2001

**Zutourgeion: A Scholarly Ghost Word**

Max Nelson  
*University of Windsor*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/llcpub](https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/llcpub)

Part of the [Modern Languages Commons](https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/llcpub), and the [Modern Literature Commons](https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/llcpub)

**Recommended Citation**

[https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/llcpub/15](https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/llcpub/15)

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures at Scholarship at UWindsor. It has been accepted for inclusion in Languages, Literatures and Cultures Publications by an authorized administrator of Scholarship at UWindsor. For more information, please contact scholarship@uwindsor.ca.
MISCELLANEA

ξυτουργείον: A SCHOLARLY GHOST WORD

It is generally accepted that the word for a brewery in ancient Greek was ξυτουργείον (or ξυτουργέα), following the model of such terms as ἐρειουργεῖον (‘wool factory’), καθαιρουργεῖον (‘baker’), λινουργεῖον (‘linen factory’), πλινθουργεῖον (‘brick factory’), or υαλουργεῖον (‘glass factory’). However, ξυτουργείον 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 ξυτοποιοί who worked at the βασιλικός ξυτουργείον”. This ‘royal brewery’ is found in no ancient text. By 1905, Smyly, this time with Mahaffy, had found an opportunity to restore ξυτουργεῖον/ξυτουργείον from ξ in one of the Flinders Petrie papyri (from the third century B.C.), and twice from ξυ in another contemporary papyrus where a place for beer production was needed. 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).

The proper word for a brewery, as far as we know, was ξυτοποιεῖον (almost always found as ξυτοποιόν), literally ‘beer store’. Peremans and Van 't Dack have shown that in Ptolemaic Egypt the term ξυτοποιεῖον 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 ξυτοποιεῖον in Philadelph; in the second he mentions Amennus the ‘beer-maker’ (ξυτοποιός) at the same ξυτοποιεῖον. In another letter in the same series both the ξυτοποιεῖον and the ἄργυστηριον are mentioned, and both have also been restored in yet another papyrus of the series. 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 ξυτοποιεῖον; 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’ (ξυτοποιός) allegedly broke into a house in Dionysias from the ξυτοποιεῖον next door, where he presumably had worked (and neglected to return the key?).

In two of the restored instances of ξυτουργείον, both in a papyrus dating to 228 B.C., the texts involve a μεγάλου ζυθ. There is little doubt that this should be read as μεγάλου ξυτοποιεῖον and not μεγάλου ξυτουργείον. In one of the famous papyri of the Zenon archive, dated to 253 B.C., Haúncis, 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

© Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2001 Mnemosyne, Vol. LIV, Fasc. 6
Some of the -ουργείον terms denote a place where a substance is naturally found or produced, such as ἀμπελουργείον ('vineyard'), λιθουργείον ('quarry'), μελισσουργείον ('beehive'), or μεταλλουργείον ('mine').


3) J. P. Mahaffy, J. G. Smyly (ed.), The Flinders Petrie Papyri (= P.Petrie. 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 ζ, restored at 374 (and see the note at 314). ζυτουργείον is found in the first case at 221 while ζυτουργάζειν is found for all three cases in the index at 374.


5) For ζυτουργαλέον, 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 ζυτουραλίου (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. iii, 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.444, 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 Amenem, Enchoria 16 (1988), 11-21, at 14. Also [ζυτουραλέον is read in one inscription: SB V.8797, l. 7 = SEG XXXVI.1398, l. 7. The emendation ζυτουραλέον from ζυτουράλιον in P.Prag. II.176r, l. 11 is likely wrong; read instead ζυτουραλίον. The word is also abbreviated as ζυτωραλίον 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 thatition ζυτοραλίον could be used synonymously with ζυτουράλιον (see A. Loftus and G. Schwendern, 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, ζυτοποιάς, ζυτοπόλις, ζυτόπολικος, and ζυτός), 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 Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte 16 (1997), 32-39. To their instances of the terms add SEG XI.1612, l. 5 (ζυτός) and Euseb. Comm. in L. 1.75 (= PC 24.227B) (ζυτός). Though I opt, for the sake of convenience, to translate ζυτουραλέον as ‘brewery’, I translate ζυτουραλίον literally as ‘beer-maker’ rather than ‘brewer’ since...
Čýrýc/ζοðós 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, Ire partie: Zosime de Panopolis, Mémoires authentiques [Paris 1995], ix 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 Čýrýc/ζοðós 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).


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 εκ τοῦ Ĺ at P.Col.Zén. III.34r, l. 13 has been expanded by the editors as εκ τοῦ ζυφοποϊλου. Furthermore, instead of the third restored instance of ζυθουργείον/ζυθούργειον (at P.Petr. III.87, fr. a, r, l. 16) F. Heichelheim long ago pointed out that ζυθοποίουν should be read (Monopole, RE 16.1 [1933], 147-199, at 170).


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.