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COMPLAINT TO THE EPISTRATEGUS VEDIUS FAUSTUS

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 110 (1996) 183–187

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COMPLAINT TO THE EPISTRATEGUS VEDIUS FAUSTUS

P.Mich. inv. 2848 + 3000¹

February 15, A.D. 163

Karanis
Tafel I

Οὐηδίωι Φαύστωι [τ]ῶι κρατίτῳι ἐπιστρατήγῳι
 παρὰ Γαίου Ἰουλίῳ N[ί]γερος οὐετρανοῦ Ὀσειραντινοεῖου τοῦ
 κα[ί] Ἐρμαιέω. ἄνθρωπ[ο]σ καλῶσ στρατευκάμενος, κύριε, καὶ ἀπρά-
 4 [γμων] τυγχάνων προ[ήχθη]ν εἰς ταῦτα ἃ δέεται τῆσ ἀπὸ σοῦ
 ἐκδικίας. ὕ[βριν] πέπονθα ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου Αἰγυπτίου
 [Ἰσιδώρου Ἀ]χ[ι]λλᾶ γραμματέ[ω]σ ἐπιτ]ηρητῶν γενηματογραφουμένων
 [κώ]μησ Καρανίδοσ τῆσ Ἡ[ρακλ]εΐδοσ μερίδοσ τοῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτοσ νομοῦ
 8 συν[ε]ργουόντοσ αὐτῶ εἰσ τοῦτο Διδύμου ὑπηρέτοσ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν.
 [τὸ δὲ π]ρᾶ[γμα] τίθημι· τυγχάν[ω] ἐωνημένοσ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου
 [τῶ () ἔτει θε]οῦ Αἰλίου [Ἀ]ντωνεῖν[ο]σ ἀπὸ γενηματογραφουμένων
 [ὑπαρχόντων] ἐλαιῶνοσ ἄρου[ραν] μίαν περὶ Ψεναρ[ψ]ενῆ[σ]ιν τῆσ αὐ-
 12 [τῆσ μερίδοσ] πρότεροσ Κ[ά]κτο[ρο]σ [Π]εκύεωσ καὶ ταῖσ ὠνάισ τε-
 [λέεασ Χ (δραχμάσ) ὑπ]ἔρ κυρωσ[] ἐκτότε ἐ[ν]εμήθην τελῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐ-
 [τῆσ τελέεαστα.] ὑπογύωσ [δ]ε ὁ προγεγραμμένοσ Ἰσιδώροσ βουλόμε-
 [νοσ ἡμᾶσ βλά]ψαι [] μ [] πρὸ ἡμερ[ῶ]ν πέντε μη [] θαι δ...
 16 [] ὡσ αὐτὰ Πεθέω[σ πατ]ρὸσ Πεττείρεωσ εἶναι
 [± 22] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παραδόσθαι

 [± 23] ἀρ[] λυ[± 6] ο [± 7] []
 [± 23] σο[] ἐκειν[± 6] ἀθειν[] νουτ[]
 20 [± 25] αὐτῶ τῆσ ἀρκ[± 7] ν ποιήσῃ οὐ[]
 [± 25] τῶ πο[λ]λῶ χρ[ό]νωι π[ρ]ότεροσ Γαίου Ἀ[]
 [± 12] ἐρ [] ουωπ[] τοῦ μέρουσ α ἀλη [] εντοσ πρὸσ
 [± 12] προφερ[] ν[] τε]τελεκέναι τὸν α[] ειλὸν ἀπαιτεῖ με
 24 [] ε[± 12] οσιωτοσ [] λο [] τελ[] ουρ [] ντοσ τεα[]
 λη [] [± 8] νο κ[] ρτο[± 6] βολ[] [] [] ε[] κο[] θω[]
 μέλλω π[ο]ιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ σὲ καταφυγὴν σ[] μενοσ ἃ διεπράξ[ατο] τεροσ
 τὰ ἐνέχυρα [π]ροσέρρειωσεν καὶ πάλιν [π]ερὶ τούτοσ ἐμαρτ[υρ]όμην.
 28 τῶν οὖν κ[ατ] ἔμοῦ] τετολμημένων φαν[ε]ρῶν ὄντων, ἀξιῶ ἄνθρωποσ
 Ῥωμαῖοσ τ[ο]ιαῦτα παθὼν ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίου ἐάν σοι δόξη κελεῦσαι γραφῆ-

¹ First fragment: 19 x 13 cm. The text runs along the fibers. The other side is blank. The papyrus is regularly cut off at the top (2.6 cm. have been left free), the left (approximately 3 cm. have been left free) and the right. Six vertical folds are still visible. The middle-brown papyrus was rolled from right to left.

Second fragment: 19 x 14 cm. At the bottom where the papyrus is regularly cut off there is a free margin of approximately 3 cm.

In the first line ample spaces are left between the words. Notice the use of the *iota adscriptum* (cf. *P. Oxy.* LX 4060, 98 note).

- ναι τῷ τῆς [Ἡρα]κλείδου μερίδος [το]ῦ Ἀρσινοεῖτου νομοῦ [c]τρατηγῶ ἐκ[π]έμ-
 ψαι αὐτὸν ἐνθ[ά]δε ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν διάγνω[σ]ιν καὶ ἀκοῦσαί μου ἵνα δυνηθῶ
 32 [ἐκ]δικίας τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ τυχεῖν καὶ ὧ εὐεργετημένον. διευτύχει.
 (2nd hand) Γάιος Ἰού[λ]ιος Νίγερ ἐπιδέδωκα.
 (ἔτους) γ// Μεχ(εῖρ) κα·.
 (3rd hand) ὁ [c]τρατηγὸς ἂν ὕβριν γεγεννημένην
 36 κ[ατ]αλάβηται, δηλώ[σ]ει μο[ι].
 (4th hand) ἀπόδος.
 5 ὕ[βριν] pap. 12 [Π]εκύσεως: 2nd ε ex ι 27 προσέρριψεν 33 Ἰού[λ]ιος

Translation: (lines 1-15)

To Vedius Faustus the epistrategus, *vir egregius*, from Gaius Julius Niger, a veteran, of the Osirantinoan tribe and Hermaian deme. Being a person who was honestly discharged from the army, my lord, and not being troublesome I have reached a point where satisfaction from you becomes necessary. I have in a violent way suffered an unseemingly insult from an Egyptian fellow, Isidorus, son of Achilles, scribe of the epiteretes of sequestered property of the village Karanis of the Heracleides division of the Arsinoite nome while his servant, Didymos, cooperated with him in this matter. I (now) state the matter: I happen to have bought from the treasury in year x of the deified Aelius Antoninus out of sequestered property one arura of an olive grove in the neighbourhood of Psenharpsestis in the same division formerly property of Kastor, son of Pekysis, and after having paid x drachmas for the sale so as to be confirmed as owner (?) it was then allotted to me and I pay the taxes for it. Recently, however, the aforementioned Isidorus wanting to damage us - - -

Translation: (lines 26-37)

- - - I am about to take refuge with you - - - the things which he committed - - - he threw away (?) the pledges and again I complained about him. And so, his criminal actions against me being evident, I, a Roman, having suffered such things at the hands of an Egyptian, ask you, if it seems good to you, to order a letter to be written to the strategus of the Heracleides division of the Arsinoite nome and to have him send him here for your judgement and to hear me so that I may be able to obtain satisfaction from you and may receive your benefaction. Farewell. (2nd hand) I, Gaius Julius Niger, have submitted the petition. Year 3, Mecheir 21. (3rd hand) If the strategus finds that a hybris has been committed, he will inform me of it. (4th hand) Hand it over.

The lower part of this papyrus (lines 18 through 37) = *P.Mich. inv. 3000* has been published by E.M. Michael as no. 12 of his Ph.D. (Ann Arbor 1966) = *SB XII 11114*. During a stay in Ann Arbor in October/November 1993 I discovered a photograph of the upper part (lines 1 through 17) of the same text = *P.Mich. inv. 2848*². The two parts do not seem to fit exactly

² Both papyri were found during the excavations of the University of Michigan at Karanis, conducted by Professor Boak in the year 1924-25. *P.Mich. inv. 2848* was found in the Courtyard South of Street 5000 and *P.Mich. inv. 3000* in structure 5006E², Room A, *i.e.* in a building adjacent to Street 5000 (*cf.* for the excavations of the University of Michigan at Karanis from 1924 until 1935 P. van Minnen, *ZPE* 100, 1994, 227ff. with abundant literature). *Inv. 2848* has - as many other papyri and ostraca excavated at Karanis - been returned to Cairo and I had, therefore, to work from a photograph.

together and it is impossible to establish how many lines - if any - are missing between the two fragments.

The papyrus, heavily mutilated in its left part and along its six vertical folds (especially in the middle), contains a complaint to Vedius Faustus, epistrategus of the Heptanomia, by the well known veteran Gaius Julius Niger who, although being an Antinoite, lived - as so many other veterans of the Roman army - with his family in Karanis where a large number of their papers have been found³. Subject of the complaint are the problems caused by a certain Isidorus, son of Achilles, scribe of the superintendants of sequestered property and - as Niger stresses - an Egyptian, assisted in this by his servant Didymos. It seems that Isidorus denies Gaius Julius Niger's ownership of an arura in an olive grove which Niger had bought from the treasury. Due to mutilation the course of the matter is not absolutely clear.

Notes:

- 1) Vedius Faustus is no. 45 (p. 188) in J.D. Thomas, *The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 2. The Roman epistrategos*, Opladen 1982. He was to date attested between A.D. 157/8-March, A.D. 161 and April 15, A.D. 162(?). His successor, Flavius Gratillianus, is for the first time attested in May 28, A.D. 164. Year 3 in line 34 is, therefore, the 3rd regnal year (A.D. 162/3) of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. No new attestations of this epistrategus have appeared since 1982. *P.Mich. inv. 160* has, together with *P.Oslo II 18*, been published as *SB XIV 12087*.
- 2-3) For Gaius Julius Niger, a veteran of the cavalry, a Roman citizen, and an Antinoite and his family, see *P.Mich. VI 422* introduction. *P.Mich. inv. 2952 = SB XII 11103*; *P.Mich. inv. 3000 = SB XII 11114* (republished above with some different readings). *P.Mich. inv. 2872a* (to be published in this periodical) is a copy of *P.Mich. VI 422*. Add to the texts listed in *P.Mich. VI 422* introduction: *P.Mich. inv. 2868a* (to be published in this periodical), a complaint by Gaius Julius Niger to Theodoros, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, Heracleides division (A.D. 158/9), concerning a theft of two of his donkeys; *P.Mich. inv. 2869a = SB XII 11109*, a declaration of uninundated land submitted in A.D. 164 by Gaius Julius Niger and his son, Gaius Apolinarius Niger (in line 7 τοῦ υἱοῦ is a likely supplement); *BGU XI 2023*, a declaration of uninundated land submitted between A.D. 198-201 by Gemellus (alias) Horion, son of Gaius Apolinarius Niger.
- 3) Although the word οὐετρανόσ (line 2) implies that Gaius Julius Niger received a *honesta missio* when he was discharged from the Roman army he stresses this fact here once again by the words κα]λῶς στρατευόμενος. Naturally, he wants to put himself in a favourable light. I did not find a parallel for the expression καλῶς στρατευόμενος but Niger undoubtedly translates the Latin *honeste missus* (cf., e.g., *CIL V 938, 5*; *VIII 4333, 2*). For στρατευόμενος: cf. R.G. Waga, *Select Papyri* (Ph.D. Urbana - Champaign 1987), 13, 7 note.
- 4) For the uncontracted form δέεται, see F.Th. Gignac, *A Grammar II*, Milano 1981, 370ff.
- 4-5) τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐκδικία: Cf. line 32. Cf. also *BGU XI 2061, 12*; *SB VI 9105, 26-27*; *XVI 12678, 20*.

I wish to thank Ludwig Koenen for his kind permission to publish this text here. During a visit to Heidelberg I discussed this text with D. Hagedorn who contributed to a better reading and understanding of it.

³ There are several more still unpublished documents pertaining to this family in the papyrus collection of the University of Michigan. Unfortunately, the ones I have come across are very mutilated. Cf. now also *ZPE 106, 1995, 207*, footnote 7.

It is to be noted that Gaius stresses the fact that he, as a Roman, has been bothered by an Egyptian (*cf.* lines 28-29). This is the same attitude the Greeks took towards the native Egyptians. *Cf.* J.W.B. Barns, *Egyptians and Greeks*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 14, Bruxelles 1978; N. Lewis, *JEA* 79, 1993, 281 and footnote 25; L. Koenen in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1993, 225 and footnote 2.

5-8) ὕ[βριν] - - οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν: the same expression in *P.Bad.* IV 48, 5; *P.Mich.* V 229, 20-21; 230, 17-28 and *SB VI* 9458, 5. We find οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ θάλασιν in *P.Lond.* V 1727, 10; ο. τ. τ. βίαν in *P.Berl.Frisk* 3, 10; ο. τ. τ. ἔνδειαν in *P.Oxy.* VI 899, 14; ο. τ. τ. καταφρόνησιν in *P.Tebt.* III 703, 161-162 and ο. τ. τ. ῥοπήν in *UPZ* II 110, 73.

6) Isidorus, son of Achilles, an Egyptian, has to date not appeared in other texts. Although an Egyptian (but both he and his father bear good Greek names), he is scribe of the ἐπιτηρηταὶ γεννηματογραφουμένων. Isidorus is a very common name, and it is probably not more than sheer coincidence that an Isidorus is attested as an ἐπιτηρητῆς γεννηματογραφουμένων in Karanis in A.D. 162 by *BGU XIII* 2287, 7-8 (January 4) and *SB VI* 9427, 3-4 (July 29).

ἐπιτηρητῶν γεννηματογραφουμένων: *cf.* N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, Papyrologica Florentina XI, Firenze 1982, 29ff. These officials, to date attested between A.D. 144 and A.D. 189, occur in the following papyri (a) and ostraca (b):

a) *P.Mil.Vogl.* IV 244, 3-4 (A.D. 146/7 [*cf.* *BL VIII* 223. The only example of a πράκτωρ γε(νηματο)γρα(φουμένων) in N. Lewis, *op. cit.*, 45 has to be taken out]); *SB I* 4416, 4 (approx. A.D. 157); *P.Oslo* III 117, 6 (A.D. 159/60); *BGU XIII* 2287, 8 (A.D. 162); *SB VI* 9427, 4 (A.D. 162) and *SB XIV* 11712, 2 (approx. A.D. 164). All texts originate from the Arsinoite nome. Γεννηματογραφουμένων, usually abbreviated γενη(), is either followed by ὑπαρχόντων διοικήσεως or by ὑπαρχόντων κώμης;

b) *O.Ontario Mus.* I 25, 1 (A.D. 144); *O.Bodl.* II 989, 1-2 (A.D. 144); 1693, 1 (A.D. 150); 995, 1-2 (A.D. 154); 996, 1-2 (A.D. 154); *O.Strassb.* 449, 1 (A.D. 165); *O.Bodl.* II 990, 1 (A.D. 167) and *O.Camb.* 75, 1 (A.D. 189). All texts originate from Thebes (of *O.Camb.* 75 the place of origin is not known with certainty). On the ostraca the title of these officials is always ἐπιτηρηταὶ κτημάτων γεννηματογραφουμένων. With the exception of *SB XIV* 11712 and *O.Camb.* 75 there is always more than one superintendant involved. In line 1 of *O.Camb.* 75 ἐπιτηρηταὶ (probably abbreviated) has to be supplemented. In *SB XIV* 11712, 2 (*cf.* the photograph in *BASP* 14, 1977, after p.142) the text has indeed the singular Εἰρηναῖω ἐπιτηρη(ητῆ). I assume that the scribe left καὶ μ(έτοχοι) out by mistake (*cf.* *O.Bodl.* II 995, 1 where καὶ μ(έτοχοι) was added above the line).

8) Didymos is too common a name for us to establish whether the same person occurs in other texts. It is likely that Didymos was a servant of the scribe Isidorus (*cf.* N. Lewis, *op. cit.*, 30).

9) [τὸ δὲ π]ρᾶ[γμ]α τίθημι: the same expression is used in *P. Fouad* 26, 35-36.

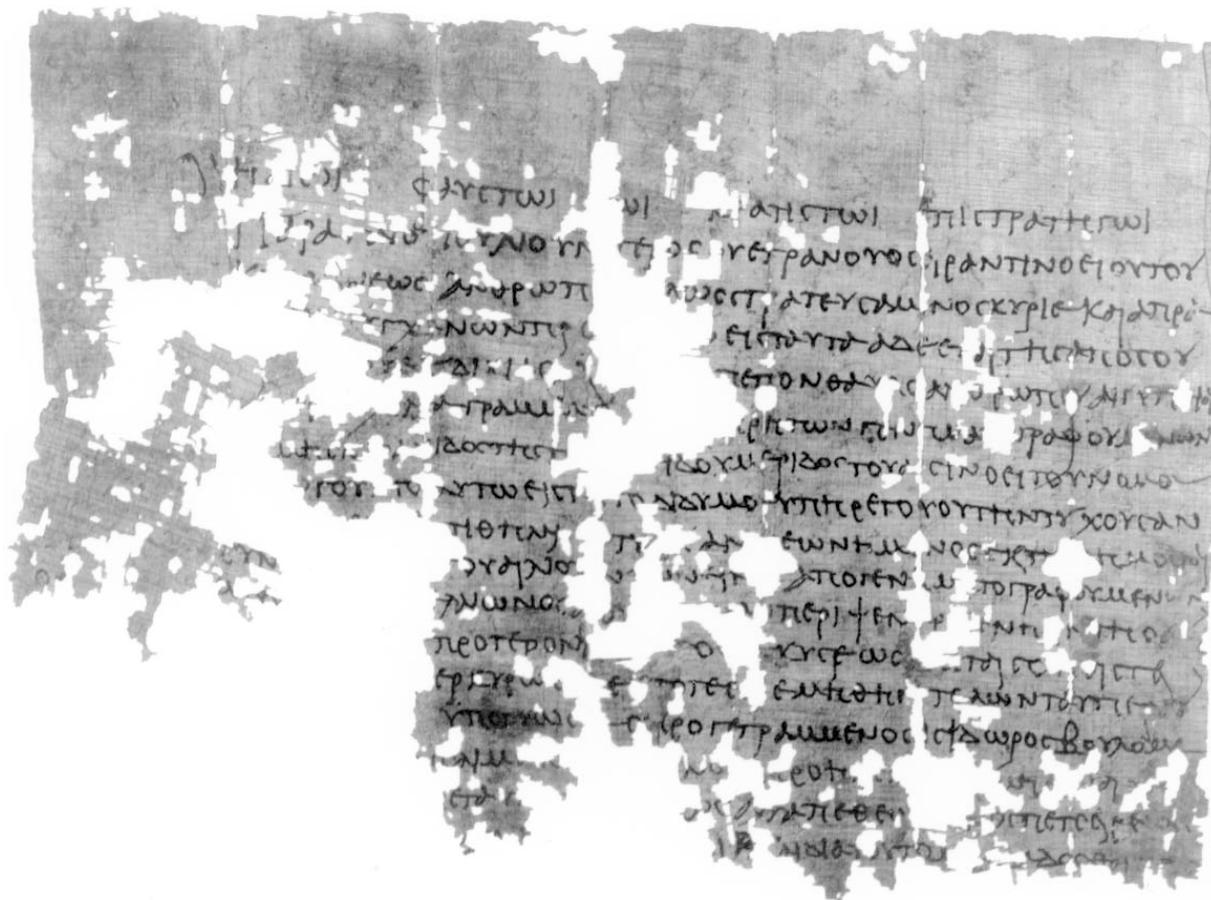
10) It is likely that Niger acquired the one arura in one of the later years of the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius. For the often attested title θεὸς Αἴλιος Ἀντωνῖνος, see P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 2, Bruxelles 1964, 76f. There is no need to supplement and read in *P.Hibeh* II 274, 8 the unique titlature θεὸς Αἴλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς.

For the meaning of γεννηματογραφέω, see *BGU XV* 2488, 1 note.

11-12) For Psenharpsestis, a village in the vicinity of Karanis and often mentioned in documents from inhabitants of Karanis, see A. Calderini - S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano* V, Milano 1987, 148. In *SB IV* 7360 (A.D. 214) Gaius Gemellus Horigenes reports the status of certain lands at Psenharpsestis and

Karanis which he had inherited from his grandfather, Gaius Julius Niger. *περὶ πεδίων Ψεναρψενήσεως ἐν τόπῳ Πουλίτας λεγομένου* (*cf.* H.C. Youtie, *ZPE* 13, 1974, 249ff. = *BL* VII 193) he registers 1 1/2 aruras ἐλαιῶνος ἐκκεκομμένου.

- 12) Kastor, son of Pakysis, father of Pakysis, husband of Teseuris is known from *P.Cair.Mich.* 359, 1704; *P.Mich.* IV 223, 1329; 224, 577.1003.2871.3858.6009. The spelling [Π]εκύσεως (originally the scribe wanted to write Πεκύσιος) is noteworthy, since in Karanis (and its environments) the usual spelling was Πακῦσις. The spelling Πεκῦσις occurs also in *P.Mich.* inv. 2893 = a copy of a census register (Karanis; *post* A.D. 138) to be published in this periodical.
- 13) ὑπ]ερ κυρῶς[. . .]: I would expect something expressing the meaning which I put in my translation. One naturally thinks of ὑπ]ερ κυρῶς[αί] but the absence of the article is disturbing. Another possibility is ἄς]περ κυρῶθ[ίς].
ἐ[ν]εμήθη: for the meaning "it was allotted to me", see *CPR* VI 6, 6 (Hermupolis; A.D. 439): ἐνεμήθης ζωματικῶς; *P.Sakaon* 42, 19 (Theadelphia; *ca.* A.D. 323): ἐπενεμήθημ[ε]ν ἀτ[η] (i.e. Hermupolis).
- 15) μη . [. . .]θαι: probably a form of the verb μηνύειν. This form was perhaps followed by διὰ.
- 16) I was unable to find a Petheus, son of Petsiris, in another text published to date. Both proper names are quite common at Karanis.
- 21) After Γαίου there is a clear trace on the papyrus of probably a lambda. Unfortunately, too many persons whose *nomen gentile* starts with a lambda (Λογγίνος, Λόγγος, Λουκίλλος *etc.*) are attested at Karanis (and its environments) to identify the Gaius L[of the present text.
- 23) A reading:] προφέρ[ω]ν [τε]τελεκέναι τὸν Σα[τορ]νεῖλον ἀπαιτεῖ με = "proclaiming that Saturnilus has paid asks from me" is not to be excluded. The subject of ἀπαιτεῖ being Isidorus. It is, however, absolutely not clear which role the known or afore mentioned (τὸν !) Saturnilus would have played.
- 26) σ[ημανο]ύμενος is a possible reading/supplement.
- 27) E.M. Michael supplemented τὰ ἐνεχυρά[σματ]α although in the note on line 10 of his part of the text he writes: "τὰ ἐνεχυρά could be complete in itself and no changes in meaning would result." I do not think that the space available is large enough to have contained ἐνεχυρά[σματ]α.
E.M. Michael collected and discussed in a note on line 10 of text 12 of his Ph.D. all the instances of the verb προκρίπτειν in the papyri. He came to the conclusion that in all the cases studied by him προκρίπτειν indicates "that the person who does the "throwing" does something or is prevented from doing something that should not be done." Only two other instances of this verb have appeared since: *P.Strasb.* 701, 9 (provenance unknown; II B.C.) and *P.Mich.* inv. 4658a (to be published in this periodical. Karanis; A.D. 320). Neither the mutilated Strasbourg text nor the Michigan papyrus clarifies the meaning of προκρίπτειν either (the promise made by P. Carlier in his note on lines 8-9 of *P.Strasb.* 701 to "revenir prochainement, ailleurs, sur les divers emplois de προκρίπτειν et ἐπιρίπτειν " was, as far as I could establish, not kept).
- 32) Underneath this line there is a horizontal stroke to separate the body of the text from the subscriptions.
- 37) ἀπόδος: *cf.* R. Haensch, *ZPE* 100, 1994, 491f.



P.Mich. inv. 2848