ATHLETES AND LITURGISTS IN A PETITION TO FLAVIUS OLYMPIUS, *PRAESES AUGUSTAMNICAE*

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The main Greek text on this only partly preserved Vienna papyrus is addressed to Flavius Olympius, who may be identified as the *praeses* of the Augustamnica attested for AD 343. The sender is Aurelius Sar-, from the *amphodon* of Apollonios in, probably, Herakleopolis. He says that he has been making expenditures for gymnastic training (9) and may be a victorious (former) athlete himself (7, n.). Perhaps he holds a liturgical office, since the mention of such a function is expected in the lacuna before $\tau o\hat{v} vv\hat{v} \lambda \epsilon i \tau ov\hat{v} v\hat{v}$ [$\tau c a \mu \phi \delta \delta v A \pi o \lambda \lambda \omega v (o[v (see 3-4, n.)])$. Some elements in the text point to a petition, like the reference to a law (5), $\kappa \alpha \theta' \delta \mu o i \delta \tau \eta \tau \alpha \tau \tilde{\omega} [v \lambda \lambda] \omega v \xi \tau \lambda \omega \theta \epsilon v (11), while <math>\eta \pi \epsilon i \chi \theta \eta [v (18)]$ is the possible beginning of an expression known from other petitions².

Since the petition was addressed to the *praeses* of the Augustamnica, the text may stem from the archive of this *praeses*³. The official residence of the *praeses Augustamnicae* was the capital city of the newly created province of Augustamnica : Pelusium. There are, however, hardly any papyri originating from the eastern part of the Delta, apart from carbonized texts, and no papyri at all seem to have been found at Pelusium. The papyrological testimonia for Pelusium, as far as can be known, were found at places other than Pelusium itself⁴. Moreover, none of the papyri mentioning the Augustamnica were found in the eastern Delta⁵. Perhaps the archive to which this papyrus belonged was moved to a different place after the owner retired.

The text forms part of a τόμοc cυγκολλήcιμοc; the remains of a different document are visible at the left side of the papyrus. This way of archiving documents by pasting them together into rolls was recently studied by Willy Clarysse⁶. Like most other τόμοι cυγκολλήcιμοι this τόμοc contains the original text (as shown by the layout and larger lettering of the address and the different handwriting of the two texts left of the τόμοc), and the text comes from an official background (the petitioner may be a liturgist of the *amphodon* of a city, see 3–4, n.). Clarysse observed that this archiving practice, stemming from Ptolemaic times and most popular among higher as well as lower officials during the Roman period, came to an end in the middle of the fourth century AD. The present text, of around 343, is now the latest example of a τόμοc cυγκολλήcιμοc.

Most interesting in this document is the subject around which it revolves : mention is made of a victory (6 : víknc), of victors (7 : $c\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\iota\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$; 13 : $c\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\iota\tau$]), of training for the gymnastic game (8 : ἄcκηcιν τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνοc) and of expenses made on training and practice (9 : ἀναλώματα πεποίημαι εἰc ἄcκηcιν καὶ ἄθληcιν). The word for « athlete »

Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie (Genève 2010) 349–356

¹ I thank Hermann Harrauer for allowing me to publish this text, and Bernard Palme for reconfirming this and for providing me with a digital photo of the papyrus with its publication right. I also thank Rodney Ast for correcting my English, and the anonymous referee for his comments and suggestions.

³ Records suggest that the papyrus was bought in 1893 and found at Soknopaiou Nesos. The latter is, however, hardly possible since no papyri are known to have come from Soknopaiou Nesos after the middle of the third century AD; see Hoogendijk / Worp (2001) 58. SB XXVI 16727 (first quarter of IV AD) published there offers a comparable case of a Vienna papyrus (inv. G 24704), bought in 1893 and ascribed to Soknopaiou Nesos, but rather found in Bousiris (Delta). According to H. Loebenstein in P.Rainer Cent. (p. 21), the Vienna papyri from Soknopaiou Nesos had been given the inventory numbers G 24800–25024, so that the aforementioned text G 24704 and the present G 24715 indeed fall outside this group.

⁴ Carrez-Maratray (1999) 166–192.

⁵ Palme (1998) 129.

⁶ Clarysse (2003), attestations p. 357, n. 41–42 with updated list at : http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/index.php (January 2011).

or again « practice » is partly preserved in line 16 : ἀθλη[. In line 14 [δω]ρηθέντα, in combination with the preceding τῆ θεοφιλεc]|τάτῃ εὖεργεcíα τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν, may point to games granted by an emperor. It appears from the text that the petitioner was very much involved in gymnastic training for games (he even spent money on it [9]), but it remains uncertain if he was a (former ?) athlete himself. Is the νίκη referred to in line 6 the petitioner's own victory or someone else's ? May it be inferred from ἄλλων (7) that the petitioner himself was a victor, too ? The petitioner's son, in any case, was a victorious athlete : one can read νενικηκότα έ[ν] ἀγῶcι υἱόν μου (15).

This athletic context is all the more remarkable since by the middle of the fourth century the ancient games had gradually become less popular and started to disappear (the last official Olympic games were held in AD 393), so that information on games and athletes from that period has become very scarce.

What is the petition about ? One is reminded of the third century athletes' petitions which were mostly directed to a city council (of Hermopolis or Oxyrhynchus; no athletes were earlier known for Herakleopolis). These petitions dealt with the confirmation or registration of an athlete's privileges⁷. The present petition, however, which does not necessarily stem from an athlete, appears to deal with a different problem and was directed to the higher level of the *praeses*.

Based on so few and such uncertain facts, one can only speculate as to the contents of the petition. There is not much that can be known for certain :

- the petitioner undertook something (4 : ἐνεχείρηcα), paid for athletic training (9), his son had won in games (15);
- there is a general context of games and athletes (see above) and of an event that took place abroad (6 : ἀλλοδαπῆc);
- reference is made to a list of nominations to liturgies (16 : γραφη̂c λ ειτουργών).

Hypothetically, this may be a petition against appointment to a liturgy, from someone who was appointed while he was away from home, claiming exemption on the grounds that he is a victor in the games and has already spent a lot of money on athletic training⁸. If we assume that the petitioner already was a liturgist (see 3–4, n.), he might be petitioning against a second appointment⁹. In both cases, the reference to « today's list of liturgists » (16) may have been needed to substantiate the complaint.

Speculating even further : accepting the slight chance that the petitioner is indeed identical with Sarmates son of Pamounis of PSI XII 1232 (cf. 3, n.) and thus a *systates*, he would himself be responsible for the list of nominations. He may then have appended the list to his petition (or even the petition to his list), because the petition dealt with a problematical appointment. In this scenario the petitioning *systates* could hardly be petitioning against his own nomination for a liturgical office. Perhaps he was instead asking to be released from his post since he had taken up all the athletic obligations mentioned. Other scenarios are possible and nothing can be certain on the basis of the all too fragmentary text.

However the case may be, this text shows at least one important thing : how the ancient Greek games still played a role in the society of early Byzantine Egypt, even as late as the middle of the fourth century AD¹⁰.

⁷ See Frisch (1986); Drew-Bear (1988). A list of athletes in Perpillou-Thomas (1995) 241–251; none of the 131 athletes in the list comes from Herakleopolis.

⁸ For athletes' exemption of liturgies, see Lewis (1997) 90.

⁹ Even former athletes sometimes held official functions in their city as a second career ; see Drew-Bear (1988) 233.

¹⁰ An early fourth-century attestation of games can be found in P.Oxy. LXIII 4357 (later than 27 Oct., AD 317).



P.Vindob. inv. G 24715

P. Vindob. inv. G 24715

22,2 x 14,5 cm

ca. AD 343 written in Herakleopolis (?) / found in Pelusium (?)

Part of a τόμος cυγκολλή cupoc ; at the left side, the ends of 16 lines of a different document remain¹¹. One *kollema* is visible at ca. 1,5 cm from the left side. There is a free margin of 1,5-2 cm between the kollema and the text on the right-hand side. The dark brown color of the right-hand sheet of papyrus is interspersed with lighter strips at regular intervals, which may point to the manufacturing of the papyrus according to the « Hendriks » method¹². The papyrus is broken off at all sides and the whole sheet is rather damaged, with a larger hole in lines 11-13. Not much seems to be missing from the top, but probably almost half of the text of the main document is missing on the right-hand side¹³; looking at the longest vertical strip preserved, at least a third of the document is lost at the bottom. The largest remaining text in this τόμος cυγκολλήςμος consists of 21 lines of Greek, written along the fibers in a neat, experienced professional hand. At the start of each line the writer wrote slightly larger initial letters. Large stylish script was used for the address in line 2. Some characters have small superfluous loops (e.g. 18 : κ of oùk ; χ of $\eta \pi \epsilon i \chi \theta \eta [v]$ or end-strokes striking through the next character (e.g. 4 : ϵv of $\epsilon v \epsilon$ χείρηςα; 5 : δη of δημών; 17 : ωc of ούτως). Sometimes a prolonged downward stroke of *rho* or *iota* reaches, or even crosses, the writing of the next line (e.g. 14 : ρ of $\dot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\hat{\omega}\nu$ through 15 : $\dot{\epsilon}[\nu]$; 16 : ρ of cήμερον through 17). The traces in line 1 are possibly Latin. The overall impression of the handwriting points to the fourth century AD, which is not contradicted by the more cursive handwriting of the line endings of the text on the left¹⁴. The verso is blank. Based on the contents, the text was possibly written in Herakleopolis and probably archived at Pelusium, but may have been found elsewhere.

	.[].[] <i>q</i> []
	[Φλ]αουίωι vacat 'Ολυμπίωι [vacat	τῷ διαςημοτάτῷ ἡγεμόνι]
	παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Cạp[- father's name, city, function (?)	τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦν-]
	τος ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίο[υ. τη]λικούτοις ἐνεχείρηςα .[ἀπο(?)-]
5	δημῶν, νόμου γὰρ ὄντος καὶ ἔθους, νόμου μὲ[]
	ἐνταῦθα νίκης. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς περιγινομ[ένης]
	νον ευντάττεεθαί τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ετεφανιτῶν [ἀναλώ-]
	cαντα εἰc τὴν ἄcκηcιν τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνοc ἐκ δὲ τ[]
	άναλώματα πεποίημαι εἰς ἄςκηςιν καὶ ἄθληςιν δε []
10	ὃν ἡ τύχη καλῶς ποιοῦςα ἐδωρήςατο τῷ ἡμετ[έρῷ]
	καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῷ[ν ἄλλ]ῳν ἐτι ἄνωθεν, λέγω δὴ []
	δὲ καὶ τὴν $γλ_{}$ [± 15]. cụνεχῷc c[]
	τ ν καὶ οὐδένος $[a] \pm 12$] ου στεφανιτ[τῆ θεοφιλες-]
	τάτη εὐεργεcία τῶν ἀνθρώπων [δω]ρηθέντα ὑπὸ []
15	οὕτως νεγικηκότα ἐ[ν] ἀγῶςι υἱόν μου παρόν[τα]
	cήμερον γραφῆc λειτουργῶν διαφέρον οὐκ ἀθλη[τῆς cῆς διαςημοτά-]
	της ήγεμονίας την κείνηςιν οὕτως ὠμῶς κ[]
	[] .θρίαν οὐκ ὀκνήcει μοι κατ' αὐτῶν. ἠπείχθη[ν]
	.[].νδ.[][][τηλι-]
20	κούτου μο ππ[.]ρ[]
	τω_cv[]τω[]

6 περιγιγνομένης 8 γυμνικοῦ : υ corr. ex α? 17 κίνη ιν

¹¹ Tentatively read as : 1]. 2]v 3]v 4]... 5]. 6] α 7 π] α λαιους 8]. ουρ α 9]cap. 10]... 11]... 12]... α ρου 13]. ω 14]υμων 15]. λ ο 16]λ α .

¹² Hendriks (1980) ; Hendriks (1984) ; Harrauer (2010) 19.

¹³ See below 3, n.

¹⁴ See Harrauer (2010), Abb. 184 (AD 339); 188 (AD 343); 192 (AD 356); and, more cursive, Abb. 191 (AD 348).

(...) (Latin notation ?). To Flavius Olympius the most eminent praeses, from Aurelius Sar-(father's name, city, function ?) of the amphodon of Apollonios which is currently providing liturgists. With such great (...) I undertook (...) [5] while I was away from home, because it is the law and the custom, the law (...) victory there. Since of the elsewhere resulting (...) and to order with the other victors (...) having paid for the training of the gymnastic games and from (...) I made expenses on training and practice (...) [10] which the good fortune, acting well, presented to our (...) in the same way as the others already for a long time, I mean (...) and the (...) continually (...) and nobody (...) victor(s) (...) with the most godloved well-doing towards the people granted by (...) [15] thus my son, having won in games, being present (...) of today's list of liturgists not pertaining to athletes/practice (...) of your most eminent praeses-ship the movement thus cruelly and (...) he shall not hesitate for me against them. So I was forced to (...) [20] of such a great (...).

1 [].[]. *q*..[. Probably traces of Latin, since a *q* may perhaps be recognized. Perhaps a short remark in Latin was added afterwards at the *officium* of the *praeses*, possibly some (abbreviated ?) archival notation. At the start of this line, there must have stood a large letter of which the extended lower part, curving to the right, is still visible in the margin before 3. Note that the vertical traces at the right end of the papyrus form the upper parts of the two *iotas* of 'O_λυμπίωι in line 2 underneath.

2 [Φλ]αουίωι vacat Όλυμπίωι [. Of αου only traces of the upper part of the characters remain. In view of τῆc cῆc διαcημοτά]|της ἡγεμονίαc (17), the addressee may be identified as Flavius Olympius, who is attested as praeses Augustamnicae in four other papyri. He is the addressee of a petition published by Emmett (1984), now known as SB XVI 12814 (Herakleopolites, ca. AD 343) with the heading Φλαουίω 'Ολυμπίωι τώ διαcημοτάτω ήγ[εμόνι. The present text is accordingly supplemented with τῷ διαcημοτάτῷ ἡγεμόνι, which was probably preceded by another blank space. Flavius Olympius is further mentioned as praeses of the Augustamnica in SB VI 9622 (= P.Sakaon 48 ; Theadelphia; 6 April, AD 343), the only attestation also figuring in *PLRE* I, s.v. «Olympius 15»; P.Oxy. XLVIII 3389 (14 March, AD 343); P.Oxy. LXII 4345 (AD 343). A list of praesides Augustamnicae is provided by Palme (1998), where on page 134 can be found that the predecessor of Flavius Olympius, and first praeses Augustamnicae, was Flavius Iulius Ausonius with last dated attestation of 1 July 342 (P.Oxy. LIV 3775); the first successor known was Flavius Areianus Alypius, in office on 5 July 351 (CPR V 12). These dates provide the termini post and ante quem for the present text.

3 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Cap[. After the sender's name, his father's name is expected, followed by the sender's origin (possibly Herakleopolis, see below, 3–4, n.) and probably a liturgical function preceding τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦν]|τοc ἀμφόδου (see below, ibidem). It cannot be excluded that Aurelius Saris identical with Aurelius Sarmates, systates of Herakleopolis, the sender of the petition PSI XII 1232, 2-5 (Herakleopolis, IV AD): παρά Αύρηλίου ζαρμάτου Παμού/νιος ευετάτου τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦντος ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. One should, however, keep in mind that both readings of the name Sarmates are uncertain. This identification, if correct, would also mean that the date of PSI XII 1232 could be narrowed to around AD 343. The function of systates, one of whose duties was the nomination to liturgies, might well fit the context of both τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦν]τοc and of cήμερον γραφής λειτουργών in line 16 of this text. On the systates, see Van Minnen in P.Lugd. Bat. XXV, p. 275-276; on liturgies, see Lewis (1992); see also below 16, n. If at all accepted, the supplement of 3-4, παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Cap[μάτου Παμούνιος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως ευςτάτου τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦν] τος ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίου, would give a total line length for the whole text of about 72 letters and the missing right part of the papyrus will have contained about 33 letters per line. That $\tau \hat{\eta} c$ αὐτῆς πόλεως of PSI XII 1232 is not found in the present text may be explained by the fact that in this case the addressee is in a different city, so the sender's city would already be included in his own description (ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως) and did not need to be repeated here.

3–4 τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦν]|τοc ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίου. An ἄμφοδον Ἀπολλωνίου is attested for the cities of Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchus and Herakleopolis, all situated in the Augustamnica at the time of Flavius Olympius (attestations in the *Database of Placenames, s.v. « amphodon Apolloniou »*, January 2011). In Arsinoe, however, there are actually two *amphoda* of the same name, always distinguished from each other by adding either Παρεμβολῆc or Ἱερακείου after Ἀπολλωνίου ; see Reiter (2002) 129. This is not the case here. For Oxyrhynchus there is only one exceptional attestation, P.Oxy. XIV 1695, 14 (AD 360) ; see Del Fabbro (1982) 15–17. This would result in Herakleopolis as the city in question for this *amphodon*. For the Herakleopolite *amphodon Apolloniou*, see Calderini / Daris, *Diz. geogr.* I.2, p. 153–154, *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνίου 4, with Suppl. 1, p. 47 and Suppl. 4, p. 17 (and *Database of Placenames*). Before ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίου, the only possible supplement which ends in -τοc seems to be τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦν]τοc : « of the *amphodon* of Apollonios which is currently providing liturgists » (*DDbDP*, January 2011). The expression τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦντοc is found in two papyri, from the third (?) and fourth century respectively ; in both cases it is followed by ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλω-νίου, and both texts originate from Herakleopolis : BGU III 958c, 11–13 and PSI XII 1232, 3–5 (cited above, 3, n.).

4 ἐνεχείρηςα. From the verb ἐγχειρέω « to take in hand », « undertake », « attempt », originally with *dativus rei*, but later and in papyrological documentation normally with *accusativus rei*; cf. LSJ *s.v.* If the word was written with iotacistic *eta* instead of *iota*, the form may also have come from ἐγχειρίζω « put into one's hands ». The latter might seem attractive because this verb is often connected to liturgies; but see Lewis (1997) 59 : « In the context of liturgy this verb is found only in the passive ("the office assigned to me" *aut sim.*). » So there is no special connection between the verb used here and liturgies. Ἐγχειρέω, according to Lewis, does not appear in the language of liturgy at all. Instead of ἐνεχείρηςα, also the middle form ἐνεχειρηςάμ[ην, the plural ἐνεχειρήςαμ[εν or any other form with -cα may have stood here.

5 νόμου γὰρ ὄντος καὶ ἔθους. For laws pertaining to athletes' privileges, including exemption of liturgies, see Amelotti (1955). On ἔθος « custom », see Schmitz (1970), esp. 73ff. : « Tò ἔθος als Grundlage von Liturgie und Zwangsarbeit ».

5–6 νόμου μὲy[(...)]| ἐνταῦθα νίκης. Perhaps μὲy του[can be read. Some laws on athletes mention, for obtaining certain privileges, the condition that a victory was to be won at important games in a certain place; none of them, as far as known, seem applicable in the (unclear) case of the present text; see Amelotti (1955) 352–355. Ἐνταῦθα, if meaning « there », is taken up by the following ἀλλοặαπῆς, « belonging to another land » (LSJ s.v.), « from elsewhere »; if ἐνταῦθα means « here », it is contradicted by it.

6 ἀλλοῷαπῆc περιγινομ[ένηc (l. περιγιγνομένηc). The verb περιγίγνομαι is in the papyri mostly used in the meaning of « to remain », « to be left over », « to be a result or consequence ». With respect to the preceding ἐνταῦθα νίκηc, one might perhaps supplement the same word νίκηc after τῆc ἀλλοῷαπῆc περιγινομ[ένηc : literally « of the from elsewhere resulting victory », pointing to a victory won at games held abroad.

7 cυντάττεcθαί τε. The infinitive should depend on a main verb in the lacuna of the preceding line. Because of τε, a corresponding infinitive is also to be expected there.

μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στεφανιτῶν. A person (the petitioner himself, or possibly his son ?) « is ordered » (cυντάττεcθαι) (to do something) « together with the other victors ». From the word ἄλλων one may infer that this person was a στεφανίτης himself. Instead of μετά, με τά would also be possible, with με complementing ἀναλώ] cαντα.

cτεφανιτῶν (and 13, cτεφανιτ[). « Victors ». The history of the meaning of cτεφανίτηc was recently studied by Sofie Remijsen (2011). I thank Sofie Remijsen for putting the proofs at my disposal before the article was printed. She states that cτεφανίτηc, originally only used as an adjective denoting a special kind of games, was, until the middle of the first century BC, never used for people. When cτεφανίτηc then came to be used (as an archaism with no special technical meaning) for members of

the international associations of athletes and performing artists, it was only within this context and always preceded by the word iερονίκηc. In the fourth century AD, cτεφανίτηc started to be used as an independent word for « victor ». Remijsen, for this phenomenon, could only cite agonistic metaphors of Christian authors; the present text now provides the first attestation of this independent use of cτεφανίτηc for « victor » in a papyrus document.

8 ἄcκηcιν. See below 9, n.

γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνοc. « Athletes' games », as opposed to those of dionysiac artists, musicians, and games with horses and chariots. The same expression is attested in SPP XX 69, 6 (= Pap. Agon. 7; Hermopolis, AD 268) : γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνοc ; P.Coll.Youtie II 69, 7–8 (= Pap. Agon. 9; Oxyrhynchus, AD 272) ; this is part of a long description of the Capitoline games.

ἐκ δὲ τ[. Perhaps supplement ἐκ δὲ τ[οῦ ἰδίου or ἐκ δὲ τ[ῶν ἰδίων, « and from my own (means) ».

9 εἰc ἄcκηcu καὶ ἄθληcu. The two words may here both be used for the physical training and practice of athletes. Ἄcκηcu is found in the papyri for all kinds of practice, among which also « athletic practice »; see PSI XIV 1422, 29 (III AD). The participle ἀcκήcαc appears in P.Oxy. XXVII 2477, 6 (III/IV AD). Ἄθληcu is found in two papyri, the first one referring to the practicing of music; see P.Lond. VII 2017 (241/242 BC) and the second to « athletics »; see SPP V 119 verso iii, 13 (Hermopolis, AD 267; translated thus in Sel. Pap. II 217): ἀ[νδρ]ῶν εὐδοκίμων κατὰ τὴν ἄθληc[νι] γενομένων. With the meaning « athletics », « athletic profession », ἄθληcu is often attested in inscriptions; see *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* (January 2011), *s.v.*

 $\delta \epsilon$ [. Read perhaps $\delta \epsilon \tau$ [$o \hat{\nu}$ or $\delta \epsilon \tau$] $\hat{\omega} v$ as the beginning of an article, followed by person(s) who received the training. At the end of the lacuna perhaps supplement $c \tau \epsilon \phi \alpha v o v$?

10 ἡ τύχη. With the same meaning of « the good fortune » also found in *e.g.* P.Ammon I 3, iii 16 (Alexandria, AD 348); SB III 6222, 36 (private letter of athlete, Alexandria, late III AD); SB XIV 11717, 30 (Hermopolis, mid-IV AD).

καλώς ποιοῦςα. See P.Oxy. LIV 3758, 51 (AD 325) for the same expression, but used for a person, in a further incomplete line from proceedings before the *logistes*.

τῷ ἡμετ[έρφ. Perhaps supplement νίῷ (see 15)?

11 τῷ[ν ἄλλ]ῳν. Also possible τῷ[ν αὐτ]ῷν. Possibly referring to the cτεφαν ται (7) and/or to κατ' αὐτῶν (18).

12 γλ [. Or τλ [.

13–14 τ $\hat{\eta}$ θεοφιλες]|τάτη εὐεργεcí α . Used for emperors; supplemented from PSI XIV 1422, 32 (III AD), a petition of an athlete to the emperors.

14 [δω]ρηθέντα. Verb often used for royal grants (of privileges or games) of an emperor to his people; see Frisch (1986) 133. Supplementing [εύ]ρηθέντα would be another, less probable, possibility.

15 οὕτως νεγικηκότα $\dot{\epsilon}[v]$ ἀγῶςι υἱόν μου. Since an article is lacking before υἱόν, the word νεγικηκότα should be connected with υἱόν.

16 cήμερον γραφής λειτουργών. «Today's list of liturgists ». Providing a yearly list of people nominated for liturgies formed part of the task of a *systates*. For the possibility that the sender of this petition was a *systates*, see above 3, n. In Herakleopolis, where this petition was probably written, as in Oxyrhynchus on which we are better informed, the liturgies were filled by different quarters of the city in annual rotation (see 3–4, n.). The *systates* of the quarter due to serve, himself also a liturgist, had the duty to write the γραφή λειτουργών. A table of γραφαί λειτουργών can be found in Lewis (1997) 114, with only one attestation from the fourth century AD (P.Cairo Preis. 20; Hermopolis, AD 356/357). For the fourth century it is not clear to whom these lists should be directed; some nominations are addressed to the nome *logistes*; see Lewis (1997) 86. The addressee would not normally have been the *praeses*, to whom the present petition including the reference to « today's list of liturgists » was sent. Still, a *praeses* sometimes appears to be involved with these nominations : see P.Oxy. LXII 4345 (AD 343), an incomplete text about the nomination of an $\dot{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\eta\tau\eta\dot{\tau}$ where, remarkably, « the appointment seems to have been in some manner pre-arranged with the *praeses Augustamnicae* Flavius Olympius » (P.Oxy. LXII 4345, introd.).

οὐκ ἀθλη[. Supplement ἀθλή[cει or ἀθλη[ταîc.

17 κείνηcιν (l. κίν-). « Movement », « setting ... in motion », « punitive action » ?

 $\dot{\omega}\mu\dot{\omega}c$. Not previously attested in papyrological documents. If this is not a writing error for $\ddot{\omega}\mu\omega c$ (a mistake not really expected in this otherwise well spelled text), it must be the adverb of $\dot{\omega}\mu\dot{o}c$, « raw, crude », probably used in a metaphorical way : « cruelly ».

18 [...] θρίαν. Perhaps νωθρίαν « sluggishness, indolence », or ἐχθρίαν « hatred, enmity » (the only substantives with -θρια- found in the *DDbDP*, January 2011). Probably not the adjective ὀλέθριαν, since this has no feminine form (at least in papyrus documents ; a feminine form is used in literature, see LSJ *s.v.*).

οὐκ ὀκνήcει. It is also possible to read ὀκνῆcαι, but if the infinitive were part of a request « not to hesitate », one would rather expect μή instead of οὐκ.

ήπείχθη[v. For a possible supplement, see *e.g.* the petitions P.Merton II 91, 16 (directed to the *praeses* Aegypti Herculiae; Karanis, AD 315) : ήπείχθην οὖν τὴν καταφυγὴν ποιήcacθαι πρός τοὺς coὺς τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυρίου πόδας δεόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν; or P.Oxy. XLIII 3116, 17–19 (= Pap.Agon. 10, petition of a victor in the games; AD 275/276) : ἠπίχθην (l. ἠπείχθην) τὴν τῶνδε τῶν βιβλει[δί]ων (l. βιβλιδίων) ἐπίδοςιν ποιή[cacθ]αι ἀξιῶν (...).

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