

## EPISTOLARY GREETINGS IN THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI<sup>1</sup>

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### Summary

*This paper examines the function of greetings in letters in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri by focusing on vocabulary, how individuals and groups of people are described, questions relating to format and presentation, differences in format, particularly when greetings are interrupted, and the function of greetings in consolidating and maintaining connections between writers and extended communities. It offers conclusions concerning the placement of greetings, the normal epistolary practice of Graeco-Roman antiquity, and the flexibility in the relationship between the greetings, the situation, and main purpose of the letter. Included is a list of the 74 letters and the text of their greetings.*

### 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the vocabulary, format, role, and function of the greetings contained in the Greek documentary letters from Oxyrhynchus. The investigation arose from an earlier study of epistolary practices in a collection of letters from Claudius Terentianus found in the archive of Claudius Tiberianus.<sup>2</sup> In that study I noted ‘the evident desire expressed by the author for the contact represented by a letter and the news contained in such letters’.<sup>3</sup> These letters, in common

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier form of this paper was presented to the Papyrology and Early Christian Backgrounds Group at the SBL Annual Meeting in San Antonio (November 2016).

<sup>2</sup> P. M. Head, ‘The Letters of Claudius Terentianus and the New Testament: Insights and Observations on Epistolary Themes’, *Tyndale Bulletin* 65 (2014): 219-245, esp. pp. 235-39 on the greetings.

<sup>3</sup> Head, ‘The Letters of Claudius Terentianus and the New Testament’, 235-36.

with many other letters from antiquity, contained a variety of references to the desire for correspondence, the joy resulting from receiving a letter, and references to news and gossip passing between the sender and the recipient (and their wider networks). I noted that ‘a particular expression of the connections between people is the use of greetings in the closing parts of the letters’, including greetings sent to the recipient from those present with the writer and greetings (or instructions to convey greetings) to people at the recipient’s location.

These greetings serve to connect, through the vehicle of the written communication, the family group around the sender with the recipient, and the sender with an extensive network of friends and colleagues (some of whom are greeted in other letters as well).<sup>4</sup>

Greetings of various types have, of course, an important place within the letters of the New Testament, and of Paul in particular. The important role of greetings within ancient epistolary practice has been widely recognised and attempts have been made to relate the greetings within the New Testament to ancient epistolary practice.<sup>5</sup> Two particular advances reflected in this study are to focus on how greetings function within a representative sample of ancient letters and to utilise the opportunity made available by the presence of digital images of many of these papyrus texts online.<sup>6</sup> The basic corpus for comparison here is the documentary letters written between 200 BC and AD 200 which have been published within *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* volumes (1–82) and which contain some form of specific greeting.<sup>7</sup> To this, I

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<sup>4</sup> Head, ‘The Letters of Claudius Terentianus and the New Testament’, 238.

<sup>5</sup> H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, tom. 102. 2; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1956): 148-51; F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America, 1923): 69-77; T. Y. Mullins, ‘Greetings as a New Testament Form’, *JBL* 88 (1968), 418-26; J. L. White, ‘Epistolary Formulas and Clichés in Greek Papyrus Letters’, *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers* 2 (1978): 289-319, esp. pp. 298-99; J. A. D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closing* (JSNT SS 101; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994): 39-45, 104-17.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. recently S. Reece, *Paul’s Large Letters: Paul’s Autographic Subscriptions in the Light of Ancient Epistolary Conventions* (LNTS 561; London: Bloomsbury, 2017): ix and throughout on the benefits of relating published editions of papyri to digital images.

<sup>7</sup> Greek texts are cited from [www.papyri.info](http://www.papyri.info) (where information on digital images is also found); ETs are generally from the first edition, sometimes adjusted by the author.

have added documentary letters definitely from Oxyrhynchus and published in other collections.<sup>8</sup>

Of the broader collection of 217 letters, 74 have at least one greeting. This may not mean that all the other letters initially lacked greetings, as many are fragmentary and some are not fully published.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the initial impression is that under half of all the letters include a greeting section – it is by no means a universal feature of ancient epistolary communication. In what follows we shall begin with observations on the vocabulary used (section 2), then turn to the how individuals and groups of people are described (section 3), some questions of format and presentation (section 4), and then investigate variations to the standard format, especially when greetings are interrupted by other issues of concern to the writer (section 5), before offering some general conclusions (section 6). A list of the 74 letters with the text of their greetings is attached.

## 2. Vocabulary and usage

Three terms are used in epistolary greetings in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri: ἀσπάζομαι, προσαγορεύω, and ἐπισκοπέω.<sup>10</sup> The primary term used in epistolary greetings is clearly ἀσπάζομαι, which appears in 73 out of the 74 letters with greetings. In 25 of those it is repeated twice, and in 7 letters it is repeated three times (normally when used multiple times at least once in the imperative form and once in the indicative).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> E.g. many PSI papyri come from later Italian excavations in the same city; P. Oxy.Hels is a collection of Oxyrhynchus papyri donated from the EES collection in Oxford to Helsinki University; other letters of definite Oxyrhynchus provenance are also included.

<sup>9</sup> Letters may lack a specific greeting because of the brief specific contents, or because of the type of letter, or because of damage (e.g. P. Oxy 1154, which clearly had greetings in the left margin but the verb is missing: πατέρα σου και την μητέρα και τους αδελφους; or P. Oxy 2191, which also clearly had some greeting – based on the presence of ἀσπασαι – but the rest of the surrounding lines is unreadable). An interesting example is P. Oxy 115 (II), a letter of consolation, which, while lacking greetings, does specifically include other people into the consolation: ‘I was as much grieved and shed as many tears over Eumoerus as I shed for Didymas, and I did everything that was fitting, and so did all my friends (και πάντα ὅσα ἦν καθήκοντα ἐποίησα και πάντες οἱ ἔμοι), Eraphroditus and Thermouthion and Philion and Apollonius and Plantas.’

<sup>10</sup> For these three in ancient Greek letters more broadly see H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie*, 149.

<sup>11</sup> ἀσπάζομαι is also the normal verb for greetings in NT letters: 21x in Rom. 16; 4x in 1 Cor. 16.19ff.; 2x in 2 Cor .13.12; 3 x in Phil. 4.21f; 4x in Col. 4.10-15; 1x in

The same verb is translated in a variety of ways by the editors of the papyri in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, including ‘salutations’, ‘salute’, ‘greet’, ‘give my regards to’, ‘send best wishes’, ‘give best wishes’, ‘send greetings’, ‘send regards’, ‘give greetings’, and ‘greetings’.<sup>12</sup>

The verb ἀσπάζομαι is used in these letters in both the imperative and the indicative. Among the many letters which have both forms, the imperative generally comes first, and then the indicative. The imperative form is used to instruct or request the recipient of the letter to greet people in their location and network of relationships. These are mostly singular imperatives; the aorist form ἄσπασαι is used 30 times in these letters, while the present form ἀσπάζου occurs 19 times (there is no obvious distinction between the two, and one letter, P. Oxy 530, uses both forms). The plural form ἀσπάσασθε is used in only one letter (two times in P. Oxy 533), a letter addressed to two recipients. The indicative form is used to report greetings from those present with the writer towards the recipient. The most common is the third-person singular ἀσπάζεται, which is found 31 times (sometimes for greetings from more than one person, i.e. not strictly singular); the third-person plural form ἀσπάζονται is found 7 times (each of these does reflect a plurality); the first-person plural form ἀσπαζόμεθα is found 2 times; and the first-person singular form ἀσπάζομαι is found 12 times.<sup>13</sup> Emphasis is added either by the use of πολλά, used adverbially on three occasions (P. Oxy 3062 (I); P. Oxy 114 (II-III); P. Oxy 930 (II/III)), or

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1 Thess. 5.26; 1x in Phil. 23; 2x in 2 Tim. 4.19-21; 2x in Tit. 3.15; 2x in Heb. 13.24; 2x in 1 Pet. 5.13f; 1x in 2 John 13; 2x in 3 John 15. For the most part, these multiple occurrences include both imperatival and indicative forms.

<sup>12</sup> See BDAG 144 for a good discussion of the range of meanings found in early Christian literature (LSJ, 258: ‘welcome kindly, greet’). Of its use in written greetings (47 out of 60 total occurrences within the NT) BDAG suggests ‘the imperative may be translated *greetings to (someone)* or *remember me to (someone)*; other moods than imperative may be rendered *wish to be remembered, greet, send greetings*’. BDAG 144.

<sup>13</sup> The first-person greeting can be used both for authorial greetings, especially those that immediately follow the opening of the letter (so, e.g., P. Oxy 2593 (II); P. Oxy 963 (II-III); P. Oxy 2984 (II-III); P. Oxy 3809 (II-III): [ἀσπ]άζω; PSI 1259 (II/III)), for normal personal greetings (e.g. P. Oxy 1758 (II); P. Oxy 3990 (II); P. Oslo II.52 (II); P. Oxy 1216 (II-III); P. Oxy 1294 (II/III)), and also for secretarial greetings (e.g. P. Oxy 3062; P. Oxy 3057 [following the suggestion of J. Rea reported in the ed. prin. and cf. BL VIII (1992).265]). This latter group has an obvious connection with Rom. 16.22: ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν κυρίῳ. I hope to address this in a fuller study.

λείαν, used twice in the same letter (P. Oxy 2593, II), or *μεγάλως*, used once (P. Wash. Univ. 2:106, 18 BC).<sup>14</sup>

Two other terms are also found within epistolary greetings: *προσαγορεύω* and *ἐπισκοπέω*.<sup>15</sup> They are each used in four letters. On the one hand, *ἐπισκοπέω* or *ἐπισκοποῦμαι* ('look upon', 'regard', 'visit', LSJ) is used in four letters, where it occurs once each time, generally in the imperative (and with no usage of *ἀσπάζομαι* in these letters).<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, *προσαγορεύω* ('address', 'greet', 'call by name', LSJ) is used in four letters (P. Oxy 928; 2559; 4959; PSI 1359), three of which also use a form of *ἀσπάζομαι*. P. Oxy 2559 (II) uses *ἀσπάζεταιται* for sending greetings from those with the writer ('my wife/partner' and 'the children') and *προσαγόρευε* for requesting greetings be passed on to those with the recipient (names obscured). PSI 1359 (II–III) has a similar usage, but in the other order, moving from *προσαγόρευε* used for greeting 'all those who are yours, from me' (*τοὺς σοὺς πάντα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ προσαγόρευε*), and following that with *ἀσπάζεταιται* for greetings from those with the writer ('Cyrilla and her mother and father'). P. Oxy 4959 (II) has the opposite combination: *προσαγορεύει* for greetings from those with the writer ('your daughter' and 'my brother') and *ἀσπάξεσθε* for requesting greetings passed on to those with the recipient ('Ptolemaus and Antiochus the brothers').

### 3. People and groups of people invoked in greetings

Most of the greetings, both those from the writer's circle directed towards the recipient and those which the writer directs towards the recipient's circle, concern particular named or identified people. P. Oxy 117 (II–III) offers a straightforward example. This letter is addressed from Chaereas to Dionysius (his brother) and covers a variety of practical matters. It concludes with greetings and a final wish for health:

<sup>14</sup> For this usage cf. 1 Cor. 16.19b: *ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκα σὺν τῇ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

<sup>15</sup> Neither is used in similar contexts within the NT letters – for *προσαγορεύω* in greetings, see M. Polycarp 20.2: *προσαγορεύετε πάντα τοὺς ἁγίους ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεῖ.* For *προσαγορεύω* in the sense of 'appoint', see Heb. 5.10, a NT hapax; for *ἐπισκοπέω* in the sense of 'care for' or 'take care', see Heb. 12.15; 1 Pet. 5.2 (*v.l.*).

<sup>16</sup> P. Oxy 294 (AD 22); P. Oxy 2838 (AD 62); P. Oxy 3852 (II): all of these have *ἐπισκοποῦ* (the imperatival form, with some variable spelling).

τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀσπάζου καὶ τὴν Κύριλλαν. Ῥοδόπη ὑμᾶς καὶ Ἀρσίνοος ἀσπάζονται. ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

Greet [your] sister and Cyrilla. Rhodope and Arsinous greet you. I pray for your health.

Sometimes they can be more extensive, as for example in the more substantial letter from Dionysius to his mother Tetheus (P. Oxy 530, II), which names more than twelve individuals:

ἀσπάζεται σε Θεωνᾶς. ἀσπάζου τὰ παιδιά Ἀπίωνα κ[αί] ἀδελφὸν Ἑρματιόν, Διονυτᾶν, τοὺς περ[ὶ] Ν[ί]κην καὶ Θαισοῦν τὴν μικρὰν, τ[ο]ὺς περὶ [...] τὰ πάντας, Ἡρᾶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ, Λεοντᾶν τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τοὺς περὶ Τααμίον, [Θερ]μουθάριον. ἐρρω(σο) ... ἄσπασαι Διονυτᾶν καὶ Θεῶνα.

Theonas greets you. Greet the boys Apion and his brother Hermatois, Dionutas, those with Nice and the little Thaisous, all those with ... Heras and those who are with him, Leontas the proud and those who are with him, those with Taamois, and Thermoutharion. Goodbye ... Greet Dionutas and Theon.

As these two examples suggest, within greetings we find names alone, or names with some qualifier ('his brother Hermatois ... the little Thaisous ... Leontas the proud'), or a statement of relationship ('your sister'). The most common are familial terms which naturally encapsulate many of the people writers wished to greet (in order of frequency within our sample we found as follows):<sup>17</sup>

παιδιά 'children' – 15<sup>18</sup>  
 ἀδελφός 'brother' – 13<sup>19</sup>  
 μήτηρ 'mother' – 11<sup>20</sup>  
 πατήρ 'father' – 10<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For a helpful discussion and a caution against taking such terms in letters as generally fictive, see E. Dickey, 'Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri', *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004): 131-76.

<sup>18</sup> P. Oxy 1061, 22 BC; P. Oxy 5049, AD 59; P. Oxy 5286, AD 82; P. Oxy 3808, I/II; P. Oxy 530, II; P. Oxy 1582, II; P. Oxy 1760, II; P. Oxy 2559, II; P. Oxy 2594, II; P. Oxy 2787, II [*bis*]; P. Oxy 2981, II [*bis*]; P. Oxy 928, II/III; P. Oxy 930, II/III.

<sup>19</sup> P. Oxy 2148, AD 27 [plural]; P. Oxy 295, AD 35; SB 3.7258, AD 88-96; P. Oxy.Hels 46, I-II; P. Oxy 530, II; P. Oxy 2786, II [plural]; P. Oxy 3990, II; P. Oxy 4959, II [sg. & pl.]; P. Oslo II.52, II [pl.?]; P. Oxy 2982, II/III [pl.]; P. Oxy 3993, II-III; P. Oxy.Hels 48, II-III.

<sup>20</sup> P. Oxy 3356, AD 76; P. Oxy.Hels 46, I-II; P. Oxy 529, II; P. Oxy 1582, II; P. Oxy 2559, II; P. Oxy 3992, II [*bis*]; P. Oslo II.52, II; P. Oxy 3991, II-III; PSI 1359, II-III; P. Oxy.Hels 48, II-III.

- υἱός ‘son’ – 7<sup>22</sup>  
 θυγάτηρ ‘daughter’ - 7<sup>23</sup>  
 ἀδελφή ‘sister’ – 6<sup>24</sup>  
 τέκνα ‘children’ – 5<sup>25</sup>  
 γυνή ‘wife’ – 3<sup>26</sup>  
 κυρία ‘lady’ - 3<sup>27</sup>  
 σύμβιος ‘spouse’ – 2<sup>28</sup>  
 κοράσια ‘girls’ - 1<sup>29</sup>  
 κύριος ‘master’ - 1<sup>30</sup>

References to ‘children’ are often accompanied by the adjective ἀβασκάντος, implying a wish that they be kept ‘secure against enchantments’, ‘free from harm’.<sup>31</sup> Occasional other terms are also used.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to such familial terms we can also observe in P. Oxy 530, in addition to the named individuals, that the writer sends greetings to rather generalised groups of people, using either a) τοὺς περὶ with a name – ‘those around a certain person’ (τοὺς περ[ι] Ν[ι]κη

<sup>21</sup> P. Oxy 294, AD 22; P. Oxy 295, AD 35; P. Oxy.Hels 46, I–II; P. Oxy 1581, II; P. Oxy 3199, II; P. Oxy 3991, II–III; PSI 1332, II–III; PSI 1359, II–III; P. Oxy.Hels 48, II–III [*bis*].

<sup>22</sup> P. Oxy 2838, AD 62 [*bis*]; P. Oxy 1581, II; P. Oxy 1582, II; P. Oxy 2679, II; P. Oxy 160, II–III; P. Oxy 533, II/III [pl.]; P. Oxy 3993, II–III.

<sup>23</sup> P. Oxy 1584, II [*bis*]; P. Oxy 3992, II; P. Oxy 4959, II; P. Oxy 533, II/III; P. Oxy 1294, II/III; P. Oxy 3993, II–III.

<sup>24</sup> P. Oxy 295, AD 35; P. Oxy.Hels 46, I–II; P. Oxy 2594, II; P. Oxy 117, II–III; P. Oxy 930, II/III [pl.]; P. Oxy.Hels 48, II–III.

<sup>25</sup> P. Oxy 2148, AD 27; P. Oxy 529, II; P. Oxy 2860, II; P. Oxy 3312, II; P. Oxy 3313, II.

<sup>26</sup> P. Oxy 1479, I BC; P. Oxy 2148, AD 27 [plural]; PSI 1332, II–III.

<sup>27</sup> P. Oxy.Hels 46, I–II; P. Oxy 3992, II; PSI 1259, II/III.

<sup>28</sup> P. Oxy 3312, II (ὁ σύμβιος); P. Oxy 2559, II (ἡ σύμβιος).

<sup>29</sup> P. Oxy 2860, II.

<sup>30</sup> P. Oxy 300, I.

<sup>31</sup> LSI, 2 (noting the term was used ‘esp. of children’); P. Oxy 2594, II: τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδία; P. Oxy 2679, II: τὸν ἀβάσκαντον υἱόν; P. Oxy 2981, II: τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδία [*bis*]; P. Oxy 930, II/III: τὰ ἀβάσκαντα παιδία; cf. also P. Oxy 300, I: τοὺς ἀβασκάντους (following a list of names); P. Oxy 3313, II: τοὺς ἀβασκάντους ἁυτοῦ/ (preceding a list of names).

<sup>32</sup> ‘Greet Demetrius the guard’ – ἄσπασαι Δημήτριον τὸν φύλακα (P. Oxy 3808, I/II); ‘Greet Claudius the best’ – ἄσπασαι Κλα[υ]δῖαν τὴν ἀγαθοτάτην (P. Oxy 1757, II); ‘Greet your(?) dear Florentia’ – ἄσπ[α]σα[ι] τὴν ἀγαθὴν Φλωρε[ν]τ[ί]αν σου(?) (P. Oxy 2860, II); ‘Greet the most excellent Alexander’ – ἄσπασα[ι] Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν κράτιστον (P. Oxy 3313, II); ‘Greet my friend Plutogenes’ – ἄσπασ[αι] Πλου[τ]ογένην τὸν φίλον (P. Oxy 933, late II); ‘Greet the little Serenus’ – ἀπάσασθε τὸν μικρὸν Σερήνον (P. Oxy 533, II/III); ‘Greet your esteemed *paidagogos* Eros’ – ἄσπασαι τὸν τεμιώτατον παιδαγωγὸν σου Ἔρωτα (P. Oxy 930, II/III).

... τ[ο]ὺς περὶ [...] τα πάντα ... τοὺς περὶ Τααμίον) or b) τοὺς αὐτοῦ – ‘those of him’ (Ἡρᾶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ, Λεοντᾶν τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ) to indicate a group of people, presumably the household, of particular individuals. Throughout the Oxyrhynchus Papyri a variety of different expressions are used to indicate that greetings either come from, or are directed to, a wider group of people (who are not named), often using some form of ‘all’ to generalise (as P. Oxy 530 does as well, although the name is missing due to damage: τ[ο]ὺς περὶ [...] τα πάντα).

For greetings from those with the writer we find the simple expressions οἱ μοι πάντες (P. Oxy 3312, II), or οἱ ἡμέτεροι πάντες (P. Oxy 930, II/III). For greetings directed to those with the recipient we find τοὺς σοὺς πάντα eight times (P. Oxy 1061, 22 BC; P. Oxy 298, I; P. Oxy 4624, I; P. Oxy 3057, I/II; P. Oxy 1584, II; P. Oxy 2680, II; P. Oxy 2984, II–III; PSI 1359, II–III), or, with different word order, πάντα τοὺς σοὺς, two times (P. Oxy 745, AD 1; P. Oxy 3312, II), or τοὺς μετ’ ἐσοῦ πάντα (P. Oxy 531, II). Another expression which suggests solidarity between the writer and the recipient is τοὺς παρ’ ἡμῶν πάντα (P. Oxy 3504, I/II) or πάντα τοὺς παρ’ ἡμῶν (P. Oxy 805, 25 BC), or the simpler form τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντα (P. Oxy 160, II–III [*bis*]; P. Oxy 533, II/III; PSI 1259, II/III). Another way to express this is to use either a verb or noun indicating friendly relations: τοὺς φιλοῦντας σε πάντα occurs three times (P. Oxy 2148, AD 27; P. Oxy 529, II; P. Oxy 1757, II); πάντες τοὺς φίλους [here we should read the accusative form πάντας] occurs once (P. Oxy 1155, AD 104), or τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς (PSI 1332, II–III); and, among those who send greetings, οἱ φίλοι πάντες (P. Oxy 2594, II) or πάντες οἱ παρ’ ἡμῶν (P. Oxy 298, I), or οἱ ἡμῶν πάντες (PSI 1259, II/III). Sometimes the household group may be indicated more explicitly, as in τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντα (four times: P. Wash. Univ. 2:106, 18 BC; P. Oxy 3356, AD 76; P. Oxy 3988, II; P. Oxy 3810, II/III), or, in different order, πάντα τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ (P. Oxy 2679, II), or more simply τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ (P. Oxy 2787, II), or, among those sending greetings, οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες (P. Wash. Univ. 2:106, 18 BC; P. Oxy 3505, II?; P. Oxy 1761,<sup>33</sup> II/III) and πάντες οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ (P. Oxy 531, II). Other expressions conveying a similar meaning also occur, thus πάντα οὗς ἡδέως ἔχεις (once), πάντα

<sup>33</sup> The cases and spelling are misconstrued, but this must be what the writer means to write when he actually writes ἀσπαζετε ὑμᾶς] Κάραβος καὶ Ἀρποκρατίων καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες (P. Oxy 1761).



τοὺς αὐτῆς (P. Oxy 114, II-III), ὑμᾶς πάντας (P. Oxy 1216, II-III), and τοὺς συνμαθητὰς πάντας (P. Oxy 3809, II/III), οἱ εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον πάντες (PSI 1332, II-III).<sup>34</sup>

Another interesting expression of this type is the request to greet a group of people, who are not named within the letter, ‘by name’, so we find the term κατ’ ὄνομα added to a generalising expression in seven different letters. For example, in a letter dealing with various household instructions, and with no named greetings, ἄσπασαι τ[οὺς] παρ’ ἡμῶν πάντας [κατ’ ὄνομα (P. Oxy 3504 I/II). A similar type of expression can also be used after a list of greetings for and from named people, ensuring that no one is missed, ἄσπασαι Πτολέμα[ν] καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα (P. Oxy 298, I), or ἀσπάζου πάντας τοὺς σοὺς κατ’ ὄνομα (P. Oxy 3312, II), or ἄσπασαι Διο[γενί]δα καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας κα[τ’ ὄνομα] (P. Oxy 1584, II), or ἀσπάσασθε τὸν μικρὸν Σερῆνον καὶ Κοπρέα καὶ το[ὺς] ἡμῶν πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα (P. Oxy 533, II/III), or ἀσπάζονται σε πολλὰ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα παιδιά Θεωνίδος καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πάντες κατ’ ὄνομα (P. Oxy 930, II-III), or ἄσπασαι Σαραπίωνα καὶ Διοσκοροῦν καὶ Ἀχιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά σου καὶ τοῦ φιλουτα [read: τοῦ<ς> φιλοῦ<ν>τα<ς>] ἡμᾶς κατ’ ὄνομα (PSI 1332, II-III).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Paul uses a variety of similar expressions in his greetings, often, although not universally, adapts this type of expression with distinctively Christian identifiers, ἐν κυρίῳ, οἱ ἅγιοι, οἱ ἀδελφοί, or αἱ ἐκκλησία. E.g. ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πάντας ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ (1 Thess. 5.26, for greetings ‘with a holy kiss’, cf. 1 Cor. 16.20; 2 Cor. 13.12; Rom. 16.16); ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησία τῆς Ἀσίας (1 Cor. 16.19); ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκα σὺν τῇ κατ’ οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ (16.19); ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες (16.20); ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἅγιοι πάντες (2 Cor. 13.12); ἀσπάσασθε ... τὴν κατ’ οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν (Rom 16.5); ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου (16.10); ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου τοὺς ὄντας ἐν κυρίῳ (16.11); ἀσπάσασθε ... καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὺς (16.14); ἀσπάσασθε ... καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους (16.15); ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησία πᾶσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ (16.16); ἀσπάσασθε πάντα ἅγιον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. (Phil. 4.21-22); ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Νύμφαν καὶ τὴν κατ’ οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίαν (Col. 4.15); ἄσπασαι Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν καὶ τὸν Ὀνησιφόρου οἶκον (2 Tim. 4.19); ἀσπάζεται σε Εὐβουλος καὶ Πούδης καὶ Λίνος καὶ Κλαυδία καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες (2 Tim. 4.21); ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ μετ’ ἐμοὶ πάντες. ἄσπασαι τοὺς φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἐν πίστει (Tit. 3.15). For other examples from within the NT: ἀσπάσασθε πάντας τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας (Heb. 13.24); ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν Βαβυλώνι συνεκλεκτῇ (1 Pet. 5.13); ἀσπάζεται σε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς (2 John 13); ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ φίλοι. ἀσπάζου τοὺς φίλους κατ’ ὄνομα (3 John 15).

<sup>35</sup> For similar greetings in early Christian letters cf. 3 John 15: ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ φίλοι. ἀσπάζου τοὺς φίλους κατ’ ὄνομα (the entire greeting section at the end of this

#### 4. Format issues in greetings

In a discussion of a group of letters written by a single author in the early part of the second century, we noted two issues in relation to the structural formatting of the letters. Firstly, that there seemed to be a relationship between the size of the sheet of papyrus and the length and content of the greetings, and, secondly, that several of the letters contained a large blank space at the end of the letter body and before the beginning of the greetings, with an enlarged alpha at the beginning of ἄσπασαι in the opening of the greetings.<sup>36</sup>

We have checked images for 56 of the 74 letters in our study and have found no significant observed correlation between sheet size and the extent of greetings. The letters come in a great variety of sizes and are generally filled with text. Three letters with a substantial amount of blank space already have substantial greetings (P. Oxy 2559, II; P. Oxy 3313, II; P. Oxy 2982) – the contents of these suggest a relatively wealthy context.<sup>37</sup> In another three of the letters the main body of the letter takes up only around half of the page and the ‘farewell’ is followed by additional greetings (P. Oxy 5286, AD 82; P. Oxy 3062, I; P. Oxy 3199, II), but no attempt is made to fill all of the available space. In at least one letter the greetings have extended into the margins (P. Oxy 295, AD 35).<sup>38</sup>

In relation to spaces and enlarged alphas in relation to the beginning of greeting sections, we found this is not a general characteristic, although some similar features were found in certain letters. So a number of letters exhibit spaces before the greeting section, reflecting a type of punctuation (P. Oxy 4624, I; P. Oxy 3504, II [*bis*]; P. Oxy 2787, II; P. Oxy 3852, II; P. Oxy 3992, II; P. Oxy 533, II/III); others begin the verb of greeting with bold ink reflecting a re-inked pen (P. Oxy 5286, AD 82; P. Oxy 1583, II; P. Oxy 1758, II; P. Oxy 2680,

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short letter); Ign, *Smyrn.* 13.2: ἀσπάζομαι Ἄλκιην τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα καὶ Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὐτεκνον καὶ πάντας κατ’ ὄνομα (only one part of a longer set of greetings closing this letter).

<sup>36</sup> Head, ‘The Letters of Claudius Terentianus and the New Testament’, 236-37 (for these three points).

<sup>37</sup> Another letter with a lot of blank space has only one brief greeting and the letter is introduced by the editors as ‘An illiterate letter written in a rather large uncultivated hand’ (P. Oxy 1215, II-III).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. also probably P. Oxy 1154, late I (not included in this study because it lacks the key verb); P. Oxy 930, II/III (text extends into the margin, but not clear whether it is continuation of greeting).

II); some letters do have the initial alpha written in at least a slightly larger or elongated manner (P. Oxy 295, AD 35 [?]; P. Oxy 5286, AD 82; P. Oxy 1583, II; P. Oxy 2981, II; P. Oxy 3312, II; P. Oxy 3313, II; P. Oxy 3990, II (?); P. Oslo II.52, II).

### 5. Greetings either interrupted or followed by a reprise of major issue in letters

Within these letters, the general convention for closing a letter is that the greetings are followed by a farewell wish (and sometimes a date). This form of closing occurs in around three quarters of the letters.<sup>39</sup> There are some variations to this with some greetings coming after the farewell wish.<sup>40</sup> An interesting variation to this convention is when an important topic, sometimes reprising a theme or issue from the body of the letter, is introduced between greetings and farewell wish. At the very least, this shows the willingness on the part of some writers to be flexible with epistolary conventions.

In one of our earliest examples only the lower portion of the papyrus survives, so we do not know the contents of the body of the letter (P. Oxy 2148, AD 27). The closing portion of the letter is as follows:

Greet Pausirion and Hermias and Heraclides and ... and your brothers' wives and children and all your friends. If you come across any mustard relish, buy it and make us some pickle. If you make anything good, make an extra amount for your brothers' house. And for the rest, farewell. The 13th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Epeiph 12.<sup>41</sup>

A similar concern with pickle appears between the greetings and the farewell in a letter from Arsinoe to her sister Sarapias (P. Oxy 2680, II–III):

Greet Polykrates and all your people. Poleta and Demetrous greet you. If you want anything sent to you, write me and I will send it immediately to you. I topped up the jar of pickle (τὸ κεράμιον τῶν ταπειχίων)

<sup>39</sup> I have left the farewell portion of the letter in the following list.

<sup>40</sup> Sometimes this involves an unusual structure, e.g. P. Oxy 5286 (AD 82): farewell–greeting–date; P. Oxy 114 (II–III): greeting–farewell–greeting; on other occasions it is used for greetings additional to those given before the farewell, e.g. P. Oxy 530 (II); 1584 (II).

<sup>41</sup> Similarly, P. Oxy 3504 (I/II) consists of only the closing section of a private letter, where another matter is included within the context of the greetings and the farewell wish: 'Farewell, Greet all of our people by name and write to me about what you want. I shall do it with the greatest pleasure ...muthis greets you.'

because it had sunk. The bottom layers are better than the top ones. Farewell. Choiak 27.

On this occasion, since the whole letter is extant, we know that this does reprise an issue from within the body of the letter ('Receive from the same Achilles a jar of pickle, *ταρείχων κεράμιον*' – Achilles is Arsinoe's brother and the carrier of the letter).<sup>42</sup> The editor suggested that this portion of the letter 'may be in a different hand', so it is possible the author adds a more personal note to the body of the letter written by a secretary.<sup>43</sup> More likely, in our view, is that the scribe realises that space on the papyrus sheet is limited and begins to write more compactly towards the end of the letter, with only the final farewell (and date) in the hand of the author.

P. Oxy 1155 is a brief letter (from Theonas to Apion, AD 104):

Theonas to his dearest Apion, many greetings. I wish you to know that as soon as I arrived at Alexandria I immediately attended to the matter about which you asked me. I found the man prospering in the main. Greet all my friends (*ἀσπάζου πάντες τοὺς φίλους*).<sup>44</sup> I send you the actual proclamation of the praefect in order that you may hasten to do what concerns you. Good-bye. The 7th year of the emperor Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Pachon 1.

Here it is not clear whether the matter raised between the greeting and the farewell wish – the proclamation of the prefect – is connected with the issue raised in the opening of the letter – 'the matter about which you asked me' concerning the man, or whether it is a second issue which Theonas has been asked to accomplish by Apion.

A connection between a comment interjected between greetings and farewell is clear in a letter from Dionysia to Panechotes (P. Wash. Univ. 2:106; 18 BC).<sup>45</sup> The letter closes with typical greetings (although poor spelling):

Greet Athenis and Ptolla and Harasis and all those in the household. Ventidius greets you warmly and so do Helene and Outidion and all

<sup>42</sup> There is no further indication of the contents of the pickle jar in P. Oxy 2680; it may not be mustard relish (as in P. Oxy 2148: *ἐὰν δέ σοι ἐμπέση ὀγαρίδιν σιναιτηρόν, ἀγόρασον καὶ ταρείχουσιν ἡμεῖν*), but is just as likely to be pickled fish or meat.

<sup>43</sup> J. Rea, *Oxy Pap* 33 (1968), 117; cf. also R. S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006): 300.

<sup>44</sup> The lack of concord in case here (read *πάντας* for *πάντες*) is but one example of the 'very vulgar Greek' of which the editor speaks: A. S. Hunt, *Oxy Pap* 8 (1911): 257.

<sup>45</sup> ET here from Bagnall and Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC–AD 800*, 322 (photo on p. 323).

those in the household. So don't be neglectful about the matter (μὴ ὀν̄ ἀμελήσης περὶ τοῦ πράγματος), until we come to you. Farewell. Year 12 of Caesar, Tybi 18.

The 'matter' about which Dionysia is concerned is a request she made earlier in the letter:

I ask you to give testimony through the strategos to him, before Pedo sails up and I with my people sail down and present my case against him. I ask you not to neglect this (ἔρωτῶ σε ἵνα μὴ ἀμελήσης) and to send me word as quickly as possible.

This additional comment after the greetings is really the main point of the letter.

P. Oxy 932 is a letter from Thais to Tigrius giving instructions concerning a range of business and agricultural issues. The letter closes: 'Sarapodora and Sabinus greet you (ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραποδόρα κ(αὶ) Σαβίνος). Do not sell the young pigs without me. Good-bye.' This is not a reprise of a matter already raised, more likely a final point that the author remembered.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, P. Oxy 2787 (II) is a brief letter with a message and greetings ('Greet the children and the people in the house. Chaeremon and the children greet you and Agathus greets you'), a final wish (ἔρῳσθαί σε εὖχ[ομαι]) followed by the introduction of a new matter ('Since the strategus has given me orders about this matter, let Ariston read you the document that was sent to him'), before the repetition of the final wish to close the letter (ἔρῳ<sup>ω</sup>[σθαί] σε εὖχ[ομαι].)

An excellent example of a letter writer adding a comment after the greetings to reinforce the message of the letter is in P. Oxy 4959, a letter from Ammonius to his parents (II).<sup>47</sup> The letter is written to reassure his parents that his brother Theon had fully recovered from a severe illness. Ammonius refers to a letter from Theon to his parents on the same subject: he affirms that though they had been worried, Theon had recovered quickly, he swears on the gods that he is telling the truth,

<sup>46</sup> Bagnall and Criboire comment about the language and hand of the letter that 'The overall impression is of a skilled writer taking down exactly what is being said, rendering it faithfully but not attempting to redraft it.' *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC-AD 800*, 297. P. Oxy 1584 (Theon writes to his sister, II) has imperatival greetings (ἄσπασαι Διο[γενί]δα καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας κα[τ'] ὄνομα.), then further matters of information (obscured because of its fragmentary state), then indicative greetings (ἀσπάζεται [ύμᾱς] ἢ θ[υ]γάτηρ Ἀκ... ἢ θυγάτηρ ύμῶν), then farewell, a date, and then another (imperatival) greeting (ἄσπασαι Κεφαλίωνα).

<sup>47</sup> P. Oxy 4959: the letter 'shows a very good command of Greek': M. Malouta, *OxyPap* 73 (2009): 155.

and he contradicts any untrue reports they may have heard. Then he sends greetings followed by a final return to the main theme:

Your daughter and my brother Sotas send you their greetings. Give my best to Ptolemaeus and Antiochus, my brothers. I wish you good health, my most honoured (parents), and good fortune to the entire household ... I swear that my brother Theon is very well and doing his usual activities.<sup>48</sup>

Another good example of this is P. Oxy 3313 (II). This substantial letter deals with a request from Dionysia for a large number of roses for the wedding of her son (we presume). The letter explains:

There are not many roses here yet; on the contrary they are in short supply, and from all the estates and from all the garland-weavers we could hardly get together the thousand that we sent you with Sarapas (μόλις ἡδυνήθημεν συνλέξει ἃ ἐπέμψαμέν σοι διὰ Σαραπᾶ χεῖλια), even by picking the ones that ought to have been picked tomorrow.

The letter closes with greetings: ἄσπασα[ι] Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν κράτιστον καὶ τοὺς ἀβασκάντους αὐτοῦ/ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Θέωνα καὶ Ἀριστόκλειαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα Ἀριστοκλείας. The writers then return to the roses: ‘Sarapas will tell you about the roses – that I have made every effort to send you as many as you wanted, but we could not find them.’<sup>49</sup> The final health wish follows in a different hand (presumably the hand of the primary author): ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχόμεθα, κυρία (‘We pray your health, lady’).

On one occasion the greeting from a group of named individuals segues into a brief message from one of those named. In P. Oxy 2982 (II/III), a letter from one Theon to another Theon, which touches on a wide range of agricultural matters and instructions, concludes with greetings (ἀσπάζεται σε Εὐδαιμονίς καὶ Γάις καὶ Ἀμμόνις καὶ Ἡρωδίανα καὶ Διογένης), followed by a comment from Diogenes: ‘Diogenes reproaches you with regard to the ratification of the twenty arouras’, before returning to the imperatival greetings (ἀσπάζου

<sup>48</sup> προσαγορεύει ὑμᾶς ἡ θυγάτηρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου \ὄ/ Σότας. Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ἀσπάζεσθε. (hand 2) ἐρρῶσθαί ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, [τ]ιμῶνται, παν[ο]ικησίᾳ εὐτυχοῦντας κ ... ἐπόμνυμαι ὅτι καλῶς πάνυ ἔχει <ὄ> ἀδελφός Θεών καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράσσει. We can see some of the editorial processes here because a similar section was originally placed before the greeting [lines 15–17: δι’ ὅπερ μηδὲν ἐκταρα[χθ]ήτε, ὡς κάλλιστα ἔχοντος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Θεά[νος] καὶ τὰ συνήθη πάντα ποιοῦντος.] and then crossed out and adapted – with a stronger personal affirmation – for after the greeting.

<sup>49</sup> On the importance of the letter carrier here see P. M. Head, ‘Named Letter-Carriers among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri’, *JSNT* 31 (2009): 279–99, esp. 293–94.

Ὀμόνοιαν καὶ Κύριλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου) and an expanded final wish: 'I pray that you be in good health for many years' (ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχομαι εἰς μακροὺς αἰῶνας).

## 6. Conclusion: the function of epistolary greetings

Those letters which contain greetings (in either the imperatival or indicative form, or often, both) typically include greetings towards the close of the letter – after the main body of the letter and before the closing farewell. The only other common position for a particular greeting is right at the outset of the letter after the address. The examples we have surveyed show that greetings are part of the normal epistolary practice of Graeco-Roman antiquity, although letters obviously varied in the number and extent of greetings included. There was also considerable flexibility in the relationship between the greetings and the situation and main purpose of the letter, with greetings sometimes interrupted by the reprise and repetition of a key point within the letter. We might say that the sending of greetings, although not a universal feature of epistolary communication, is nevertheless a characteristic, even fundamental part of epistolary communication in antiquity.

Within the letters we have studied in this article greetings have the function of consolidating and maintaining connections between the writer and a more extended community than simply the recipient. Both individuals and groups of people can report their own greeting to the recipient (using the indicative form); the writer can request (using the imperative form) that his or her greetings can be passed to others in the circle of the recipient. The letter itself is normally written from one individual to another individual, but the greetings within the written letter serve to connect two communities, one around the sender and the other around the recipient. Among those specified we have seen that family relations have an important role in identifying those giving or receiving greetings.

We have dealt with some New Testament greetings only in the notes. Further study of the way in which NT writers expressed their greetings, in light of contemporary practice, is certainly warranted. In general, it is clear that the New Testament letter writers shared in the normal epistolary practice of their times, in terms of the syntax and

content of their greetings, and the variety of the number and extent of greetings (adapted to express a particularly Christian view of both individual identity and of family and community relationships).

## 7. Appendix: Texts of epistolary greetings in Oxyrhynchus Papyri

P. Oxy	Date	Text
805	25 BC	ἀσπάζου πάντας τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ σεαυτῆς ἐπιμέλου ἴν' ὑγιαίνης εὐτυ(χοῦσα) ἔρρω(σο).
1061	22 BC	ἀσπάζου τοὺς σοὺς πάντας. ἀσπάζεται σε Ἀθηναροῦς καὶ τὰ παιδιά τὰ λοιπά. ἐπιμέλου σεα(υτοῦ) ἴν' ὑγι[α(ίνης)]. ἔρρωσσο.
P. Wash. Univ. 2:106	18 BC	ἐπισκοποῦ Ἀθῆνιν κὲ Πτολλᾶν κὲ Ἄρασι κὲ τοὺς ἐν ὕκῳ [read: οἴκῳ] πάντας. ἀσπάζετέ [read: ἀσπάζεται] σε Οὐεντίδης μεγάλως κὲ Ἑλένη κὲ Οὐτιδίων κὲ οἱ ἐν ὕκῳ [read: οἴκῳ] πάντες. μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἕως ὑμῖς ἔλθωμεν πρὸς σέ. ἔρωσο. (ἔτους) ιβ Καίσαρος Τῦβι η
1479	Late I BC	ἀσπάζεται σε Ὅμηρος καὶ [Τα(?)]ερμᾶν καὶ Φιλέρωτα κα[ι] τὴν γυνα(ῖκα). [καὶ] σεατοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἴν' ὑγιέ(νης). ἔρρω(σο).
745	1	ἀ[σ]πάζου πάντας τοὺς σοὺς καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἴν' ὑγιαίνης. ἔρρωσο.
294	22	πρὸ μὲν πάντων σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμέλου εἶν' ὑ[γ]ιαίνης]. ἐπισκωποῦ Δημητροῦ[ν] καὶ Δωρίωνα [τὸν πατ]έρα. ἔ[ρ]ρωσο.
2148	27	ἀσπάζου Παυσειρίω(να) καὶ Ἐρμίαν καὶ Ἡ[ρακλ]εῖδη(ν) καὶ [...]. ασταν καὶ [τὰς τ]ῶν ἀδελφῶν σου γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς φιλοῦντας σε πάντας. ἐὰν δέ σοι ἐμπέση ὄσαριδιν σιναπηρόν, ἀγόρασον καὶ ταρίχευσον ἡμεῖν ἐάν τι ποιῆς χρηστόν, περιποίησον εἰς οἶκον ἀδελ[φ]ῶν. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔρρωσ(ο).
295	35	ἄσπασαι σὺ Ἀμμωνᾶν τὸ[ν] ἀδελφόν μου κα[ι] . ραπ[. ]ν καὶ [τ]ῆ[ν] ἀδελφὴν [...].α[...] [in the left margin] καὶ Θεωνᾶν τὸν πατ[έ]ρα.
5049	59	ἀσπάζεται σε [...]. εω. κ[αὶ] Θ[α] [...] καὶ τ[ὸ] παιδ[ί]α



- καὶ Σαραπίων· τὰ δ' ἄλλα χαριε[ῖ] σεαυτοῦ ἐπιμελόμ[ε]νος.  
vac. 1 line ἔρρω(σο)
- 2838 62 ἐπισκοποῦ Κόμονα τὸν υἱὸν σου καὶ Χαριτοῦν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔρρωσο.
- 3356 76 ἄσπασαι Θατρῆν τὴν μητέρα καὶ Θαισοῦν καὶ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Ἀρίστωνα καὶ Τυχάριον καὶ Νίκην καὶ Εὐτυχ( ) καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας. (ἔτους) ἡ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Μεχεῖρ β.
- 5286 82 ἔρρωσθε. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Διονύσι[ο]ς καὶ τὰ παιδία. vac. ? ἔτους πρώτον Αὐτοκράτορος [Κ]αίσα[ρ]ος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, μηνὸς [Και]σαρείου κ. .
- SB 88–96 ἀσπάζου τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς [-ca.?-]. ἔρρω(σο).  
3:7258
- 298 I ἄσπασαι Πτολέμα[ν] καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραπίων καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν. οὐπω πολλή ὑπόρα ἐγένετο ἐν Μέμφι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντ[ο]ς. ἐπέμψαμεν τοῖς παιδίοι[ς] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κυάμους φ καὶ μήλα ν, καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ σου Ἀπολλωνοῦτι μῆλ(α) ν καὶ τῇ μεικρᾷ. ἔρρω(σο). Παῦνι κς. [text continues]
- 3062 I οἱ σοὶ πάντες ἔρρωνται. εὐχομαί σε ἐρρῶσθαι, ἀδελφε. (hand 2) Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ συγγρ( ) Θεώνος εἰσαγωγέως πολλά σε ἀσπάζομαι.
- 4624 I ἀσπάζου το[ῦ]ς σοὺς [πάντας.] ἔρρωσο.
- 300 Late I ἀσπάζου Θεώνα τὸν κύριον καὶ Νικόβουλον καὶ Διόσκορον καὶ Θεώνα καὶ Ἑρμοκλῆν τοὺς ἀβασκάντους. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λογγεῖνος. ἔρρω(σο).
- 3057 I/II Λεωνᾶς ἀσπάζομαί σε, δέσποτα, καὶ τοὺς σ[ο]ὺς πάντας. ἔρρωσο, τειμιώτατε
- 3504 I/II [ἔρρω]σο. ἄσπασαι τ[οὺς] παρ' ἡμῶν πάντας [κατ' ὄ]νομα καὶ γράφε μο[ι] περὶ ὧν θέλεις ὡς ἡδιστ[ι] -ca.?- ] σοι. ἀσπάζεται ὑμ[ᾶς] -ca.?- ] μοῦθις.
- 3808 I/II ἄσπασαι Χελε. ραν καὶ ἔντειλαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χλωρῶν τοῦ ἔλους. ἄσπασαι Δημήτριον τὸν φύλακα καὶ τὰ [π]αι[δ]ία αὐτοῦ. vac. ? ἔρρωσο ἀδελφε.
- P. Oxy. I–II ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι) κύριε πανοικεῖ. ἡσπάζετό σε ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός. ἀσπάζου τὴν κυρίαν ἡμῶν ἀδελ(φὴν) καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ Πέταλον καὶ τὸν

- Αβαιλ( )  
... και Χαιρή(μονα). [text continues]
- 1155 104 ἄσπάζου πάντες τοὺς φίλους. αὐτὸ τὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπενψά σοι ἵνα ἐπιγοῖς πρὸς τί σοί στι. ἔρρωσσο.
- 529 II ἄσπασαί σου τὴν μητέρα και Μᾶτριν και τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς και τοὺς φιλοῦντάς σε πάντας. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς Κόπτον μετὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος εἶμι [end]
- 530 II ἄσπάζεται σε Θεωνᾶς. ἄσπάζου τὰ παιδιά Ἀπίωνα κ[αί] ἀδελφὸν Ἑρματόιν, Διονυτᾶν, τοὺς περ[ὶ] Ν[ί]κην και Θαισοῦν τὴν μικρὰν, τ[ο]ῦς περὶ [...] τα πάντας, Ἡρᾶν και τοὺς αὐτοῦ, Λεοντᾶν τὸν ὑπερήφανον και τοὺς αὐτοῦ, τοὺς περὶ Τααμοίν, [Θερ]μουθάριον. ἔρρω(σο).  
... ἄσπασαι Διονυτᾶν και Θέωνα.
- 531 II Κορνήλιος Ἰέρακι τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ υἱῷ χαίρειν. ἡδέως σε ἄσπάζομεθα πάντες οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ και τοὺς μετ' ἐσοῦ πάντας. [after opening]
- 1581 II ἄ[σπ]ασαι και Ἑρμιό[νην] και Ἡρακ[λειδ]ὴν και τὸν [υἱὸ]ν αὐτοῦ. ἄ[σπ]άζεται σε και Σ[αρα]πίωνα [...]ις και ὁ [πατή]ρ μου ... [end]
- 1582 II ἄσπάζεται σε Σαραπίων ὁ υἱός μου και ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. τὰ παιδιά σου ἔρρωται. ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι), ἀδελ(φε).
- 1583 II ἄσπασε Εὐπλία[ν]. ἔρρωσθαί σ' {ὕμᾶς} εὐχομαι.
- 1584 II ἄσπασαι Διο[γενί]δα και τοὺς σοὺς πάντας κα[τ'] ὄνομα. οὐκ ἐδήλω[σ]άς μοι περ[ὶ] ... οὐ ἐλαίου εἶ[ε] λαβες [διὰ] Μυσθαράτος, ἐπεὶ εἰσ[δοτε(?)] οὐν στατήρα ὥστε μ[οι] και] δηλῶται μοι. ἀπάζεται [ὕμᾶς] ἡ θ[υ]γάτηρ Ἀκ ... ἡ θυγάτηρ ὑμῶν. [ἔρρ]ωσθε. Θῶθ ιδ. ἄσπασαι Κεφαλίωνα.
- 1757 II ἄσπασαι Κλα[υ]δίαν τὴν ἀγαθοτάτην και τοὺς φιλοῦντάς σε πάντας. ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ[α]ι.
- 1758 II ἄσπάζομ[αι] πάντας] οὗς ἡδέως ἔχεις [ -ca.?- ] [end]
- 1760 II [τ]ὰ παιδιά [σ]ε ἀσπάζεται. (hand 2) ἔρρωσθ[α]ί σε εὐχομ(αι).
- 2559 II ἡ σύμβιός μου και τὰ παιδιά σε ἀσπάζεται. σὺ παρ' ἡμῶν του υριλλους προσαγόρευε και τὴν μητέρα [[Στεφανοῦν]] Δημητροῦν. (hand 2) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι, ἀδελφὲ τιμιώτατε.
- 2593 II Ἀπολλωνία Φ[ε]ιλίτῳ χαίρειν. ἀσπάζομαί σε λείαν

- καὶ Ἡρακλείδην,  
... ἀσπαζόμεθά σε λείαν. ἔρρωσο.
- 2594 II ἀσπάζεται σε τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδιά καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες. ἄσπασαι Θαῆσιν. ἔρρῶσ(αι) εὐχ(ομαι).
- 2679 II ἀσπάζου τὸν ἀβάσκαντον υἱὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ. ἔρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι).
- 2680 II ἄσπασαι Πολυκράτην καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας. ἀσπάζεται σε Πόλητα καὶ Δημητροῦς. ἐάν τι θέλ[η]ς πεμφθῆναί σοι, γράψον μοι καὶ εὐθέως σοι πέμψω. τὸ κεράμιον τῶν ταρειχίων διὰ τὸ συμπετωκέναι ἐπέλησα. τὰ δὲ ὑποκάτω κρειττόνα ἐστὶν τῶν ἐπάνω. ἔρρ<sup>ω</sup>(σο).
- 2786 II ἀσπάζου τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς σοῦ μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἔρρωσο.
- 2787 II ἄσπασαι τὰ παιδιά καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ, ἀσπάζεται σε Χαιρήμων καὶ τὰ παιδιά καὶ Ἄγαθός σε ἀσπάζεται ἐρχομένῳ στ. . . λ. . . . ἔρρῶσθαί σε εὐχ(ομαι) ἐπεὶ ὁ στρ(ατηγός) μοι περὶ τούτου ἐπέθετο Ἄριστων σοι ἀναγνωτο τὸ πεμφθὲν αὐτῷ πιττάκιον. ἔρρ<sup>ω</sup>(σθαί) σε εὐχ(ομαι).
- 2860 II ἄσπ[α]σα[ι] τὴν ἀγαθὴν Φλουρε[ν]τ[ί]αν σου(?) καὶ [τὰ] τέκνα σου καὶ Κάνωπ[ον]. ἀσπάζε[ι]ται σε Κύριλλα καὶ τὰ κοράσια. [ -ca.- ] (hand 2) ἔρρῶ[σθα]ί σε εὐχομαι
- 2981 II ἄσπασαι Ὠρίωνα καὶ Τασσευοῦν καὶ Ἀμμώνιον καὶ Ἑλένην \καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον/ καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδιά. ἀσπάζεται σε Ἰσίδωρος καὶ Ὠρίωνα καὶ Ἀμμώνιον καὶ Διογένην. καὶ μέλι μοι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ συνέβαλον αὐτοῖς σὺν τῷ πατρί μου Ποπλίῳ. ἄ[σ]πασαι τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδιά. ἔρρῶσθαί σε εὐχ(ομαι)
- 3199 II ἔρρῶστέ [σ]ε εὐχομαι. ἀσπάζου τὸν πατέρα Σαπρίωνα.
- 3312 II ἀσπάζε[ι]αί σε Γαι καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτ[ῆ]ς καὶ ὁ σύμβιος. γινως οὐ[ν] ὅτι Ἑρμῖνος ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμ[ην] καὶ ἀπελεύθερος ἐγένετ[ο] Καίσαρος ἵνα ὀπίκρια λάβ[η]. ἀσπάζου πάντας τοὺς σοὺς κατ' ὄνομα καὶ οἱ μοὶ πάντες σε ἀσπάζονται. ἔρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.
- 3313 II ἄσπασα[ι] Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν κράτιστον καὶ τοὺς

- ἀβασκάντους \αὐτοῦ/ Σαραπίωνα καὶ Θέωνα καὶ Ἀριστόκλειαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα Ἀριστοκλείας. μαρτυρήσει σοὶ Σαραπᾶς περὶ τῶν ρόδων ὅτι πάντα πεποίηκα εἰς τὸ ὅσα ἤθελες πέμψαι σοὶ, ἀλλὰ οὐχ εὐρομεν. (hand 2) ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχόμεθα, κυρία.
- 3505 II? ἀσ[πά]ζονται σε Σαραπιάς καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες. ἀσπάσομέ σε Διονύσιος. (hand 2) ἔρρωσο.
- 3852 II ἐπισκοποῦ Ἀππᾶν καὶ τὰς φάσεις ἡμεῖν ἔνεγκε τῆς ἐπικρίσεως. ἔρρω(σο).
- 3988 II ἄσπασαι Απα[...] καὶ ... αν καὶ Διόδωρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας. καὶ τῷ προητῇ ἀναδέδωκα [...]τ. [...] κς. vac. ? καὶ περὶ ὧν χρεῖαν ἔχεις γράψον μ[οι]. τοῦ Σεράπιδος θέλοντο[ς] κομπῶς ἔσχον καὶ τὸ προ[σκ]ύνημά σου ἐποίησα, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ πάντων. ἔρρωσω
- 3990 II ἀσπάζομαι Σερῆνον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Πτολεμαῖον. περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου δήλωσόν μοι. ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι), ἀδελφή. [text continues]
- 3992 II καὶ πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἔγραψά \σοι/ ἀσπαζόμενός σε καὶ τὴν κυρίαν μου θυγατέρα σου [Δι]ονυσίαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆ[ς]. καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῶ ... ἀσπάζ[ου] οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, μεθ' ὧν ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι εἰς μακροὺς χρόνους καὶ ὅλοι σου τῷ οἴκῳ[ι]. ἔρρω(σο).
- 4959 II προσαγορεύει ὑμᾶς ἢ θυγάτηρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου \ὸ/ Σώτας. Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀσπάξεσθε. (hand 2) ἐρῶσθαί ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, [τ]ιμιώτατοι, παν[ο]ικησία εὐτυχοῦντας κ ... ἐπόμνυμαι ὅτι καλῶς πᾶν ἔχει <ὁ> ἀδελφός Θεών καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράσσει.
- P. Oslo II ἀσπάζο[μαί σε καί] [...]τω τὴν μητέρα σου καὶ τοὺς II.52 ἀ[δελφούς(?)] καὶ Ὀμόνοϊαν καὶ Δημήτριον. ἀσπάζον[ταί σε] Ἀγαθοῦς καὶ Εἰσαροῦς κ[αὶ ...] ἐρ[ρῶσ]θαί σε εὐχ[ομαι]
- 932 Late II ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραποδώρα κ(αι) Σαβίνος. τὰ χοιρίδια χωρὶς μοῦ μὴ πῶλι. ἔρρωσο.
- 933 Late II ἄσπασ[αι] Πλου[τ]ογένην τὸν φίλον. ἐρρ[ῶ]σθ(αι) σε εὐχο(μαι), κύριε.
- 114 II–III ἄσπασαι πολλὰ Ἰίαν καὶ Εὐτυχίαν ἐρῶσθαί [σ]ε [ε]ὔχομαι. καὶ Ἀλεξάνδραν. ἀσπάζεται Ἰίαν Ξάνθιλλα καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτῆς.

- 117 II-III τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀσπάζου καὶ τὴν Κύριλλαν. Ῥοδόπη ὑμᾶς καὶ Ἀρσίνοος ἀσπάζονται. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.
- 160 (SB 8:9903) II/III ἀσπάζεται σε ὁ υἱός σου Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἔρρωται. ... ἄσπασαι Θεώνα καὶ Ζωῖλον καὶ Ἄρποκρᾶν καὶ Διονυσοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι) κυρία ἀδελ(φή). ἄσπασαι Ἀρέαν καὶ Ἐρμογένην καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Διδυμῖωνα καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας.
- 533 II/III ἀσπᾶσασθε Στατίαν τὴν θυγατέρα μου καὶ Ἡρ[α]κλείδην καὶ Ἀπίωνα τοὺς υἱούς μου. ἀσπᾶσασθε τὸν μικρὸν Σερήνον καὶ Κοπρέα καὶ το[ῦ]ς ἡμῶν πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἀμάραντος καὶ Ζμάραγδος. ἐρρῶσθαί ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.
- 928 II/III τὰ παιδιά παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδωρίωνος προσαγόρε[υ]ε. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.
- 930 II-III ἀσπάζονται σε πολλὰ αἱ ἀδελφαί σου καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντα παιδιά Θεωνίδος καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πάντες κατ' ὄνομα. ἄσπασαι τὸν τειμιώτατον παιδαγωγόν σου Ἐρωτα. [in the left margin:] [ -ca.?- ]...αιδ... ἐρρ[...]. [..] Ἄθῦρ β[. ]
- 963 II-III Ὁφελία Θεαροῦτι τῇ μητρὶ χαίρειν. ἀσπάζομαι σε, μητέρα, διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦσα ἤδη θεάσασθαι.
- 1215 II-III ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραπίων. αἰρῶσθέ σε.
- 1216 II-III ἀσπάζ[ομαι ὑμᾶς] πάντας. ἐ[ρ]ρῶσθ[αί] [σε εὐχομαι.]
- 1294 II/III ἀσπάζο(μαι) Ταυσεῖριν τὴν θυ[γ]ατ(έρα) καὶ Σαραπᾶν. ἐρρω[σο, ἀδ]ελφή.
- 1761 II/III ἀσπάζου Θερμούθην καὶ Ἡλιάδα καὶ Πλουτίονα κα[ὶ] Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Νεμεσανόν. ἀσπαζετε ὑμᾶ[ς] Κάραβος καὶ Ἄρποκρατίων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἕκῳ πάντες. ἐρῶστέ σε εὐχομαι.
- 2982 II/III ἀσπάζεται σε Εὐδαιμονίς καὶ Γάυς καὶ Ἀμμῶνις καὶ Ἡρωδίαινα καὶ Διογένης. μέμφεται σε Διογένης περὶ τῆς κυρώσεως τῶν εἴκοσι ἀρουρῶν. ἀσπάζου Ὀμόνοιαν καὶ Κύριλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι εἰς μακροὺς αἰῶνας.
- 2984 II-III Ἄρπαλος Ἡρᾶτι τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. [ἀσ]πάζ[ο]μαί σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς π[άν]τα[ς] καὶ τὸ προσκύνημ[ά σ]ου ποιῶ καθ' [ἐ]κάστην [ἡ]μέραν παρὰ τῶ[ι] κυρίῳ Σα[ρά]πιδι.

- 3809 II/III ‘[Ἀγα]θάγγελος Πανάρι κουρῖ πλειστα χαίρειν. [ἀσπ]άζω καὶ Ἡλιοδώρα. ... ἀσπάζου [τ]οὺς συνμαθητὰς πάντας. [ -ca.?- ] ...[...]. [end]
- 3810 II/III ἄσπασ[αι] τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας. γράψον μ[οι] περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου. (hand 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχο(μαι), κυρία, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν εὐτυχ(οῦσαν).
- 3991 II–III ἀσπάζεται ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ Σινθοῶνις καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου. ἄσπασαι Ἐπαφρόδιτον καὶ Δημήτριον(ν) καὶ Ἡρακλείδην. ἐν ἀγωνία Γεγόνειμεν οὐ μεικρῶ, πολλῶ χρόνῳ μὴ κοιμισθέντων σου γραμμάτων. ἔρρωσο. Τῦβι ις.
- 3993 II–III ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν ἡμῶν Παᾶπιν καὶ Θαῆσιν τὴν θυγατέραν ἡμῶν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Σερῆνος ὁ ἀδελφός ὑμῶν καὶ Διόσκορος καὶ Ὀφελίνη καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἡρᾶς. ἃ ἔπεμψας χαρτάρια ἐδώκαμεν Θῶνι τῷ υἱῷ Κεφαλαῖτος. ἐρρῶσθαί ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα εὐ διάγ(οντας). ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης περὶ ὧν ἐδήλωσέ σοι Ἀπφῶς.
- PSI 1259 II/III καὶ νῦν σε ἀσπάζομαι διὰ τούτων μου τῶν γραμμάτων. ... ἄσπασαι τὴν κυρίαν Ἰσα[ρο]ῦν καὶ Σαραπάμμωνα καὶ Σερῆνον καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πλουτάρχη καὶ Τύραννος καὶ οἱ ἡμῶν πάντες. Παῦνι κβ. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι, κύριε ἀδελφε.
- PSI 1332 II–III ἄσπασαι Σαραπίωνα καὶ Διοσκοροῦν καὶ Ἀχιλέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκά σου καὶ τοῦ φιλουτα [read: τοῦ<ς> φιλοῦ<v>τα<ς>] ἡμᾶς κατ’ ὄνομα. ἀσπάζεται σοι [read: σε] ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ Θεῶν <καί> Κόμοδος καὶ Λάλαχος καὶ ὑ [read: οἱ] εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον[ν] πάντες. πολλάκις σοι γράφω καὶ σοὶ ὄκ ἀντέγραψ[ας]. ἔρρωσω διὰ παντός.
- PSI 1359 II–III τοὺς σοὺς πάντας ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ προσαγόρευε. ἀσπάζεται σε ἡ Κύριλλα καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι, κυρία μητέρα.
- P. Oxy. 48 P. Oxy. 48 II–III ἀσπάζεται σε ἡ μήτηρ σου Πλουσία{ς} καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου Ἐρμιόνη καὶ Ἀμοιτᾶς ὁ πατήρ σου καὶ Πατερμούθις ὁ ἀδελφός σου καὶ Παλλάς. ἄσπασαι σὺ τὸν πατέρα ἀπὸ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχόμεθα πανοικησία διὰ βίου πολλὰ πράσσοντα.