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Contributions to Columbia Papyri X

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3 ἄπερ ἄπαντα: indicating that this 1.5 arouras was not all the property declared in this document; we only have the last in a list of holdings. Why no total is provided is not obvious.

7 Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Ὁρου: both common names, but Onnophris son of Horos is not otherwise attested in the late first century. From the late first century B.C. or early first A.D. this filiation occurs in Demotic ostraka, cf. B. W. Jones-J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 B.C.-A.D. 96* (Am.Stud.Pap. 25, Chico 1983) nos. 2851 and 2896.

12 Pharmouthi 16 = 12 April 90. See *P.Oxy.* II 247, which was written almost exactly one month before. [Beth Juhl]

252. Private Letter

Inv. 316
Plates 4-5

11.5 x 23.4 cm

Late I
Alexandria (?)

Published: Jacqueline Long, *BASP* 24 (1987) 9-15, with plate p. 11

This urgent, secretive letter evidently refers to a planned financial coup. It is the first document to evidence a precautionary approach to the *idios logos*. The agitated writer's vocabulary, and a few rhetorical flourishes, also deserve notice.

The papyrus was written along the fibers on both sides, having been rotated 90 degrees for the address on the back. The front looks neat and professional, whereas the spindly (Latinate?) second hand on the back addressing the letter is evidently the writer's own. The hand is a rapid, angular cursive, bordering on the severe, with letters taller than they are wide. Ligatures are common, but many letters stand as independent elements—note epsilon and delta. Similar hands appear throughout the first century (e.g. *P.Lond.* 277 of A.D. 23 [Atlas II pl. 13], 140 of 69-79 [Atlas II pl. 21], 897 of 84 [Atlas III pl. 27], 142 of 95 [Atlas II pl. 43]). Otherwise, termini are furnished by the correspondents' Latin names and the reference to the *idios logos*, which ceased to function during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211).

Λόνγος Ἰουλίῳ τῷ πατρὶ

χαίρειν.

μη ἀμελήσης μοι δι' οὗ ἂν εὕρης γράψαι τί σοι δοκεῖ περὶ τῶν τριάκοντα. ἐπεὶ μοι ἐξ οὗ κατέπλευ[σ]α

πέμπτην ταύτην ὁ πατήρ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστολήν μοι γράψει καὶ

ὀργιζόμενος, καὶ μέλλω αὐτὰ ἀγοράζειν, ἐπιγνώσῃ; εἰ[ι]πέ μοι

δι' οὗ ἐὰν δύνη, μόνον μηδεὶς γεινωσκέτω ὃ ποιεῖς, εἰ ἢ βυβλιοθήκη

συνχρηματίζει καὶ καθαρὰ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ ὑποθήκης καὶ ἀπὸ

ἰδίου λόγου· καὶ ταχέως μ[ο]ι γράψον.

παρακαλῶ δέ σε περὶ πρ[άξε]ών μου ἧ σοι ἐντέταλμαι μὴ ἀμελ[εῖν]. καὶ τῶ κτήνη μὴ ἀργεῖτω ἵνα ὑπο [. . .] ω ἀψ[λι-]

ζέσθω μὴ βαρυνόμενα [. . .] ρσ[. . .] λειαν κοποῦσθαι κ[. . .] θιτ[. . .] ν πε[. . .]

στρωμάτων ἵνα σ[. . .] ἰδ[. . .] ἀσπ[ά-] ζου Διογένην καὶ [. . .] λ[. . .] αἰ[. . .] ἰν

λαν καὶ Κῦριν τὴν μεταί[ρα] καὶ τὴν σύμβιον σου. καὶ [με]λέτω μοι περ[ο]ῖ

τῶν τριάκοντά μοι γράφ[ει]ν.

[. . .] ν

ἔρρωσο πολλο[ῖ]ς χρ[όνοι]ς.

Π[α]ῦ[νι]

BACK 2nd h. Ἰουλίῳ Εἰρωνίν[ω]

3rd h. Λόνγου

εἰς Φιλαδελφίαν

traces

6 ε of πεμπτην corr. 9 Filler stroke at end 10 γι-

13 ὑποθηκης pap. 16 κ of κτη- ex corr. 21 Διογένην 22 μητέρα

24 μοι: read σοι? 28 Ἡρωνεῖν-

Longus to Julius his father, greetings. Please do not neglect to write me, through anyone you may find, what you decide about the thirty items. Since, from when I sailed downriver, this is the fifth letter my father will be writing me about them, and he is growing angry, and I am going to buy them, will you make up your mind? Tell me through anyone you can—only don't let anyone find out what you're doing—if the registry is issuing the

deed and the items are clear of mortgage and of *idios logos*. And write me quickly. I beseech you, concerning my affairs don't neglect what I have instructed you. Also the animals: don't let them be idle, so that . . . let them be stabled lest they be worn out . . . Greet Diogenes and . . . and mother Kyris and your wife. And please be sure to write me about the thirty items . . . Keep well for a long time. Pauni . . . (Addressed) To Julius Heironinus, to Philadelphia, [from] Longus . . .

3 μή: The initial downstroke of the μ loops up into the following curve: a scribal flourish like the capitals of $\Lambda\acute{o}\nu\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, Ἰουλίω , $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\rho\omega\sigma\omicron$.

5 κατέπλευσα: If Longus "sailed downriver" with respect to Philadelphia (the destination of the letter indicated on the back), he could be in Alexandria.

6-9 It is likeliest that Longus addresses Julius as "father" only honorifically, and now refers to his real father, who evidently is angry at the delay in settling the business of the thirty items. A less populous solution would be to assume that Longus here addresses Julius in the third person as sarcasm, possibly echoing language of Julius' previous letter. "Kyris [in this case, *my*] mother and your wife" (lines 22-23) would then be a huffily elevated style for one woman who is both. The hyperbaton stressing $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\tau\eta\nu\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ breathes exasperation in any case.

$\acute{o}\rho\gamma\iota\zeta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ must describe $\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$, or the second $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ becomes meaningless.

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ might mean "I am delaying," as in Classical tragedy: Longus' vocabulary does embrace $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\omega$ and $\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, lines 17-19. But the sense is rare in the papyri, and is not found with a complementary infinitive (*P. Mich.* XI 624.9, *P. Stras.* V 305.7). The future sense conforms better with future $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon\iota$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta$.

9 $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}$: The syntax of both sentences seems complete as read, but the remains of three apparently separate strokes are visible about the edge of a lacuna and under magnification, the join of the ϵ shows faint traces of ligature. The traces do not suggest any compound of $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$.

10 $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$: Though he correctly uses $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in the parallel clause of line 3, the scribe here makes a confusion common in the papyri; Gignac, *Grammar* I 305.

11-12 $\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\eta}\ \beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\chi\rho\eta\mu\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota$: The verb is used in the sense "issue appropriate documentation," somewhat loosely of the registry itself rather than of its officials (Wilcken's definition [APF 1 (1901) 558] should be broadened slightly with reference to e.g. *P. Tebt.* II 397.26, where quit-tance of a debt is at issue, rather than authorization to sell or mortgage

property). Longus' reference suits the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, which during the second half of the first century A.D. was split off from the *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων* to assume the oversight of private transactions in land and (perhaps only in exceptional cases) slaves; for a full account, see Wolff, *Das Recht* II 222-55, and cf. above, 251 introd.

13 *ὑποθήκης*: Since hypothec granted the creditor only the right to proceed *in rem* for the value of an unpaid debt, a debtor might in theory hypothecate the same piece of property repeatedly for different debts, up to its full value. A clause to prevent the exploitation of this capacity or the transfer of the hypothecated property is found in many mortgage-loans (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2722.34-38, *P.Flor.* 1.8f.; cf. discussion of *P.Oxy.* XIV 1634). Failing the registry's involvement, an unwary purchaser might find not just an obligation on his new property, but his entire purchase vitiated.

14 *ιδίου λόγου*: For a full account, see Swarney, *Idios Logos*. The *βιβλιοθήκη*, hypothec and the *idios logos* provide clues to the nature of Longus' "thirty items." If he does mean precisely the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, his letter would belong to the period when the *idios logos'* scope was expanding beyond land matters (Swarney 52 notes that *adespota* within the *idios logos'* authority were defined broadly; but that classification would seem to exclude the possibility of a hypothec). But the antecedents of the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων* were *βιβλιοθήκαι* no less, so that the date cannot be restricted in this way. There is abundant evidence for the hypothecation of land, buildings and furniture, parts thereof or part-interests therein during the Roman period (e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 486, 510; XXII 2349; XXXIV 2722, *P.Mich.* VI 428). Universal hypothecations appear late (e.g. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1890 [508], 1891 [495], LI 3641 [544]). But a will of 156, *P.Oxy.* III 494.19-21, does grant broad rights to sell or hypothecate *ἂ ἐὰν αἰρήται ἀφ' . . . ὑπαρχόντων καὶ σωμαίων*, i.e. possessions generally and specifically slaves (cf. *BGU* II 567 i.24, 2nd cent.): even in the Roman period hypothec could apply to a wider range of items than its use generally suggests. Curious as it seems to count separately rather than refer to them cumulatively by a number of arouras, parcels of land (Longus' neuter plurals standing for, e.g., *ἐδάφη*) would be the most broadly attested possibility for Longus' "thirty items." Slaves cannot be excluded, however, and it is less odd for them to be treated as items. It would be a large transaction in either case, making Longus' hope for secrecy desperately optimistic.

17-18 *ἀνλιξέσθω*: A relatively rare word in the papyri, though common enough in literature; about half the α is visible, and part of a downstroke at a characteristic angle for the ν .

18 Perhaps *βαρυνόμενα* [ἦ], as we have translated.

19 κοποῦσθαι: A fairly rare word, but cf. *P.Oxy.* I 128.8 (6-7th cent.), an official who wishes to retire because of ill health.

21 One or two names or relationships have worn away from the typical roster of salutations.

22-23 Κῦριν τὴν μεταίρα καὶ τὴν σύμβιον σου: Either Kyris is the mother of Diogenes and the rest ("Kyris their mother and your wife"), or σου applies to both nouns and she is Julius' mother ("Kyris your mother, and your wife"), or she is Longus' mother and Julius is literally his father, as alternatively suggested on lines 6-9 above ("Kyris, my mother and your wife"). The absence of a clarifying possessive is most unusual given the ambiguity. μεταίρα is remarkable against the general level of orthography in the letter, but we have not been able to read any other title of relationship. Gareth Morgan has proposed that it deliberately puns on εταίρα, which would also be remarkable but perhaps not beyond the scope of Longus' wit.

25-27 The last three lines of the letter begin part-way across the page, as if centered. No traces show to the right of the nu at the end of 25 or the sigma at the end of 26.

Back 1 Εἰρωνίην[ω]: Most likely Heironinus is a cognomen. But since no trace of the case-ending remains, it could also be a patronymic (and then to be restored in the genitive). Longus' and Julius' Latin names could, but need not, imply that they are Roman citizens (e.g. Agrippinus Isidorus, *P.Mich.* IV 224.6156; Gaius Julius Diodorus, *P.Mich.* IV 223.430, 1887; Gaius Julius Ptolemaeus, *P.Mich.* IV 223.431, 670, 2586; Heras Valerius also known as Aphrodisius, *P.Mich.* IV 223.972, 1448; Longinus also known as Gemellus, *P.Mich.* IV 223.21, 595, 1431, 224.444, 1117, 2990, 4505, 225.535, 1716, 1897; Lupus Horus, *P.Mich.* IV 223.780, 881, 1300, 2162, 224.903, 1426, 2058, 3248, 4971, 225.1138, 1998, 2903, among others, registered as paying *laographia*, from which Roman citizens were exempt, at Karanis in 172-174; cf. O. Montevicchi, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 84 [1951] 279-88).

Back 1 The rather spindly second hand addressing the letter is presumably Longus' own.

Back 2 Traces of 6-10 letters: the characters of the second hand are much narrower than those of the third, which much resembles the first. It may indeed be the scribe's, more likely Julius' or his secretary's, docketing the letter on receipt.

[Jacqueline Long]

253. Private Letter

Inv. 415
Plate 6

12.5 x 9.3 cm

Early II

Published: L. Jones, *BASP* 24 (1987) 17-21, with plate p. 19

This letter was written across the fibers on the back of a small rectangle of papyrus cut from a roll originally used for some kind of account. The letter is almost entirely preserved except for a small hole (3 x 3 cm) near the upper right hand corner of the papyrus, which leaves a gap in the first three lines of the text.

The neat cursive hand of the fragmentary account on the front resembles *P.Lond.* I 131 (Atlas I, pl. 107-125: A.D. 78-79) and III 1177 (Atlas III, pl. 31: A.D. 113) and probably dates from the late first century. The hand of the letter on the back resembles *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3472 (149), *P.Lond.* II 191 (Atlas II, pl. 46: 103-149) and *P.Lond.* I 110 (Atlas I, pl. 75-76: 138). The letter, then, probably dates from the early to middle second century. The hand is slowly written, with many letters independently executed. Note mu in three movements, squarish eta. The line of writing (both upper and lower) tends to waver.

A certain Psimouras writes to his "brother" Chairemon. The letter is a brief note concerned exclusively with greetings and conveyance of goods. It resembles, for example, *P.Oxy.* II 300 (late first century) and *P.Oslo* III 156 (Fayum [ed.], second century), both concerned with sending goods by means of a camel-driver.

The fragment of the account on the front contains some names and numbers. A strip across the front has been erased, probably with a damp cloth, and reused to write the address for the letter. After it was written, the letter was folded five or six times (each fold is between 2 and 3 cm wide, perpendicular to the text). Some damage from the folds is discernible on the papyrus. The traces of names on the front do not provide any firm cues to the provenance.

Nikephoros, a donkey-driver mentioned in the letter, may have been a slave. The name is borne by slaves in *P.Mich.* 223, 224, 225, and 361A; *P.Meyer* 8 and 9; *P.Tebt.* II 407. H. Solin, *Personennamen* 120-23, lists over two hundred men of this name, none of known free birth (but many of indeterminate origin). A major curiosity is the apparent mention of his being branded in line 2 (see note *ad loc.*). As a donkey-driver Nikephoros was very mobile and, if he was a slave or freedman, he might have been

- 8 ὄνον θήλειαν λευκώχρ[ουν]
 χων εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν [. καὶ]
 αὐτόθεν ἔσχεν ὁ ὦρο[ς παρὰ τοῦ]
 Ἐπιμάχῳ τὴν συνεστα[μένην]
 καὶ συνπεφώνημ[ένην] τιμὴν [ἀργυρίου]
 12 δραχμᾶς διακοσίας τριάκοντα . . .]
 καὶ βεβεώσι ταύτην ὁ ὦρο[ς πάση βεβε-]
 ώσι ὑπὲρ παντὸς καὶ διὰ π[αντὸς τοῦ]
 ἐπελευσομένου.
 16 (ἔτους) ιθ Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Μάρκου]
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Λ[ουκίου Αὐρη-]
 λίου Κομμόδου Σεβαστῶν Ἀρμε-]
 20 νικῶν Μηδικῶν Παρτ[ικῶν Γερμα-]
 νικῶν Σαρμητικῶν μεγίστων]
 Θῶθ ιζ. (2 Η.) ὦρος Σαρᾶ [μητρὸς]
 Θαήσιος ὁμολογῶ πεπ[ρακέναι τὸν]
 24 προκίμ[ενον] ὄνων καὶ αὐτόθ[εν ἔσχον]
 τὴν ἔσταμένην καὶ συν[πε-]
 φωνημένην τι[μ]ῆ[ν] ἀργυρίου]
 δραχμ[ᾶς] δι[α]κοσίας τριάκοντα . . .]
 καὶ βεβ[αιώσω] πάση βεβαιώσει.]
 28 Λοκρήτις Ἀρπεχύσιο[ς ἔγραψα] ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ]
 μὴ εἰδ(ότος) γρά[μματα]

1, 3 Πιτοῦ 2 ὦρος 5 Φιλαδελφίας 6 ὦρον 7 θήλειαν
 λευκώχρον 8 ἔμπροσθεν 10 Ἐπιμάχου 13-14 βεβαιώσει
 17-18 Αὐρηλίου 18 Κομμόδου 19 Παρθικῶν 20 Σαρματικῶν
 23 ὄνον 28 Λοκρήτιος

In the village of Pitos in the Memphite nome. Horos son of Saras, grandson of . . . , from the village of Pitos, being around . . . years of age, with a scar on his right foot, acknowledges to Epimachos, from Philadephia in the Arsinoite nome, that he, Horos, has sold to Epimachos a female white donkey, belonging to Horos up to this time, and simultaneously Horos received from Epimachos the arranged and agreed upon price of two hundred thirty . . . silver drachmas, and Horos guarantees this with every guarantee for all time against every claimant. Year 19 of the Emperors Caesars Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augusti, Armeniaci, Medici, Parthici, Germanici, Sarmatici Maximi, Thoth 17.

I, Horos son of Saras and Thaeis, agree that I have sold the aforementioned donkey and simultaneously I received the arranged and

agreed upon price of two hundred thirty ... drachmas, and I will guarantee this with every guarantee.

Lucretius son of Harpechusis wrote this for him as he is illiterate.

1 Pitos has not been located exactly, but was in the southern Memphite nome.⁷⁶

2 Both Σαρᾶ and Σαρᾶτος are attested as genitives of Σαρᾶς, the latter being more common. Σαρᾶτος: *P.Oxy.* XII 1446, 1550, XIV 1648; *P.Lond* 131, 259, 453; *BGU* 867; Σαρᾶ: *P.Oxy.* XII 1432, XIV 1634; *BGU* III 731.

7-8 The restoration of [ὑπάρ]χων is compelling, although one expects ὑπάρχουσαν. The masculine is commonly used for the feminine (Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* II 230). The use of the nominative for the accusative is not surprising considering the proportionally large number of wrong case endings in this papyrus: line 5 Φιλαδέλφου, line 6 Ὀρου, line 10 Ἐπιμάχω, line 17 Ἀρηλίω. If this is right, then perhaps αὐτῷ is preferable to Ὀρω preceding it (compare *ZPE* 37 [1980] 205, line 6 for a similar phrase), but the latter fits better into the limited space available on the right hand margin.

[Jonathan P. Roth]

265. Letter to a Tax-Farmer of the *xenike praktoria*

Inv. 440
Plate 19

8 x 11.2 cm

174-192
Oxyrhynchos

Back blank

The papyrus contains the first part of a letter from Hermias son of Sotas, an Alexandrian citizen currently kosmetes-designate and bouleutes of Oxyrhynchos, to Harpalos, a tax-farmer of the *xenike praktoria*. This office was involved in the collection of debts in transactions outside the Greek cities of Egypt. As such, Harpalos had effected the distraint (seizure of property to put pressure on a debtor) of a house with atrium, courtyard and furniture in Iseion Panga pledged by Alkimos son of Hermias, grandson of Apollonios, now a Roman citizen, to Lolliane also known as Kyrilla,

⁷⁶Clarysse, *op. cit.* 99.

daughter of Dorion, of Oxyrhynchos. It is the first instance known of a letter to an official of the *xenike praktoria* following an executed distraint. The evidence for the *xenike praktoria* and its officials' role in executing distraints are discussed by C. Préaux, *Cd'E* 30 (1955) 107-11 and Taubenschlag, *Law*² 285-86, 521-37, where earlier bibliography may be found.

The extant portion of the letter does not detail the transactions that led to this property's being distrained. Nor does it suggest how Hermias came to be concerned. The *kosmeteia* is not ordinarily involved in distraints, so it seems likely that he was personally interested in the property, or connected with one of the parties: it might be relevant that both he and Alkimos belong to the (admittedly, very populous) Althaeon deme of Alexandria. This letter adds to our evidence for Alexandrian citizens holding offices in Oxyrhynchos and of Alexandrian and Roman citizens involved in financial transactions there (cf. E. G. Turner, *JEA* 38 [1952] 78-93). Because the beginning of the letter alone survives, we have only Alkimos' description of what had happened, not the request (whatever it is) he is now making of Harpalos and his colleagues.

The formula by which Hermias identifies himself indicates that membership in an Alexandrian deme could, in some cases at least, be acquired through the maternal line. The formula is also used in *BGU* XI 2060 (Alexandria, 180), but this letter enables us to recognize its significance for the first time. A man's father need not always have been an Alexandrian citizen for him to inherit Alexandrian citizenship. Parallelism with the apparent requirement for Alexandrian citizenship that a son of an Alexandrian citizen father have a mother with citizenship status in some Greek city suggests that Hermias' father must have had citizenship elsewhere. This evidence generally strengthens Delia's contention that Alexandria's status, for purposes of citizenship, was not privileged over that of the other Greek cities in Roman Egypt (Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship* 39-45; on qualifications for Alexandrian citizenship, 53-56, cf. G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*³ I [Munich 1920] 221-22). The fact that this letter and *BGU* XI 2060 both date to the same period may suggest that this flexibility in extending Alexandrian citizenship obtained only temporarily.

Alkimos explicitly exemplifies the custom of adopting the emperor's name on being granted Roman citizenship. O. Montevicchi, *Rend. Inst. Lomb.* 84 (1951) 279-88 discusses the social profile of Roman citizens in Egypt; cf. I. Biezunska-Małowist, *Proc. IX Congr. Pap.* (Oslo 1961) 277-85, and for Roman citizens in Philadelphia, J. F. Oates, *Atti XI Congr. Pap.* (Milan 1966) 451-74.

The hand is a minute, rounded cursive, with a grafitti-like fluidity, obviously practiced, and marked by slashing horizontals. The letter-forms

are generally similar to those of P.Mich.Inv. 2922 = SB V 7558 of (probably) 173 (a photograph appears with the edition of H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 13 [1974] 241-48, Taf. XV.a; on the date, see A. E. R. Boak, *JEA* 19 [1932] 69-76), and of *P.Hamb.* I 12 of 209/10 (Taf. V). Note especially the epsilon leaning too far forward at the top, resting on its connecting stroke at the baseline, as though epsilon. Both forms of beta appear (2, 6); downward-pointing alpha when *και* is written.

After writing, the document was pasted together with others to form a roll. A 0.4 cm strip, containing traces of single letters at line-ends from the document that was glued before it in the roll, remains at the left margin. A similar strip is broken off from its own right. Breakage indicates that a vertical fold fell 3.5 cm in from the left edge. Although the document is otherwise in excellent condition, its lowest one-fourth is badly worn, especially on the left, before it breaks off entirely.

Ἄρπαλῶ τῷ σὺν ἄλλ(οις) δημ(οσιώνῃ) ξενικ(ῆς) πρ[ακτ(ορείας)]
 (Ἐπτα)νομ(ίας) καὶ Θηβαΐδος
 παρὰ Ἐρμίου Σώτου δήμου τοῦ κατ[ᾶ]
 4 μητέρα πάππου Ἐρμίου Σωσικοσμειῶ[υ]
 τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως ἀποδεδειγμένου κοσ-
 [μ]ητοῦ βουλευτοῦ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πό[λ]εως.]
 ἠνεχύρασεν διὰ σοῦ τῷ Φαμενώθ [μηνί]
 8 τοῦ ἰδ (ἔτους) Δολλιανῆ ἢ καὶ Κύριλλα Δωρι[ω-]
 νος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως διὰ τῆς μητρ[ῶς]
 Σαραπιάδος τῆς καὶ Θαῖσοῦτος Σαραπίω-
 νος τοῦ καὶ Θεογένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως]
 12 τοῦ ὑποχρέου αὐτῆς Ἀλκίμου Ἐρμίου [τοῦ]
 Ἀπολλωνίου Φυλαξίθαλ(ασσείου) τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέω[ς]
 ὕστερον τυχόντος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολ[ι-]
 τείας καὶ χρηματίσαντ(ος) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 16 Ἀλκίμου τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμίου ἐν τῷ Ἰσίῳ Πα[γγα]
 φ. . . σ() ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ λιβὸς μέρεσι τῆς κώ[μης]
 οἰκ[ία]ν [καὶ] αἰ[θ]ριον καὶ αὐλὴν καὶ τ[ᾶ]
 ταύτης χρηστ(ήρια) πάντα ἧς ἢ πλ[α]γί(α) φέρε[ι]
 20 εἰς ῥύμην πρὸς τῷ και(νῷ) βαλανείῳ
 [- 11 -] . [.] ψειλοῦς τόπου[ς]
 [- 12 -] [ἀπ]ηλιώτου Δημητρ[ο]
 [- 23 -] . . .

1 2nd α of αρπαλω perh. ex corr. (from λ?) 3 η of δημου ex corr.

16 Ἰσιῳ 21 ψιλούς

To Harpalos, tax-farmer with others of the *xenike praktoria* of the Heptanomia and the Thebaid, from Hermias son of Sotas, of the deme, on the side of his maternal grandfather Hermias, of the Sosikosmian tribe and the Althaeon deme, kosmetes-designate and councilor of Oxyrhynchos. In the month of Phamenoth of the fourteenth year, Lolliane also known as Kyrilla, daughter of Dorion, from Oxyrhynchos, through her mother Sarapias also known as Thaisous, daughter of Sarapion also known as Theogenes, from the same city, distrained through you, from her debtor Alkimos son of Hermias, grandson of Apollonios, belonging to the Phylaxithalassian tribe and the Althaeon deme, who later obtained Roman citizenship and was known as Marcus Aurelius Alkimos also known as Hermias, in Iseion Panga, . . . in the western parts of the village, a house and an atrium and a courtyard and all its appurtenances, of which the entrance leads to the street by the new bath . . . vacant lots . . . to the east . . .

1 Ἀρπάλω: Initial *αρ* very large, with an extra flourish atop the *α*. We have not been able to identify this Harpalos certainly in other documents.

τῶ σὺν ἄλλοις δημοσιῶνῃ: By the second century, the *xenike praktoria* was let to a group, who were designated δημοσιῶναι or μισθωταί: P.Lond.inv. 1897.8-9 (H. I. Bell, *APF* 6 [1920] 104-7) = *SB* IV 7379, *P.Oxy.* V 825 (*P.Berl.Leihg.* 10.18 is restored on the basis of P.Lond.inv. 1897). It is presumably because of his previous involvement in the transaction that Harpalos alone is addressed.

3 παρά: π written large, with serifs.

3-5 παρὰ Ἐρμίῳ Σώτου δήμου τοῦ κατὰ μητέρα πάππου Ἐρμίου Ἐωσικοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως: The same formula identifies a son as belonging to his maternal grandfather's deme also at *BGU* XI 2060.10-11, παρὰ Ἀντωνίου Γαίου δήμου τοῦ κατὰ μητέρα πάππου Ἀμμωνίου Ἐωσικοσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαιέως. Maehler interpreted δήμου as the name of Antonius' paternal grandfather and remained puzzled as to why his maternal grandfather should also be named; the coincidence of the formula here suggests that we have not two paternal grandfathers both with the same name, but a previously unrecognized formula for identifying men whose deme affiliation derives from the maternal rather than the paternal line. The formula of identification that included the paternal grandfather's name would put the article before it: name - ὁ καὶ alias - father [genitive] - τοῦ grandfather [genitive] - tribe - ὁ καὶ deme, e.g., *P.Oxy.* III 513.1-2, 47-48, 52-53, 61-63. Hermias is not otherwise known.

Since at least the third century B.C., Alexandrian citizens were required to identify themselves by name, patronymic and deme in property transactions (*P.Hamb.* II 168, *BGU XIV* 2367, *P.Hal.* I.xi.245ff.; compare the formulae of e.g. *P.Köln V* 229.24-25, 30-31; *P.Oxy.* III 513.1-2, 47-48, 52-53, 61-63; *P.Oxy.* XII 1463.19-20; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3474.33-35). Designation by tribe as well as deme became common in the mid-first century A.D. (so Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship* 22, against M. A. H. El-Abbadi, *JEA* 48 [1962] 117; cf. F. G. Kenyon, *APF* 2 [1903] 70-78).

6 ἡ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλις, as opposed to Ὀξυρύγχων (as in 9 below) began to be used in official titlature by 155 (*P.Oxy.* IV 724.1): D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-92. This letter should be added to Hagedorn's lists both of second-century examples of ἡ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλις, p. 279 n. 10 and of documents using ἡ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλις and Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις together, p. 280 n. 14.

7 διὰ σοῦ: In his official capacity. Agents of the *xenike praktoria* enforced the actual taking possession of distrained property after the creditor filed all necessary documentation (see A. B. Schwarz, *Aegyptus* 17 [1937] 241-82). The personal agency of Lolliane's mother is specified separately in 9ff.

8 Lolliane a.k.a. Kyrilla and her mother Sarapias a.k.a. Thaisous daughter of Sarapion a.k.a. Theogenes may be related to Aurelia Thaisous a.k.a. Lolliane daughter of Sarapion a.k.a. Agathos Daimon in *P.Oxy.* XII 1467 (263) and 1475 (267).

This letter's date in the second century A.D. places it in the period that most abundantly documents double names; they tend most to predominate in the higher social strata: see R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 221-60; 22 (1942) 3-45.

12 [τοῦ]: Enough space is missing to have accommodated the article, which belongs to the standard formula of identification (see above on 3-5).

13ff. Plin. *Epp.* 10.6, 7, 10 imply that an Egyptian had to be a citizen of Alexandria to be qualified to receive Roman citizenship from the emperor, but Delia now argues that citizenship in any Greek city sufficed (*Alexandrian Citizenship* 39-45). New citizens commemorated the emperor's grant by adopting his name (cf. *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2471.3, XLIX 3463.1)

The explicit notice that Alkimos is a Roman citizen, whereas the others apparently are not (contrast e.g. *P.Oxy.* XII 1458 of 216/7), implies that he was made a citizen before Caracalla's universal grant in 212; the other terminus is implied by the titlature of Oxyrhynchos (see ad 6). The fact that the emperor is not named, in whose "fourteenth year" the property was distrained, implies that his regnal count is still current. The emperor must be Marcus or Commodus, who continued Marcus' count; their four-

teenth year was 174/5, which is therefore the earliest date possible for this letter, and the latest is Commodus' death in 192.

16 Π[α][γγᾶ]: Only the slightest trace of the α remains, but Πεκύσιος is too long a name to have fit unless it was abbreviated. Iseion Panga appears much more often among the papyri than does Iseion Pekysios (cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 71-72).

17 φ . . σ (): perhaps φέρουσ(αν). If so, Hermias appears to have used φέρω intransitively (Preisigke, *Worterbuch*, s.v. 6) so as to indicate general location rather than orientation. But the construction lacks an article (otherwise one would expect φέρουσαν to follow rather than precede οἰκίαν).

21 Some formula like ὧν γείτονες (cf. *P.Oxy.* IV 719.16, XIV 1699.7) must have stood here or in the next line. [Jacqueline Long]

266. Draft of a Petition to the Epistrategos

Inv. 531a
Plate 20

16 x 18 cm

A.D. 179-181
Arsinoite?

Back blank.

The hand of this draft is clear and round, slowly enough written (except toward line-ends), but so small and cramped when written inter-linear as to be difficult to make out (e.g., 5). It combines a fair amount of ligature with separation of letters; cf. δι consistently ligatured. Note the shapes of beta with a flat bottom (8); alpha pointing downward when written in και. The beginnings of 5-11 are badly abraded and faded. Liberal margins are preserved at top and left. At right lines are written to the very edge of the papyrus (or, less likely, it has been broken off vertically at line ends). The scribe never writes iota adscript (except τῶι, 1), divides words at line end (3, 4, 6, 11, 13, 24), and abbreviates in the original text only the title ἐπιστρα(τήγω) in 1 (but abbreviates twice in the interlinear additions, 5 and 25).

This is a petition to the office of the ἐπιστράτηγος from a woman desperate to get justice but whose opponent keeps dodging a trial. Although a fair amount of the preserved portion of the text remains undeciphered (in particular the beginnings of lines 5-11), the document is important for the reason that it corroborates the name of the *epistrategos* for 176-179, (Flavius) Valens, who until recently was unknown (see below on line 12).

That we have here a first draft, rather than a revised fair copy, can be seen from the interlinear revisions in 5, 12, 20, 23, and 25. The upper portion of the document survives, while the text continued (perhaps not far) into the lower part, now lost.

The petitioner Herakleia alleges before the current *epistrategos*, Ti. Claudius Xenophon, that she has suffered injustice (6 *κακουργουν[τ-; 27 ἀβοήθητος*) at the hands of a defendant who has escaped justice more than once (4-6 *ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις . . . π[ρ]οβάλλεσθαι καὶ φυγοδι[κ]εῖν*). Possibly this involved the illicit removal of property or persons (10 *διαρπασθεῖσα*). At least one other member of her family is involved (11 *ἀδελφῆς μου*). Having sought redress through court action in the past (5 *δικαστήρια; 8 ἀπὸ τῶν βημάτων; 23 ἀντιδίκου*), she succeeded by petition in having the matter accepted for trial (more than once, it appears) by the former *epistrategos* Valens (12, 13), whom she expected to render judgment. But the defendant could not be located (16 *μὴ εὕρισκομένον δὲ ἐκεῖν[ο]υ*), and Valens never got to hear the case; in the meantime (18 *ἐν τῷ μετοξύ*) something has happened to cause her to renew her complaint before Valens' successor Claudius Xenophon. The text breaks off as she is pleading exigency (27 *ἀβοήθητος*), suggesting that the facts and request of the petition have been related in the main. We may not be missing much (5-10 lines?) before the concluding formulas and signatures. Herakleia is an Antinoite, as lines 2-3 show clearly; whether the text is of Antinoite or Arsinoite provenance is unknown.

Κλαυδίω Ξενοφῶντι τῷ [κ]ρατίστῳ ἐπιστρα(τήγῳ)
 παρὰ Ἡρακλείας τῆ[ς κ]αὶ Ῥουφείνας Ἀγτ[ι]νῶιδος θυγατρὸς
 Διδύμου Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Λουρίου Ματιδείου τοῦ καὶ Καλλι-
 4 τεκνεῖου. ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις, κύριε, π[ρ]οβάλλεσθαι καὶ φυγοδι-
 sscr [δικαστήρια . . .] μετὰ πολλῶν εὐ[τυ]χ(ὸ) χροιοτριβ[. . .] ἀνακαλλ(ὸ)
 δικαστήρια
 κε[ῖ]ν τὰ πράγματα κακουργουν-
 τ[. . .] ἐστίν [τ]εκμήριον . . . ο καὶ αὐτοῦ πονηρῶ
 8 [. . .] θαι ο καὶ ὑφορᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν βημάτων
 []ξ[] . . . [. . .]νουδ[. . .]σω[.ἐ]ξειρ[γ]άσαντο. καὶ αὐτῇ
 [τοῖ]ων ἐν πλείστοις ἀδίκους οἷσα καὶ διαρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ
 [.] π ν καὶ δ[] αι ἀδελφῆς μου,
 ἐνέτυχον δι-
 12 [ἀ β]ιβλειδίων π[ολλῶν] λείστων Οὐάλεντι τῷ ἐπιστρατηγήσαντι
 [ἀ]ξιούσα ἀκουσθῆναι· καὶ Οὐάλη[ν]ς δέ, μαθὼν τὴν ἀξιω-
 σίν μου διαφέρουσαν τῇ ἐπισ[τ]ρατηγία, ἀνεδ[έ]ξατο,
 διὰ πασῶν τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐκθεῖς τὴν διάγνωσιν.