

TRACY CAULFIELD – ANITA ESTNER – SUSAN STEPHENS

COMPLAINTS OF POLICE BRUTALITY (P. MICH. INV. NO. 6957, 6961, AND
6979)

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Complaints of Police Brutality

(P. Mich. inv. no. 6957, 6961, and 6979)¹

The following three papyri, which belong to the University of Michigan collection, detail the complaints of a fuller, Peteuris, resident in the village of Lysimachis, about his ill treatment at the hands of Tettaphos, chief of police of the same village. P. Mich. inv. 6961 is a hypomnema addressed to the oikonomos Poseidonios; P. Mich. inv. 6957, an official letter mentioning Tettaphos, but with names and titles missing (on which see below notes ad. loc.); P. Mich. inv. 6979, an enteuxis addressed to the king, but probably submitted, as was customary, to the strategos in Krokodilopolis (see below); this last document repeats details of the incident already covered in 6961 and adds a subsequent incident. Obviously, these two complaints express only Peteuris' point of view; the substantive issue that lay behind them was probably whether or not the cleaning of a garment needed for a festival of Isis constituted a liturgical duty. Tettaphos, as a public official, no doubt maintained that it did, while the fuller expected (or preferred) to be paid for his services. The complaints are standard in layout and style. The language for the most part displays the traditional formulae both in the requests for assistance and in the details of the violent acts themselves (see notes below), which suggests that the ritual of filing a grievance, as in police reports today, aimed for a schematized and mechanical sameness. Since the three texts were found together as part of a mummy's cartonnage, it is reasonable to assume that they came originally from the same source. Very likely the first complaint was forwarded to the strategos and the second submitted directly to him. 6957, for reasons outlined below (see below, 6957 introd.), we think to have been written by the strategos to an epistates. Thus they all could have ended up in the official archives at Krokodilopolis, like so many of the *Enteuxis* papyri.

Although a margin of 2.5 cm. survives on 6979, no notation of any official action survives.

I. The Events

1. At some time before the first incident, a woman named Thasos, designated the isonomos of Lysimachis, brought a himation to Peteuris the fuller expecting him to clean it.

¹ P. Mich. inv. 6957 and 6961 were deciphered and discussed in L. Koenen's papyrology seminar in Fall and Winter 1984-85 by T. Caulfield and A. Estner respectively; they wish to express their gratitude to their *sodales seminarii* for their contributions and questions; 6979 was deciphered independently by S.A. Stephens during a sabbatical taken in part at the University of Michigan in the Fall of 1986. She wishes to express her thanks to the Classics department for its many kindnesses during this time. Further, we are most grateful to Professor Ludwig Koenen who first recognized that these three texts belonged together and for his expertise on the thorny questions of Ptolemaic dating.

2. On Pauni 1 (see below, II c), Tettaphos, the chief of police of Lysimachis with two companions Xennias and Meniskos, who may be phylakites (see below 6979.7 note), entered his shop to reclaim the garment in time for a festival. When the fuller asked for payment, the men allegedly attacked him and made an unsuccessful attempt to find the garment.

3. They appear next to have arrested Peteuris, but he was subsequently released probably on Pauni 1 or 2. Because 6979.7 is damaged, the relationship between the "hieromenia" and Peteuris' arrest and subsequent release can only be conjectured. However, the "hieromenia" we believe to have been a New Year's festival (see below, II), and in Greek religion it was customary during this time for all legal business to cease and for a general period of amnesty to be granted.² Further, the "hieromenia" was likely to have begun on Pauni 2 (see below, II), and Peteuris was able to go to Crocodilopolis and make a complaint by Pauni 4 (the date of 6957), so he is clearly free for some part of the festival. More than likely he was released at the beginning of the festival period (Pauni 2).

4. Next Peteuris went to Krokodilopolis, probably on Pauni 3, apparently in order to register a complaint with the oikonomos Poseidonios (see 6961).

5. Upon his return, these same men— Tettaphos, Xennias, Meniskos— along with Hermippos and at least one other man, lay in wait for him and attacked him as he entered his shop, again searching the premises for the garment. It is not clear whether they found it. These events took place in the presence of yet another man (also named Peteuris), a phylakites, who was subsequently called upon as a witness.

6. On Pauni 4, an official, most likely the strategos Poseidion, summoned Tettaphos of Lysimachis to appear before him (6957). 6979,16-17 probably refers to this action by Poseidion.

7. Since Peteuris imagined that no official action had been taken, he submitted an enteuxis to the king, asking that the strategos summon Tettaphos and make an investigation of the charges (6979.17-21).

II. The Date and the Equation of the Macedonian Calendar

1. The hands suit the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C. (or a little later).

2. 6961.1 and 6979.15 mention the oikonomos Poseidonios (= P. Pt. 1079), and 6979. 16 the strategos Poseidion (= P. Pt. 308). Both men were in office during the early years of Ptolemy Philopator.

3. The three texts bear the following dates:

6961.6-7:	τῶι γὰρ ς (ἔτει) Παῦνι
6957.6:	(ἔτους) ε Αὐδναίου δ Παῦνι δ
6979.2:	τῶι γὰρ] (ἔτει), ὡς [αἱ πρόσωδοι, Π]αῦν[ι
6979.8:	τῆι γ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μη[νός

² See, e.g., W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Harvard 1985, 228.

(a) Official action of some sort was taken on 4 Pauni = 4 Audnaios. Here the operative date must be the Egyptian, not the Macedonian which is stated to be a direct equivalent of the Egyptian. According to the Carlsberg Cycle, which governed the equation of the Egyptian and the Macedonian calendar at least during the first year of Philopator,³ Audnaios of the 5th Egyptian year of Philopator would overlap Pharmouthi and Pachon. However, according to Ludwig Koenen, at the latest by the 5th and 6th years of Philopator, a system of direct equivalences is attested: Apellaios 13 = Pachon 13, year 5 (*P. Lille I 4*) and Artemisios 1 = Phaophi 1, year 6 (*SEG 8, 204*). Further, broken dates confirm the equation of the months: Apellaios = Pachon, Gorpiaios = Mecheir, and Hyperberetaios = Phamenoth (all in *P. Lille I 4*). The equation of the new Michigan papyrus (6957), Audnaios 4 = Pauni 4 suits this system. It can be set out as follows (attested equivalences are in italics):⁴

Thoth	= Xandikos	<i>Phamenoth</i>	= <i>Hyperberetaios</i>
<i>Phaophi</i>	= <i>Artemesios</i>	Pharmouthi	= Dios
Hathyr	= Daisios	<i>Pachon</i>	= <i>Apellaios</i>
Choiak	= Panemos	<i>Pauni</i>	= <i>Audnaios</i> (<i>P. Mich.inv.1957</i>)
Tybi	= Laios	Epeiph	= Peritias
<i>Mecheir</i>	= <i>Gorpiaios</i>	Mesore	= Dystros

(b) All events will have occurred in Pauni of the same year, therefore the 6th year of 6961 must equal the 5th year of 6957. The missing year of 6979.2 is designated as "fiscal." The fiscal year ran several months ahead of the calendar year (see A.E. Samuel, *Ptolem.Chron.* [see n. 2] 78-82), so that Pauni of a 5th calendar year would coincide with Pauni of a 6th fiscal year. The 6th year is surely to be restored at 6979.2, and although not so specified, the 6th year of 6961 is most likely also to be a fiscal date.

³ J. Bingen, *Chron. d'Eg.* 50, 1975, 244f.; P.W. Pestman et alii, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* Pap. Lugd. Bat. 21A, Leiden 1981, 216 n. 6 and 263. The use of the Carlsberg Cycle (R.A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, The Orient. Inst. of the Univ. of Chicago, Studies in Anc. Oriental Civilization 26 [Chicago 1950] 13ff.; see also R. Kraus, *Sothis und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens*, Hildesheimer Ägypt. Beiträge 20, Hildesheim 1985, 27-29) for calculating the equation of the Macedonian and Egyptian Calendar during the reign of Philadelphus was demonstrated by A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, Münch. Beitr. 43, (München 1962); cf. L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste*, Beitr. z. klass. Phil. 56 (Meisenheim 1977), particularly 87ff.

⁴ These data were first set out in an unpublished handout distributed by L. Koenen at the 18th International Congress of Papyrology in Athens, 1986, as part of his paper on "Calendar Problems" and they have been accepted by K. Maresch in *P. Köln VI*, introd. to 258-271, p. 158; cf. A.E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 114. According to Koenen (see also his note below, p. 255f.), this system was most likely to have been established at the beginning of Philopator's reign. Under Euergetes, as under Philadelphos, the 25th of Dystros was the beginning of the Macedonian year. The following month, Xandikos, was the first full month of the Macedonian year. For this reason it was chosen to coincide with Thoth, the first month of the Egyptian year. Later, under Epiphanes a different set of equivalences appears to have been in use (Thoth = Dystros, etc.), which was termed "first assimilation" by A.E. Samuel (p. 129) because evidence for the system schematized above was at that point unknown.

(c) From the above it is clear that the texts belong to the 5th year of Philopator. From T.C. Skeat's tables the equivalent Julian dates are as follows:

6961: 1 Pauni = July 13, 217 B.C.

6979: 3 Pauni = July 15, 217 B.C.

6957: 4 Pauni = July 16, 217 B.C.

(d) There were two incidents: the second happened probably on Pauni 3, the first on either Pauni 1 or 2. Traces of the date on 6961.7 suit a but not b, therefore the first incident must have taken place on Pauni 1, and Pauni 1 should be restored at 6979.2. In any case, the earlier date for the first incident makes better sense, since Peteuris went to Krokodilopolis and returned between the two attacks (see below, 6979.8-11).

III. Hieromenia

The time during which these, or at least some of these, incidents took place is described as *ἱερομηνία* οὐρανίου (6979.7), and the official, presumably the strategos, in 6957.3 instructs an subordinate, presumably an epistates, to summon Tettaphos the epistates of Lysimachis ἐκ τῆς ἱερομηνίας ("after the hieromenia," see note *ad. loc.*). Originally, this term was used to refer to the period of the cessation of hostilities connected with the great athletic festivals (see, e.g., Pindar, *Nem.* 3.2, IG 2 1126.44, Thuc. 3.56), but clearly by the fourth century B.C. it came to refer to any festival period during which the legal apparatus of the state was suspended. In Dem. 21, for example, the term is applied to the City Dionysia, in Dem. 24, to the Panathenaia.

Similarly, in these papyri the term must be designating some significant festival occasion. Since July 19 (= Pauni 7 of the civil year), the date for the heliacal rising of the dog star which marked the beginnings of the Nile inundation, was used by Egyptian priests as the beginning of the Egyptian religious calendar (the Sothis year), it is a reasonable assumption that "hieromenia" here designates a festival period which celebrates the new Sothis year, and that the occasion included a festival of Isis (for which the garment in the fuller's possession was needed). In fact, July 19 was preceded by a period of five days (the *epagomenai*) on which the births of the most important Egyptian gods were commemorated — Osiris on the first of these days (July 14 = Pauni 2) and Isis on the fourth epagomenal day (July 17 = Pauni 6; see, e.g., Plut. *De Is et Os.* 12). A festival which meets these particulars is attested in the Roman period under the name "Amesysia" (Ἀμεύσις), which, according to D. Bonneau, is to be distinguished from the Iseia (celebrated on the first of Hathyr and the first of Thoth); and the name itself, which is Egyptian, not Greek, can be plausibly explained as meaning "the birth of Isis." She demonstrates that the Amesysia, although technically a term that should be limited to the fourth epagomenal day (the date set for the birth of Isis), seems to have served as a virtual synonym for the whole period of epagomenal days that preceded the new Sothis year, and the festival itself seems to have been coextensive with this

six-day period.⁵ Our "hieromenia" will then run from Pauni 2 (= July 14) through Pauni 7 (July 19).

As such it would have been an important feast for Egyptians, but not necessarily for Greeks, although it may be inferred that Greek officials accorded to it a relatively high status when they applied to it the term "hieromenia." From the instruction of an official (6957) to summon Tettaphos only "after the hieromenia," it is clear that Greek officials respected local customs. It therefore seems likely that the approaching festival was the reason that Peteuris was either not held in custody or not taken into custody at all (the papyrus is too broken to judge). But since 6957 was written on Pauni 4, if our supposition that the festival was celebrated from Pauni 2-7 is correct, then the higher Greek administration did not itself cease from official business during this period. Also, of course, the fuller must have made his complaint to the oikonomos during the period of the festival.

1. P. Mich. inv. no. 6961

Krokodilopolis (?)

11.4 x 19.8 cm.

July 14, 217 B.C.

Plate XIII

This light brown papyrus has a kollesis at the very left edge, along which it appears to have been cut. The upper margin is 2.0 cm., the left, 1.0 cm., the right ranges from 0 to 0.8 cm. The bottom of the document is broken off. The papyrus is palimpsest; traces of letters are visible in the left margin of lines 1, 3-9, and on the right edge of lines 3, 4, 6, and 7. Writing is along the fibers; there are traces of a different hand on the back, most of which have been washed out.

This document is a complaint of violence registered against Tettaphos, the epistates of Lysimachis, and his two companions, by Peteuris, a fuller of Lysimachis and Trikomia. The beginning of the name of the oikonomos, to whom the complaint was addressed, is damaged, but on the basis of 6979.15, it must have been Poseidonios. He is also the addressee of the complaint P. Petr. III 32 (g) recto (b), where he is linked with the strategos Poseidion (see below). Relatively few petitions addressed to oikonomoi survive (see A. di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 [1068] 61-62 for a list), but from them there is no evidence that he took part in official summonses or in the formal judging of disputes (so A.E. Samuel, *Atti dell' XI Cong. Intern. di Pap.* Milan 1965, 444-450). This complaint may have been addressed to the oikonomos in the first instance because his jurisdiction was fiscal, but it would almost certainly have been forwarded to the strategos for judicial action. P. Petr. III 32 (g) recto (b) 9ff., for example, even includes a direct request for such referral: ὄξειοῦμεν οὖν σε (sc. Posei-

⁵ See D. Bonneau, *ASAE* 70 (1985) 365-370 and especially the note appended by Dimitri Meeks, p. 370, as well as their earlier articles in *Chron.d'Eg.* 98 (1974) 366-379, 380-383. For the festival of the Nile flood on July 19, see R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Daten und Riten*, Beitr. z. klass. Phil. 5 (Meisenheim 1963) 28-31 and F. Dunand, *Le Culte d'Isis*, (1973) I 225-227 (on the birthday of Isis); for a meal in honor of Isis presumably on July 23, *P. Köln* I 57 introd. (on P. Fouad 67); for the Sothis year, L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste*, Beitr. z. klass. Phil. 56 (Meisenheim 1977) 56-58, 56f., 72, 75, and *BASP* 21 (1984) 138-141.

donios the *oikonomos*) γράψαι Ποσειδίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιτεῖλαι τῷ ἐν Περσέαι ἐπιστάτῃ ἀναπέμψαι Καλλιφόντα καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν ποιήσῃ.

The papyrus supplies a second attestation of a female *isionomos*, though it contributes little information toward a solution of the controversy over the role of the *isionomos* (see below, line 10 and note).

→ Ποσειδωνίῳ οἰκονόμῳ παρὰ
 Πετεύριος στιβέως Λυσι-
 μαχίδος καὶ Τρικωμίας.
 4 ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Τετάρτου
 τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος τὴν
 Λυσιμαχίδα. τοῦ γὰρ ς (ἔτους)
 Παῦνι ᾧ παραγενόμενος
 8 ἐπὶ τὸ στι[βε]ρίον μου ἀπήτι
 με ἰμάτι[ο]ν ὃ ἐδεδώκει μοι
 πλῦναι θαῶς ἰσιονόμος
 τῶν ἐγ Λυσιμαχίδος. ἐμοῦ
 12 δὲ ἀπαιτοῦντος αὐτὸν
 τὸν συγχωρηθέντα μισθόν,
 ὃ δὲ οὐθένα λόγον ποιησάμεν[ο]ς,
 ἀλλὰ εἰσπηδήσας πρὸς με
 16 μετὰ Μενίκκου καὶ Ξεννίου
 ὃν ἤγεν μεθ' αὐτοῦ πληγὰς
 μοι πλείους ἐ[νέβα]λεν καὶ διε-
 σκ[ο]ρ[ρ]πισεν μ[ε]
 20 καὶ ... [
[

8 Read ἀπήτι

Back: (2nd hand):

→] ιδ[

1 Ποσειδωνίῳ: the traces at the beginning of the line are anomalous. However, on the basis of 6979.15, the *oikonomos* must be Poseidonios. He occurs also in *P. Petr.* III 32 passim (= *P. Pt.* 1079).

2 Πετεύριος: the name is well-attested in this region in the Ptolemaic period, though no other references to this particular fuller are known. Further, a phylakites at 6979.9 is also named Peteuris.

2-3 Λυσιμαχίδος καὶ Τρικωμίας: for the village of Lysimachis, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario*, s.v. It was located in the Themistes meris of the Arsinoite nome in the third century B.C., but later in the Polemon meris. It is associated with Trikomia in *P. Lille* I 11.13 and *P. Petr.* III

78.2.4. The exact position of the two villages is unknown, but if the editors of *P. Tebt.* are correct in conjecturing that they lay somewhere along the boundary of the two merides, then they could have been no further than 15 miles from Krokodilopolis and in all likelihood were considerably closer (see below 6979.8 note and the discussion in *P. Tebt.* II pp. 387-388).

4 ἀδικοῦμαι: the formula ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ τοῦ N., which begins the narration of events, indicates that the complainant is seeking judicial action (see *P. Ent.* I introd. xxiii and A. di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 [1968] 68).

Τετάρτου: the only other occurrence of the name is in PSI IV 428.56 (= *P. Pt.* 14146). The name seems to be Egyptian; for examples, of non-Greek epistates in the third century, see E. Lavigne, *De Epistates van het Dorp ptolemaeisch Egypte*, *Stud. Hell.* 3 (1945) 27 (pace his assessment of this question at 93ff.).

5 τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος: the use of the present participle is unattested, and it is unclear whether it is an exact equivalent of τοῦ ἐπιστάτου (as is the phrase ὁ διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστατείαν which enjoys some popularity in the villages of Kerkeosiris and Tebtunis in the late 2nd century B.C. [see e.g., *P. Tebt.* I 13.17, 15.8, 23, 16.6; 38.6; 43.9]), or whether it means "acting" epistates. The aorist participle is recorded in *P. Lond.* 354.9 (vol. II, p. 164) with the meaning of "former epistates."

7 Παῦνι ᾠ: the relatively low position of the horizontal line marking the numeral and the trace that survives from the number itself exclude reading β; on the possible dates see above, introd. II 3 (d), p. 284.

9 με ἰμάτιον: we are indebted to G. Schwendner for this reading.

10 Θαῶς ἰσιονόμος: according to W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* II, p. 175, n. 2, the isionomos was not a real priest, but rather keeper and manager of the temples of Isis. However, in *P. Ent.* 80.12-13 and *P. Tebt.* 3.797.3-6 and line 4 note, isionomoi were in the midst of performing sacrifices when they were attacked. Thus it is apparent that they were in some sense at least qualified to perform sacrifices to the god and king (cf. F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin orientale de la Méditerranée* [Leiden 1973] I, p. 176). In this text the isionomos appears to have been fulfilling an administrative function in arranging for the cleaning of a garment shortly before an annual festival (see above introd. pp. 284f. *P. Ent.* 6 provides the only other example of a female isionomos; however, in *P. Ent.* 80.1 Ammeneus is designated as isionomos, while he later states that the Iseion belongs to himself and his wife (5-6). For a list of isionomoi, see *CPR XIII (Griechische Texte IX)* pp. 105-106.

14-15: Cf. *P. Ent.* 75.5-6.

17 ὃν ἦγεν μ[ε]θ' αὐτοῦ: The reading ὃν, not οὖς, is certain. For the use of a single relative with a plural antecedent, cf. *P. Tor.* I 4 22ff. (116 B.C.) ἑτέρους χρηματισμοὺς Ἑρμίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ νομάρχου ᾧ ὑπετέτακτο καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διασθένου ἐπιτολή (E. Mayser II 3,37; cf. Kühner-Gerth I 56f.); and *CMC* 88,2ff. (end 4th cent.; PTA 35, Bonn 1985; *ZPE* 32, 1978, 108) ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ πίτου καὶ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ὀπώρας ἧς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ διδάσκαλοι ἠεφαλίαντο μὴ ἐσθίειν.

18-19 πληγὰς | μοι πλείους ἐ[: see A. di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968) 76 for a summary of constructions with πληγὰς --- πλείους in petitions.

[διε]κ[όρ]πιεν: this verb is likely to have been used also at 6979.14. In both passages the men appear to be accused of disordering or damaging the fuller's inventory. The uncom-

pounded σκορπίζω is usual only for spreading dung (see *WB s.v.*); the most frequently occurring compound is διασκορπίζω, see e.g., Luke 1.51 or 15.13).

21: To judge from 6779.3-6 this initial complaint will have required several more lines, before the formulaic request for official action, with which the document would have concluded.

Back:] ιδ[: initially perhaps α, λ, χ, but not ε, hence unsuited to Ποσειδ(ωνίω), possibly Λυσιμάχιδ[ος.

Translation: To Poseidonios, the oikonomos, from Peteuris, a fuller of Lysimachis and Trikomia. I was wronged by Tettaphos, acting as epistates of Lysimachis. Whereas, in the 6th year, on the 1st of Pauni, having proceeded to my cleaning shop, he asked me for a himation that Thasos, isionomos of the residents of Lysimachis, had given me to clean. When I asked him for the stipulated payment, he made no reply, but he attacked me with Meniskos and Xennias, whom he brought with him, and [inflicted] numerous blows upon me and scattered [---] and [---].

2. P. Mich. inv. no. 6957

Krokodilopolis

20.5 x 11.5 cm.

July 16, 217 B.C.

Plates XIV a, b

A light brown papyrus, complete at top, bottom and right; the upper margin measures 3.0 cm., the lower 2.0 cm. The left side is broken off with a loss of between 15 to 20 letters for the first four lines. Writing is across the fibers; the back shows traces from an unrelated document that had been cut for reuse, as well as a broken address written in the same hand as the front (upside down in relation to the front)

Although neither names nor titles remain, this text must be an official response to the incident related in 6961. It cannot have been written by the strategos after receiving 6979, because that official's instructions—usually to an epistates—were normally appended to the bottom of the complaint itself (see *P. Ent.* passim). While it is theoretically possible that the recipient of that complaint, the oikonomos, wrote the instruction for Tettaphos to be summoned, without explicit evidence that an oikonomos would so act, we are reluctant to attribute such a letter to him (see above, introd. to 6961 for a discussion of the oikonomos' jurisdiction). It is also possible that this letter was the cover for the forwarded complaint 6961, but there are problems with this. While Poseidonios, the name of the oikonomos, can easily be restored in the lacuna of line 1, the traces before χ[α]ίρειν cannot belong to the name of the strategos Poseidion. We could restore, e.g., Ὠρωί, the name of the basilikos grammateus at this time, but can find no parallel for writing to this official instead of the strategos. We are therefore inclined to believe that this was written by the strategos to an epistates after he had received 6961 forwarded from the oikonomos. The time frame would support our general hypothesis: if Peteuris went to Krokodilopolis on Pauni 3 to register the first complaint (see 6979.8), and if it was forwarded immediately to the strategos, he would have been able to take action on Pauni 4. A further consideration is the language of this document which is similar to that of the strategos' instructions, appended at the bottom of

enteuxeis. Consider, e.g., *P. Ent.* 59 verso 1 addressed to an epistates: πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπό(κτειλον) (sc. αὐτοῦς) ὅπ(ως) ἐπι(σκευώμεθα).

↓ [Ποσειδίων]ρωι χ[α]ίρειν. ὡς ἂν ἀναγνῶις τὴν
 [ἐπιτολήν, ἐπίτε]ιλον Τεττάφωι τῶν ἐγ Λυσιμαχίδος
 [παραγενέσθαι ἐφ' ἡ]μᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἱερομηνίας ὅπως περὶ ὧν
 4 [ἐγκαλεῖται ὑπὸ Πετεύρι]ος κτιβέως ἐπισκευώμεθα ἐάνπερ
 [φαίνηταί σοι.]

ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) ε Αὐδναίου δ Παῦνι δ

Back:

→]ρωι

1]ρωι: traces before the break look like the right portion of rho (confirmed by the broken name on the back). If this was addressed to an epistates, Onesandros (*P. Pt.* 696), who is linked with Poseidion (*P. Pt.* 308) in *P. Ent.* 4, 100, and 101, is a likely candidate. He is also probably the epistates instructed to take action in *P. Ent.* 80 verso (dated to Mesore 24, 217 [so F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens*, Abh. Berlin 1968, 128 n. 4]). This latter is a complaint of an isionomos against (among others) Hermippos and Poseidonios, two men who may also occur at 6979.12. *P. Ent.* 4 and 80 are both from residents of Arsinoe-on-the-Dike (Ἀρσινόη ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος) in the Themistes meris, which suggests that Onesander is epistates of that village, although this is nowhere directly stated. The location of this village relative to Lysimachis is unknown. But if Hermippos and Poseidonios of *P. Ent.* 80 are identical with the two men in 6979.12, the two villages should be fairly close to each other. At any rate, since Peteuris was complaining about the epistates of his own village, it is reasonable that another epistates from outside of Lysimachis would have been called upon to act. If then the supplement [Ποσειδίων Ὀνησάν]ρωι is correct, the beginning of the line must have been extended by about two letters.

1-2 ὡς ἂν ἀναγνῶις τὴν | [ἐπιτολήν]: the formula refers to the present letter; cf. e.g. *P. Tebt.* 26.2.

2 Τεττάφωι: see 6961.4-6 and note.

2-3 The lines of restoration were suggested by G. Schwendner. Compare 6979.16 and 18.

3 τῶν ἐγ Λυσιμαχίδος: at 6961.5 Tettaphos is referred to as τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος τὴν Λυσιμαχίδα, but apparently no mention of his office is made here.

4 Πετεύρι]ος κτιβέως: cf. above 6961.2

6: For the date see above, introd. II 3, p. 282ff.

Back: G. Schwendner has scalled our attention to the traces of address on the back. Although incomplete, it confirms the reading]ρωι on the front.

Translation: Poseidonios to ?] greetings. As soon as you read my [letter, order] Tettaphos, of the residents of Lysimachis, [to appear before] us, so that we may investigate the matters on which he has been accused by Peteur]is, the fuller, if [you please.]

Farewell. Year 5, Audnaios 4, Pauni 4.

3. P. Mich. inv. no. 6979

Krokodilopolis

fr. a: 11.6 x 14.0 cm

July 15, 215 B.C.

fr. b: 13.0 x 20.4 cm

fr. c: 2.5 x 2.7 cm

Plate XV

The papyrus is broken into three fragments which no longer join, though their placement relative to each other is certain. The two larger pieces preserve a lower margin to about 2.5 cm. No other margins survive, but probably all lines of text are represented. Writing is typically across the fibers (cf. *P. Ent.*, introd. p. XIX), the back is blank. The line length as used in the partial restoration (75-80 letters) is determined by lines 2-4 (see note *ad loc.*). The closing εὐτ[υχεῖ] (line 21) written typically to reach the right margin indicates that 4-5 letters are missing from the right hand portion of the text. However, the resulting layout of the reconstructed text is at best only an approximation.

Although the opening is missing, this text is almost certainly an enteuxis. Peteuris the fuller asks the king to order the strategos, Poseidonios, to summon Tettaphos the epistates of Lysimachis and to begin the investigation of the charges which Peteuris has filed against him (lines 17-21). Before coming to the request proper, Peteuris repeats his charges in detail giving a history of the case. These are: lines 2-8: Tettaphos' refusal to pay for cleaning the cloak, his first attack upon Peteuris, Peteuris incarceration, and release from prison; lines 9-15: the second attack by Tettaphos and his helpers upon Peteuris the fuller when he returned from Krokodilopolis, his search of Peteuris' shop; lines 16-17: Peteuris' request that Poseidonios, the oikonomos, order Poseidion, the strategos, to summon Tettaphos. It was the failure of this request or of the subsequent summons that prompted Peteuris to file the present enteuxis.

There is no trace of an official docket on the extant lower margin of fr. a (left), although one could have occurred on fr. b (right).

The restorations are *exempli gratia*.

↓ [.....] σουλυ[.....] [.....]
 [ἀδικου̅μαι ὑπὸ Τεττάφου τοῦ ἐπιστατοῦντος τὴν Λυσιμαχίδα. τῷ γὰρ] ς (ἔτει),
 ὡς [αἰ πρόκοδοι, Π]αῦν[ι ᾧ παρα-
 [γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τιβεῖόν μου ἀπήτει με ἱμάτιον ὃ ἐδεδώκει μοι] πλῦναι Θα[ῶς
 ἢ τῶν ἐ]γ Λυ[σιμα-]
 4 [χίδος ἰσιονόμος· ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀπαιτοῦντος αὐτὸν τὸν συγχωρηθέντα μισθόν, ὃ] δὲ [οὔθ]έ-
 να λ[όγον] ποιησάμ[ενος,]
 [ἀλλὰ ἐπιπηδήσας πρὸς με ἐν τῇ προγεγραμμέν]ηι κώμ[ηι] μετ[ὰ] Μενίσκου καὶ
 Ξεννί[ου] τὰς χε[ῖρας] μοι
 [προσῆνεγκεν (25-30 litt.) π]ύγμα[ις] [καὶ] λακτίμασιν εἰς ὃ τύχ[οι] μου μέρος
 τ[οῦ] σώματος
 [(30-35 litt.) παρέ]δωκ[έ]με το[ῖς] φυλακίταις, ἱερομηνίας οὐρη[σ]α[ν]τες [.....]
 8 [(35-40 litt.) εἰς Κροκοδ]ίλων πόλιν τῇ γ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μη[νός]
 [(23-28 litt.)] Τέτταφος, ᾧ ἐγκαλῶ, [παρα]λαβῶν Πετεῦριν τὸ[ν] φυλ[ακ]ί-
 την καὶ]

- [(20-25 litt.)] ου ἠρεύνων ζητ[οῦντ]έ με ὅπως προσαποτυπα[νί]ως[ίν με,]
[ἀλλ' οὐχ εὐρόντες με] διὰ τὸ ἐν Κρόκοδίων πόλει [εἶναι ἐ]τήρουν ἕως τοῦ ...
καμυ τ[...]
- 12 [..... εἰς τὸ ἐργαστ]ήριον. καὶ οὕτως Τέτταφος [καὶ Ξεν]νίας καὶ Μένικο[ς]
καὶ Ἑρμιπ[πος] καὶ Π[...]
- [(15-20 litt.)] ἔχοντες ῥοπάλια εἰςῆλθον εἰς [τὸ ἐργ]αστή[ρι]όν μ[ο]υ καὶ κα-
θιζόμενοι μου π[...]
- [(10-15 litt.)] διεσκόρ[πισαν] τὴν ἐμπολήν παρόντος Π[ετεύρι]ος [τοῦ] φυλακίτου
περὶ ὧν ἐπεμαρτυ[ράμην].
- [(15-20 litt.)] καὶ ἐν τῇ παροινίαι διεφώνησε [πολλὰ ὧν τ]ὰ πλήθη ἀγνοῶ.
Ποσειδῶ[νιος δὲ]
- 16 [ὁ οἰκόνομος ἐπέτειλε Ποσει]δίωني τῷ στρατηγῶ[τι] ἵνα γράφῃ [τῷ Τεττά]φωι
παραγενόμενον εἰς Κροκο[δίων]
[πόλιν (8-13 litt.)] διακριθῆ[ναι] μοι ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔκπε[(ca. 18 litt.)] ἀξιῶ ἐ
δεό]μενο[ς, βασι-]
[λεῦ, προτάξαι Ποσειδίωνι τῷ] στρατηγῶι ἐπιτεῖλαι τῷ Τε[ττά]φωι παραγε-
νέσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸ[ν καὶ]
[(15-20 litt.)] αἰ γὰρ ἐμβαλεῖ[ν] εἰς τὴν κόμην[(ca. 15 litt.)] περὶ ὧν συν-
τετέλε[ται] εἷς με, [Ποσει-]
- 20 [δίωνα διαγῶναι. ἐ]πιτροφῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ ο[.....] ἔσομαι, ἐάν σοι φαί-
νη]ται, τετ[ευχῶς]
[τῆς παρὰ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, βοηθ]είας εὐτ[υχεῖ]

1]ουλυ[:]του,]γου, or]ζου. This is either the first or second line of the complaint, containing the name of the addressee, here, the king, as well as Peteuris' particulars. λυ could belong to a form of Λυσιμαχίς, but the]ου before it would be difficult to articulate.

2] (ἔτει): the trace suits ζ better than ξ; see introd. II 3, pp. 282-284.

2-4: The restoration is taken from 6961; cf. e.g. UPZ 5 and 6, complaints dated to October 163 B.C. where the subsequent complaint to the king repeats the initial complaint to the strategos in language that is very similar in length and style, though not verbatim. From the few words remaining in these lines, 6961 and 6979 seem to fit this pattern (see below 3-4 note).

2 ὡς [αἰ πρόοδοι]: for examples of the phrase, which indicates that the date used is that of the fiscal, not the calendar year, during the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, cf. e.g. *P. Ent.* 30.2, 72.3, 79.2, 80.3; also see above, introd. II 3(b).

3-4 Θα[κῶς ἢ τῶν ἐ]γ Λυ[σιμαχίδος ἰσιονόμος]: the restoration is based on 6961.10-11, but the word order in this text must have been slightly different, to judge from the extant traces. For the office, see above 6961.10 n.

For the village of Lysimachis, see above 6961.2 and note.

5]ηι κόμηι: part of a formulaic phrase to denote that these events took place "in the aforesaid village", but a variety of possibilities for the participle exist, προγεγραμμένηι, προδεδηλωμένηι, προειρημένηι, or προκειμένηι. We have restored *exempli gratia* the one most often occurring in *P. Ent.*

μετ[ὰ] Μενίκου καὶ Ξεννί[ο]υ: see 6961.15 and note. Although no title for these men is given in 6961, they may be the phylakites mentioned below in line 7.

6]πύγμαϊς [καὶ] λακτίμασιν: see *P. Ent.* 72.5 and note.

6-7 εἰς ὃ τύχ[ο]ι μου μέρος τ[οῦ] κόματος: see *P. Ent.* 83.4, also *P. Ent.* 74.8, 80.7, 81.14 with the variant εἰς ὃ ἂν τύχοι.

7 παρέδωκ[έ] μ[ε] τοῖς φυλακίταις: the reading,]δωκ[, is secure and its position in the line is guaranteed by that of πύγμαϊς καὶ λακτίμασιν above. For the phrase compare *P. Ent.* 82.5: [ὄν κ]αὶ εὐροῦσα παρέδωκα Νεχοθοσίρι τῷ ἀρχιφυλακίτη τῆς κόμης. Although the papyrus is badly broken in these lines, the gist of the complaint seems clear.

ἱερομηνίασ οὐχ[η]c: see above, introd. III and 6957.3 note.

8 Κροκοδιλῶν πόλιν: see lines 11 and 16 below; and *P. Petr.* II 22(e) 13-14 and III 43 (2) IV 3 where Lysimachis and Krokodilopolis occur together in a manner suggesting their relative closeness. Since this was the official residence of the strategos, and also, presumably, the oiko-nomos, Peteuris no doubt went to Krokodilopolis to make his complaint. Normally these were made in person (see *P. Ent.* introd. XXXI).

9 Τέτταφος: cf. 6961.4. It is unclear why Thasos did not collect the garment herself, though presumably Tettaphos is attempting to retrieve the himation for the festival in his official capacity as epistates. At issue, no doubt, was whether the cleaning of the festival garment constituted a liturgy for which no payment was required.

[παρα]λαβῶν: cf. *UPZ* 5.7-8: παραλαβόντες φυλακίτας εἰσήλθον.

Πετεῦριν τῶ[ν] φυλ[α]κ[ί]την: and again below, line 14. Apparently another man with the same name as the complainant. Peteuris was a relatively common name for this period and place, see NB s.v.

10 ἡρεύνων: usually of an official search, see *UPZ* 5.10-11 (= 6.9-10): φάσκοντες εἶναι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπλα· ἡρευνήσαν[τ]ες οὖν πά(ν)τα τὸν τόπον οὐθὲν εὔρον. And ἔρευνα, *P. Tebt.* 38.18-19 (113 B.C.): κατέλαβον τὸν Θράικα ἔνδον, τὸ δ' [ἐπίτ]ιμον ἐκτετοπιμ[έ]νο[ν], ἔρ]ευναν δὲ τούτου οὖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενος εὔρον ---.

προσαποτυπα[νί]σως[ιν]: *hapax legomenon*, but surely with the same sense as ἀποτυπα-νίζω in *P. Ent.* 86.6 and 8 (on which, see 6 note). O. Guéraud translates "bâtonner" or "frapper à coups de bâton." See ἔχοντες ῥοπάλια below, line 13.

11 ἐτήρουν: cf. *P. Ent.* 70.3 and 78.6: τηρήσαντές με (ἐμὲ). Though both passages are mutilated, the meaning "being on the watch for" is reasonably clear in both.

11f.: either a temporal phrase as below, line 17, or an articular infinitive, e.g., ἕως τοῦ --[με ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐργαστ]ήριον.

12 Ἑρμιππον καὶ Π[ο]σειδωνίος: it is worth noting that Hermippos and Poseidonios, the sons of Aximama, are accused in *P. Ent.* 80.5 (dated to Mesore 24 in the same year as this text, so F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen* p. 128, n. 4) of inflicting violence on an isionomos and his wife in Arsinoe-on-the-Dykes, a small village of the Themistes meris. In *P. Ent.* 80, as in *UPZ* 5 and 6, the intrusion may have been official, and it is tempting to attach these two also to Tettaphos' entourage. For a further possible connection between *P. Ent.* 80 and the present group of papyri, see above 6951.1n.

13 καθικόμενοί μου π[: only one, not very apt occurrence is recorded in papyri (*UPZ* 110. 189), but it is clear from Steph. Lex. *s.v.* that the word occurred in Hellenistic period with this meaning. The following lacuna is just sufficient for π[υγμαίς καὶ λακτίσμασιν], the phrase used above, line 6, but since the men are said to be carrying clubs with the intention of beating him (ὅπως προσαποτυπα[νί]ως[ιν]), punches and kicks seem anticlimactic. More likely, π[ληγαίς καὶ πλείοσιν] (for which expression, see *P. Tebt.* 44.18-20, *P. Ent.* 80.6 and 83.4); also see 6961.16-17.

14 διεσκόρ]πιεν: cf. 6961.19 and note.

14-15 παρόντος --- ἐπεμαρτυράμην: see *P. Ent.* 74.11, 79.7, 81.13.

15 ἐν τῇ παροιμία: the word does not occur in papyri, though παροινέω is frequent. It is likely to have been used metaphorically ("violence") rather than literally ("drunkenness," so *LSJ s.v.*).

διαφώνησε: the preceding verbs describing the men's actions are plural; so [πολλά] is the likely subject of διεφώνησε. Cf., e.g., *P.S.I.* 5.527.15: διαπεφώνηκεν ἰδρωῖα γ.

ἄγνωθ̄: cf. *P. Dion.* 10.11 (= *P. Rein.* 17.11): καὶ ἐτέρ[ω]ν [cὺν] αὐτῶι οὕς τὰ [ὀ]νόμα]τα ἄγνωθ̄ι.

Ποσειδῶ[νιος: see 6961.1 and note where he is designated as an oikonomos.

15-16 For the thought compare, *P. Petr.* III 32 (g) recto (b) 9-11: quoted above p. 285f.

16 For the syntax see *P. Ent.* 88.6-7: δέομαι οὖν κε --- ἐπιτεῖλαι N. ὅπως γράφῃ + dative and infinitive. The more usual construction uses γράψαι; the ὅπως-clause might be deemed more polite than the infinitive (= imperative, see *P. Ludg. Bat.* 20A.30 [= *BGU* 10.1994] 2-3 note).

Ποσειδίωνι: the complete name occurs *P. Ent.* 4.7, redated by F. Uebel (*Die Kleruchen* 128, n. 4) to the reign of Philopator, so clearly this is the same official. He is known to have been in office in 219/218 (see *P. Pt.* 308).

ἵνα γράφῃ [τῶι Τεττά]φωι παραγενόμενον: summonses are common in these texts, cf., e.g., *P. Ent.* 26.11-12: [ἀλλὰ προστάξ]αι Διοφά[νει] τῶι [τρατ]ηγῶι ἀνακαλεσάμενον αὐτοῦς διακ[ο]ῦσαι [ἡμῶν]. The traces of the name are too broken to read with confidence, but, in the context, it is obvious that Tettaphos was asked to present himself for questioning.

17 διακριθ]ῆναι: the formulaic ἐπὶ Ποσειδίωνα διακριθ]ῆναί μοι suggests itself as a supplement. See, e.g., *P. Ent.* 37.9.

ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔκπε[: probably a form of ἐκπέμπω, which occurs along with πέμπω and ἀναπέμπω in orders to arrest. In spite of the resulting asyndeton, we suggest, e.g., ἕως τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔκπε[μ]φθέντος αὐτοῦ, ἀξιώ ---. For the construction, cf. *P. Ent.* 67.1-3.

17-18 ἀξιώ κτλ.: for the formula, see *P. Ent.* 5.5-6, 81.19, 86.10.

19 ἐμβαλεῖ[ν]: the verb is a technical term for the submission of an enteuxis; see *P. Ent.* introd. p. XXXI-XXXV.

19-20 περὶ ὧν συντελέε]ται εἰς με, [Ποσειδίωνα διαγνῶναι: for the expression see *P. Ent.* 83.10 (cf. 81.18) and *P. Par.* 14.46. Cf. also the related phrase περὶ δ' αὐτῆς N. (= the strategos) διαγνῶναι (so *P. Ent.* 49.12, 65.17, 75.14).

20-21 ἐπιτροφῆς δὲ γενομένης: In *P. Berl. Leihg.* II 46 of 136 AD the phrase τῆς δεούσης ἐπιτροφῆς τεύξονται (47; cf. 21f. τῆς δεούσης ἐπιτάξεως τυχεῖν) refers to receiving appropriate redress for a violation of the law. For the rest compare *P. Ent.* 54.12-13 and *UPZ* 5.51-53 and 6.37-38: τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἔσομαι τετευχῶς τῆς παρὰ σοῦ (παρ' ὑμῶν, 6) βοηθείας and the variant with φιλανθρωπίας (so *P. Ent.* 5.8, 6.7, 22.13, 44.8, 47.9, 60.12, 62.13, 74.19, 86.15).

φαίνη]ται: at this juncture it is almost certainly a phrase like ἐάν σοι φαίνη]ται, but usually it occurs next to the actual request for intercession (ἀξιῶ, δέομαι κτλ.).

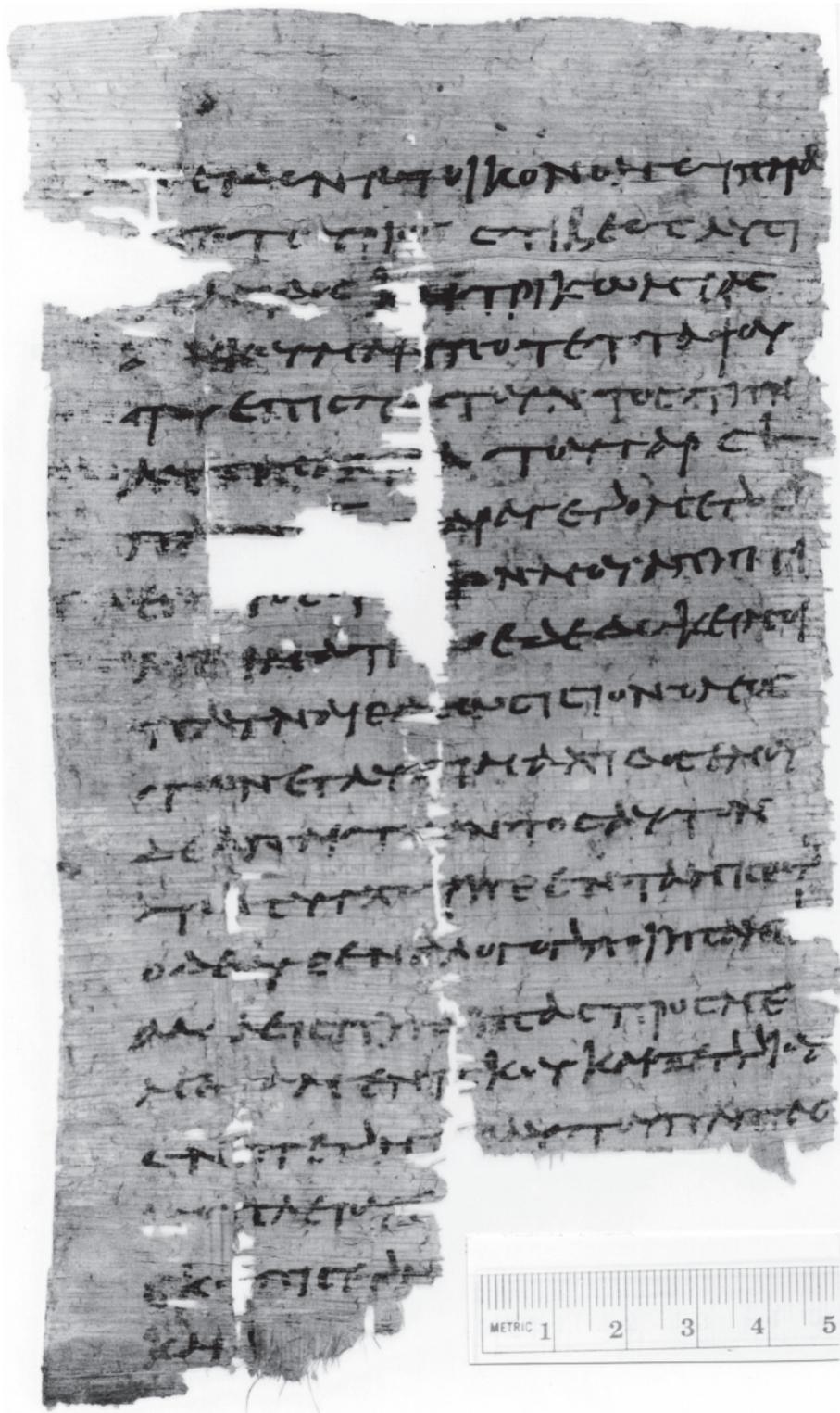
Translation: [I am being wronged by Tettaphos who is the chief-of-police of Lysimachis. For on the 1st of P]aun[i in the] 6th fiscal [year, he came to my shop and asked me for the himation that] Tha[sos the isionomos of the residents] in Ly[simachis had given m]e to clean; [when I asked him for the stipulated payment, he] made no [reply, but attacking me in the aforesaid village with Meniskos and Xennias, [he laid hands on me --- striking me] with fists and kicks on whatever part [of my body] he chanced [---. When (?)] he had given [me] into the custody of the phylakites, since it was the hieromenia, [I was released and I went (?)] to] Krokodilopolis on the 3rd of the same month. [---] Tettaphos, against whom I lodge this complaint, taking Peteuris, the phylakites, and [---] searched, looking for me in order to beat me up, [but not finding me] because [I was] in Krokodilopolis, they lay in wait for me until --[- I returned to my work]shop. Thus Tettaphos, Xennias, Meniskos, Hermippos and P[---] entered [my workshop] carrying clubs, attacked me [with numerous blows, and] scattered my inventory in the presence of [Peteuris, the] phylakites, on which matters I called him to witness. [---] in the violence [many things,] the quantity [of which] I do not know, were ruined. Poseidonios, [the oikonomos, requested that] Poseidion, the strategos, write to [Tettaphos] to proceed to Krokodilopolis [and to receive a judgment against him (?)] in my favor. Until this very day [he has] not been arrest[ed and brought to Krokodilopolis, and] I ask [and beg you, O king, to order Poseidion, the] strategos, to request Tettaphos to [appear before] him [and ---; to submit (?)] into the village [--- on these matters that have been] done against me, [Poseidion to decide (?)]. When redress and [- - -] have taken place, [I, if you so decide, will] have happened [upon your] help, [O king.] Farewell.

University of Michigan
Reed College
Stanford University

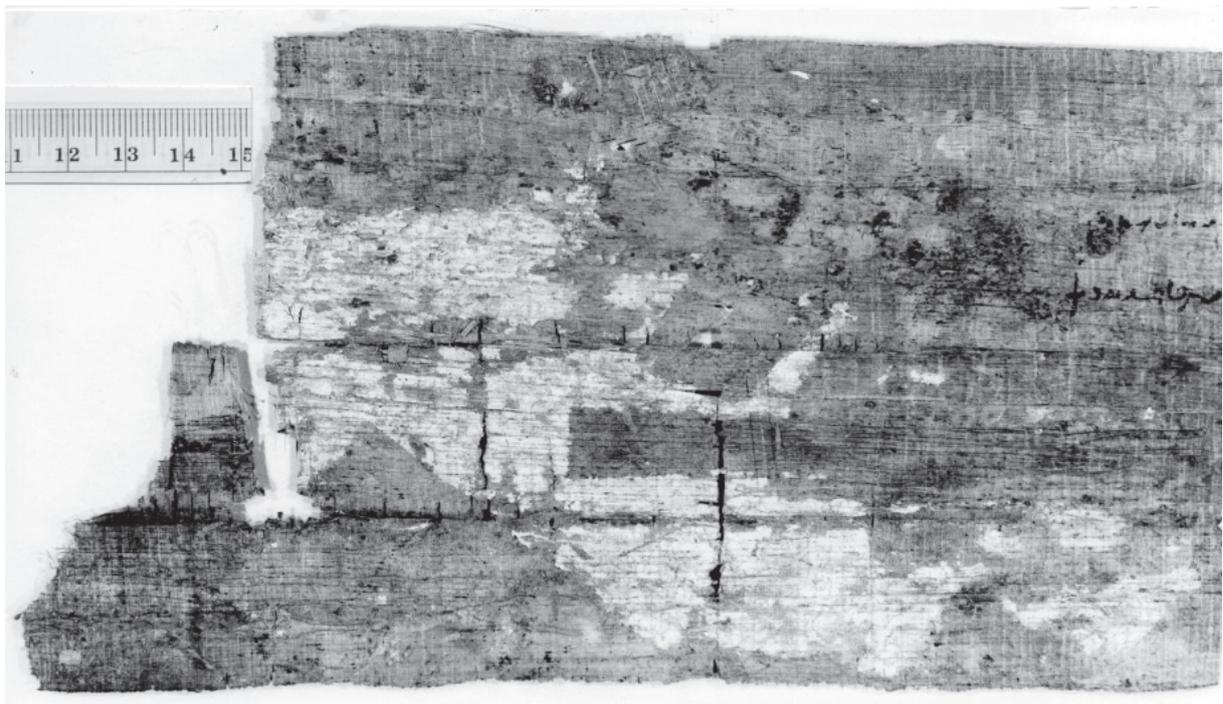
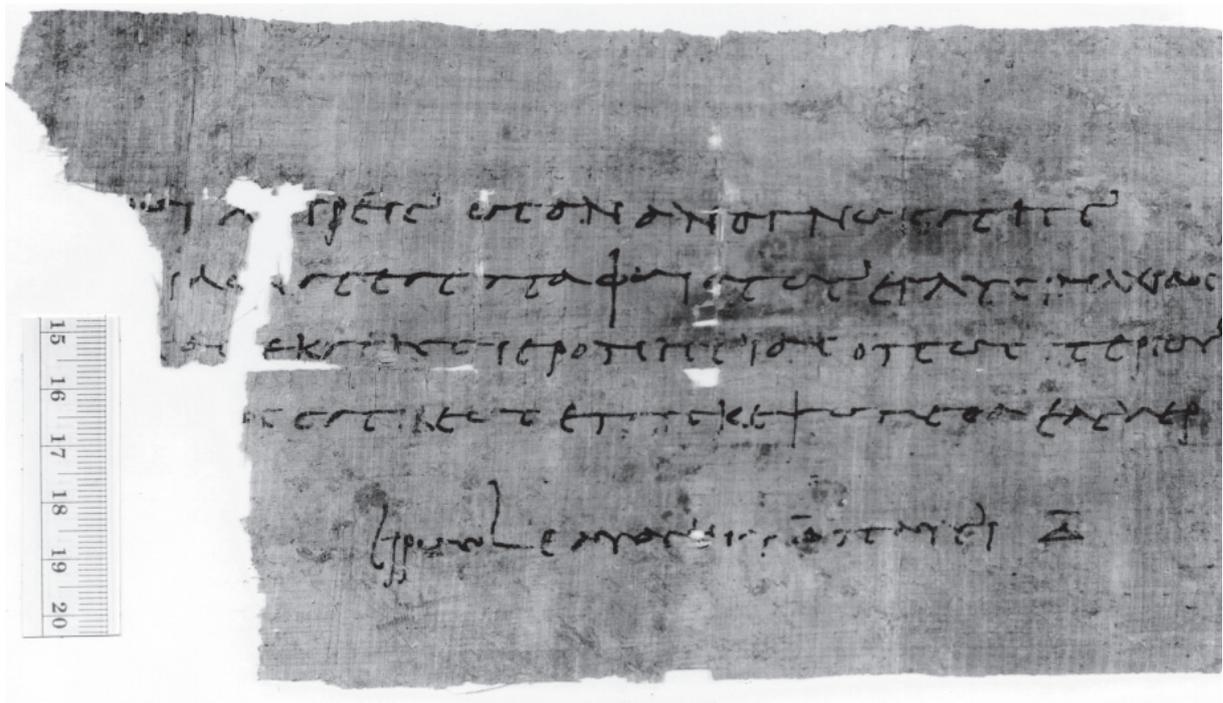
† Tracy Caulfield
Anita Estner
Susan Stephens

ZPE 80 (1990) 294

Corrigendum: S. 250 Titelzeile lies July 15, 217 B.C.



P.Mich. inv.no.6961



P.Mich. inv.no.6957 recto und verso



P.Mich. inv.no.6979