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Tomasz Derda
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TWO WILLS FROM OXYRHYNCHOS

THE TWO OXYRHYNCHOS DESCRIPTA published below¹ belong to the first shipment of Greek papyri from the Egypt Exploration Fund received by the University of Pennsylvania Museum in February 1901.²

There is no date in the preserved fragments of the two wills published in this paper. Palaeographically, the documents may be dated to between the mid-first and mid-second centuries AD, the period from which almost all Oxyrhynchite wills (that is, the originals of wills, their copies made for private use, and the protocols of their opening) originate.³ As this list

¹ For the permission for printing the photographs we would like to thank Dr. Jennifer WEGNER from the Egyptology Department of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. We thank also our Warsaw colleagues Mr. Konstantinos BALAMOSHEV for some reading suggestions, and Dr. Jakub URBANIK for offering some details of interpretation.

² See John R. ABERCROMBIE, 'A history of the acquisition of papyri and related written material in the University (of Pennsylvania) Museum' (1980, published only electronically, with minimal updating by Robert A. KRAFT in 2010), <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/ppenn/paphist.htm> (accessed 19 November 2012).

³ *P. Oxy.* II 379 (AD 85–96), *P. Oxy.* I 104 (AD 96), *P. Oxy.* VI 968 (AD 98–138), *P. Oxy.* III 493 = *M.Chr.* 307 (before AD 99), *P. Oxy.* III 489 (AD 116–117), *P. Oxy.* III 646 *descr.*

shows, the majority of datable wills come from the reign of Hadrian (12 out of 23). The earliest will in the group is *P. Oxy.* II 379 *descr.*, dated to the sixth epagomenal day of an unknown year of Domitian, who is already called Germanicus, i.e., to the 29th of August AD 86, 90 or 94,⁴ while the other early will is *P. Oxy.* I 104 dated to 30 Choiak of the 16th year of Domitian, i.e., the 26th of December AD 96.⁵

According to our current knowledge of the testamentary procedure, we may say that Will 2 is an original kept in an agoranomic office (see below, Will 2, *introd.*). This could lead to an important conclusion concerning the entire set of the Oxyrhynchite testamentary documents dated to the period from Domitian to Hadrian (listed above). The ones whose character we are able to determine are either originals of wills (*SPP* IV, p. 166 oben = *P. Oxy.* III 647 *descr.*, *P. Oxy.* LXVI 4533, *P. Wisc.* I 13, *P. Oxy.* III 493 = *M. Chr.* 307, *P. Oxy.* III 489, *P. Oxy.* III 648 *descr.*, *P. Oxy.* I 105 = *M. Chr.* 303, *P. Sijp.* 43, *P. Oxy.* III 490, *P. Oxy.* III 491, *P. Oxy.* III 492) or protocols of their opening (*P. Köln* II 100, *P. Oxy.* III 494); there

(AD 117–138), *P. Oxy.* III 648 *descr.* (AD 117–138), *P. Oxy.* IV 837 *descr.* (AD 117–118), *P. Oxy.* I 105 = *M. Chr.* 303 (AD 118–138), *P. Sijp.* 43 = *P. Oxy.* III 583 *descr.* (AD 119–120), *P. Oxy.* III 490 (AD 124), *P. Oxy.* III 491 (AD 126), *P. Oxy.* III 634 *descr.* (AD 126), *P. Oxy.* III 651 *descr.* (AD 126–127), *P. Flor.* III 341 (AD 129–130), *P. Oxy.* III 492 (AD 130), *P. Köln* II 100 = *SB* X 10500 = 10756 (AD 133), *P. Oxy.* III 494 = *M. Chr.* 305 (AD 165), *PSI* XII 1263 = *SB* V 7816 (AD 166–167), *P. Col.* X 267 (AD 180–192), *P. Oxy.* III 495 (AD 181–184), *P. Lips.* II 149 (AD 199) and dated in the first–second century: *SPP* IV, p. 166 oben = *P. Oxy.* III 647 *descr.*, *P. Oxy.* III 650, *P. Oxy.* III 652, *P. Oxy.* III 649, *P. Oxy.* LXVI 4533, *P. Wisc.* I 13, *P. Oxy.* VII 1034, *SB* XVI 12331.

⁴ The document was dated by Grenfell and Hunt to the reign of Domitian (AD 81–96). On the photograph kindly provided to us by the Bodleian Library, we were able to read in lines 1–2: [ἔτους ... Ἀύ]τοκρά[τ]ροπος Καίσα[ρο]ς Δομιτιανοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ Γε]ρ[μανι]κοῦ, [μῆ]νός [Και]σαρ[εῖ]ο[ν] ἐπαγο[μ]ένων σ. The sixth epagomenal day happened four times during Domitian's reign (AD 82, 86, 90 and 94), but AD 82 the emperor was not called Germanicus yet, see T. V. BUTTREY, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature*, Hein 1980, pp. 52–56.

⁵ There is another Oxyrhynchite will written at the very end of the first century, *P. Oxy.* III 493 = *M. Chr.* 307. There is no date preserved in the text but the external evidence concerning the testators, Pasion and Berenike, suggests that the will was composed before or in AD 98/9, see P. VAN MINNEN, 'Berenice, a business woman from Oxyrhynchus. Appearance and reality', [in:] *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* XXX, pp. 59–70, at pp. 60–61.

is not a single document which may be characterised with absolute certainty as an example of a private copy. Therefore, we suggest that the documents listed above came from the Oxyrhynchite *agoranomeion*, where they had been deposited.

WILL 1

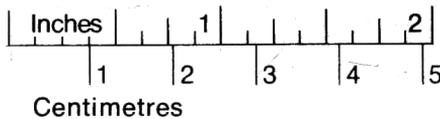
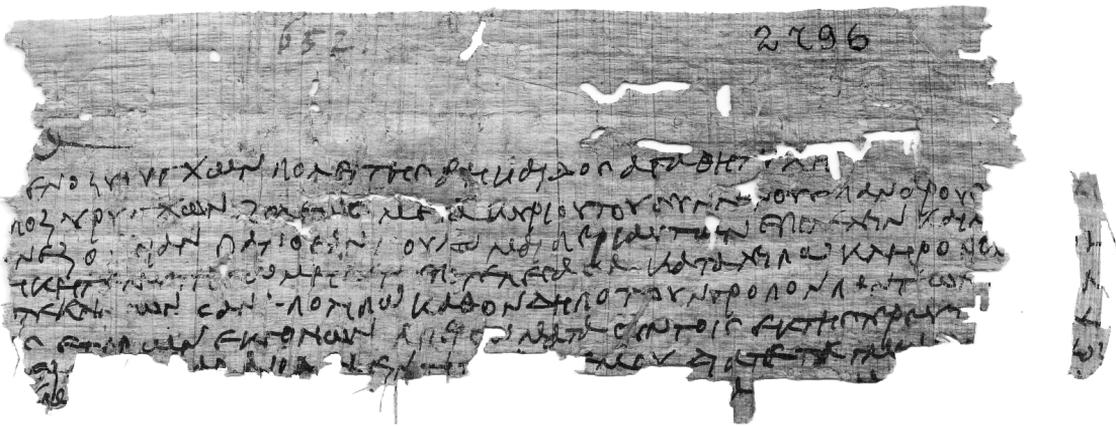
The papyrus belongs to the University of Pennsylvania Museum (inv. no. E 2796). It was included as a *descriptum* in the third volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, P. Oxy.* III 652 *descr.*

The text is incomplete on the right-hand side. It was perhaps folded in two and torn along the folding line, thus only half of its width has been preserved. It consists of nine lines of text. A large segment of the lower part is missing from line 9 to the end of the document. The edges are quite regularly torn off. There is a small scrap of papyrus placed to the right of the main fragment; the handwriting of the small fragment looks similar to that of the main piece. We cannot, however, determine its position. One of the characteristic features of the document is the decreasing interlinear space as the text proceeds. It would suggest that the small piece contains lines 1–6. The clearly visible οξ (mostly likely the name of the city) in line 5, however, does not fit our restoration of the text.

The document is a will composed for a woman whose name is not preserved. The testatrix acted together with a *kyrios* named Panares, her relative. As the majority of the text has not been preserved, we cannot identify the number of persons listed as the woman's successors. The same could be said about the property disposed via the will. We can only assume that the testatrix had some slaves, which she bequeathed to someone.

Because the dating clause was not preserved, an exact dating is impossible; however, the palaeography and the characteristics of the testamentary pattern applied indicate that the text was composed during the second half of the first century AD or the first half of the second century.

As the text is incomplete, we cannot determine whether it is an original or a copy of the will.



Oxyrhynchos 5 × 13 cm P. Penn. Museum inv. E 2796
 second half of the 1st –
 – first half of the 2nd century AD

Fragment 1

[]a
 [έτους xy ca. 75–80] ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος,
 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
 [τάδε διέθετο νοοῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα ca. 45–50 ἀ]π' Ὀξυρύγχων
 πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Παναροῦς [ca. 5]
 4 [ca. 40 ἐν ἀγνιᾷ. ἐφ' ὃν μὲν περίεμι χρόνον ἔχει με τὴν τῶν
 ιδίω]ν ἐξουσίαν πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μ[ετα-]
 [διατίθεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀκύρωσιν ἄγειν τὴν διαθήκην ὃ δ' ἂν ἐπιτελέσω
 κύριον ὑπάρχειν. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διαθ]ήκῃ τελευτήσω μηδὲν
 ἐπιτελέσασα καταλείπω κληρονόμ[ους]

- [ca. 40–50 ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐὰν ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὰ τοῦτου] τέκνα
 ὧν ἐὰν ἀπολίπω καθ' ὄνηηποτοῦν τρόπον πάντων [ca. 5]
 [ὑπαρχόντων. ca. 70–75] ἑτέρων ἐκγόνων ἄπερ σώματα σὺν
 τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Τερεῦτ[ος ca. 3]
 8 [ca. 70–75 καὶ μηδενὶ] ἐξε[ῖναι π]αραβ[α[ί]νειν τι τ[ῶν
 ὑπ'] ἐμοῦ διατεταγμέν[ω]ν ca. 2]
 [ca. 75–80] .ω[]α[]μ[

Fragment 2

-].ξ.[
].·.[
]α[
 4].ε[
].·'Οξ[
].·[

The [...] year of [...] at the city of Oxyrhynchos in the Thebaid, for good fortune.

[...] daughter of [...] from the city of Oxyrhynchos, has made this will at the street, being sane and in her right mind, with assistance of Panares, her relative as kyrios. So long as I live I am to have full power over my belongings, to make new provisions concerning them according to my wish, and to change this will, and to revoke it so that the new provisions will remain valid. But if I die with this will unaltered, I leave as my heirs [...] if each of them is alive, if not, his/her children, of all my belongings which I shall leave in any way. [...] slaves together with those born to Tereus [...]. No one shall be allowed to transgress any of my testamentary dispositions [...].

1. The text in the first line is missing, and only a part of the last letter was preserved. Before it there is space for 70–80 letters, which could be a title of the deed.

There are many examples of local documents, including wills, which specify that a text was a copy. This fact was indicated by writing the noun ἀντίγραφον above the major text starting from the right margin (see *P. Köln* II 100, *P. Freib.* II

8, *P. Turner* 24, *PSI* x 1101). However, the length of the lacuna (70–80 letters) excludes such a conjecture. Among second-century local legal documents (including wills, for instance, *BGU* VII 1654, *P. Hamb.* IV 278, *P. Lund.* VI 6, *P. Oxy.* III 494) there are examples of the longer texts following the noun ἀντίγραφον (from Oxyrhynchos: *P. Oxy.* I 40, 99, II 268, 269, 271, 288, III 498, XXXVIII 2836, XLI 2972, LXVI 4526). Our text could be a similar case; the word may have been followed by a short description of the document or by the beginning of a dating clause.

4–5. [ἐφ’ ὃν μὲν περίεμι χρόνον ἔχειν με τὴν τῶν ιδίω]ν ἐξουσίαν πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μ[εταδιατίθεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀκύρωσιν ἄγειν τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην, ὃ δ’ ἂν ἐπιτελέσω κύριον ὑπάρχειν] – reconstructed after *P. Oxy.* III 492. Another possible reconstruction: ἐφ’ ὃν μὲν περίεμι χρόνον ἔχειν με τὴν τῶν ιδίω]ν ἐξουσίαν πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μ[εταδιατίθεσθαι καὶ ἀκυροῦν τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην, ὃ δ’ ἂν ἐπιτελέσω κύριον ὑπάρχειν]. Cf. *P. Oxy.* LXVI 4533; *P. Köln* II 100. The first proposition seems more probable, for the number of letters is closer to the number of the missing ones.

5. [ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διαθ]ήκῃ reconstructed after *P. Oxy.* III 494.

5–6. κληρονόμ[ους]. The plural is more probable than the singular, because the lacuna following the appointment of heirs is quite long (ca. 45–55 letters), so it probably contained more than one name.

6. [ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐὰν ζῆ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὰ τούτου] τέκνα reconstructed from *P. Köln* II 100.

7. The missing part of the line contained objects belonging to the testatrix.

It is very likely that Tereus and her children were the testatrix’s slaves, who were bequeathed either to one of her successors or to another person.

8. The penal clause is typical for the Oxyrhynchite testamentary patterns, thus it is plausible that the clause contained both private and public sanctions. Cf. *P. Oxy.* I 104, 105, III 489, 492, 493, 494, 495, LXVI 4533, *P. Lips.* II 149, *PSI* XII 1263, *P. Sijp.* 43, *P. Wisc.* I 13.

WILL 2

The papyrus is held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum (P. Penn. Museum inv. E 2794). It was added to the third volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* as a *descriptum* (*P. Oxy.* III 649 *descr.*).

The text consists of 27 lines. Around half of the document on the left hand side is missing. The last seven lines at the bottom of the papyrus are significantly mutilated and hardly legible. After line 20 the papyrus is broken, and the state of preservation might suggest that there was one more

line in the gap, but this was not the case; rather, the ink visible under line 20 is the upper part of the next line, whose bottom is seen at the top of the second fragment.

The document is a will of Herakles, who appointed his two sons Sarapas and Petsorapis as his successors, although not to equal parts of his estate; this is quite unusual for local wills (see Commentary). There is also a bequest of 200 drachmae that is to be paid by the two mentioned sons to their brother Zoilos.

The seals are indicated in three witnesses' signatures, and we may thus assume that they are present in the lacunae of the other three. Such a conclusion is supported by a comparison with other documents, especially wills, which show that elements of witnesses' subscriptions are repetitive within a single document. This habit is attested in several documents, *P. Oxy.* III 490, III 492, *P. Köln* II 100, *PSI* XII 1263, *P. Wisc.* I 13. The wills composed for non-Romans in Egypt were sealed in the same way as the wills for Romans, but descriptions of the seals did not appear everywhere.

The dating clause is missing, but the palaeography and the characteristics of the testamentary pattern applied indicate that the text was composed during the second half of the first century or the first half of the second century AD.

The document displays evidence of at least eight hands: the papyrus contains the main part of the will, the signature of the testator, a repetition of all the testamentary provisions written in the hand of a third party (perhaps a professional scribe, on account of the testator's illiteracy), and six witnesses' signatures. The testator's subscription repeating the content of the entire will is characteristic of Oxyrhynchite testamentary practice (*P. Oxy.* III 489, III 490, III 491, LXVI 4533; *P. Wisc.* I 13; *P. Köln* II 100, XII 487; *P. Sijp.* 43). Because the document was written with at least eight different hands (main texts, signature of the testator, and witnesses) and its description was written on the bottom, we assume that the papyrus is an original of the will kept at the agoranomic office from the moment of its composition (see P. W. Pestman, 'Agoranomoi et actes agoranomiques', [in:] P. W. Pestman [ed.], *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* [= *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* XXI], Leiden 1985, pp. 9-44, at pp. 33-44, M. Nowak, 'Dryton's wills reconsidered', *RIDA* 59 [2012], pp. 241-251).

- 16 [καὶ εἰμὶ δὲ ὡς ἐτῶν χγ καὶ ἔστι μου ἡ σφραγὶς] (m. 4)
 Ἐ[ρ]μογένης Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ἐρμογένους [ἀπ]ὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 [πόλεως μαρτυρῶ τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλέου διαθήκῃ καὶ εἰμὶ δὲ ὡς ἐτῶν χγ
 οὐ]λ(ῆ) ποδ(ί) καὶ ἔστιν μου ἡ σφραγὶς Ἀθηνᾶς. (m. 5) Ἀπίων
 [τοῦ μαρτυρῶ] τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλέου δια-
 θήκῃ καὶ ἰμεὶ ὡς
 [ἐτῶν χγ καὶ ἔστι μου ἡ σφραγ]ῖς Διοσκόρου ἐφήβου. (m. 6) Διονύσιος
 Διδύμου
- 20 [τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως μαρτυρῶ τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλέου διαθήκῃ
 καὶ εἰμὶ δὲ ὡς ἐτῶν χγ] ἔστι μου [ἡ] σφρα[γὶς ca. ?]
 [ca. 40-50 (m. 7) μαρτυρῶ] τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου διαθ[ήκῃ
 ca. 20]
 [ca. 40-50 (m. 8) ca. 10-20]νυσίου τοῦ Ἀρθοώνιος ἀ[πὸ
 τῆς αὐ]τῆς
 [πόλεως μαρτυρῶ τῇ τοῦ Ἡρακλέου διαθήκῃ καὶ εἰμὶ δὲ ὡς ἐτῶν
 κ]οῖτα δύο καὶ οὐλῆ γόνατι ἀριστερ[ῶ ca. ?]
- 24 [καὶ ἔστιν μου ἡ σφραγὶς ca.]

three-line space

[(m. 1) ca. 60].α

one-line space

[ca. 50-60]η διαθ(ηκη)
 [ca. 45-55 Σαραπ]ᾶ(τος) Πειτσοραίπι(ο)ς ἀμφ(οτέρων)
 κλ(ηρονόμων)

12. ἀδελφῶ || 13. ῥίνι || 15. Ἡρακλέου || 17. ου]λ ποδ^δ pap. || 18. εἰμὶ || 21. Ἡρακλέου

The [...] year of [...] at the city of Oxyrhynchos in the Thebaid, for good fortune.

Herakles son of Sarapas son of Gaios from the city of Oxyrhynchos, has made this will at the street, being sane and in his right mind. May I enjoy

good health [...] in whatsoever way I wish. If I die with this will unaltered, I leave to my sons [...], if each of them is alive, if not, to his children; to Sarapas two-third part and to Petsorapis one-third part of [...] house, and court, and yard and appurtenances [...] in the quarter [...] and all that I will leave in any way whatsoever. Moreover, after my death these my sons Sarapas and Petsorapis will give the sole 200 drachmae to their full brother Zoilos. I leave nothing of my things to anyone else. [...]. The will is valid.

(hand 2) I, Herakles son of Sarapas son of Gaios, have made the will [...] to my heirs, Sarapas two-thirds part and Petosorapas one-third part of [...] house, and court, and yard and appurtenances in the quarter [...] and all that I will leave in whatsoever way. Moreover, after my death these my sons Sarapas and Petsorapis will give the sole 200 (two hundred) drachmae to their full brother Zoilos. I am [...], [...]4 years old with a scar on my nose, my seal represents Sarapis. I [...] from the same city have written for him, because he does not know letters.

(hand 3) I [...] from the same city witness to the will of Herakles and I am [...] years old, my seal represents [...].

(hand 4) I, Hermogenes son of Sarapion son of Hermogenes from the same city, witness to the will of Herakles and I am [...] years old with a scar on my leg and my seal represents Athena.

(hand 5) I, Apion [...], witness to the will of Herakles and I am [...] years old [...] and my seal represents Dioskoros ephobos.

(hand 6) I, Dionysios son of Didymos [...] from the same city, witness to the will of Herakles, and I am [...] years old, my seal represents [...].

(hand 7) I, [...], witness to the will of Herakles [...].

(hand 8) I [...] son of [...] son of Harthoonis from the same city, witness to the will of Herakles and I am [...] -two years old with a scar on my left knee [...] and my seal represents [...].

(hand 1) [...] *will*

[...] *Sarapas, Petsorapis, both heirs.*

1–3. On the photograph printed, the top left fragment was slightly lowered in comparison to its placement on the photograph available at http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/pages/index.cfm?so_id=4224.

3. The names of the testator and his ascendants are reconstructed after line 9.

2–3. -σθαι is the ending of the verb either *χρᾶσθαι* or *μεταδιατίθεσθαι*; however, we do not know any parallel clauses with either of these verbs, which would start with the phrase – *εἷη μὲν μοι ὑγιαίνουντι τῶν* – and end with *καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι τρόπον*. The closest examples are *P. Oxy.* I 104: *εἷη μὲν μοι ὑγιαίνουσιν κυρί[α]ν εἶ[ν]αι τῶν ἐμαυτῆς, χρᾶσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν [ἐὰ]ν αἰρ[ῶ]μαι [τρόπον]* and *P. Oxy.* III 489: *ἐφ' ὃν μὲν περιέειμι [χρ[ό]νον τῶν ἰδίω]ν κύριον εἶναι καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μεταδιατίθεσθαι καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι [τρόπον]*. The reconstruction: *εἷη μὲν μοι ὑγιαίνουντι τῶν [ιδίων κύριον εἶναι καὶ χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν καὶ μεταδιατίθε]σθαι καθ' [ὄ]ν ἐὰ[ν] α[ἰρῶ]μαι [τρόπον]* fits the lacuna, but no exact parallel is known to us.

For the Oxyrhynchos papyri, a more characteristic phrase is either *ἐφ' ὃν μὲν περιέειμι χρόνον ἔχει με τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐξουσίαν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μεταδιατίθεσθαι καὶ ἀκυροῦν τὴν διαθήκην ταύτην ὃ δ' ἂν ἐπιτελέσω κύριον ὑπάρχειν* (for instance *P. Oxy.* LXVI 4533; *P. Oxy.* III 491) or *ἐφ' ὃν μὲν περιέειμι χρόνον ἔχει με τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐξουσίαν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μεταδιατίθεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀκύρωσιν ἄγειν τήνδε τὴν διαθήκην* (for instance *P. Oxy.* III 490), but the reading of *εἷη μὲν μοι ὑγιαίνουντι τῶν* is certain. The clause beginning with the formula *εἷη μὲν μοι ὑγιαίνουντι* is characteristic for Hellenistic wills (cf. *P. Petr.* I² 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, *P. Dryton* 1, 3, 4) and for local testaments composed in Roman times in the Arsinoite nome (*BGU VII* 1654, *CPR VI* 1, *SB XIV* 11642, *SB XVIII* 13308). It also appears in one will from Dura Europos (*P. Dura* 16).

4. The lacuna contained a description of Herakles' heirs; the missing text could be *τοῖς υἱοῖς μου Πετοσοράπι καὶ Σαραπάτι*.

5–6. The reconstruction of the phrase is not absolutely certain. The proposed reading is based on line 10. The division of a testator's property into unequal shares is very uncommon. Normally, after an appointment of successors the expression – *κωῶς ἐξ ἴσου* – was added in order to underscore the fact that bequeathed property was to be divided equally among appointed children.

6. One of the two heirs is Petsorapis. Preserved twice (lines 6 and 28), his name points at a very rare variant of the common name Petosorapis (Egyptian: *P³-di-*

Wsir-Hp). In one of the two examples listed by the DDBDP, the beginning of the name is in lacuna – *O. Mich.* III 1039 (Karanis, 3rd cent. AD), line 2: [Πετσ]οράπ(ις) Σεμπρων[ίου]; the other one, *P. Ross. Georg.* v 53 (Polydeukia, Arsinoites, 2nd cent. AD) has in line ii 24 Ἡρακλῆς Ἀπύρχ(ιός) τοῦ Πετσοράπ(εως), but in the following line the same man, the father of Herakles, appears as Ἀπύρχις Πετσοράπ(εως). It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the omission of the *omikron* was accidental, as the editor (G. Zeretelli) has already suggested. The Michigan ostrakon was read as quoted above because of another (particularly Fayumic) variant of the name, well known to its editor (H. C. Youtie): Petsoraipis, is attested in dozens of documents, including tax lists from Karanis.

All things considered, we may suggest that our document provides the first certain attestation of the variant Petsorapis and confirms Youtie's intuitive supplement of the lacuna in the Michigan ostrakon.

7. In the beginning of the preserved part of the line, *σι* is clear, followed immediately by the phrase ἄλλω δε οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐμῶν καταλείπω. We are unable to offer a solution, except perhaps to suggest that the numeral δια[κο]σί(ας) might have been written here. Although the numeral is sporadically abbreviated in this way, we cannot see any abbreviation mark. The remains of *δια* are also very doubtful.

The phrase ἄλλω δε οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐμῶν καταλείπω is attested in some wills from Oxyrhynchos (*P. Oxy.* I 104, II 379, III 490, 492, *PSI* XII 1263, *P. Köln* II 100). Whenever it appears, it is followed by the *kyria* clause. There is only one exception, *P. Oxy.* I 104, in which a fragment of a disposition follows the discussed formula, ll. 31-34: ἄλλω δε οὐδενὶ [ἀπλῶς] [ἀπλῶς supplemented by the editors; we would prefer οὐδὲν, as in other Roman wills – TD&MN] τῶν ἐμῶν καταλείπω [οὐδὲν εὐδοκεῖ] ἰ δε πᾶσι τοῖς προγε[γραμμέν]οις ὁ σημαίνόμεν[ός μου ἀνὴρ Ἀτρῆ]ς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆ]ς [πόλεως] ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ [ca. 10-15] ν Ἀρτεμιδω[ρ].

The body of the will is always concluded with a *kyria* clause (*P. Oxy.* II 379, III 491, 492, 493, 494, LXV 4533, *P. Köln* II 100, *PSI* XII 1263). The lacuna in our document leaves enough space for ca. 60 characters, thus there must have been some text before the *kyria* clause.

8. λ in the name Ἡρακλῆς was inserted later.

11. The reconstruction is based on *P. Oxy.* III 490: καὶ ἂ ἐὰν ἄλλ[α ἀπολίπ]ω πάντα καθ' ὀνδηποτοῦν τ[ρόπον]. The corresponding phrases are attested in *P. Oxy.* III 492 and LIX 3455 and *SB* XVI 12331.

12. τῶ ὄμο|γγ[η]σίω αὐτῶν ἀδελεφῶν (for ἀδελεφῶ) Ζωίλω is a possible reading, although this would imply a mistake on the part of the scribe. The traces of a *gamma* and a *nu* in ὄμο|γγ[η]σίω are very tiny, and we can only say that they do not contradict the suggested reading.

13. The beginning of the preserved text is problematic. The line begins with

a number in which a final *delta* is preceded probably by a *kappa* or a *mu*. The word $\rho\omega\iota$ must be preceded by $\omicron\lambda\eta$, but the last letter cannot be an *eta*. The traces suggest an *upsilon* preceded by an *omikron*, which would produce the expected $\omicron\lambda\eta$, abbreviated with a *lambda* raised above the line.

15. This genitive form of the name Ἡρακλῆς is quite common in papyri. See F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. II, *Morphology*, pp. 70–71.

17. The reading $[\omicron\upsilon]\lambda(\eta)$ $\pi\omicron\delta(\iota)$ seems certain, although the mention of a scar on a leg without any indication of precisely which leg it was on (right or left) is unparalleled. On personal physical descriptions of individuals in papyri, see Giuseppina Cernuschi, *Nuovi contributi per lo studio dei connotati personali nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Padova 2010; however, one should remember that this work, although published in 2010, is an unchanged version of a dissertation from 1948; for scars on legs, see p. 128.

19. The seal representing Dioskoros *ephebos* is not attested elsewhere, but the reading seems quite certain.

20–21. The bottom part of the document is connected with the main fragment only by separate fibres. The distance between the lines was originally much smaller than is currently visible on the image, as the traces of upper parts of some letters indicate.

22. The name, partly in lacuna, could be Dionysios; see *P. Wisc.* II 85: $\text{Παυε-}\chi\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma \text{ Ἀρθοῦ(νιος) τοῦ Διον() τοῦ κ(αί) Ἀμῶι(τος) μητ(ρός) Πλουτάρχ(ης)}$.

23. The reading is certain, although the word $\omicron\lambda\eta$ is written in a strange way. The last two characters, *lambda* and *eta*, are very clear and large, but the initial two letters are small and, for unknown reasons, raised. Had the scribe first omitted the initial *ou-* and then added them above the line?

24. The reconstruction is based on the fact that in the rest of the witnesses' signatures the identification of the seal appears as: $\text{καὶ ἔστι μου ἡ σφραγίς}$. Moreover, such a structure of witnesses' signatures is well attested in other testaments from the Oxyrhynchite nome (see the Introduction to the present article). On seals in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see Katelijn Vandorpe, *Breaking the Seal of Secrecy. Sealing-practices in Greco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt Based on Greek, Demotic and Latin Papyrological Evidence* [= *Uitgaven vanwege de stichting 'Het Leids Papyrologisch Instituut'* 18], Leiden 1995; K. Vandorpe, 'Seals in and on the papyri of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt', in: M. Boussac, A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique / Archivi e sigilli nel mondo ellenistico* [= *BCH Supplément* 29], Athens 1996, pp. 231–291.

26–27. The reading of the last line leaves almost no doubt, for the name of the second heir is clear; $\alpha\mu\phi(\sigma\epsilon\rho\omega\nu)$ $\kappa\lambda(\eta\rho\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu)$, as we have printed, is very likely. However the genitive form of the expression depends on the interpretation implied from the name of the second heir, which appears in the genitive as well.

In the preceding line we read an abbreviated word ending with a theta; this leads us to assume that the abbreviated word was *διαθήκη* (the visible remains of letters support this reading). The word *διαθήκη* could be preceded by an *eta*, possibly [ῆ] *διαθ(ήκη)* or [τῆ] *διαθ(ήκη)*.

The meaning and purpose of these two lines are not certain, for we do not have exact parallels that might facilitate their interpretation. Although it is tempting to interpret these lines as a description of the deed, the usual pattern applied to label testaments from Oxyrhynchos is different; it consists of three elements: (1.) the indication of the place where the deed was composed: *μνημο-νείου Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως*; (2.) date including the full regnal year; and (3.) *διαθήκη* followed by the testator's name in the genitive (see *P. Oxy.* I 105, III 489, III 491).

On the other hand, this clause could be a note concerning the opening of the will; this interpretation is supported by the presence of witnesses. We would expect the phrase expressing 'the will was requested to be opened by the heir', for we know that this was the way in which the opening of local wills was initiated in Roman Egypt. The practice is well-attested in papyri concerning the opening of wills (*M. Chr.* 310 [Fayum, AD 150–153]; *P. Fouad.* I 32 [Oxyrhynchos, AD 174]; *P. Mert.* II 75 [Oxyrhynchos, AD 185]; *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3166 [Tholthis, AD 187]; *P. Oxy.* LXIII 4354 [Oxyrhynchos, AD 307]), but such information never appears in local wills from the Roman period.

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