

BRUCE KRAUT

HYPOMNEMA TO THEOGENES THE DIOIKETES

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 80 (1990) 273–276

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn



## Hypomnema to Theogenes the Dioiketes\*

P.Princeton Inv. AM 87-55

32.7 x 18.0 cm.

April 19, 217 B.C.(?)

The text of this *hypomnema* is nearly complete, but unfortunately mutilated in a crucial section in the middle of the document. The left hand margin of lines 1 through 8 and line thirteen (containing the initial letter(s) of these lines) is a separate fragment. There is another loose fragment which can be matched to the beginning of lines 9 through 12. Three other fragments cannot be placed with any certainty in the lacunae, and although the handwriting may well match the hand of this document, one cannot exclude the possibility that these fragments do not belong to the present text.

The most interesting feature of this text is the information it provides to assist in the dating of the Dioiketes Theogenes.<sup>1</sup> The editors of P.Lille I 3 and P.Petr. II 38(b), in which the name of Theogenes the Dioiketes first appeared, dated these texts to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, an assignment later contested by Edgar, Préaux, and Van't Dack,<sup>2</sup> all of whom placed Theogenes as Dioiketes under the reign of the succeeding king, Ptolemy IV Philopator. R. Bagnall raised the issue again,<sup>3</sup> arguing for the earlier date, against which T.C. Skeat<sup>4</sup> and most recently Klaus Maresch<sup>5</sup> have produced counter-arguments in support of the later date.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence provided by the present text, though all of it indirect, when taken all together makes it virtually certain that Theogenes is to be dated in the reign of Philopator.

1. A year 5 is mentioned in the docket at the end of the hypomnema, suggesting either 243/2 (under Euergetes), or 218/7 (under Philopator). A year 15 is clearly referred to in the text, which would point back to the year 271/0 (i.e. 15th year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus) if the present text is dated to Euergetes, or to 233/2 (i.e. 15th year of Euergetes) if the present text is dated to Philopator. A twentieth year is also mentioned, which helps to exclude the possibility that our text reflects the fifth year of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and refers to years during the reign of his predecessor, for there was no twentieth year for Philopator.

2. This *hypomnema* was submitted by a certain Olympos son of Antipatros, Mysian, who is known to us from a firmly dated Tebtunis papyrus (P.Tebt. III 819) where he appears as guarantor in a *kleros*-contract. The papyrus is dated to 171.<sup>7</sup> That this Olympos is to be identified with the man in our text seems unavoidable, since Olympos is not a very common name. Once this identific-

---

\* I wish to extend my sincerest thanks to the Rare Books Department of Princeton University and to Professor Ann Hanson for making this text available to me, to the German Academic Exchange Service and The University of Georgia Research Fund for giving me the leisure to work on this and other texts, and to Professors Hagedorn and Kramer of the Institut für Papyrologie of the University of Heidelberg for their many insights and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> P.P. # 32.

<sup>2</sup> C.C. Edgar, *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* 20, 1920, 198, n.1; Cl. Préaux, *Chr. d'Ég.* 14, 1939, 376-82; W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, *Chr. d'Ég.* 26, 1951, 387f.

<sup>3</sup> R. Bagnall, *A.S.* 3, 1972, 111-119.

<sup>4</sup> T.C. Skeat, *A.S.* 10, 1979, 159-165.

<sup>5</sup> P.Köln VI 258-271 Introd.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also W. Clarysse in *ZPE* 78, 1989, 300.

<sup>7</sup> This same Olympos appears in an unpublished Heidelberg papyrus (inv. 2191,1).

ation is accepted, the inclination to date Theogenes to the reign of Philopator is strengthened. For Olympos to be active as a reserve soldier in 243/2 and still participating in a legal transaction in 171 seems far less likely than the difference of 218/7 and 171. The use of the numbering system for the five Hipparchies to identify soldiers seems also in and of itself to exclude the dating of our text to 243/2, since, as Uebel points out, before 235 the troops seem to have been described without the numbering system.<sup>8</sup> The fact that Ptolemy son of Nautas appears as Eponymous Officer no earlier in the known texts than 326 also speaks in favor of 218/7 as the year of our text against the earlier 243/2.<sup>9</sup>

3. The *Basilikos Grammateus* of this text is a certain Horos (l. 27). While the name is admittedly a common one, there does happen to be a Horos in this position in 218/7 (P.P. # 481) in the Arsinoite nome, and no evidence for a Royal Scribe by this name from the Arsinoite nome for the year 243/2.

The foregoing is the sum of the evidence in the present text which, taken together, points vividly to the operation of Theogenes as Dioiketes under the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator, rather than under the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes.

While the somewhat formulaic beginning and end of this document are fairly well preserved, the middle third, in which Olympos describes the grounds for his complaint, is in poor condition and poses several tantalizing problems concerning not only his present situation but also the royal edict (8ff.) on which he bases his argument.

As much as can be reconstructed through the surviving text, Olympos feels that he is being unfairly forced by the praktor to pay 1500 dr. (16ff.) in taxes on land planted as a vineyard in the 15th year (of Ptolemy III Euergetes = 233/2) by Olympos' father, Antipatros (5-6). His case apparently hinges on a decree of Euergetes (8ff.) which offered a temporary exemption from full payments on land sown by a certain year (9ff.). The exact nature of this decree is inextricable from the amount of text remaining in this middle portion of the papyrus. It may, however, have borne a resemblance to a decree of Euergetes II (118 B.C., P.Tebt. I 5.93-98) which offers a grace period of five years from taxes on flooded or dry (cf. 6) land planted in vine (cf. 6) or gardens between the 53rd and 57th years. The general scheme of the present text seems to parallel the sort of decree found in the Tebtunis papyrus, but the details of this present edict are a matter of speculation. Lines 11-12 seem to imply that there was not a total tax exemption; and whatever indulgence did exist appears to have been allowed for a four-year period (13). A 20th year is mentioned in line 14; this may reflect the relevant fourth year from the "17th year" read in line seven (in conjunction with the reported arurae).

The matter is complicated by the reading *πρι-* (surely, some form of *πρίαιμα*) at the end of line 14. If the land in question had come into private ownership, then apparently the state required both the buying price (*τιμή*) and the taxes to be paid by the new owner. In this context *ἐπιχωρήσαι* may encompass either the "allowance" of a reduction (or forgiveness) of tax payments or the "permission" to pass the property into private hands.

1	Θεογένει δι[οι]κητῆι παρὰ Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Ἄντι-	cf. Tafel XVII
2	πάτρου Μυσοῦ τῶν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ναυτᾶ	
3	τῆς πέμπτῃς ἱππαρχίας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσινό-	

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Fr. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern*, p. 379.

<sup>9</sup> P.P. # 1987, cf. Uebel, #889, 890, 947, 519, 526; cf. W. Peremans and E. van'T Dack, "Ptolémée, fils de Nautas, officier éponyme", *Studia Hellenistica* 9, *Prosopographica* (1953) 34-39; W. Clarysse, A.S. 2, 1971, 17.

- 4 ἴτου ἐπιλελεγμένων ἰπέων ἑκατογταρού-  
 5 ρ[ου. ὁ πάτή]ρ μου Ἀντίπατρος κάτεφύτευ-  
 6 σ[εν ἄμπε]λον ἐν χέρσῳ τοῦ ιε (ἔτους). γεωμετρη-  
 7 θ[είσης δ' αὐτῆς] τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) ἀνηνέγγθησ[α]ν ἄρου-  
 8 ρ[αι ]. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 9 [π]ροστεταχότος γῆς ἕως τοῦ ιε (ἔτους) πεφυ-  
 10 [τ]ευνμένης ἐπιχωρήσαι τῆς ἀρούρας ἐνι-  
 11 [α]υσίας [τ]μ διετ[οῦς] ἦν τριετοῦς ἦξ  
 12 τετρα[ετο]ῦς ἦρ καὶ πρᾶξαι τὴν τιμὴν  
 13 κ[ ] ἐν ἔτεσιν τέτταρσιν  
 14 [ ] καντος τοῦ κ (ἔτους) πρι-  
 15 [ ] εἰς τὸ βασι]λικὸν κατὰ τὸ πρόσ-  
 16 [ταγμα [ ]]. πράσσομαι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 17 πάκτορος Ἰ' Ἀφ οὐκ ὀφείλοντός μου.  
 18 [ἀ]ξιῶ οὖν σε ἐάν σοι φαίνηται γρά-  
 19 [ψ]αί Ὡ[ρωι] τῷ βασιλικῷ γραμμα-  
 20 [τ]εῖ τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου ἐπισκέψασθαι  
 21 [κ]αί, ἐάν μὴ φαίνωμαι  
 22 [ὀ]φείλων πρὸς μηθέν, γράψαι αὐτὸν  
 23 τῷ πράκτορι μὴ πράσσειν με· τού-  
 24 του γὰρ γενομένου ἔσομαι τετευ-  
 25 χῶς τοῦ δικαίου.  
 26 εὐτύχει.  
 27 (2nd Hand) Ὡρωι ἐπισκέψασθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀδικηθῆι.  
 28 (?3rd Hand) (ἔτους) Ὑπερβερεταίου ις

Verso: Ὀλυμπος  
 Ἀντιπάτρου

Frg. A .. του  
 σαι εμου

Frg. B σ..  
 των α..

Frg. C ε (ἔτους)

#### Translation

To Theogenes the Dioiketes from Olympos, son of Antipatros, Mysian, from the eponymous fifth Hipparchy of Ptolemy son of Nautas, of those selected knights from the Arsinoite nome, possessor of 100 arurae. My father, Antipatros, planted vines on uncultivated land in the fifteenth year; and ... arurae were registered in the seventeenth year when the land-survey took place. Since the father of the king had decreed that there be an exemption for land planted up to the fifteenth year, per arura for one year 40 dr., for two years 50 dr., for three years [60 dr.?], and for four years 100 dr., and to exact a cost ... in four years ... bought in the twentieth year (?) ... to the royal treasury according to the decree ... I am being forced by the tax-collector to pay 1500 dr. which I do not owe. Therefore, I beseech you, if you please, to write to Horos, the royal scribe of the Arsinoite nome, to look into the matter; and if I appear to owe nothing, let him write to the tax-collector not to force me to pay; if this is accomplished, I shall have experienced justice.

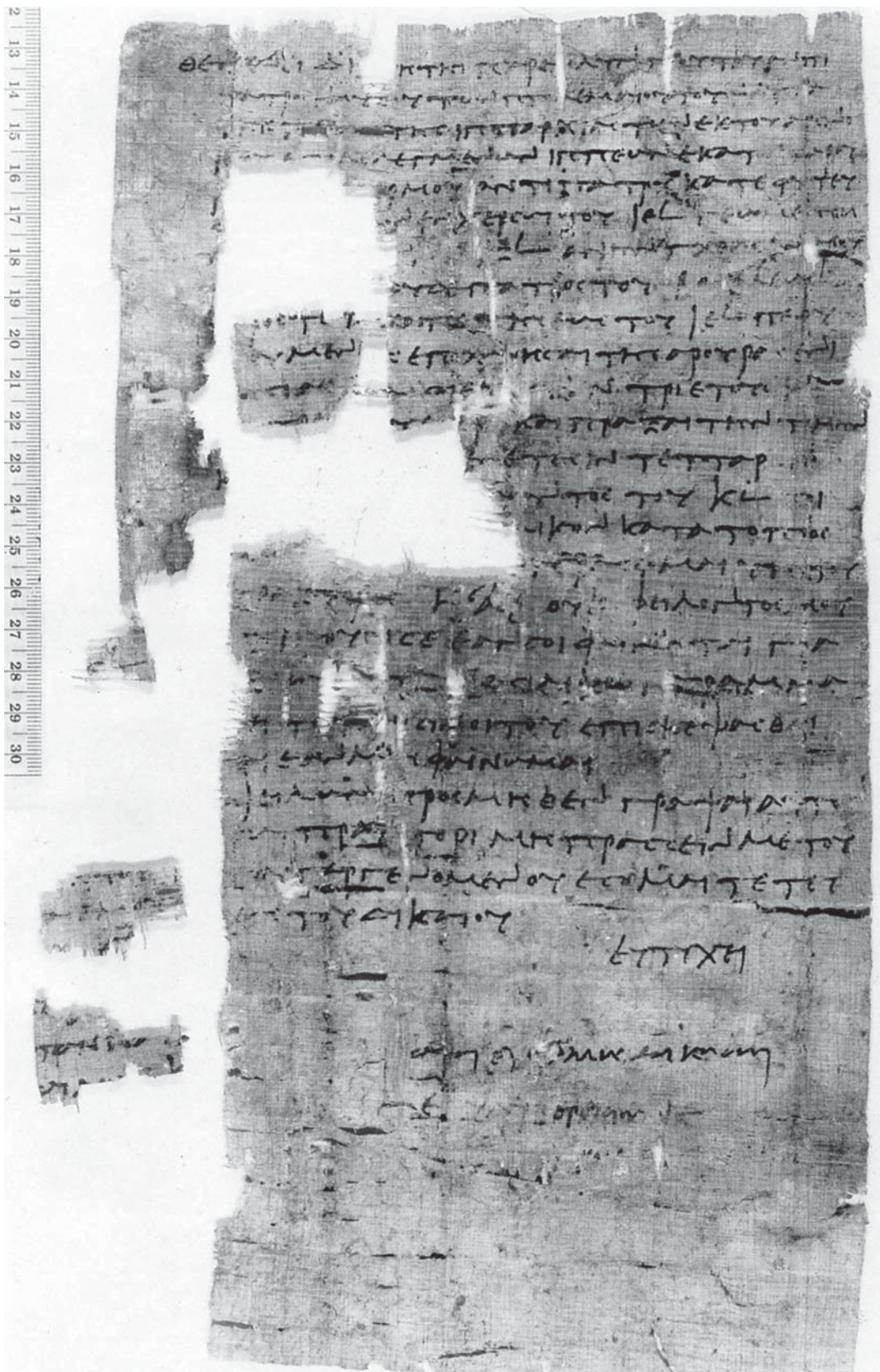
Farewell.

To Horos, look into it, so that he is not done an injustice.  
 Year 5, Hyperberetaios 16.

## Commentary:

- 4 ἐπιλελεγμένων ἰππέων: This is a confusing terminology, and one which is not very well documented. Cf. P. Frankf. 7,1 (after 218/17 BC): ἐπίλεκτοι ἰππεῖς; and UPZ 110,20f.: τῶν τ' ἐπιλέκτων (164). See also Jean Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, Paris 1911, p. 21f. If the term is meant to refer to the selection for a recent military operation, the most memorable from this year of 217 is certainly the battle of Raphia, which witnessed the victory of Ptolemy IV Philopator over Antiochus III. (See also Paul Meyer, *Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Ägypten* (Leipzig 1900), p. 64 and n. 214; W. Schubart, *Quaestiones de rebus militaribus quales fuerint in Lagidarum regno* (Breslau 1900), p. 59; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, vol. IV (Paris 1907), p. 9, n. 2) ἐπίλεκτοι describes a military unit also in P.Mich. inv. 6947 (198 BC); see L. Koenen, *Atti del XVII Congr. Int. di Pap.*, vol. III (Napoli 1984), p. 915f.
- 6f. γεωμετρηθ[είσης δ' ἀντῆς: Cf. P.Tebt. I 84.65, etc.; 87.25, etc. προγεγεω(μετρημένην).
- 7 ἀνηνέγγθησ[α]ν: The aorist passive with nasal is common for the third century and disappears thereafter. Cf. Mayser, I,1 p.67; I,2 p. 200,10-13: κατηνέγγθησαν; ἀπηνέγγθη; ἀνενεγγθέντος (P.Mich. Zen. 10,5, 257 BC; P.Cair.Zen. 59312,11, 250 BC; 59355, 20.31, 243 BC). The verb in this context (with arurae as subject) must mean “having been reported”.
- 8ff. Cf. P.Tebt. I 5,93ff. and SB XVI 12723,22ff. (= G. Tibiletti, *Frammento di Ordinanze Reali. Aeg.* 63 (1983) p. 28ff.), which is part of a *prostagma* from the end of the second century written in a period of apparent economic crisis during which the sovereigns must step in and make concessions to the people to prevent social unrest. See Introduction for discussion.
- 10 ἐπιχωρήσαι: The basic meaning of the verb is “to allow” and would seem to mean in the context of a philanthropic edict from the King that what is “allowed” in this case is an exemption from the payment of taxes on certain lands. The verb might alternatively refer to the “handing over” of the land in question for private ownership (see intro.; also, H.-A. Rupprecht, *Rechtsübertragung in den Papyri*. in *Gedächtnisschrift f. W. Kunkel*. hggbn. von Dieter Nörr u. Dieter Simon, Frankf. a. M. 1984, pp. 365-390; especially 373, 388f., describing epichoresis in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D.).
- 12 τιμήν: This term likely refers to a price for the land, and the clause would then mean “to exact the cost of”.
- 18ff. For the formulaic nature of this concluding part of the hypomnema, see A. Di Bitonto, *Le petizioni al re. Aeg.* 47, 1967, 5ff.; *Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico. Aeg.* 48, 1968, 53ff.; and M. Parca, *Prosangelmata ptolémaïques: une mise à jour. Chron. d'Ég.* 60, 1985, 240ff.
- 28 Year 5, Hyperberetaios 16. The Egyptian month is not added, which makes the reckoning of the date difficult since the relationship between the Egyptian and the Macedonian calendars for this period is uncertain. Using the approximations from Samuel (*Ptolemaic Chronology, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung u. antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 43, 1962, p. 167), noting that for year five of Philopator Gorpiaios 1 = Tybi 21, then turning with this information to the table in P. Lugd. Bat. XXI A, p. 263, and reasoning that Hyperberetaios 1 = Mecheir 21, counting fifteen more days to Hyperberetaios 16 and fifteen days from Mecheir 21, we arrive at Phamenoth 6. Using now Skeat's tables, we approximate this date as the 19th of April, 217 BC.

This line looks as though it might be written by a hand other than the first or second; perhaps this represents the hand of Horos, the Royal Scribe, noting the date on which he has received the hypomnema from the office of Theogenes.



Eingabe an den Dioiketen (P.Princ. AM 87-55)