Declarations of anachoresis have long been known from the metropolis of Oxyrhynchos, all dating to the Julio-Claudian period. These notifications, sworn by the imperial oath, were submitted by relatives and other concerned parties to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis, in order to prevent tax officials from harrassing them for tax debts owed by another. The declarations whose lower portions are preserved state emphatically that the man who has removed abroad (ἀναχειρομένους εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα) left behind no taxable property (πόρος), the item of greatest interest to the Roman fisc. These lower portions also carry the request that the name of man be entered in the list of those who have abscended (διὸ ἥκιν ἀναχειρόμενος τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεφαλαίοις). Despite the address to the topogrammateis and komogrammateis in all Oxyrhynchos examples, it appears that at least some of the declars also retained copies of what they submitted (1, 2, 4, and 6):

1. P.Oxy. II 253 (A.D. 19, archive of Tryphon the weaver): a man declares about his two brothers. The top of the declaration is missing, with 24 lines of text preserved; 13 × 19.3 cm.
2. P.Oxy. II 252 (= W.Chres. 215, A.D. 19/20, archive of Tryphon the weaver): a man declares about his brother. The bottom of the declaration is missing, with 18 lines of text preserved; 9.7 × 16.5 cm.
3. P.Mich. X 580 (A.D. 19/20): a mother declares about her son. The bottom of the declaration is missing, with 11 lines of text preserved; 11.5 × 11.8 cm.
4. P.Oxy. II 2514 (A.D. 44, archive of Tryphon the weaver): a mother declares about her son. The entire text of 41 lines is preserved; 9.5 × 32.5 cm.
5. P.Oxy. XXXIII 2669 (A.D. 41/54): two brothers declare about a tenant, registered for the census as living in a house belonging to them. The bottom of the declaration is missing, with 20 lines of text preserved; 9.2 × 17.6 cm.
6. P.Gen. II 94 (A.D. 63/64; a copy of the original notification, line 1): a mother declares about her son. The entire text of 35 lines is preserved; 6.5 × 25 cm.

Lists of those who have removed abroad (οἱ ἀναχειρομένοι), however, are known primarily from the archive of Nemesion, son of Zoilos, praktor argyrokton at Philadelphia in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome, during the reigns of Julio-Claudian emperors. These lists, together with other documents from Nemesion’s archive, have played an important role in fleshing out the problems faced by a collector of money taxes in a farming village during a period of overly-high floodings of the Nile. A papyrus from

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1 See discussion with earlier bibliography in S. Strassi Zaccaria, L’editio di M. Sempronius Liberalis, Trieste 1988.
2 Small variations occur: instead of ἀναχειρόμενους, ἀναγράψασθαι; instead of τούτων, τίτους; and instead of ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεφαλαίοις, ἐν τῇ ἀνακεφαλαίῳ τὰξι.
3 For ameliorations to the text, see BL X 137; prosopographical discussion by P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 92 (1992) 218.
4 For ameliorations to the text, see BL VIII 234.
Nemesion’s archive, SB IV 7463 (= P.Graux 3), was labeled by its editor “une déclaration écrite sous serment”. That text, dated to 16 December 51, was submitted to agents from Ammonios, strategos of the Arsinoeite nome, by Phaseis (?), son of Peuterapnŏsis, a keeper of sheep and goats, who declared, after swearing the imperial oath, that he did not have with him (ἐὰν μὴν ἔχῃς τὸν σὲν ἔμοι) Esouris, son of Nekpherōs, a shepherd. Apparently Esouris had formerly been in the declarer’s employ. Unlike the declarations of anachoreisis from Oxyrhynchos, nothing is said about Esouris’ removal abroad, nor does a form of the verb ἄναχορέω appear. Further, there is no mention that Esouris may, or may not, have left behind property for possible confiscation. Nonetheless, the information provided by this sworn declaration from the Herakleides division resembles what is said in those from Oxyrhynchos: a declarer swears in the name of the emperor that he or she does not know the whereabouts of a tax payer sought for arrears of the capitation taxes owed to Rome.

Since its first publication SB IV 7463 has been an isolated text, but I believe that P.Mich. inv. 786, although tattered and badly worn, significantly increases the likelihood that SB IV 7463 represents the form employed for declarations of anachoreisis in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoeite nome during the reign of Claudius, when tax collectors were finding themselves unable to meet their quotas. P.Mich. inv. 786 not only preserves the same format as SB IV 7463, but also the remnants of a very similar text. That is, both documents are narrow (the width of inv. 786 is 13.5 cm. and that of 7463, 11.5 cm.), are identical in height (28.5 centimeters), and the entire bottom half of both papyrus sheets has been left blank. Perhaps the height had been specified, so that the declarations could easily be glued with others from neighboring villages into a tomos synkollesimos. Whether the agents from the strategos to whom the declarations were addressed retained a copy is unclear, but the praktor Nemesion was keeping these two copies in his files.

The text of the declarations is also nearly identical, with both making clear that a villager, registered for tax purposes at Philadelphia, is no longer resident where collectors expect to find him. The two declarations provide information analogous to what appears in the declarations from Oxyrhynchus, and although different formulae and wording are employed in the two nomes, the purpose of all the declarations is the same. It is particularly unfortunate that lines 8–12 in the Michigan text are so lacunose, for they seem to turn to the question of property that might be seized to settle the back taxes.

The imperial titulature shows that P.Mich. inv. 786 must be dated to the reign of Claudius, although I have been unable to read the regnal year (l. 16). At the same time, the death of the declarant, Gaion, son of Asklepiaides, in Kaisareioi of Claudius’ tenth regnal year (late July/August 50), supplies a terminus ante quem for the declaration. The strategos named in line 4 as the one who dispatched agents is apparently Αρ[ί]ο[ν]; he seems not attested otherwise, and the titles affixed to his name (ἱερέας τῶν γε]ρωμοστασισφηκότων καὶ [σ[τρ[ετηγο]) represent a new combination, although they are similar to ones known for other strategoi in the Julio-Claudian period. (See below, note to line 4).

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8 H. Henne, Papyrus Graux No 3 8, BIFAO 27 (1927) 1–4.
7 The name of “Phaseis” appears twice in SB IV 7463. 1–2. In his text of l. 1–2 Henne (supra note 6) printed Φίλους, δείκτις] and Φίλους, δείκτις, although he was aware that no name with these letters appeared in Preisigke’s NB. To the best of my knowledge, none has appeared in the papyri published since. In his commentary to these lines Henne noted that perhaps Φίλους δείκτις ought to be read instead. After inspecting a photograph of the papyrus, I believe Henne’s second thoughts are correct, for the dotted sigma is as likely as a dotted delta, and in this hand alpha is often a very broad letter. At the same time, Phaseis, son of Petearpensis, has not appeared in the tax rolls of Philadelphia, despite the fact that both Phasis (and “Phaseis”) and Petearpensis are names well attested in the village, with 24 men named “Phasis” and 12 named “Petarpenisis”. Perhaps the idia of Phaseis, son of Petarpenisis, was elsewhere.
5 Two men named “Esouris, son of Nekpheres” appear in the Philadelphia tax rolls, although they have different mothers (Ταύγηκτις and Τειναύς); no profession is listed for either, although Esouris, son of Nekpheres and Taetitio (P.Harris 1 164 iii. 88), seems more likely to be the delinquent tax payer of SB IV 7463, as the son of Nekpheres and Teinaus is reported as having died about 46/47.
9 See, in particular, the bibliography cited above, footnote 5.
10 For example, a dossier of such declarations would add considerable supporting evidence to the petition Nemesion and five other proktures argyron of villages in the Herakleides sent to the prefect Tt. Claudius Balbulus, outlining the difficulties they faced in their collections (SB IV 7462 = P.Graux 2).
12 His death is reported in P.Sijp. 26. 73.
Sworn Declarations of Removal from Herkleides Division, Arsinoite Nome

P.Mich. inv. 786
SB IV 7463 was written by a single, quite skillful hand, apparently that of the nomographos Sarapion who wrote for the illiterate declarer Phasis. P.Mich. inv. 786 was also written by a single hand ([ _)eus, line 14, see note ad loc.), but his hand is fast and regular, often failing to articulate individual letters. Thanks to an elegant scan of the Michigan papyrus, produced for me by Traianos Gagos and Paul Heilpornt at the University of Michigan, it has been possible to make the transcript that follows15.

P.Mich. inv. 786
Philadelphia
13.5 × 28.5 cm
Reign of Claudius,
but before late July/August 50

(m. 1) → Γαῖος ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη[ ]
   (vac.)

(m. 2) Γαῖον Ἀσκληπιάδου [τῶν ἁ]πὸ Φιλα-
   δελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου με[ρίδος]
4 τοῖς παρά Ἀπ[ιο]νοις ἱερέως τῶν γε]γυμνασιαρχη-
   κῶτων καὶ σ[τραπεζίας Ἀρ[σινοίτων]. Ὀνυφω Τ[ι]βέριον
   Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστ[ῶν] Γερμανικὸν
   Αὐτοκράτορα εἰ μὴ [μὴ ἔχειν τὸν υἱὸν μου

   δημάριον
   τούτης κατὰ ο[υ]Ο[υ] ] τὴν ἐπο-
   τεβείασσαν [ ] . . . . . . . . [ ] τῇ

   εὖ εὖ, ἐφ[ιορκίστην δὲ τῇ ἐν][ίαν]τια.

"Εσαρξ[εν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν + 4] τοῖς [διὰ] τὸ φάσι-
   κεῖν [αὐτόν μὴ ἐπίστατο]σα γρ[άμματα].

16 (Ἐτούς). [Τιβέριου Κλαύδιου Καίσαρος]
   [Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκ[ρά]ορος μην]
   Σεβασ[τ[ῶν day ]

(1st hand) “Gaion, about 58 (?) years old, ...”
(2nd hand) “Gaion, son of Asklepiades, of those from Philadelphia of the Herakleides division, to agents from Ἀρ[ιο]ν, priest, ex-gymnasiarch, and strages. I swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that I do not have my son Mithradates, ... Demarion ... of Heracles ... the mortgaged (property) ... to his wife. To me swearing truly may it be well, but to me, if I perjure, the opposite. ...[ ]eus wrote for him when he said he did not know letters. Year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, in the month Septas [Day]”.

1. Γαῖον ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη: at least two traces of strokes appear above the line further to the right, no doubt marking abbreviations in the words employed for Gaion’s physical characteristics, recorded after his age. Cf. SB IV 7463. 1: ὡς (ἐτῶν) μ, οὐ(λή) πῆχ(ε) ἀρσι(τέρω).

2–3. Γαῖον Ἀσκληπιάδου [τῶν ἁ]πὸ Φιλα[
   δελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδ[ου με]ρίδος; in SB IV 7463
the phrase τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλα[
   δελφείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος is applied in lines 8–9 only to the shepherd
Esouris, son of Nekheros, perhaps because Philadelphia was not the idia of the declarer Ph[ais]eis, son of
Petearpness.

In P.Mich. inv. 786 Gaion swears the declaration concerning his son, and the family’s idia is certainly Philadelphia, for both Gaion and his son Mithradates appear elsewhere in the tax registers (for the death of Gaion, son of Asklepiades, see P.Stip. 26. 73; his son Mithradates appears as a taxpayer at Philadelphia in several registers between the years A.D. 33–35).

4. τοῖς παρὰ Ἀπ[ιο]νοις ἱερέως τῶν γε]γυμνασιαρχη-
κῶτων καὶ σ[τραπεζίας Ἀρ[σινοίτων]: cf.
SB IV 7463. 3–4, τοῖς παρὰ Ἀμενίου στρατηγοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου.

15 I am also grateful to David Driscoll, Beinecke Library, Yale University, for producing elegant prints of the scan.
I have found no certain attestations of this Ἀρ[ι]ον as στρατηγός in the Arsinoite nome, but his status as ex-gymnasiarch seems to mark him as an Alexandrian.

Predecessors of Ἀρ[ι]ον in the strategia of the Arsinoite nome display similar elaborate titles, as well as Roman citizenship: Γαύς Ἰωλύκος Ἅσκλας, Γαύς Καίσαρος Ἔβαστοι Χερμενικοῦ Ἀρχιερεύς, ἔξηγηθε καὶ στρατηγός, attested in office under Caligula, from at least 39 to May/June 40, and operative in Heracleides and Themistos merides; Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Φιλόξενος, στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστάτης φολικτῶν, in office on 4 April 42 and operative in Themistos meris. Like C. Iulius Asklas, Apion’s priesthood may have been in the imperial cult; this seems more likely than that he was “priest of the ex-gymnasiarchs”.

Many gaps occur in the strategia of the Arsinoite nome during the years 41–50, the first ten regnal years of Claudius, and it seems not possible to place Ἀρ[ι]ον more precisely at this point. Known strategoi in the Arsinoite nome during these years are: Dionysodoros, strategos in Herakleides meris on 18 April 45, although he bears no title in the business letter (SB IV 7461 = P.Graux 1) he wrote to C. Iulius Iolas, strategos of the neighboring Herakleopolite nome, in behalf of Nemesion and the latter’s efforts to collect capitation taxes from villagers of Philadelphia currently dwelling in the Herakleopolite nome. Ammonios was strategos of Herakleides and Pylon merides in 50/51 and at least until 16 December 51, the date of SB IV 7463. In addition to Ti. Claudius Philoxenos, operative in Themistos meris on 4 April 42 (previous paragraph), Ti. Claudius Chrysermus was strategos prior to 47/48 and active in Pylon meris; Apollonios, known from late 47 through early 48, was also active in Pylon meris. See G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt, Florence 1987; I am grateful to J. Whitehorne for additional advice in this matter.

5–7. [Ὅνυνοι Τιβέριοι Κλαύδιοι Καίσαρα Σέβαστοι τῶν] Γερμανικῶν Αὐτοκράτορα (leg. -κράτορα): the oath formula is identical to that in SB IV 7463. 4–6.

7–8. Εἰ μὴν μὴ ἔχειν τὸν νῦν μου ᾗ Μηδραδηθην: both εἰ (after Αὐτοκράτορα) at left in line 7, and the μου at right margin are certain. At this point SB IV 7463. 6–8 reads εἰ μὴν μὴ ἔχειν σῶν ἐμοί Ἑσοδίν Νεφερφράτου ποιμένα τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλαδέλφειας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος. The fact that Mithradas is Gaion’s son may account for the apparent omission of σῶν ἐμοί.

The theta in Mithradas’ name is written in the same manner as the theta in ὑποτεθείσσα[ν] of l. 11.

8–12. The papyri is too fragmentary in these lines to sort out how the words readable at left and right margins figure in the declaration: e.g. “Demarion”, “of Herakles”, “the mortgaged property”, and to “his wife”, perhaps “Demarion”. “ὑποτεθείσσα” most often refers to “land”, and may do so here as well, although any feminine noun referring to property, such as οἰκία or ἑσπερίς, seems also possible. The fact that “mortgaged property” is mentioned in the sworn declaration suggests that the agents from the strategos Ἀρ[ι]ον were attempting to sequester it for the unpaid taxes.

12–13. Εἰ μὴν ἐὰν μὲν ὁμοι ἐὰν, ἐφιτροπίζωσι δὲ τῇ ἐνάντιος: the sanction, well known from Ptolemaic times onward, appears in the same form in SB IV 7463. 10–11.

14–15. “Εὑροῦσαν ἐπὶ στόμοι τῶν ζευκτὸν ἀντίκειαν τῇ ἐπιστάσαι ἐν γράμματα: the certain reading of στόμοι at the right margin of l. 14 and -κεῖν at left in l. 15 make clear that this version of the illiteracy statement was employed. Cf. SB IV 7463. 12–13: ἔγραψαν ἐπὶ στόμοι Σεβαστίων νομοθέτων φασμένον μὴ γράφοντος. Apparently only the name of the man who wrote Gaion’s declaration for him appears here (καὶ ἐπὶ ζευκτός), since there seems not space for a patronymic, or other identifier, such as [γραμμα]τείς.

16–18. (Ἑτοὺς). [Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρος] | [Σὲβαστὸς Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκρατορος μην] | Σὲβαστο[ο]υ date] all that remains of the year sign (’) is a portion of the vertical stroke; minimal traces of the regnal year are visible, but these are not sufficient for a secure reading.

14. Strategoi of the Julio-Claudian period often bear Roman names, or have clear Alexandrian connections: see J. Whitehorne, The Strategi of Roman Egypt (to 1985), ANRW 10.1, 598–617, especially p. 606.