



TYCHÉ

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 2, 1987

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INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Guido Bastianini (Milano), La maledizione di Artemisia (UPZ I 1): un πρωτόκολλον.	1
Johannes Diethart (Wien) und Ewald Kislinger (Wien), „Hunnisches“ auf einem Wiener Papyrus (Tafel 1, 2).	5
Joachim Ebert (Halle/Saale), Der olympische Diskus des Asklepiades und das Marmor Parium (Tafel 3)	11
Vasilka Gerasimova-Tomova (Sofia), Zur Grenzbestimmung zwischen Mösien und Thrakien in der Umgebung von Nicopolis ad Istrum in der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr. (Tafel 4—6).	17
Christian Habicht (Princeton), Zu neuen Inschriften aus Thessalien	23
Manfred Hainzmann (Graz), Die sogenannten Neubürger der ersten Generation in Noricum. Der Namenstypus Ti. Iulius Adgelei f. Buccio	29
Francisca J. A. Hoogendijk (Leiden) und Peter van Minnen (Leiden), Drei Kaiserbriefe Gordians III. an die Bürger von Antinoopolis. P. Vindob. G 25945 (Tafel 7).	41
Ewald Kislinger (Wien) und Johannes Diethart (Wien), „Hunnisches“ auf einem Wiener Papyrus (Tafel 1, 2).	5
Dieter Knibbe (Wien), Zeigt das Fragment IvE 13 das steuertechnische Inventar des <i>fiscus Asiaticus</i> ?	75
Leslie S. B. MacCoul (Washington, D. C.), P. Cair. Masp. II 67188 Verso 1—5. The <i>Gnostica</i> of Dioscorus of Aphrodito.	95
Leslie S. B. MacCoul (Washington, D. C.), Money and People in the Late Antique Hermopolite. BM and related texts	99
Olivier Masson (Paris), Noms grecs de femmes formés sur des participes (Type <i>Θάλλουσα</i>)	107
Peter van Minnen (Leiden) und Francisca J. A. Hoogendijk (Leiden), Drei Kaiserbriefe Gordians III. an die Bürger von Antinoopolis. P. Vindob. G 25945 (Tafel 7).	41
Bernhard Palme (Wien), Ein attischer Prospektorenvertrag? IG II ² 411 (Tafel 8)	113
Peter Panitschek (Graz), Die Agrargesetze des Jahres 59 und die Veteranen des Pompeius	141
George M. Parássoglou (Thessaloniki), Three Papyri from Upper Egypt (Tafel 9, 10).	155
Vincent J. Rosivach (Fairfield, USA), Some Fifth and Fourth Century Views on the Purpose of Ostracism	161
Pieter J. Sijpesteijn (Amsterdam), The Title πατήρ (τῆς) πόλεως and the Papyri	171
Pieter J. Sijpesteijn (Amsterdam) und Klaas A. Worp (Amsterdam), Ende einer Bittschrift — Liste ausgehändigter Knidien (Tafel 11, 12)	175

Heikki Solin (Helsinki), Neues zu Munizipaldekreten (Tafel 13, 14)	183
Michael P. Speidel (Honolulu), The Rise of the Mercenaries in the Third Century	191
Karl Strobel (Heidelberg), Bemerkungen zur Laufbahn des Ti. Claudius Vitalis	203
Gerd Stumpf (München), Zwei Gerichtsurteile aus Athen. IG II ² 1641B und 1646 a	211
Klaus Tausend (Graz), Die Bedeutung des Importes aus Germanien für den römischen Markt	217
Gerhard Thür (München), Hypotheken-Urkunde eines Seedarlehens für eine Reise nach Muziris und Apographe für die Tetarte in Alexandria (zu P. Vindob. G 40.822) (Tafel 15, 16)	229
Frank Verkinderen (Leuven), The Honorary Decree for Malousios of Gargara and the κοινόν of Athena Ilias	247
Rolf Westman (Åbo), Vorschläge zur Inschrift des Diogenes von Oinoanda . .	271
Klaas A. Worp (Amsterdam) und Pieter J. Sijpesteijn (Amsterdam), Ende einer Bittschrift — Liste ausgehändigter Knidien (Tafel 11, 12)	175
Literaturberichte und Buchbesprechungen	
Peter Siewert: Eine neue Bürgerrechtsverleihung der Triphylier aus Masi bei Olympia (Tafel 17)	275
Gerhard Dobesch: Autori vari, <i>Aspetti dell'opinione pubblica nel mondo antico</i> . A cura di Marta Sordi, Mailand 1978	277
Herbert Grassl: Gerhard Wirth, <i>Studien zur Alexandergeschichte</i> , Darmstadt 1985	278
Herbert Hunger: C. P. Thiede, <i>Il più antico manoscritto dei Vangeli? Il frammento di Marco di Qumran e gli inizi della tradizione scritta del Nuovo Testamento</i> , Roma 1987	278
Ekkehard Weber: Giuseppe Zecchini, <i>Aezio. L'ultima difesa dell'occidente romano</i> , Roma 1983	280
Indices: Johannes Diethart	283
Tafel 1 — 17	

PIETER J. SIJPESTEIJN

The Title πατήρ (τῆς) πόλεως and the Papyri

In a recent publication (CPR X p. 152) one can read: πατήρ πόλεως = λογιστής = *curator civitatis*. Although there can be no doubt that the *curator civitatis* equals the λογιστής¹ three papyri prove that *curator civitatis* = λογιστής does not equal πατήρ τῆς πόλεως².

A. H. M. Jones writes: “- - - the other important regular magistrate which every city possessed, the *curator* (λογιστής) or, as he was called in the sixth century, father of the city (πατήρ), who controlled civic finance”³. B. R. Rees in his well known article *The curator civitatis in Egypt* (JJP 7—8 [1953—1954] 83—105) writes (94): “His (i. e. of the *curator civitatis* = λογιστής) title outside Egypt had by now become *pater civitatis* or πατήρ τῆς πόλεως - - -.” Rees does not pronounce himself on the question whether inside Egypt the title of the *curator civitatis* = λογιστής had by the VIth century A. D. also become *pater civitatis* / πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. In a recent article Ch. Roueché presents the inscriptional attestations for the title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως and deals with the references in the legislation⁴. In the conclusion of her article (183ff.) she throws doubt upon Jones’ above cited opinion.

The three papyri I referred to above are P.Mich. inv. no. 3780⁵, P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780, and SB XII 11079.

In the Michigan papyrus dated to March 25, A. D. 517⁶ we read in lines 4—6:
[διὰ ὑμῶν τῶν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων καὶ εὐτυχ]εστάτων κομέτων Φοιβάμμωνος καὶ
Σαμουηλίου

5 [καὶ ± 30 λαχόντων τὴν λογιστίαν καὶ π[ατ]ερίαν[ν] καὶ προεδρίαν ταύτης
τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυγιτῶν] πόλεως - - -.

¹ Cf. Cod. Iust. I 54, 3: *curator rei publicae, qui graeco vocabulo logista nuncupatur* - - -.

² Not every scholar has accepted this equation. E. g. J. Gascou in a brilliant article entitled *Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine*, Travaux et Mémoires 9 (1985) 1—89 speaks on pp. 43ff. of “- - - les magistratures conjointes de *pater* et *curator civitatis*, ainsi que la présidence du sénat local.” and on p. 66 of “- - - président du sénat d'Oxyrhynchus, *pater* et *curator* de cette cité - - -.” It should be remarked that also Gascou speaks in the first passage of “magistratures” (cf. footnote 6).

³ A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford 1940, 209.

⁴ *A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως*, GRBS 20 (1979) 173—185. Add SEG XXXIII 961 (Ephesos).

⁵ Published in ZPE 62 (1986) 133f. The note on the partial supplement εὐτυχ]εστάτων (note on line 4 of P.Mich. inv. no. 3780 in ZPE 62 [1986] 135) can be disregarded. A supplement [διὰ ὑμῶν τῶν (e. g.) περιβλέπτων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπ]εστάτων κομέτων κτλ. is more likely.

⁶ Cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *P.Mich. inv. 3780: An Addendum*, forthcoming in ZPE.

Lines 6—9 of P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780 dated to July 16, A. D. 553 run as follows:

- Φλ(αουία) Γαβρηλία τῆ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ καὶ ὑπερφ(υεστάτῃ)
 πατρικία λαχοῦση τὴν λογιστείαν καὶ
 8 προεδρίαν καὶ πατερίαν ταύτης τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς Ὁξυρυγιτιῶν πόλεως - - -.

SB XII 11079 dated to March 17, A. D. 571 has in lines 5—8:

- 5 Φλ(αουίω) Ἀπίωνι [τῷ πανευφ]ήμω καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων [δρδιν(αρίων) καὶ] πατρικ(ίω) γεουχοῦντι καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα τῆ [Νέα Ἰουστίν]ου πόλει λαχόντι τὴν
 πατερίαν καὶ [προεδρίαν] καὶ λογιστείαν - - -⁷.

These three papyri attest for the same person(s) both *λογιστεία* and *πατερία*. It is irrelevant whether the person(s) mentioned received the *λογιστεία* and *πατερία* simultaneously or at different times⁸. The fact that two different words are used proves that the *λογιστεία* does not equal the *πατερία*.

As far as I am aware of, there are three other attestations of persons bearing the title *πατήρ* (τῆς) πόλεως or being a *πατήρ* τῆς πόλεως in the papyri:

1. CPR X 127 (August 28, A. D. 584), 4—6:
 Φλ(αουίαις) Θεοφανία τῆ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ στρατηλατίσση καὶ ταῖς ἐνδοξοτάταις αὐτῆς
 θυγατράσιν
- 5 Παλλαδία καὶ Ἰερακάλῃ τῆ καὶ Πουλχερίᾳ ἐκ πατρὸς Στρατηγίου τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου
 μνήμησ
 [πα]τ[ερ]εφουόσ[α]ι[ς] τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως - - -.
2. SPP III 67 (VIIth century A. D.), 1:
 † τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ Κοσμᾷ πατήρ (= πατρί) πόλε(ως) υἱός (= υἱῷ) τοῦ τῆς μακαρ(ίας)
 [μνήμησ - - -⁹.
3. SPP III 176 (VIIth century A. D.), 2:
 πα]ρὰ σοῦ Τιμοθέου τοῦ λαμπ[ρ]οτάτου πατρὸς ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοειτῶν πόλεως ὑπὲρ
 - - -¹⁰.

If we have to attach any value to the verb *λαγχάνω* in P.Mich. inv. no. 3780, 5

⁷ The editors of P.Mich. inv. no. 3780 and P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780 translated the relevant passages as follows: “- - who obtained the offices of logistai and fathers of the city and prohedroi - - -”; “- - - who obtained the offices of logistes and prohedrus and father of the city - - -.” No translation of SB XII 11079 is given. The *πατερία* is, however, no office.

⁸ In P.Mich. inv. no. 3780 the sequence is: *λογιστεία* — *πατερία* — *προεδρία*; in the Oxyrhynchus text: *λογιστεία* — *προεδρία* — *πατερία*; and in SB XII 11079: *πατερία* — *προεδρία* — *λογιστεία*. This may point to receiving the functions successively and not simultaneously.

⁹ The text is broken at the right side. A considerable part seems to be missing. It is likely that Kosmas was *πατήρ* τῆς πόλεως of Heracleopolis, since the text originates from the Heracleopolite nome.

¹⁰ The same person occurs also in SPP III 111, 2; P.Ross. Georg. III 46, 2 and 47, 2 (cf. J. M. Diethart, *Prosopographia Arsinoitica I*, Wien 1980, no. 5188 [MPER N.S. 12]). Since P.Ross. Georg. III 47 is signed by the well known notary Justus (cf. J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, Wien 1986, 38ff. [MPER NS. 16]), these texts have to be dated to the first half of the VIIth century A. D. (cf. J. M. Diethart, P.Rainer Cent., p. 433f.).

(supplemented), P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780, 7, and SB XII 11079, 7 (dubiously read) the πατερία was obtained by lot. This means in my opinion that in an assembly (probably the βουλή) the persons mentioned in these documents were voted into the πατερία (and into the λογιστεία and προεδρία as well). The persons in question may have applied to this assembly and asked to make them πατέρες τῆς πόλεως¹¹.

It is noteworthy that in two texts (P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780 and CPR X 127) women fulfill the function of πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. I do not believe that Flavia Gabrielia or Flavia Theophania and her two daughters became πατέρες τῆς πόλεως, because their husbands (and father) fulfilled this function during their life-times¹². It is another question whether these women actually fulfilled the function of πρόεδρος¹³, λογιστής, and πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. It seems more likely that they received only the (honorific) titles. It is not difficult to guess why a community bestowed these titles on the ladies in question. Both ladies were undoubtedly rich¹⁴ and the community might reasonably hope that the ladies tickled by so much honour would be willing to contribute (even more) money to defray the many expenses it had¹⁵.

To date the title πατήρ τῆς πόλεως is in Egypt attested for the metropoleis Arsinoë, Heracleopolis, and Oxyrhynchus.

To conclude three remarks:

— 1. CPR X 127 does not prove „daß die Logistie von mehreren Personen zu gleicher Zeit bekleidet werden konnte.“¹⁶

— 2. It must have been an exception that a woman became πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. If it had occurred more often one would expect that the title μήτηρ τῆς πόλεως would have been coined¹⁷.

¹¹ The κόμητες Phoibammon and Samuelios (+ the unknown person(s)), Flavia Gabrielia, and Flavius Apion could have made an appeal to a law of the emperor Leo I of A. D. 465: Cod. Iust. X 44, 3: *si quis vero ex his omnia decurionum munera vel functiones vel honores nulla imminente necessitate, sed sua sponte peregerit, eum pro sua liberalitate patrem civitatis, in qua voluntarius municeps apparebit, si hoc ei liberuerit, fieri constituique hac lege decernimus.*

¹² The editor of CPR X 127 rightly assumed that Flavia Theophania was styled στρατηλάτισσα, because her deceased husband Strategius had been a στρατηλάτης during his life-time. He compares the Flavia Praejecta ὑπάτισσα who appears in P.Oxy. XIX 2243a, 86 and who is a *femina consularis*.

¹³ Cf. A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Toronto 1971, passim (ASP 11).

¹⁴ P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780 is a receipt for the salary of a ὄδροπάροχος. Flavia Gabrielia is in touch with the well known οἶκος of Timagenes (cf. ZPE 62 [1986] 134, note to line 3). CPR X 127 is a deed of surety for eleven persons.

¹⁵ I doubt whether the γυμνασιάρχης of P.Amh. II 64, 6 (cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Le gymnasiarque des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine*, Groningen 1924, 28f.); the ἀσכולηθεῖσα τοὺς καταλοχισμοὺς Sarapias (cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 61 [1985] 71ff.); the ἀπαιτητής (?) Usia Ptolemais (cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 64 [1986] 121f.); the βουλευτής Theodote (cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *A Female βουλευτής*, forthcoming in Anagennesis); the παγάρχης Patricia (P.Lond. V 1660, 7) actually fulfilled their functions. I think it more likely that these women received only the titles and only provided money to fulfill the functions of which they bore the titles. After all, Sarapias acts through her agent Ammonius; Usia Ptolemais signs a receipt for ἀνῶνα στρατιωτῶν through her ἐπίτροπος Thonis; Patricia operates through ὁ λαμπρότατος κύριος Μηνάς. In SPP XX 212,1 a female γραμματηφόρος occurs but it is doubtful whether this is (still) a liturgy.

¹⁶ P.Mich. inv. no. 3780 does not prove this either. Even if λογιστής was not only a honorific title Phoibammon and Samuelios can have fulfilled the λογιστεία at different times.

¹⁷ Ch. Roueché, loc. cit. (footnote 4) does not list any example of a female πατήρ τῆς πόλεως. One may compare the title μήτηρ τῶν ἀνικητῶν στρατοπέδων given to, e. g., Julia Domna (e. g., SB I 4275; V 8831) and Julia Mamaea (e. g., SB V 8312). The honorific titles “mother/daughter of the city” were given to female benefactors of cities in the classical period (cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* IV 130 and n. 6; Rev.Phil. 32 [1958] 50).

— 3. The above remarks prove once more that the different disciplines in the field of Classical Antiquity must closely cooperate. Had Ch. Roueché used P.Oxy. XXXVI 2780 (published in 1970) and SB XII 11079 (originally published by R. Rémondon, CdE 48 [1973] 141—144) the conclusion of her excellent article would probably have contained a more firm rejection of Jones' equation λογιστής = *pater civitatis*.

Addendum: Thanks to the kindness of Jean Gascoü I was able to receive information of the page-proof of Appendix I. *Nouvelles données sur l'institution du πατήρ τῆς πόλεως* by D. Feissel. This appendix will be added to a forthcoming book by G. Dagron and D. Feissel on unpublished Cilician inscriptions. Independently Feissel arrives at the same conclusions as I do in the above article. Several new πατέρες τῆς πόλεως appear in this new publication.

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