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**FRAGMENTARY LEGAL DOCUMENT(S?)  
FROM THE ARCHIVE OF AMMON *SCHOLASTICUS*  
(P. DUKE INV. 190–193 AND 195)\***

**T**HIS PAPER PUBLISHES SOME POPYRI FRAGMENTS held in the ‘D. M. Rubenstein’ Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Duke University, Durham (NC).<sup>1</sup> The fragments have already been known to scholarship but thus far lacked a proper edition with translation and commentary, probably due to their deplorable condition – very little survives from the original document – and (relatively speaking) their overall irrelevance as compared to better-preserved pieces in the fourth-century archive of the *scholasticus*

\* This paper has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 895634 (Project LAREGRE). I wish to thank Klaus Maresch (Universität zu Köln) and Michele Pedone (Pisa ‘Statale’) for their help and suggestions; Giuliana Leone, Federica Nicolardi (Napoli ‘Federico II’ – CISPE) and all the CISPE team for hosting and commenting on a preliminary paper about this papyrus in Naples on 17 March 2025. My gratitude also goes to the anonymous reviewer for several suggestions and corrections of my previous interpretations; and to Samuele Coen (Florence, Istituto Vitelli) and Enrico E. Prodi (Cagliari) for pivotal suggestions in the reconstruction of P. Duke inv. 190 fr. a + 192, col. ii, ll. 6–8. Unless otherwise indicated, translations of Greek and Latin passages are mine.

<sup>1</sup> I began inquiring into this papyrus with my colleague Michele Pedone. P. Duke inv. 193 was the first fragment to come to our notice in 2019, while working as part of the project PLATINUM (ERC StG no. 636983, University of Naples ‘Federico II’, PI Maria Chiara Scappaticcio), as it contains one Latin line. I then tracked down the other fragments through online databases and acquired the digital images on which I worked.

Ammon. Nevertheless, they do contribute to our knowledge of an actual case of legal fraud concerning a false priesthood, and once more show Ammon's proficiency in Greek literary prose.

### 1. THE DATASET: A SINGLE DOCUMENT?

The fragments analysed here – P. Duke inv. 190, 191, 192, 193, and 195 – are all part of the archive of Ammon, a dataset comprising several papyri recovered from the antiquities market and currently held between Durham (NC), Cologne, and Florence.<sup>2</sup> There is abundant literature on the main figure responsible for the preserved documents, Ammon son of Peteharbeschinis who was first a priest and then a *scholasticus* in fourth-century Panopolis.<sup>3</sup> The fragments have never been published so far, being much less satisfactory than the papyri later chosen for the two volumes of *P. Ammon*. Nevertheless, while investigating the portion of the archive located at Duke University, a preliminary inquiry – with decipherment and probably a transcription – must have taken place.<sup>4</sup> The results can now be seen in the papyri.info entry for one of the fragments, P. Duke inv. 193: 'Petition from Panopolis ... written on papyrus. Petition is written to the prefect of Egypt (?) and concerns a disputed priesthood. The accused enjoys freedom from performing official duties, pretending to be a priest. He has also written petitions full of lies to the emperors Diocletian and Maximian. The accused is now over sixty'.<sup>5</sup> This passage summarises, as it seems, not the text of P. Duke inv. 193 but that of

<sup>2</sup> Some details on the history of the archive are provided in VAN MINNEN 2002: 177–178, with footnotes and attached bibliography, and, of course, in the two volumes *P. Ammon* I (WILLIS & MARESCH 1998) and II (ANDORLINI & MARESCH 2006).

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., BROWNE 1977; FEDER 2005; ANDORLINI & MARESCH 2007; ANDORLINI 2010.

<sup>4</sup> As per Klaus Maresch's own words (*per litteras*), William Willis must have taken care of the papyri stored at Duke University. He himself declares: 'in preparation of this first volume of the archive, I identified, sorted and joined the Duke fragments and made preliminary transcriptions' (WILLIS & MARESCH 1998: x).

<sup>5</sup> <<https://papyri.info/apis/duke.apis.33853394>> (consulted on 30 October 2024).

P. Duke inv. 190 fr. a + 192, col. ii (see below), which suggests that the editors of *P. Ammon* believed these fragments to belong together; furthermore, they dated them to 286–305 CE, the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian, probably following P. Duke inv. 193, l. 3: *Αὐ]τοκρατόρων τε καὶ Καιάρ[ων*, which is often documented among fourth-century papyri for the abovementioned emperors. The same opinion on the typology of the document (a petition) is endorsed in the descriptive document offered by Karolien Geens in TM Archives: ‘The archive contains also a few other petitions, most of them drafts and still unpublished. P. Duke inv. 190–193 and 195 of 285–305 are petitions to the prefect about a disputed priesthood. The same subject matter is found in two drafts of a petition from the priest Aurelius Petechensis through Ammon, to Salvius Synegorios (P. Duke inv. 211–212). *P. Ammon* I 4 is a petition of Horion II via Ammon, to the prefect. Ammon vainly tried to obtain from the *archiereus* the appointment of his nephew Horion II to the *propheteia* in succession to his deceased father’ (p. 3).<sup>6</sup> Geens, however, admits the possibility that the fragments might represent more than one document (she refers to petitions).

When considering the fragments in terms of their condition and contents, some elements can in fact be used to argue that they indeed belong together:

1. The similarity of shapes between P. Duke inv. 190 fr. a and 192, which suggests that at least those two were together in the same roll or sheet (they have been treated here as P. Duke inv. 190 fr. a + 192, holding the remnants of three columns).

2. Some recurrent significant collocations (e.g. P. Duke inv. 193, l. 3: *Αὐ]τοκρατόρων τε καὶ Καιάρ[ων*, and inv. 190 fr. n+m, l. 6: *Αὐ]τοκρατ[όρων τε κα]ὶ [Και]ζάρων*; inv. 190 fr. a + 192, col. ii, l. 7: *τοὺς?] πατρώου θεούς*; and inv. 195, l. 10: *τοὺς πατρώουθς θε[εούς]*) and key-words (e.g. P. Duke inv. 193, l. 5: *ἱερέων*; inv. 191, l. 5: *τοῖς ἱερε[ύ]σι παρέχ[ει]ν?*; l. 8: *ἱερέω[.] ἀδικί[α]ν ζῶζον[τ ---]*; inv. 190 + 192, col. ii, l. 5: *πρ[οφ]άξει τῆς ἱερωσύνης*).

<sup>6</sup> TM Arch 31, at <[www.trismegistos.org/archive/31](http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/31)> (consulted on 1 November 2024).

3. The striking identity of the hand, which appears to be the same throughout the fragments.<sup>7</sup>

There are, however, complications in advancing this argument: mainly, the difficulty of associating 193 to 190 fr. a + 192. While the latter fragment prompted scholars to classify the original document as a petition, and assuming the Latin dating formula in fr. 193 to be the opening of the aforesaid document, so far we know of no petition beginning with a Latin date – if anything, there are a few with a Latin date at the end of the text (see Iovine 2019: 220–225) – except for a recently published text, *P. Scholl* 1 (Hermopolites?, 370; TM 143371):

[D(ominis) n(ostris) Valentinian]o et Valente semper Aug(ustis) cons(u-  
libus) III  
[---]..οντα τοὺς δοθέντας ὑμῶν ἐπικούρους παραχρῆμα τοῖς δ[ι]αλαλη-  
[θεῖσι? ---] ἀξιοῦμεν κελεῦσαι σοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τὸν πρότερον προνοη-  
τῆν τ[ῶν] ἡμετέρων  
4 [--- τῶν] ἡμετέρων πραγμάτων ὡς θρυλλοῦσί τινες παρὰ γνώμη[ν ..]ων  
[---]. σοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ πρότερον ναα.  
[---]...η? [.] ὑμετέραν ἐξεποίησεν. R(espondit) τῆν αὐτὴν ....εἶαν  
[---]. τοῦ [ὄφ]φικιαλίου

‘... the aids that were sent to you immediately with the things discussed ... we think it right to ask that your majesty order the previous *promoetes* of our ... of our property since there is some talk going around contrary to the opinion ... your majesty also earlier ... produced your ... He responded that the same ... of the staff member’ (transl. R. Ast)

That this text is a petition is sufficiently demonstrated by line 3: ἀξιοῦμεν κελεῦσαι σοῦ τὸ μεγαλεῖον, and ll. 6–8, containing the addressed authority’s answer after *r(espondit)*. However, this dating formula is – as far as can

<sup>7</sup> (2) and (3) suggest that to these fragments one can add a few scraps from PSI inv. 3799, which I am currently publishing for the next volume of the *PSI*; they are very small in size and their content adds nothing to the surviving text. My gratitude goes to Francesca Maltomini (Florence, Istituto Vitelli) for allowing me to inspect the papyrus in view of its publication.

be gleaned from the material that remains – in New Roman Cursive or *litterae communes*, whereas the one in P. Duke inv. 193 is clearly in *litterae caelestes*,<sup>8</sup> nor is there any indication after the formula, such as *A]ntinou(poli)* or *in s[ecretario]*. In fact, what survives of P. Duke inv. 193, l. 1, matches well not with extant petitions, but rather with several opening formulae of records of (court) proceedings where a dating formula – often in *litterae caelestes* – is followed by an indication of where the proceedings took place: a town, mostly (see comm. *ad loc.*).<sup>9</sup> This would be a strong clue in favour of the cluster of fragments examined here also being a record of proceedings, not a petition. And yet, something is missing, namely all the Latin markers that are usually found in this type of text: *d(ixit)*, *adu(ocatus)*, *p(raeses) p(rouinciae)*, and the like, not to mention the Latin sentences usually pronounced by Latin authorities and magistrates.

Such being the case, even taking into account the conservation bias – we have very little left of the original document – the complete lack of Latin anywhere in the fragments except for the formula in 193, l. 1 is indeed puzzling. There are two remaining possibilities: either 193 is not really part of the group – even if the handwriting very much appears to be the same over all the fragments – or the fragments themselves show a particular section of legal proceedings in which Ammon (or the person on whose behalf he was composing, either a lawyer or the plaintiff?) pronounced a long speech detailing all of the defendant’s alleged wrongdoings. From *P. Ammon* I 3, so far the longest private letter ever to come down to us from all antiquity (Van Minnen 2002: 182), we can appreciate Ammon’s ability to elaborate lengthily and widely on a topic. Speeches to be pronounced by lawyers during court proceedings, where Latin does not appear and whose length could vary considerably, have been documented as appearing in a small quantity of papyri which are also noteworthy by virtue of containing an as-yet-undeciphered abbreviation, *n(arratio)* or

<sup>8</sup> Regarding this script, see below, in the introduction to the fragments.

<sup>9</sup> Although records of court proceedings (in German, ‘Prozeßverhandlungen’ or ‘Prozeßprotokolle’) have not yet been addressed as a specific document type in any recent monographs, they are extensively discussed in COLES 1966; ADAMS 2003: 383–390 (= 3.VI.1); and PEDONE 2020.

ν(ομικός):<sup>10</sup> e.g. SB XII 10989 (unknown provenance, 325; TM 16367), P. Sakaon 35 (Theadelphia, 332?; TM 13053), SB XIV 11717 (Hermopolis, mid-4th cent.; TM 32944), and P. Lips. I 41 (Hermopolis, late 4th cent.; TM 33701).

For lack of conclusive evidence on either side, the stopgap hypothesis accepted in this paper, on account of the reasons listed above, is that the fragments do belong together; like all stopgap solutions, it must be handled with caution and shall hopefully be improved in the future.

## 2. THE TEXT(S) AND ITS/THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The main and most interesting aspect of the document is the connection between Ammon and his closest family members with Egyptian paganism, particularly inasmuch as Ammon's father, Ammon himself, and his nephew Horion II were all, at some point of their lives, more or less permanently involved with the priesthood. From what survives of the document in terms of complete and understandable sentences, it transpires that Ammon – either *in propria persona* or representing someone else in the capacity of a legal practitioner<sup>11</sup> – is berating an individual who falsely declared himself to be a priest and thereby avoided being charged with a liturgical service. To be exempted, this individual has gone so far as to send petitions to the emperors (P. Duke inv. 190 fr. a + 192, col. ii, l. 3: τῆ θ[ε]ι[στ]ότῃ τῶν [δ]ε[σ]πότων ἡμῶν) in which he lied about his situation. Not only has this deception profoundly disrespected the ancestral religion (the πατρῶοι θεοί, as they are twice mentioned in the fragments), but it appears that the individual did not need to employ it since he was more than sixty years of age and therefore exempted on that basis.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Concerning this specific type of document, see SCAPPATICCIO 2025: 204 n. 10, for a summary and some bibliographic references.

<sup>11</sup> The parsimonious hypothesis, given that several petitions or appeals in the archives are presented by Ammon and that as a *scholasticus* he had legal training, is that the text was produced for his own use.

<sup>12</sup> See LEWIS 1997: 72–73 and 92 on an exemption being set for those older than fifty-five to sixty years old, whereas in the previous centuries the relevant age was seventy.

Ammon's (or the individual's) explanation for this behaviour cannot be found in the preserved text, nor can we understand what happened next. Nevertheless, we can gather that both Ammon's family's years of religious service (a 'priestly aristocracy', as Willis calls it; see Willis & Maresch 1988: 2) and the general tendency of people living in those years to seek to escape the claws of liturgies must be at play here. From the second century onwards, liturgical exemption for priests was in decline<sup>13</sup> and people in the same career path as Ammon's father, grandfather, and nephews must have fought hard to preserve their privileges in this respect; those who instead took advantage of the established privilege to avoid compulsory service were likely perceived as a threat to those who rightfully (but precariously) enjoyed it. Ammon himself seems to hint in *P. Ammon I 3* at some financial difficulties the family might incur, should they not be exempted from liturgies.<sup>14</sup> Hence, the strong language that can be found in *P. Duke inv. 190 fr. a + 192, col. ii*: *ψευδεῖς καὶ παράνομοι δεήσεις*, 'illegal and false petitions', *παραλογισάμενος*, 'concocting fallacies', *φανερῶς οὕτω ψεύσασθαι*, 'to so openly falsify', *μικόθεος, ἀσεβῆς*, 'the abandoned and godless wretch'. As for the dating, the clue employed by the earlier editors, namely the formula *Αὐτοκράτορες τε καὶ Καίσαρες* (*P. Duke inv. 193, l. 3*: *Αὐτοκρατόρων τε καὶ Καίσαρων*; *inv. 190 fr. n+m, l. 6*: *Αὐτοκρατ[όρων τε κα]ὶ [Κα]ϊσάρων*), does indeed suggest Diocletian and Maximian; however, it is not limited to them. It is also found, though much less frequently, for Constantius I and Galerius (306),<sup>15</sup> Constantine I and (perhaps?)

<sup>13</sup> See LEWIS 1997: 91 on priests being less and less privileged in terms of liturgies; and LEWIS 1964: 79: 'those privileges would perhaps repay further study. But the general outlines seem clear: priests of Egyptian temples enjoyed a greater measure of exemption from liturgic service in the first century than they did thereafter'.

<sup>14</sup> See FEDER 2005: 105: 'Wenn im Brief des Ammon an seine Mutter von wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten der Familie die Rede ist (Steuerrückstände?), die ja trotz ihres wohl umfangreichen Landbesitzes eintreten konnten, so hätte der Verlust einer einträglichen Berufung mit gewisser steuerlicher Immunität für die Familie von fataler Folge sein können'.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *P. Sakaon 60* (Krokodilopolis, 306; TM 13077), ll. 1–2: *ἔτους τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτου Αὐτοκρατόρων Καίσαρων Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἑρμιανικῶν* (μεγίστων) *Ἑρμιανικῶν μεγί[σ]των Περσικῶν μεγίστων Βριττανικῶν μεγίστων Καρπικῶν μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν κτλ.*, 'In the fourteenth year of the Emperors Caesars Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximianus,

Crispus, although a bit late (327: he was killed a year before),<sup>16</sup> Constans and Constantius II (340);<sup>17</sup> even in *P. Abinn.* 1 (Philadelphia?, c. 340–342; TM 10014), a draft of a petition, the scribe addresses the two abovementioned emperors (ll. 1–2: *clementia piet[ati]s uestrae domini per[etua] Constanti et Con[sta]ns uictores semper [Augusti ...]*), despite the fact that the only emperor relevant for Abinnaeus' problem was Constantius II reigning at the time in the east. A possible reason for Maresch and Willis to date the fragments to the reign of Diocletian and Maximian is C. 10.50.3,<sup>18</sup> where the two emperors answer a request by an otherwise unknown Protelaus (–*Πρωτέλαος?*; the name is so far unattested) granting him the exemption from liturgies on the grounds that he is older than seventy; they might have supposed that Protelaus was the individual being chastised in the fragments, as he had sent *ψευδεῖς καὶ παράνομοι δεήσεις* to the imperial chancery. However, Protelaus had allegedly put forward his age rather than his priesthood (*cum itaque septuagenario maiorem te esse profiteris*), whereas in the main fragment the problem seems to be the defendant having lied to the emperors about his status instead of his age (fr. 190a + 192, col. ii, ll. 5–6: *πρ[οφ]άσει τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀλειτουρησίας ἀπόλαυξιν*

Germanici maximi, Sarmatici maximi, Persici maximi, Brittanici (*sic!*) maximi, Carpici maximi, Pii, Felices, Augusti' (transl. G. M. Parássoglou). The scribe completes the formula by mentioning the two Caesares, Severus II and Maximinus II Daza.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. *M. Chr.* 342 (Arsinoites, 327; TM 21703), ll. 6–8: *ὁμολογῶ ὀμνῶς τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκρατόρων τε καὶ Καϊσάρων τύχην κτλ.*, 'I acknowledge, swearing by the fortune of our lords the Emperors and Caesars' (transl. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt).

<sup>17</sup> E.g. *CPR XVII/1* 31 (Hermopolis, 340; TM 17725), ll. 6–8: *ὁμ[ο]λογῶ ὀμνῶς [τὸν θεῖον κ]αὶ σεβά[μιον] ὄρκον τῶν π[άν]τα [νικῶντων] Ἀυτοκρατόρων τε καὶ Κεσάρων κτλ.*, 'Ich bescheinige, indem ich den göttlichen und kaiserlichen Eid bei unseren alles besiegenden Imperatoren und Caesares geschworen habe ...' (transl. K. A. Worp).

<sup>18</sup> *Imperatores Diocletianus et Maximianus Augusti Protelao. Manifesti iuris est maiores quinquaginta quinque annis inuitos ad munera personalia uocari non posse. Cum itaque septuagenario maiorem te esse profiteris, si nominatione facta appellationis auxilium interposuisti, tueri te notione praesidis prouinciae potes iure concesso*, 'The Emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti to Protelaus. It is manifest law that persons older than 55 years cannot be called unwillingly to personal services. Thus, since you profess that you are older than 70, if after being nominated you have interposed the aid of an appeal, you can protect yourself when the right is granted after an investigation by the governor' (transl. D. P. Kehoe).

οὕτω ... β[οᾶ, ‘under the pretence of priesthood, [he] ... shouts so much about his enjoying the privilege of being exempted from liturgies’). This does not make sense unless the emperors, in a longer and now lost version of the rescript,<sup>19</sup> responded to a request of exemption on the grounds of priesthood by gently correcting the petitioner who, being more than seventy years old, was already exempted and did not know it; if this were the case, it could not be completely ruled out that Protelaus is one and the same person as the false priest attacked by the speaking person in the document. Perhaps, to err on the side of caution, it is better to date the original document to the first half of the fourth century.

### 3. THE FRAGMENTS

The remnants of the original document consist of six inventory numbers (190, 191, 192, 193 and 195; PSI inv. 3799). The verso is blank. Each number presents a slightly different situation in terms of how many scraps it contains and what relationship they have with one another. Inv. 193, which is presented here first because it apparently preserves the beginning of a text (see above, and below in the commentary), consists of at least six fragments which, once reunited into two larger ones, can be easily realigned – but not joined – thanks to the Latin dating formula in the first line. Then come two smaller fragments, inv. 191 and 195. The former is made up of five smaller scraps, plus a sixth fragment on the right side, indicated in the glass frame as P. Köln inv. 4548. The upper margin is once again visible. The right and lower portions of the fragments are distinctly darkened and reading is consequently more impaired here than elsewhere in the fragments. Inv. 195, on the other hand, has a notably lighter colour but contains little text; the left and upper margins are visible. Finally comes the cluster of inv. 190 (13 fragments) and 192. The largest fragment (here called fr. a) of inv. 190, preserving the bottom portion of two

<sup>19</sup> On the process of reducing and summarising the texts of imperial constitutions and rescripts before inserting them in the great legal collections such as the *Theodosian Code*, the *Digest*, or the *Code of Justinian*, see VOLTERRA 1971.

columns (only the second features full lines), most likely represents the antecedent of inv. 192, in turn featuring the lower portion of one column. The shape of the two papyri and the distances between ‘matching damages’ (*danni solidali*)<sup>20</sup> suggest as much (Fig. 1 and Appendix). The preserved bottom of column in inv. 190 shows c. 70 to 80 letters per line, a column c. 33 cm wide, and an intercolumnar space (between cols. i and ii) fluctuating between 3 and 6 cm, depending on where the scribe decides to interrupt the line on the right edge of the writing frame. One might confidently take those measures as representative of the whole original document. In inv. 192, the interruption of the last line far before the end of the papyrus fragment suggests (but cannot ultimately prove) that inv. 192 contained the final column of the text. The remaining 12 fragments from inv. 190 are often no more than scraps and offer very little text: in fragments i and m one might see the upper margin of the column. They are presented in this edition before inv. 190 fr. a + 192, in case 192 actually represents the end of the original document. In 190 fr. b, the left margin is visible: perhaps it comes from the same column as inv. 195, but there is no decisive clue to prove that is the case. Fragments m and n have been joined together in this edition on account of the textual correspondence between fr. n, l. 5: ]ωναυτοκρατ[, and fr. m, l. 6: ]ι[...]αρων[, which yields [---]ων Αὐτοκρατ[όρων τε κα]ὶ [Και]ζάρων [---]; the reconstructed fragment appears to give a viable text in the remaining lines.

The Latin line in inv. 193 is almost lost; it is still possible to see, however, that part of it – presumably, the proper dating formula – was written in *litterae caelestes*,<sup>21</sup> and the later sections – for instance where the hearing took place – were written in new Roman cursive. The two different writings have been rendered in this edition by using capital letters for the *lit-*

<sup>20</sup> Pivotal contributions on how matching damages can be used to improve our understanding of fragmentary texts on papyri include D’ALESSIO 2001a and D’ALESSIO 2001b. Noteworthy results have also been obtained in Herculaneum papyri: see, e.g., ASSANTE 2010; PIANO 2017: 170–178; VERGARA 2021.

<sup>21</sup> This writing, an over-flourished fossil derived from old Roman cursive, became the official script from the imperial chanceries in late antiquity and could not be used in provincial offices. It still presents several problems of decipherment and interpretation. See TjÄDER 1952 and IANACCI, MODESTI, & ZUFFRANO 2012.

*terae caelestes*. What survives of the main document is all in Greek: the script is similar to a handful of other papyri in Ammon's archive, such as the drafts of the petition to Flavius Sisinnius for a *διασφαλισμός* in *P. Ammon* II 29 (TM 100073), 30 (TM 23634) and 31 (TM 100074) as well as another petition to the same Sisinnius in *P. Ammon* II 38 (TM 23635) and to the prefect of *Aegyptus* for Konon in *P. Ammon* II 40 (TM 23642), all coming from Alexandria and dated in 348. Some resemblance can also be found with the handwriting in the much earlier *P. Ammon* II 50 (Panopolis, 299; TM 100079), a declaration of temple land for the *cenisor*. A single hand is visible throughout the document, except in the final four lines of inv. 195, which are written in a noticeably more cursive manner. A short *spatium uacuum* is visible in inv. 193, l. 9 (between ]*σαμενος* and *καὶ*).

P. Duke inv. 193

16.5 × 16.8 cm

Antinoopolis

Fig. 1

CO(N)]S(VLIBV)S DIE [

A]ntinou(poli) in  
ς[ecretario]

ὕ]πὸ τῶν π[άντα νικίωντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> Αὐ]τοκρατόρων τε καὶ  
Καιάρ[ων

]δραμεῖν ε[

]εν πολλά κ[αί]

μεγάλα καρπο[

4 ]]. πείεσθαι πρ[

]. εἰμιῶις ἐν δικα-

στηρίῳ κ[

]ων ἱερέων βεβι[

]ς οὐκ οἶδ' ἀνθ'

ἔτου πρ[

]τεῖν οὐδὲν ἠδ[

]ηκότας οὐδὲ ἀ[ί]-

τίαν οὐδὲ μέμψ[ιν

]ως ἀφελέσθαι δυ[

]. εσθαι ἀρκεῖ ὅδε

ἐαυτῷ προς. [

8 ]οῖμοι μένων ἐξ[ορκιζ --- κατὰ τῆς --- κορ]υφῆς? τοῖς δεσπό-  
ταις ἡμῶν δι[

]σαμενος καὶ τα[

]μεν ἄλλους ὄσους

ἐπεχειρη[ς

] οὐχὶ νῦν οἰμ.[  ]εμμον προτερε[  12  -----	]ρον εἶναι λέ[γει]ν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠδει[ ]υκότα καὶ [...].[...] ἐπισταμ[ ἦ]ζυχεῖ .[
--	--

i. The dating matches the customary Roman formula: *NN et NN consulibus*, day and month, location where the transaction has taken or is to take place. Only the last element, the location, can be reconstructed here: the recorded event took place in Antinoopolis *in secretario*, ‘in a closed hearing’, that is in a location not open to the public.<sup>22</sup> As far as late antiquity is concerned, this kind of for-

<sup>22</sup> The *secretarium* (literally a ‘hidden place’: *OLD*, s.v. *secretarium*) was a standard location, as it happens, for legal proceedings: see *SB XVI* 12581 (Arsinoites?, 310; *TM* 40818), l. 1: [---] *praefectis* [pr]aet[orio] c[o(n)s[ulibus]] die X Kalkendas Febr[arias] Arsinoit[um] ciuitate in secretario; *P. Sakaon* 33 (Krokodilopolis, 318/319/320; *TM* 13051), l. 1: [Dd[ominis] n[ostri] Constantino Aug[usto] --- et --- no]b[ilissimo] Caes[are] I co[n]s[ulibus] die III Non[i] as Iunias Παῶνι θ[η] Arsinoit[um] ciuitate in secre[tar]io; *P. Sakaon* 34 (Krokodilopolis, 321; *TM* 13052), l. 1: Dd[ominis] n[ostri] Licino Aug[usto] VI et Licino nob[ilissimo] Caes[are] II co[n]s[ulibus] die pridie Idus Dec[em]br[es] Χοῖακ 15 Arsinoit[um] ciuitate in secret[ario]; *SB XXVIII* 17038 (Antinoopolis, 332; *TM* 78302), ll. 1-2: [---]iano u[iro] c[larissimo] co[n]s[ulibus] die [...]. I Kalkendas Septembr[es] Antinou[poli] [---] in secret[ario]; and the abovementioned *P. Oxy.* LXIII 4381, l. 1 P[ost] cons[ulatum] d[omi]ni n[ostri] Gratiani p[er] [petui] Aug[usti] III et Equitio u[iri] c[larissimi] com[itis] die III Non[is] Aug[ustas] Alex[andreae] in secretario. See also *Lact. mort. pers.* 15.5: *pleni carceres erant, tormentorum genera inaudita excogitabantur, et ne cui temere ius diceretur, aerae in secretariis ac pro tribunali positae, ut litigatores prius sacrificarent atque ita causas suas dicerent, sic ergo ad iudices tamquam ad deos adiretur*, ‘Le carceri erano piene, si escogitavano inauditi generi di tortura e affinché non si rendesse giustizia a qualcuno avventatamente, altari erano stati collocati negli uffici del giudice e davanti al tribunale, affinché i litiganti prima sacrificassero e poi esponessero le loro ragioni, in modo che ci si accostasse ai giudici come a divinità’ (transl. F. Corsaro), and *Aug. c. Cresc.* 3.56.62: *inuenitur autem postulatio apud Herodem proconsulem ... cuius pauca subiunxi: post consulatum dominorum nostrorum Arcadii ter et Honorii iterum Augustorum VI Nonas Martias Carthagine in secretario praetorii Titianus dixit: Peregrinus presbyter et seniores ecclesiae Mustitanae et Adsuritanae regionis tale desiderium prosequuntur*, ‘Ora, si trova una richiesta presso il proconsole Erode ... di cui ho già citato poche frasi: “Dopo il terzo consolato di Arcadio e il secondo di Onorio, nostri sovrani, il sei delle none di Marzo, a Cartagine, davanti al tribunale segreto del pretorio, Tiziano ha testimoniato: il presbitero Pellegrino e gli anziani della chiesa di Musti e della regione di Assuras espongono il seguente voto” ...’ (transl. E. Cavallari).

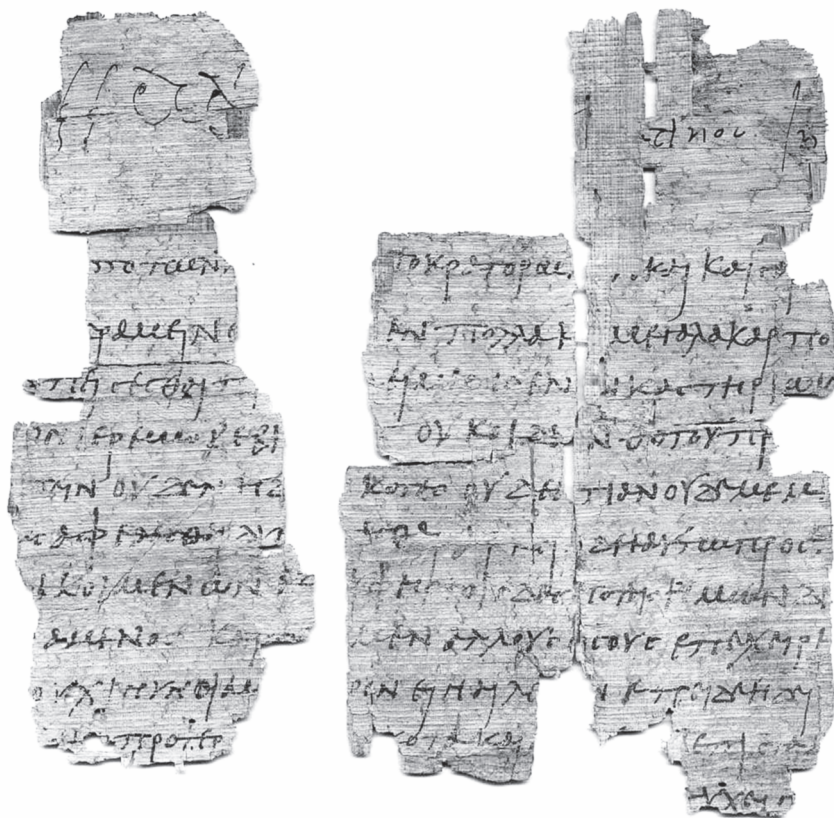


Fig. 1. P. Duke inv. 193  
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mula worded in this way is found in records of proceedings, where it appears to be complete and organic to the document it opens.

2. The line is reconstructed on the basis of the two separate portions of the text, also bearing in mind the distance that might have existed between one portion of the dating formula in line 1 and the next. πάντα νικῶντες δεσπότηαι ἡμῶν and/or Ἀυτοκράτορες καὶ Καίσαρες occur, for instance, in *P. Oxy.* LIV 3746 (Oxyrhynchos, 319; TM 15253), *P. Harris* II 214 (Oxyrhynchos, 324; TM 15214), *P. Gascou* 70 (Kellis, early 4th cent.; TM 702570), *CPR* XXIII 29 (Hermopolis, 337–339; TM 70307), and the abovementioned *CPR* XVII/1 31; the context is mostly the undertaking of an oath (ὀμνύειν τὸν σεβάσμιον καὶ θεῖον ὄρκον / τὴν θεῖαν τύχην τῶν κτλ.).

3. If *πολλά καὶ μεγάλα* refer to the same set of objects, the collocation is found widely in Greek classical prose (e.g. Hdt. 7.9.8, Pl. *Prm.* 164e5; Lys. 14.29.2 (Carey); D. 52.21.4 [= 1277, 23 Dindorf]; Plu. 797a8). The presence of *καρπο*[, ‘fruit’ (?), ‘fruitful’ (?), may be connected.

4. Perhaps *δο*[*κειμί*]οις, a misspelling of *δοκιμεί*οις or *δοκιμί*οις? See LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *δοκιμεί*ος, a synonym for *δόκιμος*.

5. Perhaps *βεβι*[*α*ςμένων? The formula *οὐκ οἶδ’ ἀνθ’ ὅτου*, ‘I don’t know on what grounds’, appears elsewhere among Ammon’s papers, for example in the petitions to Flavius Sisinnius against Eugenios, *P. Ammon* II 28 (TM 100072), 29 (TM 100073), and 30 (TM 23634), and another petition, *P. Ammon*. II 34 (TM 100075), all coming from Alexandria and dated to 348.

6. The pairing *αἰτία καὶ μέμψις*, ‘guilt and blame’, has been documented as appearing elsewhere as a precautionary clause against future responsibility: *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2859 (Oxyrhynchos, 301; TM 22246; contract of substitution as *δεκανός*), ll. 9–11: *ἔστ’ ἂν ἀπολυθῶ ἀποπληρῶν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐπιταττόμενά μοι εἰς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψειν ἢ ἔτιαν ἐπακολουθῆσαι*, ‘until I be released fulfilling all the orders given me so that no blame or guilt result’ (transl. M. E. Weinstein); *P. Ammon*. II 47 (Alexandria, 348; TM 23645; end of a petition), ll. 1–2: *ἄνδρα μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν μηδ[ὲ μέ]μψεως ὄντα ὑπεύθυνον*, ‘einen völlig unschuldigen und unbescholtenen Mann’ (transl. I. Andorlini & K. Maresch); and *P. Flor.* III 384 (Hermopolis?, 486; TM 19401; rent of thermal baths), ll. 28–29: *πρὸς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψιν ἢ αἰτ[ία]ν ἢ κατὰ γνώσκω εἰς σε ἐπακολουθῆσαι*, ‘so that neither blame nor guilt nor censure should fall on you’. The sense, as here, is always in the negative.

7. One is tempted to construe that someone (*ὄδε* refers to a name that is no longer visible) ‘is enough for himself’, as in Arr. *Epict.* 3.13.6: *τὸ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ ἀρκεῖν*, ‘to be able to be self-sufficient’ (transl. W. A. Oldfather).

8. The reconstructed oath is conjectural; if it were conclusively proven to appear here, it would constitute the earliest instance of the formula *ἐξορκίζω τινά κατὰ τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ καλλινίκου κορυφῆς*, *vel sim.* See Worp 1982: 215–216 and Packman 1993.

10. Perhaps *ἢ δει*[ (e.g. *δει*[νότης) or *ἦδει*, ‘he/she knew’.

P. Duke inv. 191

19.7 × 12.6 cm

Antinoopolis

Fig. 2

ο]ις νόμοις νενομο[θέτ]ηται τὸν μὴ θρησ[κι]ῶν? θείων ηδευμεποι[  
 ]τικων ἀπολαύειν ε[ἰ]δὼς ἐαυτὸν μόνον με εἴργεσθαι τῆς ἐαυ[τ  
 ]τάγματος διηγορευμ[έ]νοις καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς [  
 4 ]η ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡμῶν ἐφάνη καὶ ἂν ὦσιw [

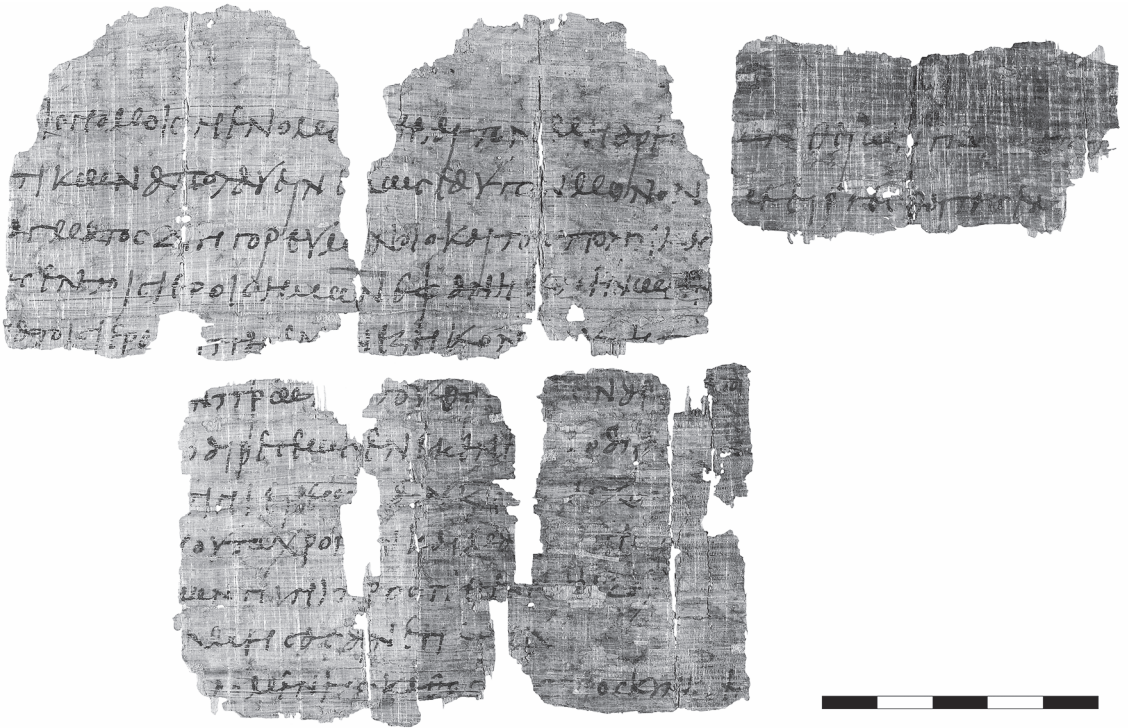


Fig. 2. P. Duke inv. 191  
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 Duke University, NC)

]να τοῖς ἱερε[ύς]ι παρέχ[ει]ν<sup>?</sup> ἐξήκον[τα] δε. ης...[  
 ]ν πρώτ[ον] τοῦ θρη[σκ]εῦειν ἀρ[...].]εται[  
 8 προ]ραίρεως ἔνεκεν η[.]ρατρ[...].[  
 ]τιν ἱερέω[.] ἀδικί[α]ν ζωζον[τ  
 ]. οὔτω χρόν[ο]ν καὶ μα[...].η[...].[  
 ]ων νυνὶ προστιθέντων δοχ[  
 12 το]λμήσασαν ἐπένευ[κ  
 ]λομένης καθος[...]. προσκυνη[...].[

7. αἰρεσεως: ρ written over θ

... the laws, it has been decreed that he who ... (does?) not ... of the divine service ... enjoy the ..., for he knew to be the only one preventing me from ... what was established and the municipal ... it appeared in our temples and if they were ... where ... to provide (?) to priests sixty ... the first ... of worshipping ... because of policy ... injustice, preserved ... time ... those (?) putting forward ... she who dared bringing ... sacred ...

1. The upper margin seems to be visible. Letters and words at the end of the line are uncertain except for the genitive *θείων* and another genitive (*ἰων*) preceding it. Out of desperation, we might imagine the genitive plural of *θεία θρησκεία*, ‘divine service’, which matches the overall topic of the petition and works well with *νομοθετεῖν*. Given the available space, we are obliged to conjecture that a mistake was made (*ει* misspelled as *ι*).

2. The petitioner employs here, as in inv. 193, l. 5, the first person. Before *ἀπολαύειν*, perhaps there was a plural genitive representing the object of ‘enjoying’ (e.g. *σωμα*]*τικῶν*).

3. Perhaps *ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς διὰ τοῦ δια]τάγματος διηγορευμένοις*, ‘in accordance with what has been commanded by the edict’; the feminine plural name governing *πολιτικός* might well be *λειτουργίας*. See *P. Flor.* III 382 (Moirai, 222; TM 19394), l. 13: *οἱ αὐτοὶ κύριοι τῶ NN ἑβδομ]ήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἤσθας ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς λειτουργίαις κτλ.*, ‘The same lords to NN: for seventy years you have been involved in the municipal liturgies ...’. Overall, lines 1–3 appear to refer to regulations concerning liturgical services.

5. After *ἐξήκον*, the reading is uncertain. One is tempted to read *ἐξηκον- [τ]αἰτης*, but unless the lost *tau* was stretched over the width of two letters, the lacuna seems to be too large for it. Also, the top of the letter before the supposed *της* is not ribbon-like as one would expect an *alpha* to be; rather, it resembles the top of a *delta*. Perhaps *δὲ τῆς* or *ζῆς*?

6. Once again, the concept of *θρησκεία*/*θρησκεύειν*, ‘divine service’, surfaces here. At the end of the surviving line reconstruct, e.g., *ἀρ[έσκ]εται* or *ἀρ[μόζ]εται*.

7. The genitive *προαιρέσεως* is probably connected to *ἔνεκεν*, which Ammon might well have used in its classical and literary fashion, that is postponed to the genitive it governs (cfr. LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v. *ἐνεκα*). Perhaps *ἔνεκεν ἧ [π]αρατρ...[...]. [κτλ.*

8. The reading at the end of the line is uncertain: perhaps *ἱερέω[ς] ἀδικί[α]ν ζῶζον[τος] .. ἱερέω[ν] ... ζωζόν[των]*.

11. The ending of the participle suggests that a woman – or a feminine entity – is involved.

12. After the sequence *προσκυνη[.]* there is an upright in ligature with another stroke, perhaps the left portion of a letter: it might be *ει* or *εω*, with a quite

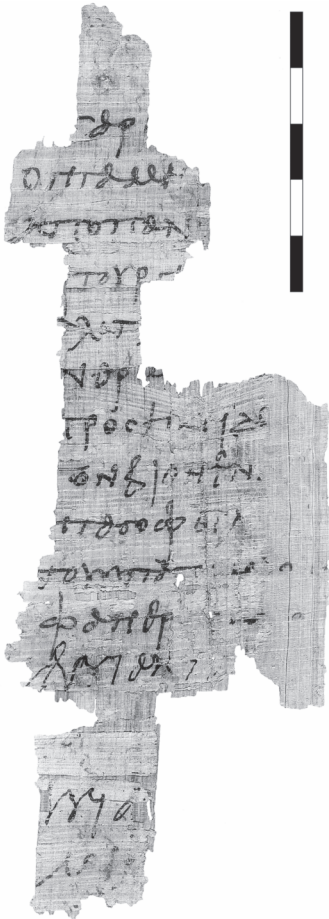
straight and tall *epsilon*, or simply an *eta*. Perhaps *προσκυνή[ε]η[ or, with όφει]λομένης, προσκυνή[ε]ω[ε, 'of the due adoration'? See the much later PSI XIII 1345 (Apollonopolis, late 7th cent.; TM 38683), ll. 15–16: τούτων δὲ α[υ]τῶν προηγείσθω τ[ήν] ἐποφειλομένην προσκύνῃσιν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπονείμει τῷ δεσπότη μου κτλ., 'Let all those things be preceded by the overdue adoration to be rendered by myself to my lord ...'. After καθος one letter lost, then the end of an *upsilon* or a *sigma*. Perhaps, in agreement with ]λομένης, the genitive of the very rare adjective καθόσιος, 'devout' (LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v.), supposedly in two endings only?*

P. Duke inv. 195

5.8 × 16.4 cm

Antinoopolis

Fig. 3



[...]σαρ.[  
 ὅτε τὰ μη.[  
 ἀπὸ παντ[  
 4 [λε]ιουργ.[  
 [ἀ]λλοτρι[  
 [ἀ]νθρωπ[...].[  
 προσήκει δ.[  
 8 τὸν βίον ἐν .[  
 [.]ητας ὀφθαλ[μ  
 τοὺς πατρῷους θ[εοῦς  
 φαηθρ[...].[  
 12 φεναν...[ (m. 2)  
 [...].  
 αλεια.[  
 [...]λοι.[  
 -----

Fig. 3. P. Duke inv. 195

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1. The upper margin might be visible.

4. Once again, the liturgies were mentioned.

7. δο[ or δε[.

9. Traces of an *alpha* are so faint that one is tempted to read *δφειλ*[. However, the letter after the *phi* is a *theta* rather than an *epsilon*. Perhaps read ]η τὰς δφ-  
θαλ[μικὰς?

10. The 'gods of the fatherland' also appear in inv. 190 fr. a + 192, col. ii, l. 7.

11-15. These lines appear to have been written by a different pen and a different hand, or in a different moment. The point of the pen is definitely sharper. The textual content is minimal and no explanation can be offered so far. In line 15, there might be no letter before the *lambda*, the entire line being in slight *eis-thesis*. Traces of the last letter might be an *omicron* or a *pi*.

P. Duke inv. 190, fr. b	5 × 10.5 cm	Antinoopolis
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. c	3.6 × 2.5 cm	Fig. 4
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. d	2.6 × 2.6 cm	
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. e	2.5 × 3.7 cm	
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. f	1.1 × 2.7 cm	
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. g	2.2 × 1.2 cm	
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. h	1.9 × 1.3 cm	
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. i	3.3 × 6.7 cm	
P. Duke inv. 190, fr. l	2.2 × 6.4 cm	

fr. b	fr. c	fr. e
-----	-----	-----
νομων α[	]απα.[	]πληγ[
τοῖς θεοῖς [	τῆς] ἑὴς ἀρετῆ[	]καμοι[
ποιεῖν καὶ [	] τοὔτό γε α[	]δέιξεω[
4 μενοννθ[		
τησῆ καθο[	fr. d	fr. f
μηδεμίαν [	-----	-----
τῆς ἀληθει[	]χρη τῆ[	]υ[
8 κριθς επ[	]εων ἐπ[	]υνα[
ὑπο .[	] .[.]αρ.[	-----
καν.[	-----	
.[		
-----		



Fig. 4. P. Duke inv. 191, fr. b-i, l  
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fr. g	fr. h	fr. i	fr. l
-----	-----	]φθ[	-----
]ων..[	]ειδυ[	]ν ειτ[	]ροστα[
]..[	-----	]ιον β.[	]ηκατ.[
-----		4 ]επεσπ.[	]αθεις[
		]ιερ[	4 ]επι[
		-----	-----

Fr. b

5. Perhaps καθολικὴ τάξις. The *rationalis* ~καθολικός, involved as he was in organising the fiscal revenues from the entire *dioecesis*, might well have been called forth in a matter of fraudulent liturgy-avoidance.

8. Perhaps κατέκριθης, 'you were judged against', or κριθῆς, 'of barley'.

Fr. c

2. Someone is addressed through the abstract formula of etiquette (ἡ σὴ ἀρετῆ).  
See Zilliacus 1949: 39–50 and Agostini 2002: 60.

Fr. d

1. ᾗ]χρῖ or μᾑ]χρῖ.

Fr. i

1. Either the upper margin or a blank space.

P. Duke inv. 190, fr. m

9.2 × 16.6 cm

Antinoopolis

P. Duke inv. 190, fr. n

5.2 × 14.5 cm

Fig. 5

		]η τούτων [
	]μην ἐχ[	β]ουλευθεις [
	] καὶ οἶον [	ἀ]ντὶ τοῦ χαρις[θέντος
4	]ςης ἡμέρα[ς	]ς ὁδε καὶ ἀρ[
	]ς μηδὲ ψι[	]ς ὦν ἀξ[
	]ων Αὐτοκρατ[όρων τε καὶ] [Και]ζάρων [	
	]αμεν κατατ[.....]μον[...].σιν ὠδε[	
8	]ων δικαίων [.....]σθαι κατ[ὰ] δὲ τῆς σῆς [	
	ἐπ]ὶ τοῖς τε π[εποι]ημένοις [ἐ]ξενεχθῆναι [	
	]ον περὶ τοῦ χρ[ῆσθ]αι τὴν τάξ[ι]ν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ[	
	] ὁμολόγηται [.]. εἶπε δεῖ κοι[ν]ωνεῖν αὐ[	
10	γ]εγόμενος? δ[εῖ] σε ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς [	
	]ένοις σοι [ὑπὸ το]ῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπ[ότο]υ σαφ[	
	] τῶν νῦν [	] αζομ[
	]ετας χειρ[	]επ[
16	]ορ[	
	-----	

6. Perhaps δεσποτῶν ἡμ]ῶν.

7. Perhaps μόν[οι] or μόν[ον] ὧσιν ὠδε κτλ.

8. After κατ[ὰ] δὲ τῆς σῆς, probably an abstract formula of etiquette, as in l. 12.



Fig. 5. P. Duke inv. 191, fr. m+n  
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10. The accusative *τάξις* might be the subject of an infinitive which is in turn substantivised by *περὶ τοῦ* ('about the fact that his office uses ...'). Ammon refers to the office (*τάξις*) of his addressee, obviously a member of the Roman administration.

11. Perhaps *δ[ο]κεῖτε* or *δ[ο]κεῖτε*, followed by *δεῖ κουνωνεῖν*.

12–13. Once again, higher officials and perhaps an emperor (*δεσπότης*) are mentioned.

15. Perhaps *]ε τὰς χεῖρ[α*.

P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a  
P. Duke inv. 192

55.5 × 8 cm  
35.5 × 8 cm

Antinoopolis  
Figs. 6–7

col. i (= P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a, col. i)

-----  
[.....]..[.....]  
[ ±40 ]ν ὑπομν[η]μάτων κα[.....]...[.....].γενομεν[  
[ ±40 ]ων ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ σο[ῦ? .....]θεῖσι γράμμασι  
4 [ ±40 ]ας κακίᾳ[ς μ]ἔν ὅτι δέον ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν εἰς [υγ]χωρήσει ἐν  
[ ±40 ]...ε. ἐνι[.....]ικαὶ δικαίως διακατέχουσιν [ἐ]βάσκακων  
].[.....]των ἐπιτη[.....].ε...[.....]μεινων

6. ε.: perhaps εἰ corr. ex η

... of the minutes (?) ... you, or with (?) the papers submitted by you (?) ...  
evils, on the one hand because we ought to be benevolent towards him if he  
will yield in ... he envied those who rightfully occupied ...

col. ii (= P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a, col. ii)

-----  
[.....]..[.....] ±38 [.....] ἀρεβ[  
[.....].[.] τροφήν [.]α[.....]...[.....].ζηνης[.....]κριθῆναι, οὐ  
μόν[ον ὅτ]ι ψευδεῖς κα[ί]  
παρανόμους δεῖσαι ἐ[τόλ]μησεν τῇ θ[ε]ι[ότη]τι τῶν [δε]σ[πό]των  
ἡμῶν διαπέ[μπε]σθαι τοιαῦτ[α]  
4 παραλογισάμενος, οἷα μηδὲν ἀπεγν[ω]σ[μέν]ος ἄνθρωπος ἐτόλμα  
πρὸς τὴν ἐνθεῶν γνῶσιν  
φανερῶς οὕτω ψεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι πρ[ο]φ[ά]σει τῆς ἱερωζύνης  
ἀλειουργησίας ἀπόλαυσιν οὕτω μει-  
κόθεος β[οᾶ κ]αὶ ἀσεβῆς ὡς τὰ ἑξήκοντα ἔτ[η] ὁ γ[ε]γονὼς ἄχ[ρ]ι  
ταύτης τῆς β[ασιλ]είας προελήλυθεν οὐκ εἰς ἱ[  
εἰς ἱεράς κ[αὶ τοῦς?] πατρώους θεοῦς [.....] πρὶν ἢ μικρᾶς  
προτέραν [.....]π[.....]λης φο[.....].[.....].[.....]ζησπ[.....]

5–6. I. μικόθεος || 6. ουκ εἰ-: ε corr. ex α



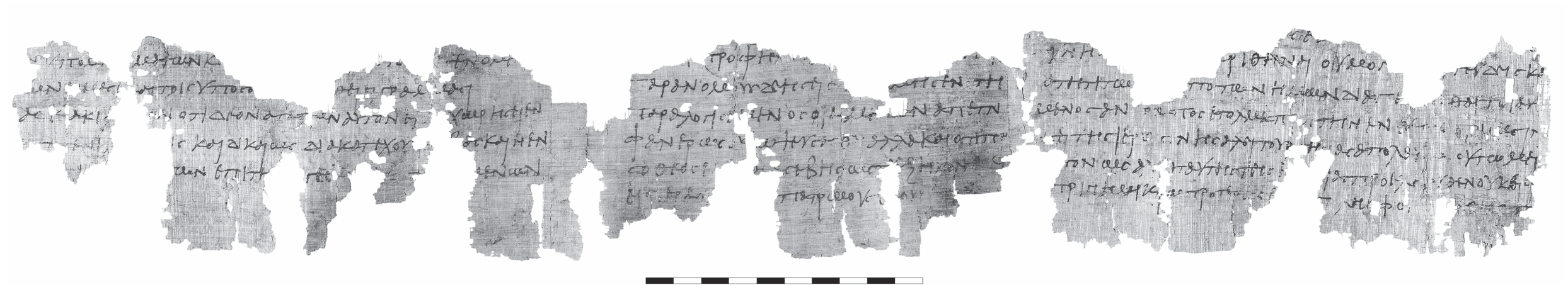


Fig. 6. P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a (© David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, NC)



Fig. 7. P. Duke inv. 192 (© David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, NC)

## Col. ii

For the sake of clarity, in Fig. 8 below I present here the clause structure of the text preserved in col. ii as I understand it. As expected from Ammon's refined education, the text is complex and presents more than one layer of dependent clauses. Some attention is paid to balance: the result clause *τοιαῦτα ... οἷα* mirrors that in the following lines (*οὕτω ... ὡς προελέλυθεν*), with the additional detail of being a third-level dependent clause (it is governed by the participle *παραλογισάμενος*) rather than a second-level one.

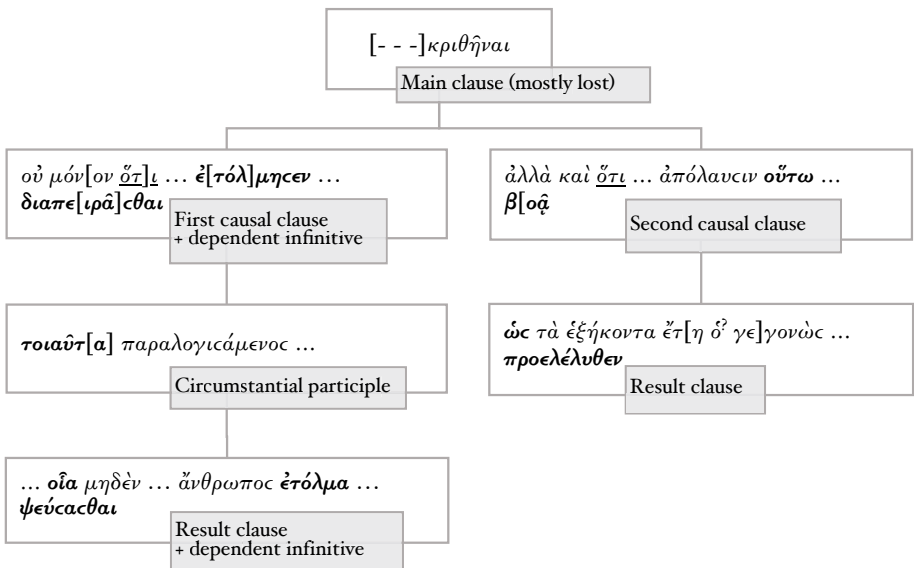


Fig. 8. Structure of the text in P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a, col. ii

2. Perhaps ]η[ν] before *τροφήν*.

2-3. Both *ψευδής* and *παράνομος* are found only here in association with *δέησις*.

3. Before ]οτητι, there is room for only three letters; one can safely expect an abstract expression of etiquette used to indicate the emperors. Both *ἀ[γι]ότητι*

and θ[ει]ότητι are possible; I prefer θ[ει]ότητι by virtue of comparison with Eus. *h.e.* 9.1.3–6, where a letter from a praetorian prefect of the East is quoted in Greek translation that refers twice to the emperors Galerius and Constantine I as ἡ θειότης τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν θειοτάτων or δυνατωτάτων αυτοκρατόρων.<sup>23</sup> The infinitive διαπέμπεσθαι is here meant in medial form (LSJ<sup>9</sup>, *s.v.* διαπέμπω II, III).

4–5. The use of both παραλογίζεσθαι ('cheat', 'reason falsely') and ψεύδεσθαι ('lie', 'falsify', 'deceive') with the same reference (τοιαῦτα ... οἶα) emphasises, in the author's mind, the mischief done by the defendant; it is also difficult to translate properly.

4. The collocation ἀπεγνωσμένος ἄνθρωπος is rare. Passages such as D.S. 14.66.5–67.1: καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ᾧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, ὑπηρέτης ἀρχαίων, ἀπεγνωσμένος ἄνθρωπος, 'And these deeds, O Zeus and all the gods, were the work of a public clerk, of a desperate man' (transl. C. H. Oldfather), referring to Dionysius the Elder – a man who has given up all hope of being redeemed and thus plunges deeper and deeper into evildoing – seem to point to a translation such as 'a desperate man': only a thoroughly debauched individual would dare to lie to the emperors' faces.

One would have expected a more complex sentence, something like 'never would a man who is not/unless he is completely desperate, dare to concoct such lies' etc., meaning that the accused individual is that desperate. Instead, we only have μηδὲν ἀπεγνωσμένος ἄνθρωπος ἐτόλμα, 'never would have a desperate man dared', but a desperate man, by definition, is capable of anything. Alternatively, one may take the passive past participle ἀπεγνωσμένος for something like 'recognised innocent' or 'acquitted' (LSJ<sup>9</sup>, *s.v.* ἀπογιγνώσκω II.2, III.2; the opposite of ἐγνωσμένος 'recognised guilty': LSJ<sup>9</sup>, *s.v.* γιγνώσκω II.1–2): that is, the defendant has actually been dispensed from contributing to the liturgies, and yet he insists with his lies.

The imperfect ἐτόλμα stands here for the consequent in a third conditional clause ('no one else would have done that') with implicit antecedent (ἀπεγνωσμένος, 'desperate', or 'having been acquitted?'), and is here used without ἄν, perhaps

<sup>23</sup> The official letter, emanated by Sabinus (*PLRE* I, p. 791: 'Sabinus 3') in 311 at the beginning of Maximinus II Daza's reign, was meant to temporarily stop the persecution against Christians in the east, as a prelude to the enforcement of the Edict of Serdica (311); according to Eusebius, Maximinus wished to slow down the effects of this enforcement. The Greek θειότης was probably the translation of the Latin *diuinitas*: see, e.g., Auson. *grat. act.* 10.45: *Et nunc ego, piissime imperator, ne fastigium auditorii sacri, dictorum tuorum timidus interpres, offendam, diuinitatis tuae prope cum piaculo uerba transcurro*, 'A questo punto, imperatore piissimo, per non offendere la maestà di questo sacro uditorio col farmi timido interprete delle tue parole, non faccio altro che commentare i termini che ha usato la tua divinità' (transl. A. Pastorino).

giving a nuance to the verb such as ‘no one should have done that’.<sup>24</sup> For *ἐνθεος γνώσις*, which has not been documented in papyri (but see *P. Oxy.* XVIII 2193 [Oxyrhynchos, late 4th – early 5th cent.; TM 35623]), ll. 15–19: *διὸ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ γραῦς ἡτήσατο γράμματα πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐνθεον γνώμην*, ‘Wherefore the old woman came and demanded letters to your inspired judgment’ [transl. C. H. Roberts]), see *Eus. Ps.* 23.415.2; *Or. exp. in Pr.* 17.200.10; *Procl. in Ti.* 3.160.12.

5–6. These lines make it very clear that the defendant has gained and is currently enjoying an exemption from liturgies (*ἀλειτουρρησίας ἀπόλαυξι*) under the pretence that he belongs to the clergy (*πρ[οφ]άσει τῆς ἱερωσύνης*), despite the fact that he is already old enough to be exempted on an age basis: Diocletian’s and Maximianus’ abovementioned rescript in C. 10.50.3, for instance, draws the line at the age of fifty-five (see above, n. 18), and the defendant is older than sixty (*τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτ[η] δ’ γε]γονώς*).

5. For *προφάσει* + genitive, ‘under the pretence of something’, and *πρόφασις* as an ‘alleged motive’ (LSJ<sup>9</sup> *s.v.* *πρόφασις* I.1–2), see, e.g., *BGU* II 648 (Terenouthis, 164 or 196; TM 20177), ll. 8–12: *ὁ τοῦτου ἀδελφὸς Πανετβῆς καὶ Θαήσις Πατερμουθέως ἀνεμιά μου βιαίως ἀντι[λ]αμβάνονται τ[ο]ῦ πατρικοῦ μου μέρους προφάσει γεωργίας βασιλικῆς γῆς*, ‘His brother Panetbes and Thaesis daughter of Patermouthis, my cousin, took forcefully possession of my paternal portion, under the pretence of cultivation of the royal land’. Roughly the same meaning, with less poignancy, is perhaps to be found in *P. Oxy.* XVII 2110 (Oxyrhynchos, 370; TM 17494), ll. 13–15: *Σαρμάτης λογιστεύσας εἶπ(εν): ἴσως κατ’ ἀγνοίαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν Ἑρμείας ὁ πρόεδρος ὑ[π]έλαβεν Μακρόβιον ὄντα ἐκ τῶν κδ’ τῶν διατυπωθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου [Τα]τιανοῦ, οἷ[τος] δὲ οὐκ ὀφίλει ἐνοχλεῖσθαι προφάσει ἐπιμελείαις*, ‘Sarmates, ex-*logistes*, said, “Perhaps it was in ignorance that our brother Hermias the president impressed Macrobius who is among the 24 ordained by my lord Tatianus, and he ought not to be burdened on the score of an administration’ (transl. A. S. Hunt). In the sentence *οἷ[τος] δὲ οὐκ ὀφίλει ἐνοχλεῖσθαι προφάσει ἐπιμελείαις*, ‘he ought not to be burdened on the score of an administration’, the *ἐπιμέλεια* seems to stand as an unworthy cause for Macrobius to be burdened with. The word *ἀλειτουρρησία*, ‘exemption from liturgies’, is not frequent in papyri, and usually appears in petitions and concessions (e.g. *P. Oxy.* I 40 [Oxyrhynchos, late 2nd – early 3rd cent.; TM 28401], ll. 8–10: *δίδαξον τ[ὸν στρα]τηγόν, εἰ ἰατρὸς εἶδημος[ι]ῶν ἐπιτη[δειώ]σ[ι]σιν καὶ ἔξεις τὴν ἀλειτουρρησίαν*, ‘If you are a doctor officially and properly practising, show it to the *strategos*, and you shall have the immunity’ [transl. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, with changes]).

<sup>24</sup> The particle can sometimes be omitted, if the protasis conveys the idea of obligation, appropriateness or logical consequence: see HEILMANN 1963: 330 (§480). A slightly different perspective in VAN EMDE BOAS *et alii* 2017: 443–444 (§34.17), where the absence of *ἄν* in counterfactual statements is only justified by the use of specific verbs (*ἔδει*, *ἐχρήην*, *μέλλω*, etc.).

6. This reconstruction has mainly been based on the fact that a main verb is required here ( $\beta[\dots]αι$  cannot be an infinitive) and that a  $\thetaεος$  can hardly be  $\acute{\alpha}σεβής$ , therefore the letters  $\thetaεος$  are probably part of a longer word. The adjective  $\muικόθεις$ , here slightly misspelled (putting  $\epsilon$  for  $\iota$  is quite frequent at this stage), matches the following  $\acute{\alpha}σεβής$  well; if we connect them with  $\kappa]αί$ , the remaining space in the lacuna allows for a very short verb beginning with  $\beta$ -. Here,  $\betaοᾶν$  is employed in the sense of ‘shout out for’, ‘celebrate aloud’: see LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v.  $\betaοᾶω$  I.2; II.4. The preposition  $\acute{\alpha}\chi[\rho]ι$  suggests the supplement  $\beta[αχιλε]ίας$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\chi[\rho]ι ταύτης τῆς \beta[αχιλε]ίας$  seems to mean that the accused individual has been doing something ‘until the present reign’, the reign of the current emperor(s).

6–7. The lacunae in the last line of the fragment are such as to compromise reconstruction of the passage. Between lines 6 and 7, there might have been the double accusative  $\piροελέλυθεν οὐκ εἰς [ιδρύς]εις ἱεράς κ[αὶ τοὺς] πατρώους θεούς$ , ‘he has come forward, not towards the holy foundations/abodes [i.e. the temples] and the gods of the fatherland ...’. Words such as  $\acute{\iota}δρυσις$  and  $\acute{\iota}δρυμα$  are closely linked to temples (LSJ<sup>9</sup>, s.v.  $\acute{\iota}δρυμα$  2 and  $\acute{\iota}δρυσις$  I–II)<sup>25</sup> and, though not found in papyri to date, see the compound  $\kappaαθιδρυσις$ , ‘foundation feast’, in *P. Louvre* I 4 (Soknopaiou Nesos, before 166; TM 11853), col. iv, l. 73:  $Τῦβι η· καθιδρύσεως ναοῦ θεοῦ Κοκνοπαίου ἡμερῶ(ν) ζ ἀνὰ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) δ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) κη$ , ‘Le 8 Tybi, pour la fête de la fondation du temple du dieu Soknopaios, 7 jours à 4 art. de blé: 28 art. de blé’ (transl. L. Capron). Alternatively, perhaps it was  $οὐκ εἰς [β]εις ἱεράς$ , ‘the sacred ibises’, although in this case it is not clear what point Ammon would be trying to make. Regarding ibises being kept in temples and fed, see, e.g., *BGU XVIII* 2757 (Herakleopolis, 78 BCE; TM 47221), ll. 4–6:  $εἰς τροφή[ν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην] ἐπιμέλειαν [τ]ῶν ἰβ[ίων καὶ ἱεράκων]$  καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ων ἱερῶν ζώων κτλ., ‘for the feeding and the overall care of the ibises, the hawks<sup>2</sup> and the other sacred animals ...’, or *SB III* 6029 (Omboi, 77 BCE; TM 5647), ll. 1–4:  $\acute{\epsilon}τους \epsilon$ ,  $\Thetaῶνθ κγ$ .  $Ταφῆς ἰβίων καὶ ἱεράκων καὶ τῆ ἀλην ἐπιμελ(είας) ἱερῶν (τῶν) ζών του δ (ἔτους) κτλ.$ , ‘Year fifth, Thoth 23. (For the) burial of ibises and hawks and the overall care of sacred animals in the year fourth ...’.

7. The conjunction  $\piρὶν$  normally governs the simple infinitive; it can sometimes be found with  $\eta$ , as in *BGU IV* 1071 (Krokodilopolis, 4th cent.; TM 31015),

<sup>25</sup> See also Pl. 909e8–910a1:  $καὶ τοῦναντίον ὅταν εὐπορίας τινὸς λάβωνται, καθιεροῦν τε τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ καὶ θυσίας εὐχεσθαι καὶ ἰδρύσεις ὑπὸ χνεῖσθαι θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ παισὶν θεῶν$ , ‘and conversely for those who have had a slice of good fortune, to dedicate whatever happens to be at hand at the moment, and to vow sacrifice and promise the founding of shrines to gods and demi-gods and children of gods’ (transl. R. G. Bury), and Plu. 360c4: ‘... φλεγόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ’ ὕβρεως’ ἐδέξαντο θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας καὶ ναῶν ἰδρύσεις κτλ., ‘... “with souls enkindled with the fire of youth and folly ...” have assumed to be called gods and to have temples dedicated in their honour’ (transl. F. C. Babbitt).

ll. 5-6: *ὡς δὲ πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολειτί[αν ἐχρημάτιζεν] κτλ.*, ‘as he deliberated before receiving Roman citizenship’; see also the list in Van Emde Boas *et alii* 2017: 537 (§47.2). One is tempted to supply *πρὶν ἢ μικρᾶς προτέρας* ἐ[ξ ἐπι]π[ο]λῆς, ‘before ... the first from a small surface ...’, but the line is missing too many letters for the supplement to be viable.

### Col. iii

1. If one reads *ἐ]στι* or *ἐ]στὶ μοι*, this would mark a first-person tone for the section – or the whole document: see inv. 191, l. 2, and 193, l. 5.

2-3. Perhaps *διαλ]αληθέντα*, ‘the things talked about’ or ‘discussed’. In association with *προσφέρειν*, the sentence might sound like ‘to have met/dealt/agreed with the conditions being discussed’.

3. The infinitive is conjectural; the first person *προσενή[νοχα]* might fit the bill as well, if the likewise conjectural reading at line 1 were to be confirmed.

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## APPENDIX

P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a and fr. 192 both show a series of similar shapes the dimensions of which and distances from one iteration to the next vary in a regular way. The illustration below (Fig. 9) shows the main repeating sequence: a mound (signalled by a semi-circular shape) followed by a hole (signalled by a triangle pointing downwards). The distance between the tops of the subsequent mounds in both fragments decreases slightly from 11 to 6.5 cm, on an irregular basis (sometimes 1 cm, sometimes half a centimetre, sometimes no decrease at all); the column represented in inv. 192

is very likely directly following the second column in fr. a. Therefore, according to the available measurements, between the last visible mound in inv. 190 fr. a and the first visible in inv. 192 one can suppose a distance of between 8.5 and 9 cm. This distance must include (Fig. 10):

- 2 cm between the last mound of fr. a and the end of the fragment;
- 4 cm between the beginning of inv. 192 and its first mound (of which only half is occupied by the writing frame, the rest being part of the intercolumnium);
- a lost portion of papyrus measuring between 2.5 and 3 cm.

If  $2.5/3$  cm is added there to the 2 cm of intercolumnar space between the beginning of inv. 192 and the beginning of the writing frame, the result is 4.5 to 5 cm of intercolumnium as a whole, which is consistent with the extant measurements between fr. a, col. i and ii (see above).

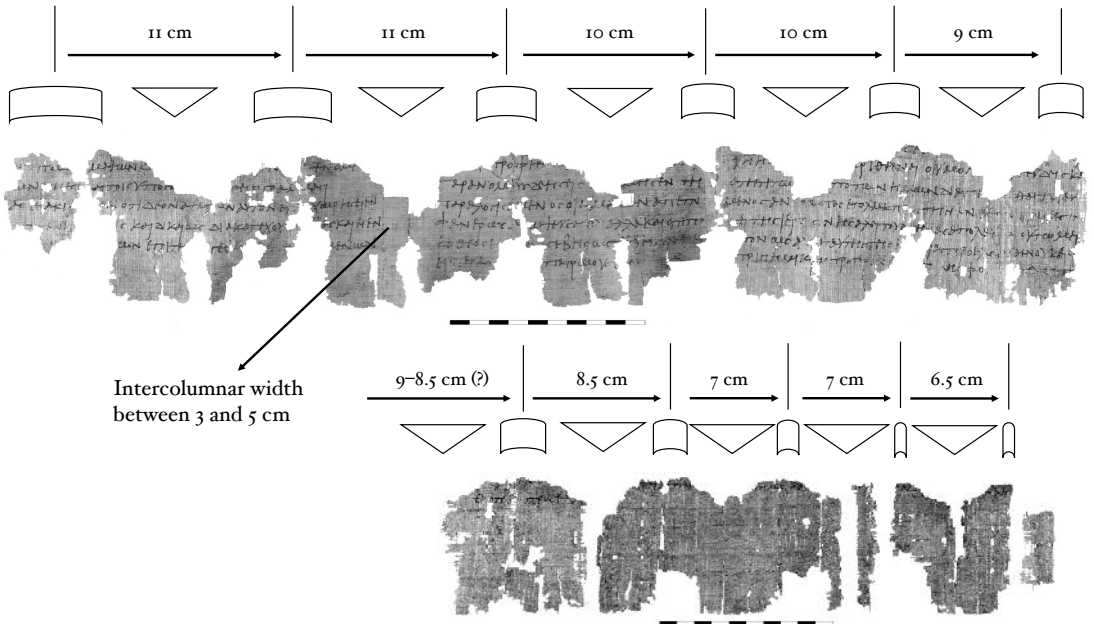


Fig. 9. The arrangement of columns in P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a + 192

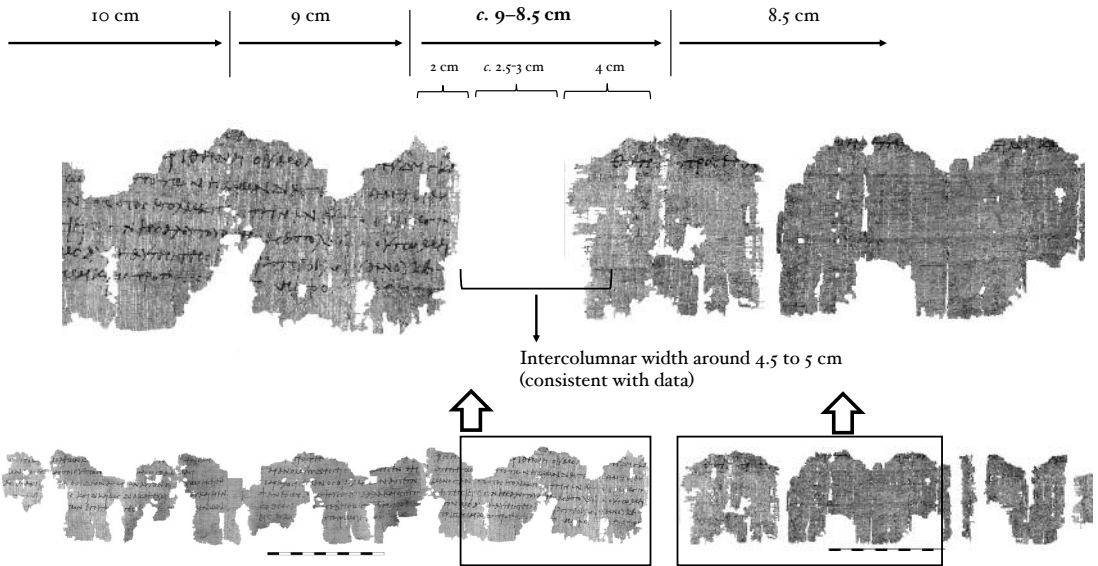


Fig. 10. The distance between P. Duke inv. 190, fr. a and inv. 192

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VOL. LV (2025)

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Computer design and DTP by  
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Cover design by  
**Maryna Wiśniewska**

Warszawa 2025

ISSN 0075–4277

The journal is published with financial support from the University of Warsaw

Wydanie I (wersja pierwotna)

Nakład: 100 egz.

Druk i oprawa: Sowa Sp. z o.o., ul. Raszyńska 13, 05-500 Piaseczno

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**Keywords:** oracular inquiry, Roman Egypt, private letters, kinship terminology, documentary papyri, palimpsest, family relationships.

Lajos BERKES & Anton KISTOL

*Jesus’s reply to Abgar and a tax receipt:*

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**Keywords:** slavery, slave trade, sale contracts, Egypt, Arabic papyri.

Katarzyna DE LELLIS-DANYS, Grzegorz OCHALEA,

✉ Aleksandra PAWLIKOWSKA-GWIAZDA

*Coptic and Copto-Greek ostraca in Warsaw (O. Vars. Copt.)* ..... 65

**Abstract:** First editions and re-editions of six Coptic and Copto-Greek ostraca from the collections of the Warsaw National Museum and the University of Warsaw. Five objects come from the Polish-French excavations at Edfu (Egypt) in 1930s, one from the Polish works at Faras (Nubia), and one is most likely of Middle-Egyptian provenance. The pieces from Edfu represent the well-known types of texts on potsherds known from other publications of the material from this site. They include receipts and accounts connected with deliveries of wine and crops. The text from Middle Egypt is an addition to the collection some 170 ostraca of the so-called *etmoulon* type. The ostrakon from Faras is the only literary text in the lot, preserving the beginning of Psalm 1. The edited ostraca are also studied from the perspective of their materiality, presenting the characteristics of vessel forms and fabrics used for their production.

**Keywords:** Coptic and Copto-Greek ostraca, Edfu, Faras, Middle Egypt, *etmoulon* ostraca, wine, literary ostraca, Psalms, materiality.

Giulio IOVINE

*Fragmentary legal document(s?) from the archive of Ammon scholasticus (P. Duke inv. 190-193 and 195)* ..... 111

**Abstract:** Edition, translation and commentary to some scattered fragments from the Duke University papyri collection (P. Duke inv. 190-193 and 195), which are part of the so-called archive of Ammon *scholasticus* (1st half of 4th

cent. CE) and may cover a single occurrence, a petition or records of court proceedings, referring an individual pretending to be a priest to escape his liturgies.

**Keywords:** archive of Ammon, late antique Egypt, Egyptian priesthood, petition, court proceedings.

Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ

*An inscription from Hermopolis* ..... 145

**Abstract:** Hermopolis was an important cultic and administrative centre of Graeco-Roman Egypt. During three seasons (1987–1990) a Polish-Egyptian archaeological expedition directed by Marek Barański carried out excavations in the city's Great Basilica. The inscription under discussion is one of the results of these excavations.

**Keywords:** Hermopolis, archaeological works, Greek inscription, Hermes.

Gabriella MESSERI

*Conto di vino (SB XII 10892 verso)* ..... 155

**Abstract:** First edition of a wine account extending over six columns. Columns i–iv (iv is lost) record the sale of vintage wine and columns v–vi payments to the parties involved (intermediaries, administrators, camel drivers, and donkey drivers) made with the profits from the sale of wine. The vineyards are located in the area of Karanis. The account was most likely written in 194 CE using the back of the land administration register SB XII 10892 edited by Anna Świderek in *JJP* 16/17 (1971) and republished by the author *JJP* LIV (2024).

**Keywords:** wine account, wine production, wine prices, land transport, Karanis (Arsinoites).

Radosław MIŚKIEWICZ

*Diocles' Law (Dem. 24.42) and the problem of the validity of laws in Athens in the late fifth century BCE* ..... 179

**Abstract:** The article examines the significance of Diocles' Law (Dem. 24.42) for the growing problem of (in)validity of laws in the Athenian legal order in the late fifth century BCE. Diocles' Law should be understood as part of the broader set of vital principles that constituted an 'evolving law reform' aimed at consolidating laws and strengthening the rule of law and democracy after deep constitutional crises. This study reconstructs the factual and legal background to which specific clauses of Diocles' Law refer (sections 2.1–2.4; *ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, κυρίου εἶναι*, the archonship of Euclides, *ἀναγεγραμμένοι*).

More broadly, it outlines the challenges the Athenians faced at that time, and the measures they took to address them, arising not only from the two oligarchic coups d'état, but also from mounting problems in their legal, constitutional, and judicial order. The article also argues that an analysis of Greek legal language – and its manoeuvrings as seen in Andocides' *On the Mysteries* – confirms that issues of the validity (*κυρίως εἶναι*) of laws must be distinguished from those concerning their application (*χρησθαί*). Even though the latter also played a role at the time, especially due to the *caesura* marked by the archonship of Eucleides (403/2), the central argument is that Diocles' Law was enacted to impose order specifically on the validity of laws at a very particular historical moment. This law was relevant retrospectively to 'the scrutiny of the laws', with the vital involvement of *ἀναγραφεῖς τῶν νόμων* from the beginning of their work in 410, and, more broadly, to future law-making. In addition (section 3), the article eventually identifies the principle of 'legal certainty', which underpinned the introduction of Diocles' Law, and formed a key part of Athenian legal culture at the end of the fifth century BCE.

**Keywords:** Diocles' Law; validity of law; application of law; classical Athens, law reform, law-making, the scrutiny of the laws, legal certainty, law consolidation.

Anna PLISECKA

*The stick and the carrot: Notes on P. Col. VI 123, ll. 6–8* ..... 237

**Abstract:** The article formulates a hypothesis that the penalties referred to in lines 6–8 of *P. Col. VI 123* (Alexandria, 200 CE) are related to two edicts copied in *P. Oxy. XLVII 3364* (Oxyrhynchus, 209 CE), ll. 1–9, in which Septimius Severus and Caracalla ordered the population to return to their homeland. In these edicts, penalties were imposed both on the fugitives and on their protectors, but additionally, as an incentive to follow the imperial order, a period of amnesty was announced. Similar amnesty is mentioned also in the Columbia papyrus.

**Keywords:** ἀπόκριμα, ἰδία, imperial edict, amnesty, petition.

Jakub URBANIK

*The purpose of P. Dionysia (P. Oxy. II 237) and its mysterious beginning* ..... 251

**Abstract:** This article presents a new hypothesis regarding the function the so-called *Petition of Dionysia* (*P. Oxy. II 237* = *P. Dionysia*). The study re-examines the papyrus' structure and its procedural context, focusing on its newly deciphered mysterious beginning (col. i) by Constantinos Balamoshev. The findings suggest that *P. Dionysia* be not the original petition but rather a copy, possibly official, produced during its administrative processing. I conjecture that the document represents a late procedural stage, possibly including the governor's final decision and subsequent requests for execution.

**Keywords:** Dionysia, juristic papyrology, Roman administration of justice, court/judicial procedure, Roman Egypt, local law, Reichsrecht, Volksrecht.

Joanna WEGNER

*Clerical authority in late antique Egypt: A papyrological perspective* ..... 283

**Abstract:** Papyrological sources from late antique Egypt attest to a variety of non-religious contexts in which clergy below the episcopal level – mainly presbyters and deacons – exercised authority in rural settlements. These contexts include formal and informal representation of village communities, mediation in conflict, and policing of the morals. While these phenomena have already drawn the attention of scholars, they were often viewed strictly as an outcrop of the religious authority wielded by the clergy. The present contribution is an attempt to nuance this perspective by taking into consideration the diverse socio-economic factors which contributed to the social standing of the clergy. It uses Pierre Bourdieu’s field theory, with its subsequent reiterations, as the main theoretical framework and builds on the concepts of capital accumulation and convertibility between social fields in order to arrive at a multifaceted analysis of the clerics’ position as fully integrated members of rural societies.

**Keywords:** late antiquity, Greek and Coptic papyri, clergy, institutional church, authority, field theory, forms of capital.

Marzena WOJTCZAK & Jakub URBANIK

*To sell or to have sold? Hypotheke-*prasis* and *dikaia* time in P. Budge* ..... 311

**Abstract:** A tiny archive composed of the famous Coptic arbitration protocol *P. Budge* and three associated Greek documents, a settlement of claims, a sale, and a loosely connected marriage document, bring forward a fascinating controversy of the tormented times between the Persian and the Arab conquests of Egypt. Its settlement testifies to the operative force of law, legal awareness of its users, and dispute-resolution strategies in an environment of intrinsic legal plurality. A new text edition, providing an in-depth study of this material, delving into the dispute resolution method, rhetorics, and proper reconstruction of the events, is presently in the works. Before it is published, we would like to present here an aspect of this matter, closely connected to the very origin of the dispute, viz. our hypothesis on the nature of the security provided by the borrower, the widow Thekla, to her creditors, the consorts Philemon and Thekla. This central matter of the *P. Budge* controversy witnesses the profound legal awareness of its parties. Operating within the legal framework provided by Roman law, and without attempts to transgress it, the law-users of seventh-century Edfu managed to bend and form it to serve best their needs, creating a flexible form of security,

fitting the circumstances of Thekla-the-Widow and the creditors couple. It is amazing to see how, even at the dusk of its domination of Egypt, the Roman legal *forma mentis* was so strongly present in this inherently plural society.

**Keywords:** Edfu, arbitration, late antique Egypt, securities, *hypothek-praxis*, *dikaia time*, legal practice, *apotage*, *hypothekimaia asphaleia*.

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