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Three Official Documents in a *Tomos Synkollesimos*

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Πέτρῳ πολυμαθεστάτῳ

It seemed fitting to honour my former Leiden colleague Peter van Minnen with the long overdue publication of the *recto* of a papyrus of which the *verso* was already published in 1991, in a volume jointly edited by Peter and the present author.¹ I admire him for playing such an important role in the ever-widening field of papyrology.

Description of the *Tomos Synkollesimos*

H. × W. = 14 × 34.3 cm. The papyrus (Fig. 1) belongs to a collection acquired in June 1971 from the antiquarian A.M. Hakkert (Amsterdam).² The *verso* was published as P. Leid.Inst. 1 8. The *recto* shows that this papyrus formed part of a *tomos synkollesimos* of which the lower half of three different official documents is preserved, published below as texts 26–28. The papyrus has many holes and, especially on the *recto* side, missing or twisted fibres.

The texts in this *tomos* were glued onto each other (left document on top of right document) with the bottom edges aligned, as usual, while the tops of the documents likely were uneven.³ The *kolleseis* between the three parts

of this *tomos synkollesimos* are found at ca. 2 and, rather askew, at 25.3–26.5 cm from the left. The width of the overlap between the separate documents is ca. 2 cm for texts 26 and 27 (the left side of the papyrus probably has broken off along the edge of the overlap) and ca. 1.5 cm for texts 27 and 28 (see some corresponding damage to the right of the *kollesis*). Original vertical sheet joins (from the time of the papyrus fabrication), left over right, are visible in the middle document (text 27) at ca. 3.8 and 20.5 cm from the left side of the *tomos*. Only the middle document is preserved in its entire width.

The top of the papyrus is broken off horizontally. Based on the writing on the *verso* side, it was assumed that the papyrus had broken along a fold through the middle, so ca. 14 cm in height are missing from the *verso* (see P. Leid.Inst. 1 8, description). According to the cracks caused by folds at 7.2, 14.9 and 23.3 cm from the *verso*'s left side, one part of ca. 9–10 cm wide was assumed to be missing from the *verso*'s right side (= the *recto*'s right side); the complete reused papyrus would have measured approximately H. × W. = 28 × 45 cm. It is clear, however, that the fragment used for the *verso* text was cut off from a longer roll: on the left side, the text on the *recto* is broken off while that on the *verso* is complete. Also, more than 14 cm could be missing from the height of the *recto*, since, at the time of reuse, the possibly uneven top was probably cut straight: thus, depending on the original height of each text, between 14 and a maximum of 23 cm may be missing from the top of the documents in the *tomos synkollesimos*.⁴ The texts were probably numbered at the top after having been pasted together.

The three documents were written in different hands and with different ink. More details can be found in the descriptions of the individual texts below.

¹ W. CLARYSSE – F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK, 'Concordance to the *Sortes Astrampsychi* with List of Gods', in: F.A.J. HOOGENDIJK – P. VAN MINNEN (eds), *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute* (P.L.Bat. 25, Leiden – New York – Copenhagen – Cologne, 1991), pp. 15–22 (no. 8). I am grateful to Willy Clarysse for reading an earlier version of this contribution and for his worthwhile remarks; remaining errors are of course my own.

² Described under no. 84 in the catalogue *A Collection of Papyri, Wax Tablets, Ostraca, Mummy Labels and Stamps from the Third Century B.C. till the Seventh Century A.D.: Demotic, Greek, Latin and Coptic* (Acta Classica 63, Amsterdam, 1971), pp. 29–30. Further information is lacking.

³ Cf. W. CLARYSSE, 'Tomoi Synkollēsimoī', in: M. BROSIUS (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 344–359 at 354 and see, e.g., the *tomos synkollesimos* recently published by J.V. STOLK as P. Leid.Inst. 11 29–30.

⁴ Reckoning with a maximum height of ca. 37 cm, cf. E.G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Haney Foundation Series 18, Philadelphia, 1977), p. 44.



FIGURE 1 P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 r° (texts 26–28)
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Introduction to Texts 26–28

In this fragment of a *tomos synkollesimos*, parts of three different documents are preserved. The change of hands within the first two documents shows that at least these two are originals, so the *tomos* probably consisted of a series of incoming documents sent to the same recipient.⁵ The name of the recipient is unfortunately lost together with the top part of the papyrus. In most cases, *tomoi synkollesimoi* of original documents were put together in offices in the nome capitals, including those of the *strategos*, the royal scribe, and various record offices.⁶ The contents of the documents combined with the plural greeting in text 26 (see note on l. 8) may well point to the *bibliophylakes enkteseon*, the keepers of the property

register, as the recipients of the documents in this *tomos synkollesimos*.⁷

All three texts might concern property recorded in this register where especially the change of ownership of landed property was documented. The very fragmentary text 26 seems to be an official letter mentioning a testament. Text 27 is a declaration on oath which may have been part of the execution procedure after a loan was not

5 Cf. CLARYSSE, 'Tomoi Synkollēsimoī', p. 354 (outgoing documents were usually copied into normal rolls). For official correspondence in *tomoi synkollesimoi* see *op. cit.*, p. 355 with n. 31.

6 Cf. CLARYSSE, 'Tomoi Synkollēsimoī', p. 354.

7 The βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων were the officials of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, the property register where changes in ownership of land, houses and probably slaves were registered. See H.J. WOLFF, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats*, vol. 2 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 10.5, Munich, 1978), pp. 48–51, 222–255; K. MARECH, 'Die Bibliothek Enkteseon im römischen Ägypten. Überlegungen zur Funktion zentraler Besitzarchive', *AfP* 48 (2002), pp. 233–246; A. JÖRDENS, 'Nochmals zur Bibliothek Enkteseon', in: G. THÜR (ed.), *Symposion 2009. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (AGR 21, Vienna, 2010), pp. 277–290 listing previous literature at pp. 289–290; U. YIFTACH-FIRANKO, 'Comments on Andrea Jördens, "Nochmals zur Bibliothek Enkteseon"', in THÜR, *Symposion 2009*, pp. 291–299; J.L. ALONSO, 'The Bibliothek Enkteseon and the Alienation of Real Securities in Roman Egypt', *JJP* 40 (2010), pp. 11–54.

paid back in time. Text 28 may be a letter sent by a *strategos* (?), including a copy of a letter to this same *strategos*, which in turn included a copy of the petition of a certain Aurelia Apia about a case perhaps similar to that in text 27.⁸ There seems to be no reason to assume that the three documents concern the same case, although it cannot be excluded either: if the creditor of text 27 is a lady (cf. note on 27, l. 10), she might be identical with the supposed creditor of text 28, Aurelia Apia.

The mention of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the copied letter in text 28 (στρατηγῶ | Ὁξύρυγχίτου χαίρειν, ll. 6–7), makes it likely that Oxyrhynchus is the location of the

office of the recipients of the documents and thus the origin of this papyrus. None of the persons mentioned by name in this papyrus seems to be identical with known individuals from Oxyrhynchus.

The date of text 27 is completely preserved in lines 8–9: Hathyr 12 of year 11 of Severus Alexander (= 9 November 231 CE). If one may assume that the documents were glued into the roll in chronological order,⁹ the day date Phaophi 24 in text 26, line 10 could have fallen in the same year 11 (= 22 October 231 CE) and the date of text 28, not preserved, would have been later than Hathyr 12 of year 11.

26 Fragment of an Official Letter

P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 r^o A

Oxyrhynchus (?), 22 October 231 CE (?)

TM 983370

Description

H. × W. = 14 × 2 cm (Fig. 2). The handwriting of lines 1–7 is a fluent cursive, sloping to the right and more or less comparable to, e.g., P. Oxy. LVII 3906 (229 CE) or P. Oxy. XLIII 3107 (238 CE). There is extra interlinear spacing between lines 7 and 8 (ca. 1.1 cm) and between lines 8 and

9 (ca. 2.5 cm). The bottom margin measures ca. 4.5 cm; there is hardly any margin on the right. Line 8, written at a different angle, seems to be from a different hand; the pointed *phi* of φιλ() is remarkable. The date of lines 9–10 is probably from a third hand, since the lines also seem to go downwards as opposed to the writing of the first hand which goes upward.

Introduction

Only the line endings of this document are preserved. The layout of this text and the different hands that wrote the final greeting and the date at the end, point to an official letter in its original version. The content of this fragment cannot be established. It could be an order from one official to other officials who might be the *bibliophylakes enkteseon*, the keepers of the property register

(see introduction to texts 26–28 above and note on l. 8 below). Reference is made to a testament (δ]ιαθήκην, l. 7) and things needed to be attended to (πρ]ονοεῖσθαι, l. 6). One of the tasks of the *bibliophylakes* would indeed be to record the change of ownership in the case of inheritance of landed property. The date in line 10 is 24 Phaophi, probably of year 11 of Severus Alexander: 22 October 231 CE (see introduction to texts 26–28 above).

⁸ The details of each text are described further in their respective introductions and commentaries below.

⁹ Cf. CLARYSSE, ‘*Tomoi Synkollēsimoī*’, p. 349.



FIGURE 2 P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 ro A (text 26)
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Transcription

- -----
- [(H1) ---] .. λ .. ι
 [---] μετεβαλ()
 [---] . σταλέντα
 [---] σθαι καὶ εἰ
 5 [---] ὑμῖας
 [---] πρ]ονοεῖσθαι
 [---] δι]αθήκην
 vacat (ca. 1 line)
 [vacat (H2) Ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶ]ς εὐχ(ομαι), φίλ(τατοι).
 vacat (ca. 4 lines)
 [(H3) (Ἔτους) ια' αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος Μάρκου]
 Αὐρηλίου
 10 [Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ
 Φ]αῶφι κδ.

Translation

- ‘(Hand 1) ... transferred ... sent ... and if ... attend to ... testament ...’
 ‘(Hand 2) I pray for your health, dearest friends.’
 ‘(Hand 3) Year 11 of *imperator caesar* Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander *pius felix augustus*, Phaophi 24th.’

Commentary

- 2 μετεβαλ(): μεταβάλλω ‘to change’ (if the reading is right) can have various specific meanings, see PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch* s.v. Here, the meaning ‘transfer’ (of property) seems attractive, in view of the testament in line 7, and of the tasks of the presumed recipients of the letter, the *bibliophylakes*.
- 3 σταλέντα: ‘sent’, or -] . σταλέντα for one of several compounds like ἀποσταλέντα ‘sent’ (attested with, e.g., γράμματα ‘letter’ or ὑπομνήματα ‘memo-randa’), or ἐπισταλέντα in the meaning of ‘orders, instructions’; cf. also the expression κατὰ τὸν ἐπισταλέντα ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ χρηματισμόν ‘according to the document sent by him’ in, e.g., P. Diog. 16, 3 (Ptolemais Euergetis?, 207 CE) or P. Mil.Vogl. II 71, 5 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 172–175 CE). To the left of the first *sigma* (drawn as in νοεῖσθαι, l. 6) there is a twisted and turned fibre containing an unrecognisable ink trace.
- 4]σθαι καὶ εἰ:]σθαι is probably the end of a verb; καὶ εἰ ‘and if’ or ‘even if’ may refer to the outcome of an examination. Cf., e.g., the wording in the court proceedings SB VI 9066, col. ii, 12–13 (Soknopaïou

Nesos, 138–161 CE) πρὸς τὸ τὴν σύν|κρισιν γενέσθαι· καὶ εἰ ἐνκαταλείψεις τινὲς ἐγένοντο ‘so that a judgement can be formed; and if any arrears turned up ...’.

5]υμίας: perhaps part of a word ending in -θυμία such as ἐπιθυμία, προθυμία, εὐθυμία, ῥαθυμία.

8 [vacat Ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς] εὖχ(ομαι): this final greeting was probably placed on the right half side of the papyrus. The reading of the plural ὑμᾶς is based on the high, curved ink trace, which most likely is the right half of a *sigma* (similar in form to that of νοεῖσθαι in l. 6, which was, however, probably written by a different hand).

– φίλ(τατοι): φίλτατος was the most popular characterisation in letters of the second/third century CE, not only in private letters (for which see D. NACHTERGAELE, *The Formulaic Language of the Greek Private Papyrus Letters* [Diss. Ghent

University, 2015], p. 363),¹⁰ but also in letters to officials of various levels. It was used for the *bibliophylakes* in, e.g., SB XVI 12994, 6 and 8 (Oxyrhynchite nome, 241 CE) and P. Oxy. XLVII 3365, 3 and 7 (241 CE), both containing the copy of an official letter from the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome to the (unnamed) keepers of the registry office.¹¹

9–10 The supplemented part of the dating formula in line 9 is ca. 13 characters shorter than that of line 10: perhaps the ἔτους sign and number-strokes were broad and widely spaced and/or the remaining elements of the regnal titlature were written more cursively and smaller, or even partly abbreviated or left out, in line 10.

10 xδ: there is no trace of the expected stroke above the day number.

27 Declaration on Oath Concerning Κατοχή and Ἐνεχυράσια

P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 r^o B

Oxyrhynchus (?), 9 November 231 CE

TM 983371

Description

H. × W. = 14 × 25.3 (top) – 26.5 cm (bottom) (width including the ca. 2 cm overlap underneath text 26) (Fig. 3). The left margin must have been ca. 2.5 cm, there is hardly any margin on the right. The lower margin is ca. 7.5 cm. Rather irregular vertical sheet joins are visible, left over right, at ca. 3.8 and 20.5 cm from the left. A vertical fold at ca. 21.3 cm from the left hides (parts of) letters in lines 1–4, especially in β[ι]βλιοφυλάκιον (l. 2) and μη[τ]ρός (l. 4).

Lines 1–7 are written in an experienced upright documentary hand showing regular and connected strains of letters for which cf., e.g., the hand of P. Mich. XI 604

(Oxyrhynchus, 223 CE). The starting letters of lines 2, 4, 5 and 9 are enlarged. Word divisions are often marked by small spaces, new sentences are sometimes separated by longer spaces (e.g., l. 6 before τὴν δέ, l. 8 before καὶ ὁμνύω). The writing in places crosses the prolonged downward strokes of *rho* and *iota* of the line(s) above. The final *upsilon* of the ending -ου is written above the line (also, erroneously, in -ου of εὐτυχούς, l. 9). The second half of line 8 and the whole of line 9 are by a different hand: more sloping to the right, with angular letter shapes and fewer ligatures. It is still an experienced hand making use of abbreviations; remarkable is the ‘Ptolemaic’ shape of the upward ending *nu*’s (see especially l. 10 πρῶκιμένης ἐνγύης).

Introduction

This second document in the *tomos synkollesimos* is the lower part of an original declaration, probably directed to the *bibliophylakes enkteseon*, the keepers of the property register (see above, introduction to 26–28). It was handed in by the (former?) gymnasiarch and *bouleutes* Aurelius Heron alias Apion, also called Ptollion, who appended his

¹⁰ Available online: <https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/pug01:6907471>.

¹¹ In the letter to the *strategos* and the royal scribe P. Oxy. LXXXV 5500, col. i, 8 (171 CE), φίλτατ(ε) should be corrected into φίλτατ(οι) (cf. φίλτατοις in l. 3).



FIGURE 3 P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 r° B (text 27)
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handwritten ‘customary Roman’ oath at the end. Because the upper half of the papyrus is missing and the remaining text is rather damaged, the case is not entirely clear, and the following must remain hypothetical.

It seems there was a loan secured by *hypallagma* or mortgage of the debtor’s property.¹² The ‘capital sum and the rent’ of this loan are referred to in line 7: κεφάλ[λ]αιον καὶ τοὺς τόκους. When this loan was not paid off in time, the creditor may have put into motion a procedure to get his money back, involving sequestration (κατασχεῖν, l. 2 and κατοχήν, l. 6) by the *bibliophylakes* *enkteseon*. Now it seems that sequestration had taken place on the whole of the debtor’s property (τὴν δὲ κατοχήν τῶν πάντων, l. 6), which may have been worth more than the debt in

question.¹³ So, among other procedural steps, it had to be decided which part of the property would be auctioned to satisfy the creditor.

In the present text, the declarant Aurelius Heron alias Apion may have been the official ordered to examine the case. He now presents his results to the *bibliophylakes* in the form of a declaration under oath. In the preserved part of the declaration the property in question is described as being duly declared (ἀπογραφέντα, l. 2) by the owner to the property register (β[ι]βλιοφυλάκιον, l. 2) in the first year of Septimius Severus (ll. 2–3), that the property [had been entered into the books?] for the owner following an inspection (ἐξ [ἐπ]ί[σκ]ῃψεως, ll. 3–4) in Payni of the same year, that the property now belongs to (ὑπάρχοντα, l. 5) the minor son of the owner (ll. 4–5), and that the details of the property can be found in the record of the declaration at the property register (διὰ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς δηλοῦται, l. 5).

Aurelius Heron alias Apion goes on to declare under oath that no other official contract regarding this property seems to have been drawn up in the record office (μὴ [φ]αίνειν ἕτερον διὰ τοῦ μνημονίου χρηματισμὸν τελιωθέντα, l. 6), and that the sequestration of the whole

¹² Cf. ALONSO, ‘*Bibliothèque Enkteseon*’, p. 17 and more in general H.A. RUPPRECHT, ‘Die dinglichen Sicherungsrechte nach der Praxis der Papyri. Eine Übersicht über den urkundlichen Befund’, in: R. FEENSTRA et al. (eds), *Collatio iuris Romani. Études dédiées à Hans Ankum à l’occasion de son 65^e anniversaire* (StudAmst 35.2, Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 425–436 (repr. in IDEM, *Beiträge zur juristischen Papyrologie. Kleine Schriften* [AGR 10, Stuttgart, 2017], pp. 137–149). A situation comparable to that of text 27 may be found in, e.g., P. Lips. I 9 = M.Ch. 211 (Hermopolis, 233 CE), a declaration (ἀπογραφή), directed to the *bibliophylakes* *enkteseon* of the Hermopolite nome about inherited property serving as *hypallagma* for a loan.

¹³ Cf. RUPPRECHT, ‘Dinglichen Sicherungsrechte’, *passim*.

property is to last until he will declare what (i.e. which exact part of the property?) he wants to be taken in pledge, τὴν δὲ κατοχὴν τῶν πάντων ὑποκεῖσθαι ἄχρις οὗ ἐν ταῖς κελευ-
|σθείσαις ἡμέραις λ' ἂ βούλομαι ἐνεχυράσαι δηλώσω (ll. 6–7). That the latter should take place within thirty days is a regulation not earlier attested in this context.

The verb ἐνεχυράσαι 'to take in pledge' is found in the procedure for execution against a debtor's property: it refers to the seizure of that property, usually by the *praktor xenikon*, so that it could be sold at auction and the creditor be paid out of the price received (unless he bought the property himself).¹⁴ One wonders if Aurelius Heron alias

Apion would have been functioning as the *praktor xenikon* himself.

A final clause is added to make clear that this declaration may not lead to lessening the debt secured by the initial guarantee (τῆς προκιμένης ἐγγύης, l. 10): the essential point of the whole procedure is thus explicitly falling under the official's oath guaranteeing his good conduct in fulfilling this task.

The text is dated 12 Hathyr of year 11 of Severus Alexander (= 9 November 231 CE). The date of the original registration of the property (193 CE) is remarkably described as year 1 of Severus and Antoninus (see note on ll. 2–3).

Transcription

- -----
- traces [βι-]
- βλι[ο]φύλαξι κατασχέιν τ[.] . [– ca. 12 –] . . . ἔστιν [.] ἀπογραφέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ
αὐτὸ β[ι]βλιοφυλάκιον [τῷ α (ἔτει) θεῶν]
Σεουήρου καὶ [Ἀ]ντωνείνου . . [.] α δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ [ἐπ]ι[σκ]έψεως αὐτοῦ τῷ α (ἔτει) τῆς
ἐ[ύ]τυχιστάτης ταύτης αὐτοκρατορείας
Παύνη ὡς δὲ φάσιν διὰ τῶν ε . [. . .] . . . σιω[ν] τῷ ἀφήλικι αὐτοῦ υἱῷ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ μη[τ]ρὸς
Διδύμης τῆς καὶ
5 Δημητρίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχοντα, ὧν τὸ καθ' ἐν διὰ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς δηλοῦται, καθ' ὧν
ὑπαρχόντων δηλῶ
μὴ [φ]φαίνεῖν ἕτερον διὰ τοῦ μ[ι]νημονείου χρηματισμὸν τελειωθέντα, τὴν δὲ κατοχὴν τῶν πάντων
ὑποκεῖσθαι ἄχρις οὗ ἐν ταῖς κελευ-
σθείσαις ἡμέραις λ' ἂ βούλομαι ἐνεχυράσαι δηλώσω ἥτοι πρὸς ὅλον τὸ κεφάλ[α]ιον καὶ τοὺς τόκους ἢ
καὶ πρὸς μέρος πρὸς τὸ . .
σ ὃν καὶ ὁμνῶ τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις ὄρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι. ("Ἐτους) ια' αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ Ἀθὺρ ιβ'. (H2) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἡρῶν ὁ καὶ Ἀπίων ἐπικαλούμενος
Πτολίων γυμ(νασιαρχ-) βουλ(ευτῆς) ἐπ[ι]δέδωκα
10 καὶ ὡμοσα τ[ὸ]ν ὄρκον κατὰ μηδὲν χρεοκοπούμενης τῆς προκιμένης ἐγγύης πρὸς τι[ν]ο[ς] ἐκκλήτου.

2. (ἔτους): f pap. 4. υἱῶ pap. 5. ὑπαρχόντων pap. 6. l. τελειωθέντα, ὑποκεῖσθαι pap. 8. ("Ἐτους): L pap. 9. αὐρῆ pap., γῦ βοῦ
pap. 10. l. χρεωκοπούμενης, l. προκειμένης ἐγγύης

14 For the steps in this procedure of execution see H.-A. RUPPRECHT in: J.G. KEENAN – J.G. MANNING – U. YIFTACH-FIRANKO (eds), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 260–262 and, more elaborately, IDEM, 'Zwangsvollstreckung und dingliche Sicherheiten in den Papyri der ptolemäischen und römischen Zeit', in: G. THÜR – J. VÉLISSAROPOULOS-KARAKOSTAS (eds), *Symposion 1995. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (AGR 11, Cologne etc., 1997), pp. 291–302 (repr. in IDEM, *Beiträge*, pp. 150–161). Cf., e.g., the procedural steps summarised in the receipt for the re-payment of a loan secured by a mortgage in the cancelling of such a mortgage, PSI XII 1238, 14–17 (Tamaïs, 244 CE) ἀκυρόν τε εἶναι τὴν δηλουμένην τοῦ δανείου

[συν]||[χώρ(?)]ησιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν γενομένην διὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐγτή-
σεων βιβλιοφυλακίου τῶν | [δι' ὑποθή]κης ὑπαρχόντων κατοχὴν, ἔτι
δὲ καὶ ἣν ἐπόρισσα ἐνεχυράσιαν καὶ τὴν ταύ[της] | [δημοσ]ίωσιν καὶ
τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπηκολουθηκότα νόμιμα μέχρις ἐμβαδίας (l. ἐμβαδείας) 'that
the mentioned agreement (?) of the loan will be invalid as well as the sequestration (κατοχή) made regarding that (agreement) through the property register of the property under mortgage, and also the 'taking in pledge' (ἐνεχυράσια) that I provided and the official registration thereof and the thereupon following legal obligations up to the entering into possession' (the situation is not totally clear, cf. RUPPRECHT, *op. cit.*, p. 297). See also the official correspondence including a copy of such an ἐνεχυρά-
σία in PSI XIII 1328 (Oxyrhynchus, 201 CE).

Translation

‘... to the *bibliophylakes* to sequester [the property (?) ... which] is [fully (?)] declared by him to the same property register in [the 1st year of the deified] Severus and Antoninus and [entered into the books (?)] for him based on his inspection in the 1st year of that most fortunate emperorship, in Payni, and (which is), as they say, according to the ... (registers), belonging to his minor son Aurelius Ammonios of the mother Didyme alias Demetria from the same city, of which (property) the details are described one by one through the declaration; regarding which property, I declare that it does not appear that another deed was drawn up by the record office, and that it is liable to the sequestration of the whole until, within the requested 30 days, I shall declare what I want to be taken in pledge either against the whole capital and the interest or against a part regarding the ... and I swear the oath customary to Romans that I have not lied. Year 11 of *imperator caesar* Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander *pious felix augustus*, Hathyr 12th. (Hand 2). I, Aurelius Heron alias Apion also called Ptollion, (former?) gymnasiarch and *bouleutes*, have submitted (this) and swore the oath while the debt of the above surety cannot be cancelled at any appeal.’

Commentary

- 1–2 β[ι]βλιοφύλαξι κατασχεῖν: possibly a reference to an earlier request of the creditor, cf. P. Oxy. III 506, 49–50 [143 CE] ἐξόντος τῷ δεδανεικότη ὁπόταν αἰρήται κατοχήν | [αὐτῶν] χισα[σθ]αι πρὸ τοῦ τῶν ἐνκτήσεων βιβλιοφυλακίου ‘the lender having the right whenever he chooses to register sequestration thereof (*sc.* the debtor’s property) at the property record-office’, or to an order (of, e.g., the *strategos*, see text 28, note on ll. 6–7) to the βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων to sequester the property. On the βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων see n. 7 above.
- 2 τ[. . . .] . [: perhaps supply τ[ἅ] παρχόντα ‘the belongings’.
- ἐστιν [. . . .] ἀπογραφέντα: perhaps supply [πάντα] ‘all’.
- εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ β[ι]βλιοφυλάκιον: the word βιβλιοφυλάκιον is also used to refer to the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων in, e.g., P. Oxy. III 506, 50 (see note on ll. 1–2 above).

2–3

[τῷ α (ἔτει) θεῶν] | Σεουήρου καὶ [Α]ντωνεῖνου: the top layer of the papyrus is lost at the end of line 2; the supplement of year 1 is based on line 3 τῷ α (ἔτει). The first year of Septimius Severus was apparently, in hindsight, set to have lasted from 9 April to 29 August 193 CE in Egypt, but a regnal dating to his first year is not attested in the papyri and ostraca from that ‘Year of the Five Emperors’ (see TM Period 25529). Moreover, Antoninus, better known as Caracalla, joined the reign of Severus in the latter’s sixth regnal year (on 1 October 197 CE). An error made almost forty years later would be understandable. However, the dates in the declaration at hand would need to be based on an actual check of the registers. One wonders if the entries in the property register from that tumultuous period would have had their dates ‘corrected’ afterwards?

3

... [.] α δὲ αὐτῷ: a participle of a verb is expected, parallel to ἀπογραφέντα (l. 2) and in content resulting from an inspection (see next note). Perhaps ἀν[αγραφόμεν]α ‘entered into the books’. ἐξ [ἐπ]ι[σ]χ[ε]ψ[ε]ως αὐτοῦ: the term ἐπίσκεψις ‘inspection’ could here be used for checking the property registers; see, e.g., BGU III 870, 1–3 (Soknopaiou Nesos, II CE) ἐκ βιβλιοθήκης δημ(οσίων) | λόγων, ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως | ἡμερησίας οἰκο(πέδων?) (ἔτους) δ, the first part of which was translated by PREISIGKE (*Wörterbuch* I, col. 571) as ‘auf Grund einer Einsichtnahme in die Amtstagebücher, die im Staatsarchiv lagern’, and BGU I 76, 1 (Soknopaiou Nesos, II/III CE) ἐκ βιβλιοθήκ(ης) ἐνκτήσεων Ἀρσι(νοῖτου) ἐξ ἐπισκέψεως. The following αὐτοῦ ‘of him’ probably points to the entry in the debtor’s name in the register.

–

ἐ[ὕ]τυχεστάτης ταύτης αὐτοκρατορείας: this phrase is only attested in the third century CE, cf., e.g., P. Lond. III (p. 158) 1164d, 7; (p. 166) 1164k, 9; (p. 162) 1164g, 10 (Antinoopolis, 212 CE), M.Chr. 211 = P. Lips. I 9, 14–15 (Hermopolis, 233 CE), P. Vindob.Tandem 2, 13 (Antinoopolis, 238–244 CE), P. Harr. I 139, 3–4 (provenance unknown, 252 CE).

4

ὥς δὲ φασιν: ‘as they say’, a vague expression to use in an official notification, but cf. φαίνεῖν in line 6. Cf. ὥς φασιν in, e.g., the petition P. Ryl. II 113, 15 (Letopolis, 133 CE), in an official letter to the *strategos* P. Mil.Vogl. I 27, col. ii, 8 (Tebtunis, 129 CE)

- or in the decision of a high official at the end of a report of proceedings SB VI 9016, col. ii, 12 (Koptos, 160 CE).
- διὰ τῶν ε. [...] σιω[ν]: the *nu* would fill the final gap if it was followed by a small space. Perhaps this is a reference to a testament drawn up through certain officials (cf., e.g., P. Berl. Leihg. I 18, 6–7 [Lagis, 163 CE] διὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῃ πρυτάνεων), or to a register where that could be found (cf., e.g., M. Chr. 196, 13 [Oxyrhynchus, 309 CE] διὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις βιβλίων); reading λιω[ν] here seems excluded. Perhaps the not otherwise attested διὰ τῶν ἐν – *name of archive?* – δημοσίων (sc. χρηματισμῶν, cf. note on l. 6 below)?
- τῷ ἀφῆλκι αὐτοῦ υἱῷ: if the owner of the property registered his land in 193 CE as an adult, he must have been an old father if his son, shown by the registers to be the owner in 231 CE, was still underage at the time.
- υἱῷ: the *diaeresis* on υἱ actually consists of three superscript dots.
- καί: a filling stroke was added after καί.
- 4–5 Διδύμης τῆς καὶ | Δημητρίας: a lady bearing the same name is attested much later (also as a mother) in P. Oxy. XLIII 3137 fr. A 6 and 12 (295 CE; TM Per 132389), but the combination of two such common names would hardly suggest a family relation; see TM Nam 2770 and 2631, respectively. Another namesake in P. Harr. II 229 v^o, 2 originates from Antinoopolis (III CE, TM Per 145246). Double names like Didyme alias Demetria were increasingly used in the Roman period with its peak in the third century while at the same time in most cases, as here, they consisted of two Greek names; see Y. BROUX, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt* (StudHell 24, Leuven, 2015) with a list of attested double names in Y. BROUX, *Double Names in Roman Egypt: A Prosopography* (TOP 8, Leuven, 2014).
- 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως: the city is most likely Oxyrhynchus, since in the third text of this *tomos synkollesimos* the Oxyrhynchite nome is mentioned (text 28, l. 7).
- 6 ἕτερον διὰ τοῦ μνημονείου χρηματισμὸν τελιωθέντα: cf., e.g., P. Oxy. III 485 = M. Chr. 246, 12–13 (178 CE) ἐδάνεισα κατὰ δημόσιον χρηματισμὸν | γεγραμμένον (l. γεγραμμένον) διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει μνημονείου Ἰ lent in accordance with a public deed, written in the record office at the said Oxyrhynchus. For (δημόσιος) χρηματισμός as a technical term for a document that was drawn up in a notary's office at the nome capital (*agoranomeion* or *grapheion*), see WOLFF, *Recht* 2, p. 139; μνημονεῖον would be an unofficial term for such a notary's office, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–27.
- μῆνημονεῖου: it seems that the right side of the *mu* is erroneously going down as if writing μι.
- 6–7 ἐν ταῖς κελευσθείσαις ἡμέραις λ': a period of 30 days does not seem to be attested in relation to κατοχή and ἐνεχυράσις; the same period is found in a fragmentary letter from the prefect to the *strategos*, BGU XV 2467, 20 (Karanis, 190 CE) ἐ]άν μὴ ἐν ἡμ(έραις) λ' ἀποδῶσιν 'if they will not pay back within 30 days' and cf. P. Marm. r^o, col. iv, 20 and 21 (Marmarika, 191 CE); more examples exist from the Ptolemaic period.
- 7 βούλομαι: between *beta* and *omikron* is what looks like the tail of an *iota*; see above, note on l. 6 μῆνημονεῖου.
- ἐνεχυράσαι: 'take into pledge'; for discussion, see the introduction to this text.
- πρὸς ὅλον τὸ κεφάλ[λ]αιον καὶ τοὺς τόκους: on the use of πρὸς in the meaning of 'against' see A. CONNOR – T. COUGHLAN, 'Antichresis and Dioikesis, Negotiating Public and Private Debt in the Egyptian Delta', *ZPE* 205 (2018), pp. 217–227 at 225, note on line 24.
- 7–8 πρὸς τὸ . . . | σ ον: at the start of line 8 perhaps read σπε . . . ον or στα . . . ον. However, the only word making sense in this context might be διὰ|στολῆχόν, the 'writ' or 'official notification of payment due' (LSJ s.v.) by which the execution procedure would have been introduced; see RUPPRECHT in KEENAN – MANNING – YIFTACH-FIRANKO, *Law and Legal Practice*, p. 261. But although there would be space in line 7 for δια, the scarce traces not contradicting, it is really hard to see in line 8 the *omikron* followed by *lambda* (a bit superscript?). Perhaps the sheet join in this place caused exceptional writing.
- 8 τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίοις ὄρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι: this exact phrase was up until now attested nineteen times in papyri from Oxyrhynchus dating from between 241 and 300 CE (DDbDP search of

November 2022).¹⁵ The present text is the earliest example of its use. Five of these texts are also directed to the *bibliophylakes*, P. Oxy. x 1264 (272 CE; notification of inviolability), P. Oxy. XIX 2231 (241 CE; notification of succession), P. Oxy. LXI 4120 (287 CE; application for the registration of a lien), PSI XVI 1627 (271/272 CE; fragmentary declaration), and SB VIII 9878 (259 CE; declaration of part of a house).

9 _____: the first writer marked the end of the body text with a horizontal stroke written underneath line 9.

– Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἡρων ὁ καὶ Ἀπίων ἐπικαλούμενος Πτολλίων: Heron, Apion, and Ptolion are rather common names in the Roman period; see TM Nam 3380 (Heron mostly in the Arsinoite, but also often attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome), 2112 and 5351, respectively; no individual bearing these names in combination seems to be attested (apart from an Αὐρήλιος Ἡρων ὁ καὶ Ἀπ- [= TM Per 134943] in SB IV 7375, 4–5 and 26 [Panopolis, 222–235 CE]). For known gymnasiarchs of Oxyrhynchus around this time see P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarches des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* (StudAmst 28, Zutphen, 1986).

On the use of double names see BROUX, *Double Names*; for triple names see *op. cit.*, pp. 140–146, for the use of ἐπικαλούμενος, pp. 120–123 with a graph on p. 122 showing that this term was mostly used in the Arsinoite nome (but also in Upper Egypt).

– γυμ(νασιαρχ-): either γυμ(νασίαρχος) or γυμ(νασιαρχήσας).

10 χρεοκοπούμενης τῆς πρωκίμενης ἐγγύης (l. χρεωκοπούμενης τῆς προκειμένης ἐγγύης): the verb χρεωκοπέω is only attested three times in the papyri (DDbDP search of November 2022), in BGU IV 1208, col. ii, 17 (Busiris, 26/27 BCE), P. CtYBR inv. 505(B), edited by A. BENAÏSSA, 'Two Petitions Concerning Civic Magistracies by a Gymnasiarch and Son of a Veteran', *Chiron* 48 (2018), pp. 53–76 at 61–67, no. 2, l. 7 (Oxyrhynchus, 160 or 201 CE), and CPR I 154, 14 (Arsinoite nome, 179 CE), and cf. ἀχρε[ω]|κόπητα in SB XIV 11379, 8–9 (Tebtunis, 156 CE). Χρεοκοπούμενης seems to be used here for a (contract of) guarantee (ἐγγυή), not for a person as in CPR I 154, 14–15 ἐν μηδενὶ χρεοκοπούμενης αὐτῆς ἐκ ταύ[της τῆς συνευδο]κήσεως. If the creditor was female, (αὐτῆς ἐκ) might have inadvertently left out before τῆς in the present text.

15 It is therefore highly likely that the remaining attestation, in SB XX 14131, a declaration of property with the same oath in lines 10–11 (provenance unknown, 266/267 CE), also comes from Oxyrhynchus.

28 Fragment of Official Letter Including Copies of Other Documents

P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 r^o C

Oxyrhynchus (?), after 9 November 231 CE

TM 983372

Description

H. × W. = 14 × 9.5 cm (width including the ca. 1.5 cm overlap underneath text 27) (Fig. 4). Broken off along the top and the right side. If the supplement in line 13 is accepted, ca. 26 letters would be missing from the top right side and even more in the damaged lower part of this document. Since this supplement regards the regnal titlature, which is often written more cursively in smaller letters, the number of missing letters in the other lines may in fact have been fewer. On the left there is a margin of ca. 0.8 cm

widening downward to 3 cm, the bottom margin is ca. 2.5 cm. Lines 5 and 15 start in *ekthesis*.

The hand is a clear, rather large, elegant, and experienced cursive sloping to the right; larger letters are written at the line-beginnings. Word divisions are often marked by a small space, and a larger space marks the beginning of a new sentence (l. 4 following ἀνεμποδίστως, l. 5 before Εἰ οὖν [, l. 7 before Βιβλίδιον). Similar handwriting is found in, e.g., P. Oxy. LXXII 4891 (222 CE) with the same large curly *alpha*'s.

Introduction

This third document of the *tomos synkollesimos* seems to be written all in one hand. The wording points to a juridical procedure in which the presumed receivers of the document, the *bibliophylakes enkteseon*, the keepers of the property register (see above, introduction to texts 26–28), are involved: they are explicitly mentioned in the included copy of a letter (τοῖς τῶν ἐνκτήσεων βιβλ[ιοφύλαξι, l. 12). Too much of the text is missing to provide a clear picture of the case at hand.

The present text might be the remains of a letter sent by the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome (see note on ll. 6–7), possibly including an order to one of the *bibliophylakes enkteseon* (βιβλίουφύλαξ, ll. 1–2) as well as to the person(s) fulfilling the task of *praktor xenikon* (τὰ κατὰ τὴν ξενικὴν πρακτορίαν, ll. 2–3), both known to be involved in the execution of property secured by *hypallagma* or mortgage (see note on l. 3). His letter seems to end with its purpose: that a loan (?) should be paid in full without impediment (πληρωθῆναι ἀνεμποδίστως, l. 4).

The *strategos*' letter continues with a copy of a letter sent to him by another official (ll. 5–14). In this letter, a

petition sent to this unknown official is said to be undersigned and forwarded (ll. 7–9), while copies of other documents are also included. Something needs to be made clear (φανερὰν γε[νέσ]θαι, l. 11) and the end seems to contain a request or instruction to order the *bibliophylakes* to do something (l. 12). In light of text 27 above (βι||βλι[ο]φύλαξι κατασχέιν, ll. 1–2) and the word κατοχή in line 20 of the current text, this could again point to the sequestration of property used as surety, here for the loan (?) referred to in line 4 with πληρωθῆναι. This copied letter was dated at the end to an unknown year of Alexander Severus (see further note on ll. 13–14).

The petition referred to in the copied letter to the *strategos* (βιβλίδιον, l. 7) was copied itself in the following lines (ll. 15–21). The petitioner, who may have been the creditor asking for retrieval of the money, was Aurelia Apia, daughter of Apion. Most of the text is lost: there is a reference to a dowry (προοικός, l. 19), to sequestration (κατοχής, l. 20) and to a sister (ἀδελφῆς, l. 21). The text probably continued in a second column, which is now lost.

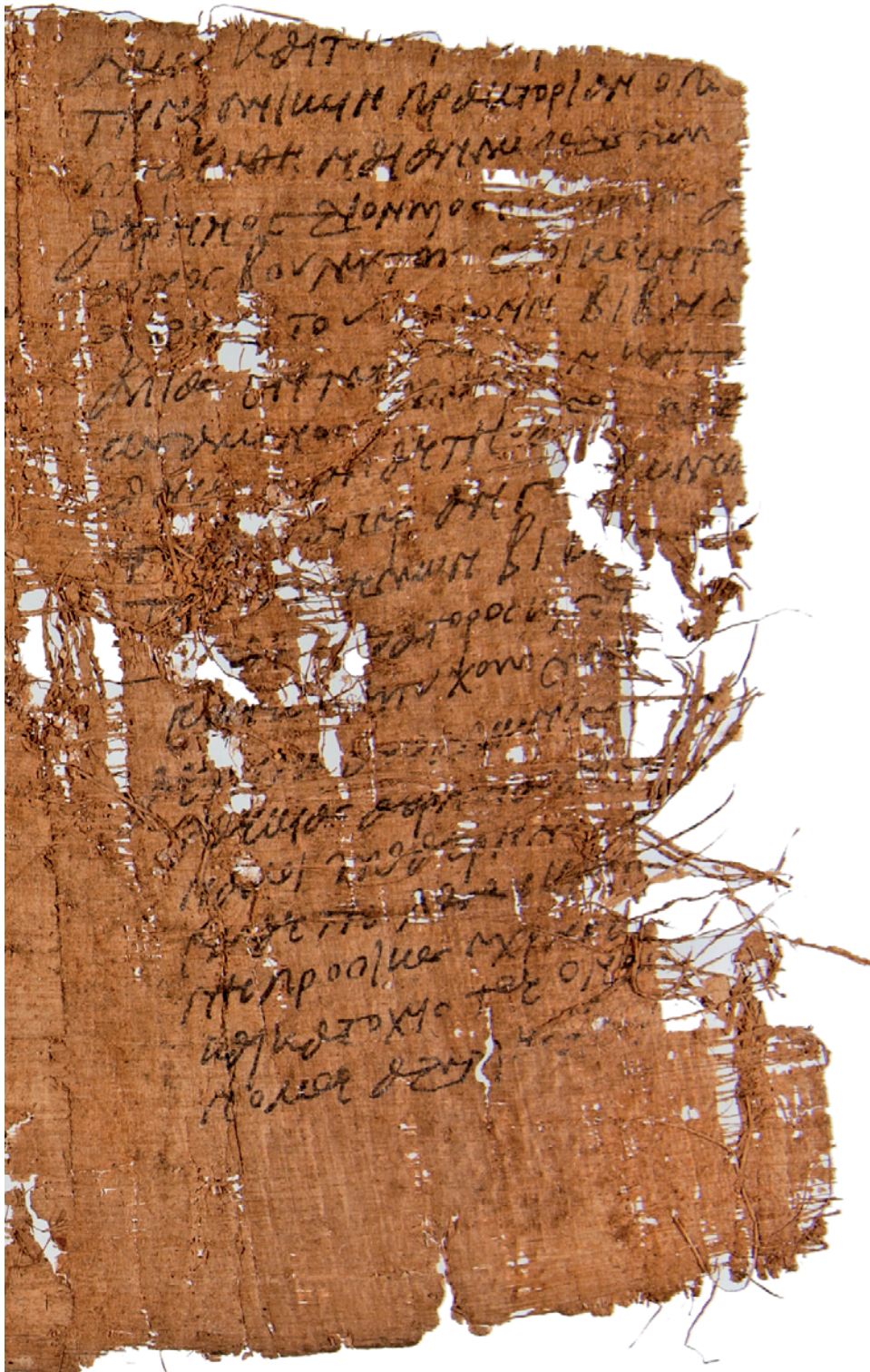


FIGURE 4 P. Leiden Pap. Inst. inv. 573 r^o C (text 28)
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Transcription

- -----
- τ[– ca. 50 – βιβλιοφυ-]
 λακ . καὶ τ [. . .] [– ca. 27 – e.g. τὰ κατὰ]
 τὴν ξενικὴν πρακτορίαν ὅπως [– ca. 25 –]
 πληρωθῆναι ἀνεμποδίστως. [e.g. "Ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀντίγραφον·]
 5 Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ . ρ ὁ Α[–N.N. e.g. τοῦ καὶ N.N. διὰ N.N.–]
 τῶνος βουλευτοῦ διοικούντος [– ca. 18 – στρατηγῶ (?)]
 Ὁξυρυγχίτου χαίρειν . Βιβλίδ[ιον e.g. δοθέν μοι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίας]
 Ἀπίας ἐντεταγμ[έ]νων καὶ τῶ[ν e.g. ἀντιγράφων ἐπιστολῶν x σημει-]
 ωσάμενος ἐπεμψά σοι. Εἰ οὐ[ν – ca. 26 –]
 10 α . ναι ν αὐτῆς α μενω[– ca. 26 –]
 τ . . . φανεράν γε[νέσ]θαι . . [– ca. 26 –]
 τοῖς τῶν ἐνκτησέων βιβλ[ιοφυλάξιν. Ἐρρώσθαί σε εὖχ(ομαι), φίλ(τατε).]
 ("Ἐτοῦς) . [. .]' αὐ[τοκ]ράτορος καίσαρ[ος Μάρ]κ[ου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου]
 εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβασ[το]ῦ [month, day, vacat]
 15 Αὐρηλία Ἀπία Ἀπίωνος τ[οῦ καὶ N.N. μητρὸς N.N. τῆς καὶ]
 Λουκίας Αὐρηλίας Διονυ[σίω τῷ καὶ N.N. χαίρειν. – – –]
 να μοι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου . . [– ca. 30 –]
 ἐμαυτῇ λόγου κ . . . [– ca. 30 –]
 νη προοικὸς ἐχρησθ . [– ca. 30 –]
 20 καὶ κατοχῆς τοῦ ὀνόμ[ατος N.N. – ca. 26–]
 νομου ἀδελφῆς . [– ca. 30 –]

19. l. προικός

Translation

'... *bibliophylax* and ... [fulfilling the] the *xenike praktoria* so that ... be fully paid without impediment.' [This is a copy of the letter:]

'Aurelius Dionysios alias N.N., son of A- [alias N.N., through] -ton, *bouleutes* who administers [..., to the *strategos* (?)] of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. The petition [handed in to me by Aurelia] Apia, while also are inserted [the copies of *x* letters], I have undersigned and sent to you. Now, if ... of her ... be made clear ... to the *bibliophylakes enkteseon*. [I pray for your health, dearest friend.] Year *x* of *imperator caesar* Marcus [Aurelius Severus Alexander] *pius felix augustus* [month, day].'

'I, Aurelia Apia daughter of Apion alias [N.N. of the mother N.N. alias] Lucia, to Aurelius Dionysios [alias N.N., greetings. ...] to me by Aurelius N.N. ... for myself on account of (?) ... of dowry ... used ... and sequestration of the *onoma* [of N.N., ...]-nomos, sister ...'

Commentary

- 2 λακ . : possibly βιβλιοφύ[λακι or βιβλιοφύ]λακα.
 2–3 τὰ κατὰ] τὴν ξενικὴν πρακτορίαν: perhaps supply a form of, e.g., διοικῶν (cf. l. 6), διαδεχόμενος, or διέπων, describing one or more officials representing or substituting the *praktores xenikon*; in the remaining space before that, either his/their name(s) might have stood, or even other officials involved in the matter. On the involvement of the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν with κατοχή and ἐνεχυρασία see WOLFF, *Recht* 2, p. 237, n. 68 and further the introduction to text 27 above with n. 14.
 – ξενικὴν πρακτορίαν: the official name of the office of the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν is ξενικῶν πρακτορία, but cf., e.g., P. Heid. IV 325, 1–2 (Oxyrhynchite nome, 215 CE) ξ[ενικῆς] | [πρακτορείας Ὁξυρυγχίτου], PSI XIII 1328, 1 (Oxyrhynchus, 201 CE) ξενικῆς πρακτορείας (l. πρακτορίας) Ὁξυρυγχ(είτου) and SB IV

- 7379, 8–9 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 177 CE) ξενι|κῆς πρακτορίας.
- 5 Αὐρηλῖος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ . ρ . . . ς: Dionysios was a very popular name in Roman Oxyrhynchus (TM Nam 2811). For his alias name no known name suggests itself; it could perhaps start with Ερ-, the third letter could be η. If καὶ was written very widely, the name could start with 'Ρο-. but 'Ρόδιος 'the man from Rhodes' (only attested in one text from the early Ptolemaic period, see TM Nam 38527) and 'Ρούφος seem to be excluded.
- 6 τῶνος: end of a name. Since a grandfather's name is not expected here, and in view of the length of the lacuna in line 5, this may have been the end of the name of an intermediary introduced by διά.
- βουλευτοῦ διοικούντος: διοικῶν probably in the meaning of 'taking charge of', or 'substituting in', a certain function or magistracy, cf., e.g., P. Köln II 87, 1–3 (Oxyrhynchus, 271 CE) [τοῖς] διοικοῦσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν | [φυλ.]αρχίαν τῆς λαμπράς |[ΟΞυ]ρυγχει- τῶν πόλεως. There seems to be no other attestation of a *bouleutes* in combination with διοικέω.
- 6–7 στρατηγῶ] | ΟΞυρυγχίτου: στρατηγῶ supplemented because it normally was the *strategos* who ordered the *bibliophylakes* (cf. l. 12) to enter a κατοχή (cf. l. 20) into the register, cf. WOLFF, *Recht* 2, p. 237, with examples in n. 68. Between 229 and 236/237 CE, the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome was Aurelius Leonides, see J. WHITEHORNE, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt. Revised edition* (PapFlor 37, Florence, 2006), p. 104 (with additions in TM Per 133567), but his name was probably not mentioned here, since space is needed for the name of the office following διοικούντος.
- 7–9 Βιβλίδ[ιον] δ' ὁθέν μοι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίας] | Ἀπίας – – – σημει|]ωσάμενος ἔπεμψά σοι. Εἰ οὖ[ν]: the supplements are *exempli gratia*. Cf., e.g., BGU I 73, 8–9 βιβλίδιον Ἰουλίου Ἀγριππιδίου σημειωσάμενος ἔπεμψά σοι. Ἐάν | οὖν τὰ δι' αὐτοῦ δεδηλωμένα | ἀληθῆ ἦ κτλ. (Arsinoite nome, 135 CE) or, in the papyrus published by CONNOR – COUGHLAN, *'Antichresis and Dioikesis'*, p. 221, lines 8–10 [Βιβλιδίων] | [δοθέν- τω]ν μ[οι] ὑπὸ Ἀμμωνίου Π[ο]τάμωνος τὸ ἕτερον σημειωσάμενος | [ἔπεμψά σοι]. Εἰ οὖν τὰ δηλούμενα ὑπάρχοντα κτλ. (Diospolis Inferior, found in Oxyrhynchus, 180 CE). Some parallels for this common phrase are given *loc. cit.*, p. 223, note on lines 8–10;
- these and other parallels show that the expression is mostly used in letters sent to a *strategos*.
- ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίας] | Ἀπίας: the name Apia (TM Nam 2109) is often attested in the Roman period, also in Oxyrhynchus. A search of the TM People data did not offer suggestions for identification.
- 8 ἐντεταγμ[έ]νων καὶ τῶ[ν] e.g. ἀντιγράφων ἐπιστο- λῶν: for the supplement cf., e.g., P. Oxy. VIII 1119, 2 (253 CE) [ἐπιστέλλεται σοι τὸ βιβλίδιον – – ἐντε- ταγμένων καὶ ἀντιγράφων ἐπιστολῶν δύο] 'I send you the petition of ..., enclosed in which are copies of two letters' (translation edition). There might be space for a short number following ἐπιστολῶν in the present text, too.
- 9 Εἰ οὖ[ν]: also found in parallel texts for which see note on lines 7–9 above.
- 10 αὐτῆς: probably referring to Aurelia Apia in line 15.
- 11 φανεράν γε[νέσ]θαι: for the supplement cf., e.g., P. Oxy. XXXI 2566, col. ii, 16–17 (225 CE) καὶ ἀξι- οῦμ[ε]ν ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν | ἀπογραφ(ήν) φ[αν]ερ[άν] γε[νέσθαι] οἷς προσήκει 'And we request that this report of ours be communicated to those concerned' (translation edition), BGU I 195, 35 (Arsinoite nome, 147/148 CE) ἰς (l. εἰς) τὸ | φανεράν γενέσθαι τῷ ἡγεμόνι τὴν ἐπ' ἀμ[φο]τέρ[οις] ἀλή- θειαν, and W.Chr. 83, 7 (Arsinoite nome, 117–138 CE) ἀξιούμεν τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν φανεράν γενέσθ[αι].
- 12 τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλήσεων βιβλ[ιοφύλαξ]ιν: see above, introduction to texts 26–28 with n. 7.
- 13–14 ('Ετους) . [.]': a year number of one or of two characters would fit the space. Assuming a chronological order of the pasted documents (see above, introduction to texts 26–28 with n. 9), the date of the whole document must be after 9 November 231 CE, the date of text 27 (year 11 of Severus Alexander). The date of the text in lines 5–14 must of course be earlier than that of the document in which it was embedded: year 10 or 11 might be options, or a one-digit year number.
- 15 Αὐρηλία Ἀπία: the line is written in *ekthesis*, like line 5, suggesting that the copy of the βιβλίδιον announced in lines 7–8 starts here.
- 15–16 Ἀπίωνος τ[οῦ] καὶ Ν.Ν. μητρός Ν.Ν. τῆς καὶ] | Λουκίας: the length of the lacuna seems to require an alias name for both the father and the mother of Aurelia Apia. For the Latin name Lucia see TM Nam 10208. Another Lucia is found in P. Oxy. XLIV 3169 fr. A, col. iii, 95 (200–212 CE).

- 16 Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ Ν.Ν. χαίρειν: logically, the addressee must be Aurelius Dionysios of line 5. With much fantasy, the first letters of Διονυσίῳ can be read. Behind χαίρειν there must be space for the missing part of the word ending with -να in line 17. It should be noted that, instead of the letter form that must have been used in the present text, the *hypomnema* form (to A from B) was the common opening for petitions to officials in the Roman period; see J.L. WHITE, *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition: A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Society of Biblical Literature. Dissertation Series 5, Missoula, 1972), pp. 25–28.
- 17 να: the end of a passive participle, introducing the subject or background of the petition.
- 19 προοικός, l. προικός: the form προοικός is attested in, e.g., P. Oxy. x 1274, 17 (226–275 CE). Perhaps the dowry played a role in the underlying conflict. It might have been secured by a *hypallagma* or mortgage on the property of the husband, cf. RUPPRECHT, ‘Dinglichen Sicherungsrechte’, p. 429 with n. 40 referring to P. Athen. 30 (Arsinoite nome, 178 CE). Cf. also, e.g., BGU III 823 (Arsinoite nome, 176–179 CE) referring to a conflict about a secured dowry after the decease of the husband.
- ἐχρήσθ[.: probably a form of the verb χρᾶσθαι, perhaps ἐχρήσθην ‘I used’ (not to be taken with προοικός, since this verb requires a dative form).
- 20 κατοχῆς τοῦ ὀνόμα[ατος: ὄνομα used in the sense of ‘fiscal unity’. Cf., e.g., P. Oxy. XLIV 3188, 8–10

21

(300 CE) in a letter to the *bibliophylakes enkte-seon*: ἵνα τὴν δέουσαν κατοχὴν τοῦ | ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ποιήσῃσθε ‘in order that you may record the necessary claim against his name’ (translation edition). See RUPPRECHT, ‘Dinglichen Sicherungsrechte’, p. 429 with further examples in n. 45; see also WOLFF, *Recht* 2, pp. 237–238, with n. 69 showing that the sequestration could also take place on request of the debtor, the owner of the property.

νομου ἀδελφῆς .[: if the description of the *onoma* is still continued in this line, perhaps νομου could be (the ending of) the name of the grandfather of this person (who, in view of ἀδελφῆς, might be female); possibilities are not abundant, see TM People: e.g., Νόμος (TM Nam 4355, not attested in the Roman period), and ten names ending in -nomos, of which Eunomos is attested 28 times, also rarely in the Roman period (for Oxyrhynchus one in P. Oxy. XL 2973 r^o, 3 [103 CE]). Another option could be the title ἀγορανόμου, which, however, seems harder to combine with the following ἀδελφῆς. The ‘sister’ could perhaps be the sister of the petitioner, Aurelia Apia, although one would then expect τῆς ἀδελφῆς μ[ου with the article. So perhaps she was rather someone else’s sister, whose name preceded (possibly the sister of Aurelia Apia’s husband, since there may have been a problem with the dowry? No use speculating any further).