

## Prosopographica III

Nikolaos Gonis\*

**Abstract:** A sequel to a series of notes on high-ranking persons in Late Antique Egypt, continued from *APF* 55 (2009) 90–95. This article discusses Fl. Dionysius alias Apollonius, who was briefly *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus in 325; Heraclammon and other officials mentioned in a speech of Shenute; the Hermopolite dossier of Hermogenes, acting *curator civitatis*, and Callinicus, *vir clarissimus*; an Oxyrhynchite *comes* called Iustus; the Arsinoite scholasticus and pagarch Fl. Paulus; and a late but ghost Flavius.

**Keywords:** Prosopography; Late Antiquity; Arsinoe; Heracleopolis; Hermopolis; Oxyrhynchus; Thebaid; Shenute; *curator civitatis*; *comes*; pagarch; scholasticus.

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### 10. Fl. Dionysius alias Apollonius, *curator civitatis* of Oxyrhynchus

P.Monts.Roca IV 69 is a document addressed [Φ]λ[α]υίωι Διονυσίωι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίω λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυγγίτου. It bears no date, but embeds a petition to the prefect Magnus,<sup>1</sup> who is recorded between January/February

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**Vorbemerkung:** I am grateful to Bernhard Palme for comments on certain points in no. 11, for checking the original of SPP VIII 1010 in Vienna, and for permission to reproduce clippings of this papyrus and of SPP III 369. I also wish to thank Stephen Emmel for advice and bibliographical guidance on Shenute (no. 11), and to Sophie Kovarik for her response to an early version of no. 14.

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

<sup>1</sup> The edition prints *παρὰ τοῦ* (l. τῷ) *κυρίω Φλ(αυίω) Μάγνος τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ* | [. . .] *Αἰγύπτου* (ll. 4–5), but the plate suggests reading *κυρίω μου Μάγνῳ* in l. 4 (only a trace of the end of *ω* remains, the rest being lost in a small break; the arrangement of the fragments of the papyrus assumes they are contiguous, but a couple of mm separate them). We may also confidently supply [τῆς] in l. 5, mentioned as a possibility in the note; the use of the article is standard in this position in the fourth century.

and 2 October 325.<sup>2</sup> The *curator civitatis* is new, and his appearance unexpected. Valerius Dioscurides alias Iulianus is attested in this post as late as March/April 325, and Flavius Leucadius from July/August 325 to the end of 326.<sup>3</sup> The tenure of office by Dionysius alias Apollonius may thus be placed between late April and late July 325, which would be extremely brief. Some unforeseen circumstance will have brought about its early end.

The new *curator* may well be the same person as Aurelius Dionysius alias Apollonius, a former gymnasiarch, councillor, and nyctostrategus in 296 (P.Oxy.Hels. 26).<sup>4</sup> If he were to be identified with the gymnasiarch of this name in P.Oxy. X 1274,<sup>5</sup> who was still very young at that time,<sup>6</sup> he would be of very advanced age in 325.

### 11. Heraclammon and others

The *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, records two men called Heraclammon. One was a *scholasticus*, perhaps an *assessor*, of a *praeses* of the Thebaid, who is reported to have heard a sermon of Shenute of Atripe, and later became a *praeses*, probably of the Thebaid (PLRE II 538f., Heraclammon 1). It is worth quoting the relevant passage.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See R.A. Coles, P.Oxy. LIV 3756.9 n. Magnus was out of office by 2 February 326, when we find Ti. Flavius Laetus (P.Oxy. LI 3620).

<sup>3</sup> See Coles, P.Oxy. LIV, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> See L.E. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-Century Roman Egypt* (2006) 294.

<sup>5</sup> The text is undated but cannot be much later than c.250. The mother of the young gymnasiarch was Aurelia Aristous, daughter of Herodes son of Apion, ex-gymnasiarch and councillor of Oxyrhynchus. P.Gen. II 116.16 (247) refers to Herodes son of Apion, ex-gymnasiarch (BL VIII 243); P.Oxy. X 1274 could be later in date, since Herodes is not described as a councillor. Aristous' husband was Achillion alias Apollonius, son of Apollonius, former royal scribe of Alexandria, who was dead when P.Oxy. 1274 was written. The absence of a *gentilicium* led to the suggestion that Achillion died before 212 (Th. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2001) 910, 958 n. 1), but this does not seem likely in view of the date of P.Gen. 116. The office of the royal scribe disappears in the mid 240s, and P.Oxy. 1274 implies that the death of Achillion was recent: we cannot be far from the late 240s then. A posthumous reference to Aristous is possibly offered by SB XVI 12268, which is not later than 26.ii.280; see P. Pruneti, *Anagenesis* 1 (1981) 262–264 (with some caution: 'year 5' cannot be of Diocletian).

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion in Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber* 911 n. 313.

<sup>7</sup> The translation is by P. Cherix, *Étude de lexicographie copte. Chenouté, Le discours en présence de Flavien (les noms et les verbes)* (1979) 30, of the Coptic text edited in É. Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti* (1911) 107–108.

‘Ces paroles et d’autres semblables, je les ai dites aussi à Dioskorite, le gouverneur (ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΙΤΗΣ ΠΗΓΕΜΩΝ), et à Éraclammon, son conseiller (ἩΡΑΚΛΑΜΜΩΝ ΠΕΡΥΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ), devenu gouverneur (ΣΗΓΕΜΩΝ) après lui. Et j’ai aussi parlé au comte Théodote (ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΠΚΟΜΕΣ) comme il convenait. Je n’ai pas caché au non plus le fond de ma pensée à Spoudase, le comte de l’impératrice (ΣΠΟΥΔΑΣΙΟΣ ΠΚΟΜΕΣ ΝΤΡΡΩ) et à son frère aussi ... Mais j’en ai dit davantage encore à des nombreux magistrats, à des nombreuses autorités et aussi à Andreas, le comte (ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΠΚΟΜΕΣ).’

What Shenute describes took place in the 430s or slightly later. The sermon immediately after this one in volume 4 of Shenute’s *Logoi*, ‘bears a heading in the MSS that indicates that it was delivered “in the presence of Heraclammon, the governor (ΣΗΓΕΜΩΝ)”. References in this sermon to the Council of Ephesus make it clear that it was delivered sometime after 431.’<sup>8</sup> This not only offers a date range for Heraclammon, but confirms the identification of Theodotus with the *comes Aegypti* of this name (*PLRE* II 1103f., Th. 4), in office in 435 (*CTh* VI 28.8) and in 427/428 or 442/443 (*SB* VI 9598, with *BL* X 201).<sup>9</sup> Andreas was perhaps the same as ‘a *comes* in the Thebaid under Theodosius II during the exile of Nestorius’, between 436 and 450 (*PLRE* II 87, A. 2).<sup>10</sup> The *praeses* Dioscurides (*PLRE* II 368), Heraclammon’s predecessor, and Spudasius (*PLRE* II 1027), the ‘*comes* of the queen’,<sup>11</sup> are not known otherwise, but we may now confidently assign them to this period. There is another familiar figure, mentioned in the title added before the speech in the manuscript, the *praeses* Flavianus (ΦΛΑΥΪΑΝΟΣ ΣΗΓΕΜΩΝ), before whom Shenute spoke. Flavianus is a well-known Heracleopolite magnate, whose career has been placed in the 420s–430s;<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> S. Emmel, email of 20.viii.2003. This work of Shenute is called *Blessed Are They Who Observe Justice*, and the title is found in Chassinat (above, n. 7) 124.

<sup>9</sup> On the relation of Theodotus and generally the *comes limitis Aegypti* with the Thebaid at that time, see J-M. Carrié, *AnTard* 6 (1998) 109–115. A curiosity is *PLRE* II 87, Theodosius 10, mentioned in letters of Shenute as a *dux* and a *comes*, present in Panopolis; could it be that Theodosius is a scribal error for Theodotus? But this is purely speculative.

<sup>10</sup> Our source is Joh. Rufus, *Plerophoriae* 36, ed. F. Nau, *POr* VIII (1912) 84. Andreas may have been an early *comes Thebaici limitis* (he appears to have wielded considerable authority) or only held an honorary *comitiva*. The *clarissimus* Andreas known from papyri (*PLRE* II 87, A. 5; *ZPE* 191 [2014] 199) was someone else, given his later dates.

<sup>11</sup> According to *PLRE*, ‘he was presumably a *comes* in the retinue of either Eudocia or Pulcheria’. Could it be that he was a senior administrator of the empress’s Egyptian estates (in the Thebaid?) and the holder of a *comitiva*, much like the Oxyrhynchite Strategius I?

<sup>12</sup> Attention to Flavianus was first drawn by J. Hahn, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 248–252, and his presence in papyri was first noticed by D. Hagedorn, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 228. The dossier has been assembled by B. Palme, *BASP* 45 (2008) 143–169, supplemented in P.Gascou 49–51.

in view of the foregoing discussion, the time of his tenure of office in the Thebaid would not have been far removed from *ca.* 440.

Heraclammon 2 (*PLRE* II 539) is the addressee of P.Oxy. VIII 1163, a letter of the fifth century, which calls him τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ τὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ λαμπροτάτῳ κόμισι Ἡρακλάμμωνι. The text refers to a meeting that took place in the Cyrenaica between the sender of the letter and a *comes*, presumably a *dux Libyarum* (*PLRE* II 1229, Anonymous 58). It is reasonable to infer that Heraclammon was an important figure; the epithets λαμπρότατος and μεγαλοπρεπέστατος are used in combination for a *praeses Arcadiae* in ChLA XLIII 1247.9 (first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c.) and CPR XXIII 32.1 (450). Even if it cannot be proven, we may consider the possibility whether he is to be identified with Heraclammon 1. A potential difficulty is that this would have been a *praeses* of the Thebaid, whereas Oxyrhynchus lay in Arcadia; but Heraclammon is not addressed as a *praeses*, and could have been an Oxyrhynchite who held office in the Thebaid. As for his *comitiva*, it could have been an honorary one, held also when a *comes* was out of government office. P.Oxy. 1163 is undated but the hand would suit a date around the middle of the fifth century, that is, within Shenute's lifetime.<sup>13</sup>

Whatever the case, the name Heraclammon is found with *viri clarissimi* in a few other texts of this date. One of them is P.Amh. II 146 = *M.Chr.* 76.1, from Hermopolis, assigned to the fifth century: Ἡρακλάμμωνος λαμπρο(τάτου) καὶ ῥιπαρ(ίου). Ἡρακλάμμων ὁ λαμπρότατος is the sender of the letter P.Stras. I 26, assignable to the fifth century.<sup>14</sup> Relevant may also be SPP VIII 1034, possibly of Hermopolite provenance and assigned to the fifth/sixth century, which is headed Ἄ]μμωνος λαμπρο(τάτου); but Ἡρακλά]μμωνος or some other — ammon compound would also do.

<sup>13</sup> Apart from Flavianus, Heraclammon, and Theodotus, another senior functionary who appear in the works of Shenute and in papyri is Caesarius, *comes Thebaici limitis*; see J. Gascou, *T&MByz* 14 (2002) 269–277 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 431–439).

<sup>14</sup> The text was originally assigned to the fourth century, but the hand suggests a later date; see A. Arjava, *Tyche* 6 (1991) 24 (= BL X 254).

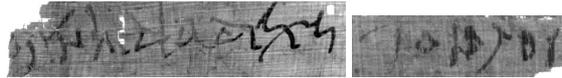
**12. Hermogenes, acting *curator civitatis* of Hermopolis,  
& Fl. Callinicus, *vir clarissimus***

Some time ago I suggested to read Ἑρμιογένης διαδεχόμενος | τὸν λογι[ιστήν in SPP III 369.4f.<sup>15</sup> on the basis of SPP VIII 1010.1 and especially 3, Ἑρμογένης διαδεχόμενος τὴν λογι(στειάν) [. This may be confirmed on the images that have since been published on line; despite small differences, the *ductus* of the writing in the two texts is the same.

SPPVIII 1010



SPP III 369



The image of SPP VIII 1010 also shows that at the end of l. 3 the papyrus has τὸν λογι(στήν) .[,<sup>16</sup> as in SPP III 369. Furthermore, the fourth/fifth-century dates originally assigned to these two texts are too early: the hands belong to the sixth century, earlier rather than later.<sup>17</sup>

SPP III 369 appears to refer to a *clarissima femina*: Φλ(άουιος) Καλλίνικος - - - ], μνη π[ . . . ]ατης τῆς | λαμπρ(οτάτης) (ll. 1–2). This is false, however: read ἐδεξ]άμην παρὰ τῆς σῆς | λαμπρ(ότητος).<sup>18</sup> The name of the addressee, whose clarissimate is mentioned in l. 2, may have been lost in the first lacuna in l. 1, but I wonder whether this was Fl. Callinicus: read Φλ(αουίω) Καλλινί[κω τῷ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) ? A *vir clarissimus* of this name is known from several Hermopolite texts of the sixth century (*PLRE* IIIA 263, Callinicus 7), and SPP III 369 has been included in his dossier.<sup>19</sup> The others are SPP VIII 989, 1049,<sup>20</sup> 1050, SB XIV 11353, XVI 12699 (= SPP

<sup>15</sup> In *Tyche* 15 (2000) 200, excerpted in BL XII 265 and 269.

<sup>16</sup> After autopsy of the original, B. Palme reports that the abbreviation is the same as in l. 1: λογι/.

<sup>17</sup> J.-L. Fournet also draws attention to the cross at the start of l. 1, omitted from the edition, which suggests a date not earlier than mid fifth century.

<sup>18</sup> A minor point: in l. 3, for ]ιν τὴν ἀποχὴν read ταύτην τὴν ἀποχὴν.

<sup>19</sup> First by K.A. Worp, *CE* 49 (1974) 349f.

<sup>20</sup> Some textual improvements, suggested by the online image: In l. 1, λαμπρ(οτάτου) surely followed after π(αρὰ) Καλλι[νίκου in the lacuna; cf. SPP VIII 989.1 and 1050.1. In l. 2, the edition has κόμ]ην Τανεμώεως, but the first word is κόμ]ης; the text would have run

III 368 + 370). Their dates are indictional, and it is hard to reconcile the datings suggested for them. Callinicus has been tentatively associated with Καλλινίκ(ου) Ἀχιλλ(έως) λαμπροτάτου in P.Sorb. II 69.83.C3,<sup>21</sup> which dates from 618/619 or 633/634. SB XVI 12699, however, has been taken to be about a century earlier,<sup>22</sup> which is likely: the rates of carat deductions in SPP VIII 1050 (minus 3) and 989 and SB XIV 11353 (minus 4) would suit such a date;<sup>23</sup> and, in my view, the hands of all these SPP texts may be placed in the first half of the sixth century. The *clarissimus* Callinicus son of Achilleus in P.Sorb. II 69 would have been someone else.<sup>24</sup>

### 13. *Iustus, spectabilis comes*

P.Eirene IV 35 is the top left corner of an Oxyrhynchite contract addressed Φλαουίῳ Ἰούστ[ῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμετι τοῦ θείου] | κονσισιτωρίου καὶ πολ[ιτευομένῳ - - - γεουχοῦντι καὶ] | ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁ[ξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει (ll. 3–5)].<sup>25</sup> Who is this *comes* Iustus? As the editor already saw, the prime candidate is the son of Eudaemon, attested in the account P.Oxy. XVIII 2195, in a part that dates from 576/577:<sup>26</sup> τῷ κόμε(τι) Ἰούστῳ Εὐδαίμωνος (ll. 98, 102). A reference to Iustus' father may have followed after πολ[ιτευομένῳ] in the lacuna. The *domus* of Iustus is very probably mentioned in P.Oxy. LVIII 3938.10f. (601) οἴκου τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης Ἰούστου | [Εὐ]δαίμωνος.<sup>27</sup> The late *comes* was a *vir glori-*

as in 989.2 Εὐδοξίῳ βοηθ(ῶ) κόμης Τανεμώεως, and 1050.2 βο]ηθῶ κόμης Τανεμώεως (restore [Εὐδοξίῳ βο]ηθῶ ?). In l. 4, read Κα]λλίνικος, not Κα]λλίνικους.

<sup>21</sup> See J. Gascou, P.Sorb. II, p. 242 (note ad loc.), and BL X 262.

<sup>22</sup> The text is headed Φλ(άουιος) Δημέας σχολ(αστικός) καὶ ἐκδικ(ος) Ἐρμοῦ πόλ(εως)· δέδωκεν ὁ λαμπρότατος Καλλίν[ικος]. The dating rests on the assumption that Demeas was dead by 526/527; see R. Ast, *ZPE* 157 (2006) 164.

<sup>23</sup> I discuss the evidence in 'Soldiers and money in early sixth-century Hermopolis', forthcoming in *ZPE*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also *PLRE* IIIA 264, Callinicus 9, which refers to a *comes* in P.Lond. III 1314a = SB XX 14169 and P.Lond. III 1325 desc. (ined., but I have checked a microfilm); both texts are Hermopolite.

<sup>25</sup> The editor considers whether the text was written in a place other than Oxyrhynchus, but the phrase ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁ[ξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει] in l. 5 leaves no room for doubt.

<sup>26</sup> It concerns expenses of indiction 10 = 576/577; cf. J.R. Rea, P.Oxy. LV, p. 97 (= BL IX 194).

<sup>27</sup> First discussed by J.R. Rea, P.Oxy. LVIII 3938.10–11 n.; cf. also *Tyche* 17 (2002) 95f., and U. Gad, *Pap. Congr. XXVII* (2016) 1790f. (but the date suggested there for P.Oxy. 2195 relies on a misunderstanding). *PLRE* IIIB 759 distinguishes between the son of Eudaemon (Callinicus 5) and the *vir gloriosissimus* (Callinicus 6), but this is unnecessary.

*osissimus* in life; it is tempting to identify him with the one in P.Oxy. XVI 2040.11, τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) Ἰούστου, whose heirs occur in P.Oxy. XVI 2020.18 (580s<sup>28</sup>), κληρονόμων) Ἰούστου ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου), and in another text published recently.<sup>29</sup> If the *spectabilis comes* was the same person, P.Eirene IV 35 should date from a time before Iustus' elevation to the third senatorial grade, and be earlier than P.Oxy. 2040, which however is only approximately dated; it has been assigned the 560s, but could also come from the 550s or even the 570s.<sup>30</sup>

The date of P.Eirene IV 35 is also evasive. It is headed by a regnal date clause, but the name of the emperor and other dating elements are lost (ll. 1–2, βασιλείας τοῦ θ[ειοτάτου κτλ. ] | τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγού[στου κτλ.]). The editor points out that there is no room for a consular formula, and argues that the emperor would have been one of Justinian, Phocas or Heraclius. The last two are ruled out, insofar as there is no Christian invocation at the top, found in documents from 591 onwards. This is the *terminus ante quem*; the *terminus post* is the promulgation of *Novella* 47 in 537, which introduced the dating by the ruling emperor, first attested in Egypt in 539.<sup>31</sup> If the emperor were Justinian, there would be an anomaly, insofar as his regnal formulas are always combined with consular clauses. The editor explored other possibilities as well: Justin II, Tiberius Constantine, Maurice. If the emperor were Justin II,<sup>32</sup> the omission of the consulship would again be anomalous; the only parallel case dates from 572 (P.Mich. XV 734) and may come from outside Oxyrhynchus. We remain with Tiberius Constantine in 579 (cf. P.Oxy. I 135, LXX 4792–4793), and Maurice in 582/583 (P.Oxy. LXXI 4837). Without a firm date, it is not possible to be certain about the identity of Iustus. But his description as a *curialis* (πολ[ιτευο-μένω]) suggests that he was a member of an old family of curial stock, much as the top aristocracy in late antique Oxyrhynchus. This late reference to a *comes* and *curialis* in Oxyrhynchus is also of interest; which

<sup>28</sup> See J. Gascou, *TMByz* 9 (1985) 48 n. 77 = *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* (2008) 170f. n. 275.

<sup>29</sup> P.Cair. inv. SR. 3049/56.5, ed. Gad, *Pap. Congr. XXVII* 1787–99.

<sup>30</sup> The dating to the 560s is due to J. Gascou, *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 64 n. 2 = *Fiscalité et société* 46 n. 17, who linked P.Oxy. XVI 2040.16 τῆς μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτης) Εὐφημίας with P.Oxy. VII 1038.7 (568) Φλ(αουία) Εὐφημία τῆ ἐνδοξ(οτάτη). Euphemia has since been attested also in a document of 548, which widens the possible date range (cf. Gad, cit. 1795).

<sup>31</sup> See *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 45, 47.

<sup>32</sup> In that case, the text would date from between 566 and early 571, before the change of the city's name to 'The New City of Justin'.

makes P.Oxy. XVI 2002 (579) less isolated, even though this combination of titles is known from elsewhere in even later times.<sup>33</sup>

#### 14. Fl. Paulus, *scholasticus* and pagarch

*PLRE* III B 985f., Paulus 55, refers to P.Flor. III 336.6f. Φλ(αουίω) [Παύλω τῷ σο]φωτ[ά]τῳ καὶ εὐκλ[ε]στάτῳ [ - - - ] | καὶ παγάρχῳ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοῦτων πόλεως; the name has been restored from the endorsement, Φλ. Παῦλον τὸν σοφώτ(ατον) (καὶ) εὐκλε(έστατον) [. The text belongs to the period after the Arab conquest; it refers to an indiction 1, and seems to have been written during the one immediately before (15),<sup>34</sup> which cannot be earlier than 656/657.<sup>35</sup> The supplements suggested for the lacuna at the end of l. 6 are σχολαστικῶ or στρατηλάτη;<sup>36</sup> σο]φωτ[ά]τῳ favours σχολαστικῶ, and this may now be confirmed on an image:<sup>37</sup> there are traces after εὐκλε(έστατον) in the docket not reported in the edition, compatible with reading σχ[ολαστικόν]. What remains curious is the use of the epithet εὐκλεέστατος, which in this period applies to *duces* (only later to Muslim pagarchs), one of them a *dux* and pagarch in 653 (CPR XXIV 35).

*Pros. Ars.* 5459 identifies Paulus with SB I 4694.4f. Φλ(αουίω) Παύλω τῷ ἐ[ - - - τῆς Ἀρσινοῦτων] | πόλεως; the text postdates 641. The restorations proposed for the break are ἐ[νδοξοτάτῳ παγάρχῳ or στρατηλάτη (BL VIII 313). The fragmentary state of the papyrus precludes certainty.

There is one other potentially relevant text: CPR VIII 71.5f., [τῷ μεγαλο]πρεπεστάτῳ Παύλω υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς | [μνήμης Στε]φάνου Κύρου γενομένου παγάρχου, could refer to this same Paulus.<sup>38</sup> In this

<sup>33</sup> E.g. SPP XX 218.5f. (Herm.; 624). The latest references come from Edfu from the second half of the seventh century; see J. Gascou in *Tell-Edfou, Actes du colloque franco-polonais, Le Caire, 15 octobre 1996* (1999) 15 n. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. K.A. Worp, CPR X, p. 156 n. 23, on the basis of the phrase καρπῶν τῆς σ[ὺν] Θεῷ εἰσι(ούσης) | πρ[ώ]τ(ης) ἐπι(εμήσεως) (12f., after BL I 459). The image confirms σ[ὺν]; this would have been followed by Θεῷ written out in full, perhaps without εἰσι(ούσης) after it. The reference would still be to a forthcoming indiction, as σὺν Θεῷ implies.

<sup>35</sup> A date in 641/642 is excluded, since the Arsinoite pagarchy at that time was headed by Fl. Theodoracius; see Worp, CPR X, p. 154.

<sup>36</sup> See Worp, CPR X, p. 156 n. 23 (= BL VIII 130); *PLRE* III B 985f.; cf. also B. Palme, CPR XXIV, p. 203 n. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Accessible at <http://www.psi-online.it/documents/pflor;3;336/>.

<sup>38</sup> See already CPR X, p. 156 n. 22.

document, which probably dates from 654,<sup>39</sup> Paulus is represented through his mother, an indication that he was a minor. If he became a pagarch, it would have taken him some time to acquire the profile reflected in his titles in P.Flor. 336. In that case, the date of the Florentine text would be not earlier than 671/672, with 686/687 being the alternative (no other Arsinoite pagarch is attested in office in these years).

### 15. A ghost Flavius

Another Fl. Paulus (*PLRE* III B 985, Paulus 53) is known from SPP III 343, one of the latest legal documents in Greek from Heracleopolis, written some time in the early eighth century (BL VIII 439). The text is addressed [Φλ](αουίω) Παύλω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ῥιπαρίῳ (l. 1). This would be a very late instance of a Flavius in Egypt, but the *gentilicium* is restored (*ed. pr.* read [Φλ]!), which attracts suspicion. The online image shows that the papyrus has a personal pronoun instead: σοί (cf. the shape of σοι in lines 2 and 6). There is a short lacuna before it, but the papyrus would presumably have been blank at that point.

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<sup>39</sup> See *Tyche* 29 (2014) 263 (Korr. *Tyche* 760), where I also briefly discuss the identity of Stephanos. The reasons for dating CPR VIII 71 to 654 instead of 684 (as in BL VIII 115) will be explained by S. Kovarik in a forthcoming publication.