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AN EPICRISIS RETURN AND OTHER DOCUMENTARY FRAGMENTS
FROM THE YALE COLLECTION

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An Epicrisis Return and other Documentary Fragments from the Yale Collection¹

1. An Epicrisis Return from Oxyrhynchus

P. Yale inv. 1360

17.7 x 10.0 cm.

A.D. 276-82?

This oblong scrap was written along the fibers in a large practiced upright with a marked tendency to separate words. It appears to contain about 1/3 of the left portion of an Oxyrhynchite epicrisis return. The top margin is intact to 3.5 cm., though the bottom and both sides are missing. Comparison with parallels indicate that no more than 7-8 letters are missing from the left side. There are a considerable number of abbreviations, but the original seems to have contained about 40-50 letters per line. The back contains a Christian hymn published in *BASP* 22. 1-4 (1985) 333-345.

While very fragmentary, what remains of the text conforms to the normal formulae for the *dodekadrachmos* return (note especially line 6 where the abbreviation ιβς occurs). From the form of the title for Oxyrhynchus (λαμπρ]ᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης) and the name of the official, Theon also called Ploutarchos, this document would appear to belong to the reign of Probus. As such it is fully fifty years later than any other example of this type of return yet published.

On *epikriseis* in general see C.A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (ASP 19; Amsterdam 1979; see especially pp. 17-19 where he outlines the conventions of the metropolitane return for Oxyrhynchus) and P. Mertens, *Le Services de l'état civil* (1959) 102-112.

Αὐρηλί]οις Θεῶνι τῷ καὶ Πλουτάρ]χω καὶ Ν. ἀμφοτέροις βουλευταίς
τῆς λαμπρ]ᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης [᾽Οξ]υ[ρρυ]χ[ε]ί]τῶν πόλεως τοῖς πρὸς τῇ ἐπι-
κρίσει
παρὰ Μάρκο]υ Αὐρηλίου ᾽Ωρίωνος τ[οῦ .] [.]ω[μητρὸς Ν. ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ
λαμπροτάτης ᾽Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως.
4 κατὰ τὰ κε]λευσ(θέντα) περὶ ἐπικ(ρίσεως) τῶν προσβ(αινότων) ε[
ὄ υ]ίός μου Μάρκος Αὐρήλι[ος Ν. μητρὸς Ν.
δηλῶ] αὐτ]ὸν εἶναι γεγον(ότα) (δωδεκάδραχμον) κάμ[ε
θεοῦ ᾽Αλεχ]άνδρου ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου) Τεμ[γενοῦ]θεως
8 ἀναγραφó]μενον διὰ κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) θ (ἔτους) [Ν. ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου) Ν. καὶ ὁμνύω
τὴν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Πρόβο]υ Σεβαστοῦ τύχην μὴ ἐσ[εῦ]θαι. ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου
.....]υ μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ μ[εγίστου.

4]λευσ^θ pap. επι^κ pap. προσβ/ pap. 6 γεγον- pap. ιβς pap. 7 αμφοδ^δ pap. 8 κατανδ^δ θL

¹ All these papyri, which belong to Yale University, were purchased in Paris in 1931. They are currently housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library; requests for photographs should be addressed to the director of that Library. I wish to express my gratitude to the Beinecke for permission to publish these texts.

1 Αὐρηλί]οις: returns at this time appear to have been made to two *bouleutai* styled οἱ πρὸς τῇ ἐπικρίσει, see Mertens, *Le Services*, 113 and n. 85 for examples, to which add *P. Turner* 38.2.

Θέωνι τῷ καὶ Πλουτάρ[χω: though the letters are quite broken, the name is clear. Ploutarchos occurs as the official to whom *P. Turner* 38 is addressed, an *epikrisis* return (οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου) dated to 274/5 or 280/1. There the first name is missing. In *P. Oxy.* 10.1257 Theon also called Ploutarchos is said to be an ex-gymnasiarch and the current strategos of the Tanite nome. Montevocchi notes also an Aurelius Ploutarchos in *P. Oxy.* 38.2849.

2 λαμπρ]ᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης: these titles confirm the late date of the document, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-292, esp. 282ff.

3 Μάρκο]ν Αὐρηλίου Ὠρίωνος: it is tempting to identify this Horion as a son or grandson of the wealthy Oxyrhynchite who bestowed an endowment on the city in AD 202 (see *P. Oxy.* 4.705 and 38.2848).

τ[οῦ .] [.]ω[: name of the declarant's father, τ[οῦ Ὠ]ρ[ί]ω[νος?

4: the formulae are abbreviated in the usual way. For προσβ/, i.e. a form of προσβαίνω, see P. Mertens, *op. cit.* (p. 221) 114-115. Parallels suggest line 4 should be supplemented ε[ίς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς)— or (τρικαίδεκαετείς)—, εἰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μητροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν, ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου) N.]

5: parallels suggest προσβεβηκῶς εἰς (τρικαίδεκαετείς) τῷ διελθόντι . (ἔτει), ὅθεν παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπικρίσιν].

6 αὐτ]όν εἶναι γεγον(ότα) (δωδεκάδραχμον): parallel texts show αὐτ]όν εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) at this point. Possibly γεγον(ότα) has slipped in from formula of birth registration? Parallels suggest: κ[α]μ[ε] ὁμοίως εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀναγραφόμενον διὰ κατ' ἄνδρα . (ἔτους) + name of the emperor (which occurs in line 7).

6-7: if Marcus Aurelius Horion was enrolled in Severus Alexander's reign, his current age would be between 55 and 65. Such large age gaps between father and sons are fairly common in epikriseis. See Montevocchi's remarks in *P. Turner* 38, pp. 162-3.

7 ἐπ' ἀμφοδ(ου) Τεμ[γενοῦθεως: *Temgenouthis* is one of the 12 Oxyrhynchite *amphoda* which have occurred in other epikrisis returns (see Nelson, *op. cit.* [p. 221] 17 n. 50). Parallels suggest: καὶ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ πατέρα N. ὁμοίως εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον).

8 διὰ κατ' ἄνδ(ρα): the phrase replaces normal διὰ λαογραφίας; κατ' ἄνδ(ρα) depends on διὰ. "κατ' ἄνδρα has replaced *laographia* in the formula in the sense that it has in *P. Oxy.* 1109 = a list of poll tax payers. The fact that a new term replaces *laographia* may signal that collection of the poll tax really did end under Alexander Severus, from whose time the latest known *laographia* receipts date" (so N. Lewis, by letter). Also cf. *P. Mich.* iv 224.2333 for the form κατανδραγράφος.

10]ν: traces may belong to Παρθικοῦ or the less frequently occurring Γοθικοῦ. Only the signatures are missing to complete the document.

"To Aurelius Theon, also called Ploutarchos, [and Aurelius N., both senators of the] illustrious and most illustrious [city of the Oxyrhynchites, in charge of the scrutiny. From] Marcus Aurelius Horion, [the son of N., whose mother is N., from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites. In accordance with] the instructions for scrutiny of those who are entering into [their fourteenth (or thirteenth) year -- --] my son Marcus Aurelius [N. whose mother is N. -- -- I declare that] he is a member of the *dodekadrachmos* class and that I am [-- -- of the divine] Alexander in the *amphodon* of Temgenouthis [-- --] enrolled in the census list of the 9th year of [-- --. I swear by] the fortune of [Marcus Aurelius Probus] Augustus that I am telling the truth. [x year of Marcus Aurelius Probus, Parthicus ?] Maximus, Germanicus Maximus."

2. Order for Payment

P. Yale inv. 499 23.0 x 8.0 cm. AD 400

The text is written along the fibers of a dun colored papyrus; the back is blank. It is an instruction to an estate official to make a payment for *oinokreon*. *PSI* 1074, dated to September 15, 400, is a similar chit involving the same men, Ptoleminos and Parakleios.

Πτολεμῖνος Παρακλείω βοηθ(ῶ) χα(ίρειν).
 παράρχου τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ὀπίονι ὑπ(ὲρ)
 οἰνοκρέου τέως χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια εἰκοσιπέντε, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) κε,
 4 ἰδ̣ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) Φαῶφι ια. cesημίωμ(αι) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) εἰκοσιπέντε.
 1 βοη^θ χα pap. 2 read ὀπίονι v^π pap. 3 γι χρ^ρ v^ο pap. 4 ἰδ̣ ἰνδ/ pap. cesτωμ χρ v^ο pap.

1 Πτολεμῖνος: the same man occurs in *PSI* 1075.1 and possibly *P. Oxy.* 1056 (AD 360).

Παρακλείω βοηθ(ῶ): so also in *PSI* 1073.1 and 1074.1.

3 τέως: thus D. Hagedorn.

4 ἰδ̣ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) Φαῶφι ια: 8 September 400. For a detailed discussion of indiction dating see Bagnall and Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, especially 79ff.

"Ptoleminos to Parakleios the assistant, greetings: furnish my lord brother Dionysios the adjutant for *oinokreon* up to this point in time twenty-five gold coins, that is 25 gold coins. 14th indiction, 8 October. I have signed for the twenty-five gold coins."

3. Order to Arrest

P. Yale inv. 1347 7.5 x 12.0 cm. III AD

This is an oblong sheet folded once vertically and twice horizontally, containing the left portion of an order to arrest, written in the usual manner across the fibers of the papyrus. For a discussion of such texts see *P. Mich.* 10.589-91 with a list, updated by U. Hagedorn *BASP* 16 1-2 (1979) 61-74 and K.A. Worp in *ZPE* 84 (1990) 207-210.

] ἀρχεφῶδοι Μερμέρθω[ν· πέμψον
]νάμενον ἐρημοφύλακα [

1 Μερμέρθω[ν: a village in the upper toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. *P. Oxy.* 31.2576, an order for arrest from this same village, reads: ἀρχεφῶδω Μερμέρθων· ἰπέμψον Ἐρωτα οἱ[ν]έμπορον ἐντυχόντος Διοκκόρου.

2: most likely γε]νάμενον (thus D. Hagedorn)?

"To the head policeman of Mermertha: [Send — — — the] former desert guard — — —."

4. Receipt for Merismos

P. Yale inv. 908 8.0 x 10.0 cm. 30 October AD 176
 Fayum

This papyrus is complete on all sides; writing is along the fibers and the back is blank. It was purchased in 1931.

The receipt states that Peteuris made an installment payment of one drachma, four obols in the name of Orsenouphis for the 14th and 15th years of Marcus Aurelius. The names are probably those of priests of Soknobraisis: Peteuris, the son of Peteuris occurs in a number of texts in the Bacchias archive, often in a position of some authority (see *P. Bacchias* II 36-7, IX 2, XI 2, XIX 2, 27 and V, VI, VIII where he is a presbyter); an Orsenouphis, the son of Orsenouphis, also occurs in these texts, where he appears to be quite elderly (see, e.g., *P. Bacchias* II 47). It may be that Peteuris is making the payment in behalf of his elderly colleague who is incapacitated in some way.

The abbreviation for the installment payment is problematic. From the traces, it would be possible to read λημ(μάτων), χωμ(ματικῶν) or even κωμ(ητικῶν). *O. Tor.* II 156 and *O. Bodl.* 786 are very fragmentary receipts for μερικμὸς λη(), where payments are too fragmentary to distinguish. Alternatively these are installment payments for the dike tax. See P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 234-242. See also Salomon's *Einige Wiener Papyri*. For κωμ(ητικῶν) see *P. Princ.* 124.15 and *O. Tait* 1596.1, 1718.1.

4 ἔτους ἑπτακαιδεκάτου Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀ]γτωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ
 Μηδικοῦ Πραθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Καρματι(κοῦ)
 μεγίτους, Ἀθὺρ γ̄. διεγρᾶφη
 ωρω καὶ μετόχ(οις) πράκτορ-
 ci Βακχιάδος Πετεῦρις Πετεῦρι(ο)ς
 8 ὑ(πὲρ) μερικμοῦ λημ() τεσσαρεσκαυδεκάτου
 ἔτους ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Ὀρσενούφιδος Ὀρσε-
 νούφιδος μη(τρὸς) Ταύρεως (δραχμὴν) α (ὀβολοὺς) δ
 καὶ ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ πενδεκαυδεκάτου
 12 ἔτους ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Ὀρσενούφιδος
 Ὀρσενούφιδος μη(τρὸς) Ταύρεως (δραχμὴν) α (ὀβολοὺς) δ.

3 read Παρθικοῦ Καρματι pap. 4 read μεγίτους 5 μετοχ pap. 7 υ' pap. λη^μ pap. 9 and 12 ὁμοίως pap. 10 read πεντε-

1: the payments are being made in AD 176 for assessments due in 173/4 and 174/5.

4-6 διεγρᾶφη — — — Πετεῦρις: The nominative of the name is inserted into the formulaic receipt without regard to proper syntax (instead of διὰ Πετεύρεως). The entire document is casually written (also see below, lines 9 and 12, where the genitive of Orsenouphis is spelled first -εως then -τος).

9 Ταύρεως : The mother's name, it is clear from below, is Ταῦρις. The word following is a puzzle; it does not appear to fit another name, i.e., the woman's father.

"3rd Hathyr of the 17th year of Aurelius Antoninus Pius Armeniacus, Medicus, Parthicus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Maximus. Payment has been made to — — —oros and his partners, the tax-collectors of Bacchias <by> Peteuris, son of Peteuris, an installment of the — — — for the 14th year in the name of Orsenouphis, son of Orsenouphis, whose mother is Tauris — — —, 1 drachma, 4 obols, and likewise for the 15th year in the name of Orsenouphis, son of Orsenouphis, whose mother is Tauris, 1 drachma, 4 obols."

5. Lease of Fishery Tax

P. Yale inv. 1237

12.5 x 10.5 cm.

AD 152?

This document, complete at right and bottom, is now stained and badly abraded. It was written on the back of a register mentioning Sespha, a village in the lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The hand is a small and well formed and exhibits many characteristics of the Severe style. Writing is across the fibers.

This very fragmentary text appears to be an agreement for tax-farming. The tax in question seems to be the fisheries tax (ἰχ[θυηρᾶς]). Evidence for similar activity comes from *P. Tebt.* 2.329 in which one party has agreed to take over the collection of the tax from another, *BGU* 2.485 which reads in part: ἀπὸ τελῶ[ν] παρὰ μισθωταῖς ὄντων ἰχθυηρᾶς δρυμῶν, and *P. Harr.* 2.194 which mentions ὠνήν ἰχθυηρᾶς — — πόλεως. Whether or not such μισθωταῖ were identical with the well-documented *epiteretai* of the fisheries is not known, and this document unfortunately does little to clarify the situation. Notation at the bottom suggests an official extract of some sort. On the ἐπιτήρησις ἰχθυηρᾶς δρυμῶν, see Wallace, *Taxation* 220-221 and 288-89. For a list of material relating to the fishing industry, see C.A. Nelson, *MPL* 2 (1977) 233-43, H.C. Youtie, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 214, *P. Oxy* 46.3267-70 and 54.3741.14.

] [
] ο [μ]ισθώ[σας]θαι
	±10] τος ὠνήν
4	±12] τῆς ἰχ[θυηρ]ᾶς ὠν [
	±5	πάντων ἀ]κινδύνων παντὸς κινδύνου
	±10	ῆς] τὴν διαγραφὴν ποιήσομαι ἐ[πὶ
	τὴν	±7 δ]ημοσίαν τράπεζαν, φυλακο-
8	±10] ἐμοὶ τῶν [τῆς] ἐπ[ι]τηρήσεως
	±10] τῆς ὠνῆς ἐμποιοιμένων.
	±10] ε ἔτους ἑκκαίδεκάτου Αὐτοκ[ρά-
12		τορος Καίσαρος] Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδρ[ιαν]οῦ Ἀν[τω-
		νίου Σεβαστοῦ] Εὐσεβοῦς. μη[νὸς] Ἀδριαν[οῦ]
		vac.
] ηματιμῶν [.] φ[

4 ἰχ[pap. 7 Read φυλακο-

2-3: ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι τὴν εἰς τὸ ἐνε]στὸς ἔτος or sim. will supplement.

4]τῆς ἰχ[θυηρ]ᾶς ὠν:]τῆς ἰχ[θυηρ]ᾶς δρυμῶν? The restoration is based on the limited number of restorations available with]της ἰχ[. The fishery tax is well attested.

6-7: ἐ[πὶ τὴν τοῦ νομοῦ δ]ημοσίαν τράπεζαν or sim. will supplement.

7ff.: expect φυλακο[μένων πάντων] ἐμοί?

9 ἐμποιοιμένων: part of a surety clause?

13]ηματιμῶν: ἀντίγραφον ἐξ ὑπομνηματιμῶν?

"[I agree] to lease the contract [for the current sixteenth? year] of the fisheries tax, all guaranteed without risk; and I shall make payment to the public bank [of the nome]. — —

(day) of the month of Hadrianus of the 16th year if Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius."

6. Oath for Acceptance of Guard Duty

P. Yale inv. 1380

6.0 x 11.0 cm

AD 138-61

This a fragment of a light colored, well-made papyrus containing texts on both sides written along the fibers. On one side is a fragmentary letter addressed to Apion, broken off at the bottom, on the other the end of an oath of a man nominated εἰς φυλακείαν τῆς πόλεως dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The order of writing the two texts is not immediately apparent, but the relative amounts of missing text suggest that the letter was written first. Also, on paleographic grounds, the letter is likely to be earlier; it is written in a formal rounded style often found in the first century AD.²

— — — — —

γραμματέως εἰς φυλακείαν τῆς αὐτῆς
πόλεως. ὁμνοῖω Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτον
Αἴλιον Ἀδρι[αν]ὸν Ἀντωνίνον Σεβατὸν
4 Εὐσεβῆ ἐπὶ τὸν ὀ[ρι]θθέντα τῆς φυλακείας
[χ]ρόνον ποιήσασθαι τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς αὐ-
τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων
.....]μένων καὶ Τεβ.....[.....].. [

— — — — —

2 read ὁμνύω 7 read χωρίων

1: initially several lines, which will have included the name of the contracting and nominating parties, will be missing.

ἀναδοθεὶς ὑπὸ] γραμματέως or sim. Compare *P. Oxy.* 2876.6-8.

4-5 ἐπὶ τὸν ὀ[ρι]θθέντα --- [χ]ρόνον: compare ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρισμένον χρόνον in *Chron. d'Eg.* 51 (1951) 364-7.

5-6: this seems a rather less specific φυλακεία than others found in Lewis, *Pap. Flor.* XI 51-52 s.v. To which add Rea *Chron. d'Eg.* 47(1971) 149ff., lines 6-8: εἰς φυλακεία[v] τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Καρραπέου.

6-7]μένων: cf. *P. Oxy.* 2876: ἐν τοῖ[ς] προκειμένοι[ς] ὀρίοι[ς].

8ff. Judging from parallels one expects a surety clause and signatures to follow (cf. *P. Oxy.* 51.3602-4).

"[N. having been nominated by N, the] scribe, for guard duty of the same city. I swear by Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus that I will perform the guard duty for the designated time for the city and [other areas in the vicinity?] and for Teb— — —."

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² The letter was published by G. Parassoglou in *Hellenika* 26 (1973) 271-81 (*SB* 14 11897). The inventory number in that publication was erroneously given as 1350.

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CORRIGENDA

S. 221, Z. 2 des Textes lies [᾽Οξ]υ[ρρυγ]χ[ει]τῶ[ν

Z. 7 des Textes lies Ἄλεξ]άνδρου