

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 16, 2001

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**Hermann Harrauer
zum 27. 4. 2001**

Herausgegeben von:

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

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Tafel 1–12	

P.Vindob. G 31701 verso: A Prefectural (?) Hypographe

Tafel 6

The text on the recto of P.Vindob. G 31701 was published, together with a description of the papyrus and notes on the text, by M. C. E. Mineur-van Kassen in P.David (= P.Lugd. Bat. XVII) 7: *Instruction to track down murderers* (Oxyrhynchite Nome, 28. ii. 258 or 259 A. D.)¹. An unchanged reprint of the text is given in SB XX 14229. As the text on the verso of the papyrus has not been published to date, we present the following transcript, translation and notes.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | (ἔτους) [.] Παχὼν ιε· |
| 2 |] . [.] . [.] γω[- - - |
| 3 | τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τό- |
| 4 | πων σύστασιν |
| 5 | παραγγείλασα ἔν- |
| 6 | τυχαι Αὐρηλ(ίω) Ἀπο- |
| 7 | λιναρίω τῷ κρα- |
| 8 | τίστω δι(ο)καιοδότ(η). |
| 9 | Κόλ(λημα) οη τόμ(ου) α. |

5-6. παραγγείλασα ἔντυχε 6. αὐρηλ^λ, η ex corr. 8 τίστω: first τ corr. ex δ.

„Year -, Pachon 15; to N.N. While reporting on the local conflict (?) petition Aurelius Apolinarius *vir egregius* the *dikaiodotes*. Sheet 78 of roll 1.“

There is no immediately obvious connection between the text on the recto and the text on the verso. It is evident that at some moment, when the text on the recto was considered no longer relevant, the sheet of papyrus carrying that (larger) text was cut to size in order to receive a new text on the verso.

The new text on the verso contains an instruction to a woman whose name is not preserved to petition the *dikaiodotes* Aurelius Apolinarius. Obviously (cf. the indications in 1. 9) this instruction is given in the form of a *hypographe* appended directly to a petition submitted by the woman in question to the prefect, cf. the situation in P.Stras. IV 196. 6ff. and in P.Gen. II 104. 13ff. Apparently, this prefectural *hypographe* was copied again onto a small piece of papyrus cut to size for

¹ The date of 29. ii. 260, suggested as equally possible in BL X 114 is in fact excluded, because L. Mussius Aemilianus was promoted from vice-prefect (cf. P.Lugd. Bat XVII 7. 8) to prefect already in Phaophi (ix-x) of the year 259^P, cf. P.Oxy. XLIII 3111, introduction, and 3112.

receiving this decision which obviously was of some importance. On such *hypographae* see J. D. Thomas, *Petitions to Officials in Roman Egypt*, *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (1983) 369–382.

Most relevant for any study of the *dikaiodotes* = *iuridicus Alexandriae* in Roman Egypt is the fundamental article by H. Kupiszewski, *JJP* 7–8 (1954) 187–204; on this important office (the *iuridicus* was the first candidate for substituting the *praefectus Aegypti*), cf. also A. Anagnostou-Canas, *Juge et Sentence dans l'Égypte Romaine*, Paris 1991, 178–183; R. Haensch in *ZPE* 100 (1994) 530–531, and the prosopographical list by F. Elia in *Studia in memoriam di Santo Mazzarino* III = *Quaderni Catanesi* 2 (1990) 185–216².

The present papyrus does not add any new element to our knowledge of the activities of *dikaiodotai*, but a *dikaiodotes* named Aurelius Apolinarius is apparently not yet known. Given the fact that he occurs on the verso of a document dated to 258 or 259 A. D., it follows that he was probably in office somewhere between 260–300 A. D. The most up-to-date list of Alexandrian *dikaiodotai* is given by F. Elia, *loc. cit.*, but we found some reasons to produce a new list with references to the pertinent entries in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (now accessible via www.bbaw.de/vh/pir/suche.html).

δικαιοδότηι in Roman Egypt

Elia

- # 1 Q. Corvius Q. f. Flaccus, IGRR I 1109 = SB I 982 (5/4^A), ἐπιστρατηγήσας, δικαιοδοτῶν Πηλουσίφ = PIR² C 1519
- # 2 L. Volusenus L. f. Clemens, CIL XI 6011 = ILS 2691 (14–37^P; Elia dates 14–16^P, cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 191 fn. 20), cum mitteretur - - in Aegyptum ad iur(is)dict(ionem) = PIR¹ V 649
- # 3 C. Caecina Tuscus, P.Ryl. II 119. 6 (51/52^P), δικαιοδότης = PIR² C 109.
- # 4 [C. Iulius C. f.] Ser. Proculus, AE 1914, # 128 = JRS 2 (1912) 99 (54–68^P), *iuridicus Alexandriae et Aegypti*; C. Iulius C. f. Proculus, AE 1966 472 = IK Side 55.1 (Flavian?), δικαιοδότης. Not found in PIR²; Elia already noticed that in both texts the same man occurs and that one should restore [C. Iulius C. f.] in the first text, interpreting *Ser* as *Ser(gia)* = tribus name (the AE 1914 indices miscorrect *Ser* into *Sex(tus)*).
The date given in IK Side 55 ('Flavian') may be too late. Elia dates his term of office as ca. 55^P, but this date is not really warranted.
- # 5 C. Norbanus Ptolemaeus, P.Fouad I 21. 5 (63^P; for the praenomen cf. P.Oxy. XLV 3250. 4), δικαιοδότης καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ = PIR² N 169; is this the same person as the C. Norbanus in O.Petr. 244. 3 (36^P) and in 257. 3 (37–41^P)?
- # 6 L. Baebius L. f. Iuncinus, CIL X 6976 = ILS 1434 (117–138^P?), *praef. vehiculorum, iuridicus Alexandriae* = PIR² B 18; Elia dates his term of office as *iuridicus* as 75–78^P, but we think that this fairly precise dating may be unwarranted.
- # 7, 36 Umbrius, P.Oxy. II 237. vii. 39 (87^P), δικαιοδότης

² We thank our colleague D. Hagedorn (Heidelberg) for providing us with a copy of this article.

- C. Umbrius (?)us, P.Gen. I 4. 1 (IP; cf. BL I 156), δικαιοδότης
- # 8 Pupius Carus, P.Oxy. XLIX 3466. 8 (82–96^P; cf. for the name Pupius ZPE 127 [1999] 205), γενόμενος δικαιοδότης = PIR² P 1109; Elia dates 87–97^P, but we fail to see why an earlier date (before # 7?) would be excluded; only so much seems certain that within the range 81–96^P [= reign of Domitian] the years 81 itself and 87 are excluded, because in A. D. 81 there was another *archidikastes* in office and because A. D. 87 is covered by # 7.
- # 9 Aulus Prifernius Augurinus, P.Oxy. XLVI 3274. ii. 29 (99–117^P), δ[ικαιοδότης?] καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ = PIR² P 935; on this man and his career cf. the introduction to P.Oxy. 3274 and the note to 1. 30.
- # 11 Flavius Priamus, P. Oxy. III 578 (II^P), δικαιοδότης = PIR² F 342
- # 12 [Fl.] Iuncus, AE 1935, 167 = I.Ephesos VII.2 4112 (96–138^P), *iuridicus Alexandriae*. Cf. IG V.1 485 (Sparta, 117–138^P). Αἰμίλιος Ἰοῦγκος, ὁ δικαιοδότης = PIR² A 355, I 711. Elia gives his name as Aemilius Iuncus and dates to 127–130^P in fact, J. Keil restored in AE 1935, 167 the name [Aemilius] from IG V.1 485, but subsequent scholarship called this restoration into question, cf. H. Pflaum in AE 1967, 452. He proposed the restoration of [Flavius]; we follow the line of thought which distinguishes between a *Flavius Iuncus iuridicus Aegypti* and an *Aemilius Iuncus* who was *iuridicus* in an unknown province.
- # 13 Cn. Cornelius Tib. f. Pulcher, I.Cor. I 80 (= IG IV 1600) – 83 (117–138^P), δικαιοδότης Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας; SEG 26 (1976/77) # 253 (131/2^P), δικαιοδότης Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας = PIR² C 1424; Elia dates the term of office as after 128^P; cf. the date of SEG 26, 253.
- # 16 Marcus Iulius Maximianus (on him and various documents mentioning him cf. below, Appendix), SB IV 7367. 1 (136^P?), δικαιοδότης Maximianus, P.Alex. 5 + BGU I 245 + XI 2071 = SB XVI 12555. i. 7, 10, 22 (mid II^P), γενόμενος δικαιοδότης, κράτιστος Iulius Maximianus, M.Chr. 88. ii. 2 (between 29. viii. 142 – 23. ii. 144^P), γενόμενος δικαιοδότης Maximianus, BGU XI 2070. i. 27 (mid II^P), [δικαιοδοτ]ήσας For him cf. also P.Cair. Preis. 1. 8 (post 148^P); BGU XI 2014. 9 (mid II^P) = PIR² I 417; Elia (omitting BGU XI 2014, 2070–2071) dates Maximianus' term of office as 137/139^P.
- # 17 Sextus Cornelius Sex. f. Dexter, CIL VIII 8925, 8934 = ILS 1400 (117–161^P), *iuridicus Alexandriae* = PIR² C 1344; Elia dates to 139^P, but this dating seems unwarranted, cf. below, the Appendix.
- # 18 Claudius Neocydes (on him and various documents mentioning him cf. below, the Appendix), PSI IV 281^r ii. 27 (mid II^P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης; P.Alex. 5 + BGU I 245 + XI 2071 = SB XVI 12555. ii. 24 (mid II^P), δικαιοδότης (Cl.) Neocydes, P.Oxy. VIII 1102. 16, 24 (c. 146^P); BGU II 378 = M.Chr. 60. 17, (147^P), BGU IV 1019. ii. 5 (mid II^P), γενόμενος δικαιοδότης — For Neocydes cf. M.Chr. 87. I (138–161^P; κράτιστος, but no further title preserved), BGU XI 2014. 7, P.Cair. Preis. 1. 8, 11, P. Alex. 5 + BGU I 245 + XI 2071 = SB XVI 12555. i. 21, M.Chr. 88. v. 17–18 (all without title) = PIR² C 940; Elia dates his term of office as 140–142^P.
- # 19 Ban- -ius Iulianus, M.Chr. 88. 1 (betw. 29. viii. 142 – 23. ii. 144^P, cf. below, the Appendix), δικαιοδότης διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν

- - -ius Iulianus, BGU XI 2070.12 (IP), γενόμενος διοικητῆς διαδεχόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν
Cf. also M.Chr. 87. 12, 15 (138–161P) and BGU IV 1019. 11–12 (mid IP): no title; not in PIR² (cf. vol. IV, p. 124, referring to Ran... Iulianus); for the man cf. D. Hagedorn in YCIS 28 (1985) 199; Elia (omitting BGU XI 2070. 12) dates his term of office 142–143P.
- # 20 Calpurnianus, BGU II 378 = M.Chr. 60. I, 23 (iv. 147P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης. Cf. P.Cair. Preis. 1. 8, 10 (post 148P) = PIR² C 238.
- # 21 Calvisius Patrophilus, P. Gen. II 103. i. 1, ii. 15, iii. 3; II 104 = SB XVI 12715. 13 (ix. 147P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης = PIR² C 347; Elia also refers for him to BGU XIII 2213. 3–4; that text is identical with P.Gen. II 103. iii. 3.
- # 22 -ius Marcius Crispus, BGU XI 2013. 10–11 (post ix. 147P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης = PIR² M 226 (Gaius Marcius Crispus).
- # 23 M. Herennius Philotas, SB XIV 12087. A. 7, 8 (162P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης = PIR² H 117.
- # 24 Ulpius Marcellus, P.Thmouis I 68. 4, 84. 9, 90. 2 (166/167P), γενόμενος δικαιοδότης, διαδεχόμενος ἀποδημίαν Ἀννίου Σεουηριανοῦ γενομένου διοικητοῦ.
For the possible identification of this *ex-dikaiodotes* with the well-known Roman jurist Ulpius Marcellus cf. D. Hagedorn in YCIS 28 (1985) 201.
- # 25 -us Gaianus, BGU I 240. 12 (167/168P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης; BL 130 suggests Οὐλβί[ι]ου, but this restoration is uncertain = PIR V 533, PIR² G 20.
- # 26 -ilius C. f., CIL VI 1564 = ILS I 1452 (161–180P), – *iuridicus Alexandriae*.
Elia dates his term of office as 170–172P, but we fail to see why under the reign of Marcus Aurelius only this set of years would be applicable; only so much is certain that the years A. D. 162 = # 23, A. D. 166–8 = # 24, 25 and A. D. 176 = # 27 are excluded.
- # 27 C. Caecilius Salvianus, BGU I 327 = M.Chr. 61. 1 (176P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης, διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
[Gaius Caecilius Salmia]nus, P.Lond. II 198. 1 (p. 172–173; ca. 175/6P, cf. BL I, 158), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης = PIR² C 78.
- # 29 Suillius Iulius, P.Princ. II 27. 1 (191/2P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης. Not in PIR².
- # 34 Herennius Ser-, AE 1923 # 67 (193–250P), *procurator, ducenarius, iuridicus Alexandriae*] = PIR² H 129.
- # 35 Q. Aemilius Aristides, I.Rom. Trip. 10 (204P), *iuridicus per Alexandream*. PIR² A 334.
- # 39 Herakleides, P.Oxy. XLIII 3093 Fr. A. 5–6, 8–9 (ca. 217P), κράτιστος διοικητῆς διαδεχόμε[νος (καὶ) τὰ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν]. Cf. RE Suppl. 15 (1978) 111 s. n. Heracleides # 34a.
- # 40 Callistianus, P.Oxy. XLIII 3117. 18 (218–219P), δικαιοδότης, διαδεχόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Cf. RE Suppl. 15 (1978) 82 s. n. Callistianus.
- # 41 Tiberius Claudius Herennianus, P.Diog. 18 = P.Harris 68. 2, 5 (225P); P.Oxy. XLII 3076. 8 (ca. 225P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης, διέπων καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Cf. RE Suppl. 15 (1978) 91 s. n. Claudius # 173a.
- # 42 Cl. Aurelius Tiberius, P.Oxy. XLII 3048. 1, 11 (246P), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης; AE 1908 # 274 (244–249P), δικαιοδότης τῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως = PIR² C 810.

- Aurelius Apollinarius, P.Vindob. G 31701^v (260–300^p), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης. Not in PIR².
- # 45 Flavius Rufus, P.Flor. I 89. 1 (mid III^p; cf. BL I 1147, VI 38–39), κράτιστος δικαιοδότης, διέπων τὰ μέρη τῆς διοικήσεως = PIR² F 349. The recto of the Florentine papyrus is written by the same hand as the verso, P.Flor. II 158, which is part of the Heroninus correspondence (249–268^p) and was written by Philippus, cf. BL X 70 on P.Flor. II 127. The recto is a copy and probably contemporary to the verso. The fact, that the recto is addressed to Herakleides the strategus of the unified Arsinoite nome narrows the date of both the recto and the verso down to ca. 260–268^p, cf. D. Hagedorn in YClS 28 (1985) 205.
- # 50 --lus, PSI IV 293. 34, 35 (II–III^p, cf. introduction), δικαιοδότης. Elia refers to him as an Anonymus.
- Petronius Catullinus, ZPE 106 (1995) 226 # 19.1 = SB XXII 15791 (III/IV^p), δικαιοδότης = PIR² P 276.
- # 53 Paniscus, P.Ammon 16 (= SB XIV 11929). 4, 13. 55 (348^p), ἀπὸ δικαιοδοτῶν. Not in PLRE I; for unknown reasons Elia lists this man as an Anonymus.
- # 54 Fl. Gennadius, P.Abinn. 63. *passim* (350^p; P.Bour. 20 = M.Chr. 96), *iuridicus Alexandriae* = PLRE I 390
- # 55 Maximianus, P.Ryl. IV 654. 15 (300–360^p; before 362, BL VI 124; between 303–309?, J. D. Thomas, CdE 70 [1995] 237–238 and 73 [1998] 125–131), *vir perfectissimus, iuridicus Aegypti*
- # 56 [Fl.] Apollonius³, BGU XIII 2339. 4 (378^p); P.Michael. 31. 2 (IV^p; after 341^p, BL X 122), ἀπὸ δικαιοδοτῶν. Not in PLRE I.

Doubtful *iuridici* are:

Elia

- # 38 Maenius Agrippa, P.Oxy. XLIII 3093. 11 (ca. 217^p; cf. note ad loc.; cf. 3094. 13): only γενόμενος (= ex-...), but no further title has been preserved; it is true that in l. 1 of the same papyrus an anonymous δικαιοδότης is being addressed, but this does not seem sufficient for assuming that in the case of Maenius Agrippa one is really dealing with a former *iuridicus*.
- # 37 Aurelius Antinoos, P.Rein. I 149 = W.Chr. 207. 6–7; SPP II p. 27 # II = W.Chr. 209. 16; P.Oxy. XXXIII 2671. 2–3, XLVII 3347. 4–5 (all ca. 216^p), διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, and
- # 44 Lissenius Proculus, P.Oxy. XLII 3050 (252–254^p), I 31, διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

It is well known that prefects of Egypt were often enough substituted by the *iuridicus* (cf. above, ## 27, 40, 41). It is, however, doubtful whether one may argue reversely that people whose career mentions, i. a., a ‘vice-prefecture’ (διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν) were, therefore, already holding the office of a *iuridicus* (so J. Schwartz in ZPE 20 [1976] 101–107).

³ In view of the title ‘*ex-iuridicus*’ a restoration of Apollonius’ first name as Φλάουιος seems more likely to us (BGU XIII 2339. 4 restores Ἀύρ(ηλίω)).

Within this context one should compare the acephalous inscription CIL VI 1638 = ILS 1331 (later than 238^P or 244^P, depending on whether one restores *Divus* before the name of the emperor Gordian), mentioning a *iuridicus, vice praefectus Aegypti*. Elia sub # 43 dates the term of office as 247–249^P, but we fail to see why this dating would impose itself; for the connection between Lissenius Proculus and this inscription cf. the literature cited by Bastianini, ZPE 17 (1975) 313 Anm. 2; already J. R. Rea (Akten 13. Papyrologenkongress 1971, 360 n. 8) made the suggestion to combine the anonymous *vice praefectus* from the inscription with the vice-prefect Lissenius Proculus from P.Oxy. XLII 3050; however attractive this suggestion may be, there remains a possibility that the link is not correct. Only so much seems certain that in the year A. D. 252 there might have been another candidate as a substitute-prefect whose name is known to us, i. e. that of the *dioiketes* Septimius Apollonius who was in office in that year, cf. YCIS 28 (1985) 205. After all, the *iuridicus* and the *dioiketes* operated on more or the less the same level, i. e. directly under the *praefectus Aegypti*. One may also note that some of the vice-prefects, L. Mussius Aemilianus (257–259^P; cf. above, n. 1; for attestations see G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 [1975] 314–315), and Iulius Marcellinus (271^P, cf. PSI X 1101) were NOT *iuridici* acting as prefect; the honorific title of both men (λαμπρότατος) demonstrates that vice-prefect was their lowest rank. If they had been *iuridici*, they would have been addressed as κράτιστοι (Cf. P.Oxy. XLIII 3112, introduction).

Elia also lists various anonymous *iuridici*, i. e.:

- # 10 = I.Corinth III 136 (= I 75) (103–114^P); this man needs to be distinguished from I.Cor. III 138 (= I 76), a Corinthian inscription listed by Elia *loc.cit.* p. 199 n. 36; it remains to be seen whether the restoration in l. 8 of that inscription, δικ]ατο[δότην is inescapable and pace Elia there is no need to attribute that text to the dossier of Cn. Cornelius Pulcher (Elia # 13).
- # 14 = P.Aberd. 147. 8, 11 (ca. 138–140^P; cf. below, Appendix)
- # 15 = P.Oxy.Hels. 19. 17 (134^P)
- # 28 = BGU I 361. II 3–4 (184^P)
- # 30 = BGU I 75. II 9 (IIP)
- # 31 = P.Ryl. II 412^v descr. (IIP)
- # 32 = P.Stras. VI 709. 1 (IIP)
- # 33 = P.Yale inv. 308 = SB XIV 11906. 7 (II/III^P)
- # 43 = CIL VI 1638 = ILS 1331 (post 238^P / 244^P); cf. above our discussion under doubtful *iuridici*, # 44.
- # 46 = P.Lips. 57. 23–24 (261^P)
- # 47 = BGU IV 1042. 5 = SB XVI 12556 (III^P)
- # 48 = P.Flor. III 335 = SB VI 9365. 15 (III^P)
- # 49 = P.Gen. I 74. 6–7 (III^P)
- # 51 = P.Corn. 39. 8 (III/IV^P)
- # 52 = PSI III 222. 12 (III/IV^P)

Cf. also above the main list, sub Elia ## 50 and 53 and the following texts apparently not referred to by Elia: BGU I 5. II 16, 20 (138^P); P. Giss. Univ. III 20. II 16 (IIP); P. Got. 76. 4–5 (with BL VIII 139; 247–249^P); SB XVI 12825 verso. 11 (IV^P). See also BGU VII 1578. 5 (with BL VI 17, early III^P, after 212^P), addressed to a *iuridicus* acting as a prefect; possible candidates are ## 40 and 41 listed above.

Appendix

The Chronology of the Drusilla Lawsuit

The Drusilla lawsuit plays a major role in the establishment of the chronology of various *dikaiodotai* in the 2nd century A. D., especially of ## 16–20 above. The various stages of the lawsuit have been described before⁴, but a few new propositions (and some older ones that remained unnoticed to date) allow us to suggest some further precisions.

The various stages of the process can be reconstructed from M.Chr. 88, providing an overview up to the treatment of the case before a *mesites*. The text itself and the various stages described in it are not exactly dated, but the known tenures of the *strategoï*, *dioiketai*, *archidikastai* and *dikaiodotai* allow us to propose a sufficiently detailed reconstruction of the whole affair. The text itself is written on the verso of a papyrus roll. On the recto, extracts of judicial decisions concerning the marriage of soldiers are written (M.Chr. 372). The latest decision of the recto (col. iv. 16–v. 26) dates from 26. viii. 142 A. D., the antepenultimate day of regnal year 5 of the emperor Antoninus Pius; therefore, the text on the verso most probably dates from his year 6 (= A. D. 142/43), on or after Thoth 1 (29. viii). Since the text mentions the *strategos* Apollinarius, the *terminus ante quem* is 23. ii. 144 A. D., as that is the first known date of Apollinarius' successor in office⁵.

The whole affair started with loans of C. Iulius Agrippianus given to Valerius Apollinarius over the decade between 118–128/129 A. D. Since the loans were not repaid, Agrippianus seized the plots of land that secured the loans (M.Chr. 88. i. 1–12). Then, Apollinarius died and his widow Drusilla started a law suit against Agrippianus. She also litigated on behalf of her two minor sons against their tutors who had neglected their interests. The judge she addressed was the *archidikastes* Asklepiades⁶; he was in office already in February 134 A. D. (year 18 of Hadrian, M.Chr. 372. II–III)⁷. Asklepiades decided that the tutors were to be invited and that Agrippianus should refrain from dealing with the seized properties.

The next stage reported in M.Chr. 88 takes place when Marcus Iulius Maximianus is *dikaiodotes* (above, # 16). He writes to the *strategos* Tiberius Claudius Cerealis (attested in the years 138–139 A. D., cf. below), instructing him to take further

⁴ P. M. Meyer, *Archiv* 3 (1906) 91–105, 247–248; H. Maehler, *Proc. XII Congr.*, 263–271; H.-A. Rupprecht, *Ein Verfahren ohne Ende: der Prozess der Drusilla*, *Mélanges Fritz Sturm*, Liège 1999, 883–893; P. Schubert, *P.Gen. I 74 et le procès de Drusilla*, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 211–217.

⁵ Cf. G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*, 27. For the relationship between the recto (M.Chr. 372) and the verso (M.Chr. 88) of the roll in question, cf. H. Maehler, *Proc. XII Congr.*, 270–271. The date 138–147 in BL VIII 225 should be corrected.

⁶ M.Chr. 88. I 19–20 γενόμενον | ἀ[ρχιδικαστήν], cf. BGU XI 2070. 24 and H. Maehler, *Proc. XII Congr.* 263, n. 4.

⁷ = P.Theon., *App. B*, # 33. Correct *ibid.* # 55, which concerns this very man (the date „ca. 150 A. D.“ concerns the date of the text, not the date of Asklepiades' tenure).

action. In the meantime, Agrippianus had written to the successor of Asklepiades, the *archidikastes* Claudius Philoxenus, in order to get notifications (τὰ τῆς παραθέσεως) added to the properties seized by him in the registers of the *bibliotheke enkteseon* (BGU I 73 from 20. vi. 135 A. D.)⁸. He also filed a petition (= SB IV 7367) to the *dikaiodotes* Iulius Maximianus, asking for a quick decision so that he could return from Alexandria to his fields in the Arsinoite nome. The date of this SB-text is reconstructed as 26. v. 136 (cf. BL VI 137, referring to R. Coles, Proc. XII Congr., 86–87: year 20 [of Hadrian]), while H. Maehler (Proc. XII Congr., 263 n. 6) followed A. Stein in his idea that the text would come from the next year. In fact, the text can be dated exactly and this contributes significantly to our knowledge of the succession of the *strategoi* of the Arsinoite *merides* in 136 A. D. While thinking that Coles' dating is correct we propose to restore in SB IV 7367. 13–15: μου ὑ[πὸ Οὐεγέτου] τοῦ καὶ Σ[α]ραπίωνος σ[τ]ρατηγῶν Ἄρσινοῦ τῆς Πολέ[μ]ωνος μερίδος. It is already known that Vegetus alias Sarapion was *strategos* of the Themistou *meris* in 136 A. D., but left the *strategia* of that district during the conventus in April 136 of that year. He is attested as *strategos* of the Herakleidou *meris* in 137 A. D. and it has been presumed that he started immediately in April 136 (cf. Bastianini, Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*, 26 s. n. 5, n. 1).

Things are, however, more complicated: the *merides* of Polemon and Themistos were united somewhere between vii/viii. 136 and 9. vii. 137⁹. Apparently, in or before April 136 new arrangements were made about who was going to be *strategos* of which *meris*. Vegetus alias Sarapion, the *strategos* of the Themistou *meris* was replaced by a certain Herakleides before 17. iv. 136. Herakleides was *strategos* of this *meris* up until (at least) vii/viii. 136 and from 9. vii. 137 onwards as *strategos* of the united *merides* of Themistos and Polemon. Vegetus himself is attested as *strategos* of the Herakleidou *meris* from 28. i. 137. The last known date of the *strategos* of the independent Polemonos *meris*, Kallistratos, is ii/iii. 135 A. D. In short, one is facing the following picture (cf. Bastianini, Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes*, 25–26, 42, 45–46) concerning *strategoi* of the

<u>Themistou meris</u>	<u>Polemonos meris</u>	<u>Herakleidou meris</u>
135 Vegetus = Sarapion	Kallistratos	Archias
136, i–iv: Vegetus=Sarapion	—	29. i.: Archias
iv–viii: Herakleides	iv: Vegetus = Sarapion (cf. SB IV 7367. 13–15)	

Spring 136¹⁰: *conventus*

Merides of Polemon and Themistos united between vii/viii. 136 and 9. vii. 137¹¹.

<u>Themistou meris</u>	++++	<u>Polemonos meris</u>	<u>Herakleidou meris</u>
137	9. vii: Herakleides		28. i: Vegetus = Sarapion
138	8. viii: Aelius Numisianus		14. v: Tib. Claud. Cerealis
139	Aelius Numisianus		post 13. x: Dion

⁸ Add this text as # 33 b to Appendix B in P.Theon.

⁹ See D. Hagedorn in ZPE 44 (1981) 139.

¹⁰ See below, n. 13.

¹¹ See above, n. 9.

If our restoration of SB IV 7367. 13–15 is correct, it may be assumed that, probably at the *conventus* and in anticipation of the unification of the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon, Vegetus was appointed as successor to Kallistratos in the *meris* of Polemon. After the unification of the *merides* of Themistos and Polemon, a few months later (at that point the combined districts became the responsibility of Herakleides, until then the *strategos* of only the Themistou *meris*) Vegetus succeeded to the *strategos* of the Herakleidou *meris* (= Archias, known to date as late as 29. i. 136). Judging from the fact that Vegetus is known in his new office on 28. i. 137, it is likely that the unification of the two *merides* of Themistos and Polemon became effective as of 1. i. 137 A. D. Once this reconstruction of developments concerning the tenure of *strategoi* in various districts of the Arsinoite nome is accepted, SB IV 7367 can date, of course, only from 26. v. 136 A. D. In our view, Agrippianus refers in that text to an order given on 16. iv. 136 by the *strategos* of the Polemonos *meris*, who sent Agrippianus to Alexandria¹². In all likelihood, the order of the *strategos* was (i. a.?) the result of a petition to the prefect filed by Drusilla during the *conventus*¹³.

The next stage in the lawsuit took place under the successor of Vegetus, the *strategos* Tiberius Claudius Cerealis. The *iuridicus* Iulius Maximianus ordered him to check the deposited acts and to send up the parties concerned (M.Chr. 88 II 1–9). The last-known date for Vegetus is 21. x. 137, the first-known date of Cerealis' successor, Dion, is after 13. x. 139, hence this stage takes place somewhere in that period. At a later session, Maximianus ordered the appointment of new tutors by the *strategos* within 20 days. One of the newly appointed tutors was Iulius Gemellus (M.Chr. 88. III 16), in the presence of whom further action was taken by Maximianus (III 18–20). In P.Aberd. 147, this tutor is mentioned in copies of other lawsuit acts. The date preserved on one of them is Payni of an unknown year of Hadrian, thus May/June 138 or earlier. The document mentioning Iulius Gemellus was directed to the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome (ll. 3–4). Also mentioned is a *dikaiodotes* whose name is lost; the *strategos* in question could have been Cerealis and the *dikaiodotes* could have been Iulius Maximianus, but their successors are also possible.

¹² That seems to be the meaning of the damaged word in l. 13. A possible restoration could be ἐκπεμφθ[έντος μου, cf. the wording in P.Flor. I 91. 14–16 cited in Preisigke, *WB* s. v. ἐκπέμπω; this restoration, however would violate the papyrological custom of not suspecting corrections in lost passages, for the editor supposes a loss of two letters between -μ- and -φ-. Otherwise, one should suppose that already in antiquity there was a hole in the sheet of papyrus and that the letters were therefore written around it, cf. P.Gen. I 74.16 as re-edited by P. Schubert (cf. above, n. 4).

¹³ The date referred to, 21 Pharmouthi (= 16. iv.), is the date of arrival of Agrippianus in Alexandria. The *conventus* must have taken place before that date. We know from P. Yale I 61 (on this text, see H. Horstkotte in ZPE 114 [1996] 189–193) that in one of the years between 208–210 the *conventus* in Arsinoe fell between 26–28 Phamenoth (= 22–24. iii). The fact that the order is given by Vegetus, *strategos* of the district of Polemon, rather than the *strategos* of the district of Herakleides (who would be the expected issuer), may be explained by the anticipated appointment of Vegetus as *strategos* of this district a few months later. Apparently he was expected to have to deal with the case later on; obviously, „continuity“ played an important role within the decision-making process about appointing a judge to the ease under review.

Then, Agrippianus died and his son Agrippinus, still a minor, was charged by Drusilla. She and the tutors stalled the lawsuit and the revenues of the seized properties were to be deposited in a bank account. This went on for several years and Agrippianus entered the army (M.Chr. 88. IV. 12–34). The date of the start of his military career is unknown. On the basis of BGU I 195 H. Maehler (Proc. XII Congr. 264, n. 1) concluded that the event had to be prior to 144/145 A. D., but this *terminus ante quem* may be shifted slightly, for Agrippinus was already in the army when M.Chr. 88 (to be dated before 23. ii. 144, cf. the start of this appendix) was written.

There are several documents related to the period between the death of Agrippianus and Agrippinus' entrance into the army. It seems that Agrippinus resided in Alexandria. He remained there when he wrote SB XVI 12556, waiting for further handling of the case by the successor of the *iuridicus* Iulius Maximianus, Claudius Neocydes (cf. above # 18)¹⁴; M.Chr. 87. 1. 1–4 refers to the same period. After his father's death, Agrippinus' uncle Saturninus, too, charged him before Neocydes. At that time, Agrippinus was under 25 years of age and, claiming protection by the *lex Laetoria*, he tried to get his property back in April 147 A. D., when he had already joined the army (see BGU II 378 = M.Chr. 60)¹⁵. In all likelihood, the words ἔτι νέω ὄντι καὶ ἀγνοοῦντι τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς πράγματα in M.Chr. 88. IV. 14–16 are also reminiscent of the *lex Laetoria* which provides legal protection to *adulescentes* (i. e. those between 14–25 years of age) who are defrauded because of their ignorance¹⁶. In the same period, after her husband's death and before her son had joined the army, Agrippinus' mother Herais took action on her own (cf. M.Chr. 88. v. 1–16). P.Gen. I 74 is a letter of Herais, temporarily residing in Arsinoe, to her son. She asks him to make copies of documents pertaining to her case and to send these to her in sealed jars. She had filed a petition to the *dikaiodotes* through the *strategos* and probably Agrippinus had to copy the petition (and the subscriptions of the *strategos* and *dikaiodotes*?) after publication of these in Alexandria¹⁷. Other private correspondence from this period is preserved as BGU III 826 and P.Bour. 23¹⁸. The lawsuit went on after Agrippinus'

¹⁴ To be sure, the various stages of the Drusilla lawsuit known to us do not mention an intervention of the *iuridicus* Sextus Cornelius Dexter, cf. above # 17.

¹⁵ Restore in l. 13 Πουβλι]κίου instead of Σουλιπ]κίου.

¹⁶ For the *lex Laetoria*, cf. P.Oxy. LXIV 4435.

¹⁷ For P. Gen. I 74 cf. the republication by Schubert, cited above n. 4. The text antedates Agrippinus' entrance into the army, thus was written before 23. ii. 144 A. D. (cf. the opening paragraphs of this appendix). If this text indeed can be related to M.Chr. 88. V. 1–16, the *dikaiodotes* would be Maximianus. It is unclear what M.Chr. 88. V. 15–16 Κέλερον στρατη[γός] β^π means. We do not know of any *strategos* Celer in this period, nor do we know that Cerealis (cf. the note ad loc.) had a second term as a *strategos*. A man named Κέλερ also occurs in BGU XI 2014. 10, but his function is not mentioned. Several persons out of P.Gen. I 74 reappear in other texts of the Drusilla lawsuit. Contrary to P. Schubert, we think that Apollinaris in l. 21 is not Drusilla's late husband, but rather Longinus Apollinarius, one of the newly appointed tutors who, together with Drusilla, stall the lawsuit. The unidentified Serenus out of BGU XI 2012. 3–4 may be identical with Herais' brother of that name.

¹⁸ For both texts see Schubert, *op. cit.* (above, n. 4). They should be dated around 140–144 A. D.

enlistment as a soldier. SB XVI 12555 illustrates that Neocydes took further action after Agrippinus had joined the army. In that text, reference is made to earlier decisions by Maximianus, *ex-dikaiodotes*. Among other things, he told Agrippianus that τὰ νόμιμά σου τῆς ὑποθήκης ἐλύθη (l. 10). BGU XI 2014 (which has ἐπειδὴ τὰ νόμιμα λέλυτ[αι in l. 14) might refer to this decision, curiously left out of the report in M.Chr. 88. If so, this would strengthen the attribution of this text to the Drusilla lawsuit papers (cf. BGU XI 2014 intr. and 2070, 1–2 n.). Unfortunately, the date of SB XVI 12555 is lost, but so much is certain that it was written in the reign of Antoninus Pius, while Neocydes was in office¹⁹. Neocydes ordered the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome to take further action within 30 days (cf. M.Chr. 88. V. 16–30 with BL VIII 224). Iulianus the *dioiketes* who now took over the case (cf. above, # 19), ordered that, since Agrippinus had now joined the army, the lawsuit should be moved from the Arsinoite nome to Alexandria. He also appointed a *mesites*, a certain Domitius (cf. M.Chr. 88. I; 87. I; BGU IV 1019 + BL I 88; XI 2070. I). BGU XI 2070 contains a report of proceedings before Domitius and provides his full name, *i. e.* Valerius Demetrius alias Domitius. A homonymous Demetrius alias Domitius is attested in P.Oxy XII. 1472. 12–13 and P.IFAO III 18. 4 (both of 136 A. D.) as διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιδικαστείαν. The appointed *mesites* could very well be the same man. BGU XI 2070, on the other hand, must be dated later than M.Chr. 87 and 88, for Iulianus was no longer *dioiketes* (cf. BGU XI, p. 107). Further reference to Iulianus as *ex-dioiketes* is made in BGU XI 2012, a draft of a petition of Agrippinus to an anonymous prefect, in which he refers to the words of Iulianus which are also reported in M.Chr. 87. I. 9–11. In his petition, Agrippinus cites a decision of the prefect to an earlier petition, filed on Phaophi 4 of the current year (cf. l. 8), by which the prefect ordered Agrippinus to address Hierax the *archidikastes*. SB XIV 12139. III. 16 shows that this Hierax was in office in February 146, cf. H. C. Youtie's note *ad loc.* in the *ed. pr.* BGU XI 2012 therefore dates from either year 9 (145/146 A. D.) or 10 (146/147 A. D.) of Antoninus Pius (cf. the list of *archidikastai* in P.Theon. App. B with the additions of P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp in ZPE 110 [1996] 181–182). This entails that, since the petition of BGU XI 2012 itself is addressed to the same prefect as the anonymous prefect mentioned in ll. 8–10, the anonymous prefect can only be L. Valerius Proculus (cf. G. Bastianini in ZPE 17 [1975] 289–290). BGU II 378 = M.Chr. 60 (cf. above, n. 15: April 147 A. D.), is addressed to the same prefect, while BGU XI 2013 mentions his successor, Petronius Honoratus (147–148 A. D.). The *dikaiodotes* is now C. (?) Marcius Crispus (cf. above, # 22). Also from 147/148 A. D. (cf. BL VII 11) is BGU I 195 in which Agrippinus addresses the *epistrategos* and complains about mismanagement of his properties.²⁰ The only text that is hard to locate chronologically is BGU XI 2129, another private letter of Agrippinus. Since

¹⁹ Restore in SB XV 11255. 1–2 [Ἔτους - Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ ἢ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς month] - 6. Possible years are „2–7“ (*i. e.* 138/139–143/144 A. D.). This text antedates M.Chr. 88, for in col. i of that text we read that the function of *dikaiodotes* had been taken over by Iulianus the *dioiketes* (above, # 19).

²⁰ In BGU I 195. 2 one expects [Γαίου Ἰουλίου]; in ll. 4–5 one probably has to restore ἐκαί[τονταρχίας Πουβλικίου Σεουήρου, cf. BGU XI 2012 and 2013.

the handwriting of this text is identical to that of SB XVI 12556, it is probably written by Agrippinus himself (cf. H. Maehler, Symposium 1977 [1982] 330), but the text provides no chronological clues.

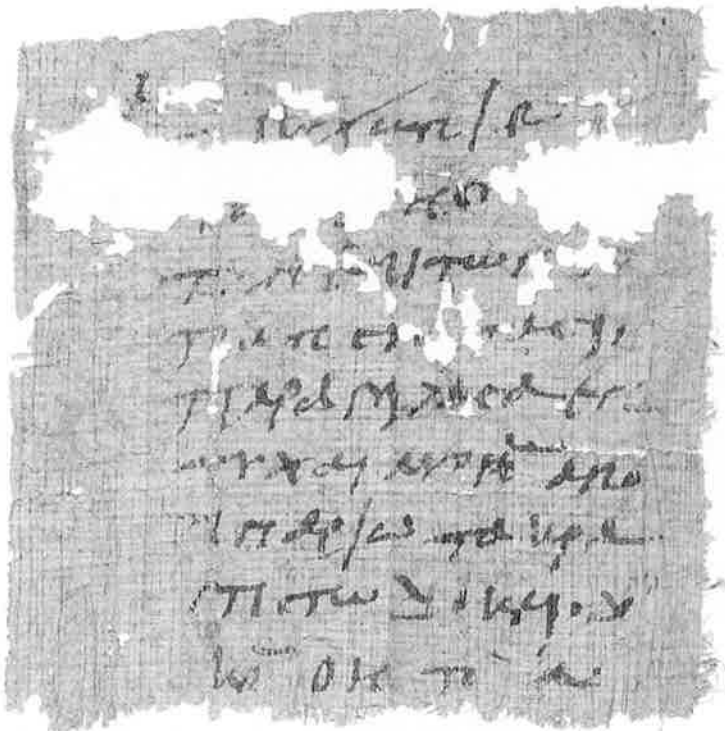
Chronological Table

Date	Text	<i>Dikaiodotes</i>	<i>Strategos</i>	Other officials
118–128/9 (134)	M.Chr. 88. I 5–12 M.Chr. 88. I 14–35	No mention No mention	No mention No mention	Asklepiades <i>archidikastes</i> Cl. Philoxenus <i>archidikastes</i>
20. vi. 135	BGU I 73	No mention	No mention	
26. v. 136	SB IV 7367	M. Iulius Maximianus (= # 16)	Vegetus = Sarapion, str. Polemonos Tiberius Cl. Cerealis, str. Herakleidou idem	
(x.138–x.139)	M.Chr. 88. II 1–10	idem		
	M.Chr. 88. III.12 – IV.12			
	M.Chr. 88. IV.12: Agrippianus dies	No mention		
	M.Chr. 88. V.1–16; P.Gen. I 74	M. Iulius Maximianus (= # 16)	Celer?	
	SB XVI 12556; M.Chr. 87. I. 1–4	Cl. Neocydes (# 18)		
	BGU II 378. 17	idem		
	M.Chr. 88. IV. 34–35: Agrippinus enters the army	No mention		
	SB XVI 12555	Cl. Neocydes (= # 18)		
(bef. 23.ii. 144)	M.Chr. 88. V. 16–30	idem	Apolinarius str. Herakleidou	
(29. viii. 142– 23. ii. 144)	M.Chr. 88. I 1–5; 87 BGU IV 1019 BGU XI 2070	Iulianus, <i>dioiketes</i> , acting <i>dikaiodotes</i> (= # 19) No mention		Domitius <i>mesites</i> Iulianus ex- <i>dioiketes</i> Iulianus, ex- <i>dioiketes</i> Hierax <i>archidikastes</i> L. Valerius Proculus, prefect ²¹
(145–147)	BGU XI 2012	No mention		
15.–24. iv. 147	BGU II 378	Calpurnianus (= # 20)		
147/148	BGU I 195	No mention		
After ix. 147	BGU XI 2013	C.(?) Marcius Crispus		Petronius Hono- rarius

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²¹ Cf. ZPE 117 (1997) 180–181: out of office.



zu N. Kruit, K. A. Worp: S. 91ff.



zu A. Papathomas: S. 107ff.



zu A. Papathomas: S. 107ff.