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YET ANOTHER ORDER TO ARREST: P.CAIR. INV. NO. 10539

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Yet Another Order to Arrest: P.Cair. Inv. No. 10539.¹

It remains a sobering truth that "descriptions of papyri tend to be overlooked." P. Cair. inv. 10539 is an 'order to arrest' which was described in 1903 by Grenfell and Hunt in the Catalogue général of the Egyptian Museum (*Greek Papyri*); but it escaped the attention of the authors of the latest publications of such texts in *ZPE* 66 (1986) 93f. and 72 (1988) 73f.²

U. Hagedorn provided a penetrating analysis of this type of document and its formula, and H. Drexhage recently offered a new discussion.³

1.

The Cairo text just mentioned originates from the Hermopolite Nome and is of particular interest, because there are not many publications of such orders from this province. In fact, they can be counted on the fingers of one hand: *P. Turner* 46, *SB XII* 11108, *P. Amh.* II 146 (= *M. Chr.* 76) and *P. Lond.* III 1074 (in *ZPE* 72 [1988] 73-74), and possibly *P. Lond.* III 1309 (p. 251)⁴. Furthermore, the use of the verb ἀποτέλλω in documents of this type is rare. Elsewhere I have seen it only in the above-mentioned *P. Turner* 46 and in *P. Cairo Preis.* 6 (see below). Is this another instance of regionalism in phrasings of official documents?

Hermopolite Nome
Plate VII b

12.4 x 19 cm.

4th century A.D.

↓ 1 π(αρά) τοῦ] πραιποσίτου
κώ]μηϛ Θάλλου· ἔξουτῆϛ ἀποτέλλατε ἐπὶ τῆν [πόλιν
]. [. . .]αβην μυροπάωην κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου μου[
4] (traces) (traces)

¹ I am much indebted to T. Gagos (Ann Arbor) who read an earlier version of this article and communicated a number of penetrating remarks and suggestions to me. Moreover, he acquainted me with the documentation used for his paper "More Reforms in the Reign of Philippus Arabs? Changes in the Police Machinery as Reflected in the 'Order to Arrest,' given at the 1989 International Congress of Papyrology at Cairo. D. Hagedorn (Köln) brought H. Drexhage's recent discussion of the orders to arrest to my attention and provided me with a copy of this article. Furthermore, I am very grateful to the authorities of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for their permission to publish P. Cairo inv. 10539, and to the Dutch Archaeological School in Cairo for assistance in obtaining it. D. Hagedorn supplied me with a photograph of this papyrus.

² To the list of such documents given in *ZPE* 66 (1986) 95-97 now add *SB XII* 11034, *P. Prag.* 12 and 13 as well as *P. Lond.* III 1074 *descr.* (published in *ZPE* 72 [1988] 73f.); more will appear in a future volume of *P. Oxy.*

³ U. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 61-74; H. Drexhage, "Zu den Überstellungsbefehlen aus dem römischen Ägypten (1.-3. Jh. n. Chr.)" in *Migratio et Commutatio, Studien zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben.* Festschrift Th. Pekary (St. Katharinen 1989), 102-18.

⁴ Cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, *ASP* 21, Missoula, Montana, 1979, s.v. "Ἀρεός.

"From the *praepositus* to ... of the village of Thallos; immediately send up to the city (?) -abes the perfume-seller because of an order of my lord ---."

2: At the beginning one may restore, e.g., εἰρηνάρχῃ or εἰρηνάρχοις, κομάρχῃ or κομάρχοις, κεφαλαιωτῇ or κεφαλαιωτάϊς; for various possibilities see the list of recipients of such orders in *ZPE* 66 (1987) 93f.

ἐξαυτῆς: as in *P. Turn.* 46.2; it is equivalent to δεξάμενοί μου τὰ γράμματα in *P. Cair. Preis.* 6.7-8 (below). Other orders to arrest use variant expressions like πάραυτα, αὐθωρόν, *vel sim.*; cf. A. Łukaszewicz' note in *P. Turner*.

end of line: for the restoration of πόλιν, cf. *P. Cair. Preis.* 6.3.

3]ζαβην: either]ζ or]θ; neither option leads to a satisfying reading of the name of the perfume seller (for words on -πράτης cf. *Stud. Pap.* 22 [1983] 23-37).

3-4: The name and function of the person who originally ordered the arrest has not been preserved.

4: The traces in the center may contain a date, and a reading like ἐπαγο(μένων) could be considered. The traces are, however, very faint and, alternatively, could be part of the greeting formula.

2.

A similar document is found in *P. Cair. Preis.* 6 (= *P. Cair. inv.* 10498), esp. lines 6ff. (not yet listed as an order to arrest by the latest authors on this subject); these lines contain a similar order from the *praepositus pagi*, and the same verb ἀποτέλλω is used in a similar context. A fresh study of the photo (Soheir el Sawy and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *The Cairo-Preisigke Papyri, Plates*, Cairo-Bruxelles 1987) has shown that not all of the readings in the *ed. princ.* or of the corrections proposed in *BL* I 109 and in *BES* 1 (1979) 102 can be maintained. For this reason I present a new transcript of the entire document, which offers the text of the two separate orders written by the same hand. I begin with the second, better preserved text (lines 6-11):

(a)

↓ 6 π(αρά) τοῦ] πραιποσίτου
 [. . .]αριουκ[]ι εἰρηνάρχ[η κ]ώμ[ης --- δεξάμενός]
 8 [μου τ]ὰ γράμματα ἀπόστειλον τ[ο]ῦς προε[]τῶ[]τασ καὶ]
 [τοῦς] ληστοπιαστὰς διὰ τὰς ἀνν[ώ]νας τῶν γε[]νναιοτάτων]
 []ατιωτῶν. (m₂) ἐρρω[]θαι ὑμᾶς εὖχ[ομαι.]
 ['Αθὺρ] β—.

"From the *praepositus* to ..., eirenarch of the village of ...; as soon as you receive my letter send the foremen of the thief-catchers because of the *annonae* of the most noble soldiers. I pray for your health. Hathyr 2."

2 [. . .]αριουκ[]ι: ζ could be read instead of ρ (in other places the *rho* is drawn with a long vertical stroke, but cf. the second rho in εἰρηνάρχ[η]). In *BL* I 109, [Οἱ ῥιπ]άριοι κ[α]ὶ εἰρηνά[ρ]χ[α]ι has been suggested (J. Maspero), but this restoration seems unlikely in the present papyrus for two reasons: (a) we expect a dative for the addressee(s), rather than a nominative, and (b) the *riparii* operated at nome level, rather than at village level (cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, Firenze 1982, 47).

Other possibilities include the suggestion that at the beginning of the line the name of the eirenarch is hiding (for this office, see N. Lewis, *op. cit.* 23-24). This hypothesis may be supported by the use of the

singular form of the imperative ἀπόκειλον. But also the parallel documents do not mention the name of the official addressed. If, on the other hand, the scribe mistakenly wrote a nominative instead of a dative for the addressee(s) and the singular ἀπόκειλον instead of the plural ἀποκείλατε, and if the orders were intended for two separate offices at the village level, one might consider [τεκερ]άριοι(ς) κ[α]ί, κτλ., or [κουαδρ]άριοι(ς) κ[α]ί, κτλ. The plural ὑμᾶς in line 10 forms indeed an argument in favour of a plurality of addressees. Against both restorations, however, it might be objected that under normal conditions there was only one such official per village at any given moment.

εἰρηνάρχ[η; or εἰρηνάρχ(η)]; the χ is rather large and broad. There seems to follow a dot of ink which could belong to the κ of κώμη[ς] (as it then would have to be printed); the lower diagonal stroke of κ occasionally starts to the left of its vertical (as in line 2 κεφ[α]λ[α]ιώτα[ι]ς). On the other hand, the traces tentatively identified as κ]ώμη[ς] are insignificant.

8-9 τ[ὸν]ς προε[ξ]ε[τ]ῶ[τας καὶ] | [τοὺς] ληροποιατάς: I take this as a hendiadys and translate by "the foremen of the thief-catchers;" for such foremen cf. *SB VI 9406.305*, where a payment to the πρῶεστῶσι ληροποιατῶ(ν) is recorded. On this point see also Drexhage, *loc. cit.*, 107.

(b)

Lines 6.1-5 contain a similar, but even less well-preserved order from the *praepositus*, this time addressed to the *kephalaiotai* of the village of Prektis; rather than sending a person they are ordered to come themselves to the city (i.e. Hermopolis) because of the *annonae* of some person(s):

↓ 1 π(αρὰ) τοῦ πραιπ[ο]σίτ[ο]υ·
κεφ[α]λ[α]ιώτα[ι]ς κώμη[ς] Πρήκτεω[ς] · δεξάμ[ε]νοι μου [τὰ γράμματα]
ἀπαντήσατε ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἀνών[α]ς τ[οῦ] . . . [.]
4 καὶ . . . [. . .]θ[ι] [. . .] [. . .] χ[. . .] α[. . .] (m₂) ἐρρωθεῖσθαι [ὑμᾶς ἔυχομαι.]
'Αθὺρ β—.

The greeting formulas (lines 4 and 10) written by a second hand indicate that these texts are original orders rather than copies. This may indicate that both texts were directed to different officials of the same village, i.e. that of Prektis⁵. Moreover, both texts seem to refer to the same subject matter, i.e. that of the *annona*. Possibly, there had been a question of embezzlement of the *annona*. The fact that the two original orders were never separated from each other, could indicate that they never reached the individual addresses and, hence, were never carried out.

Both in the case of P. Cairo inv. 10539 and in the case of *P. Cair. Preis. 6*, we may be dealing with the well-known Asklepiades, the son of Adelphios, *praepositus XVⁱ pagi*; he occurs often in connection with the village of Prektis in the 15th pagus (cf. the remark in *BASP 20* [1983] 7), and this same village is mentioned in *P. Cair. Preis. 6.2*. It is, however, impossible to prove this hypothesis. The handwriting found in both texts shows some resemblances, but the text of P. Cair. inv. 10539 has been written with a thicker pen compared to that used in *P. Cair. Preis. 6*.

⁵ See P.J. Sijpesteijn in *Hellenika* 38 (1987) 377-383 and cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (n. 4) 222-23; *BASP 20* (1983) 7, note to line 4.

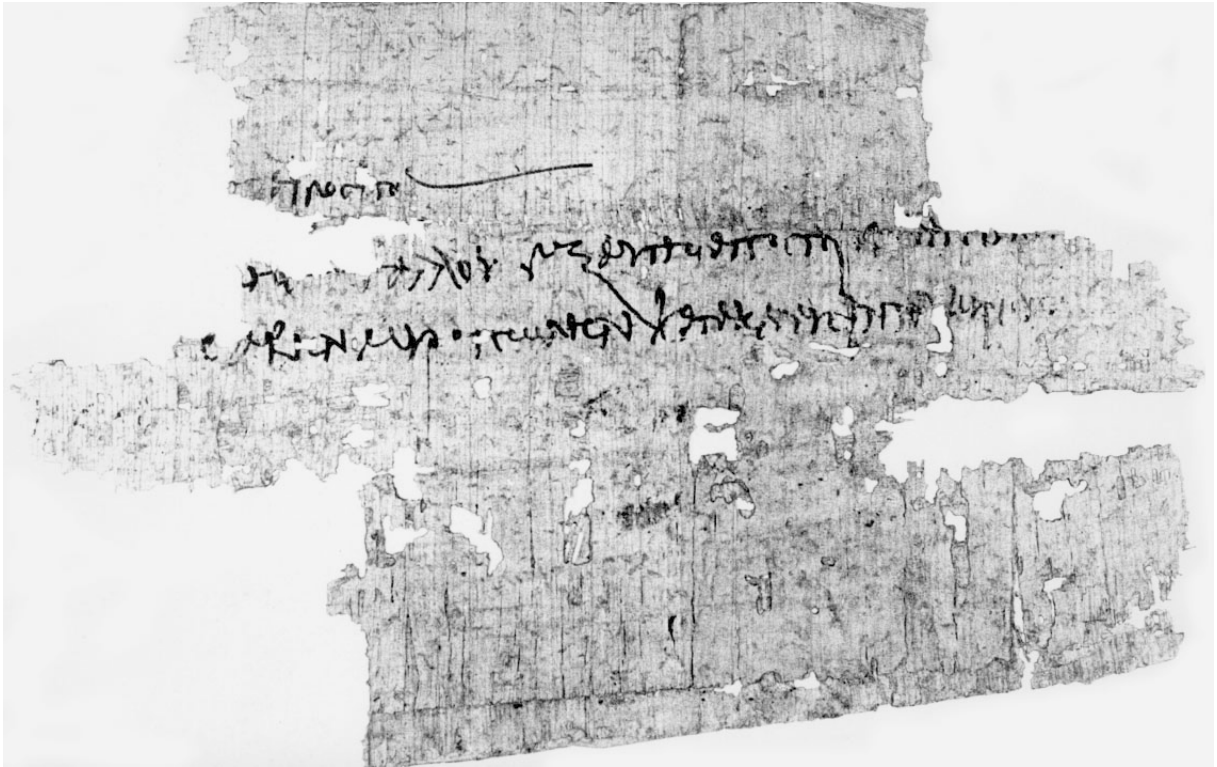
The reading of the village name Thallou in the above text is, notwithstanding the dotted theta, secure. If both *P. Cair. Preis.* 6 and *P. Cair. inv.* 10539 should be linked with Asklepiades, it would seem that Thallou, too, was situated in the 15th *pagus*. This inference would enhance our knowledge of the position of the village (cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermop.* [n. 4], 108f. and 376). The village belonged to the Patemites kato-toparchy. Unfortunately, we have no precise information about which *pagi* correspond to this toparchy (*ibid.*, 377-378), but it is known that the *pagi* 1-17 were numbered from the South to the North, while the Patemites kato-toparchy is known to be situated in the North. Hence, we may reckon with a high *pagus*-number for the village of Thallou.

Addendum: Prof. P.J.Sijpesteijn now informs me that he has discovered a new unpublished order for arrest in *P. Tebt.* II 535 descr.

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Haftbefehl (P.Cair.Inv. Nr. 10539)