



TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 17, 2002

2002

HOPLIXHABELEN



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Herausgegeben von:

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Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus

(EES) P.Misc.inv. II 9c¹

9.8 × 6.6 cm

11 January 417

Tafel 5

I. A *vir clarissimus* and a donkey driver

The left-hand part of an order for delivery to a donkey driver, issued by Samuel, *vir clarissimus*, on whom see 1 n. The damage obscures the purpose of the order. There is a possibility, albeit a remote one, that the situation is similar to that in P.Lond. V 1798 (470), an order to supply wheat and other comestibles to the donkey drivers of the *cursus velox*; the person who authorised the delivery is the well-known Fl. Cyria (cf. section II), *femina clarissima*, and the transaction falls within the sphere of a *munus patrimonii*. But the lack of a further description of the donkey driver in our text may suggest that he was in the employ of Samuel, and that this is an ordinary private transaction.

Other orders to pay (in cash or kind) or deliver goods to donkey drivers include SB XVI 12846 (V), XII 10990, 4. 57 (V/VI), SPP VIII 923 (VII/VIII), and O.Petr. 431 ('Byz.').

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank.

- 1 Καμουήλ λαμ(πρότατος) [
- 2 παράσχου Κατίφ όνηλάτη εις τ[-
- 3 (έτους) ργ ξβ// Τϋβι ις. [

„Samuel, *vir clarissimus* ... Deliver to Satius, donkey driver, for the ... Year 93/62, Tybi 16“.

1 Καμουήλ: This Samuel may be identical with the Oxyrhynchite landowner Fl. Samuelius, *magnificentissimus comes primi ordinis*, known from P.Köln II 103, 3–4, a loan of money dated to 27 November – 26 December 438. Fl. Samuelius has been thought to be the same person as Fl. Samuel son of Dioscorides, attested in BGU III 936 = W.Chr. 123, 5 of 426, in which he acts as the representative of a man standing as surety for an ὑποβληθεὶς βουλευτήης of Oxyrhynchus. But a papyrus to be published in a forthcoming volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* shows that Καμουήλ λαμπρότατος and Καμουήλ Διοσκορίδου were two different persons. Who of the two was the Samuelius of P.Köln III 103 is unclear.

There is a possibility that Samuel(ius) is to be recognised in P.Oxy. LVI 3862, 22 (IV/V—pace R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 31 n. 114, there is no need to assign the text to a later date) πλοῖον Καμουηλίου. Oxyrhynchite ship owners were persons of elevated status, and many were of *clarissimus* rank (P.Oxy. 3862 may attest

¹ The papyrus belongs to the collection from which P.Herm. also came. I am grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish it.

the ship of another *vir clarissimus*, Phoebammon). Last, this Samuel might be the one mentioned in CPR V 24, 8 Τιμαγενίου βοηθοῦ Καμουήλ (early V; the text comes from Oxyrhynchus, as will be shown in the forthcoming P.Oxy. LXVIII).

The editor of P.Köln 103 tentatively associated Samuelius' *comitiva* with an imperial constitution of 4 June 436 (CTh 12. 1. 189 = CJ 10. 32. 56), which conferred the title of *comes primi ordinis* for a five-year period on *curiales* 'die sich in der Verwaltung der Städte hervorgetan und alle ihre Pflichten abgeleistet hatten' (introd. para. 3). The same point is made by R. Scharf, *Comites und comitiva primi ordinis*, Stuttgart 1994, 32 n. 87. However, the constitution explicitly refers to senior Alexandrian *curiales* (*Alexandrinis principibus*); on the face of it, it had no application to *civitates* in the hinterland of Egypt, nor do we know whether this ever happened. Further, we have no information that Samuelius had links with Alexandria (the man in W.Chr. 123, 5 is referred to as a native of Oxyrhynchus). We may also note that if he owed his title to this constitution, it would follow that the latter was put into effect in a provincial city of the Empire within two years from its issue, which would be truly remarkable. To sum up, on present evidence a connection between Samuelius' *comitiva primi ordinis* and CTh 12. 1. 189 seems rather difficult.

λαμ(πρότατος): The title shows that Samuel was of senatorial rank, though probably not a member of the senate at Constantinople; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* I, Oxford 1964, 528f.; R. Guiland, *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin*, London 1976, 17, 27–36; A. Arjava, *Zum Gebrauch der griechischen Rangprädikate des Senatorenstandes in den Papyri und Inschriften*, Tyche 6 (1991) 17–35, esp. 18–24. Although at that date the title was not as elevated as in earlier times, it was clearly a mark of social distinction: as late as 434 the *praeses* of Arcadia was a *vir clarissimus* (P.Oxy. XVI 1879, 3. 9, Latin; λαμπρότατος in 1881, 3. 10, of 427, possibly also in P.Rain.Cent. 99 of 451, and PSI X 1114 of 454). Samuel must have been a person of some importance in early fifth-century Oxyrhynchus.

We would expect the name and function of the recipient of the order to have followed in the lost part of the line, cf. e. g. PSI IX 1074 (400), P.Oxy. LXIII 4387 (401), VI 992 (413), XVI 1953 (419), XLIII 3148 (424), P.Amst. I 53 (433), P.Oxy. LXIII 4391 (471), P.Harr. I 91 (484); but this is not certain, cf. e. g. P.Haun. III 67 (398), P.Harr. I 149 (444), P.Lond. V 1798 (470), P.Oxy. XVI 1888 (488), 1945 (517), which contain no reference to the recipient.

2. Σάτιος: The name, in the form Σάτις, only occurs in P.Mich. V 224 r. 5576 and 224 v. 6410 (Karanis, 172/3).

ὄνηλάτη: Curiously enough, one other document of near-contemporary date, CPR X 116 (446), features two individuals with functions similar to those of the pair Samuel and Satius; the text is a very fragmentary deed of surety for a donkey driver addressed to a *vir clarissimus*, the latter possibly acting in an official capacity.

εἰς τ[- : perhaps εἰς τ[ροφᾶς ὄνων, followed by an amount of wheat or other fodder, cf. e. g. P.Cair.Masp. II 67141 fol. 1 v. 11 (VI) εἰς τροφ(ήν) τ(οῦ) ὄνο(υ) (κριθῆς) (ἀρ-τάβη) α.

3. For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Zutphen 1978, 80, 98.

II. A *femina clarissima* and her sailors

The small dossier of the Oxyrhynchite landowner Fl. Cyria, *femina clarissima*, was first assembled by J. Gascou, *Notes critiques sur quelques papyrus des V^e et VI^e siècles*, CE 47 (1972) 248–250. At that time, it consisted of P.Oxy. XXXIV 2724

(469), a receipt for replacement parts of a waterwheel; P.Lond. V 1798 (470), an order to supply wheat to donkey drivers of the *cursor velox*; and P.Oxy. XVI 1947–1948 (assigned to 471²), both orders to supply wheat, issued by Phib, ναύκληρος³, to a προνοητής of Cyria; P.Oxy. XVI 2003 (assigned to 472, cf. BL X 146), which also features Phib, is related too. An additional reference to this lady was furnished by the undated CPR VII 24, 5 (cf. BL VIII 110), which attests a *procurator* of Cyria⁴.

One further item of Cyria's dossier is SB XVIII 13928⁵, but this was not recognised in the edition (her name and title were not read, while the document was thought to be of Hermopolite provenance, and was assigned to the sixth/seventh century). The text on the front side of the papyrus may be presented as follows⁶:

- 1 [† ἐντάγιον ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου] ν[α]ύτου
- 2 τῆς Κυρίας λαμ[προ]τάτη(ς). ἔσχων παρὰ
- 3 τῶν κωμαρχῶν ἀπὸ κόμης Cηναρῆ
- 4 δι(ἀ) Ἀφροῦ β[ο]ηθοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶ ναύλων
- 5 Ἀλεξανδρίας κανόνως ἐβζώμη
- 6 ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) χρυσίου ὑζιωτικῶ ζυγῶ
- 7 εὔσταθμα ἔξ ἡμῖν μ(όνα), γί(νεται) νο(μίματα) ς /
- 8 μώνασ. δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου ναύτου
- 9 στωιχεῖ μοι τὸ ἐντάγιον ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).

2 1. ἔσχων 3 1. ἀπό, Cηναρῦ 5 1. κανόνος ἐβδόμη 6 1. ἰδιωτικῶ 8 1. μόννα 9 1. στωιχεῖ, τό

2. Κυρίας λαμ[προ]τάτη(ς): καρι . . . () λαμ[. . .]ατη ed. pr. Cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1947, 1 προνοειτοῦ (l. -ητη) τῆς Κυρίας λαμπροτάτης. The presence of the article, which is not necessary, may be due to the ambivalence created by the name Κυρία (κυρία). For the construction ναύτης + name (+ title), cf. SPP III 303, 2–3 (VII) Ἀπακῦρος ναύτης (l. Ἀπακῦρου ναύτου) | τοῦ κυροῦ Μηνᾶ πακάρχον (l. παγάρχου).

3. ἀπὸ (l. ἀπό): ἀπό ed. pr.

Cηναρῆ (l. Cηναρῦ) (read by T. Gagos): Cηναρχί(βεως) ed. pr., which was the reason for ed. pr.'s placing the origin of the text in the region of Hermopolis. Cηναρῦ is an Oxyrhynchite village, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchie* = Pap.Flor. IX, Firenze 1981, 178–180.

4. δι(ἀ). Delta is difficult to read, but I do not see what else the papyrus could have had.

² See F. Reiter, *Einige Bemerkungen zu dokumentarischen Papyri*, ZPE 107 (1995) 99 (not taken over in BL X).

³ Phib is called ναύκληρος in P.Oxy. XVI 1947, 1 and 1948, 1, but ναύτης in the dockets on the back of these texts, as well as in P.Oxy. XVI 2003, 2.

⁴ This is of some interest, since this person must have had a central role in the administration of her estate. (Gascou, *Notes critiques* 249, noted that the administration of Cyria's estate 'ne requiert pas de diocèse, préposé aux finances, alors que ce personnage se rencontre déjà au début du V^e siècle sur la *donus divina Arcadiae*.')

⁵ Ed. pr. (as P.Mich.inv. 3716) in ZPE 61 (1985) 81–2, with Tafel IIIb.

⁶ I am grateful to Traianos Gagos for checking the original for me.

τῶ (l. τῶν) ναύλων: λόγῳ ναύλων ed. pr. The collocation ὑπὲρ τῶν ναύλων has not occurred elsewhere⁷.

6. ὕζιωτικῶ (l. ἰδι-): This is the earliest reference to the ἰδιωτικὸς ζυγός of Oxyrhynchus.

In view of the exactly dated documents attesting Fl. Cyria, the seventh indiction mentioned in lines 5–6 is likely to correspond to 468/9. The exercise alluded to in the text concerns the shipment of tax grain, which will have taken place shortly after the harvest, in the first months of the new (fiscal) indiction, that is, in the summer of 468.

The text tells us is that the tax grain of Sinary was to be transported to Alexandria through a sailor, who received a fee for his services from the comarchs of the village. We see that a sailor in the employ of a great landowner was chartered by a third party for a task that fell in the domain of tax collection. The use of ships belonging to landowners in the transport of tax grain of third parties is amply documented⁸, and has been attested in connection with the other known sailor in the service of Cyria, Phib: in P.Oxy. XVI 2003, Phib is said to have received a quantity of grain from a *boethos* of Macrobius, *vir clarissimus*, which was the latter's contribution towards the *annona militaris*.

III. Oxyrhynchite nobles pay in gold and barley

P.Vindob. G 17024 = SB XXII 15257 (= V) was first published in AnPap 5 (1993) 95–99 under the title *Verzeichnis über die Ablieferung von Gerste*. It was assigned to the fifth/sixth century. The editor's paleographic analysis detects characteristics common in a style of handwriting peculiar to the Heracleopolite region, but also notices some Oxyrhynchite features. The text contains a geographical indication, Ὁξυρρυγγ(); according to the editor, one may reckon with three possible provenances: the Arsinoite village of Oxyrhyncha, the Heracleopolite village of Oxyrhynchus, and the city of Oxyrhynchus.

An important correction to the text has been proposed by D. Hagedorn⁹, who pointed out that the supposedly personal name Περίβλεπτος should be understood as a honorific epithet (*vir spectabilis*), while Λάμπρ(ον), which appeared as the patronymic of three persons in the list, should be read as λαμπρ(ότατος) (*vir clarissimus*). This produces a text with a high concentration of men of senatorial grade: at least two

⁷ In P.Oxy. I 142, 7–8 (534), which has ὑπὲρ λόγου ναύλου | Ἀλεξανδρίας χρυσῶ νομιματία κτλ., pace BL VIII 233, Ἀλεξανδρίας should be taken with ναύλου, not with νομιματία, even if the latter were meant to be reckoned according to the monetary standard of Alexandria; several texts show that in such expressions ναύλου is followed by a reference to the destination of the cargo, cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1913, 61 (554/5?) λόγ(ω) ναύλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) | Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μίματα) κτλ., LV 3804, 150 (566) λόγ(ω) | ναύλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) ζυγ(ῶ) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) κτλ., I 126 = W.Chr. 180, 11f. (572) μετὰ τῶν τούτων ναύλων | Ἀλεξανδ[ρ]είας καὶ μεταφορῶς.

⁸ Cf. J. Gascou, *Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en l'Égypte byzantine*, T&MByz 9 (1985) 52 with n. 299, who argues that the alleged private fleets 'servent surtout à l'acheminement du blé annonaire'.

⁹ *Περίβλεπτος ist kein Personennamen*, Tyche 10 (1995) 237 (Korr. Tyche 148).

περίβλεπτοι and three λαμπρότατοι. Oxyrhynchite texts may be rare in the Vienna collection, but there should hardly be any doubt about the locality abbreviated as Ὀξύρυγχ() which heads a list attesting a score of individuals of senatorial rank: this is the city of Oxyrhynchus. Hagedorn compared V to the earlier P.Heid. IV 313 and P.Wash.Univ. II 83, which record payments by important Oxyrhynchites some time around 400¹⁰; there are some closer parallels, as we shall see. But first we may have a closer look at the text, which may be presented as follows (col. ii)¹¹:

1	Μο[υ]αῖος π[ε]ρίβ(λεπτος)		
2	δ// Ὀξύρυγχ(ιτων) οὔ(τωσ)		
3	Εὐδα[ίμων]	[κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι]	. .]
4	κληρ(ονόμοι) Λεοντίου	κρ[(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι]	. .]
5	κληρ(ονόμοι) Φιλοξένου	[κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι]	. .]
6	Ἰωάννης περίβ(λεπτος)	κ[ρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι]	. .]
7	Μουσαῖος περίβ(λεπτος)	[κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι]	. .]
8	Θεόδουλος λαμπρ(ότατος)	κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι	ς λε
9	κληρ(ονόμοι) Καμουηλίου	κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι	τ λ γ γ//
10	κληρ(ονόμοι) Πτολεμίνου	κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι	φ β
11	Μακρόβιος λαμπρ(ότατος)	κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι	μ ε
12	Διογένης λαμπρ(ότατος)	κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι	ν η ς
13	Φοιβάμμων πολ(ιτευόμενος)	κρ(ι)θ(ῆ)ς ἀρτάβαι	ρ γ

3 Εὐδα[ίμων]: Εὐτιο[ς ed. pr. 13 πολ(ιτευόμενος) (πολ' pap.): υἱός ed. pr.

What survives is the last entry of an account relating to a locality other than Oxyrhynchus, followed by (most of) the entries of its Oxyrhynchite part. If contributions from more than one locality are recorded, which seems likely, the account may have concerned the entire province of Arcadia, and the section preceding Oxyrhynchus might have related to Heracleopolis, with Memphis and Arsinoe coming first. If this holds, the account will have been drawn up at one of the two administrative centres of the province, i. e., Oxyrhynchus or Heracleopolis. If the papyrus comes from Heracleopolis, its presence in the Vienna collection would cause no surprise.

The account is arranged according to the rank of the payers: first come the περίβλεπτοι, then the λαμπρότατοι. Those deceased, who appear through their heirs, are given no titles, but the arrangement of the text indicates that in life Leontius and Philoxenus were περίβλεπτοι, Samuelius and Ptoleminus λαμπρότατοι.

V may now be shown to have a sibling on the other side of the Atlantic. This is P.Mich. XV 737 (= M), a money account assigned to the sixth century. The text shares one of the problems of V's ed. pr.: it appears to attest two sons of a certain Λάμπρος. Clearly, these are abbreviated λαμπρότατοι. Examination of the published

¹⁰ Ed. pr. takes P.Wash.Univ. 83 to record 'payments to boat owners (?)', but it would seem that it is the boat owners who make these payments.

¹¹ The text incorporates two new readings, made on the basis of the plate (AnPap 5 [1993] 97), and confirmed on the original by Bernhard Palme, whom I thank.

photograph (pl. XXVII) further shows that the text may be improved upon in a few other places. A revised version is given below¹².

1	ἀπ(ὸ) χρ(υσοῦ) ν(ομιματίων) ιη (κερατίων) υλβ	
2	Τρατήγιος λαμπρ(ότατος)	(κεράτια) Ϛ γ Ϛ
3	Λεόντιος λαμ(π)ρ(ότατος)	(κεράτια) ξ Ϛ
4	κλ(ηρονόμοι) Λεοντίου περ(ιβλέπτου)	(κεράτια) μ δ
5	κλ(ηρονόμοι) Φιλοξένου περ(ιβλέπτου)	(κεράτια) κ δ
6	Θεόδουλος λαμ(πρότατος)	(κεράτια) κ β Ϛ δ η''
7	Διογένης καὶ Μακρόβιος	(κεράτια) κ β Ϛ δ η''
8	κλ(ηρονόμοι) Ἰωάνν[ου] περιβλέ(πτου)	(κεράτια) π Ϛ
9	Παπίας καὶ Τ [2–3]	(κεράτια) ι θ Ϛ δ
10	κλ(ηρονόμοι) Πτολεμίνου	(κεράτια) μ Ϛ Ϛ
11	Φιλόξενος Ἰσάκ	(κεράτια) Ϛ Ϛ δ

2 λαμπρ(ότατος): Λάμπρ(ου) ed. pr. 3 λαμ(π)ρ(ότατος): Λάμ(π)ρ(ου) ed. pr. 4 περ(ι-βλέπτου): ερ() ed. pr. 5 περ(ιβλέπτου): Γερ() ed. pr. 6 λαμ(πρότατος): λαξι(ός) ed. pr. 8 Ἰωάνν[ου] περιβλέ(πτου): Ἰωάννου κλε() ed. pr. 9 Τ : Τα[] ed. pr. ι θ / 4: ι θ / ed. pr.

Several of the parties mentioned in one list also occur in the other. **V** must be earlier than **M**: in **M** 8 we hear of the heirs of a John of *spectabilis* rank, while in **V** 6 John appears to be still alive. A John of *spectabilis* memory occurs in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus of 489, to be published in P.Oxy. LXVIII. If we are dealing with the same person, which seems likely, the *terminus ante quem* for **V** is 489. The *terminus ante quem* for **M** is 497: Strategius is almost certainly the well-known Fl. Strategius I of the 'Apion family', attested as a *vir clarissimus* in P.Flor. III 325 of 489 (cf. BL VII 53), and the undated P.Oxy. LXVII 4614, and as a *vir gloriosissimus* (*comes domesticorum*) in P.Oxy. XVI 1982 of 497.

A prosopography of the persons figuring in the two lists is given below.

- Eudaemon (**V** 3). On this person see below, section III. He would have been of *spectabilis* or *illustris* rank.

- (Heirs of) Leontius, *vir spectabilis* (**V** 4, **M** 4). At least two eminent Oxyrhynchites bore this name in the fifth century (cf. **M** 3). The *oikos* of this Leontius should probably be recognised in P.Oxy. XVI 2039, 9 οἴκου Λε[ο]ντίου περιβλέπ[του].

- (Heirs of) Philoxenus, *vir spectabilis* (**V** 5, **M** 5). The *oikos* of this man may be mentioned in P.Oxy. XVI 2039, 15 οἴκ(ου) Φιλοξένου Εὐψ εἰού περιβλέπ(του), and possibly XVIII 2197, 68 (VI) εἰς χρεῖαν [c. 16 Φιλοξ]ένο(υ) κόμει(το), where we might restore κληρονόμων Φιλοξ]ένο(υ) κόμει(το).

- Ioannes, *vir spectabilis* (**V** 6, **M** 8). The papyrological dossier of this man is discussed in the forthcoming P.Oxy. LXVIII.

¹² A digital image of the papyrus is available at the APIS site of the University of Michigan (a small fragment of l. 8 has been lost since publication). The text incorporates a correction to l. 9 by P. Heilporn.

• Musaeus, *vir spectabilis* (V 7). He is perhaps to be identified with the founder of the *oikos* mentioned in P.Oxy. XVI 2039, 19: οἴκ(ου) Μ[ο]υσαίου υἱοῦ Ττρα[. The father of Flavia Euphemia (P.Oxy. VII 1038) is one possibility¹³. The Musaeus who issued the order PSI III 165 of 441/2, is probably too early for our purposes.

• Theodulus, *vir clarissimus* (V 8, M 6). P.Oxy. XVI 2020, 23 and 2040, 17 attest the heirs of a Theodulus, *vir spectabilis*; this may possibly be the same individual, if we assume that later in life he was promoted to the second senatorial grade.

• (Heirs of) Samuelius (V 9). Apparently a *vir clarissimus*. An identification with Fl. Samuelius, attested between 417–438, seems likely. On this person see above, section I.

• (Heirs of) Ptoleminus (V 10, M 10). In all probability another *vir clarissimus*, although on present evidence an identification with a person known from elsewhere is difficult. An important Oxyrhynchite of this name was active at the beginning of the fifth century, but we have no information that he reached the clarissimate.

• Macrobius, *vir clarissimus* (V 11, M 7). A man of this name and rank occurs in P.Oxy. XVI 2003, 4. 10, assigned to 472 (cf. BL X 146), and P.Col. XI 303, 1 of 515. A. Papatomas, *Μοναστήριον ἐποικίου Σκυταλίτιδος: Ein neues Kloster im Oxyrhynchites*, ZPE 128 (1999) 168, has argued that these are probably two different persons, which seems likely, but the possibility that we are dealing with a single Macrobius cannot strictly be excluded: we may recall that the attestations of Fl. Strategius I in the papyri span a period of over fifty years, from 489 (P.Flor. III 325) to 542 (P.Oxy. LXIII 4396).

• Diogenes, *vir clarissimus* (V 12, M 7). Possibly identical with the *comes* Diogenes of P.Oxy. X 1335 (482); if this holds, it would imply that he held a *comitiva* of *clarissimus* grade.

• Phoebammon, *curialis* (V 13). The Fl. Phoebammon, *curialis* and *pater civitatis*, of P.Oxy. LXIII 4393, 1 (V) could possibly be identified with this *curialis*, but the document lacks a date; cf. also the editor's note there.

• Strategius, *vir clarissimus* (M 2). This is the person called by convention Fl. Strategius I, on whom see now P.Oxy. LXVII 4614–4616.

• Leontius, *vir clarissimus* (M 3). He may be identical with the *riparius* in CPR XIV 48, 1 (506), in which he appears with Fl. Strategius I. (This papyrus has been thought to be of Heracleopolite origin, but this is hypothetical; it could also come from Oxyrhynchus.) Uncertainty remains about the γεοῦχος of PSI I 71 (VI).

• Papias and T- (M 9). Papias is not known otherwise. There is no obvious candidate to be identified with the person whose name starts with T- (Τα[τιανός]) would be too long for the space).

• Philoxenus son of Isaac (M 11). His heirs occur in P.Oxy. XVI 2020, 37 δ(ιὰ) κλ(ηρονόμων) Φιλοξένου Ἰσαάκ. The reference to his patronymic may serve to distinguish him from Φιλόξενος Εὐψ. εἰοῦ (cf. above).

¹³ R. Rémondon made much of this presumed identity to work out a date for this important text: it dates to an eleventh indiction, which would not be later than 562/3, given that Musaeus, the father of Fl. Euphemia, was dead by 568 (see D. Bonneau, *L'administration de l'irrigation dans les grands domaines en Égypte au vi^e siècle de n.è.*, in: PapCongr. XII, p. 56 n. 96). (I intend to discuss this document elsewhere.)

The arrangement in **M** invites comparison with P.Oxy. XVI 2039, an account recording the years in which four *oikoi* undertook the provision of *riparii*, and the shares of the *oikoi* in this provision. It has been suggested that the document dates to 562/563 at the very latest (cf. n. 6); paleographical considerations would indeed favour a date in the second half of the sixth century. These *oikoi* and their shares may be presented as follows:

ὁ ἔνδοξ(ος) οἶκ(ος)	$\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{96}$	(c. 34.37 %)
οἴκου Λε[ο]ντίου περιβλέπ[του]	$\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{120}$	(c. 25.83 %)
οἴκ(ου) Φιλοξένου Εὐψ. εἰίου περιβλέπ(του)	$\frac{1}{6}$	(c. 16.66 %)
οἴκ(ου) Μ[ο]υσαίου υἱοῦ Ἰτρα[]	$\frac{1}{10} \frac{1}{48} \frac{1}{600}$	(c. 12.25 %)

The prominent position of the *domus gloriosa*, no doubt of the ‘Apion family’, is not a surprise. What is more remarkable is that **M**, although several decades earlier than P.Oxy. XVI 2039, displays a very similar picture. Strategius is the largest contributor; his part works out to c. 21.64 %. He is followed by the *clarissimus* Leontius, who pays c. 15.27 % of the total amount, and by the heirs of the *spectabiles* Leontius and Philoxenus, whose contributions make up c. 10.19 % and c. 5.56 % of the total respectively. We may also note that in **V**, which is earlier than **M**, the *oikoi* of Leontius and Philoxenus are listed the one directly after the other. Two immediate conclusions may be drawn:

(i) Strategius seems to have been the leading landowner in Oxyrhynchus around 490. The *oikos* of the ‘Apion family’ is known to have existed since the middle of the fifth century. The supremacy of the family in the region of Oxyrhynchus may now be shown to go back roughly to the same period.

(ii) P.Oxy. XVI 2039 reflects a *status quo* established not later than the last decades of the fifth century. In other words, the distribution of economic power between the *oikoi* at Oxyrhynchus in the later sixth century appears to have its roots in the fifth century.

There are two other close parallels to **V** and **M**: P.Oxy. XVI 2040, assigned to the 560s, which lists money payments ‘for the fuel of a public bath’ from several Oxyrhynchites of senatorial grade, and P.Oxy. XVI 2020, an account of *arcarica* assignable to the 580s¹⁴, which shows many of the persons who figure in 2040 contributing sums of barley¹⁵. The two lists ‘are an excellent synopsis of the aristocracy which ran a provincial town in the decades between 560 and the 580s’¹⁶. Once more, it should not cause wonder that the highest contributions come from the ἔνδοξος οἶκος of the Apions. A noticeable feature common to all these lists is the occurrence of contributions made by the heirs of deceased aristocrats. The implication is that certain estates survived as distinct economic units for many years after the death of their

¹⁴ See Gascou, *Grands domaines* (s. n. 8) 48 n. 277. On this text see also A. Laniado, *Συντελεστής. Notes sur un terme surinterprété*, JJP 26 (1996) 48–50, and R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London, New York 2002, 315f.

¹⁵ See Gascou, *ibid.*

¹⁶ J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity. Gold, Labour and Aristocratic Dominance*, Oxford 2001, 149.

founders. These entities recall the *oikoi*, or rather are *oikoi* in their own right. One such *oikos* will be examined next.

IV. Eudaemon, *comes*, and his *oikos*

A. A *comes* called Eudaemon figures in J. R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* II, Cambridge 1984, 407, on account of his occurrence in P.Oxy. XVI 1949. Eudaemon also appears in a few other texts, two of which were published after the appearance of *PLRE* II. This note sets out to collect all references to Eudaemon in the papyri, and examine his position within the spectrum of late antique Oxyrhynchus.

(1) P.Oxy. XVI 1949, of 22 June 481, an order to supply wheat to a bread maker on account of *prosphora*. The text was edited in the following fashion:

- 1 [†] Εὐδαίμων κόμες Ἐρμ[α]πόλλωνι ἀπ[. . .]
- 2 παράσχου Ἡράει ἀρτοκ(όπῳ) ὑπὲρ λόγ(ου) προσφορ(ᾶς) πίτου μέτρῳ
καγκέλλ(ῳ) ἀρτάβ[α]ς]
- 3 [έκατ]ὸν [πεντ]ήκοντα, γί(νονται) πί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ρν μό(ναι). (m2)
† γί(νονται) πί(του) ἀρτάβ[αι ρν μέτρῳ]
- 4 (m1) [(έτους)] ρνζ ρκς Παχῶν α δ ἰνδικ(τίονος). καγκέλω. Παχῶν α
δ ἰνδικ(τίονος).

(2) P.Oxy. LXII 4349, 7–8, of 20 August 504, a sale of wine with deferred delivery; it refers to Οὐίκτηρι παιδεὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμιτος | Εὐδαίμονος γεουχοῦντος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει.

(3) SB XVIII 13921 (= P.Mich.inv. 3764; ed. pr. *ZPE* 61 [1985] 77), of 13 September 507, an order to supply wine to a priest on account of his *analoma*. The text may be presented as follows¹⁷:

- 1 Εὐδαίμων κόμ(ε)ς καὶ οἱ λαμπρ(ότατοι) ἀδελφ(οί) [
- 2 παράσχ(ου) Ἰωάννη πρε(σβυτέρῳ) λόγ(ῳ) ἀναλώμ(ατος) οἴνου
διπλᾶ ἕξ [
- 3 [(έτους)] ρπδ ρνγ Θῶθ ιε ἰνδ(ικτίονος) α. [

Ed. pr. took the text to be complete, but it is possible that we are missing the right-hand part of the original document. In l. 1, the name and/or description of the recipient of the order may have been written in the part now lost, although it is equally possible that there was no mention of an addressee. We may also assume some textual loss at the end of l. 2, and consider restoring [γί(νονται) οἴν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ζ μ(όνα)].

¹⁷ I am grateful to Traianos Gagos for checking the original and supplying a photograph, reproduced in Taf. 5.

1. Εὐδαίμων κόμ(ε)ς: Εὐδαίμωνι Κομ() ed. pr., translating l. 1 as ‘Kom... and the most illustrious brethren to Eudaemon’, and noting that Κομ() ‘must be a proper name, since if κομ(ε)ς was meant we would expect the article’; but the article is not necessary, cf. P.Oxy. XVI 1949, 1.

2. ἔξ: ἔξ ed. pr., but ξ is hardly discernible on the photograph (διπλᾶ δ[would be a more difficult reading).

3. (ἔτους): [(ἔτους)] ed. pr., but part of the year symbol is still visible.

(4) P.Oxy. XVI 2016, 8 οἴκου Εὐδαίμονος. The text, assigned to the sixth century, is a ‘list of individual payments of corn, which are associated with the οἴκοι of Theon, Timagenes, and Eudaemon’. The houses of Theon and Timagenes are well documented, and go back to the fifth century; that of Eudaemon is not known from elsewhere, but it is tempting to think that Eudaemon is the *comes* Eudaemon of 1–3.

(5) SB XXII 15257 (= P.Vindob. G 17024), assignable to the late fifth century. Eudaemon appears without a title, and heads an account of payments of barley by Oxyrhynchite nobles. After him are listed a number of *spectabiles*, and then more *clarissimi*, which suggests that Eudaemon was of *spectabilis* or higher grade, and very probably identical with the *comes* of 1–3. (On this text see further section III above.)

There are also some uncertain cases. Eudaemon may be the addressee of the letter PSI VII 843 (V/VI), whose prescript runs τῷ δεσπότη μου γεούχω Εὐδαίμωνι Ἰωάννη. But the identification may be problematic. In lines 6 and 8 John uses the term εὐγένεια with reference to Eudaemon. This form of politeness rather suits a person of lower status than a *comes*, cf. P.Oxy. XXXIV 2724, 12 (469) (but note that in line 7 θαυμασιότητος is applied to a *femina clarissima*), XVI 1891, 8 (495), 1959, 10 (499). However, the papyrus is undated, and may reflect an early stage in Eudaemon’s career. Eudaemon and John may appear again in the address of the letter P.Oxy. VIII 1107 (V/VI), Ἰωάννη βοηθῷ π(αρά) Εὐδαίμονος. It is also possible that the addressee of another letter, PSI VII 839, 9 (VI) Εὐδ(αίμων) σὺν θ(ε)ῷ Κ... [, is the same man; but on a photostat, kindly supplied by Rosario Pintaudi, κόμ(ε)ς cannot be confirmed.

Texts 2, 3, and possibly 5, tell us that Eudaemon was of very high rank: his epithet ἐνδοξότατος, taken at face value, indicates that he must have belonged to the highest senatorial grade, i. e., he was a *vir illustris*, in which case he will have been a *comes domesticorum*, probably honorary. 1, which is more than twenty years earlier than 2 and 3, does not specify his grade. There is no need to assume that he was an *illustris* at that time; he could have held a *comitiva* of lower rank. He was not alone in his family to hold a title of nobility. 3 shows that he had siblings of *clarissimus* rank. It is conceivable that they received the codicils conferring their title thanks to the elevated status of their brother. But one may also entertain the suspicion that their *clarissimate* was inherited: the sons of all three senatorial classes were entitled to it, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* II, Oxford 1964, 529. If this holds, Eudaemon’s father would at least have been a *vir clarissimus*, and this would have

been an aristocratic family going back to the earlier part of the fifth century. Unfortunately, the circumstances behind Eudaemon's rise to the *comitiva* cannot be reconstructed.

As one would expect from a man of his status, Eudaemon was a landowner in Oxyrhynchus. The expression γεουχοῦντος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ λαμπρῶ Ὀξυρυγγιῶν πόλει in **2** may imply that he owned land only in this region; contrast the expression γεουχῶν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῶ Ὀξυρυγγιῶν πόλει, which qualifies other Oxyrhynchite ennobled landowners, especially the members of the 'Apion family' from 523 onwards (P.Oxy. XVI 1984, 3–4). But the reference to the geographical confines of Eudaemon's landholdings does not come from a document addressed to him, so that we need not take the expression at face value. We know only three other *comites* of *illustris* rank, all three *comites domesticorum*, who were landowners in Egypt, and in particular in the province of Arcadia, in the late fifth and early sixth centuries¹⁸: the well-known Fl. Strategius I, a great landowner in Oxyrhynchus, Heracleopolis, and possibly elsewhere (see P.Oxy. LXVII 4516, 3–4 n.), who went on to become *praefectus Augustalis*, *magister officiorum*, and *comes sacrarum largitionum*, while from c. 530 onwards he was a *patricius*; Varius, πρωτεύων¹⁹ at Memphis, landowner 'also in the Arsinoite' in 504 (P.Ross.Georg. III 32, 2–3); and Fl. Eustochius, attested as πρωτεύων at Arsinoe in 487–491 (SPP XX 128, 2, SB XVIII 13951, 2–3), who will have had substantial land holdings there. In short, Eudaemon must have been a man of some standing at provincial level also.

1 and **3** show Eudaemon performing a function well documented in connection with other great landowners²⁰: he authorises supplies of goods for religious purposes (**1**)²¹, and to a church functionary (**3**). It would be surprising if a person of his standing were not the head of an *oikos*, like the Apions and other landed aristocrats in late antique Oxyrhynchus; indeed, Eudaemon's *oikos* may be recognised in **4**. What we are still lacking are references to Eudaemon's curial duties, to his possessions in the rural hinterland of Oxyrhynchus, and, of course, to his ἐναπόγραφοι γεωργοί.

B. What happened to the *oikos* of Eudaemon after his death? Although positive information is not available, it may at least be said that an Eudaemon may have been the ancestor of two leading Oxyrhynchites of the sixth century. It is worth reviewing the relative evidence.

(a) A number of Oxyrhynchus papyri attest Iustus son of Eudaemon, also a *gloriosissimus comes*. Iustus 'flourished c. 560–580, dying in or after 576/7 (P.Oxy. XVIII

¹⁸ For a prosopography of the known *comites domesticorum* see R. Delmaire, *Les dignitaires laïcs au Concile de Chalcédoine: notes sur la hiérarchie et les préséances au milieu du V^es.*, Byzantion 54 (1984) 150f., 175 (for the Empire at large), and B. Palme, *Flavius Epiphanius, Comes domesticorum*, Eirene 34 (1998) 104–108 (for Egypt).

¹⁹ Cf. Palme, *Flavius* (s. n. 18), 106 n. 18.

²⁰ For donations of the Apions to churches and other religious institutions see P.Oxy. LVIII 3960, 23 n. with references; cf. also R. Rémondon, *L'Eglise dans la société égyptienne à l'époque byzantine*, CE 47 (1972) 254–277.

²¹ **1** has received comment in E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle*, Bruxelles 1972, 80.

2195). After his death his property, or part of it, was not divided among his heirs but was administered as an economic unit, in whose interests we do not yet know' (P.Oxy. LVIII 3938, 10–11 n., which also gives a full listing of his dossier). Even though the chance that Iustus was the son of Eudaemon, *comes*, seems slight, since his *floruit* postdates by some six decades that of the man who appears in 1–3 above, the possibility of a direct descent cannot be entirely excluded. Longevity was not a stranger to Late Roman aristocracy. If the *patricius* Liberius was an exception²², we may recall the case of Fl. Strategius I, whose life and career can be traced in papyri dating from 489 to 542 (his father Apion also seems to have lived a very long life).

(b) Sixth-century Oxyrhynchite documents attest another high-ranking individual who was the son of an Eudaemon: Menas, the father of the well-known Flavia Anastasia. Like Iustus after his death, Menas is referred to as 'of glorious memory' (τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης), which implies that in life he had the honorific epithet ἐνδοξότατος: cf. P.Oxy. XLV 3204, 7–8 (588), SB VI 9561, 9 (590)²³. Unlike his daughter, Menas' presence in the papyri is hard to pin down. There are several persons of this name in *PLRE* IIIB, and some of the entries may refer to the same person. He is a candidate for identification with the Menas of P.Erl. 120, 7–8 τὸς ἐνδοξ[οτά]τους προτάτας | Μηνᾶν καὶ Ἀπίωνα; the text very probably dates to 546/7²⁴, and Apion may be Fl. Apion II. It is possible that he occurs in PSI VIII 953, 70 (567/8?) τῷ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) Δωροθέῳ ἀδελφ(ῶ) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) Φλαυ(ίου) Μηνᾶ. Cf. also PSI VIII 956, 20 (567/8²⁵) ἐνδ]οξ(οτάτου) ἰλλου(ατρίου) Μηνᾶ. A *comes* Menas occurs in the Arsinoite P.Prag. I 91 and SPP X 149, 4 (both VI), but the name is too common anyway.

Finally, there is a remote possibility that Iustus and Menas occur together in P.Köln III 166, a letter assigned to the sixth/seventh century. The setting of the letter is that of an elevated social milieu. Addressed to a certain κυρῶ Μαρίῳ by one Κῦρος νοτάρι(ος), it concerns some jewellery that Cyrus was supposed to purchase for

²² Cf. J. J. O'Donnell, *Liberius the Patrician*, *Traditio* 37 (1981) 31–72.

²³ For Anastasia and a brief description of the contents of her archive see J. van Haelst, *Des nouvelles archives: Anastasia, propriétaire à Oxyrhynchos*, in: *PapCongr. XI*, p. 586–590; see further J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4^e–7^e siècle) II*, Paris 1992, 479 (index s. v.). Van Haelst, *loc. cit.* 586, takes the name of Anastasia's father to be Μηνᾶς Εὐδαίμων, but this is probably not correct, cf. the case of Iustus discussed above (Anastasia is invariably styled θυγάτηρ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης Μηνᾶ Εὐδαίμωνος). It may also be worth noting that PSI VII 839, a letter addressed to a Eudaemon, refers to ἡ ἐὲ (l. cη) ἀδελφ(ῆ) Ἀναστασία [l. 6]).

²⁴ The text mentions an eleventh indiction in a way which suggests that this indiction had not started: τῆς ἐν Θεῶ ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ll. 4–5). Thus the text must have been written during a tenth indiction. There is a reference to what seem to be a recent assumption of power by Hephæstus, a person of very high rank: τοῦ ἐνδοξ[οτάτου κ[αί] πανευφήμου Ἡφαίστου ἀντιλαβότος | τῶν ἀρχῶν (ll. 9–10). This is Fl. Ioannes Theodoros Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hephæstus (*PLRE* IIIA 582–3), who entered office as *dux et augustalis Alexandriae* in 545/6. (This text is further discussed in a forthcoming article.)

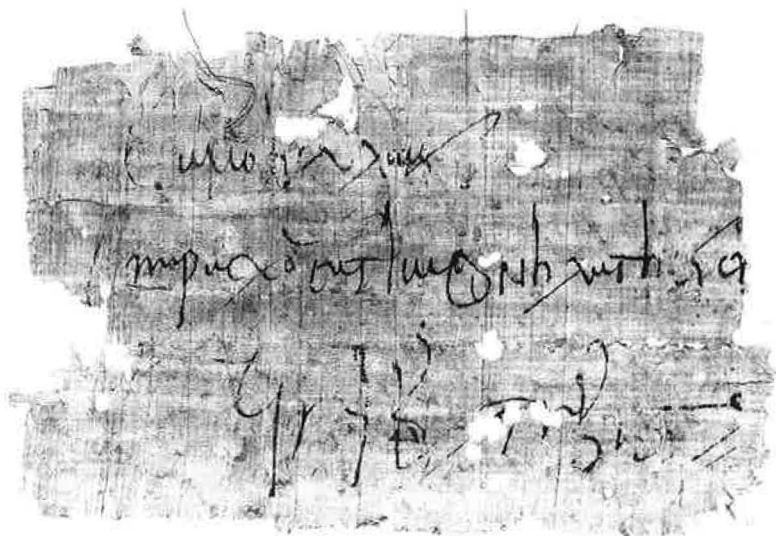
²⁵ For the date see J. Gascou, *La détention collégiale de l'autorité pagarchique dans l'Égypte byzantine*, *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 70f. n. 3.

Maria; the price, sixty-seven solidi, is steep, and suggests that Maria was a woman of certain means. The letter mentions two prominent individuals: κόμιτος Ἰούστου (2), κόμιετ Θεοδοσίος (16); there are also references to ὁ μακαρίτης Μηγάς (8) and κυρῶν Εὐφημίαν (20). A *comes* Theodosius occurs in a papyrus from Aphrodito possibly dating to 540, see the editor's note; but there are other possibilities, too²⁶. The other three persons have received no comment. For what it is worth, I wonder whether they may be identified with three known Oxyrhynchite nobles. Count Iustus might be the same as the 'son of Eudaemon', cf. above; he was a contemporary of the ἐνδοξοτάτη Fl. Euphemia, attested in the third quarter of the century (*PLRE* IIIA, Euphemia 3). A Maria, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτη, appears in P.Oxy. XVI 2020, 20 (580s); her entry follows immediately after that of Anastasia, perhaps the daughter of 'Menas son of Eudaemon'. As for the 'blessed Menas', he might be the father of Anastasia. Even though at present there can be no certainty, the coincidences are remarkable.

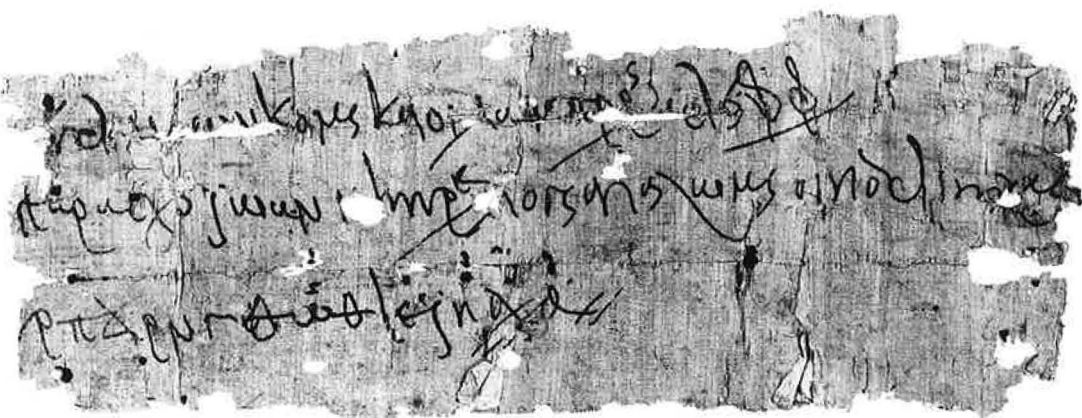
Wolfson College
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Nikolaos Gonis

²⁶ For references see L. E. Tacoma, *Replacement Parts for an Irrigation Machine of the Divine House at Oxyrhynchus*, ZPE 120 (1998) 125 n. 1. 7.



zu N. Gonis: S. 85ff.



zu N. Gonis: S. 93f.