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## **A Document in the Bodleian Addressed to the Governor of Arcadia**

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### **Citation**

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- §1 The upper left-hand corner of a document preserving the beginnings of 12 lines, with intact upper (1.5 cm) and left-hand (c. 1.2 cm) margins. A smaller detached fragment with traces of five lines cannot be placed. The writing runs along the fibres. The back is covered by a sheet within the glass frame and is presumably blank.
- §2 The document is addressed by Aurelia Apia, apparently an inhabitant of the village of Ankyron in the Heracleopolite nome, to the office of the governor of Arcadia. It mentions a previous petition to the same authority, a priest, her husband Victor, and a previous judgement. In its phraseology, the body of the document recalls [P.Haun. 3 57](#) (412–15?), which is of uncertain provenance but relates to the same province. It is an out-of-court settlement (διάλυσις) of a dispute between a *princeps officii* and a former governor of Arcadia. It opens with a similar reference to a previous petition by the former against the latter submitted to the *praefectus Augustalis*: ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼ ὁ Κύριλλος [ἐνέτυ]χον τῆ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) ἐπάρχου Αὐγουσταλί(ου) (3–4); cf. 5–6 below. Furthermore, it uses an identical phrase to refer to the initial decision by the *praefectus Augustalis*: ἀποφάσεως δὲ ἐξενεχθείσης (7); cf. 10 below. A crucial difference is that [P.Haun. 3 57](#) is concluded between the settling parties and is not addressed to the prefect’s or current governor’s office. It is assumed, however, that the prefect would have been subsequently informed of the settlement, perhaps in a document like ours.<sup>1</sup> There are, in fact, three other papyri addressed more specifically to the bureau (τάξις) of the *princeps officii* of the governor which may be cited as parallels.<sup>2</sup> One group is formed of [P.Oxy. 16 1880](#) (427) and [PSI 10 1114](#) (454, Oxyrhynchus?), both labelled διαλύσεις, which inform the *princeps officii* of the petitioner’s abandonment of legal proceedings against the defendant; the other is [P.Oxy. 16 1881](#) (427), which declares the defendant’s intention to appear in court and refute the petitioner’s claims (ἀντίρρησις). These documents similarly begin with a reference to the claimant’s previous petition to the governor,<sup>3</sup> and [P.Oxy. 16 1881](#) and [PSI 10 1114](#) also mention the governor’s initial decision in a genitive absolute phrase.<sup>4</sup> The Bodleian papyrus therefore probably notifies the governor’s office either of Apia’s settlement with the defendant or of her intention to proceed to a new stage of the judicial procedure.
- §3 The subject of Apia’s original complaint is uncertain. She was probably a widow (cf. 8–9 n.). [Bagnall \(2004\)](#) has noted that both the frequency and range of women’s engagement in litigation drop sharply after the fourth century, and that almost all women’s petitions from this period involve either “a woman without a husband or a woman litigating with her husband.”<sup>5</sup> Women’s petitions to governors or Augustal prefects also become rare in this period.<sup>6</sup>
- §4 The document must postdate the creation of the province of Arcadia sometime between 386 and 398.<sup>7</sup> The hand is in the so-called “Heracleopolite style” and suggests a date not much later than the middle

1 Cf. the editor’s introd., p. 53: “Man muss annehmen, dass auf den vorliegenden Vergleich zwischen Kyrillos und Serenianos eine Mitteilung an das Gericht folgte, die darauf hinausging, dass die beiden Prozessparteien sich miteinander verständigt hätten und der Kläger (in diesem Falle beide Parteien) demgemäss die Klage fallen lasse. Damit hat allem Anschein nach jedes Gerichtsverfahren aufgehört.”

2 On these and other texts with a similar address, see B. Palme, CPR 24 17 introd.

3 [P.Oxy. 16 1880](#). 7–8 προσελθὼν τῆ αὐτῆ ἐξουσίᾳ διὰ [λι]βέλλου δόσεως ἦτοι ἐντυχίας; [P.Oxy. 16 1881](#). 8–10 Κύρου ... διὰ λιβέλλου δόσεως προσελθόντος τῆ αὐτῆ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος; [PSI 10 1114](#). 5–6 προσελθὼν τῆ ἐξ[ουσι]ᾷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου μου (?) ἄρχοντος ἡτιασάμην κτλ.

4 [P.Oxy. 16 1881](#). 11 καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἐμφανισθείσης ἡμῖν τῆς βουλομένης; [PSI 10 1114](#). 7 καὶ ἀποφάσεως [.

5 [Bagnall 2004](#): 57.

6 Of the 118 post fourth-century petitions catalogued in [Fournet and Gasco 2004](#), only two are addressed by women to governors, viz. [P.Cair.Masp. I 67005](#) and [P.Cair.Masp. I 67006r](#) (c. 568, Antinoopolis, BL 11.52), both directed to the *dux Thebaidis*. [P.Münch. 3 79](#) (6th/7th cent., unknown provenance) is addressed to an official with the titles of *gloriosissimus* and *illustris*, who must be a pagarch (this was probably a model text). [P.Oxy. 63 4399](#) (before 539, BL 13.166) implies a prior petition to the Augustal prefect.

7 See [Palme 1998](#): 127–128, 130. Arcadia is first attested in the papyri in 398 ([P.Flor. I 66.1](#) with BL 7.50).

of the fifth century; cf. e.g. [☞ CPR 10 38](#) (420, Heracleopolis), [☞ SPP 20 123r](#) (445, Heracleopolis; BL 7.263). Characteristic features include epsilon in the shape of two superimposed curves, alpha with a narrow nose, and avoidance of latinate deltas and h-shaped etas.<sup>8</sup>

§5 According to the Bodleian Library’s handlist of papyri, the papyrus was “[r]eceived in exchange from the British Museum, 1896,” but there are no further details about its provenance and prior acquisition history.<sup>9</sup>

[☞ MS. Gr. class. f. 64 \(P\)](#)

7.5 (w) × 11.3 (h)

First half of fifth century  
Heracleopolite nome

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<sup>8</sup> On this style, see [☞ Harrauer and Rom 1984](#): 95–96 and [☞ Harrauer 2010](#): 77–78.

<sup>9</sup> I thank Nikolaos Gonis for comments.

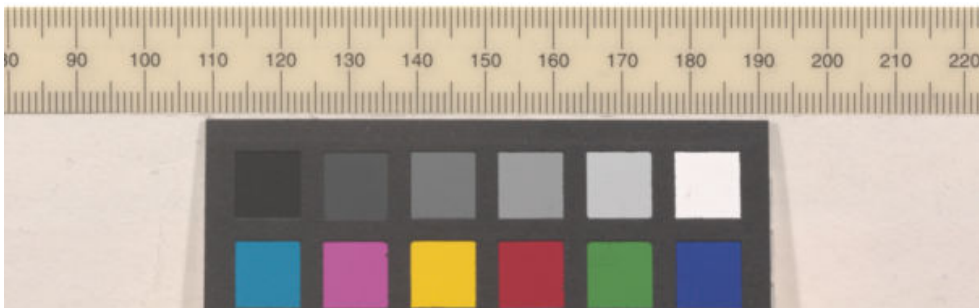
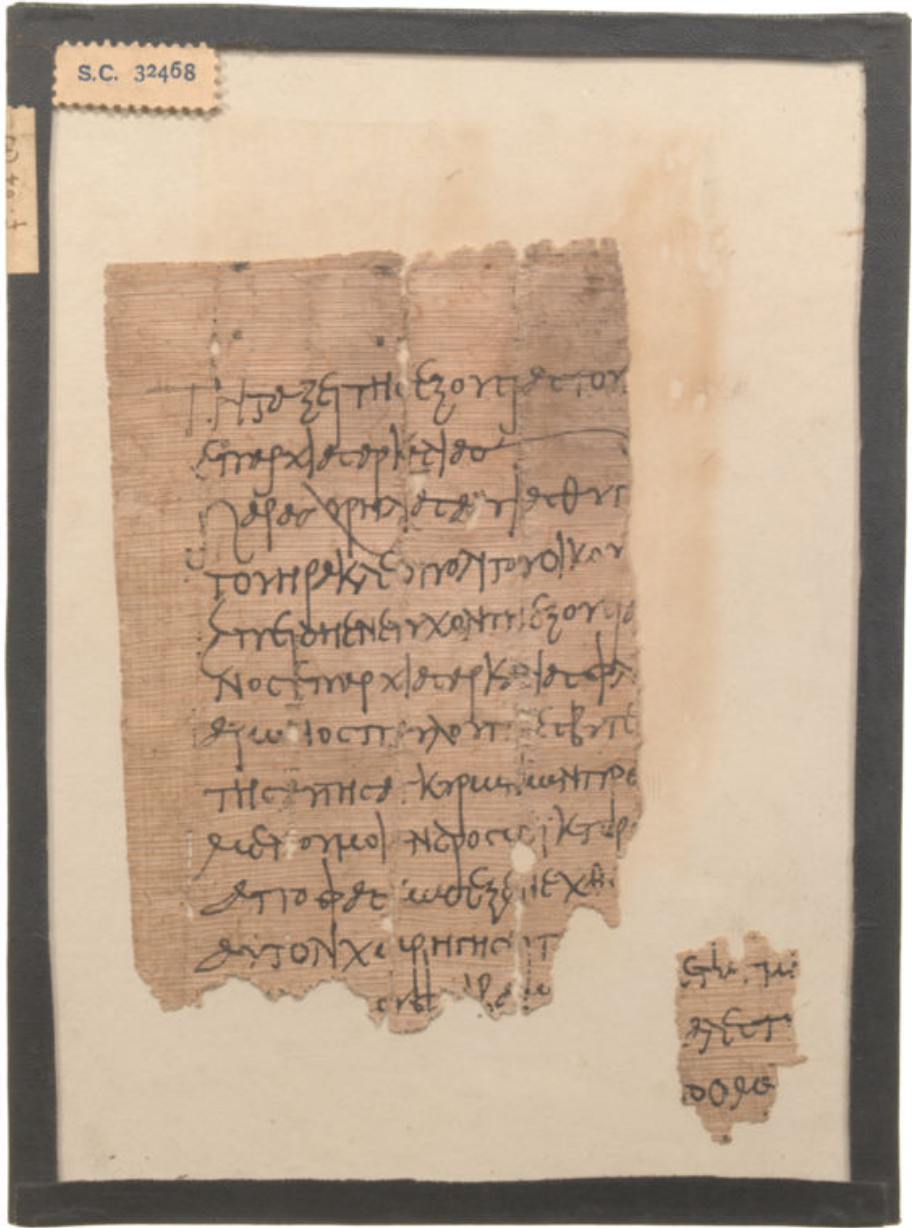


Fig. 1. © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. CC BY-NC 4.0.

τῆ τάξει τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κ[υρίου μου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος]  
ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας [ *vac.* ]

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπίας θυγ[ατρὸς -ca.?- ἀπὸ -ca.?- ]

τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου, οἰκού[σης δὲ ἐν -ca.24- ]

5 ἐπειδὴ ἐνέτυχον τῆ ἐξουσία [τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμό-]  
νος ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας Φλα[ουίου -ca.25- ]

Ἄρωνος Παύλου πρεσβυτέ[ρου -ca.27- ]

τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀγκυρώνων πρε[ -ca.30- ]

μένου μοι ἀνδρὸς Οὐίκτορο[ς -ca.30- ]

10 ἀποφάσεως ἐξενεχθε[ίσης -ca.27- ]

αὐτὸν χωρηγήσαι π[ -ca.34- ]

[ . . ] . . [ . ] . ου Φ[ο]ιβάμμ[ων -ca.30- ]

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Fr. 2

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[ -ca.?- ] [ . ] [ -ca.?- ]

[ -ca.?- τ]εταγμέ[ν -ca.?- ]

[ -ca.?- ]αλεστ [ -ca.?- ]

[ -ca.?- ἀ]πὸ ὁμολ[ογίας -ca.?- ]

5 [ -ca.?- ] [ -ca.?- ]

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9 *l.* μου οὐίκτορο[ papyrus 11 *l.* χωρηγήσαι

To the office of his Highness [my lord the governor] of the province of Arcadia, from Aurelia Apria daughter [of N.N. from ...] of the Heracleopolite (nome) but living [in the village of Ankyron (?) of the same nome]. Since I petitioned his Highness [my lord the governor] of the province of Arcadia, Flavius [N.N., *vir clarissimus*,] ... Aron son of Paulus, priest ... from/of the said Ankyron ... my late (?) husband Victor ... the judgement having been declared ... that he provide ... Phoebammon ...

§6 1 τῆ τάξει. Unlike ⚡ P.Oxy. 16 1880, ⚡ P.Oxy. 16 1881, and ⚡ PSI 10 1114, cited in the introduction, our document is broadly addressed to the *officium* of the governor, without specifying an individual addressee within it. Compare ⚡ BGU 3 936 (426, Oxyrhynchus), a surety addressed [τ]ῆ τάξει τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ κυρίω μου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου.... ος ἐπαρχίας [A]ρκαδίας Φλαουίου Ἀριστονίκου Ἀλεξάνδρου (3–4).

§7 1–2 τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος] ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας. For a list of known governors of Arcadia in the fifth century, see F. Mitthof, CPR 23 32.1 n. λαμπρότατος is the expected epithet for a *praeses Arcadiae* at this date; see B. Palme, CPR 24 17.2–3 n. The cap of the final sigma of Ἀρκαδίας is extravagantly extended over 2 cm, which suggests that nothing else is written in this line.

- §8 2 ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας. This nomenclature of the province is typical of the late fourth and fifth centuries before it was replaced by Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχία in the sixth; see ↗ [Palme 1997](#) and ↗ [Benaissa 2007](#).
- §9 3–4 In view of τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀγκυρώνων in line 8, the name of the village will have stood either at the end of line 3 (ἀπὸ κόμης Ἀγκυρώνων) if it was Apia’s place of origin or at the end of line 4 (ἐν κόμῃ Ἀγκυρώνων τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ) if it was her place of residence.
- §10 7 Ἄρωνος: ↗ [TM Nam 8275](#). There do not seem to be any viable alternative names with such a termination in this period.
- §11 8 τῆς αὐτῆς Ἀγκυρώνων. This is one of the latest papyrological instances of this Heracleopolite village (↗ [TM Geo 182](#)) along with ↗ [P.Rain.Cent. 101.10](#) (457).<sup>10</sup> SPP 3 453.2 (7th/8th cent.) should be excised from ↗ [Falivene 1998](#): 41: see the re-edition of this text in ↗ [SPP 3<sup>2</sup> 5 453](#).
- §12 8–9 ]μένου μοι ἀνδρός : e.g. τοῦ ἀπογενο]μένου μοι (l. μου) ἀνδρός, which would imply that Apia is a widow. For the confusion of dative and genitive pronouns in the papyri, see ↗ [Stolk 2015](#) and ↗ [Stolk 2017](#): 185–187, 190–194.

Fr. 2

- §13 3 ]αλεστ[: probably τὸ ἀσφ]αλὲς τ[. The trace before the break, a short upright (η?), excludes ἀσφ]αλεστε[ρ- or ἀσφ]αλεστα[τ-.

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<sup>10</sup> To judge from a digital image of the papyrus kindly provided by Sophie Kovarik, the editor’s anachronistic [πό]λλος cannot be read after Ἀγκυρ(ώνων), nor for that matter can [κό]μης.

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