

A NEW LETTER FROM THE ARCHIVE OF ISIDORUS FROM PSOPHTHIS, MEMPHITE NOME

Ann Ellis Hanson¹

A letter from Tryphon to his father Tryphon (the *strategos* and gymnasiarch) that I discovered in the Michigan collection last year clarifies certain details about this archive from late in the reign of Augustus and also causes me to re-examine several supplements for the Greek in others of the archive's eight texts. Further, interpretation of the new letter and the archive as a whole benefits significantly from the discussion by Hengstl (2007), arguing that the petition to the prefect and the dossier of letters Isidoros assembled are attacking a single issue by means of different methods, with the letters displaying concerted actions on the part of a social network of φίλοι to which Tryphon the writer of the letter belonged and to which Isidoros was being granted admission.

P.Mich. inv. 1430

17 x 20.3 cm

Undated, but surely spring, AD 6
Philadelphia (?)

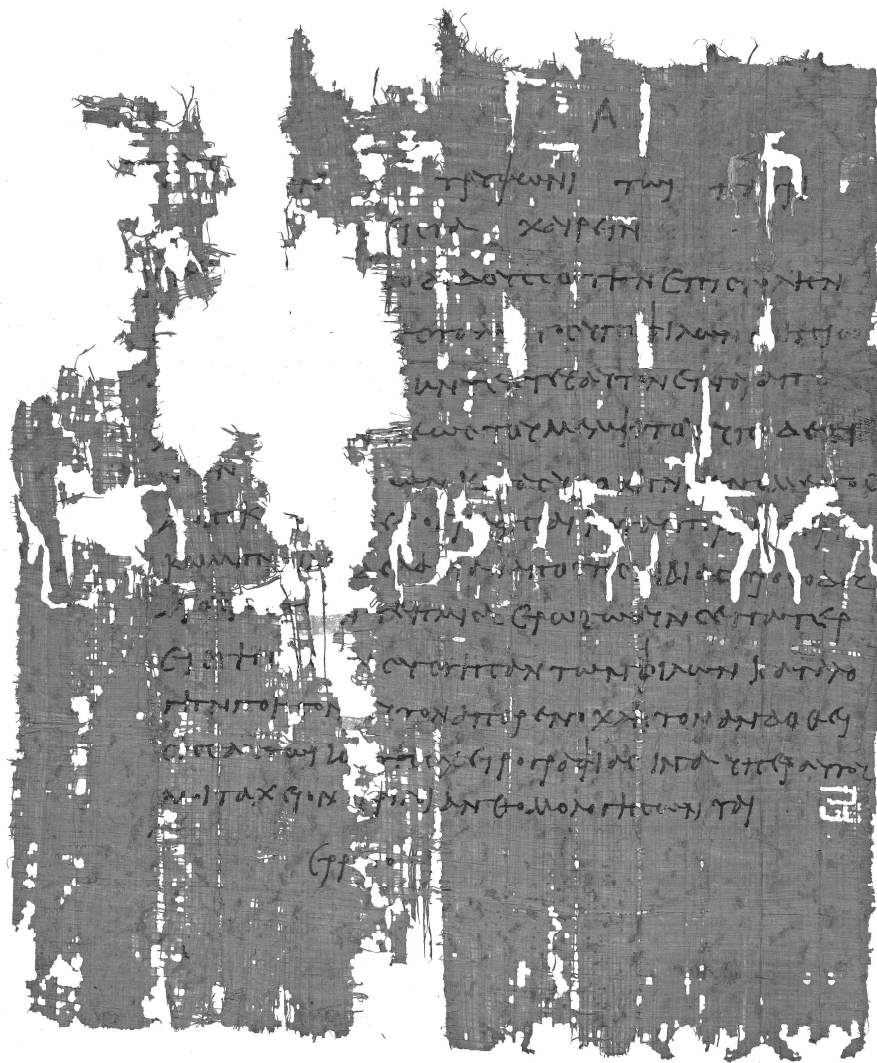
Τρύφ[ω]ν Τρύφωνι τῶι πατρὶ
πλεῖστα χαίρειν ·
Ἰσίδω[ρος ὁ ἀ]ποδιδούς σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
ἐ[μοὶ μὲν συν]εσταμ[έ]νος ὑπὸ φίλων γνησίῳ
5 [. . . ἀπ?εδεί]κνυέν τε ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἀπὸ
κ[ώ]μης Ψ[ω]φθεως τοῦ Μεμφίτου · ὑπὸ δέ τι-
νων ἐ[χθ]ρῶν κατὰ συνοχὴν γενόμενος
ἀνηγκ[ά]θη χ[ειρο]γραφῆσαι κατασπίρα[τι] περὶ
κώμην Φιλαδέλφειαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβίας προσόδου
10 ἀρούρα[ς] π[έ]ντε ἡμῶν. ἐρωτῶ {ι} οὖν σε, πάτερ,
εἰς τὴν [τῶ]ν συστειάντων φίλων καταλο-
γὴν πόησον [α]ὐτὸν ἀπαρενόχλητον, ἀνδοθεί-
σης αὐτῶι κ[αὶ] τῆς χειρογραφίας, ἵνα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
μοι τάχειον οἱ φίλοι ἀνθομολογήσονται.
15 (2nd hand) ἔρρωσο

16 verso : ἀπόδος (vac.) Τρύφων[ι]

8 ἠναγκ[ά]θη κατασπεῖραι 12 πόησον 12–13 ἀναδοθεί[ς]ης

Tryphon to Tryphon his father very many greetings. Isidoros, who delivers this letter to you, after having been introduced to me by real friends, has been saying (?) and was repeatedly proving himself to be from the village of Psophthis in the Memphite (nome), but after being placed in detention by some enemies, he was compelled to sign a sworn declaration to cultivate in the vicinity of Philadelphia five and one-half arouras from the revenue-estate of Livia. I ask you, then, father, as a mark of respect to the friends who introduced him (to me), make him free of trouble, with his sworn declaration also having been returned to him, so that on his behalf those friends will speedily acknowledge their obligation to me. Farewell. (Address on the back): Deliver to Tryphon (...).

¹ My warmest thanks to Peter Parsons and John Rea, both of whom immensely improved my understanding of this papyrus (text 5, Tryphon the writer to Tryphon [the *strategos* and gymnasiarch]).



1–2. Tryphon, the writer of this letter, refers to the recipient Tryphon here as $\tau\hat{\omega}\iota$ πατρί, and in vocative case $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho$ in line 10. The appearance of $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\epsilon$ in text 3 (SB XVI 12835, 8) suggests that in this archive such terms are honorific, not indicators of blood kinship.

3 $\text{Ἰσίδω[ρος ὁ ἀ]ποδιδούς σοι τὴν ἐπιτολήν}$. Isidoros is also the bearer for three additional letters : text 4 (P.Col. VIII 211, 3 [BL X 42 ; BL XI 64 ; BL XII 53] ; NN to Asklepiades the *dioiketes*, 16 February, AD 6) ; text 5 (P.Mich. inv. 1430, 3 ; Tryphon to Tryphon, *strategos* [and gymnasiarch], undated) ; text 6 (P.NYU II 18, 3 ; Proklos to Tryphon, *strategos* [and gymnasiarch], 19 February, AD 6).

4 $\text{ἐ[μοὶ μὲν? συν]εσταμ[έ]νος ὑπὸ φίλων γηγεῖω}$. The restoration at the beginning of the line was kindly suggested to me by John Rea. The traces that remain of the initial letter in line 4 imply a letter whose left side is curved, as ϵ , o , c , etc. ; the $[\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu?]$ is then followed by an adversative $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ in line 6. The final *nu* in $\gamma\eta\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ has been almost entirely effaced, but the phrase is attested elsewhere (e.g. P.Fouad I 54, 34–35, AD 141/142). The friends who introduced Isidoros to Tryphon, writer of the letter, are mentioned again in lines 11 and 14.

5–6 [. . . ἀπ?εδείκνυέν τε ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἀπὸ | κ[ώ]μης Ψ[ώ]φθεως τοῦ Μεμφίτου. I am indebted to Hélène Cuvigny for reading -κνυέν τε. The traces that remain of the initial letter in line 5 again imply a letter whose left side is curved. Perhaps ξ[φη ἀπ?εδείκνυέν τε, with τε connecting the two verbs, a suggestion for which I am again indebted to John Rea. The other letters written during February, AD 6, that were carried by Isidoros repeated this same information about his *idia* to the respective recipients : ἐστὶν δὲ ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώφθεως [τοῦ Μεμφίτου] (text 4, P.Col. VIII 211, 4–5), and more fully, ἐστὶν δὲ τῷ γένει ἀπὸ κώμ[η]ς Ψώφθεω[ς] τοῦ Μεμφίτου καὶ τὴν λαογρ[α]φ[ίαν] | ἐκεῖ τελεί καὶ τᾶλλα καθήκοντα (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 4–6). Isidoros introduced himself in this same manner in his petition to the prefect Publius Ostorius Scapula : παρὰ Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Ἰσιδώρου τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώφθεω[ς] τοῦ Μεμφίτου · τυγχάνω λαογραφοῦμενος | περὶ τὴν προκειμένην κώμην (text 1, SB XVI 12713, 2–4, late November / December AD 5). The author of text 3 NN expected his correspondent NN to ascertain whether or not Isidoros was registered for tax purposes in the Memphite nome and to inform Tryphon (the *strategos*) about the results of his inquiry : ἐπιγόντα εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει ὑπὲρ | τοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεμφίτου (SB XVI 12835, 4–5, 16 February, AD 6). Official confirmation would come only from government registers, and the two letters written on 3 April, AD 6, take this different approach, reporting on the fact that Isidoros' name did not appear in the register of metropolitans from the Arsinoite nome. Thus in text 7 Lykarion told Tryphon, now twice addressed as gymnasiarch (5–6 ; verso, 10), that Isidoros was not an Arsinoite of metropolitan status : Ἰσιδωρος οὐ γάρ ἐστιν | Ἀρσινοίτης τῶν μητροπολιτῶν (text 7, SB XXIV 15909, 7–8). Something similar apparently appears in the more lacunose text 8 (SB XXIV 15910, 7–9).

6–7 ὑπὸ δὲ τιῶν ἐ[χθ]ρῶν. I am grateful to John Rea for correcting my ἐ[τέ]ρων to ἐ[χθ]ρῶν while we were in Geneva. The vagueness with regard to who it was that was responsible for detaining and impressing Isidoros may be due here, at least in part, to the fact that this letter (text 5) was addressed to Tryphon (the *strategos* and gymnasiarch) who was accused of being involved in Isidoros' complaint either because he dispatched agents to detain Isidoros (texts 1, 4, 6), or because, as a government official, he seemed to be the one chiefly responsible for what was happening (text 2). In Isidoros' petition, those who forced him to submit the *cheirographia* are referred to as οἱ παρὰ Τρύφωνος στρατηγῶ τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου (text 1, SB XVI 12713, 5 and 14–15). See also οἱ παρὰ Τρύφωνος τοῦ [στρατηγῶ] (text 4, P.Col. VIII 211, 5–6), but in the other letter written in February, AD 6, they are οἱ παρὰ σοῦ, because the addressee is Tryphon himself (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 6–7). The copy of the petition with corrections revised τοῖς παρὰ Τρύφωνος τοῦ τῷ Τρύφωνι τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς | [προσόδου] (text 2, SB XVI 12714, 6, 6a, 7 a d 7a). Examples of στρατηγός coupled with ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων are known and date from late Ptolemaic to the early Roman period, but ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς προσόδου seems known thus far only in the corrected copy of the petition (text 2) ; see also εἰς γεω[ρ]γίαν τῆς προσόδου, known thus far only in texts 7 and 8 (SB XXIV 15909, 4 and 15910, 4). Hengstl (2007) 275 is probably right to suggest these are no more than stylistic variants. Still the ὑπὸ δὲ τιῶν ἐ[χθ]ρῶν here in the new papyrus (text 5) may be a delicate touch on the part of Tryphon the writer when approaching Tryphon (the *strategos* and gymnasiarch) in order to achieve a reconciliation among the parties.

7 κατὰ συνοχὴν γενόμενος. The same phrase is to be read in text 4 (P.Col. VIII 211, 6 : [κατὰ συν]οχὴν γενόμενος). See also κατὰ [συ]ν[ο]χὴν in Isidoros' petition (text 1, SB XVI 12713, 7). Note the variation in ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν | παρὰ σοῦ συνχεθεῖς (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 6–7).

8 ἀνηγκ[ά]θη (l. ἠναγκ[ά]θη) χ[ειρο]γραφῆσαι κατασπ[ε]ῖραι[ι]. The small differences among the texts as they report details of the incident at the center of this dispute suggest that the letter writers were not copying off a written text, but were adapting the story as Isidoros told it. In his petition Isidoros emphasized the brutality to which he had been subjected : εἰς μ[ο]ῦ χάριν συναν[ή]νγκασάν (l. συνην[α]νγκασάν) με μετὰ μεγίστη[ς] | βασάνου κατὰ [συ]ν[ο]χὴν πο[ι]ήσαντες τῷ Χοιᾶχ τ[ο]ῦ | ἐνεστῶ[τος] ἔτους προέσθαι χειρογραφίαν ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ | κατασπ[ε]ῖραι[ι] (text 1, SB XVI 12713, 5–9). In addition to the Michigan papyrus (text 5) the three letters certainly dated to February, AD 6, vary the wording, although the message remains essentially the same : ἐχειρογρά[φ]ησεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατασπ[ε]ῖραι (text 4, P.Col. VIII 211, 6–7, with compulsion expressed by [κατὰ συν]οχὴν γενόμενος, 6) ; in the acephalous letter from NN to NN : συ[ν]νηνγκ[ά]θη (l. συ[ν]ηναγκ[ά]θη) χειρογραφίαν [π]ροέσθαι | [ὑπὲρ τοῦ] κατασπ[ε]ῖραι (text 3, SB XVI 12835, 1–2) ; ἀνηγκάθη (l. ἠναγκάθη) προέσθαι χειρογραφίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατασπ[ε]ῖραι (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 7–8).

8–10 *περὶ* | *κώμην Φιλαδέλφειαν ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβίας προσόδου* | *ἀρούρα[ς] π[έ]ντε ἡμῖν*. The same phrasing as here (text 5) also occurs in both text 4 (P.Col. VIII 211, 7–8) and text 6 (P.NYU II 18, 8–10), with fuller geographical specificity in the petition through *τῆς Ἡρ[α]||[κλε]ίδου μερίδ[ος]* added after *Φιλαδέλφειαν* (text 1, SB XVI 12713, 9–11). *Λιβίας* for Roman Livia's estate elsewhere, except apparently *Λιο]υία* in text 3 (SB XVI 12835, 3).

10 *ἔρωτῶ* {ι} *οὖν σε, πάτερ*. In common with this letter (text 5) the others from February, AD 6, also appeal to the addressee in the second person, but other means are employed to add force to the request without a vocative such as *πάτερ*, with the pronoun *σε* followed by a participle: *ἔρωτῶ* {ι} *οὖν σε ἐπιγνόντα εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει ὑπὲρ | τοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεμφίτου* (text 3, SB XVI 12835, 4–5); [*ἔρωτῶ οὖν*] *σε ἐπισκεψάμενον εἰ περὶ* [| ± 15] (text 4, P.Col. VIII 211, 9–10). An appeal to the addressee likewise features in the petition: *ἄξιῶ* {ι} *σε τὸν π[ά]ντων εὐ[ε]ργέ[τ]ην* (texts 1 and 2, SB XVI 12713, 11 and 12714, 5–6). The vocative *ἄδελφε*, however, occurs at a different point in the text 3 (SB XVI 12835, 8; see below, 11–12, n.).

11–12 *εἰς τὴν [τῶ]ν συστηνάντων φίλων καταλογίην*. Even as this letter (text 5) returns its attention to the friends who introduced Isidoros to Tryphon, writer of the letter, the other letters dated in February, AD 6, including the acéphalous letter of NN to NN, also turned back to the mutual interchanges required of friends and other bureaucratic courtesies (text 3, SB XVI 12835, 7–8; see below regarding *ἀνθομολογήεται*). Also directly after *ἔρωτῶ* {ι} *ο[ὐ]ν σε*, see the *καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καταλογίην* | *εἴ τις ἄρα μνήα* (l. *μνεία*) *ἔστιν παρὰ σοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλίας* « also on my account, if you care at all for my friendship » (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 10–11), as well as the closing words in the body of that same letter, *τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔσθι μοι κεχαρισμένος* « By doing this, then, you will gratify me. » See also the second line in the postscriptum NN added to his letter to Asklepiades the *dioiketes*: *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καταλογίην ποιήσασθαι* | [*ca. ± ?*] *μέλει γάρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ*, « do it on my account ... for I am concerned about him » (text 4, P.Col. VIII 211, 15–16). Similar obligations are also expressed with *ἀνθομολογέομαι*, as occur here: *ἵνα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | μοι τάχειον οἱ φίλοι ἀνθομολογήσονται* « so that on his behalf those friends will speedily acknowledge their obligation to me » (text 5, P.Mich. inv. 1430, 13–14). See also *ποιήσασθαι πᾶν, ἄδελφε, ἵνα μοι τάχειον ἀνθομολογήσεται* « do everything, brother, so that he will speedily acknowledge his obligation to me » (text 3, SB XVI 12835, 7–8). The two letters of 3 April, AD 6, addressed to Tryphon the gymnasiarch (and *strategos*) do not speak in support of Isidoros, but rather urge that Tryphon continue to press Isidoros into the cultivation of confiscated land. Both letters also mention a man named Erotas, a mutual friend: *παρόντα σε παρεκάλεσθαι* | *ὑπὲρ Ἐρωτᾶτο[ς] τοῦ φίλου ἡμῶν* (text 7, SB XXIV 15909, 2–3) and in the other letter written on the same day, adding a title to Erotas' name: *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπιτάτου Ἐρωτᾶτος τοῦ φίλου | ἡμῶν* (text 8, SB XXIV 15910, 3–4). Further, in addition to recalling an appeal made to Tryphon the gymnasiarch (and *strategos*) in the past, Tryphon is directly appealed to in the present: *καὶ νῦν δὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, βέλτιστε | γυμνασιάρχε* « In your presence we urged in support of Erotas, our friend, ... and now we all do urge you, best gymnasiarch » (Text 7, SB XXIV 15909, 3 and 5–6).

12 *πο(ί)ησον [α]ὐτὸν ἀπαρενόχλητον*. This sentiment with regard to Isidoros' future state of mind in the Michigan letter (text 5) is omnipresent in the minds of those who support Isidoros, from *μη [π]αρενοχλεῖν [μ]ε* in Isidoros' petition to Publius Ostorius Scapula (texts 1, 2, SB XVI 12713, 15 and 12714, 7) to the adjectival alpha-privative in the letters of February, AD 6: *ἀπαρενόχλητον αὐτὸν παραχέσθαι* (text 3, SB XVI 12835, 6); *ὥς[τε ἀπαρενόχλητον εἶ]ναι* (text 4, P.Col. VIII 211, 10–11); *ἀπαρενόχλητον αὐτὸν διατήρησον* (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 12).

12–13 *ἀν(α)δοθεί[ς] αὐτῷ κ[αὶ] τῆς χειρογραφίας*. The return of Isidoros' *cheirographia* was central not only to this Michigan papyrus, but to all texts that speak on his behalf. The verb *ἀναδίδωμι* is employed throughout, although there is considerable variation in its syntax, with the genitive absolute here being thus far unique. See, e.g., Isidoros' petition: *ἀναδο[ῦ]ναι δέ μοι τὴν δηλουμένην | χειρογραφίαν* (text 2, SB XVI 12714, 8, and text 1, SB XVI 12713, 16), and the letters of February, AD 6: *ἀναδοῦναι τε αὐτῷ ἦν [ἔ]λαβον αὐτοῦ χειρογραφίαν* (text 3, SB XVI 12835, 6–7); *καὶ προνόησον | ὥς ἀναδοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἡ χειρογραφία* (text 6, P.NYU II 18, 12–13).

15 *ἔρωσο*. The simple farewell occurs in the signatures of all letters from February, AD 6 (texts 3, 4, 5, 6), but in the letters from 3 April, AD 6, only in text 8 (SB XXIV 15910, 11). The other letter from 3 April has a more elaborate farewell greeting: *ὕγαινε καὶ σε(αυτοῦ) ἐπιμέλ(ου)* (text 7, SB XXIV

15909, 8), while the petition closes with εὐτόχει, as is expected for the Hellenistic and early Roman period.

16 (verso) : ἀπόδος (*vac.*) Τρύφων[ι. Only one other text in the archive in addition to the Michigan papyrus (text 5) retains an address on the back, being one of the two letters written on 3 April, AD 6 : γυμνασιάρχῳ (*vac.*) Τρύφωνι (text 7, SB XXIV 15909, 10). To be sure, four of the texts in the archive are sufficiently lacunose such that any writing on the back is likely to have been lost : *e.g.* the corrected copy of the petition (text 2, SB XVI 12714) ; the two letters written on 16 February, AD 6 (the acephalous letter text 3, SB XVI 12835, and the letter the left half of which has been totally lost, text 4, P.Col. VIII 211) ; and one of the letters written on 3 April, AD 6 (text 8, SB XXIV 15910). But two other texts that are more or less complete might have been expected to have been dispatched ; nonetheless both are blank and do not preserve any address on the back : the petition (text 1, SB XVI 12713) that Hengstl (2007) 275–276 convincingly argued was something Isidoros abandoned and never sent on to the prefect, when he turned instead to the social network of friends into which he was being introduced ; and the letter written on 19 February, AD 6 (text 6, P.NYU II 18) that needed no address since it was one of the letters being carried by Isidoros from its author Proklos to its addressee Tryphon (*strategos* and gymnasiarch). Perhaps the address on the back of the new Michigan papyrus was added out of habit, or perhaps for some reason Isidoros was unable to give the letter directly into the hands of Tryphon (*strategos* and gymnasiarch) as Tryphon the writer of the letter indicated he would do at the beginning of his letter (Ἰσίδω[ρος ὁ ἀ]ποδιδούς σοι τὴν ἐπιτολήν, text 5, P.Mich. inv. 1430, 3). Rather, Isidoros or someone else apparently added the delivery directions on the back to make certain that this letter actually reached Tryphon.

Addendum : summary of texts currently in the archive

The petition

1–2. SB XVI 12713 and 12714 [P.Mich. inv. 1440 and 1436 = *ZPE* 47 (1982) 233–243, with photos ; revised in *BASP* 21 (1984) 77–87, see SB XVI, Nachträge, p. 542 + BL XI 220 = TM 14651 and 14652 = mich.apis 1434, 1432, with scans].

Two copies of a petition to the prefect Publius Ostorius Scapula, whose *praenomen* was previously unattested, although his relative Quintus Ostorius Scapula, appointed praetorian prefect in 2 BC by Augustus, is better known to us. From Isidoros, son of Isidoros, who complains that agents from Tryphon, *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome, have illegally compelled him under duress to submit a *cheirographia* to cultivate 5 ½ arouras of revenue (confiscated) land in the estate of Livia, while he, Isidoros, is a tax-payer registered at his *idia* in the Memphite nome and is therefore not liable to the impressment.

All items in the archive are concerned with this episode that probably took place in December, AD 5. Copy 1 of the petition is uncorrected ; partial copy 2 was corrected by a second hand, but the corrections were never entered into copy 1. Perhaps neither copy was ever sent, as Hengstl (2007).

Acquisition : both papyri purchased from Dr. A(skren) and marked with A ; sent to Ann Arbor from the British Museum through the agency of H.I. Bell along with a larger purchase of papyri from Nahman, arriving in January 1924.

Date : January (?), AD 6.

Two letters not addressed to Tryphon

The letters of February, AD 6, are an indication that Isidoros has decided to forego petitioning the prefect and to turn instead to a social network of friends to obtain justice through private means.

3. SB XVI 12835 (+ BL IX 293 ; BL X 216 ; BL XI 221 ; = P.Mich. inv. 1674 = *BASP* 21 (1984) 77–87, with photo = TM 14678 = mich.apis 1505).

Acephalous letter, NN to NN, asking the latter to investigate Isidoros' claims that he is from the Memphite nome and to inform Tryphon by letter the results of the inquiry (for letters to Tryphon, see below, letters 5–8). The writer NN asks the recipient to exert himself so that Tryphon speedily acknowledges his obligation to him (NN the writer, line 8). The honorific ἀδελφε (8) is analogous to

the *πάτερ* in text 5, line 11. In closing NN urges his correspondent to turn over to his office « whatever matters you wish ».

Written by a scribe ; NN's signature in line 10.

Acquisition : cartel purchase by H.I. Bell from Nahman ; dispatched to Ann Arbor from the British Museum, arriving in November 1924.

Date : 16 February, AD 6.

4. P.Col. VIII 211, with photo (+ BL X 42 ; BL XI 64 ; BL XII 53 ; = P.Col. inv. 9 = TM 10546 = columbia.apis 246).

NN to Asklepiades the *dioiketes* ; the letter is carried by Isidoros. (NN may also say that Isidoros belongs to his household, perhaps to be restored in line 4, as suggested by Nielsen and Worp in their edition of text 6, in which Isidoros is said in lines 3–4 to belong to Proklos' household. If Isidoros is to be attached as an acquaintance to more than a single household, this was perhaps the case for Roman *familiares*.) NN seems to ask Asklepiades to investigate Isidoros' claims (9–11).

Written by a scribe ; NN's signature in line 14 along with the postscript professing NN's concern for Isidoros (lines 15–16). The editors of P.NYU II 18 suggested that text 4, a letter in the Columbia collection, must have been authored by the same Proklos who wrote text 6, a letter in the NYU collection dated three days subsequent, but employing a different scribe than the one Proklos used for text 4 – a desperate move, it seems to me, in order to account for the fact that the body of both letters was most likely written by different hands. What further discredits the editors' suggestion is the fact that the signatures of the writers (NN, text 4, lines 14–16, and Proklos, text 6, line 15) are remarkably different in penmanship, length, and sentiment. With the exception of text 7, letter from Lykarion to Tryphon, the other hands in the archive are in fact devilishly similar, for all were written during the same calendar year.

Acquisition : cartel purchase by H.I. Bell from Nahman.

Date : 16 February, AD 6.

Four letters addressed to Tryphon, *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome (Herakleides division) and sometimes also called gymnasiarch : the social network in action

5. P.Mich.inv. 1430 (= mich.apis 4047, with scans).

Tryphon to Tryphon (the latter called father as a mark of respect on the part of the former) ; the letter is carried by Isidoros. Friends / φίλοι mentioned three times in this letter, play an important role, introducing Isidoros to Tryphon the writer of the letter, and lending their support to Tryphon who writes in pressuring Tryphon the *strategos* (and gymnasiarch) to return Isidoros' *cheirographia* and to relieve him of his obligation to cultivate.

Written by a scribe with Tryphon's signature in line 15. The name of Tryphon the *strategos* (and gymnasiarch) is easily legible on the back, but the papyrus breaks off before any titles.

Acquisition : purchased from Dr. A(skren) and marked with A ; dispatched to Ann Arbor from the British Museum through the agency of H.I. Bell along with a larger purchase of papyri from Nahman, arriving in January 1924.

Undated, but surely from some time in spring, AD 6.

6. P.NYU II 18 (P.NYU inv. XVI 21 = text 2 in the PhD dissertation [NYU, 1949] by Ethyle R. Wolfe = P.NYU inv. 66 = ZPE 136, 137–139 = TM 47208 = nyu.apis 4790, with scan).

Proklos to Tryphon ; the letter is carried by Isidoros, with Proklos claiming that Isidoros belongs to his household (the editors suggested that this same phrase might be restored in text 4, line 4, but I argue against this above). Proklos asks Tryphon to see that Isidoros' *cheirographia* be returned to him and that he no longer be pressured to undertake cultivation on the estate of Livia, emphasizing more than do some of the other letters (texts 3 and 4) the personal nature of his requests : καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν κα[ταλογίην] | εἴ τις ἄρα μνεῖά ἐστιν παρὰ σοὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλίας « (do this) on my account, if you have any regard for my friendship » and « you will gratify me if you do this ».

Written by a scribe with Proklos' signature in line 15.

Acquisition : cartel purchase by H.I. Bell from Nahman.

Date : 19 February, AD 6.

7. SB XXIV 15909 (= *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 1995* I 423–426, with photo = P.Mich. inv. 1673 = TM 41420 = mich.apis 1504, with scan).

Lykarion to Tryphon. This letter contains a number of details that contrast sharply with letters written in February, a month and a half previous (texts 3, 4, 6) : the hand writes very quickly with frequent ligatures and little articulation of individual letters ; for the first time Tryphon is addressed as gymnasiarch (5–6 : βέλτιτε γυμνασίαρχε ; also in the address on the back) ; a certain Erotas is named and said to be a mutual friend (3 : ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν). Lykarion and unnamed others (πάντες) urge Tryphon to press Isidoros into the cultivation on the grounds that his status is not that of a metropolite of the Arsinoite nome (7–8 : Ἰσίδωρος οὐ γάρ ἐστιν Ἄρσινοΐτης τῶν μητροπολιτῶν).

Apparently written by a scribe, with Lykarion's signature (9).

Acquisition : cartel purchase by H.I. Bell from Nahman ; dispatched to Ann Arbor from the British Museum, arriving in November 1924.

Date : 3 April, AD 6.

8. SB XXIV 15910 (= *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 1995* I 426–429, with photo = P.Mich. inv. 1438 = TM 41421 = mich.apis 1433, with scan).

NN to Tryphon, the excellent gymnasiarch. The most tattered of the letters ; the hand is a practiced cursive, but not so quickly written as the hand of text 7.

Written by a scribe on the same day as text 7. NN's signature (11).

Acquisition : purchased from Dr. A(skren) and marked with A ; dispatched to Ann Arbor from the British Museum through the agency of H.I. Bell along with a larger purchase of papyri from Nahman, arriving in January 1924.

Date : 3 April, AD 6.

Bibliography

Hengstl, J. (2007), « Das Archiv des Isidoros aus Psophthis aus rechtshistorischer Sicht », in Palme, B. (Hrsg.), *Akten des 23. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses 2001* (Wien) 273–278.