

TRIBAL CYCLES IN OXYRHYNCHUS

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An unpublished papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, a contract for a substitution in a liturgy, allows us to establish the number of tribes there and their pattern of rotation in filling the office of ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς in the early third century A.D. A discussion of this type of contract is found in the introduction to *PLeit.* 13 (N. Lewis, *Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.*, n.s. 53, part 9, 1963), to which this document is very similar. The new information is the mention in line 8 of a sixth tribe, previously unattested for Oxyrhynchus. A six-year cycle of rotation would date this contract to A.D. 217/18, which is the second year (see line 21) of Macrinus. An unpublished Michigan papyrus (Inv. 259), the first to mention the third cycle, offers confirmation of the six-year pattern.¹

The most recent discussion of the *amphodogrammateus* and of designations of his office by tribe and cycle is by P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'État Civil et le contrôle de la Population à Oxyrhynchus* (Mémoires, Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique, 53, fasc. 2 [1958] pages x-xi and 7-16), with full references to earlier literature. He is able to conclude that the office of the *amphodogrammateus* existed only in the first half of the third century and was liturgic, that it almost certainly had a term of one year, and that the tribes rotated annually in the responsibility of filling it, each complete cycle of tribes being a περίοδος. He argues for three tribes, each coming up three times in a nine-year *periodos*. E. P. Wegener ("Notes on the φυλαί of the metropoleis," *Actes du V^e Congrès int. de Pap.*, 1938, 513-18; refuted by

¹ I am grateful to Professor J. Shelton for showing me the Michigan papyrus, and to Professor H. C. Youtie for permission to mention it here. I am also indebted to Professor Eric Turner and Dr. John Rea for assistance in transcribing and restoring the papyrus edited here.

Mertens, p. 45, note 234) had suggested five tribes in a five-year cycle. Our complete available data now stand as follows:

Year	φυλή	περίοδος	Papyrus
206/7	1	—	POxy. 2131
208/9	3	—	POxy. 1267
212/13	1	2	POxy. 1030
214/15	3	2	POxy. 1552
217/18	6	2	Oxy. Inv. 20/3B 31/G(1-2)=this pap. Second yr. of unspecified emperor.
222/23	5	3	Mich. Inv. 259

The absence of the name and number of the first cycle is not significant. The date in *POxy.* 2131 is that of the covering letter to a copy of a petition; the petition itself contains the designation. The year 206/7 for the *amphodogrammateus* is therefore reasonable but not certain. If we continue to assume an annual rotation (on Thoth 1) of the tribes in their numerical order, and now assume that there were six tribes, each serving once in each cycle, we can easily construct a chart from the evidence that assigns a date to every position in the rotation (unattested dates are shown in parentheses):

φυλή	περίοδος 1	π. 2	π. 3
1	206/7	212/13	(218/19)
2	(207/8)	(213/14)	(219/20)
3	208/9	214/15	(220/21)
4	(209/10)	(215/16)	(221/22)
5	(210/11)	(216/17)	222/23
6	(211/12)	217/18	

POxy. 2131 also refers to a drawing of lots which established the order in which the amphoda were responsible for filling the liturgies. Since the *amphodogrammateus* is designated by tribe and period, we may have an indication here of how the rotational system of *phylai* was established, although we cannot regard *ἄμφοδον* and *φυλή* as normally interchangeable. Our information does not, however, give us any indication of the organization of the previous (or subsequent) years. Since we now have two designations of the *amphodogrammateus* by tribe after 214, we can no longer consider valid Merten's tentative hypothesis that the *phylé* dropped out as an effective division after the consequences of the Antonine Constitution became evident in Oxyrhynchus.

SUBSTITUTION IN A LITURGY

Oxy. Inv. 20/3B 31/G(1-2)

8.4 × 23.3 cm.

'Ομολογοῦσι ἀλλήλοις 'Αυρήλιοι
 'Απολλῶς Δωρᾶτος τοῦ 'Απολλω-
 νίου μ[η]τρὸς 'Απολλωνίας καὶ
 5 Θέων ὁ καὶ 'Ιουλιανὸς Διονυσίου
 μητρὸς Σινθώνιος, ἀμφότερ[οι
 ἀπ'] 'Οξυρύνχων πόλεως, ὁ μὲν
 'Απολλῶς εἰσοδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 τ[ῆ]ς σ⁻φυλῆς β⁻ περιόδου
 10 ἀμφοδογραμματέως εἰς ἐπι-
 στολαφορίαν συνηλλαχέν[αι
 τ[ῶ] Θέων[ι] τῶ καὶ 'Ιουλιανῶ
 τ[ῆ]ν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χώραν
 ἀναπληρῶσαι ἔν τε δια-
 πομπῇ μηνιαίων καὶ ἐπι-
 15 στολῶν καὶ ἄλλων διαφερόν[των
 τῇ αὐτῇ λειτουργίᾳ πρὸς τ[ὸ
 ἀπερενόχλητον εἶναι τὸν
 'Απολλώνιον· συνηλλαχέν[αι
 20 δὲ τῶ αὐτῶ τὴν δηλουμέν[ην
 λει[το]υργίαν ἀπὸ α⁻ Μεχείρ
 τοῦ [ἐ]γξιστώτος β (ἔτους) ἐπὶ τὸ πέ-
 ρας τῆς λειτουργίας χρόνον
 λαμβάνων παρὰ τ[ο]ῦ 'Απολλων[ί]-
 25 ου κατὰ μῆνα ἑκ[α]στον ὑπὲρ
 ὀψωνίου δραχμὰς τριάκοντα
 δύο ἐπὶ τῶ ταύτας λαμβάνειν
 τῇ μὲν . . . ἐκάστου μηνὸς
 δραχμὰς [δεκα]ἕξ καὶ τῇ .
 30 ὁμ[οί]ως τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς δεκα-
 ἕξ καὶ μὴ [ἐ]ξεῖναι μηδενὶ παρα-
 βαίνειν τι τῶν προκειμένων
 ἢ ὁ παραβ[αίνων] ἐκτίσει ὑπὲρ
 ἐπιτίμου [δραχμὰς
 35 Κύριον τ[ὸ] συνάλλαγμα δισσὸν
 γ[ρ]αφέν πρ[ὸ]ς τὸ ἑκάστον μέρος
 [ἔχειν μοναχόν

TRANSLATION: This is an agreement between Aurelius Apollos, the son of Doras, the grandson of Apollonius, his mother being Apollonia, and Aurelius Theon, also known as Julian, the son of Dionysius, his mother being Sinthonis, both from Oxyrhynchus; (6) that Apollos, who was nominated by the district-scribe of the sixth tribe in the second cycle to the office of letter-carrier, transfers his post to Theon, also known as Julian, to fill instead of himself, in carrying monthly reports, letters, and whatever else pertains to the said liturgy, to the end that Apollos be untroubled; (18) and that he contracts with the same for the described liturgy from the first of Mecheir of the present second year until the term of (the) time (?) of the liturgy, receiving from Apollos every month thirty-two drachmas for his salary, on the condition that he take them as [sixteen] drachmas on the . . . of each month [and on the . . .] similarly [the remaining] six[teen drachmas]; (30) and that it is not [permissible for anyone to] violate anything [of what is stated above] or the one who violates it [will pay as] a penalty [. . . drachmas. The contract is] valid, being written [in duplicate so that each party has one copy.

2. The oblique cases of Ἀπολλῶς are declined as if the name were Ἀπολλώνιος.

9-10. ἐπιστολαφορία. This word is not found in *LSJ*, but the meaning is clear. Wilcken's conjecture (*Grundz.*, 373-74) that the ἐπιστολαφόροι were carriers of official correspondence seems to be confirmed by the μνηαίων of line 14. Their essentially official tasks would not exclude occasional transport of private mail, as in *PFlor.* 371. This is the first mention of the office as a liturgy. Like the other five known liturgists whom the *amphodogrammateus* nominated, the *epistolaphoros* was probably a local official (see Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 172, and Mertens, p. 96). Hence the editors' suggestion at *PRyl.* 78.24 that there was a definite organization of the *epistolaphoroi* within the nome is probably correct.

15. The space at the end of the line may be insufficient for [των; perhaps [⟨των⟩ or an abbreviation should be read.

18. The subject of συνηλαχέναι here is unclear. I take it to be Theon; τῷ αὐτῷ then refers to Apollos (the subject of the previous clause, and—in line 18—the closest possible antecedent). The expression is clumsy, but I consider this the better interpretation, because: (1) although the use of συναλλάσσω in the active to refer to the party assuming the liturgy is much less common, that meaning is certain in *PFlor.* 39 (= *W. Chrest.* 405) 5; so too *LSJ* s.v. 11.2; (2) λαμβάνων in line 23 must refer to Theon; (3) a change of subject is suggested by μὲν . . . δὲ; (4) a statement of the other party's agreement is certainly expected (cf. *PLeit.* 13 and other parallels); (5) the

repetition thus seems less cumbersome. A construction with Apollos as the subject, however, can be defended, and perhaps rightly, on the grounds that *λαμβάνων* can be regarded as a nominative erroneously put for *λαμβάνοντι*, that Theon's agreement could easily have been confined to a short statement at the bottom, that lines 18–20 would then resume and parallel the construction of lines 10–12, and that the run of the Greek is on the whole less clumsy if the subject is unchanged.

22. *χρόνον* accounts well for all the traces, but note that of the *chi* only the lower-left and the end of the upper-right diagonal remain, the *rho* is mostly complete but the following ligature goes directly down from the close of the loop and then up diagonally to form a high, small *omicron*, and the *nu* has an unusually high second vertical, with an almost horizontal cross-bar, not characteristic of this hand. If the reading is correct, then it is probably a mistake for the genitive, though in that case we would expect the article too. (Prof. Shelton has suggested that the accusative is correct, but that the following statement of the actual duration of the contract, e.g. *ἐνιαύσιον*, has dropped out.)

27–30. The *ταύτας* of line 26 and the legible remains of line 27 indicate that the terms of payment, probably semi-monthly, followed. The restoration follows a suggestion of Prof. Shelton. The blanks would have contained the exact dates; the traces in line 27 call for a word, not a numerical notation.

30 ff. Cf. *POxy.* 1278.30 and *BGU* 1062 (= *W. Chrest.* 276) 29.