## P. Dionysia.The Petition of Dionysia, Daughter of ChairemonA Witness of Legal Plurality in Roman Egypt

P. Oxy. II 237 (after 27 June 186 CE)

text re-established by C Balamoshev, translation by the joint effort of OPUS 14 Team: Alonso, Balamoshev, Urbanik, in minor parts following the translation of the original Editors<sup>1</sup>

- 1. The Petition of Dionysia, published by Grenfell and Hunt over 120 years ago (*P. Oxy.* II 237), is a unique and primary witness of legal plurality in Roman Egypt. It reports a complex family dispute. Even if *prima facie* the family accusations and pretentions contained in it seem to be full of empty rhetoric and emotions (stubborn daughter, violence, inhumane law), we deal in fact with a skilful legal argument of both parties, aided by citation of numerous previous judgments, opinions of learned jurists and prefects' edicts: all these spanning for over a century of the Roman rule. They weave a textile of the law in Egypt giving a glimpse of how legal norms of heterogenous origins the local 'law of the Egyptians', the laws of the Greek settlers and the Roman legal order co-existed in Roman Egypt, indirectly informing about the legal awareness of her inhabitants.
- 2. The affair deals practically with all aspects of law of persons: marriage, family structure, paternal power, law of successions and regulations pertaining to the administration of the family estate as well as to securing the interests of the wives and children. Even more importantly, it shows how and to what extent Rome endorsed the legal norms and customs pre-existing in the newly acquired Land of the Nile, which singularly presented them with a particularly well-developed administrative and legal order, inherited over the centuries first from the pharaohs and then from the Graeco-Macedonian rulers of the country. The *Dionysia papyrus* allows us thus to reconstruct the relation between laws and the possible guidelines of the legal co-existence in Egypt.

## I.CHRONOLOGY

- 1. Ca 180 CE: Fanfare: Dionysia's given to Horion in Marriage
- 2. Prelude: the Loan(s) of Chairemon
- 3. 1st Act: Dispute I: Validity of Contracts and Katoche
- Loan from Asklepiades 8 talents Dionysia and her husband Horion allowed partial mortgage of the property (probably on the mother's estate)
- year 22nd (181/182 CE): agreement between Dionysia and her father to arrest managements of the estate (col. IV, ll. 4–5)
- Choregia mentioned for the year 23<sup>rd</sup> (instead of payment? Chairemon freed from it?
- Year 23<sup>rd</sup> (183/184 CE): the second homologia between Chairemon and Dionysia (Col. IV, ll. 12–18): One talent was to be paid in the year 23<sup>rd</sup>.
- Year 24th (183/184 CE): Asklepiades proceeds to execute from the mortgage Dionysia 'constrained' to allow further hypothecation of another part of the property, and to overtake the payments (col. IV, LL. 21–22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Full text, newly established text and commentary may be consulted at dionysia.wpia.uw.edu.pl. Prepared under the auspices of the research financed by National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland (Narodowe Centrum Nauki, Opus 14, nr. 2017/27/B/HS3/01350: How to Apply Law in Egypt? A Practical Guide for the Roman Judge: A Case-study of P. Oxy. II 237 and Other Papyrological Evidence on Legal Pluralism in the Roman Times).

- Year 24th Dionysia allows to borrow 4 talents so money is repaid, the other 4 would be paid by Dionysia from the proceeds of the estate? She should keep the estates until the repayment (col. IV, ll. 26–29).
- Before the year 25th, Pachon 27 (22 May 185 CE): Chairemon's 1st Petition to Longaeus Rufus claiming things given to Dionysia, possibly also referring to her katoche, for that reason' perhaps claiming she has illegally got to possess his estate? or still undermining the *katoche*. (*lying about it all*):
- Year 25th, Pachon 27 (22 May 185 CE): Longaeus Rufus orders the case to be examined by the strategos Isidoros.
- Year 25th Dionysia's Response to Longaeus Rufus (*katoche* involved the grandfather). Decisions of Prefects mentioned, *i. al.* of Similis, and of archidikastes: marrying daughters should be provided for, *syngraphe* of the mother as the source of *katoche* general laws on *syngraphai*. She appends as well the abstracts of the contracts with the father.
- Praefect Rufus subscribes the petition ordering its examination by strategos
- Year 26th, Thoth (late Augustus/September 185 CE): Dionysia files the subscribed petition with strategos
- ?7<sup>th</sup> Thoth Year 26<sup>th</sup>. Hearing before the strategos of Chairemon and Dionysia (col. V, ll. 8–19).
- Strategos Isidoros orders an equiry to the keepers
- Confirmation of the *katoche*. *Apographe* of Chairemon of the 26th year evidencing the loans (col. v, ll. 23–24).. The keepers send back a report to the strategos
- Late December/January 185 CE: Strategos writes a report back to the new prefect, appending the reports of the archive keepers (col. V, ll. 27–28).
- Early year 26th: Dionysia thus asks the prefect to have her rights confirmed in accordance of the findings of the strategos
- Pomponius Faustianus subscribes, petition filed to strategos to execute.
- 4. 2<sup>nd</sup> Act: Dispute II: apospasis and bia
- Year 26th Pachon 26 (April/May 186 CE): Chairemon's 2<sup>nd</sup> Petition. (col. VI, ll. 12–19).
- Year 26th Pachon 30 (25 May 186 CE): Faustianus orders Isidoros to examine the case. (col. VI, ll. 32–35).
- 27 June 186 CE: Chairemon's 2<sup>nd</sup> Petition subscribed brought to Harpokration, the royal scribe and acing strategos (col. VI, ll. 36–38).
- Hearing before Harpokration
- Harpokration orders payment of *choregiai*, upkeep of the katoche, yet finding no instruction on *apospasis* refers that matter back to the praefect
- Dionysia's petitions the praefect again.

## II. TEXT

§1. Col. I, ll. 1–5. The upper part of the first column, ca. 28 lines, is lost, the papyrus being torn. Dionysia's actual petition starts at the end of l. 5 of the preserved text with her address to the prefect. The ca. 33 preceding lines might have contained the prefect's endorsement, Dionysia's letter to the strategos devolving the endorsed petition to him (cf. *P. Oslo* II 18 = *SB* XIV 12087, 167 CE Theadelphia) and perhaps (cf. ἄνθρωπον in l. 3) the strategos' summons against Chairemon. The whole might have counted much less than 33 lines if our text is not a copy and the prefect's endorsement was written in the very elongated chancery style well known through *SB* I 4639, 209 CE Alexandria, albeit two decades later.

§2. Col. I, Il. 5–17 – Col. II, Il. 1–4. Dionysia's petition, with her presentation of the case.

[±?] traces ]  $\delta \alpha [\pm 4] |^2$ [± ]....|3 ?] ..[ [±?]κ κας ]  $\nu \dots \pi o \nu$  | <sup>4</sup>  $\alpha$ ...[ ſ± ?]....θαι ερχ[ ± 5 ] εἶγαι δε |5 [± ]|6 [Φαυστιανῶ ἐπάρχω Αἰγύπτου ?]εστ[ ± ?] παρὰ Διο[νυ]σίας [X]αιρήμ[ο]νος τοῦ |<sup>7</sup> [Φανίου μητρὸς  $\pm$  ?] ἡγ[εμὼ]ν κύριε [.].[ ...] ..... ειν ἐν  $|^8$  [ $\pm$  ?] $\sigma$ [ $\pm$ 2], α, [± 2], ... να[.]τ[ ...] ἐπὶ κελεύειν  $|^9$  [± ?]μ[...]ησα ει ... [...]δον τὸν -  $|^{10}$  [± ?]φιλ[...]το .μεν κα ...ἀπάτωρ - $|^{11}$  [± ?].αδ[± 7] μανο [± 3 τ]ῶν ἡμε $|^{12}$ [τέρων δικαίων?] . ηγαν[ $\pm 4$ ] . . . . .  $\tau$ ὴν φο -  $|^{13}$  [ $\pm ?$ ] . γενομ[ $\pm 2$ ] . [ $\pm 7$ ] .  $\iota$  γὰρ  $\dot{\alpha}$ φορ $|^{14}$ [μη- ± ?]. $\dot{\alpha}$ ζων ετ ...[.].[± 3] $\dot{\alpha}$ ζόμενος  $|^{15}$  [± ?] κατέσχε μοι Νθ [τῆς μ]ητρώας |  $^{16}$  [± ?] ...κ[...]το ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ [Λ]ογγαίου |  $^{17}$  [Ρούφου ± ?]ζοντι έπυθόμην [ $\pm 4$ ] $\omega$ [ $\pm 3$ ] σαμεν  $\parallel ----- \mid ^1$  [ $\pm ?$ ]ενε σ[ $\pm ?$ ]  $\mid ^2$  $[\pm ? τω]$   $[\pm ?]$   $[\pm ?]$ ?].ηται καλ[± ?]

[ca. 20 lost lines]  $|^1 \dots |^2 \dots |^3 \dots |^4 \dots$ and be  $|^5$  ... To Pomponius  $|^6$ [Faustianus, prefect of Egypt ... ] Dionysia, daughter Chairemon, son of |7 [Phanias, her mother being ... ] My lord prefect, [ ... ]  $|^{8}$  [ ... ] contrive against  $|^{9}$  [ ... ] if not [ ... ] was [secure?]  $- |^{10}$  [ ... ] affectionate and [father-loving?] - | $^{11}$ [ ... ] (her?) suffering/ [ ... ] of our  $|^{12}$ [rights? ... ] vexed [ ... ] in the [ ... ]  $|^{13}$  [ ... ] turned [ ... ] in fact a pre|14[text ... fabricating?] yet [ ...] |15 [ ... ] he placed under lien for me 59.000 [ ... ] of the maternal  $|^{16}$  [ estate (?) ... ] originating from Longaeus |17 [Rufus ... ] I learnt that [ ... ] [ca. 8 missing lines]  $|^1$  [ ... ]  $|^2$  [ ... ] of the belongings  $[ \dots ] |^3 [ \dots ] |^4 [ \dots ]$ 

§3. Col. II, ll. 5–13: Dionysia reproduces (part of) the first petition of her father, Chairemon, against her (dated before the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, 185 CE: cf. §4). For the content of this petition, cf. Chairemon's own summary in Col. 6, ll. 13-15; for the references to Similis and the archidikastes, cf. Col. VI, ll. 27–29. Some of the final lines (n.b. the reference to 'the tricks' in l. 13) may be Dionysia's considerations on her father's petition.

 $|^5$  [± ? Χαιρήμων Φανίου γυ]μνασιαρχ[ήσας τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως ± ?]  $|^6$  [± ?]...[± 5]ιν μη...[± ?]  $|^7$  [± ?]...ην μὲν Σ[ι]μίλιδος [± ?]  $|^8$  [± ?]...νόμων περὶ τοῦ ἐξε[τάσαι ± ?]  $|^9$  [± ?] δὲ τὴν δ[ι'] ἀρχιδικαστοῦ τιν[± ?]  $|^{10}$  [± ?].ε καλῶνται ταῖς θυγατρά[σι ± ?]  $|^{11}$  [± ?]...λαν στρα[τ]ηγῷ Λεοντοπο[λίτου ± ?]  $|^{12}$  [± ?]σ...[..] ...[±6]ειν ἐφ'ὃγ [± ?]  $|^{13}$  [± ?]...ως οὖν τὰ τεχνάσ[ματα ± ?]

 $|^5$  [... Chairemon son of Phanias, former] gymnasiarch [of the city of the Oxyrhynchites ...]  $|^6$  ...  $|^7$  ... but the ... of Similis ...  $|^8$  ... of the laws concerning the examination ...  $|^9$  ... the ... through the archidikastes ...  $|^{10}$  they are summoned, to the daughters ...  $|^{11}$  ... to the strategos of the Leontopolites ...  $|^{12}$  ... so ...  $|^{13}$  the tricks in fact

§4. Col. II, ll. 13–17.  $22^{nd}$  of May 185 CE (Pachon 27th of the 25th year of Commodus, continuing the regnal years of the deceased Marcus Aurelius): Instructions of the prefect Longaeus Rufus to Isidoros, strategos of the Oxyrhnchites, upon Chairemon's petition (cf. col. VI, ll. 15–16, ll. 34–35).

 $|^{13}$  ± ? ἔγραψεν]  $|^{14}$  [τῷ στρατηγῷ τάδε·] Λογγαῖος [Po]ῦφος Ἰσιδ[ώρῳ στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν Περὶ τῶν γραφέντ]ῳν [μοὶ]  $|^{15}$  ὑ[πὸ Χαιρήμονος Φανίου γυμνασ]ιαρχήσαντος [τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως ἀξιοῦντο]ς [τ]οτ[ε] π[ερὶ κατοχῆς]  $|^{16}$  ὡς μὴ δεόντῳς γενομένης ἀντίγραφον ὑποτά[ξας ὑπ'αὐτοῦ γραφὲν ὅπως ἐντυχὼν οἶς παρέθετ]ο [φρ]οντ[ισ-] $|^{17}$ θη[ν]α[ι] τὰ [ἀ]κόλουθα πράξ[αι ἔρρ(ωσο)] 5] (ἔτους) κε // Παχὼν [κζ]

] he (i.e. Longaeus Rufus) wrote |<sup>14</sup> to the strategos thus: Longaeus Rufus to Isidoros, strategos of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. [Regarding what was written to me] |<sup>15</sup> [by Chairemon, son of Phanias, former] gymnasiarch [of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, presenting a claim about a lien] |<sup>16</sup> being not properly established, appending copy [of what he has written, so that having taken cognisance of what he alleged] |<sup>17</sup> it is seen to it that it is dealt with accordingly. [Greetings.] 25th year, Pachon [27th.]

§5. Col. II, ll. 17–21: Dionysia's description of the inquiry made by order of the strategos Isidoros upon her father's first petition.

[  $\pm$  ? ] μου[  $\pm$  ? Ισι]|18 δ[ώρ] ω, τῷ στρατηγῷ τότε καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπλῶς [  $\pm$  ? ]ς δὲ τοῦ [  $\pm$  ? ] |19 α . . . υ ἀντιγράφου τῶν γραφ[έ]ντων ὑπὸ τοῦ [πατρὸς? ] ων αὐτοῦ ώσ[  $\pm$  ? ] |20 μ[ὴ] δεόντως γενομένη τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξιν [  $\pm$  ? ] ωσι αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔλεγε[  $\pm$  ? ] |21 [  $\pm$  5] δεόντως ἡ κατοχὴ γεγένηται ὃ μὴ ὁ π . [  $\pm$  ?] ατ, κ[]ει[ $\pm$ ?]

... to  $Isi|^{18}$ doros the strategos, and the strategos simply ...  $|^{19}$  ... of a copy of what had been written by [my father? ...  $|^{20}$  ... [the lien] not properly established, to the keepers of the record office ... he himself did not say ...  $|^{21}$  ... the lien (katochê) had been properly established, what not (?)...

§6. Col. II, ll. 22–37 – Col. III, ll. 1–9: Summary of Dionysia's own (first) counter-petition to the prefect Longaeus Rufus, and probably (in the preserved part of col. 3) its effect. [in red, the parts of the petition preserved not at Oxford but in a small fragment from the Köln collection]

|22 δ[ι]]ὸ εὐθὺς κατέφυγον ἐπ[ι] τ[ὸν] ἔ[π]αρχον Λογγαῖον [[οῦφον ± ?] ἀπ[ο]λογο[υμένη? ± ?]  $|^{23}$  ....  $\psi$  οὐ δεόν $[\tau]$ ως ὁ πατὴρ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς  $\kappa$ [± ?] ου τὸν ...[± ?] |<sup>24</sup> [± 4 ] ...ησαι τα σαι .ν .ε τὴν έπιστολήν γεγραφ[± ?] [± 4] υ διαταξαμ[εν ± ?]  $|^{25}$ .[ .].[ .]. περὶ ἰδιωτικῶν ζητήσεων ἐ[π]ιστ[ολάς] τι[± ?].εαμ.....[± ?]  $|^{26}$  [± 4]μσισ[± 4].ασας τοἶς ἐμφερομένοι[ς] ὧσιν [...].  $\pi$ [± 5] .τ[ο]ῦτο κα[τα]βεβηκέναι εἰς [± ?] |²7 [± 3] ..γὰρ μὲν οὐδὲν θηρώμενον ἢ τὸ ἐξ[...]μου 7] . . .  $\alpha$  . . . [±3]γη . .  $\alpha$ θαι τη[± ?]  $|^{28}$  ἡγεμονίαν παραγαγεῖν κα[ ..]..[ .]τε τὰ ἀληθῆ τῷ Ῥούφῳ γεγραφ[± 4] α έψευσ[μένον ± 5-6]...[±?]  $|^{29}$  γὰρ γράμματα αὐτοῦ πρός με καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ ± 5]γα ὁμολογ[ήματα δὲ τὰ πάππον το[ .]ε[. <mark>ὑποτε]</mark>|<sup>30</sup> τα[γμ]μενα ἐπιστάμενο[ν] ὅτι [ ....] ὁλίγην έπιστροφ[ὴν ± 8 ήγ]εμόνες προστ[ετάχασιν οὐδενὶ]  $|^{31}$  .[± 4] . . . . στας αὐτῶν γράμματα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ κε $[\pm \ ? \ \Sigma\iota]$ μίλιδ $[\circ\varsigma \ \pm \ ?] \ |^{32}$  κ $[\alpha]$ ὶ έ $[\tau]$ έρου άρχιδικαστοῦ ὑπομγήμασι καὶ ἐπιστολ[αῖς ± ?] |33 ἐφ' [ον?] ἐπέδωκάν τινες ταῖς θυγατρᾶσι γαμουμ[έ]ν[α]ις  $[\pm~?]$  |<sup>34</sup> τα[...] ἔδε[ι],  $\mu$ [η]δὲν π[αρὰ] τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε χάριτι μήτε ἐπι $[\pm\ ?]$   $|^{35}$  μα $[\ldots]$  πρ $[\ldots]$ ει ἔσχε $[\pm$ 5].. μου μητρώας  $\sigma[vv\gamma]$ ραφῆς  $[\pm?]^{36}$  πα. [...]ς .. [...]ν σ[υν]γραφῶν καθολικῶς νόμ[ο]υς καὶ ὑπο[± ?] |<sup>37</sup> τετη[± 7] διὸ κα[ὶ] δι[α]βάλλειν ἐπιχειρῶν τὴν συγγραφὴν  $[\pm ?]$   $\parallel$  -----  $|^1$   $[\pm ?]$ πὸ φιλοσ $|^2$ [[τοργίας? ± ?]. ]εἶπεν [ ?]  $\dot{\epsilon}\mu\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$  |3 [± ?]. [± 3 ] $\omega$ [± ?] $\sigma$  $\epsilon$ ... |4 [± ?]  $\mu$  $\eta$   $\ddot{o}v\tau$ [± ?] $\sigma$ .  $[\cdot \, \cdot \, |^5 \, [\pm \, ?] \pi$ οχη $[\pm \, ?] \, ]$ τον  $[\cdot \, \cdot \, \cdot \, ]^6 \,$  δημ $[\pm \, ?]$  $[\cdot \, \epsilon \, \, au$ ων έν $|^7$ κτήσεων [βιβλιο- $\pm$ ?]ς μητ [ $\pm$ ?]ὅπως μένη  $|^8$  μοι καὶ τοῖς  $\mathfrak{g}[\pm\ ?]$ . παν . . .  $[\pm\ ?]$ λαις τη $[\pm\ ?]$  . ντων έκα $|^{9}$ τέρου τ[ $\pm$ ?]τ. σ μεν βιβλιοφυλ[α-  $\pm$  4 κα]θώς π[ $\pm$ 

|<sup>22</sup> For this reason, I immediately resorted to the prefect Longaeus Rufus ... defending myself ...  $|^{23}$  ... [the lien] not properly, my father in his letter [...] himself [...]  $|^{24}$  ... the letter ... ordering that ... |25 ... letters regarding private affairs [should not be written to the prefecture  $\dots$ ]<sup>26</sup> [...] to do [...] to the concerned [...] to register (katoche) in order... to go down to [...] |27 ... For he sought nothing else than ... |28 to mislead the governorship he did [not] write the truth to Rufus, but most certainly lied [...] |29 for his writings for me and my husband and grandfather [...] the agreements (?) [...]  $|^{30}$  ... knowing that [... it would] change (?) little [...] the governors [decree that no one is allowed] |31 to speak against his own writings, and afterwards also by the commands [...] of Similis [...]<sup>32</sup> and by the minutes and letters of another archidikastes [...]|33 under which some have given to their daughters on the occasion of their marriage ... |34 ... was required, (I received?) nothing from my father, neither out of kindness nor ...  $|^{35}$  ... that he alleged (regarding?) the unlawfulness of mother's written (marriage) agreement (syngraphê)... |36 ... the general of the written agreements (syngraphai), and ... |37 ... and for this reason, attempting to disprove the written agreement (syngraphê) || [ca. 12 lines missing]  $|^1$  [...] due to (my) affec $|^2$ tion [...] he said [...] of mine  $|^3 ... |^4$  [...] not [...]  $|^5 ...$ |6 of the property |7 record office ... so as it remains |8 for me and ... of each |9 of two ... the record keepers, according to ...

§7. Col. III, ll. 10 − Col. IV, ll. 1−5: Dionysia summarises the aspects of the financial history of the family that led to her father's difficulties and eventually to the conflict with her.

 $| ^{10}$  τοῦ πά[ππο]υ [±?] γμεν[ο]ν καὶ πα[ρ]οντ[±?] αι είδότα | 11 καὶ τὸν πάππ[ον ± ?] γραφὴν τὰ κόσμια [± 3]αι μ[]τ  $[±?]ων νομί<math>^{12}μως$  γεγενημέν[ην ±?] ταῦτα χρόνω ὑστέρ[ω ± 4]αντος αὐτο $[\~υ$ ± ?] εν των  $|^{13}$ ύπαρχόντων τω[±? τῷ πάπ]πω μου διαφέροντ[α πε]ρὶ τὸν Ἑρμοπ[ολίτην ± ?] τιμῆς |14 αὐτῶν ἕτερα ω[± ?] μὴ ἀντιρηκ .[±6] .. τον ὑποτ .. [± ?] .. α[ ...] . $|^{15}$  μενον ἔτι τῷ δ.[±?]χηματα ωνη[±?].η..[..].σαντα  $|^{16}$  τοσοῦτο ὄσου σ [ . . ] . .ερα[ ± 3]ει[ ± 3 ] ώνεῖσθαι μηδ' [αὐ]τὸν πεπληρωκέναι χ[± ?] . .εναι μέρος |17 τῆς τιμῆς άνα[π]όδοτ[ον?] δη[ .]..(τάλαντα) γ καὶ (δραχμὰς) Ε. ό μὲν κατεχρήσατο αὐτὴν ὡσ[ ...] ...τη .....νι ....σα  $|^{18}$  διαβάλλει δὲ ομ[ .] .[± 7] . .ω[ . .]ξε μόνη εἶναι τῆ μητ[ρ]ώα μου συνγραφὴ κ[± ?] . .χρ .ντα . .α .αγει  $|^{19}$ τῆ ἐμῆ τε .....[ὁ πατ]ήρ μου ἐν ὥρα γάμου ἐκδέδωκέν με τῷ ͺΏ[ρίων]μ γο[ (ἔτους) Χ Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου? Ά] γτωνίν[ο] υ |20 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίο[υ] μηνὶ  $\Theta \grave{\omega} \theta \alpha$  idiou  $\alpha$  hhw où  $\mu[\acute{o}v]$  on toy  $[\pm~?]$  if . . . . παν  $|^{21}$  τε καὶ μᾶλλον ν.....[ ± 2 ] ...ν .π[ .] .ρ[ ...]... . νό[μ] εναι τῆ [συνγρ]αφῆ . [±?] . ενται[±3] . να  $|^{22}$  τὸν δε ..τ.[ $\pm$ ?]..ς τὸ προκατεχόμενον [ $\pm$  5]ομ.τ.[ $\pm$ ?]αφα..ι[ $\pm$ 4]ιε... $|^{23}$  κ .[..].ις δι[ $\pm$ ?]το ἀφελέ[ $\sigma$ ]θαι ...[..].ον τ[ $\pm$ ?]ιμ\_νε\_[± 5]σαρ | $^{24}$  οσ\_\_νως[± ?]ωδῶς ἄχρι νῦν [\_] $\pi$ [ ]δε[±?]σεν[..]ι ...[± 2 χορ?]ηγί| $^{25}$ αν κ[α]τὰ το .[±?]. . ερα (τάλαντα) γ . καὶ . . [ . . ] . . . . ε . [±?] . . . [ . ] . .  $|^{26}$  καν εν .[ $\pm$  ?] ἐκ πλήρους ἃς .[ $\pm$  4] ..να[ $\pm$  ?]... [ $\pm$ 5]δ |  $|^{27}$  τον καὶ γαμ[± ?]μενον δεῖν ἐκ τῷ[ν .] . . . [± ? συνγρα]φη[ .] . .[± 4] .ια .  $|^{28}$  νῶν μᾶλλ[ο]ν [± ?]των παρακ[α]λεῖν γ[ ± 4] ...[.] .ωσι[±?] ..θ.[.] ..[± 3]ι....ται  $|^{29}$ χρόν[ου] διελ[θόντος ± ? έπ]ιδοχῆς σ. νῦν . [  $\pm 7$  ] . [ $\pm$  ?] . . [ $\pm$  6]ε[ .] . . | $^{30}$  περιέσεσ[θαι  $\pm$  ? γ]υ[μ]νασιαρχίαν . . [± ?] . . . ς[ . ]χ[ . . ] . . . ς |  $^{31}$  οὐδὲ [ . .] .ρο[...] [ $\pm$  ?]ο ....[ $\pm$  ?] traces | $^{32}$  τὸν δὲ ταύτης τῆ[ς] ...οχ[±?]σο...εν[±?]  $|^{33}$  των τινῶν πρά[σεως?] εισ.[±? ]οια ἐστὶ[±?] . . χειν || ----- |¹ [ ± 16 ] . . [± ?] |² [ ± 16 ] . . ρε .[± ?] [± ?] |<sup>3</sup> [ ± 14 ]γησεω[± 36] .το χρώ[μενος? ± ?] | 4 [άρχιδι] καστήν πρότερον τ[± 26]... . [ἥ]μισυ ἦν μοι πρό[τερον?  $\pm$  ?]  $|^5$  [ . . . . ] . . . [ .]ουσι ανθ[.....]. ωκα . [ ± 14 ].. τω καὶ λοιπὰ τῆς τιμῆς τῷ α .τη[ .]αλι[ . . . .]τοι

|<sup>10</sup> ... of the grandfather ... and being present ... knowing |11 also the grandfather ... the written agreement, the ornaments ... law|12fully executed ... these at a later time ... of him ... of the |13 belongings ... corresponding to my grandfather in the Hermopolite nome ... of the price  $|^{14}$  of these, other ... undisputed (?) ...  $|^{15}$  ... yet to the ... purchase (?) ...  $|^{16}$ ...so much (or: so many) ... buy, neither has he paid it in full ... a part |17 of the price not repaid ... 3 talents and 5000 drachmas ... he spent (or: misused) it ...  $|^{18}$  he is disproving ... that it is to my mother's written agreement (syngraphê) alone ... |19 to mine ... my father had given me away in the moment of the marriage to H[orion in the ... year X of Aurelius Commodus Alntoninus |20 Caesar the Lord, on the 1st of the month of Thoth ... not only ... |<sup>21</sup> and rather ... give back, to the written agreement (syngraphê) ... |22 while ... the ... previously put under lien (katochê) ...  $|^{23}$  ... to take away ...  $|^{24}$  [...] the ornament (?) [...] until now [...] the allo|25wance (choregia) according to ..., 3 talents ... and ...  $|^{26}$  ... in full, which ...  $|^{27}$ ... and ... being fitting, from the ... written agreement (syngraphê) ... |28 more ... to summon ...  $|^{29}$  when the time elapsed ... of the offer ... now ... |30 left over ... of the gymnasiarchy ... |31 nor ...  $|^{32}$  the ... of this ...  $|^{33}$  of the sale (?) or certain ... is ...  $\|$  [ca. 6 lines missing]  $\|$  ...  $|^2$  ...  $|^3$  ... employing (?) ...  $|^4$  the achidikastês previously (or: the former archidikastês) ... I had a half (before?) |5 ... and the remainder of the price to ...

§8. Col. IV, ll. 6–12. 181–182 CE (22nd year): Chairemon's financial difficulties, and the fact that Dionysia's *katochê* gave her control over at least part of his property, leads to a first 'reciprocal agreement' (*homologêma*) between both, which Dionysia summarises, only to then narrate its failure.

 $|^6$  [ ± 10 ]..[].[± 5] . . . όμολόγημα διὰ δημοσίου γεγονέναι τῷ κβ (ἔτει) μεταξὺ ἡμῶν μήτε τὸν πατέρα  $|^7$ ...[].μ[ ± 17 μη]δὲν ἐπὶ καταχρηματισμῷ οἰκονομεῖν ἐμὲ δ[ὲ ἀπ]οδιδ[ό]γαι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς τιμῆς  $|^8$  [ὀφ]ειλόμενα [.]γ[ ± 11 ]υς καὶ ἀπελε [. . . .]ς χορηγίαν, ἐκλεγομένην ἐ[πὶ] τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) τὰς προσόδους τούτων  $|^9$  τ[ῶ]ν ὑπαρχ[όντων - ca.11 -]ων ἄλλων ἀνεθέντων αὐτῷ ὑπαρχόν[τ]ων πράσεως ἀποδοθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς  $|^{10}$  ἃ ἐδανείσατο συνγραψα[μένου τ]οῦ πάππου μου . . . , καὶ τούτου τοῦ ὁμολογήμ[α]τος αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ

 $|^6$  ... a reciprocal agreement (homologema) executed through the public office on the 22nd year between us, (by virtue of which) neither my father  $|^7$  [...] nor to administer through a dispositive deed, and I return the remainder of the price  $|^8$  owed ... the allowance, (me) collecting for the 23rd year the proceeds of these  $|^9$  belongings ... of the sale of other released belongings of his, (and) it be returned by my father  $|^{10}$  what he borrowed with my grandfather as signatary ... and this reciprocal

ἐπισκοπίου παρατε|11[θέντ]ος, αὐτὸν μηδ' ὡς ἐμμενηκ[έ]ναι τοῖς ἐνγεγραμμένοις ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐπ[ι]τετροφέναι μοι ἐπὶ τὴν [π]ρόγοιαν |12 [τῶ]ν ὑπαρχόντω[ν . . . . .] κατὰ τὰ συνκείμενα ἵνα τῷ ἀσκληπιάδη ἀποδιδόναι δυνηθείην. vac.

agreement was registered for him through the supervising office,  $|^{11}$  yet) he did not abide at all to what had been written, but neither left it to me to manage  $|^{12}$  the belongings ... according to what had been agreed, so that I would be able to return to Asklepiades. (vacat)

§9. Col. IV, ll. 12–25. 182–183 CE (23rd year): After the first's failure, summary of the second homologêma between Dionysia and Chairemon. This also failed, so badly that distraint was only narrowly avoided.

πάλιν δέ μοι  $|^{13}[...][..]$  [...] ινοι δ...αι [...]...[ ...]ον ὁμ[ο]λόγημα πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) πάλιν διὰ δημοσίου ἐπὶ τῷ  $|^{14}$  τ . [ . . . ] άναδεξαμεν[ . . . . . ]η[],ς ε......ασ.[  $\pm$  10 ]. ἀποδοῦναι (τάλαντον) α, ἕως ἂν ζ πλῆρες ἐκτείση  $|^{15}$   $\mathring{\epsilon}[\grave{\alpha}\nu]$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\mathring{\alpha}\pio\delta\acute{\iota}\grave{\delta}\omega\sigma\dot{\iota}\dot{\gamma}$  . . .  $\check{\epsilon}\chi$  . . .  $\check{\delta}\dot{\epsilon}$  . . . .ε . . . . το[ι]ς τῷ[ν ἐ]ν[κ]τήσεων βιβλιο|  $^{17}$  φ[ύλ]αξι  $[ \pm 11 ]$ ....[ . . . . ]. ἀλλὰ μήτε [ . . . ]  $\S$  [ . . . ] τῷ Ασκληπιάδη [ἀπ]οδεδωκέναι μήτε εἴακέν |18 [μ]ε κατα[ ± 11 ]στ .[ .]. .[ . τ]ὸ ἀργύριον τοῦ [ὀφλ]ήματος μὴ ἀποδόντ[ο]ς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ διὰ δημοσίου α . .  $|^{19}$  . . μενα . [ . . ] . . μ . . . . . α . . . . τι . εμορων [ ] σεν ο . [ . ] . ω α [ ] η . οιτο κατὰ τὴν προθ[ε]σμίαν  $|^{20}$  τὰ ἀργύρια μὴ ἀπεσχηκέναι αν[...ν]όμιμα .[..]ει α .[.] τῶν κατεχομέ[ν]ων μοι ὑπαρχόντων. ὃ δ[ε] καὶ παρ' ὀ[λ]ί|²¹γον γεγενῆσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ ἀσκλη[πιάδ]ου τῷ κδ (ἔτει) [ά]παιτοῦ[ν]τος καὶ μὴ ἀπολαμβάνοντος τὸ ὤφλημα ἀγαγκάσθαι |22 με παρὰ τ[οῦ] πατρὸς τὸ προ ...ω.[.]. [...]τα ...που, κα[ί] ἐπισταμένου ὅτι ού περιόψομαι ἀποσπώμενα τὰ κατεχόμε|23νά μοι ύ[πο]τίθεσθαι, ύποτιθέμεν[ο]ς αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ ύπολειπόμενα μόνα, έμοῦ μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ χ . . . . . α, τῷ δὲ  $|^{24}$  πατρὶ δι . . ο[ . ] . . αν κα[ . ]α θ . . . . π . . τα όφειλόμενα λοιπὰ τιμῆς αὐτῶν (τάλαντα) .ξ.καὶ (δραχμὰς) Β καὶ τόκους ἄλλα πρὸς  $|^{25}$  ὅλα (τάλαντα) ὀ[κ]τῷ μετὰ τῶν τỌκ[ων .] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . τῆς οὐσίας ἀπόδοσιν. Τὰ ἄλλα αὐτὸς ἔχῃ εἰς ὃ βούλεται.

And again to me [...]  $|^{13}$  [...] concluded [...another] agreement with him, executed in the 23rd year, again through the public office, under which |14 [...] undertook to [...] return 1 talent, so that 7 would remain for the complete repayment; |15 and should he not pay [...] to the agreeing parties (?) [...] of this [...] |<sup>16</sup> [...] of these loans [...] to the property record |17 keepers [...] but neither [...] has returned to Asklepiades, nor he has let |18 me [...] the money of the debt, he not paying back, according to the [...] executed through the public office |19 [...] Asklepiades on the due date |20 had not received the money [...] the legal steps [...] of the belongings under lien for me. And this al|21most happened. For, since Asklepiades in the 24th year had claimed and not received the amount owed, I was constrained |22 by my father to [...] and, knowing well that I will not allow the belongings under lien |23 for me to be hypothecated, he hypothecated only the remaining ones, and while I used (?) my right [...] to the |24 father [...] the remaining due part of the price of these, [...] talents and 2000 drachmas, and the interest, but for |25 the entire eight talents with the interest [...] repayment for the sake of the estate; the rest he may have for whatever (purpose) he wishes

§10. Col. IV, ll. 25–34. 183–184 CE (24th year): After the second's failure, third homologêma between Dionysia and Chairemon, followed by its aftermath, leading to Chairemon's first petition against Dionysia.

καὶ πάλιν  $|^{26}$  ετελε [.] ...  $[\dot{o}]$ μολογήματα γεγενῆσθαί μ[ol] πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ κδ (ἔτει) διὰ δημοσίου συνχω $[\rho]$ ούσης μου αὐτῷ δανείσασ $|^{27}$ θαι τὰ (τάλαντα) )  $[\dot{o}]$   $[\dot{e}$ πὶ τ]  $[\dot{o}]$   $[\dot{e}$   $[\dot{e}$ πὶ τ]  $[\dot{e}$   $[\dot{e}$ 

And once more  $|^{26}$  [ ... ] reciprocal agreements were made by me with him in the 24th year through the public office, by which I consented that he borrows  $|^{27}$  the 4 (?) talents, [under the condition that] from these he would pay back to Asklepiades the debt and the interest, and he would keep the remaining for  $|^{28}$  whatever he [wants ... ] from me with the proceeds of the belongings [ ... ] the public

ξως εκκε  $[\ \dots\ ]$  ...ουδεδω ....  $[\ \dots\ ]$  . δανειστ $\tilde{\mathbf{n}}$  οί τόκοι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κε (ἔτους) ἐτήσια ει[ ]τα τόκον καὶ κεφάλαιον (τάλαντα)  $\zeta$   $|^{30}$  τῆς δὲ λοιπῆ[ς τιμῆς?] . σκ . . . . [ . ] .ης αὐτὸν διάγειν ἀποδιδόντα μοι μόνας τὰς χορηγία[ς] κα . . . ας παρ' ἑαυτῶν  $|^{31}$  ὅλως (τάλαντα) . . γεν[o]μέναις, αὐτὸν μὲν κ[υρ]ιεύειν πάλιν τῶν προσόδων πασῶν έφ' ὅσον ζῆ χρόνον μόνας ἀποδιδόντα μοι |32 ταις χορηγίας, έμοι δε ύπείλ[η]φεν ...τι[...] τα περί τῆς κατοχῆς δίκαια. τὸν δὲ ἀγνωμονοῦ[ν]τα καὶ πρὸς ταύτην την ομολογίαν |<sup>33</sup> ἐπιστάμενο[ν] ὅτι περὶ μιᾶς [....].... προσόδων ἑκάστου ἔτους καθέξω ἕως ἂν ἡ ἀ[πό]δ̞ο[σ]ις ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὧν ώρισμέ $|^{34}$ νων γέν[ητ]αι χρημάτων δ[ . . . ]το τετολμηκέναι αὐτῷ γράψαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πάν[τα] τὰ ἐγ τῷ πράγματι ἐψευσμένον

dues and the expenses  $|^{29}$  until [ ... ] to the lender the interests, from those, the annual ones from the 25th year [ ... ] and the interest and capital 7 talents. |30 Of the rest (of the price?) [...] he shall continue to pay me only my allowances [ ... ] from the same  $|^{31}$  total of [ ... ] talents [ ... ] so that he would again hold of all the proceeds for his lifetime, giving me only |32 my allowances, while for me are kept [ ... ] the rights of the lien. And he, acting inconsiderately and against this agreement, |33 knowing that [ ... ] of the proceeds of each year, I shall keep until the repayment of the established sums perforce |34 takes place [ ... ] he dared write the letter to him lying about everything in this matter.

§11. Col. IV, ll. 35–39 – Col. V, ll. 1–5: Summary of the evidence attached by Dionysia to her first (counter)petition and of the facts it brings to light.

 $|^{35}$   $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha[\lambda]\alpha\beta\epsilon\tilde{\imath}[\nu]$  $\pm$  9 ]  $\tau\alpha[\tilde{v}\tau]\alpha$   $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}$   $\tau[\tilde{v}\tilde{v}]$ βιβλειδίου ἀνενεγκούσης μου τῷ Ῥούφῳ καὶ ύποταξάσης τó τε τελευταῖον κοι $|^{36}$ νὸν όμο[λόγημα] πρὸς τὸν πα[τέ]ρα, ὧ δμὰ δημοσίου γενόμενον ἀναφορὰν ἔχω κα[ί] εἰς τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ Σιμίλιδος τοῦ ἡγε|37[μο]νεύσα[ντο]ς καλλίστοι[ς] παρα[δείγ]μασ[ι] ἐπιστολὴν κατακολουθήσαντος Μεττίου Ῥούφου διατάγματι περὶ τοῦ τὰς τοιαύ|38τας συνγραφὰς μὴ μόνον δ[εῖ]ν εἶν[αι κ]υρ[ί]ας ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατίθεσθαι διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ταῖς τῶν |39 άνδρῶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν τ[έκ]νων ταῖς τῶν γονέων οἶς ἡ μὲν χρῆσεις διὰ δημοσίων τετήρηται χρη|[ματισμῶν... ----- |  $^{1}$  ± 70] .oa[± ?] |  $^{2}$  oπ[± 32]ησα[]τω[.].[.].[..].[± 15]μμη[.]κα. ς [.....] ...[.] ακα [....] ε ...[....] μεν τὰ άποδοθη[σό]με[ν]α  $|^4$  ἐτήσια τω[...]αμτ[.]η..[..  $\dots$ ]ξ τόκω[ν] οὐκ ὀλίγων ὄντω[ν ]αζω $\dots$ [ ]τ[...] .ω έαυτο[ $\tilde{v}$ ] το $\tilde{v}$  γένους, ἀποδ[ $\iota$ ]δο[ $\dot{v}$ ]ς κάμοὶ  $|^5$  τὰς χορηγί[ας .]..[..]κ....[...]

|35 he received ... these things through the libellus which I had submitted to Rufus and to which I had attached the final com|36mon agreement with my father, for which I have a report made through the public office, as well as regarding the previous ones, and of Similis, the former  $|^{37}$  prefect, with the most excellent examples, an epistula where he follows the edict of Mettius Rufus about the fact that such |38 written agreements not only must be (acknowledged) as valid, but must be recorded by the record office, either on behalf of the wives on the |39 substance of their husbands or on behalf of the children on that of the parents, for whom the use was reserved though public documents, ... || (ca. 2 lines missing)  $|^1 \dots |^2 \dots |^3 \dots 6$  talents ... to be given back ... |4 yearly ... the interest not being little ... of his own family, giving also to me |5 the allowances ...

§12. Col. V, ll. 5–8: Subscription of the prefect Longaeus Rufus to Dionysia's first (counter)petition, ordering the case to be submitted to the strategos of the Oxyrhynchites.

Rufus, being informed and immediately astonished that after so much evidence of our rights and so |6 many public deeds, someone would be so bold to write a deceiving letter to the prefectorship, he subscribed |7 ... to the libellus 'submit it to the strategos, who, upon examining whether something worthy of my attention (cognitio) is |8 to be found, shall refer it back to me', meaning, I believe, nothing else than, should the truth come to light, the case would require no judgement.

§13. Col. V, ll. 8–19. August – September 185 CE (Thoth, 26th year): Hearing before the strategos of the Oxyrhynchites in presence of both parties, leading the strategos to order a report from the keepers of the record office.

Ταύ|9της δὲ ὑπογραφῆς τυχοῦσα ἐ[π]ήνεγκα τὸ βιβλείδιον ἐπὶ τοῦ κς (ἔτους) Θὼθ ἐπὶ παρόντι τῷ πατρὶ μου Χαιρήμονι, ήξίωσά τε τὸν |10 στρατη[γ]ὸν ἐπιστολὴν [γράψαι] τοῖς ένκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλαξι προσφωνήσωσιν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ παρακείμενα  $των - |^{11} τοῦ πατρ[ὸς] .[..] ... γ ματ .... των$ γενομένων μετοξύ ἡμῶν κατὰ χρόνους κοινῶν ομολογημάτων καὶ παραθέσεων |12 μη .το . . . με . . . . πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον εἶνα[ι] τῆ γενομένη τοῦ πράγματος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξετάσει κατὰ [τὰ] δόξαντα [τ] τῆ [τ] γεμονία ... ο δ ς ό δε παρών άναγνωσθέντος τοῦ βιβλειδίου πρὸ βήματος ἐσιώπησεν, οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν  $\delta v|^{14} v \dot{\alpha} [με] vo[\varsigma] . . \dot{\delta} . . πρὸς ἀ[ληθ]ῆ ὄντα τὰ$ τῷ βιβλειδίῳ ἐνγεγραμμένα. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολούθως χρώμενος τῆ τοῦ |15 ἡγεμόνος ένκελεύσει ακ[ριβ]εστ[έ]ραν οὐκ αλλαχόθεν ήγήσατο τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἔσεσθαι ἢ ἐκ τῆς τῶν βιβλι[οφυ]λάκων -|16 προσφωνήσεως ...... .... ἐκ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τῶν προσφωνηθέντων τὸ πρᾶγμα φανήσεται ἀν[απ]ομπῆς ἄξιον |17 καὶ προς . . . τοῖς τῷν ἐγκτήσ[εων βι]βλιοφύλαξι τάδε. «ἴ]σον βιβλειδίου έπιδοθέντος μοι ύπὸ Διονυσίας [πα]ρείλημπται |  $^{18}$  ἀντίγραφον . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . ω τῷ λαμπροτάτω ἡγεμόνι μεθ' ἧς ἔσχεν ύπογραφῆς ἐπιστα[λέ]γτα ὑμεῖν, διὰ |<sup>19</sup> δημοσίου [± 18 . . ] τὰ π[αρα]κείμενα καὶ άνήκοντα τῷ πράγματι δηλώσητέ μοι. Θὼ[θ .]ζ.»

Having |9 received the subscription, I brought the libellus in the 26th year, in the month of Thoth, in the presence of my father Chairemon, and I also requested that the  $|^{10}$  strategos write a letter to the keepers of the record office, who would report to him everything available of the |11 ... of my father ... of the joint agreements made between us at their respective times, and of their annotations (parathesis), |12 not ... so that there would be no obstacle for the case to be examined by him in accordance to what was determined |13 by the governorship. And he, being present when the libellus was read at court, remained silent, unable | 14 to deny ... concerning the fact that what was written in the libellus was true. And the strategos, acting in accordance with the order of the |15 governor, held that the examination would be more accurate based on nothing else than the report of the keepers of the record office |16 '... from the examination of what has been reported it will appear whether the case is worthy of devolution (to the prefect)' |17 and ... to the keepers of the record office the following: 'a duplicate of the libellus submitted to me by Dionysia, a copy of which has been received |18 ... to the most illustrious governor together with the subscription that it bears, sent to you through | the public (office) ... present to me the ... available and pertaining to the case. Thoth, ?7th.'

§14. Col. V, ll. 19–30. December 185 CE – January 186 CE: Letter of the strategos to the new prefect, Pomponius Faustianus, appending the report received from the keepers of the property record office.

Ταῦτα  $|^{20}$  π  $[\pm 18]$  οἱ βιβλιοφύλακες πάντα προσεφώνησαν διὰ μακρῶν μηδὲν παραλιπόντες [...] τῶν ἡμε $|^{21}$ [τ]έρ[ων] ..... τοῷ [X]αιρήμονος άλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῷ δανείων. ὁ δὲ στρατη[γὸς] ἐντυχών -  $|^{22}$  καὶ ὁρῶν μηδὲν έψε[υ]σμένην διὰ τοῦ βιβλειδίου άλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλόν τινα παραλιποῦσαν τῶν ἡμετ[έρω]ν δικαίων  $|^{23}$  εἰς τ[..]... ... προς ..... γράψαντες καὶ ἀπογραφὴν γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ κς (ἔτους) δι' ἦς αὐτὸς εἰσήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ βιβλιοφυλάκιον περὶ τούτου ύπομ[νή]ματα αδη . |25 δ[ι]ὰ τὸ .[..] . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ...... δ ... γειν, τὸν δὲ πατέρα μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ πρὸς έαυτὸν λέγειν καὶ τὰ έαυτοῦ  $[\gamma \rho]$ άμματα πάν $|^{26}$ τα.... ..... [± 6] ... μενων, ἡγησάμενός τε μήτε δίκης δεῖσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα τ[ο]σούτων χρηματ[ισμῶ]ν περὶ των  $|^{27}$  γο ..... ὑπὸ τῷν βι[βλιο]φυλάκων

These |20 all the keepers of the record office reported everything in detail, not omitting anything ... of our |21 ... of Chairemon, but also not of the loans recorded to him (i.e. to his name). And the strategos, being informed |22 and seeing ... I did not lie at all in the libellus, but rather I omitted some of our rights  $|^{23}$ to ... writing, and a return (apographe) made by my father in the 26th year, through which all |24 the ... the requests that he presented to the record office about this ...  $|^{25}$  due to ... but the father did nothing else but speak against himself and all his own writings  $|^{26}$  ... and he deemed that the case did not even after require a trial, SO

ἐπενηγμένων, σοὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴ[ν ἐπὶ τ]οῷ κς (ἔτους) Τῦβι  $|^{28}$  ῷ ... [...] ... ... σε ... ... ... σμου ..α ... ... ... σπρ ... .πε ..α ... γραμμάτων ἑαυτοῦ [...]εχει μὲν\  $|^{29}$  κ[α]τα ... [± 20 τε]θικαν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον συμπέμψας τῆ ἐπιστολῆ καὶ ἀντίγραφα [τῶν π]ροσφωνή $|^{30}$ σεων [± 12]λα ... τα

documentary evidence about the ...  $|^{27}$  ... brought by the keepers of the record office, to you, my Lord, he wrote a letter in Tybi of the 26th year  $|^{28}$  ... of his writings ...  $|^{29}$  ... and not less he sent together with the letter also copies of the re $|^{30}$ ports

§15. Col. V, ll. 30–35. Beginning of 186 CE (cf. §14): Second petition of Dionysia to the prefect Pomponius Faustianus.

πάλιν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν κύριον κατέφυγον, καὶ ένέτυχον διὰ βιβλειδίο[υ] [ἐπὶ τῷ] αὐτῷ κς  $(ἔτει)|^{31}$  δ ... [ ... ]ς ... ψ ... ν ἐξέτασιν ἤδη πράγμ[α]τος γεγενῆσθαι ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ καθώς σὺ [ἠθέλησ]ας γεν[ο]|32μένη έξετάσει γνοῦσά σε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς γραφείσης σοι ὑπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας άντίγραφον . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . . γε|  $^{33}$  [ ± 4] . η καὶ γράψαι τῷ τ[ο]ῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ βέβα[ι]ά μοι μένειν τὰ ἐκ τῆς μητρώας μο[υ] ...[....]  $|\alpha|^{34}$  [ ± 9 ] τὰ διὰ χρηματισμῶν δηλούμενα δίκ[αια], καὶ μηδὲν νεωτερίζεσθαι κατὰ τῶν τᾳ [ . . . . ]μα τῷ βι $|^{35}$ [βλειδίῳ?  $\pm 9$ ] καθὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐκέλε[υ]σαν.

again I resorted to you, my Lord, and I requested through a libellus in the same 26th year  $|^{31}$  ... the examination of the case has already been done by the strategos as you wished, in the  $|^{32}$ examination carried out, me knowing that you ... a copy of the letter written to you by the office of the strategos ...  $|^{33}$  ... and write to the strategos of the nomos that the ... from the ... of my mother remain secure for me ...  $|^{34}$  ... the rights through the evidenced documentation (chrematismoi), and that nothing is overturned regarding the ... to the  $|^{35}$  libellus as also all the governors have ordered.

§16. Col. V, ll. 35–43 – Col. VI, ll. 1–4: Subscription of the prefect Pomponius Faustianus and ensuing steps in order to secure Dionysia's rights, involving a strategos and the record office, with her hope that this closes the conflict with her father.

κα[ὶ] σὺ ὁ κύριος ἐντυχών καὶ ἀν....[...]δ... τα  $\dot{\psi}$ πο $|^{36}$ [ . . ] . . . . .  $\phi$  . [ . . . ] . . . . . τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [τ]ῆς τῶν βιβλιοφυλάκων προσφωνήσεως καὶ [...]..οι γενομε $|^{37}[v]$ ....[.. . .] . . . . ξενω τι δεόμενον, τῆ συνή[θ]ει σου δικαι[0]δοσία χρώμενος ὑπέγραψάς μοι τῷ [βιβ]λειδίω  $|^{38}$  [οὕτως· οἷς ἔχει(?)]ς(?) δικαίοις χρῆσθαι δύνασθαι, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῆς λοιπῆς άξιώσεως σοῦ τὴν πο [ πρ]όγοιαν  $|^{39}$  [ ] ] $\dots$  προμαντευσάμενος ὅτι καὶ τ[ῆ]ς ά[πὸ] τοῦ στρατηγοῦ βοηθείας δεόμεθα . . με . [ . . . []ανην  $|^{40}$   $[\dots]$   $[\dots]$  ο τῶν δικαίων τυχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀγνωμονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ αἱρέσεως τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐμοῦ γὰ[ρ] τὸ βιβλείδιον ἐπὶ τῆ σῆ ὑπογραφῆ παραθεμέ[νης] καὶ ἀνα|42[δ]ούσης διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός μου τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἀξιωσάσης τε καθώς ήθέλησας τῆς λοιπῆς ἀξιώσεως μὴ  $[\mathring{\alpha}]$ μεληθῆ $|^{43}$ [ναι καὶ] έπιστεῖλαι ἐνκτήσεων βιβλιοφύλ[αξ]ι βέβαιά μοι τὰ δίκαια τὰ ύπόντα μένειν καθὰ [προσε]φώνησαν || ----- |1 [  $\pm 20$  ]μως γο[  $\pm 23$  ]τω.[ ] οκεκ.[...]μ[  $\pm 11$  ]εται ύμεῖν λα|²[ ±12 ]...ερος ἵνα μὴ δέητα[ι] καὶ τῆς λ[οι]πῆ[ς ἀξιώσεως π]άσης καθὰ ἠθέλησεν ὁ λαμ[πρότ]ατος ή[γε]μὼν πρόνοιαν [...].... μηδὲν νεωτερίζεσ[θαι ........

And you, my Lord, being informed and ... by |<sup>36</sup> ... of the letter of the strategos and of the report of the keepers of the record office and  $\dots$  |37 ... requiring, by means of your ordinary jurisdiction you subscribed the libellus for me  $|^{38}$  as follows: 'you may use the rights that you have, while the strategos concerning the rest of your petition ...' foresight |39 ... he (you?), foreseeing that we also need aid from the strategos ...  $|^{40}$  ... to have succeeded in the rights, and not to be treated unfairly by my father. For, from those that he dared ... these |41 ... my husband through his choice. For when I submitted the libellus to your subscription and |42 handed it through my husband to the strategos, I requested as well that, in conformity with your will, the rest of the petition not be neglected |43 and that he send a letter to the keepers of the record office, so that my existing rights remain secure as they were reported. || (ca. 4 lines missing) | 1 ... to you ...  $|^2$  ... so that there is no need, and the whole rest of the petition according to the wish and foresight of the most illustrious governor |3 ... not to overturn ... that my father, after so τὸ] y πατέρα μετὰ τὰ το[σαῦ]τα γράμματα τὴν many writings, keeps the peace and does |4 ήσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μὴ $|^4$ τε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐνοχλεῖν μὴτε έμοὶ ἔτι ἐπιτ[ίθεσθαι]

not bother the Lord nor attacks me any longer.

§17. Col. VI, Il. 4–12. Chairemon addresses a new petition to the prefect Pomponius Faustianus, moving his attack in another direction.

ό δὲ πάλιν ἐπιθέμενός μοι οὐκ ἔληξε[ν], ἀλλ' έπιστάμενος ὅτι περὶ |5 τῆς κατοχῆς οὐκέτι οἶόν τέ ἐστιν αὐτῷ ἐνκαλεῖν μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας ἐξετάσεις καὶ τοσαῦτα γράμματα, ἑτέρῳ ἐπέτρεψεν τὴν |6 κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιβουλήν, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου πάλιν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων ύπογύως διαταξαμένου ίδιωτι|<sup>7</sup>κῶν ζητήσεων ἐπιστολάς σοι μὴ γράφειν, ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἔγραψεν ἀλλὰ καὶ γράφων ήκρωτηρίασεν τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς καὶ σὲ |8 τὸν κύριον πλανῆσαι δυνάμενος. σιωπήσας γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥούφου ἐπιστολὴν ἐφ' ὅτω έγράφη καὶ τὴν ἐντυχίαν τὴν |9 ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ρούφου {την} ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ τῶν βιβλιοφυλάκων τὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτων προσφώνησιν |10 γραφεῖσάν σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταύτην ἐμοῦ ἐντυχούσης δοθεῖσαν | 11 ύπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ὑπογραφὴν καὶ τὰ ἐκ ταύτης τοῖς βιβλιοφύλαξι ἐπιστάλματα ψειλῶς σοι διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δεδήλωκεν |12 τάδε·

He, however, did not cease attacking me again, but, knowing that |5 it is no longer possible for him to sue me regarding my lien (katoche) after so many inquiries and so much correspondence, he turned in another direction |6 the plot against me, and although you, my Lord, similarly to the other prefects, had recently again proclaimed that |7 letters regarding private lawsuits are not to be written to you, not only did he write one but when writing he cut off parts of the case, in order |8 to able to deceive you, my Lord. For, having hushed up the letter the letter of Rufus, the reason for it was written, my petition, |9 Rufus' subscription, the inquiry of the strategos, the report of the keepers of the record office, |10 the letter written about these things by the strategos to you, my Lord, the subscription to it given to me upon my petition |11 by you, my Lord, the mandate to the keepers of the record office (arising) from it, he simply stated in his letter to you |12 the following:

§18. Col. VI, Il. 12-20. April/May 186 CE: Second petition of Chairemon to the prefect Pomponius Faustianus, in order to exercise his alleged paternal right to withdraw Dionysia from her husband.

Χαιρήμων Φανίου γυμνασιαρχήσας τῆς 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως· τῆς θυγατρός μου Διονυσίας, ήγεμών κύριε, 13 πολλά είς έμὲ άσεβῶς καὶ παρανόμως πραξάσης κατὰ γνώμην Ώρίωνος Ἀπίωνος ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἀνέδωκα ἐπιστο|<sup>14</sup>λὴν Λογγαίω Ῥούφω τῷ λαμπροτάτω, άξιῶν τότε ἃ προσήνεγκα αὐτῆ ἀνακομίσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἰόμενος 15 ἐκ τού <του> παύσασθαι αὐτὴν τῶν εἰς ἐμὲ ὕβρεων· καὶ ἔγραψεν τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῷ (ἔτους) κε //, Παχών κζ ~, ὑπο|16τάξας τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γραφέντων τὰ ἀντίγραφα ὅπως ἐντυχὼν οἶς παρεθέμην φροντίση τὰ ἀκόλουθα πρᾶξαι. ἐπεὶ οὖν, |17 κύριε, έπιμένει τῆ αὐτῆ ἀπονοία ἐνυβρίζων μοι, ἀξιῶ τοῦ νόμου διδόντος μοι έξουσίαν οὖ τὸ μέρος ὑπέταξα ἵν' εἰδῆς |<sup>18</sup> ἀπάγοντι αὐτὴν ἄκουσαν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ άνδρὸς οἰκίας μηδεμίαν μοι βίαν γείνεσθαι ὑφ' οὖτινος τῶν τοῦ Ὠρίωνος ἢ αὐ|19 τοῦ τοῦ Ὠρίωνος συνεχῶς ἐπαγγελλομένου. ἀπὸ δὲ πλειόνων τῶ[ν] περὶ το [ύ]των πραχθέντων όλίγα σοι ὑπέταξα ἵν'  $εἰ|^{20}$  δῆς. (ἔτους) κς, Παχών.

Chairemon son of Phanias, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites: Since my daughter Dionysia, (My) Lord Prefect, |13 has impiously and unlawfully done many things against me at the instigation of her husband Horion, son of Apion, I sent a letter |14 to the most illustrious Longaeus Rufus, requesting to recover in accordance with the laws what I had formerly given to her, expecting |15 that this would stop her from her insults against me; and he wrote to the strategos of the *nomos* on the 25th year, the 27th of Pachon, ap|16pending copies of my writings, so that having examined of what I alleged he would see to it that it is dealt with accordingly. Since |<sup>17</sup> he, my Lord, persists in the same madness insulting me, I request, since such power is given to me by the law, the (relevant) part of which I have appended so that you are informed, |18 to take her away against her will from her husband's house with no violence being done to me by anyone of those of Horion or by |19 Horion himself, who is

constantly threatening (me). From the numerous tried instances regarding these things I have appended for you a few, so that you |20 may know 26th year, Pachon.

§19. Col. VI, ll. 20–32. Dionysia denies her father's pleas, and the relevance of his present and previous legal arguments

ό μὲν ταὺτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔγραψεν, οὐδεμίαν μὲν οὔτε ὕβριν οὔτε ἄλλο ἀδίκημα εἰς αὐτὸν |21 ἀπ' έμοῦ ἐφ' ὧ μέμφεται δεῖξαι ἔχων, ἐπὶ φθόνω δὲ μόνον [λο]ιδορούμενος ώς δεινά πάσχων ἀπ' έμοῦ, λέγων ὅτι δὴ  $|^{22}$  ὧτα παρέχω ἄνοα αὐτῷ, καὶ την ύπολειπομένης έμοι κατοχην τῆς οὐσίας ἵνα  $\mu$ ' αὐτὴν ἀποθῆγαι, καὶ, τὸ καμγότερον, βίαν  $|^{23}$ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός μου προφερόμενος τοῦ καὶ μετὰ {καὶ με[τὰ]} τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν μου συνγραφὴν ἐν ἦ εἶχεν τὸ δίκαιον |24 καθαρόν μου προσενηνεγμένον συνχωρήσαντός μοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μ[η]τρώας οὐσίας συνευδοκῆσαι βουληθεισαι αὐτῷ ὑποτι|25θεμένω τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην πρὸς ὅλα (τάλαντα) ἀφ' οů η, ἀπαλλ[αττ...] ...ειδητασινηκε τοῦ ἀνδρός με στερῆσαι ἐπιχειρῶν, |26 ἐπὶ μὴ δύναται τῆς οὐσίας, ἵνα μηδ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χορηγεῖσθαι [.....] σενε[.].. γ δύνωμαι γυνή, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε  $|^{27}$  ἣν ὑπέσχετο προῖκα μήτε τι ἄλλο ύπάρχον λαβοῦσα άλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ κα[ι]ρὸν τὰς χορη[γηθ]είσας τροφὰς ἀπολαμβάνουσα. Υπέταξεν |<sup>28</sup> δὲ καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς κρίσεις Σ[ι]μίλιδος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιδικαστοῦ τῷ Λογγαίω Ῥούφω γραφομένας έτέρας όμοίας, μηδέ αίδεσθείς ὅτι οὐδὲ |29 ὁ Ῥοῦφος προσέσχεν αὐτα[ῖ]ς ἀνομοίαις οὔσαις εἰς παράδειγμα ....[..]. ἑτέρων ...αιων. άλλὰ σὸ ὁ κύριος τῆ θεογνώστω σου |30 μνήμη καὶ τῆ ἀπλανήτω προαιρέσει ἀνενεγκών τὴ[ν γραφεῖσ]άν σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπιστολήν, καὶ ὅτι φθάνει τὸ πρᾶγμα |31 ἀκρειβῶς [ἐξ]ητασμένον, πρόφασις δέ ἐστιν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ ....πασθα[ι] εἰ οὐκ έξὸν κατὰ συνγραφήν, ἀντέγραψεν τῷ στρατηγῷ |32 τάδε·

He wrote such a letter, without being able to prove either insolence or other injustice against himself |21 by me, of which he complains, only out of malice reviling me as if suffering terrible things from me, saying indeed that |22 I turn a uncomprehending ear to him, and that I do not lift the lien (katochê) of the remaining estate. What is even more bizarre (he claims) he suffers |23 violence on the part of my husband, even after the my marriage contract with him, by which (the husband) received the unlimited right |24 brought by me; and (even if Chairemon) conceded to me (interests) on the maternal estate as I wished to consent to him (i.e. Chairemon)  $|^{25}$  hypothecating this same estate for a total of 8 talents, after that ... me ... endeavouring to rob me of my husband, |26 as of the estate he could not, so that I, a woman, could not to be maintained by him (the husband) ... while from the father I have neither |27 received the dowry which he had offered nor any other property, indeed, I have not even received at the proper times the allowances bestowed on me. He appended |28 also the same judgements of Similis and other similar ones cited in writing by the archidikastes (in his letter) to Longaeus Rufus, unembarrassed that not even |29 Rufus himself had taken them into consideration as a precedent due to their dissimilarity ... of others ... But you, my Lord, with your god knowing |30 memory and errorless character making reference to the letter written to you by the strategos and that the case had already |31 been examined in sufficient detail, and that it is a pretext for plotting ... if not allowed according to the written (marriage) agreement, you wrote back to the strategos |32 the following:

§20. Col. VI, ll. 32-35. 25th May 186 CE: Instructions of the prefect Pomponius Faustianus to Isidoros, strategos of the Oxyrhynchites, upon Chairemon's petition, so that the matter is settled in accordance with the instructions of the former prefect Longaeus Rufus.

Π[ο]μπώνιος Φαυστιανὸς Ἰσιδώρω στρατηγῷ Pomponius Faustianus to Isidoros, strategos of [Ο]ξυρυγχε[ί]τ[ο]υ χαίρειν. τὰ γραφέντα μοι ὑπὸ  $\gamma$ υμν $\alpha$ |33 Χαιρήμονος σιαρχήσαντος

the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. What was  $\tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma$  written to me by Chairemon, former |33 'Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως αἰτιομένου 'Ωρείω[να ἄν]δρα θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς βίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάσχ[ο]ντος |34 ὑποταχθῆναι ἐκέλευσα, ὅπως φροντίσης ἀκόλουθα πρᾶξαι τοῖς π[ε]ρὶ το[ύ]του πρότερον γραφεῖσι ὑπὸ Λογγαίου 'Ρούφο[υ] τοῦ δια|35σημοτάτο[υ] πρὸς τὸ μὴ π[ε]ρὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐντυγχάνειν. ἐ[ρ]ρῶσθ(αι) εὔχομ(αι). (ἔτους) κς //, Παχὼν λ.

gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxrhynchites accusing Horion, the husband of his daughter, of violence suffered from him, |<sup>34</sup> I have ordered to append, so that you see to it that it is dealt with in accordance with what was previously written by Longaeus Rufus, the most |<sup>35</sup> eminent, in order that he may not petition again regarding these things. Farewell. 26th year, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Pachon.

§21. Col. VI, ll. 35–41 – Col. VII, ll. 1–2. 27<sup>th</sup> June 186 CE: Hearing before the deputy strategos of the Oxyrhynchites, Harpokration, upon Chairemon presenting Faustianus' letter, with Dionysia's husband acting for her. She argues that a decision following Rufus' instructions had already been reached, in her favour.

Ταύτην |36 σου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρ[εν]εγκόντος τοῦ Χαιρήμονος καὶ ἀναδόντος ἐπὶ τῆς γ τ[ο]ῦ Έπεὶφ Άρποκρατίωνι βασιλικῷ γρα[μ]ματεῖ |37 [δι]αδεχομένω καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρα(τηγίαν), παροῦσα αὐτὴ διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός μου προσεκύνησα μὲν σοῦ τὰ γράμματα καὶ τοῖς [γ]ραφεῖσι |38 έμμεν[ε]ιν ήξίωσα, ἀπέδειξά τε ὅτι τὰ ἀκόλουθα ήδη τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥούφ[ου] πρότερον γραφεῖσι ἐπράχθη, ὁ μὲν γὰρ Χαιρήμων |39 περὶ κ[ατ]οχῆς ώς οὐ δεόντως γενομένης αὐτῷ <έ>γεγράφει, ὁ δὲ Ροῦφος [ἐξ] ὧν ἀντέγραψεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐμοῦ έντυχούσης |<sup>40</sup> ὑπέ[γρ]αψεν έξετασθῆναι ήθέλησε[ν] εἰ δεόντως ἡ κατοχὴ γέγονέν μ[οι] καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ περὶ τούτου ὑπέθετο. ὁ δὲ οὐκ  $\mathring{\eta}$ μέ $|^{41}$ λη[σε]ν  $\mathring{\alpha}$ λλ'  $\mathring{\epsilon}[\zeta]\mathring{\eta}$ τησεν  $\mathring{\alpha}$ κρειβ $[\tilde{\omega}]$ ς  $[τ\grave{o}]$ πρ]ᾶγμα ἐκ τῶν βιβλιοφ[υ]λάκ[ω]ν καὶ τῆ ήγεμονία περί παντός δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνήνεγκ | -- $---|^{1}[\pm 30]\alpha.[\pm 19]..[\pm ?]|^{2}[\pm 19]\eta.[.].[..]$ .] . . . . . [  $\pm 15$  ]ov[ . . .] . [ . .]  $\eta \tau o$ [  $\pm 11$  ] .ως α[....]λη...[...]

As |36 Chairemon brought this letter of yours and on the 3rd of Epeiph gave it to Harpokration, the royal scribe  $|^{37}$  and acting strategos, appearing myself (in the court) through my husband, I not only worshipped your letter and |38 deemed it proper to abide by what you had written, but showed that what was required by what had previously been written by Rufus had already been done. For Chairemon |39 had written to him regarding lien (katochê) not being properly established, and Rufus, from what he wrote back to him, and from what |40 he subscribed to my petition, ordered to make an inquiry, whether the lien (katochê) had been properly established for me and instructed the strategos about this. And he did not |41 neglect it, but he examined the case in detail from the (evidence collected by) the keepers of the record office and he reported about everything by letter to the prefectorship  $\parallel$  (ca. 2 lines missing)  $\mid^1 \dots \mid^2$ 

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§22. Col. VII, ll. 3–8. Decision of the deputy strategos Harpokration: since Chairemon's claim for daughter-withdrawal (apospasis) is new and Rufus' instructions do not address it, Harpokration authorises a new petition to be submitted to the prefect, so that judgement may be given in accordance with his instructions

|³ χ[ ±17 ] μηδὲν τῷν γενομ[ένω]ν κο[..]μ... ου[..]πρα[...] ἐκ τῷν αντ.[...]..ε[...]η εἰ ὁρω[...]δ.ρον ουβα[....] |⁴ σα[......]λας τούτου ἀλλὰ ἀκόλο[υ]θα πρᾶξαι τ[ὸν] ἐπι[στ]είλαντα τοῖς βιβ[λ]ιοφύλαξι καὶ π[ε]ρ[ὶ] αὐτ[οῦ γ]ράψαντα τ[ὰ εἰρη]μ[έ]να: ἐπεὶ δὲ |⁵ ὁ Χ[αιρ]ήμων δι᾽ ἦς καὶ νῦν πεπο[ίη]ται παρὰ τῷ [λ]αμπροτάτω ἡγεμόνι ἐντυχίας ἠξίωσεν τὴν θυγατέραν ἄκ[ο]υσαν ἀποσπᾶν οὐ |⁶ δὲ π[ερ]ὶ τούτου οὔτ[ε δι]ὰ τῆς τοῦ δια[σ]ημοτάτου Ῥούφου οὔτε διὰ τῆς τοῦ λαμπ[ρο]τάτου ἡγεμόνος Πομπωνίου Φα[υσ]τ[ι]ανοῦ ἐπιστολῆς |⁻ ὁρᾶται ῥητῶς κεκ[ελ]ευσμένον,՝

 $|^3$  ... not one of the existing ... from the ...  $|^4$  ... of this, but in conformity with (Rufus' orders?) by the instructions given to the keepers of the record office and by writing the aforesaid on this matter. But since  $|^5$  Chairemon through the petition which he has now sent to the most illustrious governor requested to withdraw his daughter against her will and since  $|^6$  regarding this question neither in the letter of the most eminent Rufus nor in that of the most illustrious governor Pomponius Faustianus  $|^7$  an explicit order seems to be given ... his most illustrious governor may be petitioned about this matter

 $\mathcal{N}$  ΄ δύνα`  $\mathcal{N}$  ΄ται περὶ τούτου ἐντευχθῆναι ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ πράγματι πραχθέ[ν]| $^8$ τω[ν] παρατιθεμένων αὐτῷ, ἵν' οἰς ἐὰν προστάξῃ ἀκόλουθα γένητα[ι]." vac.

with all that been accomplished (in this case) |8 being evidenced to him, so that whatever instructions he may give, they are carried out.'

§23. Col. VII, ll. 8–19. Dionysia therefore raises this her (third) petition to the prefect Faustianus, so that he instructs the strategos that she must be paid her due allowances (choregia), and her father's request of apospasis is rejected as unlawful. In her support, she appends evidence regarding the law: (a) that wives can freely choose themselves whether to remain with their husbands or not (§§ 24–27); (b) that money suits cannot be avoided by the subterfuge of counter-accusations (§§ 28–29); (c) that rights arising from registered syngraphai have been recognised by all prefects and emperors as valid and secure (§§ 30–34); (d) that no one is allowed to contradict his own writings (§ 35).

πανταχόθεν οὖν, ἡγεμὼν {ουν} κ[ύ]ριε, τοῦ πράγματος | πρ[ο]δήλου γενομένου καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρός μου πρός με έπηρείας, έντυγγάνω σοι καὶ νῦν πάντα παρατιθεμένη τὰ ἐν τῷ πράγματι, |10 καθώς καὶ ὁ βασιλικὸς διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ήθέλησεν, καὶ δέομαι κελεῦσαι γραφῆναι τῇ στρατηγία τάς τε χορηγίας  $|^{11}$ ἀποδίδοσθαί μοι κατὰ καιρόν, ἐπισχεῖν τε αὐτὸν ήδη ποτὲ ἐπειόντα μοι, πρότερον μὲν ὡς ἀνόμου κατοχῆς χάριν, νῦν δὲ προφάσει νό|12μου οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκοντος· οὐδεὶς μὲν γὰρ νόμος ἀκούσας γυναϊκας ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπᾶν ἐφείησιν, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν τις, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὰς |<sup>13</sup> ἐξ ἐνγράφων γάμων γεγενημένας καὶ ἐνγράφως γεγενημένας. ὅτι δὲ ταῦ(τα) οὕτως ἔχει, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς προφάσεως ἀπαλλά|14ξω, ὑπέταξά σοι ἀπὸ πλειόνω[ν] περὶ τούτου κριθέντων ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῶν κρίσεις, ἔτι τε καὶ νο|15μικῶν προσφωνήσεις, περὶ τοῦ τὰς ἤδη τελείας γυναῖκας γενομένας ἑαυτῶν εἶναι κυρίας, εἴτε βούλονται παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν μένειν |16 εἴτε μή, καὶ ὑπόκεισθαι πατράσιν, οὐ μόνον άλλ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἐφεῖται ἐπὶ προφάσει ἑτέρων ένκλημάτων φεύγειν τὰς χρηματικὰς δίκας, ἀλλὰ | 17 δή καὶ ὅτι τὰς συνγραφὰς πα[ρα]τίθεσθαι τοῖς βιβλιοφυλακίοις νόμιμον καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων γεινομένας κατοχάς πάντες ἡγεμόνες |18 καὶ αὐτοκράτορες κυρίας [εἶν]αι καὶ βεβαίας τεθελήκασι, καὶ ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἐφεῖται λέγειν πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ γράμματα, ἵνα κα[ὶ] ἐκ τούτων |19 ἤδη ποτὲ παύσηται περί τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνοχλῶν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις ήθέλησας. καθώς καὶ σὺ γράφων σ[ε]ση(μείωμαι) vac.

Since the case has been made clear from all the perspectives, oh lord prefect|9 and also my father's abuse towards me, I now petition you again, setting out all in this case, |10 as also the royal scribe and acting-strategus has wished, and request that you command that to be written to the office of the strategos, so that the allowances |11 are timely given to me, and he finally stops his attacks upon me, formerly on account of an allegedly unlawful hold (katoché), and now under the pretence of a  $|^{12}$  law which does not apply to him. For no law permits to drag wives away from their husbands against their will; and if there is any such one, then not against those |13 who come from written marriages and have become (wives) in written form. That this is so, and in order to spare him also this pretext, |14 I have appended for you, from a larger number of judgements on this issue, only several given by prefects, procurators, and chief justices, as well as opinions of |15 legal experts (nomikoi), regarding the fact that women who have already come of age are their own mistresses, whether they wish to remain with their husbands |16 or not, and be subjected to their fathers, and not only this, but also that it is has not been allowed to escape a pecuniary trial with the pretence of other claims, and |17 also that it is legitimate have written agreements registered with the record archives and that all prefects |18 and emperors have willed to be valid and secured, and that no one is allowed to depose against his own written documents. So that because of it all|19 he will now once for ever stop troubling the prefecture, as you yourself have desired in your letter. (vacat) I have subscribed (vacat)

§24. Col. VII, Il. 19–29. Dionysia's first court precedent. 2<sup>nd</sup> June 128 CE: in the case of Antonius against his father in law Sempronius, the prefect Flavius Titianus confirms the decision of the epistrategus Bassus, according to which, despite Sempronius' wish to claim back his daughter, Antonius may remain with her if she so wishes.

έξ ὑπομνη|20ματισμῶν Φλαυίου Τειτιανοῦ τοῦ ήγεμονεύσαντος. (ἔτους) ιβ θεοῦ Άδριανοῦ, Παῦνι η, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν τῆ ἀγορῷ βήματος. Αντωνίου |21 τοῦ Απολλωνίου προσελθόντος λέγοντός τε διὰ Ἰσιδώρου νεωτέρου ἡήτορος Σεμπρώνιον πενθερὸν ἑαυτο[ῦ] ἐκ μη[τ]ρὸς ἀφορ|22μῆς εἰς διαμάχην έλθ[όν]τα ἄκουσαν τὴν θυγατέρα ἀπεσπακέναι, νοσησάσης δὲ έκείνης ὑπὸ λοίπης τὸν ἐπιστράτηγον Βάσσον |<sup>23</sup> μετριοπαθῶς ἀναστραφ[έν]τα άποφαίνεται ὅτι οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν κωλύεσθαι εἰ συνοικείν άλλήλοις θέλοιεν, άλλὰ μηδὲν ηνυκέναι·|24 τὸν γὰρ Σεμπρώνιον ἀποσι[ω]πήσαντα τοῦτο καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι περὶ βίας ἐντυχόντα ἐπιστολὴν παρακεκομικέναι ἵνα οἱ ἀντίδι $|^{25}$  κοι ἐκπεμφθῶσι· αἰτεῖσθαι οὖν έὰν δοκῆ μὴ ἀποζευχθῆναι γυναικὸς οἰκείως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχούσης. Δίδυμος ῥήτωρ ἀπεκρεί|<sup>26</sup>νατο χωρὶς λόγου τὸν μὴ Σεμπρώνιον κεκεινῆσθαι· τοῦ γὰρ Άντων[ί]ου προσενεγκαμένου θυγατρομειξίας έγκαλεῖν, μὴ ἐνεγκαν|27τος ΰβριν τñ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους συνκεχωρημένη έξουσία κεχρῆσθαι, ήτιᾶσθαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ [ . . . . . . ]πες έ[νκ]λημάτων.|28 Προκληιανός ύπὲρ Αντωνίου προσέθηκεν: ἐὰν ἀπερίλυτος ἦν ὁ γάμος, τὸν πατέρα μήτε τῆς προικὸς μηδὲ τῆς παιδὸς τῆς ἐκδεδο|29μένης ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν. Τειτιανός· διαφέρει παρὰ τίνι βούλεται εἶναι ή γεγαμημένη. ἀνέγνων. σεσημ(είωμαι). vac.

From the |20 minutes of Flavius Titianus, former prefect. In the 12th year of the divine Hadrian, on the 8th of Payni, at the court in the market. Antonios, |21 son of Apollonios, appeared and deposed through Isidoros the Junior, an advocate, that Sempronius, his father-in-law, inclined at the mother's instigation |22 to quarrel with him and to take away the (Sempronius') unwilling daughter. Since she got ill out of grief, the epistrategos Bassus, |23 taking pity (on her), announced that he (Antonius) should not be prevented if they should like to live together (as a married couple). But it did not work |24 since Sempronius left it unnoticed, petitioned the prefect about violence (of Antonios towards him). He received a letter (with an order) that the litigants |25 should appear (in court). (Antonios) requested, should it please (the prefect), he should be not separated from the wife, who had homely affection towards him. The advocate Didymos, replied |26 that Sempronios had set things in motion not without a reason, since Antonios had brought forward an charge of incest with the daughter, and did not submit |27 to the insult, so he had used the power granted to him according to the laws, and himself brought charges (against Antonius) with claims (...). |28 Probatianos for Antonios adduced 'if the marriage was not cancelled, the father had power neither over the dowry nor over the daughter given |29 away in marriage. Titianus: 'It shall prevail, with whom the married woman wishes to stay. I have aknowledged. I have signed (the judgement).' (vacat)

§25. Col. VII, ll. 29–38. Dionysia's second court precedent. 14<sup>th</sup> October 133 CE: in the case of Phlauesis against his son in law Heron, the epistrategos Paconius Felix follows the previous decision of the prefect Flavius Titianus, allowing the daughter to remain with her husband if she so wishes.

έξ ὑπομ[νηματισ]μῶν |30 Πακωνίου Φήλικος ἐπιστρατήγου. (ἔτους) ιη θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, Φαῶφι ιζ, ἐν τῆ παρὰ ἄνω Σεβεννύτου, ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Φλαυήσιος |31 Ἀμμούνιος ἐπὶ παρούση Τατιχήκει θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς "Ηρωνα Πετεήσιος. Ἰσίδωρος ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Φλαυήσιος εἶπεν, "τὸν οὖν αἰτιώμενον |32 ἀποσπάσαι βουλόμενον τ[ὴ]ν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ συνοικοῦσαν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ δεδικάσθαι ὑπογύως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐ[πι]στρατήγου |33 καὶ ὑπερτεθεῖσθαι τὴν δίκην ὑμεῖν ἴνα ἀναγνωσθῆ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίω[ν νό]μος. Σεουήρου καὶ Ἡλιοδώρου ῥητόρων ἀποκρειναμένων |34

From the minutes |30 of the epistrategos Paconius Felix. In the 18th year of the divine Hadrian, on the 17th of Phaophi, at (the court) for the upper Sebennytos; case of Phlauesis, son of |31 Ammounis, in the presence of his daughter Tatichekis, against Heron, son of Petaësis. Isidoros, advocate for Phlauesis, said that the plaintiff wanted |32 to take his daughter away, who was living with the defendant and recently brought in an action against him before the epistrategus|33 and that the case has been adjourned by you in order that the law of the

Τειτιανὸν τὸν ήγεμονεύσαντα ομοίας ἀκούσαντα [έξ] Αἰγυπτιακῶν ύποθέσεως προσώπων μὴ ἠκολουθηκέναι τῆ τοῦ νό|35μου ἀπανθρωπία ἀλλὰ τ[ῆ] ἐπι[νοί]α τῆς παιδός, εἰ βούλεται παρὰ τ[ῷ ἀνδρὶ] μένειν. Πακώνιος ἀναγνωσθητο Φῆλιξ. ò ν[ό]μ[ος. Ά]να|<sup>36</sup>γνωσθέντος Πακώνιος  $[\Phi \tilde{\eta}]\lambda_i \xi$ ἀνάγνωται τὸν Τειτιανοῦ καὶ Σεουήρου ὑπομ[ν]ηματισμόν. ρήτορος άναγν[όντος], ἐπὶ τοῦ [ιβ] (ἔτους) Ά[δρια]νοῦ |37 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, Παῦν[ι] η, Πακώνιος Φῆλιξ· καθώς ὁ κράτιστος Τ[ειτ]ιανὸ[ς] ἔκρεινεν, πεύσονται τῆς γυναικός. [ἑρ]μη|<sup>38</sup>νέως ἐκέλευ[σε]ν δί, αὐτὴν έλεγχθῆν[α]ι, τί βούλεται· εἰπούσης, παρὰ τῷ άνδρὶ μένειν, Π[α]κώνιος Φῆλιξ ἐκέλευσεν ύπομνηματι[σ]θῆναι.

Egyptians should be read. Severus and Heliodorus, advocates, replied |34 that the former prefect Titianus heard a similar case (arising) among Egyptian individuals and that he did not follow the inhumanity |35 of the law but the choice of the girl, whether she wished to remain with the husband. Paconius Felix: 'Let the law be read.' |36 its being read, Paconius Felix (said): 'Read also the minutes of Titianus.' Severus the advocate read: 'In the 12th year of Hadrian |37 Caesar the Lord, on the 8th of Pauni ...' Paconius Felix: 'Just as his Highness Titianus has judged, they shall inquire from the woman.' And he ordered that she should be questioned through an |38 interpreter as to what she wanted. On her replying 'To remain with my husband' Paconius Felix ordered it to be protocolled.

§26. Col. VII, ll. 39–43–Col. VIII, ll. 1–2. Dionysia's third court precedent. February-March 87 CE: case of Didyme against her father Sabinus, before the iuridicus Umbrius, on the paternal power over their daughters, their dowries and their belongings.

|<sup>39</sup> ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν Οὐμβρί[ου] δικαιοδότου. (ἔτους) ς Δομειτιανοῦ, Φαμεν[ώθ Ν] Διδύμη ἧς ἔκδικος ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς Σαβεῖνον |40 τὸν καὶ Κάσιον, ἐκ τῶν ῥεθέ[ντω]ν· Σαραπίων μετ' ἄλλα· "τὰ πρόσωπα Αἰγ[ύ]πτια ὄντα παρ' οἷς ἄκρατός ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ν[ό]μων ἀποτομ[ί]α· $|^{41}$ διοριζόμενος γάρ σοι λέγω [ὅ]τι Αἰγ[ύ]πτιοι οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀφελέσθαι τὰς [θυγατ]έρ[ας ὧ]ν ἔδωκαν έξουσίαν, ἔχουσιν δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐὰν καὶ ἴδια | 42 κτήσωνται. μεθ' ἕτερα· Ο[ΰ]μβρι[ο]ς Σαβείνω· εὶ ἔφθακας ἄπαξ προῖκα δ[οὺς τῆ θυγ]ατρί σου, άποκατάστησον. Σαβεῖνο[ς∙ τ]οῦτον μα......  $\alpha \ddot{l}^{43}$ τοῦμαι. Οὔμβριος· τῆ θυγατρ[ $\dot{l}$ ] δή. Σαβεῖνος· τούτω τῷ ἀνδρὶ οὐθὲν [προσ]ήκ[ει] συνῖναι. Οὔμβριος· χεῖρόν ἐστι ἀνδρὸς αφαι[ρεῖσθαι] || ----- || αντ[....] νε .[±14] εμε[...]ησιαζω[±12] ικο σι[.] εὐδαιμ[.....]ς[ [ ] μην[ ] ο [ δ[ε]δω[ ]

|<sup>39</sup> From the minutes of Umbrius, iuridicus. The 6th year of Domitian, Phamenoth ?th, Didyme, whose attorney is her husband Apollonios, against Sabinus |40 alias Cassius, from the speeches. Sarapiôn, after other things: 'The parties being Egyptians, amongs whom the severity of the laws is immoderate. |41 For I declare to you that the Egyptians have power to deprive their daughters not only of what they have given them, but also of whatever they may  $|^{42}$  acquire as their own.' After other things (said): Umbrius to Sabinus: 'Once you have already granted a dowry to your daughter, give it back.' Sabinus: 'This ... I |43 request ...'. Umbrius: 'To your daughter of course.' Sabinus: 'It is not proper that she lives with this man.' Umbrius: 'It is worse to take her away from her husband ...' | (ca. 2 lines missing)  $|^{1} ... |^{2} ...$ 

§27. Col. VIII, ll. 2–7. Opinion of Ulpius Dioskourides, (nomikos), 14<sup>th</sup> February 138 CE. (another fragment, in Col. IX, ll. 18–24, infra §33), on the import of the (written or unwritten) type of marriage and the giving of the bride by her father (ekdosis) on the paternal power (*exousia*). For Dioskourides, cf. *BGU* XX 2863 (133–137 CE Arsinoites), *SB* XX 15147 (ca. 138 CE unknown provenance), *P. Fouad* 25 (144–149 CE Tebtynis), *PSI* V 450 (2nd CE Oxyrhynchos) Col. II.

ἀντίγραφον προσφων[ήσεως νομ]ικοῦ. Οὔλπιος Δ[ι]οσ[κ]ου[ρίδης] τῶν ἡγορανομηκό|³ των νομικὸς Σαλουιστ[ίω Αφ]ρικανῷ ἐπάρχω στόλου καὶ [ἐπὶ τῶ]ν κεκριμένων τῷ τειμιω[τά]τω χαίρειν. Δ[ιον]υσία |⁴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκδοθεῖσα

|<sup>2</sup> Copy of the opinion of a legal expert. Ulpius Dioskourides, of the former agoranomoi, |<sup>3</sup> legal expert, to his most esteemed Salvistius Africanus, commander of the fleet and (appointed) for judicial matters, greetings. Dionysia |<sup>4</sup> who has been given away in marriage by her father, is no longer under

[πρ]ὸς γάμον ἐν τῆ τοῦ π[α]τρὸς ἐξουσ[ίᾳ οὐ]κέτι γε ἴνεται. καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῷ πατρὶ ἀγράφως | 5 συνώκησε [κ]αὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὴ δοκεῖ ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων γεγενῆσθαι, τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκδόσθαι πρὸς γάμον οὐκέτι | 6 ἐξ ἀγράφων γάμων ἐστίν. πρὸς τοῦτο ἴσως γράφεις, τειμιώτα[τε]· καὶ δι' ὑπομνηματισμῶν ἠσφά[λι]σται περὶ τῆς πρ[οι]κὸς ἡ παῖς | 7 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῆ βοηθεῖν δύναται. ναс. (ἔτους) κβ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, Μεχεὶρ κ. ναс.

the father's power. Even if her mother lived with her father in an unwritten way, |5 and she seems for this reason to be issue of an unwritten marriage, because of her being given away in marriage by her father, she is no longer |6 from an unwritten marriage. It is probably about this issue that you write to me, your honour. On the basis of the minutes of trials regarding the dowry, the girl has been safeguarded |7 against the father, and this too can help her. (vacat) in the year of the divine Hadrian, Mecheir 20th. (vacat)

§28. Col. VIII, ll. 7–18. Edict of the prefect Valerius Eudaemon, 142 CE, regarding debtors who refuse payment by claiming forgery (of the debt document), false pretence or fraud.

ἀντίγραφον διατάγμ[α]τος. Οὐαλέρι|8ος Εὐδαίμων ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει· καὶ παραδείγματι τῷ καλλίστῳ χρώμενος γνώμη τοῦ κρατίστου Μαμερτείνου, |9 καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδία πεφωρακώς ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν χρήματα άπαιτουμένων τὸ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν τοῖς ἀπαιτοῦσι ἀφέντες |10 ἐπ' ἀνατάσει μειζόνων ένκλημάτων παντελώς διακρούεσθαι ή παρατείνειν την ἀπόδοσιν ἐπιχειροῦσι, οἱ μὲν κατα|11πλήξειν τοὺς τάχα ἂν φοβηθέντας τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐλάττονι συμβήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, οἱ δὲ {τῆς} ἐπ' άνα|<sup>12</sup>τάσει τῆς δίκης ἀπαυδήσειν τοὺς άντιδίκους οἰόμενοι, παραγγέλλω τῆς τοιαύτης πανουργίας ἀποσγέσθαι, ἀποδιδόντας | 3 ὅσα ὀφείλουσι ἢ πείθοντας τοὺς δικαίως ἀπαιτοῦντας· ὡς εἴ τις χρηματικής .... συστάσης δίκης ἀπαιτηθείς καὶ μὴ |14 παραυτίκα ἀρνησάμενος ὀφείλειν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, μὴ παραυτίκα πλαστὰ εἶναι τὰ γράμματα εἰπὼν καὶ κα[τη]γορήσειν γράψας εί εἴτε πλασ|15τῶν γραμμάτων ἢ ῥαδιουργίας η περιγραφης ένκαλεῖν ἐπιχειρῃ, η οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῆς τ[οι]αύτης τέχνης ὀφελὲς ἔσται, άναγκασθήσεται [δὲ] |16 άποδοῦναι εὐθέως ἃ όφείλει, ἢ παρακαταθέμενός τε τὸ ἀργύριον ίν' ἐν βεβαίω τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν ὀφειλόμ[ενα] ἦ, πέρας τῆς χρηματικῆς  $|^{17}$  ἀμφισβητήσεως λαβούσης, τότ' ἐὰν θαρρῆ τοῖς τῆς κατηγορίας ἐλέγχοις, τὸν μείζονα ἀγῶνα  $\mathbf{e}[\mathbf{i}]$ σελεύσεται,  $\mathbf{o}[\mathbf{i}]$  $\mathbf{\delta}[\mathbf{e}]$  τότε άθ $\mathbf{\tilde{o}}$ ος  $\mathbf{e}^{18}$ έσόμενος, άλλὰ τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἐπιτείμοις ένεχόμενος. vac. (ἔτους) ε θεοῦ Αἰλίου Άντωνίνου, Έπεὶφ κδ. vac.

Copy of an edict. Valerius |8 Eudaemon, praefect of Egypt, proclaims: Following a most excellent example, the opinion of his highness Mamertinus, |9 and having also myself discovered that many (debtors) when requested the dues, neglect to do what is just with regard to their creditors, |10 (and instead) threaten them (to bring) graver charges they attempt to escape or delay the payback, some of them |11 expecting to scare those who might fear the danger and for this reason later will agree on a smaller amount, others because they |12 they think that under the threat of a trial the opponents will renounce their claims, I proclaim (such persons) desist from such trickery, giving back |13 what they owe or persuade their justly demanding creditors. For if anyone, who is being sued with pecuniary claim brought forward, does not |14 deny immediately that he owes, that is, immediately saying that the documents are forged and does not write that he will bring accusations, if |15 he (rather) attempts to bring charges either of forgery of the documents or maliciousness or fraud (later), either there will be nothing advantageous for him from such a device, and he will be compeled |16 to give immediately back what he owes; or he shall deposit the money, so to secure the recovery of the debts; when the pecuniary dispute comes |17 an end, and then if he has confidence in the scrutiny of (his) accusations, he shall enter upon a trial with graver charges. And even so he shall not be immune, |18 but shall be subject to the prescribed penalties. 5th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus, Epeiph 24. (vacat)

§29. Col. VIII, ll. 18–21. Dionysia's fourth court precedent. 13<sup>th</sup> September 151 CE: before the prefect Munatius Felix, Flavia Helena against Flavia Marcia, regarding the independence of pecuniary claims from accusations of other nature.

15th year of Antoninus | 19 Caesar the lord, Thoth 16th. When Flavia Marcia was summoned to defend herself against Flavia Helena and yielded (to summons), her advocate Le . . . said: | 20 'We have been posted in the list (of accused persons), (yet) we have pecuniary claims.' Munatius said: 'The pecuniary claims are not hindered by these accusations,. Otherwise | 21 everyone will say, "I accuse".'

§30. Col. VIII, ll. 21–27. Edict of the prefect Sulpicius Similis, 109 CE, regarding the registration of marriage syngraphai and the ensuing holds (katochai) in the property record offices.

Σιμίλιδος διατάγματος. Σέρουιος Σουλπίκιος Σίμιλις ἔπαρ[χος] Αἰγύπτου λέγειδιαζη|22τοῦντί μοι μαθεῖν ἐκ τίνος ὑποθέσεως έτελεῖτο τὰς Αἰγυπτιακὰς γυναῖκᾳς κατὰ ένχώριον νόμιμα κατέχειν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῷν |23 ἀνδρῶν διὰ τῶν γαμικῶν συνγραφῶν έαυταῖς τε καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, πλειστάκις δὲ ἐκ τούτου άμφισβητήσεων γενομένων, |24 έπὶ έδύναντο άγνοεῖν ο<ί> τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι συναλλάσσοντες εἰ τούτω [τ]ῷ δικαίω κατέχεται τὰ ὑπάρχο[ντ]α αὐτῷν ταῖς γυναιξὶ |25 διὰ τὸ καὶ ετέροις βιβλιοφυλακίοις τὰς συνγραφάς καταχωρίζεσθαι, [κ]εκελευκέναι Mέ[τ]τιον Ῥοῦφον τὸ[ν] γενόμενον ξπι...ψ |<sup>26</sup> ἔπαρχον τὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶν συνγραφῶν ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑποστάσεσι παρατίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο διατά[γ]ματι προστεταχέναι οξ καὶ |27 ἀντίγραφον ύπέταξα, φανερὸν ποιῶν κατακολουθείν τοις ύπὸ Μεττίου Ῥούφου ... θεισι [ ] vac. (ἔτους) κγ, Άθὺρ ιβ. vac.

And (a copy) of an edict of Similis. Servius Sulpicius Similis, prefect of Egypt, proclaims: When I |22 wished to know on what grounds it was established that Egyptian wives according to the tradition of the land have a lien (katoché) upon their |23 husbands' property through their written marriage agreements (syngraphai) both for themselves and for their children, since disputes were often arising from this, |24 because those who contract with married people could ignore if due to such right their property is under hold (katochê) for their wives, |25 due to the written (marriage) agreements being registered at other record-offices, Mettius Rufus, the former ... |26 prefect, ordered copies of the written agreements (syngraphai) be attached to the property-statements of the husbands, and established this through an edict, a |27 copy of which I have appended to make clear that I am following what Mettius Rufus had ordered. 23rd year, Hathyr 12th. (vacat)

§31. Col. VIII, ll. 27–43. Edict of the prefect Mettius Rufus, 89 CE, on the correct functioning of the property record offices

Μάρκος Μέττι|28ος Ῥοῦφος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει· Κλαύδιος Άρειος ὁ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχείτου στρατηγός [έ]δήλωσέν μοι μήτε τὰ ἰ[δι]ωτικὰ μ[ήτε τὰ δημ]όσια |29 πράγματα τὴν καθήκουσαν λαμβάνειν διοίκησιν διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων μὴ καθ' ὃν ἔδει τρόπον ὠκονομῆσθαι τὰ ἐν τῆ τῶν έν|30κτήσεων βιβλιοθήκη δια[σ]τρώματα, καίτοι πολλάκις κριθέν ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐπάρχων τῆς δεούσης αὐτὰ τυχεῖν ἐπανορθώ|31σεως ὅπερ οὐ καλῶς ἐνδέχεται εἰ μὴ ἄνωθεν γένοι<ν>το ἀπογραφαί. κελεύω οὖν πάντας τοὺς κτήτορας έντὸς μηνῶν εξ ἀπογρά|32ψασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν κτῆσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐνκτήσεων βιβλιοθήκην καὶ τοὺς δανειστὰς ἃς ἐὰν ἔχωσι ὑποθήκας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  $|^{33}$  ὅσα ἐὰν ἔχωσι δίκαια, τὴν δὲ άπογραφὴν ποιείσθωσαν δηλοῦντες πόθεν έκαστος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καταβέβηκεν εἰς αύτοὺς |34 ή κτῆσεις. παρατιθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ αἱ

|<sup>27</sup> Marcus Mettius |<sup>28</sup> Rufus, praefect of Egypt, proclaims. Claudius Areios, strategos of the Oxrhynchite nome, has made me aware that both private and public |29 affairs are not fittingly managed because for a long time the |30 abstracts (diastrômata) of the property record-office have not been properly kept, in spite of the fact that my predecessors have on many occasions ordered that these should receive the due  $|^{31}$  revisions. This cannot be done adequately unless new returns are produced afresh. Therefore, I command all owners to register within six months |32 their property at the property record-office, and all lenders whatever hypothecs they may hold. and all others |33 whatever rights they may have. And they shall make the return declaring the sources from which each of the assets

γυναϊκες ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἶς κατά τινα ἐπιχώριον νόμον κρατεῖται τὰ ὑπάρ|35χοντα, ομοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ταῖς τῶν γονέων οἶς ἡ μὲν χρῆσεις διὰ δημοσίων τετήρηται χρηματισμῶν, ἡ δὲ κτῆ $|^{36}$ σις μετὰ θάνατον τοῖς τέκνοις κεκράτηται, ἵνα οἱ συναλλάσσοντες μὴ κατ' ἄγγοιαν ἐνεδρεύονται. παραγγέλ λ΄ω δὲ καὶ τοῖς συναλλα|37 γματογράφοις καὶ τοῖς μνήμοσι μηδὲν δίχα ἐπιστάλματος τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακί[ου τελειῶσαι, γνοῦσιν ὡς οὐκ ὄφελος τὸ] τομοῦτο άλλὰ καὶ |38 αὐτοὶ ὡς παρὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα ποιήσοντες δίκην ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν προσήκουσαν. έὰν δ' εἰσὶν ἐν τῆ βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐπά $|^{39}$ νω χρόνων ἀπογραφαί, μετὰ πάσης ἀκρειβείας φυλασσέσθωσαν, ομοίως δè καὶ τὰ διαστρώματα, ἵν' εἴ τις γένοιτο ζήτησις εἰς |40 ύστερον περὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντως ἀπογραψαμένων έξ ἐκείνων ἐλεγχθῶσμ. [ί]να δ' [ο]ὖν β[εβ]αία τε καὶ εἰς ἄπαν διαμένη τῶν διασ|41τρωμάτων ἡ χρῆσεις πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἀπογραφῆς δεηθῆναι, παραγγέλλω τοῖς β[ι]βλιοφύλαξι διὰ πενταετίας |42 έπανανεοῦσθαι διαστρώματα μεταφερομένης είς τὰ καινοποιούμενα τῆς τελευταίας έκάστου ονόματος ύποστάσεως κατά κώμην καὶ κα $|^{43}$ τ' εἶδος. (ἔτους) θ Δομειτιανο $[\tilde{v}]$ , ... ΄ μηνὸς Δομιττιανοῦ δ. vac.

devolved |34 to them. Wives also shall add an annotation to the property records of their husbands, if by virtue of some law of the land they have a hold over the |35 property; and children, likewise, to those of their parents, if, by virtue of public instruments, these retain the enjoyment, but the ownership |36 after their death is reserved for the children - so that those who enter into agreements (with them) may not be defrauded by their (own) ignorance. I also command all |37 notaries and registrars [not to execute] (any deeds) without an authorisation (epistalma) from the record office, [knowing that] this [would have no effect] and |38 that they themselves will suffer the due penalty for acting against what has been decreed. If in the record office there are returns |39 from an earlier date let them be preserved with the utmost care, and likewise the abstracts, in order that, if any inquiry is made |40 hereafter concerning returns not properly presented, they can be checked against those. Therefore, in order that the use of the abstracts may become secure and permanent, |41 so that another return is not necessary, I command the keepers of the record offices to update every five years |42 the abstracts and to transfer to the new ones the last property record for each name, arranged under villages and |43 types. 9th year of Domitian, month of Domitianus 4th.

§32. Col. VIII, l. 43 – Col. IX, ll. 1–18. Dionysia's fifth court precedent. 11<sup>th</sup> November 133 CE: A case adjudicated by Petronius Mamertinus, prefect of Egypt, probably regarding holds (katochai) arising for wife and children from registered marriage contracts (syngraphai).

|43 έξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν Πετρωνίου Μαμερτείνου. (ἔτους) ιη Άδρι(ανοῦ), Άθὺρ ιε.  $\|----\|^1$  [±19-20]γης έμ.αν [±?] |<sup>2</sup> [ ] δ[±19-20] παιδί[ο]ν παρ' έαυτῷ [±?] |3 [6] δὲ πάππος οὖτος . . ον[ . . . ]εργειν τὸν . . . ονον . [±?] | πουμένη πυνθαν[όμεθ]α ἄλλως αὐτ[ ]ν .ι. [±3] ήμεῖς α . .[±?] | πάντων [ζ]ημίας κατ' α[ὐτ]ὸν δεόμεθα τῷ ἀφήλικι ἃ καὶ σι [±?] |6 ἐπάρχων ἐφ΄ όμοίων καὶ ἀπόκριμα βασιλικόν Πετρωνίω [±?] |<sup>7</sup> νεώτατα τὸν δίκαιον ἃ προσήνεγκας τῷ υἱῷ σου ±?] | 8 Κλαύδιος Διονύσιος δι' Αἰλίου Ἰούστου ἀπεκρ[ίν]ατο [ . . . ] .ω[±?] |9 διάδοχον τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. Εἰς δὲ ἀνάγκην ἀνθρω[πίνην ±?] |10 [...] εχωλιος προλαμβάνων ὅτι λεγομένης τῆ[ς]. [±?] | 11 οὐδὲν ὑπάρχον ὑπέστην συνγραφὰς . . . . [. . ]ρον δύνατα[ι  $\pm$ ? εἶ]| $^{12}$ πεν · "ἐπεὶ πρὸς συμφ[έρο]ν, κύριε, ἐὰν δόξῃ [σοι . . ]μ . . . . . . . . . . . . Ετρώνιος  $Mα]|^{13}$ μερτεῖνος σκεψάμενος ἐκέλευσεν άναγγω $[\sigma\theta]$  $\tilde{\eta}$ ναι τὰ  $\delta$ μ $[\pm?ου(?)]$  $|^{14}$  τως ἔχουσα Πετρώνιος Μαμερτεῖνος . [ . .].δι' ἀνθρωπ[±?] |  $^{15}$ άναδοῦναι ἡ ὑπόθεσις κρίνεται αλλα .....[.....]

From the minutes of Petronius Mamertinus. 18th year of Hadrian, Hathyr 15th.  $\parallel$  (ca. 4 missing lines)  $\mid^1 \dots \mid^2 \dots$  the child in his presence ...  $|^3$  and this grandfather ...  $|^4$  ... we learn that otherwise he (she?) ... we ... |5 the damages of all ... regarding him, we require for the minor ... |6 of the prefects in similar cases and a royal response to Petronius ... |7 the rightful ... most recently, which you bequested to your son on the occasion of his marriage ... |8 Claudius Dionysios responded through Aelius Iustus ... |9 to become successor of the father. For a necessity ...  $|^{10}$  ... he anticipated that ... called ... |11 nothing existing, I accepted written agreements ... may ... he |12 said, 'It shall be fitting, my Lord, if you please ...' Petronius Ma|<sup>13</sup>mertinus having examined (the case) ordered that the ... be

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.ς.καὶ κρι[\pm?] |^{16} έπ' Έρμογ[ . . . . .]εξ[ \pm3-4]α
συνγραφὴ \gamma[ά]\mu[ο]\psi καὶ [ ± 7]\tauα ὑπά[ρχοντα ±?] |<sup>17</sup>
τὸν Κλαύδιον Διονύσιον μ.σ..εγχ[.]...[.]........β
. ὑπ[αρ]χοντ.[\pm?] |^{18} τὸν Κλαύδιον Διονύσιον μ .σ .
εγχ[.]... β. ὑπ[αρ]χοντ.[±?]
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read ...  $|^{14}$  ... being so, Petronius Mamertinus ... |15 to have submitted, the case is being judged ... and ...  $|^{16}$  ... the written marriage agreement and ... the belongings ...  $|^{17}$  Claudius Dionysios ... belongings ...  $|^{18}$  ... in the writings ...

§33. Col. IX, ll. 18-24. Opinion of Ulpius Dioskourides, legal expert (nomikos), 14th February 138 CE. (extracted, despite the year discrepancy, from the same as Col. VIII, ll. 2-7, supra §27, and concerning the same case), on a hold (katochê) arising from a marriage agreement (syngraphe gamou) according to the traditions of the Egyptians (ta tôn Aigyptiôn nomima).

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[ἀντίγραφον προσφωνήσεως νομικοῦ (?) Οὔλπιος
                           \dot{\eta}γο]|<sup>19</sup>
Διοσκουρίδης
                    τῶν
                                      ρανομηκότων
Σαλουιστίω Αφρικανῷ ἐπάρχω στόλου καὶ ἐ[πὶ
τῶν κεκριμένων τῷ τειμιωτάτω χαίρειν ±? ] |20
τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νόμιμα . Διονυσίας Χ.......ς
... στ.[ \pm? ] |^{21} συνγραφῆς γάμου ...[..]....
[0] οντα του [...] εχων ὑπὸ τοῦ ψίο [\tilde{v} ±? ] |^{22} γάμου
... ἐὰν μη[....] ωσι τῆς ἐσο[μ]ένης σ[......
.] . . . . [ \pm? ] |^{23} . . . . . [ . .]ησα[ . .]η[ . . .]ν γαμοῦντός ἐστιν [ . .] . . εσι τοῦ γ[ \pm? ] |^{24} ἢ
μᾶλλον καὶ . [ . . . . κα] τέχουσι νας. (ἔτει) β θε[ο] ῦ
[Ά]δριανοῦ Με[χεὶρ ±? ]
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[Copy of an opinion of a legal expert. (?) Ulpius Dioskourides, of the former]|19 agoranomoi, to the most esteemed Salvistius Africanus, commander of the fleet and [(appointed) for judicial matters, greetings ...]  $|^{20}$  norms of the Egyptians. As Dionysia ...  $|^{21}$ of the written marriage agreement ... by the son ... |22 of the marriage ... unless ... of the future ...  $|^{23}$  ... it is of him who enters marriage ... |24 or even ... they have a hold. (vacat) 2nd (corr: 22nd) year of the deified Hadrian, Mecheir ...

§34. Col. IX, Il. 24-30. Dionysia's sixth court precedent, probably regarding a family hold (katoché), dated after 162 CE (cf. the reference to Syriacus, prefect between Feb. 162 and Aug. 163)

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[ ±? ] |<sup>25</sup> η .[ .]ιων Άθὺρ γ μεταξὺ κληρονόμου ασ[...
. ] εν αν ασο [ \pm? ] |^{26} εν ισμος δημοσ \dot{\epsilon}πι τὰ of ... |^{26} ... since these copies were ἀντίγραφα [α] ψτὰ ἀ[νεγ] νώσθη ... [ \pm? ] |^{27} [Αν] νίω read ... |^{27} to Annius Syriacus the most
[\Sigma]υριακῷ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι . . . . δι' η . . . [ \, ±? ] |^{28}
θῆναί σοι ω ει ὑπάρχοντα προσέθηκας... δικαίως [ ±? ]
|29 αὐτῆς εἶναι έὰν τη αὐτῆς ἐσομένης ἐξ ἄλλης γεγεᾶς
. [ \pm? ] |^30 τ . πρὸ η . [ . .]δεν[ . .]τα . . . . . ι τὴν μέν .τῆσ
\alpha[\dot{\upsilon}\tau\tilde{\eta}\varsigma] καὶ τὴν ε [ ±? ]
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 $\dots$  |  $^{25}$   $\dots$  Hathyr 3rd. Between an heir read ...|27 to Annius Syriacus the most illustrious governor ... |28 ... you added the belongings ... lawfully ... |29 to be hers, if her being from another lineage ...  $|^{30}$  ... of the same and ...

§35. Col. IX, ll. 30-41. Dionysia's seventh court precedent, before a prefect, assisted by his consilium and aided by a written legal expert opinion, from the time of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius or Commmodus, probably illustrating the principle nemo potest venire contra factum proprium.

καὶ [ ] ..ις ἀπορίας ἐκ [τοῦ] γάμου γ. . [  $\pm$ ? ]  $|^{33}$ ύπάρχοντα τα γαι αλλα μηδὲ πάντα δοθέντα μ[εταγ]ενέστερον [ ±? συμβό?-] |<sup>34</sup> λαιον εἴη, κύριόν έστιν. έρρ $\tilde{\omega}$ σθ(αι) εὕχομ(αι) ἡγεμ $[\tilde{\omega}]$ γ κύριε vac. [  $\pm$ ? σκεψάμενος μετὰ] |35 τῶν ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ [ .] .[..] κω .[ ±? ] |<sup>36</sup> traces |<sup>37</sup> καὶ νομικοῖς ἀκήκοας κα[ ±12 ]ν .[ .] μνα . . .[ ±? θυγα-] $^{38}$  τριδῆν περιγράψαι οὐδένα [ ±12 ] . . ιον.[ ±? ] $^{39}$  να. τῆς γὰρ μητ[ρ]ὸς κατ .[ ±12 ] . . ν . . . [ ±? ] $^{40}$  τα καὶ άυτὴν καθὰ καὶ μον  $[\pm 11 \quad \dot{\alpha}]$ ληθινη καὶ  $[\pm ?]$ 

X year of An|31toninus, Epeiph 25th. if ... to have come into being ...  $|^{32}$  ... of the lack of means, from the marriage ...|33 the belongings ... but not all given later ... if there is  $|^{34}$  a deed, it is effective. I bid you farewell, my Lord governor [vacat] ... in consultation with |35 those in the consilium ...  $|^{36}$  ...  $|^{37}$  and you have heard the legal experts ... that the |38 granddaughter deceives no one ... |39 for the mother ...  $|^{40}$  and her also and only ... true and ... |41