

Prosopographica IV

Nikolaos Gonis*

Abstract: A sequel to a series of notes on high-ranking persons in Late Antique Egypt, continued from *APF* 65 (2019) 348–56. Full editions of two papyri briefly described in P.Lond. III are given in an Appendix.

Keywords: Prosopography, Late Antiquity, Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, *vir clarissimus*, *comes*, *scholasticus*, *ex-praesides*, *exceptor*

<https://doi.org/10.1515/apf-2021-0006>

16. Callinicus, *comes*

In the previous instalment of these notes, I discussed the Hermopolite dossier of Callinicus, *vir clarissimus*, and briefly alluded to the *comes* of this name (*APF* 65 [2019] 352–3). The latter is recorded in *PLRE* IIIA 264, Callinicus 9, from P.Lond. III 1314a and 1325, both known as descripta of unknown provenance at that time. The first of these two papyri is now SB XX 14169, a tax receipt issued by the *comes* and apparently addressed to a functionary of the Hermopolite village of Telbonthis, some time in the sixth century. A *scriniarius* and an *exceptor* sign the receipt; as these officials normally served on the staff of provincial governors or *duces*, we may assume that Callinicus held a senior post in the fiscal administration of the Thebaid. A full edition of the second text is offered in the appendix below.

An additional attestation of this *comes* may come from P.Ant. III 189, a list of wanted persons from ‘various villages’ of a *comes* Callinicus, as-

Vorbemerkung: The papyri published in this article were studied from a microfilm and then from digital images, reproduced here by permission of the British Library Board. My thanks to Federica Micucci for help with remote study.

* **Kontakt:** Nikolaos Gonis, Department of Greek and Latin, University College London, London WC1E 6BT, <n.gonis@ucl.ac.uk>

signed to the sixth/seventh century. Though the papyrus was found in Antinoopolis, these villages lay in the north of Hermopolis. Whether he is to be identified with the pagarch in P.Münch. III 152 or the *dux* of the Thebaid in the late 560s, it cannot be decided on current evidence.¹

17. Hermopolite Anatolii

There are several entries in *PLRE* II and III about persons called Anatolius, attested in papyri of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. *PLRE* II 84, Anatolius 7, records a Hermopolite *vir spectabilis* from P.Princ. III 137. 1–2, παρεκλήθη ὁ δεσπότης² μου ὁ λαμπρό(τατος) ἄρχων παρὰ τοῦ περιβλέπτου Ἀνατολίου τοῦ Ἑρμοουπολίτου. The *praeses* would have been of the Thebaid or even of Arcadia; his *clarissimate* suggests a date not later than the end of the fifth century, which is in line with the handwriting. A *spectabilis* would have probably risen to this rank from that of *clarissimus*, but it is unclear whether he is the same as any of the other *clarissimi* of this name. An Anatolius, *v.c.*, gave his name to a Hermopolite fiscal division (μερίς) some time in the fifth century (BGU XII 2170.3), found also in accounts of the sixth and seventh centuries (SB XXII 15634.9, P.Würzb. 19.4).³ If this Anatolius had become a *spectabilis*, he would have left his traces in the account books. Another Anatolius, *v.c.* (*PLRE* IIIA 73, A. 9), is known from BGU XII 2194.1; the text was assigned to the sixth century, which is plausible, and suggests a different person from the other two. But what to do with the *comes* of this name in P.Lond. V 1800–1802 (*PLRE* IIIA 70, Anatolius 1)? Bell assigned these three documents to the ‘5th–6th century’ on palaeographical grounds, and pointed to the Hermopolite nome as their possible origin on the basis of a monetary term. The format of the texts and the name Hermapollon (1801.2, 1802.2) lend further support to the suggested provenance. The reference to talents of silver seems to rule out a date after the mid sixth century.

¹ See J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (2007) 165, 253. On this *dux*, see J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l’Égypte du VI^e siècle: La bibliothèque et l’oeuvre de Dioscore d’Aphrodité* (1999) 332–6, esp. 336 n. 552.

² δεσπότη<ς> *ed. pr.*; to judge from the online image, the scribe reinked his pen after writing sigma, retraced the lower part of eta, and continued with μου.

³ On these μερίδες see J. Gascou & P.J. Sijpesteijn, ‘P.Berol.G 25003: Deux documents fiscaux hermopolites’, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 119–21.

Bell had associated this *comes* with the ‘Count of Arcadia’ of P.Lond. III 1073, which seems to be later in date. This is *PLRE* IIIA 73, Anatolius 10: ‘Addressee of a petition on a civil matter; the document is of unknown provenance’. After BL I 294, the address reads τῷ δεσπ(ότη) μου(ν) τὰ πάντα μεγα[λοπ(ρεπεστάτῳ)] δε(σπότῃ?) Ἀνατολίῳ κόμητι Ἀρκα[δί]ας. It was thought that Anatolius was a *praeses Arcadiae*, but his mediaeval sounding title has no parallel in papyri. This disappeared after the last word was read as Ἀρκάδιος (BL XI 113), the name of the letter’s sender, but a different name was written; the papyrus has † Κοσμᾶς †. There is also no δε(σπότῃ?) but remains of an inked seal.

Originally placed in the sixth century, P.Lond. 1073 was more recently assigned to the seventh.⁴ The uncertainty about its provenance led to a separate entry in *PLRE* IIIA 73, Anatolius 11, for the *comes* addressed in the letter P.Grenf. I 64, assigned to the sixth/seventh century and possibly from Hermopolis: τῷ δεσπό(τῃ) μου τὰ πάντα⁵ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτῳ) (καὶ) περιβλέ(πτῳ) Ἀνατολίῳ κόμ(ε)τι. Most documents of late date acquired with P.Lond. 1073 come from Hermopolis, and it would be economical to identify the addressees of these two letters. Even more, there are several entries for a *comes* Anatolius and his wife in P.Sorb. II 69 (see 11.45 n. there), a tax account of 618/19 or 633/4.

Another letter referring to the same *comes*, acquired by the British Museum at the same time as P.Lond. 1073, is P.Lond. 1069a, published in the appendix below. The sender, the *exceptor* Colluthus, is probably also known from P.Sorb. II 69. Assuming that all references are to the same *comes*, we may place Anatolius in the earlier part of the seventh century.

Comites at that time were generally *spectabiles*, and the one in P.Grenf. I 64 is called περιβλέ(πτῳ). The addressee of P.Lond. 1069a is styled πανευφήμ(ῳ). This epithet (*famosissimus*) applied to persons of the highest senatorial grade, normally *consulares* and *patricii*; it is also used of *duces*, but this is due to the status of the person, not the function. A *comes* is of lower rank, including the holders of the *comitiva domesticorum* (the point of entry to the *illustres*), who disappear in the second half of the sixth century. πανευφήμ(ῳ) may have been used for flattery, in a letter conveying a request.

⁴ F. Morelli, ‘*Grammatêphoroi* e vie della giustizia nell’Egitto tardo antico’, *Symposion* 2005 (2007) 357.

⁵ New reading, made on a photograph, in place of τῷ πάντ(ων) of BL I 185; the papyrus has τ^απαντ^ς.

18. Anonymus 73, *scholasticus*

This is the appellation given in *PLRE* III B 1440 to a ‘?vir gloriosus (Egypt); advocatus (fori Thebaidis)’. He was the father of the *exceptor* Fl. Theodorus in P.Cair.Masp. III 67312.6–7, a will written in Antinoopolis in 567: τοῦ τῆς ἐ[ν]δ[όξου] μνήμ[ης] Φοιβάμμωνος γεγονότος σχολαστικοῦ | φόρου Θηβαίδος. The editor’s note to l. 7 casts doubt on the restored name: ‘La restitution « Phoibammôn » paraît peu possible pour le nom, quoique l’avocat Phoibammôn soit connu par plusieurs papyrus publiés plus haut.’ *PLRE* rules out the identification with ‘Phoebammon 7 (*PLRE* III B 1033–4) on chronological grounds, and an image shows that the name was not Phoibammon. After a space wide enough for six of seven letters, with some specks scattered here and there, there is a tall upright followed by traces of two more letters; perhaps the name ended in]ιϝς.

This man was not a *vir gloriosus* when he was alive. Under the sigma of τῆς one can see the tip of an oblique stroke rising from left to right, which must belong to lambda: instead of ἐ[ν]δ[όξου]⁶ read λ[ογ]ί[ας], the epithet commonly used for the ‘memory’ of late *scholastici*.

19. Demeas, *comes* and *ex-praeses*, and others

P.Laur. II 34 is a rent receipt of unknown provenance, assigned to the second half of the sixth century. It begins π(αρά) Δημέας κόμητ(ος) καὶ ἀπὸ ἀρχόντ(ων) κρηρωνόμου Βίκτ(ορος) | τραπισίτ(ου). ἐδεξάμην καὶ υπρῶθι (l. κληρονόμω, τραπεζίτου, ἐπληρώθην).⁷ Demeas was a *comes* and *ex-praeses*, but receives no entry in *PLRE* III. We do not know where he served as governor, but this receipt shows that he was based in the Thebaid. The formula ἐδεξάμην καὶ ἐπληρώθην is mainly attested in Hermopolite texts, but there are also examples from Antinoopolis and Aphrodito. The name Δημέας is also fairly common in Hermopolis, and was borne by

⁶ I referred to this passage in ‘Korr. Tyche 570. Superlatives for the Deceased’, *Tyche* 22 (2007) 215 (= BL XIII 570), but realized too late that the text corrected was that of the older DDbDP version; *ed. pr.* did not have the superlative.

⁷ This is a revised text. The editor thought that Demeas was an heir and the receipt was addressed to Victor, and read κρηρωνόμου Βίκτ(ορι) τραπισίτ(η) (l. κληρονόμου, τραπεζίτη). But usually someone is called an ‘heir of so-and-so’, with the name of the deceased following. The receipt is surely addressed to an heir of Victor; κρηρωνόμου would be an error for κληρονόμω, and we would have to resolve Βίκτ(ορος) τραπισίτ(ου).

high-ranking persons there.⁸ It is unfortunate that we cannot go beyond the assigned date, which is also in line with the sum paid for rent, 2¼ carats. As we saw above, Egyptian *comites* in the late sixth and early seventh centuries were not the important grandees of earlier times. The κόμης καὶ ἄρχων τῆς Θηβαίων ἐπαρχίας in P.Cair.Masp. III 67030 (546?) and 67321 (548/9?), who bears these titles in official documents, is not exactly comparable. Was Demeas really a former governor?

Only two other Egyptian ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων are recorded in *PLRE* III; three others have become known since then,⁹ but those two are the most interesting. The first is Fl. Ioannes *qui et* Lampadius 92, ‘?signifer of Arcadia and ex praesidibus’, whose ‘title of ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων is honorific’, *PLRE* IIIA 677 asserts. *PLRE* IIIA 734 is slightly more circumspect about Iulianus 13: ‘The title ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων is probably honorific and does not necessarily imply that he had once been a provincial governor’. But why should this title be honorific? As far as I can see, there is no unambiguous example of an honorary *praeses*; in view of the nature and status of the office in this period, there is no comparison to a PPO *vacans* called ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, an ἀπὸ ὑπάτων who did not hold a consulship, or a στρατηλάτης without a career in the army. I wonder whether the idea that the title was honorific stems from the other functions of these persons, which might have appeared too lowly in comparison.¹⁰ Iulianus was a pagarch of Antaeopolis in 553, but held the post with a *gloriosissima femina*;¹¹ and certain sixth-century Arsinoite pagarchs were of much higher status than any *praeses*. As for Fl. Ioannes alias Lampadius, attested in Oxyrhynchus 579, he has been shown not to be a *signifer* but a *scholasticus* (no doubt an *advocatus*

⁸ Such as the *scholasticus* and *defensor civitatis* in the early sixth century (SB XVI 12699 and XX 14456; BGU XIX 2822) or the *vir clarissimus* in the early seventh (P.Sorb. II 69.19.A19, 46A.11, 15, 65C.6; there is no reason to identify him with the ex-*praeses*).

⁹ All three occur in tax registers from Hermopolis. Better known are Demetrios and Phoibammon, on whom see J.-L. Fournet, ‘Un nouvel épithalame de Dioscore d’Aphrodité adressé à un gouverneur civil de Thébaïde’, *AnTard* 6 (1998) 80 (on Demetrios, see further my ‘Prosopographica II’, *APF* 55 [2009] 94). The other is Sarapion (SB XVIII 13758r.34; strictly speaking, the first edition of this text predates *PLRE* III).

¹⁰ A similar concept underlies the discussion of Theodosius 15, *PLRE* IIIB 1294, another possible governor, who ‘may perhaps have been one of the wealthy landowners who feature in the papyri in this period as bearers of imperial titles which were honorific and did not imply the tenure of any actual office’.

¹¹ P.Lond. V 1660.5–7 τῶν μ[ε]γ[α]λοπρεπεστάτων κοινῶν | δεσποτῶν παγάρχων Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου ἀπὸ ἀρχ[όν]τ[ων] | καὶ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης Πατρικίας. On the dossier of Iulianus, see Fournet (above, n. 9) 80.

too) attached to the *forum* of Arcadia.¹² Why would a senior professional not have been a *praeses*? The status of civilian provincial governors was not particularly high already in the fifth century. The *praeses* cuts a peripheral figure in the world of Dioscorus,¹³ and the epithets used for the *dux* and the *praeses* in SB XXVI 16519 (VI/VII) demonstrate the significant distance between the two: ὁ π[α]νεύφημος δούξ (l. 8), ὁ μεγαλοπρ(επεστατος) ἄρχων (l. 24). It would be preferable to take the title ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων at face value, and to try to understand the circumstances of the people who held such posts.

20. Serenus, *comes*

P.Rain.Cent. 80, a sixth-century letter found in Hermopolis, is addressed τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτῳ) καὶ περιβλ(έπτῳ) κόμ(ετι) νο. The online image suggests that the name of the *comes* may be read as Σερήνω. No *comes* Serenus had been attested in Hermopolis.¹⁴

APPENDIX

Two London Letters

1. To Georgius from a ‘brother’

BL Pap. 1325

30.5 (w) × 12.4 (h) cm

Sixth century

The description of the papyrus in P.Lond. III, p. lxxiii, reads: ‘Official order or letter, with a reference to the *comes* Callinicus. 6th cent. Imperfect; in a large, rather sloping, cursive hand.’ The address on the back tells us that a ‘brother’ writes to Georgios: two socially equals rather than actual

¹² PSI VIII 963.9–10 σχο[λ(αστικῶ)] | φόρου ταύτης τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχί(ας), after J.G. Keenan, ‘Flavius John, Scholasticus: A Note on PSI 963’, *BASP* 9 (1970) 16–18 (= BL VI 182). I take the opportunity to correct the mistaken identification of Fl. Ioannes alias Lampadius with Fl. Ioannes, *scholasticus* of the *forum Arcadiae*, proposed in P.Oxy. LXXXII 5340.5–6 n. The two men had different fathers, which I missed when I revised the text for publication.

¹³ Cf. Fournet (above, n. 1) 326.

¹⁴ It is possible that there was a *comes* Serenus in Antinoopolis around 567 (*PLRE* III 1123, Serenus 3), but this is probably the same as the Antaeopolite pagarch of this name; cf. Banaji (above, n. 1) 161, 253.

brothers. A *scholasticus* seems to have handed papers concerning the vil-
lage of Sinape to a *domesticus*; the *comes* Callinicus is given permission
to go to an estate and bring forth some men. The writer asks Georgius to
meet him in the evening or during the night. If Georgius finds out that the
writer has gone to Antinoopolis, he will have to go to his house there. The
writer assumed that the letter would be delivered before the evening, pre-
sumably of the day of writing. Someone from Hermopolis could go to and
expect to be reachable at Antinoopolis on the same day, given the relative
location of the two cities.

The papyrus was bought from Chauncey Murch on 20 November 1903.

- ↓ † ἅμα τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν γραμμάτων κατ.[c.15]
 τοὺς χάρτας Σιναπη δέδωκεν τῷ λαμπρ[οτάτῳ c.8 (-)άμ-]
 μωνι τῷ δομestikῷ ὁ σχολαστικ[ὸς] ἐ.[c.8].[c.6].[
 4 ἐπετρέπη ὁ κόμ(ης) Καλλίνικ[ο]ς ὑπάγ[. .]ελο[. .]σ[. .]αι εἰς τὸ
 κτήμα κ(αὶ) παραγαγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπ[ο]υς καὶ ἐὰν οὕτω ἔπεμψεν
 πέμπει, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἢ ἀποψὲ ἢ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐλθὲ ἵνα ἴδω-
 8 δεῖ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸν οἶκον. †

Back:

→ κυρ(ίῳ) Γεωργίῳ (vac.) [ἀδελ]φός
 4 κομ^ς 5 κς 6 ἱναῖδω 9 κυρ

‘Upon reading the letter ... The *scholasticus* has given the papers of
Sinape to the *clarissimus* —ammon the *domesticus* ... The *comes* Callini-
cus was permitted to go(?) ... to the holding and to bring the men, and if
he has not sent (them?) yet, he is sending (them?). But by all means come
this evening or by night, so that we may see what we do. And if you come
and find me in Antinoe, go there to the house.’

Back: ‘To lord Georgius : ..., brother.’

1 ἅμα τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῶν γραμμάτων. Cf. SB XX 15186.2 (VII/VIII).

κατ.[. Probably a form of καταλαμβάνω, perhaps in the imperative,
followed by a place name: the sender would ask Georgios to go to where
he is, as we see from the conclusion of the letter.

2 τοὺς χάρτας. Perhaps lists that related to the persons mentioned in l. 5 or legal documents about them, given the involunt of ὁ σχολαστικ[ός]ς in 3 (I take this to be the subject of δέδωκεν).

Σιναπη. A village in the northern part of the Hermopolite nome (TM Geo 2938).

2–3 τῷ λαμπρ[οτάτῳ] c.7 (-)άμ]μωνι τῷ δομειστικῷ. Of the –ammon compounds, Ἡρακλάμ]μωνι or Σαραπάμ]μωνι, fairly common in this area, would take up most of the space available. This is the first instance in papyri of a *domesticus* honoured with the clarissimate. The one mentioned here would have been the assistant to a high-ranking civil or military officer, perhaps the *praeses* or *dux*. On *domestici* generally, see B. Palme, CPR XXIV 15 introd., pp. 98–9; F. Mitthof, SPP III².2 132.10–11 n.

4 ὑπάγ[. . .]: probably ὑπάγ[ειν], but ειν would be too crowded.

5 ἔπεμψεν. Its object must be τοὺς ἀνθρώπ[ο]υς, unless it was stated in or implied from the damaged part of l. 4.

6 ἢ ἀποψὲ ἢ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐλθέ. The expression is unparalleled. It conveys the same urgency as requests that people act πρὸ διαφύματος, as e.g. in SB XXVI 16358.6, from the archive of Senouthios. Cf. also CPR XXX 5, from the same archive, where Senouthios is asked to be in a certain place by midnight.

In view of ὑπὸ νύκτα, the sense of ἀποψέ may be ‘in this evening’, as in Modern Greek (accentuated ἀπόψε), rather than generally ‘in the evening’; cf. A. Papatomas, P.Heid. VII 408.3 n. It has occurred in two other letters, both referring to written communications: P.Heid. 408.3 (IV/V) ἀποψὲ οὖν μεταδέδωκα, P.Lond. III 1081.2 (c.643/4) ἀποψὰ ἔγραψέν μοι.

8 δεῦ. Too little remains of εϋ, but the space and sense make the reading inescapable. δεῦ is the singular of δεῦτε; see P.J. Parsons, P.Oxy. LXXIX 5189↓.16 n.

2. To Anatolius, comes, from Colluthus, exceptor

BL Pap. 1069a

15.8 (w) × 9.4 (h) cm

Early seventh century

The text was described in P.Lond. III, p. lv, as a ‘Guarantee or bail for a certain individual. 6th or 7th cent. Imperfect, wanting the right-hand por-

tion; in a large, sloping, cursive hand'. The sheet was broken along the middle part, as suggested by the remains of the inked seal.

Colluthus, an *exceptor*, informs the *comes* Anatolius of the arrest and imprisonment of a man in his employ, and requests his release. This is a common topic in communications of the later period, especially after the Conquest (cf. F. Morelli, CPR XXX 24 introd.). Colluthus may well be known from other Hermopolite documents of this date. There are three entries for payments by a Colluthus, *exceptor*, in P.Sorb. II 69, and one of them (91.A3) suggests that he was an Antinoite; a shorthand writer, he would have been on the staff of the *praeses* of the Thebaid or the *dux* in Antinoopolis. A Fl. Colluthus, *exceptor*, signs as a witness in P.Laur. II 26.25–6 (609/10¹⁵), but his hand is not the same as that responsible for this letter.

The papyrus was purchased from Ch. Murch on 8 June 1901.

↓	† Ἄπα Μονιν τινὰ τροφέα μου ἀπο. [c.27]
	ἡσφαλείσατο καὶ ἐν φυλ[α]κῇ ἀπε. [c.27]
	τοῦτον ἀπολύσαι. καὶ ἐάν τις νομ[ίση	c.25]
4	λόγον, ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογοῦμαι	c.25]

Back:

→] (*seal*) παγευρήμ(ω) κρείτ(ονι) Ἀνατολίω κόμε(τι)
 † Κολλοῦθος ἐξκέ(πτωρ)

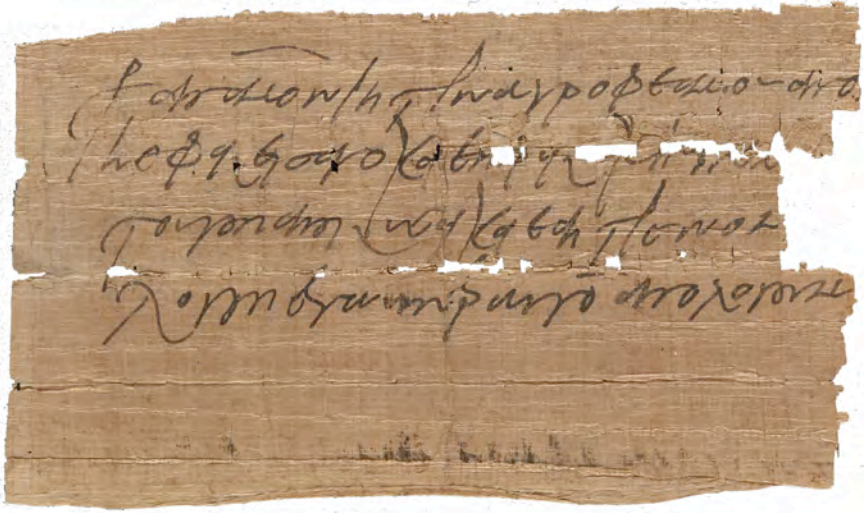
1 ἀπαμ̄ονιν 2 ἡσφαλίσατο 4 αὐτ̄ο 5 πανευφημ̄ςκρειτ.τ., κομ̄ε^ε
 6 ἐξ̄κ̄ε^ε

'... arrested ... a certain Apa Monis, a foster-father of mine from(?) ... and ... in prison ... to release him. And if someone thinks ... an account, I make a defence for him ...'

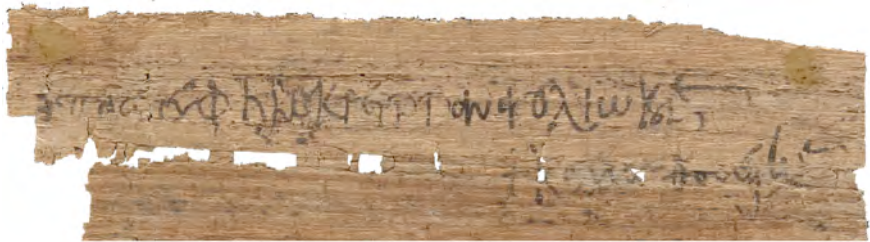
Back: 'To the ... all-renowned, powerful Anatolius, *comes*: Colluthus, *exceptor*.'

1 Ἄπα Μονιν. The long line over the name may mark it as non-Greek. The name Μονις (spelled variously) is typical of the area of Hermopolis; see J. Gascou, P.Sorb. II 69.35.16 n.

¹⁵ I briefly discuss the date of this text in 'Prosopographica II', *APF* 55 (2009) 93f.



P.Lond. III, p. lv (BL Pap. 1069a r)



P.Lond. III, p. lv (BL Pap. 1069a v)

τροφέα μου. The word refers to a ‘foster-father’; see Lampe, *PGL* s.v. τροφεύς, and P.Sorb. II 69, p. 52, n. 203. The possessive pronoun indicates that this was an employee of the writer.

2 ἀπε [. Perhaps ἀπεξ[λ-, but the fibres are disturbed and cannot confirm it.

3 ἀπολύσαι would have been governed by an imperative such as θέλησον, lost at the end of l. 2.

4 λόγον seems to be picked up by ἀπολογοῦμ[αι]. It is unclear whether it should be understood as a ‘letter of asylum’ (λόγος ἀσυλίας), on which see R.S. Bagnall & B. Palme, ‘Franks in Sixth-century Egypt’, *Tyche* 11 (1996) 2–4.

5 κρείττ(ονι) is rare in addresses. I have found it only in P.Iand. VI 133v and P.Oxy. I 128.15, also after πανευφήμω, and in PSI I 97v, where the abbreviation was left unresolved.

6 Κολλοῦθος ἐξκέ(πτωρ). See P.Sorb. II 69.5.4 n., and above, introd. On the function, see J.R. Rea, P.Oxy. LVIII 3932.16 n., who points out that *exceptores* could also serve at the offices of state functionaries other than *praesides* and *duces*; cf. also P.Aphrod.Lit. IV 8, addressed to an *exceptor* of the praerorian prefects. Several other *exceptores* occur in P.Sorb. II 69.