

# *Emotional language and formulae of persuasion in Greek papyrus letters*

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# EMOTIONAL LANGUAGE AND FORMULAE OF PERSUASION IN GREEK PAPYRUS LETTERS\*

*Eleanor Dickey*

## INTRODUCTION

One of the most fundamental rules of English politeness is the importance of saying ‘please’ when making a request. Using a bare imperative without ‘please’ or a similar modifier, for example saying ‘Give me ten pounds’, is likely to cause anger and resentment as well as a refusal to comply with the request – unless, of course, the addressees are so much in the speaker’s power that they are not in a position to object. In fact the way English speakers make requests is subject to considerable variation depending on both the identity of the addressee and the magnitude of the request. Someone about to make a short train journey with a good friend, if he cannot make his bank card function in the ticket machine, might say something like ‘Bob, can you lend me 10 pounds?’ But if the speaker’s fellow-traveller is someone he does not know well, or someone with power over him, he would phrase the request rather differently. And if the amount needed is the price of an expensive long-distance ticket, even the request to a good friend would be phrased differently.

Linguists have been working on this phenomenon for a long time, so there are a number of different theoretical frameworks available for predicting and explaining how requests are made. The oldest and best-known of these is that of Brown and Levinson, who argue that there are two kinds of politeness, positive and negative.<sup>1</sup> To oversimplify grossly, positive politeness consists of being actively nice to one’s interlocutors and negative politeness consists of not inconveniencing or imposing on them. Which strategy is chosen depends on the relationship between

\* This paper is based on a larger body of research carried out in 2006 and 2007 and orally presented in numerous places since then; responses from audiences at the University of Toronto, University of Manchester, Cornell University, and University College Dublin were particularly valuable in helping me build and refine the section of the research presented here. Some of my conclusions match those in the excellent recent book by Camille Denizot (2011); they were reached independently, and I hope this fact will aid the scholarly world in accepting them. I am grateful to Ed Sanders and Matthew Johncock for persuading me finally to publish this work, to Marina Terkourafi for introducing me to her theory, helping me understand it, and kindly checking a draft of this essay; and to Philomen Probert for constant help and encouragement; any mistakes that remain are my own.

1 Brown and Levinson (1987); for some other theories see Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003), and for examples of the use of Brown and Levinson in work on ancient politeness see Hall (2009) and Lloyd (2004).

speaker and addressee and the magnitude of the request, but essentially negative politeness is, from the perspective of an English speaker, 'more polite' than positive politeness: positive politeness is used more for minor requests and to social inferiors, and negative politeness for major requests and to social superiors.

The extreme end of negative politeness, of course, consists of not asking for a favour at all, but this level of deference can be impractical if the speaker really needs the favour. The next level down consists of asking obliquely, in such a way that the utterance does not have to be taken as a request at all. For example the person in need of money for a train ticket might say, 'Oh dear, this machine isn't taking my card, and I haven't got any cash on me. What do you think I should do?' In those circumstances most friends will get the hint and offer the money, but if someone does not want to do so he is not faced with the awkwardness of refusing: he can simply not take the hint. This strategy too is useful for maintaining good relationships with one's superiors, but it can be impractical if the result is not getting something that one really needs.

The next level in the negative-politeness hierarchy consists in asking very, very nicely for whatever is needed, making it clear that the addressee is under no actual obligation to provide it. For example our hypothetical traveller might say, 'Oh dear, the machine isn't taking my card, and I haven't got any cash. I don't suppose there's any chance you could lend me £10, is there? I'm so sorry to ask you, but there isn't any other way that I'm going to be on that train with you otherwise.' Brown and Levinson's theory predicts that a traveller using this strategy is addressing someone who either is not a close friend or is so poor that £10 is a lot of money to ask him for.

Even further down the hierarchy come the phrases that one normally uses to make requests, such as 'Please could you lend me £10?', 'Can you lend me £10?', and 'Would you mind lending me £10?'. These phrases are very common and as a result have become highly conventionalized, so that their meaning is not the same as the sum of their parts. The utterance 'Can you read Greek?' is a question, and the addressee of such a question will probably answer 'yes' or 'no' rather than producing a copy of the *Iliad* and reading Greek. But the equivalently phrased utterance 'Can you lend me £10?' is a request, and it would be peculiar for the addressee to answer 'yes' without actually providing the money. The fact that this way of phrasing a request is considered more polite than the imperatival 'Lend me £10' may have a historical basis: it is possible that at one time 'can you?' was not a direct request at all but an oblique one that did not actually ask for the money, but by now that etymological meaning has been superseded.

#### GREEK LITERATURE OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Brown and Levinson claimed that their rules were universal and worked for all languages, and as we have just seen the rules seem to work for English, at least in

most situations. But they work much less well for Greek of the Classical period,<sup>2</sup> because throughout the literature of that period there is an overwhelming lack of markedly polite language in the making of requests. Regardless of the identity of the addressee or the magnitude of the request, speakers' normal tendency is to use the bare, unsoftened imperative,<sup>3</sup> as illustrated in table A.<sup>4</sup>

	Hom.	Soph.	Eur.	Ar.	Men.	Hdt.	Pl.	Total	% of total
Bare imperative	95	171	158	320	197	228	77	1,246	65%
Other with similar meaning	37	86	55	97	31	89	37	432	23%
Markedly polite	14	44	40	41	50	29	16	234	12%
Total requests	146	301	253	458	278	346	130	1,912	100%
% markedly polite	11%	15%	16%	9%	18%	8%	12%	12%	

Table A: Linguistic forms used for requests in Greek of the Classical period

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the use of the imperative in Greek does not seem to be determined either by status or by the magnitude of the request; although some non-imperative request strategies can be explained using Brown and Levinson's theory,<sup>5</sup> the unsoftened imperatives used even in situations that ought to call for considerable mitigation are not explicable using this model of politeness. See for example passages 1 and 2.

- 1) Ὡ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίνην ἔξαναστήσῃς (Herodotus 1.155.3, Croesus urging Cyrus not to destroy Sardis)
- 2) Throughout this paper I shall use 'Classical period' in a broad sense, to run from Homer (eighth/seventh century BCE) to Menander (who died at the beginning of the third century BCE).
- 3) This point has also been made by Denizot (2011) 488, on the basis of a corpus of 6,314 verb forms (and an unspecified number of requests made in ways that do not involve verb forms) taken principally from Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Lysias and Herodotus.
- 4) The figures in table A are based on a hand search of the following corpus of texts: Homer, *Odyssey* 1–4; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, *Antigone*; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*; Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, *Knights*; Menander, *Dyscolus*, *Aspis*, *Epitrepones*; Herodotus (all); Plato, *Symposium*. It is not practical to include references to all the passages involved here, but the raw data (for this and all subsequent tables) are available on request. Under 'other with similar meaning' are included prohibitive subjunctives (aorist subjunctives used instead of aorist imperatives in the negative), infinitives for imperatives, and ὅπως + future indicative, all of which are clearly not polite in these texts. Under 'markedly polite' are included the strategies illustrated in examples 5–14 below and a few others. 'Requests' is used here (as a replacement for the linguistic technical term 'directives') to include all utterances in which the speaker tries to get the addressee to do something, whatever the linguistic form of the utterance.
- 5) See for example Lloyd (2004), but note Denizot's (2011: e.g. 483, 487) vigorous and well-founded arguments that questions and certain other indirect ways of phrasing requests are not necessarily polite in Greek.

‘O king, what you say is reasonable, but nevertheless **do not act** entirely on your anger, and **do not destroy** an ancient city . . .’<sup>6</sup>

2) τὴν παρ’ ἐμοῦ λαβὼν ἔθι. (Menander, *Dyscolus* 375, slave to free man)  
 ‘Take this [mattock] from me and **go**.’

Of course, Greek literature from this period also contains examples of other ways of phrasing requests, but those are overwhelmingly in the minority compared to the use of the imperative alone, whereas in English the imperative by itself is used much less often than an imperative softened with ‘please’, ‘can you’, etc. For this reason many translators systematically replace bare, unmodified imperatives with more polite request formulae when translating Greek into English: see table B and passages 3 and 4.<sup>7</sup>

Work	Bare imperatives in Greek	Bare imperatives in English	English bare imperatives as % of Greek
Plato, <i>Symposium</i>	77	44	57%
Xenophon, <i>Symposium</i>	30	17	57%
Menander, <i>Dyscolus</i>	140	116	83%
Total	247	167	68%

**Table B:** Comparison of bare imperative usage in three Greek texts and their English translations

3) ἄλλος γάρ τίς μοι διηγεῖτο ἀκηκοώς Φοίνικος τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἔφη δὲ καὶ σὲ εἰδέναι. ἀλλὰ γάρ οὐδὲν εἶχε σαφὲς λέγειν. σὺ οὖν μοι **διηγησαί** δικαιότατος γάρ εἰ τοὺς τοῦ ἑταίρου λόγους ἀπαγγέλλειν. (Plato, *Symposium* 172b)  
 ‘I’ve already had a report from someone else (who’d been told about it by Phoenix the son of Philip), but his account wasn’t very clear. He did mention, though, that you knew about it as well. So **please will you tell** me? I mean, Socrates is your friend, so it’s perfectly appropriate for you to report what he says.’<sup>8</sup>

4) τῆς Ἀττικῆς **νομίζετ** εἶναι τὸν τόπον,  
 Φυλήν, τὸ νυμφαῖον δ’ ὅθεν προέρχομαι  
 Φυλασίων . . .  
 ταῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ κεφάλαια, τὰ καθ’ ἔκαστα δὲ  
 [ὄψεσθ’] ἐὰν βούλησθε – **βούλήθητε** δέ. (Menander, *Dyscolus* 1–3, 45–6)  
 ‘**Imagine, please**, that the scene is set in Attica, in fact at Phyle, and that the shrine I’m coming from is the one belonging to that village.... There, that’s the outline. Details you’ll see in due course, if you like – and **please do like**.<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately, Brown and Levinson’s theory is not the only model of politeness, merely the best-known one; there are a large number of others, each of which has been claimed to replace Brown and Levinson’s model. Indeed Brown and Levinson’s theory ought to have been completely discredited by now, as for decades

6 Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

7 The figures in table B are based on translations by Waterfield (1994), Tredennick (1970) and Miller (1987).

8 Trans. Waterfield (1994) 3; note Waterfield’s addition of ‘please’.

9 Trans. Miller (1987) 23; note Miller’s addition of ‘please’.

studies refuting it have appeared regularly – but the fact that such studies are still produced at frequent intervals suggests that Brown and Levinson's theory still has enough adherents to be worth refuting. The reason it has adherents is that despite its flaws it is often useful, particularly in combination with other theories;<sup>10</sup> therefore it must be kept in mind when looking at the Greek data, but at the same time another theory is needed to provide the main explanation of those data.

Space forbids a discussion of all the other politeness theories here, as they are numerous and complex; suffice it to say that in my opinion the most useful model for dealing with Greek is that of Terkourafi.<sup>11</sup> To oversimplify grossly again, Terkourafi argues that there is no simple relationship between the literal meaning of a phrase and how polite it is. Politeness depends entirely on what is usual in a given context, and this system works because people are consistent and formulaic about how they make requests. Therefore a researcher or language learner wanting to understand the politeness or impoliteness of a particular phrase needs to look not at its linguistic form or the literal meanings of the words involved, but at the phrases used in other examples of the same type of interaction. If the example being examined is typical, it is polite, regardless of its linguistic form; if unusual, it may be polite or impolite, and more interpretive work is needed to find out which.

Terkourafi's theory makes the Greek data easy to understand. The normal way to make requests was to use a bare, unsoftened imperative, and therefore that formulation of requests was polite. Within the culture concerned, it had the same force as our 'please', which is our normal way to ask for things; that is why a good translator often adds 'please' to an unsoftened imperative when rendering Greek into English. The small number of Greek passages in which a more elaborate polite request is used should be equated not with our 'please' but with what we would do in circumstances where 'please' or 'can you' is not enough.

For those circumstances there were no set expressions in the Greek of the Classical period, but rather a set of strategies that varied widely in their meaning and application. One is the strategy of making the request indirectly, as illustrated in passage 5. Here Socrates does not actually ask Diotima to explain what she means, but she takes the hint that he would like an explanation and agrees to provide one.

5) μαντείας . . . δεῖται ὁ τί ποτε λέγεις, καὶ οὐ μανθάνω (Plato, *Symposium* 206b)  
'Whatever you say requires divination, and I do not understand.'

10 I have argued this point at length in Dickey (2012b), where four different theories are tested on the same corpus of requests to establish their respective helpfulness.

11 See e.g. Terkourafi (2002), (2004), (2005), (2008) and (forthcoming). For a detailed argument that Terkourafi's theory works better for ancient evidence see Dickey (2012b).

Another polite strategy is the use of the optative with *āv*, such as in passages 6 and 7.<sup>12</sup>

6) καὶ ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, **πάνυ ἀν** ἡδέως, ὦ Συρακόσιε, **μάθοιμι** τὰ σχήματα παρὰ σοῦ. (Xenophon, *Symposium* 2.16)  
 ‘And I for one, he said, **would very gladly learn** the figures from you, Syracusan.’

7) **ἄγοιτ'** **ἀν** μάταιον ἄνδρ' ἐκποδών . . . (Sophocles, *Antigone* 1339)  
 ‘**Would you lead** me out of the way, a useless man . . .’

These two strategies are by their very natures not formulaic; in addition, Greek of this period has several strategies that could in theory be formulaic but in practice are not. One is the strategy of indicating that it would be good to do something, illustrated in passages 8 and 9. This strategy could be formulaic, and (as we shall see) in the Greek of some periods it actually is formulaic, but in the Classical period it is not, for this idea can be expressed with a wide variety of different words.

8) ὦ Ἐρυξίμαχε, **δίκαιος εἰ** ή παῦσαί με τῆς λυγγὸς ή λέγειν ύπερ ἐμοῦ, ἔως ἂν ἐγὼ παύσωμαι. (Plato, *Symposium* 185d)  
 ‘Eryximachus, **you ought** either to stop my hiccups or to speak for me while I stop them.’

9) μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίης τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. **ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες ἔμοι μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε.** (Herodotus 4.98.3)  
 ‘But until that time, since I have changed my mind, guard the bridge and show all possible care for its safety and protection. **If you do this you will greatly please me.**’

The same is true of the strategy illustrated in passage 10, that of softening a request with a phrase meaning ‘if you agree’. This is an obvious negative-politeness strategy, in Brown and Levinson’s terms, because it mitigates the force of the request by pointing out that the addressee does not have to comply and indicates deference to his opinion. We might expect it to be frequently used, but in fact it is very rare in Greek of the Classical period.

10) σὺ δ' αὐτὸς αὐτὴν εῖσαγ', **εἰ δοκεῖ**, δόμους. (Euripides, *Alcestis* 1112)  
 ‘But you take her yourself into the house, **if it seems best to you.**’

Some of the most important strategies involve the expression of heightened emotion. When a Greek is really desperate, he sometimes uses a verb meaning ‘I beg’ or ‘I entreat’, and/or an indication of something by which the addressee could be entreated, such as the gods or his knees or beard. This strategy is fairly common in literature, but that frequency may not reflect real life. Entreaty is a

12 Denizot (2011) 455 found on the basis of a different set of data that the optative was not necessarily polite and could even be disrespectful; although in my data this disrespectful usage does not appear, it is worth keeping in mind that the possibility of such implications also existed.

high-risk strategy: by putting the addressee under pressure to grant the request it is excellent for getting what one needs but poor from the perspective of maintaining good relations with the addressee. Hence the entreaty strategy is normally reserved for situations in which the speaker is fairly desperate – but those situations occur not infrequently in some literary genres. This strategy is illustrated in passages 11–14.

11) ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων. (Herodotus 1.8.4)  
 ‘I believe that she is the most beautiful of all women, and I **beg** you not to ask [me to do anything] inappropriate!’

12) ἀλλ’ ἵκετεύω, … ὡς πάππε, δός μοι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἄρξαι αὐτοῦ. (Xenophon, *Cyropedia* 1.3.11)  
 ‘But I **entreat** you, grandfather, grant me to rule over him for three days!’

13) δέομαι δ’ ὑμῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ καὶ ἵκετεύω μετ’ εὐνοίας ἀποδέχεσθαι μου τοὺς λόγους. (Isaeus, *De Meneclē* 2)  
 ‘I **ask** you all, and **entreat** you, and **supplicate** you to receive my words with good will.’

14) μή, πρὸς γενείου, κρύπτε σύνδουλον σέθεν· στηὴν γάρ, εἰ χρή, τῶνδε θήσομαι πέρι. (Euripides, *Medea* 65–6)  
 ‘**By your beard**, don’t hide it from your fellow-slave; if necessary I’ll keep silent about it.’

It is debatable whether this strategy should count as politeness.<sup>13</sup> In Brown and Levinson’s theory entreaty is the exact opposite of negative politeness and would often not count as positive politeness either (though some examples do constitute positive politeness, depending on how they are phrased). Many linguists would argue that what the expressions in passages 11–14 convey is urgency, which is not a form of politeness. At the same time the emotional expressions have something in common with other request strategies that are clearly polite, because these expressions put the addressee in a position of superiority vis-a-vis the speaker. Saying ‘I beg you to lend me £10’ is very different from using the imperative and saying ‘Lend me £10’; the request has been elaborated with something designed to acknowledge and overcome the problem that the addressee might not want to comply. Although in one sense this issue of classification is irrelevant to our understanding of the effects achieved by these phrases, in another sense it matters, because the strategy of entreaty is very common in Greek literature of the Classical period: about half the requests classed as ‘markedly polite’ in table A belong in this category.

13 For the theoretical debate on whether such a strategy should be considered part of politeness see e.g. work on Latin request formulae, among which such expressions figure prominently. Risselada (1993) esp. 253–5 argues that *oro* and *obsecro* (meaning ‘I beg’) are not polite although related expressions such as *rogo* and *quaeso* (meaning ‘I ask’) are, but Hall (2009) and Dickey (2012a) and (2012b) esp. 323–5 argue that this entire group of Latin request formulae is polite.

## HELLENISTIC PAPYRI

What happened to the Classical request system in later periods? To answer that question one cannot really look at literature from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, because the Greek literature of those periods was consciously Classicizing. In literature there appears to be no change in the way requests are made at any period of antiquity, just as there appears to be no change in Greek grammar or spelling, but it is unlikely that that situation reflects what happened in the ever-changing conversational language. The usual way to find out what really happened in post-Classical Greek is to look at papyrus documents, as these are far closer to everyday conversational language and so give us a chance to see various types of changes taking place. And in this case, papyrus documents show dramatic changes from their very beginnings, as illustrated in table C.<sup>14</sup>

Documents in sample	Bare imperative	Polite	Other	Total	% markedly polite
<i>P.enteux</i> (body of petitions)	—	78	—	78	100%
<i>P.enteux</i> (response of officials)	91	—	1	92	0%
<i>P.cair.zen. I-III</i>	208	212	21	441	48%
Total	299	290	22	611	47%

**Table C:** Linguistic forms used for requests in papyrus letters and petitions from the third century BCE

Already<sup>15</sup> in the third century BCE papyrus documents reveal a very different type of request system from the one visible in earlier literature. Bare imperatives are still used, but much less often and only to social inferiors. When the recipient of a petition writes on the petition what his decision is, with instructions to officials about what to do in response to the petition, he almost invariably uses unsoftened imperatives. But the body of the petition never contains bare imperatives: petitioners in Hellenistic Egypt consistently use linguistic politeness strategies to make their requests. The same is true of papyrus letters from the third century BCE, which show strong internal consistency in the way requests are made, depending on the relative status of writer and addressee: for example, *P.cair.zen. I.59036* consists of a letter containing four requests, all bare imperatives, enclosing a copy of another letter to a different addressee, which has three requests, all using markedly polite language. Clearly, if a Greek-speaking writer in third-century Egypt wanted a superior to do something, he asked nicely using a markedly polite linguistic form – and if he wanted an inferior to do something, he used the bare imperative. That bare imperative was probably still not generally perceived as rude, as it would be in English; in situations where it was normal, it must

14 The figures in table C are based on a hand search of 113 petitions to the king (*P.enteux*) and 531 assorted other documents (mostly letters but also including petitions to lower officials) from *P.cair.zen. I-III*. The passages concerned can be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

15 That the request system in documentary Greek texts from later periods differs from the Classical one has already been established – see e.g. Leiwo (2009).

have still been seen as polite. But in situations where the imperative was no longer used, it was no longer polite.

Moreover, as marked politeness became more common it also became more formulaic: third-century documents abound in polite request formulae. These formulae appear to be derived from the polite request strategies present during the Classical period. Of course, not all those Classical strategies resulted in Hellenistic request formulae; as already noted, some strategies, such as indirectness and the use of the optative, were by their very natures non-formulaic. But of the strategies that had the capacity to become formulaic, the majority made that transition.

For example, the most common request formula in third-century papyri is the phrase *καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις* + conditional participle ‘you would do well if’, derived from the strategy seen in passages 8 and 9 and illustrated below in passage 15. This optative formulation alternates with a variant using the future instead of the optative, *καλῶς ποιήσεις* + conditional participle ‘you will do well if’. The formulaic nature of these phrases is evident not only from the fact that these two linguistic forms are consistently used, but also from the fact that the request itself (which of course cannot be formulaic, as the exact action requested naturally varies from person to person) is regularly expressed with a conditional participle rather than via a subordinate clause introduced by *εἰ* ‘if’. Taking the optative and future variants together, this request formula is attested more than 140 times in letters and petitions from the third century BCE.

15) **καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις** ἐπιστείλας ἡμῖν ὡς βούλει γενέσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς οὕτω καταχωρίσωμεν. (P.Cair.Zen. I.59036.15–16)

‘**You would do well if** you wrote to us about how you want it to be, so that we too can record it that way.’

Another Classical strategy to turn into a formula in the Hellenistic papyri is the one seen above in passage 10, the use of a phrase meaning ‘if you agree’. There are two different formulae for expressing this strategy in the Hellenistic period, as illustrated in passages 16 and 17: *εἰ δοκεῖ* and *ἐὰν φαίνηται* (both meaning literally ‘if it seems’, i.e. ‘if it seems best to you’). The former phrase is sometimes used in the Classical period, though not frequently, and the latter is not. The two are not completely equivalent in the third century: *ἐὰν φαίνηται* is more common, being attested more than 60 times in a wide variety of different contexts, while *εἰ δοκεῖ* is restricted almost entirely to petitions to the king. In these petitions it is always paired with the same verb, *δέομαι*, to make the formula *δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ*, which occurs more than 40 times on such petitions.

16) **ἐάν τε φαίνηται σοι**, διαγράψης Μηδείῳ εἰς τὰ ιατρικά, **ἐάν τε βούλῃ**. (P.Cair.Zen. I.59036.13)

‘**If it seems best to you**, pay [the money] to Medeios into the medical tax fund, **if you want**.’ [The phrase *ἐὰν βούλῃ* is rare and was probably not formulaic at this period.]

17) **δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ**, προστάξαι Διοφάνει τῷ στρατηγῷ γράψα[ι] Ἡφαιστίωνι τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ ἀποστεῖλαι Πετοβάστιν καὶ Ὄρον τοὺς ἐγκε(κ)λημένους εἰς Κροκοδίλων πόλιν, ὅπως διακριθῶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Διοφάνους, καί, ἐὰν ἐνδείξωμαι αὐτοὺς

κατακεκλυκότας μου τὸν σπόρον, ἐπαναγκαθῆναι αὐτοὺς τὸν ἐμὸν σπόρον ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τάξασθαι αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐχφόρια, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτοὶ γεωργοῦσιν γῆς ἀντιδοθῆναι μοι τὸ ἵσον πλῆθος ἀνθ' ἡς καὶ[τ]ακεκλύκασιν. (*P.enteux* 60.6–11)

‘So I ask you, king, if it seems best to you, to order Diophanes the strategos to write to Hephaestion the epistles [and tell him] to send Petobastis and Horus, the accused, to Crocodilopolis, so that a judgement may be made between them and me before Diophanes, and if I prove that they flooded my seeded field, [I ask] that they be compelled to take over my seeded field and pay the charges on it, and that an amount of land equivalent to that which they flooded be given to me in exchange from the land that they themselves work.’

The third major source of third-century polite request formulae is verbs with meanings such as ‘I beg’. In contrast to the large number of such verbs available for expressing entreaty in the Classical period, only one, δέομαι, went on to become a Hellenistic formula. Δέομαι is common in third-century papyri, especially in petitions to the king, where it is almost always found with the same other words, as in passage 17 above. It no longer gives the impression of conveying emotional force as in the Classical period (see passages 11 and 13 above, with preceding comments), and indeed it no longer seems to be used to put pressure on the addressee to fulfil the request, because it is systematically combined with εἰ δοκεῖ ‘if it seems best’, which as we have seen points out to the addressee that there is no obligation to comply with the request. As noted above, the use of δέομαι in the Classical period may not be classifiable as a politeness strategy at all; this element of doubt is gone by the third century, when it is clearly an element of formulaic politeness because it is the standard way of making certain requests.

The other Classical verbs with this same general meaning do not become Hellenistic formulae; for example ἀντιβολῶ, seen in passage 13 above, is not used for requests at all in the third century. The position of ἰκετεύω is particularly interesting, because this verb is indeed used for requests, but it does not appear to become a formula. That is, ἰκετεύω is found only occasionally in the third century, and in later centuries it disappears altogether from papyrus documents, whereas the formulae already discussed all continue into the second century and usually well beyond that. Moreover ἰκετεύω seems to carry emotional force even in third-century petitions, as illustrated in passage 18 where the rest of the sentence shows the writer’s level of emotion and desperation.

18) δέομαι οὖν [σο]ν καὶ ἰκετεύω, εἰ καὶ σ[ο]ι δοκεῖ, μὴ περιδεῖν με καταφθειρόμενον ἀδίκως ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ. (*P.Cair.Zen.* III.59520.8–9)

‘So I ask and implore you, if it seems best to you as well, not to overlook me perishing unjustly in the prison.’

Another verb in this category, ἀξιῶ, is never used to make requests in the Classical period but nevertheless becomes a common request formula in the Hellenistic period, as illustrated in passage 19. The use of ἀξιῶ starts off slowly, for the verb is significantly less common than δέομαι for requests in documents of the third century, but it rapidly gains ground and is more common than δέομαι by the

second century. The use of ἀξιῶ is also more flexible than that of δέομαι, for ἀξιῶ is found in a wider range of documents and with a variety of different other words.

19) **ἀξιῶ σε**, ἐάν τοι φαίνηται, συντάξαι γράψαι Ἡρακλεῖ[δ]η τῷ ἐν τῷ Ἡρ(ακλεο)πο(λίτη) ἀρχιφυ(λακίτη) διέσθαι αὐτούς, ὅπως γίνωνται πρὸς τῇ [χρ]είᾳ καὶ μὴ ἀργῇ τὰ πλοῖα.

(*Chr. Wilck.* 166.2.9–10a)

‘I ask you, if it seems best to you, to order (someone) to write to Herakleides the archiphylakites in the Herakleopolite nome (and tell him) to release them, so that they may do what needs to be done and the ships may not lie idle.’

Thus our evidence suggests that between the Classical and early Hellenistic periods there was an abrupt and massive shift in the way Greek speakers made requests. They went from a system without any specific formulae for making polite requests to one with a set of different formulae specialized for use in different contexts. Why did this happen?

One possible answer is that the shift did not happen in practice but is an illusion arising from the changing nature of our evidence. The Hellenistic evidence used above is all documentary, taken from letters and petitions; this type of source simply does not survive to any significant extent from the earlier period. Our Classical evidence is all literary, and if one discounts post-Classical literature as not representative of conversational usage, there is by definition no literary evidence for Greek of the Hellenistic period. Is it possible that the polite request formulae seen in Hellenistic letters and petitions were already used as request formulae in earlier centuries and that our ignorance of that usage comes from the loss of the equivalent documents from the Classical period?

At first glance this objection seems unanswerable, but on closer inspection it can be shown to be incorrect. In the first place, if the Hellenistic request formulae had existed in the Classical period we should see more of them in literature of that period. Of course some literary genres actively avoided ordinary conversational language, and many good authors even in other genres made a point of varying their language to avoid formulaic repetition; such considerations would undoubtedly make formulae that were common in conversational language difficult to detect in the writings of authors like Aeschylus or Aristophanes. But other genres and authors were far more tolerant of formulae, repetition and conversational language: for example Xenophon and Menander are, with respect to other features of the Greek language, both repetitious and predictable. With use of various vocatives, for example, there were set rules in the Classical period that led to repeated use of the same formulae over and over again, and both Menander and Xenophon were happy to follow those rules in their works: vocative usage in both these authors is highly predictable.<sup>16</sup> But in their phrasing of requests too polite to use the imperative the same two authors are entirely unpredictable and show no trace of formulaic usage. This fact strongly suggests that there were no fixed request for-

16 See Dickey (1995).

mulae in the conversational language of Xenophon's or Menander's day, i.e. the later Classical period.

The other reason to believe that the Hellenistic request formulae are genuine products of the Hellenistic period has to do with the use of verbs of emotional entreaty such as *δέομαι*. The Classical examples of such verbs nearly all occur in contexts where genuine emotion appears to be present, but the Hellenistic examples largely do not (with the exception of *ἰκέτεύω*, which is notably different in other ways as well). When a term becomes formulaic it inevitably loses its emotional force in the contexts where the formulaic usage appears: thus 'dear' at the beginning of an English letter carries no emotional force, though the same word can be emotional in other contexts. Yet the use of *δέομαι* to make requests in Classical passages such as those seen in 11 and 13 above clearly does carry emotional weight (i.e. evoking pity). If the formulaic, non-emotional use of *δέομαι* seen in third-century documents had already existed in the Classical period, the word could not have been used by Classical writers in the way it was in fact used.

Therefore the shift in request strategies seen in our evidence must reflect a genuine change in the Greek language. Why would a language that for centuries had not a single polite request formula suddenly develop an entire set of them, with firm conventions for their use? One possibility is massive influence from a foreign language, such as might take place if the writers of the third-century documents were non-native speakers of Greek – but that cannot be the answer here, for the writers clearly were native Greek speakers. Of course, Egyptian Greek documents sometimes show the influence of other languages even when written by native Greek speakers; at most periods there is occasional influence from the Egyptian language,<sup>17</sup> and at a later period many documents show significant influence from Latin,<sup>18</sup> but the usual markers of such influence are absent from these third-century documents. They are far too early for significant Latin influence,<sup>19</sup> and they come from too high a social setting for significant Egyptian influence.<sup>20</sup>

The unlikelihood of direct linguistic influence from another culture does not, however, rule out the possibility of cultural influence; indeed the abrupt shift in language usage seen between Classical Greece and Hellenistic Egypt must be connected to the equally sharp cultural transition between those two worlds. When the Greek language came to Egypt it was transplanted into a society with a radi-

17 Cf., e.g., Fewster (2002) and Muhs (2009).

18 There is a vast literature on Latinisms in the Greek papyri; see for example Cavenaile (1951) and (1952), Daris (1991), Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser (1996–), Dickey (2004), Filos (2009) and, most relevantly to the present investigation, Dickey (2009).

19 Latin influence on Egyptian Greek was, unsurprisingly, rare before the annexation of Egypt by Rome at the end of the first century BCE; even after the annexation it took some time for Latin influence to reach the level that would plausibly account for the type of shift investigated here. See Dickey (2003) and (2004).

20 Direct influence from the Macedonian language is unlikely, because most of the documents do not come from a high enough social level to have been written by speakers of Macedonian, but indirect influence cannot be completely ruled out, particularly given how little we know about linguistic politeness in Macedonian.

cally different social structure. The Classical Greek world was in many ways a fundamentally egalitarian one, particularly in democracies like Athens but also even in cities that were not officially democratic, like Sparta where kings ruled but not as autocrats. But Egyptians, like most of the peoples conquered by Alexander, had never been egalitarian; they had a highly stratified social structure, as did the Macedonians who took control of Egypt after the conquest. Even if all the writers and addressees of the requests in our third-century documents were native Greek speakers, they are unlikely to have been Greeks either in the sense of having grown up in Greece or (for most writers, at least) in the sense of having ancestors who had grown up in Greece (as opposed to Macedon).

The Greek speakers of Ptolemaic Egypt needed a request system that fitted their culture by reflecting the difference between asking a favour of a superior and giving an order to an inferior, and that naturally led them to restrict the use of the bare imperative to the latter type of request. But of course that restriction enormously increased the number of requests that did not use the bare imperative, necessitating the frequent use of strategies that Greeks of the Classical period had used much more sparingly in such circumstances. As long as those strategies were used rarely and in special circumstances such as heightened emotion, they naturally did not become formulaic, but as soon as they became common there was a natural tendency for them to turn into formulae. In doing so the Greek request formulae followed the same path as English expressions like ‘can you?’: just as ‘can you?’ has effectively ceased to be a question in English, so Greek δέομαι effectively ceased to be an entreaty once it turned into a request formula.

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## APPENDIX: DATA ON HELLENISTIC REQUESTS

Note: passages consisting mainly and even entirely of supplements are recorded here for the sake of completeness if they occur in editions, but those where too little is left for the supplement to be reliable are not counted in the statistics used in the article. Requests counted for statistical purposes have an indication of their classification ('bare imperative', 'polite', 'other'); if there is no such indication they have not been counted. Each passage is considered a single request unless otherwise specified; where a passage contains two requests as restored but only one is really present on the papyrus, only the one securely attested on the papyrus has been counted. Expressions phrased as requests that do not really function as requests are excluded altogether from these data (i.e. the data are 'directives' in the speech-act theory sense); these excluded expressions are greeting formulae (e.g. *χαίρειν* 'greetings!'), farewell formulae (e.g. *ἔρρωσο* 'be well!') and expressions introducing information being conveyed (e.g. *γίνωσκε* 'know!').

### *P.enteux. (body of petitions, 78 polite requests):*

1.10–11 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ἵει σοι δοκεῖ, τὴν ἔντευξίν μου/ ἀποσταλῆναι (polite)

2.6–7 [δέ]ομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

3.6 [δέομαι οὖν] σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, συντάξαι (polite)

4r.7 [δέομαι οὖν σου,] βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

5r.6–7 ἀξοῦμέν σε δεό[μενοι, βασιλεῦ] (polite)

6.4 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

7.3–4 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ,] εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, π[ροστάξαι]

8.19–20 δέο[μαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι]

9.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

10.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλ[εῦ, προστάξαι] (polite)

11.3–4 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σ]οι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

12.5 δέομαι οὖν σου, β[ασιλεῦ], ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, π[ροσ]τάξαι (polite)

13.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξα[1] (polite)

14.6 δέομα[ι ο]ὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

15.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

16.3 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

17.5 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλε]ῦ, προστάξαι

18.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, [ε]ί σοι δοκεῖ, συντάξαι (polite)

20.6 [δέομαι] οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

21.6 δεόμεθα οὖν σου, [βα]σιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

22.6 δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ, προ/[στάξαι] (polite)

23.7 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι]

24.5–6 [δέομαι οὖν σου,] βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν κ[ατ]αφυγὴν ποιουμένην, προστάξαι] (polite)

25.9–10 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

26.10 δέομαί οὖν [σου], βασιλεῦ, [μ]ὴ πε[ριδεῖν με] (polite)

27.13 δέομαί [οὖν] σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

28.8 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

29.12–13 δέομαι οὖν \σ/ου, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ὑπερ[ιδεῖν με] (polite)

30.8 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

31.5 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, π]ροστάξαι

32.9–10 δεόμεθα οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

33.6–7 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)]

34.10 δεόμεθα οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, π[ρο]στάξαι (polite)

35.5 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

36.3 δέομαι [οὖν σου, βα]σιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

37.6–7 δέο[μαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι]

38.7–8 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

40.5 δέομαι οὖν σου, [β]ασιλεῦ, ἀποστεῖλαι (polite)

41.5 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι] (polite)

42.3–4 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

43.2 δέομ[α]ι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

44.4 [δε]όμεθα οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

45.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι] (polite)

46.4–5 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

47.6 δέομαι σου, βασιλεῦ, μὴ περιδῶν (polite)

48.7 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

49.5–6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, [ε[ί] σοι] δοκεῖ, συντάξαι (polite)

50.3–4 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

51.3–4 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] [σοι δοκεῖ, ἐπειδὴ ο[ἰκεῖ]ός ἐστιν ὁ Σά[τυρος τοῦ Θε]υγένους, ὁ δὲ Θευγένης τετελεύτηκεν, προστάξαι] (polite)

52.7 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, [προστάξαι] (polite)

53.6–7 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προσ]τάξαι

54.9 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

55.14 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

56.4 [ . . . βασ]ιλεῦ, προστάξαι

57.5 [δέομαι οὖν σο]υ, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι] (polite)

58.15 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ . . .] (polite)

59.8–9 δέομεθά σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)

60.6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

61.7 [δέομαι οὖν] σου, βασιλεῦ, ε[ί] καὶ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)

62.8–9 ἀξιῶ οὖν . . . προστάξαι (polite)

64.10 [δέομαι σου, βασιλεῦ, προσ]τάξαι

65.12 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 66.6–7 δέομαι οὖν σο[ν], βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 67.3 [δέομαί σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξα[ι] (polite)  
 68.12 [δέο]μαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξα[ι] (polite)  
 69.4–5 δέομαι οὖν σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 70.9–10 [δέομ]αι οὖν σου, βασ[ιλεῦ, εἴ σ]οι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 71.6 [δέο]μαι οὖν [σο]υ, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 72.6 δέομαι οὖν [σου], βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 73.9 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 74.13–14 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 75.10–11 δέομαι οὖν [σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι] (polite)  
 76.5–6 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 77.4–5 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξα[ι] (polite)  
 78.12 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, π]ροστάξαι  
 79.9 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, [μὴ περιδεῖν] (polite)  
 81.20–21 ἀξιῷ σε, βασιλεῦ, δεομένη πρ[οστά]ξαι (polite)  
 82.6–7 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, ίκέτις ἐπὶ σὲ καταπεφευγυῖα, μὴ περιδεῖν (polite)  
 83.8 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλε[ῦ, πρ]οστάξαι (polite)  
 84.24 δέομαι οὖν σ[ου . . . ] (polite)  
 85.7–8 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ,] προστάξαι  
 86.10–11 ἀξιῷ [οὖν σε, βασιλεῦ, δεομένη,] ἵνα [μ]ὴ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ν[στε]ρήσω τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀπολ[. . . προ]στάξαι (polite)  
 87.3–4 δέομαι οὖν σου, [βασ]ιλεῦ, εἴ[ι] σοι δοκ[εῖ, προστάξαι] (polite)  
 88.4 [δέομαί οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 89.8–9 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 90.5 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασι[λεῦ], εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 91.12 δέομαι [ο]ὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι (polite)  
 92.9 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, ἀποστεῦαι]  
 93.2 δέομαι οὖν σου, βασ[ιλεῦ . . . ] (polite)  
 102.1 [δέομαι οὖν σου, βα]σι[λεῦ . . . ]  
 106.4 [δέ]ομαι [οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ,] προστάξαι (polite)  
 109.10–11 [δέομαι οὖν σου,] βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι]  
 112.3 [δέομ]αι οὖν σου, βασ[ιλεῦ, προστάξαι] (polite)

**P. Enteux. (response of officials, 91 bare imperatives and one other form):**

4r.13 ἐπισκεψάμενος φρόντισον ὅπως τύχῃ τῷ δικαίῳ (bare imperative)  
 6.9–10 παραλαβθῶν τὸν . . . εἰ ἐπιστάτην καὶ τὸν κω(μο)γρ(αμματέα), ἐπί(σκεψαι) καὶ, ἐὰν ἦν ἄγράφει ἀληθῆ, ἔασθον καθελεῖν, ἐπιμ[ελε]ς δέ σ]οι ἔστω ὅπ(ως) πάλιν ἀνοικοδομηθῆ (3 bare imperatives)  
 8.24 ἀπό(στειλον) ὅπ(ως) κατὰ τοὺς νό(μους) τὸ δί(καιον) λάβωσιν (bare imperative)  
 9.12 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς): εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)  
 10.9 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς (bare imperative)  
 11.7 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς: εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)  
 12.9 παράδειξον αὐτ[οῖς] τὰ μέρη κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα (bare imperative)  
 13.10 μάλιστ[α] μὲν διάλυσον αὐτ[οῖς]: εἰ δ[ὲ] μή, πρὸς ήμᾶ[ς] ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)  
 14.13 διασάφησον ήμῖν περὶ τούτων (bare imperative)  
 16.9 ἀπόστειλον πρὸς ήμᾶς (bare imperative)  
 18.10 [μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσο]ν αὐτοὺς: εἰ δὲ μή, πρ[ὸς] ήμᾶς ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)  
 20.9–10 ἐπανάγκασον τὰ δίκαια ποιῆ[σαι . . . ἐὰ]ν δέ τι ἀντιλέγωσιν, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)  
 21.11 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τοὺς): εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

22.14–15 εἴσελθε πρὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν/ Ἱάνθρωπον] καὶ ἐὰν [ . . . ] εἰων τὰς εἰκόνας διασάφησον  
ἡμῖν (2 bare imperatives)

24.11 μά(λιστα) [δι(άλυσον)] αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (bare imperative)

25.15–16 μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς σὺ διάλυσον τὸν πατέρα πρὸς τὸν Στρουθόν· ἐὰν δέ τι ἀντιλέγηι,  
ἀπόστειλον αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἄλλως ἔσται. (2 bare imperatives and 1 other)

28.12 [ἐπι(σκεψάμενος) φρόν(τισον) ὅπως τ]ῶν δικαίων τύχηι

29.17 [μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον)]

31.8 [μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον)]

32.16 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

36.6 [φ]ρόντισον ὅπως τῶν δικαίων τύχηι (bare imperative)

37.12 μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτοὺς· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἡμᾶς [ἀπ(όστειλον)] (bare imperative)

38.14 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

41.8 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ [μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) ὅπ(ως) . . . ] (bare imperative)

42.7 ἐπι(σκεψάμενος) φ(ρό)ν(τισον) ὅπ(ως) [τῶν δικ]αίων τύχηι (bare imperative)

43.8 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

44.9–10 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

45.14 [μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, [πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπ(όστειλον)] (bare imperative)

46.10 ἐπι(σκεψάμενος) φρ(όν)ν(τισον) ὅπ(ως) τῶν δικ[αί]ων τύχηι (bare imperative)

47.11 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

48.12 ἐπι(σκεψάμενος) φ(ρό)ν(τισον) ὅπ(ως) τ[ῶν δικαίων] τύχηι (bare imperative)

50.10 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

51v.1–2 ἀνακαλεσάμενος [τὸν Σάτυρον] σ[ύ]νταξ[ον] . . . νος πέμψον πρ(ὸς) ἡ[μᾶς] (2 bare imperatives)

52.11 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, [ἀπ(όστειλον) πρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ᾶς)] (bare imperative)

53.11 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπόστειλον (2 bare imperatives)

54.14 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

56.7 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) πρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ᾶς) (2 bare imperatives)

57.11 [μάλιστα διάλυσον αὐτούς]· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπόστι(λον) πρὸς ἡμᾶς (bare imperative)

58.24 [μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, [πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπ(όστειλον)] (bare imperative)

59v.1 μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

60.13 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

62.14 διασάφησον ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν γρ(άφει)./ [ . . . ] [μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς . . . ] (2 bare imperatives)

64.14 [μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς]· εἰ δὲ μή, [ἀπό(στειλον)]

65.19–20 μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπόστει]λον (2 bare imperatives)

66.13 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) πρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ᾶς) (2 bare imperatives)

69.9 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) πρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ᾶς) (2 bare imperatives)

70.16 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) [αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον)] (bare imperative)

71.11 ἐπι(σκεψάμενος) φ(ρό)ν(τισον) ὅπως τῶν δικαίων τύχηι (bare imperative)

72.10 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) [αὐ(τούς)· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον)] (2 bare imperatives)

73.12 μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐ[τούς· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπ(όστειλον)] (bare imperative)

74.20 μά(λιστα) δι(άλυσον) αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

82.12 ἀπόστειλον τὸν ἐνκαλούμενον (bare imperative)

83.13 μά(λιστα) διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ [μή], ἀπό(στειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

85.11 διασάφησον ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν γρ(άφει) (bare imperative)

88.8 [ . . . ἐπίσκ]εψαι [π]ερὶ τούτων (bare imperative)

89.12 ἐπι(σκεψάμενος) φ(ρό)ν(τισον) ὅπ(ως) τῶν δικαίων τύχηι (bare imperative)

91.16–17 μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπ(όστειλον) (2 bare imperatives)

93.5–6 νό(μον) ἐπανάγκασον ὅπ(ως) τὰ δίκαια π[οιήσωσιν] . . . ἐὰν δὲ τι ἀντιλέγωσι, ἀπό(στειλον)  
αὐτούς πρὸς ἡμᾶς (2 bare imperatives)

95.13 [πρὸς] ἡμᾶς ἀπ(όστειλον) (bare imperative)

97.1 μάλιστα μὲν διάλυσον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπόστειλον (2 bare imperatives)

98.1–2 φ(ρό)ν(τισον) ὅπ(ως) ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀδικηθ[ . . . ] ἐὰν δέ τινες ἀντιλέγωσιν, ἀπόστειλον  
αὐτοὺς πρ[ὸς ἡμᾶς] (2 bare imperatives)

101.9 ἐπισκεψάμενος φρόντισον [ὅπως τύχηι τοῦ δικαίου] (bare imperative)

**P.Cair.Zen. 1 (47 bare imperatives, 59 polite forms and 7 other forms):**

59002.2 σύστησον (bare imperative)

59015.v.6–7 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιησάμενος (polite)

— 9–10 τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας εὐχαριστήσ[εις ἡμῖν] (polite)

— 12 ἐπίστειλον/ [[γρ]άψον] (bare imperative)

— 22 καλ[ῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις τὴν π]ᾶσαν σπουδὴν π[οιησάμενος] (polite)

— 34–5 διὸ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ἀν ποιοῖς ὑπομιμήσκων τε αὐτὸν καὶ συνσπουδάσ(ας) (polite)

— 36–7 καὶ σὺ δὲ εὐχαριστήσεις ἡμῖν γράφων (polite)

— 43 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις σ[υ]ντάξας (polite)

— 47 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις γράψας (polite)

59016.2 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις δούς (polite)

— 4 φρόντισον (bare imperative)

— 6 γράψον (bare imperative)

59019.7 γράψον (bare imperative)

— 11 πειρῶ δέ μοι ὅτι τάχος γράψειν (bare imperative)

59021.37–9 γέγραφα οὖν σοι ταῦτα ἵνα εἰδῆς καὶ ἐάν σοι φαίνηται [[ἢ]] τῷ βασιλεῖ γράψης περὶ τούτων (polite)

— 49–50 γράψον (bare imperative)

59023.1–5 καλῶς ἀν ποι(ήσαις) . . . δοὺς Ἰατροκλεῖ (polite)

59024.2 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59025.6–10 πρὸς Διὸς οὖν καὶ θεῶν μὴ ὀκνήσης διελθὼν εἰς ἐμπόριον καὶ ἀγοράσας (other)

— 14 λαβέ (bare imperative)

— 19–21 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἀποστέλλων (polite)

— 24–5 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐν δυνάτωι ἦι, ἀγόρασον (polite)

59026.14–15 καλῶς ἀ[ν οὖν ποιήσαις] μνησθείς (polite)

59028.4 καλῶς ἀν οὖμ ποιήσαις ἐπισκεψάμενος καὶ ἐμφανίσας (2 polite)

— 5 ἐπίσκεψαι (bare imperative)

— 7–8 καλῶς ἀν οὖμ ποιήσαις καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπισκεψάμενος, εἰ καί σοι δοκεῖ (polite)

59030.2 καλῶς ἀν οὐγ̄ ποιήσα[ι]ς [ . . . ] (polite)

59032.2 χαρίζοι(ο) δ' ἄμ μ[οι . . . ] (polite)

59034.21 ἵν οὖν/ μὴ καταπλαγῆις (other)

59035.1 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις δούς (polite)

59036.3 διάγραψον (bare imperative)

— 6–7 διάπεμψον . . . ἐπιμελήθητι ὅπως διαγράψῃ (2 bare imperatives)

— 12–14 ὅπως οὖν τοῦτο τε καὶ τὸ δοθὲν Ἐκατωνύμωι εἰς τὴν (ἐννήρη) (δραχμὰς) υξε (διώβολον) χ(αλκοῦς) β, ἐάν τε φαίνηται σοι, διαγράψης Μηδείωι εἰς τὰ ἴατρικά, ἐάν τε βούλη[ι], γράψης Ἰκεσίωι διορθώσασθαι (2 polite)

— 15–16 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις ἐπιστείλας ἡμῖν (polite)

— 16–18 ἐὰν δὲ φαίνηται σοι Χαριδεῖ τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τῷ τὴν ἐπιστολήν σοι ἀποδεδωκότι διαγράψαι, διάγραψον (polite)

— 22 ἀς δεῖ σε διορθώσασθαι Ἀπολλωνίωι (other)

— 22–3 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις συντάξ[α]ς διαγράψαι αὐτῷ (polite)

59037.15 γράψον (bare imperative)

— 16 λαβέ (bare imperative)

59038.17–20 [ἐὰν οὖν] σοι φαίνηται, καλῶς ἀγ ποιήσαις . . . κομισάμενος (polite)

— 24–5 χαριεῖ μοι ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα (polite)

59039.6 χαριεῖ μοι ὡς ἐνδέχεται μάλιστα (polite)

59041.18–22 καλ[ῶς] ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις φιλοτιμηθείς, ὕσ[π]ερ ἐπίστηι, ὅπως [[ἄγ]] παρὰ τοῦ

Θεοδώρου λάβης τὰ ἐπιστ[όλια] καὶ ἀποστεύη[ι]ς ἡμῖν (2 polite)

59042.3–4 χαριεῖ οὖμ μοι συ[σ]πουγδάσ[ας], εἰ ἔστιν ἐν δυνατῷ, ἀφεθῆναι αὐτόν (polite)

59043.3–4 [καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις γ]ράψας ἡμῖν

59044.5–6 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐπισκεψάμενος (polite)

— 16–18 δὲ μὴ φαίν[η]ται ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι, Δημητρίου γε [ἐπ]ιμελόμενοι χαριεῖσθε μοι (polite)

— 35–8 καλῶς δ' ἀγ ποιοῖς καὶ συγγνώμην ἡμῖν ἔχων (polite)

59045.3–4 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις, ώς ἀν εὐκαιροῦντα λάβης Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰσαγαγὼν αὐτόν (polite)

59046.8–9 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις δοὺς αὐτῷ (polite)

59047.2–3 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις [ . . . . . τ]ή[ν] τε ἐπιστολὴν ἀποδούς (polite)

59048.1 μνησθῆναι (other)

59049.1 [ἀπόστει]λ[όν]

— 2 [ὑπόμνησ]ον

— 6 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις μὴ ἀμελήσα]ς ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ φροντίσας (2 polite)

59050.1 καλῶς ποιήσεις γινώσ[ (polite)

59052.3 ὅπως εἰδός ἀναφέρης (other)

59053.5 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις φροντίσας (polite)

— 9–11 ἀργύριον δὲ εἰς ταῦτα χαριεῖ ἡμῖν συντάξας ἐμ Μέμφει δοθῆναι (polite)

— 12–15 καὶ τὴν ταχίστ[η]ν, ἵνα γενόμενα ώς ἀν παραγένη εἰς πόλιν καταγάγηταις ἡμῖν. (other)

59056.5 καλῶς δ' ἀν ποιήσαις καὶ σὺ ἐκείνοις τε γ[ράψας] (polite)

59057.2–3 σὺ δὲ καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐκπονήσας (polite)

— 4 ἐπί[στ]ασο . . . προσάγαγε (2 bare imperatives)

— 5 πρόσθες (bare imperative)

— 6 μὴ οὖν ράθυμήστης . . . λαβὲ δέ (other, bare imperative)

— 7 καὶ ἐξάγαγέ μοι (bare imperative)

59060.7 ἀπ[όστειλον]

59061.2 σπούδασον ἀποστεῦαι τὸ στρωμάτιον (bare imperative)

59062b.3–12 καλ[ῶς] ἀν οὖν π[οι]ήσαις καὶ σὺ λ[αβ]ών . . . ἀποδο[ὺς] εὐκαίρως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνπεύσας . . . καὶ φαγερὸν αὐτῷ ποιήσας (4 polite)

59065.4 καλῶς οὖν ἀν ποιήσαις συ[ (polite)

59071.3 ἀπόστειλο[ν] (bare imperative)

59074.3 ἀπόδος (bare imperative)

59081.1–2 καλῷ[ς] ἀν ποιήσαις . . . λαβών (polite)

— 3 σπούδασον (bare imperative)

59084.7–8 [καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις γράψας (polite)

— 11 γράψον (bare imperative)

59085.2 δός (bare imperative)

59086.2 δός (bare imperative)

59093.15–16 γέγραφα οὖν σοι ὅπως ἐντείληι τῷ Ἀπολλοφάνει μηθὲν εἰς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἀπογράφεσθαι, ἢ[λ]αζ' εἴσοι δοκεῖ χρήσιμον εἶναι (polite)

— 19 καλῶς δ' ἀν ποιοῖς καὶ σὺ ἐπί[μ]ελόμεν[ος] σα[υτο]ῦ ὅπως ὑγιαίνης (polite)

59096.2–3 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις γράψας (polite)

59097.3 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

— 6 ζήτησον (bare imperative)

59098.8 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59101.3–4 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις, καθόδη ἀν σου χρείαν ἔχηι, παραδ. . . [ (polite)

59105.1–3 τοῦ ἐρεβίνθου [κα]ὶ τῆς μήκωνος δσομ μὲν ἀν πλῆθος εἰς σπέρμα κατα[χρ]ήσησθε, [τ]ὸ δὲ λοιπὸν διατηρεῖτε (bare imperative)

59106.2–4 σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ συναγόραζε καὶ εἰς τὸν Μεμφίτην ἀπόστειλον (2 bare imperatives)

— 6 συναγοράζετε (bare imperative)

59107.5 γράψον (bare imperative)

59109.2 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59120.2–4 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπεστάλκαμεν τὰ σύμβολα, ἀποδοθήτω αὐτοῖς καὶ κόμισαι τὰ β[α]τιάκια παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου (2 bare imperatives)

— 5 δός (bare imperative)

59124.4–5 σπουδασον οὖν τῆς τριμήνου ἀποστεῖλαι (bare imperative)

— 6 [καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος (polite)

— 8 [ἀπόστειλον]

59129.8 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

— 20 ἀπόστελλε (bare imperative)

59130.4–5 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις γράψας (polite)

— 18–20 τοὺς γεωργοὺς τοὺς ἐν Ταπτεια μὴ ἐνοχλεῖτε περὶ τῆς ἀλικῆς (bare imperative)

59132.8–9 ὡς ἀν οὖν σοι φαίνηται καὶ περὶ τούτων καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις ἐπιστείλας ἡμῖν τὴν ταχίστην (polite)

59134.7–8 ὡς ἀν οὖν σοι φαίνηται, γράψον ἡμῖν (bare imperative)

59135.3–5 χαρίζοι ἀν οὖμ μοι καὶ ἐπιμελόμενος ἅμα σαντοῦ ὅπως ὑγιαίνης καὶ ἡμῖν γράφων ὡς ἀν ἔχηταις (2 polite)

59136.1 παράδος (bare imperative)

— 2 δίδοτε . . . σύνταξον (2 bare imperatives)

**P.Cair.Zen. II (70 bare imperatives, 47 polite forms and 6 other forms):**

59142.3 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

59145.11–13 δέομαι οὖν σου, εἰ καὶ σοι δοκεῖ, ἐλεῆσαι με γράψας (polite)

59146.4 γράψον (bare imperative)

59147.1–3 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις, ἐὰν καὶ σοι φαίνηται, περιελών (polite)

— 13 γράψον (bare imperative)

59148.3–4 σὺ οὖν καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις πριάμενος ίμάτιον καὶ \ἄλλο θερινὸν/ [χιτῶνα] Πτολεμαῖοι καὶ δοὺς τῷ παιδί (2 polite)

59149.3–4 καλῶς ἀγ [οὖν ποιήσαις συ]ναναγκάσας (polite)

59150.11 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις γράψας (polite)

— 19 φρόντισον (bare imperative)

59152.12 γράψον (bare imperative)

59153.1–2 [καλῶς] π[οιήσεις ἐπιμεληθεί[ς]] (polite)

59154.3 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59155.3 πότισον (bare imperative)

— 4 πότιζε (bare imperative)

— 4–5 μὴ πλείους δὲ πέντε ήμερῶν σύσχητις τὸ ὄντωρ (other)

— 6 κατάσπειρε . . . γράψον (2 bare imperatives)

59156.2 παρακόμισον (bare imperative)

— 3 λαβέ (bare imperative)

— 4 [κατα]φύτευσον (bare imperative)

59157.1 φύτευσον (bare imperative)

— 2–3 καὶ ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν πλείονα/ φυτά, εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ ἐλάσσω τῶν τ καταφυτεύσεις (other)

59158.2 [φρό]ντισον (bare imperative)

59159.4 σύντα[σ]σε (bare imperative)

59160.2 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις γράψας (polite)

— 3–4 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις, ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν (polite)

— 11 γράψον (bare imperative)

— 12 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

59169.7 ἐμφάνισον (bare imperative)

59170.2 φρ[ό]ντισον οὖν]

— 3 [δός]

— 4 [γρά]ψον (bare imperative)

59171.3 καλῶς οὖ[ν ποιήσεις παραγενόμενος] (polite)

59177.1 ἀπόστειλόγι (bare imperative)

59179.11 [κα]λῶς ποιήσεις συντάξας (polite)

— 17–18 [έπι]μελές σοι γενέσθω ὅπως τὰ γενήμα[τα συ]ναχθέντα διατηρηθῆι (bare imperative)

59181.1–2 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις ἀποστείλας (polite)

59184.2 λαβέ (bare imperative)

— 6 [κατ]ασημαίνου (bare imperative)

59188.2 συντάξαι (other)

— 7 συντάξαι (other)

59189.3–4 [δέομαι οὖν σου], εἴ σοι δοκεῖ . . .

59190.2 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

— 3 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

— 5 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

— 6 γράψον (bare imperative)

59191.4–5 [συ]γα[πόσ]τε[ι]λον (bare imperative)

— 15 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59192.5–6 καλῶς [οὖν ποιήσεις εὐ/χαριστήσας ἡμῖν (polite)]

59193.6 καλῶς οὖν ποήσεις συντάξας (polite)

59194.5 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συμπέμ[ψας] (polite)

59195.4 παράδοτε (bare imperative)

59197.1 προσάγαγε (bare imperative)

59198.4–5 καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσῃς (other)

59199.6 παράδος (bare imperative)

— 7 παρακατάστησον (bare imperative)

— 10 συνανάγκασον (bare imperative)

59200.1 οἰκοδόμησον (bare imperative)

59202.6 κατάστησον (bare imperative)

59203.10 [σ]υναντήσα[τε] (bare imperative)

59204.2 παρά[δε]ξον (bare imperative)

59212.2 [κα]λῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις σπουδάσας (polite)

— 4 γράφε (bare imperative)

59217.3–4 χαρίζοι' ἀ<ν> οὖν ἡμῖν τό τε πλοιάριον χρήσας τὸ [ . . . ]ια καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων φροντίσας (2 polite)

— 5 σὺ [δὲ καὶ τινι ἔντειλ]αί τῶν παρὰ σαντοῦ συνεπιμεληθῆναι

59224.6–7 [καλῶς] οὖν ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)

59225.4–5 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποήσαις μάλιστα μὲν ὀγοράσας (polite)

— 7 χαριεῖ μοι γράψας τὴν ταχίστην (polite)

— 10 καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖμ μοι ἐπιστείλας καλῶς ἀν ποήσαις (polite)

59228.11 γράψον (bare imperative)

59229.9 δότε (bare imperative)

59230.1 καλῶς ποήσεις ἀποστείλας (polite)

— 3 προδιείλασθε (bare imperative)

— 4 συμπέμψατε (bare imperative)

59233.2 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσ[εις ἀποστείλας] (polite)

— 3 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59234.10 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59236.4–5 δέομαι οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τούτων, καὶ . . . δοῦναί μοι πρόσταγμα (2 polite)

59237.2–3 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις ὀγοράσθε (polite)

— 10 γράψομ μοι (bare imperative)

59238.8 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις συντάξας (polite)

59240.4–8 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις εἰ μὲν ἐπιμεμέλησαι, εἰ δὲ μή, φροντίσας ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀποσταλῶσιν ὡς ὄντες Ἀπολλωνίου, ἵνα μή τι κατὰ τὰ τέλη ἐνοχληθῶσιν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν αὐτὸς παραγίνητι, εἰ δὲ μή, γράψας (3 polite)

59241.2 λαβέ . . . καὶ ἀπέγδος (2 bare imperatives)

- 5 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)
- 6 πειράθητι (bare imperative)

59243.6–7 εἴ̄ σοι δοκεῖ ἐλ[θ]ῖν πρὸς μέ, εἴ̄να εὐφρανθῆις (polite)

- 15 λαβέτω (bare imperative)

59244.5 ἐπίσκεψαι (bare imperative)

- 7 γράψον . . . ἀπόστειλον (2 bare imperatives)

59247.4–5 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἀξιώσας Ἡδύλον παραγενέσθαι (polite)

- 6 γράψον (bare imperative)

59251.3–4 χαριεῖ οὖμ μοι σαντοῦ τε ἐπιμελόμενος ἵνα ὑγιαίνης καὶ ἡμῖν γράφων ἐάν τί σοι βούληι γίνεσθαι ὅν ἡμεῖς δυνάμεθα (2 polite)

- 4 καλῶς δ' ἀμ ποιήσαις ἀγοράσας (polite)
- 8 πειρῶ ἐπισκοπεῖν (bare imperative)
- 9 καὶ τὰ γενημάτια δὲ ἵνα τρόπωι τινὶ συγκομισθῆι ἐπιμελές σοι ἔστω (bare imperative)
- 9–10 καὶ ἐάν τι δέητι εἰς ἀνήλωμα τὸ ἀναγκαῖον δοῦναι, μὴ ὀκνήσηις (other)

59254.3 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις καταλυμάτιον μοι ἔτοιμάσας (polite)

59259.1 ἐπανάγκασον (bare imperative)

59262.3 καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀπόστείλας (polite)

59264.10 γράψον (bare imperative)

- 19 γράφε (bare imperative)

59270.8 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59271.5–6 σὺ οὖν ἀπόστειλόν μοι (bare imperative)

- 8–9 κατασκευασθήτω δὲ εἰς τὴν πίσσωσ[ιν] τοῦ κεράμου κλιβάνους (bare imperative)

59272.3–4 καλῶς [ο]ὖν ποιήσεις ἐπιστείλας (polite)

- 5–6 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ποιήσας ἔσται ἡμῖν βεβο[η]ηθηκά[τι] εἰς τὰ μάλιστα (polite)

59273.3 σὺ οὖν προαπόστειλόν τινα (bare imperative)

- 5 γράψον (bare imperative)

59275.12–14 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἐντυχὸν Ζήνωνι ὑπὲρ τούτ[ων] (polite)

59277.5 διάγραψον (bare imperative)

59279.5 γράψον (bare imperative)

59283.4 [κ]αλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις σπουδάσας (polite)

59284.2–4 [καλῶς ἀν οὐ]μ ποιήσαις, ὡς ἀν σοι ἀποδῶι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, γνωρι[μώτερόν σε ποιήσας αὐτῷ καί, ἐάν τι]νά σου χρείαν ἔχῃ, ποιῶν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἔστι[ν σοι ἐν δυνατῷ] (2 polite)

59285.2 δός (bare imperative)

59286.4 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

59290.3 καλῶς οὖν π[ο]ιήσ[εις] ἀποστεί[λας] (polite)

59291.6–8 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ περιειδεῖν παραπολλυμένους τῇ λειμῷ, ἀνακαλεσάμενος Ὡρον διαλογίσεσθαι ἡμῖν (3 polite)

**P.Cair.Zen. III (91 bare imperatives, 106 polite forms and 8 other forms):**

59298.1 γράψον (bare imperative)

- 3–4 γραψάτω (bare imperative)
- 6 σὺ οὖν ἐντυχε Ζήνωνι (bare imperative)
- 8 ἐπιμέλου δὲ καὶ σαντοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίνης (bare imperative)

59301.4 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις διέμενος (polite)

59303.5–6 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις μὴ παρέργως (polite)

59304.5–6 ἔτι οὖν καὶ νῦν καλῶς ποιήσ[ε]ις, εἰ μὴ ἀπέσταλκας ἐπ' αὐτό, νῦν γε ἀπ[ο]στείλας καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπ[ι]στ[ο]ριλῆγ [γ]ράψ[ας] (2 polite)

59305.3 χαρίζοιο δ' ἀμ μοι στρῶμα ἀπόστείλας (polite)

59306.9–10 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)  
59307.15–16 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις δούς (polite)  
59308.5 σὸν σύνταξον (bare imperative)  
59309.3–4 καὶ νῦν δὲ καλῶς ποίησεις πρὸ τοῦ Διότιμον ἀναπλεῦσαι φροντίσας (polite)  
— 6–7 καλῶς ἄν/ ποιήσαις διαθέμενος (polite)  
59310.4 καλῶς ἀγ̄ οὖν ποιήσαις σπουδάσας (polite)  
59311.4–5 καλῶς οὐδ̄ ποιήσεις, εἰ μήπω παρεῖ[ί]ληφεν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπιμελὲ[ς] ποιησάμενος (polite)  
59314.3 ποίησον (bare imperative)  
— 8 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)  
59315.3–4 ἐὰν οὖν σοι δόξῃ, καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας ἐκ[εί]γ[ω]ι καὶ συναντ[ιλαβόμενος ήμι]ν (2 polite)  
— 6 σύνταξον (bare imperative)  
59317.6 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις συντάξας (polite)  
— 11–12 ὑπολόγησον (bare imperative)  
— 12–13 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις καὶ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοῦναι (polite)  
59322.6 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις φροντίσας (polite)  
— 8 σὺ οὖν μὴ ἐπίτρεπε αὐτοῖς (bare imperative)  
59324.5 γράψον (bare imperative)  
59329.2–3 καλ[ῶς ὅν] ποιήσαις φρ[ο]ιντ[ί]σαις π[ε]ρὶ [ή]μ[ῶ]ν (polite)  
59331.3 καλῶς ἀγ̄ οὖν ποιήσαις γράψας] μοι καὶ ἀποστείλας (2 polite)  
— 10 σύνταξαι (bare imperative)  
— 13 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)  
59332.9 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις ἐνθυμηθείς (polite)  
59335.5–6 καλῶς ποιή[σεις ἐπιμελόμεν]ος (polite)  
59336.1–2 [καλῶς ὅν] ποιήσαις σύμβολόν μοι/ λαβών (polite)  
59341a.27–8 εἰ οὖν σοι δοκεῖ, καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)  
— b.3–4 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις μνησθείς] Ζήνωνι (polite)  
— b.12 μνήσθητι (bare imperative)  
— c.7 [καλ]ῶς οὖν ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)  
59343.5 γράψον (bare imperative)  
59344.1 καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)  
— 6 [λ]αβέ (bare imperative)  
59349.2 καλῶς ποιήσεις δούς (polite)  
59351.3–4 δέοματα οὖν σου, εἴς σοι δοκεῖ, προστάξαι (polite)  
59353.6–8 καλῶς οὖν/ ποιήσεις ἀξιώσας τὸν Ἐλενον ἀποδόσθαι (polite)  
— 17 γράφε (bare imperative)  
59355.107 [ἀ]ξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶ[ς ἀνε]νέγκαι ἐπὶ Χ[ρύσερμον] (polite)  
— 113–14 ἀξ[ιοῦμεν] ὑμᾶς [ἀνενέγκαι ἐπὶ]/ [πρὸς] Χρύσερμον (polite)  
59357.11–14 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, ἐπαναγνοὺς καὶ ἀντιγραψάμενος, ἀποστείλας (polite)  
59358.8 γράψ[ο]γ (bare imperative)  
59359.3–5 καλῶς ποιήσεις λαβὼν παρὰ Σωστράτου (polite)  
59362r.35 ἀ[γό]ρασον (bare imperative)  
— 37 δός (bare imperative)  
59363.4–6 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις ἀποστείλας (polite)  
— 11 συναπόστειλον (bare imperative)  
— 17–18 καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐν τάχει χαριεῖ μοι (polite)  
59365.8–11 καλῶς ποιήσεις, ἄν τις παρὰ σοῦ παραγίνηται, ἀποστείλας (polite)  
59367.16–17 μὴ παρέργως αὐτὸς ποιήσας (probably with καλῶς ποιήσεις understood) (polite)  
59368.5 πέμπετε (bare imperative)  
— 10–11 σπούδασον οὖν ὅπως τὰ δίκαια αὐτοῖς γένηται (bare imperative)  
— 31–2 ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν σε, ἐπειδὲ οὐθὲ ήμιν ἐκποεῖ ἀποδημεῖν οὕτ' ἐκείνωι ἐνθάδε παραγενέσθαι,

γράψαι (polite)

59369.4–5 κα[λῶς οὖν] ποήσεις γράψας (polite)

59371.11–14 ἐὰν οὖν εὔκαιρόν σοι ἦι, παραγενοῦ, ὅπως ὑποστῶμεν καθὰ ἀν συγκρίνης (polite)

59373.4 συνεχέσθω (bare imperative)

— 5 ἐπίδος (bare imperative)

59374.2 ἄφες (bare imperative)

59375.8 φρόντισον (bare imperative)

— 9 μὴ ἀμελήσης (other)

— 14 ἐπίστει[λον] (bare imperative)

59377.2–6 ἀξι[ο]ῦμέν σε, ἐπειδή . . . νῦν οὖν ἀξιοῦμέν σε ποιεῖν (polite)

— 10 ἀπόφανον (bare imperative)

59378.2–4 καλῶς ποήσεις τὰ παιδάριά μοι ἀποδούς (polite)

59379.7 γράψον (bare imperative)

59383.3–4 τὰς ἔξαγωγοὺς δεῖ ἀνακαθᾶραι (other)

— 11–12 καὶ [ό]χετοὺς δεῖ ἀγαγεῖν (other)

— 16–18 δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς μυρίκας καὶ τὸν κάλαμον ἐπικό[ψαι] (other)

59386.2 καλῶς ποιήσεις με[ (polite)

— 5–6 μὴ οὖν ἄλλω[ς σὺ πο]ίει· [ε]ἰ δὲ μή, ὀργιούμεθά σοι (bare imperative)

59387.16 κατάσπειρογ (bare imperative)

59388.5 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

— 7 γράψο[ν] (bare imperative)

59389.2 ἀπόστειλ[ον] (bare imperative)

59392.2–4 ἐπιμελὲς οὖν σοι γενέσθω ὅπως ἀν μὴ ἐπικωλυθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς (bare imperative)

59393.7 γράψον (bare imperative)

59396.6 λαβέ (bare imperative)

59397.3–4 χαριεῖ μοι ἀντιλαμβανόμενος (polite)

59403.9 καλῶς οὖν [ποιήσεις . . .] (polite)

59407.16 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)

59408.4–7 καλῶς ποιήσεις, περὶ ὧν σοι Εἰρηναῖος ἐνετείλατο, δούς (polite)

59409.2–9 ἐπειδὴ μετεπέμψου με, ἀξιῶ, εἰ καί σοι φαίνεται καὶ χρέαν ἡμῶν ἔχεις, ἐμφανίσας μοι ἐν ἦι ἔσομαι τάξει· εἰ δὲ μὴ χρέαν ἔχεις, ἵνα ἀποτρέχω εἰς τὸ τεταγμένον. (2 polite)

59410.10–11 δεόμε[θα οὖν σου, εἴ σοι] δοκεῖ, γράψον (polite)

59413.9 ἐπίστειλον (bare imperative)

59414.2 δός (bare imperative)

59416.4–5 καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)

59419.4–5 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις δούς (polite)

59421.1–7 [δέομαί σου καὶ ίκετ]εύω, ἐνευχ[όμε]լγό[ς] σοι τ[ο]ὺς πατρικ[ο]ὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν τὴ[ν Ἀπολλωνίο]ν, μὴ περιδεῖν με ἀδικούμενον, ἀλλ[ὰ μά]λισ[τα] μὲν αὐτόγ τε σε ἐπ[ισκέψασθαι] περὶ ἐμοῦ, εἰ δὲ μή γε, Ἀρ[τε]μιδώρῳ [συ]ντ[άξ]αι ἐγγύους λαβεῖν παρα[μονῆς] . . . εἰ δὲ [μ]ή γε, [σύντα]ξον (4 polite)

59423.12 [καλῶς ἄ]γ[ο]ν [οὖ]ν ποιήσαις . . .

59424.4 κέλευε (bare imperative)

59425.1 ἀξιοῦμέν σε . . . (polite)

59426.5 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

59427.4 γρ[ά]ψον (bare imperative)

59428.8–13 σὺ οὖν, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, . . . σὺ οὖν περὶ μου γράψον πρὸς αὐτόν (polite)

59433.10–11 σὺ δὲ καλῶς ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)

— 22–3 καλῶς δ[ε] ποιήσεις καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίας ε[ι]σ[πά]ραξας (polite)

59438.2–4 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις μεταπεμψάμενος (polite)

59439.3 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις συναποστείλας (polite)

59440.6 προσαξιῶ δ', εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, προδοῦνά μοι (polite)

59442.12 δός (bare imperative)

59443.13–14 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις μεταπεμψάμενος (polite)

59446.5 μάθε (bare imperative)

- 10 γράψον (bare imperative)
- 15 ἐπίστειλο[v] (bare imperative)

59447.3 ἀξιῶ δέ σε, εἴ καί σοι φαίνομαι μέτρια λέγειν, τάξαι με (polite)

- 8 ἔμοι δὲ καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις συντάξας (polite)

59449.5 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε μισθωσάμενοι (polite)

- 10 συντάξατε (bare imperative)

59451.15–19 καλῶς ἀν οὖν ποιήσαις, καθά καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διοικητής συντέταχεν, καὶ σὺ ἐπακολουθήσας ὥσαύτως (polite)

59454r.9 ἐμὲ δὲ, ἐάνπερ δύνηι, καὶ ὑβρίζε καὶ ἀπάγε (2 bare imperatives)

59455.12–15 [ἐὰν δέ] σοι δόξῃ, διαλογισάσ[θων] ἡμῖν καὶ εἴ τι προσ[γίνε]ται ἡμῖν ἀποδότω[σαν] (2 polite)

59456.1–2 χαριεῖ οὐμ̄ μοι στηθοδεσμίδας ποίησας μαλακὰς λεπτὰς δύο καὶ ἀποστείλας (polite)

59458.1 χαρίη[ι μοι] [ῆστι] ἀγοράσας (polite)

59460.15–16 [ἐὰν] οὖν σοι δόξῃ, καλῶς ἀν [ποιήσαις συ]ντάξας (polite)

59462.1 καλῶ[ις ἀν ποιήσαις ἐπιστροφὴν ὑπὲρ ἔμοιν ποιησάμενος (polite)

- 7–8 ἐνεύχομαι οὖν σου κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκονομῆσαι τὰ περὶ ἐμέ (polite)
- 10 σὺ οὖν πολυνόρησον (bare imperative)

59466.9–10 καλῶ[ις ἀν οὐ]ν ποιήσαις οὕτω συντάξας (polite)

59467.11–12 δεόμεθα οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, ἀποστεῖλαι (polite)

59469.3 ἀ[γορ]άσαι (other)

59470.5 πέμπε . . . πρόστ[αξον] (2 bare imperatives)

- 6 γράψον (bare imperative)
- 9 γράψομ μοι . . . ἐπίστειλον (2 bare imperatives)

59471.1 καλῶς ἀν π[οιήσαις . . .] (polite)

59472.2 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις, εἴ καί σοι δοκεῖ, γράψας (polite)

- 10 σύνταξογ (bare imperative)

59474.2–4 ἐναρδῶμαι οὖν[ν σοι . . . μὴ περιιδεῖν] (polite)

59475.16–17 δέομαι οὖν σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, γράψαι (polite)

59477.4 ἀξιῶ σε προχρῆσαι ἡμῖν (polite)

59478.8–9 σὺ οὖν καλῶς ποιήσεις σαντοῦ τε ἐπιμελόμενος (polite)

59482.2–6 ἐνεύχομαί σοι τὴν Ἀπολλωνίου σφωτηρίαν, καθάπερ μοι ἐπηγγεῖλω, ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναῖκά μου (polite)

- 19–20 ἐμὲ δεόμενόν σου ἐλέησον (polite)

59483.2 εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, συντάξαι (polite)

59488.2 ἀγόρασον (bare imperative)

59489.8 σύνταξον (bare imperative)

59490.2 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)

- 3 ἀποδότω (bare imperative)
- 4 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσε[ις ἵνα μηθεὶς αὐτὸν ἀδικῇ] (polite)
- 4–5 πρόντισον (bare imperative)

59491.22–4 καλῶς ποιήσις μεταπεμψάμενος (polite)

59492.4 ἀνάγγελλε (bare imperative)

- 10 μὴ οὖν περιίδης (other)
- 12–13 ἐξελοῦ με (bare imperative)

59494.10 ἐργάζεσθε (bare imperative)

- 18–19 εἴ οὖν σοι δοκεῖ, δοθῆναι ἡμῖν μέρος τι τοῦ μισθοῦ (polite)

59495.1–2 δεόμεθα οὖν σου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (polite)

- 4 λαβέ (bare imperative)
- 8–9 σὺ οὖν ἐπίσκεψαι εἴ σοι δοκεῖ ἀφεῖναι (bare imperative)

59496.6 σὺ οὖν καλῶς ἀν ποήσαις γράψαις (polite)  
 — 7 γράφον (bare imperative)

59497.11 φρόντισον (bare imperative)

59498.2–4 καλῶς ἀν ποήσαις, εἰ καὶ σοι δοκεῖ, συντάξας (polite)  
 — 12–14 δέομαι οὖν σου, εἰ καὶ σοι δοκεῖ, \συντάξας/ δοθῆναι (polite)

59499.32–3 εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, δότωσάν μοι (polite)  
 — 49–50 εἴ οὖν [σοι] δοκεῖ, ἀγοράσαι (polite)  
 — 58 ἐρώτεσον (bare imperative)

59500.8 κέλευσον (bare imperative)

59501.2–3 καλῶς ποιήσεις, ἐὰν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀποστέλλης (polite)

59502.9 ἀπόστειλον] (bare imperative)  
 — 12 γράψον (bare imperative)

— 14–15 καλῶς δὲ [ποιήσ]εις ἀποστείλας (polite)

59507.14–18 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις τούτου τε [ἐάν] \τοῦ χρόνου ἐάν/ σοι φαίνηται ἀποδοθῆναι μοι  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν γράψον (polite)  
 — 22–4 δόμοίσις δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς μητρός, ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, φρόντισον (bare imperative)

— 27–30 γράψαι δοῦναι [μοι] ἡμῖν τὸ Ἀπολλοδόρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ σιδήρου γενομένου οἰκημάτιον,  
 εἴ σοι δοκεῖ (other)

59508.4–5 καλῶς ἀγ ὄψ' ποιήσαις προσεξ[νέγ]κας (polite)  
 — 7 γράφε (bare imperative)

59509.3 μὴ ἀδικηθῶ ὑπὸ Ἐτεάρχου (other)  
 — 5 [καλῶς ἀν οὐ]γ [ποιήσαις γρά]ψας

— 9 προσκατασκεύασον (bare imperative)

59513.2–3 καλῶς ποήσεις γράψας (polite)  
 — 6 προσπυθοῦ (bare imperative)

59514.3 δός (bare imperative)  
 — 8 δός (bare imperative)

59516.9–10 ἀπόστιλον (bare imperative)  
 — 24 λαβέ (bare imperative)  
 — 26 κόμισαι (bare imperative)  
 — 26–9 καὶ εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, ἀνακαλεσάμενός με περὶ τούτων ἐπερώτησον (bare imperative)

59519.5–6 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἀποστείλας (polite)

59520.8 δέομαι οὖν [σοι]ν καὶ ἰκετεύω, εἰ καὶ σ[οι] δοκεῖ, μὴ περιμδεῖν (polite)

59522.10 διατήρησον (bare imperative)  
 — 15 λαβέ (bare imperative)  
 — 17–18 ἀπόστειλον (bare imperative)  
 — 20 δίδου (bare imperative)  
 — 24–5 ἐπιμέλου αὐτοῦ (bare imperative)

59524.2–5 καλῶς ἀν ποιήσαις τὰ λίνα τὰ δορκάδεια ἀποστείλας μοι (polite)

59525.3 [καλ]ῶς οὖν ποιήσεις γράψας (polite)

59526.3 καλῶς ἀν οὐγ ποιήσαις συντάξας (polite)  
 — 4–5 γράφε . . . καὶ μὴ ἐπιλανθάνουν ἡμῶν (2 bare imperatives)

59527.10–11 καλῶς οὖν ποήσεις δοὺς αὐτῷ (polite)

59528.5–6 [δέομαι οὖν] σου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, γράψα[ι] (polite)

59531.2 μὴ προσπορεύει (bare imperative)