

Sworn Declarations of Removal from Herakleides Division, Arsinoite Nome

Declarations of *anachoresis* have long been known from the metropolis of Oxyrhynchos, all dating to the Julio-Claudian period¹. These notifications, sworn by the imperial oath, were submitted by relatives and other concerned parties to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis, in order to prevent tax officials from harrassing them for tax debts owed by another. The declarations whose lower portions are preserved state emphatically that the man who has removed abroad (*ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ξένην*) left behind no taxable property (*πόρος*), the item of greatest interest to the Roman fisc. These lower portions also carry the request that the name of man be entered in the list of those who have absconded (*διὸ ἀξιῶ ἀναγράφεσθαι τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσιν*)². Despite the address to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis in all Oxyrhynchos examples, it appears that at least some of the declarers also retained copies of what they submitted (1, 2, 4, and 6):

1. P.Oxy. II 253 (A.D. 19, archive of Tryphon the weaver): a man declares about his two brothers. The top of the declaration is missing, with 24 lines of text preserved; 13 × 19.3 cm.
2. P.Oxy. II 252³ (= W.Chres. 215, A.D. 19/20, archive of Tryphon the weaver): a man declares about his brother. The bottom of the declaration is missing, with 18 lines of text preserved; 9.7 × 16.5 cm.
3. P.Mich. X 580 (A.D. 19/20): a mother declares about her son. The bottom of the declaration is missing, with 11 lines of text preserved; 11.5 × 11.8 cm.
4. P.Oxy. II 251⁴ (A.D. 44, archive of Tryphon the weaver): a mother declares about her son. The entire text of 41 lines is preserved; 9.5 × 32.5 cm.
5. P.Oxy. XXXIII 2669 (A.D. 41/54): two brothers declare about a tenant, registered for the census as living in a house belonging to them. The bottom of the declaration is missing, with 20 lines of text preserved; 9.2 × 17.6 cm.
6. P.Gen. II 94 (A.D. 63/64; a copy of the original notification, line 1): a mother declares about her son. The entire text of 35 lines is preserved; 6.5 × 25 cm.

Lists of those who have removed abroad (*οἱ ἀνακεχωρηκότες*), however, are known primarily from the archive of Nemesion, son of Zoilos, *praktor argyrikon* at Philadelphia in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome, during the reigns of Julio-Claudian emperors. These lists, together with other documents from Nemesion's archive, have played an important role in fleshing out the problems faced by a collector of money taxes in a farming village during a period of overly-high floodings of the Nile⁵. A papyrus from

¹ See discussion with earlier bibliography in S. Strassi Zaccaria, *L'editto di M. Sempronius Liberalis*, Trieste 1988.

² Small variations occur: instead of *ἀναγράφεσθαι*, *ἀναγράψασθαι* or *ἀναγραφῆναι*; instead of *τοῦτον*, *αὐτόν*; and instead of *ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσιν*, *ἐν τῇ ἀνακεχωρηκόντων τάξει*.

³ For ameliorations to the text, see BL X 137; prosopographical discussion by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 92 (1992) 218.

⁴ For ameliorations to the text, see BL VIII 234.

⁵ See, in particular, the following, all with earlier bibliography: H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, Bonn 1964, 149–60; S. Strassi Zaccaria (*supra* note 1); G. Michael Browne in the introduction to P.Mich. X 594, pp. 64–67; A. E. Hanson, *The Keeping of Records at Philadelphia in the Julio-Claudian Period and the 'Economic Crisis Under Nero'*, Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology II, B. Mandilaras (ed.) Athens 1986, 261–277. For a description of Nemesion's archive, see A. E. Hanson, *Documents from Philadelphia drawn from the Census Register*, Actes XV Congrès international de papyrologie. Deuxième partie, Brussels 1979, 60–74. For other aspects of Nemesion's activities, see A. E. Hanson, *Village officials at Philadelphia: A model of Romanization in the Julio-Claudian period*, in: *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba*, L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci, (edd.) Bologna 1987, 429–440, and *Sworn Declaration to Agents from the centurion Cattius Catullus: P.Col. inv. 90*, in: *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas*, R. S. Bagnall, T. Gagos (edd.), Oakville, CT 2001, 91–97.

Nemesion's archive, SB IV 7463 (= P.Graux 3), was labeled by its editor "une déclaration écrite sous serment".⁶ That text, dated to 16 December 51, was submitted to agents from Ammonios, strategos of the Arsinoite nome, by Phaseis (?),⁷ son of Petearpsenesis, a keeper of sheep and goats, who declared, after swearing the imperial oath, that he did not have with him (εἰ μὴν μὴ ἔχ(ε)ῖν σὺν ἐμοί) Esouris, son of Nekpheros⁸, a shepherd. Apparently Esouris had formerly been in the declarer's employ. Unlike the declarations of *anachoresis* from Oxyrhynchos, nothing is said about Esouris' removal abroad, nor does a form of the verb ἀναχωρέω appear. Further, there is no mention that Esouris may, or may not, have left behind property for possible confiscation. Nonetheless, the information provided by this sworn declaration from the Herakleides division resembles what is said in those from Oxyrhynchos: a declarer swears in the name of the emperor that he or she does not know the whereabouts of a tax payer sought for arrears of the capitation taxes owed to Rome.

Since its first publication SB IV 7463 has been an isolated text, but I believe that P.Mich. inv. 786, although tattered and badly worn, significantly increases the likelihood that SB IV 7463 represents the form employed for declarations of *anachoresis* in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome during the reign of Claudius, when tax collectors were finding themselves unable to meet their quotas⁹. P.Mich. inv. 786 not only preserves the same format as SB IV 7463, but also the remnants of a very similar text. That is, both documents are narrow (the width of inv. 786 is 13.5 cm. and that of 7463, 11.5 cm.), are identical in height (28.5 centimeters), and the entire bottom half of both papyrus sheets has been left blank. Perhaps the height had been specified, so that the declarations could easily be glued with others from neighboring villages into a *tomos synkollesimos*¹⁰. Whether the agents from the *strategos* to whom the declarations were addressed retained a copy is unclear, but the *praktor* Nemesion was keeping these two copies in his files.

The text of the declarations is also nearly identical, with both making clear that a villager, registered for tax purposes at Philadelphia, is no longer resident where collectors expect to find him. The two declarations provide information analogous to what appears in the declarations from Oxyrhynchus, and although different formulae and wording are employed in the two nomes, the purpose of all the declarations is the same¹¹. It is particularly unfortunate that lines 8–12 in the Michigan text are so lacunose, for they seem to turn to the question of property that might be seized to settle the back taxes.

The imperial titlature shows that P.Mich. inv. 786 must be dated to the reign of Claudius, although I have been unable to read the regnal year (l. 16). At the same time, the death of the declarant, Gaion, son of Asklepiades, in Kaisareios of Claudius' tenth regnal year (late July/August 50), supplies a *terminus ante quem* for the declaration¹². The *strategos* named in line 4 as the one who dispatched agents is apparently Ap[io]n; he seems not attested otherwise, and the titles affixed to his name (ἱερέω[ς τῶν γε]γυμνασιαρχη[κ]ότων καὶ σ[τ]ρατηγῶν) represent a new combination, although they are similar to ones known for other *stratego*i in the Julio-Claudian period. (See below, note to line 4).

⁶ H. Henne, *Papyrus Graux Nos 3 a 8*, BIFAO 27 (1927) 1–4.

⁷ The name of "Phaseis" appears twice in SB IV 7463. 1–2. In his text of l. 1–2 Henne (*supra* note 6) printed Φ[. . .]δεῖς and Φ[. . .]δεῖς, although he was aware that no name with these letters appeared in Preisigke's *NB*. To the best of my knowledge, none has appeared in the papyri published since. In his commentary to these lines Henne noted that perhaps Φ[ᾶ]δεῖς ought to be read instead. After inspecting a photograph of the papyrus, I believe Henne's second thoughts are correct, for the dotted *sigma* is as likely as a dotted *delta*, and in this hand *alpha* is often a very broad letter. At the same time, Phaseis, son of Petearpsenesis, has not appeared in the tax rolls of Philadelphia, despite the fact that both Phasis (and "Phaseis") and Petearpsenesis are names well attested in the village, with 24 men named "Phasis" and 12 named "Petearpsenesis". Perhaps the *idia* of Phaseis, son of Petearpsenesis, was elsewhere.

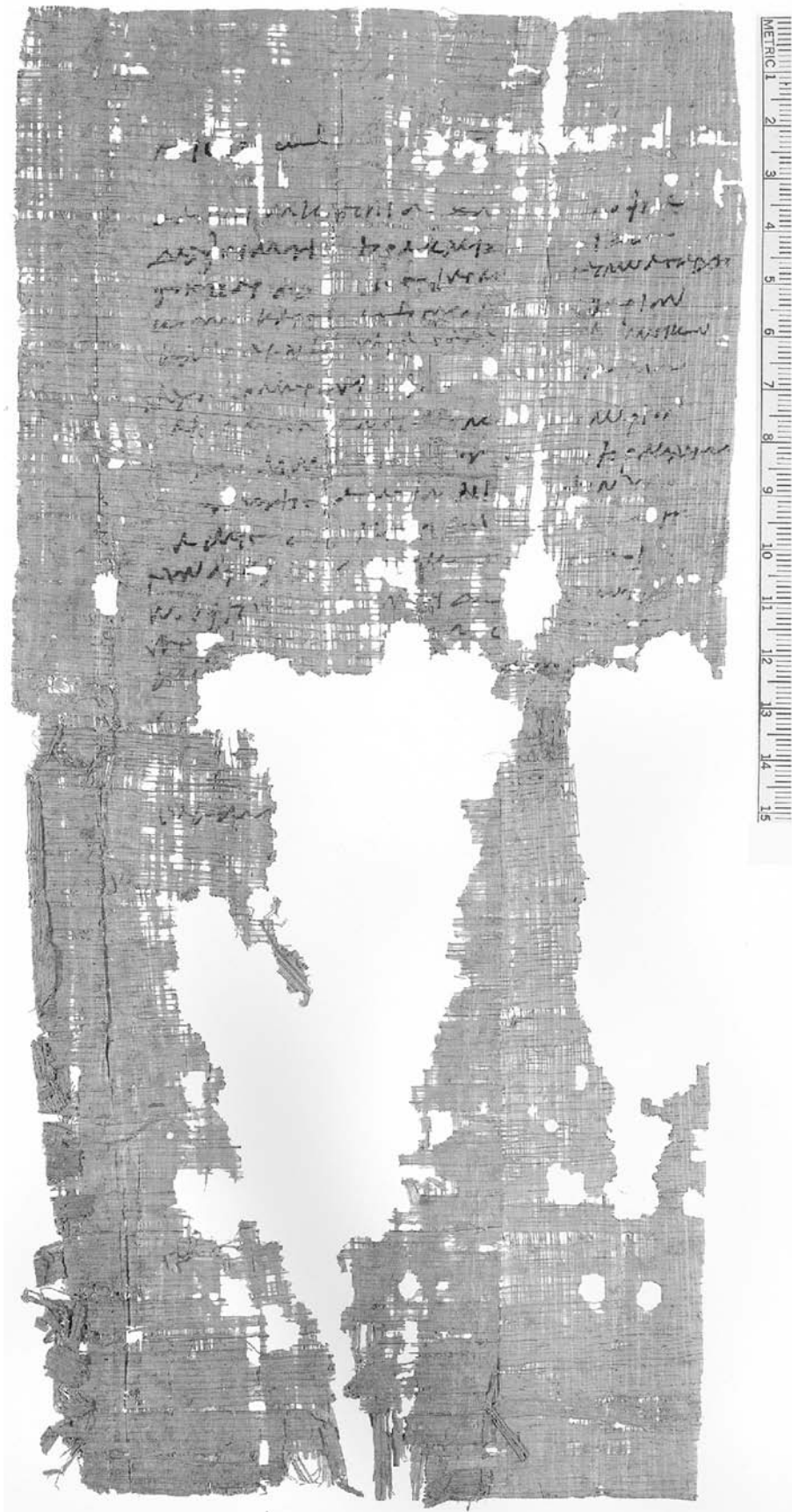
⁸ Two men named "Esouris, son of Nekpheros" appear in the Philadelphia tax rolls, although they have different mothers (Ταηῖτις and Τειναῦς); no profession is listed for either, although Esouris, son of Nekpheros and Ταῖτις (P.Harris I 164 iii. 88), seems more likely to be the delinquent tax payer of SB IV 7463, as the son of Nekpheros and Teinaus is reported as having died about 46/47.

⁹ See, in particular, the bibliography cited above, footnote 5.

¹⁰ For example, a dossier of such declarations would add considerable supporting evidence to the petition Nemesion and five other *praktors argyrikon* of villages in the Herakleides sent to the prefect Ti. Claudius Balbilus, outlining the difficulties they faced in their collections (SB IV 7462 = P.Graux 2).

¹¹ That formulae employed in the Julio-Claudian period for documents involving the census show considerable variation, see H. Braunert, *Zur Terminologie der Volkszählung im frühen römischen Ägypten*, *Eos* 48.3 (1956) 53–66, and idem, *ΙΔΙΑ. Studien zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte des ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten*, *JJP* 9–10 (1955–1956) 211–328.

¹² His death is reported in P.Sijp. 26. 73.



P.Mich. inv. 786

SB IV 7463 was written by a single, quite skillful hand, apparently that of the *nomographos* Sarapion who wrote for the illiterate declarer Phasis. P.Mich. inv. 786 was also written by a single hand ([]teus, line 14, see note *ad loc.*), but his hand is fast and irregular, often failing to articulate individual letters. Thanks to an elegant scan of the Michigan papyrus, produced for me by Traianos Gagos and Paul Heilporn at the University of Michigan, it has been possible to make the transcript that follows¹³.

P.Mich. inv. 786
Philadelphia

13.5 × 28.5 cm

Reign of Claudius,
but before late July/August 50

- (m. 1) → Γαίων ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη[
(vac.)
(m. 2) Γαίων Ἀσκληπιάδου [τῶν ἀ]πὸ Φιλα-
δελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδ[ου με]ρίδος
4 τοῖς παρὰ Ἀπ[ίω]νος ἱερέω[ς τῶν γε]γυμνασιαρχη-
κότων καὶ σ[τρ]ατηγοῦ Ἀρ[σι(νοίτου)]. Ὀμνύω Τ[ιβέριον
Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβασ[τὸν] Γερμανικὸν
Αὐτοκράτωρα εἶ μὴν [μὴ ἔχειν τὸν υἱόν] μου
8 Μιθραδάτην []ναί[± 3]μ[Δ]ημάριον
... ρου[] [] [] [] [] Ἡρακλείου
... ταύτης κατα... ου... [] τὴν ὑπο-
τεθείσα[ν] [] [] τῆ
12 γυναικὶ αὐ[το]ῦ. [Εὐο]ρκ[οῦ]ν[τι μὲν] μοι
εὖ εἶη, ἐφ[ιορκ]οῦντι δὲ τ[ὰ ἐν]άντια.
Ἔγραψ[εν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ± 4]τεὺς [διὰ] τὸ φάσ-
κειν [αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπίστασθ]αι γρ[άμματα].
16 (Ἔτους) [Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος]
[Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκ]ρά[τορος μηνὶ]
Σεβαστ[οῦ day].

(1st hand) “Gaïon, about 58 (?) years old, ...”

(2nd hand) “Gaïon, son of Asklepiades, of those from Philadelphia of the Herakleides division, to agents from Ap[io]n, priest, ex-gymnasiarch, and stragegos. I swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I do not have my son Mithradates, ... Demarion ... of Heracles ... the mortgaged (property) ... to his wife. To me swearing truly may it be well, but to me, if I perjure, the opposite. ... []teus wrote for him when he said he did not know letters. Year ? of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, in the month Sebastos [Day]”.

1. Γαίων ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη: at least two traces of strokes appear above the line further to the right, no doubt marking abbreviations in the words employed for Gaïon’s physical characteristics, recorded after his age. Cf. SB IV 7463. 1: ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ, ο(ύλη) πήχ(ει) ἀρισ(τερῶ).

2–3. Γαίων Ἀσκληπιάδου [τῶν ἀ]πὸ Φιλαδελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδ[ου με]ρίδος: in SB IV 7463 the phrase τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος is applied in lines 8–9 only to the shepherd Esouris, son of Nekpheros, perhaps because Philadelphia was not the *idia* of the declarer Ph[a]seis, son of Petearpsenesis.

In P.Mich. inv. 786 Gaïon swears the declaration concerning his son, and the family’s *idia* is certainly Philadelphia, for both Gaïon and his son Mithradates appear elsewhere in the tax registers (for the death of Gaïon, son of Asklepiades, see P.Sijp. 26. 73; his son Mithradates appears as a taxpayer at Philadelphia in several registers between the years A.D. 33–35).

4. τοῖς παρὰ Ἀπ[ίω]νος ἱερέω[ς τῶν γε]γυμνασιαρχη|κότων καὶ σ[τρ]ατηγοῦ Ἀρ[σι(νοίτου)]: cf. SB IV 7463. 3–4, τοῖς παρὰ Ἀμμωνίου στρατηγοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου.

¹³ I am also grateful to David Driscoll, Beinecke Library, Yale University, for producing elegant prints of the scan.

I have found no certain attestations of this Ap[io]n as *strategos* in the Arsinoite, but his status as ex-gymnasiarch seems to mark him as an Alexandrian¹⁴. Predecessors of Ap[io]n in the *strategia* of the Arsinoite nome display similar elaborate titles, as well as Roman citizenship: Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀσκλάς, Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ἀρχιερέυς, ἐξηγητῆς καὶ στρατηγός, attested in office under Caligula, from at least 39 to May/June 40, and operative in Herakleides and Themistos merides; Τιβερίος Κλαύδιος Φιλόξενος, στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστάτης φυλακιστῶν, in office on 4 April 42 and operative in Themistos meris. Like C. Iulius Asklas, Apion's priesthood may have been in the imperial cult; this seems more likely than that he was "priest of the ex-gymnasiarchs".

Many gaps occur in the *strategia* of the Arsinoite nome during the years 41–50, the first ten regnal years of Claudius, and it seems not possible to place Ap[io]n more precisely at this point. Known *strategoí* in the Arsinoite nome during these years are: Dionysodoros, *strategos* in Herakleides meris on 18 April 45, although he bears no title in the business letter (SB IV 7461 = P.Graux 1) he wrote to C. Iulius Iolas, *strategos* of the neighboring Herakleopolite nome, in behalf of Nemesion and the latter's efforts to collect capitation taxes from villagers of Philadelphia currently dwelling in the Herakleopolite nome. Ammonios was *strategos* of Herakleides and Polemon merides in 50/51 and at least until 16 December 51, the date of SB IV 7463. In addition to Ti. Claudius Philoxenos, operative in Themistos meris on 4 April 42 (previous paragraph), Ti. Claudius Chrysermus was *strategos* prior to 47/48 and active in Polemon meris; Apollonios, known from late 47 through early 48, was also active in Polemon meris. See G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, Florence 1987; I am grateful to J. Whitehorne for additional advice in this matter.

5–7. [Ἵμνῶ Τ]ιβερίον | Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβασ[τὸν] Γερμανικὸν | Αὐτοκράτωρα (leg. -κράτωρα): the oath formula is identical to that in SB IV 7463. 4–6.

7–8. εἰ μὴν [μὴ ἔχειν τὸν υἱόν μου | Μιθραδάτην: both εἰ (after Αὐτοκράτωρα) at left in line 7, and the μου at right margin are certain. At this point SB IV 7463. 6–8 reads εἰ μὴν μὴ ἔχ(ε)ιν σὺν | ἐμοὶ Ἐσοῦριν Νεκφερώτος ποιμένα τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος. The fact that Mithradates is Gaïon's son may account for the apparent omission of σὺν ἐμοί.

The *theta* in Mithradates' name is written in the same manner as the *theta* in ὑποτεθεῖσα[ν of l. 11.

8–12. The papyrus is too fragmentary in these lines to sort out how the words readable at left and right margins figure in the declaration: e. g. "Demarion", "of Herakles", "the mortgaged property", and to "his wife", perhaps "Demarion". "ὑποτεθεῖσα" most often refers to "land", and may do so here as well, although any feminine noun referring to property, such as οἰκία or ἔπαυλις, seems also possible. The fact that "mortgaged property" is mentioned in the sworn declaration suggests that the agents from the *strategos* Ap[io]n were attempting to sequester it for the unpaid taxes.

12–13. [Ἐὐο]ρκ[οῦ]ν[τι μὲν] μοι | εὖ εἴη, ἐφ[ι]ορκ[οῦ]ντι δὲ τ[ὰ ἐν]άντια: the sanction, well known from Ptolemaic times onward, appears in the same form in SB IV 7463. 10–11.

14–15. Ἐγραψ[εν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ± 4] τεύς [διὰ] τὸ φάσκειν [αὐτὸν μὴ ἐπίστασθ]αι γρ[άμματα]: the certain reading of φασ- at the right margin of l. 14 and -κειν at left in l. 15 make clear that this version of the illiteracy statement was employed. Cf. SB IV 7463. 12–13: ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Σαραπίων νομογράφος φαμένου μὴ (ε)ιδέναι γράμματα. Apparently only the name of the man who wrote Gaïon's declaration for him appears here ([± 4]τεύς), since there seems not space for a patronymic, or other identifier, such as [γραμμα]τεύς.

16–18. (Ἔτους) [Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος] | [Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκ]ρά[τορος μηνὶ] | Σεβαστ[οῦ date]: all that remains of the year sign (Λ) is a portion of the vertical stroke; minimal traces of the regnal year are visible, but these are not sufficient for a secure reading.

¹⁴ *Strategoí* of the Julio-Claudian period often bear Roman names, or have clear Alexandrian connections: see J. Whitehorne, *The Strategi of Roman Egypt* (to 1985), ANRW 10.1, 598–617, especially p. 606.