούλεται | ἀποδοῦναι λέγων | κακῶς αὐτὴν δι|ακεί{σ}θαι; *P.Oxy.* VI 938, 4-5 (late III-IV A.D.) τῶν | οἴων κτηνῶν κακῶς ἐχόντων καὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ποτιζομένης.

Referring to people, when they are ill, e.g. *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 15-18 (III A.D.) ἐπε[ὶ οἱ παρὰ] Σαραπίω[νος] | εἶπον [κακ]ῶς ἔχειν αἰ[ὺ]τ[ὸν], | διὸ γ[ράφ]ω σοι ὅπως δι’ οἰ[ῶ] | ἐὰν [ἐχ]ῆς δι\ἀ/ ὥρας γράφ[ῃς] | μο[ι] π[ε]ρὶ τούτου; restored in *SB XVIII 13946*, 18 (III-IV A.D.) μακαρεῖα μὲν [ἐ]κεί[ν]η ἢ πρὸ τῶν συμφορῶν τὸν [δ]ύστη|νον καὶ μοχθηρ[ὸν βίου] φυγοῦσα, τῆν | δὲ δεῖ καὶ οὕτω κ[ακῶς] δ[ια]κειμέν[η]ν.

When people treat someone badly, e.g. *P.Nepheros* 6, 18-21 (IV A.D.) μετακαλεσάμενος | δὲ τοῦ[ς] ἐχθροῦς μου Ἐλουρίωνα καὶ | Παφνοῦτιν τοὺς αἰεὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔχοντας | κακῶς, συμβούλευσον αὐτοῖς<sup>208</sup>.

In *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59537, 4 (after 258 B.C.) ἐν Μαρῖση κακῶς διατεθέντα, the text is preserved in a fragmentary condition and the situation is not clear.

(2) κακῶς ποιῶ / (δια)πράττω can express either a simple opinion, as “you did not do well”, or a stronger feeling:

*P.Dub.* 15, 25-26 (II-III A.D.) κακῶς δὲ ἔπραξας μὴ ἀνα|βὰς πρὸς τὴν ἑορτήν; *P.Alex.*, on p. 44, no. 235 descr., 11-12 (V-VI A.D.) κακῶς ἐποίησαμεν | ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὸ μεταξύ [; *PSI XIV 1430*, 5 (VII A.D.) κακῶς ἐποίησα τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν.

(3) The phrase κακῶς ἄγομαι seems to provide a more intensive meaning concerning a bad treatment:

*UPZ I 146*, 36-37 (II B.C.) κακῶς ἠγμένοι ἐφ’ ἑτέρον τι πρὸς τὸ | σκύλα ἐπιβαλοῦνται; cf. Demosthenes 13.15, ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φαύλως ἠγμένοι, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ἄσπλαγοι καὶ ἀσύντακτοι καὶ μὴ ταυτὰ γιγνώσκοντες ἦτε.

(4) A formulaic expression, κακῶς ἀκούω (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀκούω III 1 “to be ill spoken of by one”), occurs in:

*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59080, 1 (before 257 B.C.) κακῶς με ἀκούειν Ζηνοδώρου. ἐπ[ε]ὶ δὲ | ἤκουσα ὅτι ὀργίζει μοι, ἐγενόμην ἐπ[ε]--- τ[ῶν] γονάτων αὐτοῦ ἐλαβόμην.

(5) The adverb modifies verbs when it must be shown that something was done badly, not perfectly or as wanted:

<sup>207</sup> It can be also found in graffiti: cf. Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, 467 (Ptolemaic period) Ἀσκληπιάδης κακῶς πράσσωσιν ἤλθεν ἐ[νθάδε ---] κα[ὶ] εὐφ[ο]ρο[ύ]ν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν καὶ λαμπρὸν σφοδρῶς κατ[έ]στησαν ---; Bernand 1992, no 60, 15 (A.D. 89-91) οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὅσον κακῶς εἰλ[ή]φασιν.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. the petition *P.Petr.* II 19 fr. 2, 3-4 (III B.C.) ἔρρεμαι γὰρ κακῶς | διακείμενος ἀπ’ ἐκείνου.

*P.Oxy.* X 1346, 1 (II A.D.) ἐν τῇ πόλει γέγναπται καὶ κακῶς ἐγράφη. Also, κακῶς (ἀντι)γράφεται: *P.Sarap.* 84a, ii 6-8 (A.D. 90-133) ἔλαβον Ἡλιοδώρου ἐπιστολὴν ἢ | γεμονικὴν κακῶς γεγραμμένην καὶ ἀνέδωκα ἵνα γράφη | καλῶς ὁ μεταδόσεις αὐτῶι; *P.Rain.Cent.* 73, 4 (III-IV A.D.) καὶ ἀντεγρ[ά]φησαν κακῶς. In *P.Sakaon* 55, 14 (late III – first half of IV A.D.) δὸς οὖν τὴν ἀρτά | βην τοῦ σίτου Ζακαῶνι, | ἦν κακῶς [ἐ]λαβας παρ' α[ὐ] | τοῦ, the adverb refers to an action that should not have been done, and not to the “bad” condition of the product<sup>209</sup>.

(6) Finally, for the phrase κακόν/κακὴν/κακῶς (rather than κακινκάκως, which has no entry in this study) in:

*P.Warr.* 13, B, 17-18 (II A.D.) κινδυνεύσω κακὸν κακ[ῶς] | ἀπολέσθαι, “I shall run the risk of perishing as a miserable man in a miserable way”; *SB XVI* 12570, 24 (II-III A.D.) μὴ ἵνα ἐπὶ γήρας ὁδοῦ κακὴν κακῶς | ἀπόλλυμαι; see Ch. Armoni – Th. Backhuys, “κακινκάκως”, *ZPE* 195, 2015, 190-192; cf. also K.H. Kuhn, κακῶς in the Sahidic Version of Matthew 21:41, *Journal of Theological Studies* 36/2, 1985, 390-393.

#### καλοθελῶς

The adverb with the meaning “in a benevolent way” is attested from the sixth century A.D. onwards in Christian texts, e.g. *Conc. Oec.* (A.D. 536), v. 3, p. 57 (Schwartz) and Leontius, p. 96 and 367 (Festugière – Rydén); see Lampe *s.v.* Moreover, in about the same period the adverb is found in one petition to the Dux, *P.Lond.* V 1674, 67-68 (c. 570) συνεχῶς ἀπήειμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν | καλοθελῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως \καὶ εὐνοικῶς/.

#### καλῶς\* – ἄμεινον

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* καλός II; Bauer *s.v.* The adverb occurs in all types of documents, with the meaning “well”<sup>210</sup>; for its meaning “schön, gut” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. Its frequency of appearances in the private letters is over 70%, that is, so far 1024 of 1404 in papyri (the results are based on a search in DDBDP). A number of phrases in the private letters, where the adverb καλῶς

<sup>209</sup> The adverb occurs in another letter, *P.Fouad* I 80, 30 (IV A.D.), but, because of its fragmentary condition, the context is not clear. In *P.Köln* II 111, 10-12 (V-VI A.D.) ὁ[θ]ε[ῖ]ν δέομαι | σου λοιπὸν καὶ κἄν νῦν· εὐχοῦ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι κακ[ῶς] | θλίβομαι. καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν, the restoration κακ[ῶς] is debatable. For the clause beginning with λοιπὸν see Litinas 2004, 285-288. Then, I propose λοιπὸν καὶ κἄν νῦν εὐχοῦ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι κἄν [νῦν] | θλίβομαι. καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν “moreover even now pray for me because even now I am tormented, and because of(?) the holy sacrifice”; cf. Eustr. Presb. *De statu animarum post mortem* (CPG 7522; P. van Deun) 2558-2560 πόσω δὲ μάλλον, ἱερέις διαθήκης νέας Χριστοῦ περιελθὲν δυνήσονται εἰκότως ὀφειλήματα τῶν παρελθόντων ἐν ἀγίαις προσφοραῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς.

<sup>210</sup> It occurs in funerary inscriptions: cf. Bernand 1969, no 97, 7-8 (II A.D.?) ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ γὰρ ἀγορανομίαν ἀπέδωκε τῇ πόλει καλῶς; no 108, 8-9 (end of II A.D.) ὁ γὰρ εὐσεβίην καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον προτιμῶν χαριτήσιον; in Lefebvre 1907, no 70, 13-14 (IV A.D.) καλῶς συ[μβιῶ]σασα. Moreover, in *OGIS* 48 (= *SB* V 8852; 278-277 B.C.) καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως προσέστησαν ὀρῶντές τινες τῶν πολιτῶν [μ]ὴ ὀρθῶς ἀνα[στρ]εφόμενοι καὶ θόρυβον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα παρ[έ] | χοντας ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς [καὶ] ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις; *OGIS* 51, 6-13 (= *SB* V 8855; 285-246 B.C.) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει. τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται. καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα. καλῶς δ' ἔχει τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαιομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς, where there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως; also, in Bernand 1992, no 22, 16-17 (124-116 B.C.) [κ]αλῶς οὖν ποιήσης συν[τάξας. καθάπε]ρ ἀξ[ι]οῦσι. μηδέ[ν]α ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτούς.

The phrase καλῶς ἔχειν | ὑπέλαβον ταύτην ἔτι τὴν παρησίαν | ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς σέ is attested in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 144, 6-8; in ll. 11-12 there is a parallel phrase τοῦ καλῶς | ἔχοντος στοχαζόμενος; cf. also *UPZ* I 145, 45-46 καλῶς | ἔχει<ν> ὑπέλαβον.

Cf. also a trilingual glossary (Latin with Greek characters – Greek – Coptic) of the fifth/sixth century A.D., *C.Gloss.Biling.* I 15, 20-22 βενε νως : | ακκιπιστι [:] | ετ ρεγαλιτερ : = καλως ημα[ς] | εδ[εξω] | και β[ασικω]ς; ll. 79 and 88 βενε καλωσ.

modifies and usually precedes verbs, such as καλῶς ποιεῖν<sup>211</sup> / καλῶς πράσσειν<sup>212</sup> / καλῶς μου ἐστίν / καλῶς ἔχειν, are formulaic and in use in various ways in all periods. They can be found in the opening clauses of the letters or in other confirmations concerning good health; cf. also καλῶς διαίγειν in *P.Col.* X 292, 2 (V-VI A.D.); καλῶς διασώζεσθαι/γίγνεσθαι, when the scribe wants to inform about an arrival at a place, e.g. *BGU* I 332, 7 (II-III A.D.); *BGU* VII 1680, 3 (III A.D.). This good health can be extended metaphorically even to non-humans, such as fields, e.g. *P.Hamb.* I 86, 10-11 (II A.D.) οἱ ἀγροὶ πάν|τες καλῶς διάκεινται. However, a moral sense is never attested.

Apart from these phrases, the adverb can modify any other verb to indicate that something was done well:

E.g. *W.Chr.* 21, 7-8 (II-III A.D.) καλῶς κε|κλήρωμαι; *P.Hamb.* I 86, 28-29 (II A.D.) οἱ σοὶ καλῶς | τέλλουσι πάντες “all your people perform their duties well” (see LSJ *s.v.* τέλλω, a poetic word), (or καλῶς | τε|λοῦσι, “accomplish, execute their duties well”; see LSJ *s.v.* τελέω I 1; or, based on Bagnall and Criamore 2006, on p. 314, “all your people are well”); *P.Hamb.* I 90, 6-8 (middle of III A.D.) πε|ρι τοῦ γόμου τοῦ οἴνου, ἐκ|λε|ί|σθη καλῶς.

The adverbs εὖ καὶ καλῶς are found together in some cases, mostly in the private letters:

*BGU* XVI 2622, 20 (21-5 B.C.) εὖ καλῶς ποιήσας β|ταχύτερον πέμψον; *BGU* VII 1680, 3-4 (II A.D.) εὖ καὶ καλῶς γέγονα εἰς Ἀλεξάν|δρειαν ἐν τέσσαρασι ἡμέραις. It is also found after a conditional clause, and it is followed by εἰ δὲ μή: *P.Princ.* III 163, 4-5 (II A.D.) ἐὰν μὲν ἐπανακλίνης, εὖ καὶ καλῶς· εἰ δὲ μή...; *P.Lond.* V 1789, 3-4 (VI A.D.) εἰ μὲν δέδωκες τ[ᾶ ---] | εὖ καὶ καλῶς· εἰ δὲ μήγε ἐάσον; *CPR* XXV 21, 5 (second half of VI A.D.) εἰ μὲν δύναται ἐκέῖσε ἀπαιτῆσαι αὐτὸν τὰ ἑκατὸν νομίματα, εὖ καὶ καλῶς, [εἰ δὲ μή (?)...]. The combination occurs in petitions and we can see that in all cases the persons who write the documents are charged emotionally: *BGU* VII 1578, 10 (A.D. 212), petition of a veteran; *P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 3 (Dec. 27, A.D. 315) ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς μετρίοις καὶ|καλῶ[ς] εὖ βιοῦντες (*l.* βιοῦσι ) and *P.Mert.* II 91, 6 (Jan. 31, A.D. 316), two petitions of Isidorus to the prefect and strategus respectively.

The superlative of the adverb is attested in petitions of the later Roman period, and it is addressed to higher authorities, when the petitioner writes to them saying that they are much more aware of well-known matters than anyone else:

*SB* XVIII 13730, 20 (A.D. 190) ἄμεινον δὲ πάντων ἀπίστασεν (*l.* ἐπίστασαι) καὶ ἐφίστασεν (*l.* ἐπίστασαι) καὶ σαί (*l.* σύ); *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2713, 8 (A.D. 297) ἄμεινον δὲ ἐπίστασε (*l.* ἐπίστασαι), ἡγεμῶν δέσποτα, ὅτι εἰς.<sup>213</sup>

#### καρπαλίμως

For its usual attestation in literature see LSJ *s.v.* καρπάλιμος, “swiftly”. In Egypt it occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 98, 1-2 (Roman period) ὠκυμόρου κούροιο μινυθαδῆς κλυε μολπῆς καρπαλίμως.

<sup>211</sup> See examples in the ἐρῶσθαι-wish in Exler 1923, 103-104; cf. Steen 1938, 138-139, 147-152; for the instances in Mons Claudianus see Leiwo 2010, 105-106 Tibiletti 1979, 70-71; cf. also *C.Gloss.Biling.* II 8, 7 (V A.D.) [bene fecisti] καλως ἐπ[οιήσας], with n. *ad loc.* It was considered as an expression of politeness; see P. Poccetti, “Politeness/Courtesy Expressions”, in G.K. Giannakis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, vol 3, Leiden; Boston 2014, 112-114.

<sup>212</sup> E.g. *P.Mich.* III 219 + 215, l. 10, ἤαν καλῶς πράξ<ε>ι καὶ | προ[σέ]χει, published by P. Heilporn, “Des Nouvelles de Paniskos”, *BASP* 49, 2012, 119-138.

<sup>213</sup> The comparative βέλτιον is restored in the private letter *P.Hamb.* I 37, 8-9 (II A.D.) ἡμεῖς ὕ|[πὸ σοῦ βέλτιο]ν παιδευόμεθα, but the restoration is debatable.

καταξίως

For its attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* κατάξιος, “quite worthy”. It occurs in a petition of a prisoner asking to be freed, *P.Polit.Iud.* 2, 6-7 (c. 135 B.C.) τυγχάνωι καταξίως | νενουθετημένος, and at the end of a petition asking for someone to be punished, *BGU IV 1138* (19 B.C.) αὐτὸ(ν) ἐπιπλήξαι καταξίως.

κατασπουδαίως\*

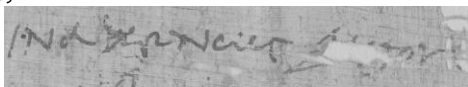
It does not occur in the Greek literature, and it is only attested (spelt as κατασπουδέως) in two private letters (in one of them restored), written by Isidora to her brother Asklepiades (for Asklepiades archive see <http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/111>). In *BGU IV 1207*, 7-10 (31/10/28 B.C.) περί δε | Πανίσκου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πέπομφε Νουμήνι[ος] | Φίλωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν | κα[τασπουδέως] (however, κα[τὰ σπουδῆν] Olsson 1925, no 5; *BL II* 2, p. 25) ἐπὶ τὴν διοίκησιν, and three days later in the same context, *BGU IV 1206*, 3-12 (3/11/28 B.C.) ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πανίσκος γέγραφε Νουμήνιν πεπομφέναι Φίλωνα τὸν οἰκονόμον | ἐπ’ αὐτὸν κατασπουδέως ἐπιπλήξαι τὴν διοίκησιν, οὕτως σε σήμαγκε τί ἐκβέβηκε, the adverb is used in the same context to indicate the way something is executed in the same situation, “Noumenios has zealously sent Philon the oikonomos to him for the dioikesis” (transl. Bagnall and Cribiore 2006, p. 119); see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177. The adverb modifies the past perfect indicative πέπομφε and the infinitive πεπομφέναι, and it is placed after them, specifically after the object of the verb, Φίλωνα, the prepositional of location, ἐπ’ αὐτόν, and before the prepositional of purpose, ἐπὶ τὴν διοίκησιν. Since Isidora repeats the same details in both letters, we could imagine that she copies the phrase from her brother Paniskos’ letter, which was sent to her (ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πανίσκος γέγραφε) some time earlier. Therefore, this phrase might not be Isidoras’ original creation, but it can be accredited to Paniskos. However, it cannot be certain whether the adverb was an intensive way to express “earnestly”, instead of the simple σπουδαίως, which is, in fact, used to denote the same idea, or if it is an original form which, as a mistake, became accepted in common usage instead of the adverb κατασπουδαζόντως, “eagerly” (see LSJ *s.v.*), which derives from the verb κατασπουδάζομαι, “to be earnest, serious” (see LSJ *s.v.*).

κενώως(\*?)

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* κενός I 2; Bauer *s.v.* For κενῶς καὶ ἀνωφελῶς in two petitions to the Prefect see *s.v.* ἀνωφελῶς.

The adverb is also read in a private letter, *BGU XX 2871*, 6 (A.D. 85) μὴ πεποίηκαν μὴ ἵνα κενῶς αὐτοὺς μεμ[ ] [ ] [ ], “they have not done it, in order that [you do] not [blame?] them uselessly”<sup>214</sup>.

<sup>214</sup> The letter κ of κενῶς was written over a corrected letter (see n. *ad loc.* in *ed. princ.*) *calamo currente*. The adverb ξένως, with the meaning “unusually” or “as visitors”, cannot be read. On the other hand a wording μὴ ἵνα ἀγενῶς might function here. The adverb is attested in Diodorus Siculus 14.51.4 οὐκ ἀγενῶς ὑπέμενον τὸν θάνατον, and then in the Byzantine texts, always in the figure of litotes, οὐκ ἀγενῶς. Cf. also Hesychius *s.v.* ἀγενῶς· ἀσθενῶς.



(<http://berlpap.smb.museum/05958/>)

## κεχαρισμένως\*

The adverb is found in a private letter *C.Jud.Syr.Eg.* 8 (101 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ποιήσετε καὶ | κεχαρισμένως ἐτοίμους γενέσθαι | ὡς ἅμα ἡμῖν συνεξορμήσητε, “you will act well and do us a favour to be ready to set out together with us”; see the editors’ (E. Van’t Dack, W. Clarysse, G. Cohen, J. Quaegebeur, J.K. Winnicki) n. *ad loc.* “we consider this expression synonymous with καλῶς ποιήσετε καὶ χαρίζεσθε (*sc.* ἡμᾶς)”. For κεχαρισμένως see LSJ *s.v.* “acceptably” and Lampe *s.v.* “gratuitously”; Mayser 1936, 125.

## κεχωρισμένως

It occurs in two official documents to indicate that something was done “separately” (see LSJ *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*). In both examples in papyri the subject of the clause is ἕκαστος: *M.Chr.* 310, 12 (A.D. 150-154) ἕκαστος κεχωρισμένως; *SB XIV* 12139, 20 (II-III A.D.) κεχωρισμένως ἐπεκράτησαν ἕκαστος.

## κηδεμονικῶς

It occurs in two inscriptions from Egypt, one decree, in Bernand 1992, no 8, 12 and 44; no 9, 15-16 and 53 (238 B.C.) and one honorary in Bernand 1992, no 46, 5 (39 B.C.), with the meaning “providently”; see LSJ *s.v.* κηδεμονικός; Mayser 1936, 122.

## κλεψιμαίως

The adjective κλεψιμαῖος appears in LXX To.2.13, and then in the fourth century A.D.; see LSJ *s.v.* and cf. *P.Abinn.* 42, 15 (A.D. 342-351). The adverb is only attested in Dositheus, *Ars Gramm.* 43 κλεψιμαίως *furtim*.

In papyri the adverb is attested in two petitions:

First, a petition to a strategos, *P.Mich.* X 581, 3-8 (c. A.D. 126-128) ἐκλέπη (*l.* ἐκλάπη) δὲ | χόρτος ἐν πεδίῳ τῆς κώμης, | χόρτου γόμος εἷς. τούτου | δὲ αἵροντος τὸν χόρτον | κλεψιμαίως, ἔλυσε δράγμα | πύρι<υ>ον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἵπποις, “hay was stolen in the plain of the village, one load of hay. And while this person was furtively removing the hay, he loosened a sheaf of wheat for his own horses”. Second, in a petition of the Byzantine period, *P.Vind.Sal.* 15, 4 (V-VI A.D.) κλεψιμέως (*l.* κλεψιμαίως) λαβ<ε>ῖν τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο.

## κοινῶς\*

The adverb is used in the contracts to indicate that a certain property belongs to some persons “jointly, in common” or in documents which refer to such a property (e.g. *P.Nekr.* 43, 17) (see LSJ *s.v.* κοινός B 1).

The adverb also occurs in a problematic text in a private letter, *P.Oslo* II 47, 3-12 (A.D. 1). The situation (as translated in *ed. princ.*) is “when you reminded me of buying fish, I asked a friend of mine to buy 60 pigfishes for a drachma. I gave them to the person who came from you. But he himself bought 30 fishes for a drachma. I also gave him a basket. See to it that he does not cheat you, as he usually cheats in business affairs. When he himself made a buy, he only got 30 fishes, but 60 for you”. By changing the regularisation of the wrong spellings and by replacing some stops, the text might be read as: ὡς ἐμνήσθης μοι περὶ ὦσα|ρίου (*l.* ὄσα|ρίου) ἀγωρά|σαι (*l.* ἀγοράσαι), ἔδω\κα/ φίλω μου ἀγωρά|σαι (*l.* ἀγοράσαι) δραχμῆς χοίρους ξ. ἔδ\δ/ωκ\κ/εν | τῶ παρὰ σοῦ. καὶ τὸς δὲ ἠγώρασεν (*l.* ἠγόρασεν) | δραχμῆς χοίρους λ. καὶ σφυρί|δαν αὐτῶ δέδωκα. ὄρα μὴ {σε} | παραλογεῖσεται (*l.* παραλογίσεται) σε, ὡς κοινῶς | ἠγορακεῖναι παραλελόγισται. αὐ|τὸς ἀγοράζων (*l.* ἀγοράζων) οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰ μὴ | χοίρους λ, σοὶ δὲ ξ, “when you reminded me of buying fish, I gave a friend



of mine money to buy 60 pigfishes for a drachma. He gave the fish to the person who works with you. However, the latter also bought 30 fishes for a drachma. I also gave him a basket. See to it that he does not reckon fraudulently, that he has made a fraudulent account that they bought together 90 fishes for 2 drachmas (that is, 45 for each drachma). When he bought the fish, he only got 30 pigfishes, while 60 are for you”<sup>215</sup>.

In addition, two private letters preserve the adverb: In *SB V* 7635, 16-18 (late V-early VI A.D.) ταχέως ἀπάντησων (*l.* ἀπάντησον), ἴνα | σὺν θεῶ κοινῶς τὴν πανήγυριν | ποιήσωμεν, the meaning is “together” probably with an implied “ἡμῖν”; see LSJ *s.v.* κοινός II 3. In *SB VI* 9415 (29), 10-12 (A.D. 253 or 256) καὶ κοινῶς [ . ]ψαν ῶ | τάχιον ἀποστείλα|ται (*l.* ἀποστείλα|τε) αὐτούς, the context is uncertain because of the fragmentary condition of the papyrus.

κομφῶς\* – κομφότερον\*

The adverb is used in private letters of the Roman period, and in almost all examples precedes and modifies the verb ἔχω; see LSJ *s.v.* κομφός II “to be well, ‘nicely’ in health”, citing *P.Paris* 18, 3-4 (III A.D.) κομφῶς ἔχω | καὶ τὸν (*l.* ὁ) ἵππον (*l.* ἵππος) μου καὶ Μέλας, and *P.Lond. ined.* 2126 (II-III A.D.) etc., and referring to the superlative, κομφότερον σχεῖν “to get better in health”, citing *Jo.* 4:52, cf. Arrianus *Epict.* 3.10.13, *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 3-8 (III A.D.) θεῶν συνλαμβανόν|των ἢ ἀδελφῆ ἐπὶ τ[ὸ] | κομφότερον ἐτράπη, | καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός δὲ Ἄρπο|κρατίων σώζεται | καὶ [ύγι]αίνει. In addition, in a private letter of the fourth century A.D., *SB XII* 10841, 13-14 οὐκ (*l.* οὐχ) ἐξίς (*l.* ἐξῆς) γὰρ δραπέτων (*l.* δραπέτης) καὶ ἀγενίς/ (*l.* ἀγενής) | \ἀνθρωπων/ (*l.* ἀνθρωπον) ὑβρίδι (*l.* ὑβρίζει) τὸ<ν> κωφώτερον (*l.* κομφότερον) αὐτοῦ, (J. Rea’s translation in *CE* 45, 1970, 365) “for in the future the runaway knave will not attack a man who is his better”, the adjective occurs with the usual meaning (already known from the classical literature “smart, clever” (see LSJ *s.v.* κομφός I 2). As is noticed in *O.Berenike* II 195, 9n., a more precise meaning is “to be once again in good health”, “to have recovered”; cf. also H. Cuvigny, *La route de Myos Hormos*, Cairo 2003, p. 372, 5n.

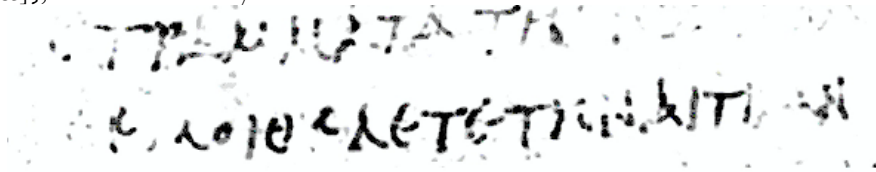
*P.Athen.* 60, 8-10 μὴ λυποῦ | περὶ τῆς μητρός· ἤδη γὰρ | κομφῶς ἔχ<ε>ι is dated to the first century B.C. (Bagnall and Criamore 2006, p. 374), and seems to be the earliest example of this use. Other examples are the following:

In a private letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *O.Did.* 45, 6 (first quarter of II A.D.) κομφῶς (*l.* κομφῶς); *SB X* 10240, 5-9 (= *P.Oxy.* II 325; A.D. 41) ἐπ<ε>ι ὁ ἀδελφός σο[υ] με|τρί[ω]ς ἔχει καὶ κομῶς (*l.* κομφῶς) | ἔσχεν; *O.Berenike* II 195, 8-10 (A.D. 50-75) ἡ (*l.* εἰ) | οὖν κομφῶς ἔσχε σοῦ ἢ ὄνος, [ύ] | πό νύκτα εἴσελθε; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 5-9 (A.D. 76) μόνον πρὸς | ὀλίγας παντελῶς ἡμέρας | νωθρότερον ἔσχηκέαι καὶ | ἔτι πάλαι κομ[ψ]ότε[ρον] ἔσχη|κός; *O.Claud.* II 222, 8 (A.D. 138-161) κὲ ἡὰν κωφῶς (*l.* καὶ ἐὰν κομφῶς) ἔχη; *P.Bad.* II 34, 2-5 (I A.D.) τῆ[ι] | ἄκούσας, ὅτι ὁ ἀδελφός σο[υ] | κομφότερον ἔσχεν αὐ|τῆ[ι] τῆι νυκτὶ ἐκοιμήθην; *P.Col.* VIII 215, 5-8 (c. A.D. 100) ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν {ο} | ἡ|κώτων (*l.* ἡ|κότων) μοι ὅτι ἠσθένης (*l.* ἠσθένης), | ἐχάρην δὲ ἀκούσας[α] ὅτι κωμ|σῶς (*l.* κομ|ψῶς) ἔσχηκος (*l.* ἔσχηκας); *P.Köln* IX 370, 3-4 (II A.D.) ἀφ’ ἧς μου ἀπεσπάσθης | σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τῆι σῆι τύχηι κομ|σῶς (*l.* κομφῶς) ἔσχηκα; *P.Oslo* III 155, 1-2 (II A.D.) ἐξῆλθα ἀπὸ σοῦ | κομῶς (*l.* κομφῶς) ἔσχηκός, χάρις θεοῖς; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3988, 16-17 (II A.D.) τοῦ Σεράπιδος | θέλοντο[ς] κομφῶς ἔσχον; *P.Sijp.* 9 d, 10 (II A.D.) κομφῶς (*l.* κομφῶς) ἔχουσιν | αἰ παρὰ σοῦ, where the phrase is in the closing of the letter after the

<sup>215</sup> In the lines 18-19 there is an afterthought: καὶ τὴν σφυρίδαν ἀπόστειλον μὴ διὰ | Ἄνδρ[ο]ῦν, where the *ed. princ.* understands it as καὶ τὴν σφυρίδαν ἀπόστειλον μὴ (*l.* μοι) διὰ | Ἄνδρ[ο]ῦν, “and the basket, send it to me with Androus”, but one could also interpret it as καὶ τὴν σφυρίδαν ἀπόστειλον. μὴ διὰ | Ἄνδρ[ο]ῦν, “and send the basket, not with Androus”.

ἀσπάζεσθαι formula. We may have to put a question mark instead of a stop after *παρὰ σοῦ*, since the writer wants to learn about the recovering of some persons in the recipient's house; *P.Tebt.* II 414, 9-11 (II A.D.) ἠσθένηκα πάλαι πεπόνφη|ν σοι, ἀλλὰ ἐὰν κομψῶς σχῶ πέμ|ψω [τ]ῆ θυγατρὶ \σ/ου κοτύλην ἴρις (*l.* ἴριδος); *P.Stras.* I 73, 13-16 (III A.D.) [κα]ῖ ὁ μικρὸς Μῆμος ἐτελεύτησεν, | καισαγῶ (*l.* καὶ ἐγῶ) αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν νόσον γίνω|μαι (*l.* γίνο|μαι) κατὰ τοῦ ποδὸς μου ἐριουπολιν (*l.* ἐρυσίπελαν) | καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο οὔπω κομσῶς (*l.* κομψῶς) ἔσχον. Cf. also the comparative of the adverb in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 7-9 (A.D. 76) νωθρότερον ἔσχηκέναι καὶ | ἔτι πάλαι κομ[ψ]ότερον ἔσχη|κῶς, and in *P.Bad.* II 34, 4 (I A.D.) κομψότερον ἔσχεν; cf. also the prepositional in *P.Oxy.* VI 935, 4-5 (III A.D.) ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐπὶ τ[ὸ] | κομψότερον ἐτράπη.

There is only one example so far, in which the adverb is restored and does not modify the verb ἔχω: in a private letter of the early Roman period, *BGU IV* 1205, 4-8 (28 B.C.) κεκό|μισμαι ἃ ἐγεγράφ<ε>ις διὰ [ ]ατυ|[ ]ς γράμματα τῆι κζ̄. κομ|[ψῶ]ς ἐμοὶ θέλετε τὴν αἰτίαν | γράψαι το[ῦ] φακοῦ καὶ πίσσον (*l.* πίσου (gen. sing.), or πίσων (gen. pl.)), the adverb has been restored, and, apparently, the text has been understood in various ways: see (transl. Olsson 1925) “schreibe höflich an mich über die Klage über die Linsen und Erbsen”, (transl. Winter) “kindly write me about your complaint in the matter of the lentils and peas”, (transl. Bagnall and Criamore 2006) “It’s nice of you to try to make me responsible for the lentils and the peas”. In ll. 5-6 my proposal is to restore διὰ [Π]ατύ|[νεῶ]ς, “sent with Patynis”.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=BGU&vVol=4&vNum=1205>)

However, κομ|[ψῶ]ς does not make sense in this text, apart from the fact that the syntactical structure is problematic, and the style is awkward. Moreover, some traces of ink seem to be between κζ and κομ, which could be a letter, probably ε<sup>216</sup>.

#### κρυπτῶς

It occurs in two sureties of the seventh century A.D. and it is paired with φανερώς. Its meaning is “secretly” (see LSJ *s.v.* κρυπτός; Lampe *s.v.*):

*BGU* II 401, 13-15 (A.D. 618) τοῦ λοιποῦ | μὴ καταγνωσθεῖη μήτε κ[ρυ]πτῶς μήτε | φανερώς συνομ[ε]ιλῶν μετὰ Θεοδώρας; *P.Berl.Zill.* 8, 19-20 (A.D. 663) ὡς εἰ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταγνωσθῶ κρυπτῶς ἢ φανερώς | ποιῶν ἑτέραν κλοπὴν παντοίων γενημάτων.

<sup>216</sup> Certainly not α, to read ἀκόμψως, “in a rude way” (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄκομψος, citing Euripides *Hipp.* 986 ἐγὼ δ’ ἄκομψος “rude I am in speech”). A repetition of the verb κομίζω at the end of the line 5, e.g. κεκό|μισμαι ἃ ἐγεγράφ<ε>ις διὰ [ ]ατυ|[ ]ς γράμματα. τῆι κζ̄ ἐκομ|[ι]σέ|μοι. θέλετε τὴν αἰτίαν etc. is excluded, because we have to assume that the scribe wrote a wrong division of the word after μ, and not after ι.

I do not think that we could restore a form of the verb κομπάζω = κομπέω (rare in prose), e.g. ἐκόμ|[πει]ς ὡς etc. In addition, since the restorations in other lines on the left-hand side indicate that the space can accommodate 3-4 letters, restorations such as ἐκόμ|[πασ]ας ὡς must be disregarded. In such a case, the meaning is probably “speak big against” (cf. κομπάζω ἐπὶ τινι) and not “boast that”; see LSJ *s.v.* κομπάζω = κομπέω “speak big against”, citing examples from Aeschylus *Th.* 480, and “boast that”, citing examples with ὡς in Xenophon *Oec.* 10.3, Plutarch *Crass.* 18. Although we could translate ll. 4-8 as “I have received the letters you have sent through Patynis. You shouted that you want to write (to me?) (expressing/explaining) the accusation concerning the lentils and peas”. there is no example in which a clause such as ὡς ἐμοί... πίσσον is to be constructed as the object of the previous proposed verb ἐκόμ|[πει]ς.

κυδαλίμως

It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 94, 10-11 (14 B.C.?) ὄς πάσης {ης} ἀρετῆς πάντοτε κυδαλίμως<ς>, with the meaning “gloriously”.

κυριευτικῶς

It occurs in private and official documents (mainly sales, divisions, testaments) of the Roman and Byzantine period with the meaning “with full proprietary rights” (see LSJ *s.v.* κυριευτικός).

κυρίως

It occurs in private and official documents (mainly contracts) of all periods, with the meaning “lawfully” (see LSJ *s.v.* II 2<sup>217</sup>). For the use in contracts (e.g. loans) when it modifies πράσσω see *P.Tebt.Pad.* I 21, 3n. The adverb is only mentioned in Mayser 1936, 124.

λαθραίως

The adverb is rare, and it is only attested in two petitions, with the meaning “secretly”; see LSJ *s.v.* λαθραῖος: *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4582, 19 (A.D. 16) σὺν αὐτῶ[ι] διὰ νυκτὸς λαθραίως; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002 (A.D. 567) εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς Ἀνταίου(υ) μετετέθημεν λαθραίως καὶ βιαίως.

The adverb λάθρᾱ is also found in the documents, with the meaning “secretly, by stealth” and especially in the private letters, with the same meaning (“secretly, by stealth”) or in the formulaic λάθρῃ (+ genitive), “unknown to one”; see LSJ *s.v.* λάθρῃ I and 2; cf. also Spicq 1978, p. 454-457:

Private letters: *BGU* IV 1141, 48 (14-13 B.C.) ἡρώτων κατ' ἰδίαν λάθρᾱ τοῦ Ζύστου θέλων ἐπιγνώσθαι; *O.Did.* 338, 6 (A.D. 77-90) --]ης σοι λάθρᾱ λογάρια λ[---, where it is an uncertain reading; *SB* III 6222, 17 (A.D. 301) [καὶ] οἱ ἄλλοι πέντε λάθρα τῶν [ἄ]λλ[ω]ν [ἄ]θλητῶν. Petitions: *UPZ* I 19, 28 (163 B.C.); *P.Turner* 41, 17 (A.D. 249-250). In *P.Lond.* V 1795, 8-10 (VI A.D.) καὶ εἰ καταγνωσθεῖη τις | ἐξ ἡμῶν ὡς λαθα [κομισάμενός τινα καὶ μὴ φανερώσῃ] | τῶ ἐ[τ]έρῳ, the reading λαθα has been explained as λάθ<ρ>α, but this interpretation is debatable. Alternatively, we can restore a participle, e.g. λα<ν>θά[νων].

λαμπρῶς\*

It is found in a letter/report addressed to Zenon and refers to the whereabouts of some persons sent to Palestine on business and they were involved in the trade of prostitutes, *PSI* IV 406, 29-30 (= *C.Zen.Palestine* 27; 260-258 B.C.) καὶ ὠ|φελοῦντο λαμπρῶς “and made a splendid profit” (see LSJ *s.v.* λαμπρός III 1; Spicq 1978, p. 462; Bauer *s.v.*; for the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177). The same adverb (but in a more socially acceptable context) is found in an official document, *P.Yadin* I 15, 28-29 (cf. also 10) (A.D. 125; Arabia) ὅθεν λαμπρῶς διασῶ|θ[ῆ] μου| ὁ υἱός “wherewith my son may be raised in splendid style”.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. e.g. M. Girardi, *Basilio di Cesarea interprete della scrittura. Lessico, principi ermeneutici, prassi*, Quaderni di ‘Vetera Christianorum’ 26, Bari, Edipuglia, 1998, 33; M. Gifford, “Lexical Anomalies in the Introduction to the Posterior Analytics, Part I”, *OSAPh* 19, 2000, 163-223, esp. 194-199.

## ληστρικῶς(?)

It is restored in a petition, *BGU VIII 1832*, 9-10 (51 B.C.) ἀπηλλάγησαν ἔχωντες (*l. ἔχοντες*) | ληστ[ρικῶς χόρτου] γόμους κ, but this restoration is debatable, since the adverb does not appear in any other document, and it is also rare in the literature (with one of the first appearances in Strabo 2.5.26; see LSJ *s.v.* ληστρικός 2, “in the way the robbers act”; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*). Moreover, the usual way to express that something was stolen is ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ, and it seems that this phrase occurs in the Roman and Byzantine period, while there is no evidence of it in the Ptolemaic period. In *BGU VIII 1858*, 1-2 (64-44 B.C.) the text is restored as ἀρα[ c. 22 letters ληστρικῶι] | τρόπῳ ἐπιβαλόντες, and if this restoration is correct, then this papyrus seems to be the earliest evidence of the dative of the adjective and the noun to indicate Manner. Therefore, in *BGU VIII 1832*, 9-10 it is not certain if the correct reading is ληστ[ι], since the last letter τ is very damaged and not certain at all. A restoration ἀπηλλάγησαν ἔχωντες (*l. ἔχοντες*; although it seems that *omicron* and not *omega* is written there; see the photograph in [http://berlpap.smb.museum/Original/P\\_13801\\_R\\_001.jpg](http://berlpap.smb.museum/Original/P_13801_R_001.jpg)) | ληστ[ρικῶι τρόπῳι] γόμους κ does not seem to be a proper alternative, because it seems necessary that the word χόρτου should be mentioned in this lacuna (reference is made to it again in l. 17 τὸν χόρτον).

## λιπαρῶς\*

It occurs only in a private letter, *P.Gascou 47*, 21 (V-VI A.D.) ἀλλὰ καταξιώσω λιπαρῶς ἀξιῶσαι, with the meaning “earnestly, importunately” (see LSJ *s.v.* λιπαρής III; Lampe *s.v.*; see n. *ad loc.* (by Fr. Mitthof and A. Papatthomas) that this word is an *hapax* in papyri, citing a parallel structure in Clemens *Ecl.proph.* 27.7).

## λυσιτελῶς\* – λυσιτελέστατα\*

The positive degree of the adverb is found only in *P.Lond. VII 2041*, 1-5 (middle of III B.C.) οἶδας | μὲν αὐτὸς ὄν τρόπον τὰ ἔργα λυ|σιτελῶς τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως | συντελῶ σοι, πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ | ἔτι βελτίον προστῆναι, with the meaning “profitably” (see LSJ *s.v.* λυσιτελής I and III).

The superlative, always with the intensive ὡς or ὅ,τι, is also attested in the business letters of the Zenon archive: *P.Cair.Zen. III 59470*, 6 (265-246 B.C.) ἵνα πρ[αθῆι ὡ]ς λυσιτελέστατα; *P.Cair.Zen. II 59217*, 4-5 (254 B.C.) ὅπως ὅ,τι | λυσιτελέστατα διοικηθῆι; *P.Mich. I 42*, 5 (253 B.C.) συναγοράσας αὐτῶι ὡς λυσιτελέστατ[α]. In two of these instances the adverb modifies verbs that mean “buy” or “sell”; cf. also Diodorus Siculus 16.83.1 οἱ Σικελιῶται λυσιτελῶς πιπράσκοντες τοῖς ἐμπόροις.

## μαλακῶς\*

In a private letter to Zenon, *P.Cair.Zen. II 59263*, 2-3 (251 B.C.) ἔγραψέν μοι Μαιανδρία ὅτι χλαμύδα | αὐτὴν κελεύεις ἐξυφᾶναι. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν μαλακῶς διάκ<ε>ιται, ὡς ἂν δὲ ρα{ε}ίσηι | ἔσται σοι ἡ στολή, the adverb modifies the verb διάκειται and means “he is ill”; see LSJ *s.v.* μαλακός III 3; for the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

μανικῶς

The adverb is a probable reading in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 145, 39-40. It is attested for the first time in Plato; see LSJ *s.v.* μανικός, I and II.

ματαίως\*

It occurs in two private letters of the Roman period with the meaning “idly, without ground”, always preceding the modified verbal form; see LSJ *s.v.* μάταιος III: *P.Alex.* 25, 7-8 (II A.D.) ἵνα \μη\ ματαίως πολλά|κίς συνιστανόμεθα; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 27, 8-9 (second half of III A.D.) διὰ τοῦτο σοι ἔγραψα, ὅτι | ματέως (*l.* ματαίως) ἐπεβάλατο ὁ Πεσουᾶς.

The same meaning is found in a petition of the first century A.D., *P.Oxy.* VII 1027, 10-12 δι' οὗ ματαίως | {ε}ἰστορεῖ περί τε τοῦ ἀγνοεῖν α[ύ]τὸν τὴν τῶν ἐμοὶ γενη|[μένων] ἀσφαλ<ε>ῶν θέσιν, and in a report of proceedings concerning ownership of some property of the fourth century A.D., *SB XVI* 12692, 26-27 (A.D. 339) ὡς ὅτι ματέως | ἀντὶδικοὶ κενικήκασιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δικαστήριον; cf. also the occurrence of the adverb in glossaries to Homer, e.g. *P.Oxy.* XLV 3238, 116 and *PSI XVII* 1667, I 6, dated to the Roman period.

μεγαλομερῶς

It occurs in honorary inscriptions, sometimes paired with other adverbs ending in -ως:

See Bernard 1992, no 41, 7-8 (57 B.C.) ἐ[ν]δ[όξως] καὶ μεγαλομερῶς; no 46, 11 (39 B.C.) ἐπιδούς μεγαλοψύχως ἔαυ[τ]όν; no 49, 26-31 (5 B.C.) ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκονίασε τὸν οἶκον ἀξιολόγως καὶ ἔστρωσε στιβάσι διαφόροις, τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνήλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου παραδεξάμενος, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων δαπανῶν, ὧν ἐποίησατο, τῆς προστασίας καὶ κωμαρχίας ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ καιρὸν δείπνοις μεγαλομερῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀναστραφ<ε>ίς.

[μεγαλοπρεπῶς] – μεγαλοπρεπέστερον

It occurs in the well-known official letter concerning the visit of a Roman official in the Arsinoite nome, *P.Tebt.* I 33, 6-7 (112 B.C.) μεγαλο{υ}πρεπέστερον | ἐγδεχθήτω{ι}. The adverb (and its comparative and superlative) is attested in the literature: see LSJ *s.v.* μεγαλοπρεπής II; for the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

μεγαλοφρόνως

The adverb occurs at the end of a line in a decree in honour of a gymnasiarch with the meaning “generously” (see LSJ *s.v.* μεγαλόφρων 1), *P.Oxy.* III 473, 5 (A.D. 138-160) καίτοι τῆ[ς] τῶν μειζόνων θερμῶν ἐπιμελείας εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης μεγαλοφρόνως, and probably modifies a verb lost in the next line, e.g. ἐτέλεσεν, also probably in combination with another adverb or adverbial phrase, e.g. φιλοτίμως; cf. the same use of μεγαλοψύχως (*s.v.*).

μεγαλοψύχως

It occurs in an honorary inscription, in which μεγαλοψύχως is paired with other adverbs ending in -ως:

Bernard 1992, no 49, 26-31 (5 B.C.) ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκονίασε τὸν οἶκον ἀξιολόγως καὶ ἔστρωσε στιβάσι διαφόροις, τὴν ἀπάντων ἀνήλωσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου παραδεξάμενος, χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων δαπανῶν ὧν ἐποίησατο τῆς προστασίας καὶ κωμαρχίας ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ καιρὸν δείπνοις μεγαλομερῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀναστραφ<ε>ίς; see LSJ *s.v.* μεγαλόψυχος, “generously”; cf. the same use of μεγαλοφρόνως (*s.v.*).

## μεγάλως\*

The adverb is mainly attested in the private letters: It can modify any verb (usually preceding it) to mean “greatly, mightily” (see LSJ *s.v.* μέγας B 1; Bauer *s.v.*) (see examples 1, 4, 8, 11, 14(?), 15, 16c, 18, 22b-c, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 38, 40), but there are some formulaic phrases, e.g. *μεγάλως χαρίζομαι* “say or do something agreeable to a person, show him great favour or kindness, oblige, gratify” (see LSJ *s.v.* χαρίζω I 1) (examples 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 39, 41), *οἱ μεγάλως ἐχάρην/ἐχάρημεν* (examples 6, 9, 12, 22a, 23, 28, 32, 37), *ἀσπάξεσθαι* (or *ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι*) *μεγάλως* (examples 13, 16a, 17, 18, 29c, 35), *παρακαλῶ μεγάλως* (examples 16b, 19, 20, 29b), *ἔρωτῶ μεγάλως* (16b, 24, 29a)<sup>218</sup>, where the adverb seems to mean rather “warmly, with enthusiasm”. The adverbs *μέγα* and *μεγάλα* can be also understood in some private letters of the Roman period as adverbs of Manner rather than of Degree, that is not used in a similar way as *μάλα*, “very, exceedingly”; see LSJ *s.v.* μέγας B II 1: *BGU* IV 1040, 18 (II A.D.) οἱ[ὕκ]έτι [γὰρ μέγ]α μέλλω φρονεῖν, where it is restored; *P.Hamb.* I 104 (II-III A.D.) ἵνα μέγα δινῶ|σει (*l.* δυνά|ση) τοῖς φιλοῦσ{ε}ι|ν; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 30, 26-27 (III-IV A.D.) [ὁ δεῖνα] ἀσπάζετε (*l.* ἀσπάζεται) ὑμᾶς πάντας | μέγα ἀσπάζεται| ὑμ[ᾶς]---; cf. also the form *μεγάλα* which stands alone in court proceedings, *PSI* XIII 1326, 10 (A.D. 181-183) with the meaning “this is serious” (transl. by N. Lewis in *Life in Egypt under Roman rule*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1983, p. 191).

- (1) *P.Hels.* I 32, 12 (160 B.C.) μέλλ[ε]ιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεγά[λ]ως [ἀ]να[βαίνοντος].
- (2) *P.Diosk.* 15, 24-25 (158-155 B.C.) σὺ δὲ χαρῆ μοι μεγάλως οὐ μόνον δὲ | ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ ὅλη τῇ πόλ<ε>ι.
- (3) *UPZ* I 64, 12-13 (156 B.C.) καὶ ἡμῖν | ἔσει μεγάλως κεχαρισμένος. χαρίζοι<ο> δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦ σώματος | ἐπιμελόμενος, ἵν' ὑ<γ>ιαιῆς which is comparable with the Herodotean passage where Darius speaks to the Ionian tyrants in 4.98 ταῦτα δὲ ποιῦντες, ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε. The supplementary phrase *χαρίζοι<ο> δ' ἂν καὶ τοῦ σώματος | ἐπιμελόμενος, ἵν' ὑ<γ>ιαιῆς* indicates not an arrogant person, because, according to Theophrastus, such an arrogant person when he sends letters, he does not use *χαρίζοιο ἂν μοι*, but *βούλομαι γενέσθαι*: see 24.13 καὶ ἐπιστέλλων μὴ γράφειν, ὅτι Χαρίζοιο ἂν μοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι Βούλομαι γενέσθαι.
- (4) *P.Tebt.* III 711, 5 (125 B.C.) μεγάλως δὲ καθυστηρηκότα, “he is greatly in arrears”; see Mayser 1936, 124.
- (5) *BGU* X 2007, 7-9 (109 B.C.) χαριεῖ | μεγάλως φροντίσας | ὅπως...
- (6) *C.Jud.Syr.Eg.* 1, 6-8 (103 B.C.; = *SB* XX 14728) μεταλαβόντες τοὺς συν|τετελεσμέν[ο]ις πρὸς τοὺς ἀσβεῖς Ἐρμων|θ[ί]τας ἀγῶνας μεγάλως ἐχάρημεν.
- (7) *P.Lips.* I 104, 22-25 (95-62 B.C.) προ|στατεῖ | ἡμῶν μεγάλως Πτο|λίω ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ χαριεῖ | αὐτῶι μεγάλως; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.
- (8) *P.Tebt.* I 37, 10-11 (73-72 B.C.) καὶ γὰρ μεγάλως ἦρν|θρίακε.
- (9) *BGU* XIV 2418, 8-10 (II B.C.) μεγάλως ἐχάρη|μεν καὶ ἀπευχαριστήσα|μεν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα θεοῖς.
- (10) *P.Köln* IX 365, 11-12 (II B.C.) ἐπιστόλιον ποιήσιν, χαριεῖ μεγάλως | ἐπιτελέσας τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν.
- (11) *BGU* XVI 2622, 4-6 (21-5 B.C.) ἐξενίσθην μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῶι Ἐρμᾶν παραγενό|μενον μηδὲν ἐνηνοχέαι ὧν ἔγραψεν | ἐσχηκέναι παρά σου.
- (12) *BGU* XVI 2642, 10 (21-5 B.C.) ---]ε μεγάλως [με] ἐχάρην.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. a first discussion by Clarysse 2017, 76, n. 48.

The adverb, as said, is rare in official documents: in a **petition**, *P.Polit.Iud.* 7, 34 (134 B.C.) ἰωνᾶς [---] μεγάλως; in a **diagraphē**, concerning a lease *UPZ* II 226, 2 (II-I B.C.) ἐνπ|οδίζεσθαι μεγάλως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν διαγωγῆν; in a document of uncertain nature, *P.Leid.Inst.* 83, 1 (I B.C.) μεγάλως [---]; in a **decree** in an inscription: Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 45 (A.D. 68); in **official correspondence**(?), *P.Stras.* VII 612, 21 (II A.D.) ] μεγάλως σε μέμ[φομαι]; and in the correspondence of Kurrah ben Sharik with the pagarches Basileios, *P.Lond.* IV 1367, 3 (A.D. 710) μ[ε]γάλως μέλλεις ἀγανακτηθῆναι.

(13) *P.Wash.Univ.* II 106, 10-11 (18 B.C.) ἀσπάζετέ (l. ἀσπάζεται) σε Ούεντίδης μεγάλως κέ (l. και) Ἐλένη κέ (l. και) Οὔτιδί|ων κέ (l. και) οἱ ἐν ἕκῳ (l. οἰκῶ) πάντες.

(14) *BGU XVI* 2657, 8 (17-16 B.C.) μεγάλως [---].

(15) *BGU XVI* 2640, 7 (10 B.C.) ---] μεγάλως ἐξύβρισεν.

(16a-c) *SB V* 7600, 3-6 (A.D. 16) πρὸ μὲν πάντων ὄλων ἀσπάζετέ (l. ἀσπάζεται) σε | μεγάλως Ἀκαμείων, ὃ κατακυρῖς (l. κατακυρεῖς) αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἐλένη|ι|. | λυπὸν (l. λοιπὸν) οὔ ἔρωτῶ (l. ἐρωτῶ) σε μεγάλως καὶ παρακαλῶ|ι| σε, | καὶ πάντοτε πνεῖς (l. ποιεῖς) καὶ λ|ε|ίαν μεγάλως συ (l. σοι) εὐχαριστο (l. εὐχαριστῶ); cf. II. 19-20 where the adverb appears twice in a fragmentary part of the papyrus.

(17) *SB XXVI* 16608, 4-6 (first quarter of I A.D.) ἀσπάζομαι σε μεγά|λως σὺν τοῖς σοῖς πᾶ|σιν.

(18) *P.Oxy.* LV 3807, 34 (A.D. 26-28) μέμφομαι δὲ μεγάλω(ς) τοὺς μαχαιρο(φόρους).

(19) *P.Haun.* II 28, 6-8 (A.D. 31) [πα]|ρακαλῶ σε μεγάλως {ε}ῖνα πρου|σῆ|σεις (l. προνοή|σης) σεαυτοῦ {ε}ῖνα ὑγειαίνεις (l. ὑγιαίνης).

(20) *P.Oxy.* XII 1480, 18-19 (A.D. 32) παρακαλῶ [σε με|]γάλως π|έμψαι|.

(21) *BGU IV* 1079, 33 (A.D. 41) ἀσπάζου Διόδωρον μεγάλω(ς).

(22a-c) *SB III* 6823, 3-5 (A.D. 41-54) πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἐχάρην | μεγάλως λαβῶν σου [ἐ]πιστο|λήν, ὅτι ὑγ|ε|αίνεις; I. 11-12 μεγάλως γάρ μοι μέ|λ|ε|ι καὶ κήδομαι σου τῆς φιλίας; I. 17-18 Πρίμω δὲ καὶ Τυχάριω εὐχαρισ|τ|ῶ μεγάλως;

(23) *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 10-11 (A.D. 76) ἐχάρην δὲ μεγάλως δι|ι|ανα|γνούς σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

(24) *O.Berenike* III 459, 2-4 (second half of I A.D.) ἐρωτῶ | σε μεγάλως μὴ με ποί|σης (l. ποι|ήσης).

(25) *P.Fay.* 111, 3 (A.D. 95) μένφομαι (l. μέμφομαι) σοι (l. σε) μεγάλως.

(26) *P.Fay.* 112, 15 (A.D. 99) μένφομαι (l. μέμφομαι) σοι (l. σε) μεγάλως.

(27) *P.Oxy.* II 396 desc., 9 (late I A.D.) Ὀυνῶφρις δὲ σοι μεγάλως εὐχαριστεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετρίως εἶχε ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνεσημάνθη οὐκ εἰσχυσέ σοι γρ[ά]ψαι.

(28) O.KaLa. inv. 652 (end of I A.D.) (published by A. Bülow-Jacobsen and H. Cuvigny, “Περίφημα. A Question of Life and Death in a Private Letter from the Eastern Desert of Egypt”, in N. Reggiani (ed.), *Greek Medical Papyri. Text, Context, Hypertext*, APF Beihefte 40, 2019, p. 162) ἐχάρην μεγάλως ἀκούσας.

(29a-b) *P.Col.* VIII 215, 8-9 (c. A.D. 100) ἐρωτῶ σε μεγά|λως καὶ παρακαλῶ; I. 31 ἐπισκοπε<ε>ῖτε σε Γάιος μεγάλως καὶ Θερμοῦθας.

(30) *P.Giss.* I 75, 7-8 (A.D. 113-120) ἐποίησας μεγάλως χάρι|[τας]; the restoration is debatable, but the noun χάρις should be restored (cf. I. 5 ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ χάριν).

(31) *P.Giss.* I 19, 3-4 (A.D. 115) μεγάλως [ἀγ]ωνιώσα περὶ σου διὰ τὰ ὄν|[τα τ]οῦ καιρ[ο]ῦ φημιζόμενα.

(32) *P.Mich.* VIII 495, 11-12 (II A.D.) καὶ μεγάλως ἐχάρην περ|ὶ τῆς σωτηρί|σ|ας.

(33) *P.Oxy.* XII 1585, 2-3 (late II-early III A.D.) με|γ|άλως .αμειν εἶχατε πέμψαι μοι φάσιν | περὶ τοῦ κτήματος, πότερον ἐτρογγύσατε ἢ οὐ, where the reading με|γ|άλως .αμειν is uncertain.

(34) *PSI XII* 1261, 3-5 (A.D. 212-217) μεγάλως καὶ πολλαχῶς ἥσθημεν τοῦ Γορ|γίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενομένου καὶ δηλώσαν|τος ἡμῖν ὅτι τε ἔρρωσαι.

(35) *SB V* 8002, 27-30 (III A.D.) ἀσπάζετέ (l. ἀσπάζεται) σοι (l. σε) | Ἐρμοκράτης καὶ Ἐλένη καὶ | Χρῆστος μεγάλως καὶ ἄχιλ|λεύς.

(36) *P.Oxy.* XII 1490, 4 (A.D. 320) λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ὠφέλησα αὐτὸν μεγάλως.

(37) *P.Oxy.* XIV 1676, 4-5 (A.D. 324) ἐχάρην μεγάλως κοιμῶμε|νός σου ἐπιστολήν.

(38) *P.Lond.* VI 1914, 29 (A.D. 335) Ἀθανάσιος δὲ μεγάλως ἀθυμ<ε>ῖ.

(39) *P.Heid.* VII 408, 5 (IV-V A.D.) ]|θ|έλη(?)]σον μεγάλως μοι χαρ|ι|ζόμενος σκυλῆναι; see A. Parathomas' n. *ad loc.* concerning μεγάλα χαρίζεσθαι in the Byzantine period.

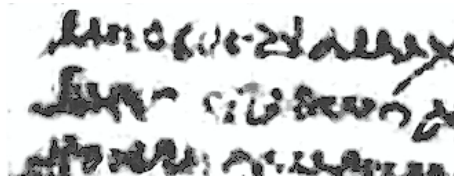
(40) *CPR V* 25, 3 (VI-VII A.D.) ἐδεξάμην δὲ τὰ διὰ Στεφανακίου τοῦ \ποτε/ παιδὸς τοῦ κύρου Θεοδώρου γραφέντα καὶ ὄντως μεγάλως ἠμέλησεν ὁ τρ|ε|ισκατάρατος | οἰκοδόμος Σενούθης

(41) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1869, 14 (VI-VII A.D.) ὡς χαριεῖσθέ μοι μεγάλως.

#### μετριοπαθῶς

The adverb was read only in the petition of Dionysia to the Prefect, *P.Oxy.* II 237 vii 22-23 (after A.D. 186) νοσησάσης δὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ λοίπης (l. λύπης) τὸν ἐπιστράτηγον Βάσσον | μεταπαθῶς ἀναστραφ|έν|τα ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν κωλύεσθαι εἰ συνοικεῖν ἀλλήλοις θέλοισιν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἠνυκέναι, and LSJ cites only this example as having a meaning which might be parallel of συμπαθῶς.

However, the papyrus reads μετριῶπαθῶς, “moderating his passions” (see LSJ *s.v.* μετριῶπαθής).



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Oxy.&vVol=2&vNum=237-1>)

#### μετρίως\*

The adverb occurs mainly in private letters of all periods, either in the information given concerning the health, either as μετρίως ἐπανάγειν “become again pretty well” (examples 4, 5), or μετρίως ἔχειν “to be in ‘middling’ health” (examples 6, 7, 8, 10; see LSJ *s.v.* μέτριος B 4), or as οὐ μετρίως, in the figure of litotes, to indicate “too much” (examples 1, 2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17), or simple to mean “modestly, temperately” (example 12; see see LSJ *s.v.* μέτριος B 3; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*).

- (1) *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59564, 6-7 (c. 251 B.C.) οὐ γὰρ | [με]τρίω[ς] ---.
- (2) *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59638 (middle of III B.C.) οὐ γ[ὰρ] μετρίως | περι[σ]πᾶτα[ι] ὑπ’ αὐ[τοῦ] εἰσπρασσομένη.
- (3) *P.Tebt.* III 750, 2-3 (197 B.C.) οὐ μετρί[ω]ς προσενήνεκται μοι | Πτολεμ[α]ῖος.
- (4) *P.Tebt.* III 755, 2-6 (early II B.C.) εἰ ἔρρωσαι | καὶ τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ λόγον | ἀπαντᾶι, εὖ {ἄν} ἔστιν, | καὶ καυτὸς δὲ μετρίως | ἐπανάγω.
- (5) *UPZ* I 71, 4-5 (152 B.C.) εἴη ἂν ὡς βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς | δὲ μετρίως ἐπ[α]νῆ[γο]ν.
- (6) *P.Pintaudi* 52, 12-14 (A.D. 29) {ε}ῖνα κάγω{ι} τελέσω{ι} | πάντα, ἐπ<ε>ἰ μετρίως | ἔχω{ι}.
- (7) *SB* X 10240, 5-9 (= *P.Oxy.* II 325; A.D. 41) ἐπ<ε>ἰ ὁ ἀδελφός σο[υ] με|τρί[ω]ς ἔχει καὶ κομῶς (*l.* κομφῶς) | ἔσχεν.
- (8) *P.Oxy.* II 396 descr., 9 (late I A.D.) Ὀυνῶφρις δὲ σοι μεγάλως εὐχαριστεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετρίως εἶχε ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνεσημάνθη οὐκ εἴσχυσέ σοι γρ[ά]ψαι.
- (9) *P.Gis.* I 17, 5-6 (A.D. 113-120) ἡγωνίασα, κύριε, οὐ μετρίως, ἵνα ἀκούσω | ὅτι ἐνώθρευσας.
- (10) *P.Lips.* I 108, 5-6 (II-III A.D.) καὶ οὐκ ἡδυνήθην διὰ τὸ ἐμέ | μετρ{ε}ίως ἔχοντα.
- (11) *PSI* VIII 970, 10-11 (III A.D.) τὸν πόδα | γάρ μου οὐ μετρίως ἀλγῶ.
- (12) *P.Kellis* I 63, 11-14 (first half of IV A.D.) ὅμως καὶ τὸ γράμμα | μετρίως εὐφραίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι | ἐπειγόμεθα κ[α]ὶ τ[ο]ύτῳ συνεχῶς χρᾶ[σ]θαι.
- (13) *P.Bagnall* 44, 7-8 (VI-VII A.D.) οὐ μετρίως δε|ομ-.
- (14) *P.Apoll.* 41, 3 (second half of VII A.D.) γ{ε}ινώσκειν δὲ θέλων ὡς οὐ μετρ{ε}ίως κατακρα[τεῖν].
- (15) *P. Alex.* p. 15 no. 439, 2-3 (= *SB* I 4323; Byzantine period) ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ὀλίγον ἀηδίζεται καὶ ἐφρόντισα οὐ μετρίως ὥστ’ ἐμέ | ἀναγκασθῆναι πέμψαι τὸν γραμματεπφόρον πρὸς τὴν ὑμέτεραν ἀδελφικὴν εὐλάβειαν.
- (16) *P.Fouad* I 86, 8-9 (VI A.D.) οὐ μετρίως ἐλύπησεν ἡμᾶς | τὸ ἐμπόδιον τῆς ἀνόδου αὐτῆς.
- (17) *P.Fouad* I 8 10-11 (VI A.D.) ἐπειδὴ οὐ μετρίως δέομαι οὐ μόνον τῶν ὑμετέρων εὐχῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ | συγκροτήσεως ὑμετέρας οὐκ ὀλίγης.

The adverb is also found in petitions of the Ptolemaic and early Roman period, always as οὐ μετρίως<sup>219</sup>. Finally, in a report addressed to the Empress Theodora by the

<sup>219</sup> *UPZ* I 8, 21-22 (163 B.C.) καὶ οὐ μετρίως σκύλα (*l.* ἔσκυλαν) ὑβρίζοντας (*l.* ὑβρίζοντες) | καὶ τύπτοντας (*l.* τύπτοντες); *P.Phrur.Diosk.* 1, 15-16 (154 B.C.) κατὰσπᾶσας ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης | ἐπαρῶνισεν οὐ μετρίως; *SB* XVI 12305, 6-7 (152 B.C.) ἀδικουμένη οὐ μετρίως | καὶ μαστιουμένη; *SB* XX 14708, 5-6 (151 B.C.) ἡδι|[κ]η|μένος οὐ μετρίως καὶ ἐγδιωκόμενος ἐκ τῆς ιδίας; *P.Dryton* 3, 15 (140-130 B.C.) καὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀπαιτήσεως οὐ μετρίως ἐσκυλμένος ὑπ’ [αὐτοῦ]; *P.Tor.Choach.* 11, 4-5 (119 B.C.) ἡδικημένος οὐ μετρίως | καὶ κινδυνεύων τῶν ιδίων στερηθῆναι; cf. 11 bis, 10; *P.Tor.Choach.* 4, 3-4 (111 B.C.) ἀδικούμενοι | οὐ μετρίως καὶ διασειόμενοι ὑπὸ Ἰσιδώρου; *P.Tor.Choach.* 5A, 5-7 (111-110 B.C.) ἀδικούμεν[ο]ι οὐ μετρίως | κ[α]ὶ διασειόμενοι ὑπὸ Ἰσιδώ[ρου]; *PSI* XIV 1403, (II B.C.) ] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐ μετρίως [; *UPZ* I 108, 31-32 (99 B.C.) ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν | σημαυομένην μου οἰκίαν



inhabitants of Aphrodito, against the intrigues of the pagarches of Antaiopolis, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 7-8 (A.D. 547) ὥστε μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἡμῖν ἀποροῦσιν τὰς συνήθεις τε] εἰσφέρειν τοῦ [δημο]σίου συντελε[ι]ας καὶ ζῆν με[τρ]ίως μετὰ τῶν ζώων κα[ι] | [ἐργαλείων καὶ χρηστηρίων πάντων, the reading of the adverb is certain (even traces of τρ can be seen,



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Cair.Masp.&vVo3=1&vNum=67283>) thus μετρίως) with the meaning “to be moderately well off” (see LSJ *s.v.* μέτριος B1).

#### μηδαμῶς / μηθαμῶς\*

The adverb is attested in various official documents and contracts (mainly deeds of surety)<sup>220</sup>, but its occurrence in private letters is rare (two instances), and is restricted so far to letters of the Byzantine period: *SB* XXII 15560, 7-8 (end of III-beginning of IV A.D.) παραβάλλ<ε>ιν καθ' ἐκάσ[την] ὥραν καὶ πα[ρ]αιν<ε>ῖν αὐτήν τὰ εἰκότα ὅπως μηδα[μ]ῶς | λυπηθῆ; in *CPR* XXV 6, 13 (V A.D.) the context is not clear because of the fragmentary condition of the letter. It is also restored in the private letter *P.Bagnall* 44, 10-11 (VI-VII A.D.) μηδα|[μ]ῶς, but the restoration is debatable. The restoration of the adverb in *P.Oxy.* XII 1585, 7-8 (late II-early III A.D.) ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὖν μ[η]δαμῶς ἀργηθῆ|[να] αὐτὸ εὐθέως ἀνελθε is also debatable.

#### μηνιαίως\*

The adverb does not appear in literary texts and all of the five instances in papyri date from the Byzantine period. They are contracts (especially loan contracts), and one receipt<sup>221</sup>:

*SB* I 4753, 10 (A.D. 523); *SPP* XX 139, 14 (A.D. 531); *BGU* II 363, 9 (c. A.D. 580-620); *CPR* XIV 3, 9 (c. A.D. 604); *SPP* III 123, 4 (VI-VII A.D.)<sup>222</sup>.

---

ἐσκού(λεν) ταύτην οὐ μετρίως καὶ τὰ ἔνδον ὄντα μου ἐπιπλα ἐλαφύρευσεν; *BGU* VIII 1855, 10-11 (64-44 B.C.) ἐπιθέμενοι τῇ μητρὶ περὶ τούτων | λογοποιουμένη ἐξύβρισαν οὐ μετρίως; *P.Ryl.* II 150, 7-11 (A.D. 40) περιγενάμενός με | ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ὕβρισεν | οὐ μετρίως καὶ ἐκα|κολόγησεν πολλὰ καὶ | ἀ[σ]χήμονα. Cf. also in official letters of the Ptolemaic period when the writer refers to abuses: *UPZ* I 110, 24-25 (164 B.C.) ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων | σκύλλεσθαι μὴ μετρί[ι]ως; *P.Tebt.* I 16, 7-8 (114 B.C.) ὡς ἦν ὑβρισμένος οὐ μετ[ρί]ως --- | ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου; also in an edict of the Prefect, *W.Chr.* 202, 39-41 (A.D. 104) ὑπογραφή[ς] | τοῦ ἐπιλ[ c. 16 letters ] .ρεθι οὐ | μετρίως ---.

<sup>220</sup> It is attested as μηθαμῶς in *UPZ* I 79, 8 (159 B.C.); see LSJ *s.v.* It is considered as an adverb of ἀπαγορεύσεως by D.T. *Ars grammatica* 1.1.79.

<sup>221</sup> In a report of a temple, *SB* XXVI 16459, 10 (A.D. 107-108) at the beginning of the line we read μενιεως, which has been explained tentatively by the editor G. Messseri Savorelli, as μηνιαίως (see *AnalPap* 12, 2000, 171, 9n.). This reading μενιεως (or μεπιεως, since even the third letter is uncertain) might be the end of a place or personal name.

<sup>222</sup> For *P.Gen.* IV 171, 10 (first half of IV A.D.) see Litinas' proposal: It is a business letter, where μηνιαίως is restored in ll. 7-10 μαθέτω γὰρ Διονύσιος ὁ προνο|ητής Διονυσίου ὅτι οὐκ ἀπειλήφα|μεν τὸν γεοῦχον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑπη|[ν]τήσαμεν μηνιαίως τούτου ἀρκουμένου. “Que Dionysios, l'intendant de Dionysios, apprenne en effet que nous n'avons pas reçu son propriétaire et que (nous) ne nous sommes pas (présentés chaque mois) car celui-ci était satisfait”. However, such a restoration, which is based on *P.Oxy.* IX 1196, 12-18 (A.D. 212-213) μηνιαίως, does not provide a proper Greek text, and therefore is debatable. If this restoration is correct, then the adverb should modify either the verb ὑπηνητήσαμεν, which precedes, “we did not meet monthly”, or the participle ἀρκουμένου, which follows, “he was satisfied with something monthly”. Moreover, what is read as α at the beginning of the line seems to be the end of a word, and not part of the middle of a word, based on the style of the same hand (cf. l. 13 εἰδένα; l. 16 ἀποχα; l. 17 εὔχομαι; on the other hand, cf. αὶ of μηνιαῖον in l.

μικρῶς / μικῶς<sup>223</sup> / σμικρῶς\*

The form μικῶς is attested in the official letter *BGU XVI* 2646, 32-33 (3 B.C.) διὰ τὸ Τυρ<ρ>άνιον μικῶς | μετριάζειν, “because Tyrranius (the prefect) has calmed down a bit”; see LSJ *s.v.* μικρός III 1.

The adverb (σ)μικρῶς is used in the letters of the Byzantine period in Egypt<sup>224</sup> in the figure of *litotes*, οὐ (σ)μικρῶς, to intensify the affirmation of the antonym μεγάλως<sup>225</sup>, therefore, the meaning is “not a little”:

*P.Herm.* 11, 12-13 (IV A.D.) εἰδῶς ὅτι οὐ μικρῶς | ἀγωνιῶ, it precedes and modifies the verb ἀγωνιῶ; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1832, 8-9 (V-VI A.D.) ἐπειδὴ οὐ μικρῶς ὀλιγωρῶ διὰ τὴν τοσαύτην | [α]ὐτῆς ἀπουσίαν, the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ὀλιγωρῶ; *SB XXVI* 16352, 2-3 (VI A.D.) ἐπειδὴ οὐ μικρῶς | ὀχλοῦμαι ἐνταῦθα, the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ὀχλοῦμαι; cf. also *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, iii 24-26 (second half of VI A.D.) τὰ προσκυνούμενα γράμματα τῆς σῆς ἐνδιαθέτου φιλίας | κομισάμενο[ς], ἤσθην οὐ σμικρῶς ἐ[πι] τῇ ἐνπεριεχομένη αὐτῶν | δεινότητι ρη[τ]ορικῇ.

μισοπονήρως – μισοπονηρότερον

For the adverb see LSJ *s.v.* μισοπόνηρος “hating knaves and knavery”, citing *P.Magd.* 14, 8 (= *P.Enteux.* 49; 221 B.C.) καὶ ἐξετάσαι μισοπονήρως (also mentioned by Mayer 1936, 122), Polybius 30.32.5, Ps.-Plutarchus *Fluv.* 11.3, etc. In papyri the adverb appears only in official petitions: *P.Tebt.Pad.* I 10, 19-20 (94-93 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν περὶ | αὐτοῦ μισοπονήρως, and A. Soldati’s reference (n. *ad loc.*) to P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, Paris 1926, p. 124<sup>226</sup>.

μογερῶς

It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 95, 8-10 (A.D. 8; = *SB V* 8837) μογερῶς τοίνυν, ὦ πάροδοι, δακρύσατε; see LSJ *s.v.* μογερός I, “toiling, distressed, wretched”.

---

13). One might read a word ending in ]αι, then ὡς τούτου ἀρκουμένου, as an absolute participle of cause, “because that was enough”. In the lacuna we can restore a dative as an object of the verb ὑπη|[ν]τήσαμεν and then κ]αί? Note also that although ἀπειλήφα|μεν is in the perfect tense, ὑπη|[ν]τήσαμεν is restored in the past tense, since its perfect tense ὑπήντηκα is rare.

<sup>223</sup> For the form μικ(κ)ός see Olsson 1925, 161, no 54, 17n.

<sup>224</sup> The adverb is also used in the same way in a petition of the third century A.D., *SB XXVII* 17044 (A.D. 260) from Bostra, Syria, ll. 20-21 ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐ μ{ε}ικρῶς βί|αν πάσχω ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων.

<sup>225</sup> The same figure is found in the classical literature, mainly from the first century B.C. (e.g. Hippocratic corpus and Galen).

<sup>226</sup> See *UPZ I* 7, 35-36 (163 B.C.) ὅπως διαλαβῆι περὶ αὐτῶν μισο|πονήρως; *UPZ I* 10, 32 (160 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν μισοπονήρως; *P.Amh.* II 35, 44-47 (132 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν | περὶ αὐτοῦ | μισοπονή|ρως; *UPZ I* 11, 28 (160 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν [μισο]π[ονήρως]; *P.Polit.Iud.* 9, 42 (132 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν μισοπονήρως; *P.Dryton I* 34, 30 (115-110 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν μισοπονήρως; *BGU VIII* 1824, 29-30 (60-55 B.C.) καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν διαλαβεῖν μισο|πονήρως; *BGU VIII* 1832, 15 (51 B.C.) περὶ αὐτῶν διαλαβεῖν μ{ε}ισοπονήρως; *BGU VIII* 1855, 16-17 (64-44 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν | μισοπονήρως; *SB I* 5232, 39-40 (A.D. 15) διαλαβεῖν μ{ε}ισοπονήρως; cf. also the restorations in *P.Tebt.* III 961, 7-8 (139 B.C.) ὅ]πως διαλάβῆς περὶ αὐτῶν [μισοπονήρως]; *P.Polit.Iud.* 6, 34-35 (134 B.C.) διαλαβεῖν [μισοπονήρως. εὐτυχεῖτε]; *P.Hamb.* I 92 fr. (180-145 B.C.) μισο[πονήρως? The comparative form occurs in *SB I* 5232, 26-27 (A.D. 15) μισοπονηρότερον διαλ[α]βεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀκατα|[χωρίσ]του χρηματισμοῦ. In *BGU IV* 1105, 39-40 (11-10 B.C.) ἐκδιεληλυθέντος | περὶ αὐτοῦ μισοπονήρως, the adverb modifies the participle of the verb ἐκδιέρχομαι; this verb is attested only here; LSJ *s.v.*

## μοναχῶς

This is an Aristotelian adverb, used as an antonym of πολλαχῶς (see LSJ *s.v.* μοναχῶς) to mean “in one way only”; cf. Lampe *s.v.*, for examples in the patristic literature. In papyri it appears in an uncertain reading, in the contract *CPR* XVIIIA 19, 19-20 (A.D. 321) [τὸ σύ]μφωνον κύριον ὁ καὶ | μοναχῶς ἐξεδόμην, “die Übereinkunft, die ich in nur einer Ausfertigung abgegeben habe, ist bestimmend”. However, what we can read at this point is μοναχ, followed by a circular letter, more likely ο than ω, and then there is a lacuna with a space wide enough to accommodate only one letter. After the lacuna we can see the last horizontal of an ε. Then I propose to read μοναχό[ν] ἐξεδόμην; cf. *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5062, 22 (last quarter III A.D.) οἶσω δ[ὲ τ]ῶ μείζονι τὸ ἄλλο μοναχὸν ἐνθάδε, “I will also bring to the higher official here the other document, written in one copy only”.

In addition, the adverb is resolved in an abbreviation, in a official receipt, *CPR* XXIII 9, 11 (A.D. 216-217) μοναχ(ῶς) λογιζομ(ένου). The editor, Fr. Mitthof, notes (*ad loc.*, 11-12n.) that “für die Annahme, dass der Schreiber den Preis der einzelnen Artabe meinte, spricht im übrigen auch das Adverb μοναχῶς”. However, it might be probable to resolve also here μοναχ(όν).

## μονομερῶς

The adverb occurs only in a Byzantine contract, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032, 86 (A.D. 551) προσομο[λο]γῶ δὲ ἐγὼ Παλλάδιος μονο[μ]ερῶς, meaning “as consisting of one part”; see LSJ *s.v.* μονομερής I 1; Lampe *s.v.* 2.

## [νεανικῶς] – νεανικώτερον\*

The comparative of the adverb(?) is attested in a letter, *P.Köln* IV186, 1 (= *LDAB* 6586) (II B.C.) βιαζόμενοι διεδορατίζοντο νεανικώτερον “anstürmend mit Lanzen kämpften sie heftiger”; see LSJ *s.v.* νεανικός II 2 and 3, citing also the adverb νεανικωτέρως in Philodemus *Rh.* 2.272.

## νέως

It is read in a sale of wine, *SB* XXII 15597, 11-12 (A.D. 537), τῶν κούφων] παρεχομένων παρ' ἑμοῦ νέως πεπεισῶ|[μένων, where the editor N. Kruit, in his n. *ad loc.* (*ed. princ.* in *Tyche* 9, 1994, p. 86, 11-12n.) considers the possibility of the reading νέων, “but the traces of the letter clearly do not allow such a reading”. The adverb was not in use in the classical literature, although this form could be possible: see LSJ *s.v.* νεωστί<sup>227</sup>; cf. Apoll. Dysc., *De adverbis* 1,1 p. 162 (Schneider, *Grammatici Graeci*) ἀπὸ ἐπιρρημάτων παρῆχθαι τῶν εἰς ὡς περατουμένων, ὥστε ἐν προσθέσει τοῦ τι ἀποτελεῖσθαι, μεγάλως μεγαλωστί, νέως νεωστί, ἱερῶς ἱερωστί. In any case, if the correct reading is νέως (and not νέων), then it should be translated as “recently, lately, just now”, not “newly”.

## νομίμως\*

Although the adverb is used by classical authors (see LSJ *s.v.* νόμιμος III; Lampe *s.v.*), in papyri so far it occurs only in legal documents and clauses of the Roman and

<sup>227</sup> See H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, “Lexicographical Notes on Delphic Oracles”, *CR* 60, 1946, 11-13, esp. 12, no 13.

Byzantine period; cf. also in inscriptions: Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 24 (A.D. 68).

It also appears in a private letter, *SB XXIV 16267* (III A.D.), sent from Eumelos to Ammonios, telling him not to pay attention to an administrator, who troubled him, and “if we have done anything, we have done it according to the law”, (ll. 7-8) λόγον αὐτοῦ μή ἔχε. εἴ τι ἐπράξ[ . . .]αμεν, νομίμως | ἐπράξαμεν. The entire phrase seems to be colloquial, and the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἐπράξαμεν; cf. Xenophon *Cyrop.* 4.5.17 καλῶς καὶ νομίμως ποιήσῃν ἄν: Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, fr. 17 ὅσα μὲν δικαίως καὶ νομίμως ποιήσουσιν.

[νωθρῶς] – νωθρότερον\*

The adverb (see LSJ *s.v.* νωθρός I 1) is not attested in papyri, but its comparative with the meaning “more languorously” occurs in the private letter *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 7-9 (A.D. 76) νωθρότερον ἐσχικέναι καὶ | ἔτι πάλαι κομ[ψ]ότη[ρον] ἐσχη|κῶς, “I was rather lethargic for only a very few days and have been feeling better for some time”.

οικείως

For examples of the adverb in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* οικεῖος B; Lampe *s.v.* The only certain instance of the adverb, with the meaning “familiarily”, in the papyri is in an official document, a petition of Dionysia to the Prefect, *P.Oxy.* II 237, vii 25 (A.D. 186) μὴ ἀποξευχθῆναι γυναικὸς οικείως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχούσης. Moreover, it occurs in an inscription, in Bernard 1992, no 40, 4-5 and 20-21 (47 and 44 B.C.) Πάρις ὁ συγγενὴς φιλανθρώπως χρώμενος τῇ συνόδωι... ἐπεὶ Πάρις ὁ συγγενὴς, οικείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένους. The comparative of the adverb occurs in an official document, *BGU VIII 1767*, 5-6 (64-63 B.C.) οικειότερον | διαλεχθεῖς. In addition, the same form is restored in a Zenon papyrus, *P.Col.* IV 112, 3-4 (275-226 B.C.) ἀντιλαμβανόμε[ενος] ἡμῶν | [οικειό]τε[ρον], but the restoration is debatable.

At the beginning of a private letter, *P.Princ.* III 166 (II-III A.D.) (= *C.Pap.Hengstl* 58), which was sent by Besas to Eidos, we read the usual greeting formulas (ll. 1-4: Βησᾶς χρυσοχοῦς Εἰδῶς | πολλὰ χαίρειν. ἀσπάζομαι | σε πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων(ν) (τέκνῳ *pap.*) | σου). In the following lines some instructions are given concerning the transfer of the dead body of the sender’s father to a certain place: ll. 4-8 κόμισον τὸν πατέρα | μου τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἀσφά|λισον ἕως ἂν σὺν θεῶ | ἀναπλεύσω εἰς ἐκφορά[ν]. δῶ|σ<ε>ις οικείως. The adverb οικείως in l. 8 occurs in a clause that contains only the verb and the adverb and this reading was indicated as uncertain. As can be seen in the photograph (<http://pudl.princeton.edu/sheetreader.php?obj=xp68kj79q>), I would propose to read the adverb ὑγιῶς in the new text of ll. 6-8 (see *s.v.* ὑγιῶς, p. 255): κόμισον τὸν πατέρα | μου τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἀσφά|λισον<sup>228</sup> ἕως ἂν σὺν θεῶ | ἀναπλεύσω ἵνα παραδω|θεῖ (ll. 6-7 *l.* παραδο|θῆ) μοι, ὑγιῶς. However, I could not read the text in ll. 8-10 with certainty: instead of *ed. princ.*’s οὐ πάλιν | ἀμελ<ε>ῖς ὑπὲρ κτήσεως. εἰς ἄλ|λην ἡμ[έρα]ν τὸ σῶμα θάψης (*l.* θάψεις), “you are not again neglectful of the property. You will bury the body on another day”, I can read οὐ πάλιν | ἀμελ<ε>ῖς παρετησεις εἰς ἄλ|λην ἡ[ . . . ] ἡ τὸ σῶμα θάψης.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Johannes Chr., *PG* 50, 816 ἀσφαλίζου τὸν τάφον· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλίζη· φρούρησον νεκρὸν, μὴ φύγη. ἔχετε, φησί, κουστῶδιαν. ὑπάγετε· ἀσφαλίσασθε, ὡς οἴδατε.

οικτρῶς

For its attestations in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* οἰκτρός II. In Egypt it appears only in a school exercise copying a letter of Hadrian to Antoninus, with the meaning “piteously”, *P.Fay.* 19, 2-4 (II A.D.) ὄ[τι ο]ὔτε ἀφ[ρ]εῖ οὔτε|ε ἀλόγως | οὔτε οἰκτρῶς οὔτε ἀπ[ρο]ς]δοκίτω[ς] | [οὔτε ἀνοή]τως ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ βίου[υ] (cf. also ll. 17-19).

ὀκνηρῶς(\*?)

For its attestations in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* ὀκνηρός. The adverb is restored in a letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Lond.* VII 2090, 6 (middle III B.C.) ]ς μὴ ὀκνηρῶ[ς, but the meaning “reluctantly” and the restoration are debatable, since the reading ὀκνηρῶ[ could be also regarded as an adjective (dative singular or genitive plural).

ὀλιγῶρως\*

The adverb appears in the classical literature with the meaning “neglectfully, carelessly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὀλιγῶρος). In papyri it is attested in two documents, dated to the Ptolemaic period (specifically in III B.C.): In the petition *P.Enteux.* 75, 10 and 12 (222 B.C.) ὀλιγῶρως χρησάμενος and ὀλιγῶρως χρήσασθαι, where the wrong spelling is due to phonological reasons. In addition, in the private letter *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59057, 6-7 (257 B.C.) λαβὲ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ὑποζύ|γιον, ὃ ἂν σοι δῶι, καὶ ἐξάγαγέ μοι, καὶ μὴ ὀλιγῶρως, the adverb modifies the verb ἐξάγαγε or another implied imperative, i.e. πράξαι; for the occurrence in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177. On the other hand, the restored text in the official letter *P.Apoll.* 13, 7 (A.D. 676?) ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὀλιγῶ[ρως ἐγράφη μοι] χθὲς περὶ τούτου πάλιν, “envoyez-moi le dit or, attendu que j’ai reçu hier encore à ce sujet une lettre (de l’émir) qui ne badinait pas”, is uncertain, since alternatively, a form of the verb ὀλιγῶρῶ or of the noun ὀλιγῶρία can also be restored.

ὀλίγως\*

The adverb is rare in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ὀλίγος V, citing 2 *Ep.Pet.* 2.18, *Aq. Is.* 10.7; *AP* 12.205 (Strat.); cf. also Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 43, 83 οὐκ ὀλ[ι]γῶς α[ί]μα βοὸς κέχυ[τ]αι; 80, 21 τοῦ Πυλίου κρ]έσσονας οὔ|κ ὀλίγως; see Bauer *s.v.*

In papyri it occurs only in private letters of the Roman and Byzantine period, usually in the figure of *litotes*, οὐκ ὀλίγως, “not a little”, therefore “very much”, and, especially, when someone wants to express that there are many worries because a certain situation is beset by difficulties (cf. the same use in οὐ μικρῶς):

*O.Krok.* I 96, 5-6 (c. A.D. 108 – 115) οὐκ ὀλίγος (*l.* ὀλίγως) | ἀγωνιῶ[ι] περὶ σοῦ; *P.Wisc.* II 84, 24-26 (late II A.D.) οὐκ ὀλίγως γὰρ | ἀγωνιῶ μέρ[ε]ι οὔ μάθω | τὰ περὶ σοῦ; *P.Haun.* II 21, 14-16 (III-IV A.D.) ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελῆς μου, οὐχ (*l.* οὐκ) ὀλίγως | γὰρ λοιποῦμαι (*l.* λυποῦμαι) μηδὲν σοῦ ἐπιστείλентός (*l.* ἐπιστείλαντός) | μου (*l.* μοι); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3997, 7-8 (III-IV A.D.) ἀλλὰ τῶ πατρί μου ἔγρα|ψας, οὐκ ὀ[λι]λίγως ἀπ<ε>ιλῶν μοι; *P.Oxy.* IX 1223, 16-17 (c. A.D. 370) οὐκ ὀλίγως | γὰρ ἐνοχλούμεθα, “for I am being worried not a little”; *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3420, 37-39 (IV A.D., probably A.D. 330 – 385) τὸ ἔριον εἰς τὰ πρόβατα ἐμερί|σθη ὅπως ὁ ἀγροφύλαξ πληρῶ|σαι, καὶ ο[ύ]κ ὀλίγως; *SB XIV* 11882, 3-4 (IV-V A.D.) ἀκού[σ]ας, δέσποτα, εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀφύγγιον οὐκ ὀλίγως ἔσκο|τῶθη κέτυ (*l.* καίτοι) γε πρὸ πολλοῦ \τοῦτον/ τὸν φόβον ἔχων, “when I heard, my lord, the things pertaining to Aphyngios I was not a little perplexed, and then I had this fear for a long time”; *P.Herm.* 16, 2 (V A.D.) ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὀλίγως θλίβεται.

In *P.Laur.* IV 187, 6-7 (II A.D.) πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἔλα[ι]α ἅ ἔπεμ[ψα σοι] καλά ἐστὶν χωρὶς μό|[νων τε]σσάρων οὖς (*l. ä*) ὑπονοῶ ὀλιγ[ι]ως πυρρὰ εἶναι, the restoration is debatable, because both the sense of ὀλιγως is not the required one here, and also the space can accommodate more than the two narrow letters ιγ, which are proposed in the edition (cf. the restoration in ll. 4 and 5, where more letters are restored); see photograph in <http://www.psi-online.it/images/orig/P.%20Laur.%20IV%20187%20r.jpg?1401531436>. Since ὀλ[ι] and ]ως seem to be the correct readings, one would try to restore another adverb, e.g. ὀλ[ως ?]ῶς, “entirely” or “actually”, followed by another adverb ending in -ως, e.g. οὕτ[ως] or ἰκαν]ῶς (“too red”).

#### ὀλομερῶς

See LSJ *s.v.* ὀλημερής, citing only Arist. *Apud Diogenes Laertius* 5.28, with the meaning “in entire parts”. The adverb is restored in a very fragmentary preserved part of a letter of the governor of Egypt, Kurrah ben Sharik, to the pagarches Basilius, ordering the recruitment of youths to be trained as ship’s carpenters and caulkers, *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 6, 27-29 (A.D. 710) καὶ ἀπαγγείλη ἡμῖ|[ν ὀλ]ομ]ερ[ῶς] | ἐὰν ἐξεκοιούθησας τῆ κε[λ]εύσει ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως π[ω]ς | διεπράξω, “and fully report to us whether you have followed our order or are somehow doing things otherwise”. However, the restoration is debatable. The word ὀλ]ο[σ]χ]ερ[ῶς], which can be an alternative, occurs only in official documents of the Ptolemaic period (see *s.v.*, p. 196).

#### ὀλοσχερῶς – ὀλοσχερέστερον

It appears in an official document, *P.Tor.Choach.* 12 vii 25-27 (117 B.C.) συνχωρητέον εἶναι πλείονα ἐνιαυτοῦ ἢ καὶ ἐτῶν | δύο ἢ τριῶν τῆ προθεσμίας καὶ ταύτην μηδ’ ὀλοσχερῶς πᾶσιν, | ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔχουσιν τι δίκαιον, with the meaning “in a general way”; see LSJ *s.v.* ὀλοσχερής II 3; Mayser 1936, 124; cf. also in an honorary inscription in Bernard 1992, no 46, 20 (39 B.C.) τὸν γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὀλοσχερῶς ἀνέθετο τοῖς χρῆσθαι βουλομένοις. In addition, the comparative occurs in the official correspondence in *UPZ* I 110, 80-82 (164 B.C.) καὶ συνέβαινε ἡμᾶς, οἷς ἢ τῶν ὄλω|[ν] | ἐπὶ κέ[ι]ται φ[ρ]οντίς, ὀλοσχερέστ[ε]ρον ἐπε\σ/τακκέ|ναι, with LSJ (*loc. cit.*), citing Galen 2.901; cf. also *s.v.* ὀλομερῶς, p. 196.

#### ὀλοψύχως\*

The adverb is used in the theological texts of the Byzantine period to indicate that an action is accomplished by someone with his whole soul (see LSJ *s.v.* ὀλόψυχος; Lampe *s.v.*). With the same meaning it occurs in a private letter of the sixth century A.D., *SB V* 7655, 7 φιλεῖτε ἐμὲ ὀλοψύχως.

#### ὄλω\*

The adverb occurs with various meanings in the private letters:

(1) see LSJ *s.v.* ὄλος III 1 “wholly, altogether”, “entirely”; Bauer *s.v.* This is mainly attested in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59028, 6-7 (258 B.C.?) [καὶ] περὶ τοῦ ὀψωνίου ἔπίσκεψαι· ὄλωσ οὐκ εἰλήφαμεν | ἀλλ’ ἢ ἅπαρ, καὶ τοῦτο ὃ σὺ τοῖς Δημητρίοις ἀπέστειλας δοῦναι ἡμῖν; *UPZ* I 78, 37-42 (after 159 B.C.) καλλεῖο (*l. καλλίω*) ταῦτ’ (*l. ταῦθ’*) ὄλωσ; see n. *ad loc.*; *P.Oxy.* IV 743, 21-23 (2 B.C.) καὶ | γὰρ ἐγὼ ὄλος (*l. ὄλωσ*) διαπον[ο]ῦμαι εἰ “Ἐλε|νος χαλκοῦς ἀπόλε[σ]εν (*l. ἀπώλεσεν*); *P.Oxy.* IV 744, 3-5 (1 B.C.) γίνωσκε ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξαν|δρέα (*l. Ἀλεξαν|δρε<ι>α*) σμεν (*l. ἔσμεν*)· μὴ ἀγωνιᾶς ἐὰν ὄλωσ εἰσ|πορεύονται (*l. εἰσ|πορεύωνται*), ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρέα (*l.*

Ἀλεξανδρε<ί>α) μενῶ; *P.Mich.* VIII 473, 24-28 (early II A.D.) ἐχάρην ὅλως | [ἔ]τι ἐζηκε[ν]; *P.Oxy.* XII 1482, v 8-9 (II A.D.) ὅσα πεπο<ι>ή>κα|μεν \ί/να {ε}ισχύσωμεν \ὄλως/ μετενέγκαι τὰ ἄλλα | σὺν θεοῖς.

(2) see LSJ *s.v.* ὅλος III 2 “on the whole, speaking generally, in short”. There is only one example in *PSI Congr.* XX 11, 15-25 (second half of II A.D.) καὶ ὅλως διὰ τὴν πρόφρασιν | ταύτην.

(3) see LSJ *s.v.* ὅλος III 3 “not at all”. This meaning is found in the Roman and the Byzantine period.

*BGU* IV 1097, 5-7 (A.D. 41-67) περὶ δὲ Σαραπᾶτος τοῦ υἱοῦ οὐ καταλέλυ|κε παρ' ἐμὲ ὄλως, ἀλλὰ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς παρεμ|βολὴν στρατεῦ<σ>σθαι; *P.Sarap.* 87, 3-4 (A.D. 90-133) ἄμεινον ἦν ἄδελφε μηδ' ὄλως | ὑποσχέσθαι ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐρ{ε}ίδια; *P.Giss.* I 72, 3-7 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 27; A.D. 113-120) πολλὰς [σοι ἐπι]στολὰς ἔγραψα με|τὰ τὸ ἀ[παναχω]ρῆσαι σε ἐμοῦ καὶ με|τὰ τ[ᾶ] πράγματ[α] ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἐγε|νόμ[ε]θ[α] ὁμοῦ(?) οὐδ' ὄλως πρὸς οὐδεμί|αν τ[. . . . .] |] ἐπέστειλās μοι; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 20, 7-10 (A.D. 113-117) τῶν δού|[λω]ν τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἕως τούτου οὐχ εὔρον. | ὄλως γὰρ π[αρ] | ἐ[μ]οὶ οὔτε ἡ ἀπὸ σοῦ εἰς Ἀχιλλέα ὠνὴ | [ε]ῦρέθη οὔτ[ε] ἡ ἀπὸ Ἀχιλλέως εἰς τὴν εὐμοῖρον; *P.Gen.* I 74, 3-13 (A.D. 139-145) λέγων (l. λέγοντος) ὅτι: «ἦνεκκα (l. ἦνεγκα) ἀναφόριον τοῦ δικαί|οδοτόου» καὶ ὄλως ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βιβλ{ε}ίον | ἴχαμεν (l. εἴχομεν), which also be taken to mean “actually” (see below (4)); fragmentary *P.IFAO* II 14, 3 (II A.D.) ]ον σε μηδ' ὄλως; *BGU* VII 1675, 17-19 (II A.D.) ὅκ (l. οὐκ) ἔσ|τιν ὄλως ἀρταβ( ) | φόλετρα (l. φόρετρα) Τάνεως; *P.Oxy.* I 121, 15-17 (III A.D.) μὴ ἀφῆς αὐ|τοὺς ἀργῆσε (l. ἀργῆσαι) ὄλους (l. ὄλως); II. 25-27 τοὺς τέκτονες (l. τέκτονας) | μὴ ἀφῆς ὄλως ἀργῆσε (l. ἀργῆσαι) | ὄχλει αὐτοῖς; *P.Flor.* III 367, 9-10 (III A.D.) σὺ οὐδὲ ὄλως ἠξίωσας καθ' ὄντι|νου ἄντροπον μεμνησθαι μο[υ]; *P.Oxy.* VII 1070, 47-49 (III A.D.) πολλακίς ἐμοῦ γρά|φαντος ὑμ{ε}ῖν ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ὄλως ἐγράψατε οὐδὲ ἐμνήσθητέ μου περὶ τῆς | ἀσφαλείας τῆς οἰκίας ἡμῶν; also II. 54-55 πολλακίς ἐλθόντος πρὸς ἐμ[ε] οὐ τεθελήκατε αὐτῶ διδόναι ἐπιστο|λὰς οὐδ' ὄλως α[ὐτῶν] προσήκατε; *SB XVI* 12982, 13-14 (III A.D.) ὅτι οὐχ ὑπάρχ<ε> | ὄλως ἐν [τῇ] | [Ἀ]λε[ξ]ανδρί[α] (l. [Ἀ]λεξανδρία); *P.Oxy.* LI 3646, 6-7 (III-IV A.D.) οὕτως (l. οὔτως) δὲ ἠμέλησεν | καὶ οὐ προσέχ<ε> | ὄλως αὐτοῖς; *P.Ammon* I 3, iv 16-17 (A.D. 348?) τί δὲ ὄλως [ . . . ] διάγεις προσ|ελθεῖν τάξει ἀρχιερέως περὶ τούτου; II. vi, 11-12 καὶ μηδὲ ὄλως αὐτὴν ἀθύμω[ς] | [---] | σης; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3864, 16-18 (V A.D.) καὶ εἰσήλυθεν (l. εἰσηλθεν) ὁ στρατηλάτης | πρὸς μου καὶ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν οὔτε στρατιώ|τας ἔχ<ε> | ὄλος (l. ὄλως); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3150, 29-34 (VI A.D.) μὴ οὖν ὀλιγω|ρήσατε δι' ἐμὲ | ὄλως, ἀλλὰ | μνημονεύσατέ | με ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ | ἡμῶν (l. ὑμῶν); *P.Fouad* I 85, 2 (VI-VII A.D.) οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ἐπ{ε}ῖ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν οὔτε ὄλως ἠξείουν (l. ἠξίου) σε λόγου \τοῦ τυχόντος/; *P.Gen.* IV 168, 18-19 (late VI-early VII A.D.) καὶ γὰρ, ὡς νομίζω, διὰ τὴν | αἰσχύνην οὐχ ἠῦρεν ἀντιγράψαι αὐτῶ ὄλως. ταῦτα γράφω ἀσπαζό[μενος] | τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφικὴν περιβλε[πτότητα]; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1862, 16-19 (c. A.D. 624?) ἐν | ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδοῦ τέσσαρες μῆνας ἔχει | ἐξ ὅτε ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἄλλο ἕνα (l. ἐν) οὐ δύναται (l. δύναται) | ὄλως (l. ὄλως) καμ<ε> | ἔχει μῆνα (ν) ἡμερῶν (l. ἡμερῶν) σήμερ(ον).

(4) see LSJ *s.v.* ὄλος III 4 “actually, really”. This meaning seems to occur in the Byzantine period.

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1676, 26-34 (after A.D. 324) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐλ|[θοῦ]σα τῶ Μεσορῆ πρὸς | [ῥημᾶ]ς ἵνα ὄλως ἴδωμέν σε; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 25, 16 (IV A.D.) εἰ ὄλως ἔδοξέ σοι γράψαι (l. γράψαι) [μο]ι<sup>229</sup>.

There are some texts, which are preserved in a fragmentary condition, where the meaning of the adverb is uncertain:

*BGU* IV 1043, 23-24 (III A.D.) ] | ὄλως π[ροσ]φιλής σου γεν[όμενος(?) ---; *O.Elkab* 202 (II A.D.); *P.IFAO* II 21, 11 (II-III A.D.); restored and debatable in *P.Mich.* VIII 464, 7-8 (A.D. 99) [καὶ τὰ σπ]έγματα πάντα ἐκ|[β]ήσονται ὄλως; *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 16 (early II A.D.); *P.Rain.Cent.* 162, 8 (VII A.D.?) ἀλλὰ ποιεῖ με ὄλως εἰ ταῦτα μετὰ σοῦ χρῆ | [---; see n. *ad loc.*

<sup>229</sup> In official letters the adverb occurs with various meanings: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1106, 4-7 (VI A.D.) γενοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰρημένην κώμην καὶ παραφύλαξον | αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον. καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπι|[χ]ειρήσουσιν παράνομόν τι κατ' ἐκείνων πράξαι | ἢ ὄλως ἐνθυμηθῆναι. παρεγγύησον τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν αὐτῶν ἀποσχέσθαι | τοῦ τοιοῦτου τολμήματος, with the meaning “on the whole”; *P.Apoll.* 18, 4 (A.D. 660-661 or 675-676) καὶ ἔφυγον καὶ ἀνῆλθαν καὶ οὐδὲ ὄλως ἦλθαν πρὸς μέ, with the meaning “not at all”; *P.Apoll.* 60, 9 (second half of VII A.D.) [ἀποστεῖ]λαι αὐτὸν ὄλως ἐν τῇ Λάτων; *P.Apoll.* 65, 8-9 (second half of VII A.D.) καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ αὐτὸς Κύρις Σευῆρος μὴ ζητῆσαι ὄλως |[---. In other official documents it usually occurs with the meaning “not at all”, e.g. *BGU* XIX 2762 ii 4; *P.Abinn.* 63, 42-43; *P.Aktenbuch* vi 13-14; *P.Hamb.* III 230, 4. In *P.Fay.* 106, 15 the adverb is restored. In *P.Heid.* IX 424 ii 18, if the proposed reading is correct, it has the meaning “entirely”.

In *BGU* III 884, r, II 1-7 (c. A.D. 75-85) π[έ]μψαι μοι [ . . . ] ξ (τάλαντα) ἔπεμψα — | ἵνα ὥλως (l. ὅλως) σχῶ κέραμον αἰρίν (l. αἰρεῖν) — | ἔλεγέ μοι Σαρᾶς Ὀρίων ἐν τῇ | πόλει, ὅτι ἔχω (l. ἔχω) [ . . . ] σοι δῶ|ναι (τάλαντα) [ . . . ], ἔγραψα [δὲ] καὶ τῶι | Ὀρίωνι ἐπιστολὴν τούτου | ἔνεκα, ἐπὶ (l. ἐπεὶ) ἐπίγυ (l. ἐπείγει) με, the reading is debatable.

#### ὁμοίως\*

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ὁμοιος II; Bauer *s.v.*, “in like manner”; for its meaning “in gleicher Weise” in the Ptolemaic period see Maysner 1936, 124. Although the adverb is one of the best recorded words in the papyri, its occurrence in private letters is only 2% (65 out of 3192 so far in DDBDP). In these letters the adverb modifies various verbs: e.g. with the meaning “send”:

E.g. *P.Tebt.* III 762, 12-13 (late III B.C.) ἴμοίως δέ/ καὶ ἐάν τινα ἔχης ἀπ[ο]σ|τ[ε]ῖλαι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα; *P.Yale* I 40, 20-22 (middle of II B.C.) οἴνου κεράμια θ | ὁμοίως οὐ ἀπέστειλας ἡμῖν | πέρυσι; *BGU* I 93, 24-25 (II-III A.D.) καὶ τὸ λωδίκιν | διάπεμψαι μοι ὁμοίως; *P.Flor.* II 196, 2-5 (A.D. 249-260) παράδος... ὁμοίως οἰνοπώλη; *P.Berl.Zill.* 11, 18-19 (III A.D.) καὶ ὁμοίως πέμψον Ἡρα|κλείδην πορφύρας etc.; the verb ἀσπάζεται in *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 65-66 (A.D. 117); *SB* V 7567, 2 (III A.D.) etc.

#### ὁμολογουμένως

For attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.*; Spicq 1978, 621-622; Bauer *s.v.* It occurs in the lawsuit against Hermias, in *P.Tor.Choach.* 11 bis, 65-66 (119 B.C.) ὁμολογουμένως δ' ἐπὶ συκο|φαντίαι καὶ <δια>σεισῶν ἐπαγιοχό[τος τὸ] ἔγκλημα; *P.Tor.Choach.* 12, v 32-33 (A.D. 117) ὥστε ὁμολογουμένως | ἑαυτοῦ καταμαρτυροῦντα συμφανῆς καθεστακέαι. Moreover, in an official statement to the logistes, *SB* VI 9192, 6-7 (A.D. 314-315) ὥστε τὰ ὁμολ[ογου]||[μ]ένως αὐτῇ ὀφειλόμενα [ἀ]προδοθῆναι αὐτῇ, and an official document, *SB* XII 11039, 4 (IV-V A.D.), as corrected in this book; see corrections, p. 283, *s.v.* ἐξομολογουμένως.

#### ὄντως\*

Although the adverb was used in the Greek classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.*), the only instance in the Ptolemaic period is in the edict of Herodes, *UPZ* I 110, 139 (164 B.C.) τοῖς δὲ δυνη[σ]ομένοις ὄντως γεω[ργεῖν]. It is also attested in the edict of Germanicus, *SB* I 3924, 38-40 (A.D. 19) πρέπουσι γὰρ μόνω τῶι σωτῆρι | ὄντως καὶ εὐεργέτη τοῦ σύνπαντος | τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους.

It occurs in two private letters of the Roman period, but both instances are uncertain: In *P.Mert.* I 12, 3-6 (A.D. 59) κομισάμενός σου ἐπι[στολ(ῆ)ν] | οὕτως περιχαρῆς ἐγενόμη[ν] ὡς εἶ | ὄντως ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐγεγόνειν, ἄ[νευ] | γὰρ ταύτης οὐθέν ἐστιν. The phrase ὡς εἶ (or even ὡσεὶ) ὄντως does not occur in Greek, and other restorations, such as ὡς καὶ ὄντως or ὡς δὲ ὄντως, might be possible. On the other hand, I find it difficult to restore an adverb ending in -όντως: e.g. the restoration ἐπεὶ δε]όντως does not give sense. In *P.Giss.* I 22, 3-9 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 2) (A.D. 113-120; presumably A.D. 117; see *BL* XIII, on p. 101) [πρὸ π]άν[τ]ων εὐχομ[α]ί σε | [τὸν ἀγ]αθ[ὸν] ἀσπ[ά]σθαι [καὶ] τὴν | [γλυκυ]τάτην σου ὄψιν προσκυ|[νῆσαι] νῦν ὄντως ἀμοιβ[ῆ]ν | [ἥδη] τῆς εὐσεβείας μου ἀ|[πολ]αμβανούσης/ σε ἀπρόσ|[κοπ]ῶν καὶ ἰλαρώτατον, the reading is not certain<sup>230</sup>.

<sup>230</sup> However, the letter between the two ν of what is read as νῦν at the beginning of the l. 6 is not ν, but it looks like ι. Since there is space between this vertical and the first ν, one could assume there another letter, probably γ. However, I cannot offer any suitable alternative reading.



It is also uncertain if we have to understand the adverb in another private letter, *P.Ant.* I 43, 2-4 (late III-IV) ἐ|λθὲ ἀπ' ἐ|μοῦ ὄντος (*l.* ὄντως) οὐκ ἔστιν μάχη ἀνὰ μέσο(ν) | ἀλλήλους (*l.* ἀλλήλων). This regularization was proposed by S.G. Kapsomenos to the editor C.H Roberts (see *ed. princ.* 3n.), who translated “come to me; there is really no fighting at all in the country between us”.

In the private and the official letters, but also other documents, of the Byzantine period, the adverb is used with the meaning “really, actually, verily” (see LSJ *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*).

**Private letters:** *P.Apoll.* 65, 10 (c. second half of VII A.D.) ὄν|τως Θεοῦ κελεύ|οντος; *P.Apoll.* 67, 7 (c. second half of VII A.D.) ὄντως ἐν μεγάλη περιστάσει ἐστί; *P.Herm.* 51, 1 (VII A.D.) καὶ ὄντως ἐὰν μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός [---]; *P.Stras.* IX 840, 4 (VII A.D.) ὄντως γὰρ οὐκ ἐστί; *CPR* V 25, 2-3 (VII-VIII A.D.?) ἐδεξάμην δὲ τὰ διὰ Στεφανακίου τοῦ \ποτε/ παιδὸς τοῦ κύρου Θεοδώρου γραφέντα καὶ ὄντως μεγάλως ἠμέλησεν ὁ τρ|ε|ισκατάρτος | οἰκοδόμος Σενοῦσης.  
**Official letters:** *CPR* XXX 3, 1 (c. A.D. 643-644) ὄντως κατὰ νοῦν εἶχον παρακαλ|έσαι; *CPR* XXX 15, 2-3 (c. A.D. 643-644) πλὴν ὄντ[ως ---] | ἐλυπήθην πάνυ; *P.Apoll.* 18, 1 (A.D. 660-661 or 675-676?) ὄντως Θεοῦ κελεύοντος, Κύρι Παπᾶς, οὐ δύναται βαλεῖν ἡμᾶς; *P.Apoll.* 33, 3 (second half of VII A.D.) οὕτως γὰρ εἶπέν μοι ὡς ὄντως|ς | ἐπι|ρίψετε αὐτό; I. 6 ἐπᾶν \οῦν/ οὐκ ἐλάβετε τὸ χρυσίον, ὄντως κεντηνάρι|ον ξυλοκαυσίμου; *P.Apoll.* 37, 11 (second half of VII A.D.) καὶ ὄντως ὁ Σατανᾶς ἠνεγκέν μοι; *P.Apoll.* 38, 1 (second half of VII A.D.) ὄντως εἰ οἶδε|; *P.Lond.* III 1075, 8 (VII A.D.) καὶ ὄντ[ω]ς ἐθαύμασα. **Contract:** *P.Mich.* XIII 663, 9 (VI A.D.). **Petitions:** (Roman period) *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 18 (= *P.Coll.Youtie* II 66; A.D. 258) τὸν ὄντως σπου|---; (Byzantine period) *SB* VI 9218, 14 (A.D. 319-320?)<sup>231</sup>.

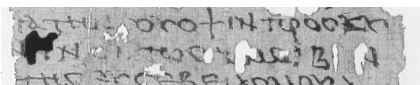
#### ὀποτέρως\*

It appears in documents of the third century B.C. and of the second century A.D., with the meaning “in which of two ways” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὀπότερος II 1; Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 178). In four of five cases it modifies the verb οἰκονομῶ:

In a business letter to Zenon, *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59225, 7-8 (253 B.C.) ὀποτέρως δ' ἂν οἰκονομήσης, χαριεῖ μοι γράφας τὴν ταχίστην, ἵνα εἰδῶ εἰ | ὑπάρχει μοι. In the official document *P.Petr.* II 41 verso 10-11 (III B.C.) [ὀ]ποτέρως οὖν καὶ σὺ δοκιμάζεις | οὕτως [ἔ]σται it precedes and modifies δοκιμάζεις, while οὕτως follows (cf. Plato *Prot.* 320c ὀποτέρως βούλοιο οὕτως διεξιέναι). In the third century A.D. it occurs in a phrase to indicate “it has been made known whatever had to be administered in any way”: *CPR* VII 10 (A.D. 229) 1-22 [ἐ]γνώσθη ἡ [γ]νομή|νον [ὀ]φεί|λον | ὀποτέρως [οἰ]κονομηθῆναι; see *P.Cair.Pris.* 9, 10-11 (A.D. 242-243) ὅτι δ' [ἡ]γνομημένον(?) (or ἄ[γ]νωστον ἦ) | ὀφείλον ὀποτέρως οἰκονομηθῆ|ναι ἐγνώσθη(?); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2241, 8-9 (A.D. 283-284) ἐγ|νώσθη ἡγνομημένον ὀφείλ(ον) ὀποτέ| [ρω]ς οἰκονομηθῆναι; see *P.Cair.Pris.* 9, 10-12n.

#### ὀρθῶς\*

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ὀρθός III 2; Bauer *s.v.*; for its meaning “richtig” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124. The adverb appears in the ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα-clause of the contracts of the Roman and Byzantine periods (with its earliest example being *P.Mich.* XV 707, 21-22 (after A.D. 185)), usually as περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς γενέσθαι ἐπερωτηθέντες (or -θεῖς) ὠμολόγησαν (or -σα or -σε)<sup>232</sup>.



(<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pgiss-inv097recto.jpg>)

<sup>231</sup> In *P.Fam.Tebt.* 28, 19 ὄντως → *l.* ὄντων.

<sup>232</sup> The adverb is found rarely in other official or other types of private documents (apart from the private letters): In **official documents:** *P.Petr.* III 56 (b), 9-10 (259 or 258 B.C.) τὰ χωματικά πραγμα|τεύεσθαι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως; cf. *P.Petr.* III 56 (c), 1 (III B.C.); *P.Fuad I Univ.* App. I no 3, 8-9 (229 B.C.) καὶ ἀνοίσειν | τὰ πίπτουσα πάντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως; *P.Köln* XVI 645, 6 (III B.C.?) οὐκ ὀρθῶς πεπ[ράχ]ατε. In **petitions:** a fragmentary *P.Enteux.* C, 8 (246-205 B.C.) μοι δοκεῖς ὀρθῶς; *UPZ* I 16, 28-29 (156 B.C.) καὶ εἰς τὸ

The first occurrence of the adverb in Egypt is in an inscription, *OGIS* 48, 7-10 (278-277 B.C.; = *SB* V 8852) καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως προέστρησαν ὀρθῶντες τινὰς τῶν πολιτῶν [μ]ὴ ὀρθῶς ἀνα[στρ]εφόμενους καὶ θόρυβον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα παρ[έ][χ]οντας ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς [καὶ] ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. This modification of ἀναστρέφωμαι by ὀρθῶς can be found in two more texts which can be linked to Egypt; first, in Ezechiel 22,30 (the Septuagint) we read καὶ ἐζήτουν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἀναστρεφόμενον ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐστῶτα πρὸ προσώπου μου ὀλοσχερῶς ἐν καιρῷ τῆς γῆς τοῦ μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐξαλεῖψαι αὐτήν, καὶ οὐχ εὔρον. In the treatise *Conics* of the geometer Apollonius of Perga, who composed his work at Alexandria (as he stated himself in the prefatory letter regarding Book I) we read (Book 4, pref.) τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν προειρημένον Κόνων ὁ Σάμιος ἐξέθηκε πρὸς Θρασυδαῖον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν ἀναστραφεῖς. This indicates that this specific modification of ἀναστρέφω might be usual in Egypt of the third century B.C.

In the private letters of the Ptolemaic period, the adverb modifies the verb ποιεῖν (and only once the verb ἀναφέρειν):

In the Zenon archive: (a) letters sent from Apollonios to Zenon: *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59125, 1 (256 B.C.) ὀρθ[ῶς] ἐποίησας; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59142, 1 (256 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ἐποίησατε; *P.Ryl.* IV 560, 1-2 (256 B.C.) ὀρθῶς | ἐποίησας; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59180, 1 (255 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59202, 1 (254 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ἐποίησας; (b) other letters in the Zenon archive: *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59330, 6-7 (248 B.C.) καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν πλεονάκις ἐπεμαρτυρόμεν ἴασονι ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς | ποιῶσιν συμπεφωρηκότες; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59481, 13-17 (middle of III B.C.) τούτου γὰρ γενο|μένου κεράμια τε πλείω | καὶ ὀρθῶς χωνευθήσεται | καὶ ἡ πίσσα διατηρηθή|σεται; fragmentary preserved *P.Mich.* I 94, 2 (middle of III B.C.) ἀντ[ί]γρα|φά σοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς. Then, in *SB* V 7524, 3 (249 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ποιήσεις; *P.Bodl.* I 57, 3 (245 B.C.) ὀρθῶς οὖν ποιεῖς καὶ ἐπαινομε|ν---; *P.Col.* IV 88, 24-26 (243 B.C.) δίκαιον γὰρ ἐστίν σε τὸν παραλογιζό|μενον καὶ μὴ ἀναφέροντα ὀρθῶς τὰ γινόμενα | διὰ τῶν λόγων ἀποτίνειν τὰ διάφορα; *P.Eleph.* 9, 3 (223 B.C.) οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὖν ποιεῖς ἀ[ναβαλλόμενος] [τὰ π]ράγματα; *P.Sorb.* I 45, 4-5 (219 B.C.) ὀρθῶς | ποιήσεις; cf. the fragmentary preserved *P.Sorb.* I 39, 5 (222 B.C.); *P.Heid.* III 232, 2-3 (155 or 144 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ποιήσας (*l.* ποιήσεις) φροντίσας | ἡμῖν τὸ πᾶν; *P.Michael.* 7 (147 or 136 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ἐπ|οίησας δούς; *P.Tebt.* I 23, 7-8 (119 or 114 B.C.) οὐκ ὀρθῶς κρίνομεν | πέπρακταί σοι; *P.Tebt.* I 19, 10-12 (114 B.C.) σὺ δὲ | ὀρθῶς ποιήσεις τὸ προσάγγελμα μὴ ἐλατ|τώσας; *P.Amh.* II 38, 5-6 (II B.C.) ὀρθῶς οὖν | [ἐπο]ιήσας ἀ[κ]ολύσας αὐτῶν. The adverb is found in a private letter, *C.Jud.Syr.Eg.* 8 (101 B.C.) ὀρθῶς ποιήσετε καὶ | κεχαρισμένως ἐτοιμοὺς γενέσθαι | ὡς ἅμα ἡμῖν συνεξορησῆτε, “you will act well and do us a favour to be ready to set out together with us”; see the editors’ (E. Van’t Dack, W. Clarysse, G. Cohen, J. Quaegebeur, J.K. Winnicki) n. *ad loc.* “we consider this expression synonymous with καλῶς ποιήσετε καὶ χαρίζεσθε (sc. ἡμᾶς)”; also in *BGU* 8 1784, 8 (64-44 B.C.) ὀρθῶς οὖν ποιήσῃς (*l.* ποιήσεις); *BGU* VIII 1755, 8 (52 B.C.) καὶ τὰ οὖν ὀρθῶς ποιήσεις.

In the Roman period we find it preceding and modifying the verbal form χρήση, in the archive of Athenodoros:

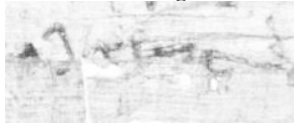
*BGU* XVI 2636, 13-16 (21-5 B.C.) ὀρθῶς δὲ χρήση τὸν Διογένη(ν) | μοι ταχύτερον ἀπολύσας [δια τῶ] προσδέομα[ι] | [.] [.] [.] γὰρ/ αὐτοῦ ἐναυθα διὰ τὸν τῆς | [συ]γκομιδῆς τῶν γεννημάτων καιρόν; *BGU* XVI 2652, 2 (c. 10-2 B.C.) ὀρθῶς χρήση δούς Ἀντωνίω.

---

λοιπὸν \δὲ/ εὐτάκτως ἀποδι[δο]σθαι | ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως μετὰ τῆς . . . [.] [.] [.] σίας; *P.Cair.Isid.* 62, 23 (A.D. 297) προορουμένη (*l.* προορωμένη) ὡς μὴ ὀρθῶς γεγενῆσθαι; *SB* XVIII 13769, 12 (A.D. 345-352?) ἀν|τιστρέφει τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς προηρημένους. In **proceedings**: *M.Chr.* 80, 44-45 (A.D. 85) Ἀριστόνικος· σὺ μὲν ζητ[εῖ]ς ὀρθῶς ταῦτα. ἐγὼ δὲ σοι τὸ | καθολικὸν λέγω. In **testaments**: *P.Cair. Masp.* III 67324, 14-15 (before A.D. 525-526) διὰ τὸ | οὕτως μοι ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως δεδόχθαι; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 86-87 (A.D. 570) ἐπέκεινα δὲ ὀρθῶς αὐτοὺς κληρονομήσαι. | ὡς ἔφην. πάντων τῶν ὄντων μοι παντοίων; II. 159-160 διὰ τὸ ἐμοὶ οὕτως ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως | δεδόχθαι; cf. also the disinheriting, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67353, 21-22 (A.D. 569) διὰ τὸ ἐμοὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικα[ίως] | δεδόχθαι. In **contracts** (not in the ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα-clause): *P.Lond.* II 483 (p. 323) (A.D. 615 or 616) διὰ τὸ οὕτω ὀρθῶς καὶ | δικαίως δεδόχθαι; *SB* I 4755, 11 (Byzantine period); cf. also the abbreviation ὀρθ( ) κερ( ) which is proposed to be resolved as ὀρθ(ῶς) κερ(άτια) “ordnungsgemäß x Keratien” in *Tyche* 12, 1997, 183, 3n.

For examples in the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.*

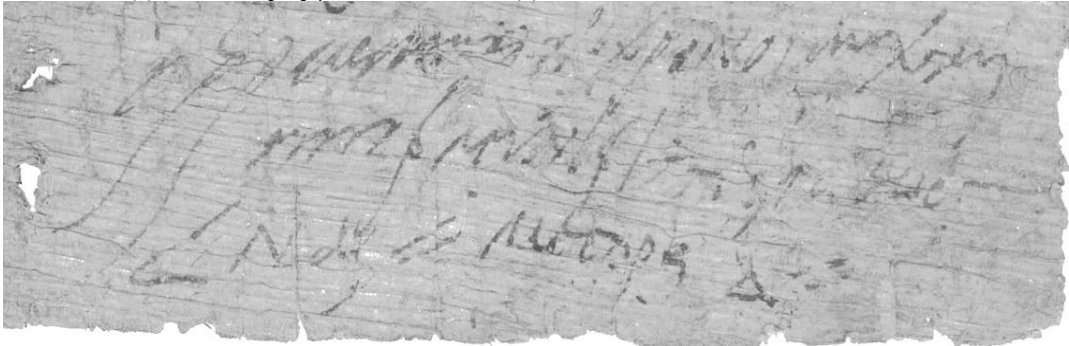
Both readings of the adverb in the *ed. princ.* of two private letters of the fourth century A.D. are wrong: As far as *P.Vindob.Sijp.* 27, 13 (III-IV A.D.) ὀρθῶς should be read



as οὐτως.

(<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004328>)

In *PSI VII 783*, 9-10 (A.D. 375) ἐρρῶσθ(αι) πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὐχομαι | πᾶτες ἀσύνκριτε (l. ἀσύγκριτε) ὀρθῶς, the papyrus reads not ὀρθῶς, but ἀληθῶς.



(<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;7;783>)

ὀρφανικῶς

For the adverb ὀρφανικῶς in the patristic literature see also Lampe *s.v.* “in the manner of orphans”. It is proposed to be restored in a petition addressed to the dux Fl. Marianos from a widow called Sophia (cf. also *s.v.* ἀγρίως), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005, 10 (c. A.D. 568) [ὀρφ]ανικῶς τὸν [βίον διατελοῦσα] (see *BL I*, on p. 100) instead of [τυρ]ανικῶς (l. [τυρ]ανικῶς) in *ed. princ.*

ὀσίως\*

For the attestations in literature see *LSJ s.v.* ὀσιος III; Bauer *s.v.* It is attested in a petition of Ptolemaios to the dioeketes, *UPZ I 34*, 12 (161 B.C.) (with its duplicates *UPZ I 35* und *36*), and refers to him that πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὀσίως διάκεισαι. This use is comparable with the one in an honorary inscription of the third century B.C., *OGIS 51*, 6-13 (285-246 B.C.; = *SB V 8855*) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δίονυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει, τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται, καὶ κατ’ ἴδιαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται, προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα, καλῶς δ’ ἔχει τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαινομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς, where there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως; in addition, in an honorary inscription in Bernard 1992, no 45, 25 (39 B.C.) ποιηθῆναι τὰς τῶν κυρίων θεῶν κωμασίας καὶ πανηγύρεις εὖ μάλα ὀσίως καὶ [κ]α[λ]ῶς. Cf. also the petition *BGU XIV 2375*, 25 (62-50 B.C.) πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀσίω[ς], (see W. Brashear’s n. *al loc.*, citing the inscription above), where the adverb or the phrase (modifying the verb διάκειμαι) can be restored accordingly. In addition, the adverb occurs in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ I 144*, 13-15 τοῖς θεοῖς, πρὸς οὓς ὀσίως καὶ {δικ}{αί} | δικαίως πολιτευσάμενος ἑμαυτὸν ἀμεμ|ψιμοίρητον παρέσχημαι.

The only instance in a private letter can be found in *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2193, 23-24 (late IV-early V A.D.; = *ChLA XLVII 1410*) γνῶθι οὖν ἀσφαλῶς | εἰ ἔχει τινὰ δικαιολογίαν καὶ συνέλθε ὀσίως, “make quite sure therefore if there is any justice in her plea, and assist her

as a Christian should”. On the other hand, J. O’Callaghan, *Cartas Cristianas Griegas del Siglo V*, Barcelona 1963, no 53 translated it as “honourably”: “considera, pues, certeramente si tiene alguna justicia en su alegación, y atiéndele honradamente”.

The last attestation of the adverb in Egypt is found in a judgement, *P.Paramone* 17, 6-7 (early VII A.D.) [κα]ἰ ὀσίως (l. ὀσίως) καὶ ἀκριβῶς | [κ]αθέζαντες (l. [κ]αθίσαντες) ἡμᾶς εἰς τῆ[ν μ]ερίτ<ε>ίαν; see also Fr. Morelli’s n. *ad loc.* concerning the use of ὀσίως in reference to the divine justice.

οὐδαμῶς\*

It appears in various documents of all periods with the meaning “in no wise”; see LSJ *s.v.*; Bauer *s.v.* It is considered as an adverb of ἀρνήσεως ἢ ἀποφάσεως by Dionysius Thrax *Ars grammatica* 1.1.78. The only certain occurrence in Egypt is in a private letter, *P.Köln* IV 186, 29 (II B.C.; = *LDAB* 65863) θανάτου μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄξιός ἐστιν [. Although the adverb is restored in *P.Med.* I 83, 8 (IV A.D.) and *P.Iand.* II 18, 2 (VII A.D.), these restorations are debatable, since other words can also be restored in the lacunae.

οὔτως (or οὔτω)\*

The adverb οὔτω(ς) was used in various official and private documents of all periods. In the Ptolemaic period the spelling οὔτω is mainly attested. Almost two thirds of the documents, where the adverb occurs, date from the Byzantine period. In the document of this period, the adverb is usually abbreviated, and it is often understood. The earliest certain attestations of the adverb in Egypt are provided by two private letters<sup>233</sup>: *P.Hib.* I 63, 10-11 (c. 265 B.C.) and *P.Petr.* II 16, 14 (after 265-264 B.C.) The latest attestation of οὔτως is provided by a register: *P.Lond.* IV 1428, 3<sup>234</sup> (A.D. 733 or 734)<sup>235</sup>. In the private letters οὔτως is used as:

(a1) Adverbial of Manner, with the meaning “in this way or manner” (see LSJ *s.v.* οὔτως I):

<sup>233</sup> The earliest occurrence of the adverb in papyri in an official letter, *P.Sorb.* I 9, 2 (268 B.C.). The final -ς is restored, and this restoration is debatable, if we consider the predominance of the form οὔτω. Documents which are dated in the third century B.C. are: an **official report**, *BGU* VI 1215, 16 (III B.C.); a **document about public works**, *P.Petr.* III 41 verso, 11 (III B.C.); **accounts** of the royal bank, *P.Petr.* III 65 (b), 17 (III B.C.); a **petition**, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59484, 15 (middle III B.C.); a fragment of a **letter** to Zenon, *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59577 (middle III B.C.); two **business letters**, *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59611, 7 and *SB* XXVI 16503, 4 (middle III B.C.); a part of a letter, *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59635, 5 (middle III B.C.); a document whose type is not determined, *P.Col.* IV 114, 2 (middle III B.C.); a private letter, *P.Petr.* III 42 (middle III B.C.) The adverb is also restored in a **petition** to the king, *PSI* IV 399, 11 (III B.C.).

<sup>234</sup> The adverb is also restored in the same line of the same document, and resolved in ll. 5, 7, 21 and 22. Moreover, it is attested in an official letter, which can be dated to the same year: *CPR* XIX 26, 2 (A.D. 718 or 733). It is resolved in a register of the same year or even later: *P.Lond.* IV 1416 A, 1a (A.D. 732-733; F, 66a; F, 69a (A.D. 734?). There is also a large number of documents which are dated to the eighth century A.D., where the adverb is attested, restored, resolved, or understood; it is likely that some of them could have been written after A.D. 734.

<sup>235</sup> Nikos Litinas has corrected *P.Vindob.Sijp.* 27, 13 (III-IV A.D.) ὀρθῶς to οὔτως (reading checked on a photograph); see above, p. 201, *s.v.* ὀρθῶς.

Cf. *BGU* X 1996, 12-15 (241 B.C.) [c. 16 letters] ἀ|πομέτρησ[ο]ν αὐτῶι, οὐ | οὖν οὕτως πό<ι>ει καὶ μὴ ἄλ|ως ποιήσης; *P.Mert.* I 22, 6-8 (II A.D.) δι' ὅπερ παρακληθεὶς γράφε | μοι συνεχῶς ἵνα διαγνῶ σε | οὕτως με ἡ[γ]απηκότα; *P.Oxy.* I 121, 20-21 (III A.D.) οὕτως ποιήσον, | καὶ συνφέρει.

(a2) Adverbial of Manner, with the meaning “accordingly”:

Cf. *P.Col.* VIII 225, 8-9 (late II A.D.) {ε}ἵνα ἴδο|μεν (*l.* ἴδω|μεν) τί θέλ<ε>ις καὶ οὕτος (*l.* οὕτως) πράξομεν (*l.* πράξωμεν).

(b) Adverbial of Quantity, with the meaning “so much, so very”, to such an extent” (see LSJ *s.v.* οὕτως III 1):

With verbs cf. *O.Did.* 451, 8-11 (before(?) c. A.D. 176-210) ἐγὼ ἐπίνα|σα (*l.* ἐπέινα|σα) ἵνα αὐτὸς χορτασθῆ|ς) καὶ ἔτι βλέβων (*l.* βλέπων) ἐν τῇ | κρεμάστρα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄρτους οὕτως με ὕ|βρισε καὶ ἐξελοιδόρησε; *SB* XXII 15453, 8-9 (II A.D.) οὕτως γάρ μοι μέλει περὶ σοῦ | ὡς περὶ ἰδίου πατρὸς; *P.Lond.* VI 1926, 8-9 (middle IV A.D.) οὕτως πι|στεύω διὰ τῶν σῶν εὐχῶν | εἴσιν (*l.* ἴσιν) λαμβάνω; with adjectives cf. *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59362 17-18 (243 B.C.) [ἀλ]λ' οὕτ[ω]ς ἀγνώμονές | ἐ[ἴ]σι|ν οὕτοι; *P.Mert.* I 12, 3-4 (A.D. 59) κοιμισάμενός σου ἐπι[στολ(ήν)] | οὕτως περιχαρῆς ἐγενόμην; followed by a consecutive clause; cf. *P.Mich.* I 57, 5 (248 B.C.) οὐ δὲ οὕτως ὠλιγοψύχης (*l.* ὠλιγοψύχης) ὥστε καὶ ἐκχωρήσαι ἄνευ ἡμῶν.

(c) Adverbial of Manner and Time, with the meaning “afterwards”:

Cf. *O.Claud.* II 237, 7-11 (middle II A.D.) ὁ ἔαν εἴπαι (*l.* εἴπη) σοι | Πανίσκος περιποίησον ὡς σ<ε>α<υ>|τῶ ποιεῖς, ἵνα οὕτως πέμ|πω σοι <ὑπέρ> αὐτοῦ ὁ ἔαν | δαπανήσης; *P.Iand.* II 11, 5 (III-IV A.D.) τάχ{ε}ι|νον/ ἀπόστ<ε>ιλον αὐτ[ῶ], ἵνα μὴ οὕτως ὀχληθῶ.

(d) Adverbial of Place, with the meaning “as said above” or “as following”, (see LSJ *s.v.* οὕτως I):

E.g. *BGU* XX 2871, 3-4 (A.D. 85) ὅτι τοιαῦ[τ] [c. 16 letters] | οὐκ ἀναπλεῦσαι, οὕτως δὲ εἴρηκαν; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1830, 17-22 (VI A.D.) ἀναφέρω τὰ πάντα. ἐρρώσθαι ἐν κυρ(ίω). | † οὕτως τὸ καθ' ἡμέρ(αν)· | ε ἀνέβη δ(ακτύλους) δ, | ζ ἀνέβη δ(ακτύλους) δ, | ζ ἀνέβη δ(ακτύλους) δ, | ὁ(μοῦ) δ(ακτύλους) ιβ. *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, p. iii, 20-21 (second half of VI A.D.) ἡ δὲ ἐπιγραφή ἦν οὕτως· | ἀ[πό]δος σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ τῶ δεσπ'ότ/η μο(υ) etc.

ὀχληρῶς

It is attested in a petition paired with another adverb ending in -ως (συνεχῶς) with the meaning “as troublesome, causing annoyance” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὀχληρός I 2): *BGU* I 340, 13-17 (after A.D. 148-149) Καπιτο|λῖνος δέ τις καὶ ὕ (*l.* οἶ) σὺν αὐτῶ ἐπέρ|χοντέ (*l.* ἐπέρ|χονταί) μοι συνεχῶς καὶ ὀχλη|ρῶς βουλόμενο[ι] μ[οι] ἐργολα|βεῖν etc.; see *WB* I *s.v.* ὀχληρός.

ὀψίμως

The adverb is restored in reports on the crops of the Ptolemaic period, where the meaning requires something concerning late sowing; see LSJ *s.v.* ὀψιμος: *P.Tebt.* I 61, B xiii 364-365 (117 B.C.) προφερο[μέ]νων μὴ κατὰ λόγ[ον] | [ἀ]πνητηκ[έ]να[ι] διὰ τὸ ὀψίμως σπαρῆν[αι], and *P.Tebt.* I 72 xviii 361 (113 B.C.); see Mayser 1936, 123. In all the other cases the adverb with the meaning “recently” occurs in official documents of the Roman period:

A document concerning irrigation, *SB* XII 11013, 13 (10-9 B.C.); lease contracts, *P.Kron.* 42, 16. 20 (A.D. 148); circular to officials, *P.Oxy.* III 474, 24 (A.D. 184-216); reports, *P.Hamb.* I 12, 8 (A.D. 209-210), *SPP* V 45, 6 (III A.D.); official letters, *P.Bub.* I 1, 9 (A.D. 224).

παγκάκως\*(?)

It is read in a private letter, *P.Mich.* VIII 501, 3 (II A.D.) [---] [. ]ντα πανκάκως, with the meaning “in an utterly bad way” (see LSJ *s.v.* πάγκακος), but the division of the words could also be [---] [. ]ντα πᾶν κακῶς.

[παλαιῶς] – παλαιότερον\*

The adverb παλαιῶς, “in an old way”, does not occur in papyri so far. However, its comparative form, with the meaning “at an earlier time, some time ago” (adverb of Time), occurs in two letters in the Zenon archive: *SB* VI 9220, 5-6 (254 B.C.) ἀπεστάλκαμεν δὲ περὶ τούτου παλαιότερον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον, and *P.Mich.* I 46, 2 (251 B.C.) βουλόμενος ἀξιῶσαι σε παλαιότερον; see Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 178. In both instances it follows the modified verb.

πανεξόχως

The adverb is found only in the addressing formula at the beginning of a petition of the inhabitants of Aphrodito to the dux of the Thebaid, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 1 (A.D. 567) πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη καὶ δικαιοπραγία τὰς προ[ό]δους προλάμπουσιν ἀεὶ τῆς πανεξόχως βελτίστο(υ) ὑπερφυοῦς ὑμῶν ἔξο(υ)σίας, with the meaning “pre-eminently”; see *WB* I *s.v.*; *LSJ* *s.v.* πανέξοχος.

πανούργως

For the attestations in literature see *LSJ* *s.v.* πανούργος II; Bauer *s.v.* It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 108, 14-15 (end of II A.D.) πανούργως ὑποθεῖς δ’ ἔπος τι καινὸν χειραγωγίη διάφορον, with the meaning “subtly”.

παντελῶς\*

The adverb is used generally with the meaning “altogether, utterly” (see *LSJ* *s.v.* παντελής III 1; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*; for its meaning “gänzlich, ganz und gar” in the Ptolemaic period see Mayser 1936, 124) in all kind of documents, among them a number of private letters:

Apart from the two instances discussed below (*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 5-9 and *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 39-43), cf. also *P.Lille* I 26, 2-3 (III B.C.) αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν παντελῶς ἀπρη|[γ]μένῃ; *P.Petrie Kleon* 58, 3-4 (shortly after 255 III B.C.) νῦν παντε|λῶς τέθλιμμαι ἀπηγμένους εἰς τὸ δεσμοκτήριο|ν; *UPZ* I 59, 25-26 (179-168 B.C.) ἀπηγγελκότος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπολελύσθαι σε | ἐκ τῆς κατοχῆς παντελῶς ἀηδίζομαι; *SB* XXII 15708, 16 (c. A.D. 100) [ὡς ἐνδεῆ παντ|ελῶς ἔ|[χ]λοντος τὴν ἔξιν; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67060, 1 (A.D. 553) οὐδὲν παντελῶς ἐσήμ|μ|ανέ|ν| μοι; *P.Laur.* II 45, 12 (VI-VII A.D.) ὥστε μηδὲν παντελῶς αὐτοῖς λαλήσαι; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1869, 9-10 (VI-VII A.D.) οὐ δεδύνημαι τὸν λόγον | παντελῶς ἀπροσεῖσθαι; *P.Apoll.* 70, 3 (second half of VII A.D.) παντ|ελῶς; cf. also *P.Oxy.* XVI 1933, 15 (VI A.D.) οὐδὲν δὲ [αὐτῶν] κατὰ τὸ [π]αντελῶς (*l.* παντελές?) ζημιούται.

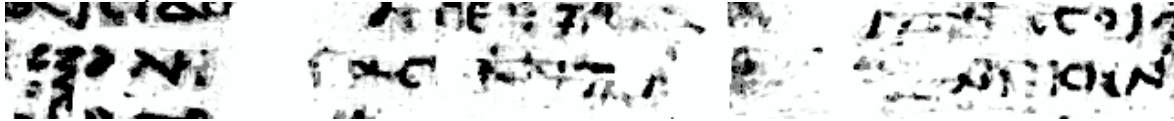
It seems that it always precedes the modified verb, and also the position of the adverb tends to be at the beginning of a clause. It is also found in an honorary inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 46, 16 (39 B.C.) π|αντελῶς δὲ τῆς πόλεως κρινομένης, and a Christian inscription: see Lefebvre 1907, no 69, 1 (VI A.D.?) οὐρ|ανὸς ἀγλαῶς λαμπρεύεται (*l.* λαμπρύνεται) ἀχλὺς (*l.* ἀχλὺν) παντελῶς μὴ κεκτημένος. ἄγ|γελοι καὶ ἀπαύστως αὐτὸν γερέρουσιν.

There are two examples in the private letters that need discussion:

First, in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 5-9 (A.D. 76) ἀλλὰ μόνον πρὸς | ὀλίγας παντελῶς ἡμέρας | νωθρότερον ἐσχηκέναι καὶ | ἔτι πάλαι κομ|ψ|ῶ|τ|ε|ρον ἐσχη|κ|ῶς, the adverb modifies the adjective ὀλίγας. The phrase πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας is also attested in *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2595, 5-6 and indicates the duration of an action, “for a few days” (see n. *ad loc.*). With the addition of παντελῶς “for only a few days” in this prepositional the adverb indicates Degree.

The second example concerns the way a fragmentary part of a private letter is restored: *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 39-43 (first quarter of II A.D.) ἀσ|πάζεταί σε | πο|λ|λὰ

Ἰσίδω[ρος] καὶ Σεμπρών[ιος καὶ] πάντες οἱ φιλοῦν | τέ[ς σ]ε ἐξ ἀλη[θεί]ας [π]αντ[ε]λ[ῶς καὶ] Ζωτικὴν ἦν ἐρχό[μ]ενο[ς] κατεν[έ]γκεις μετὰ σοῦ συνειδῶς ὅτι μέλλομεν | α[ὐ]τῆς] χρῆζει[ν ἐν]θάδε, “Isidoros and Sempronius [and] all who love you truly and completely(?) send many salutations to you [as well as] Zotike, whom you will bring down with you when you come because you know that we are going to need [her] here”. In the way the editors, H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, translate, the adverb is placed at the end of the clause. By placing the question mark after “completely”, it seems that the editors have restored the lacuna tentatively. The reading is debatable, since the trace that was considered as the lower oblique of λ is more vertical than the rest of λ in the same document.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Mich.&vVol=8&vNum=477>)

In another private letter of the same period the same phrase occurs without the adverb: *P.Yale* I 80, 10-12 (II A.D.) ἀσπα | [--- π]άντας τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀληθείας ἀσπαζο | [---] ἐρῶσθε. In the Michigan papyrus it seems that after [π?]αντ we can read η followed by a space that can accommodate c. 5 letters: in that case παντῆ [πάντως] could be possible; for the phrase see *s.v.* πάντως, p. 205.

#### παντοδαπῶς

It occurs in a petition, *P.Ahm.* II 78, 11-14 (A.D. 184) ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἡμῶν | ὑ[π]άρχουσι παντοδαπῶς | μ[ου] πλεονεκτ<ε>ῖ ἄνθρωπος | α[ὐ]θάδης (= the dupl. *P.Prag.* III 209, 11-14), with the meaning “in all kinds of ways” (see LSJ *s.v.* παντοδαπός 1)<sup>236</sup>.

#### παντοίως

The adverb occurs in three documents with the meaning “in all kinds of ways, variously” (see LSJ *s.v.* παντοῖος II). However, in two of them the adverb is restored or uncertain:

*P.Oslo* III 183, 21 (middle of III A.D.) ]πὸ σ[ο]ῦ παντοίως, is a document of uncertain nature. *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67167 (A.D. 566-573) μὴ παντοίως ἐνάγεσθαι μήτε βλαβῆναι μήτε ζητηθῆναι, is a receipt of a pawnbroker. *P.Lond.* V 1714, 50 (A.D. 570), ][ παν]τοίως ἀπαξιαπλῶς, is a lease; cf. also the Justinian’s Edict in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4400, 2.

#### πάντως\*

It is attested in various documents (private and official) of all periods. Steen (1938, 154-155) was the first to discuss some issues concerning the syntax and the use of the adverb πάντως<sup>237</sup>. Concerning the private letters<sup>238</sup> there are some conclusions we can draw based on the syntax and the modified verbs.

<sup>236</sup> In an official letter, *PSI* VIII 896, 4-6 (IV A.D.) τὰ κελεύομεν[α ὑ]πὸ τῆς θειότητος | παντοδαποὶ τ[οὺς] χ[ρ]εώστας πρὸς | ἀπαίτησιν ἄγ[ειν] ὁ]φ<ε>ῖλομεν, the word παντοδαποὶ has been interpreted (see DDBDP) as παντοδαπῶς, but this change is not necessary.

<sup>237</sup> He also compares it with ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου. παντὶ τρόπῳ (p. 154, remarque 1).

<sup>238</sup> Cf. also official letters, e.g. *P.Princ.* II 99, 4-5 (end of III-beginning of IV A.D.) πάντως ἀνέρχεσθαι (*l.* ἀνέρχεσθε) ἐπ[ε]ὶ τὴν πόλιν | ἐπ[ε]ὶ <ε>ορτῆ τῆς <ε>ιρήνης; *P.Oxy.* I 156, 3-4 (VI A.D.) ἐπειδὴ οἴδατε ὅτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν

The emphatic use is restricted only to the example indicated in LSJ *s.v.* πάντως II 1, “in strong affirmations, at all events, at any rate”, citing *P.Mich.* III 217, 3-5 (= *SB* III 7249; A.D. 297) παρήγγειλά σοι ἐξερχόμενος ὅτι | μὴ ἀπέλθῃς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου | καὶ ἀπῆλθες πάντως, where the adverb can be translated “but you did”<sup>239</sup>.

The adverb πάντως is constructed with the verb δεῖ or other verbs that on occasion indicate necessity (modifying the infinitive) (see LSJ *s.v.* πάντως I, citing Herodotus 1.31 ἔδεε πάντως, “it was absolutely necessary”):

*BGU XVI* 2655, 19-20 (21-20 B.C.) εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντως σε δεῖ ἀποδοῦναι, πέμψομεν; *P.Ammon* I 3, iv 17-18 (A.D. 348) δεῖ γὰρ με πάντως ἔξω π[αρ]ὰ τοῦ βασιλέως | λαβεῖν αὐτῶ[ι]; *SB* I 4635, 2-7 (VII A.D.) ἵνα γὰρ εἴπω[ω] | ὑμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, κὰν μὴ ἐκέλευσέν μοι ὁ εὐκλ(εές)τ(ατος) | στρατηλ(ά)τ(ης) ζητηθῆναι αὐτὸν, ἀνάγκη πάντως | αὐτὸν εὐρεθῆναι, οὔτε γὰρ ἀφῶ τινα ἔξωθεν | τῆς κόμης αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μάλιστα ἄνθρωπον | τοιοῦτον.

One of the usual meanings is “in all ways”, “positively, certainly, without fail” (see LSJ *s.v.* πάντως I; Bauer *s.v.*). In the Ptolemaic and Roman period the adverb modifies verbs that mean “come, arrive, send, bring”:

*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59341b 10-12 (247 B.C.) ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς γράφει γραψάτω τῇ βουλῇ καὶ | τῶι δήμωι. ἐγχειρῶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενέσθαι | πάντως; *PSI XII* 1242, 6-7 (I B.C.-I A.D.) τὸ γὰρ ἐφ’ αὐτοῖς πάντως | ἠδέως ἀπαλλάξομεν; *P.Ryl.* II 230, 5-6 (A.D. 40) πέμψω οὖν τοὺς ὄνους τῇ η | πρὸς σέ π[ά]ντως. This use is parallel to πάντη πάντως (see below); *BGU* I 248, 11-12 (c. A.D. 75-76) θεῶν δὲ βου|λομένων πάν[τ]ως μετὰ τὰ Σουχεῖα \σέ/ ἀσπάσομαι; *P.Michael.* 15, 6 (c. A.D. 75-85) νομίζω[ι] δὲ ὅτι πάντως ποιῆσ(ει); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3062, 6-10 (I A.D.) καὶ πάν|τως ἂν σοι πεπόμφειν, | εἰ μὴ Ἑρμῆς μοι ἀ|πήγγειλε δεδωκέ|ναι σοι ἕτερα/; *P.Mich.* VIII 494, 2-5 (II A.D.) εἰ μὴ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν προσε|δόκων σε πάντως ἂν αὐτὸς πάν|τα ὑπερθέμενος πρὸς σέ ἦλθον, “if I were not expecting you daily, I would certainly have put everything aside and come to you myself”, and ll. 1-12 πάντως [δ]έ σοι κο[ . . . κ]ε|ράμιον ἢ πέμψω ἢ ἀ[ύ]τὸς ἐρχόμενος | ἐνέκω (l. ἐνέγκω), “I will certainly either send you a jar of . . . or bring it myself when I come”; *P.Mich.* VIII 499, 14-16 (II A.D.) ὡς πάντος (l. πάντως) ἐμοῖ (l. ἐμέ) κύριον | λαμβάνη, παρακαλῶ προσέχειν τὴν (l. τῇ) | ἀδελφῇ ἐν οἷς ἐάν σου δεηθῇ, “so that she may surely take me as her guardian, I beg you to give heed to our sister in whatever she may ask to you”; *P.Yale* I 83, 17-18 (c. A.D. 200) πάντως δὲ | μέχρι κ [γενή]σομαι πρὸς σέ; repeating the same phrase in *P.David.* 16, B 10-17 (II-III A.D.) σήμερον γάρ, ἥτις | ἐστὶν λ, ἐξέρχομαι εἰς τὸν νομόν, πάν|τως πρὸς τὴν κ τοῦ Μεσορῆ γέينو|μαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, πρ[ε]ῖν τοῦ εἰς τὸν Λυ|[κο]π[ι]λίτην με ἀναδραμεῖν πολ|λὰ γὰρ με π[ρ]ο|ετρέψατο ὁ φίλος/ πάντως | οὖν ἔρχομαι εἰς Ἡρακλέους πρὸς τὴν | κ τοῦ Μεσορῆ ἢ κε προσδοκᾷ με; *CPR* VIII 10, 5-7 (II-III A.D.) ἔπεμψά σοι ὑ[π]οδημάτων | ζεῦγος καὶ ταλαρίων νέων, | ὡς ἔγραψας, ἐ[π]ὶ τῷ σε πάν|τως ποιῆσα[ι]; *BGU* I 333, 3-5 (II-III A.D.) [π]άν|τως ποιήσατε, ἐάν ἢ δυνατό[ν], κ[α]τελθεῖν | ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰ γενέσια τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 2, 12-13 (c. A.D. 270) π[ά]ντως σοι ἐμήνυσεν ὁ Μάρκος δι’ ἐπιστολῆς | τὴν ἐμὴν ἀσχολασίαν; *P.Erl.* 119, 2-3 (III A.D.) [γ]ε[ί]νομε (l. [γ]ε[ί]νομαι) οὖν ἐκεῖ πάντως | [ἐ]ν τῇ σήμερον; *PSI* VIII 971, 10-14 (III-IV A.D.) ἐάν μὲν φθάσω πρὸ | τῆς τρύγης ἀνελθ<ε>ῖν, | εὖ ἂν ἔχοι ἐάν δ[ε] μή, με|τὰ τὴν τρύγην [π]άντως | ἔρχομαι.

In the Byzantine period the use of the adverb is not so standardized, therefore, apart from the verbs that indicate “arrive, come, bring and send” (see above), various other verbs could be also modified:

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1680, 12-16 (late III-early IV A.D.) καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἀκού|ω ὅτι σφόδρα Ἡράκλειος ὁ νῦν ἐπίτρο|πος ζητεῖ σε, καὶ ὑπονοοῦμαι ὅτι πάν|τως πάλιν τί ποτε ἔχει πρὸς σέ. | [εἰ τ]ῆ ποτε αὐτῷ χρεωστεῖς etc.; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1676, 13-17 (after A.D. 324) εἶχες \γὰρ/ ἐπὶ πολλὰς | ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆναι σὺν | αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ πάντως κρείττο|να εἶχες. Διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερ|φάνηκας ἡμᾶς; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 31, 14-15 (IV A.D.) ἄλλην ἐλπίδα οὐκ ἔχομεν, εἰ μὴ αὐτ[ὸς] ἔρ|χομαι κάτω πάντως αὐτοῦ κα[τὰ] τάχους, where the adverb is placed between the two adverbs which indicate location, κάτω and αὐτοῦ, to stress the necessity that he must come to the place; *PSI* VII 827, 14-17

βουκελλαρίων. | πάντως οὖν τοῦτο πράξατε καὶ μὴ ὑπέρθεσθε; *SB* VI 9285, 4-5 (second half of VI A.D.) καὶ νομίζω [μ]έν. ὅτι ἐκεῖνα τ[ὰ] γράμματα | εἰλημμένοι ἐποίησατε πάντως καὶ τὸν Ἄλλειον τὸ [δ]λον ἐ[ψ]εῦσθαι.

<sup>239</sup> For the dubitative sense see M. Bandini, “Πάντως dubitativo e ἴσως aseverativo”, *Prometheus* 31, 2005, 65-74.



(IV A.D.) [ἐ]ὰν δὲ γράμματα αὐτοῦ | ἐπιφέρης ἐναλλαγῆς ἢ ἄλλου | τινὸς ἢ μεταβολῆς, πάντως | ἀπολογούμεθα; *P.Oslo* II 59, 4-6 (IV A.D.) καὶ πάν|τως ἦν γυ[ωστο]ν ἀπ' ἐμῶν γραμμάτων | ὅτι etc.; *PSI* XIII 1343, 14-17 (V A.D.) καὶ πρόδηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι | πάντως πάντως γίνεται | ἢ κέλευσις τοῦ θεοφυλάκ|του μου κυροῦ; see n. *ad loc.* “forse πάντη πάντως? Ma è piu facile che si tratti di un superlative; cf. *P.Flor.* 303, 8 (sec. VIp) πολλὰ πολλὰ πολλὰ προσαγορεύω τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν”; *SB* X 10269, 6-7 (VI A.D.) εἰς τὸν μῆνον (*l.* μῆνα) Μεχ<ε>ῖρ εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀπ' Ἀπόλλο πάντως ἔρχο|με (*l.* ἔρχομαι) καὶ προσκινῶ (*l.* προσκυνῶ) τὸν ὑμῶν (*l.* ἡμῶν) πατέρα|ν; *P.Gascou* 65, 9 (VI A.D.) ὅτι πάντως τὸν ναύτην ἀπαιτῶ ταῦτα του|; *P.Fouad* I 85, 15 (VI-VII A.D.) φέισαι σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν παιδίων σου· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ πάντως μένω, where the adverb is placed between the negative and the verb; *P.Apoll.* 37, 4 (second half of VII A.D.) ἐπειδὴ λόγον ἔδωκα αὐτῇ ὅτι πάντως γράφω τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου.

The adverb, however, is found mainly with imperatives (in command or entreaty); see LSJ *s.v.* πάντως II 2, citing *P.Cair.Zen.* 59191, 13-15 (255 B.C.) καὶ τὸ | ἱερεῖον δὲ πάντως | ἡμ[ι]ν ἀπόστειλον “be sure to send...”; see Steen, *loc. cit.* above. In the Ptolemaic and Roman period, the modified verbs usually mean “send, bring, do, tell, buy, remember”, but from the Byzantine period any verb can be modified. A special case is that at the (end of the?) third century and the (beginning of the?) fourth century A.D. the adverb modifies the verb σπουδάζω. Moreover, in the Byzantine period, the adverb is used to modify verbs that were already used earlier in the same letter, sometimes even in the form of a chiasmus.

*P.Mich.* I 72, 21-22 (251 B.C.) ἀπόστειλον δέ μοι πάντ[ω]ς σινδόνας β | καὶ προσκεφάλαια δ; *P.Mich.* I 46, 6-11 (251 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν | ποιήσεις, ὅπως, ἐὰν καταπλέης | εἰς τὴν πενταετηρίδα, | εὐσχημόνως συγκαταπλέ|ωμέν σοι, βοηθήσας ἡμῖν | πάντως εἰς ἀρ(τάβας) ρν, and ll. 17-18 ποιήσον οὖν | ἡμῖν πάντως; *UPZ* I 60, 15-17 (179 or 168 B.C.) οὐ γὰρ πάντως δεῖ στενωῶς ἐπανά|γοντά \σε/ προσμένειν ἕως τοῦ πορίσαι τι καὶ κατε|νεγκεῖν; *VBP* IV 49, 10-11 (beginning of II B.C.) πάντως καὶ, ὅσους | ἂν δύνῃ, ζῶντας ἐνεγ[κε]; *SB* XVI 12321, 5-8 (97 B.C.) οὐ οὖν καλῶς ποιήσ<ε>ις γράψας αὐτῇ| τῇ Διδύμου γυναικὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς | οἰκίας καὶ ὠνήσας. ἐὰν τὲ (*l.* δέ?) καὶ πλεῖον | πάντως σε δεῖ ἐπιτελεσθῆναι; *BGU* XVI 2611, 15-16 (10 B.C.) πάντως σήμερον μοι αὔριον περὶ τοῦ μέτρου καὶ περὶ | τοῦ ἐμπορίου; *P.Ryl.* II 229, 20-21 (A.D. 38) πάντω(ς) δέ, Ἀφροδίσει, | τοὺς ἄρτους μοι πέμψον καὶ τὸ ὄψάριον; *PSI* VIII 875, verso 22... 25-26 (A.D. 81) πάντως ἀντ' ἐμοῦ γενοῦ... πάντως | οὖν μὴ ἀμελήσης, ἴνα ἰδῶ πῶς πᾶν γένη[ται]; *P.Fay.* 111, 16-19 (A.D. 95) ὡς ἐὰν βλέ|πῃς [τ]ὴν τιμὴν πάν|τως (*l.* πάντως) ἀγόρασον τὰς τοῦ λωτίνου (*l.* λωτίνου) | (ἀρτάβας) κ; *O.Claud.* II 383, 7-13 (c. A.D. 98-117) σφυρίδια καὶ κοφίνια τὰ ἐνεχθέν|τα ἀπὸ Ῥαιμα οὐ τέθεικαν <ε>ἰς τὸ | ὕδρευμα, ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν αὐτ'ἄ/ | ἰσηνηνοχεῖναι (*l.* εἰσηνηνοχεῖναι) ἰς Κλαυδία|νόν. κέλευσον αὐτὰ ἐνε|χθῆναι πάν|τως; *P.Brem.* 15, 3-4 (A.D. 118?) οὐ πάντως λαμβάνει σε τὰ ἐπείγοντα | ξυλικά ἔργα τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς ξενία[ς]; *P.Stras.* IV 260, 4-7 (A.D. 161) πάντως | οὖν δηλώσας ἐμ[οι] περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐπ<ε>ὶ ἐὰν | ἔχῃς γραμματίον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . σεος | ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς διαπέμψαι μοι αὐτά; *SB* V 8005, 8-10 (II A.D.) [π]άντως οὖν ἀπαρε|[ν]όχλητον αὐτὸν | [π]οίησον; *P.Mil.Vogl.* II 60, 11-16 (II A.D.) πέντε ἀρ|τάβ[α]ς ἄρτων ποιήσον | [φ]έρε|σθαι εἰς τὰ μαλλο|κο[ύ]ρια τοῦ παιδίου, ἐπεὶ | θ[έ]λω | τῇ | πάντως αὐ|τ[ὸν] ἐκ|κεῖραι (see *BL* X, p. 129); *P.Mich.* VIII 503, 11-12 (late II A.D.) ἔπειτα δεόμενος πάντως διὰ τῶν ἰδίων Μωρίωνος | τρεῖς βόας [τ]ελέεις μοι δανίζειν καλὰς καὶ μεγάλας τῷ σώματι, “and then to ask you by all means to lend me through Morion’s men three full-grown cows, fine and large in body”. At the end of the letter the scribe repeats, ll. 21-24 τὰς βόας [π]έμψον μοι πάντως ἐπεὶ χρειαὶ αὐτῶν | ἔχω εἰς τὰ χωρία, “send me the cows by all means since I have need of them for the farms”, καὶ εἰ πρόφασιν ἔχεις ἐλθεῖν | εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἡκέ μοι ἐκεῖ πάντως καὶ νῦν | ἔλευσομένω ἐκεῖ σὺν θεοῖς, “and if you have a reason for going to Alexandria, come to me there by all means, for I am just now about to go there, with the gods’ help”, but it would be better to have πάντως modifying the following ἔλευσομένω, that is “since in any case I will go there now”; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2996, 43-46 (II A.D.?) it should be dated to the early III A.D.; see proposal, p. 209) ἀλλὰ | πάντως εὐγνωμόνησ[ο]ν | μὴ καὶ ἀλλ[λ]ως πῶς πράξω | πρὸς σέ; *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 256, 7-9 (II-III A.D.) πάντως | οὖν, εἴ τι θέλεις, πρᾶξον, | ὅπως ἀντλήσῃ ἡ μηχανή, and ll. 21-24 πάντως | ἀνελ[θ]ε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἐπ<ε>ὶ | χρειαὶ σ[ο]ῦ ἐστιν ἀναγκαίως | χάριν [Σ]αβείνου; *P.Ups.Frid* 9, 6-9 (II-III A.D.) οὔπο (*l.* οὔπω) ἀνέβης ὡς | σῆμ[ε]ρον, ἐπ<ε>ὶ πάντες | ἀνέβησαν. πάντως οὖν ἀνελθε; *P.Flor.* II 256, 5-8 (A.D. 249-268) ἀναπέμ|ψον διὰ τοῦ κάρνου ἀπο|φερόμενα εἰς Μοιθῦμιν. | [ἀ]λλὰ πάντως, ἐπ<ε>ὶ ἡ χρειαὶ; *P.Flor.* II 259, 10-11 (A.D. 249-268) ἀλλὰ πάντως ἀ|ναπέμψον αὐτά; *SB* VI 9415 (9), 3-6 (A.D. 249-268) τὴν ὄνον τὴν θήλεια|ν | πάντως τῇ νεομην[ί]α | ἀναπέμψον μοι <ε>ἰς [τ]ὴν | πόλ[ιν]; *P.Flor.* II 232, 4-8 (c. A.D. 250-268) τ[ί]α | χορτόκοπα | Διοσκ[ό]ρου τοῦ φρ(οντιστοῦ) | τοῦ . . . εἰ πάντως | σήμερον παρά|δος αὐτῷ; *P.Flor.* II 262, 9-12 (A.D. 250-268) ἀντίγραφόν μοι οὖν | περὶ τούτου ἴνα πέμψω τὸ | ταυρικὸν ἐπὶ αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ πάν|τως, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ σήμερον, where the adverb could



LXVII 4629, 5-8 (VI-VII A.D.) παρακα|λῶ οὖν τῆ σῆ μητριότητι - ἰδοὺ ἀπεστ<ε>ιλὰ σοι | τὸν Εὐτύχιον μαῦρον – πάντος (*l.* πάντως), ὡς ποιήσης | τὸ ἐσῶν (*l.* ἐσόν), καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ποιήσου; *SB* III 7036, 3-4 (VI-VII A.D.) πέμψη δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῶν χωρίων αὐτῆς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τρίτον | αὐτῶν οὐκ ἤλθεν ἕως ἄρτι. ἀλλὰ πάντως μὴ ἀμελήση, ἵνα μὴ ὠρισθῶ (*l.* ὀρισθῶ) ἐνταῦθα; *SB* XVI 12980, 3 (end of VI-beginning of VII A.D.) ἀλλὰ πάντως τοῦτο πράξατε; *CPR* XXX 21, 6-7 (A.D. 640-700?) ἀλλὰ πάντως μὴ | ἀποτύχω τῆς παρακλήσεώς μου; *CPR* XXX 13, 3-6 (A.D. 643-644?) τὰ | αἰγίδια ἔδωκαν, πάντως ἀπαιτήσου αὐτούς | τὰ δύο ὀλοκόττινα εὐθέως; *P.Apoll.* 18, 14 (A.D. 660-66 or 675-676) ἀλλὰ πάντως ἄς καταλάβωσιν με ὅπουδάν εἰμι; *P.Apoll.* 13, 4 (A.D. 661 or 676) ἀλλὰ πάντως ἄ[ς κατα]λάβη με ἢ αὐτὴ γυνῶσις; *P.Münch.* III 131, 13 (VII A.D.) ἀλλ[ὰ πάν]τος (*l.* πάντως) (see *BL* XII, p. 131).

Finally, LSJ (*s.v.* πάντως I) refers to the frequent use of the adverb with πᾶς or its derivatives, such as πάντη (cf. *s.v.* πάντη II). In the papyri, πάντη πάντως is usually found in the second century A.D. and modifies verbs which mean “come, arrive, send, tell”. Moreover, one can see a tendency for the adverb to be constructed with imperatives or jussive subjunctives, and an indication of time that the scribe wants to specify, e.g. tomorrow, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of the month, etc.

*P.Oxf.* 17, 5-9 (II B.C.) καὶ [μῆ] | ἐμ (*l.* ἐν) παρέργωι πο<ι>ήσης | ἀλλ' ἀπόστειλον | πάντη πάντως | τῆ κδ<sup>240</sup>; *O.Claud.* I 165, 5-6 (c. 100-120) [-- πάν]τη πάντως αὔρι[|]ον; *P.Heid.* III 234, 3-6 (I-II A.D.) πάντη πάν[τ]ως ἐπιτυχῶν τοῦ πρὸς | ἡμᾶς γ[ε]ϊνομ[έ]λου περὶ τῶν παρὰ σοὶ πρα|χθέντων καὶ πρᾶσσομένων τα|χέως δήλωσον in *Korr. Tyche* 764 (*Tyche* 29, 2014, p. 265; A. Sarri) with the imperative citing *P.Oxf.* 17, 5-9 (II B.C.), or with jussive subjunctive, citing *SB* VI 9026, 10-12 (II A.D.); *P.Fay.* 113, 3-5 (before A.D. 100) πάντη πάντος (*l.* πάντως) πέμισις (*l.* πέμψεις) Πίν|δαρον τὸν πεδιοφύλακα τῆς | Διουσιμά|δος...; II. 10-12 εὐ οὖν πυή|σας (*l.* ποιήσας) ἐξαυτῆς πέμο<ε>ις αὐτὸν | ἐξαυτῆς; *P.Stras.* IV 193, 3-8 (A.D. 128) πάντη πάντως [λαβῶν τὸ (*BL* XII, p. 260; Litinas 2004, 287; also *ed. princ.* n. 3 “dans la lacune, expression concernant la reception de l'ἐπιστόλιον”)] | ἐπιστόλιον εὐ[θέως κά] | τελεθε ποτίσω[ν τὸ] | κληρίον πρὶν [ἢ τὸ ὕ] | δωρ σταθῆ ἐν [διδώ] | ρυγι; *SB* VI 9026, 10-12 (II A.D.) πά[ν]τη πάντως μοι πέμψης τῶ ἀγωγίω | τούτω ἐριοξύλου δραχμᾶς εἴκοσι σπουδαίας κρό|κης ἀλλ' ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης; *P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 280, 10-12 (II A.D.) πάντη | μὲν [π]άντως τῆ ε παραγείνο|μα[ι] πρὸς σὲ εἰς Ταλεῖ ἢ εἰς Τεβτυνί\ν/; *P.Dura* 29, 14 (A.D. 251) ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῆ πάντη γε πάντως; *P.Fay.* 130, 6-10 (III A.D.) γ[ε]ϊνώσκ<ε>ιν σε θέλω, κύριέ [μου, ὅ]τι | προνοῶ τοῦ χ[α]λκοῦ πά[ν]τη πάν|τως καθὼς ἐταξάμη[ν] ἕως ἂν κα|ταλαμβάνω σε πρὸς τὴν ἐορ|τήν.

Steen (*loc. cit.* p. 154, remarque 2) notes the use of ἀλλὰ πάντως, especially in the third and fourth century A.D. (citing *PSI* VII 833, *P.Flor.* II 171, 228, 218 and 256). The papyri published after his observation prove that this phrase started at this time, but, it seems that in the Byzantine period, especially in the fifth and sixth century A.D., it became an accepted phrase<sup>241</sup>.

There are some restorations of the adverb in lacunas, but all these seem to be debatable, because the use of the adverb πάντως does not exactly fit the context of the private letters:

<sup>240</sup> Mayser 1936, 124 refers to it, but it seems that there was only one example and not a general use of this phrase in the Ptolemaic period.

<sup>241</sup> From the examples mentioned above see especially: *P.Hamb.* IV 256, 23-25 (III A.D.); *P.Iand.* VI 98, 6-7 (III A.D.); *P.Gron.* 16, 21-23 (second half of III A.D.); *P.Fay.* 131, 9-14 (III- early IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3407, 13-17 (IV A.D.); *SB* XX 14119, 4 (c. A.D. 514-536); *P.Mich.* XIII 673, 3 (VI A.D.); *PSI* VIII 938, 5 (VI A.D.); *PSI* XIII 1344, 4 (VI A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1839, 1-2 (VI A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1, 3-4 and 5 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Fouad* I 84, 2-3 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 1 and 2-3 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB* III 7036, 3-4 (VI-VII A.D.); *SB* XVI 12980, 3 (end of VI-beginning of VII A.D.); *CPR* XXX 21, 6-7 (A.D. 640-700?); *P.Apoll.* 18, 14 (A.D. 660-66 or 675-676); *P.Apoll.* 13, 4 (A.D. 661 or 676); *P.Münch.* III 131, 13 (VII A.D.).

*P.Oxy.* XLI 2996, 53-46, has been dated tentatively (on paleographical grounds) to the second century A.D. However, one could also date it to the early third century (see photograph in <http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH17f2.dir/POxy.v0041.n2996.a.01.hires.jpg>).

*P.Hamb.* I 27, 4-6 (250 B.C.) τῆι δὲ ἐφαύριον αὐτὸν ἐπεζήτησαν καὶ οὐχ ἡῦρισι | [κον ἐν Φιλαδε]λφείαι. ἠρώτων οὖν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν γραμμα[τ]έα καὶ οὐκ ἔφη εἰδέναι, τῶν/ δὲ τιμῆν οὕτω ἐκεκόμιστο | [οὐδὲ πάντως] συνεγέγραπτο; *SB XVI* 13058, 6-11 (A.D. 117-138?) παρα[καλ]ῶ | καὶ νῦν μελησάτω σοι περὶ τ[ού]των ἀναγκαίων ὄντων [καὶ πάν] | τως ἐπιτρέπειν μοι περὶ ῶ[ν] | ἐνθάδε χρειώδης σοὶ <ε>ίμι, ὥς | ἠδέως ποιήσ[ο]ντι. The letters [καὶ πάν] in l. 8 is not possible to be accommodated at the end of the line, and one can expect there 1-2 letters; see R. Pintaudi's n. *ad loc.* (*ZPE* 55, 1984, p. 165) "possible anche *ώσαύτως*"; *P.Mich.* VIII 478, 6-8 (first quarter of II A.D.) γ[ε]ιν[ώσκειν] | σε θέλω [δοτι] ἐξέρχ[εσθαι] τεταγμέν[ο]ς ἀπ[ό]ν[ο]τος σο[υ] | κατελθε[ῖν] εἰς Νέ[αν] Πόλιν πάντως] οὐκ ἠ[δ]υ[ν]ήθη, "I want you to know that although [I was ordered] to go out on duty in your absence I was [altogether] unable to go down to Neapolis(?)", but the restoration is debatable; in *P.Giss.* I 103, 3-8 (IV A.D.) π[ρο]ηγού[μ]ενος[ ] πολλὰ σ[ε] ἀσπάζο[μα]ι καὶ τὸν ἀδ[ελ]φόν σου | ἴ[ε]ρακα πάντως]. ἀναγκαί[ω]ς δὲ γράφω σοι ὅ[πως] ταχέως | ἡ[μ]ᾶς κατὰλαβε, the restoration of the adverb is debatable, since it can modify neither the preceding verb ἀσπάζομαι (as in ed.), nor the following γράφω. In ll. 20-23 we read ἐνεγκον δὲ τὸν | ἀδελφόν σου ἴερακα σὺν | σοί, ἀλλὰ πάντως ταχέ[ω]ς ἡμᾶς κατὰλαβε, the same idea is expressed with the one in ll. 7-8. If we have to restore πάντως, it should be in the lacuna after ἀναγκαί[ω]ς and before ὅ[πως] ταχέως.

Finally, some passages are preserved in a very fragmentary condition which renders the entire contexts difficult to understand:

*SB XX* 14250, 7 (I-beginning of II A.D.); *P.Sarap.* 90, 15-16 (A.D. 108) ὁ πατήρ μου ἔτοιμος ἐγεγόνει | [ . . . ] .αι τι [πά]ντως ἂν καὶ αὐτός σου ἐφρόντισα; *P.Giss.* I 66, 9-12 (c. A.D. 113-120) δίχα τῆς ἡμετέρας | ἐπιστολ[ῆ]ς π[ρὸ]ς [σ]ῆ πάντως ἄ[ε] | βεβροηθήκει[ς] αὐτῶι; *O.Bodl.* II 2467, 5 (II A.D.?) [ . . . ] .εντις παντῶς (l. πάντως οἱ παντός?) παν[ ] |; *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 8-9 (II A.D.) πάντως οὖν διὰ α[---] | λου . πέμψεις; two papyri from the Heroninos archive: *SB VI* 9415 (14), 16 (A.D. 251-252 or 254-255) and *SB VI* 9475, 3 (A.D. 255) πάντως πειράθητε ε; *P.IFAO* II 22, 4 (II A.D.); *P.IFAO* II 42, 5 (II-III A.D.) ] ἔγραψαν πάντως; *PSI VII* 833, 3 (III A.D.) π[έ]μψον τὰ ψωμία, ἀλλὰ πάντως |; cf. also l. 6 ]ν, ἀλλὰ πάντως οἶδας γὰρ τὴν ἀνάγκην; *P.Stras.* VI 518, 18-20 (c. A.D. 300) ἀλλὰ (see *BL VIII*, p. 421) πάντως. μὴ [ . . . ] ης | [οὔ]ν τὰ ὑπὲρ Θεῶνος. Αὔριον π[έ]μψω | [ . . . ] τῆς πόλεως; *O.Trim.* I 310, 3-4 (c. A.D. 350-370) ἀλλὰ πάντως |; *P.Kellis* I 17, 2-5 (IV A.D.) Λέωνι τῷ ἀπαιτη[τ]ῆ; ἀλλὰ πάντως. Παχῶν ]γ τῆς | δ ἰνδικτίονος, where πάντως can be constructed with the previous or the following words and modify an implied verb, e.g. ἀποστείλον; *P.Stras.* IV 180, 14 (IV A.D.); *P.IFAO* II 27, 7-8 (end of V-beginning of VI A.D.) ἔρχεται [---] | [---] πάντως πληρούμενος τοὺς μισθοὺς με[---]; *P.Nessana* 160, 6 (VI-VII A.D.) ] | πάντως κἂν βαστάξῃ κἂν μὴ βαστάξῃ; *P.Ross.Georg.* III 19, 6 (VI-beginning of VII A.D.) π[ά]ντως; *CPR XXV* 29, 5 (A.D. 643-644?) ἀλλὰ πάντως μετὰ σπουδῆς; *CPR XXX* 14, 8-9 (A.D. 643-644?) ] | πάντως οὖν ἔργον ὑ[μ]ῖν γένηται; *CPR XXX* 24, 3-4 (A.D. 643-644?) \ἀλλά/ πάντως [τούτους --- ] | ἀπόλυσον; *SB XXVI* 16359, 3 (VII A.D.) πάντως οὖν μεγάλην ἔπειξιν.

#### παραινετικῶς

It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 75, 8 (Roman period) σοὶ δὲ παραινετικῶς τοῦτο, πάτερ, προλέγω; see LSJ *s.v.* παραινετικός "hortatory", for the adverb citing Sextus Emp. *M.* 1.271 and the inscription referred to above.

#### παραλόγως

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* παράλογος I 4 "fraudulently". It occurs only in an edict of the Prefect, *OGIS* 665, 31-34 (A.D. 48) οἱ [δὲ β]ασιλικοὶ γραμ[μ]ατεῖς καὶ κωμογραμματεῖς καὶ τοπογραμ[μα]τεῖς κατὰ νομὸν πάντα ὅσα [δ]απανᾶται ἐκ τοῦ νομοῦ εἰς τινα ἢ πέπρακται παραλόγως ἢ ἄλλο τ[ι] ἀναγραφ[έ]σθωσαν καὶ ἐν ἡ[μέ]ραι[ς] ἐξήκοντα ἐπίδότησαν. In other documents we find only the adjective παράλογος and the verb παραλογίζομαι.

#### παρανόμως

It occurs only in petitions from the late second century A.D. until the sixth century A.D., with the meaning "illegally" (see LSJ *s.v.* παράνομος II 1). It can follow or precede the modified verb:

*P.Oxy.* II 237, 13 (A.D. 186); *PSI Congr.* XXI 13, 2 (A.D. 284-285); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3302, 6-7 (A.D. 300-301); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4122, 5 (A.D. 305); *P.Sakaon* 38, 2 (A.D. 312); *P.Col.* X 285, 21 (A.D. 315); *P.Oxy.* I 67, 5 (A.D. 338); *Pap.Congr.* XXV 244, 19 (A.D. 548-551); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67092 (A.D. 553).

The adverb is restored tentatively (and without providing the reason) in two documents, which are not petitions, but concern legal matters:

In a document dealing with liturgies, *SB* III 7261, 5-6 (III-beginning of IV A.D.) παρανόμως ἐ(?)πιχειροῦσιν τῷ πειρᾶσθαι | [ἀποκρούεσθαι(?) τὰς δημοτικὰς ὑπηρεσίας (*ed. princ.* in H.B. van Hoese and A.C. Johnson, “A Papyrus Dealing with Liturgies”, *JEA* 12, 1926, 116-117) and in proceedings concerning rulings on the legal rights of minors, *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4435, 7-9 (first quarter of III A.D.) ἀξιούνη[ων νεωτέρων τινῶν τὰ(?)] | ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων πρα<χ>θέντα χωρία βέβαι[ά τε μ]ένειν καὶ μὴ [παρανόμως στέρεσθαι(?)] | αὐτῶν μετ’ ἄλλα. Καῖσαρ εἶπεν, but in both cases the restoration is debatable.

The same conclusions can be drawn from the use of the prepositional παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. It is attested in official documents of the third to fifth century A.D., and only in one private letter, *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3094, 22-24 (c. A.D. 217-218) μεμ|ψαμένη ὡς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους | ἀποφνημαμένου, where the writer refers to official documents, therefore, the wording seems to borrow from the official texts.

#### παρέργως\*

It is found with the negative, μὴ/οὐ παρέργως, only in private or official correspondence of the Ptolemaic period, with the meaning “by the way, cursorily” (see LSJ *s.v.* πάρεργος I; for its meaning “nebenbei, nebensächlich” see Mayser 1936, 124). One peculiarity of the adverb is that it has the tendency to be placed after the modified verb and especially, at the end of the clause. This tendency can also be observed in the classical literature; e.g. Aristotle *Politica* 1330b καὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν μὴ παρέργως etc.:

Private letters: *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59303, 5-7 (250 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν ποι|ήσεις μὴ παρέργως | περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν | ἐπίσκεψιν ποιού|μενος; *P.Hib.* I 168 (245 B.C.) καὶ τοῦτο ὅπως μὴ παρέργως ἔσται, ἀλλὰ ἅμα ἡμέραι παρέχε[ι αὐτόν]; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59367, 16-17 (241 B.C.) ἔτι καὶ νῦν μὴ παρέργως αὐτὸ | ποιήσας.

Official correspondence: at the end of the clause, *P.Köln* VI 258, 4-5 (214 B.C.) ἵνα δὲ | οὗτος ὡς πλεῖστος ἦι, προνοήθητι μὴ παρέργως; *P.Tebt.* III 703, 76-78 (210 B.C.), an official memorandum probably from the dioiketes, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοι|οῦτον [μήποτε] παρ[έ]ργως σαυτὸν δι|δοῦ; l. 99 [μὴ πα]ρέργως φρό[ντι]ζε; at the end of the clause, ll. 178-179 ἐξεταξέσ[θ]ω καὶ τοῦτο μὴ παρέργως; *P.Athen.* 8-10 (193-192 B.C.) ἀναζητήσας μὴ | παρέργως κατάστησον | ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς; at the end of the clause, in two edicts, *UPZ* I 110, 185-186 (164 B.C.) προνο|εῖσθε μὴ πα[ρ]εργως, and *UPZ* I 113, 17-18 (156 B.C.) καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ μέρος διαστείλασθε περὶ τῶν | αὐτῶν μὴ παρέργως; at the end of the clause, *P.Heid.* IX 430, 1-3 (161-153 B.C.) [φρόντισον οὖν(?)] | περὶ τούτων μὴ πα[ρ]εργως ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκ[αζώ] | μεθα [πᾶ]λιν | τοῖς ἐπάνω προσαναφέρειν; at the end of the clause, *P.Berl.Zill.* 2, 24-25 (155 B.C.) ἵνα δὲ μητὲν (*l.* μηδὲν) ἐν τούτοις ἀ[γ]νοηθῆι | μελησάτω σοι μὴ παρέργως; *SB* XII 10843, 9-11 (105 B.C.) ὁ γὰρ | στρατηγὸς οὐ παρέργως ἔχ[ει] | περὶ αὐτοῦ; *P.Tebt.* III 914, 4-5 (last quarter of II B.C.) οὐ παρέργως σοι ἐδεδώκε[ιν] | ἐντολάς.

In an official letter, *SB* V 8754, 36-38 (77 B.C.), the text is difficult to understand: <?>πόστολος π . προνοιου· ὡς \ . / παρέργως | καὶ σύμβολον καὶ ἀντισύμβολον γενέσθαι | πρὸς τὸν ναύκληρον, ὡς καθήκει. There are some traces of ink above παρέργως, but μὴ or οὐ cannot be read. I tentatively read (as can be seen in the photograph) ποστολος π . . ρ [ἐ]λθη οὖν ὡς \ . / παρέργως, although ὡς παρέργως is not proper Greek.

#### παχυμερῶς

It is attested in an official letter, where some events are described, *BGU* XVI 2629, 22-23 (4 B.C.) εἰ παχυμερῶς ἐπιθολῶσαι θέλων ῶ | διάσεισμα διδούς, (παχυμερῶς is a printing error in *ed. princ.*), “if I, wishing to rough (him?/them?) up, make extortion”; the adverb is not rare in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.v.* παχυμερής II; Lampe *s.v.*), but this example

together with Strabo 1.4.7 ταῦτα γὰρ εἴρηται παχυμερῶς (followed by the use of the adjective ἔτι δὲ παχυμερέστερον...) are the earliest attestations.

πεπεισμένως

It occurs in the clauses of a divorce, with the meaning “confidently” (see LSJ *s.v.*), *BGU XII* 2203, 12-13 (A.D. 571) κατὰ τοῦτο τ|αύτην τὴν διάλυσιν τοῦ ρεπουδίου | [τίθενται καὶ ποιοῦνται ἐκόντες κ]αὶ πεπ\ε/ισμένως παντὸς δόλου χωρὶς | [---.

πεπλασμένως

It is restored in *P.Petra IV* 39, 204 (A.D. 574) ] ἀκαίρως καὶ πεπλασ[μένως in a fragmentary part of a settlement and is translated “inappropriately and falsely” (see LSJ *s.v.*, “artificially, by pretence”).

περισσοτέρως\* – περισσότερον\*

The spelling περιττοτέρως is found for the first time so far in Isocrates 3.44 and Diodorus Sic. 13.108.2, and the spelling περισσοτέρως in Paul’s epistles, always with the meaning “exceedingly, beyond measure, very”; in the classical literature the form περισσότερον was used; see LSJ *s.v.* περισσός B 1; Bauer *s.v.* περισσοτέρως. The form περισσότερον is only once attested in the Greek papyri, in the private letter *BGU II* 380, 10-11 (II A.D.) ὡς σου περι<σ>σό|τερον <έ>νωχλευομένου.

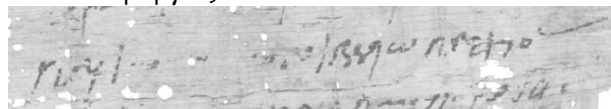
In two private letters of the first-second century A.D., the form περισσοτέρως occurs, always preceding and modifying the following verb: *P.Oxy. XLVII* 3356, 15-18 (A.D. 76) λαβῶν σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, | ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνόμισα μὴ θε|οῦ χρησμός ἐστι, καὶ περισσο|τέρως ἔρρωμαι; *P.Giss. I* 25, 10-14 (A.D. 113-120) παρακαλῶ οὖν | σε συν[ε]λθεῖν Ἐρμοφ[ί]λω πρὸς Ἡράκλειον | τὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνῆτος, ἵνα περισσο|τέρως | αὐτῷ μελήση διὰ τὸ ὑμ<ε>ῖς αὐτὸν προτρέ|πεσθ[α]ι.

περισσῶς / περιττῶς\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* περισσός B “extraordinarily, exceedingly”; Bauer *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.*; Mitsakis 1967, p. 49. The adverb occurs in trial proceedings (from the second to the fourth century A.D.):

*P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, 141-143 (A.D. 114-115; cf. also *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24) Οὐλπιος Λεωνίδης/ | ὁ στρατηγός· περισσῶς τοὺς αὐθέντας ἐπιζητεῖς ἔχοντας ἀποδεδ<ε>ιγμένον σοι (*l. σε*) | γραμματεῖα; an account of a trial, *P.Tebt.* II 488, descr. (after A.D. 121-122) περισσῶς καὶ νοῖν (*l. νῦν*) ἐγκαλεῖς (*l. ἐγκαλεῖς*); it is restored in a law case of the Berlin codex, *BGU IV* 1207, p. 7, 25-26 (before A.D. 359) ἐπ<ι>εξεν γὰρ πε[ρισσῶς(?) αὐτὴν ἡ] | πενεία τύχης, but the restoration is debatable.

There are only two certain instances in which the adverb is used in the language of the private letters, specifically at the beginning of the letter: First, *P.Sarap.* 81, 2-5 (A.D. 90-133) περισ<σ>ῶς μοι ἔ|γραψας περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ | τῶν ἐργατῶν· σὺ γὰρ διὰ σαυ|τοῦ <ε>ῖ. Second, in *PSI XV* 1557, 1-9 (III A.D.) κ[υ]ρίω μ[ου] ἀ|δελφῶ Πανσιρίωνι | Σαραπίων χαίρειν. | περιέρχω[ς] γ[ὰρ] σοι γράφω περὶ τοῦ | υἱοῦ μο[υ] Ἰέρακος ὅπως παραπρο|σέχης αὐτῷ· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἀπὸ σε|αυτοῦ ποιεῖς· ἐὰν οὖν χρ<ε>ῖαν τινὸς | ἔχης γράφον, κύριέ μου ἄδελφε, ἕως | ἂν ἔλθω, the editor reads the adverb περιέρχως.



(<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;15;1557>)

However, the reading is not περιέργω[ς γ]άρ, but περισσῶς οὖν or περισσῶς γάρ; cf. *P.Sarap.* 81, 2-5, above, and *CPR VI* 80, 6-7 (II A.D.) καὶ περιττὸν μὲν ποιῶ γράφω[ν]. αὐ|τάρκης γάρ εἰ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ.

In a fragmentary part of a private letter, *P.Mich.* XV 752, 21-22 (late II A.D.) τί σὺ πε|[ρισσ]ῶ[ς] βαρύν<ε>ι ὑπὸ τ[, the restoration is debatable. One could also restore, e.g. πε|[ρι τούτ]ω[ν].

#### περιφανῶς

It occurs only in the proceedings of a law case with the meaning “conspicuously, notably, evidently” (see LSJ *s.v.* περιφανής 2), *SB XII* 10989, I 16-17 (A.D. 325) [ἀ]πατή[σ(ας)] οὖν περιφανῶς | κ(αὶ) κατέστησεν ἐα[υ]τ(ὸν) <ύπεύθυνον> τῷ ἐκλή(ματι), “having openly practiced deception, he has also made himself liable to the charge and it is clear”.

#### πεφροντισμένως

It occurs in three diplomas concerning the privileges of victors in public contests, and especially it is recorded in the edict of Severus and Antoninus (A.D. 197-201) τοῖς ψηφί[σ]μασιν ὑμῶν κ[αὶ] πάνυ πεφροντισμένω[ς] ἐνετύχομεν: see *P.Oxy.Hels.* 25, 6 (A.D. 264); *SB XVI* 13034, 8 (A.D. 273-274); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2610, 5 (late III A.D.). Moreover, it is restored in a circular of the Prefect concerning his edict, *P.Oxy.* XII 1408, 12-14 (A.D. 212-214) [ἐ]χῶ μὲν ὑμ[ε]ῖν καὶ δι' ἐτέρ[ων] μου γραμμάτων προστάξας πεφροντισμ[έ]ν[ω]ς | [τῆ]ν τῶν ληστῶν ἀναζήτησ[ι]ν ποιήσασθαι, κίνδυνον ὑμ[ε]ῖν ἐπαρτήσας, εἰ ἀμ[ε]|[λε]ῖτε. In all cases the meaning is “carefully” (see LSJ *s.v.*, citing Strabo 15.1.2 as the earliest case).

#### πικρῶς\*

It is attested in three documents of the third century B.C., two letters and an *enteuxis*, with the meaning “harshly, bitterly, vindictively” (see *WB I s.v.* πικρός; LSJ *s.v.* πικρός IV)<sup>242</sup>: (a) in a letter of the Zenon archive, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59497, 4 (middle of III B.C.) ἰκανῶς γὰρ καὶ πικρῶς τετιμῶρημαι; cf. Polybius 1.86.6; Arrianus 7.18.1; (b) in the correspondence of Cleon with his wife, *P.Petrie Kleon* 3, 7-8 (middle of III B.C.) she writes to him ὅτι ὁ βασι|[λεὺς ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Λίμνην πικρ[ῶ]ς σοι ἐχρήσατο, where we can interpret the adverb either as “he treated you bitterly” or “his treatment of you made you embittered”; for the phrase cf. Isocrates 12.251 and Plutarch 178a; (c) in a fragmentary part of an *enteuxis*, *P.Enteux.* C, 9 (246-205 B.C.) πικρῶς προσκόπτων. It seems that always precedes the modified verb.

#### πιστῶς\*

It is usually combined with the adverb ὑγιῶς (see *s.v.*, p. 255), that is “honestly and in good faith”, in official documents (concerning personal names for forced labor in liturgies, applications and orders for the provision of seed; it is also paired with σαφῶς (see *s.v.*, p. 228) in *P.Flor.* I 21, 13-14 (A.D. 239)<sup>243</sup>.

<sup>242</sup> Moreover, the comparative of the adjective is attested in a private letter of the Ptolemaic period, *UPZ I* 71, 19-21 (152 B.C.) παρακολουθή|σαντά σε τῆι ἀληθείαι πικρότερον προσενε|χθήσεσθ' αὐτῶι.

<sup>243</sup> Πιστῶς is not found so far in papyri of the Ptolemaic period, although it is mentioned in Mayser 1936, 124.

It is attested in a private letter sent from Alexandria, *SB* XIV 12106, 4-6 (II A.D.) τὸν | δυνάμενον ἀπενέγκαι μοι | εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πιστῶς, “who can reliably bring it to Alexandria for me”, with the meaning “faithful, trusty” (see LSJ *s.v.* πιστός A I 1; Lampe *s.v.* 1), but, as the adverb is placed at the end of the clause, it seems like an afterthought; for a new edition of the papyrus see N. Litinas, *CE* 93, 2018, 145-148.

πλαγίως(?)

It is read in *P.Havn.* III 63, 17 (second half of IV-first half of V A.D.) πλαγίως, where the reading is uncertain. In addition, the meaning of this adverb in this account is not clear: we may translate it as “sideways” or “indirectly”; for the rare appearance in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* I4 and II; Lampe *s.v.*

πλατικῶς\*

It occurs in *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3420, 11-13 (IV A.D.) φθά{ν}ν<ε>ι ἄρτι Ἀμμωνια|νὸς γράφων εἰς Νεσμῖμιν πλα|τικῶς. οὕτω γράφ[<ε>ις], “Ammonianus has just written at length to Nesmimis; that is the way you write”. As the editor John Shelton has noted *ad loc.* “to judge from the entries under πλατικός in LSJ the translations “in general terms” [i.e. LSJ *s.v.* πλατικός II 2 “broadly speaking”, citing Achilles Tat. *Intr.Arat.* 18, Vettius Val. 274.34, Simplicius *in Cat.* 426.23, Joannes Philop. *In Cat.* 46.19; cf. also Stephanus, an Alexandrian medical writer of the sixth century, in the work *Commentary on Hippocrates’ Prognosticon* 1.4 and *passim*] and “in detail” [i.e. LSJ *s.v.* πλατικός II 3] are both defensible, and the context does not show which is meant here. I think that Ammonianus’ letter was one of lengthy complaint directed to some superior of Sarapammon and Ammonius who was staying in the village Nesmimis; but if πλατικῶς does not mean “in general terms”, then it may rather be that we should place a full stop after Νεσμῖμιν and take the adverb with what follows, i.e. “Ammonianus has already written to Nesmimis (complaining, or conceivably just asking for clarification of some points), of such lack of detail do you write”. I think that if we restore the second person indicative γράφ[<ε>ις] (and not γράφ[ει]), then the sense requires that the adverb πλατικῶς modifies this γράφ[<ε>ις] (and not the participle γράφων). The justification of the description of the letters written by Sarapammon as “long-winded” is written in the following lines: “You told us about 600 litras of meat, but you did not tell us how much it was per litra... and you did not state the price concerning the chaff... etc.”.

πλειόνως\*

This form was attested in the Greek literature, already in Aeneas *Tact.* 7.4 and in Josephus *AJ* 17.1.1 (see LSJ *s.v.* πλείων II 2 e). In Egypt, the adverb is attested only in a private letter of the Byzantine period, *SB* V 7656, 5-6 (IV-VII A.D.) ὡς τι πλειόνως συγκροτοῦνται παρ[ὰ] τῆ[ς] σῆ[ς] | μεγαλοποιίας τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα, “my affairs will be greatly promoted by Your Excellency”<sup>244</sup>.

<sup>244</sup> Therefore, one should disregard the comment of C.H. Roberts in the *ed. princ.* in “Two Letters of the Byzantine Period”, *JEA* 21, 1935, 56, 5n. “πλειόνως (for which there appears to be no other authority) is better regarded as a lapse on the part of the writer than as a legitimate contribution to Greek grammar. Possibly the ὡς should be bracketed as a dittography, the writer being uncertain whether τι πλείων should qualify θαρσῶ or συγκροτοῦνται”.



## πλεονεκτικῶς

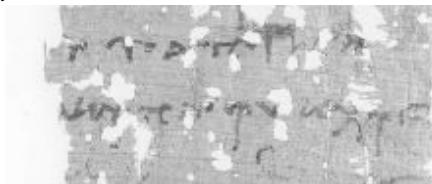
It occurs in an edict of the Prefect, *OGIS* 665, 15-17 (A.D. 48) καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἤκουόν τινας δαπάνας ἀδίκους καὶ παραλαγῆας ὑπὸ τῶν πλεονεκτικῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς ταῖς ἐξ[ο]υσίαις ἀποχρωμένων γ{ε}ίνεσθαι, with the meaning “greedy, grasping”. In papyri it is found in a petition to a strategos(?), *PSI* VIII 941, 2-3 (II A.D.) ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ περιγραφῇ πλεονεκτικῶς | διεπράξατο; cf. the comparative of the adjective πλεονεκτικός in *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3345, 74-76 (A.D. 209) ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς σχῆμα τ[ο]ῦ | ταμείου [πλ]ε[ο]ν[ε]κτικώτερον καὶ βιαιότερον πρᾶξει ἀπεσ[τ]ράφη[τ]ε.

## πληθικῶς

It is attested in a decree in inscription, Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 49 (A.D. 68). This is the only reference cited by LSJ *s.v.*, with the meaning “in the majority of instances”. *PSI* XV 1534, 10 (II A.D.) is a fragment of a petition, and is translated as “ogni occasione”, but the details of the situation are not clear. If we assume that a person acts violently, then the meaning might be “many times”, e.g. cf. LSJ *s.v.* πλήθος III 2 and 3.

## πλήρως

This adverb can be considered as having the same usage as ἐκ πλήρους, “in full”, in documents such as *SB* I 4652, 2 (A.D. 304) and *SB* XVIII 13260, 20 (A.D. 328) βουλομένη ἐκ[τ]ί[σ]αι τὸ χρέος π[λ]ή[ρ]ως; see LSJ *s.v.* πλήρης V and III 6<sup>245</sup>. In the private letter *P.Coll.Youtie* I 17, 15-17 (37 B.C.) [το]ῦτο δὲ ποιήσας | [ἐ]σηι πλήρως[ς] κεχαρισ[μ]ένος, “if you do this, you will be totally obliging<sup>246</sup>”, the reading [ἐ]σηι πλήρως[ς] is uncertain. The letters ση cannot be read at the beginning of the line, and there is no space for the σ of ως[ς] before κεχαρισ[μ]ένος. Moreover, based on parallels, a dative μοι or ἡμῖν would be expected before κεχαρισμένος.



(<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/api/image/apis/X-1921/3279R.TIF/full/large/0/native.jpg>)

## πληρωτικῶς

For the adjective see LSJ *s.v.* πληρωτικός III “acknowledging payment in full”. For later attestations see Lampe *s.v.* and *LBG s.v.* In Egypt the adverb is attested in:

<sup>245</sup> It cannot be said with certainty if the form πληρέστατα in *SPP* V 119, 17 (A.D. 266-267), *PSI* V 451, 20 (A.D. 341) and *SB* I 5320, 4 (second half of VI-VII A.D.) is an adjective or an adverb.

<sup>246</sup> The meaning of κεχαρισμένος is “acceptable, welcome, pleasing to someone” (see LSJ *s.v.* χαρίζω III 2). For the phrase cf. *P.Grenf.* II 14c, 7 (225 B.C.) χαριεῖ γὰρ μοι τοῦτο ποιήσας; *UPZ* I 64, 12-13 (156 B.C.) καὶ ἡμῖν | ἔσει μεγάλως κεχαρισμένος. χαρίζοι<ο> δ’ ἂν καὶ τοῦ σώματος | ἐπιμελόμενος. ἴν’ ὑ<γ>ίαίνης (see *s.v.* μεγάλως, p. 188); *P.Erasm.* I 6, 12-13 (c. 147-136 B.C.) τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔση | κεχαρισμένος θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις; *P.Tebt.* III 766, 15-17 (136 B.C.?) τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔση μοι κεχαρισ[μ]ένος, “by so doing you will confer on me a kindness”; *P.Tebt.* I 56, 15-17 (II B.C.) τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας | ἔση μοι κεχαρισμένος εἰς τὸν | ἅπαντα χρόνον, “if you do this I shall be eternally obliged to you”; *P.Oxy.* VII 1061, 17-20 (22 B.C.) ἐὰν οὖν σοι φαίνηται... ἔση μοι κεχαρισμένος; *BGU* XVI 2637, 11-12 (3/2 B.C.) πέμψαι ἴν’ ὦ | κεχαρισ[μ]ένος; *P.NYU* II 18, 13-14 (A.D. 6) τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔση μοι κεχαρισμένος; *P.Mert.* II 62, 9-10 (A.D. 7) τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας | ἔση μοι κεχαρισ[μ]ένος.

Petitions: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 14 (A.D. 548-549) εὐγνωμόνως καὶ πληρωτικῶς τοὺς εὐ[σε|β|εῖς] ὑμῶν φόρους εισάγουσι; *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, I 16, 22 18, iii 6 (A.D. 567) καὶ εὐγνωμόνως καὶ πληρωτικῶς; it is restored in *P.Lond.* V 1674, 10 (c. A.D. 570) εισφέρου[εν] ἀνελλιπῶς [καὶ εὐγνωμόνως καὶ πληρωτικῶς]; in a division of inheritance: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314 fr. 3, 25-26 (A.D. 569-570) εὐ[γ]νωμόνως κ[α]ὶ πληρωτικῶς | ἀποδοῦναι σοι; cf. the adverb εὐγνωμόνως with πληρῶσαι in *P.Flor.* III 296, 51-52 (before A.D. 548-565?) τὰ δημόσια εὐγνωμόνως πληρῶσαι.

#### ποικίλως\*

It occurs in the private letter *SB* II 6823, 20-22 (A.D. 41-54) καὶ οἱ κονια[τα] ποικί|λωσ πάντα πεποιήκα[σι καὶ] ποι|σοῦσι, “the plasterers have done and do everything in various colors”; cf. Olsson 1925, no 34, p. 102, n. *ad loc.*, ποικίλως (see LSJ *s.v.* ποικίλος II 1) = ποικίλα. It is also attested in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 108, 37-38 (end of II A.D.) τάξιν γὰρ εὐρῶν ποικίλως διατρέχουσιν ἐξῆς πηγῆς τε πρὸς τέρμ' ἐξ ἴσου σύμφωνον ἀποτελεσμένον, where the meaning is “intricately” (see LSJ *s.v.* ποικίλος III 3).

#### πολλαπλασίως\*

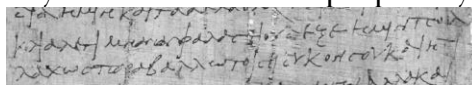
It occurs in a Christian letter, *SB* V 7872, 9-10 (A.D. 306-337) διὰ [τῆ]ν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐντολή[ν, ὅστις ἀποδώη σοι] | πολλαπλασίως; cf. e.g. Maximus Conf., *Sch. In Eccl.* 11 οὗ πολλαπλασίως ἀπολαύσεις παρὰ θεοῦ ἐλέους; also Johannes Chr., *PG* 61, 130 τοῦτο τοῖνυν καὶ ἐνταῦθα γινέσθω· ἄφες αὐτὰ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἵνα ἀποδῶ σοι τὸν μισθὸν πολλαπλασίως; see LSJ *s.v.* πολλαπλάσιος I.

#### πολλαχῶς

Although the adverb is usually found in the Greek literature with the meaning “in many ways” (see LSJ *s.v.*), its first appearance in the Greek papyri is in a private letter of the third century A.D., where the sender also uses some other adverbs ending in -ως (μεγάλως, εὐχρώμως, εὐδόξως, προθύμως):

*PSI* XII 1261, 3-7 (A.D. 212-217) μεγάλως καὶ πολλαχῶς ἥσθημεν τοῦ Γορ|γίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενομένου καὶ δηλώσαν|τος ἡμῖν ὅτι τε ἔρωσαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς | ἡμῶν εὐχρώμως καὶ εὐδόξως ὡς | ἔπρεπέν σοι ἀπήλλαξας; cf. II. 16-17 ταῦτα προθύμως καὶ εἰς ἐμὴν τιμὴν | ποιήσεις.

In the private letter *PSI* VII 837, 13-14 (III-IV A.D.) πολ|λαχῶς παραβάλλω τοῖσι εἰς ἕκον (*l.* οἶκον) σου, “in many ways I come near to the people in your house”; for παραβάλλω see LSJ *s.v.* B I).



(<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;7;837>)

In *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 23-24 (A.D. 108) ἐρωτῶ [σε τῆ]ν κυρ[ίαν μου . . .] .χως καὶ ἰλαρῶς | εὐφραί[ν]εσθαι, “therefore I ask you, my lady, to be . . . and merrily joyful”, one of the probable restorations (of an adverb ending in χως) is πολλαχῶς or συν|εχῶς (see p. 235).

Moreover, it occurs in a private letter of the early Byzantine period: *P.Lond.* VI 1914, 38-39 (A.D. 335) πολλαχῶς οὖν ἦλθαν ἐπὶ | αὐτὸν καὶ μέχρις νῦν οὐκ ἀπεδήμησεν. It seems that the adverb is usually placed at the beginning of the clause and modifies the main verb.

Finally, it is attested in the official correspondence of Kurrah ben Sharik with the pagarches Basileios:

*P.Lond.* IV 1338, 32-33 (A.D. 709) ἀγωνίαι τοῖνυν καθὼς πολλαχῶς | εἴρηται ἀμελλητὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς; *P.Lond.* IV 1384, 40-41 (A.D. 708-710) ὡς | πολλαχῶς εἴρηται; Cf. also another official letter, *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 1 36-37 (A.D. 710) τοῦ μὴ ἠυρεθῆναι αὐτοῦς | αἰτίους εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα τῶν πολλαχῶς μνημονευθέντων | φυ[γά]δ[ων].

πολυπραγμόνως

Although the verb *πολυπραγμαῶ* occurs in various documents of the Roman and Byzantine period, the adverb *πολυπραγμόνως* is found only in the lawsuit against Hermias, *P.Tor.Choach.* 12, viii 30-31 (117 B.C.) *πολυπραγμόνως δὲ προσεπισπῶμενον τὴν | τῶι στρατηγῶι καθήκουσαν ἐξουσίαν*, which is also the only example of this adverb in the Greek language (see LSJ *s.v.* *πολυπράγμων* 1) until the 10<sup>th</sup> century (then cf. only Const. Porph., *Narratio de imagine Edessena* 2 [von Dobschütz] and Theoph. Continuatus, *Chron.* p. 311 [Bekker]). The adverb *πολυπραγματικῶς* with the same meaning is found in the patristic literature; cf. Lampe *s.v.*

πολυτελεστέρως\*

The adverb is attested only in a private letter in the Zenon archive with the meaning “in the costliest manner”: *PSI* V 486, 11-13 (257 B.C.) *ἵνα μὴ | ὕστερον πολυτελεστέρως | καθιστῆται τὰ ἔργα* (see Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 178). Even though the reading of the letter σ seems uncertain, and certainly we cannot read the adjective *πολυτελέστερα* (comparing *PSI* IV 418, 18-20 (263-229 B.C.) *ἀλλ’ εἴ σοι ἡμῶν | πολυτελέστερον τὸ τριβώνιον | φαίνεται εἶναι*) or the adverb *πολυτελέστατον*, any other proposal does not provide good sense and syntax. The certain comparative of the adverb (in -ως) is not found in the Greek literature; cf. only *πολυτελῶς*; see LSJ *s.v.* *πολυτελής* II, citing Eupolis fr. 335, Lysias 7.31, Xenophon *Mem.* 3.11.4, and *τὰ πολυτελέστατα* in Herodotus 2.87 *οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς*.

πονηρῶς

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* *πονηρός* III (for the moral sense of the adjective); Bauer *s.v.* In the papyri it occurs only in *P.Worp* 6 (I-II A.D.; = *SB* XVIII 13931), which is a pleading of Claudius Silvanus and his brothers to the Lady Athena against Longinus, son of Marcus. Longinus, against whom they complain a lot in front of Athena, because he has attacked them and threatened their lives, while they have done nothing wrong, they are poor, he has no profit in the case, but (ll. 10-11) *πονηρῶς προσ|έρχεται*(αι), “he attacks us in a wicked way, so they ask her to defend us. They added that they (“he” proposed by P. Gascou in *P.Worp* 6, p. 31; see, however, P. van Minnen in *BASP* 46, 2009, 200) have also pled to Amon”. The adverb is subject-oriented (and is used instead of adjective) in order that the way of the attack by Longinus, which could be also a dominant personality trait, can be clearly indicated; see 8-11n. in *ed. princ.* by Cl. Gallazzi in *ZPE* 61, 1985, 109, “la precisazione intende far notare che Longino aggrediva, non perché avesse una ragione specifica o perché ricavasse qualche vantaggio, ma soltanto per malvagità e sadismo. Così il vessatore viene situato sotto una luce più fosca; mentre i supplici risultano vittime innocenti della sua gratuita crudeltà”.

πράως / πραέως\*

It is attested in a petition with the meaning “mildly, gently”, where it precedes and modifies the verb *φέρω*: *P.Ammon* II 47, 3-5 (A.D. 348) *καὶ θέαμα ἰδεῖν οὐδαμ[ῶ]ς | οὔτε τῶι πάσχοντι[ι] φορητόν, οὔτε τ[οῖς θε]ωμένοις ἀνεκτόν, πρά[ω]ς | ἐνεγκ[εῖν ἐν σιωπῇ[ι τὴν] θέαν*; cf. *ed. princ.*, n. *ad loc.*, citing examples from the classical literature; see also Plato *Crito* 43b *πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ νῦν παρεστῶση συμφορᾷ, ὡς ραδίως αὐτὴν καὶ πράως φέρεις*; LSJ *s.v.*

πρᾶος III; cf. also the phrase πράως καὶ σιωπῇ in Plutarch *Pericles* 34.1; *Aratus* 52.4; *Galba* 21.2. The form πράεως appears in the letter of Claudius, *P.Lond.* VI 1912, 82-83 (A.D. 41) Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν | πράεως καὶ φιλανθρώπως (*l.* φιλανθρώπως) προσφέροντε (*l.* προσφέρονται) Ἰουδαίος<ι>, and in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 144, 4-6 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὀπωσθηποτοῦν | ἠγνωμονηκέναι φάσκοντας εὐδιαλύτως | καὶ πράεως διατίθεσθαι (see Mayser 1936, 124). It is interesting, but it might be just a coincidence, that, as said, the adverb is attested in Plato, and in the same exercise the adverb ἀπαρακαλύπτως in l. 3 is also attested in the same author.

The adverb occurs in a fragmentary part of a private letter of the Byzantine period, *SB* I 5314, 16 (IV-VII A.D.) δύνομαι ἔτι πράως τοῦ ὑποδ[, where it seems to have the same meaning, that is “bearing gently a tragic case”; see l. 14 ἐγενόμεθα εἰς τραγῳδίαν. In addition, it occurs in a private letter of the same period, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *SB* I 4744, 7 πράεως, where the context is not clear.

#### πρεπόντως\*

The adverb means “in a manner befitting, suitably to the times”, and it is constructed in the private letters either with the dative or the genitive. First, it is found in an official letter, *UPZ* I 110, 76-77 (164 B.C.) καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς πρεπόντως. The same phrase appears in about the same period in Polybius 30.31.19 πρεπόντως τοῖς καιροῖς.

This meaning is also attested in an early Roman letter, *PSI* XII 1242 (I B.C.-I A.D.), and a Byzantine letter *CPR* VIII 28 (IV A.D.). In ll. 8-11 of the former, ὑμᾶς ἐορτάσαι πρε|πόντως τῇ πρώτῃ γενε|θλίῳ Διονυσίου πρώτου γεν|νηθέντος παιδίου, the infinite ἐορτάσαι is modified by the adverb (the adverb follows) which is constructed with the dative τῇ πρώτῃ γενε|θλίῳ, “in a manner befitting the first birthday” of the child. In the Byzantine papyrus *CPR* VIII 28, 12-13 καλῶς δὲ ποιήσ<ε>ις καὶ πρε|πόντως τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου, it has the meaning of “suitably to your nobility”. In addition, in the private letter *P.Havn.* II 18, 8-13 (III A.D.), the adverb is constructed both with the genitive and the dative, εὐχαριστῶν μου | τὸν πατέρα ὅσα ἐπ’ εὐ|πρέπειαν (see also *s.v.* εὐπρεπῶς) τῶν ἀνθρώ|πων πρεπόντως αὐ|τοῦ (“in a manner worthy of him”) καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τοῦ | οἴκου αὐτοῦ ὅλου (“suitably to all his house”).

Apart from the appearances of the adverb in letters, there are a few instances in testaments and contracts of the late third century A.D. onwards, but it is not accompanied by a dative:

**Testaments:** *P.Oxy.* VI 907, 17 (A.D. 276) πρεπόντως περὶ τὴν συμβίωσιν; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 189-191 (A.D. 570) καὶ ἔξιν | αὐτὸν ὡ[σ]αύ[τ]ως τῆ[ν] τῶν π[ρα]γμάτων πρεπόντ[ως] τ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ | Ξεωνῶνος κηδεμονίαν. **Lease contracts:** *P.Heid.* V 354, 5 (VI A.D.) δώσω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν τρυγητικὴν δαπάνην πρεπόντως πρὸς τὸ ἔθος; *P.Vind.Bosw.* 10, 1-5 (IV A.D.?) ἀποδώ[σω]... τὸν μ[ὲν] πυρ[ὸν]... πρε|[πόντως] μετρῶ] \ [μέτρῳ] παραλημπτικῶ/ ἐφ’ ἀλώνων τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης. Moreover, it occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 58, 8 (III-IV A.D.).

#### προηγουμένως\*

Its first occurrence is in *P.Stras.* IV 259, 16, a private letter of the second century A.D., but because of the fragmentary condition of the papyrus in this position, its meaning is not clear: it may not mean “previously” (see LSJ *s.v.* I) or “originally”, “essentially” etc. (see also Lampe *s.v.*), or it may be an early use of a formulaic greeting expression, which is attested in the private letters of the end of the third century, and

mainly in the fourth century A.D., προηγουμένως πολλά σε προσαγορεύω (οἱ εὐχομαι οἱ ἀσπάζομαι). The adverb means “chiefly, first” (see LSJ *s.v.* II 2), and it constitutes a compressed elliptic sentence, the omitted constituents of which are understood, and which could be expanded as “before writing anything else”:

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1770, 4 (late III A.D.); *P.Erl.* 118, 4 (III-IV A.D.); *PSI* III 236, 3 (III-IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1774, 4 (early IV A.D.); *SB* VIII 9746, 3 (early IV A.D.); *P.Abinn.* 25, 3 (c. A.D. 346); *P.Kellis* I 5, 3-4 (first half of IV A.D.); *P.Abinn.* 36, 5 (middle IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 71, 4 (middle IV A.D.); *SB* XXII 15359, 4 (middle IV A.D.); *P.Herm.Rees* 9, 4 (late IV A.D.); *P.Herm.Rees* 10, [4] (*BL* XII, p. 88); *SB* XIV 11588, 2-3 (late IV A.D.); *P.Giss.* I 103, 3-4 (IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 73, 2-3 (IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 75, 5-6 (IV A.D.); *P.Lond.* III 1244, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.NagHamm.* 66, 5 (IV A.D.); *P.NagHamm.* 70, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.Neph.* 1, 4 (IV A.D.); *P.Neph.* 4, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.Neph.* 10, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.Neph.* 12, 2 (IV A.D.); *P.Neph.* 18, 5 (IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3314, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3396, 3 (IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3421, 3 (IV A.D.); *PSI* VII 829, 3 (IV A.D.); *O.Douch* V 635, 3 (IV-early V A.D.); *P.Vars.* 26, 3 (IV-V A.D.).

Moreover, it occurs in only one official document (petition or proceedings):

*P.Lips.* I 41, 13-14 (= *M. Chr.* 300) (later IV A.D.) προηγου|μένως μὲν αὐτῇ [ἐ]γ'γράφως τὸ χρεωστούμενον ἔδνον ἀποδοθῆναι, ἔπ'ε/ιτα δὲ κα[ι] ἄ ἀπηνέγκατο.

προθύμως\* – προθυμότερον\* – προθυμότατα\*

It occurs in official documents, mostly of the Ptolemaic period (for its meaning “bereitwilling” see Mayser 1936, 124), in one contract of lease of the Ptolemaic period (*W.Chr.* 1; 246 B.C.)<sup>247</sup>, and, so far, in twelve private letters of the Ptolemaic, two of the Roman and and four of the the Byzantine period. The sense is that someone performs an action or undertakes a duty, which seems to be a burden, without objection; see LSJ *s.v.* πρόθυμος; Spicq 1978, 746-751; Bauer *s.v.* In most cases when it is used in the private letters the sender states that he himself would take care of easy tasks or various burdens. Only in two examples the sender asks for specific favours or gives specific instructions:

*BGU* II 486, 9-12 (II A.D.) ἵνα δὲ προθύμ[ως οἱ] | ὀφείλοντες ὑπακούσῃσι τῇ ἀποδοσεί, ἴστωσ[αν, ὅτι] | γνήσιον ἀποδόντ[ο] \ε/ς πρόστ[ε]μον τὰ νῦν οὐ π[ρα]χθήσου[ν] | [τ]αι, where the meaning is “pay taxes without hesitation, willingly, readily”; *P.Flor.* II 157, 6-13 (A.D. 249-268) σπουδῇ σοι γενέσθω ἄρ[του]σ[ι] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπ[η]ρεσίαν ἀποστέλλειν αὐ[τῷ] τοῖς ἵνα ὑπηρετούμε[νοι] προθύμως ἡμῖν | ἐργάζωνται ἔχοντες | τὸ ἀμέριμον τῶν | τροφῶν, which is a letter from the Heroninos archive, where the meaning is “work in a private estate willingly and easily”. Alypius asks that bread and any necessary service should be provided to the workers so they would work without being anxious concerning the provision of their food, in ll. 6-13<sup>248</sup>.

The adverb was part of a formulaic expression which means “take care of easy tasks or various arduous duties”:

(a) The phrase ποιήσω (future indicative) σοι (dative) προθύμως (at the end) whatever you want (e.g. ὧν ἂν χρεῖαν ἔχης) appears in a number of papyri of the Zenon archive, dating from the third century B.C.; both the meanings of “eagerly” and “readily” are meant at the same time:

<sup>247</sup> Moreover, it occurs in inscriptions: in Milne 1905, 19,33027, 8-10 (112-111 B.C.) εὐσεβῶς τε διακείμενος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον προθύμως πεπότηται μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ δαφιλοῦς δαπάνης; *OGIS* 51, 6-13 (285-246 B.C.; = *SB* V 8855) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος τυγχάνει. τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται. καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιτιδοῦς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα. καλῶς δ' ἔχει τοὺς τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαιομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς, where there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως; in the honorary inscription, *SB* III 7246, 7-8 (end of III-beginning of II B.C.) ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτιδοῦς προθύμως εἰς πᾶν τὸ κοινῆι συμφέρον.

<sup>248</sup> J.D. Thomas (in *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4530, 30n.) refers to this example as “where προθύμως is no doubt to be taken with the particle as well as the main verb”, but it is clear that the adverb modifies the following main verb.

*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59508, 8 (258-256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59442, 15 (middle III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59575, 8 (middle III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59804, 12 (258 B.C.); *P.Lond.* VII 2069, 5 (middle III B.C.); *SB XVIII* 13617, 5 (middle III B.C.); in *SB XXII* 15278, 16-19 (246-245 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ καλῶς | ποιήσεις μὴ ὀκνῶν γράφειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς | πᾶν γὰρ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ προθύμως | καὶ ἀόκνως ποιήσομεν, we find a parallel example, where also the adverb ἀόκνως (see *s.v.*) is used in the same phrase.

(b) Moreover, in the private letters of the Zenon archive, the adverb precedes and modifies verbs which mean “assist”:

(*συνεργῶ*) *P.Lond.* VII 2026, 9-14 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις | γινώ[σ]κων τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς | ἄλ[λους] παρακαλ[ῶν] τῶν καλῶς | ἐχ[όν]των, προθύ[μ]ως | αὐτῶν/ συνερ[γῶ]ν καὶ ἡμῶν εἵνεκεν καὶ | αὐτοῦ τοῦ νεαίουσκου; *SB XXVI* 16636, 4-6 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς οὖν | ποιήσεις ἐά[ν] τινὰ σου χρεῖαν ἔχη ἢ πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ πρὸς ἄλλο τι | [τῶν καλῶς ἐ]χόντων προθύμως αὐτῶι συνεργῶν, “tu feras donc bien de collaborer avec lui de bon cœur s’il a quelque besoin de toi soit pour cette affaire soit pour tout autre motif honorable”; (*συλλαμβάνομαι* + dative; see LSJ *s.v.* συλλαμβάνω VI) *P.Lond.* VII 2027, 3-6 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις φροντίσας τῶν ἀνθρώπων... καὶ περὶ τήν | γεωμετριαν ἵνα μηθὲν ἀδικηθῶσιν, καὶ ἕαν τινὰ σου ἄλλην χρεῖαν ἔχῳσιν, προθύμως | αὐτοῖς συναμβανόμενος καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν; (*συναντιλαμβάνομαι* + genitive) *P.Mich.* XVIII 770, 9-15 (197 B.C.) ἐν οἷς ἂν οὖν | ὑμῶν τυγχάνη χρεῖαν ἔχων | τῶν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνηκόντων | καλῶς ποιήσετε συναντιλαμβανόμενοι αὐτοῦ προθύμως ὅπως | μηθὲν τῶν εἰς τὸ βασιλικ[ὸν] | χρησίμων παραλείπη[ται], “in whatever matters, then, he happens to need from you the things pertaining to this, you will do well to co-operate with him so that none of the things beneficial to the royal treasury be neglected”<sup>249</sup>.

Only two instances of the adverb occur in the private letters of the Roman period (both in the beginning of the third century A.D.) and always precede the modified the verb:

*PSI XII* 1261, 14-17 (A.D. 212-217) καθὼς ἐπέστειλὲν σοι ἡ ἀγαθὴ Ἡ|ρωδιάνα, εἴ τι ἔχεις ἢ οἶδας ἢ συμβουλευσαι δὴ|νασαι, ταῦτα προθύμως καὶ εἰς ἐμὴν τιμὴν | ποιήσεις, where the sender, Apollonios, asks from the recipient, Diogenes, to do everything readily. The adverb modifies the future indicative ποιήσεις, but it is placed before it, and the dative of the Ptolemaic papyri (see above (a)) has been replaced by the prepositional καὶ εἰς ἐμὴν τιμὴν. In this private letter there are many adverbs in -ως (see introduction, p. XX); *P.Vet. Aelii* 18, 36-37 (A.D. 222-255) περὶ τούτων ἀντίγρα|φόν μοι ἴνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἕαν λάβ[ω]ν --- | καὶ προθύμως δώμ[ε]ν, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition.

In the Byzantine period the adverb can modify various verbs:

(*ἀναφέρω*) *P.Lond.* VI 1927, 10-15 (middle IV A.D.) ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ κάγῳ μέλλω εὐθυ|με<ε>ῖσθαι ὅταν ὁ ἀγαθὸς δούλος δι|α γραμματάω[ν] με προσδέξηται|ι | καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐ[μ]οῦ εὐχὰς ἀναφέρει | προθύμως πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην | ἐν <ε>ἰλικρινεῖ διανοίᾳ; (*δηλῶ*) *P.Rain.Cent.* 161, 30-32 (V A.D.) <ε>ἰ δὲ θέλεις, | τελε<ε>ιώσω τὰ διὰ σοῦ ἔργα προθύμως ζηλοσόν (*l. δήλωσόν*) μοι, | ἵνα τελε<ε>ιώσω καὶ ἀποστελο (*l. ἀποστελῶ*) σοι, it is debatable whether it modifies the imperative δήλωσον (ζηλοσόν in the papyrus) or the preceding verb τελειώσω: “if you want, I will execute your tasks willingly; tell me so as to finish them, and I will send (them?) to you” or “if you want, I

<sup>249</sup> See now also *P.Köln XVI* 651, 7n., p. 201. Moreover, in some official letters the same phrases are attested: *P.Hib.* I 82, 17-19 (239-237 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν [π]οιήσεις | συναν[τι]λ[α]μβανόμενος προθύμως περὶ τῶν | εἰς ταῦτα συγκυρόντων, “please therefore to give your zealous co-operation in all that concerns this”; *P.Tebt.* III 709, 12-13 (158 B.C.) καλῶς ποιήσετε ἀντιλαμ|βανόμενοι προθύμως, “you will therefore do well to support him zealously”; *SB XII* 11078, 10-11 (c. 100 B.C.) [καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε] συνερ[γ]οῦντες | [αὐ]τῶ[ι] προ|θ[ύ]μ[ω]ς, “[you will do well to] support him zealously”; cf. also *P.Rain.Cent.* 46, 23-25, as proposed to be restored by N. Kruit (see *BL IX*, on p. 184).

In *SB XVI* 12287 (214 B.C.), an official letter, the sender orders the recipient to take care of some actions concerning the transportation of wheat. At the end he asks him to see to it personally, and in the lost part of the papyrus the adverb [προθύμ]ως has been restored to modify the imperative σ[α]υτὸν ἐπίδος (and it is placed between these words): ll. 6-8 μηδὲν δ' ἧσσον καὶ σ[α]υτὸν | [προθύμ]ως ἐπίδος ἐν τούτοις. ἵνα μηδεμία πρόφασις αὐτοῖς κατὰ|[λείπη]ται, “and devote yourself no less zealously on this occasion, so that no pretext may be left to them”, based on *UPZ I* 110, 188-189 (164 B.C.) τῶν ἐχόν|των τὰ κτήνη προθύμως ἑαυτοῦς ἐπιδιδόντων, although some other restorations could also give sense, e.g. continually συνεχῶς, carefully ἐπιμελῶς; cf. also *P.Freib.* IV 68, 21-23 (II-III A.D.) καὶ τε|θαρρημένως σαυτὸν ἐπίδος ἐπ[ι] τῆ τῶ[ν] | σῶν φροντίδι, “and resolutely devote yourself to taking care of your things”.

will execute your tasks; tell me readily so as to finish them and I will send you". It seems that the former is more probable; (εὐρίσκω) *P.Ant.* II 95 (VI A.D.), a business letter, where the writer asks the recipient of the letter to issue some orders so that the writer can fulfil some obligations, ll. 13-15 ποιῆσαί μοι τὸ ἐντολικὸν ἵνα εὔρω προθύμως Θεοῦ συνπράττοντος | καὶ συνάρσει τοῦ κυρίου Κοσμά τοῦ ἐμβολ[ά]τορος φροντίσαι τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπο|λειφθέντων ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, "please make out for me the authorization in order that I may be able actively, by God's help and with the aid of the embolator Cosmas, to care for the remaining business left for us"; (πράττω) *PSI* III 238, 4-5 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ πιστεύω εἰς τὸν δεσπότην Θεὸν ὅτι πάντα | τὰ θεραπεύοντα τὴν αὐτοῦ παιδευσιν προθύμως ἔχω πράξει.

Finally, the comparative and the superlative of the adverb occur also in private letters of the Ptolemaic, Roman and early Byzantine periods, and in most cases modify the verb ποιῶ:

Comparative προθυμότερον: *UPZ* I 146, 16 (III B.C.) πολλῶι προθυμ[ότερο]ν [ἔτι ποιήσῃσιν; *P.Tebt.* I 59, 9-11 (99 B.C.) προθυμ[ότερον] διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν φοβεῖσθαι | καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ ἱερόν; *P.Prag.Varcl* NS 41, 5-7 (A.D. 258) ἵνα | πάλιν προθυμότερον ποιή|σουσιν; *P.Louvre* I 67, 10 (last quarter of III A.D.) προθυμότερον μεμνήκα [. Moreover, in official documents: *P.Amh.* II 20, 4 (A.D. 113-117) προθυμότερον ὑπομέ[νω]ς τὸ ἀνάλωμα [; and probably *SPP* V 50, 2 (III A.D.), where we may restore προ|θυμότερον? Cf. also in the edict des M. Sempronius Liberalis, *SB* XX 14662, 14-15 (A.D. 154) ἵνα δὲ τοῦτο προθυμ[ό]τε[ρο]ν κ[αὶ] ἥδιο[ν] πο[ι]ή[σ]ω[σιν], where the forms seems to be rather the adverbs than the adjectives.

Superlative προθυμότατα: *P.Amh.* II 41, 18-20 (II B.C.) ὡς προθυμ[ό]τα[τα] πα[ρ] . . . σω . . . |θησομένου; *P.Princ.* II 68, 9-10 (II A.D.?) πάντα τὰ κε|λευόμενά μοι| ὑπὸ σοῦ προθυμ[ό]τα[τα] ποιήσω, "whatever you order, I will do very zealously"; *SB* XII 11009, 7-10 (late III-early IV A.D.) [ὁμο]λογοῦντα αὐτῶι προ|θυμ[ό]τατα τὴν ἀπουσίαν | σου ἀναπληροῦντι ἐν οἷς | ἐὰν δεηθῶ, "know that I am grateful to him for acting for you with utmost zeal in your absence in whatever I may ask of him".

#### προνοητικῶς

For the attestations in the Greek literature see LSJ *s.v.* προνοητικός; Lampe *s.v.* In Egypt it is used in a homology concerning the freedom of a servant, *SB* XVIII 13274, B 10-11 (beginning of VI A.D.) προνοητικῶς | βουλευσάμενοι, "having decided providently";

#### προοφθάλμως(?)

It is only attested in an official letter, *P.Tebt.* I 28, 18-19 (117 B.C.) ὅπως καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προοφθάλμως λαβόντες τῆ[ν] | ἐσομένην ὑπὸ σοῦ μισοπόνηρον ἐπίστα[σιν], "in order that the rest may obtain a conspicuous illustration to show how you will suppress wrongdoing"; see LSJ *s.v.*, citing only this example, "before one's eyes". On the other hand, Mayser 1936, 123, n. 1 (and Mayser 1933-1934, 177, n. 2) refers to Grönert, who has corrected it to πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν (this correction not yet in *BL*). However, the reading προοφθάλμως seems certain (see photograph in <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.tebt; 1;28/images>), although there are some traces of ink after ς, and λ is larger than the other ones in the same document. Obviously, it is coined based on the prepositional πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν: cf. e.g. Demosthenes *In Arist.* 2.25 καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς παρανομίας συμβαίνοντα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι θεωρήσαίτε; Polybius 3.109 αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοντες πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λείπεσθαι καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν διαφοράν.

#### προπετῶς

The meaning is "headlong, hastily" (see LSJ *s.v.* προπετής III 2) and occurs in papyri of the third century A.D., although the adverb is attested in the Greek literary texts from the fourth century B.C. The negation, found usually in the clause, indicates that something should not be done in haste:

*SB* VIII 9925, 3 (III A.D.), an (official?) note concerning lists of penthemeros, τοὺς λόγους τῶν | πενθημερῶν μὴ | προπετῶς γράφης | ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃς εἰς τὸ | λογιστήριον τοῦ | στρατηγοῦ, "do not draw up the lists of

the five days' *corvées* prematurely, before you have gone to the office of the *strategus*", where it precedes and modifies the verb γράφης; *P.Oxy.* XLII 3028, 7 (A.D. 232-247), ἔργων ὡς οὐλτε/ προπετῶς ἐπὶ ταῦτα, a official letter (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), where it seems that there is discussion about some works that must not be done hastily.

προσεχόντως\*

In a private letter, *SB XIV* 11853, 5-6 (III-IV A.D.) περὶ δὲ τῶν | ἐργατῶν τῆς κοιλάδος προσεχόντως ἐπιστα[λή]τω Χαυνῆ, "concerning the workmen in the hollow, let careful instructions be sent to Chaunes", the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἐπιστέλλω; see A.K. Bowman's and J.D. Thomas' comment in *ed. princ.*, p. 308, 6n. "quoted by LSJ only from Menander and medical writers [LSJ] *s.v.* προσεχόντως, "Adv. of προσέχω I.4, attentively, carefully, Hippocrates *Dent.* 12, Menander *Mon.* 191, Crito ap. Gal. 13.884]. προσεχέστερον occurs in a parallel context in *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 13 ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον προσεχέστερον ἐπέ[σ]τειλλας, but the form προσεχόντως is new to the papyri. It is sufficient by itself to suggest that the writer of our letter was a man of some education, but it nevertheless strikes a discordant note when compared with the ordinary language of the rest of the letter".

[προσεχῶς] – προσεχέστερον\*

The positive degree does not occur so far in papyri; cf., however, the form προσεχόντως (see *s.v.*). In the private letter *P.Mich.* VIII 486, 12-14 (II A.D.; c. A.D. 1301-47; see TM 27096) ἐπ[ισ]τεῖλαί μοι μᾶλλον προσεχέστερον | ἐπέ[σ]τειλλας, the phrase is placed parenthetically and the editors J.C. Winter JG and H.C. Youtie translate it as "since in this situation you enjoined upon me with considerable earnestness to write to you"; see LSJ *s.v.* προσεχής I 4 and III; cf. also the meaning "more directly" of the adverb προσεχεστέρως in Leontius Hier., *PG* 86, 1725 (see Lampe *s.v.*).

προσηκόντως

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.*; Lampe *s.v.* In papyri it is found with the meaning "not properly" only in official documents:

A petition, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Polit.Iud.* 16, 8 (143-132 B.C.); an inscription concerning the temple of Heron, *I.Fay.* III 152, 26-27 (95 B.C.) τὸ δ' ὄλον οὐ προσηκόντως ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπαιτεῖν; an edict of the Prefect, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Oxy.* LI 3613, 23 (A.D. 279) [προ]σηκόντως; a nomination of a protodemotes, *P.Oxy.* LIX 3987, 12 (A.D. 532) ἐξανύσαι ἐπὶ τῆς μνημογευθείσης ἑνδεκάτης ἐπινημύσεως προσηκόντως; in an authenticated copy of a petition to the Prefect *P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4961, [25], 72 (A.D. 223), which is also preserved in a fragmentary condition.

προσηνῶς

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* προσηνῆς II "gently"; Bauer *s.v.* It occurs in a metrical inscription (vision of Maximus), in Bernand 1969, no 168, 13-14 (end of I-III A.D.) ρεῖθροις ἐδόκουν γὰρ ποταμοῦ σῶμα ἀπο[λο]ύειν, ἱκανοῖς ἀπὸ Ν<ε>ίλου γλυκεροῦ ὕδασι προσ[η]νῶς.

προστακτικῶς

It is attested in a testament with the meaning "by commanding someone", *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 227-228 (A.D. 570) καὶ | ὡσαύτως προστακτικῶς προβῆναι. This use of the adverb is not found in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* προστακτικός I; Lampe *s.v.*

προσφάτως

The adverb occurs in a school exercise, dated to c. 164/163 B.C., *UPZ* I 144, 10-11 δι' ὃν προσ|φάτως προσεῖλησαι φίλον (see Mayser 1936, 123). Its first attestation in the



Greek literature is in the fourth century B.C.; see LSJ *s.v.* πρόσφατος II, “newly, lately”, citing Aen. Tact. 16.2.

προφανῶς

See LSJ *s.v.* προφανής II; Wagner 1999, 283-284. It is only found in official documents of the second century B.C. (see Mayser 1933-1934, 177):

A petition to the epistrategos, *P.Dryton* 33, 17 (136 B.C.) προφανῶς ἔνοχοι ὄντες φωραῖ λείας ἐφημμένοι ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ταῦτ' ὀρφανικῶν; in an official letter, warning the addressees not to take sides with persons working against the profit of the crown, *P.Tebt.* I 25, 4-6 (117 B.C.) οὐδὲ ὑμ<ε>ῖς | δόξετε προφανῶς συγκαθίστασθαι τῆι | ἐτέρων ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος σπουδῆι (also see ll. 10-11). In both cases the adverb precedes and modifies the verbal form, and it has the usual meaning (also found in the Greek literature) “clearly”.

προχείρως

It occurs only in an official petition, *P.Oxy.* XII 1468, 4-5 (c. A.D. 256-258) τοῖς κακουργεῖν προχεί|ρως ἔχουσιν τέχνη “the wicked designs of those who are ready to commit crimes by artifice”. Based on the events, which are described in this petition, it seems that the meaning here does not require also “hurriedly, rashly”; see LSJ *s.v.* πρόχειρος III.

προφρονέως

It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 35, 17-18 (I B.C.?) καὶ με συνάορον οὔσαν ἐμὸς πόσις ἐκτερέϊξεν, | προφρονέως δ<ε>ικνύς εὔνοϊαν, ἦν ἔχε μοι; and in an honorary inscription, Bernand 1969, no 115, ii 6-8 (I A.D.?) αὐτῶ| ἄμα προφρόν[ως βαρύκτυ]πον Ἐνωσίγ[αιον; see LSJ *s.v.* πρόφρων II, “willingly, readily, earnestly”.

πρωιμότερον

The comparative is only attested in official correspondence of the Ptolemaic period: *W.Chr.* 331, 24-25 (113 B.C.) τῆς εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τῶν καθηκόντων | εἰσπράξεως πρωιμότερον γενηθεί[ση]ς; see LSJ *s.v.* πρώϊμος II “precocious”, citing this example; Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 178. Moreover, the adverb πρωίμως is found in later texts: (15<sup>th</sup> cent.) Καταβαφὴ λίθων καὶ σμαράγδων καὶ λιχνιτῶν καὶ ὑακίνθων (cod. Paris. B.N. gr. 2327, fol. 147r) 2, 363; (13<sup>th</sup> cent.?) Περὶ διαφορᾶς λέξεων (cod. Vat. Gr. 2226) 171.

πρωτοτύπως\*

It is used in official documents<sup>250</sup> and private letters of the fourth century A.D. Its meaning is “originally, chiefly, in the first instance” (see LSJ *s.v.* πρωτότυπος III; Lampe *s.v.*) and is used as προηγουμένως and the non temporal use of πρώτως (see *s.v.*, p. 224); e.g. *SPP* XX 75, iii, 4-5... 8-10 (IV A.D.) πρωτοτ[ύπ]ως ἀπόστ<ε>ι|λόν μοι... ἐν τ[ῆ] σήμε|ρον ἐπ<ε>ὶ [ἐ]νοχλοῦμαι | πάνοι (*l.* πάνυ), where it modifies the aorist imperative ἀπόστειλον, with the meaning “first of all” and “most important”.

However, the adverb is usually found in one clause, where it precedes the modified verb; in the next clause we have another adverbial phrase to mean “then, in the second place”:

<sup>250</sup> E.g. **petitions**: *P.Sakaon* 42, 20 (A.D. 323); *P.Abinn.* 28, 25 (c. A.D. 346); *P.Oxy.* XXII 2344, 8-9 (c. A.D. 351-352); *P.Oxy.* VI 902, 13 (A.D. 464); *P.Harr.* I 132, 4 (V A.D.); **contracts**: *P.Münch.* I 7, 44 (A.D. 583); *P.Herm.* 31, 23 (VI A.D.); *SB* VI 8988, 85 (A.D. 647); **testament**: *P.Lond.* I 77, 52 (p. 231) (c. A.D. 610).

πρωτοτύπως (μέν)... ἔπειτα (δὲ) καί: *P.Nepheros* 8, 13-16 (after A.D. 352) διὸ ἀνα[γκαί]ον ἡγησάμην γράψαι σοι πρωτο|τύπως[ς], [{}ε]ἵνα μνημονεύῃς ἡμῶν | ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς σου, ἔπειτα[α] καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα | δηλώσαι σοι. In *P.Erl.* 120, 1-4 (A.D. 546-547) τὰ γραφέν[τα μοι π]αρά τῆς ὑμετέρας λαμπρᾶς ἀδελφότητος | ἐδεξάμην κ[αὶ ἔμαθον] πρωτοτύπως μὲν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ | [α]ὐτῆς ὑγίαιαν [καὶ πρὸς ἐμ]ῆ δ[ιάθ]εσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆ[ς] | [ύ]ποδοχῆς<sup>251</sup>.

Other phrases are:

(a) πρωτοτύπως καὶ πολλάκις:

In *P.Oslo* III 88, 5-7 (c. A.D. 370) πρωτοτύπως | καὶ πολλάκις συ (l. σοι) ἔγραψα περὶ τῆς ἀπετήσε|ως (l. ἀπαιτήσε|ως) τῆς ἐχθέσεως, εἰ προεχώρησεν ἢ οὐ (I prefer the full stop before πρωτοτύπως, and not as in *ed. princ.* ὁ ἀ[π]ερχόμε[νος] [. . . .] | ἀπετ<ε>ίτω τὸν παλῆον (l. παλαιὸν) οἶνον πρωτοτύπως. καὶ πολλάκις συ (l. σοι) ἔγραψα).

(b) πρωτοτύπως... πρό, when something has to be done before something else happens: In the official correspondence of Kurrah ben Sharik with the pagarches Basileios:

*P.Lond.* IV 1353, 9-11 (A.D. 710) ἀπόστειλον προτοτύπως (l. πρωτοτύπως) διὰ πάσης συντομίας | τὰς διασταλείσας διὰ τῆς διοικήσεώς σου/ δαπάνας πρῶ (l. πρὸ) το(ῦ) | ἀποβῆ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς διώρυγος Ἀλεξανδρείας.

(c) without explicit second part:

In *P.Nepheros* 11, 6-11 (IV A.D.) πιστὸν ἡγησάμην καὶ πάσης | ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιλο/ν πρωτοτύπως | προσεῖπειν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν θεῷ | διάθεσιν, εἶνα διὰ τῶν ὑμετέ|ρων εὐχῶν ὑγιᾶς ἐπανέλ|θω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, the correspondent adverb does not occur, because the second reason for writing the letters is mentioned further below, and the adverb was probably forgotten in ll. 16-17 σπου|δάσατε [ο]ῦν, πατέρες, and ll. 22-23 ὅπως σὺν αὐτ[οῖς] ἀπέλ|θητε εἰς Ταμπετί. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1832, 4-7 (V-VI) παρακληθῆ οὐν ἡ ὑμέτερα μεγαλοπρέπεια | κ[αὶ ἐμο]ῖ χαρ[ί]σασθαι καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ|τῷ τῷ θεῷ παραθέσθαι \καί/ κελεῦσαι πρωτοτύπ[ως] | τὰ ἅγια κ<ε>μῆλ[ια] ἀναδοθῆναι, εἰ δὲ συνορᾶ κ[αὶ] τὴν γυναῖκα παραδοθῆναι, τούτο | κελεῦσαι γενέσθαι, the corresponding adverb is implied in the phrase εἰ δέ... κ[αὶ].

At the beginning of a private letter, *P.Lond.* III 1244, 3-6 (IV A.D.) προηκουμένως (l. προηγουμένως) πολλά σε [π]ροσαγορεύω νυκτὸς [κ]αὶ ἡμέρα{ι}ς τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ | πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις προσγυνησαί (l. προσκυνῆσαί) σοι τὸ [ε]ὔμορφον καὶ ἰλαρὸν πρόσωπον προτ[ο]τύπως (l. πρωτοτύπως). | μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔχω οὔτε φίλον γνήσιον οὔτε εὐπροαίρετον ἄνθρωπον εἰ μὴ | σὺ μόνος (l. σὲ μόνον), the adverb is found at the end of a clause which starts with προηκουμένως. The scribe expresses his desire to meet and greet the recipient of his letter “himself” in person. However, one could also place a full stop before προτ[ο]τύπως, and consider it as the beginning of the next clause προτ[ο]τύπως (l. πρωτοτύπως) | μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἄλλον ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔχω οὔτε φίλον γνήσιον οὔτε εὐπροαίρετον ἄνθρωπον εἰ μὴ | σὺ μόνος (l. σὲ μόνον), that is “first of all, I have no other...”. In that case one should expect a following second detail (possible introduced by e.g. “on the other hand”), and this might be in the following lines 9-10, which are preserved in a fragmentary condition.

πρώτως\*

The meaning “primarily, mainly, originally” (see LSJ *s.v.* πρότερος and πρῶτος B IV 1) is not found in the Greek papyri. For the Ptolemaic period, Mayser (1936, 124; also Mayser 1933-1934, 177) refers to *UPZ* I 110, 181 (164 B.C.) with the meaning “zuerst”. Furthermore, some other uses of the adverb should be added: In *SB* XXIV 15909, 2-7 (A.D. 6) παρόντα σε παρεκαλέσαμεν | ὑπὲρ Ἐρωτᾶτ[ο]ς τοῦ φίλου ἡμῶν ἵνα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἰσίδωρον | πρώτως ἀγάγη[ς οὐ(?)ν] εἰς γεω[ρ]γίαν τῆς προσόδου | καὶ οὐσιακ[ῆς], καὶ νῦ[ν] δὲ παρακαλοῦ[μεν], βέλτιστε | γυμνασίαρχε, πάντες σε ἀγαγεῖν καὶ σπουδάσαι | ἔτι καὶ νῦ[ν] ἀπαιτῆ[σ]α[ι], “in your presence we urged in support of Erotas, our friend, so that in the

<sup>251</sup> The sense is that the writer could also mean “from first hand”, and this meaning is not found in *LSJ*, *s.v.* πρωτότυπος III).

first instance you(?) would in fact lead his(?) Isidoros to cultivation of revenues and estate (land), and now we all do urge you, best gymnasiarch, to lead (him to the cultivation) and to be zealous still also now to make the demand”, it modifies the second aorist subjunctive ἀγάγης, it lies precisely before the modified constituent, and corresponds to the following temporal adverbs νῦν (l. 5) and ἔτι καὶ νῦν (l. 7). The meaning of πρῶτως is “in the first instance” (as in *ed. princ.*) and “above all others in time and importance”. The same sense can be found in two other instances: In *P.Oxy.* X 1345 (late II-III A.D.) οὐκ ἴσχυσα ἐλθεῖν σήμερον. πρῶτως ποιοῦμεν ψωμῖα, ἀνέρχομαι δὲ τῇ ἰδ, the adverb modifies the present indicative ποιοῦμεν and means “above all others in time and importance” or “the first reason” is that we make bread. In *P.Oxy.* LV 3813, 19-20 (III-IV A.D.) πρῶτως ποιη| [. . . .] οἰμιλω .ος αὐτόν, “...ed to him, first making(?)... (of?) Milo(?)”, the adverb modifies a form of the verb ποιῶ, most probably an aorist imperative ποιήσον or aorist participle ποιήσας or a future indicative ποιήσεις. The adverb lies precisely before the modified constituent and, although the following text is preserved in a fragmentary condition, it seems to mean “firstly, to begin with”.

The adverb also means “for the first time” (see LSJ *s.v.* πρότερος and πρῶτος B IV 2; Bauer *s.v.*) and occurs in contracts, registrations (of children or property), declarations, petitions and reports; in addition, see *C.Gloss.Biling.* II 7, 9 (II A.D.) [/ πρῶτως] πρειμωι (= *primo*), a proskynema-inscription in A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources*, Warsaw 2006, no. 186, 1 (A.D. 82), and a metrical inscription in Bernard 1969, no 110, 1 (II-III A.D.).

In the private letters the same meaning is attested in: *P.Ryl.* II 235, 6-12 (II A.D.) ἐθ[αύ]μασε δὲ πῶς διὰ Λυπέρο|κου οὐκ ἐδήλωσάς μοι πε|ρὶ τῆς εὐρωστίας σου καὶ πῶς | διάγεις, ἴν[α] καὶ ἡμεῖς πε|ρὶ σοῦ ἀμερ[ί]μνωσ διαγῶ|μεν, ἀλλὰ οὐ πρῶτως σου τὸ | εἰκαῖον μανθάνομεν, “I was surprised that you did not inform me through Lupercus of your good health and how you are in order that we too may be free of care about you, but it is not the first time that we learn your heedlessness”. The adverb follows the negative οὐ and modifies the present indicative μανθάνομεν; *SB* XXII 15737, 6-10 (II A.D.) τὴν | δὲ ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν | τρόπων οὐ πρῶτως οἶδα, | ὡς παραιτεῖται τὸ μὴ | βαρεῖσθαί σε, “not for the first time do I know the conduct of his ways, that he is entreating not to weigh down upon you”, The adverb follows the negative οὐ and modifies the present indicative οἶδα. The level of the sender’s literacy is apparent (see introd. in the *ed. princ.*, *ZPE* 103, 1994, 46-47).

πυκνῶς\* – πυκνοτέρως\* – πυκνότερον\* – πυκνότερα\*

For attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* πυκνός B II; Bauer *s.v.* The adverb πυκνῶς is attested so far only in the private letter *P.Ross.Georg.* III 9, 18-19 (late IV A.D.) ἵνα προτρέψη με ἐν τούτῳ πυκνῶς τῇ λογιότητι | σου γράφ<ε>ιν ἐξερέτως περὶ τῆς ὑγ<ε>ίας σου, “damit du mich hierdurch bewegest, deiner gelahrtheit häufig zu schreiben, insonderheit bezüglich deiner Gesundheit”, with the meaning “frequently”. It precedes and modifies the infinitive γράφειν, as a variant phrase of the formula συνεχῶς γράφε περὶ τῆς ὑγείας σου.

The comparative πυκνότερον is used in an official document and a private letter of the Ptolemaic period to modify the verb παραγίγνομαι:

*P.Tebt.* I 41, 3-6 (105-90 B.C.) πυκνό|τερον Μαρρείους τοπογραμματέως | σὺν ἄλλοις πλείοσι ἐν μαχαίραις | παρ[α]γινόμενον εἰς τὴν κώμην; also probably restored in *BGU* VIII 1824, 4 (60-55 B.C.) πυκνότερον; (private letter), *P.Ryl.* IV 671, 2-4 (II B.C.) γίνωσκε Αἴπαρο[ν] πυ|κνότερον παρ[α]γ[ε]νόμενον.

However, in the Roman and Byzantine papyri the comparatives πυκνότερον, πυκνότερα and πυκνοτέρως are mainly used in the private letters to modify the verb γράφω or *sim.*:

*BGU* XVI 2642, 4-5 (30 B.C.- A.D. 14) εἰς τό με μὴ πυκνότερά | σοι γεγραφε[ι] \ηκέ/ναι, “for not writing you more often”; *SB* XII 10927, 4-5 (30 B.C.- A.D. 14) διὸ ἀξιῶ | γράφειν μοι πυκνότερον; *P.Oxy.* IV 805, 5-6 (25 B.C.) ἀξιῶ δέ σε ἀντιφωνεῖν | [μ]οι πυκνότερον; *O.Krok.* I 93, 3-4 (A.D. 108-115) πυκνότερόν μιν (*l.* μοι) γράψον περὶ τῆς ὑ<ε>ίας σου; cf. also the phrase in *P.Mich.* VIII 484, 6-7 (II A.D.) ἐὰν μὴ μοι πυκνότερα γράφης | τὰ κατὰ [σ]έ, “if you do not write me frequently about your affairs”; von Scherling G. 214, published by K.A. Worp in *BASP* 53, 2016, 73-74, ll. 7-8 (I-III A.D.) πυκνό|τερον ἐ[μ]οῖ γράφ[ειν]; *P.Lond.* VI 1929, 6-7 (VI A.D.) παρακαλῶ οὖν πυκνο|τ[έ]ρωσ ἡμῶν μνήσθη[τι], “I therefore entreat you repeatedly, remember us”.

### ραδίως\*

For the attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* ράδιος B; Bauer *s.v.* The adverb occurs mainly in the Ptolemaic (for its meaning “leicht” see Maysers 1936, 124) and Roman period and has always the meaning “easily”<sup>252</sup>. It occurs in an honorary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 124, 4-6 (end of IV A.D.?) τὸν ἐξεκάθηρε μογήσας ῥηίδιως ἴνα νῆες [ἀ]πήμονα φόρτον ἄγοιεν.

In the private letters it modifies various verbs and its position is not standard:

*P.Petrie Kleon* 13, 4-5 (260-249 B.C.) ἐὰν γὰρ σὺ παραγένῃ, πέπεισμαι ραδίως με τῷ βασιλεῖ | συσταθήσῃσθαι; cf. *P.Petrie Kleon* 42, 11 (238-237 B.C.?) where ρα[ι]διον is restored in a part of the letter (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), but also ρα[ι]διως is possible; *P.Giss.Apoll.* 6, 26-27 (= *P.Giss.* I 47; A.D. 117) [ρ]αδί[ω]ς γὰρ παρὰ σοι ὁμοία | αὐτῇ γενέσθαι δύναται; *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 24-25 (A.D. 258) εὐπορήσει[ς] δὲ ρα[ι]διως τ(ῶν) εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν | ἀ(πὸ) τοῦ κοιμητάτου εἰσίν[των].

In another private letter, *SB* XIV 11584, 8-11 (late II A.D.) ὅταν δέ σοι βραδέως | [γ]ράφω, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρ[υ]λίσκειν μηδένα | πρὸς σὲ ἐρχόμενον ραδίως τοῦτο γίνε|ται, “whenever I am slow to write to you, this happens easily because I find no one going your way” (transl. in *ed. princ.*), according to the edition the adverb modifies the verb γίνεται. Alternatively, it is more probable that the modified constituent is the infinitive εὐρίσκειν, and we should translate “whenever I am slow to write to you, that happens because I do not find easily someone to go your way”. I exclude that the adverb modifies the preceding participle ἐρχόμενον and translate “whenever I’m slow to write to you, that happens because I find no one going your way readily”.

### ρητῶς

It occurs, with the meaning “expressly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ρητός I 1; Bauer *s.v.*), first in official correspondence, *UPZ* I 110, 59-62 (164 B.C.) πρὸς τοῖς προ<ε>ιρημένοις τὰς μεγίστας πεποι|ημένων ἐντολὰς περὶ τοῦ μη[δ]ίενα τῶν | τὴν χώραν κατοικούντων ἀδικηθῆ|ναι ρητῶς; see Maysers 1936, 123. The adverb is placed at the end of the clause, and follows and

<sup>252</sup> For official documents cf. e.g. **official correspondence**: *P.Tebt.* III 703, 53, 162 (c. 210 B.C.); restored in *UPZ* I 110, 56 (164 B.C.); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3024, 17 (A.D. 103-107); *BGU* I 15, ii 15 (A.D. 197); *PSI* X 1155, 4 (A.D. 200-203); *P.Panop.Beatty* I 270 (A.D. 298); **report**: *P.Sakaon* 50, 3-4 (A.D. 318) μὴ δυνόμε|νος οὐ ραδίως κομίσει αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα; **petition**: *P.Hib.* II 274, 23 (A.D. 212-217 or 218-222); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 66, 24 (A.D. 258); see also the peculiar phrase in *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92, 42 (A.D. 569) γράμματα μὴ ραδί(ως) εἰδύης, if the abbreviation should be resolved as ραδί(ως).

modifies the phrase τὰς μεγίστας πεπο|ημένων ἐντολὰς. Then, it is attested in a petition of the Roman period with the same function, *SB XIV 11707*, 12-14 (A.D. 212) [τῶν μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νόμων καὶ ἤγε|μονικῶν κρίσε]ων ρητῶς διαγορευόντων ἀπαραι|[τήτους εἶναι τὰς] μεταδόσεις, where it precedes and modifies the participle διαγορευόντων, and it also occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 75, 13-14 (Roman period) τοῦτο δὲ σοι πέμπω παραμύθι[ον ὡς], ὅτι ἀλύπως, ρητῶς ἔσχα τρυφήν πρὶν εἰς Ἀ[ίδη]ν μ' ἀναλῦσαι.

ριφοκινδύνως

The adverb with the meaning “recklessly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ριφοκίνδυνος; Lampe *s.v.*) is attested either alone or in combination with other adverbs. It appears for the first time in a petition of the third century A.D., *P.Oxy. XVII 2131*, 15-16 (A.D. 207) [το]ῦ Ἡρακλάμωτος | ἀνόμως καὶ ρ{ε}ιφοκινδύνως ἀναδόντος μ[έ]. Then, it is used only in official documents of the Byzantine period, specifically in petitions of the fourth century A.D.:

In an **official notice**, *P.Panop.Beatty 2*, 230-231 (A.D. 300) ἔμαθόν τινας τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εὐθενίας ριφοκινδύνως ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσιν προσηνεχθεῖς; in **petitions**: to a strategos, *P.Cair.Isid.* 69, 5-8 (A.D. 310) καὶ αὐ|τὸς τοίνυν οὐ δεόντως καὶ ριφοκινδύνως | ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρυσοῦ γράμματα τρία καὶ ἀσήμου | γράμματα ὀκτώ; *P.Cair.Isid.* 70, 4-5 (A.D. 310) ἀνόμως καὶ ρ{ε}ιφοκινδύνως | ἀπαιτηθεὶς (*l.* ἀπαιτηθεὶς); to the Prefect, *P.Sakaon 38*, 2-3 (A.D. 312) τὰ παρανόμως καὶ ριφο|κινδύνως ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων τολμώμενα; to a praeses, *P.Cair.Isid.* 74, 11-12 (A.D. 315) (= *P.Mert.* II 91, 12-13; A.D. 316) [ο]ἱ [δ]ὲ αὐθαδῶς χρησάμενοι ἀλόγως καὶ ριφοκινδύνως παρὰ τοὺς | νόμους; to a tribune *P.Oxy. L 3581*, 3-4 ριφοκινδύνως φερόμενος|ς κα[τὰ β]ίαν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀφήρπα|[σέν με καὶ] συνηλθέν μοι πρὸς γάμ[ον], and 17-18 πάλ[ε]ιν ριφοκινδύνως φερόμενος ἔχων τὴν γυναῖκα|ς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκ[ε]ίας αὐτοῦ | συναρπαζόντων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πληθὺν ἀνδρῶν ἀτάκτων ἀφήρπασέν με; in a **promise** to appear before the Prefect, *SB VI 9192*, 8-9 (A.D. 314-315) [κ]αὶ [δ]ὲ τ[ο]ῦ [α]ύτ[η]ς | ἀνδρὸς ριφοκινδύνως ἐπήνεγκεν χειρόγραφον. Probably the adverb is attested in *P.Lond. V 1829* descr. (IV A.D.) ριφοκινδύνως.

σαπρῶς\*

The adjective means “rotten, putrid, diseased”, and the adverb in Arrian *Epict.* 2.21.14 means “filthy”. In a metaphorical use it could also mean “unsound, bad”; see LSJ *s.v.* σαπρός I and II 5. The metaphorical use of the adjective is found in *P.Col.* III 6, 5-6 (257 B.C.) ἀλλ' ἐπιπαραγενόμενος Ὀλυμπιχὸς ἔφη αὐτῶ|ν | τύπτων σαπρὸν ποιή[σε]ιν ἢ πεπο[ι]ηκεν ὅς ἦδ' οὐ σχεδὸν| ἦν εὐπρεπ[ή]ς, “but when Olympichos arrived he said that by beating him rotten he would make him –or that he had already made him– as someone who was already nearly decent”. Moreover cf. *SB I 5761*, 23-24 (A.D. 89-91) ἔστι σαπ|ρὸν γὰρ| ὄνομα τῆς τοῦ μισθω[το]ῦ γυναικός; also in parts of private letters (which are preserved in a fragmentary condition), *O.Claud.* I 144, 3 (c. A.D. 100-120) σαπρου; *PSI VI 717*, 2-4 (II A.D.) [ἐὰν(?)] | κατ' ἐμοῦ καταψηφίσηται [τι(?)] | σαπρὸν; see *WB I s.v.* σαπρός 2.

The adverb occurs in two private letters of the second century A.D.: *BGU III 846*, 9-10 (II A.D.) ὅτι σαπρῶς παριπατῶ (*l.* περιπατῶ). αἴγραψά (*l.* ἔγραψά) σοι, ὅτι γυμνός | εἰμ[ε]ι; see *WB I s.v.* σαπρός (1 c); *P.Mert.* III 112, 12-13 (II A.D.) σαπρῶς ποιεῖς γράφων π[ρὸς τὴν] | [μητέ]ρα. In both cases the adverb seems to be subject-oriented in a context that concerns sons in reference to their mothers.

σαφῶς\* – σαφέστερον – σαφεστέρως\*

For attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* σαφής II; Bauer *s.v.* The adverb is used in various official documents, mostly instructions or orders, to indicate that something has to be clear according to the law:

A **rescript** of Septimius Severus und Caracalla, *BGU II 473*, 16 (c. A.D. 215) σαφῶς διαγορευουσῶν; **the letter of Claudius**, *P.Lond. VI 1912*, 66-68 (A.D. 41) περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅ τι μὲν ποτε σύνηθες | ὑμ[ε]ῖν ἐπὶ τῶν

ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχω{ι} λέγειν, ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστῶν οὐκ εἴχεται (*l.* εἴχετε) σαφῶς οἴδατε; **petitions:** a petition to the strategos, *P.Oxy.* VIII 1119, 16 (A.D. 253) ἐνομοθέτησεν σαφῶς παρὰ νόμοις (*l.* νόμοις) μὲν ἡμ{ε}ῖν ἄρχειν καὶ λειτουργεῖν; a petition to the stategos, *P.Ryl.* II 117, 12-14 (A.D. 269) τοὺς μη|δὲν [τ]ῶν κατοικομένων κεκληρονομηκότας μὴ κατέχεσθαι τοῖς ἐκείνων | ὀφε[ιλήμασιν] ἢ καὶ ζητήμασιν σαφῶς τοῖς θείοις νόμοις διώρισται; a document concerning a petition, *O.Narm.* 1 70, 8-10 (II-III A.D.) ὡς ἀσαφῶς | πεποικη<κ>ένοι τὴν ἐξέ|τασιν; a petition to the logistes, *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3350 6-8 (A.D. 330) τ[ὰ] διηγορευ|μένα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν νό[μων] ἐξουσίας, ὡς σαφῶς κελεύει | ἐκκληῖτου ἀπενεχθεῖσ[η]ς μηδὲν νεωτερίζεσθαι; a petition, *P.Lond.* V 1677, 5 (c. 568-570) το(ῦ)το σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος; **official correspondence:** instructions of a Diocetes, *P.Tebt.* III 703, 224-227 (c. 210 B.C.) τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν π[ο] | οὐ μὴ [π]αρέργως. σαφῶς γὰρ εἰδέναι δεῖ | ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ κατοικούν|τω[ν]; restored in a part of an official letter to the strategos (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), in *P.Brem.* 9, 13 (A.D. 113-120) σαφ[ῶς]; official letter of the Prefect, *PSI* XIII 1327, 4 (A.D. 189-190) ἐμοῦ σαφῶς διατετ[α]γμένου; official letter of the Prefect, *SB* XIV 12144, 2-4 (A.D. 198-199) [ε]ὐθ[έ]λος ἀναγκ[α]ῖ[ον] ἡγη[σά]μην περὶ τοῦ μηδένα κίνδυν[ο] | τῇ ἀ[ν]ο[ι]α αὐ[τ]ῶν ἐπακολουθήση (*l.* ἐπακολουθήσαι) σαφῶς πᾶσιν ἐνταῦθα | διαγ[ο]ρ[ε]ῦσαι; correspondence *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 68 (A.D. 300) Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίδωρος ἐπίτροπος τῆς κατωτέρω Θηβαίδος Ἀπολιναρίω στρατηγῷ Πρωτοπ[ο]λίτου χαί(ρειν). εὖ καὶ | σαφῶς ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐκ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων εἰς τὴν τάξιν μνηαίων βιβλίων; official letter of a bishop, *SB* XX 14606, 4 (A.D. 425-430) [δ]θεν κάγω τοῦτο σαφῶς μεμαθηκῶς; an affidavit, *PSI* I 76, 3 (A.D. 572 or 573) ἡ πίστης τῶν συναλλαγμάτων φυλαττομένη ἐν ἐπαίνοις τίθησιν τοὺς θεμένους καὶ ἀκραίην τὴν τῶν συνελθόντων διασώζει διάθεσιν, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ τάναντία καταπατουμένη σαφῶς ἀπεργάζεται; official letter of a pagarches to a bishop(?), *P.Lond.* III 1075 (p. 281), 18 (VII A.D.) πεπληροφόρημαι γὰρ σαφῶς ὅτι οὐ θέλετε. In the legal terms of a **contract** of division of inheritance, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314, 38 (A.D. 569-570) καὶ πληρῶσωμεν σαφῶς ἐπὶ τῷ [α]ὐ[τ]ῶ | προσ[τ]ίμω; **application** for the provision of grain, *P.Flor.* I 21, 13-14 (A.D. 239) ἄς καὶ καταθρομέθα σαφῶς καὶ πιστῶς εἰς τὴν | ἐν πυρῶ σπειρομένην γῆν; **legal proceedings:** *P.Lips.* I 40 iii 4 (before A.D. 381?) Fl(avius) Leontius Beronician(us) v(ir) c(larissimus) pr(aeses) Tebaei(dis) d(ixit): τίς ὁ πλήξας, εἰπέ σαφῶς. Filammon d(ixit): οἱ σύνδουλο[ι] τούτου; *P.Pommersf.* p. 36-59, 72-74 (second half of VI A.D.) [προσ]ῆκει τ[ο]ῖνον τὸν μετὰ τόνδε τὸν εὐδοκίμω[τ]ῶ[ν] τὸ | [τῆς] σιω[ν]ίας μεταχειρισάμενον φρόντισμα δια|δηλοῦν σαφῶς πόσον περ παρὰ τοῦδε τοῦ εὐδοκίμω | τ[ά]του σ[τ]ῆτον ἐκρομίσατο.

It occurs only in one private letter of the Ptolemaic period, where it precedes and modifies the verb γινώσκω, *UPZ* I 62, 32-34 (before 160 B.C.) εἰ δὲ δι' ἄλλο τι οὐκ ὀπτάναται μοι, γίνωσκε | σαφῶς, ὅτι, ἐ[ὰ]ν ἀναβῶ κάγω προσκυνῆσαι | πρὸς σὲ οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθω, εἰς δὲ | [εἰς] τὰ Πρωτάρχου καταλύσω (probably reference is made to this example in Mayser 1936, 124); *P.Fouad* I 81, verso 1 (IV A.D.) is another private letter, and σαφῶς occurs at the beginning of a line on the verso, but the reading is not certain (the vertical of φ cannot be seen with certainty in the photograph) and, even if the reading is correct, the context is not clear.

Moreover, it occurs in funerary metrical inscriptions:

In Bernard, 1969, no 22, ii 6 (II-III A.D.) γνώσει πάντα σαφῶς γράμμα διερχόμενος; no 45, 1-12 (20 B.C.?) ἀλλ' ἀπέχεις, ὡ ξεῖνε, σαφῶς τὰ ἅπαντα παρ' ἡμῶν; no 75, 3. 7 (Roman period) ἴσθι δὲ τοῦτο σαφῶς... ἡ Λήθη δέ μ' ἔπαυσε σαφῶς χαλ>επῶν δὲ μεριμνῶν; no 81, 1 (II-III A.D.) στηθί μοι, παροδίτα, καὶ μάθε τίς πέφυκα σαφῶς; no 99, 1-2 (II-III A.D.) ἐπεὶ μ' ἔρωτᾷς ὅστις εἰμι καὶ τίνων, σαφῶς ἐρῶ σοι; no 108, 41 (end of II A.D.) σαφῶς ἐρεῖς πεισθεῖς ἐμοί.

Although the form of the comparative of the adverb σαφεστέρως is attested in the classical texts from the fourth century B.C. (see LSJ *s.v.* σαφῆς II 4, citing Aristotle *Metaph.* 986b30), in papyri it is found only in a private letter of the Byzantine period (sent from Besodorus to Theophanes), *P.Herm.* 6, 29-31 (c. A.D. 317-323) νῦν δε[ξ]ε ὁ]πωσοδήποτε τοῦτο σαφεστ[έρ]ως ἀκοῆι δέ|ξασ[θ]αι καὶ μα[θ]εῖν τὰ περὶ σὲ πράγματα [βού]λομαι ὡς τάχιστα | τε καὶ εὐχομαι.

The comparative σαφέστερον is attested in official documents of all periods:

In a **petition**, *P.Tebt.* I 40 (117 B.C.) σαφέστερον μετεληφῶς; **official correspondence**, *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 50 (A.D. 300) [τ]ὸ θεῖον πρ[ό]σταγμα σαφέστερον γνωσθῆναι. In *O.Krok.* I 87, 104-105 (A.D. 118) (where we also find the adverbs [ἐ]π[ε]μελέστερον and ἀσφαλῆστερον; see *s.vv.*) we read ἐάν τ[ε]ῖ ἐπ[ε]γνοῖτε, σαφέστερον | εὐθέως ἐπ[ε]ῖσχετέ μοι δηλῶσαι: it is not certain if the adverb modifies the imperative ἐπ[ε]ῖσχετε (and in that case, it is placed in the first position in the clause) or the verb ἐπ[ε]γνοῖτε in the conditional clause, as an

adjective attributed to τ{ε}ι. In a **private letter** of the Ptolemaic period, *PSI VI 631*, 45 (260 B.C.) σαφέ[στερον] is restored, but the positive degree σαφέ[ς] is also possible.

σεμνῶς

The adverb appears in a lawsuit, *PSI I 41*, 8-9 (IV A.D.) καὶ σεμνῶς ἀναστρέφεσθ[αι] καὶ διμᾶν (*l.* τιμᾶν) με καὶ ἀγαπᾶν | [--- εὐγενῆ ο]ὔσαν καὶ ἐκ σεμνῶν γονέων καὶ ε[ύδ]οκ[ί]μων, and means “nobly”; see LSJ *s.v.* σεμνός II 1 and IV; cf. *Acta Joannis* 107 (Bonnet) ἀναπαυέσθω σεμνῶς ἡμῶν ἀναστρεφόμενων.

σ μικρομερῶς

The adverb σ μικρομερῶς with the meaning “to a slight extent” occurs only in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, 6-7 (A.D. 567) σ μικρομερῶς μὲν ἀναμιμνήσκομεν τὸ πάνσοφον | ὑμῶν καὶ εὐκ[λε]ῖστατον καὶ φιλάγαθον συνειδός. The adjective (σ)μικρομερής, “consisting of small parts”, is attested in Plato *Tim.* 60e, 78a and b.

σ μικρῶς\*

See *s.v.* μικρῶς.

σοβαρῶς\*

*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 10-18 (A.D. 76) reads ἐχάρην δὲ μεγάλως δ[ι]ανα|γνούς σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, | ἐν ἣ σε ἔρωμενέστατον ἐπ[έ] | γνων, δέσποτα πάτερ, καὶ ὅτι | σοβαρῶς τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχων (*l.* εἶχον). | λαβὼν σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, | ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνόμισα μὴ θε|οῦ χρησμός ἐστι, καὶ περισσο|τέρως ἔρωμαι. The text is translated as “I was greatly delighted to read through your letter, in which I learned, my lord father, that you were in excellent health; and because I was tremendously elated in spirit on receiving your letter, I at once thought it might be an oracle of the god, and my health improved remarkably”. G. M. Browne in *ed. princ.* notes (*ad loc.*) that there is no certain attestation of this adjective in papyri citing the restored *P.Mich.* VIII 474 (see below) and its restricted usage in the Greek literature.

However, ὅτι cannot be causal (as proposed in the translation) since the causal ἐπεὶ is expected there<sup>253</sup>.

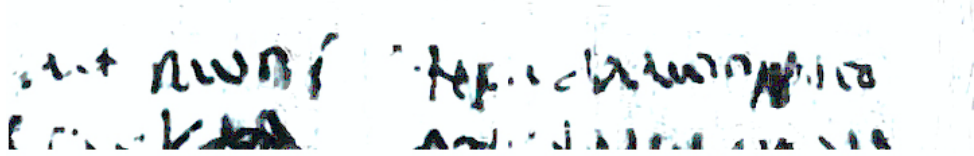


(<http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH159f/2df8dfb1.dir/POxy.v0047.n3356.a.01.hires.jpg>)

<sup>253</sup> Alternatively, we cannot read the phrase ὅτι σοβαρῶς “the state of my spirit was in a very serious situation”, because ὅτι cannot intensify the positive degree of the adverb (instead of the superlative). Furthermore, instead of καὶ ὅτι | σοβαρῶς we cannot propose to read καὶ ὅτι [ι] | σοβαρῶς, because, although the adjective ἰσοβαρής is attested in the classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.*, “of equal weight”), and the adverb ἰσοβαρῶς occurs in a text of the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (see Heron, *De strat.*, p. 227 (Wescher)), it is not used in a metaphorical sense as would be required here: “you were in excellent health, and also that your spirit is equally well”. In addition, in the latter case, (a) we cannot not put a full stop after εἶχων (*l.* εἶχον), (b) we would consider this εἶχων as the participle ἕ{ι}χων (instead of ἔχοντα), (c) we restore the letter ι, now lost at the right part of the papyrus, and (d) ὅτι can be considered as introducing a clause as an object of ἐπ[έ] | γνων; this syntax is possible, but rare; see Aristotle *HA* 631b ὥστε μὴ ραδίως ἂν ἐπιγνῶναι ὅτι θήλειά εἰσι; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιγιγνώσκω II 2 “find out, discover”.

One could read *κάν τι* instead of *καί ὅτι*, and the text runs: *ἐχάρην δὲ μεγάλως δι[ι]ανα|γνούς σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, | ἐν ἧ σε ἐρρωμενέστατον ἐπ[έ]|γνων, δέσποτα πάτερ, κάν τι |σοβαρῶς τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχων (l. εἶχον)<sup>254</sup>, | λαβῶν σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν, | ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνόμισα μὴ θε|οῦ χρησμοῦ ἔστι, καὶ περισσο|τέρως ἔρρωμαι* “I was greatly delighted to read through your letter, in which I learned, my lord father, that you were in excellent health, and although the state of my spirit was in a very serious situation, after I received your letter, I at once thought might be an oracle of the god, and my health improved remarkably”. For the syntax cf. Demosthenes *Exordia* 10.2 *κάν τι καλῶς ἔχη*.

Another instance of the adverb in a private letter, which is dated to the beginning of the second century A.D., should be rejected as wrong restoration: *P.Mich.* VIII 474, 9-10 *ὅτι ἀκολουθε<ε> ἡμ{ε}ῖν μήπως ἔλθη καὶ ἄλλως καὶ σο|[βαρῶς(?) ἢ πλήμυρα ἐ]ν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐπε<ε>ὶ ο[ὔ] δύνομε (l. δύναμαι) ἐγὼ καταλείψω (l. καταλείψαι) τὴν οἰκίαν, “because she remains in attendance on me lest [the flood] come in the river with great [violence], since I am not able to leave the house”. The editors, H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, (n. *ad loc.*), note that the adverb does not appear in papyri and refer to LSJ, concerning its appearance in the Hellenistic literature, and also to the survival of the adverb in Modern Greek. However, first, the text does not read *ἔλθη καί*: *λ* cannot be read, and *ι* is certainly not there. *ἔθηκα* is an alternative reading. Then, the text could run more smoothly, if we read *ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ σο[ῖ]* | [e.g. *ἔγραψα (οἱ εἶπον, ἔπεμψα* etc.), “but, as I also have [(e.g.) written to you, etc...”].*



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Mich.&vVol=8&vNum=474>)

#### σπανίως\*

Its meaning “rarely, seldom” (see LSJ *s.v.* *σπάνιος* III, citing Xenophon *Agēs.* 9.1, Aristotle *HA* 488b6, Polybius 2.15.6) occurs only in the private letter *P.Oxy.* LIX 4002, 3-4 (IV-V A.D.) *πολλὰς ἀποστέλλων ἐπιστολὰς διὰ πολλοῦ μὲν ἴσως / παρὰ σο[ῖ] | πεμπόμενα γράμματα κομίζομαι, ἃ σπανίως ἀποστέλλεις/εις*, “although I have been sending you many letters over a long time, I hardly receive any letters dispatched by you, since you rarely send any”. It precedes and modifies the present indicative *ἀποστέλλεις* and it provides an ironical sense in the words of the writer, who states that the recipient of the letter rarely sends him letters.

#### σπουδαίως\*

The adverb with the meaning “with zeal, in a devoted manner” (see LSJ *s.v.* *σπουδαῖος* III; Bauer *s.v.*; Louw, Nida, Smith and Munson 1988, entry 25.75; 68.65;

<sup>254</sup> The form *εἶχων* appears in two more letters and, has been explained as an indicative *εἶχον*, *P.Mich.* XV 755, 22 (III A.D.) *χρ<ε>ῖαν εἶχων*; *CPR* XXV 11, 6 (VI A.D.) *μὰ τῶν (l. τὸν) ἄγιων (l. ἄγιον) ἱερεμῆαν (l. ἄγιον), τῶν (l. τὸν) κύρην σου, εἰ εἶχων εἰς τὰς |---*



Spicq 1978, 816-825) appears mainly in the private letters of the Roman period, always preceding the modified verbal form<sup>255</sup>.

In the strategos Apollonios archive, *SB XXVI 16536*, 1-3 (first quarter of II A.D.) Ἡρώδης σπουδαίως ἔχει τὰ περὶ τῶν | ἐντολῶν σου ἐπαγρυπνῶν ἕως τούτου | καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιόν ἐστι περὶ αὐτόν. In addition, *P.Brem.* 48, 27-29 (A.D. 118) γίνωσκε δέ, ὅτι | ἐκ διαραμάτων (*l.* διεραμάτων) σπουδαίως κατήλθον | π[ολ]λοῦ ναύλου, “Wisse aber, dass ich durch mehrfaches Übersetzenlassen eilig hierhergereist bin”. In *P.Berl.Cohen* 15, 7-8 (II-III A.D.) σπουδαίως αὐτὸ πεπο<ι>ήκα[μ]εν. ὁ δὲ γέρδης βεβρά|δυκε πρὶν ἐργάσατο, the situation, as described in the private letter, is not clear (as the letter is preserved in a fragmentary condition), but one could assume that there is a contrast between the zeal in the action of the writer and the delay of the weaver. The same meaning is understood in *P.Mich.* VIII 498, 12-17 (II A.D.) πρὸς τὸν Αἰμιλιανὸν | ἀνόκως καὶ σπουδαί|ως συνέστακέ <με> ὡς συν|γενῆν σου ὃν ἤδιστα ἔσ|χε “he introduced me without delay and with zeal to Aemilianus as a kinsman of you whom he cherished”. Finally, it is restored in one letter of Paniskos, *P.Mich.* III 219 + 215, ll. 11-12 (A.D. 297), published by P. Heilporn, “Des Nouvelles de Paniskos”, *BASP* 49, 2012, 119-138, where he proposed ἐπιμέλ[ε]τε | [σὲ σπουδ]έως (*l.* σπουδαίως) ἄλλω[ν] instead of Winter’s ἐπιτη|δέως in *ed. princ.*

However, when the adverb modifies the verbs πέμπω, φέρω, μεταδίδωμι, it is not used only as a Manner adverb in order to indicate the amount of necessary energy, “intensively or extensively, with haste”, but also an underlying temporal meaning is implied, that is, “immediately, as soon as possible, hurriedly” (see Louw, Nida, Smith and Munson 1988, entry 68.79, note 9, “implying either the period of time before beginning the event is a brief one or that the event itself takes place in a brief period of time”):

*SB XVIII 13336*, 7-10 (I-II A.D.) σπου|δαίως δι<α> τοὺς κα|μηλίτας μοι πέ|μσον; *O.Claud.* II 238, 5-7 (II A.D.) π|έν|ψεις (*l.* [π]έμ|ψεις) μοι δεμάχια (*l.* τεμάχια) σπου|δαίως 3-4 letters] . | [ο]ύκ ἔχω; *O.Claud.* II 242, 3-7 (*c.* A.D. 144-145) ὡς ἐὰν θέλῃς, ἀδελφε, σπου|δαίως ἰχθύδια νηρά, ὅσα ἐὰν δύνῃ, ποιήσον ἐνεχθῆναι, | κἂν ἐν ἡ δύο, ἐπεὶ ἀναγκαῖόν | ἐστι; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 20, 34-38 (A.D. 113-117) καὶ κἂν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶ | καταπλής, κοιτάριον σπουδαῖον ἔνεγκον, ἵνα πέμψωμεν \Φίλω/ σπουδαίως | [φιλω] ἡμῖν προσερχθέντι ἢ ὁ ἐὰν ἄλλο δοκιμάσης; *P.Vind.Sijp.* 26, 19-21 (second half of III A.D.) ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσης, ἀδελφε, | γράψαι μοι, ἵνα γινῶ ὅτι σπου|δέως (*l.* σπουδαίως) ἐποίησας; *PSI VII 742*, 6-7 (V-VI A.D.?) καὶ σπουδαίως μεταδουναί μοι διὰ γρ[αμμάτων(?)] | τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως; *SB XXII 15356*, 2-3 and 5 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ [μὴ ὀκνήση] ἐπιτάξαι μοι | σπουδέως (*l.* σπουδαίως)... ἀλλὰ σπουδέως (*l.* σπουδαίως) ταῦτα γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαι [ἀξιῶση]; *PSI III 238*, 12 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ μόνον Σερῆνον τὸν καθοσιωμένον (*l.* καθοσιωμένον) μειζότερον σπουδαίως ἔπεμψα. In all these cases an adverb, such as προθύμως, ἀ(ν)όκως οἱ ἐπιμελῶς, could have been used by the writer. Cf. also the occurrence of the comparative which is placed in the same context with the comparative ταχύτερον in *SB XX 14295*, 12-14 (middle of III A.D.) [καὶ τα]χύτερόν μοι αὐτὰ διαπέμψη ἐὰν μὲν αὐ|[τὰ δι]απέμψηται. εἰ δὲ μή γε, σὺ σπουδαιότερον ποίη|[σον].

In the private contracts σπουδαίως means “with zeal, earnestly”, which incorporate the meaning of “acting well, working hard and in the best way” and “with haste”; cf. the contracts of the Byzantine period:

*P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151, 236-237 καθ’ ὄσο[ν] ἐπει[κῶς] | καὶ σπουδαίως κέχρηται (A.D. 454-546?); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032, 53-54 (A.D. 551) ἀλλ’ εἰς πέρας ἄξιαι εὐλόγως καὶ σπουδαίως καὶ δικ[αίω]ς | κατὰ πάντα ἐντρανῆ τρόπου; *P.Vind.Sijp.* 10 (V-VI A.D.) τὴν ἀμπε|λουργικὴν [ἐργ]ασ[ί]αν ἐκτελεῖν ἐν αὐ[τ]ῶ ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ σπ[ο]υδέως (*l.* σπουδαίως).

<sup>255</sup> Moreover, with the same meaning the adverb seems to be used in an order of an Alexandrian union, which is dated to the early Roman period: *SB XXII 15460*, 13-14 (5 B.C.) ἐν παντὶ τῶι τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ σπουδαίως καὶ π[.] | ]ίως | ἀνέστραπται.

That σπουδαίως can be used instead of κατασπουδαζόντως or κατασπουδαίως (see above *s.v.*, p. 181) can be inferred from the phraseology in the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67002, ii 19-20 (A.D. 567) καὶ ταύτην ἐπειγμένως κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἡμῶν ἀεὶ σπο(υ)δαίως ἐπειγόμεθα | καὶ τὴν ἐφετινὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐνηργοῦντες ἐμβάλλεσθαι. In Hesychius *s.v.* ἐπηγμένως we find the explanation κατασπουδαζόντως, and in the text of the papyrus ἐπειγμένως (see *s.v.*) and σπουδαίως are used supplementarily to present an intense tone in the action of the writer.

#### στενῶς\* – στενότερον

The adverb usually precedes and modifies the verb διακείμαι both in private letters and public petitions of the Ptolemaic period; see LSJ *s.v.* στενός III. The sense is that someone is in straitened circumstances:

Private letters: *P.Tebt.* III 760, 19-20 (215-215 B.C.) ὄν τρόπον στενῶς | διακείμαι, and two letters in the Zenon archive: *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59493, 5-6 (middle of III B.C.) στενῶς διατε|θρίμ|εθα; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59498, 5-6 (263-229 B.C.) στενῶς γὰρ διά|κείμαι. In *UPZ* I 60, 15-17 (168 B.C.) οὐ γὰρ πάντως δεῖ στενῶς ἐπανά|γοντά \σε/προσμένειν ἕως τοῦ πορίσαι τι καὶ κατε|νεγκεῖν, “for in whatever financial difficulties you find yourself you really should not delay until you provide yourself with something to bring back home (trans. D. Thompson)”, the adverb precedes and modifies the participle ἐπανά|γοντα; see Mayser 1936, 123.

Petition: submitted to the sovereigns by cleruchs, *P.Tebt.* I 124, 30 (118 B.C.?) καὶ ἐπ(ε)ί τινες ἐξη(σθενηκότες) . . . [ ]ν στενῶς ἔχοντες.

The comparative form of the adverb is attested in *Constitutio Antoniniana*, *P.Giss.* I 40, 7 (A.D. 215) ἵνα μὴ τις στενότερον παρερμηνεύσῃ τὴν χάριτά μου; cf. also *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2755, 7 (III A.D.) ἵνα μὴ [τις στενότερον] \τε πονηροτερ/[ .

#### στοιχειωδῶς

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* στοιχειώδης; Lampe *s.v.*. The adverb, with the meaning “dealing with the simplest elements of something”, is attested only in an official correspondence, *UPZ* I 110, 116-117 (164 B.C.) ἐπεὶ δεῖ πάντα [ύ]πὲρ πάντων στοιχειωδῶ|ς [ύ]μῖν ὑπογράφειν (see Mayser 1936, 123), where it precedes and modifies the infinitive ὑπογράφειν.

#### στυγνοτέρως\*

The adverb occurs in a private letter, *BGU* VI 1301, 6-11 (II-I B.C.) Κ[ο]μανοῦ καταπλε|ύσαν|τος καὶ [καταφέ]ροντός μοι | π[α]ρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν ἠγωνίασα μὴ ποτε | \στυγνοτέρω[ς] ἔ|χεις (*l.* [ἔ]χης) τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ/. | σ[η]μῆμαντος δέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν | οὐ καιρὸς ἦ . . . λου διὰ τὸ περισπᾶσθαι σε | συγγνώμη[ν σο]ι ἔσ[χ]ο[ν] (see Mayser 1936, 125; Mayser 1933-1934, 178). The meaning is “more hatefully” or “in a very abhorrent way” (see LSJ *s.v.* στυγνός I for the adjective); the adverb στυγνῶς is attested in *Cyrillus Alex.*, *PG* 68, 176, therefore, the first attestation of the adverb στυγνῶς (στυγνωτέρως) is in this Ptolemaic papyrus.

#### συμμέτρως

See LSJ *s.v.* σύμετρος III “in moderation, in due time, fittingly”. In Egypt the adverb appears only in the official document *P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 103-104 (A.D. 300) ὡς δὲ ἔοικεν, ἐπέτριψ[ε]ν μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς [ἢ] καὶ ἀπέτ[ρ]εψεν ἢ συμμέτρως προσενε|χθεῖσα αὐτοῖς τ{ε}μωρ[ία] [ύ]πό τε τῆ]ς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος, “it appears, however, that the just punishment imposed upon them both by the Governor and my Mediocrity has proved an annoyance to them rather than a deterrent”;

συμφώνως

Although the adverb appears for the first time in Plato (see LSJ *s.v.* σύμφωνος II 2; cf. also Lampe *s.v.*, concerning the patristic literature), in papyri the adverb occurs in official declarations, registrations, inspections of land, and documents concerning these procedures (e.g. petitions), mainly in the second century A.D.

συνδεδεμένως (\*?)

It is very rare in the Greek literature, as it is found only in lexicographers, e.g. Orion, *s.v.* ἀλύειν, and scholia, e.g. see LSJ *s.v.* συνδεδεμένως, “conjunctively”, the opposite of ἀσυνδέτως, citing Sch. S.OT 344. In Egypt the adverb occurs only in a letter(?) from the Kleon archive, *P.Petrie Kleon* 112, 26-27 (c. 260-236 B.C.) τὸ μηθὲν συνδεδεμένως [οικ] | χορηγεῖν.

συνεχῶς\* – συνεχέστερον\*

For examples in literature see LSJ *s.v.* συνεχής B; Lampe *s.v.* The adverb is found in very few official documents (mainly petitions)<sup>256</sup>; cf. e.g. *P.Nekr.* 19, 9; A.D. 284 (reed. of *SB* III 7206, 1-14), where it means “ceaselessly” or “repeatedly”.

In the private letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods the adverb is used in a variety of ways. First, it is mainly used in the formula γράφειν συνεχῶς at the beginning of the letters, where the sender asks the recipient to write to him συνεχῶς about his health or about his needs or actions. The meaning of the adverb is “at frequent intervals, frequently” (LSJ *s.v.* συνεχής B I c):

Concerning health:

*P.Giss.Apoll.* 11, 25-26 (A.D. 113-120) συ[νε] | χῶς (corrected by D. Hagedorn; see *BL* XII, p. 78; the reference of LSJ *s.v.* συχνῶς to this adverb should be removed) ἡμῖν γράφε περι τῆς ὑγ<ε>ίας σου; *P.Flor.* III 332, 18-20 (c. A.D. 114-119) γράφε μοι συνεχῶς περι τῆς | ὑγ<ε>ίας ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἔχω παραμύθιον τῆς | προελεύσεώς μου; *PSI* XII 1247, 5-7 (III A.D.) καὶ προτρεπομένη ὑμᾶς γρά | φειν μοι συνεχῶς περι τῆς σω | τηρίας ὑμῶν; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1864, 8-10 (A.D. 623-624) γράφουσά μοι συνεχῶς | τὴν ὑγίαιαν αὐτῆς καὶ περι τῶν αὐτῆ | δοκούντων ἐνταῦθα, “writing regularly to me how your health is and about anything you choose here”. The adverb always follows the modified verbal form.

Concerning the needs of the recipient:

*P.Oxy.* XLI 2984, 7-11 (II-III A.D.) συνεχῶς | μοι γρά[φ]ε διὰ τῶν ἐρχο | μένων πρὸς ἐμὲ περι | ὧν ἐὰν χρ[ι]εῖαν ἔχη[ς] / τῶν | ἐνθάδε, “write to me continually through those who come my way about whatever here you may have need of”; *P.Haun.* II 41, 5 (IV A.D.) [---]σαι συνεχῶς μοι γράφε ἂ ἐὰν [θέλης ---]. The adverb always precedes the modified verbal form.

Both health and needs:

*SB* V 7743, 17-19 (I-II A.D.) περι τῆς ὑγείας σου συνεχῶς μοι | ἐπίσ[τ]ελλε καὶ περι ὧν ἐντεῦθεν | θέλεις, “send me news constantly about your health and about what you want henceforth” (transl. in Bagnall and Criboire 2006); *PSI* III 237, 7-8 (V-VI A.D.) γράφειν δέ μοι συνεχῶς περι τε τῆς ἀϋτῆς ὑγ<ε>ίας, | ἥς ἀντι πάντων μοί ἐστιν, καὶ περι ὧν χρεῖα τῶν ἐνταῦθα.

In addition, in the following examples the verb παρακαλῶ mitigates the imperative tone of γράφε μοι συνεχῶς. The adverb is usually placed immediately after the form of the main verb παρακαλῶ and precedes the verbal form of γράφειν, which is actually modified:

<sup>256</sup> The adverb also occurs in a fragmentary official report, *SB* XXII 15588, 13 (middle of II B.C.) and a fragmentary petition to a dike supervisor, *P.Oxy.* LXV 4492, 8 (c. A.D. 311-312), where the details of the situation are not clear.

*P.Sarap.* 92, 20-22 (A.D. 90-133) ἔρρωσο καὶ παρακληθεῖς | συνεχῶς ἡμεῖν γράφε περὶ τῆ(ς) σωτη|ρίας σου, “porte-toi bien et écris-nous aussitôt, je te prie, au sujet de ta santé”; *P.Sarap.* 95, 4-6 (A.D. 90-133) παρακα|λῶ οὖν σε συνεχῶς ἡμεῖν γράφε | περὶ τῆ(ς) σωτη(ρίας), “je t’en prie, écris-nous aussitôt au sujet de ta santé”; *P.Ant.* II 95, 2-4 (VI A.D.) παρακαλῶ δὲ ἀ[ὐτ]ῆ[ν] σ[υ]ν[ε]χῶς γράψαι μοι | τὴν ὑγίειαν αὐτῆς... παρακαλῶ δ[ε] αὐτῆν ἔαν | σὺν Θεῷ οὐκ ἀνέλθῃ ἢ [σ]ὴ ἀδελφικὴ δεσποτεία| γράψαι μοι τὸ ἐντολικὸν αὐτ[ῆ]ς, “I exhort you urgently to write to me about your health... and I urge you, if by God’s grace your brotherly lordship does not come back, to write to me your authorization”; *PSI XIV* 1429, 3-4 (VI A.D.) π[α]ρακαλῶ αὐτὴν συνεχῶς | γράφειν μοι τὴν ὑγίειαν[ν ὑμῶν]; *P.Apoll.* 42, 11-12 (A.D. 703-715) παρακα|λῶν συνεχῶς γράψαι μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ὑμῶν ὑγίειαν, καὶ περὶ ὧν κελεύετε | τῶν μερῶν τούτων, “je vous prie de m’ écrire sans tarder des nouvelles de votre santé, sur laquelle veille le Christ, et aussi les décisions que vous aurez prises au sujet de ces lieux-ci”. However, based on *P.Mert.* I 22, 6-8 (II A.D.) παρακληθεῖς γράφε | μοι συνεχῶς ἵνα διαγνῶ σε | οὕτως με ἢ[γ]απηκότα, “please write to me constantly in order that I may know in this way that you love me”, it seems more probable that the adverb modifies the verb γράφω.

However, apart from the use of the adverb in the customary mechanical question enquiring about health, it also appears in letters requesting information concerning other actions:

In *SB VI* 9616 V, 6-7 (A.D. 550-558) θεὸς οἶδεν, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρεῖν σύμμαχον διὰ τοῦτο συνεχῶς οὐκ εὐρίσκω | γράψαι τῷ ἐμῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότη, the adverb precedes and modifies the phrase οὐκ εὐρίσκω γράψαι about how a situation is developing. In *PSI VII* 742, 9-10 (V-VI A.D.) ἐθαύμασα δὲ πῶς τῷ νομικῷ συνεχῶς | γράφεις, a form of the verb γράφω is modified, but here the information concerning a trial matters, and not the routine question between two parties who ask about health and other common interests. In *P.Oxy.* LVI 3871, 7-8 (VI-VII A.D.) διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γράφειν μοι σ[υ]ν[ε]χῶς ἀποκαθαρίσαι | τὸν λόγον μου ἐνταῦθα, “because he writes to me continually to clear my account here”, the adverb follows and modifies the infinitive γράφειν, which includes not only the meaning “write”, but also “orders”.

Furthermore, instead of the verb γράφω, various other synonyms (verbs or phrases) could be modified by the adverb:

(a) write and tell me in your letter:

In *P.Herm.* 11, 2-11 (IV A.D.) the sender asks about both the well-being and the actions of the recipient of the letter, θαυμάζω πῶς | ἐπελάθου τῶν ἐμῶν | ἐντολῶν, ὧν πολλὰ|κίς σοι κατ’ ὄψιν ἐ|νετειλάμην, περὶ τοῦ | συνεχῶς μοι δηλῶ|σαι πρῶτον μὲν πε|ρὶ τῆς σωτηρ<ι>ας σου, | ἔπειτα περὶ πάντων | ὧν ἐπραξας ἐν Σαρβιτ|τίω, εἰδῶς ὅτι οὐ μικρῶς | ἀγωνιῶ, “I wonder how you have forgotten my instructions, which I often gave you when I was with you, about keeping me informed all the time, first as to your personal well-being and then about all your doings at Sarbittium, knowing as you did that I am in great distress”.

(b) do the same, that is, send a letter:

*P.Haun.* II 16, 7-8 (II-III A.D.) οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον κοινῇ καὶ νῦν | ἐπιστέλλομέν σοι προτρεπόμενοί σε συν|εχῶς τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμεῖν ποιεῖν, “nevertheless we now write to you jointly, urging you to keep doing the same for us”, the adverb modifies the infinitive ποιεῖν, which is actually implied to be ἐπιστέλλειν, since the senders ask their father to write to them frequently; cf. also *SB XIV* 11584, 2-6 (late II A.D.; see p. 226) [εὐθύς ἐλθῶν εἰς] τὴν Ἀντίνου ἐκομι|[σάμην σου] τὰ γράμματα δι’ ὧν ἔδοξά | [σε] θεω[ρ]εῖν. διὸ παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ | ποιεῖν σ[υ]ν[ε]χῶς, οὕτως γὰρ ἀύξηθῆ|[σ]εται ἡμῶν ἢ φιλία, “as soon as I reached Antinoöpolis, I received your letter, through which I got the feeling of seeing you. I therefore beseech you to do the same constantly, for in this way our love will be increased” (transl. in *ZPE* 22, 1976, 52), which provides a similar case, where the sending of letters is implied with use of the infinitive ποιεῖν. In *P.Kellis* I 63, 11-14 (first half of IV A.D.) ὅμως καὶ τὸ γράμμα | μετρίως εὐφραίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι | ἐπειγόμεθα κ[α]ὶ τ[ο]ύτῳ συνεχῶς χρᾶ|σθαι, the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive χρᾶσθαι, which is implied to be the sending of letters, an action that makes people happy.

(c) make someone happy by sending letters:

*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3366, 23-24 (A.D. 258) ἐπι[στέλλω] σοι, ἀδελφε[ε . . . .]ε, ταύτ(ην) τρίτ(ην) ἐπιστολ(ή)ν, [ἴ]ν[α] | με συνεχ[ῶ]ς εὐφραίνῃς περὶ τ(ῆς) σ[ω]τηρίας σου [ἐπιστέλλ] \ἀεὶ γράφ[ω]ν, “I send you, ... brother, this third letter, so that you may perpetually rejoice me by continually writing about your state of health”. Based on its position, the adverb seems to modify the verb εὐφραίνῃς, and not the participle ἐπιστέλλων(?), which was then corrected by the scribe to ἀεὶ γράφω. However, this correction makes it clear that συνεχῶς has the same meaning as ἀεὶ. Probably the scribe had in mind the ἐπιστέλλων when he wrote συνεχῶς. Another instance in *SB XVIII* 13590, 4-11 (I-II A.D.) does not make the situation clearer. We read ἡδιστά σου κομ[ι]ζομ[έ]νο[ι]ς | τὰ

τράμματα (*l.* γράμματα) μὴ ὄκν[ει] συν|εχέστερον ἐπιστέλλειν, | πρὸ μ[έν] πάντων περ[ὶ τ]ῆ[ς] | σῆς ὑγ[ι]είας, ἔπει[τα] περὶ ὧν | χρήξεις ἐντεῦθεν. τ[ο]ῦ|τὸ γὰρ ποιῶν συνεχῶς | ἡμᾶς [εὐ]φρανεῖς, where the adverb follows precisely after the modified constituent, that is, the conditional participle ποιῶν, which is actually a repetition of the previous συν|εχέστερον ἐπιστέλλειν, and is followed by the main verb εὐφρανεῖς; one could translate either “if you do it all the time, you will make me happy”, or “if you do it, you will make me happy all the time”<sup>257</sup>.

(d) the verb χαράττω:

SB XX 15091, 12-13 (VI A.D.) καταξίωσον οὖν | συνεχῶς χαράττειν μοι περὶ τῆς εὐκταιοτάτης ρώσεως καὶ καταστάσε[ως] τῆς [σ]ῆς ἀρετῆς, “geruhe nun, mir sofort über die höchst erwünschte Gesundheit und die Verfassung Deiner Tugendhaftigkeit zu schreiben”, where the modified constituent is the infinitive χαράττειν.

In addition, the adverb is used to indicate an action that occurs repeatedly over a defined period of time modifying verbs that mean “go”. The adverb always precedes the modified verb:

In *BGU* II 451, 15-18 (I-II A.D.) Νεῖλο[ς] δὲ συνεχῶς πρὸς Δημήτριον | [τ]ὸν βροθ[όν] μ[ου] πορευέσθω, ἵνα μὴ|[δ]ὲν ἄνε[υ τῆς] σῆς γνώμης ὁ Δημή|[τριος c. 9 letters ]ς παρα[ . . . ]ται. The subordinate clause of purpose follows, and explains the reasons of the necessity of this συνεχῶς. In *P.Oxy.* XLI 2982, 15-16 (II-III A.D.) συνεχῶς δὲ γίνων εἰς ἀ|γρὸν ἔνεκεν τῶν ὑδάτων, “make frequent visits to the field because of the water situation”.

In many instances, the adverb is used for exaggeration for an action occurring ceaselessly, since it is clear that this action can only happen repeatedly:

(ὄρω) *PSI* XIV 1414, 17-19 (II A.D.) τὸν | υἰόν μου Διονυσάμμωνα | συνεχῶς ὄρα ὡς διάγει; (δεόμαι) *PSI* IV 299, 17 (late III A.D.) τὰ πάντα συνεχῶς τοῦ θεοῦ δέε[σθαι]; (εὐχομαι) *P.Lond.* VI 1928, 9-11 (middle IV A.D.) εὐχομαι ἐπὶ πολὺν | χρόνον εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συνε|χῶς, the adverb follows and modifies the participle εὐχόμενον; (ἐνοχλῶ) *P.Kellis* I 74, 27-28 (IV A.D.) καὶ ἐνοχλεῖ μοι συνεχῶς ὡς σοῦ | χρεωστούσης αὐτῶ, “somebody pesters me all the time, because he claims that you owe him some money”. A participle of reason follows and explains subjectively the reason for the annoyance itself, and not for the frequency of the annoyance; (λέγω) In *P.Mich. inv.* 1715 (published by A. Vergados, *BASP* 46, 2009, 59-68) the writer refers to an Ammonios who says συνεχῶς that he would meet some people, ll. 10-12 Ἀμμωνίου | γὰρ συνε|χ[ι]ῶς λέγοντος ἅπαν|τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, “for since Ammonios was repeatedly saying that he would meet you”; (ἀποστέλλω) *P.Sarap.* 84 a, 13-15 (A.D. 90-133) Ἀμμωνιον συνεχῶς ἀποστέλλω, ἐπ[ισ]τολὴν μ[ε] / ἴνας βουλόμενος | καθ' ὥραν σοι ἐπιστέλλειν, “j'envoie aussitôt Ammonios; j'attendais une lettre avec l'intention de t'envoyer des nouvelles en temps voulu(?)”, where the adverb precedes and modifies the verb ἀποστέλλω; (ἀγρυπνῶ) *P.Giss.* I 19, 5-9 (A.D. 115) οὔτε πο|[τοις?] οὔτε [σε]ι[τίοις] ἠδέως προσέρχομαι, | [ἀλλὰ] συνεχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσα νυκτὸς ἢ|[μέρας] μ[ί]αν μέριμναν ἔχω τὴν περὶ | [τῆς] σωτηρίας σου, “I take no pleasure in food and drink, but always stay awake day and night with only one thought, your safety” (transl. in Bagnall and Cribiore 2006). The phrase is written by Aline to Apollonios the strategos, and the adverb precedes and modifies the participle ἀγρυπνοῦσα. Obviously, this is an exaggeration in the language to indicate her anxiety; cf. a similar phrase in Johannes Chr., *PG* 49, 31 ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ λησταὶ οὐκ ἔνθα χόρτος καὶ ἄχυρα καὶ καλάμη, ἀλλ' ἔνθα χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, ἐκεῖ διορύττουσι, καὶ συνεχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσιν, and a literal use in Galen, vol. 17b, p. 650 (Kühn) οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντες συνεχῶς ἀγρυπνοῦσι; (μιμνήσκω) *P.Giss.* I 91, 1-5 (A.D. 113-120) τοῦ ἀδ[ελ]φ[ο]ῦ μετ[ὰ]δ[ο]ντος ὅτι μιμνήσκει | ἡμῶν συνεχῶς, παρακαλῶ σε, | ἀδελφε, καὶ δι' [ἐ]πιστολῆς τοῦτ[ό] | μοι φανερόν ποιῆσαι; (ἀσπάζομαι) In *P.Sarap.* 98, 3-7 (A.D. 90-133) [ . . . ] τυγχάνεις ἐπιλελήσμενος ἡμῶν | [νῦν] συνεχῶς οὐδὲν ἥττον σε [νῦν] ἀσπάζομαι. συ|νεχέστερον δ' ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μὴ | [μετέωρόν τι] περὶ τὸ σ[ . ] μα συμβέβηκε, “bien que tu nous aies oubliés, je ne t'envoie pas moins rapidement mes salutations. Je l'aurais fait plus tôt si quelque contretemps ne s'était produit au sujet de”, the restored adverb follows and modifies the participle ἐπιλελήσμενος. Although the restoration is uncertain, an adverb συνεχῶς would be expected in this text, because of the following (but again restored) συ|νεχέστερον. I propose a restored text, such as [εἰ καὶ τυγχάνεις ἐπιλελήσμενος ἡμῶν | [συνε]χῶς, οὐδὲν ἥττον σε [νῦν] ἀσπάζομαι. συ|νεχέστερον δ' ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μὴ | [μετέωρόν τι] περὶ τὸ σῶμα συμβέβηκε<sup>258</sup>.

<sup>257</sup> In *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 23-24 (A.D. 108) ἐρωτῶ [σε τῆ]ν κυρ[ίαν μου . . . ] . . . χως καὶ ἰλαρῶς | εὐφραί[ν]εσθαι “therefore I ask you, my lady, to be . . . and merrily joyful”, one of the probable restorations (of an adverb ending in -χως) is συνεχῶς or πολλαχῶς.

<sup>258</sup> There are some texts which are preserved in a fragmentary condition, and, thus, the meaning and use of the adverb is not clear: *P.Stras.* VI 553, 3-6 (II A.D. - [--- ἀπ]ολαβεῖν σε ὑγιαί|[--- μ]νήθητι[τ]ι περὶ | [---] . . . του

For the comparative form of the adverb *συνεχέστερον* see B. Mutschler, “Christliche Brief an Mönche”, *ZPE* 94, 1992, 113, 5n. (= *SB* XX 15192; V-VI A.D.). The text in this private letter runs as follows: (ll. 5-6) ἀλλὰ συνεχέστερον ἐπισκέψασθαι | καὶ εὐξασθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἵνα τελείως εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρ{ε}ίῳ, “but unremittingly look upon and pray for myself so that we will give thanks to the Lord to the fullest”). Mutschler has collected all the references to the adverb stating that: “Zum Adverb *συνεχέστερον* gibt es m.W. bislang fünf Belege. Während es sich in *P.Ross.Georg.* III 9, 12 (text, ll. 12-13: καὶ συνεχέστερον | καταξιοί (l. καταξίωσον) γράφ<ε>ιν μοι περὶ ὧν κελεύεις) (4. Jh. N. Chr., Herk. Unbek.) klar um einen zeitlichen Vergleich handelt (“häufiger”, sc. als früher), ist dies in *PSI* XIV 1414, 16 (text ll. 15-17: ἐπιστελεῖς \δέ/ μοι συν[ε]χέστερον περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου καὶ τῶν σῶν) (2. Jh. n. Chr., Oxyrhynchos) nicht eindeutig festzustellen. Ein korrelativ-adversativer oder kontrastiver Gebrauch findet sich dagegen in *P.Sarap.* 98, 4-6 (Anfang 2. Jh. N. Chr., Hermopolites), erkennbar an εἰ μή: --- οὐδὲν ἤττον σε [νῦν] ἀσπά[ζομαι. συν]χετέστερον δ’ ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μή [μετέωρόν τι] περὶ τὸ σ[ ]μα συμβέβηκε. Deutlicher, wieder nach μή und in Parenthese, sowie zeitlich relativ früh ist das einzige amtliche Schreiben *UPZ* I 110, Kol. VI 185-187 (164 v. Chr., vermutlich Memphites): ---προνοεῖσθε μὴ πα[ρ]έρῳ, ἐπεὶπερ ὑμᾶς δεῖ συνεχέστερον ὑπὲρ τῶν α[ὐτ]ῶν ὑπομνήσκειν, πρὸ πάντων etc. Als besonders enge Parallele – μή mit Imperativ, ἀλλὰ neben συνεχέστερον und Imperativ, ἵνα-Satz – ist schließlich *P.Flor.* III 367, 13-16 (3. Jh. N. Chr., Arsinoites?) zu zitieren: μὴ δὴ πρὸς Θε[ω]νεῖνον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοιοῦτος γίνου, ἀλλ[ι]ὰ γράφε συνεχέστερον ἡμεῖν ἐπιστολάς, ἵνα καὶ etc.”. In these examples we can add the following three: *SB* XVIII 13590, 5-6 (I-II A.D.) τὰ τράμματα (l. γράμματα) μὴ ὄκν[ει] συν|εχέστερον ἐπιστέλλειν, where the writer asks to get more frequent information by writing back to him; *SB* XXIV 16289, 17-18 (I-II A.D.) εἰς οἶ|κον συνεχέστερο[ν] παράβαλλε, where the sender asks the recipient to visit his house more frequently (or “without delay”(?), as translated in *ed. princ.* “sans délai”); *SB* XX 15192, 5 (V-VI A.D.) ἀλλὰ συνεχέστερον ἐπισκέψασθαι (l. ἐπισκέψασθε)<sup>259</sup>.

#### συνήθως\*

The adverb, which is attested only in the Roman and Byzantine period, is always used with the meaning “as is usual” (see LSJ *s.v.* συνήθης III), therefore ὡς is not needed before it. An instance of ὡς συνήθως occurs in the private letter *CPR* XIV 53, 2 (early VIII A.D.) ἐδοξάσαμεν, ὡς συνήθως, τὸν φιλόφρονον εὐχάρισ|τον θεόν.

The earlier occurrence of συνήθως in the private letters is in:

*PSI* XIV 1445, 3-7 (III A.D.) θαυμάζω πῶς διὰ Κορινθίου οὐκ ἔγραψάς | μοι, ἐμοῦ ἐπιστεῖλαντός σοι διὰ Κρίτω|νος, ἀλλ’ ἐμοίγε πυνθανομ[έ]νω παρ’ | αὐτοῦ δηλον ἐγένετο ὅτι συνήθως | διάγεις, and *SB* XVI 12471, 5-7 (III A.D.) οἱ ὄνοι οἱ σταφυ|ληγο|ῦντες μοι συνήθως | [κατε]σχέθησαν ὀνόματι, but the fragmentary condition of the letter does not allow us to understand whether it modifies the previous σταφυ|ληγο|ῦντες (“transport grapes”) or the following restored κατε|σχέθησαν.

*συνεχῶς* | [---] ,σας ὑγείας is preserved in a very fragmentary condition, and we cannot tell whether the adverb modifies the imperative μνήσθητι or the following participle [---] ,σας, which is part of the formula of the question about the health. *P.Ammon* I 3, vi 10-12 (A.D. 348) καὶ παραβαλῶ . . . | αὐτῆι συνεχῶς καὶ μηδὲ ὅλως αὐτὴν ἀθύμω[ς] . . . [---]|σης, it modifies the verb παραβαλῶ (future indicative) and the adverb follows the verb, but the meaning is not clear because of the fragmentary condition of the text. In *SB* XIV 12185, 6 (V-VII A.D.) ἴτῃσαι τοῦ κυρίου μου [---] | [---] συνεχῶς καὶ συμβ[ ] . and in *P.Apoll.* 46, 2 (A.D. 703-715) ἀλλ[ι]ὰ σ[υ]ν[ε]χῶς ἠθέλησεν ἐδέξα|το/ γράμματα, “mais il a voulu sur-le-champ. Il a reçu une lettre”, the adverb is restored, but the syntax is problematic and the meaning of the phrase unclear.

<sup>259</sup> *UPZ* I 110, 186-187 (164 B.C.) ἐπεὶπερ ὑμᾶς δεῖ συνεχέστερον | ὑπὲρ τῶν α[ὐτ]ῶν ὑπομνήσκειν is the first instance of this adverb in papyri and it is in official letter. Two more official documents preserve the same comparative: an official report in *SB* XXII 15588, 13 (middle of II A.D.) συνεχέστερο[ν] παραγενομένου, and a petition in *P.Oxy.* LXV 4492, 8 (A.D. 311-312) συνεχέστερον, which is a text preserved in a fragmentary condition, so the modified verbal form is not clear.

The adverb also occurs in private documents, e.g. receipts, lease and loan contracts, cheques to bankers, orders<sup>260</sup>, and official documents of the Roman period, e.g. declarations, e.g. *BGU* I 1250, 23-24 (A.D. 130-138), tax registers, receipts, e.g. *W.Chr.* 321, 19 (A.D. 145), letters of the Prefect<sup>261</sup>, of the Roman period; cf. also some documents of uncertain content, which are preserved in a fragmentary condition: *BGU* III 732, 2 (II A.D.); *BGU* VII 1684, 14 (II A.D.).

In the official correspondence of the Roman and Byzantine period the meaning is always “as is usual, habitually” (see LSJ *s.v.* συνήθως III 2):

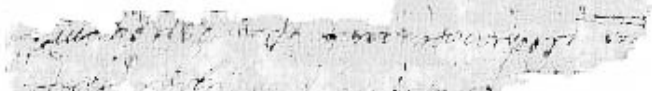
*P.Amh.* II 70, 8 (A.D. 113-117) και τὸ συνήθως[ς] διδόμε[ν]ον, is an official letter of the magistrates of Hermopolis, where the adverb precedes and modifies the participle διδόμενον; a letter to a praeses, *P.Ant.* III 188, 15-16 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶ τοὺς ἐνδοξ(οτάτους) ἕμᾶς | συνήθως τὸ γνήσιον ἐνδε[ξι]εσθαι; *P.Apoll.* 42, 8-9 (second half of VII A.D.) πρὸς ὃ | ἂν κελύετε ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πλείστα [εὐχαριστῶ ὑ]μῖν συνήθως προσωμολόγησον (*l.* προσωμολόγησον); and three times in an official letter(?) concerning a bishop, *P.Col.* XI 302, 2-3 (VI A.D.) συνήθως τύννυ (*l.* τοίνυ) εὐδοκιμοῦσα ἢ σὴ μεγαλοπρέ(πει)α εἰδυῖα | τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ προστάγματος κελύση τοῦτον ὑπομνησθῆναι, “therefore, will your Magnificence, with your customary grace(?), knowing the force of the decree, order that he be reminded”. However, it is better to understand it as modifying the subjunctive κελύση, and to translate “as it is usual, order”. In *Il.* 5-7 {ε}ῖνα κάγω συνήθως εὐχαριστήσω τῆ σῆ μεγαλοπρέ<ε>ια | καὶ οἱ καθοσιωμένοι ἄνδρες συνήθως καὶ αὐτοὶ κηρύξωσιν [τ]ὸ σὸν | μέγεθος, “so that I too as usual may thank your magnificence and so that the dedicated men, as usual, may also themselves proclaim your greatness”, the adverb modifies the following εὐχαριστήσω and κηρύξωσιν. The adverb modifying the verb εὐχαριστῶ seems to be formulaic: apart from the example above, cf. also the official letter *P.Apoll.* 60, 15 (second half of VII A.D.) καὶ συνήθως εὐχαριστήσω αὐτῆ; in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1843, 13-16 (A.D. 623), τὰ δὲ δύο ταπίτια παρακληθῆ συνήθως | τὰ μέγιστα μοι χαριζομένη διὰ συντομίας | πάσης ποιῆσαι καὶ πέμψαι μοι πρὸς τω με | συνήθως τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῆ εὐχαριστήσαι it occurs twice and modifies the verbs ποιῆσαι καὶ πέμψαι and εὐχαριστήσαι; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1860, 12 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ συνηθητος (*l.* συνήθως?) εὐχαριστήσω τῆ ὑμέτερα περιβλέ(πτω) ἀδελφότη(ητι)<sup>262</sup>.

In the private letters of the Byzantine period the adverb modifies various verbs:

(διαπρέπω) *P.Stras.* VII 676, 4-5 (V A.D.), ]σσαν ἐρωμένην τὴν σὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν | [---] καὶ τοῖς πᾶσ(ε)ιν εὐθυμον συνήθως διαπρέπουσαν | [---] . θεία πρόνοια πολλοῖς διαφυλάξει χρόνοις; (προσκυνῶ) *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67078, 6-7 (VI A.D.) πολλὰ γὰρ [ . . . . . ] περὶ τοῦτο παρεκλήθην | παρ[τὰ τῶν σ(?)]συνήθως ἡμᾶς προσκυνούτων; (διατηρῶ) *P.Grenf.* I 61, 8-12 (VI A.D.) πρὸ μὲν πάν|των εὐχὰς καὶ δεῖς<ε>ις ἀναπέμπω πρὸς | τὸν Θεὸν μου καὶ σωτήρα{ν} ἡμῶν τὸν | [Χρ]ιστὸν ὅπως ὑγιένοντας (*l.* ὑγιαίνοντας) ἡμᾶς καὶ | εὐθυμοῦντάς μοι συνήθως διατη|ρήσ<ε>ιν (*l.* διατηρῶσιν); (παρέχω) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1864, 7-9 (A.D. 623-624) ἀλλ', ὡς | εἴρηται, συνήθως μέγιστα μοι χαριζομένη | ταῦτα αὐτῶ παράσχη.

It seems, however, that the adverb συνήθως modifies the verb συγκροτῶ:

*P.Got.* 28, 1 (VI A.D.) [---] . μ . ον ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης συνήθως σὺ γὰρ ο τη . . . [---] | [---] τῆς ἐμῆς εὐτελείας → (as can be seen in the photograph) ἔμαθον ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης συνήθως συγκροτήσας [ ]



(<http://papyri.info/apis/gothenburg.apis.21>)

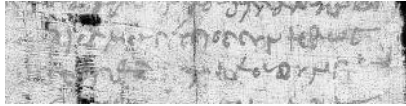
*SB* V 7656, 3 (IV-VII A.D.) παρακαλέσαι ὅπως καταξιώση σου ἢ ἀνδρία συνήθως | συγκροτῆσαι τὰ ἐμοῦ πράγματα καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὶ διαφέροντας; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1872, 2-3 (late V-early VI A.D.), καταξιώση <ἢ σὴ> διαθέσις συνήθως (*l.* συνήθως) καταξιοῦσα (*l.* καταξιοῦσα) φιλ<ε>ῖν συγκροτῆσε (*l.* συγκροτῆσαι) τὸν | εὐγ[ε]νῆ Παῦλον ἀποσταλέντα παρ' ἐμοῦ συνονήσασθαι (*l.* συνωνήσασθαι) οἶνον ἐμοί.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. e.g. the short order *O.Eleph.DAIK* 309, 3 (I-II A.D.) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀσχολήματος συνήθως (*l.* τῶ αὐτῶ ἀσχολήματι συνήθως) ἔπιτε.

<sup>261</sup> *SB* XIV 11374 (after A.D. 168), [τὰ] ἐπικεφάλεια τῶν ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἀπόρων συνήθως | [ἐκ μ]ερισμοῦ εἰσφερόμενα συνχωρῶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν | [ἐπ]ισκεθῆναι. ἵνα οἱ ἐν ἀναχωρήσει ὄντες ἐπανέλθωσι | εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. also the petition *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67006, 5 (c. A.D. 566-567), [εἰ παραστα][ῖ] προστάξει μὴ παρὰ \τὸ ἔθος/συνήθως (παρασυνήθως *ed. princ.*, probably by mistake; now corrected in DDBDP) τῶν ἐ[μ]ῶν γονέων καὶ τῆς [π]αντοίας μου γενέας ἔλκεσθαί \με/ εἰς τοιοῦτο γεωργικὸν λειτούργημα καὶ φρόντισμα \δο(υ)λίας/.

Finally, although the reading of the adverb in the private letter *P.Giss.Univ.* III 32, 5-7 (III-IV A.D.) ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ | [ὁ] κύριός μου Γέσιος συνήθως | πῶς ἀνεδύετο, is certain, the modified phrase πῶς ἀνεδύετο is debatable.



(<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/pbug-inv248recto.jpg>)

συννόμως(?)

The adverb is restored in a prefectural *hypographe*(?), *P.Kellis* I 22, 3-5 (A.D. 324) με[τ' ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν] | ἐγγεγραμμένων συννόμω[ς ὁ ---] | διαλήμψεται. The meaning is “in accordance with the law” and the editor, K.A. Worp, noted *ad loc.* “the adverb συννόμως is not listed in F. Preisigke’s *Wörterbuch* and subsequent supplements, but cf. LSJ *s.v.*”. However, in *P.Kellis* I 22, 4, one can restore not the adverb, but the dative of the adjective, e.g. συννόμω [ etc. The first instances of the adverb seem to be in Cyrillus Alex., *PG* 68, 132 and *passim* (see Lampe *s.v.*) and in an inscription from Sardis (see W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis, VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part I*, Leiden 1932, 20, 28 (A.D. 535-536) ἐπὶ τῷ συννόμως ἀπολογί[σασθαι], cited also in LSJ *s.v.* σύννομος).

συντετηρημένως

LSJ *s.v.* gives the meaning “with utmost care”, and cites only the petition to the king, *UPZ* I 20, 29-31 (163 B.C.) διὸ τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἡμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου μέριμναν | εἰς τὸ μὴθὲν ἡμᾶς τῶν δεόντων ἐγλιπεῖν συντετηρημένως πρὸς τὸ | θεῖον ἐκουσίως πο<|>εῖ (see Mayser 1936, 125); cf. also Eustathius *Comm. Od.* Vol. 1, p. 164 συντετηρημένως ἐγράφη; cf. also LSJ *s.v.* συντηρῶ 3 and 5.

συντόμως\* – συντομώτερον – συντομώτατα\*

The adverb is used to indicate Manner, with the meaning “concisely, briefly” and Time, with the meaning “shortly, quickly, immediately”; see LSJ *s.v.* σύντομος II 1 and 2. It is attested mainly in private letters and indicates the need for an immediate action<sup>263</sup>.

The adverb usually modifies verbs which denote movement, managing and arranging, and sending. Most examples occur in the Ptolemaic period (the adverb is only mentioned in Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177), and none in the Roman period. Finally, the adverb modifies only verbs that mean “send an object” in the Byzantine period:

(ἀποτρέχω) *P.Mich.* I 55, 3-10 (c. 240 B.C.) καλῶς ποι|ήσεις ὑπὲρ ὧν Πτολεμαῖος | ἀδελφὸς ἀναπέπλευκεν πρὸς | σέ | ἐπιμελῶς διοικήσας, ἵνα τα|χέως πρὸς με ἀναστρέφῃ | καὶ μὴ ἐπικαλύωμαι ἐὰν | δέῃ ἀναπλεῖν· συντόμως γὰρ | δεῖ ἀποτρέχειν ἐντεῦθεν, “please make a serious effort to settle the matter about which my brother Ptolemaios has sailed up to see you, in order that he may return to me quickly and that I shall not be prevented from sailing up if I need to; for I must be off from here shortly”; (ἀνακάμπτω) *P.Lond.* VII 2067, 13-17 (c. 246-240 B.C.) ὡς ἂν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν | ἐπιστολὴν ἐμβιβᾶσας τὸν ἄνθρω|πον κατάπλευσον, καὶ ἀποκατασ|τήσας ἀνάκαμπτε πάλιν εἰς | Κερκὴν συντόμως. It follows and modifies the imperative ἀνάκαμπτε, the temporal participle ἀποκαταστήσας

<sup>263</sup> As far as other types of documents are concerned, it is attested in two petitions (*P.Ammon* II 37 and *P.Tarich.* 5), one application (*P.Harrauer* 28) and one list of sacks (*SB* XXII 15246). The documents *BGU* XVI 2646, *P.Ant.* III 188, *P.Hamb.* IV 236, *P.Lille* I 3, *P.Sorb.* III 91, *P.Sorb.* III 96, *P.Tebt.* II 409, *PSI* XV 1570 and *SB* V 8754 are official letters.



defines a temporal point for the immediate return to Kerke; (πάρεμι, concerning a person) *W.Chr.* 452, 19-21 (224 B.C.) παρέσται δ[ὲ ὑμῖν] καὶ ἐξ Ἡ|ρώων πόλε[ως πορ]εῖα | συντόμως ἄγοντα . . . πυρῶν. The adverb follows and modifies the verb πάρεσται, although it is placed very close to another verbal form (participle ἄγοντα); (παρὰγίγνομαι, concerning a person) *SB XX* 14699, 2-6 (230 B.C.) [ἴν] ὄν | συντόμ[ως] παραγενόμενοι γένωνται π[ρὸς] τῷ σ[ε]σάμ[ι] κῶι σπ[ό]ρω[ι] . . . εἴπερ ἀναγκ[αῖ]όν ἐστιν | [σ]υντόμως ἐγδημ[εῖν], “affinchè dunque in breve tempo siano presenti per la semina del sesamo mi sembra opportuno, se anche a te sembra, di partire insieme con loro”. In the first instance it precedes and modifies the participle παραγενόμενοι and in the second instance the infinitive ἐκδημῆν; *P.Mich.* XV 750, 17-18 (172 B.C.) μέχρι τοῦ | παραγενέσθαι με [ἐπις] | ἐπὶ σὲ συντόμως, “until my forthcoming arrival”; *P.Amh.* II 37, 11 (196 or 172 B.C.) παραγενή[σ]ομαι συντόμως; *UPZ I* 60, 20-22 (179 or 168 B.C.) καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ σε | ἀναγκαιότερόν \ τε/ περισπαῖ, συντόμως πειραθεῖς | παραγενέσθαι; (διοικῶ) *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59412, 8-9 (middle III B.C.) πειράσομαι οὖν συντόμως διοικῆσαι, “I will try to arrange the matter immediately”; (ἐπιτελεῶ) It is restored in *P.Köln XI* 453, 10 (159 B.C.) κ[α]ί [σ]υντόμ[ως] ἐπιτελεσθή; (χορηγῶ) *PSI IV* 432, 4-5 (middle III B.C.) ὅποτε οὖν δοκιμάζεις, συντόμως χορηγείσθω, ἵνα μὴ ὑστερώμεν τοῖς καιροῖς, it precedes and modifies the imperative χορηγείσθω, and a subordinate clause of purpose follows to clarify the reason of the need for the immediate action; (ἀποδίδωμι) *P.Mich.* I 56, 7-9 (251-248 B.C.) ἀλλὰ ἀπ’ ἄλλων | συντόμως σοι πορισθῆν ἀποδοθήσεται, it precedes and modifies the future indicative ἀποδοθήσεται. Based on the translation in *ed. princ.* one understands the adverb as modifying the participle πορισθῆν, “the money will shortly be obtained from other sources and repaid to you”. However, it is more probable to assume that it modifies the verb ἀποδοθήσεται, “the money will shortly be repaid to you after being obtained from other sources”, since this interpretation depicts better the adverbial (temporal) usage of the participle; (πέμπω ἐπιστολήν) *P.Zen.Pestm.* 49, 14-15 (244 B.C.) καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς συντόμως | πέμψαι, (γράφω) *PSI IV* 417, 32-36 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς | ἂν οὖν ποιήσῃς γράφας | συντόμως περὶ τοῦ|των, ἵνα μὴ συνβ[η]ῖ μοι | ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρκον εἶ[ν]αι. A subordinate clause of purpose follows; (ἀποστέλλω a person) *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59047, 2-4 (257 B.C.) καλῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσῃς [ . . . . . ] | [τ]ῆ[ν] τε ἐπιστολήν ἀποδοῦς καὶ ἀποστείλας \ αὐτόν/ συντόμως. οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν οὐδὲν [ . . . . . ] | [ἡ]μᾶς καὶ ἀνηλίσκειν; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59201, 1-2 (257 B.C.) Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν | ἐργολάβον ἀποστελοῦμεν πρὸς σὲ συντόμ[ως]; *PSI V* 524, 1-5 (241-240 B.C.) τὴν παρὰ Σωσιβίου | περὶ Ἀμμωνίου ἐπιστολήν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀποδέδωκεν Ἐρμων | τῷ Ζηνοδώρῳ, ὡς ἂν \ / τάχιστα λάβητε τὴν ἐπιστολήν | συντόμως συνθέντες Προθύμῳ ἀποστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, | ὅπως ἐνθάδε ἀποδοθῆι αὐτῷ; *P.Petr.* III 53 (q), 5-6 (III B.C.) ἡβουλόμην δὲ | συν[τ]όμως ἀποστεῖλαι π[ . . . ] | [ . . . ] ἐπέταξας ἄλλοις ἰκανῶ[ . . . ] | [ . . . ] ἐνεδήμει, it precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀποστεῖλαι and probably in the lost part of ll. 6-7 a personal name or an object should be restored; (ἀποστέλλω an object) *UPZ I* 61, 21-25 (161 B.C.) ἀπόσ[τ]ειλ[ό]ν μοι τὰ μέ[τ]ρα τῶν ὀθονίων, | ὅπως συντόμως | ἀποσταλῆ ὑμῖν; *PSI III* 237, 5-7 (V-VI A.D.) καταξιώση τοῖνον ἢ ὑμῶν λαμπρότης | ἀποδόσιμον πέμψαι ἢ γράμματα χαράξει προσόδων βουλήν πραγματευτή καὶ | ταῦτα συντόμως ἀποστέλλω; (πέμπω an object) *P.Havn.* II 19,1 (IV-V A.D.) ἡμέλησας μὴ πέμψας συντόμως τὸν σῖτον μάλιστα μηδενὸς ἐνταῦθα ὄντος, “it was neglectful of you not to send the grain at once, all the more as there is nothing here”. The adverb follows and modifies the participle πέμψας, while also a participle of reason ὄντος follows; *P.Lond.* V 1840, 4 (VI A.D.) πέμψατε συντόμως ὅπως θεραπευθῆ τὸ καθ’ ὑμῖν.

Moreover, the adverb may modify verbs which denote any other urgent and necessary action (usually for a good reason or for a good purpose). All these examples are dated to the Roman and Byzantine period:

(δηλῶ) *P.Köln III* 166, 14-15 (VI-VII A.D.) παρακληθῆτω οὖν ἡ ἐμὴ δέσποινη | συντόμως δηλώσαί μοι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἢ τὴν τιμὴν, “es sei nun meine Herrin gebeten, mir alsbald die Antwort anzuzeigen oder den Kaufpreis”; (λέγω) *SB V* 8003, 14-15 (IV A.D.) καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως, {ε}ἴνα σα|φε[ρ]ῶν (l. σαφηνίζων) καὶ συ[ν]τόμως εἶπω, it precedes and modifies the second aorist subjunctive of the verb λέγω at the closing formula of the letter, and perhaps summarizes what the sender had written in the previous lines. The adverb is found inside a subordinate clause of purpose; and (καταλαμβάνω τινά) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1844, 3-4 (VI-VII A.D.) ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐνέγκη αὐτόν με[ε]θ’ ἑαυτῆς καὶ καταλάβη συντόμως | διὰ τῆς μεθαύριον, “but by all means bring him with you and arrive speedily the day after to-morrow”; (ποιῶ) *BGU III* 824, 14-16 (A.D. 97-98) παράβαλε οὖν ἐκεῖ, εἴνα | συντόμως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ | καὶ καλόν, the verb is placed after the adverb; *O.Did.* 382, 5-6 (before c. A.D. 110-115) εἰάν ὦν σὺ οἶδες | ὃ θελήσῃ σ[υ]νομ[ . . . ] πόησον = εἰάν οὖν σὺ οἶσθα | ὃ θελήσει, [σ]υντόμ[ως] ποιήσον, “therefore, if you know what he will want . . . do it”, the adverb precedes and modifies the imperative ποιήσον; (ἀπολύω) *P.Oxy.* XVI 1845, 3-5 (VI-VII A.D.) κ[α]ί ποιήσῃ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑμετέρα γνησία ἀδελφότης, | καὶ συντόμος (l. συντόμως) ἀπολύσῃ αὐτὸν ἀδιαστρόφως (l. ἀδιαστρόφως) καὶ μὴ συγχωρήσῃ τοῖς | χαρτο<υ>λαρίοις ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἀδικῆσε (l. ἀδικῆσαι) αὐτόν, “will your true brotherliness draw up his account and discharge him speedily without molestation, and not suffer the secretaries or any one else to wrong him”; (παρασκευάζω) *CPR V* 25, 3-4 (VII-

VIII A.D.) παρασκευάση | αὐτὸν κατακέφαλα συντόμως καθάρισαι ὅλον τὸ χώρημα, “make him clean that whole site quickly from top to bottom”<sup>264</sup>.

The comparative form συντομώτερον occurs in official correspondence of the Ptolemaic period: *SB* VI 9215, 16-18 (250 B.C.) μὴ [οὔν] | [ἀμελήσης ἀλλὰ σ]υντομώτερον ἀναπλήρωσον τὸ ἐπιγεγραμ[μένον] | [ἔως . . . . . εἰ] δὲ μὴ τὸ ἔσχατον ἕως τῆς ιε τοῦ Χοίακ; *P.Yale* I 36, 10-12 (190 B.C.) πέμψον Υ[---] | μάλιστα μὲν συντομώτερον, τὸ δὲ μακρότατον ἔ[ως τῆς .] | τοῦ Μεσορή. In both papyri the wording is similar: do something συντομώτερον... τὸ ἔσχατον/ τὸ μακρότατον ἕως a certain day. In another papyrus from the Zenon archive concerning a calendar of vineyard work, *P.Zen.Pestm.* 64 (= *LDAB* 1895) (III B.C.) ]τομωτερον, it is not certain if we can restore συν]τομώτερον, and, even if it is an adverb or an adjective. The superlative συντομώτατα (with the intensifier ὅτι) is attested in a letter of Satyra, a harper in the Alexandrian household of Apollonios, to Zenon, *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59028, 7-8 (258 B.C.?) καλῶς | ἂν οὔμ (*l.* οὔν) πο<ι>ήσαις καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἰ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι συντομώτατα.

#### συχνῶς\*

This adverb is only attested in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, page III, 32-33 (second half of VI A.D.) γράφειν [μ]οι | συχνῶς τ[ἀ] περὶ αὐτῆς, where it precedes and modifies the infinitive γράφειν. This adverb is rare, since συχόν or συχνά are used to indicate “often”; see *LSJ s.v.* συχνός B<sup>265</sup>.

#### σφοδρῶς\* – σφοδρότερον\*

The usual adverb in Attic Greek is σφόδρα (see *LSJ s.v.* σφόδρα and σφοδρός II; Bauer *s.v.*), with the meaning “vehemently” or “very much, exceedingly”. In a graffito of the Ptolemaic period, in Perdrizet and Lefebvre 1919, 467, the adverb possibly has the latter meaning: Ἀσκληπιάδης κακῶς πράσσων ἦλθεν ἐ[νθάδε ---] | κα[ὶ εὔφ]ορο{υ}ν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαν καὶ λαμπρὸν σφοδρῶς | κατ[έστησαν ---]. In a private letter of the Byzantine period, *P.Lond.* VI 1916, 18-22 (c. A.D. 330-340), εἰ δὲ ἔχετε μοι ὡς ἀδελ|φὸν τοῦτον συββοηθήσατε, ἀγαπητοί, | ὅτι πάνυ σφοδρῶς \ε/θλιβε ἡμᾶς οὔτως περὶ | ταύτης <τῆς> ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἡμ<ε>ῖς οὐκ ὀκνήσω|μεν, possibly the adverb is used with the former meaning.

In *P.Col.* III 6, 1-2 (257 B.C.) ἀκούσασα ἠνωχλησθᾶί μου τ[ὸ παι]|δάριον καὶ σφοδρότερον, παρεγενόμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἠθελον ἐντυχεῖν σοι, instead of considering that the adverb modifies the verb ἠνωχλησθᾶι and translate “since I heard that my boy had been mistreated, and rather badly, I came to you and after arriving I wanted to petition you about these matters” (*ed. princ.*), the comma should be placed after παι]|δάριον. Therefore, because of the position of the adverb, it seems that it modifies the

<sup>264</sup> In some documents either the modified constituents are not preserved, or the fragmentary condition of the papyri does not provide certain examples: *P.Bodl.* I 57, 5 (after 245 B.C.) ] . εἰν συντόμως. Probably ἀποστέλλῃ; *SB* X 10451, 4 (middle III B.C.) π[α]ρὰ σοῦ συντόμως καταπλε .[; *P.Lond.* VII 2084, 3 (middle III B.C.) ]αδι καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς συντόμως πα[---]; *P.Med.* II 23, 3 (after 186 B.C.) ἀλλ' ἀπολύσας συντόμως χρ[; In *CPR* XXV 31, 4-5 (first half of VII A.D.) καθῶς] | προεῖπον συντόμως ὅσοι εἰσ[ε]ῖ τ[; it is uncertain whether the adverb modifies the verb προεῖπον in the relative clause καθῶς προεῖπον, and therefore could have the meaning “briefly”, or modifies an infinitive, now lost at the end of l. 5; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67192, 2 (VI A.D.) ] πέμψατε συντόμως ἐπειδὴ [---].

<sup>265</sup> For *P.Giss.Apoll.* 11, 25-26 (see also *LSJ s.v.* συχνός B) see *s.v.* συνεχῶς, p. 233.

following verb παρεγενόμην, but actually it can also be considered to modify the phrase ἤθελον ἐντυχεῖν. The text would be translated as “since I heard that my boy had been mistreated, with great feeling both I came to you very and after arriving I wanted to petition you about these matters”.

#### σωματικῶς

It occurs in an edict, *I.Fay.* I 75, 17-18 (= *SB* V 8900) (S.N.; A.D. 54) ἀργυρικῶς ἢ σωματικῶς | κολασθήσονται, where Bernard’s n. *ad loc.*; see *s.v.* ἀργυρικῶς, p. 86. Furthermore, in documents of the Roman period regarding liturgies we find the phrase τοῦ σωματικῶς ἀπεργάζεσθαι: *P.Bacch.* 20, 5 (A.D. 171); 21, 15.28; 22.8 (A.D. 178), where the adverb has the meaning “corporeally” (see *LSJ s.v.* σωματικός 2; Spicq 1978, p. 866). With the same meaning it is used in contracts and official documents of the Byzantine period.

#### σωτηρίως

It is attested in a petition to the Prefect, *SPP* XX 54, ii 15-16 (A.D. 250) παρὰ [τ]ὰ | ὑπὸ σοῦ σωτηρίως διηγορευμένα (cf. also i 10), with the meaning “the orders which bring safety”, and it seems to be used instead of the adjective σωτήριος; see *LSJ s.v.*, and cf. *P.Cair.Isid.* 1, 6 (A.D. 297) τύπον τε σωτήριον δοῦναι καθ’ ὃν δέοι τὰς εἰ[σφο]ράς γίγνεσθαι κατηξίωσαν, where it is used for a “salutary rule”. For the meanings “in the way that brings salvation” or “in a way conducive to well-being” in the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.*

#### σωφρόνως

Although the adverb is usually attested in the Greek literature (see *LSJ s.v.* σῶφρων III; Spicq 1978, 867-874), in order to provide a moral sense, “prudent, showing self-restraint”, to a certain person, in Egypt it occurs only in a funerary inscription of the late Roman period, *SEG* XXX 1780 (III A.D.) εὐψύχει, Ἄρτεμει, φρονιμωτάτη σεμνοτάτη γυνή, σωφρόνως βιώσασα ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. It is also restored in an official document (letter?), *SB* XVI 12425, 8-9 (beginning of VII A.D.) κἀγὼ τ[οῖς μοναχοῖς] παρενεγύησα τοῦ | [λ]οιποῦ σωφρόνω[ς] [γε διακεῖσθαι], but the restoration is debatable, since one we may also restore an adjective, e.g. σωφρόνω (l. σωφρόνω) [e.g. βίω(?)].

#### ταχέως\*

The sender of a private letter usually indicates the concept of speed by using the adverb ταχέως. It occurs 67 times in the private letters<sup>266</sup>. Most of them (c. 59.5%<sup>267</sup>) are

<sup>266</sup> Four instances are found in business letters: *P.Berl. Sarisch.* 18, 4; *P.Col.* X 291, 11; *P.Mich.* I 21, 7; *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7. It also occurs in official letters: *BGU* I 8, 10; *O.Claud.* IV 890, 14; *Giss.* I 69, 12 and 17. Instances in other official or formal documents are: *P.Ammon* II 38, 24; *P.Ammon* II 39, fr. c, 5; *P.Ammon* II 40, 11; *P.Ammon* II 41, 28 and 38; *P.Ammon* II 45, 9 and 14; *P.Ness.* 60, 12; *P.Ness.* 61, 11; *P.Ness.* 62, 12; *P.Ness.* 63, 7; *P.Ness.* 64, 8; *P.Ness.* 66, 7; *P.Ness.* 67, 11; *P.Oxy.* XII 1408, 24. This distribution suggests that the adverb belonged mainly to the informal vocabulary. Moreover, it occurs in a fragmentary funerary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 89, 5-6 (Roman period) ΩΝ | κλαύσατ[ε ...]. | ταχέως ΤΟ.....; and in the hymn to Isis, *ibid.*, no 175, ii 8 (I B.C.?) σοὶ εὐξάμενοι ταχέως {σ} ἥς ζωῆς ἔτυχον.

<sup>267</sup> *BGU* XVI 2655, 20 (21-20 B.C.); *P.Michael.* 15, 8 (c. A.D. 75-85); *P.Col.* X 252, 14 (last quarter of I A.D.); *SB* XXII 15708, 32 (c. A.D. 100); *P.Sarap.* 83, 16-17 (A.D. 90-133); *P.Heid.* III 234, 5-6 (I-II A.D.); *SB* VI

dated to the Roman period. Considerably fewer (c. 34.7%<sup>268</sup>) are dated to the Byzantine period, and very few (c. 5.8%<sup>269</sup>) date to the Ptolemaic period.

The position of the adverb in the clause structure is not fixed, but based on a statistical analysis of the data some conclusions can be drawn. In 73.9% of the examples in which *ταχέως* is used, it is placed before the verbal form that is modified by the adverb, and in only 20.3% of the examples it is placed after it. When the adverb is placed before the modified constituent, the idea of speed seems to be more important than the action itself. Moreover, the adverb is usually near the verbal form. In 55% of the examples in which the adverb precedes and in 42.9% of the examples in which it follows it is right next to the verbal form. Only a few words intervene between the adverb and the verbal form modified, and there are no other verbal forms between them (except of *SB XXII 15708*, 30-32 τοῦτο οὖν εἰδώς – ὅτι, πλὴν τοῦ μάτην μισθοῦς πλείονας | τελεῖν, ἀπὸ καθηγητοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ ἀπ’ ἐμαυτοῦ | ἔχω – ταχέως ὅ τι ἐάν σοι δοκῆ γράψον, “so bearing this in mind – I mean that there is no good to be got out of a teacher, unless it is paying exorbitant fees to no purpose, but that I am depending on my own efforts – write to me quickly what you think”, where an indirect interrogative subordinate clause, which is the object of the verb, is placed in-between). The strength of the semantically close relationship of the verb and the adverb is clearly demonstrated in *O.Eleph. DAIK 96*, 8-11 Παμύθην υἱὸν Ἐσουήριος ἀναγκαίως πέμψατε ταχέως διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καροῦρ, where the adverb ἀναγκαίως refers to πέμψατε ταχέως as a whole, and not simply to the verb: this person should be sent speedily; if he is not sent quickly, then all is pointless.

More specifically, in the Ptolemaic period the adverb was placed only before the verbal form (four examples). In the Roman period it was placed mostly before the verb: in 32 examples it is placed before, whereas only in seven examples it is placed after the constituent modified. In the Byzantine period in 14 instances it is placed before, and in seven cases it is placed after the verbal form. Its place depends only on the style of the

---

9272, 5 (I-II A.D.); *O.Claud.* I 138, 4 (A.D. 110); *P.Giss.* I 21, 11-12 (c. A.D. 113-115); *P.Brem.* 65, 6 (A.D. 116-120); *P.Wisc.* II 73, 16 (A.D. 122-123); *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 37 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 479, 14 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Mich.* VIII 481, 14-15 (first quarter of II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 10 (first quarter of II A.D.); *SB XX 15180*, 9 (c. A.D. 150); *BGU III 698*, 33 (II A.D.); *O.Eleph. DAIK 96*, 10 (II A.D.); *P.Hamb.* I 86, 7 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* I 116, 9 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860, 16 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 19 (II A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3990, 17 (II A.D.); *O.Strasb.* I 788, 5 (II A.D.); *O.Wilck.* 1220, 9 (second half of II-first quarter of III A.D.); *P.Hamb.* I 54, r2, 4 (last quarter of II- first quarter of III A.D.); *BGU II 450*, 16 (II-III A.D.); *P.Fay.* 126, 7 (II-III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 5 (II-III A.D.); *SB XXII 15519*, 4 (II-III A.D.); *P.Yale* I 83, 6 (c. A.D. 200); *P.Tebt.* II 423, 22 (first quarter of III A.D.); *P.Vet. Aelii* 18, 11 (c. A.D. 222-255); *P.Rein.* II 115, 8 (A.D. 257); *SB XX 14453*, 2 (A.D. 259); *SB VI 9549*, 4 (second half of III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4627, 6-7 (last quarter of III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* VII 1070, 40 (III A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1677, 7 (III A.D.); *P.Princ.* II 73, 5 (III A.D.); *P.Ryl.* IV 605, 26 (III A.D.).

<sup>268</sup> *P.Mich.* III 214, 20 (A.D. 297); *O.Kellis* 289, 2 (III-IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 65, 23 (first quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 66, 11 (first quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601, 26-27 (first quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 72, 43 (second-third quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 11 and 38 and 39 (last quarter of IV A.D.); *P.Giss.* I 103, 7 and 22-23 (IV A.D.); *P.Kellis* I 74, 13 (IV A.D.); *O.Douch* V 532, 4 (IV-first quarter of V A.D.); *SB XX 14923*, 11 (IV-V A.D.); *P.Giss.* I 54, 8 (IV-V A.D.); *P.Heid.* IV 333, 13 (V A.D.); *SB V 7635*, 7 and 17 (last quarter of V- first quarter of VI A.D.); *P.Col.* X 291, 11 (V-VI A.D.); *P.Harr.* I 159, 4 (V-VI A.D.); *PSI VII 836*, 12 (VI A.D.); *P.Fouad* I 85, 19 (VI-VII A.D.); *P.Berl. Sarisch.* 18, 4 (first quarter of VII-VIII A.D.).

<sup>269</sup> *P.Mich.* I 21, 7 (before 257 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59251, 3 (252 B.C.); *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7 (240 B.C.); *UPZ* I 60, 18 (179 or 167 B.C.).

writer. A characteristic example of that particular tendency is *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 10-11 γράψ[ο]ν \αὐ/τῶ \ἢ τῶ/ ὄσπ<ε>ι καὶ τῇ μητρὶ [σ]οι (*l.* σου) ἵνα | ταχέως πέμψωσίν μοι αὐτά, “write to him or to the hospes and to your mother, so that they may send them to me quickly”, and 38-40 σπουδάσον ἐλθ<ε>ῖν ταχέως πρὸς | ἡμᾶς. κἂν μὴ δύνῃ ταχέως ἐλθ<ε>ῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, κἂν γρά|ψον ἡμῖν πότε ἔρχῃ, ἵνα καὶ ἡμ<ε>ῖς εὐθυμήσωμ[ε]ν, “make haste to come quickly to us. Even if you cannot come quickly, at least write to us when you will come, so that we may feel happy”, in which ταχέως is found three times, two before (lines 11 and 39) and one after the verbal form (line 38).

The verbal mood that is combined with the adverb is indicative (seven instances), subjunctive (eleven instances), and imperative (24 instances). In 18 cases the adverb modifies an infinitive, mainly one that denotes purpose. In most of these cases the infinitive functions as a complement to a verb that has the meaning of desire, and the phrase can be translated as “I want something to be done quickly”. In only one instance the adverb modifies a participle. This means that the actions have not yet been performed, but somebody wants them to be done (when we have a subjunctive or an infinitive), or orders the recipient to carry them out (and then we have imperative). The verbs in indicative mood are never in the past tenses. Therefore, people did not write about things that were done quickly, but about things that were about to be done quickly. *O.Claud.* I 138, 4-6 οἶδα ἐμετὸν (*l.* ἐμαυτὸν) ὄτ[ε]ι οὐ|δὲν κακόν σοι ἐποίησα οὐδὲ ἐμ[ε]ῖση|σα ἃ μοι ταχέως ἐμ[ε]ῖσησες, (transl. *ed. princ.*, “I know myself that I did you no harm, nor did I hate you as you suddenly hated me”, provides a unique example of a past tense combined with ταχέως: “it took you little time to hate me”. In this example the certain use of the adverb ταχέως to modify ἐμ[ε]ῖσησες is unexpected. This peculiarity is reflected in the translation of the *ed. princ.* “suddenly”. However, we may assume that the phrase means “for which you jumped to the conclusion that I deserve to be hated”, “for which you hated me off the top of your head”.

The verbs that are modified by the adverb ταχέως could be grouped as follows:

(1) Verbs that are used by the sender to ask the recipient to send or receive something:

(πέμπω) *BGU* XVI 2655, 20; *O.Eleph. DAIK* 96, 10; *P.Kellis* I 65, 23; *P.Kellis* I 74, 13; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 11; *P.Princ.* II 73, 5; *P.Sarap.* 83, 16-17; *SB* XX 14453, 2; *SB* XX 15180, 9; *O.Did.* 317, 6-7 (c. A.D. 72-92) λοιπόν, ἀδελφε, ταχέως (*l.* ταχέως) | μοι πέμψον; (ἀποστέλλω) *O.Douch* V 532, 4; *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601, 26-27; (ἀποπέμπομαι) *P.Giss.* I 21, 11-12; (ἐπιστέλλω) *SB* VI 9549, 4; (δίδωμι) *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 18, 4; (λαμβάνω) *O.Kellis* 289, 2; (φέρωμαι) *P.Harr.* I 159, 4.

(2) Verbs that are used by the sender to ask the recipient to come or be somewhere:

(έρχομαι) *P.Mich.* III 214, 20; LVI 3860, 38 and 39; *P.Oxy.* LIX 3990, 17; *PSI* VII 836, 12; *P.Vet. Aelii* 18, 11; *SB* V 7635, 7; *O.Strasb.* I 788, 5; (παραγίγνομαι) *BGU* II 450, 16; *P.Hamb.* I 86, 7; *UPZ* I 60, 18; (ἀνέρχομαι) *P.Fay.* 126, 7; *P.Mich.* VIII 481, 14-15; (ἀναβαίνω) *SB* VI 9272, 5; (ἀναστρέφομαι) *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7; (ἀσπάζομαι) *P.Michael.* 15, 8, with the meaning “be there to greet you”; (ἐπισκέπτομαι) *P.Mich.* I 21, 7; (πάρεμι) *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59251, 3; (γίγνομαι) *P.Wisc.* II 73, 16<sup>270</sup>.

(3) The third group contains verbs that are used by the sender to ask the recipient to write or to respond to a letter:

<sup>270</sup> The adverb in this example does not modify the verb of the main clause σπεῦσον, but it should be constructed with the infinitive phrase πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, which actually refers to the text that was written in the letter of Hephaestion, e.g. ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς γίγνομαι/γενήσομαι.

(δηλῶ) *P.Col.* X 291, 11; *P.Heid.* III 234, 5-6; *P.Oxy.* VII 1070, 40; *P.Oxy.* XIV 1677, 7; *P.Tebt.* II 423, 22; (γράφω) *P.Col.* X 252, 14; *P.Hamb.* I 54, r2, 4; *P.Heid.* IV 333, 13; *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860, 16; *SB* XXII 15708, 32; cf. also *P.Bingen* 74, 8 (II A.D.) γράψ<ε>ις μοι ταχύτερον; see below, p. 246; (ἀντιγράφω) *P.Mich.* VIII 479, 14) and (ἀπαντῶ) *SB* V 7635, 7. The verb καταλαμβάνω (*P.Fouad* I 85, 19; *P.Giss.* I 54, 8; *P.Giss.* I 103, 7 and 22-23; *P.Kellis* I 72, 43; *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4627, 6-7) could belong either to the first or the second group depending on the context.

(4) Rare instances of verbs that can be modified by ταχέως:

ἀπαλλάττομαι (*P.Brem.* 65, 6 and *SB* XX 14453, 2), γίγνομαι (*P.Rein.* II 115, 8 and *P.Yale* I 83, 6), ἀναλίσκομαι (*P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 5), ἀπαρτίζομαι (*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 10), ἀπολύω (*P.Oxy.* I 116, 9), ἐκπλέκω (*P.Mich.* VIII 477, 37), μισῶ (*O.Cloud.* I 138, 4; see above, p. 243), and σφραγίζομαι (*P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 19).

The persons (mostly relatives or friends) in the second group should act quickly, and in the third group letters should be sent quickly. When the adverb modifies verbs of these groups, ταχέως functions, firstly, as an adverb of time and, secondly, as an adverb of manner. The things that should be sent or received quickly are those that people considered important or valuable in a rural society, such as **purple dye** (*P.Kellis* I 74, 13), **cabbages** (*SB* VI 9549, 4), **clean clothes** (*SB* XX 15180, 9), **agricultural products** (*P.Berl.Sarisch.* 18, 4), **letters** (*O.Kellis* 289, 2), **animal food** (*P.Harr.* I 159, 4), **chaff** (*P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 5) and **money** (*P.Kellis* I 65, 23). The people that are going to carry the items, and on whom the speedy accomplishment actually depends, are not usually named. In *P.Kellis* I 65, 23 we read that the courier is a reliable person; in *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2601, 26-27 the courier is someone other than the sender; *SB* VI 9549, 4 is the only case in which the name of the courier is provided: the man that will carry the cabbages is called Dionysios.

When the adverb is in the main clause, a subordinate clause of reason might follow, which clarifies the reason for the haste:

*P.Fay.* 126, 7-8 ἀνελθε οὖν ταχέως ὅτι | ἐπ<ε>ίγ<ε>ι (because it is urgent); *P.Kellis* I 65, 21-27 καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἐλάδιον ἦν {ε}ἄγης παρὰ σέ, πῶλησον αὐτὰ καὶ ταχέως πέμψης τὴν τιμὴν διὰ πιστοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐπὶ χρεῖαν αὐτὸ <ἔχω> ἐνθάδε, ὅτι πολλὰ ζημία ἐγὼ (l. μοι) ἐδόθη ἐνθάδε (because I need it here); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3990, 16-19 κόμισ[αι] παρὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου σάκκου. ὄν προ[ό]τρεψαι ταχέως ἐλθεῖν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι μέλλε[ι] μένειν (because he is going to stay at the dyke himself); *SB* XX 15180, 9-11 καὶ ταχέως πέμψου) \τὰ καθάρια/ ἐπεὶ χρεῖα μοί ἐστιν Φίλωνι (because I am in great need); *O.Strasb.* I 788, 5-7 λοιπὸν ταχέως ἔρχεσθε (l. ἔρχεσθε), ἐπὶ ἐπάγουσι καὶ τέλ(ος) ἐμοὶ οὐ διδοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀποχὴν (because they do not give me the money).

In other cases, this clarification is made by using a subordinate clause of purpose:

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1677, 7-9 ταχέως δήλωσον ἡμῖν διὰ φάσεως <ὡς> \ἀπέσχε[ς]/, ἵνα μὴ βαρήσεις ἀνθρώποις γράψαι σοι ἐπιστολί\δι\ον, ἵνα μὴ ὀχληρὰ γένη παρ' ἀνθρώποις (in order not to be annoying), *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2860, 16-17 ταχέως οὖν μοι γράψου ἵνα εὐψυχῶ [---] (in order to be of good courage), and in *SB* V 7635, 17-19 ταχέως ἀπάντησον, ἵνα σὺν θεῶ κοινῶς τὴν πανήγυριν ποιήσωμεν (in order to hold the feast).

A conditional subordinate clause or conditional participle might precede the adverb, in order to describe the conditions on which the need for speed depends:

*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 9-11 Ἰούλιος Ἔρωσ ἐῖ μὴ σε παρεκάλεσα ἐν τῷ Δαφνῶνι, ταχέως ἀπαρτίσει (l. ἀπαρτίσαι) περὶ οὗ ἐντ[ι]υχγά[ν]η (if I did not beg you); *P.Sarap.* 83, 15-18 καὶ ἐὰν ἀρέ[σ]η ἀναπλεῦσαι σε, ταχέως σοι διὰ Κα[λ]ίστου πέμψω (if you like to sail). In *P.Michael.* 15, 7-8 θεῶν δὲ βουλομένων καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως σε ἀσπάσομαι, a conditional participle “if the gods want to”, instead of a clause, precedes.

It is possible that a subordinate clause of time follows the clause in which the adverb is placed, in order to define how fast something should be done: *P.Rein.* II 115, 6-11 ἀπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς στρατιώτην, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν ὠφελουμένων πάντων ἡ ἐργατεία βληθῆ καὶ ταχέως τὸ ἔργον γένηται, πρὶν τοῦ ποτισμοῦ τοῦ κατεπίγοντος πρὸς τὸ εὐμαρῶς τὰ ὕδατα πάντας ἡμᾶς ἔχειν (before the watering time).

It is not unusual to find the adverb in a subordinate clause of purpose. An action which is described in the sentence to which the subordinate clause refers to, is the

presupposition of the fast accomplishment of the second action, the one described in the subordinate clause.

*BGU* II 450, 13-16 ἵνα εἰδῆ, ὅτι ἐγὼ αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν ἔχω καὶ προτρέψῃ αὐτὸν τ[α]{κ}χέως παρ[α]γενέ[σ]θαι; *P.Giss.* I 21, 11-12 [ἵ]να τ[α]χέως ἀπ[ο]πεμφθῆ; *P.Mich.* I 55, 6-7 ἵνα ταχέως πρὸς με ἀναστρέφῃ; *P.Mich.* VIII 479, 13-15 ἵνα πρὸς τὰ | γραφέντα αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἀντι|γ[ρ]άψῃ; *P.Oxy.* XLI 2985, 4-5 ἵνα μὴ ταχέως ἀναλωθῆ; *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 10-11 ἵνα ταχέως πέμψωσίν μοι αὐτά; *P.Reim.* II 115, 7-9 ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν ὠφελουμένων πάντων ἡ ἐργασία βληθῆ καὶ ταχέως τὸ ἔργον γένηται.

Moreover, ταχέως occurs only once in a concession subordinate clause, in *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 39 κὰν μὴ δύνῃ ταχέως ἐλθῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. It might be also unusual to find the adverb in a subordinate clause of reason, therefore, in *PSI* VII 836, 12 ἐπεὶ ταχέως (*l.* ταχέως) εἰς πᾶσαν σπουδ[ῆ]ν --- κον ἔρχομαι, the reading ἐπεὶ has been regularized as ἐπί.

The fast action as the prerequisite to another action is found in *BGU* III 698, 33-34 εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ τ[α]χέως | [--], a text, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition.

In *P.Hamb.* I 86, 7, *P.Hamb.* I 54, 2, 4 and *P.Tebt.* II 423, 22 a conditional subordinate clause precedes, and one of purpose follows. Specifically, as far as the former instance is concerned, in ll. 5-10 ἐὰν μεθ' ὑ<ε>ίας ἐκπλέξῃς σατόν, ταχέως πρὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παραγενοῦ, ἵνα, ἂν δυνασθῶμεν, τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικρ{ε}ῖναι, we read that the recipient should come before the Prefect, if he finishes his job on time and if he is healthy, in order to perform *epikrisis* of his son. In the second example in ll. 1-9 μὴ οὖν κατάσχῃ[ς] τὸ πλοῖον. εἰ δ' οὖν, ἀλλ[ᾶ] ταχέως μοι γράψον ὅτι οὐ διαπένη (*l.* διαπέμ|πη) μοι, ἵνα κἀγὼ τὸ πλοῖον ἀπολύσω, the recipient of the letter brings the ship onto the land, and he should inform the sender, in order to let another ship depart. In the latter example in ll. 20-23 ἐ[ἄ]ν γένων<ται> πρὸς σε ο[ἱ] γεωργοὶ θέλο[ν]τες σπέρ[μα]τ[α], δῆ[λω]σόν μοι ταχ[έ]ως ἵνα π[έ]μψω προθῆν αὐτοῖς μέτρ[α] τινα, the recipient should write a letter immediately, in case the farmers come to him and ask for seeds, in order that the sender may send a quantity to them.

In *SB* VI 9158, 10-11 θέλησον δὲ τ[α]χέως ἐξαποστεῖλαι, and *SB* XIV 11900, 8-9 οὖν δὲ παρακ[αλοῦ]μέν[ος] [σε ἵνα ταχέως], καθὼς ἐτάξω, παραγενέσθαι [ἡμῖν], the adverb is restored in lacunas and, although the restorations might be correct, they are debatable. In the first case the infinitive ἐξαποστεῖλαι is also supplemented *exempli gratia*.

In *SB* VI 9220a, 7 (= *PSI* IV 349; 254-253 B.C.), a letter sent by Thekles to Zenon, we read a peculiar prepositional phrase, πέπεισμαι διὰ τεχέων ἡμῖν ἦξειν τὸ σύμβολον, “et je suis persuade que sous peu le bon nous arrivera” (H. Henne in *JJP* 4, 1950, 90), where it seems that it is interpreted as διὰ ταχέων.

A variant spelling of ταχέως is restored in the official letter *BGU* XV 2467, 9 (A.D. 190) φ[ρ]όντισον ταχέ[ι]ω[ς] φέ[ρ]ειν(?). However, since the only attestation of the spelling ταχέως is provided by this papyrus, one could assume that what the editor read as the letter ι could just be the left part of the letter ω. If this is the case, ταχέως φε[ρ]ειν should be read in this document.



(<http://berlpap.smb.museum/04765/>)

The comparative and superlative forms of ταχέως are:

**θαῖττον/θαῖσσον.** The comparative θαῖττον, which was the most usual form in Attic Greek (see LSJ *s.v.* ταχύς C I 2), occurs mainly in official documents of the third and beginning of the fourth century A.D.: *P.Oxy.* I 122, 6 (late III-IV A.D.) <ἐ>πεπόμφειν δ' ἂν αὐτὸς θαῖττον πρὸς σέ εἰ παρ' ἡσάν μ[οι] πλείονες στρατιῶται (*l.* στρατιῶται), an official letter to the Prefect; it is also restored in *P.Oxy.* XVII 2104 (= LDAB 61407), 8 (after A.D. 222) καὶ θαῖτ[τόν] ποτε πρὸς [τόδε] ἀφικνεῖτ[αι]; an imperial rescript of Severus Alexander. The form θαῖσσον is also attested twice in official circulars, in *O.Krok.* I 41, 44 (after(?) A.D. 109) and *O.Krok.* I 42, 13 (after A.D. 109).

The only attestation in private letters can be found so far in the Zenon archive, *P.Ryl.* IV 565 (249 B.C.), where in ll. 1-2 ἀκούω σε θαῖσσον τοῦ | δέοντος ἐξε[λθόντα] . . . . . ]πρᾶσαι, the adverb θαῖσσον means “earlier”. Deinon stated that he was informed about Zenon’s departure, which took place earlier than needed (indicated with the genitive of comparison τοῦ δέοντος).

**ταχύτερον.** The form ταχύτερον (see LSJ *s.v.* ταχύς C I 1) was the commonest comparative form in the papyri, and was used mainly in private letters<sup>271</sup> from the Roman period<sup>272</sup>. There is no indication of comparison, which is constructed with ταχύτερον, and, thus, it seems that ταχύτερον does not function in a comparative sense, but is used either as an alternative of ταχέως or as an intensifier of the positive degree, with the meaning “very quickly”.

The adverb usually precedes the modified constituent:

*BGU XVI* 2636, 13-14 (c. 21 B.C.-A.D. 5) ὀρθῶς δὲ χρῆση τὸν Διογένη(ν) | μοι ταχύτερον ἀπολύσας; *SB VI* 9120, 11-12 (I A.D.) λοιπὸν οὖν | ταχύτερον ἀνάβα παρὰ σέ “well then, come rather quickly up to your home”; *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 26-28 (early II A.D.) καὶ | ἐρω[τ]ῶ σε ἂν δύνη [μοι ταχύτ]ερον πέμψαι ὑπόδημα | ἐπ<ε>ἰ πο[λλ]ᾶ ὄν[ε]σ[ι]ναμαι αὐτῶν “and I ask you, if you are able, to send [me] sandals without delay, since I derive much benefit [from them]”; *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 8-9 (early II A.D.) παρακαλῶ δὲ ταχύτερον αὐτὸ[ν] | ἀκούσας; *P.Hombert* II 41, 10-12 (middle-late II A.D.) εἰάν δὲ μὴ εἴ[ρ]ης, | ταχύτερον πένψον μ[οι] (*l.* ταχύτερον πέμψον μοι) Ἐρμῆν | πεζῆ; here the spelling ταχύτερον is attested. The adverb precedes and modifies the imperative πέμψον. The meaning of the adverb can be comparative only in the case that Hermes the courier should not board the ship mentioned in ll. 8-10 εἰάν μὲν εὔρης π[ρ]οῖον, | ἐμβαλοῦ (*l.* ἐμβαλοῦ) τὸν θώρακά[ν] μ[οι] καὶ [---] | κειον σὸν Ἐρμῆτι. It would be impossible for Hermes to be sent anywhere faster than something which happened earlier; *P.Mich.* VIII 490, 7-9 (II A.D.) καὶ σύ μοι | ταχύτερον δήλωσον περὶ τῆς ἀπροσκοπίας | σου καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου “and do you inform me at once about your safety and that of my brothers”; *SB XVI* 12981 (late II-early III A.D.) ἐπὶ ταχύτερον ἐλθε πρὸς ἡμᾶς “come to us as soon as you can”; it precedes and modifies the imperative ἐλθε. The intensity it creates is stressed even more by the use of ἐπί; *SB V* 7529, 4-7 (II-III A.D.) τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ κτήνη | σή[μ]ερὸν σο[ι] πέμπω δ<ε>ἰλιναῖς ὦ[ρ]αις, ἵνα ταχύτερον τὸ ἔργον | τ[ῆ]ς Ἀργιάδος ἀπαλλαγῆ; *SB XXIV* 16283, 7-12 (II-III A.D.) ὅπως | μητεμία (*l.* μηδεμία) ζήτησις ἐνῆ, | ἵνα ταχύτερον ἐκπλέ[ξ]ας κατέλθη, ἐπ<ε>[ι] ὁ ἀδελ[φ]ός μου Πωλίω[ν] ἀσθε[ι]ν<ε>[ι], it precedes and modifies the subjunctive κατέλθη. This is the only case where another verbal form is placed between the adverb and the modified constituent; *P.Col.* X 279 (middle III A.D.) τὸ ἀλίκλι<ο>ν ταχύτερον πέμψαι μοι “(I pray you) to send me very quickly the coat”; *P.Col.* X 278, 11-13 (middle III A.D.) καὶ σύ ἐπέστηκε (*l.* ἐφέστηκε) ὅπως σπουδάσης | [καὶ τα]χύτερόν μοι αὐτὰ διαπέμψη εἰάν μὲν αὐ[τ]ὰ

<sup>271</sup> *BGU XVI* 2604, 12-15 (7 B.C.), a letter (in the form of a petition). *BGU XVI* 2622, 10 and 20 (c. 21 B.C.-A.D. 5), *P.Tebt.* II 410 R, 11 (A.D. 16), *O.Claud.* IV 848, 9-10 (c. A.D. 109-111) *O.Claud.* IV 884, 5 (c. A.D. 150-154), *O.Claud.* II 366, 9 (II A.D.) and *O.Claud.* IV 850, 14-15 (late II A.D.) are official letters. In *O.Claud.* IV 850, 14-15 (late II A.D.) ταχύτ[ε]ρον has been regularized to τάχιον.

<sup>272</sup> The latest example is *P.Havn.* II 21 which is dated at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century A.D. The form ταχυτέρως is attested in Hippolytus, *PG* 16, 3036C (see Lampe *s.v.* ταχυτέρως).



διεπαμέμφηται “try to get busy and send me these things very quickly, if he(?) sends them to you”, it precedes and modifies the subjunctive διαπέμφη. The use of the verb σπουδάζω stresses the importance of the very quick sending of the aforementioned goods (a cloak and other things); *P.Haun.* II 21, 10-12 (III-IV A.D.) ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν μὴ βουλευθῆς ταχύτερόν μοι διάπεμψαι ἐπιστολήν ἵνα | κάγω ἀμερίμωσ διαγάω, which is a business letter, it precedes and modifies the infinitive διάπεμψαι.

In few cases the adverb modifies a preceding verbal form:

Indicative: *O.Claud.* I 172, 5-12 (c. A.D. 110-120) ἔπεν|ψάς (l. ἔπεμ|ψάς) μοι φάσιν | περὶ τοῦ ὄφε<ι>λο|μένου. πέν|ψω (l. πέμ|ψω) σοι ταχύ|τερον, ἐὰν | αὐτὸν πω|λήσω; *P.Bingen* 74, 8-9 (after A.D. 130) ἡ[ἀ]ν (l. ἐ[ἀ]ν) οὖν ἀναβένης (l. ἀναβαίνης) <ε>ἰς Ἀντινοῦ, γράψ<ε>ἰς μοι ταχύτερον ἵνα | [. . . .] , ἐλθω πρὸς σέ “if you travel up to Antinoopolis, write me at once so that I may come to see you”, it modifies the preceding future indicative (with the meaning of subjunctive or imperative) γράψεις. The text in following lines 9-10, ἦν (l. ἐὰν) δ’ ἄρα μὴ ὑπάγης, πάλιν γράψ<ε>ἰς μοι | [μὴ] δι’ ἀπόρου ὑπάγω ἔνθεν ἐκεῖ “but if it turns out that you are not going, then write me too so that I won’t go under difficulties(?) from this place to there”, could explain this use of ταχύτερον. In ll. 8-9 Heraïs asks Lucretias to write quickly, whereas in ll. 9-10 she asks her simply to write, because the premises, which are stated in the two conditional clauses, are different. In the first case, the quick sending of a letter by Lucretias is crucial for their meeting.

Imperative: *PSI VIII* 967, 14-16 (I-II A.D.) \πέμ/ψον μοι ταχύ|τερον ἵνα ἰσχύσω ἀναβῆναι μετὰ τὴν | ἐορτήν; *BGU III* 816, 13-16 (III A.D.) ἀπόσ[τ]ει|λον τὸν Σύρον ταχύτερον, ἐπ<ε>ἰ | κράσι (l. κράζει) Ἀπᾶς Εὐάγγελος (l. Εὐάγγελοῦ) περὶ τοῦ | χαλκοῦ, it modifies the preceding imperative ἀπόστειλον.

In three letters the adverb is attested twice:

In *BGU II* 615, 9-10 (II A.D.) ταχύτερον τὰ ἐπ<ε>ἰγόντα | ἔργα φροντίζετε “besorgt doch recht schnell die dringenden Angelegenheiten”, it precedes and modifies the imperative φροντίζετε. In ll. 27-29 καὶ ἐὰν τ[ι] πρᾶ | μάθης, δήλωσόν μοι| ταχύ|τερον “und wenn du etwas [--] erfährst, informiere mir so schnell wie möglich”, it modifies the preceding imperative δήλωσον. Since in both cases there are not any compared terms in the clause, and the context is almost the same, the adverb should not be translated differently. The translation “fairly quick” seems better than the translation “as quickly as possible” (“so schnell wie möglich”), which is the translation of the superlative and not the comparative. However, it seems that the adverb here is just used instead of ταχέως.

*BGU XVI* 2616 (13 B.C.). In ll. 3-4 [c. 9 letters] [. . .] εἰς Π[ε]ρ[ε]σ[α]μοι ταχύτερο[ν] | τὸν ἀ[δ]ελφὸν Ὀνωφριν, it modifies a preceding verbal form, now lost in a severely mutilated part of the papyrus. In ll. 9-10 γ[ι]νῶσκε[ δὲ ἡμᾶς ταχύτερον ἀνα|πλέοντες (l. ἀνα|πλέοντας), it precedes and modifies the participle ἀναπλέοντας.

*P.Mich.* VIII 479 (early II A.D.). In ll. 8-10 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις | ταχύτερόν μοι ἀντιγράψαι περὶ τῆς σωτη|ρίας σου “please, then, write me a reply at once concerning your well-being”, it precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀντιγράψαι. In ll. 12-15 πᾶν δὲ ποι<η>σάτω ἀναδοῦναι αὐ|τὴν ταχύτερον τῷ στρατηγῷ ἵνα πρὸς τὰ | γραφέντα αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἀντι|γ[ρ]άψῃ “and let her make every effort to deliver it to the strategos at once, so that he may reply quickly to what has been written to him”, it modifies the preceding infinitive ἀναδοῦναι. In both cases it has the meaning “at once” or “very quickly”. It is not used instead of ταχέως. This is illustrated in ll. 12-15, where the comparative is used in the main clause and the positive is used in the following subordinate clause of purpose.

**τάχ(ε)ιον.** The form τάχιον (see LSJ *s.v.* ταχύς C I 3) is attested mostly in private letters from the Roman and the early Byzantine periods<sup>273</sup>. It is spelled as τάχιον in 18 examples<sup>274</sup>, and as τάχειον in 17 examples. It does not function in a comparative sense, and this use is comparable to the one of ταχύτερον. The only case where the adverb retains its comparative meaning is *P.Mich.* VIII 501, 13.

<sup>273</sup> Official letters are: *SB XVI* 12835, 8 (A.D. 6); *O.Krok.* I 8, 7 (c. A.D. 108), where it is spelled as τάχειον; *P.Panop. Beatty* 1, 22 and 267 (A.D. 298); *P.Panop. Beatty* 2, 7 (A.D. 300), where it is spelled as τάχειον. In *O.Claud.* IV 850, 14-15 (late II A.D.), which is also an official letter, it is not necessary to regularize ταχύτερον to τάχιον.

Moreover, only in an edict of the Prefect is also attested, *P.Princ.* II 20, 8 (A.D. 133-137?).

<sup>274</sup> In *SB XVI* 12694, 4 it is spelled as τάχιων.



modifies the preceding subjunctive τελεσθῆ; *P.Nag Hamm.* 70, 12-15 (IV A.D.) νῦν | ἐμέλησθη τὴν προθησ|μία<ν> (*l.* προθησ|μία<ν>), ἀλλὰ ἀπόστ<ε>ιλόν μοι| | τὰ (*l.* τὸ) ὄσπρεον ἐπ<ι> τάχιον, it modifies the preceding imperative ἀπόστειλον. The meaning is intensified with the use of ἐπί; *P.Heid.* VII 408, 6 (IV-V A.D.) τάχιον καὶ π<ε>ῖσαι αὐτὸν γράψαι Νεμεσιανῶ, it modifies a preceding verbal form, now lost in the missing left part of the papyrus.

**τάχιστα.** The superlative τάχιστα occurs in business and private letters of the Ptolemaic period (Zenon archive) and is placed mainly in a subordinate temporal conditional clause ὡς ἂν + subjunctive (see LSJ *s.v.* ταχύς C II 2 b) immediately after ἂν<sup>275</sup>. The adverb in this case modifies the verb, and the meaning includes a kind of wish, “hopefully this will be done as quickly as possible”. The subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause, in which the verb is placed either in the imperative or in future indicative:

*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59019, 7-8 (258-256 B.C.) οὐ οὖν, ὡς ἂν τάχιστα λάβῃς τὰ γράμματα, γ\ρ/α| .λομ (*l.* γράψον) μοι περὶ τούτων τ . . . [ . . . ] | [πρὸ] τοῦ τὸγ (*l.* τὸν) καιρὸν ἐγδραμεῖν; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59427, 4-5 (258-256 B.C.) γρ[ά]ψον δὴ (*l.* δὲ) [καὶ ἡμῖν], ὡς ἂν τάχιστα | ἀποβ[ . . . ]|αρίαν, τίνι τὸ ἀργύριον διαγράψωμεν καὶ τὸ[ν] σῖτον ἀπο]δῶμεν; *P.Col.* III 6, 13-14 (before 257 B.C.) γίνωσκε δέ, ὡς ἂν τάχιστα αὐτὸν | ὁ θεὸς ἀφῆ, καταστήσω αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα καὶ σε ἴδω ὑπὲρ τῶν λοιπῶν “rest assured that as soon as hopefully, the god sets him free I shall bring him back to you so that I may see you with regard to the rest”; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59545, 11-14 (257 B.C.) ἀλλὰ γράψ(ομεν) αὐτῶι καὶ τὴν | παρὰ σοῦ ἐπ(ιστολήν) ἀπο(στελοῦμεν), καὶ ὡς ἂν | τάχιστα συμμείξῃ ἡμῖν | ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι; *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59126, 4-5 (256 B.C.) ὁ δὲ λόγος [c. II letters ὦ]στε, ὡς ἂν τάχιστα γεωμετρηθῆ, ἀποσταλή]σεταί σοι; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59241, 1-3 (256 B.C.) ὡς ἂν τάχιστα λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, | λαβὲ παρὰ Πάσιτος τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἐρίων μν(ᾶς) κε καὶ ἀπέγδος Ἀρτεμί|δῶρωι ἵνα κατασκευάσῃ στρωμάτιον and 5-6 καὶ ὡς ἂν τάχιστα γένηται, ἀπόστειλον εἰς Μέμφιν πρὸς Ἀρτεμί|δωρον, καὶ πειράθῃτι ὅπως ἐν ἡμέ(ραις) ιε γένηται; *P.Col.* III 42, 1-3 (254 B.C.) ὡς ἂν τάχιστα | καταφυτεύσης τὰ φυτὰ καὶ εὐκαιρήσεις, διε[λθε] | εἰς Κροκοδίλων πόλιν “as soon as you have planted the vines and have found a favorable opportunity, go to Krokodilopolis”; *P.Lond.* VII 1979, 7-8 (before 252 B.C.) [τ]έως μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐκπεποίηκεν | αὐτῶι ἀπ[ο]στῆλαι, ὡς ἂν δὲ τάχιστα, ἅμα τῆι ὥραιαι, εὐθέως ἀποστελεῖ. The presence of εὐθέως in the clause stresses the urgency of the sending; *PSI* IV 360, 14-20 (252 B.C.) καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νεα|νίσκοις δὲ προδια|λεγησόμεθα αὐτοῖς, | ὡς ἂν [τάχιστα] τὰ | γενήματα ἀφεθῆ<ι> | ἵνα σοι ἀπειτακτῆ]σωσιν ὡσαύτως, τάχιστα is deleted by the scribe himself, either to avoid the expression of wish or because he knows that this will not be done quickly in any way; *P.Col.* IV 91, 4-6 (242 B.C.) τὴν δὲ τιμὴν | ὡς ἂν τάχιστα παραγενηθῶμεν | ταξόμεθά σοι “as soon as I meet you I will pay you the price” and 10-11 ὡς ἂν οὖν τάχιστα κομίσωντα[ι] | ἔαν χρεῖαν ἔχῃς προχρήσομέν σοι “as soon as they furnish it, I will make an advance payment to you if you have need of it”; the placement of οὖν after ἂν differentiates the expression; *PSI* V 524, 3-5 (241 B.C.) ὡς ἂν \ / τάχιστα λάβῃτε τὴν ἐπιστολήν | συντόμως συνθέντες Προθύμωι ἀποστείλατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, | ὅπως ἐνθάδε ἀποδοθῆι αὐτῶι. The presence of συντόμως in the main clause stresses the urgency of the sending.

In addition, the simple τάχιστα or with the intensive ὡς τάχιστα occurs in the same archive:

*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59034, 12 (before 257 B.C.) ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα ὑγιάσθην, παρεγένετό τις ἐκ Κνίδου; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59472, 6-8 (middle III B.C.) προ[σ]οφείλουσι γάρ μοι κά|τεργον ὡς τάχιστα γάρ ἀπεδήμησας, κατα|λιπόντες ἀπῆλθον; *PSI* V 540, 3-5 (middle III B.C.) καλῶς {σ}ἂν ποιήσασ[ις] [κατ(?)]ἀπλεύσασα ὡς τὰ | [χιστ]α.

In the Roman and Byzantine period, (ὡς) τάχιστα occurs rarely:

*P.Giss.* I 27, 10-11 (c. A.D. 115?) καλῶς οὖν ποιή[σεις,] | τ[ε]μ[ι]ώτατε, τ[ά]χιστά μοι δηλώσας, *P.Ryl.* IV 690, 6 (III A.D.) τάχι]στα πέμψαι (*l.* πέμψαι) τῆ Φ .ικλ, and *P.Herm.* 6 (c. A.D. 317-323), in ll. 11-12 ἐπιθυμίας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ θεωρεῖν σ[ε] τ[ά]χιστά μοι συμ|β[ή]σεται, and in ll. 30-31 [βού]λομαι ὡς τάχιστά | τ[ε] καὶ εὔχομαι.

<sup>275</sup> In the Ptolemaic and Roman period it is also attested in official documents: **official letters:** *P.Yale* I 32, 4 (c. 257 B.C.); *P.Tebt.* I 27, 67 (113 B.C.); *O.Krok.* I 60, 7 (c. A.D. 98-125?); *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2182, 33 (A.D. 165); **royal decree:** *P.Col.* IV 120, 24 (229 B.C.); **report** of inspectors: *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3465, 27 (A.D. 63-64); **list** of taxes: *PSI* VII 792, 10 (A.D. 136).

**ταρότατα.** The superlative of the adverb ταχύτατα is not attested so far in papyri. However, the superlative ταρότατα (*addendum lexicis*; not in LSJ) occurs in *BGU XV 2493*, 21-25 (late I-early II A.D.) γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ταῦτα τ[ὰ γ]ρά[μμ]ατα ταρότατα ἔπιεμψα ἡμῖν (*l. ὑμῖν*) ἐνεκ[α(?)-] ὧν ἔδωκός μοι, “I want you to know that I sent this letter to you very quickly because of the things which you gave me”, with the editor’s n. *ad loc.* “ταρότατα = ταχύτατα. See LSJ *s.v.* ταρόν, τραρόν and ὀτρηρός”.

The adverbial accusative (τὸ) τάχος

This adverbial occurs twenty-nine times in the private letters<sup>276</sup>. It is, firstly, an adverbial of Time, meaning “soon”, and, secondly, an adverbial of Manner. Twenty-seven times<sup>277</sup> occurs in the private letters of the Ptolemaic period, mainly in the Zenon archive and they are related with business: Eleven of them are considered as business letters<sup>278</sup>, and seven could be classified as such<sup>279</sup>. Although this high proportion could indicate that (τὸ) τάχος was used mainly in an economic and commercial context, it seems also possible that it could be used to express the needs of this group of people and the importance of the fast accomplishment of certain jobs. It is found only once in the private letters, which cannot be classified as strictly business letters, both of the Roman period, *P.Oxy. XVII 2150*, 9 (III A.D.) ἵνα ἡ τάχος σοι γένηται and once in the private letters of the Byzantine period, *P.Oxy. XLVI 3314*, 12-14 (IV A.D.) σπουδαῖόν σοι | γενέσθω ὅπως τὸ τάχος πέμψης μοι, ὡς | προεῖπον, τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; cf. also below κατὰ τάχος/κατὰ τάχους, concerning *P.Oxy. XVI 1870*, 7-9 (V A.D.).

The accusative is usually accompanied by the article τό (twenty-two examples). In four cases the relative pronoun ὅ,τι accompanies τάχος, and the meaning of the adverbial is pretty much the same as the one of the superlative τάχιστα, i.e. as fast as possible. In

<sup>276</sup> It is also found eight times in the formal letters (*P.Cair.Zen. IV 59624*, 13; *P.Oxy. I 59*, 15; *P.Panop. Beatty 1*, 55, 61, and 258; *P.Panop. Beatty 2*, 115; *PSI IV 285*, 9; *SB III 6300*, 14), and four times in other formal documents (*P.Cair.Isid. 1*, 17; *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59562*, 7; *P.Cair.Zen. IV 59633*, 2; *P.Col. III 44*, 19). Cf. also *O.Petr.Mus. 67*, 2 (III/IV A.D.), probably an invocation, with reference to Hermes; see n. *ad loc.*

<sup>277</sup> *P.Bour. 10*, 22 (88 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. I 59019*, 11 (258-256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. I 59060*, 8 (257 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. II 59158*, 2 (256 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. II 59163*, 11 (255 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. II 59166*, 4 (255 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. II 59259*, 5 (251 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. III 59428*, 15 (middle of III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. III 59467*, 7 (middle of III B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. V 59804*, 4 (258 B.C.); *P.Cair.Zen. V 59805*, 3 (257 B.C.); *P.Col. III 16*, 14 (257 B.C.); *P.Col. III 30*, 6 (256 B.C.); *P.Col. IV 66*, 23 (256-255 B.C.); *P.Hib. I 62*, 12-13 (245 B.C.); *P.Lond. VII 2033*, 6 (257-248 B.C.); *P.Lond. VII 2070*, 3 (middle of III B.C.); *P.Petr. III 43*, fr. 2, 9 (241-239 B.C.); *P.Zen.Pestm. 22*, 4 and 8 (257 B.C.); *P.Zen.Pestm. 41*, 9 (III B.C.); *PSI IV 326*, 12 (257 B.C.); *PSI V 495*, 17 and 18 (258 B.C.); *PSI VI 601*, 10 (middle of III B.C.); *PSI VI 607*, 6 (middle of III B.C.); *PSI VI 614*, 10 (257-256 B.C.). In four cases the editors of the papyri supplied τάχος in a lacuna of a papyrus, but these restorations should be considered more as *exempli gratia* rather than as certain or necessary ones. Therefore, these texts are not taken into consideration in this study: *P.Cair.Zen. II 59194*, 5 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συμπέμψας μοι τό τάχος μετὰ | τοῦ ἀποδιδόντος σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν; *P.Iand. Zen. 9*, 2 [--- ὅτι τ(?)]άχος εἰς | πλοῖον; *P.Laur. III 102*, 8 καὶ ἐρώτη | [σον ---]τέραν σου ὅτι | [τάχος εἰ ἢ]νέχθη τυρία | [διὰ τοῦ ἀδ]ελφοῦ μου τοῦ | [---]; and *P.Ryl. IV 557*, 3 [πα]ρὰ τὸ γεγραφέ[ναι ἡ]μῖν Ἀπολλώνιον συνα[ντῆσαι αὐτῶι] | εἰς Μέμφιν τῆ[ι] β ἡναγκά[σμε]θα περι[ο]δεύ[ειν] τὸν νομὸν οὐθενὶ | κόσμωι, ὅπ[ως] ὅ τι τάχος | ἔτοιμοι ὦμεν τὸν ἀνάπλ[ου]ν ποιεῖσθαι.

<sup>278</sup> *P.Cair.Zen. I 59060*, 8; *P.Cair.Zen. II 59158*, 2; *P.Cair.Zen. II 59163*, 11; *P.Cair.Zen. II 59166*, 4; *P.Col. III 16*, 14; *P.Col. III 30*, 6; *P.Lond. VII 2033*, 6; *P.Lond. VII 2070*, 3; *P.Petr. III 43*, fr. 2, 9; *P.Zen.Pestm. 22*, 4 and 8.

<sup>279</sup> *P.Cair.Zen. II 59259*, 5; *P.Cair.Zen. III 59428*, 15; *P.Cair.Zen. III 59467*, 7; *P.Cair.Zen. V 59804*, 4; *P.Cair.Zen. V 59805*, 3; *P.Hib. I 62*, 12-13; *P.Zen.Pestm. 41*, 9.

three cases the accusative has neither an article next to it nor a pronoun. It cannot be said if the adverbial without the article has a different meaning from the one with the article. We may assume that the article can intensify the meaning of the adverbial, in order to indicate a sense similar to the superlative, “the fastest”. On the other hand, τάχος and τὸ τάχος would provide the same sense. Therefore, in *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59259, 5 σπεύδω γὰρ τοῦ \τὸ/ τάχος παρα[---], where the article is added in the interlinear space, it is difficult to tell if the scribe considered that the article was a necessary supplement of a standard use or if he understood a different meaning between τὸ τάχος and τάχος.

The position of the adverbial in the clause structure is not standardized. In twenty of twenty-seven instances where τάχος is used in the Ptolemaic papyri, it seems that there are no particular factors that determine whether it precedes or follows the modified form. This can be demonstrated in *P.Zen.Pestm.* 22, where in ll. 3-4 it precedes, καλῶς ἄν οὖν ποιήσῃς ἐπιμεληθεῖς | ὅπως τὸ τάχος παραληφθῶσι, and in ll. 7-8 it follows, καὶ Χάρμον δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἀποστελῶ πρὸς σέ | τὸ τάχος διωικημένον περὶ πάντων. Moreover, in all instances we can observe a tendency for the adverbial to be placed close the verbal form.

There are three verbal moods that are combined with the adverbial τάχος: indicative (two instances), subjunctive (twelve instances), and imperative (three instances). The verbs in indicative are both of a future tense, and the ones in subjunctive usually belong to a subordinate clause of purpose. In six cases the adverbial modifies an infinitive, which is usually an infinitive of purpose, and in two cases it modifies a participle. The modified participles denote in both cases the purpose, and are parts of a formula, which consists of the verbal expression καλῶς ποιῶ and a participle: καλῶς ἄν οὖν ποιήσῃς | τὸ τάχος ἐπίσκευ|άσας ἵνα ἀποδοθῇ | τοῖς κυρίοις (*P.Col.* III 30, 5-8) and καλῶς οὖν πο[ιή]σεις | γράψας τὸ τάχ[ος] ὅπως ἄν | μὴ κατέχηται ὁ Καλλικῶν (*P.Lond.* VII 2033, 5-7). As was also observed above regarding the sense of ταχέως, it seems that people did not write about things that had been done quickly, but about things that were about to be done or they wanted to be done quickly. Therefore, they used future tense or expressions which indicate future actions.

In most cases the sender of a private letter used the adverbial τάχος in order to modify verbs, which denote that the recipient has to send or receive something:

(ἀποστέλλω) *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59060, 8; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59428, 15; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59467, 7; *P.Petr.* III 43, fr. 2, 9; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 22, 8; (λαμβάνω) *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59805, 3; (παρακοιμίζομαι) *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59166, 4; (παραλαμβάνω) *P.Zen.Pestm.* 22, 4; (πέμπω) *P.Petrie Kleon* 37, 2; *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3314, 13).

In addition, the adverbial can modify few other verbs, for instance:

(ἀναπλέω) *PSI* VI 614, 10; (ἀποκαθιστημι) *P.Hib.* I 62, 12-13), (ἀφίημι) *P.Col.* III 16, 14; (γίγνομαι) *P.Oxy.* XVII 2150, 9; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 41, 9; *PSI* IV 326, 12; (γρασίζω) *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59158, 2; (γράφω) *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59019, 11; *P.Lond.* VII 2033, 6; (ἐπιβάλλω) *P.Bour.* 10, 22; (ἐπίσκευάζω) *P.Col.* III 30, 6; (ἔρχομαι) *P.Col.* IV 66, 23; (κατατάσσω) *PSI* V 495, 18; (καταχωρίζω) *PSI* V 495, 17.

The objects which should be transported quickly are:

**Animals** (*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59467, 7), **wine** (*P.Lond.* VII 2070, 3), **persons** (*P.Oxy.* XLVI 3314, 13), a **copper kettle** (*P.Col.* III 30, 6), and **clothes** (*PSI* VI 607, 6).

The adverbial is very often placed in a subordinate clause of purpose. As we had observed in the use of ταχέως, there is an action, which is described in the clause to which the subordinate clause refers, and which is the presupposition of the fast accomplishment of the second action, the one described in the subordinate clause:

*P.Petrie Kleon* 34, 5-7 ὅπ[ως] | ἢ ἐν Θεογενίδι γῆ ποτισθῆι τὸ | τάχος; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59158, 2 ὅπως τὸ τάχος γρασισθῆι, *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59166, 4 [ἵνα παρακοιμισθῆι τ[ὸ] τάχος, where the restoration of the conjunction in this

case makes sense, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59428, 15 ὅπως ἄν φιλανθρωπήσῃ | τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ τάχος | ἀποστείλῃ με, *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59804, 4 [ὅπως] ἄν αὐ[τοῖς τὰ περὶ τοὺς τελώνας | συνοικονομήσω καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀπο . . . α[ . . . αὐ]τοῖς [ἀποστ] | εἰ[λ]ω, *P.Cair.Zen.* V 59805, 3 ὅπως ὅ τι τάχος λάβῃ, *P.Oxy.* XVII 2150, 9 ἵνα ἡ τάχος σοι γένηται, *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3314, 13 ὅπως τὸ τάχος πέμψῃς μοι, *PSI* IV 326, 12 ἵνα τὸ τάχος | γέ[νῃ]ται, *PSI* V 495 ὅπως τὸ τάχος κατα|χωρήσῃ ἡμᾶς (ll. 17-18) and ἵνα [---]αὶ τὸ τάχος ἡμᾶς κατατάξει (l. 18), *PSI* VI 601, 10 ὅπως τὸ τάχος δια|θέμενος παραγένωμαι, *PSI* VI 607, 6 ὅπως [τ]ὸ τάχος τὸ ἐκφόρ[ιον ---], where the verb is not restored, however, the meaning is that the sender asks the recipient to send him some clothes, and *PSI* VI 614, 10 ἵνα περὶ ὧν | καταπέπλευκας | συντελεσμένους | τὸ τάχος ἀναπλεύ|σῃς.

Sometimes a subordinate clause of purpose follows, and clarifies the reason for the hastiness:

*P.Col.* III 16, 14 (in order to give us what we need) μόνον τὸ | τάχος ἄφες αὐτὸν | ὅπως τὰς χρεῖας ἡμῖν | παρέχηται, in *P.Col.* III 30, 6 (in order to be restored to the owners) καλῶς ἄν οὖν ποιήσῃς | τὸ τάχος ἐπισκευ|άσας ἵνα ἀποδοθῇ | τοῖς κυρίοις, in *P.Col.* IV 66, 23 (in order to see yourself that I am blameless) ἐγὼ δὲ εὐχομαι πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῶι | δαίμονι τοῦ βασιλέως σε ὕγιαίνειν καὶ ἐλθεῖν τὸ τάχος πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅπως | αὐτὸς ἰδῆς ὅτι ἀνέγκλητός εἰμι, in *P.Lond.* VII 2033, 6 (in order to let Kallikon go) καλῶς οὖν ποιή|σῃς | γράψας τὸ τάχ[ος] ὅπως ἄν | μὴ κατέχηται ὁ Καλλικῶν, in *P.Lond.* VII 2070, 3 (in order to taste it) καλῶς οὖν ποιή|σῃς --- | [---] . [ . . . ] [τ]ὸ τάχος ἵνα γεύσῃται, and in *P.Petrie Kleon* 39, 9 (in order not to be left empty handed for long time) [καὶ οὐκ ἀντειπόντος καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπο|λαμβάνω δὲν τρόπον αὐτοῖς παρωμ[ολογη]σάμεθα ποιῆσαι τοὺς τε ἐγμε|τρητὰς ἀποστείλαι τὸ τάχος ὅπ[ως ἐγ]μετρηθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἔργου | μὴ καθῶνται τὸν πλείω χρόνον. In *P.Zen.Pestm.* 41, 9 the adverbial is placed inside a subordinate clause of purpose, and another clause of the same type is following (in order to be done quickly for me, in order to prevent somebody else from removing my privileges, σὺ οὖν σωμαὶ ἀπόστειλον | [ἵνα μοι γένηται τὸ τάχος, ἵνα | μὴ ἄλλος παρήλῃται μου). Finally, it is possible that a participle of time precedes in order to define how fast something should be, like in *P.Hib.* I 62, 12-13 (as soon as you arrest him, ὡς ἄν λάβῃς | τὰ γράμματα | λαβὼν αὐτὸν τὸ | τάχος ἀποκατά|[στ]ησον πρὸς ἡμᾶς | [ἐν] Ὀξυρυγῶν π[ό]λ[ε]ι, | [καὶ ὁ]π[ω]ς μὴ ἄλλως ἔσται); cf. also *P.Petrie Kleon* 36, 4 τὸ τάχος ὅπως εἰ δυνάμεθ[α---]; *P.Petrie Kleon* 37, 2 τὸ τάχος ἵνα [---].

### The prepositional κατὰ τάχος/κατὰ τάχους

The prepositional κατὰ τάχος was already used in the classical literature (see LSJ *s.v.* τάχος II, citing Herodotus 1.124, 152, and Thucydides 1.73; and with article κατὰ τὸ τάχος in *P.Cair.Zen.* 59130, 10-12 (265-254 B.C.) πα|ρέσομαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ τά|χος πρὸς σέ.

In one case, in an official document (copies of the correspondence of a strategus), κατὰ τάχος appears in its correct form (κατὰ + acc.), in *P.Oxy.* XIX 2228, 24(?), 28, 29, 34 (A.D. 283 or 285). However, it seems that κατὰ τάχος was influenced by the prepositional μετὰ τάχους; see LSJ *s.v.* τάχος II, citing Plato *Prt.* 332b; this prepositional appears in an official letter of the third century B.C., *P.Gur.* 21, 10 [μ]ετὰ τάχους, and in an official order, *P.Oxy.* XVII 2107, 4-5 (A.D. 262) ἀποστείλαι μετὰ παντὸς τά|χους. Therefore, in the private letters of the Roman and Byzantine period we find the syntax κατά + gen., usually following the modified verbal form:

*P.Münch.* III 121, 12-15 (II A.D.) ἐμοῦ σοι | κατ' ὄψιν ἐντειλαμένου | μαθεῖν καὶ κατὰ τάχους | μοι δηλώσαι; *P.Oxy.* VII 1069, 2-6 (III A.D.) καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀναγκάσε (l. ἀναγκάσαι) | γενέστε (l. γενέσθαι) μου τὸ κ[ε]ἰθων[ε]ἰ[1]ν τὸ λευ|κὸν κατὰ τάχους [ε]ἰ[1]να εὔ|ρω αὐτῶ (l. αὐτὸ) γενάμενον [εἰνα ερθω] \[εαν]/ | ἐὰν ἔρθω (l. ἔλθω) πρὸς<ς> σε[ν]; *P.Giss.Univ.* III 31, 19-20 (IV A.D.) ἀναβαίνω γὰρ ἐκείνη κατ[ὰ] | τάχους καὶ ἔρχομαι αὐτοῦ; *PSI* VII 742, 11-14 (V-VI A.D.) διαθέων (which is corrected by Nikos Litinas, who considers it as a form of the verb διαθέω, “run about, spread reports” (see LSJ *s.v.*); on the other hand, διὰ θεῶν *ed. princ.*; and *BL* V, on p. 124 διὰ θεῶν (= θεόν), *C.P.J.* III 505) δὲ ποιήσον καὶ πρόθεσι | ἀγαθὴν καὶ φιλίαν προλαβοῦσαν σπουδάσον τὰ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου | γνῶνε καὶ ταχέως (l. ταχέως) μεταδοῦναί με. πάνυ γὰρ ὀλιγορο (l. ὀλιγορῶ) τούτου χάριν. φρόντισον | οὖν, δέσποτα, μοῦ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τάχους (l. τάχος) καὶ γράψον ὑμῖν. Besides, it is highly unlikely that τάχος is the appropriate word for this case, because it was written in the Byzantine period, when, as was shown, the use of τάχος was very limited.

The prepositional is restored in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1870, 7-9 (V A.D.) ἄχρι[ς οὔ] | [τὰ ἀποσ]ταλέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῷ Ἰσακ λ[άβ]η[ς(?)] | [κατὰ τ]άχος, but, since the usual prepositional is

with the genitive, one might consider restoring here the simple accusative with the article, [τὸ τ]άχος, although its occurrence in the Byzantine period is rare (see p. 250).

τεθαρρημένως\*

It occurs only in two private letters of the Roman period: *P.Michael*. 16, 7-10 (II-III A.D.) οὔτε φάσιν μοι οὔτε ἐπισ|τολὴν ἐγράφατέ μοι ἵνα | καὶ αὐτὸς τεθαρρημένως | ἔμαυτὸν ἠδέως ἔχω, where there is an accumulation of adverbs in -ως; cf. ll. 4-5 γράφειν μοι διηνεκῶς | περὶ τῆς ὑ<ε>ίας σου. *P.Freib*. IV 68, 21-23 (II-III A.D.) καὶ τε|θαρρημένως σαυτὸν ἐπίδος ἐπ[ι τ]ῆ τῶ[ν] | σῶν φροντίδι. In both cases τεθαρρημένως is placed before the pronoun ἔμαυτός etc. and the modified verbal form. The only other appearance of the adverb in the Greek literature is in Michael Psel. *Chron*. 3.19 τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐ πάνυ τεθαρρημένως, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναιδέστερόν τε προσιῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐρώντων διαπραττόμενος.

τελείως / τελέως\*

The first appearance of the adverb in the papyri is in a letter (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *P.Petrie Kleon* 5, 5 (260-249 B.C.) τελείως ποιήσεις [---, where the meaning is probably “completely, absolutely, thoroughly”; see LSJ *s.v.* τέλειος VII, citing also τελέως γ[άρ] | ἡμᾶς ἐνώχλει τὸν ἀρραβῶνα | προεμβεβληκῶς “he was a perfect nuisance to us” in *P.Cair.Zen*. IV 59637, 4-6 (middle of III B.C.); cf. also *PSI* VI 571, 20-21 (252-252 B.C.) καὶ εἰς τὸν κατάπλου δέ, ὅπως μὴ τελέως αἰσχροῶς | καταπλέωμεν (see also *s.v.* αἰσχροῶς); *SB* V 7530, 19 (38 or 16 B.C.?) ἔως γὰρ σταθῆ[ι] τὰ τοῦ νομαρίου τελείως ἀπρακτῶ; see Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

In the Roman period there is only an example of the adverb in a contract of apprenticeship, *P.Oxy*. XXXI 2586, 44-48 (A.D. 264) καὶ ἐπὶ | τέλει τοῦ χρόνου παραδότω τὸν παῖδα | τελείως ἐργαζόμενον τὴν δηλου|μένην τέχνην καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς | ἐπίσταται, where the meaning is “accomplished to learn the job perfectly, excellently”. In addition, G. Bastianini had proposed to read this adverb in an edict of the Prefect, *PSI* XIV 1406, 9 τελε[ι]φ[ω]ς instead of the reading proposed in *ed. princ.* πάντ[ω]ς and οὔτ[ω]ς (see *BL* IV, on p. 92); see the reedition of papyrus as *P.Eirene* IV 4, 9n.

In the Byzantine period, it occurs in contracts (dialysis, lease etc.) and petitions (cf. *P.Nekr*. 43, 10 (A.D. 310) τελέως ἀνιέναι), but, as can be seen from the three following examples, it is also used in private letters, where, although the meaning is general, that is “completely”, in the context of the letters this sense acquires a moral aspect, that is, of a right or wrong action:

*P.Oxy*. LV 3820, 15-17 (c. A.D. 340) ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἀπέστ<ε>ιλεν | πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνίκεν (*l.* ἀνεῖκεν) με καὶ δεύτερα ὑπο|μνήματα ἔπραξεν καὶ τελίως ἀνίκεν (*l.* ἀνεῖκεν) αὐτούς, “the eunuch sent to him and (he) let me go and had a second set of proceedings made and let them go completely”; *P.Oxy*. XVI 1837, 8-9 (early VI A.D.) τῶ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτῳ) αὐτὸς ἀσφα|λ . . . ε . . . αὐτὴν ἵνα τελίως (*l.* τελείως) ἀσχημονήσῃ [c. 20 letters], “he is suggesting to his magnificence to secure(?) her himself in order that there may be no bounds to his disgraceful behaviour”; *SB* XX 15192 5-6 (V-VI A.D.) ἀλλὰ συνεχέστερον ἐπισκέψασθαι | καὶ εὔξασθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἵνα τελείως εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρ(ε)ίῳ, “but unremittingly look upon and pray for myself so that we will give thanks to the Lord to the fullest”; cf. Eriphanus, *Panarion* 3,132 θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι βοηθὸν τῆς ἡμῶν ἀσθενείας, ὅπως τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐν θεῷ περαιώσαντες τελείως θεῷ εὐχαριστήσωμεν.

τολμηρῶς

For attestations in literature see LSJ *s.v.* τολμηρός. In the papyri it occurs only in a petition to the Prefect by a veteran in A.D. 200-203, *W.Chr*. 461, 25-27 [ὁ

προγεγραμμένος?] Νεφερώς τολμηρώς ἐνεχθεις | [---] τῆς σῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ αὐτὸς | [--- εἰς τ]ῆν κολωνίαν ἐπέλθων βία πολλῇ “the aforesaid Nepheros acting with presumption ... (and disregarding your authority)... proceeding with violence against the settlement...”.

Some periphrastic expressions usually express a daring or bold action:

E.g. αὐθαδία καὶ τόλμη χρώμενος in *P.Oslo* II 22, 6 (A.D. 127); ἀπαιτεῖ τῆ ἑαυτοῦ τόλμη καὶ ἀναιδεία and τῆ αὐτῆ τόλμη ἐπειράθη καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ | χρήσασθαι in *SB* VI 9458, 11 and 23-24 (second half of II A.D.); εἰς | τ[ρο]σοῦτ[ο] τόλμης καὶ ἀπονοίας ἦλθεν in *P.Gen.* III 128, 6-7 (163-165 B.C.); cf. *M.Chr.* 52, 5-6 (A.D. 150-154) τολμῆς καὶ βίας ἀντεχομένων [πε]ρι ἧς ἐποίησαν | τό μοι βίας συνεργούντων ἀλλήλοις.

In *BGU* II 432, i 4-5 (after A.D. 190), probably an official letter, a word starting with τολμη can be read at the end of the line, but the text at the beginning of the next line is lost. This τολμη could be either the noun τόλμη, probably in the dative, or a form of a verb, e.g. τολμή |σαντες etc., or the adverb τολμη |ρῶς.

#### τριπλασίως

It is used only in the penalty clauses of the contracts of sales (houses or land) of the sixth and seventh century A.D.; therefore, it is accordingly restored in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67098, 30 (A.D. 540-565); *P.Mich.* XII 663, 14 (VI A.D.) and *P.Köln* XIV 592 G [25] (A.D. 631-632); see LSJ *s.v.* τριπλάσιος 2, “thrice as much”; Wagner 1999, 252 and 315-316.

#### τυραννικῶς

It occurs only in a petition of the Byzantine period, with the meaning “by wielding power oppressively” (see LSJ *s.v.* τυραννικός II), *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67003, 9 (c. A.D. 567) τῶν εἰω[θ]ότων φιλοπραγμονῆσαι καὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι τὰ ἑαυτῶν πράγματα τυραν<ν>ικῶς; cf. also, the restoration [τυρ]ανικῶς (*l.* [τυρ(?)]ανικῶς) of *ed. princ.* in *P.Cair. Masp.* I 67005, 10 (c. A.D. 568), *s.v.* ὄρφανικῶς, p. 201.

#### τυχόντως

It occurs only in a petition, and its meaning is “in no ordinary manner”; see LSJ *s.v.* τυχόντως II, citing *P.Fay.* 12, 14-15 (104-103 B.C.) ὑπό τε τῶν ἀ[ύ]των | ο[ύ] τυχόντως πλεῖστα κακολογηθεῖς.

#### ὑβριστικῶς\*

The adverb occurs in the Greek papyri only in a private letter, *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 24, 35-39 (A.D. 117) λέγει μοι | λοιδορεῖσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῆς | τὰ πλεῖστα ἀδίκως καὶ | ὑβριστικῶς; see LSJ *s.v.* ὑβριστικός I 1 “given to wantonness, insolent, outrageous”.

N. Lewis proposed the restoration of the adverb at the end of the line 51 in the Severan Edict of *P.Mich.* IX 529 (after A.D. 237), in order to read (ll. 51-52) [ἐὰ]ν δέ τις φωραθῆ ὑπέραλλα ἀπαιτ[ῶν ὑβριστικῶς] | [τιν]α οὐ τὸν τυχόντα κίνδυνον ὑφ[έ]ξει. As Lewis notes (*CE* 50, 1975, 205, 51n.) “ὑβριστικῶς is suggested by *P.Flor.* 382, 22-23”, where we read, based on the reading of E.M. Husselman in the appendix of *P.Mich.* IX 529, on p. 29, (l. 22) ὑπὲρ ἄλλου . . . ὕβρις. Although the adverb occurs in the Greek literature (see LSJ *s.v.* ὑβριστικός I 1; Lampe *s.v.*), with the meaning “insolently, outrageously”, its restoration in *P.Mich.* IX 529, with the meaning “contemptuously” (transl. Lewis, *loc.cit.*), is debatable.



### ὕγιεινῶς\*

For the attestations in the Greek literature cf. LSJ *s.v.* ὑγιεινός II, with the meaning “in good health”. In Egypt, it occurs in the opening formula of a Byzantine private letter, *PSI* VII 839, 2-4 (VI A.D.?) τὸ βρὸ (*l.* πρὸ) μὲν πάν|των ---] εὐλογημένω (*l.* εὐλογημένου) σου οἴκου ὥπως (*l.* ὅπως) ὑγιεινῶς καὶ καλῶς | [---<sup>280</sup>.

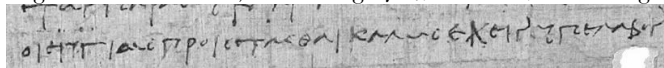
### ὕγιῶς\*

It is usually combined with the adverb πιστῶς, that is “honestly and in good faith”, in official documents (concerning nomination in liturgies, applications and orders for the grant of seed). It is also found in an honorary inscription (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), in Bernard 1992, no 50, 8 (Alexandria; III-IV A.D.).

Moreover, the adverb is attested in private letters, with various meanings:

In a letter of a physician, *P.Mert.* I 12 15-16 (A.D. 59) ἡ μὲν Ἀρχαγάθης ὑγιῶς | περιέχει, “the Archagathian has the right composition”; *P.Giss.* I 12, 2-4 (c. 113-120) ἔπεμφάς μοι | ὑγιῶς τὸν στήμονα καὶ τὴν κρό|κην τῶν φαιλωνίων, “in a good condition”; *P.Laur.* II 41, 4-6 (III A.D.) ἐπεδήμησας σὺ ο (*l.* ὦ) πάτερ | εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑγιῶς τῇ πατρίδι σου, ἐπιδημήσω | δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν θελόντων “in good health”; *P.Neph.* 11, 9-11 (A.D. 313) {εἰ}να διὰ τῶν ὑμετέ|ρων εὐχῶν ὑγιῶς (*l.* ὑγιῶς) ἐπανέλ|θω πρὸς ὑμᾶς; cf. the restored adverb in *P.Herm.* 6, 23 (A.D. 317-323) κατ|ορθώσῃ|τ|α ὑγιῶς κατελθ|εῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, but the restoration is debatable, since we could also restore other verbs instead of κατελθ|εῖν; finally, the adverb is read in *P.Princ.* III 166, 7-8 ἀναπλεύσω εἰς ἐκφορά|ν]. δῶ|σ<ε>ις οἰκείως, but probably the text reads ἀναπλεύσω {να παραδω|θεῖ μοι, ὑγιῶς (see *s.v.* οἰκείως, p. 194), where, as in the above examples, the adverb ὑγιῶς modifies the verb of movement ἀναπλεύσω, with the insertion of a final clause between the verb and the adverb.

In the private letter from the Zenon archive, *PSI* V 522, 6-7 (248 B.C.) τοῦτον | οἶει ὑγιῶς προίστασθαι<sup>281</sup> (see *BL* IV, on p. 88, for T. Reekmans’ corrections on the text), the letter ω is made in a totally different form than the other ωs in the same papyrus. The letter after ι and before ς looks rather an α, made in two movements of the pen (again different than the other forms of α in the same letter, although the angulars seem similar). A reading ὑγιας, however, does not give proper sense in the present text.



(<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;5;522>)

### ὕπεναντίως

It occurs only in the legal clause χωρὶς τοῦ πᾶν τὸ ὑπεναντίως ἐπιτελεσθόσμενον ἄκυρον (καὶ ἀπρόσδεκτον) εἶναι, “apart from the fact that any contrary action will be invalid (and inadmissible) in every way”, in documents of the first century A.D.:

Contracts: (Sales of houses) *P.Hamb.* III 218,10-11 (A.D. 29-30); *P.Mich.* X 583, 23-24 (A.D. 78); (mortgage) *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2722, 37-38 (A.D. 154) πᾶν τὸ ὑπεναντίως πρα|χθῆσόμενον ἄκυρον εἶναι; (cession of catocic land) *P.Mich.* V 262, 29 (A.D. 35-36?). Cf. also the legal phraseology of a testament, *M.Chr.* 307, 9-10 (A.D. 99) .) μ[ηδέ τι] | ὑπεναντίως π[οιεῖν].

### ὕπερηφάνως\*

LSJ *s.v.* ὑπερήφανος I gives a probable negative meaning “insolently, brutally”, citing the only appearance of this adverb in papyri, in *P.Cair.Zen.* I 59080, 4-5 (257 B.C.) πέντε ἀνθρώπους Αἰγυπτίους μαστιγοφόρ[ους ---] μαστιγῶν ἐμὲ ὑπερηφ[άνως] | [ὦ]στε etc.,

<sup>280</sup> The regularization in the *app. crit.* of DDBDP “*l.* ὑγιαίνως” (ὕγιεινως *pap.*) is not correct, since this adverb does not exist; see only ὑγιαίνως διαιτώμενος in an anon. med., *De diaeta* 1.27 (Ideler, *Physici et medici Graeci minores*).

<sup>281</sup> Probably Mayser (1936, 124) refers to this example as evidence of the adverb in the Ptolemaic period; cf. Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

where there is a report to Zenon, about violence against the writer of the letter; Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177.

ὑπηκόως

It occurs only in a contract, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92 (A.D. 569) ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν πάσαις | δουλικαῖς ὑμῶν ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ χρεῖαις ἀναποστήτως ἐλευθ[ερ]ικῶς καὶ | ὑποτακτικῶς καὶ ὑπηκόως, ἀδόλως πάντα πράττουσαν, where an accumulation of adverbs in -ως is attested. The adverb appears in Theodoros Stud. *Ep.* 8 (VIII-IX A.D.) and it should be added to the dictionaries; see LSJ *s.v.* ὑπήκοος II 2 “obeying”.

ὑπογύως / ὑπογύως\*

For its meaning “recently, lately” see LSJ *s.v.* ὑπόγυιος I II. The neuter gender was also used as adverb in the patristic literature; see Lampe *s.v.* ὑπόγυιος. In Egypt the adverb belonged to the legal vocabulary in the formal documents of the Roman period:

It is attested in eight petitions (in the petition *PSI* X 1103, 8 (A.D. 192-194) the spelling is ὑπογυίως), in official correspondence (*P.Oxy.* X 1252, 18 (A.D. 294-295) and *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3472, 12-19 (A.D. 149)), in the Gnomon of Idios Logos, in one registration of animals, in two documents containing minutes of court proceedings, and in one request about the opening of a will.

The adverb occurs so far in two private letters of the early second century A.D.: in *P.Ryl.* II 233, 12-13 (A.D. 118) ἵνα ἔχων ὑπογύως ἐν μνήμη τὰς τιμὰς ὧν ἀγοράζει | ἐξαρτισμῶν, “in order that he, having fresh in mind the prices of the fittings which he buys”, the adverb follows and modifies the phrase ἔχων ἐν μνήμη. However, in the private letter *P.Sarap.* 96, 10-11 (A.D. 90-133) ἐὰν γένηται ἡμᾶς μὴ ὑπογύως | ἀναπλεῖν, “s’il advient que nous ne rentrions pas bientôt”, the adverb precedes and modifies the infinitive ἀναπλεῖν, and the sense is rather “suddenly” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὑπόγυιος I III) than “recently”.

ὑπόπτως

It occurs in three petitions of the Ptolemaic period, where it precedes and modifies the verb ἔχω. Its meaning is “with suspicion”; see LSJ *s.v.* ὑπόπτος II 1; cf. Mayser 1936, 124, with the meaning “verdächtig”:

*P.Tebt.* I 48, 24-26 (118-112 B.C.) καὶ ἡμᾶς τε | σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς γεωργοῖς ὑπόπτως | σχόντας συνδεδραμηκέναι; *P.Tebt.* I 41, 14-15 (105-90 B.C.) ὑπόπτως ἔχόντων ἀνακεχωρή|καμεν εἰς τὰς περιοίκας κώμας; *BGU* VIII 1825, 16-18 (61-52 B.C.) προσέχεσθαι τῶ[ι] κριτηρίω ὑπό|πτως δ’ ἔχοντες μὴ καταχρημα|τισθῶμεν ἐξ ἐρ[ή]μου, προῆγμα.

ὑποστατικῶς

It is attested in the phrase ἀποδοῦναι σωματικῶς καὶ ὑποστατικῶς in the official correspondence between Kurrah ben Sharik and the pagarches Basileios, in *P.Lond.* IV 1345, 21; 1367, 19 (A.D. 710). Its meaning is “substantially”; for further examples in the patristic literature see Lampe *s.v.*

The restoration of this adverb in a fragmentary part of *P.Lond.* VII 2188, 295 (148 B.C.) [--- ὑπο]στατικῶς ἔχοντ[---] is debatable.

ὑποτακτικῶς

It occurs in two documents of the Byzantine period, with the meaning “submissively, obediently” (see Lampe *s.v.*): (1) a contract, *P.Coll.Youtie* II 92 (A.D. 569) ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν πάσαις | δουλικαῖς ὑμῶν ὑπηρεσίαις τε καὶ χρεῖαις ἀναποστήτως ἐλευθ[ερ]ικῶς καὶ |

ὑποτακτικῶς καὶ ὑπηκόως, ἀδόλως πάντα πράττουσαν, where the writer has accumulated in one phrase five adverbs -ως; (2) in an arbitration, *P.Lond.* V 1708, (A.D. 567-568) ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποτακτικῶς ἐργοχειρῶν ἤτοι λειτουργίας/ ἐποίησαν αὐτῶ. This use of the adverb is rare before the Byzantine period, and its first occurrence so far is in a philosopher of the end of the first century B.C. in Alexandria, Arius Did. *Epit.* 54.2 (Mullach) ἦθος δὲ ἐστὶ ποιότης τοῦ ἀλόγου μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς ὑποτακτικῶς ἔχειν ἐπιζομένου τῶ λόγῳ.

φανερῶς – φανερώτερον

The adverb occurs only in petitions, legal texts and contracts of all periods, but not in private letters:

*UPZ* I 20, 27 (163 B.C.); *P.Genova* II 73, 5 (end of I A.D.); *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4435, 4 (early III A.D.); *SB* XVI 12994, 15 (A.D. 241); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3981, 12 (A.D. 312); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4525, 5 (c. A.D. 331); *P.Daris* 22, 2 (VI A.D.); *BGU* II 401, 15 (A.D. 618); *P.Berl.Zill.* 8, 19 (A.D. 663).

In addition, it is attested in an ostrakon in Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari*, A1, 27 (φανερῶς or φανε[ντος?; see *ibid.*, p. 399, 27n.), 35 and 37 (261-260 B.C.) φανερῶς παρισταμένου, “(the god who) appeared manifestly”, and in a praise for the god Amenotes, *SB* IV 7470, 5, 15, 16-17 (III-II B.C.; see *SEG* VIII 729). It is also restored in an edict of the Prefect, in Evelyn-White and Oliver 1938, no 4, 44-45 (A.D. 68; = Bernand 1992, no 57B) προγράψω[ι δὲ φανερῶς ὅπως τοὺς ἡδη{ι} ἐξ] | ἐλε<γ>χθέντα[ς] συκοφάντας ὡς ἔδει ἐτιμωρησάμην. A surprising attestation is in an ostrakon with an erotic text, which is dated to the late second century A.D. (or to the beginning of the third century A.D.), and was published by J.-L. Fournet, in H. Cuvigny (ed.), *La route de Myos Hormos. L'armée romaine dans le desert Oriental d'Égypte. Praesidia du désert de Bérénice I*, vol. II, p. 467, ostrakon M361, ll. 1-4 φ{ε}ιλῶ, καίομαι | καὶ οὐκ ἐστέναζμε (*l.* ἐστέναγμα) | φανερῶς πορνεύω δ{ε}ι<α> | τὸν ὑπορήφονον (*l.* ὑπερήφανον) Ἔρωτα.

On the other hand, the prepositional adverbial ἐν φανερῶ is attested in a private letter, *P.Select* 5, 8 (III A.D.) ἄγει ἐμ (*l.* ἐν) φανερῶ, where the context is not clear, because of the fragmentary condition of the text. The same prepositional also occurs in a report of proceedings, *P.Wisc.* II 48, 4 (after A.D. 154-159) ὅπως ἐν φανερῶ γένηται τῶ ἡγεμόνι, and in a petition(?) *P.Leipz.* 9, 5 (III A.D.) ἐν φανερῶ γενέσ[θαι].

The comparative form occurs in an official document, *P.Lipz.* I 35, verso 3 (A.D. 375) φανερώτερον διασάφησ[ο]ν.

φαύλως

It occurs with the meaning “improperly” in an official/private letter of a stator to a strategus, concerning a legal case, *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 6-7 (early II A.D.) ὑπὲρ ὑποθήκης ἧς φαύλως ὑπέθετο, “about a mortgage which he(?) pledged improperly”. This specific sense of the adverb does not occur in the Greek literature; see *LSJ s.v.* I 3.

φθονερῶς\*

It occurs at the end of a private letter of the Byzantine period, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1936, 16 (VI-VII A.D.) οὕτως φθονερῶς ἔχουσιν τὰ π[ράγματα(?)]. However, as only the left part of the letter is preserved, it is not clear why the situation is described as “enviously disposed” (see *LSJ s.v.* φθονερός I 1).

## φιλαγάθως

It occurs in an honorary inscription, in Bernard 1992, no 40, 14-15 and 30 (47 and 44 B.C.) δίκαιον γὰρ τοῖς φιλαγάθως | τῶι κοινῶι ἀπαντῶσιν τὴν παρὰ πάντων μεμερίσθαι τιμὴν; see LSJ *s.v.* φιλάγαθος, used in inscriptions concerning the associations; cf. also Lampe *s.v.* for examples in the patristic literature.

## φιλανθρώπως(\*?) – φιλανθρωπότατα\*

For attestations in the Greek literature see Spicq 1978, 922-927 and Lampe *s.v.* In the papyri it occurs in the letter of Claudius with the meaning “benevolently” (see LSJ *s.v.* φιλάνθρωπος IV; Bauer *s.v.*), *P.Lond.* VI 1912, 82-84 (A.D. 41) διόπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμαρτύρομε (*l.* διαμαρτύρομαι) {ε}ῖνα Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μὲν | πραέως καὶ φιλανθρώπως (*l.* φιλανθρώπως) προσφέροντε (*l.* προσφέρονται) Ἰουδαί<ο> τοῖς | τὴν αὐτὴν πόλ<ε>ιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων οἰκοῦσ{ε}ι. In Egypt the adverb is also attested in inscriptions:

*OGIS* 51, 6-13 (285-246 B.C.; = *SB* V 8855; see Mayser 1933-1934, 177) καὶ πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ οἰσῖα διακείμενος τυγχάνει, τοῖς τε τεχνίταις φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντα χρῆται, καὶ κατ’ ἴδιαν ἐκάστου καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάντων ἀντιλαμβάνεται προθύμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἑαυτὸν συνεπιδιδούς εἰς τὸ συναύξεσθαι τὸ τεχνίτευμα, καλῶς δ’ ἔχει τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισημαινομένους τιμᾶν ταῖς πρεπούσαις τιμαῖς, where there is an accumulation of adverbs ending in -ως; Bernard 1992, no 40, 4-5 and 20-21 (47 and 44 B.C.) Πάρις ὁ συγγενὴς φιλανθρώπως χρώμενος τῆι συνόδοι... ἐπεὶ Πάρις ὁ συγγενὴς, οἰκείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακείμενος; 52, 4-5 (A.D. 22-23) ἐκτε[νῶς καὶ] φιλανθρώπως διακείμενος. Moreover, it is restored in an honorary inscription (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *I.Fay.* I 29, 10 (III A.D.; = *SB* III 6185) εὐμενῶ[ς] καὶ φιλα[νθρώπως].

However, two more occurrences of the adverb in the private letters are debatable: The first four lines in *P.Lond.* VII 2067 (c. 246-240 B.C.) are damaged and the readings are uncertain: ---|χθιος, καὶ εἰσβιβάσαντες αὐτῶ[ν] | εἰς . . . (N. Litinas’ proposal is to read ἔν) τῶν καταπλεόντων πλοῖων | φιλανθρώπως. ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν ἐφορ|μῆι, εἰς τὸ ὑπηρετικόν etc. In Mayser 1936, 124, reference is probably made to this example. Based on the context provided by the ll. 10-15, we may translate ll. 1-4 as “...and after you get him into (one?) of the boats which sets sail, <acting> benevolently. If, however, there is no boat available, <get him> in the tender, etc.”. If the reading of adverb φιλανθρώπως is correct, it cannot modify the participle εἰσβιβάσαντες, and the text could give sense only if a verbal form is implied here, e.g. ποιῶν. The second occurrence is a restoration in *P.Brem.* 8, 1-5 (A.D. 113-120), for which see now *s.v.* φιλοπόνως, p. 259.

The superlative φιλανθρωπότατα occurs in the private letter from the Zenon archive, *PSI* V 491, 6 (257 B.C.) μάλιστα ἑαυτὸν ἐντείνειν εἴωθεν ὅταν φιλανθρωπότατ<α> αὐτῶι μῶ .[. Cf. also the comparative of the adjective in a prepositional phrase in *P.Rain.Cent.* 71, 26-28 (III A.D.) ἀλλὰ κατὰ | τὸ ἔθος μ[ο]υ ὡς αἰεὶ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ | φιλανθρωπότερον ρέ[πω].

## φιλικῶς\*

It occurs in private letters of the Ptolemaic and early Roman period, with the meaning “friendly”; see LSJ *s.v.* φιλικός; see also Mayser 1936, 124, for the meaning “freundlich, freundschaftlich” in the Ptolemaic period:

*P.Cair.Zen.* I 59015 verso 13-15 (after 258 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ ἕαν τινοσ] | [χ]ρίαν ἔχη[ις] τῶν ἐν τ[ῆ]ι χώρῃ, γράφε ἡμῖν | ποιήσομεν γὰρ φιλικῶ[ς]. Moreover, it occurs in the private letter *UPZ* I 146, 36 (II B.C.) ἀλλὰ ἵνα δοκῆ φιλικῶς ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς αὐτούς. In *BGU* XVI 2635, 6-9 (21 B.C.-A.D. 5) Φιλικῶς δὲ | μελ[ή]σει[ται] λ[ε]ϊαν τῶι τοῖς παρ’ ἐμοῦ | γεγραφηκέναι μὴ κεκομισθαι τὰ | ἔρια, μηδὲ τὸ ἔλαιόν[υ] / σου συντάγη, W.M. Brashear considered Φιλικῶς as a mistake for the name Φιλικός, Philikos, and in *app. crit.* he proposed to understand the dative Φιλικῶτι. He

translated “Philikos will be very concerned about my agents’ having written that they have received neither the wool nor your oil”. However, B. Kramer proposed (see *APF* 43, 1997, 426 (*BL XI*, on p. 35) that φιλικῶς can be considered as the adverb φιλικῶς, which is placed at the beginning of the clause. The adverb λ{ε}ϊαν is an adverb of Degree, and intensifies the adverb φιλικῶς. The translation can be “very friendly he will be concerned...”. Probably the subject was mentioned in the damaged part of l. 4 [---] ουσ [---] ανου.

In the Byzantine period the adverb is used in some formal documents, with the same meaning:

In a settlement of dispute, *P.Münch.* I 14, 51-52 (A.D. 594) καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι συνήνησεν | πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλικῶς; and in a dialysis, *P.Herm.* 31, 20 (VI A.D.) φιλικὸς ἀπηλλαχθῆν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, the form has been interpreted as an adverb, but it could also be considered as an adjective, “friendly”.

#### φιλοπόνως\*

It is certainly attested in a private letter of the third century A.D., with the meaning “laboriously, industriously”; see *LSJ s.v.* φιλόπονος 3; *Lampe s.v.* “learnedly”: *SB XIV* 11901 ἀμεριμνότερόν | σε θέλω εἶναι εἰδότα ὅτι, ἂν ἔλ|θῆς, γνώσῃ πῶς διῆγέ σου τὸ ταμ<ε>ῖ|ον φιλοπόνως, “I want you to be quite free from care knowing that, upon your return, you will see how industriously your accounts(?) had been managed”. G.M. Parássoglou commended *ad loc.* “although φιλοπονῶ is common enough, the adverb occurs here for the first time in a papyrus text; while the adjective has yet to be encountered”.

N. Gonis has proposed tentatively in the private letter *P.Oxy.* VI 963 (II-III A.D.) φιλ[ 6-7 letters σ]πουδάζουσα that it could be restored either φιλ[οτίμως or φιλ[τάτη (see *BL XI*, on p. 146). He is right to be reluctant, since, as it seems, the adverb φιλοτίμως (see *s.v.*, p. 260) is attested only in papyri of the Ptolemaic period and one honorary inscription of the third century A.D., *OGIS* 713, 3-4 (= *SB V* 8915). Alternatively, we could also propose φιλ[οπόνως; cf. Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* 9 ἀόκνως δὲ καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναντι πάντα σπουδάζειν, where we can translate the adverb as “as a labour of love”; cf. also Ephraem Syrus, p. 398 (Phrantzoles) μνήμην δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι καταλείψω ὡς ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον, ἵνα ἀόκνως ἐν παντὶ ταύτην ἐνορῶντες καὶ σπουδῆν εἰσφέροντες πᾶσαν, αἰεὶ τοιαύτην ἐξομοιούμενοι φιλοπόνως σπουδάζητε. Moreover, in *P.Brem.* 8, 1-5 (A.D. 113-120) [---], ἀδελφε, τὰ τε ἄλλα φι|[λανθρώπως] αὐτῷ σ[υν]εχεθῆναι καὶ | σπουδάσαι, ὅπως τῆς προσηκούσης ἀμοιβῆς | κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ σοὶ νομῷ ἐπίδειξιν τυ|χῶν εὐχαριστήσῃ τῇ πρὸς σε ἐπιδημίαι, the adverb φι|[λανθρώπως] has been restored, but it would be preferable in Greek to restore φι|[λοπόνως], since the required sense is that the other products were brought together with great care.

#### φιλοσόφως

It occurs in an honorary metrical inscription, in Bernand 1969, no 114, iv 19-20 (I A.D.?) ἐξ ὧν αἰεὶ ζώουσι φιλοσόφως (φιλοσοφῶς *ed.*) λίην; cf. *LSJ s.v.* φιλόσοφος III; *Lampe s.v.*

#### φιλοστόργως

Although it occurs in many literary texts and Greek inscriptions (see *LSJ s.v.* φιλόστοργος; *Spicq* 1978, 944-948; *Lampe s.v.*), with the meaning “loving tenderly, with affection”, in papyri the adverb is attested so far only in reports of legal proceedings: In *P.Oslo* III 80, 3 (A.D. 161) φιλοστόργως ποιῶν, the subject of the participle is unknown, since it is was mentioned in the lost part of the papyrus.

φιλοτιμῶς\* – φιλοτιμότερον\* – φιλοτιμότατα\*

The adverb appears in private and official letters of the Ptolemaic period, with the meaning “zealously” (see LSJ *s.v.* φιλότομος II):

In the Zenon archive: *P.Lond.* VII 1943, B 7-9 (257 B.C.) καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συν|σπεύσας φιλοτιμῶς περὶ τοῦ | γι[νο]μένου αὐτῶι ὀφωνίου; *P.Col.* III 9, 6-7 (257 B.C.) ὅπως ἔάν τινά σου χρεῖ[αν τὰ πράγμα]|τα ἔχη συναντιλάβη φιλοτιμῶς καὶ ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν καὶ Μενέτου; *P.Lond.* VII 2053, 6-7 (255-246 B.C.) καλῶς ποιήσεις, ἔάν [---]| [ὑπὲρ] ἡμῶν Δημέαι φιλοτιμῶς; *PSI* VI 568, 5-6 (253-252 B.C.) καὶ σὺ δὲ περὶ ὧν ἂν βού[λη] γράψον ---|--- ποιήσομεν γὰρ φιλοτιμῶς; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59401, 3-4 (middle of III A.D.) ἐπειδὴ σοῦ φιλο|τιμῶς γράψαν; *PSI* IV 412, 9-10 (middle of III A.D.) ἔντειλαι οὔν | φιλοτιμῶς (Mayser 1933-1934, 177). Moreover, in *P.Petrie Kleon* 15, 16 (260 B.C.) σὺ δε, ἀφιλοτιμῶς (οἱ ἀ φιλοτιμῶς; see the proposal on p. 99) μου ἀντιλαμβάν[η] \ε/ι οὐκ ---; and in an official letter, *BGU* VIII 1770, 8-9 (63 B.C.) ἐνεργῶς \φιλοτιμῶς/ διακέμενος εἰς πᾶν τό σοι | χρήσιμον \ερ . . . \δης/ \ἔσπούδασα.

Moreover, in Egypt the adverb occurs in three honorary inscriptions (two of the Ptolemaic and one of the Roman period):

In *SB* IV 7286, 8 (Ptolemaic period) ἀξίως κ|αὶ φιλοτιμῶς, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition and the modified verb is lost; *OGIS* 49, 4-6 (246-241 B.C.; = *SB* V 8853) [ῥ]ῶς φαίνεται ἡ πόλις φιλοτιμῶς καὶ ἀξίως ὑποδεχομένη τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως [παραγ]ινομένους; *OGIS* 713, 3-4 (III A.D.; = *SB* V 8915) φιλοτιμῶς ἀλίφοντι.

In addition, the comparative φιλοτιμότερον is found in the private letters of the Ptolemaic period:

*P.Tebt.* I 23,10-11 (119 or 114 B. C.) διὸ καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλῶς ποιήσεις φιλοτιμó|τερον προθυμηθεῖς ἴνα etc. (see LSJ *s.v.* φιλότιμος II); cf. also *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59272, 3-4 (251 B.C.) καλῶς [ο]ῦν ποιήσεις | ἐπιστείλας αὐτῶι φιλοτιμó|τερον γράψαι| Θεοδώρωι; *PSI* IV 392, 12-13 (240 B.C.) εὐχαριστήσεις δέ μοι φιλοτιμότερον γράψας ἐνταῦθα οἷς ἂν ὑπολαμβάνῃς | ἐπιτήδεον εἶναι; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59589, 3 γράψον Φανίαι φιλοτιμότερον (middle of III A.D.); *PSI* VIII 969, 4-6 (51 B.C.) ἐν οἷς ἔάν σοῦ προσδέ| [η]ται, συνέργ[ει] φιλο|τιμότερον, ἴν' ἡμ|εῖν | [μηθ]ὲν ἐλλίπεις γείνηται.

The superlative of the adverb φιλοτιμότατα occurs in the Ptolemaic period and the beginning of the Roman period:

It is restored in *P.Petrie Kleon* 10, 13 (c. 260-249 B.C.) φιλοτιμóτατα τῶι Ζανθίππωι; *BGU* XVI 2648, 3-4 (21 B.C.-A.D. 5) δι' ἑτέρα(ς) | [ἐ]πιστολῆς φιλοτιμóτατα γεγραφηκέναι, “in another letter that he wrote most assiduously”, with W.M. Brashear's note *ad loc.*, citing *PSI* V 484, 7 (= *P.Zen.Pestm.* 29; 257 B.C.) γράψαι φιλότιμον ἐπιστολήν.

For *P.Oxy.* VI 963 (II-III A.D.) φιλ[ 6-7 letters σ]πουδάζουσα, see my proposal, p. 259, *s.v.* φιλοσπόνως.

φιλοφρόνως\*

It is attested in private letters of the Ptolemaic period, with the meaning “kindly disposed, friendly”; see LSJ *s.v.* φιλόφρων; cf. Mayser 1936, 124; Mayser 1933-1934, 177, for its meaning “wohlwollend” in the Ptolemaic period:

*P.Sorb.* I 53, 4-8 (224-217 B.C.) [δ]ιότι καὶ τὰ | [πάν]τα φιλοφρόνως | [πε]φιλανθρώπη|[κας,] καὶ νῦν | [καλῶ]ς ποιήσεις; *BGU* III 1009, 3 (III B.C.) ]σε παρ' ἐμοῦ φιλοφρόνως; *SB* XIV 11910, 8-13 (193-192 B.C.) π[ροσ]|φωνῆσαι σοι | περὶ αὐτοῦ | ἀποδεξα . . . | τὸν ἄνθρωπον | φιλοφρόνως; *C.Jud.Syr.Eg.* 1, 13-16 (103 B.C.) οἷς καὶ ἐν|τετάλμεθ[α] ἀσπάσασθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ἡμῶν | φιλοφρόνως καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων ἐκρίναμεν | σημήναι.

φοβερῶς

It is used in three official documents of the Byzantine period in order to indicate that something is regarded with fear (see LSJ *s.v.* φοβερός I 2):

A notice of delivery of defendants for trial, *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4399, 8 (end of V-beginning of VI A.D.) καθῶς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φοβερῶς ἀποπεφασμένα περιέχει, “as it contained in the fearful judgements pronounced upon them”; a nomination of a protodemotes, *P.Oxy.* LIX 3987, 8-9 (A.D. 457 or 532) τοῦ καιροῦ ἐνεστηκότος φόβω δουλεύοντες τοῖς περὶ τούτου | φοβερῶς προστεταγμένοι, “as now the time has come, we, in fear and obedience to

what has been authoritatively decreed in this respect”; an homology concerning the freedom of a servant, *SB XVIII* 13274, B 8-9 (beginning of VI) οἱ δὲ γεῖττειῶντες βάρβαροι ἀναμλά/κτω φήμη | φοβερῶς καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἔργων βαλλόμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν; cf. ll. 10-11 προνοητικῶς βουλευσάμενοι.

#### φρονίμως\*

It is attested in two private letters, with the meaning “prudently” (see LSJ *s.v.* φρόνιμος III 5): In a private letter, *BGU I* 246, dated to the second and third century A.D., I have corrected in *CE* 93, 2018, 205-206 the text of the *ed. princ.* καλῶς ἐτρήκατε καὶ μονεῖμῶς το καλῶς εἰρήκατε καὶ φρον{ε}ίμῶς; for the phrase καλῶς καὶ φρονίμως in the classical literature see *loc. cit.*; in papyri cf. also *P.Lond.* VI 1927, 34-37 (IV A.D.) καὶ | ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐπενοῦμεν (*l.* ἐπαινοῦμεν) μᾶλλο(ν) | ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ ὅτι φρονίμως ἔδ<ε>|ξας τὸ γεννεότατον (*l.* γενναιότατον) ἄθλον.

#### χαλεπῶς\*

The adverb occurs in a private letter, with the meaning “painfully, miserably”; see LSJ *s.v.* χαλεπός B I 4, citing the superlative χαλεπώτερον ζῆν in Plato *R.* 579d, and ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διῆγον in Thucydides 7.71; for the adjective see Spicq 1978, 955-956:

*P.Wisc.* II 84, 12-14 (late II A.D.) ἐλπὶ|ζω δὲ [ὡς] καὶ καὶ τὸς οὐκ ἄγνοεῖ πῶς χαλεπῶς | περὶ [ . . . ] δίαγωμεν. “I hope that he also realizes how deeply sorry we feel about [ ]”. Chapa, in the reedition of the papyrus (see 1998, 80, no 4, 13n.), notes the two instances of the adverb in this letter of condolence and the petition *PSI XIII* 1323, 8-10 (A.D. 147-148) ὥστε πράκτορας ὑφ’ ἑαυτ[ῶ] ἔ]χειν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις συ[---] | [ . ]αζ[ . . ] χα]λεπῶς καὶ μετ’ (*l.* μεθ’) ὕβρ[εως] αὐθ[αδ]ῶς προσερε[ῖ]θ[ει] | τοῖς [χ]ρεώσταις; in this document the adverb is constructed together with another adverb, αὐθ[αδ]ῶς, and a prepositional phrase, μετ’ ὕβρ[εως]; cf. *SB IV* 7464, 3-4 (A.D. 248) ὕβρεως οὐδὲν οὔτε δεινότερον οὔτε χαλεπῶ|τερον.

#### χρηματικῶς

The meaning of the adverb is “civilly, in a civil suit”; see LSJ *s.v.* χρηματικός; Lampe *s.v.* In papyri the adverb is attested in an official tax document (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *P.Laur.* III 68, 5 (A.D. 166-167), and a dialysis agreement, *SB VIII* 9763, 19-21 (A.D. 457-474) [μήτ]ε ὑπὸ θείου γράμματος μήτε περὶ οἰουδήποτε πράγματος | [π]ερὶ τῶν μνημονευθέντων κεφαλαίων μήτε χρηματικῶς | μήτε ἐγκληματικῶς, μήτε αὐτῶ μήτε τῶ αὐτοῦ υἱῶ Φοιβάμ[μω]νι, in a clause that stated that someone will not bring any person to the court for any reason.

#### χρονίως

It occurs in a funerary metrical inscription, in Bernard 1969, no 62, 2 (= *SB I* 4314; III-II B.C.) σὰν ἐρατὰν χρονίως ἀμφιβαλοῦσα δέρη, with the meaning “after a long time”; see LSJ *s.v.* χρόνιος I.

#### ψευδῶς\*

It is used in two official documents of the end of the second century A.D., with the meaning “falsely, mistakenly”: *P.Petaus* 25, 21-22 (A.D. 185) περὶ μέρος[us] | ψευδῶς (“falschlich”) ἀναδεδόσθαι ἐγιαλοῦ (*l.* αἰγιαλοῦ); and in fragmentary part of *P.Thmouis* 1, col. 158, 50 (A.D. 180-192). Its next attestation is only in a private letter of the late Byzantine period, *CPR XIV* 53 12 (early VII A.D.) στίχους μεγάλους τῶν ψευδῶς ἐκταγέντων καθ’ ὑμῶν, “large imposts of that which is falsely assessed against you”.

In *P.Lond.* VII 2045, 4-5 (middle of III A.D.) ὁμνύω | τὴν σὴν τύχην καὶ τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα ψευδῆ ἀπήγμαι, the word ψευδῆ has been interpreted as the adverb ψευδῶς, “I swear by your fortune and the fortune of the king that I have been falsely arrested”, but it seems that it is the dative of the adjective ψευδής, “I swear by your fortune and the fortune of the king that I have been arrested (or/and, carried off to prison?) with false charges”, i.e. the form ψευδῆ stands for ψευδῆ κατηγορία/αἰτία etc. (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ψευδής I 1).

#### ψιλῶς

The adverb occurs in two official documents in two different contexts: (1) In a petition which was submitted by Dionysia to the Prefect, *P.Oxy.* II 237, vi 10-12 (A.D. 186) αἰ τὴν πρὸς ταύτην ἐμοῦ ἐντυχούσης δοθεῖσαν | ὑπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι ἐπιστάλματα ψιλῶς σοι διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δεδήλωκεν | τάδε, “the reply to it which you sent to me on my petition, and the orders consequently issued to the keepers of the archives, he merely wrote to you a letter to the following effect”; see LSJ *s.v.* ψιλός V. (2) In the Gnomon of Idios Logos, *BGU* V 1210, viii 190 (after A.D. 149) αἰ δὲ πραθεῖσαι ψιλῶς καὶ μὴ ἐφ’ αἰρέσει πραταί εἰσιν, “as bare land”; see LSJ *s.v.* ψιλός I.

#### ὠκαίως (= ὠκέως?)\*

The adverb ὠκέως is attested in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ὠκός II; cf. also PGM 4, 2033 In papyri it has been read with uncertainty (the reading was not checked) in *O.Medin.Madi* 31, 1-3 (III A.D.) πόρευε ὠκαίως | διπνήσε (*l.* δειπνήσαι?) | ἀπὸ ὠρ(ας) θ, with the note that we should understand the correct spelling ὠκέως and “il significato è pertinente al contest, ma appare strano l’uso di un avverbio così nobilmente letterario in un simile invito a pranzo scritto su coccio”. The text of the ostrakon is considered as an invitation to a dinner. The adverb follows and modifies the present imperative πόρευε, which is also an unusual imperative in such invitations.

#### ὠσαύτως

The adverb occurs in various types of documents (including private letters) of all periods, with the meaning “in like manner, just so” (see LSJ *s.v.*)<sup>282</sup>.

#### -λόγως

In *PSI* III 241, 9-12 (III A.D.), a *didaskalike*, the text in ll. 9-12 runs as follows: ἐκτελέσαι πάν]τα [τὰ] | ἐπιτασσόμενα [αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνή] | κοντα τῇ αὐτῇ [τέχνη παραμένουσαν καὶ ---] | λόγως ἐργαζ[ομένην etc.], based on the text provided by M. Bergamasco in *SEP* 1, 2004, 3-41. In ll. 11-12 he notes that the restoration of the first edition ὑπολόγως does not give sense and that any proposal concerning adverbs -λογως finds no parallel so far (footnote 46) “si potrebbe suggerire, e.g., che l’avverbio compost fosse riferito alle modalità della prestazione lavorativa, le quali dovevano restare immutate, sia che l’apprendista non ricevesse alcun compenso (nei primi sei mesi) sia che fosse prevista una retribuzione (nel secondo semester)”.

<sup>282</sup> In *SB* XXIV 15953, 5 (Roman period) the reading is debatable (based on the photograph in *APF* 42, 1996, plate V, Abb. 8), since either only τ or υ can be read after ωσα.



## List 1

**Indicative checklist of the verbs modified by adverbs in -ως in the private letters**  
(the adverbs ἐξαιρέτως, εὐθέως, ἴσως (modal), ὁμοίως, ὄντως, πάντως, καλῶς, which can modify most of the verbs, are not included)

ἀγαπῶ: γνησίως	ἀπολύω: ἀδιαστροφῶς, εὐγνωμόνως,
ἄγομαι: κακῶς	συντόμως, ταχέως
ἀγοράζω: βραδέως, ἐπιμελῶς(?), ἰδιωτικῶς(?), κοινῶς	ἀπομένω(?): ἀλόγως
ἀγρυπνῶ: συνεχῶς	ἀποπέμπομαι: ταχέως
ἀγωνιῶ: ἱκανῶς, μεγάλως, (οὐ) μετρίως, (οὐ) (σ)μικρῶς, (οὐκ) ὀλίγως	ἀποπληρῶ: εὐκαιροτέρως(?)
ἀηδίζομαι: παντελῶς	ἀποσειῶ: παντελῶς
ἀθυμῶ: μεγάλως	ἀποστέλλω: ἀσφαλῶς, ἐκθύμως, ἐπιμελῶς, θερμῶς, πρωτοτύπως, σπανίως, συνεχῶς, συντόμως, ταχέως
αἰτοῦμαι: ἀδιστάκτως	ἀποτίθεμαι: εὐκαίρως
ἀκούω (-ομαι): ἀηδῶς, ἀκριβῶς, ἰλαρῶς κακῶς	ἀποτρέχω: συντόμως
ἀλγῶ: (οὐ) μετρίως	ἀποφέρω: πιστῶς
ἀλείφω: ἐπιμελῶς	ἀπρακτῶ: τελείως
ἀμελῶ: μεγάλως	ἀργῶ: ὄλως
ἀναβαίνω: μεγάλως, ταχέως	ἀσθενῶ: δεινῶς
ἀνάγω: ἀπροόπτως	ἀσπάζομαι: ἀδελφικῶς, γνησίως, ἠδέως, ἴσως, μεγάλως, προηγουμένως, συνεχῶς, ταχέως, φιλοφρόνως
ἀναδέχομαι: ἀποκρότως	ἀσχημονῶ: τελείως
ἀνακάμπτω: συντόμως	ἀφίστημι: ἀλόγως
ἀναλύω: ἀπράκτως	ἀφορμάζω: ἀκαίρως
ἀναμένω(?): ἀλόγως	βάλλω: ἀταράχως
ἀναπλέω: ἀσφαλῶς, ὑπογύως, ὑγιῶς(?)	βασανίζομαι: δεινῶς
ἀναπληρῶ: προθυμότερα, συντομώτερον	βλάπτομαι: ἱκανῶς
ἀναστρέφομαι: ἀνοικονομήτως, γοργῶς, ἐνδεῶς, ἐπιμελῶς, ταχέως	βλέπω: ἠδέως
ἀνατρέφομαι: εὐγενῶς	γελῶμαι: ἱκανῶς
ἀναφέρω: ἡμερησίως, ὀρθῶς, προθύμως	γίγνομαι (come, arrive): αἰφνιδίως, ἀνόκνως, συνεχῶς, ταχέως
ἀνέρχομαι: δυσκόλως, ταχέως	γίγνομαι (become): ἀβαρῶς, ἀβασκάντως, ἀκριβῶς, ἀναλογούντως, γνησίως, ἐπιμελῶς, εὐκόπως, ἰσχυρότερον(?),
ἀνοίγω: δυσκόλως	γιγνώσκω: ἀκριβῶς, ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπιμελῶς(?), σαφῶς
ἀντιγράφω: κακῶς, ὄλως, ταχέως	γναφέω: κακῶς,
ἀντιλαμβάνομαι: ἀφιλοτίμως(?)	γομῶ: ἐπιτηδείως
ἀντιφωνῶ: ἀποκρότως	γράφω: ἀκριβῶς(?), ἀλλοίως, ἀναγκαίως, ἀναισθητῶς, ἀναιδῶς, ἀνόκνως, ἀνελλιπῶς, ἀσφαλῶς, βραδέως, γνησιαίως, διαφόρως, διηνεκῶς, δυσόκνως, εἰρομένως, ἐναντίως, ἐπιμελῶς, ἐπιπελλῶς, εὐσήμως, ἡμερησίως, καθαρίως, κακῶς, ὄλως, πλατικῶς, πρωτοτύπως, πυκνῶς, συνεχῶς, συντόμως συχνῶς, ταχέως, φιλοτίμως, φιλοτιμότερον, φιλοτιμότερα
ἀξιῶ: λιπαρῶς, ὄλως	γυψιῶ: ἀσφαλῶς
ἀπάγομαι: ἀδίκως, παντελῶς	δείκνυμι: φρονίμως
ἀπαλλάσσω (-ομαι): ἀλύπως, εὐδόξως, εὐχρῶμως, ἠδέως, ταχέως	δέομαι: (οὐ) μετρίως, συνεχῶς
ἀπαντῶ: ἐτοιμῶς(?), ταχέως	
ἀπαρτίζομαι: ταχέως	
ἀπειλῶ: (οὐκ) ὀλίγως	
ἀπάρχομαι: παντελῶς	
ἀπέρχομαι: ἀλόγως	
ἀποδέχομαι(?): φιλοφρόνως	
ἀποδημῶ: ἀλόγως	
ἀποδίδωμι: εὐθέως, ἐπιμελῶς, εὐγνωμόνως, εὐκαίρως, εὐτάκτως, πολλαπλασίως, συντόμως	
ἀπολογοῦμαι: ἐναργῶς	
ἀπόλλυμι: ἀκαίρως	

δέχομαι: ἀλωβήτως, σαφεστέρως,  
 δηλῶ: ἀναγκαίως, ἐγγράφως, προθύμως,  
 συνεχῶς, συντόμως, ταχέως  
 διαγιγνώσκω: ἄλλως  
 διάγω: ἀμερίμνως, εὐθύμως, ἡδέως, συνήθως,  
 φιλοπόνως, χαλεπῶς,  
 διάκειμαι: ἀσθενῶς, γελοίως, κακῶς, μαλακῶς,  
 στενῶς  
 διακράζω: ἐνδόξως  
 διαλέγομαι: ἰδιαζόντως(?)  
 διαπονοῦμαι: ὄλως  
 διαπράττω: κακῶς  
 διαπρέπω: συνήθως  
 διασαφῶ: ἀκριβῶς  
 διασῶζομαι: ἀσφαλῶς  
 διατηρῶ: ἐντόνως(?), εὐτόνως(?), συνήθως  
 διατίθεμαι: εὐχερῶς, κακῶς, στενῶς  
 δίδωμι χεῖρα: ἐνωμότως  
 δίδωμι: ἀμέμπτως, ἀποκρότως, ἀσφαλῶς,  
 ἐπιμελέστερον(?), εὐκαίρως, εὐτάκτως,  
 προθύμως, ταχέως  
 διεγγυῶ: ἀσφαλῶς  
 διεξάγωμαι: αἰσίως  
 διηγοῦμαι: ἀτόπως, ἀκεραίως  
 διοικῶ: ἀσφαλῶς, συντόμως  
 δοκῶ: ἄλλως  
 δουλεύω: βαρέως, ἀξίως  
 ἐγχαράζω: ἀειμνήστως  
 ἐθέλω(?): σφοδρότερον(?)  
 εἰσπορεύομαι: ὄλως  
 ἐκβαίνω: ἀσμένως  
 ἐκδέχομαι: ἡδέως,  
 ἐκλαμβάνω: ἀναγκαίως  
 ἐκπλέκω: ταχέως  
 ἐκτάσσομαι: ψευδῶς  
 ἐκτίθημι(?): ἐπιμελῶς  
 ἐκτινάσσω: ἀσφαλῶς  
 ἐκφεύγω: ἄφνω  
 ἐλκόω: ἀκινδύνως  
 ἐνδείκνυμαι: ἐνδιαθέτως  
 ἐνεδρεύομαι: ἰκανῶς  
 ἐνοχλῶ (-οῦμαι): ἰσχυρῶς, (οὐκ) ὀλίγως,  
 συνεχῶς, τελείως  
 ἐντέλλομαι: φιλοτίμως  
 ἐντυγχάνω: εὐκαίρως  
 ἐξάγω(?): ὀλιγώρως  
 ἐξέρχομαι: ἄφνω  
 ἐξετάζω: ἐπιμελῶς  
 ἐξηγοῦμαι: ἀκεραίως  
 ἐξοικέω: ἀλόγως  
 ἐξυβρίζω: μεγάλως  
 ἐορτάζω: πρεπόντως  
 ἐπακούω: ἡδέως  
 ἐπανάγω: μετρίως, στενῶς

ἐπανέρχομαι: ὑγιῶς  
 ἐπέρχομαι: δικαίως  
 ἐπιβαίνω: εὐτυχῶς  
 ἐπιβάλλομαι: ματαίως  
 ἐπιβλέπω: ἐπιμελῶς  
 ἐπιδημῶ: εὐτυχῶς, ὑγιῶς  
 ἐπιδίδωμι: τεθαρρημένως  
 ἐπιζητῶ: ἰκανῶς  
 ἐπιμελοῦμαι: σπουδαίως(?)  
 ἐπισκέπτομαι: συντομώτατα, συνεχέστερον,  
 ταχέως  
 ἐπισκοποῦμαι: μεγάλως  
 ἐπίσταμαι: ἀκριβῶς  
 ἐπιστέλλω (-ομαι): ἀναγκαίως, βραδέως,  
 ἐπιμελῶς(?), ὄλως, προσεχόντως, συνεχῶς,  
 ταχέως  
 ἐπιτελῶ: συντόμως  
 ἐργάζομαι: προθύμως  
 ἐρυθριῶ: μεγάλως  
 ἔρχομαι: ἀναγκαίως, ἀσφαλῶς, γοργῶς,  
 εὐτυχῶς, πολλαχῶς, ταχέως  
 ἐρωτῶ: ἐπιμελῶς(?), ἐντόνως(?), εὐτόνως(?),  
 μεγάλως  
 ἔστι πόθος: ἀληθῶς  
 ἔστι χρεία: ἀναγκαίως  
 ἔστι: ἄλλως, αὐτάρκως, ἐρρωμένως, παρέργως  
 ἐτοιμάζομαι: αὐτάρκως  
 εὐλογῶ: ἐπαξίως  
 εὐλυτόω: εὐτυχῶς  
 εὐοδόω: εὐτυχῶς  
 εὐπορῶ: ραδίως,  
 εὐρίσκω (-ομαι): ἀνελλιπῶς, δυσκόλως,  
 εὐχερῶς, ραδίως, ὄλως, προθύμως  
 ἐφέλκομαι: εὐτάκτως  
 ἐφοδεύω: ἐπιμελῶς  
 εὐφραίνομαι: ἰλαρῶς, πολλαχῶς(?), συνεχῶς(?)  
 εὐχαριστῶ: μεγάλως, τελείως  
 εὐχομαι: προηγουμένως, συνεχῶς  
 ἔχω ἐν μνήμῃ: ὑπογύως  
 ἔχω ἡδέως: τεθαρρημένως  
 ἔχω χρεῖαν: ἀβλαβῶς, ἀναγκαίως  
 ἔχω: ἀκάλως, ἀμελῶς, ἀδυνάτως, ἀηδῶς,  
 ἀπίρως, ἀναγκαίως, ἀργυρικῶς, ἀσθενῶς,  
 ἀσφαλῶς, αὐτάρκως, βαρέως, γενικῶς,  
 δεινῶς, ἐπικινδύνως, ἐπιμελῶς, ἐπινόσως,  
 ἐρρωμένως(?), ἐτοιμῶς, εὐκαίρως, εὐλαβῶς,  
 εὐμαρῶς, ἡδέως, ἰκανῶς, κακῶς, κομφῶς,  
 μετρίως, ὄλως παντελῶς, πρωτοτύπως(?),  
 σοβαρῶς, σπουδαίως, στυγνοτέρως, φιλικῶς,  
 φθονερῶς  
 ζημιοῦμαι: ἀλόγως, παντελῶς  
 ζητῶ: ἀδιαφόρως  
 ζῶ: ἀλύπως

θλίβω: σφοδρῶς  
 ἥδομαι: μεγάλως, πολλαχῶς, (οὐ) (σ)μικρῶς  
 ἰσχύω: ὅλως  
 κάθημαι: ἀργῶς  
 καθίσταμαι: πολυτελεστέρας  
 καθυστερῶ: μεγάλως  
 κάμνω: ὅλως  
 καταβαίνω: ἐλευθέρως  
 κατακρατῶ: (οὐ) μετρίως  
 κατακρίνω: ἀδίκως  
 καταλαλῶ: ἀλόγως  
 καταλαμβάνω: συντόμως, ταχέως  
 καταλύω: ὅλως  
 καταμανθάνω: ἀκριβῶς  
 καταντῶ: ἀναγκαιῶς  
 καταπλέω: αἰσχυρῶς, ἀσυντάκτως; cf. also below  
 συγκαταπλέω: εὐσημόνως  
 κατασπάζομαι: εὐτυχῶς  
 καταφρονῶ: ἰκανῶς  
 κατεργάζομαι: ἀσφαλῶς, δυσχερῶς, ἰκανῶς  
 κατέρχομαι: εὐχερῶς, ὑγιῶς(?), σπουδαίως  
 κελεύω: πρωτοτύπως  
 κλείω: ἀσφαλῶς  
 κοινωνῶ: ἀμέμπτως  
 κομίζομαι: ἡδέως,  
 κόπτω: ἐμπείρως  
 κρατῶ: δεινῶς  
 κρίνω: δικαίως  
 λαλῶ: εὐλόγως, ἡσυχίως  
 λαμβάνω: δικαίως (δικαιότερον),  
 ἐπιμελέστερον(?), εὐκαίρως, καθαρῶς, κακῶς,  
 ὅλως, ταχέως  
 λέγω: ἀδεῶς, ἀληθῶς, αἰφνιδίως, καλῶς,  
 συνεχῶς, φρονίμως  
 λοιδοροῦμαι: ἀδίκως, ὑβριστικῶς  
 λούομαι: θερμῶς  
 λυπῶ (-οῦμαι): (οὐ) μετρίως, μηδαμῶς, (οὐκ)  
 ὀλίγως  
 μανθάνω: ἀκριβῶς, ἀρτίως, ἀσφαλῶς, πρώτως  
 μαστιγῶ: ὑπερηφάνως  
 μέλω: περισσοτέρως, φιλικῶς  
 μέφομαι: ἀμέμπτως, μεγάλως  
 μένω: ἀναγκαιῶς, προθύμως  
 μεταδίδωμι: ἀρτίως, σπουδαίως  
 μεταλαμβάνω: εὐτόνως  
 μιμήσκω: συνεχῶς  
 μισῶ: ταχέως  
 νωχελεύομαι: περισσότερον  
 ξενίζομαι: ἰκανῶς, μεγάλως  
 οἶδα: ἀκριβῶς, ἀσφαλῶς, πρώτως  
 οἰκονομῶ: ἀσφαλῶς  
 ὀλιγωρῶ: (οὐ) (σ)μικρῶς, ὅλως  
 ὀρῶ: ἡδέως, ὅλως, συνεχῶς

ὀχλοῦμαι: (οὐ) (σ)μικρῶς, ἡμερησίως  
 παραβάλλω: πολλαχῶς  
 παραγίγνομαι: βραδέως, εὐτυχῶς, πυκνῶς,  
 συντόμως, σφοδρότερον(?), ταχέως  
 παραδίδωμι: ἀσφαλῶς  
 παρέρχομαι: ταχέως  
 παρακαλῶ: μεγάλως,  
 παραλαμβάνω: γνησίως  
 παραμένω: ἀσφαλῶς  
 παρανομοῦμαι: ἀδίκως  
 παραπέμπω: ἐπιμελῶς  
 παρασκευάζω: συντόμως  
 παρέρχομαι (πάρειμι): ἀδιαστρόφως, συντόμως  
 παρέχω: ἀφθόνως, ἡδέως, συνήθως  
 πατῶ: ἀσφαλῶς  
 πείθομαι: ἀκριβῶς  
 πειρῶμαι: ἰκανῶς  
 πέμπω: ἀκαίρως, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀσφαλῶς,  
 βραδέως (βραδύτερον), κατασπουδαίως,  
 σπουδαίως, συντόμως, ταχέως, ὑγιῶς  
 περιέχω: ὑγιῶς  
 περιπατῶ: σαπρῶς  
 περισπῶμαι: μετρίως  
 πιάζω: ἀκεραίως  
 πικραίνομαι: ἐντόνως(?), εὐτόνως(?)  
 πιστεύω: ἀκριβῶς  
 πληρῶ: ἡδέως, (οὐκ) ὀλίγως  
 ποθῶ: ἀλόγως  
 ποιῶμαι προσκύνημα: ἡμερησίως  
 ποιῶ: ἄλλοίως, ἄλλως, ἀδιαλείπτως, ἀνόκως,  
 ἀνυπερθέτως, ἀπροφασίστως, ἀσπουδάστως,  
 ἀσφαλῶς, γοργῶς, εἰκότως, ἐκθύμως,  
 ἐπιμελῶς, εὐνως, εὐχαρίστως(?), ἡδέως,  
 κακῶς, κεχαρισμένως, κοινῶς, ὀρθῶς,  
 παρέργως, ποικίλως, πρεπόντως, προθύμως,  
 σαπρῶς, σπουδαίως, συνεχῶς, συντόμως,  
 τελείως, φιλικῶς, φιλοτίμως(?)  
 πονῶ: θυμικῶς  
 πορεύομαι/πορεύω: δεόντως, συνεχῶς,  
 ὠκαίως(?)  
 πραγματεύομαι: ἀμελῶς  
 πράττω: ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀβασκάντως, κακῶς,  
 νομίμως, ὀλιγώρως(?), προθύμως  
 προθυμοῦμαι: φιλοτιμότερον  
 προϊσταμαι: ὑγιῶς(?)  
 προλαμβάνω: ἄλλως  
 προνοῶ: ἀναγκαιῶς  
 προξενῶ: γνησίως  
 προσαγορεύω: ἀδιαλείπτως, ἡδέως,  
 προηγουμένως  
 προσδέχομαι: ἡδέως  
 προεντυγχάνω: ἡδέως  
 προσέρχομαι: ἀνόκως, ἀξίως, ἡδέως

προσέχω: ἀκριβῶς, δεξιῶς, ὅλως  
 προσίημι: ὅλως  
 προσκυνῶ: αὐτοπροσώπως, ἐκθύμως, εὐτυχῶς,  
 συνήθως  
 προσλέγω: ἡδέως, πρωτοτύπως  
 προστατῶ: μεγάλως  
 προσφέρω: μετρίως  
 προσφέρω: εὐκαίρως  
 πυνθάνομαι: ἡδέως  
 πωλέω: ἐμπορικῶς  
 ρώννυμι: εὐτυχῶς, περισσοτέρως  
 σημαίνω: παντελῶς  
 σκέπτομαι: ἀκριβῶς  
 σκοπῶ: ἀκριβῶς  
 σκοτοῦμαι: (οὐκ) ὀλίγως  
 σκυλλῶ: ἀλόγως  
 σπουδάζω: ἀνόκνως  
 συγκαταπλέω: εὐσχημόνως  
 συγκροτῶ: συνήθως  
 συγκροτοῦμαι: πλειόνως  
 συλλαμβάνομαι: προθύμως  
 συμπαρίστημι: ἀμέμπτως  
 συμπεριφέρω: εὐχρώμως  
 συνάγω: ἀσφαλῶς  
 συναντιλαμβάνομαι: προθύμως, φιλοτίμως  
 συναντῶ: δυσκόλως  
 συνεργῶ: προθύμως, φιλοτιμότερον  
 συνέρχομαι: ὁσίως  
 συνίστημι: ἀνόκνως, σπουδαίως  
 συνίσταμαι: αὐτοπροσώπως, ματαίως, ραδίως  
 συντάσσω: ἐπιμελέστερον(?)  
 συντελῶ: ἀμέμπτως, λυσιτελῶς  
 συντιμοῦμαι: δικαίως, ἀδίκως  
 συσπεύδω: φιλοτίμως  
 σφραγίζω (-ομαι): ἀσφαλῶς, ταχέως  
 τάσσω: ἄλλως  
 τηρῶ: ἐπιμελῶς(?)

τίθημι: ἀσφαλῶς  
 τιμωροῦμαι: ἱκανῶς, πικρῶς  
 τρέφω: ἐπιμελῶς(?)  
 τρυγῶ: ἐπιμελῶς  
 τυγχάνω: ἀδίκως, ἐνδόξως  
 ὑπακούω: προθύμως  
 ὑπάρχω: ἐκτενῶς, ὅλως  
 ὑπέρεχω: δισσως(?)  
 ὑπηρετῶ: ἀμέμπτως, ἀνόκνως, γνησίως  
 ὑπισχνούμαι: ὅλως  
 ὑποδέχομαι: ἀδιαστρόφως, ἡδέως  
 ὑπολαμβάνω: εὐκαίρως  
 ὑπουργῶ: ἀμέμπτως, ἀνόκνως, ἡδέως  
 φαίνομαι: ἄλλως  
 φέρω: ἀνεμποδίστως, ἀνόκνως, ἀσυνειδήτως,  
 ἀσφαλῶς, βαρέως, γενναίως, εὐθύμως,  
 εὐμαρῶς, εὐψύχως, σπουδαίως  
 φέρω (-ομαι): ἐπαχθῶς, ταχέως  
 φιланθρωπῶ: φιλοφρόνως  
 φιλῶ: γνησίως, ὀλοψύχως  
 φροντίζω: ἀδιαφόρως, γνησίως, ἐνδεχομένως,  
 ἐπιμελῶς, μεγάλως, (οὐ) μετρίως  
 φρονῶ: ἄλλως  
 φυλάττομαι: ἐπιμελῶς,  
 χαίρω (-ομαι): ἀδρῶς, μεγάλως, ὅλως  
 χαράττω: συνεχῶς  
 χαρίζω (-ομαι): ἱκανῶς, μεγάλως  
 χειροῦμαι(?): εὐμαρῶς  
 χορηγῶ (-οῦμαι): ἱκανῶς, συντόμως  
 χρήζω: ἀναγκαίως,  
 χρῶμαι: ἀπανθρώπως, ἀσπουδάστως,  
 δυσχερῶς, ἐπιμελῶς, εὐγνωμόνως, ὀρθῶς,  
 πικρῶς, συνεχῶς  
 ὠνοῦμαι: ἀσφαλῶς, αὐθαιρέτως(?)  
 ὠφελῶ (-οῦμαι): λαμπρῶς, μεγάλως

## List 2

## Adverbs in -ως in the private letters. Indicative number and distribution

(the numeral indicates the number of attestations; the bold letters show the larger number of examples)

n°	adverb	Ptol.	Roman	Byz.
1	ἀβαρῶς		R	
1	ἀβλαβῶς	P		
1	ἀδελφικῶς		R	
1	ἀδεῶς		R	
1	ἀδιστάκτως		R	
1	ἀδρῶς		R	
1	ἀδυνάτως			B
1	ἀειμνήστως		R	
1	αἰσchrῶς	P		
1	ἀκαλῶς			B
1	ἀκινδύνως		R	
1	ἀλωβήτως			B
1	ἀναιδῶς		R	
1	ἀναισθήτως		R	
1	ἀναλογούντως		R	
1	ἀνθρωπίνως		R	
1	ἀνόμως	P/R?		
1	ἀπανθρώπως	P		
1	ἀπαραλλάκτως			B
1	ἀπειρῶς			B
1	ἀπροόπτως			B
1	ἀπροσκόπως		R	
1	ἀργυρικῶς		R	
1	ἀργῶς			B
1	ἀσμένως		R	
1	ἀσυνειδήτως			B
1	ἀσυντάκτως	P		
1	ἀταράχως			B
1	ἀτόνως			B
1	ἀτόπως		R	
1	αὐθαιρέτως		R	
1	ἀφθόνως		R	
1	ἀφιλοτίμως?	P		
1	γελοῖως	P		
1	γενικῶς		R	
1	γνησιαίως			B
1	δεξιῶς			B
1	δεόντως		R	
1	διηνεκῶς		R	
1	δισσῶς		R	
1	δυσόκνως	P		
1	εἰκότως			B
1	εἰρομένως	P		
1	ἐκτενῶς?		R	
1	ἐλευθέρως	P		
1	ἐμπείρως		R	
1	ἐμπορικῶς		R	

1	ἐναντίως	P		
1	ἐναργῶς		R	
1	ἐνδεχομένως	P		
1	ἐνδιαθέτως			B
1	ἐνδόξως			B
1	ἐνωμότως			B
1	ἐπαξίως			B
1	ἐπαφροδιτικῶς			B
1	ἐπαχθῶς			B
1	ἐπικινδύνως		R	
1	ἐπινόσως			B
1	ἐπιτηδείως		R	
1	ἐπιψελλῶς	P		
1	ἐτέρως?		R	
1	εὐγενῶς			B
1	εὐδόξως		R	
1	εὐθύμως		R	
1	εὐκόπως		R/B?	
1	εὐλόγως		R	
1	εὐνοϊκῶς		R	
1	εὖνως		R	
1	εὐσήμως	P		
1	εὐσημόνως	P		
1	εὐχαρίστως	P		
1	εὐψύχως		R	
1	ἠρέμως?		R	
1	ἠσυχίως			B
1	θυμικῶς		R	
1	ἰδιαζόντως			B
1	ἰδιωτικῶς?		R	
1	ἰσχυρῶς	P		
1	ἴσως (Manner)		R	
1	κατασπουδαίως		R	
1	κενῶς		R	
1	κεχαρισμένως	P		
1	λαμπρῶς	P		
1	λιπαρῶς			B
1	λυσιτελῶς	P		
1	μαλακῶς	P		
1	νομίμως		R	
1	ὀκηρῶς?	P		
1	ὀλιγῶρως	P		
1	ὀλοψύχως			B
1	ὀσίως			B
1	οὐδαμῶς	P		
1	παγκάκως?		R	
1	περισσῶς		R	
1	πιστῶς		R	

1 πλατικῶς			B
1 πλειόνως			B
1 ποικίλως		R	
1 πολλαπλασίως			B
1 πολυτελεστέρας	P		
1 προσεχόντως		R/B?	
1 πυκνῶς			B
1 σαφεστέρας			B
1 σαφῶς	P		
1 σοβαρῶς		R	
1 σπανίως			B
1 στυγνοτέρας	P		
1 συχνῶς			B
1 σφοδρῶς			B
1 ὑβριστικῶς		R	
1 ὑγιεινῶς			B
1 ὑπερηφάνως	P		
1 φθονερῶς			B
1 φιλανθρωπῶς?	P		
1 φιλοπόνως		R	
1 χαλεπῶς		R	
1 ψευδῶς			B
1 ὠκέως?		R	
2 ἀβασκάντως		R	B
2 ἀδιαφόρως			B
2 ἀλλοίως			B
2 ἀμελῶς	P	R	
2 ἀνελλιπῶς		R	B
2 ἀξίως		R	
2 ἀπράκτως		R	B
2 ἀπροφασίστως	P		B
2 ἀρτίως		R	B
2 ἀσπουδάστως		R	
2 ἄφνης		R	B
2 δυσχερῶς	P		B
2 ἐγγράφως		R	B
2 ἐκθύμως	P		B
2 εὐχρῶμως		R	
2 θερμῶς		R	
2 ἰλαρῶς		R	B
2 καθαρίως		R	
2 ματαίως		R	
2 μηδαμῶς			B
2 περισσοτέρας		R	
2 πικρῶς	P		
2 πράως/πραέως			B
2 πρώτως		R	
2 σαπρῶς		R	
2 τεθαρρημένως		R	
2 ὑπογύως		R	
2 φρονίμως		R	B
3 ἀδιαλείπτως		R	B
3 ἀδιαστρόφως			B

3 αἰφνιδίως	P	R	
3 ἀκεραίως		R	
3 ἀκολούθως		R	
3 ἀνυπερθέτως		R	
3 ἀποκρότως			B
3 αὐτάρκως		R	
3 αὐτοπροσώπως		R	B
3? (1-3) ἐντόνως	P	R	
3 εὐλαβῶς	P	R	
3 εὐμαρῶς	P	R	
3 εὐχερῶς	P	R	B
3 κοινῶς		R	B
3 παρέργως	P		
3 πολλαχῶς		R	B
3 πρεπόντως		R	B
3 φιλικῶς	P	R	
4 ἀκαίρως	P		<b>B</b>
4 ἀλύπως	P		
4 ἀμερίμνως		<b>R</b>	B
4 βαρέως	P	R	B
4 βραδέως	P	R	
4 γοργῶς		R	
4 διαφόρως			B
4 δυσκόλως		<b>R</b>	B
4 εὐτάκτως	P		
4 (σ)μικρῶς			B
4 ραδίως	P	R	
4 στενῶς	P		
4 φιλοφρόνως	P		
4? (1-4) εὐτόνως	P	R	
5 ἀσθενῶς	P	R	B
5 δικαίως	<b>P</b>	R	B
5 ἐρρωμένως	<b>P</b>		B
5 εὐγνωμόνως	<b>P</b>	R	
5 ὄντως		R (+2?)	B
6 ἀδίκως	P	R	
6 γενναίως		R	
6 τελείως/τελέως	P		B
7 ἀμέμπτως	P	R	
7 πρωτοτύπως			B
7 ὑγιῶς	P?	R	B
7 φιλοτίμως	P		
8 δεινῶς		R	B
8 ἐτοίμως		R	B
8 ὀλίγως		R	B
9 ἀηδῶς	P	<b>R</b>	B
9 ἀπλῶς		R	<b>B</b>
10 ἡμερησίως		R	
10 παντελῶς	P	R	B
10 συνήθως		R	B
12 εὐτυχῶς		R	B
13 εὐκαίρως	<b>P</b>	R	
13 σπουδαίως		<b>R</b>	P

14 ἐξαιρέτως		R	B
14 κομψῶς		R	
17 κακῶς	P	R	B
17 μετρίως	P	R	B
18 γνησίως		R	B
18 προθύμως	<b>P</b>	R	B
21 ἀλόγως	P	R	B
21 ἀναγκαίως		R	B
22 ἴσως (modal)	P	R	B
23 ἀκριβῶς	P		
23 ἰκανῶς	P	R	B
24 ὀρθῶς	<b>P</b>	R	
25 ἀνόκτως	P	<b>R</b>	B
28 συντόμως	P	R	B

29 προηγουμένως		R	<b>B</b>
33 ὄλως	P	R	B
37 ἀσφαλῶς	P	R	B
38 ἐπιμελῶς	<b>P</b>	R	B
38 συνεχῶς		R	B
40 μεγάλως	P	R	B
51 ἀληθῶς	P	R	<b>B</b>
65+ ὁμοίως	P	R	B
±70 ταχέως	P	R	B
93 ἠδέως	P	R	B
119 πάντως	P	R	B
135 ἄλλως	P	R	B
±160 εὐθέως	P	R	B
1000+ καλῶς	P	R	B

### List 3

#### Indicative checklist of the adverbs which appear in papyri from the Byzantine period

(a) *Adverbs attested only in Byzantine private letters*

ἀκαλῶς  
 ἀλλοίως  
 ἀλωβήτως  
 ἀπαραλλάκτως  
 ἀπροόπτως  
 ἀργῶς  
 ἀσυνειδήτως  
 γνησιαίως, *addendum lexicis*  
 δεξιῶς  
 διαφόρως  
 ἐνδιαθέτως  
 ἐπαφροδιτικῶς  
 ἠσυχίως  
 λιπαρῶς  
 ὀλοψύχως  
 πλατικῶς  
 πλειόνως  
 πολλαπλασίως  
 προσεχόντως  
 πυκνῶς  
 σαφεστέρως  
 σπανίως  
 συχνῶς  
 σφοδρῶς  
 ὑγιεινῶς  
 φθονερῶς  
 φρονίμως

(b) *Adverbs attested in Byzantine documents and private letters*

ἀδιαστρόφως  
 ἀδιαφόρως

ἀδυνάτως  
 ἀπείρως  
 ἀποκρότως  
 ἀταράχως  
 ἐπαξίως  
 ἐπαχθῶς  
 εὐγενῶς  
 ἠσύχως  
 ἰδιαζόντως  
 μηνιαίως(?)  
 πράως/πραέως  
 προηγουμένως  
 πρωτοτύπως

(c) *Adverbs attested only in Byzantine official letters*

ἀγαπητῶς  
 ἀενάως  
 ἀενδότης  
 ἀπαραλείπτως  
 ἀρμοδίως  
 ἀσυμπαθῶς  
 ἀτρώτως  
 ἐπιστημόνως

(d) *Adverbs attested in the Byzantine period in documents other than private letters*

ἀγογγύστως  
 ἀγρίως  
 ἀγρυπτίστως, *addendum lexicis*  
 ἀδιαθέτως, either coined by the scribe or by mistake  
 ἀδόλως

ἀδράστως, *addendum lexicis*

ἀεργῶς

ἀζημίως

αἰδεσίμως

αἰωνίως

ἀκαταγνώστως

ἀκαταφρονήτως

ἀκρως

ἀλιποτάκτως, *addendum lexicis*

ἀμάχως

ἀμειώτως

ἀμεταθέτως

ἀμφιβόλως

ἀναιτίως

ἀναλόγως

ἀναμφιβόλως

ἀναμφιλόγως

ἀναντιρρήτως

ἀναποδείκτως

ἀναποστάτως, *addendum lexicis*

ἀνελεῶς

ἀνελλείπτως

ἀνενδοιάστως

ἀνεπικωλύτως

ἀνεπιρρήτως, *addendum lexicis*

ἀπαραβάτως, *addendum lexicis* with the  
meaning attested in the papyri

ἀπερισκέπτως

ἀπεριφρονήτως, *addendum lexicis*

ἀπραγμόνως

ἀπροσωπολήπτως *addendum lexicis* with  
this spelling of ἀπροσωπολήπτως

ἀραδιουργήτως

ἀσέμνως

αὐτοτελεῶς

ἀφάτως

ἀφιλονείκως

ἀψευδῶς

γυμνῶς *addendum lexicis* with the meaning  
attested in the papyri

διαταχαίως, *addendum lexicis*

διαφερόντως

διπλασίως

δυενιαυσίως, *addendum lexicis*

δυνατῶς

δυσεσεβῶς

δυστρόπως

ἐγκληματικῶς

εἰδικῶς/ἰδικῶς

εἰκαίως

ἐλευθερικῶς, *addendum lexicis*

ἐμμέτρως

ἐμπόνως

ἐμφύτως

ἐναποδείκτως, *addendum lexicis*

ἐνδελεχῶς

ἐνδιαρκῶς, *addendum lexicis*

ἐνιαυσιαίως, *addendum lexicis*

ἐντόνως

ἐπιπόνως

ἐπιχωρίως

ἐπομένως

εὐδαιμόνως

εὐδοκίμως

εὐκόλως

εὐκολωτέρως

ἐχθρῶς

ἡμερουσίως, *addendum lexicis*

θειωδῶς

κακούργως

καλοθελῶς

κρυπτῶς

κυριευτικῶς, *addendum lexicis*

μονομερῶς *addendum lexicis* with this  
meaning in the papyri

νέως, *addendum lexicis*

ὀλομερῶς, *addendum lexicis* with the  
meaning attested in the papyri

πανεξόχως, *addendum lexicis*

πεπεισμένως

πεπλασμένως

περιφανῶς

πλαγίως

πλήρως, *addendum lexicis*

προνοητικῶς

προστακτικῶς, *addendum lexicis* with the  
meaning attested in the papyri

σμικρομερῶς, *addendum lexicis*, probably  
based on an adjective in Plato)

συμμέτρως

συννόμως; see however, corrections

τριπλασίως

τυραννικῶς

ὑπηκῶς

ὑποτακτικῶς

φοβερῶς



Appendix I  
THE ADVERBS ENDING IN -ί AND -εί, -δην AND -δόν  
(Nikos Litinas)

The adverbs ending in -ί or -εί are comparable with the adverbs in -ως because they occupy one position as a single word within the clause. The problem of the purpose of their formation, and how they are different, in respect of their semantic value, from the adverbs in -ως, is still under discussion; see Anghelina 2007. In the private letters written on papyri and ostraca, these adverbs are rare, e.g. ἀπαρτί (once), αὐτολεξεί (once), αὐτοφεί (once; *add. lex.*), νεωστί (once). Only πανοικ(ε)ί was used in a formulaic phrase at the end of the private letters<sup>283</sup>.

ἀδιστακτί: (from ἀδιστακτος; cf. LSJ *s.v.*). *O.Ber.* II 195, 2-6 (third quarter of I A.D.) ἐκομι|σάμην σου ὄστρακον ἀδισ|τακτί, περὶ τῶν αἰλούρων ἐπιμέ|λετε (*l.* ἐπιμέ|λεται) αὐτῶν ὁ Ὀυρσῆς δι' ὃ καὶ ἄλ|λοτέ σοι ἔγραφα “I certainly received your ostrakon. Concerning the cats, Ourses is taking care of them in accordance with what I also wrote you on another occasion”. The adverb does not appear in the Greek literature (cf. only ἀδιστακτως; see *s.v.*, p. 38, and LSJ *s.v.* “undoubtedly, unhesitatingly”). However, the adverb can function as (1) a modal one and read as ἐκομι|σάμην σου ὄστρακον. ἀδισ|τακτί, περὶ τῶν αἰλούρων ἐπιμέ|λετε etc., and probably this is why it is placed at the beginning of the period: “I received your ostrakon. Without doubt, concerning the cats Ourses is taking care etc.”. Or (2) as a Manner adverb, and it is placed at the beginning of the clause in order to stress on the fact that Ourses does it “without hesitation”.

Αἰγυπτιστί: (from αἰγυπτιάζω); “in the Egyptian tongue”; see Mayser 1933-1934, 178. *P.Rev.Laws*, col. 86, 1(259-258 B.C.) [Ἑλληνισ(?)]τὶ καὶ [Ἀιγυπτ(?)]ιστί; *W.Chr.* 50, 7-8 (246-221 B.C.) Αἰγυπτισ|τὶ δὲ ὑπέγραψα; *P.Erl.* 21, 15 and 23 (A.D. 195) [λε]γόμε(ενον) Αἰγυπ(τιστί) and λεγόμε(ενον) Αἰγυπ(τιστί).

ἀκριτί: (from ἀ + κριτός); “indiscreetly”(?), as in a synonym of ἀκρίτως(?). The adverb is not a certain reading, since the papyrus *P.Genova* IV 136, 8 (middle of III B.C.) reads καὶ οὐθ' οὕτως ακριτιωι. The latter word can be read as ἀκριτί ᾧ (see n. *ad loc.*), but it can also be interpreted as the adverb ἀκριτί, which modifies the verb ᾧ. The latter is a subjunctive, which can be justified after ἐάν in l. 7 and a subjunctive ποιῆι (l. 8).

ἀμελλητί: (from ἀ + μελλητής; cf. LSJ *s.v.* μέλλω V); “without delay or hesitation”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀμέλλητος. Although the adverb is found in the literature from the first century A.D., in papyri it is only attested in an official document of the fourth century A.D. (*P.Ryl.* IV 700, 9 ἀμελλητεὶ καὶ χωρὶς τινος |[--]) and in the correspondence of Kurrah ben Sharik with the pagarches Basileios (*P.Lond.* IV 1338, 33 (A.D. 709); 1385, 4 (A.D. 709); 1392, 17 (A.D. 711); 1394, 18 (A.D. 708-709); *SB* III 7243 (= *SB* VIII 9746), 53 (A.D. 710)).

ἀμισθί: (from ἄμισθος (ἀ + μισθός)); “without being paid for the provision of work etc.” (see LSJ *s.v.*). It is used instead of ἀμισθως (see LSJ *s.v.* ἄμισθος 1) in contracts of

<sup>283</sup> The adverb ἀπιστί (from ἀ + πιστός (from πυνθάνομαι)), “without inquiry” is not included in this list. It is read in an application for the lease of crown land in *P.Tebt.* II 374, 24 (A.D. 131) ἀπιστί μὴ δεόντων γεωργ(εῖν), but Wilchen in the *app. crit.* of *W.Chr.* 349 had proposed to read ἐάν or ἐπὶ τι μὴ δεόντως γεωργ(ῆται) No entry in LSJ *s.v.* ἀπιστος II, “without hearing or learning a thing”, or in LSJ Suppl.

apprenticeship (*P.Oxy.* XXXI 2586, 39 ἀμισθεί; A.D. 264) and of leases (*PSI* 9 1030, 13 (A.D. 109) ἀμιστί; *P.Oxy.* IV 729, 9 (A.D. 138) ἀμισθεί; *PSI* 13 1338, 19 ἀμιστί (A.D. 299); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4534, 9 (A.D. 335) ἀμιστί; *P.Sarap.* 51, 18 (IV A.D.) ἀμισ[θ]εῖ).

ἀναυλί: (from ἀ + ναῦλον); “free of freight charge”; the adverb occurs only in *Suda s.v.* ἀναυλεί, χωρίς ναύλου (see *LSJ s.v.*) and in a freight contract, *P.Oxy.* XLV 3250, 8 (c. A.D. 63); see n. *ad loc.*

ἀνδραποδιστί: (from ἀνδράποδον); “like a slave” (see *LSJ Suppl. s.v.*). The adverb occurs only in *P.Tebt.* III 765, 13 (153 B.C.); see *Mayser* 1936, 126.

ἀπαρτί: (from ἀπαρτίζω); although it occurs in the Greek literature (see *LSJ s.v.*), we find it only in a private letter *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2783, 13-15 (III A.D.) εἰ | γὰρ ἀπαρτί ἐπίστασαί μου τὴν γνώμην, | οὐκ ὀφ<ε>ἰλ<ε>ῖς ἄνθρωπος κρίνεσθαι, (transl. *ed. princ.* by J.R. Rea) “yes, for if you (want to?) know my opinion just now, you ought not to be accounted a human being”; cf. also *Tibiletti* 1979, no 9 “se infatti proprio adesso vuoi conoscere il mio parere...”; see also M. Trapp, *Greek and Latin Letters. An Anthology, with Translation*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 53 and 200. This means that the adverb was considered as ἀπάρτι (= properly ἀπ’ ἄρτι) (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀπαρτί III). However, we could also consider the meaning “completely” (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀπαρτί I; cf. the adverb ἀπαρτιζόντως “adequately, precisely”), and, therefore, translate it as “if you know precisely my opinion...”.

ἀραβιστί: (from ἀραβίζω). See *s.v.* ἀραβικῶς, p. 279.

ἀσπερμ(ε)ί: (from ἄσπερμος (ἀ + σπέρμα)); “without allowance for seed” (see *LSJ s.v.*). It occurs only in leases of the second and the beginning of the third century A.D.<sup>284</sup>.

ἀτοκ(ε)ί / ἄδωκέι: (from ἄτοκος (ἀ + τόκος)); “without paying interest”. All instances can be found in the Roman and Byzantine period, even in the literature (D.C. 58.21) (see *LSJ s.v.*), except an instance in a private letter, *SB* XXIV 16166, 20 (early II B.C.) ἀτοκί (the reading is certain). Since even the adverb ἀτόκως is not found in the ancient Greek, and since this adverb is found in a kind of oral speech that is recorded in the letter, one might consider this adverb as colloquial and its formation based on other examples of adverbs in -ι; cf. also *SPP* III<sup>2</sup>.1 112 B, 3n. for the phrase ἀτοκί ἀναμφιβόλως (ἀτῶγι ἀναμφιβόλως *Par.*).

αὐτολεξεί: (from αὐτός + λέξη); “with the very words, in express words”; see *LSJ s.v.* with an earlier instance in *Ph.* 2.597. It is found only in a letter of the second half of VII A.D., *P.Apoll.* 28, 5 ἔγραψ[α τῆ περι]βλέπτω ὑμῶν ἀδε[λφότη]τι αὐτολεξεῖ οὕτω[ς].

αὐτοψεῖ: (from αὐτοπτος (αὐτός + ὄψις or ὄψομαι) “with one’s own eyes”. It occurs only in *PSI* III 238, 10-11 (VI-VII A.D.) ὁ θεὸς ἀπάντων | δεσπότης ἀξιώση με προσκυνῆσαι ὑμᾶς αὐτοψεῖ ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἕως μεγάλων. In such a case this adverb here is used as parallel to αὐτοπροσώπως: cf. *P.Grenf.* II 91, 6 (VI-VII A.D.) καὶ αὐτοπροσώπως προσκυνήσωμεν τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν. Cf. also *P.Giss.* I 22, 4-6 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 2) (A.D. 113-120) [καὶ τὴν | [γλυκυ]τάτην σου ὄψιν προσκυ|[νήσαι].

ἀφορί: (from ἀ + φόρος) “without paying rent”. It is found in two official documents of the second century B.C. (*P.Tebt.* III 918, 15 and 25 (200 or 176 B.C.); 737, 27 (136 B.C.)) and one lease of the fifth century A.D. (*P.Flor.* III 384, 54 (*BL* II, on p. 60) ἀφορεῖ; see *LSJ Suppl. s.v.*

<sup>284</sup> The reading of the adverb in *BGU* VI 1268, 6-7 was already corrected as [ὦν ο]ἱ καρ[π]οὶ εἰς [τ]ὸ ἕκτον ἔτ[ος] ἀσπερμ[οὶ] (*BL* III, on p. 20) ἀκί[ν]δυνον πλὴν | [ἀβ]ρόχου (end of III B.C.).

Ἑβραϊστί: (from Ἑβραΐζω) “in the Hebrew tongue” (see LSJ *s.v.*). It occurs only in the private letter *P.Yadin* II 52, 11-15 (A.D. 135) ἐγράφη | δ[ε] Ἐ<λ>ληνιστί διὰ | τ[ὸ ὄρ]μᾶν μὴ εὐρη|θ[ῆ]ναι Ἑβραεστί | γ[ρά]ψασθαι.

Ἑλληνιστί: (from Ἑλληνίζω; cf. ἑλληνιστής); “in the Greek language” (see LSJ *s.v.*). It occurs only in official documents and private contracts of the Ptolemaic and Byzantine period; cf. only the letter from Judaea (*s.v.* Ἑβραϊστί).

κοτυλιστί: (from κοτυλίζω) “sell, provide etc. by the κοτύλη measurement” cf. LSJ *s.v.* with the meaning “κατὰ κοτύλην” citing the account *UPZ* I 94, 42a (158 B.C.) κοτυλειστί; see Mayser 1936, 126.

νεωστί / νεωσθί: (from νέος; cf. νέως); “lately, just now” (see LSJ *s.v.*). It is found in the Greek literature and in papyri of all periods. In the private letters, there is only one instance, in the letter sent from Apollonios to Zenon, *P.Zen.Pestm.* 28, 7 (III B.C.).

ὄνομαστί: (from ὀνομάζω); “by name” (see LSJ *s.v.*). In papyri it occurs in official documents of all periods. In the private letter *SB* XII 11016, 5-8 (A.D. 13) ἀ{σ}[σ]πάζου Ἀπολλωνοῦν καὶ Σανβᾶν | καὶ Διδυμᾶν [κ]αὶ Κλευπαροῦν καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα | καὶ ὄνασσοθὶ [α]ὔτων φιλω<ν>? παρ’ αὐτοῦ. | ἀ{σ}σπάζεται ἡμᾶς (*l.* ὑμᾶς) Ἀπολλῶς καὶ Τυχάρην, the peculiar reading ὄνασσοθὶ has been interpreted as ὄν<ομ(?)>αστί. I think καὶ ὄν ἀ{σ}σθοῦν (*l.* ἀσθενῆ, or the accusative ἀσθενῆ) τῶν φίλω<ν> παρ’ αὐτόν.

πανοικ(ε)ί: What we can observe (although tentative results) based on the dates attributed to the private letters:

(1) The adverb πανοικ(ε)ί is attested from the end of the first to the end of the fourth century A.D.

(2) It is placed at the end of the letter, except two instances in the second century A.D.: (*P.Hamb.* IV 254, 1-5 and *P.Oxy.* XIV 1758, 7-8) and one at the end of the fourth century A.D. (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 9, 5-7).

(3) Usually we find ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι) πανοικί or *sim.*, but other expressions are also possible: cf. *P.Mich.* VIII 476, 24 (early II A.D.) ἄσπασ[αι] ... πανοικί.

(4) From the middle of the second century A.D. until the second/third quarter of the third century the formula appears as ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι πανοικί εὐτυχ[ο]ῦντα or *sim.*

(5) In the third and fourth century A.D., apart from πανοικ(ε)ί, the dative πανοικησία occurs in the closing formulas, while once, in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1664, 2-3, the dative is attested in the opening formula.

*P.Oxy.Hels.* 46, 12 (I-II A.D.) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι) κύριε πανοικί.

*SB* V 7743, 26-28 (I-II A.D.) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐ|χομαι, κύριέ μου | ἄδελφε, πανοικί.

*P.Mich.* VIII 476, 24 (early II A.D.) ἄσπασ[αι] Δίδυμον τὸν νομικὸν πανοικί.

*P.Hamb.* IV 254, 1-5 (beginning of II A.D.) τῆς ἀπευκταίας | μοι ἀγγελίας σημαθείσης περὶ τοῦ | εὐμύρου (*l.* εὐμοίρου) τι(νὸς) πῶς ἠχθέσθην πα|νοικ(ε)ί (*ed. princ.* πα|νοικ(ε)σία)) οὐκ ἔχω τῷ λόγῳ παραστή|σαι.

*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3917, 11-12 (beginning of II A.D.) ἐρρωσο, κύριε Ἀπολλῶνιε, | πανοικί.

*P.Sarap.* 90, 21-22 (A.D. 108) ἐρρωσο ἄδε[λ]φε τιμώτατε | πανοικί ... ἔδη χαράν.

*P.Sarap.* 103ter, 6-7 (II A.D.) εὐχομαί σε παν|οικί (see *BL* XIII, on p. 232)

*P.Giss.* I 75, 9-10 (= *P.Giss.Apoll.* 40) (A.D. 113-120) πρὸ πάντων ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐ(χομαι) | τιμώτατε πανοικί.

*P.Stras.* VII 664, 5-6 (A.D. 115) [ἐ]ρρωσθ(α)ί | σε εὐχομαι κύριε π[αν]οικί.

*P.Stras.* VII 652, 8-9 and 19-21 and 41-43 (A.D. 136-141) [εὐ]χομαι κύριέ μου εὐτυχο|ῦντα | [πανοικί] ... ἐρ|ρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι κύριέ μου εὐτυ|χοῦντα πανοικ(ε)ί... ἐρρωσθαί | σε εὐχομαι κύριέ μου εὐ|τυχοῦντα πανοικ(ε)ί.

*P.Yale* I 79, 27-29 (c. A.D. 150) ἐρρω|σθαί σε εὐχομαι, | φίλτατε, πανοικί.

*P.Princ.* III 185, 15 (A.D. 162) ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι | εὐτυχοῦντα πανοικί.

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1758, 7-8 (II A.D.) εὐχομέ|νη σοι τὰ κάλ<λ>ιστα πανοικί.

*P.Mich.* VIII 486, 23 (II A.D.) [ἐρρω]σθαί σε εὐχομαι πανοικί.

- P.Mich.* VIII 499, 20 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι | πανοικεί.  
*BGU VII* 1680 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί [σε] ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πανοικί.  
*P.Bon.* 44, 9 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι πανοικεί βούλομαι.  
*P.Ryl.* II 434, 11-12 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε, ἀδελφε, εὐχομαι | πανοικεί εὐτυχοῦντα.  
*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2726, 34-36 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσό | μοι, κύριε, πανοικη|σία.  
*P.Oxy.* LXXIII 4959, 20-21 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, | [τ]ιμώτατοι, παν[ο]ικησία εὐτυχοῦντας.  
*P.Princ.* II 68, 15-16 (II A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι), φίλτατε, πανοικεί | εὐτυχ[ο]ῦντα.  
*P.Princ.* II 69, 5-7 (III A.D.; see *s.v.* εὐδόξως, p. 135) ἔρρωσθαί σε | εὐχομαι, κύριέ μου ἀδελφέ, πανοικεί | εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐδοξ[ο]ῦντα.  
*P.Iand.* II 8, 13-15 (II-III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχ[ομαι,] | φίλτατε, εὐτυχ[οῦντα] | πανοικεί.  
*P.Oxy.Hels.* 48, 25-27 (II-III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχόμεθα πανοικησία διὰ βίου πολλὰ πρᾶσ|σοντα.  
*P.Oxy.* XLII 3084, 6-7 (II-III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι) | κύριέ μου πανοικ(εί) εὐτυχοῦντ(α).  
*BGU II* 450, 27 (II-III A.D.) ἔρρωσθε πανοικ(εί) (instead of ed. princ. πανοικ(ί)).  
*PSI XIV* 1415, 9-11 (II-III A.D.) εὐχόμενός σοι τ'ἀ/ | ἐν βίῳ ἀγαθὰ ὑπάρ|χειν πανοικί.  
*PSI XIV* 1440, 8-9 (II-III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχ[ομαι ---] | πανοικ[ε]σία ---].  
*P.Oxy.* XIV 1664, 2-3 (c. A.D. 200) σε προσαγορεύω εὐχόμενός σε σώζεσθαι | πανοικησία καὶ εὐ|διάγειν.  
*P.Oxy.* XII 1586, 15 (early III A.D.) ἐρ<ρ>ώσθ(αι) εὐχομ(αι) [π]ανοικεί.  
*PSI XV* 1553, 20-21 (first half of III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι, κύριέ μου Σαραπίων, | πανοικησία ἐγὼ Θέων.  
*P.Flor.* II 230, 22-15 (c. A.D. 255-265) ἔρρωσθαί σ' εὐχομαι φί(λτατε) | καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν | πανο(ικεί).  
*P.Flor.* II 273, 23-25 (A.D. 260) ἔρρωσθαί εὐχομαι | κύριε, σ<ε> εὐτυχοῦντα | πανοικη(α) (l. πανοικεία).  
*P.Berl.Zill.* 11, 23-24 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθ(αί σε) εὐχομαι πανοικί διὰ παντὸς | εὐτυχοῦντα.  
*P.Fay.* 129, 9 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί εὐχομαι πανοικ(εί).  
*P.Teht.* II 418r, 17-20 (III A.D.) ἀσπάσαι τοὺς σοὺς πάντας | ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μεθ' ὧν ἔρρωσθαί σε | εὐτυχευδοῦντα πανοικησία | εὐχομαι.  
*P.Fay.* 130, 20-21 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσται (l. ἔρρωσθαί) σε εὐχομαι πανοικ(εί), κύριέ μου.  
*P.Lond.* II 479, 3-4 (III A.D.) πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαι | [σε] ὑγιαίνειν πανοικησία.  
*P.Oxy.* VI 935, 29-30 (III A.D.) ἐ[ρ]ρωσθ(αί) σε εὐχομ(αι) | πανοικεί.  
*P.Oxy.* XIV 1666, 25 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί [σε] [εὐχ(ομαι)] πανοικ[ε]ί.  
*P.Ross.Georg.* III 3, 24-25 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι πανοικί μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου | σου ὄλου, ἀδελφε Ἀπίω[ν].  
*SB XIV* 11901, 14-15 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐ|χομαι πανοικεί.  
*SB XII* 10801, 14 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσο, πανοικησία (l. πανοικεσία) εὐτύχων.  
*PSI XIII* 1335, 30-31 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί εὐτυχοῦντα πανοικεσία | πᾶσι θεοῖς εὐχομαι.  
*SB XIV* 12178, 31 (III A.D.) [ἐρ]ρωσθ[αί σε] εὐχομαι πανοικεί.  
*SB XXII* 15757, 17-19 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι | πανοικησία θεοῖς | πᾶσιν εὐχομαι.  
*P.Oxy.* LV 3812, 13-14 (end of III A.D.) θεοί σε σώσειαν διὰ | παντὸς πανοικησία.  
*SB V* 7629, 8-9 (III A.D.) ἔρρωσθ[αί σε] εὐχομαι, τιμ|ώτατε, πανοικί εὐτυχοῦντα.  
*P.Giss.Univ.* III 32, 28-30 (III-IV A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί | σε εὐχομαι ἐλοκληροῦσαν (l. ὀλοκληροῦσαν) | καὶ εὐτυχοῦσαν πανοικ(εί).  
*P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2727, 26-28 (III-IV A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι, | κύριε ἀδελφε, πανοικεί | ἐπὶ μάλιστα χρόνον.  
*P.Alex.* inv. 89, 10-11 (Roman period) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι . . . πανοικί (l. πανοικεί).  
*SB XIV* 11666, 15-17 (early IV A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε πολλοῖς | χρόνοις εὐχομαι εὐδαιμονοῖς. | πανοικησία.  
*P.Abinn.* 28, 27-28 (A.D. 346) ἐ[ρ]ρωμένον σε ἡ θ<ε>|α πρὸ|νοια [δι]αφυλάξ<ε>|εν πανοικί.  
*P.Oslo* II 59, 11-12 (IV A.D.) ἐ[ρ]ρωσθό μοι ἅμα τῷ νιῶ ἡμῶν | κ[αί τ]ῆς μητρὸς ἡ[μῶν] πανοικησία.  
*SB XII* 10803, 16-19 (IV A.D.) ἔρρωσθαί σε θεοῖς | πᾶσιν εὐχομαι | πανοικησία τῶν | ἱερέων τὸ ἀγλαίσμα.  
*P.Ross.Georg.* III 9, 5-7 (end of IV A.D.) ἔσπευσα προσαγορεύσει (l. προσαγορεύσαι) τὴν διὰ|θη[ε]σ[τ]ίν[ου], ὅπως ἔρρωμέν[ος] πανοικεί κομίση | τὴν π[α]ρ['] ἐμοῦ προσηγορίαν.  
*SB XXIV* 16204, 18-21 (IV-V A.D.) ὑγ[ε]|ιαίνειν σε πανέστ[ε]ιον | τῆ|θεῖα προνοία πανοικεί | πολλοῖς χρόνοις εὐχομαι (l. εὐχομαι), | [δέ]σποτα ἀσύν[κ]ρι[τε] (l. ἀσύγκριτε).

The reading and restoration in *P.Brem.* 9, 3 (A.D. 113-120) [παν]οικί μ[ἐν] [---] is debatable.

πατριαστί: (from πατήρ); “with the father’s name”; see *P.Hal.* 1, 248 (after 259 B.C.); see Mayser 1936, 126.

Συριαστί: (from συρίζω); “in the Syrian language” (see LSJ *s.v.*). It occurs only in a testament, *P.Petrie*<sup>2</sup> I 14, 15 (238-237 B.C.).

The adverbs ending in -δην and -δον also occupy one word within the clause and indicate Manner as Quantity and Distribution or Instrument. For a discussion of their formation see Rau 2006 (with cited bibliography). In the Greek papyri coming from Egypt, these adverbs are attested in official documents, mainly edicts, petitions and proceedings, and only one adverbs βάδην and σχεδόν are found in private letters.

ἀνέδην: (from ἀνίημι; see LSJ *s.v.* II “without more ado, simply, absolutely”). (Proceedings) *SB* V 7696, 60-61 (after A.D. 249) ἀλλὰ ἀνέδην [ἀμοι]βᾶς τῶν ἐ|[τ]ῶν ἐπὶ σ[φρ]αγ[ε]ῖδων πεποι[η]κεν.

ἄρδην: (from ἀείρω; see LSJ *s.v.* II “utterly, wholly”) (Edict) *SB* VI 921812 (after A.D. 319-320) ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους τινος ἄρδην διαφθαρήναι.

βάδην: (from βαίνω; see LSJ *s.v.* II “on foot”, citing Aeschylus *Pers.* 19 (anap.); and Appian *Gall.*1). (Private letter) *P.Ross.Georg.* III 8, 15-17 (IV A.D.) οὐδ<ε>ἰς δύνα[τ]α[ι] ἐ]πελ[ά]σσαι ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἢ βάδην | ἐλτῖν (*l. ἐλθεῖν*).

διαρρήδην: (from διαρρηθῆναι; see LSJ *s.v.* “expressly, explicitly”). (Petitions): *SB* X 10537, 12 (A.D. 214-215?); *SB* XII 10797, 3-4 (= *P.Mich.* IX 529 recto) (A.D. 237) αἰθ[ε]ῖται καὶ | [βασιλικαῖ] διατάξεις διαρρήδην κελεύουσιν; *CPR* 17 A 24 (c. A.D. 321-322), ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διαρρήδην συκοφαντεῖ. (Proceedings) *SB* XVI12692, 68 (A.D. 339).

καταλογάδην: (see LSJ *s.v.* 1 “by way of conversation, in prose”). (Petition) *P.Flor.* III 295, 6 (A.D. 566-568) καὶ ἐπειδὴ καταλογάδην λέγειν. (Contract) *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314, fr. 3, 31 (A.D. 569-570) καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν καταλογάδην προδιομολογηθέντων(v).

ρύβδην: (see LSJ *s.v.* = δαψιλῶς, “in abundance”). (Imperial ordinances) *P.Nag Hamm.* 144 (first half of IV A.D.) οὐ φανερόν ρύβδην αἰεὶ μεριζομένους.

συλλήβδην: (see LSJ *s.v.* “collectively, in sum, in short”). (Edict) *P.Fay.* 21 (A.D. 134) νυν{ε}ἰ δὲ συλλήβδ[ην] περ[ὶ] πάντ[ων] | τῶν ὀπωσοῦν διδομένων [ . . . ] | ἢ λογιζομένων.

σχεδόν: (from σχεῖν); see LSJ *s.v.* III “more or less, roughly, approximately” is attested in almost all types of documents (including private letters) and in all periods.

χύδην: (from χέω; see LSJ *s.v.* I “without order or system, promiscuously, indiscriminately”). (Official decision) *P.Münch.* I 6 70-71 (A.D. 583) καὶ μὴ οὕτως χύδην κεχρησθαι | τοῖς πράγμασιν.

ὁμοθυμαδόν: (see LSJ *s.v.*, “with one accord”). It occurs in the classical Greek literature and in Greek inscriptions. As far as the papyri from Egypt are concerned, the adverb occurs so far in four official documents of the Ptolemaic period: a decree, *UPZ* I 110, 93 (164 B.C.), a petition, *P.Tebt.* I 40, 8 (before 117 B.C.), a report, *BGU* VIII 1768, 7-8 (64-44 B.C.) μετὰ τῆς πλείστης \[χαρᾶς] σπουδῆς/ [προθυμίας τε] καὶ χαρᾶς ὁμοθυμ[α]|[δόν] εὐφημούντων; in an official letter or petition, *BGU* VIII 1870, 5-6 (before 47 B.C.). In addition, the adverb is attested in a hymn to Isis, in Bernand 1969, no 175, iv 15-16 (Narmouthis; I B.C.?) καὶ πτηνῶν τε γένη ὁμοθυμαδόν ἔκλυεν αὐτο[ῦ] καὶ τάδ' ἐπιστέλλων πάντα ἐπήκοα ἦν. In the Roman period it occurs in an honorary inscription, in Bernand 1992, no 52, 2-3 (A.D. 22-23) συνε|[λ]θόντες ὁμοθυμαδόν τάδε ἐφηφίσαν. In the Byzantine period the adverb was found in two contracts, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67158, 16 (A.D. 568), where the spelling is ὁμοδυμαδόν, and *P.Köln* VII 321, 15 (VII-VIII A.D.), and in a testimonial about inheritance disputes, *P.Med.* I 61, 6 (IV A.D.).

Appendix II  
DELEND A DVERBIA  
(Nikos Litinas)

**(a) Ghost-adverbs: The following adverbs that should be rejected as ghost-adverbs (that is, they do not appear in any literary text or inscription) in the papyrological editions**

ἀδιανεμήτως	ἐξακινδύνως
ἀειμνάτως (see ἀειμνήστως, p. 39)	ἐξομολογουμένως
ἀζηλοπραγμόνως (see ἀφιλοπραγμόνως, p. 99)	ἐπιμηνίως
ἀναφιλαύτως	ἐτεῶς
ἀπράκτεως (or ἀπρακτέως)	ἡκαίως
ἀπυστί (see p. 271)	μεταπαθῶς (see μετριοπαθῶς, p. 189)
διαγράφως	ὀλιγίστως
δυσασπίστως	ὀχλικῶς
ἐμπισμένως	πιστεῶς
ἐνσαφῶς	πολλαστῶς
	ὑπερσκληρῶς

**(b) Adverbs rejected and corrected: The following adverbs that should be rejected (even they are attested in literature and inscriptions) as restorations in the papyrological editions**

ἀγελοίως	ἐξάφνης (see also ἄφνης, p. 100)
ἀθέσμως	εὐπόρως
ἀκαιρίως (see ἀκεραίως, p. 48)	κοσμίως
ἀκολάστως	νενομισμένως
ἀμοιβαίως	ὀλοκλήρως
ἀραβικῶς	ὀμολόγως
ἀρχαίως	ὁμῶς
ἀτέκνως	περιέργως (see περισσῶς, p. 212)
ἀφροντίστως	ποσῶς
γραμματικῶς	πρωινῶς
δευτέρως	σκολιῶς
δημοσίως	σοφῶς
ἐλαφρῶς	

ἀγελοίως\*

The adverb with the meaning “not laughably” appears only in Sch. Ar. *Ra.* 1 μέχρι μὲν τινος οὐκ ἀγελοίως χεϊμάζονται, while the adjective οὐκ ἀγέλοιοι, “no bad joke”, is found in the comic poet Henioch. 4.6 (see LSJ *s.v.* ἀγέλοιοι).

In papyri, the adverb and the adjective are each restored in two texts, but both cases are problematic:

*P.Col.* III 6, 4 (257 B.C.) presents a controversial text: First edition’s text καὶ εὔρον αὐτὸν καὶ μάλα γελοίωσα[σ]α κείμενον was corrected to καὶ εὔρον αὐτὸν καὶ μάλα γελοίως δ[ι]ακείμενον (see *BL* III, on p. 42; cf. M. David and B.A. van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Leyden 1965, no. 74), while H.C. Youtie (based on a photostat of the papyrus; see *AJP* 56, 1935, 178) proposed to read καὶ εὔρον αὐτὸν καὶ μάλ’ ἀγελοίως δ[ι]ακείμενον, “and I found him lying down in not laughable state at all” (see about these proposals in *P.L.Bat.* XXIA, on p. 122). The proposed text καὶ μάλα γελοίως δ[ι]ακείμενον seems to give sense in the certain context.

The second instance is found in a letter of Terentianus(?) to his father Tiberianus. In *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 36-39 (II A.D.), the sender writes that καλῶς οὔν [π]ιοήσεις τὰ σὰ με|τέ[ωρ]α ἐκπλέ[ξαι] τ|αχέω[ς] κα[ι] καταπλε[ῦ]σαι πρὸς ἐμέ. ὁ γὰρ | κάμ[ατο]ς ἄρτι ἀ[γέλο]ιός ἐστιν κἂν δ[έ]ο[ν] {ε} [ἴ]να τραπεῶ ὑπὸ ἄλ|λο[υ, ὡς] ἀκούσ/εις π[αραγ]εινόμενος ἐπ[ι] τῆς πόλεως, which is translated as “you will therefore do well to conclude your business quickly and sail down to me. For the illness is at this moment no laughing matter(?), and it is even necessary that I be fed by someone else, [as] you will hear when you come to [the city]”. The editors, H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter (see n. *ad loc.*), restored the adjective ἀ[γέλο]ιός based on the restoration in *P.Col.* III 6, 4, which, as said above, is debatable. S. Strassi, *L’archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis*, AFP Beiheft 26, Berlin 2008, 52 translates the clause where the adverb is restored based on the *ed. princ.*, “la sofferenza al momento non è cosa da ridere(?)”. However, both the restorations κάμ[ατο]ς and ἀ[γέλο]ιός seem too long for the available spaces; in addition, the letter μ is not certain at all; see image of the papyrus in <http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/Michigan-colour/72dpi/P.Mich.VIII.477.jpg>



Therefore, the text should be read as ὁ γὰρ | κα [ . . ]ς ἄρτι α[ . . ]ος ἐστιν, but I have so far been unable to propose any solution. My opinion, however, is that both the adjective and the adverb should be rejected as possible restorations in the two texts.

ἀδιανεμήτως

It is restored three times, in one will and two divisions of inheritance, but, since it does not appear in the Greek language (see only the adjective ἀδιανέμητος, LSJ *s.v.*, with the meaning “not to be divided”), both its restoration, and –even– the existence of the adverb itself is debatable. Therefore, one should restore with other words or text in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312, 108 κληρονό[μω]ν ἀ[δι]α[νε]μήτω[ς] [νο]μίματα; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313, 3 καταλείψ[αι] ἀ[δι]α[νε]μήτω[ς] τήν] πᾶσαν αὐτῶν περιουσίαν; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314, 5 ἔξιν [ἀδιανεμήτω[ς]?). Probably the adverb ἀδιαρέτω[ς] could be read in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312, 108, but the ink is effaced at this point.

## ἀθέσμως

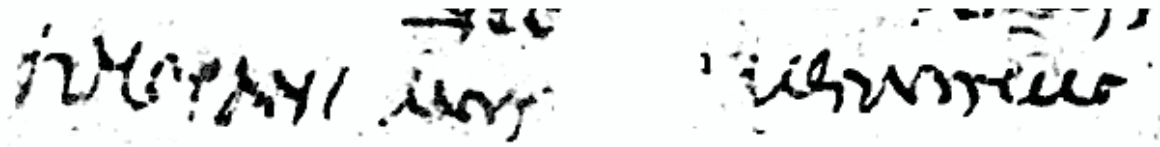
The adverb is restored in a text, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Erl.* 17, 5 (after A.D. 186) ]ξου λόγου ἐν τοῖς ἀθέσμο[ς, but the meaning “in an unlawful way” is debatable here. As can be seen in the photograph ([https://papyri-collection.dl.uni-](https://papyri-collection.dl.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/ErlPapyri_derivate_00003080/P_Erl_071r_300300.jpg)

[leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/ErlPapyri\\_derivate\\_00003080/P\\_Erl\\_071r\\_300300.jpg](https://papyri-collection.dl.uni-leipzig.de/rsc/viewer/ErlPapyri_derivate_00003080/P_Erl_071r_300300.jpg)), the loop made after the letter μ has an inclination to the left, which might better fit the shape of the letter ο than ω; therefore, one could read ἀθέσμο[ις. The adverb ἀθέσμως is also rare in the Greek literature as it appears for the first time in *LXX* 3 Ma. 6.26 οὕτως ἀθέσμως περιέβαλεν αἰκίας, and then in Porphurius, *Quest. Homer. Od.* 11.51-52.

## ἀκολάστως\*

The adverb with the meaning “incontinent, licentious” had been read in the description of a letter (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), dated to the first-second century A.D., *P.Princ.* III 188, 8 διὰ ἀκολάστω(ς). However, as can be seen in the photograph (<http://publ.princeton.edu/sheetreader.php?obj=qf85nd880>), the letter after α is not κ, but ρ, which is followed by μα, a corrected letter on top of another, then τ and a superscript ο[ or ω[. The most probable reading, therefore, is διὰ Ἀρμάειτο[ς], “through Armais”.

In *P.Cair. inv.10862* (= *P.Fay.* 344 recto) (A.D. 88-96), published by W.G. Claytor, in *BASP* 50, 2013, 87-111, in l. 13 the text has been read as καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστ[ην] ἀκολάστως, with his n. *ad loc.* (p. 102) that “the boy must appear for work every day without cause for punishment”. This sense of ἀκολάστως, which usually means “in an undisciplined manner, licentiously”, is not recorded in *LSJ* or *DGE* (both *s.v.* ἀκόλαστος), but the construction can be paralleled with, e.g. ἀμέπτως”. However, the reading is not certain and the existence of the adverb there is debatable. I propose to read ἀσκολάστως = ἀσχολλάστως = ἀσχόλω, meaning “fully occupied”; see *LSJ s.v.* ἄσκολος.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Fay.&vVol=&vNum=344>)

## ἀμοιβαίως\*

The adverb appears in Lucian *Am.* 9 ἀμοιβαίως ἀνθεστιάσετέ με (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀμοιβαῖος) with the meaning “alternately”. The adverb was restored in a private letter sent by Syrion to Ailouras, *P.Stras.* IV 187, 10-11 (A.D. 113-120) δ]τι εὐθύς ἐπιστολάς [δ]ι' | Ἀμμ[ωνᾶτο]ς ἀμ[οι]β[α]ίως . . . [ . . . ], where it seems to modify a following verbal form which is lost in the lacuna. However, not only is the restoration [δ]ι' | Ἀμμ[ωνᾶτο]ς uncertain, but also the letter after αμ[1-2] is probably ε, and certainly not β. Therefore, one should reject the appearance of this adverb in this private letter.



(I would like to thank Paul Heilporn for providing to me a photo of the papyrus)



## ἀναφιλάτως

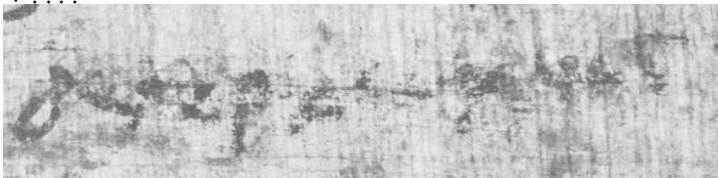
In *P.Harr.* I 141, 7-9 (II A.D.?) the reading runs as follows: τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος | αὐτῷ Πετ[οσα]ράπι (for Petosarapis see *Festschrift L. Limme*, on p. 216, n.8) τρίτου μέρους ἀναφιλάτως (*l.* ἀφιλάτως) προ|γεγραμμέν[---]. For the adverb ἀφιλάτως see LSJ *s.v.* ἀφιλαυτος “not showing self-love”, citing Plutarch 2.542b. However, after I checked in the photograph, the letter before the ending τως is ν and not υ, and there is a letter (we can see a vertical) after λ, which is probably ι, therefore, we can read ἀναφιλιάντως, which might be an alternative of ἀφιλιώτος, see LSJ *s.v.*, “not to be made a friend of, or reconciled”, citing Hesychius *s.v.* ἀσύμβατον. A reading ἀναφαλιάντως (to mean “with forehead-bald”) is not possible.



(Rendel Harris Papyrus INV41b; image published courtesy of “Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham”)

## ἀπράκτεως\*

The form is read only in *BGU XVI* 2619, 6-10 (21-5 B.C.) νῦν γάρ μοι χρῆ ἀπράκτεως | ἡμ. ἰακονα συντιθέντι τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ | φάρμακον ὅθεν εἰ μὴ σοι φορτικῶν | πέμψεις μοι ἄδολον ἵνα ἡ χρήσι|μον. The sender asks for an ingredient to be sent to him so as to prepare a medication. Since the adverb is formed based on the verb ἀπρακτέω it seems to have the meaning “being idle”. However the reading is debatable, since not even ἀπράκτως can be read there. It seems that after απρ the letter is ο followed by θ, but ἀπροθύμως cannot be read.



(<http://berlpap.smb.museum/05224/>)

## ἀραβικῶς

In *M.Chr.* 144, 19-20 (A.D. 154) κάμηλ(ον) θήλ(ειαν) πυρὶ κεχ(αραγμένην) δεξιῶ | μηρῶ ἀραβι[κῶς] the text should be restored as ἀραβι[στί] (see p. 272), since the adverb ἀραβικῶς is attested only in the Medieval Greek; see LSJ *s.v.* ἀραβιστί.

## ἀρχαίως

It is found in a fragmentary part of a private letter from the Zenon archive, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387, 6 (258-256 B.C.) ]ο ἀρχαίως ἀν[---], but the letter after ι seems to be α and not ω, therefore we can read αρχαίας.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Cair.Zen.&vVol=3&vNum=59387>)

## ἀτέκνωσ

The adverb has been resolved from the form ατεκ found in *SPP XX 26*, 7-8 (A.D. 224) τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀτέκ(νωσ) | καὶ ἀδιαθ(έτωσ); cf. also the restoration of the same adverb in *SPP XX 29*, verso 8 (A.D. 227) τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀ[τέκνωσ καὶ ἀδιαθέτωσ]. However, in all other cases of the appearance of the same formula the adjective ἄτεκνος is used, therefore, we should here resolve similarly, τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀτέκ(νου) in both cases. The adverb ἀτέκνωσ is rarely found in medieval Greek.

## ἀφροντίστωσ

The adverb has been interpreted for the form “uncared for” in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, iii 31 (second half of VI A.D.) περὶ τοῦ[τ]ου ἀφροντιστος δι[ἀ]κειμαι, although it is better to keep the adjective itself ἀφρόντιστος in this place.

## γραμματικῶσ

It is found in an abbreviated form only in an account, *SB VIII 9699*, 130-132 (A.D. 79) Ἀπολλωνίωι κωμογραμματεῖ Πεντάλ(ιτος) | γραμματικ(ῶσ) ἀναμετρήσαντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ | Σατύρο(υ), where it modifies the verb ἀναμετρήσαντι, and indicates that the village scribe who made the measurement and estimation of the land was literate and was not ἀγράμματος. This is certainly an unusual case, and one could, therefore, resolve the abbreviation as γραμματικ(όν), “fee charged for services rendered in preparing and completing documents for private citizens” (see S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. 236-237 and 451, n. 102) and this fee is recorded to be paid in the account.

## δευτέρωσ

It is interpreted as an adverb in a proverb attested in *O.Did.* 451, 4-5 (c. A.D. 175-210) τὸν ἀντίκερα (l. ἀντίχειρα) {ἐάν} ὅστι<ς> οὐκ ἐπίσταται, οὔτος | παρ’ ἡμῶν δευτέρος (l. δευτέρωσ?) οὐ μὴ λαθῆ. However, it is rather possible that this proverb refers to the thumb and the second finger.

## δημοσίωσ

It is restored in the last lines of a cession of land, *SB XXII 15326*, 21 (A.D. 222-235) δημοσι[ίωσ], which are preserved in a fragmentary condition, and the restoration is debatable. Probably a form of the noun δημοσίωσις or of the verb δημοσιώω (concerning the registration of the document) should be restored at this point of the document.

## διαγράφωσ

The adverb has been restored in two Byzantine accounts, *P.Lond.* IV 1457, 1 and 41 (A.D. 706-709) and *P.Lond.* IV 1435, 185 (A.D. 716), but the form is debatable, since it is not attested in the Greek literature.

## δυσάπιστως

The adverb has been restored (without further comment) by I. Bell in a petition to the strategus of the Thebaid, *P.Mert.* I 5, 15-18 (149-137 B.C.) βου|λόμενος ὁ Ἀθάμας μαθεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐξ[έτασιν δεδηλωμένα] | ἔγραψεν τῶι Τύχωνι ἀνενεγκεῖν ὁ καὶ δυσάπ[ίστως ἐκεῖνος ἀνι]|εῖς ὡς ἂν μὴ ὄντων κατ' αὐ[τῆ]ν τῶν ὀρίων, “Athamas, wishing to know the result of the inquiry, wrote to Tychin to make a report. He contumaciously neglected to do so, as if the boundary marks were not in position”. LSJ has an entry for the adjective, *s.v.* δυσάπιστος “very disobedient”, citing *AP* 12.179 (Strato). The reading seems certain (cf. απ in I. 30 ἀπονέμων), but, since this adverb is rare and probably later, one could also restore other adverbs which could give sense here, e.g. δυσάπ[ολογήτως “hard to defend or excuse” (see LSJ). *s.v.* δυσάπολόγητος).

## ἐλαφρῶς\*

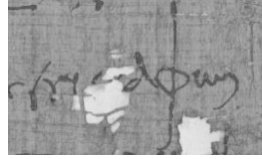
Two instances of this adverb in papyri, both in private letters, are debatable: First, *SB* X 10240, 5-9 (= *P.Oxy.* II 325; A.D. 41) ἐπ<ε>ὶ ὁ ἀδελφός σο[υ] με|τρί[ω]ς ἔχει καὶ κομῶς (*l.* κομψῶς) | ἔσχεν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παῦς (*l.* ποιῆς) | ἐλαφ<ρ>ῶς (*ed. princ.*; ἐδαφως M. Piccolo; see *BL* XII, on p. 202) πον[ . . . ] δι | σου παρακλ[ῶ]σε]. Piccolo’s note in *Aegyptus* 73, 2003, 207 is that the correct reading is ἐδαφως, but there is no interpretation for this word. In any case, the interpretation of ἐλαφῶς as ἐλαφ<ρ>ῶς is debatable, since the text before and after these letters is uncertain. The adverb ἐλαφρῶς is understood for the papyrus’ reading ἐλαφρός in *SB* X 10529a, 19-22 (I-II A.D.) οὔτως (*l.* οὔτω) ποίει | μὴ ἐλαφρός (*l.* ἐλαφρῶς), ἀλλὰ πάν|τα ἅ σου (*l.* σοι) ἐνετειλάμην | σὺ ποίει. This papyrus is a letter sent by a person named Asklas to his son Asklepiades. However, we should keep the adjective ἐλαφρός, which can be attributed to the subject of ποίει, that is σὺ, with the meaning “thus act without you being light-minded (or unsteady or fickle; see LSJ *s.v.* IIIa). In *P.Horak* 67, 5-6 (A.D. 14) καὶ μὴ ἐλαφρ[ᾶ ταῦ(?)]|τα ποιήσ<ε>ις, ἀλλὰ βαρέα the word is an adjective, which is attributed to garments.

## ἐμπιεσμένως

It is restored in *P.Lond.* IV 1349, 12 (A.D. 710), where Kurrah ben Sharik writes to Basileios, pagarches of Aphrodito, that something should be done ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰς τοῦτο ἐνδρανῶς καὶ ἐμπιε[σμένως], “struggling for it in an active way and by exerting pressure (on the matter)”. The adverb, as restored, is *addendum lexicis*; the editor of the papyrus, H.I. Bell, notes *ad loc.* that, although there is no evidence of such a participial adverb, the word is not a normal form in this sense that the reading is almost certain; cf. the verb ἐμπιέζω, usually found in the passive voice, with the meaning “I am pressed, squeezed”; see LSJ *s.v.* ἐμπιέζω, citing, Hippocrates *Gland.*13 and Plutarch *Plat. quaest.* 1005a; the noun ἐμπίεσμα, referred to by Bell, is a medical term, “depressed cranial fracture” (see LSJ *s.v.*). However, the reading is not certain (cf. Bell’s note that the fourth letter may be η, and Wilcken’s dots under the letters ι and ε). In the same correspondence the adverb ἐμπόνως appears (see *s.v.*, p. 117), but it is not certain if this can be read there after the certain ἐμπ.

ένσαφῶς

The reading in *BGU I 7*, 3-4 (A.D. 247) παραγγέλλεται πᾶσι τοῖς ένσαφῶς | ἐπιδοθεῖσί μοι ὑπὸ τῶν δεκαπρώτων is wrong. We should read ένγράφως (*l. έγγράφως*). The upper part of both γ and ρ are clear in the photograph.



(<http://berlpap.smb.museum/01016/>)

ἐξακινδύνως

In *P.Lond.* IV 1400, 8 (A.D. 710) the adverb has been restored as τῶν ἀγορ[ασάν]τω[ν] ἐ|ξᾶκινδύνως in the official letter sent by Kurrah ben Sharik to the pagarches Basileios. However, this adverb does not exist and the restoration ε|ξ before the probable ἀκινδύνως is debatable.

ἐξάφνω

The form ἐξάφνω is restored in a private letter from strategos Apollonios archive, *P.Giss.Apoll.* 8, 4-5 (= *P.Giss.* I 19) (A.D. 115) ἐξ|[ἀφ]νωσ ἐ|ξῆ|λθες ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, where it precedes and modifies the second aorist indicative ἐξῆλθες and its meaning is “of a sudden, suddenly”<sup>285</sup>. However, the form ἐξάφνω does not exist in the ancient Greek literature. One can find only the forms ἐξαίφνης (see LSJ *s.v.* ἐξαίφνης) or ἄφνω or later ἄφνωσ (see LSJ *s.v.*). In papyri the form ἐξαίφνης is found in many documents (either official or private) of the Ptolemaic-Byzantine periods, but it is interesting that in a number of documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods the spelling is ἐξέφνης: cf. *P.Giss.* I 86, 2 (A.D. 113-120) ὅτι ἐξέφνης ἀπέστ<ε>ιλας; *P.Flor.* II 175 (A.D. 253-256) ἐπεὶ ἐξ\αί/φνης (the form was corrected from the initial spelling εξεφνης) κατέαγεν; *SB VI* 9558, 10 (A.D. 325) ἐξ [ῶν π]ρὸ τούτου ἐξέφνης πέπονθα. On the other hand, the forms ἄφνω and ἄφνωσ are attested. Therefore, if we restore the form used at the end of l. 4 and the lost part of l. 5 of *P.Giss.* I 19 ἐξ|[ἀφ]νωσ, then this form is strange, although it seems that it was used in later Greek, if we judge from the note of Georgius Lacapenus *Ep.* 3η ἐξάφνω, οὔτε χρῆ λέγειν ἐξάφνω μετὰ προθέσεως, οὔτ' αὖ πάλιν αἴφνης δίχα προθέσεως. The space at the beginning of l. 5 could accommodate more than the two letters αφ proposed by the editor, probably 4-5 letters. I think that one could restore μεγάλησ [ἀγ]ωνιώσα περί σου διὰ τὰ ὄν|[τα τ]οῦ καιρ[ο]ῦ φημιζόμενα καὶ ὅτι ἐξ|[οῦ ἄφ]νωσ ἐ|ξῆ|λθες ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οὔτε πο|[τοῖς(?)] οὔτε [σε]ι|τίοις ἡδέως προσέρχομαι, |[ἀλλὰ συν]εχῶσ ἀγρυπνοῦσα νυκτὸς ἢ|[μέρας μ]ίαν μέριμναν ἔχω τὴν περὶ [τῆς σωτ]ηρίας σου; cf. e.g. *P.Bad.* II 34, 6-7 (I A.D.) ἐξ οὔ ἐγε|νόμην ἐν τῇ κώμῃ; *P.Mich.* VIII 502, 10 (II A.D.) ἐξ οὔ ἐπεξενώθη[ν]; *P.Ant.* II 95, 11 (VI A.D.) ἐξ οὔ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. In that case we have to assume that Aline told her husband that she was distressed concerning his health because of the events that she had heard. Then the sentence beginning with ὅτι is not causal but an object of another verb, e.g. καὶ <γίγνωσκε> ὅτι; cf. *P.Oxy.* LVI 3860, 45 (A.D. 376-400) καὶ γίγνωσκε ὅτι Μουκιανός etc.

<sup>285</sup> Clarysse 2017, 77 and n. 52, proposed to read the *addendum lexicis* ἐξ|[ἀπ]νωσ, but this proposal should be rejected.

ἐξομολογουμένως

This reading occurs in an official document (which is preserved in a fragmentary condition), *SB XII 11039*, 4 (IV-V A.D.) where the editor P.J. Sijpesteijn proposed the word division ] τα [ἐ]ξομολογουμένως. The reading is correct, but the adverb ἐξομολογουμένως does not exist. One could divide ] τα[ε]ξ ὁμολογουμένως, where ταεξ can be part of a number, e.g. πεντήκο]ντα [ε]ξ etc.



(<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv528recto.jpg>)

ἐπιμηνίως

The adverb is restored in an account, *O.Bodl.* II 1861, 9 [ἐπι]μηνίως πείνομεν (*l.* πίνομεν) κατὰ τὰς αἰορτὰς (*l.* ἑορτὰς) τῆς Ἰσιδος, but this restoration should be rejected because this adverb does not exist in Greek.

ἐτεῶς\*

*O.Narm.* 5 was edited by A. Menchetti and R. Pintaudi as ed. no 27 in *CE* 84 (2009), 205-207, and is dated after A.D. 188-189. For the text at the beginning of the ostracon in ll. 2-6 corrected as τοῦ πατρός | μου ἐν ἀκνί\α/ ὦ|ν, \ε/πεμψε τὸν ἀτ|ελφὸν Σωκωνῶ|πιν... see N. Litinas in *CE* 93, 2018, 209-210.

One of the most intriguing issues of this ostracon is the text found in ll. 8-11 ὁ δὲ \ὀ/ ἀτελ|φός (*l.* ἀδελ|φός) μου ἐτεῶς μᾶλλον ἠθέλησεν κατ' ἡμῶν γενέ|σθαι, “ma mio fratello in verità volle piuttosto mettersi contro di noi”, with the n. *ad loc.* that the adverb is equivalent to ἐτεόν. However, the adverb ἐτεόν is mostly used in poetry and is rare in the post-classical literature (mainly in grammars and commentaries); see LSJ *s.v.* ἐτεός. Therefore, this interpretation seems unlikely. An adverb such as ἀδεῶς, based on the usual mistake of the scribe concerning the confusions of τ and δ in this private letter and in ed. nos 28 and 29, is also unlikely. On the other hand, I tentatively propose εὐθέως for the reading ετεως, and translate “my brother, however, immediately, preferred coming against us”. However, in the ostraca nos 27-29, there is no spelling mistake of τ replacing θ, and of ε replacing ευ. The one in no 27, l. 10, κατ' ἡμῶν is not an exact parallel.

εὐπόρως\*

The adverb is interpreted as such for the reading εμπορος in a private letter sent by Apollonarius to Tasoucharion, *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 21-22 (A.D. 108) ὧδε γὰρ ἱμάτια καλὰ καὶ ἔβ[ε]νος καὶ | πινάρια καὶ μύρα ἀν[ά]γετα! [εὐ]πόρος, “for fine garments and ebony(?) and pearls and unguents are brought here in abundance(?)”, (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐπόρος IV 2; Spicq 1978, 328-329), but one could better understand the noun ὁ ἔμπορος, the merchant, as a subject of the main verb lost in the previous lacuna.

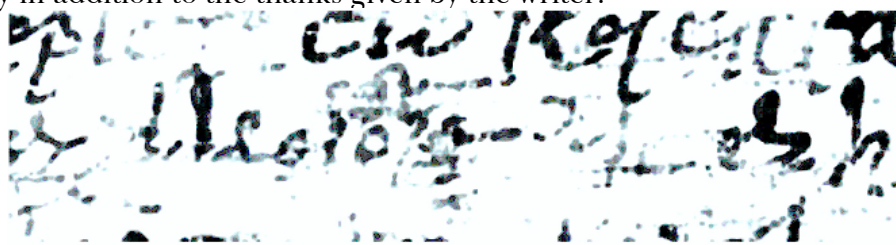


(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Mich.&vVol=8&vNum=465>)

H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, the editors of the papyrus, note *ad loc.* that “[εὐ]πόρος = εὐπόρως (see LSJ *s.v.* εὐπορος IV, 1 and 2). Although this reconstruction is not technically perfect, it is probably close to the original sense of the text. Compare 466, 36-37”. However, based on the text in *P.Mich.* VIII 466, 35-37 πέμψαι λίνα διὰ | Σεμπρωνίου· ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου γὰρ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔμποροι, the restoration “a merchant” ([ὁ ἔμ]πορος) in *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 22 is better than the adverb “[εὐ]πόρος = εὐπόρως, “in abundance”.

ἡκαίως

This reading was proposed by A. Hanafi, in the edition of a private letter from the Dioskoros archive, *SB XX* 14626, 26, dated to the second half of the sixth century A.D. (c. A.D. 589-590 or A.D. 573-574). The text in ll. 25-27 runs as follows: ὅπως ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν τοῦ/τω εὐχαριστήσω καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον ὁ θεσπέσιος ἄγγελος | τοῦ τόπο\υ/ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐρημιτῶν μοναζ(όντων) ἡκαίως/ ἀντεισάξη ὑμῖν κ(αὶ) τοῖς ὑμετέρ(οις) υἱοῖς | ἀφώρητα (*l.* ἀφόρητα?) ἀγαθὰ ἔπειτα δὲ ὅπως [ἂν] οἱ μοναχοὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὑμῶν ἐξείπωσι, “so that, in that case, I should be most grateful, even still more, the divine angel of the monastery and of the holy monks of the desert. It could, in any way, cause you and your sons unendurable things”, with the n. *ad loc.* “LSJ, *s.v.*, gives us ἡκαῖον which equals ἀσθενές (= weak) in meaning. The adverb ἀσθενῶς means “weakly”, so our adverb which is formed from ἡκαῖον means also “weakly or paltry”. If this interpretation is correct the adverb is new. We have a *hapax*”. However, the interpretation of the entire text as proposed (in verso 5n. of the *ed. princ.* in the *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, II, Athens, 1988, 104) “the alterations to the pure house of God are a good thing but it may cause troubles for the addressee and the other monks τοῖς ὑμετέρ(οις) υἱοῖς”, must be disregarded. If there is an adverb there, one should expect something positive, which will be provided by the angel (patron saint) of the monastery in addition to the thanks given by the writer.



([http://www.misha.fr/papyrus\\_bipab/pages\\_html/SB\\_XX\\_14626.html](http://www.misha.fr/papyrus_bipab/pages_html/SB_XX_14626.html))

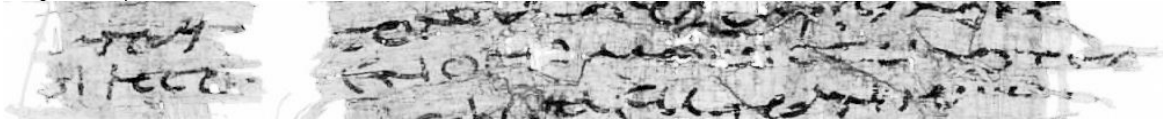
The reading ἡκαίως is not correct, since the first letter looks like ι, and it seems to have trema. I propose to read ικανῶς/, “sufficiently, adequately”. In addition, the meaning of the adjective ἀφώρητος is not “unendurable” (assuming that this form is a mistake instead of ἀφόρητος), but since the form ἀφώρητα itself is not attested in the Greek language, it might have been coined from the privative ἀ-, the stem of the adjective φώριος (“stolen”) and the ending -ητος. Therefore, the meaning of the adjective is “which cannot be stolen”, and the text runs ὁ θεσπέσιος ἄγγελος | τοῦ τόπο\υ/ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐρημιτῶν μοναζ(όντων) ικανῶς/ ἀντεισάξη ὑμῖν κ(αὶ) τοῖς ὑμετέρ(οις) υἱοῖς | ἀφώρητα ἀγαθὰ, ἔπειτα etc., “the divine angel of the monastery and of the holy monks of the desert will bring goods, which cannot be stolen, abundantly...”; cf. *P.Lond.* VI 1927, 40-44 (middle of IV A.D.) ὅτι ὡς ἰκα|νὸς τάχα σοι ὁ θ(εὸς) ἐχάρισεν | τὸν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν εὐρεῖ(ν) | ἀντίπαλον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν ἀποφα{σ}τικόν; see also, *P.Kellis* I 63, 28-30 (first half of IV A.D.) μόνος γὰρ ὁ δε|σπότης ἡμῶν | [ὁ] π[α]ρ[ά]κ[λη]τος λικανὸς/ ἐπαξίως ὑμᾶς εὐλογῆσα[ι] | κ[α]ὶ τ[ῶ] δέοντι καιρῶ ἀνταμείψα[σ]θαι.

## κοσμίως

It is restored in a contract, *P.Iand.* IV 62, 13-16 (VI A.D.) τρέφουσαι δὲ αὐτὴν κ[οσμίως καὶ] | ἀμφιάζεσθαι καὶ [ἰμ]ιτάζεσθ[αί] (*l.* ἰματίζεσθαι) | καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι με ἀποσπ[ῆ]ν | αὐτήν, but the restoration is tentative and debatable. Since the phrase τρέφειν καὶ ἰματίζειν is the usual formula, the use of two synonyms, ἀμφιάζεσθαι and ἰματίζεσθαι, seems peculiar. A restoration [κο]ιτάζεσθαι instead of [ἰμ]ιτάζεσθ[αί] is tentative, because the former is used for cattle and not for people in papyri. As far as κ[οσμίως] is concerned, I would propose that κ[ ] can be restored as κ[αί], which is followed by a word that might be constructed with ἀμφιάζεσθαι.

## νενομισμένως

It appears only once in the Greek literature, in Callistratus *Stat.* 6 ἐπεφύκει δὲ οὐ νενομισμένως ἢ θρίξ, with the meaning “the established manner” (see LSJ *s.v.*). In *P.Oxy.* XXII 2349, 36 (A.D. 70) ποιήσων [ν]ενομισμένως .ω τότε μ[ ], a receipt for the settlement of a rent, the adverb is read in a very fragmentary text, but the reading is far from certain (especially the letter ι cannot be read), and therefore, debatable.



(<http://163.1.169.40/gsd/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH902f.dir/POxy.v0022.n2349.a.01.hires.jpg>)

## όλοκλήρως\*

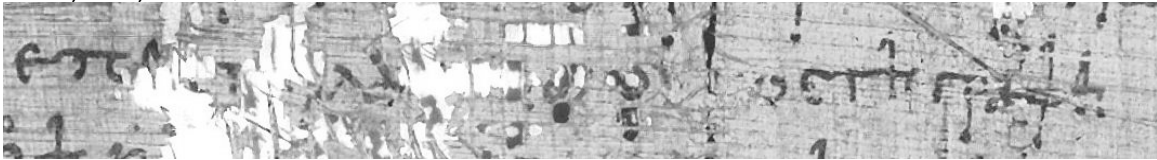
The adjective is rare in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.*, citing *Erot. s.v.* ἀπαρτί, *S.E.P.* 3.226, *Gal.* 16.68, *Hld.* 7.8. In the papyri, it is restored in the closing formula of a private letter, *P.Bas.* 16, 19-21 (first half of III A.D.) ἐρρῶσθαί | σε εὔχομαι ὀλοκλή|[ρω]ς ἐν κ(υρί)ω, but it seems that the participle (and not the adverb) should be restored, that is, ἐρρῶσθαί | σε εὔχομαι ὀλοκλη|[ροῦντ]α ἐν κ(υρί)ω (however, the proposal is not checked on original or photograph); cf. *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2788, 19-20 (III A.D.) ἐρρῶσθαί ὑμᾶς εὔχομαι | ὀλοκληροῦντας; *P.Oxy.* XII 1490, 11-12 (after A.D. 320) ἐρρῶσθαί σε ὀλοκλη[ροῦντα] [ε]ὔχομαι. Otherwise, the adjective can also be restored, but the phrase usually requires the verb ἀπολαμβάνω: cf. *P.Mich.* III 219, 2-3 (A.D. 297) πρὸ μὲν πάν[τ]ων εὔχομέ (*l.* εὔχομαί) σε ὀ[λ]όκλη|ρόν {σε} ἀπολα[β]εῖν παρὰ τῶ κυρίω θεῶ; *P.Laur.* II 40, 10 (III A.D.) εὔχομαι ὑμᾶς ὀλοκλήρους ἀπολαβεῖν.

## ὀλιγίστως

The adverb is restored in a mutilated part of a petition of the Byzantine period, *P.Flor.* III 295, 4 (A.D. 566-568) ἕως οὗ εὔρωμεν ἐμμέτρως καὶ ὀλι[γ]ί[σ]τ[ω]ς ζῆσαι, but the reading is debatable, especially since the certain form of the adverb (from the superlative of ὀλίγος) is not found in the Greek literature; see LSJ *s.v.* ὀλίγος VI 2.

## ὁμολόγως\*

The adverb occurs in a private letter with the meaning “agreeably to, in unison with” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὁμολογος II 1<sup>286</sup>), *PSI* VII 741, 3-7 (late III-IV A.D.) τὰ βιβλία μοι π[α]ρεξό[μισ]ε Ψό[ι]ς Ἀρποκρατίω|νος, ἐφ’ ἃ ἐπέστειλα, [ὁ]μολόγως τῇ γραφῇ, | καὶ ἐπιθήκα[ς] τ]αλλά[ν]των δεκαῆς καὶ | δραχμῶν τε[τρ]ακισχειλίων (l. τετρακισχιλίων)· ὅπερ ἀργύ|ριον μόλις εἰς τὰς ἐμά[ς] δαπάνας ἀρκέσει, but the reading, as can be seen in the photograph, is debatable. There is some additional space of one or two letters that has to be filled after ἐπέστειλα. The synonym συμφώνως cannot be read.



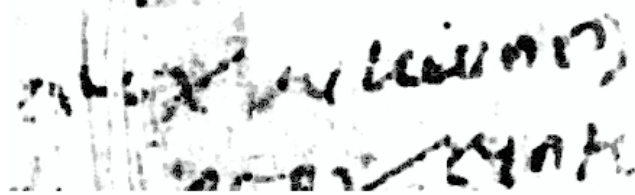
(<http://www.psi-online.it/documents/psi;7;741>)

## ὁμῶς

It means “equally, likewise, alike” (see LSJ *s.v.*), and it is found in a private letter, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Stras.* VIII 772, 31 (A.D. 197), and in a private letter *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67064, 16-17 (A.D. 538-547) οἱ γὰρ κατ’ αὐτ[ . . . ] | [οὐ]δενὰ πότε ποιοῦσιν εἰ μὴ μετὰ ζημ[ε]σίας. ὁμῶς ἤδη τὸ ἡμῶν ἐποιήσαμεν, where the details of the context are not clear. In both cases, however, one could understand the conjunction ὁμῶς (see LSJ *s.v.* ὁμῶς).

## ὄχλικῶς

The adverb occurs in a petition, which is preserved in a fragmentary condition, *P.Fouad* I 31, 2 (after A.D. 143-144) with the probable meaning “suited to the mob, popular” (see LSJ *s.v.* ὄχλικός). However, the reading is certainly not ὄχλικῶς, since both λ and ω are made differently in the same document.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Fouad&vVol=&vNum=31>)

## πιστεῶς

In the following property returns, the form πιστεως had been considered as an adverb: *P.Lond.* V 1647 (= *ChLA* III 209), 12-13 (A.D. 298) ἐξ ἀληθείας καὶ πιστεῶς τὴν ἀπο[γραφήν] | πεποιῆσθαι; *P.Flor.* I 32 b (= *ChLA* XXV 777 = *W.Chr.* 228 πιστ[ε]ῶς), 14-15 (A.D. 298) ἐξ ἀληθείας καὶ πιστε[ῶ]ς τὴν ἀπογραφήν πεποιῆσθαι. It should be considered as the noun πίστις. Correctly restored in *P.Flor.* I 31a, 13 ἐξ ἀληθείας καὶ πίστεως τὴν ἀπογραφή[ν] πεποιῆσθαι; see *WB* II *s.v.* πίστις (7).

<sup>286</sup> Cf. E. Tov, “Greek words and Hebrew meanings”, in: T. Muraoka (ed.), *Melbourne symposium on Septuagint lexicography*, Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1990, 83-125, esp. 97-110.

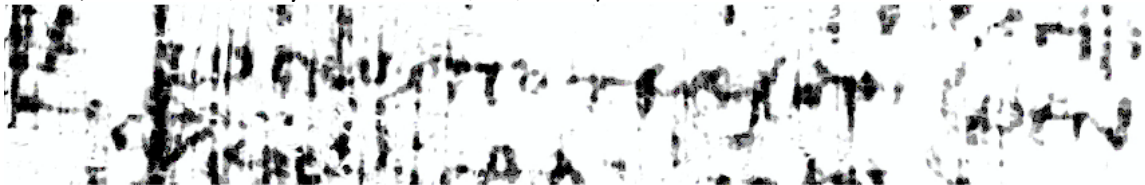


## πολλαστῶς

This adverb is *addendum lexicis*, and it is based on a restored text. It occurs only in a contract, *SB XX 14713*, 11-12 (VI-VII A.D.) ὁ μνημον|ευθεῖς εὐδοκιμώτ[α]τος κόμες εἰληφέναι καὶ παρειληφέναι τὴν πολλαστῶ[ς] [εἰρη]| [μένην ὀλόκληρον ο]ὔσιαν λεγομένην Μέσην ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πεδιάδι Συκαμίνου, with the editors' note in *ed. princ.* (P.J. Sijpesteijn and P.Th.J. de Wit, in *Tyche* 7, 1992, 58) “πολλαστῶ[ς] = πολλοστῶ[ς]. Dieses Wort erscheint hier zum ersten Mal in den Papyri und hat die Bedeutung πολλάκις; vgl: LSJ<sup>9</sup> s.v. πολλοστός. Vgl. für deli Wechsel ο > α F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar ... I*, Milano 1976, 287f., ebenso LSJ<sup>9</sup> πολλασταῖος; = πολλοσταῖος”. It might be better, however, if we restore πολλαστῶ [χρόνω “after a very long time”; see LSJ s.v. πολλοστός I 4 with references to Aristophanes *Pax* 559, Demosthenes 24.196, 57.18, Menander *Aspis* 329. The space at the end of the line seems to accommodate these letters.

## ποσῶς

The adverb ποσῶς is found in the Greek literature (see LSJ s.v. πόσος III), and it can be used as equivalent to πόσον (see LSJ s.v. πόσος I 5), “to what amount”. It is read in a private letter, *P.Fouad I 80*, 9-10 (IV A.D.) ἀκούσαντες γὰρ περὶ τῆς νίκης Εὐδαίμονο[ς] τοῦ μικροῦ | πωσῶς ποτε ἐχάρημεν, but although “the language is correct and reveals a high level of erudition” (see oxford-ipap.apis.1534), the kind of spelling mistake and the use of this adverb followed by ποτε is not good Greek. We can propose to read ἀκούσαντες γὰρ περὶ τῆς νίκης Εὐδαίμονο[ς] τοῦ μικροῦ | πῶς, ὡς ποτέ, ἐχάρημεν “after we heard about the success of the young Eudaimon, we had never been as glad before”. Moreover, as can be seen in the photograph, a reading ἀκούσαντες γὰρ περὶ τῆς νίκης Εὐδαίμονο[ς] τοῦ μικροῦ | [οὔ]τῶς ὡς ποτέ ἐχάρημεν, “after we heard about the success of the young Eudaimon, we had never been so glad”, is also possible; cf. Plot. *Ennead* 5.8.12 διὸ οὐκ ὀρθῶς, οἱ φθείρουσι τοῦ νοητοῦ μένοντος καὶ γεννῶσιν οὕτως, ὡς ποτέ βουλευσαμένου τοῦ ποιοῦντος ποιεῖν.



(<http://ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk/4DLink4/4DACTION/IPAPwebquery?vPub=P.Fouad&vVol=&vNum=80>)

## πρωινῶς

The adverb appears in *Suda* s.v. πρώϊμος, πρωϊνόν. καὶ πρωϊνῶς καὶ πρώϊον, and in a private letter, which is dated to the beginning of the third century A.D., *SB X 10724*, 14-18 εἰ οὖν βούλεσθαι (*l.* βούλεσθε) | τοῦ<το?> ποιεῖν [ύμ]{ε}ῖν, αὐτίκα διαπ[έμ]ψασθαι (*l.* διαπέμψασ|θε) τὰς παρ[ακειμ]έννας μετ' ἐπ[ε]ιστολῆς | ἵνα [π]ρῶ \πρω[ι]νῶς/ ύμᾶς ὑπηρετήσω, \ἡ/δη ἐγ[ώ] | διυπ[έ]χω ἑμαυτ[όν] μὴ ἀμελῆσαι [π]ως, “if you want (me?) to do that, you must send the available ..., together with a letter, in order that I may serve you early. I submit myself to you now at once, so as not to neglect anything”. However, as can be seen in the photograph (<http://ub-prod01-imgs.uio.no/OPES/jpg/1028v.jpg>), it is certain that \πρω[ι]νῶς/ cannot be read. The letter after πρ is closed, and we can read ο and not ω. The reading νω is not certain. One might read \προ[θ]ύμως/.

## σκολιῶς

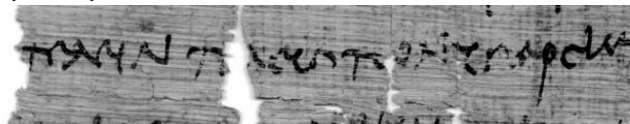
The abbreviated form σκολ( ) is resolved as the adverb σκολ(ιῶς) in a list, *SB XXVI* 16357, 19-20 (V-early VI A.D.) ἐξ (ῶν) ὠμοίως (*l.* ὁμοίως) | κουφίζ(ονται) σκολ(ιῶς) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτάβαι) τεθ. See H. Harrauer's note in *ed. princ.*: "in indirekter Weise, auf anderem Weg. Dieser Wortgebrauch ist für Papyri nicht nachzuweisen. Das Wort selbst ist bisher in Papyri nicht belegt, dies ergab auch die Recherche in der CD. Der Vorschlag zu dieser Auflösung und Auffassung des Wortes verdanke ich J. Diethart. Man kann für den Wortgebrauch nur auf Hesiod, *Erg.* 258. 262 (so in LSJ *s.v.*) verweisen". Alternatively, one could also think of the participle σκολ(άσας) = σχολ(άσας), with the meaning "having no other obligation", "I was set free from any other payment"; see LSJ *s.v.* σχολάζω II; *LBG s.v.* (and in the Medieval Greek literature, e.g. *Chronikon Moreae*, *Georgios Chortatzes* etc.).

## σοφῶς

The adverb has been restored in a private letter from the Zenon archive, *SB XX* 14621, 12-13 (263-229 B.C.), [αἰτ]ῶ μὲν σο[φῶς δηλοῦν] | [ἡμῖν πόσον τ]ι τέλ[ος ἐστίν]; cf. LSJ *s.v.* σοφός III "cleverly, wisely". However, the restoration is debatable; one might restore another word which starts with σο-, since the reading σα[φῶς] is not possible.

## ὑπερσκληρῶς

The letters ὑπερσκληρ were resolved in a petition (or report) to the Prefect, in *P.Rein.* I 47, 13 (II A.D.), as ὑπερσκληρῶς), with the meaning "with excessive severity". Then, this word appeared in LSJ *s.v.* ὑπερσκληρῶς. However, the text in ll. 13-14 runs as ]τελεῖν πλείστων ὑπὲρ σα|[φητοῦ?]. The letter at the end of the l. 13 can be read either as α (cf. α in l. 7 θρεμμα) or a narrow ε. Payments for hoeing or digging occur in documents from the Heroninus archive, e.g. in *P.Bingen* 111, 55, 80 (A.D. 250-252) and *P.Flor.* II 197, 4 (A.D. 258). In addition, the verb at the beginning of the l. 13 can be restored either as συν]τελεῖν or ἐπι]τελεῖν. As far as πλείστων is concerned, the first letter, which was read as π, seems to be τ followed by a letter that has a vertical (or ι?). The following letter can be α or λ, followed by εις or ευς and the certain των.



(<http://www.papyrologie.paris-sorbonne.fr/photos/1012049.jpg>)

INDEX OF DEBATABLE ATTESTATIONS AND CORRECTIONS  
(NIKOS LITINAS AND GEORGIOS TRIANTAFYLLOU)

**I. *Videant doctiores!* Index of debatable resolutions or restorations**

The editors did not justify in their commentary the reason for entering the adverb in the text. However, no certain alternative readings can be proposed in this book.

(Nikos Litinas)

- ἀγογγύστως in *SB XVIII* 13998, 2 (VI-VII A.D.).
- ἀδιακρίτως in *P.Oxy.* IV 715, 35 (A.D. 131); see my proposal on p. 33.
- ἀδιανοήτως in *SB I* 4798, 2 (first half of VII A.D.).
- ἀδιαστρόφως in *P.Gen.* IV 196, 2-3 (second half of VII A.D.).
- ἀδικῶς in *P.Athen.Xyla* 2, 3 (late VI-beginning of VII A.D.).
- ἄδολῶς in *P.Stras.* I 40, 31 (A.D. 569).
- ἄειμνήστως in *P.Sarap.* 101, 12 (A.D. 90-133); cf. my proposal on p. 39; Corrections below.
- ἄθύμως in *P.Ammon* I 3, vi 11-12 (A.D. 348).
- ἄκακουργήτως in *P.Oxy.Hels.* 20, 19 (A.D. 139).
- ἄκόσμως in *P.Mich.* VIII 478, 10-11 (early II A.D.).
- ἄκριβῶς in *P.Tebt.* III 762, 19-21 (end of III B.C.).
- ἄκρίτως in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67305, 26-27 (A.D. 568).
- ἄληθῶς in *P.Ryl.* II 108, 17 (A.D. 110-111); cf. my proposal on p. 53; see Corrections below.
- ἄληθῶς in *P.Med.* I 61, 2-3 (IV A.D.).
- ἄλλοτριῶς in *P.Tebt.* I 124, 45 (c. 118 B.C.).
- ἄμελῶς in *P.Flor.* I 61 (= *M.Chr.* 80), 11-12 (A.D. 85) and in *P.Flor.* III 384, 86-87 (A.D. 489).
- ἄμερίμνως in *P.Amh.* II 136, 20-22 (A.D. 196-198?) and in *P.Iand.* II 8, 10-12 (II-III A.D.); cf. also my proposal on p. 62; see Corrections below.
- ἀναφιλαύτως in *P.Harr.* I 141, 7-9 (II A.D.?); cf. my proposal in Appendix II, p. 279; Corrections below.
- ἀνίσως in *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2407, 27 (late III A.D.).
- ἀνόκνως in *P.Mich.* VIII 482, 5-6 (A.D. 133).
- ἄπανθρώπως in *SB V* 7600, 7-8 (A.D. 16); cf. my proposal on p. 77; Corrections below.
- ἀπαραβάτως in *O.Claud.* III 463, 9 (A.D. 139); cf. my proposal on p. 78; see also Corrections below.
- ἄπλῶς in *P.Lond.* VII 1941, 8-9 (257 B.C.); cf. my proposal on p. 81; Corrections below.
- ἄσμφόρως in *P.Bour.* 14, 20-21 (= *CPGr* I 28; A.D. 126); see p. 91.
- ἄφειδῶς in *SB VI* 9402 12-14 (VII A.D.).
- ἀφιλοτιμῶς or φιλοτιμῶς in *P.Petrie Kleon* 15, 16 (260 B.C.).
- ἄχρειῶς in *P.Fouad* I 25, ii 13 (II A.D.).
- The comparative βέλτιον in *P.Hamb.* I 37, 8-9 (II A.D.).
- The comparative βεβαιότερον in *P.Ryl.* IV 565, 6 (249 B.C.).
- δισσῶς in *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 29-31 (A.D. 108).

δυσχερῶς or εὐχερῶς in *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59768 (275-226 B.C.) and *W.Chr.* 461, 24 (A.D. 200-203).

εἰδικῶς/ἰδικῶς in *SB* I 4687, 5 (VI A.D.).

ἐκτελῶς in *BGU* IV 1116, 9-10 (13 B.C.).

ἐνωμότως in *P.Ant.* II 88, 7-8 (A.D. 221).

The comparative ἐπικλοπώτερον in *CPR* XV 7, 2 (A.D. 14).

ἐρρωμένως in *P.Abinn.* 12, 21 (middle of IV A.D.).

ἐτέρως in *P.Freib.* IV 68, 20 (II-III A.D.).

εὐθαιλέτας (= εὐθαιρέτως = αὐθαιρέτως?) in *BGU* XIII 2245, i 8-9 (A.D. 14-37).

The comparative εὐτονώ[ερον in *BGU* IV 1047, iii 15 (A.D. 131).

ἐχθρῶς in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279, 25 (A.D. 567); cf. my proposal on p. 163; Corrections below.

ἡδέως in *P.Giss.* I 47, 27-28 (A.D. 117).

ἡδέως in *P.Wisc.* II 71, 9-10 (II A.D.); cf. my proposal on p. 165; Corrections below.

ἡρέμως in *P.Diog.* 48, fr. D+E, 6 (II-III A.D.).

ἰδίως(?) in *O.Claud.* IV 722, 36 (c. A.D. 136-137), *P.Turku* 22, 7 (middle of II B.C.) and *P.Tebt.* III 703, 263 (c. 210 B.C.).

κακοτρόπως in *P.Bublin* 18, 11 (A.D. 257-259?).

κομφῶς in *BGU* IV 1205, 5-6 (28 B.C.).

ληστρικῶς in *BGU* VIII 1832, 10 (51 B.C.).

μηδαμῶς in *P.Bagnall* 44, 10-11 (VI-VII A.D.).

μηνιαίως in *P.Gen.* IV 171, 10 (first half of IV A.D.); cf. my proposal on p. 191.

The comparative οἰκειότερον in *P.Col.* IV 112, 4 (275-226 B.C.).

ὀλιγώρως in *P.Apoll.* 13, 7 (A.D. 676?).

ὀλομερῶς in *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 6, 27 (A.D. 710).

πανκάκως in *P.Mich.* VIII 501, 3 (II A.D.); cf. my proposal on p. 203; Corrections below.

παντελῶς in *P.Mich.* VIII 477, 41 (first quarter of II A.D.); cf. my proposal on p. 204; see Corrections below.

παρανόμως in *SB* III 7261, 5 (III-beginning of IV A.D.) and *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4435, 8 (first quarter of III A.D.).

πλήρως in *P.Coll.Youtie* I 17, 16 (37 B.C.); cf. my proposal on p. 215; Corrections below.

σωφρόνως in *SB* XVI 12425, 8 (beginning of VII A.D.); cf. my proposal on p. 241.

συννόμως in *P.Kellis* I 22, 4 (A.D. 324); cf. my proposal on p. 238.

ὕβριστικῶς in *P.Mich.* IX 529, 51 (after A.D. 237).

ὕποστατικῶς in *P.Lond.* VII 2188, 295 (148 B.C.).

φιλανθρώπως in *P.Lond.* VII 2067, 4 (c. 246-240 B.C.).

(Georgios Triantafyllou)

ἐκπροθέσμως in *P.Amh.* II 148, 11 (A.D. 487).

ἐνδελεχῶς in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67019, 27 (A.D. 548-549).

εὐθέως in *P.Lond.* III 897, 25-26 (A.D. 84).

εὐτάκτως in *P.Vars.* 9, 10 (A.D. 160).

ὀκνηρῶς in *P.Lond.* VII 2090, 6 (middle III B.C.).

ὠκαίως in *O.Medin.Madi* 31, 1-3 (III A.D.).

## II. Index of corrections

(Nikos Litinas)

- M.Chr.* 144, 20 ἀραβι[κῶς] → ἀραβι[στί]; see p. 279.
- O.Ber.* II 195, 2-6 ἔκομι|σάμην σου ὄστρακον ἄδιο|τακτί, περὶ τῶν αἰλούρων etc. → ἔκομι|σάμην σου ὄστρακον. ἄδιο|τακτί περὶ τῶν αἰλούρων etc. see p. 271.
- O.Bodl.* II 1861, 9 [ἐπι]μ[ηνί]ως should be rejected. The adverb does not exist in Greek; see p. 283.
- O.Claud.* III 463, 9 ἀπαραβάτω[ς]; probably we should restore the adjective and not the adverb; see p. 78.
- O.Did.* 451, 5 δευτέρως (*l.* δευτέρως?). Does it refer to the second finger(?); see p. 280.
- O.Narm.* I 70, 7-8 ἀφατο|ς (*l.* ἄφατο|ν or ἀφάτω|ς) → ἄφατο|ς; see p. 98.
- O.Narm.* 5, 10 (edited by A. Menchetti and R. Pintaudi as ed. no 27 in *CE* 84 (2009), 205-207) ἔτεῶς → *l.* εὐθέως(?); see p. 283.
- BGU* I 7, 3 ἔνσαφῶς → ἐνγράφως (*l.* ἐγγράφως); see p. 282.
- BGU* II 432, i 4-5. Read the noun τόλμη, probably in the dative, or it can be restored either as verb τολμή|σαντες or *sim.* or the adverb, τολμη|ρῶς; see p. 254.
- BGU* II 432, ii 1-2 [ἀ]ψευδῶς (*BL* VIII, p. 27 : . . .]ευδῶς *ed. princ.*). The letter ψ cannot be read before ευ; see p. 101.
- BGU* II 450, 27 πανοικ(ία) → πανοικ(εῖ); see p. 274.
- BGU* III 846, 14 ἀκαίριως (read by Schubart; ἀκαίριως *ed. princ.*) → ἀκερέως (*l.* ἀκεραίως); see p. 48.
- BGU* III 923, 18 καὶ δήλωσόν μοι [ἐ]ν τάχει· ἀναγκαίως ἔκο|μισάμην it is uncertain whether a stop should be placed before or after ἀναγκαίως; see p. 64.
- BGU* IV 1205, 5 [ . ]ατυ|[ . ]ς → [Π]ατύ|[νεω]ς (?); see p. 184.
- BGU* V 1210, 23 ἀδιαθέτω[ν] *ed. princ.*; ἀδιαθέτως read by M. Vandoni (see *BL* VII, p. 19) → ἀδιαθέτων; see p. 32.
- BGU* VIII 1876, 9 ἀπαραποδίστος (*l.* ἀπαραποδίστως) → adjective ἀπαραπόδιστος; see p. 79.
- BGU* XV 2467, 13 [ἀ]ψευδῶς πρὸς ἀ|ναχώρησιν. Since it is based on the reading in *BGU* II 432, ii 1-2, where it is debatable, the restoration should be rejected; see p. 101.
- BGU* XVI 2608, 6-7 {ε}ῖσθι δὲ πεπονεκῶς (*l.* πεπονηκῶς) τὴν κρ{ε}ιθὴν | θυμικῶς. {ε}ῖσθι is the imperative of οἶδα and the participle πεπονεκῶς (*l.* πεπονηκῶς) is a participle in indirect discourse. We should translate “know that I have worked hard turning myself inside out for the barley”; see p. 171.
- BGU* XVI 2619, 6 ἀπράκτεως; the reading is debatable, since not even ἀπράκτως can be read there. It seems that after απρ the letter is ϕ followed by θ, but ἀπροϕθῦμως cannot be read; see p. 279.
- BGU* XVI 2629, 22 παχομερῶς → παχυμερῶς; printing error in *ed. princ.*; see p. 211; already corrected in DDBDP.
- CPR* XVIIIA 19, 20 μοναχῶς ἐξεδόμην → μοναχό[ν] ἐξεδόμην; see p. 193.
- CPR* XXIII 9, 11 μοναχ(ῶς) → μοναχ(όν)(?); see p. 193.
- P.Adl.* 3, 16 ἀδι(αιρέτως) → ἀδι(αίρετος); see p. 33.
- P.Adl.* 18, 5 ἀδι(αιρέτως) → ἀδι(αιρέτον); see p. 33.
- P.Adl.* 21, 6 ἀδιαιρέτ[ω]ς → ἀδιαίρετ[ο]ς; see p. 33.

*P.Bas.* 16, 19-21 ἐρρῶσθαί | σε εὔχομαι ὀλοκλή|[ρω]ς ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ, → ἐρρῶσθαί | σε εὔχομαι ὀλοκλή|[ροῦντ]α ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ (?); see p. 285.

*P.Bastianini* 22, 10-14 οὐ ἔχει τι μετέωρον πρὸς αὐτήν. | τοῦτο ἐγβιβασθῆ τὸ ἰέρωμα· | αὐτῆς ἐρχομένη[ς] ἐνεγκάτω | καθαρίως μέντοι ...iv καὶ τὰ | ἰμάτια τὰ πορφυρᾶ → εἰ ἔχει τι μετέωρον πρὸς αὐτήν, | τοῦτο ἐγβιβασθῆ. τὸ ἰέρωμα | αὐτῆς ἐρχόμενο[ς] ἐνεγκάτω. | καθαρίως μέν σοι [...] . . . καὶ τὰ | ἰμάτια τὰ πορφυρᾶ; see p. 175.

*P.Berl.Cohen* 15, 11-12 ἐπιμελέστ[ατα → ἐπιμελέστ[ερον(?); see p. 128.

*P.Bour.* 14, 21 (= *CPGr* I 28) ἀσυμφόρως → ἀσύμφορον(?); see p. 91.

*P.Brem.* 8, 1-2 φι|[λανθρώπως] → φι|[λοπόνως]; see p. 259.

*P.Brem.* 9, 3 [παν]οικὶ μ[ἐν] |[-] is debatable; see p. 274.

*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005, 19 ἡμέριον (instead of ἡμέρον; *l.* ἡμέραν *ed. princ.*); see p. 29.

*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67064, 17 ὁμῶς → ὄμως; see p. 286.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279, 25 καὶ ἐχ[θρῶς] (*BL* XIII, on p. 56) → καὶ ἐλ[ (?); see p. 163.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 7 με[τρ]ίως → μετρίως; see p. 191.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, 14 καὶ ἡμεῖς εὔρωμεν εὐκόλως βιῶναι [καὶ ἡσύχως ἐ]ργάζεσθαι → καὶ ἡμεῖς εὔρωμεν ἡσύχως βιῶναι [καὶ εὐκόλως ἐ]ργάζεσθαι; see p. 170.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67295, iii 31 ἀφρόντιστος is not the adverb but the adjective ἀφρόντιστος; see p. 280.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312, 108 κληρονό[μων ἀ]δι[α]νε[μήτω]ς [νο]μίματα; the adverb should be rejected. Read instead ἀ[δι]α[νε]μήτω[ς](?); see p. 277.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67313, 3 καταλείψ[αι ἀ]δι[α]νε[μήτω]ς τήν] πᾶσαν αὐτῶν π[εριο]σίαν]; the adverb should be rejected; see p. 277.

*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67314, 5 ἔξιν [ἀ]δι[α]νε[μήτω]ς(?); the adverb should be rejected; see p. 277.

*P.Cair.Zen.* II 59196, 7 (254 B.C.) [-- ποιήσομεν(?)] γ[άρ] σοι εὐχαρίστω; the modified verb is not certain; see p. 161.

*P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387, 6 ἀρχαίως → ἀρχαίως; see p. 279.

*P.Col.* III 6, 1-2 ἀκούσασα ἠνωχλήσθαι μου τ[ὸ] παι[δ]άριον καὶ σφοδρότερον, παρεγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἤθελον ἐντυχεῖν σοι, “since I heard that my boy had been mistreated and rather badly, I came to you and after arriving I wanted to petition you about these matters” (*ed. princ.*), → ἀκούσασα ἠνωχλήσθαι μου τ[ὸ] παι[δ]άριον, καὶ σφοδρότερον παρεγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἤθελον ἐντυχεῖν σοι, “since I heard that my boy had been mistreated, with great feeling both I came to you very and after arriving I wanted to petition you about these matters”; see p. 240.

*P.Col.* III 6, 4 (257 B.C.) presents a controversial text for which see about various proposals in *P.L.Bat.* XXIA, on p. 122. The proposed text καὶ εὔρο αὐτὸν καὶ μάλα γελοίως δ[ι]ακείμενον (see *BL* III, on p. 42; cf. M. David and B.A. van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Leyden 1965, no. 74) seems to give sense in the certain context; see p. 277.

*P.Col.* III 17, 1: the infinitive ἀ[πο]στεῖλαι could be restored at the end of the line; see p. 87.

*P.Col.* III 17, 2 ἀρεστῶ[ς] → ἀρεστῶν[ ]; see p. 87.

*P.Col.* IV 115 b, 5 ἀρεστῶ[ς] → ἀρεστά[ ]; see p. 87.

*P.Col.* XI 302, 2-3 (VI A.D.) συνήθως τύννυ (*l.* τοίνυ) εὐδοκιμοῦσα ἢ σὴ μεγαλοπρέ[πεια] εἰδυῖα | τήν δύναμιν τοῦ προστάγματος κελεύση τοῦτον ὑπομνησθῆναι, “therefore, will your

Magnificence, with your customary grace(?), knowing the force of the decree, order that he be reminded”. However, it is better to understand it as modifying the subjunctive *κελεύση*, and to translate “as it is usual, order” ; see p. 237.

*P.Coll.Youtie* I 17, 16-17 [έ]σηι πλήρω[ς] κεχαρισ|[μέν]ος, the reading [έ]σηι πλήρω[ς] is debatable. The letters *ση* cannot be read at the beginning of the line, and there is no space for the *σ* of *ω[ς]* before *κεχαρισ|[μέν]ος*. Moreover, a dative *μοι* or *ήμῖν* is expected before *κεχαρισμένος*; see p. 215.

*P.Erl.* 17, 5 ἀθέσμο[ς] → ἀθέσμο[ις]; see p. 278.

*P.Fam.Tebt.* 28, 19 ὄντως → *l.* ὄντων; see p. 199.

*P.Fay.* 344 recto 13 (= *P.Cair. inv.* 10862; see W.G. Claytor, in *BASP* 50, 2013, 87-111) ἀκολάστως → ἀσκολάστως = ἀσχολάστως = ἀσχόλω; see p. 278.

*P.Flor.* I 32 b (= *ChLA* XXV 777 = *W.Chr.* 228), 14-15 πιστε|ῶς (*l.* πιστ{ε}ῶς) → πιστε|ω; see p. 286.

*P.Flor.* I 61, 12 (= *M.Chr.* 80), ἀμελῶ[ς] ἔχω → ἀμελῶ ; see p. 60.

*P.Flor.* III 295, 4 ὀλι[γ]ί[σ]τ[ι]ως. The adverb is restored in a mutilated part of the papyrus, but the reading is debatable, especially since the certain form of the adverb (from the superlative of ὀλίγος) is not found in the Greek literature; see p. 285.

*P.Flor.* III 384, 87 [ἦ ἀμε]λῶς ἀνα[στ]ραφ[ῆ]ναι → restore παντε|λῶς, or ὀ|λω; see p. 60.

*P.Fouad* I 31, 2 The reading is certainly not ὀχλικῶς, since both *λ* and *ω* are made differently in the same document; see p. 286.

*P.Fouad* I 80, 10 (IV A.D.) πωσῶς ποτε ἐχάρημεν → πῶς, ὡς ποτέ, ἐχάρημεν or [οὔ]τως ὡς ποτέ ἐχάρημεν; see p. 287.

*P.Fouad* I 81, verso 1 σαφῶς. The vertical of *φ* cannot be seen with certainty in the photograph; see p. 228.

*P.Gascou* 47, 3 εὐρ]ωστείας, ἧς μοι μέλει ἀναγκαίως. ἐξέ[ρ]χομαι δὲ . . . [ . . ] → εὐρ]ωστείας, ἧς μοι μέλει. ἀναγκαίως ἐξέ[ρ]χομαι δε . . . [ . . ]; see p. 63.

*P.Genova* IV 136, 8 καὶ οὐθ' οὕτως ακριτιωι. Read a pronoun ἀκριτὶ ᾧ (see n. *ad loc.*), or a subjunctive ἀκριτὶ ᾧ; see p. 271.

*P.Genova* IV 137: rather official letter than petition; see p. 56.

*P.Gen.* IV 171, 10 μην]αίως τούτου ἀρκουμένου →]αι (κ)αί(?) ὡς τούτου ἀρκουμένου; see p. 191.

*P.Gen.* IV 171, 14-16 τῷ τε | [πρὸς σὲ μὴ ἔτο]ίμως ἀπηνηκότι, εἰ οὖν ζητεῖ τούτους, | [ἐνοχλῆσαι; however, the restoration is debatable, and one could also restore other adverbs here, e.g. ὀψ]ίμως, φιλοτ]ίμως etc.; see p. 133.

*P.Giss.Univ.* III 32, 7. The reading πῶς ἀνεδύετο is debatable; see p. 238.

*P.Giss.Apoll.* 2, 6 (= *P.Giss.* I 22) νῦν ᾗτως. The reading is debatable; see p. 198.

*P.Giss.Apoll.* 8, 4-5 (= *P.Giss.* I 19) ἐξ|[άφ]νωσ ἐ[ξῆ]λθεσ → ἐξ|[οὔ] ἄφ]νωσ ἐ[ξῆ]λθεσ; see p. 282.

*P.Giss.Apoll.* 8, 14-15 (= *P.Giss.* I 19) παρακ]αλῶ σε οὖν ἀσφαλῶς σεαυτὸν | [φύλαττε]. One could also restore other verbs in the lacuna, e.g. ἔχε etc., since the adverb ἀσφαλῶς does not modify the verb φυλάττω (ἐμαυτὸν) in other examples; see p. 93.

*P.Giss.Apoll.* 25, 8-11 ἀν]αγκαίως σε[---] | λω, φίλτα[τε → ἀν]αγκαίως σο[ι ἐπιστέλ] | λω, φίλτα[τε(?); see p. 63.

*P.Got.* 28, 1 [---] μ . . . ον ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης συνήθως σὺ γὰρ ο τη . . . [---] | [---] τῆς ἐμῆς εὐτελείας → Ἔμαθον ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης συνήθως συγκροτήσας; see p. 237.

*P.Hamb.* IV 254, 4-5 πα|νοικε(σία) → πα|νοικε(ι); see p. 273.

*P.Harr.* I 141, 8 ἀναφιλαύτως (*l.* ἀφιλαύτως) → ἀναφιλιάντως (as can be seen in the photograph); see p. 279.

*P.Herm.* 6, 23 κατελθ]εῖν. The restoration is debatable; we could also restore other verbs instead of κατελθ]εῖν; see p. 255.

*P.Iand.* II 8, 10-12 ἀμερίμνω[ς] → ἀμεριμνῶ(?) cf. also the proposal of the personal name Ἀμερίμνου(?) in an anonymous marginal note from Michigan (via PN); see p. 62.

*P.Iand.* II 18, 2. The restoration of οὐδαμῶς is debatable; see p. 202.

*P.Iand.* II 20, 9 βλέπε οὖν μὴ [ἄλλως ποιήσης, the restoration is debatable; see A. Papathomas in *P.Heid.* VII 393, p. 48, n. 24; see p. 58.

*P.Iand.* IV 62, 13-14 τρέφεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κ[οσμίως καὶ] | ἀμφιάζεσθαι καὶ [ἰμ]ιτάζεσθ[αι] (*l.* ἰματίζεσθαι). The restoration is tentative and debatable. I propose that κ[ stands for κ[αὶ followed by a word that might be constructed with ἀμφιάζεσθαι; see p. 285.

*P.IFAO* II 18, 7 χωρῖν, read by G. Wagner, should be read as χάριν, which was actually read by B. Boyaval in *ed. princ.* in *ZPE* 6, 1970, 30-31; see p. 64.

*P.Kellis* I 22, 4 συννόμω[ς] → συννόμω [(?); see p. 238.

*P.Kellis* I 65, 3-6 θαυμά[ζ]ω πῶς οὐκ ἔγρα|ψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ | οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς. ἔγραψά σοι | πρὸ τούτου ὅτι etc. → θαυμά[ζ]ω πῶς οὐκ ἔγρα|ψάς μοι μίαν ἐπιστολὴν περὶ | οὐδενός, and a new clause starts with ἀπλῶς ἔγραψά σοι | πρὸ τούτου ὅτι etc.; see p. 81.

*P.Kellis* I 66, 11-12 καὶ περὶ] | ὧν θέλεις κέλευέ μοι ἠ[δέως ἔχοντι] or, alternatively, we could also restore ἠ[δέως ποιοῦντι]; see p. 166.

*P.Köln* IX 370, 4 βραχει pap.; <έν> βραχεῖ *ed. princ.* → alternatively read βραχύ; see p. 104.

*P.Kron.* 38, 15-16 ἀπαρανοχλήτως should be regularized as ἀπαρενοχλήτως; see p. 79.

*P.Laur.* IV 187, 7 ὀλ[ιγ]ῶς → ὀλ[ω]ς [?]ῶς; see p. 196.

*P.Lond.* III 1244, 5 προτ[οτ]ύπως (*l.* πρωτοτύπως) constructed with the next clause μετὰ τὸν θεὸν ἄλλον etc.(?); see p. 224.

*P.Lond.* IV 1349, 12 ἐμπι[σ]μένως] → ἐμπό[ν]ως(?); see p. 281.

*P.Lond.* IV 1400, 8 ἐ]ξακινδύνως. The restoration ε]ξ before the probable adverb ἀκινδύνως is debatable; p. 282.

*P.Lond.* IV 1435, 185 the restoration διαγράφως is debatable, since it is not attested in the Greek literature; see p. 280.

*P.Lond.* IV 1457, 1 and 41 the restoration διαγράφως is debatable, since it is not attested in the Greek literature; see p. 280.

*P.Lond.* V 1647 (= *ChLA* III 209), 12 πιστεῶς (*l.* πιστ[ε]ῶς) → πίστεως; see p. 286.

*P.Lond.* V 1795, 9 ὡς λαθα [κομισάμενός τινα, the reading λαθα has been explained as λάθ<ρ>α, but this interpretation is debatable; see p. 185.

*P.Lond.* VII 1941, 8 ἀπλῶς does not occur in private letters of the Ptolemaic period, therefore the restoration in l. 8 should be rejected; see p. 81.

*P.Lond.* VII 2045, 5 ψευδη has been interpreted as the adverb ψευδῶς, but it seems that it is the dative of the adjective ψευδής, “I swear by your fortune and the fortune of



the king that I have been arrested (or/and, carried off to prison?) with false charges”, i.e. the form ψευδη stands for ψευδῆ κατηγορία/αἰτία etc.; see p. 262.

*P.Lond.* VII 2067, 2 εἰς . . . (my proposal ἐν) τῶν καταπλεόντων πλοῦτων → εἰς ἐν τῶν καταπλεόντων πλοῦτων(?); see p. 258.

*P.Med.* I 83, 8 the restoration of the adverb οὐδαμῶς is debatable; see p. 202.

*P.Mert.* I 5, 17 δυσαπ[ίστως → δυσαπ[ολογήτως or another adverb might be restored here; see p. 281.

*P.Mert.* I 12, 3-6 κομισάμενός σου ἐπι[στολ(ήν)] | οὕτως περιχαρῆς ἐγενόμην ὡς εἰ | ὄντως ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐγεγόνειν, ἄ[νευ] | γὰρ ταύτης οὐθέν ἐστιν. The phrase ὡς εἰ (or even ὡσεὶ) ὄντως does not occur in Greek, but restorations, such as ὡς καὶ ὄντως or ὡς δὲ ὄντως might be possible; see p. 198.

*P.Mert.* I 12, 17-20. The translation of *ed. princ.* “please tell me of a strong caustic which can safely be used to cauterize the soles (of the feet)” → “please tell me of a strong caustic which can be used to cauterize the soles (of the feet) safely”; see p. 49.

*P.Mich.* VIII 465, 22 [εὐ]πόρος → [ὁ ἔμ]πορος; see p. 283.

*P.Mich.* VIII 465, 31 ὑπ[ερέχ<ε>ις. The letters ερ cannot be read, and it seems that instead of ρ we should read ι, while the letter before it forms a kind of ligature with this ι, e.g. ει or τι; see p. 111.

*P.Mich.* VIII 474, 9-10 καὶ ἄλλως καὶ σο|[βαρῶς(?)] ἢ πλήμυρα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ → καὶ ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ σο[ι]| [e.g. ἔγραψα (or εἶπον, ἔπεμψα etc.) ἢ πλήμυρα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ; see p. 230.

*P.Mich.* VIII 477, 37-38 (II A.D.), ὁ γὰρ | κάμ[ατο]ς ἄρτι ἀ[γέλοι]ός ἐστιν → ὁ γὰρ | κα [ . . . ]ς ἄρτι α[ . . . ]ός ἐστιν; see p. 277.

*P.Mich.* VIII 477, 41 [π]αντ[ε]λ[ῶς καὶ] → [π]αντῆ [πάντως](?); see p. 204.

*P.Mich.* VIII 501, 3 πανκάκως οἱ πᾶν κακῶς(?); see p. 203.

*P.Mich.* XV 752, 21-22 πε|[ρισσ]ῶ[ς] → πε|[ρι] τοῦτ[ω]ν[?]; see p. 213.

*P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 256, 21-22 τὸν φαινόλην αἴριον (*l.* ἐρεοῦν) πάντως | ἀνελ[θ]ε πρὸς ἐμέ → τὸν φαινόλην. αἴριον πάντως | ἀνελ[θ]ε πρὸς ἐμέ; see p. 63.

*P.Mil.Vogl.* VI 300, 10-11 --- | οὖν ἄλλως [---] → μή | οὖν ἄλλως [ποιήσης?]; see p. 57.

*P.Nag.Hamm.* 79, 7-8 [---] ὅτι χρεῖαν ἔχ[---] | [---] τῆ δέως ποι[---] (*l.* τῆδεως *ed. princ.*), at the end the form ποι must be restored with a form of ποιῶ; see p. 167.

*P.Oslo* II 47, 3-12 By changing the regularisation of the wrong spellings and by replacing some stops, the text might be read as: ὡς ἐμνήσθης μοι περὶ ὦψα|ρίου (*l.* ὦψα|ρίου) ἀγορά|σαι (*l.* ἀγοράσαι), ἔδω\κα/ φίλω μου ἀγορά|σαι (*l.* ἀγοράσαι) δραχμῆς χοίρους ξ. ἔδ\δ/ωκ\κ/εν | τῷ παρὰ σοῦ. καὶ τὸς δὲ ἠγώρασεν (*l.* ἠγόρασεν) | δραχμῆς χοίρους λ. καὶ σφυρί|δαν αὐτῷ δέδωκα. ὄρα μή {σε} | παραλογεῖσεται (*l.* παραλογίσηται) σε, ὡς κοινῶς | ἠγορακεῖναι παραλελόγισται. αὐ|τὸς ἀγοράζων (*l.* ἀγοράζων) οὐκ ἔλαβεν εἰ μὴ | χοίρους λ, σοὶ δὲ ξ; see p. 182.

*P.Oslo* III 88, 5-7 ὁ ἀ[π]ερχόμε[νος] [ . . . ] | ἀπετίτω (*l.* ἀπαιτεῖτω) τὸν παλεὸν (*l.* παλαιὸν) οἶνον πρωτοτύπως. καὶ πολλάκις συ (*l.* σοι) ἔγραψα → πρωτοτύπως | καὶ πολλάκις συ (*l.* σοι) ἔγραψα περὶ τῆς ἀπετήσε|ως (*l.* ἀπαιτήσε|ως) τῆς ἐχθέσεως, εἰ προεχώρησεν ἢ οὐ: A full stop should be put before πρωτοτύπως, and not after as in *ed. princ.*), pp. 54 and 224.

*P.Oxy.* I 34, 15 [ἐτέ]ρως → [διαφ]έρως(?); see p. 132.

*P.Oxy.* II 237 vii 23 μεταπαθῶς → μετριπαθῶς; see p. 189.

*P.Oxy.* VI 963 (II-III A.D.) φιλ[τάτη μητερ, σ]πουδάζουσα (*ed. princ.*) → φιλ[οτίμως (?)] (οἱ φιλ[τάτη (?)] σ]πουδάζουσα (*BL XI*, p. 146) → φιλ[οπόνως(?)] σ]πουδάζουσα (*Litinas*); see p. 259.

*P.Oxy.* VIII 1153, 18 ιδιωτικ(ῶς) → ιδιωτικ(ήν)(?); see p. 172.

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1675, 6, which is dated to the third century A.D., but the handwriting should be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (as can be seen in the photograph; correction submitted to papyri.info); see p. 124.

*P.Oxy.* XVI 1870, 9 [κατὰ τ]άχος → [τὸ τ]άχος(?); see p. 252.

*P.Oxy.* XXII 2349, 36 [ν]ενομισμένως; the reading is far for certain (especially the letter ι cannot be read), and therefore, debatable; see p. 285.

*P.Oxy.* XXIV 2418, 4-6 καὶ ἐγ]κρατεῖς γενό|[μενοι τῶν πραγμ]άτων, ἀπραγμόνως οὐ βούλονται το[ῦ] μέρου[ς μου τῆς μ]ητρῶας περιουσίας [ἀποστῆναι(?)]: the comma should be placed after the adverb, because it seems that it modifies the previous participle γενόμενοι; see p. 83.

*P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2783, 13-15. Instead of the meaning “just” (see *BL XIII*, on p. 159), one could also consider the meaning “completely” for ἀπαρτί (see *LSJ s.v.* ἀπαρτί I) and translate “because if you know precisely my opinion...”; see p. 272.

*P.Oxy.* XLI 2996. Dated to the second century A.D. → Dated to the early third century; see p. 209.

*P.Oxy.* XLIII 3113, 13 ]στοργότερον → ἀ]στοργότερον(?); see p. 91.

*P.Oxy.* XLVII 3356, 13 καὶ ὅτι → κἄν τι; see p. 229.

*P.Oxy.* LXVI 4530, 30 ἐργατικῶς to be translated “as a worker”(?); see p. 130.

*P.Panop.Beatty* 2, 124 ἐνδεεστέρον. The regularization in *ed. princ.* ἐνδεεστέραν is not necessary, since the form here is an adverb; see p. 120.

*P.Petrie Kleon* 42, 11 ρα[ιδιον → ρα[ιδίως is also possible; see p. 226.

*P.Phil.* 14, 5-6 σιτικὰς ἀρού|ρας δέκα πέντε κοινῶν καὶ ἀ[δι]αιρέτω[ν], the regularization in l. 6 κοινῶς καὶ ἀ[δ]ιαιρέτω[ς] is not necessary; see p. 33.

*P.Princ.* II 69. It is dated to the beginning of third century A.D.; see p. 119.

*P.Princ.* III 166, 7-8 ἀναπλεύσω εἰς ἐκφορά[ν]. δῶ|σ<ε>ις οἰκείως → ἀναπλεύσω [να παραδω|θεῖ μοι, ὑγιῶς; see pp. 194 and 255.

*P.Princ.* III 188, 8 διὰ ἀκολάστω(ς) → διὰ Ἀρμάειτο[ς]; see p. 278.

*P.Rein.* I 47, 13 ὑπερσκληρῶς → ὑπὲρ σκα|[φητου?]; see p. 288.

*P.Ryl.* II 108, 17 ἀληθ(ῶς) → ἀληθ(ῆ)(?); see p. 53.

*P.Sarap.* 101, 12 ἀειμνάτως → ἀειμνή<σ>τως (already proposed by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt); see p. 39.

*P.Sel.* 19, 5 λαβῶν παρ' ἐμο[ῦ], ἐπὶ (*l.* ἐπεὶ) ἐπίγω (*l.* ἐπέγω) ἀτώνος (*l.* ἀτόνωσ) → λαβῶν παρε .[ ] .η, ἐπὶ (*l.* ἐπεὶ) γῶ (*l.* ἐγῶ) ἄτωνος (*l.* ἄτονος) ἦν; see p. 95.

*P.Sijp.* 9 d, 10 κομῶς (*l.* κομφῶς) ἔχουσιν | αἰ παρὰ σοῦ, where the phrase is in the closing of the letter after the ἀσπάζεσθαι formula. We may have to put a question mark instead of a stop after παρὰ σοῦ, since the writer want to learn about the recovering of some persons in the recipient's house; see p. 183.

*PSI V* 522, 6-7 τοῦτον | οἶε ὑγιῶς προϊστασθαι, the letter ω is made in a totally different form than the other ones in the same papyrus. The letter after ι and before σ looks rather an α, made in two movements of the pen (again different than the other

alphas, but with the same angulars with them). A reading  $\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ , however, does not give sense in the text (see *BL* IV, p. 88 for T. Reekmans' corrections on the text); see p.255.

*PSI* VI 568, 5 Restore ἐπιμελέ(?)σπερον τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; see p. 128.

*PSI* VI 631, 45 σαφέ[σπερον → σαφέ[ς is also possible; see p. 229.

*PSI* VII 741, 4 [ὁ]μολόγως. The reading, as can be seen in the photograph, is debatable. There is some additional space of one or two letters that has to be filled after ἐπέστειλα. The synonym συμφώνως cannot be read; see p. 286.

*PSI* VII 742, 14 διὰ θεων *ed. princ.*; *BL* V, 124 διὰ θεών (= θεόν), *C.P.J.* 3. 505) → διαθέων; see p. 252.

*PSI* VII 783, 10 ὀρθῶς → ἀληθῶς; see p. 201.

*PSI* VII 842, 21 (IV A.D.?) αρτιαμελ . . . The proposal of *WB* IV *s.v.* ἀμελής to be understood as ἄρτι ἀμελ[ῶς] is debatable; see p. 60.

*PSI* VIII 899, 4 [γρά]ψον μοι ἐπι[με]λῶς ἢ (l. εἰ) ἔρχῃ, the restoration ἐπι[με]λῶς is debatable, since only the ending -ως of an adverb can be read with certainty, and the adverb is not attested to modify the verb γράφω in the third century A.D.; see p. 127.

*PSI* XVI 1653, 6 ηκανους (l. ικανῶς) in *ed. princ.* → the adjective ικανός (i.e. ἀρτάβας); see p. 173.

*P.Stras.* IV 187, 10-11 ὅτι εὐθύς ἐπιστολὰς [δι'] | Ἀμμ[ωνᾶτο]ς ἀμ[οι]β[αί]ως . . . [ . . . . ]. The adverb cannot be read. The letter β should be read as ε; see p. 278.

*P.Stras.* VII 629, 24. ἄλλως should be constructed probably with the previous phrase ἔγραφα αὐτῇ; see p. 57.

*P.Stras.* VIII 772, 31 ὁμῶς → ὅμως; see p. 286.

*P.Stras.* VIII 800, 5. Restore εὐθέ[ως(?); see p. 63.

*P.Tebt.* II 284, 2-3 ἐπικέ|κριταί μοι → ἐπ<ε>|κέ|κριταί(?) μοι; see p. 116.

*P.Vet.Aeli* 10, 24-25 ἀνείσ[ε]ως(?) → αν εἰς ἐμέ; see p. 71.

*P.Vindob.Sijp.* 27, 13 ὀρθῶς → οὔτως (as can be seen in the photograph); see p. 201.

*P.Wisc.* I 1, i 9. ἄνισα is read in *ed. princ.*, but certainly ισ cannot be read there (it looks like κ followed by another uncertain letter and α; see p. 71.

*P.Wisc.* II 71, 9-10 τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχ[ει ἡδέως] | κατ' ὄψιν σε ἀσπάσασθαι. The phrase is not attested in other texts. This restoration is debatable, and probably it should be rejected; see p. 165.

*SB* V 7600, 7-8 ἀπανθρό|πος (l. ἀπανθρώ|πως) → ἀπάνθρο|πος (l. ἀπάνθρω|πος); see p. 77.

*SB* V 7600, 8 ἄριτα (l. ἄρητα) → ἄρι<σ>τα(?); see p. 77.

*SB* V 8754, 36 <?>πόστολος π. προνοίου· ὡς \ . . / παρέργως → ποστολος π . . . ρ [ἔ]λθη οὖν ὡς \ . . / παρέργως(?), as can be seen in the photograph; see p. 211.

*SB* VI 9139, 11. Restore at the end of the period, παρακλήθητι οὖν ποιήσον τὸ ἔργον, ὅτι ἀναγκέως χρ<ε>ία ἐστὶν ἐν[θάδε(?)]; see p. 64.

*SB* VI 9156, 7 [ . . . ]ον → [εἰς αὐτ]όν; see p. 208.

*SB* VI 9242a, 13 καθολικ(ῶς) → καθολικ(όν)(?); see p. 176.

*SB* VIII 9699, 131 γραμματικ(ῶς) → γραμματικ(όν); see p. 280.

*SB* X 10240, 8: the interpretation ἐλαφ<ρ>ῶς is debatable; see p. 281.

*SB* X 10529a, 20 ἐλαφρῶς (l. ἐλαφρῶς) → ἐλαφρός; see p. 281.

*SB* XII 11016, 7 καὶ ὄνασσοι [α]ὐτῶν φιλῶ<ν> παρ' αὐτοῦ → καὶ ὄν ἀ{σ}θονη (l. ἀσθενῆ, or the accusative ἀσθενῆ) τῶν φίλω<ν> παρ' αὐτόν; see p. 273.

SB XII 11039, 4 ] .τα [ἐ]ξιμολογουμένως → ] .τα[ε]ξι μολογουμένως, where ταεξ can be part of a number, e.g. πεντήκο]ντα [ἐ]ξ etc.; see p. 283.

SB XII 11230, 27 ευτυχως. It is the adverb εὐτυχῶς and not the name Εὐτυχως (*l.* Εὐτυχος), as proposed in *ed. princ.*; see p. 159.

SB XIV 11492, 12-13 ἀδιαφόρως: The meaning is not “without charge”, as in *ed. princ.*, but “without discrimination”, which means “the kind of the six melons is indifferent for me”; see p. 37.

SB XIV 11584, 8-11 ὅταν δέ σοι βραδέως | [γ]ράφω, διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρ[υ]ίσκειν μηδένα | πρὸς σὲ ἐρχόμενον ραδίως τοῦτο γίνε|ται, “whenever I am slow to write to you, this happens easily because I find no one going your way” (transl. in *ed. princ.*), according to the edition the adverb modifies the verb γίνε|ται → the modified constituent is the infinitive εὐρίσκειν, and we should translate “whenever I am slow to write to you, that happens because I do not find easily someone to go your way”; see p. 226.

SB XVI 12425, 9 σοφρόνω[ς] [γε διακεῖσθαι → alternative restoration σοφρόνω (*l.* σωφρόνω) [e.g. βίω?; see p. 241

SB XVI 12653, 6 ] . ἄλλως ποι|[] → μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης (or *sim.*)(?); see p. 57.

SB XX 14621, 12 σο[φῶς]. The restoration is debatable; one might restore another word which starts with σο-, since the reading σο[φῶς] is not possible; see p. 288.

SB XX 14626, 26 ἠκαί\ως/ → ικαν\ῶς/; see p. 284.

SB XX 14626, 27 ἀφώρητα (*l.* ἀφόρητα?) → ἀφώρητα; see p. 284.

SB XX 14713, 11 πολλαστῶ[ς] → also possible πολλαστῶ [χρόνω(?); see p. 287.

SB XXII 15326, 21 δημοσίως → instead of the adverb a form of the noun δημοσίωσις or of the verb δημοσιώω should be restored; see p. 280.

SB XXVI 16357, 20 σκολ(ιῶς) → σκολ(άσας) (*l.* σχολ(άσας)); see p. 288.

SPP XX 26, 7-8 Μάρκου Πτολεμαίου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀτέκ(νω) | καὶ ἀδιαθ(έτως) ἐπ' ἔμοι μόνω κληρο(νόμω) → Μάρκου Πτολεμαίου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀτέκ(νου) | καὶ ἀδιαθ(έτου) ἐπ' ἔμοι μόνω κληρο(νόμω); see pp. 33 and 280.

SPP XX 29 verso, 8 Σωτηρίχου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀ[τέκνω] καὶ ἀδιαθέτως] → Σωτηρίχου τετελ(ευτηκότος) ἀ[τέκνου καὶ ἀδιαθέτου]; see pp. 33 and 280.

#### (Georgios Triantafyllou)

BGU XV 2467, 9 ταχεί[ω]ς φέ[ρειν] → ταχέως φε[ρειν]; see p. 245.

P.Berl.Zill. 1, 42 οὐκ ἂν εὐκαί[ρως] . . . ] . [ . . ] .5 ἔλθοις, is an official letter, but the adverb is restored and not certain; see p. 151.

P.Bodl. I 57, 5 ] . εἰν συντόμω. We may restore ἀποστέλ]λιν; see p. 240.

P.Cair.Zen. I 59064, 9. A form of the verb λαμβάνω (or another verb which should be the opposite of ἀπεδώκαμεν of l. 11) is lost at the end of l. 9; see p. 151.

P.Col. III 12, 4 ὀ[πῶς ---] at the end of l. 2 we can restore a participle, e.g. ἐλθόντος; see p. 152.

P.Hal. 17, 7 descr., ἐὰν εὐκαίρως ἔχη. The letter after ευ seems to be χ and not κ (photograph); see p. 151.

P.Lond. IV 1349, 14 εὐχαιροτέρως (*l.* εὐχεροτέρως) → *l.* εὐκαιροτέρως. It comes from the adjective εὐκαιρος, as an alternative of the comparative εὐκαιρότερον; see p. 152.

P.Mich. VIII 465, 23-24 ἐρωτῶ [σε τή]ν κυρ[ίαν μου] . . . ] .χως καὶ ἰλαρῶς | εὐφραί[ν]εσθαι. Restore συν]εχῶς or πολλ]αχῶς; ; see p. 235.

*P.Mich.* VIII 466, 34-35 εἰς οὖν με φιλῆς εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δώ|σ<ε>ις γράψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου should be translated as “if then you love me, you will take pains to write me immediately concerning your health”; see p. 149.

*P.Oxy.* III 533, 5 a full stop should be put just before εὐθέως; see p. 145.

*P.Oxy.* XVI 1829, 4-6 and 15-17. The adverb εὐθέως modifies the main verb and not the temporal participle; see p. 146.

*P.Oxy.* LI 3642, 20-21 αὐτ[ . . . ] | φεις εὐθέως → αὐτ[ὸν (οἱ αὐτ[ὸς οἱ αὐ]τὸ) --- πέμ]φεις εὐθέως; see p. 149.

*P.Petr.* III 53 (q), 5-6 ἡβουλόμην δὲ | συν[τ]όμως ἀποστῆλαι π[ . . . ] | [ . . . ]ι. Probably in the lost part of ll. 6-7 a personal name or an object should be restored; see p. 239.

*P.Pommersf.* 1, 476. The restoration ἀγρύπνω[ς] is debatable; see p. 30.

*PSI* VII 742, 5 (V-VI A.D.) τοῦτο δὲ εὐχαίρως δύνη γνῶναι παρὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, the form εὐχαίρως is a phonological equivalent of the correct form εὐχερῶς (see *s.v.* εὐχερῶς, p. 162) and not of εὐκαίρως, as in *ed. princ.*; see p. 152.

*P.Sarap.* 98, 3-7 [ . . . τυγχά]νεις ἐπιλελήσμενος ἡμῶν | [νῦν συνεχ]ῶς οὐδὲν ἥττον σε [νῦν] ἀσπά|[ζομαι. συ]νεχέστερον δ' ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μὴ | [μετέωρον τι π]ερὶ τὸ σ[ . ]μα συμβέβηκε → [εἰ καὶ τυγχά]νεις ἐπιλελήσμενος ἡμῶν | [συνεχ]ῶς, οὐδὲν ἥττον σε [νῦν] ἀσπά|[ζομαι. συ]νεχέστερον δ' ἂν ἦν τοῦτο εἰ μὴ | [μετέωρον τι π]ερὶ τὸ σῶμα (see *ed. princ.*, 6n.) συμβέβηκε; see p. 235.

*P.Stras.* IV 193, 3 a full stop should be put just before πάντη; see p. 147.

*P.Stras.* IV 193, 3-4 πάντη πάντως [ . . . . . ] | ἐπιστόλιον → πάντη πάντως [λαβῶν τὸ?] | ἐπιστόλιον; see p. 209.

*SPP* V 50, 2. Restore προ|θυμότερον(?); see p. 221.

*P.Vat.Aphrod.* 2, 5-7 ποτίσαι | ἀκαταφρονήτ[ω]ς ἀδιαλείπτως καὶ σκάπτειν καὶ κλαδοτομεῖν καὶ | ὑπορθοῦν καὶ φυλλοροῆσαι. If the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως is restored in the lacuna, the conjunction καὶ should also be added before it, i.e. ἀκαταφρονήτ[ω]ς καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως; see p. 34.

*SB* IV 7478 dates to the Byzantine period; see p. 138.

*SB* X 10217. Date: Third-fourth century A.D. → Late fourth century A.D. ; see p. 169.

*SB* X 10724, 16 πρ[ω]ν[ω]ς. It is certain that it cannot be read. The letter after πρ is closed, and we can read ο and not ω. The letters νω cannot be read. One might propose the restoration \προ|θ]ύμω[ς]; see p. 287.

*SB* XVIII 13614, 3-5 ἔρωμαί δε καὶ τοῦ σοῦ [βίου ἀρι] | στείαν μνημ[ονεύω ἡμερησίως] | πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς → ἔ<ρ>ρωμαί δε καὶ α[ύ]τ[ό]ς, σοῦ [τὴν ἀρι] | στείαν (*l.* ἀρίστην?) μνήαν (*l.* μνεῖαν) [ποιούμενος καθ' ἡμέραν(?) παρὰ] | πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς; see p. 169.

*SB* XX 14102. A full stop should be placed after the pronoun μοι, so as the following sentence which starts in l. 5 ἢ ἀνέπεισέ σε Σεραπιάς τοῦ μὴ [γρά] | φειν could be followed by another sentence starting with ἢ in the lost part of the papyrus, “either Sarapias has persuaded her not to write to him... or...”; see p. 167.

*SB* XXVI 16459, 10 μενιεως (interpreted as μηνιαίως (*ed. princ.*)). The reading μεπιεως is an alternative one, since the third letter is also uncertain. It might be also the end of a place or personal name); see p. 191.

*SB* XXVI 16758, 2-3 ὑπὲρ σοῦ | τὸ προσκύνη[α ---] | [--- ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς] ἐνθάδε θεοῖς. Probably an adverb is lost in the lacuna before the verb ποιῶ; see p. 36.



## Reverse Index

-αως	προφρονέως	καθαρίως	ίερατικῶς
ἀγλαῶς	ἀριπρεπέως	ἀγρίως	ἀποστατικῶς
ἀενάως	βαρέως	σωτηρίως	ὑποστατικῶς
πράως	βραχέως	μετρίως	εὐεργετικῶς
-βως	ταχέως	ἀλλοτριῶς	παραινετικῶς
ἀβλαβῶς	-θως	κυρίως	προνοητικῶς
εὐλαβῶς	φιλαγάθως	ἐπιχωρίως	ἐπαφροδιτικῶς
ἀσεβῶς	ἀσυμπαθῶς	πολλαπλασίως	πλεονεκτικῶς
δυσσεβῶς	μετριοπαθῶς	διπλασίως	ὑποτακτικῶς
εὐσεβῶς	ἀληθῶς	τριπλασίως	προστακτικῶς
ἀκριβῶς	συνήθως	γνησίως	δεσποτικῶς
ἀφόβως	ὀρθῶς	ἡμερησίως	ὑβριστικῶς
-γως	ἀκολούθως	ἐτησίως	κυριευτικῶς
εὐαγῶς	ἐπαχθῶς	αἰσίως	ιδιωτικῶς
ὀλίγως	-ιως	όσίως	ἐρωτικῶς
ἀλόγως	βεβαίως	ἐνιαυσίως	πληρωτικῶς
ἀναλόγως	σπουδαίως	δυνειαυσίως	ἀδελφικῶς
παραλόγως	κατασπουδαίως	ἐκουσίως	ἐνδιαρκῶς
ἀναμφιλόγως	βιαίως	ἡμερουσίως	αὐτάρκως
ἀξιολόγως	μηνιαίως	ἀναιτίως	ἐνόρκως
ἐτοιμολόγως	γνησιαίως	ἐναντίως	-λως
ἀνυπολόγως	ἐνιαυσιαίως	ὑπεναντίως	μεγάλως
εὐλόγως	ἀναγκαίως	ἀρτίως	καλῶς
ἀργῶς	δικαίως	ὑπογύως	ἀκαλῶς
ἐναργῶς	εἰκαίως	ἤσυχίως	ἀσφαλῶς
ἀεργῶς	ὠκαίως	-κως	ἐπισφαλῶς
ἐνεργῶς	παλαιῶς	κακῶς	καλοθελῶς
παρέργως	ἀκεφαλαίως	παγκάκως	ικέλως
εὐεργῶς	κλεψιμαίως	μαλακῶς	ἀμελῶς
γοργῶς	γενναίως	διηλεκῶς	ἐπιμελῶς
ἀστόργως	ἀκεραίως	ἀραβικῶς	λυσιτελῶς
φιλοστόργως	λαθραίως	γεωργικῶς	ἐκτελῶς
κακούργως	ματαίως	ἀδίκως	παντελῶς
πανούργως	εὐκταίως	ἰδικῶς	ἐντελῶς
-δως	ἀπευκταίως	εἰδικῶς	αὐτοτελῶς
αὐθαδῶς	διαταχαίως	διεξοδικῶς	ἀνωφελῶς
ἀηδῶς	πλαγίως	ἐπιεικῶς	ἀδήλως
ἀναιδῶς	ὑγιῶς	ἀφιλονείκως	ἀκαταλήλως
ἀφειδῶς	ραδίως	πληθικῶς	ποικίλως
ψευδῶς	ἰδίως	βασιλικῶς	ψιλῶς
ἀψευδῶς	αἰφνιδίως	φιλικῶς	δαφιλῶς
θειωδῶς	ἀρμοδίως	καθολικῶς	ἄλλως
στοιχειωδῶς	ἐπιτηδείως	ὀχλικῶς	ἐπιπελλῶς
-εως	θείως	μικῶς	ὄλως
πραεῶς	οἰκείως	θυμικῶς	ἀμφιβόλως
ἀβλαβέως	τελείως	νεανικῶς	ἀναμφιβόλως
ἀδεῶς	ἄχρειῶς	μανικῶς	ἀδόλως
βραδέως	ἄζημίως	ὀρφανικῶς	δυσκόλως
ἠδέως	σπανίως	γενικῶς	εὐκόλως
ἐνδεῶς	χρονίως	τυραννικῶς	κακοσχόλως
ἀνενδεῶς	αἰώνιως	κηδεμονικῶς	ἀπλῶς
βαθέως	ἀξίως	εὐνοϊκῶς	ἀπαξιαπλῶς
εὐθέως	ἀναξίως	ἐλευθερικῶς	φαύλως
ἀτρεκέως	ἐπαξίως	ἐμπορικῶς	-μως
ἀνελεῶς	καταξίως	ληστροικῶς	μηδαμῶς
τελέως	δεξιῶς	ἀργυρικῶς	οὐδαμῶς
ἀκλεῶς	γελοίως	ἐργατικῶς	μηθαμῶς
νέως	ἀλλοίως	πλατικῶς	ἠρέμως
	ὁμοίως	ἐγκληματικῶς	εὐσήμως
	παντοίως	χρηματικῶς	εὐφήμως
		σωματικῶς	

εὐδοκίμως	δεινῶς	κακοτρόπως	ἰσχυρῶς
κυδαλίμως	ὑγιεινῶς	δυστρόπως	αἰσchrῶς
καρπαλίμως	κοινῶς	ἀτόπως	ὀλιγῶρως
νομίμως	ἀνθρωπίνως	ἐκτόπως	
φρονίμως	εἰλικρινῶς	ἀλύπως	-σως
ἐτοιμίμως	ἀνόκνως	πρωτοτύπως	ἴσως
αἰδεσίμως	ἀόκνως	φιλανθρώπως	ἀμισῶς
ἐντίμως	δυσόκνως	ἀπανθρώπως	ἀνίσως
φιλοτίμως	πυκνῶς	αὐτοπροσώπως	ἐπινόσως
ἀφιλοτίμως	σεμνῶς		δισσῶς
ὀψίμως	ἀσέμνως	-ρως	περισσῶς
προοφθάλιμως	ἀμερίμνως	ἀβαρῶς	
ἀνόμως	γυμνῶς	σοβαρῶς	-τως
παρὰ νόμως	ἀφθόνως	καθαρῶς	ἀπαραβάτως
ἐννόμως	ἐπιφθόνως	ἰλαρῶς	αὐτομάτως
συννόμως	πλειόνως	εὐμαρῶς	δυνατῶς
συντόμως	ἀπραγμόνως	λιπαρῶς	ἀδυνατῶς
θερμῶς	κακοπραγμόνως	ἀδρῶς	ἀναποστάτως
ἐκπροθέσμως	ἀφιλοπραγμόνως	σφοδρῶς	ἀφάτως
ἐμπροθέσμως	πολυπραγμόνως	φοβερῶς	προσφάτως
ἀκόσμως	αἰδημόνως	μογερῶς	ἐσχάτως
εὐκόσμως	ἐλεημόνως	ἐλευθέρως	ἀδιαθέτως
ἀθύμως	ἐπιστημόνως	μεγαλομερῶς	ἐνδιαθέτως
ἐκθύμως	εὐσχημόνως	ὀλομερῶς	ἀμεταθέτως
προθύμως	εὐδαιμόνως	μονομερῶς	ἀντιθέτως
εὐθύμως	ἀγνωμόνως	σ μικρομερῶς	ἀνταπερθέτως
ἐτύμως	εὐγνωμόνως	παχυμερῶς	προπετῶς
εὐχρῶμως	ἐπιπόνως	φανερῶς	ἐναρέτως
	ἐμπόνως	φθονερῶς	αὐθαιρέτως
-νως	φιλοπόνως	ἐτέρως	ἀδιαιρέτως
ἱκανῶς	μεγαλοφρόνως	στυγνοτέρως	ἐξαιρέτως
ἐνδρανῶς	φιλοφρόνως	ὀποτέρως	ἀναφαιρέτως
ὑπερηφάνως	σωφρόνως	εὐχαιροτέρως	ἀλωβήτως
ἐπιφανῶς	ἀτόνως	πολυτελεστέρως	ἀνευρησιολογίτως
περιφανῶς	ἐντόνως	σαφειστέρως	ἀραδιοργητῶς
προφανῶς	εὐτόνως	εὐκολωτέρως	ἀκακουργητῶς
εὐγενῶς	ἀγρύπνως	ὀλοσχερῶς	ἀσυνειδήτως
ἀσθενῶς	ἀκινδύνως	δυσχερῶς	ἀναισθητῶς
κενῶς	ἐπικινδύνως	εὐχερῶς	ἀδωροδοκίτως
ἐπειγμένως	ἰδιοκινδύνως	πλήρως	ἀπροσδοκίτως
συνδεδεμένως	ριψοκινδύνως	ὀχληρῶς	ἀπαρακλήτως
συντετηρημένως	εὖνως	τολμηρῶς	ἀνεγκλήτως
τεθαρρημένως	ἄφνως	ὀκηρῶς	ἀπαρενοχλήτως
ἀνεστραμμένως	συχνῶς	πονηρῶς	ἀνοικονομήτως
ἐπομένως	συμφῶνως	μισοπονήρως	ἀκαταφρονήτως
εἰρομένως		ἐχθρῶς	ἀπεριφρονήτως
ἐχομένως	-ξως	νωθρῶς	ἀνοήτως
ἐνδεχομένως	ἐνδόξως	ἀκαίρως	ἀδιανοήτως
ἀσμένως	εὐδόξως	εὐκαίρως	ἀμετανοήτως
πεπλασμένως		ἀπείρως	ἀγαπητῶς
ἐμπεισμένως	-οως	ἐμπείρως	ρητῶς
πεπεισμένως	ὑπηκόως	προχείρως	ἀκαθυστερητῶς
εἰθισμένως	ἄθρῶς	ἄκρως	ἀμεψιμοιρητῶς
κεχαρισμένως		μικρῶς	ἀνεπιρρήτως
κεχωρισμένως	-πως	σικρῶς	ἀναντιρρήτως
πεφροντισμένως	παντοδαπῶς	πικρῶς	ἀναμφισβητήτως
εὐμενῶς	χαλεπῶς	διαφόρως	ἀπαραιτήτως
προηγουμένως	εὐπρεπῶς	ἀδιαφόρως	ἐπαφροδίτως
ὁμολογουμένως	μεγαλοπρεπῶς	ἀσυμφόρως	ἀκρίτως
ἐρρωμένως	ἀνελλιπῶς	σαπρῶς	ἀδιακρίτως
ἐκτενῶς	ἀπροσκόπως	λαμπρῶς	ἀκατακρίτως
στενῶς	εὐκόπως	ἐμμέτρως	ἀπροκρίτως
προσηνῶς	ἐπικλόπως	συμμέτρως	ἀπαραλλάκτως
καινῶς	ὁμοιοτρόπως	οἰκτρῶς	ἀπράκτως



άνεισπράκτως  
 άσυντάκτως  
 άλιποτάκτως  
 άδιστάκτως  
 εϋτάκτως  
 άναμφιλέκτως  
 άναποδείκτως  
 έναποδείκτως  
 άβασκάντως  
 άκοιλάντως  
 άκυλάντως  
 πάντως  
 όντως  
 δεόντως  
 ιδιαζόντως  
 άρμοζόντως  
 έκόντως  
 καθηκόντως  
 προσηκόντως  
 πρεπόντως  
 διαφερόντως  
 προσεχόντως  
 τυχόντως  
 αναλογούντως  
 άρκούντως  
 άνενδότης  
 εικότως  
 ένωμότης

άποκρότως  
 έγγράπτως  
 άπεριγράπτως  
 άπερισκέπτως  
 άπροσκέπτως  
 άδιαλείπτως  
 άπαραλείπτως  
 άνελλείπτως  
 άμέμπτως  
 άπροσωπολήμπτως  
 άπροόπτως  
 ύπόπτως  
 άπαρακαλύπτως  
 κρυπτώς  
 άσπουδάστως  
 άνεπηρέαστως  
 άνενδοιάστως  
 άδεκάστως  
 θαυμαστώς  
 άπερισπαστως  
 άδράστως  
 άνεκφράστως  
 άρεστώς  
 εύαρέστως  
 άειμνήστως  
 άπαραποδίστως  
 άνεμποδίστως  
 άβασανίστως

πιστώς  
 άξιοπίστως  
 εύχαρίστως  
 άγρυπτίστως  
 άπροφασίστως  
 άπαύστως  
 άγγογγύστως  
 άκαταγνώστως  
 περιττώς  
 αύτως  
 ώσαύτως  
 άθωπεύτως  
 άστρατεύτως  
 εύδιαλύτως  
 άκωλύτως  
 άδιακωλύτως  
 άνεπικωλύτως  
 ούτως  
 έμφύτως  
 άμειώτως  
 πρώτως  
 άτρώτως  
 -ως  
 άλληλεγγύως  
 ύπογύως

-φως  
 άγράφως  
 έγγράφως  
 σαφώς  
 άσαφώς  
 έπιστρεφώς  
 άδιαστρόφως  
 φιλοσόφως

-χως  
 πολλαχώς  
 άμάχως  
 μοναχώς  
 άταράχως  
 ένδελεχώς  
 συνεχώς  
 προσεχώς  
 πανεξόχως  
 ήσύχως  
 εύτυχώς  
 μεγαλοψύχως  
 όλοψύχως  
 ίσοψύχως  
 εύψύχως

-ψως  
 κομψώς



## General Index

- άβαρῶς ..... 15, 16, 25, 27  
 άβασανίστως . 16, 17, 24, 27  
 άβασκάντως.. 15, 16, 20, 25, 26, 27  
 άβλαβέως ..... 28  
 άβλαβῶς..... 16, 24, 28  
 άγαθῶς ..... 10  
 άγαπητῶς ..... 20, 25, 28  
 άγγογγύστως ..... 17  
 άγγελίως ..... 277  
 άγλαῶς..... 17, 25, 28  
 άγνωμόνως ..... 17, 24, 28  
 άγογγύστως..... 14, 24, 29  
 άγράφως ..... 25, 29  
 άγρίως ..... 24, 29  
 άγρύπνως ..... 24, 30  
 άγρυπτίστως ..... 24, 30  
 άδεκάστως..... 16, 24, 31  
 άδελφικῶς . 15, 16, 24, 26, 31  
 άδεῶς ..... 16, 24, 31  
 άδήλως ..... 17, 24, 32  
 άδιαθέτως..... 25, 32  
 άδιαίρετως..... 9, 24, 33  
 άδιακρίτως ..... 24, 33  
 άδιακωλύτως ..... 34  
 άδιαλείπτως .. 18, 20, 22, 23, 34  
 άδιανεμήτως..... 277  
 άδιανοήτως ..... 24, 36  
 άδιαστροφῶς 14, 16, 20, 24, 26, 37  
 άδιαφόρως 16, 20, 24, 25, 26, 37  
 άδικως ..... 18, 19, 24, 26, 38  
 άδιστακτί..... 271  
 άδιστακτῶς .... 16, 24, 26, 38  
 άδόλως ..... 9, 24, 38  
 άδράστως..... 14, 16, 24, 38  
 άδρῶς..... 25, 39  
 άδυνάτως ... 9, 15, 20, 25, 39  
 άδωροδοκῆτως..... 39  
 άειμνάτως..... 276  
 άειμνήστως..... 15, 16, 39  
 άενάως ..... 20, 40  
 άεργῶς..... 17, 40  
 άζηλοπραγμόνως..... 276  
 άζημίως..... 40  
 άηδῶς..... 15, 20, 24, 26, 40  
 άθέσιως ..... 278  
 άθρόως..... 25, 42  
 άθύμως ..... 16, 24, 42  
 άθωπεύτως..... 24, 42  
 Αιγυπτιστί..... 271  
 αιδεσίμως ..... 17, 24, 42  
 αιδημόνως..... 24, 43  
 αίσίως ..... 9, 25, 43  
 αίσχρῶς..... 24, 43  
 αϊφνιδίως ..... 20, 22, 23, 43  
 αϊωνίως ..... 44  
 άκαθυστερήτως ..... 44  
 άκαίριως ..... 276  
 άκαίρως ..... 20, 22, 24, 44  
 άκακουργῆτως ..... 24, 45  
 άκαλῶς 15, 16, 19, 24, 26, 45  
 άκαταγνώστως ... 17, 24, 45  
 άκαταλλήλως..... 25, 46  
 άκαταφρονήτως... 17, 24, 46  
 άκεραίως ..... 25, 47  
 άκεφαλαίως ..... 24, 49  
 άκινδύνως..... 24, 49  
 άκλεῶς..... 49  
 άκοιλάντως..... 24, 50  
 άκολάστως ..... 278  
 άκολούθως ..... 18, 25, 50  
 άκόσμως ..... 24, 50  
 άκριβέστατα ..... 51  
 άκριβέστερον ..... 51  
 άκριβῶς ..... 19, 25, 26, 51  
 άκρίτως ..... 24, 52  
 άκρως ..... 25, 52  
 άκυλάντως..... 24, 50  
 άκωλύτως..... 34, 53  
 άληθῶς 14, 15, 18, 19, 25, 26, 53  
 άλιποτάκτως..... 17, 24, 53  
 άλληλεγγύως..... 55  
 άλλοίως ..... 16, 20, 25, 55  
 άλλοτρίως ..... 24, 55  
 άλλως..... 14, 15, 25, 55  
 άλόγως 10, 15, 18, 24, 26, 58  
 άλύπως ..... 15, 16, 26, 59  
 άλωβήτως 15, 20, 24, 26, 59  
 άμάχως ..... 24, 60, 66  
 άμεινον ..... 179  
 άμειώτως ..... 9, 25, 60  
 άμελλητί..... 271  
 άμελῶς ..... 19, 25, 60  
 άμέμπτως..... 17, 18, 24, 60  
 άμεμψιμοιρήτως ... 17, 24, 61  
 άμεριμνότερον ..... 61  
 άμερίμνως..... 24, 26, 61  
 άμεταθέτως..... 24, 62  
 άμετανοήτως..... 24, 62  
 άμισθί ..... 271  
 άμισῶς..... 62  
 άμοιβαίως ..... 278  
 άμφιβόλως ..... 24, 62  
 άναγκαιῶς 15, 18, 25, 26, 62  
 άναιδῶς ..... 19, 24, 26, 65  
 άναισθητῶς..... 19, 24, 26, 65  
 άναιτίως ..... 24, 65  
 άναλογούντως ..... 15, 25, 65  
 άναλόγως ..... 15, 25, 66  
 άναμφιβόλως ..... 17, 24, 66  
 άναμφιλέκτως ..... 24, 66, 69  
 άναμφιλόγως ..... 24, 66  
 άναμφισβητήτως ..... 24, 66  
 άναντιρρήτως ..... 24, 66  
 άναξίως ..... 24, 67  
 άναποδείκτως ..... 24, 67  
 άναποκρίτως ..... 11  
 άναποστάτως..... 24, 67  
 άναυλί..... 272  
 άναφαιρέτως..... 24, 67  
 άναφιλότητως ..... 279  
 άνδραποδιστί..... 272  
 άνεγκλήτως ..... 24, 67  
 άνέδην ..... 275  
 άνεισπράκτως ..... 17, 24, 67  
 άνεκφράστως ..... 67  
 άνελεῶς ..... 9, 24, 68  
 άνελλείπτως..... 9, 68  
 άνελλιπῶς .. 9, 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 68  
 άνεμποδίστως 17, 18, 24, 26, 68  
 άνευδεῶς..... 24, 69  
 άνευδοιάστως ..... 24, 69  
 άνευδότως ..... 20, 24, 69  
 άνεπηρεάστως ..... 17, 24, 69  
 άνεπικωλύτως ..... 34  
 άνεπιρρήτως ..... 24, 70  
 άνεστραμμένως..... 14, 24, 70  
 άνευρησιολογήτως. 17, 24, 70  
 άνθρωπίνως..... 24, 26, 70  
 άνίσως ..... 24, 70  
 άνοήτως ..... 24, 71  
 άνοικονομήτως ..... 71  
 άνόκνως..... 15, 20, 22, 23, 26, 71  
 άνόμως ..... 18, 24, 74  
 άντιθέτως ..... 25, 74  
 άνυπερθέτως .. 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 74  
 άνυπολόγως ..... 24, 75  
 άνωφελῶς ..... 24, 76  
 άξιολόγως..... 25, 76  
 άξιοπίστως..... 25, 26, 76  
 άξίως..... 25, 76  
 άόκνως .. 9, 14, 17, 20, 23, 24, 26, 71, 76  
 άπανθρώπως..... 24, 26, 77  
 άπαξαπλῶς ..... 18, 25, 77  
 άπαραβάτως ..... 14, 24, 78  
 άπαραιτήτως..... 24, 78

- άπαρακαλύπτως ..... 9, 78  
 άπαρακλήτως ..... 24, 78  
 άπαραλείπτως ..... 20, 25, 78  
 άπαραλλάκτως ..... 16, 20, 79  
 άπαραποδίστως ..... 79  
 άπαρενοχλήτως ..... 24, 79  
 άπαρτί ..... 272  
 άπαύστως ..... 79  
 άπείρως ..... 15, 20, 79  
 άπερανοχλήτως ..... 67  
 άπεριγράπτως ..... 9, 24, 80  
 άπερισκέπτως ..... 24, 80  
 άπερισπάστως ..... 67, 80  
 άπεριφρονήτως ..... 17, 24, 80  
 άπευκταίως ..... 25, 80  
 άπλώς ..... 25, 80  
 άποκρότως ..... 16, 18, 24, 82  
 άποστατικώς ..... 24, 83  
 άποστατικώτερον ..... 83  
 άπραγμόνως ..... 24, 83  
 άπράκτως ..... 279  
 άπράκτως ..... 15, 20, 83  
 άπροκρίτως ..... 24, 84  
 άπροόπτως ..... 20, 22, 84  
 άπροσοδοκίτως ..... 84  
 άπροσκέπτως ..... 17, 84  
 άπροσκόπως ..... 24, 85  
 άπροσωπολήπτως ..... 24, 85  
 άπροφασίστως ..... 16, 18, 21, 24, 85  
 άπιστί ..... 271  
 άραβικώς ..... 279  
 άραβιστί ..... 272  
 άραδιουργήτως ..... 17, 24, 86  
 άργυρικώς ..... 17, 18, 25, 86  
 άργώς ..... 20, 24, 86  
 άρδην ..... 275  
 άρεστώς ..... 24, 87  
 άριπρεπέως ..... 87  
 άρκούντως ..... 25, 88  
 άρμοδίως ..... 20, 25, 88  
 άρμοζόντως ..... 14, 25, 88  
 άρτίως ..... 20, 22, 23, 88  
 άρχαίως ..... 279  
 άσαφώς ..... 24, 89  
 άσεβώς ..... 24, 89  
 άσέμνως ..... 24, 89  
 άσθενώς ..... 15, 20, 25, 26, 89  
 άσκόπως ..... 10  
 άσμένως ..... 9, 18, 24, 26, 90  
 άσπερμ(ε)ί ..... 272  
 άσπουδάστως ..... 20, 24, 90  
 άστοργότερον ..... 91  
 άστόργως ..... 24, 91  
 άστρατεύτως ..... 24, 91  
 άσυμπαθώς ..... 20, 24, 91  
 άσυμφόρως ..... 24, 91  
 άσυνειδήτως ..... 20, 24, 91  
 άσυντάκτως ..... 16, 26, 91  
 άσφαλώς ..... 19, 24, 26, 92  
 άταράχως ..... 20, 24, 26, 94  
 άτέκνως ..... 280  
 άτοκ(ε)ί ..... 272  
 άτόνως ..... 19, 24, 26, 95  
 άτόπως ..... 16, 25, 95  
 άτρεκέως ..... 25, 96  
 άτρώτως ..... 20, 24, 96  
 αυθαδώς ..... 24  
 αυθάδως ..... 96  
 αυθαιρέτως ..... 18, 24, 96  
 αυτάρκως ..... 16, 25, 26, 96  
 αυτολεξεί ..... 272  
 αυτομάτως ..... 24, 97  
 αυτοπροσώπως ..... 24, 26, 97  
 αυτοτελώς ..... 24, 97  
 αυτοψεί ..... 272  
 αυτως ..... 25, 98  
 αφάτως ..... 25, 98  
 αφειδέστερα ..... 98  
 αφειδώς ..... 24, 98  
 αφθόνως ..... 25, 26, 99  
 αφιλαύτως ..... 279  
 αφιλονείκως ..... 24, 99  
 αφιλοπραγμόνως ..... 17, 24, 99  
 αφιλοτίμως ..... 99  
 αφνως ..... 20, 22, 100  
 αφόβως ..... 24, 100  
 αφορί ..... 272  
 αφροντίστως ..... 280  
 αφρείως ..... 24, 100  
 αφψευδώς ..... 24, 101  
 βάδην ..... 275  
 βαθέως ..... 101  
 βαθύτερον ..... 101  
 βαρέως ..... 25, 26, 101  
 βαρύτερον ..... 101  
 βασιλικώς ..... 10, 25, 101  
 βεβαίως ..... 9, 24, 101  
 βιαιότερον ..... 102  
 βιαίως ..... 24, 102  
 βραδέως ..... 20, 22, 23, 102  
 βράδιον ..... 102  
 βραδύτερα ..... 102  
 βραδύτερον ..... 102  
 βραχέως ..... 104  
 βραχύτατα ..... 104  
 γελοίως ..... 24, 26, 104  
 γενικώς ..... 17, 25, 104  
 γενναίως ..... 20, 24, 26, 105  
 γεωργικώς ..... 17, 24, 105  
 γνησιαίως ..... 17, 24, 26, 105  
 γνησίως ..... 17, 24, 26, 105  
 γοργώς ..... 20, 22, 106  
 γραμματικώς ..... 280  
 γυμνώς ..... 17, 24, 107  
 δαφιλώς ..... 25, 107  
 δεινώς ..... 25, 26, 107  
 δεξιώς ..... 20, 24, 26, 108  
 δεόντως ..... 14, 17, 18, 24, 25, 108  
 δεσποτικώς ..... 24, 108  
 δευτέρως ..... 280  
 δημοσία ..... 14  
 δημοσίως ..... 280  
 διαγράφως ..... 280  
 διαρρήδην ..... 275  
 διαταχαίως ..... 108  
 διαφερόντως ..... 24, 109  
 διαφόρως ..... 9, 20, 22, 24, 26, 109  
 διεξοδέστερον ..... 26, 109  
 διεξοδικώς ..... 24, 109  
 διηνεκώς ..... 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 109  
 δικαιότερον ..... 110  
 δικαίως ..... 9, 18, 19, 24, 25, 110  
 διπλασίως ..... 25, 110  
 δισσώς ..... 25, 111  
 δυενιαυσίως ..... 111  
 δυνατώς ..... 25, 111  
 δυσασπίστως ..... 281  
 δυσκερδώς ..... 112  
 δυσκόλως ..... 24, 26, 111  
 δυσόκνως ..... 16, 20, 22, 23, 26, 111  
 δυσεβώς ..... 24, 112  
 δυστρόπως ..... 24, 112  
 δυσχερώς ..... 19, 24, 112  
 δωρεάν ..... 14  
 Έβραϊστί ..... 273  
 έγγραπτως ..... 25, 113  
 έγγραφως ..... 18, 25, 113  
 έγκληματικώς ..... 24, 113  
 ειδικώς ..... 25, 113  
 ειθισμένως ..... 14, 113  
 εικάίως ..... 24, 114  
 εικότως ..... 16, 18, 25, 114  
 ειλικρινώς ..... 114  
 ειρομένως ..... 14, 15, 16, 25, 114  
 εκθύμως ..... 16, 24, 114  
 εκόντως ..... 9, 24, 115  
 εκουσίως ..... 24, 115  
 εκπροθέσμως ..... 17, 115  
 εκτελώς ..... 25, 115  
 εκτενώς ..... 25, 115  
 εκτόπως ..... 25, 116  
 ελαφρώς ..... 281  
 ελεημόνως ..... 24, 116  
 ελευθερικώς ..... 24, 116  
 ελευθέρως ..... 18, 24, 26, 116  
 Έλληνιστί ..... 273

- ἐμμέτρως ..... 25, 117  
 ἐμπίρως ..... 25, 117  
 ἐμπιεσμένως ..... 14, 281  
 ἐμπόνως ..... 117  
 ἐμπορικῶς ..... 16, 25, 117  
 ἐμπροθέσμως ..... 118  
 ἐμφύτως ..... 25, 118  
 ἐναντίως ..... 26, 118  
 ἐναποδείκτως ..... 118  
 ἐναργέστερα ..... 118  
 ἐναργῶς ..... 24, 26, 118  
 ἐναρέτως ..... 24, 119  
 ἐνδεέστερον ..... 119  
 ἐνδελεχῶς ..... 119  
 ἐνδεχομένως ..... 14, 25, 26, 119  
 ἐνδεῶς ..... 25, 119  
 ἐνδιαθέτως ..... 20, 25, 26, 120  
 ἐνδιαρκῶς ..... 25, 120  
 ἐνδόξως ..... 16, 19, 25, 26, 120  
 ἐνδρανῶς ..... 25, 121  
 ἐνεργῶς ..... 24, 121  
 ἐνιαυσιαίως ..... 17, 121  
 ἐνιαυσίως ..... 17, 122  
 ἐννόμως ..... 122  
 ἐννομώτερον ..... 122  
 ἐνόρκως ..... 25, 122  
 ἐνσαφῶς ..... 282  
 ἐντελεέστερον ..... 122  
 ἐντελῶς ..... 25, 122  
 ἐντίμως ..... 123  
 ἐντόνως ..... 25, 123  
 ἐνωμότως ..... 18, 25, 123  
 ἐξαιρέτως ..... 20, 25, 123  
 ἐξακινδύνως ..... 282  
 ἐξάφως ..... 282  
 ἐξομολογούμενως ..... 283  
 ἐπαξίως ..... 20, 25, 124  
 ἐπαφροδιτικῶς ..... 20, 25, 124  
 ἐπαφροδίτως ..... 25, 124  
 ἐπαχθῶς ..... 20, 24, 26, 125  
 ἐπαιγμένως ..... 14, 16, 125  
 ἐπεικῶς ..... 24, 125  
 ἐπικινδύνως ..... 24, 26, 126  
 ἐπικλόπως ..... 126  
 ἐπικλοπώτερον ..... 126  
 ἐπιμελέστερον ..... 126  
 ἐπιμελῶς ..... 20, 23, 25, 26, 126  
 ἐπιμηνίως ..... 283  
 ἐπινόσως ..... 24, 26, 128  
 ἐπιπόνως ..... 25, 128  
 ἐπιστημόνως ..... 20, 25, 128  
 ἐπιστρεφέστερον ..... 128  
 ἐπιστρεφῶς ..... 25, 128  
 ἐπισφαλῶς ..... 24, 129  
 ἐπιτηδείως ..... 25, 129  
 ἐπιφανῶς ..... 25, 130  
 ἐπιφθόνως ..... 24, 130  
 ἐπιχωρίως ..... 25, 130  
 ἐπιφελῶς ..... 15, 19, 25, 26, 130  
 ἐπομένως ..... 25, 130  
 ἐργατικῶς ..... 25, 130  
 ἐρρωμένως ..... 14, 15, 25, 26, 131  
 ἐρωτικῶς ..... 14, 16, 131  
 ἐσχάτως ..... 25, 131  
 ἐτέρως ..... 25, 132  
 ἐτεῶς ..... 283  
 ἐτησίως ..... 133  
 ἐτοίμως ..... 18, 22, 133  
 ἐτύμως ..... 25, 133  
 εὐαγῶς ..... 25, 133  
 εὐαρέστως ..... 25, 134  
 εὐγενῶς ..... 20, 24, 26, 134  
 εὐγνωμόνως ..... 24, 134  
 εὐδαιμόνως ..... 24, 135  
 εὐδIALύτως ..... 9, 135  
 εὐδοκίμως ..... 9, 25, 135  
 εὐδόξως ..... 18, 19, 25, 26, 135  
 εὐεργετικῶς ..... 24, 136  
 εὐεργῶς ..... 25, 136  
 εὐθέως ..... 9, 14, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 136  
 εὐθυμότερον ..... 151  
 εὐθύμως ..... 16, 19, 24, 26, 151  
 εὐθύς ..... 21  
 εὐκαιροτέρως ..... 151  
 εὐκαίρως ..... 20, 22, 151  
 εὐκόλως ..... 24, 152  
 εὐκολωτέρως ..... 153  
 εὐκόπως ..... 24, 26, 153  
 εὐκοσμότερον ..... 153  
 εὐκόσμως ..... 153  
 εὐκταίως ..... 25, 153  
 εὐλαβῶς ..... 18, 24, 154  
 εὐλόγως ..... 18, 25, 154  
 εὐμαρῶς ..... 18, 24, 26, 155  
 εὐμενῶς ..... 24, 155  
 εὐνοικῶς ..... 24, 26, 155  
 εὐνοικώτατα ..... 155  
 εὐνως ..... 24, 26, 156  
 εὐπέρως ..... 283  
 εὐπρεπῶς ..... 24, 156  
 εὐσεβῶς ..... 24, 156  
 εὐσήμως ..... 18, 19, 25, 26, 157  
 εὐσημόνως ..... 24, 157  
 εὐτάκτως ..... 9, 20, 22, 23, 24, 157  
 εὐτόνως ..... 24, 158  
 εὐτονώτερον ..... 26, 158  
 εὐτυχῶς ..... 9, 10, 18, 25, 159  
 εὐφήμως ..... 24, 161  
 εὐχαρίστως ..... 24, 26, 161  
 εὐχερέστερον ..... 161  
 εὐχερῶς ..... 19, 24, 161  
 εὐχρώμως ..... 18, 19, 25, 162  
 εὐψύχως ..... 25, 162  
 ἐχθρῶς ..... 25, 163  
 ἐχομένως ..... 14, 25, 163  
 ἡδέως ..... 10, 14, 15, 18, 20, 25, 26, 163  
 ἡδιον ..... 163  
 ἡδιστα ..... 163  
 ἡκαίως ..... 284  
 ἡμερησίως ..... 15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 167  
 ἡμερουσίως ..... 169  
 ἡρέμως ..... 24, 169  
 ἡσυχίως ..... 14, 16, 20, 24, 26, 169  
 ἡσύχως ..... 18, 20, 24, 170  
 θᾶσσον ..... 246  
 θᾶττον ..... 246  
 θαυμαστῶς ..... 25, 170  
 θειωδῶς ..... 25, 170  
 θείως ..... 25, 170  
 θερμῶς ..... 25, 26, 170  
 θυμικῶς ..... 24, 26, 171  
 ἰδίᾳ ..... 14, 172  
 ἰδιαζόντως ..... 25, 171  
 ἰδικῶς ..... 25, 171  
 ἰδιοκινδύνως ..... 171  
 ἰδίως ..... 25, 171  
 ἰδιωτικῶς ..... 25, 172  
 ἰερατικῶς ..... 16, 25, 172  
 ἰκανῶς ..... 9, 20, 25, 26, 172  
 ἰκέλως ..... 25, 173  
 ἰλαρῶς ..... 24, 174  
 ἰσοψύχως ..... 10, 174  
 ἰσχυρότερον ..... 174  
 ἰσχυρῶς ..... 25, 174  
 ἴσως ..... 25, 174  
 καθαρίως ..... 24, 26, 175  
 καθαρῶς ..... 9, 24, 176  
 καθηκόντως ..... 14, 19, 25, 176  
 καθολικῶς ..... 25, 176  
 καινῶς ..... 177  
 κακοπραγμόνως ..... 25, 177  
 κακοσχόλως ..... 17, 24, 177  
 κακοτρόπως ..... 17, 25, 177  
 κακουργότερον ..... 177  
 κακούργως ..... 25, 177  
 κακῶς ..... 15, 19, 25, 26, 178  
 καλοθελῶς ..... 25, 179  
 καλῶς ..... 9, 14, 15, 19, 25, 26, 179  
 καρπαλίμως ..... 180  
 καταλογάδην ..... 275  
 καταξίως ..... 25, 181  
 κατασπουδαίως ..... 15, 24, 26, 181

- κενῶς ..... 24, 181  
 κεχαρισμένως 14, 25, 26, 182  
 κευχωρισμένως..... 14, 25, 182  
 κηδεμονικῶς ..... 182  
 κλεψιμαίως..... 24, 182  
 κοινῆ ..... 14  
 κοινῶς ..... 25, 182  
 κομιδῆ..... 14  
 κομψότερον ..... 18, 183  
 κομψῶς ..... 15, 19, 25, 183  
 κοσμίως ..... 285  
 κοτυλιστί ..... 273  
 κρυπτῶς..... 24, 184  
 κρύφα ..... 13  
 κυδαλίμως..... 24, 185  
 κυριευτικῶς ..... 24, 185  
 κυρίως ..... 24, 185  
 λάθρα ..... 185  
 λαθραίως ..... 24, 185  
 λαμπρῶς ..... 9, 24, 26, 185  
 ληστρικῶς..... 24, 186  
 λιπαρῶς..... 20, 25, 186  
 -λόγως ..... 262  
 λυσιτελέστατα ..... 186  
 λυσιτελῶς ..... 24, 186  
 μαλακῶς ..... 25, 26, 186  
 μανικῶς ..... 9, 187  
 ματαίως ..... 25, 187  
 μεγαλομερῶς..... 24, 187  
 μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ..... 187  
 μεγαλοπρεπῶς..... 187  
 μεγαλοφρόνως..... 24, 187  
 μεγαλοψύχως ..... 24, 187  
 μεγάλας ..... 18, 25, 26, 188  
 μεταπαθῶς ..... 189  
 μετριοπαθῶς ..... 25, 189  
 μετρίως ... 18, 19, 25, 26, 190  
 μηδαμῶς ..... 25, 191  
 μηθαμῶς..... 191  
 μηνιαίως..... 22, 24, 191  
 μικρῶς ..... 19, 25, 26, 192  
 μικῶς ..... 192  
 μισοπονηρότερον ..... 192  
 μισοπονηρῶς ..... 24, 192  
 μογερῶς..... 192  
 μοναχῶς ..... 25, 193  
 μονομερῶς ..... 25, 193  
 νεανικῶς..... 193  
 νεανικώτερον ..... 193  
 νενομισμένως ..... 285  
 νέως ..... 193  
 νεωσθί ..... 273  
 νεωστί ..... 273  
 νομίμως ..... 18, 24, 193  
 νυχθημέρως ..... 10  
 νωθρότερον ..... 18, 194  
 νωθρῶς ..... 25, 194
- οικείως ..... 25, 194  
 οίκτρως ..... 24, 195  
 ὀκηρῶς..... 22, 195  
 ὀλιγίστως ..... 285  
 ὀλιγῶρως ..... 16, 22, 24, 195  
 ὀλίγως..... 19, 20, 25, 26, 195  
 ὀλοκλήρως ..... 285  
 ὀλομερῶς ..... 25, 196  
 ὀλοσχερέστερον ..... 196  
 ὀλοσχερῶς ..... 25, 196  
 ὀλοψύχως 16, 20, 24, 26, 196  
 ὄλως ..... 25, 196  
 ὀμοθυμαδόν..... 275  
 ὀμοίως ..... 9, 14, 25, 198  
 ὀμολογουμένως.. 14, 24, 198  
 ὀμολόγως ..... 286  
 ὀμῶς ..... 286  
 ὀνομαστί ..... 273  
 ὄντως ..... 25, 198  
 ὀποτέρως ..... 25, 199  
 ὀρθῶς ..... 24, 199  
 ὀρφανικῶς ..... 201  
 ὀσίως ..... 9, 24, 26, 201  
 οὐδαμῶς ..... 25, 202  
 οὔτω ..... 202  
 οὔτως ..... 202  
 ὀχληρῶς..... 24, 203  
 ὀχλικῶς ..... 286  
 ὀψίμως..... 203  
 παγκάκως ..... 25, 203  
 παλαιότερον ..... 204  
 παλαιῶς ..... 204  
 πανεξόχως ..... 25, 204  
 πανοικ(ε)ί ..... 273  
 πανούργως ..... 24, 204  
 παντελῶς..... 25, 26, 204  
 παντοδαπῶς ..... 25, 205  
 παντοίως ..... 25, 205  
 πάντως..... 9, 14, 25, 26, 205  
 παραινετικῶς ..... 24, 210  
 παραλόγως ..... 24, 210  
 παρανόμως ..... 13, 24, 210  
 παρέργως ..... 19, 25, 211  
 πασπάντως ..... 11  
 πατριαστί..... 274  
 παχυμερῶς..... 24, 211  
 πεπεισμένως ..... 14, 24, 212  
 πεπλασμένως.. 9, 14, 24, 212  
 περιέργως ..... 212, 276  
 περισσότερον ..... 212  
 περισσοτέρως 16, 18, 25, 212  
 περισσῶς ..... 18, 25, 212  
 περιπτῶς ..... 212  
 περιφανῶς..... 24, 213  
 πεφροντισμένως . 14, 24, 213  
 πικρῶς ..... 16, 25, 26, 213  
 πιστεῶς ..... 286
- πιστῶς ..... 18, 24, 26, 213  
 πλαγίως ..... 17, 25, 214  
 πλατικῶς..... 20, 24, 26, 214  
 πλειόνως..... 20, 25, 214  
 πλεονεκτικῶς ..... 24, 215  
 πληθικῶς ..... 25, 215  
 πλήρως ..... 24, 215  
 πληρωτικῶς..... 215  
 ποικίλως ..... 25, 216  
 πολλαπλασίως.. 20, 25, 216  
 πολλαστῶς ..... 287  
 πολλαχῶς ..... 18, 25, 216  
 πολυπραγμόνως 17, 24, 217  
 πολυτελεστέρας 15, 24, 217  
 πονηρῶς ..... 25, 217  
 ποσῶς ..... 287  
 πραέως ..... 9, 20, 26, 217  
 πράως..... 16, 20, 25, 26, 217  
 πρεπόντως ... 16, 25, 26, 218  
 προηγουμένως..... 14, 20, 25, 218  
 προθυμότητα ..... 219  
 προθυμότερον ..... 219  
 προθύμως . 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 219  
 προνοητικῶς ..... 24, 221  
 προοφθάλμως .... 17, 25, 221  
 προπετῶς ..... 26, 221  
 προσεχέστερον ..... 222  
 προσεχόντως ..... 17, 24, 222  
 προσεχῶς ..... 222  
 προσηκόντως..... 24, 222  
 προσηνῶς ..... 24, 222  
 προστακτικῶς..... 24, 222  
 προσφάτως ..... 9, 222  
 προφανῶς ..... 24, 223  
 προφρονέως..... 24, 223  
 προχείρως ..... 24, 223  
 πρωμιότερον ..... 223  
 προαινῶς ..... 287  
 πρωτοτύπως ..... 25, 223  
 πρώτως..... 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 224  
 πυκνότερα ..... 225  
 πυκνότερον..... 225  
 πυκνοτέρως..... 225  
 πυκνῶς..... 20, 22, 24, 26, 225  
 ραδίως ..... 19, 24, 226  
 ρητῶς..... 24, 226  
 ριψοκινδύνως ..... 227  
 ρύβδην ..... 275  
 σαπρῶς..... 15, 16, 25, 26, 227  
 σαφέστερον ..... 227  
 σαφεστέρας .. 15, 19, 20, 227  
 σαφῶς..... 18, 24, 227  
 σεμνῶς ..... 25, 229  
 σκολιῶς ..... 288

σμικρομερῶς .....	25, 229	σχεδόν .....	275	ὑπολόγως .....	262
σμικρῶς .....	25, 192, 229	σωματικῶς .....	25, 241	ὑπόπτως .....	24, 256
σοβαρῶς .....	229	σωτηρίως .....	25, 26, 241	ὑποστατικῶς .....	24, 256
σοφῶς .....	288	σωφρόνως .....	24, 241	ὑποτακτικῶς .....	24, 256
σπανίως .....	20, 22, 24, 230	ταρότατα .....	250	φανερῶς .....	13, 24, 257
σπουδαίως .....	16, 17, 24, 230	τάχ(ε)ιον .....	247	φανερώτερον .....	257
σπουδῆ .....	13	τάχα .....	21	φαύλως .....	24, 257
στενότερον .....	232	ταχέως .....	14, 20, 22, 23, 26, 241	φθονερῶς .....	20, 25, 257
στενῶς .....	24, 232	τάχιστα .....	249	φιλαγάθως .....	25, 258
στοιχειωδῶς .....	25, 232	τάχος .....	250	φιλανθρωπότατα .....	258
στυγνοτέρως .....	16, 25, 232	ταχύ .....	26	φιλανθρώπως .....	25, 26, 258
συλλήβδην .....	275	ταχύτερον .....	26, 246	φιλικῶς .....	25, 26, 258
συμμέτρως .....	25, 232	τεθαρρημένως .....	14, 15, 253	φιλοπόνως .....	24, 259
συμφώνως .....	25, 233	τελείως .....	253	φιλοσόφως .....	25, 259
συνδεδεμένως .....	233	τελέως .....	253	φιλοτιμότητα .....	260
συνεχέστερον .....	233	τολμηρῶς .....	25, 253	φιλοτιμότερον .....	260
συνεχῶς ...	15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 68, 233	τριπλασίως .....	25, 254	φιλοτίμως .....	24, 26, 260
συνήθως .....	25, 236	τυραννικῶς .....	25, 254	φιλοφρόνως .....	25, 260
συννόμως .....	25, 238	τυχόντως .....	17, 25, 254	φοβερῶς .....	24, 260
συντετηρημένως ..	14, 17, 24, 26, 238	ὑβριστικῶς .....	18, 25, 26, 254	φρονίμως .....	20, 24, 26, 261
συντόμως .....	20, 22, 24, 26, 238	ὑγιεινῶς .....	20, 25, 255	χαλεπῶς .....	24, 26, 261
συντομώτατα .....	26, 238	ὑγιῶς .....	18, 19, 25, 255	χρηματικῶς .....	25, 261
συντομώτερον .....	238	ὑπεναντίως .....	25, 255	χρονίως .....	261
Συριστί .....	274	ὑπερηφάνως ..	16, 25, 26, 255	χύδην .....	275
συχνῶς .....	20, 22, 26, 240	ὑπερσκληρῶς .....	288	ψευδῶς .....	261
σφοδρότερον .....	26, 240	ὑπηκόως .....	24, 256	ψιλῶς .....	24, 262
σφοδρῶς .....	20, 25, 26, 240	ὑπογύως .....	18, 20, 22, 23, 256	ὠκαίως .....	22, 262
		ὑπογύως .....	20, 256	ὠσαύτως .....	25, 262

### **Credit for image clippings**

*P.Harr.* I 141: Courtesy of Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham.  
*P.Mich.* III 174 and 477; *P.Coll.Youlie* I 17: Courtesy of the Special Collections, University of Michigan.  
*P.Giss.* I 22, I 47, III 32; *SB XII* 11039: © Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek.  
*P.Got.* 28: Courtesy of the Universitetsbibliotek Göteborg.  
*P.Princ.* II 69: Courtesy of the Special Collections Department at Princeton University.  
*P.Rein.* I 47: © Sorbonne Université – Institut de Papyrologie.  
*P.Oxy.* XXII 2349, XXIV 2407, XLVII 3356: Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society and the University of Oxford Imaging Papyri Project.  
*P.Col.* III 17 and IV 115: © Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.  
*P.Freib.* IV 68: © Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg i. Br. / Historische Sammlungen, Pap. Freib. 82.  
*P.Tebt.* I 124 and II 284: Courtesy of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California, Berkeley.  
*PSI* III 210; V 522; VII 741, 837: © Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Su concessione del MiC. È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.  
*PSI* VII 783, XV 1557: © Istituto Papirologico «G. Vitelli».  
*P.Stras.* IV 187: Coll. and fotogr. Bnu de Strasbourg.  
*P.Vindob.Sijp.* 27: © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung.  
*P.Wisc.* 42: Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
*BGU* IV 1205, *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67279, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67283, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59387, *P.Fay.* 344, *P.Fouad* 31 and 80, *P.Mich.* VIII 465, 474 and 477, *P.Oxy.* II 237, *SB XX* 14626: Archives photographiques internationales de papyrologie.  
© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Inv. No. P. 11872, <http://berlpap.smb.museum/05958/>; Inv. No. P. 21685, <http://berlpap.smb.museum/04765/>; Inv. No. P. 25388, <http://berlpap.smb.museum/05224/>; Inv. No. P. 2348, <http://berlpap.smb.museum/01016/>; Inv. No. P. 11650, <http://berlpap.smb.museum/record/?result=1&Alle=11650>; Inv. No. P. 7104, <http://berlpap.smb.museum/01968/>.



