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TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
Papyrologie und Epigraphik

HOLZHAUSEN
DER VERLAG

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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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I N H A L T S V E R Z E I C H N I S

Géza A l f ö l d y † (Heidelberg): Eine umstrittene Altarinschrift aus Vindobona (Taf. 1–4).....	1
Amin B e n a i s s a (Oxford): An Arsinoite Landowner and <i>Clarissimus Magister</i> of a Military Unit (Taf. 5).....	23
Lincoln H. B l u m e l l (Provo): A Second-Century AD Letter of Introduction in the Washington State University Collection (Taf. 6–7).....	33
Francesco C a m i a (Athen): Spending on the <i>agones</i> . The financing of festivals in the cities of Roman Greece.....	41
Ulrike E h m i g — Rudolf H a e n s c h (München): Adabei. Prominenz in und aus Epirus (Taf. 8–12).....	77
Denver G r a n i n g e r (Sofia): ‘In as much land as the Pheraioi rule’. A note on SEG 23, 418.....	87
Ortolf H a r l (Wien): Polybios bereist um 150 v. Chr. die östliche Cisalpinga und besucht die norischen Taurischer (Taf. 13–16).....	91
Herbert H e f t n e r (Wien): Hopliten und Hippeis unter dem Regime der ‚Dreißig Tyrannen‘ in Athen.....	141
Katharina K r e n n (Wien): Cleanders Stellung am Hof des Commodus. Zur Deutung des Titels <i>a pugione</i>	165
Federico M o r e l l i (Wien): Dal Mar Rosso ad Alessandria. Il <i>verso</i> (ma anche il <i>recto</i>) del ‘papiro di Muziris’ (SB XVIII 13167).....	199
Patrick S ä n g e r (Heidelberg): Neue Inschriften aus der nördlichen Außenmauer des ephesischen Theaters (Taf. 16–18).....	235
Kerstin S ä n g e r - B ö h m (Wien): Der ἐπίτροπος χαρτηρῶς und der <i>procurator rationis chartariae</i> . Zwei Prokuratoren im Dienste der Papyrusversorgung Roms.....	247
Ekkehard W e b e r — Ingrid W e b e r - H i d e n (Wien): Annona epigraphica Austriaca 2010.....	259
Bemerkungen zu Papyri XXIV (<Korr. Tyche> 690–715).....	289
Adnotationes epigraphicae II (<Adn. Tyche> 9–25) (Taf. 19–20).....	301
Buchbesprechungen.....	307
<p>Julien A l i q u o t, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie II — Mont Hermon (Liban et Syrie)</i>, Beyrouth 2008 (P. Alpass: 307) — Nicolò Giuseppe B r a n c a t o, <i>Repertorium delle trasmissioni del gentilizio nel mondo romano sulla base della documentazione epigrafica. Vol. I Provinciae</i>, Roma 2009; Id., <i>Repertorium delle trasmissioni del gentilizio nel mondo romano sulla base della documentazione epigrafica. Vol. II Italia — Epilogus</i>, Roma 2011 (F. Cenerini: 310) — Giuseppe C a m o d e c a, <i>I ceti dirigenti di rango senatorio equestre e decurionale</i></p>	

Inhaltsverzeichnis

della Campania romana I, Napoli 2008 (F. Feraudi-Gruénais: 313) — Manfred C l a u s s, *Große Gestalten der Antike*. Berlin 2010 (P. D. Moser: 319) — Jean-Christophe C o u v e n h e s, Silvia M i l a n e z i (Hrsg.), *Individus, groupes et politique à Athènes de Solon à Mithridate. Actes du colloque internationale Tours 7 et 8 mars 2005*, Tours 2007 (Ch. Samitz: 320) — Julien F o u r n i e r, *Entre tutelle romaine et autonomie civique. L'administration judiciaire dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain (129 av. J.-C. – 235 apr. J.-C.)*, Athènes 2010 (P. Sánchez: 324) — Klaus Martin G i r a r d e t, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott. Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*, Berlin, New York 2010 (H. Förster: 330) — Bernard G r e e n, *Christianity in Ancient Rome. The First Three Centuries*, London, New York 2010 (H. Förster: 335) — Monika R. M. H a s i t z k a, *Koptische dokumentarische und literarische Texte. Corpus Papyrorum Raineri (CPR), Band XXXI*, Berlin, New York 2011 (G. Schenke: 338) — Vincent H u n i n k (Hrsg.), *Glücklich ist dieser Ort! 1000 Graffiti aus Pompeji, Lateinisch/Deutsch*, Stuttgart 2011 (E. Weber: 342) — Arno H ü t t e m a n n (Hrsg.), *Pompejanische Inschriften. Der heutige Bestand vor Ort im Stadtgebiet und in den Nekropolen, Lateinisch/Deutsch*, Stuttgart 2010 (E. Weber: 343) — Éva J a k a b, *Risikomanagement beim Weinkauf. Periculum und Praxis im Imperium Romanum*, München 2009 (K. Ruffing: 345) — Andrea J ö r d e n s, *Statthalterliche Verwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Studien zum praefectus Aegypti*, Stuttgart 2009 (S. Schmidt: 347) — Anne K o l b (Hrsg.), *Augustae. Machtbewusste Frauen am römischen Kaiserhof? Akten der Tagung in Zürich 18.–20. 9. 2008*, Berlin 2010 (K. Sänger-Böhm: 352) — Fanette L a u b e n h e i m e r, Élise M a r l i è r e, *Échanges et vie économique dans le Nord-Ouest des Gaules: Le témoignage des amphores du II^e siècle après J.-C.*, Franche-Comté 2010 (T. Bezczky: 356) — Yann L e B o h e c, *Das römische Heer in der Späten Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart 2010 (A. Kaiser: 358) — Christian M a r e k (unter Mitarbeit von Peter F r e i), *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, München 2010 (G. Kantor: 361) — Stefanie M a r t i n - K i l c h e r, Regula S c h a t z m a n n (Hrsg.), *Das römische Heiligtum von Thun-Allmendigen, die Regio Lindensis und die Alpen*, Bern 2009 (V. Gassner: 363) — Elizabeth A. M e y e r, *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions: A Study in Athenian Epigraphy and Law*, Wiesbaden 2009 (Ph. Scheibelreiter: 366) — György N é m e t h, *Kritias und die Dreißig Tyrannen. Untersuchungen zur Politik und Prosopographie der Führungselite in Athen 404/403 v. Chr.*, Stuttgart 2006 (H. Heftner: 369) — Peter P i l h o f e r, *Das Neue Testament und seine Welt*, Tübingen 2010 (E. Weber: 373) — Peter R i e d l b e r g e r, *Philologischer, historischer und liturgischer Kommentar zum 8. Buch der Johannis des Goripp, nebst kritischer Edition und Übersetzung*, Groningen 2010 (D. Weber: 376) — Margaret A. R o b b, *Beyond Populares and Optimates. Political Language in the Late Republic*, Stuttgart 2010 (K.-J. Hölkeskamp: 377) — Denis R o u s s e t, *De Lycie en Cabalide. La convention entre les Lyciens et Termessos près d'Oinoanda*, Genève 2010 (F. Kolb: 383) — Francesca S c h i r o n i, *TO MEGA BIBAION: Book-Ends, End-Titles and Coronides in Papyri with Hexametric Poetry*, Durham, NC 2010 (M. Perale: 385) — Michael Alexander S p e i d e l, *Heer und Herrschaft im römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart 2009 (S. Bönisch: 390) — Stefan T r a x l e r, *Die römischen Grabdenkmäler von Lauriacum und Lentia. Stein – Relief – Inschrift*, Linz 2009 (Th. Pantzer: 392) — Richard V e y m i e r s, *Ἰερός τῶ φοροῦντι. Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques*, Bruxelles 2009 (G. Dembski: 396) — Catherine W o l f f, *Déserteurs et transfuges dans l'armée romaine à l'époque républicaine*, Napoli 2009 (Ch. Lundgreen: 397).

Indices..... 403

Eingelangte Bücher..... 407

Tafeln 1–20

AMIN BENAÏSSA

An Arsinoite Landowner and
Clarissimus Magister of a Military Unit*

Tafel 5

The document edited here is the top portion of a land lease housed in the Austrian National Library. Two men, a priest by the name of Papnuthius and Aurelius Dioscorus, from an apparently unattested hamlet of the Arsinoite nome, take under lease 40 arouras situated around the hamlet Piamouei. The land belongs to a *vir clarissimus* who is styled *magister* of an uncertain military unit. The lease, as often in the Arsinoite nome, is for an indefinite period (see 8 n.), and the nature of the crop is not specified. The amount and due date of the fixed monetary rent are taken away by the break of the papyrus at line 11. Also lost from the rest of the document are the *kyria* clause and *stipulatio*, the subscriptions of the lessees together with the subscriptions of their *hypographeis* if they were illiterate, and a notarial signature.¹

The size of the land leased out by the *magister*, forty arouras (c. 27 acres or 11 ha), is notable. The designation γεουχῶν (3) already implies that the lessor is a relatively well-to-do landowner and a man of significant means.² Land of this size is exceptional in leases postdating the fourth century. The only exact parallels known to me are BGU I 308 (Arsinoe; “Byz.”), a sharecropping lease by two vintners (father and son) from an unknown γεουχῶν, and P.Jena II 6 (Hermopolis; 477), a lease by one man from a woman sporting the epithet εὐγενεστάτη at a yearly rent of 200 artabas of wheat and other extras.³ The largest attested plot in a lease of this period is one of 60 arouras leased by a man and his two sons from a *femina clarissima* in SB XIV 12050 (Hermopolis; 498). Given that all of these examples involve a sharecropping arrangement or rent in kind, it is unfortunate that the amount of the monetary rent due from the two farmers in the Viennese lease cannot be recovered.

* This article was written during a Postdoctoral Fellowship generously granted by the British Academy.

¹ For a bibliography on land leases and references to lists of leases from late antiquity, see A. Papatomas, P.Heid. VII 405 introd., and G. Azzarello, P.Köln IX 373 introd.

² On the title γεουχῶν, cf. J. G. Keenan, *The names Flavius and Aurelius as status designations in later Roman Egypt*, ZPE 13 (1974) 283–304, at 284–6.

³ Given the size of the land and the multitudinous tasks stipulated by the lease, the editor (introd.) suggests that the single lessee was a middleman.

It is instructive to compare the size of the *magister's* plot with the well-documented landholdings of "Ioannes I" in the Taurinus archive, who attained the rank of *primicerius* in the Hermopolite unit of the *Mauri scutarii* in the early 480s (between 457 and 481 he was seconded to the *officium* of the *dux* of the Thebaid).⁴ Ioannes owned and leased out a variety of relatively small, scattered plots in the Hermopolite nome, all of which measured between 1 and 12 arouras. By synchronically adding up these plots as attested over three decades, one may estimate that Ioannes owned 35 to 40 arouras in total.⁵ That military men could and did occasionally own significantly larger individual plots in the sixth century is shown by the case of Flavius Samuelius in P.Michael. 43 (Aphrodito; 526), a simple soldier whose family (for whom he acts) was in possession of a 28-aroura farm.⁶

The chief interest of the document is the senatorial rank (*vir clarissimus*) and function (*magister*) of the lessor, both of which are rarely attested in military units of late antiquity. The name of the *magister* in line 2 is unfortunately mostly lost, but he would certainly have borne the *nomen* Flavius given his membership in the military and his clarissimate. The military unit to which he belongs, a genitive plural word ending in *ϋ* and c. 14 letters long, is also lost at the beginning of line 3. The unit was not necessarily stationed in the Fayum, since the *magister* could have been a hereditary landowner there but serving in a different part of Egypt.⁷ Three units are attested in connection with the Arsinoite nome in this period: the *Transtigritani*, stationed in or near Arsinoe from at least c. 406 until c. 530–42;⁸ the *Leontoclibanarii*, recorded under this name between at least 487 and 546 and stationed in the Heracleopolite nome, but with members well-attested also in the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite, and Aphroditopolite nomes;⁹ and the *Daci*, known only from SPP XX 139.2, 18

⁴ On Ioannes' career, see H. Maehler, BGU XII p. xxv, G. Poethke, BGU XVII p. xxxvi, and B. Palme, CPR XXIV pp. 74–5. Add now BGU XIX 2773.19(?), 2803.2, 2804.2, 2816.2, 2826.2.

⁵ So Maehler, BGU XII p. xxii; J. G. Keenan, *Soldier and civilian in Byzantine Hermonopolis*, in: *Pap. Congr. XX* 444–51, at 447–8. As Keenan acknowledges (p. 448 n. 28), such a synchronic snapshot can be methodologically unreliable.

⁶ On Flavius Samuelius and his descent into debt, which resulted in the mortgage of the above farm, see J. G. Keenan, *Aurelius Phoibammon, son of Triadelphus: A Byzantine Egyptian land entrepreneur*, BASP 17 (1980) 145–54.

⁷ Cf. e.g. P.Oxy. LXXII 4919–20, which attest soldiers of the *numerus Leontoclibanariorum* (a unit garrisoned in the Heracleopolite nome; see below, n. 9) as γεουχοῦντες in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

⁸ On the *Transtigritani*, see B. Palme, CPR XXIV pp. 87–9 (Exkurs IV). More recent attestations of the unit occur in P.Oxy. LXXII 4911 (449), P.Paramone 13 (c. 530?), and P.CtYBR inv. 3912 (ed. by A. Benaissa, *The size of the Numerus Transtigritanorum in the fifth century*, ZPE 175 [2010] 224–6). On the new dating of BGU III 836 = W.Chr. 471 (c. 528/30–542), see N. Gonis, Tyche 25 (2010) 213 (Korr. Tyche 660).

⁹ On the *Leontoclibanarii*, see B. Palme, *Die Löwen des Kaisers Leon: Die spätantike Truppe der Leontoclibanarii*, in H. Harrauer, R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Gedenkschrift Ulrike Horak* (Pap. Flor. 34), Firenze 2004, I 311–32, esp. 318–25, to which add P.Oxy. LXXII 4919 (501), 4920 (V/VI), P.Worp 33 (Arsinoite or Aphroditopolite; 501).

(Arsinoe; 531; see BL VII 263).¹⁰ [Δακῶ]γ is clearly too short for the space in line 3. The only two viable possibilities are [Τραντιγριτανῶ]γ (14 letters in lacuna) or [Λεοντοκλιβαναρίῳ]γ (16 letters in lacuna), the former perhaps more likely to fit the space comfortably.

The title of *magister* borne by the lessor has not hitherto occurred in the papyri in connection with a military unit. The term is only occasionally attested in military contexts under the Principate. In combination with a dependent genitive, it could designate a wide array of functions (all imperfectly known), for example drill instructors like the *magister armorum*, *m. campi* (= *campidoctor*), *m. cohortis*, and *m. equitum*, and supervisors of military craftsmen, workshops, or specialists like the *magister figlinarum*, *m. fabrum*, *m. calcariorum*, *m. ballistariorum*, and *m. barbariorum*.¹¹ The word is even rarer in the military nomenclature of late antiquity (the top-level *magistri militum* aside), with only a few scattered attestations in inscriptions, which often do not provide a clear indication of the function or rank of the *magister*. Some of the instances relate to the construction of military fortifications. Thus, a *magister* without qualification is involved in the building of a fort and tower in CIL VII 268 = RIB I 721 (Ravenscar, Yorkshire; IV/V); CIL XIII 8262 = ILS I 790 (Cologne; 392–4) attests a *magister* in charge of the construction of an uncertain building; and CIL VIII 4354 (Ain Qsar, near Casae [Numidia]; 578–82) is a building inscription of a fort concluding with the words *Focas magister fecit*. Other attestations of military *magistri* with little contextual information include CIL V 8750 = ILS I 2801 and 8988c from Concordia near Venice, both undated late antique inscriptions on sarcophagi, the first naming *Flavius Hariso magister primus de numero Erolorum seniorum* (an *auxilium palatinum*–elite infantry unit–according to Not. Dig. Oc. V 162),¹² the second a *magister Baicca*.¹³ The fifth-century tombstone I.Prusias 120.4–5

¹⁰ Incidentally, the loan contract SPP XX 139 involves soldiers from all three units: the debtor is a soldier of the *Daci*, the creditor is a *centenarius* of the *Leontoclibanarii*, and one of the witnesses is a soldier of the *Transtigritani*. It is not clear from the document whether the *Daci* (a *legio palatina* in Not. Dig. Or. VI 43) were stationed in the Arsinoite nome. It is noteworthy that the creditor has as a guarantor for the repayment of the loan his mother-in-law from Arsinoe, suggesting perhaps that he was not usually resident in the city and therefore needed a local guarantor. In lines 21–22, one of the witnesses describes himself, according to the editor's restoration, as στρ[ατ]ι[ώ]της ἀριθμοῦ | τῶν (BL IX 347) γεννε[οτάτων] (l. γενναι-) Δακῶν], but Bernhard Palme has discovered upon reexamining the papyrus that the editor's reading and restoration are erroneous and that the witness is actually a soldier in the unit of the *Transtigritani*, like the following witness in line 22 (forthcoming note). This leaves the debtor as the only attested member of the *Daci* and reinforces the impression that this unit may not have been based in the Arsinoite nome.

¹¹ For instances, brief discussions, and further references, see A. E. Boak, *The Roman magistri in the civil and military service of the Empire*, HSCPh 26 (1915) 73–164, at 115–17, supplemented and corrected by A. Demandt, *Magister militum*, RE Suppl. 12 (1970) 553–6; see also D. J. Breeze, *A note on the use of the title optio and magister below the centurionate during the Principate*, Britannia 7 (1976) 127–33 = D. J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Roman Officers and Frontiers* (Mavors 10), Stuttgart 1993, 71–7.

¹² Presumed to be a drill-sergeant by R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, Berlin 1920, 124. More cautiously, Y.

from Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia mentions a *magister draconum*: τοῦ λαμπροτάτου εχ<ο>λαρίου καὶ μαγίστερος δρακόνων (*l. δρακόνων*). Michael Speidel takes him to be the head of a *collegium* of *draconarii* (late antique standard bearers) in a military unit;¹⁴ his clarissimate evidently derives from his membership in a *schola palatina* and does not seem to be connected with the title *magister draconum* per se.¹⁵

It is difficult to tell whether the *magister* in the Viennese papyrus approximated any of the above in function and rank, since the private contract naturally provides no such information. A salient and unusual feature of his titulature is his clarissimate. Soldiers and officers in ordinary military units do not bear epithets denoting senatorial rank, but are usually styled καθωσιωμένοι (*devotissimi*). Only *tribuni* (unit commanders) are occasionally attested as *viri clarissimi*, though not in Egypt.¹⁶ The clarissimate of our *magister* therefore may not be directly connected to his military position and was perhaps a hereditary rank related to his status as a wealthy landowner.¹⁷ Even so, it is unlikely that a man of such title would hold a low position in the military, so that it seems safe to infer at least that *magister* was a fairly senior rank in the unit. Revealingly, the *priores*—“senior officers of various grades ranking below the commander” (1 n.)—to whom the receipt P.Thomas 27 (Hermopolis; V/VI) is directed, are addressed as [τοῖς καθ]ωσιωμένοις (*l. καθω-*) πρί[ο]ρι ἀριθμοῦ Μαύρ(ων) Ἐρμοῦ πόλεως in the opening (1), but are referred to by the abstract title τῆς ὑμῶν λαμπρότητος in the body of the document (2, 5), as if they were originally designated λαμπρότατοι; the use of the abstract may have been motivated by considerations of respect and politeness and does not necessarily imply that they all

Le Bohec, *Das römische Heer in der Späten Kaiserzeit*, Stuttgart 2010, 104, states that *magister* in this text is “ein Rang, von dem wir nicht mit Sicherheit wissen, wohin er genau zu stellen ist, zumal sich hinter ihm ohne Zweifel verschiedene Funktionen verbargen, wie zur Frühen und Hohen Kaiserzeit” (he counts him among “die subalternen Offiziere”).

¹³ Presumed to be a military man by D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia dignitatum*, Düsseldorf 1969–70, II 19 n. 16, in analogy with Fl. Hariso in CIL V 8750.

¹⁴ M. P. Speidel, *The master of the dragon standards and the golden torc: an inscription from Prusias and Prudentius’ Peristephanon*, TAPA 115 (1985) 283–7 = *Roman Army Studies* II (*MAVORS* VIII), Stuttgart 1992, 390–95; cf. also B. Palme, CPR XXIV p. 100 with n. 42.

¹⁵ On the senatorial rank of sub-officers in the *scholae*, see Grosse, *Militärsgeschichte* (cit. n. 12) 95.

¹⁶ See A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, Oxford 1964, II 1221 n. 12. There are no papyrological examples of *tribuni* of units bearing the clarissimate; the *tribuni* in P.Münch. I 6.10 (583) and P.Ross. Georg. V 30.3 etc. (c. 449/50 or 464/5; see *PLRE* II 344–5) are in the service of the *dux Thebaidis*. J. Durliat, *Magister militum — στρατηλάτης dans l’Empire Byzantin*, BZ 72 (1979) 306–20, at 317–18, maintained that the *tribunus* of a unit could be called στρατηλάτης = *magister militum*, partly on the basis of P.Cair. Masp. 67009.10, 21 (c. 567–70; see BL XI 52), but (for Egypt at least) this equation is now vitiated by the correction of the relevant locus by F. Mitthof, *Das Dioskoros-Archiv und die militärischen Reformen Justinians in der Thebais*, in: J.-L. Fournet (ed.), *Les archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte*, Paris 2008, 247–59, at 257 (cf. already BL VII 33, IX 41).

¹⁷ For sixth-century *viri clarissimi* simply as γεουχοῦντες, without specification of an office, cf. e.g. P.Bad. VI 172.3–5 (Oxy.; 547), P.Cair. Masp. II 67162.5–6 (Antin.; 568).

bore the clarissimate, but it suggests that senior officers in military units were deemed to be on a par with *viri clarissimi* in this period.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that *magistri* are also attested as *officiales* on the staff of the *dux* (military governor) of the Thebaid in some documents from the archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito. The relevant instances (all petitions) show them involved in the administration of justice and reveal that they were high-ranking members of the ducal *officium*.¹⁸

– P.Cair. Masp. I 67003.4 (Antinoopolis(?); c. 567; see BL I 100, XI 52) διὰ τοῦ μ[εγ]αλοπρ(επεστάτου) μ[α]γίστερος Δωροθέου. The *magister* receives a petition on behalf of the *dux Thebaidis* from a monastery concerning the ownership of a contested plot of land.¹⁹

– P.Flor. III 295 + P.Lond. V 1678 + fr. ined. (Antinoopolis; 566–8):²⁰ a petition by the δημόται of Antaeopolis to Callinicus and Dorotheus(?), *clarissimi et magnificentissimi magistri* in the *officium* of the *dux Thebaidis*, concerning abuses by soldiers of the former *numerus* of Antaeopolis.

– P.Lond. V 1677.2 (Antinoopolis; c. 568–70):²¹ a petition addressed by Dioscorus τῷ ἀλ[η]θινῷ ἀγαθῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ φιλανθρωπευεργέτῃ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ περι[βλ]έπτῳ μαγίστερι complaining of misdeeds by the pagarch of Aphrodito.

As H. I. Bell pointed out in P.Lond. V 1677 introd.,²² these *magistri* seem comparable to those mentioned in Iustin. *Nov.* 30.2 (a. 536) κινδύνῳ τῆς ἄλλης κομιτιανῆς τάξεως καὶ τῶν δεκατριῶν τῶν πρωτευόντων, οὓς δὴ μαγίστερας πρώτους καὶ δευτέρους καλοῦσιν; the *officium* referred to is that of the *comitiani* in charge of overseeing imperial estates in Cappadocia, now under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of the province. The passage reveals that *magistri* were the thirteen highest officials in this bureau and were further subdivided into two classes. The distinction between *magistri primi* and *secundi* recalls the designation of Fl. Hariso as *magister primus* in the unit of the *Heruli* in CIL V 8750 (see above). Perhaps counterparts of the ducal and comital *magistri* also operated in military units or were attached to certain units from the *officia* of military provincial governors. The latter possibility might provide

¹⁸ The following documents might also refer to *magistri* on the ducal staff given the honorific titles employed: BGU XII 2190.1 (Herm.; VI), a receipt acquitting τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ κυρ(ίῳ) Φοιβάμμωνι μαγίστερι of the payment for the tax of *nyctostrategi*; PSI XIII 1344v.5 (Antin.; VI), draft of a letter or petition mentioning the cook τοῦ περιβλέπ(του) μαγίστρ(ου). In P.Cair. Masp. I 67076.7, 11 (Aphrodito; VI), a fragmentary official letter apparently dealing with requisitions for the military, the sender says that when he went to Panopolis, he “found the *magister*”; if παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ λαμπρ(ότητος) in line 8 refers to this *magister*, then he will have been a *vir clarissimus* and the one who ordered the sender not to collect wine.

¹⁹ On Dorotheus, see J.-L. Fournet, *À propos de SB XIV 11856 ou quand la poésie rencontre le document*, BIFAO 93 (1993) 223–35, at 229–35.

²⁰ See J.-L. Fournet and J. Gascou, in: D. Feissel, J. Gascou (eds.), *La pétition à Byzance*, Paris 2004, 161.

²¹ See Fournet and Gascou, in: *La pétition à Byzance* (cit. n. 20) 170.

²² Cf. also R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata: l'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, Rome 1989, 177–8.

an alternative explanation for the unusual senatorial rank of our *magister*, since *officiales* in the bureaus of civilian and military governors routinely bore the clarissimate in the sixth century.²³

P.Vindob. G 20.536

21.4 (w) x 16.3 (h) cm

2 December 510

The dark-brown papyrus (plate 5) is complete at the top and the right side, but is irregularly broken at the left side and more regularly at the bottom. The upper margin measures c. 1.5 cm. There are traces of 9 vertical folds resulting in 10 vertical panels; the space between the folds grows progressively larger from right to left, suggesting that the document was rolled in that direction, with the right edge inside. The regular break at the bottom is perhaps the result of a horizontal fold along the centre of the document. The writing, running along the fibres, is in a fluent professional cursive leaning to the right. Lines tend to slope downwards toward the end; they usually reach the edge of the right margin (especially 2, 4, 10), but sometimes the scribe leaves some space between the end of the line and the right-hand edge (up to 2 cm in line 8; the separate first line ends 3.1 cm from the edge). The papyrus is beset by several small wormholes and tears, but they do not hamper the reading of the text significantly. The back is blank.

[+ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν Φλαουίου] Ὀπορτούν[ο]υ τ[ο]ῦ λαμπρο(στάτου), Χοριακ
ς, δὲ ἰν(δικτίωνος), ἐν Ἄρσει(οἰτῶν πόλει). (vac.)

[Φλαουίω] λωνι τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ μαγίτερι ἀριθμοῦ τῶν καθοσιωμ(ένων)
[c. 14]ν νιῶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστ[η]ς μνήμης Ἰωάννου γεουχο[ῦ]ντι ἐπὶ τῆς
Ἄρσει(οἰτῶν) πόλεως Π[α]πνούθιος πρε[σ]βύτερος υἱὸς Π[α]ύλου καὶ
Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος

5 [υἱὸς Ν.Ν. ἀμφοτέροι ἀπὸ ἐπο[ι]κίου Ατ[.]ου τοῦ Ἀρσειοεῖτου νομοῦ
χ(αίρειν). ὁμολογοῦμεν

[ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης] μεμιθῶσθαι παρὰ τῆς εἰς λαμπρό[σ]τητος τὰς ὑπαρχούσας
[αὐτῇ ἐν πεδίῳ] ἐποικίου Πιαμουεῖ τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] νομοῦ ἐν τόπῳ κλήρου
καλουμένου Πιαμου

[ἀρούρας τεσσ[α]ράκοντα πλέον ἔλαττον, (ἀρούρας) μ πλέον ἔλ[α]τ(τον), ἐπὶ
χρόνον ὅσον βούλει,

[ἀπὸ καρπῶν τῆς εὐτυχούς εἰσι[ο]ύσης πέμπτης ἰν(δικτίωνος), παρεχόντων
ἡμῶν τῶν

²³ See N. Gonis, *Notes on miscellaneous documents III*, ZPE 159 (2007) 267–72, at 268 (with n. 5). For a transfer from the ducal *officium* to a military unit, cf. the case of Fl. Ioannes I in the Taurinus archive (see above), who reverted to the unit of the *Mauri* after the end of a career as *scriniarius* in the office of the *dux Thebaidis*. The transfer was accompanied by a promotion to the rank of *primicerius* and was soon followed by the discharge of Ioannes. B. Palme, CPR XXIV pp. 74–5, suggests that the transfer was meant as a sort of benefice before his retirement.

10 [μικθωαμείων]ν Π[α]πνουθίου καὶ Διοσκόρου ἐξ ἀλλη[λ]εγγύης ὑπὲρ
ἀποτάκτου φόρου αὐτῶ(ν)
[ἐνιαυσίως χρυ]σίου ν[ομ]ι[ε]μα] .[. .] . . . [

1 λαμπρός, αρεινός 1, 9 ινός 2 καθοσιωμός, λ. καθω- 3 υἱὸν 4 υἱὸς 5 λ. Ἀρσινοΐτου, χί
6 της'εης 8 ελατ'τον, 6 μ πλὺ ελ[α]τς 10]εγ'γυης, αυτῶ

“After the consulship of Flavius Opportunus, *vir clarissimus*, Choecac 6, indiction 4, in the city of Arsinoites.

“To Flavius –lon, *clarissimus magister* of the unit of the *devotissimi* ..., son of Ioannes of excellent memory, landowner in the city of Arsinoites, (from) Papnuthius, priest, son of Paulus, and Aurelius Dioscorus, son of N.N., both from the hamlet At– of the Arsinoite nome, greetings. We acknowledge under mutual surety that we have leased from your splendour the more or less forty arouras belonging to you in the field of the hamlet Piamouei of the same nome, in the area of the allotment called “of Piamoun”, 40 arouras more or less, for as long a time as you wish, from the crops of the fortunate incoming fifth indiction, on condition that we, the lessees Papnuthius and Dioscorus, provide under mutual surety on account of the fixed rent on these arouras *n solidi* of gold each year ...”

1 Flavius Importunus was the sole consul in 509; see R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987, 552–3, and R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, Leiden 2004, 203, to which add BGU XIX 2818.2 (6 May 511). His name is universally given as Op(p)ortunus in the East; cf. P.Vind. Sal. 9.1 n. For the spelling with one pi, cf. P.Berl. Frisk 5.1 (Herm.; 510), P.Rain. Cent. 112.1 (Ars.; 509), SB I 5941.7 (?; 510; see BL VII 189). The specification of the fourth indiction (= 510/11) guarantees the restoration of the post-consulate formula here (cf. *CSBE*² 147). The consul of 510, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, is not attested in the papyri, and Importunus continues to figure in dating formulas up to May 511 (BGU 2818).

Χοιῶκ. Land leases are typically drawn up in the fall (September–December), that is, shortly before or during the sowing season; see S. Waszyński, *Die Bodenpacht: agrargeschichtliche Papyrusstudien*, Leipzig-Berlin 1905, 62–4, and J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri*, München 1958, 95–6.

2]λωγι. In this period, the likeliest name corresponding to this ending would be Ἀπόλ]λωγι, but other less common names like Κεφά]λωγι and Φί]λωγι cannot be excluded.

3 [c. 14]ν. On the name of the unit, see introd. It is likely to have been [Τρανεπιγριτανῶ]ν or [Λεοντοκλιβαναρίῶ]ν. The brother of the well-known cavalryman Flavius Callinicus Iuvinianus (on whom see most recently B. Palme, P.Worp 33–

34 introd.), whose name is not preserved in SPP XX 131.2 (Ars.; 518; see BL VII 263), was a soldier in the unit of the *Transtigritani* and was also the son of a certain Ioannes, but his father was still alive in 518 and he was a simple στρατιώτης.

4 Π[α]πνούθιος πρε[σ]βύτερος. The *nomen* Αὐρήλιος is not restored because Parnuthius is a priest; see K. A. Worp, *On the Aureliate of clergy and monks*, ZPE 151 (2005) 145–52, esp. 151–2. On priests as lessees of land and agricultural labourers, see G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (APF Beiheft 13), München-Leipzig 2002, 218–32.

5 ἐπο[ι]κίου Ατ[]ου. The traces and space do not appear to be compatible with a known hamlet of the Arsinoite nome. Ἀτ[τί]γου would not suit well the trace after the break and would be probably too long for the space; this village, furthermore, is not otherwise designated ἐποίκιον (see <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=374&i=7>). Ἄμμου (kindly suggested by Fritz Mitthof) may be just possible, although the space between the first putative mu and ου seems too broad for only one other letter; this village is only attested as a χωρίον in the seventh century and later; see <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=151&i=1> (the two instances from the Roman period listed there, P.Wash. Univ. I 18.14 ἀπ' Ἄμοῦ and O.Mich. 493.3 ἐν Ἀμου[, are doubtful: a Heracleopolite provenance has been suggested for the former document in BL VIII 509, and the toponym in the latter is incomplete).

7 ἐποικίου Πιαμουει. This hamlet has been identified with modern Biahmu, c. 8 km northeast of Medinet al-Fayum (ancient Arsinoe), and with the well-attested village of Ἀνδριάντων κόμη in the Ptolemaic and high Imperial periods; see K. Wessely, *Topographie des Faijûm (Arsinoites Nomus) in griechischer Zeit*, Wien 1904, 36, 124–5, and cf. P.Tebt. II pp. 367, 395. For a list of instances and bibliography, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/detail.php?tm=1824&i=2>. The identification of Πιαμουει/Biahmu and Ἀνδριάντων κόμη rests on the presence of colossal Pharaonic statues on the site of Biahmu, which are presumably the ἀνδριάντες to which the Greek toponym refers. Ἀνδριάντων κόμη is not attested after the third century, but resurfaces with its Egyptian name Πιαμουει in BGU III 873 fr. 1.1 (V/VI); on the date of this document, see S. Kovarik, *Tyche* 24 (2009) 223 (Korr. *Tyche* 631). Πιαμουει does not otherwise reappear until the seventh century, when it is usually styled χωρίον, the typical designation of rural settlements after the Arabic conquest. In BL I 441, F. Preisigke restores BGU 873 fr. 1.1 as [ἀπὸ χωρί]ου Πιαμουει, probably in analogy with later documents, but in this period one should probably restore [ἀπὸ ἐποικί]ου, as in our text; cf. fr. 3.1–3 of the same papyrus: τὴν δὲ τούτων ἀπόδοσίν σοι [π]οιήσομαι ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ.

ἐν τόπῳ κλήρου καλουμένου Πιαμουιν. This κλήρος is not otherwise attested; cf. the κλήρος Ἄμουιν υἱοῦ Πλάμμωνος γενομένου πρεσβυτέρου in P.Prag. II 162.4 (Ars.; VI/VII). For the personal name Πιαμουιν, cf. P.Kell. IV 96.900 (Oasis Magna; 361–4 or 376–9).

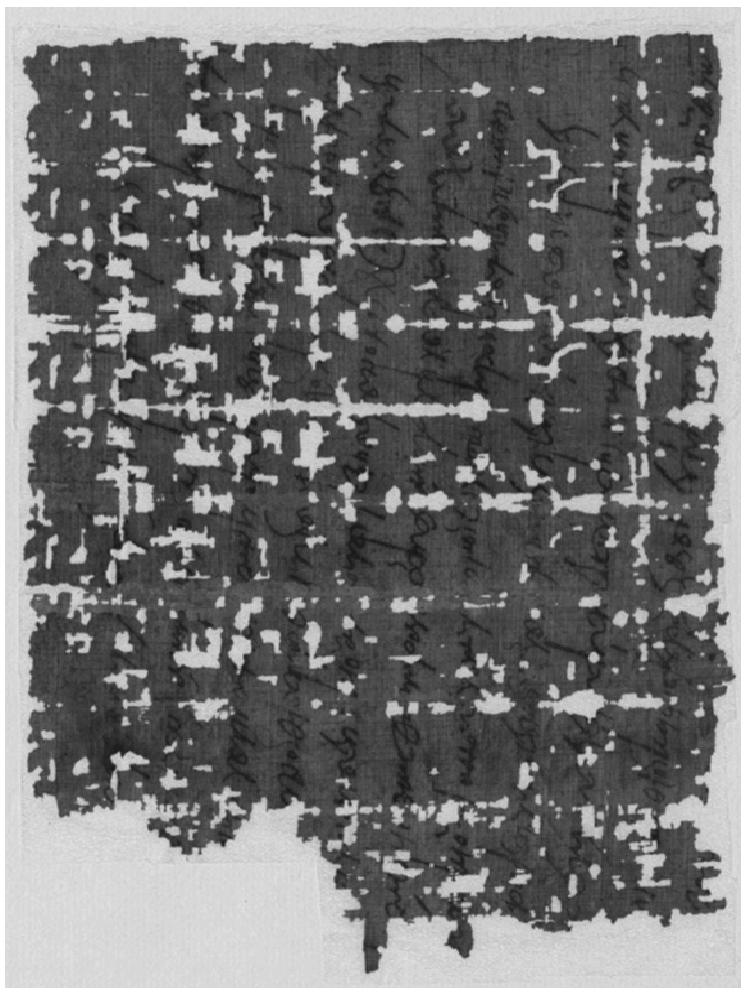
8 πλέον ἔλαττον. On this clause, guaranteeing the validity of the contract against small fluctuations in the actual surface of the land, see H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Maßangaben der Papyrusurkunden*, Diss. Köln 1966, 96–100.

ἐπὶ χρόνον ὅσον βούλει. Leases of an indefinite period were especially common in the Arsinoite nome in the fifth and sixth centuries; see H. Comfort, *Late Byzantine land-leases ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον βούλει*, *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 80–88, and Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* (cit. 1 n.) 91–5; cf. also A. Jördens, P.Heid. V p. 244, and eand., *Die Agrarverhältnisse im spätantiken Ägypten*, *Laverna* 10 (1999) 114–52, at 122–4.

9 [ἀπὸ καρπῶν τ]ῆς εὐτυχοῦς εἰσι[ο]ύσης πέμπτῃς ἰν(δικτίωνος). The reference is to the harvest of the summer of 511. For the reckoning of crops, the indictional year began on 1 Pachon = 26 April or 1 May in the Arsinoite nome (cf. *CSBE*² 33); the fifth indiction mentioned here accordingly corresponds to 26 April 511–25 April 512.

11 χρυ[σί]ου ν[ομ]ι[α]μα[τα]. Not much is left of iota after sigma, but χρυσίου νόμιμα/νομισμάτιον is overwhelmingly more common than χρυσοῦ νομ. in documents from the Arsinoite nome; see D. Hagedorn, *χρυσός oder χρυσίον? Regionale Besonderheiten des Wortgebrauchs im spätantiken Ägypten*, *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 167–75, also downloadable from <http://www.sslmit.units.it/crevatin/Daris.htm>. After 504 virtually all leases from the Arsinoite nome stipulate a monetary rent rather than a rent in kind, with no implication for the nature of crop; see Jördens, *Agrarverhältnisse* (cit. 8 n.) 125 n. 35, and cf. Palme, *CPR XXIV* pp. 155–6.

] . . . [. The second trace is the tall ascender of eta, iota, or kappa.



zu A. Benaissa, S. 28f.: P.Vindob. G 20536
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