

ANNA DOLGANOV — FRITZ MITTHOF
HANNAH M. COTTON — AVNER ECKER*

Forgery and Fiscal Fraud in Iudaea and Arabia
on the Eve of the Bar Kokhba Revolt:
Memorandum and Minutes of a Trial before
a Roman Official (P.Cotton)

Plates 12–16

The Greek papyrus presented here is a memorandum for a judicial hearing before a Roman official in the province of Iudaea or Arabia in the reign of Hadrian, after the emperor's visit to the region in 129/130 CE and before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 132.¹ The document also contains an informal record of the hearing in question. The trial concerns the prosecution of a number of individuals, including a certain Gadalias and Saulos, who are accused of forging documents relating to the sale and manumission of slaves in order to circumvent the imperial *fiscus*. The identity of the prosecutors remains unknown, but they seem likely to have been functionaries of the Roman imperial administration. The text also mentions an informer who denounced the

* This article is the product of fruitful teamwork. Hannah Cotton identified the papyrus as a Greek document wrongly labelled as Nabataean. Recognizing its unique nature and significance, Cotton asked Fritz Mitthof to participate in its edition in 2014. Anna Dolganov and Avner Ecker joined the editorial team in 2018. Mitthof and Dolganov examined the original in Jerusalem in 2017 and in 2019, respectively. In collaboration with Dolganov, the conservators of the Dead Sea Scrolls Laboratory executed important restoration work on the papyrus, revealing text that was previously invisible. In 2019 the editorial team met for a workshop at the University of Vienna. Mitthof contributed a large part of the transcription (esp. 17–72) in its initial phase (2014–2018). Significant progress was made after 2018 when Dolganov joined the team (esp. 28–53 and 73–133). Many thanks are due to a number of scholars for their contributions at an earlier stage: Angelos Chaniotis, Werner Eck, Rudolf Haensch, Dieter Hagedorn[†], Klaus Maresch, Amphiloehios Papathomas and Uri Yiftach. Further thanks to the technical staff of the Dead Sea Scrolls Laboratory for their help in restoring the papyrus and producing high-resolution digital images. Finally, thanks are due to Dennis Kehoe and the anonymous reviewers of *Tyche* for their feedback on the final manuscript. In honor of Hannah Cotton's discovery, we suggest that this papyrus be cited as P.Cotton. All dates in this article are CE unless otherwise noted.

¹ On the date of the revolt's outbreak (probably in the late summer or fall of 132) and its conclusion by late 135 or early 136 see Eck 1999a; Eck and Foerster 1999; Eshel 2003, 101–105; *id.* 2006, 111; Eck 2007, 132–133; Eck, Holder and Pangerl 2010, 198; Horbury 2014, 283–287; Weikert 2016, 318; Eshel and Zissu 2020, 108–111. See also the new coin finds discussed in Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky 2018. See further section III 1.

defendants to the Roman authorities. This document offers a unique glimpse of local civic institutions and the workings of Roman provincial administration and jurisdiction in the Near East. It also sheds light on the elusive question of slave trade and ownership among Jews. At the same time, the papyrus provides insight into a cultural and intellectual environment in which Roman law, Greek rhetoric, and Jewish life meet. We present an *editio princeps* with a translation and commentary, while acknowledging that the study of this document is far from exhausted.

Table of Contents

- I. Find Context and Rediscovery
- II. Type of Document
- III. The Story: Facts and Hypotheses
 - 1. The date of the text (129–132 CE)
 - 2. The actors involved
 - 3. The location of the actors and events
 - 4. The crimes — forgery and fiscal evasion
 - 5. The scheme of fiscal evasion — fictive sale and fraudulent manumission of slaves
 - 6. The issue of complicity
 - 7. Additional crimes and rhetorical strategy
 - 8. Slave ownership by Jews
 - 9. Judge and location of the hearing
 - 10. The identity of the authors
- IV. The Presence of Roman Juridical Terminology
- V. New Evidence for *Xenokritai* and the Assize System in Iudaea
- VI. Physical Description, Paleography and Layout
- VII. Text
- VIII. Translation
- IX. Commentary
- Appendix: Register of Greek Terms Corresponding to Latin Legal Terms
- Abbreviations — Bibliography
- Word Indices

I. Find Context and Rediscovery

P.Cotton is a Greek papyrus kept in the Dead Sea Scrolls Unit of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), located in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. It has until recently remained unidentified. In 1995, Cotton, Cockle, and Millar described it as one of “a group of (six) Nabataean papyri said to come from Naḥal Se’elim, but likely in fact to come from Naḥal Hever, and which may well belong to the Babatha Archive”. In Emanuel Tov’s

2009 list of papyri from the Judaeian desert, the papyrus appeared as *XHev/Se Nab. 6* (*olim* ‘Wadi Habra’) inv. no. 860.²

In 2014, Hannah Cotton was asked to examine the state of publication of the papyrus stored in the IAA Dead Sea Scrolls Conservation Laboratory. She discovered that no. 6 of *XHev/Se Nab.* was not written in Nabataean (as described in the catalogue) nor connected with any known dossiers of documents from the Judaeian desert, such as the archives of Babatha and Salome Komaïse or the Bar Kokhba letters.³ The first five of this group of documents (*XHev/Se Nab.*) were indeed written in Nabataean.⁴ However, the sixth, presented and discussed here, is a Greek papyrus more than 133 lines long, which makes it the longest Greek document ever to be found in the Judaeian desert. It may already have been discovered in the 1950s in one of the caves of Naḥal Ḥever before the excavations of 1960–1961 brought to light the aforementioned papyrological dossiers (among other artefacts), but no further information could be traced regarding its exact provenance.

II. Type of Document

Since the beginning of P.Cotton has been lost, its genre must be established from the surviving text, which begins *in medias res*. The text consists of two parts, distinct in both paleography and textual layout (see further section VI):

Part I: Memorandum for a trial (1–72)

The extant portion of the first part of P.Cotton is subdivided into eleven sections marked by a hanging indent into the left margin, each of which constitutes a self-contained textual unit. Three of the sections contain responses to anticipated points made by unnamed opponents (e.g. εἰς λέγεται, 31; εἰς ... τις λέγει, 60 = “if it be said”, “if someone should say”), which are formulated as instructions for an individual in the singular (e.g. διδάξεις ὅτι, 32; ἐρεῖς ὅτι, 40; ὅτι δὲ ... παραστήσεις, 45–46 = “you will argue that”, “you will say that”, “you will establish that”, etc.). At one point, the instructions even resemble the stage-management of a theatrical production: εἰς λέγομεν δόξομεν δοκεῖν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς τὴν δυναστεῖαν = “if we report on this, we will give the impression that we believe we are helpless against his great power” (27). The formulaic phrases at the beginning of each response (εἰς λέγεται or εἰς τις λέγει) combined with the second-person future (ἐρεῖς, διδάξεις, παραστήσεις) provide an important clue to the genre of the text. These verbal forms are rare in papyri, with ἐρεῖς and διδάξεις otherwise occurring only in private letters. However, the plural ἐροῦμεν and the alternative forms λέγεις and λέξεις appear in a number of documents from Roman Egypt that may be invoked as suggestive parallels for P.Cotton:

² Tov 2009, 106.

³ On these dossiers, see Czajkowski 2017 with references to earlier literature.

⁴ For the publications of *XHev/Se Nab.* 1 and 2 see Tov 2009, 105–106. The less well preserved *XHev/Se Nab.* 3, 4, and 5 remain unpublished.

i. Draft speech and memorandum for a trial (P.Oxy. III 472, Oxyrhynchus, 130/131): This document contains a preparatory text for pleading a court case about a property dispute that is known from another papyrus, a petition preserved in P.Oxy. III 486 (Oxyrhynchus, 131). The text comprised at least three columns, the third more narrow than the rest, evidently seeking to maximize the remaining space on the papyrus. The surviving text contains the conclusion of a draft speech (col. II 1–14) followed by several sections beginning with *ἐὰν λέγωσι*(v) that outline counterarguments against anticipated points made by unnamed opponents. Since the adversary was a single individual, the plural *λέγωσι*(v) implicitly refers to arguments expected from his advocates in court. The plural *φάμεν* (31) suggests that, as in P.Cotton, at least two legal practitioners were involved in pleading the case. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* is inscribed and the *verso* left blank.

ii. Draft speech and memorandum for a trial (P.Fouad 25, Arsinoite, ca. 144): This fragmentary document contains a preparatory text for a court case concerning an inheritance dispute among members of an Alexandrian family with landholdings in the Arsinoite nome, known from other papyri.⁵ The papyrus is inscribed on both sides, with the text subdivided into sections marked by a hanging indent into the left margin. The text on the *recto* comprised at least three columns and appears to have laid out the facts and circumstances of the case. This text was corrected by a second hand that rejects certain points and suggests alternative formulations. The *verso* contains a highly rhetorical draft speech that incorporates the information recounted on the *recto* (see e.g. *τρέφουσιν ... καὶ ἰματίζουσιν*, *recto* col. II 24–25; *[ἔτρε]φε καὶ ἰμάτιζε ἡμᾶς*, *verso* col. II 9). The phrase *ἐροῦμεν ὅτι* (*verso* col. II 5) indicates that the draft speech was followed by planned responses to arguments by the opposition. These responses, which are subdivided into indented sections, mirror the format of P.Cotton.

iii. Appointment of a representative and instructions (P.Oxy. XIV 1642, Oxyrhynchus, 289): This document contains a dated authorization (*ἀποσυστατικόν*) by a certain Aurelius Demetrianos to Aurelius Didymos to act as his representative in court before the governor (1–11), followed by detailed instructions regarding what he is supposed to say during the hearing. The format bears a close resemblance to the first part of P.Cotton: *ἐὰν δὲ λέγη ... λέξεις οὕτως | ὅτι* = “if he should say ... you will say that” etc. The text begins on the *recto* and continues on the *verso*.

iv. Draft speech and memorandum for a trial (SB XII 10989 = P.Princ. III 119, unknown provenance, ca. 325): This is one of a number of fourth-century documents commonly known as the “*narratio*” papyri, containing notes and preparatory texts of orations for forensic pleaders (see the following entries). Col. II and III contain the text

⁵ For the dossier of the descendants of Zeuxis (Trismegistos Arch ID 659), see P.Fouad inv. 126 (126), P.Fouad 22 (125), 23 (145), 24 (145), 25 (after 144), 41 (134), 51 (126), 55 (127–128) and 64 (148) with the brief discussion of Elmaghrabi 2020. P.Fouad 25 has not, until now, been identified as a lawyer’s memorandum for a court hearing. The entire dossier awaits a detailed study.

of a forensic speech, whereas col. I is a short and abbreviated memorandum of the arguments being put forward. The oration itself is prefaced by a majuscule N struck through with a vertical stroke resembling the letter I,⁶ followed by the phrase λέγεις ὑπ(έρ) = “you speak on behalf of” and the names of the litigants and their adversary (col. II 1–3). The NI() or IN() *siglum* followed by some variation of λέγεις ὑπ(έρ) marks the beginning of draft orations in all “*narratio*” papyri. In col. II, personal names are superscribed for visibility, another characteristic feature of this group of documents. The second-person singular λέγεις (“you will say”) may indicate that the author of the text was distinct from the orator delivering the speech; alternatively, it could be that the author was writing his own speech and making notes to himself, as appears to be the case in P.Panop. 31 and SB XIV 11717 (see below). In col. III and IV, the text outlines responses to anticipated statements by the adversary and others at the hearing. The first argument (43–47) is prefaced by the phrase ἐὰν λέγη ... ἐροῦμεν ὅτι, etc. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* is inscribed and the *verso* left blank.

v. Draft speech for a trial (M.Chr. 300 = P.Lips. I 41, Hermopolis, early 4th cent.): There is only one surviving column of text containing a draft speech prefaced by the *siglum* NI() or IN() and ὑπέρ etc. Traces of writing on the broken left side of the papyrus suggest that there was additional space for a memorandum or notes of the sort attested in other “*narratio*” documents. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* is inscribed and the *verso* left blank (later to be reused for a grain account, P.Lips. I 101, Hermopolis, ca. 300–325).

vi. Draft speech and memorandum for a trial (P.Panop. 31 = SB XII 11224, Panopolis, ca. 329): The righthand column contains a draft speech prefaced by the *siglum* NI() or IN() and λέγεις ὑπέρ followed by the name of the client. Personal names are superscribed throughout the text. The lefthand column contains an abbreviated summary of the main points of the speech (see below SB XIV 11717) and was evidently added later. Here and in other “*narratio*” documents, it seems that a space was deliberately left blank for notes, see also P.Col. VII 174 and P.Sakaon 35 below. The writing style of the draft speech looks similar to that of the memorandum. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* is inscribed and the *verso* left blank.

⁶ The significance of the struck-through N *siglum* has been debated: previous scholarship has argued that it stands for the Latin *narratio*, the court argument of a plaintiff (see Collinet 1913, followed by Hanson 1971, Youtie, Hagedorn and Youtie 1973, Lewis and Schiller 1974 and Crook 1995, 113–118) or, alternatively, for νομικός with reference to a legal expert (*iurisperitus*) drawing up instructions for an advocate (Hanson 1971; Youtie, Hagedorn and Youtie 1973; Sijpesteijn and Worp 1978; Bagnall 1979). The composition of draft speeches, however, does not accord with what is known about the activity of *iurisperiti*, nor do all papyri with this *siglum* contain the arguments of plaintiffs as would justify the term *narratio*. It has subsequently been suggested by Lewis 1983 that the *siglum* represents not one but two letters, either the Greek NI() (e.g. for νίκη, victory) or the Latin IN(), although what the latter would stand for remains unclear. This question is investigated by Anna Dolganov in a separate article.

vii. Draft speech for a trial (P.Sakaon 35 = P.Thead. 16, Arsinoite, ca. 336): There is only one surviving column of text on the righthand side of the papyrus containing a draft speech prefaced by the *siglum* NI() or IN() and λέγεις ὑπέρ etc. A further large space on the left indicates that there was room for a memorandum or notes of the sort attested in other “*narratio*” documents. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* of the surviving fragment is inscribed and the *verso* left blank.

viii. Draft speech and memorandum for a trial (P.Col. VII 174 = C.Pap. Hengstl 42, Arsinoite, ca. 325 or ca. 341): The righthand column contains a draft speech prefaced by the *siglum* NI() or IN() and the words λέγομεν ὑπέρ etc. The lefthand column, added later, contains abbreviated notes on the case, including the names of the litigants and additional points to be made. A docket on the *verso* reveals that the speech was to be delivered by a forensic orator (ῥήτωρ) named Horion on behalf of his client Sambathion from the Arsinoite village of Karanis: [ὑ(πὲρ) Σαμ]βαθίωνος | [ἄ]πὸ κόμης | [Κ]ερανίδος | Ὀρείων ῥ(ήτωρ). The text of the docket arguably implies that Horion was the author of the speech on the *recto*. The writing style of the draft speech seems distinct from that of the memorandum, which (as in P.Cotton, P.Fouad 25 and P.Oxy. III 472) suggests the work of a second legal practitioner. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* is inscribed and the *verso* left blank.

ix. Draft speech and memorandum for a trial (SB XIV 11717, Hermopolis, mid-4th cent.): The righthand column contains a draft speech prefaced by the *siglum* NI() or IN() and λέγεις ὑπέρ etc. The lefthand column, added later, contains a concise summary of the main points of the speech (see above P.Panop. 31 and P.Col. VII 174). Key words and names of individuals are superscribed for visibility. The writing style of the draft speech looks similar to that of the memorandum. Like P.Cotton, only the *recto* is inscribed and the *verso* left blank.

These parallels provide a context for the textual genre of the first part of P.Cotton (1–72) being that of a preparatory text composed by forensic pleaders in anticipation of judicial proceedings. In view of the first-person plural δόξομεν δοκεῖν (27) and the rhetorical language employed throughout the text, P.Cotton clearly does not reflect the appointment of a legal proxy of the sort we encounter in P.Oxy. XIV 1642. Instead, like P.Oxy. III 472, P.Fouad 25, and the so-called “*narratio*” papyri, P.Cotton illustrates legal practitioners fashioning arguments and counterarguments against imaginary opponents, who are implicitly legal practitioners as well (see e.g. εἰάν ὑπὲρ Διοκλέους καὶ Χαϊρέου τις λέγῃ = “if someone says on behalf of Diocles and Chaereas”, 60). As shown by P.Oxy. III 472, P.Fouad 25, and now by P.Cotton, all dating to the first half of the 2nd century, the genre of memoranda and notes for forensic pleading existed much earlier than the 4th century “*narratio*” documents, and was by no means limited to the province of Egypt.

It is evident from the text of P.Cotton that the perspective is that of the prosecution and not the defense. The presence of two distinct writing styles (1–72 and 73–133) and the use of the second-person singular (διδάξεις ὅτι, 32; ἐρεῖς ὅτι, 40 and 61; παραστήσεις, 46) alongside the first-person plural (ἀληθεύομεν, 21; λέγομεν, 27) points to

the involvement of at least two legal practitioners.⁷ That forensic pleading in Roman courts was typically a collaborative effort is well-documented by rhetorical handbooks, literary testimonia, and surviving transcripts of court proceedings.⁸ Rhetorical and documentary sources show that teams of advocates tended to have a leading orator who dominated the pleading, with others playing a subsidiary role presenting evidence, adducing legal points, or citing judicial precedents.⁹ A division of labor likewise appears to be illustrated by P.Cotton, where one legal practitioner devises arguments for the other to deliver during the forensic debate (*altercatio*). These roles may reflect distinct skills, such as one advocate's aptitude for rhetorical invention vs. another's talent for verbal wrangling (in which according to Quintilian even less able orators could excel, *Inst.* 6,4,5) or legal vs. rhetorical expertise, in line with the distinction between *iurisperiti* and *oratores* in Roman sources. Quintilian speaks of orators receiving written instructions from legal experts (*Inst.* 12,3,2) and detailed briefs of cases from minor *advocati* who were less adept at pleading (*Inst.* 12,8,5–6). It is possible that the memorandum in P.Cotton reflects one of these scenarios.

Alternatively, the authoritative tone of the memorandum could indicate a senior orator instructing a junior assistant. According to Quintilian, it was common for prominent orators to deliver the oration and leave the debate to their less skilled subordinates (*Inst.* 6,4,6). Which of the legal practitioners in P.Cotton gave the prosecution speech is unclear, since the initial columns have been lost. It is entirely possible that the author of the memorandum drafted and delivered the *oratio* and let his assistant lead the *altercatio* in line with his instructions.

The practice of writing down anticipated points is likewise discussed by Quintilian (*Inst.* 12,9,16–21), who warns orators against excessive reliance on preparatory texts, lest they be hindered from thinking on their feet. In view of the spontaneity of courtroom debate, Quintilian urges that the best strategy is to think through possible arguments without committing these to writing (*Inst.* 12,9,20). At the same time, Quintilian acknowledges the convenience of writing down what one proposed to

⁷ The participation of multiple individuals is evident in P.Fouad 25, where a second hand corrects the memorandum, and is also likely in P.Oxy. III 472, which employs the first person plural, but this is less clear in some of the fourth-century examples, where draft speeches refer to the ῥήτωρ in the singular (λέγεις ὑπέρ) and the notes drafted alongside display similar handwriting. It is possible that these were notes to self by an orator preparing for the courtroom.

⁸ The involvement of multiple advocates is the rule in documentary transcripts of judicial proceedings, see Crook 1995, 73–99 and 127–130. This is confirmed by Quint. *Inst.* 12,3 and Pliny the Younger's descriptions of high profile trials in which he pleaded together with colleagues in *Ep.* 2,11–12, 3,9 and 6,33, to cite only a few examples. See also Dig. 26,10,3,15 (Ulpianus 35 *ad ed.*): *datis pupillo advocatis*; Dig. 28,4,3 (Marcellus 29 *Dig.*) *et advocatis fisci dixit*, etc.

⁹ Among the assistants of forensic pleaders, Quintilian mentions prompters (*librarii*, Quint. *Inst.* 11,3,131), junior orators (*minores advocati*), legal experts (*iurisperiti*) and clerks (*pragmatici*) supporting the orator in the courtroom (12,3), see Bablitz 2007, 122–123. For a documentary illustration of forensic practitioners playing distinct roles, see the teams of advocates in action in SB XIV 12139, col. II–IV (2nd–3rd cent.).

respond if one could be sure of the adversary's argument, as was occasionally the case (*Inst.* 12,9,19: *quae nostrae partis sunt scripta esse possunt, quae etiam responsurum adversarium certum est (est enim aliquando certum) pari cura refelluntur*). Even if the author of the memorandum in P.Cotton was fully in control of his argumentation, written notes could still have been useful to jog his memory and/or to ensure that his assistant followed his planned rhetorical strategy.

Part II: Minutes of judicial proceedings (73–133)

The second part of P.Cotton consists of rapidly drafted and heavily abbreviated notes documenting statements made in court. This part of the text is marked by the abbreviation YII() in line 73, most probably indicating a Roman technical term for the minutes of judicial proceedings (ὑπόμνημα or ὑπομνηματισμός).¹⁰ These notes were ostensibly jotted down during the hearing for which the initial memorandum (1–72) was composed. The temporal distance between the two parts of the text may have been several days, or possibly several weeks or months. The notes appear to end in the lower portion of col. IV and do not seem to record a judicial verdict. Consequently, it is impossible to tell whether a conclusive verdict was given, or whether the hearing was adjourned or delegated to another judicial instance.

III. The Story: Facts and Hypotheses

The background and circumstances of the trial with which P.Cotton is concerned, the identity of the judge, the exact nature of the crimes, and the location of the hearing, cannot be established with certainty based on the surviving text. Due to the loss of the initial columns, there remains a frustrating lack of clarity on a number of essential questions. Did the proceedings take place in Iudaea or Arabia? In which locations did each of the main characters (Gadalias, Saulos, and Chaereas) reside? Does the phrase ἐν Γαδέροις (71 and possibly 115) refer to Gadora in the Peraea or Gadara in the Decapolis? Were Gadalias and Saulos members of the same *boule*? And, if so, of which city? Were any of these individuals Roman citizens? In this section, we will lay out the established facts and suggest a number of hypothetical scenarios. In an *editio princeps*, we make a deliberate effort to discuss a variety of possible interpretations, assessing their plausibility and considering their implications, with the aim of facilitating future work on this papyrus.

1. The date of the text (129–132 CE):

A number of indications in P.Cotton establish an approximate time window for its composition. A *terminus post quem* is provided by a reference to Hadrian's visit to Arabia and Iudaea in 129/130 as part of his tour of the eastern provinces in 128–132 (25). The mention of a governor named Rufus (22) suggests that the text was composed

¹⁰ See the relevant entry in the Appendix and the commentary *ad loc.* On the documentary genre of court proceedings in the Roman empire, see Coles 1966, Haensch 1998 and Palme 2014.

during the Judaeen governorship of Tineius Rufus (ca. 129–132)¹¹ or shortly thereafter. A reference to Hadrian as a living emperor (τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος, 25) establishes his death on July 10, 138 as a *terminus ante quem*. This accords with the presence of the provincial appellation Iudaea (48), which was changed to Syria Palaestina in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba war.¹² That P.Cotton was composed before the outbreak of the rebellion is suggested by its provenance being the Judaeen desert (see section I), which served as a hiding place for refugees of the war and participants in the revolt. One would imagine that P.Cotton was carried by a person or persons of Jewish ethnicity, who had either joined the uprising or fled from the violence to a rebel-controlled region, bringing with them their personal papers and depositing these in one of the desert caves for safekeeping. This is the typical context of papyrus finds in the Judaeen desert, including the well-known dossiers of Babatha and Salome Komaïse. All of this speaks for P.Cotton being composed at some point between 129/130 and the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 132.¹³

One may also pose the question whether P.Cotton could have been drafted during the earliest phase of the revolt. The precise date of the outbreak is unknown: important testimonia include the second book of the Chronicle of Eusebius (preserved in a Latin translation by Jerome), which places the beginning of the revolt in 131/132, and the official era of the revolt attested in coins and legal documents, which most probably

¹¹ On Rufus, see PIR² T 227 with Smallwood 2001, 550; W. Eck, DNP 12/1 (2002) 603 s. v. Q. T. Rufus [3]. The identification of Rufus is reasonably certain, since the assizes in question most probably took place in Iudaea (on the connection between Gadalia and Iudaea, see section III 3 and the commentary to ἐν Γαδάλιᾳ, 71) and the *fasti* of Judaeen governors are nearly complete for this period: Lusius Quietus: 116/117; Cossonius Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanus Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus, *cos.* 116 and legate of Iudaea in the first years of Hadrian; M. Paccius Silvanus Q. Corelius Gallus Gargilius Antiquus, *cos. suff.* 119, successor of Cossonius Gallus; Ti. Iulius Alexander Capito. *cos. suff.* 122, governor ca. 125–128/129; Q. Tineius Rufus, *cos. suff.* 127, governor ca. 129–132; Sex. Iulius Severus, 133–136; P. Calpurnius Atilianus, *cos. ord.* 135, governor 139. We thank Werner Eck for supplying updated information on the *fasti* of Iudaea.

¹² On the change to Syria Palaestina, see Eck 1999a, 88–89. The earliest attestation appears to be the undated dedication to the governor Iulius Severus in AE 1904, 9 (ca. 136–137). The earliest securely dated testimonium is the military diploma CIL XVI 87 from 139. After this point, the province is always called Syria Palaestina, the name Iudaea being used as a historical or specifically geographic appellation (e.g. Cass. Dio 37,16, see Isaac 2020). Note however the mention of C. Erucius Clarus (IK 13 = I.Eph. III 665) as governor of Iudaea under Marcus Aurelius shortly after 170.

¹³ On the date of the revolt, see the literature cited in n. 1, in particular the overview of sources and scholarship by Horbury 2014, 283–294.

began in September of 132.¹⁴ Precisely what this era signifies, however, is unclear and the timeline of the hostilities remains uncertain.¹⁵

The latest document from the Babatha archive, found in the Cave of Letters in Naḥal Hever, is P.Yadin 27, which dates to August 19, 132. It is a private transaction of money between Babatha and her son's guardian, which took place in Maoza in the province of Arabia. At this point, Babatha had (obviously) not yet fled to the Judaeen desert and daily life was ostensibly not yet disturbed by the war. The fragmentary P.Yadin 35 is a summons to court that may date to August or even September of 132, which would indicate that courts were still functioning in Arabia at that date. It is therefore conceivable that Jews were involved in legal proceedings in a Roman court in Arabia in August or September of 132, as the revolt was already in its initial stages in southwestern Iudaea. In view of the absence of more concrete evidence for the date of the outbreak, however, this scenario remains speculative.

Less compatible with this scenario is the apparent absence in P.Cotton of any mention of the uprising. Since the catalogue of Gadalias' past misdeeds (20–27) included rebellious behavior (ἀπόστασις), one would arguably expect the authors of P.Cotton to amplify their argument with references to an ongoing revolt. Since this is not mentioned, it seems likely that P.Cotton was composed before the hostilities in Iudaea became a matter of general awareness and concern for Roman administrators.

2. The actors involved:

The text of P.Cotton refers to twelve named individuals: the main defendants Gadalias and Saulos, their accomplices Chaereas and Diocles, three slaves named Abaskantos, Onesimos and Niko- (name partly lost), a Roman centurion named Lectus, a Roman official named Postumus (see section III 9), a Roman governor named Rufus (presumably Tineius Rufus as governor of Iudaea, see section III 1), and two men named Flaccus and Primus who speak during the proceedings in lines 73–133 but whose role is uncertain. Six of these persons are direct participants in the trial documented by P.Cotton: Gadalias, Saulos, Chaereas, Diocles, Flaccus and Primus. Only for Gadalias and Saulos does the surviving text offer any detailed information. Their names clearly indicate that both were Jews. It is possible but not certain that Chaereas and Diocles (common Greek names, which are also attested among Hellenized Jews)¹⁶ were Jews as well.

The father of Saulos is mentioned in line 54 and appears to be peripherally involved in the events. The father of Gadalias is identified as the head of a local notariate

¹⁴ See Jer. *Chron.* Olymp. 227,4 (year 16 of Hadrian) and the detailed argumentation of Eshel 2003 for dating the Bar Kokhba era to Tishri (September) of 132. See the remarks of Horbury 2014, 285. This would mean that the earliest document to mention the era — P.Yadin II 42 from the archive of Eliezer son of Shmuel detailing a three-year lease of property in Ein Gedi, which dates to Iyar (around May) of year 1 — would date to May of 133, toward the end of year 1.

¹⁵ Possibilities include an official acclamation of Bar Kokhba as a Jewish leader, or a significant event that in retrospect was identified with the outbreak of the revolt.

¹⁶ See, respectively, LJNLA I 311 and III 395; III 245.

(*chreophylax*, 20, see the commentary) and mentioned with reference to past occurrences (31, 34). That the two fathers are not named arguably implies that neither was due to take part in the trial of P.Cotton, and one of them seems to have died before the proceedings (see the commentary to ἐτελεύτησεν, 123). Additionally, a group of individuals are referred to as “the Gerasenes” (17, 36), discussed further below.

Gadalias was the son of a notary and archival official (*chreophylax*, 20) and therefore presumably belonged to the officeholding class of his community. He had been summoned to serve as a judge (*xenokrites*) at the assizes of Rufus in Iudaea but had on multiple occasions failed to attend (see section V and the commentary to lines 21–23). Although due to be fined, Gadalias succeeded in having the fines lifted by demonstrating that he was indigent (ἄπορος, 23) and (implicitly) did not fulfil the property qualification for service as a *xenokrites* (22–23).¹⁷ The authors of P.Cotton generally depict Gadalias as a corrupt man with a long criminal past that includes seditious activity and previous convictions, arrests and banishments (24–27). Gadalias is also accused of practicing extortion during the imperial visit of Hadrian to Iudaea, with a Roman centurion named Lectus among his alleged victims (25–26). In chronological terms, it seems impossible that all of these allegations pertain to the short period of the governorship of Tineius Rufus (ca. 129–132) or have a direct connection to the visit of Hadrian in 129/130. Instead, some of them probably refer to the years prior to 129.

In the following lines, we learn that Saulos was a friend of Gadalias and an accomplice in his criminal deeds (45–46). At the same time, we are told that one of the two (presumably Gadalias, in view of his judicial duties at the assizes of Rufus, 21–23) was subject to the jurisdiction of the governor of Iudaea, and the other to that of the governor of Arabia, in both cases for producing or handling false or manipulated coins (48–49). Considering that Roman criminal jurisdiction followed a territorial principle, this means that each was detected in criminal activity in the respective province.¹⁸ However, this does not provide definitive information about citizenship and residence: it cannot be excluded, for example, that Saulos and Gadalias resided in the same place but were caught producing or disseminating false coins in difference provinces. This question is discussed further in section III 3. Another open question is whether either Gadalias or Saulos may have been a Roman citizen. Gadalias’ nomination to serve among the *xenokritai* may support this, since *xenokritai* in Roman Egypt are attested as a panel of specifically Roman judges.¹⁹ This offers suggestive but not conclusive evidence for Gadalias possessing Roman citizenship (see further section V).

¹⁷ See the commentary to ἄπορος, 23 and the entry on ἄπορος *egens, inops* in the Appendix.

¹⁸ See e.g. Dig. 48,2,22 (Papinianus 16 *resp.*): *alterius provinciae reus apud eos accusatur et damnatur, apud quos crimen contractum ostenditur. quod etiam in militibus esse observandum optimi principes nostri generaliter rescripserunt* = “a defendant from another province is to be accused and convicted in the province of those in whose territory the crime is shown to have been committed; our most excellent emperors have laid down in their rescripts as a matter of general policy that this must also be observed in the case of soldiers”.

¹⁹ See P.Oxy. XLII 3016 (Oxyrhynchus, 148), discussed in section V; see also the entry on ξενοκρίται in the Appendix.

In addition to his connection to Gadalias, Saulos is also linked with Diocles, whose role in the events is unclear, and Chaereas, who is indebted to Saulos and is persuaded by him to serve as a nominal buyer of slaves that Saulos *de facto* keeps in his own possession (50–53). Saulos subsequently manumits one of the slaves (named Onesimos) in the name of Chaereas as the nominal owner without paying the necessary taxes (54–59). In initiating this scheme of fiscal fraud (ῥαδιουργία, 19, 40; περιγραφή τοῦ φόσκου, 50) Saulos is said to be motivated by an intense hatred (ἔχθρα, 62), the object of which is not specified (see section III 10).

P.Cotton also mentions a group of unnamed persons under suspicion for forgery who seek refuge with an unnamed *boule* (τῇ βουλῇ προσέφυγον, 29) and make payments of 125 *denarii* in order to be spared punishment “in the name of the *boule*” (κουφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεως ὀνόματι τῆς βουλῆς, 30). It is unclear whether this means that the *boule* was expected to intervene in their favor with Roman officials,²⁰ or whether they sought to acquire bouletic status in order to receive a milder punishment (see section III 3 and the commentary to lines 28–30).²¹ These persons could in theory correspond to Gadalias and Saulos, or to the unnamed “Gerasenes” who are said to be involved in manipulating a placename in a legal document (17–19). These “Gerasenes” likely included Chaereas and Diocles — but not Gadalias, who resided in Iudaea (21–23) and was not expected to be seen together with the other two men (62–64, 70–72, see section III 3).

In the second part of the text (73–133), which contains notes of judicial proceedings, a person named Flaccus makes the first recorded statement (73–74) in which he addresses Saulos and mentions Chaereas and Diocles — three of the four named defendants. The proceedings of Roman trials typically began with statements by the prosecution or by the presiding official.²² Flaccus may therefore be plausibly identified as one of the prosecutors, or as the official adjudicating the case (see section III 9).

Another recorded statement belongs to a figure named Primus (101–104) who is questioned about the truth of certain information (ἐξετασθεὶς ἄν ἐστ’ ἀληθῆ, 101) and appears to state that something has been illicitly seized, which increases the total damages due in the case (102–104, see the readings suggested in the commentary). In Roman judicial records, the verb ἐξετάζω occurs specifically with reference to interrogation. If this is the case in our text, it would identify Primus as one of the culprits — possibly another slave belonging to Saulos, whose testimony is extracted under duress. A forced

²⁰ As a parallel: see the evidence for the intercession of Jewish leaders on behalf of Jews in the Roman empire discussed by Mantel 1965, 223–234, 236–237 and 300.

²¹ On the dispensation of milder punishments to members of the curial/bouletic class in the Roman empire, who belonged to the privileged legal category of *honestiores*, see Garnsey 1970, 242–245 and Dmitriev 2005, 327. See e.g. Dig. 48,8,3,5 (Marcianus 14 *inst.*).

²² In Roman judicial procedure, the prosecution spoke before the defence in both civil and criminal trials, see Kaser and Hackl 1996, 231–241 and 485–493; see e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 4,9,9 and SEG XVII 759 (Dmeir, Syria, 216). For proceedings beginning with a statement by the presiding official, see e.g. M.Chr. 80 = P.Flor. I 61 (unknown provenance, 85), reedited in Dolganov 2023b, no. 1.

confession may likewise be inferred for the slave Abaskantos in the following lines (see the commentary to lines 105–106).

3. The location of the actors and events:

The surviving text documents two localities: the town of Gadora (18, 71 [if our reading of ἐν Γαδέρῳις as the dative of Γαδῶρα is correct], possibly 115), which was the administrative center of the Judaean toparchy of the Peraea, and the city of Gerasa in the province of Arabia (115). The localities of Gadora and Gerasa were in close geographical proximity across the border between Iudaea and Arabia, whose respective governors are mentioned in lines 48–49. P.Cotton is concerned with actors in both provinces, including the “Gerasenes” mentioned in lines 17–18 and 36. The identity of this group is uncertain: are the “Gerasenes” persons mentioned by name in the extant portion of the text, or other individuals? Also, do the events involve actors from Gadora in Iudaea, or is Gadora merely a forged placename to cover up fiscal fraud committed in another location (a possible interpretation of ὁ δὲ τόπος Γαδῶρα ἐπεγράφη ὡς | εὔθετος πρὸς τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν, 18–19)?

As for Gadalias, we know that he belonged to a civic community with a notariate and archive (*chreophylakeion*, 20) that seems to have received gubernatorial assizes (21–23) and may have been a destination on Hadrian’s journey through the region, on which occasion Gadalias is said to have engaged in extortion (τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος πολλοὺς | διέσεισεν, 25–26). It is unclear whether the *boule* with which unnamed persons suspected of forgery seek refuge (28–30) belongs to the city of Gadalias. While Gerasa would fulfil all of the above criteria, the story about Gadalias and the assizes of Rufus locates him in Iudaea. It is certainly possible for a regional center such as Gadora to have possessed a *chreophylakeion*, and it cannot be excluded that it had a *boule* as well.²³ Gadora is also a plausible candidate for the governor’s assizes: in size and significance, the town was comparable to the nome capitals of Middle Egypt, which received assizes regularly, although not necessarily every year.²⁴ By contrast, it seems improbable that Gadora would have been a destination on Hadrian’s journey through Iudaea, both in view of its minor importance and considering its geographical position away from the main routes between Gerasa and northern Iudaea, which Hadrian is known to have visited. It may be, however, that our text refers to the impact of Hadrian’s presence in Iudaea in general terms. The enormous financial and logistical burden of imperial visits was not shouldered exclusively by cities on the emperor’s itinerary, but was shared by communities throughout the province, whose elite was expected to supervise the requisitioning and transport of goods for the supply

²³ Recent research suggests that not only the Greek *poleis* in Iudaea but also large towns serving as administrative centers could have *boulai*, see Ecker and Zissu 2020 and the commentary to line 27.

²⁴ On the Roman assize system in Egypt, see Foti Talamanca 1974, 31–78, Haensch 1997b, 208–228 and the commentary to lines 21–22.

and sustenance of the emperor and his entourage.²⁵ The intended meaning of our text may be that Gadalias exploited the imperial visit — a situation in which large sums of money were collected and paid out — as an occasion for extortion or embezzlement. Alternatively, the role of Gadalias as a *xenokrites* may have taken him to assizes beyond his place of residence, where the alleged extortion could have been committed, possibly in connection with his judicial activity.²⁶

Further evidence linking Gadalias with Gadora is provided by a reference to Diocles and Chaereas being incriminated by their presence in the location of Gadalias (62–63). We are later told that Chaereas and Diocles had no reason to be in Gadora (70–72, if our reading of ἐν Γαδέροισι, 71 as the dative of Γαδῶρα is correct). We may infer from this that Gadora was the residence of Gadalias, whereas Chaereas and Diocles resided elsewhere — presumably in the *polis* of Gerasa in Arabia, the only other location mentioned in P.Cotton.

As noted above, it is difficult to determine whether Saulos resided in the same city as Gadalias. On the one hand, Saulos is said to be his friend and accomplice (45–46). On the other hand, Saulos is also linked with Chaereas and Diocles (62, 67, 70–72) who have no connection to Gadalias and are not expected to be seen with him (62–63, 70–72). Furthermore, Saulos is said to be subject to the jurisdiction of the governor of Arabia (48–49), although as noted this does not offer conclusive information about his *origo* and residence. It seems equally plausible for Saulos to have been a citizen of Iudaea with links to Gerasa, or a citizen of Gerasa who resided and did business in Iudaea. The latter would signify that Saulos and his father, Chaereas and Diocles all belonged to the group of “Gerasenes” mentioned in the text (17–19, 36). We will return to this question in section III 5.

Who, then, were the persons caught out for forgery who sought refuge with a *boule* (28–30) and in which city did this take place? In seeking to reconcile these pieces of information, the following possibilities may be advanced:

i. The appeal to the *boule* in lines 28–30 refers to Gadora in Iudaea and the individuals are Gadalias, a citizen of Gadora, and Saulos, a citizen of Gadora or Gerasa with links to Gadalias — but not Chaereas and Diocles, who are Gerasenes but have no connection to Gadora (62–63, 70–72, see above). This requires the assumption that a regional center such as Gadora, which was not a *polis*, could have a *boule*.²⁷ It seems unlikely that the *boule* of a town of minor significance would have been able to effect the remission of punishment for the crime of forgery discovered by a Roman official

²⁵ The supervisory role of civic elites in requisitions for an imperial visit are illustrated in detail in P.Panop.Beatty 1–2 (Panopolis, ca. 297–300), esp. P.Panop.Beatty 1,167–179, 230–240 and 264–271, see Mitthof 2001, I 51–57.

²⁶ See the commentary to τέσσαρσιν ... ἀγοραῖοις Ῥούφου, 21–22. Judicial bribery was a criminal offense punishable under the *lex Cornelia de falsis* (Dig. 48,10,1,2, Marcianus 14 *inst.*) or, in capital cases, under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* (Dig. 48,8,1pr.–1, Marcianus 14 *inst.*).

²⁷ See n. 23.

(ἐλεγχθέντος τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου, 28; οἴονται γὰρ κρυφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεως ὀνόματι τῆς βουλῆς, 30), e.g. by interceding with the governor.²⁸ Instead, this scenario would suggest that the individuals sought to acquire bouletic status in order to receive a milder punishment.²⁹ A modest entry fee of 125 *denarii* (in comparison with 1000 or 2000 *denarii* in the *poleis* of Bithynia and Pontus, see Pliny, *Ep.* 10, 112 and the commentary to εἰσόδιον, 29) seems appropriate for a small hinterland town. A difficulty with this interpretation, however, is that one would expect Gadalias, the son of a *chreophylax* and a registered *xenokrites*, to have already been a member of the local officeholding class.

ii. The manipulated placename of Gadora (18) is a red herring to draw attention away from the real location, which is the city of Gadara in the Decapolis, and the phrase ἐν Γαδῆροις in line 71 actually refers to Gadara. Accordingly, Gadalias was a citizen and member of the bouletic class of Gadara, while Saulos was a citizen of Gadara or a Gerasene with links to Gadara, where both appeal to the *boule* for help. One would certainly expect a major city such as Gadara to have had a *boule* and a *chreophylakeion* and to have received assizes. It is unknown whether Gadara was a destination on Hadrian's tour of the region, which went from Gerasa through Pella, Scythopolis, *Legio/Capar cortna*, and possibly Caesarea, to Jerusalem. There is some evidence that Hadrian may have visited Tiberias and Sepphoris (see the commentary to line 25). If he took this northern route from Scythopolis, Gadara would have been a possible stopping point on the way through the Galilee to Caesarea (Gerasa – Scythopolis – Gadara – Tiberias – Sepphoris – *Legio/Capar cortna* – Caesarea – Jerusalem etc.). It may be noted, however, that a 500 m difference in elevation between Scythopolis and Gadara would not have made this an easy detour for the imperial entourage. The scenario with Gadara is also problematic because it introduces a third location that is not otherwise mentioned in the papyrus. Lines 29–30 refer to an unnamed *boule* because it is obvious to the authors which city is meant. The economy of the document arguably favors a location (either Gadora or Gerasa) that appears elsewhere in the text.

iii. Lines 20–27 about Gadalias function as an excursus, after which the authors resume the main narrative about the Gerasenes and their manipulation of a document (17–19). Accordingly, the *boule* in question is the *boule* of Gerasa and the individuals appealing to it are the Gerasenes: Chaereas and Diocles, and possibly Saulos (since the father of Saulos is not named, his involvement seems unlikely). This scenario eliminates the problem of a non-*polis* possessing a *boule*. It is plausible for the *boule* of an important city like Gerasa to have had influence with the governor and interceded on behalf of its citizens (see the commentary to line 29). The identification of Gerasa would mean that the modest amount of 125 *denarii* contributed by each of the Gerasenes to the *boule* was probably not the capital sum but the income (one of the possible meanings of εἰσόδιον) from a larger amount — e.g. the annual interest on the

²⁸ See n. 20 for parallels and the commentary to τῆ βουλῆ προσέφυγον, 29.

²⁹ See n. 21.

sum of 1,000 *denarii*, which is attested as a bouletic entry fee in the cities of Bithynia and Pontus.³⁰

4. The crimes — forgery and fiscal evasion:

The authors of P.Cotton impute their adversaries with two distinct offenses: i. forgery (τὸ πλαστόν = *falsum*, 28–30), specifically the manipulation of a placename in a document (17–19) and the presentation in court of a forged or manipulated document (πλαστόν γράμμα προφέρειν = *falsum instrumentum proferre*, 32–33), and ii. fraud (ῥάδιουργία = *fraus*, 19, 40, 61), specifically the defrauding of the *fiscus* (περιγραφή τοῦ φίσκου = *circumscriptio fisci*, 50).³¹

In Roman law, the forgery of documents (*falsum*) was a public crime that fell under the provisions of the late Republican *lex Cornelia testamentaria nummaria*, also known as the *lex Cornelia de falsis*.³² This law initially applied to wills and other documents bearing seals (such as witness statements and public records) and eventually came to encompass the forgery, manipulation, removal, or destruction of many different types of documents underpinning legal claims.³³ The *lex Cornelia* also punished the use of such documents: while amnesty could be granted for ignorance or error in good faith,³⁴

³⁰ See Plin. *Ep.* 10, 112 and the commentary to εἰσόδιον, 29 (mentioned above in section III 3). It is admittedly unusual for the payment of an entry fee to be expressed in terms of its annual interest. This is more typical for foundations, and even then the capital sum tends to be mentioned as well, see e.g. CIL VIII 12421 (*civitas Goritana*, Africa Proconsularis, 2nd cent.) documenting a gift of 4,000 HS = 1,000 *denarii* to the city and the allocation of 60 *denarii* from its annual interest (*reditus*) to a birthday dinner in honor of the donor.

³¹ On these Greek terms as renditions of Latin legal terms, see section IV and the entries on περιγραφή, πλαστός, προφέρω and ῥάδιουργία in the Appendix.

³² The core legal sources on *falsum* and the *lex Cornelia de falsis* are: Dig. 48,10; Paulus *sent.* 5,25; Coll. leg. Mos. et Rom. 8; Cod. Theod. 9,19 and Cod. Iust. 9,22–24. On the forgery of documents and its punishment in Roman law, see Mommsen 1899, 667–677; De Sarlo 1937; Archi 1941/1981, 1487–1588; Kocher 1965, 2–44 and 96–128; Schiavo 2007, 117–153. Anna Dolganov extends her thanks to Ulrike Babusiaux for discussing this question.

³³ On the widening scope of the *lex Cornelia*, see Schiavo 2007, 123–126; see e.g. Dig. 48,10,16,1–2 (Paulus 3 *resp.*) for a particularly broad definition in the early third century.

³⁴ See the sources discussed in Schiavo 2007, 126–134. In Dig. 48,10,31 (Callistratus 3 *de cogn.*) a rescript of Marcus Aurelius pardons error (*per errorem huiusmodi*) in presenting documents whose authenticity cannot be proved. In Dig. 48,10,13,1 (Papinianus 5 *resp.*) the recitation of forged documents in court by two *advocati* does not incur the sanctions of the *lex Cornelia* (*quoniam in Corneliā falso recitato, non facto non incidit* = “because by virtue of reciting but not creating the forgery he does not fall under the *lex Cornelia*”) but is punished with expulsion from the *ordo decurionum* for 10 years (for an *advocatus* of curial rank) and temporary exile (for an *advocatus* of non-curial status). Presumably, litigants who knowingly supplied such documents fell under the scope of the law, see Paulus *sent.* 5,25,10: *qui falsis instrumentis actis epistulis rescriptis sciens dolo malo usus fuerit, poena falsi coeretur* = “whoever makes use of forged legal documents or official minutes, letters or rescripts with fraudulent intent incurs the punishment for *falsum*”. The corruption of public records could also be punished as *maiestas*, see e.g. Dig. 48,4,2 (Ulpianus 8 *disp.*): *quive sciens falsum conscripsit vel recitaverit in tabulis publicis: nam et hoc capite primo lege maiestatis enumeratur* = “or he who knowingly wrote or

to make use of a forged or manipulated document with fraudulent intent (*dolo malo*) was treated on par with *falsum*.³⁵ The penalties of the *lex Cornelia* were heavy, ranging from expropriation and exile to condemnation to the mines and capital punishment.³⁶ Even members of the legally privileged class of *honestiores* are attested receiving harsh punishments for *falsum*.³⁷

The Roman legal concept of *fraus* (Berger 1953 s.v. “any act or transaction accomplished with the intention to defraud another or to deprive him of a legitimate advantage”) was akin to *dolus malus* in signifying actions with the intent to deceive, cheat, and cause harm.³⁸ In Roman legal literature, the two most frequent contexts for *fraus* are the circumvention of a law by acting against its intent (*fraus legi facta*)³⁹ and the defrauding of creditors by hiding or selling off one’s assets (*fraudare creditores*).⁴⁰ On the model of the latter, fiscal fraud (*fraus/circumscriptio fisci*) was conceptualized in terms of the *fiscus* as a private law entity with the status of a privileged creditor.⁴¹ In line with remedies available to creditors against debtors who alienated property *in fraudem creditoris*, all transactions performed to deprive the *fiscus* of its due (*in fraudem fisci*)

dictated a falsehood into the public records, for this too is listed in the first chapter of the law on treason” with reference to the *lex Iulia de maiestate*.

³⁵ See the text and translation of Paulus *sent.* 5,25,10 in n. 34.

³⁶ See Mommsen 1899, 677; see e.g. Dig. 48,19,38,7 (Paulus 5 *sent.*): *et plerumque humiliores aut in metallum damnantur aut honestiores in insulam deportantur* = “and usually men of lower status (*humiliores*) are condemned to the mines or, if they are men of higher rank (*honestiores*), they are deported to an island”; Paulus *sent.* 5,25,1: *honestiores quidem in insulam deportantur, humiliores autem aut in metallum damnantur aut in cruce tolluntur* = “indeed, men of higher rank (*honestiores*) are deported to an island, whereas those of lower status (*humiliores*) are either condemned to the mines or crucified”.

³⁷ See e.g. the case of Flavius Archippus, a prominent citizen of Prusa who was sent to the mines for *falsum*, Plin. *Ep.* 10,58. In Dig. 48,10,1,4 (Marcianus 14 *inst.*) we find a prefect of Egypt condemned as a *falsarius* by the emperor for manipulating his own records (*quod instrumentis suis ... falsum fecit*). According to Dig. 48,4,2 (text and translation in n. 34) the act of writing or dictating a falsehood into the public records could be punished as treason under the *lex Iulia de maiestate*.

³⁸ See Dig. 4,3 *de dolo malo* with a useful definition at 4,3,1,2 (Ulpianus 11 *ad ed.*): *itaque (Labeo) ipse sic definiit dolum malum esse omnem calliditatem fallaciam machinationem ad circumveniendum fallendum decipiendum alterum adhibitam* = “therefore, Labeo himself defines *dolus malus* as any cunning, deceit or contrivance used to defraud, cheat or deceive another”. See also Kaser 1971², 628: “absichtliche Schädigung, besonders durch Betrug”.

³⁹ See Mommsen 1899, 87, n. 3: “während *dolus* das gesetzwidrige bewusste Unrecht schlechthin bezeichnet, ist *fraus* die bewusste Umgehung eines bestimmten Gesetzes”. See e.g. Dig. 1,3,29 (Paulus l. s. *ad legem Cinciam*): *contra legem facit, qui id facit quod lex prohibet, in fraudem vero, qui salvis verbis legis sententiam eius circumvenit* = “someone who does what the law forbids acts against the law, but someone who without transgressing the words of the law evades its intent circumvents the law”. On *fraus legis* under the Principate, see Fascione 1983, 117–177.

⁴⁰ See Dig. 42,8 and Cod. Iust. 7,75.

⁴¹ On the *fiscus* as a private law entity, see Kaser and Hackl 1996, 453–455. On the *fiscus* as a privileged creditor, see Wieling 1988 and 1989.

were voided and the alienated assets revoked.⁴² At the same time, the *fiscus* being a domain of the Roman state meant that sanctions against fiscal fraud were not limited to the payment of damages, but had a punitive dimension and could incur heavy fines and the confiscation of property.⁴³

The pairing of *fraus* and *falsum* (ῥαδιουργία/περιγραφή, πλαστογραφία) in Greek texts of Roman legislation, including a list of public crimes adjudicated by governors at first instance, suggests that *fraus* could under some circumstances be regarded as a crime.⁴⁴ In Plutarch, ῥαδιουργία appears alongside public crimes and in a passage where a quaestorial assistant (ὕπηρέτης) undergoes a public trial, ostensibly for defrauding the state treasury.⁴⁵ As in the case of theft (*furtum*), under the Principate it may have become possible to pursue serious cases of fraud (e.g. fiscal fraud) *criminaliter*, possibly by extending the provisions of the *lex Cornelia de falsis*.⁴⁶ Such a development is suggested by Severan legal sources: in a passage of Papinian, tax fraud (*fraudatum*

⁴² On the exaction of fiscal dues from debtors to the *fiscus*, see the rubrics *de iure fisci* (Dig. 49,14 and Cod. Iust. 10,1) and *de conveniendis fisci debitoribus* (Cod. Iust. 10,2). On the cancellation (*restitutio in integrum*) of transactions *in fraudem creditoris*, see Dig. 42,8 and Cod. Iust. 7,75 with the literature cited in Willems 2022, 487–488. This included the cancellation of manumissions, a provision of the *lex Aelia Sentia* that was not restricted to Roman citizens but had general application within the empire, see Gai. *Inst.* 1,47; Dig. 40,9,11,1 (Marcianus 13 *inst.*) and 16,3 (Paulus 3 *ad l. ael. sent.*); Cod. Iust. 7,8. An exception is attested for manumissions of long standing (10 years or more), see Dig. 40,9,16,3 (Paulus 3 *ad l. ael. sent.*). On the voiding of alienations *in fraudem fisci*, see Dig. 49,14,45pr. and 3 (Paulus 5 *sent.*).

⁴³ See e.g. BGU V 1210,150–155 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.) prescribing the confiscation of one fourth of estates for failing to register in the census and the confiscation of unregistered slaves; see further Dig. 49,14,45pr. (Paulus 5 *sent.*) prescribing a fourfold penalty for fiscal fraud to be paid in full by each culprit.

⁴⁴ See the jurisdictional rules attached to the edict of the Hadrianic prefect of Egypt Petronius Mamertinus, SB XII 10929,2,9–10 (unknown provenance, 133–137): π(ε)ρὶ πλαστογραφίας καὶ ῥαδιουργίας and P.Oxy. II 237,8,13–15 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 186; citation of a prefectural edict from 142): εἴτε πλαστῶν γραμμάτων ἢ ῥαδιουργίας ἢ περιγραφῆς. On the edict of Mamertinus, see Jördens 2011, 327–356; on Roman juridical terminology in the edict, see Laffi 2013, 71–74 and Dolganov 2019, 39–47. See the entries on ῥαδιουργία and πλαστός in the Appendix.

⁴⁵ See, respectively, Plut. *Cic.* 29,4: κατεμαρτύρουν δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτοκίας (sc. *periurium*), ῥαδιουργίας (sc. *fraus*), ὄχλων δεκασμούς (sc. *ambitus*), φθορὰς γυναικῶν (sc. *stuprum*) = “furthermore, many noble men testified against Clodius for perjury, fraud, bribery of the crowds, and debauchery of women” and Plut. *Cat. min.* 16, 3: τὸν μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καταγνοὺς περὶ πίστιν ἐν κληρονομία γεγονέναι πονηρόν, ἀπῆλασε τοῦ ταμείου, δευτέρῳ δὲ τινὶ ῥαδιουργίας προὔθηκε κρίσιν (sc. *fraudis iudicium*) = “therefore the chief among them, whom he found guilty of a breach of trust in the matter of an inheritance, was expelled from the treasury by him, and a second was brought to trial for fraud”. This trial involves a jury court, indicating a *iudicium publicum*, and the context suggests that the fraud related to the quaestorial assistant’s work for the treasury.

⁴⁶ As noted by Ulpian, the option of pursuing theft *criminaliter* arose from the view that “the audacity of the culprits should incur punishment *extra ordinem*”, see Dig. 47,2,93 (Ulpianus 38 *ad ed.*): *quia visum est temeritatem agentium etiam extraordinaria animadversione coercendam*.

vectigal) is referred to as a *crimen*;⁴⁷ similarly, a Severan rescript treats the investigation of fiscal fraud (*fraudatus census*) on par with that of *adulterium* and *maiestas*.⁴⁸

As regards forgery in P.Cotton, the text mentions a previous hearing before a Roman official named Postumus during which a document presented by Gadalias was found to be forged or manipulated (ἐλεγχθέντος τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου, 28; παρόντι πλαστοῦ γράμματι, 33; 39–40). The text also refers to the manipulation of a document by altering a placename from the so-called τόπος Γερασσηῶν (presumably Gerasa itself, see section III 3) to Gadora (17–18). The prospect of criminal sanctions (φοβούμεν[ο]ι | τὴν κόλασιν, 28–29) allegedly frightened the culprits into seeking refuge with and making payments to a *boule* in the hope of evading or mitigating their punishment (30).⁴⁹ Clearly, at the time P.Cotton was composed, the forgery had not yet resulted in a conviction, since the authors expect Gadalias and others to defend themselves on this front (31–44; 60–65; 70–72). The forgery had already been detected (28, see above) but a criminal trial for *falsum* had not yet taken place.⁵⁰

Whether *falsum* or *fraus fisci* is the focus of the judicial hearing anticipated in P.Cotton remains unclear. It may be argued that forgery is mentioned mainly in relation to the overarching scheme of fiscal evasion (ῥαδιουργία, 19, 40, 61; περιγραφὴ τοῦ φόσκου, 50) described in detail in the text.⁵¹ Accordingly, the manipulated placename is said to be “well-suited for the fraud” (19) and the πλαστον γράμμα serves as a point of departure for discussing the complicity of various defendants (Gadalias, 31–38; Saulos, 39–44; Chaereas and Diocles, 60–65; 70–72). Further clues to the genre of the hearing may be gleaned from the proceedings recorded in the second part of P.Cotton (73–133), where reference is made to confiscation (ἀ]γαλαμβάνονται, 78) and damages (αἰ βλ(άβαι?), 111; see also the proposed supplement τῆ συν[όλω βλά]βῃ in the commentary to lines 102–103). The sum of 7,000 *drachmai* mentioned in lines 76 and 132 may also have been linked to these damages (see the commentary). These references to financial penalties may indicate that the hearing in P.Cotton is primarily

⁴⁷ Dig. 39,4,8pr. (Papinianus 13 *resp.*): *fraudati vectigalis crimen ad heredem eius, qui fraudem contraxit, commissi ratione transmittitur* = “the crime of tax fraud is transmitted to the heir of the person who committed the fraud in the form of confiscation”.

⁴⁸ See Cod. Iust. 9,41,1 (Severus and Antoninus, 196): *quaestionem de servis contra dominos haberi non oportet, exceptis adulterii criminibus, item fraudati census accusationibus et crimine maiestatis, quod ad salutem principis pertinet* = “slaves are not to be interrogated against their masters, with the exception of the crime of adultery, accusations of defrauding one’s property assessment, and the crime of *maiestas*, which pertains to the safety of the emperor”. This is an important passage for P.Cotton, discussed further below.

⁴⁹ See above section III 2 at nn. 20–21 and section III 3.

⁵⁰ It is possible that P.Cotton reflects a preliminary phase of the legal process in which the forgery and its civil law consequences were investigated, see Schiavo 2007, 213–239. Compare P.Mil.Vogl. II 98 (Tebynis, Arsinoite, ca. 138), where evidence and witness testimony is delivered to an equestrian procurator in preparation for trial before the prefect of Egypt.

⁵¹ A close parallel is provided by M.Chr. 91 = BGU II 388 (Alexandria, ca. 157–159), a fiscal investigation by the procurator of the *idios logos* in which the forgery of documents is ancillary to the calculation of damages and search for dispersed property due to the *fiscus*. The forgery itself fell under the jurisdiction of the provincial governor.

concerned with the fiscal fraud committed by the defendants. As evidenced by Roman legal literature and documentary evidence, fiscal evasion and generally all matters in which the *fiscus* had an interest did not tend to be handled by governors, but were typically examined by the fiscal administration itself.⁵² Accordingly, if the hearing in P.Cotton concerns *fraus fisci*, one would expect the presiding official to be a fiscal procurator. However, in view of the loss of the initial columns and the damaged state of the notes of judicial proceedings (73–133), it cannot be excluded that P.Cotton documents criminal proceedings for *falsum*, in which fiscal evasion is mentioned as contextually relevant. Further on the genre of the hearing, see section III 9.

The motive and initiative behind the fraudulent dealings in P.Cotton are attributed to Saulos (ἐρεῖς ὅτι ὁ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας αὐθέντης, etc., line 40; καὶ ἤρτηται διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν Σαούλου, line 62). In spite of the list of prior criminal acts ascribed to Gadalias (24–27), his role in the events seems to have been limited to facilitating the manipulation of documents by virtue of his position as the son of the local *chreophylax*. The function of Chaereas was that of a straw man, to whom Saulos could fictively transfer slaves that remained in his own possession, eventually manumitting one of them without paying the requisite taxes (50–59). Precisely what role was played by Diocles, who is mentioned together with Chaereas and is discovered with him on a visit to Gadalias (62–63, 70–72), is unknown; he may have been asked to witness and seal the forged or manipulated document described in lines 32–38, 60–66 and 70–72, or may have served as a surety for Chaereas, as may be suggested by ἐγγύου, 119.

5. The scheme of fiscal evasion — fictive sale and fraudulent manumission of slaves:

The details of the fiscal fraud allegedly devised by Saulos and his accomplices are given in lines 50–59. It involved nominal acquisition and manumission of slaves by Chaereas on behalf of Saulos without making necessary payments to the *fiscus*. Specifically, it is stated that Saulos, by virtue of being indigent (ἄπορος, 50), was disposed toward defrauding the *fiscus* (πρ[ὸς] περιγραφὴν τοῦ φόσκου, 50). Consequently, he used Chaereas to buy slaves in his own name (51–52) while retaining possession of them himself (52–53, 58–59). Subsequently, Saulos and his father managed to manumit one of the slaves in the name of Chaereas without any money being paid to the *fiscus* (μὴ φοβούμενοι τὸν φόσκον, 55; ἀργυρίου μὴ ἠριθμημένου, 57).

Our text does not specify the nature of the payments due to the *fiscus* that had been omitted, so all possibilities must be considered. There were at least five types of taxes associated with the trade, sale, ownership and manumission of slaves in the Roman empire:

⁵² See e.g. SEG XVIII 646 (89–91); M.Chr. 91 = BGU II 388 (Alexandria, ca. 157–159); Dig. 1,16,9pr. (Ulpianus 1 *de off. procons.*): *nec quicquam est in provincia, quod non per ipsum expediatur. sane si fiscalis pecuniaria causa sit, quae ad procuratorem principis respicit, melius fecerit, si abstineat* = “nor is there anything in a province that cannot be handled directly by the *proconsul* himself; of course, if it is a pecuniary case in a fiscal matter, which pertains to the jurisdiction of an imperial procurator, he does better to abstain from it”.

i. Taxes on slave sales:

The earliest direct evidence for the 4% Roman tax on the sale of slaves, the so-called *quinta et vicesima venalium mancipiorum*, occurs in a mid-1st century CE inscription from the city of Rome; the tax is also mentioned by Tacitus in his account of the reign of Nero.⁵³ According to Cassius Dio, this tax was instituted by Augustus.⁵⁴ Both Dio's account and the term *publicum* in epigraphic sources indicate that in Italy the tax was due to the *aerarium Saturni*, whereas in the provinces it was presumably collected by the *fiscus*.⁵⁵ The tax was due with every slave sale, regardless of the legal status of the buyer and seller, and surviving contracts of sale explicitly mention its payment. Among *peregrini* in the Greek East, the relevant tax is referred to as the τέλος δούλου (e.g. P.Hamb. I 79, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.) or τὸ εἰς ἀνδράποδα τέλος (e.g. BGU IV 1059, Alexandria, reign of Augustus; P.Turner 40, Alexandria, ca. 215) or ἐγκύκλιον ἀνδραπόδων (e.g. O.Bodl. II 1097–1098, Thebes, 2nd cent.). In Roman Egypt, the amount does not appear to have been fixed at 1/25 = 4% but seems to have varied between 4–5%.⁵⁶

ii. Manumission taxes:

There was a 5% tax on manumissions by Roman citizens (*vicesima libertatis/manumissionum*), which under some circumstances could result in freedmen acquiring Roman citizenship.⁵⁷ This tax was often paid out of the *peculium* of the slave, or could be financed by the manumittor.⁵⁸ Under the Principate, collection of the tax was supervised in part by private tax farmers (*societates publicanorum*)⁵⁹ and in part by the

⁵³ See CIL VI 915 (43/44) and Tac. *Ann.* 13,31,2; see further CIL XV 7255 and Dio 55,31,4. On the *XXV venalium mancipiorum*, see Cagnat 1882, 232–234, Hirschfeld 1905, 95–96, Günther 2008, 149–154 and Straus 2004, 71–77.

⁵⁴ See Dio 55,31,4, who appears to speak of the tax on slave sales amounting to 2% (τὸ τέλος τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐπὶ τῆ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πράσει). This has led scholars as early as Lipsius to argue that πεντηκοστή should be amended to πεντεικοστή with reference to the *quinta et vicesima*, see Mommsen 1876², II 977, Cagnat 1882, 232–234 and Swan 2004, 207.

⁵⁵ Specifically, Dio states that the tax was used to finance the *vigiles* of Rome (ἐς τὴν τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων τροφήν, 55,31,4) who drew their pay from the public treasury (καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσιν, 55,26,5).

⁵⁶ See Mitthof and Papatomas 2015, 106–108.

⁵⁷ On manumission taxes in the Roman empire, see Eck 1977/1995; Bradley 1984; Günther 2008, 95–126. On the *vicesima libertatis*, see Cagnat 1882, 153–173 and Günther 2008, 95–106. Documentary evidence for the *vicesima* is collected in the edition of P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5556 (Oxyrhynchus, 184) with references to literature. On manumission as an avenue to Roman citizenship, see Sherwin-White 1973², 322–334.

⁵⁸ This is spelled out by a freedman in M.Chr. 91 = BGU II 388,6–8 (ca. 157–159): κατῆλθον, ἴνα [ca. 10 οἱ κ]ληρονόμοι τὰ οὐκῆσιμα [τελῶσ]ιν ἢ ἴν' ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυ[τοῦ καὶ τ]ῶν τέκνων μου δῶ = "I have come down (to Alexandria) in order for ... the heirs to pay the *vicesima* tax or for me to pay it on behalf of myself and my children".

⁵⁹ See e.g. CIL VI 915, (Rome, 43/44). See further Günther 2008, 102–112.

procuratorial administration.⁶⁰ Its description as a public tax (*publicum*, δημόσιον) in Italian and provincial inscriptions indicates that income from the manumission tax on Roman citizens, no matter where they happened to reside, was due to the *aerarium Saturni* at Rome.⁶¹ Non-Romans in the empire were likewise subject to taxes on manumission. In papyri from Roman Egypt, these taxes are referred to using general expressions such as τὸ τέλος/τὰ τέλη τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως (P.Sijp. 44, Karanis, Arsinoite, ca. 130; P.Tebt. II 407, Tebtynis, Arsinoite, ca. 199), τὰ τέλη καὶ δαπάναι τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως (SB XXII 15345, Tebtynis, Arsinoite, 116) or τὸ ἐγκόκλιον (P.Freib. II 10, Ptolemais Euergetis, Arsinoite, 195–196; P.Turner 19, Oxyrhynchus, 101). The amount of the taxes for *peregrini* is unknown, but comparison with the tax on slave sales suggests that these taxes were modelled on the *vicesima* for Roman citizens and comprised 1/20 of the value of the slave.⁶² It is a reasonable inference that manumission taxes on *peregrini* in the provinces were due to the *fiscus*.

iii. Poll tax on slaves:

Slave-owners subject to the poll tax were responsible for paying it on behalf of their slaves as well. The amount was calibrated on the fiscal status of the owner.⁶³ Accordingly, some provincials (e.g. the *metropolitai* in Roman Egypt) paid a reduced rate, while Roman citizens and other privileged groups were immune from the tax. The ownership of slaves was reported in census declarations and entered into provincial population records. Failure to do so resulted in heavy penalties including confiscation. In addition to the census, there existed separate registers of real property in which the ownership of slaves was documented, see the commentary to καταγραφήν, 56.

iv. Tolls (*portoria*) on imported slaves:

Import tolls were imposed in all instances where slaves were conveyed across the external borders of the empire, which in the region of P.Cotton included the eastern borders of Arabia after it was provincialized in the early second century. Tolls also applied within the empire, e.g. when traders crossed the borders of toll districts composed of groups of provinces. Tolls exacted at the empire's external borders were typically much higher than tolls and taxes inside the empire, reaching up to 25% of the

⁶⁰ See e.g. the Latin manumission certificate published in van Minnen and Worp 2009, 3: *accepit Aur(elius) Isidorianus v(ices) a(gens) p(rocuratorum) (vicesimae)* = “I Aurelius Isidorianus have received it, acting as a deputy for the procurators of the *vicesima*”. See further Günther 2008, 113–117.

⁶¹ See Günther 2008, 101–102.

⁶² The basis for establishing the value of slaves at the point of manumission has been debated, see Günther 2008, 124–125. It was likely an abstract market value established on the basis of factors such as provenance, gender, age, health and skill (and, if relevant, purchase price). Instructive in this regard is Ulpian's description of the information relevant for declaring slaves to Roman fiscal authorities: Dig. 50,15,4,5 (Ulpianus 3 *de cens.*): *in servis deferendis observandum est, ut et nationes eorum et aetates et officia et artificia specialiter deferantur* = “in declaring slaves one must take care to specify their ethnicity, age, official positions and skills”.

⁶³ See Wallace 1938, 119.

value of the ware.⁶⁴ This practice is not well-documented in the surviving source material.

v. Birth registration fees for houseborn slaves (*vernae*):

The birth registration (οἰκογενεῖα) of slaves born in the households of Roman citizens was subject to a fee (ἀπαρχή), paying which was a prerequisite for the slaves to receive a fiscally exempt status.⁶⁵ It seems likely that such a fee existed not only for Romans but generally for fiscally privileged groups. In Roman Egypt, the citizens of Greek *poleis* — who, like Roman citizens, were exempt from the poll tax — paid an ἀπαρχή when registering the birth of their children.⁶⁶ It seems likely that similar ἀπαρχαί applied to their registration of *vernae*, on par with those of Roman citizens. The fiscally privileged citizens of Egypt's regional capitals (*metropoleis*) who applied for poll tax reductions for their slaves made reference to the registration of houseborn slaves in their districts of residence; here too, a birth registration fee seems likely.⁶⁷ Roman fiscal sanctions against those who suppressed the status of slaves as *vernae* and sold them for export likewise strongly suggest a general tax on the birth registration of *vernae*.⁶⁸

Returning to the text of P.Cotton: at first glance, lines 50–59 appear to describe a scheme of fiscal evasion whereby Saulos acquired slaves through the straw man Chaereas in order to avoid fiscal responsibility for slaves he did not formally own. Upon closer scrutiny, however, this interpretation seems problematic: if the relevant fiscal dues fell to Chaereas instead of Saulos, the *fiscus* would not have been at a loss. For

⁶⁴ Further on tolls on slaves in the Roman empire, see Straus 2004, 78 and 301–307; Günther 2015.

⁶⁵ See e.g. PSI VI 690 (Arsinoite, 1st–2nd cent.) and SB III 6995 (Memphite, 124), both *oikogeneia* certificates for Roman slaves attesting to the payment of the ἀπαρχή. Such certificates were then presented to officials when applying for the tax immunity of slaves when they reached taxable age, see e.g. BGU IV 1033 (unknown provenance, after 117) and P.Oxy. XII 1451 (Oxyrhynchus, 175) with Dolganov 2021b, 192 and 224. The ἀπαρχή on the birth registration of *vernae* is not discussed by Günther 2008 and 2015, nor in the monograph on *vernae* by Hermann-Otto 1994, who assumes on the basis of no clear evidence that the registration of slaves in Roman Egypt was an exception within the empire (234–235). On the direct relevance of sources from Roman Egypt for Roman population records and registration practices elsewhere, see Dolganov 2021b.

⁶⁶ See BGU V 1210,131 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.). Similar ἀπαρχαί were paid by the fiscally privileged members of the Hellenic gymnasial class in the hinterland, see e.g. P.Fam.Tebt. 30 = SB V 7603 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite, 133).

⁶⁷ See e.g. W.Chr. 217,8–10 (Oxyrhynchus, 172–173).

⁶⁸ See BGU V 1210,167–169 §67 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.), discussed further below at n. 76. Since the export of Egyptian slaves was not prohibited in principle (as implied by BGU V 1210, 165–166 §66: ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλους | ἰδίω[υς] ἐξάγωσιν ἀναποστόλους = “if they bring their own slaves out of the province without permission”) the most logical explanation for the ruling in §67 is that suppression of a slave's status as a *verna* constituted fiscal evasion.

this to be a case of fraud, the involvement of Chaereas must somehow have made it possible for fiscal dues to be circumvented. A number of scenarios may be suggested:

i. One possibility is that Chaereas had tax immunities that Saulos did not (e.g. by virtue of being a Roman citizen), hence nominal ownership by Chaereas gave the slaves a fiscally privileged status. While this could confer immunity from the poll tax, it would not explain how the manumission tax was avoided. Furthermore, as illustrated by sources from Roman Egypt, Roman citizens and other fiscally privileged groups in the Greek East were carefully monitored by administrators, hence the use of a Roman citizen as a straw man could have been counterproductive from this perspective.⁶⁹

ii. In view of the proximity of the Arabian frontier, perhaps Saulos had smuggled slaves into the territory of the empire without paying import tolls, and engineered a fictive sale to Chaereas to mask their illegitimate provenance? This scenario would be purely hypothetical, as there is no positive indication of smuggling in the text. It would also not accord well with the manumission of Onesimos, since the purpose of smuggling would presumably have been to profit from reselling the slaves, not to keep them in one's possession and later to manumit them. On balance, neither of these scenarios offers an entirely satisfactory explanation of how Saulos benefited financially from keeping and manumitting slaves that formally belonged to Chaereas.

iii. It is relevant that Saulos allegedly forgave a debt to Chaereas in return for his cooperation in purchasing the slaves (ἐπλύσας οἷα αὐτῷ ὀφείλει ὄνομα χρέους, line 51). That Saulos was in a position to make loans indicates that he was not lacking in financial means. This suggests a third interpretation of his ruse with Chaereas and the slaves. The goal of the manipulated transactions described in lines 50–59 may have been for Saulos to conceal his assets from the Roman state by nominally alienating his own slaves to Chaereas, an interpretation suggested by references to a contract of sale in lines 60–61 and 71–72 (see further n. 127). This is also a natural reading of ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Χαίρεου καταγραφὴν ἐποίησαντο (56–57), where one would expect the registration of the slave sale (καταγραφὴ) to be performed by the seller (Saulos) in favor of the buyer (Chaereas).⁷⁰

By pretending to sell off his slaves or buying them without using his own name, Saulos may have sought to lower his recorded wealth and receive the fiscal status of ἄπορος, in order to diminish his tax burden and evade the costly and time-consuming liturgies imposed by the Roman state on persons above a certain wealth threshold (πόρος).⁷¹ He may also have tried to avoid paying existing or expected debts or penalties

⁶⁹ On Roman administrative surveillance of Roman citizens and other fiscally privileged groups, see Dolganov 2021b.

⁷⁰ See e.g. P.Giss. Univ. III 20,21–22 (Alexandria, 113–117): διὰ τοῦ γραμματέως ἢ εἰς Ἀχιλλέα ἀπὸ σοῦ | καταγραφὴν γέγονεν = “through which scribe the *katagraphe* from you to Achilles took place” and P.Dura. 25 (Dura Europos, 180) with Straus 2004, 44–52 and 175–176, see further the commentary to καταγραφὴν, 56.

⁷¹ See the commentary to ἄπορος, 23 and the entry on ἄπορος in the Appendix.

to the *fiscus*.⁷² This interpretation finds support in the story of Gadalias managing to escape fines for shirking judicial duties by demonstrating himself to be ἄπορος (21–23), and the authors of P.Cotton may have intended for this anecdote to serve as a preface to their account of the misdeeds of Saulos. Roman legal literature provides numerous examples of precisely this form of fiscal evasion, whereby individuals devised cunning schemes to cheat their property assessment (*fraudatus census*), e.g. by deliberately cutting down vines and trees⁷³ or avoiding the registration of slaves in the census.⁷⁴

Following this line of interpretation, one is led to ask what sort of financial obligations fell to Chaereas in the nominal sale, and what role the forged documents may have played. If indeed Saulos declared his alienation of the slaves (in order to hide his assets), did not Chaereas as the new owner acquire fiscal liability for them? This would have been a costly problem for Chaereas. However, one can think of scenarios in which these fiscal dues could have been avoided. For example: if Saulos resided in Iudaea (e.g. in Gadora) and Chaereas in Gerasa, Saulos could have declared his sale of the slaves in Iudaea without Chaereas declaring his acquisition of them in Arabia. One would not expect the administrators of one province to verify whether the sale of a slave to a buyer in another province was reported there, hence the ruse could have escaped notice for some time.

Fiscal evasion in slave sales across the provincial border features prominently in a second-century rulebook for a Roman procurator in Egypt, which prescribes harsh fines and full or partial confiscation of estates for illicit attempts to take privately owned slaves out of the province or sell them for export.⁷⁵ A detailed ruling imposes partial

⁷² This would have constituted *fraus fisci* in the sense of the *fiscus* as a cheated creditor, see e.g. Dig. 49,14,45,3 (Paulus 5 *sent.*): *a debitore fisci in fraudem datas libertates retrahi placuit* = “it has been resolved to revoke manumissions performed with fraudulent intent by a debtor of the *fiscus*”.

⁷³ See e.g. Dig. 50,15 *de censibus*, Dig. 4,1 (Ulpianus 3 *de cens.*) and Cod. Iust. 11,58,2pr. (Gratianus, Valentinianus and Theodosius, 381): *quisquis vitem succiderit aut feracium ramorum fetus hebetaverit, quo declinet fidem censuum et mentiatur callide paupertatis ingenium, mox detectus competenti indignationi subiciatur* = “anyone who cuts down a vine or removes the buds from fruit-bearing branches in order to diminish the accuracy of his property assessment, and cunningly feigns the appearance of poverty, shall be subjected to the appropriate punishment as soon as he is detected”. See further Cod. Iust. 9,41 *de quaestionibus* pr.–2 (Severus and Antoninus, 196): *fraudati census accusationibus*, etc.

⁷⁴ Failure to register slaves resulted in their confiscation, see e.g. M.Chr. 372,6,1–23 (copy of a judicial record from Alexandria, 135 CE) for an unregistered young slave and BGU V 1210,155 §60 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.) for a general rule concerning unregistered slaves.

⁷⁵ See BGU V 1210,164–170 §65–67 and 172–173 §69 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.). These rules were clearly underpinned by concerns with fiscal evasion, not by restrictions on the movement of Egyptians or limitations on the export of Egyptian slaves (although scholars continue to hold these views, see e.g. Johannsen 2017, 56–58), see the assessment of Arangio-Ruiz 1922, 220, Riccobono 1950, 208 and Straus 2004, 304–305. On the so-called Gnomon of the Idios Logos, originally an Augustan fiscal rulebook that has survived in two copies of an epitomized version from the reign of Antoninus Pius, see Dolganov 2020b and 2022.

property confiscation on those who try to sell *vernae* for export while suppressing their houseborn status: οἰκογενεῖς τάσσοντες ἢ πωλοῦντες [ἀ]πὸ οἰκογενείας ὑπὲρ | τοῦ [ἐκ]πλεῖν αὐτούς (BGU V 1210,167–168 §67), with fines imposed on anyone privy to the scheme (συνγνόντων). The implication seems to be that the houseborn slaves were young children who had never been declared by their owners, thereby precluding any knowledge of their existence by Roman administrators.⁷⁶ This made it possible for the *vernae* to be sold unofficially to traders (so it may be inferred) while avoiding various attendant taxes (e.g. birth registration fees, sales taxes, export tolls, etc.).⁷⁷ Such a scenario offers a suggestive parallel for the machinations allegedly devised by Saulos. His goal being fiscal evasion (πρ[ὸς] περιγραφῆν τοῦ φόσκου, 50), it may be that Saulos was nominally selling off young slaves (see above and n. 127) before they entered the age of tax liability. Either way, it seems reasonably clear that his aim was to make the slaves invisible to the Roman provincial authorities.

The undeclared status of the slaves — by Chaereas in Arabia and by Saulos who, it follows, retained them in Iudaea — would explain why the registration (καταγραφή) of Chaereas' acquisition of Onesimos, which was necessary for the latter's manumission, aroused the suspicion of officials. The καταγραφή of Onesimos would have been the first occasion that this slave was declared to the provincial administration of Arabia, and as such was likely subject to scrutiny regarding the slave's provenance. Surviving evidence for the καταγραφή of slave sales in the Roman empire shows that it was customary to provide registered documentation of the slave's previous ownership.⁷⁸ In applying for fiscal privileges for their slaves, owners are also attested presenting the registered birth declarations of *vernae* together with census returns demonstrating that the slaves had been properly declared and the relevant taxes paid.⁷⁹ If any documentation was missing or appeared dubious, this could have sparked an inquest by Roman fiscal officials (see section III 9) that resulted in desperate attempts to manipulate or forge the necessary documents by Saulos and his collaborators.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ This ruling is discussed above at n. 68. Similarly, in M.Chr. 372,6,1–23 (135 CE) a Roman woman who had neglected to register a houseborn slave is punished with his confiscation; her lawyer insists that it was common for very young slaves to remain unregistered (τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ πολλῶν φιλεῖν | γενέσθαι, μ[ὴ] γὰρ παῖ[δων] οἰκογενείας τάσσεσθαι, 14–15).

⁷⁷ On the taxes and tolls applicable to slaves, see above at nn. 53–68.

⁷⁸ See e.g. P.Euphr. 8 (Beth Phouraia, Syria Coele, 251) and 9 (Beth Phouraia, Syria Coele, 252), which refer to the registration of the seller's own purchase of the slave, and SB XXIV 16002 (Arsinoite, 186–190), which specifies that the slaves had been bequeathed to the seller in the registered will of his deceased father. See further Mitthof and Papatthomas 2015 and the commentary to καταγραφῆν, 56.

⁷⁹ See the documents and literature cited in n. 65.

⁸⁰ The manipulation of documents in P.Cotton and what it reveals about notarial and archival practices in the Roman empire is investigated by Anna Dolganov in a separate article.

6. The issue of complicity:

Another legal problem central to P.Cotton is the question of complicity. It is clear that the authors seek to establish the complicity of a number of individuals whom they expect to deny any involvement in criminal dealings. It is stated that Chaereas and Diocles will attempt to deny their guilt (60, 70) and that Saulos will try to shift the blame to Gadalias for the forgery (39–40). Accordingly, the prosecutors lay emphasis on Saulos being the “instigator of the fraud” (ὁ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας αὐθέντης, 40) and the “friend and collaborator and accomplice” (φίλος καὶ συνεργὸς καὶ κοινῶνός, 45) in all criminal activity linked with Gadalias.

In serious crimes such as *falsum*, complicity was broadly conceived, encompassing active abetting, as well as knowledge of the crime.⁸¹ On the basis of the Roman legal sources, therefore, it was sufficient for the authors of P.Cotton to demonstrate that all parties had been aware of the forgery — and precisely this seems to be implied by συνειδησ[= *conscientia*, 65 in a passage referring to all four defendants. Gadalias, in turn, is expected to deny being privy to the forgery, and to insist that the forged or manipulated document presented by him had been drafted under the authority of his father the *chreophylax* (31–38), who by the time of P.Cotton appears to have died (see the commentary to ἐτελεύτησεν, 123). While Gadalias could not inherit criminal liability for *falsum* from his father,⁸² our authors are quick to point out that Gadalias himself may be regarded as liable simply by virtue of presenting the falsified document (32–33).⁸³ The authors also accuse Gadalias of deliberately withholding documents from the Roman authorities (καὶ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου ἠρνήσθαι ἔχειν, 35; ὃ ἔδει αὐτὸν προφέρειν, 37). This accords with Roman sanctions against persons who failed to exhibit documents relevant to a fiscal investigation.⁸⁴ Ultimately, even if Gadalias could persuade the judge that he was acting in good faith and the dubious document was drafted under his father, financial damages due to the *fiscus* as a result of the fraud

⁸¹ See e.g. Dig. 48,10,20 (Hermogenianus 6 *iuris epit.*) and Dig. 48,10,9,1 (Ulpianus 8 *de off. procons*): *eadem poena adfcitur etiam is qui, cum prohibere tale quid posset, non prohibuit* = “he incurs the same punishment who, although capable of preventing such an occurrence, did not do so”. In other major crimes such as banditry and parricide, advising and being in confidence with the culprits counted as complicity, see e.g. Dig. 48,19,16pr. (Saturn. *l. s. de poen. paganorum*) and Dig. 48,9,6 (Ulpianus 8 *de off. procos.*).

⁸² Liability for a public crime (in the form of property confiscation) fell to the heir only if the culprit had been tried and found guilty before death, with the exception of *maiestas* and *repetundae* cases, see Dig. 48,2,20 (Modestinus 2 *de poen.*). In the case of *falsum*, we are told by Papinian that the *lex Cornelia* did not apply if the culprit died before being charged, but that the heir was deprived of any property gained by means of the forgery, see Dig. 48,10,12 (Papinianus 13 *resp.*).

⁸³ On Roman sanctions against the use of forged documents, with some exceptions made for errors in good faith, see above at nn. 32–37.

⁸⁴ See Dig. 49,14,2,1 (Callistratus 2 *de iure fisci*): *quin ei, qui instrumenta ad causam fisci pertinentia, cum possit exhibere, non exhibet, nocere debeat* = “indeed, someone who is able to produce documents relevant to a fiscal case but fails to do so ought to suffer for this”. That this rule was articulated in a rescript of Hadrian is a noteworthy temporal coincidence.

were still heritable by him on his father's behalf.⁸⁵ Saulos is likewise expected to distance himself from the forgery, instead laying it at the door of Gadalias (39–40). The details of his guilt as the “instigator” of the scheme (αὐθέντης *auctor*, 40) are obscured by the fragmentary state of lines 39–44.

The criteria for establishing complicity in civil proceedings for *fraus* were more restrictive than for the crime of *falsum*, with knowledge of the fraud (*conscientia*) being punishable mainly in cases of active aiding and abetting.⁸⁶ This condition would presumably have been fulfilled by Diocles and Chaereas paying a visit to Gadalias to receive the dubious document, which the prosecutors cite as evidence for their involvement (62–65, 70–72). At the same time, Roman sanctions against withholding evidence from fiscal cases suggests that stricter rules and broader notions of complicity applied to cases of fiscal fraud. Generally, Roman legal and documentary sources indicate that *fraus fisci* was treated as a separate, more serious category of fraudulent offenses that were aggressively pursued by the Roman state and could even be compared with *maiestas*. Severan legal sources treat fiscal fraud on par with *adulterium* and *maiestas* as exceptions to the Roman policy of not torturing slaves against their masters,⁸⁷ and as warranting capital punishment for any slave with mere knowledge of the fraud.⁸⁸ As vividly conveyed by a second-century court case from Roman Egypt: even in cases involving forgery and murder, the order of Roman judicial investigations tended to prioritize the interests of the *fiscus*.⁸⁹ P.Cotton may offer yet another illustration of the precedence taken by imperial revenues, which in the emphatic language of Ulpian constituted the *nervi rei publicae*, the very sinews of the Roman state.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ See e.g. Dig. 49,14,33 (Ulpianus 1 *resp.*): *eum, qui debitoris fisci adiit hereditatem, privilegiis fisci coepisse esse subiectum* and Dig. 39,4,8pr. (Papinianus 13 *resp.*) with text and translation in n. 47. On the heritability of financial obligations in Roman law, see Buckland 1963³, 316–319.

⁸⁶ See e.g. Dig. 42,8,10,2 (Ulpianus 73 *ad ed.*): *quod ait praetor sciente, sic accipimus te consocio et fraudem participante: non enim si simpliciter scio illum creditores habere hoc sufficit ad contendendum teneri eum in factum actione, sed si particeps fraudis est* = “when the praetor says ‘with your knowledge’ we understand this to mean ‘with you as an accomplice and participant in the fraud’, for it is not enough merely to know that he has creditors for a contention of his liability under an *actio in factum*, but only if he actively participates in the fraud”.

⁸⁷ See Cod. Iust. 9,41,1 (text and translation in n. 48) and the commentary to lines 105–106.

⁸⁸ Dig. 48,18,1,20 (Ulpianus 8 *de off. procons.*): *in causa tributorum, in quibus esse rei publicae nervos nemini dubium est, periculi quoque ratio, quod servo fraudis conscio capitalem poenam denuntiat, eiusdem professionem exstruat* = “in a case involving taxes, which no one doubts constitute the sinews of the state, the consideration of risk, which prescribes capital punishment for a slave who was aware of the fraud, bolsters his declaration”.

⁸⁹ See M.Chr. 91 = BGU II 388 (ca. 157–159) involving forged manumissions and a dispersed estate of a Roman citizen who has been brutally murdered (ἐσφάγη); as in P.Cotton, the fiscal case seems to take precedence over the criminal investigation.

⁹⁰ See the text and translation of Dig. 48,18,1,20 in n. 88.

7. Additional crimes and rhetorical strategy:

Alongside the main charges of forgery and fiscal fraud, the authors of P.Cotton argue that the defendants (in particular Gadalias, and to some extent Saulos) have committed a number of other transgressions that are not directly related to the proceedings. These allegations may be identified as part of the rhetorical strategy of *coniectura* (in Greek, *στοχασμός*), a mode of argumentation outlined in ancient rhetorical manuals, which involved demonstrating that an individual had the character, capacity, and intent to perform the deeds of which they were accused. A person's capacity and character were typically established with reference to past actions and events. Accordingly, the catalog of Gadalias' misdeeds in lines 20–27 served to blacken his character and establish his capacity for corruption and fraud. This tactic follows well-documented precepts in rhetorical handbooks and finds ample parallels in papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt.⁹¹

The first element of this rhetorical strategy is to draw attention to the status of Gadalias as indigent (*ἄπορος*). The point is not to exculpate Gadalias or elicit sympathy for his plight, but to present him as an ethically dubious figure, prone to venality and corruption (20–23: ὁ Γαδάλιας ἀνὴρ εὐθωός, etc.). A similar combination of indigence and criminality is ascribed to Saulos (50–59), with the figure of Gadalias serving as a kind of *exemplum* that strengthens the narrative against Saulos. The message projected by this characterization seems to have been twofold: on the one hand, Gadalias and Saulos were not honorable men because they did not dispose of the resources befitting their social position, and were accordingly likely to commit criminal acts. On the other hand, Gadalias and Saulos deliberately concealed their assets from the state to evade fiscal obligations, such as liturgical functions (e.g. judicial duties in the case of Gadalias) and debts to the *fiscus* (as may be the case with Saulos, see section III 5).

A second element in this rhetorical tactic is to mention that both Gadalias and Saulos were previously investigated or convicted for falsifying or manipulating coinage (24 and 46–47). At first glance, it is intuitive to link these allegations with the coinage produced during the Bar Kokhba revolt. It is well known that the rebels collected bronze and silver coins in circulation and overstruck them with legends and motifs of political and religious significance, thereby achieving their own distinctive currency.⁹² The core meaning of *παραχάρισσω* (LSJ s.v.: “re-stamp, re-value”, likely corresponding to *adultero*, OLD s.v.: “to produce an imitation of, counterfeit”, see the Appendix) is well-

⁹¹ On *coniectura* in ancient rhetorical sources, see Quint. *Inst.* 7.2 and Hermogen. *Περὶ τῶν στάσεων* (= On issues) 46.8–47.7 with Heath 1995, 81–83 and 156–159, Heath 2004, 67–68 and Dolganov 2023a, 79 and 85. On the elements of character, capacity and intent, see e.g. Quint. *Inst.* 7.2.27: *ducitur coniectura primum a praeteritis: in his sunt personae causae consilia. nam is ordo est, ut facere voluerit potuerit fecerit* = “*coniectura* is first and foremost derived from past events, in which characters, causes and motives are encapsulated. The correct order is to ask whether a person wished to do something, was capable of doing it, and did do it”. On *coniectura* in papyri from Roman Egypt, see e.g. Dolganov 2023b nos. 1 and 2 and SB XX 14401 (mentioned in the commentary to line 20).

⁹² See Mildenberg 1984; Eshel and Zissu 2020.

sued to denote overstriking. However, other considerations speak against this interpretation. First of all, the allegation clearly refers to a period some years before the main events (see below). Secondly, the circulation of Bar Kokhba coins was limited to rebel-controlled areas.⁹³ Elsewhere, the use of forged or manipulated money was subject to Roman criminal sanctions.⁹⁴ Such coins would therefore have been unfit for use in Gadara and Gerasa. Thirdly, the verb *παραχάσσω* was not employed exclusively with reference to re-stamping, and ordinary counterfeiting may be meant in our text (see the commentary to *παρεχάραξεν*, 24 and *παραχάσσω* in the Appendix).

An overview of different ways of manipulating coinage is furnished by the *Sententiae* of Paulus, 5,25,1: *adulterare* (a general term for counterfeiting and the likely counterpart of *παραχάσσω*, see the Appendix), *lavare* (presumably, to “sweat” the coins), *conflare* (to melt down), *radere* (to saw down), *corrumpere* and *vitiare* (presumably, to debase). The two principle techniques employed by counterfeiters in antiquity were: i. to produce cladded or plated coins with a core of lead, iron or nonferrous metal and a thin lining of silver or gold; ii. to produce coins from metal of lower quality or weight with respect to the original (e.g. employing a bronze alloy for silver). A relevant description may be found in Dig. 48,10,9pr: *lege Cornelia cavetur, ut, qui in aurum vitii quid addiderit, qui argenteos nummos adulterinos flaverit, falsi crimine teneri* = “it is stipulated in the *lex Cornelia* that someone who adds base metal to gold or casts debased silver coins is to be convicted of the crime of forgery (*falsum*)” and 9,2: *eadem lege exprimitur, ne quis nummos stagneos plumbeos emere vendere dolo malo vellet* = “the same law prohibits anyone from buying or selling tin or lead coins with malicious intent”.

The alleged counterfeiting by Gadalias and Saulos most likely concerns silver coinage. Gold (i.e. Roman *aurei*, the only gold denomination in the Roman empire) was not widely used, while bronze money lacked sufficient value to make counterfeiting attractive. On the contrary, the production of imitation coins from bronze and nonferrous metals was tolerated or even encouraged by the Roman administration as a means of boosting the monetization of economic activity in peripheral areas or in periods of financial crisis. There were several forms of silver coinage in circulation in Roman Palestine, both Roman *denarii* and regional coinages such as the *tetradrachmon* from Antioch on the Orontes (still a genuine silver coin in the early 2nd century, only later debased to billon) and the Tyrian *tetradrachmon* and *didrachmon* (the so-called “Tyrian shekel”, coined in Jerusalem until the first Jewish revolt of 65–66).⁹⁵

The juridical basis for prosecuting counterfeiters in the Roman empire was the *lex Cornelia testamentaria nummaria* or *lex Cornelia de falsis*, the scope of which expanded under the Principate to include various forms of falsification — of documents and coinage, as well as identity, administrative declarations, witness statements, court

⁹³ See the map in Eshel 2006, 117 fig. 4.2.

⁹⁴ See e.g. Cod. Iust. 9,24.

⁹⁵ On the silver denominations of Roman Palestine, see Weiser and Cotton 1996, 253 and 257–258.

judgments, etc.⁹⁶ As in the original Republican law, the provisions on counterfeiting focused on silver coinage, with measures for the protection of gold coinage first emerging in legal sources of the Severan age. Under the Principate, the spectrum of punishment ranged from banishment for *honestiores* to death for slaves and individuals of low status.⁹⁷

For the authors of P.Cotton to bring up the falsification of coinage served an additional purpose: to substantiate the argument of the prosecutors that Gadalias and Saulos had a longstanding relationship as accomplices in criminal deeds (ὄτι δὲ φίλος καὶ συνεργὸς καὶ κοινῶνός ... γέγονεν ὁ Σαυλός = “that Saulos became a friend and collaborator and accomplice”, 45–46). The authors of P.Cotton seem to have argued this on the basis of evidence that both men had been denounced to the governors of their respective provinces for the same offence (47–49).

A third element of the rhetorical strategy employed in P.Cotton is to mention that Gadalias has committed an array of crimes in the past (24–27) — including βία and ληστεία, corresponding to the Roman crimes of *vis* and *latrocinium*, and ἀπόστασις, probably corresponding to *sedition* (see the Appendix) — in order to give weight to the present case against him for forgery and fiscal evasion. The mentions of counterfeiting (24 and 45–49), conviction, and temporary exile (26–27) appear to refer to past legal proceedings, and there is evidence for registers (*matrices*) of persons with prior arrests or convictions being kept by the Roman imperial administration.⁹⁸ But the substance of the gravest charges of violence, sedition, and banditry — i.e. whether these reflect actual convictions or involve a degree of rhetorical embellishment (see the commentary to line 24) — remains uncertain.

Under the Principate, *seditiones* were punished under the laws governing *vis publica* and *maiestas* and subject to capital punishment.⁹⁹ The appearance of βία alongside ἀπόστασις in P.Cotton is suggestive of *vis publica*, which would indicate a disturbance of a less grave nature than would be classified as *maiestas*. This included urban rioting

⁹⁶ On the *lex Cornelia de falsis*, see the sources and literature cited in n. 32.

⁹⁷ On counterfeiting in the Roman legal sources from the late Republic to late antiquity, see Grierson 1956; Wolters 1999, 362–371; Hendy 1985, 320–328.

⁹⁸ See Tert. *De fuga* 13,5: *nescio, dolendum an erubescendum sit, cum in matricibus beneficiariorum et curiosorum inter tabernarios et ianeos et fures balnearum et aleones et lenones Christiani[s] quoque vectigales continentur* = “I do not know whether it is a matter for grief or shame that Christians feature alongside peddlers, tavern-keepers, bath-thieves, gamblers and pimps in the payment lists of police officials and informers”, with Rivière 2002, 278–279. The implication seems to be that Christians were blackmailed by police officials along with others suspected of illicit activities.

⁹⁹ See Berger 1953 s.v.; Mommsen 1899, 562–565; Pfaff 1921; Sachers 1948. See e.g. Dig. 48,19,38,2 (Paulus *sent.* 5,22,1): *auctores seditionis et tumultus vel concitatores populi pro qualitate dignitatis aut in crucem tolluntur aut bestiis obiciuntur aut in insulam deportantur* = “instigators of insurrection and public disturbance or agitators of the populace are, in accordance with their rank, either crucified, thrown to the beasts, or deported to an island”.

or rowdiness at public spectacles.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, the semantics of ἀπόστασις in Greek suggest that Gadalias is accused specifically of participating in unrest against the imperial authorities. An illustrative example is provided by Josephus' account of the Jewish revolt incited by Judas of Gamala on the occasion of the first Roman census of 7 CE, see Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* 18,4: Ἰούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γάμαλα Σάδδωκον Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος ἠπείγεται ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει = “there was a man called Judas the Gaulonite, from a city called Gamala, who, taking as a partner Saddokos the Pharisee, was eager to incite rebellion”.¹⁰¹ Banditry and rebellion were likewise treated together in imperial legislation, which disqualified “high-profile bandits, instigators of unrest and leaders of factions” (*insignes latrones, seditionum concitatores, duces factionum*) from appealing their convictions as persons “whose immediate punishment is in the public interest”.¹⁰² It seems likely that the prosecutors in P.Cotton were deliberately evoking an association between Gadalias and this category of dangerous criminals, as defined by the Roman state.

In view of the temporal proximity of the Bar Kokhba war, it is tempting to associate these charges with the looming revolt. Was Gadalias, the alleged bandit, counterfeiter and rebel, a participant in the massive Jewish uprising against Roman rule? This interpretation is difficult, since the passage refers to events that took place over the course of several years leading up to the visit of Hadrian in 129/130 or shortly after it. And it is this visit and the policies implemented by the emperor on this occasion that current research regards as a catalyst of the uprising.¹⁰³ Therefore, the reference to ἀπόστασις seems unlikely to be directly connected with the revolt. However, it may be an indication that anti-Roman sentiment was thick in the air, to the point that members of the local elite could plausibly be accused of harboring a rebellious attitude against Rome. As a comparison, one may cite Flavius Josephus' account of the period immediately preceding the first Jewish revolt of 65–66, where similar sorts of criminal activity (particularly ληστεία = *latrocinium*) are described by Josephus as a preliminary phase of the war.¹⁰⁴

It is also relevant that, only a decade before the governorship of Tineius Rufus, Iudaea had been the site of violence and unrest in connection with yet another massive Jewish revolt against Roman power. The so-called Diaspora rebellion (ca. 115–117) is

¹⁰⁰ See Dig. 11,3,1,5; 48,19,28,3; 50,10,3 (rioting at public spectacles classified as *seditio*); Dig. 24,3,66pr. (urban rioting classified as *seditio*); 48,6,3pr.; 48,6,3,2; 48,6,5pr. (armed insurrection classified as *seditio* and *vis publica*).

¹⁰¹ The revolt is also recounted in Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 2,433, *Ant. Iud.* 18,23 and *Acts* 5,37.

¹⁰² See Dig. 49,1,16 (Modestinus 6 *diff.*): *quos damnatos statim puniri publice interest*, with reference to imperial pronouncements.

¹⁰³ See the detailed discussion of the complex issue of the background, causes and motives of the uprising of 132 in Horbury 2014, 278–317, Weikert 2016, 231–342, Ecker and Cotton 2019 and Cotton and Ecker 2019.

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 2,274–5. On Jewish “banditry with an anti-Roman aspect” in the period between the Diaspora revolt and the Bar-Kokhba uprising (117–132) in rabbinic sources, see Horbury 2014, 296. Naturally, the discourse of *latrocinium* also served to delegitimize resistance against Roman power.

known to have resulted in clashes of Jewish rebels with the Roman army in the regions of Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus and Mesopotamia — as well as Iudaea, culminating in a siege of the city of Lydda by the Roman governor Lusius Quietus, documented in rabbinic sources.¹⁰⁵ The events in Iudaea are only sparsely attested and our understanding of their nature and extent is limited. It seems likely that the implicit context of the charges of βία, ληστεία and ἀπόστασις against Gadalias is the period of unrest ca. 116 and its aftermath. Thus, P.Cotton appears to offer indirect insight into the poorly documented period between the Diaspora rebellion and the Bar Kokhba revolt and the historical relationship between these events.¹⁰⁶

8. Slave ownership by Jews:

P.Cotton also offers suggestive evidence for the much-debated issue of Jews and slave ownership. In their account of the ruse of the slaves concocted by Saulos and his accomplices, the authors of P.Cotton adopt a Roman legal and institutional perspective, as one would expect, considering that their primary audience were Roman officials. However, the story of the slaves may also indirectly shed light on local cultural practices and customary law. Biblical laws contain a number of prescriptive rules concerning the purchase, treatment and manumission of slaves. The question of whether or not Jews in the Roman provinces adhered to these rules goes directly to the core question of the standing of the Torah as law in ancient Jewish society. Jewish law concerning slaves is considered somewhat more humane than other contemporary laws, e.g. stipulating that a master must not be ruthless or mistreat his slave, nor can a master wound his slave or burden him with work that is greater than his strength, etc. The Torah also differentiates between Cannanite (i.e. non-Jewish) and Jewish slaves, requiring that the latter be manumitted after seven years of service or on a Jubilee year.

Rabbis generally re-asserted and modified these laws, and some passages in the Talmud hint that Jews no longer owned Jewish slaves after the destruction of the second temple.¹⁰⁷ However, the historian Catherine Hezser claims that the distinction between a Jewish and non-Jewish slave in Rabbinic literature is on the whole effaced and the strict rules of manumission were more a matter of theory than practice for the Rabbis.¹⁰⁸ As in other areas of Halakha in the second century CE, one must also ask to what extent the Rabbis were heeded by the wider population. Did Jewish society in the Roman empire differ from non-Jewish society in its ownership and treatment of slaves? The conclusion of Hezser is that Jews owned, bought, sold, and manumitted slaves no more and no less than the rest of the Greco-Roman world. In arguing this, however, Hezser

¹⁰⁵ On the so-called Diaspora revolt, see Ben Zeev 2005, in particular 219–258 on the events in Iudaea, and Horbury 2014, 164–277, particularly 257–269 on Iudaea.

¹⁰⁶ See Horbury 2014, 257–277 and Ben Zeev 2018. Generally on the Jewish perspective between cooperation and resistance, see Weikert 2016, 302–317.

¹⁰⁷ For a summary of biblical and rabbinic laws on slavery, see Cohn 2007. For a recent overview of slavery in the Roman world, see the chapters 11–22 in Bradley and Cartledge 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Hezser 2005 is still the most comprehensive treatment of the subject; cf. Hezser 2011.

stresses the paucity of concrete documentary evidence regarding Jews and slavery in antiquity.

P.Cotton offers a rare documentary testimonium for this problematic. The text establishes at least one Jewish family (Saulos and his father) as owners of multiple slaves. It is unknown whether Diocles and Chaereas were Jews (although both Greek names are attested among Hellenized Jews in the Roman period), nor is it clear whether the slave Onesimos was a Jew himself.¹⁰⁹ If one attempts to look beyond the Roman juridical lens employed by the authors of P.Cotton, a different set of questions arises: did the culprits nominally buy slaves merely for the purpose of profit or fiscal evasion, or could they have had another motive, relating to their observance of Jewish law? One wonders whether the registration of Onesimos under the ownership of Chaereas may have been an attempt by Saulos and his father to avoid the obligations binding Jewish slave owners. If Onesimos was a Jew, is it possible that Saulos sought to avoid direct ownership of a Jewish slave? Alternatively, could Saulos have been involved in redeeming a Jewish slave into freedom? According to Leviticus (25:47–54) a Jewish slave sold to a non-Jewish owner must be redeemed by a fellow Jew, who then becomes his master. In Iudaea after the revolt of 66–73, when many Jewish captives were sold into slavery (Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 6,420), Rabbi Joshua is recorded in the Tosefta (Horayot 2,5–6, compiled in the late second century CE) as redeeming a Jewish child from the slave market at Rome. The Mishnah (Gittin 4,6, compiled in the late second century) advises against redeeming Jewish captives at a price higher than their value, so as not to cause a rise in the worth of Jewish slaves.¹¹⁰ It seems likely that the problem of large numbers of enslaved Jews entering the slave market could have arisen again in the aftermath of the Diaspora rebellion of 115–117, the period of our text. The obligation to manumit Jewish slaves outlined in rabbinic sources provides potentially relevant contextual information for Onesimos being singled out for manumission. Could it be that Saulos and his father sought to liberate Onesimos because he was a Jew, and were eager to avoid paying Roman manumission taxes (which would, in such cases, presumably not have been exacted from the enslaved person, as with ordinary slaves) on top of the obligatory redemption? Posing these questions adds a layer of complexity to the historical assessment of the people and practices documented in P.Cotton, even if, on the basis of the text as we have it, any answers necessarily remain hypothetical.

Clearly, the complex situation of slave ownership described in P.Cotton — chiefly from a Roman perspective — can be fruitfully confronted with the regulations and practices attested in Jewish sources, such as rabbinic discussions of slaves owned by more than one master and released by only one of them (Mishnah Gittin 4.5) or slaves kept as a deposit on a loan (Mishnah Gittin 4.4). P.Cotton furnishes documentary evidence that such discussions were not mere “thought experiments” (as argued by Satlow 2007, 393) but grounded in the lived reality of Jews in the Roman empire. This promises to be a productive line of inquiry for future research.

¹⁰⁹ For attestations of Jews with the names Chaereas and Diocles, see n. 16. On the attestation of the name Onesimos among Jews, see LJNLA I 312 (P.Yadin I 11,33, En Gedi, 124) and III 348.

¹¹⁰ See Hezser 2005, 313–314.

9. Judge and location of the hearing:

The text of P.Cotton mentions three and perhaps four Roman officials who are involved in the anticipated trial or its preliminary stages: Tineius Rufus as governor of Iudaea (22, see section III 1), a certain Postumus (28, 35), and an unnamed *centurio* who may have functioned as a judicial instance (34–35). It may also be possible to identify a certain Flaccus, who utters the first recorded statement in the notes of judicial proceedings (73–133), as the official presiding over the hearing.¹¹¹

As regards the prosopography of the names Postumus and Flaccus in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius: the *cognomen* Postumus occurs only once in the known senatorial *fasti* of this period for Eggius Ambibulus Pomponius Longinus Cassianus L. Maecius Postumus, *cos. ord.* 126.¹¹² Postumus is also attested for the equestrian C. Annius Postumus, whose extensive career included the prefecture of the *annona* at Rome, the provincial procuratorship of Pannonia Inferior, and the procuratorship of the *idios logos* in Egypt.¹¹³ The *cognomen* Flaccus is attested for five consulars in the relevant period: C. Bellicius Flaccus Torquatus, *cos. ord.* 124; C. Calpurnius Flaccus, *cos. suff.* 126; L. Valerius Flaccus, *cos. suff.* 128; L. Aurelius Flaccus, *cos. suff.* ca. 139–141; C. Bellicius Flaccus Torquatus, *cos. ord.* 143.¹¹⁴ Flaccus also occurs for a certain Flaccus Aelianus as procurator in Spain, with no further details about his career.¹¹⁵ On the basis of prosopography, one could say that Flaccus speaks more for a member of the senatorial class and Postumus more for an equestrian, although the alternatives cannot be excluded with certainty.

Concerning the identity of Postumus, before whom the forgery was discovered at an earlier stage (28), it appears from the text that this took place in the recent past, although a longer timeline of events going back before the governorship of Rufus cannot be excluded. The *fasti* of Judaeen governors between 117 and 139 are nearly complete.¹¹⁶ The governor of Syria contemporary with Rufus is known: his name was C. Quinctius Certus Poblicius Marcellus (c. 129–134/135). Accordingly, four other

¹¹¹ On the identification of Flaccus, see section III 3 and the commentary to line 73.

¹¹² See AE 2017, 274; CIL IX 1123 = ILS 1054 (Aeclanum); CIL IX 1124; AE 1967, 395, Tibiscum, Dacia. It has been hypothesized that the name L. Maecius Postumus was the result of his adoption by L. Maecius Postumus, *cos. suff.* 98, see Groag 1905.

¹¹³ See CIL VIII 20684 (Saldae, Mauretania, reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius); CIL XIV 5352 (Ostia, reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius); M.Chr. 91 = BGU II 388 and SB XVI 12747 (ca. 157–159). See Pflaum 1960–1961, 317 and Houston 2002, 169. The procuratorship of the *idios logos* would stretch the career of Postumus across three decades if a procuratorship of Arabia or Iudaea were posited for the early 130s.

¹¹⁴ For the senatorial *fasti* of this period, see Degrassi 1952, Alföldy 1977 and Eck 2013, with the addition of AE 2016, 2014 (C. Calpurnius Flaccus), AE 2009, 1177 (L. Valerius Flaccus) and AE 2017, 1763 (L. Aurelius Flaccus).

¹¹⁵ CIL II 5678 (Legio VII Gemina, Hispania citerior, after 138).

¹¹⁶ For the *fasti* of Judaeen governors, see n. 11. Since governors of Iudaea in this period were *consulares* (see Cotton 1999), the only known Postumus who would qualify is Eggius Ambibulus Pomponius Longinus Cassianus L. Maecius Postumus, *cos. ord.* 126, cited in n. 112.

plausible options remain: i. Postumus was a procurator of equestrian rank in Iudaea (rather than an imperial freedman, judging from the name), perhaps the high-ranking *procurator provinciae Iudaeae*;¹¹⁷ — ii. Postumus was a governor of Arabia;¹¹⁸ — iii. Postumus was a procurator in Arabia, possibly the *procurator provinciae* whose administrative seat was in Gerasa;¹¹⁹ — iv. Postumus was a minor Roman official or military officer in either province who was acting as a court of first instance or had been appointed by the governor as a *iudex datus*.¹²⁰

As noted above, the official presiding over the hearing in P.Cotton, who is referred to with the nonspecific term κριτής = *iudex* (21), may be identifiable with Flaccus who begins to speak in line 73.¹²¹ This official was certainly not the governor of Iudaea, since Tineius Rufus is mentioned by name in the third person and was the governor in office immediately before the Bar Kokhba rebellion. The involvement of a *iudex datus* in a criminal case of forgery and fiscal evasion may likewise be excluded: one would expect such a case to be heard by an administrator with high jurisdictional powers. This leaves three options for the identification of the presiding official: a procurator in Iudaea, or a procurator or governor of Arabia.

Regarding the nature of the hearing anticipated in P.Cotton, in relation to the earlier proceedings before Postumus, several scenarios may be proposed:

i. P.Cotton documents criminal proceedings for *falsum* before the governor of Arabia, while ἐπὶ Ποστόμου refers to an earlier hearing before a Roman official in Arabia by whom the forgery was discovered (ἐλεγχθέντος τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου, 28) and remitted to the governor (φοβούμεν[ο]ι | τὴν κόλασιν etc., 28–29). If Postumus is the official to whom the fiscal fraud was reported (πρῶ|γμα κατήγγελεγ etc., 67–69), he was most likely a Roman procurator. Since Gadalias is involved, this scenario would imply that the case transcended the territorial principle of gubernatorial jurisdiction (see n. 18) and that Gadalias was, in a sense, extradited across the provincial border to answer for forgery jointly committed by individuals in both provinces. Alternatively, P.Cotton may record a preparatory hearing where evidence was gathered for the criminal trial before the governor (as illustrated e.g. by P.Mil.Vogl. II 98, Tebtynis, 138–139).

¹¹⁷ See Pflaum 1950, 65; Smallwood 2001, 555–557 with supplements by Rea 1977.

¹¹⁸ There are still gaps in the *fasti* of Arabian governors in the years immediately before 129/130, when T. Haterius Nepos is attested in office, e.g. between ca. 127–129. The *fasti* of governors of Arabia are as follows: 124/125: Ti. Iulius Iulianus (P.Yadin I 13, 14 and 15); 126/127: Ti. Annius Sextius Florentinus (P.Yadin I 16; P. Hever 62); 129–131, likely until 134 and possibly beyond: T. Haterius Nepos (P.Yadin I 23, 25, 26, Nov. 130–Jul. 131; CIL XVI 78, 134; SEG XLVI 2058, 134 or after; CIL XI 5212 = ILS 1058, 134/135) – see further Bowersock 1983, 161–162; Gatier 1996, 48–49; Eck 1999a, 84–86; Eck and Foerster 1999 and Bowersock 2003.

¹¹⁹ On the *procurator provinciae Arabiae*, see Pflaum 1982, 132–133.

¹²⁰ For an instance of a military officer appointed as *iudex datus* in Arabia, see Cotton and Eck 2005, 41–44 on P.Yadin I 14 (Maoza, Arabia, 125).

¹²¹ On the broad semantic range of κριτής, which encompassed governors and other high-ranking officials, as well as delegated judges, see the Appendix.

ii. P.Cotton documents a fiscal investigation by a procurator in Arabia, while ἐπὶ Ποστόμου refers to earlier proceedings before the governor of Arabia, who was handling the crime of forgery but preferred to let a procurator investigate the fiscal fraud (see n. 52). Based on parallels from Roman Egypt, this would likely have been the high-ranking *procurator provinciae Arabiae* at Gerasa (see nn. 52 and 119).

iii. P.Cotton documents a hearing before a procurator in Iudaea as part of a fiscal investigation that was transregional in nature, involving fiscal agents in both provinces, while ἐπὶ Ποστόμου refers to earlier proceedings before a procurator in Arabia to whom the fraudulent manumission of Onesimos (nominally by Chaereas) was initially reported (67–69).

An interpretive difficulty is posed by the fact that the crimes of forgery and fiscal evasion in P.Cotton are closely interconnected. As noted in sections III 4–5, references to financial penalties and confiscation in the second part of P.Cotton (73–133) may indicate that this hearing is concerned with punishing fiscal evasion. But the fragmentary state of the papyrus does not permit us to exclude that the hearing deals with the crime of *falsum*, with the issue of fiscal fraud having been previously examined by Roman officials (see further section III 4).

Since the alleged crimes involved actors and locations in both Iudaea and Arabia, transregional gathering of information was necessary and is likely to have been conducted by officials in both provinces in coordination. The sharing of administrative knowledge across the provincial border appears to have been precisely what the defendants had tried to avoid.

10. The identity of the authors:

The function of P.Cotton was to serve as a mnemonic aid for forensic pleaders during legal proceedings in a Roman court. The text's formulation indicates that it was authored by someone with rhetorical training and a high degree of technical familiarity with Roman law (see section IV). Comparison with other texts of this genre suggests that P.Cotton reflects the work of a team of legal practitioners, one of whom drafted the memorandum, making a series of substantive arguments that the other was expected to use during the forensic debate (see section II). There is no indication in the surviving text that the prosecutors are speaking on behalf of a private individual acting as an accuser. Instead, the perspective seems to be that of an inquest by functionaries of the Roman imperial administration.¹²² If indeed P.Cotton specifically illustrates a fiscal investigation, as suggested above, then the prosecutors may be identified as forensic

¹²² On criminal prosecutions conducted *ex officio* by Roman officials, see Rivière 2002, 273–306. The possibility for inquisitorial proceedings coexisted with the procedure of *accusatio* by private individuals, see e.g. P.Phil 4 (Philadelphia, Arsinoite, 137) where a Roman procurator opens a call for anyone who wishes to appear as an *accusator* against a local official denounced for corruption (τούς τε ὄντας κατηγορούς καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλοι βούλονται κατηγορεῖν, πέμψον παραχρήμα εἰς ἐμέ = “send the current accusers and anyone else who wishes to make an accusation immediately to me”).

orators representing the *fiscus*, possibly affiliated with the new office of the *advocatio fisci* instituted during Hadrian's reign.¹²³

There are some indications that the authors of P.Cotton may be associated with the province of Iudaea. For example, their intention to convey the impression of being overwhelmed by the power of Gadalias (27) could indicate that the prosecutors had ties to the region. The probable find context of the papyrus in the caves of the Judean desert (see section I) may corroborate a connection with Iudaea, since it may be more likely that the document's carriers fled to the caves from the Peraea rather than from Gerasa, which was not directly affected by the Bar Kokhba revolt.¹²⁴ However, Gerasa cannot be excluded either, since there may have been hostile measures or outbreaks of violence against Jews that motivated the individuals in question to flee. There is also evidence for military operations by the governor Haterius Nepos against the Nabataeans in this region that were connected with the revolt.¹²⁵

A reference to a denunciation in lines 67–69 (πρᾶγμα κατήγγειλεν περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὀνόμα[τ]ο[ς Χαιρέου] | ἐλευθερωθέντος Ὀνησίμου) reflects the involvement of an informer (*delator*) who reported Onesimos' nominal manumission by Chaereas to the Roman authorities. This presumably took place at Gerasa, the probable location of the καταγραφή and manumission (see section III 5). In view of Chaereas and Diocles being “discovered” during a secret visit to Gadalias (62–64), an informer seems to have been active in Gadara as well. Such details are suggestive of the investigative work conducted in preparation for the prosecution. The identity and motives of the informer(s) are not revealed. They could plausibly have been fiscal functionaries at the local level, or private individuals spurred by personal enmity toward the defendants or simply attracted by the prospect of receiving a portion of the value of the case.¹²⁶

Another intriguing possibility is that the informer may have been Saulos himself, whose name appears in the nominative case in proximity to the delation: ὁ Σαούλος (ca. 20 letters) πρᾶγμα κατήγγειλεν, 67–68. Several questions immediately arise. In reporting the manumission to Roman officials, Saulos would have drawn attention to

¹²³ The work of fiscal prosecutors (κατήγοροι = *accusatores*) is vividly illustrated by M.Chr. 372,6 (copy of a judicial record from Alexandria, 135), P.Flor. I 6 (Hermopolis, 210) and M.Chr. 91 = BGU II 388 (Alexandria, ca. 157–159, where the *accusator* is termed προσοδοποιός), among numerous examples. On the *advocatio fisci*, see DizEpig I s.v. *advocatus fisci*, Jones 1964, I 509–511, and Dolganov 2020a, 382–386 and 407–411.

¹²⁴ On the flight of Jews from the Peraea during the Bar Kokhba rebellion, see Eck 1999a, 86; Cotton 2003, 164–165 and Graf 2017, 436. The participation of the Peraea in the rebellion is discussed in Raviv and Ben David 2021, 591–595.

¹²⁵ See Abbadi and Zayadine 1996, Gatier 1996, Eck 1999a, 82–87, and Horbury 2014, 334–335.

¹²⁶ Three common motives of fiscal delators, according to Dig. 49,14,2pr. (Callistratus 2 *de iure fisci*), were the prospect of a reward (*praemii consequendi*), personal enmity and revenge (*ulciscendi gratia*), and concern for the interests of the state (*nomine rei publicae*). These motives were regarded as legitimate and did not harm the reputation of the *delator* (*ex quibusdam causis delatione suscipientium fama non laeditur*). The reward for *delatores* in adultery cases is recorded as being limited to one-fourth in the reign of Nero, Suet. *Nero* 10. On *delatores fisci*, see Rivière 2002, 27–44.

his own role as the seller of Onesimos.¹²⁷ Could it be that Saulos, sensing that officials suspected something, preemptively reported his own fiscal evasion in order to alleviate his punishment? Imperial legislation encouraged persons who illicitly benefited from clandestine *fideicommissa* to report themselves to the *fiscus* and still receive a portion of the property.¹²⁸ Roman legal literature also attests to army deserters who voluntarily surrendered themselves receiving imperial amnesty (*indulgentia*) and being banished in lieu of execution.¹²⁹ It is accordingly possible that self-delation could mitigate the punishment for fiscal fraud. However, references to Saulos shifting the blame (39–40, 45–46) do not seem compatible with self-delation. It seems more likely that Saulos betrayed his collaborators, denouncing them for tax evasion in the manumission of Onesimos, in order to avoid falling under suspicion himself. The possibility of betrayal by *de facto* accomplices was a familiar problem for Roman administrators, treated in numerous imperial rescripts discussed by Ulpian in his treatise *de officio proconsulis*. According to Ulpian, officials were well-advised to regard denouncers of bandits (*latrones*) with a degree of suspicion, because “most people, if they fear that others might give their names upon being arrested, are accustomed to betray them, in the evident hope of obtaining immunity for themselves, since credence is not easily given to those who recriminate their betrayers”.¹³⁰ Here and elsewhere in the Roman legal sources, it seems that a working principle of Roman administration was to assume that perpetrators of crimes had networks of enablers (*socii* = accomplices; *receptatores* = harborers) and to extract information concerning those agents.¹³¹

A back-stabbing scenario in P.Cotton would provide a compelling explanation for the culpability of Chaereas and Diocles being “supported by the hatred of Saulos” (ἡρτηται διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν Σαούλου, 62). The prosecutors expect Chaereas and Diocles to deny any fraudulent deeds and claim that they bought and registered Onesimos in good faith (60–61, 70–72). It was presumably not to anyone’s advantage to reveal the broader scheme of forgery and fiscal evasion in which all were allegedly implicated.

¹²⁷ That Saulos was the official seller of Onesimos in the contract of sale is indicated by lines 60–61 and 71–72, where Chaereas and Diocles receive a copy of a document from him as the seller (ἀντίγραφον γὰρ ἔλαβον παρὰ δεδωκότος, 60–61; ἔχοντες π[α]ρὰ τοῦ Σαούλου ἀντίγραφον, 71–72).

¹²⁸ See Dig. 49,14,13 (Paulus 7 *ad l. iul. et pap.*), Dig. 49,14,15,3 (Mauricius 3 *ad l. iul. et pap.*) and Cod. Iust. 10,3. Similarly, eunuchs who reported themselves to the state were spared fines and the confiscation of their property after death, as appears to be the sense of BGU V 1210,244–251 §112–113 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.).

¹²⁹ See Dig. 49,16,5,4 (Menenius 2 *de re milit.*), Dig. 49,16,13,6 (Macer 2 *de re milit.*), Dig. 49,14,48pr. (Paulus 2 *decr.*) and Dig. 49,14,49 (Paulus *l. s. de tac. fideic.*).

¹³⁰ Dig. 48,18,1,26 (Ulpianus 8 *de off. procons.*): *plerique enim, dum metuunt, ne forte adprehensi eos nominent, prodere eos solent, scilicet impunitatem sibi captantes, quia non facile eis indicantibus proditores suos creditur.*

¹³¹ See e.g. Dig. 48,3,6 (Marcianus 2 *de iudic. publ.*) on the interrogation of *latrones* about their *socii* and *receptatores*, with Rivière 2002, 275–279. See also SB XVI 12949,7–9 (unknown provenance, early 3rd cent.), where a prefect of Egypt castigates military officers for rounding up and torturing a vast number of suspects, including at least one innocent man.

One would guess that this information came to light when officials began investigating on both sides of the provincial border.

It may be argued that the very survival of P.Cotton indicates that the case was not yet closed at the end of the hearing. It is remarkable that this record, which was *per se* of an ephemeral nature, was not only retained but also brought by its possessor to the caves of the Judaeen desert (the presumed find context, see section I) during the Bar Kokhba rebellion. This testifies to the enduring importance of the document, and may be a sign that the case had not reached its conclusion. A conceivable alternative explanation — that at the moment of flight to the caves the papyrus had lost its original significance and was taken by the carrier as scrap paper — seems less likely, since no traces of reuse are visible on the papyrus.¹³² A further possibility is that the document had inherent value beyond the legal case — as an edifying example of forensic rhetoric, perhaps, or as evidence that the carriers of the papyrus were affiliated with the Roman imperial administration and had collaborated in defending the interests of the *fiscus*.

The probable discovery of P.Cotton in the Judaeen desert allows us to conclude with some confidence that whoever carried the papyrus while fleeing to the caves — and this was clearly someone involved in the prosecution — was a Jew. It cannot be inferred with any certainty whether this was one of the orators who pleaded the case, one of their assistants, or some other individual. Similarly, any inferences regarding motives for carrying the document necessarily remain speculative. The details of this legal case, the identity of the persons implicated in the proceedings against Saulos and Gadalias, and the dynamics at play in the background of the events, which unfolded in close temporal proximity to two major revolts by Jews against the Roman state, leave many open questions and will undoubtedly provide fruitful material for further investigation.

IV. The Presence of Roman Juridical Terminology

The text of P.Cotton is characterized by the presence of unusual Greek terms or terms used in atypical ways that are strongly suggestive of Roman legal and institutional vocabulary rendered in Greek. Thirty-one such terms and expressions are collected and analyzed in the Appendix. This vocabulary does not contain Latin loanwords, but consists entirely of Greek words that have been adapted to function as a technical lexicon of Roman law.¹³³ There are a few obvious translations of Latin

¹³² For an example of reuse of legal documents among the papyrological finds from the Judaeen desert, see P.Mur. 112–113 (Toparchy of Herodion, reign of Hadrian), where the *verso* of a judicial record (P.Mur. 113) was used for what appears to be a medical text (P.Mur. 112). P.Mur. 117 (extracts from administrative records in Egypt, late 2nd cent.) also has an inscribed *verso*, but postdates the Bar Kokhba revolt.

¹³³ On Latin loanwords in Greek, see Dickey 2023; only *δόλος* *dolus* in P.Cotton may be regarded as a loanword of sorts, see Dickey 2023, 121. On the Greek lexicon of Roman law and institutions, see Mason 1974, Laffi 2013 and the commentary of Crawford 1996 on the Greek texts of Roman *leges* (such as the *lex de provinciis praetoriis*) and Cottier et al. 2008 on the *lex portorii Asiae* (SEG XXXIX 1180, Ephesus, 62), both offering Latin translations. The lexicon of Mason is lacunose and contains only three of the technical terms that occur in P.Cotton. This subject awaits an in-depth investigation.

expressions, such as καλῆ πίστει for *bona fide* and δόλῳ πονηρῶ for *dolo malo*, and neologisms such as ξενοκρίται for (most probably) *recuperatores*, all with known parallels. In the majority of cases, however, a common Greek term is used with a technical meaning that is absent from Classical and Hellenistic sources, but emerges in documents from the Roman period and demonstrably corresponds to a Roman legal term or concept (e.g. ῥαδιουργία for *fraus*, ἀγόραιοις for *forensis*, περιγραφή for *circumscriptio* in the sense of fraud).

In some instances, the meaning of a Greek term in the Roman legal lexicon accords with its basic meaning in Greek (e.g. βία for *vis*, κριτής for *iudex*). Other Greek words acquire new connotations that go beyond their standard semantic range, but reflect the legal meaning of the corresponding Latin terms (e.g. ἀλλότριος for *extraneus/alienus*, συνείδησις for *conscientia*, διδάσκω for *instruo causam*). In many cases, the Roman technical meaning of Greek terms is apparent from their use in Greek translations of Latin legal documents or in Greek texts of Roman legislation — such as the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* (Crawford 1996, I 12, 100 BCE) and the list of Roman public crimes attached to an edict of a Hadrianic prefect of Egypt (SB XII 10929, unknown provenance, 133–137).¹³⁴ In some instances, the atypical syntax of a Greek expression reveals it to be a juridical formulation with a specific Latin equivalent (e.g. ὑπὸ τὴν διακονίαν γενέσθαι for *in ministerio esse*; ἀλλότριος τῆς κακοουργίας for *extraneus maleficii*).

The cumulation of Roman legal terminology in P.Cotton yields a number of important insights. Detailed analysis of the Greek terms (see the Appendix) shows them being used in a precise fashion, in line with the legal meaning of the Latin terms in Roman legislation and legal literature. This implies a significant degree of expertise on the part of the authors of P.Cotton. For example: the authors were clearly familiar with Roman strictures concerning archival documentation (17–19),¹³⁵ with Roman notions of liability for presenting false evidence in court (31–33),¹³⁶ with the possibility of leniency toward errors in good faith (37, 56),¹³⁷ and with the criteria for establishing liability and complicity in forgery and fiscal fraud (28–30, 45, 61–62, 70–72);¹³⁸ they also regarded failure to deliver as juridically significant for the acquisition of ownership (52–53, 58–59).¹³⁹ At the same time, the authors adduce juridical points within a

¹³⁴ On the edict of Petronius Mamertinus, see n. 44.

¹³⁵ See the commentary to ἐπεγράφη in line 18 and SEG XXXIII 1177 (Myra, 43 CE) with Wörrle 1975, 254–285.

¹³⁶ See e.g. Dig. 48,10,13,1 (Papinianus 15 *resp.*) and Dig. 48,4,2 (Ulpianus 8 *disp.*). See further section III 4 and the commentary to lines 32–33.

¹³⁷ See e.g. Dig. 48,10,31 (Callistratus 3 *de cogn.*) and the commentary to lines 32–33 and 37.

¹³⁸ On questions of complicity, see section III 6.

¹³⁹ The validity of a sale was predicated on the possibility for the owner to possess the *res* in question (*ut rem emptori habere liceat*), see Berger 1953 s.v. *emptio venditio* and the examples of Dig. 19,1,11,17–18 (Ulpianus 32 *ad ed.*), Dig. 19,1,30,1 (Africanus 8 *quaest.*) and Dig. 30,45,1 (Pomponius 6 *ad Sab.*). The notion of physical possession was also implicit in the clause *mancipio accepit* in mancipatory sales of slaves, see e.g. AE 2003, 1016 (Londinium, 1st cent.)

carefully constructed rhetorical argument framed according to the principles of *coniectura*, whereby the financial incapacity (ἀπορία) of Gadalias, Saulos and Chaereas renders them capable of and likely to commit the criminal deeds ascribed to them.¹⁴⁰ It is evident, therefore, that the authors of P.Cotton were not strictly speaking legal experts (νομικοί, *iurisperiti*) but forensic practitioners with rhetorical training who also happened to possess technical knowledge of Roman legal rules and concepts.¹⁴¹

This knowledge was not worn heavily. On the contrary, Roman juridical vocabulary seems to have been second-nature to the authors of P.Cotton, whose extensive use of it is often linguistically “unmarked” so that is not obvious unless one pays close attention to the standard semantic range of the Greek terms in question.¹⁴² To cite an illustrative example: in the brief space of lines 50–57, it is stated that the fact of Saulos being indigent (ἀπορος *egens, inops*) makes him disposed toward fiscal fraud (περιγραφή τοῦ φόσκου *circumscriptio fisci*); this leads him to remit what Chaereas owes him by way of (ῥνομα *nomine*) a loan and to have Chaereas purchase slaves in his own name (ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ *suo nomine*) even though these never enter the latter’s service (ὕπὸ τὴν διακονίαν *in ministerio*). Not fearing the *fiscus*, Saulos and his father manumit one of the slaves with malicious intent (δόλω πονηρῶ *dolo malo*), registering him in a public archive under the name (ἐπ’ ὀνόματι *nomine*) of Chaereas.

The pervasive presence of Greek terms rendering Roman legal concepts in P.Cotton has significant implications for the interpretation of documentary sources from the Roman Near East, as well as for broader questions of law and legal culture in the Roman provinces. Until now, the presence of Roman elements in Greek legal documents from the Judaeian desert has tended to be understood as a process of appropriation by local legal practitioners, including the supposedly superfluous insertion of Roman clauses (such as *stipulationes*) due to local notions of their efficacy in Roman courts.¹⁴³ The wide-ranging and technically precise employment of Roman legal concepts in P.Cotton does not accord with this assessment and should encourage us to question its accuracy. While it may be argued that the authors of P.Cotton were professionals of a higher caliber than the notaries who drafted the contracts preserved in the archives of Babatha and Salome Komäise — especially if P.Cotton reflects the work of prosecutors attached to the office of a governor or *procurator provinciae* (see sections III 9–10) — one must also consider whether modern notions of Roman law and its historical development may be incomplete or anachronistic (or simply incorrect) with regard to the legal practices captured by documentary sources from different regions of the empire.

and CIL IV 3340 (Pompeii, ca. 62). Further on the delivery of slaves after purchase in documentary sources from the Roman empire, see Straus 2004, 86–88.

¹⁴⁰ See the discussion in section III 7.

¹⁴¹ On the typology of legal practitioners in the Roman provinces, see Dolganov 2020a and Czaikowski 2017, 60–106.

¹⁴² On the concept of markedness in linguistic analysis, see Bybee 2011.

¹⁴³ For this approach, see in particular Humfress 2011, 35–43, Czaikowski 2017, 127–129 and Czajkowski and Eckhardt 2018, 11–17. The ubiquity of *stipulationes* in legal documents from multiple Roman provinces is more plausibly interpreted by Nörr 1999, 270 as a deliberate strategy to secure transactions by creating a *stricti iuris* obligation enabling an *actio ex stipulatu*.

Another key insight generated by P.Cotton is that the Greek vocabulary of Roman law and institutions was broadly consistent across the Greek East. This is illustrated by the literary and documentary parallels adduced from the Roman provinces of Egypt, Syria, Macedonia and Asia in the terminological register (see the Appendix). A good example is provided by ἀθέντης for *auctor* and κοινώνος for *socius*, both of which already occur in the *lex portorii Asiae* (SEG XXXIX 1180, Ephesus, 62) and are attested in papyri from the entire period of Roman rule in Egypt. In this respect, P.Cotton functions as a catalyst for linguistic arguments on the basis of epigraphic and papyrological documentation: if a Greek term appears in two different regions of the Greek East with a technical meaning unknown before the Roman period, this makes for a strong argument in favor of Roman legal terminology. The fact of such terminology being transregional in the eastern empire, sometimes across a span of several centuries, furnishes striking evidence for institutional coherence in Roman imperial administration and its powerful impact on local legal practice.

V. New Evidence for *Xenokritai* and the Assize System in Iudaea

The story of Gadalias being summoned as a *xenokrites* to the judicial assizes of Tineius Rufus, failing to attend, and avoiding a fine by showing that he had insufficient financial means (τέσσαρσιν γὰρ ἀγοραίοις ῥούφου οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ζημιοῦσθαι ὀφείλοντας | ξενοκρίτας ἐνταγείς ὡς ἄπορος ἐφίλανθρωπήθη, 21–23), constitutes the first direct evidence for the Roman assize system in the province of Iudaea.¹⁴⁴ Much ink has been spilled on the role of the *xenokritai* in the Greek East and whether they represent a continuation into Roman times of the Hellenistic institution of foreign judges (ξενικά / μετὰπεμπτα δικαστήρια) or the introduction of Roman legal procedure in the form of *recuperatores*.¹⁴⁵ As the term ξενοκρίται itself is not attested in Hellenistic sources, but first emerges in Greek texts of Roman legislation as a translation of *recuperatores*, the latter seems more probable.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ On the identification of Rufus, see section III 1. For a summary of the meager sources for the *conventus* system in Iudaea/Palaestina see Haensch 1997a, 234–237. So far the best evidence for the assize system in Iudaea stemmed from analogy to the system in Arabia, which is recorded in the Babatha archive (Cotton and Eck 2005).

¹⁴⁵ For different perspectives on this subject, see Wolff 1980 and Horstkotte 1996 in favor of Hellenistic continuity and Nörr 1998 and 1999 and Cotton and Eck 2005, 28 n. 25 in favor of *xenokritai* as *recuperatores*. In the Late Republic, Cicero appears to refer to the Hellenistic institution of foreign judges when he mentions *peregrini iudices* in *ad Att.* 6,1,15: *Graeci vero exsultant quod peregrinis iudicibus utuntur* = “indeed, the Greeks rejoice that they are permitted to use foreign judges”. On foreign judges, see Robert 1973 and Crowther 1999. On the origin and function of *recuperatores*, see Johnston 1987, 67–70 and Nörr 1999.

¹⁴⁶ See the entry on ξενοκρίται in the Appendix. An instance of a Spartan ξενοκρίτης to the city of Alabanda in the second century CE (SEG XI 491, 115–150) may or may not refer to the institution of foreign judges (Nörr 1999, 280–281 is skeptical).

The phrase τέσσαρσιν ἀγοραίοις (συνόδοις) (21–22) implies four distinct assizes.¹⁴⁷ Whether these were four annual assizes in the same location over a period of four or more years, or four assizes in different locations within a shorter period, remains unclear. In part, the answer depends on whether one imagines the *xenokritai* as a purely local judicial body, drawn from the local elite and active within a particular assize district, or as a board of judges at the provincial level, active throughout the province and accompanying the governor on his assize tour. Relevant information is furnished by Pliny’s description of his summoning judges at an assize in Prusa (*Ep.* 10,58,1): *cum citarem iudices, domine, conventum incohaturus, Flavius Archippus vacationem petere coepit ut philosophus* = “as I was about to begin the assize, my lord, and was calling forth judges, Flavius Archippus began to ask for exemption as a philosopher”. Evidently, individuals eligible to serve as judges were expected to be in attendance at the assize and to respond and come forward if selected (or ask to be excused, if relevant). Failure to respond is rendered in Greek records of Roman judicial proceedings with the formulaic expression κληθέντος ... καὶ μὴ ὑπακούσαντος (compare P.Cotton οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, 22), which ostensibly corresponds to the Latin *citatus ... non responderit*.¹⁴⁸ In the *municipium* of Irni in the province of Baetica in southern Spain, the curial class was grouped into three *decuriae* that took turns undertaking embassies (explicitly referred to as a liturgy, *munus*) on a rotation basis, and it seems likely that judicial duties were distributed in a similar fashion.¹⁴⁹ Pliny’s phrasing (*cum citarem iudices ... conventum incohaturus*) suggests that his roll-call of judges took place on a single occasion at the beginning of the assize. The fact of Gadalias being fined after four missed assizes accords with a well-documented Roman policy of issuing penalties after three failures to respond to the roll call.¹⁵⁰

The existence of a fine for shirking judicial duties (ζημιοῦσθαι ὀφεύλοντας | ξενοκρίτας, 22–23) indicates that judicial activity in Iudaea was, by this time, regarded as a *munus personale* of the propertied classes within the Roman system of civic liturgies (*munera*). As with other liturgies, the fact of Gadalias claiming exemption by virtue of being ἄπορος implies a distinct wealth threshold (πόρος) for service as a *xenokrites*. Property qualifications for judges were a standard practice throughout the Roman empire and varied according to the size and wealth of the local civic elite: in the small *municipium* of Irni the minimum qualification for *iudices* was 5,000 HS (CIL

¹⁴⁷ On σύνδοκος as the implicit referent of ἀγόραιος, see CGIL II 104,8: *conventus ἀγόραιος*, II 115,31: *conventus ἀγόραιος σύνδοκος* and III 336,31: ἀγόρευος σύνδοκος *conventus forensis*, with a detailed explanation in the Appendix.

¹⁴⁸ See e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 15,14,1: *si Lysiades citatus iudex non responderit*, etc. and other sources in the entry to ὑπακούω in the Appendix.

¹⁴⁹ This is evidenced by the Flavian *lex municipalis* of Irni, CIL II 4, 1201 § F and 87, see the commentary of González and Crawford 1986 *ad loc.* On the import of the *Lex Irnitana* for our understanding of the appointment of judges in the Roman empire, see Birks 1988.

¹⁵⁰ See e.g. Dig. 48,1,10 (Papinianus 2 *def.*): *nec per triduum per singulos dies ter citatus reus damnatur* (with reference to a standard policy that does not apply in the specific case) and P.Hamb. I 29,3–7 (unknown provenance, 94), see further ὑπακούω in the Appendix.

II 4, 1201 § 86); in Italy, it ranged from the curial census of 100,000 HS to the equestrian census of 400,000 HS.¹⁵¹ The qualification for *recuperatores* may have been higher than for ordinary judges, as suggested by the Republican *lex agraria* of 111 BCE, where *recuperatores* are appointed from the wealthiest sector of the population (CIL I 200 = CIL XI 364a [fr. F] = CIL I² 585, 37–38: *recuperatores ex civibus L quae classis primae sient XI dato* = “let eleven *recuperatores* be appointed from fifty citizens who are of the first property class”).

Why, exactly, Gadalias was summoned as a *xenokrites* in spite of not fulfilling the property qualification is not entirely clear, and there are at least two possibilities:

i. Gadalias was erroneously added to the list of *xenokritai* despite being ineligible. There is evidence for liturgical nominations of persons below the necessary *πόρος* by negligent or abusive officials.¹⁵² Erroneous nomination would have resulted in a penalty for the official, but is unclear why this should have been expressed in terms of amnesty from punishment for Gadalias (ἐφιλανθρωπήθη, 23). For Gadalias to have been the victim of administrative error was also not well-suited as invective against him, which is the thrust of the passage (20–23).

ii. Gadalias was already on the list of eligible *xenokritai* from an earlier period — possibly by virtue of being the son and heir of his father the *chreophylax*, who had served as a *xenokrites* — but became impoverished (e.g. as a result of heavy debts) and no longer qualified to serve. As a parallel: in a document from Roman Egypt (P.Petaus 10, Ptolemais Hormou, 184) it is alleged that a village administrator is ἄπορος due to his debts, in spite of qualifying for the post on the basis of his property holdings. The stigma of impoverishment fits the broader argument of the prosecutors, who seek to demonstrate that Gadalias is not what he seems (20–21) — not a respectable member of the officeholding class (μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος | κεινείτω τὸν κριτήν, 20–21) but a venal man (ἄνῆρ εὖθνος, 20) capable of criminal deeds. The pauperized son of a respectable father would also have been suggestive of a spendthrift (*prodigus*) who had squandered his estate, a prominent theme in Roman legal and rhetorical sources.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ See Demougin 1975.

¹⁵² See e.g. P.Wisc. II 81 (unknown provenance, 143) where a local official is castigated and fined for nominating an *aporos* to a liturgy, resulting in the auctioning of the latter’s property. There are also numerous complaints by individuals nominated to liturgies in spite of being *aporoι*, see e.g. SB VIII 10196 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite, 180) and SB XX 14335 (unknown provenance, early 3rd cent.).

¹⁵³ See e.g. Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 5,11, Dig. 27,10 and Cod. Iust. 5,70. It is conceivable that ἄπορος signifies that Gadalias was impecunious to the point of being unable to pay the fine. Such a situation is envisioned in Dig. 1,18,6,9 (Ulpianus 1 *opin.*): *praeses provinciae si multam quam irrogavit ex praesentibus facultatibus eorum, quibus eam dixit, redigi non posse deprehenderit: necessitate solutionis moderetur reprehensa exactorum illicita avaritia. remissa propter inopiam multa a provincias regentibus exigi non debet* = “if a governor discovers that a fine that he has imposed cannot be paid from the present means of the individuals on whom he has imposed it,

If indeed τέσσαρσιν ἀγοραίοις refers to Gadalias missing four annual assizes of Rufus in the same location, this would mean that the assizes extended over the entire term of Rufus in 129–132 until shortly before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt. This seems implausible, in view of the additional time implied by punitive measures against Gadalias being prescribed and later lifted (εἰς τοὺς ζημιουῦσθαι ὀφειλόντας | ξενοκρίτας ἐνταγεῖς ὡς ἄπορος ἐφιλανθρωπήθη, 22–23). It may be that the term of Rufus started already in 128, a chronology that would still be compatible with our current knowledge of the *fasti* of governors of Iudaea.¹⁵⁴ But it is also worth considering whether the assizes could have taken place in multiple locations within a shorter period. This would imply that the *xenokritai* were active transregionally and attended assizes in different places.

Regarding the location(s) of the assizes, some indications in the text point to Gadora, the presumed hometown of Gadalias (see section III 3). As the administrative center of the Peraea, Gadora could plausibly have received assizes, although not necessarily every year. In Roman Egypt, the governor's assize circuit consisted of several cities that received regular annual assizes (e.g. Pelusium and Memphis) and other locations (such as the regional capitals of Middle and Upper Egypt) from which the governor could choose when traveling through the region. More remote places such as Koptos did not receive assizes on a regular basis.¹⁵⁵ This supports the hypothesis that the *xenokritai* to whom Gadalias belonged were a judicial body at the provincial level who could expect to be summoned to assizes beyond their place of residence.

That Gadalias was specifically registered as a *xenokrites* suggests that distinct criteria were in place for service as *xenokritai*. One possibility is a higher property rating, mentioned above. Another criterion may have been civic status. The *collegium* of fifteen *xenokritai* in P.Oxy. XLII 3016 (Oxyrhynchus, 148) — the only known instance of the term in papyri from Roman Egypt — are all Roman citizens, and the proceedings are recorded in Latin and involve questions of free status (*causa liberalis*), which suggests a specifically Roman procedure. P.Cotton does not provide the full nomenclature of Gadalias beyond his Jewish *nomen*, hence it is not possible to determine whether or not he was a Roman citizen.

It has been argued by Dieter Nörr that the link between *xenokritai* and *recuperatores* (based on evidence from the provinces of Asia, Arabia and Egypt) does not necessarily imply Roman citizenship, and that non-Roman members of the local elite who normally served as judges could also have been appointed. In particular, Nörr expressed doubts about the availability of Roman citizens, particularly in a new province such as Arabia.¹⁵⁶ The functioning of *xenokritai* as a board of judges on the provincial level, as

let the requirement to pay be mitigated and the illicit greed of fine collectors be kept in check. A fine remitted on grounds of financial incapacity (*inopia*) must not be exacted by those who govern provinces”.

¹⁵⁴ On the *fasti* of Iudaea, see n. 11.

¹⁵⁵ On the assize circuit of the prefect of Egypt, see Foti Talamanca 1974, 31–105 and Haensch 1997b, 208–228.

¹⁵⁶ See Nörr 1998, 317–341 and the remarks of Cotton and Eck 2005, 28.

suggested above, would offer a solution to Nörr's dilemma regarding the scarcity of Roman citizens available to serve as *xenokritai* in the Greek East. Until more evidence comes to light, however, the question of the status and function of *xenokritai* in the eastern provinces must remain open.

VI. Physical Description, Palaeography and Layout

P.Cotton is a papyrus of medium format (31 × 26 cm) with upper and lower margins still intact. The left side has been broken and the right side is frayed and damaged. The surface displays dust and debris and has a reddish tint due to the presence of an unknown substance. There is a *kollesis* ca. 4.5 cm from the left; a second *kollesis* is not immediately visible. As the papyrus was fixed to Japanese *washi*-paper some years before Hannah Cotton identified it as a Greek document and began editorial work, the *verso* is no longer clearly visible but appears to be blank.

The writing runs on the *recto* along the fibers and is divided into four visible columns written in black ink, totaling more than 133 lines. Of the first column only small traces survive along the left edge of the papyrus. The text is well-preserved from col. II 17 to col. III 72, after which the hand changes and becomes barely legible. Col. II is the most complete and contains 47 lines. Col. IV is mostly missing but appears to be the final column, whereas the number of columns lost on the left is unclear. The presence of only one *kollesis*, if correct, would mean that the papyrus sheet was at least 28.5 cm wide (allowing for a sheet overlap of ca. 2 cm), indicating a roll of superior quality.¹⁵⁷ A second sheet of the same proportions on the left would mean that at least two columns have been lost. It seems likely that the missing text was written in columns comparable in size to col. II, after which two narrower columns III and IV were compressed into the remaining space. One would guess that the papyrus was cut from the roll after the completion of the memorandum (1–72) while leaving space on the right for notes during the proceedings. Both P.Cotton and all but one of the judicial memoranda examined in section II were written on only one side of the sheet — presumably, in order to give legal practitioners a full overview of their arguments during the hearing. The examples of P.Oxy. III 472 and P.Fouad 25 suggest that the missing text on the left side of P.Cotton contained a draft speech, which was followed by planned arguments for the forensic debate (*altercatio*) that are partially preserved. Damage to the surface of the papyrus has frayed and dislodged some of the fibers, shifting many letters and words from their original position, as noted in the commentary.

¹⁵⁷ Papyrus sheets of this width were typically used for literary texts, see Johnson 1993; Turner 1977, 48 and 54; Kenyon 1951², 40–74. The sheet breadth of P.Cotton exceeds the Augustan standard of 13 digits (ca. 24.05 cm) for papyrus of superior quality, as described by Pliny the Elder (NH 13,78: *XIII digitorum optimis*). Instead, it may have corresponded to the augmented Claudian standard of ca. 29.6 cm (NH 13,79: *auxit et amplitudinem, pedali mensura*). The widest *kollema* observed by Turner 1977, 54 measures 32.5 cm in P.Oxy. XXXVII 2806 (2nd cent.), similar to the *cubitalis macrocollis* (ca. 33.3 cm) mentioned by Pliny, NH 13,80.

The two parts of P.Cotton are written in two distinct writing styles: m. 1 (1–72, the main text of the memorandum) is a compact, mostly even and upright or slightly inclined cursive script with few symbols and no visible abbreviations; m. 2 (73–133, notes of court proceedings) is a larger, more rapid and uneven cursive script with copious abbreviations. The letter height ranges from 0.3 cm (m. 1, col. I–III) to 0.5 cm (m. 2, col. III–IV). The columns range from ca. 12 cm (col. II) to ca. 8 cm (col. III), with small upper and lower margins of, respectively, ca. 0.5 and 1 cm and intercolumnar spaces of ca. 1.5–2 cm (m. 1, col. I–III) and 1 cm (m. 2, col. III–IV).

While differences in the writing style of papyri may be context-dependent and are not necessarily decisive for distinguishing between writers, an orthographical discrepancy between m. 1 and m. 2 in spelling Chaereas (written as Χαίρεας in m. 1 and Χερέας in m. 2) gives a strong indication that m. 1 and m. 2 do indeed represent the writing of two different individuals.

The handwriting of m. 1 displays characteristic features of the Greek paleographical *koine* attested in other papyri from the region, including the archives of Babatha and Salome Komaïse.¹⁵⁸ Unlike these documents, however, the writing of m. 1 is more dense, leans slightly forward and employs a number of distinctive letter forms (see below). This writing also departs from certain notarial conventions present in the majority of documents preserved from Iudaea and Arabia in this period. A close parallel may be found in the inner text of P.Mur. 115 = SB X 10305 (marriage contract, toparchy of Herodion, 124), whereas the outer text does not exhibit the same features. A further parallel is furnished by P.Mur. 112 (medical text, early 2nd cent.). There are also contemporary papyri from Egypt with similar paleographical characteristics.¹⁵⁹ This suggests that the writing style of m. 1 represents a type of professional cursive of which few examples have survived from second-century Iudaea, but which was well-established in the Levante region and likely also in other parts of the eastern empire from which no papyrological documentation survives.

Several letters of m. 1 consistently extend above and/or below the line. Extending above the line are: *epsilon*, *phi* and occasionally *nu*. Extending below the line are: *zeta*, *rho*, *phi* and *xi*. By contrast, *iota* never extends above the line and only rarely below at the end of words (see e.g. 15: σοφιστάμενοι or 31: γράμματι). The letter *phi* always extends beyond the line in both directions. The ligature of letters is rare in m. 1. It is systematic only with *alpha*, *epsilon*, *sigma* and *tau*. For further palaeographical features of m. 1, see fig. 1.

The text of m. 1 contains no visible abbreviations. There are two symbols, one consisting of *rho* topped with a curved or straight horizontal stroke, which most probably



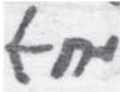





¹⁵⁸ On the writing style of documents from Roman Palestine, see Crisci 1996, 31–98, esp. 47–48.




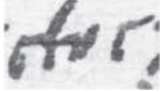


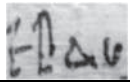
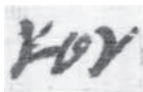




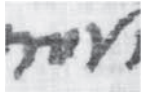
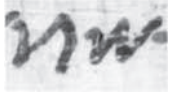
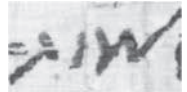
¹⁵⁹ See e.g. P.Lond. III 1283 *descr.* (Hermopolite, ca. 133–137), a copy of judicial proceedings from the 130s, written in a similar forward-sloping hand with a low level of cursivity and similar forms of *alpha*, *beta*, *delta*, *nu*, *rho* and *sigma*. The edition of this text by Anna Dolganov is forthcoming.

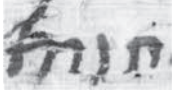
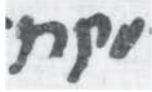



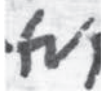


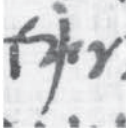
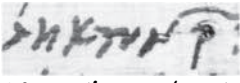


represents the Greek *siglum* for ἑκατοντάρχης = lat. *centurio* (see fig. 1 and the commentary to line 26). The other is a *chi*-shape crossed by a horizontal stroke, which represents the common *siglum* for *denarius* = Gr. δηνάριον (see fig. 1 and the commentary to line 29).

The writing of m. 1 displays no significant orthographical errors. There are several common orthographical variants, such as the switching of *o*/*ω* (e.g. the genitive ending -εος for -εως) and *v* instead of *γ* in the combinations γγ-, γκ- and γχ-. There is also a grammatical variant whereby the augment of ἐγεγόνει is omitted, which occurs in later Greek (see the commentary to line 31). The text appears to be free from grammatical errors.

The texts of m. 1 and m. 2 are both subdivided into sections. In contrast to m. 1, the sections of m. 2 are numbered and separated by *paragraphoi*, which occur in lines 95, 98, 101, 105, 111, 112, and 128, with section numbers 4–7 still visible and 1–3, 8 and 11 lost in lacunae. The significance of this enumeration and the reason why the initial lines 73–81 are not included in it remain unclear. The space between lines 131 and 132 may indicate that lines 132–133 were a later addendum. After line 133 follows an empty space that marks the end of what seems to be the final column. There is no sign of a closing formula such as a date or a signature; instead, the text appears to break off in the middle of its record of proceedings.

<p><i>alpha</i> consists of a loop that is closed at the top; when the lower loop is pronounced it looks similar to <i>delta</i>; more often, however, <i>alpha</i> appears as an almost vertical double stroke forming a narrow and vertically stretched loop, particularly in combination with <i>nu</i> (e.g. ἔάν, 39) or <i>pi</i> (e.g. ἄπορος, 23).</p>	 ασ in Γερασηνοί, 17  απ in ἄπορος, 23	 ἔάν, 39  αι in εὐρίσκεται, 17
<p><i>beta</i> occasionally consists of a vertical hasta with two loops to the right (e.g. βουλῆ and βουλῆς, 29–30) but also appears as a nearly vertical double stroke with a small loop at the top, e.g. βίας, 24 and ὑποβολήν, 64; compare the second <i>beta</i> of προβιβάζεται in P.Mur. 115,14–15 (124):</p> 	 βου in βουλῆ, 29  βο in ὑποβολήν, 64	 βι in βίας, 24

<p><i>gamma</i> and <i>sigma</i> consist of a horizontal and vertical stroke and look similar; a convex vertical stroke that curves to the right distinguishes <i>gamma</i> in some instances (e.g. γα in Γαδαλίου, 63); elsewhere, the vertical stroke of <i>gamma</i> is concave and curves to the left (e.g. γο in ἀγοραίος, 21–22) which makes it almost indistinguishable from <i>sigma</i>; a pronounced hook at the bottom of <i>sigma</i> serves as a distinguishing feature in many cases.</p>	 <p>γα in Γαδαλίου, 63</p>  <p>σ in εὐρίσκειται, 17</p>	 <p>γο in ἀγοραίος, 21–22</p>  <p>σεος in ἀποστάσεως, 24</p>
<p><i>nu</i> consists of three strokes, with the two vertical hastae typically close together and the right hasta often rising above the line to form a so-called step-<i>nu</i>.</p>	 <p>αν in ῥαδιουργίαν, 19</p>	 <p>first εν in ἐλεγχθέντος, 28</p>
<p><i>omicron</i> is typically oval and slightly forward-leaning, ending in a tiny loop at the top (e.g. ομ in ἀληθεύομεν, 21). However, in some cases it is not closed at the top (e.g. κου in ὑπήκουσεν, 22) and even occurs in an open V-shape that is difficult to distinguish from <i>ypsilon</i>, e.g. τόπος, 17–18 or πολλάκις, 26; compare the first <i>omicron</i> of ἐβδόμου in P.Mur. 115,1 (124):</p> 	 <p>κου in ὑπήκουσεν, 22</p>  <p>το in τόπος, 17–18</p>	 <p>ομ in ἀληθεύομεν, 21</p>  <p>πο in πολλάκις, 26</p>
<p><i>omicron-ypsilon</i> (ου): this letter combination often occurs as two clearly differentiated letters (e.g. τοῦ, 63) but, in some cases, due to the aforementioned occurrence of an open V-shaped <i>omicron</i>, it takes the unexpected form of a W that resembles <i>omega</i>, particularly at the end of words, e.g. υἱοῦ, 20 or Γαδαλίου, 63; compare the <i>omicron-ypsilon</i> of Βελλικίου in P.Mur. 115,1 (124):</p> 	 <p>τοῦ, 63</p>  <p>υἱοῦ, 20</p>	 <p>λιου in Γαδαλίου, 63</p>

<p><i>pi</i> is written in two parts: a vertical stroke and an adjoining stroke curving down to the right; the righthand stroke is often shorter than the left. <i>pi</i> in m. 1 does not bind to the left, the sole exception being περί, 24. By contrast, <i>pi</i> in m. 2 regularly binds to the left (see below).</p>	 <p>επιπ in ἐπὶ Ποστόμου, 28</p>	 <p>προ in προείπαμεν, 56</p>
<p><i>tau</i> is likewise in two parts: the left element a downward-curving stroke, with an adjoining horizontal stroke on the right side.</p>	 <p>στουτο in πρὸς τούτοις, 54</p>	 <p>οτο in δεδωκότος, 61</p>
<p><i>psilon</i> has a V-shape, the left stroke curving slightly to the left, the right stroke straight and often extended above the line.</p>	 <p>ου in ἠριθμημένου, 57</p>	 <p>ευ in εὐρίσκεται, 17</p>
<p><i>phi</i> consists of a horizontal stroke resembling an S on its side, crossed by a long vertical hasta that typically curves to the left (see e.g. ῥούφου, 22 and ἔφυγεν, 25).</p>	 <p>in ῥούφου, 22</p>  <p>in φίλος, 45</p>	 <p>εφου in ἔφυγεν, 25</p>
<p><i>rho</i> topped with a curving stroke appears to be a variant <i>siglum</i> for <i>centurio</i> in lines 26 and 35 (see the commentary to line 26). An occurrence in line 5 also seems likely.</p>	 <p>Λήκτον (ἐκατοντάρχη), 26</p>  <p>ρ(), 5</p>	 <p>(ἐκατοντάρχου), 35</p>








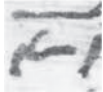










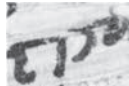





<p><i>chi</i> crossed by a horizontal stroke is a standard <i>siglum</i> for <i>denarius</i> that is already attested in papyri from the first century CE, see e.g. the Latin account in PSI XIII 1321 = ChLA XXV 788,6 (first half of the 1st cent.):</p> 	 <p>(δηνάρια), 29</p>	
---	--	--

Fig. 1 Paleographical features of m. 1

The writing of m. 2 (ll. 73–134) is more rapid and cursive than m. 1 with several differences in orthography and letter forms:

<p><i>alpha</i> is written in two ways:</p> <p>1) as a single loop that is closed at the top when the letter is not bound on the left, as in Γεράσιος, 115 (a form regularly employed in m. 1); as an open loop when binding to a letter on the left, as in Χερέας, 74;</p> <p>2) in two parts with a loop and a long diagonal stroke sloping down to the right, as in αὐτό, 79; when binding to a letter on the left, the loop is an open curve facing upwards, as in πατρ[ός], 113 (a form not present in m. 1).</p>	 <p>in Γεράσιος, 115</p>  <p>in αὐτό, 79</p>	 <p>in Χερέας, 74</p>  <p>in πατρ[ός], 113</p>
<p><i>epsilon</i> is written in two ways:</p> <p>1) as a single semicircular curve with a short horizontal stroke (a form not present in m. 1);</p> <p>2) in two parts with a curving downward stroke and an angular upper stroke (the form regularly employed in m. 1).</p>	 <p>in ἔχονται, 117</p>	 <p>ε(), 113</p>
<p><i>kappa</i> is written in two ways:</p> <p>1) as a vertical stroke with an adjoining curve opening to the right (a form also employed in m. 1);</p> <p>2) as a single stroke curving at the bottom (a form not present in m. 1).</p>	 <p>καί, 74</p>	 <p>οὐκ, 109</p>

<p><i>nu</i> is written in three ways:</p> <p>1) in two parts, with a vertical stroke and a curve opening upward, either at the level of the line (e.g. ἐν, 115) or above the line as a so-called step-<i>nu</i> (e.g. αὐτῶν, 116);</p> <p>2) in three strokes, with a vertical stroke, a reverse L-shaped stroke across and upward, and a third stroke downward (e.g. ἐνγού, 119 and τήν, 120);</p> <p>3) in two parts, with a vertical stroke and a single stroke across, upward and down (e.g. τόν, 106 and ἐνίω, 116).</p>	 <p>in ἐν, 115</p>  <p>in ἐνγού, 119</p>  <p>in τόν, 106</p>	 <p>in αὐτῶν, 116</p>  <p>in τήν, 120</p>  <p>in ἐνίω, 116</p>
<p><i>pi</i> is written in two ways:</p> <p>1) in two parts, with a vertical stroke and a stroke that extends horizontally and bends downward (e.g. δεσπότη, 104), also the form employed in m. 1;</p> <p>2) in three strokes with a long horizontal <i>hasta</i> (e.g. the initial π, 75), which does not occur in m. 1.</p> <p>Both <i>pi</i> forms of m. 2 regularly bind to the next letter on the right (see e.g. πατρ[ός], 119), which never occurs in m. 1.</p>	 <p>πα in πατρ[ός], 118</p>  <p>π at the beginning of line 75</p>	 <p>σπο in δεσπότη, 104</p>
<p><i>sigma</i> is written in two strokes, one downward and occasionally curving at the bottom (see δεσπότη, 104), and another across to the right, which tends to be straight but is occasionally a curve opening upward (see the second <i>sigma</i> in Γεράσοις, 115). When binding from above to a letter on the left, the vertical stroke is often slightly detached from the horizontal stroke, as in the first <i>sigma</i> in Γεράσοις, 115 (in contrast to m. 1 where <i>sigma</i> does not bind to the left).</p>	 <p>in δεσπότη, 104</p>  <p>first and second <i>sigma</i> in Γεράσοις, 115</p>	 <p>in συν[όλω], 102</p>
<p><i>tau</i> is written in three ways:</p> <p>1) in two strokes, one downward-curving, with an adjoining horizontal stroke on the</p>	 <p>in αὐτῶν, 116</p>	 <p>in τῶ, 104</p>



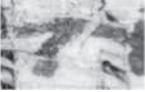

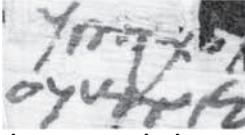

<p>right side, as in $\alpha\upsilon\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$, 116 and $\tau\hat{\omega}$, 104 (the prevalent form in m. 1);</p> <p>2) in two strokes, one horizontal and one vertical, as in $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$, 106 and $\tau\eta$, 102 (a form that does not occur in m. 1);</p> <p>3) as a single stroke curving downward, forming a small loop, then curving upward, as in $\tau\acute{o}$, 112 and $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$, 120 (a form that does not occur in m. 1).</p>	 <p>in $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$, 106</p>  <p>in $\tau\acute{o}$, 112</p>	 <p>in $\tau\eta$, 102</p>  <p>in $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$, 120</p>
<p><i>ypsilon</i> is written in two ways: as a curve opening upward with an adjoining, leftward-sloping downward stroke, e.g. $\sigma\upsilon\kappa$, 109; (for parallels, see e.g. P.Mur. 89 = SB X 10300,4,17 (2nd cent.): Ἰησοῦς; cf. Crisci 1996, 192 Fig. 105b) or, occasionally, as a V-shape, e.g. $\tau\omicron\upsilon$, 114.</p>	 <p>$\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu[\] \mid \sigma\upsilon\kappa \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\delta\omicron$ [], 108–109</p>  <p>$\tau\omicron\upsilon$, 114</p>	

Fig. 2 Paleographical features of m. 2

VII. TEXT

P.Cotton (*XHev/Se Nab. 6*
[*olim* 'Wadi Habra'] inv. no. 860)
Iudaea or Arabia

31 × 26 cm

129–132 CE
Plates 12–16

col. I

3 lines missing

1 [---] .

14 lines missing

2 [---] .

3 [---] .

5 lines missing

4 [---] .

5 [---] .ρ()

2 lines missing

6 [---] .α

3 lines missing

7 [---] .

8 [---] τᾱ

9 [---] .

10 [---] σῖ

11 [---]]ς

12 [---]]ς

13 [---]]ο

1 line missing

14 [---]]ω

15 [---]]ε

3 lines missing

16 [---]]

col. II

17 μεν . . . [. . .] . λ' εὐρίσκεται – ἐπεὶ Γερασηνοὶ ἦσαν οἱ σοφιστάμενοι – τό-
18 πος Γερασηνῶν ἐνηλλαγμένος. ὁ δὲ τόπος Γαδῶρα ἐπεγράφη ὡς
19 εὔθετος πρὸς τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν.
20 ὁ Γαδαλίας ἀνὴρ εὖωνος, καὶ μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος
21 κεινείτω τὸν κριτὴν. ὅτι δὲ ἀληθεύομεν δῆλον. τέσσαρσιν γὰρ ἀ-
22 γοραίοις ῥούφου οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ζημιοῦσθαι ὀφείλοντας
23 ξενοκρίτας ἐνταγεῖς ὡς ἄπορος ἐφιλανθρωπήθη.
24 περὶ βίας καὶ ἀποστάσεος καὶ ληστείας καὶ περὶ νομίματος οὗ παρεχάραξεν

25 και ὡς ἀπὸ εἰρκτικῆς ἔφυγεν καὶ ὡς τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος πολλοὺς
 26 διέσεισεν ἐν οἷς καὶ Λήκτον (ἐκατοντάρχη) καὶ ὡς πολλάκις κατεγνώσθη καὶ
 27 γαδευθῆ ἐὰν λέγωμεν δόξομεν δοκεῖν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς τὴν δυναστείαν.]
 28 τὸ καθόλου δὲ οὖν ἐλεγχθέντος τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου φοβούμεν[ο]ι
 29 τὴν κόλασιν τῇ βουλῇ προσέφυγον ἕκαστος ἀνά (δηνάρια) ῥκε εἰσόδιον δούς.
 30 οἴονται γὰρ κουφισθῆσθαι τῆς κολάσεως ὀνόματι τῆς βουλήs.
 31 ἐὰν λέγεται ὑπὲρ Γαδαλίου ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς[ς] αὐτοῦ γέγονει καὶ [μάρ]τυρας
 32 π[α]ρῆγενκεν, διδάξεις ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν [ο]ὐ δεῖ ἔνοχον ἄλλο[ν] τινὰ εἰ-
 33 ν[αι] παρόντι πλαστῶ γράμματι ἢ τὸν προφέροντα, ἔπειτα ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 34 ἐπεβλήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ου
 35 (ἐκατοντάρχου) καὶ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου ἠρνησθαι ἔχειν, ὕστερον [. . .] [ca. 7] υ
 36 τῶ τῶν Γερασηνῶν δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτῶ[ν ca. 8] γραφον καὶ
 37 ὃ ἔδει αὐτὸν προφέρειν. εἰ ἄρα καλῆ πίστει ἦν . . . [ca. 7] . . [.] .
 38 τρόπῳ, τουτέστι τὴν ἀ πριαμ[εν ca. 12]
 39 ἐὰν ὁ Σαοῦλος λέγῃ ὡς περὶ τὸν Γαδαλίαν . . [ca. 12] προφέρον-
 40 τα, ἐρεῖς ὅτι ὁ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας αὐθέντης [ca. 17] . . .
 41 μενος Σαοῦλος ὅτι [ca. 16] ἐκ
 42 τοῦ ὠνησαμένου . . . ο[. . .] ε . . . εν . . [ca. 18] ἀντί-
 43 γραφον [χειρο]γράφου αὐτοῦ γεγεν [ca. 20]
 44 τον μὴ γενόμενον παρ' αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ δῆλον γ αὐτὸν ἀντ . . [ca. 3]
 45 ὅτι δὲ φίλος καὶ συνεργὸς καὶ κοινωνὸς παντὸς, [ca. 8] . . [. . Γαδαλί-?]
 46 αν γέγονεν ὁ Σαοῦλος παραστήσεις ἐκ τοῦ τὸ παρα[κεχαρα]γ[μένον νό-]
 47 μισμα καὶ Σαοῦλον παρεσκευακέναι καὶ ὑπὸ τινῶ[ν ca. 10]
 48 θαι τούτου ἔνεκα τὸν μὲν παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγε[μ]όνι, τ[ὸ]ν δὲ παρὰ
 49 τῷ τῆς Ἀραβίας.
 50 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄπορον αὐτὸν ὄντα πρ[ὸς] περιγραφὴν τοῦ φύσκου [. . .] . . [.] . ον
 51 ἐπιλύσας οἷα αὐτῷ ὀφείλει ὄνομα χρέους τὸν Χαιρέα κέχηρη[ται] ὠνη-
 52 σάμενον δούλους ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Νικῶ[. . .] μηδέ-
 53 ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ Χαιρέου γέγονεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆν τοῦ Σαοῦλου.
 54 πρὸς τούτοις ὅτι ὁ Σαοῦλος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ βουλευθέντες ἐλευθερώσαι
 55 ἽΟνήσιμον δούλον τὸν προγεγραμμένον μὴ φοβούμενοι τὸν φύσκον,
 56 οἷα προείπαμεν, δόλω πονηρῶ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Χαιρέου καταγραφὴν ἐπο-
 57 ἦσαντο. ἀργυρίου μὴ ἠριθμημένου πέραις ἠλευθερώθη ἐξ ὀνόματος
 58 τοῦ Χαιρέου καὶ οὕτως χρηματίζει μηδέποτε δουλεύσας αὐτῷ μηδὲ ὑπὸ
 59 τὴν διακονίαν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος.
 60 ἐὰν ὑπὲρ Διοκλέους καὶ Χαιρέου τις λέγῃ ὡς οὗτοι οὐδὲν ἠδίκησαν, ἀν-
 61 τίγραφον γὰρ ἔλαβον παρὰ δεδωκότος, ἐρεῖς ὅτι τῆς ῥαδιουργίας ἡ ἀρχὴ
 62 παρ' αὐτῶν γέγονεν καὶ ἤρτηται διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν Σαοῦλου. μέγιστον τε-
 63 κμήριον τὸ εὐρῆσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Γαδαλίου ἐρχομένους τὴν

col. III

64 ὑποβολήν .[ca. 5]τας μετὰ ἀντ[ιγράφου]
 65 πλαστῶν . . [ca. 5] . γ συνειδησ[ca. 7]
 66 ολ . . . [ca. 7] . οτι ἐκ παρα . . . [ca. 5]
 67 ὁ Σαούλος φ [. . .] πρῶ-
 68 γμα κατήγγειλεν περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὀνόμα[τ]ο[ς Χαιρέου]
 69 ἐλευθερωθέντος Ὀνησίμου.
 70 ἐπεὶ εἰ ἀλλότριοι ἦσαν τῆς κακουργίας, ὁποί[α]ν ἕ[σ]χ[ο]ν
 71 ἀνάγκην ἐν Γαδέροις γενέσθαι ἔχοντες π[α]-
 72 ρὰ τοῦ Σαούλου ἀντίγραφον;

m. 2

73 ὑπ() Φλάκκ[ος?] ἐπὶ Σαούλον εἶπεν·
 74 α . . . [Διο]κλῆς καὶ Χερέας.
 75 πρ [ca. 8]κειον . [. . .] . γραμμ()
 76 αὐτοῦ [. . .] . [.] . . α . [. . .] . [. .]νου (δρ.) ὚
 77 . . . [ca. 22] . . . ς
 78 . . . [ca. 9] ἀναλαμβάνονται.
 79 καὶ ἐλευθερ [. . .]ς ψ ρ αὐτὸ
 80 α . . . [ca. 9]
 81 . . . [. . .]] *vacat*

82 [α] [ca. 10] δημ ς
 83 [ca. 10]
 84 . . [ca. 12] τους. *vacat*
 85 . . . [ca. 12] σαν . . . ἐπιγεγραμ()
 86 [ca. 12] ιος
 87 ἀλλ . . . [ca. 12] . . . τη ὑπ . . .

88 [β] [. . .]] *traces*
 89 [. . .]] *traces*
 90 [. . .]] *traces*
 91 [. . .]] *traces*
 92 [. . .]] *traces*
 93 [. . .]] *traces*
 94 [. . .]]

95 δ ὑπο . . . [. .] . [.] . εισ ν κρ
 96 κ [. . .] [. . .] [. . .]
 97 ὠ [. . .] . . . [ca. ?]

98 $\bar{\epsilon}$ οἱ Χερ(έου?) ῥ(ήτορες?) ε(ίπαν?) . . . [. . .] . κ . . . ος διὰ δημοσ(ίου)
 99 οὐδὲν . . . [ca. 8] . . . ρ εὐπορ .
 100 [. . .] . . . βούλεται.

101 $\bar{\varsigma}$ ὁ Πρεῖμος ἐξετασθεῖς ἄν ἐστ' ἀληθῆ
 102 (ῶρ.?) ἐπι . [.] κε τῆ συν[ca. 5]
 103 βη . . . [.] πακαγ οὐν ὁ μὴ [ca. 4–6]
 104 τῶ δεσπότη.

105 $\bar{\zeta}$ Ἀβάσκαντος πολλῶ χρόνω ἐπι . . . [ca. 3–5]
 106 οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ δεσπ[ότου].

col. IV

107 [ῆ] ἐπὶ $\bar{\zeta}$ μ[αρτύρων? ca. ?]
 108 ὑπαρχον[ca. ?]
 109 οὐκ ἀνεδο [ca. ?]
 110 πάντως δ. [ca. ?]

111 $\bar{\theta}$ αἰ βλ(άβαι?) ρ [ca. ?]

112 $\bar{\iota}$ τὸ ἰσχυρ[ότατον?] . . . [ca. ?]
 113 τῶν () σχεδὸν μ [ca. ?]
 114 τοῦ ε() π() εσ ι ται . . . [ca. ?]
 115 ἢ ἐν Γεράσοις οὐν ἢ ἐν Γ[αδέροις? ca. ?]

116 ἐγίον χειρ αὐτῶν δ . . [ca. ?]
 117 ἐπιβέβληται ἐκτ[ca. ?]
 118 ἐχομένη τοῦ πατρ[ῶς ca. ?]
 119 ἐγγύου.

120 [α] ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν [ca. ?]
 121 ἀλλὰ φαγεροὶ ἐβούλ[οντο ca. ?]
 122 ὅτι ἐξῆκε ἡ πατρ[ικὴ? ca. ?]
 123 καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν [ca. ?]
 124 κ . . . τορι κ . . . [ca. ?]
 125 *traces*
 126 *traces*
 127 *traces*

128	ιβ̄	ἐπὶ τούτω δὲ . . [ca. ?]
129		ἐπὶ μ(αρτύρων?) . . . [ca. ?]
130		λαια ὑπ . [ca. ?]
131		ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου [ca. ?]

vacat

132		ὁ τῶς (δραχμὰς) ᾿Ζ[ca. ?]
133		τια . [ca. ?]

20 l. χρεωφύλακος 21 l. κινεῖτω 24 l. ἀποστάσεως 28 l. ἐλεγχθέντος 30 l. κολάσεως κουφισθήσεσθαι
corr. ex κουφισθήσεσθαι 31 l. ἐγγέγονει 32 l. παρήνεγκεν 56–57 l. ἐποιήσαντο 71 l. ἀνάγκην 120 l.
 ἐγγύου

VIII. Translation

1–16 [...]

17–19 [...] it is discovered — since the people who contrived it were Gerasenes — that the location of the Gerasenes was substituted and over it was written the location of Gadora because it was deemed well-suited for the fraud.

20–23 Gadalias is a man who may be cheaply bought, and let not the title of “son of a *chreophylax*” sway the judge. That we are telling the truth is evident, since he failed to respond to summons at four assizes of Rufus and, having been entered into the list of *xenokritai* who were due to be fined, was pardoned on the grounds that he was without means.

24–27 As regards his committing violence and sedition and banditry, and the money that he counterfeited, and how he escaped from prison, and how during the visit of the Emperor he extorted money from many people, among them Lectus the centurion, and how he was many times convicted and banished — if we report on this, we will give the impression that we believe we are helpless against his great power.

28–30 All in all, after the forgery was discovered at the court of Postumus, fearing punishment they took refuge with the *boule*, each of them giving 125 *denarii* as an entry-fee (or: as revenue). For they believe that they will be relieved from punishment in the name of the *boule*.

31–38 If it is said on behalf of Gadalias that it had been drawn up under his father and that he produced witnesses, you will argue, first of all, that no one should be made liable for the forged document at hand other than the person presenting it; furthermore, that it was sealed under him and not under his father [...] of the centurion [...] and to deny at the court of Postumus that he/they had it, and afterwards [...] of the Gerasenes, having received from them the [...] deed/copy and that which he should have presented. For if it had been [...] in good faith [...] manner, that is the [...] buyer(?) [...]

39–44 If Saulos claims that [the blame lies(?)] with Gadalias as the one presenting [the document(?)], you will say that the instigator of the fraud [...] Saulos [...] from

the buyer(?) [...] copy of his deed [...] not issuing from him. For it is not evident that he [...]

45–49 That Saulos became a friend and collaborator and accomplice in every [criminal deed linked with Gadalias(?)] you will establish from the fact that Saulos too produced counterfeit coins and that they were [denounced(?)] by certain persons on account of this, one at the court of the governor of Iudaea and the other at the court of the governor of Arabia.

50–53 And since, by virtue of his being without means [...] toward circumvention of the *fiscus*, having remitted what he owed him by way of a loan he used Chaereas, who bought the slaves in his own name, including Niko- [who] was never in the service of Chaereas but rather in that of Saulos.

54–59 In addition, (you will say) that Saulos and his father, wishing to manumit Onesimos the aforementioned slave and not fearing the *fiscus*, as we have already recounted, had the slave registered under the name of Chaereas with malicious intent. Without any money being paid, he was ultimately manumitted in the name of Chaereas, and he officially goes by that name, even though he was never his slave nor was ever in his service.

60–69 If someone says on behalf of Diocles and Chaereas that they committed no wrong, since they received a copy from the seller, then you will say that the fraud originated with them and is supported by the hatred of Saulos. The greatest proof of this is that they were discovered as they were coming from the place of Gadalias [...] the stealthy substitution [...] with the forged copy [...] complicity [...] Saulos [...] denounced the matter of Onesimos having been manumitted in the name [of Chaereas].

70–72 Because, if they were not involved in the wickedness, what compelling reason did they have to appear in Gadora if they possessed the copy from Saulos?

73–74	Memorandum/minutes of proceedings: Flaccus(?) said unto Saulos: “[...] Diocles and Chaereas [...]
75–78	[...] 7,000 <i>drachmai</i> [...] are confiscated.
79–81	And to manumit/the manumitted [...]
82–87	[§1. ...] inscribed/added [...]
88–94	[§2. ... §3. ...]
95–97	§4. [...]
98–100	§5. The advocates(?) of Chaereas(?) said(?) [...] through a public office [...] nothing [...] he wishes [...] well-to-do [...]
101–104	§6. Primus, having been questioned whether it is true, [...] X <i>drachmai</i> (?) [...] the totality of the damages(?) [...] what did not [...] to their master.
105–106	§7. Abaskantos [...] for a long time [...] nothing concerning his master’s father.
107–110	[§8.] Before seven witnesses(?) [...] belonging [...] by all means [...]
111	§9. The damages(?) [...]
112–115	§10. The strongest(?) [...] nearly [...]

- either in Gerasa or in Gadora(?) [...]
- 116–119 The deed (or: handwriting) of some of them [...]
was sealed [...]
The next [...] of the father [...]
of the surety.
- 120–127 [§11.] That after the sealing [...]
but they manifestly wanted to [...]
That the father's [lease of the *chreophylakia*(?)] ran out
and he died [...]
- 128–131 §12. Therefore on this basis [...]
before the witnesses(?) [...]
Therefore on this occasion [...]
vacat
- 132–133 The one who [...] the 7,000 *drachmai* [...]

IX. Commentary

The text of P.Cotton is characterized by the use of technical terms of an administrative, notarial and legal nature, the exact meaning of which is often difficult to grasp. The meager survival of documents from the Hellenistic and Roman Near East furnishes little comparative evidence, while the copious material from Roman Egypt in part exhibits its own distinct vocabulary. The following commentary aims to provide an extended discussion of the semantic fields of words employed in P.Cotton, relying not only on modern lexica (LSJ, BDAG, CGL, DGE) but also on the documentary evidence from Egypt (WB, FW) and on the Latin-Greek glossaries (CGIL) compiled during the imperial and late antique periods. By doing so, we hope to offer a useful tool for future work on this text. For convenience, our commentary refers to the Index Graeco-Latinus compiled by W. C. Heraeus (CGIL VII 439–687), citing the original passages of the CGIL only when specifically necessary or useful. For detailed analysis of Greek terms corresponding to Roman legal and institutional terminology, see section IV and the Appendix.

5] ρ(): Visible at the end of the line is a letter topped with a long horizontal stroke that appears to indicate the ρ symbol for *ἑκατοντάρχη*, which also appears in lines 26 and 35 (see fig. 1).

17 μεν . . . [. . .] λ' εὑρίσκειται: The initial μεν may indicate the particle μέν or the ending of a first person plural verb; alternatively, it could be part of the ending of a middle/passive participle. Following μεν are traces compatible with *alpha*; *omicron* seems unlikely due to the narrowness and rightward tilt of the letter but cannot be excluded. After the lacuna follow the letters αλ or possibly λλ, if what looks like *alpha* is in fact *lambda* with an unusually thick lefthand stroke. Possible reconstructions, respectively, would be: [μ]άλ' εὑρίσκειται = “indeed it is discovered” (see LSJ s.v. μάλα I 2: “doubtless”; “indeed”) or [ά]λλ' εὑρίσκειται = “but it is discovered”. In the latter

case, the transition from line 16 to line 17 could probably be reconstructed as follows: [οὐ] | μὲν . . . [. . . ἀ]λλ' εὐρίσκεται = “not ... but it is discovered” etc.

εὐρίσκεται signifies that the forgery of the Gerasenes was caught by officials, see e.g. BGU V 1210,248–249 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.): οἱ μὴ εὐρ[ι]σκόμενοι, etc. with reference to individuals turning themselves in as opposed to being “discovered” by officials.

17 Γερασηνοί (see further lines 18 and 36) refers to citizens of Gerasa (modern Jerash), a city of the Decapolis, which at the time of our papyrus was situated in *provincia Arabia*.¹⁶⁰ Gerasa developed into a flourishing economic center in the course of the early Principate. With the transformation of the Nabataean kingdom into the province of Arabia in 106, it served as an administrative center and residence of the Roman *procurator provinciae*.¹⁶¹

σοφισάμενοι: The verb has a pejorative connotation of deception and trickery, see LSJ s.v. Π: “play subtle tricks” or “deceive” and σοφίζομαι πρὸς τι: “to use fraud for an end”. Until now, there have been few testimonia for σοφίζομαι in documentary sources: a record of arbitration between two Lokrian communities, FD III 4,38 (ca. 110 BCE) 15: κακοπραγμόνως κατασοφίζόμενα = “devised in an evil fashion”; a monumental inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene, IGLS I 1 (Nemrud Dağ, before 31 BCE) Va, 1–2: σοφίξεσθαι δίκαιον νοῦν = “to evade by trickery its just intent”; an edict of the prefect of Egypt: P.Princ. II 20 = SB V 8072,3–5 (unknown provenance, 133–137): κατηχοῦμαι τοὺς τελῶνας δεινῶς σοφίσασθαι τοῖς διερχομένοις = “I am informed that the tax farmers have devised a clever scheme against those traveling through the region” and a fourth-century petition: PSI V 452,11: σοφίζομένους δύνασθαι ἐκκλείνειν [τὸν δεσμὸν] τῆς δουλείας = “contriving a means to evade the bonds of slavery”. The appearance of σοφίζομαι in these rhetorical formulations and its otherwise rare attestation in documents reflect the literary register of the term.

17–18 τόπος Γερασηνῶν ... τόπος Γαδῶρα: The object of the forgery was ostensibly the location where a document was drawn up, which in this case was evidently altered from “in Gerasa” (ἐν Γεράσοις) to “in Gadora” (presumably ἐν Γαδέροις, which occurs in line 71, see the commentary). For references to the location of a transaction in papyri from the Judaean desert, see e.g. P.Yadin I 21,5–6 (Maoza, 130): (date) ἐν Μαωζα περιμέτρῳ | Ζοορων; P.Yadin I 12,8–9 (Petra, 124): ἐπράχθη ἐν Πέτρα μητρο|πόλει τῆς Ἀραβ[ία]ς πρ[ὸ] τεσσ[άρων] καλανδῶν, etc. The latter is clearly a Greek translation of the Latin formula *actum* + location + date, see e.g. AE 1012, 358,17 (Nola, 51–75): *act(um) Puteol[i]s Idib(us) Novembr(ibus)*, etc.

18 ἐνηλλαγμένους: ἐναλλάσσω has the core meaning of “exchange”. Its use with reference to fraudulent substitution of documents occurs in Plut. *Lys.* 20, 2: ἐν δὲ τῷ τὰς σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλειν ἐναλλάξας τὰ βιβλία μηδὲν διαφέροντα τῇ ὄψει, δίδωσιν ἐκείνην αὐτῷ κρύφα γεγραμμένην = “And when it was time to attach the seals, he exchanged the two rolls, which looked identical, and gave Lysander the one that had

¹⁶⁰ On Gerasa, see Kraeling 1938 and more recently Kennedy 2007, Raja 2012, 137–190 and Lichtenberger and Raja 2020.

¹⁶¹ See Isaac 1990, 345–347; Haensch 1997a, 244.

been written secretly”. For a similar sense, see P.Mil.Vogl. VI 281 = SB VI 9484 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite, 2nd cent.) referring to the fraudulent substitution (ἐνάλλαγμα) of an individual with an impersonator.

In late Roman contracts, ἐναλλάσσειν appears to be a Greek translation of *commutare*, compare SB I 5112 = P.Lond. II 210,44–51 (Apollonopolis, 618) and ChLA XX 707,9–11 (Ravenna, 540).

Γαδῶρα: The letters after Γα are almost certainly *delta* and *omega*; the tip of the *delta* is nearly horizontal, which corresponds to the form of δέ immediately preceding; the *omega* is written as two connected curving strokes, a form that corresponds to πρῶτον, 32. The alternative reading Γάδαρα may therefore be excluded. A loose fiber has shifted some of the ink of *omega* and *rho* above the line.

The settlement of Γαδῶρα (Ptol. Geogr. 5, 15, 23) was located in the Peraea in eastern Iudaea and is identified with ruins on Tell Gadur near the modern village of al-Salt / Es-Salt through an inscription on a milestone.¹⁶² Gadora is to be distinguished from the better-known city of Γάδαρα (Ptol. Geogr. 5, 15, 22), which belonged to the Decapolis (now Umm-Queis). While Gadara had the rank and institutions of a *polis* (see *ibid.* Ptol. Geogr.), Gadora is classified by Ptolemy as a village (κώμη). It was a settlement of considerable size and importance that functioned as the administrative center of the toparchy of the Peraea.¹⁶³ It is even conceivable that Gadora acquired a *boule* in the Roman period (see n. 23). In the second century, Gadora belonged to the province of Iudaea and later (after the Bar Kokhba war) to the renamed province of Syria Palaestina.¹⁶⁴ The border between the territory administered by Gadora and the adjacent territory of Gerasa constituted the boundary between the provinces of Arabia and Iudaea.¹⁶⁵

ἐπιγράφη: In the Roman period, ἐπιγράφω (“write upon, inscribe”; “register, enter in a public list”, LSJ s.v. II and III 2–3) acquires a new meaning of “write in addition” or “write over an erasure” (LSJ s.v. II 5) corresponding to the Latin *induco*, see ἐπιγράφω in the Appendix. This meaning occurs with reference to Roman strictures against legal documents with erasures or alterations being accepted by public archives. This Roman policy is spelled out in a well-known edict of the Lycian governor Q. Veranius, SEG XXXIII 1177 (Myra, 43) 9–11: ὅτι οὐ γρη̄ παρενγραφὰς | κ[αὶ ἀ]παλοιφὰς ἔχοντα πιττάκια τῶν οἰκ[ον]ομῶμενων προσδέχεσθαι = “that documents of legal transactions containing alterations or erasures must not be accepted”, as well as an edict of the Hadrianic prefect Flavius Titianus implementing archival reforms, P.Oxy. I 34 verso 1,14–15 (Oxyrhynchus, 127): παρασημοῦσθ[ωσαν εἴ πο]υ ἀπ[α]λ[ή]λειπται ἢ ἐπιγράπται τι | ὃ [ἐτέ]ρως ἔχει = “let them make a marginal note if

¹⁶² AE 2002, 1559; O’Hea 2002.

¹⁶³ Avi-Yonah 1976, 60 s.v. Gedora II. Cf. Graf 2017, 422–423.

¹⁶⁴ Eck 1999a; see, however, Yasur-Landau and Gambash 2018. For the administrative subdivision of Iudaea over time, see Cotton 1999. For papyrological evidence for the Peraea as part of Syria Palaestina ca. 150 see Eck 1998. On the history of the Peraea, see Graf 2017.

¹⁶⁵ Seigne 1997; Raja and Lichtenberger 2019.

something has been erased or added which is different”. As a result of these regulations, legal documents from Roman Egypt refer to their being *καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ἀλείφατος καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς* = “free from erasure and addition”, see e.g. BGU II 266, 31 (Arsinoite, 177). This Greek expression probably renders *sine litura aut inductione* (or *adiectio*), see the Appendix.¹⁶⁶

In line with this meaning, ἐπιγράφω in P.Cotton most probably refers to a placename in a document (more specifically, the location in which it was drawn up) being erased and overwritten. Registering such a document in an archive was tantamount to corrupting the public records and punishable under the *lex Cornelia de falsis*, see e.g. Dig. 48,10,1,4 (Marcianus 14 *inst.*) and 48,10,16,2 (Paulus 3 *resp.*). The manipulation of archival records may be the substance of the crime of *falsum* imputed to Gadalias in lines 31–38 and 62–65. See section III 4 and the entry on ῥαδιουργία in the Appendix.

19 ῥαδιουργίαν: On ῥαδιουργία, a technical term for *fraus* in the Roman period, see the Appendix. In the context of P.Cotton, ῥαδιουργία *fraus* refers to the defrauding of the *fiscus* (also phrased περιγραφή τοῦ φίσκου, 50) involving the fictive alienation of slaves without payment of the relevant Roman taxes by Saulos with the help of the Gerasenes and Gadalias, see section III 5.

20 ὁ Γαδαλίας: Gadalias (see also lines 31, 39, 45–46, and 63) is a Jewish name (גדליה – GDLYH) of biblical origin, not otherwise attested in Greek documentary sources, see LJNLA II 76–77 and 418 and III 82. The orthography here fits that of Josephus (see e.g. *Ant. Jud.* 10.155, 157 and 160) rather than the Septuaginta (see e.g. Jer. 43:25 and 2 Kings 25:22 Γοδολίας; see however 2 Esdras 10:18 Γαδαλία).

The initial article ὁ is written in an unusually large format, presumably due to its position at the start of a new section, compare the *epsilon* of ἐάν, 39.

εὖωνος: The primary meaning of the term is “of fair price, cheap” (LSJ), typically with reference to goods or services. This literal meaning predominates in documentary sources, see e.g. IG XII 3,169,7 (Astypalaea, 2nd cent. BCE), SEG XXXII 1097,18 (Aphrodisias, Roman period) and P.Giss.Apoll. 21,12 (Hermopolis, 2nd cent.) with reference to grain and linen, respectively.

Rhetorical use of εὖωνος for venal persons (as in P.Cotton) has literary parallels, see e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 2,10,4: νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὖωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι = “and now, given the circumstances, is the time to acquire good friends very cheaply” and Charit. 7,6,3: πάντα τὰ εὖωνότερα σώματα = “all the persons who may be bought rather cheaply”. For a rare documentary parallel, see the highly rhetorical petition documented in SB XX 14401 (Arsinoite, 147) 3–5: πάντων αἰσχιστον τῶν ἐν βίῳ ἀτοπημάτων ἐστὶν τὸ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους τύ[[πτ]εσθαι καὶ ὑβρίζεσθαι καὶ μ[άλ]ιστα ὑπὸ δούλων εὖόνων ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ ὀψωνιαζομένων = “of all offences in life, the most shameful is for free men to be beaten and subjected to wanton violence, especially by cheap slaves or hired thugs”.

ὄνομα: This term occurs throughout P.Cotton (20, 30, 51 and 52) and is used in several different ways: ὄνομα, 20 refers to the status-designation of Gadalias as the son

¹⁶⁶ On the edict of Veranius, see Wörrle 1975, 254–285. On the edict of Titianus, see Burkhalter 1990, 205–206, 211. See further SEG XIX 854 (Sibidunda, Pisidia, 2nd cent.)

of the local *chreophylax* (see below); ὄνομα, 51 describes a payment of money owed “by way of/under the title of” a loan; ὀνόματι occurs in the dative in lines 30 and 52 and in the phrase ἐπὶ ὀνόματι, 56 and ἐξ ὀνόματος, 57 and 67 with reference to actions “in the name of” an individual or group. On ὄνομα in these instances as a technical usage likely corresponding to different legal meanings of *nomen*, see the Appendix.

The phrase τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος likely refers to the official titlature employed by Gadalias, since it was customary for the civic elite of Greek cities in the Roman period to mention the public offices held by their fathers and sons, see e.g. CPR XVII A 20,5 (Hermopolis, 321): παρὰ Ἀύρηλίου Πινουτίωνος υἱοῦ Δίου γυμνασιαρχήσαντος; IK Ephesos 1033,8–11 (Ephesus, 130–140): Πό(πλιος) Καρσ[ίδιος] Παμφιλίῳν ὁ πατήρ τοῦ π[ρ]υτά|νεως καὶ αὐτὸς πρύτα|νις, β[ο]υλ(ευτής).

χρεοφύλακος (*l. χρεω-*): Originally an administrator of a public archive containing instruments of debt, the office of *chreophylax* developed into a public notariate in the Hellenistic period. In some places, the office also acquired responsibilities in the administration of civic finances. *Chreophylakes* are attested both as single officials (see e.g. IG XII 4, 1, 347, Kos, 2nd cent.) and as teams of colleagues (see e.g. P.Dura 25, Dura Europos, Syria 180). The evidence for *chreophylakes* consists of inscriptions, papyri and inscribed *bullae* attached to archival documents. Its provenance includes the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands (including Crete), western Asia Minor (in particular Aphrodisias, see Wiedergut 2020, 15–16 and 23), Cyprus, and the Roman Near East (Palestine and Mesopotamia), where the office was introduced under the Seleucids and widely persisted into the Roman period. *Chreophylakes* and *chreophylakeia* are attested in Seleukeia on the Tigris, Nippur, Uruk and Susa,¹⁶⁷ and in Dura Europos, as evidenced by papyri (2nd cent. BCE–3rd cent. CE) and the remains of an archival building in the civic center.¹⁶⁸ Evidence for *chreophylakes* in Palestine goes back to the second century BCE, when the office is attested on *bullae* from Maresha.¹⁶⁹ The fragmentary SB XXVI 16693,1 (Jericho, 2nd cent.) may also mention the office (] , φύλαξ).

From this evidence, it is reasonable to infer that the office of *chreophylax* was widespread in the cities of Syria and Palestine in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and that the dual function of *chreophylakeia* as notariates and archives resembled that of *agoranomeia* in Egypt. In Roman Egypt, the administration of public notariates (*agoranomeia* as well as village *grapheia*) was not an appointed or elected office but was farmed out to lessees (μισθωταί = *conductores*).¹⁷⁰ This meant that the office was

¹⁶⁷ See Aperghis 2004, 158–159 and 286.

¹⁶⁸ See e.g. P.Dura 12,2 (Dura Europos, Syria, 225–250); 15,4 (Dura Europos, Syria, 2nd–1st cent. BCE); 17,19 and 27 (Dura Europos, Syria, 180); 25,12 and 27 (Dura Europos, Syria, 180).

¹⁶⁹ Stern and Ari'el 2020.

¹⁷⁰ See Oertel 1917, 112–115, 332–335 with references to sources, e.g. the application for the renewal of a lease of a village *grapheion* in P.Grenf. II 41 = M.Chr. 183 (Soknopaiou Nesos, Arsinoite, 46). See also the example of Aurelius Agathinos *alias* Horigenes, attested as a lessee of the *agoranomeion* of Oxyrhynchus (ἀσχολουμένος ὠνήν ἀγορανομίου) in documents across

renewable and tended in practice to be held for long periods by members of the same family. To cite one well-known example: a certain Kronion was the head of an Arsinoite *grapheion* in the first century CE together with his father Apion, then took the office over after his father's death; between them, father and son administered the *grapheion* for at least forty-nine years (7–56 CE).¹⁷¹ The emphasis placed on the family connection between Gadalias and his father the *chreophylax* suggests that the *chreophylakia* in Iudaea functioned in a similar fashion.

This insight has significant implications for our understanding of the events in P.Cotton. The question whether a certain document was sealed under Gadalias or his father the *chreophylax* (31–38) may be understood as indicating that Gadalias (like Kronion in the Arsinoite example) was serving as his father's assistant. This means that Gadalias would have had access to the archive of the *chreophylakeion* and was in a good position to manipulate documents (see further sections III 4–6). At the same time, the fact of Gadalias being identified as the son of a *chreophylax* (τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος, 20) but not as a *chreophylax* himself appears to indicate that he did not take over the office from his father, whose death seems to be mentioned in lines 122–123 (see the commentary to ἐτελεύτησεν, 123). Perhaps the fact of being ἄπορος (23) made Gadalias unable to continue the lease?

The phrase τοῦ χρεοφύλακος seems to imply that the town of Gadalias had a single *chreophylax*. The authors of P.Cotton anticipate that Gadalias will use his father's title to present himself as an upstanding member of the local elite (20–21). Against this tactic, the prosecutors prepare to demonstrate that Gadalias is financially deficient (ἄπορος, 23) and corruptible (εὐωνος, 20), see section III 7.

21 κενεῖτω (*l. κιν-*): κινέω in this context refers to swaying the mind/emotions of the judge and may reflect the influence of Latin, see the Appendix.

κριτήν: On κριτής as a technical term for *iudex*, see the Appendix. It is unclear from the term itself whether a high official (procurator or governor) or delegated judge is meant, as *iudex* encompassed both. The substance of the case involving fiscal evasion, the *iudex* anticipated in our text may have been a fiscal procurator, see sections III 4 and 9.

21–22 τέσσαρσιν ... ἀγοραίοις (*sc. συνόδοις*) Ῥούφου: On ἀγοραῖος as a translation of *forensis* with reference to Roman assizes (*conventus*), see the Appendix. On the assizes of Judaeian governors, see section V. The point of the passage that begins here (21–27) is to present Gadalias in a negative light, emphasizing his financial incapacity and repeated failure to attend the governor's assizes to which he had been summoned as a *xenokrites* (see section V).

a span of two decades, see P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5565 (Oxyrhynchus, 279), SB VI 8971 (Oxyrhynchus, 284/285), P.Oxy. IX 1208 (Oxyrhynchus, 291) and P.Laur. IV 154 (Oxyrhynchus, 300); many thanks to Irene Nicolino for these references.

¹⁷¹ On the Kronion archive, see the useful overview of van Beek 2013 and Langelotti 2020, 31–55, with 44–49 specifically on leasing practices, citing other examples of notariates held within families.

22 Ῥούφου: On the identification of Rufus as Q. Tineius Rufus, see section III 1. Rufus was a consular governor of Iudaea between ca. 129–132, during whose term the Bar Kokhba revolt began; his successor was Sex. Iulius Severus (ca. 133–136).¹⁷² Rufus is attested in a dedicatory inscription of a statue of Hadrian erected by his *beneficarii* at Caesarea.¹⁷³ At Scythopolis, statues in honor of Rufus and his wife and daughter were erected alongside a statue of Hadrian.¹⁷⁴ These statues likely reflect the imperial visit of Hadrian in 129/130 (see the commentary to line 25) where the emperor would have been accompanied by Rufus and probably held assizes in both cities.

οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν: Here, ὑπακούω specifically refers to Gadalias failing to respond when his name is called out from a list of judges at the assize, a meaning that emerges in documents from the Roman period, with the formula κληθέντος καὶ ὑπακούσαντος in Roman judicial records likely corresponding to *citatus responderit* in Latin sources, see ὑπακούω in the Appendix.

23 ξενοκρίτας: A term for a board of judges in the eastern provinces that likely corresponds to *recuperatores* in Latin, see section V and ξενοκρίται in the Appendix.

ἐνταγείς: The verb signifies the entry of a person into an administrative register, see LSJ s.v.: “insert or register in”; WB IV s.v. 2–3: “zu einer Dienstleistung einstellen”; “in ein Register ... eintragen”. In this sense, see ἐνταγείς in papyri from Roman Egypt with reference to eligible recipients of the corn dole at Oxyrhynchus, e.g. P.Oxy. XL 2898 (Oxyrhynchus, 270–271).

ἄπορος: On ἄπορος as a technical term for individuals below the wealth threshold (πόρος) for exercising public functions in the Roman period, most probably corresponding to the Latin *egens/inops*, see the Appendix. By contrast, εὖπορος/εὖσχημων were terms for individuals who met the wealth threshold in question, see e.g. see M.Chr. 84 = BGU I 194,6 (Arsinoite, 177): ἐκ τῆς τῶν εὖσχημόνων γραφῆς = “from the register of wealthy men”. Belonging to each of these categories had a moral dimension, indicating a superior or inferior sort of person, who received differential treatment in Roman judicial administration.¹⁷⁵

In our text, ἄπορος occurs twice with a different semantic emphasis. In line 23, ἄπορος refers to the inability of Gadalias to meet the wealth qualification (πόρος) for service as a *xenokrites* (see section V). In the context of the passage (20–23), this serves to convince the judge that, in spite of Gadalias’ trappings as a member of the civic elite (the “son of a chreophylax”), he was in fact destitute (i.e. one of the inferior sort) and accordingly venal (εὖωνος) and capable of criminal deeds. The placement of ἄπορος as a rhetorical punchline at the end of the sentence underscores the pejorative force of the term as a means of (literally) declassing Gadalias. When ἄπορος reappears in line 50, it no longer refers to a property qualification but generally characterizes Saulos as

¹⁷² On the *fasti* of Iudaea, see n. 11.

¹⁷³ See Eck 2007, 89.

¹⁷⁴ CIIP II 1276 = AE 2003, 1807 (*ed. pr.*: Cotton and Eck 2001, 235 no. 7; cf. Eck 2007, 89).

¹⁷⁵ On the differential sanctions and punishments dispensed to *humiliores* and *honestiores*, see Garnsey 1970 and Dolganov 2023b against the arguments of Rilinger 1988.

indigent and disposed toward fiscal fraud (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄπορον αὐτὸν ὄντα πρ[ὸς] περιγραφήν τοῦ φόσκου, etc., 50).

At the same time, it seems clear that neither Gadalias nor the other defendants in our text were truly poor. On the contrary, Saulos is accused of concealing assets by fraudulent means, see section III 5. Arguably, ἄπορος in our text has less to do with actual poverty and more with the social and moral denigration of the defendants as part of a rhetorical strategy for proving their guilt in the case (in line with the common rhetorical device of *coniectura*, see section III 7). For an extended discussion of the categories of ἄπορος and εὐσχήμων being weaponized by forensic orators in judicial proceedings, see Dolganov 2023b.

ἐφιλανθρωπήθη: On φιλανθρωπέω — here, signifying amnesty from punishment and possibly corresponding to *indulgeo* in Latin — see the Appendix.

24 περὶ βίας: On βία in our text as a reference to the Roman public crime of *vis*, see the Appendix. Under the Principate, the *crimen vis* was regulated by the Augustan *leges Iuliae de vi publica et privata*. On *vis* in Roman law, see Mommsen 1899, 652–666 and above section III 7. It is not specified what form of violence is meant in our text, or if it has a direct relationship to the other misdeeds ascribed to Gadalias. On the link between *vis publica* and *sedition* (the probable referent of ἀπόστασις, see the Appendix) see the commentary to ἀποστάσεος and section III 7.

ἀποστάσεος (l. -εως): On ἀπόστασις (CGL 198 s.v.: “secession, revolt, defection, rebellion, abandonment”) most probably corresponding to *sedition* in Roman law, see the Appendix. This meaning of ἀπόστασις is rare in documents from Egypt, where the term more often occurs with reference to withdrawal, cession of property, or storage, rather than uprising.¹⁷⁶ Under the Principate, *sedition* was punished under the laws governing *vis publica* and *maiestas*, see section III 7. The appearance of βία alongside ἀπόστασις in P.Cotton suggests a context of *vis publica*, indicating a less serious disturbance than would be classified as *maiestas*. The substance of the allegation of ἀπόστασις — whether Gadalias had actually been convicted of seditious activity or whether the term reflects rhetorical amplification by the prosecutors — is unclear. While criminal allegations were a well-known aspersion tactic of forensic orators,¹⁷⁷ the citation of false evidence was subject to heavy penalties, see the commentary to lines

¹⁷⁶ See however P.Par. 36,13 (Memphis, 2nd cent. BCE) referring to an uprising in Ptolemaic times. For other instances of ἀπόστασις in papyri from Roman Egypt, see P.Oxy. XVIII 2182 (Oxyrhynchus, 166) concerning the withdrawal of donkey-drivers and donkeys from grain transport, and P.Oxy. XVI 2005,6 (Oxyrhynchus, 513) with reference to a storage facility. In the *apokrimata* of Septimius Severus (P.Col. VI 123 = SB VI 9526, Alexandria, 200) ἀποστάς (54) corresponds to *abstinens* with reference to the refusal of an inheritance.

¹⁷⁷ See e.g. P.Oxy. III 472 (Oxyrhynchus, 130/131), a memorandum similar to P.Cotton discussed in section II, where the plaintiff employs allegations of poisoning to sensationalize his claims in a pecuniary lawsuit; see also the practice described in P.Oxy. II 237,8,13–15 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 186, citation of a prefectural edict from 142) of using criminal accusations to distract from pecuniary claims. Already in fourth-century Athens, orators gestured at capital charges as a means of disparaging their opponents, see e.g. Demosth. 54,1.

32–33. On the possibility of ἀπόστασις referring to Gadalias' involvement in unrest linked with the Diaspora rebellion (ca. 115–117) or its aftermath, see section III 7.

ληστείας: On ληστεία (“robbery, piracy”, LSJ s.v.) as a probable reference to *latrocinium* in legal Latin, see the Appendix. In Roman law, *latrocinium* was subject to capital punishment and received emphasis in imperial instructions (*mandata*) to provincial governors.¹⁷⁸ Both ληστής and ληστεία are used by Flavius Josephus as derogatory terms for rebellious activity in Iudaea, particularly in the years preceding the first Jewish revolt, see further section III 7.¹⁷⁹ *Latrocinium* is used in a similarly rhetorical fashion in a first-century inscription from Umbria, where the cursing of the names of local notables by a public slave is described as *latrocinium*.¹⁸⁰

περὶ νομίσματος οὐ παρεχάραξεν: For discussion of what sort of coin manipulation may be meant, see section III 7. On the meaning of παραχάραξω (LSJ s.v.: “re-stamp, i.e. re-value the currency”; “debase the currency”), a term that first emerges in sources from the Roman period and possibly corresponds to *adultero* in Latin, see the Appendix.

25 ὡς ἀπὸ εἰρκτῆς ἔφυγεν: This phrase literally means “escaped from prison” but it is unclear if Gadalias literally fled from incarceration or whether this is a figure of speech for one who managed to evade sentencing or punishment. Compare Plin. *Ep.* 10,58 where a certain Flavius Archippus, a member of the civic elite of Prusa, had been condemned to the mines for forgery but evaded his punishment by “breaking his chains” (*reddendumque poenae quam fractis vinculis evasisset*). In similar terms, the eastern provincial jurist Callistratus describes the penal consequences for individuals in custody conspiring to break out and escape (*ut ruptis vinculis et effracto carcere evadant*, Dig. 48,3,13 Callistratus 6 *de cogn.*). In Plin. *Ep.* 10,31 it emerges that persons condemned for capital crimes were quietly masquerading as public slaves in their home cities. On incarceration in the Roman empire, see Krause 1996, with different forms of imprisonment (e.g. for purposes of investigation, civil execution and punishment) discussed at 64–91. The more recent study of Larsen and Letteney 2024 questions the traditional view that punitive incarceration was not characteristic of premodern societies.¹⁸¹ On liberation by governors (*venia*) or through imperial amnesty (*indulgentia principis*), which could take place even after conviction, see Krause 1996, 212–222. See further Berger 1953 s.v. *indulgentia*, Cotton 1984/2022 and the entry on φιλανθρωπέω in the Appendix.

παρουσία τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος: On παρουσία for visits by Roman emperors and their designated successors, see W.Chr. 413 (Thebes, 19) and SB VI 9617 (Oxyrhynchus,

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. Dig. 48,3,6,1 (Marcianus 2 *de iudic. publ.*); Dig. 48,13,4,2 (Marcianus 14 *inst.*); 48,19,27,2 (Callistratus 5 *de cogn.*).

¹⁷⁹ On λησταί in Iudaea, see Grünewald 1999, chapter 5.

¹⁸⁰ See CIL XI 4639 = ILS 3001 (Tuder, 66–96): *sceleratissimi servi publici infando latrocinio defixa monumentis ordinis decurionum nomina* = “the names of decurions that had been cursed by attaching them to tombs in an act of unspeakable banditry by a most wicked public slave” with MacRae 2018.

¹⁸¹ Many thanks to the authors for sharing their manuscript in advance of publication.

129) for Germanicus and Hadrian, respectively. The term was generally used with reference to visits by royal or official figures (LSJ s.v. 2; WB II s.v. 1; FW s.v.: “vorübergehende Anwesenheit des Königs oder eines reisenden Beamten”). In Roman Egypt, ἐπιδημία was used as well.

This appears to be a direct reference to the visit of Hadrian to Arabia and Iudaea between October of 129 and June/July of 130 as part of his long journey through the eastern empire in 128–132.¹⁸² Firmly attested (*) or strongly hypothesized (**) locations visited by the emperor in the regions relevant to P.Cotton were: *Gerasa, **Pella, *Scythopolis, **Tiberias, **Sepphoris, **Legio/Caparcozna, *Caesarea and *Jerusalem, the latter documented in an imperial letter to the city of Hierapolis (SEG LV 1416, 130), after which Hadrian proceeded through *Gaza and *Pelusium to *Alexandria.¹⁸³ The Decapolis city of Gadara may have been included as well (see section III 3).

Additionally, scholars have hypothesized that Hadrian may have visited Iudaea a second time in late 132, a possibility favored by the discovery of a military diploma that shows Hadrian with the title of *proconsul* (i.e. still traveling in the provinces) in December of 132, with the first dated evidence of his return to Rome being April of 133.¹⁸⁴ If a second visit did occur, it would logically have been linked with the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba uprising and, as such, unlikely to be the imperial visit mentioned in our text, which makes no mention of the revolt.¹⁸⁵

The term Ἀυτοκράτωρ (= *Imperator*; cf. Mason 1974, 29 s.v. 3) indicates that Hadrian was alive when P.Cotton was composed. This supplies a *terminus ante quem* of 10 July 138, the date of Hadrian’s death, in addition to the *terminus post quem* of his visit in 129/130.

26 διέσεισεν: On the term, which in the context of P.Cotton possibly refers to *concessio* in Roman law, see the Appendix. Both διασείω and *concutio* imply extortion by individuals performing an official function or assuming an official authority. It is possible that Gadalias was engaged in local tax collection, or practiced the alleged extortion in connection with his father’s administration of public debts (*chreophylakia*). In view of Hadrian’s visit, it may be that Gadalias was a local liturgist involved in

¹⁸² Hadrian is not known to have visited Iudaea before his eastern tour of 129–130. The reference to Tineius Rufus in line 22 (see the commentary *ad loc.*) further supports the identification of Hadrian’s παρουσία as the tour of 129–130. Note, however, that epigraphic evidence shows Lycian cities expecting an imperial visit during Hadrian’s earlier tour of the East ca. 123, see Tüner Önen 2013.

¹⁸³ See Halfmann 1986, 193.206–207; Mor 2016; Weikert 2016, 260–263; Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017⁶, 123; Ecker and Cotton 2019.

¹⁸⁴ For the diploma, see Eck, Holder and Pangerl 2010, mentioned in n. 1. For the first dated evidence of Hadrian’s return to Rome, see AE 2011, 1104. The implications of the diploma’s discovery are reflected in the timeline of Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017⁶, 123. The idea of a second visit to Iudaea is already discussed, with reservations expressed, in Halfmann 1986, 209–210.

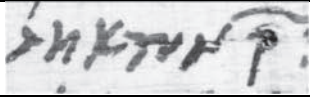


¹⁸⁵ On the dating of the outbreak, see n. 1.

imperial requisitions of food or supplies, which he extorted in illicit ways.¹⁸⁶ Like the other offenses imputed to Gadalias, extortion by officials fell under the jurisdiction of Roman governors.¹⁸⁷

Another possibility is that Gadalias had demanded judicial bribes as a *xenokrites*, a criminal offense punishable under the *lex Cornelia de falsis* or, in capital cases, under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*.¹⁸⁸

Λήκτων: *Lectus* is a rare Roman cognomen (Kajanto 1965, 275; Solin and Salomies 1994, 350). The role of *Lectus* in relation to the emperor's visit remains unclear: was he a centurion of the Roman army in Iudaea stationed in the city in question (e.g. for peacekeeping and policing, see Alston 1995, 81–101 and Fuhrmann 2011, 201–238) or did he belong to the military forces escorting the emperor? On the accentuation of *Lectus* in Greek, see Dickey 2023, 369 s.v. *πραιλῆκτος*.

(ἑκατοντάρχη): The *siglum* consists of *rho* topped with a curving horizontal stroke, which also appears in line 35 and possibly in line 5. It is clear from the context that the *siglum* represents the title of a Roman functionary. In papyri, ἑκατοντάρχης (= *centurio*) is usually represented by *rho* (the symbol for 100) in combination with *chi*, typically in superscript, see Bilabel 1923, 2301. However, there are examples of *centurio/centuria* represented only by *rho*, see O.Ber. II 226, 1 (Berenike, 50–75). P.Cotton appears to be another attestation of *rho* as a variant symbol for ἑκατοντάρχης.

		
Λήκτων (ἑκατοντάρχη), 26	(ἑκατοντάρχου), 35	ρ(), 5

κατεγνώσθη: In P.Cotton, the meaning is evidently LSJ s.v. III: “give judgement or sentence against a person”; CGL s.v. 7: “convict, find guilty”; WB I s.v. 3: “jmd. für schuldig erachten, verurteilen”.

26–27 ἐφυγαδεύθη: The basic meaning of the term is to chase away or expel (WB II s.v.: “verjagen, vertreiben, [Med.] entfliehen”) but in our text concretely referring to banishment (LSJ s.v.: “banish”; CGL s.v.: “banish, send into exile”; cf. φυγαδεῖα LSJ s.v.: “exile, banishment”). Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: φυγαδεύω *effugio, exsulo, fugito*; φυγαδεῖα *exilium*. In view of πολλάκις = “many times”, φυγαδεύω here probably refers not to *exilium* but to *relegatio*, temporary exile, a common punishment for a wide range of offenses that unlike *exilium* did not involve loss of status or confiscation of property.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ On διασεισμός with reference to requisitions of food, see Mitthof 2001, I 276–277 and 388; on the logistics of preparing for an imperial visit, see *ibid.* I 51–57.

¹⁸⁷ See P.Mil.Vogl. II 98 (Arsinoite, ca. 139) and other evidence discussed in Dolganov 2021a, 366–367.

¹⁸⁸ See the legal sources cited in n. 26.

¹⁸⁹ On temporary exile (*relegatio*), a frequent punishment in the Roman empire, see Dig. 48,22 and Dolganov 2021a, 359–361.

27 δυναστε[ίαν]: In this context, δυναστεία refers to the possession of unofficial power and influence and its abusive exercise over others, a special meaning attested in petitions from the Roman period (see e.g. P.Sakaon 36, Theadelphia, Arsinoite, ca. 280) that likely corresponds to *potentia* in legal Latin, see δυναστεία in the Appendix.

28 τὸ καθόλου δὲ οὖν: This phrase signals a return to the main argument before the excursus on Gadalias in lines 20–27. The text refers to unnamed individuals in the plural (see προσέφυγον, 29) whose identity is unclear. The authors may be speaking about Gadalias and Saulos, who are presumed to be accomplices (see the commentary to lines 45–49), but are arguably more likely to be referring to the “Gerasenes” mentioned in lines 17–19 and 36. As far as we can tell, this group included Chaereas, Diocles and, possibly, Saulos and his unnamed father, see the commentary to line 36 and sections III 2–3.

τοῦ πλαστοῦ: Ὁν τὸ πλαστόν referring most probably to the *crimen falsi*, see the Appendix. On *falsum* in Roman law, see section III 4 and ῥαδιουργία in the Appendix.

ἐπὶ Ποστώμου: The phrase may signify “during Postumus’ term of office” (see LSJ s.v. ἐπί II “in the time of”) or “in the court of Postumus” (see LSJ s.v. ἐπί I 1 e: “before a magistrate or official”) with reference to incriminating information coming to light during a court hearing.¹⁹⁰ In view of someone denying something ἐπὶ Ποστώμου (καὶ ἐπὶ Ποστώμου ἠρνήσθαι ἔχειν, 35) the latter interpretation seems more likely. The identity of Postumus is unknown, nor is it certain whether his investigation took place during the governorship of Rufus (c. 129–132) or in an earlier period. For discussion of possible scenarios, see section III 9.

28–29 φοβούμεν[ο]ι | τὴν κόλασιν: Ὁν κόλασις likely corresponding to *animadversio*, a Roman technical term for capital punishment and other penalties for major crimes, see the Appendix. This connotation would explain why the κόλασις inspired fear. In our text, κόλασις specifically refers to punishment for the public crime of forgery mentioned in the previous line (ἐλεγχθέντος τοῦ πλαστοῦ, 28). On the Roman penalization of forgery (*falsum*) under the *lex Cornelia de falsis* (Dig. 48,10,16, Paulus 3 *resp.*) see section III 4. On the spectrum of punishments for public crimes in Roman law, usefully summarized by the eastern provincial jurist Callistratus in Dig. 48,19,28 (Callistratus 6 *de cogn.*), see Mommsen 1899, 897–1011. The individuals in P.Cotton had good reason to be nervous: even persons of elevated status could still receive a *poena capitis* for forgery, as illustrated by the example of Flavius Archippus of Prusa, who was condemned *ad metallum* for unspecified deeds falling under the *crimen falsi*, see Plin. *Ep.* 10,58 and the commentary to εἰρκτῆς, 25.

Loose fibers, including a fiber descending diagonally from above, have obscured the *nu* of κόλασιν. An alternative reading of this damaged part of the text could be κολασίαν (with the morphological lapsus κολασία provoked by the existing antonym ἀκολασία).

τῇ βουλῇ προσέφυγον: To which city the unnamed *boule* belongs is uncertain. Both the abovementioned Gerasa and other cities in the region (such as Pella and

¹⁹⁰ For this meaning in papyri, see P.Dubl. 11,10 (Arsinoite, 2nd cent.): ἐξ ἀντικαταστάσεως γενομένης ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ.

Scythopolis) possessed the status and political institutions of a *polis* that included a *boule* (see the commentary to line 25). Even in the case of Gadora, which was not a *polis*, the existence of a *boule* is possible, since recent research has suggested that in Roman Iudaea *boulai* ceased to be an exclusive prerogative of *poleis* and could, by the second century, be established in major urban centers such as the capitals of toparchies.¹⁹¹ If this is correct, a regional capital like Gadora is where one would expect to see such a development. It may be that the persons in question made a gift to the *boule* in return for its intercession on their behalf, or that they paid for bouletic membership in order to receive a milder punishment, see sections III 2–3 and the commentary to εἰσόδιον below. On the differential punishment of *honestiores* (including all members of the curial/bouletic class in the Roman empire) and *humiliores*, see the sources and literature cited in nn. 21, 37 and 175.

Alternatively, one wonders whether the individuals in question could have appealed for asylum (ἀσυλία) as a means of avoiding punishment. This would narrow down the options for the location, since *asylia* is not a privilege that the sanctuaries of a town such as Gadora could plausibly have possessed. The temple of Zeus at Gerasa did have this privilege and is known to have exercised it in the year 70 for a certain Theon, son of Demetrios, who paid 10,000 *drachmai* to the temple for his protection during the first Jewish revolt against Rome.¹⁹² However, since no temple but only the *boule* is mentioned in P.Cotton, this scenario seems less likely.

ἀνά (δηνάρια) ῥκε: On ἀνά in a distributive sense with reference to sums of money, see LSJ s.v. III; CGL s.v. D. On the *denarius* symbol, see fig. 1 and Bilabel 1923, 2306.



(δηνάρια), 29

εἰσόδιον: In its context in P.Cotton, the term has two possible meanings: either “entry-fee” or “income/revenue” (LSJ s.v.). What sort of payment this was remains unclear and several scenarios are possible: i. The subjects were not members of the *boule* and paid an entry fee to join. — ii. The subjects belonged to the *boule* and made a one-time payment of 125 *denarii* per person as a gift to curry favor. — iii. εἰσόδιον refers to annual revenue from a larger sum donated by the individuals. According to Pliny the Younger, individuals seeking to join the *boulai* of cities in Bithynia and Pontus as additional members (*supernumerarii*) were expected to pay entry fees of 1,000 or 2,000 *denarii* (*Ep.* 10, 112). As a comparison, the magnitude of fees for taking up magistracies in the provinces (*summae honorariae, ob honorem*, etc.) ranged from 200 to 10,000 *denarii* in Africa Proconsularis and between 500 and 5,000 *denarii* in

¹⁹¹ See n. 23.

¹⁹² See Rigsby 1997, 9–11 and Rigsby 2000, who poses the question whether Theon may have been a Jew seeking protection from persecution in the final phase of the revolt. If so, the defendants in our text would have had a good historical precedent for seeking *asylum* at Gerasa.

Italy.¹⁹³ As regards gifts and donations to communities, sums on the lower end of the spectrum amounted to several hundred or, more typically, several thousand *denarii*. If annual revenue from a larger sum is meant in our text, with interest rates in the Roman empire ranging from 5% to a maximum of 12%,¹⁹⁴ the donated sum would fall between ca. 1,000 to 2,500 *denarii* per person for a total of at least ca. 2,000–5,000 and up to 5,000–12,500 *denarii*, depending on the number of persons involved. This would accord with the average size of foundations attested in inscriptions from the Roman provinces.¹⁹⁵ If, however, the passage refers not to Gerasa but to Gadora, a smaller settlement that was not a *polis*, the sum of 125 *denarii* per person would have been a plausible amount for a bouletic entry fee or capital sum of a foundation, see further section III 3.

κουφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεος (*corr. ex* κουφισθήσεσθαι): This phrase may be a technical formulation corresponding to *relevari poena/animadversione* in Roman law, see the Appendix and the commentary to κόλασις, 29.

ὄνοματι: See the commentary to ὄνομα, 20 and the entry on ὄνομα in the Appendix.

βουλήης: The surface layer of the papyrus containing the lower portion of υλης has shifted to the left.

31 ὑπέρ: The lower portion of these letters has shifted to the right.

ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς[ς] αὐτοῦ: The father of Gadalias was a *chreophylax* (20). The argument that a transaction was documented under Gadalias seems to suggest that he was acting as a *chreophylax* as well, see the commentary to χρεοφύλακος, 20 and section III 6.

γεγόνει (*l. ἐγεγόνει*): Omission of the augment in this verb form is attested in papyri as well as the New Testament, so it was evidently a common linguistic variation, see Mandilaras, *Verb* 111–112 § 233–234. For a papyrological example, see P.Mich. VIII 492,5 (Alexandria, 2nd cent.). In this context, γίγνομαι has a technical meaning common in documentary papyri and refers to a transaction being drawn up in a legal document, see WB s.v. 3: “abgeschlossen werden (vom Verträge)” and the examples of P.Cair.Zen. III 59368,13–14 (Memphis? 243 BCE): κα<τὰ> συγγρα|φὴν τὴν γεγενημένην and P.Oxy. II 237,4,6 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 186): ὁμολόγημα διὰ δημοσίου γεγονέναι; 26: [ὄ]μολογήματα γεγενῆσθαι. Compare ἀντί|γραφογ [χειρο]γράφου αὐτοῦ γεγενημέν[ον] (42–43) and μὴ γενόμενον παρ’ αὐτοῦ (44) in P.Cotton.

31–32 [μάρ]τυρας | π[α]ρήνεγκεν: In this context, παραφέρω means to produce or bring forward witnesses (see WB II s.v. 2 “einen Menschen herbeischaffen, zuziehen, vorführen”), see e.g. M.Chr. 54 = P.Amh. II 81,12 (Hermopolite 247) and M.Chr. 98 = P.Lips. I 43,11 (Lykopolis? 4th cent.). Although the reading of the prefix παρ- is not certain, the alternatives επιφέρω or προφέρω are both paleographically and semantically implausible, as both are consistently used with reference to documents and not persons, see the commentary to προφέροντα, 33.

¹⁹³ See Duncan-Jones 1982², 83 und 154; cf. Tonisch 2022, 292–295.

¹⁹⁴ See Duncan-Jones 1982², 81 and 132–135.

¹⁹⁵ See Duncan-Jones 1982², 132–138; cf. Tonisch 2022, 267–279.

32 διδάξεις: On διδάσκω, here with a special meaning of providing arguments and evidence in a court case that likely corresponds to *instruere causam* in legal Latin, see the Appendix.

32–33 [ο]ὐ δεῖ ἔνοχον ἄλλο[σ] τινὰ εἰ[σ]τ[α] παρόντι πλαστῷ γράμματι ἢ τὸν προφέροντα: This argument is in line with Roman legal literature on the presentation of false evidence in court. In Dig. 48,10,13,1 (Papinianus 15 *resp.*), an *advocatus* who recites a false document before the governor is spared the penalties of the *lex Cornelia de falsis* but is nevertheless removed from the *ordo decurionum* for ten years; a litigant who knowingly supplied such a document would presumably have been liable under the *lex Cornelia*. In Dig. 48,10,31 (a rescript of Pius, cited in Callistratus 3 *de cogn.*) it is stated that individuals who cite documents that cannot be authenticated are subject to heavy punishment, with some leniency for errors in good faith. This self-defence is clearly anticipated by the authors of P.Cotton, who preemptively argue against it (εἴ ἄρα καλῆ πίστει ἦν etc., 37).¹⁹⁶

33 πλαστῷ γράμματι: The singular γράμμα here signifies a document (see WB I s.v. 4). For the phrase πλαστὸν γράμμα, see e.g. P.Oxy. II 237,8,14–15 (Oxyrhynchus, ca 186, citation of a prefectural edict from 142). In the legalistic formulation of lines 32–33, this phrase likely corresponds to *falsum instrumentum*, see the entries on πλαστός and ῥαδιουργία in the Appendix.

προφέροντα: Here and in lines 39–40, προφέρω has the specific meaning of “present as evidence in court” and likely corresponds to *profero* in legal Latin, see the Appendix.

33–34 ὅτι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ | ἐπεβλήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ: In this context ἐπί + gen. may signify “in the presence of” or “in the time of” (see the commentary to ἐπί Ποστόμου, 28). The implication seems to be that Gadalias produced a forged or manipulated document dated to when his father was *chreophylax*. See further the commentary to lines 20 and 31 and sections III 4 and 6.

34 ἐπεβλήθη: The verb has a broad semantic range. With reference to documents, an apt definition would be “to seal”: CGL 546 s.v. 4: “affix, apply, stamp; mid. stamp oneself with”; LSJ s.v. I 3: “affix a seal” (etc.); WB I s.v.; IV s.v. 2: “Siegel aufdrücken”.

In Roman-period papyri from Iudaea and Syria, forms of ἐπιβάλλομαι are attested with reference to the endorsement of notarial instruments: P.Dura 18,34 (Dura Europos, Syria, 87): (*monogram*) ἐπεβαλόμην; P.Dura 26,5 (Dura Europos, Syria, 227): ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων καὶ ἐσφραγισμένων ἀνδρῶν; P.Dura 30,1 (Dura Europos, Syria, 232):]ν ἐπιβεβ[λ]ημένων; P.Euphr. 6,6–7 (Markopolis, Osrhoene, 249): ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων μαρτύρων; P.Yadin I 14,4–5 and 20–21 (Maoza, Arabia, 125); 15,3 and 17 (Maoza, Arabia, 125); 23,1 and 10 (Maoza, Arabia, 130): ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων μαρτύρων; 26,1: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων καὶ ἐσφραγισαμένων μαρτύρων (Maoza, Arabia, 131); 14,36: οἱ ἐπιβεβλημένοι μάρτυρες; 15,36: καὶ ἐπεβάλοντο μάρτυρες ἐπτά; cf. 35,5 (Maoza, Arabia, 132?): ἐπι]βεβλημένων. Until now, the exact meaning of this formula has not received a satisfactory explanation, particularly the combination of ἐπιβεβλημένων and ἐσφραγισμένων, derived from two verbs that ostensibly both mean

¹⁹⁶ These passages are discussed above at n. 34. For an extended analysis, see Schiavo 2007, 126–134.

“to seal”. In P.Dura 18,34 (Dura Europos, Syria, 87) we even find the corresponding endorsements (*monogram*) ἐπεβαλόμην and (*monogram*) ἐσφράγισμαι placed alongside each other. What these signify remains unclear. Naphthali Lewis translates the relevant phrase in P.Yadin I 14, 15, and 23 as “before the attending witnesses” and in P.Yadin I 26 as “before the attending witnesses who also affixed their signatures”. Denis Feissel, Jean Gascou and Javier Teixidor in their commentary to P.Euphr. 6 remark at n. 31 that “le participe moyen ἐπιβεβλημένων (6,7), à la place de l’habituel ὑπογεγραμμένων, est difficile à traduire”.

It may be concluded from this evidence that ἐπεβλήθη in P.Cotton refers to the endorsement of a document by witnesses through the imposition of seals.

34–35ου | (ἐκατοντάρχου): At the end of the line, one would expect either the article τοῦ | (ἐκατοντάρχου) or the end of the *centurio*’s name in the genitive. To read Λήκτου (cf. line 24) does not seem paleographically possible, so another *centurio* seems to be mentioned. Alternatively, the reading τοῦ αὐτοῦ | (ἐκατοντάρχου) = “of the same *centurio*” is possible. The genitive could indicate a parallel construction ἐπὶ ... (ἐκατοντάρχου) + ἐπὶ Ποστόμου, which would indicate an earlier hearing before a *centurio*, after which the case was heard by Postumus as a higher instance.

35 (ἐκατοντάρχου): See line 26 with the commentary.

ἐπὶ Ποστόμου: See line 28 with the commentary.

ἠρνήσθαι: Paleographically, both *theta* and *epsilon* are possible, but *epsilon* does not yield an existing verb form.

35–36] . . . υ|τῶ τῶν Γερασσηῶν: It is not clear whether a word carries over the end of the line (e.g. αὐ|τῶ) or ends in line 35 and is followed by τῶ τῶν Γερασσηῶν, 36 = “that of the Gerasenes”. Traces below the line suggest *rho* or *phi* followed by *omicron* or *alpha* before *upsilon* at the end of line 35 — perhaps [χειρ]ογράφου or [ἀντ]ιγράφου?

36–37 δεξάμενος παρ’ αὐτῶ[ν ca. 8] γραφον καὶ | ὃ ἔδει αὐτὸν προφέρειν: A possible supplement could be δεξάμενος παρ’ αὐτῶ[ν τὸ ἰδί]ο γραφον with reference to the original handwritten deed that the defendants claim was drafted and registered with the father of Gadalias at an earlier date (ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς[ς] αὐτοῦ γέγονει, 31) but which the authors of P.Cotton insist was much more recent (ὅτι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ | ἐπεβλήθη καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, 34). In papyri from Roman Egypt, archival officials often specify that a legal document deposited with them is the “handwritten original”, see e.g. PSI XII 1235 (Oxyrhynchus, 1 cent.) 24–25: καθ’ ἰδιόγραφον | ἀσφάλειαν. It may be deduced that ὃ ἔδει αὐτὸν προφέρειν refers to the inability of Gadalias to produce a document out of the archive that one would expect to have been there.

37 καλῆ πίστει: On the phrase, which is a Greek translation of the Latin *bona fide*, see the Appendix. On *bonae fidei iudicia* in Roman law, see Kaser and Hackl 1996, 151–157 and Kaser 1971², 200 and 485–488. These comprised “all actions arising from consensual or real contracts (except *mutuum*), the *actio tutelae*, *rei uxoriae*, *negotiorum gestorum*, and some others” (Berger 1953 s.v.). Real contracts included *depositum*, *commodatum*, *mutuum* and *pignus* (see Inst. Iust. 3,14); consensual contracts included *emptio venditio*, *locatio conductio*, *societas* and *mandatum* (see Cic. *Off.* 3, 17, 70). The

prosecutors seem to anticipate Gadalias' self-defence of error in good faith with regard to the manipulation of documents, see the commentary to lines 32–33.

38 τρόπῳ: This may be a dative of τρόπος with reference to the manner in which something is done. Possible supplements include the expression ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ = “in a criminal manner” (literally, in the manner of a robber or bandit, ληστής = *latro*) which is common in petitions, see e.g. P.Berl.Leihg. II 40,6 = SB XII 10910 (Theadelphia, 138–160). This would echo the accusation of ληστεία against Gadalias in line 24. Another possibility is the common clause ὅ ἂν αἰρήται τρόπῳ = “in his/her manner of choice” with reference to the right to dispose freely of property. This clause frequently occurs in contracts from the Roman period, including several documents from the Judaean desert (see e.g. P.Yadin I 11,11 [loan on hypothec, En Gedi, 124]: τρόπῳ ὅ ἂν αἰρήται ὁ πρᾶσσω[ν and P.Hever 64,17 [deed of gift, Maoza, 129]: διοικεῖν [τρί]πῳ ὅ ἂν [αἰρ]ῆ) and a contemporary slave sale from Oxyrhynchus, P.Col. X 254,6–7 (129): καὶ] οἰκονομεῖν πε[ρὶ] αὐτῆς ὅ ἂν αἰρή]ται τρόπῳ = “and to dispose of her (the slave) in whatever way she chooses”. Additionally, the phrase νόμ[ῳ] | ἑλληνικῶ] καὶ ἑλλ[η]γικῶ] τρόπῳ = “in the Greek custom and manner” occurs in a contemporary marriage contract from Nahal Hever, P.Hever 65 = P.Yadin I 37,9–19 (Maoza, 131) with reference to marital arrangements (see Katzoff 2005 with further literature) but it is not clear that this constitutes an apt parallel for our text.

Alternatively, τρόπῳ could be the dative ending of ἐπιτρόπῳ with reference to a Roman procurator. This would be an additional clue regarding the identity of Postumus (28 and 35) before whom judicial proceedings take place, see further section III 9.

39 Σαούλος: Saulos is the Greek form of yet another unmistakably Jewish name of biblical origin: שׂוּלוֹם (Š'WL). In documents from the Judaean desert, the name Σαούλος appears in P.Mur. 94 = SB X 10303,9 (2nd cent.) which is both geographically and temporally close to P.Cotton. The name is otherwise comparatively rare in documentary sources, see the testimonia collected in LJNLA III 148: TADAE IV 8,9 (Edfu, 2nd cent. BCE) and *JTS* 1923, 129 (Oxyrhynchus, before 212), both in Hebrew script; P.Wisc. II 57,13 (Polydeukia, Arsinoite, 200): Σαώλις; CIJ² 696a,1–2 (Thessaly, 3rd–4th cent.): Σαούλ. See further CPJ 5,623,3 (1st cent.) in Hebrew script; P.Flor. III 280,17 (Antaiopolite, 514): Σαῦλ; O.Petr. Mus. 264,1 (Thebes, 6th–7th cent.): Σαούλος and SB XX 15002,1 (Arsinoite, 7th–8th cent.): Σαούλ.

39–40 περὶ τὸν Γαδάλιαν . . . [ca. 12 προ]φῆρον|τα: περὶ + accusative could refer to matters “concerning Gadalias” (LSJ s.v. C I 5) or individuals “in the entourage of” Gadalias (LSJ s.v. C I 2). Alternatively, this could be a legal formulation indicating possession or liability, see WB II s.v. 2a “den Kreis des Eigentumrechtes oder der Beschaffenheit bezeichnend” with the example of P.Oxy. XXXIV 2722,16–17 (Oxyrhynchus, 154): συν|χωρῶ μένειν περὶ σέ = “I permit (the pledge) to remain with you”. In particular, there are several examples in Roman-period papyri of the expression μέμψιν περὶ N. N. (acc.) γένεσθαι with reference to liability, see e.g. P.Mich. XX 811,14–15 (Oxyrhynchus, 372): εἰς τὸ] | μηδεμίαν μέμψιν περὶ ἐμέ γένεσθαι = “so that no blame lie with me”. It is implicit in lines 40–41 that Saulos is trying to incriminate Gadalias, so he may be saying that the blame lies with Gadalias as the

person presenting the forged document, e.g. ἐὰν ὁ Σαοῦλος λέγῃ ὡς περὶ τὸν Γαδαλίαν ἢ μ[έμν]ις ἐστὶν ὡς προ]φ[έ]ρον|τα, ἐρεῖς ὅτι etc.

On the legal meaning of προφέρω, see the commentary to προ]φ[έ]ρον|τα, 33 and προφέρω in the Appendix.

40 αὐθέντης: On the term, which designates the initiator of the fraud and corresponds to the legal Latin *auctor*, see the Appendix.

40–41] . . . |μενος Σαοῦλος: A possible supplement could be προ]κε[ί]||μενος or προγε]ρα[μ]||μένος referring back to ὁ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας αὐθέντης in the previous line = “that the instigator of the fraud [...] was] the present/aforementioned Saulos”.

42–43 ἀντίγραφον [χειρο]γράφου αὐτοῦ γεγεν : Here, γίγνομαι — either γεγενημέν[ον] or the infinitive γεγενῆσθαι [— occurs with the same technical meaning as in lines 31 and 44 with reference to the drafting of a legal document, see the commentary to line 31. The phrase ἀντίγραφον χειρογράφου may refer to a copy of the deed being registered in the *chreophylakeion*, see e.g. P.Giss. I 8,8–9 (Apollonopolite, 119) with reference to a sale of land: ἀπογεγράφθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐνκτήσεων | βιβλιοθήκην ἀντίγραφον χειρογράφου = “that he has registered in the archive of acquisitions a copy of the deed, etc.” In our text, the possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ refers to the χειρόγραφον, not the copy.

44 τον μὴ γενόμενον παρ’ αὐτοῦ: On the meaning of γίγνομαι, see the commentary to line 31. In late Roman legal documents, the expression γίγνομαι + παρά is part of a standard formula referring to the initiator of a transaction (e.g. P.Vat.Aphrodit. 10,11 (Antinoupolis, 527–542): [ύ]π[ο]θήκης γεγενημένης παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ γονέων; P.Oxy. XVI 1893,18 (Oxyrhynchus, 535): ὁμολ(ογία) γεν(ομένη) πα(ρὰ) Μηνῶ). It is possible that the phrase has a similar sense in P.Cotton. The referent of γενόμενον is presumably again a document (see ἀντίγραφον and χειρόγραφον, 42–43).

45 συνεργός: The term is employed with a negative connotation, see CGL s.v. 2: “(ref. to a person or god, sts. w. a sinister connot.) collaborator, assistant, accomplice”; WB II s.v.; “Helfershelfer (im schlechten Sinne); Spießgeselle”.

κοιῦφνός: On the term, which in this context means “partner” in the sense of “accomplice” and corresponds to *socius* in legal Latin, see the Appendix. The *socii* of convicted criminals were subject to the same punishment, see e.g. Dig. 48,15,6,2 (Callistratus 6 *de cogn.*) and Dig. 48,10,20 (Hermogenianus 6 *iuris epit.*).

45–46 παντός [ca. 8] . . . Γαδαλί?|αν: It is clear from lines 48–49 that Gadalias is mentioned somewhere in this part of the text. Accordingly, the supplement of his name here seems a likely possibility. A plausible supplement in the lacuna could be something in the order of: κοιῦφνός παντός κ[ακοῦ] τοῦ περὶ (τὸν?) Γαδαλί|αν = “accomplice in every [criminal deed linked with(?)] Gadalias”. Cf. *Scholia in Pindarum (scholia vetera)* 64b: πολλοί, φησί, τῶν γειτόνων ἀπὴλαυσαν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ περὶ τὴν Κορωνίδα = “he says that many of the neighbors shared in the evil around Coronis”. The traces immediately before the lacuna would fit *kappa* well.

46 παραστήσει: In this context, the verb has the meaning of “set before the mind, present”; “prove, show” (LSJ s.v. A II). By contrast, in documents from Roman Egypt, the term typically means “bring forward, produce, esp. in a court of justice” (LSJ s.v.

C I), see e.g. P.Mil.Vogl. I 25,4,7–8 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite, ca. 127) reedited in Dolganov 2023b no. 2.

46–47 τὸ παρα[κεχαρα]γ[μένον νό]μισμα: See παραχαράσσω, 24 and the relevant entry on παραχαράσσω *adultero* in the Appendix. On the counterfeiting of coinage, see section III 7.

47–48 καὶ ὑπό τινο[ν ca. 10]|θαι τούτου ἔγ[ε]κκα: In this section (45–49), the authors of P.Cotton seek to substantiate their claim that Gadalias and Saulos had a history of criminal complicity by citing evidence that both were involved in the counterfeiting of coins. A possible reconstruction of the lacuna could be: καὶ ὑπό τινο[ν κατηγορεῖσ]|θαι τούτου ἔγ[ε]κκα = “and that [charges were brought against them] by certain persons on account of this” in the courts of the respective governors of Iudaea and Arabia. If this interpretation is correct, the argument of the prosecutors is indirect, inferring previous collaboration between Gadalias and Saulos from the fact that they were both denounced or indicted for the same offense in their respective provinces.

Paleographically, it is possible to read the singular ὑπό τινο[ς], but it seems less likely that two culprits were reported in two different provinces by the same person.

48 ἡγε[μ]όνι: The reading is uncertain from the visible traces. The title ἡγεμόν, a Greek term for a Roman provincial governor corresponding to the Latin *praeses* (see Mason 1974, 52 s.v. 4), seems the most appropriate in this context, especially in view of the parallel construction with Arabia in line 49. The phrase παρὰ τῷ + (dat.) with reference to the jurisdiction of a particular official is well-attested in documentary sources, see e.g. P.Oxy. II 237,7,5 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 186): δι’ ἧς καὶ νῦν πεπο[ίη]ται παρὰ τῷ [λ]αμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι ἐντυχίας = “through the petition that he has filed even now with the (court of) the prefect, *vir clarissimus*”.

50 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄπορον αὐτὸν ὄντα πρ[ὸς] περιγραφὴν τοῦ φύσκου [. . .] [. . .] .ον: On ἄπορος/ἄπορεῖν, see the commentary to line 23 and the entry on ἄπορος *egens/inops* in the Appendix. The syntax of the sentence makes it overwhelmingly likely that the subject of ἄπορον is Saulos, whose alleged criminal past is the focus of the preceding lines. A plausible reconstruction of the line would be: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄπορον αὐτὸν ὄντα πρ[ὸς] περιγραφὴν τοῦ φύσκου [εἶν]αι [ἔτοι]μον = “and since, by virtue of his being without means, he was prepared to defraud the *fiscus*”, etc. For a similar grammatical construction, with a substantive infinitive interrupted by a participial phrase, see e.g. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 35,9: τὸ δ’ αὐτὸν ἀνόητον ὄντα καὶ δειλὸν καὶ ἀκόλαστον καὶ μηδὲν διαφέροντα τῶν βοσκημάτων ἀρετῆς τι νομίσει προσήκειν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο δὲ παντελῶς δεινὸν καὶ τῆς χαλεπωτάτης πασῶν ἀνοίας καὶ μανίας = “and the fact of him, being senseless and lazy and intemperate and in no way different from cattle, believing that he has any claim to virtue — this indeed is utterly horrible and a sign of the worst sort of folly and madness”.

περιγραφὴν: On the term, which corresponds to *circumscriptio*, “circumvention, fraud” and is well-attested with reference to fiscal fraud (περιγραφὴ τοῦ ταμείου/ φύσκου), see the Appendix.

τοῦ φύσκου: The beginning of φύσκου is obscured by the surface layer of the papyrus shifting to the left and underneath the fibers of the preceding τοῦ. On the Roman imperial treasury (*fiscus*) see Brunt 1966/1990 and Alpers 1995.

51 ἐπιλύσας: In this context, ἐπιλύω refers to the remission of a financial obligation (cf. LSJ s.v. 5: “release, discharge a debtor”; WB I s.v. 1: „eine Schuldverbindlichkeit löschen”). For documentary parallels, see e.g. SEG I 366,44–45 (Samos, 3rd cent. BCE): καὶ τοὺς τόρκους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναλώματα πάντα ἐπιλύσειν = “to remit both the interest and remaining expenses” and an Augustan clause in the Greek text of the *lex portorii Asiae*, SEG XXXIX 1180,115 (Ephesus, 62): ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιλυθῆ, τοῦ ἐνεχυράσαντος ἔστω = “if it is not redeemed, let it belong to the person who seized it” (translated as *si ... redemptum non erit, eius qui ceperit esto* by Cottier et al. 2008, 73). The point may be that Saulos chose Chaereas as an impecunious accomplice who was indebted to him and would cooperate with his scheme in order to have his debts forgiven.

τὸν Χαιρέα κέχρη[ται]: Loose fibers on the surface of the papyrus have shifted the upper part of the letters to the left. For χράομαι with the accusative in later Greek, see LSJ s.v. VI with the example of 1 Ep.Cor.7.31: οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον = “those who use the world”. On Chaereas, see sections III 3–4 and the commentary to lines 28 and 56–61.

52 δοῦλους: The reading is uncertain but arguably the best fit for the traces. It is evident that the text refers to the sale of slaves. Other terms for this include ἀνδράποδα, παῖδες, παιδάρια, σώματα, but none fit the traces. Another possible reading could be πάντας, which would provide even more emphatic support for the interpretation whereby Saulos was seeking to defraud the *fiscus* by fictively selling off his slaves, see further section III 5. On the terminology for slaves in papyri, see Biežuńska-Małowist 1984, 18; Straus 2004, 245–249.

ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ: See the commentary to ὄνομα, 20 and the entry on ὄνομα *nomen* in the Appendix. Lines 52–53 clearly indicate that αὐτοῦ in this context refers to Chaereas and accordingly has a reflexive sense (*suo nomine*). It may be that the contracted reflexive form αὐτοῦ is meant here.

ἐν οἷς καὶ Νικο[. . .] : It is clear from the context that a specific slave is mentioned by name, with an ensuing relative clause governed by γέγονεν, 53. The traces after καί are incompatible with the names Onesimos (55, 69) and Abaskantos (105), other slaves mentioned in the papyrus. Instead, there is a clear *nu* followed by another letter and then a clear *kappa* with visible traces of *omicron*. There are numerous possibilities for names starting with Νικο- of which Νικόδημος (LJNLA I 298–299, II 456), Νικόμαχος (LJNLA II 231) and Νικόλαος (LJNLA I 299) are attested among Jews. A possible reconstruction of the text could be: ἐν οἷς καὶ Νικό[δη]μον, ὅσπερ μηδέποτε ὑπὸ τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ Χαιρέου γέγονεν = “among them Nikodemos, who however was never in the service of Chaereas” etc.

53 διακονίαν: On the term, which corresponds to the Latin *ministerium*, see the Appendix and the HAS s.v. διάκονος. On *servilia ministeria* in Roman legal literature, see Enßlin 1935, 488. For *ministerium* expressing the totality of the services rendered by slaves in an estate, see Cod. Iust. 3,33,9: *mancipia, quorum testamento ministerium matri relictum est* = “the slaves whose service was bequeathed to the mother in a will”.

55 Ὀνήσιμον δοῦλον τὸν προγεγραμμένον: Onesimos/Onesimus was likewise a common name for slaves in the Roman empire, see Solin 2003², II 986–997. Most famous is of course Onesimos of the Book of Philemon 1:10, see Lambertz 1907, 51

and Arzt-Grabner 2003, 83–108. Onesimos is also attested for Jews, including a witness named Ὠνήσιμος (*sic*) in a loan contract from the archive of Babatha, see LJNLA I 312 (P.Yadin I 11,33, En Gedi, 124) and III 348 (6 testimonia). Evidently, Onesimos was already mentioned (προγεγραμμένος) in the lost portion of the text before col. II — but not in line 52, where the name is not compatible with the traces.

56 δόλω πονηρῶ: On the phrase, which is a standard Greek translation of the Latin *dolo malo*, see the Appendix.

56–57 καταγραφὴν ἐποίησαντο: In Hellenistic Egypt, καταγραφή signified the registration of sales of real property (land, urban real estate, and slaves) in special registers kept by local officials, in particular the *agoranomoi*.¹⁹⁷ In Roman Egypt, καταγραφή likewise denoted the registration of acquisitions of real property and the transfer of property titles, employing expressions such as καταγράφω + N. N. (dat.) or καταγράφω εἰς ὄνομα N. N.¹⁹⁸ WB I s.v. 2 and FW s.v.: “urkundliche Hinwegschreibung eines Besitzes (auf Veranlassung des bisherigen Besitzers), sodaß der Besitz auf den neuen Besitzer übergeht (Abtretungsurkunde, Übereignungsurkunde)”; “Umschreibung des Besitzes im Besitzamte”.¹⁹⁹

The καταγραφή of slaves is also attested in Roman Syria. A second-century papyrus documents the καταγραφή of the sale of a slave and half of a vineyard through the local *chreophylakeion* (P.Dura 25, Dura Europos, Syria, 180). A third-century sale of a slave in the Syrian village of Beth Phouraia (P.Euphr. 8, 251) specifies that the seller has presented the buyer with a written record of the καταγραφή of his purchase of the slave several months earlier, together with a copy of the contract of sale (14–18): ἐωνημένην δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ καταγραφὴν ἦν ἐπέδειξεν | γ[εγεν]ημένην ἐν Σεπτίμια κολωνία μητροπόλι Νεσιβει τῇ πρὸ | πέντε Καλανδῶν Μαίων παρὰ Σεπτίμίου Σατορνείλου Πρόκλου | Νεσειβηνοῦ, ἦν καὶ τὴν προτέραν συγγραφὴν ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀποδόμενος | τῷ ἐφ[νη]μένῳ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν = “having been purchased for himself from Septimius Saturnilus Proclus, citizen of Nisibis, in accordance with the καταγραφή which he presented, which was drafted in the *colonia Septimia metropolis Nisibis* on the fifth day before the Kalends of May, which document together with the earlier contract of sale the seller gave to the buyer for his security”.²⁰⁰ Clearly, in the province of Syria

¹⁹⁷ See Wolff 1978, 184–221.

¹⁹⁸ See e.g. BGU IV 1128,12 (Alexandria, 14 BCE): καταγράψω τῷ υἱῷ Ἀπίωνι = “to register to his son Apion”. For further examples, see P.Mil. Vogl. II 98 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite, 138/139); M.Chr. 258 = P.Lond. II 334 (Nilopolis, Arsinoite, 166); P.Wisc. I 9 (Oxyrhynchus, 183). See Wolff 1978, 197–207; Straus 2004, 44–52 and 175–176.

¹⁹⁹ On the καταγραφή of sales in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see Wolff 1978, 184–221 and the useful collection of sources with commentary by Yiftach-Firanko 2014. The supposed second-century decline of the procedure posited by Wolff 1978, 207–212 is rightly doubted by Yiftach-Firanko 2014, 325. Anna Dolganov takes up this question in a separate article.

²⁰⁰ See also P.Euphr. 9 (Beth Phouraia, Syria Coele, 252), where only the καταγραφή of the seller’s acquisition of the slave is mentioned. The editors of P.Dur. 25 and P.Euphr. 8–9 incorrectly interpret καταγραφή as the deed of sale itself (an error repeated in Johannsen 2017, 117–168 on P.Euphr. 8–9). It is clear from P.Euphr. 8,14–17 (καταγραφὴν ... ἦν καὶ τὴν προτέραν

acquisitions of real property (both real estate and slaves) were subject to registration, as they were in Roman Egypt.²⁰¹

καταγραφή as a term for the registration of real property is also documented in the provinces of Asia and Macedonia. In an Ephesian inscription from the Flavian period, multiple instances of καταγραφίου followed by sums in *denarii* appear to refer to registration-fees, with σώματος καταγραφίου likely signifying the fee for registering the acquisition of a slave (line 23).²⁰² καταγράφω is also a standard term for registering slaves in the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos in the vicinity of Hierapolis in Phrygia, as well as sanctuaries in Macedonia.²⁰³ A third-century Roman ordinance preserved in an inscription from Beroia prescribes the archival registration of slave sales, likewise termed καταγραφή.²⁰⁴

Roman-period papyri from Egypt indicate that καταγραφή applied exclusively to notarized sales — in Roman administrative language, δημόσιοι χρηματισμοί.²⁰⁵ Sales executed via informal deeds (χειρόγραφα) needed to be notarized in the central archives at Alexandria (a procedure called δημοσίωσις) before being registered through καταγραφή.²⁰⁶ The evidence shows that καταγραφή was often delayed to the point of further transfer of title — for example when the property was due to be inherited or sold to someone else.²⁰⁷ In P.Cotton, the occasion for καταγραφή appears to have been the manumission of the slave Onesimos, which likewise suggests deliberate delay of registration (see section III 5). It is logical that the slave's ownership by Chaereas had to be formally registered before the manumission — a procedure involving change of legal, fiscal and potentially also civic status — could take place.

συνγραφὴν ἔδωκεν ὁ ἀποδόμενος) that two distinct documents are meant: the καταγραφή of the sale and the contract that preceded it (τὴν προτέραν συνγραφὴν).

²⁰¹ See further Mitthof and Papatomas 2015, 100–101.

²⁰² See IK Ephesos 13 = SEG XXXVII 884 (Ephesus, Flavian period) with the remarks of Habicht 1975, 89: “It may also be that καταγραφίου means the registration-fee, and that concerns the registration of a slave. It seems obvious that there must have been, throughout the Empire, public records on the possession of slaves, either in connection with the general census-lists or in connection with the tax called *quinta et vicesima venalium mancipiorum*.” On this tax, see section III 5.

²⁰³ See Öztürk and Tanriver 2008; I.Leukopetra 94 (Beroia, Macedonia, 239) and REG 12 (1899) 170 no. 2 (Edessa, Macedonia, 234). Many thanks to one of the anonymous reviewers for drawing the Phrygian inscriptions to our attention.

²⁰⁴ See EKM 1 Beroia 13 = SEG XLVIII 750,9–19 (Beroia, Macedonia, 3rd cent.): τὴν ὄνην καταγρά[φειν]. The text has been identified as an ordinance of the governor Tertullianus Aquila regulating manumissions in the aftermath of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, see further Youni 2010.

²⁰⁵ On δημόσιοι χρηματισμοί and the procedure of δημοσίωσις, see Wolff 1978, 139–140 and 129–135 and Burkhalter 1990, 203–208.

²⁰⁶ On the δημοσίωσις of χειρόγραφα, often long after the initial transaction, see Yiftach-Firanko 2008.

²⁰⁷ See Yiftach 2008. Alternatively, some χειρόγραφα make clear that καταγραφή is delayed because the full price of the object has not yet been paid, see e.g. P.Vind.Sal. 4 (Soknopaiou Nesos, Arsinoite, 11).

The appearance of καταγραφή in P.Cotton is the first attestation of this term in papyri from the Judaean desert. That καταγραφή could refer to the census may be excluded: in Roman Palestine, registration in the census was termed ἀπογραφή or ἀποτίμησις.²⁰⁸ In view of the evidence for καταγραφή as registration of real property in Roman Syria, Asia, Macedonia and Egypt, it is reasonable to conclude that similar registration procedures were in place in Roman Iudaea and Arabia.

57 ἀργυρίου μὴ ἠριθμημένου: This presumably refers to the manumission tax being omitted, see further section III 5.

πέρας ἡλευθερώθη: The relatively rare adverbial use of πέρας (LSJ s.v. A: “end, limit, boundary”) has the meaning of LSJ s.v. IV: “at length, at last”; CGL s.v.: “finally”; BDAG s.v. B: “in conclusion, at the end” with the example of Polyb. 2,55,6: καὶ πέρας ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας κατέσχε τὴν πόλιν = “he finally ejected the Megalopolitans and took the city”. On the manumission of Onesimos, see section III 5.

58 χρηματίζει: For the relevant definition of χρηματίζω, see LSJ s.v. III: “to take and bear a title or name, to be called or styled so and so”; WB II s.v. 4: “einen rechtsgültigen Namen (Titel) führen, benannt werden, heißen”. The intended meaning is clearly that Onesimos identified himself in official documents as the freedman of Chaereas.

60 Διοκλέους καὶ Χαιρέου: Both Greek names were frequent in the Roman period and are attested among Jews. For Χαιρέας, see LJNLA I 311 and III 395; for Διοκλῆς, see LJNLA III 245.

60–61 ἀντίγραφον γὰρ ἔλαβον παρὰ δεδωκότος: The alternative reading ἔλαβον παραδεδωκότος from παραδίδωμι, “cede, transfer” is syntactically implausible. In both cases one would expect the article τοῦ, which is elided in our text. It seems likely that δίδωμι here refers to Saulos as the seller of Onesimos.²⁰⁹ Accordingly, the ἀντίγραφον received by Chaereas and Diocles from Saulos was presumably a copy or exemplar of the contract of sale. This document is mentioned again in lines 70–72.

Alternatively, it is conceivable that δεδωκός refers to the payment of taxes on the slave sale, and that Chaereas and Diocles are emphasizing their possession of a written record of Saulos’ payment of the relevant taxes. For parallels, see e.g. W.Chr. 37 = BGU III 925,9 (Herakleopolis, 3rd cent.): ἀπαιτεῖσθωσαν οἱ μὴ δεδωκό[τε]ς = “let those who have not paid be pressed for payment”; P.Oslo III 144,2 (Oxyrhynchus, 270–275): λόγος τῶν δεδωκότ[ω]ν = “account of payers”.

62 ἥρτηται: The verb ἀρτάω in the middle/passive means “to be hung upon, to hang upon” (LSJ s.v. II) or “to depend” (BDAG s.v. 3). In documentary papyri, the verb’s meaning includes “to be based on/supported by” (WB I and WB IV s.v.) with reference to the legal basis of claims, see M.Chr. 198 = Pap.Agon 2 = BGU IV 1073,8–9 (Oxyrhynchus, 274): δίκαια ἡμῖν παρέθετο ἑαυτοῦ ἥρτημένα καθολικῶν νόμων = “he

²⁰⁸ See Palme 1993, 19–20.

²⁰⁹ Although the act of sale in papyri is more typically rendered with ἀποδίδωμι and the seller as ἀποδόμενος, see e.g. M.Chr. 171 = P.Lips. I 4,21 (Hermopolis, 293): ἀπέσ]χεν ὁ ἀποδόμενος Κάσ[τ]ωρ [πα]ρὰ τῆς περι[α]μένη[ς] Κυριλλοῦτος = “Castor the seller received from the buyer Cyrillous, etc.”.

presented us with documentation of his privileges, grounded in general laws”; see further CPR VII 20,10 (Hermopolis, early 4th cent.); P.Nag. Hamm. 144,22 (unknown provenance, early 4th cent.); P.Nekr. 23 = SB III 7205,5 (Chosis, Oasis Magna, 290–292); P.Oxy. XLVII 3350,17 (Oxyrhynchite, 330). The verb is typically employed with the genitive or with phrases such as ἐκ τινοῦ or ἀπό τινοῦ. By contrast, in P.Cotton we find the causal expression διαί + accusative.

ἐχθραν: For the meaning of ἐχθρα in literary sources, see LSJ s.v.: “hatred for, enmity to one”; “hostility”. The word belongs to a literary register and is rare in documentary texts. An appointment of a court representative from the third century (P.Oxy. XIV 1642,29, Oxyrhynchus, 289) refers to someone being nominated to a liturgy πρὸς ἐχθραν, which may be translated “out of enmity”. In view of the allegations of rebellion against Gadalias (περὶ βίης καὶ ἀποστάσεως καὶ ληστείας, 24), it is possible that the object of Saulos’ hatred implied by the authors of P.Cotton is the Roman state. Alternatively, this may be a reference to Saulos betraying his accomplices Chaereas and Diocles (67–68), see section III 10.

64 ὑποβολήν [ca. 5]τας: For the meaning of ὑποβολή, see LSJ s.v. 1–2: “a throwing or laying under”; “substitution by stealth”; CGL s.v. 3: “substitution, counterfeiting”. Cognate terms (*subicere*, *subditicius*, *suppositus*) existed in Latin. In P.Cotton this seems to be a reference to a suppositious document. A plausible reconstruction would be ὑποβολήν π[ροιοῦν]τας.

65 συνειδησι: On the term συνειδησις, in this context corresponding to the Latin *conscientia* (Berger 1953 s.v. “knowledge of a crime committed by another”), a technical legal meaning that emerges in sources from the Roman period, see the Appendix. On *conscientia* as grounds for establishing complicity in Roman law, see section III 6.

66 ολ . . . [ca. 7] . οτι ἐκ παρα . . . [ca. 5]: After the first lacuna, it is unclear whether we have ὅτι or its variants, or the dative ending of εἰληφότι from λαμβάνω or a compound thereof. In this context, ἐκ παρα- suggests the expression ἐκ παραλογι[σμοῦ] = “falsely, by deception” which is compatible with the traces and would be sufficient to fill the rest of the line. For examples, see e.g. P.Bingen 107 (Arsinoite, 250) and P.Oxy. VIII 1103,5 (Oxyrhynchus, 360).

67–68 πρᾶγμα κατήγγειλεν: In this context, πρᾶγμα may refer to the crime committed by Saulos or, in a more neutral sense, to the events surrounding the manumission of Onesimos (WB II s.v. 1–2). On καταγγέλλω in this context likely corresponding to *nuntio/defero* in legal Latin, see the Appendix. Who exactly denounced the matter to Roman officials is not specified, but it may have been Saulos himself, who is mentioned in the nominative case. For discussion of possible scenarios, see section III 10.

70 εἰ ἀλλότριον ἦσαν τῆς κακοῦργίας: On the meaning of ἀλλότριος, which corresponds to *alienus/extraneus* in legal Latin, see the Appendix.




71 Γαδέροις: The reading is likely, but not fully certain. The lower part of the horizontal stroke of the first letter curves slightly to the right, which resembles *sigma* more than *gamma*; but there are parallels for a curving *gamma* in m. 1 (see e.g. ἀγοραίοις, 21–22). Other possibilities include *omicron* instead of *alpha*, *lambda* instead of *delta*,

and *alpha* instead of the final *omicron*. Γαδέροις is to be preferred, however, because the alternative readings do not correspond to a known location in Iudaea or Arabia.

It remains an open question whether Γαδέροις is the dative of Γαδῶρα, a location in the Peraea mentioned in line 18, or whether it could be the dative of Gadara in the Decapolis (see the commentary to line 18), not mentioned in the extant portion of the text. The form Γαδέροις (with *epsilon*) is not otherwise attested. For Gadara (typically employed in Greek as a neuter plural, rarely as a feminine) there are numerous attestations of the genitive Γαδάρων and the dative Γαδάρους in texts that include Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* and *Bell. Iud.*), the New Testament (Matthew 196), Christian writers, the acts of church councils, etc. For Gadora, no inflected forms are attested, but it may be noted that in the Septuagint *epsilon* is used to render in Greek the location of πύργος Γαδερ (Genesis 35:16), presumably an etymologically related toponym in regional proximity to Gadara.

On balance, it is more plausible to regard Γαδέροις as the dative of Γαδῶρα (18), which is mentioned in the text, rather than a previously unknown alternative Greek orthography of the dative of Γάδαρα, a location not mentioned in P.Cotton. The phrase ἢ ἐν Γεράσοις οὐκ ἢ ἐν Γ[αδέροις? (115) suggests that only two locations are involved in our text and further corroborates the likelihood of Gadara.

73 ὑπ(): The superimposed *ypsilon-pi* (see fig. 2 in section VI) indicates a textual abbreviation that could represent any word beginning with ὑπ- or πυ-. Parallels for this *siglum* occur in labels and colophons of literary texts, where the abbreviation stands for ὑπ(όμνημα) = “commentary, treatise”. A particularly close visual parallel is furnished by P.Oxy. XXV 2433 (commentary to Simonides, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.): Σιμωνιδείων ὑπ(όμνημα), see also P.Oxy. XXIV 2392 (commentary to Alcman, Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.) and P.Münch. II 23, 26 (surgical treatise, 3rd cent.).²¹⁰

		
ὑπ(), P.Cotton, 73	ὑπ(), P.Oxy. XXV 2433,2	ὑπ(), P.Oxy. XXIV 2392,4

In the above-mentioned examples, the *siglum* denotes a textual commentary or expository treatise (see LSJ s.v. ὑπόμνημα II 5). In P.Cotton, however, the *siglum* marks the beginning of rapid abbreviated notes that appear to record statements made during judicial proceedings, including one clear reference to an individual being questioned (ὁ Πρεῖμος ἐξετασθεὶς ἄν ἐστ' ἀληθῆ, etc., 101).

The presence of a judicial record in this part of the text accords with another well-attested meaning of ὑπόμνημα (LSJ s.v. II 4) corresponding to the Latin *commentarius*, a term for the administrative and judicial records of Roman officials, also termed

²¹⁰ The *siglum* is described as common by the editors of the scroll labels in question, see also the remarks of Turner 1971², 34.

ὑπομνηματισμός, see the Appendix.²¹¹ Whether the *siglum* in P.Cotton stands for ὑπόμνημα or ὑπομνηματισμός cannot be established with certainty.

The notes in columns III–IV of P.Cotton are informally drafted and lack the features of an official record of proceedings. Roman *commentarii* typically began with formulae that included the name and title of the official and the date and location of the hearing, followed by the names of the parties, see e.g. M.Chr. 79 = P.Oxy. I 37,1–4 (Oxyrhynchus, 49): ἐξ ὑπομ[ν]ηματισμῶν Τι[βερίου] Κλαυδ[ίου] Πασίωνος στρατη(γού) | (ἔτους) ἐνάτ[ο]υ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Αὐτοκ[ρά]τορος, Φαρμούθι γ, ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, | [Π]εσοῦρι[ς] πρὸς Σαραεὺν = “from the minutes of the *strategos* Tiberius Claudius Pasion, year 9 of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, 3rd of Pharmouthi, before the tribunal, Pesouris against Saraeus”. Roman judicial records were also characterized by their transcription of direct speech, typically prefaced by the name of the individual with εἶπεν or ἀπεκρίνατο.²¹² Apart from the first line of the record (Φλάκκ[ος?] ἐπὶ Σαοῦλλον εἶπεν, 73), such elements are not present in P.Cotton. Only on one other occasion does it seem possible to detect an abbreviated reference to direct speech: οἱ Χερ(έου) ῥ(ήτορες) εἶπαν, see the commentary to line 98.

It may be inferred that the notes in columns III–IV were rapidly jotted down during the proceedings anticipated in the memorandum of columns I–III — most probably for the personal records of the authors, who were legal practitioners involved in the prosecution (see section III 10).

Φλάκκ[ος?] ἐπὶ Σαοῦλλον εἶπεν | α [Διο]κλῆς καὶ Χερέας; Several of the indented sections in lines 73–133 mark statements by individuals whose names are given at the beginning of each section, such as οἱ Χερ(έου?) ῥ(ήτορες?), 98; ὁ Πρεῖμος, 101; Ἀβάσκαντος, 105; and perhaps Πρεῖμος, 75. A name also seems to be present at the very beginning of this part of the text. The initial *phi* is reasonably clear, with a round shape and traces of ink above and below the line, followed by traces compatible with *alpha* and *lambda* and a clear *kappa* with traces that strongly indicate a second *kappa*. The traces after the lacuna are compatible with ἐπί as well as ὅτι. It is uncertain whether εἶπεν is written out or abbreviated as εἶπ(). In view of Διο]κλῆς καὶ Χερέας in the nominative at the end of the sentence, the statement could be a direct question.

The identity of Flaccus, if this reading is correct, is uncertain. A statement addressing Saulos and mentioning Diocles and Chaereas could belong to the official or judge presiding over the hearing, or to a *rhetor* on behalf of the prosecution.²¹³ A family of Flavii with the *cognomen* Flaccus is attested among the civic elite of Gerasa,

²¹¹ On the documentary genre of Roman judicial records, see the literature cited in n. 10.

²¹² On the introductory formulae of judicial records, see Coles 1966, 29–38; on direct speech, see *ibid.* 9–27.

²¹³ On the order of Roman judicial proceedings, see the sources and literature cited in n. 22. For an example of a hearing beginning with a statement by the presiding official to the defendant, see e.g. M.Chr. 80 = P.Flor. I 61,9–11 (unknown provenance, 85, reedited in Dolganov 2023b: no. 1). For an opening statement by the prosecution, see e.g. M.Chr. 93 = P.Stras. I 41,2 (Hermopolis, ca. 250).

including a T. Flavius Flaccus who appears with the title of *agonothetes* in a dedication to Hadrian in honor of the emperor's visit and judicial assize in Gerasa in 130 (καθίσαντα ἐνθάδε ἀγο[ρὰν δικῶν], SEG VII 813,5).²¹⁴ The temporal coincidence is noteworthy, and it is certainly possible that Flavius Flaccus, in addition to being a civic officeholder, was active as an orator at Roman assizes.²¹⁵ However, the lofty framing of Flaccus' statement "unto Saulos" (ἐπὶ Σαυῶλον), a phrasing used in the Septuagint for God addressing mankind, rather speaks in favor of identifying Flaccus as the official presiding over the hearing — either a governor of Arabia or a procurator of Arabia or Iudaea who is not otherwise attested.²¹⁶ That the initial lines (73–81) are spoken by the presiding official would also explain why the numeration of sections does not begin until line 82. For the *fasti* of senators and equestrians with the name of Flaccus in this period, see section III 9.

75 πρ [ca. 8] κειῖον: The vertical stroke visible to the left of the presumed *rho* belongs one letter further to the right, once the fiber is extended to its full length. It is possible that the name Πρεῖμμος (101) occurs here, indicating a statement marked by indentation as in lines 73, 98, 101 and 105. Alternatively, this may be a continuation of the initial statement by Flaccus, with the hanging indent indicating a second point. There may be a reference to a *chreophylakeion*. If so, this is likely to be the notarial center and archive at Gadara where the manipulation of documents allegedly takes place under Gadalias (31–38).

76 (δρ.): The L-shaped symbol that occurs in lines 76 and 132 of P.Cotton (see fig 3) corresponds to a *drachma*-symbol that is well-documented in papyri from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Hultsch 1905, 1632; Bilabel 1923, 2306 and O.Wilck., 818. Attestations of this symbol in Roman Palestine include P.Mur. 115 = SB X 10305, 5, 6 and 12 (Toparchy of Herodion, 124) and P.Mur. 118,9 and 12 (Toparchy of Herodion, 2nd cent.). In P.Mur. 115 the L-shape is nearly orthogonal with a short vertical stroke, while in P.Mur. 118 the angle is more acute than in our text (see fig. 3). The *editio princeps* of P.Mur. 115 does not identify the *drachma*-symbol in its transcription and translates it as a sum in *denarii* (this is followed by Koffmahn 1968, 126–137). It therefore comes as a surprise that the index of symbols (300) does identify the *drachma*-symbol as such. The text printed in SB X 10305 also fails to identify the symbol, which is not interpreted in the transcription nor mentioned in the Index under δηνάριον or δραχμή. This lack of clarity in the edition of P.Mur. 115 may be due to the ancient scribe's employment of the neuter plural τὰ προγεγραμμένα (L-shaped symbol) ὄ (12). The explanation may be that the scribe, having referred to a sum in Τύριοι in line 5, was thinking in terms of δηνάρια Τύρια (on this type of currency, see Weiser and Cotton 1996, 239). For the correct identification of the *drachma*-symbol in P.Mur. 115 see now Weiser and Cotton 1996, 245 (cited as DJD II 115). On the form of the

²¹⁴ On this family, see Jones 1928, 155, Isaac 1990, 346 n. 67 and Gatier 1996, 247.

²¹⁵ On the social profile of forensic orators and *advocati fisci* in the Roman provinces, see Dolganov 2020a and 2023a and b.

²¹⁶ See e.g. Exodus 4,14: καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὁργῆν κύριος ἐπὶ Μωυσῆν εἶπεν = "and the angered Lord said unto Moses".

denarius symbol in P.Cotton, see the commentary to line 29. The parallel employment of *drachmai* and *denarii* in our text is not surprising, since in the region of Syria and Palestine the two forms of silver currency were of equal worth and used interchangeably for calculating values and payments (see Weiser and Cotton 1996, 250–264, esp. 261–262). By contrast, in Roman Egypt 1 *denarius* was worth 1 *tetradrachmon* (billon coin) = 4 *drachmai*.

The alternative interpretation of the L-shaped symbol as representing the word *ἔτος* — e.g. *zeta* for year 7 of Hadrian or *zeta* preceded by a superimposed *iota* for year 17 — seems unlikely for several reasons. The *ἔτος*-symbol pervasive in documents from Egypt is not otherwise attested in Syria and Palestine; the Egyptian *ἔτος*-symbol tends to be orthogonal, whereas the symbol in P.Cotton forms a slightly acute angle; a probable reading of *τῆς* followed by the L-shaped symbol in line 132 supports the interpretation of *(δραχμάς)*. Finally, the form of the letter after the L-shaped symbol in line 76 is different from *zeta* as the numeral 7 in line 105, and is more plausibly interpreted as a majuscule *zeta* topped by a curving vertical stroke indicating the number 7,000 with reference to a monetary sum (see the commentary below).






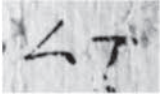
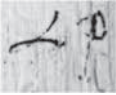


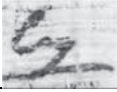


L-shaped symbols in P.Cotton	 (δρ.) ᾿Ζ, 76  (δραχμάς) ᾿Ζ, 132	 (δραχμάς?), 102
<i>Drachma</i> symbol in P.Mur. 115	 (δραχμῶν) σ̄, 5	 (δραχμαῖ) σ̄, 12
<i>Drachma</i> symbol in P.Mur. 118	 (δρ.) τ̄, 9	 (δρ.) φ̄, 12
Year symbol in two second-century judicial records from Roman Egypt	 (ἔτους), BGU III 969,3	 (ἔτους), P.Mil.Vogl. I 27,2,14

Fig. 3 Comparison of L-shaped symbols in papyri

Ζ̄ = ἑπτακισχίλια (sc. δραχμαί): The case of the sum is unknown. Here, *zeta* as a measure of value has a majuscule form distinct from *zeta* as a numeral in lines 105 and 107:

		
Ζ̄, 76	ζ, 105	ζ, 107

The thousand-number is, as usual in papyri, marked by a supralinear vertical curving stroke at the head of *zeta*. The same sum seems to be mentioned in line 132. The sum may refer to: i. the loan of Saulos to Chaereas (51); — ii. the price of the slaves bought by Chaereas (51–52); — iii. the financial loss to the *fiscus* as a result of the fraudulent dealings of Saulos and Gadalias (see αἱ βλάβαι?), 111 and the supplement τῆ συν[όλω βλάβ]βη suggested in the commentary to lines 102–103); — iv. an additional fine imposed by the *fiscus*. A round figure of 7,000 *drachmai* is arguably most likely to be a fine, with parallels documented in a Roman fiscal rulebook from the second century (BGU V 1210, the so-called Gnomon of the Idios Logos), see e.g. BGU V 1210,172–173 §69 with reference to a woman fined 9,000 *drachmai* for attempting to illicitly export her slaves out of Egypt.

Either way, it seems clear that the sum of 7,000 *drachmai* is relevant for the total value of the case, part of which was due as a reward to the presumed *delator* who denounced the matter to the *fiscus* (πράγμα κατήγγειλεν, 67–68, see section III 10).

78 ἀναλαμβάνονται: ἀναλαμβάνω is a standard term for confiscation in documentary papyri from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, see e.g. P.Köln X 412,7 (Arsinoite, 178 BCE). In the Roman period, ἀναλαμβάνω specifically refers to the seizure of money or property by the *fiscus*, see BGU V 1210 *passim* (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.). The third person passive most plausibly refers to the slaves of Saulos, who had been fictively sold to Chaereas, being punitively confiscated, while the sum of 7,000 *drachmai* mentioned in line 76 seems likely to be an additional fine. As parallels: the aforementioned Roman fiscal rulebook (BGU V 1210,155 §60) prescribes the confiscation of slaves for failure to declare them (as seems to have been the plan of Saulos and Chaereas in Arabia, see section III 5) and mentions a fine of 9,000 *drachmai* for exporting slaves out of the province without permission (BGU V 1210,167–170 §67 and 172–173, §69).

On the paleography of *alpha* before *mu*, with strokes crossing in the middle, see the *alpha* of πατρ[ός], 118 in fig. 2.

79 καὶ ἔλευθερ[: The traces are compatible with ἔλευθερῶσαι or ἔλευθερωθεντ- presumably referring to the manumission of Onesimos (54–59; ἔλευθερωθέντος Ὁνησίμου, 69). If this is still Flaccus speaking, one would expect a statement to the effect that manumissions made to the detriment of the *fiscus* are invalid, a policy emanating from protections for creditors against insolvent debtors in the *lex Aelia Sentia*, see Dig. 40,9 *qui et a quibus manumissi liberi non fiunt et ad legem Aeliam Sentiam* 5–11, 18 and 23–27 and Buckland 1908, 544 and 559–566. This policy applied if the indebted manumitter was aware of being insolvent.

85 ἐπιγεγραμ(): On ἐπιγράφω referring to the manipulation of a placename in a document, see lines 18–19 (ὁ δὲ τόπος Γαδῶρα ἐπεγράφη ὡς | εὐθετος πρὸς τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν) and ἐπιγράφω *induco* in the Appendix.

89–93 Somewhere in these lines stood the section number $\bar{\gamma}$, which is now lost.

98 οἱ Χερ(έου?) ῥ(ήτορες?) εἰ(παν?): This reconstruction is uncertain. With the exception of line 73 (Φλάκκ[ος?] ... εἶπεν), the terms ῥήτωρ and εἶπεν are not written out in P.Cotton (73–133). Here, they may be abbreviated as *rho* and *epsilon* topped with curving strokes. Similar abbreviations are attested in Roman judicial records from the second, third and fourth centuries, see e.g. ῥ(ήτωρ) εἶπ(εν) in P.Oxy. XLIII 3117 (Oxyrhynchus, 235) and P.Oxy LIV 3758–9 (Oxyrhynchus, 325); ῥήτ(ωρ) εἶπ(εν) in BGU III 969 (Arsinoite, 139); and εἰ(πεν) in BGU III 705 (Arsinoite, 205).²¹⁷ The minimalistic ρ() and ε() in our text accord with its generally high level of abbreviation.

διὰ δημοσ(ίου): In papyri from Roman Egypt, this expression refers to the drafting or registration of a document through a public notariate, see e.g. P.Oxy. II 237,4,6 (Oxyrhynchus, ca. 186): ὁμολόγημα διὰ δημοσίου γεγονέναι τῷ κβ (ἔτει) = “that the agreement was drafted through a public office in the year 22”. In P.Cotton, this could be a reference to the *chreophylakeion* of Gadora (31–38 and possibly 75).

99 εὐπορ. : This is the beginning of a form of εὐπορος or εὐπορέω, possibly as a denial of the allegation that Saulos is destitute and corruptible (50–53). On ἄπορος and εὐπορος/εὐσχήμων as technical terms corresponding to *egens/inops* and *locuples/honestus* in Roman administrative terminology, see ἄπορος in the Appendix.

101 Πρεῖμος: This common *nomen* or *cognomen* is difficult to attribute to any particular social group. It could be the name of a Roman soldier or officer (such as a *centurio*) or even of a Roman official. But it could also be the name of a slave (see e.g. CIL III 6100, Corinth, Achaea) as the context arguably suggests (see below). Primus is attested for Jews, see LJNLA III 532.

ἐξετασθεῖς ἄν ἐστὶ ἀληθῆ: The core meaning of ἐξετάζω is LSJ s.v. A: “examine well, scrutinise”; II: “examine or question a person closely”; WB IV s.v. “prüfen, untersuchen, nachforschen”. In documentary sources, the verb often refers to investigating the truth, see e.g. P.Dion. 9,30 (Hermopolite, 139 BCE): τῆς τε τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλεθείας ἐξε[τ]ασθείσης and P.Panop.Beatty 2,89 (Panopolite, 300): ἵνα τοίνυν τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξετασθεῖη. In Roman judicial records, ἐξετάζω occurs specifically with reference to interrogation, see e.g. SB XVI 12949,7–8 (unknown provenance, early 3rd cent.): π[α]ρρηγοτος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐξετάσθη. | Λαίτος [εἶπεν, ἀλλ]᾽ πρότερον πρὸ τοῦ με παρατυχεῖν, φησὶν ἐβασανίσθη = ““He was questioned in the presence of the *strategos* and the royal scribe”. Laetus said: “But he says that, earlier before I happened to be present, he was tortured!””. Compare the interrogation in the *Passio Iulii Veterani* 1: *praeses dixit: “quid dicis, Iuli? vera sunt haec quae dicuntur de te?”* = “The governor said: “what do you say, Julius? Are the things said about you true?””

If interrogation is meant in our text, as seems likely, it would identify Primus as one of the culprits, most probably as another slave of Saulos, who is questioned under

²¹⁷ On the abbreviation of εἶπεν, see the remarks of Coles 1966, 44–46.

duress (see 105–106 on Abaskantos) and reveals that the defendants owe even more money to the *fiscus* (see the readings suggested below).

It is possible, but arguably less likely, that ἐξετασθεῖς has a neutral sense of “was asked” (see e.g. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6,4,38: ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐξετασθεῖς, πότερον οἶεται, etc.), in which case Primus could conceivably be one of the prosecutors.

102–104 (δρ.?) . ἐπι . . . [.] κε τῆ συν[ca. 5]βη . . . [.]πακαγ οὖν ὁ μὴ [ca. 4–6] | τῷ δεσπότη: The fibers on the left side of the column have shifted one line up. The initial traces at the beginning of line 102 resemble the top part of an L-shaped *drachma* symbol (see fig. 3) followed by a number, either *phi* for 500 or *rho* for 100. Both are well-attested fines in the Roman period. The fine of 500 *drachmai* is documented as a Roman penalty for subterfuge, see e.g. SB I 5240,17–18 (Arsinoite, 27) and BGU V 1210,248–251 §113 (Roman fiscal rulebook = Gnomon of the Idios Logos, 2nd cent.).

A plausible reading of τῆ συν[ca. 5]βη would be τῆ συν[όλω βλά]βη with reference to the total financial damages due to the *fiscus*. This would confirm that the hearing is primarily concerned with the issue of fiscal fraud, see sections III 4 and 9.

For ἐπι . . . [.] κε one could supplement ἐπιπρ[ο]σήνεγκε, with the prefix in an intensifying sense of “besides, in addition” (cf. ἐπιπροσγίγνομαι, ἐπιπροστίθημι). προσφέρω in this context would signify “add” (LSJ s.v. A I 2; cf. WB II s.v. 1: “hinzubringen”), see e.g. Eur. *Med.* 78: εἰ κακὸν προσοίσομεν νέον παλαιῶ = “if we add a new trouble to the old one”. Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: προσήνεγκεν *admovit* (OLD s.v. *admoveo* 15 “put in as an addition, add”). The meaning would be: “Primus, having been questioned whether it is true, added a further X *drachmai* to the totality of the damages, etc.”.

Subsequently,]πακαγ indicates a perfect form of either σπάω or ἀρπάζω (on the paleography of *pi alpha*, see fig. 2). A plausible supplement would be κἀ[θήρ]πακαγ οὖν ὁ μὴ π[ροσῆκει] | τῷ δεσπότη = “for they seized what does not belong to their master” — which would explain why more money was added to the damages.²¹⁸ Whether Chaereas or the *de facto* master Saulos is meant is unclear.

105 Ἀβάσκαντος πολλῶ χρόνῳ ἐπι . . . [ca. 3–5]: Abascantus/Ἀβάσκαντος was a common name for slaves in the Roman empire, both at Rome and in the provinces, see respectively Solin 2003², II 913–916 and OPEL I² 15 s.v. Papyrological examples include: BGU VII 1614,4,2 (Arsinoite, 70), CPapGr 2,1,35 (Arsinoite, 138) and O.Wilck. 1482 (Thebes, 3rd cent.). Ἀβάσκαντος is also attested for Jews, see LJNLA I 257 (Masada, before 73); II 192 (Talmud, before 400); III 197 (Roman Egypt, 88).

In view of Abaskantos being a slave (as implied by τοῦ δεσπ[ότου, 106) it seems likely that his examination took place under torture, as was the customary Roman practice, see Dig. 48,18,1 and 9 and Buckland 1908, 86–91. For a documentary illustration of judicial torture in Roman Egypt, see P.Oslo II 17,13–14 (Prosopite, 136): καὶ ἐπιτρέψας αὐτοὺς ἐπιπλ[η]ν[η]χθῆναι ἔφη· τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξομολογήσασθε = “and, having

²¹⁸ For καθαρπάζω (LSJ “snatch down, seize, appropriate”) see e.g. P.Sakaon 47,13–14 (Theadelphia, Arsinoite, 342): ἀ[ποκατασ]τῆ[σαί] μοι τὰ κακῶς καθηρπασθῆν[τα] = “to return to me the things maliciously seized”.

ordered for them to be beaten, he said: ‘confess the truth!’” A plausible supplement in line 105 of P.Cotton could accordingly be Ἀβάσκαντος πολλῶ χρόνῳ ἐπιπλ(ηχθείς)/ἐπιπλ(ηκτός) ἐ(ίπεν)/ἔξ[ομολογ(ήσατο)] = “Abascantus, having been beaten for a long time, said/confessed”, etc.

The length of judicial torture is thematized in Christian *acta martyrum*, see e.g. the *Pass. Carp. Pap et Agath.* (ed. Rebillard 2017) 23,2: ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ξεόμενος ἔκαμνεν καὶ οὐκέτι ἴσχυσεν λαλήσαι = “having being scraped for a long time he was exhausted and no longer had the strength to speak”.

106 οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ δεσπ[ότου]: The fibers have shifted, obscuring the text after οὐδὲν. The traces suggest πρὸς with a small trace of the tail of *rho* visible below the line. The sense seems to be that Abascantus reveals no information against his master’s father (e.g. ἐξ[ομολογ(ήσατο)] | οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ δεσπ[ότου]). This could be the father of Gadalias or of Saulos, both of whom are mentioned in P.Cotton (see, respectively, 20, 31 and 34; 54). On the paleography of δεσπ[ότου] compare δεσπότη, 104.

For Abascantus to be forced to give testimony against his master would constitute an exception to the Roman policy of not examining slaves against their *dominus* (see Buckland 1908, 86 with sources). Such exceptions are attested in imperial legislation for major crimes such as adultery, *maiestas*, and fiscal fraud (the probable substance of our hearing), see e.g. the text and translation of Cod. Iust. 9,41,1 in n. 48.

107 ἐπὶ ζ μ[αρτύρων]: The initial letter traces are compatible with ὅτι or ἐπί (where the *pi* is exceptionally not bound to *iota*). The letter *zeta* clearly indicates a number. The following *mu* suggests the proposed reading, which is a standard formulation for a document being drafted and sealed before witnesses, see e.g. P.Yadin 23,1 and 10 (Maoza, 130), P.Euphr. 10 = SB XXIV 16171,8–9 (Carrhae, 250) and ChLA XLIII 1245,6 (Egypt, 4th cent.). As a parallel: seven witnesses appear in Babatha’s μαρτυροποίησις (*testatio*) recorded in P.Yadin I 15,36 (Maoza, 125): καὶ ἐπεβάλοντο μάρτυρες ἑπτὰ, among them the *librarius* who had drafted the document. Similarly, the καταγραφή of a slave sale recorded in P.Dura 25,34–35 (Dura Europos, Syria, 180) is certified by seven witnesses, including the *strategos* of the city and three *chreophylakes*.

The involvement of exactly seven witnesses reflects adherence to Roman practice, which prescribed seven witnesses for solemn legal acts such as divorce (Dig. 24,2,9, Paulus 2 *de adult.*) and the sealing of Roman wills, see e.g. Dig. 37,11,7 (Iulianus 23 *Dig.*): *septem testium signa*; BGU I 361,12–13 (Arsinoite, 184): τ[αῖς δια]θήκαις ἑπτὰ εἰσιν σφραγιστά; P.Cair.Masp. II 67151,45 = FIRA III 66 (Antinoupolis, 570): νομίμω(ν) ἑπτὰ μαρτύρων. See also P.Princ. II 78,5–6 (Oxyrhynchus, 6th cent.) ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ μαρτύρων | ἰκανῶν.

111 αἱ βλ(άβαι?): This abbreviation is attested in documentary papyri from Roman Egypt, see e.g. BGU IV 1160,8 (Alexandria, 5–4 BCE). It presumably refers, once again, to the financial damages owed by the culprits of fiscal fraud (102–103). On the paleography of *beta*, compare Ἀβάσκαντος, 105.

112 τὸ ἰσχυρ[ότατον?] . . . [ca. ?]: This likely refers to the strongest argument or piece of evidence, similar to μέγιστον τεκμήριον, 62–63. As a parallel, see Thuc. 5,111

(Melian dialogue): ἀλλ' ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπίζόμενα μέλλεται = “your strongest arguments consist in hope for the future”. With the disappearance of names from the beginnings of sections starting with line 107, the authors of P.Cotton may be recording their own points as they arise during the proceedings.

114 τοῦ ε() π() .εσ .ι .ται: A possible reading would be σέσεισται (another reference to extortion, see the commentary to διέσεισεν, 26) with ε() π() possibly indicating an abbreviated personal name or title.

115 ἡ ἐν Γεράσοις οὖν ἡ ἐν Γ[αδέροις?]: Only the lower end of a vertical stroke is preserved from the first letter of the second toponym, which is compatible with *gamma*. On the dative form Γ[αδέροις, see the commentary to line 71.

116 ἐνίων χεῖρ αὐτῶν δ . [: In this context, χεῖρ may have the meaning of “deed, instrument” (LSJ s.v. VI) with reference to a sealed document (ἐπιβέβληται, 117). This may be the deed with the manipulated placename mentioned in lines 17–19 and 31–44, which may be identical with the slave sale referred to in lines 60–65 and 70–72 (see sections III 4–5). χεῖρ for χειρόγραφον is frequent in documents from Egypt, as illustrated by the clause ἡ χεῖρ ἥδε κυρία ἔστω in Ptolemaic and Roman documents, see e.g. P.Dion. 34,14 (Hermopolite, 116 BCE) and BGU III 981,3 (Diospolite, 77).

Alternatively, χεῖρ could have the meaning of LSJ s.v. VI “handwriting”. A reference to handwriting would imply that the witnesses not only imposed seals but also signed the deed. It is possible that they were asked to testify to the authenticity of their signatures, incurring liability if the deed proved to be forged — a scenario described in Dig. 44,1,11 (Modestinus 13 *resp.*). On the practice of signing legal documents in the Roman empire, see Nowak 2015, 58–66 and the example of Dig. 29,7,6,2 (Marcianus 7 *inst.*): *codicillos ... sua manu signatos et subscriptos*. According to Ulpian, both signatures and seals were required for Roman wills (Dig. 28,1,22,4) and are attested in surviving original wills on waxed tablets (e.g. BGU VII 1696 = CPL 224, 2nd cent.). If the document in P.Cotton involved the application of both signatures and seals by seven witnesses, this would constitute remarkably faithful adherence to Roman practice.

For similar grammatical constructions with ἐνίων, see e.g. Isae. *Pyrr.* 11: ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς κελεύητε, περὶ ἐνίων μνησθεῖν ἂν αὐτῶν = “if you order me to do so, I would mention some of them” and Gal. *De simpl. med. temp.* 12,311,5: ἀλλ' ἐνίων εἰσὶ καὶ θανάσιμοι τῶν φαρμακῶδῶν = “but some of the poisonous ones are even deadly”.

117 ἐπιβέβληται: Another reference to endorsement by witnesses with seals, see the commentary to ἐπεβλήθη, 34 and καταγραφὴν, 56.

118 ἐχομένη τοῦ πατρ[ός]: The hanging indent of the line indicates the start of a new period. The participle ἐχομένη without an initial article reflects the elliptical syntax of these rapidly drafted notes. In this context, the subject of ἐχομένη is presumably either a signature (ὕπογραφή) or a seal (σφραγίς) on the document being discussed. It is again unclear whether the father of Gadalias or of Saulos is meant.

An alternative reading would be ἔχομεν ἡ in a parallel construction, e.g. ἔχομεν ἡ τοῦ πατρ[ός ... ἡ τοῦ] | ἐνγούου = “we have either [...] of the father [...] of the surety”.

119 ἐγγύου: For the involvement of a surety in a slave sale (πειστικελευστής ἐγγυόμενος, a literal Greek rendition of *fideiussor*), see M.Chr. 171 = P.Lips. I 4,6

(Hermopolis, 293). A surety could also have been involved in the alleged debt of Chaereas to Saulos (51) or appointed to ensure that the defendants appeared in court and the penalty was paid, see Berger 1953 s.v. *in ius vocatio* and the example of Dig. 42,1,4,4 (Ulpianus 58 *ad ed.*): *fideiussores in rem iudicatam*.

120 ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐπιβολήν: On ἐπιβολή for the affixing of seals, see LSJ s.v. A and Luc. *Tim.* 13: καὶ σημείων ἐπιβολαῖς. For the compressed paleography of ἐπιβολή compare ἐπί, 128 and βο of ἐβούλ[οντο, 121.

121 ἀλλὰ φανεροὶ ἐβούλ[οντο: For the expression φανερός + verb, compare Diod. Sic. 15,37: καὶ φανεροὶ καθεισθήκεισαν ἀμφισβητήσοντες τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας = “and they manifestly established themselves in a position to contest the hegemony of Greece”.

122–123 ὅτι ἐξῆκε ἡ πατρ[ικῆ? ca. ?] | καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν [: Here ἐξῆκε appears to have the meaning of LSJ s.v. A II “to have run out or expired” with reference to a term of office, see e.g. Pl. *Leg.* 766c: ἐὰν δέ τις δημοσίαν ἀρχὴν ἄρχων ἀποθάνῃ πρὶν ἐξῆκειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν πλεῖον ἢ τριάκοντα ἐπιδομένην ἡμερῶν = “if anyone holding a public office should die more than thirty days before his term of office runs out”, etc. It may be inferred that the father of Gadalias is meant, whose death is compatible with him being spoken of in the remote past (ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς[ς] αὐτοῦ γηγόνει, 31). The sense may be that the father’s lease of the *chreophylakia* ran out (see the commentary to χρεοφύλακος, 20) and he thereafter died, e.g. ὅτι ἐξῆκε ἡ πατρ[ικῆ] χρεοφυλακία/μίσθωσις ca. ?] | καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν. His death would have been juridically relevant for Gadalias, since a manipulated document purportedly drafted and sealed “under his father” (ἐὰν λέγῃται ὑπὲρ Γαδαλίου ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς[ς] αὐτοῦ γηγόνει, 31) who was now dead absolved Gadalias from the penalties of the *lex Cornelia de falsis*, see Dig. 48,10,12 (Papinianus 13 *resp.*) and section III 6.

On the paleography of πατρ[ικῆ], see πατρ[ός], 118.

124 κ τορι κ . . . [: The reading is obscured by a loose piece of papyrus. This could be a reference to Hadrian (Ἀὐτοκράτορι κ . . . [) or to imperial pronouncements, e.g. ταῖς αὐτοκρατορικαῖς [διατάξεσιν]. For a parallel, see e.g. BGU III 823,23–24 (Arsinoite, 176–179): ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἡγεμονικαῖς καὶ αὐτοκρατορικαῖς διατάξεσιν = “in accordance with gubernatorial and imperial pronouncements”.

128 ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ . . [: For ἐπὶ τούτῳ with reference to the juridical basis of fines and penalties, see P.Panop.Beatty 2,67 (Panopolis, 300): τὸ ὀρισθὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρόστιμον = “the fine prescribed for this”. See also P.Oxy. XII 1408,2–3 (Oxyrhynchus, 210–214): Τρύφων εἶπεν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέ]γτοι, ἐὰν ἐντὸς τῆς [προθεσ]μίας ἀπατηθῶ, ἔχειν με πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀγωγὴν = “on this condition, however, that if I am asked for payment before the end of the stipulated period, I will have a legal claim against him”.

129 ἐπὶ μ(αρτύρων?) . . [: This may be another reference to the seven witnesses that seem to be mentioned in line 107, see the commentary.

132 ὁ τὰς (δραχμὰς) ᾽ζ: The traces after the *drachma*-symbol are compatible with the number ᾽ζ for 7,000 as written in line 76. The amount recorded here may have included the additional sum of 100 or 500 *drachmai* that seems to be mentioned in line 102. The phrase presumably indicates which of the defendants is liable to pay the 7,000+ *drachmai*.

Appendix:
Register of Greek Terms Corresponding to Latin Legal Terms

The purpose of this terminological register is to provide a focused discussion of the Greek terms and expressions in P.Cotton that appear to reflect Roman legal and institutional terminology. With the possible partial exception of δόλος *dolus*, none of these terms constitute Latin loanwords.²¹⁹ The Greek terms are listed in alphabetical order, with detailed explanations that cite the standard lexica of ancient Greek and Latin (LSJ, BDAG, CGL, OLD), as well as specialized lexica (Berger 1953 for legal Latin; WB and FW for the Greek of documentary sources from Egypt) and the corpus of the Latin–Greek glossators (CGIL), including the concordance of Greek and Latin terms compiled by W. C. Heraeus (Index Graeco-Latinus, CGIL VII 439–687). The entries also cite examples from Greek and Latin literary and documentary sources and Roman legal literature. Further parallels may be found in the concordance of Greek terms occurring in Roman imperial pronouncements compiled by Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, cited below. Five cases where the Roman juridical meaning of a term seems likely but is uncertain are indicated with a question mark. Of the thirty-one terms in the register, only three occur in Mason’s 1974 lexicon of Greek terms for Roman institutions, which underscores the need for an updated concordance and study of this important subject.

ἀγόραιοι (sc. σύνοδος) *conventus forensis*

τέσσαρσιν γὰρ ἀγοραίοις Ῥούφου = “at four assizes of Rufus” (21–22)

In this context, the term ἀγόραιοι is a translation of *forensis* with reference to the judicial assizes (*conventus*) of the Roman governor, see Acts 19:38: ἀγόραιοι ἄγονται καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν / Jer. *Vulg.*: *conventus forenses aguntur, et proconsules sunt* = “judicial assizes are held and proconsular governors are present”. For other attestations of ἀγόραιοι for Roman judicial assizes, see Strabo 13,4,12 on assize procedures in southern Asia Minor: εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγχυσιν ταύτην οὐ μικρὰ συλλαμβάνει τὸ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας = “to this confusion no little contribution is made by the fact that the Romans did not divide these places according to nations, but organized them in a different fashion as assize districts, in which they hold assizes (τὰς ἀγοραίους) and administer justice” and Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* 14,245 (letter from a governor): προσελθὼν μοι ἐν Τράλλεσιν ἄγοντι τὴν ἀγόραιοιον = “coming forward to me in Tralleis as I was holding an assize (τὴν ἀγόραιοιον)”.

The implicit referent of ἀγόραιοι is taken by LSJ to be ἡμέρα (s.v. III “court-day, assize”). However, as noted by Radt 2004 in his commentary to Strabo 13,4,12, the referent is more plausibly σύνοδος (a direct translation of *conventus*) which occurs multiple times in the CGIL, see III 336,31: ἀγόρευος σύνοδος *conventus forensis*; II

²¹⁹ On *dolus*, for which the cognate δόλος existed in Greek, but which was nevertheless occasionally marked as foreign by Greek authors, see Dickey 2023, 121.

115,31: *conventus* ἀγόραιοι σύνοδος; II 104,8: *conventus* ἀγόραιοι. By contrast, ἀγόραιοι ἡμέρα occurs with reference specifically to a market-day, see e.g. Eud. *Rhet.* (ed. Niese 1922) 4,25: ἀγόραιοι δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ἧ τιν ἀγορὰ γίνεται. See also IGR IV 790 = IPhrygR 294 (Aramea, Phrygia, ca. 160) in which local officeholders are praised for financing their respective civic offices διὰ ἀγοραΐας, where ἀγοραΐας cannot plausibly refer to a single court-day but signifies the entire duration of the assize.²²⁰ For further attestations, see Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 25. On Roman assizes in Iudaea, see section V.

On the accentuation of the term, see the following lexicographical references: *Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alpha 16, 6: ἀγόραιοι καὶ ἀγοραῖοι διαφέρει· ἀγόραιοι μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα, ἀγοραῖοι δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς = “ἀγόραιοι and ἀγοραῖοι are distinct: ἀγόραιοι is a market day, ἀγοραῖοι is an epithet of Hermes who oversees the *agora*”; *Suda*, Alpha 309, 3 = Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alpha 19, 15: ... προπαροξυτόνως δὲ ἀγόραιοι, ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἧ ἡ ἀγορὰ τελεῖται = “ἀγόραιοι in the sense of the day on which a market is held has the accent on the antepenultimate syllable”. Note however the skepticism of LSJ s.v. III 2b: “the distinction ἀγόραιοι vulgar, ἀγοραῖοι public speaker, drawn by Ammon., etc., is probably fictitious”.

ἀλλότριος *extraneus*, *alienus*

εἰ ἀλλότριοι ἦσαν τῆς κακουργίας = “if they were not involved in the wickedness” (70)

The term ἀλλότριος with the genitive to indicate non-involvement in a crime is an unusual formulation that departs from the term’s standard meaning (LSJ s.v. II: “foreign, strange”; II 1: “stranger”; II 1 b with genitive, “hostile, unfavourably disposed”) and is suggestive of the legal meaning of ἀλλότριος as a Greek translation of *extraneus* in legal Latin, cf. Berger 1953 s.v. *extraneus* “one who is outside; not belonging to a certain family”; “any third person not involved in a given transaction or situation”. For *extraneus* mirroring the construction ἀλλότριος τῆς κακουργίας, see e.g. Dig. 44,4,11pr. (Nerva 4 *membr.*): *aliena lis est isque rei extraneus* = “it is the suit of someone else and he is an outsider to the case”. For a similar expression in a verse epitaph of a certain Iulianus in third-century Lydia, see TAM V 1,477,1–2 (Gölde, 240/241): ἀλλότριον κακότητος.

As a technical term in Roman law, *extraneus* was synonymous with *alienus* in the sense of OLD s.v. *alienus* 3: “a stranger or person unconnected by blood, an outsider”, cf. Berger 1953 s.v. *postumus alienus* = *postumus extraneus*. The use of ἀλλότριος to render *extraneus/alienus* is clearly illustrated by SB XIV 12139,2,20–3,1 (Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.): οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλότριον πρόσωπον ἢ ὠνησαμένη, ἀδελφῆ | γὰρ τυγχάνει = “the buyer is not a stranger (sc. *aliena/extranea persona*) but happens to be a sister”. Compare TAM V 2,1143,12–13 (Thyateira, Lydia, Roman period): εἰς ὃ μνημεῖον

²²⁰ Cf. Mason 1974 s.v. ἀγόραιοι *conventus* (*iuridicus*) with reference to this inscription, which is miscited as IGR IV 788; Mason also misses *forensis* as the technical meaning of ἀγόραιοι.

οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται ἀλ[λότρι]ον νεκρὸν ἢ ὄστᾶ θεῖναι = “it is not permitted for anyone to place the body or bones of a stranger into the tomb” and CIL III 15016,3–4 (Burnum, Dalmatia, 3rd–4th cent.): *super avo|rum [su]orum corpora | nullu[s] e]xtraneum ponat* = “let no one place a stranger above the bodies of his ancestors”.

ἄπορος *egens/egenus, inops*

ὡς ἄπορος ἐφιλανθρωπήθη = “he was excused on the grounds that he was without means” (23)

ἐκ τοῦ ἄπορον αὐτὸν ὄντα = “by virtue of his being without means” (50)

With reference to persons, ἄπορος signifies lack of means, see LSJ s.v. III 2–3 “without means or resources, helpless; poor, needy”. In documents from the Roman period, ἄπορος emerges as a technical term for lacking the necessary financial worth (πόρος) for taking on a liturgy or other public function (WB I s.v. 1: “mittellos (doch in dem Sinne, daß das Einkommen oder Vermögen eines Mannes nicht ausreicht für einen bestimmten Zweck, z.B. für den liturgischen Dienst, oder für eine angemessene Lebenshaltung”), see e.g. P.Wisc. II 81,4 (Arsinoite, 143): τί δοκήσας ἄπορον ἄνθρωπον ἔδοκας εἰς λιτουργίαν; = “what were you thinking when you appointed a man without means to the liturgy?” The corresponding technical term in Latin was *egens/egenus* — its opposites being *locuples* and *honestus*, rendered in Greek with the terms εὐπορος and εὐσχήμων. See e.g. P.Mil.Vogl. I 25,3,3–4 (Arsinoite, 126/127): ὁ μ[ὲν Γέ]μεινος [εὐ]σχη|μονέ[στ]ατος ἦν ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἀντίδικος ἄπορος ἐστίν = “for Geminus was a very wealthy man, while our opponent is without means”. Compare Dig. 47,2,52,21 (Ulpianus 37 *ad ed.*) *cum Titio honesto viro pecuniam credere vellem, subiecisti mihi alium Titium egenum, quasi ille esset locuples* = “if I want to lend money to Titius who is eminent (*honestus*), but you have substituted him with another Titius who is without means (*egenus*), as if he were wealthy (*locuples*)”, etc. In this context, *locuples* (like εὐπορος) has the specific meaning of possessing greater wealth than the total worth of a legal claim. Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: ἄπορος *egens egenus incertus inexplicabilis inops*.

ἄπορος and εὐσχήμων were formal status designations that were drawn up in registers (γραφαί) by the Roman provincial administration, see e.g. P.Giss. I 58 (Apollonopolite, 116–117). The substantive *inopia* (from *inops*, a synonym of *egens*) is another technical term used in Roman legal literature and corresponding to ἀπορία in Greek, see e.g. Dig. 9,2,30,1 (Paulus 22 *ad ed.*): *creditori danda est actio propter inopiam debitoris* = “a legal action is to be granted to the creditor on account of the debtor’s indigence” and SB VIII 10196,6–7 (Arsinoite, ca. 180): [διὰ τῆς] παντελοῦς μου | ἀπορίας ἐνκαταλείπειν τῆ[ν] ἰδίαν. On ἄπορος as a status designation in P.Cotton, see sections III 7 and V.

ἀπόστασις *seditio*, *defectio*

περὶ βίας καὶ ἀποστάσεος καὶ ληστείας = “as regards his committing violence, sedition and banditry” (24)

In Greek, ἀπόστασις has the core meaning of “causing to revolt”, “defection, revolt” (LSJ s.v. A and B 2); “secession, revolt, defection, rebellion, abandonment” (CGL s.v.). Alongside βία *vis* and ληστεία *latrocinium* in the list of crimes ascribed to Gadalias, ἀπόστασις most probably corresponds to the Roman legal term *seditio*, “violent political discord (either the strife of rival parties or the action of a group against established authority), faction” (OLD s.v. 1, cf. Pfaff 1921: “Unbotmäßigkeit der zusammengerotteten Menge gegen die Magistratur”) — or possibly to *defectio*, “the act of deserting (an allegiance, alliance), defection, revolt” (OLD s.v. 3). The term *defectio* occurs with reference to large-scale organized rebellion, as illustrated by the trilingual stele of Cornelius Gallus at Philae (OGIS 654 = IGRR I 1293 = SB V 8894 = SEG XXVI 1804, 29 BCE) where τὴν Θηβαΐδα [ἄ]ποστᾶσαν (11–12) is translated into Latin as *defectioni[s] | Thebaidis* (2–3). By contrast, *seditio* is attested with reference to a spectrum of rebellious behavior, including urban rioting and shouting at public spectacles (see e.g. Dig. 11,3,1,5 and Dig. 24,3,66pr.) and is the standard term used in Roman legal literature. The proximity of βία corroborates a Roman juridical meaning of ἀπόστασις, since in Roman law seditious activity was prosecuted as *vis publica* (or, in severe cases, as *maiestas*), see Berger 1953 s.v., Mommsen 1899, 562–565, Pfaff 1921 and Sachers 1948, with the examples of Dig. 48,6,3,2 and 48,6,5pr. On ἀπόστασις as a crime attributed to Gadalias in P.Cotton, see section III 7.

αὐθέντης *auctor*

ὁ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας αὐθέντης = “the instigator of the fraud” (40)

In P.Cotton, αὐθέντης is a technical legal usage corresponding to the Latin *auctor*, Berger 1953 sv. “in penal law, the person by whose influence, instigation or order, a crime was committed”; OLD s.v. 12: “the person or thing responsible or principally responsible (for an action, situation, etc.), the prime mover or agent, originator, initiator, cause”; cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: αὐθέντης *auctor*. αὐθέντης for *auctor* already occurs in an Augustan provision of the *lex portorii Asiae*, SEG XXXIX 1180,109 and 123 (Ephesus, 62) with reference to legal initiative on behalf of a *societas*, where it is translated by Cottier et al. 2008, 71–75 and 146–148 as *cognitor* with the alternative possibility of *auctor*. P.Cotton offers new evidence in favor of *auctor* as the correct term. For αὐθέντης with this meaning in papyri from Roman Egypt, see e.g. the references to “culprits” (αὐθένται) of archival mismanagement in P.Fam.Tebt. 15,141–142 (Tebtynis, Arsinoite, 114–115), approximately contemporary with P.Cotton. For a clear case of αὐθεντεία as a Greek translation of *auctoritas*, see the Roman will documented in P.Cair. Masp. II 67151 (Antinoupolis, 570) 27, 80 and 104. Cf. Mason 1974 s.v. αὐθεντία *auctoritas*. This meaning of αὐθέντης comes close to Polyb. 22,14,2: τὸν μὲν Κάσσανδρον ἔφη πέμψειν, τὸν αὐθέντην γεγονότα τῆς

πράξεως = “he ordered for Cassander to be summoned, who had been the perpetrator of the deed”. For *auctor* with reference to crimes in Roman legal literature, see e.g. Dig. 48,8,3,4 (Marcianus 14 *inst.*): *item qui auctor seditionis fuerit... ex senatus consulto poena legis Corneliae punitur* = “similarly, an instigator of an insurrection ... is punished under the *lex Cornelia* on the basis of the *senatus consultum*”. On criminal liability in P.Cotton, see sections III 4 and 6.

βία *vis*

περὶ βίας καὶ ἀποστάσεως καὶ ληστείας = “as regards his committing violence, sedition and banditry” 24)

The term βία was used in legal contexts in Greek for centuries before the Romans conquered the East. However, in the Roman period, documentary sources show the Greek terms βία and ὕβρις undergoing a semantic shift toward the Roman legal categories of *vis* and *iniuria*, see Mascellari 2016, 502–511; cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: βία, *flagitium*, *violentia*, *vis*. In the list of Roman public crimes appended to an edict of the Hadrianic prefect Petronius Mamertinus (SB XII 10929, unknown provenance, 133–137, see the literature cited in n. 44), περὶ βίας σὺν ὄπλοις γεγενημένης (2,7–8) is a Greek translation of *de vi armata* (see Laffi 2013, 72). Similarly, in the list of crimes imputed to Gadalias in P.Cotton (βία, ληστεία, ἀπόστασις), περὶ βίας most probably corresponds to the technical formulation *de vi* with reference to the Roman crime of *vis* —in view of the proximity of ἀπόστασις, likely a reference to *vis publica* in connection with seditious activity. For an early epigraphic instance of βία and ὕβρις as Greek translations of *vis* and *iniuria*, see the letter of Augustus to the Cnidians recorded in IG XII 3,174,33 (Astypalaea, 6 BCE): μεθ’ ὕβρεως καὶ βίας. For further parallels, see Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 50–51 s.v. βία. On βία as a crime attributed to Gadalias in P.Cotton, see section III 7.

διακονία *ministerium*

μηδέποτε ὑπὸ τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ Χαϊρέου γέγονεν = “was never in the service of Chaereas” (52–53)

μηδὲ ὑπὸ | τὴν διακονίαν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος = “nor was ever in his service” (58–59)

The term διακονία generally means “service”, “attendance on a duty, ministration” (LSJ s.v.) or “personal service, household service” (CGL s.v.). In P.Cotton, it is a technical term for the service of a slave, the Roman equivalent for which was *ministerium*, see Berger 1953 s.v., HAS s.v. διάκονος and CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: διακονία *ministerium*. For *ministerium* in Latin sources, see ThLL s.v. 2a with the example of Apul. *Met.* 8,26,2: *hominem servulum ministerio suo paratum* = “a slave-boy prepared to do him service”. The HAS s.v. διάκονος links the Greek term with *minister* in Plin. *Ep.* 10,96,8: *ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur* with reference to the Christians. The substantive διακονία is not mentioned in the HAS.

In the phrase ὑπὸ τὴν διακονίαν, ὑπό with the accusative is to be understood in the sense of LSJ s.v. II: “of subjection, control dependence”, compare BGU III 747,2,4 (Koptos, 139): μὴ εἶναι ὑπὸ τὴν στρατηγίαν = “that they are not under the authority of the *strategos*”. Although the phrase ὑπὸ τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ δαίνοιο γίνεσθαι appears to have no parallels in known Greek sources, it accords well with the Latin expression *in ministerio alicuius esse* (see ThLL s.v. 2b III), see Dig. 40,9,12,7 (Ulpianus 4 *de adult.*): *ex his servis, quos in ministerium filiae dederint* = “from those slaves, whom they gave into the service of their daughter”. On the διακονία of slaves as part of a scheme of fiscal evasion in P.Cotton, see section III 5.

διασεῖω *concutio*?

ὡς τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος πολλοὺς | διέσεισεν = “how during the visit of the Emperor he extorted money from many people” (25–26)

The term has the basic meaning of “shake violently” (LSJ s.v.) but is typically employed in the idiomatic sense of “extort money by intimidation” (LSJ s.v. 2 and CGL s.v. 3). This is the primary meaning of διασεῖω in documentary papyri from Egypt, see WB s.v.: “zu Unrecht Gefälle erheben, Erpressung ausüben, jmd. bedrängen”, see Mascellari 2021 I, 498–500. Although διασεῖω is already attested in Hellenistic papyri with reference to extortion (see e.g. P.Tebt. I 41,10 and 30 [Arsinoite, 105/90 BCE] and BGU VIII 1850,13 [Herakleopolite, 47 BCE]), it seems likely that in P.Cotton, which is geared toward a Roman court, διασεῖω corresponds to the Latin *concutio*, see OLD s.v. 2: “extortion by violence or intimidation”; Berger 1953 s.v. “extortion of money or gifts through intimidation; misuse of authority by an official or by a person who falsely assumes an official character”, see Dig. 47,13; Cod. Iust. 12,61. Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: διασεῖω *concutio, discutio*; διασεισμός *concutio*. Compare διασεισμός for *concutio* in a Severan petition of Lydian villagers, TAM V 3,1417,5 (Philadelphia, Lydia, Severan age): διασεισμὸν τῆς κώμης (see Hauken 1998, 67–68) and the Greek text of a Roman imperial edict in MAMA X 114,11 (Phrygia, 247–250): διασεισμῶν πεπαυμένων. For further attestations of διασεῖω in this sense in the Roman period, see SEG XIX 718,9 (Güllüköy, Lydia, Severan age): καὶ διασειόντων ἡμᾶς; MAMA X 114,22–23 (Appia, Phrygia, 244–247): ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου ἀδικεῖσθαι διασειομένους; P.Mich III 174,10 (Arsinoite, ca. 145): χάριν τοῦ διασεῖν καὶ ἀργυρίζεσθαι. On allegations of extortion against Gadialias in P.Cotton, see sections III 2–3.

διδάσκω *instruo (causam)*

διδάξεις ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν [ο]ὐ δεῖ ἔνοχον ἄλλο[ν] τινὰ εἶ[ναι] παρόντι πλαστῷ γράμματι ἢ τὸν προφέροντα = “you will argue, first of all, that no one should be made liable for the forged document at hand other than the person presenting it” (32–33)

In P.Cotton, διδάσκω is used in the special sense of instructing or convincing someone before a court (see WB I s.v. 1 “jmd. überzeugen [vor Gericht], jmd. belehren, in Kenntnis setzen”), see e.g. διδάσκω with reference to litigants instructing their

advocates in M.Chr. 93 = P.Stras. I 41,35–37 (Hermopolis, ca. 250). This meaning of διδάσκω emerges in documents from the Roman period. It goes beyond LSJ s.v. II “explain, show by argument, prove” and seems likely to be a technical usage corresponding to *instruere causam/litem*, see Berger 1952, s.v. “to support a judicial — civil or criminal — case with legal arguments and factual evidence”, see e.g. Dig. 48,10,1,1 (Marcianus 14 *inst.*): *ob instruendam advocacionem* and Dig. 48,10,9,4 (Ulpianus 8 *de off. procos.*): *qui delatorem summisit in causa pecuniaria, eadem poena tenetur, qua tenentur hi qui ob instruendas lites pecuniam acceperunt* = “he who induces an accuser in a case involving money is liable to the same punishment as those who accept money to give evidence in court cases”.

δόλω πονηρῶ *dolo malo*

δόλω πονηρῶ ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χαϊρέου καταγραφὴν ἐποίησαντο = “had the slave registered in the name of Chaereas with malicious intent” (56–57)

This is a Greek translation of the Latin *dolo malo* = “with malicious intent”, see e.g. BGU I 326 = M.Chr. 316 = FIRA III 50, col. II 3 (Karanis, Arsinoite? 194): ταύτη τῇ διαθήκῃ δόλος πονηρὸς ἀπέστη = *hoc testamento dulus malus abesto* = “from this testament let malicious intent be absent”. For further attestations, see SEG XXXV 823,20, 24–25 and 28 (Treaty between Maroneia and Rome, 167 BCE); Crawford 1996, I 12 (*lex de provinciis praetoriis*, 100 BCE) Cnidos Copy V 10, 15–16 and 21; IK Smyrna 210 = SEG XXVII 771, 5–6 (funerary inscription, Smyrna, Roman period): μήτε ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι μήτε δόλωι πονηρῶι τι πο[ι]ῆσαι = “nor to alienate nor do anything with malicious intent”.

δυναστεία *potentia*

δόξομεν δοκεῖν ἀπορεῖν πρὸς τὴν δυναστεί[αν] = “we will give the impression that we believe we are helpless against his great power” (27)

The core meaning of δυναστεία is LSJ s.v.: “power, lordship, domination; the exercise of political power” deriving from δυνάστης, LSJ s.v. “lord, master, ruler, petty chief, princelet”. In P.Cotton, however, δυναστεία refers specifically to the possession of unofficial power and influence and its abusive exercise over others. This meaning emerges in sources from the Roman period, as illustrated by numerous petitions reporting abuse of power by influential members of the local elite, see e.g. P.Fouad 26,15–17 (Arsinoite, 158–159): καὶ οὐ δύνησομαι πρὸς | αὐτ[ὸν] ἐπὶ τοιοῦτοις/δικαστάς, ἐπὶ πολὺ | δυνάστης ἐστίν = “and I will not be able to oppose him before such judges, since he is very powerful” and in a similar sense P.Ryl. II 114 = P.Sakaon 36,16 (Theadelphia, Arsinoite, ca. 280): τῇ τοπικῇ δυναστείᾳ χρώμενος = “employing his local power/influence” and P.Diog. 17,7 (Arsinoite?, 2nd–3rd cent.): τῶν τόπων διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν δυναστείαν = “locally due to his power/influence”. See further SB XIV 11276 (Arsinoite? 249–251), P.Kell. I 23 (Kellis, 353) and P.Lond. V 1676 (Antinopolis, 6th cent.).

This meaning of *δυναστεία* and *δυνάστης* corresponds to *potentia* and *potens/potentior* in legal Latin, cf. OLD s.v. *potentia* 1: “the ability to exercise control over others, power, influence (distinct from official power, *potestas*)”. This is evidenced by bilingual glosses in the CGIL (cf. CGIL VII Index: Graeco-Latinus *δυναστεία* *potentatus, potentia*; *δυνάστης* *potens*). Like *δυναστεία* and *δυνάστης* in Roman-period petitions, the terms *potentia* and *potens/potentior* in Roman legal literature refer to powerful men misusing their influence and intimidating their adversaries in court, see e.g. Dig. 19,2,33 (Africanus 8 *quaest.*), Dig. 1,18,6,2 (Ulpianus 1 *opin.*): *ne potentiores viri humiliores iniuriis adficiant* = “lest the powerful injure the humble” and Dig. 1,16,9,5 (Ulpianus 1 *de off. procons.*): *ceterum opprimi aliquem per adversarii sui potentiam non oportet: hoc enim etiam ad invidiam eius qui provinciae praeest spectat, si quis tam impotenter se gerat, ut omnes metuant adversus eum advocationem suscipere* = “furthermore, no one should be oppressed by the power (*potentia*) of his adversary, for it reflects badly on whoever governs the province if someone behaves in such an unbridled fashion that everyone is afraid to argue a case against him”. The link between *δυναστεία* and *potentia* is further corroborated by the coining of *ἀδυναστία* for *impotentia*, see e.g. CGIL II 219,3 and P.Köln X 421,17–18 (Aphrodite, 6th cent.).

ἐπιγράφω induco, adicio

ὁ δὲ τόπος Γαδῶρα ἐπεγράφη ὡς | εὐθετος πρὸς τὴν ῥάδιουργίαν = “and over it was written the location of Gadora because it was deemed well-suited for the fraud” (18–19)

The basic meaning of *ἐπιγράφω* is “write upon, inscribe”; “register, enter in a public list” (LSJ s.v. II and III 2–3). In P.Cotton, however, *ἐπιγράφω* has a special meaning of “write in addition” or “write over an erasure” (LSJ s.v. II 5) attested in documents from the Roman period in connection with Roman strictures against documents with erasures or alterations being accepted by public archives (see the commentary to *ἐπεγράφη*, 18). Accordingly, legal documents from the Roman period often feature the clause *καθαρὸν ἀπὸ ἀλείφατος καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς* = “free from erasure and addition” (see e.g. BGU II 266, 31, Arsinoite, 177). The terms *ἀλείφας* and *ἐπιγραφή* correspond to *litura* and *inductio* (or *adiectio*) on the basis of Latin parallels, see e.g. Quint., *Inst.* 11,2,32: *iam uero si litura aut adiectio aliqua atque mutatio interueniat*, etc. = “for if the writing should be interrupted by some erasure, addition or alteration”, etc.; Dig. 28,4,1 (Ulpianus 15 *ad sab.*): *testamento fuerit adscriptum: “lituras inductiones superductiones ipse feci”* = “to the will was added: “all erasures, additions and overwritings I did myself”. Like *inductio*, *ἐπιγραφή* was used as a general term for different types of textual alterations for which specific terms are also attested (e.g. *superductio, perductio, adiectio, emendatio*). The fact of adding text to a legal document typically implied erasure and overwriting, hence *induco* could be used as a synonym for *cancello*, e.g. Cod. Iust. 8,42,22 (294): *inductum (id est cancellatum) nec ne sit chirographum*, etc. See the detailed discussion of Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2000. On *ἐπιγράφω* with reference to the manipulation of a document in P.Cotton, see sections III 3–4.

καλῆ πίστει *bona fide*

εἰ ἄρα καλῆ πίστει ἦν = “for if it had been [...] in good faith” (37)

This is a Greek translation of the Latin *bona fide*, see WB s.v. 1: “auf Treu und Glauben” and P.Hever 61,2–3 (Arabia, 127): ὄμνυμι τύχην Κυρίου Καίσαρος κ[α]λῆ πίστει ἀπολογεῖσθαι = “I swear by the fortune of our lord Caesar that I have declared in good faith”, etc. See further EAM 186,17–18 (Battyna, Macedonia, 193): μόνα κατὰ τὴν Γεντιανοῦ διάταξιν τοὺς ἐπαρχικoὺς ἃ ἐτεμῆσαντο καλῆ πίστει κατέχειν = “that provincials possess in good faith only the properties that they have registered in the census in accordance with the ordinance of Gentianus”. On arguments from *bona fides* in P.Cotton, see sections III 4 and 6.

καταγγέλλω *nuntio, defero*?

πρᾶγμα κατήγγειλεν περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὀνόμα[τ]ο[ς] Χαιρέου | ἐλευθερωθέντος Ὀνησίμου = “denounced the matter of Onesimos having been manumitted in the name [of Chaereas]” (68–69)

The core meaning of καταγγέλλω is “announce, proclaim, declare” (LSJ s.v. A; CGL s.v. 2) and this meaning predominates in literary and documentary sources. In papyri from Egypt καταγγέλλω is attested rarely and only with the core meaning of “announce, declare”, see WB I s.v. “eine Nachricht überbringen” with reference to P.Oxy. X 1274,6 (Oxyrhynchus, 2nd cent.). καταγγέλλω in the sense of “denounce, reveal” is given by CGL s.v. 1 and LSJ s.v. 3 on the basis of Xen. *An.* 2,5,38: Πρῶξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν = “but Proxenos and Menon, because they reported his plot, are held in high honor” and IK Lampsakos 6,9,32 (Lampsacus, 2nd cent. BCE): καταγγελλέτω δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὸν ἱερόν [σύλλογον] = “and let he who wishes to do so make a report/denunciation to the sacred [assembly]”.

In P.Cotton, πρᾶγμα κατήγγειλεν refers to the denunciation of a crime — specifically, the fraudulent circumstances of Onesimos’ manumission — to the Roman fiscal authorities. It seems likely that πρᾶγμα καταγγέλλω in this context is a technical formulation that corresponds to *rem nuntiare fisco*, see Berger 1953 s.v. *nuntiare fisco*: “to denounce to the fisc a person holding property due to the fisc or obligated to make payments to the fisc”, see *passim* Dig. 49,14,1–5 (Callistratus *De iure fisci*), 13,7, 22,3, 38–39 and 44. An alternative Latin expression was *deferre fisco*, see e.g. Dig. 34,9,9,1 (Ulpianus 14 *ad l. iul. et pap.*): *ex qua specie statim fisco deferretur*; Dig. 49,14,18,7 (Marcianus *l. s. de delator.*): *sed communem causam sibi cum fisco quivis deferre potest* = “but anyone may denounce a case that he shares with the *fiscus*” and Cod. Iust. 10,11,2pr. (Gordianus, 238): *causam ab alio delatam* = “a case denounced by another”. Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: καταγγέλλω *defero, indico, nuntio*; ὁ καταγγέλλων *delator*; καταγγελοῦς *delatus*. On the delation of fiscal fraud in P.Cotton, possibly by Saulos himself, see section III 10.

κινέω *moveo* (rhet.)

καὶ μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος | κεινείτω τὸν κριτήν = “and let not the title of “son of a *chreophylax*” sway the judge” (20–21)

The basic meaning of κινέω is “set in motion”; “disturb, arouse, urge on, incite, stir up” (LSJ s.v. I–II), cf. CGL s.v. 4: “(of persons, gods, animals) stir into motion or activity”; WB I col. 797–798 s.v.: 2: “veranlassen”. In P.Cotton, however, the phrase κεινείτω τὸν κριτήν refers specifically to swaying the mind or emotions of the judge, a meaning beyond the Greek term’s standard semantic range, but which is similar to the Latin *moveo*, see OLD 1253 s.v. 14 a: “to cause a change of attitude, opinion, etc., in (a person, his mind), influence, affect; (also, the body)”; see also *ibid.* s.v. 15a: “to move to tender feelings, soften, touch.” Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 9,2,33: *falsa enim et incredibilia natura necesse est aut magis moveant, quia supra vera sunt, aut pro vanis accipiuntur, quia vera non sunt* = “since what is by nature fictitious and unbelievable necessarily either moves the audience more because it outstrips what is true, or is perceived as inane because it is not true”. This meaning of κινέω suggests the influence of Latin, specifically via the field of rhetoric, on the semantics of the Greek term in the Roman period. Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: κινῶ, *cieo, moveo*. A close parallel to κινέω with ὄνομα in this sense is provided by the Greek translation of a pronouncement of Antoninus Pius in P.Harr. I 67,2,15–16 (unknown provenance, ca. 150): κεινηθείς οὐ μόνον τῷ τοῦ ἐπιδόντος ὀνόματι ἀλλὰ καὶ | πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ παράδειγμα = “moved (sc. *motus*) not only by the title/reputation (sc. *nomine*) of the petitioner but also with a view to the precedent itself”.

κοινωνός *socius*

φίλος καὶ συνεργὸς καὶ κοινωνός = “a friend and collaborator and accomplice” (45)

In its context in P.Cotton, a negative connotation of κοινωνός may be assumed, see LSJ s.v.: “companion, partner; accomplice in” with reference to Soph. *Trach.* 729–730: ὁ τοῦ κακοῦ κοινωνός; WB I s.v. “Helfershelfer”. In P.Cotton, κοινωνός is used with the technical meaning of the Latin *socius*, a legal term for partners in an association (*societas*) which also had the specific meaning of “accomplice” in criminal law, see Berger 1953 s.v. *socius* “(in penal law) an accomplice, an accessory, an abettor, one who gives assistance to a criminal before, during or after the crime”; see further Berger 1953 s.v. *ope et consilio*. See e.g. Dig. 42,8,10,2 (Ulpianus 73 *ad ed.*): *te consocio et fraudem participante*. κοινωνός as a translation of *socius* occurs in a Republican era provision of the *lex portorii Asiae*, SEG XXXIX 1180,81 (Ephesus, 62): κοινωνοῖς τοῖς τὰ γεωρῦχια ἠργολαβηκόσιν = *sociis qui operas in metallis dederunt* (transl. Cottier et al. 2008, 59) and in the court cases recorded in SB XIV 12139 (Oxyrhynchite, 2nd cent.).²²¹ On criminal complicity in P.Cotton, see section III 6.

²²¹ The interpretation of κοινωνός in the *lex portorii* by Mason 1974 s.v. as *publicanus* is not persuasive and *socius* (i.e. member of the *societas publicanorum*) is clearly correct.

κόλασις *animadversio, poena*

φοβούμεν[ο]ι | τὴν κόλασιν = “fearing punishment” (28–29)

κουφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεως = “will be relieved from punishment” (30)

In Greek, κόλασις has the basic meaning of “chastiment, correction” (LSJ s.v.); “punishment, penalty” (CGL s.v.). In judicial contexts, the Greek term connoted punishment against one’s person rather than a monetary penalty (as explicitly specified in Pl. *Ap.* 26a). Use of κόλασις and κολάζω in Greek texts of Roman legislation suggests that these terms corresponded to the Latin *animadversio, animadvertere* with reference to capital punishment and other heavy penalties for major crimes. See Berger 1953 s.v. and the example of IK Ephesos 215 = SEG XXVIII 863,11 (Ephesus, edict of a proconsul of Asia concerning a bakers’ strike, late 2nd cent.): τῇ προσηκούσῃ τιμωρία κολασθή[σεται] = “he will be punished with the appropriate penalty” where τιμωρία is a standard Greek translation of *supplicium* (see e.g. ἐσχάτη τιμωρία for *ultimum supplicium* in P.Coll. Yout. I 30,11–12, unknown provenance, 198–199) and κολάζω most probably stands for *animadverto*. Compare Dig. 48,8,4,2 (Ulpianus 7 *de off. procos.*): *ultimo supplicio animadvertendum esse*. See further P.Oxy. XX 2264,3,7–8 (*Acta Diogenis*): ἀκολουθήσαι μέχρι | τῆς κολάσεως = “to accompany him until his execution (sc. *animadversio*)”. The semantic field of *poena* was broader and included monetary fines, see e.g. Dig. 50,16,131,1 (Ulpian 3 *ad l. iul. et pap.*): *poena non tantum pecuniaria, verum capitis et existimationis irrogari solet* = “when a *poena* is imposed, it is usually not of a pecuniary nature but rather connotes capital punishment or punishment resulting in destruction of status”. Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: κόλασις *animadversio, coercitio, cruciatus, poena, supplicium*. For further parallels, see Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 113 s.v. κολάζω.

κουφίζω *relevo?*

οἴονται γὰρ κουφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεως ὀνόματι τῆς βουλῆς = “for they believe that they will be relieved from punishment in the name of the *boule*” (30)

In P.Cotton, κουφίζω is used in the general sense of CGL s.v. 5: “give relief”; LSJ s.v.: “of persons, relieve from burdens”. In documentary sources, κουφίζω typically occurs with reference to the remission of a financial obligation (e.g. debt, tax or rent), see e.g. IG XII 7,506,16 (Amorgos, 3rd cent. BCE): [κ]αὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν κουφίσα; P.Petaus 9,16–17 (Arsinoite, 185): τ[ὸ ἐ]πι κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν | κουφισθῆναι; P.Thmouis I 1,77,3, 86,21, 103,19, 104,19, 112,22 and 159,13 and 15 (Mendesian, 180–192); IK Lampsakos 6,10,3–5 (Lampsacus, Roman period): τοῦ | ἐπι κεφαλίου τῆς πόλεως | κουφισθῆναι. The phrase κουφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεως with reference to the lifting of a punishment for a crime is in this respect unusual. In view of the general presence of Roman legal and institutional language in P.Cotton, it seems likely that this is a technical formulation corresponding to *relevari (poena/animadversio)*, see e.g. Dig. 48,3,13 (Callistratus 6 *de cogn.*) and Dig. 16,1,8,10 (Ulpianus 29 *ad ed.*).

κριτής *iudex*

καὶ μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος | κεινείτω τὸν κριτήν = “and let not the title of “son of a *chreophylax*” sway the judge” (20–21)

In documents from the Roman period, the Greek term κριτής as “one who gives a judgment or assessment (of persons or things), judge, assessor, arbiter”, “umpire” (CGL s.v. 1–2) becomes a technical term for *iudex*, see Mason 1974, 64; cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: κριτής, *iudex*. In the vocabulary of Roman administration, *iudex* had a broad range of meaning that encompassed appointed judges in civil procedure (*iudices dati* = κριταὶ δοθέντες, see e.g. P.Oxy. IX 1195,1–2 [Oxyrhynchus, 135]: Ἀπολλωνίου κριτῆι δοθέντι ὑπὸ Πετρωνίου | Μαμερτείνου τοῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος = “to Apollonios, *iudex datus* appointed by the *praeses* Petronius Mamertinus, *vir egregius*”) as well as high officials acting in a judicial capacity, see e.g. Cod. Iust. 2,1,7 (225) with reference to a *procurator privatae rationis*. See further Berger 1953 s.v. *iudex* and Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 115 s.v. κριτής. On the identity of the judge presiding over the hearing anticipated in P.Cotton, see section III 9.

ληστεία *latrocinium*

περὶ βίας καὶ ἀποστάσεως καὶ ληστείας = “as regards his committing violence, sedition and banditry” (24)

In the list of crimes ascribed to Gadalias (see the entries on βία and ἀπόστασις), ληστεία (“robbery, piracy”, LSJ s.v.) is a probable reference to *latrocinium*, a Roman concept denoting armed robbery and other forms of organized violent crime.²²² Cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: ληστεία *grassatura*, *latrocinium*. The substantive ληστεία is rare in documentary sources and is primarily attested in Greek texts of Roman legislation, such as the Greek letter of a Roman magistrate to the city of Mylasa: IK Mylasa 601 = IK Stratonikeia 1023,9–10 (Mylasa, Augustan era): τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λαβιήνου | ληστήας ἐρείπιων = “of the wreckage resulting from the banditry of Labienus”, as well as the Greek text of an edict of Germanicus in Egypt: SB I 3924, 29–30 (unknown provenance, ca. 19): τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη ὁμολογουμένης | ληστείας (sc. *latrocinii pacti*) ἐστὶν ἔργον = “this is the work of banditry already premeditated”. The term also occurs in the list of Roman public crimes appended to the edict of the Hadrianic prefect Petronius Mamertinus, SB XII 10929,2,3 (unknown provenance, 133–137): περὶ ληστειῶν (sc. *de latrociniiis*, see Laffi 2013, 72). See further the edict of the Roman prefect Sempronius Liberalis, W.Chr. 19 = SB XX 14662 = BGU II 372,2,13 (Arsinoite, 154). For attestations of the related terms ληστής and ληστήριον in documentary evidence, see e.g. IK Ilion 102,5–6 (Ilion, reign of Tiberius): καθελόντα τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ληστήρια; SEG XLI 660,18 (Rhodes, 2nd–3rd cent.): πικρατικὸν ληστήριον; SEG LI 1812,2,13–15 (Termessos, late 3rd cent.): ὁ λησ|τὰς φονεύσας τὴν |

²²² On bandits (*latrones*) and banditry (*latrocinium*) as a practice and social construct in the Roman empire, see Shaw 1984/2004 and Grünewald 1999.

πόλιν φρουρείω. For further parallels, see Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 118 s.v. ληστής and ληστεία. On ληστεία as a crime attributed to Gadalias in P.Cotton, see section III 7.

ξενокρίται *recuperatores*?

εἰς τοὺς ζημιούσθαι ὀφείλοντας | ξενокρίτας ἐνταγεῖς = “having been entered into the list of *xenokritai* who were due to be fined” (22–23)

The term ξενокρίται is not attested in Classical or Hellenistic Greek sources, but first emerges in Greek texts of Roman legislation as a translation of *recuperatores*, see e.g. the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* of 100 BCE (Crawford 1996, I 12) 4, 35: [κ]ριτὰς ξενокρίτας διδόναι = *iudices recuperatores dare*.²²³ The term also occurs in the Greek text of the Roman *formula tutelae* attested in three copies in the Babatha archive (P.Yadin I 28–30, Maoza, Arabia, ca. 125), likewise as a translation of *recuperatores*: ξενокρίται ἔστωσαν = *recuperatores sunt*.²²⁴ Non-documentary testimonia for ξενокρίται are rare, consisting of a fragment of a second-century grammarian cited in a Byzantine commentary to the Iliad (Eustathius, *Comm. ad Iliad.* 12,164) and an indirect reference in CGIL III 336,45 and 528,5 glossing κριτήριον ξένον as *iudicium recuperatorium*. Other attestations are limited to a handful of documents: TAM II 508 (Pinara, Lycia, 1st cent. BCE),²²⁵ P.Oxy. XLII 3016 (Oxyrhynchus, 148); SEG XI 491 (Sparta, 2nd cent.) and IK Perge 323 (Perge, 200–250). On ξενокρίται in P.Cotton, see section V.

ὄνομα, ὀνόματι *nomen, nomine*

καὶ μὴ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ χρεοφύλακος | κεινείτω τὸν κριτήν = “and let not the title of “son of a *chreophylax*” sway the judge” (20–21)

οἴονται γὰρ κουφισθήσεσθαι τῆς κολάσεως ὀνόματι τῆς βουλῆς = “for they believe that they will be relieved from punishment in the name of the *boule* (or: on the grounds of bouleutic status)” (30)

ἐπιλύσας οἷα αὐτῷ ὀφείλει ὄνομα χρέους = “having remitted what he owed him by way of a loan” (51)

τὸν Χαιρέα κέχρη[ται] ὄννη|σάμενον δοῦλους ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ = “he used Chaereas, who bought the slaves in his own name” (51–52)

ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χαιρέου καταγραφὴν ἐποίησαντο = “they had the slave registered under the name of Chaereas” (56–57)

πέρας ἡλευθερώθη ἐξ ὀνόματος | τοῦ Χαιρέου = “his was ultimately manumitted in the name of Chaereas” (57–58)

²²³ See Crawford 1996, I 12 col. IV.

²²⁴ See the Latin reconstruction of the Greek text in Nörr 1998, 319. The term is somewhat misleadingly translated by the editor of P.Yadin I at 120 as “[local?] judges”.

²²⁵ The appearance of *xenokritai* grouped into four *systemata* in this first-century BCE Lycian inscription has been persuasively attributed to Roman influence by Nörr 1995.

πρᾶγμα κατήγγειλεν περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὀνόμα[τ]ο[ς] Χαιρέου | ἐλευθερωθέντος Ὀνησίμου = “denounced the matter of Onesimos having been manumitted in the name [of Chaereas]” (67–69)

The term ὄνομα, which occurs seven times throughout P.Cotton, reflects a significant semantic development in documentary sources from the Roman period, whereby the Greek term for “name” acquires new legal connotations corresponding to those of the Latin *nomen*. See LSJ s.v. IV 2: “in accountancy, both of persons and things (cf. Lat. *nomen*); in registers of titled deeds, in tax-receipts, etc.”; WB s.v. 1c: “Person (plur.) Kopfzahl”; 2: “Rechtstitel, Rechnungsposten”.

The occurrence of ὄνομα in lines 20–21 with reference to the titulature of Gadalias accords with the term’s standard meaning in Greek (see LSJ s.v. II: “name, fame”; CGL s.v. 4: “proper name (of a person or place) as talked about (in good or bad terms); name, reputation”). All other instances of ὄνομα in P.Cotton, however, are technical usages that correspond to different legal meanings of *nomen*:

i. If the phrase ὀνόματι τῆς βουλῆς, 30 refers to the intercession of the *boule* (see section III 3), ὄνομα has the meaning of WB s.v. 2b: “ὀνόματι τοῦ δεῖνα = für Rechnung, auf Veranlassung jmds.” which corresponds to *nomine* in the sense of OLD s.v. 14a “the name (of a person, etc.) on whose authority one acts or purports to act; esp. *nomine (sub nomine) + gen.*, by the authority (of), in the name (of)”. See e.g. Crawford 1996, I 25 (*lex coloniae genetivae*, Urso, Spain, mid-1st cent. BCE) LXV 22: *ad ea sacra quae | in ea colon(ia) aliove quo loco colonorum nomine | fient* = “the sacrifices performed in the colony or any other place in the name of the colonists” and W.Chr. 343 = P.Oxy. VII 1031, 11–13 (Oxyrhynchus, 228): εἰς ἣν γεωργῶ δημοσίαν γῆν ... ὀνόμα(τι) | Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου = “for the public land which I cultivate ... in the name of Lucius Valerius Apollonios”. See further Dig. 2,4,16 (Paulus 2 resp.): *quaesitum est, an tutor pupilli nomine patronam suam sine permissu praetoris vocare possit* = “it was asked whether a tutor may in the name of his ward call the latter’s *patrona* into court without the praetor’s permission”.

If, however, ὀνόματι τῆς βουλῆς, 30 signifies an attempt to receive a lesser punishment on the grounds of bouletic status (see section III 3), ὄνομα has the meaning of *nomine* in the sense of ii below.

ii. In line 50, ὄνομα χρέους has the meaning of WB s.v. 2: “Rechtstitel, Rechnungsposten” which corresponds to *nomine* in the sense of OLD s.v. 24 “a heading, category; esp. *nomine + gen.*, under the heading of, by way of, as etc.”, cf. Berger 1953 s.v. *nomine*: “with regard to things or rights *nomine* is syn. with *alicuius rei causa* and *propter aliquam rem* (= because of), and indicates the title under which a person claims anything from another”. See e.g. Dig. 19,1,52pr. (Scaevola 7 Dig.): *si quid tributorum nomine debitum esset* = “if anything were owed by way of tribute” and Dig. 18,1,35pr. (Gaius 10 ad ed. provinc.): *quod saepe arrae nomine pro emptione datur* = “what is often given by way of an earnest for a sale”. Compare ChLA XLI 1196 = P.Cair.Masp. I 67301,6 (Antinoupolis, mid-6th cent.): ὀνόματι σπορτουλῶν = “by way of *sportulae*”.

iii. In line 52, ὧνη|σάμενον δοῦλους ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ corresponds to the Roman formulation *suo nomine*, see OLD s.v. 14n “*suo nomine*, on one’s own responsibility, independently, etc.”, see e.g. Dig. 18,1,12 (Pomponius 31 *ad q. muc.*): *nam si servus meus vel filius qui in mea potestate est me praesente suo nomine emat ...* = “for if a slave or son of mine who is in my legal power buys something in my presence but in his own name ...”

iv. In line 56, ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χαϊρέου has the meaning of LSJ s.v. IV 2: “in registers of titledeeds, etc., under the name of”; WB s.v. 2h: “ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ δεῖνα = unter dem Namen jmds eine Handlung ausführen”, which corresponds to *nomine* in the sense of OLD s.v. 22 “an entry (of a loan, etc.) in a ledger (from the practice of writing the name of the creditor or debtor at the head of the page)”. See e.g. M.Chr. 82 = P.Rein. I 44,13–15 (Hermopolis, 104): ἐποίησεν τὰς ὠνάς ἐπὶ τῷ Διονυσίου τοῦ | υἱοῦ ὀνόματι = “he executed the sales under the name of his son Dionysius” — a formulation and context close to P.Cotton, in both cases implying registration of sales under the name of the person in question. See in a similar sense Dig. 21,2,71 (Paulus 16 *quaest.*): *pater filiae nomine fundum in dotem dedit* = “a father transferred a farm in dowry under the name of his daughter”.

v. In lines 57 and 67, the phrase ἐξ ὀνόματος with reference to the manumission of Onesimos is a common legal phrase in documents from the Roman period referring to the initiation of a legal action or transaction, see WB s.v. 2f: “ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα ὀνόματος = aus Heranlassung, im Auftrag und für Rechnung jmds.”. See e.g. P.Hever 63,5 (Maoza, Arabia, 127): ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐ[τῆς] πρὸς Σ]αλωμην = “in her name against Salome”; P.Dura 31,37–40 (Dura Europos, Syria, 204): καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσσειν ἀλλήλοις ... πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐξ | ὀνόματος αὐτῶν ἔνγραφον = “and that they neither accuse nor will accuse each other ... concerning any other instrument written in their name”; IGUR I 246,17–18 (Rome, ca. 313): ἐξ ὀνόματος πάλιν Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀπολλων[ίου] ... δηνάρια εἴκοσι | καὶ πέντε = “again in the name of Claudius Apollonios ... 25 *denarii*”. This meaning of ὄνομα falls under the broader sense of *nomine* in OLD s.v. 14a (see i above).

For further parallels, see Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 131 s.v. ὄνομα.

παραχάρασσω *adultero*

καὶ περὶ νομίσματος οὗ παρεχάραξεν = “and the money that he counterfeited” (24) παραστήσεις ἐκ τοῦ τὸ παρα[κεχαρα]γ[μένον νό]μισμα καὶ Σαούλον παρεσκευακέναι = “you will establish from the fact that Saulos too produced counterfeited coins” (46–47)

The verb παραχάρασσω (LSJ s.v.: “re-stamp, i.e. re-value the currency”; “debase the currency”) does not appear to be attested in Greek sources before the Roman period. Its earliest occurrence seems to be P.Herc 1004,33,11–13 (Phld. *Rhet.* 7): [μ]ετα|βάνειν ἀπ[ὸ τῶ]ν παρα|χαρα[τ]τόν[τ]ω[ν], where its exact meaning is unclear. Bilingual glosses in the CGIL render παραχάρασσω and its derivatives with *adultero* and its variants, cf.

CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: παραχάραγμα *adulteratio*, *adulterinus*; παραχαράκτης *adulter*, *adulterator*; παραχαράξιμος *paracharaximus falsus monetarius*. Cf. OLD s.v. *adultero* 3 a: “to produce an imitation of, counterfeit” and c: “to falsify, tamper with”; 4: “to corrupt, debase, pervert”; s.v. *adulterinus* 1: “adulterated, impure, synthetic”; 2: “(of documents, coinage, etc.) forged, counterfeit, spurious”. See for example Plin. *HN* 33,132,1 on the debasement of silver coinage: *et falsi denarii spectatur exemplar pluribusque veris denariis adulterinus emitur* = “a specimen of a false *denarius* is carefully examined and a debased coin is bought for more than genuine ones”. These meanings of *adultero* and *adulterinus* are consistent with παραχαράσσω in literary and documentary sources, see Diog. Laert. *Vit. philos.* 6,71: νόμισμα παραχαράττων; P.Michael. 12,2 (unknown provenance, 1st–2nd cent.): τὸν στατήρα παραχάραγμα (cf. WB Suppl. 1,214); P.Oxy. XLIX 3511, 28 (Oxyrhynchus, 4th cent.): παραχαράξος (sic); P.Harrauer 46,3 (Antinoupolis? 5th cent.): καὶ εὐρέθη παραχαράξιμα τρία (χρυσία); P.Cair.Masp III 67353,20 (Antinoupolis, 569): παραχαράττω. Note also the metaphorical use of παραχαράσσω by Lucian, *Dem.* 5: οὐ παραχαράττων τὰ εἰς τὴν δίαίταν, ὡς θαυμάζοιτο καὶ ἀποβλέποιτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων = “not re-minting his lifestyle so as to be admired and gazed at by the people he met”. On the counterfeiting of coinage in P.Cotton, see section III 7.

περιγραφή *circumscriptio*

πρ[ὸς] περιγραφὴν τοῦ φίσκου = “for circumvention of the *fiscus*” (50)

In the Roman period, the term περιγραφή (LSJ s.v. “outline, circumference, limit”) acquires a new juridical meaning of “circumvention, fraud” (LSJ s.v. V); “Umschreibung, Betrug, Übervorteilung, Veruntreuung” (WB II s.v.). This meaning clearly corresponds to *circumscriptio*, “cheating, defrauding” (OLD s.v. 4) — a term close to *fraus*, see the entry on ῥαδιουργία; cf. CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: περιγραφή *circumscriptio*, *circumventio*, *deceptio*, *fraus*.

In documents from the Roman period, περιγραφή is well-attested with reference to fiscal fraud, see e.g. P.Oxy. XII 1562, 15 (Oxyrhynchus, 276–282): ἐπὶ περιγραφῇ τοῦ ταμείου. In P.Cotton, πρὸς περιγραφὴν τοῦ φίσκου probably renders *in circumscriptionem/fraudem fisci* in legal Latin, see e.g. Dig. 40,9,11,1 (Marcianus 13 *inst.*): *sed nec in fraudem fisci datas libertates procedere principalibus constitutionibus cavetur* = “but it is stipulated in imperial pronouncements that manumissions performed to defraud the *fiscus* should not be effectual either”. On fiscal fraud in P.Cotton, see sections III 4–5.

πλαστός *falsus*

τὸ πλαστόν *crimen falsi*

πλαστόν γράμμα *falsum instrumentum*

ἐλεγχθέντος τοῦ πλαστοῦ ἐπὶ Ποστόμου = “after the forgery was discovered at the court of Postumus” (28)

[ο]ὐ δεῖ ἔνοχον ἄλλο[ν] τινὰ εἰ[ν]αι παρὸντι πλαστῶ γράμματι ἢ τὸν προφέροντα = “no one should be made liable for the forged document at hand other than the person presenting it” (32–33)

μετὰ ἀντ[ιγράφου] | πλαστῶ = “with the forged copy” (64–65)

The meaning of πλαστός in P.Cotton is “fabricated, forged, counterfeit” (LSJ s.v. Π); “fashioned for the purpose of deception” (CGL s.v. 2). The occurrence of τοῦ πλαστοῦ without an object in line 28 is noteworthy. This appears to be the substantive τὸ πλαστόν corresponding to the Latin *falsum*, the Roman public crime of forgery, rather than an implicit reference to the πλαστόν γράμμα mentioned in line 33. This substantive form is attested in Byzantine manuals of Roman law as a translation of *falsum*, see e.g. *Prochir. Auct.* 22,45: ὅτι ὁ τὸ πλαστόν κινήσας καὶ ἐξ ἀποφάσεως ἡττηθεὶς ἀπόλλυσι τὸ καταλειφθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ διαθήκῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενος κινεῖν καὶ ἀποστάς οὐδὲν ἀπόλλυσι = “that he who initiates a charge of *falsum* and is defeated by a judicial sentence loses what was left to him in that will, whereas he who begins the charge but desists from it loses nothing”. See also CGIL VII Index Graeco-Latinus: πλαστός *falsus, fictus*.

In the legalistic formulation of lines 32–33 ([ο]ὐ δεῖ ... προφέροντα), the phrase πλαστόν γράμμα probably corresponds to *falsum instrumentum*, see e.g. Dig. 44,1,11 (Modestinus 13 *resp.*): *etsi res iudicata esset ex falsis instrumentis, si postea falsa inveniantur, nec rei iudicatae praescriptionem opponi* = “even if a judgment has been given on the basis of forged documents, if these are subsequently found to be forged an objection of *res iudicata* cannot be raised”. See further the commentary to these lines. On forgery in P.Cotton, see section III 4.

προφέρω *profero* (sc. *instrumentum*)

[ο]ὐ δεῖ ἔνοχον ἄλλο[ν] τινὰ εἰ[ν]αι παρὸντι πλαστῶ γράμματι παρὸντι πλαστῶ γράμματι ἢ τὸν προφέροντα = “no one should be made liable for the forged document at hand other than the person presenting it” (32–33)

ἐὰν ὁ Σαυῶλος λέγῃ ὡς περὶ τὸν Γαδαλίαν . . . [ca. 12 προ]φέροντα = “if Saulos claims that [the blame lies(?)] with Gadalias as the one presenting [the document(?)]]” (39–40)

The core meaning of προφέρω is “bring before or to one, present” (LSJ s.v. A 1). In P.Cotton, the verb specifically refers to the presentation of documentary evidence in court, see WB II s.v. 1: “vorlegen” with the example of P.Yadin. I 11,9–10 (En-Gedi, 124): κ[αὶ ἡ] πρῆξι[ς] ἔσται σο[υ] κ[αὶ] τ[ῶ] [π]αρά σο[υ] καὶ [ἄλλω παντί τῶ] δι[α] σο[υ] ἢ ὑπέρ σο[υ] κ[υ]ρίως | τοῦτο τ[ὸ] γράμμα προφέροντι = “and let there be the right of execution for you and anyone presenting this document through you or on your behalf”.²²⁶ In the legalistic diction of lines 32–33 ([ο]ὐ δεῖ ... προφέροντα), it seems

²²⁶ In documents from Egypt, this meaning of προφέρω is typically conveyed by ἐπιφέρω or προσφέρω (see WB I s.v. ἐπιφέρω 17: “Beweispapiere, Belegurkunden vorlegen”, e.g. M.Chr.

likely that γράμμα προφέρειν corresponds to the Latin *instrumentum proferre*, see e.g. Dig. 13,7,39 (Modestinus 3 *resp.*): *cum nullum instrumentum venditionis proferatur*; 48,10,31 (Callistratus 3 *de cogn.*): *huiusmodi instrumenta proferantur*. For the juridical sense of *profero*, see OLD s.v. 5: “to produce (documents, etc.) in evidence; (also witnesses)”. The use of προφέρω to render *profero* in its legal sense is evident in late Roman contracts, compare P.Cair.Masp. III 67311,29–30 (Aphrodito, 6th cent.): [τ]ὸ γράμμα κύριον ἔσται | βέβαιον πανταχο(ῦ) προφερόμ(ενον) = “let the document be valid and secure wherever it is presented” and an analogous clause in P.Ital. I 8,2,2–3 (Ravenna, 6th cent.): *ma[n]fente | nichilominus hanc plenariam securitatem in sua firmitate, ubi et in cuiuslibet iudicio prolata fuerit*.

ῥαδιουργία *fraus*

εὐθετος πρὸς τὴν ῥαδιουργίαν = “well-suited for the fraud” (19)

ὁ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας αὐθέντης = “the author of the fraud” (40)

τῆς ῥαδιουργίας ἡ ἀρχὴ | παρ’ αὐτῶν γέγονεν = “the fraud originated with them” (61)

The substantive ῥαδιουργία — from ῥαδιουργέω, “live a lazy life, take things easily” hence, in a pejorative sense, “act thoughtlessly or recklessly, do wrong, play the rogue” (LSJ s.v.) — has the core meaning of “self-indulgence, laziness, sloth, knavery” (LSJ) in sources of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. In the Roman period, however, ῥαδιουργία emerges as a technical term for fraud corresponding to the Latin *fraus* (OLD s.v. 5: “deceit”; 6: “fraudulent evasion of a law or obligation”). This is clearly illustrated by late Roman contracts, where the phrase ἄνευ ῥαδιουργίας καὶ δόλου is a Greek translation of *sine fraude vel dolo* (see, respectively, SB XXIV 16039 (Apollonopolis, early 7th cent.), 12 and P.Ital. I 7 = ChLA XX 712,88 (Ravenna, 557): *ῥαδιουργίας καὶ δόλου*).²²⁷ ῥαδιουργία in this sense also appears in an edict of the Hadrianic prefect of Egypt Petronius Mamertinus alongside πλαστογραφία (forgery) in a list of public crimes adjudicated *ex officio* by Roman governors, see SB XII 10929,2,9–10 (unknown provenance, 133–137): *π(ε)ρὶ πλαστογραφίας καὶ ῥαδιουργίας* (sc. *de falsis et fraude*, cf. Laffi 2013, 72). Forgery and fraud are likewise paired in the mid-second century edict of the prefect Valerius Eudaemon (P.Oxy. II 237,8,13–15, Oxyrhynchus, ca. 186, citation of a prefectural edict from 142) stipulating that debtors must not be permitted to evade their debts by frightening their creditors with accusations of forgery or fraud (εἴτε πλαστῶν γραμμάτων ἢ ῥαδιουργίας ἢ περιγραφῆς sc. *falsum, fraus, circumscriptio*, see the entries on πλαστός and περιγραφή). In CGIL II 427,16 (Pseudo-Philoxenus) ῥαδιουργία is treated as synonymous with forgery, *falsum*. Similarly, Byzantine lexicographers give πλαστογράφος as a synonym of ῥαδιουργός (see Hsch., Phot.,

80 = P.Flor. I 61,57 (unknown provenance, 85); WB II s.v. προσφέρω 1d: “Beweispapiere usw. vorlegen”, e.g. P.Grenf. II 71,2,9 (Hibis, 244).

²²⁷ The combination of δόλος (sc. *dolus*) and ῥαδιουργία (sc. *fraus*) also appears in Acts 13,10: Ὁ πλήρης παντὸς δόλου καὶ πάσης ῥαδιουργίας, *ὡς διαβόλου = dixit o plene omni dolo et omni fallacia fili diaboli*, with *fallacia* being synonymous with *fraus* but not rendering what seems clearly to be an intended technical legal meaning.

Suid. s.v. ῥαδιουργός). This may be a nonspecific usage or a later semantic shift not reflected in earlier sources. The above-mentioned edict of Eudaemon clearly distinguishes between forgery (πλαστὰ γράμματα) and fraud (ῥαδιουργία, περιγραφή). In P.Cotton, ῥαδιουργία refers specifically to the defrauding of the *fiscus*, also rendered περιγραφή τοῦ φίσκου, 50 (sc. *circumscriptio fisci*, see the entry on περιγραφή). On fiscal fraud in P.Cotton, see sections III 4–5.

συνείδησις *conscientia*

μετὰ ἀντι[γράφου] | πλαστυῶ . . . [ca. 5] . . . ὡς συνειδησι[= “with the forged copy [...] complicity [...]” (64–65)

The term συνείδησις, its basic meaning being “knowledge shared with another” (LSJ s.v. A), likely renders the Roman concept of *conscientia*, Berger 1953 s.v. “knowledge of a crime committed by another”. See e.g. Dig. 48,19,16pr. (Saturn. *l. s. de poen. paganorum*): *aut facta puniuntur ... aut dicta ... aut scripta ... aut consilia, ut coniurationes et latronum conscientia quosque alios suadendo iuvisse sceleris est instar* = “punishment is meted out for things done ... or things said ... or things written ... or things deliberated, such as conspiracies and sharing knowledge (*conscientia*) with bandits, for to assist others with advice is tantamount to the crime itself”. This meaning of συνείδησις emerges in Greek documentary sources in the Roman period (see LSJ s.v. 6. “complicity, guilt, crime” referring to imperial sources) and appears to illustrate, once again, the influence of legal Latin. For further examples of συνείδησις in this sense, see e.g. TAM V 1,318,13 (confession inscription, Lydia, 156–157): ἐν συνειδήσει τοιαύτη = “with such a conscience” (referring to guilt in an attempted poisoning); SEG XXX 326 (curse, Athens, 1st cent. CE) 15–16: κὲ τοὺς συνειδότας τῇ κλέψει κὲ ἀρν[ο]||[υμ]ένους = “and those who are complicit in the theft and deny it”. On the question of complicity in P.Cotton, see section III 6.

ὑπακούω *respondeo*?

τέσσαρσιν γὰρ ἀγοραίοις Ῥούφου οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν = “he failed to respond to summons at four assizes of Rufus”

The core meaning of ὑπακούω is LSJ s.v. A I: “give ear”; 2: “answer when called”; 3: “listen to, heed, regard”; WB II s.v. “Folge leisten, gehorchen”. The verb also has the specific sense of heeding summons to appear in court, see LSJ s.v. II 2: “appear before the court” with the example of Is. 4,28: ὑποχωρῶν ὄχρετο καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν = “he absconded and did not heed the summons”; cf. WB II s.v.: “dem Aufrufe vor Gericht Folge leisten”.

In sources from the Roman period, ὑπακούω becomes a technical term for individuals responding to their name being called in court, see e.g. P.Hamb. I 29,3–7 and 20–21 (unknown provenance, 94); M.Chr. 93,3–4 and 50 (Hermopolis, 250). The verb is also used in a more general sense for individuals complying with orders to show up in court at an appointed time (e.g. P.Oxy. LXXVII 5117, Oxyrhynchus, 264) or

liturgists failing to show up for their duties (P.Horak 81, Herakleopolite, 2nd–3rd cent.). The formula κληθέντος καὶ ὑπακούσαντος in Roman judicial records likely corresponds to the Latin expression *citatus responderit*, see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 15,14,1: *si Lysiades citatus iudex non responderit* = “if Lysiades, having been called as a judge, did not respond”; Dig. 49,14,15,2, (Mauricius 3 *ad l. iul. et pap.*): *si citatus ad edictum non responderit*; M.Chr. 97,12 (Hermopolis, 390): Καπίτων καλείσθω. *cfi]tato et inducto Capitone*, etc. Cf. OLD s.v. *respondeo* 6: “to answer a summons to appear, present oneself (for duty, etc.)”. A further parallel for ὑπακούω = *respondeo* occurs in the Greek text of a letter of Antoninus Pius to a city in Macedonia, IG Bulg IV 2263,12–14 (Parthikopolis, 158): οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι παρ’ ὑμ[ῶ]ν ὑπακουέτωσαν τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρὸς τὰς δίκας καὶ διώκοντες καὶ φεύγοντες μέχρι διακοσίων πεντήκοντα δηναρίων = “outsiders who have acquired land in your city shall be answerable to your magistrates (sc. *respondeant*), both as plaintiffs and as defendants, in legal cases worth up to 250 *denarii*”. For *citare* as a roll call, see Liv. 34,27,81: *citari nomina ... principum iuuentutis iussit atque eos, ut quisque ad nomen responderat, in custodiam tradidit* = “he ordered the names of the ... leading young men to be called out, and those who responded to their names he had arrested”. Similarly, P.Cotton envisions the name of Gadalias being called out from a list of judges (see Plin., *Ep.* 10,58,1: *cum citarem iudices*) but not responding or coming forward.

ὑπόμνημα/ὑπομνηματισμός *commentarius*

ὑπ() (73)

The *siglum* most probably stands for ὑπ(όμνημα) or ὑπ(ομνηματισμός) with reference to *commentarius/commentarii*, a technical term for the chronologically ordered administrative and judicial records of Roman officials. For ὑπόμνημα in this sense, see e.g. M.Chr. 372, 20–22 (Arsinoite, 2nd cent.) and P.Stras. I 5, 6–7 (Hermopolis, 262, reedited in Dolganov 2023b: no. 3). For ὑπομνηματισμός (LSJ s.v.: “memorandum, official diary”; WB II and FW s.v.: “Amtstagebücher”), see e.g. IG IV² 1,83,18 (Epidaurus, 40–42); BGU I 136 = M.Chr. 86 (Memphis, 135); IGLSyr VII 4028,16 (Baitokeke, 259–260). The term may also be mentioned in P.Mur. 117 = SB X 10307 (Toparchy of Herodion, extracts from administrative records in Egypt, late 2nd cent.) 9: [ὑπομνημα]τισμῶ. Cf. Mason 1974 s.v. ὑπομνήματα *acta*. For additional parallels, see Anastasiadis and Souris 2000, 177 s.v. ὑπόμνημα and ὑπομνηματισμός. On the judicial proceedings recorded in P.Cotton, see section II and the commentary to line 73.

φιλανθρωπέω *indulgeo, veniam do*

ὡς ἄπορος ἐφιλανθρωπήθη = “he was pardoned on the grounds that he was without means” (23)

φιλανθρωπέω has the basic meaning of “show kindness or generosity”; “treat kindly, deal kindly” (LSJ); WB II s.v.: “gütig oder gerecht behandeln; sich gnädig

erweisen”. This core meaning is prevalent in epigraphic sources, see e.g. ID 1519,23 (Delos, 153–15 BCE) and SEG XXXV 744,26 (Kalindoia, Macedonia, 1st cent. CE). In papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, φιλανθρωπέω is primarily used with reference to bestowing benefits or giving redress, such as in the phrase ἰν’ ὃ πεφιλανθρωπημένος, which frequently occurs at the end of petitions, see e.g. BGU VII 1572,16 (Arsinoite, 139).

In P.Cotton, however, φιλανθρωπέω is used in an entirely different sense, with reference to amnesty from punishment — specifically, the lifting of a monetary penalty. It seems likely that this unusual meaning of φιλανθρωπέω corresponds to the Latin *indulgeo* or *veniam do*, Roman legal terms for amnesty, which was available to those guilty of crimes or delicts who could persuasively cite mitigating circumstances, see Berger 1953 s.v. *indulgentia*: “an act of grace, a benefit granted as a favor” primarily with reference to “acts of amnesty in criminal matters”. See the example of Dig. 49,14,15pr. (Mauricius 3 *ad l. iul. et pap.*): *senatus censuit, si delator abolitionem petat, quod errasse se dicat, ut idem iudex cognoscat, an iusta causa abolitionis sit, et si errasse videbitur, det imprudentiae veniam* = “the senate has resolved that, if an accuser seeks cancellation of his suit because he claims to have made an error, the same judge examine whether there is just cause for cancellation and, if he is seen to have erred, he be granted amnesty for his imprudence”. On amnesty by Roman governors and emperors, see Krause 1996, 212–222 and Cotton 1984/2022. On the amnesty of Gadalia in P.Cotton, see section V.

Abbreviations

Papyrologica, that is editorial volumes, corpora, and instrumenta (esp. BL, NB, WB, and Mandilaras, *Verb*) are cited according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (<https://papyri.info/docs/checklist>), *epigraphica* according to F. Bérard *et al.* (eds.), *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, Paris 42010, pp. 19–20, and ancient authors and works as well as bibliographic abbreviations according to *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. I, Stuttgart, Weimar 1996, XII–XLVII. In addition, or deviating from this, the following abbreviations appear:

- BDAG = F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden, Boston 2015.
 CGL = J. Diggle *et al.* (eds.), *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, 2 vols, Cambridge 2021.
 CGIL = G. Goetz (ed.), *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 7 vols, Leipzig 1888–1923.
 DizEpig = E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità Romane*, Roma 1895.
 FW = F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens in den griechischen Papyrusurkunden der ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit*, Göttingen 1915.
 GCC = S. Lancel, *Gesta conlationis Carthaginiensis, anno 411: accedit Sancti Augustini breviculus conlationis cum Donatistis*, Turnhout 1974 (= *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, no. 149A).
 HAS = H. Heinen *et al.* (eds.), *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, 3 vols, Stuttgart.
 LJNLA = T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, 4 vols, Tübingen 2002–2011.
 OPEL I² = B. Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum. Editio nova aucta et emendata*, vol. I, Budapest 2005.

Bibliography

- Abbadì and Zayadine 1996 = S. Abbadì and F. Zayadine, *Nepos the governor of the Provincia Arabia in a Safaitic inscription?*, *Semitica* 46, 155–164.
 Alföldy 1977 = G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn.
 Alpers 1995 = M. Alpers, *Das nachrepublikanische Finanzsystem. Fiscus und Fiscii in der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Berlin.
 Alston 1995 = R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History*, London.
 Anastasiadis and Souris 2000 = V. I. Anastasiadis and G. A. Souris, *An Index to Roman Imperial Constitutions from Greek Inscriptions and Papyri, 27 BC to 284 AD*, Berlin.
 Aperghis 2004 = G. G. Aperghis, *The Seleukid Royal Economy. The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleukid Empire*, Cambridge.
 Arangio-Ruiz 1922 = V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Un liber mandatorum da Augusto ad Antonino Pio*, *Atene e Roma* 3, 216–223.
 Archi 1941/1981 = G. Archi, *Problemi in tema di falso nel diritto Romano*, Pavia (= id. *Scritti di Diritto Romano*, Milano, vol. III, 1487–1588).

- Arzt-Grabner 2003 = P. Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon (Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament I)*, Göttingen.
- Avi-Yonah 1976 = M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*, Jerusalem.
- Bablitz 2007 = L. Bablitz, *Actors and Audience in the Roman Courtroom*, London.
- Bagnall 1979 = R. S. Bagnall, *Memorandum and notes for an advocate*, in: id. and N. Lewis (eds.), *Fourth Century Documents from Karanis (P.Col. VII) no. 174*, Missoula, 165–172.
- Bar-Nathan and Bijovsky 2018 = R. Bar-Nathan and G. Bijovsky, *The emperor plowing: cause or effect? A Hadrianic coin from the excavations at Shu'afat and the foundation of Aelia Capitolina*, *Israel Numismatic Research* 13, 139–150.
- van Beek 2013 = B. van Beek, *Kronion son of Apion, head of the grapheion of Tebtynis*, *Trismegistos Archives*, <www.trismegistos.org/archive/83>.
- Ben Zeev 2005 = M. Ben Zeev, *Diaspora Judaism in turmoil, 116/117 CE: ancient sources and modern insights*, Leuven.
- Ben Zeev 2018 = M. Ben Zeev, *New Insights into Roman Policy in Judea on the Eve of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 49, 84–107.
- Berger 1953 = A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Philadelphia.
- Biežuńska-Małowist 1984 = I. Biežuńska-Małowist, *La schiavitù nell'Egitto greco-romano*, Roma.
- Bilabel 1923 = F. Bilabel, RE II A.2, 2279–2315 s.v. *Siglae*.
- Birks 1988 = P. Birks, *New light on the Roman legal system: the appointment of judges*, *The Cambridge Law Journal* 47, 36–60.
- Bobbink and Mauer 2019 = R. Bobbink and Q. Mauer, *Antichresis: a comparative study of classical Roman law and the contractual praxis from Roman Egypt*, *Tijdschrift Voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 87, 356–383.
- Bowersock 1983 = G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, Cambridge, MA.
- Bowersock 2003 = G. W. Bowersock, *The Tel Shalem arch and P. Nahal Hever/Seiyal 8*, in: Schäfer 2003, 171–180.
- Bradley 1984 = K. R. Bradley, *The vicesima libertatis: its history and significance*, *Klio* 66, 175–182.
- Bradley and Cartledge 2011 = K. Bradley and P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. I: *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge.
- Brunt 1966 (1990) = P. A. Brunt, *The fiscus and its development*, *JRS* 56, 75–91 = id., *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford, 134–162.
- Buckland 1908 = W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*, Cambridge.
- Buckland 1963³ = W. W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*, Cambridge.
- Bülow-Jacobsen and Cuvigny 2000 = A. Bülow-Jacobsen and H. Cuvigny, *ἀλειψάς, Not ἄλειψαρ, and Other Words for 'erasure'*, *ZPE* 130, 175–182.
- Burkhalter 1990 = F. Burkhalter, *Archives locales et archives centrales en Égypte romaine*, *Chiron* 20, 191–216.
- Bybee 2011 = J. Bybee, *Markedness: iconicity, economy, and frequency*, in J. J. Song (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, Oxford, 131–147.
- Cagnat 1882 = M. R. Cagnat, *Étude historique sur les impôts chez les Romains*, Paris.

- Cohn 2007 = H. Cohn, *Slavery, Encyclopedia Judaica*, Detroit 2007, vol. XVIII, 667–670.
- Coles 1966 = R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Pap. Brux.), Bruxelles.
- Collinet 1913 = P. Collinet, *Review of Papyrus de Thèadelphie by Pierre Jouquet*, *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 37, 263–266.
- Cottier et al. 2008 = M. Cottier, M. H. Crawford, C. V. Crowther, J.-L. Ferrary, B. M. Levick, O. Salomies and M. Wörrle (eds.), *The Customs Law of Asia*, Oxford.
- Cotton 1984/2022 = H. M. Cotton, *The concept of indulgentia under Trajan*, *Chiron* 14, 245–266 (= ead., *Roman Rule and Jewish Life*, Berlin, 35–60).
- Cotton 1999 = H. M. Cotton, *Some aspects of the Roman administration of Iudaea/Syria-Palaestina*, in: Eck 1999b, 75–92.
- Cotton 2003 = H. M. Cotton, *The Bar Kokhba revolt and the documents from the Judaeian desert: Nabataean participation in the revolt (P. Yadin 52)*, in: Schäfer 2003, 133–152.
- Cotton, Cockle, and Millar 1995 = H. M. Cotton, W. E. H. Cockle, and F. G. B. Millar, *The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey*, *JRS* 85, 214–235.
- Cotton and Eck 2001 = H. M. Cotton and W. Eck, *Governors and their personnel on Latin inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima*, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 7, 215–238.
- Cotton and Eck 2005 = H. M. Cotton and W. Eck, *Roman officials in Iudaea and Arabia and civil jurisdiction*, in: R. Katzoff and D. M. Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaeian Desert*, Leiden, 23–44.
- Cotton and Ecker 2019 = H. M. Cotton and A. Ecker, *Reflections on the foundation of Aelia Capitolina*, in: G. A. Cecconi, R. L. Testa, and A. Marcone (eds.), *The Past as Present: Essays on Roman History in Honour of Guido Clemente*, Turnhout, 681–695.
- Crisci 1996 = E. Crisci, *Scrivere greco fuori d’Egitto* (Pap. Flor. 27), Firenze.
- Crawford 1996 = M. H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, London.
- Crook 1995 = J. A. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World*, Ithaca.
- Crowther 1999 = C. V. Crowther, *Aus der Arbeit der Inscriptiones Graecae. 4: Koan decrees for foreign judges*, *Chiron* 29, 251–319.
- Czajkowski 2017 = K. Czajkowski, *Localized Law: The Babatha and Salome Komäise Archives*, Oxford.
- Czajkowski and Eckhardt 2018 = K. Czajkowski and B. Eckhardt, *Law, status and agency in the Roman provinces*, *P&P* 241, 3–31.
- Degrassi 1952 = A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell’impero romano dal 30 av. Cr. al 613 d. Cr.*, Roma.
- Demougín 1975 = S. Demougín, *Les juges des cinq décuries originaires de l’Italie*, *AncSoc* 6, 143–202.
- De Sarlo 1937 = L. De Sarlo, *Sulla repressione penale del falso documentale in diritto romano*, *CEDAM* 14, 317–353.
- Dickey 2023 = E. Dickey, *Latin Loanwords in Ancient Greek: A Lexicon and Analysis*, Cambridge.
- Dmitriev 2005 = S. Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford.

- Dolganov 2019 = A. Dolganov, *Reichsrecht and Volksrecht in theory and practice: Roman justice in the province of Egypt*, Tyche 34, 27–60.
- Dolganov 2020a = A. Dolganov, *Nutricula causicorum: legal practitioners in Roman North Africa*, in: K. Czaikowski and B. Eckhardt (eds.), *Law in the Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 358–416.
- Dolganov 2020b = A. Dolganov, *A new date for the Oxyrhynchite epitome of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (P.Oxy. XLII 3014)*, Chiron 50, 167–188.
- Dolganov 2021a = A. Dolganov, *A strategos on trial at the court of the provincial governor: a new look at a petition to the Roman prefect of Egypt (P.Wisc. I 33)*, APF 67, 354–391.
- Dolganov 2021b = A. Dolganov, *Documenting Roman citizenship*, in: C. Ando and M. Lavan (eds.), *Imperial and Local Citizenship in the Long Second Century CE*, Oxford, 185–228.
- Dolganov 2022 = A. Dolganov, *Imperialism and social engineering: Augustan social legislation in the Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, Klio 104, 656–692.
- Dolganov 2023a = A. Dolganov, *Law as competitive performance: performative aspects of the legal process in Roman imperial courts*, in: C. Bubb and M. Peachin (eds.), *Medicine and Law under the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 66–123.
- Dolganov 2023b = A. Dolganov, *Rich vs. poor in Roman courts: new editions of three judicial records from Roman Egypt*, Tyche 37, 35–92.
- Duncan-Jones ²1982 = R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, second edition, Cambridge.
- Eck 1977/1995 = W. Eck, *Zur Erhebung der Erbschafts- und Freilassungssteuer in Ägypten im 2. Jh. n. Chr.*, ZPE 18, 89–99 = id., *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, vol. I, Basel 1995, 314–348.
- Eck 1998 = W. Eck, *Ein Prokuratorenpaar von Syria Palaestina in P.Berol. 21652*, ZPE 123, 249–255.
- Eck 1999a = W. Eck, *The Bar Kokhba revolt: The Roman point of view*, JRS 89, 76–89.
- Eck 1999b = W. Eck. (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, München.
- Eck 2003 = W. Eck, *Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba revolt and the epigraphic transmission*, in: Schäfer 2003, 153–170.
- Eck 2007 = W. Eck, *Rom und Iudaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina*, Tübingen.
- Eck 2013 = W. Eck, *Die Fasti consulares der Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius: eine Bestandsaufnahme seit Géza Alföldys «Konsulat und Senatorenstand»*, in: W. Eck, B. Fehér and P. Kovács (eds.), *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy*, Bonn, 69–90.
- Eck and Foerster 1999 = W. Eck and G. Foerster, *Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Bet Shean bei Tel Sjhalem*, JRA 12, 294–313.
- Eck, Holder and Pangerl 2010 = W. Eck, P. Holder and A. Pangerl, *A diploma for the army of Britain in 132 and Hadrian's return to Rome from the East*, ZPE 174, 185–200.

- Ecker and Cotton 2019 = A. Ecker and H. M. Cotton, *The 10th legion welcomes the emperor: a Latin inscription on a monument erected for Hadrian in AD 129/130*, *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology* 9, 59–67.
- Ecker and Zissu 2020 = A. Ecker and B. Zissu, *The boule of Baitoethepha (Beit-Nattif): evidence for village and toparchy administration in Judea*, *Journal for the Study of Judaism, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 51, 571–582.
- Elmaghrabi 2020 = M. G. Elmaghrabi, *The dossier of the descendants of Zeuxis*, in: C. Römer (ed.), *News from Texts and Archaeology: Acts of the 7th International Fayoum Symposium, 29 October–3 November 2018 in Cairo and the Fayoum*, Wiesbaden, 19–25.
- Enßlin 1935 = W. Enßlin, RE Suppl. VI 488–493 s.v. *Minister und ministerium*.
- Eshel 2003 = H. Eshel, *The dates used during the Bar Kokhba revolt*, in: Schäfer 2003, 93–105.
- Eshel 2006 = H. Eshel, *The Bar Kochba revolt, 132–135*, in: S. T. Katz and D. Goodblatt (eds.), *The Late Roman Rabbinic Period (CHJ 4)*, Cambridge, 105–127.
- Eshel and Zissu 2020 = H. Eshel and B. Zissu, *The Bar Kokhba Revolt – The Archaeological Evidence*, Jerusalem.
- Fascione 1983 = L. Fascione, *Fraus legi. Indagini sulla concezione della frode alla legge nella lotta politica e nella esperienza giuridica romana*, Milano.
- Foti Talamanca 1974 = G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto Greco-Romano* vol. I: *L'organizzazione del conventus del praefectus Aegypti*, Milano.
- Fuhrmann 2011 = S. Fuhrmann: *Policing the Roman Empire: Soldiers, Administration, and Public Order*, Oxford.
- Garnsey 1970 = P. D. A. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege*, Oxford.
- Gatier 1996 = P.-L. Gatier, *Gouverneurs et procureurs à Gerasa*, *Syria* 73, 47–56.
- González and Crawford 1986 = J. González and M. H. Crawford, *The Lex Irnitana: a new copy of the Flavian municipal law*, *JRS* 76, 147–243.
- Graf 2017 = D. F. Graf, *The rise and fall of the Peraea*, *ARAM* 29, 413–446.
- Grierson 1956 = P. Grierson, *The Roman law of counterfeiting*, in: R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (eds.), *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, Oxford, 240–261.
- Groag 1905 = E. Groag, RE V 1, 1986, s.v. *Eggius*.
- Grünewald 1999 = T. Grünewald, *Räuber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Rächer: Studien zu Latrones im Römischen Reich. Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei*, Stuttgart 1999.
- Günther 2008 = S. Günther, “*Vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae*”. *Die indirekten Steuern in der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diokletian* (Philippika 26), Wiesbaden.
- Günther 2015 = S. Günther, *Skaven im römischen Zollwesen*, in: P. Kritzinger (ed.), *Studien zum römischen Zollwesen*, Duisburg, 229–242.
- Habicht 1975 = C. Habicht, *New evidence on the province of Asia*, *JRS* 65, 64–91.
- Haensch 1997a = R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz.
- Haensch 1997b = R. Haensch, *Zur Konventsordnung in der Provinz Aegyptus und den übrigen Provinzen des römischen Reiches*, in: B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler,

- and G. Poethke (eds.), *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19.8.1995*, Stuttgart, Berlin, 320–391.
- Haensch 1998 = R. Haensch, *Typisch römisch? Die Gerichtsprotokolle der in Aegyptus und den übrigen östlichen Reichsprovinzen tätigen Vertreter Roms*, in: H. Börm, N. Erhardt and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Monumentum et instrumentum in scriptum. Beschriftete Objekte aus Kaiserzeit und Spätantike als historische Zeugnisse. Festschrift für Peter Weiß*, Stuttgart, 117–126.
- Halfmann 1986 = H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (HABES 2), Stuttgart.
- Hanson 1971 = A. E. Hanson, *Memorandum and speech of an advocate*, ZPE 8, 15–27.
- Heath 1995 = M. Heath, *On Issues. Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric*, Oxford.
- Heath 2004 = M. Heath, *Practical advocacy in Roman Egypt*, in: M. J. Edwards and C. Reid (eds.), *Oratory in Action*, Manchester, 62–82.
- Hendy 1985 = M. F. Hendy, *Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 200–1450*, Cambridge.
- Hermann-Otto 1994 = E. Hermann-Otto, *Ex ancilla natus: Untersuchungen zu den "hausgeborenen" Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Westen des Römischen Kaiserreiches*, Stuttgart.
- Hezser 2005 = C. Hezser, *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity*, Oxford.
- Hezser 2011 = C. Hezser, *Slavery and the Jews*, in: Bradley and Cartledge 2011, 438–455.
- Hirschfeld 1905 = O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, Berlin.
- Horbury 2014 = W. Horbury, *Jewish Wars under Trajan and Hadrian*, Cambridge.
- Horstkotte 1996 = H. Horstkotte, "Xenokritai" beim Praefectus Aegypti (P.Oxy. 3016), ZPE 112, 192–196.
- Houston 2002 = G. W. Houston, *The slave and freedman personnel of public libraries in ancient Rome*, TAPhA 132, 139–176.
- Hultsch 1905 = F. Hultsch, RE V 2 (1905), 1613–1633, s.v. *Drachme*.
- Humfress 2011 = C. Humfress, *Law and custom under Rome*, in: A. Rio (ed.), *Law, Custom, and Justice in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, London, 23–47.
- Isaac 1990 = B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East*, Oxford.
- Isaac 2020 = B. Isaac, *Judaea-Palaestina*, Oxford Classical Dictionary (online version), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.3500>
- Johannsen 2017 = T. Johannsen, *Das Privatrecht der griechischen Urkunden vom Mittleren Euphrat. P.Euphr. 6 – P.Euphr. 15* (Münchener Beiträge 114), München.
- Johnson 1993 = W. A. Johnson, *Pliny the Elder and standardized roll heights in the manufacture of papyrus*, CP 83, 46–50.
- Johnston 1987 = D. Johnston, *Three thoughts on Roman private law and the Lex Irnitana*, JRS 77, 62–77.
- Jones 1964 = A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols., Oxford.
- Jördens 2011 = A. Jördens, *Eine kaiserliche Konstitution zu den Rechtsprechungskompetenzen der Statthalter*, Chiron 41, 327–356.

- Kajanto 1965 = I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, XXXVI 2), Helsinki.
- Kaser and Hackl 1996 = M. Kaser, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht* (HdbA X.3.4) (1966 edition revised and reworked by K. Hackl), München.
- Kaser 1971² = M. Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht. Erster Abschnitt: Das Altrömische, das Vorklassische und das Klassische Recht* (HdbA X.3.4.), München.
- Katzoff 2005 = R. Katzoff, *On P. Yadin 37 = P. Hever 65*, in: R. Katzoff and D. M. Schaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*, Leiden, 133–144.
- Keenan, Manning and Yiftach-Firanko 2014 = J. G. Keenan, J. G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Society in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge.
- Kennedy 2007 = D. Kennedy, *Gerasa and the Decapolis: a Virtual Island in North-West Jordan*, London.
- Kenyon 1951² = F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford.
- Kienast, Eck and Heil 2017⁶ = D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, sixth edition edited and updated by W. Eck and M. Heil, Darmstadt.
- Kocher 1965 = E. E. Kocher, *Überlieferter und ursprünglicher Anwendungsbereich der „Lex Cornelia de Falsis“*, diss. München.
- Koffmahn 1968 = E. Koffmahn, *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Juda 5), Leiden.
- Kraeling 1938 = K. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, New Haven.
- Krause 1996 = J.-U. Krause, *Gefängnisse im Römischen Reich*, Stuttgart.
- Laffi 2013 = U. Laffi, *In greco per i Greci. Ricerche sul lessico greco del processo civile e criminale romano nelle attestazioni di fonti documentarie romane*, Pavia.
- Lambertz 1907 = M. Lambertz, *Die Griechischen Sklavennamen*, Wien.
- Langellotti 2020 = M. Langellotti, *Village Life in Roman Egypt: Tebtunis in the First Century AD*, Oxford.
- Larsen and Letteney 2024 = M. Larsen and M. Letteney, *Ancient Mediterranean Incarceration: An Introduction*, Berkeley.
- Lewis 1983 = N. Lewis, *The symbol N*, in: *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (P.Rain.Cent.), Wien, 121–126.
- Lewis and Schiller 1974 = N. Lewis and A. Schiller, *Another Narratio document*, in: A. Watson (ed.), *Daube Noster. Essays in Legal History for David Daube*, Edinburgh, 187–200.
- Lichtenberger and Raja 2020 = A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Hellenistic and Roman Gerasa: The Archaeology and History of a Decapolis*, Turnhout.
- MacRae 2018 = D. MacRae, *The freedman's story: an accusation of witchcraft in the social world of early imperial Roman Italy* (CIL 11.4639 = ILS 3001), JRS 108, 53–73.
- Mantel 1965 = H. Mantel, *Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin*, Cambridge, MA.
- Mascellari 2016 = R. Mascellari, *La descrizione di atti criminosi e violazioni nei papiri: ὕβρις, αἰκία, πλῆγαι, βία*, in: R. Haensch (ed.), *Recht haben und Recht bekommen*

- im Imperium Romanum. Das Gerichtswesen der Römischen Kaiserzeit und seine dokumentarische Evidenz* (JJP Suppl. XXIV), Warsaw, 483–522.
- Mascellari 2021 = R. Mascellari, *La lingua delle petizioni nell'Egitto romano. Evoluzione di lessico, formule e procedure dal 30 a.C. al 300 d.C.*, 2 vols, Firenze.
- Mason 1974 = H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* (Am. Stud. Pap. 13), Toronto.
- Meyer 2004 = E. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World. Tabulae in Roman Belief and Practice*, Cambridge.
- Mildenberg 1984 = L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, Aarau.
- Mitthof 2001 = F. Mitthof, *Annona militaris. Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungs- und Heeresgeschichte* (Pap. Flor. XXXII), 2 vols, Firenze.
- Mitthof and Papathomas 2015 = F. Mitthof and A. Papathomas, *Ein Sklavenkauf aus der Zeit des Decius in Form der Synchoreisis*, JJP 45, 93–119.
- Mommsen 1876² = Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 3 vols, Leipzig.
- Mommsen 1899 = Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig.
- Mor 2016 = M. Mor, *The Second Jewish Revolt: The Bar Kokhba War, 132–136 CE*, Leiden.
- Niese 1922 = B. Niese, *Excerpta ex Eudemi codice Parisino n. 2635*, Philologus suppl. 15, 145–160.
- Nörr 1995 = D. Nörr, *Zu den Xenokriten in TAM II 2 Nr. 508 (Pinara)*, in: C. Schubert and K. Brodersen (eds.), *Rom und der griechische Osten: Festschrift für Hatto H. Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, 187–197.
- Nörr 1998 = D. Nörr, *Prozessuales aus dem Babatha-Archiv*, in: M. Humbert and Y. Thomas (eds.), *Mélanges de droit romain et d'histoire ancienne: hommage à la mémoire de André Magdelain*, Paris, 317–341.
- Nörr 1999 = D. Nörr, *Zu den Xenokriten (Rekuperatoren) in der römischen Provinzialgerichtsbarkeit*, in: Eck 1999b, 257–301.
- Nowak 2015 = M. Nowak, *Wills in the Roman Empire: A Documentary Approach* (JJP Suppl. XXIII). Warsaw.
- Oertel 1917 = F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens*, Leipzig.
- O'Hea 2002 = M. O'Hea, *Note on a roman milestone from Gadara (al-Salt) in the Jordan valley*, Levantina 34, 235–238.
- Öztürk and Tanriver 2008 = E. A. Öztürk and C. Tanriver, *New katagraphai and dedications from the sanctuary of Apollon Lairbenos*, EA 41, 91–111.
- Palme 1993 = B. Palme, *Die ägyptische kat'oikian apographē und Lk 2,1–5*, Protokolle zur Bibel 2, 1–24.
- Palme 2014 = B. Palme, *Roman litigation — reports of court proceedings*, in: Keenan, Manning and Yiftach-Firanko 2014, 482–502.
- Pfaff 1921 = I. Pfaff, RE II A 1, 1024 s.v. *Seditio*.
- Pfaff 1924 = I. Pfaff, RE XII 1, 978–980 s.v. *Latrocinium*.
- Pflaum 1950 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris.

- Pflaum 1960–1961 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, 3 vols, Paris.
- Pflaum 1982 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Supplément, Paris.
- Radt 2004 = S. Radt, *Strabons Geographika*, vol. III, *Buch IX–XIII: Text und Übersetzung*, Göttingen.
- Raja 2012 = R. Raja, *Urban Development and Regional Identity in the Eastern Roman Provinces 50 BC – AD 250*, Copenhagen.
- Raja and Lichtenberger 2019 = R. Raja and A. Lichtenberger, *The chora of Gerasa/Jerash*, in: A. Lichtenberger, O. Tal, and Z. Weiss (eds.), *Iudaea/Palaestina and Arabia: Cities and Hinterlands in Roman and Byzantine Times*, Heidelberg, 109–124.
- Raviv and Ben David 2021 = D. Raviv and C. Ben David, *Cassius Dio's figures for the demographic consequences of the Bar Kokhba War: exaggeration or reliable account?*, *JRA* 34, 585–607.
- Rea 1977 = J. Rea, *Two legates and a procurator of Syria Palaestina*, *ZPE* 26, 217–222.
- Rebillard 2017 = E. Rebillard, *Greek and Latin Narratives about the Ancient Martyrs*, Oxford.
- Riccobono 1950 = S. Riccobono, *Il Gnomon dell'Idios Logos*, Palermo.
- Rigsby 1997 = K. J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley.
- Rigsby 2000 = K. J. Rigsby, *A suppliant at Gerasa*, *Phoenix* 54, 99–106.
- Rilinger 1988 = R. Rilinger, *Humiliores – honestiores. Zu einer sozialen Dichotomie im Strafrecht der römischen Kaiserzeit*, München.
- Rivière 2002 = Y. Rivière, *Les délateurs sous l'empire romain*, Rome.
- Robert 1973 = L. Robert, *Les juges étrangers dans la cité grecque*, in: E. von Caemmerer, J. H. Kaiser, G. Kegel, W. Mueller-Freienfels and Th. J. Panagopoulos (eds.), *Ξένιον. Festschrift für P. J. Zepos*, Athens, vol. I, 765–782.
- Sachers 1948 = E. Sachers, *RE VII A 2*, 1344–1345, s.v. *Tumultus*.
- Satlow 2007 = M. Satlow, *Review of Jewish Slavery in Antiquity by Catherine Hezser*, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38, 392–394.
- Schäfer 2003 = P. Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, Tübingen.
- Schiavo 2007 = S. Schiavo, *Il falso documentale tra prevenzione e repressione: impositio fidei criminaliter agere civiliter agere*, Milano.
- Seigne 1997 = J. Seigne, *Les limites orientale et méridionale du territoire de Gerasa*, *Syria* 74, 121–140.
- Shaw 1984/2004 = B. D. Shaw, *Bandits in the Roman empire*, in: R. Osborne (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Greek and Roman Society*, Cambridge 2004, 326–374 (revised version of id., *Past and Present* 105, 3–52).
- Shaw 2011 = B. D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine*, Cambridge.
- Sherwin-White 1973² = A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford.
- Sijpesteijn and Worp 1978 = P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *A sixth narratio document*, *BASP* 15, 115–123.

- Smallwood 2001 = E. M. Smallwood, *Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian*, Leiden.
- Solin 2003² = H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch (CIL Auct. 2/1–3)*, 3 vols, Berlin, New York.
- Solin and Salomies 1994 = H. Solin and O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim.
- Stern and Ari'el 2020 = I. Stern and D. T. Ari'el, *Archive discovered under Maresha*, *The Biblical Archaeology Review* 46, 46–51.
- Straus 2004 = J. A. Straus, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine (APF Beiheft 14)*, Leipzig.
- Swan 2004 = P. M. Swan, *The Augustan Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History, Books 55–56 (9 B.C.–A.D. 14)*, Oxford.
- Tonisch 2022 = M. Tonisch, *Omnia Romae cum pretio — Löhne, Preise und Werte im Römischen Reich*, Wien.
- Tov 2009 = E. Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert*, Leiden.
- Tüner Önen 2013 = N. Tüner Önen, *Hadrians Reisen im östlichen Mittelmeer anhand neuer Inschriften aus Phaselis*, *Adalya* 16, 93–106.
- Turner 1971² = E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, second edition, London.
- Turner 1977 = E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia.
- van Minnen and Worp 2009 = P. van Minnen and K. A. Worp, *A Latin manumission tax tablet in Los Angeles*, *BASP* 46, 15–22.
- Wallace 1938 = S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton.
- Weikert 2016 = C. Weikert, *Von Jerusalem zu Aelia Capitolina. Die römische Politik gegenüber den Juden von Vespasian bis Hadrian (Hypomnemata 200)*, Göttingen.
- Weiser and Cotton 1996 = W. Weiser and H. M. Cotton, *Gebt dem Kaiser was des Kaisers ist ...*, *ZPE* 114, 237–287.
- Wiedergut 2020 = K. Wiedergut, *Auf Amtswegen. Studien zu den kaiserzeitlichen Polis-Archiven der Provinzen Asia und Lycia et Pamphylia*, Diss. Univ. Wien.
- Wieling 1988 = H. J. Wieling, *Privilegium fisci, praediatura und Protopraxie*, *ZRG* 106, 404–433.
- Wieling 1989 = H. J. Wieling, *Privilegium exigendi*, *RHD* 56, 279–298.
- Willems 2022 = C. Willems, *Formularprozess: Vollstreckung*, in: U. Babusiaux, C. Baldus, W. Ernst, F.-S. Meissel, J. Platschek and T. Rübner (eds.), *Handbuch des römischen Privatrechts*, Tübingen, vol. I, 476–491.
- Wolff 1978 = H.-J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemaeer und des Prinzipats, Zweiter Band: Organisation und Kontrolle des privaten Rechtsverkehrs (HdbA X.5.2)*, München.
- Wolff 1980 = H.-J. Wolff, *Römisches Provinzialrecht in der Provinz Arabia*, *ANRW* II 13, 763–806.
- Wolters 1999 = R. Wolters, *Nummi Signati: Untersuchungen zur römischen Münzprägung und Geldwirtschaft*, München.

- Wörrle 1975 = M. Wörrle, *Zwei neue griechische Inschriften aus Myra zur Verwaltung Lykiens in der Kaiserzeit*, in: J. Borchhardt (ed.), *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, Berlin, 254–300.
- Yasur-Landau and Gambash 2018 = A. Yasur-Landau and G. Gambash, *Governor of Judea and Syria – a new dedication from Dor to Gargilius Antiquus*, ZPE 205, 158–164.
- Yiftach-Firanko 2008 = U. Yiftach-Firanko, *The cheirographon and the privatization of scribal activity in early Roman Oxyrhynchos*, in: G. Thür and E. Harris (eds.), *Symposion 2007*, Wien, 325–340.
- Yiftach-Firanko 2014 = U. Yiftach-Firanko, *State registration of sales: the katagraphe*, in: Keenan, Manning and Yiftach-Firanko 2014, 314–325.
- Youni 2010 = M. S. Youni, *Transforming Greek practice into Roman law: manumissions in Roman Macedonia*, RHD 78, 311–330.
- Youtie, Hagedorn and Youtie 1973 = L. C. Youtie, D. Hagedorn and H. C. Youtie, *Urkunden aus Panopolis III*, ZPE 10, 101–170.

Anna Dolganov
 Department of Classical Studies
 Austrian Archaeological Institute
 Austrian Academy of Sciences
 Dominikanerbastei 16
 1010 Vienna, Austria
 anna.dolganov@oeaw.ac.at

Fritz Mitthof
 Department of Ancient History,
 Papyrology and Epigraphy
 University of Vienna
 Universitätsring 1
 1010 Vienna, Austria
 fritz.mitthof@univie.ac.at

Hannah M. Cotton
 Department of Classics (emerita)
 Hebrew University of Jerusalem
 91905 Jerusalem, Israel
 hannah.cotton@mail.huji.ac.il

Avner Ecker
 Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology
 Bar Ilan University
 52900 Ramat-Gan, Israel
 avner.ecker@biu.ac.il

WORD INDICES

compiled by Felix MICHLER

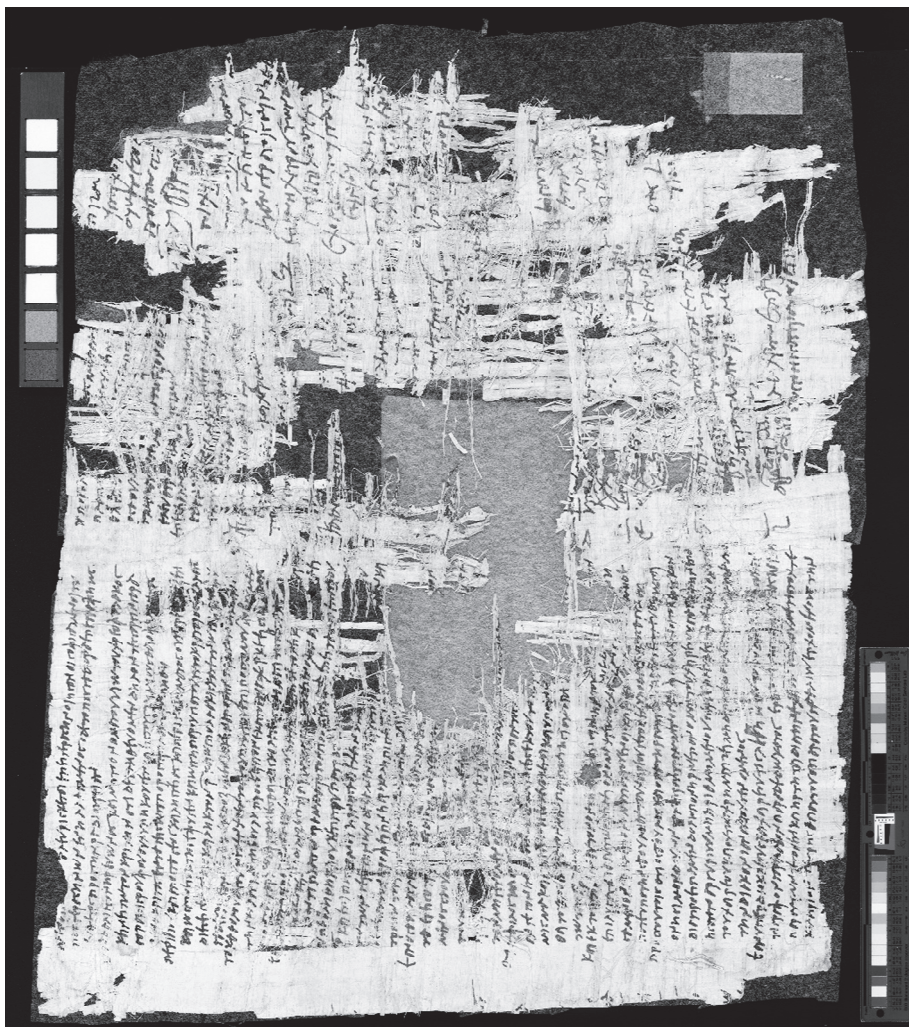
The following indices contain all words and symbols present in the text of P.Cotton. Entries marked with an asterisk are not included in the transcription, but indicate possible readings and supplements that are suggested in the commentary.

I. Personal names		ἑκατοντάρχης	*5?, 26, 35
Ἀβάσκαντος	105	ἐπίτροπος	*37–38?
Αὐτοκράτωρ		ἡγεμών	48
(sc. Hadrian)	25	κριτής	21
Γαδαλίας	20, 31, 39, 45–46?,	ξενοκρίτης	23
	63	φίσκος	50, 55
Διοκλῆς	60, 74	χρεωφύλαξ	20
Λῆκτος	26		
Νικο[---]	52	IV. Money terms	
Ὀνήσιμος	55, 69	ἀργύριον	57
Πόστομος	28, 35	δηνάριον	29
Πρεῖμος	101	δραχμή	76, 102?, 132
Ῥοῦφος	22	νόμισμα	24, 46–47
Σαούλος	39, 41, 46, 47, 53,		
	54, 62, 67, 72, 73	V. General index of words	
Φλάκκος	73	ἀγόραιος	21–22
Χαιρέας	51, 53, 56, 58, 60,	ἀδικέω	60
	68, 74, 98?	ἀληθεύω	21
II. Geographical		ἀληθής	101
Ἀραβία	49	ἀλλά	*17?, 121
Γαδῶρα	18	ἄλλος	32
dat. Γαδέροις	71, 115?	ἀλλότριος	70
Γερασηνός	17, 18, 36	ἄν	101
Γέρασα		ἀνά	29
dat. Γεράσιος	115	ἀνάγκη	71
Ἰουδαία	48	ἀναδίωμι	109?
III. Official and military titles and terms		ἀναλαμβάνω	78
Αὐτοκράτωρ	s. I s.v.	ἀνήρ	20
βουλή	29, 30	ἀντίγραφον	*35?, 42–43, 60–61, 64, 72
		ἀπό	25
		ἀπορέω	27

ἄπορος	23, 50	ἄγγυος	119
ἀπόστασις	24	εἰ	37, 70
ἄρα	37	εἰμί	17, 32–33, 37, 50, 70, 101
ἀργύριον	s. IV s.v.	εἰρκτή	25
ἀριθμέω	57	εἰς	22
ἀρνέομαι	35	εἰσόδιον	29
ἀρτάω	62	ἐκ, ἐξ	41, 46, 50, 57, 66, 68
ἀρχή	61	ἐκαστος	29
αὐθέντης	40	ἐκατοντάρχης	s. III s.v.
Αὐτοκράτωρ	s. I s.v.	ἐλέγχω	28
αὐτός	31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 44 (2x), 50, 51, 52, 54, 58, 59, 62, 63, 76, 79, 116	ἐλευθερόω	54, 57, 69, 79
βία	24	ἐν	26, 52, 71, 115 (2x)
βλάβη	*102–103?, 111?	ἐναλλάσσω	18
βουλή	s. III s.v.	ἐνεκα	48
βούλομαι	54, 100, 121	ἐνιοι	116
γάρ	21, 30, 44, 61	ἐνοχος	32
γίγνομαι	31, 43, 44, 46, 53, 59, 62, 71	ἐντάσσω	
γράμμα	33	ἐνταγεῖς	23
δέ	21, 28, 45, 53, 128, 131	ἐξετάζω	101
δεῖ	32, 37	ἐξήκω	122
δεσπότης	104, 106	ἐπεὶ	17, 70
δέχομαι	36	ἔπειτα	33
δῆλος	21, 44	ἐπί	
δημόσιος	98	c. gen.	28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 107, 129, 131
δηνάριον	s. IV s.v.	c. dat.	56, 128
διά		c. acc.	73
c. gen.	98	ἐπιβάλλω	34, 117
c. acc.	62	ἐπιβολή	120
διακονία	53, 59	ἐπιγράφω	18, 85
διασεύω	26	ἐπιλύω	51
διδάσκω	32	ἐπιπλήσσω	*105?
δίδωμι	29, 61	ἐπιπροσφέρω	*102?
δοκέω	27 (2x)	ἐπίτροπος	s. III s.v.
δόλος	56	ἔρχομαι	63
δραχμή	s. IV s.v.	ἔτοιμος	*50?
δουλεύω	58	εὐθετος	19
δοῦλος	52, 55	εὐπορ[---]	99
δυναστεία	27	εὐρίσκω	17, 63
ἐάν	27, 31, 39, 60	εὐωνος	20
		ἔχθρα	62
		ἔχω	35, 70, 71, 118

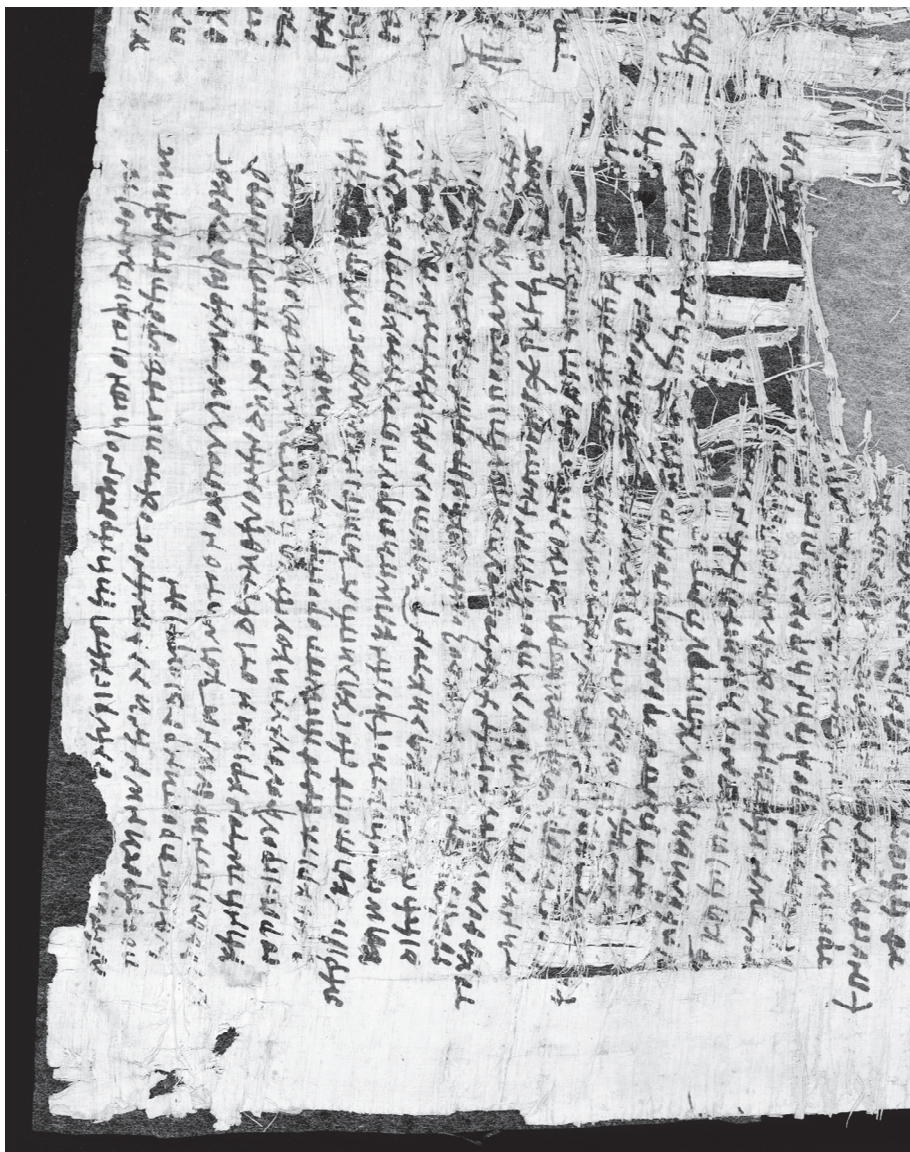
ζημιώω	22	ὅτι	21, 32, 33, 40, 41,
ἦ	33, 115 (2x), *118?		45, 54, 61, 120, 122
ἡγεμών	s. III s.v.	ὄφειλό	22, 51
ιδιόγραφον	*36?	οὐ, οὐκ, οὐχ	*16?, 22, 32, 34, 44, 109
ἰσχυρός	112	οὐδέν	60, 99, 106
καθαρχάζω	*103?	οὖν	28, 103, 115
καθόλου	28	οὗτος	48, 54, 60, 128, 131
κακός		οὕτως	58
κακόν	*45?	πάντως	110
κακουργία	70	παρά	
καλός	37	c. gen.	36, 44, 61, 62, 63, 71–72
καταγγέλλω	68	c. dat.	48 (2x)
καταγιγνώσκω	26	παραλογισμός	*66?
καταγραφή	56	παρασκευάζω	47
κατηγορέω	*47–48?	παραφέρω	32
κινέω	21	παραχαράσσω	24, 46
κοινωνός	45	πάρειμι	33
κόλασις	29, 30	παρίστημι	46
κουφίζω	30	παρουσία	25
κριτής	s. III s.v.	πᾶς	45
λαμβάνω	61, *66?	πατήρ	31, 34, 54, 106, 118
λέγω	27, 31, 39, 60	πατρικός	122?
εἶπον	73, 98?	πέρας	57
ἐρῶ	40, 61	περί	
ληστεία	24	c. gen.	24 (2x), 68
μάλα	*17?	c. acc.	39, *45?
μάρτυς	31, 107?, 129?	περιγραφή	50
μέγας		πίστις	37
μέγιστος	62	πλαστός	33, 65
μέν	*17?, 32, 48	πλαστόν	28
μετά		ποιέω	56–57
c. gen.	64	πολλάκις	26
c. acc.	120	πολύς	25, 105
μή	20, 44, 55, 57, 103	πονηρός	56
μηδέ	58	πράγμα	67–68
μηδέποτε	52–53, 58	πρίασθαι	38
νόμισμα	s. IV s.v.	προγράφο	*40–41?, 55
ξενокρίτης	s. III s.v.	πρόκειμαι	*40–41?
οἶμαι	30	προλέγω	
οἶος	51, 56	προεἶπον	56
ὄνομα	20, 30, 51, 52, 56, 57, 68		
ὅποῖος	70		

πρός		φανερός	121
c. dat.	54	φεύγω	25
c. acc.	19, 27, 50, 106	φιλανθρωπέω	23
προσῆκω	*103?	φίλος	45
προσφεύγω	29	φίσκος	s. III s.v.
προφέρω	33, 37, 39–40	φοβέω	28, 55
πρώτος		φυγαδεύω	26–27
πρώτον	32	χείρ	116
ῥαδιουργία	19, 40, 61	χειρόγραφον	*35?, 43
ῥήτωρ	98?	χράω	51
σοφίζομαι	17	χρέος	51
σχεδόν	113	χρεωφύλαξ	s. III s.v.
συνείδησις	*65?	χρηματίζω	58
συνεργός	45	χρόνος	105
σύνολος	*102?	ὠνέομαι	42, 51–52
τεκμήριον	62–63	ὤς	18, 23, 25 (2x), 26, 31, 39, 60
τελευτάω	123		
τέσσαρες	21		
τις	32, 47, 60	VI. Symbols	
τόπος	17–18, 18	(δηνάριον)	29
τουτέστι	38	(δραχμή)	76, 102?, 132
τρόπος	38	(έκατοντάρχης)	5(?), 26, 35
υἰός	20	ὑπ()	73
ὑπακούω	22		
ὑπάρχω	108		
ὑπέρ c. gen.	31, 60		
ὑπό			
c. gen.	47		
c. acc.	53 (2x), 58		
ὑποβολή	64		
ὑπόμνημα	*73?		
ὑπομνηματισμός	*73?		
ἕστερον	35		



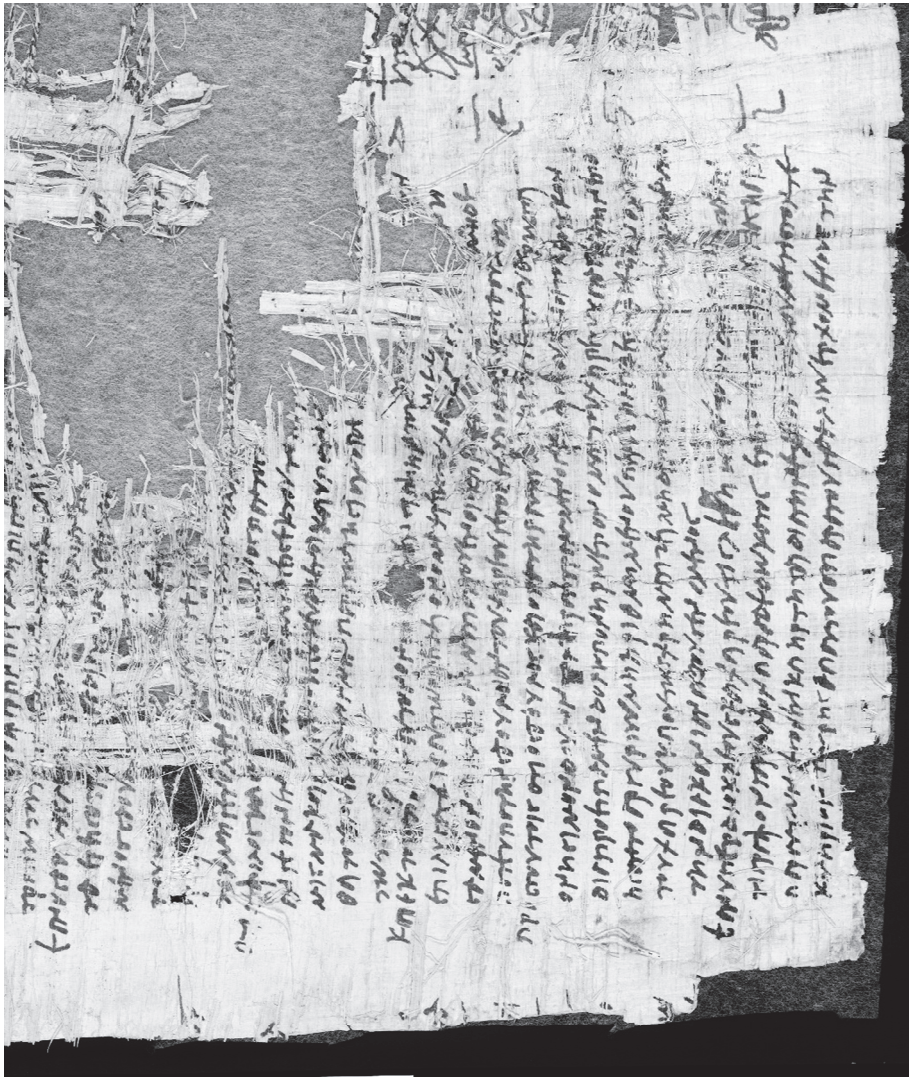
P.Cotton

zu A. Dolganov, F. Mitthof, H. M. Cotton, A. Ecker, S. 91–95



Left margin: P.Cotton col. I 1-3
Center: P.Cotton col. II 17-40

A. Dolganov, F. Mitthof, H. M. Cotton, A. Ecker, S. 91-95



Left margin: P.Cotton col. I 4–16

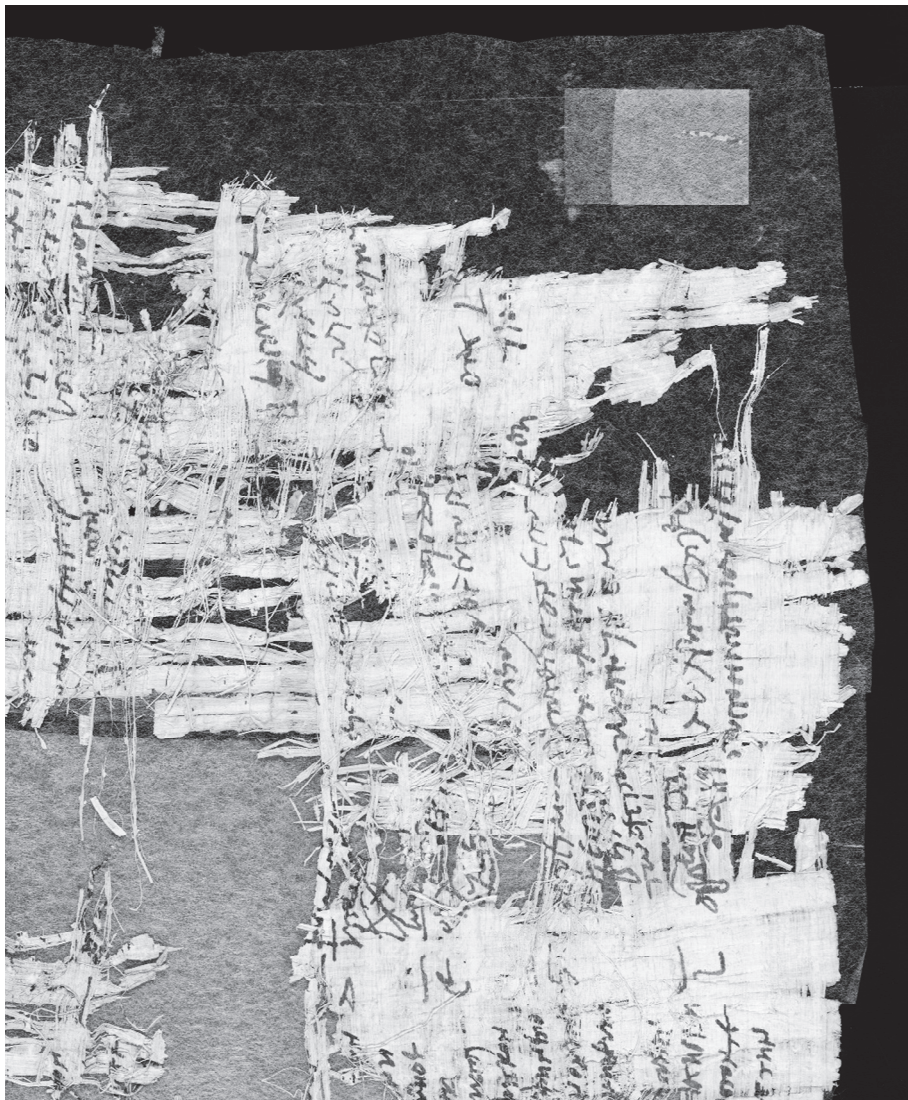
Center: P.Cotton col. II 39–63

zu A. Dolganov, F. Mitthof, H. M. Cotton, A. Ecker, S. 91–95



Left: P.Cotton col. III 64–87
Right: P.Cotton col. IV 107–124

zu A. Dolganov, F. Mitthof, H. M. Cotton, A. Ecker, S. 91–95



Left: P.Cotton col. III 84-106
Right: P.Cotton col. IV 122-133

zu A. Dolganov, F. Mitthof, H. M. Cotton, A. Ecker, S. 91–95