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### Zutourgeion: A Scholarly Ghost Word

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## MISCELLANEA

### ζυτουργεῖον: A SCHOLARLY GHOST WORD

It is generally accepted that the word for a brewery in ancient Greek was ζυτουργεῖον (or ζυτουργίον), following the model of such terms as ἐριουργεῖον ('wool factory'), καθαρουργεῖον ('bakery'), λινουργεῖον ('linen factory'), πλινθουργεῖον ('brick factory'), or ὑαλουργεῖον ('glass factory').<sup>1)</sup> However, ζυτουργεῖον is found in no ancient text and is in fact a modern scholarly invention.

In 1902, Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly wrote that the Ptolemaic government in Egypt possibly levied a beer tax "from the ζυτοποιοί who worked at the βασιλικὸν ζυτουργεῖον".<sup>2)</sup> This 'royal brewery' is found in no ancient text. By 1905, Smyly, this time with Mahaffy, had found an opportunity to restore ζυτουργίον/ζυτουργεῖον from ζ in one of the Flinders Petrie papyri (from the third century B.C.), and twice from ζυ in another contemporary papyrus where a place for beer production was needed.<sup>3)</sup> The ghost word was then accepted, for instance, by Preisigke, and from there in Liddell, Scott, and Jones, where it remains unchallenged (there is no retraction in the supplement).<sup>4)</sup>

The proper word for a brewery, as far as we know, was ζυτοπωλείον (almost always found as ζυτοπώλιον), literally 'beer store'.<sup>5)</sup> Peremans and Van 't Dack have shown that in Ptolemaic Egypt the term ζυτοπώλιον could denote a brewery, citing two letters from Apollonius to Zenon of 254 B.C. In the first, Apollonius speaks of twelve artabs of barley to be used to make beer daily at a ζυτοπώλιον in Philadelphia; in the second he mentions Amenneus the 'beer-maker' (ζυτοποιός)<sup>6)</sup> at the same ζυτοπώλιον.<sup>7)</sup> In another letter in the same series both the ζυτοπώλιον and the ἐργαστήριον are mentioned, and both have also been restored in yet another papyrus of the series.<sup>8)</sup> There is further proof for this contention. In another Ptolemaic text (dated to 253 B.C.) in which barley is to be supplied for beer, it is sent to a ζυτοπώλιον;<sup>9)</sup> surely a simple beer store would have no need for cereal. Later instances could also be advanced; for instance, in A.D. 29, Papontos the former 'beer-maker' (ζυτοποιός) allegedly broke into a house in Dionysias from the ζυτοπώλιον next door, where he presumably had worked (and neglected to return the key?).<sup>10)</sup>

In two of the restored instances of ζυτουργεῖον, both in a papyrus dating to 228 B.C., the texts involve a μεγάλου ζυ. There is little doubt that this should be read as μεγάλου ζυτοπωλείου and not μεγάλου ζυτουργίου.<sup>11)</sup> In one of the famous papyri of the Zenon archive, dated to 253 B.C., Haünchis, who is petitioning Zenon to help her get her daughter back from a so-called abductor, says that she distributes beer each day ἐκ τοῦ

μεγάλου ζυτοπωλείου. Moreover, this is again more than likely a large brewery and not a beer wholesaler as sometimes thought.<sup>12)</sup>

I do not wish to argue that every 'beer store' was a brewery, or conversely that every brewery had an on-site beer store, only that ζυτοπωλείον/ζυτοπόλιον could denote either, and that, as far as we know, the word ζυτουργεῖον/ζυτουργίου, since it never existed, denoted neither.<sup>13)</sup>

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1) Some of the -ουργεῖον terms denote a place where a substance is naturally found or produced, such as ἀμπελουργεῖον ('vineyard'), λιθουργεῖον ('quarry'), μελισσουργεῖον ('beehive'), or μεταλλουργεῖον ('mine').

2) B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly (ed.), *The Tebtunis Papyri* (= *P.Tebt.* I) (London 1902), 49 (on *P.Tebt.* I.5, l. 170). This was uncritically copied by H. Maspero, *Les finances de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris 1905), 85.

3) J. P. Mahaffy, J. G. Smyly (ed.), *The Flinders Petrie Papyri* (= *P.Petr.* III) (Cunningham Memoirs 11; Dublin 1905), 221: 87, fr. a, r, l. 16, where even the ζ is not a certain reading; 312 and 313: 124, fr. a, col. i, l. 5 and fr. b, col. iii, l. 2 for ζυ, restored at 374 (and see the note at 314). ζυτουργίον is found in the first case at 221 while ζυτουργεῖον is found for all three cases in the index at 374.

4) F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin 1925), vol. 1, 649, s.v. ζυτουργίον ('Bierbrauerei') and H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*<sup>9</sup> (Oxford 1996), 758, s.v. ζυτουργεῖον ('brewery').

5) For ζυτοπωλείον, see *P.Lond.* III.1177, col. iii, l. 51; *P.Mich.* V.322b, col. i, l. 3; *P.Ross.Georg.* V.14, l. 8 (restored); and *P.Stras.* V.449, ll. 4-5. For ζυτοπόλιον (aside from the instances discussed further on), see *BGU* IV.1126, l. 10, X.1908, l. 10; *P.Cair.Zen.* II.59176, l. 206, 59189, l. 6, IV.59791, l. 6; *P.Mich.* II.123v, col. iia, l. 4, col. vi, l. 21, V.326, col. ii, l. 62, XI.620r, col. v, l. 109, XVIII.777, l. 6, 778, l. 9; *P.Oxy.* LXIV.4441, col. vi, l. 15; *P.Prag.* II.132r, l. 6; *SB* III.6094, l. 10; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 63v, col. iii, l. 33 (= *SB* III.6803, col. iii, l. 2); as well as no. 3, l. 11 in W. Clarysse, *The Financial Problems of the Beer-Seller Ameneus*, *Enchoria* 16 (1988), 11-21, at 14. Also [ζ]υτοπολίον is read in one inscription: *SB* V.8797, l. 7 = *SEG* XXXVI.1398, l. 7. The emendation ζυτοπόλου from ζοιτοπόλου in *P.Prag.* II.176r, l. 11 is likely wrong; read instead ζυτοπωλείου. The word is also abbreviated as ζυτοπωλ at *P.Gen.* II.91r, col. ii, l. 26 (= *SB* VI.9224, l. 26), and see *BGU* IX.1898, col. xi, l. 227. It should be also noted that the term ζυτηρά could be used synonymously with ζυτοπόλιον (see A. Loftus and G. Schwendner, in: C. E. Römer, T. Gagos [ed.], *P. Michigan Koenen* [= *P.Mich.* XVIII] [Amsterdam 1996], 148).

6) For the ancient Greek terms for the beer-maker/beer-seller (ζυτοποιός, ζυτοπόλης/ζυτόπωλις, and ζυτάς), see H. Harrauer (ed.), *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri XIII, griechische Texte IX* (= *CPR* XIII) (Vienna 1987), 82-86 and H.-J. Drexhage, *Bierproduzenten und Bierhändler in der papyrologischen Überlieferung*, *Münstersche Beiträage zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 16 (1997), 32-39. To their instances of the terms add *SEG* XLI.1612, l. 5 (ζυτοπ) and Euseb. *Comm. in Is.* 1.75 (= *PG* 24.227B) (ζυθ-οποιός). Though I opt, for the sake of convenience, to translate ζυτοπωλείον as 'brewery', I translate ζυτοποιός literally as 'beer-maker' rather than 'brewer' since

ζῦτος/ζῦθος was not brewed, if we are to trust the recipe preserved in the works of Zosimus of Panopolis (from around A.D. 300), in which heated malted bread is fermented in water (M. Berthelot, C.-E. Ruelle [ed.], *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* [Paris 1888], vol. 2, 372; for this recipe having been added by a scribe to Zosimus's work, see M. Mertens, *Les alchimistes grecs, tome IV, 1re partie: Zosime de Panopolis, Mémoires authentiques* [Paris 1995], lix with n. 163). However, D. Samuel has recently argued from an analysis of the morphology of starch granules from surviving ancient Egyptian beer residue that there is no certain evidence for the use of this method (see especially *Archaeology of Ancient Egyptian Beer*, *Journal of the American Society of Brewing Chemists* 54 [1996], 3-12 as well as *Brewing and Baking*, in: P. Nicholson, I. Shaw [ed.], *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies* [Cambridge 2000], 537-576, esp. 555). The use of the term ζῦτος/ζῦθος itself is also somewhat complicated; it could be taken to mean '(a type of) Egyptian beer' (first in Theophr. *Caus. Pl.* 6.11.2, who distinguishes it from simple barley beer or wheat beer), 'beer generically' (a usage perhaps coined by Posidonius fr. 22 and 170 Theiler, followed by Strabo 17.2.5, and misunderstood by Diodorus Siculus 5.26.2 [= Posid. fr. 169 Theiler]), or 'barley beer generally' (beginning with Diosc. *Mat. med.* 2.87).

7) W. Peremans, E. Van't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (Louvain 1977), vol. V, xxviii and 3 (no. 12462), citing *P.Cair.Zen.* II.59199 (= *SB* III.6738) (April 29, 254 B.C.) and 59202 (= *SB* III.6739) (May 23, 254 B.C.), with which, see E. G. Turner, *The 'Hanging' of a Brewer*. *P. Cairo Zenon II 59202*, in: *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (New Haven, Connecticut 1966), 79-86.

8) *P.Mich.Zen.* I.36, ll. 8 and 10 (May 7, 254 B.C.) and *P.Col.Zen.* III.34r, ll. 2, 7, 9, and v, l. 13 (May 21, 254 B.C.). For a discussion of this whole series, see C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels 1939), 153-154.

9) *P.Tebt.* III.701v, col. iii, l. 249.

10) *P.Ryl.* II.127.

11) *P.Petr.* III.124, fr. a, col. i, l. 5 and fr. b, col. iii, l. 2. Note that the ἐκ τοῦ ζῦ at *P.Col.Zen.* III.34v, l. 13 has been expanded by the editors as ἐκ τοῦ ζῦ(τοπωλίου). Furthermore, instead of the third restored instance of ζυτουργεῖον/ζυτουργίον (at *P.Petr.* III.87, fr. a, r, l. 16) F. Heichelheim long ago pointed out that ζυτοπῶλιον should be read (*Monopole*, *RE* 16.1 [1933], 147-199, at 170).

12) *P.Lond.Zen.* VII.1976, ll. 2-4. Large brewery: for instance, W. Clarysse, K. Vandorpe, *Zenon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des pyramides* (Louvain 1995), 98-100 and J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge 1998), 272. Beer wholesaler: for instance, P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (Leiden 1990), 77-78.

13) I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer of this journal for his/her comments and criticisms, as well as the patient and obliging librarians at Miskatonic University.