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Tutti i diritti sono riservati all'Editore.  
È vietata la riproduzione, anche parziale, dell'opera.

Il volume è dedicato alla memoria di Paul Canart (25.10.1927-14.09.2017)  
*Belge vivant à Rome et travaillant dans la Cité du Vatican...*





AN UNPUBLISHED *MANUMISSIO INTER AMICOS*  
(P. Mich. inv. 5688c)\*

P. Mich. inv. 5688c  
Provenance: Karanis

cm 12 × 11

212-250<sup>P</sup> (?)  
Origin: Arsinoe (?)

P. Mich. inv. 5688c was found in Karanis during the excavation seasons carried out by E.E. Peterson, on behalf of the University of Michigan, in 1929/1930. Thanks to its APIS Acquisition Number (29-B191K-A<sup>1</sup>), it can be inferred that this item – coupled with eleven other fragments, whose Acquisition Number is the same<sup>2</sup> – comes from room K of house 191; the

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\* The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement n° 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project 'Papyri and Latin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri', University of Naples 'Federico II' – PI Maria Chiara Scappaticcio. A first presentation of this text was discussed during the workshop "Su un'inedita *manumissio* della collezione Michigan (inv. 5688 c). Riflessioni sulla formula *inter amicos*", Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 17/5/2018. My warmest gratitude goes to Professor Maria Chiara Scappaticcio, whose support incited me to do my best. I also wish to extend my special thanks to Professor Gabriella Messeri, my mentor and master, without whose help the Greek section of the examined papyrus would have been more muted. I am also grateful to Prof. Graham Claytor because of his help with the archaeological data related to the fragment in question. Additionally, this paper has repeatedly benefited from the scholarly expertise of the staff of PLATINUM. Naturally, I assume responsibility for the residual errors.

<sup>1</sup> As for the Acquisition Number of this item, cf. the APIS database (<[https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-14478/5688CR.TIF?from=index;lasttype=boolean;lastview=reslist;resnum=3;size=50;sort=apis\\_inv;start=1;subview=detail;view=entry;rgn1=apis\\_inv;select1=regex;q1=5688](https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-14478/5688CR.TIF?from=index;lasttype=boolean;lastview=reslist;resnum=3;size=50;sort=apis_inv;start=1;subview=detail;view=entry;rgn1=apis_inv;select1=regex;q1=5688)>, last seen on July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> According to the APIS database, two sets of fragments come from the same stratigraphic level of the same house, namely P. Mich. inv. 5688 and P. Mich. inv. 5690:

*Sub voce* P. Mich. inv. 5688 are recorded on 10 fragments (frr. a-i), one of which (fr. g) is, in turn, divided in 11 fragments. Only the bigger one, fr. a, has been published as *P. Mich. IX 525*: it is a petition sent by a Sarapous to the prefect of Egypt Titus Haterius Nepos. This petition, written in Greek and void of any references to slavery, is dated back to 119-124<sup>P</sup>.

stratigraphic level where this item was discovered is B, which, according to the most recent publication on the subject (CLAYTOR-VERHOOGT 2018, p. 8), offers evidence ranging from the mid-second century to late III<sup>P</sup>.

This papyrus is a small, square shaped, light-brown fragment that preserves parts of 10 lines (the first 5 in Latin, the last 5 in Greek) written along the fibres; there is no conclusive evidence that the deed was drawn up on the *recto*<sup>4</sup>. No margin is preserved but the upper one (cm 1,5 ca) and several holes affect the sheet, especially in the central section between ll. 4-8. This fragment has no *kollesis* nor any noteworthy fold. The other side of the fragment is blank.

The Latin script (ll. 1-5) is in old Roman cursive, written by a well trained hand; moreover, the handwriting is decidedly sloping to the right in a moderately fast *ductus*. The letters, whose shape and height are not consistent<sup>5</sup>, are drafted with a hard tip *calamus*. Although ligatures are very common in the text, no letter is markedly dislodged, apart from a (cf.

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All the other scraps, written in Greek, are still unedited (as to these specific items, cf. APIS database = <[https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis?type=boolean&view=reslist&rgn1=apis\\_inv&select1=regex&from=index&q1=5688](https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis?type=boolean&view=reslist&rgn1=apis_inv&select1=regex&from=index&q1=5688)>, last seen on July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018).

P. Mich. inv. 5690 consists of 2 Greek fragments, both unpublished. According to their description, these two fragments could range from IV to V<sup>P</sup> (as to these specific items, cf. APIS database = <[https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis?type=boolean&view=reslist&rgn1=apis\\_inv&select1=regex&from=index&q1=5690](https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis?type=boolean&view=reslist&rgn1=apis_inv&select1=regex&from=index&q1=5690)>, last seen on July 27<sup>th</sup>, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> The stratigraphy of Karanis is still problematic (cf. LANDVATTER 2014, p. 39) and does not allow accurate dating of the layers themselves. As for the B-level, besides the recent proposal of W.G. Claytor and A. Verhoogt there are several other ones: HUSSELMAN 1979 (p. 9) just hints that the *floruit* period revealed by that level is around the second half of the III<sup>P</sup>; DAVOLI 1998 (p. 78 and p. 80, nr. 114) proposes a range of time from the late III to the early IV<sup>P</sup> (but, as for the three excavation campaigns after the one performed in 1925-1926, she suggests the period 117-235<sup>P</sup>); most recently, LANDVATTER 2014 (p. 39 and p. 41) points out that, even starting from the standard periodization (mid-II to late III<sup>P</sup>), it has to be rethought.

<sup>4</sup> However, a special thanks is due to Mrs. Mariëka Kaye, who is responsible for the *Head, Conservation and Book Repair* of Michigan University: her very accurate restoration work hugely enhanced the readability of the document.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. 1) the alternation between the “ $\pi$ -shaped *n*” (for such a definition, cf. CHERUBINI-PRATESI 2010, pp. 52-53) – in *inter*, at l. 2 – and the ones, at ll. 3 and 5 – *Iunias* and *mense* –, whose shape is almost capital; 2) the alternation between the tiny *o* in *amicos*, at l. 2, as opposed to the bloated one in *proximas*, at l. 3) the three differently shaped *m*, at ll. 2, 3 and 4, namely in *amicos*, *proximas* and *metropoli*.

As to the coeval use of more shapes for a single letter, cf. CASAMASSIMA-STARAZ 1977. Besides, this Latin hand appears slightly erratic: there is a peculiar difference between ll. 2-3, which appear straightened and more controlled – as it emerges from the strict bilinearism –, and ll. 4-5, quite more cursive and loose.



*amicos*, l. 2, and *proximas*, l. 3). Two additional palaeographic features are noteworthy: the use of some *litterae notabiliores* (namely, at l. 2, *i* in *inter* and *a* in *amicos*), probably aimed at highlighting a key matter in the text; the use of medial dots (at least one – but more likely two – at l. 5), to abbreviate words.

Because of the lacunae on the left and right side, the dating formula (ll. 4-5) is incomplete; however, a dating can be suggested on a palaeographic and archaeological basis. Hence, some letters provide generic chronological terms of reference more than others, suggesting the date to be set around the first half of the III<sup>P</sup>.<sup>6</sup>

As for the Greek lines (ll. 6-10), the papyrus bears at least five different hands, among which the clear divergence between the first one (ll. 6-7) and the others (ll. 8-10) should be highlighted. The former, an informal cursive written with a very quick *ductus*, is characterised by several pervasive ligatures, that reverse the usual succession of strokes. The most noteworthy sequences of letter (and most useful in order to set a date) are οὐδενά (cf. *CPR* XVII B 12, 5, 217/218<sup>P</sup>; *P. Giss.* I 33, 10, 222<sup>P</sup>), τροπ (cf. *P. Fouad.* I 39, 5, 244-249<sup>P</sup>) and προκειται (cf. *CPR* VI 73, 39, 222-235<sup>P</sup>). The latter ones – whose handshift can be surely detected just because of the different *calami* employed by different *subscriptores* – produce scripts drawn up with a more slow *ductus*, and almost completely devoid of ligatures; they can be paralleled right around to *BGU* I 35 (222<sup>P</sup>) or *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3111 (257<sup>P</sup>). The presence of two *Aurelii* in the Greek section (l. 8) convincingly suggests that the deed was drawn up shortly after 212<sup>P</sup>; furthermore, the ostensible lack of the *Stipulationsklausel* seems to confirm this interpretation.

Although the greatest portion of the deed has been lost, the surviving sequence at l. 2 (*inter amicos*) proves that the document is a *manumissio inter amicos*, i.e. “a formless manumission by the declaration of the master”<sup>7</sup>; additionally, at l. 9, the noun ἐλευθέρωσις (the Greek term for *man-*

<sup>6</sup> The more interesting letters are: 1) the “π-shaped *n*”, which roughly ranges from 150<sup>P</sup> (*PSI* IX 1026) to 250<sup>P</sup> (*P. Oxy.* XXXI 2565, 224<sup>P</sup>; *P. Oxy.* XII 1466, 245<sup>P</sup>; *P. Oxy.* XII 1511, 247<sup>P</sup>); 2) the *o* – akin to a little bow or a noose – written rather high in the line. This shape, with both left and right sides in ligature, is particularly widespread in the first half of III<sup>P</sup> (cf. *P. Mich.* VII 454, 199<sup>P</sup>; *P. Dura* 60, 208<sup>P</sup>; *P. Dura* 64, 221<sup>P</sup>; *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2565, 224<sup>P</sup>); the peculiar *p*, not too far from that of *P. Dura* 56 A (208<sup>P</sup>), *P. Dura* 64 (221<sup>P</sup>) and *P. Oxy.* VIII 1114 (237<sup>P</sup>), but written without the right-pointing curl on the baseline; the cruciform and left-sloping *X*, which is attested at least from the late II<sup>P</sup> (cf. *P. Mich.* VII 454, 199<sup>P</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> BERGER 1953, p. 576.

*umissio*; cf. ISTASSE 2000, pp. 333-334) is readable enough to be sure that P. Mich. inv. 5688c is an enfranchisement document.

The *manumissio inter amicos* (gr. ἐλευθέρωσις μεταξύ φίλων<sup>8</sup>) is a well-known practice of emancipation<sup>9</sup>. According to what Cicero<sup>10</sup>, Seneca<sup>11</sup> and Pliny the Young<sup>12</sup> say, it is clear that, even if this enfranchisement type does not belong to the so called *iustae manumissiones*, it was really widespread and widely used in the Empire. Moreover, based on Gaius<sup>13</sup>, it can be inferred that, at least from II<sup>P</sup>, this type of enfranchisement is considered, in some respect, equivalent to the official ones (i.e. *iustae*).

Roman Egypt has hitherto provided just three deeds of *manumissiones inter amicos* (cf. *infra*): since, as for these three documents, «es lässt sich [...] eine Art ‘Formular’ oder ein ‘Schema’ bei der Beurkundung erkennen»<sup>14</sup>, one should imagine that the structure of such documents of enfranchisement was made, at a certain point, rather formulaic. The Imperial concern about the way such documents had to be written out is therefore testified by a *constitutio* of Justinian<sup>15</sup>, which – proclaimed in 531<sup>P</sup>, while dealing with a procedure already current and previously operative – pre-

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<sup>8</sup> The syntagm μεταξύ φίλων – as a perfect Greek translation of latin *inter amicos* – is confirmed not only from a certain papyrological parallel (M. Chr. 362, cf. *infra*), but also from some juridical *glossaria bilingua*. For instance, it could be pointed out the *Tractatus de manumissionibus*, a text written in the II-III<sup>P</sup> and then translated in Greek in order to facilitate learning technical and juridical Greek. This text flowed into the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia*, cf. FLAMMINI 2004.

As to ἐλευθέρωσις, it seems to be the most frequently used word in Greek papyri for *manumissio*; however, another possible word is ἀπελευθέρωσις (P. Flor. III 324v, 17-18; BGU I 96, 10 et *passim*; BGU V 1210, 60 et 60-61; P. Kell. I 48, 1 et *passim*; P. Paramone 8, 28; SB XXVIII 16852, 27; cf. also ISTASSE 2000, pp. 333-334).

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion on the *manumissio inter amicos*, cf. BISCARDI 1939; ID. 1966; BERGER 1953 s.v.; ALBANESE 1962; ID. 1970; BALESTRIERI FUMAGALLI 1982; STRAUS 1988, p. 889; SCHOLL 2001.

<sup>10</sup> Cic., *Top.* 10: *Si neque censu nec vindicta nec testamento liber factus est, non est liber.*

<sup>11</sup> Sen., *Vit. beat.* 24,3: *Hominibus prodesse natura me iubet. Servi liberine sint hi, ingenui an libertini, iustae libertatis an inter amicos datae, quid refert?*

<sup>12</sup> Plin. *Iun., Epist.* 7,16: *Spero, immo confido facile me impetraturum, ut ex itinere deflectat ad te, si voles vindicta liberare, quos proxime inter amicos manumisisti.*

<sup>13</sup> *Gai Inst.* I 44: *Itaque licet iis, qui vindicta aut censu aut inter amicos manumittunt, totam familiam liberare, scilicet si alia causa non impedit libertatem.*

<sup>14</sup> Cf. SCHOLL 2001, p. 166.

<sup>15</sup> *Iust., C.* 7, 6, 1, 2: *Sed et si quis inter amicos libertatem dare suo servo maluerit, licebit ei quinque similiter testibus adhibitis suam explanare voluntatem et quod liberum eum esse voluit dicere.*

scribes that, in the *inter amicos* manumission deeds, the signature of five witnesses after the master's declaration is required.

The three surviving documents of *manumissio inter amicos* coming from Egypt<sup>16</sup> share some common features: all these documents are dated around the third century (after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*)<sup>17</sup>, they all come from capitals of *nomoi*, they are all concerned with enslaved women called οἰκογενεῖς<sup>18</sup> and they are all written on papyri whose back is blank.

- *T. Amb. s.n.* = *M. Chr.* 362 = *FIRA* III 11 (cf. also DE RICCI 1904, pp. 145-152 and pp. 185-196), which is the closest parallel to P. Mich. inv. 5688c; it is a wooden diptych, bought in 1903 by Lord Amherst, coming from the Hermopolites and dated back to 221<sup>p</sup> (as to the date, cf. *BL* XII 130); this enfranchisement deed – the most unique bilingual *manumissio inter amicos* known – was written twice (*scriptura exterior* on the outer pages, *scriptura interior* on the inner ones). The signatures of the involved parties are on page IV, while those of the witnesses are on I.
- *P. Lips.* II 151 is a papyrus coming from the Hermopolites and dating back to 246-267<sup>p</sup>. Its editor suggests that it could be a Greek translation of an original Latin text. The entire length of the lines of this papyrus is preserved; however, it is impossible to read the whole document because it is broken in the lower part (after l. 12). Although there is no certainty about the nature of the lost text, it is very likely that, just like in all the other parallels, the missing lines contain the dating formula of the deed.
- *P. Oxy.* IX 1205 = *CPJ* III 473 (cf. also *BL* V 78; *BL* VI 101; *BL* VIII 242; *BL* XII 138); it could be, according to its editors, another Greek translation of an original Latin document (following the example of *P. Lips.* II 151), com-

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<sup>16</sup> I have been very recently informed about two further unedited documents directly or indirectly attesting *manumissiones inter amicos*. A Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus containing a receipt for the payment of the 5% tax (*vicesima*) for a *manumissio inter amicos* was discussed by Dr Susan Fogarty in her doctoral thesis in 2016. On December 12<sup>th</sup> 2018, a Latin-Greek deed of *manumissio inter amicos* (P. Vindob. inv. L 98) was presented by Dr Michele Pedone in a seminar held in Naples in the framework of the ERC PLATINUM project. Since the edition of both papyri is still forthcoming, I have not been able to analyze them aptly.

<sup>17</sup> Such a chronological convergence, especially in light of the extreme rareness of *manumissiones inter amicos* coming from Egypt, may rely on survival ratio. However, it has to be at least highlighted that, since this kind of enfranchisement was a prerogative of Roman citizens, the diffusion of the Roman citizenship – after 212<sup>p</sup> – could potentially have made manumissions among friends more commonly used in the country.

<sup>18</sup> For οἰκογένεια, cf. WESTERMANN 1955, pp. 86-87; BIEŻUŃSKA-MAŁOWIST 1959, pp. 203-206; EAD. 1970, pp. 29-34; EAD. 1973, pp. 83-84; STRAUS 1988, pp. 886-887; ID. 2004, pp. 234-239.

ing from Oxyrhynchus and dating back to 291<sup>p</sup>. In this document, where in the left lacuna about 35 letters have been lost, there are some peculiarities, at least three of which must be pointed out: a) the very first line has been supplemented as ἐρμηνεία ἐ]λευθ[ερώσε]ως (that is «translation of a manumission»); b) the presence of *subscriptores*' signatures – apparently written by different hands – shows that, even if translated from a Latin original, this deed has legal value; c) here the *redemptores* act on behalf of the συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

The present P. Mich. inv. 5688c is the only *manumissio inter amicos* coming from the Arsinoite nome so far<sup>19</sup>; it is possibly the oldest one or, at least, coeval to M. Chr. 362<sup>20</sup>. Furthermore, it must be specified that, because of the loss of the majority of the deed – both on the right and left side –, it is impossible to determine how many letters went lost on each side; therefore, the *divisio verborum* of the text can only be reconstructed conjecturally. This edition is based on photographs.

*Recto* →

1		]ssuf .ph[.]l[
2	- - -	annorum circiter X]XXV]III inter amicos m[anumisit
3	liberamque esse iussit - - -]. [.] .ae proximas Iunias . [	
4	- - -	Actum nomo Arsin]oite metropoli XIII Ka[l(endas) Apriles
5		] Fel(icis) · Aug(usti) · mense Pham[enoth die XXIII]
6	m <sup>2</sup>	] τὴν δούλην μου Σαραποῦν χαρισ[
7		] κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον κα[θ]ὼς πρό- κειτ[α]ι κα[
8	m <sup>3</sup>	μαρτυρ]ῶ m <sup>4</sup> Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμ[ᾶ]ς Ἰσ[...]
		μαρ[τυρῶ m <sup>5</sup> Αὐ]ρήλις Τ[.]υρ.[
9	m <sup>6</sup>	] μαρτυρῶ τῇ ἐλευ[θ]ερώσ[ει
10		].....[.....]. [.....]ουηο[

<sup>19</sup> Although an edition has not been yet provided, P. Vindob. inv. L 98 (cf. nt. 16) is seemingly coming from the Arsinoite nome too. The forthcoming edition of the text will clarify the place where such a deed was drawn up.

<sup>20</sup> Both the unpublished papyri in nt. 16 are much earlier than the published ones; this is one of the few certain data, and I would not venture in further discussion until a proper edition comes along.

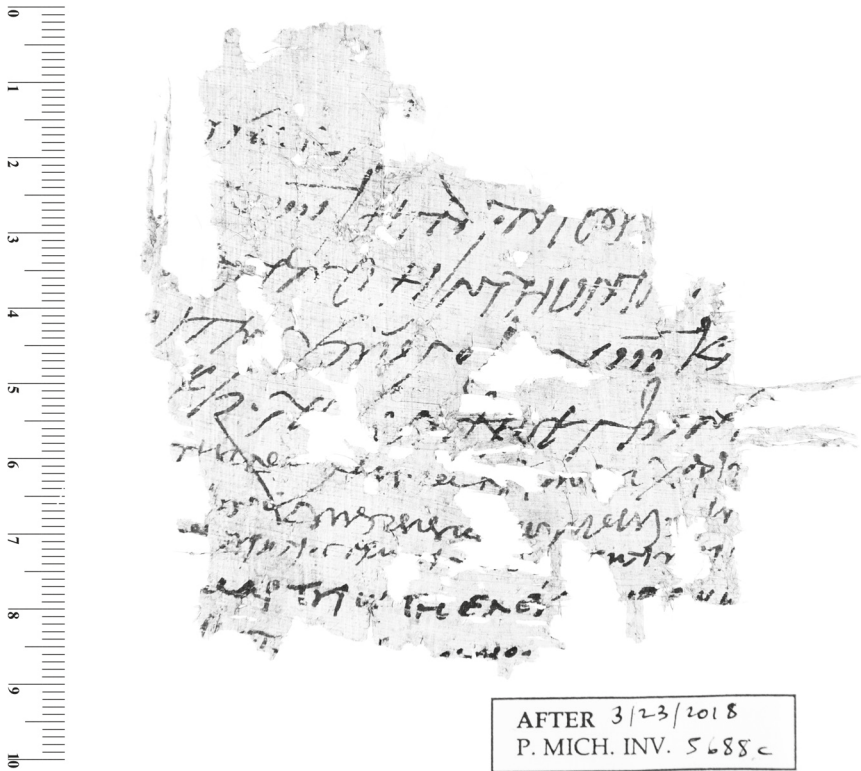


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1 ] ... Phil(?)[  
 2 ... of about] 39 [years old], (he) freed among friends  
 3 and (he) ordered she stayed free] ... in the next ... of June ...  
 4 - - - Drawn up in the Arsin]oite nome, in the metropolis, on the 13<sup>th</sup> day  
 before the Calends [of April ... under the consulship ... in the ...  
 year of ...  
 5 ] *Felix Augustus*, [on the 24<sup>th</sup>] of the month  
 Pham[enoth  
 6 m<sup>2</sup> ] my slave Sarapous, ...[  
 7 ] in no way, as set out above [  
 8 m<sup>3</sup> I am witne]ss m<sup>4</sup> I, Aurelius Hermas, son of Is[...],  
 am wi[tness m<sup>5</sup> I, Au]relis [.] [  
 9 m<sup>6</sup> ] I am witness of *man[u]missio*  
 10 ].....[.....].[...] [

1. As the other *manumissiones inter amicos* confirm (cf. *M. Chr.* 362, *P. Lips.* II 151 and *P. Oxy.* IX 1205), at the very beginning of this kind of enfranchisement deed one should expect to find the personal details of the *manumissor*, namely his – or, less likely, her – name, patronymic and hometown. However, because of the paucity of surviving letters and their heavily damaged status, these details cannot be surely ascertained in the text. The sequence of letters ]*ssyf*, *ph*[*i*][ features a problematic trace between *f* and *p*, which might resemble more a medial dot (or a stroke linking two letters) rather than an entire letter. This sequence could be tentatively divided as follows: ]*ssyf* *f*. *Ph*[*i*][. It may be conjectured here the end of a personal name (] *ssu*), perhaps inflected in ablative case or in a “Greek” genitive, followed by an abbreviated unknown case of *filius* and, then, an *interpunctum* (*f*). The last series of letters might be read as another personal name (e.g. *Ph*[*i*][*ippi*) or a toponym, given that in the close proximity to Karanis, there are at least two places, *Philadelphia* and *Philopator Theogenous* – respectively *TM* Geo ID 1760 and 1776 –, compatible with this sequence. Nevertheless, given the uncertainty of such a reading, one cannot be sure the restoration is correct.

2. According to the *lex Aelia Sentia* (cf. BUCKLAND 1908, pp. 537-546; BERGER 1953, *s.v.*; WESTERMANN 1955, pp. 89-90) no slave under 30 years of age could be legally freed; therefore, except for some special circumstances, the *manumissiones* of slaves younger than this age had no legal value. The application of this law in Roman Egypt is suggested by the aforementioned parallels (in *M. Chr.* 362 the slave, a woman, is 34 years old; the woman freed in *P. Lips.* II 151 is 33 years old; in the Oxyrhynchite papyrus a 40-years-old mother is freed together with her two children); hence it seems really reasonable to conjecture, at the very start of this line, X]XXVIII.

The restoration of *circiter* in the lacuna is strengthened by the closest parallel, *M. Chr.* 362, 5 – where, before the non-round number of the age of the freed (34), a *circiter* is written out too –, and by the fact that also in greek parallels the age of the slave is always forerun by the formula ὥς ἐτῶν. Since the year of birth of someone was often not known in the ancient world, in this way supposedly the declarant was willing to avoid making false statements.

2-3. As for the tentative restoration of *liberamque* – an adjective fallen somewhere in lacuna between the ll. 2-3 and tentatively reconstructed at l. 3 –, the feminine gender is based on the presence, at l. 6, of the name of the slave (Σαραποῦς). However, it is interesting to notice that, not only all the *manumissiones inter amicos* known so far are related to women enslaved but also «dans les actes d’affranchissement de tous genres nous constatons la prépondérance des affranchissements de femmes esclaves» (BIEŻUŃSKA-MAŁOWIST 1966, p. 436).

3. ]. [. ]. *ae proximas lunias* [. The first trace is compatible with the lower portion of a circle; perhaps *b*, *d* or *o*. Before the sequence *ae*, an oblique stroke going upwards can be seen, going into an eyelet in the upper portion of the writing line. As wisely suggested by the anonymous referee, a restoration like *intra kal]e[n]das* or *ante kal]e[n]das* cannot be ruled out, despite the still present difficulties in reading.

After all the parallels the data concerning the owner and the slave are usually followed by information related to the *redemptor* – the man who pays ὑπὲρ λύτρων (for the ransom) of the freed slave – and to the specific amount of money he gives to the

owner of the slave<sup>21</sup>. Instead, in P. Mich. inv. 5688c only *proximas Iunias* can be read, namely a reference to the period ranging from May 16<sup>th</sup> to June 13<sup>th</sup>. It is likely that the *redemptor* could not pay the ransom at the moment in which the deed was drawn up and he undertook to pay it by the next May/June. An appealing conjecture would be that the *redemptor* was a soldier, who would be able to pay the ransom only after collecting the *stipendium* of May (about the military salary and its instalments cf. GILLIAM 1954, pp. 190-192). Another possible explanation about *proximas Iunias*, although less likely, could be linked to regional differences within the province: indeed, in all the enfranchisement deeds coming from the Arsinoite nome – emancipations under Greek law so far – there is no reference to any ransom whereas they all mention an ἀνακήρυξις, i.e. a public announcement of fulfilled *manumissio* (cf. MESSERI 1978, pp. 275-279). Since our document – unlike its parallels, all coming from Hermopolites and Oxyrhynchites *nomoi* – comes from the Arsinoite nome (cf. l. 4), it cannot be ruled out that *proximas Iunias* refers here to the date of such an announcement (for a general survey of the different laws operating in Roman Egypt, cf. MODRZEJEWSKI 1970; as to the interrelationship between Greek and Roman law in Egypt, cf. e.g. ARANGIO-RUIZ 1946-1947, and ANDO 2016). Be that as it may, the deed was surely written a few months before May/June.

3-4. Regarding the format of P. Mich. inv. 5688c, it is useful to propose a comparison with the other *manumissiones inter amicos* coming from Egypt. While in *P. Lips.* II 151 and in *P. Oxy.* IX 1205 – between the section linked with the details of the *redemptor* and the section containing the date – there is an additional section arranged in the *rogatus-spopondit* (in Greek ἐπερωτήσεώς τε γενομένης ὁμολογῶ) clause, in *M. Chr.* 362 (and in P. Mich. inv. 5688c too) there is nothing of that sort. Nevertheless, while recognising that every reasoning about that issue deals with a high degree of conjecture, it could be useful to propose an explanation for such difference. This difference can hardly be dependent on a regional basis (since both *M. Chr.* 362 and *P. Lips.* II 151 come from the Hermopolites) nor, as it is clear, on a variation in the materiality of the support (in fact, the *rogatus-spopondit* clause is missing in both *M. Chr.* 362, a wooden tablet, and P. Mich. inv. 5688c, a papyrus). It is perhaps more conceivable to suggest that the enfranchisement deeds evolved over the course of time. In earlier times, a typology without the *Stipulationsklausel* was possibly more widespread, as *M. Chr.* 362 (221<sup>p</sup>) and perhaps P. Mich. inv. 3688c (which could be roughly assigned to that same period) testify; at a later stage the structure provided with this formula might have become a requirement, as *P. Lips.* II 151 (246-267<sup>p</sup>) and *P. Oxy.* IX 1205 (291<sup>p</sup>) would display<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> The amount of money that the *redemptor* donates to the slave (or, ultimately, to the owner of the slave) can be paralleled to the amount of money needed to purchase a slave: in fact this money would have been used by the owner in order to buy another slave to substitute the freed one. As to the slave prices, cf. MONTEVECCHI 1939, pp. 14-16; STRAUS 1973A, pp. 143-146; ID. 1973B, pp. 289-295; ID. 1988, pp. 906-911; ID. 2004, pp. 294-300; ID. 2009, pp. 237-238; BIEŻUŃSKA-MAŁOWIST 1984, pp. 331-334; DREXHAGE 1991, pp. 249-279.

<sup>22</sup> A more detailed analysis about the use of Latin and/or Greek is required in such enfranchisement deeds: the oldest papyri (*M. Chr.* 362 and the extant P. Mich. inv. 5688c) seem to testify that the new Roman citizens (after the Caracalla's Edict), even if Greek-speaking, were forced to draw up *manumissio inter amicos* in Latin, at the bottom of



The use of stipulation-formula was probably imposed by an imperial *Constitutio* or by a Prefect Edict – some time around the 220<sup>p</sup> – in order to include, as a matter of form, the local *negotia* under the wing of Roman law; cf. AMELOTI 1965, pp. 236-244, MODRZEJEWSKI 1970, p. 362, and AMELOTI 1984, p. 1162.

4. The supplement *Arsinoite metropoli* is strengthened by the place where the fragment was found: Karanis, which is located in the μερὶς Ἡρακλείδου, the easternmost area of Arsinoite nome. Besides, according to two parallels (cf. *PSI XI 1027 = FIRA III 59* and *M. Chr. 327 = FIRA III 60*) it can also be inferred that the adjective *Arsinoite* should be tied with an *Actum nomo* fallen in lacuna. If the overall restoration is correct, the deed should have been drawn up in Arsinoe, the metropolis of Arsinoites nome, and only later would it have been brought to Karanis.

Moreover, it should be noted that, although this kind of manumission is usually considered “not formal”, nevertheless all *manumissiones inter amicos* known so far are drawn up in a metropolis: it is likely that these enfranchisement deeds could be legally registered by specific scribes in the *metropoleis* only or, less likely, that the acts of emancipation themselves could take place in the *metropoleis* only.

4-5. *XIII Ka[l(endas) Apriles*: (March 20<sup>th</sup>) is a pretty certain supplement of the Roman dating formula, partially based on the fact that, at the end of the l. 5, the name of the Egyptian month roughly corresponding to March is readable (*Pham[enoth die XXXIII = March 20<sup>th</sup>*). After the Roman date, one would expect the name of the two consuls, and the regnal year of the current Emperor; almost everything has fallen in lacuna.

5. An *interpunctum* lies after *Fel*, signalling the abbreviation for *Fel(icis)*. As for the use of this appellation, it could be useful to point out that, according to BURETH 1964, p. 127, the term is virtually never used before Commodus in Graeco-Latin papyri<sup>23</sup>. The following *Aug(usti)*, accompanied by an *interpunctum*, is preferable to the reading *Augu(sti)* – used only in *P. Diog. 1 (127<sup>p</sup>)* and in *Stud. Pal. XIV 11 A (398<sup>p</sup>?)* –; it closes the section regarding the Imperial date. The customary abbreviation with only

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which they added a Greek recap. The most recent ones (*P. Lips. II 151* and *P. Oxy. IX 1205*), instead, even if both written in Greek, were understood by their editors to be translations of original Latin documents. However, leaving aside *P. Lips. II 151* (whose lower section is entirely in lacuna), a deeper study of *P. Oxy. IX 1025* seems to suggest it is a Greek original itself. Hence, one has to wonder if it is possible that the manumissions under the Roman law, just like the will of Roman citizens (cf. *Stud. Pal. XX 35, 235<sup>p</sup>*, and the θεία κέλευσις of Severus Alexander), were also, at a certain point, permitted to be written in Greek. If this conjecture is right, the addition of the stipulation clause in the Greek manumissions among friends – that does not require the recourse to the *stipulatio* at all – should replace the use of Latin as a Romanizing inner element.

<sup>23</sup> A single Greek papyrus (*BGU I 66; 163<sup>p</sup>*) seems to feature the use of εὐτυχίς joined with the name of an Emperor ruling before Commodus: he would be Marcus Aurelius. However, as the same Bureth suggests (cf. BURETH 1964, p. 106), it is more likely that *BGU I 66* is not connected with Marcus Aurelius but rather with Elagabal; therefore, it could be better dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> February 220<sup>p</sup>, namely far beyond the Commodus reign.



one *g* just suggests that the act could have been written out during the reign of a single ruling Emperor<sup>24</sup>.

As parallels show, the Roman date is followed by the Egyptian month and day: the first one can be partially read (*Phamenoth* rather than *Pharmuthi* on palaeographical basis); the latter can be supplemented comparing the visible end of l. 4. Obviously, if at l. 5 one prefers the reading *Pharmuthi*, at the preceding line one should restore *Maias* instead of *Apriles*, as it is April 19<sup>th</sup> rather than March 20<sup>th</sup>.

Given the formulaic pattern of dating, this section prompts the belief that, although it consisted of just 5 Latin lines, the original Latin text was not longer; this possibility is suggested by the surviving top margin and by the comparison with the pattern of M. Chr. 362, where, out of a total of 16 Latin lines, almost 4 are devoted entirely and only to the date: this is extraordinarily congruent with P. Mich. inv. 5688c, where, out of an amount of 5 Latin lines, the date just fills 1 and a half lines (ll. 4-5). The ratio between the whole text and the date section is in both cases about 4:1.

6-7. According to M. Chr. 362, one should expect to find in ll. 6-7 a Greek summary of the whole matter, written by the *manumissor* stating: personal details of the *emancipator* + name, age and status of the slave + μεταξὺ φίλων ἡλευθέρωσα + ἐλευθέραν τε εἶναι ἐκέλευσα (discretionary) + ἔσχον ὑπὲρ λύτρων αὐτῆς + the amount of *drachmae* offered by the *redemptor* for the slave + supplementary clauses + καθὼς/ὡς πρόκειται.

At this line, despite the heavily damaged status of the letters, it is possible to read the name of the slave: τὴν δοῦλην μου Σαραποῦν, which is a name often attested in relation to slaves<sup>25</sup>. This name also occurs in P. Mich. inv. 5688a = P. Mich. IX 525, a papyrus found in the exact same location as P. Mich. inv. 5688c (cf. nt. 2); but, because of the chronological distance between the two documents, it is really unlikely that they would refer to the same person.

The use of μου at this line confirms the subjective pattern of the declaration provided by the *manumissor* (cf. M. Chr. 362, 18); furthermore, just like in all the parallels, in P. Mich. inv. 5688c the freedman is also a woman. However, in this case, even if likely, it cannot be ascertained whether she is an *οἰκογενής*.

As for χαρισ[ε], cf. P. Lips II 151, 7-8, where the editor translates «3000 kaiserliche Dracmen erhalten, welche derselbe Aurelius Sarapion alias Kopreus, der obengenannte, der obengenannten freigelassenen (?) Techosis geschenkt hat (ἐχαρίσατο)»: this verb was normally employed in order to explain the *redemptor* role, as it is also confirmed by M. Chr. 362, 10-11 (even here he declares he *donavit* *drachmae* to the slave).

<sup>24</sup> The abbreviation of the noun *Augustus* usually (from the end of the II<sup>p</sup>) shows a double *g* when two Emperors are ruling at the same time, as it happens in e.g. SB III 6223 (a wooden tablet dated back to 23<sup>rd</sup> September 198<sup>p</sup>, where, in the inner document, thus phrase appears: *actum Alex(andrae) ad Aeg(yptum) VIII Kal(endas) octobres<s>, / Saturnino et Gallo co(n)s(ulibus), anno VII imp(eratorum) L(ucii) Septimi Severi Pii / Pertinacis arabici Adiabeniici // Parthici maximi et M(arci) Aureli / Antonini Augg(ustorum), mense Thot, die / XXVI*) and in P. Dura 60 (a papyrus dated about 208<sup>p</sup>, where, in the fragment B, appears a *Minicio Martiali proc(uratori) · Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum)*).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. P. Oxy. II 298, 46 (I<sup>p</sup>); P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2873, 35 (62<sup>p</sup>); P. Oxy. II 263, 9 (77<sup>p</sup>); P. Oxy. II 380, 9, 12, 15 (79<sup>p</sup>); P. Bingen 62, 8-9 (89<sup>p</sup>); SB XXIV 16256, 10, 36, 78 (105-118<sup>p</sup>); P. Brux. I 19, 21 (117/118<sup>p</sup>); P. Oxy. III 496, 7 (127<sup>p</sup>); P. Stras. II 122, 6 (161-169<sup>p</sup>).

The best fitting restoration at this line could be one developed on a *genitivus absolutus* pattern, just as pointed out by the anonymous referee, to which I express my gratitude: e.g. *χαρισ[αμένου του δεινός τῆ Σαραποῦτι τὰς τῶν λύτρων δραχμὰς X*.

7. The reading *κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον* is confirmed by about thirty parallels, almost all coming from the Roman Arsinoites (cf. e.g. *P. Giss.* I 33, 10 [222<sup>p</sup>]; *BGU* I 96, 18 [251-300<sup>p</sup>]; *P. Turner* 37, 14-15 [270<sup>p</sup>]). This sequence, as much as its variants *κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον* and *καθ' ὀνόηποτοῦν τρόπον*, and negative *κατὰ πάντα τρόπον*, is usually a formulaic clause in contracts.

The sentence *κα[θ]ὼς πρόκειτ[α]*, just as *M. Chr.* 362, 22 shows – cf. also the *ὡς πρόκειται* employed in *M. Chr.* 361 (a partial slave's emancipation dated back to 355<sup>p</sup>) – opens the closing part of statement of the *manumissor*; contextually the previous line deals most likely with the information on the *manumissor* as well.

8. The signatures of five witnesses are needed in order to give legal value to the deed; this practice is also confirmed by a *constitutio* of Justinian (*C.* 7, 6, 1, 2; cf. *supra* and nt. 15). Hence it seems likely to find these signatures in this part of the text. The very first letter of the line is highly compatible with an *ω*; since that letter seems written by a different hand to the preceding and the following ones, it may be assumed that the signature of the first subscriber appears here (that is the first *μαρτυρ[ῶ]*). Based on Greek documents from the same period coming from Egypt (cf. e.g. *Stud. Pal.* V 104 [III<sup>p</sup>]; *SB* VIII 9873 [244<sup>p</sup>]; *P. Grenf.* II 71 [244<sup>p</sup>]; *P. Grenf.* II 68 [247<sup>p</sup>]; *P. Grenf.* II 69 [265<sup>p</sup>]; cf. also a later document: *M. Chr.* 361 [355<sup>p</sup>]) and to the pattern of this same line, the standard structure of the signatures would be: *Αὐρήλιος* + personal name in nominative case + patronymic in genitive case + *μαρτυρῶ*. As for the verb *μαρτυρῶ*, it is often employed in Roman and especially Byzantine papyri with the technical meaning of “to be witness” (rather than the more general “to testify, to bear witness”), and it is often followed by abstract nouns inflected in dative case, just as it happens in l. 9 (*μαρτυρῶ τῇ ἐλευθερώσει*). Besides, it is likely that this *μαρτυρῶ* (and the other ones) stands for the *ἐσφράγισα* (“I affix a seal”) that the subscribers, as *testes*, add on the first page of *M. Chr.* 362. However, the presence of such a verb does not forcibly lead to the conclusion that *amici* were actually present during the enfranchisement of the slave: in fact, the identity of the *amici* (the men who would possibly listen to the *manumittendi voluntas domini*) and the subscribers (whose testimonies are linked to the moment when the deed of enfranchisement has been drawn up, and not during the emancipation itself) cannot be taken for granted.

On the second signature, at least the reading *Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμᾶς* (or *Ἐρμῆς*) seems certain, while its patronymic, necessarily of short length because of the limited space, is not clear. Based on the abovementioned structure, one can expect a *μαρτυρῶ* after the patronymic, despite the apparent lack of space. After this supposed *μαρτυρῶ* another signature should be located. The presence, in this line, of two *Aurelii* among the subscribers leads one to believe that this document could be dated later than 212<sup>p</sup>, when the *nomen Aurelius* became remarkably common among both civilian and military populations.

9. Despite the damage affecting the end of this line, the reading *μαρτυρῶ τῇ ἐλευ[θ]ε[ρ]ώ[σ]ει* is hardly questionable. Moreover, since no more than five signatures are expected (at least four of these seem visible in this document in the previous lines), it can be suggested that the Greek portion of the document was not much longer than it is.

## Appendix = Format Comparison

	P. Mich. inv. 5688c	M. Chr. 362 = FIRA III 11 (221 <sup>P</sup> )	P. Lips. II 151 (246-267 <sup>P</sup> )	P. Oxy. IX 1205 (291 <sup>P</sup> )
Section 1	<b>Manumissor's personal details</b> (?) → l. 1	<b>Manumissor's personal details</b> (name, parents, hometown) → ll. 1-3	<b>Manumissor's personal details</b> (name, her father's and grandfather's names, hometown and district, status, her <i>hypographeus</i> ) → ll. 1-4	<b>Manumissor's personal details</b> (name, hometown and status) → ll. 2-4
Section 2	<b>Freed slave's personal details</b> (age) → l. 2	<b>Freed slave's personal details</b> (name, status and age) → ll. 4-5	<b>Freed slave's personal details</b> (name, status, age and her mother's name and status) → ll. 4-5	<b>Freed slave's personal details</b> (name, status, age and details about freed's slave children, <i>manumissi</i> with their parent) → ll. 4-5
Section 3	<b>Enfranchisement clause</b> ( <i>inter amicos manumisit liberamque esse iussit...</i> ) → ll. 2-3	<b>Enfranchisement clause</b> ( <i>inter amicos manumisit liberamque esse iussit et accepit pro libertate eius ab...</i> ) → ll. 5-7	<b>Enfranchisement clause</b> (μεταξὺ φίλων ἠλευθέρωσεν ἔλευθέραν τε εἶναι ἐκέλευσεν καὶ ἔσχεν ὑπὲρ λύτρων αὐτῆς) → ll. 5-6	<b>Enfranchisement clause</b> (μεταξὺ φίλων ἠλευθε[ρ]όσαμεν καὶ ἀπελύσαμεν...) → ll. 5-7
Section 4	<b>Redemptor's personal details (?) and amount of money paid for the enfranchisement</b> → ll. 3-4	<b>Redemptor's personal details</b> (name, patronymic, hometown) and <b>amount of money paid for the enfranchisement</b> → ll. 8-11	<b>Redemptor's personal details</b> (name and hometown) and <b>amount of money paid for the enfranchisement</b> → ll. 7-8	<b>Redemptores' details and amount of money paid for the enfranchisement</b> → ll. 8-9

Section 5	---	---	<i>Rogatus-spondit</i> clause (in Greek ἐπερωτήσεώς τε γενομένης ὁμολόγησεν) → l. 9	<i>Rogatus-spondit</i> clause (in Greek ἐπερωτήσεώς τε γενομένης ὁμολογήσαμεν) → ll. 9-13
Section 6	<b>Actum + place of drawing up + date of drawing up</b> (Roman day, consular year, imperial year, Egyptian day) → ll. 4-5	<b>Actum + place of drawing up + date of drawing up</b> (Roman day, consular year, imperial year, Egyptian day) → ll. 12-16	---	<b>Ἐπιράχθη + place of drawing up + date of drawing up</b> (Roman day in lacuna, consular year, imperial year, Egyptian date) → ll. 13-17
Section 7	<b>Greek recap</b> (declaration of the <i>manumissor</i> + perhaps declaration of the <i>redemptor</i> ) → ll. 6-7	<b>Greek recap</b> (declaration of the <i>manumissor</i> + declaration of the <i>redemptor</i> ) → ll. 17-25	---	<b>Greek recap</b> → ll. 19-22
Section 8	<b>Signatures of witnesses</b> → ll. 8-10	<b>Signatures of witnesses</b> → on the first page of the <i>diptychon</i>	---	<b>Signatures of witnesses</b> → ll. 22-28

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#### ABSTRACT

The paper provides the *editio princeps* of P. Mich. inv. 5688c, a fragment whose remnants contain an Arsinoite bilingual *Manumissio inter amicos*. This enfranchisement deed, whose writing ranges roughly from 212<sup>p</sup> to 250<sup>p</sup>, is the only parallel to M. Chr. 362, i.e. the sole bilingual *manumissio inter amicos* published so far. Although the text of P. Mich. inv. 5688c features the usual pattern of this typology of enfranchisements (cf. not only M. Chr. 362, but also *P. Lips.* II 151 and *P. Oxy.* IX 1205, both supposedly Greek translations of Latin deeds) and refers to a similar general context (cf. sex and age of the freed slave in all parallels), it shows some contextual and textual peculiarities: the former linked with the fact that the document was probably drawn up in Arsinoe and only at a later stage brought to Karanis, the latter include the mention to a likely delayed payment, the lack of the *Stipulationsklausel* and the double use of the verb μαρτυρῶ.

KEYWORDS: *Manumissio inter amicos*, Slavery (in Roman Egypt), Bilingual documentary Papyrology.

## INDICE GENERALE

<i>Chiara D'Agostino</i> P. Oxy. IV 781 + 782: due frammenti di un codice dell' <i>Odissea</i>	pag. 7
<i>Diletta Minutoli</i> Due nuovi frammenti letterari laurenziani: Hom., <i>Ilias</i> II 843-851; Hdt., <i>Historiae</i> VIII 142, 2-3	» 19
<i>Gabriella Messeri</i> Dai papiri del Kôm Kâssûm: P. Flor. 388/b, Fr. (2) e la toparchia di Selilais e Sintaphu	» 29
<i>Antonio Stornaiuolo</i> An Unpublished <i>Manumissio inter amicos</i> (P. Mich. inv. 5688c)	» 43
<i>Hermann Harrauer</i> Araber vor der arabischen Zeit in Ägypten	» 61
<i>Giuseppe Ucciardello</i> P. Berol. inv. 21134: frammento di prosa (oratoria o retorica?)	» 71
<i>Menico Caroli</i> P. Lond. inv. 2110 <i>recto</i> (= SB XX 14599): riedizione e commento	» 75
<i>Ignacio Simón Cornago</i> Las cartas ibéricas sobre plomo	» 95
<i>Diletta Minutoli</i> Un amuleto magico proveniente da Antinoupolis	» 127
<i>Lucio Del Corso-Rosario Pintaudi</i> Quattro iscrizioni funerarie greche dalla necropoli romana di Antinoupolis	» 137
<i>Rosario Pintaudi-Matteo Borrini-Pier Paolo Mariani</i> Γεώργιος παλαιστής – Giorgio il lottatore. Il suo sarcofago ed il suo femore	» 151



<i>Federico Favi</i> Note linguistiche a <i>P. Ant.</i> I 15 (com. adesp. fr. 1084 K.-A.)	»	163
<i>Konstantine Panegyres</i> (Δια)φυλάσσω + Dat.: A Footnote	»	169
<i>Roberto Mascellari</i> Sicurezza, osservanza delle regole, procedure di polizia nell’Egitto romano: il ruolo degli ufficiali di villaggio nella presentazione di petizioni	»	171
<i>Hermann Harrauer-Istvan Kóvacs</i> Kleine Anmerkungen zu καρακάλλιον. Erweiterte Dokumentation	»	211
<i>Hamada Kellawy</i> Some Decorated Blocks from Antinoupolis	»	225
<i>Moamen Mohamed Othman-Mohamed Abdelrahman</i> <i>Ibrahim Abdel-Fattah-Eid Mertab</i> The Engraved Glass Heart of the Lady <i>Nfrw</i>  Multi-Visualization of an Inscribed Amulet	»	235
<i>Emanuela Borgia</i> Aswan Thin-Walled Figure Painted Bowls from Antinoupolis	»	249
<i>Marcello Spanu</i> Una singolare lucerna a forma di barca da Antinoupolis	»	261
<i>Ahmed Khairy-Abeer F. Elbagrassy-Naglaa Mahmoud Ali</i> The Effect of Oxygen Absence on Ancient Egyptian Pigments. Sterilization of an Ancient Painted Wooden Object Using Anoxia	»	289
<i>Ira Rabin-Carsten Wintermann-Oliver Hahn</i> Ink Characterization, Performed in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (September 2018)	»	301

#### DOCUMENTI PER UNA STORIA DELLA PAPIROLOGIA

<i>Francesco Pagnotta</i> Il concorso di Greco a Palermo del 1899: nuovi documenti	»	317
<i>Nikolaos Gonis-Susan Fogarty</i> Letters of A.S. Hunt and O. Gradenwitz, 1900-1933	»	335
<i>Davide Astori</i> Julius Richard Penndorf, il papirologo “dimenticato”	»	351

*Rachel Yuen-Collingridge*

Constantine Simonides and Papyrus Fragments of Gemistus

Pletho's *Μαγικά λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγων*

» 369

LIBRI RICEVUTI

» 387

INDICI

a cura di *Diletta Minutoli*

» 393

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