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A PETITION AND COURT PROCEEDINGS: P. MICHIGAN INV. 6060

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A PETITION AND COURT PROCEEDINGS: P. MICHIGAN INV. 6060<sup>1</sup>

P. Michigan. inv. 6060 is a dossier of two cases involving charges and counter-charges between priests of Soknopaiou Nesos and a fellow villager named Harpagathes. The first column, dated to 18 October 123 (lines i.16-17), contains a petition to Eudemos, *strategos* of the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome, from two priests of the village who claimed that another priest, Harpagathes, son of Panomgeus and Taarpagathis, deluded and abducted two of their slaves, after the slaves had pilfered some of their masters' belongings (i.3-7). Harpagathes, as well as his wife Taouetis and a second Harpagathes, son of Panephremmis, who were apparently acting as his surety, responded with an official document (δημόσιος χρηματισμός), promising either to return the slaves within thirty days or to pay a sum to be adjudicated (i.7-12). But Harpagathes did none of these things, and the petition which asks that Harpagathes and his accomplices be summoned to court was occasioned by his failure to comply with the terms of the official document registered in the public archives and by his subsequent disappearance in company with his wife and Harpagathes, the surety (i.12-16).

The second column, dated to 10 February 108, is the report of official proceedings conducted before the *strategos* Claudius Asklepiades,<sup>2</sup> who was investigating charges of arson. In the first instance, 'a certain Harpagathes' had submitted a complaint (ἔγκλημα) against other priests of Soknopaiou Nesos (ii.1-6), but during the hearing not only did the priests claim that this Harpagathes himself was the arsonist, but unnamed others also submitted a petition to the effect that this same Harpagathes had beaten them (ii.6-10). Claudius Asklepiades, however, intended to investigate only the case of arson, and in common with the case in col. I, the Harpagathes at the center of the charges ultimately disappeared (ii.10-17). This second column reproduces in more or less the same language the legal proceedings recorded in *BGU I 163* (= P. Berol. inv. 6946), a revised transcript of which appears below. These revisions were initially made from a photograph kindly provided by Dr. G. Poethke and were verified against the original in Berlin in mid-August, 1995. Although I had begun work on both the Michigan and Berlin texts with photographs, these proved to be somewhat misleading, inducing me to see ink where there was, in fact, only dirt and shadow, and inspection of the papyri themselves fortunately brought deletion of the phantasmata. Both texts are clearly labeled 'copy of a minute (from judicial proceedings),' ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ, yet they differ slightly in wording at ii.13-14 (10) and in orthography at ii.19 (14), underscoring the fact both are private copies made from an official record that seems to have contained more information than was of interest to either party who required a copy of the proceedings.<sup>3</sup>

Charges of arson were treated with utmost seriousness by Roman authorities,<sup>4</sup> and as Aurelius Isidoros of Karanis makes clear, it required considerable ingenuity on his part to discover the names of

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mrs. L.C. Youtie for drawing this text in the collection at the University of Michigan to my attention. Professors D. Hagedorn and P.J. Sijpesteijn read earlier drafts of this paper, and I thank them for their many helpful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> These same proceedings are also recorded in *BGU I 163*, a revised transcript for which appears below. The *strategos'* *nomen* Claudius is difficult to read at the end of line 15 in the Berlin text; in the Michigan copy, however, the reading Κλαύδιος Ἀ[σκληπιάδης] is clear (line 21), and hence the traces that remain at the end of *BGU I 163.15* can now be confidently read as Κλαύδιος. Yet because 'Κλαύδιος' was not read in the *editio princeps*, *BGU I 163.15*, this *strategos* appears only as 'Asklepiades' in G. Bastianini - J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, Florence 1987, 23. The date of *BGU I 163* is wrongly given in the margin of the *editio princeps* as '9 January 108,' but was subsequently emended to '9 February 108' (*BL I*, 434). This date fails to take into account the leap year of 107/108, and the correct date is 10 February 108, as also given in Bastianini-Whitehorne.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*, Brussels 1966, 17.

<sup>4</sup> R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, Warsaw 1955, 461, although his reference to *BGU II 589.9-10* should be removed. The petition *BGU IV 1201* (Abusir el mālāq, AD 2) gives a particularly stirring account of priests who

the culprits who had burnt his grain on the threshing floor.<sup>5</sup> Of particular help to Isidoros in his quest to discover the malefactors were the village officials (*demosioi*) of Karanis, Sotas and Leonides, for they not only gave information to the *strategos*' assistant, when he came to investigate whether or not Isidoros' crops had, in fact, been burnt (*P.Cair.Isid.* 124.9-12), but they also were instrumental in confirming Isidoros' suspicions about the names of the perpetrators — two men from Karanis and one from Ptolemais Nea (*P.Cair.Isid.* 66.12-17; 67.16-21). In the present case from Soknopaiou Nesos nearly two centuries earlier the *komogrammateus* Ptolemaios has carried out some preliminary investigations about the charge of arson Harpagathes filed against the priests and the counter-charge they made against Harpagathes and against Hermaios, son of Achaios. Ptolemaios says that the priests are innocent of wrong-doing and that he regards Hermaios and Harpagathes as the guilty parties (ii.11-12). The *strategos* asks Ptolemaios and the village officials (*demosioi* ? and the *archephodos*) to make formal declarations about what they know (ii.13-14). Ptolemaios asks for 5 additional days before making his declaration, and the *strategos* grants him the extension, during which time he is to search out the missing Harpagathes (ii.15-17).

A single hand wrote out the two columns of the Michigan text on a large sheet of papyrus in a flowing and practiced cursive.<sup>6</sup> A kollesis occurs at 14.5 cm. from the left margin, with overlap of ca. 2 cm., thus accounting for discoloration at midpoint in the photograph. Only a top margin of 2.3 cm. is preserved intact. Little text, however, has been lost at the left margin of the column i, and except for line 7, where damage is extensive, the letters lost, ranging from one to five, can usually be restored with some confidence. The right margin of the column i is likewise intact for most lines and frequently extends into the intercolumnar space with line-fillers; loss of text is again never so extensive as to obscure meaning. The second column is separated from the first by blank space of about 1.5 cm., and portions of a top margin of 2.3 cm. are likewise preserved for column ii. Further, a bottom margin of 3 cm. is preserved only for column ii. At the same time, column ii has suffered extensive damage — the surface is everywhere abraded and the text breaks off along the right edge of the papyrus about the midpoint of each line. The left margin, however, is intact for the first seven lines; in lines 8-13 the damage at left is more severe, but in lines 14-24 the loss at left is once again less, varying from only one to four letters. Were it not for the copy of the same proceedings in *BGU I 163*, little would be known about the contents of the Michigan papyrus. The Berlin copy of the proceedings before the *strategos* is well preserved for its first 9 lines, but thereafter holes in the papyrus also impair the reading of this text. Even so, the patterns of destruction and the formats of the two copies differ sufficiently so that one copy of the judicial hearing sometimes supplements readings in the other copy. That is, the Michigan copy was written out in 23 lines with an average of 41 letters to the line and a range of from 36 letters in line ii.5 to 47 letters in ii.1-2. The Berlin copy was written out in 17 lines with an average of 57 letters to the line and a range of from 51 letters in line 2 to 61 letters in line 9. The text of *BGU I 163* has also benefited from comparison with the meager remains in *P.Mich. inv. 6060*, for except for a correction (line 1) and two suggestions (for line 8 by Wilcken and for line 12 by Viereck), recorded in the 'Berichtigungen und Nachträge' of *BGU I*, page 357, the text of the *editio princeps* by Krebs has remained as first printed.

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discovered fire in the temple of Sarapis near Busiris — they shouted to the village for help, and a village gymnasiarch (one of the last to be mentioned), the elders, and others rushed out in response. To Taubenschlag's list, add the decurion's letter *O.Flor. 2* (+ *BL VIII*, 518, AD II), asking that the civilian who set fire to reeds be dispatched to him, and the impious *Neikokeitai* (= *Boukoloi*) who burned one village and plundered another (*P.Thmouis I*, col. 104.13-15 and 116.4-6).

<sup>5</sup> See *P.Cair.Isid.* 65-67, petitions to the *strategos* and the prefect, and 124, the report from the *strategos*' assistant (*hyperetes*), who had been dispatched to inspect the crops destroyed by fire prior to the identification of the malefactors. For a petition to a centurion by an Arsinoite resident at Karanis about grain burnt on the threshing floor at the village of Ptolemais Nea., see *BGU II 651* (= *MChres.*111, Karanis, AD 192).

<sup>6</sup> In neither copy is the *strategos*' note that he has read the copy (*ἀνέγνω*) in a different hand, and the backs of both papyri are blank.

The copying of the two documents in P. Mich. inv. 6060 onto a single sheet of papyrus sometime after 18 October 123 shows that the judicial proceeding of 10 February 108 remained of interest considerably after its dramatic date. Yet, were the petition and the hearing not joined on a single sheet of papyrus, there would be no compelling reason to associate them one with the other, since the charges are different in nature and are separated by more than fifteen years. Common features are few: priests from Soknopaiou Nesos, a *komogrammateus* named Ptolemaios, and a trouble-maker named Harpagathes with a penchant for disappearing when involved in legal disputes. The priests in the two situations are different: Stotoetis, son of Panephremmis, and Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis the elder, are the petitioners to the *strategos* in the petition of column i from AD 123; in the proceedings before the *strategos* in AD 108 recorded in column ii, the priests seem to be nameless, summoned to court by the *komogrammateus*, together with Pekysis, son of Pekysis, and Tryphon, son of Panephremmis, because they had been accused of arson by Harpagathes. The Ptolemaios in 108 was *komogrammateus* of Soknopaiou Nesos, but the Ptolemaios of 123 was *komogrammateus* of Neilopolis and Soknopaiou Nesos.<sup>7</sup> They are surely different men, since the name is a common one, and the office of *komogrammateus*, compulsory by the next generation, is unlikely to have been held by the same person over the course of fifteen years.<sup>8</sup> The Harpagathes of 108 is styled simply ‘a certain Harpagathes’ (ii.6), while the man involved in the dispute of 123 is identified fully as ‘Harpagathes, a priest, son of Panomegeus and Taarpagathis, grandson of Petepsais (?), see note *ad loc.*), and husband of Taouetis, daughter of Stotoetis’ (i.3-4). As noted above, anti-social behavior on the part of Harpagathes and his repeated disappearances do seem to offer a common thread running between the two texts, and modern Americans with their preoccupations with crime and criminals at many levels in society might choose to see the dossier as a ‘rap-sheet,’ assembled to document the criminal career of Harpagathes from his early years as an obscure and petty arsonist to his mature notoriety some 15 years later as an accomplished con-artist and clever thief, not only with a wife and a friend who abetted him in his crimes, but well-known to authorities in more than a single community. But the modern perspective is not necessarily the Greco-Roman one, and the motive for copying petition and judicial proceedings onto a single sheet of papyrus may no longer be deducible.

P. Mich. inv. 6060  
after 18 October 123

29 x 21.5 cm.

Soknopaiou Nesos  
Tafel III

Col. I

- [Εὐδήμ]φ στρατηγῶ Ἀρσινοεΐτου Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος  
 [π]α[ρ]ᾶ C[το]τοήτιος τοῦ Πανεφρέμμιος καὶ Στοτοήτιος τοῦ Στοτοήτιος π[ρε]β(υτέρου)  
 [τῶν] δὺ ἀπὸ κόμης Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου ἱερέων. Ἀρπαγάθης Πα[νο]μ-  
 4 [γ]ῆος τοῦ Πετῆψαίτος μητρὸς Τααρπαγάθιος ἱερεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κό[μης]  
 [ψ]υχῆ αὐτοῦ δουλικά σώματα δύο, τοῦ μὲν Στοτοήτιος Πανεφρέμμιος,  
 [Ὡ]ρίωνα, τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου Στοτοήτιος Σωτηρίδα, ἀφανεῖς ἐποίησεν ὑφ[αιρου]-  
 [μ]ένους [καὶ τ]ι[ν]α τῶν ἡμετέρων· καὶ ἐγράψαντο ἡμεῖν διὰ δημοσίου χ[ρη]-  
 8 [μα]τιμοῦ τῷ Ἐπιφ μηνὶ τοῦ διεληλυθότος ζ (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος το[ῦ] κυρίου

<sup>7</sup> The *komogrammateia* of Neilopolis and Soknopaiou Nesos was also combined in AD 184 and 206-210 (see note *ad* ii.3-4 [3]). For Neilopolis, D. Bonneau, ‘Niloupolis du Fayuum,’ *XV<sup>e</sup> Congr.* IV, Brussels 1979, 259; for Soknopaiou Nesos, D. H(obson) Samuel, ‘Greeks and Romans at Socnopaiu Nesos,’ *XVI Congr.*, Chico 1981, 389-402, and D. Hobson, ‘Agricultural Land and Economic Life in Soknopaiou Nesos,’ *BASP* 21, 1984, 89-109.

<sup>8</sup> So common is the name ‘Ptolemaios’ for Fayum *komogrammateis*, that a number are functioning in the villages during the II AD — e.g. at Bacchias in AD 119, *P.Mich.* III 170, and in AD 151, *P.Oslo* III 97; at Philadelphia in AD 129, *P.Phil.* 7; at Karanis in AD 190, *BGU* XIII 2233. For the leiturgic character of the *komogrammateia*, by AD 136, see *P.Leit.* 11 (= *SB* VIII 10203), and N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt*, Florence 1982, 37.

- [μ]ετ' ἐγγύου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς Ταουήτιος Στοτοήτιος τοῦ Ὀννώφ[ριου]·  
 [καί] Ἄρπαγάθου Πανεφρέμμιοις τοῦ Καταβοῦτος ἱερέως ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης  
 [π]αραρτῆσαι ἡμῖν τὰ αὐτὰ σώματα ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα ἢ [ ] ἀποδ[ο]ῦναι  
 12 [τ]ῆν ἐπικριθησομένην αὐτῶν τειμὴν· ἐπεὶ οὖν τῆς προθεσμίας παρελθού-  
 [ση] οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἄρπαγάθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο σὺν τῇ  
 [γυ]ναικὶ καὶ τῷ ἐγγυητῇ Ἄρπαγάθῃ, ἀξιοῦμεν προγρ[α]φῆναι αὐτοὺς πρὸς  
 [τὸ ± 4]εἰν τὸν λόγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς· παρεθέμε[θ]α δέ σοι τοῦ χρηματισμοῦ  
 16 [τὸ ἀντίγραφον. ] [ ] εὐρος ὑπηρέτης μετ[α]δέδωκα. (ἔτους) ὀγδόου  
 [Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι κ<sup>-</sup> [(vac. ?)]. Πτολεμαῖος κωμωγραμ-  
 [ματεὺς ἐπιδέδ]ωκα τὴν προκειμένην προ[οφ]ώνησιν καὶ δηλῶ ἀφα-  
 [νεῖς εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ] παρόντος τοὺς προγεγραμμ[έ]νο[υ]ς Ἄρπαγά[θη]ν Πα[νομ-]  
 20 [γέως καὶ Ταουήτιν Στοτο]ήτ[ι]ος καὶ Ἄρπαγάθη[ν] Παν[εφρέμμιο]ς. (ἔτους) ἡ Ἀδρ[ιανοῦ]  
 [Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, month and day.]

1 leg. Ἄρσινοίτου. 4 pap. π... αἴτος. 7 and 11 leg. ἡμῖν. 9 leg. ἐγγύου. 11 [ ] απο ex κατα (see note *ad loc.*). 12 leg. τειμὴν. 14 leg. ἐγγυητῇ.

#### Notes to column i:

- Eudemos was first attested as strategos on 18 March 119 (*P. Corn.* I 16.ii.1 + *BASP* 28, 1991, 19-27) and in *P. Phil.* 3.9 (plus *BL V*, 84) he was associated with the prefect Haterius Nepos, in office from summer 120 to at least summer 124. This text shows Eudemos still in office on 18 October 123, perhaps indicating that he was the direct predecessor of Claudius Didymus alias Geminus, first attested as strategos in summer of 124 (*P. Münch.* III.1 66 i.1 + *P. Amh.* II 66, the earliest date in that dossier being 10 July 124). Cf. G. Bastianini - J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, Florence 1987, 24-25.
- Stotoetis is one of the most common names at Soknopaiou Nesos (D. H[obson] Samuel, *ZPE* 37, 1980, 255-59). Neither Stotoetis, son of Panephremmis, nor Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis the elder, however, can be identified with other bearers of the name in previously published papyri. Cf. e.g., *P. Münch.* III.1 107.4, for both a Stotoetis the elder and Stotoetis the younger at Soknopaiou Nesos in AD 138.
- Harpagathes, son of Panomgeus and Taarpagathis, grandson of Petepsais, is previously unattested, unless he is the same as 'a certain Harpagathes' in ii.6 (see introduction).
- τοῦ Πετῆψάιτος: the name is doubtfully read. It was popular in Middle and Upper Egypt, but poorly attested for the Fayum. Names ending in -άις which appear frequently in the Fayum do not fit the traces — Παπάις is too short, Παχομψάις, too long. Πεμψάις is perhaps paleographically possible, if *mu* were sufficiently broad, but that name is often treated as an indeclinable in Fayum documents, and when the genitive does appear, it is more frequently Πεμάεως or Πεμάιως.
- [Ὠ]ρίωνα: for Horion and Soteris as names for slaves, see I. Biežuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Seconde partie: période romaine*, Warsaw 1977, 176-77: a 'Soteris the slave' recurs at Soknopaiou Nesos a generation later, but her mistress was Soeris, daughter of Stotoetis and wife of Stotoetis (*Stud. Pal.* XXII 36.8-9, AD 145), and Horion was one of two slaves involved in a division of property in the Arsinoite nome in the II AD (*P. Mert.* III 122.6).
- 6-7. ἐποίησεν... καὶ ἐγράψαντο: the unannounced change of subject is abrupt, and the construction *ad sensum* is not made clear until the introduction of Harpagathes' accomplices in lines 9-10. The attention of the petition returns in line 13 to Harpagathes as the only subject of ἐποίησεν and ἐγένετο, for he was the villain and central figure in the accusation.
- 7-8. διὰ δημοσίου χ[ρη]μ[α]τισμοῦ: cf. *P. Oxy.* II 237 iv.39 and viii.35 and *SB VIII* 9873.10-11. It was this official registration of the document that endowed it with legal validity and gave the petitioners some hope for recovery of their loss.
- Taouetis, daughter of Stotoetis, son of Onnophris, is not identifiable in previously published papyri, although her name, like that of her father and grandfather, is common at Soknopaiou Nesos (cf. e.g. *SB VI* 8980.7-8, AD 205).
- 9-10. [μ]ετ' ἐγγύου: one expects μετ' ἐγγύων, for both Harpagathes' wife Tatouetis and the other Harpagathes were involved and they also disappeared together with Harpagathes, the villain (lines 18-20). In line 14 Harpagathes 'the surety' is again referred to as ἐγγυητής, an identification that distinguishes him from Harpagathes the villain.
- Harpagathes, son of Panephremmis, grandson of Satabous, priest, cannot be identified with certainty in previously published papyri, although Harpagathes, son of Panephremmis, is known in other II AD texts from Soknopaiou Nesos (e.g. *BGU XIII* 2263.18 and *P. Vindob. Tand.* 25a ii.11).
- ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης: one expects ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, but it was not written. Cf. also line 14 and note *ad loc.*

11. ἡ [ ] ἀποδ[ο]ῦναι: the scribe first wrote ἡ κατα, and then corrected to ἡ [ ] ἀποδ[ο]ῦναι, without removing the vertical stroke of the *kappa*. Spacing makes it unlikely that he considered the stroke an otiose addition to ἡ (i.e. ἡι).
14. [τὸ ± 4]εῖν τὸν λόγον πρὸς αὐτοῦ: apparently [τὸ μέν]εῖν τὸν λόγον πρὸς αὐτοῦ, although one expects τὸ μένειν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον πρὸς αὐτοῦ. The space available, however, is insufficient for [τὸ μένειν ἡμ]εῖν τὸν λόγον πρὸς αὐτοῦ (for which phrase, see e.g. *BGU* XI 2069.10-13, *P.Cair.Isid.* 69.31, *P.Harris* II 200.14, *P.Mich.* VI 423.24-25, etc.). Cf. also above, line 10 and note *ad loc.*
16. For the ὑπῆρέτης as the subordinate in the office of the *strategos* who communicates (μεταδιδόναι) a copy of the charges to the party or parties involved, see S. Strassi, 'Problemi relativi alla diffusione delle disposizioni amministrative nell'Egitto romano: Il ruolo degli *hyperetai* e le formule di trasmissione dei documenti,' pp. 504-507 in *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992*, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, ed., Copenhagen 1994. A list of ὑπῆρέται τῆς στρατηγίας is found in *P.Lugd. Bat.* XXV 32, note *ad* 21 (p. 154), and for *hyperetai* serving in other administrative offices, see S. Strassi, 'Problemi relativi alla diffusione delle disposizioni amministrative nell'Egitto romano,' *ZPE* 96, 1993, 89-107, espec. pp. 102-104 and notes *ad loc.* See also the earlier discussion by H. Kupiszewski - J. Modrzejewski, 'ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΙ: Étude sur les fonctions et le rôle des hyperètes dans l'administration civile et judiciaire de l'Égypte gréco-romaine,' *JJP* 11, 1957, 141-66, and the interesting *PSI Congr.* XI 9.15-18, an attempt to recover a defaulted loan: ὅπ[ερ καὶ δημοσ]ιώσας ἐπ' ὀ]νόμ[α]τος τοῦ [αὐτοῦ] Διονυσί[ο]υ τοῖς ὑποχρέοι[ς] διὰ στρατηγικοῦ ὑπῆρέτου, *Oxy.* AD 161-62.
- 16-17. (ἔτους) ὀγδόου | [Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου Φαῶφι κ': 18 October AD 123.

Translation of P. Mich. inv. 6060, column i

To Eudemos, *strategos* of the Arsinoite (nome), Herakleides division, from Stotoetis, son of Panephemmis, and Stotoetis, son of Stotoetis the elder, two priests from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos. Harpagathes, son of Panomgeus and Taarpagathis, grandson of Petepsais (?), a priest from the same village, having duped two slaves, Horion, belonging to Stotoetis, son of Panephemmis, and Soteris, belonging to the other Stotoetis, caused them to disappear, after they also stole some things of ours. They then wrote to us by means of an officially registered document in Epeiph of the past 7th year of Hadrian Caesar our lord with the surety of his wife Taouetis, daughter of Stotoetis, granddaughter of Onnophris, and of Harpagathes, son of Panephemmis, grandson of Satabous, priest from the (same) village, that they would present these same slaves to us within thirty days, or pay back the price for them that was to be determined. Since, when the appointed time went by, Harpagathes did none of these things, but also disappeared together with his wife and Harpagathes the surety, we ask that they be served with a written summons in order to retain the claim against them; we have enclosed for you a copy of their document. I, ...euros, servant, have transmitted (it). Year 8 of Hadrian Caesar our Lord, 20 Phaophi. I, Ptolemaios, village scribe, have submitted the above sworn declaration and I declare that at present the aforementioned Harpagathes, son of Panomgeus, Taouetis, daughter of Stotoetis, and Harpagathes, son of Panephemmis, have disappeared. Year 8 of Hadrian Caesar our lord, [month and day].

Col. II (10 February 108; restorations are from *BGU* I 163, for which see below)

- Ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματ[ι]μοῦ· (ἔτους) ι̅α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος |  
 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερ[μανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Μεχεῖρ ι̅ε.] |  
 Πτολεμαῖος κωμωγραμ[ματεὺς Νείλου πόλεως καὶ] |  
 4 Σοκνοπ[α]ίου Νήσου παρατ[ή]σας Πεκῦσιν Πεκύσιος |  
 καὶ Τρύφ[ω]να Πανεφρέμμ[ιος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶ] |  
 ἀπὸ Σ[οκ]νοπ[α]ίου Νήσου ἱερεῖ[ς ε φυλ(ῆς). Ἀρπαγάθης τις |  
 ἔ[γκλ]ημά σοι δέδωκε κατὰ το[ύτων περὶ ἔμπρησμοῦ] |  
 8 κ[αὶ ἀφ]ανῆς ἐγένετο. φασι [οἱ παρόντες ἐκείνον μάλ- |  
 [λον τοῦτο] πεποιηκέναι, καὶ γ[ὰρ ἄλλοι ὡς πληγέντες |  
 [ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀναφ]ορίον δεδώκασι. [ὁ στρατηγός· τὸ περὶ] |  
 [τοῦ ἔμπρησμοῦ] ζητῶ πότε ἐγέν[ετο καὶ τί ἀπηργήσατο.] |  
 12 [Πτολεμαῖο]ς· οὐδὲν δεινὸν [ἐγένετο, χρηστήρια γὰρ τὰ]

- [ιδιωτικ]ὰ μόνα ἐνεπρήσθη, οἱ δ' ἐπητιῶντο Ἑρμαῖον ??]  
 [Ἄ]χαί[ο]υ ἀλόγτες. ὁ στρατηγ[ός· πότερον ἠδίκησαν τὸν  
 [πρ]οκείμενον, ἢ παρέστησας; [Πτολεμαῖος· οὐ· ὁ στρατηγός·]  
 16 [τί]να ὑπονοεῖς σὺν τούτῳ π[εποιηκέναι; Πτολεμαῖος· ὅς γέγο-]  
 [νε ?]ν ἀφανής. ὁ στρατηγός· π[ερὶ ὧν σὺ οἶδας, αὐτός]  
 [μοι] προσφώ[ν]ησον, ὁμοίως δ[ὲ] καὶ οἱ δημόσιοι ? καὶ  
 [ὁ ἀρ]χέφοδος περὶ ὧν ἴσασι π[ροσφωνησάτωσαν. Πτολεμαῖος·]  
 20 [συγγ]ώρησόν μοι τὰ μέχρι εἰκάδος ἵνα μετὰ ταῦτα  
 [προς]φώνησω. Κλαύδιος Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ στρατηγός· ἔ-]  
 [χεις] πέν[τε ἡ]μέρας ἐν αἷς καὶ το[ῦτον] ζητηθῆναι ποίη-]  
 [σον.] Ἄνεγνων.  
 3. leg. κωμογραμ 19 pap. ἴσασι.

BGU I 163 (plus BL I, p. 23 = BGU I, p. 357)

Tafel IV

- Ἄντίγραφον ὑπομηματισμοῦ· (ἔτους) τῶ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα  
 Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Μεχεῖρ ιε̅. (vac.) Πτολεμαῖος  
 κωμογραμματεὺς Νείλου πόλεως καὶ Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου παραστήσας  
 4 Πεκῶσιν Πεκύσιος καὶ Τρύφωνα Πανεφρέμμιος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ  
 Σοκνοπαίου Νήσο[υ] ἰε[ρ]εῖς ε φυλ(ῆς). Ἄρπαγάθης τις ἔγκλημά σοι δέδ[ω]κε κατὰ  
 τούτων περὶ ἐμπρημοῦ καὶ ἀ[φ]ανῆς ἐγένετο. φασι οἱ παρόντες ἐκείνον  
 μᾶλλον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλοι ὡς πληγέντες ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀναφόριον  
 8 δεδώκασι. (vac.) ὁ στρατηγός· τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἐμπρημοῦ ζητῶ [πό]τε [ἐγ]ένητο καὶ  
 τί ἀπηργήσατο. Πτολεμαῖος· οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἐγένε[τ]ο, [χρη]στήρια γὰρ [τὰ] ιδιωτικὰ  
 [μόνα] ἐνεπρήσθη, οἱ δ' ἐπ[ητιῶ]ντο Ἑρμαῖον [τὸν καὶ . . .]ν Ἄχαί[ο]υ. ὁ σ[τ]ρατηγός[·]  
 [πότ]ερον ἠδίκη[σαν] τὸν προκεί[μενον], ἢ πα[ρέ]στησας; Πτολεμαῖος· οὐ· ὁ στρα-  
 12 [τηγός· τί]να ὑπονοεῖς [σὺν τούτῳ π]εποιηκέναι; Πτολεμαῖος· ὅς γέγονε ?]ν ἀφανής.  
 [ὁ στρατηγ]ός· περὶ ὧν σὺ [οἶδας, αὐ]τός μοι προ[σφώνη]σον, ὁμοί[ως] δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 [δημόσιοι ?] καὶ ὁ ἀρχέφοδο[ς] περὶ ὧν εἴσασι [προσφωνησάτω]σαν. Πτολ[εμαῖος·]  
 16 συν[χώρ]ησόν μοι τὰ [μέχρι εἰκά]δος ἵνα μετὰ [ταῦτα προσφωνή]σω. Κλαύδ[ιος]  
 Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ στρατηγός· ἔχεις πέντ[ε] ἡμέρας ἐν [αἷς καὶ τοῦτον] ζητηθῆνα[ι]  
 ποίησον. Ἄνεγνων.

5. leg. ἔγκλημα. 14 leg. ἴσασι. 15. leg. συγγ[ώρ]ησον. pap. ἴνα.

Notes to column ii (Line numbers in parentheses are to BGU I 163):

- 1 (1). For the formulae affixed to the beginning of copies of judicial proceedings, and their variations, see R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri*, Brussels 1966, 29-32; on page 30, note 1, Coles lists other copies of proceedings that omit the name of the presiding official at the beginning of the excerpt (but cf. below, note ad 7 [5]).  
 1-2 (1-2). (ἔτους) τῶ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος | Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερ[μανικοῦ Δακικοῦ Μεχεῖρ ιε̅]: 10 February 108.  
 3-4 (3). κωμογραμ[ματεὺς Νείλου πόλεως καὶ] | Σοκνοπ[α]ίου Νήσου: a *komogrammateus* was also administering the two villages in AD 184 (*Stud.Pal.* XXII 37.2), and again in AD 206-210 (*P.Lond.* III 1220.2 + *BL* VII, 89-90). In a document from AD 50 the *grapheion* was said to be common to Neilopolis, Soknopaiou Nesos, and Herakleia (*BGU* I 237.3-4).  
 7 (5). coi: the strategos Claudius Asklepiades (s.v. 'Asklepiades' in G. Bastianini - J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, Florence 1987, 23) is mentioned by name and title only just before he gives his ruling in line 21 (15-16). For other examples, Coles, *Reports*, 51.  
 13-14 (10). [οἱ δ' ἐπητιῶντο Ἑρμαῖον ?] | [Ἄ]χαί[ο]υ ἀλόγτες, but in (10), οἱ δ' ἐπ[ητιῶ]ντο Ἑρμαῖον [τὸν καὶ . . .]ν Ἄχαί[ο]υ. That is, the Michigan copy (with 40 letters in line 13) seems not to have space for recording the alias of

- Hermaios, requiring about 10 more letter spaces (τὸν καὶ . . . ν), but does include in line 14 the participle ἀλλόντες, apparently referring to the men accused by Harpagathes in his complaint, who, after they were apprehended, made a counter-charge against Hermaios. On the other hand, the Berlin copy certainly omitted the participle ἀλλόντες in line 10, but included the alias of Hermaios — seemingly a very short name, such as ὦρος. This man seems not to have appeared in the papyri published up to now.
- For ἐπητιῶντο, see the judicial proceedings in *MChr.* 93.17-18 (= *P. Stras.* 41, Antinoopolis ca. AD 250): Ἀννιανῶ τῷ ἡγεμονεύσαντι ἡ ἡμετέρα (μήτηρ) βιβλίδ[ι]ον ἐπέδοκεν, ἐπητῖαται (corrected to ἐπητιῶτο by Preisigke, *WB* col. 525, s.v. ἐπατιῶμαι) περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν, ἀνεπέμφθη εἰς τὴν ἐπιστρα[τηγίαν] . . .
- 14-15 (11). [τὸν] | [πρ]οκείμενον: sc. Ἀρπαγάθην, rather than Ἑρμαίον, since Harpagathes' ἔγκλημα (line 7 [5]) initiated the investigation of the arson. As a result some people were taken into custody (ἀλλόντες, line 14) and they made counter-charges against Hermaios (13 [10]) and against Harpagathes (8-10 [6-8]). When asked by the *strategos*, Ptolemaios makes clear that he neither believed the charges in Harpagathes' complaint, nor did he take formal actions against those Harpagathes accused of arson (14-15 [10-11]).
- 15 (11). Πτολεμαῖος· οὐ: For 'No' (οὐ) as the simple answer to a question in proceedings before a magistrate, see *SB* VI 9050 ii.8. For 'No' and 'Yes' (ναί) as introductory to longer statements, see *P.Oxy.* XLII 3074.11 and *P.Phil.* 3.20. Cf. also Ammonios' reply to Nikantinous in the proceedings recorded in *P.Vindob.Tand.* 8.5-6 8AD III-IV): after Nikantinous claims that he gave 6 talents to Ammonios because Ammonios said that Gounthos had need of them, Ammonios exclaims, 'No way, he's lying!' (οὐδὲν [τού]των· ψεύδετα[ι]!).
- 16 (12). σὺν τούτῳ: sc. σὺν Ἑρμαίῳ. At least this was the way in which Ptolemaios understood the *strategos*' question, since his response (ὃς γέγο[ι]ν[ε] ?]ν ἀφανής) points expressly to Arpagathes.
- 16-17 (12). [ὃς γέγο]ν[ε] ?]ν ἀφανής in *P.Mich. inv.* 6060 and [ὃς γέγονε ?]ν ἀφανής in *BGU* I 163, but [ὃς ἐς] [τι]ν ἀφανής and [ὃς ἐστίν]ν ἀφανής seem equally possible for sense. Considerations of space seem not determining: with [γένονε]ν, 7 letters divided over lines 16 and 17 in *P.Mich. inv.* 6060, with line 16 a line of 47 letters and line 17 one of 37 letters (*Mich.*), 61 letters *BGU* 163.12; with [ἐστίν], 5 letters divided over lines 16 and 17 in *Mich.*, with line 16 a line of 45 letters and line 17 one of 37 letters (*Mich.*), 59 letters in *BGU* 163.12.
- 18-19 (13-14). [δημόσιοι ?] in *P.Mich. inv.* 6060 and [δημόσιοι ?] in *BGU* I 163, but [πρεβύτεροι ?] seems equally plausible for sense. Considerations of space hardly weigh: with δημόσιοι, 8 letters in a line of 38 letters (*Mich.*), or a line of 58 letters (*BGU*); with πρεβύτεροι, 11 letters in a line of 41 letters (*Mich.*) or a line of 61 letters (*BGU*). Either suits the context. For the involvement of local officials in cases of arson (οἱ δημόσιοι), see *P.Cair.Isid.* 66-67 and 124 (and above, introduction). The *komogrammateus* Petaus employs δημόσιοι as a generic term for 'local officials' in the γραφαὶ δημοσίων he forwarded to the *strategos*, with the πρεβύτεροι and ἀρχεφοδος heading his lists (*P.Petaus* 66-67). Nonetheless, the *archephodos* is not infrequently said to be acting in concert with the *demosioi*, as in *P.Wisc.* I 24.2 (II-III AD, Philadelphia), where a *procurator* asked the *archephodos* and the *demosioi* either to hand over to his agents several men, accused of malfeasance by inhabitants of the village, or they have the alternative of presenting themselves to him; and in *P.Oxy.* I 69.10 (AD 190), in which the *archephodos* and the other *demosioi* are inspecting a door that had been battered in.
- 19 (14). In *inv.* 6060 ἵσασι, but in *BGU* I 163, εἵσασι.
- 19-23 (15-17). For an extension of time in order to complete an investigation, see also *P.Mil.Vogl.* I 25 iv: Demetrios, freedman of Herakleides, was involved with Paulinos in a lengthy legal procedure before the *strategos*. Crucial to Demetrios' case was the appearance in court of his wealthy friend Deios, son of Atrenos, who, Demetrios claimed, held the signed document that would resolve the case. Paulinos' advocate Palamedes has already made fun of this witness, about whose name there was apparently some confusion, asking 'Doesn't Deios know who he is and where he comes from?' (iii.16-22). The *strategos* asks Demetrios how many days he needs to produce Deios (ἐν ὅσα[ι]ς [ἡ]μέραις τὸν Δεῖον παραστήσεις, iv.7-8). When Demetrios asks for 15 days, the *strategos* tells him that what was said has been entered into the minutes, but that in place of the 15 days Demetrios requested, he will give him a total of 30 days in which to produce Deios and the signed document (iv.9-12, and, in particular, δι[δωμί] σοι ὅλας τριάκοντα ἐν αἷς παρ[αστήσει]ν τὸν Δεῖον).
- 21-22 (16). [ἔ-|χεις] | πέν[τε ἡ]μέρας: the proceedings were on 15 Mecheir (10 February 108). Ptolemaios asked for an extension until the 20th (τὰ μεχρὶ εἰκ[α]δός), and the *strategos* granted to him the 5-day extension he requested.
- 22 (16): το[ῦ]τον, rather than το[ύ]του, since only Harpagathes seems to be missing (cf. [ὃς γέγο]ν[ε] ?]ν ἀφανής in lines 16-17 [12]).
- 23 (17). The paragraphos that appears after line 17 in *BGU* I 163 was not set after line 23 in the Michigan copy. The purpose of the paragraphos was to show that the excerpt was complete (cf. H.C. Youtie, 'A Reconsideration of P.Oxy. I 40,' *Festschrift ... Oertel*, Bonn 1964, 25 = *Scriptiunculae* II, Amsterdam 1973, 883, and also, 'A Rule of Precedent,' *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I, Bonn 1981, 415 = *ZPE* 27, 1977, 125).

Translation of P. Mich. inv. 6060, col. II = *BGU* I 163:

Copy of a minute (from judicial proceedings). Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, 15 Mecheir.

Ptolemaios, komogrammateus of Neilopolis and Soknopaiou Nesos, having produced in court Pekysis, son of Pekysis, and Tryphon, son of Panephremmis, and his associates, priests of the 5th tribe, from Soknopaiou Nesos: 'A certain Harpagathes submitted to you an accusation of arson against them and then disappeared. Those present say that he did this rather, and, in fact, others have submitted a petition to the effect that they were beaten by him.'

The strategos: 'I am investigating the charge of arson, when it happened and what was the result.'

Ptolemaios: 'Nothing serious happened, for only private furnishings were burned, but they, when apprehended, kept accusing Hermaios alias .os, son of Achaios.'

The strategos: 'Did they wrong the aforementioned, or did you produce (them) in court?'

Ptolemaios: 'No.'

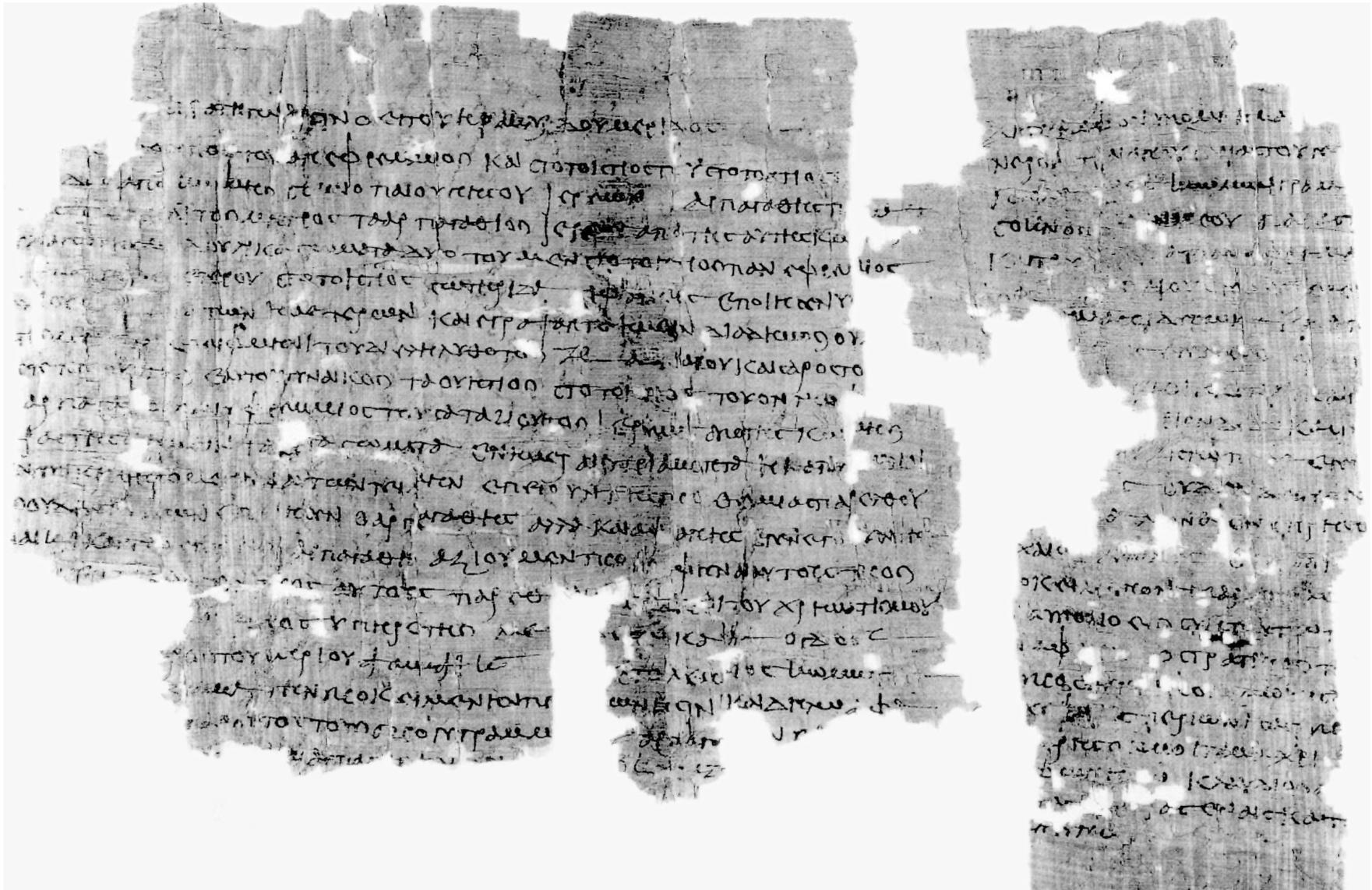
The strategos: 'Whom do you suspect acted with him?'

Ptolemaios: '(The one) who has disappeared.'

The strategos: 'Report to me concerning the things you know, and, in similar fashion, let the officials and the chief of police also report concerning what things they know.'

Ptolemaios: 'Grant me time until the twentieth so that I may make my report after that.'

Claudius Asklepiades strategos: 'You have five days in which see to it that he also is searched for.' I read (it).



P. Mich. inv. 6060



BGU I 163